



Type: Book Chapter

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## The Semitic-p Contribution in Uto-Aztecan

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Source: *Exploring the Explanatory Power of Semitic and Egyptian in Uto-Aztecan*

Published: Provo, UT; Grover Publications, 2015

Pages: 157-302

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## 5 The Semitic-p Contribution in Uto-Aztecan

### 5.1 The Semitic-kw Correspondences vs. the Semitic-p Correspondences

Egyptian and Proto-Semitic, both from Afro-Asiatic, share many of the same sounds. For example, Semitic *ṣ* and Egyptian *ḏ* are the same sound, though transcribed differently. In the table below, those sounds followed by (> Phn) mean that that Proto-Semitic consonant changed to something else in Phoenician and later in Hebrew as well, but not in ancient Israel's earlier Semitic, which is better depicted by Semitic-p. The next three columns show the correspondences of the terms from the Semitic-kw items, the Semitic-p vocabulary, and the Egyptian terms, whose correspondences are the same as terms from Semitic-p. Differences between initial position and intervocalic correspondences are listed as C- and -C-, respectively. A few apparent exceptions occur, such as a few Semitic-p ' > ' instead of the usual ' > w, but the percentage of apparent exceptions is no more than existed in comparative UA before these proposed ties. Those and some instances of consonants' behaviors as 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant in a cluster are treated at 7.2 and some details remain to be clarified, but the following correspondences hold 95% of the time.

<u>Semitic, Egyptian</u>	<u>UA terms from Semitic-kw in UA</u>	<u>UA terms from Semitic-p in UA</u>	<u>UA terms from Egyptian</u>
b	kw	b/p	b/p
p	p	p	p
'	ø/'	w/'	w/'
ḥ	hu/w	hu	hu
x (> ḥ Phn)	hu/w	k/h	k
ṣ	w/o/'	w/o/u	w/o/u
ḡ (> ṣ Phn)	w/o/'	k	-- (not in Egyptian)
s/ <i>ḏ</i>	c	s	s
t̥	c/s	t/c	-- (not in Egyptian)
t	t-, medially -r-/-l-	t-, -r-/-l-	t-, -r-/-l-
d	t-, medially -r-/-l-	t-, -r-/-l-	t-, -r-/-l-
k	ø-, -k-	k	k
g	ø-, -k-, but Tak ŋ	k	k
q	ø-, -k-, but Tak ŋ	k	k
h	h/ø	ʔ/ø	ʔ/ø
m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n
l	l	l	-- (not in Middle Egyptian)
r	t-, medially -y-	t-, -r-	t-, -r-/-y-
ḏ (> z Phn)	s/c	t	-- (not in Egyptian)
z	s/c	c	-- (not in Egyptian)
θ (> š Phn)	s	s	s
s <sub>1</sub> (> š)	s	s	s
s <sub>2</sub> (> š)	s	s	s
s <sub>3</sub> (> s)	s/c	s	s
y/i	y/i	y/i	y/i
w	w	w	w

### 5.2 Hebrew or Semitic b > p in the Semitic-p Corpus within Uto-Aztecan

Besides the 24 matches showing Hebrew b > UA \*kw (4-27), 33 other sets show Hebrew b > UA \*p. The linguistic laws of sound change would have all occurrences of a particular phoneme consistently change to or correspond to one phoneme unless other factors, such as specific phonological environments applicable to a subset, can explain a different change for that particular subset of words. Besides data in which Hebrew dageshed b became \*kw and another set of data in which Hebrew b > UA \*p, other consistencies occur for

two separate descendants of Northwest Semitic that later merged, each bringing its own set of correspondences to a later mix. I named these dialects by what Hebrew *b* changed to: in Semitic-kw, *b* changed to kw; in Semitic-p, *b* changed to p; and Egyptian *b* > p in the Egyptian lexical items also. In fact, Semitic-p sound correspondences in UA parallel the Egyptian correspondences in UA: for example, Semitic *ṣ* > UA \*s, ' > UA \*w, devoicing of voiced stops (*b*, *d*, *g* > *p*, *t*, *k*), etc. Consider the following instances of Semitic-p's correspondence of Hebrew *b* > UA \*p:

**527** Hebrew **baaraq** 'lightning'; Arabic **baraq** 'lightning'; Arabic *baraqa* 'to shine, flash, to lightning': UACV-1327 \***pirok** 'lightning': M67-262 \**pe* 'lightning'; M88-pī14 'lightning': KH/M06- pī14:

My berok-; Yq be'ok-; AYq yuku ve'okte, ve'ove'okte 'vi' (\*-r- > -'-); NT vīpidoxudami; ST vpgia/vīpgī. To these can be added Tbr virikī-t 'relámpago [lightning]'; TO wīpgii; PYP vepda. Besides the initial \*pī in all forms, the Yq, My, and NT forms show a clear second syllable in \*-rok- and Tbr also shows this full word, though the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel has assimilated. Thus, four languages (Yq, My, NT, Tbr) point to \*pirok. The NUA forms are less secure, unless \*-r- > -n- is secured, but let's list them for contemplation: Sr vönāq-q 'flash (of lightning)' and Ch(L) panapī (< \*palaC-pī) 'lightning flash, light' (with liquids nasalized in NUA). Other SNum forms show the underlying 3<sup>rd</sup> C: CU panáy 'shine, be bright'; WMU paná-y 'shine, be bright'; WMU paná'tōhqqōmpi-kye 'shine, be bright, vi'. With loss of the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable and voicing of the velar stop, the Tepiman forms \*pīggi (lacking 2<sup>nd</sup> C) show reduced forms of \*pirok / \*palak. The \*-palu portion of Ca táwvalu 'to thunder' as well as the -paix of Sh(C) to'ompaix 'thunder' and Sh(M) toompai-picci 'thunder' likely belong. Note also Eu ne váuhme-n 'for lightning to strike, v.' [liquid] [p1b,p2r,p3q] [SUA: Tep, TrC; NUA: Tak, Num]

**528** Hebrew **bayit / beet** 'house'; Aramaic *bwt* 'spend the night'; Arabic **byt / biit** 'pass/spend the night': Hebrew *byt* 'to spend the night'; Syriac *bayt-aa* 'house-the'; Syriac *bwt*, perf: *baat* 'to lodge, pass the night'; UA meanings are 'house, lie down, spend the night' and 'return home' (to spend the night):

UACV-1322a \***piCti / \*pitu** 'lie down, be situated at, spend the night, v pl; house, n': PYP veetu 'lie, be situated, inan. pl' (note PYP has the expected final vowel -u for pl); NT vīti 'be lying down, pl'; Wr pe'ti-pá-ni 'acostarse, pl'; Wr pe'ti / pe'ti-pó 'estar acostados, pl'; Wr pe'a 'jacal, hut'; Tr pere/peri 'set/lay stretched out'; Tr bete-ba-ma 'spend the night'; Tr bete-či / biti-či 'at home'; Tr bete-ra 'house'; Tr beté-re- 'live, inhabit, dwell'; Tr peréame 'inhabitants, residents'; Tr bití 'estar [various objects being in horizontal positions], vi pl'; WTr behte 'live, v' (Burgess 1984, 19); WTr bete-ba-ma 'spend the night'; WTr bete-ra 'house, n'; WTr bití 'estar acostados, vi pl'; WTr bite 'dwell'; Ca péti 'lie down stretching (of long large obj); Cr hé'e 'be lying down' (if \*-t- > -l/r- > -'-).

UACV-1322b \***payiC** > \***piC**- 'return home': In SP the stem is isolated: SP pa(i)yü 'return'; SP payü-i 'comes back'; SP pa(i)yü-rü 'one who goes home'; SP pappa(i)yü 'all return each to his home'. In SP and the rest of SNum, that stem takes one suffix -ki 'come toward speaker or come home' and -kwa'a 'go home or go away from speaker', but pee/pay is this stem in WMU, for example: WMU peekki / peekki' / paí-kki 'come home, come to me, come here'; WMU peekkirh 'one who comes home'; WMU peekkwa' 'go home (the home being elsewhere)'; WMU peé'kwa'a 'go home!'; WMU peekkwa-rh 'one who goes home'; Kw pay-kwee (< \*payC-kkwee) 'return, go back, go home'; Kw pay-ki- (< \*payC-kki) 'return, come back, come home'; Ch payī 'return, v sg'; Ch payúkii (< \*payúkkii) 'come back'; SP payü-kki 'come back'; SP payü-qqw'ai 'go back/home'; CU pái-ki 'return, come back to, come here!'; CU payu-kwa'áy 'come home, come back, return'; CU pái-kwa'áy 'return, come back'; the latter CU term appears not to retain the semantic distinction that WMU and all languages to the west retain: -kki 'return coming (home)' vs. -kwa'ay 'return going (home/away)'. However, all languages show a final consonant by geminating the next -kk-, though in most it is -k- < \*-kk- vs. -g- < \*-k-. Other considerations since UACV was published include: My aabe 'house' could well be Hebrew haC- 'the' prefixed to beyt 'house': habbeyt > aabe. Also note Ca páay 'sit up all night' and Tb(H) pay'kīt 'turn around, vi'. Note also WMU peeC- (< beet) in the following sentences: WMU maasiga' kúāo uupas peekkiu-(kwat) 'He returned (came home) yesterday'. WMU wiicuk maas uupas peekkiu-paat 'He will return tomorrow'. [p1b,p2y,p3t] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt; NUA: Tak, Num]

**529** Hebrew **béged / baaged** 'garment, covering, clothing'; Arabic *biḡaad* 'striped garment':

UACV-490 \***paki** < \***pakati** 'shirt': M67-371 \**pak* 'shirt'; M88-pa33; KH/M06-pa33: Sr pakīit 'shirt'; TO váaki 'put on a shirt'. To these, we must add Eu vakaci 'clothing'; Eu vakace 'get dressed, vi'; Tb(H) pikiiniššit 'wear or put on a shirt'. This ties to \*paki 'enter' since entering a piece of clothing equates to putting it on to wear, as shown by Hp paki 'enter' and Hp aṅ paki 'put article of clothing on'. [p1b,p2g,p3d] [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**530** The UA forms below relate to Semitic *bgd* also, probably as a denominalized verb from the above: from 'shirt, clothing' to 'clothe, enter clothing, enter'; or the Semitic verb may have had that dimension, though the semantics of Hebrew *baagad* 'act / deal treacherously' and Arabic dialect *baḡada* 'outwit' are too

oblique, except that the sense of ‘deceiving’ is ‘covering/hiding’ one’s intents as clothing covers/hides; Arabic bağda(t) ‘root, source, heart’ suggests a “hidden center/essence” covered or not obvious:

UACV-1242a **\*pakiC** (AMR) ‘enter’: VVH2 \*pa.ki ‘to enter’; M67-159 \*paki ‘enter’; L.Son186 \*paki ‘entrar’; B.Tep261 \*vakai ‘he enters’, \*vaki ‘to enter’, and \*vaa ‘he entered’; I.Num136 \*paki ‘stick, go’; KH.NUA; M88-pa5 ‘enter’; KH/M06-pa5 \*pakiC (AMR): Cp paxi-š ‘party, group of lineages who join together for ceremonial purposes’; Ca pax ‘enter’; Gb pakó ‘entrar’; Sr pakīnin ‘invite’; Hopi paki ‘enter, initiated, set (sun)’; TO waak / waaki ‘enter, sink in’; LP vaki; NT vakí; ST vaki; Nv pakí ‘enter, sg’; Eu vaké/baké; Wr pahki; Tr baki-mea; My kibake; AYq kivake; Wc haa; CN aki ‘enter, fit in’. Miller also includes the following Num forms, which often involve other prefixes, but most are plausible by a semantic tie between ‘enter, sink into’ and ‘stick (in), be stuck’.

UACV-1242b **\*pakiC** ‘stick, go’: M88-pa5; I.Num136 \*paki ‘stick, go’; KH/M06-pa5: Mn cappa’ni ‘stick, get stuck’; Sh cappaki ‘be stuck’; NP wīppakitta ‘to beat’; Kw čaki ‘be stuck’. [\*p > CN ø] [p1b,p2g,p3d] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**531** Hebrew **bw’** ‘come, v’ (consisting of the three consonants b, w, and glottal stop) has as its infinitive **boo’** ‘coming’, which aligns well with UA **\*pow/\*po’** ‘road, path, way’ (UACV-1821). Most of the Hebrew words for ‘way, path’ derive from verbs of going, walking, etc.: Hebrew rḥ ‘wander, journey, go, v’ and Hebrew ’oraḥ ‘way, path’; Hebrew drk ‘tread, march’ and Hebrew derek ‘way, road.’ It is the infinitive or verbal noun of Hebrew bw’—that is, boo’—which UA **\*pow/\*po’** corresponds to phonologically and semantically. Because the ‘coming’ to a place is the ‘way’ to a place, the infinitive is often used as if to mean ‘way, route, line’ in Biblical Hebrew phrases like ‘as thou comest/one comes from someplace to(ward) another place’ in which the ‘coming’ nearly means ‘way, route, line’ (Genesis 10:19 and 13:10, Numbers 13:21; II Samuel 5:25). In fact, the infinitive Hebrew boo’ is sometimes actually translated as ‘way’ in the King James Version (e.g., Genesis 24: 62). The following UA reflexes for ‘road, path, way’ not only correspond to Hebrew boo’, but they also exemplify the correspondences for PUA **\*p** and PUA **\*o** within UA and sometimes the final glottal stop as well. In light of Hebrew **bw’/boo’** ‘come, coming, the coming/way,’ compare UA **\*powV/\*po’V** ‘road, way, path’:

Mn	póyo	Hp	pōhī	Eu	bowé-t
NP	po	Tb	poh-t/poo-t	Tbr	wo-ta
TSh	po’e/po’i	Sr	pööq-t	Yq	bóo’o
Sh	po’ai	Ca	pí-t	AYq	voo’o
Cm	pu’e	Ls	pé-t	My	boo’o
Kw	too-vī	Cp	pí-t	Wr	poé
Ch	po’(o)	TO	voog	Tr	bowé/boyé
SP	poo-	PB	voi	Cr	huyé
CU	pō’ō	PYp	voi	Wc	huuyée
		NT	voí, voogadi (poss’d)	CN	o’-tli, o’wi (poss’d)
		ST	voi		

UACV-1821 **\*poC / \*po’i / \*powi** ‘road, path, way’: Sapir; VVH4 \*po ‘road, path’; B.Tep274 \*voi; M67-350 \*po ‘road’; I.Num154 \*poyo/\*po’e/\*po’i; BH.Cup \*pet ‘road’; L.Son217 \*powi ‘camino’; CL.Azt134 \*oh; M88-po4; Munro.Cup112 \*pé-t; KH.NUA; KH/M06-po4. A cognate for \*poC ‘road’ is found in every UA language. However, the variety of second consonants is intriguing—\*, \*w, \*y—besides absolute -t in Tak, which shows there is a latter C, whatever it may be. Note q in Sr pööq-t and Ktn pok-t, as also the g in TO and NT, the latter assumedly matching \*w of TrC, as most of TrC has either -’- or -w-. Kw has a \*tV- prefix. [medial \*w’/y; \*w > g > ø in some Tep, as at \*siwa ‘sand’, \*piwi ‘red’] [p1b,p2w,p3’] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

UACV-1016a **\*po’o / \*po’o-ta** ‘run, road-do’: Sapir; B.Tep279 \*voopoi ‘run, pl.’; M88-po1; KH/M06-po1: NP popoyuha’hu ‘run, pl’; TO woppo’i / woopo’i ‘run, pl’; NT vopóoyi ‘run, pl’; NT vopóodami ‘runners’; NT voí, voogadi (poss’d) ‘road’; NT voogítai ‘hacer camino’; Eu vóome / bo’o-me ‘run, pl’; Wr -po ‘future pl suffix’; Tr pó/-bó ‘ir varios’; My boohowa ‘is walking’. Sapir ties Tep and SP pooya ‘run’; SP y does agree with Tep d (< \*y), which may tie these to the forms below, though the medial consonant becomes even more problematic: \*, \*t, or \*y? Add PYp voopo ‘run, pl’ and Eu vovedaa ‘walk’ which derives from Eu vovét / bowét ‘road’. This likely relates to \*pow / \*poC ‘road’, as in \*po’-ta ‘road-do’, as all in this set might. Similarly, NT shows no g when contracted, but does when suffixed.

**532** Arabic **bsr** ‘look, see’; Arabic baššara ‘open the eyes’ (Lane 210); Arabic **bašīir** ‘seeing one, endowed with eyesight’; Arabic **bašar** ‘eyesight, vision, eye, glance, look, sight’; Arabic **baaširat** ‘eye’; the long vowel aa of either Arabic or Proto-Semitic becomes long oo in Hebrew; thus, Arabic baašir(at) would correspond to Hebrew **\*boošer(et)** ‘eye’ and such Hebrew participial forms (\*CooCeC) consistently raise the vowels to correspond to UA vowelings of \*-u-i, as in UA **\*pusi** ‘eye’ and UA **\*puni** < Hebrew poone, etc; UA **\*pusi** ‘eye’ is found in all but two UA languages, also meaning ‘face’ and ‘seed’ in some UA languages:

Mn	púsi'	Hp	poosi	Eu	vusít/busít
NP	bui	Tb	pundzi-l / punci-l	Tbr	telú-r/tilú-r
TSh	pui	Sr	hovaat/hovaač	Yq	púusi
Sh	pui	Ca	púč-ily 'eye, face, seed'	My	puúsi
Cm	pui	Ls	púš-la 'eye, seed'	Wr	pusí
Kw	pu'i-vi	Cp	púči-ly/-puš	Tr	busí
Ch	pu'i-vi	TO	wuhi	Cr	hī'isí
SP	pu'i-vi 'eye'	PB	vuhi/vui	Wc	hīší
	pu'i-vī 'seed'	PYP	vuhi/vui	CN	iiš-tli 'face, surface, eye'
WM	pwi'/pu'i-vi	NT	vúhi/vúii	Pl	iiš 'eye, face'
CU	pī'i-vī	ST	vui		

UACV-824 \*pusi 'eye': in all eight branches: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak, Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt. Sr is one language with a different word for eye, but the parallel sounds do have to do with seeing: Sr vuhitq 'to clear, vi' (examples of what clears include rain, sky/weather). Note \*-š- > -' in Numic. WSh puih 'eye' shows final -r > -h, which is a synchronic rule in Cr: r > h/\_C (Casad 1984, 161). Also of interest in light of Arabic **bsr** 'look, see, open eyes' is UA \*pusa 'wake up, open eyes' (in Eu, Yq, My, Wr, Tr).

**533** Arabic **baššara** 'open one's own eyes' (Lane 210) or 'make s.o. see'; UA \*pusaC could be a denominalized active verb on the -a/-i pattern, or it could be a passive of Arabic II or an unattested Hebrew quttal; regardless, we have Semitic bsr 'eye' and 'open eyes' with UA \*pusi 'eye' and \*pusa 'open eyes':

UACV-2459 \*pusaC (AMR) 'wake up, open eyes': VVH74 \*pusa 'waken'; L.Son223 \*pusu, pus-a 'abrir ojos'; M88-pu3; KH/M06-pu3 \*pusaC (AMR): TO wuhan, vt; Eu busá 'awaken, vt'; Eu busú 'wake up, vi'; Wr pusa; Tr busá-ma 'despertar a otro [wake s.o. up], vt'; Tr busi-mea 'despertarse [wake up], vi'; Tr busire 'be aware, conscious, awake'; My busa; CN i'sa. The glottal stop in CN i'sa appears in other initial \*p-loss forms (cf. \*piso 'vomit'). Add Cr hīsti 'despierto [awake]', which hīs- fits \*pus perfectly. Likewise, Wc hītia 'despertar', with the loss of -s- in a cluster, belongs as well. Add Yq busa 'despertarse'; Nv vui-ta-nu/ku 'despertar entre sueños [awake between dreams], sg/pl'. This set is tied to \*pusi 'eye'. I am impressed with AMR discerning a final -C. [glottal in CN, s > ø in cluster] [p1b,p2s4,p3r] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**534** Hebrew **batt** (< Semitic \*bant/bint) 'daughter'; Arabic \*bint 'daughter':

UACV-2576 \*paNtī' > \*pattī' > paci 'daughter': I.Num147 \*petī 'daughter'; M88-pa22; Stubbs2000a-4; KH/M06-pa22: Mn pédi'; NP bbatī; TSh petīC; Sh petīC; Cm petī'; Kw pedi; SP pačī; CU páci; patī-ci-ci; WMU pačū-n 'my daughter'. Cr pa'arī'i 'girl' may also belong. Ch, SP, and CU also show \*-tt- > c/\_high vowel. Parallel examples and a detailed discussion (in Stubbs 2000a) explain how these derive from PUA \*pattī and that UA paci results from a frequent change of \*-tt- > -c-. Kw -d- may suggest the medial cluster involves \*-Nt-, as ordinary gemination \*-tt- > -t- in Kw, but \*-Nt- > -d- in Kw. Note that Kw -d- is the usual reflex of -Nt- or a nasal as first element of a cluster vs. -r- < \*-t- or -t- < \*-tt-; and note that CU -t- signifies \*-tt- vs. -r- < \*-t-. [\*-Ct- > -c-] [p1b,p2n,p3t] [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

**535** Hebrew **baqaar** 'cattle, herd, ox, livestock'; Syriac baqar / baqr-aa 'domesticated animals';

Aramaic **bqwrh** / bqwr̄t (bəquurə-t-aa) 'herd of cattle'; CPAramaic pl: buqr-iin, buqraata: UA \*pukuN 'domestic animal' resembles Aramaic bVquur- and appears in 13 UA languages. The 1<sup>st</sup> short unaccented vowel simply assimilated to the long strong 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel uu: \*bəquur > puku; also Semitic-p shows the uvular being strong to round the vowels, and the final -r does not raise and front them as in Semitic-kw;

Compare, from Semitic-kw, UA \*tiki 'cut' < Hebrew daqar 'pierce' (827) in contrast to

Semitic-p, UA \*taku 'palm tree' < Hebrew deqel / Arabic daqal 'palm tree' (961):

UACV-37 \*puNku / \*pukku(C) 'domestic animal': VVH46 \*puNku 'dog, pet'; M67-135 \*puku 'dog'; I.Num160 \*puŋku 'dog, horse, pet'; L.Son220 \*puku 'animal domestico'; Fowler83; M88-pu13; KH/M06-pu13 \*punku: Mn puku (< \*pukku) 'pet'; NP pukku 'horse'; TSh puŋku 'pet'; Sh punku 'horse, pet'; Cm puuku 'horse'; Ch punkú 'pet'; Ch punkuu-ci 'dog, pet'; Kw pugu-zi (< \*puku-ci) 'pet, dog'; SP puŋku 'horse, domestic animal'; CU púku (< \*pukku) 'horse' (< domestic animal); CU pukú-n 'my horse'; Tb(M) puŋgu-l / puŋgu-t 'pet'; Tb(H) pukkupišt (< \*pukuC-piy-ta) 'dog'; Tb(H) puŋku-l 'horse'; Hopi pooko 'dog, domestic animal'; Wr puhkú 'animal poseído, ganado'; Tr bukú 'animal poseído'; Tr bukurú 'apropriarlo'; Eu bukút 'esclavo [slave]'; My bukke 'criar [raise (as children or animals)]'; Yq búke 'tener animals [have animals]'; Yq buki 'esclavo [slave]'; Tbr woku-r 'animal domesticado'. Note WMU puqqú-či 'favorite horse' with SP puŋgu-ci 'dear horse, diminutive'; also WMU puqqúuŋ(g)wa 'have a bunch of horses' shows a final nasalization, possibly anticipated in others (\*pukuN > \*puNku), and Semitic liquids often do become nasals in Num. Though with

differing semantics, add Eu amo vuk ‘tuyo’ as a possessive morpheme. Tb and WMU may show a final -C. [Tb -ŋg-; CNum -Nk-: WNum -kk-; SNum has all 3: k, kk, Nk] [p1b,p2q,p3r] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: TrC]

**536** Arabic bqr ‘split open’; Aramaic(J) bqr ‘enter into, search’; the basic meaning of the Semitic root is to cleave open, plow, search into’; Syriac bqr ‘penetrate, investigate’:

UACV-617 \***pukul** ‘pin on’: M88-pu20; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pu20 \*pukul: Cp púkulva’a ‘brooch’; Sr pukulq ‘to become pinned’. Let us consider also CU capúukway ‘pin on’; Mn (na)cipohínu ‘anything pinned on.’ Add Sh pokó ‘thistle’ which penetrates or pierces like a pin does. [p1,p2,p3] [NUA: Tak, Num]

**537** Hebrew bls ‘gather figs’; Arabic balas ‘kind of fig’;

UACV-193 \***palasi** (wild) grapes: Yq páa’asim ‘uvas [grapes]’; My párasim ‘uvas’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Gb pah-váhs-keet ‘wild grapevine’. [liquids] [p1b,p2l,p3s3] [SUA: TrC; NUA: Tak]

**538** Hebrew baadaad ‘solitude’; Arabic badda ‘separate’; Arabic budd ‘part of a thing’;

Hebrew bad ‘part, portion, separation, solitude’ and is used to mean ‘alone, by itself/oneself’ commonly found in the phrase lə-bad-ó ‘by himself/itself’; Hebrew lə-bad-i ‘by myself, alone’ etc.:

Hebrew bad ‘part, portion, member, alone’ and in phrases ‘except, apart from, beside(s)’:

The two Hebrew meanings (part/individual and except) > UA meanings (one, negative) is striking:

UACV-2620a \***piri** / \***pari** / \***pura** ‘one, negative’: Tr biré and Wr piré/pié. NT pari is worth noting in the fact that Tr biré and NT pari both mean ‘one/some’ and both also act as a negative particle. Or Wc seevii-; ševiti (sbj) minus the first syllable, that is, -viti, also matches Tr/Wr \*piti. The latter part of Tb čii-bilo ‘by oneself, alone’ may possibly belong. Other prefixes appear involved (\*su-purV and \*wī-purV).

UACV-2620b \***suC-pula** / \***sum-pula** ‘one, first, other, different’: HH.Cup \*su / \*supul; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup85 \*supú-l ‘one’: Ca supul(em) ‘other(s)’; Ca supul-a ‘an ‘different’; Cp súpul ‘different, one’; Sr hovaa ‘i’ ‘different, changed’; Sr hova(t) ‘(an)other’; Sr hovaṭ ‘(an)other, different one’.

UACV-2620c \***wa-pul** ‘different, separate’: TO gawul ‘different, separate’; PYp gaviil ‘different’; Yq wépul; My wépu’ulai.

Hebrew plural bad-iim ‘members’ (KB); ‘parts, **extended from something**, members, limbs’ (BDB);

CN pil-li ‘appendage, a morpheme compounded in words for ‘tail, tongue, finger, toe’; CN -pil ‘offspring’; CN kwitla-pil-li ‘tail’; CN ma’-pil-li ‘finger’; CN ikšo-pil-li ‘toe.’ [p1b,p2d,p3d] [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: TrC]

**539** Hebrew baadal ‘withdraw’; MHebrew baadal ‘divide’; Arabic badda ‘substitute, II change, exchange’:

UACV-664 \***pata** (ex)change: Dakin 1982-70: CN patla ‘change, exchange s.th.’; Cr raa-pwáta’ataka’a ‘lo cambió (dinero)’. [p > Cr pw] [p1b,p2d,p3l] [SUA: Azt, CrC]

**540** Hebrew bṭḥ ‘trust, v’ (< Sem bṭḥ); Hebrew biṭḥa(t) ‘trusting’; Hebrew béṭaḥ ‘security’; besides the two preceding nouns showing high front vowels, other unattested forms are probable in ancient spoken Hebrew, such as \***baṭiḥ** ‘trusted’, which would encourage assimilations toward high front vowels as we find in the UA forms; semantically, of course, when you trust persons or facts, you believe them; thus UA

UACV-173a \***pitiwa** ‘believe, be true/real, trustable’: Eu vícwaci ‘creer (believe)’; Eu vicwaterá ‘creer’; Tbr wicimwá ‘creer’ (\*p > Tbr w; and \*w > mw in Tbr); Wr piciké-na ‘believe s.o.’; Wr piciwá-ni ‘tell the truth’; Wr piciwári ‘the truth’; Tr biči/wiči ‘creer [believe], tener fe [have faith]’. A third syllable (wa) is clear in Eu, Wr, Tbr, and Hp. The Tep forms—Nv ibiga/ibigida ‘confiarse de alguno [trust in s.th.]’; PYp hivig ‘believe’—are also related, with a prefix: \*pitiwa > \*piciwa > Tep \*hi-pis(i)ga > \*ipisga > \*ipiga, as s in a cluster readily fades in UA; thus, -viga aligns well. The -c- in both NUA and SUA suggests medial \*-tt-, not PUA \*-c-. Add Ktn pucuk ‘very, hard’. Note both here and at \*pow ‘road’, Ktn has k < \*w.

UACV-173b \***tī-pitti** ‘very, really’: I.Num248 \*tīpici ‘very, really’; M88-ti34; KH/M06-ti34: NUA shows a \*tī- prefixed to \*pitiwa: Hp tīpiciwa ‘believe’; CU tīvīci-gyay ‘believe, vt’; CU tīvīci ‘very, truly, adv’; CU tīvīci-tī ‘truth’; TSh tīpici ‘very’; Sh tīpi-ci ‘really, true’; Cm tībici ‘really, surely, very’; TSh tīpici ‘very, really, truly, adv & adj’; Mn tībizi-túsu ‘it’s true, for sure’; Mn tībizi-tu ‘great, important’; NP tīpicci ‘very much, really, authentic’; Sh tīpicaan ‘real good’; Kw tīvi-ži ‘real, really, genuine’; Kw tīvi-ži-ga ‘believe in’; Kw tīvi-ši(m)bi ‘really? Is that so? It is so. It is true’; SP tīvi-ci ‘very, really’; SP tīviciga ‘obey, v’; SP tīvi-šu ‘sure enough’; CU tīvīci ‘very, truly’; Ch(L) tīvīci ‘real, genuine’; My tépa ‘muy [very]’. The perceived morpheme break in Kw and Sh may be exactly that—perceived—not actual. [\*-p-] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**541** Hebrew **baaṭuuḥ** ‘trusting’; ‘trustful, confident’ (Klein); this is a different word from the same root bṭḥ, and another instance of \*t/c > Tepiman s then > h, and ‘trusting’ is ‘believing’, as in the UA term:

UACV-174 \***paso** (> \***papso**) ‘true, consider true, believe, truly, indeed!’: UA \*paso (> \*papso) in Tepiman is \*vaho/\*waho (> \*vavho / \*wawho): TO wohoh/wehoh ‘truly, indeed, in fact’; TO wehohcuḏ ‘believe in’;

PYp vohovi 'correct, true'; PYp vohovig elid 'believe, vt'; PYp vohgelia 'obey, vt'; PYp vo'gelca 'believe, vt'; NT váávoitüüdaí 'make or consider true'; NT váávoi 'true, certain'; NT vááviava 'be true, certain'; perhaps Tep \*vaho (<\*paso) since NT and TO wehoh may suggest an original *a* that assimilated toward the following *o* in the other forms: \*a-o > o-o/e-o, and reduplication is apparent in NT. [V assim] [SUA: Tep]

**542** Hebrew **bṭḥ** 'trust, v' (< Sem bṭḥ), impfv: -bṭaḥ; this is the same root as the above, but the imperfect stem -bṭaḥ, to which we would expect UA \*cawV:

UA \*cawa 'believe'; the impfv stem of Hebrew baṭaḥ is CV-**bṭaḥ** (CV- pron prefix), from which we would expect exactly UA \*cawa, because (1) the cluster -bṭ- would lose the initial bilabial (as in špḥ, ib', etc), and (2) the vowel *a*, found in UA, is exactly the stem vowel of the Hebrew imperfect of that verb, a relative rarity among the more common stem vowel of *o* in most Hebrew impfv verb forms. UA \*cawa 'true, consider true/believe': Mn cáu-tu 'true'; Cr -caawa- of Cr rá'a-caawa-te 'obey him, believe him.' [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

**543** Hebrew **baaṭuuḥ** 'trusting'; 'trustful, confident' (Klein); this is

UACV-1276 \*puttuwa (> \*puttucukwa) 'know': TSh pusikwa 'know how to'; Kw pucugu 'know how to'; Ch putúcuga 'understand, know, learn'; SP puhúcukwaN 'know, understand'; WMU pučúćugway 'know'; CU pučúćugway 'know, be familiar with'. These SNumic forms reflect the same Hebrew word as Tepiman \*paso above (541), and they tie with \*pitiwa 'believe' (540: CU tivici; Sh típi-ci 'really, true'; Hp típciwa; Eu víwace-m; Eu víwace-m; víwacé-rá-; Tbr wicimwá, Wr piciké; Tr biči); as believing s.th. and knowing s.th. are an easy semantic shift, whether a good idea or not. From \*pucuwa and velarization of the labiovelar \*w (>kw), then loss of postvelar rounding in Ch. Note Ch -t- < \*-tt- and NUA -c- < \*-tt-. [w/kw/k] [p1b,p2t,p3h2] [NUA: Num]

**544** Syriac bd' 'to invent, make up'; Mehri Soq bd' 'to lie'; OSArabic bd'an 'loose talk'; Hebrew bada' 'to invent, devise', pl: bad'uu; Hebrew bad 'loose talk, boasting'; MHebrew bd' 'to fabricate, lie'; of a similar root and meaning is Syriac bdl 'speak foolishly, invent folly'; Syriac baaduul-aa 'babbling, foolish':

UACV-105 \*paru 'bad, say bad about': B.Tep183 \*paru 'to speak evil of'; KH/M06-pa68 'bad': In B.Tep183 are NT parúnai and Upper Piman padí. In addition, \*par appears in some Tep languages meaning 'bad' though not necessarily having to do with speaking: TO pad 'bad, evil, spoiled, deteriorated'; PYp par 'bad'; ST parvan 'defective'. [\*l: UA liquids] [p1b,p2d,p3'] [SUA: Tep]

**545** Arabic bd' 'begin, start'; Arabic bad'a(t) 'beginning, start, n'; start(ed), v (fem subj) (less likely Hebrew baṭḥillaa; Arabic bdṣ 'start, do for the first time' (badṣ); Arabic bidṣat 'innovation'):

UACV-170 \*pīwa(t) 'first, begin': B.Tep292 \*vīpīga 'first'; CL.Azt13 \*peewa 'begin, v'; M88-pī4 'first'; KH/M06- pī4: UP wīpīga; LP vīpīg; NT īpīga; ST vīpī; TO weepeg 'first, adj/adv'; TO weepegat 'become the first, vi'; Nv bupuga (probably < \*vīpīga) 'antes, primero'; PYp veepegi 'first'; NT ībīgidīrī 'behind, before'; ST vīpī 'first'; CN peewa 'to begin'; Pl peewa 'begin'; HN peewa 'begin'. Add Eu viwát 'primera vez [first time]' and Tb(H) peewelaḡ 'first'. One sees frequent intervocalic voicing of \*p in Tep languages. The verbal noun or other processes would cluster the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants, to lose the 2<sup>nd</sup>. I moved the Aztec forms from M88-pī3 'new' to be here with the forms of M88-pī4, as the two overlap. Compare also \*pītu 'new' whereat is M88-pī3 'new' and B.Tep289 \*vītudī 'new' which shows all 3 consonants well enough. Note the frequency of final -t or glottal stop in the reflexes. [\*p > Azt p; Tep g < \*w] [SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**546** Arabic bd' 'begin, start'; Arabic bada'a 'start(ed), began'; Arabic bad'-V 'beginning, start, n'; or Arabic bdṣ 'introduce, start, do for the first time'; Arabic bidṣ-V 'new, original, unprecedented':

UACV-1523 \*pītiC / \*pītuC / \*pītuwa 'new': M67-305 \*pe 'new'; I.Num173 \*pīti(h) 'new, recently'; L.Son203 \*pimī 'nuevo'; B.Tep289 \*vītudī 'new'; CL.Azt13 \*peewa 'begin', 259 \*\*pī'i new; M88-pī3 'new'; KH/M06-pī3: Mn pīdī (< \*pīti) 'just, early'; Mn pīdītīp(i) (< \*pītītīpī) 'new, young'; NP pīdī 'start'; NP pīdī taggwī'i 'just start to walk (as baby)'; NP pīdī madabīina 'begin making'; NP pīdī taca 'early summer'; Hp pīhī 'new'; TO wečij; LP vītđi; LP vītuta/vītūta 'new thing'; PYp vet-daga 'new, adj'; PYp vetuda 'new, adj'; NT utúđi/utúúđai; Cr héhkwa / háhkwa. Jane Hill (p.c.) also notes Tb mappitta-l 'new, new one'. Both the Num and Tep forms show t as a 2nd consonant, followed by -u- (\*u > Num i often enough). The Azt branch shows no -t-, but Azt -w- and -u- of the other branches may relate, with t lost in the resulting cluster: \*pitwa > \*pīwa/\*pītu. [Azt p-] [p1b,p2d,p3'] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**547** Arabic bd' 'begin, start'; Arabic bada'a 'start(ed), began' > Ktn puycu 'begin'.

**548** Syriac bd' 'invent, make up'; Mehri Soq bd' 'to lie'; OSArabic bd'an 'loose talk'; Hebrew bada' 'to invent, devise':

AYq veewa 'non-sense, gibberish'; AYq veewa-tia hia 'brag, boast, complain, whine'. These show that both meanings 'new' and 'bad-talk' show the pattern \*pīwa / \*biwa < bad'a. And AYq v < Hebrew b, not p.

**549** Arabic blg / balaga ‘to shine, dawn’ (impfv ya-blugu, v.n. buluug); Arabic blg / **baliga** ‘be happy, glad’; Hebrew hi-bliig ‘cause to flash, become cheerful, brighten up’; Yq bále ‘gozar [enjoy, rejoice]’; Yq balí-ria ‘el gozo [joy, gladness]’; My bélohko ‘brilla, brillante [shining]’; AYq vélohko ‘bright, shining’; AYq valepo ‘desire, will’. [p1b,p2l,p3g]

### 5.3 Comparable Forms of Semitic-p b > p vs. Semitic-kw b > kw

**550** Biblical Aramaic **bəšár** ‘flesh’, bišr-aa ‘flesh-the’; Hebrew báášaar ‘flesh, penis’:

UACV-1618 \***pisa** ‘penis’: Sapir; VVH73 \*pisa ‘penis’; L.Son201; M88-pi2 ‘penis’; \*pisa ‘pene’; KHM/06-pi2: Hp pis- ‘glans penis (comb. form)’; TO wiha; LP via; PYP viaha; Wr piśá; Tr bisa / wiśá; Tbr wiśá-t. Add \*-pisa- of Ls péévisa-š ‘body hair’ with Ls pé’ ‘feathers, fur, body hair’ likely a compound from ‘hair of penis’ or ‘pubic hair’. This set also shows that Semitic-p does not show r encouraging its preceding vowels toward high-front vowels like Sem-kw does, which suggests that words like UA \*taka ‘man, person’ (< Aramaic dakar ‘male, man’) are from Sem-p. Furthermore, the vowelings of this Sem-p item is close to Aramaic’s vowelings. [p1b,p2s2,p3r] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**5** The above contrasts with Sem-kw of Hebrew báášaar ‘flesh, penis’ > UA \***kwasi** ‘tail, penis’ at 5.

**551** Aramaic(J) bśr ‘be sweet, pleasant, be glad’; Aramaic(J) baašaar ‘ripe, warm, sweet, well-looking’ as noun ‘body, flesh, meat’; Hebrew biššer ‘bring news, usually good news’ (i.e. cause to be glad);

Arabic bašara, impfv: ya-bširu, and Arabic bašira, impfv: ya-bšaru ‘rejoice, be delighted, be happy’;

Arabic II baššara ‘bring good news’ (that is, make happy):

UACV-2471 \***pisa** ‘like’: Kw pišaawe ‘like, love’ (Kw pišaa ‘be pretty, brave, good’); Sr piiha’n ‘like, love, be fond of’ (Sr h < \*s); NP bisa’yu ‘good, gentle, kind’; NP bisa subbida ‘love between man and wife, v’; NP bisa tabīadi ‘beautiful’. These are in contrast to NP pihapi ‘sugar’; Kw piha-vi ‘sugar’; and Sr pišaa’i ‘sweet, adj’ though Sr is in opposite direction from Kw and NP. So do we have recycled loaning/meshing movements? [c/s] [NUA: Num, Tak]

**552** Arabic baṭuna (u) ‘be paunchy, be pregnant, carry young’; Arabic baṭn ‘belly, stomach, womb’;

Hebrew qittel inf: baṭṭen ‘pregnancy’; Syriac baṭin ‘to conceive, be with child, bear’; Hebrew beṭen ‘belly (of man, of pregnant woman)’; Aramaic(J) baṭan ‘be pregnant’; the UA forms resemble an unattested quttal form \*buṭṭan ‘be made pregnant’, a passive of causative, while the causative infinitive is attested :

UACV-1722 \***putta** (> \***pocca**) ‘pregnant’: some from M67-429 \*posa/\*poca ‘swell’; L.Son214 \*posa ‘hartarse’; M88-po14 ‘swell’; KH/M06-po14 (see others at \*posa ‘swell’): Tr boca ‘be pregnant’; CN ooctli ‘someone pregnant’;

CN ooc-tiaa ‘to become pregnant’; HN ‘oc-tli’ ‘pregnant animal’; Pl ucti-tuk ‘pregnant’; SP pucca ‘be filled’; Ch póoca ‘inflate’; Sr pöö<sup>f</sup>č-k ‘swell, bloat’; Eu púcika ‘rebosar de lleno’; CN poca ‘throw up earth, burrow’. SP pucca and SUA \*poca suggest \*-tt-, because \*-c- > -y- in NUA. Note also the pharyngealized vowel in Sr pöö<sup>f</sup>č- by the pharyngealized ṭ. The NUA forms with -c- do not fit \*posa ‘swell’ (< Hebrew bšq) and are separate stems (553). Ls haváča- ‘to swell up, vi’ has consonants worth noting. ‘Be full’ with big tummy below may belong. [p > ø in Azt] [p1b,2t2,3n] [SUA: TrC, Azt; NUA: Num, Tak]

UACV-983b \***putca** / \***put...** ‘full’: The Sr forms actually show -t- or \*put...: Sr puutk ‘become full (of contents), vi’; Sr puutkin ‘fill (container) with, vt’; Sr puutu’(q) ‘fill (of contents), rise (of water)’; likewise, Ktn puṭik ‘get full’; Ktn putk ‘full, adj’. Note also Wr poci ‘estar lleno, satisfecho’ (vs. Wr posa- ‘estar lleno, satisfecho’); Tr(L) póča/búča ‘ser lleno, hincharse, enturbiarse un color’; Tr(L) bočíwi ‘llenarse’ (vs. Tr posá/bosá, bosawí (irreg pres) ‘full from eating’). [SUA: TrC, Azt, CrC; NUA: Num, Tak]

**553** Hebrew bšq ‘to swell’; Hebrew bašeṣq ‘flour-dough’ [what swells/rises]; Arabic basqat ‘raised spot’:

UACV-2263 \***posa** ‘swell’: Sapir; M67-429 \*posa/\*poca ‘swell’; L.Son214 \*posa ‘hartarse’; CL.Azt129 \*ooc ‘pregnant’, 277 \*\*poca ‘swell’; M88-po14 ‘swell’; KH/M06-po14: Hp pöösəṣw’a ‘swelling’; Hp pös’iwta ‘be swollen’;

Hp pös-ti ‘become swollen’; Wr posa- ‘estar lleno, satisfecho [be full, satisfied]’; Tr(B) posá / bosá, bosawí (irreg pres) ‘full from eating’; Cr husa ‘gesättigt sein, sich sättigen’; Cr watáhusai ‘full from eating’. Let’s add Mn puusi ‘bloat, vi’ and Eu vosve ‘llenarse de comida [get full of food]’. Sapir ties CN posaawa ‘inflate, vt’; CN posaawi ‘swell’; Cr huša ‘be satisfied’. Add Eu vosáhtude- ‘llenar a otro de comida’ and Ls havúša/i- ‘to be swollen, puffed up, vi’. Cr, Hp, CN, and TrC forms with -s- fit; however, the \*poc forms better fit \*puc(c)a above (at 552). Some forms may suggest \*pus rather than \*pos: CN išwi ‘satisfy one’s appetite for food’; Pl iišwi ‘full (of food)’; Cr tyi-hīs-tya-ka’a ‘it got filled up’. CN išwi fits the expected Azt phonology, so Azt \*posaawa (note Tr posawa) and Azt posati (note Hp pös-ti) may be borrowed from UA languages to the north. I think we UAnists have been mixing \*potV > \*poca ‘pregnant’ at pregnant and \*posa ‘swell, be full’ which are two different stems, as exemplified by the two CN forms: \*ooc- and išwi (and posaawa/i from the north),



and the UA speakers themselves may have mixed/meshed the forms semantically and phonologically over time also. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds possible Kw poho ‘swell, vi’. [*\*p > p/ø* in CN; Hp-Azt; c/s; s > h] [p1b,p2s4,p3q] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**554** Aramaic(S) bəzar ‘seed’; Aramaic(S) biizr-aa / bazr-aa ‘seed-the’; Arabic baðara ‘sow’; Arabic baðr- ‘seed, seeds’; Arabic baðra(t) ‘a seed, pit’:

UACV-1916 **\*paCci** / **\*pa’ci** ‘seed’: M67- 103 *\*paci* ‘corn’; L.Son181 *\*paci* ‘semilla’; CL.Azt141 *\*aaç* ‘seed (corn)’, 313 *\*paci* ‘seed (corn)’; M88-pa3 ‘seed’; KH/M06-pa3; Jane Hill 2001, 2007 *\*pa’ci*: Eu *suváci* (acc: *subáta*) ‘seed’; Op *baci*; Tbr *waci-rá-n*; My *báçi-a*; Yq *bací-a*; AYq *vačia* ‘seed, pit, stone’; Wr *pahcí*; Tr *bací-ra* ‘semilla de calabaza’ (Tr *bací-* ‘calabaza’); Tr *paçi* ‘elote, siembra’; Wc *hasí*; Cr *hací*; CN *aç-tli* ‘seed’; CN *ayo’waç-tli* ‘squash seed’. Found in TrC, Corachol, and CN; ie, SUA except Tep. Note CN *aç-tli* ‘seed’ has the expected sound correspondence *ø < \*p*, while *waç-tli* ‘seed’ resembles Tbr’s similar form. CN *piic-tli* ‘pit, stone of a fruit’ agrees with *\*puc* (see below), yet shows *p*. Lionnet lists two sets—L.Son 181 *\*paci* ‘semilla’ and L.Son182 *\*paci* ‘elote’—perhaps connected, but with different forms in some languages: L.Son182 *\*paci* ‘elote’; Yq *báci*; My *báci*; Wr *ihpáci*; Tr *páci*. Jane Hill (2007) adds Hp *paacama* ‘hominy’ and if an underlying cluster like *\*-Cc-* or *\*-’c-*, NUA *-c-* may align. [*\*p > p* vs. *ø* in CN; Tbr-CN similarities][p1b,p2z,p3f] [SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt; NUA: Hp, Tb]

**555** Aramaic(J) *bizr-aa* ‘seed-the, n.m.’; Arabic *baðr-* ‘seed, seeds’, pl: *buðuur* ‘seeds, pit, stone (of fruit)’; because CN *i < UA \*u*, all match *\*puci*, yet nouns with varying first vowel (a/i/u) are common in Semitic, especially Arabic; so CN *piic-tli* ‘pit, stone of a fruit’ < *\*puci* as also the others below:

UACV-1917 **\*puCci** ‘seed, pit’: M88-pu23; KH/M06-pu23: UA *\*pusi* ‘eye’ and UA *\*puci* ‘seed’ are often put together, as some languages have the same for both (such as Ls *puš-la*); yet several other languages have separate words. I agree with Miller and Hill in differentiating them as they do: *pu4* ‘eye’ and *pu23* ‘seed’, though several forms are cross-listed in previous works. Those with different forms than for ‘eye’ include: CN *piic-tli* ‘pit, stone of a fruit’ (vs. CN *iiš-tli* ‘face, surface, eye’); Ca *púçi-ly* ‘seed’ (vs. *puš* ‘eye, face’); Cp *púçi-ly* ‘seed’; Sr *a-puuç*; Gb *púçen* fruit, seed’; Ktn *-puc*. [p1,p2,p3] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

**556** Hebrew **baýsa(t)** / **beeýsa(t)** ‘egg’; Arabic **byð** / **baaða** ‘lay eggs, be white’: Arabic **bayðat-** ‘egg, testicle’: though not attested in the Masoretic Text, the plural would be Hebrew **beeýsoot**:

UACV-809 **\*piýso** ‘testicle’: Yq *bičo* ‘testicle’; Tr *biçó/wiçi* ‘testicle’; Eu *vicó-puva-* ‘castrar [castrate]’; and the *-pedho* portion of TO *wiipedho* ‘testicle’ (< *\*piipiyso*) fits nicely since TO *d < \*y* and a previous C in a cluster often causes *\*-Cs- > -c-*, and the vowel change *\*piy- > pi* in Tr, Eu, and Yq is expectable. Without TO, a reconstruction of *\*pico* would work, but *\*piýso* with TO explains all forms. [p1b,p2y,p3s4] [SUA: TrC, Tep]

**557** Ugaritic *ħrb* ‘sword, knife’; Aramaic *ħarb-* (*\*xarb-*) ‘sword’ < Akkadian *xarbu* ‘plough’; Hebrew *ħereb* ‘knife, sword’; Syriac *ħarb-aa* ‘sword, blade, dagger’:

UA **\*hayp** ‘edge, shore, end’: M88-ha17; KH.NUA; Cp *háýve* ‘end, edge, shore’; Cp *háýe* ‘finish, tire of’; Ca *háýva* ‘edge, end’; Ls *háýlu/háýla* ‘edge, end’; Gb *háýkom* ‘quedar’; Sr *hīvia* ‘side, edge, shore, by, beside’; Sr *’ayīt* ‘end’ (cognate? Miller queries; probably so, as the edge is often the end). In relation to Cp *háýe* ‘finish, tire of’ etc., PYP had ‘finish, v.t.’ is interesting, since Tep *d < \*y*, and both with *h*. [p1x,2r,3b] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

From Semitic *bwš / byš* ‘be white’ (pfv: *baaýa*) is Sem-kw > UA *\*kwaca* (> NUA *\*kwaya*), and Sem-p *\*pos*. Also Sem-kw *š > c* and Sem-p *š > s* respectively, thus, matching the expected labials *kw* and *p* as well. Also keep in mind that non-initial UA *\*-c- > -y-* in NUA, except when clustered *\*-cc-/-Cc- > -c-*: Semitic *bwš / byš*, pfv: **baaýa** ‘be white’ > *\*kwaca* > **\*kwaya** of Sem-kw (listed earlier at 48) Semitic **bwš** ‘be white’ or Syriac/Aramaic *buuþ-aa* ‘byssus, white linen’ > Tb *poos* of Semitic-p (558)

**48** Semitic *bwš / byš*, pfv: **baaýa** ‘be/became white’ [Sem-kw]:

UACV-2545 **\*kwaya** ‘white’ (< *\*kwaca*): Ls *xwáya* ‘be white’; Cp *xwáye* ‘be white’; Hp *qöya* ‘a bound form meaning white, pure, used especially in ceremonial contexts’; perhaps Cr *kwaina*. *\*kwV* reduction in Hp, between the original two consonants (*\*kw-c/y-*) in Ls and Cp. [kw1b,kw2w,kws4] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: CrC]

**558** Semitic **bwš** / **byð** ‘be white’; Hebrew *buuþ* ‘byssus (< Greek *bussos* < Semitic) white linen’;

Syriac / Aramaic *buuþ-aa* ‘byssus, white linen-the’ [Semitic-p]:

UA **\*pos** ‘white’: Tb *poosit~’oþos* ‘be white’ (Tb(H) *poosit*); Tb *poosat* ‘white’. [p1b,p2w,p3s4] [NUA: Tb]

The next four items reflect the same root (bky ‘cry’): Semitic-p’s perfective, Sem-kw’s pfv, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine imperfective, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine impfv.

**559** Hebrew **bky/ baka** ‘cry, weep’ (perf stem); yV-bkV (imperf stem); Syriac *bakaa / baka*’:

UACV-612 **\*paka** ‘cry, v’: Hp pak- ‘cry’; Tb(M) pahaa’at / ’apahaa’ ‘cry, bawl, howl’ (Tb h < \*k); Ktn paka’ ‘ceremonial yeller, clown who shouts all day to announce a fiesta’. Of interest is that the Syriac form actually shows the aleph or glottal stop, often only used as a long vowel place holder; yet the glottal stop in Tb and Ktn show the glottal stop pronounced, aligning with Syriac more than with the Hebrew and Arabic terms lacking that glottal stop. [p1b,p2k,p3’] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak]

**24** Hebrew **bky/ bakaa**’ ‘cry, weep’ [Sem-kw has Semitic bakaa > UA **\*kwikī/\*o’kī** ‘cry’]:

UA **\*kw** > Tr w and Wr w, so Tr weke/oke ‘weep, shed tears’ < UA **\*kwikī**:

UACV-604 **\*kwikī / \*o’kī** ‘(shed) tears’: M88-’o6 ‘tears’: AMR1993; Stubbs1995-28; KH/M06-’o6: Tr weke/oke ‘to shed tears’; Wr o’kéwa ‘lágrimas’; Tr oke-wá ‘lágrimas’; Wc úkai ‘lágrimas’ corresponds to Tr/Wr oke.

Because bilabials as first segment in a cluster consistently disappear (-bk- > -k-), the impfv 3<sup>rd</sup> m. sg Hebrew **\*yVbkV** ‘weep’ with impfv prefix originally **\*ya-** (later **yi-**) also matches UA **\*yaka / \*yakka** ‘cry’ well:

**560** Semitic **\*ya-bka**’ ‘he/it weeps, cries’ > Hebrew **yi-bke**<sup>(y)</sup> ‘he/it cries’; Hebrew **ti-bke**<sup>(y)</sup> ‘she/it cries’; Hebrew **’e-bke**<sup>(y)</sup> ‘I cry’; Arabic **ya-bkiy**:

UACV-610 **\*yaCkaC** ‘to cry, sg’: L.Num290 **\*yake/\*yaka** ‘cry’; M88-ya11 ‘cry’; KH/M06-ya7, 11: Mn **yaga** ‘cry, vi’; NP **yaka** ‘cry, sg’ (< **\*yakka**); TSh **yakaiC / yake**; Sh **yakaiC** ‘cry, sg’; Cm **yake** ‘cry, sg’; Kw **yagi** ‘cry, sing (of bird), crow (of rooster)’; SP **yaga** ‘cry, neigh (horse), hoot (owl)’; CU **yagá-**. Add Ch(L) **yaga-** ‘cry’ and Ktn **yik** ‘scream’. Both NP(B) and NP(Y) have **yaka** ‘cry, vi’ (< **\*yakka**), suggesting gemination, though the others have lost the gemination.

UACV-1883 **\*ya...** ‘say’: M67-363 **\*ya** ‘say’; BH.Cup **\*ya** ‘say’ (Cp **ya-**; Ca **yá-**; Ls **ya-**); M88-ya7 ‘say’; KH/M06-ya7: Cp **yax**; Ca **yáx** ‘to be so, to say’; Ls **yá(x)** ‘say, tell’; Hp **yaw** ‘quotative particle’; Cr **yee** ‘it is said (quotative)’; Miller queries whether Wc **hai** is cognate. I like AMR’s (1993c) union of Num **\*yaka** ‘cry’ at cry with the Cupan forms. [p1i,p2b,p3k,p4i] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: CrC]

**561** Semitic **\*ta-bka**’ ‘she/it weeps, cries’ > Hebrew **ti-bke**<sup>(y)</sup> ‘she/it cries’; Arabic **ta-bkiy**:

NP **taka** (< **\*takka**) ‘cry, vi’. NP has both m and f 3<sup>rd</sup> sg of **\*ya-bka** > **yakka** and **\*ta-bka** > UA **\*takka** ‘cry’ and consistently geminates/doubles the middle consonant in both as well. [1t,2b,3k,4y]

**562** From the Semitic root **nbṭ** is a verb ‘look (at)’ attested mostly in the **hiqtiil** form, which causes the -nb- cluster to become a doubled (dageshed) -bb-. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person pfv stem—Hebrew **hi-bbiṭ**—with stem **-bbiṭ**; and the impfv stem is similar with different prefixes: Hebrew **ya-bbiṭ** ‘he looks’; **ta-bbiṭ** ‘you/she looks’; etc. We see these affixless stems often in UA. The UA stem—UA **\*pici / \*pica** ‘look, see’—matches well, and would belong to Semitic-p, since a doubled/dageshed -bb- from Sem-kw would be -kw- rather than -p-. Hebrew **mabbaaṭ** ‘expectation, object hoped for’.

UACV-1907 **\*pica** (< **\*pita**) ‘see’: L.Son193 **\*pica** ‘ver’; M88-pi21; KH/M06-pi21: Op **vica**; Eu **vičá**; Yq **bíca**; AYq **viča**; My **bícca**; Hp **pipca** ‘perceive, notice’; Tr **beči / peči** ‘ver [see]’. Kw **naviži** (< **\*na-pici**) ‘appear, be showing’ i.e. ‘be seen’ with passive **\*na-** prefix. [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: TrC]

UACV-2457a **\*popica** ‘wait for’: M88-po6 ‘esperar’; KH/M06-po6: TO **wo’išig**; My **boobícca**; AYq **voviča** ‘wait for, vt’. Eu **oiswe/oisiu-ce** ‘aguardar por mucho tiempo’ may be a loan from a Tep form like TO above, and the TO item may be a dissimilation: **\*popica** > **\*po’ica**. The Cahitan forms (AYq, My **\*popica**) likely contain **\*pica** ‘look’, with initial **\*po** ‘in/at’ (an object), thus ‘looking for him’ like Latin **ex-pect** ‘out-look’ and Spanish **esperar**. Note also a ‘look/see’ morpheme in Kw **pini-kee** ‘watch, wait for’. These match Hebrew **-bbiṭ** bo ‘look at/for him/it’ and note the Hebrew noun ‘expectation’ above. [p1n,p2b,p3t2]

**563** Hebrew **śaapaa(t)**, pl: **sapoot** ‘lip, speech, edge, shore (of sea), bank (of river)’;

Egyptian(H) **spt** ‘Lippe [lip]’, pl: **spwt** ‘lip’; Coptic **spotu** < **\*spotwey**, dual);

UA **\*sapa-** ‘lip’ and UA **\*puti** ‘lip(s)’; the pl first lost the vowel in the unaccented syllable, which cluster later lost the s: **\*sapoti / \*səpoti** > **spoti** > **poti**, treated in the next item.

UACV-1355 **\*sapala** (< **\*sapata**) ‘lip’: Wr **asapéla** ‘lip’; CN **šiipal-li** ‘lip’. Many UA forms are also compounded with UA **\*tīn-** ‘mouth’ (< Hebrew **ḏiqn-** ‘chin’), which **\*tīn** often loses the glottal stop and assimilates to **tem-** before bilabials: CN **teen-šiipal-li** ‘lip’; Eu **tén-pira** ‘lip’; Tbr **tini-purí-t**; Yq **tem-beria**, My **tem-beria**; Cr **biirúh**. The vowels are difficult, but the three consonants are s-p-l/t-. The TrC forms have lost the sibilant in the cluster as a result of compounding with **\*tīn-** ‘mouth’, which is typical sibilant behavior in UA: **\*tīn-sVpVla** > **tīn-spīla** > **tīnpīla** > **tīmpil**. The Numic forms result from a similar compound—**\*ten-pai** > **\*tīmpai**—such that the final -pai could be related, missing l: TSh **tīmpetīnkampi** ‘lip’; Sh **tīmpai/tīmpē**; CU **tīpa-wəsi-vi**. CN and NUA show 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel to be **a**—**\*(sa)pal(a)**—which could be, as the following liquid tends to raise vowels and could have done so for the TrC forms. Add Sh **sapai-pin** ‘side’?

Perhaps Sr šīṭ ‘mouth, lips’ with loss of p in a cluster? What of Ktn hīvi ‘coast’? Intervocalic liquids usually become glottal stop in Yq, so the fact we have -r- in Yq and Cr means they are from original \*-t-. [p1s2,p2p,p3t] [NUA: Num; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**564** Hebrew šaapaa(t) ‘lip’, pl: šapoot ‘lips’, s<sup>3</sup>pootee<sup>v</sup> ‘lips of’:

UA \*puti ‘lip’ in Tbr tini-purī-t ‘lip’ is from the Hebrew plural: Tbr first lost the vowel in the unaccented syllable, which cluster later lost the s: \*sapote > sputi > puti, and rising of o > u and e > i is usual in UA.

**565** Hebrew mkr / maakar ‘sell, give (Judges 2:14, 3:8, 4:2)’ selling is giving to the buyer, and mkr means ‘give’ as well; furthermore, UA \*na-maka ‘sell’ means ‘sell’, the reciprocal being ‘give to each other, trade, give (goods for s.th.)’, and AMR sees a final -C in \*makaC:

UACV-1003 \*makaC (AMR) ‘give’: Sapir; VVH83 \*maka ‘give’; B.Tep139 \*maakai ‘he gives’; M67-196a \*maka ‘give’; I.Num91 \*ma(h)ka ‘feed, give’; BH.Cup \*max ‘give’; KH.NUA; M88-ma12; AMR 1993c \*makaC; KH/M06-ma12 \*makaC (AMR) ‘give (food), feed’: a common etymon in all branches of UA. Mn maqa; NP makka ‘give, feed’; TSh maka(n); Sh makaC ‘feed’; Cm maka ‘feed, give to eat’; Kw maga ‘give, feed’; Ch magá; SP mağa ‘give’;

WMU mağá-y ‘feed, give food’; CU mağá-y ‘feed’; Hp maqa ‘give to s.o.’; Tb maha; Sr maqai; Ca máx ‘give (money, clothes, sell’; Cp maxa; TO maak, maki; PYP maaka; NT maákai; ST maak; makia; Eu maká-; Tbr maka; mika; Yq máka; míka ‘regalar’; My makka; miika; Wc mikwa ‘give to eat’; CN maka ‘take medicine, give s.th. to s.o.’; CN na-maka ‘sell’. Add Ktn mak ‘give’ and Ktn namakat ‘generous person’ also. I like AMR’s reconstruction, as a final -C exists in CNum. A few geminate the 2<sup>nd</sup> C, perhaps for intensification rather than proto-structure. [\*k > h in Tb] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

UACV-2395a \*namiki (< \*na-maka) ‘pay, sell’: B.Tep167 \*namiki ‘pay’; M88-na33 ‘pay’; KH/M06-na33:

TO namkið(a) ‘pay’; NT ááta namikidīi ‘pay’; ST namki ‘pay, vi’; ST namkia ‘cost’; ST namkidya ‘pay him’. Cf. CN tiaamiki ‘buy, sell’. Add Mn no’mahi/no’mihi ‘buy, vt’ (k > h in Mn).

UACV-2395b \*na-maka ‘distribute, sell, give out’: KH.NUA; Sr naamq ‘distribute, give out, give to several people’; Cp námxalayka ‘to the store’; Cp né-mexe ‘sell, give as gift’; Ls námxa ‘give to several people, distribute’. In regard to both of the above, consider also: Ca máx ‘give (money, clothes, sell’; Eu nemáka ‘sell’; Yq nénka ‘sell’; My nenka ‘sell’ (Cah \*nínka < \*nímaka); CN namaka ‘sell’; and Ktn no’mk ‘buy, vt’. Perhaps all from < \*na-maka, with reciprocal na- prefixed to \*maka ‘give’ as buying/selling requires reciprocal giving, i.e., giving s.th. in exchange for the goods. Zigmond et al (1991) have Kw na-waga ‘buy’ from \*na-maka. [k > h; mk > nk in Cah] [p1m,p2k,p3r] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

## 5.4 Semitic ’aleph (Glottal Stop: ’) > w/o/o’

In Semitic-p, the Semitic ’aleph or **glottal stop** (’) is also prone to rounding, reflecting **w**, **o**, or **u**, sometimes in conjunction with a glottal stop as well: o’o, u’. This rounding phenomenon for ’ is apparent in Semitic itself. Arabic s’l (sa’ala) in the Arabic II form, which doubles the medial consonant, yields sawwala (< \*sa’ala). Other examples are Arabic wabbara ‘be covered with feathers’ from the root ’br (Koehler and Baumgartner, 9) and Arabic II rawwas ‘to point, sharpen, taper’ from the root r’s, the source of ra’s ‘head, tip, top, vertex’. Also see Syriac under UA \*wakay ‘two’ (570). As occasionally in Semitic itself, likewise in UA the Semitic-p ’aleph or **glottal stop** (’) **yields** rounding (**w**, **o**, or **u**), exemplified in 566-583, etc:

**566** Hebrew ’ariy / ’arii ‘lion’:

UACV-1352 \*wari ‘mountain lion, predatory animal’: M67-110b \*wa coyote; L.Son346 \*wo’i ‘coyote’; M88-wa7; Stubbs 2000b-32,35; KH/M03-wa7; KH/M03-wo11: Wr worí ‘mountain lion’; Wr(MM) worí ‘mountain lion’; Tbr wawi / wowi / vavo ‘mountain lion’; Cr waábe’e ‘coyote’ (pl: waábe’e-te ‘coyotes’); Op gori ‘coyote’; Eu voi/boi/woi ‘coyote’; Wr wo’í ‘coyote’; Yq wó’i / go’i ‘coyote’ (-r- > -’-); My wó’i ‘coyote’; Tbr wawi-nal, vavo-nal ‘wolf’; Tbr woi / goi ‘coyote’; PYP kolisi ‘mountain lion’ (note Op gori, thus devoicing of g > k in PYP). Cr may be a loan from Tbr wawi ‘lion’ or underwent the same kind of consonant harmony, with the 2<sup>nd</sup> w > v / b). I consider TrC \*wo’i ‘coyote’ to be related to Wr \*wori ‘lion’, in that often r > ’ in Cahitan especially. Wr wo’í is likely a loan from Cah, so of Wr wo’í ‘coyote’ and Wr worí ‘cougar’, the first is a loan. I also consider Miller’s initial vowel a to be correct (as in Tbr and Cr), and that o is due to the rounding influence of adjacent w; note vestiges of the Tep sound change \*wo’i > go’i in Op and Tbr words for ‘coyote’; and Wr and Op -r- and Yq and My -’- (< \*-r-) all point to reconstructing \*-r-. Could Sr wanaṭ ‘wolf or cougar’ be a nasalization of the liquid (or is it with \*kwana ‘coyote’). Or what of Sr wahi ‘coyote’? [C harmony; original V in Cr, Tbr, Sr; \*L > ’; Cr-Tbr contact? like leaf] [p1’,p2r,p3i] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**567** Hebrew 'mn 'believe' appears only in hiqtiil forms: Hebrew **ya'amiin** 'he believes/trusts/stands firm, 3<sup>rd</sup> m. sg'; Hebrew **ya'amiin-o** 'he believes him/it':

**UACV-172 \*yawamin-(o)** 'believe (him/it)': KH.NUA; M88-ya27; KH/M06-ya27: Sr yawamin 'believe' again shows the glottal stop as -w-, and aligns through 7 segments. Gb yawáyno 'believe it'; Gb lost -m- (elsewhere also), which is otherwise identical to Sr, but shows the suffix for a 3<sup>rd</sup> person masc sg object -o. Thus, Hebrew ya'amiin-o 'believe him/it' > Gb yawayno 'believe him/it' is a lengthy match, missing only -m- of 8 segments. Ktn yaṇam 'believe' and Ktn yaṇamineana 'they believe all of it' belong as well, as some \*w > ŋ (see \*tīpiwa / \*tīpiṇa 'ask', \*siwa / \*suṇa 'girl', as also in Munro 1973). Ktn, with \*-w- > -ŋ-, also matches through 7 segments. Marcus Smith (p.c.), a linguist knowledgeable in Sr, second only to Ken Hill, suggested only as much as Sr yawa is the stem, and indeed yawa' often appears in *Wayta' Yawa': Always Believe* (Ramon and Elliot 2000); however, it seems to be a truncated form, because Kenneth Hill has Sr yawamin in his dictionary, and both Gb and Ktn show the same stem of the same length. In addition, Tb yahn~'aayanh 'believe him, vt' also belongs though truncated in the middle, but is consistent with final -n. Likewise, after \*-awa- > -o- in My yomnia 'contesta [answer], responde [respond]' (yawamin > yomin > yomni), My also shows both -m- and -n-. The basic meaning of the Semitic root is 'confirm, be firm' and thus the hiqtiil is 'cause / consider to be firm, reaffirm' which is what one does in 'answering' or 'believing'. So besides Sr, we also have Gb, Ktn, Tb, and My—five languages from three branches, representing both NUA and SUA, which show forms originating from yawamin. To impfv: ya'amiin, we add the pfv: he'<sup>e</sup>man, from which Ca hee'an is missing only -m- also. [p1',p2m,p3n] [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: TrC]

**568** Hebrew perfective: he'<sup>e</sup>man 'he believed':

Ca hée'an 'believe s.o., agree on s.th.' is much reduced, but shows the vowels and the initial h- of the Hebrew 3<sup>rd</sup> sg masculine perfective: he'<sup>e</sup>man. [NUA: Tak]

**569** Hebrew 'egooz 'nut tree'; Aramaic(J) 'eguuz- / 'amguuz-aa 'nut, nut tree-the'; Ugaritic ṣrgz; the Semitic forms are considered loanwords from Armenian engoiz; notice that some UA languages show nasalization just before the 2<sup>nd</sup> C -Ng-, just as occurs in Aramaic, Ugaritic, and their loan source:

**UACV-1626a \*wokoN / \*wo(N)koC** 'pine': Sapir; VVH142 \*wo<sub>o</sub>ko 'pine'; M67-320a \*woko/\*hoko 'pine tree'; I.Num275 \*woṅko(N) 'pine tree, fir, spruce'; BH.Cup \*wexét 'pine'; HH.Cup \*wəxé- 'pine'; L.Son349 \*woko 'pino'; CL.Azt126 \*oko < 265 \*\*woko 'pine'; Fowler83; M88-wo4 'pine tree'; AMR 1993c \*wokon; KH/M06-wo4 \*wokon: Mn woqobī; Mn wohwopīī (Fowler83); NP woggopi; TSh woṅkopi; Sh wonko-pin; TSh woṅwobe (Fowler83); Kw woho-dī-bī 'bull pine'; SP oḡoN-/aḡoN-, oḡo-mpī 'fir tree'; CU 'aḡó-pī 'ponderosa pine'; Tb woṅhal 'pine sp';

Tb wohombit 'little pine tree'; Tb wohomboo-l 'bull pine'; Hp löqö(coki); Cp wexit'i-t; Ca wéxet; Ls wixé'tu-t 'pine sp., Pinus coulteri'; Eu vokó-t/wokó-t; Eu gokót 'pine' (Pennington1981); Tbr nyokó-t; Yq oko; Yq(J) wóko; My wokko; Wr wohkó/ohkó; Tr okó 'pino, clase de pino'; Cr hukú;

Wc huku; CN oko-tl 'pine tree, torch made of pine'. Also add Ktn wokoh-t 'pine sp'. AMR astutely notes also Ls pa-wxi-t, wixé-t 'canoe'. Note also Ls wixé'tu-t 'a kind of pine, Pinus coulteri'. This set is curious: the expected reflex of \*woko in Tep (\*goko) does not appear, but is as Bascom notes \*hukui. However, Op gok 'pino' (Shaul) and Eu gokót do show g < \*w; but Eu also has Eu vokót 'pino'. Miller queries whether Tep \*hukui ties to UA \*woko, as we all must, yet two round vowels and medial -k- make it more probable than not, yet the Tep forms' looking like CrC hukú make CrC the likely loan source which may suggest more northerly origins for CrC. Note that Tb(H) wohhont 'pine nuts from gray pine/bull pine' is the 'nut' and the shorter form, like the Semitic word, whereas Tb(H) wohhoono-l / wohhoono-l 'gray pine, bull pine' have additional morphemes for the tree, the pine-nut possessor/tree. Usual Tak correspondences are \*o > Ls e, Ca i, Cp i, but here Ls i, Ca e, Cp e.

**UACV-1626b B.Tep77 \*hukui** 'pine tree'; Fowler83; TO huk; LP huk; PYp huko 'fir'; NT úkui; ST huk. There was likely borrowing from CrC \*huku to Tep \*hukui, because the Tep reflexes have both the h and the vowel u of CrC, while they should show Tep \*goko like Eu does. [Wr wo, Tr o; Tak vowels] [p1',p2ng,p3z] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt, Tep]

**570** Hebrew \*'xr > 'ḥr 'be behind, tarry, linger'; Hebrew \*'axar 'behind, adv, after, prep';

Hebrew \*'axare<sup>y</sup> 'back, rear end, n, behind, prep'; Hebrew 'aḥer (< \*'axer) 'other, later, following';

Aramaic(J) \*'axer 'another, the other, stranger'; Hebrew 'aaḥoor (< \*'aaxoor) 'back, rear, behind, west, later, n and adv'; Arabic 'aaxar 'another, one more'; Arabic 'axiir 'last, the **second** of two';

Syriac (aqtel) 'awḥar 'tarry'; Syriac 'aḥrinaa 'the other, the next';

Hebrew 'aḥar / 'aḥer (< Proto-Sem \*'axar) 'another, after' from the Semitic verb 'xr 'be behind, i.e., follow' surfaces in several forms in UA, but most pervasively in the number 'two': 28 of 30 UA languages show a reflex of PUA \***wakay/waxay** 'two': Numic \*wahay; Hp löö-yö-m (Hp l < \*w);

Takic \*woh; Ktn woh; Tep \*goka; Wr woka; My wooyi; Yq woi; Tbr nyohor; Eu wok, wodī(m). Just as Spanish segundo 'second' and seguir 'follow' both derive from Latin sequ/sekw 'follow' (English sequel), so

did Semitic 'axar come to mean '2<sup>nd</sup>/two' as a vestige of 'follow' in Yq and My: Yq and My busani 'six'; but Yq wo-busani 'seven'; My woi-busani 'seven'; the Cahitic forms (Yq, My) do not make sense as 'two-six' for 'seven', since 'two-six' would be either 8 or 12, but they only make sense as 'after-six,' ie, 'seven'. Tr okua 'two' (Hilton 1993, 141) shows the solid k as we see in Tep and Eu and partially in Num and Tbr h, but many lost the \*k and others the \*y (< r). Sr waha 'also, too, either' also belongs and semantically aligns with 'another, one more'. Ktn waha parallels Sr waha' and Ktn waha 'start back again' semantically aligns with Arabic II 'axxar 'put back, set back'. Details follow:

**UACV-2622a \*wakay** 'two, after': I.Num267 \*waha(h) 'two'; M88-wa10; KH/M03-wa10: NP waha('yu); Mn wahá-i/tu; Mn(L) wahahtu / wahaí 'two'; TSh; Sh wahattíwih; WSh wahattín; Cm; Kw wahayu; Ch waha; SP waa; WMU wáyini; CU wáyini; Sr waah- / wah- 'twice'; Gb wahá 'other, companion'. Ken Hill adds Ktn wah- / weh- 'twice'. The wá'a- of Cr wá'apua likely also belongs (see note at \*wo-pusani 'seven'). While others divide them (wa10, wo1), Num \*wahay and \*wokay are related. Note Kw wahayu 'two' and Tb(H) wahaayu / wahaay 'after that, from there'. There are other sets showing Num -h- corresponding to SUA -k-, and \*a > o/w\_ adjacent to w. [-h- > ø (in Hopi), > ' (in Cora)]

**UACV-2622b \*wokay**: Sapir; VVH103 \*wo 'two'; B.Tep46 \*gooka; BH.Cup \*wéh; M67-509 \*wo / \*woka / \*woy; L.Son344 \*wo; M88-wo1; KH.NUA; KH/M03-wo1: Sr wöh; Ls wéh; Ca wih; Cp wih; Gb wehé'; Hp lööyö' (divided by Hill as löö-yö-'); Tb woh/woo; Eu wodí(m)/wok (Lionnet 1986); Eu godum, gen: goké; acc: gok (Pennington 1981); Tbr nyohór; Yq wói; My wooyi; Wr woká; Tr okwá. Note also Yq and My wo'olim 'twins'. [For medial k/h, cf. three, pine, deer: \*k > k in Tep, Wr, Tr; \*k > h in most of Num, Tak, Tbr; \*k > ø in Hp, Tb, Cah, SP, CU, and one Eu form; Tbr ny < \*w; o/a] [p1', p2x, p3r] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**UACV-2635 \*wo-pusani** 'seven': Eu seniovsáni; Op se-ni bassani; Tbr nyo-vosani-r; My woibúsaní; Yq wobúsaní / wovusani. \*pusani means 'six' and 'wo' is related to 'two'; yet 'two-six' should be 8 or 12, but not 7. However, 'after' as an underlying meaning for both this etymon and 'two' fits all semantic dimensions; that is, seven is *after* six. Compare Latin sekw- in Spanish seguir 'follow (after)' and segundo 'second'. Because liquids become glottal stop in Cr, then \*pula 'one' > -pua in Cr wá'apua 'two' and wa'a may mean 'after' there as well: \*wa'a-pua 'after-one'. [SUA: TrC]

Very relevant to ' > w is the UA pair of Ls yawáywa 'be pretty, good-looking' and Sr yí'aayí'a'n 'be pretty, beautiful', showing even in UA a tie between ' and w, plus matching Semitic ya'ya' 'beautiful':

**571** Arabic **ya'ya'** 'be beautiful'; Aramaic(J) **yaa'yaa'** 'beautiful'; Syriac yaa'ayaa' 'beautiful'; Punic y'; Hebrew yaa'aa 'be proper, fitting':

**UACV-154 \*yawa / \*yí'a** 'beautiful': KH.NUA; M88-yí19; KH/M06-yí19: Ls yawáywa 'be pretty, good-looking'; Sr yí'aayí'a'n 'be pretty, beautiful'. Another correlation between \*' and \*w in UA, and this set (aligning w and ') is proposed by both Miller and Hill. [Tak]

**UACV-155 \*uCyoli** 'beautiful': Yq 'uhyói 'bonito [pretty]'; My uhyóoli/uhyóori 'bonito, pintoresco'; AYq uhyooli / uhyoi 'beautiful (inanimate)'. This set is less clear, but is not improbably a reduction of the same reduplication we see in both Semitic and Tak, for the Cahitan languages can be severe reducers (cf. 'bat'). [' > w] [p1y, p2', p3y, p4'] [SUA: TrC]

**572** Hebrew 'iis 'man, person' (with negatives 'no one') [Semitic-p, due to rounding for ']:

UA \*wisi 'person': Tr wesi 'someone', with negatives 'no one.' This Semitic-p form contrasts with the Sem-kw form below. [p1', p2y, p3s1] [Tr]

**573** Hebrew 'iis 'man, person' [Sem-kw]:

Ca -iš 'person who does (the verb)'

Ca tawas- 'to get lost' Ca tawas-iš 'one who is lost'

Ca te'e- 'to borrow' Ca te'e-iš 'borrower'

Tb(H) woo'is 'co-spouse, second husband or wife, lover, mistress' (Tb woo 'two'). [Sem-kw,'] [NUA: Tak, Tb]

**574** Hebrew 'išaa / 'ešet / 'išt- 'woman, wife of' (the genitive form of 'išaa(t) 'woman') [Semitic-p, due to rounding for ']: Hp wīiti / wīhti 'woman, wife'; s as first consonant in a cluster is usually lost, yet the h or devoiced vowel in one Hopi dialect is right where a cluster of voiceless -št- would put it. [p1', p2s1, p3t] [Hp]

**575** Arabic **kam'**- 'truffle(s)' (edible fleshy appendage to a root system, as are potatoes): Ugaritic **kam'-u / kam'-atu** 'truffle' and Mari **kama'aatum** 'truffles' (Huehnergard 1987, 137); Ugaritic and Mari, both more ancient than Hebrew, and Arabic, all show the 3 consonants k, m, ', and all 3 are clear in UA:

**UACV-1718 \*kamo'-ta** 'sweet potato': M67-428 'sweet potato'; M88-ka33 'sweet potato'; KH/M06-ka33: CN kamo'-tli; Cr kámwah; Pl kamuh 'sweet manioc'. Add ST kamav 'camote', though TO kamoodi is a loan from Spanish and ultimately CN, as Eu kamoti may be also. [p1k, p2m, p3'] [SUA: CrC, Azt, Tep]

**576** Hebrew **'aataa<sup>y</sup>** / **'atii-** 'come'; Arabic **'ty** / **'ataa<sup>y</sup>** 'come'; Aramaic **'ty** 'come'; Syriac **'ita** / **'eta**; in Semitic, 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant -y encourages a final vowel -i; in fact, the Hebrew non-3<sup>rd</sup> person perfect stem would be **'atii-**, which could palatalize the -t- > -c- and assimilate the vowel **\*'atii** > **\*wici** > UA **\*wiic** 'come': UACV-61 **\*wiic** 'come': CL.Azt 32 **\*wiic** 'come'; M88-wi13; KH/M06-wi13: CN **wiic** (defective verb); Pl **wiic** (pret: **waala(a)h**); T -**bic**; Po **wic**; Z **wiica**. [p1',p2t,p3i] [SUA: Azt]

**577** Aramaic(J) **'aas-aa** 'myrtle willow-the'; Syriac **'aas-aa** 'myrtle-the';

Aramaic(S) **'aas-aa** 'myrtle bush-the'; Akkadian **asu**:

UACV-2555 **\*wasV** 'willow': Cr **waséh** 'sauce [willow]'; CN **wešoo-tl** 'willow tree'. [p1',p2s3] [SUA: CrC, Azt]

**578** Arabic **\*pa'r-** > **fa'r-** 'mouse' would correspond to Hebrew **\*pa'r** or **\*pa'ar** 'mouse':

UACV-1462 **\*pa'i** 'mouse': M88-pa57 '(field) mouse'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa57: Ca **pá'iwet**; Gb **pa'ít**; Sr **pa'i-š** (a Ca loan from unattested **\*pá'i-š** suggests Hill). Add Kw **pa'yí-ci** 'kangaroo rat'. [p1p,p2',p3r] [NUA: Tak, Num]

**579** Arabic **\*pa'r-** > **fa'r-** 'mouse' would correspond to Hebrew **\*pa'r** or **\*pa'ar** 'mouse':

UACV-1463 **\*pu'wiN** (< **\*pa'wiN**) 'mouse': B.Tep261 **\*vosiki** 'mouse'; L.Num148 **\*po/\*pu**; L.Son210 **\*poc** 'raton';

Fowler83; M88-po16 'mouse'; KH/M06-po16: Mn **puweec(i)**; NP **punkacci**; Sh **poneh**; Sh(C) **ponaih**; Sh(W)

**po'naih**; Kw **pu'miča-gi-ži**; SP **pu'iča**; CU **pu'úyca-ci**; Ch(L) **pu<sup>w</sup>inčaci** 'mouse'; WMU **pa'wi-či**

(nasalized vowels); and SP **puḡ'wi** 'make peeping sound (as mouse, rat)' shows the nasalization in WMU **pa'wi**.

The WMU form, along with other sporadic initial **\*pa...** forms in Num, suggest that these relate to Tak **\*pa'i** (or < **\*pa'wi**) above: that the w caused rounding of **\*a** > o/u in most forms, while the **\*pa'i** forms lost **\*w** and so did not acquire any round vowels. The po/pu dichotomy, instead of one consistent round vowel, also speaks for them being the result of assimilation rather than original. SP and CU show -ca- after **\*pu'i**; if that syllable exists in the Hp, Tbr, and Tep forms below, though in contracted form (**\*po'i-ca** > **po'ca** > **poca**), then the below may relate as well:

UACV-1463c **\*poca** (< **\*pa'wiN-ca** ?) 'mouse': Fowler83: Hp **pöösa**; Tbr **he-wocó-t**; TO **wošo** 'rat';

LP **vošig**; NT **vosīiki** / **vasīiki**; ST **vasīik**. Is Eu **voisék** 'rata' a loan from Tep? Manaster-Ramer cites this set in his article "A Northern UA sound law: **\*-c- > -y-**," where he argues for the possibility of a -nc- cluster in **\*ponca** (AMR 1992) that prevents **\*-c- > -y-** in NUA. Add PYP **vosogi** 'rat, mouse' and Wc **háacu** 'rat', which matches ST and NT and a vowel metathesis of **\*poca**, since Wc h < **\*p** and Wc u < **\*o**. The difference between CU **pu'úyca-ci** and WMU **pa'wi-č** should remove any doubt about whether WMU is quite a different dialect from CU. Note also Yq **pótta** 'mole'. NP **pamoto'o** 'small grey fieldmouse' and TSh **pomo'aicci** / **poḡwo'aicci** are also listed at 'squirrel' with CN **mooto-tli**. [w/'] [p1p,p2',p3r] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**580** Hebrew/Arabic/Aramaic **qr' / qara'** 'call, cry out':

UACV-570 **\*koyowa** 'yell, shout'; **\*kayoC** 'coyote, fox': CL.Azt 39 **\*koyoo** 'coyote'; Fowler83; M88-ko26; KH/M06-ko26: CN **koyowa** 'dar grandes gritos [emit great shouts], **aullar** [howl]' (Simeón); CN **i'koyoka** 'roar, whir, crackle'; CN **koyoo-tl** 'coyote'; HN **kayoč-ih** 'fox'; Pl **kuyut**; T **koyutl**; Z **koyoot** 'white man'; Tr **keyóci** 'fox'; Wr **keóci** 'fox'. The first vowel is difficult, since it could have been anything, assimilating to the following o in CN or being raised and fronted by the following y, as in Tr and Wr; thus, the vowel **a** may be the best reconstruction, especially since HN actually has the **a**. As is well known, CN **koyoo-tl** is the source of Spanish **coyote**, also borrowed into English. [p1q,p2r,p3'] [SUA: TrC, Azt]

**581** Hebrew **'arš-aa** 'earth-ward, to the earth' (usually with a 'fall' verb, but like other denominalizations in the change from Semitic to UA, the adverbial itself became verbalized in UA:

UACV-833a **\*wici** > Num **\*wī'i** 'fall, be born, v': Sapir; VVH101 **\*wī,ci** 'fall'; M67-163 **\*we** 'fall'; L.Num285 **\*wī'i** fall, drop; BH.Cup **\*wiic** 'throw away' (vowel wrong, Miller notes); L.Son341 **\*wici/\*wic-i** caerse; B.Tep53 **\*gīisī** 'he falls'; CL.Azt57 **\*waci** 'fall' (< **\*wici**); M88-wi3; KH/M06-wi3: Tbr **wece** / **mwece**; Yq **weče**; My **weče**; Wr **wihci**; Tr **wiči**; Cr **a-k-áh-ve** 'he fell down'; CN **weeci**; Eu **wecé** 'fall'; Mn **wī'i** 'fall, be born'; NP **wīi** 'drop, fall'; Sh **wīttai** 'to empty, spill'; Kw **wī'i** 'be born'; Kw **wī'i-ku** 'fall' (**\*wī'i-kku**); SP **wī'i**; CU **wī'í** 'drop, fall, be born'; CU **wī'í-tií** give birth to'; Hp **wīita** 'pour it out'; TO **gīiš** 'fall, bow, descend'; PYP **gesia**; NT **gīisī**;

ST **higšia**; Op **gweca** 'fall, sg'. Add Tb(H) **wīy'wīy'it** 'fall off riding'. AMR has this set in "A Northern UA sound law: **\*-c- > -y-**" as a good example of the phenomenon. Note **\*-c-/-s- > -'** in Num for both **\*wici** and **\*pusi** 'eye', and medial **\*-c- > -y-** in Tak. This widespread stem is found in all branches in one form or another. [**\*w** > **gw** in Opata]

UACV-833b **\*wici** > Tak **\*wīyV** 'fall, bend down, sway': M88-wi11, wi12; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wi11: Cp **wéye** 'collapse'; Ca **wéyi** 'incline, nod, sway back and forth'; Ls **wóya** 'be bent down (as branches of a tree), be felled'; Sr **wīiyi'k** 'be bent over, swayed over, nod'. KH/M03 agreeably combines **wi12** with **wi11**; I would also combine both with **wi3** **\*wici** 'fall', a large well-known set, as the Tak forms have the expected NUA **-y- < \*-c-**, as well as the notion of falling in 2 of the 4 languages and downward motion in all four, as a slight semantic shift of 'fall'. [medial **\*-c- > y** and Num '] [p1',p2r,p3s4] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**582** Hebrew **'erz** (<\*arz) 'cedar tree'; Jerome araz; Arabic **'arz** 'cedar'; Aramaic(J) **'arz-aa** 'cedar-the'; Ugaritic 'arz: the Hebrew nouns like CεCεC are from CaCC, like the Arabic, Aramaic, and Ugaritic; that cluster becoming a glottal stop is similar to the behavior of the cluster in Hebrew 'arš-aa 'earth-ward' > UA \*wīcī 'fall' > Num wī'ī 'fall'; the Hebrew glottal stop > w, and the cluster > glottal stop in Numic; the UA form aligns with Aramaic **'arz-aa**':

UACV-422 **\*wa'aC** / **\*wa'aN** 'juniper or cedar tree': Ls wáá'a-t 'California Juniper'; Sr waa't 'juniper'; Gb wá'at 'guata' (juniper? Miller queries). To the Takic terms Ken Hill rightly adds Ch wa'apī; Hp láapī 'shreddy bark, esp. of juniper'; Ktn wa'-t; Eu woá-t, gen woaté, acc. woata) 'sauce, arbol'; Tbr amoat (<\*awa-t) 'encino'; and Cah wáta 'sauce [willow]'. Add Tb and other Num forms for 'cedar tree': Mn wa'ápī; NP waapi; Sh waaC-pin; Cm waa(pi); Kw wa'ada-bī 'white cedar'; SP wa'aC- 'cedar tree'; CU wa'á-pī; Tb waa'a-t 'juniper berry'; Tb 'išwa'adu-l 'Tamerack, like juniper' and NT gááyī 'táscate, i.e., cedro blanco' whose initial syllable agrees. Absolutive -t (vs. -l) and -p (vs. -v) in Tb, Ls, Ch, SP, CU, Sh, mean a final consonant. In fact, Kw -d- may suggest a nasal, as Kw -d- < \*-Nt-, Kw -r- < \*-t-, Kw -t- < \*-tt-.

[Hp l < \*w, def art -C] [p1',p2r,p3z] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: TrC]

**583** Hebrew **'epod** 'ephod, priestly garment, shoulder cape or mantle'; Aramaic **'epod-aa** 'ephod-the':

UACV-176 **\*wipura**/**\*wipula** 'belt': B.Tep44 \*givrurai 'belt'; M88-wi14 'belt'; KH/M06-wi14: For the Tep forms, keep in mind that Tep g < \*w, and Tep w/v < \*p; thus, UA \*wipul > TO giwud 'belt, band, sash'; Upper Piman giwudī; NT givúurái 'belt'; PYP givora 'belt'; PB givar 'belt'; and some d > l/r. The following likely belong as s.th. wrapped around one, whether belt, clothing, or blanket: CN wiipiil-li, piipiil-li 'indigenous woman's blouse' (the 2<sup>nd</sup> form is another case of consonant harmony, of the first; furthermore, UA \*u > CN i, so the vowels match also); Mn wipidoo 'wear (strapped to oneself like a belt)'; NP mabīta wipodda 'cover with a blanket'; NP wipodda 'to pile on'. Eu wipil 'cotón de mujer' likely a loan from CN wiipiil-. [L/liq]

[p1'.p2p,p3d] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Azt, TrC]

## 5.5 Semitic-p ' (aleph) > w vs. Semitic-kw ' > ø or Weakened

Different forms of the same word appear in UA, one from Sem-p rounding the aleph (\*' > w), and one from Semitic-kw that lost the initial glottal stop. For example, from Hebrew **'epod** 'ephod, priestly garment, shoulder cape or mantle' is Semitic-p's \*wipol / \*wipod 'belt' (583) and Sem-kw UA \*ipud / \*ipul 'shirt' (584). In fact, TO has both: TO giwud 'belt, band, sash' and TO ipud 'shirt'; the -'ipur portion of PYP da'ipur 'shirt' and latter part of Tr wasi-pura 'loincloth (lit: penis-shirt).'

**584** Hebrew **'epod** 'ephod, priestly garment, shoulder cape or mantle':

UACV-480 **\*ipura** 'skirt': B.Tep312 \*'ipurai 'skirt'; M88-'i9 'skirt'; KH/M06-'i9: NT ipúrai; ST 'ipuur; TO 'ipudī (Bascom); TO ipud 'dress or shirt' (Saxton); LP 'ipar; Wc 'ívi/iwi 'skirt'. To Miller's list of the preceding, let's add NT ipúurui 'vestido'; -'ipur portion of PYP da'ipur 'shirt'; PYP ga'ipur 'dress, n'; Tr wasi-pura 'loincloth (lit: penis-shirt); Tr wa'pora 'cloth head-cover'; thus, Tr wa/ma/na-'pora 'cloth head-cover' and Tr na'pora 'be covered' have \*-(V)pur in common with the Tep forms. [kw1',kw2p,kw3d] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**585** Of the same Semitic root is also the Semitic verb **'pd** / **'aapad** 'to put on an ephod':

Tr opaca 'shirt' and Tr opata 'put on shirt' and mapata- / napata- 'ponerse la camisa [put on shirt]'

As for Tr opaca, also in 'cry' (24) Tr shows o < wV. [p1',p2p,p3d]

**586** Arabic 'abala 'grow green/tall/abundantly' (Lane 8); Arabic 'abal 'herbage, pasturage' (Lane 8):

UACV-547 **\*apali** 'elote, new/fresh ear of corn': Yq 'ába'i 'elote!'; My ábari/ábarim 'elotes, mazorca'; AYq avae 'fresh corn'. [liquids: \*-L->-'->-ø-] [kw1',kw2b,kw3l] [SUA: TrC]

**587** Hebrew **'argaamaan** 'purple, wool dyed with red purple' (KB), 'purple, red-purple' (BDB);

Akkadian argamannu 'purple':

UACV-1774 **\*aNkaC** 'red': I.Num9 \*aṅka/eṅka 'red'; M88-'a24 'red'; KH/M06-'a24: TSh aṅka-pi; Sh enka; Cm ekapi; Kw 'aga-ki- (<\*a(N)ka-kki-); SP aṅka(C); WMU aqqá-ga-rī; CU 'aká-ga-rī (<\*akka-ka-tī). Add Mn aqabanagi 'be red, v' (from \*aNka 'red' + \*pana 'shine'); Ch anká-ga 'be red, vi'. No sign of initial suggests Sem-kw. [-NC->-CC-] [kw1',kw2r,kw3g,kw4m,kw5n] [NUA: Num]

**588** Hebrew **'aab** 'father', pl: 'aaboot, poss'd: 'aboot- / 'a'bootee<sup>y</sup> 'fathers':

UACV-846 **\*apu** / **\*(h)apu(ti)** 'father, parent, mother': I.Num2 \*ahpī 'father'; M88-'a18 'father'; KH/M06-'a18: TSh 'appī; Sh appī; Cm ahpī'. I concur with Miller's inclusion of Cahitan, i.e., My hapči 'woman's father' and AYq hapči 'woman's father' (< \*haputi) note Hebrew pl 'aaboot. Add the first syllable of TO apkii 'father in the clans of the Coyote moiety' and Tb(M) 'aabuu 'mother' / Tb(H) aapuu- 'mother'. Regarding Tb, note that the underlying Semitic root is 'bw with 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant w, as in Arabic 'abawaan 'parents, dual, father and mother'. [1',2b,3w] [NUA: CNum, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**589** Syriac 'isaa 'wall, f', 'is-taa 'wall-the, partition or inner wall':

UACV-2466 **\*isv** 'wall, dab, make mud wall': Wr isigori 'waddle and wicker wall'; Wc 'išúma 'untar, embarrar [cover with mud]' and Wc 'išumári 'pared embarrada [mudded wall]'. The isi- portion of Wr shares 2 of 3 segments with Wc 'išúma, and Tr/Wr tend to assimilate often to i at almost any excuse. [kw: ' > ø] [SUA: TrC, CrC]

In contrast to Sem-p showing ' > w, and the Sem-kw forms with loss of initial ', sometimes the whole initial syllable, vowel included, is lost such that the UA form begins with the 2<sup>nd</sup> C and 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable:

**590** Hebrew (construct/poss'd) 'a'bootee<sup>y</sup> 'fathers (of)'; the term is often used in the sense of generations or grandfathers past, which makes the UA sense 'paternal grandfather' (not maternal) noteworthy:

UACV-1049a **\*poci** / **\*kwoci** 'paternal grandfather': M88-wo2 'paternal grandfather': KH/M06-wo2: TO wosk / wojj; Eu boc / voc / vócwā; Eu bóci (bóci'i) 'tener abuelo [have a grandfather], el que lo tiene [he who has such]'; Wr woci; Tr očípari. Add PYP voska; NT vošíika 'father's father'; Nv boska and Nv bosidi 'su abuelo' (\*c > s in Tep). If \*wo, we should see Tep g; yet Tep and Eu point to \*poci while Wr and Tr should show poci if that were the case, but their forms suggest \*woci or \*kwoci, and Wc kwisi 'grandmother, sister of a grandparent' is not far off of that. The Eu form, written with both b and v, suggests \*kw. Or Wr and Tr could be loans from Tepiman. In that a number of these may suggest \*kwoci / \*kwoti, let such also be listed in b below:

UACV-1049b **\*kwoci** / **\*kwoti** 'paternal grandfather': Eu boc; Wr woci; Tr očípari; Yq haboi; AYq havoí 'father's father', note AYq havoí (< \*hapoti) 'father's father'. With -c- < \*-t-, often attested, then CN kool-li 'grandfather, ancestor' (\*-t- > CN -l-, also occasionally attested) is also cognate and agrees with \*kw rather than \*p or \*w. [kw1',kw2b,kw3t] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**591** Hebrew 'adaamaa / 'a'daamaa 'earth'

UACV-759 **\*tíma** 'earth': BH.Cup \*tā- 'down'; \*tā-mal 'earth'; M88-tī36; KH.NUA: Ca téma-l '1 land, ground, 2 dirt, earth, 3 world'; Cp temá-l 'land, earth, dirt, country'; Hp tīma 'ground lime, kaolin' (cognate? Miller queries)—possible. Bright's supposition of a compound seems unlikely. Loss of the first syllable is not surprising since the Masoretic vowelizing actually has that first vowel as ultra short while the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> vowels are long: 'a'daamaa. [kw1',kw2d,kw3m] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**592** Hebrew **'abneṭ**, pl: 'abneṭ-iim 'sash (KB), girdle (BDB)'

UACV-178 **\*natti** 'belt': Mn náti 'belt'; NP nati 'belt'. With weak 'aleph lost and bilabials when first in a cluster are lost, then 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable remains; e > a also in \*makteš > maCta. [kw1',2b,3n,4t2] [NUA: WNum]

**593** Akkadian **qardammu** 'enemy, opponent' (Sem-kw):

UACV-818 **\*tímmu** 'opponent': Mn tímu 'enemy, opponent, member of the opposite moiety'; TSh tímmu 'enemy, opponent'; Sh tímmo 'opponent, competitor'. [kw1q,kw2r,kw3d,kw4m] [NUA: Num]

**594** Hebrew **'aḥoot** (< **\*'axoot**) 'sister'; Syriac ḥaat-aa 'sister' eliminates the first syllable also:

UACV-2000 **\*ko(')ti** / **\*ko'ci** (AMR) 'older sister': M67-492a \*ko, 492b \*koci/\*kuci 'older sister'; BH.Cup\*qe ... s 'sister, elder'; KH.NUA; L.Son89 \*koci 'hermana mayor'; M88-ko13 'older sister'; KH.NUA; AMR 1993a \*ko'-ci; KH/M06-ko13 \*ko'ci (AMR); Tb kuudzin 'next older sister'; Hp qōōqa; Cp qisma; Ca qis-ka; Ls qee'is; Gb óxo';

Sr -qōō'r (pl: -qōōham); Ktn koha-č (poss: -kor, pl: koham); Eu kócwa; Wr ko'cí; Tr go'či; My ákoro 'hermana mayor [older sister]'; Tbr kocí; Wc kurí; Cr ne-kuu-cí'i. The glottal stop in Wr and Tr may be from a perceived stop. The final -o of My ákoro could well be a fossilization of -o 'his', the Hebrew possessive suffix, and first vowel a- is significant as exactly what the Hebrew has, though lost in the others. Add Ls kúúli-may 'nephew, niece, i.e., older sister's child'? Langacker (1970) uses this set in "The Vowels of Proto-Uto-Aztecan" to demonstrate that the change from \*k > q preceded the change of \*o to high front vowels in the Cupan languages. -cC- > -šC- is common in Cup. The -r-/-l- in Sr, My, and Wc may suggest original \*-t- rather than -'c-. [2<sup>nd</sup> C; \*o > Tb u] or kw? [p1',p2x,p3t] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC]



**595** The following is from Sem-p and aligns with the Aramaic, Arabic and Assyrian vowelings—Aramaic(S) **'axaat**-aa 'sister-the' (rather than 'axoot)—all showing aa rather than oo for the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel: UACV-2002 **\*wakati** 'younger sister': M67-493 \*wa 'younger sister'; M88-wa21 'younger sister'; KH/M06-wa21: Ca -wáxal<sup>y</sup> 'younger sister' and Cp -wáxal<sup>y</sup>i 'younger sister' (Tak **\*wakati**) are close to the proto-type. Because Ca and Cp are possessed kin terms, the final l<sup>y</sup>i is not an absolutive suffix, which ending actually fits well with Semitic and TrC. NP waḥḥa'a 'younger brother'; Tr wayé / wa'í 'younger sister (of a man)'; My waáyi; Yq wai; Cr ne-'iwaa-ra'a 'my relative/younger sister'. In M67-493, Wc 'iwá 'cousin' is also included. In light of NP's velar, and the liquids and y's in the other languages, a reduction from a proto-type more like the Cupan forms may explain all:

\*wakati > waka<sup>y</sup>i (Ca, Cp)  
 > \*waka<sup>y</sup>i > \*wa'y<sup>i</sup>/wayi (My, AYq, Tr)  
 > \*walka > \*wanka... (NP) [p1',p2x,p3t] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC]

**596** Hebrew **'arnébet** 'hare'; Arabic **'arnab** 'hare, rabbit'; Arabic 'arnabat 'female hare'; Akkadian 'arnabu (Sem-p due to w < \*):

UACV-1521 **\*wa'na** 'rabbit net': M67-304 \*wana 'net'; M88-wa6 'basket, rabbit net'; I.Num269 \*wana(h) 'net, cloth'; KH/M06-wa6: Mn wa'nááqa 'net'; NP wana 'net'; TSh wanna 'net'; Sh wana 'rabbit net'; Kw wana-vī 'web, net'; SP wanna 'milkweed net for catching rabbits'; Tb waana-l 'rabbit net'; Tb(H) waanaa-l 'rabbit net'; Ca wána-l 'ropelike thing'; Ls wáána-l 'net for catching fish or rabbits'; Gb wánar 'big rabbit net'. Miller also includes reflexes of TrC \*wari 'basket' with these, but they are separate (161). NP, Mn and SP suggest a possible consonant cluster for this stem in NUA, while SUA terms do not. The 4<sup>th</sup> consonant (b) shows loss of bilabial as first consonant in the cluster. Add Tb(H) wihnipī-l 'rabbitskin blanket'? [\*-CC-] [p1',p2r,p3n,p4b,p5t] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

**597** Arabic 'arnab 'hare, rabbit'; Arabic 'arnabat 'female hare, doe'; Hebrew 'arnebet'; Syriac 'arnəbaa 'hare, n.f.' with pl 'arnəbaat which would correspond to an unattested Hebrew f. pl: **\*<sup>a</sup>rnaboot**, which very short first vowel would nearly produce a three-consonant cluster, the first two of which ('r) would expectedly become t, as initial r- > t- (examples below); both m. and f. plurals exist, e.g. Middle Hebrew pl: 'arnabbiim:

Mn	tábo'/tábu'	Hp	taavo; pl taatavo-t	Eu	tábu; tábu'u
		Tb	taapunt/ tahpunt;		
NP	tabu'u	Gb	tóvit 'smaller sp. of cottontail'		
TSh	tapun/tapu-cci	Sr	taavoht	Yq	táabu
Sh	tapun	Ca	távut	My	taabu
Cm	tabú'kina'	Ls	tóóvit 'brush rabbit'	Wr	toí
Kw	tavu-ci	TO	toobi / cuuwi	Tr	fówi/fuwé
Ch	tavu-ci	Nv	tobi	Cr	táciu'u(ri) (pl)
SP	tavu-ci/tavu-mpíci	PYp	tuuva 'cottontail'	Wc	táciu
CU	tavi-ci	NT	too'm	CN	tooč-tli
		ST	toom		

UACV-1754a **\*tapuC / \*taput** 'cottontail rabbit': M67-334a \*tapu 'cottontail rabbit'; I.Num210 \*tapuN / \*tapu'u 'cottontail, rabbit'; M88-ta30 'cottontail rabbit'; L.Son275 \*tapu 'conejo'; Fowler 1983; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ta30: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; SP; CU (\*u > i); Hp (\*u > o); Tb; Sr (\*u > o); Ca; Op tawu; Eu; Yq; My. Sixteen languages match perfectly the four segments \*tapu, which is rare in UA linguistics. Yet a few others (Gb, Ls, TO, LP, Wr, Tr) agree with \*topi, treated below. Note that CU displays another example of Numic changing \*u > i. Fowler (1983) lists a Piman form taapi 'Lepus Arizonas'. PYp tuuva 'cottontail' does the PYp vowel metathesis (also in bat and others).

UACV-1754b **\*taput(i) > \*tapoc(i) > CN tooc-**, and **\*tapoc(i) > \*tapci > CrC \*taciú** 'rabbit': Sapir: Wc táciu; Cr táciu'u; CN tooč-tli. For CN tooč-tli, anticipatory rounding and loss of \*-p- in \*tapoti > \*taoci > \*tooc. [PYp metathesis; \*-p- > -w- in Tr, Wr, Tbr; \*-p- > ø in CrC, Azt] [Sem-kw: loss of initial 'V- syllable] [kw1',kw2r,kw3n,kw4b,kw5t] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: TrC, Tep, CrC, Azt]

**598** Hebrew 'arnebet 'hare'; Hebrew f. pl: **\*<sup>a</sup>rnaboot**:

UACV-1755 **\*topi** 'cottontail rabbit': VVH56 \*tokwi rabbit; M67-333 \*to 'rabbit'; L.Son318 \*towi conejo; M88-to4 'cottontail rabbit'; KH/M06-to4: TO; Wr; Tr; Tbr. Add Gb; Nv; PYp; ST. Ls tóóvit has wrong V, a loan? Gb, Ls, and PYp tuuva may show \*tupa > \*topa > \*topi. TO curiously has both TO toobi 'rabbit' and TO cuuwi (< \*tupi) 'jackrabbit'. [kw/p; o/u, -p->b in Tep] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**599** Hebrew 'ayil / 'eel- 'mighty tree'; later Hebrew 'eela 'oak, terebinth' as a unitary noun from 'ayil; In the Aramaic dialects are a variety of nouns built on 'ayil, such as Aramaic(J) 'alloon 'oak'; (see KB 40,51, and 54), but the basic consonants 'yl are used for tree and sometimes 'oak': [Sem-kw, but il > al ?]

UACV-1555 \*iyal 'poison oak': M88-'i4; BH.Cup \*iyála 'poison oak'; HH.Cup \*iyáála 'poison oak'; Munro.Cup101 \*'ayaa-la 'poison oak'; Fowler83; KH/M06-'i4: Ca 'iya-l; Cp 'ayá-l (Hill and Hill note Cp's unexpected V); Ls 'iyáá-la; HN 'iya-tl 'tobacco'. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Ktn 'iyçi-č 'poison oak' and Gb oaa-r. Ls -la suffix usually means a final nasal, liquid, or laryngeal, but not a vowel: \*iyaal-la > iyaa-la. [kw:1',2y,3l] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

So we see Semitic-p forms and Sem-kw forms of the same Semitic 'aleph-initial words:

Semitic	Semitic-p forms in UA	Sem-kw forms in UA
'iış 'man'	wiši (572)	iš (573)
'epod 'sash, garment'	wipud (583)	ipud (584)
'arnab(oot) 'hare'	wa'nap (596)	tapuci (597)
'axaat / 'axoot 'sister'	waxati (595)	kooci (594)
'iyal 'oak, big tree'	wiyaN (1337)	iyal (599)

**Hebrew r- > UA \*t- in initial position** (at the beginning of a word) except in Tr where it remained Tr r. In some Spanish dialects, I hear an initial r- pronounced almost like dr-. In reduplicated Wr(MM) re'teé of Wr(MM) reé / re'é / re'teé 'see' (which may be borrowed from Tr), we see the change of -r- > -t- when made more of a stop by an adjacent glottal stop. Similarly, just as intervocalic -t- often becomes -r-, then the reverse is initial r- becoming t-. In fact, Proto-Mayan initial \*r became t in four Mamean languages: Ixil, Awakateko, Mam, and Teco (Purse and Campbell 181).

**600** Hebrew r'y / raa'aa 'see, v'; Hebrew ro'e 'seer':

UACV-1904 \*tīwa 'find, see': Sapir; VVH21 \*tīwa 'find'; B.Tep250 \*tīgai-i 'to find, see'; M67-365 \*te 'see'; BH.Cup \*taw 'see, find'; L.Son301 \*tīwa/\*tīw-i 'hallar'; CL.Azt140 \*ihta 'see, find'; M88-tī2 'find, see'; KH.NUA; KH/M06- tī2: Hp tīwa 'find, perceive'; Hp tīwi 'know-how, skill'; Tb tīwat~'iitiw 'look for, find, guess'; Cp tewa 'see, vt'; Ca téew 'find, discover'; Ls tów 'see, look at'; Ls tóowi 'see by second sight, be clairvoyant'; TO cīg(id) 'find, discover, learn, hear'; UP cīgī; LP tīg; PYP teega 'find, see, vt'; PYP teegida 'show, vt'; NT tīgai; ST tīgi; Eu téwa; Wr tewa; Tr fēwa/tewa; My téwwa 'hallar [find]'; Yq tea; Tbr tema/temo 'ver [see], hallar [find]'; Cr tyauu; CN itwa 'see, vt' from which the more common CN itta 'see, v.t., v.refl.' is derived (Karttunen 107). Perhaps Tbr ha-tetemo 'hunt' and Tbr temo 'find' (probably < \*tīwa 'find'?), yet how do we not list it at \*tīmo 'search for' also. Ls tīwi 'see, look at' may be a different vowel assimilation than Ls tów 'see, look at' and Ls tóowi 'see by second sight'. Here and at 'name' (Yq tea) Yq loses intervocalic w. [w > ø in Yq] [p1r,p2',p3i] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**601** Syriac rawwaay-aa 'drunken one-the'; Aramaic (J) rawwee' 'drunk, drunkard'; the common Aramaic noun suffix -aan added to this stem would yield unattested \*rawwaan-aa 'drunk one-the':

UACV-8a \*tawana 'drunk': CN tlaawaana 'get drunk'; Pl tawaani 'emborrharse [get drunk]'; Pl taawaana 'emborrharse'; Cr tawá 'está borracho [is drunk]'. [p1r,p2w,p3y] [SUA: Azt, CrC]

**602** Hebrew régaš 'a moment, in a moment, a short while, abruptly':

Tr teko 'soon, in a short time, quickly', likely a loan from another SUA language. [1r,2g,3'2]

**603** of the root rwm 'be high' are Hebrew raama(t) 'hill'; Syriac raamə-taa 'high place, hill'; and also Aramaic rymh (= riimaa) 'large stone' which with '-the' suffix would be Aramaic riimə-taa 'large stone-the, n.f.'; Syriac ryaam-taa 'large stone-the, n.f.':

UACV-1825 \*tīmī-ta > \*tīN-(pV) 'rock': Sapir; VVH169 \*tīupa 'mortar'; M67-354b \*te 'rock'; 354a \*tem; M67-354b \*te 'rock'; M67-354a \*tem; M67-287 \*te-pa/\*tepu 'mortar'; I.Num243 \*tīmpi-h/N 'rock, stone'; L.Son283 \*tī 'piedra'; CL.Azt162 ta- 'rock, stone', 269 \*\*tī- 'rock, stone'; M88-tī12; KH/M06-tī12: Sr tīmī-t; Ktn tīmī-t; Ls tóo-ta; Mn tīpi; NP tibbi; Eu tet; TSh tīn-/ tīmpin; Sh tīmpin; Cm tīpi (< \*tīppi); Kw tī-bi; Ch tīm-pi 'rock, money'; SP tīN-; tīmpiN-; WMU tīpwi-čī (< \*tīppwi-čī); CU tīpiy-čī (< \*tīppiy-čī); Tb tīn-t; tīngii-l 'rock ledge'; Tbr te-tá-t/ te-rá-t; Yq téta; My tetta-(m) (pl); Wr tehté; Wr(MM) re'té; Tr feté; femohá/femowá; Cr teté; Wc teeté; CN te-tl. Note especially Sr and Ktn \*tīmī-t, which best reflects the proto-form. With loss of the 2<sup>nd</sup> V, the nasal assimilated to the resulting adjacent C of the absolutive suffixes: to alveolar t in some languages (\*tīmīt > \*tīmt > \*tint), but in Num became fused with the Numic absolutive suffix \*-pi (\*tīmī-pi > tīmpi / tīppi), which then took another absolutive suffix \*-ci in WMU and CU: \*tīmīt > \*tīm-pī > \*tīppī-ci. Ken Hill adds

Gb tomónxa ‘deaf (rock-ear), cf. Eng stone-deaf’. For a Tep reflex, see \*tiC-to ‘three-rock fire cooking place’ below. [\*-NC- > -CC-] [1r,2m] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

UACV-1827 \***tīN-to** ‘(three) rock(s) for supporting pots over fire’: M88-tī14 ‘rock stand for cooking/fogón’; KH/M06-tī14: TO cītto ‘round rock formerly used to place pots on for cooking, cooking tripod’; Wr tehcóna ‘fogón de piedras’. To Miller’s entries, Ken Hill adds Wc tece- ‘poner piedras para hacer un muro’. The Tep cognate—TO \*ci- ‘rock’—gives every branch a cognate of \*tīN- (<\*tīmī-) ‘rock’. [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**604** MHebrew rə’em ‘wild ox, antelope’ (see KB 1163); Arabic ri’im- ‘white antelope’;

Aramaic(J) **rə’emaan-aa / reemaan-aa** ‘antelope-the’:

UACV-51 \***tīmīna** ‘antelope’: Munro.Cup5 \*təni-la ‘antelope’; KH/M06-tī24: Ls tón-la; Ca tēni-ly; Cp tōnily. Ken Hill adds Ktn tīmīna-č ‘antelope’ which resembles the best reconstruction. Add NP tīna ‘antelope’; Hp tīni ‘game animal, game successfully hunted’. Sapir considers SP tī- ‘game’ a reduction of SP tīgīa (<\*tikīa) ‘deer’; similarly, Hp tīvosi ‘game, animals to be hunted’ may suggest tīi- rather than tīini. Sapir and Miller (M88-tī24) tie \*tīna ‘antelope’ forms to Num forms approximating \*tikīya ‘deer, like Mn tihitta ‘deer’, Mn tihīya ‘old buck deer’, and NP tihidda ‘deer’; but NP tīna ‘antelope’ and Tak contrast considerably; thus, I separate them due to distinct medial n vs. k/h. Ktn tīmīna-č is key: \*tīn(nV) appears in three branches—Tak, Hp, and NP of Numic—all of which are reductions, since Ktn tīmīna-č ‘antelope’ suggests that the Cupan \*tīni forms are a reduction from \*tīmīna > \*tīmna > \*tīna, just as Ktn and Sr \*tīmī ‘rock’ suggest that that proto-form reduced similarly. Furthermore, the gemination in Num -nn- < -mn- also leans well for \*tīmīna. SP tīna ‘hunt’ etcetera may be a verbalization of the noun. [p1r,p2’,p3m,p4n] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num]

Other examples of initial r > t are throughout. While the block of UA words for ‘rock’ is displayed above, note that the Tepiman words for ‘rock’ \*hoda < UA \*soya/sora align with another Semitic word for rock.

**605** Hebrew šwr / šuur ‘rock, rocky ground, rock face, rocky hill, mountain’; Samaritan(KB) šor; with the Aramaic suffixed ‘-the’—Aramaic šuur-aa ‘rock-the’ or Samaritan Aramaic šor-aa is a match with Tepiman:

UACV-1829 \***soya** ‘rock’: B.Tep69 \*hodai ‘stone’; M88-so12; KH/M06-so12: TO hođai ‘stone, gravel, a charm’; NT ódai; ST hodái; PYP hodai ‘rock, stone’; Nv (h)otta ‘piedra’; LP(EF) hod. [s4,2w,3r] [SUA: Tep]

## 5.6 More Examples of b, d, g Devoicing to p, t, k and Simpler Parallels:

**606** Arabic dbr ‘turn one’s back’; Arabic **dubr/dubur** ‘rump, back(side), buttocks, rear, hindpart’:

UACV-339b \***tupur** ‘hip, buttocks’: NT túpuli ‘buttocks’; TO čuul, pl: čučpul ‘corner, hipjoint’. Intervocalic \*p > TO w would be quite invisible between two u’s (uwu > uu), but it appears in the TO reduplicated plural form čučpul though invisible in the sg čuul. [SUA: Tep]

UACV-339a \***atapuri** ‘buttocks’: TO atapud ‘buttock’; Nv atuporha ‘nalgas [buttock]’; ST atpor ‘nalga’ (pl: a’tpor; poss’d: ataa’n / a’tpora’n). TO has a match above for the NT form as well as a match for the Nv form given here. These match the Hebrew prefix ha(C)- ‘the’ before the word with an assimilated vowel. As well, -t- (vs -d- or -l/r-) points to a geminated (doubled) consonant, as the Hebrew \*hal- prefix causes: \*haC-dubur > \*hattupur. Add Wr(MM) to’í ‘volver [return]’. [1d,2b,3r] [SUA: Tep]

**607** Hebrew **dobēr** ‘pasture, vegetation’; Aramaic(J) **dabr-aa** ‘pasture, field’:

UACV-1063 \***tupi** ‘grass, vegetation’: Sr tuuvit ‘green grass’; Ktn tuvi-t ‘small shrub or grass, a grass with edible seeds larger than foxtail’; Cr tu’upí ‘vegetation’; Tb tuubuu-l ‘salt grass, growing’ vs. Tb tuut ‘salt grass, already gathered’; Wr to’íwe ‘grass, pasture’; Cr tu’upí ‘grass’ likely derives from a redupl \*tutupi > \*turupi > tu’upí, and Tb’s 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel is another example typifying Tb’s behavior as explained in UACV, p. 39.

[Tb preservative V assim] [kw/p? 1d,2b,3r] [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: TrC, CrC]

This Semitic root dbr includes Arabic dabr / dubr / dubur ‘back, hind part’ and the Arabic I, IV, X conjugations mean ‘turn the back to’. Relative to ‘grass’ and ‘back’ and ‘return’ all from dbr are Wr to’í ‘to return the same way’ and Wr to’íwe ‘grass, pasture’ in which -b- is lost in a -br- cluster.

**608** Hebrew **gdš** ‘hew down, hew off’:

UACV-620 \***katu** ‘cut, wound’: Sapir: CN kotoona ‘cut s.th., break s.th. off, wound s.o., vt’; CN kotooni ‘snap, break (of thread, rope), vi’; SP qur’u/quttu ‘poke in a hole’. Added to the preceding pair (CN, SP)

noted by Sapir, Sr *katu* 'cut up, cut (into several pieces), vt' fits well and likely shows the original voweling; for whenever two similar vowels occur, probabilities are 80% (vs. 20% in a 5 vowel system) that one assimilated to the other rather than originally being identical; in this case, the 1<sup>st</sup> V assimilating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> in SP, and the vowels leveled in CN. Because Cp *i* < \**o*, Cp *ḡeti* 'split, crack, cut with axe' would align with UA \**ḡito* of Sem-kw. [p1g,p2d,p3'2] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Azt]

**609** Hebrew *ha-* 'interrogative particle prefixed to the first word in a yes-no question':

UACV-2528 \**ha-* 'interrogative particle' (Langacker 1977, 49): Langacker notes PUA \**ha*, a question marker widespread throughout UA (Langacker 1977, 49):

Eu *ha(i)-* interrogative particle (Shaul 1991, 94); *ha-/he-* 'interrogative marker' (Lionnet 1986, 45);

Hp *-haa* 'interjection: 1. 'Yes? What? When asking for a repeat, at not understanding';  
2. 'tag question suffix—isn't it so?—requiring a yes or no answer';

TO *ha* 'what?' used to ask for a repeat of something spoken';

NP *-ha* (bound form after first constituent of sentence),  
*ha'a* (free form) 'interrogative particle for yes-no questions';

TSh *-ha* 'interrogative for yes/no questions, 2<sup>nd</sup> element in sentence' (Dayley 1989, 45);

Sh *ha* 'enclitic particle used to make yes-no questions and indefinite sentences, usually placed after the first word of the sentence (Miller 1996b, 699);

Cm *-ha* 'interrogative particle after first constituent of sentence' (Charney 1993, 209);

Kw *ha*;

WMU *-a / -aa* 'interrogative suffix, usually after the first sentence element'

CU *-aa* 'question marker after first word of a sentence' (Givon 1980, 241-2);

ST *-a* 'interrogative clitic for yes-no questions when speaker seeks confirmation (Willett 1991, 142).

In the following Tak languages (Ca, Sr, Cp), the use of *ha* as both an interrogative in Ca and to mean 'or' is interesting. If a question shaped like 'whether [this] or [that] prefixes *ha-* to both parts, and if the first *ha-* were lost, then the middle *ha-* would certainly act like it means 'or' as in Ca and Sr:

Ca *haa/ha'* 1. 'or' 2. an interrogative: it adds indirect character;

Sr *ha* 'or';

Cp *ha* 'probably' but the examples are questions.

Tbr *ha* Lionnet considers this an interrogative element as most Tbr *wh*-interrogatives begin with *ha-* (Lionnet 1978, 40); likewise, many UA languages have a number of *wh*-interrogatives beginning with *ha-*.

SP *ai-* 'interrogative'

For many UA languages, this *ha-/a-* is the 2<sup>nd</sup> element in the sentence or suffixed to the first word, which means that after a topicalization (putting at front of sentence) of an emphasized word, then the question about it follows, putting *ha-* as the 2<sup>nd</sup> element. Consider these English sentences:

Statement: 'We bought sheep with our fortune.'

Questions after hearing the statement: 'Sheep, you bought?'

'Our fortune went to sheep?' 'Sheep? That's what you bought?'

Whether surprised by sheep being the purchase or loss of the fortune—the word questioned goes to the front (is topicalized/emphasized), then the question about it follows. [TO *h* < \**h*] [1h] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**610** Hebrew *daabaar* 'speech, word > thing, matter'; Hebrew *haddaabaar* 'the thing, the word':

UACV-2281 \*(*hi*)-*tapi(ri)* 'thing': Eu *hitávic* 'algo [some(thing)], cosa indeterminada [unspecified thing]';

Wr *ihtapéripéri* 'thing'; Tr *tábiri* 'cosa [thing]'; Wr *ta'peri* 'thing'; Tr *fapé* 'thing, a little (amount)';

CN *tepi/tipi-* 'small thing' in *tepi-cin* 'small thing' and CN *tepiton* 'small thing'. [p1d,p2b,p3f] [SUA: TrC, Azt]

**611** Hebrew *daabaar* 'speech, word, discourse, saying, report, tidings'; Hebrew *daabar* 'to speak':

UACV-1881 \**tapay(a) / tapiya* 'speak': Ktn *taviya* 'to talk Tataviam language' (Ktn *ahuḡu* 'a-tavia'<sup>a</sup> 'He is talking Tataviam'); Ktn *taviya* '-i-c 'the Tataviam language'. Ktn *taviya* matches well as if with an Aramaic article suffix (-a) on the Semitic word *dabar-aa* > UA \**tapaya*); and the frequent UA verbalizations of nouns would have the suffix draw the stress and cause the middle of the three syllables to have so little stress that the vowel often disappears or does the unstressed schwa behavior: *a* > *i*. Note that of the three *a*-vowels, the first and third hold the original vowel sounds, but the middle goes to the standard UA unstressed schwa equivalent (*i*) and also submits to anticipating the next consonant *y*, another tendency of unstressed vowels. Other than *t* > *l*, Hp *lavay* aligns with \**tapaya*. Instances of initial *t-* often becoming intervocalic *-t-* supports a tie to Hp *lavay-i* 'talk, speech, discussion, word(s), news' which quite identically parallels the meanings of

Hebrew *daabaar* ‘speech, word, discourse, saying, report, tidings’. The -l- in Hp *lavayi* is also non-initial in many forms: Hp *lalvay* ‘to talk about, relate’; Hp *laalavayi* ‘different kinds of speech, talk, language, news’; Hp *lavay-sowa* ‘run out of words’, perhaps backwards consonant harmony. Ls *tavá-lavi-* ‘talk rudely, without letting anyone else speak’ ties in and such a redupl may underlie the Hp form. As for Sr *vīrav(k)* ‘speak, talk’ and Sr *vīraavīra* ‘n talk, speak’, Ken Hill notes it may derive from Spanish *palabra*—a good possibility, eliminating its tie to the others. [p1d,p2b,p3r] [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**612** Hebrew *ze haddabar* ‘this [is] the thing, this is it; Is this it? Is this the thing?’:

UACV-2282 \***ti**ita ‘thing’: Cr *ti*itaī ‘cosa [thing]’; Wc *tiita* ‘lo que, que? [what, what?]’; AYq *hita* ‘what, thing, something’ and UA \***hi**Cta ‘what’. Cora (Cr) and Huichol (Wc) fit well Hebrew *ze haddabar*, of Semitic-p where Semitic \***ḏ** (Hebrew *z*) > UA \***t**. [SUA: CrC]

**613** Hebrew \***dobboot** ‘bears, f pl’; \***dobbootee**<sup>y</sup> ‘bears, construct pl’; Arabic *dabbaat* ‘bears, f pl’:

UA \***posi** ‘bear’: the Tepiman languages—PYp *vohi* ‘bear’; NT *voohi* ‘bear’; ST *voohi* ‘bear’—all show \***posi** (> Tep \***vohi**/**wohi**); Tr (g)ohi and Wr *wohi* are loans from Tep forms. The CrC languages—Cr *huuce* ‘e bear’; Wc *huuce* ‘bear’—match also since PUA \***p** > CrC **h** and PUA \***o** > CrC **u**; CrC could suggest \***c**. A 3<sup>rd</sup> syllable is added in the construct which causes the first syllable to become so short and unstressed that its loss is more probable, which appears to be the case here. Compare Tr *gohi* (a recycling of a Tepiman loan) with Keresan \***gúháya** ‘bear’ (Miller and Davis 1963), one of several terms suggesting Tep influence in the Puebloan languages of New Mexico. [Sem-p t > s] [p1d,p2b,p3t]

**614** Hebrew *makteš* ‘mortar, grinding stone’ (a noun from the Hebrew verb *ktš* ‘grind, v’):

UACV-1082 \***ma**Cta / \***mattas** ‘grinding stone, mortar, grind’: Sapir; M67-283 \**mata* ‘metate’; BH.Cup \**malál*; HH.Cup \**maláal*; B.Tep143 \**mahuturai* ‘metate’; L.Son141 \**mata*; Munro.Cup72 \**maláa-l* ‘metate’; M88-ma21; KH/M06-ma21 \**mataR* (AMR): NP *mata* (< \**matta*); Kw *mara-ci*; SP *mara-ci*; CU *mara-ci*; Hp *mata*; Tb *mana-l*; Ls *maláa-l*; Ca *mála-l*; Cp *malá-l*; TO *maččud*; LP *mahtur*; PYp *maatur*; NT *máuturai*; ST *mattur*; Eu *metát*; Tbr *matá-t*; Yq *máta*; My *matta*; Wr *mahtá*; Tr *ma’tá*; Cr *mwaatá*; Wc *maatáa*; CN *metla-tl*. Note the **h** in Wr and LP, and the glottal stop in Tr and the doubled consonants in TO and other languages, all of which tend to align with Bascom’s proposal of another C between m and t, though I would guess a cluster. Of great interest is the denominalized verb Ca *mataš* ‘crush, squash, vt’ showing final -š and a medial cluster or geminated \*-tt-, though Ca *mála-l* does not. In spite of the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel changing in Tep, this widespread etymon is found in every branch of UA. [\*-t > -L->-n- in Tb; \* -CC-] [p1m,p2k,p3t,p4s1] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**615** Hebrew *ktš* ‘pound, pound fine, bray, v’; *kaataš* (perfect qal); unattested \**kitteš* < \**kittaš* would be the qittel form: Yq *kitta* / *kittasu* ‘grind, mash’. Some say the final -su of the Yq form is another morpheme; even if so, *kitta* is striking enough, as we seldom see 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants in UA anyway. [SUA: TrC] [p1k,p2t,p3s1]

## 5.7 Proto-Semitic **ḏ** vs. Proto-Semitic **z** in Uto-Aztecan

Hebrew **z**, when from Proto-Semitic **ḏ** (> Arabic **ḏ**, Aramaic **d**), corresponds to UA \***t**, in Sem-p, but Hebrew **z**, when from Proto-Semitic **z** (> Arabic **z**, Aram **z**), corresponds to UA \***c** or \***s**, in Sem-kw, at least, if not both. Thus, the Semitic-p in UA comes from a dialect that had not yet merged Semitic \***ḏ** and \***z** as the dialect of the Masoretic text had. For Hebrew **z** (< Proto-Semitic \***z**) > UA \***c**, see ‘moon’ (1077). For Hebrew **z** (< Proto-Semitic \***ḏ**) > UA \***t**, see below ‘male’ (616), ‘beard, chin’ (617), ‘wolf’ (618, 619), and ‘flea’ (620).

**616** Hebrew *zakar* ‘male, man’ (< Proto-Semitic \***ḏakar**); Arabic *ḏakar* ‘male, man, penis’;

Aramaic *dakar* ‘male, man’:

UACV-1414 \***taka**C / \***taka**N ‘man, person, body’: Sapir; VVH145 \**taka* ‘man’; M67-272 \**taka* ‘man’; BH.Cup \**tax* ‘person’ (Cp *átax*’a; Ca *táxlis-wet*; Ls *’a-táax* ‘person, self’); BH.Cup \**taxawi* ‘body’ (Cp *táxwi*; Ca *táxawily*; Ls *táaxaw*); L.Son270 \**taka* ‘cuerpo’ (Op *takat*; Eu *taka*; Yq/My *taká*); CL.Azt105 \**tlaaka* ‘man’; KH.NUA; M88-ta25 ‘man’; AMR 1993c \**taka*; KH/M06-ta25: Hp *taaqa*; Tb *tahambi-t/l/š* ‘old man’; Sr *taqtqa(ṭ)* ‘body, picture’; Ktn *taka-t* ‘person, Indian’; Ktn *tahtaka* / *taqtqa* ‘body’; Gb *táx*; My *taká* ‘cuerpo, alma, veinte’; CN *tlaaka-tl* ‘person’; CN *tlaak-tli* ‘body, torso’. Note Ca *taxa-t* ‘he, that guy, brave man’; Ca *tax* ‘self’; and Ca *táxawily*, all derived from Semitic *ḏakar* ‘man, male’. A third C is apparent in Tb, SP, and others. AMR (1993c) notes SP *tagap-pia-pi* ‘servant’. We should include Cr *taata*’a; pl: *téteka* ‘man’ and Sh(GL) *daga* ‘friend (male)’ and perhaps the -taka of Ch *kaiva-taka* ‘mountain peak’. This is one of the fairly pervasive stems of UA, though it has different meanings in different branches: ‘man’ in Hp, Tb, CN; and

‘body, person, self’ in other branches. However, the presence of w or rounding after the k repeatedly reappears in different branches, probably possessive -wa: the Tak words for body may better reconstruct to \*takaw; and Yq and My show \*takawa; Eu and other TrC languages show \*takwa.

In spite of a \*-k-/-kk- question, Num \*takkaN ‘semen’ and \*takkaN-pi ‘arrow(head)’ may belong here, as opposed to the Numic words \*taŋwa- ‘man’ below, which are from \*tatwa ‘man’ like Tb. In numbers Yq and My show sénu taka ‘twenty’ (one body, the number of all fingers and toes); this stem is also used in CN ma’-tlaak-tli ‘ten’ as ‘hands (of) man’. [p1z2,p2k,p3r] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**617** Hebrew zaaqaan ‘beard, chin’; Assyrian ziqnu; Aramaic(J) diqn-aa ‘beard-the, chin-the’; Mandaic ziqnaa; Arabic daqan/ diqan ‘chin’; Arabic daqn ‘beard’; Hebrew zqn ‘be old’; Hebrew zaaqen ‘old’; construct pl: zəqen-/ziqn- ‘old ones, elders’:

UACV-1469a \*tīna > \*tīni ‘mouth’: Sapir; VVH19 \*tīni ‘mouth’; M67-293 \*teni ‘mouth’; I.Num242 \*tīmpe ‘mouth, lips’; B.Tep241 \*tīni ‘mouth’; L.Son293 \*tīni ‘boca’; M88-ti5 ‘mouth’; KH/M06-ti5: TO čini; Eu téeni / teni-t; LP tīni; PYP teni; NT tīni; ST tyiñ/čiñ; Tr fini; Tr fe’nači; My teeni; Yq téeni / tēni; Tbr tini-r; Wc téetaa ‘mouth, lip’ (cognate? Miller queries); Cr tyēni; CN teen-tli ‘lip, mouth, edge, word’. Wc téetaa is cognate, being nearly identical to the pre- or proto-Aztec form from which CN teen-tli derives—\*teen-ta—missing only *n*. Note also Tr fe’na-či, with a glottal stop or other consonant in a cluster. This element appears in compounds of other languages as well: Cm parīci ‘chin’; TSh patīci ‘chin’ and in \*ti’ni-po’wa ‘facial hair, lit. mouth-hair’.

UACV-1469b \*tīnV-pa > \*tīn-pa > \*tīmpa ‘mouth (in)’: Mn tīpe; NP ddiba; TSh tīmpe; Sh tīpai ‘mouth, lips’; Kw tibi-vi; SP tīmpa-vi; CU tīpá-vi; Hp tīmp(aq) ‘at the brink, top edge of a drop-off, such as cliff, mesa edge’; Hp tīmkye’ ‘along top edge of cliff’. An additional and definite \*-pa suffix distinguishes the Num forms, as nearly all have a final vowel -a, not typical of the \*-pi/-pi of absolutive suffixes. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**618** Hebrew zə’eb ‘wolf’; Arabic dī’b ‘wolf’; Proto-Semitic \*dī’b (Bennett 1998, 60); Syriac dī’b-aa ‘wolf-the’; Aramaic dī’b-aa ‘wolf-the’:

UACV-2570 \*tīpa / \*to’apa ‘wolf’: M67-469 \*tīpa ‘wolf’; M88-ti42 ‘wolf’; KH/M03-ti42: Ch tīváci; SP tīva-ci ‘wolf, mythical being/powerful one’; Tb tībaič; Tb(H) tīpay-č ‘wolf’; Mn(KH) to’oppi ‘wolf’; Mn to’ápe ‘timber wolf’; TSh toopi / tooppi ‘wolf’; TSh tīpo’isa ‘wild dog, coyote’; Kw tīvi-ži; TO šee’e. Jane Hill (p.c.) astutely adds Ktn tīva-č ‘God’ as coyote/wolf terms elsewhere semantically extend to ‘god’. Mn shows a glottal stop, while SNumic and Tb have lost it, but considering its original presence via Mn, all 3 consonants correspond as expected, even the vowels match Aramaic wonderfully, and the meanings are identical. The glottal stop may be the cause of Mn’s round vowel, while SNumic and Tb show a slight assimilation to *i*, but show the vowel of the Aramaic definite article suffix, as is common for Semitic-p nouns. The following three—Cr tīra’ave; Wc tīraave; Eu hūrve / hūrue / wurwe (from \*hunapi or \*hu-tu’api?)—could feasibly belong here, yet they may fit \*hunapi ‘badger’ too, as Ken Hill has them both places as well. I’ll continue indecisive with him. In fact, they fit phonologically best there, semantically better here. [p1z2,p2’,p3b] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

**619** Hebrew zə’eb ‘wolf’; Arabic dī’b ‘wolf’; Proto-Semitic \*dī’b (Bennett 1998, 60); given the Tepiman sound change \*c > \*s (well established in UA), and a 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant of glottal stop, these are likely from the Hebrew zə’eb of Sem-kw, with lost 3<sup>rd</sup> C b:

UACV-2569 \*cī’i ‘wolf’: B.Tep211 \*sī’i ‘wolf’; Fowler83; M88-ci12; KH/M03-ci12: TO šee’e; Nv sī’i; PYP see’e; NT sīyi/sīi; ST sīi’. [p1z2,p2’,p3b] [SUA: Tep]

**620** Hebrew zəbuub ‘fly’; Arabic đubaab ‘fly’; Arabic đubaabat ‘a (single) fly’; Syriac debaab/dabaab-aa ‘fly-the’; most Semitic nouns of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> C -bb- have them clustered like \*šabb ‘lizard’, so an unattested f. pl form analogized thusly (\*đabboot(ee<sup>y</sup>)) would likely underlie this UA set:

UACV-914 \*tapputi / \*tīpputi / \*tīCpu-ti ‘flea’: VVH146 \*tīpu ‘flea’; M67-175 \*tepu/\*tepuci ‘flea’; L.Son298 \*tīpu ‘pulga’; Fowler83; Dakin 1991; M88-ti6 ‘flea’; KH/M06-ti6 (AMR \*tīpu-ti): TO čīpš; PYP teepas; NT tapīš; ST tapīš; Eu tepú’u / tepú; Yq téput, tepučim (pl.); My tépput; Wr tehpuć; Tr řipuć; Tbr tipú-t; Wc teepīi; Cr tepī-, tepī-ci (pl.); CN tekpin-tli; Pl tekpin; HN tekpi(mi)-tl. Azt -k- is from a stop-like intensifying of -pp- > -kp-, or a glottal stop hopped then was reinterpreted as -k-, or as Dakin’s (1991) suggestion \*tī-tīpu > \*tītpi > tīkpi to yield Aztec \*tekpi forms. PYP teepas ‘flea’ suggests a cluster in contrast to PYP teev ‘shoe’; PYP teevi ‘corn husks’; PYP teevin ‘thin rope’. Terms for ‘cricket’—Eu tepósti; Wc tīpuuši—also likely tie to ‘flea’, though Cr and Wc both have \*tīpu ‘flea’ above. Wc tīpuuši may be a loan from Eu or Tep, for Wc u corresponds to Eu and PUA \*o. Sem-p -t > s in other items too. [idddua] [1z2,2bb] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**621** Hebrew zkk ‘be bright, clean, pure’; Hebrew zak ‘pure, clean’; Aramaic(J) zky / zakaa ‘be pure, clear’: Ca cexi ‘to clear up (of sky or water)’. [p1z,p2k,p3k]

**622** Arabic zǧǧ < \*zagga, impfv \*-zuggu ‘throw, squeeze, force, cram (s.th./s.o. into s.th.)’:

UACV-1443 \***cukka/i** ‘crowded, mixed’; I.Num264 \*cīhki ‘mixed, crowded’; M88-ci5 ‘crowded, mix(ed)’; KH/M06-ci5: SP cīkki ‘be mixed with’; CU cīku’mi ‘narrow, constricted’; Cm cīhki-/cīkk- ‘crowded’; CN ciciika ‘stuff s.th. tight’. Since \*u > ī in Num is frequent, and \*u > i in CN, the Num and CN agree through \*cukk, and final vowels often show active -a and stative -i. [\*u > ī in Num ] [p1z,p2g,p3g] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

The next three relate to zrʕ ‘sow (seed), engender/bear (seed/offspring)’:

**623** Hebrew zrʕ / zaaraʕ ‘sow (seed)’; Arabic zrʕ / zaraʕa ‘sow, plant, cultivate’:

CN cayawa ‘sew, scatter seed’ (Andrews).

**624** Hebrew zrʕ / -zriiʕ ‘bear a child’ (-zriiʕ is the hiqtil stem with prefixes: ta-zriiʕ, ma-zriiʕ, \*hi-zriiʕ):

CN ciiwa ‘beget, gender’.

**625** Hebrew zéraʕ ‘seed, offspring, descendants’; Arabic zarʕ- ‘seed’:

Hopi cayo ‘child’ (2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> C not clustered). Masoretic *e* > UA *a* and in mortar (614) and belt (592). [1z,2r,3’2]

**626** Arabic zrʕ ‘sow, spread, scatter’; Hebrew zrʕ ‘sow’; because ʕ > w or l in Hopi, the Hopi l may be from an -rʕ- cluster of the verbal noun or feminine sg perfect or other forms that cluster the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant: Hopi cala- ‘scatter’.

**627** Hebrew zḥl ‘creep, crawl’; Arabic zḥl ‘to move away, withdraw’; Aramaic(J) zḥl ‘to creep’:

Ca cawa-y ‘to crawl, climb, ascend’. [p1z,p2h2,p3l]

**628** Hebrew zaaqaan ‘beard, chin’; Assyrian ziqnu; Aramaic(J) diqn-aa ‘beard, chin-the’; Mandaic zīqnaa; Arabic ḍaqaan / ḍiqan ‘chin’; Arabic ḍaqa ‘beard’; In contrast to Semitic-p \*ḍiqn-aa ‘chin’ > UA \*tī’na ‘mouth’, the following SUA \*ca’lo ‘chin’ is from Sem-kw \*ḍaqa-n-o, Hebrew **zaqn-o** ‘chin-his’ and a would-be but unattested NUA \*ca’no:

UACV-1472; SUA \***ca’lo** ‘chin, jaw’: Tr ča’ró ‘chin’; Wr caló ‘chin, jaw’; CN teen-čal-li ‘chin’;

CN kama-čal-li ‘jaw’; Yq čao ‘barba’; My čaro hímsim ‘bigote’; My čaro wá’asa’ari ‘quijada’;

Hp càŋw-ti ‘open the mouth’. [r/l > ’ > ø] [kw1z2,kw2q,kw3n] [SUA: TrC, Azt; NUA: Hp]

## 5.8 Semitic-p Distinguishes Proto-Semitic x and Proto-Semitic ḥ

Proto-Semitic \*x and \*ḥ eventually merged, that is, both became the voiceless pharyngeal ḥ in Hebrew, Phoenician, and Aramaic (but remained distinct in Ugaritic, Arabic, and Akkadian). So the Hebrew voiceless pharyngeal ḥ is a merger of two different sounds, which are distinguished in UA’s Sem-p, but not in Semitic-kw. The Israelites, after arriving in Palestine, borrowed the Phoenician alphabet and language, such that Hebrew and Phoenician are dialects of the same language. (Hebrew was not spoken where Abraham came from.) The fact that the Phoenician alphabet had only ḥ (ḥeyṭ) to represent both Proto-Semitic \*x and \*ḥ suggests that these sounds were already merged in Phoenician when they developed the Phoenician/Hebrew alphabet (Blau 1998, 12, 30). However, the Israelites kept these two Semitic consonants distinct until 300 B.C. (Kutscher 1982, 13-18; Sáenz-Badillos 1993, 81; Blau 1998, 12, 30), in contrast to the Phoenicians who merged them a millennium earlier. Eventually, the Israelite dialects merged the two sounds also, though for most of ancient Israel’s history the two sounds were maintained as distinct; for example, the Septuagint Greek Old Testament of about 300 B.C. shows those phonemes as still distinct (Blau 1998, 30). In UA, Semitic-kw shows them merged to pharyngeal ḥ (and ḥ > UA \*hu/o), but Semitic-p distinguishes the two and has several vocabulary items showing both an alignment of Semitic x > UA k/h and Semitic ḥ > UA \*hu/o. Arabic, Old Epigraphic South Arabian, Ugaritic, and Akkadian show the original distinction, so cognates from those languages are cited to show the original x. Besides the fact that UA distinguishes the pharyngeal ḥeyṭ (Sem \*ḥ > UA hu/o/u/w) from the velar/uvular fricative (Sem \*x > UA k/x/h), examples of the latter sound-change (Semitic \*x > k in UA) happen within Semitic itself (\*x > k), such as Arabic loans into Aramaic: Arabic xabbaaz > Aramaic(S) kabbaaz ‘baker’ and Arabic xaraaǧ ‘tax’ > Aramaic(J) karg-aa / kərag-aa ‘tax-the’. Also in Arabic loanwords into Ethiopic, x > k (Kapeliuk 2002, 313) as in UA. So UA’s Semitic-p aligns with Hebrew phonology dating before 300 B.C. The next 14 sets (629 to 642) show Proto-Semitic x > UA \*k, the first half in initial position and the last half in non-initial position:

**629** Arabic *xbt* ‘beat, strike, knock, rap’; Hebrew *ḥbt* ‘beat off, beat out’; Semitic \**xabbit*: UACV-1196 \***kappica** ‘clap, slap’: NT *kapišai* ‘manotear, darle guantadas [slap, hit]’; ST *kapiasa* ‘clap hands’. The UA doubled middle consonant and the vowels all suggest gemination of an intensive conjugation (an Arabic II or Hebrew impfv \*-*xabbit* form). [p1x,p2b,p3t2] [SUA: Tep]

**630** Hebrew *ḥole* (< \***xole**) ‘be sick, hurting’ > UA Sem-p \***koli** ‘be sick, hurt, vi’  
At p. 50 and in UACV 2.6, I note consonant clusters of \*-’C- that separate the cluster with an epenthetic vowel: \*-V’C- > -V’VC-. I later found that Cora (Casad 1984, 158) has the same rule synchronically (presently) that I had proposed for UA diachronically (in historical change over time). NUA often has the base form, while SUA has the reduplications that created the cluster and caused the liquid to change to glottal stop, which later separated from the other consonant by an echo vowel: \*-VLC- > -V’C- > -V’VC-. Egyptian *wr/wrw* > UA \***wir** (221), reduplicated \***wirwiru** > \***wi’wiru** > \***wi’iwiru** ‘big’ or Tep *gī’igiru*: among the several UA forms, the reduplicated form is usually the plural form of \***wir**.

Hebrew *xole* > UA \***koli**, reduplicated \***kolkoli** > \***ko’koli** > \***ko’okoli** ‘hurt, be sick, chili pepper’:  
UACV-1597 \***qoli** (\***qolqoli** > \***ko’okoli**) ‘hurt, be sick, chili pepper’: M67-129c \**ko’koko* ‘hurt’; L.Son92 \**koko* ‘be sick’; L.Son93 \**kokori* ‘chile’; B.Tep117 \**ko’oko* ‘be sick, hurt’; Fowler83; M88-ko7; KH/M06-ko7 ‘hurt, (be) pepper hot’; Cp *qil’iqqa-t* ‘hot, spicy, strong’; Cp *qil’iqtu’ni* ‘hurt, sting, vt’; Ca *qél’ya* ‘feel sore, v’; Ca *qél’yak* ‘peppery, pungent, creating a burning sensation’; TO *s-ko’ok* ‘be painful’; TO *ko’okol* ‘chile pepper (plant and fruit)’; TO *ko’okod* ‘hurt, give pain to, vt’; NT *kóoko* ‘be sick’; NT *kóokoli* ‘chile’; ST *-ka’ook* ‘be sick’; ST *ko’okoly* ‘chile’; Eu *kókoe-n* ‘doler’; Eu *kókoce* ‘estar enfermo’; Wr *ko’kó-* ‘estar chileoso’; Wr *ko’koré-* ‘dolerse’; Wr *ko’kóri* ‘chile’; Tr *ko* ‘pica (chile)’; Tr *ko-rí* ‘chile’; Tr *o’-ko-rí* ‘dolor’; My *kó’okori* ‘chile’; My *kó’oko* ‘enchiloso’; My *kó’okore* ‘enfermo’; Tbr *kokó-l* ‘chile’; Tbr *ko/kokó* ‘dolor’; Wc *kookóri* ‘chile’; CN *kokoy(a)* ‘be sick’; *koko-k* ‘be spicy’; Pl *kukuk* ‘strong, hot, spicy, painful’; Pl *kuukua* ‘to hurt, ache, pain’. Add Cr *kwi’i* ‘sick’ (Casad 1984, 178). Note Eu lost r. Note simple \**qolV* in Cupan; thus, I consider \**ko’okoli* a reduplication of \**koli*, lik \**wi’iwiru* ‘big’ is a reduplication of \**wiru*. Of course, superlatives for ‘big’ and ‘pain’ (I hurt!) are always in high demand conversationally, so fossilized reduplications of such words early in UA prehistory should not be surprising. Besides liquids in both NUA and SUA, note also \*-l- > -y- in CN. [liquids in NUA/SUA; l > CN y] [p1x,p2l,p3i] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**631** Aramaic(J) *ḥamar* (< \**xamar*) ‘wine’; Hebrew *ḥemer* ‘wine’; Arabic *xmr* ‘to ferment’; Arabic *xamr* ‘wine’; Arabic *ximiir* ‘drunkard’; Arabic *xamrat* ‘wine’; Ugaritic *xmr* ‘wine’:  
UACV-9 \***kamaC** ‘drunk’: KH.NUA; M88-ka42; KH/M06-ka42: Gb *xamá* ‘emborracharse’; Sr *qām|(ā)q* ‘get, be drunk, crazy’. Ken Hill (KH/M06-ka42) adds Ktn *ka’mik* ‘be crazy, dizzy, drunk’. The liquid, in its rightful place in Sr, is anticipated as a glottal stop in Ktn, as in Hebrew *tašleeg* ‘to snow’ > UA \**ta’asiC* ‘to freeze’. [p1x,p2m,p3r] [NUA: Tak]

**632** Semitic (Ugaritic, Aramaic(J), Arabic, Ethiopic, Akkadian) \***xnq** ‘strangle, put around the neck’; Hebrew *ḥnq* (< \**xnq*) ‘strangle, hang (self)’; Syriac *ḥnq* (< \**xnq*) ‘choke, strangle, hang’; Syriac *ḥanaaq-aa* (< \**xanaaq-aa*) ‘band, collar (of a yoke), strings with which yoke is tied to the neck’ (note also Aramaic *ḥanaaq* ‘necklace, chain’); Aramaic(J) *ḥaneeq-aa* / *ḥanaaq-aa* (< \**xanaaq-aa*) ‘ropes or chains around neck’:  
UACV-1505 \***konaka** ‘necklace, collar, beads, string of beads’: M67-28 \**koka* ‘beads’; Langacker 1970; L.Son95 \**koroka* ‘collar’; KH.NUA; M88-ko9 ‘beads, necklace’; KH/M06-ko9: Sr *qōnqa-t* ‘necklace, collar’; Cp *qinexa* ‘put on necklace, vi’; Cp *qinxat* ‘strings of shell beads, necklace’; Ca *qénxa(t)* ‘s.th. around neck, beads’; Ls *qénxa-t* ‘necklace, beads’; Gb *xúnso’ar* ‘beads worn as necklace’; Ktn *konakat* ‘necklace, belt’; Sh *kotokki* (actually *korokki*) ‘necklace’; Wr *koloká* ‘sogilla’; Tr *go-ro-gá* ‘collar’; My *kóokam* ‘collar’; but CN *kooska-tl* ‘jewel, ornament, necklace’; Pl *kuuska-t* ‘necklace’ may belong at 1248. Miller also lists Mn *qakki* ‘beads’; Kw *kaki* ‘necklace, collar’; CU *kaaka* ‘necklace’, which belong, but with different vowelings. The Takic, TrC, and CN forms show a liquid as 2nd C, like Lionnet’s reconstruction \**koroka*, as NUA n corresponds to SUA l/r. For devoicing of r > s in CN, see Elusive Liquids. Tak shows the third consonant \*k and the first vowel, all very nicely. [r/l > s in cluster with a voiceless C] [1x,2n,3q] [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**633** Ugaritic *xtn* ‘marry’; Arabic *xatana* ‘circumcise’; Hebrew *ḥoten* ‘father-in-law’ [literally, the circumciser]; Hebrew *ḥaataan* ‘related by marriage’ [the list of Semitic terms in KB includes most kinds of in-laws]; Aramaic(J) *ḥatn-aa* / **ḥataan-aa** ‘son-in-law, connection’  
UACV-1791 \***kusana** ‘sibling-in-law’: KH.NUA; M88-ku31; KH/M03-ku31: Sr *kuuhan* ‘cross sibling-in-law, WiSi, WiF/Co, HuBr, HuM/Co, MaBrWi, Ma/CoWi, WoSiHu, Wo/CoHu’; Ktn *-kuhana* (pl -m) ‘sister-in-law’;



Gb kúsna 'brother-in-law'. [\*-t- > -s-] [p1x,p1h2,p2t,p3n] [NUA: Tak]

**634** Hebrew ḥalaas-ayim 'loins'; Hebrew ḥalaas-aa-w 'loins-his'; Akkadian xanšaatu; Syriac ḥaṣṣaa;

Arabic xaṣr- 'hip, haunch, waist'; Samaritan ḥarṣ-aa; Aramaic ḥarṣ- 'hip'; Mandaic ḥaṣa, ḥaṣa:

UACV-1183 \*kaca-pawī 'hip': Tr kačá 'hueso de la cadera [hip bone]'; Wr kačá 'cadera [hip]'; Cp kepáwe 'hip, poss'd'; Wc kwacápaī 'hip'. Tr and Wr clearly match, and Wc is a compound. Cp may match Wc well, in that \*-c- > -y- in NUA, and if e < \*ay: \*kacapawī > kay(a)pawī > kepáwe. In fact, Cp -p- signifies a cluster, as easily \*-yp- < \*-cp-, as anything else. Wc's final ī (<\*u) may be left from the w of \*kwacapawī. [CrC p-] [p1x,p2l,p3s4] [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC]

**635** Hebrew ḥbt (< \*xbt; e.g. Arabic xbt 'be obscure, IV be lowly; Arabic xabt- 'low ground, wide valley, spacious low tract of ground easy to walk through' [in other words, flat]):

Hebrew \*xabitt-iim 'flat cakes or wafers'; Hebrew \*maxabat 'flat plate, pan or griddle':

UACV-903 \*kapal 'flat': M88-ka5 'flat'; KH/M06-ka5: TO kawadk 'be flat'; TO kapad 'lie flat';

TO kawad 'war shield' pl: kakawad; PYp kaper 'bent down, low, flat'; PYp kaper-ek 'flat';

NT kapááratuui 'become flat'; NT kapááarakami 'flat, level'; Wr kapó 'flat'. What of CU paáy 'be smooth' and Ls laqápa 'be smooth' and Ls laqapi 'make smooth'? Certainly related, but with semantic tangent, are shield terms: TO kawad 'war shield'; Nv kava'arha, pl: kavparha 'adarga'; Nv kavar'ha 'make a shield'.

[idddua] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**636** Syriac kp' 'bend, bow, incline, curve, lean over'; kappep 'bend, vt'; Syriac kapaap-taa 'anything hollow or curved, coffer'; Assyrian kappu / Hebrew kap 'hollow or flat of hand, palm, sole, pan':

UACV-1705a \*kapaC 'pot': BH \*kavá'mal 'pot'; HH \*kavá'mal 'pot'; M88-ka21 'pot'; KH/M06-ka21: Cp kavá'mal 'pot'; Ca káva'mal 'olla, water jar, cup, pot'; Ls kavá'a-l 'clay pot'; Ls kapa-kpa-ma-l 'short, low'. [NUA: Tak]

UACV-1705b \*(ca)kaput 'pot': Hp caqapta (combining forms caqap-, caqavut-, etc.) 'pottery bowl, earthenware dish or bowl' is likely related to Ca káputma-l 'cup', and both to the Tak \*kapa'-ma-l forms above. [a/u] [p1h2,p2b,p3t] [NUA: Tak, Hp] A cup or bowl hollow is the sememe 'hole', also shifting to 'open' and 'yawn':

UA \*kapa/i / kappV (make/be) a hole, open, yawn': Ca kavi 'have a hole, be open (window, etc)'; Ca kávi-ve 'hole'; Cp kápe 'yawn'; Cp kápele 'to open'; Cp kápal 'make hole'; Sr kīvīhka 'hole'; Sr kīvīhī'q 'be a hole'. UACV-2600 \*kappī 'yawn': Ca kákape 'yawn'; Cp kápe. [NUA: Tak]

Of Syriac kp' 'bend, bow, incline, curve, lean over'; kappep 'bend, vt'; Syriac kapiipuu-ta 'crookedness': Ca kapu-kapu- (<\*kappu) 'be crooked (back, tree)'; Ca kávaqi/kávat 'lie on one's side, lean sideways (tree)'.

**637** \*pxd > Hebrew pḥd 'shiver, tremble, be startled (with horror)'; Akkadian paxaadu 'be startled, tremble': Ktn pokat-ik 'get frightened'; Numic \*-paka- in iya-paka- 'be afraid' at 728. [p1p,p2x,p3d] [NUA: Tak, Num]

**638** Hebrew raāḥeel (< \*raxel) 'ewe'; Arabic raxil / rixl- (KB); Akkadian laxru(m) 'ewe'; though Akkadian metathesizes (switches) the liquids (r, l), both Arabic and Akkadian show that proto-Semitic \*x is the middle consonant (not ḥ), and UA shows \*k (often softening to h); the semantic change from 'sheep' to 'deer' is not great, or at least understandable, as both are the primary meat source for the respective cultures:

UACV-643a \*tikīya (> tihīya) 'deer': M67-123 \*te/\*tek 'deer'; I.Num237 \*tīhī 'deer, horse'; Fowler83; M88-ti24 'deer';

KH/M06-ti24 'deer': Mn tihīta 'deer'; Mn tihīya 'old buck'; Mn(L) tihīhta 'deer'; NP tihīdda; TSh tihīya(n);

Sh tihīyan; Cm tihīya 'horse'; Kw tihīya; Ch tihīya; SP tīgīa (< \*tikīa) 'deer'; SP tī- 'deer, game'; CU tīfīyī.

The SP form suggests \*k, while the other Num forms show h or nothing. In light of a palatalisation of the initial t (\*t > c/č), the Tepiman forms below also likely belong, as UA \*c > Tepiman s:

UACV-643b \*ciki 'white-tailed deer': TO siiki 'white-tailed deer'; PYp siiki 'white-tailed deer'. [idddua]

[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]

**639** Hebrew pśḥ (< \*psx) 'be lame, limp'; Arabic fsx, ya-fsaxu 'dislocate, disjoint'; the UA form below is from the impfv stem (present/future) \*-psax, with bilabials (b, p) disappearing as 1<sup>st</sup> consonant in a cluster, so \*sakV is as expected in UA and is what we see in CU, and WMU with assimilated/raised vowel a > i/ü: CU sakī- 'limp, v'; WMU sügú-y / sügú-y 'limp, be lame, vi'. [p1p,p2s3,p3x]

**640** Hebrew pśḥ (< \*psx) 'be lame, limp'; Hebrew pisse<sup>h</sup> 'limping', pl: pišḥiim 'limping' (verbal adj); Arabic fsx (< \*psx) 'dislocate, disjoint, put out of joint; abolish, revoke, nullify, void; lose color, fade (color)'; Akkadian pessu 'lame, limping'; while the previous set (639) aligns with the impfv stem and the exact meaning, this set (640) is from an adjective and encompasses the larger semantic range. Note Arabic 'dislocate/limp' and 'nullify/void' and 'fade/lose color' all reflecting generally 'go bad, not good/viable any more'; and rotten (UA) is no good any more; the clincher is Eu piopioké 'walk limping' reflecting the others of UA \*pisokV 'rot'; and Eu shows initial p and has the exact primary meaning and also phonologically

aligns with \*pisokV ‘rot’; even today ‘lame’ has recently come to mean ‘bad’ or ‘substandard’: ‘lame excuse’ = ‘lousy/bad excuse’ and ‘lame decorations’ = ‘not good’. So from \*pissex ‘limp, lame’:

UACV-1847a \*pisika / \*pis(i)ki ‘(become) rotten, infected’: BH \*pisa? ‘to rot’; L.Son197 \*pika ‘podrirse’; M88-pi7 ‘be rotten, estar podrido’; Stubbs2000b-50; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pi7 and KH/M06-pi30: besides the many forms below, Miller astutely adds TO wi’ikam ‘remnant, survivor’; Tr bi’ká ‘podrirse’. Consider also terms for ‘pus/infection’ in addition to ‘rot’. Three consonants appear to be involved, with possible reconstructions being \*pisika/pisaka/pisoka > \*piska. Note the cluster -sk- in Sr, Ktn, and Tb, but -s- in most of Takic and in Central Numic, but -kk- in SNum and -k- in TrC, and -h- in WNum.

UA \*piska/\*pisVka ‘pus, infection, rot(ten), spoil(ed)’: WNum: Mn pihí ‘rot’; pihika ‘be infected’; NP pihí ‘rot’ CNum: TSh pisiC ‘rot’; pisippī ‘pus’; Sh pisi-ppī ‘rotten’; Cm pisi(ppī) ‘pus, infection’; SNum: Kw piki ‘rot’, piki-pī ‘pus’; Ch piki ‘rot’ (< \*pikki); SP pikki ‘semi-liquid mass’; SP pikkyá ‘sore, hard’

WMU pihkkī-y ‘rot, spoil, be/get infected, vi’; CU piki ‘be rotten’ (< \*pikki)

Hp peekye ‘pus, pus-filled infection; vi: get infected, rot, decay’; Tb piškiš-(it) ‘have pus’

Tak: Sr pišqa ‘rot’; Ktn piska ‘rotten’; Ca písa ‘spoil, rot’; Cp piśá’e ‘rot, go sour’; Ls písa’(a) ‘rot’

Cah: Yq bikáa ‘rotten’; AYq viika ‘infected’; My biká ‘pus’, bikára ‘rotten’

TrC: Eu viikát ‘pus, sore’; Wr piga-ní ‘rotten’, pigapá-ní ‘rot’; Tr biká / bi’ká (Tr(L)) ‘pus, rotten’, biká-mea ‘rot’

Cr pe’ečira’a ‘está hueco, podrido’

Clearly \*pi is the first syllable. Beyond that, several languages show \*s and several show \*k; however, some show both s and k (Sr, Tb, perhaps Mn), and others show hints of both. For example, the glottal stop in some Takic languages (Cp, Ls) aligns with k. In addition, the word-final gemination in the Central Numic languages (TSh, Sh, Cm) suggests an underlying third consonant, and k is a good guess, judging by the other forms (pisi-ppī < \*pisi-k-pī). Therefore, \*s is clear and \*k a definite possibility in Central Numic. The Hp form is extremely interesting in that the palatalization of the k (ky) is a natural for a possible underlying sk cluster, with a near palatal plus velar reducing to a palatalized velar (sk > kʲ). What’s more, Hp vowel leveling of i-a or a-i combinations to e-e is apparent elsewhere: Hp kele-vosna ‘kidney’; SP kani ‘kidney’ and Hp cekwe at \*cikwa ‘rain’. Hopi e is alone among Hopi’s six vowels in not aligning clearly with PUA’s five vowels; thus, vowel leveling of i-a and a-i combinations is often the source of Hp e. Ken Hill (p.c.) also mentions reductions of ai diphthongs as a possible source of e, which too is a form of vowel leveling. So of the 20 languages represented, 10 show s, 13 show k, 2 or 3 show both, and 7 display phonological hints of such a cluster (Hp, TSh, Sh, Cm, Mn, Cp, Ls). Thus, it is another example of the eventual loss of a syllable in many of the languages, though the languages are fairly split as to which syllable is lost—2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>, but never first. A reconstruction like \*pisoka could also include Wr and Tr \*piso, though Wr and Tr \*pika ‘rot’ also exist. Curiously, Quechua pusqu-y ‘rot’ has the same three consonants. UACV-1847b \*piso ‘pus, infection’; Tr bisó/wisó ‘supurar [suppurate], infectar un grano o herida [infect pimple or wound]’; Wr pehsoní ‘pus’.

UACV-1847c \*pikka ‘sore’: Mn piha’ayee ‘become itchy, rash-like’; Kw pakagi’i-dī ‘sore, pain, ache, be sore’; SP pakka ‘sore, pain’; SP pikka ‘sore, hard’; CU pikyá-vi ‘poke-mark, sore’. Eu biikát ‘llaga, materia’ and others above are likely reductions: \*piska > pikka, i.e., \*-sk- > WNum -h-, SNum -kk-.

Eu piopiioké ‘andar cojeando [walk limping]’ (< \*pisokV); Eu secures it with the exact primary meaning and phonologically aligning with \*pisokV ‘rot’. [p1p,p2s,p3x] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: TrC, CrC]

**641** compounds with the above UA \*pisikV > \*piskV > \*pikkV ‘rotten, gooey, gone-bad stuff’ follow:

UACV-279 \*coC-pikki ‘brain, lit: head-goo’: I.Num \*cohpi(h)ki ‘brains’; M88-co5; KH/M06-co5: Mn copígi; NP igicopigi (<iki-coppiki) ‘brain’; NP mubigi (< mu-piki) ‘nose-snot’; Ch copíki; SP čoC-pikki / soppikki / cöppikki ‘brain, lit. head-fluid’; WMU čöhppikki ‘brain(s)’; CU cīpiki-vi (< \*coppikki-pi); Hp cöqya ‘brain’. NP, SP, and Miller all suggest that Num \*coC-pikki is probably a compound of \*coC- ‘head’ and \*pikki ‘gooey or coagulated fluid’ because Num \*mu-pikki ‘snot’ contains \*mu- ‘nose’. Kw wiya-biki-vī ‘brain’ also agrees with the same morpheme boundary. Hp is interesting in having apparently reduced the medial syllable—\*coC-pikia > \*copkia > \*cokya—and in having acquired or preserved final -a that the other languages do not show. Note also \*u/o > i in CU. [idddua] [bilabial > ø/\_C; \*o > i in Num] [NUA: WNum, SNum, Hp]

**642** another compound with the above UA \*pisikV > \*piskV > \*pikkV ‘rotten, gooey, gone-bad stuff’ is the following in CNumic with a different first term of the compound than in the Southern Numic term above:

UACV-280 \*ku(p)-pisiC ‘brain < head-goo’ CNum: TSh kupisiC ‘brain, marrow’; Sh kupisi; Cm kupisi; as TSh mupisippī ‘mucus’ (nose-goo), \*ku-pisi ‘brain’ is a compound. [NUA: CNum]

## Semitic-kw's Proto-Semitic x > Hebrew/Phoenician ḥ > UA \*hu/ho/o/w

The above 14 sets (629-642) show Sem-p retaining Proto-Semitic \*x, which later became pharyngeal ḥ, merging with ḥ in later Hebrew. In contrast, Sem-kw does not distinguish Proto-Semitic \*x and \*ḥ, like Sem-p does, but Sem-kw has them already merged, as if from Phoenician, such that Proto-Semitic \*x is reflected as \*ḥ > UA hu/w in Sem-kw. To help non-Semiticists keep it all straight, the matter of Hebrew/Phoenician ḥ in this work involves four separate groups of data or categories:

- 1 Proto-Semitic \*x in Sem-p: \*x > UA \*k, with no rounding (sometimes softened to x or h)
- 2 Proto-Semitic \*ḥ in Sem-p: \*ḥ > UA \*hu/ho/o/w, always associated with rounding
- 3 Proto-Semitic \*x in Semitic-kw: \*x > ḥ > UA \*hu/ho/o/w, always associated with rounding
- 4 Proto-Semitic \*ḥ in Semitic-kw: \*ḥ > ḥ > UA \*hu/ho/o/w, always associated with rounding

The next 15 sets (643-657) exemplify category 3 above and show Proto-Semitic \*x > ḥ (of Sem-kw), which ḥ > UA hu/ho/o/w: e.g., in contrast to Sem-p's UA \*waxay 'two, after' from Semitic \*'axar 'after' (at 570), note Sem-kw \*ahoy < 'aḥar (< \*'axar) (643), showing ' > ø, \*x(>ḥ) > ho, r > y, all consistent with Sem-kw:

**643** Semitic/Hebrew \*'xr > 'ḥr 'be behind, after, to the back'; Hebrew \*'axar 'behind, adv, after, prep'; Hebrew 'aḥare<sup>y</sup> (< \*'axare<sup>y</sup>) 'back, rear end, n, behind, prep'; Hebrew 'aḥer (< \*'axer) 'other, later, following'; Hebrew 'aaḥoor (< \*'aaxoor) 'back, rear, behind, west, later, n and adv':

Hp ahoy / áhoyi 'in return or reply, back, back to an earlier condition, place, or time, go back, return' (Hopi dictionary divides it a-hoy '3person-back to', which, even if so, works as well, like its cognate TO oid 'follow, accompany' along with the rest of the Tepiman set below.

UACV-1237 \***oya** 'follow': B.Tep316a \*'oida-i 'to follow', 316b \*'oi 'he followed'; B.Tep318; M88-'o7; KH/M06-'o7: TO oid; LP oiji; PYP oi; NT oidy; ST 'oid<sup>y</sup>a. Ken Hill adds Wr oi-ná/má 'andar [walk]'; Tbr ona-on- 'andar, arrastrarse [crawl], nadir [swim]', both compounds, the first part being \*oya / \*oiya. Add PYP oi- 'around, round about'; PYP oida 'follow, vt'. [kw1',2x>h2,3r] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

UACV-1019 \***oi-mira** / \***oiya-mira** 'follow-go, after-go': B.Tep318 \*'oimīrai 'to walk around'; B.Tep316; M88-'o7; KH/M06-'o7: TO oimmed / oimīdi 'walk around'; LP 'oimīr(i), pl: oihopo; NT aimīrai. [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**644** Semitic xḍr > ḥḍr > UA \*husa 'grass'; Arabic xaḍira 'be green'; Arabic xuḍrat 'greenness', its pl: Arabic xuḍar 'vegetation, verdure, greenery, greens, meadow'; Arabic xuḍaarat 'greens, herbs'; Arabic xadīr 'green, greenery, young green crop'; Hebrew ḥaṣīr 'grass':

UACV-1058 \*(**h**)usa 'grass': Stubbs2003-44: Tbr osá-t, usá-t 'hierba, zacate'; Cr (h)iša 'grass, straw'. These two agree with each other in \*(h)usa, since Cr ĩ < \*u. [\*u-a > o-a] [kw1h2,kw2s4,kw3r] [SUA: TrC, CrC]

**645** Semitic \*xabala > UA \*hupala; Akkadian xabaalu 'use violence (against), do wrong (by)'; Old South Arabic xabala 'be wild'; Ethiopic ḥabala 'act corruptly'; Arabic xabala 'confuse, make crazy'; Syriac ḥbl 'spoil, mar, corrupt'; Syriac ḥəbaal 'corruption, harm'; Hebrew ḥbl 'act corruptly'; Hebrew -ḥabbal 'ruin': Hopi hovala '1 waste s.th. of value, squander, 2 dishearten, destroy one's good spirits or hopes'; Hopi hovalan-ta 'be wasting, be disheartening'. [kw1h2,kw2b,kw3l]

Besides Proto-Semitic \*'axar 'after, another' yielding a Sem-p reflex in UA \*wakay 'two, after' and a Sem-kw reflex in UA \*ahoy 'back, follow', we have another pair in UA, one from each, showing the distinctive correspondences for Sem-p and Sem-kw respectively:

**646** Hebrew náḥal (< \*naxal) 'river valley, wadi, stream'; Ugaritic nxl;

Akkadian naxlu / naxallu 'wadi, gorge':

Ktn naka-č 'gully, ravine, cliff'. Meanings are identical and \*x > UA k with no rounding, but loss of final consonant. [p1n,p2x,p3l]

**647** Hebrew náḥal (< \*naxal) 'river valley, wadi, stream'; Ugaritic nxl; Akkadian naxlu / naxallu 'wadi': SP noiC / noi-ppi 'canyon, wash'. Meanings are again identical, and the rounding reeks of a pharyngeal, and just as the first vowel (o) anticipated the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant pharyngeal, so did the next vowel (i) anticipate the alveolar l, as Sem-kw tends to do, and a 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant is apparent in the gemination of the -ppi of the absolute suffix. A nice pair reflecting Sem-p and Sem-kw respectively. [kw1n,kw2x>h2,kw3l]

**648** Semitic \*xll: Hebrew **ħaaliil** ‘flute, pipe’ from Hebrew/Arabic \*xll ‘bore, pierce’; denominative verb Hebrew **ħll** ‘play the flute’ and qittel yə-ħallel ‘play the flute’; Akkadian xalaalu ‘to whistle’; Ethiopic xellat ‘(hollow) stick’; the UA forms derive from a pharyngeal ħ rather than the velar fricative x, as seen in cognate languages Arabic, Ethiopic, and Akkadian, which means the following are of Uto-Aztecans Sem-kw: Tb **luulu’~’uuluulu’** ‘play a flute’ and Ca yulily ‘pipe’ have all as expected, the latter for the qittel impfv— Hebrew yə-ħallel > UA yulil, with y- as fossilized 3<sup>rd</sup> sg masc impfv verb prefix y- and round u for the pharyngeal, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants, and the vowel i between them as expected for the \*-ħallil.

**649** Hebrew **ħt’** / **ħaṭṭaa’** ‘miss (a mark), do wrong’; Ugaritic **xṭ’**; Arabic **xaṭi’a** ‘be mistaken, to err’: UACV-1393 **\*wa(C)tiN** / **\*waCtiC** ‘lose, lost, misled’: Mn waciḱi ‘lose, vt’; Mn waci ‘be lost, vi’; Mn na’waazi ‘hide from, hide, vi/vt’; Mn wazitiḡi ‘hide, vt’; NP wacigga ‘lose s.th., vt’; NP nawaci’hu ‘hide, vt’; TSh waciC ‘be hidden, concealed, lost’; TSh waciḱitain ‘lose, vt’; TSh wacikkati ‘hide, vi (hide-sit)’; Sh waciC ‘be lost, vi’; Sh waciC-mii ‘hide, vt’; Cm waci-tikiṭi ‘hide, vt’; Cm waci-habiiti ‘hide, secret oneself’; Cm waciti, wacikati ‘lose way, (become) lost’; Ch áaga-waci ‘hide, v’; CU ’áaga-waci ‘hide, deny, vt’; Hopi wici ‘artificial thing, s.th. false, an imitation, pretense’; Hopi wici-ta ‘make a false representation, deceive, mislead’. Note that UA has the Arabic vowelizing of the perfect. [kw1x>h2,2t2,3’] [NUA: Num, Hp]

**650** Semitic \*xt’; Arabic **xṭ’** / **xaṭi’a** ‘be mistaken, to err’, impv: -xṭa’; Hebrew **ħt’** / **ħaṭṭaa’** ‘miss (a mark): Ktn ’ačaw ‘miss (the mark)’. Whether loss of 1<sup>st</sup> consonant x or from impfv ’axta’ ‘I missed’, the meaning is identical, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants are exactly as expected for Sem-p, even the final ’ > w, while 649 above is of the Sem-kw in \*x > ħ. [p1x,p2t2,p3’]

**651** Semitic \*xṭr: Hebrew **ħoṭer** ‘rod’; Akkadian **xuṭaaru** / **xuṭartu** ‘branch, rod’; Syriac **ħəṭar** ‘to beat with rods, to card’; Syriac **eṭḥaṭṭar** ‘be beaten with rods, carded’: UA **\*(h)uci** ‘tree, stick’: TO us ‘a stick’; TO uus ‘tree, bush, stick, crutch, wood’ (distinguished from TO uuš ‘arrowhead, stinger’); Nv usi ‘arbol [tree], palo [pole]’; PYP uusi ‘tree’; Nv uskikitiguguba ‘dar palos [hit with a stick/rod/pole]’. [kw1h2,kw2t2,kw3r] [SUA: Tep]

**652** Hebrew **ħeleb** ‘fat’ < **\*ħilb**; Arabic **ħilb** ‘midriff’; Syriac **ħelb-aa** ‘fat-the’: UACV-844 **\*wip** / **\*wiCp** / **\*wi’p** (>**\*wi’i**) ‘fat’: VVH102 \*wi ‘fat’; M67-166 \*wi ‘fat’; KH.NUA; BH.Cup \*wi ‘fat’; L.Son331 \*wi’i ‘grasa’; B.Tep41 \*giigi ‘animal fat’; M88-wil ‘fat’; KH/M06-wil: NP wisokko ‘greasy like a mechanic’; Sh wiC- ‘greasy’, as in wikkamma ‘to taste greasy’; Cm wih-kkama ‘taste oily, v’; Hp wiihi ‘lard, fat, grease’; Hp wimcapī ‘omentum, inside lining of stomach fat’; Tb wip-t ‘fat, n’; Tb wiibit~’iwiip ‘be fat’; Sr wipt ‘fat, grease, fat one’; Ktn wipt ‘fat, lard, butter’, pl: wipim; Ktn wipcu ‘get fat’; Ls wi ‘fat, grease, oil’; Ca wi-ly ‘grease, fat’; Cp wi-ly ‘lard, fat, tallow’; Cp wíwat ‘fat’; TO giigi ‘be fat’; TO gi’i/gii ‘become fat’; PYP gi’i ‘fat, n’; NT giigi ‘animal fat’; ST gi’iig; ST gio ‘greasy’; Wr wi’i; Tr wi’i; Yq ’áwi ‘gordo’; My áwwi ‘gordo’; Ch(L) wíwavi ‘oil, grease’. CU wina-tta-ppi ‘animal’s fat’ is in earlier cognate collections in the possibility of initial \*wi-. Sr, Ktn, and Tb show \*p for the 2<sup>nd</sup> C, Tep a glottal stop, and Num shows gemination. As Sr and Ktn often show later consonant clarity not in other UA languages, \*wip / wi’p / \*wiCp are decent reconstructions. Only Tb, Ktn, and Sr show p in a cluster, as Sr also does in ‘badger’ and Tb in ‘thigh’. 2<sup>nd</sup> C -p- = Sem-p as the cluster \*-lb- > -kw- in Sem-kw. [p1h2,2i,3b] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**653** Hebrew(BDB) **ħayil** / **ħail** / **ħeel** ‘strength, ability, efficiency, worth, valor, wealth, army’; Hebrew(KB) **ħayil** / **ħeel** ‘faculty, power’; Assyrian **xaltu** / **xailtu** ‘army’ but Akkadian(KB) **ellatu** ‘strength, family, armed forces’; Aramaic(J) **ħayil** ‘army, strength’; not clear whether Semitic \*x or \*ħ: Ethiopic x, Ugaritic ħ; Arabic has a parallel for each, as does Akkadian; in any case, UA corresponds to pharyngeal ħ: UACV-2216b **\*wil** ‘strong, able’: CN wel ‘successfully, well, able, possible, very’; CN weli-ti ‘to be able, successful, capable’; Tr hiwérame ‘fuerte [strong], vigoroso [vigorous], resistente’; Tr iwé-game ‘fuerte, vigoroso, resistente’.

UACV-2216a **\*huwa** ‘strong, hard’: Eu huwarawe / huwariwe ‘fuerte [strong]’; Eu huwé’e ‘fuerte [strong]’; Wr u’á ‘estar fuerte [be strong]’; Wr u’aré-na ‘sentirse fuerte [feel strong]’; Yq ’utte’a ‘ser fuerte’; Tr wáre ‘duro, resistente’; Tr watáre ‘fuerte, ser resistente’. [1h2,2y,3i] [SUA: TrC, Azt]

**654** Arabic **xrr** / **xarra** ‘to snore’; Hebrew **ħrr** / **ħarar** ‘be hoarse’; Arabic **xarxara** ‘snore, vi’: Ls xaráa-ya ‘to snore’. This matches Sem-p \*x > x of Sem-p. [p1x,p2r]

**655** Arabic **xrr** / **xarra** ‘to snore’; Hebrew **ħrr** / **ħarar** ‘be hoarse’; Arabic **xarxara** ‘to snore, vi’: Yq hóroró’otia ‘roncar [to snore]’; AYq ho’otia ‘snore, vi’; My hooró’oti koče ‘duerme roncando [sleeps snoring]’; Hp heroro-ta ‘to snore’. Semitic \*x > ħ > UA ho... identifies these as being from Sem-kw vs. 654 of Sem-p. The first Hopi vowel assimilated to or anticipated the following -r. [kw1h2,2r]

**656** Hebrew *ḥórep* ‘winter’; Hebrew(BDB) *ḥórep* ‘harvest-time, autumn’; Arabic *xarafa* ‘pluck’, Arabic III *xaarafa* ‘be autumn’; Arabic *xariip* ‘autumn, fall’: TO ‘od ‘to harvest’. TO *ḍ* < Hebrew *r/l*. Sem-kw with Semitic \**x* > *ḥ*. [kw1x>1h2,kw2r,kw3p]

**657** Hebrew *ḥwṭ* / *ḥuṭ* ‘thread’; Arabic *xyt* ‘to sew, stitch’; Arabic *xayt* ‘thread, twine, cord, string’; in this cognate pair, Hebrew has *w* as middle consonant, while Arabic has *y* (which alternation happens often enough in Semitic); the UA terms reflect medial *-y-* and the change of \**x* > *ḥ* of Sem-kw:

UACV-1843 \***wit** > \***wi(C)-** (combining form) ‘string, rope, hemp or fiber plant for making rope’: M67-419 \**wi* ‘string’; I.Num280 \**wisu(n)* ‘string’; Fowler83; M88-wi6 ‘string’; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup43 \**wíi-ča* ‘fiber plant’; KH/M06-wi6; Jane Hill 2007: \***wit-tu’a** / \***wit-tiwa** ‘make rope’: Sr *wiiču* ‘make string, v’; Sr *wiičua* ‘t’ ‘string, n’; Ktn *wicu* ‘twist fibers into string’; Ktn *napa-wicu* ‘splice a rope (< together + twist)’; Cp *wiču* ‘twist string, rope, a net’; Cp *wičiwat* ‘rope, thread, braiding’; Cp *wi-š* ‘bowstring, willow fiber, willow sp’; Cp *wiču* ‘et’ ‘string, rope’; Ca *wiču* ‘at’ ‘rope, thread, braiding’; Ca *wičiw* ‘braid, as rope or thread’; Ca *wi-š* ‘bark of a tree providing fiber’; Ls *wíi-ču* ‘make string by rolling hemp fibers’; Ls *wíi-ča* ‘Indian hemp’; Ls *wíi-ča-t* ‘rope, string, twine’; Yq *wíi* ‘i’ ‘hilo’. TO *giššum* ‘a woven handle for a water jug’ and TO *giššu|m* ‘bind up, vt’ fit \**wiccu* well. Except for the final *-m*, TO *giššum* fits \**wicu* of the Tak languages for four segments (Tep *s* < \**c*, and Tep *g* < \**w*), and they all involve making rope. Add the TrC forms below, with suffixed *-ta* (\**wit-ta*).

\***wit-ta** (> *wita*) ‘make rope’: Wr *witá* ‘make rope’; M67 lists Wc *wíta* ‘thread’ and Wc *wiíta* ‘spin yarn, v’; deriving from a similar pattern (\**wiC-ta*) is Ls *wíi-ča* ‘Indian hemp’ though with an absolutive suffix \**-ta* instead of \**-ta* ‘do/verb’. However, adding another \**-ta* as absolutive suffix is what yields the below, that is, \**wik-ta-ta* with first the verbalizing \**-ta* (clustered with *t*) then absolutive \**-ta* (not clustered):

\***wiC-ta-ta** (> \**wi-ta-ri*) ‘rope’: Wr *witári* ‘rope’; My *witeri* ‘mecate, soga, piola’; AYq *wite* ‘i’ ‘net, snare’; Tbr *mitá-t* ‘string of tendon, hebra de tendon’ (< \**wik-ta*, Tbr often shows *m* for \**w*, and usually a liquid for a lone intervocalic *-t-*) also in Tbr *wikoli-t mita-rá-n* ‘bowstring’.

The Tr and Wr common noun suffix *-ri*, like CN *-tli*, both derive from the absolutive suffix \**-ta*; thus, note intervocalic *-t* > *-r-* in Tr and Wr. Therefore, intervocalic *-t-* in those languages may point to a reduced consonant cluster, such as \**-tt-* > *-t-*, as we see above. It is the same in most NUA languages: a lone intervocalic *-t-* usually goes to *-l-* in most Tak languages and to *-r-* in the Num languages, and intervocalic \**-c-* > *-y-*; so intervocalic *-c-* in NUA is likely a palatalization of a cluster \**-tt-* /\**-Ct-*.

KH/M06-wi6 and Jane Hill (p.c.) both recommend uniting these with the Num \**wisu* forms, to which I belatedly agree, as \**wisu* might be a softening from \**wicu* (< \*\**wit-tu’a*), so we include other \**wis* forms at \**wisi* / \**wisu* ‘net, web’ below. [C cluster] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

UACV-1522 \***wis** ‘web, string’: I.Num280 \**wisu(n)* ‘string’; KH/M06-wi6 ‘string’: Mn *wissi*; NP *wiha*; TSh *wisipin*; Sh *wisun* (acc. *~a*); Hp *wishövi* ‘spider web’; Hp *wiisila* ‘string out, extend, stretch out on a surface’. Ken Hill adds Ch *wisiavi* ‘feather’ with a question mark and Tbr *wivisa-t* ‘látigo [whip, cord]’. As KH/M06-wi6 has them together, these might be related to others listed at ‘rope’ (\**wit-tV* > *wicV*) by a *c/s* split frequent enough in UA, but that *-c-* likely comes from a \**-tt-* cluster, and *-s-* perhaps from *t*, often and easily palatalized to *c/s*, so the forms with \**-s-* are separated for now, but may tie in, the others having different affixes. Add Tr *wesurá* ‘kind of fishing net’. Hp *wis-* and Tr *wesurá* are probably cognate. Tr *wesurá* even vocally aligns well with Num \**wisu(n)*. For Hp *hövi*, see \**hupa* ‘spider’ as Hp *wis-hövi* is likely a compound ‘string out/web (of)-spider’. Other \**wi-* ‘web’ forms could belong with the group at ‘rope’ but are listed for reference: Eu *wi-toroka* ‘telaraña’; My *urus wii* ‘i’ ‘spider web’; My *tuurus* ‘spider’; My *urus witeri* ‘spider web’; Yq *wite* ‘i’ ‘trap for animals’; AYq *witosa* ‘web < thread-white’; AYq *huvae toosa* ‘spider white = web’. [Kw1x,kw2t2,kw3r] [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: TrC]

Of course, Proto-Semitic \**ḥ* > UA \**hu/ho/w*, in both Sem-kw and Sem-p. In addition to those listed previously (76-83), another 18 examples follow (658-675):

**658** Arabic *ḥbl* ‘bind’; Ethiopic *ḥbl* ‘tie together’; Hebrew *ḥbl* ‘bind, pledge’ (BDB); the UA forms reflect an unattested Arabic II *-ḥabbil* or Hebrew \**-ḥabbil*:

SP *wikkwinta* ‘to wrap around, coil’. [l > n in SP] [kw1h2,k2bb,3l]

**659** Hebrew *ḥqq* ‘cut in, inscribe’:

UACV-625a \***wik** ‘cut’: KH.NUA; KH/M06-wi14: Cp *wéke* ‘cut, slice’; Ca *wék* ‘cut, slice, plow’; Ls *wóki* ‘cut, let bleed’; Sr *wihkuv* ‘beat, vt, distributive of Sr *wiqööv* ‘hit, vt’. [p1h2,2q,3q] [NUA: Tak]

**660** Hebrew *ḥrm* ‘ban, devote, exterminate’; the most frequent usage in the Biblical text is ‘devoting to destruction’ though ‘prohibiting or setting apart from common use and dedicating or devoting to God as sacred or for sacred use’ is also found in Biblical usage and is the fundamental meaning found in the cognate languages. From that root are many Arabic nouns for woman: Arabic *ḥaram* ‘wife, something sacred’; Arabic *ḥurmat-* ‘woman, wife’; Arabic *ḥariim* ‘woman, wife, female members of the family, harem’: Uto-Aztecans’ Wr *oerume* / *oorume* ‘woman’ matches very well. Other UA terms may not be as impressive, but

are worth noting, especially since the verbal root has to do with ‘devotion to Deity’ and ‘sacredness’ as well as ‘women’: Ca, Hp, and Tr recommend UA \*waym:

UACV-1796 \*way / \*waym ‘marry in a religious ceremony, v’: Ca -way- ‘to take as wife’ (r > y, missing -m); Hp wiimi ‘religious rite, ritual, ceremony, religious practices open only to initiates’; Tr niwi- ‘to marry in a religious ceremony’ (contains the fossilized na/ni- reflexive/passive prefix ‘be married, marry each other’; the Wr and Ca forms suggest an initial vowelizing of **ħaram**, then assimilations to points of articulation, i.e., fronting and raising before r and rounding before m (in Wr only, the m non-existent in Ca). NUA forms show r > y and subsequent assimilations of most vowels to y. [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC]

UACV-1795 \*waym > \*wam / wim ‘religious ceremony’: BH.Cup \*wámkić ‘ceremonial enclosure’; M88-wa19; KH/M06-wa19: Cp wámki-š; Ca wámkiš; Ls wámku-šu ‘brush lean-to’. With regard to Tak \*wam-(ki), ki is likely ‘house’; thus ‘ceremony-house’ relating to Hp wiimi/wim- ‘religious rite, ritual, ceremony, religious practices open only to initiates’. [p1h2,p2r,p3m] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**661** Arabic **ħħ** ‘cough, v’; of course, this can be labeled onomatopoeia, and perhaps so in original Semitic; yet both Tb and Hopi have two \*ho syllables, perhaps reduplicated, and a vowel before it, even a glottal stop in Tb, and the vowel matches pharyngeal ho vs. haha, hihī, or any vowel could resemble coughing; so the pattern of Semitic \*’aħaħa and UA \*’ohoho are worth noting:

UACV-560a \*oho / ohoho ‘cough, v’; M67-105 \*’oh; B.Tep314 \*’i’ohogii ‘cough’; I.Num14 \*’ohni; M88-o12 ‘cough’; KH/M06-’o12: Hp öhö / öhöhö-; Tb(V) hooħ / ’ohooħ; Tb(M) hooħat / ’oohooħ; Ca ’u’uhu; Mn ohi; NP ohi; TSh ohiiC; Sh ohaiC / ohoi.

UACV-560c \*ihoho (> Tep \*i’oh... ??) ‘to cough’: B.Tep314 \*’i’ohogii ‘cough’: TO i’ihog; LP ihoga / ihosana; PYP i’osin; NT yóogii; ST ‘i’oo’; ST iogia. Often PUA \*h > Tep ’ though Tep may retain h; these may exhibit one of each: \*ihoho > i’oho. Perhaps with y- of 3<sup>rd</sup> m. impfv prefix. [SUA: Tep]

UACV-560d \*ohni(C) ‘cold, have/be sick with a cold’: these may contain the preceding compounded with s.th. beginning with -ni... : Sh ohni-ppih; Cm onibwekakak; Cm ohniiti ‘to cough’; Kw ’ohni; Mn ohi ‘to cough’; NP ohibba wimma; TSh ohi kammanna. [NUA: Num] [h > Tep h] [1’,2h2,3h2] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

**662** Hebrew ħnn ‘to favor, have compassion on’:

The -wen- of Eu na-vencem/na-wencem ‘pity’ (Shaul, 2008/9). [1h2,2n,3n]

**663** Hebrew ħrp ‘reproach (BDB), annoy, taunt (KB)’; Hebrew **ħerpa** ‘shame, mutilation (1 Samuel 11:2)’; the shame or object of reproach (usually a perceived deficiency like being childless, uncircumcised);

Arabic ħarrapa ‘slant, distort, corrupt, twist, pervert, falsify’; denominalized from the Hebrew noun:

Hp ööpī ‘sickly one, frail one, wounded one, invalid, one with disabling sickness’;

Hp ööpī-ta ‘injure, wound, cripple, disable physically or emotionally’. Note Hp -p- from the cluster -rp-; otherwise -p- > -v-; and another instance of Hopi -ö- between a pharyngeal and -r (also 686). [1h2,2r,3p]

**664** Hebrew ħtr ‘to dig’:

UACV-665 \*hotaC ‘dig’: I.Num34 \*hota ‘to dig’; M88-ho1; KH/M06-ho1: NP tihonna ‘dig roots’; TSh hotaC; Sh hota; Cm hora-; Kw horo-; SP oraC; CU oray. Add Ch hóóra ‘dig’; Mn tihoowi ‘dig, dig up, vi, vt’; Tr ho- ‘cavar, escarbar, hacer agujeros, sacar algo escarbando’; Tr hora- ‘cavar [dig], escarbar, hacer hoyo(s) [make wells]’. [p1h2,p2t,p3r] [NUA: Num; SUA: TrC]

**665** Syriac ħrg ‘rub, polish, rub against [surface, as stones rubbing against each other to become gravel, or polish, leaving small particles]; Aramaic(J) ħargaa ‘rough sound, sawing’;

Aramaic(J) ħirgaa ‘saw-dust’; Aramaic(CAL) ħirgaa ‘dust’:

UACV-764 \*huCkuN > \*hukkuN ‘dust’: I.Num36 \*huhkumpī(h) ‘dust’; M88-hu11; KH/M06-hu11: Sh hukkun ‘dusty’; WSh hukkumpih; Cm huhkuppī; Kw hukubī, hukwabī ‘dust, fallen dry pine needles’; SP ukkumpu / ukkumpa; Ch hukump(ü) ‘dust’; WMU huhkkúppü ‘dust’; CU kukupī (< \*kukkuppī).

[’ > N in Numic; C harmony in CU] [1h2,2r,3g,4’] [NUA: CNum, SNum]

**666** Arabic ħaṭab ‘firewood’; Arabic ħaṭaba ‘to gather firewood’:

UACV-1631 \*hucakwa / \*husapa ‘pitch’: B.Tep328 \*’usaba-i ‘pitch’; KH/M06-’u11: TO ušabi ‘gum, pitch, resin’; NT usába; ST ’usaab; PYP usava ‘pitch, sap’; Nv usabagadi ‘resina’. \*-kw- or voiced \*-p-? [1h2,2t,3b] [SUA: Tep]

**667** Syriac ħwr / ħuur ‘look, behold, gaze’:

UACV-1910 \*hura ‘come up, look in/over’: M88-hu19; KH.NUA; KH/M-hu19: Sr huur-q ‘come up (as sun), come up over’; Sr huur-kin ‘peek over, look in’; Ca hulaqan ‘peek at s.o., lifting/sticking one’s head out, v’;

Ls húla ‘sprout through the ground, poke through the surface, v’. Hill adds Ktn hurík ‘look forth, peep out, v’. With a question mark, Hill also offers possible Hp hölö(k-) ‘rise flatly, v’ (comb. -wlö thus < \*holö < \*\*hulo). Add Tb huuda ‘sun is up’; Tb(H) huutat ‘rise, come up (sun)’; or Tb hooyibī’it~oohoooy ‘watch over, vt’? Note also PYP hoohod ‘look’; ST hoohoiñ ‘look at it’. [1h2,2w,3r] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**668** at 79 is the Sem-kw perfective of Hebrew **hmr** ‘smear, cover’; Arabic xamara ‘to cover, leaven’; Arabic(Lane) xamara ‘veil, cover, conceal, impfv -xmu:’

UACV-2381b **\*ma’a** ‘smear on, paint’: Ch ma’á- ‘color, mark, paint’; SP ma’a- ‘decorate, mark’; WMU ma’á-y ‘smear on, paint, decorate, spread (like jam on bread)’ (past: ma’á-qa); CU ma’áy ‘put on, rub on/into, apply to, anoint with’; and the -maa of Wc šúuri.maa ‘smear blood’ (Wc šuure ‘red’). Perhaps impfv -xmar or loss of first short syllable of pvf. Short, not a strong item. [NUA: SNum]

**669** Arabic ħariḍa ‘to be yellow’; Hebrew ħaaruuš ‘gold’; Syriac ħraaḡaa ‘gold-colored’:

Tr ura-kame ‘pale yellow’; Tr ura-na-ma ‘become yellow’; Hp höya ‘yellowjacket’. [1h2,2r,3s4]

**670** Hebrew ħereš ‘earthenware, vessel, potsherd’ > Ca wayisma-l ‘plate, dish’. [1h2,2r,3s4]

**671** Arabic ħmm II ‘to heat, bathe, wash’ Arabic X form of the verb means ‘take a bath’:

Hp paa-homa ‘to wash, bathe, v.t.’; Hp naa-va-homa ‘take a bath, bathe oneself’. The paa- is ‘water’. 1h2,2mm

**672** Arabic ħabaqa ‘to pass air, break wind’:

Hopi hovaqtī ‘to smell, have an odor, (with intensifier) smell bad, stink’; the Hopi dictionary divides this as hova-qtī, but with a question mark for -qtī, or the following may lack final -C: Hopi hova-/hovaa- ‘smell, odor’; Hopi hovaa-ta ‘let rot’; Hopi hovaa-ti ‘putrefy, become smelly from rotting or decomposing’. [1h2,2b,3q]

**673** Hebrew ħnk ‘train up, dedicate’; Arabic ħnk ‘(for trials, time) to make (s.o.) experienced or wise’;

Hebrew ħanukkaa ‘dedication, consecration’:

Ca huneke ‘to take an Indian bath’. The Ca meaning aligns with dedication, initiation and the phonology is as expected; Yq húnakte ‘sentenciar [sentence], señalar [show, point, appoint], ordenar [order, arrange, direct], criar [raise (young)]’. [1h2,2n,3k] [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC]

**674** Syriac ħrb ‘wasted, lay waste, destroy’; Arabic ħaaraba ‘fight, wage war’; Hebrew impfv ye-ħrab ‘massacre’, \*hoqta impfv: \*yuħrab: SP yurava ‘be overcome’. [1h2,2r,3b]

The Semitic verbal root (ħnp) meaning ‘be crooked, have crooked or turned-in feet’ has nouns for turtle and lizard-type animals with turned in feet. They phonologically match UA words for ‘badger’ and ‘bear’ whose feet are similarly turned in like a turtle’s or lizard’s.

**675** Hebrew **ħnp** ‘to limp’; Arabic **ħnp** ‘have a distorted foot, be inclined, curved, pigeon-toed, to be or walk bow-legged with toes pointing inward’ (like turtles, badgers, and bears); Arabic uses that root in words for ‘tortoise’ and ‘chamelion’ while the correspondences match UA words for ‘badger’ and ‘bear,’ all of which have turned-in feet;

Arabic ħanpaa ‘tortoise, chameleon’ (that is, creatures whose feet turn inward);

Arabic ħanap ‘an inversion of the feet, toes pointed inward’;

Arabic aħnap ‘a person who walks pigeon-toed’; Arabic \*ħannaap ‘one walking with turned-in feet’:

UACV-107 NUA **\*hunap-** ‘badger’; NUA **\*huna-wī** ‘bear, ie, badger-big’: Sapir; M67-18 \*huna; KH.NUA; I.Num43

\*hīnan/\*hunan; BH.Cup \*hunwit ‘bear’ (badger-big); Fowler83; M88-hu10; Munro.Cupan9 \*húúna-l; KH/M06-hu10 \*hula:

Sr hoonav-t ‘badger’; Ktn huna(-)vi-t ‘badger’; Ca húna-l ‘badger’; Cp húna-l ‘badger’; Ls huuna-l ‘badger’;

Hp honaani ‘badger’; Hp hoonaw ‘bear’; Kw huna-ci ‘badger’; Ch huna ‘badger’; CU una-pī-ci ‘badger’ (<

\*hunaC- or \*huna-ppi); SP inaC-; TSh huna-cci. CU, SP, and TSh all suggest a third consonant in the

gemination that doubles the following suffix, though Cupan (Ca, Cp, Ls) lacks that evidence in \*huna-l

‘badger’ and \*huna-wī-t ‘bear, badger-big’; but most impressive is that Sr huunav-t ‘badger’ shows exactly

the expected 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant v (< \*p) as well as Ktn. Yq huuri ‘badger’; My huuri ‘badger’; Cah (Yq, My)

huuri ‘badger’ suggest a denasalization of n > r. [idddua] [p1h2,p2n,p3p] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, TrC]

## 5.9 Semitic-p Distinguishes Proto-Semitic ʕ and ġ

In addition to ḥ and x merging to ḥ, a similar pair ʕ and ġ merged to ʕ, such that two pairs of Proto-Semitic consonants, each containing a pharyngeal and a velar fricative—ʕayin, ġayin, ḥeyt, and x—were originally part of the Israelites' language, but one of each pair had no place in the Phoenician alphabet (or Phoenician language, apparently). So in Phoenician these four had merged to two—ʕayin and ḥeyt—but not in Israeli Hebrew until sometime between 300 BC and the first centuries AD (Kutscher 1982, 13-18; Sáenz-Badillos 1993, 81; Blau 1998, 12, 30). The merger of ḥ and x to ḥ has just been treated above. The ʕ (ʕayin) is difficult to describe until one hears an Arabic speaker say it. The way-back-and-down root of the tongue narrows a voiced airflow at the pharynx. The nation's name—Saʕudi ʕarabia—has one ʕ in each word, which are not transcribed in English, but are very much pronounced in Arabic, and anciently in Hebrew, and in White Mesa Ute today. The ġ is like an uvular tap or fricative gurgle with the back of the tongue where uvular q is pronounced). The four Proto-Semitic consonants changed thusly:

	Proto-Semitic	earlier Hebrew	Sem-p	Phoenician/later Hebrew	Sem-kw
V'ced uvular fricative	ġ	ġ	k	ʕ	w/o/u
V'ced pharyngeal fric	ʕ	ʕ	w/o/u	ʕ	w/o/u
V'cless uvular fricative	x	x	k	ḥ	hu/w/o/u
V'cless pharyngeal fric	ḥ	ḥ	hu/w/u	ḥ	hu/w/o/u

The pharyngeal ʕ is more frequent than ġ in Arabic and Semitic generally, and their proportionate reflection in Uto-Aztecan is similar, that is, more instances from Semitic ʕ than from ġ. In addition to the 7 examples of ʕ > UA w/o/u presented earlier (84-90), another 14 examples of Semitic ʕ > UA w/o/u follow (676-689):

**676** Arabic(Lane) **faqʕ-** < \***paqʕ-** 'intense whiteness, and refers to some species of fungus':

**UACV-1480** \***pakuwa** 'mushroom, fungus': Mn paagú 'type of pink mushroom'; PYp vikoga 'mushroom(s)'; Wr wehkoári 'fungus'; Tr wikubékuri 'large white edible mushroom'; Tr wekogí 'mushroom'; Tr wehorí 'type of edible mushroom'; Tr čohowékuwi 'large white edible mushroom'; the phonological variety in Tr is typical (-weku-, wiku-, béku, weko, weho-) and suggests some borrowing between Tep and Tr/Wr. The Mn, PYp, and one Tr form (-beku-) suggest initial \*p, whose reflexes in Tep (v/w) are the source of some loans in Tr/Wr. The 1<sup>st</sup> V is likely *a* like the Mn form, which *a* easily assimilates or centralizes to *i/e/i* in unaccented syllables. [p/w] [p1p,p2q,p3'2] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**677** Hebrew **ʕagol** 'round':

**UACV-436** \***wakol** 'round(ed)': TO gakođk 'curved'; ST gakoly 'go around'. The Num forms more nearly approximate \*wikono: NP wikkono'o 'ring, circle'; Mn wiġo'onogi 'crooked'; SP wikkonuiC 'round, circular'. Add Tb(M) wiiginat ~ iwiigin 'stir, v'. Perhaps Kw woko 'big' (< 'round'?) as in Kw wokotĩnihi 'be round'? [1'2,2g,3l] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]

**678** Arabic ʕṭw 'give, present to': **UACV-1005** \***uttu** 'give': TSh uttu 'give, present to'; Sh uttuH 'give s.th. to s.o.'; Cm utu-ka-tĩ 'give s.th., vt'. [1'2,2t2,3w] [NUA: CNum]

**679** Hebrew ʕšy / ʕašaa 'make, make (write) books, create, put into effect, do'; Ugaritic ʕšy:

**UACV-711** \***osa/i** / \***oswa** (Tb, Eu) 'paint, draw, write': L.Son22 \*osa/os-i 'write'; M88-ʔo11 'write, read'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ʔo11: Cp íse 'have lines, be colored'; Cp is-nin 'write, color, paint' (\*o > i in Ca/Cp); Ca kwá'isne 'paint, put design, write'; Ls 'éskani 'make a pattern (as on baskets), paint, mark'; Tb(H) oowat 'be marked'; Tb(H) oowanat 'to mark, write'; Tb 'oo'owaan 'to mark, write'; Gb eša 'pintar [paint]'; Gb 'ésin 'pintura, body painting'; Sr 'ööšan 'write'; Ktn 'ošan 'paint, write, tattoo'; TO o'ohan 'write, draw'; Eu óosa-n 'pintarse [paint self]'; Eu hioswa-n 'escribir, pintar'; Wr osa-ní / osi-má 'write, read'; Tr osi-mea 'escribir'; Tr osá 'irregular present and imperative of osi-mea'; My hi'ohte / hioste 'escribir'; My hio'sia 'papel'. We should add Cr ne-tá'usihmwa 'yo dibujo [I draw]' as the -usi- portion agrees perfectly with \*osi. Add Tr osi-ma 'hacer [do, make]' also used as an auxiliary verb! [iddddua] [Gb e <\*o] [1'2,2s2,3y] [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC]

**680** Hebrew **yaʕše** > UA \***yo'osa**; this is the conjugated 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular impfv of ʕšy above and the UA forms are quite as expected with round vowels flanking the pharyngeal or UA glottal stop:

Tbr yosá-t 'papel [paper]'; Tbr yosa-ñá-t 'escribe [he/she writes]'; Cr yu'uša / yu'usi 'write' (Casad 1984, 159) and in Cr té'eyu'usa 'escribiendo'. Cr u < UA \*o, so Cr and Tbr agree in \*yo'osa, and show the Hebrew 3<sup>rd</sup> sg impfv verb prefix yV- while the others in 679 reflect the perfective. [iddddua] [SUA: CrC, Tbr]



**681** Hebrew  $\text{ʕlw}$  /  $\text{ʕly}$  /  $\text{ʕalaa}$  ‘ascend, go up, grow’; two meanings of the causative  $\text{hiqtiil}$  are to ‘rear/raise up (young)’ (Ezekial 19:3) and ‘cause to grow’ (Jeremiah 30:17, 33:6; Ezekial 37:6), which would also suggest that the non-causative meant ‘grow up’:

UACV-1100a  $\text{*wila/i}$  ‘grow’: Ca  $\text{wél}$  ‘to grow, rise up high’; Cp  $\text{wéle}$  ‘to grow’; Ls  $\text{wola/i}$  ‘grow (of plants or anim subj)’; Hp  $\text{wīnwa}$  ‘grow, grow up’, with  $\text{*l} > \text{N}$  in a cluster with  $\text{-w-}$ . Add Tb  $\text{wilaa’lat}$  ‘to climb, vt’. Might Tb(H)  $\text{oolit}$  ‘get up, fly’ be a ptc? [Hp N/Tak l] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**682** Hebrew  $\text{ʕly}$  /  $\text{ʕalaa}$  ‘ascend, go up, grow’; feminine sg impfv: Hebrew  $\text{taʕale}$  ‘it/she grows’:

UACV-1100b  $\text{*tiwīl}$  ‘grow’: Cp  $\text{tewe}$  ‘to grow of plants’; TO  $\text{čiwīl-him}$  ‘to grow’. This matches the f. sg imperfect. TO does palatalize  $\text{t} > \text{č}$  adjacent to high vowels like  $\text{i}$  and it does have  $\text{-l-}$ , but normally  $\text{*w} > \text{Te}$  p. So could it be a loan from Takic? Cp and TO a little west and east of the Yuman desert respectively, perhaps closer to each other formerly, make it possible. [1’2,2l] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

**683** Syriac  $\text{ʕmṭ}$  ‘become dark, cloud over, be obscure, concealed’ (The Tr meanings support the secondary meanings of Syriac ‘be obscured, concealed’); Note the Sr, Tbr, and Tr meanings ‘cloud up’ rather than rain:

UACV-1764a  $\text{*}(w)\text{umaC}$  /  $\text{*}(w)\text{īmaC}$  ‘rain’: M67-338  $\text{*}(w)\text{ema}$  ‘rain’; I.Num23  $\text{*i}(h)\text{ma}$  ‘rain’; M88-i9 ‘rain, v’ and M88-wi16 ‘rain, v’; KH/M06-i9: TSh  $\text{īmaC}$  /  $\text{īmmaa}$  /  $\text{īnwaC}$ ; Sh  $\text{īma/īmaH}$  ‘rain, v ( $\text{-H}$  = a final consonant); WSh  $\text{īmaC}$ ; Cm  $\text{īmaarī}$  ‘rain, vi’; Cm  $\text{īmapī}$  ‘rain, n’; Kw  $\text{’uwa}$ ; SP  $\text{uṅwa}$ ; WMU  $\text{uwaC}$ ; CU  $\text{’uwáy}$ ; NP  $\text{pauma}$  ‘raining’; NP  $\text{powma}$  ‘raining’. Ken Hill adds Ch  $\text{īwārī}$  ‘rain’. Also belonging are those of UACV-1764c  $\text{*uma}$  ‘be cloudy’: Hopi  $\text{oomi}$  ‘be cloudy, overcast’; Hp  $\text{oomaw/oom-a-wī}$  ‘cloud’ (cloud-nominalizer-  $\text{wī}$ ); Tbr  $\text{homé-k}$  ‘be cloudy’; and the  $\text{-’oma}$  of Tr  $\text{na’oma}$  ‘borrarse [be erased, wiped out], esfumarse [disappear], opacarse el ambiente [atmosphere to become opaque/dark/non-transparent], nublar [become cloudy]’; Tr(H)  $\text{na’oma}$  ‘tapar [cover], borrar [erase]’. A reconstruction of first vowel  $\text{*u}$  instead of  $\text{*o}$  is preferred because we would expect Hp  $\text{ō} < \text{*o}$ , and Tr sometimes shows  $\text{o}$  for  $\text{u}$ , and even if that were not the case, a vowel assimilation or lowering  $\text{*uma} > \text{*oma}$ , common in UA, could also explain the Tr and Tbr forms. In fact, they all match SNum  $\text{*umaC}$  well, with unknown final  $\text{-C}$ . Num  $\text{i} < \text{*u}$  often, or the vowel  $\text{i}$ , common in many of the forms, may be an unaccented schwa-like result.

I agree with Miller, that these two sets (a and b) are probably related as in Miller 1967-338; and Miller’s 1967 reconstruction with an added final C  $\text{*}(w)\text{īmaC}$  serves the two sets well. A 3<sup>rd</sup> C is apparent in CNum and in WMU compounds, and the velar nasal apparent in the forms below is a common result of an  $\text{*mC-}$  cluster after vowel loss. The 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants remained separate in Num, but clustered in Tak and the cluster reductions in Tak could send the vowels in various directions.

UACV-1764b  $\text{*wīN}$  /  $\text{*woNC}$  /  $\text{*wVN}$ ... ‘rain, be cloudy’: Sapir; M67-338  $\text{*}(w)\text{ema}$  ‘rain’; M88-wi16 ‘to rain’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wi16: Cp  $\text{wéwe}$ ; Ca  $\text{wéwen}$  /  $\text{wéwn}$ ; Ca  $\text{wéwn-iš}$  ‘rain, clouds’; Sr  $\text{wöō’ṅ}$  ‘rain, vi, rain on, vt’; Cr  $\text{me-vīye}$  ‘it is raining’; Cr  $\text{vītye}$  ‘the Rains (rain gods)’ (Casad reconstructs Proto-Corachol as  $\text{*vītye} < \text{*vītyī}$ ; similarly, McMahon & McMahon list Cr  $\text{biite}$  ‘l’uvia(s)’); Wc  $\text{wīwīye}$  ‘l’loviznar, vt’. Miller notes after each Tak form that the vowel is wrong, apparently siding with the Cr vowel in his listing this set under initial  $\text{*wī}$ ... However, Cp and Ca agree with  $\text{*wī}$ ..., Sr with  $\text{*wo}$ , Gb disagrees with both, while Ktn  $\text{woṅ}$  ‘rain, vi’ and Ktn  $\text{woṅ-a-t}$  /  $\text{wo’ṅ-ut}$  /  $\text{wahṅ-a-t}$  ‘rain, cloud, n’ agree well with Sr  $\text{wöō’ṅ-t}$  ‘rain, n’ and Sr  $\text{wöōṅ-tu}$  ‘cloud up, look like rain’, both with  $\text{*wo}$ , though some of Ktn’s vowel patterns look like Gb’s. Sapir suggests  $\text{*wīwa}$  (with a question mark) and ties together the CrC, Tak, and Num forms above ( $\text{*uwa} < \text{*wīwa}$ ). Sr’s V might be the result of a reduplication like Cupan’s:  $\text{*wīwīN} > \text{*wīwN} > \text{*woṅ} > \text{*wöōṅ}$ , the  $\text{-wN-}$  cluster causing both the rounding of the vowel and  $\text{-ṅ-} < \text{-wN-}$ . [med  $\text{*m(C)-} > \text{ṅ/w/ṅw}$ ; Gb V, Sr  $\text{ō}$ ;  $\text{*u-a} > \text{*o-a}$ ] [1’2,2m,3t2] [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: CrC, TrC]

**684** Hebrew  $\text{ʕeṣaa}$  ‘advice’;  $\text{*na-ʕaṣa/e}$  ‘to argue, quarrel’

UACV-1870  $\text{*na-wīsa}$  /  $\text{*na-oca}$  ( $>$   $\text{nooca}$ ) ‘speak’: Wr  $\text{naósa}$  ‘speak’; Tr  $\text{nawesa-}$  ‘speak in public’; CN  $\text{nooca}$  ‘call, summon, talk to s.o.’ Perhaps Wr  $\text{wahci}$  ‘truth, right, straight ahead’. [c/s; wV  $>$  o in CN] [1’2,2s4,3y] [SUA: TrC, Azt]

The next three exemplify Semitic  $\text{ʕ} > \text{UA} \text{*w} > \text{Hopi l}$  before low vowels:

**685** Hebrew  $\text{ʕaaqeb}$  ‘heel, footprint’  $>$  UA  $\text{*wakVpi}$  ‘track’: Hp  $\text{-laqvī}$  in Hp  $\text{kīk-laqvī}$  ‘tracks all over’ ( $<$   $\text{kīk-laqvī}$  ‘foot-?’); Hp  $\text{kīkī}$  ‘foot’ is combined with Hp  $\text{-laqvī}$  matching Hebrew  $\text{ʕaaqeb}$  ‘heel, track, footprint’ (UA  $\text{*w} > \text{Hopi l}$  before low vowels). Another  $\text{e} > \text{a}$  like 614  $\text{makteš}$ . [1’2,2q,3b] [NUA: Hopi]

**686** Hebrew  $\text{ʕerwaa}$  ‘nakedness, genital area’; Akkadian  $\text{uuru}$  ‘nakedness, genitals (of a woman)’:

UA  $\text{*wowa} >$  Hp  $\text{lōwa}$  ‘vulva, vagina’. Note here and at (663)  $\text{ḥrp}$  also has  $\text{ō}$  between 1<sup>st</sup> C pharyngeal and 2<sup>nd</sup> C r in a cluster. [1’2,2r,3w]

**687** Arabic  $\text{ʕarḍiy}$  ‘cross- (in compounds), horizontal’:

Hopi  $\text{lèesi-}$  ‘horizontal’; Hopi  $\text{lèe-ta}$  ‘lay across, secure by barring’ [1’2,2r,3s4]

**688** Hebrew *ʕazab* ‘leave, abandon, leave behind, leave over, let go, give up s.th.’; Arabic(Lane) *ʕzb / ʕazaba* ‘be or go far, go away, depart’; Akkadian *ezeebu* ‘leave behind’:

Sr *widap-kin* ‘leave, leave alone, let go, release, abandon, quit, stop (doing s.th.)’; note that Sr *-wad* ‘tail’ (< UA *\*kwasi* ‘tail/penis’ < Hebrew *baʕar*) similarly voices the intervocalic *š*. Sr vowels are Sem-p. [p1’2,2z,3b]

**689** Hebrew *ʕarʕer / ʕarʕaar* ‘juniper tree’; Arabic *ʕarʕar* ‘juniper’; Samaritan *ʕarʕar*:

UACV-423: Tr *gayorí / kaorí / kawarí / aorí / aborí / waorí / awarí* ‘enebro, táscate [juniper]’; Wr *aorí* ‘táscate, juniper’. Both the Semitic and UA terms are semantically specific to ‘juniper’, and Tarahumara’s plethora of forms all seem to be related variants, somewhat clarified by Semitic *ʕarʕar*, with subsequent cyclical borrowing. From an expected UA *\*waʕwar* (< Semitic *ʕarʕar*), note the four resultant plausibilities in bold:

Semitic *ʕarʕar* > *\*waʕwari* > *waʕori* > **waori**, then to **aori**

Semitic *ʕarʕar* > *\*waʕwari* > *wawari* > **awari**

Semitic *ʕarʕar* > *\*waʕwari* > *waʕwori* > **abori** (see example of *w > v*, for *-ʕw- > \*-p-*)

Tr *gayorí* looks like a loan from Tep (note NT *gááyí* ‘táscate’), which has *g < \*w*. The two Tr forms starting with *k*—*kaorí / kawarí*—may be devoicing of Tepiman loans (Tep *g > k*) though it may be that *ʕ* later in a word were not as subject to *\*w > g* as initial *ʕ*. No less than 7 variant forms in Tr suggest a collection at the central position of a dialect chain that includes Tep languages. [p1’2,p2r,p3’2,p4r] [SUA: TrC, CrC]

Four examples of Proto-Semitic *ǵ > k* of Sem-p (690-693):

**690** Arabic *ǵayr-* ‘other than, different from, unlike, **no, not, non-, un-**’; Arabic *ǵyr* ‘be jealous, display zeal, vie (for), guard or protect jealously’; Arabic *ǵyr III* ‘be different, haggle, vie, compete’:

**NO, NOT**

Mn	<i>qáduʔ/qaduʔú-tu</i>	Hp	<i>qa; qaʕe</i>	Eu	<i>ka</i>
NP	<i>kai; gi haga</i> ‘nobody’	Tb	<i>hayi</i> ‘nothing’	Tbr	<i>ka; ka-i; ka-té</i>
	<i>gi</i> ‘don’t’ (neg. imp.)	Gb	<i>qaay</i> (Munro, p.c.)		
TSh	<i>ke</i>	Sr	<i>qai</i>	Yq	<i>kaa</i>
Sh	<i>ke</i>	Ca	<i>kílye</i> ‘not’; <i>kíʕi</i> ‘no’	My	<i>ka</i>
Cm	<i>kee</i>	Ls	<i>qáy</i>	Wr	<i>kaʕi</i>
Kw	<i>yuw-aa-tí; kedu</i>	Cp	<i>qáy</i>	Tr	<i>ke</i>
Ch(L)	<i>kaču</i>	TO	<i>pi; piʕa</i>	Cr	<i>ka; kai</i>
SP	<i>ka; kaču</i>	Nv	<i>pima; koi</i> ‘aún no’	Wc	<i>ka; ʕací</i> ‘nada’; <i>maave</i> ‘no haber, ausente’;
WMU	<i>ka; kač</i>	PYp	<i>hii; im; kova</i>		<i>ʕima</i> ‘negar, no permitir’
CU	<i>ka; kač</i>	NT	<i>čö; kááki</i>	CN	<i>ka</i>

UACV-1533 *\*kay / \*kaC* ‘no, not’: Sapir; VVH136 *\*ka* ‘no, not’; M67-306 *\*ka, \*kai*; I.Num57 *\*ke* ‘no, not’; KH.NUA; M88-ka1 ‘no’; KH/M06-ka1: Ktn *kay*; Most UA languages show a form of *\*ka(y)* or *\*ke* (< *\*kay*), except rarely in the Tepiman branch. Of additional interest are Tb(H) *haaʕišš(a)* ‘no, not’ and Ls *qááʕiš* ‘without’.

For *q* in Tak, see 6.6. [*\*k > h* in Tb] [p1g2,p2y,p3r] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt, Tep]

UACV-1534 *\*kaN-tu*: Mn *qaduʕú-tu*; SP *kaču*; WMU *kač*; CU *kač*; Kw *kedu*. Kw *d* often suggests a nasal cluster *\*-Nt- > -d-* (because *\*-tt- > Kw -t-* and *\*-t- > -r-*). [NUA: Num]

**691** Ugaritic *rgb*; Arabic *rgb / raǵiba* ‘to desire, wish, want, crave’;

Hebrew *rʕb / raaʕeb* ‘be hungry, suffer famine’:

UACV-2293a *\*takuC* ‘thirst(y)’: Stubbs2003-11: TSh *takuC* ‘thirst, n’; TSh *takukkoʕih* ‘be thirsty’;

TSh *takuccīwah* ‘be thirsty’; Sh *taku-pikkah* ‘be thirsty’; Kw *tagu-(yeʕe)* ‘be thirsty’; Kw *tagu-pī* ‘thirst, n’;

SP *taguC* ‘be thirsty, vi’; WMU *tagúnarúʕi*; CU *tagúy-narúʕay* ‘be thirsty, lit: thirst-buy’; Mn *pasituguʕi* ‘be

dry from thirst’; Ca *tákuť piš* ‘with/because of thirst’.

UACV-2293b *\*pa-takčī* ‘thirsty’: Stubbs2003-1: Eu *varákce* ‘tener sed’; Tr *baracé-* ‘darle a uno sed, tener sed’.

Perhaps *\*pa-takčī < \*pa-takucV*, i.e., with Num *\*takuC*. [*\*-CC-* red] [p1r,p2g2,p3b] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: TrC]

UACV-1230 *\*tiki* ‘hungry’: Kw *tigī-yeʕe* ‘be hungry’; Ch *tigī-ʕiva* ‘lack, hunger, n’; Ch *tigī-ʕi* ‘need, lack, v’;

CU *tigīí-pī* ‘hunger’; CU *tigīí-narúʕay* ‘be hungry’. [NUA: Num]

UACV-1229 *\*ciha* ‘hungry’: Mn *cihayaʕi* ‘to be hungry’; NP *paziaʕu* ‘hungry’; TSh *cia-tiyai* ‘starve, be hungry’; TSh *cia-koʕi* ‘starve, be hungry’; Cm *cihasuarī* ‘hunger, have an appetite’; Cm *cihasiʕapī* ‘hungry person’. This set may be less likely than the first three sets associated with Semitic *rgb*, though a palatalization of *t* before high-front vowel and softening of *k > h* are common enough in UA, except that CNum also has *\*takuC*; however, this may be the WNum form later borrowed into CNum. [NUA: Num]

**692** Arabic ṣġr / ṣaġura / ṣaġira ‘be small, little, scanty, young, dwindle’:

UACV-1365 **\*cako** ‘small’: Hp cay / caa, pausal acc: cāa-ko ‘small, little, young, child’; CN coko ‘s.th. very small’. CN does anticipatory assimilation of 1<sup>st</sup> V to 2<sup>nd</sup> V frequently. This is Sem-p in light of ġ instead of ʕ. [CN 1<sup>st</sup> V to 2<sup>nd</sup>] [p1s4,p2g2,p3r] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Azt]

**693** Arabic ġasala / ya-ġsil(u) ‘to wash’

UACV-2485a **\*(hi-)pa-ksi** (<**\*pa-kasi**): My baksia ‘be washing, vt’; My hípaksia ‘be washing’; Yq hipáksia ‘lavar’; AYq vaksia ‘wash, vt (not clothes)’. [Cah]

UACV-2485b **\*(na-)pa-kka/i** ‘bathe’: NP napaki’a ‘bathe’; Kw na-vaka-tii (< **\*na-pakka-**) ‘bathe oneself’; SP na-vakkī ‘bathe, v refl’; Mn nabakiya; Ch navákī; CU naváki; Ls páči ‘wash’; CN paaka ‘bathe, wash’. [CN p] [p1g2,p2s,p3l] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Azt]

While the four above show Proto-Semitic ġ > k of the early Israelite Sem-p, the next three show Proto-Semitic ġ > ʕ > w of the Phoenician-like Sem-kw. Listed again are 36 and 37 in order to show that these two are from Sem-kw for two reasons: first, they begin with kw, and second, Semitic ġ > ʕ > w in Sem-kw as it did in Phoenician and later Hebrew, in contrast to Semitic ġ remaining ġ in earlier Hebrew and being k in the Sem-p’s contribution to UA.

**36** Hebrew bʕy / baʕaa<sup>1</sup> ‘enquire, search’; Ug bġy ‘wish’; Arabic bġy ‘search’:

UACV-1493 **\*kwawa/i** ‘invite, call’: Stubbs 1995-11: Cp kwawe ‘call, invite’; Tr o’wí ‘invite’; Wr oí ‘invite to work’ (perhaps borrowed from Tr; otherwise, woí); Eu bowá (= UA **\*kwowa**, as Eu b = UA **\*kw**) ‘convidar [invite]’; perhaps Sr kooan ‘call, invite’ and the baa- of TO baamuḏ ‘plead, invite’ (lack of TO g < **\*w** is frequent enough). [kwV > ku] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**37** Hebrew bʕy / baʕaa<sup>2</sup> ‘bring to a boil, bulge out’; Arabic bġw ‘swell up’:

Hopi kwala-(k-) ‘boil, come to a boil’.

**694** Hebrew ʕʕy (< **\*ʕġy**) ‘stoop, bend, incline’ (BDB); Arabic ʕġy / ʕaġiya ‘incline, bend, lean’:

Wr cucuwi ‘be hunched over, on all fours, face down, hanging’. Also ʕ > c in Sem-kw. [kw1s4,kw2g2>’2,kw3i]

## 5.10 Semitic Liquids R and L in Uto-Aztecan

**Initial \*l > l:** Uto-Aztecan languages generally do not have initial liquids—l and r—at the beginnings of words; however, a few languages do show a few initial liquids and a dozen of those few UA sets or words with initial l align with Semitic words of initial l (695, 698-708) and of medial -l- > -l- (709-721). For a fuller treatment of the liquids, both l and r, see 7.9 :

**695** Hebrew lqḥ / laaqaḥ ‘take (in hand), grasp, take as wife’; Arabic lqḥ / laqaḥa ‘to impregnate’;

Hebrew impfv yiqqaḥ ‘take, take as wife’; imperfect yiqqaḥ derives from pre-Hebrew **\*ya-lqaḥ** > Masoretic Hebrew **\*yi-qaḥ**; the final pharyngeal assimilated/rounded the vowels in UA:

Hopi **lööqö(-k-)** ‘(for a bride) to go to the groom’s house to begin the wedding ceremony’;

Hopi(S) löhqö / lööqö ‘she married’; Hopi(S) **löhqö-qna/ lööqö-kna** ‘they gave her in marriage, he married her’. The -h- in Seaman’s Hopi dialect is devoicing of the long vowel’s end. [11,2q,3h2]

**696** Hebrew lqḥ / laaqaḥ ‘to take (in hand), take as wife’; Arabic lqḥ / laqaḥa ‘to impregnate’; from pre-Hebrew **\*ya-lqaḥ** > Masoretic Hebrew **\*yi-qaḥ** ‘take, take as wife’; the final pharyngeal rounded UA Vs:

UACV-529 **\*yikoC > \*yokoC** ‘to copulate’: Sapir; I.Num291 **\*yo(h)ko** ‘copulate’; M67-99; M88-yo3; KH/M06-yo3:

Mn yoqqo; NP(B) na-yogo ‘have sexual intercourse’; TSh yokoC; Sh yokoC; Kw yoko-; SP yoġo-;

CU yoġo-. Sapir notes CN yekoaa ‘taste, sample food or drink, copulate with s.o.’ and Nomic **\*yoko**, only a vowel assimilation away, and CN yekoaa resembles the Hebrew vowelizing. [p11,p2q,p3h2] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

UACV-574 **\*yoko-pi-ci** ‘coyote (the copulater)’: SP yoġo-vici ‘coyote’ (< SP yoġo/**\*yoko** ‘copulate’);

CU yoko-vi-ci; WMU yoqö-vi-či / yoqö-vü-či / yöqowi-ci / yogöwü-či / yogó-vi-či ‘coyote, n’. This SNum form shows a fossilized absolutive suffix **\*-pi** to which a later suffix **\*-ci** was added. [1y,2l,3q,4h2] [NUA: Num]

**697** Hebrew **\*hiqqaḥ** ‘cause to take, that is, give’; though this hiqtil form is unattested in the Biblical text, it would match well with Wr ihko- ‘to give as a present’. Above are three different conjugations of lqḥ.

**698** Arabic \*lahgat ‘tongue’, the Hebrew vowelizing for an unattested plural would be \*lahgoot:

UACV-2364 \***lanji** / \***lanju** ‘tongue’: Sapir; VVH94 \*lɪŋi ‘tongue’; M67-441a \*neni ‘tongue’; L.Son176 \*nīni/\*nīni; B.Tep182 \*nīni/i; M88-nī3 ‘tongue’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-nī3: Hp leŋyi / leŋi ‘tongue’; Cp naŋ; Ca nāŋ-il<sup>y</sup>; Sr naŋ|ač; Ktn nīŋi-č; Gb -nōŋin (poss’d); Tb lalan-t / lalun-t; Eu nenét; Tbr niní-r; Yq níni; My ninni; Wr yení; Tr inará/inirá; TO neeni; LP nīnni; PYp neeni; NT nīni; ST nīn; Cr nanuri; Wc neeni; CN nene-pil-li ‘tongue’; CN nene-tl ‘female genitals’; Pl nenepil ‘tongue’. Sapir suggests that Hp and Tb dissimilated \*neŋi > leŋi, then Tb assimilated again > l-l. The reverse seems more likely (\*laŋa > naŋi), the liquid assimilating to the following nasal, as anticipatory consonant harmony is most common in UA. And Tb does preservative V assimilation, so perhaps in this case preservative C harmony also. Initial \*l is not common in UA, so assimilation to the usual (\*l- > n-) seems more likely than dissimilation to the unusual (\*n- > l-). Note also that initial l happens in Hopi (695, 698, 700). Sapir also notes the vowelizing \*a-u in Cr and Tb. Since none of the languages show \*e-u, but rather all with u show first vowel a, then the vowelizing \*i- is the 1<sup>st</sup> assimilating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>, such that the original 1<sup>st</sup> vowel was likely a, as it appears in Tb, Sr, Ca, and Cr. The 2<sup>nd</sup> was u, aligning with Hebrew pl -oo- > -u-, or i from the sg lahgat > lanji, or default final V is i, perhaps common to Sem-kw (see 7), but u is from round vowel, thus the reconstruction \*lanju. [kw1l,2h,3g,4t] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**699** Hebrew lmd / laamad ‘learn, exercise in, be trained, accustomed to’; Hebrew loomed ‘participle form: one learned in, trained in’; lummad ‘quttal form, intensive passive: learned, trained, taught, accustomed to’; Hebrew -lmad ‘impfv: ‘learn’ which easily equates to ‘know’ as in Tarahumara:

UA \***lomi** ‘know’: Tr **lomi**-mea ‘saber muy bién [know very well], dominar un conocimiento [master a knowledge/skill/specialty]’; cf. Hebrew **loomed** and in UA, the qal participle raised the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel from \*e > i, or was the early or original vowel in the Semitic participle as well: Sem \*CaaCiC > Hebrew CooCeC.

**700** Hebrew lmd / laamad ‘learn, exercise in, be trained, accustomed to’; Hebrew loomed ‘participle form: one learned / trained’; **lummad** ‘learned, trained, taught, accustomed to’ (quttal form, intensive passive); UA \***luma** ‘good, etcetera’: Hopi loma ‘good, beautiful, fine, nice, fit, aesthetically pleasing’. Because Hp o < UA \*u, the vowels also match, and the semantic shift from Hebrew **lummad** ‘trained/taught’ to UA \*luma ‘good, fine, beautiful’ is not so great when one considers that ‘knowing’ the desired skills makes one ‘desirable’, and in the case of women, ‘aesthetic desirability’ inevitably gets mixed into the package and, over time, not surprisingly emerges later as the more salient semantic dimension. 699 and 700 and 701 are different conjugated parts of the same root (lmd). This Hp form is male perspective, probably originally speaking of a woman who is pleasing/desirable, i.e., knowing well her work/arts/duties as the ancient culture defined her desirability; the semantic tie is also exemplified by the two similar meanings of Tr gamea/kamea ‘(1) be able, capable; (2) look good to one, like, prefer’ (< Semitic gml ‘be beautiful, complete’). [jidddua] [p1l,p2m,p3d] [NUA: Hp; SUA: TrC]

In contrast to the two morphological shapes above, which so far match only one UA language each, the impfv verb stem, whose l is absorbed in the cluster (\*-lmad > matV) is a common stem throughout UA:

**701** Hebrew lmd / laamad ‘learn, exercise in, trained, accustomed to’; Hebrew imperfect: **-lmad**:

UACV-1272a \***mata** / **mati** ‘know’: Sapir; VVH25 \*mati ‘know’; M67-249 \*ma/\*mai/\*mati/\*maci ‘know’; I.Num93 \*mayi(h) ‘find, become, be, do’; BH.Cup \*mí ‘be’; L.Son142 \*matí, mac-i ‘saber’; B.Tep142 \*maatí ‘he knows’, and \*mai ‘he knew’; CL.Azt \*mati ‘know’, 165 \*mačtia ‘teach’; M88-ma2 ‘know’; KH.NUA; AMR1992-15; KH/M06-ma2: Mn pummaaci ‘recognize, vt’; Sr maat ‘hear, listen to’; Hp màataq- ‘become visible, come into view, vi’; Hp màatakna ‘go to show, display, reveal, vt’; Hp maaciwa ‘be named’; Hp maaciw-ta ‘be visible’ (the central semantics of the last two Hp forms perhaps \*maaciw ‘be known’); TO maač ‘have knowledge of, be aware of, learn, find out’; LP maat; PYp maata; NT máátí ‘saber’ (vs. NT maáši ‘parecer’); ST maat ‘saber’ (vs. ST maaš ‘verse, notarse’); ST mačia ‘learn, come to know’; Cr ra-mwa’a-ty-é ‘he knows him’; Wc máte (perf ma-) ‘saber, conocer’; Wc maté ‘sentir’; Wc mai ‘saber (participio)’; CN mati ‘know s.th., vt.’ Sapir (1913) suggests that CN mačoo ‘nonactive / passive of mati’ derives from passive \*mati-o, the i palatalizing t before its disappearance or absorption into o. Both Miller and Kenneth Hill note Sr maat ‘hear, listen to’ as a semantic extension of ‘(come to) know’ also belongs. Tb maancu’(ut) / ‘aamaancu’ ‘be tame’ is from Spanish manso. UACV-1272b \***maci** / \***ma’ci** ‘appear, be visible, known, light’: VVH36 \*maci ‘to appear, come to light’; M67-261 \*maci/\*masi ‘light’; B.Tep141 \*maasi ‘appear’; L.Son131 \*maci ‘haber luz’; M88-ma3; AMR 1992a; KH/M06-ma3 \*ma’ci’: TO maasi ‘emerge, appear (as newborn or the sun), dawn’; Wr ma’ci ‘haber luz [be light]’; aparecer [appear]’; Tr mačí ‘visibilidad [visibility], luz [light]’; My máaci ‘hay luz [be light]’; Miller also includes Hp maasi ‘gray’. These are thought to relate to \*mata/mati ‘know’ in a semantic spectrum that ranges through ‘know, see, find, be seen, visible, light, dawn, gray’. Manaster-Ramer (1992a) suggests s.th. like \*maci (SUA), \*mayi/mayí (NUA):

TO maaš-cam, maš-čam ‘teach’; PYP mastia ‘teach’; Eu mástiwa ‘enseñar’; My maaci ‘verse, lucir, amanecer, enseñar’; My maaci ‘know, feel’; My mah-tía ‘teach’; Yq máhta ‘enseñar’; Tr maci ‘see, know’; Wr maci ‘know’; Tbr may ‘saber’; CN mačiaa ‘be known, be apparent’; CN maC-tiaa ‘learn, teach’; TO maas ‘be like, seem/appear/look like’. Add NT maási ‘appear, see, dawn, look like’; ST maašik ‘visible, easy to see’; Wc máásfiki ‘clear, visible’ perhaps borrowed from Tepiman. Note \*s > h in PYP maahad ‘appear, arise’. [p11,p2m,p3d]

**702** Arabic lawz ‘almonds (collective) (root lwz)’; Arabic lawzat ‘an almond’, pl: lawzaat; Aramaic(J) luuz (lwz) ‘nut, almond, hazel-nut, nut tree’; Hebrew luuz (lwz) ‘almond tree’; Tb lalwaš-t ‘pine nut cache’, likely from reduplicated \*lawas. [p11,p2w,p3z]

**703** Arabic lmm ‘gather, collect, reunite, IV causative: befall, overcome’:

UA \*līmm / līmīmī ‘burn, fall in (structure)’: Ca -lémeme- / -lém- ‘to burn a great deal’; Ls lóma/i ‘collapse (of a structure), fall into coals, vi; knock a structure down, knock off coals, vt’. As a fire burns, the wood structure falls in on itself, which ties the two Takic meanings together (Cahuilla ‘burn lots’ and Luiseño ‘fall into coals/knock down structure’), which UA semantic tie is otherwise opaque. The Semitic ‘collect, befall/overcome’ may resemble ‘collapse/fall’ and the resulting coals are collapsed/gathered/collected. The 3 consonants are identical—lmm in both Semitic and Takic—and the semantic combination is easily feasible, though not obvious. Taken together, the tie seems probable enough. [idddua] [p11,p2m,p3m]

**704** Arabic laqlaq ‘stork, n’:

Ca la’la’ ‘goose, greyish with a long white beak’; Ls lá’-la ‘goose’; Cp le’e-l ‘a large water bird’. [p11,2q,3l,4q]

**705** Hebrew l’y /la’aa<sup>y</sup> ‘grow weary, become tired of s.th.’, impfv: ti-l’e ‘you/she tire’; yi-l’uu ‘they are tired’; prtepl: loo’e<sup>y</sup>; Ugaritic l’y ‘to tire’; Aramaic(J) l’y ‘labor (in vain), be tired’; Arabic la’aa<sup>y</sup> ‘be poor, unfortunate’; Akkadian la’uu ‘be weak’:

UACV-2336 \*lo / \*loCi ‘tired’: Tbr lo- ‘cansarse [get tired]’; Tbr lo-ká-n ‘cansado [tired]’; Yq lótte-k ‘cansar’; Yq lotlotte ‘cansado’; AYq lotte ‘get tired, vi’; AYq lottia ‘tire, vt’; AYq lottila ‘tired’; My lotte ‘está cansado’; Wr e’loi-na ‘be tired’; PYP lo’ig / lo’og ‘poor’. This is an impressive match: initial l in both Semitic and UA, the round vowel o due to the rounding influence of the glottal stop or to participial o; and some show the glottal stop, and those showing a 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel mostly have i (< y of Semitic). Wr e’loi may include the impfv prefix yi-/yV- or an et-l’y form, with a possible anticipation of the glottal stop. Most interesting are the semantics: most align with tired, both Semitic and UA, but Arabic and Akkadian include the ‘poor/weak’ dimension, which is also found in PYP. Along with the ‘poor/unfortunate’ semantic, we should also include Ls li’i-li’a ‘to dress untidily, vi’; Ls li’i-l’i-š ‘sagging, loosely fitting (clothes)’; Ca lé’eley ‘to get loose, wobble (tooth, tree, stick, etc), vi’. [11,2’,2’2,3y] [SUA: TrC, Tep; NUA: Tak]

**706** Arabic lwy ‘turn, bend, twist’; Ethiopic lawaa ‘to twist’; Syriac ləwa’ / ləwiw ‘go/come with, accompany, follow’; Hebrew lwy / lawaa ‘to accompany, join oneself to’ [that is, twist together]: Ls liwa/i ‘be tightly twisted, vi, twist tightly, vt’; Ca líwiwey ‘sing aloud, wring out’. [p11,p2w,p3i] [NUA: Tak]

**707** Hebrew le’ekol ‘to eat’ (the infinitive form): Cp lyéke ‘to eat’. [p11,p2’,p3k,p4l]

**708** As in Syriac laakḥ-aa active participle of lkḥ ‘to lick, lick up’ and a metaphor of fire; Or III lbb ‘burn’ > Hebrew libbat ‘flame’; ‘(licking) flame’ and ‘lick’ are often associated in Semitic: Hopi lekwi-ta ‘lap up (food, as cat or dog)’. [idddua] [kw11,kw2b]

**709** Arabic ṭil / ṭalala ‘spray, sprinkle, drizzle, bedew’; Hebrew ṭal ‘night-mist, dew’; Arabic(L) ṭil ‘to rain a small rain’: Arabic ṭall ‘dew, fine rain, drizzle’:

UA \*cololo ‘sprinkle, rain lightly, v’: Hopi cölö-(k-) ‘to drip (a single drop)’; Hopi cölö-lö-ta ‘be dripping, be sprinkling (rain)’. This and Hp kwelo above (< Hebrew blṣ) and Hp kele- (Hebrew kly) and Hp loma (Hebrew lmd) and Hopi taala (< Hebrew dlq) all suggest Hebrew l > Hp l. [p1t2,p2l,p3i] [NUA: Hp]

**710** Hebrew tooleṣaa / toolaṣat ‘worm, maggot’; Hebrew toolaaṣ ‘crimson (color, dye, or material)’; Hebrew(BDB) toolaaṣ ‘worm, scarlet stuff’; Syriac taulṣaa ‘worm, scarlet dye’; the crimson-worm is the source from which the crimson/scarlet dye is extracted; Hebrew(KB) mətullaaṣ ‘wrapped in scarlet’; some UA languages mean ‘embers’ resembling scarlet, then embers to coals (black) or the generally dark color (scarlet) surfaces as ‘dark’ or ‘black’ in UA, and the general shape of tolaṣ is consistent with UA \*tulu / \*tulo. PUA \*u > i in Nahuatl explains NUA \*tul(u) and CN tliil and CN tliilloo-tl, and so the TrC forms resembling \*telu are likely loans from Nahuatl, and Ls -la also suggests a liquid-pharyngeal cluster (6.4):

**UACV-241 \*tul** 'charcoal, embers, black': BH.Cup \*túla 'charcoal'; Munro.Cup21 \*túu-la 'charcoal': KH.NUA {Ls; Cp; Ca; Hopi toho}; M67-45 \*tunu; CL.Azt \*tiil- 'soot'; M88-tu23 and some of tu3; KH/M06-tu3 \*tul and tu23: Ls túú-la 'charcoal'; Cp tú-l 'charcoal'; Ca tú-ly; Cp túla 'get black, get a tan'; Cp tulnək-ic 'black'; Cp túlnine 'make black' (similar forms, but with absorbed -ln- > -n- are Sr tīnāānā'n 'be black'; Sr tīnāā'q 'bec, turn black'); Cp túltúlxwe 'it is soiled'; Ca túl-nek 'black'; Sr tuu-ṭ 'charcoal, coal(s), ember(s)'; Gb tur; Tb tuu-l 'charcoal, embers, coals'; CN tliil-li 'black ink, soot'; Pl tiil 'soot'; Pl tiil-tik 'black'. AMR (1996d) and Hill astutely add TO čuud 'embers, charcoal'; TO čuudṭ 'make embers of wood'; TO čuudagi 'embers, charcoal', since TO d < \*l. In addition, Ls túú-la rather than \*tuu-l, that is, the keeping of the vowel in -la is good evidence for a 3-consonant cluster: \*-VIʃ-ta; > V-la; thus, like CN tliil-li, an l existed that was absorbed by the absolutive suffix (\*tul-la > tu-la) to become rather invisible in Tak, but helped preserve final -a. Add Ktn tu-č 'charcoal' and note also Tr čori 'cosa negra' (borrowed?). Ken Hill (KH.NUA) rightly associates Hopi toho 'fine-grained reddish-brown rock used as a pigment' with the Takic forms. The Hopi term is closer to the color crimson, and hot embers (Sr, Tb, TO) are quite the color of crimson/scarlet, and turn into charcoal, which is black and a good blackener.

**UACV-827 \*tulu / \*tulo** 'dark, black': Stubbs2000b; Stubbs2003-41: relating to \*tul 'charcoal, embers, black' and CN tliil-li 'black ink, soot' are CN tliilloo-tl 'blackness' and CN(S) tliilloa 'cubrirse de negro [become covered with black], ponerse color negro [turn black]', and Wr telúla 'smooth black stone for polishing pottery' and Tbr telu-r/ tilu-r 'eye', like a black stone as in Wr. [idddua] [l > TO d, l > l in Tak] [p1t,p,p3'2] [NUA: Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Azt, TrC, Tep]

**711** Hebrew **kəleb, kalb-** 'dog'; Arabic kalb- 'dog'; pl: kilaab would correspond to Hebrew \*kiloob:

**UACV-575 \*kalop** 'fox': Tb(V) 'iklooba-l 'fox'; Tb(M) yekalooba-l 'grey fox'; Tbr kahu-lowi / kahi-lówi 'fox'. Suspending Lionnet's morpheme break may have Tbr being a reduplication \*kaklopi > kahu-lowi, which would agree with Tb quite well, sharing \*kalop, especially since Tbr w < \*p. The Tb form curiously resembles an Arabic broken plural kilaab which corresponds to Hebrew \*kiloob 'dogs'. Another UA-with-Arabic broken plural look is 752 'arrow'. Tb and Tbr kahu-lowi / kahi-lówi 'fox' share \*-lop, since Tbr w < \*p. Tr kibóči 'fox' resembles an unattested f. pl: \*kalboot. [idddua] [p1k,p2l,p3b] [NUA: Tb; SUA: TrC]

**712** Ugaritic hll 'to cheer'; Syriac hallel 'to praise'; Arabic hll / halla 'shout';

Hebrew **hllal-**, impfv: **-hallel** 'admire, eulogize, praise, exclaim halleluia':

**UACV-1136 \*hala / \*halala** 'happy': Hp hāalay 'be happy, content, cheerful, enjoy oneself'; Ls 'alaláá 'an exclamation of praise or pleasure'; AYq allea 'happy'; My al-leiya 'está contento/alegre [is happy/ joyful]'; My al-leewame 'gozo [joy]' (misperceived morpheme divisions for My); Tb yilaha-t~'iyilahaša 'be happy' also shows the 3<sup>rd</sup> person imperfective prefix of Hebrew yəhallel. [1h,2l,3l] [SUA: TrC; NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak]

**713** Arabic ṭlʿ 'to arise, come up': Tb tulu'ula- 'to get up from sitting'. [p1t2,p2l,p3']

**714** Hebrew pl' 'to be extraordinary, wonderful'; Hebrew \*pl' is not attested in the biblical text for the qal (basic CaCaC), but is not at all unlikely in the ancient spoken language and would semantically parallel the attested niqta, which means 'be unusual, wonderful, miraculous':

Ca pálaw 'be pretty'. [p1p,p2l,p3']

**715** Hebrew dll / dalal 'to hang, be low, languish'; Hebrew dallaa 'hair, threads of a warp';

Hebrew dal 'low, weak, poor, thin'; Arabic tadaldala (\*dl reduplicated) 'to be in motion, dangle':

Hopi tilili-ta 'quiver, tremble, shiver, shake'; Hopi tili-k-na 'make quiver or tremble'; CN toli-nia 'suffer, be impoverished'; SP ton'ni 'to shake' (cf. 22 SP kwan'nu < ballu); Hopi toni 'yarn, string'. Whether the two Hopi forms both belong remains for further research, though separate l's (VIVIV) vs. two clustered l's (VIIIV) as in SP, make both worth listing for contemplation, and CN equates semantically. [idddua] [1d,2ll]

**716** Hebrew dlq / daalaq 'to burn (BDB), set on fire'; Hebrew dalleqet 'flame'; Syriac dəlaq 'to blaze, flame, shine like fire'; Syriac dalq-aa < dalaq- 'a flame, blaze, torch, a bright shining':

Hopi taala 'be light, be illuminated, be daylight'; Hopi taala 'light, illumination, n'; Hopi qa-tala'-vo 'blind person, no-light-eyes'; Hopi tala' 'in summer'; Hopi tala'-pa-mīya / tala'-va-mīya 'in summer-water-moon, the month Paamuya'. Note the glottal stop where -q once was. [1d,2l,3q]

**717** Aramaic / Syriac qlp 'peel off, shell, rub away'; Arabic qlp 'strip bark (from tree), v.n.: qalp;

Hebrew glb 'shear, shave':

**UACV-1893 \*kīlipi** 'shell, shuck, de grain, v': B.Tep133 \*kīrivi 'to shell corn'; M88-kī14; KH/M03-kī14: TO kīliwi; LP kīkv-; NT kīlivi; NT kīlívai 'desgranarlo [de grain, scrape kernels off of it], vt'; ST kīlyiiv. [l/r; liquids] [p1g,p2l,p3b] [SUA: Tep, CrC]

**718** Hebrew npl ‘fall, be born’; impfv stem **-ppol** < \*-npul:

UACV-138 \***puli** ‘to fall, give birth, daughter’: Cp puline ‘give birth’; Cp pulini-š ‘baby’; Ca púlin ‘woman's daughter’; Sr pulin ‘woman's daughter’; Ca púli ‘fall, be born’. Sapir also ties CN -pil ‘offspring, son, daughter’ and Cr péri ‘son, daughter, child’ with the Tak forms. Normally Cr i < \*u (but e is close to i) and CN i < \*u, so vowels okay. [UA liquids; V's; \*1 not n in Tak??] [1n,2p,3l] [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC, Azt]

**719** Hebrew towlid ‘bear a child, fem impfv’ > Ls tóvli ‘to bear a child, lay an egg.’ [1t,2w,3l,4d]

**720** Hebrew **nebel** ‘skin-bottle, skin’ in a common phrase Hebrew nebel yayin ‘skin of wine’;

Syriac nbl / **n’bl**; interestingly, the meaning of the root nbl is uncertain, yet another identical root nbl means ‘be senseless, foolish’ [as when drunk]; therefore, consider:

PUA \***napai** ‘alcoholic drink, drunk’: B.Tep168 \*navaita/i ‘beer’; TO nawaiti ‘alcoholic drink’ (TO w < \*p); NT navaityi; ST navaityi; Cr nawa; Tb namwa-t ‘tesgüino’ (Tbr mw < \*w; thus, Tbr and Cr may be loans from a Tep language); Eu navei/nave ‘get drunk’; PYP naava ‘get drunk’; PYP naavam / nauvim ‘prog: be getting drunk’; TO nawm-k, naw-k ‘get drunk.’ [Tep, TrC, CrC]

If PYP nava ‘prickly pear’ ties in here, then the widespread UA stem \*napo ‘prickly pear’ is likely related. But regardless that tie, the CN reflex—**CN no’pal-li**—even shows the final l, no less, and the glottal stop! Of extraordinary interest is that Syriac **n’bl** shows a glottal stop in the same place as **CN no’pal-li**, having exactly the same four consonants as **CN no’pal-li**. Just as “the bottle” signifies its contents (alcohol) in English, similarly bottle > alcohol > plant from which the drink is made in UA. PUA \***napol/napoi** ‘prickly pear cactus/fruit’ [from which alcohol is made] is found in at least 20 languages of the Num, Tak, Hp, Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt branches.

UACV-7a \***no’pal** / \***napu** ‘prickly pear cactus/fruit’: VVH16 \*na,pī ‘prickly pear cactus/tuna’; M67-70 \*nap; BH.Cup \*navit; L.Son165 \*napo; B.Tep169 \*navoi ‘cactus’; Fowler83 \*napu; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup103 \*náávə-t; M88-na5 ‘cactus fruit’; KH/M06-na5 \*naaput (AMR): NP nabu; TSh napumpi; Sh nabombi (Fowler83); Kw navu-bi; Ch navumpi; SP nabumpi (Fowler83); Hp naavi; Sr naavt; Ktn navih-t; Ca návét; Cp návét; Ls náávu-t; Gb návot ‘prickly pear cactus’; TO naw/nawī; Nv nubo(nivo); LP(B) nav; NT návoi; ST nav; Eu návú; Wr napó; Tr napó; Yq naabo; My naabo; CN no’pal-li. While the rest of UA shows \*napo/\*napu, CN reverses the two vowels to yield \*no’pal-li. The 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel is curious in that TO, Hp and Tactic agree in \*i (perhaps schwa-like behavior), while most of SUA shows o, yet several show u (NP, TSh, Kw, Ch, SP, Ls, Eu). Note a correspondence of final -i and -l (Tep and CN, respectively). Note the nasals in TSh, Sh, Ch, and SP aligning with CN’s liquid. Eu -c may also suggest a cluster of -lt-, -t- being of a fossilized absolutive suffix. [a-o vs. o-a; \*o > i in Hp, Tak; SUA l > NUA N]

UACV-7b \***napa** ‘alcoholic beverage’: B.Tep168 \*navaita/i ‘beer’; Miller’s M88-na34 and na-5, Ken Hill rightly combines in KH/M06na-5, though Miller’s na34 group with different vowel (\*napa vs. \*napo) might for clarity and study be kept in a different letter, as the Tep languages have separate forms for each: TO nawaiti; NT navaiti; ST navaity. Cr nawá ‘alcohol’ and Tbr namwá-t ‘tesgüino’ may be loans from Tep, since \*napa > Tep nawa (\*-p- > Tep \*-v/w-). [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt, CrC]

UACV-7c \***napa-mukki** ‘drunk, alcohol-smitten’ (> nawa/nah(w)a-m): L.Son161 \*naha/\*nawa ‘emborracharse’; M88-na26; KH/M06-na26: TO naumk; LP nahamu; Eu náwe/nava; Yq nawáhe; My naa-mukúra; Tbr naham / nam ‘emborracharse’.

Add Nv navamudaga ‘drunk’. This set is phonologically difficult, perhaps due to some terms being recycled diffusions/loans (like Yq), instead of cognates. While the TrC \*nawa forms could be diffusions from Tep \*nawa (< UA \*napa), we also see medial h in LP and Tbr, which do not correspond to each other nor to \*p, but may be lazy glottal stops representing some C. My and TO suggest a compound approximating \*naw(a)-muk (< \*napa-mukki). [idddua] [reductions] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**721** A Semitic root of similar consonants is Hebrew nbl ‘wither, decay, wear oneself out, lose heart’:

Hopi na’pala ‘contract a disease or undergo some physical or behavioral change’. [p1n,p2’,p3b,p4l]

**722** Syriac bl’ ‘grow old, wear out’:

Eu virúe- ‘cansarse [get tired]’; Eu virúhmukú ‘morirse de cansancio [die of exhaustion]’. In Eu, Semitic l > Eu r is usual; see 6 below and others. [1b,2l,3’]

In UA’s Sem-p, Semitic intervocalic -r- usually remains -r- in TaraCahitan (TrC) and Numic and NUA, though often represented as PUA \*-t- which is pronounced -r- intervocalically:

**723** Hebrew țari ‘fresh’; Arabic țariy ‘fresh, moist’; Arabic țariya ‘to be juicy, moist, fresh’:

Wr weh-cori ‘mud, clay (weh = ‘land, earth’)’ that is, earth + moisture = mud. [idddua] [kw1t2,kw2r,kw3i]

**724** Semitic **parfoš** ‘flea (jumper)’ from the verb pršš ‘jump’; the jackrabbit, like the flea, is also a jumper, thus from this Semitic word for ‘flea’ and from the quadriliteral (4 consonant) verb pršš ‘jump’, we see all 4 consonants in UA and with identical vowels to the Semitic term, “the jumper” simply being transferred from ‘flea’ to ‘jackrabbit’, two of the most extraordinary jumpers in the animal kingdom:

UACV-1758 \***par’osi** / \***paro’osi** ‘jackrabbit’: M67-336 \*pa ‘jackrabbit’; BH.Cup \*páxwut? ‘young jackrabbit’; L.Son189 \*parosi ‘liebre’; M88-pa6 ‘jackrabbit’; KH/M06-pa6 \*pa’rosi ‘jackrabbit’: Op paros; Eu barós / bwaros / paaros;

Yq páaros; My paaros; pl: paró'osim; Wr pa'loisi; Wr(MM) pa'rowisi / parowisi / pa'loisi / palowisi / paloisi; Tr ba'loisi. The jackrabbit, like the flea, is also a jumper, thus from this Semitic verb for 'jump'. PYp paaris 'jackrabbit' is likely a loan from Tr/Wr; otherwise, \*s > h in Tep. I like the -r- in Ken Hill's reconstruction, for when we can demonstrate two liquids in PUA, I would choose r over l, as well. But on the strength of the My pl paró'os-im and the tendency of UA to anticipate glottal stops, I prefer reconstructing the glottal stop after the liquid, which then was anticipated in the other forms. [idddua] [Wr anticip'] [1p,2r,2'2,3s1] [SUA: TrC]

### 725 Hebrew toor 'turtle-dove':

UACV-216 \*tori 'domestic bird': M67-85 \*totoli; CL.Azt15 \*tootoo 'bird', 178 \*tootol 'turkey', 316\*\*totolii 'turkey'; M88-to16 'chicken'; KH/M06-to16: Wr to'torí 'chicken'; CN tootoo-tl 'bird'; CN tootol-in 'domestic fowl'; HN tootoo-tl / tootoolih 'turkey'; Pl tuutut 'bird'. Other inclusions or recycled loans are TO čučul 'chicken'; Nv totori / totoli / totoni 'gallina'; Yq tótoi; My tótori; Tr torí 'gallo, gallina'. A slight vowel change in TO would have triggered palatalization \*to > \*tu > ču; and the Tep and TrC forms could be Azt loans. In some cognate collections, combining \*topa 'turkey' and \*tor(i) 'domestic bird' with an entirely different 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable needs separation. [\*o vs. \*u] [1t,2r] [SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

Many SUA languages have only one liquid: e.g., CN has l, but not r, and Eu has r, but not l. However, many SUA languages have both -l- and -r- or show separate reflexes for the two: My, Yq, Wr, Tr, Tbr. Significant is that in those languages that have both liquids, Sem-p Semitic -r- usually reflects as -r- and -l- as -l-. For example, in (724), Semitic parʕoš 'flea (jumper)' from the verb pršš 'jump' > UA \*par'osi / \*paro'osi 'jackrabbit', most languages (Op, Eu, Yq, My, PYp) show -r-, one (Tr) has -l- and Wr has variants with each. Notice in the several items listed immediately above that the great majority (perhaps 90%) show -r- < -r-, rather than -l-. Similarly, in the sets further above, showing Semitic l, it is l that is most often reflected in the UA languages that can reflect both, though liquid reversals also happen and are common in other language families as well. Even in Nomic (below) we see Semitic-p -r- > Num -r-, though it has been reconstructed as intervocalic \*-t- becoming -r-.

The following two My terms suggest a distinction between Semitic-p's -r- and -l-:

(527-p) My bérok-te 'to lightning' (< Semitic brq 'lightning' verb and noun)

(549-p) My béloh-ko 'to shine' (< Semitic blg 'shine')

The two Semitic-p forms in My are in identical environments with -r- in 527 and -l- in 549, and the -r- and -l- of UA align with Semitic -r- and -l-, and the definitions match perfectly as well.

In contrast to Sem-p, the Sem-kw items show -r- > -y- in most branches of Uto-Aztecan, but r > d in Tepiman. Likewise, Proto-Mayan \*r > y in several Mayan branches (Campbell 1977, 97-100).

### 726 Hebrew paraq 'drag away, tear away':

UA \*piyok 'pull, drag': Sh(C) piyokko 'pull, drag, tow, vt'; Sh(M) piyokkah 'drag, vt'; Sh(Cr) piyokkoh 'pull, drag, tow, vt'; Ch piyóga 'pull'; CU piyó-gway 'pull'. [1p,2r,3q] [NUA: Num]

727 Semitic swr yields Akkadian saaru 'to revolve, dance', but Hebrew 'turn aside, leave, desist'; roots of middle consonant -w-, instead of doubling the middle consonant for the intensive, often double the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant in what is called the polel form, yielding swr > swrr, in what Semiticists call the polel form. As Blau (1998, 324) states, "Several Semitic languages exhibit aversion to doubling w/y (i.e., pawwel, payyel), resorting instead to the doubling of the 3<sup>rd</sup> radical"; so with \*-r- > -y-, UA \*suyuy 'spin, whirl' parallels Semitic swrr 'turn, revolve, dance' well in both meaning and phonology:

UACV-447 \*suyuyu 'spin, whirl': KH.NUA; Ca súyuy 'spin, whirl (e.g., of water)'; Sr suyuyu'n 'whirling (like boiling water), v.i.' [kw1s,2r,3r] [NUA: Tak]

### 728 Hebrew yr' / yíiraa' '(he/it) fears'; Hebrew tiiraa' '(she/it) fears'; Hebrew yir'a(t) 'fear, n':

UACV-857 \*iya-paka 'fear, v': Kw 'iya-vaga 'to be afraid of'; Ch iyávaga 'afraid'; SP iya-vaga 'to be afraid'; SP yaa-vaga-i 'is afraid'; WMU iyá-vaga-y 'be afraid'; CU iyá-vagáy 'be afraid of'; Sh tí'iyá-pikkah 'be afraid'; Tb yaayaŋ / 'aayaayaŋ 'to be timid'. Notice that Sh aligns with the feminine prefix, the others the masculine. Note Tb ŋ < '. For 2<sup>nd</sup> part of the compound, see 637 \*paxad. [ti- prefix] [\*-r->-y-; Tb ŋ <'] [kw1i,2r,3'] [NUA: Num, Tb]

### 729 Aramaic(J) 'eebaar-aa / 'eebr-aa 'limb, arm, wing, pinion, male member':

UACV-1813 \*pita / \*pīra 'arm, right arm': M67-346 \*pet 'right side'; L.Num172 \*pī(h)ta 'arm'; M88-pī7 'right side'; KH/M06-pī7: Mn pīta (< \*pītta) 'arm'; NP bīta (< \*pītta) 'arm'; TSh pītapī 'arm'; Sh pīta 'arm'; Cm pīira 'arm'; Kw pīra-vī 'arm'; WMU pīrá 'arm' (also found in compounds meaning right, but not in compounds



for left); CU pīrá-vi ‘arm’; CU pīra-na-kwa-tī ‘the right side’; SP pīra ‘arm, right side’; Hp pītve ‘at the right side’; Hp pītvaqe ‘along the right side’. Add Cp pilyá ‘right (direction)’; Cp pilyáwe ‘right hand’; Cp pilyáyka ‘to the right’; Ls -pli ‘right hand’, since intervocalic \*-t- > -l- occurs in Tak. With assimilation of 1<sup>st</sup> vowel to 2<sup>nd</sup> (\*pita > \*pata), Yq báta-na ‘al lado derecho, la derecha’ and My bátatana ‘la derecha’ belong also. This appears to have lost Aramaic’s first syllable and kept the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> syllables of the fuller form, as opposed to 794, the Sem-p variant. [\*-t- > -l- in Cupan] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: TrC]

**730 Hebrew šrp** ‘to burn completely’; Hebrew šərepa(t) ‘fire’; Ugaritic šrp ‘to burn up’;

Akkadian šaraapu(m) ‘to light a fire, burn up’:

UACV-890 \***saypa** ‘to burn’: Wr saipá-ni ‘quemarse [be burned]’; TO kohadk ‘something dried and burned’; Nv kusada ‘quemarse’. Again, \*kut- is prefixed in the Tep languages, though Nv s is unexpected vs. TO h (expected) and may have to do with different behaviors of the cluster \*-ts-. [\*-r->y] [1s2,2r,3p] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

## 5.11 Semitic-p š > UA \*s vs. Semitic-kw š > c (ts)

Sem-p š > UA \*s vs. Sem-kw š > c (ts), though s vs. c alternations happen in UA also, since the two sounds can easily vacillate to the other.

**731 Hebrew šwy / šawa** ‘give charge to, command, order’:

UACV-1858 \***sawi** ‘command’: Yq sáwe ‘mandar [command]’; Yq nésawe ‘mandar, gobernar [govern]’; My sawwe ‘manda [command], ordena [order]’; Tbr i-sawi-rá ‘mandar’. [p1s4,p2w,p3i] [SUA: TrC]

The next few items (732-737) are various conjugated forms of Hebrew šwd / šyd ‘to hunt’: 732 is the singular participle; 733 the plural perfect.

**732 Hebrew šwd / šyd** ‘to hunt’; Arabic šyd ‘catch, hunt’; Hebrew šayid ‘game, venison’; Hebrew šaad ‘hunter, (is) hunting’: Hebrew šaduu ‘they hunted, caught’: Hebrew 3<sup>rd</sup> sg perfective šaad ‘hunt(ed)’ or participle Hebrew šaad ‘hunter, (is) hunting’:  
TO šaad ‘to chase’ (TO š < UA \*c, Sem-kw).

**733 Hebrew šwd / šyd** ‘to hunt’; Arabic šyd ‘catch, hunt’; Hebrew šayid ‘game, venison’;  
Hebrew šaad ‘hunter, (is) hunting’: Hebrew šaduu ‘they hunted, caught’: UA \*šitu ‘aim, hunt’ matches the 3<sup>rd</sup> perfect plural Hebrew šaduu ‘they hunted, caught’:  
Tr seru ‘atinar [aim], ser certero, tener buena puntería [have good aim], cazar [hunt], pezcara [fish], v’;  
Tr seru-ame ‘(person who is) a good aim, a hunter.’

**734 Hebrew mə-šudat** ‘net, prey’ i.e., game; Aramaic(J) məsuudtaa ‘hunting apparatus, net, trap, n.f.’:

UACV-641a \***masat** / \***masot** (< \*masuta) ‘deer’: M67-125 \*mas; L.Son140 \*maso ‘venado’; CL.Azt42 \*masaa, 305 \*\*maso; Fowler83; M88-ma5 ‘deer’; KH/M06-ma5: Eu masót; Wr mahói; My mááso; Yq mááso; AYq masso;  
Op maso-t; Cr mwašá; Wc máša; CN masaa-tl. Jane Hill astutely adds Tb(H) maašatt ‘antelope’, and Sem-p: š > Tb š. In this set CN, CrC, and Tb agree in \*masa, while six TrC languages consistently show \*masoC. Perhaps Tbr hi-saru-t ‘fish net’; Tr wesurá / wisurá ‘type of fishing net’ (if we/wi- is Egyptian wš- or other prefix). [Wr h < \*s?; final a vs. o] [SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt; NUA: Tb]

UACV-641b \***masa-pu** ‘sacred items’: M88-ma5; KH/M06-ma5: Gb másavot ‘sacred objects’; Ls mášaavut ‘ceremonial bundle’; Cp máasivet ‘sacred treasure of the lineage’. Miller’s including these Takic forms with M88-ma5 ‘deer’ on the basis of phonological similarity is not out of the question, but not out of being questioned either, as to their tie with ‘deer’. As compounds, they at least form a set themselves. [NUA: Tak]

**735** While not attested in the Biblical text, huqtal forms of initial mu, such as \*mušaad ‘game, what’s hunted’ (< \*muša(y)ad) could easily have been in the spoken vernacular, which aligns with UA \***musayit** / **musayid** ‘buffalo’: Hp cayri ‘elk’; Hp cayriira ‘moose’; Hp mosayri, mosayir- (combining form) ‘buffalo, bison.’ Note Hebrew/Egyptian d > Hp r here and at ‘tail’. [p1s4,p2y,p3d]

**736 Hebrew šwd / šyd** ‘to hunt’, prfv or participle: šaad; plural participle **šaad-iim** ‘hunters-pl’:

UACV-2327 \***sir** ‘shoot, hunt’: Eu hísera ‘tirar [throw, shoot]’; the hi- could be many things, but among possibilities is an unattested hiqtiil. With a c/s explanation, ‘shoot’ may tie to \*čila ‘straight’ at ‘straight’.  
UACV-2206 \***čili** ‘straight’: B.Tep210 \*širini ‘straight’; M88-čil1; KH/M06-čil1: TO šelini(m) adv; UP šilini; LP šiliñ; NT šiliñ; ST šiliñ; Wc šéu.ráïye ‘derecho, recto’. Miller queries whether Tbr cira-voná ‘a la derecha’ is cognate. Note TO šel-wua ‘practice shooting’; TO šel-wui-dag ‘ability to shoot’; TO šel ‘permission, a right’;

TO šel-him 'go in a straight line, go continually'; TO šelin 'straighten'; TO šelina 'arrow shaft'. Add Cr siuúrara'a 'derecho'; PYP selini 'straight, adj'; PYP selin 'stretch'; Nv siri 'derecho'; Nv aisiriga 'echar, pl' (Nv aibua 'echar, sg'). [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**737** Hebrew **širʕaa** 'hornets':

**UACV-163 \*saŋa** 'yellowjacket, stinging one': M88-sa28; KH.NUA; KH/M06-sa28: Cp šéše'ŋimi 'yellowjacket'; Sr haŋa-ṭ 'bee'; Ls ŋaŋa-š 'thorny, a thorn'. Ken Hill adds Ktn haŋa-č 'yellowjacket'. Add Ls šááŋa-la 'yellowjacket'. Cp suggests a cluster. Cr sará 'bee' is a reasonable possibility. The fact that Cr keeps -r- (rather than -r- > -ʔ- as usual) also suggests a cluster. A liquid (r) + pharyngeal (ħ) > velar nasal (ŋ) is natural, in NUA especially, where liquids tend toward nasals. [p1s4,p2r,p3'2] [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC]

**738** Hebrew **qayis / qeys** 'summer':

**UACV-2228 \*kuwis** 'summer': Note the exceptional similarity of kuvés / kuwes 'summer, dry season' in Eu kuvés-rawa 'summer' and Tr kuwésa 'be summer' as well as Tr kuwé 'summer, n'; Cora ta'uwaste 'summer' (-'uwas-te after a prefixed ta-; though Cora i normally corresponds to \*u, maybe the rounding influence of w afterwards retained the back round vowel). Also likely are Ktn 'oši' / 'ošit 'hot, be hot weather' and Ktn 'oši-va'a 'summer'. Hp iyis 'early summer, planting time' reportedly derives from \*ica 'plant, v' and Hp iya 'plant, sow'. The rounding power of the uvular q seems pronounced in Sem-p, but not in Sem-kw. And it is that extraordinary rounding power that probably created an excrescent w to divide the resulting diphthong \*-ue- (> uwe) of the rounding adjacent to the more prominent e-like vowel in Semitic. [p1q,p2y,p3s4] [SUA: TrC, CrC; NUA: Tak]

**67** Hebrew šaaráfat 'skin disease'; Hebrew(BDB) šaaráfat 'leprosy' > CN siyo-tl 'rash, scab, leprosy'.

**739** Hebrew še'aa 'dung, excrement'; related verbs in the related Semitic languages mean things like 'stink, dirty, waste' all applying to urine and excrement. UA may show the original vowel \*si'a > Masoretic se'a. UA \*si'a 'urinate, v', then n 'urine'

Mn	siina; n: sípī	Hp	sisiwkī(yi) v(n)	Eu	sísa-
NP	--	Tb	ši'	Tbr	n: síf-r
TSh	siiC; n: siippī	Sr	šii'; šiaa'vun	Yq	siisi; sí'ika 'bladder'
Sh	siiC; n: sii-ppī	Ca	sí'; pís	My	siise; n: siisi
Cm	siitī; n: siipī'	Ls	šii'a-; písá-ŋa-	Wr	si'a-ní; n: sí'í
Kw	si'i-; n: nazipi	Cp	kilyma; n: sí	Tr	isá/isí-; n: isí(ara)
Ch	si'í	TO	hi'a (n. & v.)	Cr	se'e; n: sí'isuri
SP	si'í	Nv	i'a/i'a	Wc	šii v.
		PYP	hia'a; n: hi'i		šii.pári 'vejiga'
CU	si'í; n: sí'í-pī	NT	íištyai	CN	šiiša v.
		ST	ya'aa'; n: hi'	CN	šiš-tli n.

Miller helpfully separates the verb and noun as separate derivations of a common stem:

**UACV-2446a \*si'i / \*si'a** 'urinate, v': Sapir; VVH67 \*si(ʔi)/\*si(ʔa) 'to urinate'; M88-si8; M67-447 \*si' 'urinate'; I.Num188 \*si'i 'urinate'; CL.Azt182 \*šiiša 'urinate'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-si8: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Kw; SP; CU; Tb; Cp; Ca; Ls; Gb sí' 'mear'; Sr; Hp; TO; Wr; Tr; My; Wc; Cr; CN. Add Nv, PYP, and AYq siise 'check'. Note vowel anticipation in PYP.

**UACV-2446b Num \*si'ic-pī** 'urine, n': BH.Cup \*si urine; L.Son237 \*sia 'orinar', \*si-i 'orines'; M88-si9 urine; KH/M06-si9: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; K; SP; CU; Cp; Ca; Ls; Gb sí'iy; Sr; Hp sisikiyi; Hp sisimoki 'bladder'; TO; Wr; Tr; My; Tbr; HN maašiiš-tli'. [p1s4,p2'] [NUA; Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**740** Hebrew še'aa 'dung, excrement':

**UACV-645 \*ša'a** 'defecate, v'; **\*ša'i** 'intestines': M88-sa12; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup \*ša'a-i-š 'guts': Tb ša'; Sr šaa' 'defecate, v.i.'; Sr šaii'č 'what has been defecated, feces'; Cp šá'i 'guts'; Ca sá'ily, poss'd: -sá'i 'guts'; Ls šá'a; Ls šaa'; Ls sáa'iš. Miller (M88-si7) includes these with \*si below. [NUA: Tak]

**UACV-646 \*si** 'intestines': VVH66 \*si 'guts, entrails'; B.Tep61a \*hihi 'intestines'; B.Tep61b hihidi 'his intestines'; M67-476 \*si/\*ci 'yellow (guts, gall)'; L.Son246 \*siwa 'tripa'; M88-si7; KH.NUA; KH/M06-si7: Mn sihi 'entrails'; NP si 'guts'; Kw šii/sii-vi 'guts'; Cp šá'i 'guts, belly'; Ls šíi 'intestines, guts'; Gb -sín 'tripa (poss'd)'; Sr ši/šii 'intestines'; Hp siihī; TO hihij; Wr siwá; Tr siwá; My síiwa. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

Remember in Sem-kw, Semitic š > c(ts), for which more examples follow:

**741** Hebrew **rwš** ‘run’:

UA **\*tuca** ‘run, hurry s.th. along, vt’: NT utuišai ‘run (the ball, as in the game), vt’; CN totooca ‘hurry s.o. along’. Other than NT acquiring a prefix, everything fits: NT does its usual anticipation of the palatal consonant by a slight palatalization of the vowel just before it (u > ui/\_š) and CN assimilated the \*u > o, lowering it in anticipation of the final low a; and NT š < PUA \*c and thus corresponds to CN c, as well. [kw1r,kw2w,kw3s4] [SUA: Tep, Azt]

**742** Hebrew **šmēr** ‘wool’:

UACV-1107a **\*comi** / **\*comya** ‘hair’: Sapir; VVH38 \*co(ni) ‘head hair’; M67-219a \*co ‘head’; I.Num256 \*coV head; L.Son40 \*coni ‘cabeza’; CL.Azt77 \*con ‘hair, head’; CL.Azt241 \*coni ‘hair, head’; M88-co6 ‘head, hair of the head’; KH/M06-co6: CN comi-tl ‘fleece, bristles, mane’; Hp sowi-cmi ‘facial hair’; Tb comoo-l ‘head hair’. Add Cm co’yaa ‘head of hair, hair’. CN con-tli ‘head of hair’ and the other \*co(ni) forms below also belong. CN comi-, Hp -cmi, and Tb comoo- suggest \*comi, with \*m or \*comi representing the original medial C. Cm co’yaa ‘hair’ further argues for \*con < \*comi / comya: \*co’ya is an expectable reduction from \*comya with loss of first C in a cluster, and if \*comi / \*comya, then a nasal-alveolar cluster (-my-) would nicely explain the cluster being reduced to an alveolar nasal (n). CN’s pair (CN con-tli and CN comi-tl) show alveolar n before an alveolar consonant and show m when followed by a vowel, which is consistent with a \*-my- cluster. UACV-1107b **\*coni** ‘head, hair’: My cóoni ‘cabello’; Gb cócon ‘face, eyes’ (vowel is unexpected, o < \*o usually only after \*k); Eu zonít; CN con-tli ‘head of hair’; Pl cun ‘point, head’; HN con-tli ‘head, roof’. Probably tied to these are Num forms (at ‘head’) with geminating effect in \*coC-, or an underlying consonant: Sh coC ‘with the head’; SP čoc- ‘head’. [Sem-kw, N > gemination; Gb/NUA n = SUA n] [kw1s4,2m,3r] [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp, Num; SUA: TrC, Azt]

Another cluster of -mr- as 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants follows:

**743** Hebrew taamaar ‘date palm tree’; Arabic tamr- ‘date(s); Aramaic(B) tuumar-taa ‘date palm-the’; Syriac / Aramaic(J) tamar ‘date-palm’; Aramaic(J) tamr-aa / **tuumr-aa** ‘palm-the, date-palm-the’:

UACV-1609 **\*tu’ya** ‘palm tree, sp’: Wr tu’ya ‘palmilla’; Tr fu’ya ‘kind of palm tree’. [p1t,p2m,p3r] [SUA: TrC]

As in 744 below, also within comparative UA linguistics itself, \*c vs. \*s ambiguities exist:

**744** Hebrew **šelaaf** / **šelaš** (constr) ‘rib,’ **šalš-** (construct/possessed with suffix pronoun),

pl: šelašoot / šelašim/ šalšoot-; Arabic **šilš** ‘incline/lean, be crooked, limp’;

Arabic **šilš-** / **šilaš-** ‘rib’; Aramaic(J) š<sup>a</sup>laš ‘side, rib’; šilš-aa ‘rib-the’:

UACV-1809a **\*cawa** ‘rib’: M67-345 \*ca ‘ribs’; M88-ca2 ‘ribs’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ca2: Ca čáwa-’al ‘rib’, pl čáwa-’am; Ca -cáw’a ‘rib (poss’ed); Ca čá’aw-ika ‘sideways, to the side’; Gb -čáx / čáš ‘back’; Sr -ča’ ‘ribs’ (poss’ed);

UACV-1809b **\*ca’aC**: Tb ca’apī-l; Tb(H) čaa’ppi-l ‘ribs’; Cr i-ca’apwa-ri ‘ribs’. (-lš- > ’ at 816 too)

UACV-1809c **\*caḡa** ‘side, limp’: Hp cīḡi ‘rib’; Ls čááḡax ‘this side’; Miller queries whether Ls čááḡax ‘this side’ is cognate. Good question, unless -ḡax is a Ls affix/morpheme. Add Ca čīḡay ‘limp, hop’ as a lopsided / one-sided gate is likely. In fact, Hebrew šlš ‘stumble, fall, limp, lame’ is a different root in Proto-Semitic and Arabic, but both merge to identical roots in Hebrew, so both Ca čīḡay ‘limp, hop’ and Hp cīḡi ‘rib’ < šVlš.

UACV-1809d **\*silaj** / **\*salḡa** ‘rib’: CN šillan-tli ‘side’; My sána’arim ‘costillas’; Yq sana’im ‘costilla’.

Perhaps Ls šowlaka-š ‘rib’. I agree with Miller and Hill, that these are probably all related, in spite of the difficulties. Cahitan \*sana’a may also tie in (Yq sana’i; My pl: sana’arim) since we see ḡ in NUA aligning with SUA n. The variety of 2<sup>nd</sup> consonants (w, n, l, ḡ, ḡw, ’) are beyond explanation for Uto-Aztecanists, but realizing some forms cluster -lš- and others separate -l- and -š- may help. Adjusted Ca morpheme breaks such as Ca čáwa’a-l ‘rib’, pl čáwa’a-m; Ca čá’aw-ika ‘sideways, to the side’ are contemplable, and CN šillan-tli ‘side’ has the Proto-Semitic and Arabic vowels **šilaš-**. [p1s4,2l,3’2] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb: SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**745** Hebrew(Klein) šhr ‘be bright, clear’; Aramaic(J) šhr ‘be bright, shining’; hiqtiil of MHebrew šhr ‘make shiny’; Arabic zhr ‘appear, become visible, arise’:

UACV-2235a **\*cihari** / **\*ci’rV** ‘sunrise, east, morning’: B.Tep197 \*si’ari ‘east’; L.Son34 \*cira ‘amanecer’; M88-ci18;

M88-ci1; KH/M06-ci18; KH/M06-ci1: TO si’al ‘morning, east’; NT šiáli; ST sia’ly; Wr ce’la-ni/ce’ri-ma

‘amanecer, despertar’; Tr če’rá / čič’rí ‘amanecer’. In Tepiman, \*h > ’ is common, and in TrC it is common in

clusters. Combine M88-cī1 and M88-ci18 'east' since the change in vowels \*i-a > i-a is common, and the consonants and meanings are all quite identical. [i-a > e-a]

UACV-2235b \***ta-sī'aN** / \***ta-siCaC** 'dawn': initial ta- 'sun?'; then -sī'aN < šhr: Ch(L) ta-sīa 'dawn, v'; Ch(L) ta-sīapī / ta-sīantī 'dawn, n'; Ch(L) ta-sīaŋu 'it became morning, day broke'; Kw tasī'i-zi 'dawn, n'; SP taššīaN 'dawn, v' (Sapir says likely contains ta- 'sun?'); WMU *tahsú(ŋ)a-y* 'be early dawn before sun comes up'. SP šīa-ppī 'after sunset'. Hopi se'el / se'ele 'earlier this morning'. [p1s4,2h,3r]  
[SUA: Tep, TrC; NUA: Num; Hopi]

**746** Hebrew 'šbaš 'finger, toe'; pl: 'šbaaš-oot, plural construct 'šbāš-oot 'fingers (of)';

Arabic šbš 'point with the finger, v'; Arabic 'ušbaš 'finger'; Syriac šibš-taa 'finger':

UACV-2629 \***cipo** 'five': Hp civot 'five' and the \*-s(i)po in TO hitaspo 'five' and -spo in Nv utaspo 'cinco' point to \*cipo / \*cipu. NT ma-sááviga 'finger' (NT s < UA \*c; NT v < UA \*p; NT g < UA \*w). [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

UACV-2633 \***cikwa-sī'im** 'six (lit: 5 + 1)': CL.Azt148 \*čikwaseem 'six'; M88-cī10; KH/M03cī10: Po čukose; CN čikwasee, čikwasem- in compounds before a V; Pl čikwasin; T čikwasie; Z čikwaseen. For CN ciko/cikwa 'five, one-half' to mean both five and one-half in the same morpheme can only refer to the ten fingers, each hand having five, one-half the total, and we expect a Sem-kw cluster -bš- > \*kw (as in Syriac šibš-taa). [kw1s4,2b,3'2] [SUA: Azt]

**747** Hebrew 'šbaš 'finger, toe'; pl: 'šbaaš-oot, plural construct 'šbāš-oot 'fingers (of)';

Arabic šbš 'point with the finger, v'; Arabic 'ušbaš 'finger'; Syriac šibš-taa 'finger': various vowelings

UACV-1122 \***sipwa** / \***cap(i)wa** 'finger': Cr ansibi 'five'; WMU ta-sivwə-n 'my toe(s)' (ta- 'foot'; -n 'my'; thus, -sivwə- 'finger'); SP sīu 'finger, toe'; Mn masīwaki-na 'have fingers'; Cm masīwīhki'; Ch ma-sīi; CU ma-sīi-vī; (perhaps TSh masikīn / masikun; Sh masīki 'hand-leaf'); NT masááviga / masáágiga 'finger'.

Note that Syriac šibš- aligns perfectly with WMU sivwə 'finger' and with the UA initial syllable of šī rather than 'Vš of Hebrew and Arabic, since UA shows no sign of the prosthetic aleph, but does show all 3 root consonants as expected in WMU, NT, and Hp. [C harmony in NT; reduction -vw- > v or w in Num] [p1s4,p2b,p3'2] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

More sets of simpler t, m, s, etcetera:

**748** Hebrew šibbeš, šibbaš- 'to weave patterns':

SP sikwa'a 'to braid'. Another example of the emphatic or pharyngealized š > ' in Numic again. [1s1,2b,3s4]

**749** Hebrew tmh, impfv: -tmah 'be astounded, amazed, freeze with fear, become speechless in the face of terror, v' (a dageshed/real h); Syriac tmh / tōmah 'be numb, rigid, speechless, amazed, struck dumb, regard with awe, reverence'; this UA set reflects the impfv stem -tmah:

UACV-855 \***maha(-ri)wa** 'fear': Wr maha- 'be afraid'; Wr mahariwae 'fear, vi; Wr mahaté 'frighten, vt'; My maihwa 'hay miedo'; My mahwe 'tiene miedo'; Yq máhhae; AYq mahai 'scared, adj'; AYq mahiwa / mahe 'be scared, vi'; AYq mamaiwači 'scary'; Tr mahá; CN mawi 'be frightened'; CN ma'mau'-tiaa 'frighten, get frightened'. The last two CN forms vs. CN iimakasi show distinctive sets. Perhaps Ch(L) mahai-/ mai- 'with intent to harm'. For the pfv of same verb, see below. [p1t,2m,3h] [SUA: TrC, Azt; NUA: Num]

**750** Hebrew tmh / taamah, impfv: -tmahV (impfv) 'be astounded, amazed, freeze with fear, become speechless in the face of terror, v' (a dageshed/real h); Syriac tmh / tōmah 'be numb, rigid, speechless, amazed, struck dumb, regard with awe, reverence'; the first two UA forms could be a quṭṭal or huṭṭal (tutmah) or the basic form with very short first vowel, as in Aramaic, that assimilated to u before bilabial m in Sr and Ktn, and the last two (Tb and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ktn form) reflect both Aramaic vowels (tōmah) very well: Sr tuma'-q 'be/keep quiet, shut up'; Ktn tu'mi-k 'be quiet'; Tb **tehmat** 'be silent'; Ktn **tihmi**-k 'be afraid, be constipated'. Anticipation of 3<sup>rd</sup> C h in most forms suggests Semitic tmh, and Ktn 'afraid' leans toward tmh too. [p1t,2m,3h]

**751** Hebrew dmy / damaa 'to be like, resemble':

TO -dma 'to be like or look like'; examples:

TO kaij 'to speak in a certain way'; TO kaiji-dma 'to appear to be speaking in a certain way';

TO mumku 'to be sick'; TO mumku-dma 'to appear to be sick';

TO haivangakam 'one having a lot of cattle'; TO haivangaka-dma 'one appearing to have a lot of cattle';

Tr tami /timi 'a modo de, medio, parecido a [appearing like]'

Ktn tim / tihmea 'same as, similar to' [p1d,p2m,p3i]

**752** Arabic **sahm-** ‘arrow, dart’; pl **suhum:**

UACV-64 **\*suhuma** ‘arrow’: Sr šumaant ‘bow, arrow’; Ktn šumana-t ‘arrow’; TO ho’oma-čuđ ‘make a charm, lucky arrow, etc, for’ (TO h < \*s, and TO ’ < \*h, so TO ho’oma < UA \*sohoma / \*suhuma); TO ho’oma ‘a charm, s.th. that brings good luck’. \*h > ’ in Tep, so a medial h is reconstructed yet easily lost diachronically; Eu zamát ‘arrow’ (1<sup>st</sup> vowel assimilated to 2<sup>nd</sup>). Notice that Eu has the vowelizing of the sg while Sr and TO align with the vowelizing of the pl, which is better reconstructed as suhuma than sohoma, for two reasons: one, both Ktn and Sr have u; and two, we see the lowering of u > o before a (i.e., uCa > oCa) real often in UA. At 711 is another broken pl. [\*o vs. Cah a; s vs. c] [p1s,p2h,p3m] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**753** Syriac kətif < \*katip ‘shoulder’; Hebrew kaatēp ‘shoulder’; Arabic katif < \*katip ‘shoulder’;

Aramaic(S) **ktp** ‘carry on the shoulders’; Aramaic(J) kattep ‘carry on the shoulders’; Aramaic(J) kattaap-aa ‘porter, carrier-the’:

UACV-407 **\*kucupu** ‘carry on the back/neck’: B.Tep124 \*kusuvui ‘carry (on the back)’; M88-ku27; KH/M06-ku27: Nv kusubio ‘cargar en las espaldas’; UP kušiwī; LP(B) kušu; NT kušivu / kusúvui; ST kusvi. Add also PYp kusvim ‘carry on the back’ (PYp kusiv / kusubar ‘neck’) and TO kušwi’ot ‘shoulder a load, vt’ (TO kušo ‘back of the neck’). Cf. \*kucipu ‘neck’. [SUA: Tep]

UACV-1502 **\*kutipu** > **\*kucipu** > **Tep \*kusivu** ‘neck’: TO kus(i)wo; LP kúšiv; PYp kusiv; NT kušivu; ST kúšvu. The Tep forms collectively point to PUA \*kucipo / kucipu. While TO kus-ta ‘tendon in the neck’ has another morpheme, TO kuswo ‘neck’ and TO kušo ‘back of the neck’ are similar, yet different. Cf. \*kucupu ‘carry on back’. [1k,2t,3p] [SUA: Tep]

**754** Hebrew(BDB) pny / panaa<sup>y</sup> ‘turn, turn and look, look’; Hebrew(KB) pny ‘turn attention to, to care about’; participle **poone:**

UACV-449a **\*puni** ‘turn (around)’: KH.NUA: Ca puni ‘to whirl, spin’; Ls puna/i ‘to be round, form a circle, watch over’; Ls puni-va ‘to whirl’; Hp poni(k-) ‘coil up, vi’; Hp ponil-ti ‘turn, vi’; Hp ponila ‘turn, vt’; Hp poniw-ta ‘have a bend, curve or turn (as a road)’. Add Ktn punink / punihnik ‘coil (as rope), go around’.

UACV-449b **\*puni** ‘turn, look, see’: I.Num159 \*puni/\*puh- ‘see’; M88-pu6 ‘see’; KH/M06-pu6: Mn puni/poni; NP puni; TSh puniC ‘see, look at, study’; Sh puniC/puiC ‘see’; Cm puni-tī; Ch puunii ‘see, look’; SP pīni ‘see’; CU pīni-kya ‘see, vt’; CU pīni-‘ni ‘look at’; Hp poniniyki ‘start moving, wake up’ (cognate? Miller queries); I say yes as ‘turning’ and ‘seeing’ are waking up. Note the segmental similarity of Ktn punink / punihnik ‘coil (as a rope), go around’ to the Hp term. Ktn and Hp poni-ni-yki are likely cognate with Num \*puni ‘see/look’ as also the more basic stem Hp poni- ‘turn, bend’, as in Hp poni-l-a ‘turn, make turn, steer’ since ‘he turned to look’ and ‘he turned’ and ‘he looked’ can all apply to the same event/context. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes also Sh puinu ‘round, circular (spherical)’; Sh puinuinuh ‘spin’; Sh(C) puinuah / puinuiC / puinukkaC ‘turn, spin’. They have other morpheme(s). [\*u > ī in SP and CU, i.e., eastern SNum] [1p,2n,3y] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]

**755** Hebrew **kutónet** ‘shirt-like tunic’:

UACV-488 **\*kutuni** ‘shirt’: ST kutun ‘traditional tunic’; TO kotoni ‘shirt’; NP pina-kkīti ‘shirrtail’ < (back-shirt; ī < \*u). Saxton suggests TO kotoni ‘shirt’ from Spanish cotorina ‘jacket’; but unless they were all borrowed from Spanish and all left out the -ri- syllable, similar terms in NP and ST and TO suggest a PUA term. [1k,2t,3n] [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

**756** Hebrew śn ‘to hate’; Hebrew šoone’ and SamP šanna = Hebrew **\*šanna** ‘enemy, one who hates’: Eu zináva ‘enojarse [get angry]’; UA \*w often > Eu v (\*woko > Eu vokót ‘pine’, \*tawa > Eu tava ‘sun’), so Eu zináva and Numic śnáwa-vi ‘coyote’ as the trickster often representing the cosmic ‘hater’ or ‘enemy’ of mankind; note Ch(L) šinawavi ‘Mythic Coyote, the pre-human, immortal personage’:

UACV-569 **\*sina’a-** / **\*sinawa** ‘coyote’: Dakin2004b: Kw śina’a-vi; Ch śiná’avi; Ch(L) šina’avi ‘coyote’;

Ch(L) šinawavi ‘Mythic Coyote, the pre-human, immortal personage’; SP šinna-’avi ‘wolf, dog’;

SP šinna-ŋwa-viN ‘coyote’; WMU śináwa-vi / śiná’a-vi / saná’a-vi ‘wolf’; CU sináæ-vi ‘wolf’;

Cm ceena ‘gray fox, coyote’. Jane Hill astutely notes that Cm may be a loan from SNum in light of its lack in other CNum languages. Karen Dakin (2004b) makes a case for a tie between this set and CN šooloo-tl ‘page, male servant’ (Kartunnen); hermano gemelo de Quetzalcoatl [twin brother of Quetzalcoatl], siervo de su gemelo [servant of his twin], se representa como perro [is represented as a dog] (Dakin 2004b, 194) (keep in mind \*n > SUA l) and CN aa-šooloo-tl ‘edible salamander (water-?)’; CN šolopi-ti ‘be foolish, joke, lie like a fool’; CN šooloopi’yoo-tl ‘foolery, deceit’; CN šolopi-tli ‘idiot, fool, dolt’. Might these relate to \*sina ‘shout’ (Wr śiná ‘shout’; Tr śiná ‘shout’; and Tep), when considering the identity of the first four segments and the frequency of ‘cry, call’ associations with coyote and wolf words? [w and glottal stop] [p1s2,p2n,p3’] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

**757** Hebrew **šiphāa** ‘maid, maid-servant’ possibly originally ‘concubine’ in light of Arabic *sfh* III ‘have intercourse with’; also of the same root is Hebrew **mišpaahāa** ‘clan, family connection’; so Hebrew **šiphāa** coming to mean any ‘female of the family’ is compatible. Keep in mind that bilabials as first consonant of a cluster typically disappear in UA (see 4.3), as here also; the pharyngeal does its usual *w*, but also *ŋ* as we sometimes see in UA, and which we might expect to be more likely when part of a consonant cluster. The vowels are identical to Hebrew in the first set (both are -i-a), but have assimilated in others:

**UACV-2575a** \***siwa** < \***si(ŋ)wa** / \***siwNa** ‘female, sister, daughter’: Sapir; M67-470; Munro 1973: Hp *siwa* ‘sister of a man’; CN *siwaa-tl* / *sowa-tl* ‘woman, wife’; Pl *siwaa-t* ‘woman, wife’; Ls *šawáa-may* ‘daughter’. Miller and Bright’s observation that Ls *šawáa-may* ‘daughter’ is the diminutive of Ls *šunjáa-l* ‘woman’ is very relevant to the nasal clustered with -w-. CN may show a vowel assimilation to *w* (\**siwa* > \**sowa*) that occurred in other languages also, probably in Tak \**suŋa*, TrC \**sona* ‘wife’ and Tep \**hooniga* ‘wife’.

**UACV-2575b** \***si’a** ‘girl’: I.Num195 \**si’a* (young) girl; M88-*si11* ‘young girl’; KH/M03-*si11*: Mn *si’a*; NP *si’a* / *ci’a*. Miller includes some \**siwa* forms, such as CN *siwaapil-li* ‘lady’; Pl *siwaapil* ‘girl (teenage)’. The WNum forms likely tie to \**siwa/siwŋwa*, but until an explanation emerges, a separate letter is good. [*w*’ *w* vs. glottal, *n/ŋ/w*; NUA *u* and SUA *o*]

**UACV-2575c** \***suŋa** ‘man’s daughter, wife’: M88-*su21*; KH.NUA; KH/M03-*su21*: Cp *šunjáma* ‘man’s daughter’; Ca *súnama* ‘man’s dau’; Ls *šunjáa-l* ‘woman, wife’; Gb *ásoŋ* ‘wife’; Sr *šunŋ* ‘man’s dau’. Add Ktn *huŋ* ‘descendant’ and Ktn *nimihuŋ* ‘wife’, pl: *nimihuŋam* (< \**nimi-suŋa* ‘man’s-girl/woman’).

**UACV-2575d** \***sona** < \***suŋa** < \***si(ŋ)wa** ‘woman, wife’: B.Tep73 \**hooniga* ‘wife’; B.Tep72 \**hoonita/hoonata* ‘to take a wife’; L.Son256 \**sona* ‘esposa’; BH.Cup *šunjáma* ‘daughter of man (diminutive of woman)’; M88-*so8*; KH/M03-*so8*: TO *hooniga*; NT *ooniga*; ST *hooni*’; Tbr *soná-r* ‘esposa’. [iddddua] [p1s1,p2p,p3h2] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**758** Hebrew **š’l** ‘ask’:

**UACV-74** \***si’wi** ‘ask for’: Ca *sé’we* ‘beg, ask for’ and Ls *šóovini* ‘ask for’ agree with initial \**si* and a glottal stop + *w* > *p* / *v* happens in UA. [p1s1,p2’,p3l] [Tak]

**759** Hebrew **špl** ‘be low, fall’; Arabic *safala* / *safila* ‘be low, be below s.th., lie underneath, turn downward’: TO *šopol* ‘short’; TO *šopol-ka* ‘be short’; SP *taššippaN-* ‘be early evening’. Sapir suggests SP *ta-* ‘sun’ is compounded, which remaining portion -*ššippaN* would yield ‘sun-is low’ or ‘sun-turned downward’ and the final nasal (N) corresponds to Semitic l. So all corresponds as expected, except TO *š* puzzles. [1s1,2p,3l]

**760** Hebrew **šleg** ‘snow’; Arabic *θalg-* (< \**θalg*) ‘snow’; Hebrew *tašleg* ‘to snow, v’:

**UACV-2078** \***šik** ‘snow’: CN *sek-tli*, *se-tl* ‘snow, ice’; the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants are clustered in Arabic, originally in Hebrew, and in UA; loss of -l- in a cluster is expected: -lk- > k. Cora *seeri* ‘nieve [snow]’?

**UACV-1550** \***šik-powa** ‘numb’: CN *sepoowa* ‘be numb (of body part, from cold or lack of circulation)’; CN *sesepoka* ‘get numb, have goose bumps’; the 1<sup>st</sup> element of the CN terms is suggested to be CN *sek-tli* ‘snow, ice’. CN -p- (and not *ø*) suggests a cluster. Might Yq *si’ibwia* ‘entumida/o [numb]’; AYq *si’ibwia* ‘numb’ be reduced loans from Azt? And what of Nv *sivapagi* ‘entumirse’? [-kp- cluster] [1s1,2l,3g] [SUA: Azt, TrC]

**761** Hebrew **šlh** / **šaalah** ‘stretch out, send, despatch’; Hebrew<sub>(qittel)</sub> **šille<sup>a</sup>h** ‘let go, dismiss, send away, make water flow’; Hebrew **šélah** ‘offshoot, shoot, small shoot’ (BK) ‘missile, weapon, sprout, offshoot’ (BDB);

**UACV-539** \***silu/soli** ‘ear of corn’: M88-*si14*; KH/M06-*si14*: CN *šiiloo-tl* ‘tender ear of green corn’ and Tbr *solí-t* ‘ear of corn’ are identical except for a vowel metathesis in one or the other; Pl *šiilu-t* ‘small green ear of corn’. [p1s1,p2l,p3h2] [NUA: Hp; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**762** Hebrew **šlh** ‘stretch out, send, despatch’; Hebrew *qittel*: **šille<sup>a</sup>h** ‘let go, dismiss, send away, make flow’: Hopi *silaw* ‘absent, missing, none there’; Hopi *silaw-ti* ‘be gone, vanished, depleted, used up’. Perhaps CN *šooloo-tl* ‘page, male servant’ (Kartunnen) i.e., one sent’. [iddddua]

**763** Hebrew **šille<sup>a</sup>h** ‘let go, dismiss, send away, **make water flow**’ (*qittel*):

**UACV-2315** \***sila/i** ‘spill’: Ls *šila/i* ‘spill, pour out’; Ca *silye-če* ‘spill, drip (of liquid)’. [p1s1,p2l,p3h2] [NUA: Tak]

**764** Hebrew **šimlaa** / **šimla-t** ‘wrapper, mantle’ [s.th. wrapped around]; Hebrew *salma-t* ‘garment’ metathesis of Hebrew *simla-t*; Arabic *šamlat* ‘cloak’; Arabic *šamila* / *šamala* ‘contain, include, enclose, envelope’: **UACV-2211** \***sam’aC** ‘spread, v’: Stubbs2003-22: Kw *sa’ma* ‘spread out (e.g., a blanket)’; Kw *sa’ma-pī* ‘blanket, mat’; SP *sa’ma* / *sam’a* ‘spread out (a blanket)’; SP *sa’mappī* ‘spread out, ptc, cover on which s.th. is laid’; Ch *som’á* ‘spread a blanket’; Ch *samápü* ‘pallet, rug’; WMU *sa’má-ppü* ‘rug, skin, thick blanket, saddle blanket, n’; CU *sa’má-pü* ‘cover, rug, carpet, pad, pellet, floor’. Given the tendency of glottal stop

anticipation and having two forms with the glottal stop after -m- (-m'-), probably the cluster \*-m'- > -'m- in the other forms. All Numic languages with a noun suffix (Kw and SP) suggest a final -C. Hebrew ha-ssimlaa > Hp isimni 'a wrap for the body, blanket, shawl, robe, cape'; Hp isiman-ta 'make a wrap' (\*l > n in cluster or usually in NUA, but in Hp?); Tb 'iši-t 'blanket'. Note l > ' in a cluster with N at sml, gml, dll. My mistake in Tb at both UACV-2211 and UACV-248, now combined here; unstressed V changed. [p1s2,p2m,p3l] [NUA: SNum, Hopi, Tb] UACV-248 \*'iši(C)- 'blanket': NP izigwi 'blanket'; Tb(M) 'iši-t 'blanket'; Tb 'iši'dit 'wear or wrap oneself in a blanket'; Tb 'iši'danat 'to put a blanket around s.o.'; the final -t (instead of -l) of Tb 'iši-t and the glottal stop in Tb 'iši'danat both suggest a final consonant no longer obvious; furthermore, the gemination in NP izigwi suggests C cluster. [1s2,2m,3l] [NUA: Tb, WNum]

The next two items add two more examples of Proto-Semitic \*x > k/x, in contrast to Sem-kw \*x > ḥ

**765** Hebrew ḥlq 'be smooth, slippery'; Arabic **xaluqa** 'be smooth'; Arabic xalaṣa, -xlaṣu 'take off, put off, slip off, to pull away'; less likely Hebrew ḥlš 'take off, bare'; Hebrew(BDB) ḥlš 'draw off or out'; Arabic xlš 'be freed'; Aramaic(S) ḥlš 'to bare (shoulder), remove'; Aramaic (J) ḥlš 'take off, undress':

UACV-2039 \***kalu** 'slide': Eu karú-da'a 'resbalar [slip, slide]'; Wc harúanari 'liso [smooth]'; Ca xáyuš / xáyuqi 'slide down, v'. [r > y; k > h?] [p1x,p2l,p3'2] [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC]

**766** Semitic **rxđ** 'wash' (though Egyptian **rx̄t** 'wash' would match as well):

UACV-2491 \***pa-tiki** 'wash': SP parīgi 'wash'; WMU pa-rügi 'wash (s.th. solid, like dishes, baby), vt'; CU na-vá-rīgi 'wash oneself'. [p1r,p2x,p3s4] [NUA: SNum]

**767** Hebrew **ma** 'what? interrogative pronoun, also used as a relative pronoun' (Jeremiah 7:17 and 33:24; Micah 6:5, 8; Job 10:2 and 34:33; I Chronicles 15:13):

UA \***ma** 'subordinating conjunction, relative pronoun': (see Langacker 1977, 176-85) m- of TO m-a / m-o 'subordinator'; Wc m 'subordinator'; Tr ma- 'subordinator with affix': Tr ma-ne 'which-I'; Tr ma-pu 'which he/they.'; and My -me 'he who/which, those who/which'; Ca mi' 'interrogative pronoun'; Ca mi'vi 'which.'

UACV-2527 \***ma** 'what, which': Sapir: Tb(V) maal 'which one?'; Tb(M) maa'al 'which one?'; Tb(V) matwan 'what kind?'; Tb(M) ma'/mah 'where?'; Tb(H) ima 'while, same subject subordinator'; Tr ma 'rel pron'; Tr mapu 'what, rel pron'; NT maá 'how? in what way?'; NT maákiri 'el que (rel pron)'; Hp himi 'what'; Mn himáa 'what'; SP ma-/maa- 'thing, clothing, brush, plant'.

UACV-2670a \***ma** 'that': Sapir: Cora ma / man 'hier, dort'; SP ma- 'that (visible)'. To Sapir, add Sr ama' (acc. amai; pl. a:m) 'that one, he, she, it' (Sr a- 'third person sg. pronominal prefix') and Ktn 'ama' 'that (distal)'.

UACV-2670b \***mi** 'that, this': KH/M06-dm5: Hp mi' (acc. mit; pl. mima, acc. mimiy) 'that (far from speaker and hearer)'; Gb menè 'this'; pl. memo 'these'; Tr(H) mi 'aque, aquella'; miká 'lejos' (Ht); Cr miimi 'ese'. [p1m] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**768** Syriac makyaan / **mekaa** 'hurting, injuring' or Hebrew \*makke 'smite' (active hiqtıl partcpl):

UA \***mika** / \***mi'a** 'kill': VVH85 \*mi'a 'to kill': all forms mean 'kill (sg obj) and/or beat/injure': Tb mi'gat; Cp meqe; Ca mékan/méqa; Gb moká; Ls móknu / mókna (Ls o < \*i/e); TO mi'a/mi'i/mi'a'i; Eu méa; Wr me'á; Tr me'á; My mé'a; CN miktia; Cr -me'e-.

UACV-619 \***mak** / \***ma'k** 'chop': Tbr mak 'hachar [chop]' and Tbr isá-/ih- 'cortar [cut]' combine to yield Tbr mak-isa-mwa-y 'corta'; Yq má'ako 'chop'; My má'ako 'cut with an axe'; Tr me'té 'chop'; Wr me'te- 'cut with an axe or machete'. Tr and Wr may be compounds from \*mak-tik.

UACV-1262 \***miCka** / \***mikka** (> \***mi'a**) 'kill': VVH85 \*mi'a 'to kill'; L.Son144 \*mi'a; BH.Cup \*maq 'kill'; B.Tep153 \*mua 'he killed'; CL.Azt94 \*miktia; M88-mi3; AMR 1993c \*mikka'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-mi3: Tb mi'gat; Cp meqe; Ca mékan/méqa; Gb moká; Ls móknu / mókna / móqna; Ktn mik 'kill, hit'; TO mi'a/mi'i/mi'a'i 'kill'; Eu méa 'matar a uno'; Wr me'á 'matar sg. obj.'; Tr me'á 'matar a uno'; My mé'a 'matar'; CN miktia 'kill or injure s.o., commit suicide, mistreat self, vt, v.refl'; Cr ra-me'e-nyí 'he's going to kill him with a knife' Miller includes Sr mimi'kin 'hurt sg. obj.' (the causative of Sr mimi'k 'die, be sick'), but Ken Hill's (KH/M03) association of Sr mykaan 'kill, hurt, sg.obj.' with the above forms fits better (y = pharyngealized, somewhat retroflex barred i). This stem seems to have derived into two forms: \*mi'a and \*mikka. B.Tep153 \*mua 'he killed' (UP mua; LP mua; NT múa; ST mua) belongs, though TO me'a / mu'a / mea / mua 'kill' shows variation. Note Tb -'g- < \*-kk-, as also at \*pakka 'hit' and almost at \*pikka 'knife'. [\*-kk- > -' - SUA] [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

UACV-1097 \***maki** 'grind': M67-233; M88-ma18; Munro.Cup1 \*mááxi-š 'acorn flour'; KH/M06-ma18 'hit/golpear':

Ls mááxi 'grind acorns on a metate'; Ls maxi-š 'acorn flour'; Cp máxi-š 'acorn flour'. Similarly ground, add Tr ma'ki 'membrillo Cimarron, su hoja, muy fina, la muelen seca y hacen pinole'. [p1m,p2n,p3kk] [SUA: TrC; NUA: Tak]

**769** Hebrew **ṭp** ‘to overpower, v’; Aramaic(J) **təqef** ‘be strong’; the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel of Aramaic means it is from Proto-Semitic \***taqipa** (sg), \***taqipu** (pl), exactly as the UA forms:

UA \***takipa** / \***takipu** ‘push’: KH/M06-ta9: Wr **tahkipúna** ‘empujar muchas veces [push many times]’; Tr **raki-** ‘empujar’ (L) / **rakibú** ‘empujar [push]’ (Ht); My **táktia** ‘tocar [touch], picar [prick, pierce]’; SP **tijwipa** ‘push in with the hand’. [kw1t,2q,3p] [SUA: TrC]

## 5.12 Semitic Emphatic or Pharyngealized ṭ

Hebrew **emphatic ṭ** > UA \***c** usually, like the other emphatic consonants: namely, Hebrew **ṣ** and its three proto-Semitic sources, which remained separate in Arabic **ṣ**, **ḍ**, and **z**, but all merged in Sem-kw to UA \***c**, especially before high vowels (i, u, ī). or even s, as c/s issues plague UA too. However, **ṭ** often remains t-like, especially in consonant clusters. The next 24 items (770-793) exemplify **ṭ**.

**770** Arabic **ṭwy** / **ṭawaa** ‘spin (thread)’; Hebrew **ṭwy** / **ṭawaa** ‘to spin’; Hebrew **maṭwe** ‘yarn, s.th. spun’: CN **cawa** ‘to spin’. [kw1t2,kw2w,kw3i]

**771** Hebrew **ṭsm** ‘taste, eat’; plural participle **ṭoṣmiim**; UA \***cu**’mi aligns with the pl participle:

UACV-2222a \***cu**’mi > \***cuṅV** ‘suck, sip, kiss’: M67-420 \***cun** ‘suck’; CL.Azt10 \***cinaakan** ‘bat’; M88-cu7; KH.NUA; KH/M06-cu7: Kw **čohmi** ‘suck, v’; Hp **čoocoona** ‘kiss, suck, suck on pipe’; Hp(S) **cohcona** ‘suck’; Cp **čúṅe** ‘kiss, vt’; Cp **čúme** ‘suck’; Ca **čúṅ** ‘suck’; Ca **čúṅ-in** ‘cause to suck’; Ls **čúṅi** ‘suck (breast)’; Ls **čúṅi** ‘kiss’; Sr **čuṅ** ‘suck, vt’; Ktn **cuṅ** ‘suck’; Eu **čúca**; Wr **cu**’mi ‘suck, sip, slurp food’; Tr **cu**’mi ‘suck, kiss, sip, eat soft things’; Tr **ču**’mi ‘lip, mouth’; My **čuune**; AYq **čuune**; CN (paal)**čičiina** ‘soak up, suck in, smoke, vt’; CN **ilčiina** ‘suck up, consume’ and HN **čičiina/čičiini** ‘suck’. Ken Hill adds Ktn **cuṅ**. Also add -**suma** of Nv **tup**’**suma** ‘suck, v’; NT **višúsumai** ‘suck’. The NT form fits well a compound of \***pici-cu**’**ma** ‘breast-suck’ since Tep/NT **s** < \***c**. The Tep forms suggest \***čuma** or \***ču**’**ma**, like Tr, Wr, and Cp. Wc **céena** ‘lick’ looks like the Azt forms. Add the -**čomi-** of Ch(L) **ko**’**ma-čomi-gyah** ‘tobacco-chewing-is’. Worth listing, but having variant correspondences are CU **sōḍ**’**mi** ‘suck, sip, vt’; Ls **šóomi** ‘swallow whole’; the -**coma** of CN **ke**’**coma** ‘bite’. In the below and some of the above, the cluster -**ṣm-** > -**ṅ-** and then > -**n-** in SUA.

UACV-2222b \***cuṅuC** ‘tobacco pipe’: M67-321 \***cunu** ‘pipe’; M88-cu8 ‘pipe’; KH/M06-cu8 ‘tobacco pipe’: SP **čuṅuC**; CU **cuu-ci** ‘pipe, sucker (the fish)’; Hp **cooṅo** ‘tobacco pipe’; Hp **coocoṅa** ‘smoke (tobacco)’; WMU **čúúči** / **júúji** ‘pipe, smoking pipe, n’. Note WMU loses medial nasal, but keeps a nasal vowel **uu** here at ‘suck’, at ‘liver’, and at \***nimi** ‘go, person’. [NUA: Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azi]

UACV-2274 \***tīma** / \***tīCma** ‘taste’: Mn **tīma** ‘taste, v’; Sh **tīmai** ‘taste, v’; Kw **tīmaka**’a ‘taste, v’; Cr **ra-teémwa**’a ‘lo prueba, lo saborea’. What of Tr **fa**\***ma** ‘probar, gustar, tomar el sabor?’ [idddua] [kw1t2,kw2’2,kw3m] [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC, TrC]

**772** Hebrew **ṭame**’ (be) unclean’; Hebrew **ṭum**’**a(t)** ‘uncleanness, filthy mass’:

UACV-1474a \***co**’**ma** ‘mucus, have a cold’: M67-219b \***com** ‘snot’; M88-co4 ‘snot’; KH/M06-co4: Eu **zóma** ‘moco de narices [mucus]’; Wr **co**’**má** ‘moco [mucus]’; Tr **co**’**má** / -**cum** ‘moco’; My **cóomi-m**; Cr **cu**’**umé** ‘mucus’; PUA \***c** > Tep **s**: TO **šomaig** ‘catch a cold’; TO **šoša** ‘nasal discharge’. Add NT **sósoi** ‘catarro [cold], moco’; ST **somaigi** ‘have a cold’; Yq **čom watte** ‘to blow the nose’; Yq **čoomim** ‘mocos’; AYq **čoomim** ‘phlegm’. For the glottal stop to jump before the preceding consonant, compare star 154, steal 157, shirt 199, or Tep **g** < UA \***w** < Sem’ (glottal stop). Is TO **šoša** a reduplication of \***soma** in which the medial cluster reduced, losing the bilabial nasal: \***šošma** > **šoša**; likewise for NT **sósoi**. [cluster reduction] [SUA: TrC, Tep]

UACV-1474b \***co**’**m-pil** ‘have a cold (mucus appendage/falls)’: L.Son41 \***cop** ‘moco, catarro’: northern Eu **cóbá-t**; Wr **cohpe**; Tr **cohpe**. CN **compil-li** ‘a cold, n’ and CN **compiliwi** ‘have a cold, v’ are likely fuller forms of the reductions in TrC: Wr **copé** ‘cold (sickness)’; Tr **co**’**pe** ‘catarro’. The CN, Wr, and Tr terms, of course, seem related to \***co**’**ma** above, compounded with an extra morpheme -**pil**. [N > ø as 1<sup>st</sup> C in cluster] [kw1t2,kw2m,kw3’] [SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**773** Syriac **ṭḥn** ‘grind, pound’; Arabic **ṭḥn** ‘grind, mill, crush, destroy’; VI ‘quarrel, be in conflict’

Arabic **ṭaḥḥun** ‘mill, grinder’; Hebrew **ṭḥḥoon** ‘hand-mill’; both **ṭ** > **c** and **ṭ** > **t** at times:

UACV-621 \***to**’**na(C)** ‘hit, pierce, stab’: Mn **tona** ‘prick, stick (with a sharp object), nail, vt’; Mn **tonakī** ‘puncture, nail, vt’; Mn **to**’**noo** ‘hit by throwing, shooting’; NP **tona** ‘hit with fist, vt’; TSh **tonnaC** ‘poke, stab, stick, pierce’; Sh **tonaC/tonoC** ‘pierce, stick with sharp point’; Cm **tonarī** ‘stab, pierce, sting (of insect)’; Kw **tono** ‘hit, strike, pierce, puncture, stab’; Ch **toná** ‘hit, punch, stab’; SP **tonna** / **ton**’**na** ‘strike, hit, stab’; CU **tó**’**náy** ‘hit, strike, punch (only once)’; CU **tóná-pagá-y** ‘strike (of lightning)’. Wr(MM) **to**’**na** ‘estar tocandose, golpeandose [hitting self/each other]’. The **k** in Mn (vs. **g**), the **p** in CU (vs. **v**), and the gemination feature of the CNum forms all point to a final consonant. [NUA: WNum, CNum, SNum; SUA: TrC]



**UACV-1188 \*co'na / \*co'ni** ‘pound, hit’: M67-232 \*con ‘hit’; L.Son39 \*cona/\*con-i ‘abofetear’; M88-co1 ‘pound’; KH/M06-co1: TO šoni ‘action of the hand or of s.th. held’ (usually of striking, note: TO šoni-kon ‘strike, hit’; TO šoni-ak ‘chop down’; TO šoni-čk-wua ‘move s.th. by striking it’; TO šoni-hin ‘to hammer’; TO šoni-win ‘reduce to small bits by pounding’); Eu zóna/cóni ‘moquetear [punch], bofetear [hit, punch]’; Wr co’na-ní/co’ni-má ‘machacar’; Tr me’-čó-n-a ‘machacar [pound, mash], clavar [drive, stick, nail]’; My cónna ‘pegar con mano [hit with hand]’. Add CN cocona ‘strike s.o., beat s.th., play instrument’; and Tr co’ná / co’ni-mea ‘punch, hit with hand’; Yq čóčona ‘dar trancazos’; AYq čočona ‘hit one’. This ties to Num \*to’na ‘stab, hit’. A similar example is bhj > po’na ‘pull out’. [1t2,2h2,3n] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**774** Hebrew nṯṣ ‘to plant’, yi-ṯṯaṣ ‘he plants’:

**UACV-1635 \*’ica** ‘to plant’: VVH119 \*’i(ca) ‘to plant’; B.Tep339a \*’isai ‘he plants’; B.Tep339b \*’isi ‘to plant’; B.Tep339c \*’ii ‘he planted’; B. Tep 338; B. Tep 340; B. Tep 341; B. Tep 343; M88-ī1 ‘to plant’; M67-323 \*’e/’ei ‘plant, v’; L.Son10 \*’ica ‘sembrar’; AMR92-6 \*’ica ‘to plant’; KH/M06-ī1 \*’ica ‘plant, v’: TSh ĩa; Kw ’i’a; SP ĩa; CU ’iay ‘trap, plant, sow, cultivate, farm’; Hp ĩya; TO eš(a); PYP esa; NT isai; ST ’is; Eu ecá; Yq ’éeča; My eeča; Wr eca; Tr iči-mea, eča (pres.); Wc ’e-. Tbr sa ‘sembrar’ is possibly borrowed from Tep with loss of initial vowel. All the other TrC and Tep forms reflect \*’ica clearly. SUA \*’ica, Hp ĩya, and Num \*’i’a make this set a prime example of \*-c- > NUA -y- (Manaster-Ramer 1992), also suggesting cultivation among the Proto-Uto-Aztecs as Jane Hill (2007) suggests. Sem-kw with no rounding of pharyngeal. [kw1n,2t2,3’2] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**775** Hebrew nṯṣ ‘to plant’; Hebrew neṯaṣ / naṯaṣ ‘a growing plant, plantatino’:

Hp natwani ‘plants, harvest’ [kw1n,kw2t2,kw3’2]

**776** Hebrew nṯr ‘watch over, guard’, Aramaic by-form of nšr; Hebrew maṯṯaaraa ‘target, mark (as kept in the eye, watched)’; Arabic nṯr ‘to watch, guard’:

**UACV-2289 \*natya / \*natay** ‘plan’: Hopi tīnatya-w-ta ‘1 be careful, prudent, mindful 2 intend to, plan 4 watch over, pay attention to, care for’; Hopi tīnatya ‘plan, goal, n’; Tr natá ‘think, reflect’; TO ñenašad ‘to check s.th., stay awake’ (Mathiot); TO nenašan ‘look, investigate, become alert’ (Saxton 1983); TO nenašani ‘be alert, be early-waking’ (Saxton 1983). Hopi tīnatya- may have the indefinite object prefix tī- fossilized into the form, because -natya- reflects nṯr with the cluster -ṯr- > -ty- much like the cluster -ṯṣ- > -tw- in Hopi also. [idddua] [kw1n,kw2t2,kw3r] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**777** Hebrew ṯabbuur ‘navel’; MHebrew ṯibbuur ‘navel’; Aramaic(J) ṯiibbuur ‘navel’:

Mn	póji / pózi	Hp	sipna	Eu	sikát/siikát
NP	sibudu / cibudu	Tb	šiiduluš-t ‘umbilicus’	Tbr	sikú-r
TSh	siiku(cci)	Sr	šuur	Yq	síiku
Sh	siku	Ca	-’ul	My	siiku
Cm	siiku	Ls	tíidi	Wr	sikú
Kw	šigu-vī	Cp	mex	Tr	sikú-či; sikura
Ch	--	TO	hik	Cr	sipu
SP	siḡuN	Nv	’ikudi	Wc	šīi.temúuci;
WMU	siḡú-ppi / suḡú-ppi	PYP	hikor	Wc	cikíri ‘símbolo usado en la
CU	siḡú-pī	NT	--		fiesta del tambor’
		ST	--	CN	šīik-tli

**UACV-1495a \*sikuN / \*sik<sup>w</sup>ur** ‘navel’: VVH68 \*si<sub>5</sub>ku ‘navel’; M67-301 \*sik; I.Num191 \*siku(n); L.Son240 \*siku ‘ombligo’; CL.Azt113 \*šīik, 257 \*\*siku; M88-si2; KH/M06-si2: TSh, Sh, Cm, SP, CU, TO, PYP, Tbr, Yq, My, Tr, Wr, CN. Is Tb šiidulust cognate? Miller queries. \*si... ‘intestines’ compounded with else is a frequent suggestion—and possible. On the other hand, we may be dealing with \*sikwu or \*siku and \*sipu (cf. Labial Labyrinth, IJAL 61:394-420). Note bilabials in NP, Cr, Hp, and Tewa sipu. Note also Eu sibúra ‘belt’ and Eu b < \*kw. While CN šīik-tli ‘navel’ is cognate, CN sikwil-li (< \*sikwil) ‘waist’ may be also. Kw šigu-vī ‘navel’ and Kw šiku-pī ‘rib’ in light of CN omi-sikwil-li ‘rib (bone-waist)’ are noteworthy. A final consonant -r or similar appears in Tbr, PYP, and Nv, and most of Numic shows some kind of final consonant in the gemination of the absolutive suffixes. Medial kw suggest Sem-kw, with Hebrew emphatic ṯ > UA \*s. [kw1t2,2bb,3r] [NUA: Num; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt, Tep]

**778** Hebrew ṯabbuur ‘navel’; MHebrew ṯibbuur ‘navel’; Aramaic (J) ṯiibbuur ‘navel’:

Tb(H) šappušt ‘belly’; NP sibudu ‘navel’; Cr sipu; Hp sipna, combining form Hp sivon-, which vowel agrees with \*u. Note Tewa sipu ‘navel’. Semitic b > b/p is Sem-p; -r- > Tb -s- next to voiceless t. [NUA: Tb, Tak]

**779** Hebrew ṯwhj ‘to over-spread, coat, besmear, over-lay’:

Wr cuhca ‘1 to rub, 2 to hang up, put on clothes’. The cuh- portion fits perfectly, and the two Wr meanings ‘to rub’ and ‘to put clothes on’ are reconciled to make sense from ‘to coat, over-lay, besmear’. [kw1t2,2w,3h2]

**780** Hebrew *ʕn* ‘to load (as beasts of burden)’:

Wr *cuhe* ‘to place a load on a burro, horse, etc’ if -n- lost in cluster with other morpheme. [kw1t2,kw2w,kw3n]

**781** Hebrew *ʕl* ‘to cast, throw’ > UA \**culi*: TO *šulig* ‘to put, throw away, pl’. [kw1,kw2,kw3]

**782** Arabic *ʕjy / ʕajaa* ‘to hurl, shoot’ > Wr *cewa* ‘to throw or hit with a missile’. [kw or p?:1t2,2h2,3i]

**783** Hebrew *ʕpl* ‘to smear or plaster over, stick, glue’ (BDB), ‘smear, coat, cover’ (KB):

Hopi *cakwani* ‘plaster’; Hopi *cakwan-ta* ‘be plastering, smearing on’ if from an unattested -ʕappel, which doubles the middle consonant: \*-pp- > -kw-. [kw1t2,kw2p,kw3i]

**784** Hebrew *ʕʔallep* ‘bat’; Aramaic(J) *ʕʔallep-aa* ‘bat-the’:

UACV-126 \**ho’napi* ‘bat’: I.Num33 \**ho(’)*nopi ‘bat’; M88-ho4: Mn *ho’nóbi*; NP *pita-hana’a*; Sh *honopittsihi*.

TSh *honnopi-cci* ‘bat’ and the first part of Cm *hīnībi poka’a* ‘bat’. The Mn, TSh, and 2<sup>nd</sup> NP forms suggest a consonant cluster ’n/nn. NP is a compound, and the latter part (-hana’a) shows three consonants in common with \**ho’napi*. In regard to the Hebrew form and UA \**ho’na(pi)*, the initial h is definite article prefix hV- or a delay in voicing onset, the round vowel showing the pharyngeal; and \*l > n in Num is usual, especially a doubled -ll-. And loss of the second vowel would cluster -ʕl- > -’n-, which is natural. So it all actually fits well. Cm *ī* < u/o. Both the Mn and TSh forms suggest a consonant cluster ’n/nn. For another example of t > ø as first element in a cluster, note 749 Hebrew \*CV-tmahV > UA \**maha* ‘fear.’ [p?1’2,2t2,3i,4p] [NUA: WNum, CNum]

**785** Hebrew *ha-ʕʔob* ‘the good (thing/one), good (abstract)’:

UACV-522a \**ayu* ‘good’ (< \**acu*): Sapir; M67-201 \**ay* ‘good’; M88-a17 ‘good’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-a17: SP *’ayu/ayī* ‘be good’; Gb *’ayó* ‘in ‘much’, pl: *’ayó’im* ‘many’; Sr *’a’ai/’a’ayu* ‘good’. \*-ʕʔ- > UA \*-c- > NUA -y-. [1t2,2b]

**786** Hebrew *ʕob* ‘good’ < verb *ʕwb*, pfv: *taab* ‘be good’: These are not all a set, but each may fit a form:

UACV-522b UA \**topi* ‘good’: CN *copeek* ‘s.th. sweet’; CN *copeeliaa* ‘sweeten s.th., v.t.’; Ls *lóóvi* ‘be good’; Ls *pu-lóóv*, pl: *po-pliv* ‘good’; LP *sapua* ‘good, pretty’ (LP s < \*c); perhaps Tb *tiwī* ‘good, well, rightly’; Tb(H) *tiwwippil* ‘pretty’.

**787** Hebrew *qʕp* ‘break off, pluck’; Syriac *qʕʕap* ‘pick, gather, harvest’; Arabic *qʕʕafa* ‘pick, gather, glean, tear off’ (< \**qʕp*); less likely is Egyptian *qdf* ‘abplücken [pluck off], lesen [glean, gather]’:

UACV-1001 \**kitta* ‘harvest, v’: Mn *kita* ‘reap’; NP *kita* ‘harvest, v’. [p:1q,2t2,3p] [NUA: WNum]

**788** Hebrew *qʕp*, impfv: -*qʕop* ‘break off, pluck’; Arabic *qʕʕafa*, impfv: *ya-qʕifu* ‘pick, gather, glean, tear off’ (< \**qʕp*); Syriac *qʕʕap*, impfv: -*qʕup* ‘pick, gather, harvest’; loss of the first consonant (q) in a cluster is usual, so this UA set matches the vowel of the imperfect plural of both Hebrew and Syriac \*-*qʕupu*:

UACV-996 \**tupu* ‘pick, gather’: CU *tuvú-’na-y* ‘pull out, pluck out’; ST *tuvu’ya* ‘harvest, gather things in container’; AYq *tovokta* ‘pick up (sg obj) with hand, vt, harvest, n’. maybe Ktn *puk* ‘take off’.

[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**789** Hebrew *ʕhr / ʕaahar* ‘be clean (dietarily, of animals/food)’:

UACV-964 \**cahar* ‘fork(ed)’: TO *ša’aqk/ša’alk* ‘(be) forked, cleft, divided’; PYp *sa’ara* ‘crevice, partly open; PYp *sa’arek* ‘fork, branching’; NT *sáaraka* ‘be forked’; Cr *icari* ‘horcón [fork]’; perhaps -*šal-* morpheme borrowed from Tep in CN *mašal-li* ‘earwig, s.th. forked’; CN *mašal-tik* ‘s.th.divided like a road or crotch of a tree’. I reconstruct \*-h- as \*h > ’ in Tep. The Mosaic law’s dietarily clean animals were those of cleft or divided hoof—a semantic shift indeed, but plausible enough to include. [idddua] [\*h > ’ in Tep; > ø in Cr?; liq; c/s] [kw1t2,2h,3r] [SUA: Tep, CrC]

**790** Hebrew *mooʕ* ‘pole, carrying frame’; Hebrew *mooʕaa* ‘pole, bar of yoke’:

UACV-796 \**mu(C)ti* ‘point (of s.th.)’: M67-368 \**muk / \*muc* ‘sharp’; M88-mu15; KH/M06-mu15: Ls *múčvi* ‘point, tip, summit’; Hp *mooci* ‘awl, long pointed stick used in weaving’; TSh *muci* ‘point’; Sh *muci* ‘sharp’; Cm *mucipī* ‘sharp pointed’. Cm (< \*-pp-) shows potential for a final consonant. [idddua] [1m,2t2] [NUA: Hp, Tak, CNum]

**791** Hebrew *maʕʕe* ‘staff, rod, branch’

Hopi *komaci* ‘kindling, small sticks or chips of wood’ (if *ko-* ‘fire’ < UA \**kut* ‘fire’) [1m,2t2t2]

**792** Hebrew *ʕap* ‘little children’; Arabic *ʕifl-* < \**ʕipl-* ‘infant, child, baby, boy’:

UACV-1361 \**cupi* ‘small’: Eu *čupi* ‘chico’; Tr *čupu(ri)* ‘of small size’; the -*jubi-* of Tb(V) *ku’uujubil* ‘little’; Tb(M) *kuujubit* ‘little’; Tb(M) *kuujubil* ‘little,little bit’; Ktn *cipk* ‘a little’.[idddua][1t2,2p,3i] [SUA: TrC; NUA: Tb, Tak]

**793** Semitic *plʕ* ‘escape’; Hebrew *plʕ / paalaʕ* ‘to escape’, pl participle: *poolʕiim*:

UA \**puCti* ‘escape’: Ca *púti* ‘escape’; Ca -t- < \*-Ct-/\*-tt-. [1p,2l,3t2]

**794** MHebrew 'eber 'member, penis, part, arm'; Jewish Aramaic targumic tradition 'ebr-aa 'pinion, member'; Aramaic(J) 'eebaar-aa / 'eebr-aa 'limb, arm, wing, membrum genital-the'; Jewish Aramaic Babylonian tradition 'iibbraa' 'penis':

UACV-1619 \*wī'aC 'penis': M67-315 \*we 'penis'; I.Num284 \*wī'ah/\*wī'aN 'penis'; Munro.Cup90 \*wəə'i-la; M88-wi8 'penis'; KHM/06-wi8: NP wīa; TSh wīaC-ppī; Sh wīan; Kw wa'a-pi; SP wī'aC-pi; CU wa'á-pi; Cp wé'e-l; Ca wé'i; Ls wó'-la. The cluster \*-br- > -'-; loss of b as first element in a cluster and liquid to glottal stop in a cluster (sml, gml) both have many examples. TSh and SP gemination, and Kw and CU -p- (vs. -v-) all suggest a final consonant. [V assim] [p1',p2b,p3r] [NUA: Num, Tak]

Note the lack of rounding or entire lack of the glottal stop for the following Sem-kw terms (584-599), in contrast to Sem-p (566-583). This lack of rounding or lack of glottal stop in Sem-kw terms, may also explain its absence in initial position in contrasting sets like 'sister' and 'ephod-like clothing':

UA \*wakati 'younger sister (< Semitic \*'axaat, Sem-p) vs. UA \*koti 'older sister' (< Hebrew \*'axoot, Sem-kw); and UA \*wipul 'belt, sash' (Sem-p) vs UA \*ipul/d 'shirt' (Sem-kw) both from Hebrew \*'epod.

**795** Hebrew 'abiib 'ears (of corn/grain) already ripe, but still soft, the month when ears come on'; Ethiopic 'bb 'bloom'; Arabic 'abb 'meadow'; Hebrew 'ibb- 'shoot, plants still growing in the ground'; These terms are from a root 'bb meaning s.th. like 'bloom or put on ears', but the UA term better fits a feminine noun 'abbat-V, which feminine noun would signify the singular of a collective noun:

UACV-547 \*apari 'elote, new/fresh ear of corn': Yq'ába'i 'elote'; My ábari/ábarim 'elotes, mazorca'; AYq avae 'fresh corn'. [liquids: \*-r- > -'- > -ø-] [SUA: TrC]

Various forms and conjugations of the Hebrew verb 'kl appear in UA: Hebrew 'akal '(he) ate (perfect), \*to'kal 'she/it eats'; \*yo'kal 'he/it eats'; 'akol (inf):

**796** Hebrew 'akal '(he) ate (perfect), \*to'kal 'she/it eats'; \*yo'kal 'he/it eats'; 'akol (inf):

UACV-782 \*tikkaC 'eat': VVH163 \*tī<sub>u</sub>ka to eat; I.Num238 \*tīhka 'to eat'; M88-ti27; AMR 1993c \*tikka; KH/M06-ti27 \*tikka: Mn tīka; NP tīka; TSh tīka; Sh tīka, tīkīC-; Cm tīhka-; Ch tūká-; SP tīka; CU tīkáy; Tb tīka-t~'itīk; Tb(H) tīkkat 'eat, vi/vt'. A good example of medial geminated -kk-, showing k vs. g in WNum and -kk- in the other two branches of Num and Tb, as well as a final -C. This also matches Hebrew \*to'kal 'she/it eats' since the glottal stop creates a cluster and Hebrew o > UA \*u, then UA \*u > i often in Num. [\*-kk-] [p1t,p2',p3k,p4l] [NUA: Num, Tb]

UACV-286 \*tikkaC-pī 'bread, food': NP tīkaba tomīca 'bread dough'; Sh tīka-ppīh 'food, bread'; WMU tīhkká-ppū 'food, n'; Num tīkkaC- 'eat' + nominalizer = 'food, bread' in other Num languages as well. This is of Sem-p while \*yī'iki below is of Semitic-kw. [NUA: Num]

**797** Hebrew 'kl / 'aakal 'eat, feed, savour, have sense of taste, enjoy love'; these sets reflect the Hebrew impfv: \*yo'kal 'he/it eats':

UACV-783a \*yī'iki 'swallow': VVH168 \*yī<sub>u</sub>'i 'to swallow'; M67-425 \*ye 'swallow'; M88-yi9 'swallow'; I.Num299 \*yī(h)wi; KH/M06-yi9: Mn yīkwī (<\*yīkkwī) 'swallow'; NP yīgwi'hu/yīkwī; Sh yīmiC; Cm yīwi 'swallow s.th., go out of sight'; Kw yī'igi-; Ch yī'iki; SP yī'i-gi/qqi; WMU yū'úgi-y / yū'úgi-y 'swallow, v'; CU yī'i-ki; Cr ra-yé'e 'he's drinking it' (also at drink). As for SNum \*yī'iki, WNum \*yīkkwi, and CNum \*yīwi, rounding developing after a previous i is common in UA, and the following is not atypical: \*yī'ki > yīkkwi > \*yīwi. [medial C] [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

UACV-783b \*yīkī 'taste, finish': VVH170 \*yīkī; M88-yi16; KH/M06-yi16: Hp yīkī 'make, fix, finish, taste, copulate'; TO jīk 'taste, vt'. Add Nv duka (dīka) 'probar [taste]'; NT dīdīkai 'probar (comida), vt'; ST dīka 'probar, saborear (alimento) [savor (food)], vt'. Kartunnen did, but Molina did not distinguish the CN forms CN yekoa 'taste, sample (food/drink), copulate' and CN yeekoa 'finish, conclude'. Sapir and most since tie the former to Numic \*yoko 'copulate', which is sound, but the semantic range of the Hp term envelops both CN terms, and is enough to make one wonder if both sets are not connected. Following Ken Hill, who is smarter than I am and who continues Miller's separation of yi9 and yi16, I'll concede while we think awhile more, though the complementary sets of branches (ie, no contradicting forms in the same language or branch), and nearly initial \*yik in common, with the major difference being a few glottal stops scattered about (\*yī'(i)k) in one of the groups, all combine to make one seriously consider their union. My mistake including this set twice in UACV, at 'eat' and also at UACV-2273 'taste'. [idddua] [kw1y,2',2k,3l] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]

**798** Hebrew **'akal** '(he) ate (pfv), \*to'kal 'she/it eats'; \*yo'kal 'he/it eats'; 'akol (inf):

UACV-784 **\*'aki** 'open mouth, eat, take/put into one's mouth': M67-294 \*hak 'open the mouth'; M88-ha4 'open the mouth'; M88-'a36 'eat pinole'; KH/M06-'a36 rightly combines M88-ha4 and 'a36: Cp áxine 'eat pinole'; Gb 'áx 'comer pinole'; Sr 'aak(u) 'eat flour-like object or mush, throw it in the mouth'; SP agi 'take into one's mouth'; Tb aagīt 'open the mouth, yawn'. Jane Hill (p.c.) also adds the following: Kw agi 'lick or eat mealy substance'; Ca 'áqi 'to open'; Sh akīC 'to open up'. [kw1',kw2k,kw3l] [NUA: Tak, Num, Tb]

Note how consistently Sem-kw final -l yields gemination in Nomic: 798 'kl, 4 bšl, 796 to'kal, 647 naxal. Next are examples of Hebrew y > y:

**799** Hebrew **yə'or** 'river':

UACV-364a **\*yaway** 'river, canyon': Ch(L) yīwaa-vi 'valley'; Cp yáwe 'to flood'; Ca yáwaywet 'canyon'; Tbr yawá-n / yavá-n 'river'. Kw pa-rii-yawi-dī / Kw pa-rayīwī-dī 'wash, arroyo' is analyzed as pa- 'water', tii- 'up', yawi- 'hold'. Yet Cp yáwe 'to flood' and Cp yáwe 'bring, carry' show two similar forms, but of different meaning. And note the other Kw term with Kw -yīwī-, which may align with the 'river/flood/canyon' terms. Even excluding Kw, we still have Ch, Cp, Ca, and Tbr supporting a lexeme something like \*yaway or \*yawi 'canyon, river'. [p1y,p2',p3r] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: TrC]

**800** Hebrew **Yahwe** 'Yehovah, God of the Israelites':

UACV-1803 **\*ya'u** / **\*ya'wV** 'leader, deity': Yq ya'ut 'jefe [boss]'; Yq yá'ura 'gobierno [government], ley [law], autoridad [authority]'; AYq ya'ut 'chief, leader'; AYq ya'učim 'leaders, big beads in rosary'; AYq ya'učiwa 'leader, God'; My yá'ut 'autoridad, jefe, magistrado'; Cr taya'u 'God'; Cp yawe 'god' after subtracting temá-l / temat- 'earth' from temáyawe-t 'earth-god'; Kw yaahwe'era 'a supernatural being usually thought of as in bird form'. Though the vowels are reversed from Cp yawe, note also Cp yewáywe 'pray'. Note h > ' as first consonant in a cluster, both here and in Egyptian \*nhp > UA \*na'pa. [1y,2h,2w] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: TrC, CrC]

**801** Hebrew **yamiin** 'right hand/side': Hebrew **ha-yyamiin-aa** 'to the right, lit: the-right-toward':

UA \*(h)**ayamin-** 'right': Wr ahamína 'right side'; various transcriptions of Sr -ayuno' / aiinu'/ayinu' 'right, right side' end like Semitic yamin-o 'right (hand/side)-his' though the between the y- and -n is reduced. The stronger correlation is with Wr ahamína < Semitic hayaminá, as consonant transpositions are typical in Tr and Wr, and only one such transposition would have Wr ahamína < Hebrew hayaminá. Note also \*-aya- > -a- with loss of intervocalic -y- at \*bayyame 'year' (823) also. Egyptian imn 'right' is cognate with Semitic. [1y,2m,3n] [SUA: TrC; NUA: Tak]

**802** Hebrew **yaabaal** / **yuubal** 'watercourse, stream':

UACV-365 **\*yīppa** 'valley': NP yīpī (< \*yīppi) 'valley'; Cp yīpá-š (< \*yīppa) 'valley'; Tb yī-t 'valley'. Tb absolute suffix -t instead of -l and Cp -p- instead of -v- suggest consonant clusters. UA \*-pp- does cause pause, but these two are worth noting for contemplation. [Tb \*-t; l/r] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep]

UACV-755 **\*yīpīla** 'earth, dirt': B.Tep32 \*dīvīrai 'earth, dirt'; M88-yī14; KH/M06-yī14 'canyon': TO jīwīd 'soil, earth, world'; PB dīvar (B); NT dīvīrai; ST dīvīr; PYP dever 'earth, land'; Nv duburha [dīvīra] 'tierra'. Ken unites these with \*yīppa 'valley', perhaps, but geminated Cp \*-pp- and slightly different meanings cause pause. [SUA: Tep]

**803** Hebrew **kəfiir** (< **\*kapiir**) 'young lion':

UACV-1353 **\*kap** 'bobcat': PYP **kaper** 'wildcat'; Wc kapuvi 'bobcat'. k- is Sem-p [p:1k,2p,3r] [SUA: Tep, CrC]

**804** Arabic **\*saṣapat** 'palm leaves':

UACV-1608 **\*caupali** 'palm sp': PYP sahvali / sahavali 'palm tree'; NT sáúvali 'palmilla'; ST soovoly 'palma'. Semitic š > UA c, vs. s, suggests Sem-kw. Is Tr sawéara a loan? [kw1s,kw2'2,kw2p,kw3t] [SUA: Tep]

**805** Hebrew **hebiī'**/**hebaa'** 'bring':

UACV-1324a **\*hī'īpī** / **\*hapa** 'get up, vi; lift/pick up, vt': Kw hīveezī 'get up, arise, vi'; Kw hīveezī-tii 'pick up, vt'; PYP e'vevnia 'lift'. Add Tb(H) aapa'iwīt 'to show, vi'. These show medial \*-p-, and the following with medial \*-kw- are of Sem-kw. [p1h,p2b,p3'] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]

**806** Hebrew pfv: **hebiī'** / **hebaa'** 'bring', imperative **habe'e'** 'bring!':

UACV-1324b **\*hakwa** / **\*hakwi** 'lift': Tb(V) he'ewiin(-īt) 'lift it'; Tb(M) he'winat-~'ehe'win 'lift, carry in the arms, hold on the lap'; Eu háhba 'lift pl. obj's'; Eu háhbe-me 'levantarse, pl'. To bring, one must first

lift/pick up, and Tb also has the carrying dimension. Eu matches the imperative very well, and Tb the pfv. [kw1h,kw2b,kw3'] [NUA: Tb; SUA: TrC]

**807** Hebrew **šaameh** 'happy, filled with joy'; Hebrew **šimḥaa / šimḥat** 'joy, gladness';

Ugaritic šmx 'rejoice'; Arabic šmx 'be high, proud'; Akkadian šamaaxu 'be stately, flourish':

UACV-1284 \*šim 'laugh, smile': M67-252 \*sem 'laugh'; M88-sī19 'laugh'; KH/M06- sī19: Cp šeme; Ca sém; TO hīhim; ST h(i)m̄pa, h(i)m̄ia. Let's add LP hīhīm 'smile'; Ca sém- 'laugh'; Ca sém-yaw 'smile'; Ca séji 'grin, smile.' Again m + laryngeal > ŋ in Tak (also 771, 281, 283, 284), m > ŋ as cluster reductions; otherwise, intervocalic -m- (813). [idddua] [1s3,2m,3h2] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

**808** Hebrew mwq, pfv \*maaq 'mock'; Hebrew hiqtiil participle: mamiiq 'mockers/mocking';

Syriac mwq, participle: mayyeq 'deride, mock'; Aramaic -mayyeq 'talk contemptuously, sneer, mock':

UA \*mak 'laugh, tease': Sr mamq 'laugh'; Mn magihī 'tease'. [idddua] [1m,2q] [NUA: Tak, Num]

Examples of Initial h > ø

**809** Hebrew qittel impfv stem -hattel (< \*-hattil) 'to mock':

UACV-1282 \*'atti / \*ata / \*acti 'laugh': VVH39 \*'aci-a 'laugh at'; BTep303 \*'a'asī/i 'laugh at'; M67-251 \*'ac 'laugh'; L.Son1 \*'aci 'reirse'; M88-'a1 'laugh'; KH/M06-'a1 \*aci: Wr a'ci 'estar riendose'; Tr aci 'reirse'; My aače 'reirse'; AYq aače; Cr ra-'á'ace 'he is laughing at him'; TO a'as; LP 'a'aši; PYP a'asi; NT ááši/áysi; ST 'aas/ašia. Miller also includes Ca 'ála 'mock, echo s.o.' and Ca 'ála has l, which is the Cupan reflex for intervocalic \*-t-. Tr has Tr aci and Tr kači with initial k, which puts it with qty (see 1386, UACV-1287).

[-t- > -l- in Ca, \*-t- > -c- > -s- in Tep] [1h,2tt,3l] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**810** Hebrew hikkiir 'recognize, know, know how to' (hiqtiil of nkr):

Tr iki- 'know, be aware of.' [1h,2kk,3r]

**811** Hebrew -biin / he-biin / yV-biin / tV-biin 'understand':

UACV-1273 \*pīni 'learn, become familiar with': L.Son204 \*pini 'aprender'; M88-pi10; KH/M06- pi10: Op veni 'acostumbrar [tame]'; Eu viné 'aquerenciarse [(of animals) become fond of (a place)]' (i.e., become familiar or know and like the place); Tr biní-mea 'aprender [learn], estudiar [study]'; Tr bene- 'know, acquire habit or custom'; Wr peni 'aprender'; Wr pené 'saber hacer una cosa'. Note b in Tr. [p:1b,2y,3n] [SUA: TrC]

**812** Aramaic pty 'be wide'; Aramaic (J) patee(y) 'be wide, open'; Syriac pataa / pata' / pätiiy 'be enlarged, increased, wide, broad, ample': Semitic explains both the y and the ' alternations in UA, because the same pair of options exists in the Syriac root pt' / pty:

UACV-1168 \*pittiya / \*pit(t)ī'a '(be) heavy': VVH3 \*pī,ti 'heavy'; B.Tep294 \*vīiti 'heavy'; KH.NUA; M67-223 \*pete 'heavy'; CL.Azt84 \*ətiik 'heavy'; M88-pi1 'be heavy'; KH/M06-pi1: TSh pitti(tin); Sh pittin; Cm pihti; Kw pita'a; Ch pitiiya; WMU pihhtiiye; CU pitiiyay; Hp pitii; Tb piliī'it~'ipiliī'; Sr pitii; Ktn piči'; Ca péle-ma; Eu bete'e-; Yq béte'a 'pesar'; AYq vette; My bette; Wr pehté-ni; Tr be'té-re; TO weec; Nv viiti; PYP veete; NT viiti; ST viit; Cr tihete 'pesa [to weigh]' (Cr & Wc h < PUA \*p); Wc hée.té / hee.té; CN etiya 'become heavy' (PUA \*p > CN ø); CN etik 's.th. heavy'. This is one of the few proto-stems that has survived through nearly the whole language family, except WNum and half of Takic. All of Num show \*-tt- while Tb and Ca show lenition of \*-tt- > \*-t- > -l-. WMU, CU, and CN all point to \*pittiya, perhaps a fuller form; on the other hand, Sr (but not Sr pitiiit 'heavy thing'), Tb, Kw, Yq, Tr, and Eu all show glottal stop for a third consonant, as \*pitti'a. [idddua] [y/; \*p > h/ø in Azt/CrC; \*-tt- > -l-] [p:1p,2t,3',3y] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**813** Hebrew šmḥ / šaamaḥ 'sprout, grow' (< Semitic \*damaxa), impfv: \*yi-šmaḥ (< \*ya-ḍmax):

UACV-1101 \*yama / \*yami 'sprout(ing), grow (thick)': M88-ya23; Munro.Cup47 \*yamii-ča 'forest'; KH/M06-ya23: Cp yemí-š 'forest, dense'; Ca yamily 'leaves'; Sr yaamava 'spring(time)'; Gb yama-mwár 'March, month of germinating'; Ls yamii-ča 'forest, thick brush'; Ls yamáqa/i 'be soft, tender, vi, soften, vt'; Hp yama(k-) 'go or come out, emerge, come into view, rise (of sun, moon)'. Add Ktn yamava 'April'. These tie to Tep \*dama (< \*yama) 'up'. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

UACV-2443 \*yama 'up, over, above': B.Tep12 \*dama 'over, above'; M88-ya14; KH/M06-ya14: TO ḍaam 'above, over, on top of'; PYP daam; NT daama; ST daam. These are cognate with \*yama 'come up, spring forth (vegetation)' in KH/M06-ya23 at 'grow'. These are Sem-p. [p1y,p2s4,p3m,p4h2] [SUA: Tep]

**814** Hebrew šmḥ / šaamaḥ 'sprout, grow' (< Semitic \*damaxa), impfv: \*yi-šmaḥ (< \*ya-ḍmax):

CN camawa 'to grow, become big' and Cr samwa 'hoja [leaf]'. [kw1s4,kw2m,kw3h2]

For comparison, we include an earlier item (84) of the same root:

**84** Hebrew **šmḥ**, impfv: **yi-šmaḥ** (<\*ya-ḏmax) ‘sprout’ > UA **\*icmo** ‘sprout’: CN icmo-liini ‘sprout, grow’.

The above three items from the same root tell us five things: one, as Sem-p preserves Proto-Semitic \*x, without pharyngeal rounding, UA \*yama is likely of Sem-p; two, as Sem-kw has \*x > ḥ with pharyngeal rounding, we must surmise that CN camawa is of Sem-kw because of the -w- and also initial c-, as Sem-p would yield \*samak/xa; three, we see that Sem-kw retained the final short vowel of the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg perfect CaCaCa vs. Biblical Hebrew CaaCaC; four, UA \*yama (<\*ya-šmax) and CN icmo- (\*yi-šmaḥ) reflect Sem-p and Sem-kw (round o) respectively, suggesting the verbal prefixes of \*ya- for Sem-p (like Arabic and Proto-Semitic) and \*yi- for Sem-kw (like Masoretic Hebrew and probably Phoenician); five, CN icmo of Sem-kw is another instance of Sem-kw preserving the first consonant of a cluster better than Sem-p does (as the 1<sup>st</sup> C disappeared in UA \*yama < \*ya-šmax).

**815** Hebrew ptt, impfv stem: **-pott**, impfv with prefixes: yV/tV-pott ‘smash, make crumble’:

Hebrew ptt ‘crumble’; MHebrew ptt ‘break up, smash’; Hebrew pat ‘scrap, piece’:

UACV-1079 **\*pot** ‘pound, grind’: M67- 331 \*po; L.Num153 \*potV ‘pound (with a stone)’; M88-po7 ‘pound’; KH/M06-po7: NP pota ‘pound acorns’; TSh potto ‘grinding stone’; Sh potton ‘grinding stone’; SP tapporu ‘pound with a stone’ (probably with instr prefix \*ta- ‘with a stone’ says Sapir). Add Mn poda ‘grind with a metate’; Mn podánu ‘pestle’; NP podanu ‘grinding stone’. [1p,2t,3t] [NUA: Num]

**816** Hebrew saalšaam ‘locust’:

UACV-1066 **\*coho** / **\*co’o** ‘grasshopper’: B.Tep203 \*soo’oi ‘grasshopper’; Fowler83; M88-co19 ‘grasshopper’; KH/M06-co19: TO šoo’o ‘grasshopper’; LP šoo’o; NT sóói; ST sooi. Ken Hill adds Tbr soo ‘chapulin’. [c/s] [1s3,2l,3’2,4m] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**817** Hebrew **tə’unaa** / **tə’unat** ‘fig’:

UACV-868 **\*cuna** ‘fig/higo’: L.Son47 \*cuna ‘higo’; Fowler83; M88-cu12; KH/M06-cu12: TO suuna ‘fig’; TO suuna-je’e ‘fig-tree’; Op cuna; Eu čúna ‘higuera [fig tree], higo [fig]’; Yq čúúna; My cúúna ‘higo’; Tr čuná ‘higo’. Initial t- > c-, palatalizing before the high vowel -u-. [1t,2’,3n] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**818** Hebrew **šuuš** ‘bud, blossom, bloom’:

UACV-865 **\*coya** or **\*coca** ‘feather headdress’: Munro.Cup40 \*čééya-t ‘feather headdress’; KH/M06-co22: Ls čééya-t; Cp číya-t; Ca číya-t ‘bundle of feathers’. All the Cupan vowels correspond to \*o, probably lowered from \*u by the following a; but interesting is that \*coya can be from \*cuca, because non-initial \*c > y in NUA. This is Sem-kw because šwš > Sem-kw \*cuya. [iddddua] [kw1s4,kw2w,kw3s4] [NUA: Tak]

**819** Hebrew **tmm** ‘be completed, finished, come to an end’:

UACV-876 **\*tama/i** ‘finish’: CL.Azt53 \*tami ‘end, run out’; M88-ta38; KH/M06-ta38: CN tlami ‘come to an end, to finish, to bring an activity to an end’; CN tlamiaa ‘to end, conclude, to conclude something, to finish something’. To the Azt forms, let’s add ST tīimo ‘terminar (de hacer) [finish (doing)]’; Kw tīrimaa ‘to finish, be finished’. [p1t,p2m] [SUA: Azt, Tep; NUA: Num]

**820** Hebrew **tmm** ‘be completed, finished, come to an end’ of an unattested quttal: \*tumma:

UACV-877 **\*cu’ma** ‘be gone, disappear from sight’: M88-cu1 ‘finish’; KH/M06-cu1: Cm cu’ma ‘use up, finish, vt’; WSh cumah ‘run out of, be out of’; Miller includes Sh cuna ‘run out of, disappear’. [NUA: CNum]

**821** Hebrew me-rəḥoq / me-rḥoq ‘far, from afar’:

UACV-842a **\*mīCka** / **\*mīhka** ‘far’: M67-165 \*meka; B.Tep161 \*mīka ‘far’; L.Son146 mīka; CL.Azt58 \*wəhka ‘far’, 306 \*\*mī(h)ka (Proto-Aztecán \*w < lenited \*\*m); M88-mī2 ‘far’; KH/M06-mī2: TO mīkodaḡ; LP mīik; PYp meeka; NT mīika; ST mīik; Eu mekú(r); Yq mékka; My mekka; Wr mehká; Tr meká. Cr imi ‘lejos’ may belong. Campbell, Langacker, and Miller include CN \*we’ka, if \*wəhka ‘far’ is a lenited \*m, but how many cases have we of Azt w < \*m? UACV-842b **\*mīyho** ‘far’: Kw miho; Ch miyó(to); SP mio ‘far off, at a distance’; CU miya. These two sets are of differing reductions, this from \*mīyho(ka), in light of h in Kw and some SUA forms; \*mīCka stressed a final adverbial -ka to cause reduction of -rḥəq- into one cluster. [1m,2r,2h2,3q] [SUA: Tep, TrC; NUA: SNum]

**822** Hebrew **\*ta-npiil** > **\*teppil**: ‘cause to fall’:

UACV-838b **\*tīppin** ‘trip’: KH.NUA: Sr tīpiñi’k ‘stumble, trip, catch one’s foot’; Ca če-tépin ‘trip, cause to stumble (of wood, stone), vt’. [NUA: Tak]

UACV-838a **\*(tiN)pah(a)jC** ‘fall off/down’: TSh paheC / tīmpaheC ‘fall off/out of/down, come down’;

Sh pahaiC ‘fall off’; Cm pahiti ‘fall off, be born, drop off (as leaves from tree)’; Cm tūpiheri ‘fall (off or down from)’; Cm tūpehemi’ari ‘fall off’. [NUA: CNum]

UACV-1234 \***tīppi** ‘hunt, follow, track’: BH.Cup \*tāpi ‘to track’; M88-ti25; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ti25 ‘hunt, cazar’; Cp tepine ‘follow, track’; Ca tépin ‘track, vt’; Ca tépin-če ‘trip, cause to stumble’; Ls tōpi ‘to track’. Note underlying \*-pp- (vs. \*-p- > -v-) in all UA terms. [1t,2n,3p,4l] [NUA: Tak]

**823** Hebrew **ba-yyamee** ‘in the year of, lit: days of’ > \***payami** > UA \***pami** ‘year’:

UACV-2603 \***pami** ‘year’: Wr pamibame ‘years’; Wr pamibari ‘year’; Tr bamí; bamíbari ‘year’; also Wr pamí(ni) ‘summer’. The loss of intervocalic -y- also happens in Wr from Hebrew **ha-yyamiin-aa** ‘to the right’ > Wr ahamína ‘right side’—loss of -y- in 801, 823, 824. [p1b,p2y,p3m,p4y] [SUA: TrC]

Like the two above (801, 823), 824 below is a third example of loss of intervocalic -y- in most languages.

**824** Hebrew **hayyownaa** / hayyoonat ‘dove’: UA \***hayowi** ‘dove’.

Note loss of -n- also in Ktn payo ‘handkerchief’ < Spanish paño; similarly, Sapir claims that single \*-n- disappears and only geminated \*-nn- survived in SP:

UACV-696 \***hayowi** ‘dove’: M88-ho3; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ho3: Two languages (Hp, Tb) agree with \*howi: Hp hōwi, pl: hōwiit ‘dove, mourning dove, white-winged dove’; Tb ’owii-t ‘dove’. In contrast, three Numic languages show hewi: Mn heewi ‘mourning dove’; TSh heewi-cci ‘dove’; Sh heewi ‘dove’. Numic forms showing hewi (Mn, TSh,Sh) leveled the V’s from -ai- / -ay- in \*hayowi > heewi, o shortened to be perceived as part of -w-; so as CU ’ayövi and Wc haīmī suggest the first vowel was *a*. Kw hoyo-vi ‘mourning dove’; CU ’ayö-vi ‘dove’; Ch(L) hiyovi; and Sapir’s SP iyovi- ‘mourning dove’ with the final syllable as part of the stem, as in CNum, all show -y-. Kw and CU seem to have reinterpreted the final -vi as an absolutive suffix, but Ch, SP, and CNum suggest otherwise, and we again see -w- > -v- in Num. Most of NUA suggest \*hayowi. NP ihobi ‘dove’ transposed the h.

\*hayowi > hewi (Sh, Mn, TSh)  
> hayo > ’ayö- (CU), iyovi (SP)  
> hoyo- (Kw), hiyo(vi) (Ch) > ihobi (NP)  
> \*howi > hōwi (Hp)  
> ’owii-t (Tb)

Only the -n- is missing. Wc haīmī/’āimī ‘dove’ and the -howa- of Tr čohōwari / čohōbari ‘turtle dove’ are probably related as well. Wc ī could be a leveling of -yow- (\*hayow > haī). TO hoochi ‘mourning dove’ is probably related in some way, perhaps with preservative consonant harmony (\*howi > hoochi), and TO does keep PUA \*h sometimes.

[TO keeps \*h; wN > m in Wc?, -n- > ø] [1h,2y,3w,4n] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**825** Hebrew paʕal ‘make, perform’; Arabic faʕala ‘do, make’; Syriac pəʕal ‘work, v’

UACV-680 \***pu’ay/pu’al** ‘do’: B.Tep283 \*vuai ‘is doing’; KH/M06-po29: TO/UP wu’a/wua/wui ‘do’; PYp vuihim; NT vuei/weí/vuéeýi; ST vua; ST vuidya ‘do, happen’. Is Cr baire ‘help’ a loan from ST palvuidya ‘help’ like badger? [p1p,p2’2,p3l] [Tep]

**826** Hebrew **maʕool** ‘dance in a ring, n’; Hebrew **maʕolaa** ‘dance in a ring, n’ from the verb Hebrew hwl / hjuul ‘go round, turn upon, dance (round) dances’; Arabic hwl ‘turn, v’; Aramaic hwl ‘dance, v’; Aramaic(CAL) mʕwl’t’ ‘dance, n.m.’:

UACV-638 \***mulawa** / \***mulawi** ‘dance, v’: TO mualig ‘(of a person) to spin or dance’; Tb muuluwat ‘dance, v’; Tb muuluwii-l ‘dance, n’. Three consonants agree and a vowel-line transposition in TO. If the Tb vowels assimilated between the initial syllable’s u and the third C w, not to mention Tb’s tendency toward preservative vowel assimilation, then TO’s vowels may be closer to the proto-vocalization (u-a), and were later transposed relative to consonants (p. 63); regardless, three consonants agree, and \***maʕolaa** > **mula** with pharyngeal rounding influence, plus some suffix. [Tep V anticipation] [1m,2h2,3l] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep]

**827** Hebrew **dqr** / **daqar** ‘pierce’; Syriac dəqar ‘dig, break, pierce through’; Aramaic(J) deqer ‘mattock’; Semitic dqr is at 70, but here it appears in a compound forming another UA term appearing to derive from Hebrew daqar paney ha’ares ‘till the surface of the earth’ or daqar panaa-w ‘till its surface (surface-its):

UACV-2587a \***tikir-panawa** ‘work, cut’: CL.Azt193 \*təkīti ‘work, cut’; as M88-ti23 and KH/M06-ti23 note, this ties to \*tiki ‘cut’ though here that morpheme is compounded with \*panawa: CN teki-panoa ‘work, v’ (as well as CN teki-ti ‘work, pay tribute, v’; CN teki-tl ‘work, tribute, n’); Tbr tekipa-(na)- ‘trabajar’. Note Yq tékil ‘trabajo, n’ and Eu tékirwa ‘trabajo, n’ without \*panawa. Though possibly borrowed from CN, note

\*tiki-panawa in Yq tékipanoá ‘trabajar’; My tekipanoa; TO čikpan ‘work (on), vt’; TO čikpana ‘work, n’; PYP tekpana ‘work, vi’. As for \*tikipanoa < \*tiki ‘cut’ + \*panawa, note Eu panava / panawa ‘trabajar’.

UACV-2587b \*tik... ‘work, cut’: KH.NUA: Sr tihiti(i) ‘work, vi, vt’; Sr tihitiyic ‘work, n’; Hp tiki ‘cut’. I like Hill's tying these two together, for ‘cut’ (cut earth, cultivate) and ‘work’ pair themselves more than once in UA, and of course, initial \*tik in these and the above set makes the two groups likely related as well. Ktn cik ‘stick, stab, vt’ may belong also.

UACV-2587c \*tī'ai ‘work’: TSh tīīai ‘work, v & n’; Cm tīri‘aitī ‘do work, v’. [k > ø as in deer] [iddddua]  
[SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt; NUA: Hp, Tak, CNum]

**828** Hebrew šibbólet ‘ear of grain’; Arabic sunbul ‘ear, spike (of grain); the nasal in a cluster (apparent in Arabic), with \*kw + u = ku results in \*suNkwul > \*sunjul > \*suju:

UACV-535 \*suju ‘corn’: VVH93 \*sunu ‘corn, corn cob’; B.Tep81 \*huunui ‘corn’; M67-102 \*sunu corn; L.Son263 \*sunu; CL.Azt50 \*sən ‘dried corn, ear of corn’; M88-su5; KH/M06-su5; Jane Hill 2007: PUA \*suju > SUA sunu > Tep (h)unu: TO huuni ‘corn, ear of corn’; LP huun; NT úunui; ST huun; ST hun vaa ‘elote’; Op sunu-t; Eu súnú- ‘caña de maíz’; Wr sunú ‘corn’; Tr su\*nu/suunú ‘corn’; My sunu ‘milpa’; CN sin-tli ‘dried ears of maize’. Ken (KH/M06-su5) and Jane Hill (2005, 2007) add Hp soḡowī ‘sand grass’ as the first 4 segments are as expected and a stand of seed-bearing plant is semantically similar. Jane Hill (2005, 2007) also notes the first morpheme of Gb soḡ-áxey ‘tortilla’.. [nasals] [kw1s,2n,3b,4l] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**829** Hebrew kns ‘gather, wrap’:

UACV-473 \*kīna ‘cover’: Sh kīnah ‘cover, vt’; Cm nīi/hīh-kīnarī ‘cover s.th. over with s.th.’ We must consider a possible relationship to \*kīna ‘cloud’. [1k,2n,3s1] [NUA: CNum]

UACV-498 \*pit-kanas ‘loincloth, rear-cover’: Hp pitkīna ‘kilt, breechclout’ and Tb pigiiniš-t ‘shirt’; the latter portion of these related to \*kīna ‘cover’ above, and the \*kanas of Cr ra‘ankanasiin ‘lo cierra (en un bote) [cover it], lo tapa [put top on]’; Cr te‘itáhnasi ‘lo cierra’; Cr ra‘abá‘anasiin ‘lo cubre [cover it], lo entierra [bury it], lo sepulta’. Cr appears to match the three consonants of Tb. [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: CrC]

**830** Arabic ḍmm ‘draw together, close, compress (as lips)’, Arabic impfv: ya-ḍummu; or Hebrew ḥšm ‘to shut one’s eyes’; the impfv is unattested in the biblical Hebrew text, but is attested in later Hebrew ya-ḥšom (< \*ya- ḥšum); the UA stem reflects the impfv stem, which usually starts with the 2<sup>nd</sup> C or the cluster of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>, yet Sh and Ca show an initial iC- which fits the Semitic prefix \*yV(C)-:

UACV-470a \*cu‘ma/i / \*cumma/i ‘close eyes’: M67-92 \*cum; L.Num259 \*cu(‘)(h)ma/\*cu(‘)(h)mi; M88-cu5; KH/M06-cu5: Sh ičcīmih ‘to close the eyes’; SP čum‘maa/-čum‘mi ‘close one’s eyes’; CU wəcu‘mi ‘close the eyes’; Ca iħcuma/i ‘to close the eyes (sg.)’; Ktn cu‘m-ik ‘close eyes, vi’; Ktn cu‘m-k ‘close eyes, vt’; Kw cuma ‘bury, cover up’; Ch(L) čum‘makatī ‘anything covered with earth’ at ‘bury’; WMU hwičú‘mi-kye / kuhčú‘mi-(kye) ‘close the eyes’. Note initial V in Sh, Ca, CU. [kw1‘2,kw2s4,kw3m] [NUA: CNum, WNum, Tak]

**831** Syriac ḥmš / ḥammeš (< \*ḥammiš) ‘close, shut (eyes)’; Hebrew ḥšm ‘shut one’s eyes’ is thought by many Semiticists to relate to Northwest Semitic ḥmš, impfv \*- ḥmušu of MHebrew, Aramaic(J), Syriac; and to Arabic ġmḍ ‘close (eyes)’, impfv: ya-ġmuḍu, which corresponds to Northwest Semitic \*- ḥmušu:

UACV-470b \*mucu(C)-ka ‘close eyes’: Mn mucuqqa-t ‘have one's eyes closed’; NP mucoga ‘close eyes’.  
[kw1g2,kw2m,kw3s4] [NUA: WNum]

**832** Syriac srt ‘scratch, make a line or stroke, indent, draw or write a line’; Aramaic(J) sarṭaan ‘scratcher, crab, Cancer (sign of Zodiac)’; Syriac sarṭaan-aa ‘crab-the’; Arabic saraṭaan ‘crayfish, Cancer’; Arabic šrt ‘tear, scratch, impose as a condition’:

CU sičú-či ‘crab’ and CU sičú-ppi ‘fingernail’ obviously involve the same stem of CU sičúC- with different suffixes. The fingernail set means ‘claw, nail’ and both are ‘scratchers’ and then the CU stem also means ‘crab’—a good match for the Semitic verb meaning ‘scratch’ with a noun meaning ‘crab’, especially when the noun matches the Aramaic/Syriac noun. The final -aan of Aramaic/Syriac corresponds to Canaanite / Hebrew -oon, so Aramaic/Syriac sarṭaan ‘crab’ would equate to sarṭoon (> UA \*saCtuN, Hebrew o > UA u). Gesenius (1910, 48) explains that both -aan and -oon appear in Hebrew: e.g., širyaa / širyoon ‘coat of mail’. Furthermore, UA medial -c- and -t- and -l- are a nice array for the cluster -rṭ-. So a form like Ca sálu-l ‘claw, nail’ shows the exact vowels expected from sarṭoon, while the vowelings \*sutu means an assimilation of the 1<sup>st</sup> vowel to the 2<sup>nd</sup>, and the vowelings \*situ / \*sītu are also understandable as both consonants of the -rṭ- cluster tend to raise and front vowels. Then to top it all off, both Tb(H) šullun-t and TSh -situn(cci) show the final -n, and other languages reflect a final consonant. Note also the UA verbs meaning ‘scratch, tear’ like Arabic šrt ‘tear, scratch’. An impressive array of correlations:

UACV-458 \*saCtun > siCtun / \*suCtun ‘claw, nail’: Sapir; VVH26 \*su<sub>u</sub>tu/\*si<sub>i</sub>tu ‘fingernail, claw’; B.Tep82 \*huutu ‘fingernail’; M67-298 \*sut; L.Num193 \*sītuN ‘claw, nail’; L.Son265 \*sutu ‘uña’; CL.Azt59 \*istə; M88-su1; Munro.Cup77 \*šulá-t ‘nail,



hoof, claw'; KH/M06-su2 \*sutūn (AMR): Mn ma/ta-sído 'finger/toe-nail'; NP cidu; maccidu 'claw, nail'; TSh -situn(cci) 'nail, claw'; TSh sítuhi 'to scratch'; Sh ma/ta-situn 'claws, finger/toe nails'; Cm ta-siito; ma-siito; Kw ta-šito'o-bi; Ch tasico'o, masico'o; SP šiču, ma-šši(n)čo'-N; Tb(H) šllun-t 'fingernail, hoof'; Eu sutút; Tbr ala-pé-r; Yq suntu; AYq sutumi; Ca sálu-l 'claw, nail'; Ca saluki 'scratch'; Ca sáli 'tear, rip (clothes, body parts, etc); My sutu kócho'oria; Ls šulá-t 'claw, hoof, finger or toenail'; Ls šula/i- 'be in an enclosure (of animals), vi, put in (pl objs), vt'; Wr suhtú; Cp šul'a; Tr sutú-ra; TO huč / huuč 'claw, hoof, fingernail'; Nv 'utu; PYP huhut; NT úútu; ST huut; Wc šitét; Cr (šité)kucape'e; CN iste-tl; Gb éúr 'hoof, nail'; Ken and Jane Hill add Tbr sutu-r 'mano'—an oversight by the rest of us. Tbr often has \*-t- > -r-/-l-, so Tbr -t- suggests a cluster as well. Num medial -t- and -c- (vs. -r-) suggest a medial cluster \*-Ct-, though Tb and Tak lost the evidence for a cluster, softening to -l- as do most intervocalic \*-t-. Yes to Iannucci, Ken Hill, and AMR's reconstructions with final nasal, as Tb and CNum show it, Kw (-b) suggests it, and others of SNum and Tak show a final -C. An original first vowel of -a- is suggested by Ca and CU, which assimilated to point of articulation for \*siCtun forms and assimilated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel for the \*suCtun forms.

UACV-957 \***taC-situ** 'hoof, i.e., foot-nail': TSh tasitun; Sh ta-sittun; Cm tasiito. [1s,2r,3t2] [NUA: CNum] [\*t > c in SNum, \*t > l in Tak, V > i/\_t] [1s,2r,3t2] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**833** Hebrew **šbr** 'pour, heap up'; Akkadian šabaaru 'bend'; Syriac šbr 'condense (contain/restrict)'; Arabic šabara 'to tie, bind, be patient':

Tepiman soobidai (≈ UA \***cokwiya**) 'head off, stop, prevent': B.Tep200 \*soobidai 'to head off'; M88-co18; KH/M06-co18: TO šoobliđ 'stop, prevent obj from doing s.th., vt'; NT soobidyai 'head off, v'; NT soóbi 'he headed off'; ST soobidy 'head off'; ST soob 'he headed off'. [iddddua] [1s4,2b,3r] [Tep]

**834** Hebrew 'h̄z / 'aḥaz (< \***xđ**) 'take, grasp'; Syriac 'eḥad 'take, hold';

Arabic 'axada 'take', impfv: ya'xudu 'take':

UACV-392 \***u**'... / \***uNwa** 'take, carry': M67-431 'take'; M88-'u1 'carry'; KH/M06-'u1: Gb 'ú' 'take'; Sr 'uu' 'take, pick up, marry (woman)'; Sr na'uu' 'marry (either a man or a woman)'; TO u'u/ui 'accept, get, take pl objs'; TO u'a/u'apa 'bring, arrive carrying'; Eu úu 'traer, coger'; Wr u'i 'bring'; Wr(MM) u'u / u'i 'agarrar, coger'; Cr i'i 'carry (flat sg obj)'. Miller also lists Hp oya 'put pl objs'. Add Ca 'ú' 'put s.th. on the head, carry' and SP uḡwara 'catch (?)'; the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonants of both Hp and SP differ from the glottal stop of other forms, but we do see glottal stop alternations with w/hw and due to clusters. Note that both here and below, SP shows -ŋ- where most show '-'. [\*' = ' in Tep] [1',2h2,2x,3d] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**835** Syriac 'eḥad 'take, hold'; Arabic 'axada 'take', impfv ya'xudu 'take'; Hebrew 'h̄z / 'aaḥaz (< \***xđ**) 'take, grasp'; Hebrew impfv ye'eḥoz (< \*ya'xud), also impfv yooḥez, but \*ya'ḥez seems this proto-form:

UACV-386 \***yawi** / \***ya'wi** / \***yaḡwi** 'carry, grasp': BH.Cup \*yaw 'bring'; M67-79 \*ya 'carry'; I.Num289 \*yaa 'take, fetch'; M88ya4 'carry'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ya4: Mn ya 'put on, wear'; NP yahita 'carry'; NP(B) yakwi 'come with, bring, hold' (vs. hitá 'carry'); Sh yaaC 'get, carry, pick up'; Cm yaa 'take'; Kw yaa 'carry sg. obj'; Kw yaa-ki 'bring'; Kw yawi 'hold'; SP yaa 'carry one obj'; SP yaḡwi 'carry'; CU yáa'way 'carry, take by hand'; Cp yawiči 'carry'; Cp yáwe 'bring, carry'; Ca yáw 'to catch, touch, have, hold, take care of'; Ls yáaw 'have, hold, take'; Sr yaa' 'take, carry'; Sr yaa(i) 'take, seize, catch'; Gb yáw 'tener'; Gb yá'a 'carry it!'; Hp yaaw- 'carry in/by hand'. Add Ch(L) yawi- 'carry in hand or arms'; TO ḡagi 'action with hands'; TO ḡagi-mun 'to massage, knead'; TO ḡagio'id 'take care of, support'; Ktn yaw 'grasp, grab, catch'; Ktn ya' 'carry, bring, vt'; and Tb yīiw 'hold, keep it' (Tb(H) yīiwut / yīwwut 'hold, keep, preserve') a small vowel change. Semitic-p has the prefix \*ya- (vs. kw: yi-) and \*-x- (vs. kw: \*-ḥ-). A cluster \*-ḥ- in Sem-p would surely show -ŋ-, as SP does, but the fact that most do not makes me think -w- may reflect the Sem-p glottal stop \*-x-, and the UA glottal's rare appearance may be the -x- reduced to glottal stop and anticipated. Note similar semantic ranges of the TO terms and Ca yáw 'catch, touch, have, hold, take care of', and the segmental identity to \*yawi. Miller also lists Aztec forms like HN yawa'yawi 'to go', which might be related with a semantic change from 'take, go get' to 'go', but support for such would be nice. And V > i before alveolars. [p:1',2h2,2x,3d] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep; maybe Azt]

**836** p'-šikur 'the-drink':

UA \***packo'or** 'sp. of prickly pear': PYP pasko'or 'type of prickly pear, durasnilla'; Tr péčuri 'nopal o tuna de conejo, Opuntia.' The Tr c and Tep s correspond, and a cluster being reduced in Tr is expectable, as is the raising and fronting of the first vowel in anticipation of the alveolar consonant; we must assume, however, that we are dealing with a compound. [iddddua] [cluster, vowel assimilations] [1p,2s1,3k,4r] [Tep, TrC]

**837** Hebrew pēter 'firstborn'; Semitic \***paṭr-** fits UA well:

UACV-305 \***pa'ti** / \***paC'ti** / \***pa-ci** (AMR) 'older sibling': Sapir; M67-489b \*paci 'older sister'; BH.Cup \*paš? 'older brother'; I.Num143 \*paci('i) 'older sister'; L.Son183 \*paci 'hermano mayor [older brother]'; AMR \*pa'-ci 'older brother'; KH.NUA; M88-pa1 'older brother'; KH/M06-pa1 \*pa'-ci: the following mean 'older brother': Ca pas; Cp pášma; Ls páá'aš;

Sr paar, pl: paaham; Tb paadzi; Eu b́acwa/v́acwa; Tbr waci-r; AYq avaci (of a woman); My ábači (of a woman); Wr pa'č́i; Tr ba'č́i; Cr haaci'i; CN aač-tli 'older brother of younger sister'; note CN ačto 'first'. The Num forms mean 'older sister': TSh paci; Sh paci; Cm paci; Kw pazi; SP paci-; CU paci-ci. Kenneth Hill adds Ktn -par 'older brother', pl: paham. This etymon \*pa'ti means 'older brother' in SUA and Takic, but 'older sister' in Numic; thus simply 'older sibling' or 'oldest' or 'first'. Add Op vapaci 'older brothers' (Shaul 1990, 565). Note CN showing nearly the same morpheme in both 'older brother' and 'first' except for differing vowel length. Also note the prevalence of the glottal stop (Wr, Tr, Cr, Ls, and Num); Iannucci's reconstruction (\*paci'i) may work here for all of UA since the glottal stop hop is a frequent phenomenon in UA, especially in SUA, where Tr and Wr show that pattern in this set also. [ʔ; cluster] 1p,2t,3r [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**838** Hebrew nṣ́ 'to breathe'; Hebrew nṣ́ 'breath, life, soul'; and unattested Hebrew \*hippiš́:

UACV-302 \*hikwis 'breathe, spirit, heart': VVH55 \*hikwi(s) 'breathe'; B.Tep308 \*'iibidaga 'soul, heart'; M67-60 \*hik/\*hikw; BH.Cup \*hikwVsa; M88-hi3; KH.NUA; KH/M06-hi3: Hp hiikwis-ta 'breathe'; Tb 'ihk-(it) / 'i'ixk / 'i'ihk; Sr hiik 'breathe, be alive, come to life, get/be well'; Ca hikus 'breathe, take a rest'; Cp hiqsá'e 'rest'; qusá'e 'breathe'; Ls hakwís 'to breathe, be alive, take a rest'; Gb híkin 'wind, spirit'; Eu híbes 'heart'; Wr iwi; Tr iwi/ew. Ken Hill adds Ktn hikaw 'breath, to breathe'; CN ikwšoa 'sneeze, vi'; and queries whether Wc iweme 'via respiratoria' is cognate. Perhaps borrowed from Tr, as Wc kw is the usual reflex for PUA \*kw, while \*kw > Tr w. Note medial \*-kw- > -w- in Tr/Wr. Eu b < \*kw and Tr, Tak, Hp, and Azt also show medial \*kw, from an unattested hiqtiil: \*hinpiš́ > hikwis. [kw] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**839** Semitic napš́ 'spirit' prepounded with paa 'water'; that is, water-spirit > fog/mist:

Hp panéwsi 'mist, fog' (Voegelin 1957, 15). [idddua]

**840** Hebrew pwś 'spread, disperse, overflow'; scatter is what a wind does when it blows:

UACV-261a \*puca 'blow' (AMR): B.Tep286 \*vusitai-i 'blow'; M67-49a \*puc, 49b \*puhi; CL.Azt17 \*piica 'blow', 43 \*aapiica 'defecate, have diarrhea'; L.Son219 \*puca; KH.NUA; M88-pu12; AMR 1992b; KH/M06-pu12 \*puca (AMR): TO wus 'exhalation'; TO wuso(t) 'blow on obj'; Nv bustana; busiota 'soplar'; NT vúst'yi / vúst'iai; ST vušt'ya; Eu pupúca; Wr pupúce; Tr puč́a; Wc hície; CN piica 'blow on s.th., huff and puff with anger, play wind instrument'; CN tlal-piica 'blow, huff, v.'; CN il-piica 'inflate, blow s.th. up'; Yq púhta; My puhtia(k); Sr poiikkin; Gb pú'i; Cp puwe; púwine 'blow on, into'; Ca pú'an / púwan. Hp poya(kna) 'puff at' shows AMR's law \*-c- > -y- (AMR 1992b). SUA is quite consistently \*c, and Hp shows expected y (< \*-c-). Tb(H) puuyut, pfv: uupuy 'be full, get full' corresponds to Hp and the others, and aligns with another meaning of Semitic pwś, that is, 'overflow'. Maybe Tb(H) puškat, impv uppušk 'blow'; Tb(M) puskat/upusk; Tb(V) pušk. [idddua] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**841** Semitic \*pš́l; Hebrew pišš́el, impfv: -pašš́el 'skin, peel away (bark from sticks), decorticate';

Hebrew pəša'alaa, pl: pəša'aloot 'stripped sections (of sticks)'; Arabic fašala, impfv: -pš́ilu 'separate, part, detach'; Arabic bš́l II 'peel off skin, strip layers (as from onion)'; whether from unattested impfv \*-pš́al with loss of -p- in a cluster or from the denominalized noun pəša'alaa:

UACV-2020 \*cala/i 'bark, shell': Cp čála-l 'bark'; Cp čále 'husk, shell, vt'; Ca čáli 'to hatch (eggs as a bunch)'; Ls čáála/i 'break off pieces from a surface, as bark from a tree, flakes from a rock, vt; lose shingles in a windstorm (of a house)'. [1p,2s4,3l] [NUA: Tak]

**842** Hebrew pišš́el, impfv: -pašš́el 'skin, peel away (bark from sticks), decorticate'; Arabic fašala 'separate, part, detach'; the UA vowel in \*cila aligns with Semitic, as in the Arabic impfv stem -fš́ilV, which vowel (i) is rare; a verb of similar meaning, which also matches the correspondences is Arabic bš́l II 'peel off skin':

UACV-144 \*cila 'to shell, hatch out, be born': M88-ci22; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ci22: Sr čilykam 'small children'; Ca čilyay 'to shell (nuts, etc.)'; Ls čiila/i 'hatch out (of chicks), remove shell'. These may relate to \*cali 'shell, hatch' and \*cala 'bark'. These match the impfv stem which would lose p as first element of a cluster. [loss of p in cluster; V's i-a/a-i] [1p,2s4,3l] [NUA: Tak]

**843** Hebrew pišš́el, impfv: -pašš́el 'skin, peel away (bark from sticks), decorticate';

Arabic fašala 'separate, part, detach'; Arabic bašš́ala II 'peel off skin':

UA \*pacca 'to shell': Tb(H) pacaah 'to shell, vt'; Tb pacaahil 'shelled pine nuts'. This is problematic in that we would expect c > y or š > s, unless šš > cc after the productivity of c > y. [kw1p,2s4,3l]

**844** Hebrew pišš́el, impfv: -pašš́el 'skin, peel away (bark from sticks), decorticate';

Arabic fašala 'separate, part, detach'; Arabic bašš́ala II 'peel off skin':

UACV-1582 \*pisa 'out, go out': M67-199 \*pis 'go out'; M88-pi11 'go out'; KH/M06-pi11: Tb pišš́at~'ipiš́ 'exit, go / come out, be born, emerge from'; Ls pisá-t 'outdoors, outside'; Ls pisá-ŋa 'go outdoors, urinate'; Ls pisa-y

‘go outdoors’. \*pisa ‘urinate’ (Ls pisá-ŋa-, Ca pis) is maybe same stem as \*pisa ‘go/come out’ since identical stems ‘go out’ and ‘urinate’ were custom before indoor plumbing. [idddua] [p1p,p2s4,p3l] [NUA:Tb, Tak]

**845** Hebrew piššēl, impfv: -paššēl ‘skin, peel away (bark from sticks), decorticate’; Arabic fašala ‘separate, part, detach’; Arabic bšl II ‘peel off skin’; the Tb form below fits the Semitic impfv pattern: yi-pšal: Tb(H) ii’šat ‘shell, vt’. [p1p,p2s4,p3l]

**846** Hebrew piššēl, impfv: -paššēl ‘skin, peel away (bark from sticks), decorticate’; Arabic fašala ‘separate, part, detach’; UA aligns with Semitic/Arabic impfv stem ta-fšilV:

UACV-2018 \*taCca / \*ta’ci ‘bark, shell’: Ca táča-l ‘bark of a tree’; Ls tááci ‘bark, shell (as of turtle, nuts)’; perhaps also related are Cp táče ‘hatch’ in the sense of ‘shelling oneself’ and Ca táča ‘lie down on back’ since ‘back’ and ‘bark’ show semantic ties elsewhere (B.Tep105a \*komi ‘back, bark of tree’). Tr řa’či ‘concha’. Perhaps CN tapač-tli ‘sea shell, cora’. [reduction; \*-c- in NUA < -CC-?] [SUA: TrC, Azt; NUA: Tak]

**847** Hebrew pol ‘bean(s)’:

UACV-132 \*(ti)-pol ‘bean’: a case for \*-pol- (or \*ti-pol) in Ca tévil- of Ca tévilmalem / tévinmalem ‘beans, pink beans’ (since Ca i < \*o), the -wol/pol portion of TO hawol/hawpol ‘lima bean’ if a different morpheme before -wol/pol, Eu tépar ‘kind of bean’ if vowel changed. Maybe Tbr tolom ‘pochote, frijol pinto’ (ti-wol > twol > tol...). [1p,2l] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**848** Hebrew/Aramaic ba ‘in/at it (fem sg obj)’:

UACV-78 \*-pa ‘at, in’: Hp -pa/-va ‘diffusive suffix, distributed along, in, or on an area, on surface of’; Ch -va / -vah /-vaa ‘at, future’; Ch upa’a ‘in, locative’; CU -vaa-(ti) ‘at’; CU -vá-(ti) ‘on’; CU -vaa-tux ‘to, toward’; SP -pa ‘at’; Nv ba; aba; ubai hubana; Tr -mo-ba ‘on’. Also the final \*-pa in Tr řepó-pa ‘espalda’; Tr řepo-gá ‘dorso, espalda’; Tr řepo-mina ‘de espaldas, sobre la espalda’; Wr tehpóba ‘back’; Tbr ha-vá-n, ho-vá-n ‘dentro de’; Wc -pa ‘en, dentro de’. [p1b] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**849** Aramaic be ‘in/at it (masc sg obj)’:

UACV-79 \*-pī ‘at’: KH/M06-ns10: Kw -pi/-vi ‘at, on’; Hp -pe, -ve ‘punctive suffix: at, in, or on’, -ep ‘there, at, in, on’; Gb -ve; Cp -eve’aw ‘on, over, in’; Ca pé-tuk ‘under, inside’; Ktn -pea, -vea ‘locational/derivational suffix = ‘at’ etc; Eu vepé ‘encima, sobre’; Eu vepévai; Yq béas ‘a dentro’ and the first parts of \*pī-pan in Yq béppa; AYq vepa; My beppa; Tbr we-pán ‘sobre, encima de’. [p1b] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: TrC]

**850** Hebrew(KB) mō’od ‘strength, very, very greatly, exceedingly, adv (< ‘strength, n’); Ugaritic mad / mid / mud; Hebrew(BDB) mō’od ‘muchness, force, abundance, exceedingly’; Akkadian ma’du ‘much’:

UACV-15 \*mu’i ‘many, much’: B.Tep157a \*mu’i ‘many’; 157b \*mu’idu ‘there are many’; M67-276 \*mui ‘many’; L.Son154 \*mui ‘muchos’; CL.Azt112 \*mōyak ‘much’ < 256 PUA\*\*mī(?)i ‘much’: TO mu’i; LP mu’i; NT mui; ST mui’; Eu múi ‘mucho’; Wr muáe-na ‘haber mucho’; Tr mu/mo ‘varios, muchos, aumentativo’; Tbr mui/mui-á-r ‘muchos’; Cr mwí’i ‘many’; Wc mīré ‘muchos, numeroso, plural’; Wc mīša ‘mucho tiempo’; CN miyak ‘much, many’. Sapir cites Ls muyuk ‘much’, which reflects CN miyak ‘much’. The y of some forms may be a reduction of \*mu’i... > muy... after loss of ‘r’ or excrement as adjacent to i. Likely from Sem-kw with fronting of \*o > i/\_d, as is typical of Sem-kw before r, d, and such alveolars. Also Wc mīré and Tbr and others may reflect the final -d. [kw1m,2’,3d] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**851** Akkadian paanu ‘front, pl: face’; Hebrew \*paane ‘front, face, surface’, pl: \*paniim, pl construct panee’- ‘face, surface of’; Hebrew panaa-w ‘face-his, surface-its’ (panaa- ‘face’ with the m.sg. suffix):

UACV-829 \*pana ‘cheek’: Tr baná ‘mejilla [cheek], carrillo, cachete, cara [face], rostro’; Wr paná ‘cheek, face’. [p: 1p,2n,3y] [SUA: TrC]

**852** Akkadian paanu ‘front, pl: face’; Hebrew \*paane ‘front, face, surface’, pl: \*paniim, pl construct panee’- ‘face, surface of’:

UACV-77 \*pani/pana ‘on, on surface of’: CN pani ‘on top, on the outside or surface’; CN -pan ‘on the surface, for or at a particular time, postp.’; Tb taŋaaban ‘on top’; Tb wataaban ‘on top’; Tr paní ‘arriba en la falda [up on the ridge]’; Tbr -pá-(n) ‘locativo: en, dentro de, sobre’; Cr an ‘on top’; Cr hapwaán ‘encima, sobre’; SP -paa-N ‘at’; TSh pa’an/pan ‘on, above, at, about, by (means of transport)’; Sh(M) panai ‘up, high’; Sh(M) pan ‘on’; Sh(M) pa’a ‘up, high’; Sh(Cr) pan, panaiC, pa’ai, pai, pankaiC ‘up, high, above’. Many \*pani/pana forms suggest a meaning of ‘surface, flat surface.’ Note TSh pana(pin) ‘chest, front of body’ and CN eelpan ‘chest (lit. organ-surface)’ relative to \*pana/pani ‘surface, on’; and Sh(M) pana ‘front of the body’; Sh(M) mappana ‘palm of hand’; Sh(M) tappana ‘sole of foot’; Sh(M) panapuih ‘mirror’; and Tr and Wr pana ‘cheek’ (at ‘face’) also relate, as chest, cheek, palm, and sole are all body parts with a surface. Sh shows pan ‘on’ and pa’a ‘up, high’ and panai ‘up, high.’ [p1p,2n,3y] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Azt]

**853** Aramaic(S) ḥippušit-aa ‘beetle-the, n.f.’; Arabic \*xunpusaa’ / xunpus ‘beetle’;

Aramaic(J) ḥippuušit ‘scarabee, beetle, n.f.’:

UACV-317 \*wippusi > \*pippusi ‘stink beetle’: Ch wiposat ‘13-line beetle’ (Harrington noun list); Mn pipósi/piboisi ‘stink beetle’; NP pipuzi ‘stink beetle’; Sh pippusi ‘stink beetle’. This is in all 3 Numic branches, and Ch may reflect an original form, from which the others harmonized consonants. This is a most interesting parallel in that a cluster in Arabic showing first consonant as -n- always doubles the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant in Hebrew and Aramaic: Proto-Semitic/Arabic \*-nC- > -CC-; thus, \*xunpusaa’ > ḥippušit > UA \*wippusa / \*pippusi, a lengthy (6-segment) match. The -p- in Ch (vs. -v-) and the other languages show \*-pp- in UA as well. And the vowels are identical to Aramaic \*-i-u-i. [kw1x>h2,kw2pp,kw3s1,kw3t] [NUA: WNum, CNum, SNum]

**854** Hebrew saas ‘clothes moth’ (< \*sws); Akkadian saasu ‘moth’; Arabic sawisa ‘be worm-eaten, moth-eaten’, impfv: ya-swasu; Arabic suus ‘woodworm, mothworm’; Aramaic(J) saas-aa ‘moth, worm-the’; because UA \*s > Tepiman h, TO and ST show \*soso- in compounds for ‘butterfly’:

UACV-328 \*soso-kimara ‘butterfly’: B.Tep71 \*hohokimara ‘butterfly’; M88so13; KH/M06-so13: TO hohokimal; NT totóokimara ‘butterfly’ (different 1<sup>st</sup> morpheme); ST hookmar/hokmar. Remember that Tepiman h < UA \*s. NT has a different prefix, while both TO and ST reflect \*soso- or \*so(s)- with \*-kimar ‘butterfly’; because long aa (as in Aramaic long aa) corresponds to Hebrew long oo, or sometimes changes to long oo, then enough round vowels are potential or seen (Arabic suus) in the Semitic data above that UA \*soso or \*so(s) ‘moth’ is a compelling match. [medial C, vowels, L/liquids] [s3,2s3] [SUA: Tep]

**855** Hebrew yḥm ‘be in heat’ (alternate form of ḥmm ‘feel warm, get warm’); Arabic waḥam ‘rut, heat’ (Arabic initial w corresponds to Hebrew initial y); Aramaic(J) yaḥem ‘to heat, vt’ (paʕel):

UACV-528 \*yuma > \*yoma ‘copulate’: VVH111 \*yoma ‘copulate’; M67-99 \*yo; M88-yo3; KH/M06-yo3: VVH list TO doom and Tb yoom; Ca yim ‘have intercourse’ also corresponds to TO and Tb, because Ca i < \*o. Add Hp yomi(-k-) ‘give a pelvic thrust, simulate copulation’; Yq nau yuuma-k ‘unir’, both of which may display the original vowel—\*yuma > \*yoma—TO, Tb, and Ca possibly subject to lowering of \*u > o/\_a. [1y,2h2,3m] [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**856** Hebrew yḥm ‘be in heat’ (alternate form of ḥmm ‘feel warm, get warm’); Arabic waḥam ‘rut, heat’ (Arabic initial w corresponds to Hebrew initial y); Aramaic(J) yaḥem ‘to heat, vt’ (paʕel):

UACV-1210 \*yu’mi / \*yuwmi ‘warm’: M67-453 \*yu ‘warm’; L.Num293 \*yu’a/\*yu’i ‘warm’; M88-yu9 ‘warm’; KH/M06-yu9: Mn yuwi ‘be warm, v’; NP yui; Sh yuai ‘warm’; Cm yu’a ‘warm (of weather)’; SP yuuttui ‘warm’; SP yu’mi ‘warm (of water)’; yu’ata (of weather); Hp yoṇi ‘be warm’. Hp and SP suggest a medial cluster rather than a single consonant. [cluster] [1y,2h2,3m] [NUA: Num, Hp]

**857** Hebrew ḥlp ‘come by turns, pass on, pass over, fade away’ > Wr yuipa ‘be worn out’. [idddua] [1h2,2l,3p]

The following two sets for ‘ankle’ are successive sets in the Uto-Aztecan Comparative Vocabulary, and both match Semitic qrsł ‘ankle’ but each matches a different vowelizing of those four consonants: Semitic qarsol ‘ankle’ > UA \*kwinco ‘ankle’; and Semitic qursil / qursin ‘ankle’ > UA \*koci ‘ankle’:

**858** Hebrew qarsol ‘ankle’; Middle Hebrew qarṣol / qarṣol ‘ankle’; Aramaic(J) qarsool / qarsool-aa ‘ankle’; Assyrian kiṣallu:

UACV-40 \*-kwinco- in UA \*ta-(k)wi(n)co-ko ‘ankle’: Mn ta’wizogo; NP daggwiddzogo; TSh tawincoko. \*ta-(k)wi(n)co-ko is a compound: ta- ‘leg, foot’; -ko ‘at’; and remaining \*-kwinco- matches with rounding of Sem-p’s q, a > i from either unstressed centralization or assimilating to the alveolar C, liquid r > n, and affricativization of s in a cluster. [kw1q,2r,3s3,4l] [NUA: Num]

**859** Syriac qursal-aa ‘ankle bone’; Akkadian kursinnu ‘region of the ankle-bone’:

UACV-41 \*koci ‘ankle(bone)’ Kaufman1981; Manaster-Ramer(1992b) cites this set in "A Northern UA sound law: \*-c- > -y-": he lists Hp qöyi {Hp siiqöyi ‘anklebone’ (Hill); Hp(V) síyiqöyi ‘ankle’} and Tr baca-koci {Tr baca-go(a)-ra ‘tobillo’; Tr baca-koči ‘en el tobillo’ (locative of Tr baca-go(a)-ra)}. If the UA equivalent of the Tr locative suffix Tr -či ‘at, in’ is fossilized in the Hp cognate, then they match. The -koš- of TO čikoš-da ‘ankle rattle’ (\*-koc > Tep -kos) fits \*koci. Add Azt \*koc ‘heel’ with slightly shifted semantics: CN(RJC) in-koc-titeč ‘on their ankles’ and ikooč ‘heel’ in Nahuatl de Sierra de Zacapoaxtla. [\*-c- > NUA y; \*c > Tep s] [p1q,p2r,p3s3,p4l] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**860** Hebrew qaaṭaan ‘small, young’; Hebrew qaaṭoon ‘small, young’:

UACV-145 \***kuci** ‘child, girl’: Tr ku\*či ‘girls’; Tr kuči ‘little ones’; Tr kúčiwa ‘son(s), daughter(s), i.e., offspring of either gender’; Wr kuh-tewé ‘girl’; Wr kucitá, ku’-kuci (reduplicated form) ‘son, daughter’; CN kokocin ‘girl, servant girl’; note how similar are CN kokocin and Wr ku’kuci ‘children’. [p1q,p2t2,p3n] [SUA: Azt, TrC]

**861** Hebrew qšy / qaašay ‘be heavy, hard, difficult’; Aramaic(J) qəša ‘be hard, difficult’; (qš’ lib-e ‘hard-hearted’); Aramaic(S) qəše ‘hard, severe, difficult, harmful’; Arabic qsw ‘be harsh, cruel, treat severely without mercy’; Syriac qš’ / qšy / qəša’ / **qəšaa** ‘difficult, severe, strong (of smell), **harsh (of taste)**’:

UACV-239 \***kisa** ‘sour’: Ls kóša/i ‘be sweet or salty’; Ls kuš-úla ‘be sour’ (listed with koša/i);

Cp kešelvekéšelva’a-š ‘too sour, adj’. [iddddua] [\*i > Ls o > u] [NUA: Tak]

UACV-2090 \***kisa** ‘harm(ed), bad’: M88-ki16; KH/M06-ki16: Cp kéše/ kəš- ‘to injure, hurt’; Sr kíʿšaa’ ‘bad’; Sr kíʿšaa’ik / kišaa’t ‘badly’; Ktn kíša’ ‘no good, bad’. Notice that Semitic meanings include ‘harmful’ as Cp, and ‘cruel, harsh’ for Sr and Ktn; and ‘harsh of taste’ for ‘sour’ in UACV-239 above. [p1q,p2s1,p3’] [NUA: Tak]

**862** Hebrew **qbs**, niqṭal 3<sup>rd</sup> impfv: **yiqqabeš** ‘assemble, be assembled, gather, meet’ (that is, ‘come, arrive’; stress on 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> syllables causing loss of stress on 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable and loss of the -q- syllable); Arabic qbḍ (i) ‘seize, grasp, collect’, impfv **ya-qbiḍ**(V); Hebrew qittel 3<sup>rd</sup> impfv: yaqabbes ‘gather together’; Hebrew 3<sup>rd</sup> yit-qattel impfv: yitqabbes ‘gather, meet’:

UACV-58 \***yipisa** (> \***yipsa** / \***yipisa**) ‘come’: B.Tep20a \*divia ‘he comes’; M67-97 \*ye ‘come (sg.)’; M88-yī7; KH/M06-yī7: TO jiwa; UP jiwia; LP divia; PYp devia; NT dyidyíivai/diidiíivai ‘venir, regresar, llegar’; Yq yépsa sg.; My yépsa- sg. B.Tep20b \*divi agai ‘he is going to come’ is also related. The three consonants—y, p, s—are evident, though in the Tep languages, where \*s > h, the resulting h in a cluster would hardly last long, leaving Tep \*diva (< \*yipsa), as in NT, or \*yipisa > Tep \*divi(h)a as expected in UP, LP, and PYp. I do not find B.Tep20a \*divia ‘he comes’ nor B.Tep20b \*divi agai ‘he is going to come’ listed in M88; however, Kenneth Hill includes B.Tep20 in KH/M06-yī7. Tep \*diva / \*divia fits Cah \*yepsa quite well, with a slight vowel change, which occurs in Tep itself, since PYp and B.Tep20b \*divi agai both show the first vowel to be i also. Of the two Yq forms—Yq háse ‘alcanzar’ and Yq yépsa ‘viene, llega’—it seems the latter belongs here (likewise for My yépsa) and the former belongs with \*hapsi/ha’si below. A \*yipisa/\*yipisa vs. \*hapsi division is preferable, since both the initial C and first V are different. [p1y,p2q,p3b,4s4] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**863** Arabic qbḍ (i) ‘seize, grasp, collect’, impfv: **ya-qbiḍ**(V); Hebrew qittel infinitive: qabbes ‘gather together’, **qabbəš-i** (with a suffix); or Hebrew qbs (in hitqattel pl) (hit/yit)-**qabbəšu** ‘gather, meet’ (> \*qabsu > UA \*hapsV);

UACV-57 \***ha’si** / \***hapsi** ‘arrive, reach, catch up to’: Sapir; VVH59 \*’asi/\*’asi ‘arrive’; B.Tep298 \*’ai(himi); CL.Azt3 \*ahsi; L.Son53 \*hasi/\*has-i; M88-ha9 ‘arrive’; AMR1993; KH/M06-ha9: Eu hasé/hási; Tbr asi/hasé; Wr asi-néa ‘arrive’; Tr sí ‘llegar o nacer varios’; CN a’si ‘reach, arrive’; HN ‘asi’ ‘arrive’; Pl ahsi ‘arrive, find, encounter, reach, catch up with, fit’; TO aha/a’ahé/aa’i ‘overtake, reach’; NT ááhyi ‘arrive, reach, be enough’. Sapir includes Wc aše ‘llegar varias veces’ which was left out of later cognate collections, but belongs. Add Yq háse ‘alcanzar, perseguir’ and Cp háši/háše ‘go’. This set is discussed in Manaster-Ramer 1993, where he brings evidence to bear that we are dealing with a medial cluster. There he introduces Tb apsV ‘arrive’ from the Harrington materials. The final -i vowel could be UA’s default schwa when speakers tend not to end words with consonants. [cluster; Sem š > ’ in Num ? not in Tb, Hp] [p1q,p2bb,p3s4] [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**864** Arabic **quppat** ‘large basket’; Aramaic(J) **quupp-aa** ‘basket, large vessel’ and **quupt-aa**; Later Hebrew quuppaa ‘basket, tub, ball’ (Jastrow 1337); Later Hebrew quuppaa ‘basket’ (Klein 586). The Hebrew plural would be \***quuppoot**:

UACV-119 \***koppot** ‘basket’: Ls qéépiš ‘baby basket’; Sr qöpöt ‘round kind of basket’ (note also Sr qöpöt-t ‘turtle’). The -p- vs. -v- in the above languages derives from a doubled consonant, as we see in Aramaic. Of interest is the Sr form, which aligns well with the Aramaic pl of a f. noun: quppoot [p1q,p2pp,p3t]

The next three items relate to Semitic ṭmn > ṭmr ‘hide, bury’ (Aramaic) with reference to ‘cooking underground or under ashes’; see 866 Nahuatl tamal-li also originally cooked underground with coals/ashes’.

**865** From Semitic ṭmn > Aramaic ṭmr ‘hide, bury’ with references to ‘cooking underground or under ashes’ is Hebrew ṭmn ‘hide’ which in Post-Biblical Hebrew also meant ‘put in an oven’ (Klein 245) besides ‘hide under the earth, cover with earth’; Aramaic changed n > r, as it often does (ben ‘son’ > bar ‘son’); Aramaic ṭmr was then borrowed into other Semitic languages, such as Arabic ṭamara ‘bury, cover with earth’ as both

KB and Klein note; Akkadian *ṭamaaru*; Aramaic(S) *ṭmr* ‘hide, conceal’; Aramaic(S) *ṭamiir* ‘hidden’; Syriac *ṭmr / ṭamar* ‘hide or bury under the earth, cover with earth’; especially note Syriac **ṭamiir-taa** ‘a loaf baked in ashes’ and Akkadian **tumru** ‘ash(es), cinder, bread baked over coals’:

**UACV-527 \*tī’ma / \*tī’ama’a** ‘roast, bake (under ashes, under ground), bury’: M67-353a; KH.NUA; M88-tī54 ‘roast’; KH/M06- tī54 ‘roast, bake’: Sr tīī’ ‘roast, bake, vi’; Sapir lists the identical SP terms separately: SP tī’ma ‘to roast under ashes’ and SP tī’ma ‘bury’ but then wonders aloud whether they are not the same item. Indeed they are as the rest of UA shows, though with the clustered -r- anticipated: *ṭumra* > tī’ma. Add Hp tīī’ami ‘grave’; Eu tēmo ‘enterrar [bury, inter]’; and Wr(MM) we-temāhi ‘enterrar [inter]’. Several other SNum forms are consistent with SP: WMU tīm’ma-y ‘bake (usually underground)’; Ch tīm’á ‘bake, v’; SP tī’ma- ‘roast under ashes, bury’; CU tu’máy ‘bake, roast’. Some terms point to \*tī’ama ‘bury, grave’: SP tī’ma ‘roast under ashes, bury’. Tb(M) tī’ma’at ‘gasp for breath, for instance, while drowning, choking, or suffocating’ [or while covered] is nearly identical to SP phonologically, but varies semantically. Sapir also lists SP *tocci-rī’ma-ppi* ‘roasted bread’. [V’s] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: TrC]

**866** From Semitic *ṭmn* > *ṭmr* ‘hide, bury’ (explained above) are several Semitic forms but note especially Syriac *ṭmr / ṭamar* ‘hide or bury under the earth, cover with earth’; and Syriac **ṭamiir-taa** ‘a loaf baked in ashes’ and Akkadian **tumru** ‘ash(es), cinder, bread baked over coals’:

**UACV-284 \*tīmal-** ‘tortilla, tamale’: M88-tī8 ‘tortilla’; KH/M06-tī8: TO *cīmait*; Wr *temei*; Tr *fémé* ‘tamale, hacer tamales’; CN *tamal-li* ‘bread made of steamed cornmeal, tamale’. “Is Hp *tīma* ‘stone griddle’ cognate?” Miller queries. Yes. Ken Hill adds Cr *temwá* ‘tamal’. Jane Hill (2007) adds ST *tīmaiči* ‘tamale’. PB *tīmi-ta* ‘tortilla’ (Estrada Fernandez 2003, 184) also belongs. Add the latter part of Nv *vivak tīmaita* ‘pan de piciete’. The SNum forms below may represent the underlying verb as well. I include the liquid l in the reconstruction due to (1) its presence in CN, (2) the general lack of proto-diphthongs in UA, which diphthongs are usually due to loss of an intervening C or assimilation (i.e., ai < \*aCi or aiCi < \*aCi), (3) the fact that UA liquids often encourage assimilation toward, if not become, high front vowels (\*l > i/i), and (4) the presence of such a high front vowel in other reflexes where CN’s liquid is. These tie to \*tīm’a / \*tī’ma ‘bake under ashes, bake underground’: Ch *tīm’a-* ‘bake’; SP *tī’ma-* ‘roast under ashes’; WMU *tīm’ma-y* ‘bake or roast (usually underground)’ and others found at ‘cook’, including Kw *tī’ma* at both tī8 ‘tamale’ and tī54 ‘roast, bake’. [Liquids and high front V’s] [NUA: SNum; Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**867** Syriac *ṭmr / ṭamar* ‘hide or bury under the earth, cover with earth’; Syriac **ṭamiir-taa** ‘a loaf baked in ashes’; this stem stems not from the impfv *qal*, whose vowel is o/u, but is similar to the *hi-qṭil*—*hi-ṭmar*—which creates a cluster, in which the first is lost, and the -marV is left. The *hi-* becomes rather optional in UA, yet note its appearance in Op *hima*; Eu *himá*:

**UACV-324 \*ma’a / \*mahī** ‘bury’: M67-108 \*ma ‘cover’; L.Son129 \*ma ‘cocer al horno’; M88-ma10 ‘cover’ and ma24 are correctly combined in KH/M06ma10: My *máá’a* ‘enterrar’; Wr *mahi-ná* ‘bury, cook in the ground’; Tr *má-* ‘cocer al horno’; TO *ma’i* ‘cover (food) in a roasting pit’; Op *hima*; Eu *himá*; Yq *má’a* ‘enterrar’; AYq *ma’a/hima’a* ‘bury, vt’ (in contrast to Yq *hímma’a* ‘tejer’); AYq *ma’ari* ‘buried’; AYq *hima’awa* ‘burial, funeral’. L.Son129 includes Eu(north) *hima* and Opata *hima*. Ken Hill adds SP *na-ma’ni* or SP *na-soko-ma’ni* ‘cover self with moist earth’; Cm *mana’koroomi* ‘cover s.th. over’; TO *ma’išp* ‘cover, vt’; TO *ma’i* ‘pit roast’; TO *mamma’ikud* ‘roasting pit’; Eu *meitemon* ‘echar a tatamar mescal’. Perhaps also Tbr *mwai-rá-n* ‘asado’. Miller includes Tb *masat-’amas* ‘cover, vt’; Tb *maasat* ‘bag’ though the variety of medial consonants (h, ’, s) creates problems beyond initial syllable (which is all Miller reconstructs). [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**868** Aramaic *ṭwr-* / *ṭuur-aa* ‘rock, hill, mountain-the’:

**UACV-1459 \*toya** ‘mountain’: I.Num221 \*toya ‘mountain’; M88-to18 ‘mountain’; KH/M06-to18: Mn *toyábi*; TSh *toyapi(n)*; Sh *toya-pin*; Cm *toya*; SP *toya* (found only in song, likely borrowed from Sh, say Sapir and Miller). SNum \*toyaN: Ch(L) *toyompī* ‘boulder’; Ch(L) *toyonkarīrī* ‘Boulder Sitting (name of mtn)’; SP *toiampī* ‘gravel, rocks big and small’ with nasalization. [r > y in Sem-p? Or Sem-kw?] [1t2,2w,3r] [NUA: Num]

**869** Syriac *ṭaan / ṭa’n* ‘body of a shirt’:

**UACV-495 \*taa** ‘shirt, clothing’: SP *taa’ü* ‘shirt’; CU *táa* ‘shirt, clothes’; WMU *taá’a / taá’* ‘clothes, shirt, dress, n’; perhaps Ktn *tavī-č / taavī-č* ‘buckskin’ and Ktn *tavī* (referring to clothes). Jane Hill notes that these may tie to UACV-256 \*tawayī, 148 in this work. [1t2,2’,3n] [NUA: SNum, Tak]

**870** Syriac(CAL) *bwḥšyn(’)* ‘green herbs’; Syriac *buwḥšīinaa* ‘tender grass, herbage in a field’:

**UACV-1075 \*puhiC** ‘green’: I.Num157 \*puhi ‘green’; M88-pu15; KH/M06-pu15: Mn *puhi* ‘blue, green’; Mn *papuhi* ‘grass’; NP *puhi* ‘blue, green’; TSh *puhi/pui* ‘blue, green’; Sh *pui* ‘green’; Sh *puiC, pui-ppīh* ‘grass’; Kw *puhi-gi* ‘green’. [idddua] [NUA: Num]

**UACV-1296 \*puhiC** ‘leaf’: NP *puuhi-ggwidaddī*; Cm *puhi(pī)*. \*puhi in the outer languages (NP, Cm) and \*pisi in the inner languages (Mn, TSh) recommends contact holding more influence on these forms than genetics. [p1b,2h2,3s1,4n] [NUA: WNum, CNum]

UACV-1295 \***pi**si ‘leaf’: Stubbs2003-38: Mn pisi ‘leaf’; TSh pisi(cci) ‘leaf’; PYp vihigim ‘have complete leaves’. Unlike the above, this may have kept the s, but assimilated the vowel. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

**871** Hebrew ’pl ‘be dark’; Hebrew ’opel ‘darkness’; Hebrew ’aapel ‘dark’; Hebrew ’apela ‘darkness’; Arabic ’afala (< \*’apala) ‘go down, set (of stars)’; like ‘set’ and ‘go down’, this Semitic root also means ‘be late, in the day or in the season’; a causative Hebrew form in Jastrow’s Aramaic(J) is later Hebrew hē’epiil ‘make dark’ with unattested impfv ya’piil (m.) and ta’piil (f.). The unattested huqta 3<sup>rd</sup> sg masc and fem passive of the above root would be Hebrew \***yu’pal** and \***tu’pal** ‘become dark, be gone down (light)’ aligning perfectly with UA \*yu’pa(l) and \*tu’pa(l) in the sets below; in UA \*cuppa, the palatalization t- > c- due to the high vowel u, and the cluster doubles the -pp-: Semitic \***tu’pal** > **cuppa**:

UACV-891 \***cuppa** ‘fire go out’: M67-171 \*cupa ‘fire go out’; 236 \*cu ‘go out (of fire)’; M88-cu9; KH/M06-co21: Tb cupat, ’ucup ‘be out (of fire)’; Tb(H) cuppat ‘fire to be out, go out’; Wr co’a ‘put out fire’; Wr co’i ‘be out (of fire)’; Tr čo’á-ri- ‘have another put out fire; Tr čo’wí ‘dark’; Nv tubanu ‘bajar de lo alto [go down from high up]’. [pd: 1t,2’,3p,4l] [SUA: TrC, Tep; NUA: Tb]

In the following, the semantic tie goes from ‘set, go down, end (day)’ to ‘end (of whatever)’:

UACV-871a \***cuCpa/i** / \***cuppa** ‘finish, be end of s.th.’: I.Num258 \*cu/\*co ‘disappear’; M88-cu1 ‘finish’; KH/M06-cu1: Mn cuppa ‘disappear’; NP coppa ‘s.th. sinking’; My cúppe ‘terminarse, vi’; My cúppa ‘terminar, vt’; AYq čupa ‘finish, complete, fulfill (vow)’; AYq hi(t)čupa ‘completing, fulfilling (vow), harvesting’; AYq čupe ‘get completed, finished, married, ripe’; AYq čupia ‘be complete’; Yq čúpa ‘terminar (bien)’; Wr cu’piba-ni ‘acabar’; Sr ’ičo’kin ‘make, fix, finish’; Wc sīi ‘finish’. Note Mn ‘disappear’ and NP ‘sinking’ reflect ‘sun going down’. The over-lapping semantics (finish/harvest) in Cah (My, AYq) may have us keep in mind \*cuppV ‘gather, close eyes’. Does Sr ’ičo’kin ‘make, fix, finish’ have hi- prefix or is it from Hebrew ya-suup ‘come to an end’?

UACV-871b \***copa** / \***cupa** ‘braid, finish weaving’: Tr čobá/čóba- ‘trenzarse, hacerse la trenza’; Tb tazuub ‘braid it’; CN copa ‘finish weaving/constructing s.th.’; CN copi ‘piece of weaving or construction to get finished’. [p1t,2’,3p,4l] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**872** Hebrew \***yu’pal** and \***tu’pal** ‘become dark, be gone down’ (unattested hoqta 3<sup>rd</sup> sg masc and fem):

UACV-233 \***yu’pa** > \***yuppa** ‘go out (of fire), (get) dark, black’: M88-yu27 and yu26 ‘fire go out’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-yu27 and yu26 ‘fire go out’: Ls yúúpa ‘go out (fire), not burn’; Ls yúúva ‘be dark’; Ls yuvá/i ‘bec. black’; Ls yuvá-ta/ti ‘bec. black, vi, blacken, vt’; Sr yupq ‘go out (fire)’; Cp yúpi-š ‘(paint) brush’; Ca yúpi ‘be overcast (of sky), cloudy, color term base + yúpi = to turn into a colored appearance’; Gb yuvívkomok ‘be getting dark’; Gb yupíxa ‘black’. Hill adds Wc yívi / yíivi ‘black’ (Wc i < \*ü) and Ls yupáqa/i ‘go out (fire), vi; put out (fire), vt’; Gb yupí ‘ahogarse’; Ktn yupk ‘extinguish fire or lamp’. Note also Ktn yovo’k ‘dark, dirty, black’; Ktn yo’vok / yo’vik ‘be dark/black’ (actually has the glottal stop); Ktn yuvitik ‘get dark’; and with p- prefix, Ktn p-yívik ‘dark colored, brown-gray’. Note that Ktn shows the original cluster \*-’p- > -pp-, emerging as gemination in other languages, then some forms lost gemination, others did not: e.g., Ls yúúpa ‘go out (fire), not burn’ vs. Ls yúúva ‘be dark’. [p1y,2’,3p,4l] [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

**873** Hebrew \***yu’pal** ‘become dark, be gone down (light)’ > UA \*yu’pa(l) > Aztecan \*yo’wal ‘night’:

UACV-1532a \***yo’wal** ‘night’: CL.Azt116 \*yowa(l) ‘night’; M88-yo8; KH/M03-yo8: CN yowal-li ‘night, n’; CN yowa ‘become night’; Pl yuwaki ‘overcast, dark’; Po owel; T yowall; Z yowal. Tied to \*yuCpa at ‘black’ with \*-p- > ø, and to \*yu’pa ‘fire go out, get dark’ at ‘black’. [p1y,p2’,p3p,p4l]

UACV-1532b \***ta-yo’wa** ‘be night, dark’: CL.Azt11 \*tlayowa ‘be night, be dark’; M88-ta37; KH/M03-ta37:

CN tlayo’wa ‘get dark’; CN tlayoa; Pl tayuwa ‘at night, night’; Po tayue; T tlayowa; Z tayowa. [SUA: Azt]

**874** The unattested hoqta 3<sup>rd</sup> sg masc and fem passive of the above root ’pl would be **Hebrew \*yu’pal** and \***tu’pal** ‘become dark, be gone down (light)’ aligning perfectly with UA \*yu’pa(l) and \*tu’pa(l):

UACV-1996b \***yu’pala** (TrC) ‘bend down, go down, move in an up-and-down motion’: Yq yúpala ‘agachando [bending down, stoop]’; Tr o’pi ‘bajar [go down], perder altura [lose altitude]’; Tr o’pira ‘balancearse de arriba abajo’; Tr o’pina ‘bajar, inclinar, doblegar [bend]’. Tr often loses initial consonants (or is it Hebrew ’opel > Tr o’pi?), and Tr o sometimes corresponds to \*u, and a final V alternation -a/i is common in UA. Thus, TrC \*yu’pa ‘go down’ ties to Tak \*yu’pa ‘get dark, black, fire go out’ in the sun’s ‘going down’. [SUA: TrC, Tep]

**875** Hebrew boqer ‘morning’; Arabic bukrat ‘early morning’; Arabic bukratan ‘early in the morning, tomorrow, on the following day, next day’; MHebrew pl: **bəqar-iim** ‘mornings’; Egyptian bk’:

UACV-2361 \***pi’ari** ‘tomorrow’: Wr pi’ari ‘tomorrow, morning’; Tr be’arí ‘tomorrow, morning’. [SUA: TrC]

**876** Hebrew **dʕk** ‘be extinguished’, impfv: -dʕok (< \*-dʕuku); Hebrew \*doʕaku (quttal pl form);

UA \*tuka / \*tuku / \*tuki ‘fire go out, dark, black, night’ (UACV-240)

Regarding the change from Semitic ‘evening/night’ to UA ‘yesterday/last night’ is like Aramaic rams-aa ‘evening-the’ and Aramaic ramšit ‘last night’.

Many forms show \*tuk > tuhV / cuk/h ‘fire go out, dark, black, night, charcoal’, for when the fire finally goes out at night, it is dark/black, and ‘fire go out’ is likely the original meaning of that group. PUA \*yuppa (< Hebrew \*yuʔal) has the same semantic array: ‘fire go out, be dark, black.’

UACV-240a \*tuka / \*tuku / \*tuki ‘fire go out, dark, black, night’: Sapir; VVH23 \*tu<sub>u</sub>(ku) ‘black’; VVH144 \*tu<sub>s</sub>ki / \*tu<sub>s</sub>ka ‘night’; BH.Cup \*tuk ‘pass the night’; B.Tep231 \*tukaga-i ‘darkness, night’; B.Tep232 \*tuku ‘black’; M67-45 \*tu, \*tuhu ‘black’, \*tuk ‘night’, \*cuk ‘night’; I.Num228 \*tuka ‘night’; I.Num224 \*tu(h)u(h) ‘black’; I.Num230 \*tuki ‘fire goes out’; L.Son320 \*tuku, 320b \*cuku ‘obscure/cease’; Dakin 1982; let’s combine much of M88-tu2 ‘night’, M88-tu3 ‘black’, M88-tu12 ‘put fire out’, and M88-cu4 ‘black’; KH/M06-tu2 \*tuku ‘black, dark, night’ and tu12 ‘fire, to go out’ and KH/M06-tu25 \*tuka ‘night’: Mn toqawano ‘night-time’; NP tuka ‘extinguish fire’; NP tokano ‘night’; NP toka cīpīa ‘dark’; TSh tukwanni / tukwawani / tukwanippih ‘night’; Sh tukani ‘night, be dark’; Sh tukiC ‘put out the fire’; Cm tukani ‘evening, night’; Kw tuku ‘be dark, be night’; Kw tukwa ‘be dark, be night’; Kw tukwa-nu/no ‘night’; SP tukwi- ‘fire go out’; SP tukwa- ‘put out the fire, be dark, night’; SP tukwanu ‘night’; CU tugwa-na-ti ‘night-time’; CU tugwami ‘extinguish’; CU túukwari (<\*tuukkwati) ‘black, dark’; Tb tuugit~uduuk ‘be dark/black’; Tb tuugit ‘night, the dark’; Cp túkmu-t ‘night’; Cp túke ‘pass the night’; Cp túku ‘yesterday’; Ca tük ‘go to bed, stay overnight’; Ca túkmiyat ‘night’; Ls túúk ‘camp for the night, v’; Ls túúku-mi-t, tuk-wa ‘night’; Sr tuuk ‘night’; Hp tooki ‘last night, to go out (fire)’; Hp tookila ‘night-time’; Hp tookiwma ‘for fire to be going out’; Tbr tu-tukúr/tokúr ‘negro, apagado’. Ken Hill adds WSh tuuC ‘black’; Ch tuga ‘night’; Ch tugarasi ‘avi’ ‘big black ant sp’. Relevant to B.Tep232 ‘black’ are TO čuuk ‘stop burning or giving out light’; LP tuku; PYp tuk; NT túku ‘black’; ST t’uk (Bascom); ST čuk ‘black’; relevant to B.Tep231 ‘night’ are TO čuhug ‘night’; LP tuahag; NT tukági; ST tukaa’; TrC forms include Eu čuki ‘noche’; Wr tugaó ‘noche’; Wr togapá-ni ‘become dusk’; Tr fuká-wa-ri ‘noche’; Tr fu-/fo- ‘be black/dark’; My tukáaria ‘noche’; Tbr tokú-r; and in CrC (where \*u > i) is Cr wa-tíka’a ‘it’s night-time’. [\*-k- > h in Num, > Tb -g-; \*u-a > o-a; V syn]

Note the semantics of AYq tuuka ‘yesterday’, Cp túku ‘yesterday’, Hp tooki ‘last night, go out (fire)’, and Ktn tuka / ‘at night, last night’ and Ktn tuk ‘yesterday’. In English, ‘the night’ often means ‘last night, the night just finished’: I spent the night in pain; the baby cried through the night. Note the dual semantic in Hp tooki ‘last night, fire went out’: the nearest or most recent ‘fire-going-out’ was last night. I also like Dakin’s (1982-104) tie of CN tooka ‘plant, bury, v’ with the above, since the sun’s disappearance seemingly into earth at dark/night resembles the disappearance into earth when s.th. is planted or buried.

Many forms show a -wa- suffix: in \*tuka-wa-: Mn toqawano; Tr fuká-wa-ri, and Tepiman \*tukV-gV. Num forms are either reduced by a vowel syncopation (\*tukawa to \*tukwa) or the u vowel is carried past the-k- (\*tuka > tukwa) or in some, perhaps both, e.g., TSh tukwawani. Four forms show \*-nu / \*-no: NP tokano, Mn toqawano, Kw tukwa-nu/no, SP tukwanu.

UA \*tuku ‘black’ and \*tuka ‘night, dark’ are likely related even though VVH, Miller, and Bascom separate them, and some Num, Tep, and other UA languages show separate forms for the two. An original \*tuku > \*tuhu, then tuu, may then have become a widespread recycled stem, some taking other suffixes, like Mn tummu ‘black’; TSh tuppa ‘black’; NP tokasīpīaga ‘sun goes down.’ UACV-240b \*cukV (<\*tukV): M67-45c \*cuk ‘black’; L.Son320 \*cuku ‘obscure/cease’ and \*cuk-i ‘oscuro’; M88-cu4: Yq čukui; My cukúri/cukuli; Tr čóka; TO cuk ‘negro’; TO s-čuk ‘black, be black, in darkness’; TO čuku ‘become black’; Op cuki-gwa ‘causar obscuridad’; Eu cuki-en ‘obscure/cease’; Yq cukú-i; My cukú-ri ‘negro’; Wr o-hcó-na-; Tr co-. TO čuuk ‘stop burning or giving out light’; ST t’uk (Bascom); ST čuk ‘black’. The second syllable of Cr wačuihsa ‘está oscuro’ may be borrowed from TrC, because Cr wačika’a corresponds to the other UA languages. As Miller (M67-45c), Hill (in combining M88-cu4 and tu2), and Lionnet (L.Son320) all suggest, \*cuk is a palatalization of the rather pervasive \*tuk, which \*cuk may have then exhibited considerable mobility recycling through the dialect chains of SUA; for many of those languages also have \*tuk forms.

UACV-240c \*tuhu / \*tuu (< \*tuku): Mn tuhutipi ‘black rock’; NP tu / tuhu ‘black’; Cm tu / tuh / tuhupi ‘black’; Kw tuhu- ‘black’; SP tuuC ‘black’; Sh tuuC/tuun ‘black’; Sh(M) tukiC ‘put out a fire’; Sh(Cr) tukwiC/tuiC ‘go out (fire)’; Sh(SV) tukwih/tuih ‘put out a fire’; Sh(SV) tuuC ‘black’; Cm tu/tuh/ tuhupi ‘black’; Kw tuhu- ‘black’; Ch tuupi ‘black paint’; WMU tuu-kwa; CU túu-kwa-rī ‘black, dark’; Hp toho ‘blackish pigment’ may be an early loan from Num \*tuhu (< \*tuku), in light of Hp tooki existing as well. Sh’s variant forms—tukwi and tui—above show how easily/quickly an intervocalic -k- can be lost, likely passing through an -h- phase, which is likely for the \*tuhu forms: \*tuku > \*tuhu > tuu (in some cases). In fact, Shaul (1994, 289) shows in PYp tuhu and redupl PYp tutuk that -h- is intervocalic and that k is found in the same stem, and \*-k- > -h- is common in ‘deer’ and elsewhere. Ken Hill lists, but queries whether CN tekol-li ‘charcoal’ and Pl tekunal ‘live coal’ are cognate; it’s a good question. Could CN tekol-li be a recycled loan from Cah \*tukuri > \*tVkol-li? [\*-k- > -h-, \*tu > cu] [1d,2’2,3k] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA:Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**877** Syriac sammem ‘to poison, vt’; Arabic smm ‘to poison’; Arabic smm II = sammama ‘to poison’:

The semantic tie is that poison numbs. Being a connoisseur of edible plants, I once nibbled a slightly poisonous root that numbed my tongue and lips. So Semitic sammem ‘poison’ is a decent match for UA samim ‘be numb’, though in many UA languages the semantics extend to numbing rain or cold:

UACV-2521 \*samim / \*samiC ‘be wet, numb(ing), drizzly’: L.Son231 \*samī ‘mojarise’; KH.NUA; M88-sa18; KH/M06-sa18: Sr šamim-q ‘become numb, vi’; Sr šamim-kin ‘make numb’; Sr šamīmī’n(a) ‘be drizzling’; Ca sámam



'be seized with a chill, become numb, drizzle'; Cp *sáme* 'be dewy'; NP *samipī* (< \**samippi*) 'wet'; Wr *sami* 'be wet'; Tr *samí-mea* 'be wet'. I find Ken Hill's addition (to M88) of Hp *sámakna* 'speak or sing out with a hoarse voice' very includable. Also add Op *sahm* and Eu *samí* 'mojado [wet], verde [green]'. Noteworthy among these is the lack of compounding with the morpheme \**pa-* 'water'; that means \**sami* really does mean 'wet' all by itself, without help from water. Consider also Hp *halasami* 'moist soil'. Could these relate to SUA \**sami* 'adobe or mud brick'? [1s3,2mm] [iddddua] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: TrC]

**878** Hebrew *šayṭ* / *šeyṭ* 'bird of prey'; Aramaic(J) *šayit-aa* 'bird of prey-the, n.m.':

UACV-209a \***wiCtiki** 'bird': Sapir; M67-40 \**wici*/\**wiki*; Fowler83; M88-wi7; KH/M06-wi7: Sr *wičit*; SNumic \**wiciki*: Kw *wiziki-ži*; Ch *wicí'ici*; SP *wici'-ci*; CU *wicí-ci*; and Yq *wičik* 'owl'. Note the lenition of the third consonant, depicted in the SNum languages from west to east: -iki- > -i'i- > -i'- > -i-. Manaster-Ramer's law suggests a medial cluster such as \*-Ct- or \**wittik*. Sapir ties CN *wiicil-in* 'hummingbird' with Sr and Num *wici...*, only possible if < \*-Ct; Tb *čikii-t* 'bird'. [1'2,y,3t2]

**879** Arabic *šwy* / *šawaa* 'broil, grill, roast'; Arabic *šawiy* 'broiled, grilled, roasted'; check other Sem UACV-266a \***sawa** 'boil, apply heat, cause to melt': Mn *sawa/saawa* 'boil, cook by boiling'; Mn *pasawa* 'heat a liquid' (probably contains \**pa-* 'water'); TSh *saawah* 'boil, vt'; TSh *tisaawah* 'boil, vi' This is related to \**sawi* 'melt' below. TSh has both *sawa* 'boil, vt' and TSh *sawi* 'melt, vi', fitting the UA pattern of CVCa 'transitive, active' vs. CVCi 'intransitive, stative'.

UACV-266b \***sawi(y)** 'melt': TSh *sawi* 'melt, vi'; TO *haagid* 'melt, thaw'; TO *hagito* 'burn up, melt away'; PYP *haag* 'melt'; NT *aagyí*. [-a/i alternation] [1s2,2w,3y] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

**880** Hebrew *’aḥ* (< \*’ax) 'brother'; Aramaic(J) *’aḥ-aa* 'brother-the'; Arabic *’ax* 'brother':

UACV-307 \***waḡa’a** 'younger brother': NP *waḡa’a*; Mn *waná’* / *qwaná’*. Of Sem-p in that ’ > w and Proto-Semitic x > k-like vs. Sem-kw ḥ. [\*w > kw in Mn as in \**wita* 'wrap' at blanket, n vs. ḡ] [p1’,p2x] [NUA: WNum]

**881** Arabic *xašiya* 'to fear, dread, be afraid'; Arabic *maxšaat* 'fear'; Semitic \**ma-xašiy*:

UACV-854 \***makasi** 'fear': Hp *maqasi* 'fear, fright'; Wc *maakaše* 'tender mieda, temer'; CN *iimakas(i)* 'hold in awe, fear, respect, vt'; the -mq- portion of Sr *tīmḡ* 'fear, be afraid, scared (of)' with prefix; perhaps Mn *masito-t* 'have one's hair stand on end (as in fright), bristle' if \**makasi* > *ma’si* > *masi-*. [p1m,2x,3s2] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC, Azt]

**882** Hebrew *šə’er* 'flesh, meat'; Puni *š’r* 'flesh'; Ugaritic *šir* 'flesh'; Akkadian *šīru* 'flesh, body' (as meat is red or blood-colored) > Cr *suúre’e* 'blood'; Wc *šuuríya* 'blood'; Wc *šuuere* 'red, blood-colored'. [iddddua]

**883** Hebrew *lappiid* 'torch, lightning'; Aramaic(J) *lappiid-aa* 'torch-the, light pot-the, pot in which light is carried-the'; the UA forms lost initial *la-*:

UACV-889 \***pita** 'fire > be a fire': M67-63 'burn': Mn *pida* 'build a fire'; NP *pidapi* 'fire'. Add My *beete* 'burn, vi'; Yq *beete* 'burn, vi'; perhaps TO *iiwid* 'make fire with a stick', though a prefix and 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant must be explained, unless \**piyta*; however, for t = TO d, see TO *wadaḡ* (< \**ptt*) at 'flat'. [V leveling] [NUA: WNum; SUA: TrC, Tep]

**884** Hebrew *lappiid* 'torch, lightning'; Aramaic(J) *lappiid-aa* 'torch-the, light pot-the, pot in which light is carried-the'; in other UA forms d > š:

Tb(H) *taalapiišit* 'to get light, become daylight' (Tb(H) *taa-l* 'sun'). [11,2pp,3d]

**885** Arabic *naar* 'fire, f' but written *na’r* / *na’ar* < Arabic *nwr* II *nawwar* 'to light, furnish light';

Syriac *nwr* / *nuur* 'fire, f'; *nuur-aa* 'fire-the'; Syriac *nayyar* 'to kindle fire' (qattel of *nwr*); as to Aramaic and Hebrew *nwr*, Semiticists relate it to *nhr* 'to shine' which would correspond to UA \**na’ay* also:

UACV-878 \***na’ay** 'fire'; \***na’aya** 'build/light a fire': VVH95 'to light a fire'; VVH95b \**na<sub>u</sub>a* 'to burn'; B.Tep162a \**naada* 'build fire'; B.Tep162b \**nai* 'he built a fire'; M67-62a \**na/\*nai*; BH.Cup \**na* 'burn, vi'; I.Num106 \**na’i* 'burn, vi'; L.Son171 \**naya* 'prender lumbre [light a fire]'; L.Son172 \**na’i* 'lumbre [fire]'; M88-na7 and M88-na8 and M88-na9; KH/M06-na7 'fire' and KH/M06-na8 'make a fire' (Lionnet, Miller, and Hill distinguish 'fire' and 'make a fire' as many languages have a reflex of both forms, yet being derivations built on the same stem, let's combine them, to compare the comparable forms: Wr *na’í* 'flame'; Wr *na’yá-ni* / *na’i-ma* 'make a fire'; Tr *na’í* / *na’y-* / *na-* 'fire' and Tr *na’yá-* 'make a fire'; My *na’-* 'burn, v' and My *náyya* 'hacer lumbre'; AYq *naya’i* 'fire'; Mn *ani* 'burn, vi'; NP *nai* 'fire, burn vi'; NP *na’i’yu* 'burn, vi'; Sh *nakaya* 'burn out of control'; Kw *ne’e* 'burn'; SP *na’ai* 'burn'; CU *na’ay* 'burn, vi'; CU *na’ay-tti* 'fire, light'; Ca *na’* 'burn'; Ls *na’* 'burn'; TO *naada* 'fire, n' (TO d < \*y) and TO *naad* (pret: *nai*) 'make fire'; UP *naadi* 'build fire' (B.Tep); ST *naada* 'make a fire' (prêt: *nai*; pres: *naanda*); NT *naadá* 'build a fire'; Nv *nadda* 'hacer fuego, encender lumbre [light a fire]'; Cr *á-úu-na’ara* 'go build a fire'; Wc *naiwame* 'combustible'. Note that CU *na’ay-*, WMU *na’áy-y* 'be a fire, burn, vi'; TO *naada*, Wr *na’í* / *na’yá-*, and Tr *na’í* / *na’yá-*, represent three widespread branches of UA and all show a 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant -y- in s.th. akin to \**na’ay(a)*. [y/r] [kw:1n,2’,3r] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**886** Hebrew *y-’rk* 'be long (verb is usually of time, adj and noun for both time and space/length)

UACV-1390 \***yijjī** 'be/pass a long time': M88-yi18; KH.NUA; KH/M06-yi18: Cp *yénge* 'to last a long time, endure'; Ca *yén* 'pass a while (of time), stay a while'; Sr *yijjī’k* 'be a long time, be later'. [1’,2r,3k] [NUA: Tak]

We repeat 99 from earlier as it relates to ‘prairie dog’ below:

**99** Hebrew **rakb-uu** ‘they mounted, climbed’ or **rokb-im/-in** ‘mount, climb up’ (pl participle); Hebrew **rkb-o** ‘mount it’; K&B note that “the most prominent meaning of the root **rkb** in other Semitic languages (Ugaritic and Akkadian) is to mount, to climb up” though in the Hebrew OT it is more often ‘mount, ride’; Syriac pl participle: **raakb-iin** ‘climbing/ers, pl’; Syria **rakb-uu-hi** ‘they climbed it’; Syriac **rakbaa** ‘upper millstone’; Aramaic(J) **rikbaa** ‘upper millstone’ (or what rides or is upon the lower grinding stone):

**UACV-461a** \***tī’pu** ‘climb up’: NP **tībbu’ya** ‘climb up’; Wr **mo’tepú-na** ‘climb up s.th.’.

**UACV-461b** \***ciCpuhi** ‘climb’: Mn **cibui** ‘climb with arms and legs’; NP **cibui** ‘climb up on s.th.’ These WNum forms align with Semitic **rakb-u-hi/ha** ‘climb up on it’ (**rakb-u-ha/hi** ‘ride-pl-it), initial **r > t**, then **t > c** with palatalization before the high-front vowel: \***tī’pu > ciCpu**. NP having a term in each may only mean previously active dialect chains/contact.

**UACV-461c** \***ciCpiN** / \***cippiN** ‘climb or come out / onto’: Stubbs(2011) reconstructs PSNum \***cippiN** from: Kw **čipii-** ‘climb’; Ch **cipi-** ‘come out’; SP **cippiN** ‘come out, appear, ride’; WMU **čihppi-y** ‘come out, bubble out (like a spring), climb into (car), onto (horse)’; CU **čipi** ‘mount, climb on, get on top’. Also related are Ca **čipi** ‘get covered (hole), vi’ and Ca **čipi-n** ‘cover, vt (causative)’ both showing geminated \*-pp-, and covering (a hole) is causing s.th. to get on top of it, and a hole getting covered is as a spring bubbling out, its hole being covered by water’ or ‘surfacing to the top’ like a prairie dog ‘surfacing to the top, at the top of a hole’: Sh(M) **cippih** ‘prairie dog’. [SNum -p- vs. -v-; redtn] [1r,2k,3b] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: TrC]

**887** Semitic **rkb** ‘mount, climb up on’ > CN **tlakpa-k** ‘above, on top’ (CN **tl < \*t**)

**888** Semitic **rkb** ‘mount, climb up on’:

Sh(M) **cippih** ‘prairie dog’ (as that which comes up, surfaces onto the surface). See explanation two above at 99. Initial **r > t > c** before a high front vowel: **rVkbi > tikpi > tippi > cippi**. [iddddua]

**889** Hebrew **rikbaa** ‘riding, verbal noun’ (< Hebrew **rkb** ‘to mount, climb up, ride’);

Aramaic(J) **rikb-aa** ‘upper millstone-the’; Syriac **rakb-aa** ‘upper millstone-the’:

**UACV-1083** \***tīppa** ‘mortar (and/or) pestle’: B.Tep242 \***tīpa** ‘mano de metate’; M88-tī41; Ken Hill disperses tī41 to KH/M06-tī12 and KH/M06-pa30: Wr(MM) **te’pá** ‘arriba [above]’; TO **čipa** ‘a hole in bedrock for mashing mesquite bean’; TO **čīpo’o** ‘a mortar hole in a rock for grinding’; LP **tīpa**; NT **tīpai**; ST **topaa** ‘mortar’; Ls **tóopa-l** ‘mortar for grinding’ which fits well since Ls **o < \*ī**. Add Mn **tabi** ‘pound, strike’ and Mn \***tabaha** ‘grinding rock’, which may tie the above to Tb **paha-l** ‘rock mortar’ and the forms at \***paha** or to \***tīkpa**. [all p, no w/v] [NUA: Ls; SUA: Tep]

**890** Arabic **kann** ‘shelter, house, place where one is sheltered, nest’ < Arabic **knn** ‘to hide, cover, shelter’;

Semitic roots of the form same 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants (C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>) are often associated with a parallel palpel or reduplicated form C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>; thus also existing is Arabic **knkn** / **kankana** ‘stay at home, settle down, nestle’:

**UACV-1213** \***kanni** (NUA) > \***kali** (SUA) ‘house’: Sapir; VVH141 \***kali**; M67-239 \***kali**; I.Num53 \***kahni**; L.Son74 \***kari**; M88-ka6 ‘house’; KH/M06-ka6: NP **kani** (archaic form); Tb **hanii-l**; TSh **kahni**; Sh **kahni**; Cm **kahni**; Kw **kahni**; Ch **kaní**; SP **kanni**, **kaní**; WMU **kaní**; CU **káni**; My **káari**; Yq **kári**; Wr **karí**; Tr **garí**; Tbr **kalí**; **kalí-n** ‘pueblo’; CN **kal-li**; perhaps Ca **qáankiš** ‘desert willow (possibly as housing material plant)’; Hp **qeni** ‘place, room, space’; and the last part of Wc **kíekári** ‘pueblo’. [\*-nn- > l in SUA; \*k > h in Tb] [1k,2nn] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**891** Syriac **s’b** ‘to age’; Syriac **saa’ib** (m.) ‘old one, old man’; Syriac **saa’ibaa** (f.) ‘old woman’; possibly relevant is that Syriac long **aa** corresponds to Hebrew long **oo**, and what we see in Tb has identical meaning: Tb(H) **šo’ibit** / **šoobit** / **šoobišt** ‘old woman’. [1s3,2,3b]

**892** Arabic **šanawbar** ‘stone pine’ (type of pine) > (note Sh **sanawap-pin** ‘pine tree’):

**UACV-1634** \***sanawaC** ‘pitch, gum’: Sapir; VVH147 \***sala** ‘pitch’; M67-322 \***sala** ‘pitch’; I.Num178 \***sanah** ‘pitch, gum, sap, sticky’; BH.Cup \***sánat** ‘gum’; Munro.Cup57 \***šáána-t** ‘gum’; M88-sa11; KH.NUA; KH/M06-sa11: Sh **sanawappin** ‘pine tree’; Washo **šála** ‘pitch’; Mn **sanápi** (< \***sanaC-**); NP **sanapi**; TSh **sanappin**; Sh **sanaC-pin** ‘pitch, sap’; Sh **sanakkooC** ‘chewing gum, rubber’; Cm **sana** ‘sticky’; Cm **sanahkena** ‘sap’; Kw **sana-pī**; Ch **sana-pi**; SP **sannaC-(ppi)**; CU **saná-pi**; Tb **šaano-t**; Ls **šáanu-t**; Ca **sáan-a-t** ‘gum’; Cp **saana-t** ‘pitch, gum’; Sr **haana-t** ‘tar’; Ktn **hana-t** ‘tar’; Hp **saana** ‘pitch, gum of tree’; CN **saalooa** ‘to glue, make s.th. stick to s.th. else’; CN **saaliwi** ‘stick to s.th.’; Pl **saaluaa** ‘to stick, glue’; **sasaalik** ‘sticky’. Most of NUA suggest a final C. Note Sh -**wa-**, Tb -**o-**, and Ls -**u-** < -**aw-**. [Sr h < \*s; NUA n: SUA l] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**893** Arabic **daqqa** ‘be thin, fine, crush, knock, rap, beat, strum, play (instrument), to sound (of instruments):

Hp **rikí-** / **rikíki-ta** ‘make grating noise, make rasping sounds, make rasping sounds of a **rikínpi**’;

Hp **rikínpi** ‘percussion instrument that includes a notched stick and gourd, to accompany certain songs and dances’. [d > r] [1d,2q,3q]

**894** Arabic raqqa ‘be thin, fine, delicate’: Arabic rakiik ‘weak, thin’:

UACV-2279 \***takki** ‘thin’: Mn tagi’acici ‘be extremely thin’; Mn tigibi ‘skinny one’; NP tigiya ‘i’ ‘skinny’; Cm tahi ‘flat, thin, lightweight’; Kw takena-pii-či ‘slim’. [\*-k- > -h- in Cm] [NUA: Num]

**895** Hebrew he’asep < \***hi’asep** ‘be gathered (to one’s people), i.e., die, be put in the family cemetery’:

UACV-323 \***hi’acapa** ‘bury, cover, grave’ (> Tep \*hi’asapa): B.Tep60 \*hiasapai ‘bury, cover’; KH/M06-si24; TO hiašp(a) / hia; NT yáasapai ‘bury, cover’; ST yaasəp. I reconstructed \*hi’acapa > Tep \*hi(’)asapa, in doubts of PUA diphthongs, then later found the same in PYP hi’asa ‘bury, vt’; PYP hi’aspa ‘grave, n’; also add Nv i’aina / i’asa ‘enterrar [bury]’; Nv isa’akarhami ‘sepultura’; Nv i’aspi ‘casa enterrada’. Eu héca ‘tapar [put top on], cerrar [close]’, with vowel leveling (\*hi’aca > heca), resembles the PYP and Nv forms and points to initial h (vs. s). [1h,2’,3s3,4p] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**896** Hebrew ’sp, impfv: \*ya-’sop > ye-’esop ‘to gather’, aligning with the prefix conjugation without the prefix is SP soopp... : SP sooppaaǵai ‘to be assembled’; SP sooppaar’ui ‘to gather’ [1h,2’,3s3,4p]

**897** Hebrew ’sp ‘to gather (harvest), collect, gather in (one’s legs)’:

UACV-992 \***cupa** / \***cuppa** ‘gather, close eyes’: M67-194 \*cupa ‘gather’; M88-cu6 ‘gather’; KH/M06-cu6: Mn coba / copa ‘gather, pick up’; Ls čúpa ‘be gathered, bundled together’; Ls čupú-’a/i ‘close eyes’; Ls čúúpa ‘be closed, of eyes’; Cp čúpe ‘shut eyes’; Hp covala ‘gather, vt’; coval-ti ‘assemble, vi’; My cuppa ‘finish, harvest, vt’; My hicupa ‘harvest, vi’; Yq hicupawa ‘harvest, v’; Miller includes NP coppa ‘close eyes’ and Ls’s two meanings (gather/close eyes) do frequently tie together’. Perhaps NP cobbawa ‘gather’; NP ticopa ‘pick up’. Miller also lists Cp čivi ‘gather, vt’ citing it as having the wrong vowel in corresponding to \*o instead of \*u; however, many of the forms show o, and \*u-a > o-a is common in UA. [\*u-a > o-a] [2’,3s3,4p] [idddua] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: TrC]

**898** Hebrew spd ‘mourn for, sing the lament for the dead, bewail’

UACV-586a \***osp/ops**... ‘tear, n’: BH.Cup \*’es ‘teardrop’; M88-’o6 ‘tears’: AMR1997; KH/M06-’o6: Cp -is; Ca -’is; Ls -’és; Sr -’oosp; Eu opét ‘lágrima’; My ópwa-m ‘lágrimas’; Pl iiš-aayu ‘tear.’ Manaster-Ramer (1993) adds Tb opsi-, which fits Tak, Eu, Pl, and the above My form nicely, two of which (Tb and Sr) show a medial cluster. Note also the gemination in Sh oppai-ppih ‘tears’. Also cognate with My ópwa-m ‘lágrimas’ are Yq ’opóawam ‘tears’ and AYq oppoa ‘to cry’, all of which relate well with Tak and the suggestion of \*osp..., since s in a cluster goes to h/ø in Cah and would hardly be visible in the Tep forms below whether clustered or between vowels. Not entirely clear yet and only two consonants.

UACV-586b \***oowa** ‘tear(s)’: TO oo’og ‘tear’; NT óogai ‘tears’; LP ooga ‘tear.’ These tie to Cahitan \*opowa/opwa, because in Tep, UA \*opowa/opwa > Tep \*owoga/owga, or ooga. [1s3,2p,3d] [NUA: Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**899** Arabic šinw-, pl ašnaa’ ‘twin, one twin’:

UACV-2428 \***cono’o** ‘twin(s)’: Kw cono’o-vi-mi ‘twins’; Tb čono’ ‘twins’. [kw1s4,2n,3w,3’] [NUA: Num, Tb]

**900** Hebrew nšm ‘be lovely, pleasant, delightful’; Phoenician nšm ‘good, beautiful’; ESArabic nšm ‘be good, happy’:

UACV-157 \***numa** > \***noma** ‘good, good-looking’: Ktn numua-c / noma / nomo ‘good, well, pretty’; Hp nōöma ‘wife, mistress’; AYq nuhmeela ‘youth, young man’. Hp nōöma matches Ktn noma, so wife (Hp) and pretty (Ktn) and youth (AYq) as ‘good-looking’ are reasonable. The UA round vowel (o/u) aligns with the rounding of the Semitic š, and \*u-a > o-a is frequent in UA as well. [1n,2’2,3m] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: TrC]

**901** Syriac šb’ ‘be willing, wish, prefer, seek, have pleasure in, be pleased with, delight in’;

Aramaic(J) šb’ / šabee ‘find pleasure in, choose, desire’; Aramaic(S) šby ‘want, desire’:

UACV-2478 \***supiC** ‘like, want’: NP subidda ‘like, v’; Eu sovice ‘desire’ or Eu suba ‘love’ (Shaul 2008/9); Kw sibi ‘want, need’; Kw ku’u-sibi ‘want, desire, need’; Kw šibi ‘irrealis’ (sometimes actually translated ‘want/wish’; Zigmund, Booth, and Munro, p. 94). PUA \*supi > Kw sibi ‘desire, want to’. Add Tb šuubu’šuba ‘copulate’ in light of \*naka/i sharing ‘want/like’ and copulative semantics. Tep should have h < \*s, but let’s mention Nv saptua ‘love s.o.’ [p1s4,p2b,p3’] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: TrC]

**902** Hebrew pšm ‘step, pace, foot’; Phoenician pšm ‘foot’, pšm pšm ‘step by step’; Mehri fa’am ‘leg’:

The puma of Kw pumake’e ‘stomp in a regular beat, beat (of the heart)’. [1p,2’2,3m]

**903** Hebrew khh, (qittel) kehah ‘be inexpressive, dim, dull, colorless, disheartened’:

Ktn ’a-kihahik ‘sad’. This match is compelling, as the final -k is likely another morpheme, and so Hebrew kehah ‘disheartened’ and Ktn -kihahi- ‘sad’ are striking. [1k,2h,3h]

Before launching into another large section (Sem-kw’s g/q > UA \*ŋ), let’s look at three more grammatical morphemes. The first item in this work was the Hebrew masculine pl suffix -iim from an earlier \*-iima, which aligns well with UA \*-ima ‘plural suffix’. The Hebrew feminine plural suffix -oot / -ootey<sup>y</sup> is also in UA, usually with the first vowel -oo- lost, as also the first vowel is often lost in the masculine suffix too.

**904** Hebrew feminine plural suffix -oot / -ootee<sup>y</sup>; while the primary suffix is -oot, the masculine plural construct -ee(y) is often added to the Hebrew feminine plural, a sort of analogized inaccuracy, resulting in -ootee<sup>y</sup>, which many Semiticists have noted (Gesenius 1910, 258; Blau 2010, 273):

UACV-2674 \*-tī ‘plural suffix’: KH/M06-ns6: Hp -t/-tī- ‘dual/plural suffix’; CN -tin ‘absolute plural suffix’; CrC pl suffix \*-te (Cora and Huichol); Op -te ‘pl possessive suffix’ (Shaul 1990); Op -t ‘plural verb ending’ (Shaul 2003, 27). [NUA: Hp; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**905** Hebrew -ayim / -aym ‘dual suffix’ > NU and WMU -īm/-yīm/-əyəm ‘dual suffix’

**906** Hebrew -w ‘his/its’

UACV-1647 \*-wa/\*-wV ‘possessed suffix’: Ca -w’a; Cp -w; Ls -w; CN -w/-wi/-wa:- (-kone:-w ‘child’; -o’-wi ‘road’; -kone:-wa:-n ‘children’); Pl -w (-o:mi-w ‘bone (poss.)’); Eu -wa; Op -wa (Shaul 1990, 565; Shaul 2003, 26); Ch(L) wīn’napi ‘flint’; Ch(L) huu wīn’na-wa ‘arrow’s flint.’ [SUA: Azt, TrC; NUA: Tak, Num]

### 5.13 Uto-Aztec Velar Nasal ŋ < g/q of Semitic-kw and ’/ʕ of Semitic-p

Hopi and the Takic languages (Sr, Ktn, Ca, Cp, Ls) have sets of words that begin with ŋ. The initial velar nasal does not occur in any of the other UA languages, though medial -ŋ- does occur in the other NUA languages—Tb and the Numic languages—but not initially. NUA ŋ often corresponds to (has changed to) n in the SUA languages. Initial ŋ (in Hopi and Takic) derives from the Semitic Sem-kw’s initial g and q, as Sem-p has g/q > k in Takic as apparent for Semitic bgd, bqr, etc. Arabic baqiya ‘stay, be left behind’ > Hp kwayŋya- ‘behind’ is one example of Semitic q > UA ŋ and Semitic b > kw, both being of Sem-kw. With stress on 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> syllables, the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel collapses to cluster the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants with slight anticipation: baqiya > \*kwaŋya > kwayŋya. From Semitic ‘agap ‘wing, pinion, arm, shoulder’ are Sem-kw SP aŋavu-vi ‘arm’ (\*’ > ø, \*g > ŋ; at 925 UACV-861 \*aŋapu with its several related terms) and Sem-p SP wiŋivī-vi ‘eagle tail-feather’ (\*’ > w, \*g > UA \*k; at 926 UACV-866 \*wakapu with its several related terms). The Sem-kw g/q > ŋ is exemplified by 47 examples: 907-912, 914-950, 952-956, 1034:

#### Semitic-kw g > ŋ in Uto-Aztec

**907** Arabic ḡassa (< \*gassa) ‘touch, feel’; Syriac gwš / gaš ‘touch’ or Hebrew gšš ‘touch’; pfv qittel: giššeš ‘grope’; Hebrew qittel impfv: \*-gaššiš:

UACV-2388 \*ŋisi ‘touch, feel cautiously’: Ls ŋési ‘touch lightly (as a missile), graze, vt’; Cp ŋise ‘scratch, vt’; Sr ŋidi’-kin ‘touch, vt’; and Ca -ŋisan- ‘move slowly’ as feeling/touching in the dark would have one moving slowly. [kw1g,kw2s1,kw3s1] [NUA: Tak]

**908** Hebrew gabal (II) ‘to forge’; Arabic ḡabala ‘mold, form, shape, fashion, knead, create’;

Syriac gbl ‘forge, form’; Syriac gabiil ‘that which is formed or molded, formation, creation’:

UACV-800 \*ŋapaC ‘sharp(en)’: Ca ŋavay ‘sharpen’; Cp ŋave ‘sharpen’; Ls ŋáva/i ‘be ground/sharpened, vi, grind (as a tool), sharpen, vt’; Gb ŋava’aa ‘sharpen’; Ls(E) ŋávili-š ‘whetstone’ (note -l-). [kw1g,2b,3l] [NUA: Tak]

**909** Hebrew ghh ‘depart, be cured, healed’; MHebrew ghh ‘lean, bend’; Syriac gh’ / gha ‘be freed (from guilt, pain, disease)’; Syriac ghh ‘become free’:

Sr ŋöhääh(q) ‘turn, go around a bend, change direction’; Hp ŋaaha/ŋàaya ‘untie, unravel, vt’;

Hp ŋaahi/ŋayya ‘get/come untied’; Hp ŋahī ‘medicine, remedy’. Notice that in both Hebrew ghh and khh (903), the often fragile h’s are preserved in Sr ŋöhääh and Ktn -kīhahī- (at 903), Sr and Ktn being the most conservative UA languages phonologically. Sem-kw preserves h surprisingly well: cf. Hebrew \*bahamat ‘back > UA kwaham ‘back’ (7). Also note that in Semitic are 3 meanings ‘to bend, be freed, cure’ and a very similar 3 in UA ‘go around a bend, untie, remedy’. [kw-S keeps h] [kw1g,kw2h,kw3h]

**910** Hebrew gab ‘back’; MHebrew gab ‘elevation, back’; Syriac gəbiib-aa ‘hunchbacked’;

Hebrew(BDB) gab ‘anything convex, curved, gibbous, e.g., back’:

Ls ŋává-ŋva-š ‘stooped, as an old man’. [kw1g,kw2b]

**911** Hebrew gadiiš ‘heap of sheaves’; Syriac gdš ‘heap up’;

UACV-601 \*ŋattas ‘tight(en)’: Ca ŋátaš ‘be too tight (screws, doorknob, drawer), vi’; Hp ŋüütsü(k-)/ ŋüicī(k-) ‘for weaving to get tightened down, become a tighter weave, as from the addition of sticks in the basketry’.

Syncope of the 2<sup>nd</sup> V would create the cluster seen in Hp, and with vowels relaxing (a > ĩ), this is easily plausible, and very specific semantically, and Hp falling tone often signifies a cluster. In fact, the Semitic feminine sg perfect would be \*gadša(t). While Hopi and Cahuilla have a very specific semantic match, the tie with Semitic is that heaps and sheaves consist of tightly piled or compactly/tightly bound groups of whatever is heaped or sheaved. [iddddua] [kw1g,kw2d,kw3s1] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**912** Hbr ḥwg / ḥuug ‘circle, horizon’ often used in the sense of ‘atmosphere, firmament, heaven’ over earth or sea (Job 22:14; Proverbs 8:27); Syriac ḥuug ‘circle or halo (around sun or moon)’ and used in phrases like ‘encircling air’ and ‘the circle of the firmament’ (i.e., atmosphere):

Ls huḡ-la ‘the wind’; Tbr honá-/hone-/honi- ‘hacer viento [be windy] , v’; Tbr honí-t ‘viento [wind]’. NUA ḡ corresponds to SUA n. [iddddua] [kw1h2,kw2w,kw3g]

**913** Aramaic ’yt / ’iit ‘(there) is/are’:

Yq kaita ‘no hay [there is not]’ (< ka-ita, ka = ‘no’; so -ita = ‘there is’); Wr(MM) ka’ité ‘no haber, no estar [not be/exist]’; Tbr ka-té ‘check’. Wr(MM) has Wr as a compound of ka’i + tee ‘appear, see’; or ka’i could be a reduced ka’ita as few other UA forms show glottal stop, though Hp qa’e and Ca ki’i do.

**914** Hebrew grr ‘to ruminate, to saw, to drag’; Hebrew magera(t) ‘saw, n’; Arabic \*grr ‘to pull, drag along, IV to ruminate, VIII to ruminate, repeat constantly’; Aramaic(J) grr ‘to make a grating, scraping sound, to scratch, scrape, pull, move without lifting, drag’; Hebrew geraa ‘cud’; Arabic ḡirrat ‘cud’; from Syriac grr derives et-gawrar ‘to chew the cud’; Syriac baḡiiraa də-met-gawrar ‘ruminants, animals of cud-chewing’; Syriac guuraar-aa ‘rumination, chewing the cud’; Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, all three, show grr ‘ruminate, chew cud’, and as one watches ruminants chew cud, it is both a circular and side-to-side motion; Ls includes the circular motion, and all the UA languages emphasize the side to side, and sawing is back and forth:

UACV-1936 \*ḡaya ‘to move side to side’: Hp ḡayaya-ta ‘be swaying, rocking from side to side’;

Hp ḡayayāykī ‘start shaking or swaying from side to side, sway from side to side repeatedly’; Ca ḡáya ‘shake head saying ‘no’; Cp ḡáye ‘shake head’; Ls ḡáya/i ‘be winnowed with a rotary motion, vi, winnow, vt’. They all involve side-to-side motion, Ls adding circular to the side-to-side motion. Sawing involves side-to-side motion, and ruminate is a side-to-side as well as a circular motion, like Ls. [iddddua] [kw1g,2r,3r] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**915** Hebrew gnn ‘enclose, surround, protect’, perfective: ganno-(ti):

Hp ḡōn-ta ‘wear s.th. around the neck’; Hp ḡōḡōnpi ‘necktie, harness’. Hebrew pfv ganno- and final o could assimilate the first: \*ganno > ḡono > Hp ḡōn. [iddddua] [kw1g,2n,3n]

**916** Arabic \*gadiir ‘walled place’; Aramaic(J) gdr ‘to construct wall, to fence in’; Hebrew gdr ‘build up a wall with stones’, unattested hiqtil would be \*ya-gdiir ‘cause a wall to go up’:

UACV-2465 \*yaḡi ‘fence, enclosure, roofless wall(s)’: M88-ya24; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ya24: Sr yaḡiġ ‘enclosure with walls but no roof’; Ca yaḡi’a-t / yaḡi-š, né-yaḡi’a ‘encircling fence, roofless shed as windbreak’; Ca yaḡi ‘build encircling fence, roofless shed as windbreak for people or for gathering animals’; Gb yáḡe ‘windbreak’; Gb yáḡar ‘Los Angeles’; Ktn yaḡeki(-)n-i-c / yaḡ-e-kin’-ic ‘brush wikiup’ (-ki < 986 UA \*kiC ‘house’). [dominant 1<sup>st</sup> C of Sem-kw cluster] [kw1y,g,3d,4r] [NUA: Tak]

**917** Arabic ḡfi ‘make, put, place, lay’:

Ls ḡáw’la-š ‘mattress, mat, bed’; Ls ḡáwa ‘be spread, for a bed to be made’; SP qora ‘to spread out’. Note that Ls preserves 3<sup>rd</sup> C -l- here and at 908. [kw-S g > SP q] [kw1g,kw2’2,kw3l]

**21** Semitic/Arabic ganaba ‘set aside, keep away, steal’; Arabic \*ganb- ‘side, n’;

Arabic \*ganba ‘beside, next to, near, at, preposition’; Arabic \*baina ganbaihi ‘inside (it), within’:

UACV-1980b \*-ḡakwa / \*-ḡako ‘side, from/at side of’: M67-376 \*nakw ‘side’; I.Num110 \*naḡkwVh ‘direction,side’;

I.Num89 \*ma(a)na(a)ḡkwa(h) ‘far’; M88-na16 ‘side’; KH/M06-na16: Hp -ḡaqw, -ḡaqō (pausal) ‘from, away from, inside of’; Ls -ḡax ‘from, because’; Cp -ḡax ‘from, because’; Cp -ḡa ‘at, in’; Ca ḡa ‘location’; Gb ḡa ‘locative suffix’; but Ca -ḡa-x ‘from’ (Seiler 1977, 201-2).

UACV-1980a \*(mana)-ḡakwa ‘side’: Sh maanankwah ‘far’; Cm na-nakwi ‘far’; Ca máḡax ‘on/by the side of, near’; SP naḡkwaC ‘direction’ with loss of initial syllable in \*mana-ḡakwa > naḡkwa; Mn qwena’a ‘far (from)’; NP nakkwai ‘beside’; ḡ > n may underlie CN naawak ‘near, adjacent to’. [\*ḡ > SNum ḡ, > C/WNum n] [kw1g,2n,3b] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num]

**918** Hebrew ḡešeb ‘herbage, weed’; SamP ḡešəb; Arabic ḡušb- ‘grass, herbage, plants, pasture’:

SNum \*(h)ukwi ‘grass’: Kw hugwi-vī ‘speargrass’; SP ukwi-vī; CU ’ugwí-vī. Medial -kw- < -Cb-, and they all match the Arabic vowelings.

**919** Hebrew gm ‘swallow’; Ethiopic **gemṣe** ‘vessel’:

Hp ḡamòo-hoya / **ḡamo**’-hoya ‘little pumpkin or melon (not matured yet)’. In both the Near East and the Americas, gourds or pumpkin shells were used for containers (as Ethiopic vessel), and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Hopi variant even shows the glottal stop. [kw1g,kw2m,kw3’]

**920** Hebrew grš ‘drive out’: Hp ḡöḡöyā ‘pursue, chase after’; Hp ḡöy-ta ‘pursuing, chasing after’. [kw1g,2r]

**921** Hebrew **grm** ‘gnaw or break (bones), crush (bones)’, infinitive **garom**:

Hp ḡaro- ‘crunch down on’ (infinitive garom); SP qayu ‘grind up (like a dog crushing bones)’; Ls ḡooli ‘gnaw’. Another Num k with Hp and Tak ḡ, and also Hp and SP match each other (Hp o < \*u), but puzzling are Ls’s vowels and Hp -r- instead of -y-. [1g,2r,3m] [NUA: Hp, Tak, Num]

**922** Arabic gḏb ‘pull, attract, pull out’ would correspond to Hebrew gzb, and UA ḡ-s < g-z of Sem-kw: Ls ḡisi- ‘pull hair’; probably not SP ova ‘pull out hair’. [\*ḏ > s in Sem-kw] [kw1g,kw2z2,kw3b]

**923** Hebrew/Aramaic(J) gbb ‘pick up, collect’; Arabic gby ‘collect’:

Hp ḡaava ‘pick material from its natural source to use it to make object’; Cp ḡépepi ‘drag’ [kw1g,kw2b,kw3y,kw3b]

**924** In contrast to Hebrew gdl I ‘grow, become strong, great’, **Hebrew gdl II**, in the cognate languages basically means to plait, weave, twist; Arabic gdl / gadala ‘twist, tighten, stretch (rope), braid, plait’; Arabic ḡadiila ‘a braid, plait’; Aramaic(J) gaddelet / godelet ‘hair dresser’; Aramaic(J) gaadiil ‘twisted threads’; Arabic ḡadiil ‘stretched rope, plait’; Hebrew gadil ‘tassel, **wreaths of chainwork**’; Akkadian gidlu ‘**bundle**’; Aramaic(J) gdl / gḡdal ‘plait (hair), twine (threads), **weave (nets)**’; Aramaic(J) gadlay ‘weaver’:

UACV-2517 \*ḡara / \*ḡatCi / \*ḡataC ‘weave, fasten, tie’: Ls ḡára/i ‘be fastened, vi; fasten, as in lacing shoes or tying a horse, vt’; Ls(E) ḡáára/i ‘be fastened, woven, crocheted, take hold (a root)’;

Ls(E) ḡááray-ni ‘s.th. crocheted or woven’; Hp ḡat’a ‘tumpline, headstrap or shoulder strap for carrying a burden on the back’ (combining form ḡata’) and it also parallels Akkadian gidlu ‘bundle’ with differing vowels; Ktn ḡorki ‘tumpline’ (-ki likely a different morpheme); Sr ḡur-kin ‘lasso, rope, vt’;

Ls(E) ḡáároyta ‘spider web (archaic word)’ as s.th. woven ties in as well. Considering Semitic gdl ‘plait, weave wreath-like works’ with UA/Hopi ḡat’a ‘tumpline as s.th. woven like wreath work’ reflecting a consonant cluster, -dl- > -t’-, and Ls ḡááray-ni ‘s.th. crocheted or woven’—they are all worthwhile considerations. The only weakness is the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant: Ls y < l is rather reasonable for so late in the word, though more examples would be good, and l > ’ in Hopi as 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant in a cluster is plausible, but again, more examples would be good. [kw1g,kw2d,kw3l] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

Note that from Semitic **’agap** ‘wing, pinion, arm, shoulder’ is Sem-kw SP aḡavu-vi ‘arm’ (925), which shows the Sem-kw changes of \*’ > ø, \*g > ḡ, at 925 UACV-861 UA \*aḡapu with its several related terms; and also from Semitic **’agap** ‘wing, pinion’ is Sem-p SP wigivī-vi ‘eagle tail-feather’ which shows the Sem-p changes of \*’ > w, \*g > UA \*k, at 926 UACV-866 UA \*wakapu with its several related terms.

**925** Aramaic(J) **’agap** ‘wing, pinion, arm, shoulder’:

UACV-861 \*aḡapu ‘wing, arm’: Sapir; VVH58 \*’aḡa ‘wing, feather, arm’; B.Tep302 \*’a’ana ‘feathers, wing’; M67-465 \*ana ‘wing’; L.Son4 ’ana ‘ala’; M88-’a3 ‘wing’; KH/M06-’a3: NP aḡa ‘armpit’; Sh ahna ‘armpit’; Cm ahna ‘armpit’; Ch aḡávī ‘arm’; SP aḡavu-vi ‘arm’; WMU aá-vü / aáo-vü ‘arm, upper arm, n’; WMU aá-vü-n ‘my upper arm’; CU aá-vī ‘upper arm’; Tb ’anambīi-l ‘feather in band’; TO/UP a’an / ’a’anī ‘wing, feather’; LP ’a’an; PYP a’ana ‘wing’; NT áána/ánai ‘feather, wing’; ST ana / ’aa’na ‘feather’; Eu haná-t ‘wing’; Wr aná ‘wing’; Tr aná/ganá/gané ‘wing’; Cr aná / haná / -’ana ‘wing’; Wc ’ánaa ‘wing’. Though shifting to mean ‘upper arm, armpit’ in Num, this etymon is quite widespread. SP, Tb, and WMU’s possessed forms all suggest an additional \*-pu syllable. [ḡ:n] [kw1’,kw2g,kw3p] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**926** Hebrew/Aramaic **’agap** ‘wing, pinion feather, arm, shoulder’; **Aramaic ’agap ‘wing, pinion’**

UACV-866 \*wakapu > \*wakaC > \*waki / \*wiki ‘wing, feather’: BH.Cup \*kawi ‘wing’; M88-ka18; Munro.Cup139 \*waki-t ‘wing’; KH/M06-wa29: Ca wáka-t ‘wing’, -wák’a (poss’ed); Ca wiki-ly ‘feather’; Ls kawí-t ‘wing’; Ls no-wki ‘my wing’; Cp wiki-ly / wáki-ly ‘feather’. Add SP wigivī-vi ‘eagle tail-feather’ and Hp -wiki ‘feather’ in Hp kwaa-wiki ‘primary wing feather of the eagle’ (kwaa ‘eagle’). I agree with Munro’s reconstruction and explanation of metathesis (\*waki > kawi): “the Ls possessed form is conservative and the absolute form is metathesized.” Ca and Ls absolutive -t suggest a final consonant, and SP shows a 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant \*-p-. (Sem-p) [p1’,p2g,p3p] [NUA: Tak, Num; Hp]

**927** Aramaic(J)  $\zeta$ gm ‘be bent, weighed down, grieve’; this root has two variants in Semitic, one with  $\zeta$ , which the UA form must be based on; so also related are Aramaic(J) ’agm- ‘a depression, stagnant water, lake’; Aramaic(S) ’agm- ‘marsh, swamp’; Syriac(Sm)  $\zeta$ gm /  $\zeta$ gn ‘cast down, lie prostrate, be low’; Hebrew ’agam ‘reed pool’; Arabic ’agamat ‘thicket, reed swamp’:

UACV-705 \***wakam** / \***wajam** ‘down, deep’: Ca wāṇam ‘deep (of water, ditch, etc.)’; Tb(V) wahaminaš ‘downward’; Tb(M) wahominas ‘down at an angle’. Ca and Tb show 4 of 5 identical segments, and as velar \*k > h in Tb and the velar nasal in Ca, a relationship between these two seems probable. In fact, Munro’s definition (of Tb(M)) ‘down at an angle’ fits ‘be bent, weighed down’. [ŋ/k] [kw1’2,kw2g,kw3m] [NUA: Tb, Tak]

**928** Hebrew gw $\zeta$  / gaawa $\zeta$  ‘pass away, perish’; essentially ‘to gasp for breath’ (Driver, Journal of Semitic Studies 7:15 ff); Arabic ḡw $\zeta$  ‘be empty, hungry’:

Ktn ṇihw-īk ‘get worn out, vi’; Ktn ṇihw-k ‘wear out, vt’. [idddua] [kw1g,2w,3’2]

**929** The Semitic root **gyl** (variant **gwl**) in the Semitic languages generally means ‘rejoice, dance, do circles’; Tigrina goolaa ‘dance and sing’; Hebrew(BDB) gyl / giil ‘circle, age’; Arabic ḡwl ‘be circulated, go the rounds’; Arabic ḡawla(t) ‘circuit, round, patrol’ > Cp **ṇáyI’a** ‘spin, twirl, vi’. [kw1g,kw2y,kw3l]

**930** Hebrew **gll** / **galal** ‘roll, roll away’; Hebrew **galiilaa** ‘district (that is, surrounding area), circuit (that one travels)’; Arabic ḡwl ‘be circulated, go the rounds, roam, move freely’; Syriac gəlaal ‘round’;

Syriac gll ‘be in motion’; Syriac et-galgal ‘be made round, be wreathed or twirled about as vapor’;

Syriac gəliiluu-t-aa ‘sphericity, roundness’; Aramaic(J) gaaliil-aa ‘district, circuit’:

UACV-455b \***ṇvlil** / \***ṇalila** ‘circle around, curve, head off, catch up to’: Ktn ṇilil-k ‘catch up with, overtake, vt’; Cp ṇelele ‘be surrounding, be all around’; Cp ṇelele-ṇiye ‘go around visiting’; Ca -ṇélel- ‘go along the edge (of mountains, waters), vi’; Ls ṇéli ‘go along the side of a hill, vi’; Ls(E) ṇéela/i ‘be turned, curved, vi, go along the side of a curve, vt’; Ls(E) ṇeləṇli-š ‘curvy, curve’; Ls(E) ṇeléela/i ‘be repeatedly curved, vi, repeatedly go along the curve of s.th., vt’. Besides \*ṇ-l-l in most forms, semantically Ca and Ls are identical; Cp is nearly so in ‘going around’ approximating ‘go along the edge’ of a round lake or curving mountain; and one way to catch or ‘catch up with’ is to circle around a different route and head off s.th. or s.o. UA vowels e-e, e-i, elela do suggest a reconstruction of either e-i-a or a-i-a. Ktn’s two different forms—Ktn ṇilil-k (930) and Ktn ṇīrīhr-īk (949)—suggest separate proto-forms; thus, Sr ṇīrīr-q ‘move, move over, vi’ and Ktn ṇīrīhr-īk ‘edge down over, vi’ are at 949. [kw1g,2l,3l] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**931** Hebrew **gulla(t)** ‘basin, bowl’; Hebrew galgal ‘wheel, whirl(wind)’; Arabic ḡulla ‘ball, bowl’:

**Hopi ṇōla** ‘hoop, ring, wheel’; Hopi ṇōlöla ‘bend, crook, vt’; Hp ṇölö(kna) ‘bend, make crooked’. [kw1g,2l,3l]

**932** The general meaning of the Semitic root **gwr** is ‘to travel away from home, to be a stranger in other lands, or to be in process of a circuit out and about then back home; a common secondary meaning is to go about to commit adultery: Hebrew **gwr** ‘to dwell as alien and dependent’; Hebrew(BDB) **gwr** ‘to sojourn’; Aramaic(J) **gwr** ‘move around, sojourn, dwell’; Aramaic(S) **goor-aa** ‘fornication, adultery’;

Aramaic(S) **gwr** ‘to commit adultery’; Syriac **gwr** ‘to commit adultery’; Syriac **gaur-aa** ‘adultery’:

UACV-456 \***ṇoya** ‘leave, go away, go home’: Uto-Aztecanists have combined these with (931) above, yet they are a separate set (VVH152 \*ṇola/\*(ṇo) ṇowa/i ‘return, bend, coil’; BH.Cup \*ṇé ‘go away’; B.Tep173 \*; Kaufman1981 \*ṇoyV; L.Son178; M88-no2; KH/M06-no2): Ls ṇéya/i ‘to meander’; Ls ṇéé ‘leave, go away, go home’; Ls(E) ṇée ‘leave, go away, run off (unfaithful spouse), go around (commit adultery), go home, get back, be gone’; Ca ṇii/ṇiy ‘go home, go away’; Cp ṇiye ‘go away, leave’. As Ken Hill notes, Hp ṇöya- ‘surround, form a circle around’ fits these (vs. Hopi ṇōla above 931). Most tie these with \*ṇola above (931), but a case for separation from the above exists in that (1) these show medial -y- vs. medial -r/-l- of the above and (2) Hp and the Tak languages have separate forms, such as Ls ṇée ‘leave, go away’ vs. Ls(E) ṇéela/i ‘be turned, curved, vi, go along the side of a curve, vt’ and Ls(E) ṇeləṇli-š ‘curvy, curve’. Now Ls(E) ṇéya/i ‘meander, vi, make meander, vt’ does belong; whether a variant or other dialect infusion, it corresponds with Hopi. Yet most convincing of all is Ls having both ‘unfaithful/adultery’ and ‘go away/out/around’ in Ls(E) ṇée ‘leave, go away, run off (unfaithful spouse), go around (commit adultery), go home, get back, be gone’. [kw1g,2w,3e] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**933** Syriac **gwr** / **gaar** ‘to commit adultery’; Syriac (qattel) **gayyar** ‘to commit adultery’ would have a prefix conjugation of \***yə-gayyar** ‘to commit adultery’ whose four consonants all fit Hopi **yonyà** as expected, yet the first Hopi vowel (o) may be anticipating velar ṇ in an originally unstressed syllable:

Hopi **yonyà**-ti ‘be adulterous, have an affair (with)’. [kw1y,2g,3r]

Just as initial *g* > *ŋ*-, so also medial *-g* > *-ŋ*-:

At (698) already is Arabic \**lahgat* ‘tongue’ > UA \**laŋi* / \**laŋu* ‘tongue’: Hp *leŋyi* / *leŋi* ‘tongue’; Cp *naŋ*; Ca *náŋ-il*<sup>3</sup>; Sr *naŋjač*; Ktn *nŋi-č*; etc.

More examples of *-l* > *-l*-

**934** Hebrew *glm* ‘wrap up, fold, fold together’ (BDB); Hebrew *gəloom* ‘wrapping, garment’ (BDB); Aramaic(S) *gəliimaa* ‘garment, cloak, n.f.’; the Hebrew infinitive is Hebrew *gəloom* ‘wrapping up’; Hebrew *yi-glom* (< \**ya-glum*) ‘he/it wraps’; Hebrew *ti-glom* (< \**ta-glum*) ‘she/it wraps’, etcetera:

UACV-472 \**kolom* ‘cover’: *-koroomi-* of Cm *mana* \**koroomiti* ‘cover s.th. over, cover head (as with cloth)’ aligns well with both the Hebrew prefixed stem *-glom* and the Hebrew infinitive *-glom/gəloom*; AYq *lomti patti* ‘covered (with tarp or blanket)’; My *lomti* ‘covered’. The prefixed conjugation CV-*glom* would easily lose the *g* as first element of a cluster, leaving *-lom*, as in AYq and My. Also aligning with Hebrew *ti-glom* (< \**ta-glum*) ‘she/it wraps’ is Tb(H) *tulum* ‘tuluumat’ ‘be tangled’ with loss of *-g-* and a vowel assimilation: \**tV-glum* > *tulum*. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: TrC]

**935** Hebrew *glm* / *gaalam* ‘wrap up, fold, fold together’ (BDB); because Hebrew *g* > *ŋ* of Sem-kw, these forms or UA \**ŋalam* reflects Sem-kw’s 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pfv:

UACV-2333 \**ŋalam* / \**ŋalim* / \**ŋalič* ‘entangle(d)’: Ca *ŋáli-* ‘throw a lasso, get entangled, be out of place’, distributive: *pe-ŋáŋlami*; Ca *pe-ŋálamni-l*<sup>3</sup> ‘roping (of the cows), n’; Cp *ŋále* ‘fasten, get into, vt’; Ls *ŋalıpa* ‘become entangled’. Ls *-p-* suggests a final consonant, and *-m-* appears twice in Ca. Does Sr *ŋurkin* ‘lasso, rope, vt’ belong here? Or at 924 *gdl* > \**ŋatCa* ‘weave, tie’? [kw1g,kw2l,kw3m] [NUA: Tak]

**936** Hebrew *gml* / *gaamal* ‘complete’ (KB), ‘deal fully with, deal adequately with’ (BDB); Arabic *ġml* / *ġamula* ‘be beautiful/handsome, be proper, suitable, appropriate, befit’; Arabic II *ġammala* ‘adorn’ V *taġammala* ‘adorn self’; Arabic *ġamiil* ‘beautiful’; note 3 Semitic and 3 UA meanings: Semitic: ‘complete’ and ‘beautiful’ and ‘be proper, befit’ > UA ‘quit/stop (when complete)’ and ‘look good’ and ‘be proper, fit’. Tr *gamea* ‘1 to be able, 2 to look good to, like, 3 to fit, be enough’ (intervocalic liquids *r/l* often lost in Tr); Kw *kagaminiyaa-sibihi* ‘look pleasant’ (*sibihi* ‘appear’), so redplc’d Kw *kagaminiyaa* ‘pleasant’ (1 > NUA n) Tb(V) *kam*’-(ut) ~ *’aŋgam* ‘it fits’; Tb(H) *kam*’mut, pfv *aŋkam* ‘to fit, be proper’ (1 > ’ in Tb cluster); Ca *qami* (before C), *qamñ* (before V) ‘to leave, quit, stop’. This Ca form is of Sem-p, as Sem-kw (935) has Semitic *g* > Ca *ŋ*. Loss of intervocalic *-r-* in Tr, like Tr *-mea* < \**mira*. [p1g,2m,3l]

**937** Hebrew *gml* / *gaamal* ‘complete’ (KB), ‘deal fully with, deal adequately with’ (BDB); Arabic *ġml* / *ġamula* ‘be beautiful/handsome, be proper, suitable, appropriate, befit’, II *ġammala* ‘adorn, V *taġammala* ‘adorn self’; Arabic *ġamiil* ‘beautiful’; semantic extension ‘fit, adorn’ to ‘put on, wear, wrap (blanket)’ underlies the UA set below, as ‘adorn’ and ‘fit’ both imply ‘putting on’:

UACV-246 \**kimal* / \**kamal* (> *kimil*) ‘blanket, wrap (in blanket)’: L.Son82 \**kima* ‘cobija’; M88-ki8; KH/M06- ki8: Wr *kemá*; Tr *gemá*; Tr *komabi/gemabi* ‘wrap oneself in a blanket’; Tr *gimí-mea* ‘wrap oneself (as with a blanket)’; CN *keemi* ‘put on, wear (clothes)’; CN *keemi-tl* ‘garment’; Pl *kimilua* ‘wrap, cover, vt’; CN *kimil-li* ‘bundle of clothes, blankets’; CN *kimilooa* ‘wrap in a blanket, vt’; CN *tlakeemi-tl*, *-tlakeen* ‘garment, wrap’; CN *tlakeentia* ‘get dressed, dress s.o., vt, vrefl’; CN *tlakin-tli* ‘garment’. Add Ca *kámiš* ‘surround, vt’. [idddua] [SUA: TrC, Azt; NUA: Tak]

**938** Hebrew *gml* / *gaamal* ‘complete’ (KB), ‘deal fully / adequately with’ (BDB), tie, load (with good or evil) (Jastrow) thus Semitic *gamal* ‘camel’; Arabic *ġml* / *ġamula* ‘be beautiful/handsome, be proper, suitable, befit’, II *ġammala* ‘adorn, V *taġammala* ‘adorn self’; Arabic *ġamiil* ‘beautiful’; this has the same semantic extension ‘fit, adorn’ to ‘put on, wear, wrap (blanket)’ as above, but with *waw*-consecutive prefix: Hebrew *wayyigammel* > *wikam*’mi; for same SNum languages with *m* 2<sup>nd</sup> & liquid 3<sup>rd</sup> C, see *tmr* > *tím*’ma ‘bury’:

UACV-477 \**wVkka*’mi ‘cover, put blanket over, vt’: SP *wüqqam*’mi ‘put a cover over, cover, vt’; WMU *ká*’mi / *qá*’mi / *ga*’mwi / *gám*’mi / *hwikka*’mi ‘cover, put blanket on, vt’; CU *whká*’mi ‘cover, vt’. Note also the verbal noun Hebrew *gaaml-* in 1 Samuel 1:23. [p1g,2m,3l] [NUA: SNum]

**939** Hebrew *gml* / *gaamal* ‘complete’ (KB), ‘deal fully with, deal adequately with’ (BDB); Arabic *ġml* / *ġamula* ‘be beautiful/handsome, be proper, suitable, appropriate, befit’; Semitic ‘deal fully with or complete’ to UA ‘grind fine’ or ‘deal fully with or do fully (grinding)’ in UA:



UACV-1095 **\*k/ḡamal/n** ‘crush, grind’: Hp ḡiman- ‘to grind fine corn meal’[as s.th. done fully]; Hp ḡimni ‘flour, finely ground corn or wheat’ (of Sem-kw). AYq kam-ta ‘crush’ may be Sem-p. As for initial ḡ- in Hp and Tak vs. k in other branches, note **\*ḡani / kani** ‘look for’ at ‘see’ and **\*ḡüha / kühü** ‘grasp, catch’ at carry. Hp ḡemin ‘invite along’ is also worth noting, but not yet claimable. [ḡ/k] [idddua] [NUA: Hp; SUA: TrC] [kw1g,2m,3l]

Below are two cases of a cluster of -Nḡ- (nasal+pharyngeal ḡ) reducing to ḡ, a rather natural result:

**940** Semitic impfv: **\*-mḡak** < Hebrew mḡk ‘squeeze, squash’; Middle Hebrew and Aramaic(J) ‘crush’; Arabic maḡaka, impfv: -mḡaku ‘rub s.th.’; the cluster -mḡ- > ḡ:

UACV-1096 **\*ḡaka/i** ‘grind, scrape, rub against’: Gb ḡooxa ‘muelalo!’; Gb ḡooxa-t ‘cosa molida’; Ls ḡééxa/i ‘rub against’; Ls ḡóóxi ‘grind on metate’; Ls ḡááxa/i ‘scratch, scrape, brush against’. Such vowel versatility in Ls may be disconcerting, though a relaxing of **\*a > i** explains most vowels, since all correspond with **\*a** or **i**. [kw1m,kw2’2,kw3k] [NUA: Tak]

**941** Hebrew nḡr ‘shake off/out, shake self’; Arabic impfv: **-nḡar** ‘grunt, roar’; the cluster -nḡ- > ḡ:

UACV-677 **\*ḡiy** ‘shake, be dizzy’: Ca ḡéy / ḡéye / ḡéney ‘shake (of trees), vi, shake, rock (as a baby)’; Ca ḡe-ḡéy-’an ‘give a shake or a tap (to wake s.o.)’; Ca puš-ḡéy ‘feel dizzy (literally: eyes-shake)’; Cp ḡéye ‘be dizzy’; Cp ḡéye-yaxe ‘turn over, quake (of earth)’; Sr ḡiyy-k ‘get dizzy (as when drunk). Hebrew impfv (’i- / ti- / yi)-qeš ‘wake up’ would also yield UA **\*ḡiy** and Ls ḡóya/i ‘wake up, vi/vt’ and Cp ḡéye-yaxe ‘turn over, quake (of earth)’ as in a person or earth ‘waking up’. Or is the semantic change ‘shake’ > ‘wake’. In the Comparative Vocabulary, I included Cp ḡéle ‘faint’; Ls ḡóla ‘be dizzy’; Ls ḡóóla ‘be drunk’; Sr yooyk ‘get dizzy (generally)’ as possibilities, since Uto-Aztecanists have often mentioned the two sets together in that both mean ‘dizzy’ and similarly begin ḡi..., yet the differing 2<sup>nd</sup> C has puzzled all. However, staying with **\*ḡiy** aligns well with -nḡar, as the cluster -nḡ- would likely reduce to UA **\*-ḡ-**.

**SP aḡwaya** ‘be dizzy’ is most interesting in showing ḡ with rounding where the ḡ is. [kw1n,2’2,3r] [NUA: Tak]

Semitic uvular q also appears as ḡ in the same languages as g > ḡ, that is, in Tadic and Hopi:

**942** Hebrew **qiinaa** ‘funeral song, dirge, fem n.’, pl: qiinoot; Hebrew ha-qiinoot ‘lamentations’; Syriac **qiinaa** ‘singing, wailing, song, chant, hymn, lament’; denominalization or verbalization of the Semitic noun to a UA verb once again, as is often the case:

Ls(E) ḡináḡna ‘feel sorry for, feel compassion towards, be broken hearted, v.t.’; Ls(E) ḡináḡna/i ‘be sad, sorry, be bad, spoiled’; Ls(E) ḡiina ‘to fast, refrain from eating’; Ls(E) ḡiná’a ‘to fast, not eat s.th.’ Bright has Ls ḡiina / ḡiná-’a ‘fast, not eat’ and Ls ḡiná ‘be bad, spoiled; (of heart) sad, sorry’. [kw1q,2n,3q,4n] [NUA: Tak]

**943** Syriac **qanqen** (< **\*qanqin**) ‘to chant, sing’; this is the Semitic reduplicated form of the root underlying qiinaa above, and Syriac’s reduplicated verb **\*qanqin** is exactly what we see in UA **\*ḡaḡi** with assimilation of **\*-nq- > \*-ḡ-** and loss of final segment (n):

UACV-591 **\*ḡaḡi** ‘cry’: BH.Cup **\*ḡa** ‘weep’; M88-na10 ‘cry’ (also at ni4); KH/M06-na10: Cp ḡaḡa; Ca -ḡaḡ-; Ls ḡáá- ‘to weep for s.o., cry’; Ls **ḡááḡi** ‘cry about/for’; Ls(E) **ḡaḡii-ča** ‘crying, weeping’; Tb(H) annaḡat, pfv naḡ ‘to cry, cry out’. Tb has not initial ḡ, thus n. [kw1q,kw2n,kw3q,kw4n] [NUA: Tak, Tb]

**944** Hebrew tiqqen ‘make straight, straighten s.th. that is crooked, vt’:

Ktn tiḡen ‘straighten arrows’. [kw1t,kw2qq,kw3n]

**945** Hebrew qny / qanaa ‘acquire, buy’; Arabic qny ‘acquire, gain’; the pfv stem with suffixes in both Hebrew and Arabic **\*qanii-** ‘acquire, buy’ is part of ‘paying’ s.o. for what one buys/acquires; the intensive (qittel) is unattested, but the proto-form of Hebrew pfv **\*qinnaa** and the Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic impfv **\*-qanni** would mean similarly or ‘paying/trading’ for what one acquires; so UA ḡani / ḡina reflect original vowelings of the impfv and prfv of the qittel, respectively:

UACV-2405 **\*ḡani / \*ḡina** ‘pay’: Cp náḡani ‘pay, vt’; Ca ḡiḡan / ḡiḡan ‘pay s.o., be expensive’. [kw1q,2n,3y]

UACV-1903 **\*ḡani / kani** ‘look for’: Sr ḡaan ‘look for’; Ktn ḡan / ḡa’n ‘look for, miss, vt’; SP kani ‘seek’. Besides this set, **\*k/ḡamal** ‘crush, grind’ and other examples have Hp or Tak ḡ corresponding to k of Numic and other UA languages. Possibly from Semitic **\*ḡalliy** ‘uncover, find’ in \*-ll- > -n- or -n’n-, like Ktn has. [NUA: Tak, Num]

**946** Hebrew qif / \*qalaḡ ‘to sling, throw out (people from land)’:

UACV-2311 **\*ḡalaw** ‘throw out’: Hp iḡyala ‘reject, exclude’; Hp(S) iḡala ‘drive away, exclude, throw out, vt’; Ca ḡálaw ‘fall/throw in a hole, vi/vt’. What of Cp xálewe ‘fall, sg’? Note the Ca parallel to Ca pálaw ‘be pretty’ < Hebrew **\*pl** ‘be unusual, wonderful, miraculous’ with final w for the final rounding element. [kw1q,2l,3’2] [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**947** Arabic qalb ‘heart, middle, center, core’ > Cp ḡilvenḡilva’a-š ‘nook, corner’. [kw1q,kw2l,kw3b]

**948** Hebrew **šiqqaar** ‘root’; Syriac šeqaar-aa ‘root, remedy-the’; Arabic šaqqaar ‘medicament, remedy’: UACV-1835 \***ḡa-kaw** ‘root’: KH/M06-na6: Sr -ḡaakaw; Ktn -ḡakawi; Hp ḡa’at ‘its root’. As we see in Sem-kw, initial glottal stop is feeble, often dropped, so also initial š. With Sem-kw q > ḡ, then initial ḡa, or Semitic **šiqqaar** > ḡa- is expectable, especially since -kaw of Sr and Ktn is considered a separate morpheme of the compound. [NUA: Tak, Hp] [kw1’2,kw2q,kw3r]

A few more examples of Semitic-kw g > ḡ:

**949** Semitic gdd II ‘band together, roam about’ (move is substitutable for roam); Hebrew ḡaduud ‘band, raid’; Aramaic(J) gidduud / giidduud ‘steep or straight embankment’:

UACV-1945 \***ḡirir** ‘move, move over’: Sr ḡirir|q ‘move, move over’; Ktn ḡirir-ik ‘edge down over (difficult concept to generalize)’. As the Ktn term differs from Ktn ḡilil-k ‘catch up with, overtake, vt’ at ‘circle’, this set is separated from \*ḡVlil ‘circle’ (930). With \*-d- > -r-, the phonology matches, and semantically, (1) both Semitic and UA mean ‘move’ in some way, and (2) “edge down over” is how one does “a steep embankment,” and (3) a band of raiders creep/move/edge down over an edge toward victims. [iddddua]

**950** Hebrew gerem ‘bone’; Aramaic garm-aa ‘bone, self, essence’; Hebrew ḡaraamaa-w ‘bones-his’ (possessed pl); Arabic ḡirm ‘body’; though a different ‘bone’ word, Hebrew uses šeqsem ‘bone’ to indicate blood relative—“you are my bone and flesh” (Genesis 29:14), “bone of my bones” (Genesis 2:23); both the Hopi and Sr suggest an initial cluster of gr- or near it, which approaches a suffixed form with stress shifted to a 3<sup>rd</sup> syllable like the possessed pl above:

UACV-1738 \***ḡya(m)** ‘clan, relative’: KH.NUA: Hp ḡyam ‘clan members, clan’ (the Hopi dictionary has -m as a pl suffix); Sr ḡa, ḡaa, pl: ḡaam ‘relative, relation, kinsman’. The change ḡy > ḡa (nasal plus palatal to a palatalized nasal) is natural enough. [kw1g,2r,3m] [iddddua] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

As in Sr ḡa above, another instance of a g- + -liquid cluster is the Semitic prefix stem- ḡlVs:

**951** Arabic ḡls / ḡalasa ‘sit down’; impfv: -ḡlisu

Ca ḡaš / naš ‘sit down, settle down (live or camp), set in (new moon, young fruit as pumpkin)’. [1g,2l,3s]

**952** Hebrew **pgš** ‘meet, attack, confront, assault’:

UACV-1200 \***poḡo** ‘hit, pound’: M88-po7; KH.NUA; KH/M06-po7: Cp piḡe ‘knock on, knock around’; Ls péḡa/i ‘throw, be thrown’; Sr pōḡ ‘pound’; Ktn poḡ ‘hit with the fist’; Hp pōḡōḡōta ‘be making knocking or rapping sounds’; Hp pōḡō-k-na ‘knock on, give a knock or sharp peck’; AYq poona ‘knock’; Yq pōnne ‘machacar [pound, crush]’; My póona ‘hit, touch’; and My popona ‘martillar [hit/pound with a hammer]’. Note that all of NUA has medial -ḡ- and all of SUA has -n-. Hopi shows final rounding of 3<sup>rd</sup> C š while others make obvious only first two C’s. [iddddua] [kw1p,kw2g,kw3’2] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: TrC]

**953** Arabic **šuqaab** ‘eagle’; Arabic šuqaayyib ‘small eagle, eaglet’:

UACV-344 \***yunḡapi** ‘buzzard’: BH.Cup \*yunaḡávic ‘buzzard’; HH.Cup \*yunaḡáviš ‘buzzard’; M88-yu12; KH/M06-yu12:

Ca yunḡaviš; Cp yunḡaviš; Ls yunḡávi-š ‘turkey buzzard, vulture, a star, probably Arcturus’; Ls yunḡáavay-wu-t ‘condor’. Initial y- is a little strange, but all other segments fit, and another possible initial pharyngeal becoming y may be ḡrpan > yivana ‘autumn’. Or this might tie to Egyptian nxbt ‘vulture goddess’ (Allen 2010, 67) with iw ‘be’ preposed? [NUA: Tak] The following may be a vowel-line shift of \*yunaḡapi?

UACV-346 \***kupahi** ‘type of buzzard/bird’: Yq kupahe ‘clase de pájaro, como zopilote, pero diferente en los colores de las alas’; Wr koihiwé / koiwé ‘zopilote, pelicano, quien, con Cuervo, llevó a Coyote al cielo’. With a metathesis of h and p/w, Wr seems probable with Yq and Tak with vowel transposition. I reconstruct the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel as a so that we can blame it for the lowering \*u to o in Wr. Besides, \*a > i in Wr is more likely than \*i > a in Yq, since i in UA behaves like the schwa in English. The phonological changes and the appearance of the word in mythology suggest a word of some antiquity and not a loan one way or the other, but it is a skewed (not perfect) match. [iddddua] [kw1’2,kw2q,kw3b] [SUA: TrC]

**954** Arabic baqiya ‘stay, be left behind’:

Hp kwayḡya- ‘behind’. Good match and again Semitic-kw q > UA ḡ and Semitic b > kw. [kw1b,2q,3y]

**955** Arabic ḡgg / ḡagga ‘overcome, defeat’:

Hp hoḡvi ‘strong, sturdy, durable’. Hopi -vi < Aramaic -be ‘with/in him/it’; that is, ‘overcome him/it’. [iddddua] [kw1h2,kw2g,kw3g]

**956** Arabic ḥgz ‘hold back, hinder, block, detain’:

Hopi oŋo-(k-) ‘bump into, collide with, reach an impasse, get blocked in one’s plans’. [1h2,2g,3z]

## 5.14 Initial k-, q-, g- in the Semitic-p and Semitic-kw Data

**957** Arabic qarqādaan ‘squirrel’:

UACV-2142 \***koŋi** ‘squirrel’: BH \*qéŋic ‘squirrel’; Fowler83; M88-ko22 ‘squirrel’; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup122 \*qééŋi-š ‘ground squirrel’; KH/M06-ko22: Cp qíŋi-š ‘squirrel’; Ca qíŋiš ‘ground squirrel’; Ls qééŋi-š ‘ground squirrel’; Gb xoŋít; Sr qöŋŋt; Ktn koŋit ‘ground squirrel’; Hp koona ‘type of tree squirrel’ (cognate? Hill queries, and both Miller and Hill note vowel is wrong). Perhaps a loan? All Tak show medial ŋ, though Hp has n, as also Hp coocona ‘kiss’ among \*cuŋa ‘suck, kiss’; so a few Hp -n- seem to correspond with Tak -ŋ-. [p1q,2r,3q,4z2] [NUA: Tak]

**958** Hebrew qiynaa ‘funeral song, dirge’, qiyoot ‘lamentations’;

Middle Hebrew qonen ‘to begin singing a dirge’ (a denominative verb from qiynaa):

Hopi kiyina ‘begin singing a song, start a song’. [p:1q,2y,3n]

**959** Syriac qml ‘suffer from leanness’ (that is, be thin); Syriac quumaal- ‘barley cakes baked in the embers and allowed to grow sour’; Hebrew qml ‘wilt, wither away’:

UACV-902a \***komal** ‘griddle’: CL.Azt74 \*komaal; M88-ko25 ‘griddle’; KH/M06-ko25: CN komaal-li ‘griddle’; Pl kumaal ‘comal, tortilla griddle’; Po komal; Z komaal; T komoll; Hp qöma ‘to make qömi’; Hp qömi ‘oblong cake of baked sweet corn flour’. I agree with Ken Hill’s removing Miller’s question mark, for the Hp terms are cognate, as the first 4 segments agree (Hp ö < \*o; Hp q < k/\_ö), and a > i before liquids or as final V is common in UA, even if no liquid is apparent in Hp.

UACV-902b \***komal** ‘thin’: B.Tep104 \*komarika ‘thin’; M88-ko32 ‘thin’; KH/M06-ko32: TO komal; UP komalikī; LP komilk (Bascom); Nv komarika ‘thin (as paper)’; NT komálika; NT komááli ‘delgado’; ST komaalyik. Likely same stem as \*komal ‘flat griddle for making flat thin tortillas’. [p1q,p2m,p3l] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]

**960** Arabic qarqara ‘rumble, grumble, gargle, coo (pigeon)’ and qahqaha is similar, says Lane:

UACV-1749a \***kakara** ‘quail’: I.Num48 \*ka(a)hka(a) ‘quail’; BH \*qaxal? ‘quail’; HH \*qaxáal ‘quail’; Munro.Cup104 \*kaxáa-l; M88-ka15 ‘quail’; KH.NUA; Manaster Ramer 1991; KH/M06-ka15: SP qaqqaraC ‘quail’; CU yúaa-qaqXaari-ci ‘quail’; Cp qaxá-l ‘valley quail’; Ca qáxa-l ‘quail’; Ls qaxáa-l ‘valley quail’; Gb kakár ‘quail’; Sr kakaata ‘quail’; Ktn kaka-č/kakaī-t ‘quail’; Mn qahī ‘grouse’; Sh kahan ‘grouse’; SP ka(h)aN-/ka(h)a-mpīci ‘ruffed grouse’.

UACV-1749b \***takkaka** / \***kakkata** ‘valley quail’: TSh takkaakacci/kakkaatacci ‘valley quail’; Tb takaah ‘valley quail’; likely a loan since Tb and TSh are geographically proximate. In light of the second alternate form in TSh, takkaaka- is a metathesis of kakkaata-. Add TO kakaiču ‘quail’ (< \*kakkatu). Why this qarqara, differs from squirrel above (957) is a good question. [CC; k > h] [1q,2r,3q] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

**961** Hebrew dəqel ‘date-tree, palm’; Arabic daqal ‘kind of palm tree’:

UACV-1606 \***taku** ‘palm tree’: Fowler83; L.Son271 \*taku ‘palma’; M88-ta11; KH/M06-ta11: Eu takú-t; Wr tahkú ‘palmilla’; Tr fakú; My takko; Tbr takó-t; Wc taakī. Add Cr takī ‘palma’ and Yq táko ‘palma’. This is from Sem-p in light of fierce rounding influence of uvular q. [o/u] [p1d,p2q,p3l] [SUA: TrC, CrC]

**962** Aramaic(J) qooš-aa ‘throat, gullet, windpipe-the’; Aramaic(J) qoošai-k ‘neck-your’; where did I see Aramaic qoošêt ‘neck’?:

UACV-1515 \***kuwiC** ‘throat’: TSh kuwi(cci) ‘throat, front of neck’; Sh kuicci ‘throat’; Cm kuici ‘throat’; PYP kuikvor ‘throat’; PYP kuikered ‘Adam’s apple’; ST kui ‘larynx, trachea’; Wc kīpī ‘garganta, buche’; CN kooko’-tli ‘throat, windpipe’; CN kooko’tlan ‘neck, throat’. [Tep w?] [1q,2’2,3t] [NUA: CNum; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azi]

**963** Hebrew qaašīr ‘branch(es)’:

UACV-2412 \***kusi** ‘wood’: M67-170c; M88-ku7; KH/M06-ku7: Mn kussi-woqqopi ‘Jeffrey pine’; Wr kusí ‘branch, brush, thicket’; Tr kusí/gusí ‘stick’. Sem-p’s rounding of q. [p1q,2s4,3r] [NUA: Num; SUA: TrC]

**964** Hebrew qeren / qarn- ‘horn’

CN koyooniaa ‘horadar [perforate], agujerear algo [pierce/perforate s.th.]’. Another denominative verb made from a noun: to horn = to gore, perforate’. Other Semitic verbs also have the dual meaning of both ‘pierce’ and ‘horn’; e.g., Hebrew tqš ‘stick in, drive in, thrust in (weapon)’ and ‘blow a horn/trumpet’. [1q,2r,3n]

**965** Hebrew qrš ‘rip/tear to pieces’, impfv -qraš :

UA \*kowV ‘to tear’: Cp qíwe ‘tear’; Ca qíwiw ‘tear (clothes, paper)’ (Ca i < \*o). [1q,2r,3’2]

**966** Cognate with Hebrew **šqp** ‘look down on from above’ (both the ni-qtal & hi-qtii); Arabic θqf II / θaqqafa ‘seize, confiscate’; Aramaic(J) tqp ‘seize, overpower, hold firmly’; the Hopi form has the Hebrew sound correspondences (š < θ, \*p > Arabic f), but the Arabic and Aramaic meaning: **Hopi sokop-ti** ‘1. steal, pilfer, 2 get to the stage (of child development) when one can hold on to things’. Round vowels could be the influence q if Sem-p, or from infinitive or verbal noun Hebrew **šəqop** [1s1,2q,3p]

All four cognate sets for ‘bow’ found in UACV are listed below and align with Semitic forms:

**967** Aramaic(J) **qušt-aa** ‘bow-the’; Arabic qaws / qaus, pl: aqwas, qusiy, qisiy;  
**UACV-278 \*kuCta-pi** ‘bow’: Sapir; M88-ku36 'bow'; KH/M06-ku36: Cp kútapi-š; Gb -kúčap (poss'ed); Ls kútupi-š ‘ash tree, bow’. Sapir includes Wc tupi/tuupii ‘bow’, which aligns with Ls’s 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> syllables, though CrC u < \*o usually. Add AYq kuta wiko’i ‘bow’. A reconstruction of \*kuCta with a consonant cluster is needed given Takic intervocalic \*-tt- (as \*-t- > -l-). Retention of and rounding by q is likely Sem-p, and the Aramaic form quštaa ‘bow’ is identical except for the usual loss of s in a cluster, and final -pi < Egyptian p’y ‘his’. Tak -p- (instead of -v-) is again evidence that the final glottal stop of the Aramaic definite article was originally pronounced in UA. [\*t > c in Gb] [p1q,2w,3s1,4t] [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC]

**968** Egyptian-Hebrew **p’y-qušt** ‘his-bow’:

**UACV-277 \*pikoti** ‘bow, bowstring’: Stubbs2003-42: Tb pihooli-t 'bowstring' and Tbr wiko-lí-t 'bow' both agree with \*pikoli-t, and Cah \*wikori 'bow' (Yq wíko’i; My wíko’ori / wíkori) may be borrowed from Tbr, as Cah does not have w < \*p like Tbr does. Such a loan would suggest that Tubar was once a larger entity or a more prominent influence than it was later. Eu bákoci/vákoci ‘bow’ and Eu vákota’a-n ‘make a bow’ also agree well, since they share five of six segments, differing only in a vs. i for the first vowel. Retention of and rounding by q is Sem-p. [\*k > h in Tb; \*t > c/l/r, then l/r > ’] 1q,2w,3s1,4t [NUA: Tb; SUA: TrC]

The above two appear that they could be the Egyptian possessive pronoun on either side of the noun, as Egyptian could do: p’y-qwšt > pi-koti and qwšt-aa p’y > \*kuCtapi. The Egyptian p’y prefix meaning ‘the-his’ can be prefixed (968) or suffixed (967). The 12 forms above (957-968) show Sem-p q > q/k, often with rounding associated with \*qo/qu. The next 16 sets below show Sem-kw’s loss of initial q- and initial k- and initial g- (969-984). Notice that nearly all instances of Sem-kw g/q > η are verbs, while the instances of g/q > ’ are nouns. Nouns take the prefix haC- ‘the’, which when removed may have left a glottal stop rather than the original consonant. That may explain why initial q > η for verbs, but q > ’ for nouns.

**969** Hebrew qešet, **qašt-** ‘bow, weapon’; Hebrew pl: qəšatoot, qaštoot: Hebrew **qašt-o** ‘bow-his’; Akkadian qaštu(m) ‘bow, archer’; Ugaritic qšt; Aramaic(J) **qaštaa**; Syriac qeštaa:

Note Hebrew qešet, **qašt-** ‘bow, weapon’; Hebrew **qašt-o**, and Aramaic(J) **qašt-aa** with UA loss of initial q-: **UACV-275 \*aCta** ‘atlatl, bow’: Sapir; M67-53; L.Num10 \*eti; M88a4; KH/M06-’a4: Mn édi; NP adi; TSh huu’etín, efin; Sh (huu’)aitín; Cm eeti; Kw ’edi; Ch aci; Ch(L) ’aci; SP aci; WMU ačá-rü / ačúr (some speakers say a voiceless/silent r) ‘bow’; CU ’áa-ci; Tb ’aali-t; Wr atá 'arma'; Wr atapóri 'arco'; Tr (w)ata; CN a’tla-tl ‘spear-thrower, atlatl’. Note \*t > c in SNum east of Kw. Both Azt and Num suggest a consonant cluster. The Tr alternate forms ata/wata may be q-rounding after loss of q. The lack of initial q and lack of rounding (except in Tr) suggest Sem-kw. [\*-tt- > c in SNum; initial \*w in Tr?] [1q,2w,3s1,4t] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**970** These Tepiman forms \*gaato may be a voicing of Semitic qašt-o ‘bow-his’:

**UACV-276 \*watV** 'bow': B.Tep36 \*gaatoi 'bow'; M67-53; M88-’a4; KH/M06-wa32: TO gaat, gatwua; Nv gato; Nv gata ‘make a bow, v’; PYp gaato; NT gaátoi; ST gaat. Remember in the preceding Tepiman languages, \*s > h in Tep, which would disappear as first consonant in a cluster. Hp awta, combining form: aawat / awat may or may not tie in. Or loss of q in qawšt. [1q,2w,3s1,4t] [kw1q,2s1,3t] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

**971** Syriac qarduun-aa ‘louse-the, nit-the’ (diminutive of Syriac qard-aa ‘louse-the, nit-the’); perhaps from unattested Hebrew qard-iim ‘lice’:

**UACV-1398 \*’aCtīN > \*’atī(N)** ‘louse’: VVH24\*’atī ‘louse’; B.Tep304 \*’a’atī ‘head lice’; M67-269 \*’ate ‘louse’; L.Son6 \*’atī ‘piojo de la cabeza’; CL.Azt103 \*’atīmV ‘louse’; Fowler83; M88-’a10 ‘louse’; KH.NUA; Stubbs 2000a-5; KH/M06-’a10 \*’atīm (AMR): Kw aci-vi; Hp atī; Cp ála’a-t ‘head louse’; Cp ála’a-š ‘lousy’; Ls ’uláá-t; Sr ätīm ‘head lice, pl’; Ktn ’ačīm-č; Gb -ár; TO aa’ač; UP aa’ači; LP ’a’at; NT áátī; NT áátī ‘have lice, v’; ST ’a’aat; Eu atét; Tbr até-t; Yq ’éte; AYq etem; My éttem; Wr ehté; Tr té; Cr áte/até ‘louse/black louse’; Wc ’até; CN atemi-tl;

HN 'atimi-tl; Pl atimet; Po atomt. Tak absolutive -t (vs. -l) shows a final -C, and Sr, Ktn, Cah, and CN show final -m or \*atim. While possible, let's not assume -m is a fossilized pl suffix, as AMR also reconstructed a final nasal also. Some forms suggest a geminated consonant or cluster, which probably means those that do not, later weakened or lost the gemination. Add Ktn 'atucit 'flea'. [\*-tt- > c in Num; \*-t- > l in Tak] [kw1q,2r,3d,4n] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**972** Hebrew **qippo** 'arrowsnake':

Tr **aposini** 'venomous serpent.' This term also shows the s < \*z/ḏ (like 922 gḏb) and is missing initial q with no rounding from q, which are all consistent with Sem-kw. [kw1q,2pp,3z]

**973** Hebrew **geled** 'skin', **gildaa-w** 'skin-his'; Arabic **\*gild** 'skin'; Aramaic **gild-aa** 'skin-the':

UACV-2022 **\*'ili...** > **Tep \*'ilida** 'skin': TO **elidag / eldag** 'skin of a person or animal, bark of a tree'; Nv **iridaka** 'skin, bark'; NT **ilíadí** 'cáscara'; NT **ilípai** 'skin an animal, v.' The -g (< \*w) on TO **elidag** fit the possessive suffix Hebrew -aaw 'his' or the \*-w of the final glottal stop of Aramaic -aa 'the'. [1g,2l,3d] [SUA: Tep]

**974** Samaritan **kakkar**, Hebrew **kikkar / kekar** 'round loaf, disk, vicinity, district, area around a place' (as in the Jordan valley/towns through which the Jordan river flows):

UACV-362 **\*aki / \*haki** 'arroyo, waterway, canyon, valley': VVH57 **\*'aki** 'arroyo'; B.Tep299 **\*'aki** 'arroyo'; M67-348 **\*'aki**; L.Son50 **\*haki** 'arroyo'; M88-ha2 'arroyo'; KH/M06-ha2: NP **tihaga'yu** 'canyon' (Miller has < NP **\*tí'aka**); NP(B) **tíakai** 'canyon'; NP(B) **tihaga** 'a hollow, little valley'; TO **aki** 'ravine, arroyo, wash'; NT **áki**; LP(B) **'ak**; NT **akíivi** 'el arroyo'; ST **'ak**; Eu **hakít** 'arroyo [gully, wash], valle [valley]'; Yq **hakia** 'arroyo'; My **hakía** 'arroyo'; Wr **akí** 'arroyo, creek'; Tr **aki-** 'water channel'; Cr **áči/háči** 'arroyo'; Wc **'áki**; PYP **aki** 'arroyo, wash'. Note h in Cah, NP, Cr vs. ø elsewhere. This matches Sem-kw in loss of initial velar stop and anticipation of r causing a high-front vowel. [\*k > č/\_i in Cr] [kw1k,2kk,3r] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**975** Hebrew **qrb** 'approach, draw near'; Hebrew **qaarob** 'near'; Hebrew **qereb** 'inward part, midst' (BDB):

UACV-1243 **\*'irapa** 'inside': B.Tep336 **\*'irava** 'inside'; M88-i15; KH/M06-i15: TO **eḏa** 'the insides or interior'; TO **eḏawi** 'in the middle of'; TO **eḏawek** 'intestines, insides'; LP **'irav**; PYP **era**; PYP **erava** 'middle'; NT **iráva**; ST **'irvan**; TO **edawi-ko** (Saxton)/ **edavko** (Mathiot) 'in the middle of, halfway'; TO **edavko** matches Hebrew **qereb-bo** > **qerev-kwo** 'inside-in it'. [\*-r->Tep-r-] [kw1q,2r,3b] [SUA: Tep]

**976** Hebrew **qrb** 'approach, draw near'; Hebrew **qaarob** 'near':

UACV-2356 **\*ayopi** 'soon [i.e., near in time]: Tr **ayobe/ayowe/ayowi** 'soon, immediately'. [-r- > Tr y] [kw1q,2r,3b] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**977** Arabic **qariib** 'near, soon'; Aramaic(J) **qaareeb** 'near' > PYP **aliv** 'soon'

**978** Semitic **\*gabbaar** 'man, strong/mighty man' in several Semitic languages: Aramaic/Mandaic **gabbaar**; Syriac **gəbar** 'man, strong or mighty man-the'; Syriac **gabr-aa** 'man-the'; Arabic **ḡabbaar** 'giant, tyrant, mighty, powerful'; Hebrew **gibboor** < **\*gabbaar** (oo < \*aa):

UACV-1427 **\*appaC-ti** 'boy': Kw **'eepi-ži**; Ch **áipaci**; SP **aipaC-**; WMU **áappa-či** 'boy'; CU **'áapa-ci** 'boy'. To compliment a boy calling him a man makes this semantic shift understandable, but bb > not kw [1g,2bb,3r] [NUA: SNum]

**979** Semitic **kbr** or **gbr** or **gbh** all could fit this; Hebrew **gbr** 'be superior, increase'; or Arabic **kabura** 'be great, big, increase'; or Hebrew **gabah** 'be high, exalted, great':

UACV-206 **\*'apa** 'much, big': Kw **'awa-(tū)** 'be much, many'; Ch(L) **'ava'a-/ava'ana** 'many'; SP **ava'** 'much, great, big'; SP **ava'-na** 'much, v.n.'; SP **ava'-tī** 'big, participle'; WMU **avá'ni** 'big'; WMU **avá'ne / avátne / avá'ni**; prefixed: **avá'a- / avá'an-** 'many, much, lots, adv'; CU **'avá-tī** 'big'; CU **avá'-na** 'many'. Jane Hill adds Ca **a'avuk** 'grow'. [1g,2bb,3r] but bb > not kw [NUA: SNum, Tak]

**980** Arabic **klm** 'address s.o.' > Ls **'ulómi** 'call s.o. names' [1k,2l,3m]

**981** Aramaic(J) **gaz / gas, gaz-aa** 'bird of prey, falcon-the':

UACV-741 **\*'asa-wīr** 'eagle': BH.Cup**\*'ašwīt**; M67-147 **\*'as**; KH.NUA; M88-'a12; KH/M06-'a12: Sr **'ahīḡ-t / ahīn-t** 'eagle'; Ls **'aš-wu-t** 'golden eagle'; Cp **'ašwe-t** 'eagle'; Ca **'aswet**; Gb **'asáwt** 'golden eagle'; Tb **'aašawī-t** 'eagle'. As Miller suggests, the -wī syllable in these forms probably means 'big'; yet a 2<sup>nd</sup> V *a* after *s* is apparent in both Gb and Tb. Note also Sr's ḡ where others have w. [ḡ/w] [1g,2s,2z] [NUA: Tb, Tak]

**982** Hebrew **qll** 'be small, insignificant, light, fast'; Arabic **qaliil** 'little, few, insignificant'; Arabic **qll** 'be little, few, insignificant, inferior':

UACV-1356 **\*ali** 'little': B.Tep300 **\*'arii** 'little one'; M67-387a **\*'ali**, 387b **\*'ili**; M88-'a7; KH.NUA; KH/M06-'a7: TO **al** 'little'; TO **ali** 'baby, child'; LP **lii**; NT **áli**; ST **'alyii**; My **iliči / ili'iči**; Sr **añii'či** 'small one, little one, baby, child'; Ca **íñišily** 'small one'; Ls **'áali-may** 'woman's brother's child'; Ls **'alú'-ma-l** 'small, thin, a baby'. Add Tbr **ali-** 'pequeño'; AYq **ili** 'small, little, few'; AYq **iliči** 'small, little'. [kw1q,2l,3l] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**983** Hebrew *škb*, impfv *-škab* ‘lie down, lie’ something else?

UACV-1318 **\*hapi** ‘lie down’: I.Num31 *\*hapi* ‘lie down’; M88-ha8 ‘lie down’; KH/M06-ha8: Mn *hapi*; NP *hapi*; TSh *hapi*; Sh *hapiC*; Cm *hapi*; Kw *havi*; Ch *havi*; SP *avi*; WMU *aví*; CU *’aví*; Eu *’abi* ‘lie’ (Shaul 2003, 29). Perhaps tied to Cr *abi’ici* ‘escondido’ and Wc *’avieta* ‘hide (claws/teeth)’ at *\*’api* ‘hide’.

[NUA: WNum, CNum, SNum; SUA: TrC]

UACV-1181 **\*’api** ‘hide’: Cr *abi’ici* ‘escondido’; Wc *’avieta* ‘hide (claws/teeth)’. This may relate to Num *\*hapi* ‘lie down’ since hiding often involves lying down or laying s.th. down. [1s1,2k,3b] [SUA: CrC]

**984** Hebrew *gullaa* ‘bowl’ (< Hebrew gll ‘roll’ niqtal: ‘be rolled together’); Akkadian *gullu* ‘bowl’:

UACV-431 **\*ola** / **\*olol** ‘ball’: M67-20 *\*’ol* ball; M88-’o16; KH/M06-’o16: TO *ola*; NT *oróóši* ‘ball, ball game’; Cr *ú’uraara*; CN *te-ololtik*; CN *ololtik* ‘s.th. ball-shaped, spherical’; Pl *ulul-nah* ‘round, spherical’. SUA *\*ola* and Hp *ñjola* ‘hoop, ring, wheel, tire’ may both be of Sem-kw, in loss of g in SUA and g > ñ in Hp. Compare 931 from a different form of the same root. [*\*o* > Cr u, liquids] [kw1g,2l,3l] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]

More examples of Semitic-p preserving initial q-, k-, g-:

**985** Arabic *kasara* ‘break, shatter, fracture’

UACV-286 **\*kasi** ‘break’: Tr *kasi* ‘break in pieces’; Wr *kasí-* ‘break (of brittle obj’s), vi’. [1k,2s,4r] [SUA: TrC]

**986** Hebrew *qiiir* ‘wall, town’; Hebrew *qiryaa* ‘village, town’:

UACV-1214a **\*kiC** ‘house’: Sapir; VVH44 *\*ki*; M67-240 *\*ki*; BH.Cup *\*kica*; B.Tep100 *\*kii*; L.Son80 *\*ki*; M88-ki1 ‘house’; Munro.Cup64; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ki1: Hp *ki-/kiihi*; Eu *kit/kíit*; Tbr *ki-tá*; Ktn *ki-c*; Sr *kii-č*; Ca *kí-š*; Ls *kíi-ča*; Cp *kí-š*; TO *kii*; Nv *ki*; PYP *kii*; NT *kíi*; ST *kii*; Wc *kíi*; Cr *čí’i*. [*\*k* > c/\_i in Cr] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

UACV-1214b **\*kiC-tu** / **\*kiC-ta** ‘build a house’: KH.NUA: Sr *kiiču* ‘build a house’; Ls *kíiču*; Ca *kíču* ‘dwell’; Hp *kiita* ‘build a house’. [p1q,p2y,p3r] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

Note the contrast of the same word *qarṣ-* ‘gourd, pumpkin’ from Sem-p *qarṣ* > UA *\*kuyawi* (987) in contrast to Sem-kw *qarṣ* > UA *\*aya(w)* (988):

**987** Arabic *qarṣ-* ‘gourd, pumpkin’ (Sem-p):

UACV-2135 **\*kuyawi** ‘gourd’: Tr *guyowí* ‘guaje [gourd]’; Wr *kuyawí* ‘planta de bule [gourd plant]’; Tb(H) *kooyoo-t* ‘turtle’. [*\*-r->Tr/Wr -y-?*] [p1q,p2r,p3’] [SUA: TrC; NUA: Tb]

**988** Arabic *qarṣ-* ‘gourd, pumpkin’ (Sem-kw) or Syriac *qara’-aa* ‘gourd’:

UACV-2141 **\*ayaw** < **\*arawV** ? ‘squash, gourd’: CL.Azt159 *\*ayoh* ‘squash’; M88-’a2 ‘squash, pumpkin’; KH/M06-’a2: Ls *yáá’aya-t* ‘turtleshell rattle’; Sr *’aayt* ‘rattle’; Hp *aaya*, pl: *aa’aya* ‘hand rattle (made of gourd)’; Wr *aláwe* ‘calabaza’; CN *ayo’-tli* ‘squash, pumpkin’. AMR (in his long unfinished article “Ontology”) and Ken Hill add TO *haal* ‘squash, pumpkin’ and My *aayaw*, pl *aya’aw-im* ‘calabaza harota’. Yes! Add also Tbr *haya* ‘calabaza’ (Tbr *haya-we-t* ‘turtle’); Yq *ayá’awi* ‘calabaza sazona’; PYP *ara* ‘small squash’; and Op *arii* ‘squash’ (Shaul 2007). Wr, TO, and PYP all suggest an original liquid underlies y, though Wr -l- vs. Cah -y- is curious. [l/y] [kw1q,2r,3’2] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

As a turtle shell looks somewhat like the rough exterior of a rounded gourd/squash, Some UA turtle terms derive from gourd/squash words in UA. Below is an example.

**989** Arabic *qarṣ-* ‘gourd, pumpkin’ (Sem-kw) or Aramaic(J) *qaaraa’* ‘pumpkin, gourd’;

Syriac *qara’-aa* ‘gourd’:

UACV-2422 **\*ayaC** / **\*ayoC** ‘turtle’: Sapir; M67-445 *\*’ay* ‘turtle’; M67-341 *\*’ay* ‘rattle’; BH.Cup *\*’áyila* ‘turtle’; CL.Azt179 *\*aayoo-* ‘turtle’, 28 *\*’ay-* ‘turtle’; Fowler83; M88-’a14 ‘turtle’; Munro.Cup134 *\*’áayi-la*; KH.NUA; KH/M06-’a14: Kw *’aya*; SP *’aya*; CU *’ayapí-ci*; Cp *áyily*; Cp *-áyi* ‘turtle shell rattle (poss’d)’; Ca *’áyily* ‘turtle’; Ca *-’áyi* ‘turtle shell rattle’; Ls *’áy-la* ‘abalone’; Ls *páá’i-la* ‘turtle’; Ls *páá’aya-t* ‘turtleshell rattle’; Hp *aaya* ‘rattle’; Tbr *haya-wé-t* ‘tortuga’; Wc *’ayé/’aayée*; CN *aayoo-tl*; HN *aayoo-tl*. Jane Hill (p.c.) reminds that CN *aayoo-tl* < *\*aya-wi-* (turtle-big). CU -p- (vs. -v-) and Ls -t- (vs. -l-) suggest a final C. The 2<sup>nd</sup> V is difficult. SNum, Hp, Tbr, and one Ls form suggest *\*’aya*, while CN and the other Tak forms are more consistent with *\*ayo*, since Ca and Cp *i* < *\*o*, then there is Wc *’ayé*, whose 2<sup>nd</sup> V does not fit either. As Miller and Hill do also, this and 988 above have overlapping forms as gourds and turtle shells have similar shapes and surfaces. [-a/o] [kw1q,2r,3’2] [iddduu] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**990** Semitic qr' / \*qara' 'call, name, cry out, shout, announce, conscript, muster, invite' exists in nearly all Semitic languages; Hebrew qore' 'partridge, shouter'; Syriac **qary-aa** 'caller, announcer' (participle); in the UA set below, the lack of initial q and lack of rounding for final ' means Sem-kw:

UACV-1492 \***aya** 'call': M67-75 \*ay 'call'; M88-'a15; KH/M06-'a15 \*ay (AMR): Tb aay(at) 'call, count, v'; Ls 'ayá' 'messenger who announces people making a formal visit'; Hp aya-ta 'hire, direct, tell or ask (to do s.th.), vt'; Hp aya, pl: a'yat 'helper, employee, hireling, person who helps in return for food' (cognate? Hill queries); I say yes, since in other UA sets, terms suggest invitations (a call) for work help (in exchange for whatever); TO aada 'palate' (cognate? Hill queries; probably). As for Hopi 'hiring, telling, directing' persons in work/projects, note the Semitic definitions 'conscript, muster (military or work force), invite'. [kw1q,2r,3'] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak]

**991** From Semitic qr' / \*qara' 'call, name, cry out, shout, announce' is the Hebrew niqtal passive: Hebrew **ni-qra'** 'he/it is called/named'; the UA set below appears to be from a fossilized **ni-qra'** which is the most common niqtal form 'he/it is called or named' and has exactly the Numic meaning and form, though with softened q > h; and lack of rounding for ' is consistent with Sem-kw:

UACV-1490 \***nihya** 'call, name': LNum117 \*ni(C)a / \*nih- 'call, name, v'; M88-ni2 'call, name, v'; KH/M06-ni2: Mn niyat; NP nania; Sh niha/nihya; the -nia of Sh tipinia 'give a name'; Cm niha 'name, be called, v'; Kw niyaa-vi 'name, n'; SP nia 'call by name'; CU niaa 'name'. Add TSh niha / niya 'name'; Ch nia-vi 'name'; WMU nia / niyé 'name, n'; WMU niyææ-n 'my name'; and perhaps Tr neho / nehówi / o'wi 'invite'. I like Iannucci's reconstruction \*ni(C)a, because the medial consonant is unclear and the variety again suggests that we may be dealing with a cluster. [Sem-kw with weakened q, r > y, and no rounding from '] [kw1n,kw2q,kw3r,kw4'] [NUA: Num]

**992** Semitic qr' / \*qara' 'call, name, cry out, shout, announce'; as Hopi o < UA \*u, Hopi eyo and Ktn yu' match each other with loss of initial vowel in Ktn: Hopi eyoyo-ta 'ring, peel (of bell)'; Ktn yu' 'cry, sound, buzz, sing' reflects the impfv stem plural yV-qrə'u 'they call/cry'. Other forms resemble Semitic qr', but some details are not yet clear; a list to contemplate: Ls 'uyá'a 'feel bad, sad' (i.e., cry); Ls 'úúyi 'howl'; Ls hááyí 'scream'; SP qwarava-ya'i 'cry from pain' vs. UACV-613 \***otoNwa (oroNwa)** 'groan': SP oronwi 'roar, growl'; WMU orógoa'ni'ni 'groan in pain'; CU 'orógwa'ni 'suffer'. [1q,2r,3'] [NUA: SNum]

**993** Hebrew **qəwušoot** 'locks'; Arabic quṣṣa(t) 'lock of hair';

Syriac qauṣ-taa / quuṣ-taa 'curl, ringlet-the, n. f.', pl: quuṣaa-taa / qaswaa-taa 'curls-the':

UACV-1111 \***woC** 'hair': M67-210 \*wo; LNum270 \*woo(h) 'hair/head'; M88-wo6 'hair of the head'; KH/M06-wo6: Mn woo 'head, hair'; Mn wóopi / a-qwoopi 'hair of head'; NP kwo 'head, hair'; Tb(M) woodzon 'place where hair grows from, crown'; (perhaps Syriac quuṣtaa >) Tb(V) woodo-l 'the hair center on head, the tip of basket cap'. Mn -p- is from gemination or final -C on 1<sup>st</sup> morpheme. [w/kw in WNum] [1q,2w,3s4] [NUA: Num, Tb]

**994** Hebrew ṣqr 'uproot, weed'; MHebrew(Jastrow) neṣeqar (< \*na-ṣqar) 'be uprooted'; Syriac ṣqr / ṣəqar 'uproot, be barren, heal', impfv -ṣquur; Hebrew ṣaaqaar 'infertile'; Samaritan Aramaic (CAL) ṣaquur 'death, barrenness'; loss of initial ṣ (perhaps in a cluster) while 2<sup>nd</sup> C q is retained in the UA form being impfv -ṣqar, with -a- instead of -u- (such dialect variations happen), or stressed 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable of a pfv ṣ<sup>o</sup>qar > qay:

UACV-2489 \***qaya/i** 'uproot, weed, clean, wash': BH.Cup \*qāyi 'wash'; M88-ka24; KH/M06-ka24: Ls káyí 'to uproot'; Ls qáya/i- 'fall, as a tree, vi', blow down (a tree), vt'; Ls qáya/i- 'heal (sore), get well, vi, heal a sore, wash one's hands, vt'; Ca qāyi 'get clean, clear (ground, body, etc)'; Ca qāyi-n 'to clean, get rid of, wash, clear'; Cp qéye 'pull out, vt'; Ca qúyen 'to pull out (tree)'. [1'2,2q,3r] [NUA: Tak]

Interestingly in the above, Bright's Luiseño dictionary lists as separate verbs Ls qáya/i- 'blow down (a tree)', that is, 'uproot' and Ls qáya/i- 'heal', though the two are phonologically identical, and amazingly, the **Syriac verb also has both meanings 'uproot' and 'heal'**. Tak also shows q instead of k.

**995** Hebrew gbl 'to fix a landmark, form a boundary'; Arabic ġabal 'mountain';

Hebrew gəvuul (< \*gabuul) 'mountain, boundary':

TO gavul-k 'be different, separate'; TO gavul-kad 'to separate, divide'; and TO kavul-k 'hill'. While a devoicing of g > k is plausible, but not certain, to have the two meanings 'mountain' and 'boundary' in both Hebrew \*gabuul and TO gavul/kavul- should create interest, or we can count only one. [p1g,p2b,p3l]

More cases of loss of initial q, k, and g, from Semitic-kw

**996** Arabic yasaaran ‘at/on the left’; Arabic min-al-yasaariy ‘at/on the left’; Arabic ’aysar ‘left handed / sided’; Arabic -yasaariy ‘the left’ corresponds to Hebrew \*yəšooriy, and with š > UA \*c > Tep s, and Tep d < \*y, loss of 1<sup>st</sup> syllable, and a Canaanite vowel shift aa > oo, \*yəšooriy > PYP suurid ‘left, from the left’.

**997** Hebrew **kəraaʕ** ‘lower leg’ (Sem-kw):

UACV-949 \*yī’u < \*kVyu’u ‘leg’: Kw yu’u-vi ‘leg’; Ch yu’u ‘leg’; SP yī’u / yu’u ‘leg’; WMU yu’úú ‘leg’; CU yu’úa-vi ‘leg’. Tb kuyuu ‘lower leg’ has the original initial \*ku lost in SNum. [1k,2r,3’2] [NUA: SNum, Tb]

**998** Hebrew qeren / qarn- ‘horn’; MHebrew qeren / qarn- ‘horn, corner, tip’; Akkadian qarnu(m) ‘horn’; Syriac qarn-aa ‘horn, pinnacle-the’ but non-definite Syriac q’ren has nearly no vowel between 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> consonants, making loss of first consonant plausible: SP yinnī ‘crown of the head’. [kw1q,2r,3n]

**999** Hebrew gaaron ‘throat, neck’ (Sem-kw):

UACV-1516 \*iyoN ‘back of neck, nape of neck’: WMU iyō / iyō / iyōm-pi ‘back of neck, nape of neck, n’; CU ’iyō-vi (WMU has a nasal vowel and/or consonant not in CU). This noun is also incorporated into verbs: \*iyon-na- ‘put arm around s.o. (originally around neck, later to hug or put arm around in any manner)’:

WMU i(y)ōnt’a-qa-y, i(y)ōn-náqa, iint’a-qa-y, iín-qa ‘put arm around, hug s.o.’; SP iyonna- ‘carry in one’s arms’; CU ’iyōnani’i ‘hug, vt’. Loss of g- and high-fronting of aro > iyo mean Sem-kw. [kw1g,2r,3n] [SNum]

More examples of Semitic-p retaining initial q-.

**1000** Aramaic(J) qa’t-aa ‘pelican’:

UACV-580a \*koto (< \*ko’ota) ‘crane’: L.Son94 \*koro ‘grulla’; Fowler83; M88-ko18 ‘grulla’; KH/M06-ko18:

TO kookoq; Nv kokorh; Op koro-ci; Eu koró; Tr goró; Yq kórowe; My kórou; Tbr koló ‘pájaro’; NP kodidi ‘crane’. Fowler lists Mn kodito ‘sandhill crane’; Mn kodi’i ‘sandhill crane’; Sh koandata ‘sandhill crane’; Kw ko’ota ‘a kind of goose’; Ch cakora ‘sandhill crane’. Especially Kw very nicely reflects the Aramaic.

**1001** Arabic qīla (passive) ‘was said, it was said that ...’ > CN kil ‘it is said that ...’ [1q2w3l]

**1002** Hebrew qool ‘voice, noise’ (qwl); Arabic qwl / qaala ‘speak, say, tell’; Arabic **qawl** ‘speaking (verbal noun), word, speech, saying’; Arabic qīla ‘it is/was said’ (passive): Hp qawī ‘to say, speak’; [1q2w3l]

**1003** Arabic kirš / kariš ‘stomach, paunch, belly’

UACV-2195 \*kīca ‘belly, waist’: Stubbs2003-36: Eu kecáka ‘cintura [waist]’; PYP kesar ‘womb’. Eu and PYP match through four segments, are semantically close, and 2<sup>nd</sup> C is the reduced cluster -rš-. [1k,2r,3s1] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1004** Hebrew qšš ‘be old, dried up’ (BDB); qaš ‘straw, stubble, chaff’; Syriac qešš-aa ‘stubble, dry stocks, grass or leaves’; Aramaic(J) qašš-aa ‘straw, stubble’; Aramaic(J) qišqeš ‘knock, strike, shake, tingle’; **-qošš** is unattested in the Hebrew text, but is the usual vowelizing for verbs of identical 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants: CN(S) košon-ki ‘seco [dry], triturado [crushed], molido [ground]’; CN košoni ‘resonar [resonate], hacer ruido (vasija que no está llena) [make noise (vessel that is not full)]’; another example of a semantic tie between ‘dry vegetation’ and ‘sound, rattle’; see §ll at 31.

**1005** Hebrew qašwaa ‘jar, f’; Hebrew pl: qəšoot; Arabic qaswat ‘basket’:

TO gihot ‘carrying basket’. Remember that Semitic s/š/ś > h in TO. [1q,2s2,3t]

**1006** Hebrew qšr ‘to reap, harvest’; Hebrew qaašir ‘harvest, n’ > Wr kacuri ‘a kind of sweet corn’. [idddua]

Sometimes Semitic x softens to h:

**1007** Semitic \*xdl (> Hebrew ḥdl / ḥaadal) ‘cease, cease doing’; OSArabic xdl; Akkadian xadaalu ‘cease’; Arabic xdl / xadila ‘stiffen, become rigid’; intervocalic -d- > -r- is common in English and many languages: Hp hiriī-ti ‘come to a stop, harden’; regarding Hopi’s two rather different meanings, note that Arabic has one of the meanings (stiff/hard) while the other Semitic languages align with ‘stop, cease’, yet Hopi has both meanings ‘stop’ and ‘harden’ which are not usually related. Hopi has other related variant forms such as Hp hīrīla ‘be hesitating, pausing, stopping’. [p1x,2d,3l]

While Semitic-kw loses initial q- in most UA languages, at least Hopi preserves a whispered remnant in h:

**1008** Hebrew qrb ‘approach, draw near’; Arabic qariib ‘near’; Syriac qərib ‘come near, draw nigh’; Hp hayiḡw- ‘draw near’. For final -b > -ḡw, see heart (1312) and snake (1198). [kw1q,2r,3b]



**1009** MHebrew qmṭ ‘heap together, bind’; Aramaic(J) qmṭ ‘draw together, pack, bind’;

Syriac qmṭ ‘lay fast hold of, take, contract, shrink, shrivel, wrinkle’:

Hp hòm-ta ‘trying to grab or catch things thrown’;

Hp homi(k-)<sup>1</sup> ‘in competition with others, grasp, grab, or catch s.th. thrown’.

Hp homi(k-)<sup>2</sup> ‘shrink, draw together, gather up, shrivel up’.

Again notice two identical but separate forms in the Hopi dictionary due to different meanings, yet Semitic also has both meanings, like Semitic ṣqr ‘uproot, heal’ in Ls at 994. [1q,2m,3t2]

**1010** Syriac qlp ‘to peel, shell, scrape off, strip off’; Arabic qlp ‘strip bark from a tree’:

Hp hàapo(k-) ‘get loosened, chipped’. Hp -p- (vs. -v-) means a cluster, aligning with \*qalpu. [1q,2l,3p]

**1011** Semitic kwn / knn ‘be, exist, make’; Ugaritic kn / knn ‘make’; Arabic kwn, perf: kaana ‘be, exist, happen’; Arabic kwn II / kawwana ‘make, create, produce’; Hebrew (ni-qtal) na-koon ‘be established, completed’; Hebrew (hiqtiil) hekiin, **hekannu** ‘prepare, make ready, fix s.th.’;

UACV-681a **\*hanni** ‘do, make’: I.Num29 \*(ha(h)ni ‘to cook, do, make’; M88-ha7: ‘cook, make’; KH/M06-ha7: NP hanni ‘do, make, fix’; TSh hanni ‘do, use’; Sh hanni ‘do, make, fix, prepare’. CN ai ‘do, make’? Miller asks; maybe.

UACV-681b **\*’ani** / **\*kani** ‘do, cause’: Langacker 1977, 41, 45 and Shaul 2003, 33 note Eu eni ‘do, be’; SP -’ni ‘do’; Hp ni; Sr ñihai ‘do’; Tr nii- ‘be’; Tep denV (< \*ye-ni); etcetera, focusing on \*ni. Add Kw ’i-ni- ‘do’; Kw ha-ga-ni ‘do s.th.’; CU ’ini-k (variants ’uni-k, ’ani-k) ‘do, act, make’; Yq ’ania ‘help’; Yq aane ‘be’; AYq aane ‘do, be around/about, vi’; AYq ánia ‘help’; Tb ’in ‘do it’; Hp -k-na; Sr -k-in; Eu éni ‘estar’; Ch úunii ‘be, do’; Ch uní-nupiru ‘make, v’; Ch hágá-ni ‘do what’.

Note TSh kan ‘do’ in TSh suwakkan ‘think about doing’ (TSh suwaC ‘think’). Note Ktn tama-wi-t ‘sharp (< tooth + aug)’ and Ktn tama-’n ‘sharpen (< tooth- do)’; in other words, -’n = ‘do/make’. SNum \*uni; in fact, SNum languages have three vowelings: \*’uni, \*’ani, \*’ini. Cf. Tewa ’an/kan ‘do’ (Martinez and Povijua 1982, 103; and Stubbs 2008). This also appears in many compounds, such as Tb tugaa’anit ‘make deep’ from Tb tugaa’it ‘be deep’. [1k,2n] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: TrC, Tep]

**1012** Hebrew **šiqma(t)**, pl -im and **šiqmoot** ‘sycamore tree’; Syriac **šeqma(t)**; the cluster -qm- > -ŋ- is very expectable in that q > ŋ in Sem-kw, then combined with another nasal to yield -qm- > -ŋ-, and all else as expected as well, in that \*-m’- > -ŋ- (salt, husband, lung), also \*-qm- > -ŋ- (large tree):

UACV-559 **\*sīŋja(C)** ‘cottonwood and/or aspen tree’: NP(Y) sīŋjabi ‘cottonwood’; NP(Y) gaiba sīŋjabi ‘aspen’; NP(B) sīŋjabi ‘tree’; NP(B) sīŋjaabi ‘willow’; NP(B) kaibasīŋjabi ‘quaking aspen tree’;

Sh sīnka-pin / sīnna-pin ‘aspen’. Note also TSh sīŋjabin ‘aspen’; Sh(C) sīnka-ppī / sīnkaC-ppin ‘aspen tree, tree (generic), any mountain tree’; WMU sūüá-vü / süá-vü ‘cottonwood tree, quaking aspen, n’; SP šüya-vü ‘quaking aspen’; SP šiaC- ‘sapling’; CU sūü-vü-pü ‘cottonwood’; CU sīa-vi ‘quaking aspen’. The -ŋ- occurs in all three branches of Num, as nasalized vowels in WMU with no other nasals in the vicinity. In some Sh dialects is seen \*-ŋ- > -n-, while most of SNum lost the nasal altogether. While NP(B) seems to have merged the forms, most languages have separate forms for ‘willow’ (\*sīhī, \*saka) though close enough to understandably be confused. [1s1,2q,3m,4t] [NUA: WNum, CNum, SNum]

**1013** Hebrew **šiqma(t)**, pl -im and **šiqmoot** ‘sycamore tree’; Syriac **šeqma(t)**; in contrast to Sem-kw šeqma(t), this is Sem-p šeqma(t) in light of the rounding about -q-:

UA **\*sohopi** ‘cottonwood tree’ (Sem-p); Tak **\*sapo**: M67-104 \*so ‘cottonwood tree’; I.Num180 \*soopih ‘cottonwood tree’; NP so’o ‘aspen’; TSh sohopimpī; Sh soho-pin; Cm soho obi ‘cottonwood tree’; Cm sohopokóó ‘mulberry tree’; Kw soovi-pī; SP soopi-C/ppī; Hp sōhövi; Ca sívily ‘maple, sycamore’; Cp ševí-ly ‘sycamore’ (vowel unexpected); Ls šivéé-la ‘sycamore’; Sr havööč ‘sycamore’; Ktn havo-č ‘sycamore’; Gb ševér ‘sycamore’.

Ken Hill queries whether CN soomee-tl ‘elder tree’ is cognate. Yes! In fact, CN alone shows m. In the others the nasal, in cluster with a stop, changed the bilabial nasal to a bilabial stop. The Tak forms have the pV syllable well-embedded, opposing an old absolutive suffix in Num. The reconstruction \*sohopi works for Num and Hp and Tak, though its first vowel varies, probably due to a past lack of stress. While most UAnists consider these may be related, an explanation is elusive. The semantic shift is slight: sycamores, cottonwoods and aspens are all large, leafy shade trees. A strong rounding effect of a former q suggests Sem-p. A stop-bilabial cluster of \*-qm- > bilabial stop \*-p- happens in WMU too. Though in a cluster where it might disappear, the q remains as h or a syllabic echo of -ho- or -’o- in some languages. The actual -m- in CN baffles UAnists, but fits Hebrew, as it lost -q- in the cluster, after retaining its rounding influence, and retained m. [1s1,2q,3m,4t] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Azt]

**1014** Syriac qədaal-aa’ ‘neck, nape of neck’; Arabic qadaal ‘occiput’; Aramaic(J) qədaal-aa’ ‘back of neck, neck, back’; Aramaic(S) qədaal-aa’ ‘neck’; rounding power of Semitic-p q- encourages qədaal > qutaC:

UACV-1501 **\*kutaC** ‘neck’: Sapir; VVH154 \*kuṣta ‘neck’; M67-303a/b \*kuta/\*ku; I.Num67 \*ku(h)ta; BH.Cup \*qel ‘nape’; L.Son111 \*kuta; B.Tep123 \*kusivu; CL.Azt258\*\*kuta; CL.Azt115 \*kəc; M88-ku9; KH/M06-ku9 (\*kucV AMR) and at least Tak of KH/M06-ko29: Besides Mn kúta; Np gguta; TSh kutan; Sh kuta; Kw kura-vi; Ch kura; SP qura-vi; WMU qurá; CU kurá-vi; Tb kulaa-; Cp qil<sup>y</sup>a ‘nape of the neck’; Ls qelá-t / qilá-t; Eu kutát; Tr gutá(ra); Wr kuhtamó; and

CN keč-tli; My kúta 'návwa 'cuello'; Yq kútana; Cr kúh-ta'a-n 'behind, at back of his neck'. Tak lowered the round vowel toward *a* (\*kuta > \*qola), so the Tak forms derive from \*qola (< \*kuta). Miller and Sapir tie CN keč-tli with the above, explainable in the usual Azt change \*u > i, then assimilation i-a > e-a: \*kuta > kica > kec. [p1q,2d,3l] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**1015** Akkadian kabaaru 'be big, fat'; Arabic kbr / kabara 'be older, great, big, grow, increase'; Arabic kabiir 'big'; Hebrew kabbiir 'strong, mighty'; Syriac kəbar 'to increase'; the intervocalic -t- in CNum are really -r-, and note the Syriac stress pattern of 1<sup>st</sup> V as schwa-like with stress on later vowels:

UACV-1391 \*kapataC 'long, tall': TSh kīpītappi 'long, tall'; Sh(M) kīpata 'long, tall'; Sh(C) kīpattax 'long, tall'; Sh(C) kīpatta-wīnīh 'stand tall'; Wr kaḥpīla-ni 'be long'. Sh kīpata is pronounced kībara and 'big' > 'tall'. Tb ekeewan / egeewan 'big, large' perhaps Sem-kw as -w- < \*-kw- (< \*hit-gabbar with -tg- cluster would explain both k/g (vs. h), the lead vowel and \*-bb- > UA \*-kw-. [p1k/g,2b,3r] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: TrC]

**1016** Hebrew qbr / qaabar / qəbar- 'bury'; Hebrew qeber 'grave'; qbr 'bury' also in Ugaritic, Akkadian, Samaritan, Syriac, most dialects of Aramaic, Arabic, and Epigraphic South Arabic:

UACV-666a \*kopa / \*kopor 'dig': B.Tep114 \*kovai 'he digs'; M88-ko34; KH/M06-ko34: TO kow 'dig in a hard place'; TO(M) kovod-k 'shallow hole with flat bottom surface'; LP kov; PYp kov; NT kóvai; NT kovóoltīudai 'make a hole'; ST kov. Note -l- as 3<sup>rd</sup> C in the NT form. Add Nv kokova 'cavar' and Wr te'kopá-ni 'be a hole or slight depression'. What is more grave-like than a flat-bottom hole? And TO shows all 3 consonants. [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1017** Hebrew qbr / qaabar / qəbar- 'bury'; Hebrew qeber 'grave'; qbr 'bury' also in Ugaritic, Akkadian, Samaritan, Syriac, most dialects of Aramaic, Arabic, and Epigraphic South Arabic;

Hebrew qubbar 'be buried' or impfv: -qbur > \*kkwur; or infinitive qəbor:

UACV-322 \*kuC / \*kuḡ / \*ku'way? 'bury': M67-65 'bury': Mn kuu; Ca kúy 'bury (s.th.), fill up hole (with dirt), vt'. Add NP ku'u 'bury, vt'; NP tikú 'bury, vi'; TSh kuu 'bury, vt'; TSh nakuuh 'bury, vi/passive'; Kw kuwa 'cover up, cover over'; Kw kuwa-kwee 'bury'; Ch kúú 'bury, v'; Sh naku-ppi 'grave'; The impfv -qbur > \*kkwur may explain some. M67 includes Tb woohat ~ owooh 'bury' and Tb w is the reflex of \*kw. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

**1018** Hebrew nagaš 'approach'; Hebrew niggaš 'approach' (niqṭal):

Ca néq- 'come' (Sem-p); Ca néḡ- 'hide' (Sem-kw).

## 5.15 Further Sorting the Semitic-p and Semitic-kw Infusions

The first feature dividing the Semitic-kw and Semitic-p languages is dageshed b. (Dageshed means initial b- or doubled -bb-, that is, a hard b. Non-dageshed position is after vowels which was pronounced v in the Masorettes' reading of the Old Testament text.) More than 25 sets show Hebrew dageshed b > PUA \*kw (4-27, 954), while 33 sets (527-559, 870) show Hebrew dageshed b > UA \*p. Both are substantial numbers. In addition, Hebrew dageshed b > PUA \*kw appears in sets usually showing Hebrew š > UA \*c (6, 7, 8, 78), while Hebrew dageshed b > UA \*p and Egyptian b > UA \*p both appear in words showing Hebrew š (or Egyptian ḏ) > UA \*s (194-201, 731-740). Other correspondences are on the chart at 5.1, p. 157, or in Appendix A. Such consistencies are a good start or strong suggestion that two distinct dialects of Northwest Semitic are to be found in UA.

Relative to Hebrew širfa(t) 'hornets' > Tak \*saḡa 'yellowjacket, bee' (737), the fact that Hebrew š > PUA \*s would suggest that this is of Semitic-p (rather than Semitic-kw, which has Hebrew š > PUA \*c). Another r + pharyngeal cluster -rḡ- behaves the same in Tactic: Egyptian -rḡ- > -ḡ- in Egyptian qrḡt 'serpent' > Tak \*qoḡV 'snake' (332). In fact, R. Joe Campbell (1976) found evidence to reconstruct \*koḡwa 'snake'. Since Egyptian is associated with Semitic-p, these are consistent with one another.

The two UA sets for 'penis'—Hebrew báásaar > UA \*kwasi (5) and Aramaic baśár > UA \*pisa (550)—from Sem-kw and Sem-p, respectively, suggest that -r in Sem-kw tended to raise and front preceding vowels (> i/y), while Sem-p's -r had no such inclination. UA \*puku 'domestic animal' (< Hebrew baaqaar / baquur 'livestock'), necessarily of Sem-p, agrees with that lack of raising and fronting vowels before r. In fact, it shows the uvular q to have a strong rounding influence on adjacent vowels (a > u), stronger than any influence of -r. UA \*quwīs 'summer' (< Hebrew qayīš 'summer') would suggest the same. In fact, UA \*quwīs 'summer' (< Hebrew qayīš 'summer') is consistent in showing two features of Sem-p: Hebrew š > \*s and Hebrew q with a strong rounding influence, overpowering medial -y- to have a w-effect replace -y-. UA \*pīrok 'lightning' from Semitic baraq 'lightning' also shows both b > b/p and this rounding influence of the uvular q of Sem-p. Accordingly, UA \*tīki 'cut' (< Hebrew daqar 'cut') is likely of Sem-kw for two reasons: one, no rounding near q; two, Vr > ir > i.

Uto-Aztecan \*taka ‘man, person’ from Aramaic dakar (Semitic \*ḏakar, Hebrew zaakaar ‘male’) shows no raising influence from -r, which is consistent with Sem-p as well as (565) \*makaC ‘give’ < Semitic \*makar; so Sem-p has Semitic \*ḏ / Hebrew z / Aramaic d > UA \*t and Semitic \*z > UA \*c/s. Another example is (1019) \*cukuC ‘old man’ < \*ḏaqen, with \*ḏ > UA \*t > c before a high vowel.

Remember it was previously mentioned that Proto-Semitic \*’axar ‘after, another’ yields both a Sem-p reflex in UA \*wakay ‘two, after’ (570) and a Sem-kw reflex in UA \*ahoy ‘back, follow’ (643); and also (646) Hebrew náḥal (< \*naxal) ‘river valley, wadi, stream’ > Ktn naka-č ‘gully, ravine, cliff’ such that \*x > UA k with no rounding is Sem-p, yet (647) Hebrew náḥal > SP noiC / noi-ppi ‘canyon, wash’ shows pharyngeal rounding from ḥ instead of \*x, suggesting Sem-kw, and a final liquid raising and fronting the vowel (a > i) also suggests Sem-kw. Two nice pairs of the same word reflected by Sem-p and Sem-kw, respectively.

Returning to Sem-p \*wakay ‘two, after’ (570) and Sem-kw \*ahoy ‘back, follow’ (643), we see in Sem-p’s \*’axar that the glottal stop (ʔ) shows rounding like the pharyngeal ʕ and that Proto-Semitic \*x > UA k, instead of \*x > ḥ > ho/w like later Hebrew and like the Phoenician Sem-kw. Several examples of glottal stop behavior are found at 5.4 and 5.5. The distinction of Sem-p preserving Proto-Semitic \*x vs. Sem-kw showing the post-exilic Hebrew change of Proto-Semitic \*x > ḥ is discussed at 5.8 with examples. At 5.13 and 5.14 are discussed and exemplified g/q > ŋ in the Takic reflexes of Sem-kw, but g/q > k in Sem-p. A nice distinction occurs in Southern Paiute in two terms from Semitic ’agap-u ‘wing, pinion, arm, shoulder’: one, Sem-kw SP aṇavu-vi ‘arm’, which shows Sem-kw changes of \*’ > ø, \*g > ŋ, at 925 UACV-861 \*aṇapu; and two, Sem-p SP wiḡivī-vi ‘eagle tail-feather’ which shows Sem-p changes of \*’ > w, \*g > UA \*k, at 926 UACV-866 \*wakapu.

At 7.9 is a more thorough treatment and sorting of the Semitic-p and Semitic-kw initial q-, k-, and g-, and also the intervocalic liquids -r- and -l-. Nevertheless, a summary is that Semitic-p generally preserves initial q-, k-, and g- as PUA \*k-, though Takic more finely distinguishes \*qa and \*ka as qa and ka (see at 6.6). Semitic-kw, in contrast, seems to have lost initial q-, k-, g-, except in Takic, where Semitic-kw initial q- and g- both correspond to Takic initial ŋ- (see at 5.13), but seem to have been mostly lost in the other branches. As for liquids, intervocalic -l- is usually preserved in both Semitic contributions, while Semitic-p intervocalic \*-r- > -r- and Semitic-kw intervocalic \*-r- > -y- most often, though exceptions do their usual havoc on perfect neatness.

We may also learn something about stress in UA from Hebrew báásaar > UA \*kwasi (5) and Aramaic bəšár > UA \*pisa. In the Hebrew cognate of Sem-kw the stress is on the first syllable and notice that the stressed vowel keeps its original value (báásaar > UA \*kwasi), while the non-stressed vowel does not. Also in the Aramaic form of Sem-p the stress is on the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable, which keeps its original value (bəšár > UA \*pisa) while the non-stressed vowel goes to the unstressed option, UA schwa-like *i*.

The two seem to differ in consonant cluster behavior. Sem-p tends to lose the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant of a cluster, absorbing the 2<sup>nd</sup>, but in Sem-kw, the first consonant is more often more prominent. For example, (84) Sem-kw (Hebrew/Phoenician) yi-šmaḥ ‘sprout’ > UA \*icmo- ‘sprout’ shows the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> consonants and the rounding of a pharyngeal, whereas (813) Sem-p reflects more original \*ya-ḏmax > UA \*yama ‘sprout’ but loses the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant of the cluster. We see a similar distinction in the imperfective stem -qna’ ‘be jealous’ in Sem-p (1031) Semitic -qna’ > UA \*nawa ‘jealous’ losing the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant of the cluster and also -’- > -w-; in contrast Sem-kw (1032) -qna’ > Ls ŋe’i ‘get even’ shows the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant’s reflex q > ŋ (absorbing the 2<sup>nd</sup>) and -’- > -’- without rounding, also like Sem-kw.

From the above—Sem-kw yi-šmaḥ > UA \*icmo vs. Sem-p \*ya-ḏmax > UA \*yama—we see two other sets of consistencies: Sem-p shows no pharyngeal rounding because it reflects Proto-Semitic non-pharyngeal \*x versus Phoenician ḥ (< \*x) in Sem-kw. Sem-kw icmo (< yi-šmaḥ) also shows the typical Hebrew/Phoenician yi- prefix versus the Sem-p \*ya- prefix. Note other examples of \*ya- prefix (instead of \*yi-):

(1035) \*ya-qmoš / ya-qmušu ‘grab, stingy’ > UA \*yamuC ‘angry, stingy’;

(560) Semitic \*ya-bka<sup>y</sup> ‘he/it weeps, cries’ > UA \*yaCkaC ‘to cry’;

(561) Semitic \*ta-bka<sup>y</sup> ‘she/it weeps, cries’ > NP taka (< \*taCka) ‘to cry’

(1063) Hebrew yaabeš ‘dry’; Arabic yabisa; Hebrew yiibaš / tiibaš. UA contains the feminine prefix of the impfv stem Hebrew tiibaš > UA \*tapas, with ta- or a vowel assimilation:

In contrast to Semitic-p, prefix vowelings like yi- and ni- seem typical of Semitic-kw:  
 (728) Hebrew yr'; impfv: yiiraa' '(he/it) fears' (tiiraa' 'she/it fears') > UA \*iya-paka 'to fear';  
 (991) Hebrew ni-qra' 'be called/named'; softened q > h/ø; lack of rounding for ' , -r- > -y- are all consistent with Sem-kw: UA \*nihya 'call, name';  
 (696) Semitic lqḥ, impfv \*ya-lqaḥ > Hebrew \*yi-qqāḥ 'take, take as wife' UA \*yikoC > \*yokoC 'to copulate';  
 (886) Hebrew y-'rk 'be long (verb usually of time) > UA \*yīḥi 'be/pass a long time':  
 Cp yéne 'to last a long time, endure'; Ca yén 'pass a while (of time)'; Sr yīḥi'k 'be a long time'  
 Also note baka'y 'cry' from Sem-p vs. Sem-kw, respectively paka' vs. kwikī

Much sorting remains, but the above distinctions give us a good start in discerning the differences.

**1019** Hebrew zaaqen / zaaqan (< \*dqn), impfv: yizqan 'be an old man, be an old woman, grow old':  
 UACV-1569 \*cukuC 'old': TSh cuku-cci, cukuppī-cci 'old man'; Sh cuku 'old man'; Cm cukuḥpī (obj) 'old object, elderly male'; Cm sukuupī 'old man'; Mn ugú 'old man'. High vowel encourages palatalization: \*t > c/\_u.  
 [p:1z2,2q,3n] [NUA: Num]

**1020** Syriac blš 'to bud, blossom' > Ca če-kwála'an 'open (eyes or mouth)'. [idddua] [kw:1b,2l,3s4]

**1021** Hebrew nhy / nahaa'y 'to lament'; Hebrew nahi / nāhi 'lamentation'; Arabic nhy / nahaa'y 'forbid, ban':  
 UACV-1944 \*nī'i 'sing': M88-nī4 song: B.Tep180 \*nī'i 'to sing, dance', and \*nī'i 'song'; M67-378 \*na 'sing'; L.Son 170 \*nawahi 'cantar'; Miller has B.Tep180 at both M88-na22 and M88-nī4 'song'; KH/M06- nī4: TO ne'e 'sing'; PYP ne'em 'sing', nei (perfect); NT nīi/nīdyagai 'song'; NT nīyi 'sing'; ST nīi'; Cr tyi'i-nye'e 'he's dancing.' [idddua] [1n,2h]

**1022** Hebrew maaḥaar 'next day, tomorrow' < \*ma'xar (what is after) (KB cite Brockelmann);  
 Hebrew moḥjoraat 'tomorrow'; Aramaic mēḥar, maḥr-aa 'tomorrow, next day-the':

UACV-2360 \*muCa / \*mo... 'tomorrow': Mn mowahúsu 'tomorrow'; NP muu'a 'tomorrow';  
 CN moostla 'tomorrow'. Ca mawa 'after awhile, later, tomorrow'. In CN, -r- > -s- in a cluster with a voiceless consonant. [1m,2',3h2<3x,4r] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

**1023** Hebrew tqn 'make straight'; Aramaic(J), Samaritan, CPArabic tqn 'to set, lay'

UACV-1744 \*tika/i or \*tikaC 'put lying down, stretched/spread flat': Sapir; VVH18 \*tiška 'to put, lay flat object down'; I.Num239 \*tikV put; CL.Azt100 \*teeka 'lie down'; M88-ti7 'place sg. obj.,v. t.' and M88-ti33 have nearly the same forms, and so KH/M06-ti7 soundly combines M88's two sets: Mn tiki-t 'place, put, v'; NP tiki/tigī 'put'; Cm tiki 'put s.th. away'; TSh tikiC 'put'; Sh tikiC 'put, place, create (of God)'; SP tīgaa 'measure, imitate, practice'; TO cīkīd 'place, put, lay, lay away or set aside for s.o., offer as a sacrifice'; Eu teká 'poner'; Wr teká/tegi 'poner acostado [put lying down]'; Tr reká/rik-/-tegá 'poner sg. obj. tendida, acostada, horizontal'; My teeka 'acostar'; CN teeka 'stretch oneself out, lie down, settle, stretch s.th. out, spread s.th. on flat surface'. Sapir ties SP tīgaa 'measure, imitate, practice' to CN teeka, which tie is likely, since a typical way to measure is to stretch out s.th., and the segments of the two are identical. Add PYP teek 'to put, place'; Cr raa-takīnte 'lo estira'; Tb(H) tahkinat, prfv attahkin 'sleep' (< Semitic \*tkn). A final -n in Cr, Tb, and a final -C in Num suggest a 3<sup>rd</sup> C, though languages without it applied the -a/i active/stative feature as the final vowel. [-a/i] [1t,2q,3n] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1024** Hebrew tkn 'examine, check', qittel: tiqqen / -taqqen 'make correct, measure, calculate size' and also Hebrew tqn / tiqqen / -taqqen 'make straight, straighten s.th. crooked' (some Semitists it a variant of tkn);  
 Kw tīgīhaa suggests < \*tikīn-ha with -ha 'it' a fossilized object: \*tikīnha > tīgīha > tīgaha > tīgaa.

UACV-690 \*tikīha 'measure, imitate': Kw tīgīhaa 'try, try on, measure'; Kw tīgeki 'act'; Ch tīgái 'act';  
 Ch tīgá- 'take picture'; SP tīgai 'happen, take place'; SP tīgaa 'bring about, causative of tīgai'; SP tīgaa-  
 'measure, practice, imitate'; WMU tīgáa-y 'measure, happen, stretch (a hide)'; CU tīgáa-y 'measure, copy, duplicate'. Note Semitic 'measure' and UA 'measure', Semitic 'calculate size' and UA 'try on', Semitic 'straighten s.th.' and WMU 'stretch (a hide)', Semitic 'make correct' and UA 'imitate, practice'. The UA form reflects a Semitic form having the common -ha object suffix, that is, measure it' with loss of -n- in the cluster: \*tVkk/qqVn-ha > \*tikīha. [1t,2q,3n] [SNum]

**1025** Aramaic guuryə-taa / guur-taa 'cub (female), young of animal (usually lion or dog):

UACV-693 \*koCti 'dog': Sapir; Ken Hill (p.c. 2004); KH/M06-ku39: Sr koči'; Tr koči. Sapir also lists Kitanemuk guci and Ken Hill adds Wr ku'cí 'puppy'. Note that NUA or Sr č is typically from -Ct- and Wr even shows another consonant -'t-. [1g,2w,3r4t] [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC]

**1026** Hebrew lo 'to it/him, has': the -lo of Tbr kowa-ló 'gallina ponedora (egg-has)' [1l,2w]

**1027** Hebrew *yšb* ‘sit, dwell’ but Arabic *wθb*, impfv: *yaθibu* ‘jump, hop, jump up and run, start’; the UA sets reflect the Hebrew sound correspondences, but the Arabic meaning of ‘jump up’ to fly away:

UACV-928a. \**yasa* ‘fly’: M67-182 \**ya* ‘fly, v’; M88-ya18 ‘fly, v’; KH/M06-ya18: SP *yaaša* ‘fly off, pl’ (vs. SP nonci ‘fly, sg’ and \**yīci*/\**yoci* Miller notes); CU *yaasi* ‘flock, fly in a flock’ (vs. CU *yīci* ‘fly’ below).

UACV-928b \**yaCa* ‘fly’: M67-182 \**ya* ‘fly, v’: TO *da’a*; PYP *da’a*; NT *dadāiyi*, *dāigigi*; ST *daičgda*, *daya*; ST *daidyā* ‘fast flier’; Cr *wa-ta-ra’a-raa* ‘it flew off’. Hill adds TO *da’a* to the SNum \**yasa* forms, which is reasonable, as \**yasa* > Tep *yaha* normally, but *h* > *’* is the next step. While TO *da’a* and *dai* of the other Tepiman languages could possibly tie to \**ya’a/ya’i* ‘run, go’, both Miller and Hill separate them, which I do also pending provision for improved probabilities. This is the same verb at 3 meaning ‘sit, dwell’ in Hebrew, but in Arabic it means ‘hop, jump up, start’ and starting to ‘fly’ is a ‘jump, hop, jump up, start’. Furthermore, the other sense ‘sit’ is in the other branches, but this sense in Numic. [1y,2s1,3b] [NUA: SNum; SUA: Tep]

**1028** Hebrew *yooliid* (< \**yo(w)liid*) ‘cause to be born, hatch, vt’;

Hebrew *yld* / *yaalad* ‘give birth, lay eggs, beget (of man); participle: *yooled*:

UACV-13 \**yoli* ‘live, alive, bear, be born’: M67-264 \**yo* ‘live’; CL.Azt33; M88-yo4 ‘to live’; KH/M06-yo4: CN *yooli* ‘live, come to life, hatch, vi’; CN *yool-li* ‘heart’; CN *yoolloo-tl* ‘heart, life, spirits’; CN *tlayoolitiaa* ‘give birth’; Pl *yuultuk* ‘alive’; My *yoore* ‘be born, healed’; Wc *yuri/yuuri* ‘be alive, grow’. As the semantics of My also mean ‘heal’, so also PYP *do’a* ‘alive’ and PYP *do’alim* ‘be born, get well’ bear the same semantic combination (born, heal) as the My term; and PYP *’* from *yowli* > *yo’li* > *yo’ali*. Miller includes Cr *rúu* ‘he is alive’. Cr in a fuller form suggests consonant harmony, as in Cr *ruúrikame* ‘alma [spirit], *vida* [life]’. Wc *yuri* / *yuuri* ‘be alive, grow’ fits better with My and CN \**yooli*, since \**o* > *u* in Wc. If a fem prefix *t-* instead of masc *y-*, then Ls *tóvli* ‘bear a child, lay an egg’ aligns with Hebrew \**towliid* ‘she bears a child’. Relevant to these, Sapir ties CN *yool-loo-tl* ‘heart, life, spirits’ to Wc *iyali* ‘heart’ also. Wc *’iyári* / *’iyári* ‘corazón [heart], *alma* [soul], *espíritu* [spirit]’ has the same consonants as CN *yool-li* ‘heart’, but different vowelings. KH/M06-yo4 mentions Eu *dor* ‘man’, which, with its cognates, merits consideration. [\**o* > *u* in Wc; *a-o*; *liq*] [1y,2w,3l,4d] [SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1029** Hebrew *maanaa* ‘divide, count’ (inf \**manoot* ‘counting’); Akkadian *manuu* ‘count, reckon, recite’;

Hebrew *maanoot* ‘shares, portions’:

UACV-21 \**man(n)u* ‘all, every, the count (of)’: Kw *mono-yo* ‘all (same subject)’; Kw *mono-ko* ‘all (acc.)’; Ch *man(ó)* ‘every, all’; SP *manno-/mannu-* ‘all’; CU *manú-ni* ‘all, every’; CU *manú-ku* (acc.); WMU *manó-ni* ‘every, all (nom)’. WNum \**waha-mano* ‘twenty, i.e., two-counts’ > Mn *waha-wanótu* ‘twenty’ and NP *waha mano’yu* ‘twenty’ may suggest an original meaning of Num \**mannu* ‘complete count, the number, all’, since it appears in words for ‘twenty’ in WNum and ‘all’ in SNum. The alternate forms in TSh *manukin~manikin* ‘five’ suggest that this may relate to \**maniki* ‘five’, involving assimilation \**manu-ki* > *maniki*. [\**a-o/u* > *o-o*; and *o* vs. *u*] [1m,2n] [NUA: WNum, SNum]

**1030** Hebrew *nepes* ‘soul, self’, *napš-ó* ‘itself, himself’; Syriac *npeš* ‘life, soul, self/oneself’; the lack of initial *n-* in UA is interesting in that Syriac is written *npeš* where *n-* would be vulnerable, though a short helping vowel *n<sup>o</sup>peš* is supposed to be there, though not written, and UA’s final vowel of *-u* aligns with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine singular suffix, the most common person for which this form is used:

UACV-27 \**pisu* / \**pasu* ‘self’: Mn *pīisu* ‘oneself, to oneself’; NP *pīisu* ‘oneself (refl)’; NP *pīi sī’ mī* ‘alone’; Eu *-vasu* ‘mismo [self], solo [sole, alone]’; Eu *né-vasu* ‘yo mismo, solo’; Eu *náp-vasu* ‘tu mismo’, etc. Hp *naap* / *naapo* ‘by oneself, on one’s own’. There is a relevant Tr form. [1n,2p,3s1] [NUA: WNum; SUA: TrC]

The next three derive from Semitic *qn* ‘be zealous, be jealous’: the first (1031) from Sem-p impfv \**-qna* ‘jealous’ > *nawa* ‘jealous’; the second (1032) from the Sem-kw imperfective \**-qna* > *ŋe’i*; the third form (1033) reflects an adjective \**qanii* > *kīnii*, which separates 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> consonants:

**1031** Hebrew *qn* ‘be jealous’, impfv: *-qna*; Arabic *qn* (impfv: *-qna’u*) ‘become intensely red, incite, kill’ (Lane 2565); Ethiopic *qan’a* ‘be jealous’; Soqotri *qn* ‘be jealous’ (Leslau 47):

UACV-29 \**nawa* ‘jealous’ matches the unattested impfv \**-qna* ‘be jealous’: Cp *náwe* ‘be jealous of, vt’; Ca *nawaan* ‘be jealous, vi’; Ls *nááwin* ‘be jealous’; Hp *nawawa-ta* ‘complain’; NP *nawoho inaggwi* ‘jealous’. Miller includes My *na’ibúke* ‘está celoso’. [p1q,p2n,p3’] [Num, Tak, Hp; TrC]

**1032** Hebrew *qn* ‘be jealous’, impfv: *-qna*; *qn* ‘be jealous’:

Ls *ŋe’i* ‘get even’; My *na’ibúke* ‘está celoso [is jealous]’. My *na’i-* aligns very well with Ls *ŋe’i*, because NUA *ŋ* > SUA *n*. Semantically, ‘being jealous’ (Semitic) is what one feels and ‘getting even’ (Ls) is doing what one feels. [iddduua] [kw:1q,2n,3’] [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC]

**1033** Hebrew *qn* ‘jealous’; Hebrew *qanna’a* ‘zealot, jealous one’:

Kw *kīnii-ga-dī* ‘one who is greedy or covetous’. [1q,2n,3’]

The three forms above are a consistent portrayal of Sem-p impfv (1031), Sem-kw impfv (1032), and an adjectival qanii' (1033). Sem-kw -qna' > Ls ŋe'i shows the dominance of the first consonant of the cluster, as Sem-kw does, and it shows q > ŋ as Sem-kw does, and glottal stop stays glottal stop. Sem-p nawa shows glottal stop to w, as Sem-p does, and loss of first consonant in the cluster, as Sem-p does, and the rather rarer vowel -a- of the imperfective (most are o/u). And 1033 has 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> consonants separated.

**1034** Hebrew **nqm** 'avenge oneself', suffixed pfv stem naaqam / naqam-, prefixed impfv stem **-qqom**; Arabic **naqama** 'revenge o.s., be hostile, mad, angry':

UACV-34a \*nakuma / \*na-kuma 'upset, jealous': Tr na-kumé 'perturb e.o.'; Tr (ni)kume 'perturb s.o.'; Eu kúme('e) 'envidiar [be jealous]; Eu nekúme 'envidiar'; CN ma'komana 'be upset'; CN(RJC) ma'komantinemi 'he goes about upset'. With loss of initial k, or k > ', then Yq 'omte 'enojarse' and My om-te 'está enojado' belong. Sem-p?

UACV-34b \*na-kamu 'upset, angry': Wr nehkamú-na 'estar enojado [be angry]'; Eu nekauhce 'enojarse'. Wr and Eu suggest \*-kamu, while Tr, CN, and another Eu form suggest \*-kuma / -kume. [-mC- > -uC- in Eu]

UACV-34c \*naḡan-ya'i 'angry-die': Kw naha-ye'e 'be angry'; Kw naha-(m)bišti 'one who is short-tempered'; Ch naḡá-ya'i 'angry'; SP naḡan-y'ai 'be/get angry < anger-suffer'; WMU naḡi'ye-y / naḡi'i 'be angry'; CU naáy-'ay 'be angry'. Kw and SP also show nasalization in a 3<sup>rd</sup> C as well. Note Kw -biš and Tb \*-piš suffix. Of Sem-kw, in Sem-kw ŋ, which shows Num medially doing the same g/q > ŋ as Tak initially. [q > h and > ŋ; -ŋ- > -h/-ø-, \*-CC-?; \*a-i > e-e] [1n,2q,3m] [NUA: SNum; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**1035** Hebrew qmš 'take a handful' (impfv \*ya-qmoš = Arabic ya-qmušu / ya-qmuzu); of the same root is Hebrew qamməš-aan 'miserly, stingy' (Klein 583) from qittel: qimmeš 'grasp, take handful, collect, save':

UACV-36 \*yamuC 'angry, stingy': KH.NUA: Sr yaam(u) 'become angry'; Cp yámuki-ly 'an insect, the stingy finder, crawls to stingiest person'; Cp yámukwi-š 'stingy, adj'; Ktn yam 'be or get angry'. This aligns with Sem-p impfv \*ya-qmuš with loss of -q- as first segment in the cluster. [p1y,2q,3m,4s4] [NUA: Tak]

**1036** Hebrew ntn / naatan 'give', imperative: ten / teni 'give!' (impv) < \*tani; impfv: -tten, yi-tten 'he gives', ti-tten 'she gives':

UACV-71 \*tani 'ask for': VVH92 \*tani 'ask, beg'; M67-13 \*ta; B.Tep212a \*taani 'he asks for'; 212b \*taani 'to ask for'; 212c \*tai 'he asked for'; L.Son273 \*tani 'pedir'; CL.Azt6 \*tlahtlani 'ask'; M88-ta18 'ask for/pedir'; KH/M06-ta18: TO taani; NT taañi; ST tañia 'pedirlo, comprarlo'; Wr ihtani; Tr tani/rani 'tocar música, pedir, apostar'. Wr ihtani and CN i'tlani 'ask, request, beg s.th.' show an affinity that we also find in Wr ihkuciwa and CN i'kuč-in, both 'worm'. Only valid with a semantic shift from 'give it' > I ask/buy/get it. [jidddua] [1n,2t,3n] [SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**1037** Hebrew yoore 'to water, send rain' (< \*yawre, hiqtil); Hebrew yoore 'to be watered' (hoqta);

Hebrew yoore 'early rain, n'; Arabic wariy 'clouds with large raindrops' (=Hebrew yry II, alternative of rwy I):

UACV-2076 \*yuya (< \*yawya) 'snow, v/n': Sapir; BH.Cup \*yuy 'to snow'; M67-399 \*yu 'snow'; M88-yu5; Munro.Cup120 \*yúuya-t 'snow'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-yu2 \*yuya (KCH) 'rain, v': UA verb forms 'snow, v': Cp yúye-; Ca yúy-; Ls yúy(u)-; Sr yui 'snow, vi'; Gb yúyyok 'está nevando' [is snowing]; Ktn yu 'snow, vi'; Ktn yuy 'está nevando'. UA noun forms 'snow, n': Sr yuat 'snow, ice, n'; Ktn yua-t; Cp ayúy'a; Ca yúyat; Ls yúuyi-t; Gb ywat / yowát; 'cold': Cp yúy 'cold'; Ca yučíwi 'cold'; Hp yooya-ŋwī 'rain, rainstorm'; NT duúdu 'it rained'. Add CN -yawwi in CN kiyawi 'rain, v' and CN sepayawi 'snow, v', which is likely cognate with Tak \*yuy (< \*yuwi < \*yawwi/\*yawya). The final -a of the Cp, Ca, Sr and Gb forms suggests final -a may well be original in the noun, at least. I also agree with Sapir's inclusion of We ṛīvi 'nieve [snow], hielo [ice]', for We i < \*u, We v < \*w, and i are apparent, though it is missing initial y. [We v < \*w] [1y,2'2,3r] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: CrC, Azt]

**1038** Hebrew yry, hiqtil impfv: yoore 'to water, send rain', pfv: **hoora**, inf: **hooroot** 'watering'

UACV-1765 \*horo 'rain, fall': L.Son62 \*horo 'lover [rain]'; M88-ho7 'lover [rain]'; KH/M06-ho7: Tbr horo 'lover [rain]'; Op hára; Eu hóro 'fall'. [Liq] [SUA: TrC]

**1039** Ugaritic yrw 'throw, shoot'; Hebrew yry 'throw, shoot'; Hebrew prtcl yoore 'throwing/thrower'; Hebrew (hiqtiil impfv) yoore / toore 'he/she throws, shoots':

UACV-2319a \*yu'ri '(be) empty': Ls yuya/i 'become empty, vi, empty, vt'; Wr yu'ripú- 'empty, throw out liquid, vt' (Wr yu'ri 'fall by itself'); Tr fú'ri 'derramarse, verterse [be poured, spilled, dumped]'; Tr fú'ri-wa- 'derramar [pour out, spill], verter [pour, spill, empty, dump], vt'; Eu dúri-da'a- 'vaciar [become empty]'. Because Eu d < \*y, then Ls, Wr, and Eu < \*yu'ri, and Tr either from fem verb form or consonant harmony.

UACV-2319b \*yuna/i 'pour': Mn tīyuna 'pour into'; Cm payunitī 'pour water on, water, vt'; Ch yuná 'put pl obj's'; CU yunáy 'scatter, put pl obj's'; Kw yīna / yuna 'pour'. [\*r > n in NUA] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: TrC]

**1040** Hebrew ḥml / ḥaamal, impfv: -ḥmol 'have compassion'; Syriac ḥml / ḥ<sup>o</sup>mal 'gather in, lay up, take up, collect', participle ḥaaml-aa 'one taking-the'; Arabic ḥml / ḥamala 'carry, lift, pick up, load up and take along', verbal noun/infinite ḥaml; Arabic maḥmuul '(s.th.) carried':

UA \*homa 'take, carry': Hp ömàa-ta 'receive, get or take, pick up'.

UA \*hu'ma: Kw hu'ma- 'carry pl objs'; Wr u'ma / hu'ma, redupl uhuma 'flee (with s.o. or s.th.), choose, carry'; PYp u'a / u'u / u'i 'carry pl objs'. These reflect the pfv \*ḥamal, with rounding for the pharyngeal. [1h2,2m,3l] [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1041** Hebrew ḥml / ḥaamal, impfv: -ḥmol 'have compassion', infinitive ḥəmol; Syriac ḥml / ḥ<sup>o</sup>mal / -ḥmul 'gather in, lay up, take up, collect'; Arabic ḥml / ḥamala 'carry, lift, pick up, load up and take along':

UACV-115b: Ca húmulku 'wrap around, vt' reflects either the Hebrew impfv -ḥmol or infinitive -ḥəmol; perhaps also Ls móra/i 'be rolled up, curled up, v.i., roll up, wrap a package, vt'. [cluster; 'l; Ls o, Ca u, ]

**1042** Arabic al-mar'- 'the-man/person' and Arabic al-mar'a(tu) 'the-woman, wife' show the underlying Semitic \*mar' 'lord, prince' and feminine mar'a(t) 'princess, woman, wife'; the Aramaic forms also being Aramaic \*mar'-aa 'lord, prince' and \*mar'a-taa 'princess-the, woman/wife/daughter-the'; Aramaic(S) maary-aa (> construct: maaree) 'master, owner'; Aramaic(J) maar-aa 'man, lord, master-the'; Biblical Aramaic maaree 'lord'; Syriac maare 'master, owner of':

UACV-140 \*marCa 'daughter, child, offspring': VVH84 \*mala 'child, with female reference'; M67-86 \*mal/\*ma 'child'; BH.Cup \*-ma(l) 'diminutive suffix'; B.Tep145 \*mara 'offspring'; L.Son137 \*mara 'hija del padre'; M88-ma7; KH/M06-ma7: Sr maih-c 'young one, child'; Ktn mayha-t 'child'; Hp maana 'daughter, adolescent girl, woman who has never been married'; TO mađ(i) 'female's offspring, nephew or niece by a younger sister, fruit of a plant'; PYp mar 'child'; PYp mar-t 'bear a child'; PYp mar-tim 'give birth'; NT már(a) 'daughter, son'; ST mar; Op mara; Eu márwa; Yq maára; My maála; Wr malá-la (absol)/ mala-wá (poss'd) 'daughter'; Tr mará. In light of PYp mar-t 'bear a child', note Sr maiha 'bear (a child)'; Ktn mayha 'give birth' and Nv marhta 'parir' as if from \*mar-ta, a verbalized noun—'to make/cause offspring' or 'to be daughtering or offspringing'—similar to Hp tii-ta 'offspring-do'. Also related are Ca mayl'u 'niece or nephew, sister's child' and Ls mééla 'give birth' probably with suffixes. This set may be key to clarifying liquids in a cluster: SUA -r-, NUA -yh-, Hopi -n-. In fact, Sem-kw \*-r'- > Ktn/Sr -yh- is expected. And this is another example of SUA liquids, but not nasals in NUA except Hp, but -yh- in Tak. [idddua] [1m,2r,3'] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1043** Arabic mar'a(tu) 'woman, wife' (feminine form of the former \*mar'-u):

UACV-2583a \*ma'a > \*mamma'u 'woman': Kw momo'o 'woman'; Ch mamá'u 'woman'; Ch(L) mamau'u 'woman'; SP mamma'u-ci 'woman, young woman'; WMU mamá-či 'woman'; CU mamá-ci 'woman'. Note the vowel leveling in Kw, as in Kw po'o 'water'. These are a reduplication of \*ma'aC 'old, (later) old woman' as seen in Kw ma'apī-zi 'old woman' and Ch(L) maa'ipīci 'old woman'; \*ma'a > \*ma'i before -pī, then > \*ma'u. [kw:1m,2r,3'] [NUA: Num, Tak]

**1044** Aramaic(CAL) ʿsrʿyt' / ʿsurʿyt' 'wasp'; Aramaic(S) ʿaaraaʿii-taa 'wasp-the, n.f.':

UACV-165 \*wa'wa 'wasp': Ls wáawa-la 'mud wasp'; Cp wá'walim 'yellowjacket'; Tb weweehyuu-l 'yellowjacket'. [assimilated/raised V in Tb ?; \*-rʿ->-'w-] [1'2,2r,3'2,4y,5t] [NUA: Tb, Tak]

**1045** Hebrew \*moškat / moškoot (sg or pl?) 'bracelet, fetter, belt (KB 646, 987)'; Arabic masak(at) 'restraint, armband'; Tb mohkat-t is nearly a perfect match, in final t and š > voiceless h in a cluster:

UACV-181 \*mo 'belt': Tb mohka-t 'the belt'; Tb(H) mohkatt 'belt'; Eu móitepura 'cinta del cabello'; Tbr moó-r 'cincha'. [1h2,2g,3r] [Tb; TrC]

**1046** Hebrew ḥgr / ḥaagar 'to gird, gird oneself'; Aramaic(J) ḥ<sup>o</sup>gar 'encircle, gird, tie around'; Hebrew ḥ<sup>a</sup>goraa 'girdle, loincloth, n.f.'; Aramaic \*ḥjagor-taa is unattested, but the Hebrew feminine form with the Aramaic definite suffix would be \*ḥjagor-taa. The -rt- > -s- as also the -rth- > -s- in 'turkey vulture' such that in both cases clustering with a voiceless consonant causes devoicing of r > s:

UACV-177 \*wikosa 'belt': L.Son337 \*wiko 'faja [sash, girder worn around the waist]'; M88-wi14; KH/M06-wi14: Eu wikosa / vikosa 'faja [sash, girder worn around the waist]'; Yq wikósa 'leather belt, waist'; My wikosa 'cintura [waist]'; My wikohpo 'en la cintura' [at the waist]; My wikósam 'faja'; Tr wikó 'entrañas, descortezar los árboles en cinturón [debark trees in the middle]'. My wikosa 'cintura' and My wikoh-po 'en la cintura' demonstrate the vulnerability of sibilants in clusters. [\*-sC- > -hC- in Cah] [1h2,2g,3r,4t] [SUA: TrC]

**1047** Hebrew ḥgr / ḥaagar ‘to gird, gird oneself’; Aramaic(J) ḥ<sup>3</sup>gar ‘encircle, gird, tie around’; Hebrew ḥ<sup>a</sup>goraa ‘girdle, loincloth, n.f.’; with loss of initial guttural, -gora(t) > UA \*kora > Yq/My ko’a, because -r- > -’-. This ḥ<sup>a</sup>goraa term is Sem-kw, the above Sem-p.

UACV-481 \***ko’ali** ‘skirt, enaguas, probably originally a general undergarment’: CL.Azt150 \*kweey ‘skirt’; M88-kwī6 ‘skirt’; KH/M06-kwī6: CN kweei-tl ‘skirt, pettycoat’; Pl kweeyi-t ‘skirt, native skirt’; My koá’arim ‘enaguas’. To the My and Azt forms in M88-kwī6, add Yq kó’arim ‘enaguas’; AYq koarim ‘skirt’; AYq ko’arek ‘wear skirt’; Eu kóa ‘falda’; and Tbr koayí-t ‘enaguas’; all suggest \*k, not \*kw, and \*a instead of \*ī. Note Tbr as a bridge from TrC to Azt. From ḥəgor-taa > ko’ta > ko’ara. [1h2,2g,3r,4t] [SUA: Azt, TrC]

**1048** Aramaic(Gal) zwst- ‘belt’:

UACV-182 \***šutka** ‘belt’: Sr šuutka’(t) ‘belt’; Ktn šutkī-t ‘belt’. Aramaic -st- > UA -t- is expected, and the Sr -ka and Ktn -kü are likely a later morpheme. [1z,2w,3s,4t2] [Tak]

**1049** Aramaic(S) qnwqn(h/t’) ‘grape vine creeper’ n.f. (CAL):

UACV-184 \***kunuki** ‘elderberry’: Fowler83 \*kunuki ‘elderberry’: Mn kunugíbi ‘elderberry bush’; SP kunnugui ‘huckleberry’. [idddua] [1q,2n,3q,4n] [NUA: Num]

Two words for younger brother match Semitic words for ‘son, child’

**1050** Hebrew bən ‘son’, pl: **bənee(y)** ‘sons, children’; Arabic ibn ‘son’; :

UACV-310a \***poni** ‘younger brother’: M67-490 \*po; L.Son213 \*poni ‘hermano menor’; M88-po8 ‘younger brother’; KH/M06-po8: Eu bonwa/vónwa; Tbr woní; Wr poni; Tr boní; Cr huu. The following Yq term demonstrates how a term for ‘son’ can come to mean ‘younger brother’ as it means both: Yq pale ‘hijo [son], hermano menor [younger brother]’. UA \*poni could be from an older brother calling a younger brother ‘my boy’ or bən-i ‘son-my’ or ‘he’s a brother, son (of our father)’. It may derive from the plural construct form bənee(y): one, the final UA vowel (i) does correspond to Sem e; and two, that construct form causes the first vowel to be a very short schwa (ə) which is more likely to be influenced to rounding by bilabials. [Cr u < \*o; Cr h < \*p] [idddua] [1b,2n] [SUA: TrC, CrC]

**1051** Hebrew ṭap ‘little children’; Samaritan and Syriac ṭapl-aa ‘children-the’; Arabic \*ṭipl- ‘infant, child’:

UACV-311 \***cipi** / \***cippiyi** / \*cippili ‘younger brother’ (> Tep \*sipi(di)): Nv sipidiri; ST sīpji’n ‘one’s younger sibling’. UA fits Arabic vowelings best. [1t2,2p] [SUA: Tep]

**1052** Hebrew š’p ‘pant’; Aramaic(J) š’p ‘gasp for air, pant’:

HN šošopaaka’ ‘make an inhaling noise’. Note that the presence of Nahuatl -p- may suggest a cluster, that is, \*-’p- > -pp-; otherwise, Aztecan p is usually lost. [1s1,2’,3p]

**1053** Hebrew šwb / šuub ‘turn back, return’:

Tb šiiub ‘back again’; Tb(H) šiiwpa ‘again, back again, back’. [1s1,2w,3b]

The next four items from longer Aramaic forms seem to have the stress moved late enough in the word that the first syllable was lost, yet the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> syllables match the Aramaic forms well:

**1054** Aramaic **raqbubit-aa** ‘decayed-matter, moth-eaten, earth-worm, **moth-the**’; the change from Aramaic to UA involves the loss of first consonant, but shows the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> consonants and with credible vowels. UA separated what seems to be a cluster in Aramaic, but we see that often also:

UACV-330 \*(**V**)**kupīpika** ‘butterfly’: Ca héveveqalet and Ls xuvóoviqa-l ‘moth’ certainly appear related and align fairly well through the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> syllables. Possibly Hp pīviwi ‘moth’. Ls initial x- suggests a lost initial syllable, after intervocalic \*-k- > -x-. The vowel (u) after q is expected for Semitic-p, and the \*u > ī is common in Numic and occasional elsewhere, and the vowel (i) is an exact match. [1r,2q,3b,4b,5t] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**1055** Syriac **’aamaqqət-aa** ‘lizard-the, n.f.’:

UACV-1374 \***makkaCta**(Nka)-ci ‘horned toad’: Fowler83-3:21 and fieldnotes: NP makaca’a ‘horned toad’; NP(Fallon) magázaa; Kw makaca-zi ‘horned toad’; Ch(L) makačaci ‘horned toad’;

Sh makkicankacci ‘horned toad’; Sh(W) maccankih; Sh(C) mahaccianka, maccinkipo;

Sh(Owyhee) mácaŋina’a (Fowler’s notes); SP pahkaca ‘horned toad’; and Hp mácaakwa ‘horned toad’, but with \*-Nk- > qw? WMU mattáqqa-či ‘horned toad’ metathesized the consonants or lost the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable from s.th. like Sh: \*makkattaNka-ci > ma(k)ttakka-ci. That and ST makaroič ‘renacuajo’ with r suggest CNum c < \*-tt-. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Tb mahkahsiit (Merriam 60:497). Other than loss of first syllable, NP, Ch, and Sh reflect well the Aramaic(Syriac) ’aamaqqət-aa > UA \*makkata / makkaCta; in fact, Aramaic(Syriac) ’aamaqqət-aa’ literally ends with a



glottal stop, which actually appears in NP and many other UA instances, though it is not often considered to be pronounced in Aramaic. Nomic \*-aNka in \*makkattaNka-ci which follows the more common \*makkatta- has much in common with Hebrew 'anaaqaa 'a lizard, gecko'. [\*-Ct- > -c-] [1',2m,3q,4t] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep]

**1056** Syriac ḥady-aa 'breast-the, n.f.', pl: ḥadaawaat-aa (from the root ḥd 'be glad, rejoice' like other verbs of Akkadian xadu, Arabic xadaw/y, Ugaritic xdw, Hebrew ḥdy 'rejoice'); Syriac ḥadwaa 'joy'; Syriac ḥaduut-aa 'joy-the'; Syriac ḥady-aa 'breast-the', pl: ḥ<sup>2</sup>daawaat-:

UACV-425 \***tawi(C)** 'chest'; Sapir; M67-59 \*tawi 'breast'; L.Son280 \*tawi 'pecho [chest]'; M88-ta29; KH/M06-ta29: Hp tawicqa 'breast area, chest'; Ca táw; NT tagí; Op tawa; Tbr tamwí-t 'body'; Tbr tamwí-ta-m 'chest'; Wr tawiráci; Tr rawí; Yq táwi; My tauwi; Cr tabí; Wc tawí/taavíi. The Aramaic(Syriac) plural loses its first syllable for lack of stress and extremely short vowel, then the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable stress makes the 3<sup>rd</sup> syllable weakly stressed, which all fits UA \*tawi well, since unstressed V > i is typical. Note Tbr tamwí-ta-m with -ta possibly the definite suffix, and Hopi tawicqa may be tawic- though the Hopi dictionary divides it tawi-cqa, but with a question mark for -cqa. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1057** Akkadian gursiptu 'butterfly':

UACV-333 \***asiNpu(tonki)** 'butterfly': TSh aasiputunḳwi; Sh a'ipputoonkih; Kw 'aasibí-zi; SP aišī-vwīci. Sh and Kw suggest a cluster, and Kw suggests \*-Np-. Though a different first vowel, after loss of the first consonant, UA \*sippu matches Semitic for two syllables or four segments (consonants and/or vowels). [reductions; \*u > i] [1g,2r,3s,4p,5t] [NUA: CNum, SNum]

**1058** Arabic šarnaqaat 'cocoon', the pl šarnaqaat would correspond to Hebrew sarnaqoot / sarnaqootee':

UACV-507 \***ca'íku** / \***caCCíku** 'cocoon attached to plant': Wr ca'égori 'rattles of cocoon'; Tr čayéguri 'cocoon attached to tree'. Tr and Wr do not often have a correspondence of 'y, which suggests we are dealing with a consonant cluster. Tr -y- from a cluster of an alveolar pair -rn- is natural. [1s1,2r,3n,4q] [SUA: TrC]

**1059** Arabic dšw / dašaa 'to call, name'

UACV-1489 \***tī(N)wa** / \*tīnwa (AMR) 'name': Sapir; VVH20 \*tī,wa 'to name'; M67-300a \*tew 'name'; Munro 1973; L.Son302 tīwa; Munro.Cup78; KH.NUA; M88-tī15 'name'; KH/M06-tī15: Hp tījwa (comb: tījwan) 'name, refer to, vt'; Tb(V) 'indījwa-l 'name'; Tb(M) 'indījwa'anat 'give a name to'; Cp téw'a 'name (n. poss'd)'; Ca téwal; Ls tūj-la; Sr tīwan(č) 'name, n'; Ktn tīw; TO čīgig 'name, reputation'; TO cīck 'name, vt'; TO čīg '(1) find, (2) call by name'; Eu tewát; Tbr temwa-ra; Yq tea; My tééwam; Wr tewá; Tr řewá; Wc tééváá; Cr an-tyawaa 'he is named X'. Munro suggests that an intermediate njw may explain the change of \*o > u in Ls. Note ŋ with w in Hp and Tb. Add PYP teegi 'name'; ST tītīgī 'llamar [to call], nombrar [to name], vt'. As salt, girl \*siwa > Ls suj, medial \*w/ŋ. [1d,2'2] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1060** Aramaic(S) & Syriac paddaan 'plow, yoke of oxen'; Syriac paduuš 'iron bar, club, mace, axe';

If Hebrew once had a cognate to Aramaic paddaan, it would be Hebrew \*paddoon:

UACV-673 \***poto** 'digging stick': Mn pódo 'digging stick, cane'; NP podo 'digging stick'; TSh poton 'cane, staff, digging stick, club, crutches, stick used as tool'; Sh(M) poton 'digging stick'; Sh(C) poton 'digging stick, walking stick, cane, crutch'; Kw poro-ci 'cane, stick'; Kw poro- 'walk with a cane or stick'; and CU pūrú-ci 'root-digger, spade, digging fork'. [p1p,p2d,p3'2] [NUA: Num]

**1061** Hebrew rwy / raawaa (> raavaa in some dialects) 'drink one's fill', impfv pl: yirvəyuun. In Talmudic Aramaic, an actual b (> v) is an alternate form due to strengthening of w > v/b:

Aramaic(J) raabe, f: raabaa 'moist, saturated with liquid'; the pronunciation (of \*w) in Modern Hebrew is also v; and the cluster shown below may encourage such strengthening:

Hebrew hirwaa / hirvaa, hirvee-ti, hirvii-taa-ni 'to water thoroughly (person or thing)';

Arabic rawiya 'drink one's fill, quench one's thirst, be irrigated' (rayy / riyy verbal noun);

Arabic rawaa 'bring (s.o.) water, give (s.o.) to drink':

UACV-719 \***hiCpī** / \***hi'pa** / \***hiypi** (> \***hippi** / \***hi'a**) 'drink': Sapir; VVH77 \*hi 'drink'; M67-141 \*hi/\*hi'i; I.Num40 \*hipi; L.Son55 \*hi; B.Tep313 \*i'i 'to drink' and \*ii 'he drank'; M88-hi1; KH/M06-hi1: Mn hibi; NP hibi; TSh hipiC; Sh hipiC / hippicC; Cm hibiti; Kw hivi; Ch hivi; SP ivi; CU 'iví; Hp hiiko, hikwya pl.; Tb 'ii'it / 'ii' / 'ii'ii; Cp héye; Ls hípi 'sip, suck, of Shaman in curing'; TO ii'i / i'im; PYP i'a / ie'e; NT yīi; NT íi 'he drank'; ST 'io'; ST 'ii' 'he drank'; Eu hiá-; Tbr hé/ihé-; Yq hé'e; Yq hí'i-ne 'puede beber'; AYq he'e; My hé'eye; hi'i-; Wr ihí; Tr ba-hi-; Cr raye'e 'lo bebe'; Cr néheye 'bebo'; CN ii. A UA stem found in all branches, but not without difficulties. Sh and Ls show a geminated medial consonant \*-pp-, and a cluster likely explains the variant medial reflexes: -pp-, -', -y-. A reconstruction of \*hiypi may or may not help explain why -y- appears in Cp, Cr and My. However, when medial p is not apparent, such forms as PYP i'a/ie'e and other TrC and Tep forms suggest that we are dealing with

first vowel i, but a lower second vowel, which assimilated toward the first in other cases. The Numic forms (Mn, NP, TSh, Sh, Cm, Kw, Ch, SP, CU) and Ls show a syllable (\*hiCpi) not as apparent in the others, though PYP and Hopi may show hints of it. Despite none of us being able to explain all in this set, I agree with Miller and Hill, that these are probably all related. Also note CN a-yoa / a-yowa (a='water) 'get wet, full, be drunk (of a liquid)'. [p1h,p2r,p3w,p4y] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1062** Hebrew yaabeš 'dry'; Arabic yabisa; Hebrew impfv yiibaš / tiibaš. But \*pasaC in WNumic and CNumic, as if the prefixes yii-/tii- are dropped from impfv stem, common in the change from Semitic to UA: UACV-721 \*-pasa 'dry' (SNum \*tapasa) I.Num140 \*pasa(h) '(be) dry'; M88-pa19; KH/M06-pa19: Mn pasa 'be dry, dried out'; Mn pasakkī-t 'dry (acorns, etc.), vt'; Mn kupasa 'be dried out'; NP wipasa 'hu 'wind dries it'; NP mabasaga 'dry food'; TSh pasaC; pasaŋkīn; Sh pasa(C); pasa-nkī 'dry s.th.'; Cm pasa(kī)rī; Cm pasapī 'dry obj'; Sr vaši-vaši 'thin (as cloth)'; PYP vahakisi (< \*pasakici) 'something hung out to dry for preservation' adds the Tep branch. [NUA: WNum, CNum, Tak; SUA: Tep]

**1063** Hebrew yaabeš 'dry'; Arabic yabisa; Hebrew yiibaš / tiibaš. These contain the feminine prefix of the impfv stem tiibašu > UA \*tapasu, with a vowel assimilation or Semitic-p \*ta- prefix instead of \*ti-:

UACV-721 \*ta-pasu 'dry' (SNum \*tapasa) I.Num140 \*pasa(h) '(be) dry'; M88-pa19; KH/M06-pa19: Kw tavašī 'dry, v'; Kw tavašī-kwee-pī; Ch tavašī; SP tavašu 'dry, v'; SP tavašī-i 'is drying'; CU tavašī 'be dry, get dry'. 'dry'. Note \*pasa for WNum and CNum (Mn, NP, TSh, Sh, Cm) and \*tapasa for SNum (Kw, SP, CU). As the concepts 'thin' and 'dry' are closely tied in UA, add My tapsiólai 'thin' and AYq tapsiolai 'thin'; Eu tasúkei 'thin' (loss of \*p in a cluster is like My's cluster followed by round V); Cr tšišišira 'a 'thin (of person)', loss of \*p- expected in CrC; and probably Ls tavičca/i 'dry up, vi, drink dry, vt'. [ta- prefix; -p- lost in Cr] [1t,2p,3s1] [NUA: SNum; SUA: TrC, CrC]

**1064** Ugaritic lxšt 'whispering'; Akkadian laxaašu 'whisper, exorcise'; the unattested qal impfv \*-lxoš does not occur in the OT text, but in the qittel and hit-qattel, \*lxš means 'whisper, charm (BDB), mutter incantations, whisper(KB)' like the general Semitic meaning 'whisper, sing incantations'; and the UA verb \*kusu is from the impfv \*-lxusu, losing -l- as first consonant in the cluster:

UACV-1539a. \*kusu 'make sound (characteristic of the animal): VVH122 \*kusu 'to sound (of animal)'; L.Son110 \*kusu 'gitar, cantar'; M88-ku1, ku19, ku26; KH/M03-ku1: Kenneth Hill rightly combines ku1 'characteristic noise' and ku19 'flute' and ku26: Cp kúše 'make characteristic noise'; Cp kúšnine 'play an instr'; Ca kúspi-ly 'throat'; Ca kustémi 'choke with s.th. stuck in throat'; Gb kúsa 'quejar'; TO kuhu 'make sound, neigh, crow, caw, blow (instrument)'; Eu kúsa; TO kuhi 'the sound of neighing, crowing, blow (horn), n'; Wr kusu 'sing (birds), bellow (cows), etc'; Wr kuicá; Tr kusú/gusú; My kúuse; Tbr kosú / kusi / kusu; CN kikik(i) 'whistle, hiss'. Sr kuuhan 'call, invite' like Gb kúsa 'quejar [complain]' has the vowel -a as 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel. The general meaning is 'make characteristic noise of whatever animal'. This stem is prevalent in Tak, Tep, and TrC. UACV-1539b \*kus 'flute': M88-ku19: M67-179 \*kus 'flute'; KH/M06-ku1: TO kuhu 'play flute'; Tr guséra / kuséra / guséara 'larynx, flute'; Yq kusia 'flauta'; Yq kuuse 'tocar instrumento'; My kusia 'laringe, garganta'; NP kocokkwoino (McDonald); NP kosokwa'i 'whistle'; Cr kī'īšī 'chirp (bird), rattle (snake)'. See a derivation of this stem at neck: \*kuspi 'throat'. [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt; NUA: Tak, Num]

**1065** Same as above, impfv \*-lxoš 'whisper, charm (BDB), mutter incantations, whisper(KH)' like the general Semitic meaning 'whisper, sing incantations'; \*lxoš > kus:

UACV-1503 \*kus(pi) 'throat, craw': Sapir: Sapir links Cr kīhpih 'buche, cuello, pescuezo' and Ca kúspi-ly 'throat', which are a perfect match, with suffix -pi < Aramaic -be 'with it; thus, 'vocalize with-it'; of course, these derive from \*kusV 'call out, make characteristic noise' as also

UA \*kusi-ra 'throat, larynx, flute': My kusia 'laringe [larynx], garganta [throat]'; Wc -kīsa'a in wá'ikīsa'a 'garganta' (wá'i 'fish'); Tr guséra 'flute, larynx'; Yq kusia 'flute' (-r- lost). [11,2x,3s1] [SUA: CrC, TrC; NUA: Tak]

**1066** Arabic drʕ / ɗariʕa '1. be lowly, humble, 2. become weak, slender, light of flesh, lean, emaciated', verbal nouns ɗarʕ, ɗuruuʕ (Lane 1787):

UACV-1228 \*corowa / \*corwa (< \*cVrVwa) 'be hungry': Stubbs2003-5: Wr coloá-ni 'be hungry' (Wr co'-cóla-ni 'be hungry, pl'); Hp cōŋō-w(i), cōŋ- 'hunger' (< \*colwa). Wr coloá- and Hp cōŋō- match well, since Hp ō < \*o, and a cluster of \*-rw- > -ŋ- in NUA, as in 737. Add Tr čiriwisa 'tener hambre [be hungry]' (the same 3 consonants are apparent—c, liquid, w) if we allow for two alveolars causing V's > i in Tr and the labial w causing V's > o in Wr and Hp. This ties to \*coro 'wither, shrivel' (UACV-724 below).

[Liq; V > i in Tr like at \*(hi)paca 'sweep'] [NUA: Hp; SUA: TrC]

UACV-933 and UACV-724 \*coro(N) / \*co'ro 'wither/arrugarse, wrinkle': L.Son44 \*coro/cor-i 'arrugarse'; M88-co11 'wrinkle'; KH/M06-co11 'wither/arrugarse': Eu zorópe- (pret. ~pi, fut. ~ce); Eu coró; My čóori / čooli 'arrugado'; AYq čoowe 'dry up, wither (of plant), get skinny' Tr čó'ró 'marchitarse [whither, shrivel]'; PYP soron

‘wrinkle’; Nv sorhona ‘arrugar’, pl: sosorhka / sososka; ST šo’lyik ‘encogido’; ST so’lyka ‘encoger, vt’; and is CN šoločoaa ‘fold, wrinkle’ another c/s dichotomy? Or borrowed from Tep? The -su’u- of Cr rasú’uta’ihina ‘lo pliega’ fits, since liquid > -’- in Cr, and \*o > Cr u. This tie to \*corowa ‘hungry’ with a laryngeal 3<sup>rd</sup> C explains what became the anticipated glottal stop in Tr and ST. [-r- > -’- in Cr] [1s4,2r,3’2] [SUA: TrC, Tep, CrC, Azt]

**1067** Hebrew bšy / bašaa<sup>1</sup> ‘enquire, search’; Ugaritic bgy ‘wish’; Arabic bgy ‘seek, desire, wish for’; Syriac bš’ / bšy ‘seek, pray, beseech, summon, desire’; Syriac bašy-aa ‘advocate’; Syriac bašaay-aa ‘he who desires, entreats, sues’:

UACV-1491 \*paya ‘call’: Sapir; B.Tep255 \*vaidai ‘to call’; B.Tep255b \*vai ‘he called’ (both Tep forms occur in all four languages); M88-pa24 ‘call, summon’; M67-74 \*pai ‘call’; KH/M06-pa24: Mn pee-t; NP pai; Kw pee; SP pai; CU paay; TO waid; Wr paé-; Wr(MM) pa’é /paé ‘llamar [call]’; Tr bayé/páe; Wc (h)áine ‘dice’; NT vaidyai; ST vaidy; UP waidi; LP viaj. This is Semitic-p—one, b > p; two, -ğ-, not ζ, and -ğ- disappears in medial cluster, perhaps bağy-aa or verbal noun; thus, this Semitic stem bgy > \*paya in Semitic-p and bšy > kwawi in Sem-kw (36). [\*y > Tep d, \*p > h/ø in Wc] [p1b,p2g2,p3y] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1068** Hebrew qaššebet ‘attentive’ (the subject of the verb is ear, Nehemiah 1:6,11); Hebrew qšb / ti-qšab-naa ‘be fully alert’ (the ears of listeners)’; Hebrew hi-qšib ‘listen, prick up the ears (to listen)’ (pfv); Hebrew ya-qšeeb-uu (impfv; see Jastrow 1428); Proverbs 2:2 ha-qšib ... ozne-ka ‘perk up your ears, cause ears to pay attention’. The UA forms \*kīpu / kepu and \*kipu reflect very well Hebrew impfv (present/future) plural: -qšebu / -qšibu with loss of -š- in a cluster and various prefixes ya-/ta-/ha-/ma-, or Hebrew pfv (past) plural hi-qšibu ‘they heard’; yet notice the -s- in some UA forms:

UACV-1164 \*kīpu ‘hear’: Stubbs 2003-34: Eu keivuwa-/keivúve ‘escuchar’; Tr gipú ‘oir, escuchar’; Wr kepú-na/ma ‘oir’. Note Eu kéisive ‘oido [inner ear]’. Eu ke ‘oir’ (perhaps an old preterite of \*kīpu). Sr qāvaač ‘ear’ is interesting (if < \*kīpa...)? [1q,2s1,3b] [SUA: TrC]

**1069** Hebrew qšb / ti-qšab-naa ‘be fully alert’ (the ears of listeners)’; Hebrew hi-qšib ‘listen, prick up the ears (to listen)’ (prfv); Hebrew ya-qšeeb (imprfv); the UA set below matches the Hebrew non-3<sup>rd</sup> person prfv: hi-qšab-; note that some languages show hikkaha, and Sr and Ktn show the -b-:

UACV-1163 \*kaha ‘hear’: VVH126 \*kahi/\*kaha; M67-221 \*ka ‘hear’; B.Tep98 \*kaī ‘hear’; kai ‘heard’; CL.Azt83 \*kaki, 243 \*\*kahi; M88-ka11; KH/M06-ka11: Tb ha’~’aaha’; Sr qāvaač ‘ear’; TO kaa, kai; LP kai; PYP kaara; NT kaī; ST kī; ST kka; ST kaaya ‘hear, obey’; ST kaidya ‘s.th. heard, s.o. who can hear’; My híkkaha; Yq hikkaha / híkka; Tr aké; CN kaki. Add Ktn kava-c ‘ear, leaf’. Note the hi- prefix in the Cah languages and consonant harmony in CN. [1q,2s1,3b] [SUA: Tep, TrC; NUA: Tb, Tak]

**1070** Hebrew qaššebet ‘attentive’ (the subject of the verb is ear, Nehemiah 1:6,11); Hebrew qšb ‘be fully alert’ (the ears of listeners); Hebrew hi-qšib ‘listen, prick up the ears (to listen)’ (prfv), ya-qšeeb (imprfv; see Jastrow 1428); Proverbs 2:2 ha-qšib ... ozne-ka ‘perk up your ears, cause ears to pay attention’.

UA \*naqapa ‘ear’ appears to be from a ni-qtal < \*na-qtal form: \*na-qšab ‘what is perked up, i.e., the ear’, though the form is not attested that I know of; CN, Pl, Cr, Eu show s, and Sr, Kw, Ch, SP, WMU show p:

Mn	náqa	Hp	naqvī	Eu	nakát 'oreja'
NP	naka	Hp	naaqa 'ear pendant'	Eu	kéisiven 'oido'
		Tb	naṅha-l 'ear, leaf'	Tbr	naká-r
TSh	naṅki	Sr	qāvaač 'ear, leaf'	Yq	náka
Sh	nainki	Ca	náq-al	My	nákka-m
Cm	naki	Ls	náq-la	Wr	nahká
Kw	naga-vi-vi	Cp	náq'a	Tr	naká
Ch	naṅkávī	TO	naak	Cr	našáih
SP	naṅkava-vi	PYP	naaka	Wc	naaká
SP	naṅka 'hear, v'	NT	naáka	CN	nakas-tli
CU	níká-vi	ST	naak/nak	Pl	nakas

UACV-752a \*nakka / \*naNkapa (< \*na(N)kasapa ?) ‘ear’: Sapir; VVH47 \*naNka ‘ear’; M67-148 \*naka; I.Num109 \*naṅka/\*naṅki; BH.Cup \*naqala; Munro.Cup37 \*náqa-la; L.Son163 \*naka; M88-na1; B.Tep162 \*naaka; KH/M06-nal \*nanka (AMR): some terms of interest include Mn naqqa ‘ear, to hear, vt’; NP naka (< \*nakka) ‘ear, to hear’; SP naṅka ‘to hear, ear ornament’; SP naṅkava ‘ear’; Cr našáih ‘ear’. WMU has a variety of pronunciations: WMU nügáv / nüügáva / nü’gáva / nugáv / nIgávačü- ‘ear’. ‘Ear’ is one of few pervasive UA words. Some peculiarities are s in Aztecan, Eu, Cr, and p in SNum, Hp, Sr, Ktn kava-c (and lacking na- in Ktn, Sr); and

both in Eu kéisive 'oído'. Eu ke 'hear', Eu keívuvu 'listen' (< \*-qšebu be) and many other initial \*ka... forms are at 'hear'. Those forms and the Sr and Eu forms, which show the same consonants as Num and Azt/Cr (i.e., k-s-p), suggest that \*nakasapV contains a fossilized verb prefix \*na-. TO nahagiw 'flap the ears, v. (of certain animals)' is a verb and may show the same consonants (\*n-k-s-p) with s anticipated (\*n-s-k-p) and voicing of k > g. PUA \*s clustered with either k or p would disappear quickly, so its survival in Azt, Cr, Eu, and TO is noteworthy, and its absence in most is expected. Kw mistakes 3<sup>rd</sup> syllable for a double absolutive. UACV-752b \*nakka/\*naNka 'hear, v': M88-na1 'ear': Mn naqqat 'hear, vt'; NP naka 'ear, hear'; TSh naŋka 'hear' vs. TSh naŋki 'ear'; Sh nanka 'hear'; Sh nenki 'ear'; Cm nakarī 'hear'; Kw naga; Kw naa-kee-; Ch nanká-kai; SP naŋka 'hear'; CU níká-y; Ca náqma 'hear, listen'; Cp náqma 'hear'; Cp náq'ači 'listen'; Ls náqma 'hear, listen, understand'. [cluster; s; na-; reduction] [1n,1q,2s1,3b] [idddua] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC,CrC, Azt]

**1071** Related to \*naqšab 'ear' discussed above is 'leaf' because a leaf looks much like an ear:

UACV-1297 \*naNkapi 'leaf': Kw naga-vi; Ch nanká-va; SP maavī-naŋqa-vī 'leaf' (vs. SP naŋqava 'ear'); CU níká-'a-vi (vs. CU níká-vi 'ear'); Tb naŋhabī-l; Hp nàapi. Hp may be a loan from Num, and lost intervocalic -ŋk-. Are Tb and Hp loans from Num or is Num -vi/va/vi not really an absolutive suffix? Either way, Hp nàapi/naŋpi shows -p- instead of -v- due to a cluster. The SNum, Tb, and Sr forms are related to 'ear': often one word in each language means both (e.g., Sr qāvaač 'ear, leaf') or the words for 'ear' and 'leaf' are similar, but morphologically different (added upon) in most languages (e.g., Tb naŋha-l 'ear(s), leaf'; Tb naŋhabī-l 'leaves, lots of leaves'). Like Sr is Ktn kava-c 'leaf'. [idddua] [NUA: SNum, Hp, Tb, Tak]

**1072** Hebrew yášar 'wood, forest, thicket, wooded heights with trees to be felled' (BDB); Hebrew yášar 'thicket, undergrowth, wood' (KB); Arabic wašr 'rock debris; rugged, roadless terrain':

UACV-756 \*yawa > \*yuwa 'open country, flat land, outside': AYq yeewi 'towards outside'; Yq yeu- 'para afuera'; TO jīg 'ouside'; Kw yuw-a=aka 'desert, plain'; CU yúaa-vi 'plains, open country, wild country'; CU yúaa-vatī 'outdoors, out-country, in the open'; WMU yuwaa-vi 'level country or land'; compounded with ki- 'house' is CN kiyaawak 'outside'. These all point to \*yawa. Note also perhaps Tbr -yá(n) 'fuera'; Tbr (ki)-yá-n 'fuera de (casa)'. [Semitic-p vs. Sem-kw yuwiC] [p1y,2'2,3r] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**1073** Hebrew suupaa, suupat- 'storm, gale' (KB) 'storm-wind' (BDB), pl: suupoot; Aramaic(J) šwp 'to blow (of wind)'; in Hosea 8:7 is the locative or accusative Hebrew suupáátaa, which can be a rare simple accusative (since the accusative vowel -a is rare in the OT text, though standard in standard Arabic) or it can be the locative 'to/at/in': Hebrew suupáátaa 'stormwind-to/in/at'; two things support this tie; one is that Ls has the original first vowel u; most forms of UA \*sīpī show both vowels as the mid-central default vowel ī to which both u and a often change (u > ī, a > ī); levelings like \*supa > sīpī are common; yet Ls šuvoo corresponds to \*supī, which \*supī < \*supa is only an expectable vowel change from identical; two, many languages show the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant -t- as a liquid between vowels and perhaps the final -ta of the adverbial or locative accusative in WMU, My, Wc, and NT īvīli 'wind':

UACV-508a \*sīpī / \*sīpīta / \*sīppī 'cold, cold wind, winter': Sapir; B.Tep90 \*hīpīda-i 'it is cold'; M67-94a \*se/\*sep 'cold', 94b \*si/\*sip, 94c \*sap, 94d \*ce/\*cep; M88-sī7: KH.NUA; KH/M06-sī7 \*sīp 'cold/frio': SP šīC- 'cold'; SP šī-ppa 'cold feeling, suffering from cold'; SP šī-ppī 'cold (of objects)'; CU sīpīr-'ay 'be cold (things, persons, or weather)'; CU sīpī-vī 'cold, low temperature, n'; Tb sī'bit~'isīp 'be cold'; Tb(H) šīpīt, pfv iššīp; Cp sevél 'wind'; Ls šuvóo-ŋa 'in winter'; Ls šuvóo-wu-t 'winter'; Ls šuvó-lku 'to shiver with cold'; Gb sovó 'cold'; Sr šivīt 'wind'; TO hīpī; LP s'hīpī; PYp heepi 'cold'; PYp heve 'cool'; NT īpīd'ī; Yq sé(e)be; AYq seve; sevele 'feel cold'; My sébbe 'hace frio'; My sébele / sébere 'siente frio [feel cold]'; Tbr sevél/sewé 'frio [cold], hacer frio [be cold weather]'; Tr sipi-mea 'freeze, vi'; Tr sepe-ca-ma 'freeze, vt'; Wc šeere 'enfriar'; Wc kaa.šīivari 'stormwind'; Cr wá-see 'be cold outside'; Cr seeri 'ice, snow, frozen'. Ch(L), CU and SP also show underlying \*-pp-: Ch(L) sīpaŋuci 'cooled off' and WMU s(ū)ppúra-y / süppúra-y / spúra-y 'be cold (weather or object)'.

UACV-508b \*sīpīl / \*sīppī 'cold, windy': B.Tep89 \*hīvīri 'wind': in contrast to \*-pp- in TO hīpī 'cold', are TO hīwīl 'air, wind'; TO hīw-kk 'to become chilled (person)'; TO hīw-kon 'to blow on, vt'; TO hīwīd 'to blow (wind)'; TO hīwajid 'vt, cool, chill, relieve (pain)'; TO hīwastk 'be able to endure wind and cold'; LP s'hīpī 'cold'; LP ībīri 'wind'; PYp heepi 'cold' vs. PYp heve 'cool'; PYp hevel 'wind'; PYp heve-lim 'to blow'; NT īpīd'ī 'adj, cold'; NT īpīar'ī 'vi, be cold' vs. NT īvīli/īvīli 'wind'; ST hīpīdy 'cold' vs. ST īvámuku 'tener frio'; ST hīvīly 'wind'; ST hvr 'windy'.

UACV-508c \*sappa / \*sīppa 'freeze, ice': M67-94c: Ls šáapa/i 'freeze'; Eu sebat/ sebáwa 'ice'; Yq sápa 'ice'; My sáppam 'snow, ice'; Tb šip-t 'ice'; CN sepayawi-tl 'snow'. These 'ice' terms may tie to \*sīpī 'cold', though the languages listed here have other forms matching \*sīpī 'cold'; on the other hand, the Eu terms suggest a tie: Eu sebá 'helar'; Eu sebé 'helarse'; Eu sebí 'helado'; Eu sepá 'enfriar'; Eu sepé 'enfriarse'; Eu sepíce 'estar fresco'. In all terms whose first V is a, that vowel stressed, pointing to it as the original vowel, and the other schwa-like variants e/i are likely unstressed variations. Ch(L) and Ls -p- (vs. v/b), and some Eu show \*-pp-.

**UACV-508d \*sīpī** ‘rain’: Hp sīvīyoyanwī ‘long and steady drizzle’; Tr sepewá ‘lloviznar’; Eu sipupé ‘lloviznar’. These ‘drizzle’ terms belong too. 1s3,2w,3p,4t] [NUA: Tak, Tb, Num; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1074** Arabic **saahjil** ‘coast, seashore’:

**UACV-792 \*suwil** ‘edge, shore, border’: B.Tep76 \*hugida ‘edge’{NT ugídy; ST hugdya; UP hugidí;

LP hugd}; M88-su7 ‘edge/orilla’; KH/M06-su7: Wr suéla ‘edge, border’; Tr suw-é ‘orilla [edge, side], ribera [river bank], margen [border]’; TO hugid ‘edge, side’. From other sources, consider also PYP hug ‘end’;

PYP hugid ‘edge, shore’; ST hugiñ ‘shore’. Tep h < \*s, g < \*w, d < \*y; possibly Sr a-hīrvia ‘bank, edge, side’ (Sr h < \*s; \*w > v in Sr?; ’ > Tep g.) Note the parallel between Wr suéla and Tep \*hugida. [\*w > v in Sr] [1s,2h2,3l] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1075** Hebrew gab < \*gabb ‘back’; Hebrew gabb-o ‘back-his’; gabb-aa ‘back-her’; Aramaic(J) gab ‘convex, arched’; Syriac gəbiibaa ‘hunchbacked’; Aramaic(J) gbb ‘arch, curve’; Aramaic(J) gab / gabb-aa ‘back, body, lump (of s.th.)-the’; note that Tr and Wr -w- < \*kw < b for Sem-kw:

**UACV-803 \*kakwa / \*kappa** ‘egg’: M67-156 \*kawa ‘egg’; L.Son77 \*kawa ‘huevo’; M88-ka10; KH/M06-ka10: Yq kába; My kábba; Wr ka’wá/ká’awa-rá; Tr kawá/gawá/ka’wá; Tbr kowa-ló ‘gallina ponedora’; Eu ákavo-ra ‘huevo, genitivo’; Op akkawo-ri. The o of Eu ákovere ‘lay an egg’ agrees with Tbr while the o of Eu ákavo-ra agrees with Op, but adjacency to -w- could cause either. The medial C is difficult. The only certainty is that it is not \*-w- alone, but \*-kw- or \*-bb- are likely and a cluster. [idddua] [a- prefix in Eu] [1g,2bb] [SUA: TrC]

**1076** Aramaic(S) naab-aa ‘louse egg’ (often written na’b-aa’ with an aleph/) < Akkadian naabu ‘louse’; Aramaic (J) nibbaa ‘eggs of lice’; Syriac naab-aa ‘louse egg-the’:

**UACV-804 \*no’pa > \*noppa** (SNum) ‘egg’: B.Tep172 \*nonoha ‘egg’; M67-154 \*no ‘egg’; I.Num115 \*no(yo) ‘egg, house, dwelling’; M88-no3 ‘egg’; AMR1993a \*nok ‘egg’; KH/M06-no3 \*nok ‘egg’: Kw nopa-vi / nopo-vi (< \*-pp- for both); Ch nopávi ‘egg’; WMU nahppaa-vi ‘egg’; CU napáa-vi ‘egg’; and perhaps SP noo’rua ‘be pregnant’. Only these Southern Numic forms clearly tie to \*na’b-aa > no’pa / noppa. And note that they all have -p- < \*-Cp- from a cluster. Perhaps p’-no’baa > Ktn pano ‘egg’ with the Egyptian prefix p’ ‘the’; Ktn aligns with several other Tak forms at UACV-805, KH/Mpa42. Other forms at \*no... ‘pregnant’ (M88-no4 ‘pregnant’) might be considered, but CNum and WNum noyo are at 1524 Egyptian isnwi. [Tep h and NUA h like hwopali at eagle and \*hay at edge; medial C] [1n,2b] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep]

Of special interest is the UA set for ‘moon’, one of the few sets found in all UA languages:

**1077** Assyrian **manzal**-tu ‘abode of the gods’ which many see as the loan source for other Semitic forms; Aramaic(S) **mazzaal-aa** ‘zodiacal station, planet-the, fortune, luck’ (n.m.);

Hebrew **mazzaal** < \***manzaal** ‘star, constellation(s), but in Syriac ‘mansiones lunae (of the **moon**)’ (BDB); Aramaic(J) mazzaal-aa ‘constellation, planet, luck’; from Arabic nzl ‘descend, step down, sink, stop to rest, camp’ is Arabic manzil (pl: manaazilu) ‘stopping place, dwelling, camp site, **lunar** mansion’. Besides references to star and constellation, references to moon exist as well, as in Syriac and Arabic. Note that the long vowel in Semitic keeps its quality, while the shorter vowel succumbs to centralization (schwa-like i) as often happens in UA and most language families; note that the -nz- cluster actually yields -n- in Ca and Cp, but the expected PUA \*c throughout SUA, and \*c > s in Tepiman, and \*c > y in NUA, all as expected; and the final -d in Tepiman corresponds to Semitic l. So the whole holds a match of several specific details:

Semitic \***manzaal** > UA \***mīcaC** ‘moon’:

Mn	tadamī’a/tadawī’a	Hp	mīyaw	Eu	miecát / mecát
NP	mīha	Tb	mīyabiš-t	Tbr	macá-t
		Tb	mīya-l ‘month’	Yq	méča
TSh	mīa(cci)	Sr	mīaaṭ & Ktn mīa-č	AYq	meeča
Sh	mīa	Ls	móy-la	My	meeča
Cm	mīa	Ca	méni-ly	Wr	mecá
Kw	mīa-zi	Cp	méni-ly	Tr	mecá
Ch	miyárogopici	TO	mašad & Nv masada	Cr	máškīra’i
SP	mīaC	PB	mašad	Wc	méca;
CU	mīá-tagó-ci	PYP	masada	CN	meecc-tli
		NT	masáadai		
		ST	masaad/masan		

**UA \*mīcaC** (< \*mancal) ‘moon’: AMR’s sound law (\*-c- > NUA -y-) explains PUA \*-c- > -y- in NUA, but sometimes h or ø or ’ in Numic. UA \*c corresponds to Semitic z, yet the Semitic cluster (\*-nz- > -zz-) contained an -n-, and Ca and Cp show -n- rather than \*-c-; Tep \*masad shows \*-l- (Tep d is from either \*y or \*l) and Tep s < \*c; so all four consonants of \*manzal are apparent and correspond quite well.

**UACV-1451 \*mīcaC** (perhaps < \*mancal) ‘moon’: Sapir; VVH158 \*mīya ‘moon’; B.Tep146 \*masadai ‘moon’; M67-286 \*meca/\*mea; I.Num102 \*mī’a/\*mīha; BH.Cup \*manila(?); L.Son145 \*mīca; M88-mīl ‘moon’; Munro.Cup73 \*mayi-la ‘moon’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-mīl. The -d in Tep and Ls -la (absolute) suggest a final liquid or cluster, with final gemination in Num and hints of a final -C in other branches: Proto-SNum \*mīyaC-tokoC-ci. [p1m,2n,3z,4l] [NUA: Tb, Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1078** Arabic muxx- ‘brain’; Akkadian muxxu ‘skull’: Hebrew moḥ ‘bone marrow’; Syriac muuḥ-aa ‘brain-the, marrow-the’:

**UACV-1153 \*mo’o** ‘head’: Sapir; VVH134 \*mo’o ‘head’; M67-218 \*mo’o; B.Tep152 mo’o; L.Son147 \*mo’o; M88-mo1; KH/M06-mo1: Ls méé-la ‘head of cattail rush’; TO mo’o ‘head, hair’; Nv mo’o; PYP mo’o; NT móo; ST mo’; Eu mo ‘hair’; Tbr mo-; Wr mo’ó; Tr mo’ó; My mó’oberi ‘sombbrero (head-house)’; Cr mu’ú; Wc mu’úu. Add Yq mo’obe’i ‘hat’; and Yq muteka ‘pillow’ fits a compound of the UA etymons \*mo’o ‘head’ and \*tika ‘put, lie’, even though Yq itself does not have \*mo’o for ‘head’. [1m,2xx2h2] [iddddua] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1079** Aramaic(S) naanii ‘mother’; Aramaic(A) naanaa ‘mother’ (< Semitic \*nwn ‘multiply, increase’):

**UACV-1454 \*nana** ‘mother’: Sapir; M67- 487 \*nan ‘mother’; CL.Azt110 \*naan, 312 \*nana; M88-na14; KH/M06-na14: ST ’innan ‘my m.’; Cr náana; CN naan-tli. Add Tr nana ‘mamá’. [1n,2n] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1080** Syriac tqp ‘wax strong, prevail’, impfv: ne-tqap; MHebrew tqp ‘seize hold of’; Hebrew tqp ‘overpower’; Aramaic(J) tēqoop ‘might, strength’:

**UACV-1691 \*takopi** ‘gamble’: M88-ta47; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ta47: Ca táxpi ‘to gamble’; Sr taqwpi’ ‘to gamble’. The -qw- may be *qo* or the rounding strength of Sem-p uvular. See also \*kopi below. [iddddua] [NUA: Tak]

**1081** Syriac tqp ‘wax strong, prevail’, impfv: ne-tqap; MHebrew tqp ‘seize hold of’; Hebrew tqp ‘overpower’; Aramaic(J) tēqoop ‘might, strength’:

**UACV-1690 \*kopa/i** ‘win/lose in a game’: L.Son98 \*kowi ‘perder en el juego’; L.Son98b is \*kow-a ‘ganar en el juego’; M88-ko19; KH/M06-ko19: Eu kové ‘perder en el juego’; Eu kóva ‘win in a game’; Eu nekóva ‘ganar’; Tr we’-káwi ‘perderse’; My kóobe/kobáwa ‘perder’; Tbr kowa ‘ganar’; AYq koova ‘win’; My koóba-k ‘le gano’; Yq kobá ‘ganar’; My koóba ‘ganar’; Nv gu-guba ‘ganar’. Tr and Nv both suggest a possible prefix: \*wi’-kopa. [\*-p- > -w/-ø- ] 1t,2q,3p [SUA: TrC, Tep]

**1082** Hebrew śəlaaw ‘quail’; Syriac salway ‘quail’; Arabic salwaa ‘quail’; Samaritan šalwi; Hebrew pl: šalwiim:

**UACV-1751 \*solwi** ‘quail’: CN sool-in ‘quail’; Mn sowi ‘pigeon’; Mn(L) soowi ‘wild pigeon’; these first forms anticipate the rounding of the -w- and the -l- is lost in Mn, much like the -l- in walk, talk, and salmon. Ca séyewe-t ‘baby quail’ and Cp síyewe ‘baby quail’ have Ca/Cp i < \*o, and with l > y, they seem to tie in as well. TO hohhi ‘the mourning dove’ and Tr soho ‘paloma torcaz’ show initial \*so, and TO -hh- may mean a cluster. The following Tr and PYP forms are quite similar to the CN, except for some \*tī- prefix as in \*(tī’)solwi > \*tīcoli: PYP tesoli / te’soli / tesori ‘quail’; Tr fé’čorí ‘cordoniz’. Note also Ca tseqáxa-l ‘kind of quail’ (Ca qaxal ‘quail’), whose first two syllables agree with \*tiso, given a vowel assimilation. [l > y; \*-’s- > -c-] [1s2,2l,3w] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**1083** A compound of deer (< Semitic raxel) prefixed with ‘water/big’; see ‘deer’ 638:

**UACV-814 \*pa-tikīya** ‘elk < big-deer’: TSh paṭihīya; Sh paṭihīyan; Cm paṛia kuhma ‘bull elk’; Kw pa-rīhīya; SP paṛia; CU paṛiyī. Comparing ‘deer’ vs. ‘elk’ terms, one can see the greater phonological deterioration toward the end of longer words when a prefix is added. [deterioration at end of long words] [NUA: CNum, SNum]

**1084** Aramaic(CAL) ’ystwr(?) ‘footing, base’; Aramaic(J) ’istwaawr-aa / ’istawr-aa ‘ankle’; Aramaic(S) ’istwaawr-aa ‘a portion of the lower leg’; Ugaritic ’išd ‘leg’; Akkadian ’išdu:

**UACV-948 \*wiCtaC** ‘calf of leg, lower leg’: NP kwiddza (< \*kwicca/\*kwiNca) ‘calf’; TSh wica-ppī ‘calf, lower leg’; Cm ta’wiica ‘calf’; Kw wižavu-vī ‘calf’; Ch(L) wiča ‘calf of leg’; SP wica ‘calf’; CU wicá-vi ‘calf’; WMU hwičá-vi / kučávi / wičá-vi ‘calf of leg’. Note an extra syllable in Kw wižavu-vī with \*-pu suffix, frequent in Ls. Note w > kw in NP and WMU. [w > kw; \*-pu suffix in Kw, like Ls’s] [1’2y,3s,4t] [NUA: Num]

**1085** Hebrew hlk, impfv sg: yelek, pl: yelku, and an unattested cohortative \*yelka (p. 30) matches well:

**UACV-1022 \*yīNka** ‘enter, move, travel (sg/pl?)’: Sapir; M67-97 \*ye ‘come (sg)’; M88-yī7; KH/M06-yī7: Mn iga; NP iga; Pn ikaC; Sh yīnkah ‘move, v.pl.’; WSh yīnka ‘travel, wander, live, vi pl’; Cm ikarī; Kw ’iga; SP īga ‘enter’; CU yīgáy ‘enter, come in’; pl: wağáy; Hp yīḡ- in Hp yīḡ-ya ‘enter, vi. p. pl.’; Hp yīḡ-ta ‘be entering, vi.i.pl’; Wr yegi-ná/má ‘accept an invitation to a festival’; Cr ye’i ‘come (sg. subj. pres.)’; Wc yei ‘move, walk’. Sapir ties CN nite-ekawia ‘hacer llegar a alguien [cause s.o. to arrive]’ with SP īga. Add Ktn -yik ‘to,

toward, at, directional/locative case ending'. Hp -ŋ- aligns with Num -k-. [medial cluster; CNum -nk-, Hp -ŋ-: W/SNum, Azt -k-: CrC glottal stop ?] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1086** Syriac šql take, take (self away), depart':

UACV-1029 \*saka(la) 'go, leave': My sakka 'se van'; Yq sáka'a 'iremos, pl'; AYq saka'avo'em 'go away, pl'. For -l- > -', Semitic šaqala > Yq saka'a is as in Semitic bašala > Yq bwasa'a (4). [1s3,2l,3q]

**1087** Arabic srʕ 'be quick, fast, hurry':

UACV-1033 \*i'siwi: Wr isí-na 'andar [walk]'; CN i'siwi 'hurry'. Wr and CN match an unattested Aramaic asreʕ or a Hebrew hisriiʕ. [1s,2r,3'2] [SUA: TrC, Azt]

**1088** Arabic xuld 'mole'; Aramaic(J) ħld 'to undermine, cave, dig'; Syriac ħld 'to burrow, drive a mine underground'; Syriac ħaalud-aa' 'jerboa-the'; Aramaic(J) ħild-aa (< \*xild-aa') 'cave-dweller-the':

UACV-1043 \*kita 'groundhog': Mn kidá 'groundhog'; NP kidí 'groundhog'. [p1x,p2l,p3d] [NUA: WNum]

**1089** Hebrew qippod 'hedgehog, short-eared owl'; Arabic \*qunpuđ 'hedgehog'; Aramaic(J) quuppaad 'hedgehog'; Aramaic(J) quuppəd-aa 'hedgehog-the'; Aramaic(J) qurppədai 'mole'; Mandaic Aramaic qunpuđ 'hedgehog'; Syriac quppəd-aa 'hedgehog-the'; note the r/N or liquid-nasal interplay in Semitic too, like hip, grass'; sometimes \*-NC-, sometimes \*-NC- > -CC-:

UACV-1044 \*kiNpa 'prairie dog': NP kīrbba 'prairie dog': Sh kīmpai 'prairie dog'. [1q,2n,3p,4z2] [NUA:Num]

**1090** Hebrew šmĥ / šamaĥ (< \*šmx) 'sprout, grow (of plants, hair)'; Ug šmx; Hebrew sémaĥ 'what sprouts, i.e., grass, etc'; Aramaic(J) šimĥ-aa 'growth-the, sprout, plant, n.m.'; Akkadian šammu; Hebrew sémaĥ is the underlying correspondent to Aramaic šimĥ-aa with the Aramaic definite article suffix, which corresponds perfectly to Sh siĥmu 'bunch grass':

UACV-1057a \*(pa)-samaC / \*-samuC 'grass': BH.Cup \*samVt 'grass'; M67-204 \*(pa-)sa/\*(pa-)ca 'grass'; CL.Azt237; Fowler83; M88-sa22; Munro.Cup53; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa39: CL.Azt237 also discuss the difficulties of these words: Ca sámat 'brush, herb, grass'; Cp sámat 'grass sp.'; Sr haamt 'grass'; Ktn hamat. The preceding are of Sem- \*šmx, with no rounding effect like Sem-kw would (\*šmĥ) perhaps as in Ls šáamu-t 'grass, hay, weeds', and Sh siĥmu 'bunch grass' matches with schwa-like behavior in the first vowel. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Azt]

The above is the Semitic-p source; the below from the Semitic-kw source:

**1091** Hebrew šmĥ (< \*šmx) 'sprout, grow (of plants, hair)'; Ug šmx; Hebrew sémaĥ 'what sprouts, i.e., grass, etc'; Aramaic(J) šimĥ-aa 'growth-the, sprout, plant, n.m.'; Akkadian šammu; Hebrew sémaĥ is the underlying correspondent to Aramaic šimĥ-aa with the Aramaic definite article suffix, which aligns with the below \*-soho < \*šimĥ-aa with loss of the m as first element of the cluster:

UACV-1057b \*(pa)-soho 'grass': Hp söhö 'galleta grass'; Hp(S) pashö; My báso 'zacate'; AYq vaso 'grass'. [s4,2m,3x,3h2] [NUA: Hp; SUA: TrC]

**1092** Aramaic(J) qooʕ-aa 'throat, gullet, windpipe':

UACV-1512 \*ŋoho 'neck': Sr ŋyh̄-ṭ 'throat, neck, voice'; Ktn ŋoho-c 'neck'; the vowels perplex, but this may suggest that Sem-kw was also under some Aramaic influence. [kw1q,kw2'2,kw3] [NUA: Tak]

**1093** Semitic yrq 'green'; MHebrew hooriiq / yooriiq 'become green, pallid, pale' and unattested hoqtal: \*yooraq 'be made green'; Ugaritic yrq 'yellow'; Akkadian (w)araaqu 'become green, yellowish'; Hebrew yaaraaq 'greens, vegetables':

UACV-1078 \*yora 'green': Wc yúuyúuri 'be green, grow'; Tbr nyoa-ká-r 'blue, green, unripe'; ST momdora 'light green'. Remember that ST d < \*y, and Tbr ny < \*y. [1y,2r,3q] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1094** Hebrew ktš 'pound (in a mortar), pound fine, bray, v'; perftv: kaataš; impfv: -ktoš < \*-kтуšu with loss of first consonant in the cluster:

UACV-1081 \*tusu 'grind': Sapir; VVH75 \*tuusu 'to grind'; M67-206a \*tusu/\*tusi, 206c \*tu; I.Num232 \*tusi 'grind'; L.Son322 \*tusu/rus-i; CL.Azt238 \*tisi 'grind'; 34 \*tis 'corn dough'; 238 PUA \*\*tusu 'grind'; M88-tu7 'grind/moler'; KH/M06-tu7: NP tusu; TSh tusu / tusuC; Kw tusu; Sh tusu; SP tušu; CU tisu; Tb tusut~'utus; Hp tos-ta; Ca túlus / tús; TO ču'a/čua/čuhi; Eu tusá; Wr tusu-ná; Tr rusu-mea; My tuuse; Wc tisi; Cr ra-'a-ti'iši 'she is grinding corn'; CN tesi 'grind s.th. like cornmeal'; CN teš-tli 'flour'; HN tisi 'grind'; Pl tisi 'grind'. Add Ktn tuh 'grind, bother'; Cm tusuri 'grind, thresh'; AYq tuuse 'grind, vt'; AYq saktuse 'be grinding, vi'. What of forms like Tr(H) rasa 'machucar'? [s > ' in TO; other Tep forms?] [1k,2k,3s1] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

Uto-Aztecan has three forms from Hebrew **ktš** ‘pound, grind’: (1094) above reflects the impfv -ktoš > tusu ‘grind’ and (615) reflects the perfective(past) \*kittaš > kitte / kittasu and (614) reflects the noun \*makteš ‘mortar, grinding stone’ > \*ma’ta / \*maCta ‘grinding stone, mortar’ with Ca \*mattaš ‘crush’ showing š.

**1095** Hebrew pšš ‘break into pieces’; Arabic faḍḍa < \*paḍḍa ‘break open, smash’; Syriac pšš < \*pḍḍ ‘to fell, grind’:

UACV-1093 \*pisa ‘pound’: NT viaáhai ‘remoler’; Hp pššī-ta ‘be a continuous drumming or pounding sound’. With vowel leveling, these agree. [1p,2s4,3s4] [iddddua] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

**1096** Two forms of the stem or two stems—both Semitic śyḥ and śyx ‘grow (plants, vegetation)’—yield Ugaritic ḥ but Akkadian x; Akkadian šiaaxum, šaaxu ‘to grow in size or age’; Ugaritic šḥt ‘bush(es), shrub(bery)’; both Arabic šiiḥ ‘shrub, bush’ and Arabic šiix ‘to age, grow old’; Hebrew šiiḥ / śiyah ‘shrub, bush’, pl: šiiḥ-iim; Syriac siiḥ-aa ‘mugwort (plant)’; MHebrew šiiḥ / śiyah ‘growth’; the root—Hebrew šiiḥ / śyḥ—would have an unattested impfv: \*ya-śyḥ or \*ya-šiiḥ / \*ya-śiyah ‘to grow (plant growth)’:

UACV-1077 \*siwi(C) ‘green growth’: AMR (1996d) suggests \*siwiC for Hp siwi ‘Parryela filifolia (shrub sp.) and CN siwi-tl ‘greenery, foliage, herb, leaf, turquoise, year’ as a separate set. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Azt]

UACV-1076 \*siyo / \*siya ‘green’: KH/M06-si20 \*siyV (AMR): Yq siali ‘not ripe’; AYq siasaali ‘greenish’; My siali/siari ‘green’; Wr siona-ni ‘green, blue’; Tr siyó ‘green, blue’; Eu sídei / si’idai ‘green’; CN šoo- ‘green’; CN sel- ‘fresh, green, heat’. Manaster Ramer (1996d) argues well for anticipatory V assimilation in CN šoo- ‘green’. Eu suggests the presence of y (\*siya) rather than merely a diphthong \*sia. Wr sió- and Tr siyó may suggest a possible relationship to CN šiwi ‘green, year, turquoise’ and the other terms under ‘year’ as well as. [CN V<sub>2</sub>V<sub>2</sub> < \*V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>] [s2,2y,3h2,3x] [SUA: TrC, Azt]

**1097** Two forms of the stem—Semitic śyḥ and śyx ‘grow (plants, vegetation)’—emerge as Ugaritic has ḥ and Akkadian has x; Akkadian šiaaxum, šaaxu ‘to grow in size or age’; Ugaritic šḥt ‘bush(es), shrub(bery)’; also both Arabic šiiḥ ‘shrub, bush’ and Arabic šiix ‘to age, grow old’; Hebrew šiiḥ / śiyah ‘shrub, bush’, pl: šiiḥ-iim; Syriac siiḥ-aa ‘mugwort (plant)’; MHebrew šiiḥ / śiyah ‘growth’; the root—Hebrew šiiḥ / śyḥ—would have an unattested impfv: \*ya-śyḥ or \*ya-šiiḥ / \*ya-śiyah ‘to grow (plant growth)’:

UACV-2604 \*yasayawa ‘year’: Hp yàasaḥw ‘year’; TO ahidag ‘year’, Tb šuwaa-l ‘his years’; Tbr asa-k; the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable of Yq wasúktia ‘year’ and My wasuk-tiria/tiriam ‘year’ in Cah \*wa-su(k) may tie in also, with a different fossilized prefix, though a reconstruction and explanation are difficult. CN šiwi-tl ‘year, grass, turquoise’ may also belong. Note Hp aa-a < \*aa-i like Mšḥ. [iddddua] [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1098** Hebrew qubbaa ‘vault, dome, arched room’:

Hp kòopa ‘top of head, crown’. Hp -p- (vs. -v-) suggests a doubled consonant. Arabic qubbat ‘dome, dome-shaped edifice’; Syriac qb(b) ‘to stand on end, bristle (of hair), to over-arch, form a dome’; Syriac qbiib ‘vaulted’; Syriac məqabb- ‘vaulted’; Aramaic(J) qubbə-taa ‘vault, dome, tent’; the meaning of Hebrew qubbaa is uncertain, but presumed to be similar to the other cognates. Contrast with Hebrew gobah at 1099:

UACV-1108 \*kuppa ‘hair of head, head’: Sapir; VVH9 \*kuupa ‘head hair’; B.Tep127a \*kuupa ‘head, hair’; M67-209 \*kupa ‘hair of the head’; CL.Azt168 \*ikpa ‘thread’; CL.Azt 240 \*\*kuupa hair; M88-ku3; KH/M06-ku3 \*kupa (AMR): NP kuba ‘above, postp’; Hp kòopa ‘top of one’s head, crown’; NT kuúpa ‘head, hair’; ST kuup ‘head, hair’; Wr kupá ‘cabello, pelo, lana’; Tr gupá / kupá ‘cabello’; Wc kīpá ‘pelo, cabellos’; Cr kīpwá; CN iikpa-tl ‘thread, hemp fiber’; HN ‘iikpa-tl cotton thread. Miller includes My kóbba ‘head’ which might belong here, though UA \*kuppa ‘head hair’ and UA \*kopa ‘forehead, head’ are separate since at least TO, NT, ST, Tr, Wr, and Cr have distinct terms for the two (see 1099), though some circular borrowing is possible. Ken Hill adds Sr a-kupiaa ‘top, up, above it’ and Ktn kupeac ‘top of head, summit of a mountain, top end’. Note also Ktn kopo-c ‘hair, head’; and TO kuwijk ‘have a dome or peak’ matches Semitic semantics wonderfully. Many UA terms suggest a gemination or cluster (\*kuppa) while others (NP) do not necessarily. [Sr a- pref] [1q,2bb] [iddddua] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1099** Hebrew góbah ‘height (of a man), height of other things’; Arabic ġabha(t) ‘forehead’ derives from the same root, but has a different vowel; Note that UA nicely reflects the difference between

UA \*kuppa < Semitic qubbaa (1098 above) and UA \*kopa < Semitic gobah (1099 here); e.g., Tr / Wr kupá (1098) and Tr / Wr kowá (1099) show the difference between \*-bb- and \*-b-, respectively:

UACV-958 \*kopa is ‘forehead’ (in Tep, TrC), ‘face’ (in Num), ‘head’ (in Cahitan); an original meaning of ‘forehead, front of head’ with semantic shifts to ‘head’ and ‘face’ since ‘forehead’ is between the two.



UACV-958a **\*kopa** ‘face’: I.Num62 *\*kope* ‘face’; M88-ko16 ‘face’; KH/M06-’o16 ‘face’; Mn qóbe ‘face’; NP ggoba ‘face’; TSh kope ‘face’; Sh kopai ‘face’; Cm koope ‘face’; Kw kovi ‘face’; Ch(L) kova ‘face’; SP kova-vi ‘face’; CU ková-vi ‘face’.

UACV-958b Several postpositions derive from the ‘forehead/face’ terms: *\*kopi(-na)* ‘before’: Mn -qobewéé ‘in front of, ahead of’; Mn -qobéna ‘in front of, before’; Mn qobe ‘face’; NP kobina ‘in front of, postp.’; NP wikobina ‘in front, adv’.

UACV-958c **\*kopa** ‘forehead’: B.Tep113 *\*kova* ‘forehead’; M88-ka31; KH/M06-ka31 *\*kawaC* (AMR): TO koa ‘forehead, brow, cliff, bank, dropoff’; LP kov ‘forehead’; PYP kova ‘forehead’; NT kóva; ST kov; Tbr ková-r ‘frente’.

UACV-958d **\*kopa** ‘head’: Yq kóba ‘head’; My kóbba ‘head’.

UACV-958e **\*kowa** (< *\*kopa*) ‘forehead’: M67-190 *\*kowa*; L.Son96 *\*kowa* ‘frente’; M88-ka31 ‘forehead’; KH/M06-ka31: Wr koá ‘frente [forehead]’; Tr kowa-ra ‘frente’; Cr kuaaci ‘frente’. The TrC reflexes of a medial bilabial are similar to *\*kap(p)a* ‘egg’. M88 and CL.Azt 62 *\*kwaay* < 308 *\*kowa* all tie Aztec *\*kwaay* ‘head’ to TrC *\*kowa* ‘forehead’, which works phonologically, as the Cr form attests, as CrC and Azt oft lose medial *\*-p-* (*\*kopa* > *\*ko(w)a* > *kwa*) though other *\*kawa* terms are below at *\*kawa*. For Tr/Wr *-w-* < *\*-p-*, see tobacco.

UACV-958f **\*koa** / **\*kua** ‘edge, cliff’: TO koa ‘forehead, brow, cliff, bank, drop off’; Nv skuabiga ‘cliff’; Eu kóa ‘orilla’; Eu vákoa ‘ribera’ (vs. *vákora* ‘lavar, bautizar’; Tr (f)e-kowá-ta ‘edge of a descent’; Tr koa / kowa-ra ‘forehead’; Wr pakó ‘rio’ (pa’wi ‘water’ + edge; vs. Wr pahko-ná/má ‘lavar, bautizar’); Wc kĩa in Wc kĩa cá ‘slope’; Wc teekĩa ‘edge of cliff’ (Wc ĩ < *\*u*); and ST kookvan ‘at edge of a drop off’ with redpl. Wc and Nv show *\*u* and the others may have raised *\*u* > *o* before *a*. [1g,2b,3h] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1100** Arabic kaʃb- ‘knot, knob, joint, ankle, anklebone, heel’; the *\*ko’oC* of *\*ta-na-pi-ko’oC*

PUA **\*tanapiCko’oC** ‘heel’:

UACV-1171a **\*tanappiC** (Tb) > **\*tampiC** / **\*tappiC** (WNum, SNum) ‘heel’: M67-224 *\*tampi* ‘heel’, 225 *\*tem* ‘heel’; M88-ta22 ‘heel’; Stubbs2000b-40; KH/M06-ta22: Tb tanapi-t / Tb(H) tannappi-t; NP ddabbi; SP tappiC-(ppi); WMU tappi- / tavi-ppü ‘heel, n’; tavi-ppü-n / tappi-n ‘my heel’; CU tá-pi; Mn tapiqó’. [Tb, WNum, SNum]

UACV-1171b **\*taNpi(N)ko** ‘heel’: TSh tappiŋko’o(cci); Sh tappikkon; Cm tapiko’. [CNum]

UACV-1171c **\*taNpiC** > **tempe’e-** ‘heel’: My témpe’erim; Yq pémpé’im. [Cahitan in TrC]

UACV-1171d **\*tanappiCko** > **\*taniko** ‘heel’: Eu tenúka and Tr fanígora / faníku-ra show a 2nd consonant *n*, and show the vowel shift/transposition. [TrC]

UACV-1171e **\*tikapo** ‘heel’: B.Tep240 *\*tikavo* ‘heel’: UP čikiwo; NT tikávo; St tikvo; TO čikwo ‘ankle’. [Tep] Sr and Ktn seem of a different compound, likely built on s.th. like Sr ta-muk-pi ‘foot-nose-at’ (Ken Hill, p.c.):

UACV-1172a **\*tamukpi** ‘heel’: Sr tamukpi; Ktn tímupi-c. [Tak]

UACV-1172b **\*tímo** ‘heel’: Wr talatémori; Tbr teoó-r. *\*tímo* may be shortening of *\*tamukpi* or may have lost *-p-* from s.th. like My témpe’erim. Hp kík-tönsi ‘heel (< ‘foot-?’) may contain s.th. like *\*tímo* [TrC]

UACV-1172c **\*tema/i** ‘heel’: TO čemi; Nv tíma; PYP teema. Final vowel change from *\*tímo*. [Tep]

**1101** Arabic ʔanna / ʔannana ‘to sound, ring, hum, buzz’, participle: **muʔannin** ‘hummer, humming one’; Arabic ʔannaan ‘ringing, humming, buzzing’; this many UA words for ‘fly’ beginning with initial *\*mu* make *\*mu(C)-tanaC* ‘fly-humming’ or humming fly a possibility:

UACV-1220 **\*muttanaC** ‘hummingbird’: M88-mu20 ‘hummingbird’; KH/M06-mu20: TSh muutu(n)anci / muuttuwanci; Sh(M) muttíhnaaci, mottuhnaaci ‘hummingbird’; Kw muutana-pi-ži < *\*muuttana-ppi-či*; SP mu(h)N (cf. mooa ‘to hum’); WMU muuttatta-či / muuttappa-či / múuttaqqa-či / múúttattaav(w)üči ‘hummingbird’; CU mútata-či (< *\*muuttattaa-ci*); Tb muutnapiiči. The *t*’s and *p*’s in Num and Tb (instead of *r/l* and *b/v*) all suggest consonant clusters. [NUA: Num, Tb]

This is likely of the same root as the above, less likely Akkadian muttaprišu ‘winged, flying’

UACV-919 **\*mutaN** ‘bee’: SNum *\*-mutaN-* with two prefixes (si’i-, piya-): SP si’imuutaN-, si’immoorampi ‘bumblebee’; CU piá-muu-raaC-ppi ‘honey-bee (lit: sweet-fly-?)’; WMU piyáá-muura-pi ‘bumblebee, n’. PYP mumur ‘bee’ with *-r* may merit contemplation. [1m,2tt,3p,4s] [NUA: SNum]

**1102** Hebrew **šwm** ‘to fast’ (not eat):

UACV-1231 **\*suma** ‘hungry’: Stubbs2003-15: Eu hisúmrava ‘hambre [hunger], n’; Eu hisúme ‘haber hambre [hunger exists]’; Eu hisúm-ce ‘tener hambre [be hungry]’; ST uama ‘die of hunger’ (*\*suma* > Tep (h)uma > ST uama, anticipating vowels. If < *\*suv(V)ma*, this, with a prefix, may tie to *\*-suwimu* below. [SUA: Tep, TrC]

Hebrew **bə-šwm/šuum** ‘in fast, be fasting/hungry’: UACV-1224 **\*kwisuwimu** ‘be hungry’: B.Tep7 *\*bihugimu* ‘be hungry’; M88-kwi16; KH/M06-kwi16: TO bihugim; LP bihigim; NT biúúgimu/giúúgimu; ST biu’/bio; PYP bihi; Nv vihugimu; Nv vihugiga ‘hambre’. Consonant harmony in NT. [1s4,2w,3m] [SUA: Tep]

- 1103** Arabic *dakka* ‘make flat, level, smooth, stamp, tamp’; Hebrew *dakkaa* ‘crushed’; Hebrew *dck* ‘crush’: UACV-901a \***takka** ‘flat’: BH.Cup \**táka* ‘flat’; M88-ta33; AMR 1993c \**takka*; KH/M06-ta33: Ca *taqtáqa* ‘be flattened’; Ls *táka/i* ‘be straight’; Ls *tááki-š* ‘stone for smoothing pottery’; Ls *-taak* ‘palm of hand’. AMR (1993c) lists SP *takkaa-vi* ‘flat country’; SP *mut-takka* ‘forehead’. Add Ch(L) *takagani* (< \**takka-kani*) ‘flat-topped house’; Kw *takka-* ‘flat part’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Ch *taka(a)* ‘roof, top’ of Harrington’s list. [NUA: Tak, Num]
- 1104** Hebrew *šayyaad* ‘hunter’ from the root *šwd* ‘to hunt’; Arabic *šayyaad* ‘hunter’; Akkadian *šayyaadu* ‘hunter’; Syriac *šayyaad-aa* ‘hunter-the’:
- UACV-1238 \***caya** ‘follow’: B.Tep186 \**saada*, *prêt*: \**sai* ‘to herd cattle’: TO *šaad* ‘herd, drive a herd of (animals), chase away (an animal)’; NT *saadá*; NT *saadáigi* ‘arrear [urge, spur, hurry]’; ST *saada*. [1s4,3d] [idddua] [SUA: Tep]
- 1105** Akkadian *kaliitu* ‘kidney’; Ugaritic *klyt*; Hebrew *kilyaa* ‘kidney, n.f.’; Syriac *kooliit-aa* ‘kidney’; Aramaic *koolyaa*, *kooliit-aa* ‘kidney’; MHebrew *kuulyaa* ‘kidney’:
- UACV-1259 \***kali** ‘kidney’: SP *qaniN-*, *qanimpi* ‘kidney’; *k<sup>v</sup>ele-* of Hp *k<sup>v</sup>elevosna* ‘kidney’; Ls *tákalak-may* ‘kidney’ perhaps with prefix *ta-*, perhaps Ktn *kanim* ‘gall’. The Akkadian vowelism and the Ugaritic consonants suggest a vowelism like UA. Ls with the fem prefix *ta-?* [L:n; vowel leveling] [1k,2i] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]
- 1106** Aramaic(J) *sbr* ‘be bright, intelligent, understand’; Aramaic(J) *sabbaar* ‘reasoner, fine scholar’:
- UACV-1274 \***suNpa** ‘know’: I.Num186 \**sumpa*/\**sumpi* ‘know, recognize’; M88-su15 ‘know, recognize’; KH/M06-su15: NP *subbidagwatu* ‘know’; TSh *sumpanai* ‘know’; Sh *sumpanai* ‘know s.o.’; Cm *supana’i* ‘know of, know about, know s.o.’ [1s,2b,3r] [NUA: Num]
- 1107** Syriac *hwn* / *huun* ‘be endowed with reason, be rational, intellectual, be wise’ denominative verb from Syriac *hawn-aa* ‘mind-the, reason’:
- UACV-1281 \***huna** ‘know’: Yq *hú’unea* ‘saber [know], conocer [be acquainted with]’; My *hu’uneiya* / *hu’ueria* ‘lo sabe [know it], lo conoce, entiende, comprende [understand]’. [1h,2w,3n] [SUA: TrC]
- 1108** Hebrew *šlf* ‘limp, be lame’; Arabic *zlf* / *zalaša* ‘be lame, limp’, impfv: **-zlaš** ‘limp, walk with a limp, walk lamely’; Hebrew *šelaš* ‘a stumble, fall, plunge, n’; Aramaic(J) *tlš* ‘to limp’; Syriac *tlš* / *et-tallaš* ‘fall in a stupor, become unconscious’; the UA forms resemble the impfv with loss of 1<sup>st</sup> C in the cluster: UACV-1340 \***lo’i** ‘lame, limp’: Yq *ló’i* ‘lame’; Yq *ró’iró’ikti weáma* ‘anda cojeando’; My *ro’i/lo’i* ‘lame’. Op *rho’omoi* ‘cripple’ (Shaul 2007) as far as Op *rho’o...* resembles other TrC tongues (Yq, My) and the whole resembles NUA forms like Ca *lúumiš* ‘crippled, paralyzed’; Sr *luumiš* ‘lame one’ (borrowed from Ca, notes Hill); possibly Hp *rohona* ‘one-legged’ and Ktn *yu’u* ‘lame’. [1s4,2i,3’2] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: TrC]
- 1109** Aramaic *mḥwṭ-aa* ‘mucus, n.m.’
- UACV-1475 \***mīt**... ‘snot, mucus’: KH.NUA: Sr *mīriič* ‘snot’; Gb *móta’*. [Gb o < \*i] [1m,2h2,3w,4t2] [NUA: Tak]
- 1110** Aramaic(J) *’ard-aa* ‘mushroom-the, m.’; Syriac *šard-aa* ‘mushroom, truffle-the’;
- UACV-1482 \***hitto’oC** / \***witto’oC** ‘mushroom’: TSh *wiitto’e-cci* ‘mushroom’; TSh *hiitto’i* ‘mushroom’; Kw *hiito’o-pi* ‘mushroom’. [1’,2r,3d] [NUA: Num]
- 1111** Hebrew **meetar** ‘bowstring, tent rope’, poss’d **meetr-** > CN **maatla-tl** ‘net, sling’ (< \**maata*).
- 1112** Arabic *maa* ‘no, not’:
- UACV-1537 \***ma** ‘no’: NT *mai* ‘negative’ (Bascom 1982, 278); Wc *maave* ‘no haber, ausente’; CN *ma* ‘no’ (in imperatives, optatives; RJC). [SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]
- 1113** Syriac *šiid* ‘to, with, at’:
- UACV-84 \***-ci** / \***-ci** ‘at’: Eu *-ce* ‘en’; Tr *-či* ‘sufijo locativo’; *-c-* in Hp *a-c-ve(q)* ‘on, on top of’ (lit: 3p-on/above-PCT-(EX); Hp *a-c-va(qe)* ‘along, in, on’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: TrC]
- 1114** a compound of Hebrew *šeleg* ‘snow’ + Hebrew *mukke* ‘smitten’:
- UACV-1551 \***sik-mukki** ‘numb < ice/cold-dead’: Hp *simokiw/ta* (with accent on 1<sup>st</sup> V) ‘be getting numb’; Hp(H) *sīimokiwta* ‘be numb’; NP *ta/ma-sīsini* ‘foot/hand goes to sleep’; Cm *sīsini* ‘numb, feel numb, asleep’; WMU *si’uú* ‘be numb’. The first morpheme is CN *sek-tli* ‘ice/cold’. Though Hp lost the velar stop, it preserved the vowel pattern best and shows the 2<sup>nd</sup> morpheme clearly. NP, Cm, and WMU are reductions showing residual features of both consonants, in which the velar + nasal cluster *-km-* went various directions: \**-km-* > *ŋ* (NP); *-’n-* (Cm); and *’u* (WMU), for all show signs of a velar (velar nasal or glottal stop) and a nasal or a nasal V in the case of WMU. The vowels or whole second syllable contracted severely. [cluster reduction *-km-* > *ŋ*, *m*, *-’n-*] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp]

**1115** Arabic ġauza(t) ‘nut’:

UACV-1562 \***kusi** ‘oak’: AYq kusi ouwo ‘oak tree’; Wr kusí ‘brush, thicket; kind of oak’. [1g,2w,3z] [SUA: TrC]

**1116** Hebrew zépet (< \*zipt-) / zaapet ‘pitch’; Arabic zift ‘pitch, asphalt’; Aramaic zepaa / zipt-aa ‘pitch, n.f.’; Syriac zapt-aa / zept-aa ‘pitch’; Akkadian zibtu:

UACV-1632 \***copí** ‘pitch, torch’: L.Son42 \*cop ‘ocote’; M88-co13 ‘torch’; KH/M06-co13: Wr cohpi ‘ocote/torch’ (cf. Wr co’í ‘trementina, pine pitch, resin’); Tr čopé/-čobé-/čopi ‘ocote’. Add Tbr copé-t ‘trementina’. Note also CN capopo’-tli ‘type of tar, asphalt, used for incense and cleaning teeth—another instance of SUA vowel metathesis. [a-o = o-a] [SUA: TrC, Azt]

UACV-1633 \***co’i** ‘pitch’: My čoo’i ‘brea’; Wr co’í ‘trementina’; Tr čo’ré ‘resina’; perhaps AYq ču’ukum ‘gum, tree, resin, pitch’. Note loss of medial bilabials (-p/-b/-m-) in dbr and šmr too. [1z,2p,3t] [SUA: TrC, Azt]

**1117** Aramaic(CAL) kwkby; Syriac(S) kuukkəbbe ‘owl’; Syriac(P) kuukkəbbay ‘unclean bird, perhaps an owl’:

UACV-1589 \***kuku** ‘ground/burrowing owl’: M88-ku35; Munro.Cup87 \*kuku-l/\*kukuu-l ‘owl’; Stubbs1995-21 \*kwuku; KH/M06-ku35: Ca kuku-l ‘ground owl’; Ls kukúu-l ‘burrowing owl’; Gb kukúy ‘burrowing owl’; Ktn kukuku-č ‘owl sp’; Hp koko ‘burrowing owl, little owl’. Add Tr okowí / okó-turi ‘small type of owl’; Tr o\*ko ‘type of owl’; TO kuukvul ‘elf owl’; TO kokoho ‘burrowing owl’. Tr often loses its initial consonant, and with intervocalic -b- > Tr -w-, Tr okowí reflects the Aramaic/Syriac form well. [1k,2w,3k,4b,5y] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1118** Arabic ‘akamat ‘hill, reef, heap, pile’:

UACV-1624 \***wikka** ‘pile’: NP wikatiga ‘pile up’; TSh wikkati ‘pile, vi’; TSh wikkatiŋkin ‘pile up, vt’.

Initial ’ > w would be Sem-p, if m was absorbed in a cluster, but no -m- has it less sure. [p1’,p2k,p3m] [NUA: Num]

**1119** Hebrew har ‘mountain’; pl: haree<sup>y</sup> ‘mountains (of)’:

UACV-1457 \***huya** / \***huri** ‘mountain’: B.Tep317a \*oidaga (UP,ST) / ’oidigi (LP, NT) ‘world, mountain’; M88-’o23 ‘world, mountain’; KH/M06-’o23: UP ’oidagi; LP oijig; NT oidyigi; ST ’oidya’; TO oidag ‘field, farm’. Add Cr hiri ‘cerro [hill]’ and Wc hiri ‘sierra’ (Cr borrowed from Wc?). Yq huya ‘árbol, monte’ and My huuya ‘árbol, monte’ probably belong at ‘arrow/tree/wood’ where Hill has them, and Tbr huwa ‘monte’. Tbr hanyí-t ‘cerro’ has 3 of 4 segments, since Tbr ny < \*y. Putting Tep \*oidaga into PUA segments yields \*hoiyawa and makes Cahitan \*huya tempting, since Tep ’ < \*h, especially if the latter segment of the diphthong shows anticipation of the y (\*uy/oy > oiy), which is often the case in Tep (and in UA): \*huya > \*hoya > \*hoiya. [\*-u-a > o-a; r > y] [1h,2r] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1120** Hebrew yišhar ‘oil’ (this and mtn have h > hu; or the pharyngealized š caused h > ḥ):

UACV-845 \***yuhu** ‘grease’: I.Num294 \*yuhu grease; M88-yu11; KH/M06-yu11: Mn yuhu ‘grease’; Mn yuhúbi ‘fat’; NP yuhu ‘fat’; TSh yuhupin ‘fat, oil’; Sh yuhu/yuhi ‘fat, grease, oil’; Cm yuhu ‘fat, grease, lard’; Kw yihuu/yuhuu-vi ‘fat, grease, lard’; Ch yuhú-vi; SP yu(h)u-vi ‘fat, grease’; CU yíú-vi ‘fat, oil, grease, lard’. Add ST jua(kam) ‘que es gordo’; WMU yuú-vi ‘fat, grease, oil, n’ (vs. yu’ú-vi ‘leg’). [u > ĩ in unaccented syllable] [1y,2s4,3h,4r] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

**1121** Aramaic(J) dabbar ‘lead, drive’; Syriac dbr ‘lead, take, drive away’

UACV-1727 \***tappi** ‘pull, drag’: Kw tapičini ‘drag’; Sh(C) tippi ‘pull’. Are the following also related or are we dealing with prefixes?: \*ca-pi- or \*capi: Mn capidina ‘drag’; NP capiwoya ‘to drag with hand’; NP cipi / cibi ‘pluck out’; Cm cahpi’erí ‘jerk down, pull down’. [CC] [1d,2bb,3r] [NUA: Num]

**1122** Hebrew pny ‘turn to one side, turn head in a particular direction’; unattested \***panniy** ‘turn (vt), direct’:

UACV-1729 \***pani** ‘pull, drag’: TO wani- ‘a pulling or influencing action’ (TO w < \*p); TO wanimun ‘pull pieces or strands from, vt’; TO waničk ‘pull on, influence, vt’; PYP vancim ‘cut, break off’; PYP vavinim ‘pull, vt’; PYP vainim ‘pull off, break off, vt’; PYP vancikim ‘pull, vt’; PYP vainit ‘pick fruit’; ST vañiis pret. of vaissina ‘estirar, alargar’; Tr bani-mea ‘arrastrar [drag]’; Tr banisu-ma ‘jalar [pull]’; Wr pansú-na ‘pull’; Wr pansú-ro-na ‘pull along (as horse by rope, child by the hand)’; Wc hana ‘drag, pull, stretch’ (Wc h < \*p); Wc hání ‘pulled’. Tr’s alternate form Tr baná-če ‘quedarse obstaculizado, cerrarse a uno el paso [be blocked, one’s progress impeded]’ matches Hp pana ‘put into, bring into’, both of which include examples of corralling animals’. [\*p > Wc h, c/s] [idddua] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC; NUA: Hp]

**1123** The intensive of Hebrew pny ‘turn to one side, to head in a particular direction’ would be \*-panni / \*pinne ‘have s.o./s.th. turn or head in a direction’:

UACV-1747 \***pana** ‘put in’: Ken Hill (p.c. 2004), KH/M06-pa71: Hp pana ‘put into, let enter, bring into’; Sr paa<sup>f</sup>van ‘wet, add water to, thin (e.g. soup) by adding water’. Ken Hill noticed this nice pair as Sr paa<sup>f</sup>-van clearly appears to be a compound meaning ‘water-put in’, that is, ‘put in water’. Add Tb(H) paa<sup>f</sup>vanat ‘to close, vt’? [1p,2n,3y] [idddua] [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**1124** Hebrew -o ‘his’

UACV-1703 \*-**wa** ‘possessed suffix’: KH/M06-ns3: Ca -w’a; Cp -w; Ls -w; CN -w/-wi/-wa:- (-kone:-w ‘child’; -o’-wi ‘road’; -kone:-wa:-n ‘children’); Pl -w (-o.mi-w ‘bone (poss.)’). Add Ch(L) wīn’napi ‘flint’; Ch(L) huu wīn’na-wa ‘arrow’s flint’; Eu -wa; Op -wa (Shaul 1990, 565; Shaul 2003, 26). [1w] [SUA: Azt, TrC; NUA: Tak, Num]

**1125** Aramaic(S) tiigaar-aa ‘a vessel’ < Middle Iranian \*tiigaar (note New Persian taḡaar ‘earthen dish or bowl’) > Arabic tiigaar (Canaanite vowel shift aa > oo in Northwest Semitic):

UACV-1710 \***tiko-(ri)** ‘dish’: Eu tékori ‘plato, carrete’; Tbr teka-lí-t ‘olla’; teko-lí-t ‘olla’. [SUA: TrC]

**1126** Hebrew yšb or yšg (hiqtiil means ‘to set, place’) or yšf / Arabic waḏaḏa ‘lay, put down, set, place’:

UACV-1742 \***yaca** ‘put, set down’: VVH40 \*yaca ‘to set it down’; B.Tep14 \*daasai ‘he sets down’ and \*daasa ‘to set down’; M88-ya2 ‘place sg. obj. in sitting position’; KH/M06-ya2: TO daaš; LP daša; NT daása; ST daasa; Wr yahca ‘ponerlo sentado [put seated]’; Tr acá, acába ‘poner o asentar una cosa’; My yécca ‘ponerlo sentado’; Tbr neca/nesa ‘sentarse, estar sentado, asentar, poner’; Tb yandzít~’ayanc ‘sit down, set (of sun)’; CN ye ‘estar’; Pl mu-estuk, mu-ectuk ‘be seated’ (defective vi). Add Wc yáaca ‘put, make stand’; Yq yéča ‘levantar, poner, sentar’; and AYq yeča ‘put, set, place, take off (clothes), awaken, get s.o. up’. Raising a > e between two palatals is natural enough. [initial C > ø in Tr] [1y,2s4,3b,3’2] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1127** Three Hebrew stems (yšb, yšg, yšf) in the hiqtiil would all have their participles beginning as mooši- like UA \*moci- ‘set, put’; Hebrew yšg, hiqtiil: hoošiig, yoošiig, ptcpl: moošiig ‘set, place’; Arabic waḏaba ‘be firm’; Hebrew yšb ‘to stand, be erect’, prtc: \*moošiib; Arabic waḏaḏa ‘lay down’; Hebrew yšf, hiqtiil prtc: **moošiif** ‘spread, make bed’:

UACV-1745 \***mociwa** ‘place pl obj’s seated’: M88-mo2 ‘be seated pl’; KH/M06-mo2 ‘be seated’: Wr moci-wi/-pó ‘estar sentados [be seated]’; Wr mocipá-ni ‘sentarse [sit down], pl sbj’; Wr mociwá-ni ‘sentarse [sit down], pl sbj’; Tr močiwa ‘objeto con que o en que depositar, colocar (como asentadas) [set seated/sitting up]’; Tr močiwi ‘sentados [seated], pl objs’; Tbr mucí/mucu ‘sentarse’. UA \*moci- followed by other affixes probably. [1y,2s4,3b,3’2] [SUA: TrC]

**1128** Hebrew rby / rabaa ‘shoot (arrow)’ did a semantic shift from ‘shoot/throw’ to ‘put’, which shift is common; it happens in UA and in Semitic (e.g. Akkadian ramu ‘throw’ and ‘lay’), and in English “he put the arrow in the bull’s eye”, and toss it there = put it there:

UACV-1743a \***tap** ‘put’: BH.Cup \*tav ‘put’; CL.Azt130 \*tlaalia ‘put, place’; M88-ta34 ‘put’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ta34 \*tapic (AMR): Cp tava ‘put down’; Ls taváni ‘put, place sg obj’; Ls tavá’a ‘sit down, pl. subj.’; Ca táv ‘put sg. obj. in place, put in order, vt’; Gb tavó ‘poner’; Sr tav(ii) ‘put sg. obj.’; Hp tavi ‘put it down, take (clothing) off’; Sr tavyi ‘put, place. This may tie to \*tapa/tapi ‘throw’, though Hp has different forms.

UACV-1743b \***tali** ‘put’: CN tlaalia; Pl taaliya; Po tali; T tlolla; Z taaliya. From \*tap-lia or \*taptia with loss of \*-p- in a cluster. [idddua] [\*-p- > ø in Azt] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Azt]

**1129** Arabic l’m / la’ama ‘bandage (wound), (garment) fit (s.o.)’; Arabic la’ma(t) ‘cuirass, pair of cuirasses [protective covering for the torso, a similar protective covering]’:

UACV-255 \***taluma** / \***talumaC** ‘blanket, garment’: CN tilma’-tli ‘cloak, blanket, indigenous man’s garment fastened on one shoulder’; Eu terúwa/teruva ‘tilma, frazada’; TO čidhum ‘blanket’; Tb(H) taluumat-t ‘breech clout’; ST tidya ‘wrap with a blanket’. In TO čidhum (< \*tilum?), the h may be excrescent devoicing (as in TO o’odham); nevertheless, TO has \*tVLum in common with Tb, and an u with Tb and CN. Tb, TO, Eu agree in five of six segments \*taluma, outside of a liquid raising a vowel in TO and Eu (\*a > ĩ, i/\_r, l, which is common in UA), an extra h in TO, and perhaps \*m > w in Eu. Note how easily CN tilma’- can derive from \*taluma’, since CN i < \*u: \*taluma’ > tul(u)ma’ > tilma’ or > \*talima’ > til(i)ma’. Tb taluuma-t may show the original vowelizing, and Tb also has two verbs that may relate— Tb tuluumiin ~ ’utuluumiin ‘to roll his blanket’ and Tb tulu’uma ~ ’utulú’uma ‘it rolls’—and the Tb form has the glottal stop in place, perhaps also contributing to the rounding. Also note the final glottal stop in CN and -t (vs. -l) in Tb, both suggesting a final consonant. Ca lami ‘to fold, wrinkle, vi’; Wr lo’mi- ‘be folded’; Tb lam’mat ‘to get soft’. [p11,p2’,p3m] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Azt, TrC]

**1130** Hebrew peger ‘corpse’, Aramaic pagr-aa ‘body-the’; Syriac pagr-aa ‘body-the, flesh-the, a carcass’: Hp pīkya ‘skin, animal hide, flesh’; Mn(Lamb) pīka ‘get a deer carcass’; Mn(Lamb) pikahnookaa ‘go to haul deer carcass’; Sh pika-ppīh ‘buckskin (of deer or antelope)’. Widespread Numic \*pīhi ‘hair, fur, hide, skin’ with softened middle C is likely a related variant and Mn has both (via dialect recycling):

**UACV-1110 \*pīkya / \*piCCa (> \*pīhī)** ‘fur, body hair’: M67-212b \*po ‘hair of the body’; 212e \*pe; 212c \*po ‘cut hair’; I.Num170 \*pīhī ‘feather, hair, fur, hide, skin’; M88-pi11 ‘fur, hide’; KH/M06-pi11: Hp pīkya ‘hide, skin’; Mn pīhī ‘skin, hide, body hair, fur, down’; NP pīhī ‘skin, hide, fur’; TSh pīhī ‘skin’; Sh pīsi ‘feather’; Cm pīhī-cahkwe’ya ‘to skin an animal’; Kw pīhī-(m)bī ‘fur, hide’; SP pī(h)ī-vi ‘fur, hide’; SP pī(h)īaa-vi ‘hair’; CU pīī-’ah ‘hide, skin’; Cp pēlki-š ‘hide, skin’; the \*-pī’a- in Ch toci-vī’a-vī ‘head-hair’; Kw toci-va’aa-vī ‘head-hair’; toci-vīaa-vi ‘head-hair’; CU tīci-vīi-vi ‘head-hair’; Cr nabih ‘piel, cuero’; and NP -bbī’a ‘bark, shell’ as well as the other NP term. Cp appears to have anticipated the liquid. [p1p,p2g,p3r] [NUA: Num, Hp]

**1131** Syriac **paḡr-aa** ‘body-the, flesh-the, a carcass’; the following has \*tī- prefixed to the \*-pīhī above: **UACV-2027 \*tīpīhī** ‘hide, skin’: I.Num249 \*tīpīhī ‘hide, skin’; M88- tī26; KH/M06-tī26: NP tīpīhī; Cm tīhbī; Sh tīpīhī; SP tīvīvī ‘skin (owned), hide’. This is often deemed a compound of ‘deer-hide’ (\*tī-pīhī). [idddua] [NUA: Num]

**1132** Hebrew **pēraʿ** ‘loosely hanging unplaited hair on the head’ (KB) ‘long hair of head, locks’ (BDB); Arabic, Assyrian, Syriac show the root to mean ‘sprout’ (of plant or hair); Assyrian pir’u ‘sprout, progeny’; Assyrian pirtu ‘hair of head’; Arabic farʿ- < \*parʿ- ‘long hair’ and Arabic farw-u < \*parw-u (nom) / parw-a (acc) ‘fur, skin, pelt’; Syriac **perʿ-aa** ‘bud, shoot, blossom-the’; the clusters in the cognate languages show that Hebrew **pēraʿ** as a segolate noun also once clustered the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants: note Hebrew construct pl: parʿoot. The Hebrew meaning ‘hair’ and the Syriac vowelings are quite identical to UA **\*pī’wa** ‘hair’:

**UACV-1110 \*pī’wa** ‘hair, hide, fur, body hair’: M67-212b \*po ‘hair of the body’; 212e \*pe; 212c \*po ‘cut hair’; L.Son207 \*pīwa ‘piel’; M88-pi11 ‘fur, hide’; KH/M06-pi11: Eu vewá-t ‘pellejo’; My beewa ‘piel, pellejo, corteza, cuero, cáscara’; Cr nya-īpéé-si ‘my cheeks’; Pl eewayu ‘skin, peel, hide, bark, shell’; CN eewa-tl ‘skin, hide, husk, rind’; Yq béa ‘skin (of animal)’; AYq beá ‘skin, shell, bark, rind’. Add Tb(H) piwii’l ‘down feathers, breast feathers’. Hp pīvīwpi ‘eyelashes’ (redupl of \*-pīw-) may also belong, in contrast to the above Hp pīkya ‘hide, skin’. Where the raising and fronting of the vowel anticipating the r is more like Sem-kw, while no such r-effect is in Sem-p. [p1p,2r,3’2] [NUA: Tb; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1133** Syriac **baʿw-aa** ‘camel hair-the’; that is, hair, fur, or hide of an animal; as Arabic baʿiir ‘camel’ takes Semitic baʿiir ‘livestock, any domestic animal’ and limits it to camel, Syriac baʿw-aa similarly reduces the semantics to a camel, though easily extendable, if not originally, hide of any animal’:

**UACV-1109 \*po’wa / \*poCwa** ‘hair, fur, hide, skin’: Sapir; VVH7 \*po ‘body hair, fur’; B.Tep280 \*vopo ‘body hair’; M67-212b \*po; I.Num149 \*po’a(a) ‘cover, skin, bark’; BH.Cup \*pe’; L.Son216 \*powa ‘pelo, lana’; KH.NUA; M88-po2 ‘body hair, fur, skin’; KH/M06-po2: TSh po’a-cci ‘bark’; Sh po’an ‘skin, bark’; Cm po’a ‘cover, bark, skin’; Tb poont ‘hide, body hair, fur’; Cp pi’i ‘down, body hair, non-flight feathers’; Ca pīi-ly, pīh’i ‘body hair, fur, down’; Ls pé’ ‘feathers, fur, body hair’; Gb péhan ‘beard, body hair, down’; Sr pōh ‘fur, body hair, feathers’; Ktn poho-c ‘body hair, feathers, fur’; Hp pōhō ‘fur, body hair, body fethers, down, fuzz’; TO wopo ‘body hair, fur’; Wr po’á ‘lana’; Wr(MM) po’wá / po’owá / po’á / poa ‘vello [down, fur]’; Tr bo’wá / boa / bo’o / bó ‘vello, lana’; My bowwa ‘lana, pelo’; Yq bóa ‘pelo, plumas’; AYq voa ‘fur, down, body hair’; Tbr womé-t / womó-r / womá-r ‘lana, pelo’; Cr hú’u-ša’a ‘peach fuzz on body’; Sapir lists Cr ki-poa ‘hair’. The variety in Tb -n-, Num -’-, Gb, Sr, Ktn, Hp -h-, and Wr, My, Tr -’w- recommend a cluster that may contain a liquid (Tb) and/or glottal stop, or other possible combinations. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1134** Aramaic(J) tiklaa ‘purple-blue wool’; Syriac tiklātaa ‘dark blue, violet, purple’; Hebrew təkēlet ‘a blueish or violet-colored purple wool’:

**UACV-1777 \*tī’kaC** ‘red pigment, clay’: Ls tó’xa-t ‘red clay’; Cp te’xa-t ‘red paint’. For a liquid to be anticipated and then become glottal stop, see gml (938), etc. [1t,2k,3l] [NUA: Tak]

**1135** Hebrew **qaaneh** ‘reed, stalk’; Aramaic and Syriac qanyaa ‘reed, stalk’:

**UACV-1778 \*pa-kaN** ‘reed, phragmites’: Sapir; VVH8 \*paṣka ‘reed’; M67-344 \*paka ‘reed’; I.Num135 \*pakaN ‘arrow, cane’; L.Son185 \*paka ‘carrizo’; CL.Azt133 \*aaka ‘reed’; Fowler 1983; M88-pa18 ‘cane, arrow’; Munro.Cup97 \*páaxa-l; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa18: Mn paqa ‘arrow’; TSh pakan ‘arrow’; Sh pakan ‘arrow’; Cm paak/paka ‘arrow’; Kw paga-bī ‘carrizo grass, common reed’; SP paḡaN-, paḡampi ‘cane’; Tb pahaabil / paha’bīl ‘sugar cane plant’; Cp páxa-l ‘arrowreed’; Ca páxal ‘common reed, phragmites communis’; Ls páx-ma-l ‘type of greens’; Gb páxo-t ‘knife, pito de hueso’; Sr paaqa-ṭ; Ktn paka-č; Hp paaqavi ‘reed, phragmites australis’; TO waapka ‘bamboo, cane, reed’; PYp va’agar ‘any kind of cane or reed’; PYp vapaka ‘reed’; ST vaapak; Wr paká ‘carrizo’; Tr paká; Yq báka; My baákam; Tbr waká-t, wakó-t ‘carrizo, flecha’; Cr haká; Wc háka ‘a grass for arrows’; CN aaka-tl. This stem is found in every branch, almost every language; semantically it appears to have originally meant ‘reed’ (apparently used for arrows), then ‘arrow’ in the Numic languages. Only Numic shows the nasal N. [\*p > h in CrC; Tb h < -k/ḡk-; bilabial > ø/\_C] [Sem-p: Tb h < q; no ḡ in Tak] [1q,2n] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1136** Hebrew 'ébeh 'reed, papyrus'; Arabic 'abaa'; Akkadian abu / apu 'reed, papyrus':

UACV-1781 \*wapi 'foxtail': BH \*wávic 'foxtail'; M88-wa20; Munro.Cup48 \*wáavi-š 'foxtail (plant)'; KH/M06-wa20:

Ls wáavi-š; Cp wávi-š; Ca wáavi-š. [p1',2b] [NUA: Tak]

UACV-1785 \*owa / \*oha 'caña verde': Dakin 1982-63: Tr owé 'maguey de hebra'; Wc úha 'caña';

CN owa-tl 'stalk of corn, cane, green stalk'; Pl uuwa-t 'cane'. Cm owóora 'tree trunk' at \*wo'ota 'stalk' may tempt a tie therewith, but let's not, though not beyond possibility. Yes, \*-b- > -w- in TrC. [SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1137** Hebrew góme(ʿ) 'papyrus' or Hebrew qaamaa 'standing grain':

UACV-1786 \*oma 'reed': Eu omá 'caña [cane]'; Wr omá 'sugar cane, the large variety that grows at lower elevations, from which panocha and mescal are made'. [Sem-kw] [1g,2m,3'] [SUA: TrC]

**1138** Hebrew šor 'navel, navel cord'; Arabic surr 'navel cord' > Sr šuur 'navel':

**1139** Hebrew ro'eh 'seer', that is, one who sees visions, from the verb r'y / ra'aa 'see':

UACV-1798 \*tī'a 'have a vision or supernatural power': M67-424; M88-tī40 'supernatural'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-tī40:

Sr tī'ain 'be bewitched, have a supernatural vision'; Ca té'ayawa 'power'; Hp tīi'aw-ta 'have a vision, have a mystical experience of seeing s.th. extrasensory in nature or of de ja vu'. Miller includes Ls tówi 'see supernaturally'; Ls shows medial w, while Sr, Ca, and Hp agree exactly in the first four segments \*tī'a. This (\*tī'a) may be of Sem-kw, wherein ' > ', vs the set below (\*tīwi) of Sem-p, wherein ' > w. [1r,2'] [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**1140** Hebrew ro'eh 'seer', that is, one who sees visions, from the verb r'y / ra'aa 'see':

UACV-1799 \*tīwi 'deity, spirit, seer of supernatural means': Munro.Cup34 \*təwi-š 'deity/spirit'; KH/M06-tī40:

Ls tówi-š 'spirit, ghost, devil'; Ls tówi 'see by second sight, be clairvoyant'; Cp təwi-š 'a deity'; Ca tētiwi-š 'dreamer' a reduplicated form of expected Ca tēwi-š, notes Munro; Sr tīit 'devil, evil spirit'. [NUA: Tak]

**1141** Hebrew ḥool 'sand'; Aramaic ḥaal-aa; Aramaic(S) pl: haalaat-aa 'sand, sandy area':

UACV-1868 \*(h)ola (Tep) / \*otta (Num) 'sand': Sapir; B.Tep326a \*'oo'orai 'sand'; M67-355: TO o'od 'sand';

NT óorai 'sand'. Though Semitic is masc, the Aramaic pl looks fem, and if later perceived as fem, the ḥooltaa would result, like Ch otá-vī and WMU tá-vī 'sand', which lost the first syllable, as it occasionally does. In fact, Sapir ties Tep and SP atta 'sand', assimilating from \*otta, which \*otta is what we find in Ch. Sapir cites SP taṇa 'knee' < \*toṇa as a parallel example of that vowel change. Note also B.Tep326b \*'oo'ia 'sand', a compound of \*hora and \*siwa. [V change] [1h2,2l] [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

**1142** Aramaic blṭ / ballet, impfv yV-ballet (see all conjugations and dialects) 'shut eyes, be worm-eaten, moth-eaten, rot':

UACV-1848 \*yīpali 'rotten': B.Tep31 \*dīvariga 'rotten'; M88-yī13; KH/M06-yī13: TO jewa; UP jīwaligī; PB dīvilgī;

NT(B) dīvāliga 'rotten'; NT dīvāáli/duvāáli 'pudrido'; NT dīvāárii 'pudrir, vi'; ST dyīvaalyi'.

Add PYP devlim/dever 'rot, vi'; PYP develik 'rotten, adj'. [liquid] [1y,2b,3l,4t2] [SUA: Tep]

**1143** Arabic pasada, impfv ya-psudu 'become bad, rotten, decayed, putrid, spoiled':

UACV-1852 \*sora 'rot, go to waste, throw away': Tr sorá-ta 'podrirse'; Eu nasór-tu'u 'echarse a perder';

Eu nasór-ta'a 'echar a perder'; Eu nanásora 'componer'; My nasontu 'descomponerse'; AYq nasonte 'harm, ruin, spoil, break down, vt'; AYq nasonti 'ruined, blotched, vi'; AYq nasontu 'wear down, break down, vi'; Yq nasonta 'descomponer, vt'; Yq nasonte/nasontu 'descomponerse, vi'. [l > n in SUA] [1p,2s,3d] [SUA: TrC]

**1144** Hebrew 'almaanaa 'widow' built on the verb reflected by Arabic 'alima 'to experience grief'; related but less relevant are Hebrew 'lm 'be dumb/silent'; Hebrew 'elem 'silence':

UACV-1863 \*o'mana 'sad, suffering': CN a'mana 'be unsettled, upset, disturbed' (RJC); Tr o'moná /

o'móna-ma 'be afflicted, saddened'; Tr o'móna-ri 'sadness, affliction'; the -uṇani- portion of Sr ahaṇanik 'sad, miserable'; Sr hahaṇan 'be poor, pathetic, miserable'; Sr haṇani-č 'poor one, orphan'; Ktn haṇa 'poor'. Words as long as the Sr forms must be compounds, and -oṇani- parallels \*o'mana/i. We seem to be dealing with a cluster, which appears as -'m- in CN and Tr; in addition, the Tr and CN forms agree in the consonants -'m-n-, but disagree in the vowels: a-a-a vs. o-o-a, while the Sr and Ktn vowels -o-a-i are between the two, CN and Tr each assimilating one vowel, in opposite directions. [\*-'m- > -ṇ-; V assim] [1',2l,3m,4n] [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**1145** Hebrew šadooq 'just, righteous' (BDB) from šdq 'to be in the right, be just, righteous':

UACV-1864 \*sitoka / \*siroka 'be sad, suffer': My siróka 'está triste [is sad]'; My sirókwame 'tristeza

[sadness]'; Yq sioka 'sufrir [suffer], estar triste'; AYq sioka 'be lonely, vi'; AYq sioktua 'hurt, make sad, vt'.

The Semantic tie, not perfect, but likely in that the righteous patiently bear burdens stoically (sadly) or without vengeance.

[1s4,2d,3q] [iddduaa] [SUA: TrC]

**1146** Aramaic(J) tkk ‘to squeeze, press (between), twist, twine’; Aramaic tek / tikk-aa ‘twisted cord, ring, chain’; this set has the Egyptian pronoun -pu ‘it is’ suffixed to \*tikka: \*tikk-aa-pu ‘cord-the-it is’ (see 122) UACV-1845 \*tikapu ‘rope, thread’: Mn tīgápo ‘rope’; NP tīgapu ‘rope’. [1t,2kk] [NUA: WNum]

**1147** Hebrew n’q ‘to groan’; na’aqat/na’<sup>a</sup>qat ‘groan, n’; ‘groan/mutter’ > ‘speak’ is not a big semantic shift: UACV-1869 \*ni’oka ‘speak’: M88-na4 and M88-ni1; L.Son173 \*nio ‘hablar’; B.Tep170 \*niokai-i ‘to talk’, \*nio ‘he talked’, and B.Tep171 \*ni’oka-i ‘word’; KH/M06-ni1: TO neok(i) ‘talk’; UP ñioki; LP nook; NT ñíóókai ‘habla’; NT ñíóóki ‘palabra, voz, mensaje, idioma, cosa’; ST ñioki; Tbr nyoka; Tr ne’ó-; Tr ne’oge/ne’oke/ne’ogí ‘word, language’; Yq nóoka ‘hablar’; Yq nóki ‘palabra’; My nóoka; Wc niuka; Cr niuka-ri ‘word, language’; Cr nyúukari ‘talk’. Ken Hill adds Hp nī’ok-ti ‘become benevolent, compassionate’. Also add Op niwa-t ‘word’ (Shaul 2007). [diphthongs > V; ’ > ø in Tep; NUA u : SUA o] [idddua] [1n,2ww,3k,4h2] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1148** Aramaic(J) tanni’ ‘relate, tell’; Syriac təna’ ‘tell, narrate’; Syriac tanni’ ‘tell, say’:

UACV-1877b \*tīni / \*tīNV: M88-tī17; KH/M06- tī17: TSh tīniḡwa ‘teach’; Kw tīniya ‘tell’; SP tīnnia ‘tell’; Tb tīḡḡinat ‘ask for’; Hp tīḡla’y-ta ‘ask for, hope, desire’; Pl teeneewa ‘speak against, criticize’. Add WMU tūnniya-y / tūnniye-y ‘tell (of story-teller)’; Kw tūniya; Ch tūniá; and CU tūniyæy. NP tīḡī ‘tell to’ may better belong here than with M88-tī18. Perhaps Sr täänön ‘speak to, say (something) to’. [1t,2nn] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Azt]

**1149** Hebrew impfv -diiṣ or more fully (yo/to/no)-diiṣ ‘inform, tell’ causative impfv of ydṣ ‘to know’, prfv hodaṣ- / hodiiṣ; yoodiiṣ ‘he says’, toodiiṣ ‘she says’, noodiiṣ ‘we say’; so the invariable stems are -diiṣ / -daṣ:

UACV-1878a \*tīwa / \*ta(hV)wa ‘say, advise’: My tééwa ‘dicen, cuotativo’; Yq téuwa ‘decir, hablar’; AYq tauhia ‘say to’; AYq tehwa ‘inform, show, tell, explain’; Pl ilwia ‘say, tell’ (also at \*tu’i below). UACV-1878b \*(i)tawa ‘tell’: CN i’tawa ‘tell’; CN i’toaa ‘speak up’; CN tla’toaa ‘speak’; Mn itawa ‘tell, inform, instruct’; NP yatua ‘talk’; NT áá táágai ‘platicar’. [1y,2d,3’2] [SUA: TrC, Tep, Azt; NUA: Num]

**1150** Hebrew impfv -diiṣ in (yo/to/no)-diiṣ ‘inform, tell’ causative of ydṣ ‘to know’, prfv hodaṣ- / hodiiṣ; Aramaic iidaṣ / yadaṣ; UA \*tīwi shows only 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Cs, as -diiṣ / -daṣ, the prominent ones of the stem: UACV-1275 \*tīwi ‘learn’: Hp tīwi / tīwi-ta ‘gain practical knowledge, learn, become familiar with, experience’; NT tīḡḡidi ‘enseñar [teach], entregar [hand over]’. The two match through four segments \*tīwi. In light of occasional ’/w alignments, note Yq ta’a ‘learn, know’, perhaps of Sem-kw. CN itawi ‘be talked about, acquire renown’; CN itoa ‘say s.th.’ [1y,2d,3’2] [SUA: Tep, TrC; NUA: Hp]

**1151** Syriac pakken ‘to jaw, gabble’; Syriac **etpakkan** ‘be insolent, abuse, gabble’; Syriac(S) pakkaanaa ‘garrulous, gossipy’; Syriac(S) pakken ‘speak much, chatter’; note Tb shows -n-, the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant:

UACV-1879 \*anpaka-y ‘talk’: Kw ’abigi ‘talk’; Kw nipaka ‘talk to’; Ch ampága- ‘talk/speak’; SP ampa-ḡa-; WMU appága-y ‘speak, talk’; CU ’apáḡay ‘talk, speak’; Tb pahkaani~pahkaan ‘to speak’; Tb(H) pahkannit, pfv appahkann ‘to speak, speak Tubatulabl’. Note that Tb has the 3<sup>rd</sup> C. [V assim in Kw] [1p,2kk,3n] [NUA: SNum, Tb]

**1152** Aramaic šḡḥ ‘to look, to care for, mind’:

UACV-1911 \*(i)soko ‘look’: Hp(S) soh ‘look here!’ and Wr isógo ‘look!’ [1s1,2g,3h2] [NUA: Hp; SUA: TrC]

**1153** Aramaic(CAL) ’bhl / ’bhwl ‘fruit or seed of mtn cypress’

UACV-1921 \*paha(i) ‘seed’: Sh(C) pahai / pahe /pehe ‘seed’; Sh paihai ‘seed, pit’; TSh pehe(cci) ‘seed, pit’; Cm pehe ‘seed’. [1’,2b,3h,4l] [NUA: CNum]

**1154** Hebrew ksy ‘cover’; Hebrew kissaa / kissii- ‘cover’

UACV-1923 \*kis / \*kiCsi ‘shade’: Hp kihsi/kiisi ‘shade, field hut, s.th. that makes shade’; Ca kís-iš ‘shade’; Cp kisi-š ‘shade’; Cp kisiyka ‘to the shade’. What of the -kayc of Ktn tikwakayc ‘shade house, where people live in summer’. [1k,2s3,3y] [idddua] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**1155** Arabic hazza ‘to shake (s.th.), swing, brandish, wave, rock’; as UA \*-c- > -y- in NUA, these align:

UACV-1925 \*hīya ‘rock, shake, swing’: M88-hī9; KH.NUA; KH/M06-hī9: Gb hoyó’o ‘manéalo [shake it]’; Sr hīyī ‘shake s.th.’; Ktn hīyik ‘swing, v’; Ls hóóya/i ‘rock (as rocking chair)vi, blow (of wind), vt’. [1h,2zz] [NUA: Tak]

**1156** Hebrew ḥrk ‘set in motion’ (BDB); Arabic ḥrk / ḥaruka ‘move, be agitated’; Arabic ḥrk II, ḥarraka ‘to move, set in motion, stir’:

UACV-1926 \*huyuka ‘move’: M67-296: Hp hoyo(k-) ‘move, change position, grow (taller)’, pl: hoyokya; Tb ’ooyooḡat ~ ’ooyook ‘he is moving’; Tb(H) ’ooyookat ‘to move, vi’, pfv ’ooyook; TO uluḡi / uluḡid ‘to rock (a baby or s.th.)’. Hp o < \*u; and Tb shows 3<sup>rd</sup> C k- clearly and probably lowered u > o due to a.

### 1157 Syriac haakeel ‘now’:

UACV-2352b \***ai-pi** 'now': Sapir; M88-i19 (one item); KH/M06-i19: Kw 'iivi 'now, today, be new'; Ch ai-vi 'today, now'; SP ai-vi 'now'; WMU aa-v / aavuru 'now, today, adv'; CU 'aa-vi 'now'. Add Wr(MM) ehe 'ahorita [right now]'; Wr(MM) ehe-pá 'ahorita'; the latter aligns with Tepiman \*iipa, as Wr intervocalic -h- would disappear > ø in Tepiman; thus, TrC ehepa = Tep iipi is a good correspondence. The shortness of 2 vowels makes this a weaker claim, though initial h- and final -l are easily lost, and medial -k- > -h-/-ø- is common, and the two vowels are exactly as expected after loss of the easily lost consonants, so it is a good match.

UACV-2352c \*(**h**)i(C)**pi** 'also, more, again, now': B.Tep335 \*'ipi 'also'; M88-i5 'now'; KH/M06i5: Tb 'imbī 'more, again'; TO iip 'again, also, more'; UP 'iipi; LP 'iip; NT iipi; ST 'ip; Wr ehpío 'now'; Tr hí-pe 'now'. Add Hp pi' 'today, now'. [1h,2k,3l] [NUA: SNum, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**1158** Hebrew yoošbim 'sit, pl'; this is of Sem-kw with clustered b > kw, and note that both the Semitic and the UA are plural forms:

UACV-2009 \***yukkwi** 'sit, pl': I.Num297 \*yikwi/\*yihkwi (dur.) sit, pl.; M88-yi8; KH/M06- yi8: Mn yikwi 'sit, pl. subj, vi'; NP yikwi 'sit, pl'; TSh yikwi 'sit, pl'; Sh yikwiC 'sit, pl'; Cm yikwi 'sit down, pl'; Kw yugwi 'live, sit, stay, pl'; SP yukwi 'sit, pl'; Ch yiwi 'sit, pl'; CU yukwi 'be sitting, sit'. SNum shows u, while CNum and WNum show i; one could go with the majority, except that the vowel change \*u > i is so common in Num, that \*yukkwi is a better choice. [\*-kkw- > -w- in Ch] [1y,2s1,3b] [NUA: Num]

**1159** Hebrew t̥bl 'dip s.th. into' (quttal: t̥bball), less likely t̥bʃ sink down (quttal or hoqtal f. pfv)

UACV-1993 \***cuppa** 'sink, submerge, dip': Mn cupa 'sink into'; NP copa (< \*coppa) 'sink, v'; NP patacopa (< \*pattacoppa) 'sink (island or boat), v'; Ca čúpi 'dip in water, vi'; Ca čúpi-n 'dip, soak, dye, vt'; Ca čúpaq 'stick in (mud, body)'. [u/o] [p-1t2,2b,3l] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

UACV-1995 \*(**ho**)-**top** 'sink': L.Son23 \*oto 'atascarse'; M88-'o21; KH/M06-'o21: Eu hotóe- 'haber lodo, atascar'; Op oto-wa; Tr tobu 'encajar, hundir'; Tr toba 'hundirse en el lodo'. Add Yq rópte 'sumirse en el agua'; My rópte 'se sumergió'; AYq ropte 'sink, submerge, drown'. If \*t > c preceding a high vowel, is \*cuppa above related? [1t2,2b,3l] [SUA: TrC]

**1160** Hebrew ynq 'to suck', impfv: yiinaq; Syriac(S) **yaanq-aa** 'nursing child-the'; the q is anticipated:

UACV-2048 \***yī'na** 'smoke tobacco, smoke by sucking': Sapir; B.Tep34 \*dīnti-i 'to smoke'; M67-394 \*yena 'smoke tobacco'; L.Son357 \*yīna 'fumar'; M88-yi3 'smoke tobacco'; KH/M06- yi3: Yq yena 'to smoke cigar, etc'; My yena; TO jīni; UP dīni; LP dīni; NT dīni; ST dīni; Wr ye'ni; Cr ra-yāahna 'he is smoking'; Wc yená 'fumar'. To these, add Eu déina 'chupar tabaco' and Sapir's inclusion of Simeon's entry: CN ye-tl 'humo odorifero, perfume, tabaco, planta medicinal ...'; Nv dīni / dīdina 'chupar piciete'. [1y,2n,3q] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1161** Hebrew qippaa'oon 'sharp frost' (< qp 'to congeal, become rigid')

UACV-2074 \***kīpa** 'snow, ice': B.Tep135 \*kīvai 'ice, snow' (LP gīwī); M67-400 \*kepa 'snow'; L.Son83 \*kīpa 'nieve'; M88-kī1 'snow'; KH/M06-kī1: Tr gepá/kepá-(mea) n-(v); Wr kepá; v: keba-ní; Tbr kewá-t; v: kewá; Wc 'iivi 'snow, ice' (lost initial k-); TO gīw; UP gīwī; Nv kība; PYP keva; NT kīvai; ST kīv 'ice'. Note the voiced g in both TO and Tr, rather than voiceless k as in other languages. A ST form also shows the voiced variant: ST gīvka' 'freeze (animate subj) vs. ST kīvaiña' 'freeze (plants)'. [1q,2p,3'] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1162** Hebrew ʕaṭiṣaa 'sneeze, n.f.'; Middle Hebrew and Aramaic(J) ʕṭš 'to sneeze';

Arabic ʕaṭasa, -ʕṭisu / -ʕṭusu 'to sneeze'; the UA form derives from the noun ʕaṭiṣaa or ha-ʕaṭiṣaa:

Mn	hakwīsa'i	Hp	ahsi; niha	Eu	hačiswa
NP	akwīsa'i; sidī'hu	Tb	(ʕ)hattiṣah(at)	Tbr	--
TSh	ukkwisai	Sr	ha'tisk	AYq	ha'ačihte
Sh	akkwihsic	Ca	há'tis	My	he'ečihte
Cm	aakwīsiti; ca'akusiti	Ls	hatís(a)	Wr	a'túsa-ni
Kw	ha'wiši	Cp	atíse	Tr	atíso(wa); atisi
Ch	haw'isi	TO	bisčk	Cr	he'eciupua
SP	a'ṅwišši	Nv	vistku	Wc	--
WMU	wi'isiu, wi'isio	PYP	bisca		
CU	--	NT	bīštīkyi	CN	eukšoaa; i'kwišoaa;
		ST	bīščkia		iukšoaa

UACV-2071a \***ha't(w)isa** (> \***ha'(N)kwisa**) 'sneeze, vi': M67-396 \*hatis 'sneeze'; L.Son54 \*hatisa 'estornudar'; KH.NUA: M88-ha5 'to sneeze'; KH/M06-ha5: Tb ha'dišt 'sneeze, n. (cognate? Miller queries; definitely, yes); Cp; Ca; Ls; Sr; Eu; Tbr. Ken Hill adds Gb hačeu'ax 'he is sneezing'. Add Ktn ha'ci'hik 'sneeze, vi'. Miller includes Pl



ahkweečiwi 'sneeze' with a question mark. I say likely, as -'t- or other clusters of -Ct- > -kw- as AMR (1991d, 1993a) brilliantly demonstrated for \*tw > kw. But for clarity, I separate below. Add Cah (AYq, My) \*ha'acih-te (< \*ha'atis-tī); for UA \*s > My h as initial C in a cluster, cf. sneeze and sit. probably Hp àasi 'sneeze'; Hp(S) ahsi 'sneeze'. The Num forms at M88-ha5 show a different medial consonant, agreeing with Tep b and CN kw in contrast to TrC with -c- < \*-Ct-. [\*-'t- > -c-]

UACV-2071b \*ha'kwisa'i 'sneeze': Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; Ch; SP; CN i'kwišoaa. WMU wi'ísiu, wi'ísiu lost the first syllable and shows a nasal like SP does.

UACV-2071c \*kwic... 'sneeze': TO; Nv; PYP; NT; ST. Tep b < kw [kw1'2,2t2,3s1]

[NUA: Tb, Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: TrC, CrC, Tep, Azt]

**1163** Syriac qəpa 'collect, gather in heaps, congeal, **swim on the surface**'; western variant is qap (qpp); Mandaic Aramaic qəpa 'swim, **float** on the surface, assemble in a bunch'; Aramaic(CAL) qpy 'to coagulate, to **float**'; Aramaic(CAL) qpy' / qpee / qipy-aa 'floating stuff, n.m.':

UA \*qoppV 'mark/stripe, float': Ca qípi / qíipi 'be marked (of line), **float** (as fish, bird)'; Cp qípe 'be striped'. The preceding are solid, but less secure are forms which cluster -p' > -w-, like Hebrew pl: qaap'uu, or fem pfv: qap'a may underlie Tak \*qawa: Syriac eqattal form means 'be dispersed as a cloud' and note Ls qawa 'clear of weather' (< \*qap'a?)

The next two show the cluster -ħr- > -'w- as r > ' in a cluster and then glottal stops are often anticipated: \*-ħr- > -w' > -'w-.

**1164** Arabic šħr XI 'dry up, become yellow'; at 2606b is CN -sawiya, a good reflection of the three consonants, while the liquid appears in 2606a:

UACV-2606a \*sawari / \*sa'wa 'yellow': M67-478 \*sawa; L.Son234 \*sawa; M88-sa5; KH/M03-sa5: Wr sa'wató-ni; Wr sa'wamúriwa-ni; Tr sawaróame; My sawali/sawari; Yq sawái 'yellow'; Eu sávei / sábe / sáwe. Could these tie to Num \*sa(k)wa 'green' as Wr sa'wa- may suggest?

UACV-2606b \*kosawa / \*kosawiya 'yellow': CN kosawiya 'to turn yellow'; CN kostik 's.th. yellow'; and perhaps Tbr kísara-ka-r 'amarillo' and Yq huusái. These TrC (a) and Azt (b) forms are likely related, for CN ko-, as a prefix, precedes other color terms, and the two sets otherwise match well. In fact, except for an initial k and a metathesis (s-w vs. w-s), Ch owásia-ka 'yellow' and CN kosawiya 'turn yellow' have much in common—(k)osawi(y)a and owasi(y)a—seven segments, no less. If an archaic compound does underlie their substantial sequence of similarities, then the TrC \*sa'wa forms, the Num \*ohaC forms, and CN kosawiya and Tbr kísara-ka-r may all be related. [p1s4,p2h2,p3r] [NUA: Num; SUA: TrWr, Cah, Opn, Azt]

**1165** Arabic baħr- 'sea, large river', that is, water vs. land; Arabic baħra(t) 'pond, pool';

UACV-2497 \*pa / \*pa'wi 'water': Sapir; VVH123 \*pa 'water'; M67-455a \*pa 'water', \*pa-cak 'wet'; I.Num127 \*paa / \*pa-(pref) 'water'; BH.Cup \*pa 'drink', \*pala 'water'; L.Son180 \*pa; M88-pa7 'water'; B.Tep252 \*vaagi 'wet'; Munro.Cup \*páa-la; KH/M06-pa7: A pan-UA etymon; NP baa'a; Ca pá-l; -paw'a (poss'd); AYq vaa'am 'water'; AYq vaawe 'ocean'; Yq báa'a; My baá'a(m); Ls páa-la; Wr pa'wí; Tr ba'wi / ba'we / ba'; My báa'a; Tr ba'wí 'agua, jugo, caldo, líquido'; Wr pa'wí; Hp paahī; Gb par; Sr paat; Ktn pa-č; cf. also M88-pa8 'ocean': Wr pa'wé 'mar'; My báawe 'mar'. We might wonder about scarce rounding for the pharyngeal. First, a common word like 'water' said frequently could be established as initial CV / pa early on; second, some languages do show pharyngeal effect: Sr paa<sup>1</sup>van 'wet, add water to, thin (e.g. soup) by adding water' is a compound \*paa-pan and interestingly exhibits the raised r, meaning pharyngeal/retroflex, which Ken Hill (2011) says reflects rounding, which reflects the pharyngeal of Semitic baħr. Other Sr compounds also do so. Note also the -hī of Hopi paahī, which -hī is thought to be a rare absolutive suffix, but could it simply be what is often dropped, as paahī < \*baħr? Note also the Ca possessed form -paw'a and Kw po'o. Note also Numic \*paNkicu 'fish' (\*kicu 'fish') whose water morpheme shows nasalization, which both the pharyngeal and the nasal would reflect in Numic (366) and Ls. Additional forms: Mn páya; payawi 'be water'; TSh paa(cci); Sh paa; Cm paa/pai; Kw pa, paa-po'o, po'o 'water, spring'; Ch páa; SP paa; WMU paa; CU páa; Tb paa-l; Cp pál; paw; Sr paat; Eu bat/báat; Tbr va-tá / ba-tá / wó-ta; TO wa'ig 'get water'; Nv vaigi 'traer agua'; Nv vagi murha 'fetch water'; PYP va'igim 'get water'; NT váigii 'fetch water'; ST vaiñdya/vaigiñ 'get water for s.o.'; vai'gia 'get water'; Cr hah; Wc háa; CN aa-tl. Though the Tepiman word for water (\*sudagi < \*cuyawi) is different than most of UA (\*pa), note that reflexes for UA \*pa are found in Tep forms of 'fetch water' (Bascom: \*va'igii), 'wet', and 'wash'. Several forms suggest rounding late in the word (Kw, Ca, Cp, Tr, Wr, which Miller and Hill put in a separate set M88 and KH/M08-pa8) and many show a glottal stop (NP, Kw, PYP, Yq, My, Wr, Tr) in three branches, no less; and some show both glottal stop and rounding (Kw, Ca, Tr, Wr). Some languages show w in the possessed forms of 'water': Ca -paw'a; Cp -paw; Ls -paaw; and a couple of them with -n: Gb -panen (par) 'water'; Tb -paan (paal) 'water'. Some Uto-Aztecanists consider TrC -wV a separate morpheme, perhaps \*-wī 'big'. [\*p > ø in CN] [p1b,2h2,3r] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb,Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

Some explanatory discussion may be helpful for the next item. Semitic peoples generally established their cardinal directions by facing east, toward the rising sun, such that ‘forward’ is ‘east’, and ‘right’ is ‘south’ (e.g., Yemen is in the south of Saudi Arabia from Semitic ymn ‘right’), and ‘left’ is ‘north’; in contrast, the Egyptians faced south, toward their life source the head of the Nile River; so ‘front’ was ‘south’, and ‘left’ was ‘east’, and ‘right’ was ‘west’; in fact, Egyptian uses the same root *imn* for right, but in Egyptian it means ‘west’ as we see at 466 (Egyptian *t’-imnti* ‘the west’; Egyptian *imntiw* ‘the west-people’ > Sr *tīmīnimnu’ṭ* ‘one(s) from the west’); the next item is from Semitic and from the word for ‘forward/east’:

**1166** Hebrew *qedem* / *qedem* ‘in front, east’; Hebrew *qidmaa* ‘(toward the) east of’:

UACV-2102 \***kitam** ‘south, east’: BH.Cup \**kīcam* ‘south’; HH.Cup \**kīčam* ‘south’; M88-ki6 ‘south’; KH/M06-ki6: Ktn *kītamik* ‘toward the east’; Cp *kičām*; Ca *kīčam-ka* ‘southward’; Ls *kīča-mi-k*, *kīča-nuk* ‘southward’; Gb *kitāme(k)* ‘south’. Sem-p with i between q and d, as d > l in neck if Sem-p. [\*-t- > -c-] [1q,2d,3m] [NUA: Tak]

**1167** Aramaic(S) **pəraḥ** ‘to fly, depart, flutter’; Aramaic(J) **pəraḥ** ‘to bloom, move swiftly, fly, swim, run’; Syriac(S) **pəraḥ** ‘to fly, spread’; Syriac(P) **pəraḥ** ‘to fly, flee, float, crawl, spread (as sore, rumor)’; Aramaic(J) **pəraḥ** ‘flower, n.m.’; Arabic and Akkadian *prx*; Hebrew **pəraḥ** ‘blossom, n.m.’:

UACV-864 \***piyaw** ‘feather, to fly’: Hp *pīyaw/pīyāl-* ‘fly, v’ and the -widag portion of TO *mačwidag* ‘wing feather, ritual feather’ show 4 of 5 segments agreeing with \**piyaw*, only a slight discrepancy in the one vowel (i/i). PYp *vereg* ‘buzz, drone, v’ also belongs, though the 2<sup>nd</sup> V assimilated to the first.

CN *i’wi-tl* ‘feather, down’, poss’ed forms: *i’wiu’* / *i’wiyo* ‘feather, down’ with loss of \*p: \**piyaw* > \**iyawi* (loss of Azt p) > *i’wi*. Sem-kw in \**x/h* > w (not k) and -r- > -y-. [p:1p,2r,3h2] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]

**1168** Aramaic(J) **pətaa’aa** ‘width; wide, open place’; Aramaic(J) **pətaawaa** ‘enlargement, open place’; Syriac **pəta’** ‘be enlarged, increased, wide, broad’; Syriac **patwaa** ‘largeness’:

UACV-205 \***patawa** ‘wide’: CL.Azt192 *patla(awa)-k* ‘wide’: CN *patlaawak* ‘wide’; CN *patlaawa* ‘widen’; Po *patek*; T *patlowak*; Z *pataawak*; Pl *pataawak*. Consider also Tb *pīšwabīl* ‘enormous’ with a hyperpalatalization. See 812 for another item from this root. [p:1p,2t,3’] [SUA: Azt; NUA: Tb]

**1169** Hebrew **ptḥ** / **paataḥ** ‘to open, open up’; Arabic **fataḥa** (< \***ptḥ**) ‘to open’; Aramaic **pətaḥ** ‘open’:

UACV-1578 \***pitīwa** ‘open, uncover’: Stubbs2003-29: Tb *peleew~’epeleew* ‘open it up’; Hp *pīri-k-na* ‘unfold, open up, unwrap, vt’; Eu *périna* ‘abrir (la mano or un libro)’; CN *petlaawa* ‘disrobe, undress, uncover, polish s.th.’; Pl *peelua* ‘abrir, vt’; Pl *ta-pelua* ‘abrir, vt’. [1p,2t,3h2] [NUA: Tb, Hp; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**1170** Hebrew **ha-ruuḥ** ‘spirit’; Arabic **riih** ‘wind, smell, odor’; Arabic **ruuḥ** ‘soul, spirit’:

UACV-2117 \***arewa** ‘spirit’: Tr *arewá* ‘alma [spirit, soul]’; Wr *arewá* ‘spirit, soul’. [1r,2y,3h2] [SUA: TrC]

**1171** Hebrew **roq** ‘spittle’; Aramaic(S) **rqq** ‘to spit’; Aramaic(J) **rwq** / **rqq** ‘spit, v’; Aramaic(J) **ruqq-aa** ‘spittle-the’; Syriac **raq**, impfv: -*ruuq* ‘to spit, v’; Syriac **rauq-aa** ‘saliva, spittle-the’; Hebrew **raqqa b-**, impfv: **yiroq b-** ‘spit on’:

UACV-2122a \***cukV** ‘spit, v’: Ca *čú’an*; Ls *čúxi*; Cp *čúxe*; Ktn *tohvík* / *toqovík* / *tohəvək* ‘spit on/up, vt’. Of the three Ktn forms, the 2<sup>nd</sup> shows 2<sup>nd</sup> C as \*-k-, which lenited to -h- in the others. In Ls/Cp, \*-k- (> -x-).

**1172** Hebrew **gəbuuraa** ‘strength’; Aramaic(S) **gbr** ‘prevail, excel, be strong’; Aramaic(S) **gubar** ‘man’; Arabic \***gbr**, *ta-gabbara* ‘to show oneself strong or powerful’; Syriac **gabbar** ‘to strengthen, embolden’; Tepiman **g** must generally be reconstructed as PUA \***w**, but other instances of **g** not devoicing to **k** in Tep allows the definite possibility that Tepiman \***guvuka** ‘strong/strength’ is from Semiti **gbr** ‘be strong’ or more specifically Hebrew **gəbuuraa** ‘strength’ (later **gəvuuraa**) > Tepiman \***guvu-ka** with the UA \*-ka ‘have’ suffix, as in having strength, with only the loss of **r** in a cluster, which is usual;

UACV-2215 \***wupuka** or \***gupu-ka** ‘strong, strength’: B.Tep49 \***guvuka** ‘strength’; M88-wu2; KH/M06-wu2: TO **gīvk** ‘stiff, strong, hard’; NT **guvúka**; ST -**guvuuk**. Add PYp **gevek** ‘be strong, stand upright’; PYp **gevkam** ‘forcefully, adv’; LP(EF) **ge’wek** ‘fuerte’. Would the vowel **i** (\***gīvika**) better fit the forms, since both **e/i** and **u** appear in Tepiman forms? [1g,2b,3r] [SUA: Tep]

**1173** Three related stems in many Semitic languages such as Aramaic **mws** / **mšš** / **mšy**: Aramaic **mws** ‘suck’; Aramaic **mšš** ‘suck, drain, wring, press’; Hebrew **mšš**, impfv: **yi-mošš** ‘slurp, lap’:

UACV-2223 \***mos** ‘suck’: BH.Cup \***mé** ‘suck’; M88-mo10; KH/M06-mo10: Cp **míse** ‘suck (of baby)’; Ca **míš** ‘to chew’; Ls **méeči** ‘chew to extract juice’. [p1m,p2w,p3s4] [NUA: Tak]

**1174** Hebrew ni-qtal impfv: yinnapeš ‘breathe freely, recover’; niqtal infinitive: **hinnapeš**:  
UA \*hiapsi ‘breathe, rest, live, heart’: My híabite ‘breathe, rest’; My hiapsi ‘heart’; My hiapsa ‘alive’;  
Yq híapsa ‘vivir [live]’; Yq híapsi ‘corazón [heart]’; Yq híabihte ‘respirar [breathe]’; AYq hiapsi ‘heart, soul,  
spirit’; AYq hiavihte ‘breathe’; AYq hiapsa ‘live’. Yq and My align with the niqtal infinitive hinnapeš with  
loss of intervocalic -nn-. [kw1h,2n,3p,4s1] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: TrC, Tep, Azt]

**1175** Hebrew gml, impfv **-gmol** ‘to complete, ripen, wean’:  
UACV-1815 \***mo(y)** ‘ripen’: AYq momoi ‘ripe, mature’; ST moomta ‘ripen’ (of potatoes);  
ST humtmoidyak ‘toward end of the month’. 1g,2m,3r [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1176** Hebrew nšr ‘keep watch, watch over’; Arabic nžr ‘look at, pay attention, take care of, look after’;  
Assyrian našaru ‘watch over, protect, keep’:  
Tarahumara nesé- ‘pastorear, cuidar animales/personas [herd, watch over, care for (animals/children)]’;  
Tarahumara nesé-ro- ‘pastorear, cuidar vivientes [herd, watch, guard living things]’;  
Tarahumara nese-rí ‘pastor, pastora [pastor, herder, guardian]’. Perhaps Brambila rightly figured his  
morpheme boundaries, though nesero and neseri may be significant. [1n,2s4,3r]

In addition to three others (796-798), below are three more sets deriving from Semitic ’kl ‘eat’:

**1177** Arabic ’kl / ’akala ‘eat, eat away, corrode’; Hebrew ’kl / ’aakal ‘eat, feed, savour, have sense of taste,  
enjoy love’; Semitic ’kl ‘eat’ is a common verb in most Semitic languages, and exhibits here the infinitive  
’əkol, and a semantic shift from ‘eat, enjoy’ to ‘desire’:

UACV-2472 \***ukol** ‘want’: My ukule ‘lo deséa, lo apetece’; Yq’ukkule ‘desear’; AYq ukkule ‘desire’;  
CN iikool-tiaa ‘long for, desire’; CN iikool-li ‘s.th. desired’; Wc -ku ‘querer’; and maybe Ca ’i’iklu ‘want, be  
fond of’. Wc and CN both agree with a vowel of o following k (\*ukol), and Wc lacks the initial vowel.  
[o/u, Ca k/q] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1178** Arabic ’kl / ’akala ‘eat, eat away, corrode’; the worms and moths as eaters is an occasional semantic  
shift, as in Syriac ’akl-aa ‘weevil’ literally ‘eater-the’:

UACV-334 \***akal** ‘moth, butterfly’: Nv agari ‘polilla [moth]’; Wr akároari ‘butterfly’. Four segments (agar /  
akar) largely agree, perhaps with intervocalic voicing, unless Wr be a loan from a Tep language. Tbr hata-  
ká-r ‘mariposa’ is likely relevant. [k/g] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1179** Hebrew ’kl ‘eat’; Syriac ’akl-aa ‘weevil’ literally ‘eater-the’:

UACV-2594 \***pi’akīC** ‘caterpillar, worm’: Fowler83: Mn piyagī ‘caterpillar’; NP piaga ‘bull pine caterpillar’;  
TSh piakīn ‘caterpillar’; Sh piaken ‘caterpillar’; Hp pi’akī ‘caterpillar’; Tb pi’aagīn-t ‘worm’; Ca piyaxa-t  
‘rainbow, worm with two horns’. Jane Hill (p.c.) noticed that SP pi’agu ‘centipede’ belongs as well. Both  
\*-’akī and CN okwilin (< \*okil) ‘worm, caterpillar, wild animal’ and CN naka-okwil-in ‘maggot, lit: flesh-  
devourer’? Both Tb and Ca suggest a final consonant, and Azt has final -l. [kw1’,kw2k,kw31] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

**1180** Aramaic gabr-aa ‘man, husband, great man’, pl: gabriin (bilabials lost as 1<sup>st</sup> C in cluster \*-br- > -r-):

UACV-1422 \***kīri**/**\*kīli** ‘male, old man’: B.Tep221 \***kīrii** ‘male, old man’; KH/M06-kī6: TO kīli ‘mature man, elder,  
old man, husband’; NT kīli ‘male, old man’; ST kilyi (pl: kīkīily) ‘male, old man’. [1g,2b,3r] [SUA: Tep]

**1181** Hebrew šmr ‘keep (commandments), watch over, have charge of, restrain (within bounds)’

UACV-2287 \***summay** ‘remember, think about’: Ch sumái ‘remember’; SP šummay ‘have in mind, think of,  
remember’; NP suma’yī ‘remember’; CU sumáy-(’ni) ‘think of’ (but CU máy-kə-ni ‘think, believe’ and Ch  
mái-ni ‘think’); Mn tīsumiya ‘ponder, think about’. At M88-su15 ‘know’, Miller has CNum/ TSh/Sh  
sumpanai ‘know’ and at M88-su13 ‘heart’ he has the many \*sula forms and CU sumay; however, six Num  
languages have intervocalic -m-, not -n- / -l-. [1s1,2m,3r] [NUA: WNum, SNum]

**1182** Arabic řidd ‘small prickly shrubs, brambles’; sg. Arabic řiddat would be a single prickly s.th.’; and  
pl řiddaat; OSArabic řd ‘wood’; Arabic řiđaaħ ‘fair-sized thorny shrubs’; Hebrew řešaa ‘wood’:

UACV-2296 \***wicaC (AMR)** / \***wiCcaC** ‘thorn, awl’: Sapir; M67-14 \*wi ‘awl’; L.Son332 \*wica ‘espina, aguja’;  
CL.Azt167 \*wic ‘thorn’, 202 \*\*wi ‘awl’; M88-wi5 ‘awl’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wi5 \*wicaC (after AMR): Mn wīti ‘awl’;  
NP wīccī ‘awl’; Kw wiya-ci ‘awl’; CU wiyú-ci ‘awl, large needle’; Cp íwye-l ‘spine, thorn’; Ca wiya-l  
‘pencil cactus’; Ca ’íwya-l ‘thorn, sticker’; Ls wiyáá-la ‘quartz crystal’; Sr wihaař ‘thorn, needle’; Ktn wiha-č  
‘cholla cactus’; Eu wecát; Wr wehcá ‘needle, thorn’; Tr we’cá / wi’cá ‘needle, thorn’; Tr wičá\*ka ‘type of

bush'; Yq wiča; AYq wičakame 'thistle'; My wiča; CN wic-tli 'thorn, spine'. Add SP wii 'awl' and Sapir himself also compares SP wii'/wii-ci 'knife'; in fact, NUA (SNum, Tak) \*wiya- and TrC \*wica align well. However, Tak \*'ivi does not equate to Tak \*wiya. Manaster-Ramer includes this set in his article "A Northern UA sound law: \*-c- > -y-" listing My wicca and other forms above to demonstrate NUA \*wiya < PUA \*wica. Sapir ties these above with Tep \*gisu 'cactus sp.' (< \*wicu) and CU wiyú-ci agrees, i.e., has the same vowels. Note Ca wiyal 'pencil cactus' and Ca 'iwyá-l 'thorn, sticker', the latter showing a pattern of CVCV > VCCV, like CN sometimes does. UACV-2296 reflects a possible sg while the vowels of UACV-359 reflect the pl of the same. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

UACV-359 \*wicu 'prickly pear cactus': ST gisuly; TO gisoki 'the purple-fruited prickly pear cactus or its fruit, Opuntia'; the vowels of CU wiyú-ci 'awl, large needle' agree with Tep and Hebrew pl -oot. [1'2,2s4s4]

**1183** Syriac mḥy / mḥja 'to strike, smite, wound, and wound (with an arrow)'

UACV-2314 \*mu'a/i / \*mu(k/h)V 'shoot (arrow)': M67- 373 \*mu 'shoot'; BH.Cup \*muh-' 'shoot'; L.Son152 \*mu 'flechar'; M88-mu5 'shoot'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-mu5: Tb(M) muu'at / 'umuu'at ~ 'uumuu' 'shoot'; Tb muu'ist 'gun, shooter, hill'; Tb(V) 'uumu'~'uumuu' 'shoot'; Ls mu'án 'shoot with a bow'; Cp muha / muháán / mumhane / múxane 'shoot with a bow'; Ca múx/múh/mú 'shoot'; Gb muhú 'tirar'; Sr muḷi 'shoot'; Sr muum 'shoot (more than once)'; Ktn mu 'shoot, throw, grind'; Hp mi'a 'shoot, sting, fasten (by piercing)'; TO mummu 'shoot at'; Eu mumú 'flechar, tirar con flecha'; Wr muhíba 'tirarle con arma'; Cr ra-a-tá-mwii 'he shot it with an arrow'. Add Tr muhubu 'tirarle a algo (proyector)'; Tr u'mu 'asaetear, flechar, tirar a algo'; Tr ohi-mea 'acertar, atinar'; Yq múuhe 'flechar'; My muhhe 'shoot'; Nv mu'u 'flechar'; PYP muuhu 'shoot, vt'. Perhaps Aztec CN mii-tl 'arrow'; CN miina 'shoot arrows, pierce with arrows'; Pl miima 'shoot with an arrow' (miin-ki pret.); Pl mii-t 'bow and arrow'. [k/x/h/?] 1m,2h2,3' [NUA: Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1184** Syriac(P) qaššet 'shoot an arrow with a bow'; Hebrew (Aramaic loanword) qošet 'archery';

Perhaps denominative verb of qešt-aa 'bow':

UACV-2321 \*kwaCti 'shoot': I.Num77 \*kwahti/\*kwīhti 'shoot'; M88-kwa10 'shoot'; KH/M06-kwa10: Mn kwati/qwati (<\*kwatti) 'to shoot'; NP kwati (<\*kwatti); TSh kutti; Sh kwīttih; Cm kwīhtikīrī 'shoot' (Miller kwīhti-). [\*a > i in CNum, but \*a > a in WNum] 1q,2s1,3t [NUA:WNum, CNum]

**1185** Syriac(P) qaššet 'shoot an arrow with a bow'; Hebrew (Aramaic loanword) qošet 'archery';

like the denominative verb above of qešt-aa 'bow', this may be a reduplication of that:

UACV-2322 \*kuCkwiC / \*kukkwīC 'shoot': Kw kukwi; CU kukwi/kúukwi (<\*kukkwī). As Miller and Hill have in kwa10, these SNum forms may well tie to \*kwaCti of CNum and WNum, though the first vowel and medial consonants are different, perhaps explainable with kw-reduction (\*kwaC-kwaC > \*kuCkwiC) for the vowel change, and/or reduplication (\*kwiC-kwiC > \*kukkwīC). The SNum forms are quite consistent among themselves in PSNum \*kukkwīC 'shoot, sting'. Add Ch kukwi 'shoot, sting'; SP quqqwīC- 'shoot at'; WMU quhqqwī 'sting, shoot at'; WMU qúqqwī 'shoot pl times'; WMU na-gúkkwi 'fight, have war' which all point to geminated medial \*-kkw-, noting -k- instead of -g- in Kw, Ch, and CU. [NUA: SNum]

**1186** Akkadian šamaadu 'tie together, yoke'; Arabic dmd 'bind (especially a wound)'; Hebrew šmd in quttal form: šummad 'strapped on': Aramaic(J) šəmad 'join, attach, harness':

UACV-2331a \*suma 'tie': M88-su17; M67-439 \*suma 'tie'; KH/M06-su17: Hp soma 'to tie s.th.'; Hp somi 'thing tied up'; My summa 'amarrar'. Add Yq sūma 'atar, amarrar'; AYq suma 'tie, vt'. Add Yq sūma 'atar, amarrar'; AYq suma 'tie, vt'. [NUA: Hp; SUA: TrC]

**1187** Aramaic l- 'to/for'; Aramaic le 'to/for him':

UACV-2346 \*li 'to, for': Sapir: Sapir suggests CN -li- / -lia 'to, for' and SP ḥki 'to, for' (< \*li-kī). [Azt; Num]

**1188** Hebrew ygṣ 'grow weary, labor, struggle'; Arabic waḡiṣa 'have pain, suffer'; noun or f pfv: yagṣa:

UACV-2342. \*-yowa 'suffer': CN tla'yoowa 'to suffer, to fast'; Nv dodoa 'cansar'; Nv t'igi dodoa 'padecer'. The -g- likely lost in a cluster: \*yagṣa / ya'wa > yowa. [no \*w > g in Tep'] [1y,2g,3'2] [SUA: Tep, Azt]

**1189** Hebrew ygṣ 'grow weary, labor, struggle'; Akkadian eguu 'to tire, be careless'; 'be weary/tired' is common to both Semitic and UA, and 'weak/tired' underlies 'trembling, being dizzy'; noun or f pfv: yagṣa:

UACV-1932a \*yowa 'shake': Yq yóa 'temblar, sacudir'; My yoowa 'temblar'; Wc yúa 'shake, move, vi.'; Wc yúi-tia 'hacer moverse'. Yq and My \*yo(w)a 'shake'.

UACV-1932b \*yuyi / \*yuwi 'shake, be weak, dizzy': M88-yu25; KH.NUA; KH/M06-yu25: Ca yúyi 'quiver (legs, etc. from weakness); Sr yuuyk 'be/get dizzy'. Add SP yoi-ga-N 'flutter, shake rapidly'. These may relate to \*yowa/i above, and perhaps to \*-yu/yo(k) further above. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: TrC, CrC]

UACV-678 \*yuyi 'dizzy, weak, shaky': KH.NUA: Ca yúyi 'quiver (legs, e.g., as when climbing down a steep slope)'; Sr yuuyk 'be/get dizzy'. Add Kw yuyuwe'i 'faint, v' as redupl of Kw yuwe'e 'be not, absent'?

These sets should have been combined in the UACV. [NUA: Tak]

**1190** Syriac 'aykaa 'where':

UACV-2538b \*haka 'where': Sapir: Sh hakka 'where? somewhere'; TSh haka-pan/pa'an/ttuh 'where'; Cm hakaapu 'which way, where to'; Kw ha-ga 'what? where?'; Ch hágá-va 'locative'; SP aǵa 'what?'; WMU aǵá-va 'where?'; Wr ahká 'where? someplace'; Wc hake 'donde [where]'; Wc hakée-va/pai 'adonde'. [1',2k] [Num]

**1191** Syriac 'atar 'place'; Syriac 'atr-aa 'place-the'; Syriac 'atar d- 'place where, wherever, where': Wc -tiré 'lugar de [place of, place where]'; Tr čiri 'que? [what?]'; NT túdíiri 'en que parte?'

**1192** Syriac 'aynaa 'who, what, m'; Syriac 'aydaa 'who? what? f' (< \*'ayn-taa); Syriac 'aynaa d- 'he who'; Syriac 'aydaa d- 'she who'; Syriac 'aynaa-w < \*'aynaa-hu:

UACV-2525 \*hayn-ta 'what?'; I.Num39 \*hii 'what, who'; CL.Azt188 \*tla- 'what' < 287 \*\*hita; M88-in2; Munro.Cup136 \*híi-ča 'what, something'; KH/M06-in2; KH/M06-ta50 \*tahV (after AMR): Tb haayn 'what', acc: haaynt / haaynta; Hp hin 'how, in some manner'; hin-ta 'be some way'; Hp himi, acc. hiita 'what'; Sr hiit, acc. hiiti 's.th., what'; Ls híi-ča, acc. hí-š, 'what?'; Ls hik 'how much?'; Ls híi-ŋay 'why?'; Cp hi-š 'what, s.th.'; Cp hinqax 'how'; Ca híč'a / híče'a / híčaxa 'what'; Tb haainda 'what, nothing'; Eu hat/hit, gen. híte, acc: hitá 'que [what]'; Tbr hatep-, haték-; Sr hiit; Ktn hit; Yq híta; My híta; CN tle 'what'; Wr ihtá. The unusual Ca forms, as Munro states, may be derivatives of accusatives or other inflected forms. Given Sem-kw devoicing of glottal stop, these fit Syriac 'aynaa / 'aydaa (< \*'ayn-taa) very well, as Tb haayn is nearly identical. We also see accusative -ta clearly in Tb. Cupan \*hiča instead of \*hila means the t is clustered with another C (\*-nt-), because a lone intervocalic \*-t- > -l- in Cupan. The tendency of V > i before alveolar consonants in UA, and here, two such alveolar consonants, may explain the first vowel i in most forms, though a appears in one Mn and SP form, and in Tb, Tbr, and Eu. Note also Mn himaa 'what' (of people, things, living and non-living); Mn heeti(sa) 'what' (on non-material objects, like ideas, words); CU iippisappa 'whatever'. The Numic languages more clearly isolate \*hani / \*hini 'what': Mn hani'i-tu 'what kind?'; NP hii 'what'; Sh hiin, acc. hina; WSh hiin, acc. hinni 'what, s.th.'; Cm hina/hini; Kw hini; SP inni- 'who? what?'; SP annia 'what? (obj)'; CU iniisappa 'whoever'. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**1193** Hebrew haC- 'the'; often UA languages have a prefixed a- that could be from Hebrew haC- 'the': Ls -wi 'fat, grease, oil' but noun/adj is Ls 'a-wi 'fat, n and adj'; with UA \*matta 'tick', Ls 'amáča 'tick' may have the same prefix; Ls 'a-wól-vu 'adult, elder' would be 'he is grown-one' in NE terms 'a-wól-vu (the-grown-he is). Hill also identifies a similar prefix in \*a- 'that':

UACV-2671 \*a- 'that': KH/M06-dm6: Hp a-/áa- (pl. aamī) 'third person pronominal prefix'; Sr ama' (acc. amai; pl. a:m) 'that one, he, she, it'; Sr a- 'third person sg. pronominal prefix'; Ktn 'ama' 'that (distal)'. It seems that this is in Opata also? [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**1194** Hebrew mšš 'feel, grope'; Arabic mss / massa (perf pl: mass-u, impfv: ya-massu) 'feel, handle, touch'; or Syriac mwš 'touch, feel, grope':

UACV-2377 \*masu 'touch, feel': Wr imasú 'feel, probe (by feeling)'; Tr masu- 'feel (with hands), look for (with hands)' (Brambila supposes ma- 'hand'). Perhaps Cp míse 'guard with hands' (< \*mosV). [1m,2s1] [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC]

**1195** Arabic qimma(t) 'top, summit, peak':

UACV-2368 \*kumisa 'top, tuft, crest': L.Son105 \*kumisa 'copete'; M88-ku24 'copete'; KH/M06-ku24: Eu kumisa 'plumero, plumaje, penacho'; Op kumi-to 'plumaje'; Tr kumisa/gumisa-ri 'copete, penacho, cresta'; Yq kumsa-kam; My kumsa-m 'cejas'. Sem-p \*t > s ? [p1q,p2m,p3t] [SUA: TrC]

**1196** Hebrew ngš / ti-ngaš 'she/it touches'; Aramaic t-ngš :

Hp toŋo(k-) 'come into contact with, touch, reach' [kw 2g,3'2]

**1197** Hebrew šaaqeeb 'heel, hoof, footprint':

UACV-2392 \*woki / \*woku'i 'track, footprint': M67-257b \*wok 'leg'; L.Son348 \*woki 'pie'; B.Tep47 \*gookui-i 'track, footprint'; M88-wo3 'foot'; KH/M06-wo3: TO gooki 'footprint, track'; LP goki; NT goókui; My wókki-m 'pie'; Tbr nyóki-r 'track, foot'; Tb wīgii'it 'make tracks'; Tb wīgii-l 'tracks, trail'. Add Yq wóoki 'pie, pata'; Yq wokte 'seek tracks'. NT ' and Tb '. [\*o > i in Tb; \*w > ny in Tbr] [1'2,q,3b] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1198** Hebrew šqb 'seize by the heel, betray, deceive'; Hebrew šaaqeeb 'heel, hoof, footprint';

Hebrew participle \*šooqeb 'deceiver' and in a Biblical context, the snake is the deceiver:

Hp lölöqanw 'bullsnake, gopher snake'. For final -b > ŋw in Hp, see 'heart' (1312) and 'near' (1008). [iddddual]

**1199** Hebrew *ṣaaqeeb* ‘heel, hoof, footprint’; Syriac *ṣaaqeb*, impfv: *yə-ṣaaqeb* ‘to track down’; leveling of vowels *yə-ṣa...* > *yəwa* > *yī*:

UACV-2393 \***yīki** ‘make/follow tracks’: M88-yī4 ‘to make tracks’; KH/M06-yī4: TO *jīk* ‘look for tracks’; TO *jiki* ‘track’; Wr *yehki* ‘hacer huellas’; Tr *hiyé/(h)iwé/huwe* ‘observar, espiar, huellear’; Tr *iyé-to* ‘seguir la huella [follow the tracks]’. [kw1’2,2q,3b] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1200** Hebrew *g’l* ‘redeem, buy back’:

UACV-2398 \***kowa** ‘buy’: CL.Azt22 \**kowa* ‘buy’; M88-ko23; KH/M06-ko23: CN *koowa* ‘buy s.th., vt’; Pl *kuwa* ‘buy’; Ca *’ú’uwe* ‘to buy’. [p1g,2’,3l] [SUA: Azt]

**1201** Hebrew *təmuuraa* ‘exchange, n.f.’; Hebrew *ha-təmuuraa* ‘what is exchanged, exchanging’; Hebrew in Aramaic(J) *təmuuraa* ‘exchange, substitution’:

UACV-2399a \***tīmīri** ‘buy, trade’: NP *tīmī* ‘buy, vt’; TSh *tīmīh* ‘buy, vt’; Sh *tīmīh* ‘buy’; Cm *mahípirīmīri* ‘buy for self, possess (hold in hand)’; Cm *marīmīri* ‘buy s.th.’; Cm *narīmīri* ‘trade, sell to one another, exchange’. [NUA: WNum, CNum]

UACV-2399b \***na-tuwa** / \***tu’wa** / \***ru’ma** ‘buy’: Ch *narú-ga* ‘buy’; SP *naroo’ḡwa* ‘barter’;

CU *narúway* ‘buy’; CU *narúgway* ‘trade’; but CU *taguy-naru’ay* ‘be thirsty, buy-thirst’. [1t,2m] [NUA: SNum]

**1202** Arabic(Wehr/Lane) *ṣwr* > *ṣaara*, impfv: *ya-ṣuuru* / *ya-ṣwaru* ‘be/make blind, go away with (s.o./s.th.)’; the causative, causing s.o. to go away with is IV *aṣaara* ‘lend, loan’ and could as easily be ‘sell’:

UACV-2400 \***wara** ‘sell’: B.Tep37 \**gagara* ‘he sells’; KH/M06-wa30 ‘sell’: TO *gagda*; LP *gagara*; PYP *gagara*;

NT *gagára/gáágarai*; ST *ga’ara*; ST *gara* ‘sell it’. Add Tbr *mará/wará* ‘sell’ (\*w > Tbr m). [1’2,2r] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1203** Aramaic(S) **hwhr** / *huharaa* ‘net, trap for birds or fish’ (from Akkadian *xuxaaru* ‘bird trap’);

Aramaic(J) *’ohar-aa* / *hohar-aa* ‘net-work, loose fisher’s net’:

UACV-2406 \***hiyaC** / \***hiwaC** / \***hī’aC** ‘trap’: M67-444 \**hewi*; I.Num46 \**hiya* ‘to trap’; M88-hī6 ‘to trap’; KH.NUA;

KH/M06-hī6: Mn (*tī*)*hiya* ‘trap, vt’; NP *hiya* ‘trap’; NP *ahī’a* ‘trap, vt’; TSh *hiwa* ‘trap, vt’; TSh *hiwanīmpī* ‘trap, n’; Sh *hiāC* ‘trap, vt’; Sh(C) *hī’aC* ‘trap, catch, vt’; Kw *hiā* ‘trap, set a trap, v’; CU *’iā-y* ‘trap, plant, sow, cultivate, farm’; Ca *hēw* ‘trap, v’; Ls *xáwi* ‘trap, v’ (cognate? Miller queries); Sr *hīiñ* ‘hunt (for game)’;

Hp *hīwa* ‘trap s.th., vt’; Hp *hīwi* ‘a set trap, n’; Tb *’iw* ‘trap, v’; Cm *hiāri* ‘fish, v’; Cm *hiawapi* ‘trapper’. The 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant variety: \**hi’a* / *hiya* / *hiā* / *hiwa*. For \**hiwa* are TSh *hiwa*, Tb *’iw-*, Hp *hīwi*. The *hiā* forms simply lost -y- (< -r-), and the -w- in \**hiwa* may be excrescent. More than ample evidence in CNum and SNum also suggests a final geminating consonant. [-w-, -a/i; x/h; prefix a- in NP] [p:1h,2w,2h,3r] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak]

UACV-2406 \***hiyaC** / \***hiwaC** / \***hī’aC** ‘trap’: M67-444 \**hewi*; I.Num46 \**hiya* ‘to trap’; M88-hī6 ‘to trap’; KH.NUA;

**1204** Hebrew *ṣaab* ‘item of wood (uncertain term)’; MHebrew **ṣoob** ‘beam’; Syriac *ṣaab-aa* ‘thicket, thick wood, thick forest’:

UACV-2413 \***wopiN** (< \**wapaC?*) ‘wood’: Sapir; M67-15; I.Num276 \**wopi(n)* ‘wood’; M88-wo10 ‘wood’; KH/M06-wo10: Mn *wopikusu* ‘woodpecker’; NP *wopi* ‘burnt board’; TSh *wopin* ‘pole’; Sh *wo-pin* ‘board, vehicle’; Cm *woop* / *wopi* ‘board, wood’; Kw *wo-vi* ‘old timber, wood’; SP *ovi(N)-* ‘wood’; My *ówwo* ‘mata’. Sapir’s inclusion of CN *wopal-li* ‘board, small beam’ with Num \**wopi*, is plausible as sg *ṣoobat* with vowel assimilation. This may tie to M88-’o2 \**opi* ‘awl’ at ‘awl’ in UACV. [1’2,2b] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

**1205** Hebrew *qy’* ‘to vomit’, if impfv \**-qyo*’ with loss of -q- in the cluster in \**ya-qyo*’ or infinitive *q’yo*’.

UACV-2454a \***yo’a** ‘vomit’: M67-451; L.Son359 \**yoa* ‘vomitar’; M88-yo10 ‘to vomit’; KH/M06-yo10: Hp *naayö’naayö’-* ‘vomit, v’; Eu *dóda-*; Op *do-doa*; Wr *yo’a*; Tr *o’yó*. Tb(M) *wayuubat* ~ *’awayuup* ‘vomit, v’ is of interest. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Gb *yoyi* (Merriam).

UACV-2454b \***o’a** / \***o’i** ‘vomit’: Mn *o’i* ‘vomit, vi’; NP *oa’i’hu* ‘vomit, v’; Cm *oo’iti* ‘vomit, v’;

Tr *o’a* / *o’o* / *o’awa* ‘vomitar’. [1q,2y,3’] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: TrC]

**1206** Aramaic(J) *kootl-aa* ‘wall, n.m.’; less likely, but instructive is Aramaic(S) *guudd-aa* / *guund-aa* ‘wall, side, n.m.’ which shows a doubled consonant leaning toward an excrescent nasal: \*-dd- > -nd-.

UACV-2462. \***-kowli** / \***kori** ‘wall’: Tr *tegori* ‘cerca de piedra o adobe, tapia, pared’ (< \**tī-kori*); Tr *tegó-ma* ‘cercar, hacer cercas de piedra o adobe’; Wr *isigori* ‘waddle and wicker wall’; Eu *satékori* ‘pared’;

Eu *satékora-n* ‘hacer una pared’; Ca *kíwniš* ‘wall’ is interesting in that \*o > Ca i and could correspond to PUA \**kowli*, yet we would expect q vs. k. [1k,2w,3t,4l] [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC]

**1207** Syriac *sw’* / *swy* / *səwaa* ‘to long, desire’; verbal noun Syriac *səwaa-aa* ‘desire, longing-the’:

UACV-2468a \***suwaC** ‘want’: Sapir; I.Num185 \**su(h)wa*’i want’; M88-su14 ‘want’; KH/M06-su14: NP *sugwai-dī* ‘want’; Sh *suai, suani* ‘want, vt’; Cm *suwaa* ‘want, desire’; My *súale* ‘creer’; My *suáya* ‘cuidar’. To these can be

added TSh suwaC ‘want, desire, think, feel’; TSh suwan ‘want to, feel like, auxiliary v’; NP sugwa’i ‘like, vt’; Ch suawa-ga(i) ‘want, v’; SP šuya-ŋwa ‘would that ...’. Other words (below) show \*sVwa or \*sīwa (> \*suwa). Sapir ties CN seya/siya ‘to consent’ and SP šuya-ŋwa ‘would that ...’. Tb(H) šooyi-n ‘his wife’ is not out of the question, which means, it is in question.

UACV-2468b \***sīwa** ‘want’: PYP heehega ‘want, desire’; Nv ʾiʾiga ‘querer [want], consentor [consent, agree]’; TO heegig ‘happiness’; TO heegid ‘agree with’; TO heegigam ‘happily, joyfully’. All words (and some from other branches) beginning with initial \*su- and meaning ‘want, know, recognize, remember, think, heart’ need a thorough sorting, but there is a distinction between \*sumaC ‘breathe’ and \*suwaC ‘want, be glad’. Both Tep and Num suggest an original accent on the second syllable, as in Syriac also. [V’s] [1s1,2w,3’] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

Sort above and below TO hohho’id below and TO heegid above.

**1208** Hebrew \*ššf / ššf ‘delight in’; Syriac ššy / sʾwaʾ ‘delight, gladden, enjoy’:

UA \*ta-soa ‘love, value’: CN tla-soaa ‘love, value, cherish’; CN -soaa in CN tlasoʾ-tla ‘love’ (< \*tlasoa ‘value, love, affection’); Pl tasuhta ‘love, esteem, vt’; Yq súa ‘cuidar’; Cm suatīī ‘want, desire, need, v’; Cm suʾacitī ‘think about s.th., make a plan’; perhaps Sh taccoa ‘take care of a child, baby sit’ with a prefix (cluster causes fricative to affricate in Sh); WMU suwáay-y / suwáy-y ‘be happy, feel good’; WMU suwáy-ʾni ‘be always happy, by nature/habit’; Kw suvi-yeʾe ‘be happy’; SP šuai- ‘be glad’; SP soʾai-yüi ‘is very good, feels very well’; CU suwáay ‘be happy’; TO hohhoʾid ‘enjoy, like, admire, appreciate, care for’. [1s1,2ʾ2]

**1209** Hebrew yabbelet ‘wart’; Akkadian ublu ‘wart’:

UACV-2481 \***upuliwa** ‘wart’: TO upulig ‘wart’; Nv upurhiga ‘verruqa’. Probably \*upuli-wa with wa as a separate morpheme, an old article morpheme. [1y,2bb,3l] [SUA: Tep]

**1210** Hebrew qwm, prfv: **qaam** ‘rise, stand up’:

UACV-2504 \***kam** ‘water to rise, make wave’: Eu káme ‘encharcarse el agua, v [inundate]’; Yq bahekam ‘ola(s) [wave(s)]’. [1q,2m] [iddddua] [SUA: TrC]

**1211** Syriac šilaaš ‘weasel’:

UACV-2506 \***sīsika** ‘weasel’: Fowler83 \*sīsika ‘weasel’: TSh sīsika / yīsika ‘weasel’; Kw sīsiga ‘weasel’. [Num]

**1212** Hebrew kəmo ‘like, as’:

UACV-2529 \***kīm** ‘how’: CL.Azt86 \*keem ‘how’; M88-in4; KH/M03-in4: CN keen, keenin, kemeʾ ‘how’; Pl keen; HN keenihki. [SUA: Azt]

**1213** Hebrew mi ‘Who?’ but also occasionally in place of maa ‘How? What?’

UACV-2530a \***mi** ‘wh-base’: BH.Cup \*mi ‘when’; eliminate M88-mu22, as it is a subset of the same forms in M88-in6; KH/M03-in6 ‘wh-/qu- formative interrogative or indefinite’: Cp mi- ‘wh-base for postpositional locatives’ e.g., Cp mipa ‘when?’; Ca mípa ‘when?’; Ca mi = miʾvi, pl. mivim ‘which’; Ls mičá ‘where?’; Ls mičát ‘which?’; Ls míkiŋa ‘sometimes, when?’; Gb meyi ‘what?’; meyiha ‘how?’. Add Wc miʾáne ‘who, what?’; Sr hami ‘someone, anyone, who’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

**1214** Hebrew mee-ʾayn ‘from where?’; Arabic min ʾayn ‘from where?’ > Tb **maaʾayn** ‘where from’!

**1215** šrq ‘whistle, hiss’; Hebrew wayyišroq ‘he whistled, hissed’; wayyišroq-uu-hi ‘whistled-they-him/it’

UACV-2542 \***wisuko** ‘whistle’: Mn wisiqohi ‘whistle, vi’; SP uššuC-qqi ‘whistle’. [1s1,2r,3q] [NUA: Num]

**1216** Hebrew qaane ‘reed, stalk’

UACV-2553 \***kana** ‘willow’: M67-461 \*ka/\*kan ‘willow tree’; M88-ka12 ‘willow’; KH/M06-ka12: Kw kahna-vī ‘sandbar willow’; SP qanna-; CU kaná-vi; Tb haa-l ‘willow’; Ca qáankiš ‘desert willow’; Hp qahavi ‘willow’.

[\*k > Tb h] [1q,2n] [iddddua] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

**1217** Semitic **qalal** ‘be small, contemptible, despise’; Arabic qll ‘be little, few, insignificant, inferior’;

Hebrew **qillal** / **qillel**, **-qallel** ‘declare accursed, consider bad, contemptible’; the preceding qittel form suggests the basic form also means ‘cursed, contemptible, bad’:

UACV-104 \***alal** ‘bad, wrong’: Ca ʾelélé- ‘bad, wrong, not right, adj.’; Ca ʾelél-kw-iš ‘bad person/thing’; Ca ʾelél-kw-imal ‘ugly person’; Ls ʾaláxwi ‘be bad’; Ls ʾaláxwi-š ‘bad’; Ls ʾaláxwi-laka ‘ugly’; Wr naʾála-ni ‘be bad’; Wr naʾála ‘damage, danger’. Same root as 982 Hebrew qll ‘be small, insignificant’ > UA \***ali** ‘little’ and with initial q- missing in both sets, and a > e in Ca also points to Sem-kw 1q,2l,3l [Tak; TrC]

**1218** Hebrew nph ‘blow, breathe’, f.sg.perf: naaphaa; Akkadian napaaxu; OSArabic npx; Arabic npx ‘to blow, puff, breathe’, impfv: ya-npuxu; Arabic **napxat** ‘blow, puff, breath, gust’; from the noun form and as is typical, the bilabial -p- as first consonant in a cluster disappears (4.3, 294-300)—napxa > nika:

UACV-2560 \*nika ‘be windy, blow’: I.Num119 \*nie ‘wind, blow (of wind)’; M88-ni12 ‘wind’; KH/M06-ni12: TSh; Sh niai ‘blow (wind)’; Cm; Kw; Ch; SP; CU. [\*k > ø] [p:1n,2p,3x] [NUA: SNum, CNum]

**1219** Arabic hauḡaa ‘hurricane, tornado, cyclone’, pl: huuḡ; Sem-p (because \*g > k, not ḡ, and ’ > w), from Sem-p haugaa’ > hugaw:

UACV-2558 \*hika / \*hikawa / \*hikwa ‘wind, blow’: Sapir; M67-462 \*heka; I.Num41 \*hikwa ‘blow (of wind)’; L.Son59 \*hika viento; M88-hi2 ‘wind’; KH/M06-hi2: Mn and NP \*hikkwa-pi; Tb(M) ’aakawaal ‘wind, n’; Tb(M) ’aakawaa’it ~ ’aakawaa’ ‘blow (of wind)’; Tb(V) ’ihkowa’ ‘wind blows’; Mn hikwápe; NP higgwapi; Tb ’ihkowa’ ‘wind blows’; Eu v/bahéka; Yq héeka; AYq heeka ‘air, wind, n; blow, v’; My heeka; Wr ega-ni/egi-má; Tr eká/iká; iwigá; Cr eeka; Wc ’eekáa; ’eká ‘blow’; CN eheeka-tl ‘wind, air, bad spirit’. Cr éeka / háaka / wá-’aaka ‘it is windy’; Sapir also cites Gb qahika-. Eu and Wc show a prefixed syllable \*pa-’ika. Note highly different V’s in the two Tb dialects. They may be key to them: \*hVkawa > \*hikowa > hikwa? I doubt Hp v: hiihikya; hiikeyaw, though if possibly belonging, Hp final -ḡw for Semitic final -’ like for spider (1409) Aramaic kuuky-aa’ > Hopi kookyaḡw. [Tb V assim] [1h,2w,3g] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1220** Syriac qrš / qəraš ‘become chilled, frozen’; Syriac qariiš ‘chilled, cold, coagulated’;

Syriac **’etqaraš** ‘to shade, put in the shade’; Arabic qarisa ‘be severe (the cold)’; Arabic II qarrasa ‘freeze, make torpid, numb (the cold)’; MHebrew qrš ‘become hard, solid, frozen’; Ugaritic qrš ‘what is fixed’ is one of the proposed definitions; Gesenius and von Soden connect Semitic qrš and qrḥ, which both mean ‘freeze’:

UACV-1922 \*hikka / \*hikya ‘shade’: M88-hi1 ‘shade’; M67-367 \*heka ‘shade’; I.Num44 \*hipa/\*hika ‘be cool’; L.Son58 \*hika ‘sombra’; B.Tep346 \*’iikagī ‘shade, shady’; KH/M06-hi1 \*hika (AMR) ‘shade’: Cm hikki ‘shade, brush arbor’; Cm hika-h ‘cool off, v’; WSh hiki ‘shade, shadow’; Hp hikya ‘cool off, vi, become set in a fixed position’; TO iik ‘get in the shade’; TO iika ‘bec. shaded’; TO iikeg/iieheg ‘shade, n’; TO iikdag ‘shade, shadow’; LP ’iikig; NT iikagī; ST ’iika’; Nv ’iikada ‘sombra [shade]’; Eu hekát ‘sombra’; Eu hekawa ‘sombra’; Wr ehka ‘haber sombra [be shade]’; My hékka ‘sombra’; CN e’kawyo-tl / e’kau’yoo-tl ‘shadow, shade’; CN ekawii-li ‘shadow, shade’; CN e’kawi ‘to shade’; Pl yeekah-yu ‘shadow, shade, n’. Also AYq hekka ‘shade, n’; PYp eekega ‘shade, shadow’; Tr ká/kára/kábora ‘shade’; ST ipgidya ‘dar sombra [give shade]’; ST iikaya ‘haber sombra’.

While we have the truncation (shortening) typical of longer forms, Syriac ’etqaraš > \*(h)ekka is striking; with another vowel syncopated (taken out of the middle), Syriac ’etqaraš > \*’etqraš > \*(h)ekya. Note also the identical sets of meanings in Semitic ‘be cold, shade’ and UA ‘cool, shade’. As mentioned, some tie Semitic qrš and qrḥ, and the latter may better align with Aztec and Tepiman forms, though Syriac etqawrar ‘to cool’ fits Azt e’kauyoo-tl rather impressively.

Note that Hopi hikya ‘cool off, vi, become set in a fixed position, vi’ shows Hopi -kya- < -qra-, and also from Semitic ‘cool’ and ‘what is fixed’ are Hopi ‘cool’ and ‘be in a fixed position’. Considering the unusual pair of meanings ‘cool’ and ‘be fixed/set’, it is rather extraordinary to find both ‘cool’ and ‘be fixed/set’ in the Hopi term, which also matches phonologically!

SP paíqqaC ‘ice’ undoubtedly has pa- ‘water’ as a first morpheme, and may be of the same form, or the -iqqaC also fits an unattested huqta form or Hebrew \*huqraš ‘hardened, frozen’ of the same root.

[1’,2t,3q,3r,3s] [SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt; NUA: Hp, Num]

**1221** Arabic qirs ‘molar tooth’ < Arabic qrs ‘to bite’

UACV-2367 \*cara ‘molar’: Eu cará-tamit ‘muela’; NT taamúsaragai ‘la muela’; Cr si’i-tame ‘muele’.

[-r- > -’- in Cr] [p1s4,p2r,p3s] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1222** Arabic spr ‘to whistle, hiss, chirp’

UACV-2559 \*ciporika ‘whirlwind’: B.Tep195 \*sivorika-i ‘whirlwind’; M88-ci17; KH/M06-ci17 ‘whirlwind, remolino’:

TO siw(u)loki; NT šivóliki; ST šivool’ik. [1s4,2p,3r] [idddua] [SUA: Tep]

**1223** Hebrew dkk/dky ‘crush’; Hebrew dakke ‘crush’ (qittel of dky); Arabic daqqat ‘beat, thump, hammer, n’

UACV-1092 \*takki ‘mano for metate’: M67-274; Munro.Cup132 \*tááki-š ‘tool’; KH.NUA: Ls tááki-š ‘stone for smoothing pottery’; Ca táki-š ‘mano’; Tb takii-l (< \*takkii), Tb(H) takkii-l ‘muller for metate, mano’; Sr taikt ‘mano (for metate)’; SP taqqu ‘reduce to small pieces’; perhaps Ca téx ‘grind and make flour’. [\*-kk-] [Tb k] [NUA: Tak, Tb]



**1224** Aramaic(S) 'arqə-taa / ʕarqə-taa 'fluke worm'; Aramaic(J) 'arqə-taa 'a parasite worm in the bowels, perhaps fluke worm'; the unattested f. sg. without definite article would be \*'arqaa

UACV-2593 \*wo'a 'worm': I.Num272 \*wo'a 'worm'; M88-wo8; KH/M03-wo8: Mn wo'abi 'worm, maggot';

NP wo'aba 'worm'; TSh wo'api; Sh wo'a-pin; Cm wo'api; Kw wo'o-vi. For Kw vowel leveling, note Kw momo'o for \*mama'u 'woman', and -rq- > -'-, as -rn- > -'-' at 1058 'cocoon'. [V leveling in Kw in worm, woman, and water] [NUA: Num]

**1225** Hebrew 'abaa 'truly, indeed' (later it means: but, however):

Tr abe 'yes, an emphatic'. [1',2b,3l] [Sem-kw with lack of rounding for the 'aleph and a > e/\_l]

**1226** Aramaic(CAL) šʕyn- / šəʕiin-aa 'mud-the':

UACV-765 \*pa-sakwinaC 'mud': I.Num141 \*pašikwi(na) 'mud'; M88-pa16 'mud'; KH/M06-pa16: Mn pašikwinabi;

NP pasaggwabi; TSh pasakkwinappi; Sh pasakwinappih; Sr pāākwiñit. Add Cm sekwiḫi 'mud'. The meanings are identical, and if -ʕ- > -w- > -kw- (which most often happens in WNum), all else matches well, though Jane Hill (p.c.) notes this could be \*pa 'water' + -sa- 'mud' + kwiya 'earth/mud'. [-Ckw-] [1s,2'2] [NUA: Num, Tak]

**1227** Arabic faṭaḥa 'flatten, broaden'; Hebrew pṭḥ / Arabic fṭḥ / fataḥa 'open'; Arabic fṭṣ 'make broad, compress, flat and spread wide (nose)'; Hebrew paṭṭiṣ 'forge-hammer'; several roots with 1<sup>st</sup> consonant p and 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant -t- exist, and a great variety of UA forms need sorting yet, but a correlation with some is likely, excluding Eu at 293:

UACV-904 \*patta (> pata at times) 'flat, level, smooth, slippery, bare, naked, bald, uncover, open up, blossom' (Stubbs2000a-2) yields considerable semantic variety:

UACV-904a \*pata / \*patta (> \*pita / \*pala) 'flat, spread, i.e., flatten/smooth, vt': M67-410 \*pata 'spread';

I.Num142 \*pata 'spread, straighten out'; CL.Azt192 patla(awa)-k 'wide': M88-pa32 'spread'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa32:

Mn patanuyu 'straight (of long narrow obj)'; Mn tunapaati 'straight (one)'; NP capada (< \*cappata) 'spread out s.th. thin like a blanket'; WSh cappata 'spread out by hand'; Sh pata 'spread out s.th. of cloth'; Kw patta'nimi 'erect, straight'; SP para 'straighten out'; Sr paṭk 'lie down flat, as on one's stomach'; Ca pálaa 'be flat'; Ca palpála 'be flat (leaf, rock, etc.)'; Ls pálvun-la 'a plain, valley, level ground'.

Add Ktn vačk 'flat and wide or circular'; AYq patalai 'flattened, crumpled, formless'; AYq vetala(i) 'flat, even, smooth'; Yq betalai 'plano' (Yq béta 'boca abajo'); Hp piči 'wide, broad, long and flat', since NUA c < \*t/\*tt or other consonant besides \*c. Besides the preceding, some languages have 2<sup>nd</sup> form that may tie by a different route: Sr vääci|q 'be flat, flattened'; CN patla-čoa 'flatten, press, crush, vt, bec. flat, collapse, vi'. Tb payaawat ~ apayaau 'be spread out'. CN alaktik / alastik / alaawak 's.th. slippery, crumbly'; CN alaawa 'slip, slide s.th., vt' in contrast to Aztec at 1168: CN patlaawa 'widen'; CN patlaawak 'wide'; Po patek; Te patlowak; Za pataawak; Pl pataawa 'extend, widen' at . Note CN forms with and without \*p. [\*-t- > -l-, -c-]

UACV-904b \*sikki-patta 'flat': Mn sikibadagi; NP sikipatadi (< \*sikkippattati) 'flat, adj'; probably Cm siḫpeti. A compound with \*-patta. [NUA: WNum]

UACV-904c \*hi-patta 'flat': TSh hippatta; Sh hippatta; if not a reduction of \*sikipata above, it obviously contains at least a common morpheme \*-patta, which stem is prominent in TrC. With vowel changes, I would have to consider the following probable as well: PYp hepelik 'flat, lowlands'; Ls hivé-li 'flatten'; Ls hivél-vi-š 'flat, wide'.

UACV-904d \*patta / \*patti 'bare, smooth': Mn padagwinigi 'be naked, vi'; NP patakwiñi'a (< \*pattakwiñi'a 's.th. smooth'; Sh pacciC 'smooth, shiny'; Sh(M) pacci 'smooth, shiny'; Cm pahci bapikati 'bald'; Cm pahciketi 'slick, smooth'; NP copata kwa'ama 'bald'; perhaps TO waḍadk 'bald' if t > d. [Num]

UACV-904e \*pici 'naked': Tr biči; AYq viiči. This likely relates to \*patta/patti above with assimilated vowels: \*patti > paci > pici. Ls pála 'put out sprouts, come into leaf'.

UACV-904f \*piči / \*pVcV < \*pat(t)a/i 'flat, prone, flatten, widen': Tr peči 'cama, tendido para dormir [bed, stretch out for sleeping]'; CN(RJC) pečtik 'flat, flat-based, wide'; CN(RJC) pečihki 'flat'; CN(RJC) pečia 'underlie s.th.'. If \*-t- > -c-, Hp pič- may tie to CN \*pac... or CN \*pat...: Hp pič-qa 'flat < wide-extended'; Hp pič-lawi 'be widening s.th. linear'; CN patlačoa 'become flat, collapse, flatten, press, crush s.th.', v.refl, vt'; CN patlaawa 'widen/ensanchar(se)lo angosto y estrecho, vi, vt'; Hp pičqata 'be flat, v, flat area or surface, n'; CN paacka 'wring out, squeeze liquid out'.

**1228** Hebrew pšṣ 'wound, injure'; Hebrew pšṣ 'wound, especially one which has been caused by bruising'; MHebrew pšṣ 'squash, slit, wound'; Arabic faṣaṣa (< \*pšṣ) 'to squeeze out';

UACV-904g \*pacu 'squeeze, smash': CN paacoa 'bruise s.th., mash (fruit), crush s.o.'; CN paac-tik 's.th. dripping wet, juicy, bruised, mashed, soft'; in compounds CN paac- 'liquid (perhaps squeezed out);

CN paacka 'squeeze liquid out of s.th., wring out, press out, give forth liquid'; Tr pačunti / pačuinti 'hacer gotear [make drip], exprimir a gotas [squeeze drops]'; NP capicuna 'pinch' (if ca- prefix meaning 'do with the hand'); Mn -wiḫpizizih 'squeeze, vt'. The \*pacu forms and the \*pič- of the others may all be related, especially since we see a vowel change of \*pacu > picu in one of the \*pacu forms (NP), and fronting and raising of vowels is common before alveolar consonants in UA. [1p,2s4,3'2] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**1229** Hebrew *šii<sup>ah</sup>* < \*šiiḥ ‘shrub, bush’; MHebrew \*šiiḥ ‘growth’; Arabic *šiiḥ* ‘shrub, bush’;

Ugaritic *šjt* ‘shrub, bush, bushes, shrubbery’:

UACV-907a \***si**aC (NUA): BH.Cup \*šə ‘bloom’; I.Num196 \*sī’a(h) ‘blossom, grow (of plants)’; KH.NUA: NP *sīa* ‘plant, v’; Sh *sīaC* ‘grow, v’; Cm *sīa* ‘grow, v’; SP *šī’iC/šī’i-pī* ‘blossom’; CU *sī’i* ‘bloom, flower’; Cp -šé’a ‘flower’ (poss’d); Cp *šé’e* ‘bloom’; Ca *se-l / sé’i-š* ‘flower’; Ca *sé* ‘bloom, v’; Ls *šóó’-* ‘bloom, v’; Ls -*sóó’* ‘flower, blossom’ (poss’d only); Gb *sóyn/swin* ‘flower’; Sr *sī/sīi* ‘flower(s)’; Sr *sīi* ‘bloom, v’; Ktn -šī; Hp *sihī*. Add Ch(L) *sī’ipī / sī’ici* ‘flower’ and Mn *sī’a* ‘sprout’. SP, Sh, Ch(L) show final -C.

UACV-907b \***siwa** (SUA): L.Son252 \**sīwa* ‘flor’; Eu *séwa/sewá-t*; Tbr *sewa-rá-t*; Yq *sééwa*; My *sééwa*; Wr *sewá*; Tr *sewá*; Cr *šúúšu’u* ‘flower’; CN *išwa* ‘sprout, germinate’.

UACV-907c \***siso-ciwa** ‘flower’: B.Tep67 \**hiosigai* ‘flower’; \**sisoci/hīsoci-ta(i)* ‘flower, v’ and \**sisociwa* ‘flower, n’ may fit TO *hiosig* ‘blossom, flower, n’; TO *hiotap* ‘bloom, v’; NT *yooštyai* ‘floreceer, vi’; NT *yoošiga* ‘está florecida’; NT *yoošigai* ‘la flor’; ST *yoota*; ST *yooši* ‘flower’; LP(B) *hioškam*. Add PYP *hiosga / hios* ‘flower’; PYP *hiosia* ‘flower, vi’; PYP *totsigar* ‘sprout, n’; Nv *’i’osiga* ‘flower’.

**1230** Hebrew *šoošaan / šuušaan / šoošanaa(t)* ‘lily’; Arabic *sausan / suusan* ‘lily of the valley’; the Hebrew word is derived from the Egyptian word, which becomes in Coptic *šošen*:

UACV-907d Azt \***soci** ‘flower’: CL.Azt63 \*šooči ‘flower’, 231 \**siyotu* ‘flower’; CN *šooči-tl* ‘flower, n’; CN *šoočiyooa* ‘blossom, v’; CN *iiššooowa* ‘blossom, burst forth, v’; CN *išwa* ‘sprout, germinate’; Pl *šuuči-t* ‘flower’; Pl -*šuuči-w* (poss’d). L.Son 252 equates \**sīwa* with Tep -*siga-* in Tep \**hio-siga-i*, though Tep *s* < \**c* usually. Pl suggests \*(i)soo-ci-wa > Tep \**ihosiga* > *hiosiga*. Note how both CN *šoočiyooa* ‘blossom’ and Tep \**hiosiga* could derive from \**hisociwa*. [1s2,2y,3x] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**1231** Assyrian *mtq* ‘be sweet’; Ugaritic *mtq* ‘sweet’; Arabic *mtq* ‘smack one’s lips’; Hebrew \**maateq* ‘be sweet, pleasant’; Hebrew *maatooq* ‘sweet, pleasant, adj. and sweetness (of honey), n.m.’ (e.g., Judges 14:14,18); Hebrew *motq-* (< \**moteq*) ‘sweetness’ (= Akkadian *mutqu*) takes suffixes: *motq-o* ‘its/his sweetness’; *motq-i* ‘my ...’; *motq-aa* ‘her/its sweetness’, etc; the cluster -*tq-* would likely appear most like the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant, and after the UA reduplication, note the k/g/h in Kw, Op, Eu, Wr, Tr, Tb:

UACV-918 \***mumuh/kV** ‘bee’: M67-31 \**mumu/meme* ‘bee’; L.Son156 \**mumu* ‘abejas, panal’; Fowler83; M88-mu11 ‘bee’; KH/M06-mu11: Kw *muukucize* ‘hornet’; NP *pimumui* ‘humming noise (as bees)’; Hp *momo* ‘bee’; Hp *momo-s-pala* ‘honey’; Op *mumugo*; Eu *mumúgo*; Eu *mumúhuo*; Wr *momohá* ‘honey (comb)’; Tr *umugá* ‘panal de avispas negras’; Yq *múumu*; My *muúmum* ‘abeja chiquita’; My *mumu bá’awa* ‘honey’; CN *mimiawa-l* ‘bee/wasp’s nest’; Pl *mimiyaawa-t* ‘wasp’s nest’; and Fowler includes a probable Tb *toomogal* ‘bumblebee’. Add Nv *mumuva* ‘abejas de panales’, Wc *mīimīi* ‘kind of wasp’, whose vowel agrees with \**mumu* (\**u* > Wc *i*), as do Hp *o* (< \**u*) and Aztecan *i* (< \**u*); and PYP *mumur* ‘bee’ belongs too.

UACV-917 \***muhu-pa** ‘fly’: B.Tep156 \**muuvari* ‘fly’; Fowler83: SNum \**muhu* may reflect Semitic \**mutqV*: Fowler (1983) cites Kw *muhuvaa-vi* ‘mosquito’; Ch *muhuwa-vi* ‘mosquito’ or Ch(L) *muhua-vi*. Might those and Tep \**mupa* be loans from s.th. like My *mumu bá’awa*? TO *muuwal*; LP *muuvil*; PYP *muuvili*; NT *nuuváli*; ST *muuvaly*. Add PYP *mumuva* ‘bee, n’. Note Wc *’icimipéé* ‘sp. of bee’, which matches Tepiman \**mupa* ‘fly’ in the segments \*-*mupV*. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Ca *muhúli-l’y* ‘mosquito’ only with a different suffix to \**muhu-*. [1m,2t,3q] [iddddua] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: TrC, Tep, CrC, Azt]

**1232** Arabic *bakara* ‘set out early’:

UACV-1021 \***pakay(N) / \*pakiN** ‘walk (away), sg’: Kw *pagi* ‘walk, sg’; Kw *pagi-nii* ‘walk around’; Ch *pagí* ‘walk, pl’; SP *pagiN* ‘walk’; WMU *pağáy’kwe-y / pağáy’-we-y* ‘walk, sg’; CU *pağá-’ni* ‘walk around’, CU *pağáy-’way* ‘walk’. WMU often shows nasalized vowels, which align with SP’s underlying nasal from -r. The final nasalizations in SP and WMU match a final liquid. [p1b,2k,3r] [NUA: SNum]

**1233** Arabic *šdw / šadaa* ‘run, dash, race, pass’

UACV-1024 \***wata** ‘run’: Hp *wari(k-)* ‘run’; Hp *war-ta* ‘run fast, run well’; Cr *watín* ‘to run’; Tbr *wota / wuta-ná-* ‘to run’; Tb *wa’ad~’awa’at* ‘run away’. Hp a loan from Tb? [t>ɾ/d] [1’2,2d] [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: CrC, TrC]

**1234** Hebrew *zəroʿ* ‘arm, forearm, power’; Arabic *diraaʿ* ‘arm, forearm’

UACV-1124 \***toC** ‘with the hand, instr. prefix’: KH/M06-ip3: Mn *to-* ‘with an instrument’; NP *to-* ‘with fist, shoulder, hoof’; Sh *toC-* ‘with hand / fist, away from the body (instr prefix)’. [p:z2,2r,3’2] [iddddua] [NUA: Num]

**1235** Hebrew *rp* / *raapaa* ‘to heal’; Hebrew niqtal impfv: *ye/te/’e-raape* ‘be healed, whole’ (-r- > -y-); unattested Hebrew yoqtal *\*yurpa* ‘(be caused to) be healed’; or *harroope* ‘the-healer’:

UACV-1158a *\*yowa* / *\*yopa* ‘cure’: M67-116 *\*yo* / *\*yowa* / *\*yoya* ‘cure’; L.Son362 *\*yowa* ‘curar’; M88-yo6 ‘cure’; KH/M06-yo6: *\*yopa* > Tep *dowa*: TO *doa* ‘get well’; LP *doa*; NT *duduáadyidi*, *doá-di*; ST *duañdya*, *dodya*; Add PYP *do’a* ‘alive’; PYP *do’a-lim* ‘be born, get well’; PYP *do’a-r* ‘give birth’; PYP *do’a-ter* ‘cure, vt’. Might PYP *degevin(ad)* ‘cure, save, vt’ be relevant in its showing the consonants *\*y-w-p?* [SUA: Tep]

**1236** Hebrew *rp* / *raapaa* ‘to heal’; Hebrew niqtal impfv: *ye/te/’e-raape* ‘be healed, whole’; Hebrew *hit-rappe*’ (m)/ **hit-rapp’aa** (f) ‘have oneself healed’:

UACV-1158b *\*hitowa* ‘medicine’: M88-hi4 ‘medicine’; KH/M06-hi4: Tbr *hitoá-t* ‘medicina’; My *híttua* ‘remedio’; Yq *hítto* ‘curar’; Yq *híttoa* ‘medicina’; AYq *hittoa* ‘medicine’. M67 rightly suggests that Wr may be borrowed from Tep: Wr *i’óa* ‘take medicine’; Wr *i’oé* ‘cure, vt’; Wr *i’ói* ‘medicine’; Tr *owí* / *owé-* ‘curar, invitar, perseguir’; Tr *owáami* ‘medicine’; Wr *hí’iyowa* ‘medicine’. TO *i’ówi* ‘sweet, tasty’.  
[\*hittoa, \*topa or yowa] [1r,2p,3] [SUA: TrC]

**1237** Hebrew *rp* / *raapaa* ‘to heal’; Hebrew niqtal impfv: *ye/te/’e-raape* ‘be healed, whole’; Hebrew *hit-rappe*’ ‘have oneself healed’; Hebrew participle *roope*’ ‘physician, healer’; it best fits Aramaic participle but with Canaanite vowel change **\*roop’-aa** ‘healer’, but unattested as far as I know:

UACV-1161 *\*toja* ‘cure, administer to’: BH.Cup *\*tēj* ‘to doctor’; M88-to25 ‘to doctor’; KH/M06-to25: Cp *tíjele*; Ca *tíj’ay* ‘cure, doctor s.o.’; Ls *téjal* ‘to cure, doctor with herbs’; Ls *téjala-š* ‘medicine’; Ls *téjalka-t* ‘herb doctor’. Tb *dzowaa-l* ‘shaman’. Note the glottal stop in Ca, as if another consonant in a cluster is involved.  
[1r,2p,3] [NUA: Tak, Tb]

**1238** Hebrew *bayt-aa* ‘house-toward, inside-to’

UACV-1241 *\*paca* ‘put in’: B.Tep254 *\*vaasa* ‘to put into’ and *\*vai* ‘he put into’; M88-pa4 ‘put in, enclose’; KH/M06-pa4: PYP *vaasa* ‘insert’; LP *vaaša*; NT *váása*; ST *vaasa*; Wr *pahcá*; Tr *bač-á* ‘meter [put in], encerrar, encarcelar’; My *kibáca* ‘meter’. Tr *pacá* ‘dentro, adentro’ may be a loan from Wr. perhaps TO *waša* ‘covered basket’ (that one puts things into). [1b2y,3t] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1239** Aramaic(CAL) *yall-aa* ‘lizard’; Aramaic(CAL) *yarl-aa* ‘lizard’

UACV-1370a *\*yul* ‘lizard, sp.’: BH.Cup *\*yu ...l* ‘lizard, sp.’; M88-yu15; KH.NUA; KH/M06-yu15: Cp *yú’e-l* ‘a large lizard’; Ca *páyul* (pá- ‘water’); Ls *yulú* ‘lizard, sp’. Ls fits the consonants perfectly, even to the final glottal stop. Hill also notes Sr *yu’aat* ‘water turtle’ with these and suggests their relationship to *\*yu’a* ‘wet’.

UACV-1370b *\*pa-yil* ‘lizard’: TO *wajelho* ‘whiptail lizard’; ST *vadiir* ‘lizard’. Both Tep forms show *\*pa-yil* well, which *\*yil* stem may be related to Tak *\*yul* above. TO *h* in a cluster is sometimes simply vowel devoicing, sometimes meaningful. [1y,2l] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

**1240** Arabic *raḡul* ‘man’, pl: *riḡaal* (would correspond to Hebrew *riḡool*)

UACV-1417 *\*tihoyi* ‘man, attractive’: Sapir; B.Tep221 *\*tiodi* ‘man, attractive’; M67-273d *\*tiho* ‘man’; L.Son281 *\*tihoyi* ‘hombre’; M88-ti9; KH/M06- ti9: TO *cioj*; NT *tyiodyi*; ST(B) *tyiody*; ST *čio’ñ*; Wr *tiohé* / *rihoé*; Wr(MM) *rihoé* / *tehoýe* ‘hombre [man]’; Tr *fehói*, pl: *fetewi*. A Kiowa-Tanoan form is Kiowa *togul* ‘young man’ and is better preserved or a possible loan source (g > h). [1r,2g,3l] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1241** Arabic *ḡabal* ‘mountain(s)’:

UACV-1455b *\*kaipa* / *\*kaapa* ‘mountain’ (I.Num49 *\*kaipa*): NP *kaipa*; Kw *kee-vi*; Ch *kaiva*; SP *qaiva*; WMU *qaava* / *gaava*; CU *káa-vi*. Kw and CU reinterpreted the final *-va* as an absolute suffix, but NP, Ch, SP, and WMU show that it is part of the stem. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: TrC]

**1242** Hebrew *rbš* ‘lie down (often of animals)’; Hebrew *rebeš* ‘resting place’ with suffixes *ribš-o* ‘resting place-his’; Arabic *rbđ* ‘lie down, rest (animals, with chest to the ground)’; Arabic *rabađ*, pl: *arbaađ* ‘place where animals lie down to rest’; Akkadian *tarbašu* ‘cattle-pen’:

UACV-1518a *\*tosa* ‘nest’: Eu *hitósa*; Yq *tóósa*; My *toosa*; Tbr *tuesá-r*.

UACV-1518b *\*ta’so* ‘nest’: Wr *ta’só*; Tr *fasó*.

UACV-1518c *\*tapa’sol* ‘nest’: CN *tapa’sol-li* ‘bird’s nest’; CN *pa’sol-li* ‘briarpatch’; CN *tapasol-loa* ‘to tangle s.th.’ Words for ‘nest’ occur with some consistency in SUA, while NUA languages show little of diachronic substance, in having no sets or recently derived compounds. These words found in CN and most TrC languages show enough in common for a relationship among them, perfect clarity pending. Eu and Cah show *\*tosa*, while Tr and Wr show *\*ta(’)so*, the two pairs being similar except for a V metathesis. Tbr and

CN may provide keys in that CN actually shows a bilabial and Tbr shows a round vowel among non-round vowels that may suggest a former bilabial in cluster with other consonants, like Spanish *déuda* ‘debt’; and see *b > ø/\_C*, 4.3, p. 124. If originally *\*tapa*’so, then a sequence like the following is natural enough, but hardly certain, of course:

*\*tapa*’so > *\*tap*’so > *\*taw*’so > *\*ta*’so (Wr, Tr)

> *\*tosa* (Eu, Yq, My)

[1r,2b,3s4] [SUA: TrC]

**1243** MHebrew *prq* ‘remove, take away’; Nabatean *prq* ‘let out, liberate, redeem’;

Arabic *\*paraqa* ‘to separate’; Syriac *prq* ‘separate from, depart, go away’:

UACV-1586 *\*pa’ku* ‘out’: Yq *pá’aku(ni)* ‘afuera’; AYq *pa’akun(i)* ‘outside’; My *pá’aku* ‘afuera’;

Cr *pwa’akiéh* ‘afuera’; Wc *vaka* ‘take out’. Tak, with different first vowel, perhaps a quttal form: Sr *puraq-q* ‘go out, come out, urinate, v’; to urinate, one goes away / out or separates oneself from the abode/group;

Ktn *purahk-ik* ‘come out, go out, set out for a place, vi’, but no *r > y*? [p1p,p2r,p3q] [SUA: TrC, CrC; NUA: Tak]

**1244** Semitic *prq* ‘remove, separate’; Arabic *\*prq* III ‘separate oneself, withdraw, depart, leave, quit’:

UACV-1300 *\*piyaC* / *\*pi’aC* ‘leave, save’: Sapir; B.Tep273 *\*vi’ia/i* ‘to stay’; M67-256 *\*pia* ‘leave’; I.Num174 *\*piya* ‘leave (behind, over)’; CL.Azt81 *\*piya* ‘have, ñ’; 248 *\*\*piya* ‘keep, leave’; L.Son192a *\*pi* ‘quedarse, faltar’; L.Son192b *\*pi-a* ‘dejar’; M88-pi10 ‘leave/dejar, quedarse’; KH/M06-pi10: Sh *pīaC* ‘leave’; Cm *pīa* ‘leave, forsake, quit’; SP *piyai-*: *piya’ḡwi* ‘be left over’; CU *piyaay* ‘be left, remain behind’; TO *wi’i* ‘stay, remain’; TO *wi’ikam* ‘be one left, a remnant; be an orphan, one left by himself’; Eu *vié* ‘faltar, quedar’; Eu *vía* / *vi’a* ‘dejar’; Tbr *wipia* ‘seguir’; Yq *bé’e* ‘faltar, guardar’; Yq *yeubé’ene* ‘dejar afuera’ (Yq *yeu* ‘para afuera’); AYq *ve’e* ‘be lacking, left over, vi’; AYq *ve’a* ‘save, reserve’; My *be’a* ‘dejar aparte’; Wc *pi* ‘quitar, dejar’. CN, HN, Pl *\*piya* ‘have, guard, take care of’; WMU *piyé-y* ‘be left over’. Among Tep UP *wia*; LP *vi’i*; NT *vía*; ST *vii*; ST *vidya* ‘leave left overs’; NT *viééyi*, *viídyi* ‘dejar’; TO *wi’a* ‘leave s.th. behind’, NT and ST show *d*, as if underlying *\*y*, while other languages show medial glottal stop. Probably with additional causative suffix: Kw *piine’e* ‘leave, vt’; NP *pinai* ‘last one, one that is left’. [medial *\* / \*y*] [kw1p,kw2r,kw3q] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1245** Hebrew *šeaʕar* ‘hairiness, body hair, hairy covering’; Ugaritic *šʕr* ‘hair’; Akkadian *šaartum* ‘hair, goat hair, pelt’; Syriac *səʕar* ‘hair’; Syriac *saʕr-aa* ‘hair-the’; Syriac *saʕr-aa d-arnaabaa* ‘hair of a hare’;

Arabic *šaʕara* ‘understand intuitively, perceive, sense, feel’; Arabic *šaʕr* / *šaʕar* ‘hair, fur, pelt’;

Arabic *šaʕaraaʕ* ‘goats, pl’; the Semitic nouns are often ‘body hair’ or ‘fur’ with occasional shifts to ‘hairy animals’ as in Arabic ‘goats’ or in UA ‘jackrabbit’:

UACV-1759 *\*su’i* / *\*suwi* ‘jackrabbit’: M67-335 *\*sui*; BH.Cup *\*su’ic*; HH.Cup *\*su’iṣ*; Munro.Cup66 *\*su’i-š*; M88-su10 ‘jack-rabbit’; AMR1993a *\*suu’it*; KH/M06-su10: Hp *soowi*; Tb *suu’it* / *šuu’it*; Sr *hoii’t*; Ktn *hwi’t*; Gb *su’it*; Ca *sú’iṣ*; Ls *šu’i-š*; Cp *sú’iṣ/su’ic*; CN *si’-tli*. [ʔ/w] [1s2,2’2,3r] [idddua] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]

**1246** Hebrew *šəmoʕl* ‘left’; Hebrew *ha-šmoʕl* ‘the-left’; Syriac *simaal-aa* ‘left-the’; Arabic *šamaal* / *šimaal* ‘north’; Old Canaanite *sim’al* ‘left’ or *hassim’al* ‘the-left’:

UACV-1307 *\*si...* ‘left’: Tb *’aašiyān* / *aašijan* ‘left side’; Hp *siy-ḡakw* ‘from the left side, left-from’. In Old Canaanite *sim’al*, the *m* may be lost as first element of a cluster: *sim’al* > *si’al* / *siyal*, resembling Tb and Hopi, but best of all, the one Tb alternate *aašijan* < *\*has-sim’al* has all typical UA changes, final liquid > *n*, and the cluster *-m’- > -ḡ-*. [1s2,2m,3’,4l] [NUA: Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep]

**1247** Hebrew *tly* ‘hang’; *\*yutla* (hoqʕal) ‘be hung’; Aramaic(J) *tly* / *talaa* ‘swing, lift up, suspend, hang’; or perhaps Arabic *dll* ‘suspend’; Hebrew *dll* ‘allow to hang down’, (hoqʕal) *yudlal*:

UACV-1128 *\*yula* ‘hang’: Ca *yúlaa* ‘to hang’; Ls *yóóra* ‘to swing, hang in the air’; we would expect the Ls vowel to be *u* also, but *\*u-a > o-a* is frequent. [*\*u-a > o-a*] [SUA: Tak]

**1248** Arabic *qasaʕa* ‘divide up, measure’; Hebrew *qəšiiʕaa* ‘ancient weight, used as money, n.f.’;

MHebrew *qəšiiʕaa* ‘a coin, a weight, lamb’; MHebrew *qəšiiʕaa* ‘a standard value, jewel, lamb’;

Syriac(S) *qesṭ-aa* ‘measure, n.m.’:

UACV-2016 *\*koCta* ‘bark, shell, money’: M67- 21 *\*ko* ‘bark of tree’; L.Son90 *\*koci* ‘camarón’; M88-ko6, ko10, ko21; Munro.Cup118 *\*qééci-la* ‘shell’; KH.NUA; KH/M03-ko6, ko10: Ls *qéš-la* ‘seashell’; Ls *qéš-la ka-š* ‘skull’;

Gb (a)-*xóxoc* ‘(su) cáscara’; Cp *qíci-ly* ‘money, silver’; Ca *qíč-ily* ‘money’ (pl: *qišlyam*); Sr *-qöč* ‘hide, bark’; Sr *qöčaaviam* ‘money’; Cr *kúcape’e* (Cr *u* < *\*o*) ‘cáscara’; Cr *kuhca’ana* ‘type of tree with useful bark’;

Cr *ra-ká-kuhca’an* ‘he is skinning it’. Ken Hill adds Ktn *koco* ‘shell (of turtle), peel, skin’. Nv *koska* ‘concha de nácar [mother of pearl, nacre]’ belongs (Nv *s* < *\*c*; cf. Tbr *koci-kal* ‘camarón’) and it may be loan source for CN *kooska-tl* ‘jewel, ornament, necklace’ and not belong at 632. [p1q,2t] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1249** Arabic *qasaṭa* ‘divide up, measure’; Hebrew *qəšiīṭaa* ‘ancient weight, used as money, n.f.’; Middle Hebrew *qəšiīṭaa* ‘a standard value, coin, weight, jewel, lamb’; Syriac(S) **qesṭ-aa** ‘measure, n.m.’; Hebrew *qəšqəšet* ‘scales’; or possibly Syriac *qrṭ(ʿ)* ‘acacia shell’; Arabic *quraidis* ‘shrimp’:

UACV-577 \***pa-koCci** ‘shrimp’: My *baa koóčim*; Yq *ba’akoči*; AYq *vaa koočim*; CN *akosili / akosilin*. CN has its expected loss of initial \*p (from \*pa- ‘water’), though the s < \*c is open for explanation. These languages devoted this cognate to ‘shrimp (shell)’: \***koCti** ‘shrimp’: L.Son90 \**koci* ‘camarón’; Wr *kohci* ‘camarón, canqui’; Tbr *koci-kal* ‘camarón’; and My *kóči kapá’ora* = *baa koočim* ‘camarón’. [SUA: TrC, Azt] UACV-2015 \***koyo** ‘shell’: L.Son100 \**koyo* ‘concha’; M88-ko21 ‘concha’ and ko10; KH/M03-ko10: Eu *kodó(k)* ‘concha’; Op *kodosi* ‘ostia’; Yq *koóyo*; Wr *ko’oyó* ‘caracol’; My *koyóole* ‘cinto de campanitas’; Pl *kuyul* ‘coyol palm tree’; Tb *kooyoo-t* ‘turtle’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds TSh *koyoto-cci / kwiyoto-cci* ‘mussel, clam, seashell’ and also notes Chumash *q’oy* ‘olivella’. Miller has here NP *kota* ‘crayfish’ and NP *kotyottī* ‘white shell necklace’. The \*koyo and \*koCta/i forms have often been combined. My *koyóole* (above) and NP *kotyottī*, short of a missing -t- in My, offer substantial resemblance, and shells being a trade item may mean that many of these are loan possibilities, as well. [SUA: TrC, Azt; NUA: Num]

**1250** Aramaic(S) *šrg / šrq* ‘slip, slide’; Syriac *šrṣ* ‘slip, slide, glide’; Arabic *zaliqa, -zlaqu* ‘glide, slide, slip’; or Egyptian *šdr* ‘lowland, slope’?

UACV-2037c \***siro** ‘slide, slip’; Hp *sirokna* ‘slide it’; Tr *sisíro-* ‘patines, deslizaderas [skates]’ or Tr *saráame* ‘resbaloso [slippery]’; Ktn *sirīhr(-)īk / sidīhīrīk* ‘play slide (down a hill on a hide)’; Tb *šida’yat~išiday* ‘to slide, slip’; Tb *šido’dot~išidoot* ‘to slither’. Miller includes Pl *šīipinawai* ‘to slide, slip’, but for Azt, CN *šoloaa* ‘slip, v.t., v.refl.’ is a better candidate, showing the medial liquid with possible assimilation of the first vowel to the second: \**silo...* > *solo...* In fact, CN *š* rather than *s* may suggest the same in light of CN’s other V assimilations in sand, etc. Ktn (*haru*)*haru’y* ‘slip’ may have \**s* > *h*; Cr *watasírī’ipeka* ‘se resbala’ (whose middle portion corresponds to \*-*siru’u-*). This morpheme may be in \**sīrpV* (Hp *sīrpa* ‘slip suddenly’); TO *heelwua* ‘slide’; TO *heelwuis* ‘slide’; Pl *šīipinawai* ‘to slide, slip’) at smooth. Other slip/slide terms follow, not necessarily cognate.

UACV-2037d \***si’ta**: Tr *sitá* ‘deslizante, que se desliza, que resbala’; Wr *si’tá* ‘be smooth, slippery’ (fut: *si’taré-ma*); Tb *šida’yat~išiday* ‘to slide, slip’; Ktn *šītk* ‘bald’.

UACV-2037e \***cita** / \***ci’ta** ‘slip(pery)’: AYq *čitahko* ‘slippery, smooth’; My *čita(h)ko* ‘smooth, slippery’.

UACV-2037f \***cito** ‘slide, slip’: Eu *čitóvake* ‘deslizarse’; My *čitohte* ‘se resbala’; Eu *čitóke* ‘smooth’; Eu *čitó-da’a* ‘slip’; Yq *čitóhte* ‘slide’; AYq *čitohte* ‘slip’; TSh (tac)*cihuhi* ‘slip’. Note the variant 2<sup>nd</sup> V a/o in Cah.

## SP *si’yu* ‘slide’; SP *šiu* ‘slip’; CU *siyú-kway* ‘slide’.

If a liquid was lost in a cluster, the two below ought to be considered:

UACV-2037a \***siko(h’i)** ‘slide, slip’: I.Num190 \**siko(o)* ‘slide’; M88-si10 ‘to slide’; KH/M06-si10: Mn *siqo* ‘slide, vt’; Mn *šigógho* ‘slide, vi’; NP *sikoi*; Sh *sikuhC / sikoo* ‘slide, vi’; Kw *šigo’i*.

UACV-2037b \***taC-sikohi** ‘foot-slip’: Mn *tasiqohi* ‘slip, vi’; TSh *taccikohi* ‘slip on one’s feet’. Add also WMU *tahssiikwa* ‘slip, vi’. The cluster of \*-Cs- produced another instance of the c/s dichotomy in

Mn *tasiqohi* and TSh *taccikohi*. [s/c, t/l] [1s,2t,2l,2r,2d] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1251** Hebrew *qaw / qaaw* ‘string’; Syriac(KB) *qəwee* ‘woven’, pl: *qəwayyaa / qəwiin*; the Aramaic pl -iin on Semitic *qaw* would yield **qawin**:

Ls **qááwina-š** ‘bowstring’

**1252** Arabic *taffa* (< \**tappa*) ‘to spit, spew’; Aramaic(J) *tp̄p* ‘spit out’, *tw̄p / tuup-aa* ‘spittle-the’:

UACV-2122b \***cupa** / \***top** ‘spit, vi’: Sr *cöv-kin* ‘spit, v’; the -cuba of Wr *a’kacuba* ‘spit, v’. [1t,2p] [NUA: Tak]

**1253** Syriac *šaaq-aa* ‘leg, shank, branch, stem, stock’; Hebrew *šooq* ‘thigh’:

UACV-2156 \***co(k’i)** / \***cuC-ki** ‘trunk, base, stem, stalk’: M67-66; M88-co9; KH/M06-co9: Tr *čokí* ‘extremidad inferior, tallo [stem, stalk]’; Tr *ču’kí / čo’kí / ču’rí* ‘tallo’; Tr *čo’ki-su* ‘a shoot’; Hp *coki* ‘upright plant, tree, bush’; Wr *cohkí* ‘stem, trunk’. Ken Hill adds Wc *cutia* ‘base, fundamento’. [1s1,2q] [SUA: TrC, CrC; NUA: Hp]

**1254** Syriac *səqaṣ*, impfv -*sqaṣ* ‘to crouch, squat’; Syriac *saqqaṣ* ‘crouch down, cower’; Syriac *saaquuṣ-aa* ‘one who squats, crouches’: or Hebrew *šṣy* ‘be fettered, cower, tilt, lie down’; Arabic *šgw / šagaa* ‘to bow, incline, bend, lean’; infinitive or verbal noun *šagwu* ‘bowing, leaning, inclining’:

UACV-2197 \***cuku** ‘stoop, bend over’: L.Son46 \**cuku* ‘agacharse’; M88-cu13; KH/M06-cu13: Op *cuk*; Eu *cú-cuku*; *cuko*; Wr *cuhkú*; Tr *cukú/čogó* ‘be on all fours, stooped, bent over’. [1s3,2q,3’2] [SUA: TrC]

**1255** Hebrew sgd, impfv: -sgod ‘bow down’; Arabic sağada, impfv: \*-sgudu ‘bow down, bow to worship, prostrate oneself’; Aramaic (J) sgd ‘bend, bow, worship’; Syriac sağed ‘bow, do reverence’:

UACV-943 \*coko ‘knee, kneel’: L.Son37 \*coko ‘knee’; M88-co12; KH/M06-co12: Tr cokóba-ra; Tbr soko ‘kneel’; Tbr mo-sokó-l ‘rótula’; Tr čokó ‘kneel’; Wr(alto) cohkópo ‘knee’. [SUA: TrC]

**1256** Egyptian(H) wn ‘sein [be], existieren [exist]’:

But not Hebrew řalaa ‘he stood up, arose’, pl: řaluu ‘they stood up, arose’; see below 1257, 1258

UACV-2158 \*wīnī ‘stand’: VVH161 \*wīlī ‘to stand’; M67-411 \*wene; I.Num287 \*wīnī/\*wīhnī ‘stand (durative)’; M88-wī6 ‘to be standing’; KH.NUA; L.Son343 \*wīrī/\*wīr-i ‘pararse’; KH/M06-wī6: Mn wīnī; NP wīnī; TSh wīnī; Sh wīnī; Cm wīnī; Kw wīnī ‘stand, stop, sg’; SP wīnī; CU wīnī ‘be standing’; CU wīnī-wī ‘get up, stand up’; Tb ’īwīnīt ~ ’īī’īwīn ‘stand up’; Tb wīnīt ‘be located, exist’; Tb(H) wīnnī ‘be’; Hp wīnī ‘be standing, sg’; Ca wéwen ‘stand up, be standing, stop, stand still’; Ca wén ‘put in place/order’; Ca wen-et ‘s.th. that is there’; Cp wé ‘there it is’; Ls wón ‘be at a place’; Gb wó ‘there is/are’; Sr wīn/wīnī ‘be in a place, lie (mass/pl)’; Sr čōno’-wīn resultative of čōno’-k ‘stand up, stop, sg’; Eu wéhra ‘parar’; Wr werí; Wr(MM) wela / wera / wer- ‘parar, poner parado/a [put standing]’; Wr(MM) weri ‘estar parado/a [be standing]’; Tr wiri-mea; Tr wer; My wéyyek; My wéyye ‘caminar’; AYq weyek ‘be standing, sg’. [e1w,2n] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: TrC]

**1257** Hebrew řaalaa ‘he stood up, arose’, participle: řoole, pl: řaluu ‘they stood up, arose’:

Tb(H) oolīt ‘get up’ vs. Tb(H) wīnnī ‘be’ from Egyptian wn / wnn ‘be’;

1<sup>st</sup> from Hebrew řalaa, but 2<sup>nd</sup> could not be, but aligns with Egyptian wn/wnn or Semitic řny. Tb oolīt may reflect the participle Hebrew řoole ‘arising, ascending, getting up’ [1’2,2l,3y]

**1258** Hebrew plural: řaluu ‘they stood up’; while the two forms of Tbr were / welo ‘estar, estar en pie’ align with singular and plural, the Tepiman forms align with a reduplicated plural \*wīwīlu- of the two in singular Hebrew řalaa ‘he stood up, arose, masc singular’ and plural: řaluu ‘they stood up, arose’:

UACV-2159 \*wīwīlu-ka > Tep gī(g/r)uka ‘stand, pl’: B.Tep48 \*guguka ‘to stand, pl’; M88-wu1; KH/M06-wu1: TO gegok ‘be standing, pl’; UP gīgukī (B.Tep); PYP gerok ‘be standing, upright, pl subj anim’; NT gúuka; ST guguuk ‘standing, pl’. The PYP form suggests that this is a pluralizing reduplication of \*wīlī above, i.e., \*wīwīlu with final -u instead of ī, like the one Tbr form of Tbr wele / welo; thus, \*wīwīru > wīwru-ka > Tep \*gīgruka > \*gīguk / guguk. Note the two forms of Tbr weré/welo, the latter matching the pl stem, the former matching \*wīlī above for sg. [1’2,2l,3y] [SUA: Tep]

**1259** Hebrew brk ‘kneel down, bless, praise, adore’, impfv: CV-**brok**; this is a Sem-kw contribution, as obvious in Ca, less obvious in Hopi, and loss of w in Cahitan bw > b:

Ca kwéy’eqi ‘stoop down, vi’; My beyúk ‘se agachó [stooped, bent over]’; Hp yok-ta ‘be nodding off, be bending or stooping over repeatedly’ of impfv **brok** with loss of -b- in the cluster. [kw1b, kw 2r, kw 3k]

**1260** Hebrew brk ‘kneel down, bless, praise, adore’:

UACV-2202 \*po’o-ta / \*poro- ‘bend over, stoop over’: AYq po’ola ‘stooped over’; AYq po’okte ‘bend, stoop, double over’; Cr áh pú’utawí’isí ‘se inclina [lean, stoop]; with \*o > Cr u, AYq and Cr match. In both Cah and Cr we see liquids r/l > -’-. [p1b,p2r,p3k] [SUA: TrC, CrC]

UACV-2200 \*luka ‘stoop’: Ca lúku ‘bend the body forward’; Cp áwluke ‘set (of sun), v’; Ls lóoqa ‘stoop’; \*u-a > o-a may explain Ls o, and Cp has a prefix; otherwise, good. [NUA: Tak]

**1261** Arabic řdd ‘to be firm, solid, hard, strong’:

UACV-2219 \*sīCī > \*sīī ‘strong’: Sh(C) sīttawīttī ‘strong, muscular’; Cm sutena ‘forcefully’ (< \*suttVna); SNum forms are likely of another source: Kw sīī-ga-di ‘one that is strong, of trees’; SP šīī- ‘strong’; SP šūū-ğa-ntū; WMU sūū- / sūū-ğa / sūū-ğa-ttū ‘strong’; CU sūū-a-ğa-tū ‘strong’. Note \*-tt- in CNum. [NUA: Num]

**1262** Aramaic dakar ‘remember’; Hebrew zakar ‘remember, mention’; Arabic řakara ‘remember, think, mention’; Tep may have m sg obj oto: řakar oto ‘think on it’:

UACV-2286 \*řikay ‘think’: TO čegito ‘think’; PYP tekito ‘think, need’; Hp řīřqayi ‘learn, hear, heed’; Hp řīřqaypi ‘temple, side of forehead’. [1z2,2k,3r] [SUA: Tep]

**1263** Hebrew řlk ‘throw, dispose of, throw away’ and ‘be thrown to the earth’ (hořtal)’;

\*řillek-aa (qittel with suffix):

UACV-2318 \*řīk ‘beat, throw (with power, furry)’: Ca řeqay ‘whip’; Ca pe-řeqay ‘whip, throw (one’s power at s.o. to kill him)’ and CN řookoa ‘hurl s.o. or s.th. down in scorn’. CN assimilated V’s from \*řīk. [1s1,2l,3k] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

Below are three forms in a row aligning with various forms of Semitic tpr ‘sew together’:

**1264** Hebrew tpr / taapar, impfv: -tpor, cohortative \*-tpora < \*-tpura ‘stitch together’;

Hebrew qittel impfv: -tapper (< \*-tappir) ‘sew together’; Aramaic(J) tpr ‘join, sew, mend’:

UACV-2332a \***tappiCta** ‘tie’: M67-438 \*tapi ‘tie’; M88-ta24; KH/M06-ta24: NP tappi ‘tie’; Kw tapiči ‘tie’; SP tavičča ‘tie’; CU tapíc’a-y ‘tie’; Cr tápi-’i ‘he is tied to the stake’. Eu **hitápura** ‘make a knot’ and Eu hitápuri ‘knot’ highly resemble Hebrew hit-qattel—**hittapper**— or a similar form is a niqtal infinitive—hittaper—though Eu -p- may suggest a doubled \*-pp- as in the first, which is also more likely or more common. An intensive (Hebrew qittel \*-rabbiṭ or Arabic II) of Semitic rbṭ (Arabic rbṭ ‘bind, tie up’) would yield similar forms, but tpr with final r clustered with t would yield similarly: \*-rt- > -č-.

**1265** Hebrew quttal ( passive of qittel impfv above) would be \*-**tuppar** ‘sown together’:

UACV-2332b \***tuppa** ‘tie(d)’: NP tupaga (< \*tuppaka) ‘tie with’, Mn wítopisa (< \*wiC-toppisa) ‘tie a knot in’. An intensive (i.e., Hebrew qittel or Arabic II) of Semitic rbṭ (Arabic rbṭ ‘bind, tie up’) would yield similar forms to this and the above, but Semitic tpr seems more likely. Ls túúča/i- ‘be tied, vi, tie, vt’ with loss of p in a cluster is a less clear possibility from quttal of either tpr or rbṭ

**1266** Hebrew tpr / taapar, impfv: -tpor, cohortative \*-tpora < \*-tpura ‘stitch together’; Hebrew qittel impfv: tapper (< \*tappir) ‘sew together’; Aramaic(J) tpr ‘join, sew, mend’:

UACV-2330a \***pura/i** ‘tie’: VVH97b \*puli/\*pula ‘to tie’; M67-437 \*pul ‘tie’; L.Son221 \*pura, pur-i ‘amarrar’; B.Tep285a \*vurai ‘he ties up’; 285b vurisa ‘to tie up’; 285c \*vuu ‘he tied up’; CL.Azt173 \*ilpi; M88-pu2; KH/M06-pu2: Tb puunat~’umbun ‘tie a knot’; TO wuud; wudakud ‘rope, strap’; TO wul ‘be tied together’; wulim ‘bale, bundle’; Nv vurha ‘atar’; PYP vuura ‘fasten, tie’; NT vúli ‘está amarrado’; NT vupúúlčapai ‘amarrar (animal), vt’; NT vupúúrai ‘amarrar, vt’; ST vulyi ‘amarrar’; ST vuraak ‘lo amarró’; Eu búra/vúra; Wr pula/puri; Tr burá/buri; Wc hĩa ‘amarrar’; CN ilpiaa ‘gird oneself, tie s.th./s.o. up’; CN pilooa ‘hang s.th./s.o./self up’; Pl pilua ‘hang, wear about the neck’. What of Ls póta/i ‘fasten, pin’? Or Semitic kbl ‘fetter, bind’? [SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt, maybe NUA: Tb, Tak;]

**1267** Hebrew šml ‘exert oneself’; Hebrew šaamel ‘burdened with grief, worker’; unattested huqtal 3<sup>rd</sup> m sg \*yušmal ‘be tired’; Arabic šml / šamila, impfv: ya-šmalu ‘to do, work, take pains, exert oneself’:

UACV-2341 \***yu’ma** ‘tired, worn out’: Tbr yum- ‘cansarse [get tired]’; Yq yúume ‘cansarse [get tired]’; My yuúme ‘se está cansando’; Ch yum’á ‘tired, suffer, drunk, dead, pl’; Tb yu’mat~’uuyu’m ‘worn out’; Tbr yu-nium-ká-m ‘anciana’ (-ni- = Tbr ñ < \*y, thus < \*yuyum). [1’2,2m,3l] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: TrC]

**1268** Hebrew maš<sup>a</sup>le ‘rising, ascent, climb’; Hebrew mašal ‘above’;

Hebrew maš<sup>a</sup>laa ‘upward movement, stair, upwards’:

UACV-2444 \***-mo-** ‘up(ward)’: Wr i’móla ‘stairs’; Eu mówa ‘arriba’; Tr mo- ‘encima’; Tr -mo-ba ‘encima de’; Tr nemo(nó) ‘mount on’; Tr mowi ‘subirsele, encimarsele’, pl: himo; Wr i’mó- ‘climb’; Wr mohéna- ‘climb’; Wr mo’tépú- ‘climb up s.th., vt’; Eu hámu ‘subir’; Eu há mudau ‘subida’; Kw mo’osí ‘rise, vi’; Hp mó’o’-ta ‘be piled high in a mounded shape’; Hp mó’ola ‘pile up, make mound’, but Hp V should be ö. [1m,2’2,3l] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: TrC]

**1269** Hebrew \*na-r’ey ‘be seen, appear’:

TO neid ‘be seen, appear, find out’ vs. TO neid ‘see, discover, visualize, realize, perceive’:

UACV-1905 \***nī(r) / \*nī(r/y)’i** ‘see’: B.Tep177 \*nīda ‘to look’; M67-366 \*ne ‘see’; L.Son174 \*nī ‘ver’; M88-nīl ‘see s.th.’; KH/M06-nīl: TO nea, ne’a ‘look, see’; TO neid ‘see, discover, visualize, realize, perceive’; TO neida ‘seeing, s.th. seen, sight’; UP nīidī; LP nīij; NT nīidyá; ST nīidyá; Wr ne’né ‘verlo’; Tr né’ ‘mirar’; Tbr nyere, nyera ‘mirar’; Hp nīpcawi ‘one who stares out of curiosity’; Hp(Albert, Shaul) nīkcawi / nīpcawi ‘stare at, be easily attracted’; Cr ha-tá-nyee ‘he is awake’; Pl neesi ‘appear, look like’. Ls nóóli ‘see, look, read, visit s.o.’ is crucial to the medial consonant, as l > s in Azt adjacent to voiceless C. Note also Tr newá ‘visible’; Tr ne’ná ‘admire’; SP nayava / naya’pa ‘seem, look like’; Tr e’né- ‘see, look’; Tr e’náwa- ‘be admired’; and CN neesi ‘appear, reveal oneself, become visible’. In his NT dictionary in progress, Bascom lists NT ñeéyi ‘see, vi’; NT nīdyi ‘see, vt’. Tr newá- ‘present, perceptible, realized (used with other verbs rather than alone)’ is noteworthy. [l/r > y/d/s; w > v in Num] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt; NUA: Num]

**1270** Hebrew (\*bayin >) been ‘between’; Arabic bayna ‘between, among’; Syriac bainai ‘between, among’:

UACV-2565 \***kwan** ‘with’: NT abáána ‘junto a, junto de, junto con [together with]’; ST baan ‘con (apartado)’. [kw1b,2n] [SUA: Tep]

**1271** Hebrew naaš-iim ‘women, pl’ (suppletive plural of ’iššaa ‘woman, sg’); Syriac nešaa ‘women’:

UACV-2574 \***nos-tu** ‘old woman’: BH.Cup \*néc ‘old woman’; M88-no11 ‘old woman’; Munro.Cup140 \*nééči-la; KH.NUA; KH/M03-no11: Cp níču ‘grow old (of women)’; Cp níšlyuve-l ‘old woman’; Ca níšlyuvel ‘old woman’;

Ca níšl<sup>y</sup>uvuk 'bec. old (of women)'; Ls nééču 'bec. an old woman'; Ls néš-la / néš-ma-l 'old woman'; Sr nihtaviřt 'old woman', pl: ninihtaviřm; Sr nihtaviřtu 'grow old (of a woman), become an old woman, v'. Ken Hill notes the 1<sup>st</sup> V is likely due to Ca influence. Sr niřht 'woman' also exists. Ken Hill adds Ktn nohtat, pl: nonohtam. Note Serrano's four terms—Sr naařt 'girl', Sr nääřt 'young woman', Sr niřht, pl niniřm 'woman', and Sr nihtaviřt 'old woman' (tav < \*rab 'great'). [NUA: Tak]

**1272** Arabic qřr 'to peel, shell, derind, debark, skin, husk', f. impfv ta-qřir:

UACV-2019a \*asi'a 'bark, n' (SNum): Kw 'asi'a; Ch 'asi'a; CU sí'aa-vi. [loss of initial vowel in CU]

UACV-2019b \*si'a 'hull, shell, peel, v': BH.Tak \*si'a 'hull, v'; M88-si6; KH/M03-si6 'to shell, hull, v':

Cp si'ay 'to hull acorns'; Ca si'ay- 'to peel (fruit, bark of a tree, etc.), vt'; Ls ří'awiř 'shelled acorns';

NP tasi'wa 'to crack pinenuts'. The semantics are identical, and the forms fit the rare (i) vowel of the impfv, and NP even shows the 3<sup>rd</sup> f prefix \*ta- as at 561. The glottal stop may reflect a consonant cluster at the morpheme boundary, a morpheme perhaps resembling what is visible in Ls and NP -wa. [NUA: Num, Tak]

The next few items are relevant to the Aramaic-leaning of the Semitic-p language, discussed later.

**1273** Aramaic \*-t-aa 'the' (f. suffixed definite article, often part of citation form, drops when possessed):

\*UA \*-ta 'absolute suffix (dropped when possessed).

UACV-2678 \*-ta 'non-possessed/absolute suffix': Whorf1837b; BH.Cup\*-ta/\*-la/\*-ca 'absolute suffix';

Miller1983,120; KH/M06-ns1: TSh -tta 'accusative'; Sh -tta (obj form); Tb -l, -t; Hp -t(a-) 'non-possessed

accusative singular'; Sr -t(a-)/-ç(a-)/-č(a-) 'singular'; -t(a-) 'non-possessed'; Ca -t/-l/-l<sup>y</sup>/-ř/-č; Cp -t/-l/-l<sup>y</sup>/-č;

Ls -t(a-)/-l(a-)/-ř/-č; Gb -t/-r/-y; My -ta 'accusative'; Op -ta 'accusative for class I verbs in Op (Shaul 1990, 563); TO -t, -č; CN -tl/-tli/-li < PUA \*-ta. Relevant to this is that in some Aramaic dialects, the definite noun form is more often the citation form or equivalent to UA's absolute. [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**1274** Hebrew kookaab 'star'; Aramaic(S) kookb-aa' / kookəb-aa' 'star-the'; Syriac kaukab 'star';

Syriac kaukb-aa' 'star-the':

Sr kupaa' 'to shine (as of the stars)'; another verbalization of a noun, even showing the final glottal stop.

Everything is as expected: (1) vowels generally rise from Sem to UA (o > u); (2) Aramaic's suffixed definite article causes the last two consonants to cluster, and Sr -p- (vs. -v-) shows a cluster underlies it, such as -kp-; (3) all vowels and consonants are as expected, even the final glottal stop of suffixed article -aa'. Even Syriac itself denominalizes the noun to a verb: Syriac kawkeb 'to cover with stars'. [1k,2k,3b]

**1275** Syriac řaqł-aa 'field-the, open country-the':

UACV-1830 \*oka / \*(/h)oka 'sand, earth, rock': Sapir; M67-355a \*o 'rock'; I.Num11 \*(o)h 'pebbles'; M88-'o9; Munro.

Cup38 \* ééxa-la or hááxa-la 'earth/land/sand'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-'o9: Sr 'öřq-ř 'sand'; Gb 'óxor 'earth, land, dirt';

Gb 'ohét 'sand'; Ls 'éx-la 'earth, land, dirt'; Ca í'exi-ř 'desert' and Cp háxa-l 'sand'; Sapir lists Gb öxa-r 'land' and Fernandéño öxa-r 'land' which also suggest a 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel of a (\*oka); Ktn 'oka' 'sand, sandy area';

Ktn 'a'-oka 'arroyo, canyon'. Most interesting is Ls 'éx-la 'earth, land, dirt' whose e < \*o, shows a rare -la instead of the more common -l and -t, which -la is most often motivated by a clustered nasal or liquid like an underlying \*okl-la. These may tie to CNum \*ok(w)aiC 'flow, river' at river, though Sh om-pin 'talus rocks, scree' and Sh okwaiC 'flow'; Sh okaiC-pin 'river' show different looks. A shorter \*oC / \*oN seems to underlie Mn pa-'oo' 'gravel'; NP pa'oppī 'streambed gravel'; Sh om-pin 'talus rocks, scree'; SP oC-, uC- 'round object'; Hp owa 'rock, stone' pl: o'wa (vowel is wrong). Hill adds Ch ompī 'almagre [red ochre]'; TSh ompin 'small water-worn pebbles or gravel'; TSh ořkompin 'small water-worn pebbles or gravel'. Let's separate the preceding \*oC- / \*oN- from the following (perhaps \*oka / \*oNka). Questionable is Wr o'sé 'pedregal' unless it has another morpheme. 1h2,2q,3l [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: TrC]

**1276** Aramaic talg-aa 'snow-the'; Syriac talg-aa 'snow-the, n':

UACV-2077 CNum \*takka 'snow': Sh takka-pin 'snow'; WSH takka-; TSh tahapi. [1t,1s1,2l,3g] [CNum]

**1277** Hebrew rbs, impfv: -rbař 'lie down, rest'; Arabic rbđ, impfv: ya-rbiđu 'lie down, lie, rest (animals, with their chest to the ground)'; Aramaic(J) rbř 'lie down'; Syriac -rbař 'lie down':

UACV-1319 \*po'o / \*po'i 'be lying down': VVH130 \*po'i/\*po'o 'be lying down'; M67-260 \*po 'lie down'; L.Son208 \*po,

\*po-i 'acostarse'; M88-po3 'be lying down'; KH/M06-po3: Ls pé-t, -pe' (poss'd) 'bed'; TO wo'i 'in a prone position';

Eu voó 'acostarse uno [lie down]'; Eu voí 'acostado [lying down]'; Wr po'í 'estar acostado [be lying down],

sg'; Tr bo'í 'estar acostado, sg'; My bó'oka 'acostado'; My boo'-te 'acostarse'; AYq vo'o-te 'lie down';

AYq vo'o-ka 'be lying down'. Tep: PYP vo'o/vohopo 'be lying down, sg/pl'; NT vóopoi 'acostarse';

NT vóidyagai 'el acostarse, verbal n'; ST vooda' 'acostar (anim obj); ST vo' 'estar acostado'; ST vo'ya' 'acostarse'. Miller adds NP pukkwa 'be lying down, pl'—maybe, if compounded. [1r,2b,3'2] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, TrC]



**1278** Syriac ḥmṣ ‘to ferment, leaven, mix’; Aramaic(S) ḥmṣ ‘to ferment, leaven’:

Hopi homo’-ta ‘be mounded, bulged, convex’. The leaven of a bread causes it to rise, mound, bulge, be convex. Hebrew/Semitic ṣ > ʃ of Aramaic is similar to UA s > Numic ’.

**1279** Aramaic(J) yəgar (< \*yagar) ‘hill, heap of stones’; Syriac yigar, yagr-aa ‘heap of stones, barrier’; Biblical Aramaic yəgar ‘stone monument’:

UACV-1546a \*yakaC / \*yakaR (AMR) ‘nose, point, ridge’: Sapir; VVH110 ya<sub>3</sub>ka ‘nose, end’; M88-ya3 ‘nose’; M67-308 \*yaka ‘nose’; B.Tep11 \*daaka ‘nose’; L.Son350 \*yaka ‘nariz’; CL.Azt117 \*yaka ‘nose’; KH/M06-ya3 \*yakaR (AMR):

Hopi yaqa ‘nose’, combining form yaqas-; Eu dakát ‘nose’; Tbr niki-so-r (UA \*y > Tbr ny > ni); Yq yéka; My yekka; Wr yahká; Tr a’ká. Remember, the Tepiman branch (next 5 languages) has the sound change UA \*y > d: TO daak ‘nose’; LP(B) daak; PYp daaka; NT daáka; ST daak; Wc yéekaráu ‘beak’; CN yaka-tl ‘nose, point, tip’. Miller notes other cognates of varying semantics: Mn yoqa ‘nasal mucus’; SP yaḡaa ‘edge, end’; Tb yahaawi-t / yahaawi-l ‘summit, point’. SP and Tb semantically align with CN. Sapir lists Tr yaxka and Ca yeka, though I can find neither in my sources. A fairly clear NUA-SUA distinction for ‘nose’ emerges in NUA \*mu-pi and SUA \*yaka (except Hp yaqa with SUA), though, as Miller shows, other reflexes of \*yaka in NUA have related meanings (e.g., SP yaḡaa ‘edge, end’). As Tbr typically shows a palatalized nasal ñ/ny for y, then Tbr niki-so-r ‘nose’ is also a reflex with both vowels assimilating toward y/i: \*yaka > nyaka > nyka > niki. The final -s in Hp’s combining form is noteworthy. The other semantic group is below in b:

UACV-1546b \*yaka ‘side, ridge, point’: Kw yīga/yagaa ‘side’; CU yaḡáa-vī ‘side, also side of the body’; SP yaḡaa ‘edge, end’; Tb yahaawit / yahaawil ‘summit, point’. This is in all eight branches.

Hopi, Tb and SP show most nearly the original meaning. R > s in Hp, as in buzzard, etc, so I am impressed with AMR’s reconstruction of \*yakaR. [1y,2g,3r] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1280** Aramaic(J) mooq ‘felt-sock or stocking’; Aramaic(S) mooq-aa ‘shoe-the’; Syriac muuq-aa ‘shoe, slipper’; Aramaic pl \*muuq-aya ‘shoes’:

UACV-1958 \*moko ‘footwear’: Mn móqo ‘shoe’; Mn moqoya ‘wear shoes’; NP sogo-moko ‘moccasin’. [1m,2q] [NUA: Num]

**1281** Syriac pant-aa’ ‘upper leather of a shoe, instep of the foot-the’;

Aramaic(S) ’appant-aa’ / pant-aa’ ‘upper part of a shoe-the, n.f.’;

UACV-1957 \*paNca ‘shoe’: TSh pancan ‘shoe, moccasin’; Kw paca-vī ‘shoe’; Ch pacácivü ‘moccasin’;

SP pačča ‘moccasin’; WMU pač ‘shoe, sandal, n’; WMU pahccá-n ‘my shoe’; CU páca ‘shoe’. [NUA: Num]

UACV-1960 \*pīta ‘footwear’: My bera’abotčam ‘sandals’; My petatióm ‘(kind of) sandals’; Yq bera’a boočam ‘sandals’; AYq vera’a voočam ‘sandals’; Yq béra’a boočam ‘huaraches’; Tr péreara ‘sole of shoe’.

Note -n- in Tb. [SUA: TrC]

**1282** Aramaic(S) ʕatmaa ‘thigh, n.f.’, pl: ʕatmee; Syriac ʕatmaa ‘thigh, n.f.’, ʕəṭamtaa ‘thigh-the’:

UACV-946b \*uma ‘thigh, upper leg’: TO um ‘thigh’; Nv ’uma ‘thigh’. Also

UACV-946a \*om ‘lower leg’: M88-’o24 ‘leg’; KH/M06-’o24: Sh oon/oom-pin ‘lower leg’; Cm oomo ‘leg, usually whole leg’; Ca -’i ‘leg’; Ls ’e-t ‘foot, leg’. Some nasals in Tak would be nice, but Ls’s absolute -t does suggest a consonant. Jane Hill (p.c.) astutely observes that this stem appears to be at ‘bone’ for WNum and SNum, but here means ‘leg’ for CNum (1477). [1’2,2t2,3m]

**1283** Aramaic(J) ramš-aa’ / ruumš-aa’ ‘evening-the, n.m.’; Aramaic(J) ramšiit / ruumšiit ‘last night’;

Syriac rmš ‘become evening’; Syriac ramiš ‘evening’, ramš-aa’ ‘evening-the’:

Sr ruma’q ‘become dark’; Sr rumaaruma’n ‘be dark’; Sr ruma’-cī’q ‘be very dark, awfully dark’. We often see the verbalization of a noun form in the Semitic to Uto-Aztecan tie, and outside of loss of š in a cluster, which is common, this Sr form is identical to the Aramaic form, having exactly the same vowels and even preserving the glottal stop of the suffixed definite article. 1r,2m,3s1

**1284** Hebrew daawε (< \*dwy), fem: daawaa ‘faint, sick, or mentstruating’; Arabic dawiya ‘be miserable’; Eth dawaya ‘be sick’; Ugaritic dw ‘be sick’; Aramaic(S) dwy ‘be miserable’ and dəwaay-aa ‘grief-the’:

UACV-1978 \*tiwoya / \*tī’oy / \*tī’mo ‘sick(ness)’: M88-tī21: KH/M06- tī2: NP tīoiyai ‘sickness in body’;

Sh tiwoi ‘sickness, disease’; Sh(M) tīmmi ‘be sick’; Hp tīya ‘sickness’. We can add Cm tī’oi-pī ‘long illness, invalid’; Cm tī’oi-katī ‘be ill for a long time’; Sh(C) tī’immai/ tīmmi ‘be sick’. Cm tī’oi, NP tīoiyai and Sh tiwoi match very well, and Hp belongs as well with either vowel loss (tī\_ya) or assimilation. Forms with -m- likely involve another morpheme. Yet agreeing in the first three segments with Sh tīmmi is CN teemooš-tli ‘sickness’.

Note also Sr tomaahan ‘be very sick’. [1d,2w,3y] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Azt]

**1285** Hebrew *daawē*, fem: *daawaa* ‘faint, sick, or menstruating’; MHebrew **madwe / madveh** ‘menstrual blood flow’; Aramaic(J) *dāwaa* ‘feel pain, groan’; Syriac *dāwaa* ‘be sad, wretched, grieve’; Syriac *madwāyan-aa* ‘afflicting, reducing to misery’ > Ktn *mīyvi* ‘menstruate’ if *d* > *ḏ* > *y*.

**1286** Semitic *-a* ‘accusative suffix’

UACV-2683 **\*-a** ‘accusative suffix’: Langacker (1977a, 82-3) considers the accusative vowel *-a* to have been the regular accusative suffix in PUA and he mentions it still being productive in Tb, Southern Numic, and Shoshoni. For example, Kw *-a* ‘accusative’ (Zigmond et al 1991, 41). John Robertson first noticed the two—Semitic accusative *-a* and UA *-a*—first in Eudeve and others. [NUA: Tb, Num; SUA: TrC]

**1287** Hebrew *\*na-* of the *niqṭal* in UA’s mainly reflexive role came to mean ‘the two’ from ‘each other’:

UACV-2621 **\*na-** ‘twice, double’: M67-514a *\*na* ‘twice, double’; M88-na25; KH/M03-na25: NP *naapahi* six (*pahi* three), as well as in most of Numic; Hp *naalōyōm* ‘four’ vs. Hp *lōyōm* ‘two’. See *\*na-wakay* ‘four’ and *\*na-pakay* ‘six’. *na-* is a plural marker in some Kiowa-Tanoan languages as well. [iddddua] [NUA: Num, Hp]

**1288** Semitic *-i* ‘one/someone/something from (an area/place or group of people)’:

UACV-2702 **\*-i / \*-ya** ‘person from’: Langacker 1977, 45 *\*-ya* ‘person from’: Langacker lists examples from Tr *-i* and Ls *-ya-* though others exist. [NUA: Ls; SUA: Tr]

**1289** From unattested Hebrew *šgʕ* ‘be raging, mad’ appears Hebrew *məšuggaʕ* ‘raging, mad’:

CN *šiikooa* ‘ser celoso [be jealous], estar enojado [be angry], enfadarse [be displeased]’ (Simeon).

**1290** Arabic *šibl-* ‘lion cub’ or Arabic *sabʕ-* / *sabuʕ* ‘beast of prey, lion’—either could underlie Wr *tehsebori* ‘baby mountain lion’ if *teh-* is ‘rock’ or other, and *-ri* ‘noun suffix’. [1s,2b,3l]

**1291** Arabic *šakka* ‘to pierce, prick, stab’; Arabic *šikkat* ‘weapons’; Hebrew *sek* ‘thorn’;

Hebrew *sukkaa(t)* ‘barb, spear’:

SP *sigi* / *siki* ‘spear’; SP *sixi-tona* ‘to pierce, stick’; perhaps Tbr *ali-sik* ‘ant’; Tr *sikuwi*; Wr *sekwi*, etc.

**1292** Hebrew *šyb* ‘be grey-headed, old’; Arabic *šyb* ‘become old, white-haired’; Hebrew *šeebaa* ‘grey hair, advanced age’:

Wr *ahseba* ‘reach or be so many years old’; SP *siu-* ‘light grey’. Wr has a prefix, perhaps Hebrew *haC-* ‘the’.

**1293** Hebrew *hiškiil*, *hiškal-* ‘to understand, comprehend, have insight, to make wise, insightful’:

CN *iskalia* ‘ser discreto, prudente [be discreet, prudent]’ (Simeon). [1s2,2k,3l]

**1294** Arabic *rḥl* ‘to set out, emigrate, V to wander, roam’ > Tb *tooiy* ‘to travel about’. [1r,2h2,3l]

**1295** Hebrew *šnʕ* ‘to be modest, humble, retiring’:

CN *-cinoa* ‘a verbal suffix of respect or love’ [iddddua] [1s4,2n,3’2]

**1296** Hebrew *šll* ‘to become dark or black’; Arabic *zll* ‘be black’:

Tr *čona* ‘to be or become dark or black’ (if *-ll-* > *-n-*). [1s4,2ll]

**1297** Hebrew *prk* ‘to crush’; Aramaic(J) *pərak* ‘to crumble, crunch’;

Arabic *frk* < *\*paraka*, *\*-pruku* ‘to rub, crush’ (or Semitic *prq* ‘tear off, split’):

SP *puruqwi* ‘to break to pieces’. [1p,2r,3k]

**1298** Hebrew *pry* / *paraa* ‘to bear young, to bear fruit’:

SP *pia* ‘mother, female’. [1p,2r]

**1299** Syriac *srḥ* ‘groan, cry out, crackle (of fire, lightning)’; Arabic *šrx* / *šaraxa* ‘cry, yell’: Akkadian *šrx*:

UACV-2072 **\*išotoN-(kV) / \*išoroN-(kV) / \*osoroN(i)** ‘snore’: Tb *šoloṇ* ‘snore’ (pfv of *oššoloṇ*);

NP *išododoi* ‘snore’; TSh *\*osotoṇwa* < *osoroṇwa* ‘snore’; Sh *išotoppai* / *isoroppai*; Cm *išorokiiti*;

Kw *’osoroni* ‘snore’; SP *ossoroṇwi* ‘snore’; WMU *söörü* ‘snore’; PYp *sorkia*; NT *soróókai* ‘snore, snort

(animals)’; ST *sorkia/sarok* (present). Curiously, sneeze and snore remain so pervasively intact. This Sem-p form contrasts with 83 Sem-kw form. [ḥ>ḥ in Sem-p] [p1s4,p2r,p3h2,p3x] [NUA: Num, Tb]

**83** Hebrew *šrḥ* / *šaarāḥ* ‘shout’; Akkadian *šaraaxu* ‘weep, cry, complain, sing a lamentation’; ESArabic *šrx*; Ethiopic *šarxa* ‘shout, cry out, v’; Sem-p would have *x*, so UA rounding of pharyngeal is Sem-kw:

UACV-1972 **\*cayaw** ‘shout’: Tb *caayaau* ‘yell’; My *čaaye* / *cáyye* ‘gritar’; Yq *čáe/čái*, Tbr *cai-/ca-* ‘gritar’.

Perhaps Hp(S) *caalawī* ‘announce, call out’ as some *y* < liquids. [l > y?] [kw:1s4,2r,3x,3h2] [SUA: TrC; NUA: Tb, Hp]

**1300** Hebrew **melek / malk-** ‘king’; denominative verb **mlk** ‘to rule, be king’; thus, the participle Hebrew **moolek** ‘king’; Aramaic (J) **mlk** ‘to lead in council’, **ni-mlak** ‘be led, take council’:

Hp **moŋwi** ‘chief’ is of interest since collapse of the second vowel is common in UA and liquid > nasal in NUA, then liquid + velar = velar nasal ŋ, with the rounding of the o extending past the cluster: \*mulek > mulk/munk > muŋi > moŋwi (PUA \*u > Hp o). Note Hp **moŋaqwa** ‘from a point in front’; and because the king/chief is number one or in front, consider non-clustered Cp **muluk** ‘first’ and Cp **mulu’-nuk** ‘first’; Cp **mulu’-we-t** ‘the first’; Ca **muluk** ‘first, at first, for the first time’; Ca **mulu’-ku / mulu’-nuk** ‘first, at first, for the first time’; Seiler and Hioki (1979) propose that Ca **muluk** may contain a morpheme division of **mulu-k**, which may well be, though the fact that all of the compounds also contain a glottal stop where the k would have been, when clustered with a following consonant, recommends **k > ’** and thus underlying \*muluk is as likely as not. [NUA: Hp, Num, Tak]

UACV-1860 \***moNki / \*muŋi** ‘lead(er), chief’: Sapir: Hp **moŋwi** ‘leader, head, chief’; SP **moi-** ‘lead, act as chief, v’ (< \*moŋi says Sapir, and thus nasalizes following C as if moi-N). The SP term is either cognate with the Hp term or borrowed from it, for its nasal vowels are the residue of the nasal consonant. Perhaps Tb(H) **mīškit** ‘to lead, vi’; Tb(H) **mīškip** ‘in front’ if -l- devoiced next to voiceless -k. [medial -ŋ-] [p1m,p2l,p3k] [NUA: Num, Hp]

**1301** Aramaic(J) **mlk** ‘to lead in council’; passive **ni-mlak** ‘be led, take council’; **melek** ‘leader in council, chief, king’; Aramaic(J) **muul / mool** ‘border, front, in sight of’:

UACV-1547c \***mul / \*muluka** ‘first’: BH.Cup \*mul ‘first, before’; M88-mu12 ‘face’; M88-mu14 ‘before, first’. Ken Hill correctly combines M88-mu12 and mu14 in KH/M03-mu12: NP **mui** ‘first’; Cp **múluk** ‘first’; Ca **múluk** ‘first’; Ls **’amú-(la)** ‘first, previously’; Hp **mòoti** ‘first, before’; Hp **mòope(q)** ‘in front’; Hp **moŋaqw** ‘from a point in front’; Hp **moŋwi** ‘leader, head, chief’. Hp ŋ may suggest that the original morpheme included the three consonants in Cp and Ca, since Hp ŋ is a nice reflex of an -lk- cluster, after loss of the intervening vowel, then showing a velar nasal for the nasalization of the liquid (\*l > N) plus a velar in a resulting cluster: \*muluka > \*mulka > \*muŋa. Tb(H) **muluuka** ‘it ‘herd together’; Ktn **namumuk** ‘first’; Ktn **pamukit / pamukpit** ‘first, ahead’; and Ktn **lamumuk** ‘first’ show 3 separate prefixes (na-, pa-, la-) to -mu(mu)k, similar to 2 of the 3 in Tr **bumblebee**: Tr **napári, fapára, wapára**. After -lk- cluster, Tb **mīškit** ‘to lead’; Tb(H) **mīškip** ‘in front’ [syncope to cluster; Hp -p- < \*-CC-] [NUA:Num, Hp, Tak, Tb]

**1302** Hebrew **pʕl** ‘to do, make, accomplish’;

Arabic **fʕl** < \*pʕl ‘to do, act, have an effect on, have an influence on’: Hp **powa-ta** ‘to cure, tame’; Hp **powà-l-ti** ‘cured from sickness, tamed’ (powà-l-ti ‘cure-stative-resultative’) [1p,2’2,3l] [iddddua]

**1303** Hebrew **plk** ‘to be round’; Hebrew **pelek** ‘whirl of a spindle, circle’:

(in UACS-357) Hp **pòlà-ŋ-pī** ‘round as a ball’ (globular shape-?-resultative) [1p,2l,3k]

**1304** Arabic \*pgr ‘to cleave, break up’ II ‘to split, cleave, explodes (s.th.)’;

Aramaic(J) pgr ‘break up, destroy’:

UACV-1080 \***piŋa** ‘grind’: In contrast to \*poŋ, several \*piŋ forms also exist: Sr **piŋai** ‘crumble, pulverize, grind into powder’; Ca **piŋ** ‘get ground, pulverized’; and add Ktn **piŋan** ‘crumble, vi’; Ktn **piŋi** ‘ground finely’; Hp **piŋi** ‘get ground fine, break into bits, shatter’; Hp **piŋya** ‘pulverize, grind finely, crush, shatter, vt’; Hp **piŋyanpi** ‘grindingstone’; and perhaps CN **pinol-li** ‘flour, s.th. ground’ and Ktn **vihŋ-ik / vihŋ-ik** ‘break, crumble, vi’ may be a non-initial form of the same. [kw1p,kw2g,kw3r] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: TrC; Azt]

**1305** Hebrew **sbb** ‘to turn self around, go around, surround’ > Ca **suvvey** ‘to whirl around’ [1s3,2bb]

**1306** Hebrew **nś / naśaa** ‘to lift, carry, take’; passive **niqtal** ‘be lifted up in vision’ > SP **nonosi** ‘to dream’ [1n,2s2,3’]

**1307** Hebrew **nes** ‘flag, standard, ensign’ > Hp **na’ci / naci** ‘standard outside kiva when not in use’. [1n,2s3]

**1308** Hebrew **nħl / naħjal, -nħjal** ‘to maintain as a possession, take possession’; Hebrew **naħ<sup>a</sup>lat** ‘inherited property’; Arabic **nħl / naħjala**, impfv: -nħalu and OSArabic **nħl** ‘to present’:

TO **nolawt** ‘buy, buy from’ (Saxton 1983). Medial ħ > o as in Egyptian **nħbt** > TO **nopi** (188).

**1309** Arabic **nb**, II **nabba’a** ‘to tell, inform, let s.o. know about s.th.’; Arabic **naba’** ‘news, report’:

Hp **navo-ta** ‘to know, learn by hearing’. [1n,2b,3’]

**1310** Hebrew **ngd, hiqtal: higgid** ‘propose, announce, inform’ (KB) ‘to tell, declare’ (BDB);

Hebrew infinitive: **haggiid**, impfv: **yaggiid** ‘he tells’; **taggiid** ‘she tells’; **’aggiid** ‘I tell’:

TO **’aagid** ‘to tell s.o. s.th.’; Hp **ki-ta** ‘say (following a direct quote)’. [1gg,2d]

**1311** Hebrew **mwg / muug** ‘to melt, soften, dissolve, faint’:

TO **moik(a)** ‘to be soft’; TO **moik(a)d** ‘to soften, make s.o. weak’; Hp(S) **mikīy-ti** ‘to thaw out’.

**1312** Hebrew \*hal-lebb ‘the heart’ > Hp inaṅwa ‘heart, life, battery’ [1h,2l,3b]

**1313** Hebrew knṣ > yi-kkanēṣ ‘be humbled, humble oneself’; hi-knaṣ- ‘to humble s.o.’:

CN iknoa ‘to be humane, compassionate, tender’; CN ikno-teka ‘be humble, make humble’;

CN ikno-nemi-tia ‘to live a humble, simple life’. [kw1k,2n,3’2]

**1314** Hebrew kly / kalaa ‘come to an end, be completed, finished’; from that verb is

Hebrew kəliiy ‘untensil, tool, weapon, vessel, receptacle’. Of the four meanings associated with the Hebrew stem—1 complete, 2 tool, weapon, 3 container—note that UA has three:

1 Hp kīikīyva ‘ceremony concludes’; Hp kīkīyi ‘to emerge, appear, complete one’s appearances’;

2 Tb kīyīi-l ‘arrowhead’; 3 Hp kīyi ‘liquid in a container, any liquid’. Perhaps kli > kyī > kīyi. [kw:1k,2l,3y]

**1315** Hebrew kly / kalaa, impfv: yi-kle / ti-kle < \*tV-kle ‘stop, come to an end, be completed, finished’:

Ca -tek-lu- / -teklu- ‘1 be quiet, still, 2 stop (of rain, wind, etc)’; Ca -teklu-ne (causative) ‘leave s.o. alone/in peace’.

**1316** Hebrew yayin / yain / yen ‘wine’ > Wr yena ‘strong (of liquor)’ [1y,2n]

**1317** Aramaic(S) ṭrḥ ‘take the trouble’; Hebrew ṭoraḥ ‘burden’; Hebrew ya-ṭriiḥ ‘burden s.o.’;

Arabic ṭrḥ ‘to throw, toss, discard, throw away, V drop to the ground’:

Wr ceriwe ‘to be sorry or sad about s.th.’; Wr cerewa ‘basura, trash firewood that is scavenged, not cut’;

CN cayawi ‘to spill on the ground (grain); fall (of snow)’. [1t2,2r,3h2]

**1318** Hebrew ygr / yaagor- ‘to be afraid’; unattested, but not at all unlikely, participle Hebrew \*yooger

‘afraid’; Arabic waḡira ‘to fear’: Ca **yuki** ‘get scared, be afraid’. [p:1y,2g,3r]

**1319** Hebrew ṭbl ‘to dip s.th. into, immerse, dive, plunge’; unattested \*-ṭabbel ‘dip, immerse’:

CN cakwaa ‘to soak (e.g., clothes)’ Sem-kw with -bb- > -kw-. [kw:1t2,2b,3l]

**1320** Hebrew ṭbṣ ‘to sink down’ or less likely Hebrew ṣbṣ ‘dye’; Akkadian ṣapuu ‘to soak, steep, dye’;

Arabic ṣbg̃ / ṣabaḡa ‘to dye’; Syriac ṣbṣ / ṣəbaṣ ‘to dip, moisten, dye’; both roots (ṭbṣ and ṣbṣ) have similar meanings (dip, sink, soak) and have similar correspondences in UA:

Hp(S) civohkya ‘quicksand, quicksand area, swampy sediment’; Hopi civookya ‘flood plain, alluvium

deposit’; Hopi civok-ti ‘get covered with mud, get stuck in mud, bogged down, mired’. [1t2,2b,3’2] [iddddua]

**1321** Hebrew ḥargol ‘type of locust’; Arabic \*ḥargal / \*ḥurgul ‘locust’:

Tr urugi-pari ‘type of grasshopper’. Tr -pari is suffixed to many insects and birds; thus, Tr urugi-, with a separation of the -rg- cluster, is a nice reflection of ḥargol with initial pharyngeal. [kw1h2,2r,3g,4l]

**1322** Hebrew ḥrr / ḥaaraa ‘burn’, ḥaaruu ‘they burned’; Ethiopic ḥrr ‘be hot’;

Arabic ḥarra ‘be hot’, impfv: ya-ḥurru ‘it’s hot’; Arabic ḥaruur-u ‘hot wind’:

UACV-1208b \*uru ‘hot’ (SUA): Eu urúe- ‘hacer calor’; Eu urúce- ‘tener calor’; Op uru; Tr uurí ‘tierra caliente’. Intervocalic -t- or an actual -r-, as in UACV-1208a below:

UACV-1208a \*iṭi / \*iṛi ‘hot’ (NUA): M88-i11 ‘hot’; M67-236 \*ete ‘hot’; I.Num26 \*iṭi(h) ‘(be) hot’; L.Son26 \*uru ‘hacer calor’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-i11: Mn iḏi’i; NP iḏiti (<\*iṭiti); TSh iṭi-; Sh iṭi; Tb ’iḏi’i-’iṭi-’iḏi’i; Hp iṭi’i; Sr iṭi; Gb ’oró’. Hill adds Ch arī ‘it’s hot’ and WSh iṭin. Note also Ch(L) ariḥ / ariḥ ‘it burns! Ouch!’ (said only of heat pain); WMU arūū ‘hot! Ouch, it’s hot!’; Kw ’atüü ‘ouch!’; SP atturooci ‘hot (of water)’.

[NUA i = SUA u] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: TrC]

**1323** Hebrew ḥpz ‘make haste’; Arabic \*ḥpz ‘to urge, press, to hasten, incite’; Egyptian ḥfd ‘eilen [hurry]’

UACV-2540 \*wīpaC / \*wīppaC ‘whip’: Sapir; VVH17 \*wiṣpa ‘to whip’; M67-456 \*wep ‘whip’; I.Num283 \*wiḥ- instr. pref.

‘whip’; B.Tep50 \*gīvai ‘to whip’; M88-wī5 ‘to hit’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wī5: Mn wī ‘with whipping motion, with sideways motion of long object’; NP wīpagita (<\*wīppakitta) ‘spank’; Sh wī” ‘with a long instrument or the body’;

Kw wī- ‘with an instrument’; SP wīC- ‘with the length of a long obj’; Tb wībat ‘to hit, whip’; Tb wībišt ‘a

whip’; Cp wéwva ‘hit with a stick’; Hp wīvaa-ta ‘be hitting, striking’; Hp wīvaapi ‘a whip’; TO gew(i) ‘strike,

hit, v’; TO gewitta ‘whip, n’; Nv gībi ‘azotar [whip]’; PYP geevi ‘whip, hit, beat’; NT gīvai; ST gīv;

Wr wehpa-ni/wehpi-ma ‘hit’; Tr wepá, wipi-mea ‘azotar’; Tr wipisó- ‘azotar, golpear, pegar con palo’;

Pl witeki ‘punish, whip, beat, hit’. Tbr wewá/wiwá ‘whip’ is related to \*wīpa ‘whip’ by consonant harmony,

as would be Eu véwa ‘azotar’ and Eu hivévira ‘whip, n’. Note also Mn wīpacugi ‘switch, whip’; TSh wīppai

‘spank, whip, pound, hit with long instr, vt pl’; Tr newe(ba) ‘azotar, flagelar, chicotear’; and perhaps \*w > kw

in Kw kwipa ‘whip, hit, beat, vt, fall down, vi’ and Ch kwipá ‘whip, hit, fall’; Cm (ṭi)kwibukiti ‘lash (as rain/hail), switch, whip’.

Sapir also lists Cr ve ‘schlagen, werfen, schiessen, treffen’. Evidence of a 3<sup>rd</sup> C exists. These UA forms fit a qittel well: \*ḥippaz.

[1h2,2p,3z] [iddddua] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1324** Hebrew *hena* ‘hither, toward here’; Arabic *huna* ‘here’:

Wr *ena* ‘come’; Tr *enai / ena* ‘here’. [1h,2n]

**1325** Hebrew *hinné* ‘behold!’; Arabic *inna* ‘behold, verily, truly, a particle of emphasis, topicalizer’:

Tr *ne* ‘an adverb of emphasis or admiration meaning “Look!”; TO *nee/ne* ‘look, see, so then, finally, a connective word to call for attention or indicate conclusion of a topic’. [1h,2n]

**1326** Arabic *dariga* ‘rise, advance step by step’; Arabic *darag* ‘way, route, flight of stairs’; Arabic *daraga(t)* ‘step, stair’; Hebrew *madrega(t)* ‘foothold in the rock, mountain thoroughfare’; MHebrew *madrega(t)* ‘step, terraces’; Syriac *dr̄g* ‘step forward’; another root very similar phonologically and semantically is Hebrew *drk* ‘to tread’; Phoenician *drk* ‘walk’:

UA *\*tiy(k)* ‘climb, step, make thump noise’: TO(M) *čičid(k)* ‘climb, rise, reach the top’; TO(M) *čičd* ‘make a muffled, thumping noise’ (in walking is the example); TO(M) *čički* ‘make a muffled, thumping noise (repeatedly)’; TO *čičini* ‘thump on, hit’; Wr *te’ke* ‘to step on’; Wr *te’kere* ‘track, footprints’; Wr *te’ki* ‘descend’; Wr *te’kilaci* ‘foothill’. [1d,2r,3g] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1327** Arabic *tb̄* ‘follow, trail, observe’ > Tr *tibú-* ‘watch, take care of’

**1328** Hebrew *’ak* ‘surely, entirely, yet, but, only’ > CN *ok* ‘still, yet, for now, first, in addition’ [1’,2k]

**1329** Hebrew *’ap* ‘(denotes addition) also, yea, even’:

TO *ep* ‘again, also, too, another one, somebody else’. [1’,2p]

**1330** Hebrew *’lp* ‘to learn, accustom oneself to, to be tame’; Arabic *\*’lp* ‘to be familiar with, keep, cleave to’; Arabic II *’allapa* ‘to train, domesticate’:

TO *oiop* ‘to be around, to stay around a place (of animals)’ [1’,2l,3p] [iddddua]

**1331** loanword from Sumerian *engar* to Akkadian *ikkaru* ‘farmer’ and into other Semitic languages:

Arabic *’kr / ’akara* ‘to plow, till, cultivate (land)’ and Syriac *’kr* ‘to plow’; Arabic *’akkaar* ‘plowman’ and Syriac *’akkaar-aa* ‘farmer-the, ploughman, tiller of the ground’; Hebrew *’ikkaar* ‘agricultural worker’:

UACV-672 *\*wika* ‘digging stick’: B.Tep42 *\*giika* ‘dibble stick, plow’; M67-326 *\*wika* ‘planting stick’; L.Son334 *\*wika* ‘coa’; M88-wi2 ‘dibble, digging stick’; KH/M06-wi2: Wr *wika*; Tr *wiká*; TO *giiki*; NT *giikai*; ST *giik*; My *wí’ika*; Cr *vi’iká*; CN *wik-tli*; Hp *wiikya* ‘ancient wooden hoe. In addition to CN *wik-tli*, other CN terms also meaning ‘digging stick’ are CN *wekpal-li* and CN *we’kol-li*. We might also consider Mn *wagii* ‘dig a ditch, vi’; Mn *wagii’i* ‘tend ditches, keep them clear’. [p1’,2k,3r] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt; NUA: Hp, Num]

**1332** Arabic *’gl* (< *\*’gl*) ‘to hesitate, wait, linger’:

Tb *wiih ~ iiwih* ‘to wait’; Tb(H) *wiihit, perftv iiwih* ‘wait for, look after, take care of, watch over’. [1’,2g,3l]

**1333** Hebrew *m’n* ‘refuse’:

Hp *meewan-* ‘forbid, warn’ (-w- not > -l-, from geminated -ww-, like *raṣwa > taawa*). [p:1m,2’,3n]

**1334** Hebrew *naaš-iim* ‘women’, but Syriac *nešaa* ‘women’:

UACV-87 *\*niša* ‘aunt, mother’s older sister (mos)’: BH.Cup *\*naš* ‘aunt, maternal’; M67-501 *\*ne* ‘aunt’; M88-ni7 ‘aunt’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ni7 ‘aunt, mos’: Cp *neš* ‘mos’; Ca *nes* ‘mos’; Ls *núš* ‘mos’; Ls *nušmay* ‘nephew, niece’; Sr *nīm* ‘mos’; Wr *nehsá* ‘mos’; My *né’esa* ‘tía’; Ktn *nihma* ‘aunt of a certain type’. PUA *\*niša* may be compounded with diminutive *\*-mara*. Ls, Ktn and Sr suggest *\*nišma*, perhaps < *\*nišVma*. [Ls u, but expect o < \*i] [1n,2s1] [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC]

**1335** Semitic *’aḥad* ‘one’, Hebrew pl: *’aḥadiim* ‘a few, some’; *’aḥadee* ‘some of ..., ones of ...’:

Tr *ahare / ohare / wahare / hare* ‘some, certain ones, others’. Initial w- is Sem-p, but ḥ > h. [p1’,p2h2,p3d]

**1336** Hebrew *tašleeg* ‘it is snowing’ (hiqtil impfv) or Arabic *taqrasu / II taqarrasa* ‘freeze’

UACV-514a *\*ta’asīC* ‘freeze’: Mn *ti’asī* ‘be frozen’; NP *tiasī* ‘icy, slippery’; NP *ggiggi tiasiggi* ‘freeze feet, v’; NP *tiazipī* ‘frozen’; TSh *tiasī* ‘freeze, tingle (of body part when asleep)’; TSh *tiasippīh* ‘frozen, pp’; Sh(M) *tiasīC* ‘be frozen’; Sh(C) *tiasīC* ‘be frozen’; Cm *ti’asīiti* ‘freeze (liquid), v’; Kw *ta’asi* ‘freeze, v’; Ch *ti’asī* ‘freeze, v’; CU *ti’asi* ‘freeze, vi’.

UACV-514b *\*pa-ta’asīC* ‘ice, water-freeze’: TSh *paa tiasippī* ‘the water is/has frozen’; TSh *patiasī(tai)ppīh* ‘ice’; Kw *pa-ra’asī-pī*; Ch *pa-rīasī-pī*; Ch(L) *pa-rī’asī-pī* ‘frozen water, ice’; CU *pará’si-pī* ‘ice’; and perhaps Tbr *tusa-ne-y* ‘se congela’; Tbr *ba-tá tusa-ne-y* ‘ice’. [unaccented V] [1t,2s1,2l,2g] [NUA: Num; SUA: TrC]

**1337** Hebrew 'ayil 'mighty tree, oak' (see discussion at 599); this Semitic stem 'yl 'mighty' is used for both big trees and large animals (ram, deer), and like the alternate vowelings of Arabic 'ayyil / 'iyyal 'stag' the vowelings i-a or a-i both exist for the same word. Of the below, consider certainly b, possibly a, if w > kw: UACV-1556b \*wi'a(N) / \*wiya(N) 'acorn, oak': M88-wi9 'acorn, oak'; I.Num281 \*wiya(h) 'acorn'; BH.Cup \*wi'a 'oak, sp. \*wiw 'acorn mush (but see below)'; HH.Cup \*wi'a 'oak, sp.>'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wi9: Mn wiyaC 'acorn' (generic term); NP wia; Kw wi'a-(m)bi/wiya-(m)bi; TSh wiampipi; Kw wi'a-(m)bi; Tb wiiwat 'to leach acorns'; Cp wi'a-t 'live oak'; Ls wi'á-t 'oak, sp.>'; Ca wi'at 'canyon or maul oak'; Sr wi'aht. This UA \*wiyal 'oak' is of Sem-p vs. 599 \*iyal 'oak' of Sem-kw, though both show the consistency of the same vowelizing option and the same meaning. [p:1',2y,3l] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp]

UACV-1556a \*kwi(N) 'acorn, oak': M67-1 \*kwi/\*kwini acorn; BH.Cup \*kwini(?) oak sp; Munro.Cup81 \*kwifyi-la 'oak sp.>'; Fowler83; M88-kwi9; KH.NUA; KH/M06-kwi9: Perhaps -w- > -kw- in Ktn kwīyač 'acorn sp.>'; SP kwiya- vū 'scrub oak'; WMU kwīya-vī 'oakbrush'; CU kwia-ppi oak tree; Tb wa'ant 'type of oak tree and its acorn' (wrong vowel, but perhaps a-a < \*i-a); Cp kwini-ly 'Black Oak and its acorn'; Ca kwīni-l; Ls kwīi-la; Gb kwar 'bellota' (vowel is wrong); Sr kwiih-ṭ; Hp kwīṇvi oak (brush); Hp kwīṇvi-tīva 'acorn'. Tb wīṇiyaa-l 'acorn' should be considered.

**1338** MHebrew kbl 'to fetter'; Syriac kbl 'to bind, fetter'; Arabic kabala 'to bind, braid'; Akkadian kabaalu 'to bind, fetter'; Aramaic(J) məkabbal 'bound, tied up' (passive participle):

UACV-115c \*muka 'carry a bundle, carry on the back (with a mecapal or carrying net)': CN mekapal-li 'tumpline, a rig for carrying a load on the back supported by band across the forehead'; Kartunnen divides CN meka-pal- 'cord-by means of', which may be; however, the other SUA forms show only \*muka, perhaps a shortening of \*mukapal and verbalization of it, as CN meka-tl means only 'cord, rope', not 'mecapal' nor 'carry on the back'; Tr muke-ma 'cargar cosas a la espalda por mecapal [carry things on the back with a mecapal]'; Tr muka 'mecapal'; Wr muké-na/ma 'carry on the back or shoulders'; Eu múke'e 'llevar a cuestas, cargar en las espaldas'; Eu mukede-n 'cargar, echar carga'. The \*muka reconstruction works well for CN (\*muka > mika > meka-) and for the others (\*muka > \*mukī). [1k,2b,3l] [idddua]

**1339** MHebrew šippaa 'to make smooth'

UACV-1892 both \*sipa and \*sippa 'scrape, shave': VVH70 \*si<sub>pa</sub> 'to shave, scrape'; M67-364 \*sipa 'scrape'; I.Num192 \*sipe / \*sipa 'scrape, shave, whittle'; L.Son244 \*sipa/sip-i; M88-si5 'scrape'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-si5: Mn siba; NP sipa 'scrape'; Sh sipe 'scrape'; Cm sipe 'shave off, scrape off'; Kw šivi 'whittle, peel, shave, scrape off hair from'; SP siva 'to whittle'; CU wəsívay 'whittle, peel, shave'; Hp siipan-ta 'peel it'; Hp sispa 'scrape it, shave it'; Tb šiip~'išib-'isibiinat 'shave, whittle'; Cp síve 'shave/peel off'; Cp sípate 'strip off, as bark'; Ca sív 'shave'; Ca -če-sipi 'scrape, peel off'; Ls síva/i 'be peeled, scraped, vi; peel, scrape, shave, vt'; Sr šiiv 'shave'; Ktn šiv 'plane, carve, scrape'; TO hiw 'rub'; TO hiwkon(a) 'shave, scrape'; Wr siba 'raspar'; Tr sipá / si'pá /sipí 'raspar, rebanar'; Cr ra-'an-tyí-sii-či-'iri-'i 'he cut it off of him'; CN šipewa 'to flay, skin, peel s.th.>'; Pl šiipeewa 'peel, remove skin, bark, shell'. Add PYP hiv- 'scrape'; ST hiiva 'raspar, escarbar'; NT ivišūmai 'brush, scrape, take off'; Eu siswa/sisba 'to brush'; Nv hiva 'raspar'; Nv hivi 'cosa raspada'. We find a wə- prefix in CU wəsívay and TSh wísipeh 'scrape, peel off, whittle'. Some languages definitely show geminated \*-pp- (Hp, CN, Pl) while others show \*-p- (SP, Kw, CU), and others show both (Cp, Ca). Also note Sr šiikw(a) 'skin, peel, vt' vs. Sr šiiv(a) 'shave'; and Ls šivi 'shave' vs. Ls šiwi 'to peel fruit, to skin the hides from animals'. [1s1,2pp] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1340** Arabic pqḥ / paqaḥa 'to open the eyes, to blossom'; Syriac pqḥ 'to bloom'; Hebrew pqḥ / paqaḥa 'to open the eyes': Ls páqa- 'to sprout through the ground, of plants, v.i.>'; Ca púqi 'bloom'

UACV-1581 \*paka 'open': CU paqá-tii 'open, break open'; CU paqá-kī; TSh kīsapaaha 'open up, come open' (\*kīsa 'yawn/open mouth'); Sh kīsappax 'yawn'. Sem-kw in lack of rounding for q and ḥ. [1p,2q,3h2] [NUA: Num]

**1341** Hebrew ršm 'to rage, roar'; (hiqtil) 'to thunder'; MHebrew (hiqtil) ršm 'to make a noise, thunder': SP tom'mu 'to make a big noise, thunder' (vs. SP tommo 'winter').

While Miller separates a (M88-ta7) and b (M88-ta46), some overlap exists among the groups, all showing initial t, round vowels, glottal stops—a difficult sorting task, if even related.

UACV-2328a \*taw 'thunder': BH.Cup \*tāv 'thunder'; M88-ta7; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ta7: Cp tawsšenve'e-t 'thunder, autumn'; Ca tāvva 'thunder, n'; Ca tāvvalu 'thunder, v'; Ls tawsšunṣva 'autumn (found only in BH)'; Sr taüü'ṭu 'thunder, become cloudy with thunder clouds, vi' (ü = high central retroflexed V); Sr taüü'ṭ 'thunder, thunder cloud, cloud' (vs. Sr tamöä 'year'); Gb tá'or / taa'ur 'trueno' and/or Gb tāvvar 'thunder', poss'd: -táveyaṇa.

Hill (KH/M06-ta8) is likely right to combine ta46 and ta8, though Gb's two forms are puzzling, as Gb tá'or and Sr taüü'ç could look s.th. like \*ta'V(r), not unlike \*tV'o below.

UACV-2328b \*tí'o- 'thunder': Wr te'ó-na 'buzz, roar, thunder'; Tr fe'o-ma 'thunder'.

UACV-2328c \*to'om 'thunder': Sh(C) to'ompaix, toom-picci, toomai-picci 'thunder'; Cm tomoyaketi 'thunder'; Ls tóoma-wu-t 'thunder, n'; Mn tooyaga 'thunder, v'; TSh tooyakaiC 'thunder, vi'. Might the Num forms suggest \*to'om-yaka 'thunder/cloud-cries', from which WNum reduced to \*tooyaka, yet Sh shows the glottal stop; and Cm tomoyak... approximates WNum \*tooyaka, with extra m. The similarity in forms for 'cloud' (\*tomo) and 'thunder' may recommend a tie but less likely 'winter' \*tommo. In some languages the forms for 'cloud', 'winter', and 'thunder' are similar: Mn tooC 'cloud'; Mn too 'winter, year'; Mn tooyaga 'thunder, v'. Yet in other languages the forms are different: Tr tomóa 'be cloudy'; Tr fe'o- 'thunder, v'; Tr fomó 'winter'; Tr fú'rúmi- 'zumbar, ronroncar'; and Wr te'ó- vs. Wr tomó 'winter'; Wr tomóari 'cloud'. So for now let's keep them separate. We can also add SP tom'mu 'make a big noise, v' in contrast to SP tommo 'winter'. ? [m > ø in Mn, TSh] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: TrC]

UACV-2328d \*ta'ḡa 'thunder': M88-ta8 'to thunder'; KH/M06-ta8: TO tataññi / tatañigi 'thunder, n'; Wr ta'na/ta'ni- 'tronar'; Tr ra'ná 'tronar'; Eu tártare kúsa- 'tronar'. These SUA forms often have NUA ḡ correspond to SUA n; and then Jane Hill (p.c.) provides us with Tb(H) taḡat 'rain, vi'. [1r,2'2,3m] [NUA: Tb; SUA: TrC]

**1342** Syriac guuzl-aa 'left-handed, ambidexter'; Aramaic(S) gundəlaay-aa 'left-handed':

My míko'ori 'izquierda [left]'; Yq miko'i 'zurdo [left-handed]'; AYq miko'o-tana 'on the left, adv;

AYq mikkoi 'left-handed'. Often Semitic \*mi(n)- 'from, of' precedes 'left', and then cluster > '.

**1343** Hebrew 'ašer 'which, relative pronoun':

Tb(H) aš 'same subject subordinator, when, to, how to, in order to'.

**1344** Hebrew yoore (masc) / toore (f) 'instruct, teach' (hiqtiil 3 sg impfv) > Tb(H) tooyla 'teach, vt'.

**1345** Aramaic hwy / hawaa 'exist, be, become' literally: was, he/it was';

Syriac həwaa 'be, exist; be/remain/live in a place':

Ls 'áaw- 'be (in a place), live, dwell (sg animate being)' (Ls matches well because Ls loses initial h- as also in Ls 'alaláá 'exclamation of praise or pleasure' < Semitic hll: Ugaritic hll; Syriac hallel 'to praise';

Hebrew hillal- / -hallel 'admire, praise, exclaim halleluia' at 712 UA \*hala);

The -hawa 'be' also appears in Tb(H) taahawat 'be summer' < Tb taa-l 'sun' + hawat 'sun-be'; at 111/112 are the impfv of the stem: Aramaic **tehwe** 'you are' > \*tíhwa 'you sg' and Aramaic **yehwe** 'he is' > \*yíhwa 'that, he, she'.

**1346** Hebrew 'em 'mother', 'imm-aa 'mother-her'; 'imm-o 'mother-his' > Tb(H) iimii- 'mother'.

**1347** Syriac qəwaayaa 'a loom'; Syriac beyt qəwaaye 'web' > Ca qaawi 'get tied, hooked, vi'.

**1348** Aramaic(J) lmlm/limlem/-lamlem 'murmur' > Ls lamú-lama-xi-š 'suffering from rheumatism'. [iddddua]

**1349** Hebrew dəbaš 'honey'; Syriac dəbaš 'honey'; debš-aa 'honey-the':

We táášaviikari 'abeja pequeña y oscura [small black bee]'; keep in mind that \*-p- > ø disappears in CrC, so tVpVš > tVVš + Semitic bqr 'seek' = honey-seeker.

**1350** Semitic šd' / šdi 'grow rusty' > Sr širri'k 'become red, turn red'

UACV-1776 \*síta / \*siti 'red': Sapir; VVH32 \*sita 'ochre, red'; M67-343 \*set 'red'; L.Son251 \*sita 'rojo'; M88-si3 'be red'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-si3: Ca sélekle 'bec. red'; Ca sél-nek-iš 'red'; Sr širri'k 'bec. red'; Sr širiiri'n 'be red, vi st'; Sr šir'kin 'cause to become red'; TO hit-magi; TO hit 'red or white earth, red ochre'; Wr sehtá- 'be red'; Tr sitá-ka-me 'red'; Tr serána- 'be/bec red, pl'; Tr seráname 'red, pl'; Tr sitána- 'be/bec red'; Wc šeetá; Eu setát 'almagre, tierra colorada'; AYq sata 'red dirt'. [\*t > Tak l; -ln- > -l-] [1s4,2d,3',3y] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1351** Hebrew bqš 'split, cleave'; Hebrew biqšaa 'valley'; Syriac pəqaš-taa 'valley-the':

UACV-1819 \*pakowa 'river, current': Tr bakó 'rio [river], hondura [depth], barranco [cliff, gorge];

Tr bakowá 'barranca por donde corren las aguas [ravine where water runs], corriente turbulenta de un rio [turbulent current of a river]'; Wr pakó 'rio'; Eu vákoa 'ribera'. SP paḡqwi 'mountain valley'. Sem-p, and perhaps the nasal influence of adjacent š nasalized q in SP. [p1b,2q,3'2] [SUA: TrC]

**1352** Hebrew he-qiim 'lift' > Hp ki-ma 'bring, take, carry pl objs' (ki- + -ma 'progressive'). [1q,2m]

The next sets are three different syllabic shapes of the Semitic root kbd 'be heavy, honor, sweep' yet interestingly UA has the less common meaning 'sweep' but not the more common meaning 'be heavy':

1353 reflects the qal impfv \*-kbod, 1354 reflects **hikbad-**, non-3<sup>rd</sup> person hiqtiil, and 1355 reflects **kabbed**:

**1353** Aramaic(J) kbd ‘be heavy’; later Hebrew in Aramaic(J) kabbed ‘to honor, to sweep, make look respectable’, and hikbad / hikbiid ‘to sweep’; Aramaic(S) -kabbed ‘to sweep’ (\*d > c, like in Egyptian fdt ‘sweat’); Arabic vowelizing of impfv -u- if the qal carried the same meaning ‘sweep’; note TO wosun(a) (< \*pocuna) ‘sweep’ with Arabic pl vowelizing; and all \*poc reflect the impfv: \*-kbod:

UACV-2254 \*poci ‘sweep’: B.Tep275 \*voisikai ‘to sweep, press down’ at M88-po25; KH/M06-po25; and B.Tep276 \*voisikaroi ‘broom’ at M88-po26; KH/M06-po26: TO wosun(a) ‘sweep’; LP(B) voiši ‘sweep’; Nv voska ‘barrer’; NT vóišikai; ST voššik/voška ‘barrer’. [p2b,3d] [SUA: Tep]

**1354** Hebrew hikbad / hikbiid ‘to sweep’; and notice that some UA forms even show the hi- prefix:

UACV-2257 \*(hi)paca ‘sweep’: Eu hipáca ‘barrer’; Eu pápca ‘barrer’; Wr ihpéci-na ‘barrer’; Tr piči ‘barrer’; Cr híča’uta ‘está barriendo’. Interestingly, this b > p because of being clustered with a voiceless consonant has \*-kb- > p, though initial b > b in Eu, Tr. [p2b,3d] [SUA: TrC, CrC]

**1355** Aramaic(S) kabbed ‘to sweep’; Aramaic(J) -kabbed ‘to clean, sweep’ (\*d > c, as elsewhere):

PYp kavilteda ‘to clean house, vt’; Wr kaweruma ‘new, young, clean, good’; Wr kawé ‘good, well’; Wr kawérega ‘well prepared’. \*-bb- > -kw- > Wr -w-? [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1356** Hebrew maatn-aim ‘loins, dual’; Arabic matnat-aani ‘loins, dual’ > Ls mááča-t ‘back’. [1m,2t,3n]

**1357** Semitic qr’ ‘call’ to be a ‘caller, crier’; Syriac qaruu-aa ‘reader, reciter’; words for various birds are built on this root: e.g., Aramaic(J) qooraa ‘heron, young bird’; Aramaic(J) qooree ‘partridge’; Aramaic(J) qooree’aa ‘partridge, f’; UA \*kuyunV has much in common with such:

UACV-2421 \*kuyu’ / \*kuyunV / \*kuyuNCV ‘turkey’: Fowler83; Ken Hill (p.c. 2004); KH/M06-ku40: Hopi koyonjo; Cm kuyu’nii / kuyuníi’. Hill adds Ch kuyuita and WSh kwi’na. Let’s also add Sh(GL) \*kuyunwi’yaa’ ‘turkey’ and CU kwiýú-ti (< \*kwiyuC-; otherwise, -r- vs. -t-) ‘turkey’. Hp and Sh(GL) agree for six segments; and Cm agrees through four, then has a glottal stop plus nasal (cluster) aligning with η of the others. CU lengthens y/i (\*kuyu > kwiyu), but agrees well with both Cm and Hp, lacking only a late nasal, but its -t- instead of -r- suggests a cluster: CU < \*kwiyuC-ti. Furthermore, Ch and CU align with the Aramaic fem noun suffix \*-ta and Sh(GL) and Hopi with the masculine -aa’.

[’n vs. η, unaccented vowel assimilates more easily in CU] 1q,2r,3’ [NUA: Num, Hp]

**1358** Hebrew ršy ‘to pasture, tend, graze’, impfv: yi-rše(y) ‘to herd’; Arabic rašaa (< rašay), impfv: ya-ršiy (< \*ya-ršay) ‘to graze, to tend (a flock of animals)’; so the cluster -rš- > -l- quite naturally since in Hopi, š > l before low vowels and then add the help of the other liquid r: \*-ršay > lay:

Hp laa-layi ‘to herd, drive (animals), vt with reduplication’; Hp laay-in-ta ‘be herding, driving’. [1r,2’2,3y]

**1359** Hebrew & Phoenician ’aarah (< Semitic ’rx) ‘wander, journey, go’; Akkadian urxu ‘way, expedition’:

UACV-1020 \*wayak: AYq werama ‘walk’; Eu weré ‘venir, hacerse’; Yq weye ‘caminar, sg’; Yq wéama ‘andar, sg’; My weiye ‘va caminando’; My werama ‘anda’; Hp wayma ‘to be walking along’. Judging by Cahitan (Yq, My), we may have two separate stems (\*wīyī, \*wīra) or recycled loans. Tb waai’it ‘fast, quickly’ is at 1515. [y/r] [1’,1’2,2r,3x] [NUA: Hp; SUA: TrC]

**1360** Semitic qr’ ‘call, cry out’; not likely Hebrew gaaroon ‘throat, neck’ due to g > k, but q > q:

UACV-580b \*karu ‘sandhill crane’: Munro.Cup15 \*qarəə-t ‘bird sp’: Ls qarúú-t ‘sandhill crane’; Cp kərə-t. Munro states that the raising of Ls ó > ú is not uncommon; and so if it is Cp that has changed or leveled the vowels, then Ls and thus Tak \*qaru. [V’s; liquids] [p1g,2r,3n]

**1361** Modern Western țuroyo Syriac/Aramaic(A) papuke ‘owl’:

UACV-1595 \*pokko ‘burrowing owl’: Cm pohkóo ‘burrowing owl’; TSh sipokko’o ‘screech owl’; Tb pogoh ‘burrowing owl’. [1p,2p,3k] [NUA: Num, Tb]

**1362** Modern Eastern Swadaya Syriac/Aramaic(A) simmora ‘squirrel’:

UACV-2146 \*ciCmo / \*cimo ‘squirrel’: Tbr cimó-l ‘ardilla colorada [red squirrel]’; Tbr ci-cimó-ko ‘clase de ardilla de las casas [type of squirrel]’; Wr cimorí ‘kind of squirrel’; Tr či’morí ‘flying squirrel’; We címuaka/simuaka ‘ardilla’. Since Wc u < \*o, TrC and Wc match well through 4 segments. Tb cimi-l ‘mouse’ may tie in. [1s3,2mm,3r] [SUA: TrC, CrC; NUA: Tb]

**1363** Aramaic(CAL) hl(’) / hal-aa’ ‘dirt, mud-the’:

UACV-2522 \*hala ‘moist/wet soil’: Hp halasami ‘moist soil’ (\*sami ‘wet’ UACV-2521); Tb halai’- ‘wet’. [NUA: Hp, Tb]



**1364** Syriac rgl ‘come or go on foot, step forward’; Aramaic regl-aa / ragl-aa ‘foot-the’; Arabic rġl / raġila ‘go on foot, walk’; Arabic riġl- ‘foot, leg’; Arabic raġil ‘pedestrian’; Hebrew rēgēl ‘foot, leg’, dual **raglayim** ‘two feet’; Hebrew qittel impfv -raggel ‘move away from, scout’: Tb(H) taṇammin ‘step on, vt’; Tr feke(ta) ‘step’. [kw1r,2g,3l]

**1365** Akkadian agaaru ‘hire’; Arabic ʿgr ‘to reward’; Arabic ʾaġġara ‘hire out’; Aramaic(J) ʾaġar ‘hire, employ, rent’; Hebrew ʾgr ‘bring in (harvest)’; Middle Hebrew(J) ʾgr ‘gather, collect’: Tb(H) waahayʾ ‘work’. [p:1r,2g,3l]

**1366** Syriac twh / tawah ‘be alarmed, startled’; Arabic twh, pfv: taaha ‘stray, perish, be startled’: Sr tahitahiʾ ‘hurry up, vi’. [1t,2h]

**1367** Syriac mrq ‘rub off, scour, polish, cleanse, vt’: Sr miyīʾ-kin ‘1. wipe out, 2. cause to shimmer’. [1m,2r,3q]

**1368** Syriac ʾaṭib / ʾaṭ(ʾ)ib ‘do good, treat well’ (causative of ṭʾb; the underlying glottal stop in Syriac parallels what surfaces in some of the UA forms); Hebrew haṭṭiib ‘do well’:

UACV-1038a\***attip-na** ‘good’: CU ʾatti ‘good’; Cp áʿčiʾa ‘good’; Ca áčaʾe ‘good, fine, well, very’. Related to these are Hp -ʾciva ‘accord with’, Hp aʾciva ‘behave as expected, do what one can with one’s personal resources and limitations’; Hp àacipna/aʾcipna ‘do as expected’. Note that Hp aʾcipna and Cp áʿčiʾa are identical in five segments (aʾci ... a) except for a consonant cluster in Hp that reduced to a glottal stop in Cp, and that Hp parallels the Semitic wonderfully. Is SP’s nasal (below) a reduced -pn- cluster with nasal?

UACV-1038b\***attī(N)**: SP ʾattīN ‘good’; WMU á-ttū- ‘good, well’; CU ʾá-tī ‘good’. [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num]

**1369** Aramaic(S) kpn ‘be hungry’; Aramaic(S) kappiin ‘hungry’; Syriac kəpen / kəpin ‘be hungry’: Gb kovii- / koviiya ‘be hungry’ (Munro 2000, 186-7).

**1370** Semitic ʾay + mi ‘which who?’ > Ktn hami(c) ‘who?’

**1371** Aramaic ʾay + be ‘where-at/in it?’ > Ktn hayp(ea) ‘where?’

**1372** Arabic dbr ‘turn one’s back’; Arabic **dubr/dubur** ‘rump, back(side), buttocks, rear, hindpart’: Ktn tūhpi-c ‘loin, back’ [1d,2b,3r]

**1373** Arabic drr ‘strew, spray’; Hebrew cognate zrr means ‘sneeze’: Ktn tūyiyīʾy ‘drizzle (weather)’. [p:1z2,2rr]

**1374** Syriac buundəq-aa ‘ball, globule, sphere-the’:

SP potto ‘round, spherical’; Hopi poŋo(-k-) ‘encircle, form a circle’ (2<sup>nd</sup> syllable reduced -ndəq- > -Nq- > -ŋ-) [p1b,2n,3d,3q]

**1375** Syriac buundəq-aa ‘ball, globule, sphere-the’:

UA \*kwinuʾ ‘ball’ (Sem-kw, as 1<sup>st</sup> C more prominent). [kw1b,2n,3d,4q]

**1376** Hebrew šor ‘flint’; Akkadian šurru ‘obsidian, flint’ > SP čoiC ‘bead’. [kw1s4,2r]

**1377** Hebrew š<sup>3</sup>pardeaʿ ‘frog’:

UACV-973 \*sikwo / \*siboʾo / \*siboro ‘tadpole’: L.Son247 \*siwori ‘renacuajo’; M88-si11; KH/M06-si11: Eu zivór; Tr sibóri; My siboʾori ‘tadpole’; Yq síboʾolim. Cr šikwá ‘frog’ and ST subaaʾn ‘frog’ agree some in that Cr ī < \*u and ST b < \*kw, but the ST s is unexpected. Perhaps Tb šiko-l ‘lizard’. As \*-r- > Cah -ʾ-, the Yq/My siboʾo- stem (-ri noun suffix) could reflect \*siboro or \*sikworo, in Semitic \*-rd- > -r- > -ʾ-, and pharyngeal’s rounding. In Num \*siki/suku ‘lizard, snake’ is found a c/s inconsistency. Hebrew š > UA \*s marks this as Sem-p. [1s4,2p,2r,2d,3ʾ2] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC; NUA: Tb]

In contrast to Sem-p’s term which came to mean ‘tadpole (baby frog)’ (1377 above) instead of ‘frog’, the Sem-kw term (1378 below) appears that a prefixed article haC- (‘the’) or such caused the first two consonants to cluster \*-šp- > UA \*kw, then when without the prefix is left initial kw-:

**1378** Hebrew \*š<sup>3</sup>parde<sup>a</sup>ʿ ‘frog’ or ha-špardeʿ > ha-kwaʾro:

UACV-972 \***kwaʾro** (> kwara / kwaya / kwaʾna) ‘frog’: M67-191 \*kwa; L.Son119 \*kwaya ‘sapo’; Fowler83; M88-kwa6 ‘frog’; KH/M06-si11: Gb kwáʾro ‘sapo [toad]’; TO bábađ ‘frog’; PYP babadu ‘frog’ (Tep b = UA \*kw, and \*kw > bw/bo in My next); My boórók, pl: booróʾokim ‘sapo’ (\*kwaroʾo > bworoʾo); Tr barí; Tb woohnaa-l ‘frog’; in many of the following is prefixed UA \*paC- ‘water’: SP paqqwanʾa ‘frog, toad’; CU páqxa-kwáʾna ‘frog’; CU páqxá-ci-ci ‘horned toad’; CU paqxwani ‘frog’ (in English section); Hp paakwa ‘toad’; Eu kohár

‘sapo’; CN kweya-tl ‘frog’; NT babáádai ‘frog, toad’; NT kuaáli ‘frog’; Wc kwaašaa ‘species of frog’. Fowler also lists Ls pakwari-t ‘tadpole’; Gb qwarava ‘frog’. The words for ‘frog’ are a difficult collection, yet in Gb, My, and PYP are signs of 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel o. In Gb, My, Eu, Tr are signs of a liquid in the second consonant or cluster. Besides a cluster -’r- in Gb, the -’n- in Num agrees. All together these forms show expected \*l/r > n in Num and \*r > d/đ in Tep and \*r > y Azt. Forms like Gb kwá’ro’ are a wonderful depiction of Hebrew \*špardeš > kwa’ro’ with r > ’ as first element in a cluster, d > r, and rounding influence of the pharyngeal on the vowel which itself becomes a final glottal stop. Note, like Sem-kw Semitic ’arnavot ‘rabbit’ > UA \*tavo wherein first syllable is lost, perhaps due to prefixed haC- ‘the’ creating a cluster, then being dropped. [r > y in Azt, Tep] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1379** Egyptian rš + mrr ‘sun-go’

UACV-2230e \*ta-miya ‘sun, day, sun-going’: BH.Cup \*tVmet ‘sun, day’; HH.Cup \*tamet ‘sun, day’; Munro.Cup125 \*tamé-t ‘sun, day’; KH.NUA: Ktn tamea-t ‘sun, day, timepiece’ (< ta ‘sun’ + mea ‘go’ / mea’ with, that is, the going (time) of the sun, (being) with sun); Sr taamia-t ‘sun, day, time’; Gb támi-t ‘sun, day’; Ca tami-t / tamyat ‘sun, day, time’; Ls timé-t ‘sun, day’; Cp támi-t ‘day, sun’. [1m,2rr]

**1380** from Semitic šqr ‘uproot, be sterile’ are Hebrew šqr ‘tear out by the roots, weed’; Syriac šqr ‘uproot, heal, be barren’; Arabic šaaqir ‘barren, sterile’; Arabic šaqr ‘sterility’; Samaritan Aramaic(CAL) šaquur ‘death, barrenness’; when uprooted, a plant becomes ‘dry’, ‘thin’, ‘shrivels’ or ‘dies’; ‘sterile’ is often from ‘dry up’: UACV-720 \*waki ‘dry, shrivel, thin’: VVH99 \*waki ‘dry’; M67-143 \*waki; BH.Cup \*wáx ‘to dry’; B.Tep38 \*gaki; L.Son325 \*wakī, wak-i ‘searse’; CL.Azt48 \*waaki; KH.NUA; M88-wa4; KH/M06-wa4: Tb waagii’it ~ ’awaagii’ ‘be skinny’; Tb(H) waakīit ‘be dry’, Tb waakinat ‘dry, vt’ Hp laaki ‘become dry, thin, v’; Cp wáxe ‘dry, vt’; Ca wáx ‘become dry, vi’; Ca wax-ne ‘make dry, v.t./caus.’ Ls wáxa ‘dry up, heal, v.i’; Ls wáxni ‘dry, vt’; Sr waak ‘dry, vi’; Sr waaqan ‘dry, vt’; Sr awaaki’ ‘dry, adj’; TO gaki ‘be dry, skinny, bony’; PYP gak; NT gáki; ST gak; Nv gaki ‘cosa seca’; Nv gaku ‘estar seco/flaco’; Eu wáke; Yq wakía ‘dry, thin’; Yq waake ‘dry, vi’; My wakía; Cr wahči ‘dry, thin’; Wc vaváki ‘seco, flaco, delgado’; CN waaki ‘dry out, evaporate, wither’. This prominent stem is in every branch except Numic; many reflexes also mean ‘thin’, ie, dry, become thin. [p1’2,2q,3r] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1381** Hebrew qapped ‘roll up’; MHebrew qpd ‘close up’; Late Hebrew qpd ‘be drawn together, be rolled together’ (Klein 586); Syriac -qapped ‘be wrinkled, be curled up’: Sr qapit-q/kin ‘break (by bending), vi/vt’(Sr -p- < \*-pp-). [1q,2pp,3d]

**1382** Aramaic qəpiiduut-aa ‘shrinking, shortness’; Late Hebrew quppad ‘was rolled up, made shorter, cut short’ (Klein586); Syriac \*et-qapped ‘be shortened, cut off, shrunk, shrivelled’ > Sr qapōc ‘short’. [1q,2pp,3d]

**1383** Arabic qašada ‘sit down’, impfv: -qšudu; Arabic qašda(t) ‘sitting, backside, buttocks’ > Hp kīri ‘buttocks’. For intervocalic -d- > -r-, see moose (735), tail (261). [1q,2’2,3d]

**1384** Aramaic -be ‘with it, in it, by means of it’ > Hp -pi ‘instrumental’ and other UA languages.

**1385** Syriac qšuuul-aa / qšuuul-taa ‘expansile, expansive as the lungs’: Cp qiqil<sup>y</sup>ve (< \*qoqolVpe) ‘lungs’. [1q,2’2,3l]

**1386** Syriac kty ‘laugh/weep incessantly’; but less likely Syriac qatqet ‘burst out laughing, laugh loudly’; Arabic qatta ‘misrepresent, belittle, minimize’; Syriac qətaay-aa ‘loud laughter, pause in weeping, gulp down sobs, blinking’; Aramaic(CAL) qty / qatqet ‘to laugh’; Aramaic(CAL) quθqaaθaa ‘laughter’; Ca/Ls k, not q: UACV-1287 \*kasi ‘smile’: Ca kaskási ‘give a half smile, vi’; CU kīšii(’ni) ‘smile’; Mn kīsito’aqa ‘make faces’; Ls kašikši-š ‘squinting’; Ls kašii-li ‘to wink’. \*kati > kaci > kaskasi [t > s] [p1k,2t] [NUA: Tak, Num]

**1387** Arabic(Lane) pgl ‘be thick and soft or flaccid’:

Hp pōñala ‘thick (in size)’; Sh pohonta ‘thick (of book, grass, etc)’; Cm pohotati ‘thick’ (blanket is in the sample sentence, and -nt- > -t-); Sh(C) pohanon / pohanon ‘thick’. [kw:1p,2g,3l]

**1388** Arabic ’adiya, impfv: ya-’daa ‘to suffer damage, be harmed’; Arabic ’adaa(t) ‘damage, harm, injury’; Arabic ’iidaa’ ‘harm, damage, hurt’:

UACV-2089 \*’ica(C) ‘(have) wound/sore’: L.Son9 \*’ica ‘llaga’; M88-i2 ‘wound’; AMR1992b; KH/M06-i2 \*’ica(C) (AMR): Wr ehcá ‘llaga’; Tr čá-ka, čá-na-ri ‘sore, n’; Mn iya-ye ‘have sores’; NP iadui’hu ‘wound s.o.’; Sh iā ‘sore, wound’; Kw ’ia ‘wound, hurt, v’; SP iā-vi ‘wounded’; CU ’ia-vi ‘wound, n’; Hp iya ‘sore, scab’; Tbr acá-t ‘llaga, sifilis’. Add TSh iā- (in compounds); Cm i’á ‘wound, sore, n’. Medial \*-c- > NUA -y-, so SUA \*’ica and NUA iya/iā (Num, Hp \*’iya). [\*-c- > -y-] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: TrC]

**1389** Semitic \*taxt-e ‘under-him/it’ or \*taxta ‘under’ > Wr(MM) te’ré ‘abajo en el suelo’ [1t,2h2,2x,3t]

**1390** Hebrew \*bətaxat ‘in/at under’:

UACV-698e \***pīta**ha ‘under’: B.Tep288 \*vīta’a ‘under’; M88-pī12; KH/M06-pī12: LP vīta; NT úta; ST vīta’ / vuta; PYP veta ‘below, under, ground, floor’. The Tep \*pītaha forms align with Semitic \*bītaxat quite well, though better reflecting the uvular nature of -x- are My bétuku ‘debajo’; Yq bétuku(ni) ‘below, down’; AYq vétuku ‘under’. TO wečo ‘under’ and Nv buto (\*pīto) ‘bajo’ likely link to another morpheme. Wr wítu ‘below’ may be a Tep loan.

**1391** Hebrew pš̄t ‘spread out, take off clothes, stretch oneself, remove (skin)’;

Syriac pš̄t / pəšaṭ ‘stretch out, extend, spread out’; Syriac pəšiit ‘straight, plain, flat’:

Tr pe-, **pesá** (irregular present) ‘tender [stretch, spread], extender una cubierta encima de algo [spread a cover onto s.th.], tender cama [spread out a bed]’:

UACV-244a \***ha-pīt** ‘blanket’: KH.NUA; M88-ha15; KH/M06-ha15: Gb havót ‘blanket’; Sr havīt ‘clothes, blanket’.

Ken Hill adds Ktn havī-t ‘skin, blanket, clothes’ and considers the possibility of Hp havīi- ‘sleepy’. This \*ha-pīt ‘blanket’ is likely related to \*pīta ‘mat’, below, possibly with a ha- prefix for these Takic forms, similar to TrC’s hi- prefix: Tak \*ha-pīt; TrC \*hi-pīta. [\*i > Gb o]

UACV-244b \*(**hi-**)**pīta** ‘woven mat’: M67-277 \*peta ‘mat, bed’; CL.Azt194 \*pəṭla ‘woven mat’; CL.Azt 317 \*\*pata; L.Son205 \*pīta ‘estera’; M88-hi2 ‘sleeping mat/petate’; KH/M06-hi2; M88-pī8 ‘mat, bed, petate’; KH/M06-pī8: Eu hipét; Wr ihpetá; Tr péra; My hípetam; Cr péeta ‘mat, bed, petate’; CN petla-tl ‘woven mat’; Pl petat; Po -pot/b’tet; Tb(H) pah-t ‘tule mat’. Cr péeta is likely a loan (as also the Azt forms), but Cr hitá-ri with the expected \*p > h is a genuine CrC cognate. Takic shows a ha- prefix, and some TrC forms show a hi- prefix, while others show only \*pīta; yet all have \*pīt(a) in common. Miller lists many of the same forms in M88-hi2 and M88-pī8; therefore, Miller’s two sets pī8 and hi2 are here combined. [Wr prefix = CN] 1p,2s1,3t2 [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1392** Syriac p’y ‘be becoming, comely’; Syriac **paayuut** (< \***pa’yuut**) ‘beauty, comeliness, elegance’ Or MHebrew p’r ‘glorify, praise’?:

Tr **ba’ó** ‘hermosura [beauty]’; Tr **ba’ó-** / **ba’óre-** / **bayóre-** ‘ser hermoso [be beautiful], lindo, bonito [pretty]’. How interesting that a cluster \*-y- surfaces as both -’- and -y-! [1b,2’,3r]

**1393** Hebrew šnn ‘to be cold’; Hebrew šinnaa ‘cold, n’; Aramaic(J) šnn ‘be cold’:

Tb ciina-l ‘hail’. Cold-hail connections also occur in Semitic itself wherein Semitic brd means ‘cold’ in Arabic, but underlies ‘hail’ in Hebrew. [1s4,2nn]

**1394** Ugaritic bšd ‘behind’; OSArabic bašdu ‘after, behind’; Arabic bšd ‘be distant’; Hebrew bášad ‘behind, through, round about, for’:

Tr bo’ó / ko’ó ‘del/al otro lado de [from/at/on the other side of]’; Tr has bo / ko variants, but not po / ko. [1b,2’,2,3d]

**1395** Hebrew paḥ, pl: paḥiim, pl construct paḥee(y) ‘thin plate(s) of metal’

Tr piwe- / piu- / piwi- ‘remoler bien [grind well], pulverizar fino [pulverize finely]’. [iddddua] [1p,2h2]

**1396** Arabic kfr (< \*kpr) ‘cover, hide’; Syriac kpr, impfv: -kpur ‘wipe clean, scour’; Hebrew kpr ‘smear (i.e., cover) with s.th. (‘pitch’ in the attested example in the OT):

Tr pora- ‘tapar [cover with a top], cubrir [cover], techar [cover with a roof]’. [1k,2p,3r]

**1397** Hebrew \*bayin > been / beenee- ‘between, among, with’; Arabic **bayna** ‘between, among’; Syriac baynay ‘between, among’:

UACV-2563b \***pīna** ‘with, unite/go with friend’: TO weenač ‘with’; PYP veena ‘with’; PYP veen-k ‘accompany, vt’; PYP veenag ‘friend, n’; ST vīina ‘compañero, cónyuge’; ST vīnta ‘unirse, juntarse, vi (subj anim)’; TO weenag ‘brother, sister, cousin, relative of the same generation’; Eu vené-ri ‘junto [together], cerca [near]’; Eu vené ‘to, with’ in Eu amo vené ‘a ti’; ‘among/between’ objects is ‘together with’ the objects; movement to being between or among is a semantic extension. [p:1b,2n] [SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1398** Hebrew bə-paney ‘on the surface of’ > Eu vepán ‘encima, sobre’; AYq vepa ‘on top of, more than’

**1399** Semitic \*bxr ‘test, choose, be/make choice’: Syriac bḥr (< \*bxr) ‘try, prove (as silver by fire)’;

Hebrew bḥr (<\*bxr) ‘choose’; Hebrew na-bḥr ‘be tested (refined in fire, as metal), preferable’; Hebrew baḥiir ‘choice’; Hebrew baḥuur ‘young man (i.e., choice, in prime of life)’; Amorite bexeru ‘elite soldier’:

UA \***bīhīri** ‘expensive, opponent’: My behre ‘está caro/costoso [is expensive/costly]’; My behri ‘contra [opponent], enemigo [enemy]’; Yq behé’e ‘caro [expensive]’; AYq behe’e ‘1 betray, deceive, 2 cost, be

expensive'; AYq vehe'eri 'enemy, the Devil'; My bahia 'hermosura [beauty]'; Hp pīhi 'new, fresh'. Sem-p shows Sem b > b in Cah and x > x/h (vs. rounding in Sem-kw). [p1b,2x,3r] [SUA:Cah; NUA: Hp]

**1400** Syriac baatar 'after, following' (< b-'atar, which equates to Hebrew b-'ašer); Hebrew ba'ašer 'because'; Arabic 'aθar 'track'; Arabic 'iθra 'immediately after'; these 3 language forms are cognate in Semitic, and the UA form is phonologically like Hebrew, but semantically like the more original meaning in Arabic and Syriac, i.e., 'in the track of' or 'after, behind':

AYq veasi 'behind, beside, on the other side of'. [p1b,p2',p3t,p3r]

**1401** Hebrew brh 'flee, slip away, pass through, glide past' > My bóroh-te 'tiene diarrea' [idddua] [p1b,2r,3h2]

**1402** Egyptian mx' 'make fast, tie, bind'; though also possible is Hebrew maʿte (< \*magate) 'covering, outer garment, mantle' (< Sem gṭw 'cover, wrap'); Arabic gṭw 'cover, wrap, envelop'; Arabic gīṭaa 'a wrap, blanket, cover, item of clothing' for CNum \*mokoC-ci 'sack, bag', the UA forms fit better with Egyptian mx' 'make fast, tie, bind, fetter, v'; Egyptian mx' / mx'i 'loop, sling, fetter, n':

UACV-115 \*maḡo'i- 'bag, bind, wrap, blanket': TO mako 'connect, couple, hitch together, shackle'; ST makia 'tie up (with bridle/halter)'; Sr mööq-kin 'fold, wrap, vt'; NP mago'o 'bag'; Kw mogwi'i 'tanned hide'; WMU moḡwái' / moḡwé' / maḡwé' / maaḡwáy' / moḡwé' 'blanket'; CU moḡóy'a 'blanket'; TSh mokocci 'sack, bag, pouch'; Sh mokoccih 'sack, bag'. Wr mo'ke-wari 'basket' and My mo'oko 'basket' anticipated the glottal stop; Hp mooki 'bundle, parcel, sack' and Hp mokyaa-ta 'wrap up, bag or sack s.th., put into a bundle, vt' and perhaps SP piccammuqu 'tie around (?)' and CN moka 'full of'. I have not heard the other languages, but WMU has a deep pharyngeal tap, and Sr -q- agrees. [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC]

**1403** Aramaic(S) šgr 'send, make flow'; Aramaic(J) šgr 'run, flow'; Syriac šigr-aa 'drain, ditch, gutter-the': Hp sikya 'small valley, ravine, canyon with sloped sides'. [p1s1,p2g,p3r]

### Note the Semitic-p examples of the pattern of Aramaic -gra > Hopi -kya in

(1130) Aramaic pagr-aa 'corpse-the' > Hp pīkya 'skin, fur'

(1403) Syriac šigr-aa 'drain, ditch, gutter-the' > Hp sikya 'small valley, ravine, canyon with sloped sides'.

Add yet a third with the same -gr- cluster > Hopi -ky-, and a fourth of -qr- > -ky-:

**1404** Syriac ḥgr 'halt, limp, be lame' > Hp hokya 'leg, stalk'; Hp hokyalmi 'to trip'. [idddua] [1h2,2g,3r]

**1405** Arabic šqr / šaqira / šaqura 'be of fair complexion, light-skinned, be blond, fair-haired'; Arabic šuqra(t) 'fair complexion, blondness, redness'; Arabic šaqra'aa'u 'Fire' (evidently the colors signified by this root are like fire, from yellow to red):

Hopi sikya- / sikyà-ḡ-pī 'yellow, yellow(ish) thing, yolk of an egg'; Hopi sikya-qa'ö 'yellow-corn'. [1s,2q,3r]

**1406** Semitic r'y / raa'aa / \*ra'a'y 'see':

Wr(MM) re'é 'parecer, verse'; Wr(MM) re'té 'parecer, verse' (reduplicated form). Though initial r > r, the reduplicated form supports how initial Semitic/Egyptian r > UA \*t; otherwise, we might expect re're, but an adjacent or preceding glottal stop more resembles an initial phonological environment. [1r,2']

**1407** Hebrew maḥ<sup>a</sup>ne < \*maḥne 'camp, people of the camp'; as in-laws become family or people of the camp, a pervasive UA word for in-law, most often son-in-law, is a phonological match. 'Son-in-law' would especially fit matriarchal societies, as they join the wife's camp or family.

UACV-2085 \*mo'ona(C) / \*monna / \*moCna 'son-in-law, male in-law': Sapir; M67-505 \*mona / mo'na / mo' 'affinal relative'; I.Num94 \*mona / \*muna 'son-in-law'; L.Son148 \*moni 'yerno'; M88-mo3; KH/M06-mo3: Sh monappi; Kw mono; SP munna/mona-ci; Hp mö'ōnaḡw 'male in-law'; Eu mónwa; My mó'one; Yq mó'one; Tbr moa-saká-r; Wr mo'né; Tr mo'né-ra; Wc muune; Cr mú'u 'affinal relative'; Cr -mu'un 'yerno'; CN moon-tli 'son-in-law'. Sapir also lists Cr muna-ra. Add AYq mo'one 'son-in-law'; Ca mīḡkiw'a 'son-in-law', since Ca i < \*o. With glottal stops in six languages (Hp, My, Yq, Wr, Tr, Cr), the reconstruction should reflect it. [NUA n : SUA n] [1m,2h2,3n] [idddua] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1408** Hebrew zrh 'rise, shine' (< Sem \*ḏrḥ); Syriac dnḥ 'rise, dawn, shine (sun, moon, stars)';

Syriac dinḥ-aa 'sunrise, light, the ascendant or predominant star (at birth)', i.e., horoscope;

OSArabic 'ḏrḥ; The -cinuN- part of UA \*tacinuN-pi 'star' fits well with rounding for the pharyngeal:

UACV-2168 \*ta(C)tinuN-pi 'star': I.Num212 \*taci 'star'; M88-ta32; KH/M06-ta32: Mn tazinópi 'star'; TSh taciumpi 'star'; Sh(C) taci'im-pin/ttaC 'star'; Sh(M) taci'im-pin 'star'; Cm tacinuupi 'star'. NUA -c- is usually from

\*-Ct-. Aramaic **dinḥ-aa'** > UA \*cinuN / \*ci'uN has the glottal stop in some but -n- in others, which suggests a lost cluster, and the cluster \*-nḥ- explains -nu- well with the rounding of the pharyngeal and the glottal stop can be a reduction of any cluster. A final nasal from the final glottal stop which we see in other NUA Sem-p forms, like 1409. Sh(M) taci 'shining' may be a denominalized reduction. [ʔ/w; u > i in Sh] [1z2,2r,3h2] [NUA: Num]

**1409** Christian Palestinian Aramaic kwkyh 'spider'; Syriac gəwaagay 'spider';

Aramaic(J) buuky-aa' / **kuuky-aa** / kuuby-aa 'weaver's shuttle, spider-the'; Aramaic(J) kəkay 'spiderweb':

UACV-2107 \***kuukya** / \***kukkaC** (AMR) 'blackwidow spider': Fowler83; M88-ku33; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ku33

\*kukkaC (AMR): Hopi **kookyaṅw** 'spider'; Ls kúyxiṅi-š 'black widow spider'; Cp kúka-t 'blackwidow spider';

Sr kuka-ṭ 'spider'; Ktn kuka-č 'spider'. Hopi **kookyaṅw** is most intriguing in that Hp o < UA \*u, so it

equates to UA \*kuukyaṅw, which is nearly identical to Aramaic kuuky-aa' with the glottal stop of the definite article suffix showing rounding and velarization of that rounding. Ls kúyxiṅi-š 'black widow spider' anticipated -y- and unstressed vowels > i. [1g,2w,3g,3y] [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**1410** Hebrew šlṣ 'limp, be lame'; Arabic zlf 'be lame, limp'; Hebrew šelaṣ 'a stumble, fall, plunge, n';

Syriac ṭlṣ / et-tallaṣ 'fall in a stupor, become unconscious':

UACV-834 \***culiwa** 'fall, pl': KH/M06-cu15; M88-cu15: B.Tep206a \*suriga-i 'fall, pl'; B.Tep206b suuri 'they fell';

TO šulig 'fall, bow, descend, pl'; LP šulg; PYP sulī; NT suulīga/suulīgi 'fall, pl'; ST suulygi fall, pl'.

Add Wc širi 'fall, pl'. [1s4,2l,3'2] [SUA: Tep, CrC]

**1411** Arabic nasaga, impfv **-nsugu** 'to weave'; unattested Hebrew impfv: \*yi-ssugu:

UACV-2511 \***sugu** 'sew': Wr su'ka 'sew'; Tr su 'to sew' present: su/sugú; Tr i'su 'sew' (frequentive /

emphatic of su-). The Tr frequentive and present reflect first 2/3 and last 2/3 of Hebrew impfv. [SUA: TrC]

**1412** Arabic xdr 'be green':

Tb(H) hul'hulat 'be/become green'; Tb(H) huu'lat 'green place'. [kw1x>h2,2s4,3r]

**1413** Hebrew took 'midst, middle, among, in the middle of, during':

UA \*tok 'with, near, middle': CN tlok 'with, near'; SP togoi-tiqqai 'in the middle of eating, about half through eating'. [1t,2k]

**1414** Syriac sgy 'be many, great'; the Hopi term reflects well an unattested huqtal form \*hosgay 'be made great' > Hopi hoskaya 'large, huge, enormous' [1s3,2g,3y]

**1415** Semitic **rdm** 'sleep':

Tb(H) **culumat** 'sleep, vi'; initial r- > t- > c- palatalization before a high vowel and intervocalic -d/t- > -l- as usual, and the Tb reflects an infinitive or verbal noun rədom. [1r,2d,3m]

**1416** Arabic idaa / idan 'then, therefore, if, when, whenever' > Tb(H) tan / tanni 'if'. [2z2]

**1417** Aramaic -aayaa '-the' is the Aramaic definite plural suffix:

Hopi -ya is one of Hopi's non-singular plural suffixes, yet it most often follows -a, as in -a-ya 'pl' to parallel Aramaic -aayaa. Yet even -ya is consistent with the loss of initial vowel of the other pl suffixes: pre-Hebrew \*-iima > UA \*-(i)ma; Hebrew \*oote > \*-te; Aramaic -aayaa > UA -ya.

Liquid + ʕ cluster > ŋ, as in (737) Hebrew širʕaa 'hornets' > UA \***saṅa** 'yellowjacket', others, and (1418).

**1418** Syriac ʕry / ʕr' / ʕaraa '1 to contain, hold, 2 grasp, take hold'; Syriac feminine impfv: **te-ʕre**;

Arabic ʕr' / ʕrw / ʕaraa, impfv: ya-ʕru 'befall, grip, seize'; the final -y impfv forms in UA reflect final vowel -a rather than Masoretic -e as i: bky (560,561), ʕšy (680): i.e., \*ta-ʕra' > UA taṅa':

UACV-111 \***taṅa** 'bag, sack': M88-ta45; KH.NUA; Stubbs2003-4; KH/M06-ta45 'to contain (several things)': Sr taṅat

'sack'; Gb taṅár 'sack'; Hopi taṅa-ta 'put in a container'; Hopi taṅa 'contents of a rigid, enclosed container';

Hp patṅa 'squash' (with pa-). Stubbs (2003-4) adds Tbr tanaté 'zurrón, mochila de cuero en que se acarrea a

la espalda el ineral'; the last two syllables of Mn kusatá'ni 'sack' and Sr qawaataṅaṭ 'pocket'. CN taana'-tli

'basket with a handle'; and Yq 'ia-tana 'this shore/side' (a shore contains/encloses water). Add Ktn táṅata-t

'sack, trunk, box'; Ktn hu' 'ataṅata-t 'granary'. \*taṅa compounded with \*pa- 'water' produces \*pa-taṅa

'squash, pumpkin, gourd' (Stubbs 2003:4 and KH/M06-pa66 'squash'); Ch parāṅar(a) 'pumpkin';

SP pataṅwataN 'pumpkin'; and Hp patṅa 'squash, pumpkin' at 'squash'. Note CN final -' and the same in the Semitic root. Is this Sem-p and 1358 Sem-kw? [NUA -ŋ-:SUA -n-] [p1'2,2r,3'/3y] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**1419** Syriac šagni ‘remove from its place, alter, transform, change clothing or appearance, bec different’: Hopi siinji ‘peel, shed skin (as of a snake)’; Hopi siinjya ‘to strip, peel, husk (s.th. easily peeled without implement, like corn, banana, peaches), blow away clothing to reveal skin, hatch (egg)’.

**1420** Arabic nwr II ‘blossom, fill with light, illuminate’; Arabic naar ‘fire’; Aramaic(J) nuur-aa ‘fire-the’; Syriac nwr / nayyar ‘set light, kindle’; in most Semitic languages is the verb nwr ‘to make/become light’ with infinitive and imperfective: **-nuur(u)**, and perfective **naar**; note that UA has both in Eu and Tr:

UACV-2238 **\*nur / \*nar** ‘aclerar el día [to dawn, become daylight]’: Eu nurú ‘aclerar el día’; Tbr nare ‘aclerar el día’. [SUA: TrC]

**1421** Arabic saħr- / suħr-, pl: suħuur ‘lungs’; Arabic masaħjir ‘lungs’:

Tb mošooha-t / mosooha-t ‘lungs’; Wr so’locá ‘pulmones [lungs]’. Wr divides these from Egyptian sm’: Tr and Wr are sister languages, usually with quite parallel forms, so Tr sonorá and Wr so’locá are a clear division, Tr sonorá aligning with the other SUA \*sono and NUA \*soŋo / somo, while Wr so’locá aligns nicely with this set (suħr-), with rounding plus glottal stop reflecting the pharyngeal, and the liquid l reflects the liquid r, while Tb shows the Semitic form with mV- prefix. [1s,2h2,3r] [NUA: Tb, Num; SUA: TrC]

**1422** Syriac kəmar (< \*kamar) ‘be sad’ > Tb(H) hammaššat ‘be sad’ (r > s usual adjacent to voiceless C).

**1423** Syriac -ai / -ay ‘me, my’ (enclitic pronoun, and possessive pronoun suffixed to pl nouns, Thackston 45-46) > Serrano -ai ‘I’m’. In Semitic, verbal nouns are very often used instead of conjugated verbs; for example, ‘my walking’ instead of ‘I walk’, in which case ‘my’ = ‘I’m’.

**1424** Syriac nədaal-aa ‘fieldmouse-the, n.m.’

UACV-1465 **\*tori** ‘rat’: L.Son314 \*tori ‘rata’; M88-to8 ‘mouse/rata’; KH/M06-to8: Eu tori; Wr torí ‘rata’; Tr rorí ‘rata’; My tóori ‘rata’; Tbr tolí ‘rata negra’. Can this be a Sem-kw form with loss of 1<sup>st</sup> syllable and Canaanite vowel change of \*aa > oo? [1n,2d,3l] [SUA: TrC]

**1425** Arabic ndw / nadaa ‘invite, call together’:

UACV-609 **\*nata / \*nara** ‘cry’: L.Son167 \*nara ‘llorar’; M88-na10 ‘cry’; KH/M06-na10: Op nara; Wr nalá-; Tr nará; HN nanalka ‘snort, bark (of dog)’. [liquids] 1n,2d [SUA: TrC, Azt]

**1426** Arabic rmy / ramaa ‘throw, cast’; Hebrew rmy / raamaa ‘throw’;

Syriac rmy/rm’ ‘put, place, pour, cast, leave on the ground’:

UACV-989 **\*rima / \*lima** ‘throw out onto a refuse heap (which loosely piles higher)’: Hp ríma ‘cast away, throw out’; Ls líma/i ‘put on top of, pile loosely’. Note initial r- in Hopi. [1r,2m,3y] [NUA: Hp, Tak]

UACV-1405 **\*limu** ‘lumpy, bumpy’: Sr rimīimī’q ‘be lumpy’; Ca limu-límu ‘be bumpy’; Ls kuma-lúma ‘be bumpy’; AYq rumui ‘uneven’; AYq rurumui ‘rough ground’ (in other words, lumpy and bumpy); both the bilabial m and the following u could encourage assimilation of first vowel i to u. [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC]

**1427** Semitic rwħ, sometimes voweled rawaħ, ranges through meanings like ‘go away (in the evening) to rest, breathe, be breeze/wind (as in evening), deliver/free, separate oneself, extend, make wide/space’:

Hebrew réwaħ ‘width, space, interval, liberation’; Hebrew rəwaħjaa ‘break, clearing, relief’;

Arabic rwħ ‘go in the evening; go away, depart, leave, go’ (verbal noun rawaħħ);

Arabic rawaħħ ‘departure, going, leaving, return trip’:

Sr rīwīrīwīh-q ‘disappear (distributive)’; Sr rīwīt-q ‘disappear’; Sr rīwī’-q ‘be gone, absent (resultative)’. [1r,2w,3h2]

**1428** Syriac raa’taa / raataa ‘lung(s), n.f.’:

Cora ta’atime ‘pulmones [lungs]’; the Cora form is quite identical to the Syriac form except with a separated cluster and something resembling a masculine plural ending instead feminine plural. [1r,2’,3t]

**1429** Arabic kmn ‘be hidden, concealed, latent’:

UACV-2036 **\*kuman** ‘sleep’: KH/M06-ku15: Sr kuman ‘sleep, go to sleep’; Ktn kum ‘sleep’. This may originally apply to and derive from the animal kingdom, wherein deer, etcetera, lay hidden to sleep, but jump and run only if one approaches closely enough. [idddua] [1k,2m,3n]

**1430** Arabic iġpaa’a(t) ‘slumber, nap’; Arabic ġpw / ġpy, impfv ya-ġpuw ‘slumber, doze, fall asleep’ (v.n. ġpuuw) would equate to \*špy in Hebrew and Aramaic, but could also fit the impfv of Sem-p:

UACV-2034a **\*ippīwi / \*iCpīwi** ‘sleep’: Sapir; M67-385 \*pei ‘sleep’; I.Num24 \*ihpi’i ‘sleep’; M88-pī6; KH/M06-pī6: In all NUA languages, \*ippīwi applies to sg vs. pl okko’i ‘sleep’: Hp pīwi; TSh ippīih; Sh ippīih;

Cm ihpīiti; pui-(in compounds); Kw ʼipii; Ch ipii; SP ahpii; WMU pwíi, pwíi!; CU píi; perhaps Wc húupu ‘sleep habitually’. Hp pīwi and Numic \*(ih)pī align well. Sapir also ties Cr hipi ‘sich niederlegen zum schlafen [lie down to sleep]’ (thus the vowels of Cr hipi correspond to Num ipī) with Num, as both exhibit \*-pp-, though I cannot find that Cr form in my sources. But the other CrC language has Wc húpu ‘dormir habitualmente’ which likely belongs as well, though the vowels do not match perfectly (normally, Wc u < \*o, and Wc i < \*u). However, considering Kw ʼuupuha-ga-dī ‘sleeper, sleepyhead’, which shows geminated \*-pp- like Cr and all the Num languages, they also all have round vowels in common, if we consider that Num i is often from \*u, i.e., all have u or i, and that the cluster -ǵp- > -pp- doubled the consonant, a good match. [wʼ] [p1g2,p2p,p3w] [NUA: CNum, SNum, Hp; SUA: CrC]

UACV-2034b \*ʼwi ‘sleep’: Mn; NP. Most forms in \*(iC)pīi above contain an extra initial syllable that ends with a geminating feature, a consonant (cluster) that doubles the -pp-; and WNum \*ʼwi is likely a kw-like result of the doubled bilabial cluster? [\*-pp- > -ʼ- in WNum] [NUA: WNum]

**1431** Hebrew lḥy / ləḥiy ‘chin, jawbone’; Arabic laḥy- ‘jawbone’:

Hopi öyi ‘chin’; Ls ʼóóyi-l ‘jaw, chin’. This UA pair may not be a cognate pair because PUA \*o > ö in Hopi, but \*o > e in Ls. Yet it could be a UA loan into Ls from some source of PUA \*oyi, and both, given loss of initial l-, resemble Hebrew lḥy / ləḥiy ‘chin, jawbone’; Arabic laḥy- ‘jawbone’, beginning with the rounding pharyngeal ḥ > ho / o. Perhaps Sem-kw in loss of initial liquid’. [11,2h2,3y]

**1432** Akkadian awiil ‘man’:

UACV-1421 \*owi ‘male, man’: M88-ʼo5 ‘male’; L.Son24 \*owi ‘macho’; KH/M06-ʼo5: Wr oí; Tr owí; My óoʼow / oʼo. Add Tbr oñwi ‘man’. Tr, Wr \*owí ‘male’ and Tbr oñwi ‘man’. Yq ʼooʼou, pl: ʼoʼówim may possibly tie to \*otami, as intervocalic \*-t- > -r- is common in UA, and -r- > -ʼ- is common in Cah: \*otami > \*oromi > oʼowi. [1ʼ,2w,4l] [SUA: TrC]

**1433** Hebrew ḥwš / ḥyš ‘hurry’ (impfv: \*ya-ḥuuš); (hiqtil) yaḥiis-(aa) ‘hurry, hasten (something)’:

TSh yawi(sī) ‘quickly, fast, in a hurry; hurry up!’ [p1y,2h2,3s1]

**1434** Hebrew dopi ‘blemish, fault’; Aramaic(J) dopy-aa ‘damage to reputation, taint, reproach’:

UA \*tīpa ‘dotted, striped, checkered’: TO čičpa(i)mag(i) ‘be dotted, have dots’ (Saxton 1969); Ca teveleve (< \*tīpī-tīpī) ‘be checked, have stripes’; TO čičpaʼavi ‘promiscuous woman, prostitute’. UA \*t > č in TO before high vowels (like i). The Semitic semantics provide a connection for the two TO meanings that are otherwise not obviously relatable. [1d,2p,3y]

**1435** Hebrew ḥaadaaš ‘new, fresh’; Syriac ḥdt ‘be new’; Arabic ḥdθ / ḥadaθa ‘to happen, come to pass’: \*utaʼa ‘be’: WMU uraʼa-y / araʼa-y ‘be’; CU uráʼay ‘be, exist’; SP uruʼa- ‘be’. š > ʼ in 1436. [1h2,2d,3s1]

**1436** Hebrew ʼišaa, ʼešet ‘woman’:

\*waʼiC-pī ‘woman’: TSh waʼippī ‘woman, female’; Sh(M) waʼippī ‘woman’; Sh(C) waʼi-ppī ‘woman’; Cm waʼihpī ‘woman’s female kinsman’ (but example uses it as ‘woman’). Given s/š > ʼ in Num (see eye, fall, be 1435, woman), ʼešet > waʼiC- of CNum. [1ʼ,2s1]

**1437** Hebrew ḥyy / ḥayaa, impfv: yi-ḥye ‘to live’:

Wr ohee / ohoe ‘to live’. Rounding by the pharyngeal and compare ‘year’ (823) and ‘right’ (801) for loss of y and transposition of h to where y was. [1h2,2yy]

**1438** Hebrew šbš ‘to dye’; Arabic ḍabaġa ‘to dye’, impfv ya-ḍbuġu. Given the cluster created by the impfv’s vowel and the usual loss of the first consonant of the cluster, UA \*pu is expected, though finding the other consonants in say the perfect or s.th. would be nice.

UACV-736 \*pu ‘dye’: ST vua ‘dye’; Wc ḥiye ‘color, form’. Both initial syllables agree with \*pu, though second syllables vary. Wc ḥiye looks like part of Wc māiye ‘color’ which is attached to many color words, and Semitic ʼḍbš is also much used for words meaning ‘color(ed)’, not any specific color, but simply creating colors. [p1s4,p2b,p3g2] [SUA: CrC, Tep]

**1439** Hebrew nšʼ ‘lend out’; Arabic nsʼ / nasaʼa ‘to sell with delayed payment, grant credit’:

Hopi nasi-moki ‘borrowed thing, loan, n’; Hopi nasi-mokyaa-ta ‘to borrow’. Hopi moki ‘bundle’, but the first morpheme is of unknown meaning. [1n,2s1,3ʼ]

**1440** Hebrew ʼrḥ / ʼaaraḥ ‘be on the road, wander’; Hebrew ʼoraḥ ‘way, path’; Akkadian urxu ‘way, expedition’ > Ch(L) ʼuruʷa- ‘travel, go, walk’. [kw1ʼ,2r,3x/3h2]

**1441** Hebrew and Aramaic *špp / šapšep* ‘chirp, peep, twitter, squeak’; Hebrew *šapšaapaa* ‘kind of willow’ (from rustling); Arabic *šapšaap* ‘a variety of willow’; Arabic *šupšup* ‘sparrow’:

UA \*cap > TO *šaw* ‘to rattle’; TO *šawikud* ‘a rattle’ (-kud ‘instrument’); TO *šašaw-k* ‘to echo’; Wr *capi* ‘a small bird’. The semantic extension from rattle or make small noises to a plant that makes similar noises is seen here in Semitic and is also apparent in a similar extension of ‘rattle’ to ‘chile’ at 31. [1s4,2pp]

**1442** Hebrew *šrb* (< \**šrb*) ‘become evening’; Arabic *šaraba* ‘go down, set (of sun)’; Arabic *šarb* ‘west’; Hebrew *šerēb / šaareb* ‘sunset, evening’; the TrC forms appear to reflect the latter: Wr *ari* ‘late afternoon’; Tr *ariwa-ma* ‘to become evening’. Note that b > w in Tr and Wr, at \*kabbed > kawer... etc. [p1g2,2r,3b]

**1443** Syriac *ašiig* ‘wash’ (aqtel pfv of *šwg*):

UACV-2493 \**asi* / \**asi* ‘bathe, wash’: M67-26\**as*; VVH139\**asi*; BH.Cup \**aš*; M88-*a11*; KH.NUA; KH/M06-*a11* \**asi*: Tb *’aasit~’a’as* ‘bathe, swim’; Sr *’a’ah(i)*; Cp *áse*; Ca *’á’as*; Ls *’áas(a)*; Gb *’ás-*; Hp *aasi* ‘wash one’s own hair’. Add Ktn *’ah-an* ‘bathe, vt’ and Ktn *’ar* ‘bathe, vi’. [kw:1g2,2s,3l, less likely Arabic *šsl / šasala* ‘to wash’, prtclpl *gaasil*] [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp]

**1444** Arabic *rnn / ranna* ‘cry, ring, echo, resound’; Hebrew *rnn* ‘give a ringing cry’;

Arabic *rannat* ‘scream, sound, reverberation’:

Hopi *tōna* ‘voice, trachea’. [1r,2nn]

**1445** Syriac *bkt* ‘to weave’:

UACV-2507 \**kwiCta* ‘braid, wind around’: M67-57 \**kwi* ‘braid’; M88-*kwi4* ‘braid’; KH/M06-*kwi4*: Mn *kwitta-t* ‘wrap, twine, wind around’; Hp *kwite* ‘braid’; Ca *kwiče’an* ‘wring, wash (as clothes)’ (Wanikik dialect); Cp *kwiča* ‘wring out, squeeze, ball up, vt’; Ls *kwíči* ‘wring (as clothes)’; Sr *kwicq* ‘wash, vi’. Add Ktn *kwirav* ‘braid’. Perhaps Pl *tahkwil* ‘braid’ with a prefix. The change \*-tt- > -c/č- is common in UA, as in Ca and Cp above, and the CNum forms—Sh *kwecoi/koicoi* ‘wash’; Cm *-koce-ri/ti* ‘wash’ has one of the two meanings of Ca and Cp (wash, but not wring) and may show vowels of the Semitic plural *baktu*. [kw1b,2k,3t] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Azt]

**1446** Aramaic / Syriac *bar kəbaan-(aa)* ‘belt’ (CAL), *kbn* ‘gird’:

UACV-180 \**pakkaC* ‘belt’: Ch *náápagapī* ‘belt’; Ca *tépaqa-l* ‘belt’; Ca *tépaqa* ‘tighten (as belt), vt’; Ca *tépaqa’-vi* ‘have a belt on’. A possible final C is suggested in Ch *-pī* and note Ca’s glottal stop, but not apparent in Ca’s *-l*. Note Ca *-vi* possible possessive. [p1b,2r,3k,4b] [NUA: Num, Tak]

**1447** Hebrew *qrš* ‘bite’; Ug *qrš* ‘gnaw, nip off’; Aramaic(J) *qrš* ‘bite, pinch, sting’;

Arabic *qrš*, impfv *-qrūšu*, v.n. *qarš* ‘pinch, nip, scratch, bite, sting’;

Arabic *qrđ*, impfv: *-qrīdu*, v.n.: *qarđ* ‘cut, gnaw, nibble, bite, eat’:

UACV-230 \**kī* / \**kī’ca* ‘bite, v.’: Sapir; VVH43 \**kīu*(i~i) ‘bite’; B.Tep130 \**kīi* ‘he bit’; M67-42 \**ke/\*key*; I.Num72 \**kīh* ‘with teeth, by biting’; BH.Cup \**kə*’; L.Son81 \**kī*; M88-*kī2*; KH.NUA; KH/M06-*kī2*: Mn *kīC-* ‘by biting’; Mn *kīyī* ‘bite, vt’; Mn *kīcoho* ‘chew’; NP *kī-* ‘with mouth’; NP *kīka’a* ‘biting with mouth’; NP *kīipī* ‘bite, v’; NP *kīhanni* ‘biting on to loosen up’; TSh *kīC/kuC/koC* ‘with teeth or mouth’; TSh *kīcci’ah* ‘bite, vt’; TSh *kīceohi* ‘chew’; Sh *kīC-* ‘with the teeth or mouth, instr. pref.’; Sh *kīC-ci’ah*; Cm *kīh-kka’a* ‘bite off a piece of s.th.’; Cm *kīhka’arui*; *kīcībakīti*; Kw *kī-* ‘with mouth or teeth’; SP *kī’i*; *kīC*; CU *kī’i*; Hp *kīiki*; Hp(S) *kyatkī* ‘nipped, bit, took bite from’; Tb(V) *kīi’-*, *kī’it~’iigī* ‘bite’; Sr *kīi’ / kīa’*; Ca *ké’*; Cp *qé’e*; Ls *kó’i*; TO *kī’i*, *kīi*, *kīhi*; ST(B) *kīi* ‘he bit’; *kya*; Eu *ké’e*; Tbr *ke*; Yq *ké’e*; My *ké’eye*; Wr *ki’cu* ‘bite’; Tr *ki’su/gi’su* ‘bite, nibble, gnaw’; Tr *ki’ca* ‘chew’; Tr *i’kī* ‘bite’; Cr *če’e-/čey-/čē’i-*; CN *ke’coma* ‘bite s.th.’ Ken Hill adds Ktn *kī*; NT *kī* ‘he bit’. Let’s also add Ch *kī’i* ‘bite, v’; Wc *kée/kéi*; Nv *kuku(kīkī)/ku’i* ‘bite’; PYP *kekim* ‘bite, vt’; NT *kīi / kīkīyī*; NT *kīkīšapai*; *kīšaka* ‘have in mouth, bitten’; perhaps Cr *ná’ice* ‘it bit me’ (also allomorph *-cei-*) with *na-* prefix. This etymon is one of the few to have a reflex in all UA languages. It is curious that ‘bite’ would be so stable. Many UA languages show a reflex of \**kī’i*, though Tr, Wr, and CN (\**kī’c-*) and other details suggest a medial cluster, perhaps \**-l’c-*, since a glottal stop is apparent in some, medial \**-c-* in others, and both in a few (Wr, Tr, CN). Note that some languages (Tr, Hp, Tb) have two forms (Tb *’ahaaič* and Tb *kī’it*)? [cluster] [1q,2r,3s4] [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

The set above may be of the set from Sem-p and the below from Sem-kw:

**1448** Semitic *qrđ* ‘bite’ > Sr *qaac* ‘chew’ (vs. Sr *kīi’ / kīaa’* ‘bite’); Tb(V) *’ahaaijat / ’ahaaič* ‘chew it, vt’ (vs. Tb(V) *kīi’-*, *kī’it~’iigī* ‘bite’); Hp(S) *kyatkī* ‘nipped, bit, took bite from’ (vs. ). [p1q,2r,3s4]



**1449** Aramaic plpl ‘sprinkle with blood’ (<\*palpil)

UACV-260 \***paīC** / \***pauC** / \***paC** / \***pap** ‘blood, bleed’: I.Num128 \*paīhpi; M88-ī4; KH/M06-ī4: Mn paaC- / páápi; NP būpi (<\*pīp-pi); TSh paoC-, paoppi; Sh pīiC-pin; Cm pīihpi; Kw pīiC- / pīi-pī; Ch pái-pi / paīwa; Ch(L) paīpita; SP paīC-/ paī-ppi; CU paaC- / páa-pī (vs. -vī), poss’d páa-pī-n ‘my blood’. First part of Eu vāvika ‘bleed’ aligns, but lacking much are Tbr avá ‘blood’; Mn paaqa ‘bleed’; and Ls páá ‘to menstruate’. [1p,2l,2p,2l]

**1450** Arabic **šbb** ‘pour, gush, flow’; Arabic **šabiib** ‘poured out, **blood**, sweat’:

CN(RJC) espipika ‘blood flow out’ and Sr ičava ‘bleed’ maybe from \*y-šbb or a denominalized verb from s.th. like **šabiib** ‘**blood**’. Much less likely ST rpukia ‘bleed’. [p1s4,p2b,p3b] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**1451** Syriac -ay ‘accusative pl ending’; Syriac plural noun base suffix -ay- precedes the possessive suffixes: noun-ay-suffix (Goldenberg 88):

Ktn -ay, -y, -īy ‘accusative or object suffix’ (Anderton, pp. 95, 185,189);

Ls -ay ‘oblique case (accusative and possessed).

**1452** Arabic \*našapa > našafa ‘to reach mid-day, become noon’; Arabic nišf- / nušf- ‘half, middle’:

UACV-1115 \***nasipa** ‘half, middle’: Tr nasípa ‘half, middle’; Wr nasíba ‘half, middle’; Hp naasa-ve(-q) / naasa-va(-qe) ‘middle, center, halfway’ (in light of Tr and Wr, are the Hp morpheme boundaries correct?); TSh nasikaka ‘middle, between’. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: TrC]

UACV-1117 \***nappa** / \***napa** ‘half’: TSh napakan ‘half, equal part, in half, even, equally’; Sh nappai ‘half’ (with collapse of middle syllable); Kw na-voyo ‘half’; Kw na-vee-tū-ika ‘half of it’; SP navaia ‘divide’; WMU naváy ‘divide (in half)’; CU naváyi ‘divide in half’; CU naváy-tī ‘half’; cf. Kw’s V’s in dove and water. [1n,2s4,3p] [NUA: CNum, SNum]

**1453** MHebrew and Aramaic(J) pwh ‘blow, breathe’; Arabic fwḥ ‘diffuse an aroma, exude a pleasant scent’; Syriac pwh ‘breathe, blow, exhale, give out odor’; Syriac payyaḥ ‘breathe forth, exhale’:

Tr pewa- ‘fumar [to smoke]’. Or perhaps Semitic npx, impfv -npuxu ‘to blow, puff, breathe’

UACV-261b \***puh-ki** / \***pukki** > \***pukkwi** ‘pant, blow, v’: Ls púxi; Sr poiḥkin; Sh puhki / puhkwi;

Mn puuhi; NP puuhi’yu; TSh puuhiC; Cm puuhkiti; Ch pukwí; Ch(L) pukwi-gyah ‘blowing (with mouth or bellows, not of wind)’; SP puqqwaii-ḡqī- ‘to pant, make panting noise, v’. Most suggest medial gemination. [CN p < \*p; \*-c- > NUA y, >, > h in clusters] [1p,2h2] or [1p,2x] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1454** From Hebrew bšl ‘grow ripe’ would derive unattested Hebrew \*hibbašel ‘be ripened, that which is ripened’ (niqtal infinitive):

UACV-351 \***ikwasi** ‘fruit, prickly pear’: B.Tep307 \*iibahi ‘prickly pear, fruit’; M88-’i5; KH/M06-’i5: TO ’i’ibai / iibhai; LP(B) ’iibi; Nv ibai ‘tuna’; NT iibí; NT ibáávorai ‘biznaga, sp. of cactus’; ST ’iibai/iibai; Wr iwasi ‘fruit’;

Wc ’ikwáši ‘fruit’. Bascom’s Tep reconstruction corresponds well with the Wr and Wc forms for fruit (UA \*’ikwasi ‘fruit’). Tewa bee ‘fruit’ (\*< bai/bahi) and such Kiowa-Tanoan forms are likely Tep loans.

[medial \*kw] [kw1h,2bb,3s1,4l] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1455** Arabic ġazzaalat ‘spider’ for the -koso portion of the UA terms below (likely with \*tuk- ‘black’):

UACV-2112 \***tokoso** ‘spider’: Tr fókosó-rowa ‘blackwidow’; Ch hokóso’a-vi ‘spider’. [p1g2,p2z,p3l]

[SUA: TrC; NUA: Num]

**1456** Hebrew miin ‘type, kind’:

UACV-2530b \***min** ‘what kind, how’: Ca mīnki ‘what kind’; Sr hamiin ‘how, anything, what’; Ktn haminat(a) ‘what, why, how, how are you’. [NUA: Tak]

**1457** Arabic šabba ‘to pour’; Arabic V tašabbab ‘pour forth, shed, drip, overflow, be bathed (in)’:

UACV-1766 \***cikwa** ‘rain, v’: Stubbs 2003-9: TO siibani ‘drizzle, sprinkle’ and Hp cekwekwe-ta ‘be raining big drops as at the outset of heavy shower’ (cekwe- ‘soak’) suggest \*cikwa; the consonants agree, and since Hp e is the lone vowel not corresponding to a particular PUA vowel, a leveling of i-a > e-e is exactly the kind of phenomenon that often yields Hp e. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Mn tīkwa ‘rain, vi’ and Mn tīkwá-pe ‘rain, n’, which may contain a prefix. Tr sikuriwa ‘rain hard’ does not correspond to \*c, but in light of the frequent \*c/s dichotomy, it should be kept in mind.

[med kw; V leveling; Hp e] [kw1s4,2bb] [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: TrC, Tep]

**1458** Arabic ’bd ‘be wild, untamed, shy, run away, to last, endure’; Arabic ’aabida(t) ‘wild animal, monster’; check OAss G ‘run away’; Hebrew ’bd ‘become lost, go astray, perish’;

UACV-853 \***ikwiya** ‘be afraid’: B.Tep345 \*’iibīda-i ‘to be afraid’; M88-ī16; KH/M06-īl: TO iibīd; UP ’iibīdi;

LP iibiji; NT iibīdyi; ST ’iibidy. Sufficiently similar is WSh kwiya’a ‘be surprised, startled, frightened’. In traditional PUA terms, we have to reconstruct \*ikwiya, though Tep b < Semitic b has this closer than it might appear. [kw:1’,2b,3d] [SUA: Tep; NUA: CNum]

**1459** Hebrew *yhb*, imperative: *haabaa* > *haavaa* ‘come on, let’s (do s.th.), go to, grant that ...’ (cohortative of *yahab* ‘give, grant’). From Hebrew *haavaa* ‘come on! Let’s ... (as in do it now), note Kw *ʔiivi* ‘now’; SP *iví* ‘go ahead! (hortatory adv)’; Hopi *hīva-m* ‘hortative particle for second person dual and plural used in commands and invitations’. Final *-m* is pl suffix, so Hopi *hīva-* matches Hebrew *haavaa* well. [1h,2b] [Num, Hp]

**1460** Modern Aramaic(A) *šikwana* ‘ant’; Arabic *zunbur* ‘hornet’; Aramaic(J) *zibbooraa* ‘hornet’:  
 UACV-44 \**siku* ‘ant’: Op *sikku-ci*; Eu *siku-c*; Wr *sekúí*; Tr *sikú-l*, *sikú-wi*; My *ere’e-suúkim* ‘ant’; Tbr *ali-sík* ‘small, black ant’; CN *ciika-tl* ‘large stinging ant’. Miller in M67-5 also lists CN *aaska-tl* ‘ant’, which is possible, though the vowels are strange; Miller also associates Aztec *\*ciika* ‘ant’ with UA *\*siku* ‘ant’; though possible, a *c/s* disagreement and second vowel *a/u* disagreement occur. Of interest is that My *ele’e siiki* ‘da *comezón*’ and My *ere’e-suúkim* ‘ant’ have *l* vs. *r* in identical environments; note also My *eeye* ‘red ant’ in a possible liquid vs. *y* dichotomy. In addition, My *-suúkim* may have transposed the vowels toward the front—*\*siku-wi* > *suúki*—with loss of the first. [TrC, Azt]

**1461** Hebrew *šə’or* ‘sour (leavened) dough’; Aramaic(J) *sii’uur* / *sy’wr* ‘fermentation, leaven’; as for Hebrew *šə’or* > *\*civu*, *š* > *c* is common enough; the glottal stop exhibiting both of its outcomes (stop and rounding), then *-’w-* > *-v-* is natural, though more examples would be nice; see other *w* > *v* at 7.10:

UACV-231 \**cipuC* ‘bitter’: VVH13 \**cihpu*; B.Tep \**sivu’u*; M67-43 \**cipu*; L.Son33 \**cipu*; M88-ci1; Munro.Cup16 \**číívu-t*: KH.NUA; KH/M06-ci1: Ls *číív* ‘be bitter’; Ls *číivu-t* ‘s.th. bitter’; Cp *číva-t* ‘s.th. bitter’; Sr *čivu* ‘bitter’; Sr *čivu’t* ‘s.th. bitter’; Ktn *civu*; Cp *čiv*; Hp *ciivo*; TO *siw/siwo*; LP *sivu*; PYP *civo*; *sivi*; NT *šivu*; ST *šivu*; Eu *čipú*; Yq *čííbu*; My *čiiibu*; Wr *sihpú*; Tr *či’pú*; Wc *ciwi* / *civi*; and perhaps Cr (an)*cihivi* (McMahon); Cr *ancihvi’i* (JM). Tr *po(y)á* ‘ser amargo’; Tr *či’pú-ame* ‘amargo, amargoso’; Tr *či’kórigame* ‘agarroso, de sabor muy astringente, quemante’ are a puzzling trio for that language. The *-t* absolutive in Munro’s Tactic forms, the glottal stops in Sr and ST, and Bascom’s Tep reconstruction, suggest a lost but lingering final consonant. [Wc *ĩ* < \**u*; medial \**-p-* > *ø* in Wc; TO, PYP *o* < \**u*; *c/s* in Wr] [1s2,2’,3r] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1462** Hebrew *šaapaa(t)* ‘lip, speech, edge, shore (of sea), bank (of river)’ (*t* > *s*)

UACV-788 \**capa-* ‘ridge, edge’: L.Son28 \**capa* ‘loma’; M88-ca13; KH/M06-ca13: Eu *zápsi* (*capsi*) ‘loma [hill]’; Wr *cahpá* ‘ridge, edge’; Wr *cahpací* ‘leg, shin bone’; Tr *capá-ci* ‘espinilla [shin]’. [p1s2,2p,3t] [SUA: TrC]

**1463** Hebrew *šaapaa* ‘lip, speech, edge, shore (of sea), bank (of river)’:

UACV-1981 \**sap* / \**sip* ‘side’: Sr *a-hīvia* ‘side, edge, shore; by, beside’; Eu *sépuvai* ‘de un lado’; TO *hiwču* ‘groin, side of the body’ (TO *h* < \**s* and *w* < \**p*); Sh *sapai-pin* ‘side’. [p:1s2,2p,3t] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: TrC, Tep]

**1464** MHebrew/Aramaic *šgl* ‘make a circle, be round’; *f. impfv.*: Hebrew \**ta-šgol*:

UACV-433a \**takola* / \**takula* ‘round, (en)circle’: Eu *takóris* ‘circle’; AYq *tekolai* ‘round’; My *tékolai* ‘redondo’; Sr *ta’kī’q* ‘be round, circular’ (Ken Hill, 2001). Given AYq and My *tekolai*, and Sr *ta’ku’k* (Hill, 1994), these \**takulai* may be related to Tep \**sikola/i*, after a vowel change (*a* > *i*) and then a palatalization of \**t* > *c* (\**takulai* > \**tikula* > *cikola*); the scarcity of \**ti* syllables in UA supports that. They might also be related to \**ta-kapul* showing the same reduction as \**ta-pol* except retaining the other consonant of the cluster, retaining *k* and losing *p* instead of retaining *p* and losing *k*: \**ta-kapol* > *takpol* > *takol*. [Sr vowel; \**u-a* > *o-a*]

UACV-433b \**cikola/i* (> Tep \**sikoLa*) ‘(a)round’: VVH148 \**cikuri/cikori*; B.Tep190 \**sikora* ‘round’; B.Tep191 \**sikori* ‘around’; M88-ci15; KH/M06-ci15: TO *sikod* ‘round, circumscribed’; TO *sikol* ‘circular, round’; NT *šikóra*; NT *šikóóraka*; ST *šikar*. Ken Hill adds Cahita *čikola* ‘alrededor’. For B.Tep190 \**sikora* ‘round’ (NT *šikóra*, ST *šikar*), and B.Tep191 \**sikori* ‘around’ (NT *šikóoli* ‘around’; ST *šikooly*, UP *sikoli*), note that before the vowel *a*, *r* and TO *d* appear, and before *i*, this proto-phoneme is *l*. Add Cr *sikīrara’a* ‘circular’; Wc *šikīri* ‘girar, caminar en círculos’; Wc *šikī.ráíye* ‘redondo’; Wc *šikīrávi* ‘redondo’. CrC *ĩ* (< \**u*) is slightly off (PUA \**u* vs. \**o*); but schwa-like *ĩ* (vs. *u* < \**o*) may result from an unstressed vowel or assimilation (\*\**u-a* > \**o-a*). The CrC forms may be loans from Tep, and UACV-433a, b, c all belong given \**tako* > \**tiko* > \**ciko*. UACV-433c \**ta(C)ko* ‘wrap around’: Wr *ta’ko-ná* ‘envolver [wrap in]’; Tr *tagó* ‘ponerse el taparrabo, vestirse (el varón) [get dressed (man), put on waist wrap]’; Tr *tagótu* ‘estar vestido (el varón)’; TO *čikoš* ‘wrap around the ankle, vt’; TO *čikoš-đa* ‘an ankle rattle’. [\*liquids] [1t,2’2,3g,3l] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1465** Hebrew *lqḥ*, *-qqah*; imperative forms: *qah* and *qəḥaa*:

UA \**ḥiha* / \**ḥihi* ‘grasp, catch’: Hp *ḥī’a* ‘grab, catch’; Hp *ḥī’i-wa* ‘get caught’; WMU *güü* / *güü-y* ‘grasp, catch, get, take, vt’; Kw *ku’u* ‘catch, get, receive’; Ch *kwiḥi* ‘catch, take, receive’; SP *qwii-* ‘take’; CU *kii* ‘take, pick up, obtain’. Sometimes initial *k* can sound like either *k* or *g* to English speakers. [kw11,2q,3h2]

**1466** Hebrew *mšṭ* ‘be few, be too small’; Hebrew *məṣaṭ* ‘a little, a little amount, n.m.’:

UACV-1362 \***mi’a** ‘small’: Ch *mi’áu-nci* ‘small’; Ch *mi’áu-pīciwī* ‘small one’; SP *mia*’-C ‘small’; SP *mia*’-ppī-ci ‘small’; CU *mīi-ci* ‘little (of mass)’; CU *mīi-pī-ci* ‘small, little’; WMU *mīi’ič* ‘a little bit’; WMU *mīiči / mī’pūči / mīppūči / mīi(?)pūči* ‘little, small, short (one)’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds NP *mīici* ‘short’. Sem-kw with no rounding for pharyngeal? [kw:1m,2’2,3t2] [NUA: SNum, WNum]

**1467** Hebrew *poṣal* ‘daily labor, deed, wage’; Hebrew *pəṣullaa(t)* ‘work, action, wage’:

UACV-566 \***puwa(l)** ‘count’: CL.Azt38 \**po(wa)* count; M88-po19; KH/M06-po19: CN *poowa* ‘to count, recount, relate, read’; CN -*poowal-li* ‘twenty in the vigesimal system (the count)’; Po *po*; Te *poa*; Za *powa*; Pl *puwa*. Add the *pōo*-portion of Hp *pōotoyla* ‘to count’, since the long Hp word must be a compound historically, though we would expect *ō* for \**o*, but *o* for \**u*, as Pl has, unless final *a* lowered the round vowel in Azt: \**u-a* > *o-a*. Denominate verb from ‘wage’ to ‘the count, to count’. [1p,2’3,3l] [SUA: Azt; NUA: Hp]

**1468** Arabic **rukbat** ‘knee’; Moroccan Arabic *rokba*; Maltese *rkobba* (Bennett 1998, 156); less likely Arabic *rkṣ* ‘bend the body, bow, kneel down’:

UACV-941 \***toṅa** ‘knee’: Sapir; VVH30 \**toṅo* ‘knee’; M67-245; I.Num108 \**taṅa* ‘knee’; B.Tep227 \**toona* ‘knee, lower leg’; L.Son311 \**tono* ‘rodilla’; M88-to7; KH/M06-to7: I like Sapir’s \**toṅa* and Bascom’s SUA \**toona* reconstructions, which agree. In spite of the unruly vowelings, most Uto-Aztecans would agree that these initial *t* and medial *n/ŋ* words are related; Sapir’s suggestion that both \**tana/taṅa* and \**tono/toṅo* assimilated their vowels (in opposite directions), from s.th.that contained both vowels, like \**toṅa*, or \**toṅwa* would be Semitic-kw’s UA expectation for both *rukbat* and *rVkṣa*, then \**toṅwa* > *toṅo / toṅa*.

UACV-941a \***tana/taṅa** ‘knee’: Mn *tanabódo / tanobódo / tonobódo*; TSh *taṅappih*; Sh *tanka-ppih*; Sh *tanka-mmattooh* ‘kneel, crawl on knees, v’; Cm *tana*; Kw *tana-vī*; Ch *taṅá*; SP *taṅa*; CU *táa-vi*.

UACV-941b \***tono/toṅo** ‘knee’: Tb *toṅoo-l*; TO *toon*; PYp *toni*; NT *toóna*; ST *toon*; Eu *tonót*; Tbr *tonó-r*; Yq *tóno*; My *tónno*; Wr *tonó* ‘pie, pata’; Wr *tonociribo* ‘pierna’; Tr *ronó* ‘pie, pierna, pata trasera’; Cr *tunú* ‘knee’. [kw-1r,2k,3b] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC]

**1469** Hebrew(KB) *tqṣ* ‘drive in (peg, stake), pitch (tent, by driving stakes), thrust in a weapon, blow a horn/trumpet, clap (hands)’; Hebrew(BDB) **tqṣ** ‘1. stick in, drive (weapon into), 2. sound/blow (horn)’: in light of the two Hebrew meanings—pierce with weapon, sound a horn—UA terms resembling UA \***takawa** show similar meanings ‘to wound, to sound/crow (of bird)’. Besides ‘wound’ and ‘sound,’ the UA terms also mean ‘palm of the hand’, ‘lord’, and ‘body, meat, or that which is pierced/cut up, the flesh that we eat’:

UACV-2091 \***takowa**, perhaps < \***takawa** ‘injure(d), damage(d), ruin’: Tbr *takoá-t* ‘dañado [harmed, injured, damaged]’; CN *tlakooa / tlakoa* ‘dañar [hurt, injure, damage]’; CN *tlakoton* ‘boil, swelling, sore, pustule’; CN *i’tlakawi* ‘go wrong, be ruined or corrupted, injure oneself, spoil; CN *i’tlakooa* ‘damage s.th., be corrupted, spoiled, damaged, vt/refl’. [Tbr-Azt tie] [SUA: TrC, Azt]

The above reflects Sem-p *q* > *ko/qo*, but Ktn *tī’ṅ-tī’ṅ-k* ‘drive in a stake or nail’ reflects Sem-kw *q* > *ṅ* with anticipation of the *ṣ* as a glottal stop, and most impressive is its exact meaning agreement with Hebrew(KB) *tqṣ* ‘drive in (peg, stake), pitch (tent, by driving stakes), thrust in a weapon (as in Judges 4:21 wherein Yael drove a peg into the temple of Sisra), blow (horn/trumpet), clap (hands)’.

**1470** Hebrew(KB) *tqṣ* ‘drive in (peg, stake), thrust in a weapon, blow a horn/trumpet, clap (hands)’:

Ktn *tī’ṅ-tī’ṅ-k* ‘drive in a stake or nail’; Ktn *tī’ṅ-k* ‘strain, put through a colander, drive in a stake or nail’. [kw1t,2q,3’2]

**1471** Hebrew **tqṣ** ‘1. stick in, drive (weapon into), 2. sound/blow (horn)’:

UACV-1977 \***tokowa** ‘crow, (animals) to make their respective noise’: Whorf1937b: Hp *töq-* ‘shout, cry out, scream, yell, chirp, make a characteristic call’; Tr *tókowa* ‘to crow, as of a rooster, v’; CN *tookaa-i-tl* ‘name’; CN *tookaa-yoo-tíaa* ‘name, vt, call s.o. by name’. Add My *reko-te* ‘crow, cackle’; Tb *tokokoo’at* ‘pop, v’. [NUA: Tb, Hp; SUA: TrC, Azt]

**1472** Hebrew **tqṣ** ‘1. stick in, drive (weapon into), 2. sound/blow (horn)’: Besides ‘wound’ and ‘sound’, similar terms also mean ‘lord’ and ‘palm of the hand’:

UACV-1423a \***tīku / tīkuwa** ‘lord, master, father’: CL.Azt107 \**teekw* ‘master, father’; Jane Hill 1985; M88-tī10: KH/M06-ta2: My *téeko* ‘patrón’; Tr *tékowa / tékutuame* ‘patrón, amo, jefe, señor’; CN *teekw-tli / teku’-tli* ‘lord, member of high nobility’. Note Tr *t*, not *f*. KH/M06-ta2 rightly joins M88-tī10 with ta2, combining

\*takwi ‘Takwic, a mythological figure, lightning’ and \*tiku, though mixing men and gods can be unsettling for some. I also like Jane Hill’s (1985) reconstruction \*tiku, and her including Cr téekwa ‘aran ‘dueño [master]’; Sh tekwa-ni ‘chief’; Po no-tekú ‘mi padre’; Tl i-tieko ‘su dueño’. She aligns Tak \*taakwi- ‘divinity manifested as ball lightning’ with Cr takwa ‘Herr [lord], Eigentümer eines Tieres’ and Cr takwa-te ‘niederer Götter’ (-te pl suff) (Preuss 1934), but tentatively separates them from the \*tiku forms, as do I, with different letters under the same number. Jane Hill (1985) also addresses the entanglement or overlap of forms, recognizing that matters are not yet entirely clear. Add SP tutukua ‘supernatural helper, manitou’. Might Numic \*toko ‘maternal grandfather’ (UACV-1046) belong? [Tr t, not f] [SUA: TrC, Azt, CrC; NUA: Num] UACV-970 \*takupi ‘friend’: SP tīgīvī- ‘friend’; WMU tagūvi-n ‘friend-my’; CU tīgīvī-n ‘friend-my’. [SNum]

**1473** Hebrew **תִּקַּף** ‘1. stick in, drive (weapon into), 2. sound/blow (horn)’; besides ‘wound’ and ‘sound’, similar terms also mean ‘lord’ and ‘palm of the hand’:

UACV-1604 \*maC-tako(wo) (< \*takuwa) ‘palm’: B.Tep148 \*ma-taka ‘palm of the hand’ (\*ma = ‘hand’); M67-314 \*ma-taka ‘palm of the hand’: Tbr -takoa- ‘palm’ in Tbr ma-takoa-lir, ma-takoa-ran ‘palm of the hand’ (ma- ‘hand’); Tr ma-taga-ra; My takko; NT mataka; TO matk; Eu máckora ‘palma de la mano’ (\*t > c yields Eu -tko-); Ls tak; Hp mapqōlō ‘palm of the hand’ with PUA \*w > Hp l/ö, and PUA \*o > Hp ö; thus, Hp qōlō < \*kowo, losing first syllable. Interestingly, Tbr takoa means both ‘injured’ and ‘palm of the hand’. Tbr ma-tako-rá-n / ma-tako-lí-r ‘palma de la mano’. Wr matála ‘palm of the hand’. Eu and Tbr, like Hp, show a round vowel \*tako and/or the labial consonant w after k, as if \*takowo. Hp -p- could be excrescent from any stop with consonant harmony help from bilabial m-, or AMR (\*map) could be right and all else is other things, perhaps beyond retrievability. This may be a compound of ‘hand’ and \*takuwa ‘concavity, lower place where things collect’. [p1t,p2q,p3’2] [SUA: TrC; NUA: Hp]

UACV-1205 \*takuwa (> takowo) ‘concavity, low place where things collect or gravitate to, place where a lot of s.th. is’: as in \*taa-takuwa ‘tooth?-place/collection, sump, stand of (teeth?)’: TO taatko ‘jaw’ and NT taatákugai ‘jaw’. Similarly for \*maC-takuwa ‘palm of hand, hand-concavity’ are Eu máckora (\*-t- > --c-) ‘palma de la mano’ and Tbr ma-tako-rá-n / ma-tako-lí-r ‘palma de la mano’. Hp mapqōlō ‘palm of hand’ lost first syllable as also Hp qōlō ‘hole in the ground, pit’ and Hp qōllō ‘expanse of, place where there is a lot of, stand of, patch or cluster of’ ((ta)kowo < \*takuwa). [SUA: Tep, TrC; NUA: Hp]

**1474** Hebrew **תִּקַּף** ‘1. stick in, drive (weapon into), 2. sound/blow (horn)’; besides ‘wound’ and ‘sound,’ UA \*takVwa means ‘palm’ and ‘lord’ and ‘body, meat, what is pierced/cut up, the flesh that we eat’:

UACV-1432 \*takkuwa ‘meat’: VVH22 \*tu<sub>u</sub>ku ‘meat, flesh’; B.Tep234a \*tuukuga ‘body, flesh’; M67-279 \*tuku ‘meat’; I.Num225 \*tuhku; L.Son321 \*tukuwa ‘carne, cuerpo’; M88-tu4 ‘body, flesh, meat’; KH/M06-tu4 \*tukuR (AMR): Mn tuku ‘flesh’; NP ddukku ‘flesh, meat’; TSh tukkua-cci/pin; Sh tukkuC; Cm tuhku; Kw tuku’aa-vī (< \*tukku’aa-pī) ‘flesh’; Kw tukku-wa ‘flesh’ (-wa poss’d); SP tukkua-vi; CU tikúa-vi (< \*tikkua-); Cp tuk’a ‘skin (poss’d)’; Ca túk’u; Ls tuká ‘muscle, lean meat’; Gb túkín ‘carne’; Hp toko ‘body, edible part of fruit’; TO cuukug ‘body, flesh, meat’; UP čuuhugī; NT tuukúga; ST tuuku’; Eu tákua (gen. takáhte, acc. takáhta) ‘cuerpo’; Tbr tikuñwá-t/tekoñwá-t; Yq tékua; My tekua; Tb(H) tukuwa ‘meat’. I reconstruct the first vowel as *a* in light of Eu tákua and a variety of other vowels, with most assimilating: \*takkuwa > \*tukkuwa. A final -wa is clear in Tep, Tbr tikuñwá-t/tekoñwá-t, Cah tekua, and Num tukku(w)a; and since PUA diphthongs are doubtful, their appearance in UA languages is usually due to intervocalic consonant loss or assimilatory influences: in this case \*...uwa > ua in some languages. [’/w] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, TrC]

In addition to already cited 717 Aramaic / Syriac qlp ‘peel off, shell, rub away’; Arabic qlp ‘strip bark (from tree), verbal noun: qalp for UACV-1893 \*kīlipi ‘shell or shuck corn, v’, we also have from Sem-kw:

**1475** Hebrew glb ‘shear, shave’ > Ca ḥep ‘scrub, scrape, vt’; Ca ḥepel ‘scrub, vt’ metathesis, not kw < -lb-?

**1476** Hebrew **פֶּשֶׁם** ‘bone’ (< ḥšm ‘be powerful, countless’); Arabic ḥazm- ‘bone’ (< ḥazuma ‘be great, powerful’); this term can take either the fem or masc plural; masc pl **פֶּשָׁאם-יִים** ‘bones of corpse’ has a very short first vowel, easily deleted, but a long 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel; the ḥ, pharyngealized š, and bilabial m, could all tend to round vowels; in light of all that, ḥəšaam-iim > comim > cumi is plausible:

UACV-273 \*cuhmi ‘bone’: CNum: TSh cuhmi/cuhni-ppih; Sh cuhni/cuhwi-ppih; Cm cuhni. Because \*m > n is more likely in UA than \*n > m, we must reconstruct \*m. Hebrew š > UA \*c suggests Sem-kw and Sem-kw tends to lose initial guttural syllables. (Cf. 594 ‘sister’ and 597 ‘rabbit’.) [kw1’2,2s4,3m] [-m/n-] [CNum]

In 1476 above, the Semitic emphatic -š- is initial and is retained as UA \*c, in contrast to 1477 below from Sem-p, which better kept initial guttural syllables but reduced the non-initial emphatics to (glottal stop) -ʔ-.

**1477** Hebrew *šešem* ‘bone’ (< Hebrew *šəm* ‘be powerful, countless’); possessed form **šəšm-** ‘bone (of)’; Arabic **šəzm-** ‘bone’ (< Arabic **šəzuma** ‘be great, powerful’):

UACV-272b \***omi** / \***ohomi** ‘bone’: Sapir; VVH61 \*’oho; M88-’o1; CL.Azt19 \*oomV < \*\*oho-mī; KH/M06-’o1: Wc ’umé; CN omi-tl ‘bone, awl’; ZN oomit; HN ’omi-tl; Pl uumi-t. Sapir and VVH are unsure what to think of the *-mi* syllable in the Azt and CrC forms; CL.Azt propose a fossilized plural suffix *-mī* added to *oho-* apparent in Num and Tep. However, \*oomi < \*šəzm- is a good match, given initial rounding from the pharyngeal, loss of first consonant of the cluster with compensatory vowel lengthening. [\*o > Hp ö, Wc u, Gb e] UACV-272a \***oho** / \***oCo** ‘bone’: Sapir; VVH61 \*’oho; B.Tep324 \*’oo ’oi/o ‘bone’ and \*’oo ’odī ‘his bone’; M67-52 \*’o’oho; L.Num13 \*oho; L.Son14 \*’o; M88-’o1; KH.NUA; KH/M06-’o1: WNum: Mn óho; NP oho; SNum: Kw ’oho-vī; Ch ohóvī; Ch(L) hohovī; SP o(h)o-; WMU öö-vü ‘bone (of dead animal)’; WMU öö’a- ‘bone (of living being, usually poss’d)’; CU ’öö-vī; but not in CNum. Hp ööqa; Hp öqala / öqal- /öqaw- ‘strength, strong’; Tb ’oo-n (poss’d) and Tb ooban ‘bone’ (Tb oobal ‘strong’); Sr ööṭ; Ktn oc; Gb -én. TO oo’o; LP ’oo’o-; Nv ’o’o-di; PYP oo’or; NT óóyi/óói; ST ’a’oo; B.Tep324 \*’oo ’oi/o ‘bone’ and \*’oo ’odī ‘his bone’: NT óódi; ST ’a’ood; UP ’oo’ojī ‘his bone’. Eu hówa (gen. hóhte; acc. hóhta); Tbr ho-ta-rá-k/t; o(-la); Yq ota; My otta; Tr o’čí; Wr o’á ‘bone’; Wr u’á-ni, u’aré-ma ‘be strong’ (‘Is this related?’ Miller queries, and it probably is, in light of a frequent semantic tie between ‘bone’ and ‘strong/strength’ in UA). In fact, Semitic šzm means both ‘be strong’ and ‘bone’ as well. Ken Hill adds Ktn oc. At least the Num and Tep forms are consistent with \*oho; and -ta (TrC) and -ka (Hp) may be fossilized affixes. Judging from the Eu forms, it appears that the \*ota forms (Tbr, Yq, My, possibly Sr and others) may derive from an old accusative; and Tr o’čí may derive from a genitive. [1’2,2s4,3m] [NUA: WNum, SNum, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1478** Hebrew *šar* ‘enemy’; Hebrew *šrr* ‘treat with hostility, attack’; Arabic *šrr* ‘harm, hurt, injure’:

UACV-817 \***say-** ‘enemy, opponent’; M67-158 \*say ‘enemy’; L.Son236 \*sayo, sa-i ‘enemigo, enfrentarse’; M88-sa14 ‘enemy’; KH/M06-sa14: NP sai ‘enemy’; Wr sahi ‘adversary, opponent in a game’; Tr na-sayé ‘enfrentarse entre varios’; My sáyyo ‘enemigo’; Cr sáayu ‘successor to one’s ritual role’; CN tesa’say ‘dangerous’; Pl sahsayti ‘for one’s hair to stand on end from fear’. Add Tr saye / sayi-ra ‘enemy’, pl: na-sayira. NT sáayu ‘el enemigo, el contrario’ is a loan as NT s < \*c, NT d < \*y. [1s4,2r] [NUA: Num; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1479** Syriac *dihl-aa* ‘fear, dread, awe’; Syriac *dəhjel* ‘to fear, dread, stand in awe, reverence: or yr’ hoqtal (\*tura ‘be made afraid’) or Hebrew *hiqtiil* (\*tori/tora ‘make afraid’) with t- prefix are unattested in the Biblical text, but would correspond to UA *tora/toya* and \*tori/toyi respectively for fem and 2<sup>nd</sup> person subj: UA \***toya** ‘fear, v’: NT toodašd’i ‘espantarlo, vt’; NT toodákyi ‘palpitar (el Corazon), espantarse’; PYP tood ‘fear, n’; PYP toodim ‘frighten, vt’; PYP toodk ‘be afraid, vi’; and the tod- of TO todk ‘snore, growl, roar’; TO todwin ‘irritate, disturb.’ [1r,2w,2r,3’]

The following may be of Sem-kw:

**1480** Hebrew *na<sup>a</sup>raa* / *na<sup>a</sup>rat* ‘girl’:

UACV-2586b \***na’a-** ‘girl, boy’: M88-na21; Mn na’ací ‘little boy’; NP naaci’i ‘boy’; TSh naipi ‘teenage girl’; Sh nai-pin; Cm nai’pi ‘young woman’; Kw na’aa-ci; SP na’ai-N /na’ai-nci ‘girl’; WMU na’ácič ‘girl’; CU na’a-ci-c ‘girl from five to teens’; Ktn naha-č ‘older/teen girl’ (vs Ktn naca-t ‘little girl’); Ca níči-l<sup>y</sup>, pl: níňkič-em ‘woman, female’. The reflexes in WNum mean ‘little boy’ but ‘girl’ in CNum and SNum. At 90 and 91 are items from nšr, and this may be also with š > ’ and final -N < -r. [kw1n,2’2,3r] [NUA: Num, Tak]

**1481** Syriac *rth* ‘seethe, bubble up, grow hot’; these compound *xut* ‘fire’ with *rth* as in \**xut-rth*:

UACV-1211 \***kuttutu** ‘hot’: Ch kutúci ‘hot’; Ch kutúcaa ‘hot’; CU kítúruuci ‘be hot, be feverish’; WMU *quhttúruuci* ‘hot, be hot, have a fever’; Kw kutuu-vü ‘charcoal’; Kw kutuunuhi ‘make fire with a drill’; SP *qwattúrooci* ‘be warm (of inanim obj’s)’. These SNum terms may tie to TrC \*utu. Compounded with \*ku(t) ‘fire’ or s.th. like Mn ku ‘with heat’, we see \*kuttutu. [NUA: SNum]

**1482** Syriac *rth* ‘seethe, bubble up, grow hot’

UACV-1212a \***tu’i**; \***ta-tu’i** (> \*taru’i) ‘hot’: Kw taru’i ‘to be hot’; Ch tarú’i ‘hot’; CU tarí’i ‘be hot weather, be hot place’; NP tu’i ddu’i ‘try to warm up’ may suggest a compound in the others or this may contain the Semitic conjugation prefix ta-: \*ta-tu’i. The TrC forms below likely share a morpheme.

UACV-1212b \***tatta** ‘hot’: My *tatta* ‘hace calor’; Yq *táta* ‘hot’; AYq *tatale* ‘feel hot’; Wr *tahtáni* ‘to be hot’; Tr *a’tará-* ‘to be hot’; Tr *fatá-ame* ‘caliente, cálido’. Whether relevant or not, a great example of consonant harmony is the three Tr variants: Tr *fata-góbutu/gógutu/bobutu* ‘have a fever’. [NUA: Num; SUA: TrC]

**1483** Syriac *dwr* ‘to go round’; Syriac *duur* ‘a circle’; Aramaic(J) ‘to form a circle or enclosure’; Hebrew *dwr* ‘to stack in a circle’; Arabic *dwr* ‘turn, revolve, move in a circle, walk or go about, roam, wander about’: UACV-454 \***ruya** ‘roll, turn, twist’: My *ro’akte* ‘to roll over’; AYq *roakta* ‘roll up s.th., vt’; AYq *roakte* ‘roll, vi’; Hp *róya(-k-)* ‘turn on an axis, twist open or loose’; Hp *royaya-ta* ‘be spinning, rotating, revolving, or turning on an axis’. SUA liquids often appear as NUA -y- and as glottal stop in Cah, which may suggest \**rura*. Additionally, Hp *riya(-k-)* ‘spin, rotate’ has the vowelizing of a hi-qtiil form. These and such instances of d > r are likely due to non-initial or intervocalic status previously. [1d,2w,3r] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Num; SUA: TrC]

Note Hopi r below (1484) of Semitic-p vs. y above (1483) of Semitic-kw. See liquids.

**1484** Syriac *dwr* ‘to go round’; Syriac *duur* ‘a circle’; Aramaic(J) ‘to form a circle or enclosure’; Hebrew *dwr* ‘to stack in a circle’; Arabic *dwr* ‘turn, revolve, move in a circle, walk or go about, roam, wander about’  
UA \***tur** ‘whirl, roll, twist’: SP *туру* ‘whirl’; CU *turú-kwi* ‘roll, roll over, vt’; CU *turú-ni* ‘be a whirlwind, dust-devil’; WMU *turú-ni* ‘be a whirlwind, dust-devil’; Hopi *tori(k-)* ‘get twisted’; Hopi *tori-k-na* ‘twist, vt’.

**1485** Hebrew(KB) *rĥm* ‘greet with love, take pity on’; Hebrew(BDB) *rĥm* ‘be soft, gentle, wide, have compassion’; Ugaritic *rĥm* ‘be friendly, loving’; Arabic *raĥima* ‘be merciful, gracious’; but Arabic *raxuma* ‘be gentle, friendly’; Amorite *rxm* ‘love, have compassion’:

UACV-2391 \*(**sun**)-**tíha** ‘pity, have compassion for’; Mn (*wī*)*sutíhai* ‘pity, feel sorry for’; NP *títíha* ‘pity, vt’; NP *suddíhai*; Sh *suntahai* ‘feel sorry for, pity, save’; CU *tíaa-ni* ‘pitiable’; CU *tíaa* ‘space, area, room.’

The two meanings of CU *tíaa* ‘open space, gap, area’ and CU *tíaa* ‘pitiful, pitiable’ and the two meanings of Semitic *rĥm* ‘compassion’ and ‘wide’ are noteworthy in this Sem-p item (with lack of rounding for x, instead of Sem-kw pharyngeal rounding). [1r,2h2,3m] [NUA: Num]

The following uses the same root as the previously cited 886 Hebrew *y-rk* ‘be long (time and space/length) > UA \**yīnjī* ‘be/pass a long time’ (Cp *yénge* ‘to last a long time, endure’; Ca *yénj* ‘pass a while (of time), stay a while’; Sr *yīnjī’k* ‘be a long time, be later’), but 1486 has Num showing the prfv form, not Tak’s impfv:

**1486** Hebrew *’rk* ‘be long (time or space/length); Syriac *’rk* ‘be long, lengthen, stretch out’; the Takic forms at 886 reflect the y- prefixed impfv stem, while these reflect the perfect:

SP *wīiC* ‘be long ago’; CN *weeyak* ‘s.th. long’ whether the final -k is part of the stem or not; Hp *wīiyaqa* ‘large in two dimensional space’ (but dictionary divides it *wī-ya-qa* ‘big-?-extend, and may or may not be correct’); Hp *wiyak-naqvī* ‘long ears [naqvī = ‘ear’]; Hp *wīiko* ‘extensive(ly), in a large area, for a long way, for a long time’; *wīyoq* ‘big, large, older’ (but *wī-yo-q* ‘big-nom-extent’); both *wīiyaqa* and *wīyoq* match Semitic vowelings of the perfect and infinitive and mean much the same. [p1’,2r,3k] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Azt]

**1487** Syriac *gšĥ* ‘rub or graze the skin’; Syriac *gaššah* ‘scratch, give a scratch, wound slightly’; Sem \*x or \*ĥ?

UACV-2386 \***ġaska** ‘be rough, scratch’: Cp *ġášxa* ‘be rough’; Cp *ġášxaġášxa’a-š* ‘rough, adj’; Ls *ġáaxa/i* ‘scratch, scrape, vi, scratch, brush against, vt’. When something is rough, it scratches; and ‘scratch’ is in both the Semitic and UA definitions. Phonologically they are identical except for a cluster in Cp being reduced in Ls with compensatory lengthening of the vowel compensating for the reduction.

UACV-2385b \***kiskia** ‘itch’: CL.Azt93 \**kəškia* ‘itch’; M88-*kī13*; KH/M06-*kī13*: CN *kekeškia*; Pl *kekeš*; Po *koški*; T *kekeškIa*. Perhaps the same stem as Tep \**kīsa* (1490), plus another morpheme. [SUA: Tep, Azt] [NUA: Tak]

**1488** Hebrew *maʿale* ‘causing to rise/go up’ (*maʿale* is the hiqtiil prtcpl of *ʿly* ‘go up’):

UACV-268a \***mulV** ‘boil’: M67-51; M88-*mu23* ‘to boil’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-*mu23* ‘boil’: Cp *mule* ‘boil’; Ca *múlul* ‘come out steaming or bubbling, swarm out’; Ca *pis-múlul* ‘come out, bubble up, boil, v’; Ca *múlul-iš* ‘steam’; Ls *múl’a/i* ‘bubble up, vt, boil, vi’.

UACV-268b \***mula** / \***muna** ‘boil’: Sr *munaank* ‘boil, vt’; Sr *munaana’n* ‘be boiling’; Sr *munaankin* ‘cause to boil, vt’. To the above, we should add Tb *mon’moonot~’omon’món* ‘boil’. I divide them only by letter, not number, in that Sr and Tb show medial -n-, while the Cupan languages show medial -l-, though \**tul* at ‘black’ shows a similar contrast between Sr and the other Tak languages. [l/n; liquids; nasals]

UACV-268c \***molo** ‘boil, waft upward’: CL.Azt18 \*mooloonV ‘boil, v’ < \*\*molo ‘boil’; M88-mo9; KH/M06-mo9 ‘boil’: CN moloon(i) ‘waft, rise and drift on air currents, to effervesce’; Pl muluuni ‘dry, fly or blow away (e.g., dust, flour, chaff)’; Po molun-; T molunI; Z moolooni. [\*u-a > o-o; liquids] [1m,2’2,3I] [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Azt]

**1489** Semitic qrb ‘approach, be near’ (Semitic-kw) > Ls n̄ááya ‘be close, be near’. [kw1q,2r,3b]

**1490** Arabic xdš ‘scratch’, verbal noun: **xadš** ‘scratching’; Arabic xadš ‘a scratch, scratch mark’:

UACV-2385a \***kica** ‘scratch’: B.Tep134 \*kīsa ‘to scratch’; KH/M06-kī19: LP kišm(im); NT kīisa; ST kis; TO keš-kud ‘back scratcher’.

**1491** Hebrew participle **mašale** ‘cause (smoke) to rise’ is one meaning of the causative of šly ‘go up’:

UACV-2050 \***mola/i** ‘be smoke, give off smoke’: BH.Cup \*mi; M67-393 ‘smoke, n’; L.Son149 moro, mor-i ‘humear’; M88-mi2 ‘smoke’ and M88-mo8; KH.NUA; KH/M06-mo8: Cp mí’at; Ca mi’-at; Ls méyi ‘make medicinal steam or smoke by putting herbs on heat’; Sr mōō<sup>r</sup> ‘be smoky’; Sr mō’aa’t ‘smoke, n’; Eu moró- ‘humear’; Wr molo / mori ‘hacer humo’; Wr morewa ‘humo’; Tr mori/murí ‘humo’; Eu moráwa ‘humo’. Ken Hill adds Ktn muahkik ‘be smoky, v’; Ktn muaht / mua’t / mwat ‘smoke, haze’; Cr rakīsmwáát<sup>y</sup>e ‘he is making it give off smoke’. Some may overlap with 1488. M88 also offers Pl mimilaka ‘for the fire to burn’; Pl mumuluca ‘to smoke (as a fire trying to burn)’. [1m,2’2,3I] [NUA: Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1492** Hebrew mugdal ‘big’ > Ls muká-t ‘big, large’. Some question on the -gd- cluster. [1m,2g,3d,4I]

**1493** Hebrew **qeraḥ** ‘ice, frost, crystal’ (verbs of this root in other Semitic languages mean ‘freeze’);

Syriac quur-aa ‘cold, frost-the’:

Tr koro-čé ‘cuajarse, congelarse el agua [freeze (water)]’. Less secure is Hp iyo-ho’o (rdpl: i-’yoho’o) ‘cold, adj, n.’ which Hill moves from M88-ī18 where it was with the Tak forms (Sr ’iřī; Gb ’ocó’) and follows AMR’s article “A Northern UA sound law: \*-c- > -y-” (1992), tying it to CN iic-tik ‘something cold’ and CN iic-tiya ‘be cold,’ which works correspondences-wise, though this way works too. From possible contact, what of Cocopa qyaw ‘be cool, vi’ and Tewa ooyii ‘freeze, v, ice, n’? Is the latter a vowel metathesis of Hp iyo? [1q,2r,3h2]

**1494** An oversimplified explanation of the vav-consecutive in Hebrew is that in certain narrative structures, a prefixed wa- can change imperfective (future/present) verb forms to perfective (past) and vice versa. Many Classical Nahuatl (CN) verbs form the past tense by prefixing oo- and then dropping the last vowel:

verb stem	past
petlawa	oo-petlaw- ‘undress’
neki	oo-nek ‘want’
pawia	oo-pawi- ‘chew’
posoni	oo-poson- ‘boil, bubble (of liquid)’

In Hebrew, the jussive is used with the vav-consecutive, and the jussive also drops existing final vowels in both Hebrew and Arabic, as do the CN verbs with prefixed oo-.

Hebrew impfv: yi-šbe ‘he takes captive’ > wa-yi-šb (jussive);

Arabic indicative ya-ktubu ‘he writes’ > ya-ktub (jussive)

For wa- > oo- is natural enough. We see it in UA and in Spanish:

Spanish ojalá ‘would that, let’s hope’ < Arabic wa-šaa’a-allaah ‘and God be willing’

The order of morphemes is also the same in both Hebrew and Nahuatl

Hebrew wa-pronoun prefix-jussive verb stem (dropping final vowel), as in wa-yi-šb ‘and-he-take captive’

Nahuatl oo-pronoun prefix-verb stem (dropping final vowel), as in \*oo-ni-nemi ‘past-I-lived’ > oo-ni-nen  
Cora, another UA language, seems also to show a similar transformation as in

Cr ce’e ‘mamar [nurse/breastfeed]’; Cr waci ‘mamó [did nurse/breastfeed]’

Yet Cora shows the complete wa-, not o-. Also is UACV-2697 below

UACV-2697 \*wa- ‘perfect or past prefix’: CN oo-/o- ‘perfect marker’ (Sullivan, 54); Cr wa- ‘completive prefix’ (Casad 1984; Vazquez Soto 1994, 154). Sapir (1914, 479) observes that PUA \*w appears in CN before all vowels except o, before which \*wo > o, so \*wa- > wo- > oo- in Azt. [SUA: CrC, Azt]

**1495** Hebrew **šrb**, **hit-šareb** ‘be mixed up with, involved with’; the Hebrew \*hit-CaCCeC is generally a reflexive or reciprocal conjugation, and the Hebrew \*na-CCaC is passive/reflexive/reciprocal; the Semitic cognates in KB do not show whether Hebrew š < \*š or \*š̄; though unattested, the niqtal or \*na-šrab is the shape that UA aligns with:

UA \***na-rowa** ‘stir’: Tr na’ro-ma ‘mix, stir’; Tr na’roame ‘mixed, stired’; Wr loá-ni, loa-má ‘stir food while cooking’; CN neloa ‘get mixed together, stir up s.th., beat s.th., make a mess of s.th., v.t., v.refl.’

[-b- > -w- in Tr/Wr, and at šrb, qrb] [1’2,2r,3b] [SUA: TrC, Azt]

**1496** Hebrew **brd** ‘to hail’; Hebrew baaraad ‘hail’; Syr bard-aa ‘hail-the’; Arabic brd ‘be cold’; Arabic barad ‘hail’:

Tr bara- ‘ser el tiempo de lluvias [be the time of rains]’; My baali / baayi ‘fresco [cool]’; AYq bali ‘cool’.

**1497** Hebrew ’ootii ‘me’ (object/accusative pronoun) > Tr ti ‘me’.

**1498** Arabic ġy’ / -gii’ ‘come, get to, reach, arrive, bring (with b- ‘with’)’:

UACV-56b \***ki** ‘come, come to do s.th.’: Sapir ties CN ki/kiiwi ‘come to do s.th.’ and SP -ki- ‘come in order to’. Add WMU -ki ‘come, moving this way’; Kw ki ‘come (toward), go this way’; in compounds CU -ki ‘coming this way’. Notice that CN kiiwi may show the glottal stop as well. The ki- of Hp ki-ma ‘to be bringing, taking, carrying things along’. Arabic \*gy’ ‘come’ means ‘bring’ when b-‘with’ means coming with s.th. [p-l,g,2’] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Azt]

**1499** Hebrew zry ‘to scatter, sow’; Aramaic(S) dry /dāraa ‘to winnow, scatter’; Ugaritic dry;

Samaritan dry; Syriac dāraa ‘to scatter, sprinkle, winnow’, verbal noun: dāree / dārii:

UACV-1920 \***tari** ‘seed’: Tr tarí ‘semilla, grano para sembrar [seed for sowing]’; Wr ihtári ‘semillas para sembrar’. [Wr ih-] [SUA: TrC]

**1500** Egyptian **prx** ‘burst into flower’; Hebrew hi-priih (< \*hi-priix) ‘cause to sprout, bring into bloom’;

Hebrew perah (< \*perax) ‘bud, blossom’; Akkadian perxu ‘shoot, descendant’; Syriac parĥaa ‘flower’;

Arabic farx ‘chick, shoot, sprout’; UA seems to reflect the Hebrew hi-priix, fem: hi-priixa, pl: hi-priixu:

UACV-908 \***hVpiNka** ‘bloom’: M88-hu18; KH/M06-hu18: Mn hībiga ‘bloom, vi’; Mn hībigá ‘flower, blossom, n’; TSh hīpiŋkī ‘bloom’; TSh hīpi/hipi ‘flower’; TSh hipiŋkīppī ‘flower, blossom’; Sh hīpinkī ‘to bloom’; Sh hīpinkīppīh; Kw hīvi-vi ‘flower’; Tb ’ibii’it~’ibii’ ‘to bloom’; Tb ’ibii-l ‘flower’. [p1h,p2p,p2r,p3x] [NUA: Num, Tb]

**1501** Arabic slw / sly / salaa / saliya ‘think no more on (s.th.)’; II sallaa ‘make s.o. forget, comfort, console’; V tasalla ‘to delight, take pleasure in’; Hebrew šalaa ‘have rest, be at ease’:

Hp salayti ‘become gratified, fulfilled, pleased by/from, joyful over good luck’.

Hebrew samech (s<sub>3</sub>) and Hebrew śin (Semitic s<sub>2</sub>) and sometimes other sibilants go to c/č in Sem-kw:

**1502** Hebrew swp ‘come to an end’; Hebrew soop ‘end, rearguard’; Aramaic(J) sup-aa ‘end-the’;

Aramaic šwp ‘1 crouch, crawl, 2 rub, sharpen’; Aramaic(J) **šuuup-taa** ‘chip, pin, n.f.’:

UACV-798 \***cuppa** ‘point, prick’: L.Son48 \*cup ‘punta’; M88-cu19; KH/M06-cu19: Wr cuhpá ‘punta aguda [sharp point]’; Tr čupí ‘picar [prick]’; Pl cupina ‘sting, stab’. Note also Pl cupi ‘arse, anus’; Tr čupá/ču’á ‘point, peak, snout’; Tr (wi)čubére ‘tener puntas or picos [have points or peaks]’. From M88-co9, KH/M06-co9, we move here forms along the lines of ‘buttocks, point, hill’: Pl cupi ‘arse, anus’; My čobbe ‘parte trasera, posterior’, with vowel leveling (u-a > o-o > o-i) rather than at \*capa ‘edge, ridge’ where Lionnet had them; and NP capu ‘buttocks’; NP(B) cabo ‘buttocks’; NP(B) caboi ‘rectum’. Add Yq čopoi ‘hill’; AYq čopoi ‘hill’; Ch(L) čupi (< \*cuppi) ‘anything gathered to a point, e.g., a bunch of grass tied together at one end’. The Ch form and possibly Wr, AYq, and others suggest a doubled medial consonant. The alternate forms in Tr recommend Eu cuwat ‘agujón de avispa [wasp stinger]’. NP’s vowel metathesis happened at ‘bat’ also (\*pati > NP pita). This may be Sem-kw, as the first consonant of the cluster is doubled: \*supta > cuppa. [p/w] [1s1,2pp] [SUA: TrC, Azt; NUA: Num]

**1503** Hebrew šnp ‘to wrap up, wind around’; Hebrew šaaniip ‘headband, turban’;

Syriac šannep ‘bind, roll around’:

UACV-479 \***cini** ‘cotton, cloth/clothing made of cotton’: L.Son32 \*cini ‘cotton’; M88-ci2 ‘cloth’; KH/M06-ci2:

Eu čin ‘algodon [cotton]’; Wr cini ‘tela [cloth]’; Tr činí ‘manta [cloak], tela blanca de algodón [white cloth of cotton]’; My cíini-m ‘algodon’; Yq čiinim. [idddua] [SUA: TrC]

**1504** Hebrew špy ‘keep watch, be on the look-out for’:

UA \*capan ‘look for’: TO savant ‘to look for s.th.’; perhaps SP tacciqqwa ‘to peep out’. [1s4,2p]

**1505** Hebrew **yo(w)liid** ‘begetter, one causing female to bear, father’:

UACV-1418a \***yori** ‘non-Indian, white person’: L.Son361 \*yori ‘blanco de raza’; M88-yo2 ‘non-Indian person’; KH/M06-yo2:

Wr yorí ‘Blanco’; My yóori ‘persona no indígena’; Op urí ‘hombre’; Eu dóri ‘hombre’; Tbr yolí-t; Yq yói / yóori; Tr o’rí / oorí / yoorí. Note the minimal pair in My with r and l in same environment: My yoori ‘raza blanca’; My yooli ‘bravo, valeroso’. Add AYq yori / yoi ‘Mexican, humanoid chapayeka mask’.

UACV-1418b \***yorimí** ‘person, Amerindian’: My yoreme ‘indígena, Mayo’ (My a’a yoremia-k ‘lo engendró’);

AYq yoleme ‘person’ (in song language); AYq yoeme ‘person, human’; Yq yoéme ‘hombre, persona, indio’; Eu dor ‘hombre, pl: dodor; Eu dohme/dohme’e ‘gente, veinte’; Eu dohmerá-wa ‘humanidad’. [SUA: TrC]



**1506** Hebrew dlǵ ‘leap, spring over’ > TO celko(n) ‘skip’;

UACV-1252 \***coǵa** ‘jump’: Stubbs2003-27: Ca čǵay ‘hop’; Cr ticúna ‘i ‘jump!’; Wc cúniya ‘gotear, saltar’. These match well, since \*o > Ca i, and \*o > CrC u and NUA ǵ: SUA n. [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

**1507** Arabic rkl / rakala, impfv: ya-rkulu / ta-rkulu ‘kick (s.o., s.th.) or rǵl or

Hebrew rǵǵ, inf: raǵǵa- (Ezekial 25:6) ‘trample (s.th.), stamp with the feet’ (Ezekial 6:11)

UACV-1254 \***ciǵi** ‘kick’: M88-ci15; KH.NUA; KH/M06- ci15: Cp čéǵe; Ca čéǵen; Sr čǵin(a) ‘kick, stamp on, v’. Ken Hill adds Ktn čǵk ‘kick, v’. [medial ǵ] [NUA: Tak]

UACV-1255 \***taǵa** ‘kick’: VVH156 \*ta<sub>ǵ</sub> ‘to kick’; M88-ta44; Tb ’andaj (perf taǵ); SP taǵa;

NP taǵa’hu ‘sting, kick’. Miller assumes ǵ < nk, listing NP tanka’hu for NP taǵa’hu, but as many things reduce to ǵ, that should not be assumed. A palatalization by a high vowel (\*ta > \*ci) would unite Num and Tb \*taǵa and Tak \*ciǵi above. NP taǵa’hu ‘sting, kick’ < rakal-hu ‘kick-it/him’. [1r,2k,2q,3l,3’2] [NUA: Num, Tb]

**1508** Syriac qmṭ ‘lay fast hold of, take’, participle **qaamiṭ**; Hebrew qmṭ ‘seize’:

Tb(H) **kamiič**ǵit, pfv: akkamiič ‘to catch’.

**1509** Syriac ša’p-aa / šaap-aa ‘crawling/unfledged locust’ (Syriac šaap/š’p ‘to crawl’):

Ktn šivaciči-c ‘body-louse’

**1510** Aramaic(J) šwp ‘to smooth, rub, polish, sharpen’; Syriac šwp ‘to rub’ > Ktn šuvi ‘to rub clothes’

**1511** Syriac šrd ‘to quake, be terrified’ > Ktn šariri ‘trembling, adj’

**1512** Semitic xrd > Arabic xarida ‘be coy’; Ugaritic xrd; Hebrew ḥrd, impfv: yeḥrad / tē-ḥ(ε)rad ‘tremble, worry’; Hebrew ḥaarad ‘anxious, frightened at, adj’:

UACV-1949 \***tiwa** ‘shy, embarrassed’: Yq tíiwe ‘tener vergüenza [be embarrassed]’; Yq tíura ‘vergüenza [shame, embarrassment]’; AYq tiwe’era ‘shy’; AYq tuisi ‘embarrassing’; AYq tittiwe ‘embarrass easily’; My tíiwe ‘tiene vergüenza’; My au tiutúa ‘se avergüenza’; Eu tivé ‘tener vergüenza’; Tr fiwerá ‘apenarse, avergonzarse’; Cr tí’itebi’ira ‘avergonzarse’; Cr rutébi’irah ‘está tímido’. Jane Hill (p.c.) provides us a wonderful addition in Ktn ciu ‘be ashamed, vi, be ashamed of, vt’, as the propensity of palatalizing \*ti > ci makes it quite probable, and adds a NUA branch to the set. Two things suggest Sem-kw: \*ti- (not \*ta-) and ḥ (not x). [V metath in Cr?, w > b in Cr; \*w > v in Eu] [kw1x>h2,kw2r,kw3d] [SUA: TrC, CrC; NUA: Tak]

**1513** A custom in ancient times was to slay an animal and pull out certain organs to “examine” them for signs in decision making; Semitic bḥn ‘test, prove, examine, inquire’ > UA po’na ‘pull out’;

Syriac bḥn, \*-bahḥen ‘observe / examine (bird for augury)’;

UACV-1732 \***pu’na** > **po’na** ‘pull out, uproot’: L.Son212 \*pona ‘arrancar’; M88-po5 ‘weed, uproot’; KH/M06-po5:

TO wooni ‘pick, harvest, uproot’; LP bona ‘arrancar hierbas’; Eu pópna (< \*pona) ‘pull roots/hair’;

Wr po’na ‘arrancar (de hierbas, matas, fruta)’; Tr bo’ná/bo’ní ‘arrancar, sacar a fuerzas’; My pónna

‘arrancar’; Wc huuná ‘arrancar una cosa inmóvil’; CN kopiina ‘pull s.th. out, for s.th. to pull itself loose,

remove from a mold, copy’; Pl kupiina ‘pull out, tear out, tear off’. Add NT voopónai ‘arrancar’; NT voóñi

‘arrancar’; ST takvuna ‘uproot, pull out’; ST voopñia ‘pull out (weeds, hair)’; AYq popóna ‘pull up, uproot’.

\*po’na vs. Aztec and ST \*-pu’na, but often \*u-a > o-a, so PUA \*u. [iddddua] [SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

**1514** Hebrew ’rg ‘to weave’; as the definition in Hopi, ‘pull taut’ is the primary activity of weaving:

UACV-1731 \*(**wi**)**laǵa** ‘pull, drag’: Dakin 1982-310: CN wilaana ‘drag’; Hp laǵa-k ‘be pulled taut, stretch out in a line, vi’; Xal wilaa-na; Mec wilaa-n-ti-á ‘ir jalando’. [\*-’r- > l] [1’,2r,3k] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Azt]

**1515** Syriac ʿrǵ ‘flee, escape, shun, avoid’:

UACV-1020 \***wayaq** ‘go out (fast)’: Sr wayaqǵ ‘go/come out, exit fast’; Sr wiq-kin ‘take out, cause to exit

fast (sg obj)’; Sr wayaq-kin ‘take out, cause to exit fast (pl obj)’; Sr wiq-q ‘go out, come out, exit fast (sg

sbj)’; Sr wayaq-q ‘go out, come out, exit fast (pl sbj)’; Hp waaya ‘move, run, fly away, escape’. Might Hp

be a loan from Takic? Otherwise, we would expect ʿ > Hp l. Perhaps Tb waai’it ‘fast, quickly’. [1’2,2r,3q]

**1516** Hebrew ’rk ‘be, become long, last a long time’, hiqtiil: hi’riik ‘make long (rope, one’s days/life),

impfv -’rak; Aramaic(S) ’rk ‘be long, lengthen’, Aramaic(S) ’arrek ‘lengthen, extend in time’; Akkadian

araaku ‘be long’; Arabic ’araka ‘hesitate’; Syriac ’rk ‘be long, lengthen, **stretch out**’; The Semitic ‘stretch

out’ and ‘make long (rope, Isaiah 54:2)’ > UA ‘stretch, make string/length of s.th. for carrying, pull along

(by rope)’ is quite plausible; UA best fits a qittel form UA \*wiyyek > \*wiik:

UACV-399 \***wika** / \***wiki** ‘take by hand, lead out’: Ca wik- ‘carry with the hand’; Hp wiiki ‘take along, lead,

escort, kidnap, steal (anim obj)’; Hp wikiki-ta ‘hold s.th. suspended from the hand by a handle’; Hp wiki

'strand, items on a string for hand carrying'; Hp wikikiti-ma 'go along carrying s.th. in the hand'; Yq wiike 'estirar [stretch s.th. out], jalar [pull/drag], sacar [take out]'; Tr wi-mea 'coger y llevarse, arrebatar, robar'; Nv gika 'llevar algo colgado de la mano'; what of Mn wīi-(kī) 'get, have, catch'? [NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: TrC, Tep] UACV-1843 (some of UACV-1843 is at 657 \*wit 'string, rope, fiber plant' and if overlap, needs sorting; \*wika 'rope': Eu wíká / viká 'estirar [stretch out]'; AYq wikia 'string, rope, cord'; Yq wikia 'mecate, piola'; My wíkyam 'cordones, correas'; Tr wíia 'rope' (having lost -k-). NP wiha 'string, fishing line' (NP often has -h- < \*k-) \*wiki 'string or fasten with rope for transporting or leading, v': Yq wike 'haul, drag'; Yq wiki/wikri 'estirado [taut]' (as in 'keep pulling cord tight'); Hp wiki 'string up for hand carrying by string'; Tr wii- 'lazar, atar'; NP wihi kaazi 'train' (kaazi 'car(s)'), i.e., a string/line of cars being pulled along; Eu vikat / b́ewika- 'estirar [stretch out]'. These may explain the wik- morpheme in Hp wik-pañwa 'rope, line' and -wi of SP pagan'wi 'bow string'.

**1517** Hebrew mašii<sup>ah</sup> 'Messiah' > Hopi Máasaw '1 spirit being, Lord of the Fourth World, god of life and death'; 2 'corpse, dead person'; 3 'spirit of one who has died'. The Hopi dictionary lists final -w(i) as a noun suffix, and though w < h is usual, even masa- is a decent match. As for vowels a-i > a-a, note similarity of Hp yáasañw 'year' < \*yasii<sup>ah</sup>.

**1518** Hebrew qpz / qps 'leap, jump', wa-yyi-qpoz 'he jumped'; Arb qfz (i); Aramaic qps / qpt: UACV-1250 wíppuki 'jump': Mn wíbiki 'jump, vi'; Ch wípúki (< \*wíppúki) 'jump'. [\*u > i] [NUA: Num] Though another possibility exists in Egyptian hpg 'jump, leap'; Egyptian hpgt 'a leaping dance', the doubled \*-pp- (< -qp-) and \*wī- of Hebrew waw-consecutive (also in 938 and 1215 repeated below), make more likely \*wa-yyi-qpoz > wíppuki, if -ki is an extra syllable as in SP in 1215. Perhaps noteworthy is that all three instances of the waw-consecutive are only in Numic. [\*u > i] [e1h2,e2p,e3g] [NUA: Num] At (938) Hebrew wayyigammel > UA wikam'mi and at (1215) Hebrew wayyišroq 'he whistled, hissed' (< šrq 'to whistle, hiss') > UA \*wisuko 'whistle': Mn wišiqohi 'whistle, vi'; SP uššuC-qqi 'whistle'

**1519** Hebrew fayn 'eye'; Arabic fayn 'eye'; Syriac fayyen 'to eye, perceive, point out, show': Ktn 'ayn 'show s.o. s.th.'; perhaps SP ončoxi 'be one-eyed'. [1'2,2y,3n]

**1520** Hebrew pws 'to spread, disperse, overflow'; Arabic fyḍ / faḍa 'overflow, flow, stream, pour forth': Wr poci 'to be full'; Wr taipoci 'to sweat'; Tb puuiy|ut 'be full, get full'. Miller (M88-pu9 'full'; M67-193 \*pu 'full') combines the \*puy and \*pun(i) stems, but different 2<sup>nd</sup> C and meanings say separate; \*puni is at 754. UACV-983a \*puca > NUA puya 'full': KH.NUA: Tb puuyut~uubuui 'be full'; Cp púyi-š 'full after eating, also of moon'; Ca puy 'become full with food'; Ls púya 'full from eating'; Gb púy llenarse'. We ought also to include Eu bóde 'full'; Eu bodávi 'full': Eu bod and Tak puy agree fairly well and point to \*puy, since \*poy should show high front vowels in Tak, and Eu d < \*y, though Eu changed \*u > o. On the other hand, KH/M06-pu9 includes Tr(H) bučiami 'lleno' and Tr(H) bučiwa 'llenar, vt' which fit a NUA -y- and SUA -c- pattern. [1p,2w,3s4] [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: TrC]

**1521** Hebrew gly, qittel impfv: -galley 'uncover (woman's nakedness), sleep with (woman)': Sr ŋalyaŋalya'n 'be loose'; Sr ŋalyaŋalyahkin 'loosen, make loose'; Sr ŋalyaŋalyahq 'become loose'.

**1522** Late Hebrew madwe 'menstrual flow of blood'; Aramaic madwe 'flux' [blood of menstrual flow]; such a Semitic form with \*haC- 'the', often hi- in UA, may underlie these: \*hammadwe > UA \*hiNtwa, and \*tw > kw (AMR 1991, 1993a) to yield Hp iñwa, Tb ikwa-l, etc.

UACV-258c \*i(N)twa > \*i(N)kwa 'blood': CL.Azt205; M88-í4: KH/M06-í4 \*itwV (AMR): Hp iñw; Tb 'ikwa-l, 'ikwa-n (poss'ed). If these tie to the Tactic forms below, the Tak lack the velar and nasal dimensions, while Hp and Tb's labiovelars agree with each other, though Hp includes a nasal not apparent in Tb. In other sets, Uto-Aztecanists have not tied lexemes together so phonologically diverse as these, so their association of all the below is puzzling, but may be more for contemplation in hopes that explanations may surface:

#### BLOOD; SANGRE

Mn	páápi; paaqa 'bleed'	Hp	iñwa	Eu	erát; vavika 'bleed'
NP	bīipi	Tb	ikwa-l	Tbr	ará-t; avá
TSh	paoC; paoppi	Sr	icc; icava 'bleed'	Yq	ohbo
Sh	pīiC-pin	Ca	'éw-ily	My	ohbo
Cm	pīihpi	Cp	éw	Wr	elá
Kw	pīi-pī	Ls	'ów-la	Tr	e*rá; lasí
Ch	pái-pi	TO	ih'id	Cr	suúre'e
SP	paíC	Nv	i'irha	Wc	šuuríya
CU	páa-pī	PYp	e'er		šuuere 'red, blood-colored'
WM	páa-pī	NT	iirai	CN	es-tli; tlapaloo (tlapal-li 'dye')
		ST	'i'ir	CN	espipika 'blood flow out'

UA terms for blood are among the most difficult for sorting and reconstructing definitively. Approximations are TrC / Tep \**ira*, Azt \**is-/\*əs*, CrC \**sor/\*sot*, Tak \**əwi*, Hp *ɪŋwa*, and Num \**paC*. Miller puts them all together in M88-*i4*, perhaps for consideration rather than by conclusion that they are all cognate, for no one has explained how such a diverse group could be reconciled from a single proto-form. Manaster Ramer (1991, 1993a) comes closest with a plausible explanation for the TrC, Azt, Tak, and Hp forms—\**itwa*—and a medial cluster is likely. Whether Yq and My *ohbo* 'blood' (\**kwV* > Cah *bwV* > *bo*)?

**1523** Hebrew \**ʕiddaa* / *ʕiddiim* 'menstrual period'; Samaritan *ʕiddaan* 'time, menstruation';

or perhaps Hebrew *niddaa* 'bleeding, menstruation' with *haC-* prefix and reduced to *hVCta*:

UACV-258a \**ita/ira* 'blood': Sapir; B.Tep \**i'irai*; M67-47a \**et*; CL.Azt16 PAzt \**əs*, 205 PUA \*\**i-*; L.Son13 \**ira*; M88-*i4*: KH/M06-*i4* \**itwV*: Eu *erát*; Wr *elá*; Tr *lá/lé-/lasí*; Tbr *ará-t*, *avá*; Tbr *avá-ma-li-r* 'corazón'; TO *ii'id*; PYP *e'er*; Nv *i'irha* (probably *i'ira*); NT *iiirai*; ST *ii'ir*; Sr *i'tt* 'blood' and Sr *içava* 'to bleed'; Ken Hill adds Ktn *i'ç*.

[liquids] [kw-1'2,2d] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC]

UACV-258b Azt \**is-/\*əs* 'blood': CL.Azt16 PAzt \**əs*, 205 PUA \*\**i-* 'blood': CN *es-tli*; Pi *es-ti*, etc. [SUA: Azt] [Not Eg snf?]

UACV-258d \**iwi* 'blood': BH.Cup; M67-47b \**ew*; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup17 \**əwi-la* 'blood'; M88-*i4*: Ls *ów-la*; Cp *əwə-l*; Ca *éwi-ly*. Manaster Ramer (in 1993a "Blood, Tears, and Murder" and 1991e "UA \**tw*") suggests \**itwa* 'blood' and that a cluster of \**-tw-* underlies the complexities, stating that the only known source of *kw* in Tb is \**tw*: e.g., Tb *tuugukwi-t* 'mountain lion' < \**tuugut-wit-ta* 'big-wildcat' (cf. Ls *tuk-wu-t* 'mountain lion' and Ls *tuuku-t* 'wildcat'). He cites other evidence to suggest that at least some Hp *-ŋw-* may derive from \**-tw-*. (See also crow and bighorn sheep.) If so, then we might consider \**itwa* > Tep/TrC \**ita/\*ila*, Hp *ɪŋwa*, Tb *ikwa*, Tak \**itwV*, and Azt *is-*. [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: TrC]

**1524** Aramaic *ql'* / *qly* 'roast' > Ls *qali-* 'boil (food)'; different ways of cooking, but the phonology is identical.

## More Egyptian

A few more Egyptian forms found later and put here at the end to avoid renumbering the whole book:

**1525** Egyptian *isnwi* 'testicles'; the initial vowel and *s* in a cluster appear lost, leaving *nwi*:

UACV-804 \**noyo* 'egg, testicle': B.Tep172 \**nonoha* 'egg'; M67-154 \**no* 'egg'; L.Num115 \**no(yo)* 'egg, house, dwelling';

M88-*no3* 'egg'; AMR1993a \**nok* 'egg'; KH/M06-*no3* \**nok* 'egg': Mn *nóyo*; NP *noho*; TSh *noyo-pin*; Sh *noyo-*; WSh *noyo* 'egg, testicle'; Hp *nöhī*; TO *nonha* 'egg'; NT *-nóno*; ST *na'no*. Initial *i*'s are weak, *s* in a cluster with *n* would be gone, and after that the UA forms show the \**nwi* portion quite well. Note also WSh *no'i-pih* 'womb'; WSh *noi-ci'i* 'ejaculate'. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep]

XXX Egyptian(F) *hr* 'face'; Coptic *ho/hra-*: UA \**holya* 'cheek': Cp *hilya* 'cheek' (Cp *i* < \**i* or \**o*); and perhaps Ls *wiwiwma-š* 'cheek' if from a vowelizing of \**hira* (> \**huira* > \**wila*). [e1h2,e2r] [Tak]

**1526** Egyptian *im* 'Rippe [rib] (no longer used in the Middle Kingdom)':

UACV-1808 \**amattaN* 'rib': L.Num4 \**ama(h)(taN)* 'ribs'; M88-*a20* 'rib'; KH/M06-*a20*: Mn *awatápi* (< \**awattappi*); NP *amítaba* (< \**amittapa*); Sh *ama* 'waist, rib cage'; Sh *amattam-ppi* 'ribs'; Kw *'awati-bi* (< \**awatti-(m)bi*); SP *aŋwattaN*, *aŋwattam-pi* 'rib'; CU *'awáta-pi*; Wr *oma-tére* 'axila / arm pit'. Ken Hill adds Sr *-a'möf*; Ktn *amu-c*; and Cp *amsisva-l* (Cp *-ámi* 'waist, poss'd). [\*-CC-; w/m/ŋw] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: TrC]

**1527** Egyptian(H) *tnw* 'zählen [to count]'; but the glyph options are both *tnw* and *tn* 'count', the latter matching Tr: Tr *tará-* 'contar [to count]' (and often NUA *n* > SUA *l/r*).

**1528** Egyptian(H) *t'-tmw* 'alle menschen [all men], menschheit [mankind, lit: earth-all, i.e., all mankind]'; Egyptian(H) *tmw* / *tmmw* 'die menschheit [mankind]'; a precedent for a semantic shift from 'man' > 'we' is in Numic (see below):

UACV-2662 \*(**i**)*tammu* 'we': B.Tep 297 \**aati'i*; BH.Cup \**c...m*; L.Num 205 \**ta(h)-mV*; M88-*pr5*; KH/M06-*pr5*: Mn *taq<sup>w</sup>a*; NP *tammi*; Cm *tamī*; TSh *tammī*; Kw *tami*; CU *tami*; Hp *itam* (acc *-iy*); Sr *ačam/ičam*; Ktn *icam*; Ca *čémem*; Cp *čəmə*; Ls *čáá'um*, *čáá's*, *čá'a*, *čám*; Gb *eyómoma*; TO *aačim*; NT *aati-*; ST *aati<sup>y</sup>i*; Eu *tamíde*; Tb *ité*; Tr *tamu(he)*; Wr *remé*; My *ítapo*; Yq *itepo*, *te*, *ítom*; Wc *tááme*; CN *te'waan*; Pl *tehemet*. The Numic languages suggest a geminated *m*. The final vowel was likely \**-u*, in light of Numic *i* (< \**u* often), Tr *tamu*, Yq *ítom* (< \**itomo* < \**itammu*), and Ls *čáá'um* (both showing assimilation to a now lost final \**-u*). This involves a semantic change from 'man(kind), people' to 'we'. For a people isolated enough that nature and animals are 'they', then 'humans' are 'we', or the 'tribal members' are 'we'. The change 'people' to 'we' has precedent in Numic, where 'person/Indian' became 'we'. In Numic, the UA branch that developed inclusive vs. exclusive 1<sup>st</sup> pl pronouns, \**nīmi* 'we, exclusive, I and they, but not you' lets \**tammu* 'we, inclusive, you and we' mean all us people. Even Numic \**nīmi* 'we, exclusive' itself is from UA *nīmi* 'Indian, one who lives traditionally, wandering hunting and gathering' from UA *nīmi* 'to walk around, live traditionally'. John S. Robertson (p.c.) also informs me that a French pronoun came from 'man': French *homme* 'man' > Old French (h)om > on 'one, someone' is used like impersonal 'one/you/they' in English: On me l'a donné '[someone] gave it to me' (also in "French personal pronouns," Wikipedia, August 2014).

[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]