

Studies in Tigre Etymology. Part One: From *u* to *ħ*¹

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The present article is the result of the author's long-time occupation with the etymology of the North Ethiopian/Eritrean language Tigre². The *Wörterbuch der Tigré-Sprache* (WTS) by Enno Littmann and Maria Höfner³ has been the only source of lexical information for this study⁴, which seems justified in view of the outstanding merits of this unique resource, well known for the gigantic amount of the lexical material processed and its masterful descriptive and, by the standards of its epoch, comparative-historical analysis.

In its methods and scope, this survey, whose first installement is published presently,⁵ is similar to my 2019 additions and corrections to Wolf Leslau's *Comparative Dictionary of Geez*. The only – yet major – difference between the two studies pertains to the chronological gap between the respective dictionaries. Leslau's *opus magnum* appeared in 1987, when historical Semitic lexicography (not the least thanks to several decades of Leslau's own groundbreaking research) was in its relatively mature state. Nothing similar can be said of the late 1950s when WTS was published, one fascicle after another, first jointly by the two authors and since 1956 (the year of Littmann's death) by Höfner alone. Since then, whole categories of new lexical information on a variety of Semitic languages have become available, providing a modern (Ethiopian-)Semitic etymologist with quite different, much more precise optics for the diachronic portrait of the Tigre vocabulary.

The following groups of new lexical data/research tools not available (or only partly available) to the authors of WTS are of notice.

- Comprehensive descriptive dictionaries of Ethiopian Semitic (Amharic, Tigrinya). It goes without saying that T.L. Kane's monumental Amharic-English (AED) and Tigrinya-English (TED) lexica cannot be compared to what Littmann and Höfner had at their disposal. This is especially true as far as Tigrinya is concerned in view of its special geographic (perhaps also genealogical) proximity to Tigre. Indeed, many of the additions and corrections to WTS suggested below have been gleaned from Kane's TED.

- Etymological dictionaries of Ethiopian Semitic (Ge'ez, Gurage, Harari, Gafat). This powerful division of Ethiopian Semitic lexicography, single-handedly created by Wold Leslau, practically did not exist when Littman and Höfner were occupied with their project. While certainly not the last word in the etymological investigation of Ethiopian/Eritrean Semitic (especially as far as the Northern languages are concerned), these dictionaries play a crucial role in one's assessment of nearly every etymological comparison made on the Ethiopian/Eritrean soil, as gratefully acknowledged below.

- Arabic dialectal dictionaries of Southern Arabia. Littman and Höfner's dictionary reveals quite a heavy impact of the Arabic lexical loans on the Tigre vocabulary, as recognized

¹ This study has been prepared in the framework of the Academic Fund Program of HSE University in 2023 (grant no. 23-00-019). The author is grateful to Maria Bulakh for her remarks on this article, let alone the many endless discussions on Semitic, Ethiopian and Tigre grammar and etymology during the past 25 years or so.

² For a recent survey on Tigre, with a good bibliography, see Elias 2019.

³ On Littman's and Höfner's *vitae* and achievements see Müller 2007 and Kleiner 2007. On the extraordinary personality of Näffaʿ wäd ʿƏtman, Littman's principal informant, and his tragic end see Lusini 2007 and Trüper 2020:57–96.

⁴ Thus, I was not able to systematically peruse Musā ʔĀron's Tigre vocabulary of 2005, nor did I dare to delve into the recent printed production in Tigre. The lexical lists in Saleh Mahmud Idris 2015:227–262, while certainly of high value for the subgrouping of the Tigre dialects, comprise very basic semantic slots only and, therefore, are rarely useful for a detailed etymological inquiry like the present one. It is my earnest hope that further researchers in this domain will be able to use my suggestions when/if a comparative-historical dictionary of Tigre – or (North-)Ethiopian/Eritrean in general – is launched (clearly, a major desideratum of today's Semitic linguistics).

⁵ Roughly corresponding to the first half of the Ethiopian alphabet. The second, and last, installement, covering the remaining half of WTS, is in an advanced stage of preparation.

already by earlier reviewers (such as Ricci 1960:115) and since then confirmed on many occasions (Leslau 1990, Bulakh–Kogan 2011, Elias 2014:229–247). The exact dimensions of this impact were, however, rather hard to evaluate by that time since the lexicographic treatment of the Arabic dialects of Southern Arabia was then deeply in its infancy. The situation began to change drastically during the past three decades, marked by the appearance of such comprehensive tools of Yemeni lexicography as the dictionaries by P. Behnstedt, M. Piamenta and M. al-Iryani. As a result, scores of “new” Arabic loans in Tigre could be elicited, and even this is certainly not exhaustive: indeed, if Leslau’s standard overviews on his topic were written today, their size and scope would have been substantially different.

- Lexica and text publications of Modern South Arabian. When WTS was compiled, lexical evidence of Modern South Arabian (MSA) was not a welcome guest on the pages of Semitic dictionaries, in spite of the remarkable achievements of the Vienna school (including Leslau’s splendid *Lexique Soqotri*). Since 1980s, when the field was deeply revolutionized by T.M. Johnstone’s detailed vocabularies of the continental MSA, these languages have become prominent players in Semitic lexicographic activities. Today, this is particularly true of the inexhaustible lexical treasuries of Soqotri, systematically analyzed by the members of the Russian–Yemeni research team. In the present study, new etymological suggestions pertaining to MSA are plentiful, some of them stemming directly from the author’s unpublished fieldnotes.

- New lexical data from Semitic languages outside Ethiopia. By mid-1950s, some of the key idioms of the Semitic family were not yet properly described from the lexical point of view, nor were they very welcome in the heavily Arabocentric world of Comparative Semitics of that time. This is especially the case of Akkadian, whose paramount importance for the “South Semitic” etymology was duly acknowledged by Leslau since at least 1944, yet rarely exploited in the field. Today, when both AHW. and CAD are complete and a new lexicographic tool specifically focused on East Semitic etymology (EDA I) has started to appear, newly discovered Akkadian parallels to Ethiopian/Eritrean Semitic lexica will quickly grow in number. The new comprehensive dictionary of Ugaritic (DUL) is also most helpful in this respect.

- Cushitic lexica and text publications (Beja, Bilin). Cushitic comparanda are practically missing from the etymological sections of WTS, in spite of the fact that Reinisch’s informative glossaries of Beja and Bilin were long ago available. Not being a professional Cushitologist, I had to limit my efforts to a rather superficial perusal of Reinisch 1887 and 1895, as well as D. Appleyard’s recent comparative dictionary of Agaw (2006). Even with these limitations, the harvest has proved to be fairly abundant, which strongly invites future resesarchers to a deeper inquiry into the fascinating domain of North Ethiopian/Eritrean–Cushitic interaction in the vocabulary.

With this this brief overview of the sources of the “new” comparative material I close the introductory part of my article and move to concrete additions and corrections to the etymological sections of WTS.

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p. 4 (*h-l-k* ‘to be tired’). Together with Tna. *haläkä* ‘to toil, to get weary’ (TED 5), the Tigre verb may be the only EthS cognate of the well-known pan-Semitic **hlk* ‘to go (away)’ (Kogan 2015:234)⁶. A borrowing from Arabic is, at first sight, unlikely since the Arabic root means only “to die” in the Classical language. However, the meaning “to be tired, weary” is common in Arabic dialects (BH 909, Barthélemy 871, Qafisheh 613–614), which considerably increases the

⁶ Unless one further compares (with WTS 4 and Leslau 1982:33) Tna. *halläkä* ‘to persist’ (TED 6) and Amh. *alläkä* ‘to be stubborn’ (AED 1110), presumably < “to exert oneself”.

possibility of Arabic borrowing/influence in Tigre and Tigrinya⁷. The same is true of the comparable verbs in MSA: Mhr. *hīlək* ‘to be very tired and thirsty’ (ML 156), Jib. *helk* id. (JL 97), Soq. *yhatēlak* ‘périr’ (LS 143).

p. 5 (*h-l-f* ‘to chat’). Also in Tna. *halāf bālā* ‘to chatter, to talk a lot’ (TED 9)⁸.

p. 7 (*h-m-r* ‘to be meager’). Cf. Arb. *hamara mā fī d-ḍarfi* = *ḥalabahu kullahu* ‘to milk the whole of the milk which is in the udder’ (LA 5 311), *hamīrat-* = *al-ṣaḡūzu l-fāniyatu l-kabīratu* ‘an old, decrepit woman’ (TA 14 443), and cf. DRS 426 for possible cognates in Chadic and Sudanese Arabic.

ibid. (*h-m-š-š* ‘to reduce to small pieces’). With DRS 427⁹, cf. Arb. *al-hamsu* = *al-ṣaṣru wa-d-daqqu wa-l-kasru* ‘to squeeze and break into small pieces’ (TA 17 41), Sab. *hms₁* ‘to crush (enemy)’ (SD 56).

p. 9 (*hāmte*, *ḥamte*, *ḥamṭā* ‘name of a shrub’). Probably the same as Arb. *ḥamāṭ(-at)-* ‘wild fig-tree, kind of sycamore’ (Dozy I 323, Piamenta 107, al-Iryani 295), qualified as “Yemeni” in LA 7 312¹⁰.

p. 10 (*h-r-r* ‘to hasten’). Cf. Yemenite Arabic *hrr* ‘sich beeilen’ (Behnstedt 1258)

ibid. (*h-r-r* ‘to squirt, to sputter’, *hərrat* ‘jet of milk, water’). With DRS 459, cf. Arb. *al-hurru* = *al-kaṭīru mina l-māʔi wa-l-labani* ‘a lot of water or milk’ (LA 5 308) as well as *hrr* ‘to flow, to drip, to spill, to pour’ in Arabic dialects (Spiro 624, GD 2863).

ibid. (*h-r-š* ‘to rouse, to incite’). Cf. Arb. *hrš* (II) ‘to excite strife, quarreling’ (Lane 2891–2892, Dozy II 762, Behnstedt 1260).

p. 11 (*h-r-t* ‘to press down, to run down’). With DRS 461, cf. perhaps Jib. *hərt* ‘to come down, to descend’ (JL 99).

p. 12 (*h-r-g-f* ‘to stumble, to limp’). With DRS 450, cf. perhaps Arb. *hirḡif(f)-* = *ar-raḡulu l-ḥawwāru* ‘a man without strength’ (TA 24 492).

ibid. (*h-r-f* ‘to be greedy’). With DRS 457, also in Tna. *harāfā* ‘to covet, to long for’ (TED 18).

p. 15 (*hāb* ‘fire, heat, ardor’). To be compared to Mhr. *hīwəb* ‘to get warm’ (ML 161), Jib. *hub* ‘warmth, heat’ (JL 99), Soq. *yheb* ‘to be warm’ (CSOL I 692)¹¹.

ibid. (*həbāl* ‘funeral songs’). With DRS 359, cf. perhaps Arb. *habilat-hu ʔummuhu* = *takilat-hu* ‘to be bereft of one’s child’ (LA 11 818, GD 2846)¹². At the same time, of interest is the North Yemeni girl song *al-hawbala*, described at length in al-Iryani 1047.

p. 16 (*h-b-b* ‘to bleat aloud before covering’). With DRS 355, add Arb. *hbb* ‘to be excited with lust and utter a sound’ (Lane 2873) and Amh. *abbabba alā* ‘to bleat (sheep)’ (AED 1198). Of interest is also Jib. *əhbəb* ‘to sing’ (JL 93).

ibid. (*hobāy* ‘kite’). See CDG 214 for parallels in Geez and Tigrinya.

ibid. (*həbaʔ* ‘lap, bosom’). With DRS 358, hard to separate from Arb. *ʔibt-* ‘armpit’ (Lane 7).

p. 18 (*h-n-n* ‘to delay, to be patient’). With DRS 434, add Tna. *hannänä* ‘to be astonished, stupefied; to apply oneself attentively’ (TED 29).

p. 21 (*hekal* ‘talisman’). Neither Leslau (CDG 221) nor Getatchew Haile (1980:225) took in consideration the numerous references to *haykal* ‘amulet, talisman’ in the Arabic dialects of Southern Arabia (Piamenta 515¹³, Behnstedt 1277, and already Dozy II 783¹⁴).

⁷ Leslau (1990:267) is, therefore, correct to ascribe the specific meaning “to die (used contemptuously by Mohammedans of Christians)” of the Tigre verb to Arabic influence. An exact semantic source can be found in Piamenta 510: “to die miserably (said of a non-Muslim, a Jew)”.

⁸ Not in Leslau 1982:33 where phonetically more remote Tigrinya and Amharic verbs are compared.

⁹ One wonders why *hamṣay* ‘the he-camel that carries everything’ (WTS 7) is listed under the same heading in DRS.

¹⁰ So already Reinisch 1895:118, who further compares Beja *ham* ‘die Sykomore’.

¹¹ The Mehri and Jibbali forms with *h-* make it clear that Soqotri forms with *š-*, such as *šeb* ‘he warmed’ and *šeb* ‘warmth’, are hypercorrect, which is not uncommon (CSOL I 16). The present etymology definitely excludes from consideration supposed cognates with *š- (and *š-!) adduced in LS 410 and elsewhere.

¹² For a possible connection with the Biblical name of Abel (*həbāl*) see GD 2846 and Torczyner 1914:465.

¹³ In particular, “amulet with a magical design of the Temple of Solomon”.

¹⁴ “Formule magique”.

- p. 22** (*hawaššəš gāʔa* ‘to break to pieces’). With DRS 392, cf. Arb. *al-hawsu* = *ad-daqqu wa-l-kasru* ‘to crush, to break’ (LA 6 303).
- ibid.** (*h-w-š* ‘to go away, to disappear’). Cf. Arb. *al-hawsu* = *al-mašyu l-laḏī yaštamidu fīhi šāhibuhu šalā l-ʔarḏi štimādan šadīdan* ‘to walk leaning heavily on the ground’ (LA 6 304), ‘röder, aller par ci, par là’ (GD 2887).
- p. 23** (*h-z-m* ‘to leap, to rush at, to assail’). With DRS 395, cf. perhaps Arb. *hzm* ‘to rout, to defeat, to put to flight’ (Lane 3043). So also the *addendum* to WTS (p. 739).
- p. 24** (*h-y-f* ‘to rash, to be hasty; to make a mistake’). With DRS 404, cf. perhaps Arb. *hyf* ‘timuit’ (Fr. IV 424, BK 2 1468, not in TA, LA).
- p. 25** (*h-d-r* ‘to murmur, to roar’). With DRS 378, cf. Arb. *hdr* ‘to bray, to low, to roar’ (Lane 2886), ‘sprechen, reden; schnell sprechen, viel reden; brüllen; schreien, rufen’ (Behnstedt 1255–1256, and further GD 2855–2856), Mhr. *hədūr* ‘to jump and shout for joy’ (ML 153), Jib. *həḏər* ‘to jump and bellow, bleat’ (JL 95). So also the *addendum* to WTS (p. 740).
- p. 25** (*h-d-y* ‘to marry’). While an ultimate relationship with Arb. *hdy* ‘to lead’ is likely (with DRS 374–375 and the *addendum* to WTS, p. 740), one cannot fail to observe that the meaning “to bring the bride to her husband” for the Arabic root is very marginally attested (the only reference available to us is *istahdā* in Fagnan 180), as opposed to quite a prominent position of the Tigre one.
- p. 26** (*h-d-d* ‘to thunder’). Together with Tna. *hadādā* (TED 50), this is a prominent representative of PS **hadd-* ‘thunder’, for which see Christian 1957:265, DRS 373, Fronzaroli 1965:140, Kogan 2011b:194. *Contra* Leslau 1958:18, there is no reason whatsoever to consider the Ethiopian root to be borrowed from Arabic.
- ibid.** (*h-d-g* ‘to speak, to tell’). With DRS 378–379, cf. Arb. *hdğ* ‘to utter the cry produced by yearning towards her young one’ (Lane 2885).
- p. 27** (*h-d-g-d-g* ‘to trot, to trample’). With DRS 378–379, cf. Arb. *hdğ* ‘to walk gently, in a weak manner’ (Lane 2885). Note especially *hadağdağ-* ‘one who walks gently, in a weak manner, in the manner of an old man, with short steps’ (ibid.).
- ibid.** (*h-g-m* ‘to chip off; to burst’). Cf. perhaps Arb. *hağama l-bayta* = *hadamahu* ‘to destroy a house’ (LA 12 714), ‘démolir’ (GD 2852), ‘zerstören’ (Behnstedt 1254), *tahğīm* ‘ruin, collapse, falling down’ (Piamenta 505).
- p. 28** (*h-g-y* ‘to speak’). This is a prominent representative of PWS **hgy* ‘to emit a sound’, attested, outside EthS, in Ugr. *hg* ‘enumeration, spell’ (DUL 330), Hbr. *hāgā* ‘to coo; to growl; to utter a sound; to moan; to read in an undertone; to mutter; to speak, to proclaim’ (HALOT 237), Syr. *hgā* ‘cogitavit, meditatus est’ (LSyr. 170), Arb. *hğw* ‘to dispraise, to revile, to satirize’ (Lane 3042), ‘épeler; rimer’ (Dozy II 756). See further DRS 364, Leslau 1958:17.
- ibid.** (*h-g-g* ‘to fall; to destroy’). With DRS 364, cf. Arb. *hağğa l-bayta* = *hadamahu* ‘to destroy a house’ (LA 2 450), ‘démolir, détruire’ (GD 2848).
- ibid.** (*h-g-f* ‘to slip off (earth), to fall to the ground’). Cf. Tna. *hağ^wäfä* ‘to fall in, to collapse, to sink in (earth)’ (TED 54).
- ibid.** (*h-ş-f* ‘to pour (heavy rain)’). The Tigrinya cognate, adduced without reference in Leslau 1982:34 (cf. DRS 443), is now registered in TED 57: *haşäfä* ‘to sprinkle with holy water; to wash, to wash off; to rain hard with wind, to storm’ (cf. already Ricci 1959:89).
- p. 29** (*h-f-f* ‘to bluster (wind)’). According to Leslau (1982:33), the Tigre verb is probably borrowed from Arabic, but note, with DRS 441, Tna. *hafäfä* ‘to evaporate, to steam; to dash forward, to go at a winding speed’ (TED 58) and Amh. *əff alä* ‘to blow, to puff’ (AED 1351).
- ibid.** (*h-f-š* ‘to let out air (from an inflated skin); to become less (swelling)’). With DRS 442, borrowed from dialectal Arabic *hfš* ‘friper, chiffonner’ (Dozy II 767), ‘se dégonfler’ (GD 2874). Interestingly, *hfl* with the same meaning is attested in Tigre (ibid.), but – apparently – not in Arabic. The alternation *š/l* is reminiscent of the root variation in the framework of the “lateral theory” (Kogan 2011a:76).

ibid. (*h-f-t* ‘to hurry’). With DRS, cf. Arb. *hft* (VI) ‘se jeter sur une chose, s’y porter avidement’ (Dozy II 767). Strikingly similar is Soq. *šfot* ‘to be quick’ (CSOL I 657, CSOL II 591), suggesting that *š* in Soqotri is hypercorrect (for this phenomenon cf. CSOL I 16).

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p. 30 (*l-h-s* ‘to pant’). Cf. Arb. *lh̄t* ‘to put forth one’s tongue by reason of thirst or fatigue’ (Lane 2675), Mhr. *lahēt* ‘to pant’ (ML 253), Jib. *lehēt* id. (JL 162).

ibid. (*lahad* ‘scar’). In addition to the dialectal Arabic form quoted in Leslau 1982:47, note the Classical *lahd-* ‘a certain disease which affects camels in the chest’ (Lane 2676).

ibid. (*l-h-f* ‘to burn’). In addition to Leslau 1982:48, see further references to dialectal Arabic *lh̄f* ‘to burn’ in Piamenta 452, Behnstedt 1129.

p. 31 (*lilo* ‘bird of prey’). Apart from the Ethiopain Semitic parallels quoted in WTS, cf. Bilin *lilora* ‘vulture, hawk’ (Appleyard 2006:143).

p. 32 (*lah̄e* ‘jaw, molar tooth’). There is hardly any reason to believe that the Tigre word was borrowed from Arabic (*contra* Leslau 1990:150). See further SED I No. 178 for an extensive etymological survey.

ibid. (*l-h-y* ‘to prattle, to slander, to accuse’). Cf. Arb. *lhy* ‘to abuse, to rail; to soff, to curse’ (WKAS L 394), ‘schmähen, beschimpfen’ (Behnstedt 1110). For the meaning “to prattle” note especially *lihi* ‘babblers, thoughtless talker’ (Piamenta 445).

p. 34 (*l-m-š* ‘to anoint the hair’). Cf. Tna. *lämmäšä* ‘to be lank (hair)’ (TED 77).

p. 37 (*l-k-t* ‘to pick up from the ground’). Apart from its absence from the rest of EthS, there is hardly any reason to believe that this widely attested pan-Semitic root is borrowed from Arabic (so Leslau 1982:48, cf. Leslau 1958:29).

p. 38 (*l-k-f* ‘to be hungry’). Cf. Arb. *laqf* ‘avalier quelque chose avec précipitation (comme fait, par exemple, celui qui a faim)’ (BK 2 1015, Fr. IV 120), *al-laqfu* = *ʔan taʔhuda šayʔan wa-taʔkulahu wa-tabtališahu* ‘to pick up something and eat it and swallow it (greedily)’ (TA 24 377), ‘gefräßig essen’ (Behnstedt 1120), *laqf, liqf* ‘Mund’ (Behnstedt 1120, al-Iryani 951).

p. 39 (*labbat* ‘Mittelrückenstück, Rippenstück vom Fleisch’). Hard to separate from Arb. *labbat* ‘upper part of the chest, low neckline, throat’ (WKAS L 84). In spite of the semantic difference, an Arabism in Tigre is likely. For the etymological perspective of the Arabic root cf. SED I No. 173 (not always reliable).

p. 40 (*l-b-y* ‘to teach, to tame, to accustom’). Probably to be equated with Gez. *labbawa* ‘to understand, to be clever’ (CDG 306)¹⁵.

ibid. (*labak* ‘forequarter of an animal’). Comes very close to Bilin *läbbäka* ‘heart’ (Appleyard 2006:82).

p. 41 (*l-t-m* ‘to press, to pound’). Cf. Arb. *latama* = *daraba* ‘to beat’ (LA 12 630), not recognized in CDG 319–320 (under *latama*).

p. 42 (*l-ʔ-m* ‘to be attached, friendly’). Also in Amharic: *lamä* ‘to become docile or tame’ (AED 43). *Contra* Leslau 1982:47, 1990:180, there is no reason to surmise a borrowing from Arb. *lʔm* ‘to put together, to connect, to repair’ (WKAS L 55).

p. 43 (*l-k-y* ‘to call’). Cf. perhaps Gez. *talāk^waya* ‘to quarrel, discuss, debate; to reprimand, to blame’ (CDG 314). The semantic relationship is conceivable, cf. Kogan 2015:217–218 for PS **rgm*.

ibid. (*l-k-k* ‘to shut a beast’s mouth’). Also in Amharic: *lako* ‘rope for leading an equine’ (AED 90).

ibid. (*l-k-k* ‘to mix, to knead’). Perhaps to be equated with Amh. *läkälläkä* ‘to become soft (lemon which has been kneaded in the hands)’ (AED 92), *lokällökä* ‘to be soft, yield to the touch’ (ibid.). The EthS root is further related to Arb. *lkk* ‘mêler, mélanger, brouiller’ (BK 2 1019, Fr. IV 122, cf. TA 27 321–322).

¹⁵ By a curious coincidence, Gez. *labbaya* (of uncertain origin) means ‘to be ignorant, to err’ (CDG 306).

ibid. (*l-k-f* ‘to fasten with nails, to drive in a nail’). With CDG 313, cf. perhaps Arb. *lakiṣa ṣalayhi l-wasahu = laṣiqa bihi wa-lazimahu* ‘to stick to somebody (dirt)’ (LA 8 383). The comparative evidence does not support *ʔ* in the accepted Geez orthography.

p. 44 (*l-w-l-y* ‘to wind around’). With CDG 321, cf. Gez. *mastalāwəl* ‘that which causes perplexity, uncertainty; that which causes to move restlessly’. See further Amh. *läwälläwä* ‘to wander about’ (AED 99).

ibid. (*luḥ* ‘flash of lightning’). This meaning is not derivable from the main meaning of this noun (‘board, tablet’); therefore, a comparison to Arb. *lwḥ* ‘to shine, to gleam, to glisten; to flash slightly (a lightning)’ (Lane 2679) readily suggests itself.

p. 45 (*l-w-k* ‘to be glad, to rejoice’). Cf. Arb. *lwq* ‘to be suited, to fit; to praise, to glorify’ (Pianta 453), ‘convenir, gut stehen’ (GD 2657).

ibid. (*l-w-n* ‘to adorn’). With Leslau 1990:170 (and the *addendum* to WTS, p. 740), clearly borrowed from Arb. *lawwana* ‘to make colorful’ (Wehr 884).

p. 48 (*lagā* ‘male calf’). With Brockelmann 1950:21, probably borrowed from Beja *lāga* ‘das Kalb’ (Reinisch 1895:155). See further SED II No. 28.

ibid. (*l-g-l-g* ‘to be unclear (speech)’). Cf. Arb. *lǧlǧ* ‘bredouiller, parler d’une manière peu distincte, sans articuler’ (Dozy II 525, BK 2 969, LA 2 415).

ibid. (*l-g-m* ‘to charge (gun); to brake’). Also in Tna. *läg^wämä* ‘to load a gun; to brake’ (TED 135), Amh. *lägg^wämä* ‘to charge a firearm’ (AED 115).

ibid. (*l-g-m* ‘to be incurable (wound)’). Also in Tna. *lägämä* ‘to heal superficially but not internally, with pus remaining inside’ (TED 135), Amh. *läggämä* ‘be be superficially healed (wound still festering beneath the surface)’ (AED 115). Cf. perhaps Arb. *luǧmat-, liǧām-* ‘a thing from which one augurs evil, an omen of evil’ (Lane 3008).

p. 49 (*l-ṭ-m* ‘auf eine Schnur aufreihen/to thread’). Cf. Amh. *läṭṭämä* ‘to plug, to fill a hole or opening’ (AED 124), perhaps also Tna. *ləṭəm* ‘coral beads put around the neck of one who has come of age’ (TED 144). Note also Arb. *al-laṭmu = al-ṭilṣāqu* ‘to stick’ (TA 33 424).

p. 50 (*l-ṣ-ṣ* ‘to join, to occupy oneself’). Cf. Arb. *lṣṣ* ‘to be close-set, to close together’ (WKAS L 643, al-Iryani 940), Mhr. *ləṣ* ‘to press; to be cramped’ (ML 256), Jib. *leṣṣ* ‘to move close to, to edge up to’ (JL 165).

ibid. (*l-ṣ-f* ‘to match’). Amh. *läṭṭäfä* ‘to glue, to stick; to plug holes’ (AED 126) would be a suitable cognate if not for Tna. *läṭṭäfä* with broadly the same scope of meanings (TED 145, unless an Amharism). Cf. further Arb. *lṣf* ‘ajuster en plaçant l’un à côté de l’autre (les pierres en élevant un mur); être desséché et collé sur les os (se dit de la peau d’un corps très-maigre)’ (BK 2 993), ‘ordine disposuit; aridus fuit et carni adhaesit’ (Fr. IV 104, WKAS L 655), *al-laṣafu = yubsu l-ǧildi wa-luzūquhu* (TA 24 361).

p. 50 (*l-f-k* ‘to sew; to press together’). With CDG 307, also in Msq. (*tä*)*läffäkä*, Gog. *täläffäkä* ‘to be pressed, crammed, squeezed together’ (EDG 375).

p. 51 (*l-f-n* ‘to do common ploughing’). Also in Tna. *tälafänä* ‘to do something by turns, to help one another in doing a task; to join in plowing’ (TED 147).

ibid. (*l-f-f* ‘to roll up’). Numerous cognates within and outside EthS can now be found in CDG 306.

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pp. 51–52 (*ḥal/ḥāl* ‘maternal aunt/uncle’). Leslau (1990:149) lists the Tigre words as Arabic loans¹⁶, apparently for the only reason that this old PWS lexeme (Kogan 2014:93–94) is not attested elsewhere in EthS. This is hardly warranted, however.

p. 52 (*ḥale* ‘a species of durra’). Also in Tna. *ḥelä* ‘a kind of sorghum’ (TED 150).

ibid. (*ḥal* ‘kind of cane’). See CDG 261 for a detailed etymological discussion.

¹⁶ Misquoting the Arabic parallel with *ḥ* instead of the correct *ḥ*.

ibid. (*h-l-l* ‘to be weak, tired’). With CDG 261, cf. Gez. *taḥalala/taḥalala* ‘to be restless, tired’, now to be supplemented by Tna. *tāḥalälä* ‘to sicken, to be tired or exhausted’ (TED 150). Note also Jib. *aḥtélél* ‘to vanish, to be obliterated’ (JL 109). Leslau (CDG 262) further compares Arb. *ḥll* ‘to be little, scanty (flesh); to be lean, spare’ (Lane 777), which may be superior to the comparison with *ḥll* ‘to have a pain in one’s hips and knees’ (Lane 620) suggested in WTS. One wonders, finally, whether Hbr. *ḥālāl* ‘fatally wounded’ (HALOT 320) may be related to (some of) the above roots rather than derived from **ḥll* ‘to pierce’ as traditionally assumed¹⁷. All in all, the first consonant underlying the EthS root seems uncertain (**ḥll* or **ḥll*). Cf. further DRS 870–872 and 989–990.

p. 53 (*h-l-l* ‘to be burning’). DRS 871 may be right to compare EthS **ḥll* ‘to burn’ (CDG 229) with Mhr. *ḥállēt* ‘dry leaf’ (ML 177), Jib. *ḥélēt* id. (JL 109).

ibid. (*ḥələlat, ḥəlil* ‘penis’). *Contra* SED I No. 115, the Tigre words are certainly borrowed from dialectal Arabic, cf. *ḥalal, ʔihlīl* ‘penis’ (BH 222).

ibid. (*h-l-h-l* ‘to go out, to go up’). Cf. perhaps Arb. *taḥalḥala* ‘to be removed from one’s place, to quit it’ (Lane 621).

ibid. (*h-l-m* ‘to dream; to have nocturnal pollution’). For an extensive etymological survey on both meanings v. SED I No. 25 and DRS 872.

ibid. (*h-l-s* ‘to be worn, thin, meagre’). The authors of WTS believe that the Tigre verb is borrowed from Arb. *ḥlš* ‘to come to an end’, but cf. rather (with Leslau 1958:20) Hbr. *ḥlš* ‘to be weakened, to dwindle away’ (HALOT 324), Syr. *ḥalšā* ‘debilis; vilis, contemnendus’ (LSyr. 238), Arb. *ʔaḥlasa = ʔaflasa* ‘to be bankrupt, insolvent’ (TA 15 550), perhaps Soq. *ḥlš* ‘anéantir, ruiner’ (LS 178).

p. 54 (*ḥalkā* ‘climbing plant with eatable fruits of inferior quality’). Perhaps identical with Yemenite Arabic *ḥalqah* ‘ein Baum, aus dem eine Säure gewonnen wird’ (Behnstedt 280), see especially a detailed description in al-Iryani 286–287.

p. 55 (*ḥalḥub* ‘a centipede’). Detailed information on the pertinent Arabic word (and the animal it designates) see in GD 473, al-Iryani 283, Piamenta 104 and Behnstedt 277.

ibid. (*ḥalāb* ‘large wooden dish with a broad bent rim’). Also in Tna. *ḥilab* ‘wooden bowl, pannikin, kneading trough made from a tree trunk’ (TED 155). Leslau must be right to see here an Arabic loanword (1990:315), but the exact source-word remains to be established (*ḥallāb* ‘terrine pour traire; pot de niut’ in Dozy I 314 is not exactly similar in shape, and no further dialectal evidence could be spotted).

ibid. (*ḥalangi* ‘whip’). See EDG 40 for a detailed etymological summary in EthS and Cushitic.

p. 57 (*h-l-d* ‘to determine’). Probably to be identified with Gez. *ḥallada* ‘to accomplish’ (CDG 260), Har. *ḥēlädä* ‘to finish, to accomplish’ (EDH 82). An eventual connection with PCS **ḥVld-* ‘long period of time’ (Kogan 2015:190–191) is likely.

ibid. (*ḥəlḡ* ‘anklet’). Metathesis from *ḥəḡl* with the same meaning (WTS 97), borrowed from Arb. *ḥiḡl-* (Leslau 1990:151).

ibid. (*h-l-g* ‘to have syphilis’). Also in Beja *halīg* ‘venerische Krankheit’ (Reinisch 1895:116).

ibid. (*h-l-g* ‘to have a brand-mark’). Also in Tna. *ḥallägä* ‘to brand (cattle)’ (TED 161).

ibid. (*ḥəlātā* ‘loneliness’). Probably related to (or borrowed from) Yemeni Arabic: *ḥālīt* ‘eng’ (Behnstedt 279), *al-ḥalṭa = aḍ-dayq wa-š-šidda* ‘to be narrow, difficult’ (al-Iryani 286), *ḥlṭ* IV ‘to annoy, to pester’ (Piamenta 104). Maria Bulakh (p.c.) compares Amh. *leṭa* ‘unburdened, unoccupied; woman of child-bearing age who is not pregnant’ (AED 123).

p. 58 (*ḥaḥ wadā* ‘to exult’). Also in Tna. *ḥaḥ bälä* ‘to shout loudly’ (TED 168).

ibid. (*ḥāḥot* ‘a bush’). Together with Tna. *ḥeḥot* ‘a bush (*Rumex nervosus*)’ (TED 168), to be compared to Hbr. *ḥōaḥ* ‘a thorn-bush’ (HALOT 296), Syr. *ḥoḥā* ‘vepres’ (LSyr. 226).

ibid. (*ḥml* ‘to be tender, fine’). With Leslau 1958:21, cf. perhaps Hbr. *ḥml* ‘to have compassion’ (HALOT 328).

¹⁷ Note in this connection Sab. *ḥll* ‘to be at the mercy of’, *ʔḥll* ‘spoils of battle’, *ḥllyn* ‘warrior slain and despoiled’ (SD 67–68).

ibid. (*ḥamāle* ‘short-haired goats or sheep’). Cf. perhaps Arb. *ḥamal-* ‘lamb’ (Lane 649).

p. 60 (*ḥ-m-r* ‘to ferment’). With HALOT 330 (and the *addendum* to WTS, p. 740), to PWS **ḥmr* with the same meaning (for which see further DRS 999, DUL 390, Kogan 2015:212).

p. 61 (*ḥ-m-s* ‘to swim’). For a tentative comparison between EthS **ḥms* ‘to swim’ and PWS **ḡms* ‘to submerge, to plunge into water’ see Kogan 2005:207.

p. 62 (*ḥambalāy* ‘grey horse’). For a detailed etymological survey see CDG 231 under Gez. *ḥambalāy* ‘white horse’.

ibid. (*ḥambok* ‘a small bush’) Also in Beja *ḥambokūa* ‘eine wohlriechende Pflanzensorte’ (Reinisch 1895:120).

p. 63 (*ḥamezā* ‘name of a tree’). Cf. Amh. *amza* ‘kind of tree’ (AED 1136).

p. 64 (*ḥ-m-ṭ* ‘to burn’). The Tigre verb is a remarkable – yet poorly known¹⁸ – parallel to Akk. *ḥamātu* ‘to burn, to be inflamed’ (CAD H 64, AHW. 316), one of the main exponents of this basic meaning in Akkadian (Christian 1957:266). Leslau, apparently guided by the fact that the root is not attested elsewhere in EthS, explains the Tigre verb as an Arabism, comparing either *ḥamāt-* ‘burning in the throat’ (1990:342, Index)¹⁹ or Dathina *ḥamaṭ* ‘to be hot, to burn’²⁰ and avoiding the Classical *ḥamaṭa l-laḥma* = *šawāhu* ‘to roast (meat)’ (LA 7 334), presumably because of the semantic difference. As with a few other Tigre words with good Semitic pedigree, Leslau’s approach is hardly warranted²¹.

ibid. (*ḥamāt* ‘chaff’). To be compared to Yemenite Arabic *al-ḥamaṭ* = *darrātun daqīqatun lā takādu tarā min tibni d-durati l-baladiyyati wa-d-duḥni tataṭāyaru wa-yaḥmiluhā ḥaḥaffu l-hawāʔi šinda taḍriyati d-durati fī r-rīhi; al-ḥaḡzāʔu l-ḥāddatu min šawkin mustadiqqin ḡiddan yakūnu fī s-sanābili* ‘very small, practically invisible bits of dhurra or millet straw, flying off and carried by the lightest wind when dhurra is winnowed; very small prickly bits found in the ears of cereals’ (al-Iryani 295), *ḥamaṭ, ḥummāṭi* ‘Spelz(e), Granne(n), staubartigen Spelze und Grannen, die der Wind beim Worfeln wegträgt’ (Behnstedt 286), ‘spelt, beard of corn’ (Piamenta 107)²². As a verbal source of these nouns, the Classical *ḥamaṭa* = *qašara* ‘to peel’ (LA 7 312) may be considered. The Tigre root *ḥmṭ* ‘to beat’ (> ‘to thresh’), treated in the next entry, is likely related as well.

¹⁸ Not in AHW. 316, where no cognates to the Akkadian verb are listed, nor in DRS 997, where the Tigre lexeme is ignored.

¹⁹ That is, *al-ḥamāṭatu* = *ḥurqatun wa-ḥuṣūnatun yaḡiduhā r-raḡulu fī ḥalqihi* ‘burning and roughness a man finds in his throat’ (LA 7 312). In the main body of Leslau 1990 (p. 165), the Tigre verb is listed as an Arabism, but no Arabic etymon is given.

²⁰ ‘être chaud, bien brûler’ (GD 495).

²¹ Let us briefly consider a few issues pertaining to **ḥmt*/**ḥmṭ*. (1) Syr. *ḥemṭā* ‘pustula’ (LSyr. 239) and Mnd. *himṭa* ‘inflammation, sepsis, festering’ (MD 145), often identified with Arb. *ḥamāṭat-* ‘a throat disease’ (v. above, fn. xxx and DRS 879), must be borrowed from Akk. *ḥimṭu* ‘fever’ (CAD H 193, AHW. 346, missing from Kaufman 1974). JBA *ḥmṭ* ‘to become infected’ (DJBA 468) is rather unreliable. (2) Sab. *ḥmṭn*, tentatively translated as ‘pestilence’ (SD 61) would be a fiine cognate both formally and semantically, but the exact meaning of the Sabaic word is uncertain, cf. Beeston 1981:60–61. (3) In Syro-Lebanese Arabic, *taḥammaṭ* ‘se fâcher, être irrité’ (Barthélemy 177, Frayḥa 1973:38) is attested. This is a promising cognate semantically (see below under 5), but *ḥ* is to be explained. While there is no reason to exclude a direct remnant of an early Arabic by-form **ḥmṭ* (as in Dathina), according to Feghali 1918:37 *ḥ* is due to the influence of the Aramaic substratum, namely, Syriac *ḥmṭ* (etpa.) ‘ira insensus fuit’ (LSyr. 242), a denominative verb derived from *ḥemṭā* ‘ardor; venenum; ira’ (ibid.). Since the same derivation is attested in CPA (DJPA 134), this is not impossible. (4) The PS root has been posited as **ḥmṭ* in DRS 997, presumably because of *ḥ-* in both Akkadian and Classical Arabic, but in view of *ḥ* in Dathina an alternative reconstruction **ḥmṭ* is also possible (for **ḥ* > *ḥ* in Akkadian v. Kogan 2011a:110–111). At any rate, the phonological discrepancy within Arabic remains to be explained, particularly since *ḥmṭ* ‘rotir’, VIII ‘brûler’ is also attested in Dathina (GD 648). (5) Akkadian lexicography tends to distinguish between *ḥamātu* (a/u) ‘to burn’ (CAD H 64, AHW. 316) and *ḥamātu* (u/u) ‘to be quick’ (CAD H 62, AHW. 316), but, as reasonably observed in CAD H 65 (discussion section), they “may well belong together as two interrelated aspects ... of one basic meaning”. Evidence from Arabic and Tigre, where various transferred meanings of **ḥmṭ*/**ḥmṭ* are attested, may support this conclusion: ‘to be worried, to feel pain’ (WTS 64), ‘être fier; être en colère’ (BK 1 634), ‘s’emproter de colère’ (GD 648).

²² The word is, in fact, marginally attested already in the classical lexicography: *al-ḥamātu* = *tibnu d-durati ḥāṣṣatan* ‘straw, especially of dhurra’ (LA 7 313).

ibid. (*ḥ-m-ṭ* ‘to strike with the stick’). Cf. perhaps Arb. *at-taḥmītu ʔan yuḍraba r-raḡulu fa-yaqūla mā ʔawḡaʕanī* ‘to beat somebody so that he says: how painful is this!’ (LA 7 312), ‘frapper quelqu’un faiblement, sans donner aux coups toute la force’ (BK 1 493).

ibid. (*ḥ-m-s* ‘to be sour’). An Arabic loanword according to Leslau 1990:178, but this is hardly warranted (Bulakh–Kogan 2011:5–6).

pp. 64–65 (*ḥar* ‘after that’, *ḥār* ‘the other’). This is a notorious example of a prominent pan-Semitic root (*ʔhr) very well preserved in Tigre, but only marginally elsewhere in EthS (CDG 13, EDG 89)²³.

p. 65 (*taḥarḥara* ‘to be hoarse’, *ḥarḥar* ‘bell’). Cf. perhaps Arb. *ḥrḥr* ‘to murmur, to rumble; to rustle; to snore’ (Lane 714), ‘murmuer, gargouiller; secouer avec bruit; râler’ (GD 579).

ibid. (*ḥ-r-m* ‘to swear not to do something’). Same in Tna. *ḥarāmā* ‘to swear to do or not to do something’ (TED 184). Outside EthS, note Mhr. *ḥōrām* ‘to swear not to do something’ (ML 186), Jib. *ohúrm* ‘to swear by everything holy not to do something’ (JL 115), as well as Syr. *ḥrm* (af.) ‘to swear, to take an oath’, *ḥermā* ‘oath’ (SL 492–493).

ibid. (*ḥ-r-m* ‘to abandon’). Same in Gez. *ḥarama* ‘to abandon’ (CDG 242), not mentioned, however, among the meanings of the Geez verb in LLA 82–83. Here may belong Yemenite Arabic *ḥrm* ‘to be unploughed (land)’ (Piamenta 91, GD 407).

ibid. (*ḥarmat* ‘widow’). Also in Mhr. *ḥarmēt* ‘widow; poor defenceless woman’ (ML 186), Jib. *ḥarmēt* ‘widow’ (JL 115), all from Yemeni Arabic *ḥurma* ‘woman’ (Behnstedt–Woidich 2011:11).

p. 66 (*ḥarām* ‘kerchief of silk or linen’). *Contra* Leslau 1982:39 and 1990:169, the Tigre word cannot be borrowed from dialectal Arabic *maḥrama* because of the obvious structural difference²⁴. The true Arabic source for this lexeme is to be seen in *ḥirām* ‘pièce d’étoffe de laine blanche’ (Dozy I 278), *ḥirām* ‘coarsely woven woolen blanket, rug or wrap’ (BH 201).

ibid. (*ḥarām* ‘pass, narrow passage’). One is tempted to compare Yemenite Arabic *maḥram* ‘passage way, way out’ (Piamenta 126), in spite of the structural difference. An eventual relationship with PWS **ḥrm* ‘to pierce, to cut’ is not to be ruled out (DRS 1028–1029, CDG 264, Nöldeke 1904:133).

ibid. (*ḥarrat* ‘pen, kraal’). As suggested in Kogan 2015:558, the Tigre word is to be compared to Mhr. *ḥar* (pl. *ḥaráwr*) ‘small cave used as a pen or fold for goats’ (ML 184), Jib. *ḥḥr* ‘roofed pen for kids’ (JL 113), Soq. *ḥor* (pl. *aḥrēr*) ‘écurie’ (LS 558), ‘a shelter for goat kid’ (CSOL I 561), as well as *ḥarr* in Yemeni Arabic: ‘stable, stall’ (Piamenta 87), ‘Stall, Garage’ (Behnstedt 244)²⁵.

p. 68 (*ḥ-r-k* ‘to scorch; to be angry, to fly into a rage’). Leslau (1990:165) believes that the Tigre verb with the meaning “to scorch” is borrowed from Arb. *ḥrq* ‘to burn’ (Lane 551), but is not explicit about the meaning “to be angry” (rightly acknowledging that the polysemy is plausible). Now the meaning “to be angry” for this root is attested not only in Tna. *ḥarākā* ‘to be angry, irritated’ (TED 188), but also in the newly discovered Soq. *ḥóriḳ* (II) ‘to vex, to irritate’, *ḥatéraḳ* (VIII) ‘to choke with rage’ (CSOL II 482). In fact, the meaning “to be angry” for *ḥrq* is common also in Arabic (Lane 550, Piamenta 90, al-Iryani 256), where it seems to be contaminated with another, presumably homonymous, root *ḥrq* ‘to gnash one’s teeth’²⁶. All in all, an Arabism in Tigre is possible, but by no means certain.

²³ Leslau (EDG 89) is right to observe that the Geez term “is not frequently attested” (only a couple of examples in LLA 765). *Contra* Ricci (1959:90), the oft-suggested comparison with Geez *dāḥra* is faced with serious difficulties and is likely to be abandoned.

²⁴ With Leslau, this is the source of Tgr. *maḥrāmāt* ‘handkerchief’ (WTS 111). For a comprehensive survey on this Arabic loanword in Ethiopian Semitic v. Bulakh–Kogan 2016:160. For the Arabic word, also borrowed into Soqotri as *mḥārmeh* ‘turban’ (LS 190), see further Dozy I 279.

²⁵ My reference to GD 390–391 is wrong and has to be deleted.

²⁶ Al-Iryani’s definition is quite noteworthy in this respect: *al-ḥariqu = ʕaʕabiyyu l-mizāḡi l-laḡi yaḡḡibu fa-yataḥarraqu ḡaḡaban wa-yaʕrifu ʔasnānahu wa-tatawattaru ʔaṭrāfuhu wa-ḥarakātuḡu* ‘a person nervous of temper, prone to get angry; he gnashes his teeth, and the sides of his (face) and his movements become strained’. For **ḥrk*

ibid. (*ḥ-r-b* ‘to grieve, to be jealous’). Probably related to Arb. *ḥrb* ‘to be angry’ (Lane 540, GD 392).

ibid. (*ḥ-r-b* ‘to give a meal’, *ḥarāb* ‘meal for a guest’). See further Har. *ḥirāb* ‘second meal in the Ramadan period taken any time before dawn’ (EDH 85) and a variety EthS cognates (partly with loss of *-b*) mentioned in EDH 85 and EDG 85. The ultimate origin of EthS **ḥrb* is uncertain²⁷, cf. now Bulakh 2023:288.

ibid. (*ḥarabā* ‘a plant’). Leslau tentatively compares Gez. *ḥereb* ‘kind of plant having sour fruit’ (CDG 241, not in LLA).

ibid. (*ḥ-r-n* ‘to be stubborn’). For *ḥrn* in Classical and dialectal Arabic v. Lane 557, Dozy I 279, Behnstedt 251, Piamenta 91, BH 201.

p. 69 (*ḥarākṛāk* ‘dregs’). Also in Tna. *ḥarākṛak* ‘dregs, lees’ (TED 192).

p. 71 (*maḥargā* ‘girdle’). May be metathetically related to Hbr. *ḥgr* ‘to girdle’ (HALOT 291).

ibid. (*ḥase* ‘abyss’). May be related to Arb. *ḥisy-*, *ḥisa* ‘accumulated sand beneath which is hard rock, so that, when the sand is rained upon, it imbibes the water of the rain’ (Lane 572), *ḥasy* ‘well’ (Piamenta 95, Behnstedt 257), Mhr. *ḥasū* ‘to make a water-hole, to dig for water’ (ML 189), Jib. *ḥasé* ‘to dig for water’, *máḥsi* ‘well’ (JL 116).

p. 72 (*ḥasmat* ‘coarse-grained dirty salt’). Also in Tna. *ḥāsmāt* ‘very strong salt’ (TED 210).

p. 74 (*ḥ-s-ḥ* ‘to lack ointment for one’s head; to be in want’). One is tempted to relate the Tigre verb, together with Tna. *ḥasʔe* (with *ʔ*) ‘to be dry, arid (head from lack of butter)’ (TED 206), to Gez. *ḥasʕa* ‘to be calm, still, faint’ (CDG 266) and, further, Arb. *ḥšf* ‘to become lowly, humble, submissive’ (Lane 742). At the same time, cf. Egyptian Arabic *ḥsf* ‘to run out, to become used up; to become debilitated, to break down’. Both comparisons presuppose that the meaning “to lack oil for ointment” is secondary with respect to more general “to be in want, poor, distressed”.

p. 75 (*ḥašil* ‘fox, jackal’). One wonders whether this Tigre word may have the same (Cushitic?) origin as *kənšəl* with the same meaning (WTS 252). For the latter word see further CDG 435 under *kʷənšəl*.

p. 75 (*ḥaškā* ‘gloves (made from udders of goats for the bride)’). Cf. Arb. *ḥšk* ‘to be vehement in the udder (flow of milk); to collect quickly in the udder (milk)’ (Lane 576).

p. 76 (*ḥaškul* ‘little bag of leather, pouch’). Also in Tna. *ḥāškul* ‘leather purse, pouch’ (TED 211), as well as in Beja *ḥiškūl* ‘kleiner Ledersack, Beutel’ (Reinisch 1895:129).

p. 77 (*ḥəqāb* ‘support; hip, leg’). Hard to separate from Arb. *ḥiqāb-* ‘a thing to which a woman hangs ornaments, and which she binds upon her waist; a thread or string that is bound upon the waist of a child to avert the evil eye’ (Lane 610), ‘sangle qui retient le bâd par devant’ (GD 463, Piamenta 101), in spite of the semantic difference.

p. 78 (*ḥabāli* ‘bright, clever’). Cf. Arb. *ḥibl-* ‘very intelligent or very cunning’ (Lane 505).

ibid. (*ḥābāl* ‘tendrils’). Cf. Arb. *ḥabalat-* ‘grape-vine; a stock of a grape-vine; a stock of a grape-vine having its branches spread upon its trellises; a branch of grape-vine’ (Lane 505–506), ‘branch of vine’ (Piamenta 82), ‘Weinstock, Weinberg’ (Behnstedt 232), perhaps Sab. *ḥblt* ‘terraced vineyard’ (SD 66).

ibid. (*ḥābāl* ‘relatives’). In addition to Arb. *ḥabl-* ‘a bond, cause of union, connexion with another by the bond of love or friendship’ (Lane 505)²⁸, cf. Ugr. *ḥbl* ‘band, flock’ (DUL 347), Hbr. *ḥābāl* ‘company, band’ (HALOT 286), Sab. *ḥbl* ‘alliance, pact’ (SD 66).

ibid. (*ḥabḥaba* ‘fruit of *Adamsonia digitata*’). Probably the same as Yemeni Arabic *ḥabḥab* ‘Wassermelonen’ (Behnstedt 229), ‘cucumber’ (Piamenta 81). Clearly borrowed from Arabic is Tna. *ḥabḥab* ‘cantaloupe’ (TED 220).

‘to gnash one’s teeth’ see further Hbr. *ḥrḳ* (HALOT 357) and Syr. *ḥrak* (LSyr. 258). Direct comparison between Tigre and Hebrew (but not Arabic) can be found in Leslau 1958:22.

²⁷ According to DRS 918, “ces termes, liés à des usages en rapport avec les pratiques islamiques on leur origine en arabe”, but this statement is cryptic with no concrete Arabic etymology. Of some interest may be Arb. *ḥarbat-* ‘a name of Friday’ (Lane 541).

²⁸ As far as the meaning “relatives” is concerned, note especially the expression *wašala fulānun ḥabla fulānin* ‘such a one married his daughter to such a one’ (Lane 505), as well as ‘parents, tribu’ in GD 342, ‘Teil des Stammes, erweiterte Familie’ (Behnstedt 232).

- p. 79** (*ḥəbər* ‘color’). Also in Tna. *ḥəbri* ‘color’ (TED 224).
- p. 80** (*ḥ-b-n* ‘to honor’). Together with Tna. *ḥabānā* ‘to be grave, solemn’ (TED 226), probably to be compared to Arb. *ḥbn* ‘to be large and swollen (one’s belly)’ (Lane 506), with a feasible meaning shift. Further related is Syr. *ḥbannānā* ‘piger, iners’ (LSyr. 211).
- p. 80** (*ḥ-t-l* ‘to drain dregs’). With DRS 940, also in Arb. *ḥutl* ‘marc de café’ (GD 349), perhaps also *al-ḥatlu* = *ar-radīʔu min kulli šayʔin* ‘bad, evil (about everything)’ (LA 11 170).
- p. 81** (*ḥ-t-t* ‘to be torn in pieces’). With DRS 942, also in Jib. *ḥett* ‘to gnaw (as a mouse)’ (JL 119).
- p. 82** (*ḥəne* ‘vengeance’). Together with Tna. *ḥənā* id. (TED 232), the Tigre word must be borrowed from Arb. *ḥinat-* = *al-ḥiqdu* ‘hatred’ (LA 13 549), *ḥinah* ‘Rachsucht’ (Behnstedt 289), a verbal noun from *wḥn* ‘to hate’ (GD 2907, Piamenta 519, DRS 522).
- p. 83** (*ḥənbālat* ‘saddle’). For a comprehensive etymological discussion see CDG 236, under Gez. *ḥənbāl*, *ḥənbalt* id.
- p. 84** (*ḥəнно* ‘the husbands of sisters in relation to each other’). Also in Tna. *ḥanno*, *ḥannu* ‘brother-in-law’ (TED 232).
- ibid.** (*ḥ-n-n* ‘to make a noise’). Clearly related to Arb. *ḥnn* ‘to utter a cry, to make a plaintive, moaning sound’ (Lane 652–653, Behnstedt 289, Piamenta 109, GD 500–501), Mhr. *ḥən* ‘to make a sound like an engine running’ (ML 183), Jib. *ḥinn* ‘to make a whirring, purring sound’ (JL 112).
- ibid.** (*ḥanuk* ‘drink for sick persons’). Also in Tna. *ḥanäk^w* ‘small quantity of food give a sick person who cannot eat properly’ (TED 240). Must be eventually related to PS **ḥanak-* ‘palate’ and the verbal lexemes produced from it in a variety of Semitic languages (cf. SED I No. 124). Since no exact semantic parallel in Arabic seems to be attested, an Arabism in EthS is not likely.
- ibid.** (*ḥankul* ‘crook-legged’). With DRS 894, to be compared to Arb. *ḥankala r-raḡulu* = *ʔabʔaʔa fī l-mašyi* ‘to move slowly’ (LA 11 221).
- p. 85** (*ḥənot* ‘foetus’). For possible, not very reliable Semitic cognates v. SED I No. 123.
- ibid.** (*ḥəndakā* ‘natte’). Also in Bilin (Appleyard 2006:41).
- p. 86** (*ḥəndəbbūt* ‘ear-ring’). As suggested in Kogan 2015:558, the Tigre word comes close to the MSA terms for ‘bead’: Mhr. *ḥənzəbūt*, Jib. *ḥənzəʔt*, Soq. *ḥənzəbo* (ML 184, JL 113). In turn, the MSA lexemes may be related to Akk. *anšabtu* ‘earring’ (CAD A₂ 144, AHW. 54).
- ibid.** (*ḥəngur* ‘wasp’). Probably the same as Yemenite Arabic *ḥunḡar* ‘white grasshopper, Heuschreckenweibchen’ (Behnstedt 291), ‘a kind of small unclean locust that multiplies in the wintry season’ (Piamenta 110).
- p. 88** (*ḥ-n-f-f* ‘to beat with a stick on the back’). Also in Tna. *ḥənfäfä* ‘to hit, to thwack, to strike hard’ (TED 252).
- ibid.** (*ḥ-k-l* ‘to hide’). As suggested in Bulakh 2005:148–150, the Tigre verb, together with Tna. *ḥakkälä* ‘to hide’ (TED 253), may be related to PS **ḥkl* ‘to be dark’ (DRS 865).
- ibid.** (*ḥ-k-r* ‘to wound’). Probably related to Arb. *ḥkr* ‘to wrong, to act wrongfully, injuriously’ (Lane 615).
- p. 90** (*ḥ-t-t* ‘to fear’). To be compared to Akk. *ḥattu* ‘panic, fear’ (CAD Ḥ 150, AHW. 336), Hbr. *ḥtt* ‘to be filled with terror’ (HALOT 365).
- ibid.** (*ḥ-w-n* ‘to be weak, of inferior value’). Hard to separate from Arb. *ḥwn* ‘to be low, abject, despicable and weak’ (Lane 3046, Behnstedt 1274, Piamenta 514, DRS 388–389).
- ibid.** (*ḥok*, pl. *ḥawak* ‘thread of *ʔanḡabba* for making curtains’). Probably to be compared to Arb. *ḥwk* ‘to weave’ (Lane 673, GD 521, Piamenta 114).
- ibid.** (*ḥ-w-z* ‘to be fat’). In addition to Gez. *ḥawaza* ‘to be pleasant, agreeable’ (CDG 251) and Tna. *ḥawwäzä* ‘to increase (family)’ (TED 262), cf. perhaps Arb. *ḥwz* ‘to draw together, to gather, to collect’ (Lane 667).
- ibid.** (*ḥəwāy* ‘name of a snake’). For comparable designations of “snake” in Aramaic and Arabic v. Kogan 2015:394.
- p. 93** (*ḥ-y-r* ‘to prevent’). Also in Yemeni Arabic *ḥyr* (II) ‘jemanden aufhalten’ (Behnstedt 303), ‘retenir, empêcher’ (GD 534), ‘to keep back, to delay, to detain’ (Piamenta 117).

ibid. (*her* ‘frightening, brave’). To be compared to Yemeni Arabic *hayr* ‘homme courageux, guerrier’ (GD 535), ‘courageous fighter’ (Piamenta 117), ‘Fähigkeit, Stärke’ (Behnstedt 304).

p. 93 (*h-y-b* ‘to be at an end, to go away, to die out’). Semantic and structural similarity to Arb. *gyb* ‘to become absent, to go away’ (Lane 2313) is remarkable enough to consider an etymological relationship. For PS *ḡ > ḥ (> ħ) in Ethiopian see Kogan 2005:201–209.

p. 96 (*had* ‘up to, till’). (Quasi-)prepositional usage of *hadd* ‘border, limit’ is attested in dialectal Arabic: *kam haddak min habar* ‘Reden, soviel du willst’, *la-hadd ar-rukbah* ‘bis zum Knie’ (Behnstedt 239, Piamenta 85, BH 193, Dozy I 255).

p. 100 (*hag* ‘the *hag*-sacrifice’). In Kogan 2015:189, the Tigre word is qualified as “clearly borrowed from Arabic”, but this may be less certain in view of formal and semantic differences. It stands to reason that some sort of blend between the autochthonous **hagg* ‘right, rule, regulation, custom’ and Arabic *hağğ-* took place, but a purely internal Ethiopian semantic development is not to be ruled entirely.

ibid. (*haggat* ‘snuff-box’). As almost everywhere in Modern Ethiopian (Leslau 1990:342), the Tigre word is borrowed from Arb. *huqqat-* ‘a small round box used for unguents and perfumes’ (Lane 608, Piamenta 100, Behnstedt 268).

ibid. (*hagag* ‘rattling breath’). Also in Tna. *hagig bälä* ‘to breathe with difficulty’ (TED 297).

ibid. (*h-g-g* ‘to be hostile’). Cf. Arb. *ħğğ* (III) ‘to fight, to struggle’, (V, X) ‘to blame, to accuse’ (Piamenta 83, cf. Lane 514, GD 351). Note that Reinisch (1895:113) compares Tgr. *haggot* ‘malicious joy, jealousy, envy’ with Beja *häggo* ‘der Nebenbuler, Rivale’.

p. 104 (*h-f-š* ‘to wait, to crouch’). Comes close to Yemeni Arabic *ħfš* ‘to sit, to be seated’ (Piamenta 99), ‘sich setzen, sich zum Brüten hinsetzen’ (Behnstedt 266), ‘couver’ (GD 444).

p. 104 (*h-f-n* ‘to be hot, impetuous’). Also in Tna. *ħafun* ‘hasty, hot’ (TED 311), but with no further etymology at hand.

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p. 105 (*mi* ‘what?’). In CDG 323 Leslau compares Geez and Tigre *mi* to a disparate variety of Semitic interrogatives beginning with *m-*, which can hardly be warranted. As argued in Kogan 2015:268, on distributional reasons these forms are best compared to PS **mīn-* ‘what’, with an admittedly unexplained loss of final *-n*.

p. 105 (*məhər* ‘threshing-floor’). Also in Tna. *ʔamharä* ‘to heap up, to pile in heaps (grain threshed on a threshing floor)’ (TED 316).

p. 112 (*māmat* ‘part of the booty that the chief receives’). Probably the same as Tna. *mamät* ‘select, choice, picked up’ (TED 355).

ibid. (*mar bela* ‘to run, to jump’). Also in Tna. *mär bälä* ‘to jump, to hop; to move swiftly’ (TED 357).

ibid. (*maro* ‘ring of willow-branches used in the roof for the round hut’). Probably the same as Tna. *märo* ‘palisade of sticks, stake fence’ (TED 357).

p. 113 (*m-r-r* ‘to run, to walk’). Unless borrowed from Arb. *mrr* ‘to pass by, to go along’ (Lane 2699), the Tigre verb, together with Tna. *marärä* ‘to go out, to go away’ (TED 363), is to be compared to Ugr. *mrr* ‘to go away, to leave’ (DUL 569) and Amarna Canaanite *marāru* ‘to leave, to go away’ (CAD M₁ 268).

ibid. (*m-r-r* ‘to be bad’). For this and other secondary meanings of **mrr* ‘to be bitter’ in (Ethiopian) Semitic v. Bulakh 2005:337–340.

p. 114 (*marānat* ‘gall’). Clearly dissimilated from **marārat* and probably borrowed from Arb. *marārat-* ‘gall-bladder’ (Lane 2701). On this root see further SED I No. 188.

p. 115 (*markuš* ‘thick staff’, *markuz* ‘bâton d’appui’). Together with Tna. *märkus* ‘crutch, long staff’ (TED 372), cannot be separated from Jib. *mürkus* ‘crutch, walking-stick’ (JL 211). Further parallels see in CDG 358 under Gez. *mərg^wəz* ‘staff, rod’.

ibid. (*mərwāt* ‘good will, truthfulness’). For a detailed lexicographic description of post-Classical Arabic *murūwwa* (from which the Tigre word is obviously borrowed) see Dozy II 586 (“un sens très-large”) and Piamenta 463 (‘favor, kindness, goodness, grace, mercy, benefaction’).
ibid. (*mərāf* ‘anus’). As suggested in Kogan 2005:200, cf. Arb. *mimraġat-* = *ʔal-miʕā l-ʔaʕwaru* ‘caecum’ (LA 8 534) or, alternatively, *ʔamraʕa bi-l-ġāʔiṭiḥi ʔaw bawliḥi* = *ramā biḥi ḥawfan* ‘to urinate or defecate out of fear’ (TA 22 196).

p. 128 (*min ʔādām* ‘men, mankind’). A connection with Hbr. *mīn* ‘type, kind’ (HALOT 577) appears most unlikely. Rather, a borrowing from Arb. *bin ʔādam* is to be surmised, cf. a similar assimilation in Mhr. *mənēdām* ‘person’ (ML 267)²⁹.

p. 129 (*m-n-ʕ* ‘to withhold’). With Leslau 1990:182, borrowed from Arb. *mnʕ* with the same meaning (Lane 3024).

ibid. (*m-n-y* ‘to create’, *minat* ‘figure, shape’). For the problematic connection with Hbr. *tāmūnā* ‘form, manifestation’ (HALOT 1746) see Kogan 2015:311.

p. 136 (*māʕiro* ‘a shrub with a sweet root’)³⁰. Perhaps to be identified with MSA and Yemenite Arabic terms for the frankincense tree: Mhr. *məġərāt* (ML 262), Jib. *məġīrūt* (JL 169), Soq. *əmʕīro* (CSOL I 607, Miller–Morris 2004:458), Arb. *muġur* (GD 2710, Piamenta 469).

p. 137 (*məʕeṭā* ‘thin, slender’). Together with Tna. *maʕṭāṭā* ‘to become old and wrinkled’ (TED 488), the Tigre word is a fine parallel to Hbr. *mʕṭ* ‘to be few’ (HALOT 611), see Leslau 1958:31.

p. 138 (*məyā* ‘wish, desire’). Cf. Tna. *muya, moya* ‘profession, vocation, diligence (and many other meanings)’ (TED 138), Amh. *muya* ‘skill, craft; profession, vocation’ (AED 317).

p. 138 (*m-d-y* ‘to burn; to roast’). It is tempting to connect the Tigre verb with the MSA designations of the south wind (Kogan 2015:563–564): Mhr. *mədēt* (ML 261), Jib. *midēt* (JL 169), Soq. *méde* (LS 238).

p. 142 (*m-g-m-g* ‘to suck’). Also in Tna. *mäg^wmäg^wä* ‘to suck’ (TED 513).

p. 143 (*məġdā* ‘(camp-)fire’). For Gez. *mogada* ‘to ignite’ and further Ethiopian cognates to this word v. CDG 332.

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p. 150 (*rəsək* ‘(fore)arm’). Must be borrowed from Arb. *rusġ-* ‘foreleg, wrist, ankle’ (Lane 1080–1081).

ibid. (*rəswat* ‘bracelet made of glass-beads and shells’). Borrowed from Arb. *raswat-* ‘a bracelet of beads or turtle-shell’ (Lane 1087).

p. 151 (*r-š-d* ‘to be fat’). Cf. perhaps Yemeni Arabic *ršd* (V) ‘to eat, to use as food’, *rašad* ‘provisions for travel’ (Piamenta 182).

p. 152 (*robrā* ‘pelican’). Also in Tna. *robra* ‘gull, seagull’ (TED 564).

ibid. (*r-b-b* ‘to smoke, to blacken’). Probably the same as Arb. *rbb* ‘to smear a jar with tar or pitch’ (Lane 1002).

p. 153 (*r-b-ʕ* ‘to be a few days without water’). Undoubtedly related to Arb. *ribʕ-* ‘interval between two waterings, keeping from water during that interval’ (Lane 1017).

ibid. (*rabāʕ* ‘young, strong’). Cf. Beja *rāba* ‘männlich’ (Reinisch 1895:188).

ibid. (*rəbʕat* ‘troop’). Cf. Arb. *rabʕ-* ‘the people of a house or tent; a company of men or people; a large number’ (Lane 1017).

ibid. (*r-b-y* ‘to intend mischief, to hate’). Cf. Beja *rib* ‘verweigern, haßen’, *rābi* ‘Feind’ (Reinisch 1895:188).

p. 154 (*ratikāt* ‘a vessel made of hemp-fibers’). Cf. Arb. *rtq* ‘to sew up’ (Lane 1027, Behnstedt 430, Piamenta 175).

²⁹ M. Bulakh reminds me of a similar case in the name *Mənīlək* < *ibn al-ḥakīm* (Fiaccadori 2007:921).

³⁰ Leslau (1982:50) identifies the Tigre term with Tna. *māʕar k^wak^w* ‘bush having long, thin leaves, the root of which are chewed and the juice swallowed’ (TED 477), whose first element is, at least synchronically, identical with *māʕar* ‘honey’. This is not the case of Tgr. *māʕro*, however.

p. 157 (*rakbat* ‘leather-vessel in which the Moslems carry the water for the ritual ablutions). Clearly the same as Tna. *rəkot* ‘leather water bottle for keeping water while on a journey which Muslims especially use for ablutions’ (TED 589), in turn borrowed from Arb. *rakwat-* ‘a small drinking vessel of leather’ (Lane 1149, GD 1414–1415). The reason behind the appearance of *-b-* in Tigre is unclear to me.

p. 158 (*rora* ‘highlands’). Also in Tna. *rora* ‘plateau, tableland’ (TED 552).

p. 160 (*rasaf* ‘sweat’). Probably related to Hbr. *ršf* ‘to drip, to trickle’ (HALOT 1271), Arb. *ršf* ‘to bleed (one’s nose), to flow from one’s nose (blood)’ (Lane 1107, GD 1301, Behnstedt 450). For the semantic relationship between “sweat” and “to flow” see SED I No. 61 (under **wḏḏ*).

(*r-š-n* ‘to aim, to kill by a shot’). Together with Tna. *rāššänä* ‘to shoot, to execute by shooting’ (TED 558), may be the same as Yemenite Arabic *ršn* ‘to kindle, to light fire’ (Piamenta 1982, GD 1281), with a rather feasible semantic development (cf. CDG 474).

p. 161. (*rāyat* ‘name of the palm-branch that is fixed to a house when a child is borne’). Borrowed from Arb. *rāyat-* ‘banner, standard’ (Lane 1001, GD 1055, Behnstedt 422).

p. 164 (*təraggaba* ‘to walk about seeking’). Borrowed from Arb. *taraqqa* ‘to look, to watch’ (Lane 1132–1133).

p. 165 (*r-č-k* ‘to knead together’). Cf. Yemenite Arb. *ršq* ‘être collé, attaché’ (GD 1290).

ibid. (*r-š-m* ‘to gather’). Cf. Yemenite Arabic *ršm* ‘to press’ (Piamenta 183, GD 1290).

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ibid. (*pašum* ‘pieces of wood connecting part of the roof with the wall’). Cf. Yemenite Arabic *sahm* ‘wooden pillar’ (Piamenta 236).

p. 167 (*səlal* ‘winding road, mule-track’). With Leslau 1958:36, cf. Hbr. *məsillā* ‘track, road’, *maslūl* ‘street’ (HALOT 606).

p. 167 (*səlkā* ‘beer’). Also in Bilin and other Agaw (Appleyard 2006:30–31).

p. 176 (*s-r-r* ‘to sing a dirge, a lamentation’). Perhaps from Arb. *šrr* ‘to utter a cry, to come in clamor, to cry, to call out’ (Lane 1671), ‘to cry, to weep’ (Piamenta 279).

ibid. (*s-r-r* ‘to come together’). Perhaps from Arb. *šrr* ‘to collect, to put together’ (Lane 1671).

p. 179 (*s-r-d* ‘to tell fortunes (using shells)’). Also in Beja *serid* ‘wahrsagen durch Muschelwerfen’ (Reinisch 1895:204).

ibid. (*s-r-g-l* ‘to do quickly, to hasten’). Perhaps related to Gez. *saragallā* ‘wagon, chariot, cart’ (CGD 512). For the semantic connection cf. Arb. *šaḡal-* ‘haste’ and *šaḡalat-* ‘cart, wheeled carriage’ (Lane 1964–1965, Kogan 2015:207).

p. 181 (*saḡāmama* ‘to pluck’). Leslau (CDG 510) compares Gez. *sakimā* ‘booty’, but as seen already by Dillmann in LLA 352, the emergence of the Geez word is due to misinterpretation of the proper name Shechem in Genesis 48:22.

ibid. (*s-k-r* ‘to boast, to brag’). HALOT 1647–1648 compares Hbr. *šākār* ‘lies’.

p. 182 (*s-k-k* ‘to put in, to insert’). Also in Tna. *sākākā* ‘to insert, to embed’ (TED 693).

ibid. (*səḡukūā* ‘forearm; lower part of the leg’). With Leslau 1958:53, HALOT 1448, SED I No. 241 and many others, probably to identify with PS **šāk-* ‘lower leg’.

ibid. (*səḡḡād* ‘a small sort of pigeons’). Note Arb. *suḡdat-* ‘sorte de petit oiseau au plumage rouge’ (BK 1 1105, Fr. II 327, cf. TA 8 208).

ibid. (*s-k-t* ‘to trade’). For this pan-Ethiopian (but not Geez) root (EDG 583) cf. perhaps Arb. *sawāqiṭ-* ‘persons who come to El-Yemameh to bring thence for themselves provisions of dates’ (Lane 1382).

p. 184 (*s-b-k* ‘to descend, to go to the lowland’). Also in Tna. *sābākā* ‘to go down to the lowlands’ (TED 709).

ibid. (*s-b-k* ‘to cast metal’). Also in Gez. *sabaka* with the same meaning (CDG 483). Since the Tigre root seems to be attested in Biblical contexts only, it is likely a cultural loan from Geez.

p. 186 (*mastay* ‘smoking pipe’). For the polysemy “to drink”/“to smoke” see Tna. *sātāyā* (TED 186) and, for Arabic and Soqotri, LS 444–445.

- p. 188** (*sənkuy* ‘hump of the animal that has been killed and skinned’). Same as Beja *sānkūa* ‘Nacken, Schulter, Rücken’ (Reinisch 1895:202).
- p. 189** (*sənad* ‘help’). With Leslau 1990:182 and Reinisch 1895:203, from Arb. *sanad-* ‘a person upon whom one leans, rests, relies’ (Lane 1443).
- p. 192** (*s-k-k* ‘to feel aversion, pain’). Cf. Tna *sākāk bālā* ‘to become afraid, to regret, to repent’ (TED 192).
- p. 193** (*s-w-r* ‘to move burning pieces of wood into the fire’). Also in Tna. *tāsawārā* ‘to be poked, stirred up (fire)’ (TED 756).
- ibid.** (*sor* ‘wall’). From Arb. *sūr-* with the same meaning (Lane 1464), cf. Kogan 2015:397.
- ibid.** (*sawrit* ‘litter’). Comes close to Arb. *šibriyya* ‘litière d’homme’ (GD 2016), ‘paniers placés sur un chameau, et qui reçoivent chacun une personne’ (Dozy I 719), ‘kleines Bett (Art Schlafbank)’ (Behnstedt 615, Piamenta 244).
- ibid.** (*sāwa* ‘to burn, to singe, to heat’). Apart from the well-known Arb. *šwy* ‘to roast’ (Lane 1624), the root is attested in Soq. *šā* ‘to singe’ (CSOL I 671, Naumkin et al. 2022:263), Akk. *šawū* ‘to roast’ (CAD Š₁ 350), Syr. *swātā* ‘holocaustum; odor carnis assatae’ (LSyr. 462). *Contra* Leslau 1990:165, the Tigre verb does not seem to be an Arabism either phonologically or semantically (cf. Ricci 1960:115)³¹.
- p. 197** (*sadanyā* ‘security’). Also in Tna. *sādāñña* ‘guarantor’ (TED 772).
- p. 200** (*səf* ‘millepede’). With SED II No. 207, to be compared to Arb. *siff-*, *suff-* ‘a serpent’ (Lane 1638), Hbr. *šəpīpōn* ‘horned viper’ (HALOT 1628).
- p. 201** (*s-f-r* ‘to depart’). Clearly borrowed from Arb. *sfr* with the same meaning (Lane 1370).

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- p. 203** (*šāhi* ‘tea’). The Tigre word and the related EthS forms are borrowed not from the Classical-like *šāy*, but from *šāhi*, normal in the Arabic dialects of Southern Arabia (Behnstedt 681, Piamenta 269).
- p. 204** (*šalālā* ‘estropié de la main’). Borrowed from Arb. *šll* ‘to be unsound, vitiated (one’s hand)’ (Lane 1590).
- ibid.** (*šulul* ‘a name of the hyena’). Also in Beja *šulūl* ‘die Hyäne’ (Reinisch 1895:215).
- ibid.** (*šalləhetat* ‘a kind of lizards’). For an extensive discussion of this and probably related Ethiopian forms v. Bulakh–Kogan 2016:187.
- p. 206** (*šaləf* ‘a plant (*Cissus quadrangularis*)’). Also in Yemeni Arabic *salf* ‘sour and hot fleshy plant (*Cissus quadrangularis*)’ (Piamenta 229, Behnstedt 573).
- ibid.** (*šahlalā* ‘oesophagus’). Also in Tna. *šahlälā* id. (TED 810).
- ibid.** (*šālkā* ‘to braid (hair)’). Cf. Soq. *šólik* ‘to bind, to fasten’ (CSOL I 667).
- p. 207** (*š-h-r* ‘to deceive’). Also in Tna. *šāharā* ‘to flatter, to deceive’ (TED 810).
- ibid.** (*šahat* ‘a tree with red edible fruit’). Cf. Tna. *šah̄to* ‘a kind of tree’ (TED 811). Note further Hbr. *šīah* ‘shrub, bush’ (HALOT 1320) and its cognates listed there, notably, Arb. *šīh-* ‘*Artemisia Judaica*’ (Lane 1628, GD 2106).
- p. 208** (*š-h-g* ‘to struggle with death, to make the last movements’). Same as Tna. *tāsahagā* ‘to kick its legs, to writhe (ainmal which had its throat cut); to be in the death throes’ (TED 649). Note also Gez. *məšhāg* ‘sorrow, lamentation’ (CDG 493).
- ibid.** (*š-h-t* ‘to stick fast’). Cf. Yemenite Arabic *šht* ‘to squeeze, to put together’, II ‘to peg, to wedge’ (Piamenta 247).
- ibid.** (*šam* ‘love, favor, kindness’). Cf. Tna. *bāšal šam* ‘excellent, good, pretty’ (TED 812).
- ibid.** (*š-m-m* ‘to annihilate, to destroy’). Together with Tna. *šāmāmā* ‘to destroy’ (TED 813), comes close to Hbr. *šmm* ‘to be devastated, desolated’ (HALOT 1563).

³¹ Leslau treats *sāwa* ‘to burn, to singe, to heat’ together with *šāwa* ‘to be hot’ (WTS 226), which is not self-evident. Note that, from the semantic point of view, *šāwa* ‘to be hot’, too, is unlikely to be borrowed from Arb. *šwy* with its very specific meaning ‘to roast meat’.

- p. 209** (*šaməš* ‘sun’). Forms with two š, from which the Tigre word is likely borrowed³², are well attested in the Arabic dialects of Southern Arabia (Behnstedt 674).
- ibid.** (*šamšām* ‘sand’). Cf. Soq. *šime* ‘white sand on the sea-shore’ (LS 418, CSOL II 593).
- ibid.** (*š-m-t* ‘to anoint, to smear’). Also in Beja *šemit* ‘Butter oder Fett auf die Haare streichen’ (Reinisch 1895:216).
- ibid.** (*šamar* ‘penis’). Borrowed from Bilin *šamar* ‘tail’ (Appleyard 2006:131, with similar forms elsewhere in Agaw).
- p. 211** (*šarum* ‘slit-lipped’). Directly paralleled by Mhr. *šarēm* ‘hare-lipped’ (ML 396) and Jib. *šerām* ‘to have a hare-lip’ (JL 267). A bit more remote semantically is Arb. *pašram-* ‘having the nose slit’ (Lane 1543). See further SED I No. 69_v.
- ibid.** (*šarām* ‘hole filled with water’). Cf. Arb. *šarm-* ‘a fathomless deep; a fissure in a mountain’ (Lane 1543).
- p. 214** (*šarfā* ‘basket’). Also in Tna. *šarfa* id. (TED 831).
- p. 215** (*šakib* ‘qui n’a ni bien ni fortune’). From Yemeni Arabic *šqb* ‘to be unlucky’ (Piamenta 260, Behnstedt 660).
- ibid.** (*šab bela* ‘to stick, to cleave’). Also in Tna. *šabb pabbälä* ‘to tie tightly, to attach’ (TED 837).
- p. 216** (*pašbara* ‘to expect’). Leslau (1982:71) must be right to derive it from Arb. *šbr*, but what is involved is not the Classical meaning “to be patient”, but “to wait”, normal for the dialects of Southern Arabia (Behnstedt 698, GD 2114, Piamenta 275, Dozy I 814, Behnstedt–Woidich 2014:371a).
- ibid.** (*šabər* ‘hind-quarter and tail-piece of a slaughtered animal’). With SED I No. 262, probably to be equated with Akk. *šuburru* ‘buttocks, anus’ (CAD Š₃ 190, AHw. 1259).
- ibid.** (*šabbat* ‘white substance containing alum’). From Arb. *šabbat-* ‘alum’ (Lane 1693, Dozy I 718).
- p. 217** (*šabib* ‘hair of the head of men; hair of the tail of cattle, horses’). Clearly the same as Arb. *sabīb-* ‘hair of the forelock and of the tail; lock of hair’ (Lane 1286).
- ibid.** (*šaben* ‘brebis’). Also in Tna. *šabän* ‘yearling sheep’ (TED 841).
- p. 218** (*š-n-h* ‘to do a favor; to wish, to desire’). Same as Tna. *täšnəhe* ‘to be anxious to be done with something one planned to do; to be pleased; to desire’ (TED 846).
- p. 220** (*šanšat* ‘secret power’). Borrowed from Arb. *šanšat-* ‘handiwork, art, craft’ (Lane 1734). The euphemistic meaning shift “to make, to do” > “to practice witchcraft” is common³³, cf. Akk. *epēšu* ‘to do’ and many of its derivatives (CAD E 228) or Spanish *hechizo* ‘magic’ < *hacer* ‘to do’ (Corominas 1996:312).
- p. 221** (*šānəf* ‘mouth’). To be compared to Tna. *šanfot* ‘lipps, muzzle, snout’ (TED 854) and, further, Arb. *šnf* ‘to turn upwards (one’s upper lip)’ (Lane 1606). See further SED I No. 265.
- ibid.** (*šangab* ‘left’). From Agaw, cf. Bilin *šängäb* and other comparable forms in Appleyard 2006:92.
- p. 222** (*š-k-l* ‘to hide in the ground or in a wall’). Probably same as Tna. *šäkälä* ‘to stick, to insert, to plug in’ (TED 222).
- ibid.** (*šəkäl* ‘silver necklace’). Cf. perhaps Arb. *šakl-* ‘certain ornaments of pearls or silver worn as eardrops by women’ (Lane 1587, Piamenta 263).
- ibid.** (*šakam* ‘beard’). Borrowed from Cushitic, cf. Bilin *šekúm* ‘das Kinn’ (Reinisch 1887:319).
- ibid.** (*šeka* ‘field, meadow, valley’). According to Appleyard (2006:66), borrowed from Bilin *šäka* ‘field’.
- p. 223** (*š-k-t* ‘to fall; to be absent, lost’). To be compared to Akk. *sakātu* ‘to be silent’ (CAD S 74), Hbr. *skt* (hip.) ‘to be quiet’ (HALOT 756), Syr. *šket* ‘jacuit, quievit’ (LSyr. 778), Arb. *skt* ‘to be silent, still or quiet’ (Lane 1389), Qat. *s₁kt* ‘ceasing, falling into abeyance’ (LIQ 160).

³² Maria Bulakh (personal communication) contemplates the possibility of the Tigre word being an autochthonous reflex of PS **šamš-* (the only one on the Ethiopian/Eritrean soil), but in my view this is not very likely.

³³ “Specialization of “act” to “magical act, magic” is frequent” (Buck 1949:1494).

ibid. (*šakanā* ‘a dry measure’). Likely same as Tna. *šākānā* ‘kind of gourd used as a bowl’ (TED 860). Also in Beja *šikena* ‘Trinkbecher aus dem Flaschenkürbis verfertigt; Becher, Schale’ (Reinisch 1895:214). The same word underlies Tgr. *šakanāb* ‘big pumpkin; vessel made of a pumpkin’ (WTS 224).

p. 225 (*š-w-r* ‘to gallop’). Together with Tna. *šawārā* ‘to send at a trot’ (TED 862), borrowed from Arb. *šwr* ‘to make a beast run’ (Lane 1616), *šawwar* ‘laufen’ (Behnstedt 683).

ibid. (*šawet* ‘ear of corn’). As duly acknowledged by Littmann, the Tigre word is eventually related to Gez. *šawaya* ‘to ripe (grain), to mature’ (CDG 539) and its EthS cognates. Leslau does not adduce any further Semitic etymology, but one may venture to compare it to PWS *šwy ‘to roast, to grill’ discussed above under *sāwa* ‘to burn, to singe, to heat’. The semantic relationship between “to be ripe” and “to cook” may be illustrated by the reflexes of PS *bšl, notably, Gez. *basala* (CDG 109, DRS 89, LS 83)³⁴.

p. 226 (*š-f-l* ‘to be strung (beads), to be manufactured’). Probably same as Gez. *šafala* ‘to form, to shape; to paint’ (CDG 524), Tna. *sāfalā* ‘to paint, to depict’ (TED 761).

ibid. (*šəfbat* ‘meadow’). Also in Tna. *šəfbāt* ‘land bordering water’ (TED 864).

p. 228 (*š-d-d* ‘to oppress’). Probably same as Tna. *šādādā* ‘to bully, to intimidate, to demoralize’ (TED 868).

p. 229 (*š-g-y* ‘to watch, to guard’). Cf. Yemenite Arabic *šgy* ‘to peep through’ (Piamenta 247).

p. 230 (*šāgyat* ‘edge, sharpened side’). Cf. Dathina Arabic *šāqiyah* ‘bord’ (GD 2065).

ibid. (*š-g-y* ‘to work’). Borrowed from Yemeni Arabic *šqy* with the same meaning (GD 2070, Behnstedt 664, Piamenta 262). The root also appears as *š-k-y* in Tigre (WTS 215).

ibid. (*š-f-l* ‘to pasture on the lower slope of a mountain’). *Contra* Leslau 1982:71, it does not seem likely that the Tigre verb and its derivatives are borrowed from Arabic *sfl* ‘to be low’ (and related meanings). In fact, the only (implicit) reason for this is that PS *špl is otherwise missing from EthS, but there would be nothing extraordinary for such an old and common Semitic root to be preserved only in Tigre.

p. 231 (*šafār* ‘manure, dung’). With SED I No. 282, cognate to Mhr. *təfərūt* ‘camel-dung, dung in pellet form’ (ML 416), Jib. *tḫirət* id. (JL 283), Soq. *tḫere* ‘partially formed globular dung of ruminants’ (CSOL II 608).

ibid. (*šafār* ‘inflammation of the spleen’). From Arb. *šufār-* ‘jaundice’ (Lane 1698, Behnstedt 717).

ibid. (*š-f-g* ‘to hurry’). Also in Tna. *šafägä* ‘to be in a hurry’ (TED 877).

ibid. (*š-f-t* ‘to sew together’). Cf. Yemenite Arabic *šft* ‘to adhere, to hold fast’ (Piamenta 259).

p. 232 (*šaffat* ‘coarse cloth’). Probably from Arb. *šaff-* ‘a thin, fine or delicate garment or piece of cloth’ (Lane 1569).

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p. 238 (*k-m-b-l* ‘to glean’). Also in Tna. *kāmābälā* ‘to glean’ (TED 238).

ibid. (*k-m-t* ‘to view, to observe’). Also in Tna. *k^wamätä* ‘to keep an eye out’ (TED 918).

p. 239 (*k-r-ḥ* ‘to have a white forehead (a horse)’). From Arb. *qurḥat-* ‘star, blaze in the middle of the forehead of a horse’ (Lane 2511). On this root see further SED I No. 38_v.

p. 240 (*karārat* ‘round saddle-bags for camels’). From Arb. *girārat-* ‘a sack for straw’ (Lane 2240), ‘sac à paille hachée ou sac à grain porté à dos de chameau’ (BK 2 447), ‘large bag, sack’ (Piamenta 353, GD 2361, Behnstedt 894).

ibid. (*k-r-r* ‘to have little milk’). From Arb. *grr* III ‘to become scant of milk (she-camel)’ (Lane 2237).

p. 247 (*kīšot* ‘small village’). Also in Tna. *k^wašot* id. (TED 971).

³⁴ As for Tgr. *šawā* ‘to be hot, parching’ (WTS 226), one is inclined to consider it an Arabic loanword, even if the relevant meaning is not common in Arabic (cf. *šwy* VIII ‘to be burning, scorching’ in Piamenta 272).

- p. 249** (*ḵabbat* ‘stuffed goat’s stomach’). Either a cognate to or a borrowing from Arb. *qibbat*- ‘rennet’ (Lane 2478, Piamenta 384). See further SED I No. 158.
- p. 252** (*ḵan(t)* ‘vulva; lower, back part’). For an extensive etymological discussion v. SED II, pp. 332–333.
- p. 255** (*ḵ-w-r* ‘to be deep, to sink’). From Arb. *ḡwr* ‘to come to the low land, to enter deeply into a thing’, *ḡawr*- ‘bottom, lowest part’ (Lane 2306–2308).
- p. 256** (*ḵ-ḵ-l* ‘to scrape out, to scratch off’). Also in Tna. *ḵ^wāk^wälä* ‘to pick off a scab, to peel off (dead skin or tissue from a wound)’ (TED 971).
- p. 257** (*ḵ-ḡ-r-r* ‘to look upward’). Also in Tna. *Ḷanḵaḡrärä* ‘to look up, to raise up the eyes’ (TED 1020).
- ibid.** (*ḵ-z-z* ‘to cut, to hew’). Also in Tna. *ḵäzäzä* ‘to wound, to cut’ (TED 1023).
- p. 258** (*ḵ-ḵ-r* ‘to squeeze’). Also in Tna *ḵakärä* ‘to press, to squeeze’ (TED 972).
- p. 260** (*ḵadar* ‘gnats, small flies’). Same as Tna. *ḵädär* ‘minute creatures that settle in the throat and cause coughing’ (TED 1038).
- ibid.** (*ḵaddat* ‘gland’). From Arb. *ḡuddat*- id. (Lane 2231).
- p. 261** (*ḵaḡḡa* ‘to dim the eyes by means of splinters or the like’). Comes close to Yemeni Arabic *qāḡūḡ* = *sināḡu n-nāri wa-duḡānuhu* ‘soot, smoke’ (al-Iryani 864).
- p. 262** (*ḵaḡḡaḡat* ‘a thorn-bush’). Cf. Amh. *ḵoḡḵoḡto* ‘bush resembling the *grawwa*-plant’ (AED 837).
- ibid.** (*ḵaḡbat* ‘a plant (*Tribulus terrester*)’). Also in Yemeni Arabic: *quḡub* ‘*Tribulus terrestris* (“a widespread weed found in the Tihama to the highlands”)’ (Behnstedt 1005, al-Iryani 864).
- ibid.** (*ḵaḡḡānit* ‘loins’, *maḡḡan* ‘back (of animals); body (of men)’). Cannot be separated from *qaḡan*- ‘small of the back’ in Classical and dialectal Arabic (Lane 2991, Behnstedt 1010, Piamenta 406). May be eventually related to PS **ḵḡn* ‘to be small, thin’ (not attested in Arabic with this meaning), with the same semantic development as in English *small of the back*.
- p. 264** (*ḵaḡalā* ‘small thin stones between the big hearth-stones and the kettle’). With Leslau (CDG 450), hard to separate from Gez. *ḵaḡalā* ‘slab, tablet, plate of metal’ (also in Tigrinya and Amharic), in spite of the semantic difference. Conversely, Arb. *qiḡl*- ‘straw’ compared by Littmann is semantically quite remote.
- ibid.** (*ḵaḡḡaḡa* ‘to howl, to scream; to neigh loudly’). Cf. Arb. *qaḡḡaḡa bi-l-ḡirwi* = *daḡāhu* ‘to call a cub to oneself’ (TA 18 107).

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- p. 267** (*bahāḡ* ‘bitter orange’). Undoubtedly same as Yemeni Arabic *bah(a)ḡ* ‘*Hypaene Thebaica*’ (Piamenta 42), ‘Frucht der Dom-Palme’ (Behnstedt 115).
- ibid.** (*Ḷabhaza* ‘to come upon, to inflict; to frown upon’). With DRS 47, same as Arb. *bahazahu* = *dafaḡahu dafḡatan ḡanifatan* ‘he pushed him harshly’ (LA 5 366), ‘to be harsh, to tyrannize’ (Piamenta 42), *al-bahzah* = *ḡarḡat al-ḡaḡab* ‘to shout angrily’ (al-Iryani 124).
- p. 272** (*balak bela* ‘to boil strongly’). Also in Bilin *balk^w*- and other Agaw (Appleyard 2006:35).
- pp. 275–276** (*barra* ‘to spread’)³⁵. This meaning of **brr*, not attested elsewhere in (Ethiopian) Semitic, is noteworthy insofar as it can provide a suitable semantic source for **brr* ‘to fly’³⁶, nearly ubiquitous throughout Modern Ethiopian including Tigre itself (CDG 107, EDG 155). In this case, the latter need not be borrowed from Cushitic as sometimes assumed³⁷, but rather a reverse direction of borrowing is to be surmised³⁸. In turn, Tgr. *barra* ‘to spread’ may be a semantic offshoot of PS **brr* ‘to separate’, for which cf. CDG 107. Within Tigre, *barra* ‘to spread’ has produced two non-trivial semantic developments, viz. *bərur* ‘regular, straight’ and

³⁵ A reduplicated variant is attested in *barbara* ‘to spread, to unloose, to unroll’ (WTS 276).

³⁶ Presumably < “to spread wings”. A prime example in Semitic is Akk. *nəpruḡu* ‘to fly’, likely related to PWS **prḡ* ‘to spread’ (see extensively Kogan 2015:126, EDA I 309).

³⁷ Ehret 1988:649.

³⁸ In all probability borrowed from Tigre is Beja *berir* ‘auf-, ausbreiten, ausstreuen’ (Reinisch 1895:51).

bārara ‘to be glad’, both with nice parallels in Arb. *bst* ‘to spread’: *basīt-* ‘simple, plain, uncomplicated’ and *mabsūt-* ‘cheerful, happy, gay’ (Wehr 58).

p. 277 (*barʔa* ‘to refrain, to be afraid’). Undoubtedly related to Arb. *brʔ* ‘to be free, quit, irresponsible’ (Lane 178).

p. 278 (*bərək* ‘community’). For this semantic shift from “knee” (also in Tna. *bərki*, TED 1125) see Kogan–Militarev 2003:295–296.

p. 281 (*barʔaʔa* ‘to brag’). Also in Yemeni Arabic: *brʔ* ‘to boast, to put on airs, to exaggerate’ (Piamenta 27).

ibid. (*barʔaʔa* ‘to spit out, to squirt between the lips’). For this root see SED I No. 7_v, to which add Soq. *bāšik/ʔébsək* ‘to eject’ (CSOL I 520).

p. 282 (*bəsot* ‘forehead’). Also in Tna. *basot* ‘a sort of ring women wear on their foreheads’ (TED 1141). According to Appleyard (2006:71), Bilin *bəsot* ‘forehead’ is borrowed from Tigre, but the opposite direction of borrowing seems more likely.

p. 283 (*bāšammā* ‘rag, penitential garment’). The similarity with Akk. *bašāmu* ‘sack(cloth)’ (CAD B 137) is noteworthy, but may well be accidental. Incidentally, the Tigre word comes close to Arb. *al-bāsinat-* = *kisāʔun mahīʔun yuǧʕalu fihi ʔašāmun* ‘a piece of cloth, sewn, into which food can be put’ (LA 13 61, Piamenta 46, Behnstedt 124), from which it could be borrowed in spite of the different third consonant (see EDA I 461).

ibid. (*bāškəl wadā* ‘to tear to pieces’). Also in Yemeni Arabic *al-baskalah* = *al-ʔikṭāru fi t-ʔaṭīʔi* ‘to tear vehemently’ (al-Iryani 101).

p. 287 (*bətər* ‘tail of thin hair’, *batrāy* ‘animal with a tail that is of thin hair or hairless; deprived of everything, without property’). Undoubtedly related to Arb. *ʔabtar-* ‘having the tail cut off’, with its well-known metaphoric meanings ‘defective, deficient, imperfect; in want, poor; suffering loss’ (Lane 149). Eventually from PS **btr* ‘to cut off’ for which see EDA I 502.

p. 288 (*batəʕ* ‘honey-water’). Also in Arabic: *bitʕ-* ‘hydromel’ (Lane 149).

p. 293 (*ʔatbaʕā* ‘to cause a cow to care for her calf’). Cf. Mhr. *həbō* ‘to caress an animal’s teats with the fingers or gentle words to coax it into giving milk’ (ML 42), Jib. *ebʕé* id. (JL 22), Soq. *éʕe* ‘to cheat a female animal by making it suckle a young which is not its own’ (Naumkin et al. 2013:69).

p. 294 (*bayhot* ‘a species of jackal’). Also in Beja *báyho* ‘*Canis nilotica*’ (Reinisch 1895:54).

p. 295 (*budā* ‘sorcerer’). In the previous scholarship, *budā* has been often described as a specifically Ethiopian-Eritrean term and phenomenon (CDG 86, Hagar Salamon 2003), but Behnstedt (p. 64) has masterfully compared the word to Yemeni Arabic *bidah*, *budah* ‘eine Hexe’³⁹.

p. 298 (*baǧbaǧ* ‘tasteless, mild’). Cf. Yemeni Arabic *baǧǧ* ‘not tasty’ (Piamenta 20).

p. 299 (*bagaw ʔabala* ‘to box on the ear’). Also in Beja *bāg* ‘ein Patsch, eine Ohrfeige’ (Reinisch 1895:45).

ibid. (*bagʕa* ‘attiser le feu’). Probably same as Amh. *bāga*, the well-known designation of the dry season (AED 940). Note especially Gez. *bagǧəʕa* ‘to be the dry season’ (CDG 88) which Leslau thinks to be “a reconstructed Geez form” (not in LLA). If this is the case, the Tigre word suggests that the “reconstruction” has been successful from the etymological point of view.

p. 300 (*baʔra* ‘to stand’). Cf. Amh. *täbättärä* ‘to stand stiff and erect by the door or in one place’ (AED 946).

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³⁹ A detailed description of the Yemeni witch can be found in al-Iryani 76. She can transform any person into any animal she wishes. Her primary habitat is believed to be the northern areas of Yemenite Tihamah and it is thought to be particularly dangerous for the mountain-dwellers who descend there. Imam Yahya is reported to have believed in her existence.

- p. 302** (*tahān* ‘smoke’). Must be borrowed from Arb. *duḥān*, perhaps alternated under the influence of *tanān* (WTS 314). The same is true of the by-form *tahān* ‘smell’ (WTS 305). Cf. Leslau 1982:78.
- ibid.** (*tāl* ‘trap, snare’). Also in Tna. *tal* ‘a rope or strap tied around a cow’s horns during milking it to keep it from moving around’ (TED 1219). Probably borrowed from Yemeni Arabic *tal* ‘thread, lace of thread’ (Piamenta 52), itself of Turkish origin.
- ibid.** (*talal bela* ‘to walk straightforward’). Cf. Amh. *tällälä* ‘to flow freely, along the course prepared for it (water)’ (AED 955).
- ibid.** (*təluluy* ‘range of low hills’). In all probability borrowed from Arb. *tulūl-* ‘hills’, plural of *tall-* (Lane 311), cf. Christian 1962:214.
- p. 303** (*talaw bela* ‘to arrive suddenly’). Cf. Tna. *tolo* ‘quickly, fast, at once’ (TED 1219), Amh. *tolo* id. (AED 955), usually derived from **tlw* ‘to follow’ (CDG 575).
- ibid.** (*talaw bela* ‘to be filled’). Also in Dathina Arabic *tly* ‘remplir’ (GD 236).
- ibid.** (*talkus* ‘fig-tree’). Hard to separate from Yemeni Arabic *talūḳ* ‘sycamore, *Ficus sycomorus*’ (Piamenta 52, Behnstedt 138, al-Iryani 137).
- ibid.** (*talbāgār* ‘linen’). Neither CDG 574 nor Bulakh–Kogan 2016:106 have recognized that the common Ethiopian term for “flax, linen” is paralleled by Yemeni Arabic *talbah* ‘linseed’ (Piamenta 57)⁴⁰. This strengthens Conti Rossini’s intuition (1912:260) about the South Arabian origin of this plant on the Ethiopian soil.
- p. 305** (*tām bela* ‘to be silent’). Also in Beja *tim* ‘das Schweigen’ (Reinisch 1895:228), Bilin *tām y-* (Appleyard 2006:113).
- p. 305** (*tämmār* ‘a tree (*Plectronia bogosensis*)’). Likely the same as Yemeni Arabic *tummār* ‘Baum mit Früchten (*Bauhinia inermis*)’ (Behnstedt 140, Piamenta 53).
- p. 307** (*tormor* ‘crossbars in the roof’). Same as Beja *tirmān* ‘der Dachstuhl, Querbalken welcher das Dach schützt; die Bramstange auf dem Mastbaum eines Schiffes’ (Reinisch 1895:232). Note Amh. *tərmi* ‘tree of the lowlands used for building the wall framework of a house’ (AED 964).
- ibid.** (*tarra* ‘to spin (with a spindle)’). Cf. Beja *terir* ‘drehen, winckeln, spinnen’ (Reinisch 1895:232).
- p. 308** (*tarba* ‘to seize and tear out’). Cf. Beja *terib* ‘teilen, spalten’ (Reinisch 1895:231).
- ibid.** (*taribat* ‘plante à très petites épines’). Likely the same as Yemeni Arabic *taribah* ‘green herb or leguminous plan’ (Piamenta 490).
- ibid.** (*tarrasa* ‘to fix camp, to enclose with a hedge’). Cf. Arb. *tarasa l-bāba* ‘to fasten, to close the door’ (Lane 302), *matras* ‘Schutz (Wand, Mauer)’ (Behnstedt 133), ‘plank, board; barricade’ (Piamenta 50).
- ibid.** (*tarḳobā* ‘heel, foot’). Hard to separate from Arb. *ṣurqūb-* and related forms dealt with in SED I No. 21.
- p. 310** (*tarraza* ‘to be strong’). Cf. Arb. *tariza* = *yabisa*; *ḡamada*; *ṣaluba* = ‘to be dry, frozen, to be hard’ (LA 5 367–368).
- p. 311** (*tašob* ‘a tree in the lowland’). Likely the same as Beja *tešo* ‘der Higlighbaum’ (Reinisch 1895:232).
- p. 312** (*taḳā* ‘to be straight’). A borrowing from Arb. *tqy* ‘to fear God, to be pious’ (Lane 309) is not to be ruled out.
- p. 314** (*tankal* ‘place directly beneath the elbow’). According to Appleyard (2006:60), borrowed from Bilin *tānkāl* ‘elbow’.
- p. 317** (*takā* ‘to put over the fire, to boil’). Also in Beja *teküi* ‘kochen’ (Reinisch 1895:225).
- ibid.** (*takka* ‘to make, to manufacture’). Also in Beja *tukuk* ‘fertig machen, vollbringen’ (Reinisch 1895:225).
- ibid.** (*takkat* ‘bracelet (made of silver)’). Cf. Arb. *tikkat-* ‘band, strip’ (Lane 310), *takkah* ‘Gummiband in Hose’ (Behnstedt 137).

⁴⁰ Cf. a lengthy discussion of this term in al-Iryani 161 where it is, however, translated as ‘ear of dhurra’.

p. 318 (*tora* ‘to espy’). From PS **twr* ‘to turn around’, with a direct semantic parallel in Hbr. *twr* ‘to spy out, to reconnoitre’ (HALOT 1708). For **twr* elsewhere in Ethiopian, cf. Amh. *tāwwārā* ‘to go here and there, to wander about’ (AED 994).

ibid. (*tawle* ‘ambidexter’). Same in Tna. *tāwlä* id. (TED 1283).

p. 319 (*tawā* ‘to defer, to delay’). Also in Beja *tuwiy* ‘von sich weisen, abwehren’ (Reinisch 1895:233). Note also Tna. *tāwāyā* ‘to avoid, to step out of the way’ (TED 1285).

p. 320 (*tātā* ‘to take the hand, to lead (child, animal)’). Cf. Tna. *tātātāyā* ‘to begin to take the first steps (child)’ (TED 1258), Amh. *tatu səgra alā* ‘to say words of encouragement while helping a baby to walk’ (AED 978).

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p. 323 (*nalat* ‘she-antelope (koodoo)’). With Leslau 1944:57 and SED II No. 169, probably to be compared to Akk. *nayalu*, *nālu* (CAD N₁ 152).

p. 324 (*nirat* ‘weaver’s beam’). Borrowed from Arb. *nīr(-at)*- (Lane 2870, GD 2837). See further HALOT 600.

p. 327 (*naḳḳha* ‘to be pure, bright’). Cf. Arb. *at-tanqīḥu wa-n-naḳḥu = tašdībuka ḥani l-ḥaṣā Pubanahā hattā taḥluṣa* ‘to remove the bark from a branch until it becomes clean’ (LA 2 741).

p. 328 (*naḳḳa* ‘to snap with one’s fingers’). Cf. Soq. *nākaḥ* ‘to snap out (a twig from a tree); to tear; to crisp one’s fingers’ (CSOL I 624, CSOL II 552).

ibid. (*nabra* ‘to stay’). As rightly seen by Behnstedt (p. 1189), the designations of “bed” in Tihama (*mambar*, with many variants) does not depend on *minbar*- ‘pulpit’ in the classical language (a well-known early Ethiopism), but must be directly compared to this pan-Ethiopian root, most probably as another, independent borrowing.

p. 330 (*nabnaba* ‘to sprinkle’). Also in Tna. *nābnābā* ‘to sprinkle, to spray’ (TED 1331).

p. 332 (*nin bela* ‘to hum’). Also in Tna. *nin bālā* id. (TED 1335). Note Beja *nīn* ‘Gesang’ (Reinisch 1895:184).

p. 333 (*mānkāb* ‘elbow’). With Leslau, same as Gez. *mankob* (CDG 396), Tna. *mankub* ‘shoulder’ (TED 1342), Arb. *mankib-* = *muḡtamaḥu ḥadma l-ḥaḍudi wa-l-katifi* ‘the place where the bone of the arm joins the shoulder’ (LA 1 909).

ibid. (*nakak* ‘jaw’). Appleyard (2006:88) considers Bilin *nākāk* a Tigre loanword, but in view of the lack of Semitic etymology for the latter the opposite direction of borrowing is to be surmised.

ibid. (*nakā* ‘to remove, to clear away’). Cf. Tna. *nākkāyā* ‘to reduce, to diminish’ (TED 1344).

p. 334 (*newāt* ‘watering-place, resting-place of cows near the watering-place’). Comes close to Hbr. *nawā* ‘abode of shepherd, habitation’ (BDB 627), ‘grazing place; stopping place, settlement’ (HALOT 678)⁴¹.

p. 338 (*nadla* ‘to pierce’). Also in Yemeni Arabic *mandūl* ‘durchlöchert’ (Behnstedt 1202), *ndl* ‘to pierce, to perforate’ (Piamenta 482).

p. 340 (*naḡla* ‘to unload’). From Yemeni Arabic *nḡl* ‘to transport, to unload’ (Piamenta 479, GD 2748). Same in Beja *nejil* ‘ausladen ein angekommenes Schiff’ (Reinisch 1895:182). With Piamenta, the Yemeni verb may be, in turn, related to the Classical *nql*.

p. 341 (*naḡṣa* ‘to err, to be confused’). Probably from Yemeni Arabic *nḡṣ* ‘corrupt’, *nāḡiṣ* ‘loafer’ (Piamenta 479).

ibid. (*naggārat* ‘big drum of the chieftain’). Same in Gez. *nagārit* ‘trumpet; drum’ (CDG 392, Kimberlin 2007).

p. 342 (*nagṣa* ‘to give a little milk to drink’). Cf. Tna. *nāḡṣe* ‘to give off or drip (the juice of a very sappy tree)’ (TED 1374).

ibid. (*nagba* ‘to forward’). Cf. Yemeni Arabic *nagḡaba* ‘envoyer’ (GD 2743, Piamenta 478) or, alternatively, Classical Arabic *nqb* ‘to go away, through the land or country’ (Lane 2833).

⁴¹ For Akk. *nawū* ‘pasture land on the fringes of cultivated areas as habitat of nomads, and its population and flocks’ (CAD N₁ 249) as an early WS loanword in Akkadian, see Streck 2000:108.

- ibid.** (*ʔatnāgaba* ‘to spy out’). Probably from Arb. *nqb* ‘to scrutinize, to search, to inquire into the news’ (Lane 2833).
- ibid.** (*nagā* ‘to be clean’). Must be borrowed from Arb. *nqy* ‘to be clean’, going back to a dialect where *q* is realized as *g* (cf. *naggā* ‘reinigen’ in Behnstedt 1232).
- p. 343** (*manṭar* ‘vault (of bridge)’). Cf. Tna. *nātārā* ‘to leap, to jump, to vault over’ (TED 1379). Also in Yemeni Arabic *nṭr* ‘to jump’ (Piamenta 488, GD 2780).
- p. 345** (*nafal* ‘interest, gain’). Borrowed from Arb. *nafal-* ‘booty’ (Lane 3036).
- p. 346** (*nāfrat* ‘poles that support the roof of the square house’). From Yemeni Arabic *nāfirah* ‘mittlere Säule der Tihāmah-Hütte’ (Behnstedt 1224, Piamenta 492).
- p. 348** (*nafāfīto* ‘heavy storm’). Cf. Dathina Arabic *nafāf* ‘pluie fine’ (GD 2804).

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- p. 350** (*ʔallama* ‘to cheat’). Also in Tna. *ʔalāmā* ‘to slander; to plot, to conspire’ (TED 1413). Note that the primary meaning of the Tigrinya verb is “to weave”.
- ibid.** (*maʔallaf* ‘big animal; strong hero’). Note Hbr. *ʔallūp* ‘tribal chief’ (HALOT 54).
- p. 353** (*ʔəm šāməṣ* ‘surname of the hyena’). Of interest is Arb. *simṣ-* ‘the offspring of the wolf begotten from the hyena’ (Lane 1429).
- ibid.** (*ʔəḥuṣ bele* ‘to cough’). Also in Bilin (Appleyard 2006:48).
- p. 356–357** (*ʔamṣit* ‘bowels’). For the expression *ʔət wəllādənā wa-ʔət ʔamṣit* ‘to our own sons’ a fine Biblical parallel is found in *šəʔāšāʔē mēṣākā* and similar Hebrew expressions (BDB 589).
- p. 358** (*ʔarraba* ‘to link together’). Cf. Tna. *ʔarāba* ‘assembly, meeting’ (TED 1440).
- ibid.** (*ʔarbadā gaʔa* ‘to die’). Cf. Tna. *ʔarbadā* ‘to destroy, to kill, to finish off’ (TED 1441).
- p. 359** (*ʔarāwīto* ‘chameleon’). In view of Greek *χαμαι-λέων* (Frisk 1071), the Tigre word is hard to separate from Gez. *ʔarwe mādṛ*, even if the exact path of its development is hard to elicit (cf. SED II Nos. 17 and 159).
- p. 360** (*ʔaradeb* ‘tamarin (arbre et fruit)’). See Reinisch 1895:28 for Beja *aradē* and further areal parallels with the same meaning.
- p. 361** (*ʔashalat* ‘dragon’). Also in Tna. *ʔashalāt* ‘mythical creature of immense size, like a crocodile in appearance’ (TED 1446). Comparison with Syr. *ʔātalyā* ‘draco’ (LSyr. 55) suggested in SED II No 20 is interesting, but most probably far-fetched.
- ibid.** (*ʔabba* ‘to roar, to shout’). Cf. Arb. *ʔabbaba* = *šāḥa* ‘to shout’ (TA 1 9).
- p. 369** (*ʔət* ‘on, it, by’). The Tigre preposition is thought to be related to Gez. *ʔənta*, v. CDG 32–33, where further possible connections are discussed at length.
- p. 370** (*ʔattāy* ‘harvest’). The Tigre word is formally very close to Arb. *ʔatāʔ-*, *ʔitāʔ-* ‘increase, produce, revenue; produce of land and fruits’ (Lane 15) and might be influenced by it. Further parallels for the semantic development “to come, to enter” > “harvest” see in Hbr. *təbūʔā* (BDB 100, HALOT 1678), Latin *pro-ventus*, English *in-come*, to some extent also German *Er-trag*.
- ibid.** (*ʔatbā* ‘a small tree the sweet root of which is eaten’). Together with Amh. *at(t)ābu* ‘a kind of tree which has white flowers’ (AED 1208), comes close to the Arabic and MSA terms for *Ficus caudata* or *salicifolia*: Arb. *ʔatab-* (TA 1 11), Mhr. *ʔatēb* (ML 9), Jib. *ʔetēb* (JL 5), Soq. *ʔēʔtab* (CSOL II 395, Miller–Morris 2004:636).
- p. 372** (*ʔankā* ‘a tree’). Same in Amh. *ankā*, *anki* (AED 1215).
- p. 373** (*ʔankonāy* ‘God (in the thieves’ slang)’). Likely borrowed from Beja *ankūána* ‘Herr, Besitzer’ (Reinisch 1895:25).
- p. 383** (*ʔayəm* ‘fallow ground’). Probably related to Arb. *ʔym* ‘to have no husband’ (Lane 137).
- p. 386** (*ʔage* ‘sorte d’herbe grosse ou de jonc dont on revêtit les maisons par le côté’). Same as Beja *aga* ‘das Stroh von sorghum vulgare’ (Reinisch 1895:10). Further possible cognates and a general etymological discussion can be found in Bulakh–Kogan 2016:99 (the Tigre word is missing).

ibid. (*ʔaggana* ‘to mediate, to resolve’, *ʔaganā* ‘joining of hands’). Also in Tna. *ʔagān bālā* ‘to confirm, to ratify by clapping the hands’ (TED 1542), Amh. *agana* ‘word with which buyer and seller conclude a deal or agree on a price’ (AED 1329).

ibid. (*ʔagāl* ‘calf’). Comparable forms with ʔ (instead of the expected ʔ) are attested not only in Geez (CDG 11), but also in Yemeni Arabic: *ʔiǧl* (Behnstedt 10, al-Iryani 18). As stressed by Behnstedt, the relevant idioms normally preserve ʕ.

Abbreviations of Lexicographic Tools

- AED: T. L. Kane. *Amharic-English Dictionary*. Wiesbaden, 1990.
AHw.: W. von Soden. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden, 1965–1981.
al-Iryani: M. al-Iryani. *Al-muʕǧam al-yamanī fī l-luġa wa-t-turāṭ*. S.l., 2012.
BDB: F. Brown, S.R. Driver, Ch.A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford, 1906.
Behnstedt: P. Behnstedt. *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte (Glossar)*. Wiesbaden 1992–2006.
BH: E. Badawi, M. Hinds. *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*. Beirut, 1986.
BK: A. de Biberstein Kazimirski. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. Paris, 1860.
CAD: *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago*. Chicago, 1956–2010.
CDG: W. Leslau. *Comparative Dictionary of Geʕez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden, 1987.
CSOL I: V. Naumkin, L. Kogan et al. *Corpus of Soqoti Oral Literature*. Volume One. Leiden, 2014.
CSOL II: V. Naumkin, L. Kogan et al. *Corpus of Soqoti Oral Literature*. Volume Two. Leiden, 2018.
DJBA: M. Sokoloff. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*. Ramat-Gan, 2002.
DJPA: M. Sokoloff. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*. Ramat-Gan, 1990.
Dozy: R. Dozy. *Supplément au dictionnaires arabes*. Leiden, 1881.
DRS: D. Cohen. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques*. La Haye, 1976–.
DUL: G. del Olmo Lete, J. Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Leiden, 2003.
EDA I: L. Kogan, M. Krebernik. *Etymological Dictionary of Akkadian. Volume 1. Roots Beginning with P and B*. Berlin, 2020.
EDG: W. Leslau. *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*. Vol. III. Wiesbaden, 1979.
EDH: W. Leslau. *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*. Berkeley, 1963.
Fagnan: E. Fagnan. *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*. Alger, 1923.
Fr. – G.W. Fraytag. *Lexicon arabico-latinum*. I–IV. Halle.
Frisk – H. Frisk. *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg, 1954–1972.
GD: C. de Landberg. *Glossaire datinois*. Leiden, 1920–1942.
HALOT: L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, J.J. Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Leiden, 1994–2000.
JL: T.M. Johnstone. *Jibbāli Lexicon*. Oxford, 1981.
LA: Ibn Mandūʔr. *Lisānu l-ʕarab*. Bayrūt, 1990.
Lane: E.W. Lane. *Arabic-English Lexicon*. London, 1867.
LIQ: S.D. Ricks. *Lexicon of Inscriptional Qatabanian*. Roma, 1989.
LLA: A. Dillmann. *Lexicon linguae aethiopiae*. Leipzig, 1865.
LS: W. Leslau. *Lexique soqotri*. Paris, 1938.
LSyr.: C. Brockelmann. *Lexicon syriacum*. Halle, 1928.
MD: E.S. Drower, R. Macuch. *A Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford, 1963.
ML: T.M. Johnstone. *Mehri Lexicon*. London, 1987.
Piamenta: M. Piamenta. *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. Leiden, 1990.
Qafisheh: H. Qafisheh. *NTC’s Gulf Arabic-English Dictionary*. Lincolnwood, 1997.
SD: A.F.L. Beeston, M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller, J. Ryckmans. *Sabaic Dictionary (English-French-Arabic)*. Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982.
SED I: A. Militarev, L. Kogan. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Vol. 1. *Anatomy of Man and Animals*. Münster, 2000.
SED II: A. Militarev, L. Kogan. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Vol. 2. *Animal Names*. Münster, 2005.
SL: M. Sokoloff. *A Syriac Lexicon*. Winona Lake, 2009.
Spiro: S. Spiro. *An Arabic-English Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*. London, 1895.
TA: az-Zabīdī. *Tāj al-ʕarūs*. Kuwayt, 1965–2001.
TED: T.L. Kane. *Tigrinya-English Dictionary*. Springfield, 2000.
Wehr: H. Wehr. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English)*. Wiesbaden, 1979.
WKAS: M. Ullmann. *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*. Wiesbaden, 1957–.
WTS: E. Littmann, M. Höfner. *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache*. Wiesbaden, 1956.

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