

Additions and Corrections to Wolf Leslau's *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (1987–2017)

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Thirty years after the appearance of Wolf Leslau's *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*, the present study aims at correcting and updating some of the entries of this major tool of Semitic etymology. New data from Ugaritic, Akkadian, and especially Modern South Arabian are prominent among the additions (particularly the Soqotri lexical material acquired in the course of the many years of the author's fieldwork on the island).

In 2017 the scholarly world celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (CDG) by Wolf Leslau. A major achievement of its time, CDG remains by far the most quoted tool of Semitic lexical comparison and, indeed, the only dictionary of a classical Semitic language which explicitly defines itself as “comparative”—in this context, practically tantamount to “etymological.”

Due to the impressive development of several branches of Semitic lexicography in the past decades, upgrading Leslau's *magnum opus* inevitably suggests itself. The following pages of additions and corrections to CDG derive from many years of intensive use in my own scholarly work as well as in the classroom. Most of the additional material pertains to the following areas of Semitic linguistics and philology:

Assyriology. When CDG was in preparation, only a limited number of volumes of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* were available, and even von Soden's *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* had only recently been completed (1981). Nowadays, when both dictionaries are fully accessible to Semitists, an important number of new and/or corrected lexical items from such a major Semitic idiom as Akkadian have become available for comparison with the relevant Ethiopian data.

Ugaritic studies. In Leslau's time, there was nothing remotely similar to *Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language* by G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín. Ugaritic lexical evidence—more than precious at times—had to be painstakingly gleaned from a huge number of text editions, translations, and specialized articles, from different periods and of varying quality. It is not surprising, therefore, that outdated or clearly mistaken interpretations of Ugaritic lexical elements are not rare in the pages of CDG. A systematic perusal of DUL carried out in the framework of the present study aims at improving this situation.

Modern South Arabian linguistics. By and large, the works of the Austrian South Arabian expedition must have been the main source of Leslau's lexical data for Mehri, Jibbali, and Soqotri. T. M. Johnstone's *Jibbali Lexicon* was published in 1981, when the bulk of the database behind CDG must have already been completed,¹ whereas the *Mehri Lexicon* by

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1. Even with this, Leslau managed to make quite a profitable use of this extremely important source.

the same author, published posthumously in 1987, could not be taken into account at all. For Soqotri, Leslau's own masterpiece of 1938 was the only source to be consulted. Accordingly, additions and corrections pertaining to MSA on the pages of the present study are both frequent and substantial. A great deal of new and corrected evidence pertaining to Soqotri goes back to my own fieldwork research on this language, particularly on its exceedingly rich lexical treasures, from 2010 up to the present day.

It is my modest hope that this article will enable future readers to make an even more fruitful use of CDG as a classical tool of Semitic lexicography.² Last but not least, it is also a small token of admiration toward the memory of Wolf Leslau as a towering figure of the new age of comparative Semitics.

P. 2 (*ʔab* 'father'). Add Soq. *iʔif-* (LS 68), where *-f-* still awaits an explanation.

(*ʔabd* 'fool'). Note that in the fourteenth-century Arabic-Ethiopian glossary, where the etymological gutturals are usually preserved correctly, the relevant word is spelled with *ʕ* (Bulakh and Kogan 2016: 275), which, coupled with Tgr. *ʕabda* 'to become crazy' (WTS 471) and Tha. *ʕabud* 'crazy, mad' (TED 1879), makes less evident the traditional derivation of the Ethiopian root from **ʔbd*.

P. 5 (*ʔaber* 'old woman'). Soq. *ʕibre* means 'generation, people of the same age' (CSOL II 401) rather than specifically 'old age'.³ Thus, in view of the unexplained difference of laryngeals, Leslau's comparison becomes rather unlikely. For the semantic connection between 'old age' and 'strength', thought to be unlikely by Leslau, v. Buck 1949: 276, Kogan 2015: 215–16 (under Hbr. *ʔabbir* 'strong').

P. 10 (*ʔafar* 'soil'). It is hardly warranted to list Hbr. *ʕāpār* 'soil' (HALOT 861) and *ʔēpār* 'ashes' (HALOT 80) side by side as probable cognates to the Geez word. Indeed, the spelling with *ʕ* in the fourteenth-century Arabic-Ethiopic glossary (Bulakh and Kogan 2016: 152–53), as well as cognates with *ʕ* in Tigre and Argobba of Tollaha (ibid.), make it very likely that the Geez word (poorly attested, v. LLA 808) is an Amharism, with a non-etymological first guttural.

P. 12 (*ʔah* exclamation of pain or grief). Note Soq. *aʔh* with the same function (CSOL I 462; cf. LS 499).

P. 17 (*ʔakaya* 'to be bad, wicked'). Note Akk. *akû* A 'destitute, weak, powerless' and/or *akû* B 'crippled, deformed' (CAD A/I 283–84).

(*ʔal* element of negation). Akk. *ul* is unlikely to be related to PWS **ʔal*, but rather goes back to *ulā* < **wa-lā* (v. Sjörs 2015: 85–86 for a detailed discussion).

(*ʔalle la-* 'woe to'). Akk. *allû* with comparable meanings is not recorded in the standard dictionaries and is unlikely to exist.

(*ʔallu* 'these'). Akk. *ullû* means 'that' (singular) and can hardly be directly equated with the WS forms meaning 'these' (plural); see further Kogan 2015: 68.

P. 18 (*ʔallada* 'to gather'). Syr. *ʔuldā* 'acervi straminis, horrea' (LSyr. 21) can hardly be separated from from Akk. *aldû* 'store of barley' (CAD A/I 337, AHw 35),⁴ itself borrowed from Sum. *al-dù* (Lieberman 1977: 146). Its etymological relationship with the Geez verb is thus quite unlikely.

P. 21 (*ʔama* 'when'). Soq. *ʕam* with the same meaning (LS 312) is very unlikely to go back to PS **yawm-* 'day' because of the initial *ʕ* and in view of the fact that a regular reflex

2. For a few critical remarks on Leslau's use of the Arabic material see Weninger 2016.

3. Cf. already LS 296: 'grand âge; de même (grand?) âge'.

4. The Akkadian borrowing in Syriac is, strangely, not considered either in SL or in Kaufman 1974.

of this term is attested in Soqotri as *šom* (LS 419). Leslau's derivation of the Geez word from **yawm-* is not very appealing either, particularly since **yawm-* is the regular forerunner of *yom* 'today' (CDG 627).

P. 21 (*ʔamāʕut* 'intestine'). Add Soq. *mīʔho* with the same meaning (LS 248).

P. 26 (*ʔamat* 'cubit'). Soq. *ʔemeh*, missing from LS, is unlikely to exist.

P. 27 (*ʔənb-* 'is not'). Ugr. *yanu* does not exist, the correct form being *ʔin* [ʔēna] (DUL 74). As for Akk. *yānu*, it can scarcely be a direct cognate of **ʔayn-* because of its late attestation (v. Kogan 2015: 281).

P. 28 (*ʔəndāʕi* 'perhaps'). A detailed etymological discussion of this and similar formations both within and outside Ethiopian can be found in Bulakh 2013: 7–9.

(*ʔanf* 'nose'). Probably related is Jib. *ʔənfī* 'first, ancient' (JL 4, SED I No. 8).

P. 40 (*ʔarwe* 'animal'). For the semantic link between 'to live', 'animal', 'lion', and 'snake' in Semitic v. extensively Kogan 2006c: 294–95.

P. 42 (*ʔaskāl* 'cluster'). The correct Ugaritic cognate to this word is *ʔuʔkl* (DUL 122).

P. 45 (*ʔašar* 'trace'). In view of the underlying **ʔ* in this root, Soq. *ʔəyhor* 'to follow' (LS 54) is very unlikely to be related to it.

P. 56 (*ʕādi* 'still'). Arb. *ʕād*, pan-dialectal, but not codified by the classical lexicography, is worth mentioning here (Kogan 2015: 76–77).

P. 58 (*ʕašm* 'bone'). For the MSA cognates to this root and the underlying semantic shifts v. Kogan 2015: 537.

P. 59 (*ʕaggala* 'to revolt, to rebel').⁵ Note Soq. *ʕəgoʔ* 'aller à la rencontre' (LS 297), with a rather feasible meaning shift.

P. 62 (*ʕām* 'year'). Add Soq. *ʕéno* (LS 303), with an inexplicable alternation of sonorants (also in Jib. *ʕónút*, JL 20).

P. 74 (*ʕašk* 'bough, branch'). Cf. Soq. *ʕéška* 'branche, épi' (LS 330), with an unexpected *š*.

P. 79 (*ʕayg* 'lake, pond'). Soq. *ʕiʕe* 'lac d'où les eaux ne s'écoulent pas' (LS 307) has *ʕ* < **k* (cf. the plural *ʕiyaʕ*) and cannot be directly compared to the Geez lexeme.

P. 82 (*bəʔsa* 'to be bad'). Ugr. *bʔš* does not seem to exist; for the very uncertain *biʔšt* v. DUL 202.

P. 83 (*bəʔsa* 'to be strong, to grow mature'). Cf. probably Akk. *bāštu* 'dignity, pride' (CAD B 142), 'Lebenskraft' (AHw 112), semantically and etymologically different from *būštu* 'embarrassment, distress' (CAD B 351), 'Scham, Scheu' (AHw 143). See Kogan 2003: 258.

P. 84 (*bəʕla* 'to be rich, wealthy'). Soq. *báʕal* 'master, lord' adduced by Leslau does not exist in this form. A comprehensive overview of the Soqotri reflexes of this root would include the following five positions (CSOL I 509, CSOL II 426–28): 1) *báʕal* 'to marry',⁶ 2) *məbʔhəl* (fem. *məbʕéʔo*) 'slave', 3) *baʕ-* (pl. *biʔhól'i-*) 'owner of' (with pronominal suffixes only), 4) *di-báʕl'e* (pl. *il'-báʕl'e*) 'the owner of' (before nouns), 5) *báʕl'hi* 'my lord' (referring to God).⁷ Elsewhere in MSA, see Mhr. *bāl* 'owner', *abéli* 'God' (ML 41), Jib. *báʕal* 'person owing', *ʔəʕz* 'God' (JL 22).

(*mabʕal* 'iron tool'). Akk. *bēlu* 'etwa Waffe' (AHw 120) is now read as *tillu* (CAD B 199, T 411).

P. 89 (*bəhla* 'to say'). Add Soq. *bíl'e* 'thing', with a hypercorrect plural *biššoʔ* (LS 83).

5. Only *taʕaggala* 'fraudare, defraudare; injuste et violenter opprimere' in LLA 1014.

6. Rightly compared by Leslau to Geez *bəʕla* with the same meaning (ibid. 84).

7. Previously unknown, attested in an unpublished text from the author's fieldwork collection.

P. 91 (*bāhri*, *bāhray* ‘pearl’). Compare Arb. *baḥriyy-* ‘mother of pearl’⁸ (Boson 1916–18: 417), Akk. *baḥrû* ‘Koralle’ (AHw 96, CAD B 29).

(*ʔagziʔabəḥer* ‘God’). A curious structural parallel is found in Ebla: DINGIR KALAM-tim = BAD-lu ma-tim (VE 795b).

P. 95 (*balḥa* ‘to be sharp; to be smart, clever’). For a tentative comparison with Arb. *blγ* ‘to reach the utmost point of something’, *balīγ-* ‘eloquent’ (Lane 250–52) v. Kogan 2005: 204.

P. 101 (*baḳalt* ‘date palm’). Add Soq. *békl’e* ‘sort (of date-palm)’ (CSOL I 513, Naumkin et al. 2013: 69).

P. 105 (*bərk* ‘knee’). Add Soq. *berk* (LS 96).

P. 108 (*tabāraya* ‘to follow successively, to do by turns, to alternate with one another’). Compare Akk. *bitrû* ‘to be continuous’ (CAD B 279, AHw 123),⁹ with a plausible semantic shift.

P. 111 (*baṣṣa* ‘to value, to evaluate’). Cf. perhaps Hbr. *bāṣaʿ* ‘gain’ (HALOT 148), Arb. *biḍāṣat-* ‘merchandise’ (Lane 215).

P. 113 (*bātul* ‘virgin’). Of considerable interest is Amh. *battälä* ‘to work alone, without any helper’, *batäle* ‘bachelor; a woman without a husband’ (AED 915).

P. 116 (*beṣā* ‘yellow’).¹⁰ With Bulakh 2003: 4–5, Akk. *peṣû* ‘white’ (CAD P 328, AHw 857) is to be derived from **pṣḥ* (Arb. *fṣḥ* ‘to be clear’, Lane 2403) and cannot therefore be compared to the Geez adjective.

P. 117 (*bet* ‘house’). Soq. *beyt* ‘maison en pierre’ (LS 85) is clearly borrowed from Arabic and thus irrelevant from the etymological point of view.

P. 133 (*dam* ‘blood’). For the semantic shift ‘blood’ > ‘pus’ in MSA v. Kogan 2015: 551.

P. 135 (*ʔadmaka* ‘to adorn’). Ugr. *dmkt* is attested only as the proper name of a goddess (DUL 271).

P. 145 (*dawal* ‘region, territory’). Clearly related to Sab. *dwl* ‘realm’ (SD 36), Arb. *dawlat-* ‘a state, an empire’ (Lane 935).

P. 146 (*ʔadyām* ‘area, region’). Of interest is Akk. *dadmū* ‘the inhabited world (settlements and inhabitants)’ (CAD D 18, AHw 149). The word is tentatively considered a WS borrowing in Streck 2000: 87–88, but as rightly observed by Streck, such a hypothesis must remain unproven due to the lack of a suitable WS etymon.

P. 154 (*la-fe* ‘to this side’). Add Soq. *fīʔo* ‘forehead’ (LS 332).

P. 159 (*falḥa* ‘to bubble up, to boil, to be effervescent’). Compare Akk. *pulḥītu* ‘blister’ (CAD P 503, contrast AHw 878).

P. 160 (*falasa* ‘to separate oneself’). Add Yemeni Arabic *fls* ‘einen Durchbruch machen’ (Behnstedt 953), ‘to break through’ (Piamenta 379).

P. 164 (*fannawa* ‘to send off’). Add Soq. *fēne* ‘face’ (LS 337).

(*ʔafkara* ‘to love, to long for’). For a penetrating etymological analysis of this root v. Huehnergard 2014.

P. 165 (*farha* ‘to be afraid’). Cf. perhaps Soq. *fērhe* ‘semi-wild, prone to run away (animal)’ (CSOL I 536, Naumkin et al. 2016: 61).

P. 170 (*fatha* ‘to open’). Add Soq. *fataḥ* ‘to mount (small cattle)’ (CSOL II 459).

P. 171 (*fatawa* ‘to love, to desire’). Add Soq. *fīti* ‘to ejaculate’ (CSOL I 539, Naumkin et al. 2015: 47).

8. Labīd’s *Muʿallaqa*, l. 43.

9. Von Soden’s derivation of ‘to be continuous’ from ‘to be hungry’ is to be rejected as unfounded.

10. Not in LLA.

P. 201 (*gərāb* ‘leather bag’).¹¹ Akk. *gurābu* ‘bag’ (CAD G 136, AHw 299) is an Aramaic loanword (cf. Abraham and Sokoloff 2011: 32).

P. 203 (*garama* ‘to be awesome, terrible’). For the possibility of deriving this root from PWS **garm-* ‘bone; body’ v. SED I No. 94, Kogan and Militarev 2003: 296–97.

(*g^wərⁿ* ‘threshing floor’).¹² In Akkadian, instead of *garunnu* ‘a small jug for ritual purposes’ (CAD G 52, AHw 282), cf. rather *garānu* ‘to store, to pile up in heaps’ (CAD G 46), *magrānu* ‘grain pile’ (CAD M/I 46), *magrattu* ‘grain storage place, threshing floor’ (ibid).

P. 229 (*ḥalib* ‘milk’). Soq. *ḥēlob* means ‘sour milk’ or ‘buttermilk’ (as opposed to *ṣḥaf* ‘milk’); see CSOL II, Text 2. Akk. *ḥalābu* ‘to milk’ is an Aramaism (Abraham and Sokoloff 2011: 33).

P. 239 (*ḥak^we* ‘hip, loin’). For additional cognates see SED I No. 113. Add, furthermore, Soq. *ḥāṣḥeṣṣ* ‘space between one’s body and the belt where little things can be carried’ (CSOL II 486).

(*ḥakafa* ‘to hug’). Note that, at least in the speech of our informants, the Soqotri verb ‘to hug’ displays, unexpectedly, *k* rather than *ḳ*: *ḥébok* (*yəḥóbəkll’ahbék*).¹³

P. 234 (*ḥamar* ‘red berry’). Akk. *emēru* is translated as ‘to have intestinal trouble’ (rather than ‘to be red’) in CAD E 148. For **ḥmr* ‘to have indigestion’ see further SED I No. 28. For a detailed etymological treatment of **ḥmr* v. Bulakh 2016.

P. 243 (*ḥarra* ‘to burn’). Add Soq. *ḥ^arer* ‘to heat, to boil’ (CSOL I 562).

(*ḥarasa* ‘to practice sorcery’). Add Akk. *eršu* ‘wise’ (CAD E 314, AHw 246). For further discussion see Kogan 2015: 295.

P. 277 (*ḥəfn* ‘handful’). Add Soq. *ḥāfen* ‘giron’ (LS 184).

P. 258 (*ḥadara* ‘to dwell’). Add Ebla É.TUR = ?*à-da-ru*₁₂ (VE 337), ŠÀ = ?*à-da-ru*₁₂/*lu-um* (VE 595); see Krebernik 1983: 14.

P. 260 (*ḥallada* ‘to last long’).¹⁴ Add Hbr. *ḥālād* ‘lifespan; world’ (HALOT 316).

P. 263 (*ḥanaḳa* ‘to strangle’). Add Soq. *ḥénak* ‘id.’ (LS 183).

(*ḥanzir* ‘pig’). Ugr. *ḥnzr* is translated as ‘an official’ in DUL 394.

P. 263 (*ḥarif* ‘current year’). Add Soq. *ḥorf* ‘one of the four seasons of the year (from July to September)’ (CSOL I 562).

P. 272 (*kəbo* ‘dry cow’s dung’).¹⁵ Add the continental MSA cognates adduced in SED I No. 142.

P. 278 (*kaḥā* ‘yonder, down there’). For the element *ḥā* cf. Soq. *ḥa* ‘here’, *ḥe-ḥa* ‘there’ (LS 158).

P. 282 (*kəlʔe* ‘two’). The Soqotri forms of ‘both’ are *káʔla* (masculine) and *kéʔli* (feminine); v. CSOL I 574. The Akkadian form is to be corrected to *kilallān*, *kilallūn* (CAD K 353).

P. 284 (*k^wəlit* ‘kidney’). The Soqotri forms are *kéle* or *kéloyt* and mean ‘kidney’, not ‘intestine’ (CSOL II 499).

P. 285 (*kemā* ‘Pleiades’). Add Ebla MUL.MUL = *kà-ma-tù* (VE 792); see Conti 1990: 191. Of much interest is also Yemeni Arabic *kēmeh* ‘Plejaden’ (Behnstedt 1097), undoubtedly going back to the ESA substratum.

P. 293 (*k^wərⁿāʔ* ‘elbow’). Soq. *ṣér(ʔ)hon* ‘feet’ (suppletive plural of *ṣob*, CSOL I 669) displays *ṣ* rather than *š* and cannot belong to the present root.

11. Sparsely attested in the sources (LLA 1156); may be an Arabism.

12. Sparsely attested (LLA 1156: “sive obsoletum sive peregrinum”).

13. From the author’s unpublished fieldwork notes.

14. Sparsely attested in the sources; v. LLA 580, 1431.

15. Not in LLA.

- P. 294** (*karš* ‘belly, stomach’). Add Soq. *šereš* ‘stomach, rumen’ (LS 423).
- P. 298** (*kātān* ‘flax, linen’). Akk. *kitī*, *kitintu* are not attested in the dictionaries and are unlikely to exist. The correct Akkadian form is *kitū* (CAD K 473, AHw 495).
- P. 300** (*kiyā* nota accusativi with pronominal suffixes). For the WS cognates to the element **ʔiyā*- see extensively Kogan 2015: 72–76.
- P. 303** (*lašala* ‘to be high’). As clearly shown in Kouwenberg 2010: 440–42, the Akkadian verb *utlellū* ‘to become higher step by step’ has nothing to do with the secondary absorption of the (typically WS) preposition **IV-* (as in Ethiopian and Aramaic), but represents a DtR (reduplicated) stem (< **ʔutlalluyum*).
- P. 309** (*lāḥka* ‘to grow (old)’). A connection with Soq. *dēlaḳ* ‘to be numerous’ (LS 129) is doubtful, particularly since the form *ilʕek* ‘ils sont nombreux’ in Müller 1902: 184₄ is highly suspicious.
- P. 315** (*lamša* ‘to shine’). One wonders whether Akk. *melemmu* ‘radiance’ (CAD M/II 9, AHw 643), commonly considered a loanword from Sumerian *me-lám* (Lieberman 1977: 390), may be ultimately related to PS **lmš*.
- P. 316** (*lamš* ‘leprosy, scab’). Add Akk. *lamšatu* ‘a skin eruption’ (CAD L 68, AHw 533). See further SED I No. 179.
- P. 322** (*lawaya* ‘to wrap around’).¹⁶ Add Soq. *le* ‘to catch’ (LS 230).
- P. 323** (*māʔəgar* ‘twigs that hold up the straw of the roof’). For a possible link with Akk. *igāru* ‘wall’ (CAD I 34, AHw 366), see extensively Kogan 2006a: 270.
- P. 329** (*madada* ‘to stretch’).¹⁷ Add Soq. *med* ‘étendre’ (LS 238).
- P. 334** (*mahaka* ‘to have pity’). Ugr. *mhk* ‘to care, to worry’ does not exist, as the pertinent sequence has to be interpreted as an indefinite pronoun (‘anything, whatever it may be’, DUL 529).
- P. 339** (*maklit* ‘talent of silver’). Add Soq. *kíyoł* ‘to measure’ (LS 217).
- p. 342** (*malʔa* ‘to be full’). Add Soq. *mīli* ‘to be full’, *mól’e* ‘to fill’ (LS 243, CSOL I 609).
- P. 346** (*malaṭa* ‘to peel’). Add Soq. *mēlaṭ* ‘to pluck’ (CSOL I 610), probably also *mél’yeṭ* ‘feather’ (CSOL I 610, LS 233).
- P. 348** (*mannu* ‘who’). Add MSA: Mhr. *mōn* (ML 267), Jib. *mun* (JL 172), Soq. *mōn* (LS 245).
- P. 358** (*tamargʷaza* ‘to lean upon a staff’, *mərgʷəz* ‘staff, rod’). Compare Jib. *múrkus* ‘walking-stick’ (JL 211), Soq. *šerékis* ‘to lean upon a staff’,¹⁸ particularly noteworthy in view of the modern Ethiopian parallels with *-k-* adduced by Leslau.
- P. 360** (*marasa* ‘to moisten’).¹⁹ Ugr. *mrt* ‘to moisten’ does not exist; the relevant word is translated as ‘wine, must’ in DUL 571.
- P. 363** (*mašḥa* ‘to anoint’). Add Jib. *mašḥ* ‘clarified butter’ (JL 175), Mhr. *maḥ* ‘id.’ (ML 263).
- P. 366** (*masala* ‘to be like’). Add Soq. *métal* ‘word, speech’, *šémtel* ‘to speak’ (LS 253–54), obviously from PS **maṭal-* ‘example; parable, proverb’ (HALOT 648). Striking semantic parallels are provided by Spanish *palabra* ‘word’, French *parler* ‘to speak’ < *parabola*, *parabolare*, as well as Spanish *hablar* < *fabulare* < *fabula* (Buck 1949: 1254, 1262).
- (*māsana* ‘to be spoiled’). Cf. perhaps Soq. *sénem* ‘salir, sentir mauvais’ (LS 289), with metathesis.

16. In the classical sources, only *lay* ‘coccum, coccinum, textile vel filum coccineum’ is attested (LLA 54).

17. Not in LLA.

18. From the author’s unpublished fieldwork notes.

19. In LLA 166, only *tamarsa* ‘macerescere, putrere’.

(*masno* 'irrigation channel'). Of considerable interest is Mhr. *məhnōy* 'farm near a town' (ML 159), Jib. *məšnū?* 'garden on the mountain' (JL 263), Soq. *yhéne* 'to sow' (LS 145).

P. 368 (*masawa* 'to melt'). Add Soq. *mése* 'to mash' (CSOL II 542).

P. 370 (*mašʔa* 'to come'). Add Jib. *mīdī* 'to reach' (JL 169), Soq. *mīʔa* 'id.' (LS 241).

P. 372 (*matn* 'sinew, nerve'). For a broader list of cognates displaying both meanings 'sinew' and 'small of the back, loin' v. SED I Nos. 191 and 192.²⁰

P. 373 (*məʔuk* 'sweet'). Add Mhr. *maʔk* 'sweet' (ML 274), Jib. *miʔáyk* 'id.' (JL 176), as well as Akk. *matāku* 'to become sweet' (CAD M/I 405, AHW 632). Given the fact that the Akkadian verb is attested from OB onwards, the "Hittite" origin of the Semitic root to which Leslau refers is most unlikely.

P. 382 (*nəʔsa* 'to be small'). Soqotri *énes* 'être petit' (LS 68) does not exist: as shown in Naumkin et al. 2013: 68–69, in the only supposedly pertinent passage from Müller 1905 we are faced with the verb *šenéso* 'to hide itself (moon behind a mountain)', clearly unrelated to the Ethiopian lexemes listed under this heading.

P. 383 (*nabal* 'flame'). Correct the Ugaritic form to *nblʔat*, with an enigmatic *ʔ* (DUL 610).

P. 388 (*nafaka* 'to tear off'). Ugr. *npk* 'to go out' is not listed in DUL and is unlikely to exist.

P. 391 (*mangad* 'road'). Compare Arb. *naʕdayni* in Quran 90:10, best understood as 'two ways' (Ambros 2004: 263).

P. 392 (*nagala* 'to be uprooted').²¹ The WS terms for 'sickle', adduced by Leslau under the present root, are hard to separate from Akk. *niggallu* with the same meaning (AHW 787, CAD N/II 213), which is usually considered a Sumerian loanword (cf. Kreberník 1993–97: 365).

P. 395 (*nəhna* 'we'). Add Soq. *han* (LS 182), particularly remarkable in view of such Ethiopian forms as Tgr. *həna* (WTS 82). For further diachronic remarks on the Ethiopian pronoun see Bulakh and Kogan 2013: 98–99.

(*ʔanāhsaya* 'to forget'). Correct Soq. *néše* to *nīši* (CSOL I 627).

P. 396 (*nəhra* 'to snore'). For more parallels with the meaning 'nostril; nose' see SED I No. 198. For the semantic shift 'nose; nostril' > 'to be angry' in Semitic see Maizel 1983: 217–18.

P. 397 (*naknaka* 'to shake, to agitate'). Add Soq. *néknek* 'to fidget' (CSOL I 626), which fits well the modern Ethiopian forms with *k* listed by Leslau.

(*ʔankara* 'to admire'). Add Soq. *néker* 'avoir le mal du pays' (LS 267).

P. 399 (*naḳša* 'to be split, to become torn'). Add Soq. *nākaʕ* 'to snap out, to tear', *nékaʕ* 'to be torn' (LS 274, CSOL I 624–25).

P. 400 (*naḳala* 'to pull out'). Most probably related is Soq. *nókil* 'choisir, préférer' (LS 274).

(*naḳwara* 'to be one-eyed, blinded'). Add Soq. *nókar* 'to peck' (CSOL II 553).

(*naḳasa* 'to separate, to extract' and *naḳasa* 'to tattoo').²² Note that in Soqotri one has to distinguish between *nókas* 'tirer une épine, percer un abcès' (LS 274) and *nókaš* 'frapper, trouer' (LS 276).

20. Note that the separation of the two meanings into different roots, carried out in SED I upon a suggestion from A. Militarev, is not shared by the present author.

21. Not in LLA.

22. None in LLA.

(*naḵṣa* ‘to dwindle away’). Add Soq. *nōḵaṣ* ‘to diminish, to reduce’, *nēḵaṣ* ‘to decrease, to be less’ (CSOL I 626, LS 275).

P. 402 (*nasnasa* ‘to scatter’). Note that in Soqotri *nēsnes* ‘importuner’ (LS 269) is opposed to *nēsneš* ‘agiter’ (LS 278), fully confirmed by my informants.

P. 410 (*nəwāy* ‘vessel, utensile’). For the possibility of connecting the Geez word with Akk. *numātu* (twice *nuwātu*) ‘furnishings, household utensils’ (CAD N/II 334, AHw 803) see Huehnergard 1991: 692.

P. 411 (*nazara* ‘to tear to pieces’). The pertinent Soqotri verb is *notēṣar* ‘to burst’ (CSOL I 627), with *ṣ* rather than *z* (cf. LS 263, 272).

P. 418 (*ḵabbala* ‘to fetch’). Add Soq. *ḵōboḷ* ‘être content’ (LS 366).

P. 427 (*ḵalaba* ‘to overturn’). While it is true that the Geez word is uncommon in the classical sources (v. LLA 413), there is no immediate reason to consider it an Arabic loanword. Add Soq. *ḵēlob* ‘tourner, rouler’ (LS 374).

P. 430 (*ḵʷaḷḵʷāl* ‘euphorbia’, cf. LLA 413). Probably related are several botanical designations elsewhere in Semitic: Akk. *ḵulkullānu* ‘a plant’ (CAD Q 301, AHw 927), Arb. *qilqil-* (Dozy II 407), Jib. *ḵelḵól* (Miller and Morris 1988: 344), Soq. *ḵálḵihal* (Miller and Morris 2004: 755), possibly Hbr. *ḵalōḵēl* in the difficult collocation *lāhām ha-ḵḵalōḵēl* in Num. 21:5 (HALOT 1106).

P. 437 (*ḵanaya* ‘to acquire; to train’). For the MSA cognates to this root—such as Soq. *ḵáne* ‘to feed, to rear’, *ḵénho* ‘cattle’, and *ḵanínhin* ‘lord, God’—see extensively Kogan 2015: 89.

P. 441 (*ḵaraṣa* ‘to lacerate’). Add Soq. *ḵéraṣ* ‘couper’ (LS 387).

P. 442 (*ḵarn* ‘horn’). Add Soq. *ḵan*, pl. *ḵérhon* (LS 377).

P. 444 (*ḵʷarra* ‘to be cold’). For possible MSA cognates to this root—such as Mhr. *həḵráwr* ‘to go at midday’ and Soq. *ḵarére* ‘tomorrow’—see Kogan 2015: 561.

P. 447 (*ḵast* ‘bow’). Add Mhr. *ḵəṣēṭ* ‘rainbow’ (ML 242), Jib. *ḵəṣuṭ* id. (JL 153).²³

P. 452 (*ḵatat* ‘agreement, contract’ and *ḵatot* ‘guarantee, security, contract’). As pointed out in Kogan 2006a: 270–71, the Geez lexemes are strikingly similar to Akk. *ḵātātu* ‘guarantee, security, pledge’ (CAD Q 168, AHw 910).

P. 453 (*ḵaṭaba* ‘to trim’).²⁴ Add Soq. *ḵōṭab* ‘to cut’ (CSOL I 596).

(*ḵaṭana* ‘to be thin’). Add Soq. *ḵéthon* ‘mince’ (LS 372).

P. 456 (*ḵoma* ‘to stand’). Akk. *ḵāmu* as a WS loanword (AHw 896) is unlikely to exist: the OB Mari passage (ARM 10, 10: 15) has been reinterpreted (Streck 2000: 110), whereas the hypothetical NA attestation (ABL 547 r. 9) is qualified as “uncertain” in CAD Q 79.

(*ḵeṭa* ‘to vomit’). There is no reason to believe that Akk. *ḵāṭu* (CAD G 59, K 309, AHw 284) is a WS borrowing: the presence of *k* and *g* instead of the expected *ḵ* is likely to be explained in the framework of Geers’ law (deglossalization of **ḵ* in the vicinity of the glottal stop).

P. 462 (*radṭa* ‘to give help’ and *radaya* ‘to pay interest’). For an extensive etymological discussion of the Geez verbs, as well as Akkadian *redû*, see Huehnergard 1991: 698–99.

P. 463 (*raṭṭa* ‘to sew’). Akk. *rapāṭu* ‘to heal’ is unlikely to exist (v. CAD R 159, AHw 956).

P. 477 (*roṣa* ‘to run’). Akk. *rāṣu* does not mean ‘to run’, but rather ‘to (come to) help’ (CAD R 187, AHw 960), which makes its etymological connection with PWS **rwṭ* far from

23. The root is not preserved in Soqotri, where ‘rainbow’ is, interestingly, *ṣēḵmi*, with no clear etymology.

24. In LLA, only *ḵaṭāb* ‘segmentum, pars abscissa’ (LLA 449).

evident semantically. The Eblaite spelling *ra-a-zu-um* = Á.DAḤ (VE 552) is also against this equation.

P. 478 (*rayama* 'to be high').²⁵ Add Soq. *ríyom* 'to be long' (LS 339, CSOL I 638).

P. 480 (*saʔala* 'to ask'). Add Jib. *šel* 'to demand payment of a debt' (JL 259), Soq. *yhóʔol* 'réclamer à quelqu'un le paiement, emprunter à quelqu'un' (LS 139).

P. 486 (*sadaya* 'to help').²⁶ Akk. *sēdu* 'to help' (CAD S 206, AHW 1034) is borrowed from Arm. *sīd* (Abraham and Sokoloff 2011: 49–50) and cannot be related to the Geez verb.

P. 488 (*səfn* 'some, several'). To be compared to Arb. *tafinat-* = *ʔal-ʕadadu wa-l-ʕamāʕatu mina n-nāsi* (LA 13 94); see Dolgopolsky 1986: 76, 78.

P. 489 (*tasaffawa* 'to hope'). Sab. *s-f-t* 'promise, vow' (SD 131) is unlikely to be related to the Ethiopian verb, probably being denominal from the (unattested) reflex of PS **šap-at-*'lip' (SED I No. 265).

P. 493 (*sahaba* 'to pull'). The root is missing from Mesopotamian Akkadian, but present at Ebla (VE 73), where it displays an etymologically unexpected sibilant (*š rather than *s): NĪ.KAR = *sa-ʔā-bū* (Conti 1990: 73).

P. 501 (*samʕa* 'to hear'). Add Mhr. *hīma* (ML 157), Soq. *hūmaʕ* (LS 144).

P. 504 (*səm* 'name'). Add Mhr. *ham* (ML 158), Soq. *šem* (LS 418).

Pp. 505 and 507 (*tasānāʔawa* 'to be in peace' and *tasānana* 'to quarrel'). Akk. *šanānu* 'to become equal; to quarrel, to defy' (CAD Š/I 366, AHW 1161) is much more likely to be related to the latter than the former; cf. especially the Gt stem with the meaning 'to rival each other, to compete, to fight with someone'.

P. 524 (*šāʔšəʔa* 'to speak').²⁷ Cf. perhaps Akk. *šasū* 'to shout, to exclaim, to call' (CAD Š/II 147, AHW 1195).

(*šaʕala* 'to form, to fashion'). Ugr. *m-šʕlt-m* 'two figures' is missing from DUL and is unlikely to exist. Cf. perhaps Arb. *šyl* 'to occupy, to employ' (Lane 1567). See Kogan 2005: 200.

P. 525 (*šāʕr* 'herb'). Add Mhr. *šēr* 'straw' (ML 370), Jib. *šaʕər* 'dry grass' (JL 244).

(*šəbh* 'fat'). Add Soq. *šabh* 'fat' (CSOL I 664).

P. 526 (*šagara* 'to take a step; to cross, to go across'). Cf. perhaps Mhr. *šəgərīt* 'mountain pass' (ML 374), Jib. *šəgərēt* 'long area of flat ground at the front of the Jebel' (JL 248), Soq. *šəgre* 'mountain pass' (CSOL I 665).

P. 527 (*šagara* 'to ensnare'). Add Soq. *šəgor* 'faire un grillage; tendre un piège' (LS 425).

P. 530 (*šalaʕa* 'to have power'). Akk. *šalātu* 'to dominate, to rule' (CAD Š/I 238, AHW 1147) is, evidently, an old autochthonous verb, and it is only the legal meaning 'to have or claim authority on something' that may be influenced by Aramaic (with Kaufman 1974: 98, not in Abraham and Sokoloff 2011).

P. 531 (*šanaka* 'to prepare provisions for a journey'). For an extensive discussion of Akk. *sanāku* 'to lack, to be in need of' (CAD S 145, AHW 1022) and its possible Aramaic origin see Abraham and Sokoloff 2011: 49.

P. 535 (*šərw* 'root'). Neither Arb. *sirr-* 'origin, source'²⁸ nor Hbr. *šōr* 'umbilical cord' (HALOT 1650) is likely to be related to the Geez word for phonological, structural, and, partly, also semantic reasons. Cf. SED I Nos. 254 and 268.

25. Only *ʔaryām* 'loca escelsa, sublimia' in LLA 313.

26. Not in LLA.

27. In LLA 896, only *šāʔšāʔ* 'eloquium, dicendi ars et gratia', derived by Dillmann from the common verb *ʔawšəʔa* 'loqui'.

28. No such meaning listed in Lane 1338, where the word is mostly rendered with its usual meaning 'secret'.

P. 536 (*šaraya* ‘to heal’). For a possible connection to the verbal element of the PN *yīšrāʔēl* v. Kogan 2006b.

P. 539 (*šeba* ‘to turn gray’). Add Soq. *šēbēb* ‘old (man)’ (LS 428).

P. 543 (*šaʕana* ‘to load’). Add Sab. *ʕšn* ‘to move, to decamp’ (SD 171), Jib. *ḏaʕān* ‘to disperse, to go to a new home’ (JL 48), Soq. *ʕāʕan* ‘se mettre en route’ (LS 206). Conversely, Ugr. *ʕšn* cannot belong here for both phonetic and semantic reasons (‘to smite, to destroy’ in DUL 873).

P. 556 (*šalala* ‘to filter’).²⁹ Add Soq. *šēl* ‘to filter, to strain’.³⁰

(*šalma* ‘to be dark’). Add Syr. *ʕlam* ‘injuria affecit’ (LSyr. 277), Ugr. *ʕlmt* ‘darkness’ (DUL 316),³¹ Soq. *ʕāʕim* ‘manger le soir’ (LS 204, with interesting observations on the semantic development). On this root see extensively Bulakh 2003: 5–7.

(*šalawa* ‘to listen, to incline the ear’). Add Soq. *ēšle*, particularly in *ēšle idhen* ‘to listen, to pay attention’.³²

(*šamʕa* ‘to be thirsty’). Add Ugr. *mʕmʕu* (DUL 600)³³ and Soq. *ʕīmi* (LS 205).

(*šamaqa* ‘to squeeze out, to wring out’).³⁴ Add Ugr. *šmḳ* ‘raisin’ (DUL 775).

P. 565 (*šew* ‘salt’). For a possible link with Ugr. *šš-m* ‘salt-works’ (DUL 781) see Kogan 2006a: 271.

P. 567 (*šora* ‘to carry’). For a possible denominal derivation from PS **šaw(ʔ)ar-* ‘neck’ see SED I No. 258.

P. 574 (*tallāʕ* ‘breast’). With SED I No. 574, add Mhr. *tālōt* ‘nipple’ (ML 401) and, probably, Ugr. *tʕ* ‘chest, thorax’ (DUL 856).³⁵

P. 577 (*tann* ‘smoke’). The presence of *tnn* ‘smoke’ in the Old Aramaic inscription from Bukān (KAI⁵ 397) makes it clear that *t* in the later Aramaic cognates is original and does not go back to **t*. It makes unlikely the suggested relationship of the Aramaic word to Hbr. *ʕāšān* and, conversely, strengthens the link with Gez. *tann* (Kogan 2015: 397).

P. 582 (*tawan* ‘spring rain’). Ugr. *tʕant* is commonly interpreted as ‘whispering, conversation, groaning’ (DUL 842) and cannot be compared to the Geez word for semantic reasons.

(*tayfan* ‘young bullock’). Add Ugr. *ypt* ‘cow, yearling calf’ (DUL 960).³⁶

P. 584 (*tāʕwā* ‘calf, heifer’). To be compared to Arb. *ʕayyā* ‘(young of) bovine antelope’ (Lane 1856, SED II No. 234, Kogan 2005: 192).

P. 587 (*tābitā* ‘kind of gazelle’). Looks very much like a transcription of Aramaic *ʕabitā* with the same meaning (LSyr. 266, SED II No. 242).

P. 588 (*ʕaflāht* ‘coin, piece of money’). Compare perhaps Syr. *ʕlāphā* ‘lens’ and its cognates elsewhere in Aramaic (LSyr. 278), with metathesis and a plausible semantic shift.

P. 604 (*wadda* ‘to join together’). If indeed related to PS **wdd* ‘to love’—which, contra Leslau, is far from evident semantically—add Akk. *namaddu* ‘favorite, beloved one’ (CAD N/I 206, AHW 725) and *mūdadu* ‘beloved one’ (CAD M/I 160, AHW 665).³⁷

29. In LLA 1257 only *mašallat* ‘panis merus, non fermentatus; azymus’.

30. The author’s unpublished fieldnotes.

31. Side by side with *ʕlmt* ‘darkness’ (DUL 987).

32. The author’s unpublished fieldnotes.

33. Side by side with *ʕmʔ* (DUL 318).

34. Not in LLA.

35. Attested in KTU 1.2 iv 4 in a partly broken context; the translation is assured by the parallelism with *ʕirt* ‘chest’.

36. Attested in KTU 1.10 iii 3 in parallelism with *ʕalp* ‘bull’.

37. The latter form, attested exclusively as a PN in Old Babylonian sources, is likely a West Semitism.

P. 607 (*?awaffaya* ‘to grant’). Correct Soq. *éfe* ‘to pay’ (LS 69) to *fe*³⁸ (< **wfy*, causative stem).

P. 608 (*?awgaba* ‘to surprise, to come upon suddenly’). A promising cognate is Arb. *wǧb* ‘to fall; to be necessary, obligatory, incumbent’ (Lane 2922).

P. 609 (*wahaba* ‘to give’). While Soq. *wéheb* ‘généreux’ (LS 148) is clearly borrowed from Arb. *wahhāb-*; an autochthonous Soqotri cognate to PWS **whb* is *hábe* ‘give!’ (LS 140).

P. 610 (*wəḥda* ‘to be few, little, small’). Probably related is Arb. *wyḏ* ‘to be weak, low; to serve’ (Lane 2954); see Kogan 2005: 203.

P. 614 (*wallaṭa* ‘to change, to alter, to reverse’). A promising match is Soq. *leṭ* ‘faire une chose pour la seconde fois; tourner, se tourner; s’écarter du chemin’ (LS 229). The morphological forms of the Soqotri verb (Imperfect *yeḷáṭ*, Jussive *l’áḷaṭ*) make it clear that we are faced with the causative stem, most likely from the root **wlṭ*. A further probable cognate is Hbr. *lwṭ* ‘to wrap’ (HALOT 523).

P. 618 (*waraya* ‘to tell news, to narrate’).³⁹ Most probably related to Arb. *rwy* ‘to relate, to recite’ (Lane 1194), with metathesis. Cf. further Hbr. *yry* (hip.) ‘to instruct, to teach’ (HALOT 436).

P. 619 (*wassaka* ‘to add’). Correct Akk. *esēku* to *esēku* (CAD E 331, AHw 249), which further complicates Leslau’s comparison between the Geez and Akkadian verbs. Besides, *esēku* does not mean ‘to allot’, but rather ‘to make a drawing, to incise a relief’. Its relationship to *išku* ‘lot’ (CAD I 198, AHw 388) is far from transparent.

P. 620 (*wəsta* ‘in’). Neither Akk. *ištu* ‘from’ nor *ište* ‘with’ can have anything to do with the Geez preposition; see extensively Kogan and Markina 2006: 563–64.

P. 621 (*wašara* ‘to saw’). Akk. *asāru* ‘to saw’ is not listed in the dictionaries and most probably does not exist, whereas *masāru* ‘saw’ is highly uncertain (cf. CAD M/I 326, AHw 619). As for Ugr. *ššrt*, it is interpreted as ‘chain’ rather than ‘saw’ (DUL 835).

P. 631 (*zabḥa* ‘to slaughter’). Akk. *zebû* ‘to slaughter’ does not exist (contra CAD Z 84; cf. AHw 1519, CAD N/II 257); only *zibu* ‘food-offering’ is attested (CAD Z 105, AHw 1525).

P. 632 (*zəft* ‘pitch’).⁴⁰ Akk. *zibtu*, translated as ‘pitch’ in CAD Z 104, has been correctly reinterpreted as ‘ein Stein’ in AHw 1524 (so also CDA 447) and can scarcely belong to the present root.

P. 634 (*zəḥla* ‘to rust, to be adulterated’). Cf. Arb. *zayal-* ‘adulterated or counterfeit coin’ (Lane 1235), Akk. *zahālû* ‘a silver alloy’ (CAD Z 12, AHw 1503). See Kogan 2002: 273, 2005: 209.

P. 642 (*zarʔa* ‘to sow’). Add Soq. *déri* ‘semence’ (LS 135).

38. The author’s unpublished fieldnotes.

39. Not in LLA.

40. Sparsely attested (LLA 1068); may be an Arabism.

ABBREVIATIONS

AED – T. L. Kane. *Amharic-English Dictionary*. Wiesbaden, 1990.

AHw – W. von Soden. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden, 1965–81.

Behnstedt – P. Behnstedt. *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte (Glossar)*. Wiesbaden, 1992–2006.

CAD – *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago, 1956–2010.

CDA – J. Black, A. George, and N. Postgate. *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. Wiesbaden, 1999.

- CDG – W. Leslau. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden, 1987.
- CSOL I – V. Naumkin, L. Kogan, et al. *Corpus of Soqotri Oral Literature*, vol. 1. Leiden, 2014.
- CSOL II – V. Naumkin, L. Kogan, et al. *Corpus of Soqotri Oral Literature*, vol. 2. Leiden, 2018.
- Dozy – R. Dozy. *Supplement au dictionnaires arabes*. Leiden, 1881.
- DUL – G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Leiden, 2003.
- HALOT – L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and 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 Maḍḍūr. *Lisānu l-'arab*. Beirut, 1990.
- Lane – E. W. Lane. *Arabic-English Lexicon*. London, 1867.
- LLA – A. Dillmann. *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*. Leipzig, 1865.
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- SL – M. Sokoloff. *A Syriac Lexicon*. Winona Lake, 2009.
- TED – T. L. Kane. *Tigrinya-English Dictionary*. Springfield, 2000.
- VE – Vocabulario di Ebla. Quoted after G. Pettinato. *Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L. 2769*. Naples, 1982.
- WTS – E. Littmann, M. Höfner. *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache*. Wiesbaden, 1962.

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