

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

**Second Edition**

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**Abbreviations** (many Uto-Aztecan abbreviations are also conveniently on pp. 39, and 44-46; Egyptian and Semitic language source abbreviations are also in the bibliography, pp. 418-420):

acc	accusative
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
AMR	Alexis Manaster Ramer, a prominent Uto-Aztecanist
anim	animate
Aramaic(J)	Jastrow's Aramaic dictionary
Aramaic(S)	Sokoloff's Aramaic dictionary
AYq	Arizona Yaqui
Azt	Aztecan branch (dialects of Nahuatl)
bec	become
BH.Cup	Bright and Hill 1967 comparative Cupan
B.Tep	Bascom's 1965 comparative Tepiman cognate sets
C	any consonant or an unknown consonant
Ca	Cahuilla
Cah	Cahitan, a UA sub-branch of TaraCahitan in Mexico
CAL	Comprehensive Aramaic Dictionary, online
CDD	Chicago Demotic Dictionary, online
cf.	compare
Ch	Chemehuevi, a Southern Numic language in southern Nevada
CL.Azt	Campbell and Langacker 1978, on comparative Aztecan
Cm	Comanche
CN	Classical Nahuatl, also known as Aztec
CNum	Central Numic, a sub-branch of UA
coll	collective, the plural of the whole group is singular
comb	combining form
Cp	Cupeño, a UA language in southern California
Cr	Cora, a UA language of the Corachol branch
CrC	Corachol branch of UA
CU	Colorado Ute
d	dual
e.o.	each other
ESA	Epigraphic South Arabic, an ancient language of numerous inscriptions in western Arabia
esp	especially
Eu	Eudeve or Dohema, a UA language in the TaraCahitan branch
f / fem	feminine
fob	father's older brother
fos	father's older sister
F83	Fowler 1983
freq	frequentive
fyb	father's younger brother
fys	father's younger sister
gen	genitive
Hebrew(KB)	Koehler and Baumgartner's Hebrew/Aramaic lexicon
Hebrew(BDB)	Brown, Drivers, and Brigg's Hebrew/Aramaic lexicon
HH.Cup	Hill and Hill 1968 on comparative Cupan
HN	Huastec Nahuatl,
Hp	Hopi
iddddua	if desired, delay differing definitions until acceptance (explanation on p. 12)
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
impfv	imperfective or uncompleted aspect (often present or future in Semitic);
inan	inanimate
I.Num	Iannucci's Numic cognate sets
JSR	John S. Robertson, a prominent Mayanist and student of Uto-Aztecan
KCH	Kenneth C. Hill, a prominent Uto-Aztecanist
KH/M88	Kenneth C. Hill's 2006 revision of Miller's 1988 draft of Uto-Aztecan cognate sets
KH.NUA	Kenneth C. Hill's NUA comparative data in his Serrano dictionary
KT	Kiowa-Tanoan language family, mostly in New Mexico

Kw Kawaiisu  
 lit literally  
 LP Lower Pima  
 Ls Luiseño  
 L.Son Lionnet's 1985 Sonoran cognate sets  
 m / masc masculine  
 M67 Wick Miller's *Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets*, 1967  
 M88 Miller's unpublished additional work on UA cognate sets;  
 MHebrew = Middle Hebrew, post-Biblical Hebrew  
 Mn Mono  
 mob mother's older brother  
 mos mom's older sister  
 ms mother's sister  
 Munro.Cup Munro 1990 on comparative Cupan  
 MT Masoretic Text (Hebrew Old Testament)  
 My Mayo  
 myb mother's younger brother  
 mys mom's younger sister  
 MZ Mixe-Zoquean language family, mostly in Mexico  
 N nasal consonant, whether n, m, or ŋ often unknown  
 n noun;  
 n.f. noun feminine;  
 n.m. noun masculine  
 nom nominative;  
 NP Northern Paiute  
 NT Northern Tepehuan  
 NU Northern Ute or Uintah Ute  
 NUA Northern Uto-Aztecan  
 Num Numic branch of UA  
 Nv Nevome  
 obj object  
 Op Opata, a UA language of TrC branch;  
 OT Old Testament  
 p.c. personal communication  
 pfv perfective, completed action (usually past)  
 Pl Pipil, Aztecan dialect  
 pl plural  
 Po Pochutec, Aztecan dialect  
 poss'd possessed  
 postp postposition  
 pret preterite  
 prog progressive  
 ptepl participle  
 PUA Proto Uto-Aztecan  
 PYc Pima de Yecora  
 PYP Pima de Yepachic  
 reciprl reciprocal  
 redupl reduplication  
 refl reflexive  
 RJC R. Joe Campbell  
 Sapir Sapir's 1913-15 establishment of Uto-Aztecan as a language family  
 Sem-kw Semitic-kw  
 Sem-p Semitic-p  
 sg singular  
 Sh Shoshoni  
 SNum Southern Numic sub-branch of UA;  
 s.o. someone  
 SP Southern Paiute  
 sp species  
 Sr Serrano

ST	Southern Tepehuan		
s.th.	something		
SUA	Southern Uto-Aztecan		
subj	subject		
T	Tetelcingo, Aztecan dialect		
Tak	Takic branch of UA		
Tb	Tübatülabal		
Tbr	Tubar		
Tep	Tepiman branch of UA		
Tj	Tongva, an extinct Uto-Aztecan language formerly also known as Gabrielino		
TO	Tohono O'odham, formerly called Papago, UA language in Arizona, of the Tepiman branch		
Tr	Tarahumara		
TrC	Tara-Cahitan group of four branches of UA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr		
TSh	Tümpisha Shoshoni, formerly called Panamint		
UA	Uto-Aztecan		
UACV	Stubbs 2011 <i>Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary</i>		
UP	Upper Pima, the Pima in Arizona and near the O'odham.		
V	vowel, no particular vowel, but any vowel generally, a place where a vowel occurs		
vi	verb intransitive;	vt	verb transitive;
VVH	Voegelin, Voegelin, and Hale, 1962, a collection of 170 UA cognate sets;		
Wc	Huichol		
WMU	White Mesa Ute		
WNum	Western Numic, a sub-branch of Numic, bordering California and Nevada		
Wr	Guarijio	WSh	Western Shoshone
Yq	Yaqui	Z	Zacapoaxtla
>	changed to, became;	<	changed from, derived from
*	a reconstructed proto-, early or original form, often in the parent language.		

# Introduction

For a century, the answers to many unresolved questions in Uto-Aztecan comparative linguistics eluded Uto-Aztecan (UA) specialists. While the language ties in this title may seem unseemly to some, they provide more explanatory power to previous unknowns in comparative UA than many might be comfortable with initially, so take your time. This study is an exploratory work in progress toward answers, not yet having them all, but is a major step forward (see the solutions or several previous puzzles explained, 6.1-6.6). For if the ties are valid, then ignoring them is like finding written records of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) and then ignoring those PIE records in comparative Indo-European studies. A valid key can provide rapid progress to otherwise inaccessible insights, many being missed through the first century between Sapir's (1913, 1915) establishing UA as a language family and the first edition of this work (2015). This second edition (2023) adds another 130 sets, a few more clarifications, and appendices of how many of the more prevalent UA cognate sets align with these language ties.

Uto-Aztecan is a Native American language family of 30-plus related languages, mostly in the Southwest United States and Mexico, from the Shoshoni and Utes in the north to the various Nawa / Aztecan dialects in the south, with Hopi, Pima, and many others between (see map on page 37). Some 1650 cognate correlations between UA and three Near-East languages, consistent with the linguistic comparative method (sound correspondences, fossilized grammar, unusual semantic combinations preserved, etcetera) present a case more viable than the first accepted treatise that established most Native American language families. *Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary* (Stubbs 2011) presented some 2700 UA cognate sets; a second edition (2020) exists as an electronic PDF available online. About half of those sets are in this work. Of the more prevalent sets, that is, those in 8, 9, 10, or all 11 of UA's 11 branches, 90% of those most prevalent sets are among the data relevant to the Near-East tie.

Knowing how unwelcome such a proposal would be in the linguistic community and being a peace-loving recluse by nature, I was in no hurry to invite the avalanche of controversy upon me. Yet equally risky is pressing my luck in postponing a presentation that should preferably reside on this side of the mortal divide. So as youth becomes a more distant memory, I share these findings. As a Uto-Aztecanist and Semitist, I could not help but notice numerous similarities during three decades of compiling and writing *Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary* (UACV), a reference work that Uto-Aztecanists heartily welcomed and Kenneth Hill favorably reviewed in the *International Journal of American Linguistics* (Hill 2012).

After Sapir (1913, 1915) established Uto-Aztecan as a viable family of related languages, Voegelin, Voegelin, and Hale (1962) produced the first numbered list of 171 cognate sets. Klar (1977) brought the Chumash languages to clarity with 168 sets. Taylor (1963) established Caddoan (a language family of the central plains), assembling 107 cognate sets. Hale (1962, 1967) did the definitive study for Kiowa-Tanoan with 99 sets. This work's proposal may better compare to tying two distant language families, as did Haas (1958) by ending four decades of controversy in uniting Algonkian-Ritwan, an eastern U.S. family with a west coast family, by means of 93 sets. Chamberlain (1888) began the union of Catawba with Siouan via 17 comparisons, and Siebert (1945) secured it with mostly morphological correlations, as not enough clear cognate sets were known at the time to establish correspondences (Campbell 1997, 140). Thus, the going rate is between 50 and 200 cognate sets to establish most Native American language families. So this case of 1650 sets merits proportionate consideration.

This exploration is intended for linguists, Semitists, and Egyptologists, and abides the linguistic rigor of the comparative method. Many examples establish each sound correspondence. Many unusual semantic combinations of the Near-East language are stunningly preserved in UA: for example, 'serpent, partner' to UA 'snake, twin' (332); 'eagle, northern constellation' to UA 'vulture, a star in the north' (953); 'peace, go down/set, hair fall out' to UA 'peace, go down, hair fall out' (182); 'sojourn, commit adultery' to UA 'travel, commit adultery' (932); 'stamp/beat out (metal), sky' to UA 'iron/knife, sky' (98); 'pasture, willow' to UA 'willow, grass' (174); and many more. A good amount of Semitic and Late Egyptian grammar is found fossilized in UA, some is still productive, but most is fossilized. The Hebrew/Phoenician \**na-* passive / reflexive / reciprocal verb prefix is still productive in 6 of the 11 branches of UA \**na-* (2); the Hebrew/Phoenician masculine plural suffix \**-iima* continues in reduced forms as the main UA plural suffix \**-ima* in 10 of the 11 branches (1); the Hebrew/Phoenician feminine plural suffix \**-ootee* is also a plural suffix in UA \**-ti* (904), though a masculine vs. feminine distinction has been lost in UA. The Semitic verb conjugations are not productive, but the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine singular perfective and 3<sup>rd</sup> m. sg imperfective

are the most frequent fossilized forms found among UA verbs. The feminine singular and masculine plural and infinitives are also found to lesser degrees, but no 1<sup>st</sup> person or 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms have been identified. The UA pronouns are mostly of Semitic (101-113) and two of Egyptian (114, 1528). Egyptian verb morphology includes the stative \*-i suffix of the Old Perfective as both stative and past (116) and other elements (117-119, 122, 373-380). On a number of nouns, the Aramaic definite article suffixes—both masculine *-aa'* and feminine *-t-aa'*—are also found on various nouns, fossilized onto them according to correct original gender, though again the grammatical genders are no longer distinguished; those various m. noun and f. noun forms are throughout the sets.

Of course, a Near-East people arriving in ancient America would be subject to significant contact pressures, which would effect changes. For example, some characteristics of UA are different or not at all like Egyptian or Semitic, but reflect influences rather typical of Amerindian language families, which we would expect of a transplant from the outside into the Americas. One example is suppletion in singular vs. plural verb forms. That is, one verb is used for singular subjects and an entirely different word is used when the subject is plural, while suppletion is nearly non-existent in Semitic or Egyptian.

In heavy contact situations of language mixture, some people may wonder how so much of a language's basic vocabulary can be preserved in the language result, but not much of its accompanying grammar. Yet that result is common in language mixtures. Media Lingua or Chaupi Quichua has almost exclusively Spanish vocabulary but Ecuadorian Quichua grammar (Velupillai 2015, 402); Ma'a/Mbugu has Cushitic basic vocabulary and primarily Bantu grammar; and Angloromani adopted largely English grammar and Romani lexicon. Velupillai (2015, 71) calls these G-L mixed languages, the grammar coming mostly from one language and the Lexicon (words) mostly from the other. The 3<sup>rd</sup> paragraph of Wikipedia's statement on "Creole Language" describes what may have happened in UA to some degree: "The lexicon of a creole language is largely supplied by the parent languages, particularly that of the most dominant group in the social context ... On the other hand, the grammar that has evolved often has new or unique features that differ substantially from those of the parent languages." Speakers can focus on lexicon, but grammar happens more subconsciously than lexical choices, so developments in grammar are out of everyone's control. Reduplication (for plurals, repetition, intensification) is also more common in mixed languages than others (Velupillai 2015, 332), and that is exactly what we find in UA, that the fairly minimal reduplication in both Egyptian and Semitic is multiplied in UA.

Among sound correspondences, some 40 examples show Hebrew b corresponding to p of Proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA); i.e., Hebrew / Phoenician b > PUA \*p. The following matches are a few from among many more examples of each sound change, and, of course, are naturally abbreviated from the fuller data and explanations found in the numbered lexical sets. Verbs in Semitic consist of three consonants (bšq, for example) subject to a variety of vowelings for different conjugations, adjectives, and nouns (C = any consonant or an unknown consonant):

<u>Semitic b</u>	> <u>Uto-Aztecan *p</u>
(527) baraq 'lightning'	> UA *pïrok / berok 'lightning'
(528) byt / bayit / beet 'spend the night, house'	> UA *pïti; Tr bete 'house'
(528) bytu 'spend the night, plural'	> UA *pïtu 'lie down, spend the night, plural'
(531) Hebrew boo 'coming (used as 'way to)'	> UA *pooC 'road, way, path'
(534) Hebrew batt 'daughter'	> UA *patti 'daughter'
(550) Aramaic bäsár 'flesh, penis'	> UA *pisa 'penis'
(559) Semitic *baka'; Syriac baka' 'cry'	> UA *paka' 'cry'
(532) Arabic bšr 'see'; baširat 'eye'; Hebrew *boošer(et)	> UA *pusi 'eye'
(535) Aramaic bæquuraa 'livestock'	> UA *pukuN 'domestic animals'
(540) Hebrew bṯḥ / *baṯiḥ 'trust(ed)'	> UA *piciwa 'believe' (ṯ > c (=ts))
(552) bṯn 'be pregnant'	> UA *puca 'pregnant' (ṯ > c (=ts))
(553) bšq 'swell'	> UA *posa 'swell'
(556) bayša(t) / beeša(t), pl: beešoot 'egg, testicle'	> UA *piyso 'testicle'
(558) bwš / byd 'be white'; buuš 'white linen'	> UA *pos 'white': Tb poosit~'opos 'be white'
(562) -bbiit 'look'	> UA *pici / *pica 'look, see' (ṯ > c (=ts))



The other voiced stops also devoice, that is, Semitic b, d, g > UA p, t, k; also Semitic q > k:

- (606) dubur ‘buttocks, rear’ > UA \*tupur ‘hip, buttocks’  
 (607) dober ‘pasture, vegetation’ > UA \*tupi ‘grass, vegetation’  
 (1484) dwr / duur ‘go round, turn, revolve’ > UA \*tur ‘whirl, roll, twist’  
 (1103) dakka ‘make flat, stamp, crush’ > UA \*takka ‘flat’  
 (1279) \*yagar ‘hill, heap of stones’ > UA \*yakaC / \*yakaR (AMR) ‘nose, point, ridge’  
 (608) gdʕ ‘cut off’ > UA \*katu ‘cut, wound’  
 (1014) qədaal ‘neck, nape of neck’ > UA \*kutaC ‘neck’ (\*q > k)  
 (1023) tqn ‘make straight, set, lay down’ > UA \*tikaC ‘put lying down, stretched/spread flat’ (\*q > k)  
 (1089) Hebrew qippod ‘hedgehog’; Arabic \*qunpuḍ ‘hedgehog’ > UA \*kiNpa ‘prairie dog’ (\*q > k)  
 (864) \*quuppoot ‘baskets, pl’ > UA \*koppo ‘basket’ (\*q > k)  
 (74) Hebrew təbuu ‘at ‘produce from the land’ > UA \*tīpī‘at / \*tīpat (AMR) ‘pinion nut’

Proto-Semitic ḏ (> Arabic ḏ, Aramaic d), corresponds to UA \*t:

- (616) Aramaic dakar ‘male’ > UA \*taka ‘man, person’  
 (617) Aramaic diqn-aa ‘beard / chin-the’ > UA \*tī‘na ‘mouth’  
 (618) Aramaic di‘b-aa ‘wolf-the’ > UA \*tī‘pa ‘wolf’  
 (620) unattested f. pl: \*ḏabboot(eeʕ) ‘flies’ > UA \*tīpputi ‘flea’

Semitic ‘aleph or glottal stop ’ > w in UA (which change also occurs in Arabic), or other times both a glottal stop and adjacent round vowels occur, perhaps ’ causing vowels to round (o, u):

- (566) ‘ariy / ‘arii ‘lion’ > UA \*wari ‘mountain lion’  
 (567) Hebrew ya‘amiin-o ‘he believes him/it’ > UA \*yawamin-o ‘believe (him/it)’  
 (569) Hebrew ‘egooz ‘nut tree’ > UA \*wokoC ‘pine tree’ (C = unknown consonant)  
 (571) ya‘ya’ / yaa‘ayaa’ (‘be) beautiful’ > Ls yawáywa, Sr yī‘aayi’a’n ‘be pretty, beautiful’  
 (572) Hebrew ‘iīš ‘man, person’ > UA \*wīsi ‘person’  
 (574) Hebrew ‘išaa / ‘ešet / ‘išt- ‘woman, wife of’ > UA \*wiCti ‘woman, wife’ (C = unknown consonant)  
 (577) Semitic ‘aas- ‘myrtle willow’ > UA \*wasV ‘willow’  
 (579) Arabic pa‘r- ‘mouse’ > UA \*pu‘wi(N) ‘mouse’  
 (581) Hebrew ‘arš-aa ‘earth-ward, down’ > UA \*wicī ‘fall’  
 (575) kama’- ‘truffle(s)’ > UA \*kamo’- ‘sweet potato’  
 (truffles are also edible fleshy appendages to a root system, as are potatoes)  
 (596) ‘arnab ‘hare’ > UA \*wa‘na ‘rabbit net’  
 (576) ‘ataʕ, \*‘atii-; Syriac ‘ita / ‘eta ‘come’ > UA \*wic ‘come’ (t > c(ts) by high vowels like i, u)  
 (871) ‘pl / \*tu‘pal ‘be dark, go down (sun), f’ > UA \*tu‘pa > \*cuppa ‘be dark, (fire) go out’ (t > c, by u)  
 (872) ‘pl / \*yu‘pal ‘be dark, go down, m’ > UA \*yu‘pa > \*yuppa ‘be dark, black, (fire) go out’  
 (873) ‘pl / \*yu‘pal ‘be dark, go down, m’ > UA \*yu‘pa(l) > Aztecan \*yowal, CN yowal-li ‘night, n’  
 Aztecan branch regularly loses a single -p-  
 (1110) Aramaic ‘ard-aa ‘mushroom-the’ > UA \*witto‘oC ‘mushroom’  
 (1331) ‘ikkaar ‘plowman, tiller of ground’ > UA \*wika ‘digging stick’  
 (1333) Hebrew m’n / \*me’‘an ‘refuse’ > Hp meewan- ‘forbid, warn’

Semitic initial r- > t- in UA:

- (600) r’y / raa‘aa ‘see, v’ > UA \*tīwa ‘find, see’  
 (603) Aramaic rima / rimə-taa ‘large stone-the’ > UA \*tīmī-ta ‘rock’  
 (604) Aramaic ra‘emaan-aa / reemaan-aa ‘antelope-the’ > UA \*tīmīna ‘antelope’  
 (99) rakb-u ‘they mounted, climbed’ > UA \*tī‘pu / \*tīppu ‘climb up’  
 (889) Aramaic rakbaa / rikbaa ‘upper millstone’ > UA \*tīppa ‘mortar (and/or) pestle’

Loss of Semitic final -r, without effect on the preceding vowel:

- (565) makar ‘sell’ > UA \*maka ‘give, sell’  
 (616) dakar ‘male’ > UA \*taka ‘man, person’  
 (550) Aramaic bəsár ‘flesh, penis’ > UA \*pisa ‘penis’  
 (1331) ‘ikkaar ‘plowman, tiller of ground’ > UA \*wika ‘digging stick’

Semitic initial voiceless pharyngeal ḥ > UA \*hu, or w/o/u, and non-initially ḥ > w/o/u:

- (672) ḥbq ‘pass air, break wind’ > UA \*hupak- ‘stink’ (\*q > k)  
 (673) ḥnk ‘train, dedicate’; ḥanukkaa ‘dedication, consecration’ > Ca huneke ‘to take an Indian bath’;  
 Yq húnak-te ‘show, direct, raise (young)’  
 (671) ḥmm ‘heat, bathe, wash’ > UA \*huma ‘wash, bathe’  
 (1040) ḥml ‘carry, lift, pick up’ > UA \*homa ‘take, carry, pick up’  
 (853) Aramaic ḥippuṣit-aa ‘beetle-the’ (Arabic \*xunpusaa’ / xunpus) > UA \*wippusi ‘beetle’

The Semitic voiced pharyngeal ʕ > UA w/o/u, that is, some form of rounding:

- (677) ʕagol ‘round’ > UA \*wakol ‘round(ed)’  
 (676) paqʕ- ‘whiteness, species of fungus’ > UA \*pakuwa ‘mushroom, fungus’ (\*q > k)  
 (683) ʕmṭ ‘cloud over, become dark’ > UA \*(w)umaC / \*(w)īmaC ‘rain, be cloudy / overcast’  
 (686) ʕerwaa ‘nakedness, genitals’ > UA \*wowa ‘vulva, vagina’  
 (1197) Hebrew ʕaaqeeb ‘heel, footprint’ > UA \*woki ‘track, footprint’ (\*q > k)  
 (747) Aramaic / Syriac ʕibʕ- ‘finger’ > UA \*sipwa ‘finger’  
 (876) dʕk ‘(fire) go out’, -duʕk-aa ‘the going out’ > UA \*tuka / \*tuku / \*tuki ‘fire go out, dark, black, night’  
 (900) nʕm ‘be lovely, good, beautiful’ > UA \*numa / \*noma ‘good, well, pretty’  
 (1289) ʕgʕ, Hebrew məʕuggaʕ ‘raging, mad’ > Nahuatl šiikoaa ‘be jealous, angry’  
 (94) rʕʕ ‘act wickedly, be guilty’ > UA \*tasawa ‘be/do bad’

Many phonemes (sounds) remain much the same, such as t, k, p, m, n, etcetera:

- (52) Hebrew mukke ‘smitten’ > UA \*mukki ‘die, be sick, smitten’  
 (769) \*taqipa (sg), \*taqipuu (pl) ‘overpower’ > UA \*takipu ‘push’  
 (750) tmh ‘in awe, fear, speechless’, Syriac təmah > UA tuma’ / tu’mi / tehmat / tihmi ‘be silent, afraid’  
 (755) Hebrew kutónet ‘shirt-like tunic’ > UA \*kutun ‘shirt’  
 (754) Hebrew participle pone ‘turn to, look’ > UA \*puni ‘turn, look, see’  
 (851) Hebrew panaa-w ‘face-his’ > UA \*pana ‘cheek, face’  
 (852) pl construct paneeʕ- (< \*panii) ‘face, surface of’ > UA \*pani ‘on, on surface of’  
 (1339) šippaa ‘make smooth’ > UA \*sipa / \*sippa ‘scrape, shave’  
 (56) šekem / šikm-, Samaritan šekam ‘shoulder’ > UA \*sika ‘shoulder, arm’, Numic \*sikum ‘shoulder’  
 (57) \*siggoob ‘squirrel’ > UA \*sikkuC ‘squirrel’  
 (563) sapat ‘lip’ > UA \*sapal ‘lip’  
 (879) šwy / šawaa ‘broil, roast’ > UA \*sawa ‘boil, apply heat, melt’  
 (1138) Hebrew šor ‘navel’; Arabic surr ‘navel cord’ > Sr suur ‘navel’  
 (13) snw ‘shine, be beautiful’ > Hopi soniwa ‘be beautiful, bright, brilliant, handsome’  
 (890) kann ‘shelter, house, nest’ > UA \*kanni (NUA) ‘house’ > \*kali (SUA) ‘house’  
 (903) khh, kehah ‘be inexpressive, disheartened’ > UA -kihahi- ‘sad’  
 (1045) Hebrew \*moškat ‘bracelet, fetter, belt’ > Tb mohkat-t ‘belt’  
 (1105) kali / kulyaa ‘kidney’ > UA \*kali ‘kidney’  
 (1409) Aramaic kuuky-aa’ ‘spider-the’ > UA \*kuukyaṅw ‘spider’; Hopi kòokyaṅw ‘spider’

Semitic emphatic or pharyngealized ṣ > s in UA:

- (892) ṣanawbar ‘type of pine tree’ > UA Sh sanawap-pin ‘pine tree’  
 (901) ṣb’ / ṣby / ṣbee ‘wish, want, seek, delight in’ > UA \*supiC ‘like, want’  
 (1173) mwṣ ‘suck’ > UA \*mos ‘suck’  
 (1350) ṣd’ / ṣdi ‘grow rusty’ > UA \*sita / \*siti ‘red’

Semitic emphatic or pharyngealized ṭ > c (ts):

- (770) ṭwy / ṭawaa ‘spin (thread)’ > Nahuatl cawa ‘spin’  
 (771) ṭm ‘taste, eat’ (plural participle ṭoṣmiim) > UA \*cu’mi ‘suck, sip, kiss’  
 (772) ṭame’ ‘(be) unclean’, ṭum’a(t) ‘uncleanness, filthy mass’ > UA \*co’ma ‘mucus, have a cold’  
 (832) \*sarṭoon ‘scratcher, crab’ > UA \*sattuN ‘claw, fingernail, crab, scratch’

Sometimes the c lenites (weakens) one more step to s:

(778) ṭibbuur ‘navel’ > NP sibudu; Cr sipu; Hp sipna / sivon- ‘navel’

Semitic-p distinguishes x from ḥ, as in pre-exilic Hebrew, thus Semitic \*x > UA k:

(1088) \*xld ‘burrow’, xuld / \*xild-aa ‘mole-the’ > UA \*kita ‘groundhog’

(630) \*xole ‘be sick, hurting’ > UA \*koli ‘to hurt, be sick’

(631) xmr ‘to ferment’; \*xamar ‘wine’; Arabic ximiir ‘drunkard’ > UA \*kamaC ‘drunk’

(632) \*xnk ‘put around the neck’ > UA konaka ‘necklace, string of beads’

(634) \*xaṣr- > xaṣṣ ‘hip, haunch, loins’ > UA kaca ‘hip’

Clusters like -m’-, -’m-, -qm-, that is, m with either ’ or q > ṅ in NUA:

(1246) Old Canaanite sim’al ‘left’, \*ha-sim’al ‘the-left’ > Tb aašīṅan ‘left side’ (l > n in NUA)

(1012) šeqma(t) / šiqma(t) ‘sycamore tree’ > UA \*sīṅṅa(C) ‘cottonwood or aspen tree’

(1144) ’lm ‘be grieved’ > Hebrew ’almaanaa ‘widow’ > UA \*o’mana / \*oṅani ‘sad, suffering’

Clusters with -r- as 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant show -Cr- > -Cy-, especially -gr-, -qr- > -ky-, or -gra / -qra > Hopi -kya:

(1130) Aramaic pagr-aa ‘corpse-the’ > Hopi pīikya ‘skin, fur’

(1403) Syriac šigr-aa ‘drain, ditch, gutter-the’ > Hopi sikya ‘small valley, ravine, canyon with sloped sides’

(1405) šqr ‘fair, yellow to red’, Arabic šuqra ‘fair complexion, blondness, redness’ > Hopi sikya ‘yellow’

(743) \*tamar; Aramaic tuumr-aa ‘palm tree-the’ > UA \*tu’ya ‘palm tree, sp’

Proto-Semitic \*z > c(ts) in UA:

(1116) Hebrew zépet (< \*zipt-) / zaapet ‘pitch’ > UA \*copī ‘pitch, resin’

(87) Arabic ḥgz / ḥgaza ‘to age, grow old (of women)’ > Tr wegaca- ‘grow old (of women)’

**Egyptian** terms in UA exceed 400 and have the same sound correspondences as the above Semitic. Egyptian did not include written vowels, only the consonants. Sometimes the vowels are hinted at in transcriptions from other languages, or from Egyptian’s later forms in Demotic and Coptic, but generally only the consonants are certain. Sometimes the Coptic term is listed along with the Egyptian term, but do not regard Coptic as involved in the Egyptian-to-UA tie, because the Egyptian-to-UA sound correspondences differ from the Egyptian-to-Coptic correspondences. In fact, UA preserves the Egyptian phonology better than Coptic usually does, though UA recordings are two more millennia removed. Coptic is simply listed for hints at vowels or to show Uto-Aztecans’ better preservation:

Egyptian	Uto-Aztecans
(115) sbk / *subak ‘crocodile’	> UA *supak / *sipak ‘crocodile’ (b > p)
(116) -i ‘old perfective/stative verb suffix’	> UA -i ‘intransitive / past / passive/ stative verb suffix’
(117) -w / -iw ‘passive verb suffix’	> UA -wa / -iwa ‘passive verb suffix’
(124) tks ‘pierce’	> UA *tikso ‘pierce, poke’
(125) km ‘black’	> UA *koma ‘dark, gray, brown, black’
(126) nmi ‘travel, traverse’	> UA *nīmi ‘walk around’
(129) wnš, pl wnšiw ‘jackal’	> UA *wancio / wancia ‘fox’
(131) šm ‘go, walk, set out, leave’	> UA *sima ‘go, leave’
(219) iqr ‘skillful, excellent, capable, intelligent’	> UA *yikar ‘knowing, intelligent, able, good’
(221) wr ‘great (in size/importance), wrw ‘greatest’	> UA *wīru ‘big’
(222) wnx ‘be clothed, roll of cloth’	> UA *wanaC ‘cloth, clothing’
(136) win ‘thrust aside, push away, set aside’	> UA *wina ‘throw down/out, spill, empty’
(253) spd ‘sharp, be sharp pointed’	> UA *sipaC ‘point’
(255) sqd ‘slope (of pyramid)’	> UA *sikiC ‘slanted (terrain), side’ (q > k)
(210) twt ‘sandal(s)’	> UA *tuti ‘sandal(s)’
(339) t’-ḥimat ‘the-wife’; Coptic hime	> UA *tīhima ‘spouse’

Note again Egyptian b > UA p, as in Semitic-p above:

(132) sbq ‘calf of leg’ > UA \*sipika ‘lower leg’ (b > p)

(133) sbty ‘enclosure’ > UA \*sapti ‘fence of branches’ (b > p)

(134) qbb ‘cool; calm, quiet, cool breeze’ > UA \*koppa ‘quiet, calm’ (b > p)

(137) bbyt ‘region of throat’	> UA *papi ‘larynx, throat, voice’ (b > p)
(138) bši ‘spit, vomit’, bšw ‘vomit, vomiting’	> UA *piso-(ta) ‘vomit’ (b > p)
(139) bnty ‘breast’	> UA *pitti / *piCti ‘breast’ (b > p)
(141) bit ‘bee’	> UA *pitV > *picV ‘bee, wasp’ (b > p)
(142) bik ‘falcon’	> UA *pik ‘hawk species’ (b > p)
(154) sb ‘star’	> UA *sipo’ > *si’po ‘star’ (b > p)

Also Egyptian x > UA \*k, as in Semitic-p above:

(170) txi ‘be drunk, drink deep’, txw ‘drunkard’	> UA *tiku ‘drunk’
(294) xpš ‘foreleg, thigh’	> UA *kapsi ‘thigh’
(295) xpd ‘buttock’	> UA *kupta ‘buttocks’
(295) xpdw ‘buttocks’	> UA *kupitu ‘buttocks’
(171) sxn / zxn ‘kidney fat, pancreas’	> UA *sikun ‘kidney’
(174) sxt ‘field, country, pasture, willow’	> UA *sakat / *sakaC ‘grass, willow’
(178) x’yt / <u>h</u> ’yt ‘disease, slaughter, corpse-heap’	> UA *ko’ya ‘die, pl subj; kill, pl obj’
(247) xr ‘fall’	> UA *kuri ‘fall’, UA *kara ‘fall’
(320) xpx ‘rob’	> UA *kīpik ‘take, grasp’
(224) wxd ‘be painful, sick, suffer, endure’	> UA *okoti ‘be in pain, suffer, sorrow’
(452) xt ‘fire, heat’	> UA *kut ‘fire’

Egyptian initial pharyngeal ḥ > UA \*hu, and non-initially ḥ > w/o/u:

(180) ḥbi ‘be / make festival’	> UA *hupiya ‘sing, song’
(181) ḥnqt ‘beer, drinkers’	> UA *hunaka ‘drunk, alcohol’
(182) ḥtp / hotpe ‘be gracious, peaceable, set (sun), bury’	> UA *huppi ‘peaceable, go down, sink, dive’
(187) ḥw’ ‘foul, putrid, stink, vi’	> UA *hu’a / *hu’i ‘break wind, stink’
(188) nḥbt ‘nape of the neck, yoke’	> UA *nohopi > nopi ‘hand, arm’
(189) nḥb ‘to harness, to yoke’	> UA *noopi ‘carry on back’
(397) ḥti ‘smoke, vapor’	> UA *uti ‘dew, vapor, frost’
(415) ḥnn ‘penis’	> UA *huna ‘penis’

Egyptian glottal stop ’ > w, or glottal stop next to round vowels, ’ probably causing vowels to round (o, u):

(147) m’i ‘lion’; Coptic mui	> UA *mawiya ‘mountain lion’
(148) t’yt ‘shroud’	> UA *tawayi ‘cape-like garment’
(198) <u>d</u> ’rt ‘bitter gourd’	> UA *sawara ‘gourd’
(205) t’y ‘male, man’	> UA *tawi > *tīwi ‘man, male’
(322) q’i ‘tall, high’; q’yt ‘high land, hill’	> UA *kawi ‘mountain, rock’
(515) ’xi ‘sweep together’	> UA *wak / *wok ‘sweep, comb, brush’
(150) t’ ‘earth, land’; Coptic to	> UA *tīwa / *to’o ‘sand, dust’
(151) i’w ‘old man’; i’wi ‘be aged’	> UA *yo’o ‘old’
(153) s’ ‘son’	> UA *so’o ‘child, son’
(259) st’ ‘jar, jug’	> UA *soto’i ‘jar’
(258) st’ ‘drag, pull, pull out, draw’	> UA *(piC)-sutu’a ‘(behind)-pull, drag’
(154) sb ‘star’	> UA *sipo’ > *si’po ‘star’
(157) it’ ‘take, carry, steal’	> UA *itu’i > i’tu ‘steal, take’
(370) ḥ’ ‘behind, around’	> UA *huwī ‘around’
(431) b’k / b’kt ‘document’	> UA *po’ok ‘mark, write, tattoo’ (b > p)

Egyptian d corresponds to Semitic ṣ, and thus Egyptian d > UA \*s, like Semitic ṣ > UA \*s also:

(200) <u>d</u> bt / * <u>d</u> ubat ‘brick, adobe brick’	> UA *supa ‘adobe’
(199) <u>d</u> b’ ‘to clothe, garment, clothing’	> UA *sipu’ > *si’pu ‘slip, skirt, shirt, clothing’
(198) <u>d</u> ’rt ‘bitter gourd’	> UA *sawara ‘gourd’
(197) <u>d</u> ṣb ‘coal-black’, <u>d</u> ṣbt ‘charcoal’	> UA *so’opa ‘black, dark’
(194) <u>d</u> ’i ‘pierce, transfix’	> UA *so’a/*so’i ‘pierce, sew, shoot arrow’
(390) <u>d</u> wt ‘mosquito, gnat’	> UA *suti ‘mosquito, gnat’

Egyptian initial r-> UA t-, though Tarahumara retains r-:

- |                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| (164) rn ‘young one, of animals’ | > UA *tana ‘offspring’                          |
| (165) rwi ‘dance, v’             | > UA *tawiya / *tuwiya > *tuya ‘dance’          |
| (169) rmt ‘man, person’          | > UA *tīmati ‘young man’: Tr femarí, Eu temáci- |
| (167) rwd ‘cord, bow-string’     | > UA *tīsa ‘rope’                               |
| (337) r’-ib ‘stomach’            | > NUA *to’i ‘stomach’ / SUA *toCpa ‘stomach’    |

Egyptian pharyngeal ʕ > UA \*w/o/u:

- |  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| (163) rʕ / rʕw ‘sun’                     | > UA *tawa / *tawi ‘sun, day’ |
| (162) šʕy ‘sand’; Coptic šoo             | > UA *siwa(l) ‘sand’          |
| (262) ʕnt ‘nail, claw’                   | > UA *wati ‘claw, fingernail’ |
| (400) sʕr ‘thorn bush(es)’               | > UA *sawaro ‘saguaro cactus’ |
| (426) ʕnr(t) ‘flint’                     | > UA *wi’naC ‘flint’          |
| (464) ʕq ‘enter’                         | > UA *waka/u ‘enter’          |
| (475) sw ‘it, pronoun’ (is) p’ʕt ‘quail’ | > UA *supa’awi ‘quail’        |

Like the devoicing of Egyptian b > UA \*p, so also is the devoicing of Egyptian d > UA \*t, and g > \*k:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (268) dwn ‘stretch, straighten; Coptic town                  | > UA *tuna ‘straight’                  |
| (269) dqr ‘fruit’ (> Coptic tiče / jiji)                     | > UA *taka(C) ‘fruit’                  |
| (270) dbḥ ‘ask for’ (Coptic toobh)                           | > UA *tīpiwa / *tīpiN ‘ask’            |
| (271) dm ‘be sharp, sharpen’; Coptic toom                    | > UA *tama / *tomo ‘be sharp, sharpen’ |
| (272) dmi (dmr) ‘touch’                                      | > UA *tam ‘touch’                      |
| (273) dw’ ‘rise early’; dw’w / dw’yt ‘morning’; Coptic to’we | > UA *to’i ‘rise, come up/out’         |
| (395) ngg ‘gander/male goose’                                | > *nakī ‘goose’ (devoicing of g > k)   |

Egyptian cluster \*-m’- > UA \*-mw- > -ŋ- in three items widespread throughout Uto-Aztecan:

- |  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| (280) ḥm’ / ḥm’t ‘salt’ (> Coptic hmu) | > UA *omwa > *oŋwa / *oŋa ‘salt’      |
| (281) sm’ ‘lung’; pl: sm’w ‘lungs’     | > UA *somwo > *soŋo ‘lungs’           |
| (284) qm’ ‘create, beget (of father)’  | > UA *kumwa > *kuŋa ‘husband’ (q > k) |

Other clusters and parallels:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (332) qrḥt ‘serpent, partner’ (*qarḥat >)            | > UA *koŋwa ‘snake, twin’ (q > k)                     |
| (384) inqt ‘net’                                     | > UA *ikkaC / *iCkaC ‘carrying net’ (q > k)           |
| (391) ishḥ ‘jackal, fox’                             | > UA *isap / *isa’apa ‘coyote’                        |
| (398) k’p ‘cover, close (eyebrows/eyelids)           | > UA *kuppa / *kuCpa ‘close (eyes)’                   |
| (434) g’p ‘cut’                                      | > UA *kappi ‘break, cut’ (devoicing g > k)            |
| (381) wrt ḥq’w ‘buzzard’                             | > UA *wirhukuN ‘buzzard, turkey vulture’              |
| (404) ḥ’dt ‘basket’                                  | > UA *huCta ‘basket’                                  |
| (426) ʕnr(t) ‘flint’                                 | > UA *wi’naC ‘flint’                                  |
| (264) šmrt ‘large bow’, pl šmrwt                     | > -samaaloo-t of Nahuatl koo-samaaloo-tl ‘rainbow’    |
| (267) twr ‘reed’                                     | > Nahuatl tool-in ‘cattails, reeds’;                  |
| (266) šnw / šni ‘hair, grass’; šni ‘encircle, cover’ | > UA *soni / *sono ‘grass, blanket’                   |
| (331) qny ‘be yellow’; qnit ‘yellow(ness)’           | > Cp kenekene’e- ‘yellow’ (q > k)                     |
| (333) qd ‘go round, turn, spin’ (> Coptic koote)     | > UA *koti / *kuri ‘turn, go around’ (q > k)          |
| (446) qm’ ‘fight’; qm’tyw ‘enemies’                  | > UA *kīma’a / *kīmma(n)ci ‘different, enemy’ (q > k) |
| (409) nk ‘copulate’                                  | > UA *naka ‘copulate, cover’                          |
| (468) ’wt ‘length’                                   | > UA *otī / *utu / *uta ‘long, tall’                  |
| (470) t’-imnti ‘the west’                            | > UA *tīminīmīn ‘north, west’ (reduplicated)          |
| (519) wpi ‘open, separate, divide’                   | > UA *wopa ‘divide’                                   |

The above Egyptian-UA matches are a sample of some 450 listed in this book.

The above Semitic and Egyptian parallels in UA both have the same sound correspondences, apparently spoken or used by the same group of people. However, in contrast to those two, a separate sizable set of data suggest another contributing Semitic infusion, with a different set of sound correspondences in which Semitic b > UA \*kw, though the Tepiman branch of UA, and Eudeve, Opata and some Nahuatl

dialects actually have b from Semitic b, all corresponding to presumed UA \*kw. This Semitic-kw language is more Phoenician-like, while the Semitic-p language is more Aramaic-like, which differences are discussed periodically throughout the book. The data of the Semitic-kw language are what I noticed first, and because the Hebrew b > UA \*p group were exceptions to the correspondences noticed first (Hebrew b > UA \*kw), I ignored them for years, but kept them in the back of my mind (not a safe place), until I noticed Egyptian similarities (in UA) whose sound correspondences with UA aligned with those exceptions: that is, Egyptian b > UA \*p also, as well as another 40 examples of Semitic b > UA \*p. Not until then did it occur to me that we seem to have two separate Semitic entities that merged in UA—a Phoenician-like Semitic-kw (Sem-kw) wherein Semitic b > UA \*kw, and an Aramaic-like Semitic-p (Sem-p) in which Semitic b > UA \*p. Furthermore, the Sem-p speakers seemed to know some Egyptian as well; that is, the Sem-p and the Egyptian in UA have the same sound correspondences. The data show the two languages (Sem-kw and Sem-p) to have separate sets of correspondences for other phonemes as well, the Sem-p being consistently parallel to the Egyptian correspondences.

Below are examples of data and sound correspondences from the Phoenician-like Semitic-kw wherein Semitic b > UA \*kw:

- |  |   |           |
|--|---|-----------|
| (4) Hebrew baašel ‘boiled, cook, ripen’  | > UA *kwasiC ‘cook, ripen’                |           |
| (5) Hebrew báásaar ‘flesh, penis’  | > UA *kwasi ‘tail, penis, flesh’          | (r > y/i) |
| (6) Hebrew baalaš ‘swallow’  | > UA *kwiluC ‘swallow’                    |           |
| (7) Semitic *bahamat ‘back’  | > UA *kwahami ‘back’                      |           |
| (24) bky / bakaaʿ ‘cry’  | > UA *kwikī ‘cry’ (from Semitic-kw)       |           |
| (19) barr- ‘land (as opposed to sea)’  | > UA *kwiya / *kwira ‘earth’              | (r > y/i) |
| (27) brm ‘worn out, weary, bored with’   | > UA *kwiya ‘be lazy, do lackadaisically’ | (r > y/i) |
| (1457) Arabic šabba ‘pour, drip, overflow’   | > UA *cikwa ‘rain’                        |           |
| (11) Hebrew -dabber ‘speak’  | > UA *tikwi ‘say, talk, speak’            | (r > y/i) |
| (26) Hebrew bən ‘son’; pl: bəneeʿ ‘children (of)’ > Nahuatl *konee ‘child, offspring’: |   |           |

As in the Egyptian and the Semitic-p contributions, so also in the Semitic-kw, ḥ > hu or w/o/u:

- |  |   |           |
|--|---|-----------|
| (78) Hebrew ḥeš ‘arrow’                    | > UA *huc ‘arrow’                       |           |
| (79) Hebrew ḥmr ‘cover with, smear on’     | > UA *humay ‘smear, spread, rub, paint’ | (r > y/i) |
| (80) Hebrew ḥbb ‘rub off, wash’            | > UA *uppa ‘bathe, wash, rub’           |           |
| (81) Hebrew ḥabéret ‘wife’                 | > UA *hupi ‘woman, wife’                | (r > y/i) |
| (82) Hebrew ḥzy / ḥzaa ‘see, behold, look’ | > UA *husi / *hʷasi ‘look, peek at’     |           |
| (658) ḥbl ‘bind’, *-ḥabbil ‘bind’          | > NUA *wikkwiN- ‘wrap around, coil’     |           |

In the next section are three more examples (83, 84, 85).

Semitic-kw š > UA c (ts):

- |   |                          |  |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| (83) Hebrew šrh ‘cry, roar’                                     | > UA *cayaw ‘yell’       |  |
| (84) Hebrew šmh, imperfective: yi-šmaḥ ‘sprout’                 | > UA *icmo ‘sprout’      |  |
| (85) Hebrew šlh ‘rush, v’                                       | > UA *coloa ‘flee, run’  |  |
| (899) šinw-, pl ašnaa ‘twin, one twin’                          | > UA *conoʿo ‘twin(s)’   |  |
| (29) šəbii > šəvii ‘gazelle’                                    | > Hopi cöövi- ‘antelope’ |  |
| (86) šsq ‘shout, call out, cry (out)’, šəšaaqaa ‘yell, call, n’ | > UA *coaka ‘cry’        |  |
| (28) šuršur ‘cricket’   | > UA *corcor ‘cricket’   |  |
| (78) ḥeš ‘arrow’  | > UA *huc ‘arrow’        |  |

As in all three languages, the voiced pharyngeal ʕ > w/o/u:

- |   |  |           |
|---|--|-----------|
| (88) ʕlq ‘stick, adhere’, ʕalaqat ‘leech’       | > UA *walaka ‘snail’ (of similar slimy adhering texture) |           |
| (89) šeešaar ‘hair’; Arabic šašr / šašar ‘hair’ | > UA *suwi ‘body hair’                                   | (r > y/i) |
| (92) yášar ‘wood, forest, thicket’              | > UA *yuwi / yuyi ‘evergreen species’                    | (r > y/i) |

Unlike its associated rounding in Semitic-p, the Semitic-kw glottal stop ʾ is not rounded and often lost:

- |   |                           |  |
|---|---------------------------|--|
| (991) Hebrew ni-qra ‘he/it is called/named’ | > UA *nihya ‘call, name’  |  |
| (587) ʾargaamaan ‘purple, red-purple’       | > UA *aNkaC ‘red’         |  |
| (1214) Hebrew mee-ʾayn ‘from where?’        | > Tb maaʾayn ‘where from’ |  |

- (1055) 'aamaqqəṭ-aa 'lizard-the, n.f.' > UA \*makkaCta(Nka) 'horned toad'  
 (591) 'adaamaa / 'adaamaa 'earth' > UA \*tīma 'earth'  
 (592) Hebrew 'abneṭ, pl: 'abneṭ-iim 'sash, girdle' > UA \*natti 'belt'  
 (1054) raqbubit 'moth, decayed, moth-eaten' > UA \*...kupipika / \*(C)Vkupipika 'butterfly'

Non-initial -r- > Semitic-kw -y-, and tends to raise and front the preceding vowel (V > i):

- (62) srq / saraq 'to comb' > UA \*siyuk / \*ciyuk 'to comb' (r > y/i)  
 (65) mrr 'pass, go, walk' > UA \*miya 'go' (r > y/i)  
 (64) Semitic krr / krkr 'go in circles, dance' > SP kiya 'have a round dance' (r > y/i)  
 (19) barr- 'land (as opposed to sea)' > UA \*kwiya / \*kwira 'earth' (r > y/i)  
 (27) brm / baram 'worn out, weary, bored with' > UA \*kwiyam 'be lazy, do lackadaisically' (r > y/i)  
 (79) Hebrew ḥmr 'cover with, smear on' > UA \*humay 'smear, spread, rub, paint' (r > y/i)  
 (81) Hebrew ḥabéret 'wife' > UA \*hupi 'woman, wife' (r > y/i)

Final or non-initial -l in Semitic-kw tends to raise and front vowels (V > e, i):

- (1225) Hebrew 'abaa 'truly, indeed' > Tr abe 'yes, an emphatic'  
 (54) Hebrew taapel 'whitewash'; Aramaic ṭəpel 'plaster' > UA \*tīpi 'white clay'  
 (1321) Hebrew ḥargol, Arabic \*ḥargal / \*ḥurgul 'locust' > Tr urugi-pari 'type of grasshopper'  
 (798) Hebrew 'akal '(he/it) ate' (perfective) > UA \*'aki 'open mouth, eat, take/put into one's mouth'  
 (797) Hebrew \*yo'kal '(he/it) eats' (imperfective) > UA \*yī'iki 'swallow, taste, finish'  
 Number 797 (-l raising -a- > -i-) is in contrast to Semitic-p \*tukkaC wherein final -l has no raising effect.  
 (796) Hebrew \*to'kal '(she/it) eats' > UA \*tukkaC > Num \*tikkaC 'eat'

Such a tripartite combination might be labeled suspect, except that the quantity for each group is more than sufficient for each section to stand on its own merit, as each has 400-700 sets. Should we ignore the strength of a case of 400 similarities? Or should we be fair and consider the data when hundreds of items support each dimension of the three, totaling 1650 from the same general area? If one simply cannot bear the thought of the three, then pick only one of the groups, any one of which yields 400 to 700 items. Ought a correlation of 400 sets be ignored? Even 400 sets is three or four times what most Native American language families were founded on.

Admittedly, this may sound incredible initially, as truth often does at first, but working through the data does diminish doubt. So read with an open mind and consider the quantity and quality of the evidence. A few words of caution are in order:

(1) First of all, linguists would look dimly on a tripartite collection of languages to propose an Old World tie with a Native American language family. Linguistically, each of those three has to stand on its own merit, independent of the other two. Yet the numbers of similarities for each are enough data for each one of the three to do exactly that—serve as a valid case each in and of itself (400 to 700 similarities for each).

(2) Anthropologists and linguists are weary and wary of hearing about proposed ties between Semitic or Egyptian and New World languages—about 300 years' worth of weary. Most such claims have been bogus to borderline or amateurish at best, somewhat justifying linguists' wariness in light of claims void of sound methodology, that is, lacking what linguists have found to be established principles and patterns for verifying language relatedness: rules of sound change that create consistent sound correspondences, hundreds of vocabulary matches consistent with those sound correspondences, and some grammatical and morphological alignments, which sum constitutes **the comparative method**. Thus, the language similarities in this work are presented within such a framework of sound correspondences, etc. In fact, the Semitic or Egyptian forms proposed to underlie the UA forms often answer questions and explain puzzles in UA that Uto-Aztecanists have not yet been able to explain; and explanatory power is a cherished quest in linguistic investigation. While the finds are significant, some details remain to be worked out.

(3) Given the amount of Egyptian vocabulary in UA, we might expect to find and may yet identify more Egyptian grammatical patterns in UA. However, if the Egyptian phrasing in UA is reduced as much as many Egyptian phrases are reduced in Coptic (a late form of Egyptian dating to 2,000 years ago), then such identifications would be a challenge (if even possible), requiring time, not to mention requiring a greater depth of familiarity with UA languages and Egyptian than yet exists in any single mind. Many living languages reduce as drastically. In American English, one often hears 'hwəjədu?' for 'what did you do?'

Therein -j- is the phonological reduction of the final -t of ‘what’, the whole of ‘did’, and the y- of ‘you’—some of three words (-t did y-) reduced to one consonant (-j-).

Often as drastic was the change from Egyptian to Coptic: Egyptian *iwr-ti* became Coptic εετ (eet) ‘pregnant’ (Loprieno 1995, 78); the i/y is not obvious, nor anything w- or r-like; so practically nothing of the stem ‘pregnant’ (*iwr*) is left, only a long vowel and the t of the stative suffix. Egyptian *r-di.t iri.f sdm* became Coptic *e-t-ref sotem* ‘to cause that he may do hearing’—a reduction of eight consonants (*r-di.t iri.f*) to (*etref*) three consonants and two vowels (Cerny and Groll 1993, 155), though three of the original eight consonants are vowel-like or semi-vowels. Egyptian *tw.i m nšy r sdm* ‘I am in going to hear’ (= I shall hear) became Coptic *tinastm*, or *tw.i m nšy r > tina* (Cerny 1976, 104), eight consonants to four segments. Adding to the challenge is that the time depth between Late Egyptian and Coptic is half the probable time depth in this matter: if UA is partially from Egyptian, the Egyptian in the UA languages is now being recorded at a time depth a millennium or two greater than the time depth between Late Egyptian and Coptic. Yet UA preserves many vowels and details better than Coptic does.

**On the other hand, these data explain many things previously unexplained in UA:**

(1) The phonology of medial (middle) consonant clusters is a huge problem in UA itself, and Semitic and Egyptian shed light on many of those clusters and help explain the mutual effect of adjacent consonants on each other.

(2) PUA initial \*t (at the beginning of words) corresponds to the initial t of most UA languages, except for Tarahumara initial r. So if PUA \*t became Tarahumara r, then where does Tarahumara initial t come from? The data in this work suggest that Semitic/Egyptian initial r became t, so in most UA languages initial r and initial t merged to look like PUA \*t, but Tarahumara kept them separate. Thus, 6.1 clarifies the Tarahumara r vs. t puzzle, which see.

(3) Other matters in section 6 are also explained by these language ties.

Significant is the language parallel of Yiddish, the language of the Jewish people of Central Europe. Uto-Aztecan and Yiddish are both Semitic infusions into non-Semitic areas, where each (as a minority people) borrowed heavily from the languages of the larger surrounding peoples. Originally coming out of Palestine, many Jews sojourned in Greece, Rome, and elsewhere along the northern Mediterranean, then some among them expanded into central Europe, where their original Hebrew-and-Aramaic idiom borrowed mostly from German, but also from Slavic and other languages of their successive environments through which they traveled and periodically settled (Kriwaczek 2006, 40-48; Harshaw 1990, 5-7). Thus, Yiddish is a transplant and very much a language mix (like English and many languages are). Estimates generally have 15-20% of Yiddish being from the original Hebrew-Aramaic vocabulary, and 80-85% borrowed from German, etc. Similarly, only 15% of Old English continued into modern English; the other 85% was lost, being replaced by words from French, Latin, and other languages from which English speakers borrowed (Baugh and Cable 1978, 55). While the details of Uto-Aztecan’s prehistory may yet require lifetimes to unlock, Uto-Aztecan has a much higher percentage of its basic vocabulary from Near-Eastern languages than Yiddish has, about three times the percentage. For example, Yiddish pronouns are all from German, whereas most UA pronouns are from Semitic. Most Yiddish body-part terms are from German—kop (head), oig (eye), oi’er (ear), hant (hand), hartz (heart), k’nee (knee), fus (foot), etcetera—while a higher percentage of UA body-part terms, animal terms, and basic nouns of nature are from Semitic or Egyptian.

The two forms of Semitic are both of Northwest Semitic, though often quite distinguishable, but not always. Two separate sets of sound correspondences distinguish most of the vocabulary, but not all. The exact point of origin of each remains to be clarified, though Semitic-kw exhibits Phoenician-Hebrew like features and Semitic-p has many Aramaic features and vocabulary (mixed with Hebrew), some hinting at a north Palestine dialect. These kinds of unique sets of features are typical of related languages. For example, the language of the Book of Job is unique: though labeled Hebrew, it contains features more Arabic-like and Aramaic-like than the Hebrew of the other authors. The language of the Nabateans, though primarily an Aramaic dialect, was also more Arabic-like than other Aramaic dialects. So any diffused offshoot can be expected to be a unique combination of features.

Regarding the Aramaic leaning of the Semitic-p, some scholars (Young 1993, 54-62, 85-86) note that Aramaic did influence the dialects of ancient Israel, especially northern Israel. What is not known is the degree or extent, though it may have been more significant or pervasive than presently known. These data may be relevant to that void in present knowledge. Marsha White (1997), in a review of Young 1993, summarizes Young’s substance more clearly and concisely than either I or Young could: “Young ... suggests



that Biblical Hebrew goes back to the adaptation of the pre-Israelite Canaanite prestige language.... Thus, from the beginning of Israelite history there were two linguistic strata: literary/formal and dialectal/colloquial. This situation of diglossia persisted throughout pre-exilic Israelite history.... The best explanation for ... so many Aramaisms in the early literary language is that they were in the lower (i.e., spoken) form of the language, and that Archaic Biblical Hebrew was open to elements from the underlying dialects. The strong presence of Aramaisms in the oldest Biblical Hebrew undermines the theory that Aramaisms equals late” (White 1997).

This all aligns well with the likelihood of Aramaic substrata serving as underlying dialects to the literary language of Hebrew, perhaps throughout the Northern Kingdom’s centuries. What language did the mothers of the Israelites (Leah and Rachel) speak? Aramaic! Their father was Laban, the Aramean (Genesis 25:20). In addition, Aramaic was somewhat a lingua franca throughout most of the area for many centuries. So did the Israelites really set aside Aramaic upon entering Canaan? Or were degrees of bilingualism prevalent while adding the Phoenician/Canaanite literary language? The latter seems more likely. Yet many UA features match reconstructable Hebrew/Phoenician better than they match other Semitic languages:

	Uto-Aztecan		(pre)Hebrew	Arabic	Aramaic	Akkadian
(1)	*-ima (pl suffix)	Semitic masc pl:	*-iima	-uuna/-iina	-iin	-uu
(904)	*-te (pl suffix)	Semitic fem pl:	*-ooteey	-aat	-aat	-aat
(2)	*na-	reciprocal/passive:	*na-	in-	--	
(3)	*yasipa	‘sit / dwell’	*yašiba	waṯaba	yəṯeb	

The UA basic vocabulary terms in this work are numerous: body parts, plant and animal terms, nouns of nature (sun, moon, star, sky, rock, water, etc. A considerable amount of Semitic morphology or fossilized parts of Semitic verb conjugations are found in UA. Below are three groups.

(1420) Semitic nwr ‘to make/become light’ with infinitive and imperfective: -nuur(u), and perfective naar: UA has both in Eu nurú ‘to dawn, become light’ and Tbr nare ‘to dawn, become light’.

Uto-Aztecan has four separate forms from the verb bky /baakaa ‘to cry, weep’:

(559) Semitic-p bky/ baakaa ‘he cried, wept’; Syriac bakaa / baka’ > UA \*paka’ ‘cry’

(24) Semitic-kw bky/ baakaa ‘he cried, wept’; Hebrew baakaa > UA \*kwikī / \*o’kī ‘cry’

Because bilabials as first segment in a cluster disappear (-bk- > -k-), the imperfective 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine singular \*ya-bkV ‘he/it weeps’ with imperfective prefix originally \*ya- (later yi-) also matches UA \*yakka

(560) Semitic \*ya-bka<sup>y</sup> ‘he/it weeps, cries, m.sg.’ > UA \*yaCkaC > \*yakka / \*yaka ‘cry’

(561) Semitic \*ta-bka<sup>y</sup> ‘she/it weeps, cries, f.sg.’ > UA \*takka > NP taka ‘cry’.

So Northern Paiute has both the masculine 3<sup>rd</sup> sg of \*ya-bka > yakka and the feminine 3<sup>rd</sup> singular \*ta-bka > UA \*takka ‘cry’ (and NP geminates or doubles the middle consonant in both as well), and also has the perfective stem in UA \*paka’ of Semitic-p and also \*kwikī/\*o’kī of Semitic-kw.

Uto-Aztecan also has three separate forms from the Semitic root ktš ‘grind’: the imperfective verb stem in most languages, a perfective qittel in Yaqui, and a noun ‘grindstone’ in most UA languages:

	Hebrew root ktš ‘grind’	UA
(1094)	impfv -ktoš (< *-ktusu) ‘pound, grind’	*tusu ‘grind’ with loss of 1 <sup>st</sup> C in a cluster
(615)	*kitteš (< *kittaš) ‘grind’	Yq kitte / kittasu ‘grind’
(614)	makteš ‘mortar, grinding stone’	*ma’ta ‘mortar, grinding stone’ and Ca *mattaš

Of interest is the denominalized verb Ca mataš ‘crush, squash, vt’ showing final -š and a medial cluster or geminated \*-tt-.

In addition, many unusual semantic combinations in Semitic and Egyptian are preserved in the corresponding UA sets. A few were introduced on page 1 and many more are at 7.5.

**Stress** in UA prehistory is a complex issue, which the data in this work may have potential to help clarify. Related to stress is vowel length and is sometime affected by it. In *Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary* (2011, 1), I wrote “In the reconstructions I do not deal with vowel length, only vowel quality and consonants. Figuring out PUA vowel length may fill another lifetime, but not mine. Reduced consonant clusters with compensatory vowel lengthening underlie some long vowels in UA, raising doubts about vowel

length until the medial clusters are clarified. That and changing stress patterns—causing vowel lengthening with stress, or shortening or syncope without stress, in the various branches and languages through the layers of time—make the puzzle of PUA vowel-length quite unappealing to me, if not presently impractical.” Likewise in this work, only vowel quality, but not vowel length, is represented in the UA reconstructions, though stress and related issues will be addressed periodically.

For example, Proto-Semitic \*bas<sub>2</sub>ar ‘flesh’ yields Hebrew báásaar ‘flesh, penis’; Aramaic bəśár ‘flesh’; Arabic bašar. Note that in UA the originally stressed vowels retain their quality, while the unstressed vowels do their typical unstressed schwa-like behavior, which in UA is V > ĩ or i. Hebrew’s stress on the first syllable yields Semitic-kw (Hebrew/Phoenician) báásaar ‘flesh, penis’ > UA \*kwasi ‘tail, penis’ (5); and Aramaic’s stress on the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable has Semitic-p (Aramaic-like) bəśár > UA pisa ‘penis’ (550). In both cases the originally stressed -á- remains -a-, but unstressed -a- > -i- in both cases, regardless the present or intervening stress patterns of the various languages’ reflexes. See also Hopi in 174, and stress-related details in 611, 933, 1015, 1056, etc.

Works establishing language relationships often include only matches of reconstructible forms with the same meanings and later are matches of plausible, but less than identical meanings added. However, (1) I cannot assume the luxury of such a lifespan; and (2) am tired of writing huge, detailed reference works after 40 years of doing so; and (3) I care not to exclude probabilities to be added later in yet another huge detailed reference work. So, if the reader prefers, (s)he can toss the 100 or so of less than identical meanings, and consider only the other 1500 matches. However, I include from the start what I consider possible enough to consider, and will leave it to future generations to do whatever debating and sorting they think best. Nevertheless, I do identify those sets with [iddddua] meaning ‘if desired, delay differing definitions until acceptance’.

Nevertheless, the less-than-identical semantic inclusions have changed meaning in understandable ways: (734) Hebrew mə-šūdat ‘net, prey’ i.e., game > UA \*masat / \*masot ‘deer’; (720) Hebrew nebel ‘skin-bottle, skin’ in the common phrase of Hebrew nebel yayin ‘skin of wine’; Syriac nbl / n’bl > Classical Nahuatl no’pal-li ‘prickly pear’ often used to make alcoholic beverage; (675) Hebrew ḥnp ‘limp’; Arabic ḥnp ‘have distorted foot, be curved, pigeon-toed, walk bow-legged with toes inward’ (like turtles, badgers, and bears) > UA \*hunap- ‘badger, bear’; Arabic uses this stem for ‘tortoise’ and ‘chameleon’ while the UA match is ‘badger’ and ‘bear’ all having similar turned-in feet; (724) Semitic parfoš ‘flea (jumper)’ (< Semitic verb prfš ‘jump’) > UA \*par’osi / \*paro’osi ‘jackrabbit’; the jackrabbit, like the flea, is also an extraordinary jumper, and in UA \*par’osi ‘jackrabbit’ we see all 4 consonants and 2 identical vowels in two of the most extraordinary jumpers of the animal kingdom.

I express thanks and admiration for many fellow Uto-Aztecanists. Beyond founders of comparative UA, like Edward Sapir, Kroeber, Whorf, Hale, the Voegelins, and Wick Miller, several contemporaries continue. Alexis Manaster-Ramer (AMR) through the 1980s and 1990s published several illuminating insights that I am not sure anyone else would have figured out. Manaster-Ramer (and Bright 1993) noticed consonant clusters, like the -p- in \*kapsi ‘thigh’ (294 Egyptian xpš ‘thigh’) that everyone else had missed for a half century of reconstructing \*kasi. He noticed many final consonants, like -R- in \*yakaR ‘nose, ridge’ (1279 Aramaic \*yagar ‘hill’). His figuring out \*tw > kw (1991d, 1992d, 1993a) is also impressive, and \*-c- > NUA -y- (1992a), etc. As Serrano (Sr) may best preserve PUA phonology, we are indebted to Kenneth C. Hill (KCH) for his founding works in Sr (grammar and dictionary); his noticing Sr’s “pharyngealized and retroflex” vowels is impressive. White Mesa Ute (WMU) also has strong pharyngealization. His noting the pharyngealized vowels or rounding with retroflex in Sr (not as apparent in other UA languages) is regularly significant to Semitic pharyngealization. Kenneth Hill also revised and added to Miller’s huge 1988 work. Other major contributors to comparative UA include Jane Hill, Pamela Munro, Jeffrey Heath, David Shaul, Jason Haugen, William Merrill, Karen Dakin, Zarina Estrada Fernández, Lyle Campbell, Ronald Langacker, Andrés Lionnet, Terrence Kaufman, Jose Luis Moctezuma Zamarron, Catherine Fowler, and others. Ronald Langacker (1976b, 1977a) and Jason Haugen (2008) have also authored excellent books on UA grammar. The above and other linguists, too many to mention, have contributed dictionaries, grammars, and articles on individual UA languages. Many linguists in Mexico continue to add valuable documentation to UA languages in Mexico. Knowing the arduous load of life-long linguistic labors, I laud all the above.

For non-linguists, a short introduction to basic linguistics and language phenomena is provided in order to help non-linguists understand the book and the data herein. Linguists can skip it.

## 1.1 Some Basics of Linguistics (Language Science)

### 1.11 Language Families and Cognates

A language family is a group of related languages, descended from the same parent language. The parent language may be a well-known language like Latin whose descendants are Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, and others, or it may be an ancient proto-language, unknown except as reconstructed by linguists. Knowing how languages and sounds typically change, linguists can examine a group of related languages descended from a common parent language and reconstruct many words and features of that ancient parent language, though unknown and unwritten. Such a hypothesized parent language is called a proto-language. Thus, Proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA) is the hypothesized ancient parent language of the 30-plus Uto-Aztecan languages. Likewise, the parent language of most European languages and of several Asian languages that have been demonstrated to be related is called Proto-Indo-European. The first step is to demonstrate relatedness, thoroughly treated in Campbell and Poser, 2008.

When two languages have similar words with similar meanings, those similarities can be due to chance / coincidence or to contact—that is, neighboring languages usually borrow words from each other, which borrowings are called loanwords—or to common descent from a common source or parent language.

From 1% to 3% of any two languages' vocabularies may yield chance similarities. The number of loanwords between neighboring languages depends on how long they are neighbors, the people's attitudes toward their neighbors, political dominance, and such things. For example, even though English belongs to the Germanic branch (sub-language family) of Indo-European (the larger language family), the words on a page of written English are typically about half loans—many from Latin, when Latin was the Medieval language of academia and English was not allowed in the schools, and even more from French, when the Norman French ruled England for three centuries, and some from Greek and other languages.

**Cognates** are the related words in related languages, as those words descended from the same proto-form or original ancient word. Related languages yield several of these descended sets of related words, and each set of related words is called a **cognate set**, a set of related words descended from the same proto-word.

All living (spoken) languages are always changing. Though slow, the change is inevitable. After a population separates, the languages of the separated groups gradually change. Some meanings change, some features of grammar change, and some words lose sounds and/or change other sounds, and some words are replaced. In spite of the inevitable change, linguists have found that in related words the sounds change in consistent ways. For example, Proto-Indo-European (IE) \*p remained p in Latin and Greek, but consistently changed to f in Germanic. When a number of words or cognate sets exemplify each sound change with a consistent pattern of sound change, with few exceptions, that pattern sets up what is called a **sound correspondence**: that is, Germanic f corresponds to Greek p, or IE \*p > Greek p (> means 'became' or 'changed to'), also IE \*p > Latin p, and IE \*p > Germanic f. Likewise, IE \*k > Greek k, > Latin k, > Germanic h. That is, because sounds do not change randomly, but in consistent patterns, the same sound will change the same way in the same language in the same phonological environment (environment of surrounding sounds). When two languages exhibit a decent percentage (more than 10%) or a sizable number of their respective vocabularies to be similar in meaning and to establish a consistent system of **sound correspondences**, usually amounting to hundreds of relatable words, then the chance of such a sizable correlation of similarities happening by chance is zero, and the two languages or that group of those languages' similarities are deemed due to descent from a common origin.

Another way of saying "correspond to" is that Germanic f **reflects** (corresponds to) IE \*p, or that f is the Germanic **reflex** of IE \*p. A **reflex** can be a corresponding sound or a corresponding word: so father is the English **reflex** (cognate) of IE \*pater, and f is the English **reflex** (sound correspondence) of IE \*p.

#### Some Indo-European Cognate Sets and Sound Correspondences

English	hound	water	thou	daughter	tooth	heart	foot	father	knee	two	three
German	hund	wasser	du	tochter	zahn	herz	fuss	vater	knee	zwei	drei
Greek	kuon	hudor	su	thugater	dont-	kardia	pod	pater	gonu	duo	treis
Latin	kanis		tu		dent-	kord-	ped-	pater	genu	duo	tres
Sanskrit	śvan	udakam	tuvam	duhitar	dant-		pad	pitar	janu	duva	trayas
Hittite	--	watar	tuk	--		kart	pata		kenu	twi	tri

(Campbell 1998, 137-41; Beekes 1995, 208)

An asterisk (\*) marks a hypothetical original or earlier form as reconstructed by linguists, an unattested form that the attested descendant forms derived from. One can see above in the cognate sets for ‘foot’ and ‘father’ that an original Indo-European \*p consistently changed to f in English; and an original \*t changed to th, as in ‘thou,’ ‘tooth,’ and ‘three’; and Indo-European \*k > h in the Germanic languages as is apparent in words for ‘hound’ and ‘heart’. However, Indo-European \*p, \*t, \*k remained p, t, and k in Latin; so the results of those sound changes provides a set of sound correspondences between Latin and English:

Proto-Indo-European	*p	*t	*k
Latin	p	t	k
English	f	th	h

Similarly, for every pair or group of related languages, a system or set of sound correspondences will emerge. One might also notice a larger pattern—that the stops (p, t, k) generally became their corresponding fricatives (f, th, h)—such that all three patterns or systems constitute a larger pattern or system: stops > fricatives. Such multi-tiered patterns and systems of systems are typical of language change. And because linguists have found sound correspondences or consistent sound change to be a principle between related languages, they require that in order to prove a genetic or common-descent relationship between languages, one must establish the sound correspondences, as well as some grammatical or morphological similarities.

The lexical (word) comparisons between Semitic and Uto-Aztec, as well as between Egyptian and UA, yield a consistent set of sound correspondences, as consistent as has been established for other language families and a little more consistent than occurs within UA itself, as these ties explain many of the medial consonant clusters that have remained mostly mysterious to Uto-Aztecans to date. Nevertheless, all language families yield a few apparent exceptions, though for some, an explanation is found later.

**Glottochronology** is the study of the **rates of language change**, or more specifically, rates of word retention (words kept) vs. replacement (words lost by substitution) over time. Two languages recently separated would still have a great majority of their words in common. For example, the recent separation (ca. 700 years ago) of the Apachean branch of Athapaskan has Navajo and the Apache languages generally retaining 93% or more of their vocabulary in common. In contrast, the Indo-European languages separated several millennia ago and share much smaller percentages of vocabulary, though enough to assure their relatedness. However, linguists find that **rates of language change** are subject to many variables, most of all the **type and intensity of contact** with other languages. For example, Icelandic, isolated in the Atlantic, did not change from its Old Norse ancestor as fast as other Germanic languages did in being more subject to other close and neighboring European languages.

**Comparative size** of neighboring languages matters. The Native American languages in the U.S. are tremendously outnumbered; thus, many became moribund (nearly dead) in two or three generations. Consider languages spoken by immigrant families: German, Dutch, and Italian immigrants to the United States may or may not learn English; their children are often bilingual, knowing their parents’ language and the more prevalent language English; however, their grandchildren are often monolingual speakers of English, who may or may not understand what their immigrant grandparents say. **Political or cultural dominance** of a language may allow the language of a minority to have more influence than expected. The Norman French conquered England in 1066; though fewer in number, their political dominance in Middle English brought more French into English than the 15% of Old English that survived into modern English.

## 1.12 Morphology (Word Formation) and Syntax (Word Order)

A **morpheme** is a unit of meaning, and **morphology** is the study of how morphemes combine to form words or larger units of meaning. Just as a phoneme is a segment of sound or the smallest unit of sound (consonant or vowel), a **morpheme** is the smallest unit of meaning. For example, typical morphemes in English are cat, mouse, -ness, -ful, -less, un-, dis-, and -er, in words such as use-ful, use-less, use-ful-ness, dis-heart-en-ed, un-settle-ed, un-fruit-ful, and wash-er. Morphemes can be undividable words, prefixes, or suffixes. Prefixes and suffixes are both affixes that can be combined to the front or back of a stem respectively. Irresistible contains four morphemes. Re-sist literally means ‘stand back’ or in order of occurrence ‘back-stand’. With the suffix -able added, re-sist-able means one is ‘able to stand back or stay away from something’. The Latin prefix in- (meaning not) **assimilates** or changes to **ir-** before words

beginning with r. So ir-re-sist-able breaks down to not-back-stand-able. Likewise, irrevocable means not-back-call-able or not able to call back.

Some morphemes or rules for morpheme combining are **productive** and some are not. A language process or phenomenon that still happens is said to be **productive**, that is, it still produces forms. If a previous language rule is no longer in effect, but the results of the once existent rule are apparent, then those resultant forms are **fossilized** forms. For example, prefixing *with-* ‘against’ to verbs was once a productive rule, giving us fossilized forms like withstand, withhold, withdraw, but that rule is no longer productive.

By ‘**rule**’ linguists mean a mechanism of language usage that native speakers use to structure their language, whether consciously aware of it or not. In fact, most of what native speakers know about how they create language is subconscious knowledge. They are not even aware of most of the rules that they use to create language. For example, consider the following misuses:

\*Her saw he.

\*After them beat we in tennis, us treated they to dinner.

\*The tracks were hard for I to see, but me followed they until him appeared and scared I to death.

These are simple reversals of subject vs. object pronoun forms, yet most five-year-old preschoolers do not make such mistakes. At the very beginnings of learning a language, a two or three-year-old toddler may say something like “me want a cookie,” but usually by four or five, their subconscious minds have figured out what the subject forms are, what the object forms are, where the subject slots are, and where the object slots are, and get it 95% right without any formal education. For several other examples of subconscious language knowledge see “The Subconscious Mind’s Role in Language Acquisition” in *Morsels for the Mind* (Stubbs 2020) and “The Language Instinct” (Steven Pinker 1995).

Besides common vocabulary revealing consistent systems of sound correspondences, related languages normally have some similar patterns of morphology or share morphological correspondences as well. A Germanic characteristic that disappeared from English shortly after the Middle English period was **conjugated verb forms**. These were still productive (‘alive and well’) in the early seventeenth century when the King James scholars translated the Bible. Note how similar the conjugated verb forms of earlier English are to those of German:

I	bind	ich	binde
thou	bindest	du	bindest
he	bindeth	er	bindet

Verb conjugation patterns are part of a language’s morphology, but sometimes tend to be simplified over time and often eliminated, as they were in English. Something similar might be expected to happen to Navajo over the coming decades. The conjugation patterns of Navajo verbs are more complex than any Indo-European language. That complexity and Navajo's extensive contact with English combine to make such a simplification likely. In fact, I have heard that in some areas or among some younger speakers, such simplifications are already underway. The Semitic languages also have specific verb conjugation morphology, which is no longer productive in UA, but have left hundreds of fossilized forms in UA.

For another example of shared morphology in the larger Indo-European language family, note the similarity of the primary verb endings in Sanskrit, Hittite, Greek, Latin, and Gothic, an East Germanic dialect of about A.D. 900 (Beekes 1995, 232):

	<u>Sanskrit</u>	<u>Hittite</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Latin</u>	<u>Gothic (Germanic)</u>
I (verb)	-mi	-mi	-mi	-m	-m
You (verb)	-si	-si	-si	-s	-s
He (verbs)	-ti	-ci-	-ti	-t	-t

The conjugation of the IE verb *be* also shows morphological correspondences (Campbell 1995, 318):

	<u>Sanskrit</u>	<u>Hittite</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Latin</u>	<u>Gothic</u>	<u>English</u>
I am	asmi	—	eimés	sum	im	am
He is	ásti	estsi	estí	est	ist	is
They are	sánti	asantsi	eisí	sunt	sind	Spanish: son

The second row (he is) is the source of English *is* (from Germanic *ist*) and Spanish *es* (from Latin *est*). We can also see in that same line of forms that final sounds are progressively left off over time. The older languages have the longer forms.

**Syntax** refers to the order of words and morphemes. An example is the **basic word order** of main parts of a sentence. The basic word order of English is subject-verb-object (SVO). Other languages have very different word orders. Consider these parallel sentences in five languages:

English:	The tall man ate a red apple with a knife.
Spanish:	El hombre alto comió una mansana roja con (un) cuchillo.
Navajo:	hastiin néz bilasáana łhichí'ígii beesh yee yiyíyáá' man tall apple red knife with it-he-ate
White Mesa Ute:	pa'átim ta'wáč aká-ğar apīs tikkái wíič-Im tall man red apple ate knife-with
Hebrew:	'akal ha-'iış hag-gaboah 'et hat-tappuax ha-'adom bə-sakkiin ate the-man the-tall the-apple the-red with-knife

In contrast to the word order of English (SVO), the word order of Navajo is subject-object-verb (SOV), and Hebrew is usually (VSO), but can be any order, and Aramaic is often verb-final (SOV). Besides basic order of verbs, subjects and objects (SVO, SOV, VSO), some languages put adjectives before nouns, like English and Ute, while others put adjectives after nouns, like Spanish, Navajo, and Hebrew.

Interestingly, VO languages generally have **prepositions**, as do English, Spanish, German, Hebrew, Arabic, and Samoan, while verb-final languages (OV) generally have **postpositions** as do Navajo, Ute, and many Native American languages. The preposition vs. postposition phenomenon relates to OV vs. VO word order, in that these relating words often connect verbs and their objects, thus coming between them. So we frequently see verb-preposition-object in SVO languages, and object-postposition-verb in SOV languages.

Like Old English, German, Navajo, Semitic, Spanish, and many Indo-European languages, conjugated verbs are part of the morphology of many languages. In UA we see many fossilized remnants of the Semitic verb conjugations, though the full or productive systems of Semitic conjugations discontinued.

### 1.13 Historical Linguistics and the Comparative Method

The science of linguistics has various branches. Applied linguistics applies linguistic insights to facilitate second language learning; theoretical linguistics deals with competing theories of grammar and explores how the mind creates language; socio linguistics focuses on how language usage varies in various social contexts. Historical linguistics deals with the histories of languages or how languages change over time. Thus, language relatedness and studies in language families and how the related languages have changed from the original or proto-language all belong to the realm of historical linguistics, also called diachronic linguistics. **Synchronic** has to do with one-time (syn 'one' + chron 'time'); so a synchronic view of a language is a snapshot of it as a cohesive entity at one point in time. **Diachronic** refers to two different times on a spectrum, or comparing the changes in a language from this time to that time. Some features of language can be explained synchronically as the language exists at any given point; other features are better understood diachronically wherein some history of the language clarifies matters. As historical linguists compare related languages and map the changes of the various languages over time, their work is necessarily diachronic in nature. Their systematic comparisons that establish languages as related in a language family are called **the comparative method**.

**The comparative method** consists of (1) establishing a system of sound correspondences for (2) a sizable quantity of vocabulary; (3) identifying morphological parallels, and to lesser degrees, (4) similarities in syntax and (5) unusual semantic combinations. Syntax is limited in possible options—OV vs. VO, noun-adjective vs. adjective-noun, etc—and syntax can change quickly. Thus, it is less applicable.

The strength of the comparative method was impressively demonstrated in the discovery of Hittite. Based on evidences in the IE languages known at the time, a Swiss linguist named Ferdinand de Saussure in 1879 **reconstructed** certain laryngeals (guttural-like consonants) in the proto-forms of some IE words. (A **reconstruction** of a **proto form** is what linguists theorize the original form of a word to have been in the **proto-language** or the ancient parent language from which the later known languages are descended.) In other words, he theorized that those laryngeal consonants had existed in some original IE words even though

those sounds did not clearly exist in any of the daughter languages known at the time. In 1906, the capital of the ancient Hittite Empire was discovered. In 1915, Hrozný, a Polish linguist, deciphered the Hittite language inscribed on thousands of clay tablets, and Hittite was found to be an IE language. (The Hittite word for water is *watar* and knee is *kenu*.) Not only was Hittite found to be an IE language, but Hittite contained the laryngeals that Saussure, by the comparative method, had predicted decades earlier as being in the original Proto-Indo-European language (Beekes 1995, 101-2; The New Encyclopedia Britannica 1997, 608).

Besides establishing language families, the comparative method helps to discern branches within a language family and to trace details of language change. One can imagine that an ancient unified people did not separate into 30 different groups at once, but at first there may have been a two- or three-way split, then some time later additional split-offs occurred, and so forth, thus, the creation of **branches** within a language family. For example, the Germanic branch of IE consists of English, German, Dutch, Icelandic, and most Scandinavian languages.

Branches are often identified by **shared innovations** or shared retentions. A shared innovation is a new change that a branch shares among the branch languages, but not with the other branches of the family. For example, an innovation of the Germanic branch is that the voiceless stop series (p, t, k) became fricatives (f, θ, h). Shared innovations in UA are that O’odham, Pima, and the Tepehuan languages of the Tepiman branch all have **g** corresponding to \***w** of the rest of UA, and **d** corresponding to \***y** of the rest of the family. When a branch of languages all share a feature or quality that the rest of the language family does not have, then it follows that that group of languages developed that feature after leaving the main body of the language family, but before splitting into the various languages of that branch.

Along with all the niceties and usual consistencies revealed by the comparative method, a few inconsistencies, exceptions, and unresolved difficulties plague all language families. As Salmons (2012, 111) notes in *A History of German*, “we expect, as we saw earlier, for sound change to be regular, but we find messiness in real historic data.” Sometimes a subset of irregularities are later explained by a special phonological environment or some other explanation that moves them from the “exception” pile to the “explained” pile, but such discoveries take time and only if a mind sufficiently insightful to see what no one had seen before happens along to reduce what remains mysterious. For example, after Jacob Grimm (1822) published the first Germanic sound shift, a group of unsettling exceptions continued ruining the aspired neatness, until Karl Verner (1877) figured out the explanation for some of the exceptions ... but more than a *half century* later! May the progress of this work be granted equally spacious leniency! Yet an army of linguists works on Indo-European versus the sole soul in the proposed language tie of this work.

### 1.14 Phonology: Sounds, Sound Change, and Sound Correspondences

**Phonology is the study of sounds in language, their changes and effects on each other.** An understanding of phonology clarifies many mysteries about language. Our mouths produce consonant sounds by affecting the airflow in primarily three ways: the voicing vs. voiceless option, the manner of restricting the airflow, and the place in the mouth where that restriction happens. Thus, consonants are categorized by three features: voicing, place of articulation (contact in mouth parts), and manner of articulation:

**Voicing** can be perceived by putting fingers on both sides of the “Adam’s apple” and saying a slow elongated *aaasssaaa*. Because all English vowels are voiced, one can feel the vocal cords vibrate while saying the voiced vowels *aaa....aaa*, but the vibration or voicing stops in the middle while saying the long voiceless *...sss...*; in contrast, when saying *aaazzzaaa*, the vibration never stops, because *z* is voiced. One can feel the vibration while saying **voiced** consonants (*z, j, b, v, d, g, m, n*), but there is no vibration, that is, no voicing while saying **voiceless** consonants (*s, š/sh, č/ch, f, p, t, k*).

Sounds are also classified by the **place of articulation** or the place where the airflow is most restricted. **Bilabials** (*p, b, m, f, v*) are pronounced with the two lips. English *f* and *v* are actually pronounced with the top teeth and lower lip, but are close to bilabials. **Dentals** touch the tip of the tongue at or between the teeth (*θ* as in *think*, *ð* as in *there*). For **alveolars** the tongue touches the alveolar ridge—the hard ridge behind the upper teeth (*t, d, s, z, n*). To do **palatals**, the tongue curves close to the soft palate curving behind and up from the harder alveolar ridge (*š, ž, č, j*). **Velars** put the back of the tongue against the back of the roof of the mouth (*k, g*). **Uvulars** (*q*) are further down the back of the throat from velars. We do not have uvulars in English, but Arabic uvular *q* vs. velar *k* are apparent in Arabic *qalb* ‘heart’ vs. *kalb* ‘dog’.

**Pharyngeals**, such as the voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives of Arabic are articulated at the pharynx, even further down the back of the throat than uvulars. Northern Uto-Aztec (NUA) also distinguishes uvulars and velars.

The **manner of articulation** is a third feature of consonant sounds. For **stops**, the airflow is stopped (p, b, t, d, k, g). For **fricatives**, the airflow is not stopped, but produces friction at the greatest restriction in the vocal tract (s, z, f, v). An **affricate** is a combination of stop plus fricative (c or ts = t + s; č/ch = t + š/sh as in kitchen), that is, it starts as a stop but quickly releases into a fricative: so t and ts(c) and s are the voiceless alveolar stop, affricate, and fricative. In contrast, d, dz, and z are the voiced alveolar stop, affricate, and fricative. For **nasals**, the airflow passes through the nose while the oral tract is closed at the lips (m), the alveolar ridge (n), or at the velum for the velar nasal (ŋ as in sing) with the back of the tongue in a position for saying k. The **liquids** are l and r in English. The **glides** are y and w, slight closures of the vocal tract in the same positions in which the vowels i and u are pronounced; thus, they are also called semi-vowels. A simplified consonant chart follows:

### Consonants

		<u>bilabial</u>	<u>dental</u>	<u>alveolar</u>	<u>palatal</u>	<u>velar</u>	<u>uvular</u>	<u>pharyngeal</u>	<u>glottal</u>
stops	voiceless	p		t		k	q		ʔ
	voiced	b		d		g			
fricatives	voiceless	f	θ	s	š(sh)	x		ħ	h
	voiced	v	ð	z	ž(zh)	ġ		ʕ	
affricates	voiceless			c(ts)	č(ch)				
	voiced				ǰ/j				
nasals		m		n	ɲ	ŋ			
liquids				l, r					
glides		w			y				

The phonetic description of a consonant consists of voicing, place of articulation, and manner of articulation—in that order. Therefore, p is a voiceless bilabial stop; g is a voiced velar stop; s is a voiceless alveolar fricative; j is a voiced palatal affricate; etc. All nasals, vowels, liquids, and glides are voiced in English, but not necessarily in other languages. For example, Ute has some voiceless vowels and Navajo has both a voiced l and voiceless ɭ.

We mentioned earlier the larger pattern that the IE voiceless stops (p, t, k) became voiceless fricatives (f, θ, h) in Germanic. We also mentioned the sound changes in Tepiman of Proto-Uto-Aztec (PUA) \*y > d, and PUA \*w > g. As a larger pattern, the UA glides (y, w) became voiced stops (d, g) in the Tepiman branch, doing contact at the roof of the mouth where the glides come closest (w has lip rounding in front, but like u, the back of the tongue comes close to the velum where g is pronounced).

In Semitic exists a series of pharyngealized consonants. Besides the actual pharyngeals ʕ and ħ, described below, Semitic also has the emphatics or pharyngealized ʔ and ʕ. In contrast to a regular t, the pharyngealized ʔ of Semitic is pronounced with the tongue sounding as if retroflex, mainly because the back of the tongue is approximating the pharyngeal position, which affects the vowels, darkly coloring them and drawing them to the back, as in Arabic.

Sounds not discussed below are pronounced (more or less) like English:

ʕ Biblical Hebrew pharyngealized or emphatic ʕ (šade) is here symbolized with ʕ. The Hebrew ʕ became

c (ts) in the Hebrew Semitic-kw of UA and in modern Hebrew, but became s in Semitic-p.

UA ʕ is said to be retroflex.

ɖ Egyptian ɖ corresponds to Hebrew ʕ, and both Egyptian ɖ and Hebrew ʕ of Semitic-p became or correspond to UA \*s, though often Coptic t.

š is the sh sound of English ‘shave’ and ‘dish’; the š of Hebrew also corresponds to UA s.

c represents ‘ts’ as in ‘hits’.

č is the ch sound of ‘chop’, an allophonic variant of PUA \*c (ts) above.

ʔ represents the Semitic aleph or glottal stop, as in English ə’o (uh oh) ‘woops’ and ʔ’ə ‘no’; the glottal stop also became w/o/u in UA (and became w in Arabic sometimes as well), and sometimes both a glottal stop and w (-’w- or -w’-), or round vowels adjacent to ’: o’o/u’i.

ʕ represents the Semitic ʕ (called ʕayn), a voiced pharyngeal fricative, not in European languages; it occurs twice in Saʕudi ʕArabia; it has become a form of rounding (w,o,u) in UA, which is a natural change.



In fact, evidence suggests that the pharyngeal ʕ was associated with rounding in Phoenician also.

ħ is a voiceless pharyngeal fricative, a very guttural h (often transcribed as ħ) not found in European languages; at the beginning of a word it became hu/ho in UA. Like the other pharyngeal (ʕ), ħ also became w/o/u, a form of rounding, mostly in non-initial positions. Interestingly, x and ħ merged and became the same sound in Hebrew between 300 BC and Christ's time when they both became ħ, but were different before 300 B.C. (Kutscher 1982, 13-18; Sáenz-Badillos 1993, 81). They are still separate in Arabic. The Semitic-p in UA shows the pre-300 BC distinction: the pharyngeal ħ appears as rounded forms, while the velar x remains k-like.

x is a voiceless velar or uvular (debated in Semitic) fricative or soft k, as in German nacht; x > \*k in UA generally.

r of both Hebrew and Egyptian changed to UA \*t at the beginning of a word. When not beginning a word, r remained r in some UA languages, but changed to y/i more often in Sem-kw; r > y/i is also common in languages world wide. Interchanges between r and l are also common in the Near East and in UA. In fact, Egyptian had only r that represented both the l and r of Coptic.

b of Hebrew became UA \*kw (in dageshed positions: word initial or geminated/doubled) in the Semitic-kw contribution, but became UA \*p in Semitic-p's contribution to UA.

b, d, g devoiced and became p, t, k generally, another common change in languages world wide, since p is the voiceless counter-part of b, t of d, and k of g.

ṭ of Semitic is a pharyngealized or emphatic ṭ, in which the tongue is rather retroflex or the back of the tongue approximates a pharyngeal.

ŋ is a velar nasal, the ng sound in sing.

ṭ of Egyptian, i.e., the underlined ṭ was originally different from t, but not for very long, since even in Egyptian, and consistently in UA, Egyptian ṭ merged with and became t in UA (and in Egyptian).

C is any consonant or an unknown consonant; in UA a final -C causes gemination or doubling of the next consonant. another common feature in many languages: like coC/com 'with/together' + labor > collaborate; com 'with' + sonare 'sound' > consonant.

**Vowels** are defined by the tongue's relative position to the roof of the mouth in a high-to-low, front-to-back grid: one can feel the tongue's blade near the top and front of the mouth when saying high-front i.

	front	central	back
high	i	ī	u
	I		U
mid	e	ə	o
	ɛ		
low	æ	a	

Thus, *i* is a high front vowel; *o* is a mid back rounded vowel; *a* is the low central vowel; *u* is a high back rounded vowel; *ī* is a high central vowel not found in English, but is common in Ute, Hopi, and many Native American languages. The vowel symbols have the following values: the *i* in machine, *I* in sit, *e* in they, *ɛ* in set/pet, *æ* pat/sat (for each one the jaw drops lower though they are all pronounced in the front of the mouth. In the middle are *ə* in rut, *a* in saw. At the back are *u* in blue, *U* in book/hood, *o* in goal/bowl/sole/soul. For those knowing Spanish, pronounce the 5 main vowels like Spanish, which is the original Latin pronunciation.

**Vowel shifts** happen in many language families. English changed the original Latin vowel values, some of them in a **vowel shift**, shifting the vowels clockwise: *o* > *a* (as in top), *a* > *æ/e* (tap/tape), *e* > *i* (keep). Uto-Aztecan also does some vowel shifts. For example, Cora (Cr) and Huichol (Wc) shifted some Proto-Uto-Aztecan vowels counter-clockwise: PUA \**u* > *ī*, PUA \**o* > *u*. Classical Nahuatl (CN) shifted \**u* one more slot: PUA \**u* > *ī* > *i*. So in CN, PUA \**u* and PUA \**i* merged (became the same sound) to CN *i*, so that CN *i* can be from either PUA \**i* or \**u*.

It is also worth noting that *i* and *y* are largely equivalent, perhaps a difference in length and/or intensity, but produced with the tongue in the same position. Say *aaaiiaaa* slowly, then *aia* faster each time, and soon it sounds like *aya*. Likewise, *aaauaa* speeded up to *aua* a few times begins to sound like *awa*. So *w* and *u* are essentially the same sound, just as *i* and *y* are.

The English **plural suffix** -s exhibits three forms: -s, -z, -əz. A subconscious rule predicts when each of the three occurs. The rule is that (1) final voiceless sounds take voiceless -s: tops, pots, cakes; (2) final voiced sounds take voiced -z: tabs, pods, rags, rams, cans, laws, seas; and (3) final sounds similar to the -s (alveolar and palatal fricatives and affricates) require the intervening schwa vowel ə to separate the two similar sounds; otherwise, how would we make kiss plural—by adding a third *s* and pronouncing the three *s*'s (kiss) as a real long *sss* sound? Examples of -əz include kisses, wishes, witches, judges, quizzes. The

reason that the last has the form -əz instead of -əs is because vowels are voiced in English, so the sound before the s/z is the vowel ə, a voiced sound which results in voiced z.

The same rule applies to **possessives** of the form **apostrophe plus s** (-'s): Kate's hair, the rope's strength, the cake's frosting (-s); but Bob's book, Brad's cat, the dog's house, Tom's house, the car's door, Celinda's sorrel (-z); and for the sibilants (s and č-like sounds): Mitch's cat, the mouse's hole (-əz). **Third person singular present** tense verb forms also require suffixed -s, which also abide by the same rules: he stops, licks, writes, and laughs (-s); but she sobs, swigs, hides, loves, runs, hurls, sees, and believes (-z); and he wishes, she kisses, he squeezes (-əz), and they live happily ever after.

This shows that systematic patterns govern most of what happens in language. All three suffixed -s morphemes in English obey the same phonological rules and are entirely predictable according to specific patterns known only subconsciously by most speakers. Indeed, every language is a system of systems.

A similar rule governs whether the -ed suffixed to past tense regular verbs takes on a sound like -d, -t, or -əd. When the end of the word is voiceless, the -ed becomes voiceless -t: hopped, baked, missed (mist). When the end of the word is voiced, the -ed remains voiced -d: grabbed, hugged, freed, judged, called, bulged. When the word ends with a sound articulated (pronounced) at the same place as d (-d or -t), it requires an intervening vowel to separate the similar sounds: roasted, plodded, plotted, and greeted.

### 1.15 Sound Changes and How Sounds Change

**Assimilation** is often the force encouraging sound change. Sounds change, but in natural ways, which are usually explainable and are seen repeatedly in language families around the world. Assimilation is when one sound becomes 'similar to' another in some way. In fact, the word *assimilation* itself is from Latin ad 'to' + similis 'like', but when combined, ad-simil... > assimilate, as the -d- when next to -s- becomes -s- also, becoming similar-to the s by becoming another s. Very often doubled letters in English are from two different sounds next to each other wherein usually the first becomes like the second, precisely because it is next to it. For example, the Latin prefix *in-* 'not' remained *in-* for indecent, insufficient, and incomplete, but the alveolar nasal (n) of *in-* changed to a bilabial nasal (m) when next to bilabial p in imperfect and impossible (n > m/ p; that means n changes to m before p), becoming similar to the bilabial. The *in-* prefix was entirely assimilated before l and r, merely doubling the following consonants as in illegal, illegible (n > l/ \_l), irregular, and irreverent (n > r/ \_r). Similarly, Aramaic 'illaa 'if not, except, unless' derives from Aramaic 'in 'if' + laa 'not': 'in-laa > 'illaa 'if-not'.

Similarly in UA, a nasal as first consonant of two consonants in a cluster often assimilates to the second consonant of that cluster (linguists use N to represent any nasal or a general nasal), so

- \*-Nk- > -ŋk- (the nasal N becomes velar nasal ŋ, assimilating to the velar stop k);
- \*-Np- > -mp- (the nasal becomes bilabial nasal m, assimilating to the bilabial stop p);
- \*-Nt- > -nt- (the nasal becomes alveolar nasal n, assimilating to the alveolar stop t);

The above examples show that adjacent sounds tend to affect each other, that is, assimilate to each other or become similar to each other in some way, if not entirely. Another example occurs in Semitic. In Arabic qatala 'he killed' and Hebrew qaatal 'he killed', this cognate pair has a discrepancy in two different kinds of non-corresponding t's: a regular t and the emphatic or pharyngealized ṭ. Both languages have both, but what happened is that in certain conjugations, such as the prefix/imperfective conjugation the q and t are adjacent or next to each other: Arabic ya-qtulu, Hebrew yi-ṭol. The q and ṭ are similar in being pharyngealized deep-throated, more guttural sounds, so as they came into contact with each other, the original -qt- cluster (as we see in Arabic) assimilated to become -qṭ- in Hebrew, and thus Hebrew changed an original -t- > -ṭ- due to assimilation in the frequent clustering of -qt-.

In the above examples, we see that the environment surrounding a sound is what often triggers (causes) a sound to change. In linguistic lingo **C** means any consonant or an unknown consonant, and **V** is any or unknown vowel. When a consonant is between two vowels (VCV) it is said to be intervocalic, inter-'between' vocal- 'vowel'. Two consonants together (VCCV) are called a consonant cluster.

**Vowels may also assimilate** or become similar toward adjacent consonants—wa > wo—and similar to vowels on the other side of consonants: suka > saka. Vowels assimilate to consonants quite often in UA. For example, Semitic baraq 'lightning' > Mayo berok 'lightning' changes the 1<sup>st</sup> vowel from a > e, raising and fronting it to the place of contact of r in anticipating r. Likewise, the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel changes from a > o, moving to the mid-back vowel o, closer to where the uvular q is pronounced in anticipating it. Another

instance of the uvular q changing a vowel to a back round vowel is Semitic *daqal* ‘kind of palm tree’ > UA \**taku* ‘palm tree’. In Semitic-kw, liquids l and r tend to raise the vowels before them or the vowels which are anticipating them (Semitic *basar* > UA \**kwasi* ‘tail’), whereas Semitic-p does not (Aramaic *bəsar* > UA \**pisa* ‘penis’; Aramaic *dakar* > UA \**taka* ‘man’).

A vowel may also partially assimilate to preceding or following vowels: *suka* > *soka*. One may notice on the vowel chart that *o* (mid back round vowel) is halfway from *u* (high back round vowel) to *a* (low central vowel), so a change in a vowel sequence of *u-a* > *o-a* is partial assimilation. Or two vowels may level each other in a compromise—*u-a* > *o-o*; *a-i* > *e-e*—where both vowels assimilate toward each other, becoming the vowel between the two. (See the vowel chart on page 20 and notice that *o* is between *u* and *a*; and *e* is between *a* and *i*.)

**Consonant harmony** is when one consonant becomes like another, though separated by vowels. Consonant harmony happens often enough in Uto-Aztecan: for example, Hebrew *’ari* ‘lion’ > UA \**wari* > Tubar *wawi* ‘mountain lion’. Other examples of consonant harmony are the three Tr variants—Tr *řata-góbutu* / *řata-gógutu* / *řata-bobutu* ‘have a fever’—and (853) Arabic \**xunpusaa* / *xunpus* ‘beetle’; Aramaic *řippuuřiit* ‘beetle, n.f.’ > UA \**wippusa* > \**pippusi* ‘stink beetle’: Ch *wiposat* ‘13-line beetle’; Mn *pipóisi* / *piboisi* ‘stink beetle’; NP *pipuzi* ‘stink beetle’; Sh *pippusi* ‘stink beetle’. Ch reflects the original initial consonant (*w*), from which the others harmonized the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant to the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant (*w-p* > *p-p*). In addition, the UA vowels too are identical to Aramaic \**-i-u-i*.

**Palatalization** is also very common in Uto-Aztecan and in languages worldwide. For example, the alveolar *t* often becomes palatalized to *č* (*ch*) or *c* (*ts*) before high vowels and especially high front vowels *i* or *e*, during which the tongue is close to the palate (*t* > *č* or *t* > *c/\_i*). Latin *-nate* of *innate* keeps its *-t*-sound, but in *nation*, with a following *i*, it palatalizes to *-ř-*. Similarly, in *irritate* and *irritation*, *rotate* and *rotation*, *dictate* and *dictation*. In UA, any high vowel—*i*, *ĩ*, *u* (see top line of vowel chart)—can cause palatalization of *t* > *č* or *t* > *c* in some UA languages.

Many sound changes, if not most, are due to what might be called laziness or changes toward easier pronunciation. Assimilations make differing sounds more similar and therefore easier to pronounce. An example is a change from contact to approximation or near contact, but not quite. The flap *r*, which involves the tongue’s contact with the alveolar ridge, sometimes changes to almost contact or to *y/i*. The liquids becoming *y/i* (*r* > *y/i*; *l* > *y/i*) happens often enough. In English creoles, Dickerton (1981, 61) lists three English creoles in which ‘for’ became *fo*, *fi*, and *foe*. In Italian, many *l* > *i*, as in *blanco* > *bianco*. Lyle Campbell (1977, 97-100) shows Proto-Mayan \**r* > *y* in several Mayan languages. Also Hebrew *r* > UA *y/i* in Semitic-kw. German *-r* and British English and some Northeast U.S. dialects say *-r* as a vowel approaching the place of *-r* contact in a high vowel, though not quite as front as *y/i*, almost the high-central vowel *ĩ* of UA: German *hier* [hiĩ]; English *better* [bettĩ]. Likewise, Semitic *l* became *y* in some Ethiopic languages due to Cushitic influence (Kapeliuk 2002, 311). Other examples of change from contact to approximation are the intervocalic stops becoming fricatives in Hebrew: *-b-* > *-v-*, *-k-* > *-x-*, *-t-* > *-θ-*.

Another frequent change toward the easier is the change of the low vowel *a* > *ə*, because the mid-central vowel (*ə*) does not require the mouth to open as wide as is necessary for the low vowel (*a*). In fact, any vowel *V* > *ə*, as mid-central *ə* is probably the easiest vowel to pronounce, as it is in the middle, both between high and low, and between front and back, also called the schwa vowel, the schwa in *dud*, *sun*.

**Vowel centralization** is, in fact, common in many languages, and involves (usually) unstressed vowels becoming centralized. One can see in the vowel chart that the vowel *ə*, is the mid-central vowel, the most central of all vowels, and that is exactly the vowel that most unaccented vowels become in English words of 3 or more syllables. Consider *photograph* and *photography*.

*phótogrāph* > *fo̞təgræf*

*photógraphy* > *fə̞təgrəfi*

In *phótogrāph* the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> vowels are stressed and thus keep their more-or-less original values *o* and *æ*, but the unstressed 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel changes from *o* > *ə*. However, adding another syllable (*-y*) changes the stress pattern so that the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> vowels are stressed and keep their values, while the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> vowels both become unstressed and both become *ə*. Similarly, some UA languages tend to centralize unaccented vowels to UA’s most central vowel *ĩ*, or sometimes to *i*, as *i* also does the stressless schwa role in UA.

A **hyphen** signifies that something else exists in the direction of the hyphen. The prefix *in-* ‘not, opposite’ has a hyphen where the other morpheme follows. The English plural suffix *-s* has a hyphen on the

front side to show that it comes at the end of the noun, with the word in front of it. Intervocalic consonants (between-vowel consonants) may be depicted as -r- because vowels are on both sides of it.

**Lenition** is a weakening of a consonant or partial loss of its definite qualities. Lenition often affects consonants between vowels. The sequence *apa* > *aba* has voiceless *p* becoming voiced *b*, because the vowels on both sides are voiced, which helped the intervening voiceless *p* become voiced *b*; likewise, *aka* > *aga* and *ata* > *ada*. These kinds of changes happened in UA and happened in the participles' change from Latin -atus > Spanish -ado. These changes are also an assimilation: the voiceless stops became voiced stops similar to the voiced vowels around them. Another common intervocalic change is frication of a stop, changing a stop to a fricative. It happened to the intervocalic Hebrew stops: -b- > -v-, -d- > -ð- (as in the), -g- > -ġ-, -p- > -f-, -t- > -θ- (as in thin), -k- > -x-. In UA, the intervocalic environment caused changes that included both frication and voicing of the originally voiceless stops, that is, voiceless stop -p- > -v-, a voiced fricative, and \*aka > aġa, and \*ata > ara, changing *t* to a flap *r*. Between vowels, a natural pattern of sound change is for voiceless stops to become voiced, then the voiced stops become fricatives, then the voiced fricatives disappear. The last step happened in the change from Latin to Spanish: Latin *credere* > *creer* 'believe' of Spanish, Latin *legere* > *leer* 'read'. Also Latin *ego* > *eo* > *yo* 'I' because *e* is close to *i/y*.

Occasionally changes go the other way, from less intense to more intense. For example, while *v* > *w* is frequent enough, the change of *w* > *v* also occurs. In Hebrew, *w* came to be pronounced *v* in some Hebrew dialects and thus in Modern Hebrew also. The name of Adam's wife *Eve* was originally *Hewwa*; thus, *w* > *v*. The English name *Eva* at least keeps the vowels, *Eve* even lost the pronunciation of the last vowel as well. I have also heard some Arabic speakers pronounce Arabic *w* as *v*. Also in UA is evidence for some \**w* > *v*, to be discussed later.

**Loss of sounds** over time is also frequent, especially at the beginnings and ends of words or morphemes, like the initial *k* and final silent *e* of *knife*, both of which used to be pronounced. All the silent *e*'s when found at the ends of English words used to be pronounced, but they became silent or lost, though still written. Similarly, at the beginnings of words, the *h* in *honor*, *hour*, *herb*, and all initial-*h* words in Spanish, like *hablar*, *hermano*, etcetera, all became silent. Loss of final sounds happens in Semitic languages too. Arabic 'akala 'he ate' and Hebrew 'aakal 'he ate' show the loss of a final short vowel in Hebrew. In fact, Hebrew lost most short final vowels of an earlier \*-iima > -iim 'Hebrew plural suffix'; \*ta-ktušu > ti-ktoš 'she pounds/grinds in a mortar'; etc. Hebrew also lost final consonants sometimes. Arabic 'akalat 'she ate' and Hebrew 'aklaa 'she ate' show loss of final -t in Hebrew and loss of the middle vowel. Arabic reflects Proto-Semitic better than other Semitic languages in most ways.

**Consonant clusters** (groups of consonants clustered without vowels between them) may also tend to be reduced to one consonant, such as the loss of the *gh* sound in the cluster of -*ght*- in English *daughter* vs. German *tochter* (both pronounced) and Greek *thugater* (consonants separated, not clustered), and the loss of *gh/k* in *night* and Spanish *noche* vs. German *nacht* and Latin *nokt*-. We no longer pronounce the -*gh*- in *night*, but we still say the -*k*- in *nocturnal*, as an English loan from Latin. Examples of consonant loss in cluster reductions in UA include Hebrew *makteš* 'grinding stone' > UA \**ma'ta* 'grinding stone'. Many UA languages have intervocalic \*-p- > -v-. That happens in Hopi, the Numic languages, and others. So when we see a -*p*- between vowels, it is due to an underlying consonant cluster or geminated \*-pp- being reduced to one -*p*-, but showing -*p*- (instead of -*v*-) because of -*Cp*- or the cluster strengthening the -*p*-: Egyptian *ḥotpe* 'peace' > Hopi *hopi* 'peace, peaceable' at (183); otherwise, \**hopi* > *hovi*. Also Aramaic *ḥippušit* 'beetle, n.f.' > UA \**wippusi* 'stink beetle' (853). The Arabic cognate *xunpus* shows a consonant cluster \*-np- which always doubles the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant in Hebrew and Aramaic (-pp-): Proto-Semitic/Arabic \*-nC- > -CC-; thus, Semitic \**xunpus* / *ḥippušit* > UA \**wippusi* is a lengthy (6-segment) match. The -*p*- in *Chemehuevi* (Ch) means original \*-pp- in UA, and the vowels are identical to Aramaic \*-i-u-i (853).

Relative to consonant clusters, the phonology (patterns of pronunciation) of some languages do not allow clusters. For example, 'Merry Christmas' in traditional Hawaiian is 'meli kalikimaka' because Polynesian languages do not normally allow consonants to cluster, and so the *kr*- and -*tm*- clusters of **Christmas** are separated by vowels in the Hawaiian expression. Spanish does allow clusters, but not all initial clusters. For example, Spanish 'creer' starts with a cluster *kr*-, but English 'study' and Spanish 'estudiar' show that English allows initial *st*- clusters, while Spanish traditionally has not. In the English word 'strengths' [streŋθs], one vowel amidst six consonants separates two clusters of three consonants each, which shows that English has an unusual tolerance for almost intolerable clustering compared to many languages. However, the loss of initial *k*- in English 'knee', 'know', and 'knife' means that even cluster-

tolerant English has difficulty with initial kn-. We have no trouble with the same cluster between vowels (sickness, blackness), but initial kn- is more problematic.

Some languages' phonology systems prevent speakers from ending a word with a consonant or with certain consonants. In the merger of the Semitic-p and the Semitic-kw in UA, one or both may have developed a phonology that had all or most words ending with a vowel, because UA adds a vowel to many Semitic forms that would otherwise be consonant final.

Consonant clusters often lose the first consonant, sometimes doubling the second. We have already seen in-legal > illegal, in-responsible > irresponsible. Originally and in written English, debt has a consonant cluster, but the first consonant became silent and only the 2<sup>nd</sup> is pronounced. Liquids (l and r) are very prone to be lost or absorbed thusly: e.g., Latin ursus 'bear' > Spanish oso. English 'walk' and 'talk' and 'salmon' all have silent l as first consonant in consonant clusters. Similarly, the -l- was often lost as first consonant in a cluster in the change from Semitic to Uto-Aztecan also: Hebrew śəlaaw 'quail', pl: salwiim; Syriac salway 'quail'; Arabic salwaa 'quail'; Samaritan šalwi > UA \*solwi 'quail': CN sool-in 'quail'; Mn sowi 'pigeon'. So Mn lost -l- as first segment in the cluster. Latin ex- 'out' in English loans sometimes remains intact: extract, ex-cept; but other times the -x- is absorbed in the cluster and only e- remains: e-mit, e-merge, e-lect. Another example is English a/an. The original form is *an*, which remains *an* before a vowel (an apple, an iron), but before a consonant the pronunciation of the *n* over time became absorbed or assimilated to the following consonant, that is, -n- was lost as first consonant in the cluster; thus, (a dog (< \*an dog), a cat (< \*an cat). Another example is Hebrew qadqod 'head, skull' and Assyrian qaqqadu, the latter having assimilated the cluster \*-dq- > -qq-. Also similar is Semitic qarqara > UA \*qaqqara 'quail'. Such happens repeatedly in many languages throughout the world.

Compare the following Arabic and Hebrew forms:

	Arabic	Hebrew	Uto-Aztecan
daughter	bint	batt	(*pattī 'daughter' 534)
spike of grain	sunbul	šibbolet	(*suNkwu > suju 'corn' 828)
wheat	ħintat	ħittaa	--
beetle	xunpusaa'	ħippušit	(*wippusi 'beetle' 853; note Hebrew ħ > w)

One can see a pattern of \*-nC- remaining -nC- in Arabic, but \*-nC- > -CC- in Hebrew; thus, the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant of the cluster was absorbed to double the 2<sup>nd</sup>, or the 1<sup>st</sup> entirely assimilated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>. Similarly, in UA, a cluster tended to obscure the 1<sup>st</sup> C and double the 2<sup>nd</sup>: \*-Ct- > -tt-, \*-Ck- > -kk-. Ca mataš 'crush, squash, vt' is from UA \*mattas, because a single intervocalic -t- > -l- in Ca; and Hebrew makteš 'grindstone' matches very well what may have become a denominalized verb in Ca mataš 'crush' with \*-kt- > -tt-.

Another frequent result of consonant clusters is that the 1<sup>st</sup> C of the two may become a glottal stop, in a change between remaining and disappearing, but not completely disappearing by leaving a trace of its existence in the form of a glottal stop ('). In English, for example, dictate has a cluster pronounced \*-kt- when pronounced carefully, but in normal rapid speech, it is often pronounced as -'t-. Mountain is often said mau'n, the t > ' and the underlined vowels are nasalized. Similarly, 'written' is often pronounced rI'n. In mountain > mau'n, the nasalized vowels are from the nasal n before the t, while rI'n has no nasal before the t and does not have its 1<sup>st</sup> V nasalized. The first consonant becoming a glottal stop happens often in UA as well: we already mentioned Hebrew makteš > UA \*ma'ta 'grinding stone'.

Some consonants (like ', nasals and liquids) in some languages tend to be anticipated or fronted (put further in front from their original place). An English example is the biblical Aramaic name of ʿabed-nəgo, for which many English speakers say abindigo, with the n anticipated before the d from its original place after the d. Glottal stops are frequently anticipated in UA: e.g., Egyptian sb' 'star' > UA \*si'po 'star': Wr so'póri; Tr se'porí. UA anticipates the glottal stop, yet reflects all three consonants, whereas Coptic siu 'star' reflects only one, though it is also from Egyptian sb' 'star' (see 154).

Another route to vowel loss is **accent or stress** patterns. For example, Latin fábuláre stressed the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> vowels, and the lack of stress on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> vowels helped them both become silent in the changes from Latin to Spanish and Portuguese:

Latin fábuláre > fablar > hablar > ablar (Spanish)

Latin fábuláre > fablar > falar (Portuguese)

Losing the 2<sup>nd</sup> V caused two originally separated consonants to become a consonant cluster (Latin fábuláre > fablar). Then in that cluster, the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant was lost or assimilated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> in Portuguese,

similar to what we have talked about and seen in several other examples above. In Spanish, the cluster remained intact, but the initial  $f > h > \emptyset$  ( $\emptyset$  means zero or nothing, that is,  $f$  became  $h$ , then  $h$  became silent or disappeared). The current spelling of Spanish is *hablar*; however,  $h$  is silent in Spanish, so the first and last sounds of Latin *fabulare* were lost, as well as the middle unaccented vowel. Because  $h$  is a rather weak consonant, it often becomes silent or disappears in language change.

These kinds of changes happen in many to most languages. In Uto-Aztecan, stems of CVVCVCV often lose the middle V, reducing to CVCCV, then the medial (middle) consonant cluster also reduces in one way or another. This phenomenon is common in Syriac and other Aramaic dialects as well. For example, Semitic *kabkab* > Syriac *kawkab* ‘star’, then when taking on the definite article suffix *-aa* ‘the’, the middle vowel is lost in Syriac *kawkb-aa* ‘star-the’ because of stress patterns then to UA *\*kuppaa*’ (1274).

### 1.16 Pronouns

**Pronouns** are often portrayed in paradigms like the following:

	Singular			Plural		
	subject	object	possessive	subject	object	possessive
1 <sup>st</sup> person	I	me	my/mine	we	us	our(s)
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	you/thou	you/thee	your(s)	you	you	your(s)
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	he/she	him/her	his/her(s)	they	them	their(s)

Besides persons (1<sup>st</sup> person speaker, 2<sup>nd</sup> person spoken to, 3<sup>rd</sup> person spoken about), number can vary as well. Many languages have singular, dual, and plural, in which case plural is three or more, like Navajo and the Semitic languages (not related). Likewise, Old English had *ik* (I), *wit* (we two), and *we* (3 or more). Pronoun systems with three numbers often simplify to two numbers. Old English gave up its dual to make ‘we’ mean two or more. Navajo is in process of often having its dual cover for plural in some cases.

Many Amerindian languages, including a few Uto-Aztecan languages, have two ‘we’ pronouns: *we-inclusive* is *I-and-you*, to include the person(s) spoken to, and *we-exclusive* is *I-and-he/they*, to exclude the person(s) spoken to. Semitic languages do not have the inclusive-exclusive distinction, nor does Egyptian, while many Amerindian language families do.

### 1.17 Nouns Become Denominalized Verbs

Most languages make nouns from verbs and make verbs from nouns, though some do more than others. In English we have ‘hoof it’ for ‘walk’; and ‘she mirrors her mother’s behavior’ for ‘she behaves like her mother’ from the noun ‘mirror’; and ‘he bicycled to Bluff’ for ‘he rode/pedaled a bicycle to Bluff’. These are called denominalized verbs because a nominal (noun) is made to serve as a verb. Even ‘pedal’ is a denominalized verb from the noun ‘pedal’. The term *de-nominal verb* means ‘from-noun verb’.

In the change from Semitic to Uto-Aztecan, many nouns were denominalized to become verbs. In fact, Uto-Aztecan *\*kuppaa* ‘shine (as stars)’ is a denominalized verb from the noun mentioned above: Syriac *kawkb-aa* ‘star-the’ > UA *\*kuppaa* ‘shine (as stars)’ wherein the consonant cluster *\*-kb-* > *\*-pp-* as we talked about above, and the vowel *a* assimilated to *w* in *\*-aw-* > *-u-*.

## 1.2 A Brief Introduction to the Semitic Languages

Hoping to introduce Semitic in a few pages is rather presumptuous, since a 400-page book better suits such an effort. Good compact books on Semitic include Bennett (1998) and Rubin (2010), and more involved are Goldenberg (2013) and Lipinski (2001). Regardless, some basic features of Semitic warrant a few words in a work dealing extensively with Semitic.

The Semitic language family first divided into West and East Semitic. East Semitic is essentially Akkadian, which later developed into Assyrian (north) and Babylonian (south) in Mesopotamia. The Semitic family tree’s branching thereafter may ever lack consensus, but mostly following Rubin (2010, 3-6), let us consider that West Semitic divided into Ethiopic (languages spoken in or near Ethiopia), Modern South Arabian (a different branch than Arabic) consisting of six languages spoken in Yemen and Oman, and

Central Semitic. Central Semitic then divides into Arabic, Northwest Semitic, and Şayhadic, also called Old South Arabian or Epigraphic South Arabian, a group of dialects found in inscriptions in western Arabia from 1000 or 700 BC to AD 600 (Rubin 2010, 13-14; Goldenberg 2012, 15-16). Regarding Arabic, Classical Arabic is the language of the Qur'aan, and, though not an ancestor, is like a sister to the parent language(s) of the various Arabic dialects spoken today. The Northwest Semitic languages referred to in this study are Hebrew / Phoenician / Canaanite (different names or dialects of the same language), and Aramaic / Syriac, and Ugaritic. Aramaic periodically gained and waned as a frequently dominant language, lingua franca, or international language from the Fertile Crescent to Palestine. Aramaic developed into many dialects, Biblical Aramaic (books of Daniel and some of Ezra), Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Mandaic, and several others, including many modern Neo-Aramaic dialects surviving to this day.

The Semitic languages have remained in relatively close contact with each other for millennia and thus retain many morphological similarities. The Semitic languages are very verbally based with only a few basic original nouns not easily associated with a verb root, as most nouns are derived from verbs. The tri-consonantal roots change shapes for various conjugations, participles, and nouns.

### 1.21 Semitic Verbs and Conjugations

Semitic verbs or verbal roots mainly consist of three-consonants. Four-consonant roots occur as well, such as Semitic *pršš* 'jump'. Very often two-consonants seem to underlie related roots. Using 1 and 2 for those two consonants, related roots take forms like 12y (gly), 1w2 (gwl/gyl), 122 (gll), 1212 (gllg). Semitists have also noticed that two consonants with whatever 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant often have related meanings; for example, many roots with *pr...* as the first two consonants generally have meanings like separate, part, divide: *prd* 'detach, separate, divide'; *prt* 'open wide, split'; *prk* 'crush, grind, break apart'; *prm* 'tear apart'; *prs* 'divide, separate, break bread'; *prš* 'split, make a breach, spread'; *prq* 'take away, split, part (ways), fork'; *prś* 'spread, stretch out'; *pry* 'produce/bear fruit/child (something separates from its producer, e.g., mother or tree)'. In Semitic roots, changing vowel patterns alter the shape of the root for a variety of structures and purposes, some also taking prefixes and suffixes for person and aspect.

Semitic verb conjugation patterns consist of two primary categories: one is a suffix conjugation or perfective (pfv) conjugation, because it usually expresses past tense or perfective (completed action or relative past) in Central Semitic and the persons doing the verb are revealed in the suffix (Arabic *katab-ta* 'wrote-you'); the other is a prefix conjugation or an imperfective (impfv) conjugation, because it usually expresses imperfect (not completed) aspect, i.e., usually present or future, and the subjects doing the verb are expressed in the prefix (Arabic *ta-ktubu* 'you-write/are writing').

The basic verb, in Hebrew, is called the *qal* (easy/light) conjugation. Arabic best reflects the Proto-Semitic form \*CaCVCa (C = any consonant), while the other Semitic languages have lengthened, shortened, or lost a vowel or two:

Arabic *kataba* 'he wrote'

Aramaic/Syriac *kətab* 'he wrote' (shortened the 1<sup>st</sup> vowel and lost the 3<sup>rd</sup>)

Hebrew *kaatab* 'he wrote' (lengthened the 1<sup>st</sup> vowel and lost the 3<sup>rd</sup>)

Akkadian *kataabu* 'he wrote' (lengthened the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel).

Uto-Aztecan also has many of these 3<sup>rd</sup> sg forms \*CaCaC(a), the last consonant/syllable sometimes lost: At (79) Hebrew *ḥmr* 'to cover or smear' (with s.th.) > UA \**humay* 'smear, spread, rub, paint' > Ca *húmay* 'smear, paint, vt'; Cp *hume-* 'spread a liquid or s.th. fine'. (*ḥ* > *hu* in UA, and *r* > *y*) At (645) Semitic *ḥabala* 'corrupt'; Hebrew *-ḥabbel* 'ruin' > Hopi *hovala* 'waste s.th. of value, squander'.

For abbreviations of the UA languages, see the introduction to UA. The sound changes are covered in detail in the body of the sets, though we may here list some of the less obvious in parentheses. For example, both of the first two (79, 645) begin with the pharyngeal *ḥ*, which became UA \**hu*, or *ho* in Hopi. Also, when the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant is *y* or ' in Semitic (CCy/CC'), it is often not apparent in Semitic's perfective \*CaCay > CaCaa, but sometimes is in UA, as in the next example:

At (559) Hebrew *bky/ bakaa* 'cry, weep' (perf stem); Syriac *bakaa / baka* > Hopi *pak-* 'cry';

Tb *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 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 Aramaic/Syriac more than with the Hebrew and Arabic terms lacking that glottal stop. Another pfv form is At (565) Hebrew **mkr** / **maakar** ‘sell (he sold)’ > UA \*makaC ‘give’ in all of UA.

Hebrew’s first long vowel (kaatab) can be shortened when a suffix draws the stress/accent toward the end, as in Hebrew *katab-tem* ‘wrote-you pl’. Many such vowel variations occur in Semitic, especially in Masoretic Hebrew (as the Masoretes voweled Old Testament Hebrew) which is a dialect of Hebrew not necessarily representative of all dialects in all centuries, to be discussed below. So Masoretic vowelings should not be taken as absolute or original. A more complete table of the pronoun suffixes to the verbs of Akkadian, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic is further below, but let us now continue our examples of Semitic with comparable fossilized forms in Uto-Aztecan.

In addition to the more common \*CaCaCa, some Semitic verbs are voweled as \*CaCiCa, as also in Arabic CaCiCa, sometimes Hebrew CaCeC and Aramaic CəCeC. Examples follow:

(3) Northwest Semitic \*yašiba ‘sit, dwell’ > UA \*yasipa ‘sit, dwell’ (vs. *yaašab* in Masoretic Hebrew)

(769) Hebrew **tqp** ‘to overpower, v’; Aramaic(J) *təqef* ‘be strong’; the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel of Aramaic shows

Proto-Semitic \*taqipa (sg), \*taqipu (pl), exactly as UA \*takipa and \*takipu ‘push’.

While \*yašiba reflects the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural \*yašibuu is in the Tepiman branch of UA in ST *daivu* and TO *dahivup*, both pl also in UA (Tep d < \*y, Tep h < \*s, Tep w/v < \*p).

All the above exemplify the perfective/suffix conjugation. The imperfective/prefix conjugation is

Arabic: ‘a-ktubu ‘I-write’; ta-ktubu ‘you-write’; ya-ktubu ‘he-..’; na-ktubu ‘we-..’; ya-ktubuuna ‘they..’  
Hebrew: ‘e-ktob ‘I-write’; ti-ktob ‘you-write’; yi-ktob ‘he-...’; ni-ktob ‘we-...’; yi-ktəbuu ‘they...’

Besides impfv stems like Arabic *ya-CCuCu* / Hebrew *yi-CCoC* with the stem vowel *u/o* in the impfv stem, some verbs have a stem vowel of *a*, as in Hebrew *yi-CCaC* / Arabic *ya-CCaCu*. A prominent example of each is Hebrew *ya-ʕaqob* ‘he grabs the heel, deceives’ (Jacob) and Hebrew *yi-šjaq* ‘he laughs’ (Isaac).

Another example of that impfv stem vowel is Arabic *labisa*, impfv: (ya)-**lbasu** ‘put on, wear’ and Hebrew *lbš*, impfv pl: (yi)-*lbašuu*. In this Semitic-kw item, the cluster absorbs the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant to dagesh (double) the 2<sup>nd</sup> as if -bb- > kw:

(50) from Hebrew *lbš*, impfv: -*lbaš-* ‘put on (garment), clothe (oneself)’: impfv stem vowel is -a-, as in UA: -*lbaš* > *kwasu*; pl would be *yi-lbašu* > UA \**kwasu* ‘dress, shirt, put on clothes’ in most of Numic.

(749) also Hebrew *tmh*, impfv: -**tmah** ‘be astounded, dumbfounded, v’ > UA \***maha** ‘fear’:

Wr *maha-* ‘be afraid’; Yq *máhhæ*; AYq *mahai* ‘scared’; Tr *mahá*; CN *mawi* ‘be frightened’.

Some fossilized imperfective forms in UA include the prefix. For example, the previously noted perfective of Semitic/Syriac *baka* ‘cry’ > UA *paka* ‘cry’ has as its impfv Arabic *ya-bkiy*, Hebrew *yi-bke*. Considering that bilabials disappear as first consonant in a cluster (see 294-300), then the imperfective stem with the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg prefix *yi-bke* / \**ya-bka* would look like UA \**yaka* ‘cry’ which is exactly what we find:

(560) Semitic \**ya-bka*<sup>y</sup> ‘he/it cries’ > Hebrew *yi-bke*<sup>(y)</sup> > UA \**yaka* / \**yaCka* / \**yakka* ‘to cry, sg’

(561) Semitic \**ta-bka*<sup>y</sup> ‘she/it cries’ > Hebrew *ti-bke*<sup>(y)</sup> > NP *taka* (< \**takka*) ‘cry, vi’.

The first (560 UA \**yakka* ‘cry’) appears in many UA languages; the second (561 \**takka* ‘cry’) appears in Northern Paiute; so NP has both the 3<sup>rd</sup> masculine sg impfv \**yakka* and the 3<sup>rd</sup> feminine sg impfv \**takka*.

The participle of the Hebrew *qal* conjugation is \**CooCeC*, which corresponds to UA \**CuCiC*. A number of such \**CuCiC* forms appear in UA:

(754) Hebrew *pný* / *panaa*<sup>y</sup> ‘turn, turn and look, look’; participle **pone** > UA \***puni** ‘turn, look’

Besides the *qal* or basic verb, all Semitic languages also have an intensive conjugation, usually doubling the middle consonant: Arabic *CaCCaCa*; Hebrew *CiCCeC*, called the *qittel* form in Hebrew, whose original form and UA form are usually \**CiCCaC*.

The general meaning of the intensive in Semitic is intensification, continuative, causative, distributive, or repetitive action; interestingly a consonant doubling or syllabic reduplication in UA languages is also employed for intensification, continuative, distributive, or repetitive action. The imperfect



of this intensive is Arabic yu-CaCCiCu and Hebrew/Aramaic yə-CaCCeC. The imperfective intensives are also well represented in UA:

- (11) Hebrew impfv -dabber (< \*-dabbir) ‘to speak’ (qittel) > UA \***tikwi** ‘say’ (\*-bb- > -kw-)  
 (809) Hebrew qittel impfv stem **-hattel** (< \*-hattil) ‘to mock’ > UA \***’ati** / \***’ata** / \***’aCti** ‘laugh’  
 (907) Arabic ġassa ‘touch, feel’; Hebrew gšš ‘touch’; perfect qittel: giššeš ‘grope’;  
 Hebrew qittel impfv: \*-gaššiš > Ls ḡési ‘touch lightly, graze, vt’; Cp ḡise ‘scratch, vt’. It may be due to s.th. else, but the Ls and Cp forms do align with the impfv and pfv qittel forms.

Most Semitic languages also have a causative: cause someone to do s.th. Hebrew forms are often represented with the consonants q-ṭ-l, which we simplify to q-t-l, which are more original anyway. These basic causative forms are as follows:

	<u>perfective</u>	<u>imperfective</u>	<u>participle</u>
Hebrew	hiqtiil / hiqtal-(ti), etc	ya-qtiil, ta-qtiil, etc	maqtiil
Arabic	’aqṭala / ’aqṭal-(tu)	yu-qṭilu	muqṭilu
Aramaic	’aqtel	y-aqtel	maqtel

From the root slm ‘peace’, the Arabic causative is ’aslama ‘cause peace’; the verbal noun is Islaam, and the participle is muslim ‘one who causes peace, peace-maker’. UA forms resemble the Hebrew causatives: hiCCiC, hiCCaC. Examples of that causative in UA are

- At (1354) Hebrew hi-kbad- > UA \*hipaca ‘sweep’ (d > c(ts)),  
 At (810) Hebrew hikkiir ‘recognize, know, know how to’ > Tr iki- ‘know, be aware of’  
 At (1293) Hebrew hiškiil, hiskal- ‘to understand, comprehend, make wise’ > CN iskal ‘to train’;  
 CN iskal-ia ‘be discreet, prudent’  
 At (567) Hebrew ya’amiin ‘he believes/trusts/stands firm’ > UA \*yawamin ‘believe’ (’ > w)

The passive of the causative—be caused to do s.th.—in Hebrew is called the huqtal or hoqtal (huCCaC / hoCCaC) with a participle of muqtal. If the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant is -y, then the forms are huCCe and muCCe. An example from a common Hebrew stem of a muCCe form is UA \*mukki ‘be sick, die’ aligning with the participle of Hebrew mukke ‘smitten’ (52) and furthermore, Tb hookii ‘deceased grand-relative after death’ aligns with the Hebrew pfv hukke, a slight vowel discrepancy o/u; yet even in Hebrew the form is called both huqtal and hoqtal because both vowels happen among huqtal / hoqtal forms.

Also frequent enough in UA are the passive/stative adjectives / nouns, such as CaCiiC (qariib 977); and a form denoting noun of occupation or habit, i.e., noun who does the verb CaCCaC (šannaa’ 756).

### The Semitic Cohortative / Volitive -a Verb Suffix in Uto-Aztecan

A certain suffix of the Semitic imperfective (impfv) verb is **-a**, and merits mention as it seems to appear in Uto-Aztecan frequently enough. Cohortative and volitive are terms having to do with ‘will’ and ‘wanting to do’ the verb it is suffixed to or wishing that s.o. else do. The cohortative -a in Hebrew signifies encouraging a cohort (group) to do something or a wish/wanting/suggestion that they do something, as in let’s ... In Biblical Hebrew, the cohortative is limited to 1<sup>st</sup> person: let us do (s.th.), or let me (do s.th.) or I shall (with more emphatic intention). However, in other Northwest Semitic languages closely related to Hebrew, the cohortative is not limited to 1<sup>st</sup> person. This -a vowel is related to the Arabic subjunctive -a, which signifies any potential action. This Semitic volitive -a at times can apply to a high percentage of subordinate clauses. (Blau 2010, 207; Lipinski 2001, 360-363) And the syntax of Semitic languages often allows much higher percentages of subordinate clauses than are typical in European languages.

This -a suffix is often used with verbs of motion, as in Hebrew neelākaa ‘let us go!’ (1<sup>st</sup> pl, from Lipinski 2001, 363), and UA \*yīNka ‘enter’ (go in) from Hebrew yeelka (3<sup>rd</sup> sg) is exactly the same root as Lipinski uses in his example, but with 3<sup>rd</sup> person yee- prefix instead of 1<sup>st</sup> person pl nee-. Many other examples of this -a suffix permeate the Semitic-UA data.

**Semitic Pronoun Morphology on Verb** conjugations consists of pronoun morphemes prefixed to the imperfective (not-completed/present/future) and other pronoun morphemes suffixed to the perfective (completed/past) verb forms:

### Verbal Pronominal Suffixes of Some Semitic Languages:

Suffix verb conjugation (usually perfect/past) pronoun forms suffixed to \*CaCaC-:

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Syriac	Arabic
I verbed	-aaku	-tii	-eet	-tu
you masc sg	-aata	-taa	-t	-ta
you fem sg	-aati	-t	-t	-ti
he	-	-	-	-a
she	-at	-aa	-at	-at
we	-aanu	-nuu	-nan	-naa
you masc pl	-aatunu	-tɛm	-toon	-tum
you fem pl	-aatina	-tɛn	-teen	-tunna
they masc pl	-uu	-uu	-uun	-uu
they fem pl	-aa	-uu	-een	-na (Goldenberg 2012, 85)

The bound pronominal prefixes to verbs in the prefix conjugation (usually imperfect/present/future) are shown below. Some person forms also include a suffixed element (like -uu plural), though the prefixes are the primary indicators of person:

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Syriac	Arabic (classical)
I verb	a-	'ε-	'-	'a- / 'u- -(u)
you masc sg	ta-	ti-/tɛ-/tə-	t-/te-	ta- / tu- -(u)
you fem sg	ta- -ii	ti-/tɛ-/tə- -ii	t- -iin	ta- / tu- -ii(na)
he verbs	i-	yi-/yɛ-/yə-	y-	ya- -(u)
she verbs	ta-	ti-/tɛ-/tə-	t-	ta- / tu- -(u)
we verb	n-	ni-/nɛ-/nə-	n-	na- / nu- -(u)
you pl masc	ta- -aa	ti-/tɛ-/tə- -uu	t- -uun	ta- / tu- -(u)
you pl fem	ta- -aa	ti-/tɛ-/tə- -naa	t- -aan	ta- / tu- -na
they masc	i- -uu	yi-/yɛ-/yə- -uu	n- -uu(na)	ya- / yu- -uu(na)
they fem	i- -aa	ti-/tɛ-/tə- -naa	n- -aan	ya- / yu- -na

(Goldenberg 2012, 86-87)

One can readily see the similar morphology among the Semitic conjugated verbs. While most Semitic verbs contain three consonants, Semitic (and Egyptian) have occasional quadrilateral verbs (of 4 consonants), such as Semitic prʕšš 'jump' from which the Semitic noun parʕoʕ 'flea (jumper)' derives as a 'jumper'. (Note UA \*par'osi / \*paro'osi 'jackrabbit' which is also a jumper and shows all four consonants and both vowels.)

### 1.22 Semitic Pronouns

While presenting the Semitic pronominal affixes on verb conjugations, let us also look at the Semitic independent pronouns and the suffix pronouns. The independent pronouns for Akkadian, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic follow. Those found in or relevant to UA forms are in bold. See UA pronouns (101-114).

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Syriac	Arabic (classical)
I	anaaku	'anooki / 'ani	'enaa / (i)naa(?)	'anaa'
you masc sg	atta	' <b>attaa</b>	'att	'anta
you fem sg	atti	'att	'att	'anti
he	šuu	<b>huu</b>	<b>huu</b>	<b>huwa</b>
she	šii	hii	hii	hiya
we	niinu	( 'a)naḥnuu / 'aanuu	ḥnan	naḥnu
you pl masc	attunu	' <b>attem</b>	'attoon	' <b>antum</b>
you pl fem	attina	'atteen(aa)	'atteen	'antunna
they masc	šunu	<b>heem</b> (maa)	hennoon	<b>hum</b>
they fem	šina	heen(naa)	nenneen	hunna

(Goldenberg 2013, 82; Lipinski 2001, 306-7)

The Semitic oblique or suffix pronouns are used as possessors, objects, and subjects (as in his/your giving me/it). Oblique generally refers to non-subject pronouns, i.e., object (of verb), dative (to/for whom given/done), and/or possessive pronouns. Again, forms appearing in UA or relevant to UA are in bold:

	Hebrew	Syriac	Arabic (classical)
I	<b>-ni / -i</b>	<b>-ii / -ay</b>	<b>-ni / -i</b>
you masc sg	<b>-kaa / -aak</b>	-aak / <b>-ayk</b>	-ka
you fem sg	-eek / -aak	-eek / <b>-ayk</b>	-ki
he	-(aa) <b>huu / -aaw / -oo</b>	<b>aaw(hi)</b>	<b>-hu/-hi</b>
she	<b>-haa / -aa(h)</b>	<b>-eeyh / -hi</b>	-ha
we	-nuu	-an / <b>-ayn</b>	-naa
you pl masc	<b>kem</b>	-koon / <b>-aykoon</b>	-kum
you pl fem	ken	-keen / <b>-aykeen</b>	-kunna
they masc	<b>hem / -aam</b>	hoon / <b>-ayhoon</b>	hum
they fem	hen / -aan	heen / <b>-ayheen</b>	hunna

(Goldenberg 2013, 88; Lipinski 2001, 314-15)

### 1.23 Semitic Sound Correspondences

Some Proto-Semitic consonants remain unchanged across the Semitic languages (l, r, m, n, y, which will not be listed), while others undergo changes worth noting. Though an additional proto-consonant or two have been proposed and debated, the generally accepted Semitic sound correspondences are as follows:

Proto-Semitic	Arabic	ESA	Ugaritic	Hebrew	Aramaic	Akkadian	(ESA = Epigraphic South Arabian)
*b	b	b	b	b	b	b	
*p	f	f	p	p	p	p	
*g	ǧ	g	g	g	g	g	(Arabic ǧ = j, from Proto-Semitic *g)
*k	k	k	k	k	k	k	
*q	q	q	q	q	q	q	
*t	t	t	t	t	t	t	
*d	d	d	d	d	d	d	
*ḏ	ḏ	ḏ/d	z	z	d	z	(ḏ = th as in the)
*z	z	z	z	z	z	z	
laryngeals / pharyngeals							
*ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ/∅	(∅ = zero, no sound, disappeared)
*h	h	h	h	h	h	ʾ/∅	
*ħ	ħ	ħ	ħ	ħ	ħ	ʾ/∅	
*ġ	ġ	ġ	ġ	ħ	ħ	ʾ/∅	
*ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ʾ/∅	
*x	x	x	x	ḥ	ḥ	x	
sibilants (s-like consonants)							
*θ	θ	š	θ	š	t	š	
*š / s <sub>1</sub>	s	š	š	š(s <sub>1</sub> )	š	š	
*ś / s <sub>2</sub>	š	ś	š	ś(s <sub>2</sub> )	s	š	(ś = originally lateral fricative, ≈ voiceless ł)
*s / s <sub>3</sub>	s	s	s	s(s <sub>3</sub> )	s	s	
emphatic / pharyngealized consonants							
*ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	
*ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	
*ṭ̣	ṣ	ṭ̣/ṣ	ḏ	ṣ	ṭ	ṣ	(ṣ = emphatic interdental fricative)
*Ṭ	ḏ	Ṭ	ṣ	ṣ	ħ	ṣ	(Ṭ = emphatic lateral fricative)

(Bennett 1998, 68-71; Goldenberg 2013, 68; Lipinski 2001, 112-157)

## 1.24 Masoretic Hebrew

**Masoretic Hebrew** is the dialect(s) of the Hebrew Old Testament (OT) text as vowelized by the Masoretes about AD 600-700. The original texts or various books of the OT were written with only consonants, like most Semitic languages, and were composed at different times, perhaps ranging in date from 1200 to 300 BC. So a millennium to two after the consonantal texts were written, the Masoretes developed a system for writing vowels and some consonant allophones. The consonant variations from Proto-Semitic and probably early Hebrew to Masoretic Hebrew are that the stops became fricatives or spirants following vowels:  $b > v$ ,  $p > f$ ,  $k > x$ ,  $t > \theta$ , etcetera, but at the beginning of the word, or when doubled, or following a consonant,  $b$  remains  $b$ , etc. The same spirantization occurred in Aramaic dialects as well. However, the Uto-Aztec forms from Semitic do not show such spirantizations in Proto-Uto-Aztec forms, though some spirantization happened later in some UA branches, like  $*p > v$  in some Northern Uto-Aztec languages. Because UA does not come from a later spirantized Hebrew, but from earlier non-spirantized Semitic forms, we will not include those later spirantizations when citing Hebrew and Aramaic forms, because the spirantization was not original and is not apparent in early UA reconstructions. Arabic spirantized a couple of consonants— $*p > f$  and  $*g > \text{ǧ/j}$ —changes from Proto-Semitic  $*p$  and  $*g$ , but again, parallels with UA do not reflect those changes.

## 1.25 Semitic Cognates

**Semitic Cognates** are the groups of related words in the Semitic languages; each group of related words descends from its ancient predecessor or ancestral proto-word. For example, from Proto-Semitic  $*\text{d}i'b$  ‘wolf’ (Bennett 1998, 60) are descended Hebrew  $zə'eb$  ‘wolf’, Arabic  $\text{d}i'b$  ‘wolf’, and Aramaic  $\text{di}'b\text{-aa}$  ‘wolf-the’. Initial Proto-Semitic  $*\text{d}$  corresponds to Hebrew  $z$ , Arabic  $\text{d}$ , Aramaic / Syriac  $d$ ; thus, those consonants begin the respective forms in those languages; the glottal stop ( $'$ , 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant) and  $b$  (3<sup>rd</sup> consonant) remain the same in those languages. This set (Semitic  $*\text{d}i'b$  wolf) has a cognate in most Semitic languages (note UA  $*\text{t}i'pa$  ‘wolf’); however, sometimes cognates appear in few languages, not surviving or. This happens in all language families: some cognates continue prevalent or well represented in most languages, while others become sparsely represented or may disappear altogether.

In this connection, sometimes the corpus or full extent of an ancient language’s vocabulary or cognates can hardly be known. The ancient Akkadian or Assyrian vocabulary is known to be rather voluminous as extracted from extensive records. Aramaic, as presented in the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (CAL) with all its dialects, is also prolifically recorded. The vocabularies of thriving modern languages with numerous native speakers, like the various Arabic dialects, can be quite thoroughly known as well. However, some ancient languages, whose records are limited, leave a proportionately limited amount of information behind and so our knowledge of them is similarly limited. For example, the ancient Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA) languages (a different branch of Semitic than the Arabic dialects) are known only by inscriptions whose contents and limited genres lack a rich literature or lengthy narratives to know much about the ancient language. **Biblical Hebrew** is its own limited corpus. The Israelites’ dialects changed through time, from Moses to Jeremiah, as all living languages always do, and each book is but a snapshot (not a photoalbum) of that author’s dialect in that century in that place, not to mention debates about later revisions that may have obscured the snapshot. So we can be sure that much more was in the spoken language and that what we have in the narrative is but a fraction of the actual ancient language. The Book of Job, for example, represents its own unique dialect, and has many words which occur only once in the Old Testament (OT), i.e., in Job. So if many words made it into the text only once, how many other thousands of words or verb forms in the spoken language missed out on gaining a single appearance in the OT?

Consider, for example, that a Hebrew word for ‘squirrel’ does not occur in the Hebrew Old Testament text, yet the spoken language certainly had words for squirrel, and UA has three words for squirrel aligning with what would be the Hebrew cognate of Arabic and Aramaic words for squirrel. Arabic **singaab** ‘squirrel’ would correspond to Hebrew  $*\text{š/siggoob}$  ‘squirrel’ to which UA  $*\text{sikkuC}$  ‘squirrel’ corresponds perfectly (C means an underlying consonant that doubles the next consonant, and devoicing  $g > k$ , and rising of  $o > u$ , all typical of the Semitic to UA sound changes; see number 57). Note also Arabic **qarqadaan** ‘squirrel’  $>$  UA  $*\text{qonji}$ - ‘squirrel’; **qarqad** is the essence of the word, -aan being a noun augment. The cluster  $*\text{-rq-} > \text{-ŋ-}$  in Northern UA, which tends to nasalize liquids (change  $r$  and  $l$  to  $n$  or  $\text{ŋ}$ ) and the velar nasal ( $\text{ŋ}$ )

from a liquid and guttural (back consonant) cluster, is all quite natural. Like words for squirrel, many other words and verbal conjugations would have been in the spoken language, but are not in the OT text.

Whenever another language of a language family is discovered, it is invariably a unique combination of features, some of which are typical and expectable and others not so typical or expected. For example, the Nabatean language, though officially considered an Aramaic dialect, is more Arabic-like than other Aramaic dialects. The language in Job has leanings that are more Aramaic- and Arabic-like than the other books of the Hebrew OT text. So to find a peculiar combination of features in UA, some more Aramaic-like and some more Arabic-like, but all fused into a basic Hebrew conjugation system, is actually quite typical of any newly discovered relative to a group of relatives. To find cognates that match an Akkadian word or an Arabic word (like UA squirrel) or an Aramaic word, but without an attested Biblical Hebrew cognate should not be thought strange at all. That is how cognates work, in any language family. Each relative has its surprise cognate contributions as well as its random voids.

## 1.26 ‘The’ in Semitic

‘The’ in Hebrew and Arabic is a prefix, reconstructing to \*hal- / \*han- (both have been proposed). The -l- / -n- is absorbed / assimilated to double the next consonant in Hebrew: hay-yeled ‘the-boy’; ham-melek ‘the-king’; haš-šaloom ‘the-peace’. Various ha-/hi-/a- noun prefixes sporadically appear in UA as noun prefixes, though it is unclear what their original meanings were, yet they resemble fossilized ha- prefixes, sometimes changing the vowel ha-/hi-, though Hebrew itself also sometimes changes the vowel ha-/he-. These may more often be nouns from Sem-kw. The Arabic article al- lost the h, but keeps the l- before some consonants—al-malk ‘the-king’, al-walad ‘the-boy’—but assimilates before other consonants—as-salaam ‘the peace’, aḏ-ḏakar ‘the-male/man’.

Most interesting, however, are the Aramaic forms, which are abundantly apparent in UA. Aramaic dialects suffix ‘the’ to their definite nouns: -aa ‘the’ is suffixed to masculine nouns and -taa ‘the’ suffixed to feminine nouns (feminine -taa is actually from feminine -t- + -aa): for example, malk-aa ‘king-the’, malkə-taa ‘queen-the’ and this definite the- form is often the citation form or the more common form of the noun. In fact, Goldenberg (2012, 133) says that in Syriac “the historically definite forms became the normal forms of nouns, unmarked for definiteness.” The feminine definite suffix (UA \*-ta) became part of the citation form in UA as well, though droppable when possessed as in Semitic also. We see -aa fossilized on many UA nouns that were masculine nouns in Semitic, and -taa is still productive as the general absolutive suffix on UA nouns in many branches of UA. Examples of masculine -aa are

Aramaic pagr-aa ‘corpse-the’ > Hp pīikya ‘skin, fur’ (from dead animal) vs. Hebrew (hap-)peger

Syriac sigr-aa ‘drain, ditch-the’ > Hp sikya ‘small valley, ravine, canyon with sloped sides’

Aramaic rə’emaan-aa / reemaan-aa ‘antelope-the’ > UA \*tīmīna ‘antelope’ (604)

Aramaic di’b-aa ‘wolf-the’ > UA \*tī’pa ‘wolf’ vs. Hebrew (haz-)zə’eb ‘the-wolf’ (618)

Aramaic diqn-aa ‘beard-the, chin-the’ > UA \*tī’na ‘mouth’ vs. Hebrew (haz-)zāqaan ‘beard/chin’(617)

Even more interesting is that these suffixes -aa’ and -taa’ in written Aramaic actually end with a glottal stop, which either was never pronounced, only signifying the long vowel -aa, or were perhaps pronounced in some dialects, but in UA these suffixes often actually end with a glottal stop in Numic and Takic: Aramaic kookb-aa’ ‘star-the’ > UA \*kuppaa’ > Serrano kupaa’ ‘to shine (as of the stars)’ (1274) Syriac ‘aamaqqət-aa ‘lizard-the, n.f.’ > UA \*makkaCta ‘horned toad’: NP makaca’a ‘horned toad’ (1055)

**Verbal Nouns** are used in Hebrew and Arabic much more frequently than is customary in English.

For example, for a narrative in Genesis 44:30-31, the King James English has five finite verbs: “when I **come** ... and the lad be not with us; seeing that his life **is** bound up in the lad’s life ... when he **seeth** that the lad **is** not with us, he shall **die**.” Yet the Hebrew has only one verb at the end “he’ll die” but three verbal nouns and two verbless equative/copula constructions: “As/at my coming ... and the lad not with us, his soul bound (adj) to his soul ... as/at his seeing the lad not, he will die.” Thus, Semitic often employs many verbal nouns more conveniently translated as verbs in English. So not surprisingly, we find many verbal nouns in UA: e.g., gəlom > UA kolom ‘wrap’ (934), Hebrew \*ra’oot(-aa) ‘seeing (it), to see (it), infinitive/ verbal noun’ > UA \*ta’uta ‘find’ (100), etc.

### 1.3 A Brief Introduction to Egyptian

As all living languages are always changing, Egyptian over its 4,000-year history also underwent stages of development from Old Egyptian (3100-2100 BC) to classical Middle Egyptian (2100-1600 BC), Late Egyptian (1600-600 BC), and then Demotic, beginning about 650BC and overlapping with and closely related to Coptic, which began being written with the Greek alphabet, and thus with vowels. This last stage of Egyptian, Coptic, continued in use more than 1,000 years, and is still the liturgical language of the Coptic Christian Church today (Allen 2010, 1). Each stage exhibited major and minor changes from its predecessor. In fact, as details emerge, we should be able to identify the time or stage of the Egyptian from which the Uto-Aztecian infusion originated. Relevant to that eventuality, it is important to note that “Old Egyptian and Late Egyptian are historical phases of a single dialect, or closely related ones, likely from the north, while Middle Egyptian, chronologically between those two, represents a separate dialect, most likely southern in origin. In the history of the language, therefore, Middle Egyptian somewhat interrupts and obscures the presumably direct evolution of Old Egyptian into Late Egyptian” (Allen 2013, 4). The Egyptian element in Uto-Aztecian is closely associated with the Semitic-p; that and other factors suggest an Israelite group was likely the bearer of both. If Israelite, keep in mind where the Israelites were in Egypt? In the north, the Delta area. So when the UA Egyptian element exhibits both Old Egyptian and Late Egyptian features, such may be significant. My premature sense of the matter is that UA is mostly of that Old-plus-Late Egyptian duality. The prefixed articles of Late Egyptian (pV-, tV-, nV-) are in UA and at least two Old Egyptian features. Tarahumara’s plural prefix \*i- / \*ip- matches Old Egyptian i(p..) as the beginning of plural demonstrative pronouns (these/those); see explanation at 121. A second matter of Old Egyptian in UA is that the UA stative suffix -i is in all 11 branches of UA and is the oldest form (-i) of the stative suffix in Egyptian as well (see 116), though it later changed to -w in Middle Egyptian (Allen 2010, 206-7; Gardiner 1969, 234-8). UA has both stative -i and passive -wa, and some UA languages, like Hp and Tb, have both \*-i-wa, as Egyptian sometimes shows both together also.

Two Egyptian stative/passive features are pervasive throughout Uto-Aztecian. In fact, one is called the old perfective from Old Egyptian and was also used as a stative, though the stative dimension continued through all stages of Egyptian even to Coptic. Stative structures represent resulting states of verbs. For example, in English we have ‘I do’ (present) and ‘I did’ (past), but ‘is done’ expresses a present state resulting from a past action. Similarly, in Egyptian a final vowel -i at the end of verbs is the form of both the old perfective (past-tense like) and the stative (Allen 2000, 201; Gardiner 1969, 234-8). Likewise, every branch of Uto-Aztecian has exactly the same feature in which the final vowel of a transitive verb is changed to -i in order to signify the corresponding stative, intransitive, or passive verb. A few examples from 116: Guarijio has transitive verbs ending in -a with corresponding intransitive verbs in -i (Miller 1996, 130):

Wr co’a ‘put out fire’; Wr co’i ‘be no fire’;  
Wr wela ‘put upright/standing’; Wr weri ‘be upright/standing’;  
Wr mo’a ‘put pl obj’s inside’; Wr mo’i ‘enter, pl subj’s’;  
Wr sa’wa ‘cure s.o., alleviate s.th.’; Wr sa’wi ‘be alleviated, go away’;

Tarahumara also has such pairs of verbs’ (Hilton 1993, 139):

Tr mana ‘put, place, set’; Tr mani ‘be (in/at a place), exist’;  
Tr bi’wá ‘clean it’; Tr bi’wí ‘be(come) clean’;  
Tr čiwá ‘stick s.th., vt’; Tr čiwí ‘be stuck, vi’;

Classical Nahuatl also has such pairs of verbs (Sullivan 1988, 171):

CN tla-tema ‘fill, place s.th.’; CN temi ‘be full, be lying down’;  
CN tla-kotona ‘break s.th.’; CN kotoni ‘be broken’;  
CN tla-mana ‘put s.th. on the floor’; CN mani ‘be stretched out, extended’;  
CN tla-toma ‘undo s.th.’; CN tomi ‘be undone’; and so does Tbr:  
Tbr towa ‘leave s.th. behind, vt’; Tbr towi/tovi ‘stay, remain, vi’.

In some UA languages, the final -i vowel is the perfective dimension of Egyptian’s old perfective:

Cm -i ‘completive suffix on verbs’ (Charney 1993, 142-3).  
TO -i ‘perfective is marked by a final vowel change to -i’ (Langacker 1977, 131);  
Op -i ‘perfective changes final -a to -i’ (Shaul 2003, 25);  
Eu -i ‘the final stem vowel changes to final -i for the Eu preterite [past] in many, if not most  
Eu verbs, vs. Eu -a-n ‘present indicative verb ending’:

Eu hipra-n ‘watch over, care for’ vs. preterite: hipri ‘watched over, cared for’;  
Eu maka-n ‘give’ vs. preterite: maki ‘gave’;  
Eu taha-n ‘burn’ vs. preterite: tahi ‘burned’

The other Egyptian passive frequent in UA is the Egyptian suffix -w which aligns with UA \*-wa ‘passive suffix’ and sometimes Egyptian -iw which matches UA \*iwa. Remember that Egyptian shows only consonants, not vowels; thus, Egyptian -w and UA \*-wa match well. See details at set number 117.

We must state clearly that Ancient Egyptian writing did not show vowels, only the consonants, though the consonants y and w sometimes represented the vowels i and u, respectively.

**Reduplication** was used in Older Egyptian for intense, frequentative, and imperfective verbs: wn ‘was’ vs. wnn ‘is, being, imperfective’; pr ‘came forth’ vs. prr ‘be coming forth’; and wn ‘walk’ and wnwn ‘walk to and fro’; from Egyptian fx ‘loosen’ are fxfx ‘totally release’ and fxx ‘loosen totally’; dbn ‘go around’ and dbndbn ‘go around and around’ (Bendjaballah and Reintges). Egyptian verbs with 5 consonants are always a reduplication of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants: k’p ‘cover’ and k’p’p ‘cover up’; nhmhm from nhm ‘yell’; ddydy from ddy; sometimes a full reduplication: nddndd from ndd (Allen 2010, 157). The most common kind of reduplication is doubling the 2<sup>nd</sup> of two consonants: wn > wnn; hzi > hzz; (Satzinger 2014).

Reduplication in Uto-Aztecan has a similar array of uses. Langacker (1977, 128) notes “virtually every UA language displays verbal reduplication of some kind, and in some cases a variety of patterns.” Reduplication in UA signifies types of plurality, plural verbs, repetitive, continuative, distributive, durative, and intensive aspects of verbs, and for imperfective verb stems (Langacker 1977, 128-131).

A few other Egyptian grammatical structures are apparent in UA as well. The masculine pa-, feminine ta-, and plural na- article (‘the’) prefixes are found here and there as fossilized forms in UA languages. See set number 369. The Egyptian structure *noun-pw* ‘he is a/the noun’ is found to a somewhat limited degree, but in several UA languages. See set 122.

Raymond Faulkner’s (1962) *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* is the usual standard or the best available in English. However, Rainer Hannig’s (1995) *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch* is three decades more recent, has more entries/words from more documents, and includes Late Egyptian and more semantic nuances, etcetera. They are the two Egyptian dictionaries regularly cited in this work and are among the best that are available and are abbreviated in this work as Egyptian(F) and Egyptian(H), respectively. *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* (2002, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition) by Leonard H. Lesko and Barbara Switalski Lesko is also cited occasionally, as Egyptian(L). Coptic is a descendent of Egyptian and has the advantage of exhibiting vowels, some of them hinting at the more ancient vowels. Our primary source for Coptic terms is Jaroslav Cerny’s (1976) *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. Other works, such as Antonio Loprieno’s (1995) *Ancient Egyptian: A Linguistic Introduction*, and James Allen’s (2013) *The Ancient Egyptian Language: An Historical Study*, and others listed in the Egyptian-and-Coptic bibliography are cited periodically as well.

## 1.4 Introduction to the Uto-Aztecan Languages, Branches, and Abbreviations

Uto-Aztecan (UA) is a language family of 30-40 languages (depending on dialect vs language debates) in the western United States and Mexico (map page 37). This book is based on the author’s reference work—*Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary* (UACV 2011)—with adjustments and additions.

Any comparative work in Uto-Aztecan (UA) is a work in progress. The size of UA and the regular emergence of new materials guarantee that any comprehensive comparative effort is but a new horizon for viewing the next. Yet many a linguist’s life work finds its final resting place in files or landfill due to (1) lack of time to finish it, despite the potential value to future researchers; (2) uncertainty about certain details, perhaps 3%, though the other 97% would have benefited all else studying the matter; and/or (3) not relishing the prospect that condemnations of the 3% may seem louder than commendations of the 97%. So let the latest from four decades of doing UA be made available lest it be lost to landfill should I exit without warning. Publishing, despite its pretense of completion, is as often only the latest draft of endless endeavor. The original hope of finishing such an undertaking before one’s own undertaking gradually gives way to time’s reminder that no one gets everything right the first time, or even the last time in mortal exertions the magnitude of a language family, and our assumptions about when the last time might be are regularly erroneous, as we hardly get glimpses of our hourglasses. The tragic unpredictable passing of our mentor Wick Miller in May 1994 is an example.

Wick Miller was an example in several ways: he was open, cordial, and encouraging. He was not overly critical, perhaps a tad animated at times, but friendly as a team-player in our cooperative progress in UA. As founder of the Friends of Uto-Aztecan organization, he was a friend to Uto-Aztecanists and devoted most of his life to UA. Miller's 1988 computerized database of potential cognate sets exemplifies his openness. He knew it was a compilation of rough-draft brainstorming in need of sorting, revision, etcetera, but he shared it openly—opening himself to an egoless vulnerability for the sake of progress, being more interested in our progress in knowledge than in his being right all the time. In that spirit is this work offered. Errors, loose ends, and uncertainties are certain, but some UA matters may remain unresolved even if one could spend three lifetimes on them, for many more than that have already been devoted to UA and to the reconstruction of Proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA).

In the UA reconstructions I do not deal with vowel length, only vowel quality and consonants. Figuring out PUA vowel length may fill another lifetime, but not mine. Reduced consonant clusters with compensatory vowel lengthening underlie some long vowels in UA (CVCCV > CVVCV; see page 63), raising doubts about vowel length until the medial clusters are clarified. That and changing stress patterns—causing vowel lengthening with stress, or shortening or syncope without stress, in the various branches and languages through the layers of time—make the puzzle of PUA vowel-length presently impractical. UACV also continues Miller's (1967, 1988) tradition of including sets found in only one branch. Rejecters of Northern-Uto-Aztecan (NUA) and others of Southern Uto-Aztecan (SUA) make two-branch sets possibly from PUA, and one-branch sets are worth listing, since a reflex from another branch often appears later, though they can hardly be considered from PUA until such support surfaces. A few loans are listed if entering UA early enough to be found in multiple branches. As Miller (1988, 1) notes, “loans are of as much historical interest as inherited forms.”

Edward Sapir (1913, 1915) was the first to apply the comparative method sufficient to establish Uto-Aztecan as a viable language family, after Buschmann, Brinton, Kroeber, and others helped lay the foundations for Uto-Aztecan studies, by identifying the three previously accepted branches—Shoshonean (NUA), Sonoran, and Aztecan. A five-letter surname that looms as large as Sapir's in UA contribution needs no further abbreviation, so sets from Sapir's founding works (1913, 1915) are cited as Sapir. A half century later, Voegelin, Voegelin, and Hale (1962) produced 171 cognate sets to further establish the sound correspondences and phonology of UA, abbreviated VVH. Not long afterwards, Wick Miller (1967) published *Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets*, containing 514 cognate sets. Miller continued working in UA and his last update (1988) of some 1185 potential cognate sets is herein abbreviated M88. Kenneth Hill (2020) continued sorting and revising M88 until 2020, combining some sets, redistributing others, adding new reflexes to existing sets, and adding cognate sets of his own discovery, totaling 1286 sets. Hill's revision of M88 is herein abbreviated KH/M. Besides the usual cognate collections, Kenneth Hill's *Serrano Dictionary* (in progress) has many comparative notes on other Takic languages, Tübatülabal, Hopi, and often Numic languages, i.e., most of NUA, so for sets with a Serrano reflex, it is another comparative resource for NUA, here cited as KH.NUA. After 30 years of effort, Stubbs (2011) eventually finished *Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary*, containing 2700 sets. Ronald Langacker (1976b, 1977a) and Jason Haugen (2008) have authored excellent books dealing with UA grammar. Through the 1980s and 1990s, Alexis Manaster Ramer (AMR) was a prolific contributor to UA studies, producing more articles than are easily retrievable, until his illness. His and the works of Dakin, Campbell, Canger, Casad, Estrada Fernandez, Fowler, Heath, Jane Hill, Langacker, Lionnet, Munro, Shaul, Seiler, Steele, the Voegelins, Zamarron, and others—works both published and unpublished, like Kaufman's 1981 draft manuscript *Comparative Uto-Aztecan Phonology*—all constitute a corpus somewhat daunting for mere mortals to master.

As is the nature of research, this author's works also build on the good work of many others; thus, I am greatly indebted to the excellent output of scores of scholars before me. The 2011 work has been updated and an electronic edition (2020) is available online, though one lifetime is a few short of what is needed to really do a language family the size of UA. Though it doubles the number of previously known sets, the new sets are mostly smaller sets, as most of the larger ones, easier to find, have long been identified in previous works. Nevertheless, UACV (2011/2020) adds some 1400 new UA cognate sets, adds new reflexes to previous sets, expands the number of branches for many sets, includes a phonology section treating features of UA comparative phonology (most of it here also), and provides discussion on salient questions in some sets, but mainly marshals an enlarged database and some new perspectives for furthering UA research.



**Table 1: The Preceding Cognate Collections in Chronological Order and Their Abbreviations**

(Branch cognate collections are abbreviated as the initial(s) of author surname(s) dot branch; only the six in bold address the whole language family)

<b>Sapir</b>	<b>Sapir’s “Southern Paiute and Nahuatl: a Study in Uto-Aztecan” (1913, 1915)</b>
<b>VVH</b>	<b>Voegelin, Voegelin, and Hale’s <i>Typological and Comparative Grammar of UA</i> (1962)</b>
B.Tep	Burton Bascom’s <i>Proto-Tepiman</i> (1965)
<b>M67</b>	<b>Wick Miller’s <i>Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets</i> (1967)</b>
BH.Cup	William Bright and Jane Hill’s “The Linguistic History of the Cupeño” <i>IJAL</i> 33 (1967)
HH.Cup	Jane Hill and Kenneth Hill’s “Stress in the Cupan Languages” <i>IJAL</i> 34 (1968)
I.Num	David Iannucci’s <i>Numeric Historical Phonology</i> (1972)
CL.Azt	Campbell and Langacker’s “Proto-Aztecan Vowels,” <i>IJAL</i> 44 (1978)
Fowler83	Catherine Fowler’s “Lexical Clues to UA Prehistory” <i>IJAL</i> 49 (1983) and her fieldnotes
L.Son	Andrés Lionnet’s <i>Relaciones Internas de la Rama Sonorense</i> (1985)
<b>M88</b>	<b>Wick Miller’s 1988 Computerized Database of Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets (1988)</b>
Munro.Cup	Pamelo Munro’s “Stress and Vowel Length in Cupan Absolute Nouns” <i>IJAL</i> 56 (1990)
KH.NUA	Kenneth Hill’s <i>Serrano Dictionary</i> , with comparative notes relevant to NUA (2001)
<b>KH/M</b>	<b>Kenneth Hill’s <i>Miller’s Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets: revised and expanded by Kenneth C. Hill</i> (2006-2020)</b>
<b>UACV</b>	<b>Brian Stubbs’ <i>Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary</i> (2011, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed 2020)</b>

**Table 2: The Uto-Aztecan Languages and Their Abbreviations**

Mn	Mono	Hp	Hopi	Eu	Eudeve
NP	Northern Paiute	Tb	Tübatülabal	Op	Opata
		Ls	Luisseño	Tbr	Tubar
TSh	Tümpisha Shoshoni	Ca	Cahuilla	Yq	Yaqui
Sh	Shoshoni	Cp	Cupeño	AYq	Arizona Yaqui
WSh	Western Shoshoni	Sr	Serrano	My	Mayo
Cm	Comanche	Tj	Tongva / Gabrielino	Wr	Guarijio
		Ktn	Kitanemuk	Tr	Tarahumara
Kw	Kawaiisu	TO	Tohono O’odham	Cr	Cora
Ch	Chemehuevi	UP	Upper Pima/Pima Alto	Wc	Huichol
SP	Southern Paiute	Nv	Nevome	CN	Classical Nahuatl
WMU	White Mesa Ute	LP	Lower Pima/Pima Bajo	Te	Tetelcingo Nawa
NU	Northern/Uintah Ute	PYp	Pima de Yepáchic	Pl	Pipil Nawa
CU	Colorado Ute	PYc	Pima de Yécora	Wa	Huastec Nawa
		NT	Northern Tepehuan	Gr	Guerrero Nawa
		ST	Southern Tepehuan	I-M	Isthmus-Mecayapan

**Table 3: The Branches of the Uto-Aztecan Language Family and Their Abbreviations**

Mn	Western Numic (Num/WNum)	Hp	single-language branch	Eu	Opatan (Opn)
NP	Western Numic	Tb	single-language branch	Op	Opatan (Opn)
		Cp	Takic, Cupan (Cup within Tak)	Tbr	single-language branch
TSh	Central Numic (Num/CNum)	Ca	Takic, Cupan (Cup within Tak)	Yq	Cahitan (Cah)
Sh	Central Numic	Ls	Takic, Cupan (Cup within Tak)	AYq	Cahitan (Cah)
Cm	Central Numic	Sr	Takic (Tak)	My	Cahitan (Cah)
		Tj	Takic (Tak)	Wr	Tarahumaran (Trn)
Kw	Southern Numic (Num/SNum)	Ktn	Takic (Tak)	Tr	TaraCahitan (Trn)
Ch	Southern Numic	TO	Piman or Tepiman (Tep)	Cr	Corachol (CrC)
SP	Southern Numic	Nv, UP	Tepiman (Tep)	Wc	Corachol (CrC)
WMU	Southern Numic	PYc	Tepiman (Tep)	CN	Aztecan (Azt)
NU	Southern Numic	PYp	Tepiman (Tep)	Te	Aztecan (Azt)
CU	Southern Numic	LP	Tepiman (Tep)	Pl	Aztecan (Azt)
		NT	Tepiman (Tep)	Wa	Aztecan (Azt)
		ST	Tepiman (Tep)	Gr	Aztecan (Azt)
				I-M	Aztecan (Azt)

## The Branches of Uto-Aztecan

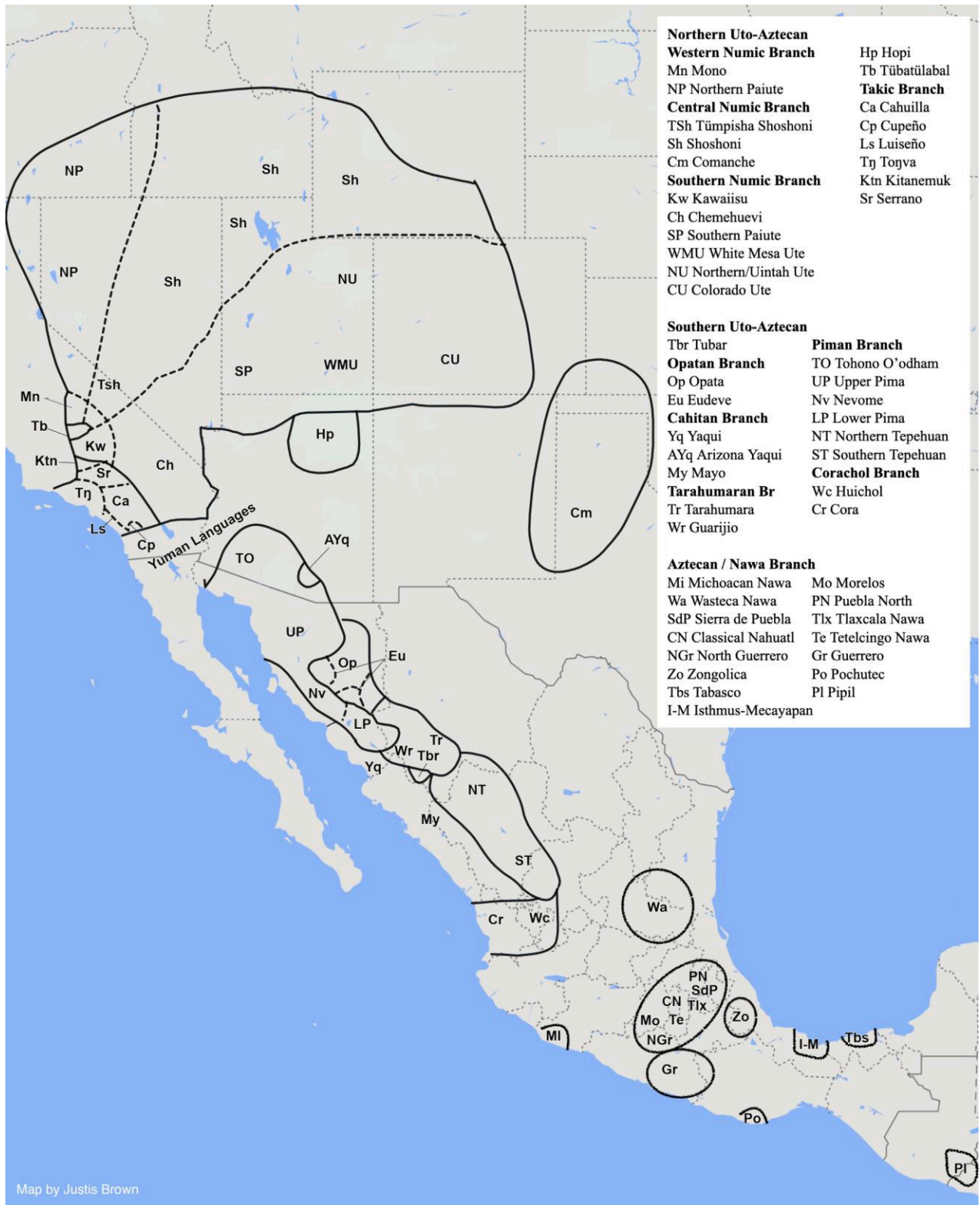
Miller (1984) and Cortina-Borja and Valiñas (1989) tallied the number of lexical agreements between UA languages using Swadesh's 100-word list, with 12 substitutions. Cortina-Borja and Valiñas added six languages to Miller's and analyzed the data differently. Table 4 presents most of those data:

**Table 4: Lexical Correlations between Uto-Aztecan Languages**

Mn	
NP 77 NP	
TSh59 58 TSh	
Sh 58 58 87 Sh	
Cm 57 58 79 88 Cm	
Kw 52 56 54 55 49 Kw	
Ch 50 55 61 58 54 75 Ch	
SP 53 58 62 62 59 79 86 SP	
CU 52 57 59 61 59 76 78 87 CU	
Tb 39 42 37 38 35 39 42 39 40 Tb	
Tj 26 26 26 26 23 24 27 26 27 40 Tj	
Sr 26 24 24 24 21 26 28 27 27 35 45 Sr	
Ca 29 27 27 27 24 27 31 31 29 38 42 50 Ca	
Cp 28 27 24 24 23 26 30 31 28 37 34 38 65 Cp	
Ls 26 27 25 24 22 24 27 27 26 34 38 35 50 48 Ls	
Hp 33 32 27 23 22 31 33 31 32 38 29 29 31 31 26 Hp	
TO 23 26 25 25 23 26 28 28 30 35 25 27 31 28 25 32 TO	
LP 24 26 24 24 23 24 26 26 27 35 24 27 30 27 24 35 85 LP	
NT 25 28 26 26 23 27 28 30 29 37 26 30 32 29 26 33 79 79 NT	
ST 22 24 23 23 21 24 24 26 27 33 26 28 31 28 25 30 73 75 82 ST	
Wr 26 29 23 23 24 24 24 25 28 36 29 34 34 29 28 32 44 47 47 48 Wr	
Tr 23 27 21 21 21 22 22 23 26 32 28 34 33 26 28 28 41 42 42 43 83 Tr	
Op 26 29 21 20 20 20 26 24 23 33 26 31 33 29 24 33 40 44 40 39 55 54 Op	
Eu 28 27 23 23 22 26 24 26 27 35 26 30 34 29 25 35 45 47 45 43 59 52 73 Eu	
My 27 28 25 26 24 27 25 27 28 35 29 33 36 26 28 34 43 45 49 49 58 51 53 61 My	
Yq 29 30 26 26 24 29 26 29 30 35 28 32 35 26 28 36 45 47 49 49 58 51 55 62 93 Yq	
Tbr 28 27 27 28 27 28 27 30 31 33 24 28 29 26 23 30 40 41 46 43 48 44 42 51 51 53 Tbr	
Wc 25 24 23 23 21 23 23 24 25 32 24 28 34 26 27 28 41 43 42 41 51 48 48 49 48 51 41 Wc	
Cr 25 22 22 23 21 22 21 22 23 30 19 21 24 23 22 26 34 34 35 35 42 38 35 42 45 46 39 58 Cr	
CN 18 18 16 16 14 16 15 16 16 24 20 22 23 19 19 24 29 29 30 29 32 33 39 40 38 39 36 39 37 CN	
Te 19 18 16 16 14 17 15 16 17 25 20 22 24 20 19 24 30 30 30 29 32 34 38 40 38 39 35 37 35 85 Te	
Zo 17 17 15 15 13 16 16 17 18 26 21 20 24 20 19 24 31 31 32 31 29 33 35 39 37 38 35 35 33 80 85 Zo	
Pl 16 15 14 14 12 16 15 16 17 24 21 19 23 20 18 24 30 30 29 29 33 34 38 40 39 39 37 37 35 79 81 77	

Many students of UA see a primary split between Northern Uto-Aztecan (NUA) and Southern Uto-Aztecan (SUA) (Heath 1977:27; Heath 1978:222; Langacker 1977:5; Langacker 1978:197, 269; Fowler 1983:234, Cortina-Borja and Valiñas 1989), yet a few reject NUA and Manaster Ramer (p.c.) rejects SUA. Jane Hill (2001a and b, 2010) also cites evidence for NUA vs. a lack of such for SUA. NUA does exhibit phonological innovations, such as \*-c- > -y- (Manaster Ramer 1992b) and some morphological innovations (Heath 1977:1978). (See discussion in Miller 1983, Goddard 1996, Cortina-Borja and Valiñas 1989.) NUA consists of Numic, Takic, and two single-language branches: Tübatülabal and Hopi. SUA branches include Tepiman, Opatan, Tarahumaran, Cahitan, Tubar, Corachol, and Aztecan.

**Numic** (Num) has three subbranches. From southern California, Western Numic (WNum) spread northward along the California-Nevada border into Oregon and Idaho. Central Numic (CNum) spread northeastward through central Nevada, northwestern Utah, into Idaho, Wyoming, and onto the plains. Southern Numic (SNum) spread eastward into southern Nevada, northern Arizona, most of Utah, and the mountainous west half of Colorado. Western Numic includes Mono (Mn) and Northern Paiute (NP). To Central Numic belong Tumpisha Shoshoni (TSh), Shoshoni (Sh), and Comanche (Cm). Southern Numic includes Kawaiisu (Kw), Chemehuevi (Ch), Southern Paiute (SP), Northern or Uintah Ute (NU), White Mesa Ute (WMU), and Colorado Ute (CU).



**Map of Uto-Aztecan Languages**

The term Colorado Ute here replaces Southern Ute, since northern vs. southern is not a language division, but relocation options for the Ute dialects: e.g., the Uncompahgre Utes from southern Colorado went north to the Uintah-Ouray reserve, though their dialect and ties are closer to southern Colorado Ute; and

White Mesa Ute (Stubbs 2011, 6-10), often labeled Southern Ute because it is in the south, has features also in NU and California SNum, but lost in Ignacio's Colorado Ute; and none of the three so-called Northern Ute dialects (two from Colorado) is recorded. So the northern-southern distinction is recent-geographic, not linguistic, and of at least five Ute dialects, only Ignacio's is left in Colorado, thus, the term Colorado Ute.

The tabulations above show high correlations within each branch of Num (76-88), but less between the Num languages of different branches (49-62). Lamb (1958) and others have explained the Num languages' spread from the NUA homeland in southern California out into the Great Basin. The data show the inner-most language of each branch to be more closely related to the outer-most language of the same branch than to the closer neighboring Num languages of different branches. This pattern shows more diversity in Southern California between languages of differing branches only a few miles away vs. closer ties to tongues of the same branch 1,000 miles away. For example, TSh in Southern California is linguistically much closer to Sh (87) in Wyoming and Cm (79) on the plains, all three of Central Numic (CNum), than TSh is to nearby Mn (59) of Western Numic (WNum) and also in Southern California, or to nearby Kw (54) of Southern Numic (SNum) and also in Southern California. This greater diversity in the geographically limited Numic (and NUA) homeland speaks convincingly for a three-way Numic split in Southern California before spreading north, northeast, and eastward into the Great Basin. Shaul (2014) presents many details about the Numic spread, suggesting SNum spread first and WNum last.

**Takic** (Tak) has traditionally included the UA languages of Southern California, less Tübatülabal (Tb) and Numic languages. Within Tak is a tighter **Cupan** (Cup) group—Luiseño (Ls), Cahuilla (Ca), and Cupeño (Cp)—though the numbers above show Sr as close to Ca as Ls is to Ca. Serrano (Sr), Tongva (Tṅ), Kitanemuk (Ktn) and other now extinct languages together with Cupan constitute the Tak branch. Tak shows a much greater diversity than Numic. The numbers between the Tak pairs range from 35 to 50 (except for Ca-Cp 65) vs. Numic's numbers (49-88). Matters relating to that diversity have periodically caused the unity or exclusivity of the Tak branch to be questioned. **Californian** (Alexis Manaster Ramer 1992a; Kenneth Hill 1998) has been a contemplated union of Tb with Tak. Numbers as low as 34 between Tṅ and Cp, and 35 between Sr and Ls approximate several other 34's between Tak and non-Takic languages (Wr, Tr, Eu, Tb, Wc). Those inter-Tak numbers are no larger than the 35 through 40 that Tb shares with four Tak languages (Tṅ, Sr, Ca, Cp). Thus, the union of Tb and Tak into a Californian branch of NUA is reasonable enough in view of the above data, and questioning the traditional Tak unity merits consideration. Nevertheless, the author sees support for Tb's continued separation from Tak (see discussion under Tb), though hardly overwhelming. Kenneth Hill (2010, 1) also notes Tb's lack of initial ṅ and allowing ṅ only after vowels to be like the Numic languages and unlike the Tak languages' initial ṅ.

**Tübatülabal's** (Tb) numbers with Num range from 35 to 42, with Tak they range from 34 to 40, and the Tb-Hp number is 38. The differences are so slight and the ranges so overlapping that Tb appears to be about equidistant lexically to other branches of NUA; thus, Tb seems to hold an especially central place in NUA. Yet viewing matters from the other directions, we see that Num is closer to Tb (35-42) than Num is to Tak (21-31) or to Hp (22-33), and that Hp is closer to Tb (38) than Hp to Tak (26-31) or Hp to Num (22-33). Furthermore, Cortina-Borja and Valiñas (1989, 235) see Tb to be slightly more closely associated with Hp and Num than with Tak. So it may be useful to retain Tb as a NUA branch for now. In any case, Tb and Hp both hold especially central positions, not only in NUA, but in UA generally: the Tb and Hp numbers with SUA branches are higher than other NUA languages with SUA languages, though Ca and Sr are not far off.

**Hopi** (Hp), presently spoken in northern Arizona, holds a unique position in UA—unique as a single-language branch of NUA and as the only known UA tribe to participate in the Ancient Pueblo tradition, along with three other language families (Kiowa-Tanoan, Keresan, and Zuni). Some measures put Hp closer to Tak (Cortina-Borja and Valiñas 1989, 228), while the numbers above show the closest Hp correlate to be Tb (38). Interestingly, however, Hp's next highest numbers are shared with Yq (36), Eu (35), LP (35), and My (34), all of SUA in Mexico, after which several low 30's (30-33) are shared with some Tak and Numic languages, but also with some other Tepiman and SUA languages. This fairly equal distancing with so many SUA and NUA languages further confirms Hp's unique place in UA.

**Southern Uto-Aztecan** (SUA) consists of Tepiman (Tep), Opatan (Opn), Tarahumaran (Trn), Cahitan (Cah), Tubar (Tbr), Corachol (CrC), and Aztecan (Azt), from Arizona to Pipil Nawa. In contrast to earlier leanings toward a UA homeland in NUA areas, hints of greater diversity in SUA areas surface regularly, bringing Manaster Ramer, Jane Hill, and myself to deem SUA areas as more likely prospects for the UA homeland. One such hint is the close proximity of all UA reflexes for PUA \*kw in the heart of SUA.

Within miles of each other are Tepiman b, Eudeve b, Cahitan bw, Tbr kw, and Tr w/b/ko (Stubbs 1995), while NUA reflects a nearly unanimous kw.

**Tepiman** (Tep) is so unique phonologically (\*kw > b, \*c > s, \*s > h, \*y > d, \*w > g) among UA languages that it merits distinction strictly on phonological grounds and grammar, regardless of word counts. Yet even word counts show a tight Tep entity with numbers from 73-85 between Tep languages, while 34-49 are the numbers between Tep and other SUA languages, minus Aztecan, about the same as between NUA branches. The Tepiman branch is here represented by Tohono O’odham (TO) in Arizona and Nevome (Nv) in Mexico, both of Upper Pima, while Lower Pima/Pima Bajo (LP) languages included here are Pima de Yepachec (PYp) and Pima de Yécora (PYc). The Tepehuan languages cited are Northern Tepehuan (NT) and Southeastern Tepehuan (ST) in western Mexico.

**Taracahitan** (TrC) has been a term for the middle SUA languages, between Tepiman and Corachol. However, Shaul’s (2014) work shows a lack of evidence for a Taracahitan node and recommends four finer divisions for the UA languages in northwest Mexico between Tepiman and Corachol, with which I agree:

**Opatan** (Opn) is the closely related pair of Eudeve (Eu) and Opata (Op) or Tewima/Tegwima (Shaul, p.c.).

**Tarahumaran** (TrWr) includes the dialects of Tarahumara (Tr) and the dialects of Guarijio (Wr).

**Cahitan** (Cah) has Yaqui (Yq), Arizona Yaqui (AYq) or Yoeme, and Mayo (My).

**Tubar** (Tbr) is its own branch. Each of these four branches has its own reflex of Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*kw: PUA \*kw > Eu/Op \*b, > Cahitan bw, > Tr/Wr \*w, and > Tbr kw. Miller (1984) has called **Sonoran** a mesh of languages, which indeed it is with its multi-directional influences. For example, **Tubar**, as a unique language in the center of the “Sonoran mesh/mess,” is a difficult classification for two reasons: one, the lexical data are limited; two, the limited data, obtained shortly before extinction, show numerous loans and influences upon this small language surrounded by other larger UA languages. It is apparent that Tbr is in part a product of phonological influences from Tep and lexical loans from Cahitan and Tarahumaran, yet it is a kw-language, isolated geographically from the only other kw-languages of SUA: i.e., the Corachol and Aztecan branches. Classification by word counts may be misleading, due to lexical influences upon the small Tbr-speaking population surrounded by larger numbers of Tep (NT) and Tr, Wr, My, and Yq speakers. Phonological influences from neighboring Tep languages upon Tbr include some \*s > h, some \*w > g, and initial \*p > w (Stubbs 2000b). Tbr’s lexical position may be more due to loans and meshing movements than to genetic position. Thus, I previously hesitated to call Tbr a single-language branch—because, unlike Hopi’s clear distinctions and massive database, Tbr has neither—yet I must concede that the meagerly documented Tbr hardly fits elsewhere and so should be its own branch.

**Corachol** (CrC) consists of Cora (Cr) and Huichol (Wc), showing a closer lexical relationship to each other (58) than to any other UA languages, but phonologically they form a pair and they share innovations with Aztecan of \*p > h/ø, a vowel shift of \*u > i > i, and a retention of \*kw.

The **Aztecan** (Azt) branch consists of nearly 30 Nawa dialects/languages related to Classical Nahuatl. Some are mutually unintelligible and so must be considered different languages. Cortina-Borja and Valiñas (1989) include nine in their classification study. Suarez’ (1986) admirable comparative study of Nahua dialects merits more use. Of interest is that Azt yields numbers of 30-40 with other SUA languages, but only teens to 20 with NUA languages, except with Tb, Hp, and Ca, whose Aztecan numbers are 23-26.

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#### 1.42 Sound Correspondences and Comparative Phonology of Uto-Aztecan

Some Proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA) consonants attract debate—PUA \*l / \*r, and \*ŋ vs. \*n—while the more secure PUA consonants include \*p, \*t, \*k, \*kw, \*ʔ, \*h, \*s, \*c, \*m, \*n, \*l, \*w, and \*y. Exceptions for \*kw before round vowels (\*kwo, \*kwu) are discussed in Stubbs 1995. Some PUA \*t palatalized to c/č in time to participate in the Tepiman sound change \*c > s, and are thus mistaken for PUA \*c (Stubbs 2000a). The PUA vowels are \*i, \*a, \*u, \*o, and \*i. An oversimplified portrayal of the consonant correspondences follows (per Sapir 1913-14, VVH 1962, Miller 1967, 5, Steele 1979, Manaster Ramer 1992b, Stubbs 2003):

**Table 5: Consonant Sound Correspondences (mostly initial position)**

PUA	*p	*t	*k	*kw	*m	*n	*c	*s	*w	*y	*ʔ	*h
Num	p	t	k	kw	m,ŋw, w	n	c,-y-	s	w	y	ʔ	h
Hp	p	t	k,q	kw	m	n	c,-y-	s	w,l	y	ʔ	h
Tb	p	t	h,k	w	m	n	c,-y-	š	w	y	ʔ	h
Sr	p	t	k,q	kw	m	n	c,-y-	š,h	w	y	ʔ	h
Ca	p	t	k,q	kw,w	m	n	c,-y-	s	w	y	ʔ	h
Ls	p	t	k,q	kw	m	n	c,-y-	s,š	w	y	ʔ	h
Tep	w,v,-p-	t,c	k	b	m	n,ñ	s, š	h,ø	g	d,j	ø,ʔ	ʔ,h
Eu	b,p	t	k	b	m	n	c, č	s	w	d	ø,ʔ	h
Trn	b,p	t	k	w,-ʔw-	m	n	c, č	s	w	y	ø,ʔ,h	h
Cah	b,p	t	k	bw	m	n	c, č	s	w	y	ʔ	h
Tbr	w,-p-	t	k	kw	m	n	c, č	s,h	mw, ñ	y,ñ	ø,h	h
Cr	h	t	k,č	kw,čw	m,mw	n	c, č	s	w	y	ʔ	ʔ
Wc	h	t	k	kw	m	n	c, č	s,z	w	y	ø	ø
CN	ø,p	t	k	kw	m	n	c, č	s,š	w	y	ø,ʔ,h	ø

Traditionally, most UA specialist have thought that PUA had 13 consonants, the above 12 and a liquid (next page). However, the evidence at 6.3 suggests that PUA may have also had an uvular \*q in contrast to \*k, and 6.2 may suggest two different sources underlying -w-. At 7.8 is the tip of an iceberg of data that may suggest that PUA may have had two liquids, not just one. In fact, the whole nasal-liquid spectrum (ŋ, n, l, r) raises questions needing clarification (see 1.45-1.46). The PUA vowels are sound. The consonantal questions will be more thoroughly analyzed in the next book.



**Table 6: UA Vowel Correspondences and medial \*l** (Sapir 1913-14, VVH 1962, Miller 1967, Bright and Hill 1967, Langacker 1970, Munro 1990, Stubbs 2003):

PUA	*i	*a	*u	*o	*ɨ	*l
Num	i	a	u	o	ɨ	n
Hp	i	a	o	ö	ɨ	n,l
Tb	i	a	u	o	ɨ	n
Sr	i	a	u	ö	ɨ	n,r
Ca	i	a	u	i	e	n,l
Cp	i	a	u	i	ɛ/ə	n,l
Ls	i	a	u	e(i)	o(u)	n,l
Tɲ	i,e	a	u,o	e,o	o	n (Kenneth Hill, p.c. 2002)
Tep	i	a	u	o	ɨ	l,d,r
Trn	i	a	u,o	o	e,i	l,r
Cah	i	a	u	o	e	l,r
CrC	i	a	ɨ	u	e	l,r
CN	i	a	i	o	e	l

### 1.43 Consonant Clusters in Proto-Uto-Aztecans Stems

The traditionally accepted form for UA stems has been CVCV (C = consonant; V = vowel). While many stems undoubtedly align with CVCV, evidence is emerging to suggest that many Proto-Uto-Aztecans (PUA) stems contained consonant clusters not previously recognized: CVCCV and others. First of all, Manaster Ramer and Blight (1993b) and Manaster Ramer (1997) have noted evidence for reconstructing clusters for several etyma, such as \*kapsi ‘thigh’ vs. \*kasi (Miller 1967). Sometimes those clusters survive in only one language. Second, we see frequent evidence in UA that vowel syncopation (the deletion of an internal vowel as a common phenomenon in UA) creates additional clusters, and that even those later clusters are reduced quite quickly (CVCVCV > CVCCV > CVCV), suggesting that many UA languages do not maintain consonant clusters well. Third, the difficulties found in the correspondences of the medial consonants in UA are likely the result of reductions of previous clusters. In Miller (1967, 5), one can see in table 5 above that the initial consonant correspondences are fairly clear and consistent, while the medial consonant correspondences are more varied and less consistent. Yet many medial consonants being reduced consonant clusters may explain some of the variety and difficulty, if not most of it. If UA had 13 proto-consonants (also debatable), then 169 possible combinations (13 x 13) exist. Perhaps some of those clusters reduced to the velar nasal (ŋ) in some languages, others to a glottal stop (ʔ) in some languages, etc. A certain cluster might reduce five different ways among the branches of UA. Complications of clusters may underlie the medial consonant difficulties, which Uto-Aztecans have only begun to unravel. The UA medial consonant correspondences as listed in Miller (1967, 5) illustrate the confusion:

**Table 7: Some of the Medial Consonant Correspondences** depicted in Miller (1967, 5)

	*-p-	*-t-	*-k-	*-k <sup>w</sup> -	*-s-	*-m-	*-n-	*-w-	*-y-	*-ʔ-	*-h-	*-l-
SP	v, hp, mp	r, ht, c	x, hk, ŋk, k <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup> , hk <sup>w</sup> , ŋk <sup>w</sup>	s, š, ø	ŋw, m	n, hn, ŋ	---	y	---	ø, h	n
Tb	p, b, hp	l, t, d	h, g, hk	---	š	w, m	n, ŋ	w	y	ʔ	ʔ, ø	n
Ca	v, p	l, t, š	x, k, q	---	s, š	w, m	n, ŋ	w	y	ʔ	h	l, n
Sr	v, p	r, t, ç	k, q	---	h, š	m	n, ñ, ŋ	---	y	ʔ	h, ø	r, n
Hp	v, p	r, l, t	k, q	k <sup>w</sup>	s	m	n, hn, ŋ	w, l	y	ø	ø	n
TO	v, p	ç, t, c	k	b	h	m	n, ñ	g	d	ʔ	ʔ, ø	l, ç
Tr	b, p, ʔw	r, l, t	k	w	s	m	n	w	y	h, ʔ	---	l, r
My	b, p	t	k	b <sup>w</sup>	s	m	n	w, b	y	ʔ	h	l, r
CN	p, hp	t	k	k <sup>w</sup>	s, š	m, -n	n	w	---	---	ø	l

Other medials not listed above include some Num m : NUA ŋ : SUA n (see salt 280, lung 281, husband 284). For those 3 and other cognate sets, PUA \*ŋ > SUA n (some say) and PUA \*n > SUA l, and that PUA had no liquids; others see the change in the other direction: PUA \*n > NUA ŋ and PUA \*l > NUA n. The medial liquid(s) (l/r) are only partially explained. On the positive side, progress has been made since Miller 1967: AMR (1992a) clarified PUA non-initial \*-c- > \*-y- in NUA and other medial matters cited in coming pages. This work also clarifies matters for Tr initial t vs. r (6.1), the Tb k vs. h < PUA \*k (6.4), and Hopi l vs. w before low vowels (6.2). Semitic explains Tactic \*qa vs. \*ka syllables (6.3) and other matters may suggest

additional PUA consonants. Of interest is a general lenition shift of consonants in Tep: \*t > c (before high Vs), \*c > s, \*s > h, \*h > ', \*' > ø.

PUA	*p	*w	*y	*t	*c	*s	*h	*'
Tepiman	w	g	d	t/c	s	h	'	ø

### Phonemic Frequencies in Uto-Aztecan

The phonological frequencies of initial syllables in KH/M were calculated. The exact numbers of initial syllables among UA cognate sets are subject to adjustment, yet those in KH/M are reasonably proportionate and available for ready inspection. The first column is the sets starting with an initial vowel. (Some UA languages require glottal stop before otherwise initial vowels and some deem the same for PUA with no consensus.) The other columns are sets beginning with the specified CV combination. Totals of the lines (vowel totals) are to the right; and totals of the columns (consonant totals) are below. The total number of sets in KH/M is 1286, the total both of the rows and of the columns.

**Table 8: Initial Syllable Frequencies**

	c	h	k	kw	m	n	p	s	t	w	y	totals	
a	42	19	19	45	17	44	39	69	32	52	31	28	437
i	16	26	9	12	16	4	2	32	26	--	23	--	166
ĩ	23	14	11	19	6	12	18	19	20	56	14	21	233
o	27	20	9	45	--	11	14	29	15	30	12	11	223
u	<u>11</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>35</u>	--	<u>25</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>227</u>
	119	98	78	156	39	96	78	174	115	165	82	86	1286

Some observations of interest and relevant to phonological discussion include:

- (1) The vowel *a* is about twice as frequent as other vowels.
- (2) The syllables *kwo*, *kwu*, and *yi* are absent. Yet there are 45 *ko* and 35 *ku* syllables, respectively, vs. 12 *ki* and 19 *kĩ*. The *ko/ku* approximate the 45 *ka*, which vowel, across the board, is normally twice what others are. The increase in *ko/ku* syllables is probably related to the absence of *kwo/kwu* syllables, though the same cannot be said for an increase in *i* in absence of *yi*.
- (3) Among all *tV* syllables, only one *ti* syllable (M88-ti1 'man') existed until Ken Hill redistributed it (to KH/M-ci24, tu10, ti9), so now no *ti* syllables exist vs. 52 *ta*, 56 *tĩ*, 30 *to*, and 27 *tu*. In contrast, the number of *ci* syllables (26) is larger than other *cV* syllables (19, 14, 20, 19) in spite of the fact that *i* is the least frequent vowel: i.e., 166 *i* vs. 437 for *a* and vs. 200-plus for the other three vowels. All this suggests that many apparent *\*ci* may be from an earlier *\*\*ti*.

### Final Features as Evidence of Earlier Consonant Clusters

Final features suggest the presence or absence of internal consonant clusters. Final features have been discussed by several (Sapir 1914, 451-2; Sapir 1930, 62-65; Irving Miller 1982; Wick Miller 1983; Manaster Ramer 1992b, 2004) and involve the presence or absence of underlying final consonants, whose presence causes consonant cluster behavior at morpheme boundaries. These final features are found in much of NUA, most notably and clearly in Num, but also in the other NUA branches. Sapir (1930) found that Num stems had one of three final features: gemination (-C) causes a doubling of the next consonant (> -CC-); nasalization (-N) adds a nasal dimension to precede the next consonant (> -NC-); or spirantization appears to be a lack of a final underlying consonant, such that the next morpheme's initial consonant appears as it typically does between vowels (\*-k- > -x-/-ġ-, \*-t- > -r-/-l-/-d-, \*-p- > -v-/-b-). Miller, Elzinga, and McLaughlin (2005) provide some TSh examples with the post-position -pa'a 'on' after spirantization (\*naka-pa'a > naga-va'a 'bighorn sheep-on'), gemination (\*tuaC-pa'a > tuappa'a 'son-on'), and nasalization (\*piyiN-pa'a > piyimba'a 'duck-on'). The variety of absolutive suffixes (\*-ta > -t(a), -l(a), etc) mostly in NUA, also leaves hints of the existence and type of final consonant (Sapir 1914, 451; Manaster Ramer 1992b; 2004). In Tak and Tb, an absolutive suffix -l means the stem ended with a vowel and \*V-ta became V-la between vowels (\*V-ta > V-la > V-l), while absolutive suffix -t suggests the noun stem had an underlying final consonant no longer obvious (\*VC-ta > V-t). The peculiar Ls -la is treated in section six.

## Intervocalic \*-t- vs. \*-tt-/\*-Ct- Clusters, and Many NUA -c- < \*-tt-/\*-Ct-

Intervocalic \*-t- usually goes to -r- or -d- in Num and to -l- in Cupan and Tb (Sapir 1914, 451; Manaster-Ramer 1992b). So when we see intervocalic -t- in those languages, it is usually due to an underlying geminated \*-tt- or to a cluster approximating \*-Ct- that behaves much like \*-tt-. Sapir (1914, 452) also noticed that Num geminated -tt- corresponds to Tak and Tb -t-. Later, Alexis Manaster Ramer (1992a) demonstrated PUA medial \*-c- > -y- in NUA, and accordingly suggests the various NUA medial -c- are from other sources than PUA \*-c-, unless \*-cc- is geminated or clustered. Thus, the source of NUA -c- is often a palatalized \*-tt- or \*-Ct-, especially adjacent to high vowels. (See 534, 832, 969.) In fact, Sapir (1914, 445) noted that many UA *c* may be from syncopated \*ti. I would add that many, if not more, are also from non-syncopated \*ti / \*tti or \*ti / \*tti. In the data below, note the frequency of \*-t-/\*-tt-/\*-Ct- > c/-c-, often adjacent to high vowels, but not always.

**1368 UA \*attip-na** 'good': CU 'atti 'good'; SP 'attiN 'good'; Cp á'çi'a 'good'; Ca áča'e 'good, fine, well, very'; Hp -'civa 'accord with', Hp a'civa 'behave as expected, do what one can with one's personal resources and limitations'; Hp àacipna / a'cipna 'do as expected'. Note that Hp a'cipna and Cp á'çi'a are identical in five segments (a'ci . . . a) except for a consonant cluster in Hp that aligns with a glottal stop in Cp, and both align with SNum (CU, SP) \*'atti, suggesting \*-tti- > -ci-. [Syriac 'aṭib / 'at(ʔ)ib 'do good, treat well' (causative of ṭ'b; Hebrew haṭṭiib 'do well']  
**1566 UA \*paCti'a** 'bat' > \*paci, \*pali, etc; \*pata'a > SNum paca'a, NP pidahana'a 'bat' actually shows -t-.  
**534 UA \*paCti** 'daughter' > Num \*patti 'daughter', but pači in SP and CU. [Hebrew **batt** 'daughter' (< \*bant / bint)]  
**1227 UA \*patta/\*patti** 'flat' > \*paci.

## More Examples of Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*t/\*tt > c and in time for \*c > s in Tepiman

We not only see \*t or \*-tt- > -c-, but sometimes that change was early enough to undergo the Tepiman sound change of \*c > s, such that **some PUA \*t / -Ct- > c > Tep s**:

**437 UA \*matta** > \*maca/i 'tick': NP madabi (< \*matapi); Kw muu'maa-ci; CU mata-ci (< \*matta-ci); Ch mata-vi (< \*matta-pi); Cp máči-ly; Ca máči-l; Ls 'amáča; Sr maca-c; Hp màaca; TO maams; Wr macá; Tr mačá; Wc mate. Takic, Hp, and TrC show -c- (in both NUA and SUA), but Num and Wc show -t-/-tt- (again in both NUA and SUA), yet TO has š (< c < \*-tt-). [Egyptian **mht** 'an insect']

**1464 UA \*takola/\*takula** 'round, (en)circle': Eu takóris 'circle'; AYq tekolai 'round'; My tékolai 'redondo'; Sr ta'ki'q 'be round, circular'. From the first vowel *a* (Eu, Sr), note some raised vowels (AYq, My). If raised a little more, then:  
**1464 UA \*tikola** > \*cikola (> Tep \*sikola/i) '(a)round': TO sikod 'round, circumscribed'; TO sikol 'circular, round'; NT šikóra; NT šikóóraka; ST šikar. Ken Hill adds Cahita čikola 'alrededor' exactly the link theorized.

**638 NUA \*tikīya** 'deer' is found in most Numic languages and Tb, yet compare

**638 SUA \*ciki** 'white-tailed deer' (Tep \*siki < \*ciki < \*tiki): TO siiki 'white-tailed deer'; PYp siiki 'white-tailed deer'  
**UACV-108 \*paNtuC** > \*paicu 'badger': ST vaisily 'tejón'; Cr haihcī(-te) 'tejón(es)'; and Wc háisī 'tejón' all match \*paicV (\*p > ST v; \*p > CrC h). CN peeso'-tli 'badger' also parallels ST vaisily and Wc háisī, all pointing to s.th. near \*paicu, though CN s should be c and CN has p while Cr and Wc have h, so CN may be from an early loan. Most forms suggest an originally round final vowel, but puzzles remain. Wr pincúri 'tejón' and Tr batúwi 'tejón' must be included and may be key to the cluster. Wr pincúri shows \*-nc-, a nasal-alveolar cluster, and the diphthong \*ai > i instead of > e, like CN. ST *s* agrees nicely with the *c* of CrC and Wr. In light of many PUA \*t > c adjacent to high vowels and in light of Tr's t and in light of Cr, Wr, Tr showing PUA \*u after the t/c, something like \*paNtu may explain all forms, especially since other examples of UA vowels before alveolars would explain \*paicu (< \*pantu). In addition, Wr's nasal in the cluster may explain such a cluster > -c- in most languages, for this may have been a different kind of cluster than in 'bat', resulting in Cr -c- vs. Cr -hc- for 'badger'. This is a 4<sup>th</sup> example of \*t > c > Tep s.

**1566 \*paCti'a** 'bat' note the -pisa of PYp ho'opisa (Tepiman) and pida- of NP pidahana'a 'bat' among the dozen-plus reflexes. Because of NUA -c-, the reconstruction must include \*-Ct-/\*-t- and NP actually has -t- among many Num -c-, yet in a Tep language (PYp) we find -s-, the usual reflex of \*c, but ultimately from \*t or \*-Ct-.

\*paCti'a > Ca pali, > \*paci'a > \*paca'a (Tb, Kw, Ch, SP, CU), > \*pita- (NP pitahana'a 'bat'),  
> \*paci'i > háci'i (Cr)

> \*paci > \*so'-peci (TrC: Tr, Wr, Eu) > \*soci (Yq, My); \*paCti > \*paci > \*so'o-pica > Tepiman ho'o-pisa (PYp)

**UACV-935 \*natipa** (> \*nacipa > \*nacpa > Tep \*naspa) 'fold': ST naspa 'doblar, torcerse'; Eu nátpa 'doblar';

Nv nasa 'plegar una cosa'. Eu -t- aligns with Tep -s-, suggesting palatalization before c > s in Tep.

**210 UA \*tuti** > \*cuci > Tep \*susi(-ka) > Tep susaka 'sandals': TO šuušk; LP šuušak; NT súúsaka; ST suusak. In light of Tep's frequent anticipatory V assimilation (\*V-a > a-a), an original \*tuti would have high vowels following both consonants (\*tuti > \*cuci > Tep \*susi), then suffixed -ka would later encourage \*susi-ka > susaka. As we often see Tep s < c < \*t (i.e., Tep \*susa < \*susi < \*tuti). As Hp o < \*u, then Hp tooči (< \*tuti) 'shoe, moccasin' agrees with Tep susi entirely. [Egyptian **twṭ** 'sandal']

**620 UA \*tapputi / \*tipputi** ‘flea’: TO čīpš; PYP teepas; NT tapīši; ST tapīš; Eu tepú’u / tepú; Yq téput, tepučim (pl); My téput; Wr tehpućí; Tr řípućí; Tbr tipú-t; Wc teepī; Cr tepī-, tepī-ci (pl.). We see a 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant -t- in Yq, My, and Tbr, and even if the -t- was originally part of a suffix, it understandably palatalized in Tr, Wr, and the Yq pl, and that palatalization (c) is likely the source of Tep s, that is, the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant in four Tep forms (TO, PYP, NT, ST). The first vowel may well be *a*; for NT and ST both show *a*, not *i*, and if *i* (a high V) were original, then results similar to \*t > c > s as in ‘deer’ and ‘sandals’ for the first consonant would have resulted, but that did not happen, and perhaps because an original initial \*ta syllable, which only later became *tī*, prevented it. [Semitic \*ḏabbot ‘flies’]

**809 UA \*’ati / \*’ata / \*’aCti** ‘laugh’: Wr a’ci ‘estar riendose’; Tr ačí ‘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-’ási; ST ’aas/ašia. Miller includes probable Ca ’ála’ ‘mock, echo s.o., vt’. Because Ca ’ála’ has l, the Cupan reflex for intervocalic \*-t-, it again may suggest a medial \*-t- or cluster \*-Ct- originally, which again did the cycle \*t > c > s in Tepiman \*asi. Ca ’ála’ is a transitive verb, perhaps preserving the final vowel -a, of the alternation -a ‘transitive, active’ vs. -i intransitive, stative’. [Semitic \*-hattil ‘to mock’]

**UACV-2205 \*tīyuna** ‘keep’: Mn tīyuna ‘store, v’; NP notīna ‘keep s.th.’; Ca téyan ‘preserve, carry on (custom, rite)’; NT šiid’úñd’i ‘retacar, guardar, llenar mucho’. In \*-t- > \*c > Tep \*s by high vowels, Mn and NT agree well in \*tīyuna. Above are 9 examples of PUA \*t / -Ct- > c > Tep s.

### Medial -p- (vs. -v-) from a Previous or Underlying Consonant Cluster

Many UA languages yield intervocalic -v- < \*-p-, as the first set suggests. So when those same languages show -p-, it is from gemination \*-pp- or a cluster, perhaps even in Tep, as several sets suggest.

**188 UA \*nopi / \*nohopi** ‘hand, arm’: TO nowi ‘hand, arm’, pl: noonhoi; PYP novi, pl nonovi; Nv novi, pl: nonovi; NT novi; ST nov. TO pl shows h but no v. [Egyptian *njbt* ‘nape of the neck’]

**221 UA \*wīr-pa’a** ‘tall, long, great-height/length’: Hp wīpa ‘tall, long’; Cp weváša ‘long’; Cp wevášiš ‘tall’. Miller (M67-229) astutely sees Hp wīpa ‘tall, long’ as a compound of \*wīr-pa’a ‘big-height/length’. Intervocalic -p- in Hp instead of -v- supports Miller’s observation, though Cp -v- in Cp means it was sooner perceived as clusterless or non-geminated in Tak. [Egyptian wr ‘great’]

**1070, 1071 UA \*naNkapī** ‘leaf’: Kw naga-vi; Ch nanká-va; SP maavi-naŋqa-vi ‘leaf’ (vs. SP naŋqava ‘ear’); CU níká-’a-vi (vs. CU níká-vi ‘ear’); Tb naŋhabī-l; Hp nàapi / nahpi. Hp lost intervocalic -ŋk-, collapsing -ŋkap- > -ŋkp- > -p- in Hp nàapi / nahpi showing -p- instead of -v-, due to a previous cluster. [Semitic \*na-qšab ‘be perked up’]

**UACV-1547 \*mukpiC** ‘nose’: While Num \*muvi lost all signs of a medial cluster, Sr and Ktn \*mukpi agree with Hp mòope(q) ‘in front’ in showing evidence of the cluster.

**UACV-1550 \*sīCpowa / \*sīk-powa** ‘numb’: CN sepoowa ‘be numb (of body part, from cold or lack of circulation)’; Eu zopóre ‘encogerse’. The first element of the CN term is suggested to be CN sek-tli ‘snow, ice’. Eu normally has intervocalic -v- for \*-p-, so Eu -p- (vs. -v-) suggests a cluster in Eu as well.

### Reduplication Created Clusters That Later Separated

Some sets show the base form (non-reduplicated) in NUA, while SUA shows the reduplicated form. Another consistency in both sets is that the second consonant is a liquid (-l- or -r-), and it appears that the reduplication first created a cluster, which caused the liquid to change to glottal stop, which was later separated from the other consonant by an echo vowel: \*-VLC- > -V’C- > -V’VC-.

**221 \*wīr**, reduplicated **\*wīrwīru** > **\*wī’wīru** > **\*wī’wīru** ‘big’ or Tep gī’igīru: among the several UA forms, the reduplicated form is usually the plural form of \*wīr. [Egyptian wr / wrw ‘great’]

**630 \*koli**, reduplicated **\*kolkoli** > **\*ko’koli** > **\*ko’okoli** ‘hurt, be sick, chili pepper’: many SUA forms show \*ko’okoli, while Cupan shows the non-reduplicated form with its vowel change \*koli > \*qoli > qili: Cp qilyíqa-t ‘hot, spicy, strong’; Cp qilyíqtu’ni ‘hurt, sting, vt’; Ca qélya ‘feel sore, v’; Ca qélyak ‘peppery, pungent, creating a burning sensation’. In SUA: TO s-ko’ok ‘be painful’; TO ko’okol ‘chile pepper’; 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- ‘doler’; Wr ko’koré- ‘dolerse’; Wr ko’kóri ‘chile’; My kó’okori ‘chile’; My kó’okore ‘enfermo’. [Hebrew *xole* ‘be sick, hurting’]

#### 1.44 The Labial Labyrinth in Uto-Aztecan

The labiovelar spectrum in UA is fraught with intrigue. The syllabic frequencies in Table 8 (p. 44) show a complete lack of \*kwo and \*kwu among UA initial syllables paralleled by a marked abundance of about twice as many ko and ku syllables as k with other vowels: 45 ko and 35 ku syllables vs. 12 ki and 19 kī, and as many as the 45 ka, though across the board, *a*-syllables are normally twice what others are. Lack of \*kwo/kwu syllables alongside about double the usual vocalic ratio for \*ko/ku syllables may suggest that many \*kwo/kwu became ko/ku, or that bo/bu > ko/ku, but ba, bi, bī before other vowels.

A count of TO’s initial syllables provides an even greater discrepancy. Considering that TO b corresponds to PUA \*kw, notice that a rough count from Saxton’s (1983) dictionary yields the following:

	a	i	i	o	u
b (< *kw)	ba(40)	bi(5)	bi(28)	bo(0)	bu(0)
k	ka(48)	ki(20)	ki(13)	ko(70)	ku(88)

Again in TO, a complete lack of bo/bu syllables contrasts with about triple the expected number of ko/ku syllables, as if in Tep languages \*kwo/kwu > ko/ku. Note the TO variants of a plant (Mathiot 1976, 362):

UA bihul / hikul ‘a plant’. These alternate forms switch first and second consonants, except that PUA \*kw is b before i, but \*kw is kw before u. In PUA terms, \*kwisul > TO bihul, and \*sikwul > TO hikul.

If we take each language’s initial correspondences for \*kw and place them before o and u, the likely results are \*bwo/bwu > bo/bu in Cah (Yq, My), \*wo/wu > o/u in Tr/Wr, \*kwo/kwu > ko/ku in the kw-languages and in Tep as well, and \*kwu > kwi in CN. Interestingly, some semantically plausible sets show that very array of correspondences.

**UACV-1896 \*kwuhV** ‘scrape off, de grain (corn)’: Yq buh-te ‘espigar [take grain from ear]’; My búh-tuk ‘se espigó’; My búh-te ‘está espigando’; Tr ohó ‘desgranar [remove grain from ears]’; CN kwi’kwi ‘chip off (wood or stone), clean up a surface, take s.th. away, get ready, be prepared’. As Miller points out that Tr sometimes shows o as well as u for PUA \*u, these four languages show PUA \*kwuh ‘scraping off s.th.’: \*kwu > Cah bwu > bu; > Tr oh; > CN kwih/kwi’.

**UACV-1974 \*kwuya (> \*kwoya)** ‘growl, scold’: Eu búde/nevúde/nepúde ‘growl, bark’ (Eu d < \*y); My buuye ‘snarl, growl, bark, scold’; Hp qó’öqöya ‘scold, vt’; Hp(S) qöyqöya ‘he’s scolding’; Tr oyo ‘become angry’; TO kodog ‘rumble, gurgle’; and perhaps CN kwikwinaka ‘make a low sound in the throat; for a dog, to growl; for a person, to hum’ since CN i < \*u. But TO kodog with d is usually < PUA \*/r rather than \*y.

**18 UA \*sakwo > \*sikwo/sikwi** ‘witch, bewitch’: My sisibo ‘hechizar [hex, bewitch]’; My sibori ‘hechizado’. Cp sekwíte ‘curse, whip’ (Cp i < \*o) suggests a semantic tie such that the set under \*sakwi ‘whip, v’ (at whip) may be related: M88-sa27; KH.NUA: Cp sekwíte ‘curse, whip’; Cp sekwítxe-l ‘whip, n’; Sr şakwit(kin) ‘whip, swat, vt sg obj’ (borrowed from Cup?); Tj sakwít ‘castigar’; Ls şiqwi ‘to punish, whip’ (vowel is wrong, Miller notes), but Miller speaks of the first vowel, often putting too much emphasis on the unstable, unaccented vowels; Tr siku- ‘hechizar’; Tbr sigu-l ‘hechicero [male witch]’. Ls -qw-, rather than -kw-, suggests a non-high second vowel, i.e., a second vowel of \*o instead of \*i originally (Langacker 1970), which agrees with SUA Tr, My. As for the first V, it appears that \*a went to the schwa options—i and ĩ—suggesting it may have been unstressed previously, with Sr and Tj maintaining the original a. And note My -bo- (< \*bwo) with Tak \*-kwo-. Tr ku < \*kwu may be the medial reflex vs. the initial.

We also often see what we might call **kw-reduction—\*kwVC > kuC/koC**—where the vowel between \*kw and the next C becomes short enough that the rounding of \*kw overpowers it, and the result is k + round V + C: e.g., 15 Tr kusá at \*kwasá ‘eagle’; 44 Ca kuş at \*kwāsi ‘grasp, take’; 24 Tr oke/weke at \*kwikī ‘weep’; 26 CN konee < kwVnee < bōnee ‘children’, etc. Perhaps kw-reduction is more likely between two bilabials, as below:

**36 \*kwawa/i** ‘invite, call’: Cp kwawe ‘call, invite’; Tr o’wí ‘invite’; Wr oí ‘invite to work’; Eu bowá ‘invite’; perhaps the baa- of TO baamud ‘plead, invite’ (lack of TO g < \*w is frequent enough). These forms show kw-reduction in some (Trn), which brought the kwo-phenomenon into play in Eu, Tr, Wr, while Cp may come nearest the original \*kwawV. [Hebrew bašaa ‘enquire, search’]

**8 UA \*cakwa / \*cakwo / \*cakwi** ‘catch, grasp, close, lock’: Ls čáqwi ‘seize, catch’; Cp čáqwe ‘catch, grab, cling to’; TO šaakum ‘catch, grasp’; NT saakómi ‘handful’; ST saakum ‘handful’; CN cakwa ‘close, enclose, lock up’; CN cakwi ‘close, get closed, vi’; Pl cakwa (pret cak) ‘close, shut, cover’; Mn cakwiti’i ‘close, lock, bolt’. Here kw-reduction in Tep between two labials (\*kw-m) triggers Tep ku < \*kwu, instead of bu < \*kwu. [Semitic \*ḏabba / šabba ‘grasp, lock’]

Infrequently mentioned is the fact that Tr often lends itself to Tepiman-like phonology in the labial realm or has variants with Tep correspondences in addition to the usual Tr correspondences. The widely publicized sound correspondence for \*kw in Tr is w initially and for \*w is also Tr w. While those two are most frequent, Tr has dozens of variant pairs, in which one variant indeed shows the touted w < \*kw or w < \*w or b < \*p, but one variant resembles Tepiman phonology: \*kw > w/b or \*w > w/g/k or \*p > w/b:

\*kw > b

Tr wasi-/basi-bura ‘loincloth’ (< \*kwasi ‘tail, penis’) 5

Tr wasu/basu ‘cook in water’ (< \*kwasV ‘boil’) 4

Tr we-móri/be-móri ‘dust’ (< \*kwiya- ‘earth’) 19

Tr wa’wé/ba’wé ‘eagle’ (< \*kwa’awV > TO ba’ag; Eu páwe)

\*kw > gu/go

Tr witá/guté ‘feces’ (< \*kwita ‘feces’) 1552

Tr ciwá/cigó ‘rob’ (< \*cikwa ‘steal’)

\*w > g/k

Tr oná/koná ‘salt’ (< \*oŋa/\*omCa; Wr woná) 280

Tr oona/koona ‘corn cob (Wr wo’ná)

\*p > w/b

Tr wici-/bici- ‘believe’ (< \*piti) 540

Tr wíso/bíso ‘infect(ion)’ (Wr pehsóni; PUA \*pisVk ‘rot, infection’) 640

Tr bo’o / ko’o ‘del otro lado [of/from the other side] 1394

Other Tr forms show similar and considerable phonological variety: Tr uusabi / kuusabi / guusabi ‘Prunus Capuli’; 420 Tr utuburi / tutuguri / futuburi ‘type of dance’ (note b-g alternation medially)

**\*-p- > -kw-**

121 Most intriguing is the pair—Tr bineri ‘alone, only, sg’ and Tr a’wineri ‘alone, only, pl’—as if \*p > kw when geminated medially, since -’w- is a reflex of medial \*-kw- in Tr, perhaps also in \*kap(p)a ‘egg’ below.

1075 \***kap(p)a** ‘egg’: Eu akabo-ra; Yq kaba; My kabba; Tr ka’wa, among others.

1644 / UACV995 Note medial \*-p- > -kw- happen in Num: \***yīpana** ‘autumn’: Mn yība, yībano ‘be autumn’; NP yībano; TSh yīpani; Sh yīpani; Kw yīvana; Ch(L) yīvana; SP yīvannaC / yīvwanna; CU yuvwa-na(-ttī) / yugwa-na(-ttī). Note that when the labiovelar glide -w- develops in SP -vw-, then the labiovelar -kw- is the next step in the next language east (CU). Similarly, I have heard native speakers of Yaqui pronounce intervocalic -w- with some velar contact: -gw- (< \*-w-), and Shaul and Yetman (2007) suspect Op gw was an intermediate step from \*w > gw > g. At \*hupa (> \*howa ‘back’), the Tbr variants (ova/owa/ogo) show another instance of velarizations of labials preceding round vowels. Larry Hagberg (p.c.) told me that in My also PUA \*wo is usually pronounced *wo*, but occasionally *go*, but not *gwo*; but with other vowels, \*wa, for example, is never pronounced *gwa* only *wa* in My. Also at 613 Tr gohi < Tep wohi ‘bear’ in a non-Tep language. So round vowels can trigger velarization in labials. In contrast, Monzón and Seneff (1984) note \*kw > w, bw, b in various Nahuatl dialects. AYq speakers can alternate between \*wo and go (Shaul 1999, 284) as a sample sentence illustrates:

woi wo’i wo’olim wokim wo’oke ‘two coyote twins are scratching (their) legs’

goi go’i go’olim gokim go’oke

Manaster Ramer’s (1993a) suggestion of \*-tw- > -kw- finds support in the My reflex of \*īcikwa/\*īt(i)kwa ‘steal’. Among the SUA reflexes (Eu écba’a-n, Tbr icikwa, Yq ’étbwa) is My ekbwa, which essentially does the change that Manaster Ramer proposed, changing non-velar t/c to a velar -k- adjacent to the labio-velar \*kw/bw.

**1.45 Nasals of Uto-Aztecan**

Uto-Aztecanists have long held to the correspondences of NUA ŋ: SUA n and NUA n: SUA L (L = either liquid, l or r). David Shaul (1985) and Jane Hill (2007b) summarize the history of the matter well, stating that Miller (in Miller and Silver 1997, 285) viewed the matter as PUA \*ŋ > SUA n and PUA \*n > SUA \*L (l/r). Others, VVH (1962), Campbell and Langacker (1978), Manaster Ramer (1993), and Dakin (2001), have argued for the opposite direction of change: \*L > NUA n, and \*n > NUA ŋ. Sapir (1915, 475), on the other hand, considered \*ŋ > SUA n more probable, but also considered PUA \*L and \*n to have merged in NUA, or \*L > NUA n (Sapir 1915, 477), and that \*n remained n in both NUA and SUA, though disappearing in SP when not geminated (Sapir 1915, 473-4). Sapir’s view comes nearest the author’s. I see PUA as having at least one liquid, if not both \*r and \*l, in addition to both \*n and \*ŋ.

The correspondence of NUA n: SUA n is more frequent than NUA ŋ: SUA n. In Miller 1988 we see n:n in both NUA and SUA in na-1 \*naka ‘ear’; na-2 \*naki ‘want’; na-5 \*napu ‘prickly pear’; na-7 \*na’i ‘fire’; na-29 \*naka ‘meat’; ni-1 \*nioki ‘say’; ni-2 \*nīma ‘liver’; ni-9 \*nīmi ‘walk around’ (126); ni-11 \*nīpaR ‘snow’; 266, 274, etc.) So if \*n > ŋ in NUA, then why did so many more \*n remain n in NUA instead of doing the sound change \*n > ŋ, like the other one-third of them did? The correspondence NUA ŋ: SUA n is less frequent and may be limited to medial positions, as we do see ŋ:n in \*laŋi ‘tongue’ (698), \*omwa ‘salt’ (280), \*kumwa ‘husband’ (281), \*somwo ‘lung’ (283). However, the candidates for ŋ:n in initial position may not be valid, that is, may have different stems in NUA and SUA respectively: na-6 ŋa ‘root’ and na-10 ŋa ‘cry’.

NUA ŋ is often the reduced result of a consonant cluster, one of which is often a nasal. Because many ŋ are from cluster reductions (though not all), it seems less reasonable that \*n became ŋ and then ŋ blossomed into an array of consonant clusters, but rather that \*-NC-/-CN- > \*ŋ > SUA n. For example, \*kumCa ‘husband’ (below) > \*kuŋa (NUA) > \*kuna (SUA) seems more likely than \*kuna > \*kuŋa > \*kumwa. The parallel corollary of such a change would be PUA \*n > SUA l, and is sometimes the case, yet again I agree with Sapir, that in other cases PUA \*L > NUA n. The \*n-\*L complex remains mysterious in part, though something like a merger of \*n and \*L to n in NUA, which Sapir (1915, 477) also suggested, and \*l and some \*n merging to SUA l may hold some potential, though groups of exceptions litter the aspired neatness. The next six sets exemplify NUA n: SUA n.

1070: UACV-752a \***nakka** / \***naNkapa** (< \***na(N)kasapa**) ‘ear’ [Semitic \*na-qšab ‘be perked up (to hear)]

Mn	náqa	Hp	naqvī	Eu	nakát ‘oreja’
NP	naka	Hp	naaqa ‘ear pendant’	Eu	kéisiven ‘oido’
		Tb	naŋha-l ‘ear, leaf’	Tbr	naká-r
TSh	naŋki	Sr	qävaač ‘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	naŋkávi	TO	naak	Cr	našaiħ
SP	naŋkava-vi	PYp	naaka	Wc	naaká
SP	naŋka 'hear, v'	NT	naáka	CN	nakas-tli
CU	níká-vi	ST	naak/nak	Pl	nakas

**UACV1366 \*nīmaC / \*nīmaN 'liver':**

Mn	nīwī	Hp	nīīma	Eu	hemát
NP	nīma	Tb	nīīma-l	Tbr	yamá-t
TSh	nīmī(cci)	Sr	nīmīič	Yq	héemam
Sh	nīmīn; nīwīn	Ca	ném'a	My	heémam
Cm	nīīma	Ls	nóóma	Wr	emá
Kw	nīwī-bi	Cp	néma; pípiviska	Tr	imará; emará
Ch	nīwīmpi	TO	nemaj; nem 'a liver'	Cr	neemwa
SP	nīŋwī-n, nīŋwī-mpi	Nv	nīmadi	Wc	néma
WMU	nūu-ppū-n 'my liver'	PYp	nemar; LP hīm	CN	eel-li
CU	nūu-pī-n 'my liver'	NT	nīma(đī)/nūmai	ST	lumaad

**126 UACV1012 \*nīmi 'walk around, live':** NUA: NP nīmmi 'walk'; TSh nīmi 'one moves'; Sh nīmi 'live'; Cm nīmi 'move about, walk, sg'; Ca nēm 'walk around'; Ca nēmi 'chase, follow tradition'; Sr nīm/nīmī- 'walk, walk around, walk along'; Ktn nīm 'walk, vi, walk on, vt'; Hp -nīma 'go around doing s.th.;

**SUA:** CN nemi 'live'; HN nemi 'walk'; Pipil nemi 'be, exist'. [Egyptian nmi 'travel, traverse, go']

**885 / UACV878 \*na'ay 'fire'; \*na'aya 'build/light a fire':** SUA: Wr na'í 'flame' and Wr na'yá-ni / na'i-ma 'make a fire'; Tr na'í / na'y- 'fire' and Tr na'yá- 'make a fire'; My na'- 'burn, v' and My náyya 'hacer lumbre'; AYq naya'í 'fire'; TO naada 'fire, n' (TO d < \*y); ST naada 'make fire'; NT naadá; Nv nadda; Cr á-úu-na'ara 'go build a fire';

**NUA:** Mn ani 'burn, vi'; NP nai 'fire, burn vi'; NP na'í'yu 'burn, vi'; Kw ne'e 'burn'; SP na'ai 'burn';

CU na'ay-tti 'fire, light'; Ca ná 'burn'; Ls ná 'burn'. [Arabic naar 'fire' but written na'r / na'ar]

**720 / UACV7 \*no'pal / \*napu 'prickly pear cactus/fruit':** both NUA n and SUA n and the remaining differences are explained at 720: NUA: NP nabu; TSh napumpī; Sh nabombī (Fowler83); Kw navu-bī; Ch navumpī; SP nabumpī; Hp naavī; Sr naavt; Ktn navīh-t; Ca návet; Cp návet; Ls náávu-t; SUA: TO naw/nawī; Nv nubo(nīvo); LP(B) nav; NT návoi; Eu navúc; Wr napó; Tr napó; Yq naabo; My naabo; CN no'pal-li. [Semitic nbl / Syriac n'bl 'skin-bottle']

**1407 / UACV2085 \*mo'ona(C) / \*monna / \*moCna 'son-in-law, in-law':** NUA: Sh monappī; Kw mono; SP munna / mona-ci; Hp mö'ōnaŋw 'male in-law'; SUA: Eu mónwa; My mó'one; Yq mó'one; Wr mo'né; Tr mo'né-ra; Wc muune; Cr -mu'un 'yerno'; CN moon-tli 'son-in-law'. [Hebrew maḥ<sup>a</sup>ne < \*maḥne 'camp, people of the camp'; as in-laws become family]

**Medial \*-m- and Other Consonant Clusters with Nasals Underlie Some Medial -ŋ-**

**UACV1221 \*sī'moci 'hummingbird':** Wr se'móci 'hummingbird'; Tr semučí / simučí 'hummingbird';

NP soŋoi'í 'hummingbird'. NP aligns with \*sī'muci in that NP's 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> vowels agree with Tr and Wr, and if the 1<sup>st</sup> assimilated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> (\*ī-o-i > NP o-o-i), and PUA \*-c- > -y- (or i or '), then \*sī'moci > \*so'moyi/\*so'mo'í > \*soŋoi'í has NP being a very good match with Tr/Wr, and glottal stop plus m (-'m-) aligning with -ŋ-. The next three sets show the -'m- cluster in SUA, and -ŋ- in NUA.

**771 UA \*cu'mi 'suck, sip':** Kw čohmi 'suck, v'; Cp čūŋe 'kiss,vt'; Cp čūmum 'suck obj, as venom'; Cp čúme 'suck, vt'; Ca čūŋ 'suck, vt'; Ls čúūŋi 'suck (breast)'; Ls čūŋi 'kiss'; Sr čuŋ 'suck, vt'; Wr cu'mi 'suck or slurp food'; Tr cu'mi 'kiss, sip'; My čuune; AYq čuune; Hp cocona 'kiss, suck'; CN (paal)čičiina 'soak up, suck in, smoke, vt' and CN ilčiina 'suck up, consume'; HN čičiina / čičiini'. Nv tup'suma 'suck, vt'; NT višúúsumai 'suck'. These forms suggest \*cu'ma. Six languages show medial -m- or -Cm- aligning with the frequent NUA ŋ and SUA n. [Hebrew ṭsm 'taste, eat'; plural prtcl ṭsmiim > \*cu'mV > \*cuŋV 'suck, sip, kiss']

**1144 UA \*o'mana 'sad, suffering':** CN a'mana 'be upset, disturbed'; Tr o'moná / o'móna- 'be afflicted, saddened'; Tr o'móna-ri 'sadness, affliction'; in Sr the -uŋani- portion of Sr ahaŋanik 'sad, miserable'; Sr hahauŋan 'be poor, pathetic, miserable'; Sr hauŋanič 'poor one, orphan' (u often pronounced o); and Ktn haŋa 'poor'. Words as long as the Sr forms are certainly compounds, so -uŋani- likely aligns with CN and Tr. Here the cluster -'m- appears in SUA (CN and Tr) and as ŋ in Sr and Ktn, as in 771 cu'mi in Tr/Wr and ŋ in NUA; in addition, the Tr and CN forms agree perfectly in the consonants -'m-n-, but disagree in the vowels: a-a-a vs. o-o-a. However, the vowels of Sr and Ktn are between the two, agreeing fairly well with both, perhaps:

PUA \*o'mana > CN a'mana

> Tr o'mona

> Sr -uŋani- / Ktn -oŋa [Hebrew 'almaanaa 'widow'; Arabic 'alima 'to experience grief']

**856 UA \**yu'mi* > *yuŋi*** 'warm': NP *yuwi*; NP *yui*; Sh *yuai* 'warm'; Cm *yu'a* 'warm (of weather)'; SP *yuuttui* 'be warm'; SP *yu'mi* 'warm (of water)', *yu'ata* (of weather); Hp *yoŋi* 'be warm'. Even if SP *yu'mi* and Hp *yoŋi* have an extra morpheme than the others, Hp (-ŋ-) and SP (-'m-) still suggest a medial cluster. The fact that 9 sets (in UACV) show *m* in some languages and *ŋ* in others suggests that medial -*m*-, when clustered (-C*m*-/-*m*C-), reduces to -ŋ-.

[Hebrew *yħm* 'be in heat' (alternate form of *ħmm* 'feel warm, get warm')]

**1114 UA \**sik-mukki*** 'numb' < 'ice/cold-dead': Hp *súmokiwi*|*ta* 'be numb, vi'; NP *ta/ma-sīsīŋi* 'foot/hand goes to sleep'; Cm *sīsī'niti* 'numb, feel numb, asleep'; WMU *sī'úú* 'be numb'. The first morpheme could well be a cognate of CN *sek-tli* 'ice/cold'. Hp lost the velar stop, but preserved the vowel pattern best. In NP, Cm, and WMU are cluster reductions, showing residual features of both consonants, in which the velar + nasal cluster -*km*- went various directions: \*-*km*- > *ŋ* (NP); -'n- (Cm); and *'u* (WM; underlined V = nasal V), for all show signs of a velar (velar nasal or glottal stop) and a nasal; a nasalized vowel shows the nasalization in WMU. [Hebrew *šēlēg* 'snow' + Hebrew *mukke* 'smitten']

After five examples of -'m- aligning with -ŋ-, consider three well known examples of NUA *ŋ* aligning with SUA *n*, but with several seldom-highlighted *m*'s among the NUA reflexes as well.

#### HUSBAND; MARIDO

Mn	<i>kúwa</i>	Hp	<i>koŋya</i>	Eu	<i>kúnwa</i>
NP	<i>guma</i>	Tb	<i>kuuŋa</i>	Tbr	--
Tsh	<i>kuhma(cci)</i>	Sr	--	AYq	<i>kuuna</i>
Sh	<i>kuhma/kuha</i>	Ca	--	My	<i>kuuna</i>
Cm	<i>kumahpī'</i>	Ls	<i>kúúŋ; tó'ma-vu</i>	Wr	<i>kuná</i>
Kw	<i>kuhma</i>	Cp	<i>kúŋ</i>	Tr	<i>kuná(ra)/guná(ra)</i>
Ch	<i>kumá</i>	TO	<i>kun</i>	Cr	<i>kīin</i> (2 <sup>nd</sup> V stressed)
SP	<i>kumma</i>	LP	<i>kun</i>	Wc	<i>kina</i>
WM	<i>piwá</i>	NT	<i>kúna</i>	CN	--
CU	<i>piwá</i>	ST	<i>kun</i>		

**284 UA \**kumCa* / \**kuCma*** 'husband': this set is one of few whose reflexes appear in 25 or more UA languages. Note Hp, Tb, and Tak *ŋ* aligns with SUA *n*, while 9 Num languages show -*m(m)*- / -*Cm*-. WMU and CU have *piwá* 'husband', but *kumma* 'male' also, in a slight semantic shift on SNum's east end:

SP *kumma* 'male, husband'

SP *piŋwá* 'wife, spouse'

CU *kumáa-vi* 'male animal, stud, macho'

CU *piwá* 'spouse, husband, wife'

The fact that nearly all UA languages show a form agreeing with \**kuNa*, but only vary in the type of nasal, three different nasals, no less—bilabial in Num; velar in Hp, Tb, Tak; alveolar in SUA—suggests that we are dealing with a single proto-form whose medial consonant is likely a reduced cluster, probably involving *m* and something else. Reflexes of 'lung' and 'salt' do similarly. [Egyptian *qm'*]

#### LUNG(S); PULMÓN(ES)

Mn	<i>sóno</i>	Hp	<i>halayna; mīma</i>	Eu	<i>abokadaga-di</i>
NP	<i>soŋo/sono</i>	Tb	<i>mošooha-t</i>	Tbr	<i>wopaN-s; sorá komwa-lí-t</i>
Tsh	<i>somo/soŋwo/soŋo</i>	Sr	--	Yq	<i>saré'ečia</i>
Sh	<i>sonko/sonno</i>	Ktn	<i>šoŋa-č</i>	AYq	<i>hemaha'ačim</i>
Cm	<i>soomo</i>	Ca	<i>yávayva</i>	My	<i>sáre'ečiam</i>
Kw	<i>soo-vī</i>	Ls	<i>šavá-šva-š</i>	Wr	<i>so'locá</i>
Ch	<i>soo-vi</i>	Cp	<i>qíqilye</i>	Tr	<i>sonorá</i>
SP	<i>soo-vi</i>	TO	<i>hahaw</i>	Cr	<i>šáíñi-mee; ta'atime</i>
CU	<i>sö'ö-vī</i>	PYp	<i>hakadaga; pl: havdaga</i>	Wc	<i>šaaka</i>
		ST	<i>havkal</i>	CN(RJC)	<i>mimiyawayo-tl</i>

**291 UA \**somCo* / \**suNCa*** 'lungs': Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; Ch; SP; CU; Tb; Sr; Ktn; Tŋ *sár*; Tbr; Cr; and HN *sooneewa* 'to swell up (of vipers)'; Tr *sonorá*. Though all are listed here, some UA forms for 'lung' belong to other sets. Tr has the expected SUA *n* for NUA *ŋ*, but we see NUA -*m*- (Tsh, Cm) and -ŋ- as well as SUA -*n*-. [Egyptian *sm'*]

#### SALT; SAL

Mn	<i>omábi; omaa-</i> 'to salt'	Hp	<i>öŋa</i>	Eu	<i>onát/ónta</i>
NP	<i>oŋabi</i>	Tb	<i>uŋaal</i>	Tbr	<i>oná-t</i>
Tsh	<i>oŋwapi(cci) / omapi-</i>	Gb	<i>'oŋó-r</i>	Yq	<i>'óna</i>
Sh	<i>oŋa- / onka- / ona-pin</i>	Ca	<i>'iŋ-il</i>	My	<i>oona</i>
Cm	<i>ona-/onaabi/ona'aítí</i>	Ls	<i>'éŋ-la</i>	Wr	<i>woná</i>
Kw	<i>'owa-vi</i>	Cp	<i>iŋeyu</i> 'to salt'	Tr	<i>oná/koná/noná</i>
Ch	--	TO	<i>on</i>	Cr	<i>unáh</i>
SP	<i>oa</i>	PYp	<i>ona</i>	Wc	<i>'únaa</i>
WMU	<i>'óá-vi</i>	NT	<i>ónai</i>		



CU 'öá-vi ST 'on CN --

**280 UA \*omCa / \*oNCa > \*oŋa** (> SUA \*ona) 'salt': This is in all branches except Azt, and medial consonants (n, ŋ, m, ø) again show a pattern similar to 'lung' and 'husband' with Mn and TSh showing m. [Egyptian ḥVm'a(t) 'salt']

**1246 Canaanite \*ha-sim'al** 'left' > Tb **aašijan** 'left'

**1012 Hebrew šiqma(t)** 'sycamore' > UA **\*siŋŋa(C)** 'cottonwood and/or aspen tree'

**807 \*sīm** 'laugh': Cp šeme; Ca sém; Od hihim; ST h(i)mpa, h(i)mia; Nv 'i'imī 'smile'; Ca sém-yaw 'smile'; Ca séŋi 'smile' may involve the same stem as Ca sém-yaw, but with a differing suffix, then ŋ becoming a cluster reduction. [Hebrew **šimḥ** 'be happy'; Hebrew **šimḥaa / šimḥat** 'joy, gladness']

Above are 11 sets having medial clusters of m plus something else corresponding to some NUA ŋ and SUA n. Below are other cluster combinations corresponding to NUA ŋ and SUA n.

**1418 UA \*taŋa** 'bag, sack, contain(er)': Sr taŋat 'sack'; Tŋ taŋár 'sack'; Hp taŋa 'contained things';

Hp patŋa 'squash' (with pa- prefixed); Tbr tanaté 'zurrón, mochila de cuero en que se acarrea a la espalda el ineral'; -ta'ni of Mn kusatá'ni 'sack' (kusa 'sack'); CN taana-tli 'basket with a handle'; and Yq 'ía-tana 'this shore/side' (a shore as that which contains/encloses water). \*taŋa compounded with \*pa- 'water' produces \*pa-taŋa 'squash, pumpkin, gourd, i.e., liquid-container' (Stubbs 2003:4 and KH/M03-pa66 'squash'): Ch paráŋar(a) 'pumpkin'; SP paráŋwaraN 'pumpkin'; and Hp patŋa 'squash, pumpkin'. Note that the only NUA language not showing ŋ (Mn) does show a cluster of glottal stop plus n (-'n-), which suggests a cluster. [Semitic \*ta-šra' > UA taŋa'; Aramaic tašra / tašrat 'sheath, n.f.']

**1066 UA \*corowa / \*corwa** 'be hungry': Wr colóa-ni 'be hungry'; (Wr co'-cólá-ni 'be hungry, pl');

Hp cōŋö-w(i)- 'hunger'; Hp cōŋ-moki 'die of starvation'. Wr colóa- and Hp cōŋö- match well, since Hp ö < \*o, and if -owa- > -oa- in Wr, then syncope causing a cluster of \*-lw- > -ŋ- in Hp is natural, for w is a labio-velar and SUA liquids often become NUA nasals, so the nasal and velar dimensions' becoming the velar nasal is reasonable. Note Tr čiriwisa 'tener hambre', which has the same three consonants (c, r, w). In light of alveolar consonants causing V > i in Tr, as also in Tr bikiyá 'three' < \*pakay. [Arabic drf > UA \*cor(V)wV]

**628 UA \*ca'ro** 'chin, jaw': Tr ča'ró 'chin'; Wr caló 'chin, jaw'; CN teen-čal-li 'chin'; CN kama-čal-li 'jaw'; Yq čao 'barba [beard]'; My čaro hímsim 'bigote [mustache]'; My čaro wá'asa'ari 'quijada [jaw]'; Hp cāŋw-ti 'open the mouth'.

The medial \*-ro- of SUA likely corresponds to Hp -ŋw- much like we saw in \*corowa 'hungry' above. These sets (\*corowa, \*ca'ro, and UACV-326 \*yiLCa) with Hp ŋ aligning with SUA liquid plus round vowel suggest two things: (1) they suggest a liquid > NUA nasal, since \*ŋ > l/r is not likely in the other direction; (2) and they show Hp ŋ aligning with likely clusters of a nasalizing element (\*l/r > N in NUA) plus w or round vowel. [Hebrew \***čaqn-o** 'chin-his']

**681 UA \*wīl** 'grow': Ca wél 'to grow, rise up high'; Cp wéle 'to grow'; Ls wola/i 'grow (of plants or anim subj)'; and Hp wīŋwa 'grow, grow up' (< ŋVlwa). [Hebrew **šlw** / šly / **šalaa** 'ascend, go up, grow']

The prominent UA cognate for 'tongue' is in 10 of 11 branches, in every branch except Numic, and it is yet another example of NUA -ŋ- corresponding to SUA -n- medially as above. Hp and Tb begin with l- and all other UA languages begin with n-, so the Uto-Aztecanists figure that \*n- is the initial consonant and that Hp and Tb disassimilated.

However, the opposite direction of assimilation is more likely, as explained below:

**698 UA \*laŋi / \*laŋu** 'tongue': Hp leŋyi / leŋi 'tongue'; Cp naŋ; Ca náŋ-il'y; Sr naŋlač; Ktn nīŋi-č; Tŋ -nōŋin (poss'd); Tb lalan-t / lalun-t; Eu nenét; Tbr nini-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 is more likely (\*laŋa > naŋi), the liquid assimilating to the following nasal, as anticipatory consonant harmony is 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 vowelng \*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 vowelng \*i-i could be the 1<sup>st</sup> V 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> may have more likely been u (which aligns with Hebrew pl), and final V > i is common, but anything else > u is not. So the reconstruction \*laŋu serves best. [Arabic \*lahgat 'tongue', the Hebrew vowelng for an unattested plural would be \*lahgoot]

Four decades ago Munro (1973) demonstrated that a half dozen sets show Ls ŋ < PUA \*w. The forty years since that time have turned up a few more examples but not an explanation. In fact, some rather sporadic ŋ < \*w in some other languages (mostly Takic) seem to complicate more than clarify. The matter is partially clarified in 6.6, but not entirely.

**757 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 šuŋáa-l 'woman' is very relevant to the nasal clustered with -w-. Ls and CN show a vowel assimilation to w (\*siwa > \*sowa / \*suwa) that occurred in other languages also, probably in Tak \*suŋa, Tbr \*sona 'wife' and Tep \*hooniga 'wife'.

UACV-2575b \*sī'a 'girl': I.Num195 \*sī'a '(young) girl'; M88-sī11 'young girl'; KH/M03-sī11: Mn sī'a; NP sī'a / cī'a. The WNum forms likely tie to \*siwa/siwiŋwa, but until an explanation emerges, a separate letter is good.

UACV-2575c \*suŋa 'man's daughter, wife': M88-su21; KH.NUA; KH/M03-su21: Cp ŋuŋáma 'man's daughter'; Ca sūŋama 'man's daughter'; Ls ŋuŋáa-l 'woman, wife'; Tŋ ásoŋ 'wife'; Sr ŋuŋ 'man's daughter'. Add Ktn huŋ 'descendant' and Ktn nīmihuŋ 'wife', pl: nīmihuŋam (< \*nīmi-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 ŋuŋáma 'daughter of man (diminutive of woman); M88-so8; KH/M03-so8: Tb so'yiil 'wife' (cognate?); Tbr soná-r 'esposa'. [Hebrew šiphāa 'maid, maid-servant, concubine']

1059 UA \*tī(N)wa / \*tīnwa (AMR) 'name': Hp tīŋwa 'name, refer to, vt'; Tb 'indīŋwa-l 'name'; Cp téw'a 'name (n. poss'd)'; Ca téwal; Ls tūŋ-la; Sr tīwan(č) 'name, n'; Ktn tīw; TO čīŋ '(1) find, (2) call by name'; PYP teegi 'name'; Eu tewát; Tbr temwa-ra; Yq tea; My téewam; Wr tewá; Tr féwá; Wc tééváá; Cr an-tyawaa 'he is named X'. Munro suggests -ŋw- may explain \*o > u in Ls. Note -w- > -ŋw- only in Hp and Tb. [Arabic dŋw / daŋaa 'to call, name']

332 UA \*koNwa 'snake' reflects a medial -rŋ- cluster (< \*qVrŋat). This widespread cognate is in 9 of 11 branches, and while Joe Campell (1976) cites a Nahuatl dialect showing \*koŋwa, most show \*kowa, except Takic, which has Tak medial -ŋ-: Cp qeqiŋi-ly 'king snake' and Ls qiqeŋ-la 'ring snake' < Tak \*koŋo. [Egyptian qrh̄t 'serpent (sometimes bird determinative instead of serpent), friend/partner']

Four more instances of pharyngeal ʕ reflecting Ls ŋ follow:

270 UACV-70 \*tīpiwa / \*tīpiN 'ask': Mn tībiyu; Mn tīpiwī (M88); Mn tītīwī- 'ask for (objects)'; NP tībiŋa; TSh tīpiŋa; Sh tīpinka (= tīpiŋa) 'ask for'; Kw tīvina; Ch tīviŋi; SP tīvi / tīvi-ŋu 'to ask'; CU tīviyuy; Hp tīviŋ-ta 'ask, inquire of, ask for'; Ls tūvyuŋi 'ask a question'; Cp tūvyuŋ 'ask'. [Egyptian dbh̄ 'ask for']

411 UA \*hoŋ 'body'; remember Tepiman n corresponds to NUA ŋ: TO hon 'body'; Nv hona; PYP hona; Ls heŋča-wu-t 'cheerful, contented' is key: Ls e < \*o, and Ls ŋ corresponds to pharyngeals and to UA \*w also in woman, name (Munro 1973) and to SUA n; and Egyptian h̄s unites the meanings 'happy' and 'body'. [Egyptian h̄s / h̄sʷ 'body', Egyptian h̄sʷt 'joy, rejoicing']

412 Ls heŋča-wu-t 'cheerful, contented'. [Egyptian h̄s / h̄sʷ 'body', Egyptian h̄sʷt 'joy, rejoicing']

413 Ls hiŋé'-ma-l / hiŋéé'-ma-l 'boy'. Ls even shows the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant glottal stop [Egyptian h̄s' 'child, boy'], besides the first 2 consonants matching in the last 3 sets: Egyptian h̄s > Ls hVŋ.

#### 1.46 NUA Liquids Corresponding to SUA Liquids

In contrast to PUA \*l > NUA n or PUA \*n > SUA l (as some Uto-Aztecans have seen matters heretofore), several sets show liquids for both NUA and SUA:

- 6 UA \*kwilu 'swallow': Hp kwelo(-k) 'sample by tasting'; Eu béru'u 'swallow'; Tb weleeh 'swallow'. Hp and Eu correspond perfectly through 4 segments, since Hp o < \*u and Eu b < \*kw. And Tb's w (< \*kw) agrees through 3, the last V assimilating to the first, yet all NUA and SUA forms show a liquid. [Hebrew bl̄s 'swallow']
- 630 NUA \*koli, SUA reduplicated \*kolkoli > \*ko'okoLi. Again, SUA and NUA forms show liquids. [Hebrew xole]
- 88 UA \*walaka 'snail': CN wilaka 'caracol de monte'; Tr warákoara 'caracol'; Ls muvílaqa 'snail' (Ls múúvi-l 'nose'); Wr alágaloci 'snail'; Wr nalágeloci 'snail'; Tr narákuri 'snail'; another example of a NUA liquid (Ls) and SUA liquids, though some languages added prefixes that eliminated initial w(V)-. [Hebrew ʕaluqaa 'leech'; Arabic ʕalaqat 'leech']
- 381 UA \*wirhukuN 'buzzard, turkey vulture, zopilte' (in 7 of 8 branches, missing only in Tep):

Mn wiho; NP wi'ho/wiho	[WNum]
Tsh wihnumpi(cci) / wihumpiccih / wiyombic; Sh wikkumpiccih	[CNum]
Kw wiku-mahaa-zi; SP wikkuN; CU wəkúci-ge-ti	[SNum]
Hp wisoko; Tb wišokombiš-t 'song of the turkey buzzard'; Sr wirukt	[other 3 branches of NUA]
Yq wiiru; My wiiru; Tr wirú; Tbr wilú	[Cah, Trn, Tbr]
Wc wirikí; Cr viskí	[CrC]
CN wiiloo-tl, pl: wiiloo-me' 'dove'	[Azt]

Besides a general NUA liquid and SUA liquid correspondence, we see the liquid > -s- in three languages (Hp, Tb, Cr), and being clustered with a voiceless spirant best explains the devoicing of \*-r/l- > -s-. Wc (SUA) and Sr (NUA) show all 3 syllables of \*wirhukuN, while the rest are reductions. [Egyptian wr-h̄q'w 'buzzard']

#### 1.47 Some Uto-Aztecans \*k- > NUA -h-, > SUA -k-, and > ø in Hp, Tb, Eu, Op

##### TWO; DOS

Mn waha-i/tu	Hp lööyöm	Eu wodí(m) (gen. woke; acc. wok)
NP waha('yu)	Tb woo/wooh; wooyo 'both'	Op gode
	woo'ami 'twice'	Tbr nyohór
TSh waha	Sr wöh	Yq wói
Sh waha/waa-ttin	Ca wíh	My wooyi
Cm waha	Ls wéh	Wr woká

Kw	waha	Cp	wih	Tr	okwá
Ch	wahá	Od	gook	Cr	wá'apua
SP	waa	Nv	gok	Wc	húuta 'pair, double'
WM	wáyIni	NT	goóka		'útĩmana 'second (place)'
CU	wáy-ini	ST	gok	CN	oome

**570 NUA \*wakay** 'two': Mn; NP; TSh; Sh wahattiwih; WSh wahattin; Cm; Kw wahayu; Ch; SP; WM; CU; Sr waah- / wah- 'twice'; Tñ wahá 'other, companion'; Ktn wah- / weh- 'twice'; Cr wá'apua.

**SUA \*wokay / \*wokoy**: Sr wöh; Ls wéh; Ca wih; Cp wih; Tñ wehé'; Hp; Tb; Eu wodí(m)/wok; Tbr n'ohór; Yq wói; My wooyi; Wr woká; Tr okwá. Note liquids in Yq and My wo'olim 'twins' and Tbr in contrast to -y- in Hp, Eu, Op, and Num. While \*wakay and \*wokay are likely variants of an original unity, UAnists often separate them according to first vowel, which is fine for the sake of tidiness. Both Num and Cr show initial \*wa, while the rest of UA rounded the vowel adjacent to w: \*wakay > wokay. Tep and Trn show -k- but Num and Tak -h-, and loss in Hp, Tb, Eu, Op. [Semitic 'axar]

### THREE; TRES

Mn	pahí-i/tu	Hp	paayom	Eu	veidúm
NP	pahi'yu	Tb	paai	Op	vaide
TSh	pahi/pai	Sr	paahi'	Tbr	vayí-r
Sh	paih-	Ca	páh / páx	My	bahi
Cm	pahihti	Ls	páahay	Yq	báhi
Kw	pehe/peheyu	Cp	páh	Tr	bikiyá
Ch	pahí	Od	waik	Wr	paiká
SP	pai	Nv	vaiko	Cr	waihka
WM	páyIni	NT	váika	Wc	háika; hairieka 'third'
CU	pay-ni	ST	vaik	CN	eei

**UACV-2623 \*pakay** 'three': a form of \*pakay is in every language above, plus WSh pahaitin; Ktn pahi'; Tñ páhe'; and note Kw peheyu. Medial \*-k- does the same as in 'two' above, remains -k- in Wr, Tr, CrC, and Tep, in three branches, but -h- in Num and Tak, though Ca páh / páx, with an alternate form suggesting \*-k- > -x-/-h-, and \*-k- > ø in Hp, Tb, SP, CU, Eu, Op.

**1071 UA \*naNkapí** 'leaf': Kw naga-vi; Ch nanká-va; SP maaví-naŋqa-vi 'leaf' (vs. SP naŋqava 'ear'); CU níká-'a-vi (vs. CU níká-vi 'ear'); Tb naŋhabī-l; Hp nàapi/naŋpi 'leaf'. The last three sets show Hp losing intervocalic -k-/-ŋk-, but Hp nàapi/naŋpi shows -p- instead of -v-, as evidence of a previous cluster.

**170 UA \*tiku** 'drunk': Wr tekú 'be drunk'; Tr riku 'become drunk, sick, faint'; Tr téguri/tékuri 'ebrios, borrachos, pl'. [Egyptian(F) **txw** 'drunkard']

**170 UA \*tihu** 'angry': Mn tihuyee 'be angry'; Sh tuhuC 'angry'; TSh tuupikkan 'be angry'. In light of other examples of a correspondence between Tr/Wr -k- and Num -h- and other languages (agave, two, three, deer), a relationship between Num \*tihu 'angry' and TrC \*tiku 'drunk' is reasonable. [Egyptian **txw** 'drunkard']

**638 UA \*tikīya** 'deer': Mn tihīta 'deer'; Mn tihīya 'old buck'; NP tihīdda; TSh tihīya(n); Sh tihīyan; Cm tihīya 'horse'; Kw tihīya; Ch tihīya; SP tīgīa 'deer'; SP tī- 'deer, game'; CU tīyī. Though the first vowel is problematic, Tñ tohii-l 'deer' is likely related, since the other three of the first four segments agree. From Sapir on, some have mixed these with \*tinnV 'antelope' (< \*tīmīna), which is another example of syllable reduction causing a cluster: \*tīmīna (Ktn) > tīmna > \*tīnna.) For 'deer' the SP form shows \*-k-, while the other Num forms show -h- or nothing. So again, \*k > h in most of Num. [Hebrew **\*raxel** 'ewe, sheep']

**SUA \*ciki** 'white-tailed deer': Od siiki 'white-tailed deer'; PYp siiki 'white-tailed deer'. In light of the frequency of \*ti > ci, this Tep stem (\*ciki > Tep \*siki) likely ties to NUA \*tikīya 'deer'. The Tep k with Num h (< \*k) is consistent with the above terms (two, three, drunk/angry) as well. [Hebrew **\*raxel** 'ewe']

## 1.48 Consonant Harmony and Consonant Anticipation

Instances of consonant harmony in UA seem to be consistently regressive or anticipatory: that is, the earlier consonant harmonizes with the next consonant:

**1100 UA \*tanapiko** 'heel': among others are My tēmpē'erim and Yq pémpē'im, Yq's first consonant harmonizing with the second.

**96 UA \*tīpa** > \*pīpa 'throw, v': Yq and others show \*pīpa while other branches show \*tīpa.

**1028 UA \*yoli** 'live, alive, bear, be born': most reflexes align with \*yoli, and so does Cr ruúrikame 'alma, vida' (Cr u < \*o) except that the first consonant harmonized to the second.

**665 UA \*huCkuN-** 'dust': while 7 languages show \*hukkuNpV, CU kukupī (< \*kukkuppī) has consonant harmony.

**UACV2233 \*pacay** 'shine': TO waḏaḏ-k 'be shiny, bald'; PYp vasad 'shine, vi'. Consonant harmony in TO.

**UACV1851 \*pakwa** ‘pus’: Tr bawana/wawana ‘erupcion purulenta, sarna’; Ls ‘apáákwaya ‘rotten wood, punk’. Medial \*-kw- > Tr -w-, so outside of a preceding vowel that Tr lost or Ls gained, both match \*pakwa. However, note the consonant harmony in one of the two Tr variants: wawana.

**UACV1943 \*turipa** / \*tVrV ‘shake’: whether the final \*-pa in CrC is a suffix or not, notice that Cr harmonized the second consonant to the third: Wc tütiriva ‘estar temblando’; Cr rubibéh ‘tiembla’; Eu turiré nomíkdaa ‘shake, stir’; Hp tiriiri ‘be shivering, trembling, shaking’.

Anticipatory consonant harmony and consonant anticipation (being moved to the preceding syllable) have in common a consonant being moved forward or repeated forward. Uto-Aztecan does both.

**UACV160 \*ku(C/N)ta(N)(pa)** ‘bee’: Cp kutáŋva-l ‘bumblebee’; Ls kúúkunta-la ‘bumblebee’; My kuta kúmera ‘bee that lives in wood’; Nv kuarhagi mumuva ‘abejas grandes que hacen panales’; WMU kučávi ‘bee’. Ls anticipates the nasalization a syllable earlier than is apparent in Cp, while the SUA languages (My, Nv) do their typical lack of clustered nasalization. WMU -č- (vs. -r-) and Cp -t- (vs. -l-) signify a cluster.

**UACV1194 \*(na-)patī(N)kī(N)** ‘fight, v’: Mn pidīkī ‘fight’; Mn nanna-pidīkī ‘fight one another’; TSh napitīŋkīn / napitīŋkīn ‘fight’; Sh napitinkaC ‘to fight’; Cm nabitīkīrī ‘war, battle’; Tb paandīgīt ‘fight’. WNum and CNum \*na-pitīNkī and Tb \*paNtīkī show Tb anticipating the nasalization a syllable before Numic’s nasal feature, and even Num \*pitīNkī may be anticipating nasalization from \*pVtīkīN.

**UACV390 \*pina** ‘bring, gather, acquire’: Tb pin ~ ‘imbin ‘bring it’; Sr pinai ‘bring, bring back’. Note nasalization anticipation in Tb above and below:

#### Without nasal anticipation

Tb kiig ~ ‘ikik ‘to sack, store, load’  
 Tb kita ~ ‘ikita ‘it is locked’  
 Tb kuunūt ~ ‘uuguuŋu ‘she married’  
 Tb kamiiž ~ ‘akamiič ‘to catch it’  
 Tb paabī ~ ‘aabaabī ‘be tired’  
 Tb pacaain ~ ‘apacaain ‘he caches’  
 Tb tomocka ~ ‘otomocka ‘to stumble’  
 Tb tuluumiin ~ ‘utuluumiin ‘to roll his blanket’  
 Tb tulu’uma ~ ‘utulu’uma ‘it rolls’

#### With nasal anticipation

Tb kam’-(ut) ~ ‘aŋgam’ ‘it fits’  
 Tb kin-(at) ~ ‘iŋgin ‘he brings it’  
 Tb kumaawa’(it) ~ ‘uŋgumaawa’ ‘it is shady’  
 Tb paam ~ ‘ambam ‘make into a ball’  
 Tb pin ~ ‘imbin ‘bring it’  
 Tb paan ~ ‘amban ‘to close it’  
 Tb tana ~ ‘andana ‘to get down’  
 Tb taŋ ~ ‘andaŋ ‘it is raining’

The Tb telic (perfective) form generally reduplicates the first vowel. If the second consonant is a nasal, sometimes that nasalization is anticipated with the prefixed vowel, but not always. The cognate languages show no inherent nasalization in front of the verb stem, so it must come from anticipating the nasalization two consonants away. This phenomenon may explain Tb’s nasalization in other places.

Besides nasals being anticipated, glottal stops and liquids sometimes jump to the preceding syllable. This glottal stop hop or anticipation occurs often in the middle SUA languages, especially in Tr and Wr, and Sapir (1930, 59) noticed the glottal stop’s mobility in SP. I have also noticed it in WMU.

**8** and UACV400c Note the glottal stop hop at ‘carry’ in Tr ca’pi ‘coger’ vs. Tr na’cabi ‘coger pl obj’s.

**UACV153 \*ci’ma** / \*(C)a’cima ‘beautiful’: Tr či’má in Tr či’má(k)ame ‘precioso, primoroso, bello’; Tr či’má-re-ma ‘ser bello, primoroso, precioso’; Cp á’čimal ‘pretty, nice’; PYp la’sima ‘beautiful’. With additional prefixes in Cp and PYp, the glottal stop hops, as all forms agree in five segments otherwise—(‘)ci(‘)ma—and PYp s < \*c.

**724** While other forms point to \*paro’osi ‘jackrabbit’ (such as My paaros, pl. paró’osim), Wr pa’loisi and Tr ba’loisi anticipated or transposed the glottal stop a syllable forward.

**UACV210** Among forms of \*curaka’i ‘bird, woodpecker’ is Wr cu’rukí ‘bird’ with the ’ moved two syllables forward.

## 1.49 Vowel Behavior (and Misbehavior) in Uto-Aztecan

Early on, Sapir (1913, 402) noticed that “most UA languages seem to assimilate vowels of successive syllables to each other to some extent, though in varying manner.” He also noted the frequency of vowel syncope and that the existence of many consonant clusters was due to it (Sapir 1913, 415). In fact, Sapir (1913, 417) goes so far as to say, “In Nahuatl (as presumably in UA generally) there were no consonant clusters to begin with. All present clusters have been brought about by the disappearance of short vowels.” I vary from that view only slightly: even if many present clusters were brought about by vowel syncope, there were also original clusters, even if many are largely now lost, but sometimes perceptible in the reduction of the old cluster to a single consonant, whether the components of the cluster are retrievable or not.

The UA vowel correspondences are fairly straightforward and obvious by inspection of table 6 (page 43). Hopi shifted them one direction (\*u > o; \*o > ö), while the Corachol languages shifted them the other (\*u > i; \*o > u). CN continued the CrC shift one step further: \*u > i > i. The Tak languages offer less obvious scenarios: PUA \*o > Ca/Cp i, Ls e, Sr/Ktn o. PUA \*i > Ls/Tŋ o, Sr/Ktn i, Ca/Cp e. While Langacker (1970) proposes PUA \*k > Cup q/\_o, and q remaining even after \*o became high front vowels in Cupan: Tak \*ko > \*qo > qe (Ls) / > qi (Cp, Ca), the Semitic

and Egyptian data offer a somewhat different explanation: that uvular consonants often remain uvular in Takic, as we see many initial qa- and ka- syllables only in Takic (see 6.3), and in initial qV- syllables of short vowels and no stress, the uvular q caused rounding of its adjacent vowel: examples are at 1014 \*kuta ‘neck’; 632 \*koloka ‘beads’; 594, 630, 633, 1163.

## Vowels > i/i/e in Unstressed Syllables

Vowel centralization is common in language change. Sapir (1913, 416) noticed that many vowels appear to change to *i* in shortened/aspirated syllables and that a ‘dulling’ to *ə* is common in SP in unaccented syllables (Sapir 1930, 8). This is similar to the schwa-phenomenon in English, wherein short unaccented vowels of longer words become *ə*: fətəgræf (2<sup>nd</sup> unaccented), fətəgrəfi (1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> unaccented). The UA schwa-equivalents are *i* and *ī/e*. **UACV504 \*(pa)-hawa** ‘fog, steam’: Yq báhe(wa) ‘fog’; AYq haawa ‘vapor, steam, n’; AYq vahewa ‘mist, fog’; AYq vaiweče ‘fog, mist’; My baihwo ‘neblina, brisa’; My háawa ‘vapor’; Eu baúua (baúwa) ‘rocío, neblina’; Eu beiwat ‘neblina’; Ca háway ‘be foggy, vi’; Ca háway-š ‘mist, fog’. The diachronic fragility of *h* results in a diphthong and the loss or near loss of the middle syllable after the prefix \*pa-. Also of interest is the fact that all forms without the prefix \*pa- show \*hawa (Ca, My, and one AYq form) because the first syllable was likely stressed, while all forms with prefix \*pa- show a higher vowel after pa-, i.e., pa-(h)íwa/(h)íwa with second syllable reductions, because pa- was stressed and thus not the first syllable of \*hawa. Furthermore, those high vowels are the UA schwas, and, like the English schwa, sometimes result from lack of stress in unaccented syllables, not from PUA \*ī or \*i.

**UACV2601 \*hatawa** ‘yawn, v’: Mn na’idawí ‘yawn, vi’; NP idamuwíni ‘yawning, vi’; TSh hitawa ‘yawn, vi’; Cm ihtamakí’atí ‘yawn, vi’; Kw ’atawa ‘yawn’; Eu hátawa (prêt: hátauhri) ‘yawn’; My ten háha’awa ‘is yawning’; Yq háawe ‘yawn’; Cr ha’ateewa ‘he yawns’. Note a glottal stop in Cah corresponding to \*t in the other UA languages: \*t > l/r >’ in Cah. Interestingly, in Eu and Cah where the first vowel is stressed, the \*a is retained while second and third vowels sometimes change, but in Num where the second vowel is more often stressed, the first vowel goes to *ī*, the UA schwa, in all Num forms except Kw.

**UACV1067 \*ata(N)kaC** ‘grasshopper’, note the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel is mostly *a* in TSh aattan̄ki(cci); Sh aattenkih; Cm aatakií’; Kw ’aataka-pízi; SP aatan̄kaC-, aatan̄ka-ppici, except for some CU variants: CU ’áa-riká-ci / ’áa-raká-ci / ’aa-taká-ci. In the one CU variant, the unaccented *a* > *ī* between two accented syllables. In CU the third vowel is also *a*, so unaccented schwa-like behavior likely explains \*a > *ī* in the CU variant and others.

**UACV1850 \*ayakwi** ‘pus’: Cp áyexwi-š / áyaxwi-š ‘pus’; Ls ’iyáxwi-š ‘pus’. Ls and one Cp form both show an unaccented *a* > *ī/i*, while accented *á* remains in all cases.

**UACV1286a \*yaCV** ‘laugh’: Mn yawi; TSh yahi/yahe; Sh yahnaiC; Cm yahneeti ‘laugh, v sg’ vs. Cm na’yineti ‘laugh, v pl’. The two Cm forms are quite identical except that when the prefix \*na- is added, the first vowel -a- becomes the second, and in the unaccented position becomes -i-.

**676 UA \*pakuwa** ‘mushroom, fungus’: Mn paagú’ ‘type of pink mushroom’; PYP vikoga ‘mushroom(s); Wr wehkoári ‘fungus’; Tr wikubékuri ‘large white edible mushroom’; Tr wekogi ‘mushroom’; Tr wehori ‘type of edible mushroom’; Tr čohowékuwi ‘large white edible mushroom’. The phonological variety in Tr is typical (-weku-, wiku-, béku, weko, weho-) and some forms suggest Tep influence. The Mn, PYP, and one Tr form (-beku-) suggest initial \*p, whose reflexes in Tep (v/w) are the loan source of some Tr/Wr forms. The first vowel is probably *a* on the strength of the Mn form, which *a* easily assimilates or centralizes to *ī/e/i* when a greater stress is later in the word. [Semitic pqç ‘fungus’]

**269 \*taka** ‘fruit’ has 11 languages with reflexes of \*taka, but Kw tikīpiya ‘fruit’ shows \*a > *ī/i*.

**1120 \*yuhu** ‘fat, grease’: among several Num \*yuhu forms with stress usually on the second syllable, we find Kw yihuu/yuhuu-vi and CU yíu-vi ‘fat, oil, grease, lard’ which changed \*u > *ī* when unstressed.

**UA \*pašwel** ‘young man’: Ca pašwél-iš ‘young man’; Cp pišwéliš ‘young man’.

**93 UA \*toci** ‘head’: among other SNum \*toci- forms, all accented on the second syllable, is CU ticí-vi.

**UACV-2614 \*pana** ‘yucca whipple’: Ls panáá-l; Cp pəná-l; Ca pána-l. Note Cp *ə* < \*a in the unstressed syllable.

## Uto-Aztecán Vowel Assimilations Anticipating Following Consonants

Uto-Aztecán vowels also move toward the point of articulation of the following consonant, anticipating its place of articulation, though again, more often in unaccented syllables, that is, V > o/u before labials and uvulars, but V > *i* before alveolar consonants: e.g., Semitic baraq ‘lightning’ > UA beroq ‘lightning’ raises and fronts -a- > -e- before -r- and backs -a- > -o- anticipating uvular -q.

**Some vowels round before labials:** e.g., UA \*sa’maC ‘spread’: Kw sa’ma ‘spread out (as blanket)’; Kw sa’ma-pí ‘blanket, mat’; SP sa’ma / sam’a ‘spread out (a blanket)’; SP sa’mappi ‘spread out, ptc, cover on which s.th. is laid’; Ch som’á ‘spread a blanket’. Note Ch’s assimilation of \*a > o/ m. Other examples dot the data.

**Vowels > i/e before alveolar consonants, especially in unstressed syllables.** Note how often vowels become high-front when preceding an alveolar or when anticipating what might be considered a “high front” consonant:

**UACV108 \*paNtu** > \*paicu’ ‘badger’.

**UACV358 \*packo’or** ‘prickly pear sp.’: PYP pasko’or ‘type of prickly pear’; Tr pécuri ‘nopal species’.

**1066 UA** \*corowa ‘hungry’: Tr ciriwisa exemplifies the raising influence of three of four consonants being alveolar, with perhaps help from assimilation toward the third accented -í-.

**UACV-2623** \*pakay ‘three’, Tr bikiyá shows the anticipatory influence of -y-.

**308 UA** From \*pa-surV / sura ‘sweat’ the last two syllables of Wc kwašiiya ‘sweat, n’ assimilate the V toward y, while Cr táisi’e ‘sweat, vi’ or Cr -si’e (< \*surV) agrees well with the other \*pa-surV/sura forms, mostly of Tep.

**Kenneth C. Hill** notes that Spanish *frazada* is the source of Hp pösaala, and is the likely source of other UA words for blanket: Ca sáala’a, Tbr pirisál, Yq piisam. Comparing Tbr and Yq, note Yq’s quick loss of r since European arrival. Also note the tendency of alveolars to raise and front preceding vowels (a > i/\_ before r/l/s/t) in Tbr, Yq.

**Hp kapiira** is from Spanish *cabra*. To separate the Spanish consonant cluster, i emerged, perhaps partially due to its schwa properties, though having become a long vowel hardly has it schwa-like, so either a change in stress or perhaps the influence or anticipation of r.

**Vowels’ effects on consonants:** besides the palatalizing effect of high vowels (\*t > c) discussed above, low vowels (PUA \*a and \*o) often caused \*k > q. \*k > q/\_a is common in Num and Hp.

**Vowels assimilate to other vowels, anticipating the following vowel or preserving the preceding vowel.** Relevant to Sapir’s (1913, 402) generalization that “most UA languages seem to assimilate vowels of successive syllables to each other ... in varying manner” are \*u-a > o-a, \*i-a > e-a, vowel leveling \*a-i or i-a > e-e, Tübatülabal’s preservative vowel assimilation, and Nahuatl’s anticipatory vowel assimilations, and Tepiman’s anticipatory vowel assimilations, each treated below:

### The Partial Anticipatory Assimilation \*u-a > o-a

**UACV69c** \*kuC-taC-pi ‘ashes’: TSh kuccappih; Kw kuca-pi; SP kuččaC ‘ashes, light gray’; CU kuca-pi; Ls koškuyat ‘soot’ (vowel is wrong, Miller notes); Hp qöcví (vowel is wrong, Miller notes). The two vowels that Miller notes as wrong (Ls and Hp) are likely due to \*u-a > o-a, because three other forms show \*u-a, and \*u-a > o-a is natural and explains Ls o; otherwise, Ls o < \*i, which would not work here.

**UACV1734** \*hupa ‘pull out’: Kw hovo ‘pull out (hair, grass, seeds), v’; Ch hová ‘pull out, v’; Nv ‘upana ‘arrancar’. The semantics are identical, as are the correspondences nearly, since Nv ‘ < \*h. The only difference is \*u-a > o-a in NUA, then Kw further assimilated the second vowel to the first.

**UACV1128** \*yula ‘hang’: Ca yúlaa ‘to hang’; Ls yóora ‘to swing, hang in the air’. Ls and Ca are similar except for the explainable vowel assimilation in Ls. That assimilation was later than the one in P175 below, wherein the change was before the Ls vowel shift of o > Ls e: that is, \*suka > \*soka > Ls \*sexa. For note that all of SUA and even Sr in Tak show \*suka while Ls has \*seka.

**1260 UA** \*LukV ‘stoop’: Ca lúku ‘bend the body forward’; Ls lóoqa ‘stoop’. The fact that Ls has final -a allows \*u-a > o-a to explain Ls o, as in the next set also and others.

**UACV525** \*suka ‘to heat, be hot (weather)’: Ls šéexa ‘to simmer, of water when it is about to boil’; Ls šéx-la ‘to warm water’; Eu sukáe-n ‘caliente’; Op sukkara; My súkka ‘está caliente’; AYq suka/sukkai ‘warm’;

Tr sukáre ‘calentarse’; Wc šikáa ‘caliente’; Cr šiká ‘sun’; Cr wa-šika ‘be hot (weather)’; Nv ‘ukadida ‘calentar, vt’; Nv ‘ukagí ‘calentarse a la lumbre’; NT uukádyi; ST huukad; TO huukaji. Ls e < \*o suggests \*u-a > o-a as an intermediate step: \*suka > \*soka > Ls \*sexa.

**UACV354** \*yuŋa ‘cactus fruit’: Hp yöŋö ‘prickly pear cactus’; Wc yina; TO juni ‘dried saguaro cactus fruit’. Both Wc and TO agree with \*u, and \*u-a > o-a likely preceded o > Hp ö.

**UACV1289** \*uŋa > \*oŋa ‘(feel/be) lazy’: Hp ööna ‘not feeling like doing’; Hp naa’öna ‘lazy’; Sr ‘ööŋa ‘lazy’; Cp íŋi-š, pl. í’iŋčam ‘lazy’; Cp íŋiču ‘be unmoving’; Cr wá-’ina-ase ‘he feels lazy, dragged out’. Note Hp n vs. Tak ŋ as in ‘suck’. Also note Cr i < \*u, and \*u > NUA \*o is easily feasible before a following -a-.

**683 UA** \*’uma ‘be cloudy’: Hp oomaw ‘cloud’; Tr na’oma ‘become cloudy, erased’; Tbr homé-k ‘be cloudy’. A reconstruction of the first vowel as \*u instead of \*o is preferred, as we would expect Hp ö < \*o, and Tr sometimes shows o where u is expected anyway, and even if that were not the case, a vowel assimilation or lowering \*uma > \*oma, a common phenomenon in UA, also explains the Tr and Tbr forms.

**UACV-847** \*muwa ‘father’: Kw muwa; Ch móa; SP moa; WMU muuwá-; CU múa; \*u-a > o-a in Ch and SP.

### The Partial Anticipatory Assimilation of \*i-a > i/e-a

Similar to \*u-a > o-a, so is \*i-a > e-a (or > i-a) as common in UA.

**UACV742** \*kisa ‘chicken hawk’: Tak and Hp show \*kisa (Cp kisi-ly; Ca kísily ‘chicken hawk’; Ls páákiš-la ‘chicken hawk’; Tŋ pakísar ‘chicken hawk’; Sr paakiha-ŋ ‘chicken hawk’; Hp kiisa ‘chicken hawk’). But SNum assimilated the first vowel to the second or \*i-a > i-a (Kw kisa-vi ‘chicken hawk’; Ch(L) kīsavu ‘hawk species’).

**225 UA** \*witta > witta ‘wrap’ shows SNum \*witta, but \*witta in CNum and WNum.

**UACV614** \*sika / \*siki ‘cut (hair), mow’, Tr has two stems: Tr siki and a secondary stem Tr seká. Other forms (at ‘cut’) with 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel -a- also show the change (> i-a); yet other forms level the vowels (> i-i).

**UACV2028 \*huppa** 'skunk': among many \*huppa forms is CN epa-tl 'skunk' which likely acquired its vowel thus—\*\*uppa > \*ipa > CN epa—the last step being i-a > e-a.

**UACV1338 \*wina** > \*wīna 'limp, be lame': Cm wihnai mi'ari 'walk lamely, limp'; Ls wóna 'limp, be lame'. Note the identity of three of four segments (\*wVna), with \*i-a > ī-a, and ī > Ls o.

**630 UA \*koli** (\*kolkoli > \*ko'okoli) 'hurt, be sick, chili pepper': While many SUA forms show the reduplication \*ko'okoli, Ca and Cp show \*koli > \*qoli > qili, then after acquiring final -a, Ca lowers \*i-a > e-a: cf. Cp qilyíqa-t 's.th. hot, spicy, strong'; Cp qilyíqatu 'nine 'hurt, sting, v'; Ca qélya 'feel sore, v'; Ca qélyak 'peppery, pungent, creating a burning sensation'.

## Vowel Leveling

Hopi *e* is the only Hp vowel not aligning with PUA's five vowels, but vowel leveling of *i-a* or *a-i* is often the source of Hp *e*. Ken Hill (p.c.) also mentions reductions of *ai* as a source of *e*, which is another form of vowel leveling:

**1457 UA \*cikwa** 'rain, v': TO siibani 'drizzle, sprinkle' and Hp cekwekwe-ta 'be raining big drops as at the outset of heavy shower' (cekwe- 'soak') suggest \*cikwa with vowel leveling in Hp.

**UACV-109 \*kwila** / \*kwita 'badger / tejón': Ca wilyaly 'badger'; Tbr kwelé-t/keré 'tejón'.

**19 UA \*kwiya** 'earth, land': most vowels reflect \*kwiya, but Tr, Wr, and Cr leveled the vowels \*i-a > e'e.

**1105 UA \*kali** 'kidney': SP qaniN-, qanimpi 'kidney' and the k<sup>y</sup>ele- portion of Hp k<sup>y</sup>elevosna 'kidney'.

**640 UA \*piska** 'rot, pus, infection' and Hp peek<sup>y</sup>e 'pus, pus-filled infection'. (\*piska is more fully elaborated below under phonological reductions.)

**UACV234 \*ciya** 'bitter': CN čičiya 'bitter, sour' and Tb ceeyee'it / 'eceeeyeeu 'be bitter' show \*i-a > e-e.

**890 UA \*kani** 'house': In SUA: Wr kari; CN kal-li; Tbr kalí-n 'pueblo'. In NUA: NP kani; TSh kahni; Sh kahni;

Cm kahni; Kw kahni; WMU kani; CU káni; Tb hanii-l; and Hp qeni 'place, room, space'. Note how many of the vowel leveling examples involve Hp.

**1095 UA \*pisa** 'pound': NT viaáhai 'remoler'; Hp písisi-ta 'be a continuous drumming or pounding sound'. With vowel leveling, these agree.

**135 UA \*mana/mani** 'stumble, roll (over), fall over/off/down': Cp máne 'roll, fall off, stumble'; Ca mána/i 'fall down (rolling), roll, stumble over'; Cp manániñyqal 'he fell over'; Ls máána/i 'stumble and fall, roll down (a hill) vi, vt'; Sr manamk 'fall down'. Note Hp mīni(k) 'stumble and fall, fall down' the leveled vowels: \*mani > mīni.

**UACV1391 \*laya** 'lie with legs/feet spread/pointing outward': The specific semantic identity of Hp lèesi-kiw-ta 'lie with feet pointed outward' and of Ls láya 'lie with legs spread apart' makes this match probable, when we consider that Hp *e* is usually from vowel leveling, such as *a-i* / *i-a* > *e-e*, or as we have here: *aia/aya* > *ee*, as in Ls *laya* and Hp *lèesi*, if -*si* is of another morpheme.

**UACV2358 \*ta'ika** 'tomorrow': Ch ta'íka 'tomorrow'; Kw te'eka-su 'tomorrow'. Kw again levels the vowels.

**1043 UA \*mama'u** 'woman': While other languages show \*mama'u, Kw levels the vowels to Kw momo'o:

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'.

**2580 UA \*pami** 'girl': My beeme 'girl'; Yq béeme; AYq veeme; Tr bamirá. Tr probably shows the more original vowels with vowel leveling occurring in Cah: \*a-i > e-e.

**162 UA \*siwa(N)** 'sand': While Num shows \*siwaN, the Cah terms level the vowels of 'sand' similarly: \*siwa > se'e.

## Tübatülabal's Frequent Preservative Assimilation of Second Vowel to the First

**UACV1587 \*huna** 'out(side)': NP hunagwa 'outside'; Sh hunankwa 'outside'; Cm hunakī 'outside';

Tb 'oonooban 'the outside'. Probably \*u-a > o-a > o-o.

**6 UA \*kwilu** 'swallow': Hp kwelol(-k) 'sample by tasting'; Eu béru'u 'swallow'; Tb weleeh 'swallow'.

Hp and Eu correspond perfectly through 4 segments, since Hp o < \*u and Eu b < \*kw. With Tb w (< \*kw), Tb agrees as well, considering that the second vowel assimilated to the first.

**UACV137 \*mo'olV** 'bear': Kw mo'orii-ži 'brown or black bear'; Tb mo'olohy 'brown bear'.

**206 UA \*tuwaC** / \*tu'aC 'to bear, son, child': among many forms approximating \*tuwa'/tu'a, we have

Tb tu'mul 'baby, offspring' which even assimilated the vowel of the suffix \*-maL 'small, young'.

**829 UA \*pit-kanas** 'loincloth, rear-cover': Hp pitkīna 'kilt, breechclout' and Tb pigiiniš-t 'shirt'; the latter portion likely relates to \*kīna 'cover' and the \*kanas of Cr (at clothing) with preservative vowel assimilation in Tb.

**742 UA \*comi** / \*comya 'hair': CN comi-, Hp -cmi, Tb comoo-, with preservative vowel assimilation in Tb.

**UACV234 \*ciya** 'bitter': Tb ceeyee'it~'eceeeyeeu 'be bitter'; CN čičiya 'bitter, sour'; likely \*i-a > e-a > e-e.

**UA \*hu-ma'sa** '(arrow-)feather': Hp homasa 'wing feather'; Tb 'umuša-t 'arrow feathers'.

**677 UA \*wakol** > \*wikol 'round': Tep gakod; NP wīkono'o 'ring, circle'; Mn wigo'onogi 'crooked'; but Tb(M) wiiginat ~ iwiigin 'stir, v'.

**826 UA \*mulawi** 'dance, v': Tb muuluwat 'dance, v'; TO mualig '(of a person) to spin or dance'.

## Nahuatl's Anticipatory Assimilation of First Vowel to Second Vowel

**162 UA \*siwaN** 'sand': Most of Numic suggests \*siwa(N), while most of SUA lost -w- and some leveled vowels, such as My see'e. However, some SUA forms kept the original vowels: Nv hia, TO -hia, Tbr siha-t, and Wc šie.káari almost. However, CN šaal-li again anticipated the second vowel (iwa > aa), though š is evidence for the original first vowel (AMR 1996d).

**UACV1685 \*wiwa** 'amaranth, pigweed': Hp wiiwa 'amaranth (pig weed)'; CN waaw-tli 'amaranth'. Another example of CN's propensity for assimilating 1<sup>st</sup> V to 2<sup>nd</sup>: \*wiwa > \*wawa > waw.

**UACV1739 \*(ta)tacowa** 'push': CN totočoaa 'to push, shove someone or something to the front'; Tr na'tačo 'push each other'; Cr raa-tátahči 'lo empuja'; Yq táhta 'bump'. CN assimilated \*a-o > o-o.

**UACV1746b \*to'asa** 'throw': Wc túša 'tirar'; Cr tiú'utu'asah 'tira (piedra)'; CN tlaasa 'throw s.o. down'.

**597 UA \*taputi** 'cottontail rabbit': Sixteen languages match perfectly the four segments \*tapu, which consistency is rare in UA. For CN tooč-tli, we have both loss of intervocalic \*-p- and a change of first vowel to second: \*taputi > \*tapoč(i) > \*taoč- > CN tooč-. CrC kept the first vowel, but also lost intervocalic \*-p-: \*tapoci > \*tapci > CrC \*taciú 'rabbit' in Wc táciu; Cr táciu'u.

**1144 UA \*o'mana** 'sad, suffering': CN a'mana 'sad, troubled'; Tr o'moná-/o'móna- 'be afflicted, saddened'; Tr o'móna-ri 'sadness, affliction'. Tr and CN agree in the consonants -'m-n-, but disagree in vowels: a-a-a vs. o-o-a. The -uḡani- portion of Sr ahaḡanik 'sad, miserable' also suggests \*o-a-a. Note CN again has earlier vowels anticipating following vowels \*o-V-a > CN a-a-a.

**UACV1042 \*tapusa > tīposa > tīposi** 'gopher': TO jewho / čřwho; PYP tīvua; NT tīvóóhi; ST tīvua; Eu tívósi; Yq tébos; Wr te'pósi; Tr repósi. For CrC and Azt, \*tapusa > tausa > tusa > tosa: CN tosan 'gopher'; Cr tauhsa 'tuza'. At both \*tapusa 'gopher' and \*taputi 'rabbit', CrC kept the first vowel (a), but CN assimilated the first vowel toward the second (a-u > o-o).

### Anticipatory Vowel Assimilation in Tepiman: \*u-a > ua-a, and \*i-a > ia-a

Nevome's vowel anticipates the vowel on the other side of the consonant in the other languages.

**UACV160 \*ku(N)ta(N)(pa)** 'bee': Cp kutájva-l 'bumblebee'; Ls kúúkunta-la 'bumblebee'; My kuta kúmera 'bee that lives in wood'; Nv kuarhagi mumuva 'abejas grandes que hacen panales'; WMU kučávi 'bee'.

**1102 UA \*suma** 'hungry': Eu hisúmraiva 'hambre, n'; Eu hisúme 'haber hambre'; Eu hisúm-ce 'tener hambre'; ST uama 'die of hunger'. From \*suma > Tep (h)uma > ST uama, as ST anticipates the following vowel.

**826 UA \*mulawi** 'dance, v': TO mualig '(of a person) to spin or dance'; Tb muuluwat 'dance, v';

Tb muuluwii-l 'dance, n'. This pair shows three consonants in agreement. It is plausible that the Tb vowels assimilated between the initial syllable's u and the third C w, or second assimilating to first as above, then with the frequent Tep vowel anticipation, TO's vowels reflect the original, though shifted a syllable forward: \*muLawi > mualig.

**297 UA \*masiwa** 'centipede': Eu másiwa; Yq masiwe; My masia; TO maihogi; PYP maihig; Nv maiokka (< \*mahioga < \*masiwa). Wr ma'yáka, Tr maagá / ma'agá, and Tr mahará may derive from Tep loans: \*masiwa > Tep \*mahiga > mahaga (Tr) and > ma'yaka (Wr). Vocally TO behaves much like in \*muLawi above, anticipating the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel, but with rounding toward -w-, a form of anticipation: \*masiwa > \*maisowV > maihogi.

**739 UA \*si'a > Tep hi'a** 'urinate, v': TO hi'a; Nv i'a/'i'a; PYP hia'a. PYP anticipates the following vowel.

**1095 UA \*pisa** 'pound': NT viaáhai 'remoler'; Hp pīsīši-ta 'be a continuous drumming or pounding sound'. Note NT anticipatory assimilation and Hp's vowel leveling.

**210 UA \*tuti-ka > \*cuci-ka > \*susi-ka > susa-ka** also shows Tep anticipatory vowel assimilation.

### Vowel Transposition or Vowel-Line Shift

Another phenomenon frequent in middle SUA languages and sometimes in Tep is what might be called vowel-line shift, transposition, or leapfrog; that is, a sequence of vowels shifts in position relative to the consonants, similar to TO: \*mulawi > TO mualig.

**UACV1171** At 'heel' Tr fanikura and Eu tenuka have matching consonants (\*t-n-k) and the two forms have a similar string of vowels (i/e-u-a), but the vowels have shifted one slot relative to the consonants.

**264** At 'rainbow' is another vowel-line shift in these four forms: though the feeble -h- dropped out in Tr/Wr, the vowel pattern persisted, thus shifting the remaining consonants: NT kihónali 'rainbow'; TO gihonali;

Wr kenolá; Tr ginorá. Note:

'rainbow'	*kihonali (TO, NT)	'heel' Tr fanikura
	*kinola (Wr, Tr)	Eu tenuka



## Often \*u > i in Numic and occasionally in Hopi

**1368 UA \*tu'a-** 'good': CU tīī'ay 'be good/well'; CU tīī'a-tī 'good'; WMU tīī'a-; Yq tú'i 'bueno, está bueno'; My tu'uri 'be good/well'.

**UACV2069 \*suku** 'snake, lizard': TSh pa-suku 'water snake'; Mn pasúgu 'water snake'; Tb pišuuḡat 'red racer snake'; Yq/AYq sikkuča'a 'coral snake'; Ch sīgīpici 'lizard'; CU sīgī-naḡóy-či 'lizard'; Kw čīgīpi-ži 'lizard' (\*s > c?).

**622 UA \*cukka/\*cukki** 'crowded, mixed': CN ciciika 'stuff s.th. tight'; SP cīkki 'be mixed with'; CU cīku'mi 'narrow, constricted'; Cm cīhki/cīkk- 'crowded'. Since \*u > i in CN and \*u > i in Num is frequent enough, Num and CN agree through \*cuk, and the final vowels (-a vs. -i) are the active/transitive in CN and stative in Num (except CU).

**UACV2300 \*hu'uC** 'thorn': Kw hu'u-pi-vī 'boxthorn, desert thorn'; Sh hī'i- 'stickers'.

**754 UA \*puni** 'turn, look, see': Mn puni/poni; NP puni; TSh puniC 'see, look at, study'; Sh puniC/puiC 'see';

Cm puni-tī; Ch puunii 'see, look'; SP pīnni 'see'; CU pīni-kya 'see, vt'; CU pīni-'ni 'look at'. Hp poni-ni-ykī 'start moving, wake up' is cognate with Num \*puni 'see/look', as would the more basic stem Hp poni- 'turn, bend' be also, as in Hp poni-l-a 'turn, make turn, steer' as well as the Tak forms \*puni 'turn'. 'He turned to look' and 'he turned' and 'he looked' all apply to the same instantaneous event. Note that the eastern end of the SNum line (SP, CU) changed \*u > i.

**UACV166 \*hupi** 'bumblebee': Mn hībiwu 'bumblebee'; NP huupi nodda 'bumblebee'; Sh hīpi-muih 'bumblebee'.

**81 UA \*hupi** (\*huppi?) 'woman, wife': While other UA languages show forms consistent with \*hupi, the Num languages show \*hīpi/\*hīppi (< \*hup(p)i): Mn hīpī; TSh hīppicci(cī); Sh hīpi; Cm hībi, though occasional gemination remains to be clarified.

**UACV-353 \*muCta** 'cholla cactus': Cp múta-l; Ca múta-l; Ls múta-l; Sr muutu|t; Sh(C) mīca 'cactus'. While Tak shows u, the Num form has i, as well as -c- < \*-Ct- or \*-tt-.

**UACV-2319 \*yuna/i** 'pour, put': 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'. Note a Kw form showing yīna < \*yuna.

## Pima de Yepáchic (PYp) Vowel Metatheses

PYp occasionally metathesizes its first two vowels from a pattern of PUA \*a-i > i-a, or \*a-u > u-a:

**UACV-1697 \*yalipá** 'poison': Mn (y)enipá 'poison, n'; Mn enipa'a 'poison, v'; Wr yeloá 'poison, n'; Wr yeloé-na 'poison, vt'; PYp dirav 'poison for fish'. PYp matches, as Tep d < \*y and v < \*p, and it shows the metathesis: i-a < \*a-i. Tr and Wr often shows intervocalic -p- > -w- late in a word.

**597** From \*taputi 'cottontail rabbit' note the vowel metathesis in PYp tuuva 'cottontail'.

## Compensatory Vowel Lengthening with Consonant Cluster Reduction

Other examples exist, but the following introduce the phenomenon of compensatory vowel lengthening in conjunction with consonant cluster reductions: CVCCV > CVVCV. Examples in Tb include Tb(V) paanīnt 'ant' vs. Tb(M) pa'nīnt 'ant'; and Tb(M) polo'mat ~ 'opoloom 'bend, vi'.

Ls also provides examples. At UACV2386 'touch' are Cp ḡášxa 'be rough'; Cp ḡášxaḡášxa'a-š 'rough, adj'; and Ls ḡááxa/i 'scratch, scrape, vi, scratch, brush against, vt'. These show a cluster in Cp being reduced in Ls with compensatory lengthening of the vowel. In contrast to most Tak terms for 'sky' having no long vowels (Ca tūkva-š, Cp tūkva'a-š, Sr tukuḡt), we see the long vowel in Ls túúpa-š, which again reduced the cluster, yet Ls \*p remaining a stop (vs. -v-) is evidence of the previous -kp- cluster (\*tukupa > \*tukpa > \*tuupa) with a long vowel in Ls.

Hopi's long vowel with falling tone in some dialects (aa), aspiration in others (ah), usually signifies a previous consonant cluster reduced to one consonant with compensatory vowel lengthening, for -aa- at least and for -ah- if -h- is considered a voiceless vowel continuation of the preceding vowel.

**1071 \*naNkapV** 'leaf': Kw naga-vī; Ch nanká-va; SP maavi-naḡqa-vī 'leaf'; SP naḡqava 'ear';

Tb naḡhabīi-l; Hp nàapi / nahpi 'leaf'. Note that Hp lost -k- / -ḡk- and that Hp nàapi / nahpi shows -p- (instead of -v-) usually due to a previous cluster, and with the reduced cluster, Hp has a long vowel.

**221 UA \*wīr-pa'a** 'tall, long, great-height/length': Hp wīpa 'tall, long' is a compound of \*wīr-pa'a 'big-height/length'. Hp -p- (vs. -v-) means a cluster, yet the first morpheme does not inherently have a long vowel. So the long vowel in the compound is due to a cluster's reduction with compensatory lengthening.

**274 UA TO toon-k** 'hill'; SP tonnoqqi / tunnuqqi 'a hill rises'. The long vowel in TO appears to be long due to the cluster reduced in TO, but still apparent in SP.

The Vowel Changes from Semitic and Egyptian to Uto-Aztecan are treated in section 7.1.

## **Pattern of Presentation of the Uto-Aztecan and Semitic Data**

First is listed the relevant Semitic / Egyptian forms; the most relevant forms are in bold. Then is the relevant UA set from the reference work *Uto-Aztecan Comparative Vocabulary* (UACV) with its number in that work, and the UA reconstruction; then are listed the other UA cognate collections citing that set; then the UA data are listed; and discussion if needed.

Sections 2 through 5 focus mainly on consonant correspondences of the 1657 parallels, with occasional comment on vowel correspondences; however, section 7.1 more properly or thoroughly addresses vowel correspondences; section 7.2 shows the medial consonant cluster results in UA; and section 7.3 treats the Near-East grammatical and morphological parallels in UA. Those three normally comprise the comparative method. Yet in addition to those, section 6 shows how these language ties explain several puzzles of UA previously unexplained. Section 8 reviews the Aramaic leaning of the Semitic-p contribution in UA.

## 2 The Semitic-kw Contribution in Uto-Aztecan

In the Hebrew and Aramaic forms, the post-vocalic spirantization of Hebrew  $b > v$ ,  $p > f$ ,  $t > \theta$ , and  $k > x$  will not be represented for three reasons: (1) it is not original, but a development in Masoretic Hebrew, a later AD-600 dialect's pronunciation, though Blau (1998, 30) reasons that it likely occurred before 300 BC; (2) it seems not to have applied in the dialects found in UA; and (3) such representations would be unnecessarily confusing to non-Semitists.

2.1 **Uto-Aztecan** vowels sometimes accord with the archaic vowelings of Hebrew/Phoenician or Ugaritic:

	<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>PUA</u>
1 plural suffix	-iim	*-ima
2 passive/reflexive/reciprocal prefix	ni-	*na-
3 perfect of yšb 'sit, dwell'	yaašab	*yasipa

The UA morphemes above show some similarity with Masoretic Hebrew, though nothing exact: -iim and \*-ima; ni- and \*na-; yaašab and \*yasipa. However, the facts that (1) Hebrew -iim came from an earlier **\*-iima** (Moscatti 1964, 88, 97; Blau 1976, 30 explains loss of final short vowels in pre-Hebrew; and Huehnergard 1987, 296; Gordon 1947; Segert 1984, 51; and Bennett 1998, 79 shows the actual form -iima in Ugaritic for gen and acc masc pl); and that (2) Hebrew ni- (niqṭal or niṯal prefix) came from an earlier **\*na-** (Blau 1976, 51); and (3) Hebrew yaašab from an earlier **\*yašiba** (Moscatti 122), all show a near identity between Pre-Hebrew or early Northwest Semitic forms and the PUA reconstructions:

	<u>Pre-Hebrew</u>	<u>PUA</u>
1 plural suffix	*-iima	*-ima
2 reflexive/reciprocal prefix	*na-	*na-
3 sit, dwell	*yašiba	*yasipa

1 Hebrew **-iim** came from an earlier **\*-iima** (Moscatti 1964, 88, 97; Blau 1976, 30 explains loss of final short vowels in pre-Hebrew; and Huehnergard 1987, 296; Gordon 1947; Segert 1984, 51; and Bennett 1998, 79 show the actual form -iima in Ugaritic for the Northwest Semitic genitive and accusative masculine plural, from which the Hebrew plural -iim derives):

UACV2673 **\*-iima (> -im, -m, -mī)** 'plural suffix': Sapir; Langacker 1977, 80 (\*-mī); KH/M-ns5: Hp -m/ -mī- 'nonsingular suffix'; Sr -m / -mī-; Ktn -m; Ca -m; Cp -m; Ls -m; Tḡ -m; CN -me' 'absolute pl suffix'. Langacker (1977, 80) reconstructs the UA pl suffix as \*-mī, by taking an average of the more conservative forms, many of which indeed are -mī. However, several forms suggest \*-ima: Cp -im; Ca -em; Yq, My, and AYq -im (after C), -m (after V); Ls -(u)m; Hp -m; Sr -m; Tbr -m; Kw -mī; Cr -ma; Wc -ma; Wr -ma (pl verb suffix); Op -m(e) (Shaul 2003, 27). And Dakin (1979) reconstructs an earlier **\*-ma** for CN -mī. Tep languages show pl -m only on pronouns. Though most UA languages begin the pl suffix with -m, five languages (Cp, Ca, Yq, My, AYq) show a high front vowel (i/e) before -m. Likewise, many show ĩ or no vowel after the m; yet at least three show -ma, and because ĩ behaves like the UA schwa, a change from final **\*a > ĩ** is natural in an unaccented position and more natural than **-ĩ > -a**. The loss of the first vowel **\*-i** is also expectable, because most UA words end with a vowel, which creates an environment of two vowels, the second usually giving way to the first; i.e., if a noun ends in -a, then: **\*-a- + -ima > -amī**. Yet in spite of those two processes, the first vowel is apparent in five languages and the last vowel is in at least three, making a reconstruction of **\*-ima** probable, to which Miller agreed in a personal conversation prior to his untimely death that the case for **\*-ima** is reasonable. In the Tep branch, this plural suffix is only found on pronouns: e.g., UP hīgam 'those' vs. hīga 'that'; and UP iidam 'these' vs. iida 'this'; Tep api 'you, sg' vs. apim 'you, pl'. At 904 is Hebrew feminine plural suffix -oot / -ooteeʿ.

[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

2 Northwest Semitic **\*na-** (Blau 1976, 51) as a passive, reflexive, and reciprocal prefix in Semitic is identical to the UA reflexive, reciprocal, passive UA **\*na-**:

UACV2675 **\*na-** ‘reciprocal/reflexive/passive prefix’: KH/M-vp1: Hp naa- ‘reflexive prefix on verbs’; TSh na- ‘passive prefix on verbs’ (Dayley 1989, 50); Sh na- ‘passive/reciprocal prefix on verbs’ (Crapo 1976, 12, 19-20); Cm na- ‘passive/reflexive/reciprocal/plural prefix on verbs’ (Charney 1993, 103-4, 126); Ch na- ‘reflexive/reciprocal prefix’ (Press 1979, 49); SP na- ‘reflexive/reciprocal prefix’; CU na- ‘reciprocal prefix on verbs’ (Givon 1980, 159-60); Eu na- ‘reciprocal prefix on verbs’ (Lionnet 1986, 29); Tr na- ‘reciprocal prefix on verbs’; WTr na- ‘reciprocal verbal prefix’ (Burgess 1984, 33); CN ne- ‘passive prefix’ (Sullivan 1988, 75); Cr nya- ‘refl prefix’ (Casad 1984, 160). [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Opn, Trn, CrC, Azt]

3 Hebrew **yšb** ‘sit, dwell’ or earlier Northwest Semitic **\*yašiba** matches UA **\*yasipa** ‘sit, reside’:

Hp yésiva (Voegelin 1957, 35); Tr asiba; Yq yesa; TO dahiva; ST daivu. (TO and ST are Tep languages for which \*y > d, \*s > h or zero, and \*p > v). Some Uto-Aztecanists attribute the final -pa to an old choative suffix; however, ST daivu ‘stop (of bird) and sit’ shows -u, not -a, which does not align with -pa, but aligns perfectly with the Northwest Semitic plural **\*yašibuu**, while UA **\*yasipa** aligns with the Northwest Semitic singular **\*yašiba**. Furthermore, the verbal forms of both Northwest Semitic and UA contain 3 semantic dimensions of **\*yasipa**: ‘sit’ and ‘dwell/reside’ and ‘jump’ in both language families.

UACV2005a **\*yasa** / **\*yasi** ‘sit’: VVH76 **\*ya<sub>n</sub>sa** ‘to sit’; M67-380 **\*ya/\*yas** ‘sit’; L.Son351 **\*yasa/\*yas-i** ‘sentarse’; B.Tep17 **\*daha** ‘be seated’; M88-ya1; AMR **\*yansi**; KH/M-ya1: Tb yandzit~‘ayanc; Hp yeese ‘sit, reside, v.i.imp/pf. pl’; Hp yeesiwa ‘reside, be in place, vi imp. pl’; Hp yésiva ‘sitting, camping, pl’ (Voegelin 1957, 35); TO **ḏaha** ‘be sitting, be, be present, reside’; TO **ḏahi** ‘sit’; Wr yasa/yasi ‘estar sentado [be seated]’; Tr yasa / asa / asi ‘sentarse, estar sentado’; My yeese; Eu dasé ‘sentarse’; Op dasa ‘sit, sg.’; Tbr nesa/neca ‘sentarse’; Wc yáá ‘sentarse’; Cr na-‘a-vé’e-yeiša ‘I’m going to get on (the horse)’; Wc yááše ‘empezar a estar sentado’; Tr ayása ‘dwell, inhabit temporarily’. Note **\*-ns- > -nc-** in Tb.

UACV2005b **\*yasipa** ‘sit’: in connection with this word, note how many languages have a form pointing to a third syllable with **\*pa** or **\*yasipa** and **\*yasipu**: Hp(V) yésiva ‘(they’re) sitting down, camping, pl’; TO(M) dahiva ‘sit, camp’; Tr asiba ‘sentarse’ (asi-ba ‘sit-inchoative’); Wr yasipá ‘sentarse’ (vs. yasa- / yasi-); ST daivu has an entirely different vowel. Compare TO(M) **ḏahivup** ‘sit/alight repeatedly, vi repet; pl: ḏad(h)aivup’ and TO(M) **ḏahivum** ‘wish to sit down; pl: ḏadhaivum’. The **\*-pa** morpheme is often ascribed to a fossilized inchoative suffix, but TO and ST both show **\*yasipu**, which is the Hebrew pl prfv vs. **\*yasipa** the Hebrew m. sg prfv. [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

The Hebrew Old Testament text as we have it, also known as the Masoretic text, was vowelized by the Masoretes about AD 600-700. Yet that form of Hebrew, known as Biblical or Masoretic Hebrew, is only one of the dialects of ancient Hebrew, and the vowels were added very late, more than a thousand years after the consonants were written. Hebrew, as we know it, lost the short final vowels of proto-Northwest Semitic, but as seen in 1 and 3, those vowels appear in UA. Not all UA forms preserve the phonology so well. More often UA has reduced the Semitic phonology, though archaic features do turn up.

Also worth noting is that these three items tie with Hebrew specifically, because only Ugaritic and Hebrew have **-iima / -iim** for the plural; Arabic has **-uuna / -iina**; Aramaic **-iin**; East Semitic (Akkadian) has neither **m** nor **n**, only **-uu / -ii**. Proto Hebrew has **\*na-**, but not Aramaic or Arabic. Similarly, only Northwest Semitic has **yšb**, with initial **y** (< Proto-Semitic **\*w**); Arabic and South Semitic have **w**, and East Semitic has nothing, but lost that initial consonant, and for the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant, Aramaic and Arabic would have **θ**, not **s/š**. Other matters specify Northwest Semitic, but not necessarily Masoretic/Biblical Hebrew. In fact, the Semitic-**p** holds several affinities with Aramaic (see Semitic-**p** section).

Three primary sound changes or sound correspondences between Northwest Semitic-**k<sup>w</sup>** and UA are  
**Hebrew b > PUA \*kw** (for dageshed **b**: initial, doubled, clustered);  
**Hebrew š > PUA \*c** (ts);  
**Hebrew -r- > PUA \*-y-/-i-** (when not at the beginning of a word)

## 2.2 Hebrew/Phoenician b > Uto-Aztecan kw

Uto-Aztecanists think Proto-UA \*kw > b in Tepiman, Opatan, and some Aztecan dialects, perhaps because Indo-European \*kw > p. However, the opposite direction of change, from bilabials (p/b) to labio-velars (kw/gw), happens also. Consider six examples, the last three from UA. The Celtic branch of Indo-European divided into p-Celtic and q-Celtic. Welsh, a q-Celtic language, pronounced Latin loans beginning with v- as gw-: *veneris* > *gwener* ‘Friday’; *verus* > *gwir* ‘true’ (Gregor 17, 37). As well, my wife from Argentina reports that certain dialect areas in Western Argentina say *gweno* (< *bueno*) and *gwevo* (< *huevo*), etc. Bryce Cleghorn (p.c.) reports the same phenomenon in some areas of Central Mexico. Likewise, in UA itself some bilabials (p) become labio-velars (kw). At UACV995 \*yīpanaC ‘autumn’ are Mn *yībano* ‘be autumn’; NP *yībano*; TSh *yīpani*; Kw *yīvana*; SP *yīvannaC* / *yīvwannaC*; CU *yuvwa-na-tti* / *yīgwa-na*. Note that when -w- develops (SP), then -kw- comes next (CU) in the Southern Numic line of dialects. I have also heard native speakers of Yaqui say a slight -gw- for -w- medially. We also have Western Numic showing kw < \*w in UA. Semitic b > UA \*kw may be due to influence from certain Oto-Manguean languages which have no bilabials, but do have various labio-velars, which possibilities merit investigation.

An intermediate step of -w-, as in b/p > v/w > kw, is often part of this process. For example, Proto-Mayan \*w > Q’eqchi’ kw, as in \*warik > kwaark ‘sleep’ and \*winq > kwiinq ‘person’ (Purse and Campbell 37-38). Blust (Baldi 252) notes many instances of \*w > gw or \*w > kw in Austronesian and elsewhere. In French loans from Germanic, \*w > gw also: French *guêpe* < Middle French *guespe* < Old French *wespe* < Frankish \**wespa*, *waspa* < Germanic (cf. German *Wespe*); French *guerre* < Frankish \**werra* < Germanic (cf. Old High German *werra* ‘strife, quarrel’) (List of French Words of Germanic Origin). However, as likely, if not more likely, is that once rounding became associated with a bilabial, the next step was switching place of articulation (bw > gw, lips to velum). In pronouncing w, there is near closure at both the lips and the velum (e.g., PUA \*w > g in Tepiman). So when b > bw, then bw > gw/kw, switching place of articulation from the lips to the velum, is a natural enough next step. That would appear to be the case for b<sup>w</sup>eno > g<sup>w</sup>eno in some Spanish dialects, and in SNum SP *yīvannaC* / *yīvwannaC* > CU *yuvwa-na-tti* / *yīgwa-na* ‘autumn’, and perhaps in Welsh *veneris* > *gwener* ‘Friday’; *verus* > *gwir* ‘true’. Thus, perhaps in UA also. This applies to Semitic/Hebrew dageshed b (initial, doubled, after consonant), while non-dageshed (after a vowel) > p.

4 Hebrew **baašel** ‘boiled’ < bšl / baašal ‘grow ripe, boil, cook’ (perfect baašal; imperfective: yV-bšVI): UACV521 \*kwašīC ‘cook (=c), boil (=b), ripe(n) (=r)’. C = any or unknown consonant.

Mn	toqwasīkī ‘c over coals’	Hp	kwašī ‘c’ed’; tīkwsī ‘r’	Eu	basa/base-n ‘c, b, r’
NP	kwašīpī ‘r’	Tb(H)	wīššīt, pfv īwwīš ‘c, r’	Tbr	kwase/kwašī ‘c, b, r’
TSh	kwašīC ‘r’	Sr	kwahaan ‘c’; akwahi ‘r’	Yq	bwasa ‘c’; bwase/i ‘r’
Sh	kwašīC ‘b, c, r’	Ls	kwāšī ‘c, r’	AYq	bwasa’a ‘c’; bwase/i ‘r’
Cm	kwašī ‘c, r’	Ca	kwās ‘r’	My	bwasse/bwassi ‘r’
Kw	kose ‘c’	Cp	kwase ‘r’	Wr	wasī ‘c’; iwa ‘r’
Ch	kwašī ‘c, r’	TO	baha/bahi/bai ‘c,r’	Tr	wasa/wase/wasī ‘c,r’
SP	kwašī ‘b, c, r’	PB	baida ‘c’; bahidaga ‘r fruit’	Cr	kwašī ‘c, r’
CU	kusi/kwašī ‘c’; kusi ‘r’	PYp	bahi ‘c’ed, r’	Wc	kwašēe/kwašīi ‘r’
		NT	baahyi ‘c, r’	CN	yoksi ‘c, r’
		ST	baidy ‘c, r’		

The above item—UA \*kwašī ‘cook, boil, ripe(n)’—appears in all 30 UA languages and demonstrates their respective sound correspondences of PUA \*kw: kw in most languages; b in the Tepiman branch (TO, PYp, PB, NT, ST) and Eu; bw in the Cahitan branch (Yq, AYq, My); w in Tb, Tr, Wr. Not only does the unique semantic combination of ‘boil, cook’ and ‘ripen’ exist in both Hebrew and UA, but the sound correspondences match as well. While the third consonant (l) is missing in most, the Numic languages show a final underlying consonant (C) and the AYq glottal stop is a common reflex of previous, but missing liquids in Yq and AYq: \*bašala > bwasa’a. Note also the yo- prefix in CN, similar to the yV- 3<sup>rd</sup> person imperfective prefix of Semitic. That CN often reduces kw-syllables to ok/uk in certain phonological environments is also relevant: \*yV-kwašī > \*yV-kwsi > CN yoksi. The forms at 5 (for UA \*kwašī ‘tail’) also reflect the various languages’ reflexes for PUA \*kw:

**UACV521 \*kwasiC / \*kwasaC** ‘cook(ed), ripe(n)’: VVH50 \*kwa<sub>u</sub>sī/\*kwa<sub>u</sub>si; M67-152c; BH.Cup \*qwaš; I.Num80 \*kwasi; L.Son117 \*kwasi/kwas-i; M88-kwa1; Munro.Cup30 \*kwááši-š/kwaši-š ‘cooked, ripe’ (Munro notes the Cupan forms are deverbalized forms); AMR 1993a \*kwasiC; KH.NUA; KH/M-kwa1 \*kwasiC: Mn ku(‘)-qwasī ‘get/be ripe’; NP kwasi-ppi ‘cooked, ripe’; TSh kwasi ‘ripen’; Sh kwasiC ‘cook’; Cm kwasi-/h ‘cook’; Kw kosi/kwasi- ‘cook, roast, be cooked’; SP kwaši- ‘be ripe, done, cooked’; SP kwaši-ppi ‘passive participle’; WMU qwahsú-y ‘ripen, cook, simmer, vi’; CU kusí / kwasi ‘burn, scorch, be ripe, cooked’; Tb wīsīt/‘iwīs ‘ripen, cook’; Cp kwáše ‘get ripe’; Ca -kwás- ‘ripen’; Ca -kwasni- ‘ripen, make ripe, make fruitful’; Ls kwási-š ‘cooked, ripe’; Ls kwasú-‘a ‘become cooked, ripen’; Sr kwahyi ‘ripen, become cooked’; Sr kwahaan /kwahaanin ‘cook, vt’; Sr akwahi ‘cooked, ripe’; Ktn kwahan ‘cook, vt’; Hp kwasi- ‘get cooked, baked’; Hp tíkwasi ‘bec. mature’; TO bahi/baha ‘bec ripe, cooked’; Eu basá-n ‘cocer, madurarse’; Wr wasi-pá-ni ‘cook, especially with water’; Wr iwasi ‘fruit’; Tr wasí ‘cocerse’; My bwási ‘maduro’; My bwásie ‘madurar’; My bwassa ‘cook, vt’; My bwasse ‘cook, vi’; AYq bwasa ‘cook, vt’ (past: bwasa’a); AYq bwase ‘cook, vi’; AYq bwasi ‘cooked, ripe’; Tbr kwase/kwasi ‘madurar’; Tbr kwasi-te- ‘cocerse, hervir’; Wc kwásee/kwasi ‘ripe’; Cr kwasi ‘it is ripe, cooked’; CN (i)kwasi / ikwasi ‘ripen, cook’; Pl uksi ‘ripen, be cooked/done’. Ken Hill adds Ktn kwah / kwaha ‘be cooked’; Ktn kwahan ‘cook, v’; Ktn a-kwahi ‘cooked, ripe’. Let’s add Nv bahida ‘sazonar’ and Nv bahidaga ‘ripe fruit’. Employing different prefixes, CN wiksi ‘cook, ripen’ and CN yuksi / yoksi ‘cook, ripen’ also belong. This is one of few sets having reflexes in nearly all UA languages. I like Manaster-Ramer’s and Ken Hill’s reconstruction with a final consonant as is apparent in the final gemination in some Num languages, and -t (vs. -l) in Tb, and AYq’s 3<sup>rd</sup> C glottal stop. Note that this stem is the base of many derivatives for fruit; I suspect that Tewa bai/be ‘fruit’ is tied to the Tepiman form (bahi) of this stem. [kw-reduction in Kw]  
 [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**5 Hebrew báášaar** ‘flesh, penis’: UA \*kwasiC (AMR) / \*kwasiy ‘tail, penis, meat’; the semantic change from ‘penis’ to ‘tail’ is discussed below; unless otherwise specified, the following are the UA terms for ‘tail’:

Mn	kwazi	Hp	sírī ‘tail’; kwasi ‘penis’	Eu	basít
NP	kwasi	Tb	wīšii-l	Tbr	bakusí/wakusí-r
TSh	kwasi(cci)	Sr	a-wad	Yq	bwásia
Sh	kwesi	Ca	kwasi	My	bwasia
Cm	kwasi	Ls	píqwsiv	Wr	wahsí
Kw	kwasi-vi	Cp	qwaš	Tr	wasí
Ch	kwasi(i)	TO	bahi; baik	Cr	kwasi
SP	kwasi	PB	vahi/bahi	Wc	kwašši;
CU	kwasi-çi	PYp	bahi	CN	kwitla-pil-li
		NT	báhi	ST	bai
					‘anus-appendage’

**UACV2271 \*kwasiC (AMR)** ‘tail, penis’: Sapir; VVH51 \*kwa<sub>u</sub>si ‘tail’; M67-430 \*kwasi/\*kwaci; I.Num81 \*kwesi / \*kwasi; BH.Cup \*qwas’; B.Tep2a \*bahi; L.Son116 \*kwasi ‘cola’; M88-kwa2; KH.NUA; KH/M-kwa2: this reflex is represented in every UA language except the Aztecan branch; Hp kwasi ‘penis’ is cognate with UA \*kwasi ‘tail’; in fact, I once heard Miller state that the original meaning of \*kwasi was ‘penis’ and changed to ‘tail’ in the other UA languages. Ls píqwsiv (< \*pi-kwasi) suggests so, as ‘back-penis’—i.e., ‘tail’. NT baabáidy ‘carne [meat]’; NT baabáidyuvai ‘oler a carne, vi’; and NT baabáityai ‘hacer cecina [make jerky]’ are also cognate. Ktn kwacita-c ‘tail’ reminds us that c/s difficulties are common in UA. Ktn and NT and Cahitan suggest a final C as AMR’s reconstruction shows. [\*kw > w in Sr]  
 [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

While Hebrew **bašaar** primarily means ‘flesh’, a less frequent secondary meaning is ‘penis’ (cf. Leviticus 15:2, Ezekial 23:20 and 44:7, 9), NT baabáidy ‘meat, flesh’ (reduplication of Tep \*bahid) is significant for a couple of reasons: one, it does mean ‘meat, flesh’ and does phonologically match UA \*kwasiy, since NT/Tep b < \*kw (Tep b or NT b corresponds to PUA \*kw) and PUA \*s > Tep h, but the fragile h’s of the Tepiman languages usually disappear in NT and ST: PUA \*s > Tep h > NT/ST ø (ø means zero or no sound); furthermore, it shows the third consonant: Tep d < PUA \*y < Hebrew r.

Regarding a semantic tie between ‘tail’ and ‘penis’, two other Near-East words have the same pair of meanings. Egyptian sd ‘tail’ yields Coptic sat/set ‘tail’ and Coptic set/se’et ‘penis’ (Lambdin 1983, 266; Cerny 1976, 163); in addition to that, Egyptian sd ‘tail’ very nicely fits Hopi siri ‘tail’ (d > r/V\_V), which item probably helped Hp retain the original meaning of \*kwasi ‘penis’ as Hopi is the only UA language that

does not have \*kwasi meaning ‘tail.’ In addition, Hebrew zaanaab ‘tail’ also came to mean ‘phallus’ in Middle Hebrew (Koehler and Baumgartner, 274).

**6** Hebrew **blʿ** / **baalaʿ** ‘swallow, v’; Arabic **baʿiʿa** ‘swallow’; Assyrian **belu** ‘swallow’:

UACV785 \***kwīluC** ‘swallow’: Eu béru’u ‘swallow’ (Eu b < UA \*kw); Hopi kwelo(k) ‘sample by tasting, v’ (Hp o < UA \*u); Tb(V) weleeh ‘swallow’ (Tb w < \*kw); Tb(H) weleehat. [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Opn]

**7** Hebrew baamaa (< \***bahamat**) ‘back, hill, mountain ridge, high place’; Ugaritic bmt ‘back’; Arabic buhmat ‘great mass of stone’ (Lane 268) originally ‘a grave’; these Semitic nouns are from the root \*bhm, and even the fragile medial -h- shows up in two of the three CNum languages below:

UACV99 \***kwahama** ‘back’: M88-ko27; KH/M-ko27: Central Numic \*kwaham- ‘back’;

TSh kwem-pī ‘back (of body)’; TSh kwem-pi ‘back (of something)’; Sh kwēhem-pī ‘back (of a body)’;

Cm kwahi ‘back (of person or animal), n’; Hp kwīmī(k-) ‘to bulge upward’; CN kwemi-tl ‘cultivated land, furrow, soil turned up with hoe or plow’, i.e., a long hump, hill/ridge. [NUA: CNum, Hp; SUA: Azt]

**8** Arabic **ḍabba** ‘cleave to the ground, take hold, keep under lock, put in safe keeping, guard carefully’ (would correspond to Hebrew \***šbb**). Hebrew š corresponds to Arabic ḍ, and Hebrew š and Arabic ḍ correspond to UA c, in Semitic-kw; and interestingly here we have the consistency of both š/ḍ > c and bb > kw, and with the same pair of meanings ‘grasp’ and ‘lizard’ (9) in both Semitic and UA:

UACV400 \***cakwa** / \***cakwi** ‘catch, grasp, close (one’s grasp or close s.th. else), lock’: M88-ca3; KH.NUA; Stubbs1995-9; Stubbs 2003-35: KH/M-ca3: Ls čáqwi ‘to seize, catch’; Cp čáqwe ‘catch, grab, cling to’; CN cakwa ‘to close, enclose, lock up’; CN cakwi ‘close, get closed, vi’; Pl cakwa (pret cak) ‘close, shut, cover’; Mn cakwiti ‘i close, lock, bolt’; WMU čahqqwí / čahqqwíi / čuhkkwí ‘lock s.th., vt’; WMU čihkkwí ‘na-y ‘turn, vt’; SP čúgwaa-ḡqí ‘fasten on’; CU cugwí ‘adhere to, stick to’; CU čihkwí ‘turn, twist’; CU čihkkwí ‘napí ‘key, n’; Ch čikwí-čui ‘turn’; Kw caagu-bí ‘glue’; Mn ca’winoo ‘carry (by a handle), vt’; NP caggwí ‘huk ‘carry off’. TO šaakum ‘catch, grasp’; NT saakómi ‘handful’; ST saakum ‘handful/fistful (of grain)’. [labials, TO; -a vs. -i] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Azt]

**9** Hebrew **šaab** (< \***šabb**) ‘lizard’; the Hebrew form is cognate with the Arabic verb above:

Arabic **ḍabba** ‘cleave to the ground, take hold, keep under lock’ and Arabic **ḍabb-** ‘lizard’:

UACV1385 \***cakwa** ‘lizard’: Ca čaxwa-l ‘a brown lizard’; CN te-čičikoo-tl ‘type of lizard’; maybe Tb šiko-l ‘lizard’; thus, Semitic ḍabba ‘grasp, lock, lizard’ and UA cakwa ‘grasp, lock, lizard’. [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Azt]

As in 8 and 9 above, items 10 and 11 also show medial **Hebrew -bb-** > **UA \*-kw-**:

**10** Hebrew šibber, impfv **-šabber** ‘break, break in pieces’ (qittel); Hebrew šebbēr ‘grain (as broken or threshed for use): **UA \*sakway** ‘break, ruin’: Hp sakwi-ta ‘break apart, break down, ruin’; Ca sakway ‘mess up’; SP čukkwi ‘crush’; and Tr si’o-ca-ma ‘destroy, break to pieces’ since Tr -’w- is Tr’s medial reflex of \*kw > -’w- > -’o-. [NUA: Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Trn]

**11** Hebrew dibber < \*dibbar; impfv **-dabber** < \***-dabbir** ‘to speak’ (qittel):

UACV1876a \***tīkwi** ‘say’: M67-434 \*te ‘to tell’; I.Num234 \*tī(i)(h)kwi(i) ‘say, tell’; M88-tī17: Mn tīkwi ‘tell, vt’; NP tīkwi(hi) ‘tell’; SP tīkwinna ‘tell a story, v’; TSh teewi ‘point, tell, talk about’; TSh teewinna ‘talk about’. Tb alaawi ‘talking’ (Voegelin 1935, 124); Tb(H) allaawat ‘to talk, speak’; Tb(H) allaawappīi-l ‘speaker’, because Tb w < \*kw and \*-t- > -l- in Tb, the Tb forms fit a prefixed infinitive: \*ha-dabber. Of pfv \*dibbar: TSh tītiinwaC ‘teach’; Sh(C) tekwaC ‘talk’; Cm tekwarī ‘speak, talk to’; Cm tekwapī ‘word, speech’. [NUA: Num, Tb]

**12** The pronominal prefixes to the impfv stem include y-, t-, n-; thus, UA \*yīkwi as a reduced form of Hebrew yəḏabber ‘he speaks’ with 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> syllables after loss of 2<sup>nd</sup>, a common pattern in UA:

UACV1876b \*yīkwi ‘say’: I.Num82 \*kwi(i) ‘say’; M88-kwi12: Sh yekwiC ‘say s.th., sg subj’; Cm yīkkwi ‘say, vi’. UA \*yīkwi < \*yī-takwi is feasible since the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable of 3 is often reduced and often eliminated in UA, especially Numic. Perhaps Hebrew nəḏabber > CNum \*nikwi ‘say’ > Sh niikwi ‘say, tell, vt’;

Cm niikkwi ‘say to s.o.’ The preceding may contain the prefixes (ti-, yi, ni-). [NUA: Num]

**13** Arabic **snw** ‘gleam, shine’; Ethiopic **snw** ‘be beautiful’; Hebrew šaani ‘scarlet’; Assyrian siniitu ‘dyed cloth’:

Hopi **soniwa** ‘be beautiful, pleasing, look good, as of s.th. bright, brilliant, or handsome’; Hopi sonwa-y ‘beautiful (of women), bright (of colors)’. Interestingly, Hebrew(BDB) above listed Arabic snw and Ethiopic snw as cognate, but inserts ‘but’ before the Assyrian cognate, perhaps puzzled by the semantic tie, yet Hopi has all three meanings: 1 beautiful, 2 bright, 3 having to do with colors. [1s1,2n,3w]

**14** Hebrew **baazaaq** ‘flash of lightning’; Aramaic(S) bzq ‘to scatter, sow, shine’; following the prefix \*aNkaC- ‘red’, notice UA \*kwisak or \*kwicak:

UACV1328 \*aNkaC-**kwissaka** / \*aNkaC-**kwicci**’i ‘lightning’: Mn aqakwiči’i ‘lightning, flash (of lightning), v’; also Mn aca-kwicica / aca-kwiciki ‘be shiny, gleaming, be flashing (like lightning)’ with a different prefix; Cm ekakwice’e ‘lightning flash, n’; SP aṅqa-qqwišarī ‘lightning, red-flashing, n’; SP qwišša ‘to flash, spark, vi’; Kw ’aga-gwiša ‘be sheet lightning’ (said to be compound of aga ‘red’ and kwiži ‘pile up’ suggested, but the latter morpheme is ‘to flash or lightning’ in all the other languages); WMU paná-qqwissa-y ‘lightning, vi’. WMU has a different first morpheme, but the same second morpheme and also means lightning. CU paná-qosáey ‘lightning, vi’. Because Tb w < \*kw, then Tb(V) wašakwašāg ‘it is lightning, v’; Tb(M) wasakwasa’gat~ wasakwasāk ‘flash (of light, lightning, fire)’ also belongs. So this exists in each branch of Num and Tb. Perhaps also Ktn kwačea’ ‘start or stoke fire’ and/or Ktn kwačkwačik ‘have blisters or be red all over’. Op depaassa ‘blink, flash’ has \*yV- prefix, as Semitic 3<sup>rd</sup> sg prefix, and UA \*kw = Op b (or p?). Tb, SP, WMU, CU, and Op all show the 2<sup>nd</sup> V as a, Tb and Op have both such, but with many first i vowels, due to later lack of stress on the 1<sup>st</sup> V. For \*aNka of the compound, see 587 ‘red’.

[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn]

**15** Arabic **baaz** ‘falcon’, pl biizaan; Aramaic(CAL) **baaz-aa** ‘falcon-the’; Syriac baaziiq-aa ‘hawk, falcon’:

UACV737a \***kwasa** ‘eagle’: L.Son115 \*kwasa ‘aguililla’; M88-kwa4; KH/M-kwa4: NP pui kwasa ‘blue heron’; Tbr kwasá ‘clase de ave pescadora grande [type of large predatory/fishing bird]’; Ca kwasanemčiiip ‘baldheaded bird’; Wr kusá ‘tipo de gavilán [type of hawk]’; Tr kusá ‘aguililla [little eagle]’.

UACV737b \***kwisa** ‘eagle’: M67-146b \*kwi ‘eagle’; Fowler83; M88-kwi5; KH/M-kwi5: Cr čuihšī ‘hawk’; Wc kwiišī yī.yári ‘aguililla’; CN kwiiš-in ‘large bird of prey, hawk’; Pl kwiš-ti ‘hawk’; perhaps Kw kīsa-vi ‘chicken hawk’. Whether \*kwisa was original and the 1<sup>st</sup> vowel assimilated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> (\*i-a > a-a) or whether \*kwasa was the proto-form and the first vowel raised and fronted toward the alveolar is hard to say; either is possible, and thus these two are likely variants of the same etymon \*kwVsa. [\*u > i in Kw]

[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**16** Aramaic **blm** ‘to silence, muzzle, wrap up, guard, restrain’; Hebrew **blm** ‘to curb, restrain’;

Aramaic(S) **blm** ‘to wrap up’; Syrian blm ‘to muzzle, check, bridle’; Syriac **baalm-aa** ‘halter, bridle’:

UACV383 \***kwalma** ‘put arm around, carry under the arm’: BH.Cup \*kwal- ‘armpit’; M88-kwa14; KH/M-kwa14: Cp kwál’a ‘side, armpit’; Cp kwalma ‘carry under the arm’; Ca kwálma ‘hold under armpit, put arm around s.o.’s neck’; Ls qwálma ‘armpit’; Tṅ kwár ‘armpit’. While possible that \*kwalma is a compound, none of the authors of the works on the three Cupan languages show it hyphenated, so Cp kwál’a ‘side, armpit’ (vs. Cp kwalma ‘carry under the arm’) may have shortened or lost the final syllable. [idddua]

[NUA: Tak]

**17** Hebrew zəbuub ‘flies’ (collective); Arabic đubaab, pl: dibbaan ‘flies’; Akkadian zubbu / zumbu ‘flies’:

Aramaic(J) diibbaa; Aramaic zbwr ‘hornet’; Aramaic(J) ziibuur ‘bee, wasp’; Arabic zunbuur ‘hornet’; relative to Semitic \*đVbb (Hebrew zbb) ‘fly, flies’ and UA \***sikwoti** / \***sikwori** ‘fly’, the UA form looks like a feminine plural (< \*zabboot) or from a general form of \*đVbbV(t) ‘fly’ as found in various Semitic languages; in any case, the consonants (\*đ/z > s, \*bb > kw) agree with Semitic-kw:

UACV913 \***sakwoti** > \***sikwoti**, or \***sakwoti** > Cah \***sabori** > \***saipori** ‘fly, bee’: M67-181 ‘fly, n’; M67-33 \*sek/\*cek ‘bee’; L.Son227 \*saiwori ‘mosca’; M88-si5 ‘fly’; M88-si18; Stubbs 1995-13; Stubbs2000b-42; KH/M-si5; KH/M-si18: the following forms divide themselves into those that show \*kw as the medial consonant and those that show a bilabial (\*p, b, bw) or were borrowed from UA languages showing bilabials:



**UACV913a \*si'kwo-** (< \*sakkwo-?) 'fly, n': CN šiiko'-tli 'bumblebee'; Ca kuᅇ-sexwet 'bumblebee (husband-bee)'; Eu sébor 'fly'; My sé'ebori 'fly'; My kuku-sebo'ori 'bumblebee'; Yq sé'ebo'i 'fly'; Wr se'wá 'fly'; Wr se'óri 'honey, kind of honey bee'; Wr so'óri 'kind of fly bigger than se'wá, possibly same as se'óri'; Tr se'ori 'fly, bee'; Wc šéekii 'gnat' (Wc ĩ < \*u) also appears to belong. What of Ls kúpşax-la 'type of bumblebee' (with Ca kuᅇ-sexwet)? Eu b corresponds to PUA \*kw (Eu basít 'tail') and CN šiiko'- certainly shows medial \*kw rather than \*p. Eu and Cahitan -bo- fit \*kwo > bo. Tr w and Wr w normally reflect PUA \*kw in initial position, and -'w- often medially. Here Tr -'o- and Wr -'w- are medial variants of PUA \*kw, and not from \*p, as Tr and Wr show p/b for \*p. So CN, Tr, Wr, Yq, My, and Eu all show \*-kw-, being consistent with the kwo-phenomenon medially, while some other UA forms suggest \*saipoli (< \*sayapoli ?), perhaps borrowed from languages with medial bilabials:

**UACV913b \*saypori** 'fly': Nv saivori 'abeja [bee]'; NT sáivuli 'fly'; Op saiwori 'mosca [fly]'; Tbr sayvól 'abeja'; Tbr haya-vól 'mosca'; Wc šáipi; Cr šáihru/sa'ihiru 'fly'; CN saayool-in 'fly'. Some of these forms may be borrowed from Tep b or Cahitan -bo- (<\*kwo); either would be taken as \*p in other UA languages. Nv and NT seem to have borrowed from TrC, perhaps Tbr, since \*s > Tep h, not s. CN saayool-in, on the other hand, is identical to Tbr except for the missing bilabial v/p, and CN often lost \*p. In fact, the similarity of Tbr sayvól, Op, NT, and Nv \*saivoli/saywoli to CN saayool-in is quite identical in all five remaining segments: s-a-y/i-(v)-o-l/r. Thus, this set b seems suspect for meshing or diffusions of Cah \*sibori into Azt, Tep, and other SUA languages. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

Of considerable interest is that in Semitic, especially Assyrian, the root zbb carries two sets of meanings: 'fly' and 'be in a frenzy, be an ecstatic', that is, under the influence of spirits or bewitching power. Uto-Aztecán also has two sets of words meaning 'fly' and 'curse/bewitch' which not only have the same two sets of meanings, but also both correspond with \*sVkwot, which correspond with Semitic \*zVbbot.

**18 Assyrian zubbu / zumbu** 'fly'; Assyrian zabaabu 'be in a frenzy, act crazily'; zabbu 'type of ecstatic'; **UACV203 \*sakwo > \*sikwo/sikwi** 'witch, bewitch: M88-sa27; KH.NUA; KH/M-sa27: Cp sekwíte / sakwíte 'curse, whip'; Cp sekwítxe-l 'whip, n.'; Sr šakwi 'whip, vt'; Sr šakwitkin(a) 'whip, swat, vt sg.obj.'; Tᅇ sakwít 'castigar'; Ls šiqwi 'to punish, whip' (1<sup>st</sup> vowel is wrong, Miller notes). The 'curse' semantic dimension of Cp, with \*kwo > bwo / bo in Cah, likely ties these to My sisibo 'hechizar [to curse (of a witch)]'; My sibori 'hechizado [bewitched]'; Tr siku- 'hechizar [to curse, witch]'; Tbr sigu-l 'hechicero [a male witch]'. Interesting is Ls -qw- rather than -kw-, suggesting a non-high 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel, i.e., a 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel of \*o instead of \*i originally (Langacker 1970), which agrees with many SUA languages. As for the first V, \*a likely went to the schwa options—i and ĩ—suggesting it may have been unaccented previously, with Sr and Tᅇ maintaining the original a. Note Tak -kwo- and My -bo-. Perhaps Tr and Tbr ku < kw after loss of V. [labials, kwo, u/o; t > ' in Sr] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr]

**19 Arabic barr-** 'land (as opposed to sea)'; Hebrew baar 'open field'; Aramaic(J) bar-aa 'uncultivated ground, forest, prairie-the'; Syriac \*barr-aa 'open country-the'; UA's final -a suggests it is from Aramaic: **UACV753 \*kwiya / \*kwira** 'earth': VVH112 \*kwiya 'dirt, earth'; B.Tep6 \*bidai 'clay'; M67-151 \*kwi/\*kwiya 'earth'; L.Son126 \*kwiya 'tierra'; M88-kwi2 'land, earth, dirt' KH/M-kwi2 \*kwiy= \*kwin: TO biđ 'adobe, mud, clay, plaster' (TO b = UA \*kw, and TO đ < \*y); My bwiya 'tierra, suelo, piso'; AYq bwia; Yq bwía, pl: bwiam/bwiram; Tbr kwirá-t 'tierra, mundo'; Wr we'é; Tr weé/we-/wi'yé; Cr čwéh; Cr čuáa-ta'a 'on the ground'; Wc kwí(y)e. Note the r instead of y in both Tbr and one Yq pl. The NUA nasal in the Takic forms and NP that KH/M-kwi2 adds to Miller's list may involve a following morpheme: Sr pääkwiñit 'mud' (water-dirt) and Tᅇ kwenár 'mud'. Sr and NP pakkwinapa 'clay' may be 'water-earth' as Ktn pakwinit 'clay, mud'. Is SP kwarajavi 'rolling country' relevant to Aramaic barr-aa'? I agree with Hill's moving Ls kwiláli 'to soil, make dirty' away from \*kwiya to \*kwiCtaC 'defecate'. [-rr/-r- > y, > -n- ? in Tak/NP] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

**20 Hebrew(BDB) brr** 'to select, choose':

CN kwia / kwiya 'to consider s.th. one's own, to keep'; CN kwi-lia 'to take s.th.'; Ls čikwáyi- 'to choose, select' aligns with the impfv which has a \*ti- prefix: \*ti-barr > čikwáyi-, vs. prfv \*barra > kwiya. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

In 19 and 20, we see both the verb (20) and a noun (19) of very different meanings, but of the same root and the same correspondences. Similar to Semitic *brr* > UA \**kwiya*, are (64) Semitic *krr* > UA \**kiya* and (65) Semitic *mrr* > UA \**miya* further below.

**21** Semitic/Arabic *ganaba* ‘set aside, keep away, steal’; Arabic \***ganb-** ‘side, n’; Arabic \***ganba** ‘beside, next to, near, at, preposition’; Arabic \**baina ganbahi* ‘inside (it), within’; to be thoroughly demonstrated later, Semitic *g* > Semitic-kw *ŋ*, and \**-nb-* > \**-bb-* > *-kw-*, so \**ganba* > \**gabba* > *ŋakwa*, as expected:

UACV1980 \***-ŋakwa** / \***-ŋako** / \*(**mana**)-**ŋakwa** ‘side’: M67-376 \**nakw* ‘side’; I.Num110 \**nanjkwVh* ‘direction, side’; I.Num89 \**ma(a)na(a)ŋkwa(h)* ‘far’; M88-na16 ‘side’; KH/M-na16: Hp -*ŋaqw*, -*ŋaqö* (pausal) ‘from, away from, inside of’; Ca *máŋax* ‘on/by the side of, near’; Cp -*ŋax* ‘from, because of’; Ls -*ŋax* ‘from, because of’; in shortened forms Cp -*ŋa* ‘at, in’; Tŋ *ŋa* ‘locative suffix’; Ca *ŋa* ‘location’; but Ca -*ŋa-x* ‘from’ (Seiler 1977, 201-2). More fully treated later after 917. Both the *ŋ* (< *g*) and the *-kw-* < *-bb-* < *-nb-* mean Semitic-kw. Whether Seiler’s morpheme break is correct or not, *ŋa* could be shortened from *ŋakw*. NUA \**ŋ* > SUA *n* may have CN *naawak* ‘near, adjacent to’ belonging. [initial \**ŋ* > SNum *ŋ*, > C/WNum *n*, as in sycamore] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Azt]

**22** Hebrew *bll* ‘to moisten, to mix up (flour, cakes, etc)’, pl: \**ball-uu*; Arabic *balla* ‘to moisten’:

UACV2079 \***kwal** ‘soft’: M67-401 \**kwa* ‘soft’; M88-kwa8 ‘soft’; KH/M-kwa8: Yq *bwal* ‘soft’; Yq *sí’ibwal* ‘very soft’; and AYq *bwalko* ‘soft, smooth’; My *bwalko* ‘blando’; Eu *barínari* ‘blando [soft], lo que fue ablandado por otro [what was softened]’; Eu *baroré* ‘está blando [is soft]’; Eu *baroré* ‘blandamente, suavemente [softly]’; first two syllables of Cr *kwa’acíra’a* ‘está suave, blando, tierno, débil’ (\**l* > ‘ in Cr). Cr fits well because intervocalic \**-l-* > Cr *-’-*. [’/l]

UACV1448c \***kwannu** / \***kwiNtu** ‘stir’: SP *kwan’nu* ‘to stir (mush)’ (< \**ball-uu* Semitic pl, as \**l* > NUA *n*); SP *ci-kwan’nu-i* ‘stir (mush) with a stick’; Sh(C) *kwintuiC* ‘mix, stir, vt’ (with CNum \**tuiC* ‘melt’). Wc *kwamáá* ‘mix, stir’ has *kwaN*, perhaps with a different 2<sup>nd</sup> morpheme and thus a different cluster. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC]

**23** Syriac **bilŋii**-*taa* ‘boring worm-the, teredo xylophagus’; Syriac *blt* / *bəlat* ‘to be worm-eaten’:

UACV2592a \***kwici** ‘worm, feces-snake’: M67-475 \**kwic* ‘worm’; L.Son120 \**kwici*; M88-kwi11; Stubbs 1995; Stubbs2000a-8; KH/M-kwi11: Yq *bwicia*; My *bwítcia* ‘gusano [worm]’; Tbr *hi-kwici-t* ‘oruga’; Wc *kwísi/kwíici* ‘gusano’; Cr *čú’ihnu* ‘caterpillar’; NT *obí-bisi* (Lionnet); Wr *ihkuciwa* ‘gusano’ (*ih-* is a moribund noun prefix, notes Miller); Tr *kučíwa-ri* ‘gusano’; CN *kwitkooaa-tl* ‘tapeworm’. Miller also includes Pl *kwil-in* ‘worm’ and Eu *hícira* ‘gusano’; the Eu initial consonant is unexpected and Lionnet wonders whether it is an error for *bici-ra*.

UACV2592b \***koci** (< \**kwici*): Note the similarity between CN *i’koč-in* ‘type of earthworm’ and Wr *ihkuciwa* ‘worm’ and Nv *kosiburi* ‘worm sp’. Because Tep *s* < \**c*, Tep \**kosi-* reflects \**koci* of CN and Wr. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

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

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

UACV604 \***kwikí** / \***o’kí** ‘(shed) tears’: M88-’o6 ‘tears’: AMR1993; Stubbs1995-28; KH/M-’o6: Tr *weke/oke* ‘[shed tears]’; Wr *o’kéwa* ‘lágrimas [tears]’; Tr *oke-wá* ‘lágrimas’; Wc *úkai* ‘lágrimas’ corresponds to Tr/Wr *oke*. [SUA: Trn, CrC]

**25** Hebrew **bky** / **bakaa** ‘cry’; Aramaic **baaki** ‘crying one’; likely a change from ‘crying’ to ‘crying one, baby’ much like Syriac *bk’* / *bakaa* ‘cry’ underlies Syriac *bak-aa* ‘cock/rooster-the’ as the ‘crier’:

UACV147 \***kwakiC** ‘baby’: Sr *kwakii-t* ‘young one, youngest one’; Ktn *kwaki-t* ‘baby’. [idddua] [NUA: Tak]

**26** Hebrew **ben** ‘son’; plural noun when possessed by another noun is Hebrew **bənee** ‘children (of)’; so from Semitic-kw UA \***kwVnii** ‘child(ren)’ > Azt \***konee** ‘child, offspring’:

UACV142a \***koní** ‘child, offspring’: CL.Azt26 \***konee** ‘child, baby’; M88-ko24; KH/M-ko24: Pl *kunee-t*, *kunee-w* (poss’d) ‘baby, child’; CN *konee-tl* ‘child, offspring of female’. Semantic changes from pl to sg and sg to pl are frequent. UA *kwVnee* > *konee* is expected, as *kw* plus short vowel often loses the vowel to the

rounding of kwV > ko/ku, and also the possessed form Azt konee-w < Hebrew bənaa-w ‘children-his’ fits. I like Hill’s association of these with Numic \*kono ‘cradle board’ (UACV142b), as a tie seems probable, especially in light of Tb hono- ‘fetus’. [NUA: Tb; SUA: Azt]

**27** Syriac **brm**: et-barram ‘be consumed, worn out’; Arabic brm<sup>1</sup> / barima ‘be weary, tired of, fed up, bored with’ (verbal noun is Arabic baram):

UA \***kwiyam** / \*kwiam ‘be lazy, do lackadaisically’: Sh **kwiam**-pīh ‘lazy’; Hp kweemo ‘fool around with, fiddle with, check out in an unserious manner’. [idddua] [NUA: Hp, Num]

### 2.3 Hebrew š > c (ts) in Uto-Aztecan

Above at 8 and 9 are Semitic šbb ‘grasp’ > UA \*cakwa ‘grab’ and Semitic šabb ‘lizard’ > UA \*cakwa ‘lizard’, the first examples of Semitic š > c (ts). Hebrew š becoming Uto-Aztecan c (ts) is what Hebrew š changed to in some Jewish dialects, as also the Hebrew š (šade) is pronounced c/ts in modern Hebrew in Israel today as well. Further below (at ħ), are more examples of Semitic š > c (ts):

83 Hebrew **šrh** ‘cry, roar’ > UA \***cayaw** ‘yell’

84 Hebrew **šmh**, impfv: **yišmaħ** (< \*ya-šmaħ) ‘sprout’ > UA \***icmo** ‘sprout’

85 Hebrew **šlh** ‘rush, v’ > UA \***coloa** ‘flee, run’

Immediately below are additional examples of Semitic š > c (ts) in Semitic šuršur ‘cricket’ > UA \*corcor ‘cricket’ and Hebrew šəvii ‘gazelle’ > Hopi cöövi- ‘antelope’.

**28** Arabic **šuršur** / **šuršuur** ‘cricket’; Aramaic(J) šarsuur ‘cricket’; Akkadian šarsaar-u ‘cricket’; Syriac šišr-aa / šiišr-aa ‘cricket’:

UACV588 \***corcor** ‘cricket’: Ktn **corcor** ‘cricket’; Cr su’usuí (-r- > -’- in Cr); Wc šuušúí. The Ktn form (from NUA) essentially equates to Arabic **šuršur**, and both mean ‘cricket’. Cr and Wc do also, with the usual \*-r- > -’- in CrC. Cp selyimselyim ‘cricket’ shows pl -m with each half, while Ca sé’lyem (pl) shows only one half. One syllable (instead of two) of Semitic \***šur** (> UA \***curu**) is compounded with in Eu bawisoróc; Hp -coro of Hp laqan-coro / naqan-coro / yaqan-coro ‘cricket’ (Hp laqana ‘squirrel’); ST kaalyi soi; HN cicikame-tl; and the -son portion of Sh maison ‘cricket’. Specifically compounded with \*tuku ‘black, dark’ are Tbr toko-sol / tuko-súl ‘cricket’; NT tuukúsuli; Wr tuhkucúrumi; Wr(MM) tukučúrumi; Tr(B) rúkú-čuri ‘grillo’; and probably Yq kiičul and My kičul, pl: kučúlim with a vowel change and loss of the first syllable: \*tuku-curi > \*kucuri > \*kiculi. This may be a Semitic-p term due to -r- > -r-, vs. Semitic-kw -y- (< -r-); the cluster -rš- > -c- is natural though -š- > -s- when not clustered; then consonant harmony affected the first C: šuršur > šurcur > curcur. The four Tepiman forms—TO cukugšwad; Nv tukag’šabarha; LP(EF) tuksáawer; PYp tuksarvar—also compound with \*tuku, but show an enigmatic bilabial (b, w, v). Thses cognates are in 8 of 11 branches and in no less than 18 UA languages. [\*-rC- > -u’uC in Cr as in \*wr and \*xli] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

**29** Hebrew šəbii / šəvii ‘gazelle’; Arabic zaby-u ‘gazelle’; Aramaic(J) ṭaby-aa ‘deer, gazelle’; Hp cöövi-wī ‘antelope’.

**30** Hebrew **šippoer** ‘bird, small bird’:

UA \***cipuri** ‘bird’: Tr ciburi / čúri / čúri ‘pollo, pollito [chicken, baby chick(s)]’; TO sipug ‘bird, cardinal’ (TO s < UA \*c, and the -g is likely of another morpheme); Wr cu’ru ‘kind of bird’. [SUA: Trn, Tep]

**31** Hebrew **šll** ‘to tingle, quiver’; Hebrew **šlšl** ‘to whirr, buzz (of insects)’; Hebrew məšillaa ‘bell, n’; Hebrew šelšəliim ‘cymbals, percussion instrument’; Arabic **šll** ‘to ring, clink, clank, clatter, rattle’; Arabic šaliil ‘rattle, clatter, n’; UA terms mean ‘rattle’ and ‘chili’ as a plant rattles in the breeze when ripe: UACV429 \***cil** ‘chile’: CL.Azt27 \*čiiil ‘chile’; M88-ci10; KH/M-ci10: CN čiiil-li ‘chile’; Hp ciili ‘chili pepper’. As Miller and Kenneth Hill suggest, the Hp term is likely borrowed from CN; but Mn ciini ‘chili’ does show the expected NUA sound change \*l > n, though other NUA terms may also be borrowed from CN, especially Cp čiiilyi. Cp and Hp fit a later loan pattern; however, Tb and other Num forms match \*cira/cita, with a final a, instead of i, and Azt originally had \*-ta as the absolutive suffix: TSh cita ‘chili pepper’; Cm ciira’; CU čiriī; Tb čiiira’/čiiida’. It is curious, however, that so much of NUA has s.th. similar to

the CN form, while all of SUA, CN's closest neighbors, have a different word \*ko'koli. Due to the hollow rattling sound of ripe chile in the wind, CN čii- could be from verbs like CN ciliin(i) 'to sound, of a bell'.

See below \*cili 'shake' and M88-ci9. [liquids] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Azt]

UACV1929a \*čil 'shake': CL.Azt143 \*cəlowa 'shake'; M88-ci9; KH/M- ci9: CN cecelwaa 'shake out, beat s.th. for s.o.'; CN cecelooa; Pl cehcelua, etc.

UACV1929b \*čilili / \*silala 'shake, rattle': Mn sininiği 'quiver'; NP sininiğiwinī 'scared and shaking'; TSh sinninniki 'shake, shiver'; Cm sīi-cīniti 'have chills, tremble with cold, vi'; Kw sinin'a 'shake, shiver'; Hp silala- 'clack, jingle, rattle'; Tb cīniniī ~ 'i'cīniniī 'shake in fright'; Ca čéleley 'shake (of body)'; CU sinigay 'shake, shiver, tremble, be nervous'. Though most of these have the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable reduplicated, CN cecelwaa 'shake out, beat for s.o.' and CN cecelooa 'shake, save s.th., vt' reduplicated the first.

UACV1929c \*cili 'jingle, rattle (when moved, shaken)': CL.Azt156 \*čiliinV 'to sound, ring'; M88-ci12; KH/M-ci12: CN čilini; Pl ciliini; Hp silala-ta 'be jingling or clinking'; Ca čilčil 'to sound (of a rattle)'. [c/s] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]

**32 Aramaic(CAL)** dbq / dəbaq 'stick, adhere, adjoin, reach'; dabbeq 'attach, make stick, join, assemble'; dubbaq 'attached, stuck to'; adbeq 'make stick, overtake, follow closely after'; **Hebrew** dbq / daabaq / daabeq 'cling' and Hebrew \*dubbaq is unattested in the Masoretic text but could well have been in the spoken language, meaning the same as Aramaic:

UACV2182 \*cukoa / \*cukwa 'adhere': since CN i < \*u, then CN, Wc, and CU all point to s.th. near \*cukoa or \*cukwa: CN cikoa 'stick, fasten one thing to another, take hold of s.th.'; CU cugwī 'adhere to, stick to'; CU cugwáy 'meet (with), join, assemble'; and Wc kwé-súkwa 'pegadura silvestre [glue]'. Semitic \*-bb- > -kw-; thus, Sem-kw, and these UA forms have the same range of meanings as the Semitic.

[NUA: Num; SUA: CrC, Azt]

Semitic š became UA c in initial position, as shown in examples 28-31. In contrast, Semitic š in medial position also become c in SUA, but behaved differently in clusters and in NUA. In Numic, Semitic š > ' as in 33 below and eye (532) and (44) in other examples.

**33 Hebrew** bšr 'cut off, make inaccessible, enclose':

SP qwi'a-ppī (< \*kwi'aC-pī) 'fence'; Hebrew pharyngealized š regularly goes to Numic (or SP) ' (glottal stop) as in Hebrew bišsar 'make inaccessible':

UACV452 \*kwi'ay / \*kwi'aC 'surround, fence': SP kwi'a-ppī 'fence'; CU kwi'áy 'surround as fence, fence, encircle, v'; CU kwi'a-pī 'fence'; WMU qwi'(y)é 'build fence'; WMU qwi'(y)á-qa-ttū 'fence, n'; Sh kwīa-ppī / koa-ppī 'corral, fence, antelope surround'; Ch takwi-ntui 'encircle'. The preceding are all SNum forms and likely relates to other forms \*kwiC-taa compounded with s.th. else: Mn kwitaa 'surround, go around, v' (this contrasts in final vowel length with Mn kwita 'defecate'); NP kwidi'a 'fence corral' and NP \*kwiti'a in NP bbuggu ggwidia 'horse corral' (bbuggu 'horse') and NP na'unaggwai kwidiadu 'enclose with fence'.

[cluster \*tt/'] [NUA: Num]

**34 Hebrew** bdl 'divide, separate'; \*hibbadel 'be separated'; Arabic batala 'separate':

UACV1580 \*kwatta 'open': Ls hiqwáta 'be an opening'; Ca kwéteł 'stick out, perk up, vi, pry open, vt'.

[idddua] [Tak]

**35 Aramaic(J)** birkaa 'blessing'; Hebrew brk 'to bless, praise'; praises are often sung (see Koehler and Baumgartner 854 'to sing in praise of'); and Syriac zmr also means both 'sing' and 'praise', so the denominalized verb's change from 'bless' to 'sing/song' is reasonable:

UACV1982 \*kwika 'sing, song': M67-379 \*kwika; L.Son123 \*kwika 'cantar'; CL.Azt147/315 \*kwiika; M88-kwi3 'sing'; KH/M-kwi3: Eu bike 'sing'; Eu bikát 'song'; Tbr kwik 'sing'; Wr wigatá 'sing'; Wr wiká 'song'; Tr wikará 'sing'; My bwiika; Yq bwika; AYq bwiika; Wc kwika; Cr čuíika-ri 'song, n'; CN kwiika 'sing'; Pl takwiika 'sing'. This is a denominalized verb from the noun birkaa and is in most SUA languages, but hardly found in NUA, except -'wexe of Cp pína'wexe 'sing enemy songs, v'. [idddua]

[SUA: Cah, Opn, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt; NUA: Tak]

**36** Hebrew bšy / bašaa<sup>1</sup> ‘enquire, search’; Ug bgy ‘wish’; Arabic bgy ‘search’:

UACV1493 \*kwawa/i ‘invite, call’: Stubbs 1995-11: Cp kwawe ‘call, invite’; Tr o’wí ‘invite’; Wr oí ‘invite to work’ (borrowed from Tr; otherwise, woi); Eu bowá (= UA \*kwowa) ‘convidar [invite]’; perhaps the baa- of TO baamuđ ‘plead, invite’ (lack of TO g < \*w is frequent enough). [iddddua] [kwV > ku]  
[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]

**37** Hebrew bšy / bašaa ‘inquire, swell up, bring to a boil, bulge out’; Arabic bgw ‘seek, treat unjustly, commit outrage’; Arabic bagy- ‘infringement, outrage, injustice, wrong, n.m.’. Both consonants show that this is of the Semitic-kw dialect: Semitic ġ > Phoenician ś > UA \*w > Hopi L between low vowels. UACV32 \*kwawa ‘angry’: Hp kwala(-k-) ‘1 boil, get boiled, 2 become enraged, get angry, 3 rack one’s brains, worry over (problem)’; TO бага ‘be angry’; because \*kwa > Tep ba and \*w > Tep g and > Hp l, then TO бага ‘be angry’ does correspond to Hp kwala-. Other Tep languages appear to have lost \*w, but are compounded with \*-mukku/i ‘die’: PYP baam ‘get angry’; NT baamúku ‘be angry’; ST baam.  
[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

**38** Arabic bahiya ‘to become empty, pierced with holes’ (Lane, KB), III to vie, compete with s.o.’; Hebrew bohoo ‘emptiness, wasteness’:  
Hp kwahi / kwáyya ‘suffer the loss of s.th. of value’; Hp kwaha-na ‘deprive of, take at the expense of s.o. or to the loss of (s.o.)’. [iddddua]

**39** Syriac bhl / bəhel ‘cease, become quiet, tranquil, calm, serene, gentle’:  
\*kwaha reduplicated > Hp kwakwha ‘1. tamed, 2. peaceful, tranquil, gentle, easygoing’. No final -l in (4) bašal > kwasī either.

**40** Hebrew sbl ‘carry’; Hebrew sabbaal ‘burden carriers’; unattested Hebrew \*hisbiil:  
Hp iikwil-ta ‘put on the back to carry’.

**41** Hebrew bə’or ‘pit, cistern, well’: SP qwi’oqqi (< \*kwi’oC-ki) ‘be hollow and round’; SP qwi’oqqi-čī ‘round and hollow, solid high ring, hollow ball, circular valley’.

**42** Syriac bdr ‘scatter, put in disorder, sprinkle, shed’:  
Hp kwīrī(k-) ‘get in a heap, collapse to a disordered pile, fall to disarray’. [iddddua]

**43** Hebrew baḥuuraa (< baxuura / bxr) ‘young woman’:  
Sh kwīhī ‘wife’. \*u > ī often in Num, and no final -r consistent with no final -r in Hebrew bášar > \*kwasi.

**44** Arabic qbd (i) ‘seize, take, grab’, impfv ya-qbiđ(V); Hebrew qbš ‘collect’: UA \*kwisV ‘take, carry, grasp’; Sem š > ’ in Num, not in Tb, Hp:  
UACV396a \*kwīsiC (AMR) / \*kwīsa/i (< \*kwisa?) ‘take, carry’: Sapir; VVH52 \*kwī(sī) ‘to take, get’; M67-76 \*kwe ‘carry’; I.Num88 \*kwīha ‘catch, take’; M88-kwī2; AMR (1990) \*kwīsiC; KH/M-kwī2 \*kwīsiC ‘carry’; Jane Hill 2008: NP kwīhī ‘carry’; TSh kwīC / kwīin ‘catch’; Cm kwīhī ‘catch, capture’; SP kwīi ‘take sg obj’; Tb wīiš(at) ~’iwiš ‘catch, rope, vt’; Hp kwīsi ‘receive, take, pick up’; TO bihi ‘acquire, get’; Yq bwīse; My bwīsse; Ktn kwīck ‘wring (clothes), milk (cow), vt’; Cr -čue- in Cr rá’-a-čue-nyi ‘he is going to take it away’; Wc kwe ‘llevar algo largo y sólido’; Pl kwī grab, take’; CN kwī ‘take, vt’. Num appears to have lost intervocalic -š- (as usual) or -š- > -’-/-h-. Miller’s inclusion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Tb form, Tb wīkīt ‘get, catch, grab’, with a very different medial consonant is possible if from a compound something like \*kwīs-kV, but see \*wik ‘take by hand’ below. Be that as it may, we must add PYP behe ‘carry, get, grasp, seize’; ST biīya’ (pret. biī) ‘adquirir [acquire], obtener [obtain], conseguir’. The Cahitan vowel (i) may be original. Sapir, VVH, and Miller have all included the Azt forms, with loss of final syllable, but I wonder? The forms in b also belong after reduction of kwV > ku:  
UACV396b \*kus ‘take’: BH.Cup \*kuš ‘take’; M88-ku18; Stubbs 1995-6; KH/M-ku18: Ca -kús- ‘take’; Cp kuša- / kušáánə- / kúšanə- / kuší- ‘get, fetch, take’; Ls kušááni ‘take, grasp sg. inan.obj’. These are related to the above by \*kwīš > kus. [labials \*kwV > ku, Tb w < \*kw; V problem; \*s > h in Num]  
[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**UACV396c \*kwisa > \*kwiha** ‘carrying net’: at KH/M-ku11 ‘bag’ Hill lists Sr kwiih-t ‘carrying net’ and Ktn kwiha-t ‘net, carrying net’ as maybe with the \*kusa ‘bag’ forms, with which I agree. Be that as it may, an interesting side note is Ktn kwihaka / kwihak ‘woman’ may derive from \*kwisa-ka ‘carrying-net-haver’, the one who does the carrying. [NUA: Tak]

**UACV396d \*kusa** ‘bag, sack’: M88-ku11; KH/M-ku11: Mn kussa/kúsa; Sh kussa; WSh kusa (acc. -i) ‘pants’; TSh kusa ‘pants’. Add Wc kisiuri ‘talega, bolsa’ whose vowel agrees (Wc i < \*u). Miller includes \*kusa with the \*kuna ‘bag’ forms, but unless the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllables are separate morphemes, the differing 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant suggests a different etymon, and Wc agrees. Why š > s, instead of c, which would become y in NUA, is enigmatic. [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

**45** Hebrew qbl, **-qbiiil** ‘confront aggressively’; Arabic qabbala ‘go southward (i.e., forward)’; Arabic aqbala ‘turn forward’; the basic meaning of the Semitic verbs is ‘to be in front, go front-ward’ from which other meanings derive such as ‘meet, be face to face, receive’, but this aligns with a hi-qtiil form \*hi-qbiil with the original Semitic meaning of ‘go forward’:

Hopi **kwila**-(k-) ‘take a step, to step forward’.

**46** Hebrew bry, impfv: -bre ‘consume food’; this root bry is related to or a variant of br’; Hebrew (qittel) bire’/birey ‘eat’; Hebrew (hiqtil) -bree’ / -brii’ ‘provide food’; Hebrew biryaa ‘patient’s diet, food’; Arabic bari’a, impfv: ya-bra’-u ‘recover, be free of illness’:

**UACV775 \*kwa’a** ‘swallow, eat’: Sapir; VVH48 \*kwa(‘a) ‘eat, swallow’; M67-152a \*kwa ‘eat’; BH.Cup \*qwa- ‘eat’; L.Son113 \*kwa/\*ko’a ‘comer’; M88-kwa5 ‘eat’; AMR 1993a \*kwa’aC ‘eat’; KH.NUA; KH/M-kwa5: Cp kwá ‘eat’; Cp qwe’í-š ‘food’; Ls kwá/qwá ‘eat’; Tñ kwa’á; Sr kwa’-i; Eu hibá’a- ‘comer [eat]’; Eu bawá ‘dar de comer [give to eat]’; Yq bwá’a; My bwá’a; Tbr ko-; Cr kwa’á; Pl kwa; CN kwaa. Miller includes Tr go’á/ko- and Wr ko’á, though Tr wa’a / a’wa ‘swallow’ exhibits the expected sound correspondences of \*kwa’a. Tr go’á/ko- and Wr ko’á better fit the forms of \*ko’a below, where is also Tep \*ko’a. However, let’s do add Tep \*ba’a/ba’i (<\*kwa’a/kwa’i) ‘swallow’: TO ba’a/ba’i ‘swallow’; Nv ba’a; PYp ba’i’ia; NT bááyi; ST baya. What of TO bibid ‘serve s.o. food’?

**UACV776 \*ko’a** ‘eat’: VVH131 \*ko’a ‘eat’; M67-84 \*ko ‘chew’; B.Tep115 \*ko’ai ‘eat’; M88-ko4; KH/M-ko4: Ls qé’ni ‘feed animal’; TO ko’a; Wr ko’á-; Tr go’-mea / ko’mea / go’á / go’yá / ko-; Tbr koa. In M88-ko4 Miller combines the \*ko’a and \*kwa’a forms, which in the kw-languages can easily alternate (thus some forms are in both lists here as well), but they are clearly distinguished in the Tepiman and Cahitan branches where ko’a and ba’a/bwa’a forms sometimes exist in the same language: e.g., TO ko’a ‘eat’ and TO ba’a ‘swallow’, though an early \*kwo > ko in Tep/Cah would make the set even more complex than the mere complexity that we presently think we are dealing with. Ktn kwa ‘eat’ and Ktn ko ‘eat’ hardly help. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**47** Hebrew (hi-/ya-/ta-)-brii(’/y) ‘provide food, i.e., feed’; Hebrew biryaa ‘patient’s diet, food’:

**UACV780 \*kwi** ‘food, feed, give food’: VVH53 \*kwi ‘food’; M67-152b \*kwi ‘food’; M88-kwi6; KH/M-kwi6: TO bia/bi ‘dish out (food)’; Miller (M67-152b) shows Sr kwi’a-t, -kwi’a’ ‘food’ but Hill (1994) has only Sr kwa’i’aaṭ ‘food’, whose first vowel better agrees with \*kwa’a above; NT biááhái ‘serve (food)’; NT bíidyí ‘give to eat’; ST biidya ‘serve (food)’; first syllable of Hp kwiivi ‘boiled or stewed food’; Hp kwiiva ‘cook by boiling’. Semitic-kw often shows the 1<sup>st</sup> C of a cluster rather than the 2<sup>nd</sup> as in Semitic-p, thus -br- > -kw-. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep]

**48** Hebrew bwš / buuš, pfv: baas ‘be white’; Arabic byḏ, perfv **baaḏa** ‘be white’; Hebrew beesaa ‘egg’; Arabic bayḏa(t) ‘egg’; Hebrew buuš ‘byssus, a costly white fabric’; Syriac buuš-aa ‘fine white linen-the’. Semiti š > UA \*c, and UA \*c > NUA y, and y is what we see in the NUA languages of Ls, Cp, and Hopi: **UACV2545 \*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, of \*kwaya > \*koya. Is Hp qööca ‘white’ a loan from SUA? [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: CrC]

Like 44-47, the next two (49-50) show the Semitic verb stem that clusters the first two consonants, such that \*-CbaC > \*-bbaC > UA \*kwaC. Interestingly, most Semitic verbs show a stem vowel -u- in -CCuC, but a small percentage have the stem vowel -a-, and the following are two of them and both show -a- in UA also:

49 Hebrew **yi-gbar** ‘be superior, achieve’; Hebrew(BDB) **yi-gbar** ‘be strong, prevail’; Aramaic(S) **gbr** ‘prevail’:

UACV2556 **\*kwaC(-ku)** ‘win’: TSh **kwaaC** ‘win, beat’; Sh **kwakkuC** ‘to win a game’; Cm **kwakurī** ‘defeat, win over someone’; Kw **kwaha** ‘win’; SP **kwaa** ‘win, beat’; CU **kwa’á-y** ‘win, beat, earn’; CU **kwá’ni** ‘win, beat, earn’. Only **\*-kwaC-** aligns with **-gbar-**; final **-ku** perhaps < Hebrew **bo** ‘in it (often a verb’s object)’. [NUA: Num]

50 Hebrew **-lbaš-** ‘put on (garment), clothe (oneself)’: impfv stem vowel is **-a-**, as in UA: **-lbaš > kwasV**; in fact the plural would be **-lbašu**, reflected in most Numic languages also; and again **-lb- > -bb- > -kw-**:

UACV484 **\*kwasu** ‘dress, shirt’: M88-**kwa12** ‘dress, shirt’: I.Num79 **\*kwasu/\*kwasī** ‘dress, shirt’; KH/M-**kwa12**: NP **kwasi** ‘clothing, shirt’; TSh **kwasu** ‘dress’; Sh **kwasun** ‘dress’; Cm **kwasu’u** ‘dress, coat, shirt’; Kw **kwasu-pīci** ‘dress, skirt’; Hp **kwasa** ‘dress’; My **bwáhhi** ‘sapeta’. Ken Hill adds Ch **kwasu** ‘woman’s dress’; Ch **kwasú-ntu** ‘dress, put on dress, v’; TSh **kwasu’un** ‘dress, n’. Add Yq **bwahim** ‘calzones’; AYq **bwahim** ‘diaper, loincloth, breechcloth’; and NP **kwasiya** ‘put on clothes, v’. Note Cah (Yq, AYq) loses **-s-** both here and in **\*(a)tīsa**. [Num **ī < \*u**] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Cah]

After 42 examples of **b > kw** or medial **-Cb-/-bb- > -kw-** (4-12, 14-27, 32-50), consider other sound changes:

## 2.4 Many Sounds—such as **h, k, t, p, m, n**—Remain Such in Uto-Aztecan

51 Hebrew **\*kaatep** ‘shoulder, shoulder blade, upper arm’; Arabic **katip/kitp-** ‘shoulder, shoulder blade’; Syriac **kātep / katp-aa** ‘shoulder-the, shoulder blade-the’:

UACV1966 **\*kotapa / \*kotapo** ‘shoulder’: B.Tep112 **\*kotava/o** ‘shoulder’; M88-**ko29** ‘shoulder’; KH/M-**ko29**: TO **kotwa / kotīwa** (TO **w < PUA \*p**); LP **kotov**; PYp **kotev** ‘shoulder blade’; NT **kotáva/kotááva** ‘hombro’; NT **kotbo** ‘hombro’; ST **kotvo**. Other words are interesting, but not without their difficulties. If the initial **’a-** could be isolated, note the **-kol-** of CN **a’kol-li** ‘shoulder’. Note that the latter portion of Tr **na’tapu** ‘push with the shoulder’ is quite identical to Tep **\*kotapo (> ’tapu)**; perhaps a reduction of the first syllable caused **k > ’** in a cluster (**\*na-ktapu > \*na-ktapu > na’tapu**), for **na-** as the reflexive prefix (exert self, shoulder oneself to s.th.) is a likely morpheme break. Likewise, Mn **téebi** ‘shoulder’ may tie in with first syllable lost. SP **antīwīaavu** ‘shoulder’ might align with Mn if nasalization before both of SP’s consonants (**-nt-** and **-Nb- > -ŋw-**) were explainable. Hebrew **qameš** (long **aa**) is sometimes pronounced **o**, if something triggered such. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

52 Hebrew **mukke** ‘smitten’ (passive **hoqtal** participle **\*mu-nkay > mukke**, from the root **nky**):

UACV655a **\*mukki** ‘die, be sick, smitten’: Sapir; VVH86 **\*muuki/\*muuku** die; M67-126a **\*muk / \*muki**; BH.Cup **\*mukii?** ‘a sore’; B.Tep155 **\*muuki**; L.Son155 **\*muku/\*muk-i**; M88-**mu2**; KH.NUA; KH/M-**mu2**: Tb **muugit~’umuuk** ‘die’; Tb **mugiinat~’umugiin** ‘hurt, vt’; Tb **muugut** ‘spirit of a dead person’; Ls **múki-l** ‘sore, boil, knot in wood’; Ls **múki-** ‘fester, v’; Ls **múú-** ‘be in eclipse, of sun, moon’; Ca **-múk-** ‘get sick, weak, die’; Ca **múk’il’** ‘sore, n’; Ca **múki-š** ‘sick person, dead person’; Hp **mooki** ‘die, faint, be numb, suffer from or be afflicted by’; Ktn **muk** ‘be sick, die’; Ktn **mukic** ‘disease’; Ktn **mukim** ‘dead people’; Hp **mokpī** ‘corpse’; TO **muuki** ‘die, corpse’; Eu **mukún** ‘morirse [die]’; Op **mu’uk** ‘die, be afflicted, sg’; Wr **mugu-ná / mugimá** ‘morir, sg’; Wr **muguré** ‘corpse’; Tr **mukú-mea**; My **múúke**; Yq **múúke**; Cr **mī’iči** ‘dead person, he is dead; etc.’; Cr **wamī’i** ‘se murió’; We **mīiki** ‘dead, adj/n’; CN **miki** ‘die, suffer from’. PUA **\*u > CN i**, CrC **ī**. Sapir includes SNum terms SP **čañwiqqa, čañwikki, čawukki (< \*ca-mukki)** ‘die off, disappear’. That and Tak **-k-** (vs. **-x-**) suggest **\*-kk-**, though SP **moğoa** and some lose gemination.

UACV655b **\*mukki** ‘sore’: Munro.Cup121 **\*múúki-l** ‘sore’; M67-128a; KH.NUA: Ls **múúki** ‘to fester, v’; Ls **múúki-l** ‘a boil, knot in wood’; Cp **múki-ly** ‘sore’; Cp **múkilya’a-š** ‘sore, pl’; Ca **múk’i-ly**; Sr **mukṭ** ‘a sore, n’; Sr **moki** ‘be getting sore, vi’. Cp **muhí’i-š** ‘suppurating, sore, adj’ a variant with softened medial consonant? Though the semantics vary—e.g., ‘spirit’ in Numic—this is one of the few etymons found in all eight branches of UA. Note Tb **g < \*kk** rather than Tb **h (< \*k)** due to the underlying geminated **\*-kk-**. [medial **\*-kk- > Tb g, Wr g, Tak k, not x**] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**53** Hebrew *hukke* ‘was smitten’ is 3<sup>rd</sup> sg huqtaal perfective (vs. *mukke*, huqtaal participle above) and is in Tb: Tb(H) *hookii* ‘deceased grand-relative (grandfather, grandson) after death’.

**54** Hebrew *taapel* ‘whitewash’; Aramaic(J) *təpel-aa* ‘paste, plaster, coating-the’:

UACV758 \**tīpi-c* ‘white clay’: M88-tī52; KH/M-tī52: Ls *tóovi-š* ‘white clay’ (synonymous with *tóova-l*); Sr *tīvi-c* ‘white clay, cement’; Tḡ *tóviy* ‘white clay’. While these ‘clay’ forms are close to \**tīpaC* ‘land’ (see 75), these 3 languages have separate terms with a different final vowel and different absolute suffixes. Is Ktn *towi-c* ‘white paint’ a loan from Tḡ? [NUA: Tak]

**55** Hebrew *mayim* / *meem-* ‘water’:

UACV2499 \**mīma* / \**mīmī-* ‘ocean’; M88-mī10 ‘ocean’; Munro.Cup84 \**məəma-t* ‘ocean’: KH.NUA; KH/M-mī10: Cp *méme-t* ‘ocean’; Cp *mémḡaxwi-š* ‘white man’; Ls *móoma-t* ‘sea, ocean’; Tḡ *mómot* ‘mar, lake’; Ca *móoma-t* / *múuma-t* ‘ocean’ (Ls loan?); Sr *mīm-t* ‘ocean, lake’; Ktn *mīmī-t* ‘lake, sea’; perhaps Cr *mwaihete* ‘mar [sea]’. Jane Hill (2014, 197) points to Wintuan \**meem* ‘water’ and similar in other California languages as a possible loan source for this UA term. [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

## 2.5 Hebrew s and š Merged to s

Instances of Uto-Aztec *š* are usually more recent palatalizations of Proto-Uto-Aztec \**s* > *š* adjacent to high vowels. Both Hebrew *s* and *š* merged to correspond to Uto-Aztec \**s*.

**56** Hebrew *šekem* ‘shoulder, nape of neck, back, ridge of mountain’; Samaritan *šekam* ‘shoulder’; Hebrew *šikm-* (possessed); the third consonant *m* or general nasal *N* is apparent in the 2<sup>nd</sup> group of words (CV-1967b) while the first group (CV-1967a) lost it:

UACV1967a \**sika* ‘shoulder, arm, armpit’: M67-7 \**seka* ‘arm’; M67-375 \**seka* ‘shoulder’; L.Son249 \**sika* ‘brazo, mano’; M88-sī1 ‘armpit’; KH.NUA; KH/M- sī1 ‘armpit’: Hopi *sikyakci* ‘shoulder, shoulder blade’; Hopi(Seaman) *sikyakci* / *sikyakci* / *sökya* ‘shoulder’; Cp -*šék’a* ‘shoulder (poss’d n.)’; Ca -*sék’a* / -*sék-* ‘shoulder (poss’d)’; Ls *sóoka* ‘shoulder’; Tḡ *sok(in)* ‘shoulder’; Sr *šika* ‘shoulder, upper arm’; Ktn *šika-c* ‘shoulder blade’; Tb *šiki-t* ‘upper arm, arm’ shows a final C; Tbr *saká-r* / *haká-r* ‘sobaco [armpit], agalla de pez [fish gill]’; Yq *séeka* ‘armpit’; My *séeka-m* ‘armpit’; Wr *seká* ‘hand, arm’; Tr *seká* ‘mano, brazo’; Cr *’iskwa’a-ri* / *’iskwe’i-ri* ‘armpit’; CN *siyaka-tl* / *siaka-tl* ‘armpit’; TO *hik* ‘armpit’; PYP *he’ekado* ‘armpit’; NT *ikáádi* ‘arm, hand’ (remember \**s* > Tep *h/ø*; Tep final syllables are other morphemes).

UACV1967b \**sikuN* / \**sikkuN* (Num) ‘shoulder’: Mn *sikkuppī* ‘shoulder blade’; Sh *sikkumpī* ‘shoulder blade’. TSh *sikkum-pī* ‘shoulder blade’; Kw *sīgu-pī* ‘shoulder meat (of an animal)’; WMU *skumpī* ‘shoulder’; CU *siku-pī* ‘scapula bone’. So we have Num \**sikkuN-pī* ‘shoulder’; Tak \**sik(’)*a ‘shoulder’; Hp; Tb; Tep \**hika* ‘arm, armpit’; Trn/Cah \**sika* ‘arm, armpit’; Cr ‘armpit’; CN *si(y)aka-tl* ‘armpit’; and -*cikora* in Eu *macíkora* ‘shoulder blade’—a reflex in every branch and in most languages. Note also the clear nasal in WMU, TSh, and Sh. [CN *iya*; Tḡ *o*] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**57** A Hebrew word for ‘squirrel’ does not occur in the Hebrew Old Testament text; nonetheless, Arabic *singaab* ‘squirrel’ would correspond to Hebrew \**siggoob* ‘squirrel’ to which UA \**sikkuC* ‘squirrel’ corresponds perfectly (C means the doubling effect of an underlying consonant). All is as expected: the doubled consonant devoiced (-gg- > -kk-), the vowel rose from *o* > *u*, with final gemination: SP *sikkuC* ‘squirrel’; Ch *siku-ci* ‘squirrel’; Sr *hikaau-t* ‘chipmunk’ (Sr *h* < \**s*); other forms in SUA show a semantic shift to ‘mouse’ as squirrels, especially chipmunks and mice are all fast, darting little animals:

UACV2144b \**sikkuC* ‘squirrel’: Ch *sikú-ci* ‘squirrel’; SP *sikkuC*-(cci), *sikkuN*- ‘squirrel’; WMU *aqqá-skuči* ‘squirrel’ is a fairly nice preservation of PNum \**aNka-sikkuC-ci* (< red-squirrel).

UACV2143b \**ciku* ‘mouse’: Eu *zikúr/cikúr*; Yq *čikul*; My *čikkul*; Tr *čikuri*; Wr *ci’kuri*. Are these affrications of the above?

UACV2144a \**sikka(-wV)* ‘chipmunk’: BH.Cup \**sVká* ‘chipmunk’; HH.Cup *sVkáawət* ‘chipmunk’; M88-sī20; KH.NUA; KH/M-sī20; Jane Hill 2007-46: Cp *sekáwet*; Ca *síkawet* ‘tree squirrel’; Ls *šukáa-wu-t* ‘tree squirrel’; Sr *hikaawt* ‘chipmunk’; Ktn *hikaī-t* ‘flying squirrel’. Miller includes Hp *sakína* ‘brown squirrel’ with a question mark. Matching fairly well, however, is Tb *’išī’iga-l* ‘blue squirrel’. The non-descript V in HH.Cup’s reconstruction is a good choice for an unaccented V becoming the schwa-like possibilities, but in



Ca í is accented and is found in two of four, so let it be our best guess. Jane Hill (2007) notes Rio Grande Tewa *sá'wǣ* 'squirrel'. [Tak V's; i-a > Ls u-a] [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn]

**58** Hebrew *škr* 'be/become drunk'; Hebrew *šikoor* 'drunken'; Ethiopic *sakkaar* 'addicted to alcohol'; Hebrew *šekaar* 'intoxicating drink'; Arabic *sakira* 'be drunk'; Arabic *sikkiir* 'drunkard', and other Semitic forms, but note that UA *\*sikuri* < Hebrew *šikoor*, pl: *šikoor-iim* 'drunken':

UACV11 *\*sikuri* (> Tep *\*hikuri*) 'peyote, intoxicat-ed/ing': Fowler83: PUA *\*sikuri* 'peyote' (an intoxicant): NT *ikuli* 'peyote'; PYp *hikeri* 'peyote.' The Tep forms point to PUA *\*sikuli*, because PUA *\*s* > Tep *h/ø*. Therefore, Tr *hikuri*, Cr *ikuri*, and Wr *ihiguri*, all meaning 'peyote', may be borrowed from Tepiman. Eu *ba-hiskor* 'drinker' contains *hi-skor*, and Tr *sugí* 'tesgüino, bebida fermentada hecha de maíz [fermented drink made of corn]' also belongs with a vowel shift, which is common in Tr. Keeping in mind *\*s* > TO *h*, note Fowler's inclusion TO *hikugdam* 'saguaro cactus button'; TO *hikug* 'for a tree to drop its blossoms'; TO *hikug-t* 'to form fruit'.

Some NUA reflexes may belong as well: Tb(V) *šo'ogonhn-(it)~'ošogonh* 'be drunk'; Tb(M) *so'oonit~'oso'oon* 'be high on Indian tobacco, drunk'. Also note the same three consonants (s-k-l) in CN *meškal-li* 'mezcal, distilled alcoholic drink', though other etymologies for the CN term have been proposed. Note also AYq *sankora* 'drunk, n' (Hebrew *šakuur* 'drunk') with nasalisation of the velar and a vowel change; and PYp *suusekar* 'drunkard'—borrowed from a non-Tep language, since *\*s* > *h* in Tep. [loans; NUA *o* vs SUA *u*; \*L > NUA *n*; Tr V shift] [NUA: Tb; Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]

**59** Hebrew *šakuur* 'drunk' or Hebrew *šikoor* 'drunk' from Semitic *škr* 'drunk, intoxicating drink'; the UA forms either lost the first syllable (*\*šikur* > *\*kuru*) or are from the infinitive *škor*; Nahuatl *mescal* is an alcoholic drink made from agave and such cacti juices, and so some UA terms mean the plant vs the drink: UACV5 *\*kuru* 'mescal, agave': Fowler83-3:8; L.Son109 *\*kuru* 'clase de mezcal'; M88-ku25; KH/M-ku25: Wr *kuru*; Tr *guurú-(bari)* 'palmilla'; Tbr *kurú-t* 'sotol'. Cahitan(Cah) *ku'u* fits *\*kuru* well, since intervocalic liquids > -' in Cah: My *ku'u* 'mezcal, maguey'; Yq *kúu'u* 'mescal plant for making alcohol'; Eu *kuút/ku'út* 'cierto mezcal grande'. Fowler includes Wc *kiveri* 'lechuguilla, agave sp.', of which the first syllable may belong, and lists NT, which form I cannot find in Bascom's NT dictionary. Add Tb(M) *kuuk-t* 'mescal'; perhaps Tb(V) *kuya-t* 'yucca whipplei'. [r > y in Tb, r > ' in Cah, > ø in Eu] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Trn, Tbr, CrC]

**60** Arabic *maskir* 'alcoholic beverage'; Hebrew nouns are frequently formed by prefixing *ma-* or *mi-* to roots; in this case for an unattested *\*ma-škar* or *\*mi-škar*: PUA *\*maskal* 'mezcal, an alcoholic drink'; CN *meškal-li* 'mezcal, distilled alcoholic drink made by cooking the heart of the maguey plant'. This may be of Sem-p and the below of Sem-kw.

**61** The following SUA forms could easily derive from reductions of *\*maskal* in *-sk-* reducing to *-h-* or to *-k-* > *-h-*, and then the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel rising in anticipation of the alveolar (high front) consonant *-l*: UACV4 *\*maC(C)i* / *\*mahi* 'agave, mescal': M67-3 *\*ma* 'agave'; Fowler83; L.Son133 *\*mahi* 'mezcal'; M88-ma25 'agave, mescal'; KH/M-ma25: Eu *meit* 'mezcal ya tatemado' (see 'bury, cook underground'); Wr *mahí* 'agave, mezcal'; Tr *mé/ma-/mi-*, *méke* 'maguey, mezcal'; Tbr *mañi-t* 'maguey'; TO *ma'i* 'a pit roast'; Wc *maí* 'mezcal'; Cr *mwáih* / *mwéih* 'agave'; CN *me-tl* 'century plant, maguey, member of agave family'; NT *maí* 'maguey, mescal'; PYp *mai* 'corn, maguey, mescal'. From CN *meškal-li* 'mezcal, distilled alcoholic drink made by cooking the heart of the maguey plant', then *\*maskal* > *\*maki/meke/mahi* is a typical kind of reduction in UA for Sem-kw, with rising vowels before a liquid; and the *\*-ke* in Tr *meke* 'agave, various species' is a clear medial C. In any case, the variety of 2<sup>nd</sup> consonants—*h'/ø/x/k/* Tbr *ñ* (< *\*y*)—suggests a medial cluster. [clusters; medial *h'/ø/x/k/*; Tr *k* vs. *k* > *h/ø* elsewhere] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Opn, CrC, Azt]

## 2.6 Semitic-kw intervocalic *-r-* became *-y/-i-* in non-initial positions

Similarly, Proto-Mayan *\*r* > *y* in most of Q'anjobalan, Tzeltalan, Cholan, and Yucatecan (Campbell 1977, 97-100). Besides examples above (5 *baašaar*, 19 *brr*, 27 *brm*), additional examples of *-r-* > *y/i* follow:

**62** Hebrew *śrq / srq / śaaraq* ‘to comb, v’; Syriac *srq / səraq*, pf: *səraq*, impf: *-sruuq* ‘to comb hair or cotton cloth, card’, participle f.pl: *saarqaan* ‘to comb’:

**UACV518a** \**siyuk / \*ciyuk* ‘to comb, v’: Tb *siuk* ‘comb, v’; WMU *čiyu’wa-y / čii’wa-y* ‘comb (hair), vt/vrefl’; CU *čiyu’wey* ‘comb, vt’; Ca *suyavis* ‘comb, n’; Tb(V) *’iīšiuḡ- ~ šiuk* ‘comb one’s hair’; Tb(M) *’išyuugat ~ ’išyuuk* ‘comb one’s hair, v’; Tb(M) *šiuugišt* ‘comb’; Tb(H) *šiwk* ‘comb, v’; Ktn *šeahk* ‘to part hair, vt’. As for CU *č*, sometimes *ś / š / s > c*, especially in SNum; see SP at 10 above (Hebrew *šabber*) and SNum at 93 ‘head’ (Hebrew *roš*). Note also the nasal V in WMU relating to Sem-kw *q > ŋ*. [NUA: Tb, Num, Tak]

**63** Syriac *sirq-aa* ‘comb-the, n’; UA shows a denominalized verb from the noun, as it often does: **UACV518b** \**cika* ‘to comb, sweep’: CL.Azt30 \**cikaawaas* ‘comb’; L.Son31 \**cika* ‘peinarse’; M88-ci9; KH/M-ci9: Yq *čike* ‘peinarse’; Yq *hičike* ‘sweep’; Yq *hičikia* ‘broom’; My *čikke* ‘peinarse’; Eu *atecika* ‘peinarse’; Wr *ci’ihká* ‘comb, n (Lionett), note -’- where -r- is; Wr *ci’iká* ‘type of cactus (Miller)’; Tr(S) *tičí* ‘peinar’; Tr(S) *tičikari* ‘comb’; Tr *tičí, čiká, ti-čik*; Tbr *cikát*; CN *cikawaas-tli* ‘comb, n’; CN *cika-waas-wiaa* ‘comb hair, v’; Pl *ciikuwas* ‘comb’; Pl *ciikwastia* ‘to comb’; HN *cihwaas-tli* ‘comb’. To Miller’s collection, add the latter part of Cr *muaciki* ‘comb, n’ and possibly the *-cih-* segment of Cm *nacihtu’ye* ‘comb, hairbrush’; but most interesting is NT *šikiúúmai* ‘peinar con el chino’—a reflex among the Tep languages to match the rest, since NT *š < \*c*; NT *ikiúúmai* ‘peinar, vt’ appears to be an alternate form.

**UACV518c** \**hi-ciki* ‘sweep’; \**hi-ciki-ta* ‘broom’: Yq *hičike* ‘sweep’; AYq *hičike* ‘sweep’; AYq *hičikia* ‘broom’; My *hičike* ‘sweep, v’; My *hičikia* ‘broom’; and Wr *icikíla* ‘broom’. These have a *hi-* prefix. [reduction] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**64** Semitic *krr / krkr* ‘go in circles, dance’ (see variety of Semitic forms in Hebrew(KG) 2001, 300; and in Brown et al 1975, 502-3): SP *kiya* ‘have a round dance’. [NUA: Num]

**65** Arabic *mrr* ‘pass, go, walk’:

**UACV1009** \**miya* ‘go’: M67-197 \**miya/\*mi*; I.Num101 \**mi’a* ‘go, walk’; KH.NUA; M88-mi6 ‘go’; KH/M-mi6 \**miyaC* (AMR): Mn *miya* ‘go’; NP *mia* ‘go’; Sh *mia* ‘go’; Kw *miya* ‘come, go, walk, pl’; SP *mia* ‘travel, journey, vi pl’; CU *miyá-y* ‘move away from, be far from’; Cm *mia/mi’a*; TSh *mia/mi’a*; Tŋ *mii / myaa* ‘go’; Sr *mi/miaa*; Ktn *mi*; Tb *miyat~iimiy* ‘go’; Tb(H) *miyyat* ‘go, take leave’. Add WMU *-mi* ‘while going/moving, do s.th. while going, v’; Kw *mi* ‘move while V-ing’; Kw *miya* ‘go, walk’. [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

Besides *krr > \*kiya* (64) and *mrr > \*miya* (65) and *brr > \*kwiya* (19, 20), other examples of *-r- > y/i* follow.

**66** Hebrew *’mr / ’aamar*, impfv: *yoo-mar / yoo-mer* ‘say’

**UACV1880** \**umay / \*may* ‘say’: Kw *mee* ‘say’; Ch *mai* ‘say’; SP *mai / mwai / umai / ’imai* ‘say’; WMU *may / umway* ‘tell, say’ (past: *may-kye*); CU *may-ka* ‘say, tell, order’; Sh *me* ‘quotative particle’. WMU past tense suffix *-kye* (vs. *-qa*) shows that there is a final *-y* in the stem. [NUA: Num]

**67** Hebrew *šaaráfat* ‘skin disease’; Hebrew(BDB) *šaaráfat* ‘leprosy’:

CN *siyo-tl* ‘rash, scab, leprosy’ shows both *-r- > -y-*, and *ś > o*, and note the first unaccented vowel to the UA schwa equivalent *-i-* though originally long.

Other examples of **Hebrew \**-r-* > UA *-y-* / *-i-*** abound throughout.

## 2.7 Hebrew/Semitic non-dageshed b, d, and g generally devoiced to p, t, k:

Three Hebrew forms for ‘locust’ derive from the Semitic root *gb’/gby*: Hebrew **goob** ‘locust’; Hebrew **gebiim** ‘locust’ (BDB) occurs only in the plural, ‘swarm (of locusts)’ (KB); Hebrew **gobay** ‘locusts (a collective, swarm, multitude) (BDB)’, ‘swarm of locusts (KB):

68 Hebrew **gebiim** ‘locust’: SP qīvi ‘grasshopper’;

69 Hebrew **goob** ‘locust’ and Hebrew **gobay** ‘locust’: Eu okoboi ‘grasshopper’; Kw haakapayni-ži ‘grasshopper’; and ST kavak soi ‘grasshopper’. Eu and Kw both have an initial prefix much like the definite article haC- ‘the’ and assimilated in the Eu form. Semitic b and g devoiced to p and k. [NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, Tep]

70 Hebrew **dəgəl** ‘standard, banner’; Aramaic(J) digl-aa ‘carrying pole in the shape of a banner’; Wr **tekela** ‘stripe, hat band, pole at the bottom edge of the roof’. Hebrew d and g are devoiced to t and k. [idddua]

71 Hebrew **daayeq** ‘bulwark, siege-wall’; Assyrian dayyiqu ‘bulwark’; Syriac dawq-aa ‘watch-tower, look-out, wooden tower (for besieging a city)’; Syriac dwq ‘gaze (from far)’; Hopi **tīyīqa-** ‘wall’ in Hp tīyīqa-va ‘along the front of the wall’ (Seaman); Hp tīyīqa-nawit ‘along the front of the wall’ (Voegelin); Hopi tīyqa ‘projecting point of a mesa, external corner of a structure’ (Hill). The latter Hopi dialect lost a vowel, but the idea of a wall or high barrier / overlook is in both Semitic and UA.

72 Hebrew **dqr** / **daaqar** ‘pierce, v’; Hebrew **dəqer** ‘sharp tool or weapon, pick, mattock’; Syriac dqr / dəqar ‘dig, break, pierce through’; UACV615 \***tika** / \***tiki** / \***tikiy** ‘cut, stick in’: Sapir; VVH113 \*tī<sub>s</sub>kī/\*tī<sub>s</sub>ka ‘to cut’; M67-117 \*tek ‘cut’; I.Num240 \*tek ‘cut’; L.Son289 \*tik-so ‘picar’; CL.Azt218 \*\*tik- ‘cut’; M88-ti23; KH/M-ti23 \*tikat: TO -čk/-čik ‘pointed object’; TO cikiđ ‘vaccinate, put down a stake’ (< \*tikiy); Hp tiki ‘cut’; CN teki ‘to cut s.th.’; Tb tidiha, perfective: ʾitidiha ‘be cut up’; SP tixanni ‘to cut up meat’; Mn tihee’na ‘scissors’; Sh tikoā ‘scissors’; latter part of NT ikiitiki ‘cortar [cut]’; Eu mé-teka ‘cut with an axe’ (Eu mé-teki pret); Eu síteka ‘cortar’ (Eu sí-teki pret); Wr & Tr me’te-. Sr tihtii ‘to work’ and Ktn tik ‘break ground with a stick’ and CN teki-panoaa ‘work’ show this stem (tikiy ‘cut’) also as work, tilling, or agricultural digging/cutting the ground, which compound see at 827. TO cikpan ‘work, v/n’ may be a Nahuatl loan. SP forms differ in SP tikka ‘eat’ vs. SP tīganni ‘cut up meat’; Kw tihani ‘dry meat, jerky, butcher’; WMU tiānni ‘butcher animal, cut up meat, skin (an animal), vt’; CU tiāni ‘skin, vt’. Note -q- in Ls, UA \*tīqi ‘sting, stick’: Ls tóqi- (< \*tīqi-) ‘to sting, of an insect’; Ktn cik ‘stick, stab, vt’ (palatalized t- > c-) vs. Ktn tik above. [\*-q- > Tb -h-, Ls -q-] [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]

73 Akkadian(KB) dašuu > diišu ‘grass, spring’; Hebrew **dəšē** ‘grass, vegetation’; UA \***tīsi** ‘grass, weeds, meadow’: Hp **tīsi** ‘weeds in a cultivated field’; Hp tīsi-ti ‘become weedy’; Ch **tīsi-vi** ‘grass’; Kw pa-rasii-vi ‘meadow, grass’. [NUA: Hp, Num]

In the next two items, the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant Hebrew -b- devoices to PUA \*-p-, then to -v- or -b- between vowels.

74 Hebrew **təbuu’at** ‘produce, yield from the land, literally: what comes in (of harvest, to be stored)’; UACV1630 \***tīpi’at** / \***tīpaC** / \***tīpat** (AMR) ‘pinion nut, conifer sp.’: BH.Cup \*tevat ‘conifer sp.’; M67-319 \*tepa ‘pine nut’; HH.Cup təvat ‘conifer sp.’; I.Num245 \*tīpah ‘pine nut’; Fowler 83; KH.NUA; M88-ti29 ‘pine nut’; M88-ti30 ‘conifer sp.’; AMR1993a \*tīpat; KH/M-ti29 \*tīpat (AMR): Munro.Cup29 \*təvát / təvé-t / təvát-t ‘conifer sp.’: Ls tóva-t / tuvát-t ‘pinyon’; Cp təvə-t; Ca téva-t ‘pinyon’. Tη tová’at piñon; Mn tībá’; NP tība ddabbui; NP tīpape ‘pinenut tree’; TSh tīpaC ‘pine nut’; Sh tīpa/tīpaC; Kw tīva-ci; Kw tīva-pī ‘single-leaf pinyon’; SP tīv<sup>w</sup>aC-ppī ‘pinion’; SP tīva-ci ‘pine nut’; CU tīviá-ci ‘nut, kernel’; Hp tīva ‘pinion nut’; Hp tīve’e ‘pinion pine’; Tb tība-t; Tb(H) tīpatt ‘pine nuts’; Sr tīvat ‘pinion’; Ktn tīva-t; Kw tīpa-ppī ‘single-leaf pinyon’. Add Op tevoō goko ‘spruce, fir’, literally ‘pine nut (of) the spruce/fir’ like the Semitic genitive construct. Miller lists HN tepeewa ‘to broadcast seeds’; HN tepeewi ‘to fall (seeds, leaves, etc.)’. Note the glottal stop in the same position for Mn tībá’; Tη tová’at; and Hp tīve’e. Also the final gemination in Num and final -t in Tak and Tb, all align with that glottal stop. Note the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel u/o of CU tīviá (< \*tīvu’a, since often Num i < \*u) and Op tevoō with others assimilating the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> (təvu’a > təva’a). All such suggests the reconstruction \*tīpi’at / \*tīpu’at. [\*i > Ls o; Tη o] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Op, Azt]

75 Hebrew **teebeel** ‘firm (dry) land’; Assyrian **taabal** ‘land’:

**UACV757a \*tīpaC / \*tīpal** ‘earth’: Sapir; I.Num247 \*tīpi(h) ‘earth, land, ground’; M88-tī36; KH.NUA; KH/M-tī36: Mn tīpi; NP tiipi ‘earth, land’ (vs. NP tībbi ‘rock, stone’); Sh tīpia ‘home country, land, property’; Kw tii-pī (< \*tiip-pī) ‘dirt, earth, world, year’ (vs. Kw tī-bi/tī(m)bi/ tī-bi-ci ‘stone, rock, earth’); SP tīviC-/tīvi-ppi ‘earth, ground, country’ (vs. SP tīmpiC ‘stone, rock’); CU tīvī-pī ‘earth, world, soil, dirt, ground, country, land’ (vs. CU tīpīy-ci / tīpī (< \*tīppi) ‘stone’); Tḡ tovā-r ‘tierra’; Ls tóova-l ‘white clay’; Ls tóvki-š ‘storage cave’ (earth-house?); Sr tīiva-ṭ ‘earth, ground, land, world, country, floor, dirt, dust’; Ktn tīva-č ‘dirt’.

Add Op tevee-t / teva ‘earth’ (Shaul 2020); Ch(L) tīvi-pī ‘earth, land, territory’; Nv tīparka ‘valley’. Though Miller often put together Numic words for ‘earth’ vs. ‘rock’ (603), they differ in both the middle consonant and the final consonant, so some are included for contrast. For example, \*tīmī-pī ‘rock’ > tī(N)pī has SNum showing nasalization (at times medial -m-) or gemination (a definite medial cluster), while \*tīviC- (< \*tīpaC) ‘earth’ shows no nasalization and no medial cluster and thus the usual spirantization. In SUA, the distinction is less discernible. Miller includes CN tepee-tl ‘hill, mountain, precipice’ which is listed at \*tīpī ‘long, tall’ in this work. Cf. rock and tall. Sapir also ties the above \*tīpaC ‘earth’ with \*tīpī ‘mountain’, but Ls tavu- ‘long’ (97) vs. the above Ls term and differing semantics (earth vs. long) and a final consonant in \*tīpaC all suggest differing stems. That the 2<sup>nd</sup> V is *a* in Ls, Tḡ, Ktn is strength enough to reconstruct it, as any V > *i*/*i* is common in UA unstressed syllables. This may be Sem-p as -l raises not the V.

**UACV757b \*tal** (< \*tīpal) ‘land, earth’: CL.Azt 96 \*tlaal ‘land, earth’; 130 tlaalia ‘put, place’; M88-ta39; KH/M-ta39: CN tlaal-li; Pl taal; Po tal; T tloili; Z taal. The frequent loss of \*-p- in Azt and Azt’s anticipation of following vowels ties \*tīpaC ‘earth’ with Azt \*taal ‘earth’: \*tVpal > tapal > taal (Azt).

**UACV773 \*tīpoN** ‘flat land’: Mn tībóópī ‘countryside’; TSh tupoompi/tupoon ‘desert, flatland’.

[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Azt]

76 Hebrew **’aadaam** ‘man’:

**UACV1419 \*otami** (< \*wVtam?) ‘man, person’: B.Tep325 \*’o’odahami ‘person, Indian’; KH/M-’o29: TO o’ođham ‘person, tribesman’; NT óódami ‘person, people’; ST odam / o’dam ‘Tepehuano, indigenous person’. Add TSh otammani / otammanna ‘old man’. If borrowed from Otomi, it came far north. In Bascom’s reconstruction of Tep \*’o’odahami ‘person, Indian’, the extra syllable seems solely based on TO dh, while all others show only d, and even TO shows no vowel between. Note also -wetam in Cp mulu’-wetam ‘first people’ and the first half of Ch(L) ’ontokwavī ‘male cousin’. These may belong to Semitic-p rather than Semitic-kw. Tḡ woróyt, pl: worórom ‘man’. However, note both here and at ‘believe’ the loss of intervocalic -m- in Tḡ and clear rounding for initial glottal stop. What of Tb(H) waattam ‘soldiers’ and Hopi wátamri ‘good-for-nothing, stupid one’? Perhaps of a separate set are Sr wīṭi’|ṣṭ ‘man’ pl: wīṭi’ham; Sr wīṭi’vī’ṭ ‘old man’ pl: wīhwti’vī’m and Ktn wīčīha-č ‘old man’, listed at \*wīti of UACV1420, as M88 and KH/M-wī10 have the Sr and Tḡ forms. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep]

77 Hebrew **’dm** ‘be red’; Hebrew **’aadom** ‘reddish-(brown)’; Arabic **’aduma / ’adima** ‘be tawny’;

Samaritan **’adem** ‘red’; Hebrew **’odem** ‘precious stone, redness’:

**UACV312 \*oNtam / \*o(N)ta(N/C)** ‘brown’: NP oṭī-ggwiddadī ‘sorrel colored, brown’; TSh ontīmpī(tīn) ‘brown’; Sh(M) ontīn ‘brown’; Sh(C) onton ‘brown, orange’; Kw odo- / ondo- ‘brown’; Ch ontó-ka ‘brown’; Ch(L) ontokwarīmī ‘woman’s name referring to brownish color of hair’; SP ontoC ‘reddish brown’; WMU *attoC-* in *attó-qqwa-rū / attóqqwarū* ‘brown’; CU ’ötó-qwa-rī ‘brown’; TO o’am ‘brown, orange, yellow’. The -t- (vs. r/d) of CU and WMU, Kw, NP, and SP suggest a cluster, besides all the other forms showing a cluster \*-Nt-. Nasalizations or nasal anticipation, such as ’adam > ’andam, occurs periodically in Semitic dialects as well. [-(N)t- > ’ in TO] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

## 2.8 Semitic Voiceless Pharyngeal **ħ** > \*hu/ho in Uto-Aztecan in initial position

Hebrew’s voiceless pharyngeal fricative **ħ** is reflected by PUA **\*hu/ho** in initial position. Sometimes it lacks the h, and only an initial round vowel (o/u/w) is apparent. Similarly, in non-initial positions, **ħ** is regularly reflected by the round vowels **o/u** or the semi-vowel **w**.

**78** Hebrew **ḥeš** / **ḥeši** ‘arrow’; Arabic **ḥazwat** / **ḥuzwat** ‘arrow’; Aramaic **ḥety-aa** / **ḥet-aa** ‘arrow-the’:  
**UACV63** \***huc** / \***huC** ‘arrow’: Sapir; VVH78 \***hu** ‘arrow’; BH.Cup \***hu** ‘arrow’; B.Tep334 \*’**u**’**ui** ‘arrow’;  
M67-9 \***hu** ‘arrow’ and 474 \***hu** ‘wood’; I.Num35 \***huuh** ‘arrow’; L.Son64; M88-hu3 \***hu**; Munro.Cup6  
\***huu-la** ‘arrow’; M88-hu3; KH.NUA; KH/M-hu3 (\***hu** AMR) and hu22: Ls **húu-la**; Sr **hooṭ**; Hopi **hoo-hĩ**;  
Hopi **hooṅavi** ‘arrow material’; Tb **paa-huu-l** ‘war arrow’; Kw **huuwa-zi**; Ch **húu**; SP **uu** / **u**; WMU **uu** / **úu** /  
**huu**; CU **úu**; Yq **hú’iwa**; My **hú’iwa**; Wr **úa**; Tr **wa**. Ken Hill (KH/M) includes several other viable forms at  
hu3: NP **huwa** / **howama**; WSh **hua** ‘bow’; WSh **huukkuna** ‘quiver, lit. arrow bag’; WSh **hua’aiti** /  
**hoa’aiti/huu’aiti** ‘bow and arrow’; Tṅ **hur**; Tb **uut** ‘stick, pole’; Eu **humát** ‘quiver’; and others yet at hu22:  
NT **úúši** ‘tree’; ST **uuš** ‘tree’; NP **huuppi** ‘stick’; Sh **huuC** ‘wood’; Sh **huuppin** ‘stick, wood, log’. Add  
Ktn **hu-č** ‘arrow’; and Tepiman: Nv **’u’u**; PYP **u’u**; NT **úyi** / **ui** / **úuyi**; ST **’u’uu**. A few forms (like TO **uuš**;  
NT **úúši** ‘tree’; ST **uuš** ‘tree’) show \***c** as a second consonant, not likely a residual absolutive suffix in  
Tepiman. Munro and Hill both note Ca **húya-l** ‘arrow’ and Cp **húya-l** ‘arrow’ in contrast to Cp **hú-l**  
‘arrowhead’ and Ca **hú-l** ‘bow and arrow’. The \***huya-** forms fit \***huca** (like TO **uuš**), since \***-c-** > **-y-** in NUA  
and \***-c-** > **-s-** in TO. And most UA languages have an initial \***hu...** form for ‘arrow’ and another initial  
\***hu...** form for ‘wood, stick’. But the two lists show \***hu** and \***huc** forms on both sides, again suggesting a  
need for more work. Where do Yq **húya** ‘árbol, monte’ and My **huyya** ‘árbol, monte’ fit? CNum \***huuppi**  
‘tree’ (< \***huuC-pi**) may also derive from this stem. The strength of the initial pharyngeal overpowers the  
adjacent vowel—**ḥee** > **hu**—which is usual in UA. Cr and Wc **ī** < \***u**, so they also show \***u**. Reflexes of UA  
\***huc** appear in every branch except Azt, CrC, and Tbr. [\***c** > **s** in Tep, > **y** in NUA]  
[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]

**79** Hebrew **ḥmr** ‘to pitch’ [i.e., cover with pitch]; Hebrew(BDB) **ḥmr** ‘to cover or smear’ (with s.th.);  
Arabic **ḥammar** ‘to color or dye red’:  
**UACV2381a** \***humay** / \***humar** ‘smear, spread, rub, paint’: Ca **húmay** ‘smear, paint, vt’; Cp **hume-** / **hum-**  
**ine** ‘spread a liquid or s.th. fine like sugar’; Cp **hume-yaxe** ‘be spread out’; Tr **na’oma** ‘erase, cloud up’ (with  
**na-** prefix); PYP **huhul** ‘rub, paint’ (if \***humal** > **huml** > **hul**); and perhaps Wc **-maa** in **šúurí.maa** ‘smear  
blood’ (Wc **šuu** ‘red’). The Cah languages compound \***pa-** ‘water’ with this for ‘swim’ perhaps in ‘water-  
spread/be prone’: My **bahume** ‘nadar’; AYq **vahume** ‘swim’. [r > y] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, CrC, Tep]

**80** Hebrew **ḥpp** ‘to rub off, wash’; Arabic **ḥaffa** (< \***ḥappa**) ‘to remove hair’:  
**UACV2494** \***up(p)a** ‘bathe, wash, rub’: M67-27 \***u-pa**; L.Son25 \*’**upa**; M88-’**u2**; KH/M-’**u2**: Op **uva**;  
Eu **úva/huba**; Yq **úba**; My **úbba**; Wr **u’upá**; Tr **úba**; Cr **-i’iwá**; Wc **-’iiva/’iīya**. As ‘rub’ and ‘wash’ often  
relate, Ktn **hīpīpk** ‘rub buckskin between hands to soften it’ may belong, and Tb **hip** ‘rub, massage’.  
The **-wpa** of Hp **màwpa** ‘rub along the length of, stroke with the palm of the hands’ < **ma** ‘hand’ + \***huppa**  
‘rub’. Due to \***-pp-** > **-pp-**, this belongs with the Semitic-p infusion. [\***-p-** > **-w/v-** in CrC]  
[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC; NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb]

**81** Hebrew **ḥaabber** ‘companion’; Hebrew **ḥabéret** ‘marriage companion (feminine), wife’:  
**UACV2572a** \***hupi** ‘woman, wife’: VVH79 \***hu<sub>s</sub>pi**; B.Tep332 \*’**uvi** ‘girl, female’; M67-471 \***hupi**; I.Num45  
\***hīpi** ‘woman’; M88-hu4 ‘woman’; L.Son68 \***hupi** ‘to marry’; KH/M-hu4: TO **uwi** ‘female, woman’; Nv **ubbi**;  
NT **úvi** ‘female, girl’; ST **’uvii** ‘female, girl’; Eu **hoít** ‘mujer de edad, aunque no muy vieja [mature woman]’;  
Eu **huhwa** ‘mujer [woman], esposa [wife]’; Op **huvi** ‘woman’; My **húubi** ‘esposa’; Yq **húubi** ‘woman, wife’;  
Wr **upí** ‘wife’; Tr **upí** ‘wife’; Cr **iita’a** ‘woman’; Cr **nya-’ih** ‘my wife’; Wc **’iīya** ‘woman, wife’; Tb **hu’ubanah**  
‘widow, widower’. Usual in Cr **iita’a** ‘woman’ are PUA \***u** > Cr **ī** and loss of \***-p-**: \***hupi** > (h)**īi-**, and  
similarly for Wc. Numic often changes \***u** > **ī**, so Numic \***hīpi** ‘woman’ is cognate also:  
**UACV2572b** Numic \***hīpi** ‘woman’: I.Num45 \***hīpi** ‘woman’; M88-hī8; KH/M- hī8: Mn **hīipi’**;  
TSh **hīpicci(cci)**; Sh **hīpi**; Cm **hībi**. [Cr, Num \***u** > **ī**; p > **ø** in CrC]  
[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]

**82** Syriac **ḥz**’ / **ḥzy** ‘see, perceive, notice’; Hebrew **ḥzy** / **ḥzaa** ‘see, behold (originally ‘look’ says Baudissin  
in KB); all Aramaic dialects have this most common word for ‘see’:  
**UACV1915** \***husi** / \***h<sup>w</sup>asi** ‘look, peek at’: Kw **huzi’a** ‘look, peek’ and NP **wazipunni** ‘peek at’; Kw variants  
–Kw **wazi’a** / **huzi’a** / **huziya** (< \***huci’a**/\***huciya**) ‘look, peek’—are interesting on a number of levels. First,  
why Kw **z**? (< PUA \***s** or \***c**?), yet interestingly Kw **z** matches exactly Semitic **z**. Second, Aramaic dialects

have both forms  $\text{h}z' / \text{h}zy$ , varying in the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant, and Kw shows both variants in the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant, though probably  $-'$  was lost to produce an excrescent  $-y$ . Third, while this verb generally came to mean 'see', some authorities suggest it originally meant 'look', which is its meaning in Kw. [NUA: Num]

**83** Hebrew  $\text{šrh}$  /  $\text{šaraḥ}$  'shout'; Akkadian  $\text{šaraaxu}$  'weep, cry, complain, sing a lamentation'; ESArabic  $\text{šrx}$ ; Ethiopic  $\text{šarxa}$  'shout, cry out, v'; Sem-p would have  $x$ , so UA rounding of pharyngeal is Sem-kw: UACV1972 \***cayaw** 'shout': Tb  $\text{caayaau}$  'yell'; Tb(H)  $\text{caayaaw}$  'yell'; My  $\text{čaaye} / \text{cáyye}$  'gritar'; Yq  $\text{čáe}/\text{čái}$ , Tbr  $\text{cai}/\text{ca-}$  'gritar'. Perhaps Hp(S)  $\text{caalawi}$  'announce, call out' as some  $y < \text{liquids}$ . [ $l > y?$ ] [SUA: Cah, Tbr; NUA: Tb, Hp]

**84** Hebrew  $\text{šmh}$ , impfv: **yi-šmah** ( $< *ya-\text{d}maḥ$ ) 'sprout'  $>$  UA \***icmo** 'sprout': CN  $\text{icmo-liini}$  'sprout, grow'.

**85** Hebrew  $\text{šlh}$  'rush, v'  $>$  UA \***coloa** 'flee, run': CN  $\text{coloa}$  'flee, run swiftly'. [Azt]

Many other examples of pharyngeal  $\text{h}$  are throughout the data.

## 2.9 The Semitic Voiced Pharyngeal Fricative $\text{ʕ}$ ( $\text{ʕayn}$ ) Reflects Rounding w/o/u

The voiced pharyngeal fricative, the Semitic  $\text{ʕ}$  (**ʕayn**), emerges as a round vowel or semi-vowel—w/o/u—or as a diphthong—oa. I have heard native speakers of Arabic pronounce the pharyngeal  $\text{ʕ}$  with enough rounding to sound like  $w$ , while the back or root of the tongue is doing its pharyngeal at the pharynx. Also relevant to this sound change is that when the Greek alphabet was being developed from the Phoenician / Hebrew alphabet, the Semitic consonants seemingly nearest the vowel were used for the Greek vowels: glottal stop or 'aleph  $>$   $a$ ,  $h$  or  $he >$   $e$ ,  $y >$   $i$ , and  $\text{ʕ} >$   $o$  (Goldenberg, 35). So the symbol for the Semitic consonant pharyngeal  $\text{ʕ}$  ( $\text{ʕayn}$ ) is  $-O-$  and became the Greek vowel  $o$ , which suggests there was rounding associated with the ancient Semitic  $\text{ʕ}$ . Round vowels also share low tonality with the pharyngeal  $\text{ʕ}$ .

**86** Hebrew  $\text{šʕq} / \text{šaʕeq}$  'shout, call out, cry (out)'; Hebrew \* $\text{šaʕaq}$  'scream, n'; Hebrew **šəʕaaqaa** 'yelling, screaming, call for help, n'; Arabic  $\text{šʕq}$  'thunder, bellow (of bull)'; UA again shows a denominalized verb: UACV605 \***coaka** ( $< *cuwaka$ ) 'cry': M67-114 \***coak**; B.Tep204a \***suakai** 'to cry, sg'; B.Tep205a \***suaha**'ni 'to cry, pl'; CL.Azt40 \***čooka**; CL.Azt304 \***coaka**; M88-co10 'to cry'; KH/M-co10: TO **šoak**; LP **šoaki**; PYp **soakim**; NT **súákai**; ST **suak**; Wc **cua-/cuaka**; CN **čooka**; Pl **čuuka**; HN **čooka** 'weep'; HN **čook-ilia** 'weep for s.o.' Ls **čááqa** 'weep, cry' assimilated the first  $o$  to the following  $a$ 's (\***coak(a)**  $>$  \***caaka**), while the Aztec languages (CN, Pl, HN) assimilated the 2<sup>nd</sup> V to the 1<sup>st</sup>: \***coaka**  $>$  **cooka**. [ $*oa > oo/aa$ ; no  $w$  in Tep] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Azt]

**87** Arabic  $\text{ʕgz} / \text{ʕagaza}$  'to age, grow old (of women)':

Tr **wegaca-** 'grow old (of women)'. Identical! Not only grow old, but specifically grow old of women in both Arabic and Tarahumara:  $\text{ʕ} > w$ ,  $g > g$ , and  $z > c$ ; initial  $wV > o$  occurred in the following noun: UACV2571 \***okaci** '(old) woman': Sapir; B.Tep319 \***okisi** 'woman, little girl'; CL.Azt104 \***okič** 'male'; M67-473 \***ok** 'woman'; M88-'o8 'woman' and o14; KH/M-'o8 and 'o14: TO **oks** 'adult female, lady, woman'; LP(B) **okš**; Nv **oksi**; PYp **okasi**; NT **okíši**; ST(B) **o'okiš** ST(W) **o'kiš** 'aunt, mos'; Eu **hokíci** 'muchachita'; Op (')**oki** 'woman'; Cr **úuka** 'women'; Wc **úúkáá** 'woman'. Note NT **oóki** 'woman'; NT **ookímuturui** 'hacerse anciana [become old (of a woman)]'; NT **ookíši** 'niña'. CN **okič-tli** and other Azt forms also belong. Tepiman \***okisi** 'woman' and CN **okič-** 'man' both  $<$  PUA \***okic**; and if we consider the Tr form whose 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel ( $a$ ) matches the PYp, Cr, and Wc forms \***oka** 'woman', then Tr **wegaca-** 'grow old (of women)' provides the semantic key to these similar forms for men and women, such that \***okac** originally meant 'old woman' then 'old one, old man' in some languages. English 'guy' is now changing from masculine to genderless and 'girl' went from genderless to feminine (Stewart and Vaillette 2001, 410), so semantic gender changes happen too and cost nothing. I've heard men called 'woman!' at politically incorrect construction sites where attempts to highlight ineptitude at the male-dominated occupation revealed a lack of sensitivity that surely permeates all construction crews by now, though perhaps not all of UA prehistory aligned with such sensitivities. Note 2<sup>nd</sup> V ( $a$  vs.  $i$ ) in PYp **okasi** 'father's older sister', Cr, Wc, and NT **ookáli** 'father's older sister' ( $-li$  is non-stem) and Tr **wegaca**, in three branches, no less, all of which

suggest *a* as the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel: \*okaci > okVci 'woman'. Assimilation \*a-i > i-i is natural, especially with an alveopalatal between the two. No chance of \*i-i > a-i for the 5 languages showing *a*. [\*a-i > i-i in CN, most Tep, Opatan] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**88** Hebrew *šaluqaa* 'leech'; Arabic *šalaq* 'leeches'; Arabic *šalaqat* 'leech';

Syriac *šalqaa*, *šilaq-taa* 'leech, anything clammy or sticky, n.f.' from the root šlq 'stick, adhere';

UA \*walaka 'snail' is a perfect phonological match, and leeches resemble snails in slimy adhering texture:

UACV2057 \*walaka 'snail': CN wilaka 'caracol de monte [snail sp.]'; Tr warákoara 'caracol [snail]';

Ls muvílaqa 'snail'; Wr nalágeloci 'snail'; Tr narákuri 'snail'. NUA liquids (Ls) and SUA liquids; Ls and Wr

add prefixes eliminating initial w-. Wr alágaloci 'snail'; and Tr narakuri show V transposition; the latter's

vowels match a Hebrew fem pl: šalaqoot(ee). [iddduua] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Azt]

**89** Hebrew *šeešaar* 'hair'; Arabic *šašr* / *šašar* 'hair'; Arabic *šašira* 'be hairy':

UACV1106a \*suwi 'body hair': B.Tep70 \*hogi 'hide'; M67-211 \*suwi 'hair'; M88-su18 'hair'; KH/M-su18: LP hog 'hide'; NT ógi 'hide'; ST ho' 'fur, leather'; PYp hogi 'hide, skin, leather'; Tb šuuwi-l 'pubic hair'; Hp sowícmi 'facial hair'; NP musui 'beard' (< \*mu-suwi 'mouth/face hair'); Ls suuwi-l 'pubic hair, body hair'; TSh suwii 'pubic hair'. Tepiman \*hogi 'hide' matches NUA \*suwi 'hair' consonant-wise, whether u or o; I side with \*u, like Miller and Hill. The close but not perfect match in o vs. u may be due to the influence of \*-w-. [NUA u; SUA o]

UACV1106b \*suhi: Mn suhi 'body hair' and Ktn suhi-c 'genital hair' show \*suhi.

UACV1106c \*soho > \*soo 'armpit (hair)' (in SNum): Kw soo-rokwa 'armpit'; Ch(L) sohorah 'post with U-shaped fork, notched post'; SP soor'oa 'armpit'; WMU kiyæ-söö-vü (lit: armpit hair); aá-söö-vü 'underarm, armpit (lit: arm hair), n'. Note that Ch(L) sohorah, Mn suhi 'body hair', and Ktn suhi-c 'genital hair' all show medial -h-. What of Tb šuu'itt 'jackrabbit' and Tb šuuwi-l 'pubic hair'?

[NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp, Num; SUA: Tep]

**90** Hebrew *našar* 'boy':

UACV1426 \*nowa 'son': M67-389 \*no 'small'; L.Son177 \*no 'hijo del padre'; M88-no5; KH/M-no5:

Eu nówat; Tr no/nowa 'hijo [son]', pl: hinowa; Tr nowi 'have a son'; Wr nolá/noló 'son'; the two Wr forms align with fossilized vowel suffixes: *našar-á* 'son-her, her son' and *našar-ó* 'son-his, his son.' [Sem-p]

[SUA: Trn, Opn]

**91** Hebrew *našara(t)* (< \*našrat) 'girl':

UACV2586a \*nawic 'girl': M67-389 \*no 'small'; BH.Cup \*nawí girl; HH.Cup nawíi girl; Munro.Cup49

\*nawi-l/\*nawii-l 'girl, young woman'; M88-na21; KH.NUA; KH/M-na21: TSh nawi 'girl'; Tb 'aanaawiš-t

'girl'; Cp nawí-l' 'young lady'; Cp nawíšma-l 'girl'; Cp nawíka-t 'woman'; Ca náwišmal 'girl'; Ls nawí-l

'young woman'; Ls nawí-t-ma-l 'girl'; Sr naašt 'girl'; Wr nu'iti /nu'inti 'little, child'. Some terms suggest a

final -C (Tb, Cp, Ca). [r > š adjacent to voiceless C; Fem -aa/-at > -i, as at 'back' (7)]

[NUA: Tak, Tb, Num; SUA: Trn]

**92** 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':

UACV1627a \*yuyi 'evergreen sp.': BH.Cup \*yúyila 'spruce'; M88-yu16; Fowler83; Munro.Cup29 \*yúyila

'conifer sp.'; KH.NUA; KH/M-yu16: Cp yúyil-y 'fir'; Ca yúyil-y 'California juniper'; Ls yúy-la 'spruce';

Sr yuhaaṭ 'pine'.

UACV1627b \*yuwiN (> \*yuviN) 'ponderosa pine': KHM/06-yu16: Kw yívi-bí 'ponderosa or yellow pine';

Ch yuvimpí 'pine sp.'; CU yívi-pí 'pine tree'. I agree with M88 and KH/M that Tak \*yuy/\*yuwi(l) and

SNum \*yuviN are related, perhaps both deriving from s.th. like \*yuwiN, for \*w would be quite hidden in the

environments of Tak, and if so, then w > v happens enough in Num. In addition, both show a final

consonant. Ls absolutive suffix -la suggests a final liquid or nasal and Numic suffixes also suggest a final

nasal or liquid. [w > v; Kw ĩ < u] [NUA: Tak, Num]

Note three terms—šr (89), nr (91), yr (92)—all have 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants (-šr), and in UA are reflected as -šr > -uwi/-uy, while 90 may be of Sem-p in which final -ar > -a, instead of Sem-kw's -ar > -i.

## 2.10 Hebrew r- > UA \*t- in Initial Position

**Semitic r- > UA \*t-** in **initial position** (at beginning of word), but in Tr it remained Tr *r*. This change is similar to changes in other language families as well. Proto-Mayan initial \*r became t in four Mamean languages: Ixil, Awakateko, Mam, and Teco (Purse and Campbell, 181). Wr(MM) re'te as a reduplication of re' - is similar to r > t, whether initial position or after a glottal stop.

**93** Hebrew **rooš** 'head' (< \*ra'sš); Arabic **ra's-** 'head':

**UACV1157** SNum **\*toCci** 'head': Kw toci-vü; Ch toci; SP tocci-vi; WMU čihčči-vi 'head'; CU tüči-vi. As in Kw pika-roci 'bald', the -rusi of Tr po-rusi 'bald' likely belongs also. Notice \*o > i in CU's unaccented syllable and \*o > i with palatalization of \*t > č in WMU. All show an underlying doubled consonant; otherwise, we would see a lone \*-t- > -r-, or \*-c- > -y-. For \*s > UA \*c: an affricate (c / ts) is a stop (t) plus fricative (s); in UA a glottal stop (a stop) plus s (a fricative) often yields the affricate c: thus \*-š- > -cc-. [NUA: SNum; SUA: Trn]

**94** Hebrew **ršš** 'act wickedly, be guilty':

**UACV101** **\*tasawa** 'be/do bad': Tb tisi 'be bad'; Tb tisawiin 'cause s.o. evil'; Tb(H) tiššawiinat 'cause one evil'; Tb(H) tišwan 'bad'; Tb(H) tiššit 'be bad, ill'; Tr rasewa 'fornicate'; Tr rasewa-me 'permissive person'; SP -rišsu'ai-na'ai 'not heeding, paying no attention'. Tr is the only UA language that retains initial r as r (SP -r- is non-initial). [SUA: Trn; NUA: Tb, Num]

**95** Hebrew **rbb** / **\*rabba** 'shoot (an arrow)':

SP toŋkwa 'snap (of bow)'; SP toŋkwa-qi 'shoot';

**UACV2310** **\*tikwa** 'hit by striking or throwing, shoot (arrow)': TSh tikwan 'hit, strike, vi'; Sh tikwa 'hit, knock down, vt'; Cm tikwiri 'shoot, propel (arrow)'; Cm tahtikwari 'throw at, vt'.

**UA** **\*tikwi** 'throw (away)': Ls tokwi 'throw away' (Ls o < \*i, and Cp/Ca e < \*i); Cp tekwe 'throw away'; Cp tekwe-le 'brush off'; Ca tekwe 'be shaken off/down'. [NUA: Num, Tak]

**96** Hebrew **rby** / **raabaa** 'shoot (bow and arrow)'; Aramaic(J) **raba** / **rabee(y)** 'to stretch the bow string, shoot'; Hebrew participle robe 'archer'; the difference between 95 rbb/rabba and 96 rby/rabaa is that the \*-bb- > -kw- in 95, but a single non-dageshed \*-b- > -p/v- in 96:

**UACV2309a** **\*tapa** / **\*tapi** 'throw, hit': Mn tabi 'strike'; Mn tabipa'i 'strike repeatedly'; NP tabi 'throw'; NP titabi'hu 'throw, vi'; Kw tavi 'throw, hit'; Kw ta-tavi 'throw, hit, redupl'; Ch tiravi 'throw down';

SP tiravi 'throw'; SP tavi 'hit by throwing'; CU tiravi 'throw at, vt'; Eu mütava 'hit'; CN tepiiniaa 'punch, hit, strike, vt'. Below \*tapa > \*tipa due to stress, and in SUA, consonants harmonize \*tipa to \*pipa / papa:

**UACV2309b** **\*tipa** 'throw, hit': Hp tiiva 'throw'; Hp tahtiva 'hit with thrown obj'; Hp tatatipna 'throw stone';

**UACV2309c** **\*pipa** / **\*papa** 'throw' (< \*tipa): Yq hibéeba 'hit, throw'; AYq veeva 'hit, strike'; AYq hiveva

'hit, strike it'; My béeba-k 'throw out'; Wr paba-ni 'throw pl objs'; Wr ihpaba-ni 'throw, drop pl objs';

Wr ihpa-ni 'throw, drop sg obj'; Tr pa, apa, iba; Tr ne-pabá 'throw rocks'; NP pibu'a 'throw pl objs'; Ls

piva(n) 'throw stones'; NT vúupai 'throw'; NT vúupakaroi 'sling'. These are a consonant harmony of

\*tipa/tapa 'throw'. M88-pi22 and KH/M-pi22 list Tak forms of \*pi'a 'throw, bewitch' (see at bewitch)

which may be a different stem or a sort of reduction of a harmonization: \*tVpa > pipa > \*pi'a 'throw' (Sr pii 'throw sg obj'; Sr piivi 'throw pl objs'). [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Azt]

**97** Hebrew rab, rabbaa (f.) 'great, large, many'; Aramaic rab / **rabbaa** 'large, great, numerous, senior';

Hebrew rbb 'become many, much'; Hebrew f. pl: **rabbot** 'great ones':

**UACV1386** **\*tipi** / **\*tapu** 'long, tall': B.Tep248 \*tivi 'long'; M67- 268 \*tep/\*te 'long'; L.Son294 \*tipi

'largo'; M88-ti11 'long'; KH/M-ti11: My teebe 'long, tall'; AYq teeve 'tall'; Yq téebe 'long, tall';

Tr(B) rábó 'cerro [hill], meseta [mesa], cordon de montañas [mountain range]'; Tr(H) rabó 'cordillera

[mountain range], cerro [hill]'; Wr tepihkúma / tehpekúma 'long' (Hebrew qoomaa 'height'); Eu tevéi

'long'; TO ciw 'tall, long'; UP ciwi; LP tiv; NT tiv; NT tivüdu 'be long, tall'; ST tæv; Wc tévi / téwi 'long';

Cr áh-tyee 'he is tall'. Add Nv tubu/tubutu 'eminente' (u for i); Tbr tepe 'tall, hill' and CN tepee-tl 'hill,

mountain, precipice'. Add Ls tavú-lvu-š 'long' whose vowels are original for a Semitic plural, while the



others did a typical leveling, as *a* > *i*, and *u* > *i* both occur in UA. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Ktn *t̥ipuck* ‘thick (like a board)’ as a cognate, with the same 2<sup>nd</sup> V. Add Eu *-rave* ‘denota abundancia de alguna cosa [denotes an abundance of s.th.]’: *sévor* ‘mosca’; *sévorave* ‘llena de moscas [full of flies]’ (Pennington 1981, 53). This is of Sem-p. [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, CrC]

**98** Hebrew **רָקַף** ‘beat, stamp, beat out, spread out’; Hebrew **רָאֲקִיָּאֵף** / **רָאֲקִיָּאֵף** ‘extended surface, expanse, firmament, sky’ is the source for UA *\*tukuN-* in *\*tukuN-pa* ‘sky’. Consider UA terms for ‘SKY’:

Mn	--	Hp	tokpela	Eu	tewika / tevika; Op tawika-t
NP	kumiba (pidagwabaati)	Tb	tugumba-l	Tbr	tamwa-kali-t / tamokalít
TSh	tukumpana(pin)	Sr	tukuhpt̥	Yq	téeka
Sh	tukum-pin; tukumpana	Ca	túkva-š / túkwi-š / túki-š	My	téeka/ téweka
Cm	tomo(ba’atí)	Cp	túkva’a-š	Wr	teweká
Kw	tugu-bayaa-vi-dī	Ls	nááxuyni-t; túupa-š	Tr	ře’paní ‘sky, up’
	tugu-na-paya=aka	TO	daam kaačim ‘over-lie lifeless’		se’pótare ‘starry sky’
Ch	tugúmpa	PYp	tevagi	Cr	tahapúa
SP	tukuN	Nv	damakatuma	Wc	múuyúavi
WMU	tuku(m)paya	LP	tiv̥ig/tiv̥gi/tiv̥g (B.Tep)		
	tugúppaya	NT	tiv̥áagi		
CU	tugú-payá	ST	tiv̥aa’; hiš dyaam	CN	ilwi-ka-tl

In short, UA terms for ‘sky’ are NUA *\*tukuN(-pa)*; SUA *\*tukuN-pa* > SUA *\*tikopa* or *\*tVkpá* after V syncope. SUA *\*tawá-kali* ‘sun-house’ in Eu, Tbr, Cah, but in Azt *\*ilwi-ka*.

UACV2032a **\*tukuN-pa** ‘sky, up, above’: Sapir; M67-383 *\*tuku* ‘sky’; I.Num229 *\*tukuN* ‘sky’; M88-tu16 ‘sky’; KH.NUA; KH/M-tu16: NUA **\*tukuN-pa(ya)** ‘sky’ (in Num); Tb *tugumba-l*; Hp *tokpela*;

Tak *\*tuk(u)pa-*. The NUA unity is clear and a compound of *\*tukuN-* + *\*-pa* ‘sky-in it’. UA *\*tukuN-* ‘sky’ < Hebrew **\*rVqiiš** ‘sky’, all vowels assimilating to the two rounding influences: the uvular and the pharyngeal.

The Tak forms lost the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel, and in Ls the C also: *\*tukuN-pa* > *tukpa* > *tupa* (Ls). Yet in spite of Luiseño’s loss of *-ku-*, the *\*p* remains a stop, due to an underlying *-kp-* cluster—*\*tukupa* > *\*tukpa* >

*\*tuupa*—otherwise, we would expect intervocalic *-v-* or *tuva*. Of interest is that Hebrew **\*raqiif** literally means ‘beat broad or flat’, used in beating metal flat, but also means sky, as a broad expanse, and the Ca, Cp, Sr, and Ls forms all mean both ‘sky’ and ‘iron/knife’: e.g., Cp *tukva’a-š* ‘sky, iron’ (see b). Note Sr *tukuhpt̥*

‘sky’ (dative: Sr *tukuhpakya* ‘up, above’; ablative: Sr *tukuhpanu* ‘from above’); Cp *túkuči* ‘high’; T̥j *tokúpar*; Ls *túupaš* ‘sky’; Hp *tokpela* ‘sky’; Mn *túgupaa* ‘above’; NP; TSh; Sh; Kw; Ch; SP; CU; Tb; Cp; Ca; Ls; Sr; Hp. Sapir lists T̥j *tuku-pa-r* ‘sky’.

Other forms show only *\*tukuN*: TSh *tukun* ‘straight up, directly above’ (vs. TSh *tukumpin/tukun-* ‘sky’); Sh *tukun* ‘straight up, straight down’ (vs. Sh *tukum-pin* ‘sky’); Cm *tukuhputí* ‘upward’.

Add Ktn *tukuhpa-č* ‘sky’. Perhaps PYp *tuuk* ‘uphill’. This is a Semitic-p term.

UACV2032b **\*tik(V)pa** (< **\*tukuCpa**) ‘cutting tool: obsidian, knife, flint, metal’: KH.NUA notes the dual meanings in most Tak languages of both ‘iron/knife’ and ‘sky’: Cp *túkva’aš* ‘iron, sky’; Ca *túkvaš / túkwiš / túkiš* ‘sky’; Ca *túkvaš / túkwaš / túkiš* ‘iron, knife’; Sr *tukuhpt̥* ‘sky, iron’; Ktn *tukuhpa-č* ‘bead, metal, sky’.

Relative to the metal beat flat as tool dimension, note Kw *paha-r̥ika-dī* ‘pounded metal’; Cr *tehka* ‘obsidian’; Tr(B) *řikiba-ra* ‘cuchillo [knife]’ (*řikiba-* ‘to kill’ is likely denominal ‘to knife’); Tr(H) *řipiyá* ‘cuchillo’;

CN *tekpa-tl* ‘flint’. Ktn’s vowel could suggest original *\*-u-*, with which Kw (*\*u* > *i* in Num) may agree. In Azt, *\*u* > CN *i*, then *\*i-a* > *e-a*, and some others may be Aztecan loans. Though Yq has another term for ‘sky’, Yq *tepohtim* ‘fierro, hierro [iron]’ is cognate (*tepo-* < *\*tikpoh* < *\*tukuNpa*) with only the one meaning ‘metal’.

While above reflexes for ‘sky’ are in all 8 branches, those with ‘flint, knife, metal’ meanings remain in 5, with loan or dialect recycling. Perhaps Ktn *toq-šiva-t* ‘flint, flint tip of arrow’ and Ls *tiqé-t* ‘arrowhead’ as recycled loans. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: TrC, CrC, Azt]

UACV2032c **\*tikpa-wa** ‘up, above, sky, on’: B.Tep246 *\*tiv̥agi* ‘sky, cloud’: SUA **\*t̥i’pa** ‘sky’ < NUA *\*tukuN-pa*. The non-Numic reductions *\*tu(k)pa* approximate **\*t̥i’pa** with a slight vowel change (*u* > *i*) and *k* > */ø* in a cluster, as the *k* disappears in Ls also. So Tr *ře’pa* and similar TrC forms, and the Tep forms *\*tiv̥agi*

(< UA *\*t̥ipawi* < **\*t̥i’pawi**) are cognate: Tr *ře’pá*; Tr *ře’paní* ‘sky, up’; Eu *téva(n) / téwa* ‘(por) arriba’; Cr *tahapúa* ‘sky’; and Tep *\*tiv̥agi* (< *\*t̥ipawi*) likely belongs too, from **\*tikpa-wa**, and note Hp *tokpela* (with Hp *l* < *\*w*). [*k* > *h* in Cr; *-kp-* > *-’p-*] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]

**99** Hebrew **rakb-uu** ‘they mounted, climbed’ or **rokb-im/-in** ‘mount, climb up’ (pl participle); Hebrew **rakb-o** ‘mounted 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”; Syriac pl participle: **raakb-iin** ‘climbing/ers’; Syriac **rakb-uu-hi** ‘they climbed it’; Syriac **rakbaa** ‘upper millstone’; Aramaic(J) **rikbaa** ‘upper millstone’ (what rides on the lower grinding stone); -p- (instead of -kw-) means these are of Semitic-p, not Semitic-kw: UACV461a **\*ti’pu** ‘climb up’ (< **rakb-uu**): NP **tibbu’ya** ‘climb up’; Wr **mo’tepu-na** ‘climb up s.th.’. UACV461b **\*ciCpuhi** ‘climb’ (< **rakb-uu-hi**): Mn **cibui** ‘climb with arms and legs’; NP **cibui** ‘climb up on s.th.’ These Western Numic forms align perfectly with Semitic **rakb-uu-hi/ha** ‘climb up on it’ (**rakb-uu-ha/hi** ‘ride-pl-it), considering initial r > t, then t > c with palatalization before the high-front vowel. UACV461c **\*tiCpiN** > **\*cippiN** ‘climb or come out or onto’ (< **raakb-iin** ‘climbing/ers): 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)’ which also show geminated **\*-pp-**, and covering (a hole) is causing s.th. to get on top of, and a hole getting covered is as a spring bubbling out, its hole being covered by water’ or ‘surfacing to the top’. SNum -p- instead of -v- means a cluster, and these are a palatalization of the above **\*ti’pu** > **ciCpu**. [SNum -p- vs. -v-; redtn]

UACV2032d **\*tiko** / **\*tikū**: CL.Azt131 **\*təhko** ‘raise, ascend’; M88-ti45; KH/M- ti45: ST **tī’kov** ‘alto, arriba’; CN **tle’koo** ‘ascend’; HN **tle’ko** ‘climb, ascend’; Pl **tehku**; PYp **teik** ‘upriver, above’; Wc **teiki** ‘allá arriba’ (Wc **i** < **\*u**). These perhaps with loss of -p- (**tVkpū** > **tVku**), since the three branches it appears in (Azt, CrC, and Tep) all lose -p- readily. Differing PYp **teik** ‘upriver, above’ vs. PYp **tuuk** ‘uphill’, and differing Nahuatl forms may mean recycled loans. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]

**100** Hebrew **\*ra’oot(-aa)** ‘seeing (it), to see (it), infinitive/ verbal noun’:  
 UACV1912 **\*ta’uta** ‘find’: TSh **utaa** ‘find’; TSh **ta’ota** ‘find’; Sh **ta’uta** ‘find’; Cm **urari** ‘find’;  
 Cm to ‘urari’ ‘meet someone, find something being looked for’. [**\*-t- > -c-**, **\*uta > uci**; **\*hu > wV?**]  
 [NUA: CNum]

### 3 Pronouns of Uto-Aztecan

In comparative work, pronouns are always an important consideration. Most UA pronouns align with Semitic, and two 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronouns align with Egyptian. All basic pronominal slots (sg: 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>; pl: 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>) are well represented in this tie; and a 1<sup>st</sup> pl (we/us) is at 1528.

**101** Hebrew -i ‘my’ is a possessive suffix pronoun, and like other Semitic suffix pronouns came to serve as prefix pronouns in UA, and so Hopi i- ‘my’ is identical to the Semitic 1<sup>st</sup> sg possessive, with adjusted syntax.

	<u>1<sup>st</sup> sg: independent pronouns (I)</u>	<u>suffix (object and possessive: me, my)</u>
	Aramaic ‘anáá’ Hebrew ‘anii, ’anoki	-nii, -iy
Ch	nīī	
SP	nī	
WMU	nīī’	
Tb		nik
Hp	nī	i-
Ca	ne’	
Tr	ne	
TO	a-ni	-ni
CN	ne’	

**102** Hebrew ‘anii ‘I’; Arabic ‘anaa ‘I’; Aramaic ‘anaa’ ‘I’; Syriac ‘inaa’ / ‘naa’ ‘I’:  
 Uto-Aztecan **\*nī** ‘I’ does not align with Hebrew (except possibly TO aañi), because final -i is Uto-Aztecan’s favorite final vowel, so if Hebrew ‘anii ‘I’ were the source, there would not be a change in the final vowel. However, Uto-Aztecan **\*nī** ‘I’ aligns well with Arabic / Aramaic / Syriac ‘anáá, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel, long and stressed, was retained. Relaxation of the vowel a > ī is common in the Semitic-to-UA data and loss of an unstressed vowel is also common; thus, ‘anáá > nīī is expectable, doing like Syriac ‘inaa’ / ‘naa’ ‘I’ in its

schwa-like behavior of 1<sup>st</sup> vowel (a > i) or complete loss of it (as in UA) for lack of stress, though occasional evidence of that initial vowel surfaces, like Yq 'an- 'I' (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 47):

UACV2658 \*nī 'I, me, my': Sapir; B.Tep 295 \*'á:nī'i/'á:nī; BH.Cup \*nə; I.Num 118 \*nī; CL.Azt 89 \*nəh' CL.Azt 247 \*nī; M88-pr1; KH/M-pr1: WSh nī (acc. nīi); TSh nī (acc. nīa); Hp nī' (acc. nīy); Sr nī:' (acc. nī:i); Ktn nī' (acc. nīy); Ca ne'; Cp nə' (acc. nə'iy); Ls no: (acc. ney); Tη noma'; TO aañi('i); NT aáni; ST aañi'; Nv ani; Eu nee (pospuesto ne, gen. no, acc. nečt); Tr nihé (Ht); My ne (clítico) (acc. ne:); Wc né; CN ne' / ne'wa(tl), acc v pref: neeč; Pl naha.

[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tep, CrC, Azt]

**103** Both Hebrew -i and Egyptian -i could either one be the source of the 1<sup>st</sup> sg possessive pronoun i- 'my' in Hopi (101) but changed from suffix to prefix. Hebrew -ni is the object 1<sup>st</sup> sg pronoun 'me' and UA \*-ni 'me' is also in several UA languages and remains a suffix: Tb -ni 'me' (Voegelin 1935a, 37); Ch -ni 'me (1 sg pronoun postfix)' (Press 1979, 48); -ni 'me' (Langacker 1977a, 37); Tr -ni 'I'; Sh -nia 'me' has the -a 'accusative suffix' added to -ni 'me'. [NUA: Tb, Num]

**Second person pronouns**, Semitic \*-ka 'you/your, masc sg' and Semitic \*-ki 'you/your, fem sg' and Hebrew \*-kem 'you/your, pl' (Arabic -kum) parallel UA \*-i 'you, your, sg' and UA \*-im 'you, your, pl' respectively (also Egyptian -k 'you/your'). These Semitic pronouns were originally suffixed, so -k was usually in a cluster, thus loss of k, or \*-k > -' or ø in a cluster, as in English: him > -əm when suffixed (feed-im, love-im). Then they changed from suffix to independent and subject pronouns, for even in Hebrew the possessive pronoun can be subject of a verb: ra'ot-ka 'seeing-you (obj)' or 'your seeing (as subj)'. Yet given \*-k > -'/ø, some UA languages show a similar sg and pl distinction as in Semitic/Hebrew.

<b>104</b>	<b>105</b>
Semitic <u>-kV</u> 'you sg'	<u>-kVm</u> 'you masc pl' (suffix/possessive/object pronouns)
<u>you sg</u>	<u>you pl</u>
Cp e / e'e	eme / emem
Ca 'e	'em
Hp 'i	'imi- (possessive pronouns)
Cr mu'e	mu'en
Yq -a'e	-a'em (enclitic pronouns)
My -'e	-'em (enclitic pronouns)

UACV2659a \*'i 'you sg' (sometimes \*'im(i) 'you pl' > 'you sg' as happened with English 'you' (pl) replacing 'thou' (sg): Sapir; BH.Cup \* 'ə; I.Num 22 \*ih; M88-pr4; KH/M-pr4: Mn i: NP i; TSh i; Kw imi; CU imi; Hp im (acc. iη; dl./pl. ima, acc. imi); Sr imi' (pl. im, acc.sg./pl.imi); Ca ét/'e (pl 'em); Cp ə'ə 'sg' (pl əmə / imi / əm'əm); Ls óm; Tη ó; Tb imbi; Yq -a'e (pl -a'em); My -'e (pl -'em); Tr eme / muhé; Cr mú'ee. Sapir (1930, 183) says, "the (SP) -' of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sg is entirely peculiar" but it matches Semitic well. UACV2659b \*'im(i) 'you pl': Sapir; Kaufman 1981 \*'imV 'ye': Ca, Cp, Yq, and My (see above) show \*'imī in contrast to \*'i 'you sg'. CN ame'waan 'you, pl' and am-, ameeč- prefixes; TO i- 'you'; TO m-/hīm- 'you, obj'; Tbr i-pú / imit 'tu'; Tbr emé 'vosotros'; Hp shows the distinction in its possessive pronouns: Hp 'i- 'your, sg' vs. Hp 'imī- 'your, pl', but not in its independent pronouns. Op emo / eme 'you, sg and pl' (Shaul 1990, 568). [NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb, Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

Though SNum generally shows s.th. like \*'imm(w)i 'you sg', Sapir (1930, 183-5) called SP -' 'you sg' (2<sup>nd</sup> person sg suffix flanked by echo vowels) "entirely peculiar to the enclitic series" yet it is Semitic 2<sup>nd</sup> sg suffix pronoun, without the -m of the other UA forms above. The other UA languages having 'im as 2<sup>nd</sup> sg pronoun, underwent a change like in English. English used to distinguish *thou* (sg) and *you* (pl). However, later, the plural *you* replaced singular *thou*, such that now both sg and pl 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are *you / your*.

Many languages—English you, Spanish vos, French vous, German Sie—have changed 2<sup>nd</sup> pl > 2<sup>nd</sup> sg in an honorific or polite pl coming to be used for sg. Likewise, the UA languages often have both their sg and pl forms from the Semitic pl, as seen by an abundance of -m, which signifies plural in Hebrew (and in UA).

	<u>sg</u>	<u>pl</u>
Tb	imbi	imbuumu
Ch	imi	mimi
Hp	'im	'ima
Yq	'empe	'eme'e
SP	immi	mwimmwi

**106** Most UA languages use their variant of the Hebrew suffix/possessive/object pronouns (-kV, -kVm) as subject pronouns also, but Tarahumara has 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural *subject tumu* 'you' like Semitic -tem / -tum '2<sup>nd</sup> pl *subject* pronoun; and Tr emi is the dative/object 2<sup>nd</sup> pl as in Hebrew. Note Tr **tumuhe** (subject pronoun):

	<u>subject pronouns 'you, plural'</u>	<u>object pronouns 'you, plural'</u>
Arabic/Sem	'antum (independent pronoun)	-kum (obj/suffix pronoun)
Hebrew	'attem (independent pronoun)	-kem (obj/suffix pronoun)
Arabic/Sem	-tum (subject pronoun on a perfect verb)	
Hebrew	-tem (subject pronoun on a perfect verb)	
Tr	<b>tumu / tumu-he</b> (ustedes, vosotros, subj)	<b>emi</b> (dative/object pronoun)
SP		ɲumi 'you, your, pl obj pronoun'

So Tarahumara has both the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pl *subject* pronoun matching the Semitic 2<sup>nd</sup> pl *subject* pronoun, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pl *object* pronoun matching Semitic's 2<sup>nd</sup> pl *object* pronoun. Note also Southern Paiute **ɲumi** 'you, your, pl obj pronoun' with a velar ɲ aligning with the Semitic velar -k-. The Aramaic vowels are -kum and -tum, so SP ɲumi and Tr tumu are likely from the Semitic-p and -'em from Semitic-kw.

**Third person UA pronouns** also contain numerous reflections of Semitic 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns:

107/108	<u>Sg: he/she, him, his</u>	109/110	<u>Pl: they/them/their</u>
Hebrew/Semitic	hu/huwa 'he'; hi/hiya 'she'; -o 'him/his'		hem, hum, -am
SP	hujwa		humwi
Yq	hu 'that'		hume 'those'; 'am, -ame
Ca	he-, hi-		hem
Tr	hu / u	Hopi	-'am

**107** Hebrew/Semitic hu'/hoo/huwa 'he'

**UACV2668 \*hu** 'that': I.Num018 \*u(sī(N)) 'that'; KH/M-dm2: My hu'; SP uɲwa 'he, that one'; first u- of NP u-su; Cm u-sī 'that, that one (removed, definite)'; CU u/uru 'that, those, it'; Tb undugal 'that, that one'; Pl uni (vowel is wrong, notes Hill). Add Op hu (ju in Spanish orthography) 'that one' (Shaul 2007).

**108** Syriac huu 'often serves as a copula' (Payne Smith 1903, 101); Hebrew huu 'he' is also used as a copula verb in a position to make it seem like 'is' of English: e.g., Hebrew ha-'adam huu 'ab-i (literally: the-man he father-my) or 'the man is my father'. Tr and other UA languages have this *hu* doing both roles: 'he/that' and 'is' between nouns. Tr **hu / u** 'is' is thought to be a participle of ni-ma 'be' but between nouns it was reinterpreted from 'John he the man' to 'John is the man'. Wr(MM) hu 'ser' does the same thing (see examples on pp. 44, 138). The Hopi rare and so-called absolutive suffix Hp -hī may derive from the same, meaning 'such-and-such + is he/that'. [both 107 and 108: NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah, Trn]

**109** Hebrew hum / hem 'they, subject pronoun':

**UACV2666a \*(h)imi** 'they': M88-pr8; KH/M-pr8: NP imi; Kw imi; CU umis; Pl yehemet. Two Hebrew forms exist—hum and hem—but -am (below) has a distinct vowel, no h, and must be a suffixed object or possessor pronoun.

**110** Hebrew -am 'them/their, object suffix, or possessive suffix':

Hopi -'am 'their' is analyzed as -'a-m the -m being a pl suffix; My -am 'them'; Yq 'am- 'direct obj [them], de la 3<sup>rd</sup> pl [their]'; Yq -'ame-u 'a ellos [to them]; Yq -'ame-mak 'con ellos [with them]'.

Note also that CN pronouns align well with Semitic pronominal impfv verb prefixes, of the verb ‘be’ no less:

	<u>Hebrew/Semitic sg</u>		<u>Hebrew/Semitic pl</u>	<u>maghrib Arabic</u>	<u>Classical Nahuatl</u>	
1 <sup>st</sup>	’e-/’a-	‘I (verb)’	ni-/na-	’we (verb)’	n- ‘I verb’	ne’wa / nehwa ‘I’
2 <sup>nd</sup>	ti-/ta-	‘you sg (verb)’	ti-/ta-	‘you pl (verb)’	t- ‘you verb’	te’wa / tehwa ‘you, sg’
3 <sup>rd</sup>	yi-/ya-	‘he (verbs)’	yi-/ya-	‘they (verb)’	y- he verbs’	ye’wa / yehwa ‘he’

The Classical Nahuatl (CN) singular pronoun series—nehwa (I), tehwa (you), yehwa (he)—parallels the imperfective of the Aramaic ‘be’ verb—’ehwe, tehwe, yehwe. Though the Nahuatl 1<sup>st</sup> person (nehwa ‘I’) differs from Semitic ’e-, the n- of the CN form is analogically like the fundamental n- of most Semitic ‘I/me’ forms. In fact, the maghrib Arabic dialect did the same thing, that is, analogized the impfv verb prefixes to be n-, t-, y- (Goldenberg 2001, 86), like the Classical Nahuatl singular series did also—nehwa, tehwa, yehwa.

**111** Aramaic **tehwe** ‘you are’: UACV2661 \*tī / \*tīhwa ‘you sg’: KH/M-pr2: CN te’ / te’wa(tl) / tehwa(tl); Pl taha. Add Sr t ‘you sg’ (Ken Hill, Serrano Sketch, 2001). [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

**112** Aramaic **yehwe** ‘he is’: UACV2663 \*yīhwa ‘that, he, she’: CN (y)e’ / (y)e’waa / yehwaa / (y)e’waatl (pl. (y)e’waan / (y)e’waantin ‘that one, he, she, they’); Pl ya, yah ‘he, she, it’; Pl ye(e)met ‘they’. [SUA: Azt]

**113** Semitic/Aramaic **lik** ‘to you, for you’: Tb liq ‘I (subject) + you (sg, object)’

**114** One UA 3<sup>rd</sup> person sg pronoun appears similar to the Egyptian demonstrative Egyptian **p’y** ‘this, that’ (Allen 2000, 54): UACV2669 \*pa / \*pī/pī’/pī’i ‘he/she/it, that, 3<sup>rd</sup> person sg’: BH.Cup \*pə ‘that’; KH/M-dm3: NP pī ‘him, her, it’; Cm pī ‘him, her, it’; Ca pe ‘he/she/it’; Cp pə/pə’/pə’ə ‘he/she/it’ (pointing to s.th. remote from the speaker); Sr vī ‘3<sup>rd</sup> person sg subject element in compound subj-obj pronouns’; Sr pat; pī- ‘3P prefix on postpositions’ (e.g., pīhpa ‘on him/her/it’; pīmia ‘with him/her/it’); pīi-/pīi’-/puu- ‘their’ (possessive prefix); pana’ ‘like that, that way’; Ls pío’ (acc. pío, pl. pumóm) ‘that; he, she, it’ (Ls o < \*i; thus Ls po’ < \*pī’); Tj paráma’ (acc. pára, pl. pámo) ‘aque!l’; Tb -p ‘3<sup>rd</sup> person pl possessive pronoun’; Tb also has other 3<sup>rd</sup> person hints of initial p- pronominal elements, like Tb paaim ‘some, others’ (Voegelin 1935, 180); Hp pan ‘like that, that way’ and also

<u>Hopi:</u>	<u>subj</u>	<u>obj</u>
Sg	pam ‘he/she/it’	pīt ‘him/her/it’
Pl	pīma ‘they’	pīmiy ‘them’

Add Wc p- ‘it, obj, e.g., p-áine ‘lo dice’ vs. (h)áine ‘dice’. It is common, by the way, for demonstratives to become 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns and vice versa, as happened in Latin, etcetera. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: CrC]

## 4 The Egyptian in Uto-Aztecan

I am not the first to suggest similarities between Egyptian and Uto-Aztecan. The internationally renowned Semitic scholar and pioneering authority in Ugaritic (a Northwest Semitic language), Cyrus Gordon (1971, 135) published the nearly identical words for crocodile in Egyptian and Nahuatl:

**115** Egyptian **sbk** ‘crocodile, the crocodile-god **Sobek**’ and Classical Nahuatl **sipak**-tli ‘crocodile’ (Gordon 1971, 135). The two are impressively similar enough; however, what Gordon did not know is that because UA \*u > CN i, the first vowel (CN i) could be from either UA \***supak** or \***sipak**, the first of which is identical to the probable original Egyptian vowel. Egyptian, like Semitic, originally had only three vowels—a, i, u—so the Greek transcription Sobek points to an original Egyptian vowel of \***subak**, or exactly the one proto-Nahuatl option. In addition, dozens of other examples establish the sound change of Egyptian and Semitic b > UA p. So the match was closer than Cyrus Gordon ever knew: Egyptian **sbk**, Greek **Sobek**, and UA \***supak** / \***sipak**. Below, 440 more Egyptian-UA similarities follow.

In considering the lexical similarities between Egyptian and UA, it is important to keep in mind that in ancient Egyptian vowels are not written, only the consonants. So when we compare the Egyptian passive suffix -w and the UA passive suffix -wa, they are as close a match as can be expected.

Before moving to more lexical (word) parallels, consider first some grammatical parallels.

### 4.1 Uto-Aztecan Morphological and Grammatical Parallels with Egyptian

Passive/stative structures in	<u>Egyptian</u>	<u>Uto-Aztecan</u>
116 Egyptian old perfective/stative	verb-i	verb-a ‘active or transitive verb’
117 Egyptian passive	verb-w/-iw	verb-i ‘intransitive/ passive/ stative verb’
118 Egyptian passive	verb-tw	verb-wa/ verb-iwa
119 Egyptian stative suffix	verb-ti	verb-tu / verb-tuwa
		verb-ti (WTr, Nomic, others)

Passive and stative (the existing state that follows or results from a previous verbal action) are often overlapping and closely related concepts: e.g., ‘it was done’ (passive) and ‘it is done’ (stative). There is also an association between a present state (stative) and past action (sometimes transitive): e.g., the little boy is now seated, because he sat down or his mother sat/set him down.’

**116** Consistent with such phenomena, the Egyptian stative was also called the old perfective, in fact, was originally a perfective which became a stative (Allen 2010, 206-7; Gardiner 1969, 234-8). The stative of Old Egyptian 3<sup>rd</sup> person masc sg and pl verbs ended with -i, whether it was a suffix or a change of the last vowel to -i to make it stative. That final -i later changed to suffixed -w, but was originally -i. This suffix was more stable on verbs that already ended with -i, caused a fusion of the two for a longer stronger i + i = y: mry/mrii ‘(be)loved’; iry/irii ‘done’; msy/msii ‘born.’ (Allen 2000, 202-3; Loprieno 1995, 65,67; Gardiner 1969, 235, 237). Like the final -i of the Egyptian stative, UA languages in every branch exhibit final -a for transitive or active verbs and final -i for intransitive, passive, or stative verbs (Langacker 1977, 132):

UACV2703 \*-a/-i ‘vowel alternation on the end of verbs such that \*-a ‘transitive, active’ and \*-i ‘intransitive, passive, stative’ (Sapir 1930, 73, 143; Whorf 1935; Langacker 1977, 132; Dakin 1982):

Cr -i ‘stative suffix’ (Casad 1984, 159);

Wc sana ‘romper [break]’; Wc sani ‘roto [broken]’;

Yq -i ‘stative suffix’ (Estrada Fernández et al 2004, 399);

Wr has transitive verbs ending in -a with corresponding intransitive verbs ending in -i (Miller 1996, 130):

Wr co’a ‘put out fire’; Wr co’i ‘be no fire’;

Wr wela ‘put upright/standing’; Wr weri ‘be upright/standing’;

Wr mo’a ‘put pl obj’s inside’; Wr mo’i ‘enter, pl subj’s’;

Wr sa’wa ‘cure s.o., alleviate s.th.’; Wr sa’wi ‘be alleviated, go away’;

Tr also has such pairs of verbs’ (Hilton 1993, 139):

Tr mana ‘put, place, set’; Tr mani ‘be (in/at a place), exist’;

Tr bi'wá 'clean it'; Tr bi'wí 'be(come) clean';  
 Tr čiwá 'stick s.th., vt'; Tr čiwí 'be stuck, vi';  
 CN also has such pairs of verbs (Sullivan 1988, 171):  
 CN tla-tema 'fill, place s.th.'; CN temi 'be full, be lying down';  
 CN tla-kotona 'break s.th.'; CN kotoni 'be broken';  
 CN tla-mana 'put s.th. on the floor'; CN mani 'be stretched out, extended';  
 CN tla-toma 'undo s.th.'; CN tomi 'be undone'; and so does Tbr:  
 Tbr towa 'leave s.th. behind, vt'; Tbr towi/tovi 'stay, remain, vi'.  
 Nv vurha 'atar [tie], vt'; Nv vurhi 'atado [tied]';  
 Nv tuha 'moler [grind], vt'; Nv tuhi 'cosa molida [something ground]';  
 Nv virioka 'desatar [untie]'; Nv virioki 'cosa desatada [something untied]';  
 ST taapna 'partir [part], rajar [split], vt'; ST taapña 'partirse, rajarse [part, split], vi'.  
 TSh sawa 'boil, vt' and TSh sawi 'melt, vi'; and others;  
 SP muntunaa 'cover oneself' (active); SP muntun'i 'be covered' (stative) (Sapir 1930, 73, 143);  
 SP yauqqwa 'push in'; SP yauqqwi 'go in, set (of sun)'; SP yunna 'put down (pl objs)';  
 SP yunnia 'fall, drop down, pl'; SP ton'na 'strike, hit, vt'; SP ton'ni 'shake, vi'; SP ova 'pull out hair, vt';  
 SP ovi 'come out (of hair), vi'; SP pačá'a 'fasten s.th., vt'; SP pačá'i 'hang, be fastened, vi';  
 SP münišša 'turn over, vt'; SP müniššiC 'turn over, vi';  
 SP tuğwa 'put fire out, vt'; SP tuğwa / tuğwi 'fire goes out, vi'  
 WMU spæ'naa-ti'(i) 'flatten, vt'; WMU spæ'ni 'flat, stative/adj'  
 WMU -'núga-y 'put in, stick in'; WMU núgi 'wear, be put in, be in'  
 WMU tuğwá-y 'put fire out, vt'; WMU tuğwí- 'fire went out by itself, is gone out (stative/past)  
 Hp -iwa 'passive suffix' eliminates final -a of transitive verbs, so it is likely -a > -i with added -wa:  
 Hp paata 'melt, vt' vs. Hp paati 'melt, vi'; Hp aama 'bury, vt' vs. aamiwa 'was buried';  
 Hp maqa 'give' vs. makiwa 'was given' (Ken Hill 1998b, 881);  
 Tb -(i)w 'passive'; like Hp, the examples show -i of -iw changes verb final -a > -i (Voegelin 1935, 99);  
 Ls has this feature, but somehow reversed it to -a being intransitive/passive and -i being active/transitive.  
 Some languages have the final -i vowel as the perfective (having been done) rather than stative (is done):  
 Ca -'i 'realised' (Seiler 1977, 138-40).  
 Cp -i 'fossilized perfective form' in about 10 verbs.

Some UA languages have final -i as the perfective of Egyptian's old perfective more than the stative:  
 Cm -i 'completive suffix on verbs' (Charney 1993, 142-3).  
 TO -i 'perfective is marked by a final vowel change to -i' (Langacker 1977, 131);  
 Op -i 'perfective changes final -a to -i' (Shaul 2003, 25);  
 Eu -i 'the final stem vowel changes to final -i for the Eu preterite [past tense] in many, if not most Eu verbs,  
 vs. Eu -a-n 'present indicative verb ending':  
 Eu hipra-n 'watch over, care for' vs. preterite: hipri 'watched over, cared for';  
 Eu maka-n 'give' vs. preterite: maki 'gave';  
 Eu taha-n 'burn' vs. preterite: tahi 'burned';  
 However, some Eu verbs show an -a transitive and -e intransitive distinction (e being halfway from a to i in  
 position), as well as the -i preterite for both:  
 Eu wehra 'stand s.th. up, vt' (pret: wehri); Eu wehre 'stand up, grow, vi' (pret: wehri);  
 Eu pitása 'smash, flatten, vt' (pret: pitási); Eu pitáse 'be/get flattened' (pret: pitási).  
 [NUA: Hp, Tak, Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**117** Another passive in Egyptian is the verbal suffix Egyptian -w (Allen 2000, 290; perhaps a development  
 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> masc sg stative -w; Allen 2000, 202; Loprieno 1995, 83-88; and Gardiner 1969, 234-8); the form  
 more fully may have been Egyptian -iw (Loprieno 1995, 53): similarly several UA languages show a passive  
 suffix of \*-iwa or \*-wa:

**UACV2677** \*-wa / \*-i-wa 'passive': Langacker 1976b, 143, 148-50, \*-wa; Heath 1998:  
 Hopi -iwa 'passive suffix' also appears as -iw/-il/-w/-l/-wa (Hill 1998, 881);  
 Tb -i-wa 'passive and impersonal suffix' (Voegelin 1935, 99-100; Langacker 1977a, 47);

CN -i-wa ‘passive suffix’ some verbs that end in -i take -wa (Sullivan 1988, 74);  
 CN -o ‘passive suffix’ also similar to Egyptian -w (Sullivan 1988, 74);  
 My -wa ‘passive suffix’ (Collard and Collard 1984, 209); Wr -wa ‘passive suffix’ (Miller 1996, 143);  
 Tr -wa / -riwa ‘passive suffixes’ (Brambila 1953, 90); Eu -wa/-u ‘passive suffix’ (Lionnet 1986, 37);  
 Yq -wa ‘passive suffix’ (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 283); Cr -(i)wa (Langacker 1976b, 143);  
 Tbr -iwa ‘pasivo’ (Lionnet 1978, 55)  
 Wc -wa (Langacker 1976b, 143).  
 The -i- (preceding -wa) in Hp, Tb, Azt is likely the pervasive UA stative/passive -i suffix above.  
 [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**118** Egyptian -tw ‘impersonal ‘one’ or passive suffix on verbs’ (Allen 2000, 177, 228, 264, 302; Gardiner 1969, 41):

Tr -ru / -tu ‘passive suffix’ (Brambila 1953, 90, 95); remember intervocalic \*-t- > -r- or -l- is common.  
 Wr -re-ru / -ri-ru ‘passive of remote past tense’ probably -ri- (past) + -tu ‘passive’;

**119** Egyptian -ti ‘stative suffix for 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and for 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine singular (Allen 2000, 67, 202; Gardiner 1969, 234), just as the 3<sup>rd</sup> masculine singular forms are often generalized throughout a language, the 3<sup>rd</sup> fem. sg and 2<sup>nd</sup> sg forms cover about one-third of the pronominal slots and could also have become generalized in UA.

UACV2699 \*-ti / \*-tī ‘stative or resultative suffix, adjective suffix’:

CU -tī ‘a suffix to derive adjectives from verbs’ (Givon 1980, 30-31);

Hp -ti ‘realized suffix, verb is realized (Ken Hill 1998, 879); WTr -ri/-li ‘stative/passive/participial suffix’;

My -ri ‘past participle’: e.g. My yáa-ri ‘is done’ (Collard and Collard 1984, 208) or Cah \*yara ‘do’; Cah \*yara-ti ‘done’;

Cm -tī ‘predicate suffix with adjectives’ (Charney 1993, 146, 198, 201);

SP -tī ‘passive’ (Sapir 1930, 146); Wr -wari ‘passive suffix’ (Miller 1996, 143) probably < \*-wa-ti;

CN -ti- ‘derives adj’s from verbs’ (Sullivan 1988, 145).

Tr -rati ‘passive suffix of past tense’ (Hilton 1993, 138) the -ti portion compounded with something else;

Sr -iç ‘resultative suffix’ (Hill 2001, 3); likely -iç < \*-iti-, with loss of final vowel.

[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]

**120** The -n of the Egyptian sdm.n.f structure or -n suffixed to verbs for the narrative past, present perfect, and sometimes used for present:

Eu -n ‘verb suffix of present indicative singular’ (Anonymous 1981, 62)

TSh -nna ‘the general aspect/tense verb suffix (Dayley 1989, 55-57); Sh -nu ‘past, completed slowly’ (Crapo 1976, 7); Cm -n ‘completive verb suffix, followed by 2<sup>nd</sup> happening’ (Charney 1993, 145).

[NUA: Num; SUA: Opn]

**121** Egyptian i- or ip- ‘plural prefix on old demonstrative pronouns’ (Gardiner 1969, 85; Allen 2000, 53) as in Egyptian pn, pw, tn, tw ‘this’; ipn, ipw, iptn, iptw ‘plural, these.’

Tr i- or ip- ‘plural prefix’: Tr čábóči ‘spider’; Tr ičápoči ‘spiders’;

Tr siríame ‘local/tribal leader, governor’; pl: isérigame ‘leaders’ (Brambila 1953, 14, 15)

Tr bineri ‘alone, only, sg’; Tr a’wineri ‘alone, only, pl’ (< \*appineri, Stubbs 1995, 413)

Tr a’wineri shows a different initial vowel than i-, but because Tr -’w- reflects \*kw, which reflects a gemination of \*-pp- (and Tr b < \*p), so \*ip-pineri or \*ap-pineri > Tr a’wineri. Tr kapitano ‘boss, captain’ from Spanish capitán with its plural Tr ikapitane shows that this plural prefix is still productive in Tr.

**122** Egyptian pw was originally a demonstrative pronoun ‘this/it’ later ‘he/they’ and came to be used for emphasis or a topicalizer, always in 2<sup>nd</sup> position in specific structures: A-pw B ‘it is A who is B / A is B’ or A-pw verb ‘it is A who verbs’ (Allen 2000, 72-3, 334; Gardiner 1969, 103-4, 143):

UACV2664 \*po/pu ‘he, she, it, 3<sup>rd</sup> sg’: Ls -pu-; Wc pī-; and My -po. Mayo -po is suffixed to Mayo pronouns with no apparent meaning other than adding emphasis to the Mayo pronouns (Collard and Collard 1984, 214), yet is in exactly the expected position to be the old fossilized Egyptian -pw, which is also a



structure for emphasis. Compare the Mayo enclitic subj pronouns (1<sup>st</sup> column) and emphatic pronouns (2<sup>nd</sup> column):

	<u>Nominative pronouns</u>	(Mayo)	<u>Emphatic pronouns</u>
I	-ne		inapo
You, sg	-’e		empo
He/she/3 <sup>rd</sup> sg	--		aapo
We	-te		itapo
You pl	-’em		eme’e
They	-mme/-em/-m		bempo

Note how Mayo **ina-po** aligns with Syriac **’inaa / naa** ‘I’

Ls yixélvu-l ‘intelligent, alert’: this Ls form fits perfectly the Egyptian iqr-pw ‘he (pw) is one excellent / capable’ as a fossilized form (Allen 2010, 79); Cr pu ‘3<sup>rd</sup> person sg subject particle’ (Casad 1984, 297).

Wc pī ‘it/he’: e.g., Wc šasúni ‘verdad’ vs. Wc pīšasúni ‘es la verdad’ and so Wc pī < UA \*pu

Wr puu ‘that’; Tr mapu ‘relative pronoun, which, what’ (< ma-pu, or Egyptian m-pw ‘it is what/that which’).

In Tr, the -pu element is actually isolated to mean 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns:

Tr ke-ne ‘my’ (-ne = I); Tr ke-mu ‘your, sg’ (-mu = you, sg); Tr ke-tumu ‘your, pl’ (-tumu = you, pl);

Tr ke-**pu** ‘his, her, their’; thus, -pu is isolatable as a 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun (Brambila 1953, 33)

Ls ’itējvu ‘hot spring’ (’itēj- ‘hot’); Ls -tó’ma ‘wife’; Ls -tó’ma-vu ‘husband’.

Kw pu-/pī- ‘relative pronoun’ (Zigmund et al, 127).

Kw wižavu-vī with \*-pu suffix as \*wicca- is the stem in the rest of Numic (1084)

SP pī- ‘whom, which, what, relative pronoun’ (ī < \*u); Tb pīkanaan ‘one doing’ < pw q/kana

Eu sisvi wecát ‘awl’ and Eu vusiven ‘awl’; Hp -vī ‘nominalizer’;

(1146) Aramaic tek / tikk-aa ‘twisted cord, chain’ > \*tikkaa-pu: Mn tīgápo ‘rope’; NP tīgapu ‘rope’.

Tb(H) allaawat ‘to talk, speak’; Tb(H) allaawappī-l ‘speaker’ (< \*haddabbar-pw); Ls ’ayákvu ‘rubbish’

UACV948 \*\*wiCca / \*wiCtaC ‘calf of leg, lower leg’: NP kwiddza (< \*kwicca/\*kwiNca) ‘calf’ (w > kw);

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’. Note the extra \*-pu-/-vu- suffix in Kw wiža-vu-vī also frequent in Ls.

[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Cah, Trn, Opn, CrC]

**123 Reduplication** in verbs signals notions of imperfective or ongoing activity, repetitive and/or durative aspect in both Egyptian and in Uto-Aztec. Langacker notes that “virtually every UA language displays verbal reduplication of some kind” (Langacker 1977, 128). While most reduplication in UA is of the initial syllable—kapa > kakapa > kakpa—Langacker also notes that final reduplication (i.e., 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable) associated with repetitive aspect or similar notions is found in at least Mn, Hp, and Tb; and lexicalized remnants are found in SP and TO (Langacker 1977, 128). Egyptian usually reduplicates the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant—mri > mrr—and sometimes a bi-consonant syllable mnmn. Reduplication also serves to form the plural of nouns in some UA languages. For reduplication in various UA languages, compare Tb (Voegelin 1935, 109); Eu (Lionnet 1986, 28); and many more.

## 4.2 The Sound Correspondences between Egyptian and Uto-Aztec

<u>Egyptian</u>	became	<u>UA</u>
’ (glottal stop)	>	w or other round vowels o/u, at times with glottal stop: o’o/u’u
i/y	>	i/y
ʕ (voiced pharyngeal)	>	w/o/u
b	>	p
p	>	p
f	>	p in initial position, medially -p- when doubled, -w- when not
m	>	m
n	>	n
r	>	t in initial position; r o i/y elsewhere, as in Egyptian itself

ḥ (v'less pharyngeal)	>	hu/o/w
x	>	k
ḥ	>	h/ø or 'ø in a cluster
h	>	h/ø or 'ø in a cluster
s	>	s
š	>	s
q	>	k, or q in the Tak languages Sr, Ls, Ca, Cp
k	>	k
g	>	k
t	>	t
ṯ	>	t
d	>	t
ḏ	>	s

The Egyptian consonants w, p, t, k, s, m, and n have generally remained as such in UA. As in the Hebrew correspondences, the Egyptian voiced stops b, d, and g devoiced to merge with the voiceless stops: Egyptian b, d, g > UA \*p, \*t, \*k. As in the Hebrew correspondences, š and s are not distinguishable, but have merged to UA \*s. Egyptian ṯ > UA \*t should not be surprising, since the same happened in ancient Egyptian, resulting in alternate forms for many words: Egyptian ṯ > Egyptian t in ṯw/tw 'you'; ṯwn/twn 'rise, raise'; ṯbwt/tbwt 'sandal'. Egyptian q > UA \*k is also similar to a later Egyptian change. Most interesting is Egyptian ḏ > UA \*s, since Egyptian ḏ corresponds to the Hebrew and Semitic emphatic / pharyngealized s, which also became UA \*s in the Semitic-p in UA. The glottal stop (ʾ) and the voiced pharyngeal fricative (ʕ), like the Semitic-p-with-UA correspondences, correspond to rounding in UA, w between vowels or o/u adjacent to consonants (see 2.9); sometimes a glottal stop also appears with the rounding. The Egyptian voiceless pharyngeal fricative ḥ (like its Hebrew/Semitic counterpart) becomes hu/ho in initial position, and rounding (w/o/u) elsewhere, much like the other pharyngeal ʕ. The voiceless uvular fricative, transcribed here as x, became k, as it sometimes did in Coptic (Egyptian xnfy > Coptic kanufi 'fish, sp.'; Egyptian xʕ > Coptic ko 'place, abandon'), and as Proto-Semitic x became \*k in Uto-Aztecan's p-NWsem also. In fact, some Egyptian x > Egyptian k as early as the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty (Cerny 1976, 52). Egyptian ḥ and h, like h in most languages, are fragile and often lost: e.g., silent h in English *hour*, *honor*, and in Spanish *hora*, *hablar*. Yet both ḥ and h appear often enough, or as glottal stop when in a cluster.

In Middle Egyptian itself, **medial glottal stops** are rather unstable. For example, many pairs of alternate forms have one form showing the glottal stop while the other does not: Egyptian sʾb/sb 'jackal'; Egyptian bʾgsw/bgsw 'dagger'; Egyptian btʾ/bṯ 'run'; Egyptian fʾk 'be shorn, v'; fʾk 'shorn man'; Egyptian fkty 'shorn priest'; Egyptian dgʾi/dgi 'hide'; Egyptian dgʾi/dgi 'look, see'; Egyptian dgʾyt/dgyt 'staring'; **Other variant forms** appear in Egyptian as well: drgyt/dgyt 'bat'; gf/gʾf/gwf 'monkey'; bnr/br/bl 'eyeball'; Egyptian mhr/mhi 'milk-jar'; Egyptian mtr/mti 'fame, renown'. Notice in Egyptian gʾf / gwf 'monkey' a correlation between ʾ and w, as in the Egyptian/Semitic to Uto-Aztecan also.

At the end of the introduction to Egyptian, see the explanation for the three Egyptian dictionaries cited in this work—Egyptian(F) and Egyptian(H) and Egyptian(L)—Faulkner, Hannig, and Lesko, respectively. When available in Cerny's Coptic Etymological Dictionary (1976) or Loprieno (1995), the Coptic forms are listed following the Egyptian forms. The Coptic forms are often a phonological distraction from the better match between Egyptian and UA, yet they are included; but keep in mind that Coptic often has different sound changes than in UA, such as no rounding for pharyngeals, Egyptian x > Coptic š rather than Egyptian x > UA \*k, Egyptian ḏ > Coptic t/j vs. Egyptian ḏ > UA \*s, etc.

UA often preserves Egyptian phonology better than Coptic: UA \*ituʾi 'steal, take' preserves all three consonants of Egyptian itʾ 'steal' but Coptic ji has only one, and much changed. Note also Egyptian šm 'go, walk, leave' and UA \*sima 'go, leave' vs. Coptic še. Of Egyptian's original three vowels—a, i, u—UA forms are often nearer those three vowels than Coptic: (133) Egyptian sbty 'enclosure' and UA \*sapti vs. Coptic sobt; (243) Egyptian nbi 'burn, flame' and UA \*napi 'fire' vs. Coptic neme 'fire, glow'.

124 Egyptian(F) **tk** ‘pierce’; Coptic tooks:

UACV616 \***tíkso** ‘pierce, poke’: Eu **tékso** ‘pierce, prick, sting, v’; Eu hi-tekso-rat ‘hiking staff/stick, v’ [with which one pokes the ground]; Op tesso-a ‘puncture, perforate, vt’; **Tr(B) tesó** ‘apoyarse en el baston [lean on a cane / hiking stick]’; **Tr(H) tisó** ‘usar baston [use a cane or hiking stick]’. [SUA: Opn, Trn]

125 Egyptian(F) **km** ‘black’; Egyptian(H) **km** ‘schwarz / braun sein [be black / brown]’;

Coptic kame ‘black’; kmom ‘become black’:

UACV1070 \***kuma** > \***koma** ‘dark, gray, brown, black’; B.Tep108 \*koomagi ‘gray,’; M88-ko33: Hp qöm-, qöm(a)- ‘be black, dark’ (Hp qöma also corresponds to UA \*koma, since Hp ö < PUA \*o and in Hp \*k > q/\_ö); TO koomagi ‘(be) gray, (be) dim’; PYp koomagi ‘gray, brown’; PB koomig/koomag; NT koomagi ‘gray, brown, dark’; ST kooma ‘gray, discolored, dirty.’ Egyptian km means two colors (black, brown), both of them, fitting well with the UA meanings of ‘black, brown, gray, and dark color’. Both gray and brown (Tep) are dark (Hp). This also likely ties to CV-501 \*(si)kuma ‘cloud(y)’: B.Tep65 \*hikomagi ‘cloudy’; NP kummibi ‘cloud’. Willet lists ST kooma ‘discolored, dirty’. Note also PYp kuumlik ‘dirty’. Both NP and PYp show u, which assimilated to o in the other languages. [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tep]

126 Egyptian(F) **nmi** ‘travel, vi, traverse, vt’; Egyptian(H) **nmi** ‘reisen [travel], gehen [go], fahren [travel], durchziehen [pass through], vi, befahren [travel over], vt’:

UACV1012 \***nīmi** ‘walk around, live’: Sapir; VVH171 \*nīmi ‘walk around, live’; M67-263a \*nem-i ‘live’; I.Num123 \*nīmi / \*nīhmi ‘walk, wander, live’; KH/M-nī9: NP nīmmi ‘walk’; TSh nīmi ‘one moves’; Sh nīmi ‘live’; Cm nīmi ‘move about, walk, sg’; Ca nēm ‘walk around’; Ca nēmi ‘chase, follow tradition’; Ls nónmi/nóónumi ‘follow’; Tḡ noḡí ‘andar’; Sr nīm/nīmī- ‘walk, walk around, walk along’; Sr nīhnim ‘be walking (around)’; Sr nīmiin ‘chase’; Ktn nīm ‘walk, vi, walk on, vt’; Hp -nīma ‘go around doing s.th., circumgressive suffix’; Op nemi / nen ‘walk, go’; CN nemi ‘live’; CN ne’nemi ‘wander about’; Huastec Nahuatl nemi ‘walk’; Pipil nemi ‘be, exist’; and in Jane Hill (2005) are Cp nənə- ‘walk around’ as well as Cp nemin ‘follow’ (Hill and Nolasquez, 1973), Cp nenmi ‘chase’ (like Ca) and Cp nēnewe ‘walk’ with a problematic -w-. But Num sometimes does have -w- < \*-m-, so note Mn nīwimoo ‘go about as a group’ and TSh nuwi ‘walk around, roam, wander, live (in traditional lifeway)’, durative nīmmi. The main reason for wandering was hunting and gathering, the traditional livelihood, so it also came to mean ‘live traditionally’. The reduplicated forms often meant ‘chase/follow’ from non-reduplicated ‘walk’. Note Tḡ noḡí, with a velar nasal likely from a cluster created by reduplication (as in Cp nēnewe, Cp nenmi, or Ls nónmi) then syncope: \*-nw-/-nm- > -ḡ-. In AYq vaa-nam ‘down river’ where “water-goes” we have AYq vaa- ‘water’ compounded with AYq -nam, whose meaning could well be ‘go/travel’, as “water-goes” down river. John Gee (p.c.) mentions that this Egyptian term dropped out of usage rather early, yet the UA infusion may not be from later forms, or may be from a dialect that retained it: UA shows Old Egyptian forms in the stative -i (116) and pl prefix i-/ip- (121) also. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah, Azt]

127 From the verbs Egyptian **nmi** ‘travel, go’ > UA **nīmi** ‘walk around, live’ came a UA noun form ‘wanderers, Native People, those who live by walking about, i.e., hunting and gathering’:

UACV1415 \***nīmi** / \***nīmi** ‘person, Amerindian, (or specifically) Numic person’: I.Num122 \*nī(h)mī ‘person, Indian’; M88-nī10 ‘person, Indian’; KH/M-nī10: Mn nīmm(i), nīimī; NP nīmi ‘Indian’; TSh nīmi ‘person, people, human, Indian’; Sh(M) nīwī ‘person, Indian’ (vs. Sh(M) nīmi ‘move around, roam, make a living by hunting and gathering’); Sh(C) nīmi / nīmi ‘Indian’ (and Sh(C) nīmi ‘live, wander, travel’); Cm nīmi; Kw nīwī; Ch nīwī; SP nīḡwī; WMU nuu-či ‘Ute’; CU nūu-ci ‘Ute, person’. Add Ktn nīmihun ‘wife’, pl: nīmihunam (< \*nīmi-suḡa ‘man’s-girl/woman’), as it shows this morpheme in a compound. Add initial nīm’- of Tb(H) nīm’mī’k[at ‘kill a human, murder, vt’. These \*nīmi forms are the source of the term “Numic” and derive from \*nīmi ‘walk around, live (traditional life, of hunting/gathering)’ as a ‘living one, person, doer of traditional life’. A change of intervocalic \*-m- > -w- is consistent throughout SNum and appears in the closer/inner Numic languages of the other branches. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb]

**128** Egyptian(F) **nmi** ‘travel, vi, traverse, vt’: Egyptian(H) **nmi** ‘reisen [travel], gehen [go], fahren [travel], durchziehen [pass through], vi, durchqueren [cross], durchfahren [travel through], befahren [travel over], vt’: UACV590 \***nami** ‘cross (river), traverse (an area, etc.)’: Ca **nami** ‘cross (road, river), go over’; Cp name ‘cross over, vt’; Cq name ‘race, vt’; Ls **naama/naami** ‘go across, pass over, wade, play in water, vi; cross an area, vt’. [NUA: Tak]

**129** Egyptian(H) **wnš** ‘Wolfs-schakal (Canis aureus lupaster) [wolf-jackal]’; Egyptian(F) **wnš** ‘jackal’; Coptic: **woonš** ‘wolf’; Egyptian(H) **wnšt** ‘Wolfs-schakalin, f’; Egyptian(H) **wnšiw** ‘Wolfs-hund’: UA \***wancio / wancia** ‘fox’; the consonant clusters -ns- vs. -nc- are quite indistinguishable, like the English homophones *sense* and *cents*, or *once* and *wants*; thus, the following UA forms are good matches. Note Egyptian **wnšiw** and UA **wancio**. The other UA form aligns with the f. singular ending in -(a)t (UA \***wancia**) with the final t left off as usual:

UACV572a \***wanci**’a ‘fox’: Fowler83 \***woci**’a: NP **wacia**’a ‘fox’; TSh **wocia**; Sh **wocia**; Kw **woziya**; Ch **oncia**; and SP **paonci** ‘beaver’ may be a compound of ‘water-fox’. Note that Ch and SP show the nasal and thus the full cluster. Furthermore, intervocalic PUA \*-c- > -y-; therefore, these -c- must be from something else, and a \*-nc- cluster serves well; and NP and Kw show *a*, suggesting the adjacent *w* influenced a vowel change from \**a* > *o* in the others.

UACV572b \***wacio** > **Tep** \***gasio** > \***kasi** ‘fox’: B.Tep96 \***kasio** ‘fox’; Fowler83; M88-ka22 ‘fox’; KH/M-ka22: TO **gaso**; Nv **kaš**; PYP **gas**; NT **kašió**; ST **kašio**. Miller combines these with \***kawasi**; however, the \**w* should be **Tep** *g*. The **Tep** forms better belong with \***wanci**’V as paired here. Bascom reconstructs initial \**k*, yet two of the five **Tep** languages show *g* instead of *k*, which allows \***waci** > **Tep** \***gasi**, followed by devoicing of initial *g* in **Tep** \***gasi** > \***kasi**. Devoicing of an initial voiced consonant is more likely than voicing of an initially devoiced consonant in the two **Tep** languages, and the \***wa(n)ci**’a forms in Num also agree with that reconstruction. In fact, we should not be surprised at **Tep** lacking the nasal, because the nasal in the -nc- cluster in Num appears in only 2 of the 6 languages, and **Tep** and SUA typically show fewer nasals than Numic. Given that and the division *g/k* more likely being from *g* < \**w* in initial position, **Tep** \***gasio** (< \***wacio**) and Num \***wanci**’a agree through the first four segments, and the 5<sup>th</sup> a/o difference is explained by the Egyptian. [devoicing of initial \**w* > **Tep** \**g* > *k*] [NUA: Num; SUA: **Tep**]

**130** Egyptian(F) **sn** ‘brother’; Egyptian(F) **snw** ‘companion, fellow, equal’: Egyptian(F) **snw** ‘brothers’; Egyptian(H) **snnw** ‘der Zweite [the second], der Andere [the other], Genosse [companion]’; Coptic **son** ‘brother’; pl: **snew** (Loprieno 1995, 46; Cerny 1976, 154; Lambdin 1983, 271):

UACV659 \***sīnu** ‘another, different’: Tr **se\*nu** ‘another, different one’. Tr **se\*nu** aligns with Yq **sēnu/sēnu** ‘one, other,’ AYq **seenu** ‘one, someone,’ and My **seenu** ‘one’. Add Hopi **sino** ‘person, individual, human being, man’; Cm **seni** ‘different ways, various ways’. Uto-Aztecans have put SUA \***sīnu** forms with \***sīmī** ‘one’, but Cm **sīmī** ‘one’ vs. Cm **seni**, etc, suggest different forms. At ‘one’ in UACV2619 \***sīnu** ‘one’, the Cah forms (Yq, My, AYq **seenu/senu** ‘one’) belong with the above. [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Trn, Cah]

**131** Egyptian(F) **šm** ‘go, walk, set out, leave’; Coptic **še**:

UACV1011 \***sima** ‘go, leave’: VVH69 \***simi**/\***sima** to go; B.Tep66 \***himīi** ‘to go’, \***hii** ‘he went’; M67-198 \***simi** / \***sime**; L.Son241 \***sīmī**/sim-i; M88-si3; KH/M-si3: TO **him** ‘move along, progress, walk’; LP **himī**; PYP **hime**; ST **himčū**; Wr **simi-ná** ‘ir [go], andar [walk]’; Tr **si-mea**, **sima-ma**, **sīmī** ‘ir [go], irse [leave]’; Tbr **sem-** / **-seme-** / **simi-** / **-sim-** ‘ir, irse’; My **siime** ‘irse’; Yq **sim**. Add Cr **sin** ‘durative morpheme’ (final *m* > *n* in Cr): \***sima** > **sim** > **sin**. [e1s1,e2m] [SUA: **Tep**, Tr, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

**132** Egyptian(F) **sbq** ‘calf of leg’:

UACV952a \***sipika** ‘lower leg’: Ls **šivíqa-t** ‘lower leg’; Ca **sivíqa-t** ‘lower leg’; Cp **sivisívi** ‘calf of leg’. UACV952b \***sapa** ‘lower leg, calf’: Tbr **sa-sapár** ‘lower leg’; Yq **wok čava**’i ‘calf of leg’; but Hp **saha** ‘calf of the leg’ only if -pk- > -h-, which is possible. In Yq, the cluster may have changed -ks- > -kč-. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tbr, Cah]

**133** Egyptian(F) **sbty** ‘enclosure’; Coptic *sobt* ‘wall, fence’:

Yq **sápti** ‘fence of branches’. An earlier \**sapati* predates -pt- as a recent cluster; otherwise, bilabials as first element in a cluster normally disappear (4.3). [SUA: Cah]

**134** Egyptian(F) **qbb** ‘cool; calm, quiet, cool breeze’; Coptic *kbo / xbob*;

UA \***koppa** ‘quiet, calm’: AYq *kopalai* ‘quiet, still, peaceful’; AYq *kopan* ‘resting, relaxing’; My *kópana* ‘take a nap’; Cm *tokobo’niiti* ‘calm, quiet’; PYp *kepg* ‘likable, pleasant’. Note that the AYq and My forms show an underlying \*-pp-, because intervocalic \*-p- would be AYq -v- and My -b-, but \*-pp- > AYq -p- and My -p-. [SUA: Cah, Tep; NUA: Num]

**135** Egyptian(F) **mn** ‘to be firm, established, enduring, fixed, attached, remain, dwell’;

Egyptian *mn* ‘bleiben [stay, remain], fortdauern [to continue], fest sein [be firm], gefestigt sein [be steadfast], ruhen [to rest, be laid down]’. Egyptian *mn* also carries a sense of simply ‘be (at a place)’ as translated by Cerny and Groll (1993, 131). In UA, the widespread and semantically diverse verb UA \***mana / mani** takes essentially two forms: intransitive \**mani* ‘fall, be (at a place), be lying spread flat over an area’ and transitive \**mana* ‘spill, pour, put, spread s.th. flat (over an area), cover a surface, etc’:

UACV1317c \***mana** ‘put (flat/lying down)’; \***mani** ‘be put, be, lie’: M88-ma9 ‘be situated (like liquid or mass obj.)’; KH/M-ma9: Yq *mána’a* ‘poner [put]’; AYq *mana, maná’a* ‘set, put on flat surface’; AYq *manek* ‘be situated (massive objects or liquids)’; My *manna* ‘pone [puts]’ vs. My *mánne-k* ‘está puesto [is put]’; Tr (a)*mana* ‘poner, colocar [put, place] (especially in a container or as an offering laid out)’; Tr *mani* ‘put for s.o.’; Tr *amana* ‘poner (frequentive)’; Eu *mane* ‘haber cosas líquidas en olla [be liquid in a bowl], cosas discretas en chiquihuite or cosa redonda’; Eu *mana* ‘asentar o poner ollas, cosas redondas o huecas [set or put bowls, things round or empty]’; Eu *manádau* ‘ofrenda que ponen el día de los finados’; Eu *mani* ‘be’ (Shaul 1991, 82); Op *mana* ‘put, place pottery or baskets’; Cm *mana* ‘kkoroomi ‘cover s.th. over’; Cr *meé’uhumwana* ‘put lying down’; Wc *mana* ‘poner, tender, estirar [put, stretch out, lay out] pl obj’s’; Wc *mane* ‘puesto [be put], tendido [be stretch/laid out] pl. obj’s’; CN *mana* ‘spread s.th. out flat and smooth, vt’; HN *mana* ‘be all over (water)’; Pl *mana* ‘cook (in water)’. With a vowel assimilation, the subtraction of Sr *pit(k)* ‘fill (regarding containers)’ and Sr *pití’k* ‘be full, filled’ from Sr *pitimin* ‘fill (several containers), vt’ leaves -min with a similar meaning.

UACV1317a \***mani** ‘lie, be situated, cover an area (as liquid or mass noun)’; M88-ma9 ‘be situated (like liquid or mass obj.)’; KH/M-ma9: NP *manni* ‘become, be’; NP *mania* ‘be’ (Langacker 1976, 10); SP *maN* ‘rest on, at, for (a time)’; Wr *maní* ‘be (at a place)’; Tr *maní* ‘be in a container’; My *mánne* ‘be (liquid or gathered objects)’; CN *mani* ‘cover a surface (as water), spread s.th.out flat and smooth (as tortillas)’. Note CN *mana* ‘spread s.th. out flat and smooth, v.t.’ vs. CN *mani* ‘extend over a surface, v.i.’; CN *semmani* ‘fall, spill, spread out, scatter’; CN *manki* ‘s.th. smooth, flat’; CN *tlamaniliaa* ‘set things in order with respect to one another, lay things out for s.o.’; CN *tlamanis-tli* ‘plane, flat surface’.

UACV1317b \***mana / mani** ‘stumble, roll (over), fall over/off/down’: M88-ma38; KH.NUA; KH/M-ma38: Cp *máne* ‘to roll, fall off, stumble’; Cp *manániñiyqal* ‘he fell over’; Ca *mána/i* ‘fall down (rolling), roll, stumble over’; Ls *máána/i* ‘stumble and fall, roll down (a hill) vi, vt’; Sr *manamk* ‘fall down’; Hp *mīni(k)* ‘stumble and fall, fall down’; Hp *mīni-k-na* ‘knock over’—Hp leveled the vowels: \**mani* > *mīni*. Notice that we do NOT have the NUA *ŋ* and SUA *n* in these items. [NUA *n* : SUA *n*]  
[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**136** Egyptian(F) **win** ‘thrust aside, push away, set aside’:

UACV2303 \***wina** ‘throw down/out, spill, empty’: M67-157 \**wen* ‘empty’; M88-wi4; KH/M-wi4: NP *wīnai* ‘throw, v’; Cm *wī-nīih-kupa* ‘be knocked down, be thrown down’; Kw *winee* ‘throw down, drop’; SP *winnai* ‘throw down’; CU *wīnay* ‘throw’; Mn *wīna’i* ‘throw away, get rid of’; Sr *wiin* ‘throw away, throw down, roll (dice), neglect (a child)’; Eu *wáhna-* ‘pour, throw’; WMU *wīnáy-y / wūn(n)áy-y* ‘throw down, sell, throw away, get rid of, give, vt’; maybe Sh *wiiC* ‘throw s.th. light away or aside’. Sh *tawiC* ‘throw s.th. big or solid, sg obj’ and other terms compound this with \**taC-* prefixed (revise UACV 2304-6); Sh *wittia* ‘to empty, spill’ (if < \**win-ta*). [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn]

## Egyptian b > p in UA, as in the Semitic-p data in Uto-Aztecan

137 Egyptian(F) **bbyt** ‘region of throat’:

UACV1508 \***papV** ‘larynx, throat, voice’: M88-pa62; KH.NUA; KH/M-pa62: Ca páve ‘throat, voice’; Cp pava ‘neck, throat’; the pav- portion of Ls pávkuni-š ‘larynx, Adam’s apple’; the pääv- of Sr päävčan ‘narrate, tell (story)’. [NUA: Tak]

138 Egyptian(F) **bši** ‘to spit, spit out, vomit, v’; Egyptian(F) **bšw** ‘spittle, vomit, vomiting, n’:

UA \***pišo-(ta)** ‘vomit, v’: the final -o in UA \***pišo-(ta)** ‘vomit, v’ means the UA verb is a verbalization of the Egyptian noun bšw rather than from the verb bši, which verbalized nouns are common in UA. Langacker notes PUA \*-ta ‘make’ (Langacker 1977, 45), a derivational suffix that derives verbs from nouns; e.g., Tr -ra (< \*-ta) turns nouns into verbs (Hilton 1993, 134); as the -ta of \*pišo-ta in the other UA languages, whether presently productive or not. Thus, Egyptian **bšw** > UA \***pišo-ta** ‘do vomiting’:

UACV2453 \***pišo** ‘to vomit, v’: B.Tep269 \*vihotai ‘to vomit’ (Tep v < \*p; Tep h < \*s); M67-450 \*pis; M88-pi26 ‘to vomit’; KH/M-pi26 (has Tak, Tep, Cah): Remember in Tep, \*p > w/v and \*s > h: TO wihot; LP viohta; NT vióótai; NT vióóšigai ‘vomit, n’; ST viota; Ca pipivis- ‘to vomit’. The consonants are clear in My bíсата; My bíсаči ‘vomit, n’; Yq bíсата, but assimilated the vowels: \*pišo-ta > pisata. Note also Hebrew b = b in My and Yq, instead of p. Tr shows things prefixed to \*pišo: Tr o’pésu ‘vomit, vi’; Tr ku’pésu ‘vomit, vi’. The Azt dialects lack initial p as expected: CN i’sootla; Pl isuuta; SP pippitta’ni ‘vomit, vi’. Add Sr piis ‘vomit’; PYp viohsim ‘vomit, vi’; perf: viot-, viohot. Like SP cited by Miller, the initial pi(s)-portions of Ch pipitan’a, Kw pitahni, and TSh pitani also belong, compounded with s.th. like \*-ta’ni (-ta ‘verbalizing suffix’ as in SUA and -’ni ‘intensive’); thus, \*pišo-ta-’ni > \*pista’ni > \*pitta’ni, -s- being lost as first element in the cluster, as usual; a triplication of the initial syllable in Ca pípiwis ‘vomit, v’. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]

For a similar example of a noun’s verbalization, see ‘drunk’ at 170.

139 Egyptian(F) **bnty** ‘pair of breasts’; Egyptian bnty ‘Brustwarzen [nipples], weibliche Brüste [female breasts]’:

Mn	pizí’	Hp	piihī	Eu	viit / biit
NP	pica ‘milk’	Tb(V,H)	pii-l; Tb(M) pi’iš-t/n		
	pici ‘suck’,	Tb(M)	piišanat/’ipiš ‘suck, nurse’	Tbr	wimú-r
TSh	pici	Sr	pi’	Yq	pípim
Sh	pici	Ls	pí-t	My	píppim
Cm	picii’; picipi ‘milk’	Ca	pi-ly; táw	Wr	pi’wá
Kw	pihi-vī	Cp	pi-ly	Tr	či’wá-ra; g/kasó-ra
Ch	pihívi; pihivovi ‘milk’	TO	baašo; wipih	Cr	--
SP	pi(h)ici-vi	Nv	vipidi (of woman)	Wc	cící
WMU	piiči-a ‘her breast’	PYp	vipi	CN	čiičiiwal-li
CU	píi-vi	NT	vípi/pípi	CN	eel-pan-tli ‘organ-on’
		ST	vipii	CN	eel-čikiwi-tl ‘organ-basket’

UACV300 \***piCti(C)** / \***pitti** ‘breast’: VVH6 \*pi ‘breast’; B.Tep271 \*vipi ‘breast’; BH.Cup \*pi ‘breast’; M67-58 \*pi ‘breast’; I.Num166 \*pici(’i)/\*pica ‘breast, milk, suckle’; L.Son191 \*pi ‘teta’; M88-pi9; Munro.Cup19 \*pi-t; KH.NUA; KH/M-pi9 \*piX: Mn; TSh; Sh pici ‘breast’ and Sh pica ‘milk’; Cm; Kw; Ch; SP; WMU; CU; Hp; Tb; Sr; Ls; Ca; Cp; TO; LP; PYp; NT; ST; Eu; Tbr; Yq; My; Wr; and CN pipicoaa ‘to suck’. To M88, Ken Hill adds Ktn pi’c; Tḡ pin ‘breast, milk’; Ch pihivi; WSh pici ‘breast’; WSh picciC ‘suck’; and WSh pica ‘milk’. Note also Sh(M) piciC ‘breast’; Sh(M) picciC ‘suck’; WSh pici ‘breast’ vs. WSh picciC ‘suck’. SP and WMU and others show that the final syllable with affricate is part of the stem, and a medial consonant cluster is apparent, as -c- < \*-tt-. Num \*pici (< \*pitti), the absolutive -t (rather than -l) in Ls, and the glottal stops in Sr, Tr and Wr suggest \*-tt- or \*-Ct-. As elsewhere, a cluster with t (\*-Ct-) is the best candidate for medial \*-c- in NUA. If only \*-t-, then \*-t- > -r- in Num and > -l- in Tak. If the final -ci syllable were a fossilized Num absolutive suffix \*-ci, we would not see so many glottal stops after \*-ci. While a compound with \*-ci... ‘suck’ is often the case, note that in most Numic languages the verb geminates the

medial consonant (\*picci ‘suckle’) while the noun does not (\*pici breast), which may mean that the compound is \*pic-ci ‘breast-suck’. Some languages show separate forms: e.g., Sr pi, piiha ‘suck’ vs. Sr pi ‘breast, nipple, milk’. The -h- in SNum might introduce a sort of echo vowel anticipating the cluster, since it does not show up anywhere else. The pi’i of Yq hip’ikim ‘milk’ also aligns with \*piCti > \*piri > pi’i, since liquids to glottal stop is frequent in intervocalic clusters with -t- in Cah. Might Wc cíci be a backward-consonant harmony—\*pici > cíci? [c/h; glottal stop metath in Tb; cluster; Tη -n]  
[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, Azt]

Some features of the above forms for breast merit comment. In the Numic languages (left column), a medial -c- cannot be from PUA \*-c-, because \*-c- > NUA -y- between vowels. Thus, Num -c- is usually from \*-tt- or \*-Ct-, because a lone -t- is more likely to go to -r/l- intervocalically. But a doubled -tt- or a cluster like -nt-, which is likely to become a geminated -tt-, is the frequent source of NUA intervocalic -c-. Nor is the final -ci the absolutive suffix. Because Num has an absolutive suffix \*-ci, some Uto-Atecanists may assume that Numic **\*pici** (< **\*pitti**) ‘breast’ contains such and that the stem is only \*pi; however, the Numic sources suggest we are dealing with \*piCti / \*pitti. Iannucci also has such in his Numic reconstruction. All of those make this a good match for Egyptian **bnty** > NUA **\*pitti** > **pici**. In addition, the final -t instead of -l in Ls suggests an underlying consonant. Many forms have been shortened so that only initial \*pi is obvious.

In addition to UA **\*pitti** ‘breast’ are similar forms throughout UA, meaning ‘suck’ and ‘kiss’, such as CN pipicoaa ‘suck’, a reduplication of CN picoaa ‘kiss, v’ and Num ‘suck’: Mn pici; NP pici; Sh -piciC; Ch pici; CU pici; consider also NT piisiúumai ‘lick’ and especially NT višúúsumai (< \*picúumai) ‘suck’; Tη picú ‘suck at breast’. NT višúúsumai ‘suck’ fits well a compound of \*pici-cu’ma ‘breast-suck/taste,’ thus isolating pici as ‘breast’; for UA \*cu’m > Tep sum, see 771 Hebrew **šm** ‘taste, eat’ > UA **\*cu’mi** ‘sip, suck, swallow.’ Compare these with Egyptian bit ‘bee’ below

#### 140 Egyptian(F) **šnbt** ‘breast’:

UA \*sanaC- ‘breast’: Tb piišana-t ‘breast’ (from earlier \*-sanaC-t, C = consonant). While nearly all of UA has Egyptian bnty ‘breast(s)’, only Tb piišana-t shows Egyptian šnbt ‘breast, chest’ compounded with \*pi-, the mammary breast. The final -t rather than -l is significant suggesting another final consonant (b): \*šanaba-t > šanap-t > šana-t. Without the underlying consonant, we would expect Tb šana-l, but we get šana-t, thus a final consonant. [Tb]

#### 141 Egyptian(F) **bit** ‘bee, feminine noun’: some t’s survive in UA and the evidence suggests an early palatalization of t > c, especially in Tep s (< \*c):

UACV161 **\*pita** / **\*piti** > **\*pica/pici/picu** ‘bee, wasp’: M67-32 \*pis/\*pic ‘bee’; L.Son194 \*pica ‘avispa’; M88-pi6 ‘wasp, bee’; KH/M-pi6: Eu pica/pisat ‘avispa [wasp]’; Tη pičokwar ‘mosca [fly]’; Sr piičičo’a-ṭ / piiččua’-ṭ ‘fly, n’; Wr pi’cá ‘vuitachi (como abeja, rojo, pica, que secreta goma usada como incienso)’; Tr pičé ‘avispa grande’; My bíica ‘avispa’; Cr pípwa’a-na ‘bee’; HN ‘eca-tl ‘wasp’; Pl eca-t ‘wasp’; Tb ‘ipi-t ‘horsefly’; Tb pičooiš-t ‘horsefly’; Sr piičičo’a-ṭ ‘fly’; Ca pi’piš ‘horsefly’; Sh pipitta ‘horsefly’; Tr kupisi ‘firefly’ (\*ku-‘fire’); TO wiipš (TO/Tep w < \*p and š < \*c). Ken Hill adds Ktn picucu’a-č and considers Ch piciciki ‘rattlesnake rattle’. From Tepiman (Tep), add PYp vipisi ‘wasp, hummingbird’; LP(EF) wípisi ‘avispa, bitache’; NT pipíši ‘wasp, hummingbird’; ST viipis ‘wasp’; ST vipiiš ‘hummingbird’; AYq viiča ‘wasp’ (< \*piica); Yq wíiča ‘red wasp’ (loan?); the -para (< \*pita) of Tr napári / tapára / wapára ‘bumblebee’. Two things suggest we are dealing with an original PUA medial \*-t- rather than \*-c-: (1) the fact that three NUA languages (Sr, Ktn, Tη) also show medial -c- suggests something besides medial \*-c-; (2) Wr -’c- with a glottal *stop* may also suggest the presence of an original *stop*, if not a cluster; (3) unable to find Spanish bitache or vuitachi in three large Spanish dictionaries, I assume they are local terms, perhaps borrowed from UA and show -t-. Does \*pita > para allow the varieties Tr mapári / napári / aparí ‘tábano [horsefly]’ and Wc vaarái ‘fly, bee’ or Tr řapára / apára / wapára ‘moscarda, insecto mas grande que una abeja’ and Tr napári / řapára / wapára ‘abejorro, jicote’? [\*-t- > \*-c- > Tep \*-s-; clusters, palatalization; -a/o alternation]  
[NUA: Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

142 Egyptian(F) **bik** ‘falcon’; Coptic beeč:

UACV749 \***pik** ‘hawk, sp’: Hp piikwa ‘lesser nighthawk’ (Hill); Hp piikwa ‘nighthawk’ (Seaman); TSh pikkitiki-ççi ‘sparrow hawk.’ [NUA: Hp, Num]

143 Egyptian(F) **bk** ‘pregnant’; Egyptian(F) **bk’t** ‘pregnant woman’; Coptic boki ‘conceive’:

UACV2188 \***poka** ‘stomach, pregnant’: VVH149 \*poka ‘stomach’; M67-418 \*poka ‘stomach’; M88-po10 ‘stomach’; B.Tep278 \*vooka ‘stomach’; KH/M-po10: Eu \*bok-e ‘pregnant, stomach-haver’; TO wook ‘stomach, abdomen, belly’; LP vook; NT voóka(i); ST vook; Cr huká; Wc ne-huáá ‘my stomach’; Eu vokíma ‘stomach’. Add PYp vookar ‘stomach’; PYp vook ‘pregnant’; Op beka / beka’a / bekka ‘belly showing’. Op shows the glottal stop and a definition that ties it well: when pregnant the ‘belly shows’ as it grows. Note that the Coptic vowel is o, or the rounding of the glottal stop being anticipated in the preceding vowel is possible too—\*pV<sub>k</sub>(V)’a > \*po’ka > \*poka; in either case, the glottal stop could have been lost early in the dialect of Egyptian (Egyptian bk’t > \*bkt) since such is typical of Egyptian glottal stops anyway. [idddua] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC]

144 Egyptian(F) **b’q** ‘oily’; Egyptian(F) b’q ‘moringa-oil’:

Cr pu’učira’a ‘fat, adj’; Cr is as expected, since PUA \*k > č/\_i in Cr. [SUA: CrC]

145 Egyptian(F) **bnt** ‘harp, f’ (> Coptic boine):

UAVC-1986 \***pona** ‘to play music, play drum’: M67-142 \*pon ‘to drum, v’; M88-po18 ‘play music’; M88-po12 ‘play drum’; KH/M-po12,18: Miller has CN teponas-tli ‘drum’ in two sets and he compares the two sets (M88-po12 ‘play drum’; M88-po18 ‘play music’) as possibly related, which they seem to be; therefore, we combine the forms of both sets: My póona ‘play instrument’; Yq poóna ‘touch repeatedly, play (tambor/instrument), nail, v’; Yq hi-pona ‘play (instrument)’; Tbr hi-pona ‘play (music)’; CN teponas-tli ‘log drum’; Pl tepuunawas ‘native drum, made from hollowed log’; SP pon’noa ‘to drum, v’; Wc tépu ‘drum’. CU papú’ni ‘drum’ is suspect as the glottal stop may exclude it. Note the vowel o in Coptic and the extra syllable prefixes—hi, te—aligning with Hebrew ha- ‘the’ and Egyptian tV- ‘the’. Feminine nouns like bnt ‘harp’ often derive from verbs less the fem noun ending -(a)t. Such an unattested verb—bn ‘play strings’ or a denominalized verb—would fit UA \*pona ‘play instrument, touch repeatedly’. In Egyptian bnt ‘harp’, the consonants seem to have been separated by vowels—\*bonat— vs. \*binty ‘breast’ (139) and \*bint/batt ‘daughter’ (534). [idddua] [SUA: Tbr, Cah, Azt, CrC]

146 Egyptian(F) **bi** ‘nein [no]’:

UACV1535 \***pi** ‘no’: TO pi ‘no, not’; PB pima ‘no, not’; Tr pe ‘no, not’. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

**Egyptian ’ > w in Uto-Aztecan** or a glottal stop rounding the vowel anticipating the glottal stop

Like the ’aleph or glottal stop in the Semitic-p of UA, the Egyptian glottal stop also tends toward rounding, that is, it becomes UA w between vowels, and o/u adjacent to consonants, sometimes along with a glottal stop adjacent to rounding.

147 Egyptian(F) **m’i** ‘lion’; Coptic mui:

UACV1350 \***mawiya** ‘mountain lion’: B.Tep149 \*mavidi/a ‘puma’; M67-291 \*ma ‘mountain lion’; L.Son143 \*mawiya ‘león’; M88-ma26 ‘lynx’; KH/M-ma26: Tr mawiyá ‘puma, león americano’; Wr mawiá ‘bobcat’; Wr(MM) mawiyá / máwi’iyá / mauyá ‘león [mtn lion]’; Cr mwáhye/mwáhaye ‘onza [bobcat]’. In Tep languages, \*y > Tep d/j: TO mawid, pl. maipid ‘lion, puma, cougar’; LP maviji; PYp mavidi; NT maviídyi; ST maviidy. Add Tbr mawí-t ‘león’ and Cp témevi-š ‘mountain lion’ with a prefix té-, possibly ‘rock’. Add Eu maviot/mavirot (Shaul 1991, 73, 93) (r < d < \*y). Other instances of Tep w = \*w exist, or was this borrowed into Tep before the sound change \*y > d, but after the sound change \*w > g, since the \*w remained and merged with \*p (> Tep v/w). Note also the glottal stop in Wr(MM) as -w’- (later separated to wi’i) also happens elsewhere. [\*w = Tep p; \*w > v] [SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC; NUA: Tak]



**148** Egyptian(F) **t'yt** 'shroud'; Egyptian(H) **t'yt** 'Leichentuch [shroud]'; Egyptian(H) **t'yt** 'Göttin Tait'; Egyptian(H) **t'ytt** 'Stoff [material]'; Egyptian(H) **t'yti** 'der Bekleidete [the clothed]'; Egyptian(H) Segel(tuch) [sail(cloth)]:

**UACV256** \***tawayi** (note Ls tawaáyi-), **redupl UA** \***tatawayi** > \***talawayi** 'wrap around': Tb(V) tala'awa ~ 'atala'awa 'it (rope) encircles it'; Tb(V) talaawiš(-it)~'atalaauš 'go around'; Tb talaaw~'atalaauš 'he encircles it'; Tb(H) tala'wat 'encircle'; Eu hitárove / hitárawe 'vestirse'; Ls tawaayi-š 'cape-like garment of twisted strips of rabbitskin formerly, but now any kind of cape' (Elliott); 'rabbit-skin blanket' (Bright). Jane Hill (p.c.) notes that Numic \***taa'i** 'shirt, clothing' may belong here also. Both Tb and Ls show final -s, whatever that means. [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn]

**149** Egyptian(F) **t'yt** 'shroud'; Egyptian(H) **t'yt** 'Leichentuch [shroud]'; Egyptian(H) **t'yt** 'Göttin Tait'; Egyptian(H) **t'ytt** 'Stoff [material]'; Egyptian(H) **t'yti** 'der Bekleidete [the clothed]':

**UACV495** \***ta'V** 'shirt, clothing': SP **taa'i** 'shirt'; WMU **taá** 'clothes, shirt'; CU **táa** 'shirt, clothes'; perhaps Ktn **taavī-č** 'buckskin' and Ktn **tavī** (referring to clothes). Jane Hill notes these may tie to **UACV256** \***tawayi**. [NUA: SNum, Tak]

**150** Egyptian(F) **t'** 'earth, land, ground, country'; Coptic to:

**UACV760** \***tīwa** 'dust, earth': Hp **tīwa** 'sand'; Hp compounds suggest an originally larger semantic range to include 'dust, earth': Hp **tīwaqal-** '(at) the edge of the land, seashore, horizon' (qal 'edge'); Hp **tīwanasave** 'the center of the earth'; Hp **tīwanw-ti** 'decompose, turn to dust, become part of the earth'; Tb **tīwī-t** 'dust'; Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Cp **tīw-** 'dust' as a welcome addition. Cp **tewvaṅa** 'where dust was'; Ls **toowu-t** 'dust in the air' (Ls o < \*i); Sr **tīūva-ṭ** 'earth, ground, land, world, country, floor, dirt, dust'; Lyle Campbell (p.c.) notes also Pipil **tew-ti** 'dust'; CN **teuh-tli** 'dust'. Given the frequent w:' correspondence, note \***to'o** / **ta'a** 'dust': Yq **to'očia** 'dust'; My **toro'očia** (redupl); AYq **to'očia** 'dust'; Cr **sáa-ta'a** 'sandy ground' (sáa = 'sand'). [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: CrC, Cah, Azt]

Egyptian ' (glottal stop) often yields w and/or **glottal stop with adjacent round vowels**:

**151** Egyptian(F) **i'w** 'old man'; Egyptian(F) **i'wi** 'be aged, v; old age, n'; Egyptian(F) **i'wt** 'old age':

**UACV1566** \***yo'o** / \***yu'u** 'old': Yq **yó'o** 'old, grow up, grow old'; Yq **yo'otui** 'old people'; Yq **ó'ola** 'viejito/a'; My (y)ó'ola, ó'ora 'old'; My **yó'otu** 'is growing'; My **yó'owe** 'is grown, is big'; My **yúuya** 'old (of things)'; AYq **yo'ora** / **yo'owam** 'elders, ancestors'; AYq **yo'otu** 'mature, adj, grow old or tall, vi'; AYq **yo'otui** 'old person, elder'; Eu **dočisuari** 'age' (Shaul 2008/9) (< Egyptian y'ti šw). Perhaps SP **iiC** 'old'; Tb **yu'um** 'it wears out; Tb **yu'umat** 'it is wearing out'; Tb **yo'ol~'oyo'ola** 'be bald'. [SUA: Cah, Opn; NUA: Tb]

**152** Egyptian(F) **i'wi** 'be aged, v; old age, n'; Egyptian(F) **i'wt** 'old age'; Egyptian(F) **i'yt** 'old woman':

**UACV1568** \***yoci(-tu)** '(become) old': Wr **ocíru-na/océru-na** 'become old'; Wr **ocíru** 'old man'; Tr **očeru-** 'grow, develop, become old'; Eu **docí** 'old' (Eu d < \*y); Eu **docíu'u-n** 'become old'; Eu **docíwari** 'very old'. Tb **yu'udz-** 'it fades'; Tb **yu'udzat** 'it is fading' (Voegelin 1935, 102); Eu **dočisuari** 'age' (< Egyptian y'ti sw). Eu shows \***yoci**, while Tr and Wr often lose initial consonants, so \***yoci** is the likely reconstruction, like Egyptian(F) **i'wt** 'old age' and to UA \***yo'o** above. [SUA: Trn, Opn; NUA: Tb]

**153** Egyptian(F) **s'** 'son'; Egyptian(F) **s't** 'daughter':

AYq **aso'o-la** 'baby, infant'; AYq **asoa** 'give birth, vi'; AYq **asoa** 'child of a woman'; My **asoa** 'son of a woman'; Ls **sawaa-may** 'daughter'; Ls **sawaama-la** 'daughter, girl' (Elliott 2000); the **so'o** portion of SNum \***pi-so'o-ti** 'child' (UACV143) with Egyptian **pi-** 'the':

**UACV143** \***pišo'o-** 'child, boy, children': Kw **piši'oo/pišo'o-či** 'infant, fetus, child'; Ch **pišo'oci** 'child'; Ch(L) **pipiso'wa** 'woman's child of either sex'; Ch(L) **pipiso'oci** 'child from about four months to six years of age'; SP **piss'o-ci** 'boy'; SP **pl piss'o-ci-ṅwī** 'children'; WMU **piščiū** 'children, pl' (< \***pišo'otimī**); CU **piščiū** 'children'. SNum forms (Kw, Ch, SP, WM, CU) derive from \***pi-so'o-ti(mī)** child(pl). The two distinct Ch(L) terms match m. and f. forms. The Cah forms (AYq, My) have a prefixed a- like many Sr nouns. [NUA: SNum]

UACV2575b \*sī'a 'girl': L.Num195 \*sī'a (young) girl; M88-sī11 'young girl'; KH/M03-sī11: Mn sī'a; NP sī'a / cī'a. While Miller's inclusion of NP sī'a 'girl' and Mn sī'sī'a 'girls' in M88-su21 with \*siwa/\*suŋa is uncertain, many Num ī are from PUA \*u; thus, WNum \*sī'a 'girl' (perhaps < \*su'a) may fit Egyptian s't 'daughter' and has the typical UA look (-a) of the Egyptian fem sg ending -(a)t. [WNum] [e1-s, e2-, e3-t] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Cah]

UA words for 'STAR' show many reflexes for a very solid tie with Egyptian **sb'** 'star' (or Egyptian **sb't** 'constellation, group of stars'), and another possibility for Egyptian **gnht** 'a (particular) star':

Mn	tazinópi	Hp	soohi	Eu	síborasí'ibor;	Op	saporee
NP	paatísuba	Tb	šuu-l; yeu'wišn <i>m.s.</i>	Tbr	soo; so-ko-rá-t		
TSh	taciumpi	Sr	hoo't	Yq	čóki		
Sh	taci'im-pin	Ca	sú'we-t	My	čokki		
Cm	tacinuupi	Ls	šú'-la	Wr	so'póri		
Kw	puucii-vī	Cp	sú'ul	Tr	se'pori/so'pori/so'pari		
Ch	puuciv(i)	TO	hu'u	Cr	sú'ura'abe-(te) (-pl)		
SP	puuci-;	PB	siavugui 'e's mayores'	Wc	cii.maníiši 'las pléyades'		
	kaŋa- 'morning star'		huhuga 'estrellas menores'; uhapa 'all the stars'				
WMU	púúci-vī	PYp	si'avag; so'opoli				
CU	puucii-vi	NT	šiaavogai	CN	siitlal-in		

The SUA languages often anticipatorily transpose the glottal stop to precede the preceding consonant as in (Egyptian sb' > \*so'po 'star'; 157 Egyptian it' > UA \*itu'i'i'tu; 724 parfoš > pa'rosi 'jackrabbit'); and the vowels adjacent to the original glottal stops are usually round vowels (o/u).

#### 154 Egyptian(F) **sb'** 'star'; Coptic siu:

UA \*si'po (< \*sipo) 'star': Wr so'póri; Tr se'pori / so'pori / so'pari; Eu síborasí'ibor, all show the glottal stop, adjacent to the rounded 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel after leaving its 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant position to be anticipated or jumping ahead of the 2<sup>nd</sup> C: \*sipo' > \*si'po > si'ipo. Not listed above are Tepecano huvva 'star' and Tepecano huppa 'stars' (Langacker 1977, 81) which have h < \*s. In Tepecano and the other Tepiman languages, we expect Tep h < UA \*s, Tep v/w < \*p, and Tep g < w/glottal stop. Interestingly, each Tep form (subtracting the \*si'a loaned from CN) shows 2 of the 3 consonants, different ones showing a different two of the three, and some, like PYp si'avag, may show all three. Hp, Tb, and the Tak branch (all of NUA) show approximations of \*su'u, perhaps with loss of b/p- as first consonant in a cluster (\*sup'u > su'u; see 4.3): Hp soo-hī; Tb šuu-l; Cp sú'u-l; Ca sú'we-t; Sr hoo'-t; Ls šú'-la. Some Tep and other SUA languages do similarly: Tbr sóo; TO hu'u (TO h < PUA \*s); Cr sú'ura'abe-(te) (-pl). In CN siitlal-in, \*p typically disappears so \*sipu' > siu > suu > sii (CN i < \*u). The preceding forms of those 13 UA languages align well. The \*puuti forms in SNum (Kw, Ch, SP, CU) show the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants (b and ') but are missing the first (s); likewise, variants of Tep \*vuga (< UA \*puwa) in PB, PYp, NT align with the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants also and because \*s > h or ø (nothing) in Tep, the lack of s is more understandable. Also belonging is AYq suawaka 'falling star', in contrast to Cah (Yq, AYq, My) \*čoki, possibly < \*tknw.

UACV2169a \*si'po 'star' (< \*sipo'o/\*sipu'u): Eu, Tr, Wr. PYp so'opoli likely a loan < Tr/Wr so'pori.

UACV2169b \*-puwa in \*ci'apuwa or \*supuwa 'star': PYp, Nv, NT. See \*ci'apuwa below.

UACV2169c \*pu'-ci / \*puCti 'star' (< sb't): Kw; Ch; SP; WMU; CU (SNum). With loss of initial \*si-, SNum \*puutti/\*pu'ti as well.

UACV2169d \*su'u / \*suwa 'star': Sapir; VVH71 \*su 'star'; M67-413 \*su/\*cu; BH.Cup \*sú' 'star';

Munro.Cup123 \*šú'u-la; L.Son254 \*so/sopori; M88-su9; KH.NUA; AMR \*su'u; KH/M-su9: Hp, Tb, Ca, Cp, Ls, Sr, TO, Tbr, Cr, CN. Because \*p > ø and \*u > i in CN, then CN sii- could fit either \*su'u or \*si'pu. Sapir includes Ktn hu'u-ty or hu'-č 'star, landsnail' (Anderton 1988), which belongs with the other Takic forms. Miller's and Hill's inclusion of Tŋ sosyót 'stars' certainly belongs as well; Miller's inclusion of NP paatísupa has parts in common with Tr so'pari; he notes the vowel \*o of some of SUA disagrees with those showing \*u; NUA and Tep show \*u, while SUA shows \*o, with the possible exception of CN i (< \*u). I agree with Sapir, Miller, and AMR who include CN, and Sapir lists Wc sulawi/jorawe, similar to the Cr form above. While most reflexes show a medial glottal stop, Nv huhuga suggests w, perhaps \*sipu'a > \*sup/vuwa > Tep huhuga. Also worth noting is that Eu si'ibora and Tr se'pori show fronted vowels instead of back

round vowels. As a side note, Cr sī'ipu'u-(te) (pl) 'caracol(es)' of SUA and Ktn hu'-č 'star, landsnail' of NUA are cognate. Ktn has both meanings and the Cr form fits in well with SUA words for star, though Cr sú'ura'abe-(te) (-pl) 'star' is a different word. Thus, the Cr word for snail may be a loan from another UA language, though it resembles star, as a comparative cognate, better than Cr's own word for star does. [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah. Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**155** Egyptian(F) **sb'** 'door'; Coptic sbe:

**UACV476 \*pu'u** 'door': Ls púú'u-k 'door'; Cp púki-ly 'door'; Hp poksö 'ventilating hole, window, smoke hole' (Hp o < \*u); and probably the \*puu portions of ST vuusan 'passage, way'; PYp vuupi 'hole'. Ls -k and Cp -ki derive from UA \*ki 'house.' Though these Tak languages show different forms for 'star', we should not exclude the probability that those words for 'star' and these words for 'door' developed from different variants or vowelings or stress patterns of **sb'**. In fact, Coptic sbe 'door' vs Coptic 'siu 'star' are also quite different, though from the same consonants (Egyptian sb'), yet the Coptic forms have much in common with UA's vowelings. The lack of first vowel between 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> C's (in Coptic sbe) is exactly the kind of initial cluster that makes first consonants disappear—thus Tak \*pu'u (as also Tbr puri 'lip' < \*sputi)—and Coptic vowels for star are like the UA vowels for star: i-u and i-o. In any case, that SNum shows forms for 'star' (\*puu ..) similar to Tak's forms for 'door' adds viability to both. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep]

**156** Egyptian(H) **gnht** 'ein Stern [a (particular) star]':

**SP qaṇa-** 'morning star'; other examples of the cluster in Egyptian -nh- > UA ḡ would be nice though -nh- > -ḡ- is expectable, and everything else in SP qaṇa- 'morning star' fits well: initial k/q (< \*g) and the final -a (< \*-at) typifying feminine nouns, and SP qaṇa-mmwi 'morning star month' suggests a final -C. [NUA: Num]

Three fairly similar Egyptian verbs—Egyptian **it'**, **iti**, and **t'w/ t'i**—with similar and overlapping meanings of generally 'take, pick up, steal'—appear in UA with surprising degrees of individual semantic clarity relative to the Egyptian counterparts.

**157** Egyptian(F) **it'** 'take, carry, steal' (> Coptic oj 'thief'):

**UA \*itu'i** > **i'tu** 'to steal, take'; KH.NUA: Cp itu'e 'to steal'; Wr i'to 'take'. Cp and Wr reflect Egyptian **it'** very well, showing all three consonants as well as the expected rounding adjacent to the glottal stop. Note Cp itu'e 'to steal'. Wr does its frequent glottal stop anticipation, forwarding the glottal stop one syllable as it also did in 'star': Egyptian \*sb' > Wr so'pori. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

**158** Egyptian(F) **iti** 'take, carry off, rob':

**UA \*ici** 'steal, take' (Egyptian t/t > UA \*c; and then medial (non-initial) UA \*-c- > -y- in NUA; and UA \*c/č > s/š in Tep (TO, PB, PYp, NT, ST) as well as \*y > d in Tep. The UA words for 'steal, rob':

Mn	noqaḡa/noqoḡa	Hp	iyiḡwī 'thief'	Eu	éba'a-n	Op	eci 'secretly'
NP	wazi-cakati	Tb	'iīy-(it)	Tbr	icikwa		
TSh	innīntikkah	Sr	iy(iī)/ih'iī	Yq	'étbwa		
Sh	tītkka-x/h	Ca	'éyetu	My	ekbwa		
Cm	tīrhkarī; sikusarī	Ls	'uyóo-tu-	Wr	icikóa-ni		
Kw	'iīya-ni-	Cp	itú'e	Tr	čigó-; čiwá-; wi-mea		
Ch	iyīḡi	TO	ees; B: 'iīsidī	Cr	tī'i/ra-nawa'a		
SP	iyīḡka-	PB	'iīš	Wc	nava; naváaya;		
		PYp	eesi		tináváyame <i>ladrón</i>		
WMU		NT	'iīši; 'iīšid'ai				
CU	'iyīyi	ST	'iīš; 'iīšid'	CN	ičteki; naamoyaa		

A following high front vowel like *i* encourages palatalization of Egyptian **iti** > **\*ici**, matching UA **\*ici**: **UACV2178a \*ici** 'steal': VVH120 \*'i; B.Tep \*'iīsidai 'to steal', and \*'iīsi 'he stole'; M67-414a \*'eye (NUA); L.Son11 \*ici-kwa; M88-i6 'steal'; KH.NUA; KH/M-i6; Munro.Cup129 \*'əyə-t 'thief' [Ls 'uyó-t; Cp 'əyə-t; Ca 'əyə-t]; Kw; Ch; SP; CU; Tb; Cp; Ca; Ls; Sr; Hp; TO; PYp; LP; NT; ST; Eu; Op eci 'secretly'; Yq; Tbr; Wr; Tr; My; Ktn 'iyīw; and ič- of CN ičteki. A good example of \*-c- > NUA -y-, which AMR

includes in “A Northern UA sound law: \*-c- > -y-”, listing SP iyī-ŋka; Tb iyyV; Ls uyo-t ‘thief’; Ca eyet ‘robber’; Sr iyī-i; Hp iī’iyi; TO iis ‘stealth’; and Wr ici-koani.

UACV2178b \***ici-kwa** (< \***itikwa** ?) ‘steal’: Another syllable is consistently added in TrC \*’**icikwa** (Eu, Tbr, Yq, My, Tr, Wr). Perhaps the ič- of CN ičteki. Even Eu écba’a and Tr éigó/čiwá align well with \*’**icikwa**. Add the first of WMU íigai ‘steal’ and íigoočaa ‘he just stole (s.th.)’? [\*t > k in My]

[NUA: SNum, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Azt]

UACV1176 \*’**ici-to** ‘hide’: B.Tep344 \*’i’isito ‘hide’; M67-228; M88-ī12; KH/M-ī12: TO iis ‘stealth’; TO ču ees-k ‘be a thief’; TO ees-to ‘hide, v.t.p.’; UP ’i’isto; NT iištyo; ST ’i’ištyo. Though Miller listed only Tep and Pl iinaya ‘hide’ in this set, other forms certainly belong with each, whether they belong together or not; most notable are Eu ecí ‘hidden, v.i.’ and ecí-to ‘hide, v.t.’; likewise, Hp iī’iyi ‘steal, v.t.p., sneak off secretly, v.refl.’; the first three segments of Wr icipú-na ‘escondere [hide]’ and Wr icikóa ‘steal’; Tr čičipu ‘escondere’ (consonant harmony), though the last 3 languages lack the -to morpheme for their inclusion in this compound. The first part (\*’ici-) of this verbal compound is the same stem as is found under ‘steal’.

[SUA: Tep, Trn]

**159** Egyptian(F) **t’w** ‘take up, seize, snatch, steal’ (> Coptic jiwe); Egyptian(H) **t’w** / **t’y** ‘nehmen [take], wegnehmen [take away], stehlen [steal], ansammeln [collect], zusammenpacken [bring together]’:

Egyptian(H) t’w ‘Träger [carrier, bearer]’; Egyptian(F) t’wt ‘a gathering up of things’:

UACV998 \*’**ti’wi** / \*’**tu’wi** ‘to gather seeds, harvest’: Ls tó’wi ‘gather (as seeds), harvest’ and Mn tiwīqa (also tīga) ‘gather (seeds, etc) by beating plant with stick’ match well (Ls o < \*i). Sr cawei ‘gather, pick, harvest’ may suggest \*ta’wi > \*ti’wi. Though above at \*tu’a ‘bear fruit’, note Eu tu’u ‘darse los frutos [yield fruit], convertirse en [turn into], hacerse [become]’; Eu tui ‘cosecha [harvest]’. Consider also Ls čiči ‘to gather things lying on the ground’. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Opn]

UACV393 \*’**tu’u** ‘take’: I.Num223 \*tu(’u) ‘take, pick up, fetch’; M88-tu19; KH/M-tu19: Cm tuu ‘fetch water’; the SNum forms reconstruct to s.th. much longer, s.th. like \*tu’uCma / \*tu’umma: CU ti’umay ‘pick up (off), take (off)’; SP tu’uhma / tu’umma ‘take pl obj’s’; SP tuumai ‘pick up’. Add Ch tu’úma ‘catch, take pl objs’; WMU tu’úma-y ‘take (many things)’; Tr(B) tu-e- ‘acarrearle, llevarle agua a alguien [carry water to/for s.o.]’; Tr(H) tu ‘traer agua, sacar agua con una hueja’. Also -tu’u- in AYq maču’unama ‘hold in hand, grasp while moving’ (with palatalisation \*t > č) and AYq maču’uweyek ‘hold while standing’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah, Trn]

**160** Egyptian(F) **t’w** ‘take up, seize, snatch’ > UA \*to’o ‘go get, go to do/get’:

UACV395 \*’**to**’ / \*’**tu**’ ‘fetch, go get, go to do’ (often compounded with \*’u’ ‘take’ in \*’u’-to): KH.NUA; some from KH/M-tu11: Sr uu’tu’ ‘go get, go marry’ (vs. Sr ’uu’ ‘take, pick up, marry (woman)’); Tŋ úuro ‘voy ir a traer’ (vs. Tŋ ’ú’a ‘take’); Hp oyato ‘go to put several (vs. Hp oya ‘put several’); Hp -to ‘go/come intending to do s.th., be about to’ (as in Hp kwis-to ‘fetch, go to get (sg. inan. obj)’; Hp yīkī-to ‘fetch (pl obj)’; Hp wik-to ‘fetch (anim. obj)’; Cr(JM) tya’antú’utu’u ‘take them (small round objs)’. Add Tr(B) to- / toa / to-mea ‘traer consigo, llevar consigo [bring, carry]’; Tr(H) to ‘llevar, tomar’; AYq tovo’ote ‘carry with the hand’; Eu -too in Eu zóktoo ‘carry in arms’; Eu mato ‘carry on shoulder’; Yq tóha ‘llevar, traer, echar, dejar’; AYq toha ‘carry sg. obj’; Nv toabada ‘acarrear’; Wc tu/tuu ‘llevar, bajar’. Add CN tiwi, sg: tiu’, pl: tiwi’, pret: to, pl: to’ ‘go to do s.th.’. Why Hp o, not ö? We might combine this with the above, except for differing Cr, Wc, Nv, and Tr forms. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

### **Egyptian ʕ > w/o/u: the voiced pharyngeal fricative appears as a round (semi)vowel in UA**

**161** Egyptian(H) **ʕrq** ‘Korb [basket]’; Egyptian(H) **ʕrʕr** ‘ein Korb [a basket]’:

UACV1520 \*’**wari** ‘basket’: L.Son326 \*wari ‘cesto (basket)’; M88-wa6 ‘basket, rabbit net’; KH/M03-wa6: Op wari; Eu warít; Tbr mwalí-t (\*w > mw in Tbr); Yq wáari; My waari; Wr warí; Tr warí. Miller combines these with \*wa’na ‘(rabbit) net’ (596), but the glottal stop in \*wa’na is lacking in SUA \*wari, plus a consistent 2<sup>nd</sup> V difference: -a vs. -i, and different meanings. So I separate them until additional data direct differently. Note the prominence of -r- instead of -l- in languages that have both. [n:l:r liq]

[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr]

162 Egyptian(F) ššy ‘sand’; Coptic šoo:

UACV1867 \*siwal > NUA siwaN ‘sand’: Sapir; M67-361 \*sa ‘sand’; M67-362 \*se ‘sand’; I.Num194 \*(pa)siwa(h) ‘sand, gravel’; L.Son226 \*sa/\*sī arena; M88-sa9 and si4 and KH/M-si21 \*siHa where H = a glide (AMR): the final -l is odd, unless a feminine form ššt existed, but UA \*siwa matches the primary Egyptian consonants well:

Mn	pasiyápi	Hp	tīīwa; ciwavi; nōŋa;	Eu	sa/sáta
NP	pasiwabī; otība ‘fine sand’		civohkya; naaki		
TSh	pasiŋwampin/pasiŋompin	Tb	šiihpi-t	Tbr	sihá-t
Sh(C)	pasiampin	Sr	ööqt	Yq	sée’e
Cm	pasiwaapi	Ca	ŋáci-š	My	see’e
Kw	sihwa (m)bī, sihombī	Ls	’éxva-l	Wr	seté
Ch	otávī	Cp	háxa-l	Tr	saté
Ch(L)	siwampī; otavi ‘fine sand’	TO	o’od; o’ohia	Cr	seh;
SP	patī(ya); ahta/atta	Nv	hia	Cr	sáa-ta’a ‘sandy ground’
	šiuN ‘gravel’	PYp	o’oi	Wc	šie.káari
WMU	tá-vī, siwá-ppi	NT	óórai		
CU	siwá-pī	ST	o’ya	CN	šaal-li

Numic pa-siwaN-; and Tbr has the same vowels as Num; Yq and My leveled vowels and have ’ vs. w; Cr sáa-ta’a ‘sandy ground’ and most of SUA have cognates. In Num, the pa- of \*pa-siwa ‘sand’ is \*pa- ‘water.’ Tb siwaa-l ‘ground, dirt, earth.’ The first syllable of Tb šiihpi-t as a compound belongs, yet Tb siwa-l ‘ground, dirt, the earth’ represents the uncompounded form. TO hia ‘sand dune’ (found by AMR) has the expected h < \*s, but lacks any sign of the pharyngeal, yet most of SUA lacks it, as do a few forms in NUA; yet plenty also show the w < \*š very clearly. Include the latter part of B.Tep326b \*’oo’ia ‘sand,’ a compound of \*hora and \*siwa, with an early loss of \*w in Tep. Though many Uto-Aztecans consider the forms related, the only viable explanation for the very different forms of Numic \*siwa and SUA \*satV has been offered by Manaster Ramer (p.c.): \*siwa > sia/si’a > se’e/sa’a/saa. The final CN liquid is interesting and consistent with a fem ending -a(t). Many have noted the array of initial-s forms for ‘sand’ (Sapir, Miller, Iannucci, Lionet, Hill, Manaster-Ramer; M88-sa9 and si4 and KH/M-si21 \*siHa where H = a glide, after AMR), si4 and sa9 basically sort them according to first vowel. After loss of -w-, then excrecent y is natural in an environment of \*sia (\*siwa > \*sia > siya). Whatever the C was, it seemed to disappear in SUA, where the vowels also assimilated (\*siwa/siHa > \*saa) or leveled (\*siwa/\*siHa > \*see) much of the time: UACV1867a \*siwaN ‘sand’: Mn, NP, TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; SP siuN- ‘gravel’; CU; Tb; TO -hia ‘sand dune’ (AMR 1996d); SP šiiŋwam-pī ‘sandy gravel’ (AMR 1996d). Ken Hill adds WSh pasiwompin and Ch siwampi ‘coarse sand’; Ch siwampī ‘gravel’; Ch siwa’aavī ‘sandstone’. Add Nv hia. Hp ciwavi ‘gravel, coarse sand’ may be a loan or may have c/s issue, as the other 3 of the first 4 segments are identical. If so, all branches of NUA except Takic are represented. We see ŋw in TSh and SP. The latter part of B.Tep326b \*’oo’ia ‘sand’. [\*w > ø in TO; c/s]

UACV1867b \*si’i (< \*si’a/siwa) ‘sand’: Yq, My, Wr, Cr séh; Tb siwaal. [for \*i-a > Cah e-e, see \*pita at fire]

UACV1867c \*sa(ta) ‘sand’: Dakin 1982-81: Cr sáa-ta’a ‘sandy ground’; Eu sa/sáta, CN šaal-li. AMR (1996d) notes that the frequent assimilation of vowels in Azt (\*siCa > saa) explains these as related to \*siCa (here \*siwa), so are Cr and Eu loans from Nawa? Ken Hill adds Cr šarí ‘mud’, perhaps a loan from Azt. [t > l/r > ’ in Cah; V leveling; \*w > ø in Tep] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

The UA words for ‘sun’ exemplify both Egyptian initial r > \*t in UA and Egyptian š > UA \*w. Egyptian initial r > t is like Hebrew initial r > UA \*t, though one UA language, Tr, actually has r (< r) and t (< t):

163 Egyptian(F) rš / ršw ‘sun’; Egyptian(H) rš nb ‘täglich [daily], jeden Tag [each day]’; Coptic ree:

UA \*tawa / \*tawi ‘sun, day’ and \*tava: Hp taawa ‘sun’ and Wc tau show w, the expected reflex of Egyptian š; other languages exhibit shorter and longer forms: for example, Eu ta- ‘sun, day’ vs. Eu tawi ‘sun, day’; Eu tawe/tawide ‘daytime, adv’; Eu tawe-n ‘be day, the sun shines’; Op tawe ‘in the daytime’; Op tava ‘sun’; Tr fawe ‘day’ also shows w, but lost in Tr fáyenari/ fáenari ‘sun’. All the Numic languages show reflexes of \*tapa, usually as tava since v is the intervocalic variant of \*p. However, we see \*w > v elsewhere, such that

\*p is the usual reinterpretation of intervocalic v, though actually from \*w, which happens elsewhere in UA also. Nearly all UA languages show words for ‘sun’ starting with \*ta. UA words for SUN:

Mn tadábe	Hp taawa	Eu távi
NP taba	Tb taal	Tbr tá-ta; tasa-lí-t
TSh tapai(cci)	Sr taamiat	Yq táa’a
Sh tapai	Ca tamit/tamyat	My taa’a
Cm tabe	Ls timé-t	Wr tahénari
Kw ta-vi	Cp támit	Tr fá-; fáyenari
Ch tavá-píc(i)	TO taš	Cr sikáh
SP tava- ‘sun, day’	Nv tasa	Wc táu; háuri.víiya
CU tavá-ci	PYp tasa ‘sun (ceremonial word)’	
	NT táasai	CN toona-tiu’ (< toona ‘be warm, shine (of sun)’)
	NT tonóoli;	CN ilwi-ka ‘sky’ (< sun-house)
	ST tanoolyiop ‘in the sun’	

**UACV2230a \*tawá / \*tawV** ‘sun, day’: Hp taawa ‘sun, day’; Wr tawé ‘day’; Wr(MM) rawé / ta’wé / tawé / taawé ‘día [day]’; Tr ráwé ‘day’; My taáwa(ri) ‘day’; Eu távi/táve/távi ‘día [day], sol [sun]’; CN tlaawiaa ‘to light s.th.’; AMR 1996d argues well for CN ilwi-tl < \*tawV (ilwi-ka-tl ‘sky’ < sun-house)’; HN tlaawia ‘to shine; Pl tatwi ‘to dawn’; Pl taawil ‘candle, light’. Add Tb(H) taawit ‘during the day’. Besides Hp taawa ‘sun’ is Hp taavi ‘sunshine, sunlight’. [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**UACV2230b \*ta’a / \*ta-** (day)light, sun’: the Cahitan languages—Yq taa’a; AYq taa’a; My taa’a—all show ‘ for ʕ, as in ‘sand’ also. Tr ra-, ta-, ra-tá ‘daylight, sun, brightness’. At ‘sand’ also does Num w = Cah ‘.

**UACV2230c \*ta-iwa-(Li)** ‘become day’: Tbr ta-imoa-lí-t ‘day’; AYq taewali ‘daylight’; Cr teíhimwata’a ‘east’; AYq taiwo ‘east’. Only the first syllable \*ta- is cognate here.

**UACV2230d \*tapa** ‘sun, day’: I.Num209 \*tape/\*ta- (pref.) ‘sun, day’: a cognate appears in every Num language. [\*w > v as in pine \*yuwi > \*yuvi] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

**UACV2230e \*tamV** ‘sun, day’: BH.Cup \*tVmet ‘sun, day’; HH.Cup \*tamet ‘sun, day’; Munro.Cup125 \*tamé-t ‘sun, day’; KH.NUA: Sr; Ls; Cp; Ca; Tḡ támit ‘sun, day’. Might Tak tami < ta-miya ‘sun-go (across sky)’? [NUA: Tak, Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

**UACV2033 \*tawá-kali (> tíwī-ka)** ‘sky, sun-house’: M67-384 \*te sky; BH.Cup \*tu ... ac ‘sky’; L.Son303 \*tíwīka ‘cielo’; M88-tí3 ‘sky’; KH/M-tí3: note Tbr \*tawá-kalí-t; CN ilwi-ka-tl; TrC \*tíwīka < \*tVwV-kali ‘sun-house, sky’; Eu; Wr teweká ‘sky, world’; Tr rewe-gá-či ‘cielo’; My; HN ‘elwika-tl. Either in this compound or in UACV2230 above is a reflex of Egyptian rʕw in every branch.

[SUA: Tbr, Opn, Trn, Cah, Azt]

### Other illustrations of Egyptian r > PUA \*t in initial position, except Tr keeps the r-

**164 Egyptian(F) rn** ‘young one, of animals’:

**UACV146 \*tana** ‘offspring’: Wr taná ‘child, little one’; Wr tana-ní/tani-má ‘give birth’; Tr faná(ra) ‘cria [offspring], hijo [son]’; Tr fana-mea ‘parir, dar a luz [give birth]’; Ktn titini-t ‘young boy, child, baby’ is probable in spite of a vowel change. [SUA: Trn; NUA: Tak]

**165 Egyptian(F) rwi** ‘dance, v’; Egyptian **rwt** ‘dance, n’:

**UACV634 \*tawiya / \*tuwiya > \*tuya** ‘dance’; redupl \*tu(w/v)tui: AYq tatawiilo ‘turn around, vi’; Sr tuhtu ‘dance, vi’; Ktn tuhtu ‘dance, vi’; Ktn tuhtuic ‘dance, n’; Ktn tuhtuhyit ‘dancer, n’; Ls tóótuwi-š ‘guardian spirit, person who performs a certain dance, the tatahuila’; Tḡ tóvtu’ax ‘tatahuila, kind of dance’; Tḡ tóvtu’ar ‘the tatahuila dancer’; Tr(B) fútaguri / fútuburi / tutuguri ‘danza del tecolote [dance of the tecolote owl]’ (Tr -g- < -w- likely between round vowels); CN i’tootiaa ‘dance, v’; CN mi’to’-tli ‘dance, n’; Pl ihtutia ‘dance, vt/refl’; \*tuya > PYp tuuda ‘dance, vi’; TO čuud ‘do a squaw dance, v.r.’ [w>v] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]

**166** Egyptian(F) **rwi** ‘go away, depart, vi, expel, drive off, leave (a place), vt’ (> Coptic lo ‘cease, stop’): UA \***tawa** > \***towa** ‘leave, remain, wait’: Tbr towi/tovi ‘quedar [stay, remain], vi’; Tbr towa ‘dejar [leave s.th.]’; Yq táawa/tawa ‘quedar(se)’; My taawa-k ‘se quedó’; AYq taawa ‘stay, remain, vi, leave behind unintentionally, vt’; Wr toa ‘leave s.th. for s.o.’; Mn tatawa ‘wait’; Tr(B) řewe- ‘dejar [leave (behind)]’; Tr arewe ‘leave s.th./s.o. behind, abandon.’ [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Tbr, Cah]

**167** Egyptian(F) **rwḏ** ‘cord, bow-string, (as a plural) sinews’:  
UACV1844 \***tisa** ‘rope’: SP tīšša-vī ‘rope’; CU tīsá-vi ‘vine, rope’; CU sávi ‘rope’; WMU sávi ‘rope’.  
Keep in mind Egyptian **ḏ** > UA \*s; and because PUA \*u > Num ĩ often, either PUA \*tusa ‘rope’ or \*tisa fits an Egyptian feminine noun. [NUA: SNum]

**168** Egyptian(F) **rm** ‘fish’; Coptic rame; Egyptian rm is often found in the pl **rmw**:  
Tr řamú ‘small fish’. Tr ř corresponds to Egyptian r and Hebrew r at the beginning of words.

**169** Egyptian(F) **rmt** ‘man’; Egyptian(H) **rmt** ‘Mensch, Mann [man]’; Egyptian(H) **rmt** / **rmtt** ‘Menschen [human being, man, person], Menschheit [mankind]’; Coptic rome, rem- ‘man, one, person’:  
UACV1428 \***timatí** / \***rīmatí** ‘young man’: Tr(B) řemari ‘joven [youth/boy]’; Tr(B) témari ‘jóvenes / varones, pl’; Eu temáci ‘mancebo [young man]’; Op temaci ‘youth, young man’; Wr te’mari ‘boy, young man’; Wr re’mari ‘friend’; Wr remari ‘man’ (loan from Tr?). The Eu accusative—Eu temáci-ta—shows the 3<sup>rd</sup> syllable to be part of the stem, not a suffix, and Tr ř instead of t in Tr řemari points to initial r-, not t-; and 3<sup>rd</sup> syllable -ci in Eu shows \*-ti > -ri in Tr/Wr. Op ro’omoi ‘youth’ (Shaul 2007) shows Coptic o, and the others show the other vowel or may be due to unstressed centralization. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

#### **Egyptian x > Uto-Aztec k, as Semitic x > k also**

**170** Egyptian(F) **txi** ‘be drunk, drink deep’; Egyptian txt ‘drunkenness’; Egyptian(F) **txw** ‘drunkard’:  
UACV10 \***tiku** ‘drunk’: Wr tekú ‘be drunk’; Tr(B) tégu- / téku- ‘to be drunk, pl’; rikú ‘embriagarse’; Tr(B) řiku ‘become drunk, sick, faint’; Tr(B) téguri/tékuri ‘ebrios, borrachos, pl’; WTr reku ‘drink’; WTr reku-me ‘drunkard’ (Burgess 1984, 34); Tr(H) tékuri ‘borrachos, pl’; rikurí ‘borracho, sg’; Tr(H) rikú ‘emborracharse’; Tr(J) rikú- ‘get dizzy’; Op teteku ‘said when a sick person is very restless’. Add ST tukgia ‘drunk, delirious with fever’ (ST g < \*w). For another instance of UA forms being verbalizations from the noun CCw rather than the verb CCi, we also see Egyptian bši ‘to vomit’ > Egyptian bšw ‘vomit, n’ > UA \*piso-ta ‘to vomit’ (138), and 1<sup>st</sup> V approximates Coptic tihe. In Num, we see Hebrew/Egyptian x > Num hkk medially, allowing Mn tihuyee ‘angry’ and Sh tuhu/tuhuC ‘angry.’ [SUA: Trn, Opn, Tep; NUA: Num]

**294** Egyptian **xpš** ‘foreleg, thigh’: UA \***kapsi** ‘thigh’; see fuller treatment at 294.

**295** Egyptian **xpd** ‘buttock’ > UA \***kupta** ‘buttocks’; Egyptian **xpdw** ‘buttocks’ > UA \***kupitu** ‘buttocks’; see at 295.

**171** Egyptian(F) **sxn** / **zxn** ‘kidney fat, kidney tallow, pancreas’ (Faulkner, Hannig):  
UACV1257 \***sikun** ‘kidney’: -skun of Ca pípiviskun; Eu cikúr; Yq sikúpuriam /sikúpuliam;  
AYq sikupuriam; My sikipuriam; Wr cihkipúni; PYp kuplida. We see final -n in Ca and the Cahitan forms suggest a cluster; otherwise, AYq would show -v- instead of -p-. Eu cikúr may be the only isolated form; \*sikun does compound as \***sikuC-puriya** ‘kidney’, as PYp, Yq, AYq, My, and Wr combine \*sikun/ciki and \*puriya to yield \***sikupuriya**, which explains both Cah \*sikupuria and PYp kuplida well, with syncope of the 2nd u and loss of initial hi- (<\*si-) in the latter. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah; NUA: Tak]

**172** Egyptian(H) **nwx** ‘verbrannt [burnt, singed], versengt warden [become scorched]’, ausglühen [glow], zerkochen [to cook thoroughly]; Egyptian(F) **nwx** ‘to heat, vt; be scorched, vi’:  
UACV523 \***noko** ‘to roast (often meat), v’: LNum114 \*no(h)ko ‘to roast meat’; M88-no10 ‘to roast meat’; KH/M-no10: NP no’ho ‘to roast, bake’; Sh nokko ‘to roast, bake’; Cm nohko / noki ‘bake biscuits’;

Tb nohot~'onoh 'to roast in the ground'; Tb nohoo'yat~'onohooi' 'roast, vi'; Tb nohoo'yiin 'roast, vt' (Tb h < PUA \*k). Egyptian 'be scorched' and UA 'roast meat' and all three consonants as expected all bide well. Hp nõq- 'word-forming element having reference to meat' also fits. [SUA: Num, Hp, Tb]

**173** Egyptian(H) nwx 'verbrannt [burnt, singed], versengt warden [become scorched]', ausglühen [glow], zerkochen [to cook thoroughly]; Egyptian(F) nwx 'to heat, vt; be scorched, vi':

UACV1434b \*naka 'meat': CL.Azt108 \*naka 'meat': CN naka-tl; Pl nakat; Po neket; T nakatl; Z nakat. Besides \*naka meaning both 'bighorn' and 'meat', so does \*pa'a mean both.

UACV1434a \*naka 'mountain sheep': KH/M-na29: Kw nagi 'bighorn sheep'; Ch nagá 'mountain sheep'; SP nağa-ci 'mountain sheep'; WMU naagá-či / nağá-či 'bighorn, mountain sheep'; CU nağá-či 'bighorn sheep'. I agree with Ken Hill in this being cognate with Azt \*naka 'meat'; a different voweling than 172. [idddua] [NUA: SNum; SUA: Azt]

**174** Egyptian(F) sxt 'field, country, pasture, willow, n.f.'; Coptic sooše:

UACV1055a \*sakat / \*sakaC 'willow': Sapir; CL.Azt72 \*saka 'grass'; Fowler83; Munro.Cup138 \*šaxá-t 'willow'; KH.NUA; M88-sa26; KH/M-sa26: Cp sáxa-t; Ca sáxa-t 'willow tree'; Ls šaxá-t 'arroyo willow'; Sr haqat; Tj saxát/sakát 'sauz [willow]'. Miller lists only Tak forms. Ken Hill and Sapir include CN saka-tl 'grass' with which I agree. Hill also rightly adds WSh saka-ppin 'type of willow'; Ch sagávi 'willow'; Hp tīisaqa 'grass'; Ktn hakat 'willow'; Tr sakará 'zacate'; Pl sakat 'grass, straw'. Add NP saga-pi 'plant, several kinds of trees in the willow family'; ST va-haak 'caña de zacate'; Tbr haka 'straw'; Ch(L) sagah and Ch(L) sagaavasī'api 'willow sapling used in house construction'. Absolutive -p in NP, -pp in WSh and -t in Tak all suggest a final C: \*sakat 'willow'. The semantic split is interesting: 'willow' in Tak and Num (most of NUA), but 'grass' in Hp and SUA, and both in Egyptian. Sapir ties the CN form to \*saka 'willow,' which is what the Egyptian-UA tie suggests also, since both Egyptian and UA terms mean both 'grass/pasture' and 'willow'. Most interesting is Hp tīisaqa 'grass, hay' because Egyptian sxt is a feminine noun and Egyptian t'- 'the' is the feminine definite article prefix and we see exactly that in Hopi, while the others show sakat without it. [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

Note in 174 above and 175 below that both NP and SNum have reflexes in both \*saka and \*sihi, perhaps from early cyclical borrowings. For now Miller's separation of \*saka and \*sihi is useful.

**175** Egyptian(F) sxt 'field, country, pasture, willow, n.f.'; Coptic sooše:

UACV2552 \*sihi 'willow': I.Num197 \*sihi 'willow'; M88-si12; KH/M-si12: Mn sihibi; NP siibi 'silver willow'; TSh siipin; Sh sihi-pin; Kw sii-vi; CU sii-vi-pi 'cottonwood tree'. Intervocalic \*-k- > -h- and rising \*a > i may tie this to \*saka 'willow, grass': NP saga-pi 'kinds of willows' and NP siibi 'silver willow' being one from each, perhaps also \*sihipi 'sumac, squaw bush, Rhus trilobata (used for weaving)'. [NUA: Num]

**176** Egyptian(H) x'm 'verbeugen [to bow], sich verbeugen [to bow, bend oneself], beugen [to bend]';

Egyptian(F) x'm 'bend arm in attitude of respect; bend back; bow down':

UACV438 \*kom/\*ko'om 'bend', \*(noC)-ko'mi 'to bend': M88-no1 'bend'; M88-ko14; KH/M-ko14: Kw nokkomi 'to bend, be bent'; SP nohkommi / nokko'mi 'bend, vi, be bent'; CU komo'ni-ci 'bend, twist, curve, turn, n'. Note the glottal stops in UA also. Miller has these SNum forms combined with \*koli forms, yet differing in 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant. Add WMU hiaqqwǒ'mi 'bend (in road), crook (in arm)'. [NUA: SNum]

As in 'bending arms' or 'wrapping arms around to hug s.o. or carry s.th.' note:

UACV384 \*koma 'hug, carry in arms': M88-ko3 'hug, carry in arms'; KH/M-ko3: TO koom-k 'hug'; TO koom-č 'have in one's arms'; Wt komi 'hug, carry a person or animal'; My koomim 'los gatos (biceps)'; PYp komi 'carry in arms'; Tr omabi 'cross or fold arms, wrap or dress oneself in s.th.'; NT koomiátugai 'carry in the arms'; NT kokóomityukui 'abrazarlo, vt'; ST koomkia / koomkk / koomkiču 'hug'. [idddua] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]

**177** Egyptian(H) x'm 'verbeugen [to bow], sich verbeugen [to bow, bend oneself], beugen [to bend]';

Egyptian(F) x'm 'bend arm in attitude of respect; bend back; bow down'; relevant to the Egyptian semantics of 'bending the back' to 'bow down' is the meaning of 'down(ward)' in UA:



**UACV702 \*ko'om** 'down, low': M88-ko5 'below'; KH/M-ko5: Eu kom 'para abajo [downward]'; Wr ko'miná 'cuesta abajo [downhill]; Tr go'ná 'abajo'; My kóm (appears in phrases meaning down(ward)); My kó'omi 'abajo'; ko'mi 'abajo'. Add first part of Tb 'omholok 'under'. Yq kom 'para abajo'. [idddua] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]

**178** Egyptian(H) x'i 'eine Krankheit [a disease]'; Egyptian(H) x'yt / h'yt 'Gemetzal [slaughter, carnage], Leichenhaufen [corpse-heap]'; Egyptian(H) x'yt 'Leiden [suffering], Krankheit [illness, disease]'; Egyptian(F) x'yt 'slaughter, carnage'; Egyptian(F) x'yt 'illness, disease'; Egyptian(F) x'i 'sickness'; Egyptian(F) x't / h't 'corpse'; Egyptian(F) h'yt 'corpse-heap'; Egyptian(F) h't 'disease'. Whether the nouns xo'yat 'disease, corpse, slaughter' from an unattested verb x'i / h'i 'die/kill' or from a denominalized verb, the UA verbs mean 'die, sleep, vi (of pl subj's)' or 'kill, vt (pl obj's)' and phonologically match perfectly. UACV1190a **\*koy** / **\*ko'ya** / **\*ko'ya** 'fight': B.Tep102 \*kokodai 'he fights'; M88-ko30 'fight'; KH/M-ko30: UP kokida; LP kokda; NT kokodai; ST kookda; TO kokda 'kill, pl obj's.'

**UACV1190b \*ko'ya** / **\*ko'Vya**; AMR **\*ko'yi** 'die, pl subj; kill, pl obj.': VVH45 \*koya 'to kill, pl'; B.Tep106a \*kooda 'to kill pl obj's' and B.Tep106b \*koi 'he killed pl. obj's'; M67-129a \*koi 'die'; I.Num59 \*ko'i 'kill, die, sleep'; KH.NUA; L.Son87 \*ko 'morirse'; L.Son99 \*koya, ko-i 'matar pl obj's'; M88-ko8 'die'; KH/M-ko8 \*ko'yi (AMR): Mn qoi 'kill pl obj's'; NP koi/koi'hu 'kill pl obj's'; TSh ko'i 'die, pl subj's'; Sh koiC 'die, pl subj's'; Cm kooi 'die, pl subj's'; Kw ko'i 'kill pl obj's'; SP ko'i 'kill pl obj's, go to sleep, pl subj's'; SP ako'i 'sleep, pl.'; CU ko'ay 'slaughter, kill en masse'; Ls qi'éé 'kill pl obj's'; Sr qö'ai 'die, be sick, vi pl'; Hp qöya 'kill pl obj's'; TO koo'i 'die, pl'; TO kokda 'kill, pl obj's' and the others from B.Tep102; LP koi 'he killed pl obj's'; NT kooda 'kill pl obj's'; ST kooda 'kill pl. obj's'; Eu koda 'kill pl. obj's'; Tr go'i-mea, go'ya-rī (pret.) 'kill pl obj's'; Wr ko'yá-ni, ko'-ma 'kill pl. obj's'; Wc kukuúya 'kill pl. obj's'; Wc kuuyáa 'war, warrior, kill' belongs, since Wc u < \*o. Miller also includes similar forms such as TO ko' 'corpses'; Wc kúuye sick'; CN kokoa 'sick, hurt, v.refl, hurt, vt'. Tbr konya 'matar [kill]' also probably belongs with nasalization being transcribed as -n-. First vowels, including Hp ö, Wc u, and all other o's, align well with PUA \*o. Ls should show e-i, but i-e happens. Medially we are dealing with a cluster, perhaps -'y-. Note the evidence of y in Eu, Wc, Hp, NT, ST, Wr, Tr go'yá/go'í. Without the final vowel (a), y > i is expectable: \*ko'ya > ko'y > ko'i. PYP and other Tep show y > d: PYP ko'ida 'kill pl obj's'; PYP ko'id 'kill (pret.)'. AMR includes this set in "A Northern UA sound law: \*-c- > -y-," wherein he reconstructs \*ko'yi 'to kill (pl obj)', with which I quite agree, though I would adjust the final vowel to a in light of its presence in Hp, Tr, Wr, Wc, and much of Tep. As for overlap with 'sleep', AMR's sound law \*-c- > NUA y might merge \*koci and \*ko'i/\*ko'y(a) in NUA, but many SUA languages show that a distinction is warranted: Tr/Wr ko'ya/ko'i 'die, kill' vs. Tr/Wr koci 'sleep' and Tep \*koda 'kill' vs. Tep koso 'sleep'. Sr qö'ai (< \*ko'ay) and UP kokida could indicate a 2nd vowel of a—\*ko'aya—easily assimilating to i before y or syncope, both of which we see often. Next is a compound of this stem, and the branch bracket includes both sets, as the compounds below also contain this \*ko'ya.

[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**179** tied to the above with reciprocal \*na- prefix:

**UACV1191 \*na-ko'(i)y(a)** 'fight, hit/kill each other':

NP nakoi; Hp naaqöy-ta; Eu nákoda / náhoda; Tr nakó-; Wr nakó-; Tb noŋooyi 'wrestle'; Cp nánjīš (Cp i < \*o); Kw nonogo'i / nonogwi'i 'fight'; CU nako-ko'ay 'fight'. The reciprocal of \*ko'ya sets the later segments further from initial position, so they tend to reduce more, thus (na-)koy < \*ko'ya is a remarkable preservation for non-initial syllables in UA. The nasalized velar in Tb and Cp, perhaps from nasalization in the environment from initial \*na-. [\*qo > qi/qe Cupan] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn]

### **Egyptian pharyngeal ħ > hu / ho in initial position and w/o/u elsewhere**

**180** Egyptian(H) **ħbi** 'festlich sein [be festive, make festival]'; Egyptian(F) **ħbi** 'be festal, make festival'; Egyptian(F) ħb 'festival':

**UACV1985 \*hupiya** 'sing, song': I.Num38 \*hupi(y)a 'sing, song'; M88-hu12 'song'; KH/M-hu12: Mn hubiyadu 'sing, play instrument, make music'; NP hubia 'sing'; TSh hupia 'song'; Sh hupia 'song'; Cm hubiya 'song, hymn'; Cm nahubiyaarī 'sing a song for s.o.'; Cm hubiyaarī 'cry, yell noisily'; Kw huviya-vi

‘song’; Ch huví-tu ‘sing, v’; Ch huvia-vī ‘song’; SP uvía/uvíC ‘song’; SP uvi-ttu ‘sing a song, song-make, v’; CU ‘uvwi-ya-vī ‘song’. Note the -y- acts as underlying consonant causing gemination in SP. Make festival can semantically slide to feast/eat, drink, sing, dance; e.g., in Egyptian itself, ‘drinking-buddy’ is literally ‘companion of making festival’ (Johnson 2004, 84). [idddua] [NUA: Num]

**181** Egyptian(F/H) ḥnqt ‘Bier [beer]’; Egyptian(H) n’-ḥnqt ‘die Trinker [the drinkers]’:

UA \***hunaka** ‘drunk, alcohol’: Hp hoonāq ‘drunkard, silly person, drinking habit’ (Hp o < \*u of PUA; Hp hoonāq-ti ‘become drunk, crazy’; Hp honāq-kīyi ‘alcoholic drink.’ [NUA: Hp]

**182** Egyptian(F) ḥtp ‘be gracious, be at **peace**, rest, set (of sun), pacify’; Egyptian(H) ḥtp ‘zufrieden sein [be at peace], freundlich, gnädig sein [be friendly, gracious], ruhen [rest], sich niederlassen [let/lay oneself down], untergehen [**go down, set** (of sun, stars, persons in death)], gelegt sein (hr) unter [be laid under]’, ausfallen (Haar) [**fall out (hair)**]’; Egyptian(H) ḥtpyw ‘die Friedfertigen [the peaceable ones]’; Egyptian(H) ḥtpy ‘der Genädige [the gracious/merciful one]’; Egyptian(F) ḥtpyw ‘non-combatants’; Egyptian(L) ḥtp ‘rest, reside, be satisfied, forgive, be merciful / gracious to, be content, at peace, be interred’. Coptic **hotpe**: UACV1616 \***huCpi** ‘**peaceable**’: Hp hopi (< \*huppi) ‘behaving, peaceable, polite’. Hp -p- < \*-pp-/-Cp- (from a cluster, like \*-tp-), because if not a cluster, then PUA \*-p- > Hp -v-. The ‘sun setting’ is very near ‘crossing from east to west’, and note Op ho’oppe ‘be crossed from one place to another’; Op ho’oppe-na ‘cross, vt’. Op actually shows the double -pp-, and Hopi shows it must be \*-pp- underlyingly. Nv hupi ‘appease, pacify’ (Shaul 1982, 14) fits the Hp meaning, both in the area of kind / peaceable, while Op relates to sun/stars setting, going across the sky. Yet all align with Egyptian ḥotpe > UA \*huCpi / hoppi.

UACV703a \***’uppi** (> \*opi) ‘**dive, sink, go down in**’: Ca ’upi ‘dive, vi’ and Ktn ’op-ik ‘dive, sink, vi’ both agree with a medial cluster (\*-pp-/\*-Cp-). Though Tb seems to have lost the gemination—Tb(H) opat ‘dive’; Tb(M) \*’oobat- ‘dive’; Tb(V) ’ob~’o’op ‘dive’—it also belongs, given vowel assimilation (u-a > o-a).

Sr hööp|q ‘drip, leak’ (to drip is also going down);

UA \***hoppi** ‘**hair to fall / come out**’: WSh hopi’i ‘shed fur/hair’; Ch hova ‘pull out’; Ch hovi ‘moult’; SP ova ‘pull hair out, vt’; SP ovi / ova ‘hair comes out, vi’. These lost gemination but Ch and SP show transitive -a and intransitive -i. This can probably be found in other Num languages.

The array of Egyptian semantics ‘peace, go down, set (sun, stars), be buried, hair fall out’ aligning with UA ‘peace / peaceable, go down, sink, cross over (of sun/stars toward setting), hair fall out’ is striking. Note that the following show -a (transitive) vs. -i (stative) and they mean cause to ‘go down’ as untying causes whatever was tied to fall/go down:

UACV703b \***huppa** ‘untie, come loose, let down’: Ch hupá ‘untie’; Ch hupá-ki ‘come untied’; SP uppa ‘untie’ (Miller uhpā); WMU uppaa ‘untie’; Kw nohopī ‘unravel’ (prefix na- assimilated?; Kw nohopī-kwee ‘get loose’; ST hupaañ ‘deshilado [unravel, come undone]’ (pl huupak ‘deshilados’); Hp hòopa ‘peel the skin or covering off a stem by pushing it all to one end, like the paper off a drinking straw’. When peeling off s.th., the coming off is usually downward, and one must loosen before whatever can come down. So ‘loosen/untie’ and ‘peel off’ (Hp) are both semantic extensions of ‘let down’. This is the active/transitive form \*huppa ‘let down, cause to go down (by untying)’ vs. intransitive \*(h)uppi ‘go down, sink’.

[NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb, Num; SUA: Tep, Opn]

**183** Egyptian(H) ḥtp ‘Rastplatz [rest place]’; Egyptian(H) ḥtp ‘gelegt sein’ (hr ‘unter’) [be laid under]’:

UACV1922b \***hīppa** > \***hapa** ‘shade’: TSh hīppa ‘shade, shade house’ and TSh hīppaiya(nna) ‘shadow’; Sh hīpa, hīki, hīka ‘shade’; Mn habaa/hapaa-t ‘to shade’; Mn haba/hapa ‘shade house’; Mn habána ‘in the shade’; NP hapa ‘shade’; Kw hava ‘shade’; SP ava-vi ‘shade’ (cognate? Miller queries; yes, it is only missing initial h-, a very vulnerable whisper diachronically; CU ’aváa ‘shadow’; WMU aváa ‘shade, shadow, n’; Ch(L) hava-vī ‘shade’. Note that TSh shows the original gemination \*-pp- while the rest of Nomic lenited to -p-. [NUA: Num]

**184** Egyptian(F) ḥtp ‘to set, of sun’:

UACV2243a \***huru-** ‘set (of sun), v’: TO hudun ‘set or sink (of sun), v’; Eu urún ‘para el poniente [toward the west]’; Eu urícvai ‘para el poniente’; Eu urícei ‘del poniente [from the west]’; Eu urúkon ‘al poniente’; Op uri / uru ‘west’; ST hurnip ‘poniente, n’; Nv urhunu ‘anocheceer, v’; NT urúúniī ‘hacer tarde’; NT urúúkiī

‘hacer tarde’. Usually Tep h < \*s, but not in Eu and sometimes Tep keeps \*h, and Eu’s stem is more richly productive in its morphological use than is typical of a loan. Many morphemes suffix to \*huru (thus 3<sup>rd</sup> C -p- lost), one of which is the compound below.

UACV2243b \***huruniko** ‘afternoon’: B.Tep79 \*hurunoko/\*huruniko ‘afternoon’; M88-su20; KH/M-su20: UP huduniki; NT urúnoko; ST hurnik; TO huduni ‘descend, set, sink, go down’; TO hudunig ‘sunset, west, evening, night’. This set—Tep huru(p)-ni-ko ‘set/go down-do-at/during’—has its first part from \*huru(p) ‘go down (of sun)’. Eu normally has s < \*s, which leans away from PUA \*s for Tep h, though a Tep loan is possible. But Tep languages occasionally keep \*h, and Eu suggests such here. [SUA: Tep, Opn]

**185** Egyptian(F) **hnt’sw** ‘lizard’; Coptic anθus; with definite article prefix **pV-hnt’sw**:

UACV1380 \***hoto-** ‘lizard’: Eu behór ‘cachorra / cacharron que se come’; Yq behó’orim ‘type of lizard’; Yq porowim ‘sp. of lizard’; My porowim ‘lizard’; Tbr holi/huri ‘iguana’; PYp tohoroki ‘sp. of lizard’; PYp vihul ‘sp. of lizard’; PYp tohorek ‘sp. of lizard’; PYp viuheli ‘sp. of lizard.’ Only Tbr shows \*hotV alone. The others may have Egyptian prefixes fem. t-/tV- and masc. p-/pV- ‘the’ fossilized in the forms. PYp vihul and Yq behó’orim (and My, Eu) look like the masc prefix plus \*hotV; and PYp tohorek and PYp tohoroki as likely contain fossilizations of the fem prefix. The Cah form \*porow is most interesting since (after p-) it shows the rounding of the pharyngeal (in the first o), the cluster -nt- > -t- > -r-, and a w for either ‘ or w and the s is lost. All the others similarly show portions. [SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Tbr]

**186** Egyptian(F) wʃr ‘flee’; Egyptian(H) wʃr ‘fliehen [flee], schnell bewegen [move fast]’;

UACV1024 \***wata** ‘run’: Hp wari(k-) ‘run, race, go by, go wild’; Hp war-ta ‘run fast, run well’; Cr watin ‘to run’; Tbr wota / wuta-ná- ‘to run’; Tb wa’ad-’awa’at ‘run away’. Tbr shows rounding for the pharyngeal, and Tb a glottal stop, but in the others, it seems to have been absorbed into a cluster. [t>r/d] [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: CrC, Tbr]

Sometimes for Egyptian h, the initial h of hu proves fragile and is lost, showing only an initial round vowel:

**187** Egyptian(F/H) **hw’** ‘foul, offensive, putrid, adj; rot, putrify, smell offensive, stink, vi’; Coptic how:

UACV2044 \***hu’a** / \***hu’i** ‘break wind, stink’: Sapir; L.Son65 \*huha/\*huh-i ‘heder’; CL.Azt161 \*ihyaak; CL.Azt210 \*\*hu’a ‘break wind’; KH.NUA; I.Num17 \*u(’)u; KH/M astutely combines ’u3 and hu2; M88-hu2 ‘to fart, break wind’; KH/M-hu2: Kw huu ‘fart,v’; Kw huu-pī ‘fart, n’; SP ooC-; CU ’uu’i ‘fart, v’; CU ’uú-pī ‘fart, n’; Tb ’uumat~’uum; Cp hú’; Ca hú’-il ‘anything that smells’; Tη hohó; Sr huu’; TO uiwi; Eu húha ‘heder [to stink], emporcar el aire [to foul the air]’; Op hu’ua ‘break wind’; Wr uhá-ni; Wr uhí-ma; Tr uhá / uhí / uhú; My húuha; because CN i < \*u, the i’/i’i (or \*u’u) fits of CN i’iiyootiaa ‘breathe, sigh, break wind’; CN (i)’yaaya ‘to stink’; Pl ihyal ‘fart’. Consonant harmony (\*hu’a/hu’i > huha/huhi or ’u’a/’u’i) has many UA forms having h for both consonants or ’ for both consonants—huh, ’u—though some (Sr, Ca, Cp, Kw) show initial h and medial ’, i.e., UA \*hu’ < hw’ of Egyptian, a stunning match. Sapir ties TO and SP, uniting Num and Tep. Note also NP hunkī ‘odor of skunk’ and Sr hukum ‘to smell’ which are at ‘skunk’ also, with \*hupa ‘stink, skunk’. [e1h2,e2w,e3’] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]

**387** Egyptian(H) hwi ‘fliessen, fluten [flow, flood]’; Egyptian(F) hwi ‘surge up, overflow’:

UACV367 \***huwiC** ‘canyon, water way’: Kw huwi-pi-dī ‘canyon’; Ch huwipi (< \*huwippi) ‘wash, canyon’; SP uic ‘canyon, gully’; WMU wii-ppū / wii-ppi ‘flood, where flood flows, a wash, canyon, n’; CU wii ‘be flooding, vi’; Tb wii’it ‘river, stream’; Tb wii’at ‘flow, run (liquid)’. See at 387.

**280** Egyptian **hm’(t)** ‘salt’ > UA \***omwa** / \***oŋa** ‘salt’ is treated below at 280.

**Non-initial Egyptian h > w/u/o**

**188** Egyptian(H) **nḥbt** ‘Hals [neck], Nacken [nape of the neck]’; Egyptian(F) **nḥbt** ‘neck’; Coptic nahbe: as Hebrew šekem ‘shoulder’ slid down the UA arm from shoulder > arm > hand, the same direction of change happened for Egyptian **nḥbt** ‘neck/shoulder’ to UA ‘arm/hand’. Egyptian rmn ‘shoulder, upper arm, carry, arm’ similarly shifted as Hebrew šekem and Egyptian nḥbt in UA, from ‘shoulder’ to ‘arm.’

**UACV1120 \*nohopi > nopi** ‘hand, arm’: B.Tep174 \*novi ‘hand’, \*noonóhovi ‘hands’; M88-no8; KH/M-no8: TO novi ‘hand, arm’ (pl: noonhoi); PYP novi ‘hand’, pl nonovi; Nv novi, pl: nonovi; PB nov ‘hand’; NT novi ‘hand’; ST nov ‘hand, arm’; Op nove ‘hill’ and Op no’ovi-vai ‘wiggle one’s shoulders’. The -h- in TO plural (noonhoi) and in Bascom’s reconstruction of the plural (\*noonóhovi) and other forms suggest another consonant between n- and -v-, a consonant much like ħ > ho. [SUA: Tep, Opn]

**189** Egyptian(H) nĥb ‘anschirren [to harness], ins Joch spannen [to yoke animals]’:

**UACV405 \*noC / \*noCOP** ‘carry on back’: I.Num112 \*no(’)o ‘carry (on the back)’; M88-no6; KH/M-no6: Mn noo ‘carry, pack, haul’; NP no; TSh nooC ‘carry on the back’; Sh nooC; Cm noo ‘haul’; Kw nooC ‘pack or carry on the back’; Kw noo-pī ‘s.th. packed’ (-p- instead of -v- shows final gemination); Ch(L) noogwah ‘carry on back’; Ch(L) ’avi-n’ooci ‘(one who) carried white clay on his back’ (’avi ‘white clay’); SP noo / nooC; CU nōö-’way ‘carry, on back, in hands, on vehicle’; NP(B) noo- / noo’o- ‘carry, transport’; NP(B) noobidū ‘to camp’. Note Mn nobi ‘house’ and Mn nobiha ‘pack, bundle up, vt’ as well as Mn noo ‘carry, pack, haul’ and Cm noo- ‘hill, knoll, hauling’ and others, all suggesting a relationship between \*nooC ‘carry/haul one’s stuff’ to campsite, WMU nōöppi ‘blankets, bedding, camping place, one’s stuff in a pile or place’ and \*nopi ‘make windbreak, wikiup, campsite, camp’s pile of stuff’ (temporary house) and \*no’o(vi) ‘hill’ (mound or pile looking like a pithouse). [NUA: Num]

**190** from Egyptian nĥbt ‘neck’ the semantic change to ‘back/shoulder’ to ‘mound, pithouse’:

**UACV1216 \*nopiC < \*no’piC / \*no’opiC** ‘house’: Mn nobi ‘house’; NP nobe ‘house’; TSh noppoi-cci ‘habitat, home, nest on ground’; Sh nanopi-ppi / nonopi-ppi ‘windbreak, lightly made wikiup with rounded top’. Cf. CNum \*no’opi ‘mountain top’ at mountain and Op nove ‘hill’. I had suspected that WNum \*nopi ‘house’ is from a ‘mound-like’ term, as pit-houses look like mounds on the landscape, then found the CNum terms that mean ‘mountain top’. In SNum is SP novi ‘put bark over’ and SP novi-ppi ‘bark covering, windbreak’ which is mound-looking and used as a temporary house when traveling, as well as Kw novi-pī ‘windbreak, n’. Note also WMU nōöppi ‘blankets, bedding, camping place, one’s stuff in a pile or place’. And compare Mn nobitu ‘build a house’ and NP nobidiga ‘to camp, v’. So the term is in each branch, and with overlapping meanings. Mn nobi ‘house’ and Mn nobiha ‘pack, bundle up, vt’ as well as Mn noo ‘carry, pack, haul’ and Cm noo- ‘hill, knoll, hauling’ and others, all suggest a relationship between \*nooC ‘carry/haul one’s stuff’ to campsite as in WMU nōöppi ‘blankets, bedding, camping place, one’s stuff in a pile or place’ and Num \*nopi ‘make windbreak, wikiup, campsite, camp’s pile of stuff’ (temporary house) and CNum \*no’o(vi) ‘hill’ (mound or pile or pithouse). Hebrew baamaa ‘back, hill’ has the same pair of meanings we see in Numic’s semantic shift ‘back’ to ‘mound’. [NUA: WNum, CNum, SNum]

**UACV1461 \*no’opi** ‘mountain top, hill, mound’: TSh noopi ‘mountain top’ (no absolutive suffix, so -pi is part of the stem); Sh(C) no’o-pin ‘a hill, a rise, a small round hill’ (Crapo); Cm noo- ‘hill, knoll’, reference to ‘hauling’ (probably as in ‘pile of’); Op nove ‘hill’. This likely ties to SNum nooC-pV ‘campsite, carried/hailed stuff’ and to WNum \*nopi ‘house’ because pit houses look like mounds or little hills.

[NUA: CNum; SUA: Opn]

**207** Egyptian tḫt ‘hole, den, hole of a snake’: UA \*tapu ‘hole’; see fuller treatment at 207.

**191** Egyptian(F) rxt ‘to wash (clothes)’; Egyptian(F) rxyt ‘washerman’:

Tr(H) rihata ‘desgastarse (tierra por las lluvias) [for rain to wash / erode / wear away dirt], vi’;

Tr(H) rihači ‘arroyo [wash]’.

### **Egyptian h = h or Egyptian h > ’ in a cluster**

**192** Egyptian nhp ‘copulate’; Coptic nuuhb; Hebrew n’p ‘be adulterous’ (K&B note this may tie to Egyptian nhp); Aramaic(J) n’p ‘be adulterous’:

**UACV532 \*na’pa / \*naCpa** ‘join/be together, copulate’: Tr na’pe ‘unirse a alguien en union sexual [copulate]’; Tr napa ‘union, joining’; Wr na’pa ‘a pair, the two joined together’; Wr na’pe ‘mix, join’;

Yq naápo ‘a lado de, junto de [at the side of, together with]’; Ktn nap-ik ‘be stuck together’ (Ktn would have -v- unless there was an underlying cluster, thus evidence for the medial cluster \*-’p-); Ktn napa-wicu’ ‘splice a rope (< together + twist)’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah]

**193** Egyptian **mhr** / **mhi** ‘milk-jar’; Egyptian **mhit** ‘milkcow’:

UACV1439 \***mu’i** ‘milk’: M67-284 \*mu ‘milk’; M88-mu8 ‘milk’; KH/M-mu8: SP muí-vi ‘milk’; SP muí-ni ‘my milk’; Wr mu’i- ‘to have much milk (of animals)’; Cr ci’iméh. Add 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable of Tr či’-mu- ‘have milk’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, CrC]

### **Egyptian d > s in Uto-Aztecan**

As in the Semitic-p in UA, **Egyptian d > s in UA** also, for in Afro-Asiatic and in the ancient Near East, Egyptian d corresponded to Hebrew š, which in turn also became s in UA’s Semitic-p data.

**194** Egyptian(F) **d’i** ‘1. extend, cross (water, area), 2. pierce, transfix, 3. devour (food)’:

UACV622a \***sowa** ‘pierce, prick’: CN soo ‘pierce, draw blood’; CN so’soo ‘string things together by piercing and threading them’; CN so’soowa ‘pierce, nail s.th., vt’; CN so’solwaa (applicative of so’soo); Yq sóa ‘apuñalar, picar’; Yq sóosok ‘clavarse una atilla, espinarse’; AYq soa ‘poke, prick, puncture’; AYq hih/his-soa ‘poke, prick, vt’; My sóiya ‘picarse’; Tr so- ‘pierce’; Tr čihiso- ‘pierce, prick, puncture’; Tr nata ‘abertura’; Tr nata-so- ‘pierce’; Wc šuu ‘ensartar [string, as beads]’ (Wc u < \*o).

UACV622b \***so’a** / \***so’i** ‘pierce, sew, shoot arrow’: KH.NUA: Sr hö’ai ‘sew’; Ls šé’i ‘shoot with a bow, pierce one’s body’ (Ls e < \*o). The semantics of ‘pierce’ in both a and b, as well as Sr ‘sew’ and CN ‘thread’ likely tie these together, pun intended. [w/’] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

UACV2297 \***so’i** ‘thorn, pierce’: VVH132 \*so’i ‘thorn’; B.Tep74 \*ho’i ‘thorn’; L.Son255 \*so, so-i ‘espinarse’; M88-so2; KH/M-so2: Ls šé’i ‘pierce, shoot with a bow’; Sr hö’i ‘to sew’; TO ho’i; LP ho’i/hoi’; PYp ho’i; NT hoí; NT óimadaí ‘espinar’; NT óídyadí ‘espina’; ST hoí/hoii; Wr so’i ‘espinarse’; Tr so’iwá ‘espina, astilla’; Tr so’(w)i-mea ‘pierce’; My soóso-k ‘se espinó’; AYq sooso ‘thorn, sticker’; HN so’ ‘to string with a needle and thread’; Nv hoi ‘espina [thorn]’. What of CN pa’sol-li ‘briar patch’? [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]

**195** While Egyptian(F) **d’i** ‘devour’ has same UA correspondences as Egyptian s’i ‘sich sättigen, satt warden, satt [be satisfied, sated], zufrieden sein [be contented]’, we must also consider Egyptian swr / swi ‘trinken, saufen (Tiere) [drink, sup (animals)]:

UACV781 \***suwa** / \***su(C)wi(C)** / \***suCCaC** ‘eat up, consume(d), die’: VVH72 \*suwi/\*suwa ‘consume, eat up, finish’; M67-130 \*sua / \*suwa ‘die’; M67-153 \*suwa ‘eat’; I.Num183 \*su’a ‘eat, consume, finish up’; L.Son266a \*suwi ‘agotarse’; 266b \*suw-a ‘agotar’; B.Tep75 \*hugi ‘eat’; M88-su3 ‘finish, consume, use up’; KH/M-su3 \*suCHaC (AMR): Mn su’a ‘eat all, eat up’; NP soo’a ‘eat up, consume’; NP sua ‘consume’; Kw soo-kkwee ‘consume, eat up’; SP šua ‘consume (usually food)’; CU suwa-y ‘eat up’; Hp sowa ‘eat up, consume, devour’; TO hugiog ‘destroy, spend, use up’; TO huhug ‘perish, die’ (cf. Hp so’a ‘die, perish, pl’); Wr soa- ‘consumir’; Wr soa-pa-ni ‘be used up, be out of’; Tr suwí- ‘acabarse, agotarse, morir’; My súwwa ‘kill pl. obj’s’; Tbr suhi / zuwi / zuñwá ‘acabarse’ (a nasalization occurs in the Tbr reflex of \*suwa, as in the Tb reflex of \*pusi ‘eye’; and Num at brown); Wc ši ‘acabar’. In his dictionary, Miller separates Wr suení ‘cross the river’ and Wr suení ‘finish’ though the Wr forms are identical, yet ‘cross the river’ is exactly one of the Egyptian meanings, as well as ‘finish (up), eat, consume’; i.e., both meanings are in Egyptian and UA. With an extra morpheme are My ansu ‘be finished’; AYq ansu ‘finish up, vi’; AYq ansuwa ‘end, terminate, be finishing up’. Miller includes Pl seewi ‘go out, die out, be extinguished’; CN seewi ‘calm down, take a rest, cool off’. Perhaps CN tetešoa ‘gnaw, chew’ or AYq sauwa ‘use, vt’.

[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**196** Note Egyptian(F) **d’i** ‘cross (water, sky)’ and Wr suení ‘cross the river’ (if -ní another morpheme), but Wr suéla ‘edge, border’ is at 1074 Semitic saahjil > UACV792 \***suwi(y/l)a** ‘end, edge, shore, border’: B.Tep76 \*hugida ‘edge’.

**197** Egyptian(F) **ḏṣb** ‘coal-black’; Egyptian(F) **ḏṣbt** ‘charcoal’:

**UACV243** \***so’opa** ‘black, dark’: Eu sóbei / só’obei ‘black’; Eu soba / sobé ‘become black’; Op sovai / sovei ‘black’; Cr sú’umuara’a ‘está negro o prieto (persona)’. Also Eu sovewa ‘blacken, soil with soot, smudge’. Note both the presence and lack of glottal stop in the same language (Eu), which was left out when lengthened by affixes, as in other forms above (see at Egyptian x’m, 176-7). [SUA: Opn, CrC]

**198** Egyptian(F) **ḏ’rt** ‘bitter gourd’:

**UACV2140** \***sawara** ‘gourd’: Tr sáwara ‘maraca, sonaja’; Wc kišáuri ‘jicara’. Metathesis would admit CU wəsáraa-ganá-pī ‘gourd, calabash, rattle’, and CU and Kw at **UACV2137** \***soko** both contain \*-kana, isolating that morpheme. Wc has an extra initial kī-. [NUA: Num; SUA: TrC, CrC]

**199** Egyptian(H) **ḏb** ‘bekleiden [to clothe], wechseln (kleider) [change (clothes)], vt’;

Egyptian(H) **ḏb** ‘ein Gewand (für Götter) [garment (for gods)]’; Egyptian(H) **ḏb’yt** ‘eine Kleid [item of clothing, garment], n.f.’; Egyptian(F) **ḏb** ‘clothe, adorn’; Egyptian(F) **ḏb** ‘garment (worn by god)’ (Cerny 1976, 181; Faulkner and Hannig, all have ‘worn by gods’); Egyptian **ḏb’t** ‘robing-room’; Coptic tebi ‘strip, bandage, linen’:

**UACV491a** \***sipu** > \***si’pu** ‘underclothing, slip, skirt, shirt, clothing’: Wr si’picá ‘skirt’; Tr sipuca ‘skirt, enaguas, gown’; Tr siputa-ma ‘put on skirt, enaguas, gown’; Cp hísexve-l ‘clothing, goods’; vowel leveling in Cp, since i is between i and u: \*si’pu- > \*síkpi. Tr showing t rather than the usual -r- for intervocalic -t-, suggests a 3<sup>rd</sup> C glottal stop at the end which jumped to before p in Wr and Cp. Cp -x- aligns with glottal stop of Wr. Wr si’picá ‘skirt’ and Tr sipuca may reflect Egyptian **ḏb’yt** ‘a garment’ in light of other -yt- > UA -c-. Tr has vowel u, expected for the glottal stop after the bilabial, yet Wr actually shows the glottal stop, though transposed as usual, and the vowel assimilated (\*i-u > i-i). Add Sr havīṭ ‘clothes, blanket’ (Sr h < \*s). The forms below also tie to Egyptian **ḏb**’.

**UACV491b** \***supi** ‘shirt, clothing’: Yq súpé/súupe ‘camisa [shirt]’; Yq supe-téne; AYq supem ‘shirt, blouse’; AYq supete ‘put on shirt or dress, v’; My súpé-te ‘está vestíendose [get dressed], v’; My súppem ‘vestido, camisola, camisa, n’. This Cahitan etymon likely anticipates the vowels of 199 sipu above. Note the similarity of Egyptian -b’- > Wr -’p- in Egyptian sb’ ‘star’ > Wr so’pori ‘star’ and Egyptian **ḏb** ‘clothe, adorn; garment’ > Wr si’pica ‘skirt’ and Egyptian it’ > Wr i’tu and ‘jackrabbit’, wherein the glottal stop hops to precede the preceding consonant. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah]

**200** Egyptian(F) **ḏbt** ‘brick’; Egyptian(H) **ḏbt** ‘Ziegel [brick]’; Coptic tobe / to’obe ‘adobe’:

**UACV2** \***supa-** ‘adobe’: Dakin 1982-84; Stubbs2003-8: Tr supá-na-ri ‘adobe’ (Tr supá-na- ‘make adobe’); Tr supá-ca-ri ‘adobe’; Wc šinariya ‘adobe’. To Dakin’s astute observations, add NT úúpasai ‘el adobe’; NT úúpastai ‘hacer adobe [make adobe]’. As UA \*s > Tep h, then Tep h > ø in NT, the NT úúpasai fits the 2<sup>nd</sup> Tr form perfectly, i.e., Tr supá-ca-ri. Length and two different Tr terms combine to suggest we are dealing with a compound. The 1<sup>st</sup> Tr term and Wc both have \*su...nari in common, since Wc i < \*u. Furthermore, in CrC, \*p > h/ø, which would encourage the loss of the isolated vowel as 2<sup>nd</sup> element of a diphthong: \*supa-na > \*sia-na > \*si-na. All 3 forms suggest a reconstruction of PUA \*supa, and two forms suffix \*-ca for \*supa-ca (Tr, NT) and two suffix \*-na for \*supa-na (Tr, Wc). The Tr -na- and -ca- syllables are causative morphemes, and -ri is a noun suffix; so the stem \*supa corresponds perfectly with Egyptian **ḏbt** and the round vowel of Coptic (Cerny 1976, 181), as well as a final -a for the fem. noun ending. Spanish adobe is also from Egyptian, though Egyptian **ḏ** > t in Coptic and thus Spanish, but Egyptian **ḏ** > s in UA. [medial \*p > h/ø in CrC, then syllable loss] [SUA: Trn, CrC, Tep]

**201** Egyptian(H) **ḏnnwt** ‘Schlange, Stirmschlange [snake species]’ (less likely snw ‘brother’):

**UACV2062** \***sinawi** ‘snake’: L.Son243 \***sino** ‘culebra’: Tbr sinawe ‘reptile’; Tbr hi-sinawe-ra-t ‘gila monster’; Wr sinói ‘snake’; Wr wetésinoi ‘kind of small snake’; Tr sinowi ‘snake’; Tr fisínoa ‘a black poisonous serpent’; Op sino-t ‘snake’; maybe Cm kwasinaboo ‘snake’ and the -sin- in Sh pasin-nuyua ‘water snake’ (western dialect) (cf. Sh nuyua ‘crawl (as snake)’) and Sh pasin-kokon ‘water snake’. If \*pi- is a prefix, then Nv vinoi may belong since \*s > Tep h would leave h hardly durable: \*vihnoi > vinoi. Ktn šunišuni ‘snake motion, like a snake, adv’ has vowels reversed, but is mentionable. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr, Tep]

## Egyptian t = Uto-Aztecan t

202 Egyptian(F) **tm** ‘negative, no, not’; Egyptian(H) **tm** ‘negative’:

UA \*tami ‘no, negative’: ST čam ‘no, not’; Tr(B) tami / ta ‘no’; WTr ta’me ‘no, negative’ [SUA: Tep, Trn]

203 Egyptian(F) **tm** ‘close (mouth)’; Egyptian(F) **tm** ‘be complete’; Hebrew **tm** ‘be complete, finished’:

UACV464 \***tīmaC** / \***tīmam** ‘to close’: Sapir; M67-90 \*tem ‘close’; KH.NUA; I.Num241 \*tīma/\*tama ‘close’; M88-ti38 ‘to close’; KH/M-ti38: NP wī-tīma ‘lock up, tie shut’; NP ma-tīma ‘close (book)’; Cm tīmari ‘fill, cover, put lid on’; TSh tīmah; Sh tīmah ‘to close in, lock in’; Sh tīmiih ‘to close in, lock in pl. obj’s’; SP tījwa ‘to close’; CU tuwáy ‘to close, lock, shut’; Cp tēme ‘to cover, close, enclose’; Ca tēmi ‘to close, lock up’; Sr tīmk/tīmīhk ‘close, shut, vi’; Sr tīm(īh)kin ‘close, shut, vt’; Ktn tīmk ‘shut, lock, plug up’; Ktn tīmkī-t ‘lid, door’; Ch tīwá ‘close, v’; Ch tīwá-pī ‘door, closing’; WMU tuwámpū(ġ)a ‘door (itself), of cupboard or whatever’; WMU yūūruwampū(ġ)a ‘door or doorway (of house)’. Sapir ties the SP form with CN teema ‘cause s.th. to fill up, pour into a container, vt’; CN teemi ‘fill up, be full, vi’. Sapir’s association seems reasonable in light of other forms like NP to/ci-tīmma ‘plug a hole’, where the notions of filling, plugging, and closing are closely associated. Iannucci’s reconstruction (\*tīma) is good, adding a geminated or final underlying -C, evident in Ch, CNum, and specifically a nasal in WMU. Tb(H) tumaaw ‘fail, vi’ [nasals] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Azt]

204 Coptic tbt/tebt ‘fish’ (Cerny 1976, 183, Smith 1983, 43):

UACV894a \*(**pa**-)topa ‘fish’: B.Tep263 \*vatopa-i ‘fish’; M67-174 \*top ‘fish’; Fowler83; M88-to15 ‘fish’; KH/M-to15: TO watopi; PYP vatopa; LP vatap; NT vatóopa; ST vatoop; mostly Tep, perhaps Tr ró’či. \*pa- likely ‘water.’

UACV894b \***topo** ‘fish sp’: CN(RJC) topo-tl ‘small fish’; Mecayapan Nahuatl topoh ‘fish’; Tbr tepó ‘catfish’. Elliot (2000, 1410) finds enough Ls fish words ending in -pu, he suspects -pu ‘fish’.

Or Arabic θuʕbaan ‘fish, eel’? [final -a/o alternation] [e1t,e2b] [SUA: Tep, Azt, TrC]

## Egyptian t̥ > t in UA, as t̥ > t in Egyptian also

205 Egyptian(H) **t̥’y** (**t̥’w**) ‘Mann [man], männliche Person [male], männliches Kind [male child];

Egyptian(F) **t̥’y** ‘male, man’:

UA \***tawi** > \***tīwi** ‘man, male’ appears in SUA, while many NUA forms derive from the reduplicated form \*tatawa > \*tatwa > \*takwa > \*taŋ’wa- ‘man’ (CV-1416a below). Most of Num has forms of \*taŋ’wa- with Tb taatwa-l ‘man’ providing a key, as Manaster-Ramer (1991d, 1993a) explained how PUA \*-tw- > -kw-.

UACV1416a \***tawa**; redupl’d \*tatawa > \*tatwa > \*takwa/\*taŋwa > \*ta’wa/\*taN’wa ‘man’ (as AMR affirms): Sapir; M67-273a \*tawa; 273c \*tana/\*ta; I.Num213 \*teŋa ‘man’; M88-ta26; AMR 1991d; KH/M-ta25: TSh taŋummī / taŋwammī ‘man’; Sh tenkwa, tenna; Cm tenahpī; Kw ta’ni-ppīci; Ch taw’a-ci; Ch(L) taw’wa-ci; SP taŋ’wa-ci; WMU ta’wa-či ‘man’; CU ta’wá-ci; Tb taatwa-l. WMU has nasalized vowels that other Ute dialects do not have or are not recorded. Manaster-Ramer (1991d, 1993a) proposes \*-tw- > -kw-, well supported by the Tb form. These contrast with TSh takkan ‘sperm, semen’ and TSh takkampin ‘arrowhead, obsidian, flint’ and other Num forms listed above with \*taka ‘man’. These link to SNum \*tuwa ‘(bear) a son’ and see \*tīwi ‘man’ below.

UACV1416b \***tawi** > \***tīwi** ‘person’: Sapir; M67-273b \*tewi ‘person’; M88-ti9; KH/M- ti9: Cr t̥’évi, pl: taiite; Wc téví / téwí ‘persona’; Wc teitéri ‘gente, indígenas’. Sapir also cites Pima tiwo-t, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> part of CN okič-tiu ‘older brother’ fits CrC \*tīwi. Miller and Hill understandably join the \*tīhoy (1240) and tīwi forms, as a simple loss of -h- yields exactly that (\*tīhoy > tīwi); but a few things like Tr tewe / towí ‘boy’ vs. Tr réhói ‘man’ suggest separate sets (Hernandez 2003, 165), and an earlier Kiowa-Tanoan form of Kiowa togul ‘young man’ may tie to \*tīhoy as loan source (g > h). Those and initial \*ta in the Cr pl may suggest a vowelizing variation of \*tawa (> \*tawi > \*tewi/tīwi), that is, \*tawa, the reduplicated stem in Tb and Num \*tatwa > Num taNkwa, with nasalization from laryngeal’. Hp tiyo ‘boy’ (pl: tootim) aligns with CN, Pima, Tr, etc, in \*tewe/tiwi > tiw/tiyo. What of Hp ti ‘child, offspring’?

[NUA: Tb, Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, CrC, Azt]

**206** Egyptian(H) **t'y** (**t'w**) 'Mann [man], männliche Person [male], männliches Kind [male child]; Egyptian(F) **t'y** 'male, man'; another denominalized verb in UA of 'have a son/male' from 'son/male': UACV139a **\*tuwaC** / **\*tu'aC** 'to bear, son, child': M67-54 \*tu 'boy'; I.Num233 \*tu(w)ah/\*tu(w)a('a) 'boy, son, child'; M88-tu9; Miller, Elzinga, McLaughlin 2005; KH/M-tu9: Mn tuwa 'child, son, son of sibling of same sex'; Mn tuwa-mī-du 'to give birth'; NP tua 'son'; TSh tuaC-/ tuacci 'son'; Sh tua 'son, child'; Sh tuaC 'give birth to'; Sh tutuah 'be born'; Cm tua 'son'; Kw tuwa 'son'; Ch(L) tuwa / Ch túa 'man's son'; Ch tua-ni / tu'aa-ni 'my son' (cf. Ch tu'aa 'marrow'); SP tuaC 'child, son, give birth to'; CU tua-ci 'son'; CU tuay 'give birth to'; Tb tu'mul 'baby, offspring'; Cr -tī'irīi-múa 'son of a man'; because Cr ī < \*u, the tī'i (\*tu'u) portion of Cr pa'ari'i 'boy, girl, sg.'; Cr tī'irīi 'boys, girls, pl.'. Besides Numic, Tb, and Cr, note others such as Nv tuturh 'hijo (por parte del padre)' and Cp tú'a 'to bear fruit'. PB tutur 'son of a woman' (the r/d of Tepiman corresponds to \*y).

UACV139b **\*tuwiC** / **\*tu'iC** 'boy, child': M88-tu10 'young man'; I.Num222 \*tuipihci('i) 'young man'; KH/M-tu10: NP tuipicci 'teenage boy'; TSh tui-cci; Sh tuini-(ppi) 'boy'; Sh natuipicci/ tuicci 'young man, boy'; Cm tuinihpī 'boy, sg'; Tb tu'ilam 'boy'; Ch(L) tu'waci 'young of animal'; Tr(B) towí 'niño, muchacho [boy]'; Tr(H) towí 'muchacho, niño' also fits, as \*u > Tr o, u. Because final a vs. i alternations are common in UA, the \*tuwa/\*tuwi forms are surely related. In fact, the vowelings \*tuwaC 'bear, vt' as a transitive form and \*tuwiC as a stative result (child born) may be original. More interesting is the occasional glottal stop (in both Tb forms, Cr, Cp, Ch). One variant of the Eu term for themselves is Eu eutewe, which may contain tewe. Perhaps \*toti: Tj točinit 'hombre'; Sr tičint, pl: tičinam 'young man'; Hp tootim 'boys (pl. of tiyo)'. [w/'] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

**207** Egyptian(H) **tpht** 'Höhle [cave, hole, den], Loch [hole]; Egyptian(F) **tpht** 'cavern, hole (of snake)': UA **\*tapu** 'hole': Wr natapú-na 'make a hole through something'; Tr repó-kari 'hole of a burrowing animal or its litter'; Mn tapogi 'cave'; NP tibbogi 'cave, perhaps 'hole-house' with \*ki 'house.' [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

**208** Egyptian(H) **tjn** 'glänzend sein [be shiny], funkeln [sparkle, glitter], leuchten [shine, gleam]'; Egyptian(H) **tjnln** 'glänzen [shine, gleam], heiter sein [be bright]'; Egyptian(F) **tjn** 'to gleam'; Egyptian(F) **tjnw** 'Libya, Libyans'; from Egyptian tjn 'to glisten, sparkle' then Egyptian tjnw literally means 'glistening' which is what sandy deserts do, is glisten, so tjnw 'Libya', as the glistening desert to the west of Egypt, which would mean 'desert' as much as 'Libya'; and regarding TO tohono 'desert, the south', the desert glistens like any desert does and it is to the south:

UACV774 **\*tohono** 'desert, plain': TO tohono 'desert, the south'; PYP doho 'plain, field' (if PYP d was a voicing or mishearing of t). So Libya, west of Egypt, is the desert, the glistening hot. [idddua] [SUA: Tep]

**209** Egyptian(H) **tbt** / **twt** 'Sohle (d. Fusses) [sole (of foot)], Sandale [sandal], Fuss [foot], f'; Egyptian(F) **tbt** / **tbt** / **tbyt** / **tbtw** 'sandal, sole, f'; Egyptian(F) **tbtwy** 'sandals, dual', pl: **tbtw** 'sandal(s)': UACV1959 **\*tapat-ta** 'footwear': Mn tapáca '(soft) shoe'; PYP teev 'handmade shoes'. Eu 'óbat 'zapato [shoe]' is lacking too much for inclusion. [Most NUA intervocalic -c- < \*-Ct-] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

**210** Egyptian(H) **tbt** / **twt** / **twy** 'Sohle (d. Fusses) [sole (of foot)], Sandale [sandal], Fuss [foot]'; pl: **tbtw** 'sandals'; dual: **tbtwy** 'sandals'; from the 3<sup>rd</sup> variant Egyptian tw(y) > Coptic \*to'we, but these UA forms derive from the 2<sup>nd</sup> form Egyptian **twt** 'sandals, pl' (Cerny 1976, 199) and/or its dual **\*twtwy**: UACV1953 **\*tuti** (> \*tuci (Hp), > cuci > Tep susV) 'sandals': B.Tep209 \*suusaka 'sandal'; M88-cu18; KH/M-cu18: because Hp o < UA \*u, Hp tooici (< \*tuti) 'shoe, moccasin' fits Egyptian \*twt or dual \*twtwy perfectly, given palatalization from \*ti > ci before a high-front vowel. Tep also reflects \*tuti. As is often the case, Tep s < c < \*t; thus, \*tuti > \*cuci > \*susi, and Tep often anticipates vowels, so the suffix -ka yields \*susi-ka > susaka as found in nearly all the Tep languages: TO šuušk; LP šuušak; NT súúsaka; ST suusak; Nv suska 'zapatos [shoes]'. Note also Sh tattoo 'put on shoes'. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Hp, Num]

**211** Egyptian(F) **tbtw** 'sandal, sole'; pl: **tbtw** 'sandal(s)'; Egyptian(H) **tbt** / **twt** 'Sohle (d. Fusses) [sole (of foot)], Sandale [sandal], Fuss [foot]':



**UACV1961 \*poca** ‘zapatos’: If the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel had the accent, then the 1<sup>st</sup> can become a short non-descript vowel between t and b to cluster them and cause the first syllable to be dropped; it happens in Numic, for example; thus, the Cah languages appear to have lost the initial t in \*poča/pota ‘sandal’: My boóčam ‘zapatos [shoes], calzado [have shoes on]’; Yq bóočam ‘zapatos [shoes]’; AYq voočam ‘shoes’; AYq vera’a voočam ‘sandals’. Tb wahcipīi-l ‘moccasin’ (< \*-tipī) matches a fossilization of the Egyptian indefinite article prefix \*wa- ‘a/an’ with the above, because NUA medial -c- cannot come from \*-c-. [SUA: Cah; NUA: Tb]

**212 Egyptian(H) nhsi** ‘erwachen [awake], aufwachen [wake up]’:

**UACV2461 \*nīs** ‘wake’: TO nihhim ‘wake up’ (\*s > h in Tep); Nv nini ‘despertar del sueño [wake from sleep]’; PYp neenim ‘wake up’; ST ñiñia ‘despertarse’; Wc nieree / nieriya ‘despierto [awake], visible, haber [exist], mirar [look], vivo [alive, alert]’. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

**Egyptian i > i** (before a consonant) or **Egyptian i > y** (before a vowel)

**213 Egyptian(F) imi** ‘negative verb’; Egyptian(H) imi ‘nicht, kein’:

**UACV1536 \*im** ‘no’: PYp im ‘not, no’; PYp i’ima ‘not have (s.th.)’; PB im ‘no’; NT mai ‘no, sin [without verbing]’; Wc ’íma ‘negar, no permitir’. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

**214 Egyptian(F/H) ir** ‘do, make’; infinitive irt; Coptic are/ire:

**UACV687 \*yara** ‘do, make’: AYq ya’a ‘do, make’ (remember that \*r > ’ in Yq; so Yq and AYq ya’a derive from \*yara); Yq yá’ari ‘lo hecho [what’s done/made]’; AYq ya’ari ‘made’ (< \*yara-ti); AYq ya’aria ‘make’; AYq ya’awak ‘made’ adj; Wc yuru ‘do habitually’; Wc yurie ‘do, make’; Yq ya’a ‘do, make’; Yq ya’ati ‘be done, made’; Yq yáati-ne ‘acaba [finishes]’; My yáa-te ‘está cesando, terminando [be ceasing, finishing]’; CU ’iri / i’ri ‘to make, craft, fashion, v’; Eu -da’a in Eu vove-da’a ‘walk, lit road-do’ (vove-t ‘road’; Eu d < \*y); Wr yorá / olá / holá ‘hacer [do, make]’; Tr -yiri in Tr mapuyiri ‘like’: Tr mapu ‘relative pronoun, which, what’; therefore, Tr mapuyiri seems to have a morpheme break of Tr mapu-yiri and ‘he/it does’ fits well for the second morpheme, which would have the whole word meaning ‘that which he/it does’ or ‘what/how he/it does’ which equates to ‘like him/it’ if it’s like he/it does. Note AYq ya’a-wa-k ‘made’ with passive -wa. Cr -ri ‘make’ and Cr -iri applicative (Casad 1984, 160) may be of a different stem and Tb ya’awa ‘finish it’. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]

**215 Egyptian(F) itt** ‘fly up’:

**UACV929 \*yitti** (sg) / **\*yotti** (pl) ‘fly, jump’: I.Num292 \*yo(h)ci/\*yo(h)ti/\*yī(h)ti/\*yī(h)cī ‘fly, v’; M88-yī12 ‘fly, v’; KH/M-yī12: Mn yoci; NP yoci; TSh yīcī, pl: yotiC; Sh yīcī, pl: yotiC ‘get up, fly’; Cm yīcī ‘fly, sg.’; Kw yozi, pl: yori ‘jump, fly’; CU yīcī ‘fly’; CU yīcī-vōrī ‘fly around’ (pōrī ‘move, go, walk, pl’); My yoréiam ‘insectos que vuelan’ (< \*yoteti...). Some of these may pair with non-geminated alternates (\*yutti vs. \*yuti) or dialectal variants diffused: TSh yīcī ‘jump’ and TSh yotikkwan ‘jump, get up, fly up, take off’; Kw yozi ‘dance’ and Kw yori ‘jump, fly’ and Mn yīdīki ‘jump from fright’.

**UACV274 \*yu** / **\*yut** ‘bounce’: M88-yu1; KH/M-yu1 ‘bounce, v’: Cp yutyút- ‘trot, v’; Ca -yú’i- ‘trot, v’; Cp yut- is reduplicated; Ca forms are usually close to Cp, so the difference initially surprised me, but if reduced from a reduplication, then \*yutyut > \*yu’yut > yu’i is easily plausible in that -t > -’ in a cluster is frequent. Perhaps for Ls yúhi ‘trot, v’ also; Wr yu’ri- ‘caer solo, mismo’. Tepiman \*y > d, and d > j/\_i, so the čud in TO čudwua / judwua ‘bounce, land on one’s feet, v’. Good set, Wick!  
[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]

**216 Egyptian(F) in** /Coptic **ene** ‘interrogative particle introducing yes-no questions’ (< in iw; Cerny 1976, 36); and Egyptian **in** is sometimes written n’ (na) in Late Egyptian (Cerny and Groll 1993, 553), which form suggests that some pronunciations were \*na / \*ina, which also fits the Tep (TO and ST) forms (\*na) well. The fact that ancient Egyptians wrote **in** and later Egyptians wrote n’/na recommends something like \*ina, much like Arabic ’inna ‘emphatic, intensifier, introduces noun’, to which it is etymologically connected (Loprieno 1995, 100):

**UACV2532 \*ina** ‘introduces yes-no questions, emphatic, topicalizer’: TO n-/na- ‘introduces yes/no questions’; Tb an- ‘interrogative particle’ (Voegelin 1935, 137, 177); CN in- ‘the, as for, with reference to’ is

probably a merging of early morphemes—one ‘the’ and another ‘as for, with reference to.’ The latter matches Egyptian *in* in both form and use as an emphatic or topicalizer. Both the Egyptian and the TO particles are found in initial position (Saxton, 147; Allen 125, 181, 332, 385, 399). Egyptian *in* is also used for emphasis and topicalization (Loprieno 115-6), like it is in CN. ST na ‘subordinator’ (Willett 1991, 233-248) may also be cognate with TO na-. [SUA: Tep, Azt; NUA: Tb]

**Uto-Aztecan terms for ‘heart’:**

Mn	píyu	Hp	inaŋwa	Eu	hibés
NP	bbiwī	Tb	suuna-l	Tbr	ara-ma-lí-r; ava-ma-lí-r
TSh	pihwīn	Sr	huun; Ktn huna-c	Yq	híapsi
Sh	pihyīn	Ca	sún-il	My	suula; híapsi ‘vida’
Cm	pihi(naboo’)	Cp	şúun	Wr	sulá
Kw	pihyī-pī	Ls	şún-la	Tr	surá; bisurá
Ch	piyī	TO	iibđag	Cr	sīēheniu’ukari
SP	piyīC; piyī-ppi	Nv	hura-di; ’ibdīg	Wc	’iyáari
WMU	mugú / mugúa-vi	PYp	ibda	CN	yool-li
CU	mugúa-vi	NT	úra; iibīdaga		
		ST	hur; ’iibda		

**217** Egyptian(H) *ib* ‘Herz [heart], mittelpunkt [midpoint], Zentrum ‘[center], n’;

Egyptian *ib* ‘wish, want (noun and verb)’:

TO *iibđag* ‘heart, inner life, fruit bud’ and TO *iibhai* ‘prickly-pear cactus or its fruit’; these two TO terms show that *iib-* is the isolatable morpheme; and Ch and Tb below show the Egyptian verb: Ch *pii* ‘I wish’ (< Egyptian *ib-i* ‘wish-I’); Tb *-(i)ba* ‘desiderative suffix: I want/s.o. wants (to do s.th.) (Voegelin 1935, 117). 1166 below is the set including TO *iibđag*. 1167 is debatable enough not to count yet.

UACV1166 Tepiman \**iibīdaga* ‘heart’: B.Tep308 \**iibīdaga* ‘soul, heart’: TO *iibđag*; Nv *’ibdīg*; PYp *ibda*; NT *iibīdaga*; ST *’iibda*. Reconstructing UA \**kw* for Tepiman *b* conforms with UA tradition, but Tepiman *iib-* ‘heart’ is identical to Egyptian *ib* ‘heart’. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]

UACV1167 \**pihwīC* / \**pihyīC* ‘heart’: I.Num164 \**pi(h)wī*/\**pi(h)yī* heart; M88-pi19; KH/M-pi19: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; Ch; SP. The Numic terms are mostly missing the initial vowel *i* in *ib*; however, besides SP *piyī-ppi* is SP *ipyī-ni* ‘heart-my’, which does show the missing initial vowel when suffixed, in fact, is very similar to the Tepiman forms above.

**218** Egyptian(H) *swn* ‘leiden [suffer]’; Egyptian *swnyt* ‘Leiden, Pein [suffering, pain]’; Egyptian *swn* ‘erkennen [recognize], wissen (von) [know (of)]’; Egyptian *swn* ‘öffnen [open], erschliessen [open up]’; Egyptian(F) *swnyt* ‘pain’; Egyptian(F) *swn* ‘affliction’; Egyptian(F) *snnw* ‘suffer, be distressed’

UACV1165 \**suna* > SUA \**sura* ‘heart, inner part, seed’: Sapir; VVH98 \**sula* ‘heart’; M67-222a \**sula* ‘heart’; B.Tep578 \**hura* ‘heart, integral part’; I.Num184 \**su(h)-* ‘prefix, with the mind, mentally’; BH.Cup \**şún* ‘heart’; L.Son264 \**sura* ‘corazón’; Munro.Cup63 \**şúúni-la* ‘heart’; KH.NUA; M88-su13; KH/M-su13: Tb *suuna-l* ‘heart, inside’; Sr *huun*; Ktn *huna-c*; Ca *sún-il*; My *suula*; Cp *şúun*; Wr *sulá*; Ls *şún-la*; Tr *surá*; bisurá; Nv *hura-di*; NT *úra*; ST *hur*; Hp *soona* ‘edible part of seed’; Hp *son* ‘middle of’; Cp *şúun*; Ca *sún-il*; Tŋ *súnar*; Sr *huun* ‘heart, inside, center’; Nv *hura-di* ‘heart’ (more the soul or spiritual/emotional heart); NT *úra*; ST *hur*; Cr *sīēheniu’ukari* (*sīē* < \**sura*); TSh *sun-* ‘with the mind, by feeling or sensing’. Ken Hill adds Tbr *sura-nyi* ‘con el corazón’. Also add Eu *surát* ‘grano [grain, seed]’; Eu *sure* ‘granar [to seed (of plant)]’; Eu *-súra* ‘dentro [inside], entre [among]’. PUA \**sun* ‘heart’ is in all branches. Other terms reflect the Egyptian verb ‘suffer’: Ca *súnwe*-ma ‘sad, poor’; Ca *súnikat* ‘hard time, suffering’; Ca *sun-sún*’e-ika(t) ‘one who is sad, poor’; Ca *súnwe* ‘feel sorry for s.o.’ The *s* vs. *ş* in Cp *şúun* ‘heart’ and Cp *súnvi* ‘feel sorry for’ puzzles in part, but for another semantic dimension, note Egyptian *swn* ‘erschliessen (Weg) [open up a way]’ and Tr *surá-* ‘soltarse, libertarse, escaparse [get loose, escape]’. Some languages show this “heart” dimension to be ‘knowing’ more than ‘feeling’: e.g., Ca *sun* ’i’ive ‘without heart, crazy’ is without knowing rather than discouraged; and Ca *sun táwas* ‘heart-lose, forget’ also means ‘losing the knowing’ more than ‘losing feeling’. Yq *nasonte* ‘injure’; AYq *nason-te* ‘harm, ruin, spoil, vt; break down, vi’; AYq *nasontela* ‘disarrayed, messed up’; AYq *nasonti* ‘ruined, blotched’; My *nasonte* ‘decompose’ all align with the ‘injured,

sad, not-as-should-be' semantic dimensions of swn. The Ca form (suni-) suggests that the Cahitan forms (na-son) contain a fossilized na- prefix. This is in all 11 branches. [\*-l- > -'- in Cr; final -a/-o alternation] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**219** Egyptian(H) **iqr** 'fähig [capable], leistungsfähig [efficient], vortrefflich [excellent], vorzüglich [excellent, first-rate], ausgezeichnet [excellent], sehr [very]; Egyptian(F) **iqr** 'skillful, excellent, capable, intelligent'; Egyptian iqr-pw 'he (pw) is intelligent':

**UACV1280 \*yikar** 'knowing, intelligent, able, good': Ls yixélvu-l 'intelligent, alert' (this aligns with the Egyptian structure Egyptian iqr-pw 'he (pw) is intelligent'); Eu dedekara-wa 'knowledge, wisdom' (Eu d < \*y of PUA); ; Eu dedeka- 'know, be (cap)able'; Eu deka- 'tener buena vista o el que tiene buena vista [have a good view or he who has a good view]'; CN yeek 'well, thoroughly, good, right' belongs and Ca -(a)k(t) 'excellence, be good at' (Seiler 1977, 94) may belong. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, Azt]

**220** Egyptian(F) **ṭsw** 'commander, protector' (< ṭs 'marshal (troops), order, arrange')

**UACV1277 \*tusū** 'learn, know': NP tusuyu 'learn'; NP(L) ṭisuhani 'be smart'; CU ṭisū'a 'be smart, clever, keen, have knowledge, have good intentions'; CU ṭisū'-wi 'be smart, clever, knowledgeable';

WMU ṭühsú'ay-y 'be smart, '; ṭühsú'wi 'smart, clever, knowledgeable, vi'; WMU sú'uwa-ttüm 'smart' with loss of pre-stressed syllable, frequent enough in WMU. WMU kač ṭüsü'u wa 'is crazy, not smart, vi'. The tóš of Ls tóšṭu- 'to command, order' fits even better semantically, and Ls o < \*i, which is the same vowel that all the Num languages have. [NUA: Num, Tak]

### **Egyptian w remains w adjacent to vowels, u/o adjacent to consonants generally**

**221** Egyptian(F) **wr** 'great (in size or importance), much, many, big, oldest'; Coptic wer;

Egyptian(H) **wr** 'Gross sein/werden [be/become great/large], hoch [high], viel [much], zahlreich [numerous]'; Egyptian **wrw** 'der Grösste [the greatest/largest], Vornehmste [the most distinguished]':

**UACV204a \*wīru**, reduplicated **\*wīrwīru > \*wī'wīru > \*wī'wīru** 'big': Sapir; VVH100 \*wī 'big'; BH.Cup \*wət? 'augmentative suffix'; B.Tep51a gī'i 'big'; 51b \*gī'igiri 'big, pl.'; M67-39a we 'big'; L.Son340 \*wī 'mucho'; KH.NUA; M88-wīl; KH/M-wīl: Sr wīr 'much, many'; Ktn wīr 'lots, many'; Ca -wet 'augmentative suffix'; Ls wut 'augmentative suffix'; Tḡ awé'e 'very'; Hp wīko 'extensive(ly), in a large area, for a long way, for a long time'; Hp wīpa 'long, tall, long in time' (Hp -p- < \*-Cp-; otherwise Hp -v-); CN we'ka 'far away, distant.' For Tep, keep in mind Tep g < \*w: TO ge'e(ḏa); PYP ge'e; pl: ge'eger; NT gī'i/gīi; gīdu; pl: gī'igiri; ST gī'; pl: gī'igir. But \*w > w in TrC and the rest of UA: Eu wéi; Wr werú 'much'; Wr werumá 'big'; Wr weisá 'many times'; Tr wa'rú / o'rú 'big, much, important' (Tr pl: e'weri / o'weri / weri); My bwé'uru; bweere; Tbr weé 'alto, largo [tall, long]'; Tbr we-tú 'ser grande [be big]'; Cr ve'é / be'e; CN weei. Note -wari in Eu docíwari 'very old' vs. Eu docí 'old' (Eu d < \*y); and Eu docítu'u-n 'become old.' The Ls suffix Ls -wu-t 'big' also suggests a 2<sup>nd</sup> C, as it is regularly followed by -t, instead of -l: Ls yuḡáávay-wu-t 'condor'. Their placement suggests that the origin of the many glottal stops in UA forms reflecting **\*wī'wīru** are from the r ending up in a cluster after reduplication: **\*wīrwīru > \*wī'wīru**. Given such, everything else fits Egyptian wr / wrw or a later reduplication **\*wrwr-w** in early UA. AMR's reconstruction **\*wīt** also shows a final consonant affecting the absolute suffixes of NUA. Note the absolute suffixes added to 'badger' and 'bear' in the Tak languages: Cp húna-l 'badger'; Cp húnwe-t 'bear'; Ca húna-l 'badger'; Ca húnwe-t 'bear'; after \*huna the suffix is -l, but after \*wī- the suffix is \*-t, which suggests a 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant **\*wīC**.

**UACV204b \*kwī'iru** 'big': M67-39d \*kwe 'big'; L.Son127 \*kwiru 'grande'; M88-kwīl: My bwé'uru, pl: bwéere; AYq bwe'u, pl bweere 'big, large, pregnant'; Yq bwé'u 'grande [large]'; Wc kwi 'mucho' (cognate? Hill asks. probably). The w/kw dichotomy is discussed in Stubbs (1995), yet the **\*kwir** development from **\*wīr** happened only in the Cahitan branch. The **\*wīrwīru** reduplication might be behind the development of the kw-forms that parallel w-forms: **\*wīrwīru > \*wī'wīru > \*wī'kwīru > \*bwīru/\*bwī'uru**, as a glottal stop in a consonant cluster becomes k elsewhere in UA. Miller lists the My, Wr and Tr forms under both **\*wī** and **\*kwī**, as Wr/Tr w corresponds to both **\*wī** and **\*kwī**. However, the Cah bwe.... forms have their initial consonant aligning with **\*kwī**, while Tep \*g definitely aligns with **\*w**.

**UACV204c \*wīr** 'old': Sapir; M88-wī2 'old'; Hill rightly combined wī2 'old' with wī1 'big or great'; in fact, 'old' is one meaning of Egyptian wr 'big, etc': Hp wīyo, wīyiw-ta 'be old'; TO gī'īl 'maturity'; Wr wela 'ser viejita'; Tr weráame 'vieja'; CN weewe 'old man'. My ó'ora/ó'ola 'viejo' may better belong at \*yo'o 'old'. As for liquids, note NUA r = SUA r.

**UACV204d \*wīC-** 'with long object, instrumental prefix': Sapir; I.Num283 \*wīh- 'whip' (instr. pref.); KH/M-ip14: Sh wīC-; WSh wīC- 'with a long instr, generic instrumental' (p. 110); Sh(C) wīC- 'with a long or cylindrical or general instr, instrumental prefix'; Kw wī- 'instrumental prefix'; SP wīC-. Like the semantic shift in Hp wīpa 'long, tall' from 'big' > 'tall/long', so in Num is it 'long' in this instrumental prefix rather than 'big'. Note Hp -p- (vs. -v-), suggesting gemination due to a final -C on the first morpheme wīC- / wīC-. [NUA: Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**222** Egyptian(F) **wnx** 'be clothed, put on clothing'; Egyptian(F) wnx 'roll of cloth';

Egyptian(H) wnx 'sich kleiden [clothe self], gekleidet werden [become clothed]':

**UA \*wanaC** 'cloth, clothing': NP wīna-pī 'cloth, clothing'; Sh wanaC-ppī 'cloth'; Cm wana(pī) 'cloth, clothes, trade goods'; Mn wanaqa 'measure, try on (clothing).' The final gemination shows an underlying final consonant. [NUA: Num]

**223** Egyptian(H) **wnxyt** (wnxt) 'Kleidung [clothing]':

**UACV482 \*waCkay(la)** 'clothing': Wr wa'kilá 'shirt, clothes' and Hp -wqay- in Hp 'ati-wqay-napna 'underclothes' ('ati 'under' and napna 'shirt' leaves -wqay-); Wr and Hp seem cognates. The extra syllable caused syncope of the middle vowel and clustering of -nq- (> -Ck-). [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn]

**136** Egyptian(F) **wīn** 'thrust aside, push away, set aside':

**UA \*wīna** 'throw down/out, spill, empty'; for full treatment, see 136.

**224** Egyptian(F) **wxd** 'be painful, suffer, endure, be patient with s.o.'; Egyptian(F) **wxdw** 'pain';

Egyptian(F) **wxdt** 'pain'; Egyptian(H) wxd 'ertragen [bear, stand], erdulden [endure, suffer], seelisch leiden [mentally/emotionally suffer]': Egyptian(H) wxdy 'Kranker [sick person]':

**UA \*okotī** 'be in pain, suffer, sorrow': Tr okóre 'be in pain, feel pain'; Tr oko 'be in pain, feel pain'; AYq hiokole 'pity, vt; compassion, sympathy'; AYq hiokot 'pitifully, adv'; AYq hiokot aane 'be suffering'; AYq hiokot ea 'feel miserable, be needy'; My hiókot aane 'está sufriendo, padece [is suffering, suffer]'; My hiókot máčira 'sufimientos [sufferings], tristezas [sorrows]'; My hiókore 'perdona [pardon, forgive]'; My hiókole 'tiene compasión/lástima [have compassion/sorrow (for)]'.

**UACV1862 \*ukuya'a** > \*okoya 'sad': CN tla-ookoya 'be sad'; Yq híoko 'sufrir, lastimarse'; Hp ookwa'y-ta 'be sad, downcast, depressed'; and perhaps Ls 'uyá'a 'feel bad, be sad' or maybe not. Did NUA -y- and Nawa -y- come from \*-t- > liquid > -y-? Ls and Hp agree in initial \*u, from which SUA may have assimilated \*u > o/\_a. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]

**225** Egyptian(H) **wt** / **wt'** 'einwickeln [wrap in], unwickeln [wrap around]';

Egyptian(F) wt 'bandage, bind, v':

**UACV253 \*witta** 'tie, wrap': Mn wītawa 'tie, vt'; Mn wītabo'na 'bundle up, vt'; Kw wotabanaga 'wrap, roll up'; In Num, \*-tt- > -c- adjacent to high vowels is typical: Kw wīči 'wrap up'; SP wīčča 'wrap around, tie'; WMU *hwihččé-y* 'wrap, vt'; CU wəčá-y 'wrap, bind, bandage (with), vt'; NP wīcakīna 'tie (horse, shoe, willows)'; NP wīcabiggī 'fasten, tie together'; NP wīcakana 'tie, vt'; TSh wīccokwah 'tie, vt'; TSh wīccamanaa 'tie an animal up'. Mn -t- < \*-tt-, and all suggest \*-tt-. UA may reflect the Egyptian wt' variant with anticipated glottal stop causing gemination—wt' > wV'tV > wVttV—or wtt. [NUA: Num]

**226** Egyptian(F) **wnm** 'eat': 'of harvest' in the TO definition is key in

**UACV636 \*wīnima** 'to dance, v': Hp wīnima 'to dance, vi sg'; Ch wīnīmi 'to dance, v'; Kw wīnīmi 'to dance, v'; TO wīnim 'dancer in a harvest ceremony' may be a loan from Hp, yet elsewhere Tep w = \*w (e.g., TO mawid < \*mawiya 'mountain lion'). For a semantic connection of 'feasting (eating)' and 'dancing', see Egyptian hbi (134), for festivals involve singing, dancing, and eating. [iddddua] [TO w = NUA w] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep]

227 Egyptian(F) **m'm** 'dom-palm (tree)':

UACV1605 \***mamahu** / \***ma(C)wa** 'palm tree': BH.Cup \*máxwal? 'palm tree'; Fowler83; Munro.Cup89 \*mááxwa-l 'fan palm'; M88-ma28; KH.NUA; KHM/06-ma28: Cp máawa-l; Ca máwu-l/ máu-l; Ls mááxwa-l / mááxu-l; Sr mamahu-ṭ / mamahw-ṭ 'California fan palm'; Tḡ máhar 'grass, zacate, rama'; TO maahagam 'fan palm tree'. Ken Hill adds Ch mamau'umtampī and Ch mahavī 'tree/plant'. Cp, Ca, and Ch all show \*mawV or \*mau'u < \*m'. Add Nv maagama 'palma' (< \*maawama). Since \*w > g in Tep, then TO maahagam 'fan palm tree' and Ls, Sr with \*-xw- / -hw- from \*-'w-, stop + rounding, or reduction from \*-'m'- . Munro lists \*maahawa-l as another possible proto-form (besides \*mááxwa-l). A severe reduction of 2 or 3 medial consonants \*-'m'- seems so. Ch mamau'um... portrays Egyptian m'm best with loss of the first glottal stop in a cluster or reduplication of -mau'um-. Other forms reflect a meltdown of 3 consonants to the varieties seen. Note kw vs. w in Ls vs. Cp/Ca again. [medial w/xw/h, h in TO, Tḡ, Sr] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep]

228 Egyptian(F) **mi** 'like, according as'; Egyptian **my (mii)** 'likewise, accordingly'; Egyptian **mity** 'equal to, similar to'; Egyptian **mitt** 'the like'; Egyptian m mitt, r mitt 'likewise': the mit- of Sr mitkin 'seem'. 'Seem' is semantically 'like, seem like, be like, look like.' [NUA: Tak]

229 Egyptian(F) **mw** 'water'; Egyptian **mwy** 'watery'; Coptic mu:

UACV2523 \***muwa/i** 'wet': Hp mowa-ti 'be wet, moist'; Ls páá-muwi-š 'wet'. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

230 Egyptian(H) mn 'leiden [to suffer], krank sein [be sick], schmerzen [to hurt]'; Egyptian(F) **mn** 'be ill, suffer'; Egyptian(F) **mn** 'sick man'; Egyptian(F) **mnt** 'malady, suffering, what is harmful';

Egyptian(F) **mnw** 'pain':

UACV1598 \***mana(ya)** 'hurt': NP manaya 'warning s.o. that s.th. might hurt them, v'; NP tamanayai'hu 'wounded'; NP namaniya'hu 'hurt self really bad, injure'; Cm manīīcikwa 'pain, ache, n'; Cm manīī'maitī 'tire of s.th.'; Cm manīīsukaarī 'excite, give sensation (cause good or bad feeling in body or spirit)'. [NUA: Num]

231 Egyptian(F) **mri** 'want, wish, love'; Coptic me; Egyptian(F) **mr** 'canal';

Egyptian(H) i-**mr** r-i 'Follow me!' (Hannig 2003, 546):

UACV1010a \***mīri** / \***mīli** / \***mīla** 'run, flow, go, want': B.Tep160 \*mīrai 'he runs', \*mīri 'to run', \*mī 'he ran'; M67-177 \*mel 'flow, (run)'; BH \*mən 'come'; M88-mī6 'go, run, walk (sg?)'; KH/M- mī6: Eu merá 'correr uno [run, sg]'; PYp mera/meli 'run'; Nv mīrha 'correr'; TO mīd, mī, mīil 'arrive (wind, water, runner)'; LP mili; LP oimīri; NT mili; NT aimīrai 'walk around'; NT mīrāādami 'runner'; ST mīl'i; Tr mé-/ma-; Wr -ma, -mi- 'future suffix sg'; Cr me/me'i; Hp mīina 'flow, run (of liquid)'; Ls món-/muná 'travel, come, walk, go'; Cp menmáx 'will come' (neqa 'is coming'); Ca ménvax 'come' (nék-en an allormorph); NP minai 'ooze out'.

UACV1010b \***mīlV** 'trample, stampede': Sapir ties CN miimilóa 'trample about' and SP miḡkwa 'come out forcibly, stampede' (< \*minni-kwa < \*mil...), which seems as probable as not. [NUA -n- and SUA -r-] [idddua] [NUA: Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]

232 Egyptian(F) **mr** 'want, wish, love':

UACV2695 \***-mī(r)a** 'future suffix': Miller 1996, 133: ST -mīra 'go to (do s.th.), suffix of purpose, sg' (Willett & Willett 2005, 289); Tr -méa / -ma 'future suffix'; Wr -ma (Miller 1996, 133); Wr(MM) -mera / -mela 'futuro condicional para sujeto singular'; Ktn -mat 'non-proximal future' (Anderton 1988, 96); of course, this may well tie to \*mīri 'run' though some languages yield differing forms for the two. Tbr -m(u)- 'desear, futuro' (Lionnet 1978, 34), but parting from Lionnet, ties to Tr/Wr -ma/-mV seem more likely; Cr mī'i 'desiderative morpheme' (Casad 1984, 162) and 'want' and 'run' are often paired semantically in UA. With \*u > i in Num quite often, the shift or push chain effect of \*i > i in Num should also be considered. Note also Ca méle 'be fond of, care for' and Cp mélen 'very, much, hard, fast'? The 2<sup>nd</sup> V in this etymon often varies: e.g., in Tr alone are Tr mé-, ma-, but -muri in rarámuri. Note semantics of Egyptian 'canal, waterway' and UA 'flow (of water/river/in waterway)', and the change 'run' > 'want' is clear.

Interestingly, both Tr -mea ‘future’ and WTr -mela ‘future’ (Burgess 1984, 13) derive from UA \*mīla ‘run/go/want’; perhaps the two most common sources of future markers universally are ‘want’ verbs and ‘go’ verbs of which English uses both: I am going to study; I will study (will = want/desire). For other UA verbs whose semantic dimensions range from ‘want’ to ‘run’, note WTr -nare ‘verbal suffix indicating desire’ and Eu nare ‘run after s.o.’ [idddua] [l/r/n; r > CrC ’] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**233** Egyptian(F) **mḥi** ‘drown, be drowned, overflow, inundate; swim, launch (vessel)’; Egyptian(H) **mḥi** ‘im wasser sein [be in water], schwimmen [swim]’; Egyptian(H) **mḥt** ‘Flut [flood]’; Egyptian(H) **mḥt** ‘Sumpfland von Unterägypten [swampland of lower Egypt], die deltamarschen [the delta marshes]’; Egyptian(H) **mḥtiw** ‘Marschbewohner pl [marsh dwellers], Nordbewohner [Northerner], bewohner des Deltas [dwellers of the deltas]’:  
UACV1997 \***muCta** ‘sink, be in water/liquid’: Hp momori ‘be swimming’; Hp moro-(k-) ‘get dipped, briefly immersed’; Ls mota ‘sink in mud’; Hp o < \*u, and for Ls, usually \*-t- > Ls -l-, but here, Ls -t- means a cluster, which -ḥt- is, and \*muCta > Ls mota also shows a vowel assimilation. Whether an early UA verbal suffix \*-ta or -tV reflects the final tV of Egyptian, we may have a denominalized verb. [t/l] [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**234** Egyptian(F) **mḥyt** ‘fish (collective), lit. swimmers’:  
UA \***muti** ‘fish’: CN mič-in ‘fish’; UA \*u > Azt i, and palatalized t > č/\_i, then \*muiti or \*muti > muči > miči > CN mič-. Other SUA \*musi may tie in, as -t- > -c- > -s- in an extra step of lenition:  
UACV895 \***musi** / \***muci** ‘fish’: L.Son160 \*musi ‘bagre’; M88-mu17; KH/M-mu17: Op músi; Tr mu\*si; Eu musít; CN mičín ‘fish’ (cognate? Miller queries). [\*-t- > -c-> -s- in Tep?] [SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt]

**235** Egyptian(H) **m’yt** ‘Scheide [sheath, vagina]’: UA \***muci** or \***muti** ‘vagina’:  
UACV2447 \***muc** ‘female genitalia’: M88-mu4 ‘vagina’; KH/M-mu4: Wr muhčí ‘vagina, grass’; Tr mučí ‘vagina’; TO muus ‘vagina’; and Hp mosḥya ‘clitoris’. A good match since TO s < \*c, and both Tep s and UA c can also derive from \*t (Stubbs 2000a), especially in front of a high front vowel. Also worth noting is the identical reconstructions of UA \*muti from both Egyptian **mḥyt** ‘fish’ (234) and Egyptian **m’yt** ‘vagina’ because the forms are identical in 3 of 4 consonants, and for the 2<sup>nd</sup> C (ḥ vs. ’), both become round vowels (u). Because PUA languages practically disallowed diphthongs, preferring CVCV patterns, a possibly expected \*muit adapting to a CVCV pattern of \*muti is not only likely, but almost identical to 234 above. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn]

**236** Egyptian(F) **mḥr** ‘low-lying land’; Egyptian(F) **mḥrw** ‘low place’:  
UACV706 \***muira** ‘be deep, of water’: Ls móóra ‘be deep (of water)’ and Eu múire ‘estar hondo el río [be deep, the river]’ are identical semantically, and what is midway between the two vowels of the Eu diphthong ui? High central i, and Ls o < \*i. So if ui leveled to iï in proto-Tak or if Ls assimilated -u- > -o- before -a-, then the Ls and Eu terms match each other well. [vowel leveling; liquid] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn]

**237** Egyptian(H) **msi** ‘bear, give birth, be born, create’; Coptic mas ‘child’; Egyptian **mst** ‘mother’; Egyptian **ms** ‘creator’:  
UACV852 \***masi** ‘father’: M88-ma11; KH/M-ma11: Eu maswa ‘woman’s father’; Eu masi ‘have a father (of women)’; Wr ma’má ‘woman’s father’; Wc kemaasi ‘man’s father’; TO maam ‘one’s father (in a clan of the buzzard moiety) (\*s > TO h, which is fragile); Op mas ‘father’ (Shaul and Yetman 2007); Op massi ‘father’ (Shaul 2020). This depends on an unattested masculine match of \*ms ‘father’ for the attested feminine term Egyptian mst ‘mother’. Note the parallel of two ‘create’ verbs in Egyptian (qm’ and msi) aligning with UA words for husband and father, respectively (as creators/begetters). [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC]

**238** Egyptian(H) **mḥi** ‘füllen, vollmachen [fill]’; Egyptian(F) **mḥ** ‘fill, be full of, finish’  
UACV981 \***muya** ‘fill, be full, overflow’: Ca -muye- ‘flow out, fill up (of water, fog, smoke)’; Ls muuya ‘be full, vi’; Ls muuyi ‘fill, vt’; Cp muya ‘billow, rise (of dust, smoke, other fine particles)’. Eu múwee ‘acrecentase [increase]’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, Tep?] check Piman mag < \*mawi

**239** Egyptian(F) **nfi** ‘travel, traverse’ or Egyptian(H) **nwi** ‘kommen [come]’?:

**UACV1035a** \***nawa** / \***nawi** ‘go, come, move (to another place)’: Tr **nawa**-ma ‘llegar [arrive], venir [come], nacer [be born]’; Tr **nawi**-ma ‘llegarse, acercarse [approach]’; Wr **nawá**- ‘be born’; Hp **nàala**(k-) ‘change places, move, change residence’ (Hp l < \*w, but pharyngeal w); Sh(C) **nawa**- in Sh **nawa**-nukkih ‘run away’ and Sh **nawa**-to’ih ‘escape, get out safely’; Ch **nawá**’ití ‘appear, show up’; Kw **naviži** ‘appear, be showing’. Perhaps Cp **návya**’a ‘come here!’ as \*w > v does happen in NUA, as in Kw vs. Ch above. [\*w>v in Cp&Kw]  
**UACV1035b** \***noi** ‘go, come, visit, return’: Yq **noite** ‘ir [go], venir [come]’; AYq **noite** ‘visit, vt’; My **noite** ‘go (and return)’. Num \***no** ‘(while) going’: Mn **-noo**- ‘be in motion while verb-ing, be verb-ing while going’; TSh **nooh** ‘moving continuously, do along or in motion’; WSh **nooh** ‘move about (auxiliary verb)’. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah]

**240** Egyptian(H) **nfw** ‘e. schlange [a snake]’; **nft** ‘weibliche schlange [female snake]’; Egyptian(F) **nfw** ‘serpent’ (perhaps < Egyptian **nfi** ‘travel, traverse’ in which case the UA forms may match **nfiw** or **nfi-w**):

**UACV583a** \***nuyua**’a ‘to crawl, as a snake, v’: NP **noyu**’a ‘to crawl (as snake)’; NP **canuyui** ‘move, drag’ (hand crawling ?); NP(B) **nuyua** ‘crawl (as a snake)’; TSh **nuyua** ‘to crawl (as snake)’; Sh **nuyua** ‘crawl (of a snake or worm)’; Cm **nuhyimi**’arī ‘to crawl (of snake)’.

**UACV583b** \***nuhia** / \***nuyua** ‘snake’: NP **nuyuadi** ‘snake’, Sh **pasinnuyua** ‘water snake’; Cm **nuhya**’ ‘snake of any sp (archaic word)’; Wr **nawí** ‘corua, kind of snake’ or Wr **noí** ‘worm’.

[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

**241** Egyptian(F) **nb** ‘any, every, all’; Coptic **nim**:

**UACV20** \***napi** ‘all, every’: Tr **nabí** ‘always, each, every, all’; Tr **nepi** ‘very, much, too much’; Cr **naímih** ‘todo [all]’; Cr **naími**’i ‘todos’; Cr **náhimi** ‘entero’; Wc **-nái-ti/me** ‘todo’ (sbj/compl); Sh **napai** ‘each’. Because \*p > h/ø in CrC, then Corachol **nai** < \*napi. [SUA: Trn, CrC; NUA: CNum]

**242** Egyptian(F) **nb** ‘lord, master, owner’; **nbt** ‘lordship, authority (of king)’; Coptic **neeb** ‘lord’:

**UACV1802** \***napi** ‘magic, extraordinary power’: Munro.Cup67 \***náavi-š** ‘magic’; KH/M-na40: Ls **náavi-š** ‘charm’; Ca **náavi-š** ‘poison’; Cp **návye**ni ‘give an omen.’ A slight semantic shift, but ‘magic power’ is much like ‘god/lord-like power’. And we see the same vowelizing as in the other Egyptian **nb**-form above, the two of which may be different semantic dimensions of an original unity.

UA \***pohi-napi** ‘chief’: Mn **pohenábī** ‘chief’; NP **poinabi** ‘chief.’ The **-nabi** of the last two (Mn, NP) better fit Egyptian semantically, though compounds add a measure of uncertainty. [e1n,e2b] [NUA: Tak, Num]

**243** Egyptian(F) **nbi** ‘flame, n; burn, vi’ (> \*nbit > Coptic **neme** ‘fire, glow’):

UA \***napi** ‘fire’: Tr **napiči** ‘fogón [place where fire is/was built]’ (Tr **-či** ‘at’, so Tr **napi-či** ‘fire-at’ fits well). [Trn]

**244** Egyptian(F) **nxx** ‘be old, vi; old age, n’; Egyptian(F) **nxn** ‘young’; Egyptian(F) **nxnw** ‘child’;

Egyptian(F) **nxnw** ‘youth (abstract)’; Egyptian(H) **nxx** ‘alt werden [become old], lange leben [live long], erneuern [renew]’; Egyptian(H) **nxx** ‘Jüngling [youth], Knabe [boy], n’; Egyptian(H) **nxx** ‘der Alte [the old (man)]’; Egyptian(H) **nxn** ‘Kind sein [be a child]’; Egyptian(H) **nxn** ‘kleines Kind [small child], Knabe [boy]’; for Egyptian **nxx** to have meanings dealing with both age and youth, the common sememe is ‘grow’—grow up or grow old—and UA \***nakan** has the same range—grow up / grow old; it’s also possible that the stems **nxx** and **nxn** fused in some confusing fashion, which is not unlike a similar pair of alternate forms of **nxx** and **nxn** in Egyptian(H) **nxx.t** / **nxn.w** ‘Art Brote [kind of bread]’:

**UACV1098** \***nakana** ‘grow’: M67-207 \***na** ‘grow’; I.Num108 \***nana**(h) ‘(grown) man, grow’; BH.Cup \***naxá** ‘old man’; HH.Cup \***naxáa** ‘old man’; M88-na13; KH/M-na13 ‘grow’: Mn **naa** ‘grow’; NP **na** ‘grow’; Sh **nahnaC** ‘grow, grow up’; Kw **nahna** ‘grow’; SP **nanna** ‘grow’; CU **nana-pī** ‘grown, mature’ (< CU **naná-y** ‘grow’; -p- suggests final -C); Cp **naxánču**’ve-l ‘old man’; Ca **náxaluvel** ‘old man’; Ca **náxaluvuk** ‘bec. old (of man)’; Ls **naxááču** ‘bec. an old man’; Ls **naxááči-š** ‘old person’; Cr **tí**’inahana ‘grow’. Note Cp **naxánču**’ve-l ‘old man’ and Ca **náxaluvel** ‘old man’ are identical except for the consonant (cluster) **-nč-** and **-l-**; whenever **c** and **l** correspond, it is likely that an original \***t** or \***-Ct-** underlies the two: \***nakan-tu**’pe-l. That Cp form is also the only Takic form that shows a 2nd **n** like the Numic forms; nevertheless, between

that Cp form, the Numic forms, and the Cr form, a 3rd -na- syllable is apparent. Cf. Ca qani ‘become formed (in womb), grow’. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: CrC]

**245** Egyptian(F) **xnt** ‘face, n; in front of, prep’:

Tbr kota ‘face’. Intervocalic PUA \*-t- > -l/r-, but \*-nt- > -tt- > -t-. [SUA: Tbr]

**246** Egyptian(H) **xr / ixr** ‘bei [by], durch [through], unter [under]’; Egyptian(F) **xr** ‘with, near, under’:

UA **\*ikar** ‘with, using (instrumental)’; NT karoi ‘with (instrumental, as in use)’; ST ki’n ‘with (instrumental; final r/d > n in ST); Wc ki ‘with, instrumental, by means of’; TO (he)kaj ‘with, by means of, because of’; CN iik ‘with, by means of, thereby’; CN iika (< \*ii- ‘3<sup>rd</sup> sg’ + -ka ‘means, reason, cause’). [SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]

**247** Egyptian(H) **xr** ‘fallen [to fall], niederfallen [fall down], ausfallen [fall out], abfallen [fall off]’;

Egyptian(F) **xr** ‘fall’:

UACV837a **\*kuri** ‘fall’: Sr kur-q ‘fall, pl’; Ca kúli ‘fall (in a hole), stick (in), rush in’. What of Ktn kuhyik ‘fall over flat, of a tall thing’? Or Wc kuruupiya ‘knock down’ or Eu hioru ‘fall when ripe’?

UACV837b **\*kara** ‘fall’: Ls kára ‘fall (of leaves)’; Ktn karara’y ‘fall, vi’; but also Ls qára ‘spill out, fall (as leaves, fruit, hair from the head), slide off’. [NUA: Tak]

**248** Egyptian(F) **xr** ‘speak to, so say, vi’; Egyptian **xrw** ‘voice’:

Ls kára/i ‘belch, croak, ring, vi; play music, vt’. [NUA: Tak]

**249** Egyptian(F) **s’xmw** ‘species of bat’; Egyptian(H) s’xm(w) ‘Nilflughund’ but Orel & Stobova say ‘bat’: the \*so’o- in UACV125 **\*so’o-paCti** ‘bat’: Tr so’péci / so’picí ‘bat’; Wr so’péci ‘bat’; Eu cikúrsopic ‘bat (mouse-butterfly)’; Eu sopíc ‘butterfly’; My sotčik ‘bat’; Yq sóočik ‘bat’; PYp ho’opisa ‘bat’.

A prime example of UA’s phonological reducing capacities are the UA words for ‘bat.’ This set is discussed at length in Stubbs 2000a, wherein Miller’s observation (M67-25 PUA **\*paca** ‘bat’ using Num and Tb forms) and Lionnet’s (L.Son258 **\*sopī-ci** of SUA) are both shown to have PUA **\*pati’a** in common with a **\*so’o-** compound in SUA terms. The **\*so’o-** of UA **\*so’o-pati’a** ‘bat’ (at 1566) parallels the start of **Egyptian s’xmw** ‘species of bat’; and whenever UA forms derive from something more than three consonants, the last half is generally fragile. Two things make retention of latter portions of UA words unlikely: (1) UA tends to drop or highly condense/reduce the last half of long lexemes; and (2) being compounded with something else only adds to the length and thus the severity of such reductions. Nevertheless, consider these UA words for ‘bat’:

UACV125 **\*so’o-paCti** ‘bat’; L.Son258 **\*sopī-ci** ‘murciélago’; M88-so10; Stubbs 2000a; KH/M-so10:

Most NUA languages—Tb pacaawa-l ‘bat’; Kw paaca’aa-zi ‘bat’; Ch pááca’a-ci ‘bat’; Ca páli-l ‘bat’ and SP,

CU, NP—as well as Cr háci’i ‘bat’ (Cr h < \*p) all show **\*paCti’a** ‘bat’. Most SUA languages show **\*so’o-**

prefixed to **\*paCti’a**: Tr so’péci/so’picí ‘bat’; Wr so’péci ‘bat’; Eu cikúrsopic ‘bat (mouse-butterfly)’;

Eu sopíc ‘butterfly’; My sotčik ‘bat’; Yq sóočik ‘bat’; PYp ho’opisa ‘bat’. The last six languages (Tr, Wr, Eu,

My, Yq, PYp) have **\*so’o-** compounded with **\*pati’a**. Without going into the three pages of explanation (in

Stubbs 2000a), let it suffice that the **\*pati’a** portion changed according to the chart below, and six of those languages show a reflex of the compound **\*so’o-pati’a** ‘bat.’

<b>*pati’a</b>	>	<b>*pita-</b>	(NP)		
	>	<b>*pali</b>	(Ca)		
	>	<b>*paci’a</b>	>	<b>*paca’a</b>	(Tb, Kw, Ch, SP, CU)
	>	<b>*paci’i</b>	>	<b>háci’i</b>	(Cr)
	>	<b>*paci</b>	>	<b>-peci</b>	(Tr, Wr, Eu) or <b>*so’peci</b> < <b>*so’o-pati’a</b>
	>	<b>*paci</b>	>	<b>*-pica</b>	> Tepiman <b>-pisa</b> (PYp) or <b>ho’o-pisa</b> < <b>*so’o-pati’a</b>
	>	<b>*paci</b>	>	<b>-ci</b>	(Yq, My) or <b>soči-k</b> < <b>*so’o-pati’a</b>

PYp, as a Tepiman language, changes **\*c** > **s** and **\*s** > **h**, and other examples of frequent PYp vowel metatheses (a-i > i-a) have PYp **ho’o-pisa** matching **\*so’o-paci** < **\*so’o-pati’a**. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah]



**250** Egyptian(F) **sʕy** ‘tremble, v’:

**UACV1933 \*sowa** (< \*sawa) ‘shake’: Tbr sowá-t ‘raspa [rasp used for noise in a dance]’; CN wiwišoa ‘shake or rock s.o. or s.th.’; Tr sawe ‘sacudir [shake, rock]’; Wr sawé ‘sacudir [shake, rock]’; perhaps the šo... of Ls šóra/i ‘tremble, shake, vi, shake s.th., vt’. Ls generally shows e < \*o, but if the o assimilated from \*sawa, then that would not apply. [Vs] [SUA: Trn, Tbr, Azt; NUA: Tak]

**251** Egyptian(F) **sʕy** ‘tremble, v’:

**UACV856a \*sawi(ya)** ‘fear, v’: CN iisawiaa ‘be overawed, vrefl, frighten, outrage s.o., vt’; Eu sevíce ‘tener miedo [be afraid], v’; Eu seviciúrawa ‘miedo [fear], n’ (sometimes \*w > v); perhaps Ls šuwó ‘to be afraid of’ (if \*sawi > suwī > Ls suwo). AYq suumeiya ‘afraid of, vt’ may belong with another morpheme. The Num languages below often yield ĩ < \*u if also \*sawi > \*suwi > \*sīy.

**UACV856b \*sīya** (< \*suya ?) ‘afraid’: Mn siyee ‘to be afraid of’; NP sī’hu ‘to be afraid of’.  
[\*-w- > -v-] [SUA: Opn, Azt; NUA: Tak, WNum]

**252** Egyptian(F) **spr** ‘rib’; Egyptian(H) **spr** ‘Rippe [rib]’; Coptic spir ‘rib’:

The -sisve- portion of Cp amsisve-l ‘rib’ could well be a reduplication which shows the first two consonants of Egyptian spr and final -r > -i/y is frequent in Egyptian, and most Num terms for ‘rib’ begin with \*ama-, the probable source for the first part of Cp amsisve-l ‘rib’. [NUA: Tak]

**253** Egyptian(F) spd ‘sharp’: Egyptian(H) spd ‘spitz sein [be sharp pointed], spitz machen [make sharp]’; Egyptian(H) inr spdw ‘raderstein [etching stone]’; or Egyptian(H) sft ‘Schwert (aus Metall) [sword (of metal)], Messer [knife], n.f.’, pl would be sfwt;

**UACV799 \*sipaC** ‘point’: Munro.Cup100 \*šííva-t ‘point’; KH/M-si22: Ls šííva-t ‘crystal wand tip’; Ca síva-t ‘arrowhead’; Ktn tokšivat ‘flint, flint tip of arrow’; Hp siiva ‘metal, silver’ (cognate Ken queries? I say yes). Note also My sibulai ‘punto [point]’; Ca sívalu ‘sharpen to a point’; Ca pásiva-t ‘knife, sword’; Hp yoy-sivī ‘arrowhead’ (rain-metal); Eu siba ‘raspar, acepillar, madera’; Eu sisvi wecát ‘awl’ and Eu vusiven ‘awl’; Tb(H) siipa-t ‘knife’ < \*sipat-ta; Sr wisipka ‘pointed thing’; Sr wisip-kin ‘make pointed’; Sr wisipu-k ‘be pointed (forming a single broad point)’; and Sr wisisu-k ‘be pointed (forming more than one broad point)’. Tak -t means a final -C. My sibulai agrees more with \*sipu or the fem pl sfwt of the feminine noun sft. [NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Cah, Opn]

**254** Egyptian(F) **smh̥y** ‘flood, drown, sink, vt’ (causative of Egyptian m̥ji ‘drown’ at 233):

**UACV1994 \*sum** ‘sink’: AYq suume ‘sink, vi’; Eu sumé ‘evaporate, shrink, sink’; PYp huumu ‘go down, sink in’ (PYp h < \*s). The rounding of the pharyngeal (3<sup>rd</sup> C ħ) influenced the first vowel (before 2<sup>nd</sup> C m) or was anticipated, jumped before -m-; all we usually have of non-initial pharyngeals is rounding, so a cluster of a bilabial + pharyngeal (-m̥h̥-) would be a powerful rounder of preceding vowels. Then two languages show a final high front vowel, which also aligns with the final element of smh̥y. [SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn]

**255** Egyptian(F) **sqd** ‘slope (of pyramid)’:

UA \*sikiC ‘slanted (terrain), side’: Mn siki’napaa ‘slanted, on a slant, slantwise’; NP(LFP) sikiibaatu ‘sideways, be slanting’; NP(LFP) siki ‘side’. The glottal stop in Mn siki’napaa suggests a consonant there; and the NP terms clarify the morpheme break. [NUA: WNum]

**256** Egyptian(F) **stpt** ‘choice things of food’; Egyptian **stp** ‘cut up (animal)’:

UA forms point to UA \*sa’pa ‘meat, fat’ whose glottal stop suggests a missing consonant in a cluster.

**UACV1433a \*sa’pa** / \*sa’apa ‘meat’: L.Son232 \*sapa ‘carne’; M88-sa3 ‘meat’; KH/M-sa3: Eu sába, acc: sáta, gen: sáte; Wr sa’apá / sa’pá; Tr sa’pá / sa-sapá-ra; TO ha’apaga ‘flesh behind the upper teeth, alveolar ridge’. Wr and TO likely separated the cluster—\*sa’pa > sa’apa—as we see in wrwr (221) and xlxl (630).

**UACV1433b \*sa’pī** ‘fat’: Tr sa’bé-ame ‘gordos [fat, pl], carnosos [fleshy]’; Eu sábe ‘gordo’ (probably possessive -e ‘having meat’, Eu sab-e ‘meat-having’); the -capī of Hp wimcapī ‘omentum, inside lining of stomach fat’ with fricative s > affricate c in a cluster with a nasal. This set may be an \*-ī/-e possessive form of \*sa’pa ‘meat’, that is, having meat/fat. ST sarba-k ‘fat, thick’—actually shows r in an -rb- cluster, aligning with a previous -tp- cluster, though normally \*s > Tep h/ø, but whether borrowed or cognate, a

simulation of the -t- is in the ST form. The two facts that the verb *stp* means ‘to butcher’ and the noun *stpt* means ‘choice food’ semantically align well with UA \*sa’pa / \*satpa ‘meat’. [c/s]  
[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]

**257** Egyptian(F) **st̥** ‘weave, spin (yarn)’ > UA \*s̥ito of UA \*sitoko’V ‘braid’:  
TSh sittoko’e braid, vt; Kw šidogo’o ‘braid, v’; Sh tasittokoiC braid, v’. [NUA: Num]

**258** Egyptian(F) **st̥** ‘drag, pull, pull out, draw’; Coptic soote:  
UACV1728 \*(piC)-sutu’a ‘(behind)-pull, drag’: Stubbs2003-16: Mn ca-sutu’i ‘pull out’; TSh sotoC ‘pull, vi’; TSh pi-sotoC ‘pull, drag, vt’; Sh -pisuta ‘drag behind, instr, vt’. The Mn form contains \*ca- ‘(do) with the hand’; the CNum forms show the prefix \*piC- ‘back/behind’. I reconstruct \*sutu’i on the basis that 2 of the 3 show a 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant, one of them a glottal stop, the other nearly anything. All show back rounded vowels initially: Mn u < \*o is not likely; but TSh o < \*u is likely if the final vowel is -a, as we often see such in UA \*u-a > o-o. For Sh, perhaps \*sutu’a > suta’a > suta. [-a/i, u > o/a] [NUA: Num]

**259** Egyptian(H) **st̥** ‘Krug [jar, jug]’:  
UACV1715 \*soto’o ‘jar’: Yq sóto’i ‘olla [pot, bowl]’; Yq soto-te ‘hacer ollas [make pots]’; AYq soto’i ‘olla, pot’; AYq soto’o-te ‘make pots’; My sóto’ori(m) ‘olla(s)’. [SUA: Cah]

Three semantic dimensions of Egyptian **st̥**—1 pull, 2 weave, 3 jug—are all three in UA as well, and with all three consonants is noteworthy. A similar 4<sup>th</sup> form with **st̥** (vs. **st̥**) follows:

**260** Egyptian(H) **st̥** ‘erwärmen [to warm], aufheizen [heat up], heiss machen [make hot]’:  
UACV2247 \*taku-sito’i ‘sweat’: Sh takusitoi ‘sweat, v’; Cm takusito’it̥ / takw̥isito’it̥ ‘perspire, sweat’.  
For both CNum forms, the morpheme boundary isolated sito’i ‘sweat’ as Sh taku ‘thirsty, dry’; Sh taku-pikka ‘be thirsty’ and others show \*taku to be the widespread Numic term for ‘thirsty’. [’>∅] [NUA: CNum]

**261** Egyptian(F/H) **sd** ‘tail’ > \*st > Coptic **sat/set** ‘tail, penis’ (Lambdin 1983, 266; Cerny 1976, 163):  
UACV2272 \*sati ‘tail’ (Hp) > ‘dog’ (in Num) / > ‘anus’ (in Tak, Mn): L.Num179 \*satii/\*sati’i ‘dog’;  
Fowler83; M88-sa15; KH/M-sa15 ‘dog’: NP sat̥i’i ‘dog’ (may be a borrowing from Sh Miller suggests);  
Sh satii; SP sarii-; WMU sari-či; CU sari-či; Cm sarii ‘dog’. Hp s̥ir̥i ‘tail’ is likely cognate with Num \*sati ‘dog’ after vowel leveling: \*sati > s̥ir̥i. The most prominent feature of a dog (vs. other animals) is its wagging tail and these Num-only words for ‘dog’ as a branch innovation are either a loan or a semantic shift. Ktn širi-c ‘anus, stingy’ is a decent tie between Hp s̥ir̥i ‘tail’ and Num \*sati ‘dog’. Mn céde ‘anus, butt, bum’ likely belongs as well; and Hp, Ktn, and Mn suggest that ‘tail’ may have been the original sememe, shifting to ‘dog’ in Num and ‘anus’ in Tak. Similar instances of V leveling occur in Hp (Hp CeCe/CiCi vs. Num CaCi; e.g., see at 1105 kidney, 1457 rain). Another potential support for \*sari ‘tail’ > ‘dog’ is SNum slow(ly): CU sariv ‘slow(ly)’; WMU sariv ‘slow(ly)’. This fits the pattern \*sari-va ‘tail-at’ (-va ‘at’ being a common adverb ending in Ute); that is, one who is slow is at the ‘tail’ end, of the one(s) in front. As in \*kwasi ‘penis > tail’, so Hp may again be the lone retainer of original meaning in \*sati ‘tail’ > ‘dog/anus’. Hp s̥ir̥i ‘tail’ (-d- > -r- also in elk). Interestingly, even though Uto-Aztecans must reconstruct \*t for the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant, all pronunciations are like an English d (cf. Egyptian sd) or Spanish flap r, and some Egyptian transcriptions contain t instead of d: Egyptian st (Cerny 1976, 163). [NUA: CNum, SNum, Tak, Hp]

Note Egyptian(F) šdi ‘take away, remove’; Egyptian(F) šd ‘vulva’: Ktn širi-c ‘stingy, anus’.

**262** Egyptian(F) **ʕnt** ‘nail, claw’; Egyptian(H) **ʕnt** ‘Nagel [nail], Krallen [claw]’; Coptic ine:  
UACV459 \*watti ‘claw, fingernail’: M67-169; M88-wa13; KH.NUA; KH/M-wa13: Sr waṭ ‘claw(s), fingernail(s), toenail(s)’; Hp malaci ‘finger’; Sr waṭu ‘claw, scratch, vt’. Add Ktn waci-č ‘claw, nail’; probably ST goota ‘scratch with claw, vi’. Hp appears to be a compound of \*ma- ‘hand’ + watti ‘claw/nail’ to yield ‘fingers’ as ‘hand-claws’ and a cluster of -nt- > -tt- would more likely become c rather than r or l. In Hp, UA \*w > Hp l before low vowels a, e, ö; thus, here Hp -laci matches Sr waṭ or UA \*watti, since Hp -c- would be from \*-tt-, not \*c. So Hp -laci, Ktn waci, and Sr waṭ are a good match. [Hp l < \*w]

[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep]

**263** Egyptian **m-p’-hrw** ‘today, now’ (literally: in-the-day)

UACV2352c \*(h)ïCpio ‘now, today’: B.Tep335 \*’ipi ‘also’; M88-ï5 ‘now’; KH/M-ï5: Wr ehpío ‘now’; Wr(MM) ehpé / ehpéo / ehpío ‘hoy [today]’; Tr hí-pe ‘now’; Hp pī ‘today, now’. Wr ehpéo / ehpío is a wonderful parallel, because the main stress in Egyptian would be on the -hr- syllable (m-p’-hrw), exactly the syllable stressed in Wr. Furthermore, the -r- was lost or changed to -y- at the ends of words / morphemes, so Egyptian hrw (> hyw) actually became hyw in Late Egyptian (Cerny and Groll 1993, 6). With the loss of -r-, or -r- > -y-, the vowels are as expected: p-hyw > pio. UA never shows the glottal stop of the Egyptian articles anyway: p’, t’, n’ > p-, t-, n-. Several forms suggest a cluster, and the last two forms of Wr(MM) also show the final -w, which is unstressed, thus its loss in most other forms, which loss would also help the then final r/y be lost. So, ehpío shows all the syllables, but the m-p-h cluster reduced to the stop -p-: or m-p-hrw > ihpio. Sh himpai ‘when, sometime’ (McLaughlin, 21) also belongs as ‘in the day of’ equates to ‘when’. Tep may or may not belong, as others include it, but I lean not. [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Trn]

**264** Egyptian(H) **šmrt** ‘grosser Bogen [large bow], Flitzbogen (d. Götter, Königs) [bow (of gods/kings)]’:

the **-samaaloo-t** portion of Classical Nahuatl koosamaaloo-tl ‘rainbow’ is an astounding match to the plural **šmrwt** ‘bows’ of this feminine noun. The word \*koNwa ‘snake’ is often in UA words for colorful things like rainbows, because many snakes have bright and varied colors; so minus the koo- of CN koo-samaaloo-tl, the rest of CN -samaaloo < Egyptian šmrt. Many other UA words for ‘rainbow’ are related.

UACV1768 \*ko(C)-samalo ‘rainbow’: B.Tep99a \*kihónari, 99b \*ki’óharai; M88-ki7 ‘rainbow’; Stubbs2000b-44; KH/M-ki7: Pl kusamaalu(h). Miller (M88) lists only Pl and the Tep terms in Bascom (1965/B.Tep); yet ‘rainbow’ cognates are in nearly every SUA language. Some SUA reflexes reduced (lost) syllables, probably by vowel syncope causing consonant clusters, then simplified the cluster to a single consonant, and sometimes repeated again, etc. Each cycle eliminates a syllable. In all SUA branches are cognates for \*koo-samalo ‘rainbow’:

Tr konimí/gonimí; Tr ginorá; Wr kenolá; Eu bainóra/vainóra; Tbr oráwi;

NT kiihónali (Tepiman h < \*s); TO gihonali (\*s > h)

TO kiohod (h < \*s); LP(B) kiuhur; LP(EF) kiáhur; Nv kiorha; ST ki’oor (\*s > h / ’)

Yq kurúes; AYq kurues; My kurués;

Cr kú’usa’a; CN koosamaaloo-tl; Pl kusamaalu-(t)

We begin with s.th. near CN \*koo-samalo > kosomalo > kisonalV > NT/TO \*kihonalV, for Tep often changes m > n. Borrowing from neighboring UA languages seems apparent. For example, both Tr and TO each have two words for ‘rainbow’. TO gihonali is nearly identical to NT kihónali, and the other TO form (TO kiohod) is similar to LP kiuhur. Tr ginorá and Wr kenolá are similar, and exhibit the interesting phenomenon of vowel-line transposition. Regarding TO and NT \*kihonali as compared to Wr and Tr \*kinola, the latter has lost one syllable or second consonant (h) early in the word, but has kept the first three vowels perfectly intact (-i-o-a-), simply shifting them one place toward the front of the word:

\*kihonali (TO, NT)

\*kinola (Wr, Tr)

The phenomenon of vowel-line transposition happens often in SUA.

Eu bainóra has pa- ‘water’ prefixed to \*hinora/kinola like Tr/Wr \*kinola: \*pa-kinora > Eu bainóra, which shows the vulnerability of \*-k- between vowels.

While Tr/Wr lost the -hV- syllable of \*kihonalV, three Tep languages lost -n-, but kept -r/l-: \*kihonalV > \*kihol, or like LP(EF) kiáhur (< \*kinasul) suggests, a complete metathesis of syllables in \*kihonalV > \*kinahol > \*kinhol > \*kihol / \*ki’ol (ST ki’oor; TO kiohod; LP kiuhur)

The first three segments of Tbr orawi agree with the -ola/ora portion of Eu, Tr, Wr. Cr shares \*kosa with Aztecan, but with extra glottal stops: \*ku’usa’a. Substantial reductions all about!

\*kosamalo ‘rainbow’ remained relatively intact in Azt, but reduced remarkably in the rest of SUA:

\*kosamalo > \*kohonalo > \*kulu (in Cah \*kurues)

> \*kihonali (NT, TO) > \*kih(n)ol / \*ki’ol (rest of Tep)

> \*kinola (Tr, Wr)

Might the *śóóna* and *şene* portions of Ls *’aşóónax* ‘rainbow’ and Cp *peşenex*’a also tie in, if \*m > n? The rainbow is one of the more spectacular phenomena of nature. It is beautiful, large and obvious when arching across the sky, unique or rare enough to make it special, but frequent enough that everyone is impressed and knows what it is. Its cultural prominence may make it more apt to be borrowed, which appears to have happened often in UA. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**265** Egyptian(F) *šms* ‘follow, accompany, bring, present’; Egyptian(H) *šms* ‘folgen [follow], begleiten [accompany], nachgehen [go after, seek], transportieren [transport]’; the semantic tie with UA *\*samsa* ‘buy’ is that Egyptian verbs of ‘bring’ are often also used/translated as ‘buy’; furthermore, ‘seeking’ or ‘going after’ is what buying is:  
 UACV2396 *\*samsa* ‘buy, sell’: BH.Cup *sámsa* ‘buy’; M88-sa21; KH/M-sa21: Bright & Hill say this may be borrowed from a non-Cupan language: Cp *sámse* ‘buy, vt’; Ca *-sáamsa-* ‘buy’; Ls(Bright) *sáamsa* ‘buy’; Ls(Elliott) *sámsa* ‘buy, sell’; Sr *şamsa* ‘sell’. [NUA: Tak]

**266** Egyptian(F) *šnw* ‘hair, grass’; Egyptian(F) *šni* ‘encircle, enclose, cover’: Egyptian(H) *šni* ‘Haar [hair], Haupthaar [headhair], Gras [grass]’: Egyptian(H) *šni-t* ‘Vegetation, Pflanzenkleid der Erde [vegetation clothing the earth, herbage covering the ground], Erdhaar [earth hair]’; Egyptian(H) *šnw* ‘Pflanzen (die die Rinder fressen) [plants (that the cattle eat)]’:  
 UACV1061 *\*soni* / *\*sono* ‘grass, straw, blanket’: L.Son257 *\*sono* ‘rastrajo’; M88-so9; KH/M03-so9; Jane Hill 2007: Wr *sonó* ‘rastrajo de maíz [corn stubble, which is used as winter fodder]’; Wr *sonógola* ‘troje [barn]’; Tr *sonó* ‘caña, corn fodder, leaves and stalks as food for animals’; Eu *sonó*; Tbr *sono-wolít* ‘pajar [hay pile]’; NP *sona* ‘blanket, covering’; NP *sona’a* ‘lower mattress’; TSh *soni* ‘grass’; TSh *pisoni* ‘loin cloth’ (< piC-*soni* ‘back-grass/cover?’); Sh *soni* ‘mattress’; Sh *soni-ppih* ‘hay, grass, blanket’; Tb *šoño-t* ‘little blanket’; Cm *soni-pi* ‘grass’; Cm *sona* ‘cloth cover’; Mn *sonábi* ‘hay, straw’; Mn(L) *sona* ‘hay’; Eu *sonó* ‘corn leaves’ (vs. Eu *sunút* ‘corn’). Ken and Jane Hill (2007) add Hp *söñö* ‘corn cob’ and Tbr *hona-li-t* ‘rastrajo’. Note both Tbr *sono-wolít* ‘pajar’ and Tbr *hona-li-t* ‘rastrajo’ in the same language! Add Ktn *hona-t* ‘sleeping mat’. It is also curious that only two NUA forms show *ŋ* to all others’ *n*, and that those two are the only two that have *o* following *ŋ*, that is, perhaps *snw* > *\*soño*, but *sni* > *soni*, but SUA *sono* < *\*soño*. Perhaps similar for Egyptian *tnh*. [NUA: n : SUA: n] [NUA: Tb, Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr]

**267** Egyptian(F) *twr* ‘reed’; Egyptian(H) *twr* ‘Rohrpflanze [tube/cane/reed-plant]’:  
 CN tool-in ‘sedgegrass, reeds’; Pl tuul-in ‘cattails, reeds’:  
 UACV1783 *\*to’i* < *\*toli* ‘water plant sp., cattail’: Munro.Cup96 *\*téé’i-š* ‘water plant’; KH06-to28: Ls *téé’i-š* ‘cattail rush’; Cp *tí’i-š* ‘marsh plant’; SP *to’oi-vi* ‘bulrush’. Add Tb *too’i-l* ‘tule root’; Tb *too’ibii-l* ‘tule’; Ktn *toi-c* ‘tule sp, wide cattail with black ear on top’; Sh(M) *toippih* ‘cattail’; Kw *to’i-vi* ‘cattail’; Mn *towibi* ‘cattail’; Mn *padowibi* ‘cattail’; NT *ááli tootóikami* ‘el carrizo’; ST *tootkom* ‘carrizo (de tallo duro)’; PYP *tookam* ‘bundle of reeds’ (Shaul notes Spanish *ototilla* ‘carrizales’). These all point to *\*to’i*, though Sh has a final gemination not apparent in the others. The *-r/-l-* is lost in Num, Tb, and Tep languages, but is clear in the Aztecan languages (CN, Pl), and acts like it was part of a cluster in NUA. These tie to CN tool-in ‘sedge grass, reeds, juncia’ from which English *tule* is borrowed through Spanish. [r > ’]  
 [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Azt]

### Devoicing of Egyptian d, g > UA t, k

**268** Egyptian(F) *dwn* ‘stretch, straighten, vt; be stretched out, taut, prostrate, vi’; Coptic toown:  
 UACV2208 *\*tuna* ‘straight’: Mn *tunaapaa* ‘straight, adv’; Mn *tunaapaati* ‘straight (one), adj’;  
 TSh *tunaan(tin)* ‘straight, too much, excessive’; TSh *tokwittunaan* ‘really straight, straight ahead’;  
 TSh *tokwittunaa winni* ‘zenith, standing straight’; Sh(M) *tunaan* ‘straight’; Sh(C) *tunaah-(n)* ‘straighten, vt; be straight, vi’; Cm *tuna/tunaa* ‘straight’; and My *tennei* ‘straight’ with an assimilative vowel change: *\*tuna* > *\*tune* > *tene*. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah]

**269** Egyptian(F) **dqr** ‘fruit’ (> \*dg > Coptic tiče/jiji):

**UACV979a \*taka(C)** ‘fruit’: L.Son269 \*taka ‘fruta’; M88-ta10 ‘fruit (pit)’; KH/M-ta10: Eu takát ‘fruta’; Op takkai ‘echar fruta’; My taaka; Yq taaka; Tbr taka-rá-t; Tr(B) tagá-či- ‘dar fruto en vaina [give fruit from a vine]’; Tr(B) ráká(ra) ‘semilla [seed]’; Tr(H) raká ‘semilla [seed]’; Tr(B) tagá-či- ‘dar fruto en vaina [give fruit from a vine]’; Wr taká ‘hueso de fruta, semillas’; HN tlahka-tl ‘fruit’; Pl taakil fruit. Lionnet associates these with Tep \*taka ‘root’, in that the pit begins the root and the above mean ‘pit’ as often as ‘fruit’. Add Cr táka’i ‘fruit’; Wc **tákáari** ‘round fruit’; Mn tadağai ‘be fruitful’; Kw tiki-piya ‘fruit’; in spite of Kw’s raised/relaxed schwa-like vowel, it is likely cognate. Yet Hp toko ‘fruit, edible part of food’ belongs with Mn tuku ‘flesh, fruit, berries, nuts’ and many others under \*tukuwa ‘meat’. Ktn tiki-t ‘tree sp. smooth like an alder but as big and with a leaf like a plum tree’ is dubious unless fruit-bearing. [\*a > i; \*r > i]  
**UACV979b \*taka** ‘root’: B.Tep216 \*taka ‘root’; M88-ta43; KH/M-ta43: TO tatk(t) ‘become rooted, shoot/grow roots’; NT táka ‘root’, NT takáádī ‘its root’; ST tak. This is likely related to SUA \*taka ‘seed’, since seeds do send out roots and become roots or take root: Wr taka ‘fruit pit, seeds of trees and bushes’; Tr ráká ‘seed, fruit (particularly those having pits)’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**270** Egyptian(F) **dbḥ** ‘ask for, beg’; Egyptian(H) **dbḥ** ‘bedürfen [need], erbitten [ask for]’; Coptic toobh:

**UACV70 \*tīpiwa / \*tīpiN** ‘ask’: M67-12 \*tep; I.Num246 \*tīpi ‘to ask (for)’; M88-ti16; KH/M-ti16: Mn tībiyu; Mn tīpiwī (M88); Mn tītiwī- ‘ask for (objects)’; NP tīpinkī / tībiḥa; TSh tīpiḥa; Sh tītipiah; Sh tīpinka (tīpiḥa) ‘ask for’; Kw tīvina; Ch tīviḥi; SP tīvi / tīvi-ḥu ‘to ask’; CU tīviyuy; Hp tīviḥ-ta ‘ask (for), inquire of’. Miller includes these forms: Cp tepine ‘to follow, track’; Ca tēpin ‘to track’; Ls tōpi/tupi ‘to track’. However, the Tak cognates are Ls tūvyuḥi ‘ask a question’; Cp tūvyuḥ ‘ask’; and perhaps Sr tīviḥ ‘find’, which share the same consonants and semantics as the Num forms, and note the alignment of SNum or CU tīviyu-y and Tak tūvyuḥi (like medial ḥ > ḥ ‘in girl’). The medial -v- (< \*-p-) and 3rd consonant ḥ might have Sr tīviḥ ‘find’ belonging here. Note the substantial similarity between Sr tīviḥ ‘find’ and Hp tīviḥ-ta ‘ask’. Could a phonological merger of \*tīwa ‘name’ and \*tīwa ‘find’ in Sr have encouraged a semantic shift from ‘ask (seek)’ to ‘find’ for Sr tīviḥ? We see a -yu- syllable in Mn and CU, as well as in Ls and Cp; the preceding u’s (or first V) in Ls and Cp may have assimilated to the u of the following -yu-. Some forms are compounds with other morphemes. [V assim.; Tak V’s; n vs. ḥ vs. ø vs. w; nasals; clusters]  
[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]

**271** Egyptian(F) **dm** ‘be sharp, sharpen’; Egyptian(H) **dm** ‘scharf machen/sein [make/be sharp]’; Coptic toom: Ca tama ‘be sharp, v’; Cm tomociari ‘sharpen to a point, v.’ [NUA: Tak, Num]

**272** Egyptian(H) **dmi** (dmi) ‘berühren [touch], kleben [glue], sich schmiegen [snuggle]’;

Egyptian(F) dmi ‘touch, reach, be joined (to)’:

**UACV2375 \*tam** ‘touch’: TO taatam ‘touch, feel, pet, vt’; NT táatamai ‘touch, feel, realize’.

**UACV2378 \*cima** ‘touch’: NP cimma ‘touch with finger/stick’; AYq čimta ‘touch, grab, kiss’;

Sh (to/wī)-cima ‘scrape, wipe, rub’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Ktn šim ‘scratch’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Cah]

**273** Egyptian(F) **dw** ‘rise early’; Egyptian(F) **dw’w** ‘dawn, morning’; Coptic to’we; Egyptian(F) **dw’yt** ‘morning’; Egyptian(H) dw’ ‘früh auf sein [be up early], aufstehen [arise, stand up]’; Egyptian(H) dw’yt ‘der Morgen [morning]’; Egyptian(H) dw’i ‘Morgendlich [in the morning]’:

**UACV2237 \*to’ay** ‘rise, come up/out’: TSh to’eh ‘emerge, come up/out, go up out’; Sh to’ai / to’i ‘come out, emerge, climb’; Sh to’etaippiḥ ‘is out/up, e.g., sun, moon, stars, past participle’; Sh(GL) do’e ‘emerge, come out, go out’; Cm to’iti ‘appear, come out, pl’; SP taḥa-ro’ai ‘kneel, vi’. Cm intervocalic -t- rather than r may suggest a final C, which ua -y and explains the Num vowelings. [NUA: Num]

**274** Egyptian(F) dhnt ‘mountain top, n.f.’, pl: **dhnwt**; Egyptian(H) dhnt ‘Felswand [rock wall], Bergspitze [mountain top], Bergvorsprung [ledge], Felskuppe [rock top]’: the final round vowel in **UA \*tono** ‘hill’ may point to Egyptian pl \*dhnwt, and perhaps an assimilation of the 1<sup>st</sup> vowel to the 2<sup>nd</sup>: \*dVhnt > **UA \*tono** ‘hill’:

**UACV1456 \*ton(n)oC** ‘hill’: VVH167 \*to<sub>n</sub>no ‘hill’; M67-230 \*ton ‘hill’; M88-to14; KH/M-to14:

TO toon-k ‘hill’; Nv tonika ‘cerro, loma’; SP tonnoqqi / tunnuqqi ‘a hill rises’; SP tonnoqq(w)i-čĭ / tunnuqq(w)i ‘knoll, swell in the ground’. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

**Egyptian f > UA \*p in initial position:** UA does not have f, only \*p which becomes v between vowels. Hebrew did not have f either, though it later developed an f as an allophone p, in environments similar to UA v (< \*p). Egyptian f is an infrequent Egyptian consonant so that clear examples of f in UA are few enough to leave the matter uncertain. Nevertheless, it may appear that Egyptian initial f corresponds to UA initial \*p.

**275 Egyptian(F) f’i** ‘raise, lift up, carry, support’:

UACV397 \*po’i / \*po’iy ‘take s.th. away, dispossess’: TO wooppo’id ‘take away from, deprive of’; Nv vopoida ‘quitar [take from]; Tr bo’e ‘quitar, disposer [dispossess]; Wr po’é-na ‘take s.th. away’; Mn ca-po’a ‘lift off, open (lid)’; NP ci-pu’a ‘lift off lid with sharp obj’. The -d- (< \*y) in the Tepiman languages (TO, Nv) is a perfect match for Egyptian f’y as Tepiman shows \*y (> d) of PUA \*po’iy. UACV398 \*pu’a ‘carry’: AYq pu’ate ‘carry, transport, take along, vt’; AYq pu’akte ‘load, vt’; AYq pu’akti ‘load, pack, n’; Yq pu’a ‘carga, v’ (pres); Yq pu’ak ‘cargó (pret)’; Yq pu’akta ‘cargar, v’; Yq pu’akti ‘carga, n’; My a’a pú’aate ‘lo va cargando (en hombros), v’; My pú’akte ‘está cargando’; My a’a pú’aktia ‘lo carga (en los hombros), v’. [\*u-a > \*o-a > o-i] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah; NUA: Num]

**276 Egyptian(H) f’k kahl sein** [be bald], geschoren [shorn]; Egyptian(F) f’k ‘shorn man’:

UACV2056a \*piCka / \*piNka ‘smooth, bald’: Kw pika ‘smooth’; Kw pika-roci ‘bald-headed’ (Kw toci ‘head’ < Hebrew \*ro’s ‘head’); Ch pikága ‘smooth’; TSh appiṅkoyo’i ‘be bald-headed’. For the latter part of TSh appiṅoyo’i, compare \*nyu ‘naked’. Nv tiviki ‘muy liso [very smooth], como bruñido [polished-like]’ may fit here or may be a dialect variant of LP(EF) dapek ‘liso’ and all the other Tep forms of Tep \*dapak (< \*yapak) ‘smooth, naked’. Nv sivopigi’ moho ‘bald’ may include an intervocalic voicing of \*-pik-? Or could a prefix \*ya- in Tep and a vowel change unite the Num and Tep stems (pika/paka)? Ca (Tak) puxuu contains the expected vowels for an underlying glottal stop; yet in Egyptian the glottal stop is hardly secure either, since alternate forms with and without it exist in Egyptian as well.

UACV2056b \*paNka / \*paCVNka ‘smooth’: other SNum forms show different vowelings: SP paüN-ṅqa- ‘be smooth’; WMU paáqqa-y / paáṅqa-y / paága-y ‘be slippery, smooth and shiny (like marble)’; CU paáqay ‘be smooth, slippery’. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

**277 Egyptian fx** ‘loose(n), release, cast off, obliterate, leave, depart, fail (to do)’ (infinitive fxt):

UACV2437 \*pu’ta/i or \*puC-tV ‘loose(n), untie(d)’: L.Son215 \*pota ‘soltarse’; M88-pu8; KH/M-pu8; Yq búta; My búttia ‘desatar’; Wr po’tá; Wr(MM) po’tá ‘soltarse [bec loose], desarramerse [bec untied]; Tr botá / bo’tá; Tr o’ta- ‘bec slack, bec loose (of knot)’; Tr o’ta-na- ‘slacken, loose, set free, vt’ (-na ‘causative’). Tr often loses initial consonants. Add PYp voragi ‘naked’; PYp voragim ‘strip, vt’. The first element matching \*pul- in TO wul’ok ‘untie’ and Nv burioka ‘desatar’; Nv virioka ‘desatar lo atado’; Nv virioki ‘cosa desatada’; ST vulyio’ka ‘desatar, vt (animate obj)’ (but ST vulya ‘amarrar’) likely belong as well. Is Hp wilökna ‘slacken, loosen’ a loan from TO wul’ok or another Tep language? Note that the glottal stop in Wr, TO, and Tr, and gemination in AYq, all four suggest at least a medial cluster, whether ’ or s.th. else. A vowel sequence of u-a (Yq) could raise \*u > o (\*o-a, as in Tr, Wr, PYp). [\*u-a > o-a; -a/i in Nv] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]

**278 Egyptian(F) fnt** ‘snake, intestinal worm, n; become maggoty, v’; Coptic feet:

If cognate, note that UA \*-puti ‘worm, snake’ also clustered the -nt- and lost the -n-, as in Coptic also: Consider the puri of Tr činigú-puri ‘worm, sp’; the -buri of PB kosiburi ‘worm, sp’; and PB cuagi vuri ‘worm, sp’; PB kukumpuri ‘snake, sp.’ And perhaps the \*-put portion of UA \*si’taput ‘(red?)-snake’: UACV2064 \*siktaput ‘red?-snake’ (cf. sĭta ‘red’): Eu setábuc ‘culebra azotadora [whip snake]’; AYq siktavut ‘red racer’; and probably Ktn tapo-č ‘corral snake’ with loss of initial syllable. We would expect Tep h < \*s, so Nv sitkara ‘rattlesnake’ may be a loan from Trn. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tep; NUA: Tak, Num]

279 Egyptian(F) **ffft** ‘leap’; Egyptian(H) **fttw** ‘Springer [jumper], pl’; the latter would mean an unattested verb **\*ftt** existed, which is what matches UA; and remember that NUA -c- is usually from UA \*-tt- (or -Ct-), as \*-c- > -y- in NUA, but \*-tt- > -c- (Cp, Ca, Sh). Also note the medial consonant similarity between this—UA **\*potti** ‘jump’ < Egyptian **ftt**—and UA **\*yotti** ‘fly’ < Egyptian **itt** ‘fly’:

UACV1249 **\*puCca/i** / **\*puCta/i** ‘jump’: Stubbs2003-13: Cp **púčaqe/pučáqe** ‘jump, vi’; Ca **pe-púčaq** ‘jump’; Eu **hapóca** ‘brincar [jump], corcovear [bound]’; Tr **počí-** ‘saltar [leap], brincar’; Tr **hibóči-** ‘ir a saltos, v freq’; Tr **o’poči** ‘freq and emph of **počí-ma**. Sh **pocci** ‘hop, v’ and Sh **poppi** ‘hop, v’ suggest a cluster, which would exclude this from AMR’s rule \*-c- > NUA -y-. Also Cm **pohbiti** / **popiti** ‘jump, v’. [NUA u and SUA o] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Trn, Opn]

**Consonant Clusters: \*-m’- > mw > ŋ.** Clusters of m plus glottal stop, regardless which is first, tend to become ŋ, though some Numic languages actually show the m. Egyptian yields four UA examples of the cluster -m’- > -mw (> ŋ) in 280 salt, 281 lung, 284 husband, and 1246 Semitic has-sim’al > Tb **aašijan** ‘left’.

280 Egyptian(F/H) **ħm’** / **ħm’t** ‘salt’ (Coptic **hmu**); UA appears to derive from **\*ħVm’a(t)** ‘salt’:

UA **\*omwa** > **\*oŋwa** / **\*oŋa** ‘salt’: Sapir; VVH63 **\*’oŋa** ‘salt’; M67-359 **\*’ona**; this is in all branches except Aztecan. For UAnists, the medial consonant (n, ŋ, ŋw, m, ø) is difficult. Yet that variety for the 2<sup>nd</sup> C—n / ŋ / ŋw / m—is a nice array for the cluster \*-mw-, the UA equivalent of m-plus-glottal-stop cluster. The UA forms reflect Egyptian **ħam’a(t)** or **ħum’a(t)**. Given that ’ > w, UA **\*omwa** reflects that well. The initial pharyngeal is apparent in initial o, though h is lost. Below are UA forms of **SALT**:

Mn	<b>omábi</b> ; <b>omaa-</b> ‘salt, vt’	Hp	<b>öŋa</b> ; <b>öŋaskīyi</b> (s. solution)	Eu	<b>onát, ónta</b> (acc)
NP	<b>oŋabi</b>	Tb	<b>uŋaal</b>	Tbr	<b>oná-t</b>
TSh	<b>oŋwapi(cci)</b> / <b>omapi-</b>	Sr	<b>čuka’t</b>	Yq	<b>’óna</b> ; <b>AYq čo’oka</b> ‘salty’
Sh	<b>oŋa-/onka-/ona-pin</b>	Ca	<b>’iŋ-il</b>	My	<b>oona</b>
Cm	<b>ona-/onaabi/ona’aiti</b>	Cp	<b>yewá-l</b> ; v. <b>iŋeyu</b>	Wr	<b>woná</b>
		Ls	<b>’éŋ-la</b>	Tr	<b>oná / koná / noná</b>
Kw	<b>’owa-vi</b>	Tŋ	<b>’oŋó-r</b>		<b>yakáwi-</b> ‘v. salt/season s.th’
Ch	<b>aso-na</b> ; <b>asómpī</b>	TO	<b>on</b>	Cr	<b>unáh</b>
SP	<b>oa</b>	PYP	<b>ona</b> ; <b>ta’akil</b> ‘salty’	Wc	<b>’únaa</b> ; <b>’ucívi</b> ‘salty’
WM	<b>’ööá-vi</b>	NT	<b>ónai</b>		<b>kwíe.túušáari</b> ‘earth with salt’
CU	<b>’öá-vi</b>	ST	<b>’on</b> ; <b>vasdak</b> ‘lack salt’	CN	<b>ista-tl</b> ; <b>poyek</b> ‘salted’

UACV1865 **\*omwa** / **\*oNCa** > **oŋa** ‘salt’: Sapir; VVH63 **\*’oŋa** ‘salt’; M67-359 **\*’ona**; B.Tep320a **’onai** ‘salt’; 320b **’onaga** ‘possessed salt’; I.Num16 **\*’oŋa**; L.Son16 **\*’ona**; M88-’o27 and M88-wo5;

Munro.Cup115 **\*’ééŋ-la** ‘salt’; KH/M-’o27: Reflexes exist in all branches except Aztecan. Wr shows initial **\*w** or an initial C of intense rounding, as Wr elsewhere intensifies initial **\*o** > **wo** (Stubbs 1995). For UA’s medial consonant, we see m in Mn and TSh; ŋ in the rest of NUA (Num, Tb, Hp, Tak); but we also have w in Kw and ŋw in TSh and n in SUA. Such variety is likely an underlying cluster involving a nasal and a labial. Mn and TSh (the nearer homeland languages of WNum and CNum) show m; SNum lost the nasal, showing either **\*w** or **ø** and nasalized vowels in some; but only one NUA language shows n, the geographically most distant, Cm. WM Ute speakers distinguish **’ööá-vi** ‘salt’ and **’öáá-vi** ‘back’ only by vowel length.

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

Indeed, -mw- > -ŋw- or -ŋ- is quite natural phonologically, since the velar dimension of w could change the bilabial nasal m to a velar nasal ŋ quite easily, and then the w be lost; in other words, bilabial nasal m plus velar w combine to velar nasal ŋ; then ŋ > n in SUA. Yet in salt, lung, and husband, we even see some m’s in the Numic languages, as well as mo/ŋw/ŋo.

Two more examples of the same cluster follow in Egyptian **sm’w** > UA **\*somwo** ‘lung’ and in Egyptian **qm’** > UA **\*kumwa** ‘husband’:

**281** Egyptian(H) sm' 'Lunge [lung]'; pl: sm'w 'lungs' > UA **\*somwo** > **\*sojo** 'lungs' (> SUA **\*sono/a**):

Mn	sóno	Hp	halayna; mīma	Eu	sonát
NP	sojo/sono	Tb	mošooha-t/mosooha-t	Tbr	wopa <sup>N</sup> -s; sorá komwa-lí-t
TSh	somo/sojwo/sojo	Ktn	šoŋa-č	AYq	hemaha'ačim
Sh	sojo/sonno	Ca	yávayva	Yq	saré'ečia
Cm	soomo	Ls	savá-sva-š	My	sáre'ečiam
Kw	soo-vī	Cp	qíqilye	Wr	so'locá
Ch	soo-vi	TO	hahaw	Tr	sonorá
SP	soo-vi	PB		Cr	šáíñi-mee; ta'atime
CU	só'ö-vī	PYp	hakadaga; pl: havdaga	Wc	šaaka
		ST	habkały	CN	--

**UACV1409 \*somCo / \*soNca** > **\*sojo** 'lungs': VVH166 **\*so<sub>s</sub>no** 'lung'; M67-270 **\*sono**; I.Num182 **\*sojo**; M88-so7; KH/M-so7: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; Ch; SP; CU; Tbr; Tr; Cr; HN sooneewa' 'to swell up (of vipers)'; Ktn šoŋa-č; Eu soná-t / coná-t 'bofes [lungs]'; and perhaps Hp somi(-k) 'draw in breath through the nose, sniff' (with 2<sup>nd</sup> C and 3<sup>rd</sup> C separated); Hp somi-lawī 'keep sniffing'. Ktn and Eu are a nice NUA and SUA match, as NUA -ŋ- corresponds to SUA -n-. Miller includes Ls šavá-šva-š 'light on one's feet, lungs'; but TO and Ls match each other well in **\*sapa**, but as a separate set, like Ken Hill does, though -'m- > -p- does happen elsewhere in UA, so it may be possible, but not preferred at this point.

[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr, Azt]

**282** Egyptian(F) wf' 'lungs'; Coptic wof:

Tbr **wopa<sup>N</sup>-s** 'lungs' (the superscript n means a nasalized vowel, periodically consistent with a glottal stop). Also note that Coptic shows the same vowel that UA/Tbr has. [SUA:Tbr]

**283** Egyptian(F) **qm'** 'create, beget, produce'; Egyptian(F) **qm'** 'mourn'; Egyptian(H) **qm'** 'schaffen, erschaffen [create], herstellen, anfertigen [make], erzeugen (Vater) [beget, produce (of a father)]'; Egyptian(H) **qm'** 'beklagen [lament]':

**UACV689 \*kumma** 'create, make': Ktn kīm 'make'; -ğuma- in CU maróğumay 'create'; Mn qoomai 'do s.th. in honor of, sacrifice for, mourn for'; NP puhagīma 'medicine man' (\*puha- 'medicine' + -gīma (\*u > i) as 'medicine-maker'). Note in the UA definitions we have two rather unrelated meanings 'make/create' and 'lament/mourn' and that both meanings are in the Egyptian as well. [NUA: Num, Tak]

**284** Egyptian(F) **qm'** 'create, beget, produce'; Egyptian(H) **qm'** 'schaffen, erschaffen [create], herstellen, anfertigen [make], erzeugen (Vater) [beget, produce (of a father)]'; Egyptian(H) **qm'** 'der Schöpfer [the creator]'; Egyptian(H) **qm't** 'erzeugnis [product(ion)]': UA words for **HUSBAND**:

Mn	kúwa	Hp	koonya	Eu	kúnwa; Op kuna
NP	guma	Tb	kuuŋa	Tbr	kona-ká-m 'husband-haver'
TSh	kuhma(cci)	Sr	wöčahav	AYq	kuuna
Sh	kuhma/kuha	Ca	wél'isew-ily	My	kuuna
Cm	kumahpi'	Ls	kúúŋ; tó'ma-vu	Wr	kuná
Kw	kuhma	Cp	kúŋ	Tr	kuná(ra)/guná(ra)
Ch	kumá	TO	kun	Cr	kīi'n
SP	kumma	PB	kun	Wc	kīna
WMU	piwá	NT	kúna	CN	--

CU piwá; kumáa-vi 'male animal' ST kun

**UACV1240 \*kuCma / \*kumCa** > **\*kuŋa** 'husband' (> SUA **\*kuna**): Sapir; VVH97 **\*kuŋa** 'husband'; B.Tep121a **\*kuna** 'husband'; B.Tep121b **\*kunadi** 'her husband'; B.Tep122 **\*kunatai** 'take a husband'; M67-504a/b **\*kuna / \*kuma** 'husband'; I.Num66 **\*ku(h)ma** 'husband, male'; L.Son107 **\*kuna** 'marido'; M88-ku2 'husband'; KH/M-ku2. Hill and Miller also add Ca kúŋlu 'propose to marry (of woman)' and Cp kúŋvuwə-t 'bride, married woman'. All Numic languages approximate **\*kumma** as both 'husband' and 'male' or the begetter. In WMU and CU the common form for 'husband' is piwá, yet kumma 'male' exists also with a semantic shift as SNum spreads eastward:



SP kumma ‘male, husband’

SP piŋwá ‘wife, spouse’

CU kumáa-vi ‘male animal, stud, macho’

CU piwá ‘spouse, husband, wife’

Hp, Tb, and Tak show reflexes with a velar nasal: \*kuŋa vs. Num \*kumCa. Then all SUA reflexes have \*kuna. The fact that nearly all UA languages have a term, but only vary in the type of nasal—bilabial in Num; velar in Hp, Tb, Tak; alveolar in SUA—suggests that we are dealing with a single proto-form, and that the medial consonant represents a cluster involving a nasal. Hp -ŋy-, Mn w vs. m of the rest of Num, and NUA ŋ vs. SUA n all suggest a clustered nasal. The latter syllables (-guma-) of CU marógumay ‘create, v’ are the verb and are identical to CU kumáa-vi ‘male animal, stud, macho’ in the consistency of k > -g- between vowels. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

**285** Egyptian(H) t’ ‘heiss sein [be hot]’; Egyptian t’w ‘hitze [heat], Glut (feuer) [glow (of fire)]’; Egyptian(F) t’ ‘hot’; Egyptian(F) t’w ‘heat, n’; the Numic term UA \*kut-tu-tu’i (fire-redupl-hot) ‘hot’ appears to contain \*kut ‘fire’ with a reduplication of \*tu’i > tutu’i:

UACV1212a \*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’ suggests a compound in the others: \*ta-tu’i.

UACV1211 \*kuttutu ‘hot’: Ch kutúci ‘hot’; Ch kutúcaa ‘hot’; CU kitúruuci ‘be hot, be feverish’; WMU quhttúruuci ‘hot, be hot, have a fever’; Kw kutuu-vü ‘charcoal’; Kw kutuunuhi ‘make fire with a drill’; SP qwattürooci ‘be warm (of inanim obj’s)’. A prefixed \*ku(t) ‘fire’ or s.th. like Mn ku ‘with heat’ yields something near \*kut-tu..., or medial reduplicated \*kut-tututi. [NUA: Num]

The Cluster \*-x’- > -’w- (\*x > ’; \*’ > w) is treated in the next three items. Keep in mind that in this cluster the Egyptian x > ’ as many consonants do when first C in a cluster, then \*’ > w, as usual; thus, \*-x’- > -’w-.

**286** Egyptian(F) px’ ‘purge, clean’; Egyptian(F) px’ ib ‘clean of heart’:

UACV2495a \*pi’wa ‘clean’: Wr pi’wa ‘get clean, vi’; Wr(MM) pi’wá ‘limpiarse [become clean]’; Wr(MM) pi’wé ‘limpiar superficies [to clean surfaces]’; Wr(MM) powi ‘limpiarse’ (present tense base)’; Tr bi’wá / be’wá / be’wé ‘clean, purify, wipe’; Eu pí(g)wa-n ‘limpiar, v’; Eu pigwi ‘limpio [clean]’; Eu pígwíde / pivíde ‘limpiar a otro’; Op piwa ‘erase, wipe, clean’ (Shaul 2020); Op pivíde ‘cleanse’ (Shaul 2007); TO -pig ‘remove from, verbal suffix’.

UACV2495b \*powa (< \*pi’wa) ‘clean, repay’: CL.Azt28; M88-po20; KH/M-po20: CN poopowa ‘repay, make restitution’; CN nitla-popoa ‘limpiar algo, restutuir lo ageno [clean s.th., give back s.th. belonging to another]’ (Molina 1571, CL.Azt28); Pl puupuuwa ‘clean (people), pluck (feathers)’. Cf. CN siwaa-tl / sowa-tl ‘woman’ for the vowel change i > o. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Tep, Azt]

**287** Egyptian(F) px’ ‘kind of grain’: Wr pa’wa ‘spike or point or unopened leaves in the center of a plant’ [where the grain is in the plant]. [Trn]

**288** Egyptian(F) wx’ ‘seek’; Egyptian(H) wx’ ‘suchen [seek], wünschen [wish], begehren [desire]’:

UA \*wi’wa / \*wa’wa ‘seek, want’: Sr wii’wín ‘want, like’; as in px’ above, also in wx’ did k > ’ as first element in a cluster and ’ > w, in other words, \*-x’- > \*-’w-. Also Hp wíiwa / wíiwan ‘think (about), consider’ or Hp wáŋway ‘summon, call’.

UACV1897 \*wi’wa / \*wa’wa ‘look for’: B.Tep35a \*gaagai-a ‘to look for’; not in M88; TO gaag; UP gaagi; LP gaag; PYP gaaga; NT gáagai; ST gaaga. To Tep, add Cr wáwawau! ‘búscaló’; Cr paráwauni ‘búscaló’; and Mn wawiya ‘chase, go after’; and Sr wii’wín ‘want, like’.

In Numic below, the cluster doubled the -kk-: \*wak’a > wa’ka > wakka:

UACV1902 \*wakka(-y) ‘search for’ (\*wak’a > wa’ka > wakka): Sh waikki/wakki ‘look for, search for’; Cm wehkiniti; Kw wuki ‘look for’; CU wəqXáy ‘look for, seek’; WMU wahqxáy-y ‘search, look for, vt’; past: wahqxáy-kye. [w rounds adjacent Vs] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, CrC]

**The cluster \*-hr- > -’r- in UA:** As the h reflects glottal stop in a cluster in Egyptian nhp ‘copulate’ > Hebrew n’p and UA \*na’pī ‘join together, copulate’, and in Nawa h and ’ are alternate reflexes of -h-. So did h in clusters also become ’ (glottal stop).

**289** Egyptian(F) **phr** ‘turn, turn about, revolve, surround, travel around’:

UACV1839 \***pi’ri-na** > \***piyi(na)** ‘spin/twist thread, make rope’: B.Tep267 \*vidinai/a ‘to make thread’; B.Tep268 \*vidinakaroi ‘spindle’; M88-pi3 ‘twirl, darse vuelta’; Stubbs 2000a-9; KH/M- pi3: Wr pi’rí ‘darse vuelta [turn, revolve]’; Tr bi’rí ‘torcerse [be twist, twined], enrollarse’; My biirite ‘torcer’. For Tep, \*p > w and \*r > d: UP wijini; NT vidyíñai ‘make thread’; ST vidyña; TO wijjin ‘twist, spin obj’; TO widult ‘rock, swing, wave, flutter’; TO widwua ‘stir, beat’. Add Eu virá- ‘torcer’; Eu vírana- ‘voltear’; and Wc hiiná ‘torcer mecate [twist/make rope]’ and Cr ti’ihiihna ‘hilar’ and AYq vi’ita ‘twist, wind around, coil, vt’. As noted in Stubbs (2000a), the presence of \*y in PUA \*piyi(na), though clear in Tepiman \*vidina, would be much less obvious in a PUA segmental sequence of \*-iyi-. Due to the near phonological identity of y and i, a PUA \*y between two i’s would likely be quite invisible, probably reducing to simply i or long ii (\*-iyi > ii), as we see in Huichol hiina ‘torcer mecate [twist/make rope]’. The correspondence of PUA initial \*p > h in Huichol matches, which also confirms the relative invisibility of \*y adjacent to i in some UA languages. Miller (M88) does not list Huichol hiina in his 1988 collection (where Tep \*vidina is found); nevertheless, the sound correspondences and semantics match nicely, and it is an intriguing example of a proto-phoneme, occurring in a rather disguising phonological environment, but appearing clearly in Tepiman. However, some y are from liquids (r/l), and Tr and Wr show this to be one of those, for Wr pi’rí ‘darse vuelta’; Tr bi’rí ‘torcerse, enrollarse’; and My biirite ‘torcer’ show that the medial -y/-d- actually comes from medial \*-’r-. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]

**290** Egyptian(F) **phrt** / **phrty** ‘remedy, prescription’; Coptic pahre: built on the verb Egyptian phr meaning circular motion, ‘remedy’ or concoction probably from stirring the mixture/medicine. So the UA words for medicine or healing power align, with a couple of vowelings: \*puhar / \*puhrat and \*pahaC:

UACV1160a \***puha** ‘supernatural power, medicine, healing power’: M67-281 \*pu ‘medicine’; I.Num156 \*puha ‘power, medicine’; BH.Cup \*púla ‘doctor’; M88-pu10 ‘supernatural power’; Munro.Cup117 \*púuhu-la ‘shaman’; KH/M-pu10: Mn puha ‘supernatural power’; NP puha ‘supernatural power’; TSh puha ‘power’; Sh poha ‘supernatural power’; Cm puha ‘medicine, spiritual power’; Kw poha-vi/puha-vi ‘poison, power’; Kw poha-ga(n)-di ‘evil shaman, witch, modern doctor’; SP pua / poa ‘supernatural power’; CU puwa-vi ‘medicine power, spiritual power’; Tb tiboohat ‘to doctor, work at curing (usually animal)’; Tb tiboohanat ‘apply medicine (to a person)’; Tb(H) tiipooiš-t ‘medicine, herb medicine’; Cp púu-l ‘shaman’; Ca púu-l ‘medicine man’; Ca púh-lu ‘become a púul, perform first ceremony’; Ls púu-la ‘shaman’; Hp powa ‘supernatural power’; powaal-ti ‘bec. cured’; Hp powa-ta ‘cure, purify’. Add Wr(MM) puhé ‘curarse, quitar la enfermedad’ and an identical but separately listed Wr(MM) puhé ‘quitarle (la carga a una bestia); Wr(MM) puha / puhi ‘quitar’; Wr puhé-na/ma ‘cure, take sickness from (person), take load (from animal)’; Ch(L) puh<sup>w</sup>agantī ‘doctor, shaman’; Ch(L) navuh<sup>w</sup>a-ganumpī ‘medicine’; TSh pohaah ‘bewitch, hex’; Sh(C) tici-pohah ‘make evil sorcery’ (-pohah ‘use spiritual power’). CU and Hp seem to have lost -h- then yielded to the natural excrement -w- in the \*u-a environment. Below is a semantic shift.

UACV1160b \***puha** ‘poison’: Stubbs2003-14: NT ivóíñai ‘envenenar [to poison]’; Kw poha-vi ‘poison’; and the -wui- portion of TO hialwui ‘poison, n’. The forms below are of a different voweling:

[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn]

UACV1696 \***paha(tu)** ‘poison’: Yq páhti ‘veneno, n’; Tr páte ‘veneno, n’; ST pačmada ‘envenenarlo, vt’; CN pa’-tli ‘medicine, potion’; Tb paaluu-l ‘roots for fish poison’; NT paátai ‘poison, n’; NT paatúmadai ‘poison, vt’; the first two syllables of Ktn pahavi-t ‘poison, dream helper’. The first four languages might jump us to a conclusion of \*pati; however, any final -V > -i is common in UA, and Yq and Tr’s final high front vowels may be influenced by CN pa’-tli, if not loans therefrom. So Tb paaluu and NT paatú point to \*paatu or \*paha-tu, the more likely original vowel. [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]

**291** Egyptian(F) **phr** ‘turn, turn about, revolve, surround, travel around’; these UA terms have to do with turning and circles: UA \*puhaC ‘circle, look around’: Sr puah- ‘circle’; Sr puahka’ ‘circle’; Sr puahkin ‘put in a circle, make a circle of’; Sr puahī’q ‘be in a circle’. Sh pohaiH ‘look around’; TSh pohai ‘look for, search for’. [NUA: Num, Tak]

**292** Egyptian(F) **phr** ‘turn, turn about, revolve, surround, travel around’: Wr(MM) tehpihíri ‘remolino [whirlwind]’. The -pihíri suggests a feminine noun, and the teh- is the feminine prefix. [NUA: Trn]

293 Egyptian(F) **pds** ‘stamp flat, flatten’; Egyptian(H) breitdrücken, breitschlagen [beat broad]’: Eu **pitása** ‘smash, flatten, vt’ (pret: pitási); Eu **pitáse** ‘be/get flattened’ (pret: pitási). Note that Eu shows all three consonants. Several other UA forms show \*pata / \*pici and such at 1227 with UACV904a-g, but not the s, unless the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants are clustered (-ds- > -ts-/-c-). [SUA: Opn]

**4.3 Bilabial stops are lost or absorbed as first element in a cluster: -bC-/-pC- > -C-:** The loss of bilabial stops (p/b) as first consonant in a cluster is a sound change common enough in world languages generally. English debt is pronounced det, losing b as first consonant in the cluster; and so does Semitic \*kabkab > kaukab > kookab ‘star’ and other examples.

757 Hebrew **šipħa** ‘maiden’ > UA **\*siwa** ‘woman, girl, wife’ (treated further below)

294 Egyptian **xpš** ‘foreleg, thigh’ > UA **\*kapsi** (> **\*kasi**) ‘thigh’;

295 Egyptian **xpd** ‘buttock(s)’ > UA **\*kupta** (> **\*kuta**) ‘buttocks’;

296 Egyptian **ib** ‘dance’ > \*yapwV > UA **\*yawa/yawi** ‘dance, v.’;

297 Egyptian **sp** / **zp** ‘centipede’ > UA **\*(ma)-siwa** ‘centipede’ (ma ‘hand’);

298 Egyptian **šbxn** ‘frog’ > \*wapkan > UA **\*wakaN(-ta)** ‘frog’

299 Egyptian **hpš** ‘chew’ > \*hipwa > UA **\*hiwa** ‘taste’

300 Egyptian **iʔbty** ‘east, left’ > UA **\*oti** ‘left’

486 Egyptian **xftiw** ‘enemy’ > UA **\*kaytu** ‘enemy’

794 Aramaic **ʔibr-aa** ‘penis-the’ > **\*wīʔaC** ‘penis’. See also 467 and 1242

294 Egyptian(F) **xpš** ‘foreleg, thigh’; Coptic šopš:

UA **\*kapsi** (> **\*kasi**) ‘thigh’: Manaster-Ramer (1993) discusses this set and astutely reconstructs \*kapsi ‘thigh’ on the strength of the cluster in Tb -ps- for ‘thigh’ and in \*apsi ‘arrive’, both showing the same cluster -ps- in Tb, while all other UA languages show only the s, though Hp and others hint at a cluster. Strikingly, that cluster provides exactly the reconstruction we would expect for Egyptian xpš ‘thigh’:

Tb hapši-l ‘thigh’; Ls qaasi-l; Hp qàasi/qahsi ‘thigh, hind quarter’:

UACV939 **\*kapsi** ‘thigh’: Sapir; VVH41 **\*kasi** ‘leg, thigh’; B.Tep92 **\*kahi** ‘thigh’; M67-435 **\*kasi** thigh;

L.Son75 **\*kasi** ‘muslo’; CL.Azt67 **\*ikši** ‘foot’; CL.Azt250 **\*\*kasi** ‘leg, thigh’; Kaufman 1981 **\*kapsii** ‘thigh’;

M88-ka7; Manaster-Ramer 1993 **\*kapsi**; KH/M- ka7 **\*kapsi** ‘leg’: Tb hapši-l ‘thigh, upper leg’; Ls qáasi-l;

Hp qàasi/qahsi ‘thigh, hind quarter’; Wr kasí; Tr gasí/kasí; CN kees ‘thigh, leg’ fits as well; CN kešiil-li

‘groin’. The Tep forms have h/ø < \*s: TO kahio ‘leg’; LP kai/kahi; Nv kaio ‘pierna’; PYP kahir; NT káhi;

ST kai. Also of interest are SP piṅkap-pī ‘upper leg’; TSh nuṅkwappī / huṅkwappī ‘leg’; CU piká-vī ‘thigh,

lap’; CU piká-vī-n ‘my thigh, lap’; NP huggabbī ‘thigh’ (-gab-/-kap- portion). SP and CU parallel the Late

Egyptian possessive structure pe-(pron)-xapši wherein the pronoun is usually one segment—vowel or

consonant. [\*-ps- > -s- in most] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

295 Egyptian(H) **xpd** ‘Hinterbacke [buttock]’ (usually in dual); **Egyptian xpdwy** ‘buttock(s)’:

UACV336 **\*kupta** ‘buttocks’: Ls kupča-t ‘buttocks’; Cr kícá ‘buttocks’; Wc kícá ‘buttocks’; Cp xútaxwi

‘back’ whose -t- suggests a cluster -Ct-, because intervocalic \*-t- > -l- usually in Cupan. The first three (Ls,

Cr, Wc) perfectly agree in \*kupta, because PUA \*u > Cr/Wc i, PUA \*p > ø in CrC even without the medial

cluster, and NUA -c- < \*-Ct- usually, as the -t- in Cp. A bilabial as first element of a medial cluster has been

seen to be fragile elsewhere in UA (e.g. \*kapsi > \*kasi ‘thigh’). M67-126 cites Sr kukt-č ‘anus’ which may

involve reduplication or may belong with \*kwita, where Miller had it. Terms like CU kutú-pī (< \*kuCtuC-

pī) ‘buttocks’ and SP kučun’wa ‘sit on one’s haunches’ may belong here or at \*kwiCta, if the two are not

related themselves. Tr gósi/kósi ‘buttocks’, which does have o < \*u, further lenited the affricate to a

fricative: \*kucV > kosi. Affrication of \*-t- to \*-c- is common in UA: e.g., CU kwica-y ‘defecate, vi’

(< \*kwitta). [bilabial loss as 1<sup>st</sup> C in a cluster; t > c] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Trn, CrC]

296 Egyptian(H) **ib** ‘tanzen [dance], laufen [run]’: \*yapwV > UA **\*yawa/yawi** ‘dance, v.’:

UACV635a **\*yawa/i** / **\*yaCwa/i** ‘dance, v’: Wr yawí ‘fiesta, ceremony, dance, n’, Wr yawi- ‘dance

(especially of women), v’; Wr yautá-ni ‘dance, v’; Tr awí-mea ‘dance, v’; Eu dáve/dawe ‘dance, v’;

Eu dáhdauh 'dance, n'; Op dawí 'dance, n' (\*y > d in both Eu and Op); Tbr mi-nyamwa-lí-t 'rain dance' (Tbr ny < \*y; mw < \*w; so Tbr suggests \*yawa); Cp čayewe 'to do a woman's dance, v.'; Cp yawe 'sing (of bird), v.'; Ls yááwi- 'begin to sing' as verbs of sing and dance and fiesta often overlap semantically. Remember that bilabials are assimilated or disappear when first element in a cluster, so this suggests a vowelizing of \*yab'i > \*yabwi > \*yawí.

**UACV635b \*yī'iwa / \*yi'iwa** (< \*yaCwa ?) 'dance, v': Yq yé'e 'dance, v'; Yq yí'iwame 'dancers'; My yé'eye/yi'i-; AYq ye'e; yeye'eme 'dancers'; AYq yi'iwa 'a dance'; yi'iwame 'act of dancing'. Laryngeals (seen as we in much of UA) corresponding to Cah glottal stop also happen in 150 'sand' and 162 'earth'. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr; NUA: Tak]

Perhaps, but we shall not count UACV1018 \*yapi 'hurry': Mn yabi'ísu 'hurry!'; NP yabi 'hurry, adv'; NP yapi 'fast'; NP yabisu 'quickly'; Wr yapi 'pronto'; Wr yapíri 'muy pronto'; Wr yapísí 'to hurry'; maybe TSh yawí(sí) 'quickly, fast, in a hurry'. Both NP and Wr show \*yapi and have been associated with \*ya'i. While such a tie may be, these have an extra morpheme that the above lack, even if related: \*ya(i)-pi? Note that 3 of 4 show an s-syllable also. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah]

**297 Egyptian(F) sp'/zp'** 'centipede'; Egyptian(H) **sp'/zp'** 'Tausendfüßler [centipede]':

**UACV2598 \*masiwa** 'centipede' (\*ma 'hand' and \*sipwa > siwa): M67-82 \*ma; L.Son130 \*ma-siwa; M88-ma23; KH/M03-ma23: Eu másiwa; Op massiwat 'centipede'; Yq masíwe; My masia; TO maihogi; PYP maihig; Nv maiokka (< \*mahioqa < \*masiwa). Wr ma'yáka, Tr maagá / ma'agá, and Tr mahará may derive from Tep loans: \*masiwa > Tep \*mahiga > ma'yaka (Wr) / ma'aga (Tr). [SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah]

**298 Egyptian(H) ſbxn** 'Frosch [frog]'; Egyptian(F) **ſbxn** 'frog' > \*wapkan > UA **\*wakaN/C(-ta)** 'frog':

**UACV971 \*wakaN-ta > \*wakatta** 'frog': M67-192 \*waka 'frog'; I.Num265 \*waako(o) 'frog'; BH.Cup \*waxa 'frog'; HH.Cup \*waxaa 'frog'; Fowler83; M88-wa12 'frog'; KH.NUA; KH/M-wa12:

Kw wagata/wogata 'frog'; Sr waqät / waka't; Ktn wakata-t; TSh wakatta 'toad'; Ch wagáta-ci 'frog'; NP wakatta 'toad'; Cp wáxači-ly 'frog'; Ca wáxačily, pl wáxašly-em 'frog'; Tb waagaaiš-t 'little frog'; Ls waxáw'ki-la 'type of frog'; Ls waxáá-wu-t 'type of frog'; NP(McD) wakasa'a; SP waagoo-(ci); Sh waako 'frog'. Fowler (1983) cites SP wahata / wagata; Tr 'awaka. Add TSh pawoko/pookoo 'bullfrog'; Yq wahté'ele 'toad'. Do Mn wazaǵá' and Mn(M88) wacqa'(wa) 'frog' show metathesis? Is NP pamogo 'frog' influenced by TSh pawoko? Most show the 3<sup>rd</sup> C clustered, except Tb woohnaa-l 'bullfrog' shows Tb h < PUA \*k < Egyptian x, and also shows the n: \*wabxana > \*wokana > \*wohna in contrast to Tb waagaaiš-t 'little frog' which appears to be a loan from a Cupan language; cf. Cp pl: wáxašly-em 'frog'. The n appears to have been lost early, except in Tb (Tb kept -n- also in 'tooth'), but is apparent in a cluster -Ct- in most. Yq, Ch, Cp, Ca, and Tb have extra syllables: \*wakatta-(l(i)).

\*wakattali > waktele > wahte'ele (Yq)

\*wakattali > wakattil > wakacil (Tak)/waka(i)š- (Tb, Ca's pl.)

[\*-t- > -č- in Ca, Cp; Mn metathesis; wa > wo in Kw] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Cah, Trn]

**299 Egyptian(F) hpſ** 'chew'; Egyptian(H) **hpſ** 'kauen [chew], in Mund hin- und herbewegen [move here and there in the mouth]'; this tie depends on an Egyptian vowelizing **hipſa**: \*hipſa > \*hipwa > UA \*hiwa 'taste': Yq híiwe 'probar [taste]', AYq hiiwe 'check on, sample, taste'; My hiiwe 'taste, v'. [SUA: Cah]

**300 Egyptian(H) i'btý** 'östlich Seite [left side], Osten [east]'; Egyptian(F) **i'btý** 'east, left'; Coptic yebt 'east':

Though lacking initial y/i, the other 4 of 5 consonants are apparent in UA **\*oCpoti** 'left': CN oopooč-tli 'left, left-hand side'; Cr ne-'uhtah 'my left.' The Cr u agrees with Azt o and UA \*o, and if Cr lost intervocalic -p-, like it usually does (or the voiceless h may be the p's remnant), then the two derive from \*opotV. The -p- in Azt suggests a cluster (\*ya'baty? > \*yo'boty > UA \*oCpoti); otherwise, its disappearance in Azt is likely too. The first round vowel o is a typical reflex of the glottal stop. Two other cognate groups reflect a syllabic collapse initiated by the loss of a vowel, resulting in a cluster, then the disappearance of the first consonant of the cluster, a common process in UA (Stubbs 2003): \*opotí > optí > oti.

**UACV1305a \*opoti** ‘left’: CN oopooč-tli; Cr ‘uhtah. These likely tie to \*otti below with loss of \*-p- in a NUA cluster (\*opoti > opti > otti > oci) as suggested by the \*-c- in Sr ööc, ööci’ka’ ‘left-handed one’ and Ls ’éčva-š, in contrast to the -l- we would expect if not a clustered -tt-, both suggest \*otti.

**UACV1305b \*otti-(pa)** ‘left (hand)’: BH.Cup \*’ecva ‘left (hand)’; HH.Cup; M88-’o18; KH.NUA; KH/M-’o18: Sr ööc ‘left’; Sr ööci’ka’ ‘left-handed one’; Ls ’éčva-š ‘left hand’; Cp išvá; Ca ‘išva; Tbr ote-wi-ná ‘left’. Sr ö, Ls e, Cp i, and Ca i, all agree with UA \*o. Usually underlying NUA -c- is -tt- (\*otti) because PUA \*c > y in NUA. And the most common cause of \*t > c/č is a following high front vowel; so \*oti / otti is the preferred reconstruction. The Cupan languages show a following -va syllable, while Sr and Tbr only show the otti portion. In fact, the Tbr form may be the link between the Tak forms and Tr and Wr, though Tr, Wr, and Tbr all show a common compound, the latter half of which the Tak languages lack. Add Ktn oci’(ŋa) ‘left hand’ and the oi- of NP oi-naggwa ‘left side’ (o(y)i < \*oci).

**UACV1305c \*ofi-wina** ‘left’: Tbr ote-wi-ná ‘left’; Wr o’ená; Tr owená; Tbr ote-wi-ná. Something like \*otiwina > \*otwina > \*o’wena (Tr, Wr) would account for these forms. Is TO oogig ‘left’ a loan from these forms? Though with differing affixes for different compounds, both NUA and SUA show the stem \*otti-, ultimately from \*opoti. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**301 Egyptian(F/H) mnt** ‘thigh’ usually dual Egyptian **mnty** ‘thighs, dual’:

**UACV945 \*macci / \*maCti** ‘thigh, upper leg’: M67-436 \*mac ‘thigh’; M88-ma17 ‘thigh’; KH/M-ma17: CN mec-tli ‘thigh, leg’; My máccam ‘muslo’; Pl mec- ‘leg (in compounds)’; HN mec-tli ‘thigh’; Eu morika ‘thigh’; Eu morite ‘thigh, gen.’; Eu morita ‘thigh, acc.’; Ca mi-š ‘hip, thigh’ (construct) (< \*mo); Tbr mo- ‘thigh’. Add Yq máča-m ‘leg, thigh’. [SUA: Azt, Cah, Opn, Tbr; NUA: Tak]

**302 Egyptian(H) xnm** ‘riechen [breathe (air)], einatmen [inhale], geniessen (Speise) [enjoy, eat (food)], erfreuen [enjoy]:

**UACV777 \*kuCma/i / \*kunmi** (Kaufman) / **\*ku’mV** ‘chew, nibble’: VVH88 \*ku<sub>u</sub>mi/\*ku<sub>u</sub>ma ‘eat’ (as corn, to nibble); M67-152d \*ku/\*ko ‘eat’; L.Son104 \*kumi ‘masticar’; Kaufman1981 \*kunmi; Dakin 1982-30; M88-ku12; KH/M03-ku12: TO kuum ‘chew, crunch’; Wr ku’mi; Tr gumí / kumu ‘eat small things, like corn’; My kúume ‘chew’; Wc kímée ‘mochar, eat small bites’; Cr kī’ima / kī’imi ‘eat’. In light of the glottal stops (Wr, Cr), we may be dealing with another consonant, i.e. a cluster or a glottal stop as well. Dakin (1982) ties these to CN kimičín ‘mouse’ (as a nibbler, good inclusion). Ken (KH/M) and Jane Hill (2001) add SP kummia ‘old Indian name for corn, rarely used now’; Hp kokoma ‘dark red, almost purplish corn’; Hp koma ‘coxcomb, Amaranthus cruentus, a plant used to make red piki’ (Hill queries whether the two preceding are cognate; I would say so); CU kimiy ‘corn’; TO kuum ‘eat, chew on s.th. that comes in little pieces’; Cm kukiime-pī ‘parched corn’. Add also AYq kumme ‘chew’; PYP kuum ‘chew’; WMU kímwí/kumwí ‘corn’; TO kuumikud ‘corn cob’ literally as ‘eating tool’. Note Kaufman’s \*kunmi, as the very reconstruction. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

As the nibbler, the jackrabbit has the same consonants as ‘chew, nibble’ at 463 (abbreviated below):

463 Egyptian(H) **xnm** ‘inhale, smell, eat, enjoy’: **UACV1757 \*kaNmu / \*kanmī** (Kaufman) ‘jackrabbit’

As for nibbling/tasting or ‘have a taste / taste good’, Kaufman’s reconstruction has k-nm- like Egyptian xnm:

**303 Egyptian(H) xnm** ‘inhale, smell, eat, enjoy’:

**UACV778 \*kaNma(C) / \*kamma** < **\*kanma** (Kaufman1981) ‘taste, have taste or a quality of taste, such as sweet or salty’: L.Num50 \*kahma ‘(have a) taste’; M88-ka2 ‘be sweet or salty’; KH/M-ka2 ‘be sweet or salty’: Mn qama (< \*qamma) ‘taste, v’; NP kama; TSh kama/kamma; Sh kammaC; Cm kama/i ‘have a taste, be tasteful’; Kw kama ‘taste, vi’; CU kamáy (Miller \*kammay) ‘taste, have taste, taste good’; CU kamá-tī (< \*-tī) ‘tasty, good tasting’. Add Ch(L) kama- ‘have taste or flavor, vi’. This also appears in compounds such as Ch piya-gama ‘sweet’. In M88-ka2, Miller includes M67-427 \*kaka ‘sweet’; L.Son71 \*kaka ‘dulce’ as \*kaka may be a reduplication of \*kaCma ‘taste’. ST kaak ‘have a certain taste’; Yq kám-ta ‘swallow, put in mouth’; ST kaam / kaamta / kaamik ‘carry/hold in the mouth’ may be semantically pivotal between \*kaCma ‘taste’ and \*kaCma ‘mouth, cheek’ and tie them together. Sh and CU may suggest a final -C. Relative to Kaufman’s reconstruction \*kanma, note Ca ken-ma ‘delicious, tasty’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah, Tep]

Relevant to ‘nibbling, tasting’ is the place where it happens (cheeks, mouth), and relevant to rabbits’ puffy cheeks as prominent when nibbling/eating:

**304** Egyptian(H) **xnm** ‘inhale, smell, eat, enjoy’:

**UACV828a \*kaCma** ‘cheek(s), mouth’: Sapir; VVH87 \*ka<sub>u</sub>ma ‘mouth, cheek, to taste’; B.Tep91 \*kaama ‘cheek’; M88-ka26; KH/M-ka26 ‘cheek’: TSh kamma ‘taste’; Sr qāj, pl: qajam ‘beard, facial hair’ (cognate? Miller queries, and I say yes.); TO kaam ‘cheek’; PYp kaama ‘cheek’; PYp kamar ‘face’; LP kama/kaam; NT káama ‘cheek’; ST kaam ‘cheek’; CN kam(a)-tl ‘mouth’; HN kamak-tli ‘mouth’; HN kama-wia ‘speak to’; Pl kamačal ‘jaw’; Pl kamak ‘cheek’. Likewise, NP gamu ‘chin’ and Yq kámta ‘swallow, put in mouth’ may tie these to \*kama ‘taste’ as suggested by VVH.

**UACV828b \*kaCma(C) > \*kaḡa / \*kana** ‘beard, facial hair’: if Sr qāj ‘beard’ and Ktn kaḡa-c ‘beard’ are includable in KH/M-ka44 ‘chin, whiskers’, then Mn qana ‘beard’ and Tb kaḡaa-l ‘facial hair’ are also, though we shall assign different letters for different nasals. Sapir cites Tb gaḡa ‘beard’ (kaḡaa-l ‘facial hair’ in Voegelin and Munro) and Kitanemuk qaja and CN kan-tli ‘cheek’ (Simeon), perhaps a related form of CN kama-tl above. Add WMU ganáqqö / qaná-qqö-ppü / gannáqwö ‘jaw, chin, n’; SP qannaqpo’o(N) / qannaqpo’-mpi ‘chin’; CU kaná-qö-pü ‘chin’. [medial m/n/ŋ] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Azt]

Several UA \*kamma forms mean both ‘taste’ and ‘sick’ as if in the sense of ‘experience’ or ‘partake of’ whether sweet (taste) or bitter (illness):

**305** Egyptian(H) **xnm** ‘inhale, smell, eat, enjoy’; or Arabic gamma ‘cause sadness, pain, grief’:

**UACV1979a \*kaCma > \*kamma** ‘hurt’: Mn ca-qama ‘hurt (physically)’; Mn qama ‘be sick, hurt’; TSh kammah ‘be sick, sore; ache, hurt’ (vs. TSh kamman ‘taste’); TSh kammanna ‘verbal noun of kammah; thus, TSh tama kammanna ‘toothache’; Sh(C) kamma- ‘be in pain, ache, be sick’; Sh kammah ‘ache, dull pain’. What of Nv tuakama ‘is pierced’? Note two similar terms Sh tımmai ‘sick’ and Sh tımmai ‘taste (food)’ have both meanings, as also Sh kamma is both ‘sick’ and ‘taste’, perhaps in a sense of ‘experience’ or ‘partake of’ whether sweet (taste) or bitter (illness). [NUA: WNum, CNum]

**UACV1979b \*na-kaCmi > \*na-kammi** ‘sick’: Ch nagámi ‘sick’; SP nakammi ‘be sick’; CU nagámi ‘sickness, illness’. This is likely tied to \*kama ‘(be in) pain’ with the na- prefix. [NUA: SNum]

**Loss of initial i/y** in stems of more than three consonants:

Initial i/y is often lost, and consistently in stems of more than three consonants. In fact, such a loss of initial consonants often happens in Egyptian itself:

Egyptian itnw and Egyptian tnw ‘be difficult’; Egyptian igr/igrt and gr/grt ‘furthermore, moreover’; Egyptian ixt and xt ‘thing’; Egyptian ixr / xr ‘by’. Similarly, UA forms often lack the initial i, but reflect the rest:

306 Egyptian **irtt** ‘milk’ > UA **\*rīti/\*rīci** ‘milk’;

300 Egyptian **i’bty** ‘left’ > UA **\*opotı** ‘left’;

307 Egyptian **irtyw** ‘blue’ > UA **\*tıyawı/\*tayawı** ‘blue/green’;

308 Egyptian **išdd** ‘sweat’ > UA **\*-sul/-sud** ‘sweat’;

309 Egyptian **itrw** ‘river’ > UA **\*t(r)wV/\*tiwı** ‘river.’

345 Egyptian **ifdw** ‘four’ > UA **\*wattıwı** ‘four’

**306** Egyptian **irtt** ‘milk’ (> \*irtt/irt > Coptic eroote):

UA **\*rīti/\*rīci**: Wr rıci ‘milk.’ Besides t > c being frequent before high front vowels, note loss of initial i-, which may mean that the rare initial Wr r- is due to being intervocalic -r- originally. [Wr]

**300** Egyptian **i’bty** ‘left, east’; Coptic yebt ‘east’ (treated earlier) > UA **\*opotı** ‘left’: CN oopooč-tli ‘left, left-hand side’; and many other SUA forms, all lacking initial y/i, the other 4 consonants apparent. See 300.

**307** Egyptian(F) **irtyw** ‘blue’: (the last three consonants match UA perfectly, and if -rt- were clustered, it would likely only strengthen or double the -tt-, then with loss of initial i/y as usual, UA **\*tıyawı / \*tayawı** ‘blue/green’ matches Egyptian. Remember in Tep (TO, LP, Nv, PYp, NT, ST) \*y > d, \*w > g:

**UACV263 \*tayawi** > **\*tiyawī** / **\*tiyowī** 'blue/green': B.Tep249 \*tīidogi 'green, blue'; L.Son305 \*tiyo 'verde, azul'; M88-tī46 'green/blue'; KH/M-tī46: \*tiyawī > TO čīīdagi; LP tīīdīg; Nv stugdogi; studogivita; NT tīīdó(gi) 'blue / green'; ST t'īīdo'. Add PYP teedag, Eu tadei 'blue', Op tadoi 'purplish blue'. For a reconstruction of \*tayawi, TO, PYP, and maybe Eu show the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel as *a*, while other Tep forms likely assimilated *a* > *o*, anticipating the following \*w. And Eu tadei 'blue' shows the original first vowel \*tayawi, while the other languages assimilated, anticipating to the points of articulation of *t* and *y* and *w*, remaining high between the high fronted consonants on both sides of \**a*, thus motivating *i*. Cahitan \*tīwīli (My teweli 'blue, sky color'; Yq téwe 'azul'; Yq tewéli 'azulito'; AYq tewei 'dark blue') may belong since syncope of a vowel and assimilation are common in the Cahitan languages: \*tiyawī > \*tiywi > \*tīwī. For loss of medial syllables in Cah, compare 'bat': \*so'o-pati > so'opeci > Cah sooci-k (249) and 'frog' \*wakanta > Cahitan wahte 'frog' (298). [reductions; \*V > o/\_w] [SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah]

**308 Egyptian(F) išdd** 'sweat'; Egyptian(H) **išdd** 'Schweiss [sweat], n':

UA **\*pa-sur** 'sweat, v': In the Tepiman compounds, the first syllable is \*pa- 'water' (> Tep va-/wa-), so consider matters after initial wa-/va-, and remember that \*s > h in Tep, and d > l/r in some languages.

**UACV2249 \*pa-sura** 'sweat': TO wahud / wahul- 'sweat, vi'; TO wahulḏag 'sweat, n.; sweaty, adj.'; Nv vahurhu 'sweat, v'; Nv sivahurhudaga 'sweat, n'; PYP vahar 'sweat, v'; PYP vahagdar 'sweat, n'; NT vaahúryi 'sweat, vi'; ST voor 'sweaty' (pl ST vapor). Also likely are the latter two syllables of Cr táisi'e 'sweat, vi'; Wc kwaasīya 'sweat, n', for Cr -si'e < \*surV, and Wc assimilated the V a bit more toward *y*. ' The first two consonants (Egyptian **išdd**) may be apparent in Sr yiška 'sweat, perspire' and Cr táisi'e 'sweat, v,' while the Tep languages show the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants, and the 4<sup>th</sup> in NT. This is another word in which PUA \*pa 'water' appears compounded in Tep. [\*r > ' in Cr] [SUA: Tep, CrC]

**309 Egyptian(H) itrw** 'Strom, Fluss [river]' > Coptic yo'or:

**UACV1818 \*pa-tiwa / tawi** 'river': these UA forms are compounded with UA \*pa- 'water' in Uto-Aztecan **\*pa-tiwa / tiwī** 'river': Eu bacíwe'e 'rio [river]'; My bátwe 'rio'; Yq bátwe 'rio'; Wc hátia (< \*pa-tua since Wc h < \*p and Wc i < \*u); CN aa-tlawi-tl 'valley, canyon, gully'; CN aa-tooyaa-tl 'river'. These Cahitan forms in KH/M-pa10 seem better here with Eu and CN. UA also has the Hebrew form Hebrew **ya'or** 'river' (799): UA **\*yawa(y/n)** 'river, canyon' which itself is a loan from Egyptian and quite matches the Coptic forms, yet UA \*tiwī better preserves the original *t* and *w*, the other two of the four consonants, that the Hebrew and Coptic forms are missing. UA loses the first C, consistent with the other five items losing initial *i-* in UA, while Coptic and Hebrew's loan from Egyptian kept the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants more clearly: Egyptian itrw > Hebrew ya'or (losing *t* and *w*, 2 of the 4 consonants, though the glottal stop may residually be the lost *t* and the round *o* an assimilation from the following *w*): Coptic yo'or(e) 'river' approximates the Sahidic and Achmimic dialects, yor in the Bohairic dialect, and ya'ar in the Fayyumic dialect (Loprieno 1995, 47). [SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**310 Egyptian(F) s'** 'maggot':

UA **\*sa'(w)a / \*si'a** 'louse': Ca sa'wa-l 'louse (of hair)'; Ls sa'la-t 'body louse' (perhaps sa'-); Hp si'a 'nit, egg of head louse'. Many Num languages also show \*si'a 'louse, worm, bug'. Num lost the glottal stop's rounding in 'sand' also, but Hp shows *w* in Hp tīiwa < Egyptian *t* 'earth'. Note the similarities between Ca sa'wa-l 'louse' (< Egyptian *s'*) and Ca se'we 'ask' (< Hebrew š'l 'ask'). They show identical consonant representations for identical consonants (\*s > s, \*' > 'w), but a difference in vowels—one assimilating toward the final -l in Hebrew (though missing in Ca), raising and fronting the vowels, as in Ca e-e vs. a-a. **UACV1399a \*pusi'a(C)** 'louse': I.Num161 \*pusi'a/\*posi'a 'louse'; Fowler83; M88-pu14 'louse'; KH/M-pu14: Mn pusi'a; NP poziabbi 'louse, flea'; TSh posia-cci; Sh posia-cci. Fowler also lists Sh puzi'a and NP pozi'a, both showing glottal stops, as does Cm pusi'a / pusi'a 'head louse'. With two languages showing \*u, I think \*u > o. Miller also lists the SNum forms, which likely lost medial -si-: **UACV1399b \*po'a** 'louse': Kw po'o-vi; SP po'a-vi; CU pō'a-vi; Ch poo'a-vi / poo'aa-vi 'body louse'; Ch(L) poo'wa-vi 'louse'; WMU pōō'a-vi / pōō'á-vi / pōō'a-vi / pō'æ-vi 'louse, lice, flea'. Both WNum and CNum show \*pusi'a, SNum loses a syllable: \*pusi'a > \*pus'a > pu'a > po'a. [reduction or syllable loss in SNum] [NUA: Num, Tak]

**311** Egyptian(F) **ddft** ‘snake, internal bodily worm’; Coptic jatfe:

Sr sīvāt-ṭ ‘body louse’; Sr fits 3 of 4 consonants and the only missing C would disappear as the first element in a cluster, as in the Coptic form, and the first element in a cluster is usually lost in UA. Both Coptic and UA Serrano sīvāt- suggest a proto-form similar to \*šadfaṭ > \*sVpVt. Note also the following:

**UACV2596a** \***sipuli** > \*sipuyV ‘worm’: Cp sívuye-l ‘worm, maggot’; Ca sívuy-al ‘worm’; Ca sívuy-iš ‘being wormy, having many worms’; Nv kosiburi ‘gusano’. Missing si-, perhaps Ktn purpur ‘worm sp’. At the end, do we have r > y or another morpheme?

**UACV2596b** \***sipuyu** ‘rotten, wormy’: Cp sívuyu’i-š ‘rotten, decayed, adj’ (cf. Cp sívuye ‘worm, maggot’); CN popoyoo-tl ‘rotteness, decay, n’. However, Egyptian sp’ ‘Tausendfuss, Tausendfüssler [centipede]’ is quite similar as well. [slight V discrepancy] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Azt]

**312** Egyptian(F) **kmt** ‘a jar, n.f.’:

CN koma-tl ‘vessel, container’ and CN koomi-tl ‘pot’; Pl kuumi-t ‘(clay) pot’; Zo komi-tl ‘jarro de barro, olla [earthen jar, pot]’; I-M koomi ‘olla’; Wa komi-tl ‘olla’. [SUA: Azt]

**313** Egyptian **nyw** (of, belonging to, pl possessions)

Ktn **niw** ‘possession, belongings (used in the indirect possession construction):

Ktn ni-niw tameata ‘my watch’; Ktn mo-niw kooče ‘your dog’. [NUA: Tak]

**314** Egyptian(F) **’tp** ‘load (cargo on animal or ship); be heavy-laden’; Egyptian(H) **’tp** / **’tp** ‘beladen [to load]’; Coptic ootp:

**UACV388** \***hitapa** ‘carry’: Mn hida ‘carry, hold using both arms’; NP hida ‘carry in arms’; Eu hítava-n / hitáwa-n ‘carry’; Wr ihtába-ni ‘carry a heavy load’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Opn]

**315** Egyptian(F) ptr/pty ‘who? what?’; Egyptian(H) **ptr** / **pwtr** ‘wer ist? [who is it?], was ist? [what is it?]’:

UA \***piri** ‘what’: Tr piri ‘what (interrogative pronoun)’ (\*putVr > \*puti > \*puri > piri). SNum \*pu ‘what?’ e.g. WMU pu-’ni-k ‘what-do-?’ [SUA: Trn; NUA: Num]

**316** Egyptian(H) **dd’** ‘Fett [fat]’; Egyptian(H) **ddw** ‘in Zusammenhang mit Opfer [in context with offering], Hannig says compare **dd’** ‘Fett’; Egyptian(L) **dd’** ‘fat’; Egyptian(L) **ddw** ‘oil, olive tree/oil’ (**d** > UA s):

Wr(MM) soí / sowí / so’wí / soowí ‘grasa [grease], sebo [tallow], manteca [butter]’; Tr(B) so’we-ame / so’wi-ame ‘mantecoso, grasoso, grasiento [greasy]’; so’wi-hure- ‘dar olor a carne asada, a grasa quemada [smell like roasted meat, burning/cooking grease]’; Tr(H) su’wé-ti ‘bonito [pretty]’; Tr(H) su’wé-ti ‘olor agradable [pleasing / nice smell]’; Tr(H) su’wé-ti huka ‘tiene bueno olor [have a good smell]’. Since glottal stop ’ > w, either medial cluster (-**d’**- / -**dw**- > -’w-) would yield **dVd’V** / **dVdwV** > UA \*sV’wV, and the first V > o in an unaccented syllable anticipating the rounding is natural, as well; and the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant of a cluster to glottal stop or lost while the 2<sup>nd</sup> remains, is also usual. [SUA: Trn]

**317** Egyptian(F) **i’dt** ‘net’; Egyptian(H) **i’dt** ‘Netz [net]’; Coptic ate:

UA \***yuta**: Ls yúúla-pi-š ‘rabbit net’. Ls l < UA \*t < Egyptian d, and Ls -p- (instead of -v-) suggests a final consonant, like Egyptian -t. [NUA: Tak]

**318** Egyptian(H) smx ‘vergessen [forget], vernachlässigen [neglect]’; Egyptian(F) **smx** ‘forget, ignore’:

**UACV962** \***suma** / \*sumiCa ‘forget’: M67-134 \*sum / \*cum ‘disappear’; M88-su4 ‘disappear’; KH/M-su4: Mn sumi’a- ‘forget’; Kw na-sumaa- ‘forget’; CU sumúay ‘forget’. Add Sr umi’|k ‘forget’ as \*s > h in Sr; Ktn amihik / ami’hik ‘forget, vt’; Cm nasuwacirī ‘forget’; Cm nasuwaci ‘lose s.th.’; Ch ti/na-sumia ‘forget, leave behind’; NP simu’wa ‘forget’; TSh nasuwaci ‘forget’; Sh na-suwaci ‘forget’; and perhaps Hp sùütoki ‘forget’; Hp(S) sihtoki ‘forget’. [m/w] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp]

**319** Egyptian(F) **psi** ‘cook’; Coptic pise; Egyptian(F) **psw** ‘preparation, of food and drink (verbal noun)’;

Egyptian(H) psi ‘kochen [cook], backen [bake]’; Egyptian(H) **psw** ‘verkochung [cooking]’:

**UACV270** \***poso** ‘boil’ (perhaps < \*pasu): CL.Azt66 posooni ‘to foam’; posoonal ‘foam’; M88-po21; KH/M-po21: Wr pasu ‘cook by boiling’ may represent the original vowelizing with an early leveling widely



apparent: \*wasu > \*poso. CN posooni ‘boil, foam (of turbulent sea), get very angry’; CN poosonal-li ‘foam’; Pl pusuni ‘foam, froth, v’; Z posoni ‘foam, v.’; etc. To these Aztecan forms, add Cah \*poh-: Yq pohte ‘hervir’; AYq pohta ‘boil, vt’; AYq pohte ‘boil, vi’; AYq pohtia ‘boil for s.o., vt’; My pohte ‘está hirviendo’. Numerous other examples show s > h in a cluster for the Cahitan languages, e.g. \*tasikali > tahkali ‘bread’. Parallel to Yq pohte is Ktn vo’rĭk ‘boil, vi’ though Ktn voro’ ‘boil, vt’ is not so. Ca pis-múlul ‘come out, bubble up, boil, v’ also belongs, since Ca i < \*o. Consistent with UA \*tĭku < Egyptian txw vs. Egyptian txi and UA \*piso < Egyptian bšw vs. bši, here also UA consistently verbalizes the noun form (Egyptian psw) over use of the Egyptian verb form (Egyptian psi). [\*s > h/\_C]  
[SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt; NUA: Tak]

**320** Egyptian(H) **xpx** ‘rauben [rob]’ > UA **\*kĭpĭk** ‘take’: Yq kebék-ta ‘take, grasp’.

**321** The Egyptian glyph for the consonant ‘m’ is an owl; however, the original word from which that glyph derives is unknown; it undoubtedly started with m and was probably short; Cerny shows Egyptian m- / mu- (construct) / maw ‘owl’ as possible morphemes for the first part of Coptic mulaj ‘owl’ (<\*mwldj); in that light, UA words for ‘owl’ are noteworthy: all reflexes of the various UA languages begin with \*mu-; some have only the single syllable mu, while others suggest a second consonant or cluster or additional morpheme(s) that surface as \*muhu in Numic, \*mu’u in SUA, and moŋwĭ in Hp.

UACV1590 **\*muhuN** / **\*muhum** ‘owl’: M67-312 \*muhu ‘owl’; I.Num97 \*mu(hu(h)) ‘owl’; BH.Cup \*muhuta ‘owl’; L.Son153 \*muhu ‘buho’; Fowler83; M88-mu10 ‘owl’; Munro.Cup86 \*múúhu-ta > \*múú-ta ‘owl’; KH.NUA; KH/M-mu10: Mn muhu ‘Pacific horned owl’; NP muhu ‘owl’; TSh muumpi-(cci) ‘horned owl’; Sh mom-picci; Kw muhu-ci; Ch muhúmpĭci; SP mooC-(ppĭci) ‘hooting owl’; CU múu-pĭ-ci; Tb muhun-t, muhumbiš-t; Cp múú-t; Ca múú-t; Ls múú-ta ‘horned owl’; Tŋ múhut; Sr muum-t; Ktn muŋ-t ‘great horned owl’; Hp moŋwĭ; Eu muhút; Op mu’uh / muhu ‘owl’; Yq múú’u; My múú’u; Tbr mu-tá; HN kwa-mohmoh-tli’ ‘night owl’ (kwa- ‘forest dwelling, wild’). Add Tr mo’tapa ‘owl sp’ as Tr tápani ‘owl sp’ provides a convenient morpheme break for Tr mo’tapa. Sr muum-t showing -m- even adjacent to -t- recommends -m- as the 2<sup>nd</sup> nasal, unless it is the beginning of an old reduplication. Tak -t absolute and especially Ls -ta suggest a final consonant. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Azt]

**322** Egyptian(H) q’yt ‘hochgelegenes land [high-lying land], Hügel [hill]’ from Egyptian(H) q’i ‘hoch sein [be high]’; Egyptian(F) q’i ‘tall, high’; Egyptian(F) q’yt / q’iit ‘high ground’:

UACV1455a **\*kawi** ‘mountain, rock’: M67-289a/b \*kawi/\*kai ‘mountain’; I.Num49 \*kaipa ‘mountain’; BH.Cup \*qawíca ‘rock’; KH.NUA; HH.Cup \*qawíiča ‘rock’; L.Son79 \*kawi ‘cerro’; M88-ka8 ‘hill, mountain’; Munro.Cup74; KH/M-ka8: Cp kawí-š ‘rock’; Ca qáwi-š ‘rock’; Ls qawí-ča ‘mountain, hill’; Tŋ xay ‘sierra’; Sr qaiič; Ktn kay-c; Eu kavít / kawí(t) / hawi ‘cerro [hill]’; Tbr kav ‘cerro’; Wr kawí ‘cerro’; Tr gawí ‘montaña, sierra, tierra, campo’; My káwwi; Cr áh-ka’i ‘slope on backside of hill’; Miller includes Pl ahku ‘up, above, over, on high’. KH.NUA also notes the reduplicated forms: Sr qaqaiič ‘mountains all over the place’ and Tŋ xaxáy of similar meaning. Loss of bilabial in Tŋ again; cf. believe (567), man (76). Add Op kagi (\*w > Op g); Op ka’awi ‘mountain’ (Shaul 2020). But TO kawulk ‘hill’ < \*kapul-k is from a different source (< \*kapul-k vs. \*kawi). Note the other liquid reflex in TO kawud ‘closely, short’. Ls qawí-ča and Sr qaiič are a perfect reflection of an earlier \*qa’iit-ta, with the glottal stop rounded and most impressively -č- at the morpheme boundary with the noun suffix -ta added to a stem that ends in -t, because only a doubled \*-tt- > -č-/-c-, a single \*-t- > -l-. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Tbr, Cah, CrC]

**323** Egyptian(H) q’yt ‘hochgelegenes Land [high lying land], Hügel [hill]’ < Egyptian q’i ‘hoch sein [be high]’; Numic vowels changed a different direction:

UACV2370a **\*ko’ay** / **\*ko’aiC** ‘top’: TSh ko’e/ko’i-cci ‘peak, point, top; crown of head’; Sh(M) koi ‘point, top’; Sh(C) ku-kko’ai-cci ‘hills’; Cm ku’e ‘top, summit, on top of’. Numic’s reflection of q’yt rounds the anticipating vowel and keeps the glottal stop. [e1,e2,e3] [NUA: CNum]

UACV2370b **\*kwiV** ‘top’: SP ukkwiya ‘top’; SP kwivuaa ‘top’; CU kwiyú ‘top of head’. [NUA: SNum]

**324** Egyptian(F) **k'w** 'sycamore figs'; Egyptian(H) **k't** 'Frucht [fruit]' (with a possible reference to sycamore fruit); Egyptian(H) **k'w** 'unreife Sykomorenfrüchte [unripe sycamore fruit]':

UACV183 \***ku'u** / \***kuhu** 'elderberry': KH.NUA; M88-ku34 'elderberry'; KH/M-ku34: Cp kú'u-t; Ls kúú-ta 'elderberry'; Ls kúú-tpa-t 'elderberry bush'; Sr kooht / kuuht; Ktn kuhuč 'fruit of elder tree'; Tḡ kohút / kuhút / húkot/húkat 'saúco'; Ca kú'ut 'cattail, soft-flag'. Add Tb kuuhupi-l 'elderberry'. [NUA: Tak, Tb]

**325** Egyptian(F) **k'nw** 'vineyard'; Egyptian(H) **k'nw** 'Weingarten [vineyard]':

UA \***kunuki** 'elderberry': Mn kunugibī 'elderberry bush'; SP kunnugui 'huckleberry'; the \*kunu portions align very well with Egyptian q'nw. [NUA: Num; Tb]

**326** Egyptian(F) **x'w** 'plants, flowers'; Egyptian(H) **x'w** 'Kräuter [plants], Blumen [flowers]':

Tb kuu-l 'yellow flower.' [Tb]

**327** Egyptian(F) **q'r** 'bundle'; Egyptian(H) **q'r** 'bundel [bundle], tasche [pocket]':

UACV112 \***kawaC** 'pocket, bag': M88-ka38; KH.NUA; KH/M-ka38: Ca káwkun-ily 'pocket, bag, purse'; Sr qawaa-taḡa-ṭ / qawaatīḡaṭ, poss'd: -qaawtaḡ 'pocket'; Ch kawa'a 'kind of big packbasket made with string'. Cp qáwkuni-ly 'bag, sack'. The last part of Ca and Cp (-kuni) is \*kuna 'bag', and Sr -t- means a final consonant: \*kawaC. [NUA: Tak, Num]

**328** Egyptian(F) **q'r** 'bundle'; Egyptian(H) **q'r** 'bundel [bundle], tasche [pocket]'; the similarity of UA \*kawaC 'pocket, bag' and UA \*kawaC 'packrat', and both semantically derivable from q'r 'pocket, bag' make me think that the \*kawaC 'packrat' below is from the same Egyptian root; especially amenable is

Ls qáw-la 'woodrat' whose -la suffix is infrequent and happens when the stem ends with a liquid or nasal:

UACV1464 \***kawaC** 'rat, packrat': BH.Cup \*qawala 'rat'; M67-340 \*ka/kawa 'rat'; I.Num47 \*ka(wa);

M88-ka13 'rat'; Munro.Cup107 \*qaawa-la 'rat'; KH.NUA; KH/M-ka13 \*kawa: Mn qawa; NP kawa

'packrat'; TSh kawan; Sh kaan; Kw kaa-ci 'woodrat'; SP kaa-ci; CU kaac'a-ci 'packrat, gopher'; Hp qaala

'packrat'; Tb haawa-l 'wood rats'; Sr qää-ṭ; Tḡ xar; Ktn ka-č; Ls qáw-la 'woodrat'; Ca qáwa-l; Cp qáwe-l;

Ch(L) kaaci 'rat'. Ls -la often means a final liquid or nasal consonant. This is in all branches of NUA, but not in SUA. Loss of intervocalic -w- in SNum, Sh, Tḡ, Sr, like mtn, or is this of Aramaic qwy 'gather'?

[idddua] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

**329** Egyptian(F) **qd** 'go round'; Coptic koote 'go round, turn'; Egyptian(H) qdi 'umhergehen [walk about],

umgeben [surround], herumstehen um (jdn) [stand around (someone), sich umkehren [turn back, turn

around]'; Egyptian(H) qd 'Umkreis [neighborhood]'; Egyptian(H) qd / qdd 'schlafen [sleep]'; Egyptian(H)

qdqd 'bummeln [wander], schlendern [stroll]'; semantically, Egyptian 'to dwell/live/be at a place/area

(neighborhood), walk around there, return regularly, sleep there' etc, is summed up by the UA meaning of

'dwell, live, be':

UACV2006 \***katī** / \***kattī** 'sit': Sapir; VVH42 \*ka<sub>s</sub>tī; M67-381a \*kate; 381b \*ka; BH.Cup qá 'be'; L.Son76

\*katī 'sentarse'; M88-ka3 'sit'; KH.NUA; KH/M-ka3: Mn qatī; NP katī (< \*kattī) 'sit, sg'; TSh katī;

Sh katīC; Cm kahtī 'sit, live'; Ch karī 'sit, sg'; Kw karī 'sit, stay, live, be alive'; SP qarī; CU karī;

Tb halīt~'aahal 'sit, live'; Cp qa 'be there, there it is'; Ca qál 'be, exist (of animates)'; Ls qál 'live, be';

Tḡ xá/xaró 'estar'; Sr qat/qatī 'be, stay, dwell, live, remain, be alive, have to, be possible'; TO kaač 'lie

lifeless, exist over an area'; Op katte; Op karu 'impf verb suffix: was verb-ing'; Eu kací; Wr kahtí 'estar

sentado, sg.'; My káttek 'estar sentado'; Yq káatek; Tbr katé 'estar, estar sentado, vivir, estar en'; Wc kaatéi

'estar sentado, vivir'; Sapir includes Cr ka 'be, sit'; Pima kací 'lay'; and CN kaa (pret: ka', katki, pl. kate')

'be'. Of interest is that SP has two identical forms in SP qarī 'sit, dwell' and SP qarī 'protect' which

'surround' above aligns with. Some suggest \*-tt- > -t-/-c-. [\*t > l in Tb, Tak, not Sr, > r in Num; Tḡ o]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**330** Egyptian(F) **gwn** ‘sack’; Egyptian(H) **gwn** ‘Sack’:

UACV114a **\*kuna** ‘bag, sack’: Munro.Cup10 \*kúúni-la ‘bag, sack’; KH.NUA; KH/M-ku11: Kw kuna-bi-zi; Ch kúna-vi; SP kuna; WMU kuná-vü ‘bag, sack’; CU kuná-vi; Ls kún-la; Cp kúni-ly; Ca kúni-ly; Tj -kun. UACV114b **\*kana** ‘bag, sack’: Cr ka’aní ‘talega’ and Wc kanána ‘cinturón, víbora para dinero’. With a V assimilation (\*u-a > a-a), these two groups may belong together, especially in light of CN’s tendency for anticipatory assimilation and CrC’s affiliation with Azt. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: CrC]

**331** Egyptian(F) **qny** ‘be yellow’; Egyptian qnit ‘a yellow pigment’; Egyptian qnt/qnit ‘yellowness (?) of eyes’: Cp **kenekene**’e-š ‘yellow’; pl: kekne’-čim. [NUA: Tak]

**332** Egyptian(F) **qrĥt** ‘serpent spirit, as guardian of a place or princes of ancient family’ (sometimes a bird determinative instead of serpent); Egyptian(F) pl: **qrĥwt** ‘serpent figures in gold’; Egyptian(H) **qrĥt** ‘Uradel [ancient nobility]’; Egyptian(H) **qrĥ** ‘Freund [friend], Alliiertes [ally], Partner’:

UA **\*koNwa** ‘snake’ reflects a cluster -rĥ- (< \*qVrĥat), as well as the feminine ending -at > -a. Tr kayewá ‘variety of venomous snake’ might show a separation of that cluster (< \*qaraĥat), and Eu korós ‘a kind of large snake that kills jackrabbits’ is another interesting look for such consonants. The Takic languages show -ŋ-: Cp qeqiŋi-ly ‘king snake’ and Ls qiqeŋ-la ‘ring snake’ < Tak \*koŋo all reveal Tak -ŋ- from the -rĥ- cluster (a liquid-pharyngeal cluster), very natural; and while \*kowa has been a common reconstruction, Kaufman (1981) \*konwa and Joe Campbell (1976) \*koŋwa, predate me in constructing a nasal \*koNwa (note Tak -ŋ-). Of interest is that the Egyptian determinative is sometimes a bird instead of a serpent in light of the ‘feathered-serpent’ compound. Yet most striking is that CN kooaa-tl means both ‘snake’ and ‘twin’, a rather odd pair of meanings, yet the Nahuatl loan is the source of North American Spanish cuate ‘twin’ also meaning ‘close friend, pal’ (Bills and Vijil 97), and Egyptian qrĥ(t) has both meanings—‘serpent’ and ‘partner’—both written with cobra image:

UACV2058 **\*koNwa** ‘snake’; **\*ti-koNwa** ‘rattlesnake, rock-snake’: Sapir; M67-395 \*ko / \*kowa ‘snake’; I.Num 219 \*toko(h)wa ‘check/snake, rattler’; L.Son88 \*ko ‘serpiente’; B.Tep116 \*ko’oi ‘snake’; Munro 1973; Kaufman 1981 \*konwa; Fowler83; M88-ko12 ‘snake, rattlesnake’; KH/M-ko12: many forms contain the prefixes \*pa- ‘water’ and/or \*ti- (> \*to-) ‘rock’, as Sapir and Miller have suggested: Mn toqoqqwa ‘snake’; Mn patagówa ‘watersnake’; Mn togóqa ‘rattlesnake’; NP togoggwa ‘rattlesnake’; TSh koko ‘gopher snake’; TSh pa-suku/tokowa ‘water snake’; Sh tokoa ‘snake, rattlesnake’; Sh kokon ‘bull snake, blow snake’; Sh pasinkokon ‘water snake’; Kw tokowa ‘rattlesnake’; Kw koko ‘gopher snake’; SP toŋoa-vi ‘rattlesnake’; CU togoa-vi; TO ko’oi/ko’owi ‘rattlesnake’; Nv ko’o; PYP ko’o; NT kói/kóyi; ST ko’; Eu vakoc ‘culebra’; Yq baákot; My baákot; Wr kuhuá ‘snake sp.’; Tbr koó-t; Wc kúu; Cr ku’uku’u-se ‘snakes’; Cr kuku (Sapir); CN kooaa-tl ‘snake, serpent, worm, twin’; Pl kuuwa-t ‘snake’. Munro (1973) includes Ls qiqeŋ-la ‘ring snake’ (with reduplication), Cp qeqeŋi-ly ‘king snake’ (Ls loan?) and shows \*w as one source for Ls ŋ and so for other Tak languages as well. Joe Campbell (1976) marshals evidence for underlying ŋ or \*koŋwa, to which SP toŋoa- with nasal anticipation is consistent, and which Kaufman (1981) also reconstructs with a nasal \*konwa. Yet Tep shows no sign of g (< \*w), only glottal stops and w, much like the \*r > ’ in a cluster, then separated as in \*wīrwīru > \*wī’wīru ‘big’ and \*kolkoli > \*ko’okoli ‘sick’. So a cluster \*-rw- > -Nw-, a liquid nasalized in NUA, and \*-lw- > -’w- (> ko’owi) glottalized then separated in Tep fits well. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**333** Egyptian(F) **qd** ‘go round’; Egyptian(F) qd ‘use potter’s wheel’ (ie, spin): Coptic **koote** ‘go round, turn’: UA **\*koti** / **\*kuri** ‘turn, go around’: Wr kuri- ‘twirl, spin’; Tr guri- ‘turn, spin’; AYq kuria ‘turn, wind, stir’; Op kuriiri’irai ‘turn in circles without leaving one’s place’; PYP kutligda ‘twist, turn, vt’; PYP kootim ‘surround’; Ch koto’o-ŋu ‘turn around and return’.

UACV1445a **\*kuta/i** ‘mix’: Kw -kuri- ‘move in a circular manner’; Kw či-kuri ‘poke, stir’; Kw ma-guri ‘stir with the hand’; AYq kuuta ‘stir, mix, vt’; AYq kuuti ‘mixed’; My kuutía ‘mezcla [mix]’; Eu kurá- ‘amasar [knead]’.

UACV1445b **\*koti** ‘stir, mix’: Hp qōri-k-na ‘stir, mix, plow, vt’; Ls qéli ‘stir, mix (as food)’. Ls e and Hp ö both correspond to PUA \*o. Note that \*koti and \*kuti differ only in a slight change of round vowel, perhaps an innovation in non-Num NUA, easily possible with a previous final vowel -a: \*kuta > kota/koti.

[NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tep]

**334** Egyptian **qd** ‘pot’; Egyptian **qd** ‘potter’; Egyptian **qd** ‘use the potter’s wheel’;  
Coptic koot ‘turn, potter’; Coptic kooote ‘go round, turn’:

UA has several forms showing \*koti, perhaps with different prefixes: \*tī-koti, and wa-koti.

**UACV1710** \***tīkōri** ‘dish’: Eu tékori ‘plato, carrete [plate]’; Tbr teka-lí-t ‘olla [bowl]’; teko-lí-t ‘olla [bowl]’  
(Lionnet’s morpheme boundaries are often conjecture: Tbr te-koli-t is more likely. [SUA: Tbr, Opn]

**335** Egyptian **qd** ‘pot’; Egyptian **qd** ‘potter’; Egyptian **qd** ‘use the potter’s wheel’;

Coptic koot ‘turn, potter’; Coptic kooote ‘go round, turn’; with article, Egyptian **wʕ-qd** ‘a pot’:

**UACV1714** \***wakōri** ‘pot’: Hp wikoro ‘bottle, jug or vase with a narrow neck’; Yq wáko’i ‘comal’;

Wr wa’kári ‘potsherd’. These three forms have much in common, since UA liquids go to glottal stop in Yq, and sometimes remain liquids in Hp (Shaul 1985). So the consonants are consistent. In the first vowel, two of three show *a*, and in the second vowel two of three show *o*, though Hp *o* and Yq *o* do not match exactly.

[*r*- > -’-; Liq in NUA/SUA] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah]

**336** Egyptian(F) **nxt** ‘strong, stiff, hard’; Coptic nuušt; Egyptian **nxt-ʕ** ‘strong of arm’:

UA \***nokat** ‘upper arm’: Eu nokat ‘upper arm’. This is a semantic shift—strong > upper arm—and what muscles symbolize strength even today? –those of the upper arm. [iddddua] [SUA: Opn]

**337** Egyptian(H) **r’-ib** ‘Magen [stomach]’ lit: mouth-(of)-heart’: If we keep in mind that Egyptian *r* ‘mouth’ is more fully *r*’ with a glottal stop, then Egyptian *r-ib* < \**r’-ib*, and the round *o* with glottal stops in UA are prominent; and final consonants are often lost (-*b*), in which case we see \**to’i* quite as expected, and with a fem sg suffix -*a*, SUA \**to’pa* (< *to’ib-a*) even more impressive:

**UACV2191** \***to’i** ‘bone, belly’: CL.Azt92 \**-ihtī-k* ‘in, inside’ (mentioned by CL as possibly cognate)’; M88-to9 ‘belly/panza’; Munro.Cup11 \**téé’i-la*; KH/M-to9: Ls *téé’-la* ‘belly’; Cp *tí’i-ly* ‘bone’; Ca *té’-i-ly* ‘bone’ and Ca *tí’ily* ‘belly, stomach, waist’; Ls *téé’-la* ‘belly’; Sr *tö’|t*. Munro suggests that there may be two sets involved because of the semantics and not entirely consistent vowel correspondences, since the *e* in Ca ‘bone’ should correspond to Ls *o* and Cp *ə*. Sr *tö’|t* ‘belly, stomach’ suggests \**o*, with which the first vowels of the Cupan languages agree also. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Yokuts *toʔ* (Newman, 218), allowing the possibility of borrowing one way or the other. CN *i’tē-* / *i’ti-tl* ‘belly’; CN *-i’tēk* ‘within, inside, postp’; Pl *ihti* ‘belly, abdomen’. Campbell, Langacker, Miller, and Hill all list the Azt forms, but with some question. As glottal stops are highly anticipated, I find \**to’i* > Azt *i’ti* quite probably cognate.

**UACV2190** \***toCpa** ‘belly, stomach’: M67-417 \**to* ‘stomach’; L.Son306 \**to* ‘panza’; M88-to9 ‘belly/panza’; KH/M-to9: Tr(B) *rópá* ‘vientre [belly]’; Tr(B) *tobe-ame* ‘preñadas [pregnant], pl’; Tr(H) *ropá* ‘estomago’; Wr *tohpá*; My *toppa*; My *tópa’ara* ‘panzó’; Eu *toa*. As Miller noted, Eu *toa* (<\**towa* / *tova* <\**topa*) probably belongs with loss of intervocalic bilabial, and \**to’pa* < \**to’ib-a* for these. [*-p* >  $\emptyset$  in Eu]

[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]

**338** Egyptian(F) **swḥ** ‘loincloth’; Egyptian(H) ‘Schurz [apron], Mantel [coat]’:

Wr *sa’wela* ‘loin cloth, breech cloth’. Finding another example of a cluster -*wḥ*- or -*ḥw*- resulting in UA -’*w*- would be preferred. [Trn]

**339** Egyptian(H) **ḥmt** / **ḥimt** ‘Frau [woman], Ehefrau [wife]’;

Egyptian **t’-ḥimat** ‘the-wife’; pl **ḥmwt**; Coptic *hime*:

**UACV2585** \***tīhima** ‘spouse’: Wr *tehimá* / *tehíma* ‘esposo, esposa’; Ls *to’ma* ‘wife’; Ls *tó’ma-vu* ‘husband’.

Wr *e* and Ls *o* both correspond to PUA \**i*, UA’s schwa or  $\emptyset$ , so the two correspond well, with a syllable reduction in Ls. These match the definite article form: Egyptian *t’-ḥimat* ‘the-wife’.

UA \***tīhima** ‘spouse’; \***ḥamut** ‘woman’: one of Egyptian’s alternate forms actually includes medial *i* and also Coptic *hime* < \**ḥimat*. The pharyngeal *ḥ* did not have the rounding effect in Coptic that it did in UA; however, alternate forms occur in Egyptian often enough that the Egyptian dialect in question may have had a different kind of *h*—*ḥ* or *h*—for this word. Though not attested, such would have Coptic *te-hime* ‘the wife’ and Wr *tehimá/tehíma* ‘spouse’ being nearly identical, which aligns with Ls *tó’ma* ‘wife, n; for man to marry a wife, v’ (Ls *o* < \**i/e*) which lost the middle vowel. The Cah languages below (Yq, AYq, My) show a nice

match for the Egyptian pl *ḥmwt*, and consistent with the other UA forms, show a non-pharyngeal *h* or *ḥ* in Cah *\*hamut* ‘woman,’ pl *\*hamučim* ‘women’: Yq *hámut* ‘woman’, pl: *hámučim*; AYq *hamut*, My *hammut* ‘woman’. Another consistency is that both UA terms—*\*tehima* ‘and *\*hamut*—match the Egyptian feminine sg and feminine pl respectively and both exhibit a lack of pharyngeal rounding in UA, the two being consistent with each other. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

**340** Egyptian(F) *ḥmt* ‘woman’, pl: *ḥmwt*:

UA(Cahitan) *\*hamut* ‘woman’, pl *\*hamučim* ‘women’: Yq *hámut* ‘mujer [woman]’, pl: *hámučim*; AYq *hamut* ‘woman’; My *hámmut* ‘mujer [woman], hembra [female], pl: *hamúučim* ‘mujeres [women]’. Interestingly, we have the Egyptian feminine plural -wt built into the UA singular and then the Hebrew plural -im attached to that, and in case anyone think that strange, it is worth mentioning that the same thing happened in Hebrew: the Hebrew feminine plural suffix -oot added the Hebrew masculine plural construct suffix -ee when the plural noun is possessed, and the vowels -oot-ee in UA rise to *\*-uti* > *uči*. [SUA: Cah]

Instances of **Egyptian *ḥ*** are less numerous in Egyptian too and thus its correspondences less certain, but some parallels suggest behavior like *h* (341, 299), though an instance of behavior like *ḥ* may be in 342.

**341** Egyptian(F) *ḥṣq* ‘shave’; Egyptian(H) *ḥṣq* ‘rasieren [shave], scheren [shear]’: Hp *hèewi* ‘scrape out, scrape clean’.

**342** Egyptian(F) *shr* ‘milk, v’; Egyptian(F) *shrt* ‘milking’:

UA *\*soyti* ‘milk, v’: Ca *siyči* ‘milk (as cow, gum plant), v.’ (Ca *i* < *\*o* and *č* < *t*).

**299** Egyptian *ḥpṣ* ‘chew, move around in the mouth’ > *\*hipwa* > UA *\*hiwa* ‘taste’ treated at 299 above.

Medial or **non-initial *f*** is less than certain. Some possibilities suggest UA *\*p* (< *f*, 282, 343, 344), as it is in initial position; others suggest *\*w* (345, 346), which reminds us that some may be coincidental similarities. On the other hand, a rule like clustering with another consonant triggering Egyptian *f* > *w*, but *f* > *p* for initial or intervocalic occurrences may explain all, if early clusters were later separated. For *f* > *p* is also less than natural, unless there occurred a creolization or merger of a smaller group, having *f* in their language, with a larger group who had only *p* and *w*, but no *f*, in their pronunciation repertoire, which pronunciations eventually dominated. Doing other labio-velars (like the *kw* in the Semitic-*kw*) in clustering or geminating environments is consistent with *f* > *w* also in clusters.

**282** Egyptian *wf* ‘lung’: Tbr *wopaN* ‘lung’; the superscript -n in extinct Tubar likely meant a nasal vowel.

**343** Egyptian(H) *kf / kf* ‘entblößen [denude, uncover]’; Egyptian(F) *kf* ‘uncover, unclothe, doff clothes, strip, deprive, despoil, clear (of sky), gather (flowers)’:

Hp *qàapī-k* ‘peel off, scale off, lift/come off as a sheet, v’ (the glottal stop may be anticipated to cause the doubling of *\*-p-* > *-pp-*; perhaps Ca *kívlū* ‘be stripped off, be naked’. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**344** Egyptian(F) *kf* ‘hinder parts of bird, base, bottom (of jar)’: Cp *kəpawē* ‘hip’.

**345** Egyptian(H) *ifdw* ‘vier [four]’:

UACV2627 *\*wattiwi* ‘four’: M67-511 *\*wa* ‘four’; I.Num268 *\*wa(h)ci*; KH.NUA; M88-wa11; KH/M03-wa11: Sr *wačah* ‘four’; Ca *wičiw*; Ls *wasá*; Cp *wičiw*; Tḥ *wačá*; Mn *waci*; Mn *wacikwí-i/tu* ‘four’; NP *waccī*; NP *wacīgwi* ‘yu; NP(L) *waci-*, *wacikwi* ‘yu; TSh *waccī(wi)*; TSh *waccīwi(tin)*; Sh *wattiwih-tin*; Sh *wa-ccīwih-*; Kw *wacuu*; Kw *wa-cuu-yu*; check preceding Num; Ch *waciw*; SP *waciḥwi-*; WMU *kohččúwini / wohččúwini*; CU *wəcúwi-ni*. Ken Hill adds Ktn *waca* ‘four’. WMU *kohččúwini* introduces an interesting case of a Num language developing a sound change similar to Tep, after vowel assimilation: *\*wa* > *wo* > *ko*. Other instances of WM Ute showing *k* < *\*w* exist as well. Sr *wačah* and Ls *wasá* suggest vowel assimilation also occurs in Ca *wičiw*, Cp *wičiw*. [*\*-tt-* > *-c-*] [NUA: Num, Tak]

**346** Egyptian(F) **hfd** ‘climb’; Egyptian(H) **hfd** ‘aufsteigen (zu himmel) [rise/climb up (to sky/heaven)]: UA \*hu(w)at ‘climb, rise’: Sr hoääč-k ‘climb’; Sr hööc-q ‘arise, get up’; Sr hiöc-q ‘go up (as through the air)’.

**347** Egyptian(H) wr / wl / w’r / wnr ‘Rohrflöte [reed flute]’:

UACV912 \***wiru** ‘play a reed flute’: M88-wi18 ‘to play a (reed) flute’; KH.NUA; KH/M-wi18: Ca wíiru; Ls wíiru; Sr wiíroi’n ‘play a reed flute’; Sr wiíroi’ni-t ‘reed flute’; Tḡ weroo’ax ‘play the flute’; Ktn wiro’i / wiroi’i ‘play (instrument)’; Ktn wiro’inihwa’t ‘flute, any musical instrument’; WMU viyu’/eviiyu’ni ‘flute, whistle’ even shows the glottal stop found in Sr, in fact, is very similar to Sr wiíroi’n. Kw woyo ‘flute’ (archaic) belongs; and WMU iə’nəp ‘flute’ is similar to Kw woya’a-nī(m)bī ‘musical instrument, flute’ (archaic). TSh wooino ‘flute’ and NP kocokkwoino resemble the first 3 segments of the Kw form. Ken Hill lists CN wiíloo-tl ‘dove’ querying whether related or not. A decent possibility! [r > y (Sr, WMU, Kw); w > v in WMU] [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Azt]

### More examples of initial **t̥** > **t**:

**348** Egyptian(F) **ṭhm** ‘hunt’; Egyptian(H) **ṭhm** ‘jagen [hunt]’:

UACV1901b \***ṭim** ‘look for’: CN teemoaa ‘look for’; Ls tóma ‘go on a bear-hunting party’. Nawa may be a denominalized verb from the noun ṭhmw, as we see in 138, 170, and 319. Because UA \*w > Tbr m<sup>w</sup>, some see Tbr ha-tetemo ‘hunt’ and Tbr temo ‘find, see’ to be from < UA \*ṭiwa ‘find’, but a tie to CN teemoaa is as likely. Another Azt-Tbr tie? [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tbr, Azt]

**349** Egyptian(F) **ṭs** ‘neck’: CN toski-tl / toska- ‘throat, voice’; CN toskak ‘throat’; Pl tuskak ‘garganta [throat]’. [SUA: Azt]

**350** Egyptian(F) **ṭs** ‘to tie, weave, join, order, arrange, marshal (troops)’; Egyptian(F) **ṭsw** ‘commander’:

UACV1853 \***ṭisa** ‘order, v’: B.Tep237b \*ṭihani ‘to order’; 237a \*ṭihanai ‘he orders’; M88-ti18; KH/M- ti18: TO čehani ‘order, v’; UP čihani; LP tiahni; NT tiáni; ST tyiñi. In Bascom’s NT dictionary: NT tiáni ‘command’; NT tiáni-dami ‘boss’. (\*s > Tep h/ø) Ls tóšju- ‘command, order’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

**220** Egyptian(F) **ṭsw** ‘commander, protector’ (< ṭs ‘order, arrange’):

UA \*ṭisu ‘smart’: NP ṭisuhani ‘be smart’; CU ṭisu’a ‘be smart, clever, keen, have knowledge, have good intentions’; WMU tühsú’ay-y ‘be smart,’; tühsú’wi ‘smart, clever, knowledgeable, vi’; treated at 220.

**351** Egyptian(F) **ṭs** ‘tie, weave, join, order, arrange, marshal (troops)’:

UACV2106 \***tuṬtusi** > **tu’rusi** ‘spider’: part of M88-tu6: Wr tu’lúsi ‘araña [spider] o tipo de araña [type of spider]’; My túrus, pl: turús-im ‘araña’; Tr(B) turusí / fúrusí ‘araña venenosa [venomous spider]’. [iddddua] [SUA: Trn, Cah]

### More examples of initial **g**:

**352** Egyptian(F) **gw** ‘pull tight, be choked’:

UACV1725 \***kawa/i** ‘drag, pull’: Ls xááwa/i ‘be dragged, swept, vi; drag, sweep, vt’; Cp xúwe ‘pull’. [Vw > uw, initial x] [NUA: Tak]

**353** Egyptian(F) **gr** ‘be silent, quiet, still’: Tr **kiri** ‘tranquil, quiet’. [SUA: Tr]

**354** Egyptian(H) **gr/grt** ‘auch [also, too], ferner [further(more)]’; Egyptian(F) **grw** ‘also, further’:

Wr **garí** ‘also’ (Miller 1996, 138); Tr ga/ka ‘an emphatic’. [SUA: Trn]

**355** Egyptian(F) **grh** ‘night’; Coptic čoorh:

UACV2610 \***kī(C)aNwi** / \***kīyawī** ‘yesterday’: Sapir: Kw kīawe; Ch kīaw(i); SP kīawī; WMU gǐáo / kǐáw; CU kīaw; Tbr kiri-mwi-y-o ‘de noche [at night]’; Tbr kiri-mwa-li-t ‘noche [night]’; Lionnet over

divides Tbr syllables, and given Tbr mw < \*w, these both align with \*kiriwi-/kiriwa-. Sapir ties the SP form with CN kaawi-tl 'time' and Tepecano takaw. That is possible since SNum and CN have only one vowel different (\*kīawi > kaawi) and in light of CN's tendency toward anticipatory vowel assimilation (e.g., sand). Tb(V) 'iwi'aŋ 'yesterday'; Tb(M) iwa'aŋ 'yesterday' is worth thinking about, though the reconstruction given considers Num and Azt, but not Tb. This semantic change is parallel to the semantic change of UA \*tuk 'night' (in most UA languages) but to Hp tooki 'last night.' Compare Hp tookila 'night'; Hp tooki 'last night'; and Hp löö-tok 'day before yesterday, lit: the two-night (ago)' in which 'night' comes to mean 'yesterday/last night.' [Anticipatory V assim in CN in green, sand, yesterday]

UACV2611 \*kīn-tu 'yesterday': TSh kintu(sī); Sh kintun; Cm kītu. These CNum forms are attached to another morpheme. [idddua] [NUA: SNum; SUA: Tbr, Azt]

**356** Egyptian(F) grh 'complete, finish off':

Tr gare/kare 'be able, finish'; Wr kahu 'finish, be able'. [SUA: Trn]

**357** Egyptian(H) ggt 'Niere [kidney]'; Egyptian(F) ggt 'kidney, n.f.'; Egyptian ggt is a feminine noun, so Egyptian t'-ggt 'the kidney' with the definite article:

UACV1256 \*takkiC- 'kidney': NP ddakipona; TSh takkippono; Sh takkip(p)oon; Cm ta'ki'; Ls tákalak-may (reduplicated). [NUA: Num, Tak]

**358** Egyptian(F) kns 'pubic region'; Egyptian(H) kns 'scham [shame, private parts]':

Wr kohsí 'anus, vagina'. For another n-plus-sibilant cluster reducing to the sibilant (-ns- > -s-), see (129) Egyptian wnš 'jackal' where one language kept n in the cluster, while all others lost the n. [Trn]

**359** Egyptian(F) ktkt 'quiver, v': Wc kace/kaci 'tremble, shake'; Cr ra-tee-ka'ahci 'shake it, vt' (ti > ci).

These would align with a non-reduplicated kt rather than ktkt. [CrC]

**360** Egyptian(F) šw 'dry, dried'; Coptic šowe: Tb(V) šuu' 'dry, vt'; Tb(M) suu'at 'hang up to dry'.

**361** Egyptian(F) šw 'sun, sunlight': UA \*siw 'hot': Ca siw 'become hot'; Ca siw-ma 'hot'; Ca siwi-š 'heat'; CN šiu'tlatla 'be hot'. [idddua] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

**362** Egyptian(F) sxi / zxi 'hit, smite, v'; Egyptian(F) sxt 'a blow, n.f.'; Coptic sooš (or 1263?):

UACV2318 \*sik or sok ? 'beat, throw (with power, fury)': Ca séqay 'whip'; Ca pe-séqay 'whip, throw (one's power at s.o. to kill him)'; CN šookoaa 'hurl s.o. or s.th. down in scorn'. We would expect 1<sup>st</sup> V Ca i (< \*o); however, assimilating i-a > e-a is frequent. Note that this Nawa form may also be denominalized from the noun form \*sxw, as also seems the case for 138, 170, 319, and 348. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

**363** Egyptian(H) srqt / s'qt / slqt 'Skorpion (ein Sternbild [constellation]), n.f.':

UACV1887 \*saka 'scorpion': L.Son228 \*saka 'escorpion'; M88-sa16; KH/M-sa16: Op sakkara; Eu sákra; Yq sákkau; My sáka'awi-m; Wr sahkála. (For other Wr -hC- < -CC-, see 358) The siaa' of SP siaam'mogo-ci 'scorpion' may belong, if intervocalic -k- lost, which happens in SNum. The Opatan languages are likely from \*sarqat-ta > sakka-ra in -rq- > -kk-. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn; NUA: Num]

**364** Egyptian t'-srqt / t'-s'qt 'the scorpion'

UACV1891 \*taska 'scorpion': Cr taska-(te) 'scorpion(s)'; Wc tee-riká 'scorpion'. [SUA: CrC]

**365** Egyptian(H) xdw / xddw 'fische [fish(es)], coll. pl': UA \*kīcu 'fish':

UACV892 \*kīcu(C) 'fish': Sapir; BH.Cup \*\*keyúl?; HH.Cup \*kiyúul; L.Son103 \*kucu 'pescado'; Fowler83; M88-ku20 'fish'; Munro.Cup45 \*kiyúú-l/kəyúú-l; KH.NUA; KH/M-kī18: NP kuyui 'Pyramid Lake sucker'; SP pa-kīu 'fish'; Hp paa-kiw; Tb kuyuu-l; Cp qeyú-l; Ca kīyu-l; Ls kiyúú-l / kuyúú-l; Sr kihuu; Ktn kihuč; Tŋ kyur; Eu kučú-t; Op kučuu 'fish'; Tbr kičú-t; Yq kúču; My kúču; Tr kočú; Wc keci.

*kVcu > *kicu (Tbr, Wc)	SUA
> *kucu (Eu, Yq, My, Tr)	SUA
> *kiyu (Ca, Cp, Ls, Sr, Tη, Hp kiw < *kiyu)	NUA
> *kuyu (Tb, Ls, NP)	NUA

Manaster-Ramer (1992) cites this set, which demonstrate his “Northern UA sound law: \*-c- > -y-“ since all the SUA languages show c, while NUA languages show y and two h. Some show the 1<sup>st</sup> V as high-front (Tbr, Wc, Ca, Cp, Sr, Tη, Hp, SP) and others show u (mostly in SUA languages: Eu, Yq, My, Tr, and two in NUA, Tb, Ls). A doubled -dd-/-cc- with final -w left the 1<sup>st</sup> V unstressed, which means regardless what it originally was (and *i* is a good choice for an unstressed vowel), it assimilated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> V (u) or to the point of articulation of the -cc- (high front). Doubled -dd- > -c- may underlie -c- (vs. s) and Sr and Ktn medial -h- may suggest a cluster. AMR (1992) reconstructs \*kīcuC, with a final consonant, while Munro (1990) kiyúú-l, with an absolutive -l (as also in Tb), not -t, may suggest no final stem consonant, and -w could yield either. PYP kekota ‘fish, vt’ may tie in by consonant harmony. [\*-c- > -y- in NUA]  
[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

**366** Egyptian(H) **xḏw** / **xḏdw** ‘fische [fish(es)], coll. pl’: UA \*kicu/\*kucu ‘fish’ with pa- ‘water’ prefixed: UACV893 \*paNkwi / \*pakkwi < \*paN-kuyu < \*paC-kucu ‘fish’: I.Num146 \*peḥkwi/\*paḥkwi ‘fish’; M88-pa9 ‘fish’; KH/M08-kī18 \*kīcuC (AMR): Mn pákwi (< \*pakkwi M88); NP paggwi; Sh penkwi; TSh paḥwi / peḥwi; Kw pa-gīi-zi; Ch paḡú-ci; SP pa-kīu; CU paḡú; Hp paakiw. Add WMU paḡúú / paḡúú / paḡú ‘fish, n’. I agree with Hill’s tying this to kī18 \*kVcu above, yet it is a compound, separate set, and the nasalization is from the pharyngeal and liquid/nasal at end of \*pa- ‘water’ (1165). [NUA: Num; Hp]

**367** Egyptian(F) **ṯḥwy** ‘pea’: Wr tohi ‘acorn.’ [iddddua] [SUA: Trn]

**368** Egyptian(F) **qrrt** ‘cavern’: Hp koro ‘small cavity, cave, or hollow in a cliff or wall’. A doubled/geminated -rr- would more likely remain r, perhaps from pl kVrrwt. [NUA: Hp]

**369** Egyptian(F) **nḥm** ‘take away, carry off, save, rescue’; Coptic nuhm:

For 403b, other clusters like -ḥm- > -ḥ happens common enough in UA:

UACV403a \*nu’u ‘grab, get, bring’: My nú’uye ‘lo está agarrando, cogiendo’; My nú’upa ‘lo está trayendo’;

AYq nu’e ‘get, acquire, vt’; AYq nu’upa ‘bring, deliver, receive, vt’; AYq nunu’e ‘grab, seize, vt’;

AYq nunu’ubwa ‘have on one’s person, have in one’s possession’; Yq nú’u ‘traer, llevar’; Yq nú’upa ‘traer’;

Yq nu’e ‘agarrar, escoger, juntar, recoger’; Yq nu’upa ‘traer’;

UACV403b \*nuḡu ‘hold, carry’: Ca núḡu ‘carry, take along’; Cp neḡú ‘have, hold, vt’.

[NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

**370** Egyptian(H) **ḥ** ‘Hinterkopf [back of head], Rückseite [back side]’; Egyptian(F) **h** ‘occiput’;

Egyptian **ḥ** ‘back of the head’ (Allen 2010, 87); Egyptian(F) **ḥ** ‘behind, around’:

UACV95b \*ho’o ‘back’: Mayo hoo’o ‘espalda [back]’; Yq hoo’o ‘espalda’; Hopi hòota ‘back’.

UACV95a \*howa ‘back’: most terms in KH/M2020 ho8, hu20, and wo13 belong: SNum: Kw howaa-vi; Ch

ho(a) ‘back’; SP oaa-vi; WMU öaa-vi / öáa-vi ‘back, n’; WMU öáá-n / öáa-n / öá-n ‘my back’; CU öáæ-vi;

Mn wo’opī ‘backbone’ (KH/M); Mn wo’abī ‘backbone’ (Bethel, Kroskrity, Loether); Wr(MM) ho’pá /

ho’opá ‘hombro [shoulder], espalda [back]’; Wr(MM) paho ‘otro lado del río [other side of the river] (< paa-

ho ‘water-behind/back of/other side of’ fits well); Kw huweegi ‘around’; Mn howée ‘around, on the edge’;

SP oa- ‘around’; SP oa-gittugwa ‘(circling) around’, that is, the SP oa- morpheme. See also 511 **m-ḥ**’.

[NUA: SNum, Hp; SUA: Cah, Trn]

**371** Egyptian(H) **xpd** ‘Hinterbacke [buttock]’ is usually in dual: **Egyptian xpdwy** ‘buttock(s)’:

NP(Y) hobbodo ‘back, backbone’; NP(L) hopódo ‘back, spine’ parallels the Egyptian dual very well.

Egyptian xpd yields another set above—\*kupta > \*kuta. A vowelizing resembling \*hupitu > \*pitu with reductions of the first syllable also follow:

UACV96 \*piC ‘back, last’: M67-17 \*pi ‘back’; I.Num162 \*pih (pref.) ‘back, behind, buttocks’; M88-pi12;

KH/M-pi12: Mn pi ‘back, buttocks’; NP pi ‘back, bottom’; Sh pi- ‘with buttocks or back’; Cm pi-hima ‘carry



behind, as on a horse'; SP piC- 'buttocks, rear'; CU pimi-cuh 'back to, returning towards'; CU pimi-na-kkwa-ppi 'behind, in the back'; Tb pičool 'buttocks'; Ktn pita-č 'youngest, last'. Num \*piC has been a staple in Num morphology so long that we can let it stand awhile longer for tradition's sake, but compounds that included it (below) may yield evidence to suggest that \*piC (and \*piCto) are reduced from \*hupiC or \*hupiCto, in which case NP hobodo / hopodo represents a fuller form. [NUA: Num]

Compounds for 'behind, in back of' may suggest that \*piC (above) is a shortened form of \*hupiC: UACV97a \*hupiC-na(-Nkwa) 'back side of': Mn -hupinaqwé-tu 'behind, in back of'; Mn hupinaqwe 'outside'; NP obi-naggwa 'after, behind, postp'; Cm (i)pinakwī 'behind, postp'; initial \*(h)u-, is lacking below: UACV97b \*piC-na-Nkwa 'back side of': TSh pinnaŋkwa(sī) 'behind, in back of, after, last, postp. and adv.'; Sh pinna 'last one, previous one'; Sh pinnaihtīn / pinnaiki 'following, behind'; Sh pinnankattī 'in back of'; Sh(C) pi-nankwaC(-ttīn) 'in back of'; Sh(C) pinna(ih) 'last one, remaining one, old age'; Cm (i)pinakwī 'behind, postp'. Almost identical to CNum is SP pinaŋqwa 'after awhile, soon' and the rest of SNum as well, though less clearly (Ch pīikayu 'later'; WMU piináux / pinná-ku / piináuhqwa 'later'; CU pinákwa 'later'; CU piná- 'next, later, following, second'). In light of Mn and NP showing \*hupi-nakwa > \*upi-nakwa > pinakwa, as well Cm's optional vowel in Cm (i)pinakwī, all suggest that \*piC may be an abbreviated \*hupiC, and with the above forms as compounds of \*hupa/hupi 'back' and other suffixes, which length would encourage loss of the initial syllable and perhaps allow a gradual and eventual reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries and fossilization of the fusion \*pina: \*hupi-na > \*-pina. This compound likely contains \*ŋakw 'side, from' at 'side' (21). [NUA: Num]

### Festivals, singing, and dancing

Because festivals involve feasting/eating, drinking, singing, and dancing, words for festival/eating, drinking, singing, and dancing often overlap semantically; that is, any can easily come to mean the others; e.g., in Egyptian itself, 'drinking-buddy' is literally 'companion of making festival' (Johnson 2004, 84).

372 Egyptian(F) **dnit** 'a festival' > UA \***tuniti**: Wc tunuici-tia 'do ceremonial singing'. [iddddua]

180 Egyptian **hby** 'be festal, make festival' > UA \***hupiya** 'sing, song'; treated above at 180.

226 Egyptian **wnm** 'eat': UA \***wīnima**... 'dance, v.': Hp wīnima 'dance, vi, sg'; Ch wīnīmi 'dance, v'. TO wiinim 'dancer in a harvest ceremony' may be a loan, since normally \*w > g in TO, but note the TO semantic dimensions of both dancing and harvest (for eating).

396 Egyptian **tnf** 'drink, dance, v' > UA \***tani** 'dance, v'.

### 4.4 Late Egyptian article prefixes

**Egyptian article prefixes** include **pV-** (< \*pa') 'the (masculine singular)'; **tV-** (< \*ta')- 'the (feminine singular)'; **nV-** (< \*na')- 'the (plural)'; **wf-** 'a/an/one' indefinite sg article of either gender'. Though no longer productive (recognizable as such), many UA forms show a short prefix (pV-, tV-, nV-, wV-) in the expected place of the Egyptian article prefixes fossilized as prefixes to some nouns. However, we must be careful, because very common prefixes in UA are \*tī- 'rock' and \*pa- 'water'; thus, such possibilities must be eliminated. The forms hardly show the glottal stop, which is fairly typical of short high-frequency words, and the same lack exists in Coptic as well, since Coptic often shortened them to p-, t-, n-, void of any vowel and never retaining the proto-glottal stop.

373 Of considerable interest are three synonymous variants for Tr bumblebee: Tr napári, řápára, wapára. These have undergone a vowel change from Egyptian bit 'bee' which is a feminine noun. The possible article prefixes for masculine and feminine nouns in Egyptian are as follows:

	Masc	Fem
Indefinite singular: a/an	wa-	wa-
Definite singular: the	pa-	ta-
Plural 'the' either gender	na-	na-

So the Tr noun for bumblebee not only matches the Egyptian feminine noun itself (with vowel assimilated), but appears to have variants that are simply the three possible articles prefixable to Egyptian feminine nouns fossilized as prefixes to the same noun in Tr: wa-, ta-, na-.

**374** pa- ‘the’ (masc), ta- ‘the’ (fem), na- ‘the’ (plural of either gender):

Ktn namumuk ‘first’; Ktn pamukit / pamukpit ‘first, ahead’; and Ktn lamumuk ‘first’; -muk is a common reflex in UA for ‘first’ and seemingly prefixed to these three forms are three separate prefixes (na-, pa-, la-) to -mu(mu)k, as in the Tr forms for bumblebee. These Ktn forms nicely reflect ‘the first’ though the last one, la-, may not be from Egyptian tV-.

**375** Egyptian t-/t’-/tV- (often t-/te- in Coptic) ‘the’ (fem sg) and n-/nV- ‘the’ (plural of either gender):

The te- vs. naa- in UA words for ‘belt’: Ca tepaqa-l; Ch naapagapī; both sharing \*-paka- (1146).

**376** Egyptian t-/t’-/tV- (often t-/te- in Coptic) ‘the’ (fem sg): The \*tī- in UA \*tīpasori ‘mountain lion’ vs. the \*pī- in Tep \*wī-pso ‘bobcat’ (remember that Tep w < \*p; thus, UA \*pī-paso for masculine).

**377a** Egyptian p-/p’-/pV- (often p-/pe- in Coptic) ‘the’ (masc sg):

The pa- in Ca pásivat ‘knife’ subtracting UA \*sipaC/\*sipu ‘sharp, metal’ (cf. 253 Egyptian spd ‘sharp’).

**377b** Egyptian p-/p’-/pV- (often p-/pe- in Coptic) ‘the’ (masc sg):

The pa- in Ca pa’vu’u-l (< \*pa’-pu’u-) ‘medicine man’ vs. Ca puu-l ‘medicine man’, \*pa’-pu’u- is more powerful than a puu-l ‘medicine man’; in other words, in contrast to ‘medicine man’, Ca pa’vu’u-l may be considered “the” medicine man—all puns intended.

**377c** The pa- in Ca pásna-t ‘tar, pitch’ compared to the other UA forms for ‘pitch, sap’: NP sanapi;

TSh sanappin; Sh sanaC-pin; Sh sanakkoC; Cm sanahkena ‘sap’; Kw sana-pī; Ch sana-pi; SP sannaC-(ppi); CU saná-pi; Tb šaanot; Ls šáánu-t; Ca sáán-at ‘gum’; Cp saana-t ‘pitch, gum’; Sr haanat ‘tar’; Hp saana ‘pitch, gum of tree’.

**377d** Cp pi’ muki-š ‘ghost, spirit’ (that is, the dead) in light of PUA \*muki ‘die’; the pi’- in Ls pi’ muk ‘be sick, die’ as a denominative verb like PUA \*muki ‘sick, die’ in the rest of UA, though Ls pi’ ‘bewitch’ and Ls pi’-áni ‘bewitch’ are suggested as first morpheme, which may well be and would invalidate this item.

**377e** In addition to many UA languages showing \*kapsi ‘thigh’ (294), a few forms align with a \*pī- prefix: SP pīnkap-pī ‘upper leg’; CU pīká-vī ‘thigh, lap’; CU pīká-vī-n ‘my thigh, lap’ (-n ‘my’); TSh nuṅkwappī / huṅkwappī ‘leg’; NP huggabbī ‘thigh’ (-gab-/kap- portion). SP and CU parallel Late Egyptian possessive structure pe-(pron)-xapši, wherein the pronoun is usually one C or V, or they may simply be ‘article + noun.’

**377f** The pa- in Mn papuhi ‘grass’ vs. Mn puhi ‘blue, green’ (< Syr bwḥšyn(‘)) ‘green herbs’; so \*pa-puhi ‘the green’ or ‘the vegetation/grass’.

**378a/339** Egyptian t-/t’-/tV- (often t-/te- in Coptic) ‘the’ (fem sg):

The te- in Wr tehima ‘spouse’ in light of Coptic te-hime ‘the-woman’ and TrC hamut ‘woman’.

**378b/1751** Egyptian t-/t’-/tV- (often t-/te- in Coptic) ‘the’ (fem sg):

The \*tī- of UA \*tī-solwi ‘quail’ (UACV1751) from Semitic \*salway/\*salwiim.

**378c/503** Egyptian tV-ḥ’ti / ḥ’tyw ‘fine linen’ > AYq taho’o(ri) ‘clothes, clothing’; Yq tahí’ori ‘ropa’

**378d/174** Egyptian tV-sxt ‘the grass’ > Hp tīisaqa ‘grass’ (See at 174).

**520** Egyptian(F) sin ‘clay’; Egyptian sint ‘clay seal, n.f.’ (this fem noun would prefix t’/tV- for definite):

Ca tésnat ‘clay for pottery or painting, pot, olla’ (< Egyptian \*t’-sinat).

**379** Egyptian n-/n’-/nV- ‘the’ (pl):

**379a/88** the na- of Wr nalágeloci ‘snail’; Tr narákuri ‘snail’ as compared to Hebrew **šaluqa(t)** ‘leech’; Arabic **šalaq** ‘leeches’; Arabic **šalaqat** ‘leech’; Syriac **šalqaa**, **šilaq-taa** ‘leech, anything clammy or sticky, n.f.’ from the root šlq ‘stick, adhere’; and UACV2057 \*walaka ‘snail’: CN wilaka ‘caracol de monte’; Tr warákoara ‘caracol’; Ls muvílaqa ‘snail’; Wr alágaloci ‘snail’.

**379b** Tr saye/sayi-ra ‘enemy’, Tr plural: **na-sayira**.

**380** Egyptian **wʕ** ‘one/a/an’: UA \*wa ‘one’ is reconstructable from several UA languages, notes Langacker (Langacker 1977, 120):

**380a** Hp -wa ‘one in particular’ (Hill 1998, 876).

**380b** The ga- (< \*wa-) in PYP ga’ipur ‘dress’ vs. \*ipul/ipud ‘shirt’ (91) (keep in mind that PYP g < \*w); in fact, ga- (< \*wa-) is the indefinite article in several Tepiman languages.

**380c** The wi- in Ls wiskun ‘chipmunk’ in light of UA \*sikku ‘squirrel’

**380d** the wi- in NP winaga’apī ‘a shawl’ vs. NP naga’aggi’hu ‘put shawl over s.o.’

**381** Egyptian(H) wrt ḥq’w ‘Geier [buzzard, lit: great (of) magic]’; the attested Egyptian form is the feminine wrt ḥq’w, and while the UA form is possibly from a masculine counterpart \*wr ḥq’w, more likely is that the syncopated cluster -rtḥ- > -rtḥu- / -l(t)u- with the pharyngeal > u, but devoiced -r- > -s- preceding two voiceless consonants in 3 languages, in Hp, Tb, and Cr, as no r:s correspondence is established for those 3 languages otherwise:

**UACV343** \*wirhukuN ‘buzzard, turkey vulture’; M67-67 \*witu ‘buzzard’; I.Num277 \*wi ‘buzzard’;

L.Son339 \*wiru ‘aura’; Fowler83; M88-wi8 ‘buzzard’; KH.NUA; KH/M-wi8:

PUA	*wirhukuN ‘buzzard, turkey buzzard, zopilote’
Mn	wiho
NP	wi’ho/wiho
TSh	wihnumpi(cci) / wihumpiccih / wiyombic
Sh	wikkumpiccih
Kw	wikku-mahaa-zi
Ch(L)	wikkumpi-ci
SP	wikkuN
CU	wəkúci-ge-tī (< * wVkkúci)
Hp	wisoko
Tb	wišokombiš-t ‘song of the turkey buzzard’
Sr	wirok-t
Ktn	wirukuh-t
Yq	wiiru
My	wiiru
Tr	wirú
Wr(MM)	wihoró / wiholó ‘guajolote’ (The Wr form is nearest the loan form waholo-te)
Tbr	wilú
Wc	wirikī
Cr	viskī
CN	wiiloo-tl, pl: wiiloo-me’ ‘dove’
Pl	wiilu-t ‘bird, dove’

Amongst the usual 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant liquids in SUA, Uto-Aztecanists have no explanation for the devoicing of UA \*r to s in the Hp, Tb, and Cr terms for ‘turkey buzzard’. In fact, they hardly acknowledge the existence of s, and have attempted a reconstruction only three times. Miller’s \*witu assumes intervocalic \*-t- > -r-; Iannucci reconstructs \*wi, since anything more must deal with Numic’s overwhelming variety beyond initial syllable; and Lionnet reconstructs \*wiru, which serves well for SUA, but does nothing for the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllables of Numic: -kku, -hnu, -’ho, etc. However, the Egyptian compound may help explain UA; otherwise, how do Hp s and Tb š correspond to UA liquids? The Egyptian compound with medial -rVtḥ- or syncopated to cluster -rtḥ- eventually devoiced liquid r > s adjacent to two voiceless consonants -tḥ-, different than the -rtḥ- cluster in 332. Notice that Wc (in SUA) and Sr, Ktn, and Hopi (in NUA) show all three syllables of \*wirhukuN, while the rest are reduced to two syllables. The 1<sup>st</sup> syllable \*wi- is apparent in all 20 languages. Eight languages show the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable \*-ru; three others show devoicing of \*r > s. Cr, Wc, and most of NUA show a 3<sup>rd</sup> syllable \*-ku; and Tb and Num show some nasalization after that, which is frequent for medial glottal stops. Except for the CrC branch, most of SUA lost the third syllable, leaving \*wiru in most of SUA. In Numic, syncope (vowel loss) appears to have clustered \*-rk- which led to the loss of r or doubling of k in most instances (\*wiruku > \*wirku > \*wikku or \*wirku > \*wiho in WNum), though

the n in one TSh form (wihnumpi) suggests the presence of a PUA liquid. [\*u > Num i; \*r > ' in NP (cf. 'blanket')] [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp, Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**382** Egyptian(H) **tš** 'ausspeien [spit out]'; Egyptian(F) **tš** 'spit out':

UACV2118 \***tusaC** / \***tusiC** 'spit, v': M67-405 \*tu 'to spit'; I.Num232 \*tusi 'spit'; M88-tu13 'spit, v.'; KH/M-tu13: Mn tuhi; NP tuhi; TSh tusiC; Sh tusiC; Cm tusi; Tb tuhat~'utuh 'to spit'; Tb tuhil 'spit, n'; Hp töha 'spit, v.' (vowel is wrong); Hp töhaki 'spit, n'. While CNum has \*tusiC, we may have an innovation of \*s > h in WNum, Tb and Hp. Only Hp shows \*o, which may be lowered from \*u by following a. The final consonant in CNum may be from the infinitive tšt. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb]

**383** Egyptian(H) **ps** / **pss** 'Gefäss [vessel, container]':

UACV1706 \***pasa(ta)** 'pot': Stubbs2003-17: Sr pahaat 'pot, bottle, olla, jug, water container'; CN a'paas-tli 'earthen bowl, tub'; Ls péšli-š 'pottery vessel, dish, vessel of any kind'. Because \*s > Sr h, these point to s.th. near \*pas. Ls likely assimilated or raised and fronted the first vowel. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

**384** Egyptian(H) **inqt** 'Netz [net], n.f.':

UACV1519 \***ikkaC** / \***iCkaC** 'carrying net': BH.Cup \*'ikat 'carrying net': M88-'i3 'net'; Munro.Cup79 'íka-t 'carrying net'; KH/M-'i3: Cp ikat 'carrying net'; Ca 'íka-t 'carrying net'; Ls 'íka-t 'carrying net'. Intervocalic -k- in all Cupan languages suggests a geminated \*-kk-, and final -t in Tak -t (vs. -l) means a final consonant. [NUA: Tak]

**385** Egyptian(H) **bšnt** 'Hals [neck]'; Egyptian(F) **bšnt** 'neck':

Eu \***poicika** 'nape of neck'. Rounding for the pharyngeal, and also the cluster \*-nt- > -tt-/-c- is frequent (see 534 Hebrew batt (<bVnt) 'daughter' and 139 Egyptian bnty 'breast'), if -ka is another morpheme. [Opn]

**386** Egyptian(F) **tkn** 'be near, draw near': TSh **tikīnaa(cci)** 'close to, near to, nearby'; Sh ti-kīnnax 'near, narrow' (morpheme break debatable).

**387** Egyptian(H) **hwi** 'fliessen, fluten [flow, flood]'; Egyptian(F) **hwi** 'surge up, overflow':

UACV367 \***huwiC** 'canyon, water way': Kw huyu / huwi-pi-dī 'canyon'; Ch huwípi (< \*huwippi) 'wash, canyon'; SP uic 'canyon, gully'; WMU wii-ppū / wii-ppi 'flood, where flood flows/washes, a wash, canyon, n'; CU wii 'be flooding, vi'; CU wii-'a-ga-tī 'valley, gully, canyon, lit: that has flood'. Add Tb wīi't 'river, stream'; Tb wīi'at 'flow, run (liquid)'. The first syllable of Ktn wīvīt 'level ground, valley' may well belong. [NUA: SNum, Tb, Tak]

**388** Egyptian(H) **gnn** 'schwach [weak], schlaff [loose, limp], träge sein [be sluggish, inert]':

Eu **kanánki** 'lame, limp, maimed'. [SUA: Opn]

**389** Egyptian(H) **i'rt** 'Haare (vom Tierfell) [hair (of hide)], seiten-locken [side-locks (of hair)]:

UACV1112 \***yulV** 'hair, head': M88-yu28; Munro.Cup59 \*yúu-la 'hair of the head'; KH/M-yu28; KH.NUA: Sr ayu 'head, hair'; Cp yu-l 'hair'; -yu 'head, hair (poss'd)'; Ca yúluka-l, -yúluk'a (poss'd) 'head, hair'; Ls yúu-la, -yu' (poss'd) 'head, hair'. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Cm yupusi'a 'head louse' (cf. \*pusi'a 'louse'). Ls -la as absolute suffix (vs. -l or -t) usually means a final liquid in the stem (Ls -la < \*-L-ta), as in CN -li vs. usual -t(l) also showing a vowel after a liquid cluster, or that a liquid cluster encourages the final vowel to remain; otherwise, the word would end with two consonants which hardly happens in UA anywhere. So Ls and Ca may both show medial liquid, whatever the vowel may be afterwards, and Cm -p- (< \*pp-) suggests s.th. clustered with -p- as well. [Ls \*-L-ta; Sr a- prefix] [NUA: Tak, Num]  
UACV1113 \***yuwí** 'hair, strand': Jane Hill (p.c.): Tb yuwi-l 'string'; Hp yoowi('at) 'cornsilk, loose strands of fiber on edges of yucca leaves'. [NUA: Hp, Num]

**390** Egyptian(H) **dwt** ‘stechmücke [mosquito, gnat], sandfliege [sandfly]’:

**UACV924** \***suti** ‘mosquito, gnat’: the -suri of Tr ičisuri / učósuri ‘mosquito’; Cp súyily ‘gnat’ (Cp suye ‘sting, vt’) after \*-ti > -ri > yi; but Ca muhúlily ‘mosquito’? Borrowed from an unattested Sr or Ktn form in which s > h. Less likely but also possible is Aramaic(S) sərriq ‘gnat, mosquito’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

**391** Egyptian(H) **ishb** ‘schakal [jackal], Fuchs [fox]’, less likely Egyptian s’b ‘jackal’ with vocative i-:

**UACV567** \***isap** / \***isa’apa** ‘coyote’: M67-109 \*’is; I.Num20 \*isa/\*ica; BH.Cup \*’iswīt ‘wolf’; Munro.Cup31 \*’ísi-l ‘coyote’; Fowler83; M88-’i2; KH/M-’i2: Mn ’issa’a ‘coyote’; NP ica’a ‘coyote’; NP isa ‘wolf’; TSh ’icappi ‘coyote’; TSh ’isampapi ‘wolf’; Sh isapai-ppi ‘coyote (mythological name)’; Tb ’išt ‘coyote’; Ca ’isi-ly ‘coyote’; Cp ’isi-ly; Ls ’is-wu-t ‘wolf’; Tḡ ’isát ‘lobo’; Hp iisawī, pl: ii’ist ‘coyote’. Note that the Tb form aligns with the Hp pl. The -c- in NP and TSh, but -s- elsewhere, is a frequent UA c vs. s enigma. [c/s] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

**392** Egyptian(H) **k’mwtt** ‘ähre (des Getreides) [ear (of grain)]’; the UA form aligns well with the last four consonants, with loss of the first; and the 2<sup>nd</sup> is often obscure in any case:

**UACV536** \***mura** ‘ear of grain’: M67-149 ‘ear of corn’; L.Son158 \*mura ‘espiga’; M88-mu1 ‘grain of wheat, tassel’; KH/M-mu1: TO muda ‘tassel’; Eu murát ‘espiga’; Yq móa ‘espiga’; My mówwa espigar; Wr mulá ‘espiga’; Tr murá ‘espiga’; Cr mwée-yu ‘spike/espiga’. Add NT muurádadi ‘la espiga’ and Nv murhadaga ‘espiga’. Note that both Cr and Cah show \*-r- > -’-. > -ø-. [Liquid > ’ > ø in Cah; \*u-a > o-a] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]

**393** Egyptian(H) **qm’y** ‘Farbe [color]’; another example of last three consonants after loss of the 1<sup>st</sup>:

**UACV517** \***ma’ai** / \***mayī** ‘color, be the color of, paint’: NP namayīadi ‘mixed colors’ (perhaps contains the na- prefix); Ch ma’á ‘to paint, mark’; Wc kapé-máīye ‘coffee-color’; Wc kwie-máīye ‘earth-colored’ (kwie ‘earth’); Eu vámei/bamai ‘oscuro [dark]’; Eu bamei ‘medio verde [greenish], pardo [light brown]’ (probably ‘water-colored’; otherwise, what else would be both green and brown?); Eu mái/ma’ai ‘pardo, color’. [’/y] [NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, CrC]

**394** Egyptian(F) **d’** ‘copulate’; Egyptian(H) d’ / d’d’ ‘kopulieren, koitieren [copulate]’:

**UACV530** \***toC** ‘copulate’: M67-100 \*to ‘copulate’; M88-to11 ‘copulate’; KH/M-to11:

Tb tooyan~’oodoyan; Cp tily’á’a ‘make love’ matches Tb’s expected vowel (Cp i < \*o) and it also shows y, like Tb does, and -l- < -t- perhaps from reduplication, as Egyptian also has a reduplicated form, and note the glottal stops in Cp. Note also the -to- syllables in Tr nató ‘fornicar (varios), practicar el cóito’; Tr netó/wetó ‘fornicar, practicar el cóito extramarital’; possibly Tr róki / loki / eloki-mea ‘fornicar, abusar la mujer, violarla’. [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn]

**395** Egyptian(H) **ngg** ‘Gackerer [cackler], Gänserich [gander/male goose]’:

**UACV732** \***naki** ‘goose’: Fowler83: NP nagiddī ‘goose’; TSh nikīnta ‘goose’; Sh(M) nikīntan ‘goose’. [\*-Nt- > -dd- in NP] [NUA: Num]

**396** Egyptian(H) **tnf** ‘trinken [drink], tanzen [dance], v’ (if consonants separated):

**UACV637** \***tani** ‘dance, v’: Ls táni ‘do a certain dance, v’; Ls tan’i-š ‘that certain dance’; Cp táne ‘dance, vi’. Note the Ls noun has a glottal stop that the verb does not, like Aramaic nouns also. [NUA: Tak]

**397** Egyptian(H) **h̄ti** Rauch [smoke], Dampf [vapor]; Egyptian(F) h̄’ti ‘cloudiness, of sky’; Egyptian(F) h̄’ti ‘blariness, of eyes’; Egyptian(H) h̄’ti ‘Bewölkung [clouds], Trübung [cloudiness], Wolken [cloud]’:

**UACV654** \*(**pa**)-**uci** / **uti** ‘dew, frost, n’: NT vauši ‘rocío’; Wc háici ‘sereno, rocío’; Hp oy-nīp-ti ‘become covered with frost’. NT and Wc agree well with \*pa-uci, since Wc h < \*p; Wc ī < \*u; NT s < \*c. They likely contain \*pa- ‘water’. The oy- of Hp oy-nīp-ti ‘become covered with frost’ also fits \*uci, because \*-c- > NUA -y-, and \*u > Hp o, and NP(B) huzi-bī ‘frost’; NP husia’hu ‘frost’ suggests \*uci < \*uti / \*uCti. The Eu vapúsika ‘rociar’ and My below may be loans from Tepiman with consonant harmony breaking up the vowel diphthong: \*pa-uci > Tepiman \*pa-usi > \*papusi.

**UACV653** \***pusi** ‘dew, v’: Eu vapúsika ‘rociar’; My baa-puh-tia ‘está rociando’.

[\*-c- >-y- in NUA; Wc ĩ < \*u; Tep s < \*c; s > h in cluster] [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, CrC, Opn, Cah]

**398** Egyptian(F) **k'p** 'cover, hide self, droop (eyebrows);

Egyptian(H) **klappen** (Augenbrauen) [close shut (eyebrows/eyelids)]:

**UACV469 \*kuppa / \*kuCpa** 'close (eyes)': The meaning 'close eyes' extended to 'close' generally in some languages and shifted to 'sleep' in other languages; yet we divide them semantically as Miller did:

**a.** M88-ku14 'sleep': Cp kúpæ; Ca -kúp-; Ls kúp-; Cr hi'ipe 'lie down to sleep'. Medial -p- (instead of -v-) means a doubled \*-pp- or a previous cluster that became such: \*-Cp- > -pp-

**b.** M88-ku15 'close the eyes': Eu kupú; Yq kúpe, kupek, kupikte; My kupíkthe, imp: kupe'e; Tr kupi / kupu-; Wr kuhpi; Wr kuhpéca 'wink, blink the eyes'; Tr kupí- 'cerrar los ojos [close the eyes]'; Tr kupi-ca- 'parpadear, cerrar y abrir los ojos'; Tr kupí 'tizón, palo quemado y humeante'; Wc kipe; CN i'kopi 'to wink, blink, close eyes'; Op ku'upu / kuppia 'close one's eyes'.

**c.** M88-ku16 'close': TO kuup 'close, lock, vt'; NT kuupa/i 'close'; ST kuupa 'close'; Nv kupu 'close, v'. Let's add PYp kuupa 'shut, cover'. The lack of fricatives for the medial bilabial likely means a medial C cluster, as the Egyptian term also suggests. [C cluster] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**399** Egyptian(H) **s'w** 'zerbrechen [break (to pieces)], demolieren [demolish]':

**UACV298 \*si'u** 'break to pieces': Yq síu-ta 'romper'; Yq sí'u-te 'rajar'; AYq siuta 'tear, vt'; AYq siute 'be torn, vi'; Tr si'o-kame 'broken to pieces'; Tr si'o-ca-ma 'destroy, break to pieces' (\*u > Tr o,u);

Wr ci'wána 'break off a little piece'. [c/s] [SUA: Trn, Cah]

**400** Egyptian(H) **sSr** 'Dornestrüpp [thorn bush(es), thorny undergrowth], Dickicht [thicket]':

**UACV355 \*sawaro** 'saguaro cactus': Tbr samwiró-t; Yq sáwo. Spanish saguaro (sawaro) is thought to be a UA loan, perhaps from Opata sawaro. [liquid; V > i/\_L; for a-a-o > a-o in Yq, cf. deer] [SUA: Tbr, Cah]

**401** Egyptian(H) **hnt/hnw** 'Wasserlauf [watercourse], Sumpfige Niederung [swampy lowland]':

**UACV372 \*hunuC** 'canyon': TSh hunuppin 'ravine, gully, narrow canyon, gorge, ditch';

Sh(M) hunuC-pin 'ditch, ravine, wash'; Tb humboyaam 'Kelsi canyon'. NP(B) hunagapini 'hollow, ditch'.

UA aligns with the **hnw** form and again final -w acts as a geminating C. [n > m/\_bilabial] [NUA: Num, Tb]

**402** Egyptian **hmw** 'schaffen [create], geschickt sein [be skillful], ausgebildet [educated]'; Egyptian **hmww** 'Kunstfertiger [craftman], zimmermann [carpenter], der kundige [expert, experienced], experte':

Sr **hööm** 'shaman, Indian doctor' (the most educated, skilled, expert of the Native culture).

**403** Egyptian rd 'foot, leg', dual: rdwy:

**UACV937 \*tara** 'foot'; Sapir; VVH28 \*tala 'foot'; B.Tep217 \*tara 'foot'; M67-187 \*ta/\*to 'foot';

I.Num202 \*tah- 'instrumental prefix, (with the) foot'; L.Son276 \*tara 'pie'; M88-ta12 'foot'; KH/M-ip4 'with the foot': Mn taC 'foot'; NP taC 'foot'; Sh taC- 'with the feet'; Kw ta- 'with the foot'; SP taC- 'with the foot'; Sr tamukpi 'heel'; Hp tana 'hoof, foot'; TO tad; LP tar; PYp tar; Nv tarha 'pie'; NT tára; Eu tarát 'pie, rastro'; Op taraa 'foot'; Wr talá 'planta del pie'; Tr rará 'planta del pie, pie, pata, huella'; CN tlalooa 'run, flee'. We might also consider Cp táyi 'thigh'; Wc téuri 'thigh'; and Cr tihči 'thigh'. The following verbs may or may not be of help in determining a possible second or final consonant: NP mayu'i 'to warm hands up'; NP taddu'i 'warm foot up'; NP tu'i ddu'i 'try to warm up'.

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Azt]

**404** Egyptian(H) **h'dt** 'Korb [basket]':

**UACV118 \*hoCta / \*huCta** 'basket, jar': Sh occa (ottsa) 'jug, pitched basket for carrying water'; SP occa (ottsa) 'water jar'; Tbr hoca-nyí-t 'colote, clase de cesto cilíndrico hecho de bambú rajado [kind of cylindrical basket made of split bamboo]'. The preceding three align with \*-t- > -c-, because \*-c- > -y- in NUA.

Perhaps the semantic similarity between Tbr and Hp 'large carrying baskets made of sticks' should intrigue if something like \*hu'(a)-ca/ta underlies the matter: Hp ho'apí 'wicker burden basket'; Hp ho'aa-ta 'load pl obj's'. Is the Hp -pí from the Num -pí absolutive suffix? [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tbr]

405 Egyptian(H) **sbr** ‘wein [wine]’:

UACV195 \***sīpi** ‘berry tree’: Hp sīvi ‘sumac’; Hp sīvipsi ‘sumac berry’; Tbr sipi ‘capulin [type of cherry-like tree]’. [iddddua] [i-i > i-i] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tbr]

406 Egyptian(H) **b** ‘Bock [buck, ram], Widder [ram], Seele [soul]’; the pair of meanings in UA ‘bighorn sheep’ and ‘all living creatures’ are an astounding match for the same pair in Egyptian **b** ‘ram’ and ‘soul’:  
UACV208a \***pa’aC** / \***pa’at** (\*paa’at (AMR)) ‘bighorn sheep’: M67-369 \*pa ‘mountain sheep’; M88-pa34; Munro.Cup75 \*páá’a-t ‘mountain sheep’; KH.NUA; KH/M-pa34 \*paa’at (AMR); Jane Hill 2007-44 \*paa’at: Sr paa’-t; Ca pá’a-t; Ls páá’a-t; Cp pá’a-t; Tḡ pá’a-t ‘mountain sheep’; SP pa’a-vi ‘animal (any living thing but man and plants)’; CU pa’a-vuku ‘livestock’. Ken Hill rightly adds Ktn pa’-t ‘mountain sheep’ and Ch tīvipīa pa’a ‘all people and animals that live on earth’. Hp paḡwī ‘bighorn sheep’, pl: paavaḡwt, shows ‘> Hp ḡw, yet elsewhere we see ‘> Hp ḡw (1409 spider). Manaster-Ramer proposes UA \*pa’at, which aligns with an Egyptian feminine, as might Ktn tīvo’i-t ‘animal, meat, all animals’ < Egyptian t’-b’t.

Alexis Manaster Ramer (in 1991 “Blood, Tears, and Murder” and 1991 “UA \*tw”) proposes that a cluster of -tw- underlies Hp -ḡw- in this and other terms: in \*pa’at-wīt > \*paḡwī ‘bighorn sheep (lit. bighorn-big)’ and in the Hp reflexes of ‘blood’ and ‘crow’. Lexemes for ‘bighorn sheep’ are mostly in NUA. Davis (1989) and Jane Hill (2007) note the similarities of Hp paḡwī and Kiowa-Tanoan (KT) forms such as Tewa pææh ‘deer’, a loan from Hp with nasalized (underlined> vowels. And the KT form is probably the loan source for Navaho biḡh ‘deer’ also with nasalized V’s. Miller and Hill rightly include the SNum forms, which are here separated by letter only for the different semantic shift.

UACV208b \***pa’a** ‘living beings’: Kw pa’a-vi ‘meat’ whose unexpected animacy also suggests it originally meant bighorn, as Azt \*naka ‘meat’ and SNum \*naka ‘bighorn’; Ch pa’á-vi ‘worm’; Ch tīvipīa pa’a ‘all the people and animals that live on earth’; SP pa’á-vi ‘animal, any living thing except man and plants’; WMU pa’á-vi/vū ‘insect, bug, maggot, n’; CU pa’á-vi ‘insect, larva, worm’ and CU pa’a-vuku ‘livestock’. Yet SNum does not seem to show a final -C like Tak and Tb. [medial cluster] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

407 Egyptian(F) **nbd** ‘plait, wrap up’: NP nobia, nanobi’a ‘wrap, roll up blanket.’

408 Egyptian(H) **g** ‘singen [sing]’: \***ka** ‘sing’: Kw kaa; SP kaa; WM káay; CU káay. Falling tone suggests \*kawa or ka’a > kaa, with loss of the intervocalic consonant in Num. [NUA: SNum]

409 Egyptian(F) **nk** ‘copulate’; Egyptian(H) **nk** ‘koitieren, kopulieren [copulate]’:

UACV533 \***naka** ‘copulate, cover, close’: Ca náki ‘join o.s. to, get together with, close, vi’; Ca naki-n ‘put together, join’; TSh naake ‘mate with, copulate (usually of animals)’; NP naga’aggi’hu ‘put blanket over s.o.’; CU naḡá-tíi ‘cover with, wrap around, spread over’; Ls(E) naka/i ‘be closed, blocked, vi; close, block, cover, vt’. Sr nác-q ‘stick together, copulate’ and Sr náci’|q ‘be stuck together’ may belong if another morpheme created a cluster s.th. like \*nak-tu. Also likely is the -nek of My baáneq ‘se inundó de agua [immersed in water]’ as in ‘water-covers’ or ‘uniting with water’. This whole set likely ties to \*naki ‘want, love’. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Cah]

UACV2467 \***naki** ‘want, like, love’: M67-452 \*naki ‘want’; L.Son164 \*naki ‘desear’; CL.Azt184 \*níki, 284 \*\*naki; M88-na2 ‘like, want’; KH/M-na2: NP naki ‘chase’; Eu nake ‘querer [want, love], amar [love]’; My nákke ‘amar’; My -neke ‘future suffix’; Op naki; Yq náq; Wr nahki ‘querer, noviar’; Tr náki ‘querer, desear, requerir’; Cr na’-a-ráa-nahči ‘it pleases me’; Wc náaki ‘love, like’; CN nek(i) ‘want, use, accept, engage s.o. in an enterprise’; Pl neki ‘want, wish’. Add PYP naak ‘want food’; NT naákyi ‘like’; Hp paanaqmoki ‘thirsty’ and Hp paanaqa-w ‘thirst, lack of water’ likely contain paa- ‘water’ and \*nakV ‘want’. Might Ca -nax ‘supposed to (do s.th.)’ (Seiler 1977, 95) or the allomorphs Cp neqa and Ca nék-en to Cp menmáx ‘will come’ (neqa ‘is coming’); Ca ménvax ‘come’ (nék-en an allomorph) tie with these, since ‘run/go’ and ‘want’ are semantically tied elsewhere in UA. SP naaḡi ‘seize’ may well belong also. Cf. \*naka ‘copulate’ above. [k > č in Cr and Sr 409] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

410 Late Egyptian **bn ... iwn** ‘negates verbs with a two-part negative, before and after the verb negated.

While WMU ka ... wā’ uses the common UA negative \*ka as first element, the second element has three of four segments in common with Egyptian’s second element. Nasal consonants often become nasalized

vowels in WMU, so *-wa*’ with a nasalized vowel has *w*, nasal, and glottal stop—in the same order as Egyptian *-iwn*’; and long Egyptian words with initial *i-* lose the *i-* in UA (306-309). [NUA: SNum]

**411** Egyptian(H) *ḥṣ* / *ḥṣw* ‘Körper, Leib [body]’; Egyptian *ḥṣwt* / *ḥṣṣwt* ‘Freude [joy], Jubel [rejoicing] (from Egyptian *ḥṣi* ‘sich freuen, jubeln [rejoice]’; remember Tepiman *n* corresponds to NUA *ḥ*: UACV265 \**hoḥa* ‘body’: TO *hon* ‘body’; Nv *hona* ‘cuerpo’; PYp *hona* ‘body’. Ls *heṅča-wu-t* ‘cheerful, contented’ is key: Ls *e* < \**o*, and Ls *ḥ* corresponds to pharyngeals and to UA \**w* (also in woman, name Munro 1973) and to SUA *n*; so Ls *heṅ* corresponds to SUA \**hon*; and Egyptian *ḥṣ* unites the meanings ‘happy’ and ‘body’. See next two items.

UACV1811 \**hono-mar* ‘rib, body-child’: TO *ho’onma* ‘rib (of the body)’; PYp *hona-mar* ‘rib’; PYp *hona* ‘body’; NT *óonomai* ‘la costilla’. These Tep forms may be a compound with *-mar* ‘child/little one’ as in the body’s little ones, the body’s children/appendages. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Tak]

**412** Egyptian(H) *ḥṣi* ‘sich freuen [be glad, happy], jubeln [rejoice]’; Egyptian *ḥṣwt* ‘Freude, Jubel’; Egyptian *ḥṣṣw* ‘sich freuen’: Ls *heṅča-wu-t* ‘cheerful, contented’.

**413** Egyptian(H) *ḥṣ* ‘Kind [child], Knabe [boy]’:

Ls *hiṅé’-ma-l* / *hiṅéé-ma-l* ‘boy’. Ls even shows the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant glottal stop, besides the first two consonants matching in the last three sets: Egyptian *ḥṣ* > Ls *hVḥ*.

**414** Egyptian(F) *irp* ‘wine’: Ch(L) *iyaavi* ‘wild grape’.

**415** Egyptian(H) *ḥnn* ‘Penis, Phallus, männliches Glied’:

UACV1564 \**hun* ‘penis’: M67-316; M88-hu8; KH/M-hu8: Cr *kaín’i*; Wc *hínári*. PUA \**huna* > CrC \**hina*. Cr likely has another morpheme *ka-* and fronted \**i* > *i*. [SUA: CrC]

**416** Egyptian(H) *ḥn* ‘pfeiler [pillar]’ > Ls *húna* ‘sit up straight, vi, raise, lift, vt’. [iddddua]

**417** Egyptian(H) *h’y* ‘Ehemann [groom], Gatte [husband], Gemahl [spouse, husband]’

Yq *hú’i* ‘miembro viril [penis]’; Yq *hú’iwa* ‘flecha [arrow], punta de la flecha [arrowhead]’; My *hú’iwa* ‘flecha [arrow]’. [SUA: Cah]

**418** Egyptian(F) *rd* ‘foot’, often dual: *rdwy* ‘feet’:

UACV1823 \**taru* ‘roadrunner’: M67-351 \**tal*; M88-ta21 ‘roadrunner’; KH/M-ta21: TO *táḏḏai*; My *táaruk*; Yq *táruk*. We must add the *tar-* of PYp *tarpui* ‘roadrunner’; the latter part *-pui* is \**pu’i*/*puwi* ‘road’. Note Cah’s vowel *-u-* suggests considering the Egyptian dual *rdwy*. A compound with \**taru*/*taro* is the observation of Sapir below. [iddddua] [SUA: Tep, Cah]

**419** Egyptian \**wr-rdw(y)* ‘great (of) legs’ or in UA terms ‘long legs’:

UACV1824 \**wiC-talo* ‘roadrunner’: Sapir: CN *witlallo-tl* ‘a tall bird that flies little but runs very fast’ (Simeon); SP *wicca* ‘roadrunner’. The frequency of Num *c* < \*-Ct- supports the tie. Note also the similar vowelings of CN *-tlallo* and Cah \**taru...* above, suggesting a prefix \**wiC-/wiC-* in the CN and SP forms, such as \**wir* ‘big, great’ as in ‘long-legs.’ [iddddua] [\*-Ct- > -cc-; wVC- prefix] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, TrC, Azt]

**420** Egyptian(H) *twt* ‘vollkommen [perfect], vollständig [complete]’;

Egyptian(L) *twt* ‘pleasing, delightful, lovely’:

UACV156 \**tutuli* ‘beautiful’: Yq *tutúli* ‘bonito [attractive]’ (used by women); Yq *tutú’im* ‘cosas bonitas [pretty things]’; Yq *tú’ute* ‘componer [put together, fix up, adorn], limpiar [clean], adornar [adorn, beautify]’; AYq *tutu’uli* ‘handsome, pretty’; My *tutu’uli* ‘hermoso [beautiful]’; My *tú’uri* ‘está bueno, bien [be good, well]’; My *a’a tú’ure* ‘le gusta [please]’; My *a’a tú’uli* ‘le agrada [gratify]’; My *tú’uwa* ‘bondad, lo bueno [good(ness)], n’; reduplication \**tuttuti* > *tutuli* / *tutu’i*; Tr(B) *tutuguri* / *rutuburi* / *utuburi* ‘nombre de una danza ritual [name of a ritual dance]’; Tr(H) *tutuburi* ‘baile indígena [indigenous dance]’; Wr(MM) *tuwuli* /



tuwuri / tuguri 'fiesta'; perhaps the -ḫi(t) of Sr ceikḫiḫ 'beautiful, pretty one, n'. Keep in mind that -' < -l- (or even from < -t-) is common in Cahitan. Wr(MM) tuwuri shows the 3 consonants (tw) quite well.  
[SUA: Trn, Cah; NUA: Tak]

**421** Egyptian(F) **tw** 'statue' [or standing image]; Egyptian(L) **tw** 'statues, image, likeness', pl: **tw-w**: UACV2166 \***tuC** / \***tutu** 'stand': Tb tulu'ula 'stand up from sitting'; Ls túú' 'stand, pl. inanim.'; ST tuut 'be standing, subj pl inam'; ST tuttu' 'stand, vt (inan pl obj's)'; Nv tutu 'be standing, inam subj'; PYp tuutu 'be standing, erect (pl inan subj)'; TO čuuč 'stand, pl'. The \*tuC- of Ls wixé'tu-t 'pine sp., Pinus coulteri' belongs as well. While the match in meanings is not exact, statues and standing images in Egypt (plural) do stand and stand tall, and most interesting is that most of these UA languages have this as a verb for inanimate objects standing, not people or animals. [idddua] [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep]

**422** Egyptian(F) rdi 'give, put, grant'; Egyptian rḏi > rdi (in middle Egyptian) 'geben [give], geben (als Preis) [give as price], verkaufen [sell]'; to give the price of is 'to buy', so this also means 'buy' and 'sell': UACV2401 \***tari** 'sell': Wr tariké 'sell s.th. to s.o.'; Wr tala-ní 'buy, vt'; Tr fari-mea 'buy'; Tr farinéa-ma 'sell'. Initial r > t and intervocalic -d- > -r-. [\*-d- > -r-] [SUA: Trn]

**423** Egyptian(F) ywty 'who ... not, which ... not, one without, a not-haver'  
Kw yuwa'i 'negative'; Kw yuw-aa-ti 'negative'.

**424** Egyptian(H) nw 'sehen [see]': Tr no- 'observar [observe], examiner [examine], contemplar [contemplate], mirar [look at]'; Tr newa 'ser visible'.

**425** Egyptian(F) **šš** 'many, numerous, much, plentiful'; Egyptian(H) **šš** 'viel [much], zahlreich sein [much, be numerous]':

UACV16b \***oso** 'more, much, very': Wr osó 'more'; Wr oso-pici 'the most'; Yq ousi 'more, much, very'; AYq ousi(a) '1. hard, sturdy, strong, 2. much'. With loss of first vowel,

UACV16a \***so** (< \*oso) 'many': TSh soo 'many'; Sh soon 'many'; Cm soo 'many, much'; SP šooC 'very'; Hp soo 'all, many' (vowel is wrong, Miller notes; perhaps loan from Num); or Hp \*sa' 'as much or as many as'. [SUA: Trn, Cah; NUA: Num, Hp]

**426** Egyptian(H) **šnr(t)** 'Kiesel [flint]'; UA forms reflect šnrt, with ending -at, and glottal anticipation:

UACV65 \***wi'naC** 'flint, arrowhead': Ch(L) win'napi 'flint'; Ch(L) huu win'na-wa 'arrow's flint'; SP wi'naC- / wi'na-ppi 'arrowhead'; Kw wina-huwa 'obsidian arrowhead'; Kw wina-pi 'obsidian blade'. [NUA: SNum]

**427** Egyptian(F) **šnx** 'to live, v, (living) person, n':

UACV141 \***onka** / \***oŋa** 'baby': L.Num15 \*oŋa(a)(a) 'baby, child, young (of animals)'; M88-'o15 'baby'; KH/M-'o15: NP(Yerinton) oha'a 'baby'; NP(McDermitt) onka'a; NP oŋa'a 'baby' (Snapp, Anderson, Anderson 1982, 20); NP(B) oha'a; Mn 'owaa' 'sound of baby crying'; Mn owaa'-cci-cci' / owaa'-nugu 'baby'; TSh ohmaa(cci) 'little baby' (Dayley); Sh ohmaa 'baby'; Sh pa'ohmaa 'water baby'; WSh ohaa(cci) 'baby'; WSh pa'ohaa 'water baby'; Cm ohnaa' 'a baby'; SP oa-C/N 'young of animals'; SP iŋaa' - 'baby', SP paa-iŋaa'-ppici 'water baby'; Ch iŋa'apici. A medial cluster \*-nk- > -ŋ- in NP and SP further lenites elsewhere, Iannucci's reconstruction \*oŋa serving well. TSh and/or Sh have forms with and without -m-, so the -maa forms likely contain another morpheme, perhaps \*mara 'little'. [medial cluster w/hm/hn/ŋ/ø] [NUA: Num]

**428** Egyptian(H) **šnx** 'sich bewusst sein [be conscious of]': Ktn winika'i 'remember, v'.

**429** Egyptian(F) **nny** 'be weary, inert'; Eg(H) nni 'müde [tired, weary], träge sein [be slow, sluggish], bummeln [wander, dawdle, loaf around]; faul sein [be lazy], erschlaffen [go limp, become exhausted]': UACV106 \***nina** 'bad, useless': Dakin 1982-57: Tr nina- 'harm, hurt, do/say bad'; CN neen 'in vain, futilely, profitlessly'; CN neen-tlaaka-tl 'worthless person, good for nothing'. [SUA: Trn, Azt]

**430** Egyptian(H) sw'd 'grünen lassen [let green], frisch machen [make fresh]' (glottal stops often jump in front of an adjacent C: saw'as > sa'wa); also possible Egyptian(H) š' 'Vegetation, Weideland [pastureland]'; a plural: Egyptian š'w 'Feldpflanzen [vegetation, field plants], Blumen [flowers]':

UACV262 \*sawa / \*sakwa 'blue, green': M67-50 \*sakwa 'blue'; M88-sa10; KH/M-sa10: TSh sakwa 'green'; Kw sakwa / sako 'blue'; SP sakwa 'blue/green/gray'; CU saǵwá-ǵa-rí 'green, blue'; Hp sakwa. Ken Hill adds Ch sagwamuvín'naǵkaví 'turquoise'. Add Ch sawá-ga 'green'; WMU sawá-ga-r / sowa-ga-r / saǵwa-ga-r 'green (to mean blue, it often requires help, e.g. sky-green)', which sometimes faintly includes ǵ; and perhaps Ca sáw-et 'unripe'. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes also Mn saǵwanowí 'green garden worm'. What of forms under \*siwa / \*si(y)o 'green, blue'? [iddddua] [NUA: Num, Hp]

**431** Egyptian(CDD) b'k(t) 'document'; UA \*po'ok/\*po'oC 'write'; Egyptian b'kt 'work, task':

UACV713 \*po'ok 'mark, draw, write, read': Mn taqapoo 'mark'; NP bo 'write'; Sh poo / tīpoo 'write, mark'; Cm tūboorī 'write'; Kw po'o 'mark, write'; Ch po'ó 'draw, write'; SP po'oC- 'mark, write'; WMU pō'ó-y 'draw, write, mark, go to school, v'; WMU pō'óC- (when compounded); WMU pō'ó-tti'i / pō'ó-ti'i 'teach, v'; WMU pō'óqqa-ttū 'book, s.th. written, n'; CU pō'óy 'write'; CU pō'ó-pīnī-'ni 'read'; CU pō'ó-tīi 'teach'. SNum shows a final consonant. Add Tb(H) pokpookinat 'tattoo, vt'. [NUA: Num, Tb]

**432** Egyptian(H) p'q 'eine Gebäck (Fladen oder Oblate) [type of biscuit, baked good (round flat cake or wafer)]; Egyptian(F) p'q 'a flat thin cake or biscuit':

Hp piiki 'wafer bread' (a fine thin delicate bread, like sheets of cracker). Must have lost ' early.

**433** Egyptian(H) p'q 'fein [fine], dünn [thin]'; Egyptian p'q 'Blatt (Wertvollenmetalls) [leaf/sheet (of precious metal), Metallfolie [metal foil, sheetmetal]'; Egyptian p'qt 'feines Blech [fine sheet metal or metal plate]'; Egyptian p'qyt 'Scherbe [broken piece, fragment], Tonscherbe [potsherd, pottery piece]':

UACV1266 \*pikkaC / \*pikkat (AMR) 'knife': M67-246 \*pika 'knife'; L.Son196 \*pika 'cuchillo'; M88-pi13 'knife'; AMR 1993c \*pikkat 'stone'; KH/M-pi13 \*pikkat 'stone': SP pikka 'hard, sore'; Ls piká-t 'stone knife'; Tb piga-t 'stone knife'; Hp pikyay'ǵwa 'axe'; Eu vikát; Wr tehpiká 'cuchillo [knife]'; Tr ripiyá/ri-pigá 'cuchillo, navaja'. [iddddua] [Tr, Tb voiced g; Hp ky; \*k > ø in Tr] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trm, Opn]

**434** Egyptian(H) g'p 'schneiden [to cut]':

UACV289 \*kappi 'break, cut': M88-ka37; KH.NUA; KH/M-ka37: SP kappi-/kapi- 'cut, break through'; NP kaapi 'break, cut off' (in I.Num60); Ca qápi (< \*kappi) 'break'; Sr qapi 'break (by bending) multiple obj's'; Kw kavi 'cut, cut down'; Kw kapi-nū 'cut off'; Ch kapáki 'snap, break'; WMU qahppáqi 'snap, break'; Ls qapúti 'chop, cut off'. These may tie with \*koppi below. [NUA: Tak, Num]

**435** Egyptian(H) g'p 'schneiden [to cut]'

UACV290 \*koppi 'break': M88-ko15: I.Num60 \*ko(h)pi/\*ko(h)pa/\*ka(a)(h)pi/\*kī(h)pa 'break, cut'; KH.NUA; KH/M-ko15: Mn toC-qopi 'cut'; NP koppi'i'hu 'break board'; CU koppokki 'break, snap'; Tb hoboo'at 'be in pieces'; Tb hoboo'in 'cut in pieces'; Sr qöp(k) / qöp'ö' 'break, shatter (of hard surface, like glass, pottery, eggshell)'; Hp qöhi(kna) 'break'. Ken Hill adds Ktn kopik 'break, vi'; Ls qépa 'splinter off' (Ls e < \*o). Both \*kappV and \*koppV are consistent for consonants (\*k-pp), but the first vowels vary between a/o, though the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel's a/i variation is common in UA. [iddddua] [initial \*k > h in Tb; a/o] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp]

**436** Egyptian(H) sm' 'Lunge [lung]':

UACV303 \*sumaC 'breathe': I.Num187 \*su(w)ah 'breathe'; M88-su16; KH/M-su16: Mn suwaqa; NP soḡaha (Miller reinterprets it as sonkaha); Kw soo-ki (< \*sookki) 'breathe'; Kw soo-kopi 'pant'; SP šuaC 'breathe'; SP šuaqqa 'breathe'; CU söá-qay. Add TSh sumakkain 'breathe, vi' and TSh suma-ppī / soma-ppī 'breath, soul' and Sh(C) suaC / suakkaih 'breathe'. Miller's inclusion of Hp somi 'sniffle, breathe deeply' is good. These are very close to and thus easily confused with \*suwaC 'want, etc'; however, TSh sumakkain 'breathe, vi' and TSh suwaC 'want, desire, think, feel' (Semitic swy 'desire') show a difference of medial

\*-m- vs. \*-w- in TSh. On the other hand, WSh and SNum yield single -m- > -w-, creating mergers like WSh suaC ‘think, want, need, feel; seem; breathe’ which makes sorting difficult. Yet even SP distinguishes SP šuaC ‘breathe’; SP šuai ‘be glad’; and SP šummai ‘have in mind’ whose cognate sets are here, at ‘want’, and at ‘think’ respectively. Add Ch(L) suwapī ‘breath’ (which also suggests a final -C); Cm sua’sua’miarī ‘breathe’, which shows a glottal stop at the place of germination; Cm suahketī ‘breathe’; AYq hasohte ‘breathe hard’. Though many languages agree with \*so, the lowering influence of following *a* is reason enough to stay with Miller’s su. This term kept an intervening vowel between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> C (\*sumaC) in contrast to sm’w / \*som’o > \*somwo/\*soŋo ‘lungs’. [iddddua] [medial -ŋ-, -m-, -w-]  
[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Cah]

**437** Egyptian(H) **mht** ‘eine insekt [an insect]’

UACV316 \***matta** / \***maCti** ‘tick’: BH.Cup mac- ? ‘tick’; Fowler83; M88-ma1 ‘tick/garrapata’; KH.NUA; Stubbs 2000a-6; KH/M-ma1: NP madabi (< \*matapi); Kw muu’maa-ci; CU mata-ci (< \*matta-ci); Cp máči-lʸ; Ca máči-l; Ls ’amáča; Sr maca-c; Hp màaca; TO maamʃ; Wr macá; Tr mačá; Wc mate. Ken Hill adds Ch matavi, which is also in Ch(L) mata-vi ‘tick, flea’. Add Ktn muma-c ‘reddish tick’. NP, CU, and Wc suggest a cluster, perhaps medial \*-Ct-; in fact, CU and Ch have underlying medial \*-tt-, in contrast to CU mara-ci < \*mata-ci ‘mortar’, though NP suggests ungerminated \*-t- in d surfacing instead of t (Stubbs 2000, 132). Tak medial \*-t- instead of -l- also suggests a cluster something like \*-Ct- or \*-tt-. Add Mn mitábi / midábi ‘tick’. [iddddua] [NP t = Num c, WNum V metath like bat]  
[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

**438** Egyptian nʃw ‘sich paaren, durchdrehen [to mate, press through]’

UA \***nawi** ‘together with’: My nawwi ‘juntos’ [together]; Yq nau ‘juntos’; Ca -new ‘with s.o., active accompaniment’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

**439** Egyptian(H) **šndt** ‘Dornakazie [thornbush]’:

UACV350 \***sacani** ‘saguaro cactus’: B.Tep56 \*haasani ‘giant cactus’; Fowler83; M88-sa23; KH/M-sa23: TO haašani ‘saguaro cactus’; NT aasáñi; LP harsani (Fowler83). Add ST haašáñi. A cluster of -nd- > -c- is expectable; yet LP harsani shows another decent reflection of that cluster. [SUA: Tep]

**440** Egyptian(F) **tsi** ‘raise, lift up’; Egyptian(F) **tst** ‘ridge, range’; Egyptian **tst** ‘Gebirge [mountains], Gebirgsrücken [mountain ridges]’:

UACV463 \***tīcayi** ‘climb, raise’: TO češaj ‘climb, ride, raise, elevate’; Nv tīsadi ‘subir de lo bajo’; PYp tesedi ‘climb, mount’; NT tīsaidyi/tīsaadyidi ‘subir’; ST čīsdi ‘climb easily’; ST tīsdia ‘climb’.  
[SUA: Tep]

**441** Egyptian(F) **nms** ‘to clothe with the head-cloth’; Egyptian(F) **nms** ‘royal head-cloth’;

Egyptian **nms** ‘Tuch [cloth]’; Egyptian ‘in Binden hüllen [cover/wrap in bands], ankleiden [dress]’:

UACV471a \***noma** ‘cover’: Hp nōōma ‘wrap, cover up, vt’; Eu nōma ‘tapar, cubrir’; Eu va-nōma ‘inundar, vt’ (water-cover); Eu va-nōme ‘inundarse, vi’. [Hp ö < \*o]

UACV471b \***nama** ‘cover’: NP namabima ‘cover’; NP namatīmpī ‘cap, cork’; Wc náma ‘cubrir [cover], tapar [put top on]; Wc náme ‘cubierto [covered], tapado [topped]’. Another possible pair: Sh namasua-ppīh ‘best clothes’; Cm namahku ‘clothes’. [active, vt/stative, passive, o/a, vi -a/i]

[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Opn, CrC]

**442** Egyptian(H) **nʸyt** ‘Weberei [weaving mill], Spinnerei [spinning mill], Textilmanufaktur [weaving]’;

Egyptian(F) **nʸt** ‘weaving room’; these nouns suggest an unattested verb **nʸ** ‘weave, make woven product’:

UACV485 \***nawi** ‘apron, skirt’: Tb nawii-l ‘woman’s apron’; Tb(H) nawwii-l ‘woman’s apron, double-apron skirt’; Ch(L) nawi ‘apron’; Cp -nawilyqam’a ‘front apron made of string’ (rare poss’d absolutive in -l); Ls nāwxami-š ‘gift, feather skirt, glass beads’; TO iinagi/naagi ‘skirt of ancient style’; Sr naawt ‘dress, n’; SP naŋwi ‘apron’. Note that ’ > SP ŋw, as in bighorn sheep and others. In light of \*nawi ‘hang down’, might that tie to this \*nawi ‘skirt, apron’ as s.th. that hangs down? [NUA: Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep]

**443** Egyptian(H) **ʕnxt** ‘Getreide, Korn [grain]’:

**UACV540** **\*(w)o’na** ‘corn cob, olote’: Wr wo’ná / ho’oná-ra; Wr wo’ná-bosori ‘cooked corn on the cob’; Tr o’na/ko’ná. Ken and Jane Hill add CN ooloo-tl; Pl ulu-t; TSh onnoC-cci ‘pine cone hook’; Kw onoci ‘hooked stick used to pull down pine cones’. Jane Hill (2001) makes a good case for Hopi öö-vi’at ‘cob heel’. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Azt]

**444** Egyptian(H) **’sx** ‘(ab)sicheln [sickle (off)], ernten [harvest], (ab)mähen [mow (off)], schneiden [cut]’; or Egyptian(H) **sx** ‘abschlagen [knock off], abhauen [cut off, cut down]’; or Egyptian **sk** ‘fällen (baum) [fell (a tree)]’:

**UACV614a** **\*sika** / **\*siki** ‘cut hair, clip, mow’: VVH115 **\*siki/sika** ‘to cut hair, mow’; M67-118 **\*sik** ‘cut’; L.Son238 **\*sika/sik-i** ‘cortar’; B.Tep64 **\*hikiti** ‘to cut’; M88-si1 ‘cut hair, mow grass, etc.’; KH/M-si1: TO hiik ‘clip, cut, mow (grain, etc)’; PYP hikica ‘cut, vt’; LP iktī/hīktī, pl. hīkīmia / ikumiaku; NT íikai ‘cortar’; NT ikíitīkī ‘cortar’; NT íkumai ‘picar’; ST hiktyi; ST hiika; Wr sihka / sihki; Tr seká/sikí; My síkka ‘cortar pelo’; Tbr sika ‘cortar’; Cr tyí’i-sih-če ‘he is slicing it with a knife’; Wc šika ‘cut with knife or scissors, v’. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

**445** Egyptian(H) **tbs** ‘stechen [prick, stab, pierce]’:

**UACV629a** **\*tapusa** ‘pierce’: Sh(Cr) na-ta-pusa ‘attach by piercing through s.th.’; Sh(M) pusa ‘pierce through and connect with (e.g., nail, bolt, needle)’; perhaps part of Wc kīrapúši-(ma) ‘nail, n.(v.)’; perhaps Tr natabu ‘perforar, traspasar, agujerar de lado a lado’ [perforate, pierce through].

**UACV629b** **\*tupusi** ‘pierce’: Mn tupusudugi ‘be punctured’; Ch topósi-gi ‘stab, v’; Ch topósi-ki-nkī ‘stab, pierce, v’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, CrC]

**446** Egyptian(H) **qm’tyw** ‘Feinde (pl) [enemies]’; Egyptian(H) **qm** ‘kämpfen [fight]’:

**UACV658** **\*kīmmaN** / **\*kīma’a** ‘different, enemy’: Mn kīma’ani-tu ‘different’; Mn kīma’adugúsu ‘(in) a different way’; NP nanakīmma’a ‘different colors’; Sh kīmmai ‘different (one)’; Kw kīmi-gi ‘be different, be other than’; Ch kīmán ‘different’; Ch kīmanči ‘different one’; Ch(L) kīmá ‘other than self, different’; SP qūmma ‘other, stranger’; SP qūmma-ḡa-šu ‘another one, stranger’; SP qūmma-mmu-šu ‘strangers, anim pl’; WMU kumac / kumač ‘different’; CU kūmáč’ay ‘be different’; CU kūmáci ‘enemy, foreigner, Comanche’. The tribal name Comanche is from Numic, meaning ‘enemy, different one(s)’. Note the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant glottal stop in the Western Numic forms. [NUA: WNum, CNum, SNum]

**447** Egyptian(H) **wtw** ‘Welp (Fuchs, Hund) [pup (fox, dog)]’:

**UACV694** **\*woci** ‘dog’: B.Tep **\*gogosi** ‘dog’; Fowler83; M88-wo12 ‘dog’; KH.NUA; KH/M-wo12: Tḡ wosí’, pl: wowósi’am (vowel unexpected, o < \*o usually only after k, says Miller); TO gogs, gogogs pl; LP gogiš/gogš; NT gogóši, góógoši pl; ST gagooš / gagoš. The Tep sg forms seem to be built on a plural reduplication, and the pl forms on a doubled pl or double reduplication, which does happen in UA, especially in Tep. Ken Hill notes also Tḡ wosí ‘dog’ and other forms for ‘bark, v’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

**448** Egyptian(H) **sq’ḥ** ‘tünchen [to whitewash], weissen (Gebäude) [whitewash (building)], schlämmen [to mud (s.th.)], verputzen [to plaster], mit Stuck verzieren [decorate with stucco]’:

**UACV761** **\*sokoC** / **\*coka** ‘earth, mud, plaster’: Sapir; M67-297 **\*so/\*sok/\*cok** ‘mud’; I.Num **\*soko** ‘ground, earth, dirt, land’; M88-so6 ‘ground, earth’; KH/M-so6: NP soko ‘ground, dirt’; TSh sokopi ‘ground’; Sh soko-ppih ‘earth’; Cm sokoopi ‘earth’; SP sogó ‘moist earth’; Hp cōqa ‘mud, clay, plaster (cognate? Miller queries)’; CN soki-tl ‘clay, mud’; Cr hásu’u ‘lodo, pared, pretil’. Add Wc hášu ‘mud’ (since CrC u < \*o) to Cr. Add Tr sugúri ‘greasy dirt’; Yq tečóa; and My tečóa ‘mud’ may belong also, if the Cah terms lost intervocalic \*k. [c/s;-k-] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**449** Egyptian(H) **qq / q’q** ‘essen [eat]’

**UACV779** **\*koki** ‘graze, v’: M88-ko38; KH/M-ko38: Cp qíxin ‘graze, pull out (hair)’; Ls qééxi ‘graze (of animals)’. The q- in both languages points to \*ko for initial syllable. [NUA: Tak]

**450** Egyptian(H) **rkh** ‘anfachen [fan into flames], brennen [burn, vi, be on fire]’:

**UACV879a** \***taha** / \***taka** ‘burn’: Sapir; VVH150 \***tahi** ‘fire’; B.Tep215 **tai** ‘fire’; M67-423d \***tai** ‘fire (burn)’; L.Son268 \***taha**/\***tah-i** arder; CL.Azt20 \***tlatia** ‘burn’; \***tlatla** ‘burn, be hot’; CL.Azt60 \***tlai(h)**-‘fire’; M88-ta1 ‘burn, v’; M88-ta2; KH/M-ta1; KH/M-ta2: the differences between M88-ta1 and ta2 (perhaps \***taha** ‘burn’ vs. \***tahi** ‘fire’) overlap unclearly enough that their common stem might best be taken as a whole, whatever later derivations afflicted an earlier clarity; so let’s combine them under the same number, but grant separate letters: ‘burn, vi’: Hp **taq-ti**; Eu **tahá**; Wr **taha** / **tahi**; Tr **řahá/řahí**; My **táhha** ‘quemarse, vi’; My **táyya** ‘quemar, vt’; Tbr **taha**; Wc **ta’á**; CN **tlatla** ‘burn, vi’; CN **tlatiaa** ‘burn’; Pl **tata** ‘burn, vi’; Pl **tatia** ‘burn, vt’. Note Tr **r-**.

**UACV879b** \***tahi** ‘fire’ (AMR): CN **tle-tl** ‘fire’; Wc **tái** ‘fire’; Cr **táih** ‘fire, flame’; TO **tai** ‘fire, match(es)’; NT **taí**; ST **tai**; Eu **te**; My **táhi**; Tbr **tahamét**; Wr **taihénani** ‘prender la lumbre’. Add Nv **tai** ‘encender lumbre’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**451** Egyptian(H) **rkh** ‘anfachen [fan into flames], brennen [burn, vi, be on fire]’:

**UACV880** \***takwa** / \***taxkwa** ‘ceremonial official, fire tender’: Tj **táxkwa** ‘kind of religious officer’; Ca **tákwa** ‘ceremonial official’; Ls **tááxku** ‘ceremonial official’; Cp **təkwəva** ‘aš ‘fire tender (type of ceremonial official)’. This may be a compound involving \***taha** / \***taka** above, most showing \*-h-, except for Hp. For a \*-khj- cluster, UA \*-kw-. [h’/k/y ] [NUA: Tak]

**452** Two separate but similar Egyptian nouns—**xt** ‘fire’ (f) and **xt** ‘wood’ (m)—perhaps near homonyms in ancient pronunciation, have merged to a degree in UA, both resembling UA \***kut**, to give UAnists a headache; the usual use of wood being for fire likely contributed, and KH/M combined them at ku4; thus, we list both Egyptian nouns and then both UA sets in succession 452 and 453:

Egyptian(F) **xt** ‘fire’ (fem n., -t is fem suffix); Egyptian(F) **xt** ‘wood, woodland, tree, stick, pole’ (masc n., t is part of stem); Egyptian(H) **xt** ‘Feuer [fire], Flamme [flame], Hitze (klima) [heat (climate)]’ (fem n.); Egyptian(H) **xt** ‘Holz [wood], Stock [stick], Stab [rod, staff], Baum [tree], Wald [woods, forest]’ (masc n.): **UACV881** \***kut** ‘fire’ (AMR); \***kut-tu** / \***kut-ta** ‘make fire’ (AMR): M67-170e \***kut** ‘make fire’; I.Num61 \***kohtoo** / \***kuhtuu** ‘make fire’; I.Num64 \***kuh-** ‘fire, heat (instr. prefix)’; BH.Cup \***kut** ‘fire’; Munro.Cup44 \***kú-t** ‘fire’; M88-ku4; AMR \***kut**; KH/M-ip10 ‘by means of heat/fire’; KH/M-ku4 \***kut**: NP **kutuuna** ‘put wood in fire’; Kw **kuttunuhi** ‘make fire w/ drill’; Kw **kukkoppi** / **kukkwappi** ‘piece of wood, stick’; CU **kukkwappi** ‘firewood, wood’; Sh **ku-** ‘by means of heat’ (instrumental prefix); SP **kuC-** ‘with fire’; Tb **kut** ‘fire’; Tb **kutugat** ‘gather firewood’; Hp **kotqa** ‘wood pile’; Hp **koho/ kòo-** ‘wood, stick, firewood’; Sr **kut** ‘fire’; Sr **kucaai** ‘gather firewood’; Sr **kučaaít** ‘firewood’; Ktn **kut** ‘fire’; Ktn **kučat** ‘stick, firewood’; Ca **ku-t** ‘fire’; Cp **ku-t**; Ls **ku-t**; Tj **kotá** ‘palo, leña’; My **kúttá** ‘(fire)wood’; Eu **kut** ‘palo’. NP, Kw, CU, Hp, Sr, Ktn, Cp, Ca, and Ls all show \***kut**, and in Munro.Cup44 \***kú-t** ‘fire’, note final -t, not -l, suggesting a final consonant, like t itself as AMR reconstructed. Add the \***ku-** in Tep \***ku-saypa** (UACV890 \*(**ku**)-**say(pa)** ‘burn’: TO **kohađk** ‘something dried and burned’; Nv **kusada** ‘quemarse’ (cf. Nv **-sada** and Wr **saipá-ni** ‘quemarse’). [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Opn, Cah, Tep]

**UACV882** \***kuCti** (< \***kut-ti**?) ‘burn, fire-cause’: Ch **kucíki** ‘burn, v’; SP **quččü’a** ‘burn, vi’; WMU **kuhččí-kki** ‘burn, vt’; CU **kučí’i** ‘be hot’; CU **kučí-tíi** ‘heat up, vt’. This may or may not involve the SNum causative \*-ti’i suffixed to ‘fire’ or maybe something else. [NUA: SNum]

**453** Egyptian(H) **xt** ‘Holz [wood], Stock [stick], Stab [rod], Baum [tree], Wald [woods, forest], m’:

**UACV2408** \***kut** (AMR) / \***kut-(ta)** ‘tree, wood, firewood’: Sapir; VVH143; M67-170d \***kuta** ‘stick of wood’; L.Son101 \***ku** ‘palo, madera’; B.Tep129 **ku’agi** ‘firewood’ and B.Tep120 \***kua’agi** ‘to get firewood’; CL.Azt280 \*\***ku**(’a) ‘tree, wood’ (besides CL.Azt177 **kwawí** tree, wood); M88-ku4,6 ‘tree, (fire)wood’; AMR 1993a \***kut**; KH/M-ku4 \***kut** (AMR): Tj **kotá** ‘palo, leña’; Sr **ku|t** ‘fire’; Sr **kučaa|j** ‘gather firewood’; Sr **kučaa|t** ‘firewood, wood, stick’; Ktn **kut** ‘fire’; Ktn **kučat** ‘stick, pole, firewood’; Hp **koho** ‘(fire)wood, stick’; Hp **kotqa** ‘wood pile’; Tr(H) **ku** ‘leña [firewood], madera [wood]’; Wr **kuú** ‘stick, tree, firewood’; Eu **kut** ‘palo [pole]’; Op **ku’uh-t** ‘wood, tree’; Tbr **utá** ‘árbol [tree], palo [pole], viga, madera [wood], leña [firewood]’; CrC \***kíye** (<\***kuyi**) ‘tree, etc.’; My **kúttá** ‘madera [wood], leña [firewood]’; AYq **kuta** ‘stick, pole’; Tb **kutugat** ‘firewood’ (Tb **ku-t** ‘fire’; Tb **kutuugat** ~ **ukutuk** ‘gather firewood’); Kw **kukkoppi** / **kukkwappi** ‘piece of wood, stick’; CU **kukkwappi** ‘firewood, wood’.

[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb, Num; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

**454** Egyptian(F) **xt** ‘fire’:

UACV883 \***kotto** (< \***kut-tu/ta**) ‘make fire’: M88-ko1; KH/M-ko1: TSh kattoo ‘set fire’; Sh kattoo ‘make fire’; Cm koattoo; Hp qööha / qööyi ‘get burned, scorched on the body’. A different vowel and a different compound than 452 above, but likely employing \*kut also. [NUA: Num, Hp]

**455** Egyptian(H) **swr** ‘e. Fisch [fish, sp.]’: CN šowil-in ‘catfish’. [SUA: Azt]

**456** Egyptian(H) **swḥty** / sḥty ‘e. Fisch [a type of fish]’; Egyptian(F) sḥty ‘fish, sp.’

UACV897 \***so** ‘kind of fish’: Wr **so’ci** ‘fish’; the Wr term so’ci is a good match for swḥty with rounding and gottal stop for the pharyngeal in a cluster, and final -ty > -ci. Add Ktn coh ‘fish sp., perhaps salmon’. [SUA: Trn; NUA: Tak]

**457** Egyptian(F) **ḥrrt** ‘flower’; Egyptian(H) ḥrrt ‘Blume [flower]’:

UACV909 \***huya** ‘bud, branch’: M88-hu5 ‘brotar’; KH/M-hu5: Wr uyá-; uyáwi ‘rama’; My húyya ‘tree, branch, forest’. [iddddua] [SUA: Trn, Cah]

**458** Egyptian(H) **kfi** ‘entblößen [denude], enthüllen [reveal, unveil], ausziehen [take off], abnehmen [take off, remove]’:

UACV1000 \***kappiwa** ‘degrain grain from ear’: TO kaipig ‘harvest grain, scrape grain from ears, v’ (Saxton and Saxton 1969); ST kaipga ‘desgranarlo (planta)’. [SUA: Tep]

**459** Egyptian(F) **(s)x’x** ‘hasten, vt’; Egyptian(H) **sxsx** ‘laufen [run], eilen [hurry]’;

Egyptian(H) **sxti** ‘laufe! [run] eile! [hurry!]’:

UACV1028 \***soko-miya** ‘walk’: NP sogomia ‘walking’; Cm soko-mi’a-ri ‘come walking’. [NUA: Num]

**460** Egyptian(H) **’tp** ‘Kasten [box, case]’:

UACV1084 \***otapa** ‘bedrock mortar’: BH.Cup \*’**élapal** ‘mortar, bedrock’; M88-’o10; KH/M-’o10: Cp íl’apa-l; Ls ’élapa-l. [iddddua] [NUA: Tak]

**461** Egyptian(F) im ‘there, therein, **therewith**, therefrom’; Egyptian(L) im ‘there’; Egyptian(L) im ‘among, about, in, on’; Egyptian(H) im ‘da [there], dort, dahin’; Egyptian(F) imy ‘who, which is in’; Egyptian(H) imy ‘der darin Befindliche [that found/existing therein], der dazugehörige [what there-to belongs / is associated with], der in Begleitung [that in accompaniment]’; the Egyptian -i- is often pronounced -a- in Coptic or what evidence exists of ancient pronunciation, thus im(y) > ama:

UACV1175 \***ama(ni)** ‘there’: AYq ama/aman(i) ‘there (near speaker)’; Yq ’áma ‘there’, aman ‘right there’, amani ‘there further away’, ammani ‘way off yonder’ (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 218); AYq ama / aman(i) ‘there’; My ama ‘ahí, allí’; My aman(i) ‘allá’; PYp am(a) ‘there’; Nv ami ‘allí [there]’; Nv imí ‘allí’; TO amai / ama’i / am / m ‘there, there facing away’; TO am ‘at’; PYp am / ama / ami ‘there’; PYp aman ‘over there’; Wc mána ‘there’; CN -m ‘locative’. Several Num forms resembling \*ma- belong with loss of the first vowel, as in Wc; Wr amaha ‘with’ (-ha likely a suffix); Tbr -m, ma- ‘a distancia [a distance away], en [in]’; Tbr am / mam ‘allí [there]’; Ch ma-’va ‘there (visible)’; WMU ma, ma-vaa ‘there’; WMU -m, -maa ‘with, using’; SP ma’ai ‘together with’; CU mava / mavaati ‘there’ (Charney); ma ‘that, that one’ (Charney 70); Tb aamaay ‘with, accompanying’;

UACV2670a \***ma** ‘that’: Sapir: Cora ma / man ‘hier, dort’; SP ma- ‘that (visible)’. To Sapir, add Sr ama’ (acc. amai; pl. aam) ‘that one, he, she, it’ (Sr a- ‘third person sg. pronominal prefix’); and Ktn ’ama’ ‘that (distal)’; WMU maas ‘he, she, that one’ (< maa-sV); CU ma ‘that’ (Charney 1996).

[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**462** Egyptian(H) **ṭḥn** ‘glänzend sein [be shining]’, funkeln [sparkle, glitter], leuchten [shine, gleam], strahlen [radiate, beam], scheinen [shine]’; Egyptian(F) **ṭḥn** ‘gleam’; UA is likely from a fem noun **ṭḥnt** / **ṭḥnat**: UACV1207 **\*toḡa** ‘hot, heat (of) sun/day, shine’: VVH155 **\*toḡa-la** ‘to shine, sun’; B.Tep224 **\*toni** ‘hot’; B.Tep226 **\*tonori** ‘sunshine’; M67-238a; L.Son312 **\*tono/\*ton-i** ‘hervirse’; CL.Azt163 **\*toonāl** ‘sun’, 272 **\*\*tona** ‘shine (sun)’; KH.NUA; M88-to6 ‘sun, shine, boil’; M88-to21 ‘hot’; KH/M-to6 (Ken Hill aptly combines M88-to6 and M88-to21): Cp **tḥje** ‘be hot’ (Cp and Ca i < UA \*o); Ca **tḥjma** ‘warm’; Sr **töḡḡava** ‘(in the) summer’; TO **toni** ‘be hot’; TO **tonod** ‘shine, twinkle’; TO **tonoliḏ** ‘shine onto, give light to’; NT **tonóli** ‘sunshine; ST **tanooly**; ST **tanoolyiop** ‘in the sun’; Wr **tono/toni** ‘hervir’; Tr **ronó** ‘hervir, fermentarse’; Eu **tonó** ‘be hot, boil’; Tbr **tonó** ‘be hot’; CN **toonāl-li** ‘warmth of the sun, summertime, day’; Pl **tuunāl** ‘sun’; HN **toonāl** ‘day’. Ken Hill adds Hp **töḡḡi** ‘heat, hot weather, heat of the day’; Ls **itḡvju** ‘hot spring’. Let’s also add Ktn **toḡava** ‘August, summer’ and/or Ktn **tuḡava** ‘June, July’; Nv **tonorho** ‘for sun to shine’; PYP **toni** ‘hot’; PYP **tono** ‘hot’; NT **tóñi** ‘hot’; ST **tyoiñ** ‘hot’; Pl **tutuuni-k** ‘hot, heat (of sun)’; HN **toona** ‘to shine (of sun)’. Note vowel opposition between ST **tanooly** ‘day’ and CN **toonāl-li**. [Ls –vu] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, Azt]

**463** Egyptian(H) **xnm** ‘inhale, smell, eat, enjoy’:

UACV1757 **\*kaNmu** / **\*kanmī** (Kaufman) ‘jackrabbit’: I.Num51 **\*kahmī** ‘jackrabbit’; Kaufman1981 **\*kanmī**; Fowler83 **\*kammī**; M88-ka16 ‘jackrabbit’; KH/M-ka16: Mn **qámo** ‘jackrabbit’; NP **kami**; TSh **kammu-cci**; Sh **kammu**; Kw **kami**; Ch(L) **kami**; SP **kammī**; WMU **kammu-či**; CU **kamu-ci**. This is a good example of \*u > ĩ, and is found in all of Num, but no where else in UA, except in the compound **\*tosakammu** ‘white hare, cottontail’. Note Kaufman’s reconstruction **\*kanmī**—brilliant!—though I know not how he arrived at it. This likely ties to SUA **\*kaNma** ‘put in mouth, taste’ and means ‘the nibbler’. [u > ĩ in Num] [NUA: Num]

**464** Egyptian(F) **ṣq** ‘to enter’; Egyptian **ṣq-w** ‘pl’:

UACV1247 **\*wakiC/\*wakuC** ‘enter, pl’: TSh **weekiC** ‘enter, go in, down or under’; Sh **wekuC** ‘to go in, to enter’; Cm **wekwiiṭi** ‘enter’; CU **waqxáy-k** ‘enter, come in’; SP **wagi** ‘enter, pl’. [NUA: Num]

**465** Egyptian(H) **bi** ‘Erz [ore], Metall, Eisen [iron]’; also Egyptian(H) **bi** ‘Firmament, Himmel [sky], Eherner (woher das Eisen stammt) [where iron comes from]’; Egyptian(H) **bi’t** ‘Quarzit [quartzite]’; Egyptian **bi** ‘Bergwerk [mine], Bergwerkgebiet [mining area/place]’; Egyptian **bi-w** ‘Bergwerkprodukte [mine products]’; Egyptian **bi’t** ‘Steinbruch [rock breakage]’; Egyptian **bi-n-pt** ‘Eisen, Meteoreisen, Siderit’ > Coptic **benipe**; Egyptian(F) **bi’t** ‘quarry’:

UACV1268a **\*payu** / **\*papayuC** (redupl) ‘ceremonial staff’: M88-pa64; KH/M-pa64 ‘ceremonial staff’: Cp **pávyu-t** ‘flint-tipped, shell-inlaid ceremonial staff’; Ls **pávyu-t** ‘ceremonial wand’.

UACV1268b **\*ka-payu** > **\*kapo** ‘knife’: formerly from M88-ku13; KH/M-ku13, we here use Ktn and Sr, and add Hp, all of which likely tie to pa64 above: Ktn **kavoč**; Sr **kavööt**, **kävi** / **kävayu** (acc.) ‘knife’. Add Hp **poyo** ‘knife’. Hp **poyo** and the latter part of Sr **kavöö** / **kävayu** (acc.) match well. The **\*-payu** seems original, Hp assimilating the first vowel to the second: **\*...payu** > **\*payo** > Hp **poyo**. Sr leveled both to **ö**, s.th. midway between a-u, but in the accusative Sr **kävayu** preserved the original voweling **\*-payu**. After uniting the forms in A (‘ceremonial staff’) and B (‘knife’), I read in Pauketat (2009, 139-42) that some plains tribes, the Aztecs, and other Mesoamericans chipped from flint, large elaborate ceremonial knives, which were relatively large and meaningful. The Tepiman forms below may also relate to all the above as well. Flint, obsidian, and sharp rocks used for knives are usually found on rocky hills and cliffs, and though the semantics are not identical, the reduplicated **\*papayu** above may well explain the dichotomy in the Tepiman forms of **\*papa** vs. **\*papo**.

UACV1268c **\*papayu** > **\*papa** / **\*papo** ‘rock, cliff’: B.Tep264 **\*vavoi** ‘cliff’; M88-pa54; KH/M-pa54: TO **waw** ‘cliff, bedrock, a rock’; NT **vavoi**; ST **vaapai**; PYP **vava** ‘hill, mountain, cliff’; PYP **vaves** ‘rocky terrain’; and Nv **baba** ‘roca, peña, peñasco’. The Cahitan forms—My **baabu** ‘barro [clay]’ and AYq **vaavu** ‘clay’—vary semantically from Tepiman, but the phonological identity with Tepiman and a slight semantic shift to ‘clay’ deposit/place (quarry) from flint/ore/rock deposit/place (quarry) make it probable. See **\*pa(pa)yu** ‘ceremonial staff’ (M88-pa64) above.

The -pela of Hopi tùupela ‘wall, cliff wall, wall face, precipice’ also means ‘cliff’ as do the Tepiman forms, and as ‘flint’ comes from rocky deposits, the semantic change from ‘flint area’ to ‘rocky desposit, cliff’ is viable and may be from the feminine noun bi’t and a different voweling vs. the masculine noun bi’, that is, Egyptian bi’t ‘quarry’ (< \*bi’at, with ’ > Hopi l) vs. \*baia’ > UA \*payu. [iddddua]  
[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah]

**466** Egyptian(H) nm ‘Messer [knife]’; therefore, Egyptian p’-nm ‘the knife’:

UACV1270 \***panomi** ‘knife, iron, tool’: B.Tep257 \*vainomi ‘iron, tool’; M88-pa51; KH/M-pa51: remember \*p > v/w in these Tep languages: TO wainomi ‘metal, knife’; LP vaiñum v; PYP vainomi ‘knife, metal’; NT vaiñomi ‘iron, tool’; ST vaiñum ‘iron’; Nv wainomi, pl: vap’ainomi ‘hierro’. Tr wenomi ‘metal, money’ is likely a loan from Tep \*wainomi because a Tr cognate should show p. [\*a > ai/\_n] [SUA: Tep, Trn]

**467** Egyptian(H) **db’-w** ‘Blätter (der Bäume), pl [blades/leaves (of a tree)], Laub [foliage]’:

UACV1294 \***sawa** ‘leaf’: VVH64 \*sawa ‘leaf’; M67-255 \*sawa ‘leaf’; B.Tep54 \*haahaga ‘leaves’; L.Son233 \*sawa ‘hoja’; CL.Azt97 \*šVwV ‘leaf’; M88-sa1 ‘leaf’; Stubbs2003-45; KH/M-sa1 \*sawa: NP sawapi ‘sage’; Eu sáwa; Tbr samoa-r / samwa-t; Yq sáwa; My sawa; Wr sawá; Tr sawá; Cr samwá; Wc sáaváarii ‘tener hojas [have leaves]’; CN iswa-tl. For Tep, remember \*s > h and \*w > g: TO haahag; Nv haahag; PYP haagar; NT áága; ST haaha’. As one can see, a form of \*sawa appears in every SUA language. Note Cr’s similarity to Tbr in \*w > mw. Given bilabials’ tendency to disappear as first consonant in a cluster, **db’** > sawa is feasible if the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants were clustered, since **d** > s and ’ > w, that is, \***dab’aw** > sawa. [Tbr/Cr \*w > mw] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**468** Egyptian(H) **’wt** ‘Länge [Length], Spanne [space], Dauer [duration, length]’; Egyptian **’wi** ‘lang, weit sein [be long, wide]’; less likely Egyptian(H) wti ‘alt [tall], gross sein [be big], wachsen [grow]’:

UACV1389 \***otī** / \***utu** / \***uta** ‘long, tall’: L.Num25 \*iti ‘long, tall’; M88-ī10 ‘long, tall’; KH/M- ī10: Mn idi-tu ‘long, tall, lanky’; Mn idi-wini ‘be tall’; NP otī’yu ‘long, tall’. Also NP o’odi’yusu’ma ‘tallest’. Jane Hill (p.c.) provides a brilliant addition in Ls ’ééč-i ‘high, up, above’ whose vowel fits NP and whose -č- must be from \*t- or t clustered. Add Tb ’utudu ‘tall’ and perhaps Wc ’ata ‘long and thin’? In light of \*u > i in Num, Tb likely has the original vowel. Wc is a different voweling. [NUA: WNum, Tb; SUA: CrC]

**469** Egyptian(F) **whi** ‘escape, miss, fail’; Egyptian(H) whi ‘1 entgehen [go out], entgleiten [slip out], ausströmen [pour out, stream out], entrinnen [run/trickle out]’; 2 verfehlen [miss], fehlschlagen [fail], fehlschläge erleiden [suffer loss]’; Egyptian whi ‘Durchfall [diarrhea]’:

Hopi **wahi-** ‘throw out (pl objs); Hopi wahi-vī ‘discarded, thrown-out’; Hopi often levels vowels which may mean a tie between Hopi wahi and wehe: Hopi wehe-(k-) ‘for liquid to get spilled out, overflow’; and the Hopi should be combined with the Taracahitan terms below:

UACV1395 \***wī’ka** ‘lose’: Wr we’ka-ní ‘get lost, vi’; Wr we’kapú-na ‘lose s.th., vt’; Wr we’katé-na ‘lose a bet or s.th., vt’; Tr we’ká- ‘perderse, extraviarse, vi’; Tr (w)e’kawa ‘perder, extraviar, vt’; Tr we’ka-bú- ‘perder [lose], olvidar [forget], vt’; Tr we’kaba ‘olvidarse, equivocarse’. Only wī’-, -ka likely another morpheme. Hopi aligns with definition 1, and Tr and Wr with definition 2. [NUA: Hopi; SUA: Trn]

**470** Egyptian t’-imnti ‘the west’; Egyptian(H) imntiw ‘die Westvölker [the west-people]’

UACV1544 \***tīmīnīmīn** ‘north, west’: BH.Cup \*tāmám ‘north’; HH.Cup \*tāmám ‘north’; KH.NUA; M88-tī37 ‘north’; KH/M-tī37: Sr tīmīnīm ‘west’; Cp temám ‘north’; Cp temám-ka ‘to the north’; Ca témam-ka ‘north-ward’; Ca temámkawičam ‘Serranos’; Ls tumáá-m-ik ‘northward’. Sr tīmīnīm ‘west’ and especially Sr tīmīnīmu’ṭ ‘one(s) from the west’ suggest a reduplicated -mīnī- portion, which in turn suggests that reduced clusters of nasals -mn- > -m- better explain two m’s in the Cupan forms rather than Sr creating new consonants out of thin air. And ‘west people’ is in both Egyptian and Serrano, [Ls u; Ca/Cp e] [NUA: Tak]

**471** Egyptian **rwt** / rwti ‘das Aussen [outside], Aussenseite [outside]’:

UACV1584 \***tīta** (< \*tuta) ‘outside’: Ch tīrava-nt ‘outside, outdoors’; CU tīra-va-(ci) ‘outside of, out of’; CU tīra-ruxwa ‘out of’; WMU tūúra-vaa-t / tūúравan / tūütavat ‘out, outside, adv’. [NUA: SNum]



472 Egyptian(F) **hpt** ‘oar’; Egyptian **hpt** ‘Steuerruder [steering oar/rudder]’:

UACV1596 **\*ipa** ‘wooden paddle’: Munro.Cup88 **\*íval** ‘wooden paddle’; KH/M-’i14: Cp *ivə-l*; Ls *íva-l*. Perhaps **\*hupa** > **\*hopa** > Cp *iva* (Cp *i* < **\*o**) and then borrowed into Ls. [NUA: Tak]

473 Egyptian(F) **p’y** ‘that of, possessive article’; **p’y-i-** ‘my s.th. (masculine)’; **p’y-k-** ‘your ...’; **p’y-f-** ‘his...’; a common Late Egyptian possessive structure is **p’y-i rd** ‘my foot’ (that-my of foot’ or ‘my-possession of foot’), so UA **\*pa’i** ‘have’ is similar; also Egyptian **p’-n-** ‘that of, what belongs to’:

UACV1702b **\*pa’i** ‘have’: Haugen (2006c) **\*pV**: Cm **-pai** ‘have’; Sh **-pai** ‘have’; TSh **pa’in / pa’en** ‘have (inalienable)’; SP **-piN** ‘possessed noun absolutive’ and instrumentals. [NUA: Num]

474 Egyptian(H) **iw y** ‘bewassern (Feld) [to water (field)], ausgiesen (Flüssigkeit) [pour out (liquid)]’:

UACV364a **\*yaway** ‘river, waterway, canyon’: Ch(L) **yīwaa-vi** ‘valley’; Cp **yáwe** ‘to flood’; Ca **yáwaywet** ‘canyon’; Tbr **yawá-n / yavá-n** ‘river’. Kw **pa-rii-yawi-di / Kw pa-rayīwī-di** ‘wash, arroyo’ is was thought to be **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 **-yīwīi-**, which may align with the ‘river/flood/canyon’ terms. Even excluding Kw, we still have Ch, Cp, Ca, and Tbr supporting a lexeme **\*yaway** or **\*yawi** ‘canyon, river’. CN **ki-yawi** ‘to rain’ and **ki-yawi-tl** ‘rain, n’; though Kartunnen says CN **kiyawi** does not appear to be a compound, we see **aa-yawi-tl** ‘cloud, fog’, **cepa-yawi-tl** ‘snow’ suggesting a compound, especially in light of Numic **\*yaway / yawi**. In addition, semantically, **ki-yawi** would mean ‘water-it’ in Egyptian terms, making perfect sense. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tbr, Azt]

475 Egyptian(H) **p’ŷt** ‘Wachtel [quail]’; Egyptian **sw** ‘he, she, it, pronoun’ has counterparts in UA:

UACV1752 **\*supa’awi** ‘quail’: Yq **subá’i** ‘codorniz [quail]’; AYq **suva’u / suva’i** ‘quail’; My **suubau** ‘codorniz’, pl: **suba’awim**; the **vai-** of NT **vaivóli** corresponds with **\*pa’i** (PUA **\*p** > **v**; **\*** >  $\emptyset$  in Tep) as in Yq and AYq **\*supa’i** minus initial **\*su**. UA **\*-pa’awi** could hardly be a better match of Egyptian **p’ŷt**. [SUA: Cah, Tep]

476 Egyptian(L) **nxt** ‘strong man, protector’:

UACV1855 **\*niC / \*niq(t)** ‘chief’: BH.Cup **\*néta (\*nəta)** ‘chief’; Munro.Cup24 **\*nə-ta** ‘chief’; M88-nī14; KH/M06-nī14: Cp **nét/nət** ‘chief of lineage, captain’; Ca **nét** ‘chief of clan, moderator of a fiesta’; Ls **nóo-ta** ‘ceremonial leader, chief’; Tḡ **not/nóta** ‘capitán’. KCH adds Sr **pī-nīp** ‘their Lord’ (**pī-** ‘their’). Add Ktn **nīhpa(č) / nīqpa** ‘chief’ and Ktn **canīqpač puyu** ‘God: chief of us all’ and Ktn **cañihpa-y** ‘our chief, God’. Ktn often shows latter segments lost in other forms (cf. antelope, rock) and note that absolutive **-t** (vs. **-l**) of other Tak forms does suggest a final consonant and Ktn shows that to be **\*-k-**, if not **\*-kpa**. Also note the initial **ḡ** in the last Ktn form when resulting from a cluster: **\*cam-nīqpa** > **cañihpa-**. Much less likely is Egyptian(H) **nsw / nysw** ‘könig [king]’ because Tak shows 2<sup>nd</sup> C velar / uvular, not **s**, and Ktn **-q/-h-** and Ls **-ta** may suggest the last two consonants **-q-t-**. [NUA: Tak]

477 Egyptian(H) **hn** ‘ordnen [order], befehlen [command], abordnen [delegate]’; Egyptian(F) **hn** ‘equip, command, charge s.o. with a task’:

UACV1854 SUA **\*hula / \*hura** ‘send’ would be PUA **\*huna**: L.Son69 **\*hura** ‘enviar [send]’; M88-hu13; KH/M-hu13: Op **ura**; Eu **húra**; Wr **uhúla-ni**; Tr **húra**. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

478 Egyptian **hn** ‘order, command’:

UACV1857 **\*win** ‘send’: KH.NUA: Sr **wiaan** ‘send, vt’; Cp **wíwine** ‘send on an errand, vt’; Ls **wíwi** ‘send s.o., as on an errand’; as **\*n** > SUA **r**, this NUA set may belong with the above, but different vowelings? [NUA: Tak]

479 Egyptian(H) **d’rt** ‘Skorpion’:

UACV1886 **\*suyi** ‘scorpion, sting’: M88-su19 ‘sting, v’; BH.Cup **\*súyi** ‘sting’; Munro.Cup116 **\*súuyi-la** ‘scorpion’; KH/M-su19: Cp **súye** ‘sting, v’; Cp **suyve** ‘stinger’; Cp **súyi-l’y** ‘gnat, biting insect’; Ca **súyi-l’y** ‘scorpion’; Ls **súy-la** ‘scorpion’; Ls **súyi** ‘itch, v’; Hp **soya(k)** ‘get bewitched’; Ls **suypi-š** ‘stinger’. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**480** Egyptian(F) m'' / m' 'see, look on'; Egyptian(F) m / m' 'look, behold!':

UACV1914a \*mī' 'look!': Hp me 'you see, listen, behold, hark, look'; Tr me'ne 'see, look, observe'.

UACV1914b \*mahay / \*ma'ay 'see, find': Kw mehe 'find, see, notice'; Ch mahí 'find'; SP maiC 'find, discover'; WMU ma'ái-y / maái- / maáy 'see, find'; CU maáy 'see, have found, find'; Ktn mayk / mayhk 'look forth or peep, as through a crack'; perhaps first part of NP muhabipinui 'peek at'.

[NUA: Hp, Num, Tak; SUA: Trn]

**481** Egyptian(H) ʕʕ 'schütteln [shake]':

UACV1928a \*wiwi-puku 'tremble': Sapir; B.Tep40 \*gigivukui 'to tremble'; M88-wi12; KH/M-wi12:

TO gigiwuk; Nv gigibuku; PYp gigvia 'tremble, shake, shiver, vi'; NT gigivukui; ST gi'ivuk. Sapir ties CN wiwio-ka 'shake from cold' and Tep. CN wiwiyoka / wiwiyokowa 'tremble, shake, shiver' corresponds to \*wiwi-puku well enough, since Tep \*gigivukui roughly equates to UA \*wiwipuku, and if CN lost p intervocally, as it often does, or if this is a compound of an element that lost initial p in CN, then Tep \*gigivuku and CN \*wiwi-ok(ow)a correspond well, CN -y- likely excrement following i. In fact, NT gigíivukui 'temblar, vi' and NT gigíigidyi 'sacudir, vt' would suggest such a morpheme break. With that morpheme break, consider:

UACV1928b \*wiwila 'shake, swing': Hp wiiwila 'shake, swing, wave around' and Tbr wimwirá 'temblar' are also likely, both showing a 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant liquid, not unlike the one NT form. Note that \*pukur 'pierce' fits the second morpheme, and shaking and piercing come together in Num, as creatures shake when pierced.

[CN saayoolin 'fly, n' < \*saipoli similarly lost medial -p-] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Azt]

**482** Egyptian(H) wx'ti 'paar Sandalen [pair of sandals]':

UACV1955 \*wakaC 'shoe': BH.Cup \*wá...at 'shoe'; M88-wa22; KH.NUA; KH/M-wa22: Cp -waq'a 'shoe (poss'd)'; Ca wáqa-t 'shoes'; Sr waqaa-t. [NUA: Tak]

UACV1956 \*wok 'shoe': My wok 'put on shoes, v'; Tb wongo-l 'shoe'. Might this tie to \*wok 'foot, footprint' at 'track'? [NUA: Tb; SUA: Cah]

Likely a different set is UACV1955, Ls wáçxa-t 'shoe' with extra C and Tb wacat~'awac 'walk'; Tb waacišt 'walking aid (cane, shoe, etc)'; Tb wahcipī-l 'moccasin'; Tb(M) wacibiš-t 'big shoe'; Tb(M) wacibī-l 'good walker'; to keep in mind but not tie to this.

**483** Egyptian(H) w'g 'jauchzen [rejoice, shout with joy], rufen [call, cry]':

UACV1975a \*wa'aNki 'shout': NP wa'agi 'shout'; Ch wa'áni 'shout'; SP wa'áni 'shout';

UACV1975b \*wa'a(N)ti-ki 'whoop': SP wa'a-ci-ki 'whoop' with which CU wicigay 'holler, shout, whoop' and WMU wa'áčigi / wa'áčügü-y / wa'áčiyí / wa'áčiyé 'shout, yell, vi' are cognate. [NUA: WNum, SNum]

**484** Egyptian m'st 'knee':

UACV942 \*ta-mo' 'knee': KH.NUA; M88-ta53; KH/M-ta53: UA \*ta- is often a prefix from 'leg, foot';

thus, UA \*-mo' is the focus here: Hp tamö('at) 'knee', tamöc- (combining form); Sr tamöç 'knee', -tamöç (poss'd form); Ca támi-l 'knee'; Cp támi 'knee'. Because Ca and Cp i < \*o and Hp and Sr ö < \*o, all four of these agree in the first four segments as \*tamo. Hopi and the Sr possessed form both show ' as a 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant. Add Ktn tamoc 'knee'. Is -c in the Hp combining form a fossilized absolutive suffix, as it would be in Sr and Ktn? If not, the cluster -'s- (stop + fricative) becoming the affricate -c- (ts: stop + fricative) is a possible source and natural enough, since the stop-plus-fricative feature is maintained. For NUA -c- cannot be from PUA \*-c-, since PUA medial \*-c- > NUA -y- (Manaster Ramer, 1992b); so NUA c must be from other sources: < \*-C-ta if from a UA absolutive suffix. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**485** Egyptian(H) psh 'beissen [bite], stechen (Mücke, Skorpion, Fliege) [sting (gnat, scorpion, fly)]:

UACV2185 \*upcu (> \*(p)upcu > Tep uwsu > usu) 'stinger': LP usu-di 'a stinger'; ST upsuga'n 'su aguijón [its stinger]'; TO uuš 'stinger of an insect, arrowhead'; Nv usu 'el aguijón'. For Tep \*(p)upsu, loss of v/p adjacent to u and in a cluster would be so natural that its survival in ST upsu is surprising. [SUA: Tep]

**486** Egyptian(H) **xfty(w)** ‘Feind [enemy(ies)], Gegner [opponent(s)]’; Egyptian(F) **xft** ‘in front of [facing]’; UACV816 **\*kaytu** ‘enemy, opponent’: KH.NUA; M88-ka36 ‘enemy’; keep in mind the bilabial as first segment of the cluster -ft- is lost, yet intervocalic -t- > -l- in Takic, so the fact that it remains t does suggest the cluster, with -y- anticipating the i after the t; and the Egyptian pl suffix -w is apparent in Takic: Cp -qáytu ‘enemy’; Ca káytu ‘rival, competitor in a game, enemy’; Ls káytu-š ‘enemy, opponent in a game’; Sr -qaiš ‘opponent, enemy’; Ktn kayšu-c ‘opponent’. So from Egyptian xaftyw > \*katyw > UA kaytw. [NUA: Tak]

**487** Egyptian(H) **tm** ‘denken [think]’:

**UACV2288 \*tama** ‘remember’ or Num **\*na-suN-tama** ‘remember’: TSh nasuntamah ‘remember’; Sh na-suntama ‘remember, v’; Cm nasutamikati tamai ‘think about s.th., remember’; Sr camaqaan ‘think’; Sr -caamqana ‘thought’. The Num compound is from na- + -sun- (heart) + -tama (think/remember). [\*t > c] [NUA: Num, Tak]

**488** Egyptian(H) **šŕt** ‘eine Brot/Kuchen [kind of bread/cake]’; Egyptian **šŕyt** ‘Schot-Gebäck (in verschiedenen Forman und Arten) [Schot biscuits or baked goods of various forms and kinds]:

**UACV266c \*sawa** ‘make tortillas or bread’ and **\*sawic-ta** ‘bread’: BH.Cup \*šáw ‘make bread’; M88-sa20; KH/M-sa20: Ca sáw ‘make tortillas’; Ca sáwi-š ‘tortilla’; Cp sáwi-š ‘bread, acorn bread’; Sr šaawt ‘bread, acorn bread’; Ls šáwa/i ‘singe, get singed’; Ls šááwa-kaa ‘cook tortillas’. [SUA: Tep]

**489** Egyptian(H) **rwi** ‘tanzen [dance], klatschen (mit hände oder klapper) [clap (with hands or clapper)]’: Tr(H) rurú ‘sonaja [rattle]’; Tr(B) ru’rurú ‘cascabeles que suelen usar los matachines al danzar [bells used while dancing]’.

**490** Egyptian(H) **wḥm** ‘wiederholen [repeat], wieder tun [do again]’:

**UACV2623 \*omV** ‘two’: CL.Azt180 \*oomə ‘two’: CN oome; Pl uume; Po omem; T ume; Z oome. Some combine this with \*wokay; however, due to a differing 2<sup>nd</sup> C, these are a different stem, because \*wokay is consistent in 4 of 5 segments with \*wakay also, but omV has only initial o in common. [SUA: Azt]

**491** Egyptian(H) **pḥrw** ‘Wasser [water]’:

**UACV2095 \*parawa** ‘juice, soup, stew’: M88-pa11 soup/caldo; KH/M-pa11: Hp paala ‘juice, soup’; Eu varáwa ‘caldo [broth]’; Wr pa’wíla ‘caldo’; Tr ba’wi-rá ‘hacer caldo’; My bá’wa ‘caldo’. Ken Hill adds TSh paawa ‘juice’. Add My bá’awa ‘jugo [juice], caldo, sopa [soup]’; AYq va’awa ‘juice, soup, etc’; Yq bá’awa ‘caldo’ (\*r > in Cah); TO wadag ‘(be) wet’; TO wadagi ‘juice’; NT varáagadi ‘soup’; ST vaar ga’n ‘caldo, jugo’; PYp vargar ‘soup, liquid, juice’; PYp varag ‘wet’; Nv barhakaddi ‘caldo’ (devoicing g > k); Cr há’ara’a ‘caldo, suero de queso [whey of cheese], lágrima [tear]’. Much evidence for 3 syllables: \*parawa > Tep waraga. Tbr wa/va/ba-ta-rá-n ‘sopa’ (Tbr wa/va/ba-ta ‘agua’). [iddddua] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tep, CrC]

**492** Egyptian(H) **iŕi** ‘waschen [to wash], reinigen [to clean], sich waschen [wash self], baden [bathe]’; or Egyptian(H) **iwy** ‘bewässern [to water, irrigate], ausgiessen [to pour out]’; less likely Egyptian(H) **iw** ‘fortnehmen [carry away, take forth]’:

**UACV2500 / 382 \*pa’-iwi / iwī** ‘carry/fetch water’: B.Tep266 \*va’igii ‘fetch water’; M88-pa12 ‘carry water’; KH/M-pa12: Cp pái / páwi; Ca páw; Wr pa’i; TO wa’ig(i) ‘get liquid (usually water)’; Nv vaigi ‘traer agua [bring water]’; PYp va’igim ‘get water’; LP va’ig; NT váiguii ‘fetch water’; ST vaigia ‘get water’; ST vaigiñ ‘get water for s.o.’ Note similarity between the latter parts of Tep \*va’igii... ‘fetch water’ and Tep \*ku’agii... (< \*ku’awī ‘(get) firewood’; both show Tep \*-Vgī ‘fetch’ (< \*-Vwī). Might they both involve the same ‘fetch’ morpheme, fetch water/wood? [iddddua] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]

**493** Egyptian **pḥr p’y** would mean s.th. like ‘medicine/power is his’ or ‘power possessor’:

**UACV1797 \*pahapi(C)** ‘supernaturally powerful being’: KH.NUA: Sr pāahavit ‘supernaturally powerful being’; Tḥ páhavet. [NUA: Tak]

**494** Egyptian(H) *h̄d* ‘weiss sein [be white], hell warden [become bright]’; Egyptian *h̄dt* ‘Weisse [white, whiteness], n.f.’; Egyptian *t’-h̄dt* ‘the-white’ a phrase for ‘white’; I had noted UA \*tosa aligning with Egyptian *t’-h̄dt* ‘the-white’ and then later found a similar diffusion in Bartholomew’s (1965, 334) dissertation *The Reconstruction of Otopamean*, in which we see under 105 ‘blanco-white’: Otomi *t’áši*; Matlatzincó *t’oši*; Mazahua *t’oši*; and note the glottal stops in the variants of Wr(MM) *to’sá / tó’osá / tohsá / tosa* ‘white’:

**UACV2543a** \*tosaC ‘white’: Sapir; VVH31 \*to<sub>u</sub>sa ‘white’; B.Tep222 \*toha ‘white’; B.Tep 223 tohari/tohadi ‘to whitewash’; I.Num220 \*tosa ‘white’; L.Son315 \*tosa ‘blanco’; CL.Azt138 \*ista ‘salt, white’; 288 \*\*tosa ‘salt, white’; M88-to3 ‘be white’; KH/M-to3: NP toha-ggwiddadi; TSh tosapi(tin); Sh tosaC; Cm tosa(pi); Kw see-(gi-); Ch tosa-ga; SP toša(C); WMU sá-ğa-ri; CU sá-ğa-ri; Yq tosa’i; AYq tasali/tosari; My tósali / tósari; Tbr tosa-r; Wr tohsána-ni; Wr mo’tosa ‘white hair’; Tr(B) tosa- / fosa-kame; pl: o’tosa-kame; Op tosay; TO toha; Nv stoa; PYP toha; NT tóha; ST t’ua/čua; Wc tušaa; CN tiisa-tl ‘whitewash, white earth’; CN ista-tl ‘salt’; CN istak s.th. white; Pl ista-t ‘salt’; ista-k ‘white’. We see \*s > h in WNum again. Note the glottal stops in the variants of Wr(MM) *to’sá / tó’osá / tohsá / tosa* ‘white’.

**UACV2543b** \*tusa ‘white’: While Wc and most forms suggest \*tosa, CN tiisa-tl ‘whitewash, white earth’ and ST \*tua < \*tusa.

**UACV2543c** \*sa-ka (< \*tosa-ka) ‘white’: CU sá-ğa-ri ‘white’; WMU sá-ğa-y / túsá-ğa-y ‘be white, vi’; Kw see-(gi-) ‘be white’; Ca séken ‘pale’. Some SNum forms simply lost the first syllable of \*tosa, probably due to heavy stress on the 2<sup>nd</sup>; Ca may be a loan from Kw. In all SUA branches, but only two NUA branches. [\*s > h in WNum] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**495** Egyptian(F) *ʕ* ‘here, there’:

Wr *i’wá* ‘here’. Wr’s frequent glottal stop anticipation makes this a good probability.

**496** Egyptian(H) *sm* ‘vereinigen [to unite], zusammensetzen [put together]’:

**UACV2618** \*sima / \*simi ‘one’: Sapir; B.Tep87 \*himado ‘one’; BH.Cup \*su; M67-507 \*se/\*seme; I.Num198 \*simi; HH.Cup \*su / \*supul; CL.Azt \*see/\*seem < \*simayu; L.Son248 \*si; M88-si9; KH/M-si9: Mn simi’; NP simi’yu; TSh simi; Sh simmiC; Cm simi; Kw suu- / suuyu; Ch suu; Cr sai’; SP sii / šuu; WMU süwiis / suwis; CU súu-yi-s; Wc ševii- / šewí, ševítí ‘sbj’; šeime ‘obj’; TO himako; PB(B.Tep) himad; Nv mako; maddo; NT imoko; NT(B.Tep) imádo; ST ma’n; ST(B.Tep) maad; Eu sei; Op se; Wr sené ‘at this one time, single time’; Tbr hemé; hemetó-r; Sr haukp Hp siikya / siikya’; CN see. Tj šošóvram ‘otras’. Tak and some SNum show \*u instead of \*i, perhaps due to bilabial -m-. A final glottal stop or some consonant is apparent in Num and in the gemination of Tbr -to (vs. -ro). Comparable to the Egyptian meanings ‘unite’ and ‘put together’, note TO hema ‘one’ and TO hemapađ / hemapai ‘gather, collect’. Tak \*supul below is likely from \*sim-pVL, thus, p instead of v due to a cluster.

**UACV2620b** \*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 hova ‘i’ ‘different, changed’; Sr hova(t) ‘(an)other’; Sr hovaṭ ‘(an)other, different one’; ST hup duñia ‘become, change into, make’. [cluster] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**497** An Egyptian demonstrative plural pronoun system (these/those) is built on ip-:

	these/those	vocatives (O nouns!)	
Masculine plural	ipn	ipw	(these/those)
Feminine plural	iptn	iptw	(these/those) (Allen 2000, 53)

In UACV2667 are listed a sample of ‘this/that, these/those’ terms, though many more could be assembled; nevertheless, note that all the listed UA forms begin with i- (like all the Egyptian forms) and many show \*-p- (-v-) after the vowel, as in Egyptian, \*-ip (ivi/iva), and others show \*itV, and in light of -p- > -ø- (p disappearing) as first consonant in a cluster \*iptV > \*itV, as we see elsewhere, then \*ipV and \*itV (with some -n-) exhibit impressive parallels to the Egyptian non-vocative (left column) demonstrative pronouns: **UACV2667a** \*i- ‘this’: VVH 116 \*i ‘this’; B.Tep306 \*idá/\*id’i ‘this (one)’; BH.Cup \*i(vi) ‘this’; HH.Cup \*iví- ‘this (obj. case)’; KH/M-dm1: Mn ihu/ekahuna; NP isu; WSh itin (acc. ikka, pl. itiin) ‘this right here’; Cm isi; Kw ina; Ch ic(i) (pl. im(i)) (P); CU in, ič ‘this, these’; Hp i’ (acc. it, pl. ima); Sr ivi’ (acc. ivi(i-), pl. iim); iip ‘here’; Ca í’i (acc. iv’i); Cp í’i (acc. iví-, iviḡx); Ls iví; ivá ‘here’; Tb ih ‘here’; TO iia’a ‘here’; NT íd’i; ST d’ii’; My i’i; Wc óova ‘aquí (limitado)’; CN iin (proximal particle) ‘this, these’; Pl ini.

UACV2667b \*ya ‘this, here’: NP yaa ‘here’; Hp yàa ‘this, here’.  
[NUA:Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, CrC, Azt]

498 Egyptian(H) tmi ‘vereinigen [to unite], verbinden [to connect, join]’ or  
Egyptian tmt ‘verbinden [to connect, join], vermischen [mix]’:  
UACV2335 \*tama ‘tie’: TSh tamah ‘secure, tie tight, vi’; Sh tama ‘tie, vt’; Cm tiihtama ‘string, yarn, ties’.  
[iddddua] [NUA: CNum]

499 Egyptian -i ‘present’;  
UACV2698 \*-i / \*-y(V) ‘present’: Ch -yī (Press 1979, 64, 71); WMU -y / -i ‘present tense verb suffix’;  
SP -i; CU -i; Wr -i (Miller 1996, 140); Hopi -i ‘imperfective’ (for some verbs). [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn]

500 Egyptian -w ‘plural suffix’:  
Cp -wə ‘present plural suffix on verbs’; Tb šuunaawa-l ‘middle sibling, neither oldest nor youngest’; Tb is  
from šuna ‘heart’ + wa. [NUA: Tak, Tb]

501 Egyptian(F) imi ‘give! place! cause!’ (imperative):  
UACV1006 \*himi ‘give (perhaps pl. obj’s)’: NP himmi ‘give, pl obj’s vt’; Cm himiiti / himi-ka-ti ‘give pl.  
obj’s’; Tr nihimi-ma ‘dar [give], entregar [hand over to]’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

502 Egyptian(F) iw ‘is/are’: Kw -yu ‘same-subject contemporaneous’. Egyptian iw is often used for  
circumstantial clauses, which usually involve the same subject: ‘being tired, he slept’ or ‘he slept, (he) being  
tired’ and circumstantial clauses are often while doing, progressive, as in Sh: Sh -yu ‘progressive suffix’:  
Sh hannu-yu ‘still working at’ (McLaughlin, 29); Sh punku naapaih-yu ‘there are six horses’ (horses six-  
being) (McLaughlin, 31). [NUA: Num]

503 Egyptian(F) h’ti ‘cloak’; Egyptian(F) h’tyw ‘fine linen’;  
Egyptian(H) h’ti ‘Hülle [cover(ing)], Umhang [wrap, cape]’; Egyptian(H) h’tiw ‘feines Leinen [fine linen]’:  
The -ho’ori portion of AYq taho’o(ri) ‘clothes, clothing’; Yq tahi’ori ‘ropa [clothing]’.

504 Egyptian(F) wsx ‘broad, wide’: Egyptian(H) wsx ‘weit sein [be wide], geräumig [roomy], etc’:  
UACV2213a \*wasa/i ‘stretch, spread apart’: M88-wa26; KH.NUA; KH/M-wa26: Ca wási ‘stretch, vi’;  
Ca wásin ‘stretch, vt; Ls wáša/i ‘stretch, tear apart’; Sr waašk ‘stretch, spread apart, vi’; Sr waaşkin ‘stretch,  
spread apart, vt’. [NUA: Tak]

505 Egyptian(H) h̄m / h̄mt ‘Majestät (Königin, Göttin) [majesty (kingly, godly)]’:  
Ktn wot ‘chief, male or female, or chief’s wife’. Ktn -t suggests a cluster, but we might expect a nasal.

506 Egyptian(H) nhp ‘toben [romp about]’; Egyptian nhp/nh’ ‘bespringen [cover, mount, jump on, beget]’;  
Egyptian nhp ‘entkommen [escape], sich entziehen [withdraw]’; Egyptian nhp ‘früh aufstehen [get up  
early]’:  
Mn(Lamb) nohi ‘(of animals) to scramble with (another animal, in playing), jump on’.

507 Egyptian(H) tp ‘Kopf [head], Haupt [head, chief, main], Spitze [point, tip, peak]’:  
Mn(Lamb) topo ‘peaked, pointed, sticking up or out’.

508 Egyptian(H) rmn ‘Ruderreihe [oar-row, row of rowers]’ (The consonants of Egyptian rmn also mean  
‘shoulder, side, half’ and as one side of rowers is half of the two rows of rowers, a dead animal’s jaw on the  
ground with two rows of teeth very much resembles two rows of rowers—a bit of a semantic shift, but more  
probable than not; the Wr reflex Wr(MM) táme ‘quijada [jawbone]’ supports such; similar words are  
Egyptian rmn ‘Rang [rank], Reihe [row]’ and Egyptian rmn ‘abgeschleift (Mauer) [ground down/eroded  
(wall)]’ as a row of teeth wear down like a row of adobes constituting a wall wear down also); and Tr shows  
í (as usual with Eg/Sem r > UA \*t) and Numic and Tb actually show the final -n of \*raman:

Mn	táwa	Hp	tama; piŋyanpi (adj)	Eu	tamít / támit; zarátamit ‘muela’
NP	tamaC	Tb	taman-t	Tbr	tamó-r; tamáN-r
TSh	taman	Sr	tamač	Yq	támi
Sh	taman	Ktn	tama-c	My	tammi;
Cm	taama	Ls	tamá-t ‘mouth, tooth’		tampa’arim ‘muelas’
		Ca	táma-l	Wr	támé
Kw	tawa-bi	Cp	tam’a ‘&mouth, lips’	Tr	rámé; matá
Ch	tawá-mp(i)	TO	ki’i; taatami; tam; tamš	Cr	tame; si’itame ‘muele’
SP	taŋwaN	Nv	tatami; mamturi ‘muelas’	Wc	támé (vs. táme ‘nosotros’)
WMU	tawa-ppi	PYp	tama		
CU	tawá-pi	NT	taatámu ‘teeth’	CN	tlan-tli
		ST	taatam; tatmutda ‘cure t’.	Op	tami

**UACV2366 \*raman (bds) \*taman (AMR) 'tooth'**; Manaster-Ramer deserves the credit for discovering the final -n of the reconstruction (see Tb): Sapir; VVH29 \*ta<sub>s</sub>ma 'tooth'; BH.Cup \*tama mouth, tooth; HH.Cup \*tama; B.Tep214 \*taatamu/i 'teeth'; M67-442 \*tam; I.Num207 \*tamaN; L.Son272 \*tami diente'; Munro.Cup133 \*tamá-t; M88-ta14; KH.NUA; KH/M-ta14 \*taman (AMR): A pan-UA stem showing reflexes in all languages; but a few particular patterns are apparent, such as a final nasalization in Num, Tb, and Tbr, some distant branches; and a high front 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel in some SUA rather than the *a* of the other branches. Note the rounded 2<sup>nd</sup> vowels in Tbr, NT, and ST. As Sapir (1913) notes, spirantization of the nasal (\*m > ŋw > w) occurred in SNum, as well as Mn. Preceding the absolutive suffix in both 'tongue' and 'tooth', note nasalization in Ch and SP and stops in Kw and CU. Bascom lists \*taatamu-i 'teeth' and \*taatamudī / \*taatamidī 'his teeth'. Of great interest is the -mm- in My tammi 'diente [tooth]' because the alternative forms of My yomnia / yommia 'answer' < \*yawamin also show \*-mn- > -mm-, which validates AMR's reconstruction of \*raman for 'tooth' in SUA. What's more, Wr(MM) táme 'quijada [jaw, jawbone]' is near the meaning of a jawbone's row of teeth. The following Tak compound below (UACV219) must have materialized when the adjective followed the noun, and as we say in English, 'big-mouth' for 'loud/noisy' makes more sense than 'big tooth', and Ls means both 'mouth' and 'tooth'. [iddddua]

UACV219 \*tama-wir 'mockingbird': BH.Cup \*tamá-wət 'mouth-big, mockingbird'; HH.Cup \*tamáawət 'mockingbird'; Fowler83; M88-ta15; KH/M-ta15: Cp tamáwe-t; Ca támaw-et; Ls tamáa-wu-t 'talkative person, mockingbird'; Tŋ tamávet 'hechicera'. Bright, Ken and Jane Hill, and Miller all agree that this is a compound of \*tama-wiC 'mouth/tooth-big'.

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**509** Egyptian(H) h'i 'kommen [come], abgehen [go away], zurückgehen [go back]'; Egyptian(F) h'i come down, go down, ascend and descend, come and go': Wr(MM) ho'i 'andar [walk]'.

**510** Egyptian (F) h'i 'mourn, wail'; Egyptian(F) h'yt 'mourning'; Egyptian(F) h'w 'mourners': Wr(MM) ho'kéwa 'lágrimas [tears]'.

**511** Besides Egyptian **h**' 'back of head, back' at 370, like many Egyptian noun/prepositions, it is also frequently compounded. One compound preposition is Egyptian r-h', which may be reflected in Mn ahowée / howée 'around, on the edge' (as Egyptian *r* > -a- in Coptic often); also **m-h**' 'an der Hinterseite [on the backside], hinten [behind]' (Hannig, 502):

UACV451 \*mahowi '(go) around': Sh ma-hoi 'around' (Miller 1996b, 712); Mn ahowée / howée 'around, on the edge'; Cm mahoiniti 'go in circles, encircle'; TSh mo'eki 'around, encircling'.

UACV453 \*mo'a 'put in': Wr mo'á-ni / mo'a-má 'encerrar [encircle, enclose], meter pl objs [put pl objs in s.th.]'; Tr mo'á 'meter, encerrar'. Another compound is with \*pa 'water'; Wr(MM) paho / paó 'otro lado del rio [other side of the river]'. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

**512** Egyptian(H) ini 'holen, herbeibringen, wegholen, wegtragen, wegbringen, kaufen, mieten, an sich bringen'; Egyptian(F) ini 'bring, fetch, carry off, reach, buy':

Hp ini 'contents of an open shallow container'; Hp in-ta 'go along carrying obj in a shallow, open container'; Hp in-to 'go to bring in a shallow, open container'. [iddddua]

**513** Egyptian(H) **dhšwt** ‘bitterkeit [bitterness]’

UACV237b \***sihīw(kV)** ‘sour’: PYp he'egi ‘sour’; PYp he'egker ‘vinegar’; TO he'ek(a) ‘(be) sour, v’; TO s-hī'ik ‘be sour’; TO he'ekču 's.th. sour, n'; NT iko 'agrio, acedo'; ST hkum 'que es agrio (mezclado con dulce)'; Hp sihī ‘(be) salty’ fits well since \*s > Tep h and \*h > Tep ' (glottal stop). Add Cp sáwit 'sour'. In fact, the Cp form may suggest that some original -a- were relaxed and raised to -ī-, something near PUA \*sahawa- / \*sihīwa-tu > Tep \*hi'ig-tu > \*(h)iktu > \*(h)iko. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep]

**514** Egyptian(F) w't ‘road, way’:

Hopi waala ‘gap, pass, saddle in ridge’ (in the gap/pass/saddle is where the ‘way’ or ‘path’ is). And note that the w- does not become l-, while the laryngeal does: -' > UA \*-w- > -l- does. [iddddua]

**515** Egyptian(H) 'xi / i'xi ‘zusammenfegen [sweep together]’:

UACV2256a \***waq** ‘sweep, comb’: BH.Cup \*wáq- ? ‘sweep’; M88-wa24; KH.NUA; KH/M-wa24: Ls wáqi ‘sweep, brush, comb’; Cp wák ‘comb, sweep’; Ca wáka'an 'sweep, clean, comb, rake'; Hp laq-ta ‘sweep snow clear’; Sr wöök 'sweep, brush, comb' (vowel is wrong Miller notes, so we put it and Ktn in b; however, the rounding of w probably influenced the vowel, like it did in ‘two’ of NUA); Miller includes Washo wéegé 'sweep'. As in many other terms, Egyptian initial i is usually dropped. Bright and Jane Hill did exactly right to reconstruct \*-q-, though -q- has not yet been proposed for PUA vs -k-.

UACV2256b \***wok** ‘brush, sweep’: Sr wöök 'sweep, brush, comb'; Ktn wok- ‘brush, sweep, v’.

[NUA: Tak, Hp]

**516** Egyptian(H) **wdn** ‘lasten [to load], belastet sein [be loaded]’; Egyptian wdn ‘weihen [consecrate], darbringen [bring], opfern [offer]’; Egyptian wdn ‘Korb [basket]’:

Hopi **warani** ‘s.th. reserved, saved for future use’. [iddddua]

**517** Egyptian(H) wi' ‘abweisen [turn away], abwehren [ward off, protect]’; Hannig ties Egyptian wi' and Egyptian win:

Hopi wayoŋ- ‘protection’; Hopi wayoŋ-ni ‘individual windbreak’; Hopi wayòŋ-ta ‘place a windbreak around a young plant’. For ' > ŋ in Hopi, see (1409) Hopi kookyaŋw ‘spider’ < Aramaic kuukyaa ‘spider’ and (1357) Hopi koyoŋo ‘turkey’ < Semitic qr' ‘cry, call’ and (406) Hp paŋwī ‘bighorn sheep’ < Egyptian b' ‘ram’. Also note the structural similarity of this medial -y- with the same in (465) Egyptian bi' > UA \*payu'.

**518** Egyptian(H) nw ‘schwächlich sein (durch Alter) [be weak (due to age)]’:

Hopi naawa-ta ‘groan, moan’ (the example given is an old person groaning in death). [iddddua]

**519** Egyptian(F) wpi ‘open, part, separate, divide (goods)’:

Tb(H) woopaanat ‘divide in two, cut in half’; Tb(H) woopayu ‘on each side, on both sides’.

**520** Egyptian(F) sin ‘clay’; Egyptian sint ‘clay seal, n.f.’ (this fem noun would prefix t'/tV- for definite):

Ca tésnat ‘clay for pottery or painting, pot, olla’ (< Egyptian \*t'-sinat).

**521** Egyptian(F) k'pt ‘linen cover’: Eu kapát ‘ropa [clothing]’. Eu p suggests gemination since Eu -v- < \*-p- is usual, and the feminine ending is apparent as well.

**522** Egyptian(F) ip ‘count, reckon’:

Cora -hihibe ‘read’ (Cora ne-ra'a-hihibe ‘lo leo [I-it-read]’). [iddddua]

**523 Egyptian(H) mni** ‘Arm (mit-hand) [arm and hand]’: **UA terms for ‘HAND’:**

Mn	máya/maC ma- 'with the hand'	Hp	ma; maqtō mapqōlō 'hollow of hand'	Eu	mamát
NP	mai	Tb	maa-l	Tbr	sutú-r
TSh	maC; mo'o	Sr	ma	Yq	mám(am) (pl)
Sh	mo'o; maC-	Ca	ma-l	My	mammam;
Cm	mo'e	Ls	má-t, -máá (poss'd)	Wr	seká
Kw	mo'o-vi; ma-	Cp	ma	Tr	ma; seká
Ch	mo'ó-vi; ma-	TO	māwua; nowi; dag	Cr	mwáhka'a
SP	mo'o maC-/man-	PB	nov	Wc	maamá
		PYp	novi		
		NT	nóvi	CN	maa(i)-tl

CU mö'ö'-vi ST nov 'hand, arm'; ST saakum 'handful/fistful (of grain)'

**UACV1119 \*man > \*ma** 'hand': Sapir; VVH128; M67-215 \*ma/\*mo' 'hand'; I.Num90 ma(h), \*mo'o 'hand'; BH.Cup \*ma; L.Son126 \*ma; CL.Azt76 \*maa(y); Munro.Cup60 \*ma-t; M88-ma13 'hand';

KH.NUA; KH/M-ip11 'with the hand'; KH/M-ma13 \*maX (AMR): Mn, NP, TSh, Sh, Kw, Ch, SP, CU, Hp, Tb, Sr, Ca, Ls, Cp, TO, Eu, Tbr, Yq, My, Wr, Tr, Cr, Wc, CN. CNum and SNum show maC-/man- as an instrumental prefix, but \*mo'o 'hand' as the main word, which is prevalent in Num but no where else in UA.

I reconstruct a probable 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant \*n for these reasons: (1) some languages show \*n, such as Eu man-vura- 'tie the hands' (vura 'tie'); SP man- 'with the hand'; SP mančuqqwi-n'na- 'crush with the hand' (< čuqqwi); Tj man 'hand'; and possibly Yq mankabam 'muscles of the arm'; (2) final gemination in Num languages suggests an underlying 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant, as well as the -t (vs. -l) in Ls má-t; (3) if Kiowa-Tanoan is eventually shown to partially relate to UA, then Kiowa-Tanoan \*man 'hand' is noteworthy; (4) some forms hint at a 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant reducing / affecting clusters when compounded, e.g., Hp map-, the combining form of maa-; the \*y in Mn, NP, CN; note NP mayu'i 'to warm hands up'; NP taddu'i 'warm foot up'; NP tu'i ddu'i 'try to warm up'; if \*ma- were the stem, we would expect NP ma-tu'i or ma-du'i, not mayu'i 'warm hands up'; but for an underlying cluster (\*-nt-), two alveolars, an alveolar proximate (y) as a reduction of the intensified alveolar cluster is plausible; (5) In Cahitan, Yq mam 'hand', mamam 'hands' and My mamma(m) 'hand(s)' may have an underlying nasal harmonized to the 1st and 3rd (plural) bilabial nasals: \*mana-m > mama-m; (6) also note the number of UA words under \*mani 'five' that show \*n more clearly, if derived from 'hand', which seems probable; (7) note forms suggesting \*-n-: \*man-cu 'squeeze' and \*man-cuka 'hold' at 'carry'; (8) AMR (\*maX) also sees a 2<sup>nd</sup> C; (9) at 'crawl' \*maN-wapa 'hand-crawl' suggests a nasal. Consider also the \*y in Mn, NP, CN, relative to the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant in Egyptian mni (i is essentially y in UA pronunciation). Note Eu mamát 'mano [hand], dedo [finger], brazo [arm]' means not only hand, but also arm, like the Egyptian term. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**As first consonant in a cluster, sibilants such as s/š are lost: -sC- > -C-.**

We see how Hebrew 'iīšaa 'woman, wife', when possessed ('eešet- / 'išt- 'wife'), often puts -št- in a cluster, and š as first element in a cluster is lost in UA: Hp wīiti 'wife' < Hebrew 'eešet- 'woman, wife (of)' / 'išt-o 'wife-his', but usually remains when not clustered, as in Hebrew 'iīš > Tr wesi, so Hebrew 'išt-/'ēšt- > Hp wīiti is a good match. Below are examples in Egyptian of -s- similarly lost in a cluster.

**524 Egyptian(F) msnh** 'rotate, turn backwards, turn, turn away';

Egyptian(H) 'drehen [turn, rotate], umwenden [turn around]':

**UACV442c \*manu** 'turn, change': M88-ma39: KH.NUA; KH/M-ma39: Sr manum'(k) 'turn (on axis), turn over/around/into, change, change into'; Sr naminkin 'change'; Ktn manu'mk 'turn, turn s.th. wrong side out, vt'; Ktn manu'm-manu'm-k 'roll, vt'; NP mananui 'rolling'; Tb(V) mīnīnī'at 'to roll'; Tb(V) mīnīna 'it rolls'; Ca méni 'to turn over/around/ into'; Cp méne 'dress up, change clothes'.

**UACV442b \*mīntīsa/i** 'return, turn over/back' (may contain a separate morpheme \*mīn-tīsV):

SP mīn'iššiC / mīniššiC 'turn over, several turn back, vi pl'; SP mīnišša 'turn over, vt'; SP mīntīši 'turn over to a side'; Ch mīniši 'return, pl'; Kw mīniši 'turn around'; Kw mīiši 'return, pl'. For evidence of possible



cluster reductions in different directions, note the two Kw forms and the two SP forms, found in the same language, no less: SP mīn'īššīC and mīntīši.

UACV442a \*mīna 'to turn': Mn mīnaa 'to turn, turn back, return, change direction'; NP -mīna 'to turn' (suffix in compound verbs meaning to turn some thing or turn in some way'). Note the difference between Tb(V) mulu'uḡa 'become round' and Tb(V) mīnīnīī'at 'to roll'. [NUA: Tak, Num, Tb]

**525** Egyptian(F) isq 'linger, wait for, vi; hinder, vt' (the s is lost as first element in a cluster, perhaps intermediate \*isqV > \*iska > \*ika):

UACV2177 \*ika / \*ikī 'remain, be in a place, let lie': M88-i17; KH.NUA; KH/M-i17: Sr 'ikījī 'be in a place, lie'; Ls 'óka/i 'leave, let remain, vt; be left, vi'; Tḡ 'okó 'lie down'; Cp ékeme 'give'; Ca 'ékamax 'give s.o. (food/drink)'; Ktn 'ik 'lie'. Cp and Ca may be reduced compounds of \*'ikV-maka 'let lie-give, give/grant/set in place'. [NUA: Tak]

**526** Egyptian(H) dr 'auslegen [lay out], ausbreiten [spread out, stretch out]'

UACV2210 \*ta'la (< \*ta'ta) 'spread, stretch out': M88-ta13 'to extend, stretch, spread out'; KH/M-ta13: TO tadan, tadannik 'to spread out flat'; Wr ta'lá 'tender, extender'; Tr ra'rá 'extenderse, esparcirse'. The TO, Wr, and Tr forms are a nice set, since TO d does correspond to liquids. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

## 5 The Semitic-p Data 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  $\text{ṣ}$  and Egyptian  $\underline{\text{d}}$  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>	UA terms from <u>Semitic-kw in UA</u>	UA terms from <u>Semitic-p in UA</u>	UA terms from <u>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/ <u>d</u>	c	s	s
t	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 η	k	k
q	ø-, -k-, but Tak η	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 (> ṣ Phn)	s	s	s
s <sub>1</sub> (> ṣ)	s	s	s
s <sub>2</sub> (> ṣ)	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*, \**ʿ* > 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': UACV1327 \***pīrok** 'lightning': M67-262 \**pe* 'lightning'; M88-pī14 'lightning': KH/M- pī14: My *berok-*; Yq *be'ok-*; AYq *yuku ve'okte*, *ve'ove'okte* 'vi' (\*-*r*- > -'-); NT *vīpīdōxudami*; 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 \**pīrok*. Add WMU *poróq / purúq / poróq(w)ūni* 'explode, blow apart'; *purúqqwi* 'break to pieces'; Tḡ *vereek-mok* 'it is burning'; Tḡ *vereek-po* 'se va quemar [let it burn]'. These other NUA forms are not of the same set, possibly a variant, but -*n-* vs. -*r-*? Yet \*-*r-* > NUA -*n-* is thought by many UAnists to be the norm, so we can 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 \**pīpgi* show reduced forms of \**pīrok* / \**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.' [SUA: Tep, Cah, Tbr; NUA: Num, Tak]

**528** Hebrew **bayit / beet** 'house'; Aramaic *bwt* 'spend the night'; Arabic **byt / biit** 'pass/spend the night'; Arabic *bayt* 'house': 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 night' and 'return home' (to spend night): UACV1322a \***pīCti** / \***pītu** '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(MM) *pe'te-čí* 'en la casa [in the house], por la casa'; Wr(MM) *pe'ti* 'estar acostados, pl'; 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 *biti* '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 *biti* 'estar acostados, vi pl'; WTr *bite* 'dwell'; Ca *péti* 'lie down stretching (of long large obj); Cr *hé'e* 'be lying down' (likely \*-*t-* > -*l/r-* > -'-).

UACV1322b \***payiC** > \***pīC-** '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' / pái-kki* 'come home, come to me, come here'; WMU *peekki/rh* '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 *payi* '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'kit* 'turn around, vi'. Note also WMU *peeC-* (< *beet*) in the following sentences: WMU *maasiga' kúáo uupas peekkiu-(kwat)* 'He returned (came home) yesterday'. WMU *wiíçuk maas uupas peekkiu-paat* 'He will return tomorrow'. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC; NUA: Tak, Num]

**529** Hebrew **béged** / **baaged** ‘garment, covering, clothing’; Arabic **biḡaad** ‘striped garment’:  
**UACV490** \***paki** < \***pakati** ‘shirt’: M67-371 \***pak** ‘shirt’; M88-pa33; KH/M-pa33: Sr **pakiit** ‘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 **añ paki** ‘put article of clothing on’.  
 [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Opn]

**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  
**baḡda(t)** ‘root, source, heart’ suggests a “hidden center/essence” covered or not obvious:  
**UACV1242a** \***pakiC** (AMR) ‘enter’: VVH2 \***pa<sub>s</sub>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/M-pa5 \***pakiC** (AMR): Cp **paxi-š** ‘party, group of lineages who join  
 together for ceremonial purposes’; Ca **páx** ‘enter’; Tñ **pakó** ‘entrar’; Sr **pakiinin** ‘invite’; Hopi **paki** ‘enter,  
 initiated, set (sun)’; Hp **añ paki** ‘put article of clothing on’; TO **waak** / **waaki** ‘enter, sink in’; LP **vaki**;  
 NT **vakí**; ST **vakí**; 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’.  
**UACV1242b** \***pakiC** ‘stick, go’: M88-pa5; I.Num136 \***paki** ‘stick, go’; KH/M-pa5: Mn **cappa’ni** ‘stick, get  
 stuck’; Sh **cappaki** ‘be stuck’; NP **wíppakitta** ‘to beat’; Kw **čaki** ‘be stuck’. [\*p > CN ø]  
 [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, 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’ (UACV1821). Most of the Hebrew  
 words for ‘way, path’ derive from verbs of going, walking, etc.: Hebrew **’rj** ‘wander, journey, go, v’ and  
 Hebrew **’oorah** ‘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’  
 i.e., ‘the 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	pōōq-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, voogadī (poss’d)	CN	o’-tli, o’wi (poss’d)
		ST	voi		

**UACV1821** \***poC** / \***po’i** / \***powī** ‘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 \***powī** ‘camino’; CL.Azt134  
 \***oh**; M88-po4; Munro.Cup112 \***pé-t**; KH.NUA; KH/M-po4. A cognate for \***poC** ‘road’ is found in every

UA language. However, the variety of second consonants is intriguing—\*, \*w, \*y—besides absolutive -t in Tak, which shows there is a latter C, whatever it may be. Note q in Sr pöörq-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']

UACV1016a \*po'o / \*po'o-ta 'run, road-do': Sapir; B.Tep279 \*voopoi 'run, pl.'; M88-po1; KH/M-po1: NP popoyuha'hu 'run, pl'; TO woppo'i / woopo'i 'run, pl'; NT vopóoyi 'run, pl'; NT vopóodami 'runners'; NT voi, voogadi (poss'd) 'road'; NT voogitai '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. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

532 Arabic bṣr 'look, see'; Arabic baṣṣara 'open the eyes' (Lane 210); Arabic baṣīr 'seeing one, endowed with eyesight'; Arabic baṣar 'eyesight, vision, eye, glance, look, sight'; Arabic baṣīrat 'eye'; the long vowel -aa- of either Arabic or Proto-Semitic becomes long -oo- in Hebrew/ Canaanite; and Arabic baṣīr(at) would correspond to Hebrew \*boṣer(et) 'eye' and such Hebrew participial forms (\*CooCeC) consistently raise the vowels to to UA \*-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; Op	vuči / buči 'eye'
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	hi'isí	
SP	pu'i-vi 'eye'	PB	vuhi/vui	Wc	hiší	
	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'í-vī	ST	vui			

UACV824 \*pusi 'eye': in 10 of 11 branches: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak, Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt. Sr is one language with a different word for eye, but the parallel sounds do have to do with seeing: Sr vuhiitq 'to clear, vi' (examples of what clears include rain, sky/weather). Note \*-ṣ- > -' in Numic. WSh puhi '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 bṣr 'look, see, open eyes' is UA \*pusa 'wake up, open eyes' (in Eu, Yq, My, Wr, Tr).

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

533 Arabic baṣṣara '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 bṣr 'eye' and 'open eyes' with UA \*pusi 'eye' and \*pusa 'open eyes':

UACV2459 \*pusaC (AMR) 'wake up, open eyes': VVH74 \*pusa 'waken'; L.Son223 \*pusu, pus-a 'abrir ojos'; M88-pu3; KH/M-pu3 \*pusaC (AMR): TO wuhan, vt; Eu busá 'awaken, vt'; Eu busú 'wake up, vi'; Op bussa 'wake s.o. up'; 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 hišti 'despierto [awake]', which hiš- fits \*pus perfectly. Also Wc hiš.ña '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. ['] in CN, s > ø in cluster

[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

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

UACV2576 \*paNtī > \*pattī > **paci** ‘daughter’: I.Num147 \*petī ‘daughter’; M88-pa22; Stubbs2000a-4; KH/M-pa22: Mn pēdī; NP bbatī; TSh petīC; Sh petīC; Cm petī; Kw pedī; SP pači; CU páci; patī-ci-ci; WMU pačü-n ‘my daughter’. Cr pa’arī’ī ‘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-] [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

**535** Hebrew **baaqaar** ‘cattle, herd, ox, livestock’; Syriac bəqar / baqr-aa ‘domesticated animals’;

Aramaic **bqwrh** / bqwr̄t (**bəquurə**-t-aa) ‘herd of cattle’; CPAramaic pl: buqr-iin, buqraataa: 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 daqel / Arabic daqal ‘palm tree’ (961):

UACV37 \*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/M-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 puŋqu-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] [Sem-p] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr]

**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’:

UACV617 \*pukul ‘pin on’: M88-pu20; KH.NUA; KH/M-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 poko ‘thistle’ which penetrates or pierces like a pin does. [NUA: Tak, Num]

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

UACV193 \*palasi ‘(wild) grapes’: Yq páa’asim ‘uvas [grapes]’; My párasim ‘uvas’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Tŋ pah-váhs-keet ‘wild grapevine’. [liquids] [SUA: Cah; 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:

UACV2620a \*pirī / \*parī / \*pura ‘one, negative’: Tr biré and Wr piré/pié. NT parī is worth noting in the fact that Tr biré and NT parī both mean ‘one/some’ and both also act as a negative particle. Or Wc seevī-; ševīti (sbj) minus the first syllable, that is, -vīti, also matches Tr/Wr \*pitī. The latter part of Tb čii-bilo ‘by oneself, alone’ may possibly belong. Other prefixes appear involved (\*su-purV and \*wī-purV).

UACV2620b \*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'.

**UACV2620c \*wa-pul** 'different, separate': TO gawul 'different, separate'; PYp gavil '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.'

[NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

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

**UACV664 \*pata** '(ex)change': Dakin 1982-70: CN patla 'change, exchange s.th.'; Cr raa-pwáta'ataka'a 'lo cambió (dinero)'. [p > Cr pw] [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 **\*baṭiiḥ** 'trusted', which would encourage assimilations toward high front vowels as we find in the UA forms; semantically, of course, 'trusting' persons or facts is 'believing' them; thus UA

**UACV173a \*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.

**UACV173b \*ṭi-pitti** 'very, really': L.Num248 \*ṭipici 'very, really'; M88-ti34; KH/M-ti34: NUA shows a \*ṭi- prefixed to \*pitiwa: Hp ṭipciwa 'believe'; CU ṭivici-gyay 'believe, vt'; CU ṭivici 'very, truly, adv'; CU ṭivici-ti 'truth'; TSh ṭipici 'very'; Sh ṭipi-ci 'really, true'; Cm ṭibici 'really, surely, very'; TSh ṭipici 'very, really, truly, adv & adj'; Mn ṭibizi-túsu 'it's true, for sure'; Mn ṭibizi-tu 'great, important'; NP ṭipicci 'very much, really, authentic'; Sh ṭipicaan 'real good'; Kw ṭivi-ži 'real, really, genuine'; Kw ṭivi-ži-ga 'believe in'; Kw ṭivi-ši(m)bi 'really? Is that so? It is so. It is true'; SP ṭivi-ci 'very, really'; SP ṭiviciga 'obey, v'; SP ṭivi-šu 'sure enough'; CU ṭivici 'very, truly'; Ch(L) ṭivici '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, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr]

**541** Hebrew **baṭuuḥ** '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:

**UACV174 \*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 váávoitiudai '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 imperfective stem -bṭaḥ, to which we would expect UA \*cawV:

**UACV1036 \*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'; Mn cau-/cawu-/coo- 'good, genuine'; TSh cao/cawi/cawintin 'good'; Sh caa/caaN 'good'; Cm caa(tī) 'good, fine, well'. [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

**543** Hebrew **baaṭuuḥ** ‘trusting’; ‘trustful, confident’ (Klein); this is UACV1276 **\*puttuwa** (> **\*puttucukwa**) ‘know’: TSh pusikwa ‘know how to’; Kw pucugu ‘know how to’; Ch putúcuga ‘understand, know, learn’; SP puhcúcukwaN ‘know, understand’; WMU pučúčugway ‘know’; CU pučúčugway ‘know, be familiar with’. These SNumic forms reflect the same Hebrew word as Tepiman \*paso above (541), but a reduplication of the medial syllable. Different form, but same root as \*pitiwa ‘believe’ (540: CU tivīci; Sh tīpi-ci ‘really, true’; Hp tīpciwa; Eu vícwace-m; Eu vícwace-m; vicvaterá-; Tbr wicimwá, Wr piciké; Tr biči); as believing s.th. and knowing s.th. are semantically close. 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] [NUA: Num;]

**544** Syriac bd’ ‘to invent, make up’; Mehri Soq bd’ ‘to lie’; ESArabic 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’: UACV105 **\*paru** ‘bad, say bad about’: B.Tep183 \*paru ‘to speak evil of’; KH/M-pa68 ‘bad’: In B.Tep183 are NT parúnai and Upper Piman padī. 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’; AYq veewa ‘nonsense, gibberish’. [\*1: UA liquids] [SUA: Tep, Cah]

**545** Arabic bd’ ‘begin, start’; **Arabic bad’a**(t) ‘beginning, start, n’; the form also ‘start(ed), v (3 sg fem subj)’ (less likely Hebrew bəṭḥillaa or Arabic bdʿ ‘start, do for the first time’ (badʿ) or Arabic bidʿat ‘innovation’):

UACV170 **\*pīwa**(t) ‘first, begin’: B.Tep292 **\*vīpīga** ‘first’; CL.Azt13 **\*peewa** ‘begin, v’; M88-pī4 ‘first’; KH/M- pī4: UP wīpīga; LP vīpīg; NT īpīga; ST vīpī; TO weepg ‘first, adj/adv’; TO weepgat ‘become the first, vi’; Nv bupuga (probably < \*vīpīga) ‘antes, primero’; PYP veepegi ‘first’; NT ībīgidiīrī ‘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’, showing all 3 consonants. Note frequent final -t or glottal stop in the reflexes. [\*p > Azt p; Tep g < \*w] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, Azt]

**546** Arabic bd’ ‘begin, start’; Arabic bada’a ‘start(ed), began’; Arabic bad’-V ‘beginning, start, n’; or Arabic bdʿ ‘introduce, start, do for the first time’; Arabic bidʿ-V ‘new, original, unprecedented’: UACV1523 **\*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/M-pī3: Mn pīdī (< \*pīti) ‘just, early’; Mn pīdītīp(i) (< \*pītīttīpī) ‘new, young’; NP pīdī ‘start’; NP pīdī taggwī’i ‘just start to walk (as baby)’; NP pīdī madabiīna ‘begin making’; NP pīdī taca ‘early summer’; Hp pīhī ‘new’; TO wečij; LP vīdī; LP vītuta/vītīta ‘new thing’; PYP vet-daga ‘new, adj’; PYP vetuda ‘new, adj’; NT utūdī/utúúdai; 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 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant, followed by -u- (\*u > Num ī often enough). The Azt branch shows no -t-, but Azt -w- and -u. Having t lost in the resulting cluster (\*pītuwa > \*pīwa) puts them with 545 above. [Azt p-] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, 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’; ESArabic bd’n ‘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 / \*bīwa < 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’. [SUA: Cah]

### 5.3 Pairs of Forms, one of each in Semitic-p b > p vs. Semitic-kw b > kw

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

UACV1618 \***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 písá; Tr bisa / wisá; Tbr wisá-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 aligns with Aramaic’s vowelings. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr]

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

**551** Aramaic(J) bšr ‘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):

UACV2471 \***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 tabiadi ‘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]

UACV2259 \***pisa(na)** / \***pisa(L)** ‘sweet’: I.Num163 \*pih(C)a ‘sugar, sweet’; M88-pi5 ‘sweet’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pi5: Mn pannee-wīnī-pī ‘sugar pine’; NP pihapi ‘sugar’; TSh pihapi ‘sugar’; Sh pihnaa ‘sugar’; Cm pihnaa ‘sugar’; Kw piha-vi ‘sugar’; Kw piha-gama-dī ‘candy’ (< \*-kammaN?); SP pia-(vi) ‘sap of tree’; CU piá-gamá-ti ‘sugar’; Cp píske’niš ‘sweet, sugar, honey’; Ca písily ‘sugar’; Ca písily-ik ‘sweet’; Ca písily-nek ‘sweet’; Sr piihṭ ‘sugar, honey, s.th. sweet’; Ktn piha-č ‘honey, sugar’. Add Mn piha ‘sweet, adj’; NP pihagimaggiti ‘sweeten’; TSh pihnaa/pihyaa ‘sweet, adj’; Cm pihnakamarī ‘sweet’; Cm inī bihnaa ‘honey’; Kw piha-gama ‘be/taste sweet’; Ch piya-gama ‘sweet’; Sr pišaa’i ‘sweet’; Sr pišaii’t ‘s.th. sweet’; Ktn piša’i ‘sweet’; and perhaps the vī- of NT vīñiákami ‘sabroso’; NT vīñiága ‘sabroso’. \*pihna and \*pihya may both derive from \*pisna, as well as Cp pis- and other Takic forms showing \*pis-. In a cluster, s often goes to h; both \*piha and pisa exist in NP, Sr, Kw; and Ca has Ca písily, with -ly not behaving like any absolute suffix. [-sn- cluster] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

**552** Aramaic bṭn ‘be pregnant’; buṭna ‘pregnancy’; bəṭin ‘pregnant, adj’; Arabic baṭn ‘belly, stomach, womb’; Arabic baṭuna (u) ‘be paunchy, pregnant, sated, carry young’; Hebrew qittel inf: baṭṭen ‘pregnancy’; Hebrew beṭen ‘belly (of man, of pregnant woman)’; the UA forms resemble an unattested quttal form \*buṭṭan ‘be made pregnant’, a passive of causative, while the causative infinitive is attested:

UACV1722 \***putta** (> \***pocca**) ‘pregnant’: some from M67-429 \*posa/\*poca ‘swell’; L.Son214 \*posa ‘hartarse’; M88-po14 ‘swell’; KH/M-po14 (see others at \*posa ‘swell’): Tr boca ‘be pregnant’; CN ooc-tli ‘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 pöörč-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 pöörč- by the pharyngealized t. 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] [Sem-p: SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt; NUA: Num, Tak]

**UACV983b \*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) bočiwi ‘llenarse’ (vs. Tr posá/bosá, bosawí (irreg pres) ‘full from eating’). [SUA: Trn; NUA: Tak]

**553** Hebrew bšq ‘to swell’; Hebrew baaseq ‘flour-dough’ [what swells/rises]; Arabic basqat ‘raised spot’: **UACV2263 \*posa** ‘swell’: Sapir; M67-429 \*posa/\*poca ‘swell’; L.Son214 \*posa ‘hartarse’; CL.Azt129 \*ooc ‘pregnant’, 277 \*\*poca ‘swell’; M88-po14 ‘swell’; KH/M-po14: Hp pöösajw’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]’; Op bosa ‘be satiated, satisfied’. 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, Trn and Opn 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 tyí-his-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 loans from the north. 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), and the UA speakers may have confused the forms as well. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds possible Kw poho ‘swell, vi’. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn, CrC, Azt]

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

**UACV1916 \*paCci / \*pa’ci** ‘seed’: M67- 103 \*paci ‘corn’; L.Son181 \*paci ‘semilla’; CL.Azt141 \*aač ‘seed (corn)’, 313 \*paci ‘seed (corn)’; M88-pa3 ‘seed’; KH/M-pa3; Jane Hill 2001, 2007 \*pa’ci: Eu suváci (acc: subáta) ‘seed’; Op baci; Tbr waci-rá-n; My báci-a; Yq bací-a; AYq vačia ‘seed, pit, stone’; Wr pahci; Tr bací-ra ‘semilla de calabaza’ (Tr bací- ‘calabaza’); Tr pačí ‘elote, siembra’; Wc hasí; Cr hací; CN ač-tli ‘seed’; CN ayo’wač-tli ‘squash seed’. Found in TrC, Corachol, and CN; ie, SUA except Tep. Note CN ač-tli ‘seed’ has the expected sound correspondence ø < \*p, while wač-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 bátci; Wr ihpaci; Tr paci. 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] [SUA: Trn, Tbr, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt; NUA: Hp]

**555** Aramaic(J) bizr-aa ‘seed-the, n.m.’; Arabic bađr- ‘seed, seeds’, pl: buđuur ‘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:

**UACV1917 \*puCci** ‘seed, pit’: M88-pu23; KH/M-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 púci-ly ‘seed’ (vs. puš ‘eye, face’); Cp púci-ly ‘seed’; Sr a-puuč; Tḡ púcen fruit, seed’; Ktn -puc. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

**556** Hebrew bayša(t) / beeša(t) ‘egg’; Arabic byđ / baada ‘lay eggs, be white’: Arabic bayđat- ‘egg, testicle’: though not attested in the Masoretic Text, the plural would be Hebrew beešoot or beeš-ó ‘his ...’: **UACV809 \*piyso** ‘testicle’: Yq bíčo ‘testicle’; Tr bičó/wičí ‘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 \*-iy-/-e- > -i- in Tr, Eu, and Yq is expectable. Without TO, a reconstruction of \*pico would work, but \*piyso with TO explains all forms. [SUA: Cah, Trn, Opn, Tep]

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

UACV789 \***hayp** ‘edge, shore, end’: M88-ha17; KH.NUA; KH/M-ha17; Cp háyve ‘end, edge, shore’; Cp háye ‘finish, tire of’; Ca háyva ‘edge, end’; Ls háylu/háyla ‘edge, end’; Tḡ háykom ‘quedar’; Sr hīivía ‘side, edge, shore, by, beside’; Sr ‘ayīit ‘end’ (cognate? Miller queries; probably). In relation to Cp háye ‘finish, tire of’ etc., PYp had ‘finish, v.t.’ shows Tep d < \*y, and both with h. [idddua] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

From Semitic bwṣ / byṣ ‘be white’ (pfv: baaṣa) is Sem-kw > UA \*kwaca (> NUA \*kwaya), and Sem-p \*pos. Also Sem-kw ṣ > c and Sem-p ṣ > 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 bwṣ / byṣ, pfv: **baaṣa** ‘be white’ > \*kwaca > \***kwaya** of Sem-kw (listed earlier at 48) Semitic **bwṣ** ‘be white’ or Syriac/Aramaic buṣ-aa ‘byssus, white linen’ > Tb poos of Semitic-p (558)

**48** Semitic bwṣ / byṣ, pfv: **baaṣa** ‘be/became white’ [Sem-kw]:

UACV2545 \***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. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: CrC]

**558** Semitic **bwṣ** / byḏ ‘be white’; Hebrew buṣ ‘byssus (< Greek bussos < Semitic) white linen’;

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

UA \***pos** ‘white’: Tb poosīt~’opos ‘be white’ (Tb(H) pošīt); Tb poosat ‘white’. [NUA: Tb]

The next four items reflect the same root (bky ‘cry’): Semitic-p’s perfective (559), Sem-kw’s pfv (560), the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine imperfective (561), and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine impfv (562).

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

UACV612 \***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. [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak]

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

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

UACV604 \***kwīkī** / \***o’kī** ‘(shed) tears’: M88-’o6 ‘tears’: AMR1993; Stubbs1995-28; KH/M-’o6:

Tr weke/oke ‘to shed tears’; Wr o’kéwa ‘lágrimas’; Tr oke-wá ‘lágrimas’; Wc úkai ‘lágrimas’ corresponds to Tr/Wr oke. [SUA: Trn]

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’:

**560** Semitic \*ya-bka<sup>y</sup> ‘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:

UACV610 \***yaCkaC** ‘to cry, sg’: I.Num290 \*yake/\*yaka ‘cry’; M88-ya11 ‘cry’; KH/M-ya7, 11: Mn yaḡa ‘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 yaḡa ‘cry, neigh (horse), hoot (owl)’; CU yaḡa-. 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. [NUA: Num, Tak]

UACV1883 \***ya...** ‘say’: M67-363 \*ya ‘say’; BH.Cup \*ya ‘say’ (Cp ya-; Ca yá-; Ls ya-); M88-ya7 ‘say’; KH/M-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. [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: CrC]

**561** Semitic \*ta-bkaʿ ‘she/it weeps, cries’ > Hebrew ti-bke<sup>(v)</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.

**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 mabbaat ‘expectation, object hoped for’.  
UACV1907 \***pica** (< \*pita) ‘see’: L.Son193 \*pica ‘ver’; M88-pi21; KH/M-pi21: Op vica / vici ‘see’;  
Eu vicá-; 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: Opn, Cah, Trn]

UACV2457a \***popica** ‘wait for’: M88-po6 ‘esperar’; KH/M-po6: TO wo’išig; My boobícca; AYq voviča  
‘wait for, vt’. Eu oiswe/oisui-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 pīni-kee ‘watch, wait for’. These match  
Hebrew -bbiṭ bo ‘look at/for him/it’ and note the Hebrew noun ‘expectation’ above.

[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn]

**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.

UACV1355 \***sapala** (< \*sapata) ‘lip’: Wr asapéla ‘lip’; CN šiipal-li ‘lip’. Many UA forms are also  
compounded with UA \*tīn- ‘mouth’ (< Aramaic diqn- ‘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 SUA 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 > tīmpīl. 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/tīmpe; CU tīpa-wəsí-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. Add Sh sapai-pin ‘side’. Perhaps Sr šiṭ ‘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-.

[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**564** Hebrew **śaapaa(t)** ‘lip’, pl: **śapoot** ‘lips’, **s’pooteeʿ** ‘lips of’:

UA \***puti** ‘lip’ in Tbr tini-purí-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:

UACV1003 \***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/M-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; mika ‘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, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

UACV2395a **\*namiki** (< \*na-maka) ‘pay, sell’: B.Tep167 **\*namiki** ‘pay’: M88-na33 ‘pay’; KH/M-na33: TO namkið(a) ‘pay’; NT ááta namíikidii ‘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).

UACV2395b **\*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** < **\*nīmaka**); 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. Zigmund et al (1991) have Kw na-waga ‘buy’ from \*na-maka. [k > h; mk > nk in Cah] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, 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’ (bring to a head) 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, and others throughout:

##### 566 Hebrew ’ariy / ’arii ‘lion’:

UACV1352 **\*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 wori ‘mountain lion’; Wr(MM) wori ‘mountain lion’; Tbr wawi / wowi / vavo ‘mountain lion’; Cr waábe’e ‘coyote’ (pl: waábe’e-te ‘coyotes’); Eu voi/boi/woi ‘coyote’; Op gori ‘coyote’; Op go / go’oriku ‘coyote’ (Shaul 2020); Wr wo’i ‘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’i is likely a loan from Cah, so of Wr wo’i ‘coyote’ and Wr wori ‘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; \*r > ’; Cr-Tbr contact? like leaf] [SUA: Tep, Trm, Cah, Tbr, Opn, 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’:

UACV172 **\*yawamin-(o)** ‘believe (him/it)’: KH.NUA; M88-ya27; KH/M-ya27: Sr yawamin ‘believe’ again shows the glottal stop as -w-, and aligns through 7 segments. Tḡ yawáyno ‘believe it’; Tḡ loses -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’ > Tḡ 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** > ḡ (see **\*ṭipiwa** / **\*ṭipiṇa** ‘ask’, **\*siwa** / **\*suṇa** ‘girl’, as also in Munro 1973). Ktn, with **\*-w-** > -ḡ-, 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 Tj 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 Tj, 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>6</sup>man, from which Ca hee’an is missing only -m- also. [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Cah]

**568** Hebrew perfective: he’<sup>6</sup>man ‘he believed’:

Ca hee’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>6</sup>man. [NUA: Tak]

**569** Hebrew \***egooz** ‘nut tree’; Aramaic(J) \***eguuz-** / \***amguuz-aa** ‘nut, nut tree-the’; Ugaritic **ʕrgz**; 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, and in some UA: UACV1626a \***wokoN** / \***wo(N)koC** ‘pine’: Sapir; VVH142 \***wo,ko** ‘pine’; M67-320a \***woko**/\***hoko** ‘pine tree’; I.Num275 \***woŋko(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/M-wo4 \***wokon**: Mn **woqobi**; Mn **wohwopii** (Fowler83); NP **woggopi**; TSh **woŋkopi**; Sh **wonko-pin**; TSh **woŋwobe** (Fowler83); Kw **woho-dī-bī** ‘bull pine’; SP **oŋoN-/aŋoN-**, **oŋo-mpī** ‘fir tree’; WMU **agó-ppū** / **agwö-ppū** ‘ponderosa pine’; CU \***agó-pī** ‘ponderosa pine’; Tb **woŋhal** ‘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); Op **gokoo** ‘pine’; Op **tevoogoko** ‘spruce, fir’ (Shaul 2020) literally ‘pine nut (of) the spruce/fir’ like the Semitic genitive construct; 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 **goko** and Eu **gokót** do show **g** < \***w**; but Eu also has Eu **vokót** ‘pino’. Miller rightly queries whether Tep \***hukui** ties to UA \***woko**, and 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. 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) **wohhompoo-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**. UACV1626b 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] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt, Tep]

**570** Hebrew \*’**xr** > ’**ħr** ‘be behind, tarry, linger’; Hebrew \*’**axar** ‘behind, adv, after, prep’;

Hebrew \*’**axare**<sup>y</sup> ‘back, rear end, n, behind, prep’; Hebrew \*’**aħer** (< \*’**axer**) ‘other, later, following’; Aramaic(J) \*’**axer** ‘another, the other, stranger’; Hebrew \*’**aħħoor** (< \*’**aaxoor**) ‘back, rear, behind, west, later, n and adv’; Arabic \*’**aaxir** ‘last, ultimate, eng’; Arabic \*’**aaxar** ‘another, one more’; Arabic \*’**axiir** ‘last, the second of two’; Syriac (aqtel) \*’**awħar** ‘tarry’; Syriac \*’**aħrinaa** ‘the other, the next’;

Hebrew \*’**aħar** / \*’**aħer** (< 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’: all but two 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 **woyi**; Yq **woi**; Tbr **nyohor**; Eu **wok**, **wodī(m)**. Just as Spanish **segundo** ‘second’ and **seguir** ‘follow’ both derive from Latin **sequ/sek** ‘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:

**UACV2622a \*wakay** ‘two, after’: I.Num267 \*waha(h) ‘two’; M88-wa10; KH/M03-wa10: NP waha(’yu); Mn wahá-i/tu; Mn(L) wahahtu / wahai ‘two’; TSh; Sh wahattiwih; WSh wahattin; Cm; Kw wahayu; Ch waha; SP waa; WMU wáyIni; CU wáyini; Sr waah- / wah- ‘twice’; Tḡ wahá ‘other, companion’; Tb woo/wooh ‘two’. Ken Hill adds Ktn wah- / weh- ‘twice’. The wá’a- of Cr wá’apua likely 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)]

**UACV2622b \*wokay** ‘two’: 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; Tḡ wehé; Hp lööyö’ (divided by Hill as löö-yö-’); Tb woh/woo; Eu wodi(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]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Tbr, Cah, Trn, CrC]

**UACV2635 \*wo-pusani** ‘seven’: Eu seniovusáni (seni-o-vusani ‘one-after-six’); Op seni bassani; Tbr nyo-vosani-r; My woibúsani; Yq wobúsani / 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: Opn, Tbr, Cah, CrC]

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’:

**UACV154 \*yawa / \*yí’a** ‘beautiful’: KH.NUA; M88-yí19; KH/M-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]

**UACV155 \*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] [SUA: Cah]

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

UA \*wīsi ‘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’iš ‘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 lost, yet the h or devoiced vowel in one Hopi dialect is right where a cluster of voiceless -št- would put it. [NUA: 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: UACV1718 **\*kamo'-ta** 'sweet potato': M67-428 'sweet potato'; M88-ka33 'sweet potato'; KH/M-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. [SUA: CrC, Azt, Tep]

**576** Aramaic kawwaa, kawwə-taa 'window, aperture, opening on top of a structure'; Syriac kawaa / kaw-taa 'an opening, window, n.f.'; Syriac **kaway šmaya** 'windows of heaven'; Arabic kuwat 'aperture, window, skylight': UA **\*kawa** 'become clear sky/weather': Ls kááwa- 'be clear weather'; Tr(H) kawi- 'aclerar (desaparecer las nubes)'. Both final vowels (Ls -a, Tr -i) are typical of Ls and Tr respectively for vi 'become clear'. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

**577** Aramaic(J) 'aas-aa' 'myrtle willow-the'; Syriac 'aas-aa' 'myrtle-the'; Aramaic(S) 'aas-aa' 'myrtle bush-the'; Akkadian asu: UACV2555 **\*wasV** 'willow': Cr waséh 'sauce [willow]'; CN wešoo-tl 'willow tree'. [SUA: CrC, Azt]

**578** Arabic **\*pa'r-** > **fa'r-** 'mouse' would correspond to Hebrew **\*pa'r** or **\*pa'ar** 'mouse': UACV1462 **\*pa'i** 'mouse': M88-pa57 '(field) mouse'; KH.NUA; KH/M-pa57: Ca pá'iwet; Tj pa'it; Sr pa'i-š (a Ca loan from unattested \*pá'i-š suggests Hill). Add Kw pa'yī-ci 'kangaroo rat'. [NUA: Tak, Num]  
UACV1463 **\*pu'wiN** (< **\*pa'wiN**) 'mouse': B.Tep261 \*vosiki 'mouse'; I.Num148 \*po/\*pu; L.Son210 \*poc 'raton'; Fowler83; M88-po16 'mouse'; KH/M-po16: Mn puweec(i); NP(LFP) poṇadzi; 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'wīnčaci 'mouse'; WMU pa'wī-či (nasalized vowels); and SP puṇ'wi 'make peeping sound (as mouse, rat)' shows the nasalization in WMU pa'wī. 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 relate as well:  
UACV1463c **\*poca** (< **\*pa'wiN-ca** ?) 'mouse': Fowler83: Hp pöösa; Tbr he-wocó-t; TO wošo 'rat'; LP vošig; NT vosīiki / vasīiki; ST vasīk. 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 háácu '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'wī-č should remove any doubt about whether WMU is quite a different dialect from CU. Note also Yq potta 'mole'. NP pamoto'o 'small grey fieldmouse' and TSh pomo'aicci / poṇwo'aicci are listed at 'squirrel' with CN mooto'-tli. [w']  
[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, CrC]

**579** Semitic/Arabic ḍabba 'cleave to the ground, take hold, keep under lock, put in safe keeping, guard carefully' (i.e., latch onto). This is Sem-p, in contrast to 8 of Sem-kw. UACV2183 **\*cappa** 'stick, get stuck': Mn cappa'ni 'stick, get stuck'; NP cabi 'stick together, vi'; Sh cappaki 'be stuck'; Cp čapála 'mend, stick together, vt'; and ST \*-sap- in ST bispa' 'apretar, fajar (cincha)' (pres: pi'nsap); ST biisap 'estar apretado (cincha), estar fajado'; ST čubispara. We have other Semitic-p ḍ > c, see phonology. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]



**UACV400c \*cappa/\*ca'pi** 'take': L.Son29 \*capi 'coger': Eu zápa-/cápa- 'coger, agarrar'; Tr ča'pi-mea 'coger, agarrar, casarse'; Tr na'cabi 'coger pl objs'; Wr ca'pi-ná 'agarrar, sostener'; Op capi. Note the glottal stop hop or anticipation in Tr \*ca'pi and \*na'capi. SUA \*ca'pa/i may be related to \*cakwa/i as another item showing some evidence of clustered or geminated noninitial p relating to kw, and the glottal stop may suggest a cluster. A division like cold. [Tr glottal stop hop; \*-kw-/\*-p-] [SUA: Trn, Opn]

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

**UACV570 \*koyowa** 'yell, shout'; **\*kayoC** 'coyote, fox': CL.Azt 39 \*koyoo 'coyote'; Fowler83; M88-ko26; KH/M-ko26: CN koyowa 'dar grandes gritos [emit great shouts], aullar [howl]' (Simeón); CN i'koyoka 'roar, whirl, crackle'; CN koyoo-tl 'coyote'; HN kayoč-ih 'fox'; Pl kuyuut; T koyutl; Z koyoot 'white man'; Tr keyóči 'fox'; Wr keóci 'fox'. Note Tr and Wr similarity to HN, perhaps loans from HN. 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. [SUA: Trn, 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:

**UACV833a \*wīcī > Num \*wī'i** 'fall, be born, v': Sapir; VVH101 \*wī,ci 'fall'; M67-163 \*we 'fall'; I.Num285 \*wī'i fall, drop; BH.Cup \*wiic 'throw away' (vowel wrong, Miller notes); L.Son341 \*wīcī/\*wīc-i caerse; B.Tep53 \*gīisī 'he falls'; CL.Azt57 \*wēcī 'fall' (< \*wīcī); M88-wī3; KH/M-wī3: Tbr wece / mwece; Yq weče; My weče; Wr wihci; Tr wiči; Cr a-k-áh-ve 'he fell down'; CN weeci; Eu wecé 'fall'; 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 \*wīcī 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 Opatá]

**UA \*wīcī > Num \*wī'i**: Mn wī'i 'fall, be born'; NP wii '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'i 'drop, fall, be born'; CU wī'i-tī give birth to'.

**UACV833b \*wīcī > Tak \*wīyV** 'fall, bend down, sway': M88-wī11, wī12; KH.NUA; KH/M-wī11:

Cp wéye 'collapse'; Ca wéyi 'incline, nod, sway back and forth'; Ls wóya 'be bent down (as branches of a tree), be felled'; Sr wīyī'k 'be bent over, swayed over, nod'. KH/M03 agreeably combines wī12 with wī11; I would also combine both with wī3 \*wīcī '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' and more like the Semitic 'earth-ward' without completely falling. [medial \*-c- > y and Num'] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**582** Hebrew **'ərz** (< \*'arz) 'cedar tree'; Jerome araz; Arabic **'arz** 'cedar'; Aramaic(J) **'arz-aa** 'cedar-the'; Ugaritic 'arz: the Hebrew nouns like CəCəC 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'i 'fall'; the Hebrew glottal stop > w, and the cluster > glottal stop in Numic; the UA form aligns with Aramaic **'arz-aa**:

**UACV422 \*wa'aC / \*wa'aN** 'juniper or cedar tree': Ls wáá'a-t 'California Juniper'; Sr waa't 'juniper'; Tḡ wá'at 'guata' (juniper? Miller queries). To the Takic terms Ken Hill rightly adds Ch wa'apī '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'ápi; NP waapi; Sh waaC-pin; Cm waa(pi); Kw wa'ada-bī 'white cedar'; SP wa'aC- 'cedar tree'; CU wa'ápi; Tb waa'a-t 'juniper berry'; Tb 'išwa'adu-l 'Tamerack, like juniper' and NT gááyi '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] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Tbr]

**583** Hebrew 'epod 'ephod, priestly garment, shoulder cape or mantle'; Aramaic 'epod-aa 'ephod-the': UACV176 \*wipura/\*wipula 'belt': B.Tep44 \*givurai 'belt'; M88-wi14 'belt'; KH/M-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 givúurai '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 'cotton de mujer' likely a loan from CN wiipiil-. [L/liq, CN consonant harmony] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Opn, Azt]

### 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': UACV480 \*ipura 'skirt': B.Tep312 \*'ipurai 'skirt'; M88-'i9 'skirt'; KH/M-'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 ipúruui '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. [SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

**585** Also of the root 'pd is the denominative Hebrew verb 'pd / 'aapad 'to gird on an ephod' (BDB); 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.

**586** Arabic 'abala 'grow green/tall/abundantly' (Lane 8); Arabic 'abal 'herbage, pasturage' (Lane 8): UACV547 \*apali 'elote, new/fresh ear of corn': Yq 'ába'i 'elote'; My ábari/ábarim 'elotes, mazorca'; AYq avae 'fresh corn'. Probably Sem-kw due to lack of ' > w. [liquids: \*-L- > -' > -ø-] [SUA: Cah]

**587** Hebrew 'argaamaan 'purple, wool dyed with red purple' (KB), 'purple, red-purple' (BDB); Akkadian argamannu 'purple': UACV1774 \*aNkaC 'red': I.Num9 \*aŋka/eŋka 'red'; M88-'a24 'red'; KH/M-'a24: TSh aŋka-pi; Sh enka; Cm ekapi; Kw 'aga-ki- (<\*a(N)ka-kki-); SP aŋka(C); WMU aqqá-ġa-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-] [NUA: Num]

**588** Hebrew 'aab 'father', pl: 'aaboot, poss'd: 'aaboot- / 'aabootee' 'fathers': UACV846 \*apu / \*(h)apu(ti) 'father, parent, mother': I.Num2 \*ahpī 'father'; M88-'a18 'father'; KH/M-'a18: TSh 'appī; Sh appī; Cm ahpī'. I concur with Miller's inclusion of Cahitan, i.e., My hapčī 'woman's father' and AYq hapčī 'woman's father' (<\*haputi) note Hebrew pl 'aaboot(ee). Add the first syllable of TO apkīi 'father in the clans of the Coyote moiety' and Tb(M) 'aabuu / 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'. [NUA: CNum, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah]

**589** Syriac 'isaa 'wall, f', 'is-taa 'wall-the, partition or inner wall': UACV2466 \*isV 'wall, dab, make mud wall': Wr isígori 'waddle and wicker wall'; Wc 'išúma 'untar, embarrar [cover with mud]' and Wc 'išumári 'pared embarrada [mudded wall]'. The isí- portion of Wr shares 2 of 3 segments with Wc 'išúma, and Tr/Wr tend to assimilate often to i at almost any excuse. Sem-kw, given ' > ø. [SUA: Trn, CrC]

With initial back consonants, such as x, ħ, q, or ʾ, then UA sometimes shows loss of that initial C, sometimes the whole initial syllable, such that the UA form begins with the 2<sup>nd</sup> C and 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable:

**590** Hebrew (construct/poss'd) ʾaʿbooteeʾ ‘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:  
**UACV1049a** \***poci** / \***kwoci** ‘paternal grandfather’: M88-wo2 ‘paternal grandfather’: KH/M-wo2: TO wosk / woji; Eu boc / voc / vócwā; Eu bóci (bóciʾi) ‘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 kwísi ‘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:

**UACV1049b** \***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. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**591** Hebrew ʾadaamaa / ʾaʿdaamaa ‘earth, f’

**UACV759** \***tīma** ‘earth’: BH.Cup \*tā- ‘down’; \*tā-mal ‘earth’; M88-ti36; 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 vowelization actually has that first vowel as ultra short while the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> vowels are long: ʾaʿdaamaa. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**592** Hebrew ʾabneṯ, pl: ʾabneṯ-iim ‘sash (KB), girdle (BDB)’:

**UACV178** \***natti** ‘belt’: Mn náti ‘belt’; NP nati ‘belt’. With weak ʾaleph lost and bilabials lost when first in a cluster, then 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable remains; e > a also in \*makteš > maCta. [NUA: WNum]

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

**UACV818** \***tīmmu** ‘opponent’: Mn tīmu ‘enemy, opponent, member of the opposite moiety’; TSh tīmmu ‘enemy, opponent’; Sh tīmmo ‘opponent, competitor’. [NUA: Num]

**594** Hebrew ʾaḥoot (< \*ʾaxoot) ‘sister’; Syriac ḥaat-aa ‘sister’ eliminates the first syllable also:

**UACV2000** \***ko(ʾ)ti** / \***koʾci** (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 \*koʾci; KH/M-ko13 \*koʾci (AMR): Tb kuudzin ‘next older sister’; Hp qööqa; Cp qisma; Ca qis-ka; Ls qeeʾis; Tḡ óxoʾ; Sr -qöör (pl: -qööham); Ktn koha-č (poss: -kor, pl: koham); Eu kócwa; Wr koʾcí; Tr goʾčí; My ákoro ‘hermana mayor [older sister]’; Tbr kocí; Wc kurí; Cr ne-kuu-cíʾi. 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 kúli-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 ʾ-c-. The -k- (< \*-x-) suggests Semitic-p. [2<sup>nd</sup> C; \*o > Tb u] or kw? [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

**595** The following is from Sem-p and aligns with the Aramaic, Arabic, and Assyrian vowelizations—

Aramaic(S) ʾaxaat-aa ‘sister-the’ (rather than ʾaxoot)—all showing aa rather than oo for the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel:

**UACV2002** \***wakati** ‘younger sister’: M67-493 \*wa ‘younger sister’; M88-wa21 ‘younger sister’;

KH/M-wa21: Ca -wáxalʾ ‘younger sister’ and Cp -wáxalʾi ‘younger sister’ (Tak \*wakati) are close to the proto-type. Because Ca and Cp are possessed kin terms, the final ʾi is not an absolute suffix, which ending

actually fits well with Semitic and Tr and Cah. NP waŋŋa'a 'younger brother'; Tr wayé / wa'í 'younger sister (of a man)'; My waáyí; 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 > wakalʸi (Ca, Cp)  
 > \*waklʸi > \*waʸyi/wayi (My, AYq, Tr)  
 > \*walka > \*wanka... (NP) or -x- > -ŋ- [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC]

**596** Hebrew 'arnébet 'hare'; Arabic 'arnab 'hare, rabbit'; Arabic 'arnabat 'female hare';

Akkadian 'arnabu (Sem-p due to w < \*):

UACV1521 \*wa'na 'rabbit net': M67-304 \*wana 'net'; M88-wa6 'basket, rabbit net'; I.Num269 \*wana(h) 'net, cloth'; KH/M-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 wánaa-l 'net for catching fish or rabbits';

Tŋ wánar 'big rabbit net'. Miller also includes reflexes of SUA \*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 their typical lenition. The 4<sup>th</sup> consonant (b) shows loss of bilabial as first consonant in the cluster. Add Tb(H) wihnipii-l 'rabbitskin blanket'? [\*-CC-] [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:

UA \*taput 'cottontail rabbit':

Mn	tábo'/tábu'	Hp	taavo; pl taatavo-t	Eu	tábu; tábu'u;	Op	tavu
		Tb	taapunt/ tahpunt;	Tbr	owilá		
NP	tabu'u	Tŋ	toovit '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	fówí/fuwé		
Ch	tavu-ci	Nv	tobi	Cr	táciu'u(ri) (pl)		
SP	tavu-ci/tavu-mpíci	PYp	tuuva 'cottontail'	Wc	táciu		
CU	tavī-ci	NT	too'm	CN	tooč-tli		
		ST	toom				

UACV1754a \*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/M-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 (Tŋ, 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).

UACV1754b \*taput(i) > \*tapoc(i) > CN tooč-, 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] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tep, CrC, Azt]

**598** Hebrew 'arnebet 'hare'; Hebrew f. pl: \*'arnaboot:

UACV1755 \*topi 'cottontail rabbit': VVH56 \*tokwi rabbit; M67-333 \*to 'rabbit'; L.Son318 \*towí conejo; M88-to4 'cottontail rabbit'; KH/M-to4: TO; Wr; Tr; Tbr. Add Tŋ; Nv; PYp; ST. Ls tóóvit and Tŋ have -o-, like Tep and a few other SUA, instead of the -a- of the rest of NUA. Tŋ, 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, Trn, Tbr]

**599** Hebrew 'ayil / 'eel- 'mighty tree'; later Hebrew 'eela 'oak, terebinth' as a unitary noun from 'ayil; the Aramaic dialects have 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 ?]

UACV1555 \*iyal 'poison oak': M88-'i4; BH.Cup \*iyála 'poison oak'; HH.Cup \*iyáala 'poison oak'; Munro.Cup101 \*'ayaa-la 'poison oak'; Fowler83; KH/M-'i4: Ca 'iya-l; Cp 'ayá-l (Hill and Hill note Cp's unexpected V); Ls 'iyáa-la; HN 'iya-tl 'tobacco'. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Ktn 'iyči-č 'poison oak' and Tη oaa-r. Ls -la suffix usually means a final nasal, liquid, or laryngeal, but not a vowel unless \*iyaal-la > iyaa-la. [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
'iš 'man'	wiši (572)	iš (573)
'epod 'sash, garment'	wipud (583)	ipud (584)
'arnab(oot) 'hare'	wa'nap (596)	tapuci (597)
'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':

UACV1904 \*tiwa 'find, see': Sapir; VVH21 \*tiwa 'find'; B.Tep250 \*tiigai-i 'to find, see'; M67-365 \*te 'see'; BH.Cup \*taw 'see, find'; L.Son301 \*tiwa/\*tiw-i 'hallar'; CL.Azt140 \*ihta 'see, find'; M88-ti2 'find, see'; KH.NUA; KH/M- ti2: Hp tiwa 'find, perceive'; Hp tiwi 'know-how, skill'; Tb tiwat~'iitiw 'look for, find, guess'; Cp tewa 'see, vt'; Ca téew 'find, discover'; Ls tów 'see, look at'; Ls toowi 'see by second sight, be clairvoyant'; TO ciiig(id) 'find, discover, learn, hear'; UP ciiigi; LP tiig; PYP teega 'find, see, vt'; PYP teegida 'show, vt'; NT tiigai; ST tiigi; Eu téwa; Op tewa 'find' younger Oyata > teve (w > v); Wr tewa; **Tr(B) fewa**/tewa; Tr(B) **riwi-** 'see, find, surprise, obtain'; **Tr(H) riwá** 'ver, hallar'; Tr(H) **riwi** 'mostrarse, vi'; riwi-ra 'mostrar'; Tr(J) **rewá** 'find'; 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). The UA form reflects an Aramaic prfv or 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable stress. Perhaps Tbr ha-tetemo 'hunt' and Tbr temo 'find' (probably < \*tiwa 'find'?), yet how do we not list it at \*timo 'search for' also. Ls tiwi 'see, look at' may be a different vowel assimilation than Ls tów 'see, look at' and Ls toowi 'see by second sight'. Here and at 'name' (Yq tea) Yq loses intervocalic w. [w > ø in Yq] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Tm, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

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

UACV8a \*tawana 'drunk': CN tlaawaana 'get drunk'; Pl tawaani 'emborracharse [get drunk]'; Pl taawaana 'emborracharse'; Cr tawá 'está borracho [is drunk]'. [SUA: Azt, CrC]

**602** Aramaic rigš-aa 'moment'; Hebrew régaš 'moment, a short while, abruptly':

Tr(B) fékó 'pronto [soon], en breve tiempo [in a short time], rapidamente [quickly]'; not in Tr(H).

**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.':

**UACV1825 \*tīmī-ta** (Num **\*tīN-(pV)** ‘rock’: Sapir; VVH169 \*tī<sub>u</sub>pa ‘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 tə- ‘rock, stone’, 269 \*\*tī- ‘rock, stone’; M88-tī12; KH/M-tī12: Sr tīmī-t; Ktn tīmī-t; Ls tóó-ta; Tb tīn-t; tīŋgii-l ‘rock ledge’; Mn tīpi; NP tībbi; TSh tīn- / tīmpin; Sh tīmpin; Cm tīpi (< \*tīppi); Kw tī-bi; Ch tīm-pi ‘rock, money’; SP tīN-; tīmpiN-; WMU tīpwi-či (< \*tīppwi-či); CU tīpīy-či (< \*tīppīy-či); Tbr te-tá-t/ te-rá-t; Yq tēta; My tetta-(m) (pl); Wr tehté; Tr(B) fēté ‘piedra [rock]’; réepó; Tr(H) rité; fémohá/fémowá; Eu tet; Op te-t; Cr teté; Wc teeté; CN te-tl. Note especially Sr and Ktn \*tīmī-t, which best reflect 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 > \*tīppīi-ci. Ken Hill adds Tŋ tomónxa ‘deaf (rock-ear), cf. English ‘stone-deaf’. Possibly Hp tīmkye ‘edge of cliff’? So Ktn, Sr, and Tŋ all show the -m-. For a Tep reflex, see \*tīC-to ‘three-rock fire cooking place’ below. An unattested Hebrew plural would be \*riimoot: Tr(B) fémohá / femoá / fémowá ‘piedra [rock], pedruzco [boulder]’; Tr(B) fémohá-či ‘pedregal [scree]’; Tr(H) rimoha-či ‘pedregal [scree, large area of loose rock on mountain side]’ [\*-NC- > -CC-]

**UACV1827 \*tīN-to** ‘(three) rock(s) for supporting pots over fire’: M88-tī14 ‘rock stand for cooking/fogón’; KH/M-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 \*cī- ‘rock’—gives every branch a cognate of \*tīN- (<\*tīmī-) ‘rock’.

[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

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

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

**UACV51 \*tīmīna** ‘antelope’: Munro.Cup5 \*təəni-la ‘antelope’; KH/M-tī24: Ls tón-la; Ca tēni-ly; Cp tənily. Ken Hill adds Ktn tīmīna-č ‘antelope’ which is the best reconstruction. NP tīnna ‘antelope’; Hp tīni ‘game animal, game successfully hunted’. Sapir considers SP tī- ‘game’ a reduction of SP tīgīa (< \*tīkia) ‘deer’; similarly, Hp tīivosi ‘game, animals to be hunted’ may suggest tīi- rather than tīni. Sapir and Miller (M88-tī24) tie \*tīnna ‘antelope’ forms to Num forms approximating \*tīkīya ‘deer, like Mn tīhitta ‘deer’, Mn tīhīya ‘old buck deer’, and NP tīhidda ‘deer’; but NP tīnna ‘antelope’ and Tak contrast considerably, sharing only initial \*ta-. Ktn tīmīna-č is key: \*tīnnV 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 > \*tīnna. The gemination in Num -nn- < -mn- also suggests \*tīmīna. Though some combine two sets, Thornes (2003, 27) contrasts the minimal pair tīná ‘tree root’ and NP tīnná ‘antelope’. SP tīnna ‘hunt’ etcetera may be a verbalization of the noun. [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;

Aramaic šawr-aa ‘rock-the’ > šoor-aa ‘rock-the’ or Samaritan Aramaic šor-aa bode well with Tepiman:

**UACV1829 \*soya** ‘rock’: B.Tep69 \*hodai ‘stone’; M88-so12; KH/M-so12: TO hođai ‘stone, gravel, a charm’; NT ódai; ST hodái; PYp hodai ‘rock, stone’; Nv (h)otta ‘piedra’; LP(EF) hod. Also 868 \*t̥wr-aa ‘mountain’ and several others, we see \*-Cr- > -Cy- even in Sem-p. [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’:

**UACV339b \*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. Ktn tīhpi-c ‘loin, back’.

**UACV339a \*atupuri** ‘buttocks’: TO atapuđ ‘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 that gemination: \*haC-dubur > \*hattapur. Add Wr(MM) to 'i 'volver [return]'. [SUA: Tep, Trn; NUA: Tak]

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

**UACV1063 \*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'; Tr(B) ró'i- 'devolverse, regresarse [return]'; Cr tu'upí 'grass' likely derives from a redupl \*tutupi > \*turupi > tu'upi, and Tb's 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel is another example typifying Tb's behavior (see UACV, p. 39). [Tb preservative V assim] [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, 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 **gdġ** 'hew down, hew off':

**UACV620 \*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 vowelizing; 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 Azt. Because Cp i < \*o, Cp ŋeti 'split, crack, cut with axe' would align with UA \*ŋito of Sem-kw. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Azt]

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

**UACV2528 \*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);

Op ha'a 'question marker'

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 often goes to the front (is topicalized/emphasized), then the question about it follows. [TO h < \*h]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn]

**610** Hebrew daabaar ‘speech, word, thing, matter’; Hebrew haddaabaar ‘the thing, the word’:

UACV2281 \*(**hi**)-**tapi(ri)** ‘thing’: Eu hitávic ‘algo [some(thing)], cosa indeterminada [unspecified thing]’;

Wr ihtapériperi / ta’peri ‘thing’; Wr(MM) ihtáperi / ta’péri / ita’píti ‘cosa [thing]’; Tr(B) tábiri ‘cosa’;

Tr(B) rápé ‘cosa, un poco [thing, a little (amount)]’; CN tepi/tipi- ‘small thing’ in tepi-cin ‘small thing’ and

CN tepiton ‘small thing’. [SUA: Opn, Trn, Azt]

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

UACV1881 \***tapay(a)** / **tapiya** ‘speak’: Ktn taviya ‘to talk Tataviam language’ (Ktn ahuju ‘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—very possible—eliminating its tie to the others. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**612** Hbr ḥwḥ / ḥooḥ ‘brier, bramble, hook’; Aramaic ḥooḥ-aa ‘thorn bush’;

Syr ḥuuḥ-aa ‘thorn, thornbush’: Hp hoowi ‘stinger, sticker, sliver’

**613** Hebrew \*dobboot ‘bears, f pl’; \*dobbootey ‘bears, construct pl’; Arabic dabbat ‘bears, f pl’:

UACV134 \***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 and \*-t- > -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 \*-bb- > p, t > s] [SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

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

UACV1082 \***maCta** / \***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/M-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; Op mattaa ‘metate’; Tbr matá-t; Yq máta; My matta; Wr mahtá; Tr ma’tá; Cr mwaatá; Wc maatáá; 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 a cluster. Of great interest is the denominalized verb



Ca mataš ‘crush, squash, vt’ showing final -š and a medial cluster or geminated \*-tt-, while 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-] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, 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: Cah]

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

**Hebrew z**, when from **Proto-Semitic ḏ** (> **Arabic ḏ**, **Aramaic ḏ**), corresponds to **UA \*t**, in Sem-p, but **Hebrew z**, when from **Proto-Semitic z** (> **Arabic z**, **Aramaic 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 **\*ḏakar** ‘male, man’ (UA is specifically from the Aramaic form): **UACV1414 \*takaC** / **\*takaN** ‘man, person, body’: Sapir; VVH145 **\*taka** ‘man’; M67-272 **\*taka** ‘man’; BH.Cup **\*tax** ‘person’ (Cp ’atáx’a; Ca táxlis-wet; Ls ’a-táax ‘person, self’); BH.Cup **\*taxawi** ‘body’ (Cp táxwi; Ca táxawily; Ls tááxaw); L.Son270 **\*taka** ‘cuerpo’ (Op takat; Eu taka; Yq/My taká); CL.Azt105 **\*tlaaka** ‘man’; KH.NUA; M88-ta25 ‘man’; AMR 1993c **\*taka**; KH/M-ta25: Hp taaqa; Tb tahambi-t/l/š ‘old man’; Sr taqtqa(t) ‘body, picture’; Ktn taka-t ‘person, Indian’; Ktn tahtaka / taqtaqa ‘body’; Tḡ táx; My taká ‘cuerpo, alma, veinte’; Op taka-t ‘body’; 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 Aramaic **dakar** ‘man, male’. A third C is apparent in Tb, SP, and others. AMR (1993c) notes SP taḡap-pia-pi ‘servant’. We should include Cr taáta’a; pl: tétéka ‘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 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 **\*taḡwa-** ‘man’, which are from **\*tatwa** ‘man’ (205) 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’. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**617** Hebrew **zaqaan** ‘beard, chin’; Assyrian **ziqnu**; Aramaic(J) **diqn-aa** ‘beard-the, chin-the’; Arabic **ḏaqan** / **ḏiqan** ‘chin’; Arabic **ḏaqn** ‘beard’; Hebrew **zqn** ‘be old’; Hebrew **zaqaen** ‘old’; construct pl: **zəqaen-/ziqn-** ‘old ones, elders’:

**UACV1469a \*tī’na** > **\*tī’ni** ‘mouth’: Sapir; VVH19 **\*tī<sub>u</sub>ni** ‘mouth’; M67-293 **\*teni** ‘mouth’; I.Num242 **\*tīmpe** ‘mouth, lips’; B.Tep241 **\*tīni** ‘mouth’; L.Son293 **\*tīni** ‘boca’; M88-tī5 ‘mouth’; KH/M-tī5: TO čini; Eu téeni / teni-t; Op teeni; LP tīiñ; PYp teni; NT tīiñ; ST tyiñ/čiñ; Tr rīni; Tr ré’načí; My teeni; Yq téeni / téni; Tbr tini-r; Wc tétéaa ‘mouth, lip’ (cognate? Miller queries); Cr tyéñi; CN teen-tli ‘lip, mouth, edge, word’. Wc tétéaa is cognate, being nearly identical to the pre- or proto-Aztecan form from which CN teen-tli derives—\*teen-ta—missing only *n*. Note also Tr ré’na-čí, with a glottal stop or other consonant in a cluster. This element appears in compounds of other languages as well: Cm pařici ‘chin’; TSh pařinci ‘chin’ and in **\*tī’ni-po’wa** ‘facial hair, lit. mouth-hair’.

**UACV1469b \*tī’nV-pa** > **\*tī’n-pa** > **\*tīmpa** ‘mouth (in)’: Mn tīpe; NP ddība; TSh tīmpe; Sh tīpai ‘mouth, lips’; Kw tībi-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’ but -m- adjacent to -k-? Or does this belong at 603 ‘rock’?

An additional and definite \*-pa suffix distinguishes the Num forms, as nearly all have a final vowel -a, not typical of the \*-pī/-pi of absolutive suffixes. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**618** Hebrew **zə'eb** 'wolf'; Arabic **di'b** 'wolf'; Proto-Semitic **\*di'b** (Bennett 1998, 60);

Syriac **di'b-aa** 'wolf-the'; Aramaic **di'b-aa** 'wolf-the':

**UACV2570 \*ti'pa / \*to'apa** 'wolf': M67-469 \*tīpa 'wolf'; M88-tī42 'wolf'; KH/M03-tī42: 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 SNum and Tb have lost it, but considering its original presence via Mn, all 3 consonants correspond as expected, even the vowels match Aramaic well (di'baa > \*ti'pa), and variants with -o- may be due to adjacency to the rounding influence of a glottal stop (Mn, TSh), like at no'pal (720), and the meanings are identical. SNumic and Tb show a slight assimilation of i to ī, but show the vowel of the Aramaic definite article suffix, as is common for Semitic-p nouns. These three—Cr iira'ave; Wc iiraave; and Eu hūrve / hūrue / wurwe 'wolf'—Hill (hu10) has as a semantic shift from \*hunapī 'badger', which is likely, since Cah huuri 'badger' looks much like them. They fit phonologically better at 675 (KH/M-hu10), though semantically better here at 618 (KH/M-tī42, and \*hu-tV'VbV 'it's a wolf' could make one wonder.

[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

**619** Hebrew **zə'eb** 'wolf'; Arabic **di'b** 'wolf'; Proto-Semitic **\*di'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 from the Hebrew **zə'eb** but whether Sem-p or Sem-kw, as either could lose 3<sup>rd</sup> C -b:

**UACV2569 \*ci'i** 'wolf': B.Tep211 \*sīi'ī 'wolf'; Fowler83; M88-cī12; KH/M03-cī12: TO šee'e; Nv sī'i; PYP see'e; NT sīyi/sīi; ST sīi'. \*t > c > Tep s could start as either Sem-p (t) or Sem-kw (c). [SUA: Tep]

**620** Hebrew **zəbuub** 'fly'; Arabic **ḍabaab** 'fly', Arabic **ḍabaabat** '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 \*ḍabboot(ee') would underlie this UA set:

**UACV914 \*tapputi / \*tīpputi / \*tiCpu-ti** 'flea': VVH146 \*tī<sub>u</sub>pu 'flea'; M67-175 \*tepu/\*tepucci 'flea'; L.Son298 \*tīpu 'pulga'; Fowler83; Dakin 1991; M88-tī6 'flea'; KH/M-tī6 (AMR \*tīpu-ti): TO čīpš; PYP teepas; NT tapīši; ST tapīš; Eu tepú'u / tepú; Op teppu 'flea'; Yq téput, tepučim (pl.); My tépput; Wr tehpucci; Tr řipučí; 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 Aztecán \*tekpi forms. Op, My, Azt, and others, like PYP teepas 'flea' suggest a \*-pp- gemination in contrast to PYP teev 'shoe'; PYP teevi 'corn husks'; PYP teevin 'thin rope'. Terms for 'cricket'—Eu tepósti; Wc tīpuuši—may tie to 'flea', though Cr and Wc both have \*tīppu '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. [iddddua] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**621** Hebrew **zkk** 'be bright, clean, pure'; Hebrew **zak** 'pure, clean'; Hebrew **zky/zaakaa** 'be clean, pure';

Aramaic(J) **zky / zaka** 'be pure, clear':

Ca **cexi** 'to clear up (of sky or water)'.

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

**UACV1443 \*cukka/i** 'crowded, mixed'; I.Num264 \*cihki 'mixed, crowded'; M88-cī5 'crowded, mix(ed)'; KH/M-cī5: SP cikki 'be mixed with'; CU cik'u mi 'narrow, constricted'; Cm cihki-/cikk- 'crowded'; CN ciciika 'stuff s.th. tight'. Since \*u > i 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 > i in Num] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

The next three relate to **zr** 'sow (seed), engender/bear (seed/offspring)':

**623** Hebrew זרף / zaaraʕ ‘sow (seed)’; Arabic זרף / zaraʕa ‘sow, spread, scatter, plant, cultivate’ (but P Sem זרף and דרף); Aramaic(CAL) זרף-אא ‘seed, sowing, offspring’; because ʕ > UA w or l in Hopi, the Hopi l may be from an -rʕ- cluster of a form like the Aramaic form, that clusters the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant: Hopi cala- ‘scatter’. As a verb with consonants separated, we see CN čayaawa ‘scatter, pour, sprinkle’ (Karttunen); CN cayawa ‘sew, scatter seed’ (Andrews).

**624** Hebrew זרף / -zriiʕ ‘bear a child’ (-zriiʕ is the hiqtiil stem with prefixes: ta-zriiʕ, ma-zriiʕ, \*hi-zriiʕ): CN čiiwa ‘make, do, engender, beget’.

**625** Hebrew zeraʕ ‘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).

**626** Hebrew qereb, qirb- ‘inward part, midst’; Arabic qurba ‘in the vicinity of, near, toward’; at 975-977 are Sem-kw instances of the root qrb ‘near, in’, as it loses initial q in most branches of the Sem-kw data. Sh -kuppa ‘in’; this is Semitic-p and notice the doubled -pp- < \*-rb-; Semitic qrb ‘approach, near’ also often denotes ‘in’; Sh has exactly the Arabic vowelings, or the strong rounding nature of q- on adjacent vowels could move Hebrew qirb- to have a round vowel, so either is possible. [NUA: Num]

**627** Hebrew zhl ‘creep, crawl’; Arabic zhl ‘to move away, withdraw’; Aramaic(J) zhl ‘to creep’: Ca cawa-y ‘to crawl, climb, ascend’.

**628** Hebrew zaaqaan ‘beard, chin’; Assyrian ziqnu; Aramaic(J) diqn-aa ‘beard, chin-the’; Mandaic ziqnaa; Arabic đaqan / diqan ‘chin’; Arabic đaqn ‘beard’. In contrast to Semitic-p \*điqn-aa ‘chin’ > UA \*tī’na ‘mouth’, the following SUA \*ca’lo ‘chin’ is from Sem-kw \*đaqn-o, Hebrew zaqn-o ‘chin-his’ and a would-be but rather unattested NUA \*ca’no, which is fairly apparent in UA:

UACV1472; 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 caŋw-ti ‘open the mouth’. [r/l > > ø] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt; NUA: Hp]

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

Proto-Semitic \*x and \*ħ eventually merged, that is, both became the voiceless pharyngeal ħ in Phoenician, then centuries later in Hebrew and Aramaic, but remained distinct in Ugaritic, Arabic, and Akkadian. So the Hebrew voiceless pharyngeal ħ 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 ħ (ħeyt) to represent both Proto-Semitic \*x and \*ħ suggests that these sounds were already merged in Phoenician when they developed the Phoenician alphabet (Blau 1998, 12, 30) also used by the Hebrews. 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). UA Semitic-kw shows them merged to pharyngeal ħ (and ħ > 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 ħ > 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 ħeyt (Sem \*ħ > 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 xaraağ ‘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  $\text{ḥbt}$  ‘beat off, beat out’; Semitic  $*xabbīt$ :

**UACV1196**  $*kappica$  ‘clap, slap’: NT  $kapií\text{śai}$  ‘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  $\text{impfv} *xabbīt$  form). [SUA: Tep]

**630** Hebrew(KB)  $\text{ḥole}$  ( $< *xole$ ) ‘be weak, tired, sick, feel pain’  $>$  UA Sem-p  $*koli$  ‘be sick, hurt, vi’

At p. 50 and in UACV 2.6, we note consonant clusters of  $*-VC-$  that separate the cluster with an epenthetic vowel:  $*-V'VC-$   $>$   $-V'VC-$ . 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:  $*-VLC-$   $>$   $-V'VC-$   $>$   $-V'VC-$ .

Also Egyptian  $\text{wr/wrw}$   $>$  UA  $*wīr$  (221), reduplicated  $*wīrwīru$   $>$   $*wī'wīru$   $>$   $*wī'wīru$  ‘big’ or Tep  $gī'igīru$ : among the several UA forms, the reduplicated form is usually the plural form of  $*wīr$ .

Hebrew  $xole$   $>$  UA  $*koli$ , reduplicated  $*kolkoli$   $>$   $*ko'koli$   $>$   $*ko'okoli$  ‘hurt, be sick, chili pepper’:

**UACV1597**  $*qoli$  ( $*qolqoli$   $>$   $*ko'okoli$ ) ‘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/M-

ko7 ‘hurt, (be) pepper hot’: Cp  $qil'iqat$  ‘hot, spicy, strong’; Cp  $qil'iqtu'ni$  ‘hurt, sting, vt’; Ca  $qél'a$  ‘feel

sore, v’; Ca  $qél'ak$  ‘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  $kóocem$  ‘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  $*koli$ , like  $*wī'wīru$  ‘big’ is a

reduplication of  $*wīru$ . 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  $y$ ]

[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**631** Aramaic(J)  $\text{ḥamar}$  ( $< *xamar$ ) ‘wine’; Hebrew  $\text{ḥemer}$  ‘wine’; Arabic  $xmr$  ‘to ferment’; Arabic  $xamr$

‘wine’; Arabic  $ximiir$  ‘drunkard’; Arabic  $xamrat$  ‘wine’; Ugaritic  $xmr$  ‘wine’:

**UACV9**  $*kamaC$  ‘drunk’: KH.NUA; M88-ka42; KH/M-ka42: Tḥ  $xamá$  ‘emborracharse’; Tḥ(JH)  $xamaape$

‘tonto, loco, borracho [drunk]’; Sr  $qām|(ä)q$  ‘be drunk, crazy’. Ken Hill (KH/M-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. [NUA: Tak]

**632** Semitic (Ugaritic, Aramaic(J), Arabic, Ethiopic, Akkadian)  $*xnq$  ‘strangle, put around the neck’;

Hebrew  $\text{ḥnq}$  ( $< *xnq$ ) ‘strangle, hang (self)’; Syriac  $\text{ḥnq}$  ( $< *xnq$ ) ‘choke, strangle, hang’; Syriac  $\text{ḥanaaq-aa}$

( $< *xanaaq-aa$ ) ‘band, collar (of a yoke), strings with which yoke is tied to the neck’ (note also Aramaic

$\text{ḥanaaq}$  ‘necklace, chain’); Aramaic(J)  $\text{ḥaneeq-aa}$  /  $\text{ḥanaaq-aa}$  ( $< *xanaaq-aa$ ) ‘ropes or chains around neck’:

**UACV1505**  $*konaka$  ‘necklace, collar, beads, string of beads’: M67-28  $*koka$  ‘beads’; Langacker 1970;

L.Son95  $*koroka$  ‘collar’; KH.NUA; M88-ko9 ‘beads, necklace’; KH/M-ko9: Sr  $qōönqa-t$  ‘necklace, collar’;

Cp  $qínexa$  ‘put on necklace, vi’; Cp  $qínxa-t$  ‘strings of shell beads, necklace’; Ca  $qénxa(t)$  ‘s.th. around neck,

beads’; Ls  $qénxa-t$  ‘necklace, beads’; Tḥ  $xúnso'ar$  ‘beads worn as necklace’; Ktn  $konakat$  ‘necklace, belt’;

Sh  $kotokki$  (actually  $korokki$ ) ‘necklace’; Wr  $koloká$  ‘sogilla’; Wr(MM)  $koloká$  /  $koroká$  ‘collar, soguilla

[small rope]’; Tr  $go-ro-gá$  ‘collar’; My  $kóokam$  ‘collar’; but CN  $kooska-tl$  ‘jewel, ornament, necklace’ and

Pl  $kuuska-t$  ‘necklace’ may belong at 1248. The Takic, Trn, 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] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah]

**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’  
**UACV1791 \*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’; Tḡ kúsna ‘brother-in-law’. [\*-t- > -s-] [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 (**\*xarṣ-aa**); Aramaic ḥarṣ- ‘hip’; Mandaic halša, haša: **UACV1183 \*kaca-pawī** ‘hip’: Tr kačá ‘hueso de la cadera [hip bone]’; Wr kačá ‘cadera [hip]’; Cp kepáwe ‘hip, poss’d’; Wc kwacápāi ‘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-] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, 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’:  
**UACV903 \*kapal** ‘flat’: M88-ka5 ‘flat’; KH/M-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 kapááratuuri ‘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’? Likely related, but with semantic tangent, are shield terms: TO kawad ‘war shield’; Nv kava’arha, pl: kavparha ‘adarga’; Nv kavar’ha ‘make a shield’. [iddddua] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn]

**636** Syriac kp’ ‘bend, bow, incline, curve, lean over’; Aramaic kpp ‘to bend’; Aramaic kapp-aa’ ‘ladle, hand’; Syriac kappaa’ anything hollow or curved, a pan, bowl, saucer; Hebrew kap(p) ‘hollow or flat of hand, palm, sole (of foot), bowl’: Ca kapu-kapu- (< \*kappu) ‘be crooked (back, tree)’; note in the UA forms that all show k-, not q-, because Hebrew has k, not x or q:  
**UACV1705a \*kapaC** ‘pot’: BH \*kavá’mal ‘pot’; HH \*kavá’mal ‘pot’; M88-ka21 ‘pot’; KH/M-ka21: Cp kavá’mal ‘pot’; Ca káva’mal ‘olla, water jar, cup, pot’; Ls kaváá’a-l ‘clay pot’; Ca kávaqi/kávat ‘lie on one’s side, lean sideways (tree)’. [NUA: Tak]  
**UACV1705b \*(ca)kaput** ‘pot’: Hp caqapta (combining forms caqap-, caqavut-, etc.) ‘pottery bowl, earthenware dish or bowl’ is likely related to Ca **káputma-l** ‘cup’ [NUA: Tak, Hp]  
 Yawning or opening (mouth) makes a hole or concave opening, and those below also show \*kappV.  
**UACV2600 \*kappV** ‘(make/be) a hole, open, yawn’: Ca kákape ‘yawn’; Cp kápe ‘yawn’; Cp kápele ‘to open’; Cp kápal ‘make hole’. [NUA: Tak]

**637 \*pxd** > Hebrew pḥd ‘shiver, tremble (with joy or horror, but more often horror), be startled’; Akkadian paxaadu ‘be startled, tremble’ (Canaanite loanword):  
 Ktn **pokat-ik** ‘get frightened’; Numic \*-paka- in iya-paka- ‘be afraid’ at 728 (UACV857 \*iya-paka ‘fear, v’: Kw ’iya-vaga ‘to be afraid of’; Ch iyávaga ‘afraid’; SP iya-vağa ‘to be afraid’; SP yaa-vaga-i ‘is afraid’ check; SP iya-vağa ‘be afraid’; WMU iyá-vağa-y ‘be afraid’; CU iyá-vagáy ‘be afraid of’; Sh tī’iya-pikkah ‘be afraid’). None of the Tak languages with q have this cognate. [NUA: Tak, Num]

**638** Hebrew **raaḥeel** (< \*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, and is understandable, as both are the primary meat source for the respective cultures:  
**UACV643a \*tikīya** (> tihīya) ‘deer’: M67-123 \*te/\*tek ‘deer’; I.Num237 \*tīhī ‘deer, horse’; Fowler83; M88-tī24 ‘deer’; KH/M-tī24 ‘deer’: Mn tihīta ‘deer’; Mn **tihīya** ‘old buck’; Mn(L) **tīhīhta** ‘deer’; NP tihīdda; TSh tihīya(n); Sh tihīyan; Cm tihīya ‘horse’; Kw tihīya; Ch tihīya; SP tīgīa (< \*tikīa) ‘deer’; SP tī- ‘deer’,

game'; CU tiiyi; Tb tohii-l 'deer'. The SP form suggests \*-k-, while the other Num forms show h or nothing. WNum has fossilized a Semitic gender distinction: \*-taa 'fem' and -aa 'masc'. Note the two Mn forms respectively. In light of a palatalisation of the initial t (\*t > c/č), the Tepiman forms below also likely belong, as UA \*c > Tepiman s:

UACV643b \*ciki 'white-tailed deer': TO siiki 'white-tailed deer'; PYp siiki 'white-tailed deer'. [idddua]  
[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]

639 Hebrew psh (< \*psx) 'be lame, limp'; Arabic fsx, ya-fsaxu 'dislocate, disjoint'; the UA forms below are 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 OP, CU, and WMU with assimilated/raised vowel in WMU: a > i/ü: CU saki- 'limp, v'; WMU sügü-y / sügü-y 'limp, be lame, vi'; Op saka'akai 'the way a sick person walks'. [NUA: SNum; SUA: Opn]

640 Hebrew psh (< \*psx) 'be lame, limp'; Hebrew pisse<sup>ah</sup> 'limping', pl: pishim '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 \*-psax and the exact meaning, 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': 'a lame excuse' = 'lousy/bad excuse' and 'lame decorations' = 'not good'. So from \*pissex 'limp, lame':

UACV1847a \*pis(i)ka / \*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/M-pi7 and KH/M-pi30: besides the many forms below, Miller astutely adds TO wi'ikam 'remnant, survivor'; Tr bi'ká 'podrirse [rot, v]'. 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 Trn, Cah, Opn, and -h- in WNum.

UA \*piska/\*pisVka 'pus, infection, rot(ten), spoil(ed)':  
WNum: Mn pihi 'rot'; pihika 'be infected'; NP pihi '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 pikya 'sore, hard'; WMU pi/hkī-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 pisa 'spoil, rot'; Cp pisa'e 'rot, go sour'; Ls pisa'(a) 'rot'

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

Opn/Trn: Eu viikát 'pus, sore'; Wr piga-ní 'rotten', pigapá-ni '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-pī). Therefore, \*s is clear and \*k probable 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, 20 show p, 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. UACV1847b \*piso ‘pus, infection’; Tr bisó/wisó ‘supurar [suppurate], infectar un grano o herida [infect pimple or wound]’; Wr pehsoní ‘pus’.

UACV1847c \*pikka ‘sore’: Mn piha’ayee ‘become itchy, rash-like’; Kw pakagi’i-di ‘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’.

[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]

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

UACV279 \*coC-pikki ‘brain, lit. head-goo’: I.Num \*cohpi(h)ki ‘brains’; M88-co5; KH/M-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-vi ‘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 > ĩ in CU. [iddddua] [bilabial > ø/\_C; \*o > ĩ 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:

UACV280 \*ku(p)-pisiC ‘brain < head-goo’ CNum: TSh kupisiC ‘brain, marrow’; Sh kupisi; Cm kupisi. As TSh mupisippi ‘mucus’ (nose-goo), so is \*ku-pisi ‘brain (head-good)’ is a compound. [NUA: CNum]

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

Above are 13 sets (among 629-642) showing Sem-p retaining Proto-Semitic \*x, which later became pharyngeal ħ Old-World Hebrew, merging with ħ in later Hebrew shortly before Christ. In contrast, Sem-kw does not distinguish Proto-Semitic \*x and \*ħ, like Sem-p does, but Sem-kw has them already merged, as if from Phoenician, such that Proto-Semitic \*x is reflected as \*ħ > UA hu/w in Sem-kw. To help non-Semitists keep it straight, Hebrew/Phoenician ħ in this work involves four separate groups of data or categories:

1 Proto-Semitic \*x in Sem-p: \*x > UA \*q/k (sometimes softened to x or h)

2 Proto-Semitic \*ħ in Sem-p: \*ħ > UA \*hu/ho/o/w, always associated with rounding

3 Proto-Semitic \*x in Semitic-kw: \*x > ħ > UA \*hu/ho/o/w, always associated with rounding

4 Proto-Semitic \*ħ in Semitic-kw: \*ħ > ħ > UA \*hu/ho/o/w, always associated with rounding

The next 15 sets (643-657) exemplify category 3 above and show Proto-Semitic \*x > ħ (of Sem-kw), which ħ > 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 < ’aħar (< \*’axar) (643), showing ’ > ø, \*x(>ħ) > ho, r > y, all consistent with Sem-kw:

**643** Semitic/Hebrew \*’xr > ’ħr ‘be behind, after, to the back’; Hebrew \*’axar ‘behind, adv, after, prep’;

Hebrew ’aħare<sup>y</sup> (< \*’axare<sup>y</sup>) ‘back, rear end, n, behind, prep’; Hebrew ’aħer (< \*’axer) ‘other, later,

following’; Hebrew ’aaħoor (< \*’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’, maybe, but even if so, works as well, like its cognate

TO oid ‘follow, accompany’ along with the rest of the Tepiman set below.

UACV1237 \*oya ‘follow’: B.Tep316a \*’oida-i ‘to follow’, 316b \*’oi ‘he followed’; B.Tep318; M88-’o7;

KH/M-’o7: TO oid; LP oiji; PYp oi; NT oidyi; 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’.

**UACV1019 \*oi-mīra / \*oiya-mīra** ‘follow-go, after-go’: B.Tep318 \*’oimīrai ‘to walk around’; B.Tep316; M88-’o7; KH/M-’o7: TO oimmed / oimīdi ‘walk around’; LP ’oimīr(i), pl: oihopo; NT aimīrai. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr]

**644** Semitic xḏr > ḥḏr > UA \*husa ‘grass’; Arabic xaḏira ‘be green’; Arabic xuḏrat ‘greenness’, its pl: Arabic xuḏar ‘vegetation, verdure, greenery, greens, meadow’; Arabic xuḏaarat ‘greens, herbs’; Arabic xaḏir ‘green, greenery, young green crop’; Hebrew ḥaṣiir ‘grass’:  
**UACV1058 \*(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 i < \*u. [\*u-a > o-a]  
Tb(H) hul’hulat ‘be/become green’; Tb(H) huu’lat ‘green place’. Tb here is doing like Num, in the pharyngealized consonants going to glottal stop. [Sem-kw] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tbr, CrC]

**645** Semitic \*xabala > UA \*hupala; Akkadian xabaalu ‘use violence (against), do wrong (by)’; Epigraphic 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’.

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’. Identical meanings, \*x > UA k with no rounding, but final C lost.

**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.

**648** Semitic \*xll: Hebrew ḥaalil ‘flute, pipe’ from Hebrew/Arabic \*xll ‘bore, pierce’; denominative verb Hebrew ḥll ‘play the flute’ and qittel yə-ḥallel ‘play the flute’; Akkadian xalaalu ‘to whistle’; Ethiopic xellat ‘(hollow) stick’; the UA forms derive from a pharyngeal ḥ 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 yulil’ ‘pipe’ have all as expected, the latter for the qittel impfv— Hebrew yə-ḥallel > 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 \*-ḥallil.

**649** Hebrew ḥṭ’ / ḥaṭṭaa’ ‘miss (a mark), do wrong’; Ugaritic xṭ’; Arabic xaṭi’a ‘be mistaken, to err’:  
**UACV1393 \*wa(C)tiN / \*waCtiC** ‘lose, lost, misled’: Mn wacikī ‘lose, vt’; Mn waci ‘be lost, vi’; Mn na’waazi ‘hide from, hide, vi/vt’; Mn wazitigī ‘hide, vt’; NP wacigga ‘lose s.th., vt’; NP nawaci’hu ‘hide, vt’; TSh waciC ‘be hidden, concealed, lost’; TSh waciḵkitain ‘lose, vt’; TSh wacikkati ‘hide, vi (hide-sit)’; Sh waciC ‘be lost, vi’; Sh waciC-mīi ‘hide, vt’; Cm waci-tikitī ‘hide, vt’; Cm waci-habiitī ‘hide, secret oneself’; Cm wacitī, wacikatī ‘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. [NUA: Num, Hp]

**650** Semitic \*xṭ’; Arabic xṭ’ / xaṭi’a ‘be mistaken, to err’, impv: -xṭa’; Hebrew ḥṭ’ / ḥaṭṭaa’ ‘miss (a mark): Ktn ’ačaw ‘miss (the mark)’. Whether loss of 1<sup>st</sup> consonant x or from impfv ’axṭa’ ‘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 > ḥ.



**651** Semitic \*xtr: Hebrew **ḥoṭeṛ** ‘rod’; Akkadian xutaaru / xutartu ‘branch, rod’; Syriac ḥəṭar ‘to beat with rods, to card’; Syriac eḥḥaṭar ‘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]’. [SUA: Tep]

**652** Hebrew ḥelēb, ḥelb- ‘fat’ < \*ḥilb; Arabic ḥilb ‘midriff’; Aramac ḥalb-aa ‘milk-the’;

Syriac ḥalb-aa ‘milk-the’; Syriac ḥelb-aa ‘fat-the’; note that of the two Syriac forms, UA \*wiCp ‘fat’ has both the meaning and the vowel of the latter (e > i is typical, but not a > i), as well as aligning with the vowel of Hebrew, Arabic, and Proto-Semitic:

UACV844 \*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-wi1 ‘fat’; KH/M-wi1: NP wisokko ‘greasy like a mechanic’; Sh wiC- ‘greasy’, as in wikkamma ‘to taste greasy’; Cm wih-kkama ‘taste oily, v’; Hp wiihī ‘lard, fat, grease’; Hp wimcapī ‘omentum, inside lining of stomach fat’; Tb wip-t ‘fat, n’; Tb wiibit~i iwiiip ‘be fat’; Sr wipt ‘fat, grease, fat one’; Ktn wipt ‘fat, lard, butter’, pl: wipim; Ktn wipcu ‘get fat’; Ls wī ‘fat, grease, oil’; Ca wī-ly ‘grease, fat’; Cp wī-ly ‘lard, fat, tallow’; Cp wīwat ‘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 wī’i; Tr wī’i; Yq ’áwi ‘gordo’; My áwwi ‘gordo’; Ch(L) wiwavi ‘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- means Sem-p, as Sem-kw would cluster \*-lb- > -kw-. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]

**653** Hebrew(BDB) ḥayil / ḥail / ḥeel ‘strength, ability, efficiency, worth, valor, wealth, army’;

Hebrew(KB) ḥayil / ḥeel ‘faculty, power’; Assyrian xaltu / xailtu ‘army’ but Akkadian(KB) ellatu ‘strength, family, armed forces’; Aramaic(J) ḥayil ‘army, strength’; not clear whether Semitic \*x or \*ḥ; Ethiopic x, Ugaritic ḥ; Arabic has a parallel for each, as does Akkadian; in any case, UA corresponds to pharyngeal ḥ: UACV2216b \*wīl ‘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’.

UACV2216a \*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 ’útte’a ‘ser fuerte’; Tr wáre ‘duro, resistente’; Tr watáre ‘fuerte, ser resistente’. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Azt]

**654** Arabic xrr / xarra ‘to snore’; Hebrew ḥrr / ḥaarar ‘be hoarse’; Arabic xarxara ‘snore, vi’:

Ls xaráá-ya ‘to snore’. This matches Sem-p \*x > x of Sem-p.

**655** Arabic xrr / xarra ‘to snore’; Hebrew ḥrr / ḥaarar ‘be hoarse’; Arabic xarxara ‘to snore, vi’:

UACV2073a \*hororo ‘snore’: Yq hórór’otia ‘roncar [to snore]’; AYq ho’otia ‘snore, vi’; My hooró’oti kočē ‘duerme roncando [sleeps snoring]’; Hp heroro-ta ‘to snore’; Tr(H) roró ‘bramar [bellow], roncar [snore]’. Semitic \*x > ḥ > UA ho... might put these as being from Sem-kw vs. 654 of Sem-p. The first Hopi vowel relaxed or assimilated to or anticipated the following -r. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah, Trn]

**656** Hebrew ḥórep ‘winter’; Hebrew(BDB) ḥórep ‘harvest-time, autumn’;

Arabic xarafa ‘pluck’, Arabic III xaarafa ‘be autumn’; Arabic xariip ‘autumn, fall’:

TO ’oḏ ‘to harvest’. TO ḏ < Hebrew r/l. Sem-kw with Semitic \*x > ḥ.

**657** Hebrew ḥwt / ḥuut ‘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:

**UACV1843 \*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/M-wi6; Jane Hill 2007: **\*wit-tu’a** / **\*wit-tiwa** ‘make rope’: Sr wiiču ‘make string, v’; Sr wiiču’a ‘string, n’; Ktn wicu ‘twist fibers into string’; Ktn napa-wicu ‘splice a rope (< together + twist)’; Cp wíču ‘twist string, rope, a net’; Cp wíčiwat ‘rope, thread, braiding’; Cp wí-š ‘bowstring, willow fiber, willow sp’; Cp wíču’et ‘string, rope’; Ca wíču’at ‘rope, thread, braiding’; Ca wíčiw ‘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 SUA forms below, with suffixed -ta (\*wit-ta).

**\*wit-ta** (> wita) ‘make rope’: Wr wítá ‘make rope’; M67 lists Wc wíta ‘thread’ and Wc wíita ‘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 wítári ‘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, while intervocalic \*-c- > -y-; so intervocalic NUA -c- is usually a palatalization of a cluster \*-tt- /\*-Ct- > -c-.

KH/M-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: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

**UACV1522 \*wis** ‘web, string’: I.Num280 \*wisu(n) ‘string’; KH/M-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 vivisa-t ‘látigo [whip, cord]’. As KH/M-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 ʈ, 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 turus wii’i ‘spider web’; My tuurus ‘spider’; My turus witeri ‘spider web’; Yq wite’i ‘trap for animals’; AYq witosa ‘web < thread-white’; AYq huvaē toosa ‘spider white = web’. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]

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]

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

**UACV625a \*wīk** ‘cut’: KH.NUA; KH/M-wi14: Cp wéke ‘cut, slice’; Ca wék ‘cut, slice, plow’; Ls wóki ‘cut, let bleed’; but maybe not cognate is Sr wīhkuv ‘beat, vt, distributive of Sr wīqööv ‘hit, vt’. [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-Aztecan’s 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**:

**UACV1796 \*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 **ḥaram**, 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: Trn]

**UACV1795 \*waym > \*wam / wim** ‘religious ceremony’: BH.Cup **\*wámkić** ‘ceremonial enclosure’; M88-wa19; KH/M-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’. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**661** Arabic **’ḥḥ** ‘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, hīhī, or any vowel could resemble coughing; so the pattern of Semitic **\*’ahaja** and UA **\*’ohoho** are worth noting:

**UACV560a \*oho / ohoho** ‘cough, v’; M67-105 **\*’oh**; B.Tep314 **\*’i’ohogii** ‘cough’; I.Num14 **\*ohni**; M88-o12 ‘cough’; KH/M-’o12: Hp öhö / öhöhö-; Tb(V) hooḥ / ’ohooḥ; Tb(M) hooḥat / ’oohooḥ; Ca ’ú’uḥu; Mn ohi; NP ohi; TSh ohiiC; Sh ohaiC / ohoi.

**UACV560c \*ihoho** (> Tep **\*i’oh... ??**) ‘to cough’: B.Tep314 **\*’i’ohogii** ‘cough’: TO i’ihog; LP ihoga / ihosana; PYP i’osin; NT yóógii; 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.

**UACV560d \*ohni(C)** ‘cold, have/be sick with a cold’: these may contain the preceding compounded with s.th. beginning with -ni... : Sh ohni-ppiḥ; Cm onibwekakāt; Cm ohnitī ‘to cough’; Kw ’ohni; Mn ohi ‘to cough’; NP ohibba wimma; TSh ohi kammanna. [h > Tep h] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep]

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

The -wen- of Eu na-vencem/na-wencem ‘pity’ (Shaul, 2008/9).

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

**664** Hebrew ḥtr ‘to dig’:

**UACV665 \*hotaC** ‘dig’: I.Num34 **\*hota** ‘to dig’; M88-ho1; KH/M-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]’. Sem-p as 2<sup>nd</sup> V -a-, and probably Aramaic stressless first. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

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

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

**UACV764 \*huCkuN > \*hukkuN** ‘dust’: I.Num36 **\*huhkumpī(h)** ‘dust’; M88-hu11; KH/M-hu11: Sh hukkun ‘dusty’; WSh hukkumpīḥ; Cm huhkuppī; Kw hukubī, hukwabi ‘dust, fallen dry pine needles’; SP ukkumpu / ukkumpa; Ch hukump(ü) ‘dust’; WMU **huhkkúppū** ‘dust’; CU kukupī (< **\*kukkuppī**). [’ > N in Numic; C harmony in CU] [NUA: CNum, SNum]

**666** Arabic ḥaṭab ‘firewood’; Arabic ḥaṭaba ‘to gather firewood’:

UACV1631 \***hucakwa** / \***husapa** ‘pitch’: B.Tep328 \*’usaba-i ‘pitch’; KH/M-’u11: TO ušabi ‘gum, pitch, resin’; NT usába; ST ’usaab; PYP usava ‘pitch, sap’; Nv usabagadi ‘resina’. \*-kw- or voiced \*-p-? [SUA: Tep]

**667** Syriac ḥwr / ḥuur ‘look, behold, gaze’:

UACV1910 \***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 húlaqan ‘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 hooyibi’it~oohoooy ‘watch over, vt’? Note also PYP hoohod ‘look’; ST hoohoiñ ‘look at it’. [NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep]

**668** at 79 is the Sem-kw perfective of Hebrew ḥmr ‘smear, cover’; Arabic xamara ‘to cover, leaven’; Arabic(Lane) xamara ‘veil, cover, conceal, impfv -xmuru; UA aligns with a vowelizing of -xmar and loss of first C in the cluster:

UACV2381b \***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 šúurí.maa ‘smear blood’ (Wc šuure ‘red’). Perhaps impfv -xmar or loss of first short syllable of pfv. Short, not a strong item. [NUA: SNum]

**669** Arabic ḥariḍa ‘to be yellow’; Hebrew ḥaaruuš ‘gold’; Syriac ḥraašaa ‘gold-colored’:

Tr ura-kame ‘pale yellow’; Tr ura-na-ma ‘become yellow’; Hp höya ‘yellowjacket’. [SUA: Trn; NUA: Hp]

**670** Hebrew ḥerēs (Arabic xrš) ‘scorched clay, earthenware, potsherd’:

Ca wayisma-l ‘plate, dish’. Sem-kw as \*x > ḥ.

**671** Arabic ḥmm 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’.

**672** Arabic ḥabaqa ‘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-/hovàa- ‘smell, odor’; Hopi hovàa-ta ‘let rot’; Hopi hovàa-ti ‘putrefy, become smelly from rotting or decomposing’.

**673** Hebrew ḥnk ‘train up, dedicate’; Arabic ḥnk ‘(for trials, time) to make (s.o.) experienced or wise’; Hebrew ḥanukkaa ‘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)]’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

**674** Syriac ḥrb ‘wasted, lay waste, destroy’; Arabic ḥaaraba ‘fight, wage war’; Hebrew impfv ye-ḥrab ‘massacre’, \*hoqṭal impfv: \*yuhrab: SP yurava ‘be overcome’.

The Semitic and Arabic verbal root (ḥnp) meaning ‘be crooked, have crooked or turned-in feet’ has Arabic 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 inward like a turtle’s or lizard’s.

**675** Hebrew ḥnp ‘to limp’; Arabic ḥnp ‘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 *ahnap* ‘a person who walks pigeon-toed’; Arabic *\*ħannaap* ‘one walking with turned-in feet’:  
 UACV107 NUA **\*hunap-** ‘badger’; NUA **\*huna-wī** ‘bear, ie, badger-big’: Sapir; M67-18 *\*huna*; KH.NUA;  
 I.Num43 *\*hīnan*/*\*hunan*; BH.Cup *\*hunwīt* ‘bear’ (badger-big); Fowler83; M88-hu10; Munro.Cupan9  
*\*húúna-l*; KH/M-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 *huonav-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*, typical of SUA. KH/M  
 has here Cr *īra* ‘ave’; Cr *hīripuh* ‘tigre chico [small tiger (bobcat?)]’; Wc *īraave* ‘lobo [wolf]’; and Eu *húrvē* /  
*húrvē* / *wurwe* ‘wolf’; he may be right, but see also 619 ‘wolf’. [idddua]  
 [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC]

### 5.9 Semitic-p Distinguishes Proto-Semitic *ʕ* and *ǰ*

In addition to *ħ* and *x* merging to *ħ*, a similar pair *ʕ* and *ǰ* merged to *ʕ*, such that two pairs of Proto-Semitic consonants, each containing a pharyngeal and an uvular fricative—*ʕayin*, *ǰayin*, *ħeyt*, 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 *ħeyt*—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 *ħ* and *x* to *ħ* 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 a pronounced consonant in Arabic, and anciently in Hebrew, and in White Mesa Ute today. The *ǰ* 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	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʕ</i>	<i>w/o/u</i>
V’ced pharyngeal fric	<i>ʕ</i>	<i>ʕ</i>	<i>w/o/u</i>	<i>ʕ</i>	<i>w/o/u</i>
V’class uvular fricative	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ħ</i>	<i>hu/w/o/u</i>
V’class pharyngeal fric	<i>ħ</i>	<i>ħ</i>	<i>hu/w/u</i>	<i>ħ</i>	<i>hu/w/o/u</i>

The pharyngeal *ʕ* is more frequent than *ǰ* in Arabic and Semitic generally, and their proportionate reflection in Uto-Aztecan is similar, that is, more instances from Semitic *ʕ* than from *ǰ*. 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’:  
 UACV1480 **\*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 Tr *-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 *ī/e/i* in unaccented syllables. [p/w] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn]

**677** Hebrew **ʕagol** ‘round’:

UACV436 **\*wakol** ‘round(ed)’: TO *gakodk* ‘curved’; ST *gakoly* ‘go around’. The Num forms more nearly  
 approximate *\*wikono*: NP *wikkono* ‘o’ring, circle’; Mn *wigo* ‘onogi’ ‘crooked’; SP *wikkonuiC* ‘round,  
 circular’. Add Tb(M) *wiiginat* ~ *iwiigin* ‘stir, v’. Perhaps Kw *woko* ‘big’ (< ‘round’?) as in Kw *wokotīnihi*  
 ‘be round’? [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]

**678** Arabic ʕtw ‘give, present to’:

UACV1005 \***uttu** ‘give’: TSh uttu ‘give, present to’; Sh uttuH ‘give s.th. to s.o.’; Cm utu-ka-tī ‘give s.th., vt’. [NUA: CNum]

**679** Hebrew ʕsy / ʕaʕaa ‘make, make (write) books, create, put into effect, do’; Ugaritic ʕsy:

UACV711 \***osa/i** / \***oswa** (Tb, Eu) ‘paint, draw, write’: L.Son22 \*osa/os-i ‘write’; M88-’o11 ‘write, read’; KH.NUA; KH/M-’o11: 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’; Tḡ eša ‘pintar [paint]’; Tḡ ’ésin ‘pintura, body painting’; Sr ’ööšan ‘write’; Ktn ’ošān ‘paint, write, tattoo’; TO o’ohan ‘write, draw’; Eu óosa-n ‘pintarse [paint self]’; Eu hioswa-n ‘escribir, pintar’; Op hiosia ‘paint, write’; Wr osa-ní / osi-má ‘write, read’; Tr osí-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’usiíhmwa ‘yo dibujo [I draw]’ as the -usi- portion agrees perfectly with \*osi. Add Tr osí-ma ‘hacer [do, make]’ also used as an auxiliary verb! Tb owa likely lost -s- as first C in a cluster; compare Eu -oswa-. Another Semitic verb for do (ʕbd) also means ‘write’. [iddddua] [Tḡ e < \*o] [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]

**680** Hebrew yaʕʕε > UA \***yo’osa**; this is the conjugated 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular impfv of ʕsy 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 ʕlw / ʕly / ʕalaa ‘ascend, go up, grow’; two meanings of the causative hiqtiil are to ‘rear/raise up (young)’ (Ezekial 19:3) and ‘cause to grow’ (Jeremiah30:17, 33:6; Ezekial 37:6), which would also suggest that the non-causative meant ‘grow up’; Arabic shows Proto-Semitic ʕlw (not ʕly) and Hp wīḡwa agrees with ʕlw, and the others do not detract because both 3<sup>rd</sup> C -y and -w surface as -aa, with no sign of either except in certain forms:

UACV1100a \***wīla/i** ‘grow’: Ca wél ‘to grow, rise up high’; Cp wéle ‘to grow’; Ls wola/i ‘grow (of plants or anim subj)’; Hp wīḡwa ‘grow, grow up’, with \*l > N in a cluster with -w-. Add Tb wilaa’lat ‘to climb, vt’. Might Tb(H) oolīt ‘get up, fly’ be a ptcpl? [Hp N/Tak l] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

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

UACV1100b \***tīwīl** ‘grow’: Cp tewe ‘to grow of plants’; TO čīwīl-him ‘to grow’. This matches the f. sg imperfect. TO does palatalize t > č adjacent to high vowels like ī and it does have -l-, but normally \*w > Tep g. 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. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

**683** Syriac 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:

UACV1764a \*(**w**)**umaC** / \*(**w**)**īmaC** ‘rain’: M67-338 \*(w)ema ‘rain’; L.Num23 \*ī(h)ma ‘rain’; M88-i9 ‘rain, v’ and M88-wi16 ‘rain, v’; KH/M-i9: TSh īmaC / īmmaa / īḡwaC; Sh īma/īmaH ‘rain, v’ (-H = a final consonant); WSh īmaC; Cm īmaarī ‘rain, vi’; Cm īmapī ‘rain, n’; Kw ’uwa; SP uḡwa; WMU uwaC; CU ’uwáy; NP pauma ‘raining’ (pa- ‘water’); NP powma ‘raining’. Ken Hill adds Ch iwári ‘rain’. Also belonging are those of

UACV1764b \***uma** ‘be cloudy’: Hopi oomi ‘be cloudy, overcast’; Hp oomaw/oom-a-wī ‘cloud’ (cloud-nominalizer -wī); Tbr homé-k ‘be cloudy’; and the -’oma of Tr na’oma ‘borrarse [be erased, wiped out], esfumarse [disappear], opacarse el ambiente [atmosphere to become opaque/dark/non-transparent], nublarse [become cloudy]’; Tr(H) na’oma ‘tapar [cover], borrar [erase]’. A reconstruction of first vowel \*u instead of \*o is preferred because we would expect Hp ö < \*o, and Tr sometimes shows o for u, and even if that were not the case, a vowel assimilation or lowering \*uma > \*oma, common in UA, could also explain the Tr and

Tbr forms. In fact, they all match SNum \*umaC well, with unknown final -C. Num *i* < \*u often, or the vowel *i*, common in many of the forms, may be an unaccented schwa-like result, unstressed as in Aramaic.

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 \*(w)imaC 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 \*-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.

UACV1764c \*wiN / \*woNC / \*wVN... 'rain, be cloudy': Sapir; M67-338 \*(w)ema 'rain'; M88-wi16 'to rain'; KH.NUA; KH/M-wi16: Cp wéwe; Ca wéwen / wéwn; Ca wéwn-iš 'rain, clouds'; Sr wööŋ 'rain, vi, rain on, vt'; Cr me-viiye 'it is raining'; Cr víitye 'the Rains (rain gods)' (Casad reconstructs Proto-Corachol as \*viiye < \*wiiyi; similarly, McMahan & McMahan list Cr biite 'lluvia(s) [rains]'); Wc wíwiye 'lloviznar, vt [drizzle]'. Miller notes after each Tak form that the vowel is wrong, apparently siding with the Cr vowel in his listing this set under initial \*wi... However, Cp and Ca agree with \*wi..., Sr with \*wo, Tŋ disagrees with both, while Ktn woŋ 'rain, vi' and Ktn woŋ-a-t / wo'ŋ-ut / wahŋ-a-t 'rain, cloud, n' agree well with Sr wööŋ-t 'rain, n' and Sr wööŋ-tu' 'cloud up, look like rain', both with \*wo, though some of Ktn's vowel patterns look like Tŋ's. Sapir suggests \*wiwa (with a question mark) and ties together the CrC, Tak, and Num forms above (\*uwa < \*wiwa). Sr's V might be the result of a reduplication like Cupan's: \*wiwiN > \*wiwN > \*woon > \*wöön, the -wN- cluster causing both the rounding of the vowel and -ŋ- < -wN-. [med \*-m(C)- > ŋ/w/ŋw; Tŋ V, Sr ö; \*u-a > \*o-a] [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC, Trn, Tbr]

**684** Hebrew ũšaa 'advice'; \*na-ũša/e 'to argue, quarrel'

UACV1870 \*na-wiša / \*na-oca (> nooca) 'speak': Wr naósa 'speak'; Tr nawesa- 'speak in public'; CN nooca 'call, summon, talk to s.o.' Perhaps Wr wahci 'truth, right, straight ahead'. [c/s; wV > o in CN] [SUA: Trn, Azt]

The next three exemplify Semitic ũ > UA \*w > Hopi l before low vowels:

**685** Hebrew ũaaqeeb 'heel, hoof, footprint': UA \*wakVpi 'footprint': Hp -laqvī in Hp kīk-laqvī 'tracks all over' (< kīk-laqvī 'foot-?') While the Hp dictionary has a question mark for the 2<sup>nd</sup> morpheme, 'track, footprint' works well); Hp kīkī 'foot' is combined with Hp -laqvī matching Hebrew ũaaqeeb 'heel, track, footprint' (UA \*w > Hopi l before low vowels).

UACV2392 \*woki / \*woku'i 'track, footprint': M67-257b \*wok 'leg'; L.Son348 \*woki 'pie'; B.Tep47 \*gookui-i 'track, footprint'; M88-wo3 'foot'; KH/M-wo3: TO gooki 'footprint, track'; LP goki; NT goókui; My wókki-m 'pie'; Tbr nyokí-r 'track, foot'; Tb wīgii'it 'make tracks'; Tb wīgii-l 'tracks, trail'. Add Hp kīk-laqvī 'tracks all over'; Yq wóoki 'pie, pata'; Yq wokte 'seek tracks' [\*o > i in Tb; \*w > ny in Tbr] [NUA: Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah, Tbr]

**686** Hebrew ũerwaa 'nakedness, genital area'; Akkadian uuru 'nakedness, genitals (of a woman)':

UA \*wowa > Hp löwa 'vulva, vagina'. Note here and at (663) ħrp also has ö between 1<sup>st</sup> C pharyngeal and 2<sup>nd</sup> C r in a cluster. Also note the 2<sup>nd</sup> -w- stays -w- because it is from -w-, not from a laryngeal.

**687** Arabic ũarđiy 'cross- (in compounds), horizontal':

Hopi læsi- 'horizontal'; Hopi læ-ta 'lay across, secure by barring'

**688** Hebrew ũaazab 'leave, abandon, leave behind, leave over, let go, give up s.th.'; Arabic(Lane) ũzb / ũazaba 'be or go far, go away, depart'; Akkadian ezeebu 'leave behind':

Sr wiđap-kin 'leave, leave alone, let go, release, abandon, quit, stop (doing s.th.)'; note that Sr -wađ 'tail' (< UA \*kwasi 'tail/penis' < Hebrew bašar) similarly voices the intervocalic š. Sr vowels are Sem-p.

**689** Hebrew ũaroũer / ũarũaar 'juniper tree'; Arabic ũarũar 'juniper'; Samaritan ũarũar:

UACV423: Tr gayorí / kaorí / kawarí / aorí / aborí / waorí / awarí 'enebro, táscate [juniper]'; Wr aóri 'táscate, juniper'. Both the Semitic and UA terms are semantically specific to 'juniper', and Tarahumara's

plethora of forms or related variants are 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 *gayori* resembles Tep (note NT *gáayi* ‘táscate’, loan?), which has *g < \*w*. The two Tr forms starting with *k*—*kaori* / *kawari*—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. Cr *kwaapé* ‘cedro’ may also be a Tep loan. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

Four examples of Proto-Semitic *ǵ > q/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, *v*’; Arabic *ǵyr* III ‘be different, haggle, vie, compete’:

**NO, NOT**

Mn	<i>qáduʕ/qaðuʕ-tu</i>	Hp	<i>qa; qaʕe</i>	Eu	<i>ka</i>
NP	<i>kai; gi haga</i> ‘nobody’	Tb	<i>haš(a); haayi / hayyi</i> ‘no, not any, none’		
	<i>gi</i> ‘don’t’ (neg. imp.)	Tḡ	<i>qaay</i> (Munro, p.c.)	Tbr	<i>ka; ka-i; ka-té</i>
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-ti; 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; ʕaaci</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>čo; káaki</i>	CN	<i>ka</i>

**UACV1533 \*qay / \*qaC** ‘no, not’: Sapir; VVH136 *\*ka* ‘no, not’; M67-306 *\*ka, \*kai*; I.Num57 *\*ke* ‘no, not’; KH.NUA; M88-ka1 ‘no’; KH/M-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 *qáaʕiš* ‘without’. The *q* in Tak is one of several for PUA *\*q* in addition to *\*k*. [*\*k > h* in Tb]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt, Tep]

**UACV1534 \*kaN-tu**: Mn *qaðuʕ-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 *rǵb*; Arabic *rǵb / raǵiba* ‘to desire, wish, want, crave’;

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

**UACV2293a \*takuC** ‘thirst(y)’: Stubbs2003-11: TSh *takuC* ‘thirst, n’; TSh *takukkoʕih* ‘be thirsty’;

TSh *takucciiwah* ‘be thirsty’; Sh *taku-pikkah* ‘be thirsty’; Kw *tagu-(yeʕe)* ‘be thirsty’; Kw *tagu-pi* ‘thirst, n’; SP *taguC* ‘be thirsty, vi’; WMU *tagúnarúʕi*; CU *tagúy-narúʕay* ‘be thirsty, lit: thirst-buy’; Mn *pasituguʕi* ‘be dry from thirst’; Ca *tákut piš* ‘with/because of thirst’.

**UACV2293b \*pa-takci** ‘thirsty’: Stubbs2003-1: Eu *varákece* ‘tener sed [be thirsty]’; Tr *baracé-* ‘darle a uno sed [give one thirst], tener sed’. Perhaps *\*pa-takci < \*pa-takucV*, i.e., with Num *\*takuC*. [*\*-CC-* red]

[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn]

**UACV1230 \*tiki** ‘hungry’: Kw *tigi-yeʕe* ‘be hungry’; Ch *tigi-ʕiva* ‘lack, hunger, n’; Ch *tigi-ʕi* ‘need, lack, *v*’; CU *tigii-pi* ‘hunger’; CU *tigii-narúʕay* ‘be hungry’. [NUA: Num]

**UACV1229 \*ciha** ‘hungry’: Mn *cihayaʕi* ‘to be hungry’; NP *paziaʕhu* ‘hungry’; TSh *cia-tiyai* ‘starve, be hungry’; TSh *cia-koʕi* ‘starve, be hungry’; Cm *cihasuari* ‘hunger, have an appetite’; Cm *cihasiʕapi* ‘hungry person’. This set may be less likely than the first three sets associated with Semitic *rǵb*, 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 šgr / šağura / šağira ‘be small, little, scanty, young, dwindle’:

UACV1365 \***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, and note the rounding power of uvular ġ in the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable (691 and 692) vs. 1<sup>st</sup> syllable (690 and 693). [CN 1<sup>st</sup> V to 2<sup>nd</sup>] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Azt]

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

UACV2485a \*(**hi-**)**pa-ksi** (<\***pa-kasi**): My baksia ‘be washing, vt’; My hípaksia ‘be washing’; Yq hipáksia ‘lavar’; AYq vaksia ‘wash, vt (not clothes)’. [Cah]

UACV2485b \*(**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 naváki; CU naváki; Ls páci ‘wash’; CN paaka ‘bathe, wash’. [CN p] [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, in contrast to Semitic ġ remaining ġ in earlier Hebrew and being q/k in the Sem-p data:

36 Hebrew bšy / baʕaa<sup>1</sup> ‘enquire, search’; Ug bgy ‘wish’; Arabic bgy ‘search’:

UACV1493 \***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, woi); Eu bowá (= UA \*kwowa, as Eu b = UA \*kw) ‘convidar [invite]’; perhaps Sr koohan ‘call, invite’ and the baa- of TO baamuđ ‘plead, invite’ (lack of TO g < \*w is frequent enough). [kwV > ku] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]

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

Hopi kwala-(k-) ‘boil, come to a boil’; TO бага ‘be angry’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

694 Hebrew ššy (< \*šgy) ‘stoop, bend, incline’ (BDB); Arabic šgy / šağiya ‘incline, bend, lean’:

Wr cucuwi ‘be hunched over, on all fours, face down, hanging’. Also š > c in Sem-kw.

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

**Initial \*l > l:** Uto-Aztecán languages generally do not have initial liquids—l and r—at the beginnings of words (it is regularly said); 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):

695 Hebrew **lqh** / **laaqaḥ** ‘take (in hand), grasp, take as wife’; Arabic lqh / laqaḥa ‘to impregnate’; Hebrew impfv yiqqaḥ ‘take, take as wife’; imperfect yiqqaḥ derives from pre-Hebrew \*ya-lqaḥ > Masoretic Hebrew \*yi-qqah; 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.

Tb(H) looko’lookat ‘be pulled out’; Tb(H) lokook, impf: ol-lokookat ‘uproot’. ‘Pull out’ or ‘uproot’ is a dimension of ‘take’. [NUA: Hp, Tb]

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

UACV529 \***yikoC** > \***yokoC** ‘to copulate’: Sapir; L.Num291 \*yo(h)ko ‘copulate’; M67-99; M88-yo3;

KH/M-yo3: Mn yoqo; NP(B) na-yogo ‘have sexual intercourse’; TSh yokoC; Sh yokoC; Kw yoko-;

SP yoğo-; CU yoğo-. Sapir notes CN yekoa ‘taste, sample food or drink, copulate with s.o.’ and Numic \*yoko, only a vowel assimilation away, and CN yekoa resembles the Hebrew vowel.

[NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

**UACV574** \*yoko-pī-ci ‘coyote (the copulater)’: SP yoġo-vīci ‘coyote’ (< SP yoġo/\*yoko ‘copulate’); CU yoko-vī-ci; WMU yoqǒ-vi-či / yoqǒ-vū-či / yōqowi-ci / yogōwū-či / yogó-vi-či ‘coyote, n’. This SNum form shows a fossilized absolutive suffix \*-pī to which a later suffix \*-ci was added. [NUA: SNum]

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

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

**UACV2364** \*laŋi / \*laŋu ‘tongue’: Sapir; VVH94 \*liŋi ‘tongue’; M67-441a \*neni ‘tongue’; L.Son176 \*nīni / \*nīni; B.Tep182 \*nīni/i; M88-nī3 ‘tongue’; KH.NUA; KH/M-nī3: Hp leŋyi / leŋi ‘tongue’; Cp naŋ; Ca naŋ-il’; Sr naŋač; Ktn niŋi-č; Tŋ -nōŋin (poss’d); Tb lalan-t / lalun-t; Eu nenét; Tbr nini-r; Yq níni; My ninni; Wr yení; Wr(MM) ye’ni / yeni / yeeni; 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, an assimilation, seems more likely (\*laŋa > naŋi), the liquid assimilating to the following nasal, as anticipatory consonant harmony is most common in UA. 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 is plenty frequent 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-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 > laŋi, or default final V is i, perhaps common to Sem-kw (see 7), but u is from round vowel, thus the reconstruction \*laŋu. Ca’s he- prefix of he-naŋ-il’ ‘tongue’ resembles the Canaanite haC- ‘the’ prefix, and that in addition to ŋ suggest Sem-kw. In all branches except Numic. [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, 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 < 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’). [idddua] [NUA: Hp]

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 imperfective: -lmad: **UACV1272a** \*matV / 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 \*matī, mac-i ‘saber’; B.Tep142 \*maatī ‘he knows’, and \*mai ‘he knew’; CL.Azt \*mati ‘know’, 165 \*mačtia ‘teach’; M88-ma2 ‘know’; KH.NUA; AMR1992-15; KH/M-ma2: Mn pummaaci ‘recognize, vt’; Sr maṭ ‘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 mááfi ‘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.

**UACV1272b \*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/M-ma3 \*ma’ci’: TO maasi ‘emerge, appear (as newborn or the sun), dawn’; Wr ma’ci ‘haber luz [be light]; aparecer [appear]’; Tr mači ‘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, be seen, visible, light, dawn, gray’. Manaster-Ramer (1992a) suggests s.th. like \*maci (SUA), \*mayi/mayī (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 maáši ‘appear, see, dawn, look like’; ST maašik ‘visible, easy to see’; Wc máásīkī ‘clear, visible’ perhaps borrowed from Tepiman. Note \*s > h in PYp maahad ‘appear, arise’.

[NUA: Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**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.

**703** Arabic lmm ‘gather, collect, reunite, IV causative: befall, overcome’; Syriac lmm ‘collect’: UA \*līm / 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] [NUA: Tak]

**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’. [NUA:Tak]

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

**UACV2336 \*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’loí-na ‘be tired’; Wr(MM) he’loí / **helowí** / e’loí ‘estar cansado [be tired]’; PYp lo’ig / lo’og ‘poor’. This is an impressive match: initial l in many Semitic and UA forms, the round vowel o due to the rounding influence of the laryngeal 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’loí may include the impfv prefix yi-/yV- or an et-l’y form, possibly anticipating the glottal stop, but a perfect fit is Wr(MM) **helowí** from Hebrew \*hilla’e, the niqtal infinitive. 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-lí’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', because dressing poorly makes one look poor/unfortunate, I've been told repeatedly. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, Tep; NUA: Tak]

**706** Arabic lwy 'turn, bend, twist'; Ethiopic lawaa 'to twist'; Syriac ləwa' / ləwiy 'go/come with, accompany, follow'; Hebrew lwy / laawaa 'to accompany, join oneself to' [that is, twist together]; Hebrew lwy / laawaa 'borrow, causative: lend' (Semitists separate the Hebrew verbs though identical phonologically):

Ls líwa/i 'be tightly twisted, vi, twist tightly, vt'; Ca líwiwey 'sing aloud, wring out'; Wr(MM) rewe 'prestar [to loan]'. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

**707** Hebrew le'ekol 'to eat' (the infinitive form): Cp lyéke 'to eat'.

**708** As in Syriac laakh-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 cölölö-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. [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. Some SUA forms resembling \*telu are likely loans from Nahuatl, and Ls -la also suggests a liquid-pharyngeal cluster (6.4): UACV241 \***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-tu3; KH/M-tu3 \*tul: Ls **túu-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 tīnäänä'n 'be black'; Sr tīnää'q 'bec, turn black'); Cp túltúlxwe 'it is soiled'; Ca túl-nek 'black'; Sr tuu-ṭ 'charcoal, coal(s), ember(s)'; Tḡ 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 čuudt 'make embers of wood'; TO čuudagi 'embers, charcoal', since TO ḍ < \*l. If not Ls túula like Cp tula-, then Ls túu-la rather than \*tuu-l, that is, the keeping of the vowel in -la is good evidence for a 3-consonant cluster: \*tulṣ-ta; > tuu-la. 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 čorí 'cosa negra' (borrowed?). Ken Hill (KH.NUA) 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.

UACV827 \***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] [NUA: Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Azt, Trn, Tep]

**711** Hebrew **kəleḅ**, **kalb-** 'dog'; Arabic kalb- 'dog'; pl: kilaab would correspond to Hebrew \*kiloob: UACV575 \***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**. [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tbr, Trn]

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

Hebrew **hillal-**, impfv: **-hallel** ‘admire, eulogize, praise, exclaim halleluia’:

UACV1136 **\*halla** / **\*halala** ‘happy’: Hp hàalay ‘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 breaks for My); Op a’ararai ‘connotes pleasure and happiness, interjection’; Tb yilaha-t~iyilahaša ‘be happy’ also shows the 3<sup>rd</sup> person imperfective prefix of Hebrew yəhallel. [SUA: Cah, Opn; NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak]

**713** Arabic t̤l̤s ‘to arise, come up’: Tb tulu’ula- ‘to get up from sitting’.

**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 niqtal, which means ‘be unusual, wonderful, miraculous’:

Ca pálaw ‘be pretty’.

**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 tíli-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 (VIIV) as in SP, make both worth listing for contemplation, and CN equates semantically. This is likely Sem-kw due to SP’s behavior resembling 22 and the vowel -i- before L’s is also typical of Sem-kw. [iddddua]

[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Azt]

**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.

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

Hebrew glb ‘shear, shave’:

UACV1893 **\*kīlīpi** ‘shell, shuck, de grain, v’: B.Tep133 **\*kīrivi** ‘to shell corn’; M88-kī14; KH/M03-kī14: TO kīliwi; LP kīkv-; NT kīlivi; NT kīlīvai ‘desgranarlo [degrain, scrape kernels off of it], vt’; ST kīlyiiv. [l/r; liquids] [SUA: Tep]

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

UACV138 **\*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??] [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC, Azt]

**719** Hebrew towlid ‘bear a child, fem impfv’ > Ls tóvli ‘to bear a child, lay an egg’.

**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]; all three UA sets point to Semitic **\*naabal** / **\*na’bal**:

PUA **\*napai** ‘alcoholic drink, drunk’: B.Tep168 **\*navaita/i** ‘beer’; TO nawaiti ‘alcoholic drink’ (TO w < \*p);

NT navaityi; ST navaityi; Cr nawa; Tbr 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’. PUA \*napal explained below. [SUA: Tep, Tbr, Opn, CrC]

Note PYP nava ‘prickly pear’ likely ties to PYP naava ‘get drunk’, only a vowel length difference, and the Semitic forms (nbl / n’bl) may explain the apparent great difference between CN **no’pal-li** ‘prickly pear cactus’ and the widespread UA stem \*napV/\*napo ‘prickly pear’. CN **no’pal-li** even shows the final l 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 \***napV/napo** ‘prickly pear cactus/fruit’ [from which alcohol is made] is in some 20 languages of the Num, Tak, Hp, Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt branches. Hebrew nebel is likely from \*naabal, because Hebrew -e- is a long vowel, -ε- short, likely from -aa- and -a-, respectively, as Proto-Semitic only had a, i, u, aa, ii, uu. In fact, Tep \*napai shows those two vowel qualities (napa) and a final -i- toward a former missing 3<sup>rd</sup> C. And the glottal stop (n’bl) may have originally simply signified a long vowel (n’bl / naabal), but was later read as if pronounced (na’bal) and then the glottal stop rounded the adjacent vowel (no’pal-). The explanation for UA \*napV, also from \*naabal (strictly the spoken language), is that the first vowel was long and stressed, so it kept its value -a-, while the 2<sup>nd</sup> unstressed vowel did its schwa-like non-descript results, and thus the variety (o/u/i) and loss of final -l. So both no’pal and napV are explainable from \*naabal / na’bal.

UACV7a \***no’pal** / \***napV** ‘prickly pear cactus/fruit’: VVH16 \*na,pi ‘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/M-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 navet; Cp navet; Ls náávu-t; Tj návot ‘prickly pear cactus’; TO naw/nawi; Nv nubo(nivo); LP(B) nav; NT navoi; ST nav; Eu navuc; **Op na’avu** ‘prickly pear fruit, tuna’ (Op also has -’- like CN); Wr napó; Tr napó; Yq naabo; My naabo; CN **no’pal-li**. The 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel in TO, Hp and Takic is \*i (perhaps schwa-like behavior), while most of SUA shows o, yet several show u (NP, TSh, Kw, Ch, SP, Ls, Eu). 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 absolute suffix. [SUA l > NUA N]

UACV7b \***napa** ‘alcoholic beverage’: B.Tep168 \*navaita/i ‘beer’; Miller’s M88-na34 and na-5, Ken Hill rightly combines in KH/Mna-5, though Miller’s na34 group with different vowel (\*napa vs. \*napo): TO nawaiti; NT navaiti; ST navaity. Cr nawá ‘alcohol’ and Tbr namwá-t ‘tesgüino’ may be loans from Tep, as \*napa > Tep nawa (\*-p- > Tep \*-v/w-). [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, Azt, CrC] UACV7c \***napa-mukki** ‘drunk, alcohol-smitten’ (> nawa/nah(w)a-m): L.Son161 \*naha/\*nawa ‘emborracharse’; M88-na26; KH/M-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 \*nawa forms could be diffusions from Tep \*nawa (< UA \*napa), we also see medial h in LP and Tbr, which may be lazy glottal stops, who knows? My and TO suggest a compound approximating \*naw(a)-muk < \*napa-mukki ‘alcohol-smitten’. [idddua] [SUA: Tep, Tbr, Opn, Cah]

**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’.

**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.

In UA’s Sem-p, Semitic intervocalic -r- usually remains -r- in much of SUA and sometimes 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]

**724** Semitic **parʕoʃ** ‘flea (jumper)’ from the verb **prʕš** ‘jump’; the jackrabbit, like the flea, is also a jumper, thus from this Semitic word for ‘flea’ and from the quadriliteral (4 consonant) verb **prʕš** ‘jump’, we see all 4 consonants in UA and with identical vowels to the Semitic term, “the jumper” simply being transferred from flea to jumper to another—‘flea’ to ‘jackrabbit’—two of nature’s great jumpers:

**UACV1758 \*par’osi / \*paro’osi** ‘jackrabbit’: M67-336 \*pa ‘jackrabbit’; BH.Cup \*páxwut? ‘young jackrabbit’; L.Son189 \*parosi ‘liebre’; M88-pa6 ‘jackrabbit’; KH/M-pa6 \*pa’rosi ‘jackrabbit’:

Eu barós / bwaros / paaros; Yq páaros; My paaros; pl: paró’osim; Wr pa’loisi; Wr(MM) pa’rowisi / parowisi / pa’loisi / palowisi / palois; Tr ba’loisi; Op paros; Op paroo ‘rabbit’ (Shaul 2020). PYp paaris ‘jackrabbit’ is likely a loan from Tr/Wr; otherwise, \*s > h in Tep. I like the -r- in Ken Hill’s reconstruction. On the strength of the My pl paró’os-im and the tendency of UA to anticipate glottal stops, reconstructing the glottal stop after the liquid is preferable, and later anticipated in most forms. [iddddua] [Wr anticip’] [Sem-p] [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tep]

**725 Hebrew toor** ‘turtle-dove’:

**UACV216 \*tori** ‘domestic bird’: M67-85 \*totoli; CL.Azt15 \*tootoo ‘bird’, 178 \*tootol ‘turkey’, 316\*\*totolii ‘turkey’; M88-to16 ‘chicken’; KH/M-to16: Tr(B) tori ‘gallo [rooster], gallina [hen]’; Tr(H) torí ‘gallina, pollo [chicken]’ Wr to’tori ‘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. A slight vowel change in TO would have triggered palatalization \*to > \*tu > ču; some forms could be Azt loans. [\*o vs. \*u] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, 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’s Semitic -r- usually reflects as -r- and -l- as -l-. For example, in (724), Semitic **parʕoʃ** ‘flea (jumper)’ from the verb **prʕš** ‘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 above that most forms show -r- < -r-, and -l- < -l- in languages that have both. 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 Numic (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’:

**UACV1724 \*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’; WMU piyóğwa-y / piióğwa-y / píyágo / píyáğwa’wey / píyágo’wey / piyáogo’kwe-y / píyáğwa’we-y / píyógo’wa-y ‘pull, drag, pull out, vt’; CU piyó-ğway ‘pull’. White Mesa Ute shows how many variants can occur. [NUA: Num]

**727** Semitic **swr** yields Akkadian **saaru** ‘to revolve, dance’, but Hebrew **swr / srr / soorer** ‘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, yielding **swr > swrr**, in what Semitists 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:

**UACV447 \*suyuyu** ‘spin, whirl’: KH.NUA; Ca súyuy ‘spin, whirl (e.g., of water)’; Sr suyuyu’n ‘whirling (like boiling water), v.i.’ [NUA: Tak]

**728 Hebrew yr' / yiiraa'** '(he/it) fears'; Hebrew tiiraa' '(she/it) fears'; Hebrew yir'a(t) 'fear, n': UACV857 \***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'íya-pikkah 'be afraid'; Tb yaayaŋ / 'aayaayaŋ 'to be timid'. Sh has a prefix. Note Tb ŋ < '. For 2<sup>nd</sup> part of the compound, see 637 \*paxad. [tī- prefix] [\*-r->-y-; Tb ŋ < '] [NUA: Num, Tb]

**729 Aramaic (J) pist-aa / piist-aa** 'hand-the, hand to the wrist, n.f.'; or less likely Aramaic(J) '**eebaar-aa** / 'eebr-aa 'limb, arm, wing, pinion, male member': UACV1813 \***pita** / \***pīra** 'arm, right arm': M67-346 \*pet 'right side'; I.Num172 \*pī(h)ta 'arm'; M88-pī7 'right side'; KH/M-pī7: Mn pīta (< \*pītta) 'arm'; NP bīta (< \*pītta) 'arm'; TSh pītapi 'arm'; Sh pīta 'arm'; Cm pīra 'arm'; Kw pīra-vī 'arm'; WMU pīrā 'arm' (also found in compounds meaning right, but not in compounds for left); CU pīrā-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'. 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: Cah]

**730 Hebrew šrp** 'to burn completely'; Hebrew šorepa(t) 'fire'; Ugaritic šrp 'to burn up'; Akkadian šaraapu(m) 'to light a fire, burn up': UACV890 \***saypa** 'to burn': Wr saipá-ni 'quemarse [be burned]'; TO kohađk '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] [SUA: Tep, Trn]

### 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 / qittel impftv: -šawwe-** 'to command, order, send': UACV1858 \***sawi** 'command': Yq sáwe 'mandar [command]'; Yq nésawe 'mandar, gobernar [govern]'; My sawwe 'manda [command], ordena [order]'; Tbr i-sawi-rá 'mandar'. UA matches Hebrew's imperfective (present/future) stem perfectly: -šawwe > sawwe / sawe. Sem-p. [SUA: Cah, Tbr]

The next few items (732-736) 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 syd '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); Op saire 'shoot arrow without its arriving at the target'. [SUA: Tep, Opn]

**733 Hebrew šwd / šyd** 'to hunt'; Arabic syd 'catch, hunt'; Hebrew **šayid** 'game, venison'; Hebrew **šaad** 'hunter, (is) hunting': Hebrew **šaduu** 'they hunted, caught': UA \***sītu** '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], pezcarr [fish], v'; Tr seru-ame '(person who is) a good aim, a hunter'; [SUA: Trn]

**734 Hebrew mə-šudat** 'net, prey' i.e., game; Aramaic(J) məsuudtaa 'hunting apparatus, net, trap, n.f.': UACV641a \*masat / \***masot** (< \*masuta) 'deer': M67-125 \*mas; L.Son140 \*maso 'venado'; CL.Azt42 \*masaa, 305 \*\*maso; Fowler83; M88-ma5 'deer'; KH/M-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 have \*masa, while six other languages consistently show \*masoC. Perhaps Tbr hi-saru-t ‘fish net’; Tr wesurá / wisurá ‘type of fishing net’ (with prefix we/wi-, Egyptian wš-?). [Wr h < \*s?; a vs. o] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt; NUA: Tb] UACV641b \*masa-pu ‘sacred items’: M88-ma5; KH/M-ma5: Tḡ másavot ‘sacred objects’; Ls mášavut ‘ceremonial bundle’; Cp mášavet ‘sacred treasure of the lineage’. Miller includes these Takic forms with M88-ma5 ‘deer’ on phonological similarity, which seems likely (that they tie to ‘deer’) whether certain or not. They at least form a set themselves. [NUA: Tak]

735 While not attested in the Biblical text, huqṭal forms of initial mu, such as \*muuṣaad ‘game, what’s hunted’ (< \*muṣa(y)ad) could easily have been in the spoken vernacular, which aligns with UA \*musayit / musayid ‘buffalo’: Hp cayrī ‘elk’; Hp cayrīra ‘moose’; Hp mosayrī, mosayir- (combining form) ‘buffalo, bison.’ Note Hebrew/Egyptian d > Hp r here and at ‘tail’ and many.

736 Hebrew ṣwd / ṣyd ‘to hunt’, prfv or participle: ṣaad; plural participle ṣaad-iim ‘hunters-pl’:  
UACV2327 \*sīr ‘shoot, hunt’: Tr seru ‘atinar [hit], ser certero [be accurate], tener buena puntería [have good aim], cazar [hunt], pezcarr [fish]’; Eu hísera ‘tirar [throw, shoot]’; the hi- could be many things, but among possibilities is an unattested hiqṭiil. With c/s frequency, ‘shoot’ may tie to \*cīla ‘straight’ at ‘straight’.  
UACV2206 \*cīli ‘straight’: B.Tep210 \*sīrini ‘straight’; M88-cī11; KH/M-cī11: TO šelini(m) adv’; UP šilini; LP šiliñ; NT šiliñ; ST šiliñ; Wc šéu.ráíye ‘derecho [straight], recto [straight]’. 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 ‘derecho’; PYp selini ‘straight, adj’; PYp selin ‘stretch’; Nv sīri ‘derecho’; Nv aisīriga ‘echar, pl’ (Nv aibua ‘echar, sg’). [SUA: Tep, Tbr, CrC]

737 Hebrew širṣaa ‘hornets’:  
UACV163 \*saṣa ‘yellowjacket, stinging one’: M88-sa28; KH.NUA; KH/M-sa28: Cp šése’ḡimi ‘yellowjacket’; Sr haṣa-ṭ ‘bee’; Ls ṣarjá-ṣṣa-š ‘thorny, a thorn’. Ken Hill adds Ktn haṣa-č ‘yellowjacket’. Add Ls šááṣṣṣ-la ‘yellowjacket’. Cp suggests a cluster. Cr sará ‘bee’ has an interesting reduction of the cluster. The fact that Cr keeps -r- (rather than -r- > -’- as usual) also suggests a cluster. A liquid (r) + pharyngeal (ḥ) > velar nasal (ŋ) is natural, in NUA especially, where liquids tend toward nasals. Usually NUA ŋ > SUA n, but for a cluster -rṣ-, Cr -r- is interesting. [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

738 Hebrew qayiš / qeyṣ ‘summer’:  
UACV2228 \*kuwīs ‘summer’: Note the exceptional similarity of kuvés / kuwés ‘summer, dry season’ in Eu kuvés-rawa ‘summer’ and Tr kuwésa ‘be summer’ as well as Tr kuwé ‘summer, n’; Cora ta’uwasé ‘summer’ (-’uwas-te after a prefixed ta-; though Cora ī normally corresponds to \*u, maybe the rounding influence of w retained the back round vowel). Perhaps Ktn ’oši / ’ošit ‘hot, be hot weather’ and Ktn ’oši-va’a ‘summer’. Hp īyis ‘early summer, planting time’ reportedly derives from \*īca ‘plant, v’ and Hp īyia ‘plant, sow’ though it aligns nicely with qayiš and loss of initial consonant. Cr, Ktn, Hp all lost initial q-. The rounding power of 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. [SUA: Trn, Opn, CrC; NUA: Tak]

67 Hebrew ṣaaráṣat ‘skin disease’; Hebrew(BDB) ṣaaráṣat ‘leprosy’ > CN siyo-tl ‘rash, scab, leprosy’.

739 Hebrew še’aa ‘dung, excrement’; cognates in the related Semitic languages mean ‘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: síipī	Hp	sisiwkī(yi) v(n)	Eu	sísa-
NP	--	Tb	ši’	Tbr	n: síi-r
TSh	siiC; n: siippi	Sr	šii’; šiaa’vun	Yq	síisi; sí’ika ‘bladder’
Sh	siiC; n: sii-ppi	Ca	sí’; pís	My	siise; n: siisi
Cm	siitī; n: siipi’	Ls	síi’a-; písá-ḡa-	Wr	si’a-ní; n: si’í

Kw	si'i-; n: nazipi	Cp	kilyma; n: sí	Tr	isá/isi-; n: isi(ara)
Ch	si'i	TO	hi'a (n. & v.)	Cr	se'e; n: sí'isuri
SP	si'i	Nv	i'a/'i'a	Wc	šii v.
		PYp	hia'a; n: hi'i		šii.pári 'vejiga'
CU	sī'i; n: si'i-pī	NT	íištayi	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:

**UACV2446a \*si'i / \*si'a** 'urinate, v': Sapir; VVH67 \*si('i)/\*si('a) 'to urinate'; M88-si8; M67-447 \*si' 'urinate'; I.Num188 \*si'i 'urinate'; CL.Azt182 \*šiiša 'urinate'; KH.NUA; KH/M-si8: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Kw; SP; CU; Tb; Cp; Ca; Ls; Tṇ sí 'mear'; Sr; Hp; TO; Wr; Tr; My; Wc; Cr; CN. Add Nv, PYp, and AYq siise 'urinate, vi'. Note vowel anticipation in PYp.

**UACV2446b Num \*si'ic-pī** 'urine, n': BH.Cup \*sí urine; L.Son237 \*sia 'orinar', \*si-i 'orines'; M88-si9 urine; KH/M-si9: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; K; SP; CU; Cp; Ca; Ls; Tṇ sí'iy; Sr; Hp sisikīyi; Hp sisimoki 'bladder'; TO; Wr; Tr; My; Tbr; HN maašiiš-tli'. [NUA; Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

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

**UACV645 \*ša'a** 'defecate, v'; **\*ša'i** 'intestines': M88-sa12; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup \*šaa'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 šáa'; Ls sáa'iš. Miller (M88-si7) includes these with \*si below. [NUA: Tak]

**UACV646 \*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/M-si7: Mn sihi 'entrails'; NP si 'guts'; Kw šii/sii-vi 'guts'; Cp šá'i 'guts, belly'; Ls síi 'intestines, guts'; Tṇ -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, Trn, Cah]

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's 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. [SUA: Tep, Azt]

**742 Hebrew šemēr / šamr-** 'wool'; Aramaic/Syriac šamr-aa / qamr-aa, but also šumr-aa 'wool':

**UACV1107a \*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/M-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 but m before a vowel, consistent with a \*-my- cluster. UA \*comya and Cm co'yaa' align with Aramaic šumr-aa except an initial š instead of š, yet also the change of šamr-aa > šomr-aa for an unstressed first vowel is natural between a pharyngealized š- and a bilabial -m-, as the suffix -aa gets stress in the UA data. If a Phoenician dialect with an Aramaic-looking form with -aa 'the' suffixed yet š instead of š turns up, that is a dialect we want to look at as potential source for Semitic-kw, as Semitic-kw looks more like Phoenician than Hebrew.

**UACV1107b \*coni** 'head, hair': My cóoni 'cabello'; Tṇ cócon 'face, eyes' (vowel is unexpected, o < \*o usually only after \*k); Eu zonit; 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; Tṇ/NUA n = SUA n] [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp, Num; SUA: Cah, Opn, Azt]

Below is another cluster of -mr- as 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants follows, showing \*-mr- > -'y-:

**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': UACV1609 \***tu'ya** 'palm tree, sp': Wr tu'ya 'palmilla [palm tree]'; Tr ru'ya 'variedad de palma, mas grande que el guru [kind of palm tree]'. [SUA: Trn]

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

**744** Hebrew **šelaaf** / **šelaš** (construct) 'rib', **šalš-** (construct/possessed with suffix pronoun), pl: šelašoot / šelašim/ šalšoot-; Arabic **šlš** 'incline/lean, be crooked, limp'; Arabic **šilš-** / **šilaš-** 'rib, side'; Aramaic(J) š<sup>a</sup>laš 'side, rib'; šilš-aa 'rib-the': UACV1809a \***cawa** 'rib': M67-345 \*ca 'ribs'; M88-ca2 'ribs'; KH.NUA; KH/M-ca2: Ca čáwa-'al 'rib', pl čáwa'am; Ca -cáw'a 'rib (poss'ed); Ca čá'aw-ika 'sideways, to the side'; Tη -čáx / čáš 'back'; Sr -ča' 'ribs' (poss'ed); UACV1809b \***ca'aC**: Tb ca'apī-l; Tb(H) čaa'ppī-l 'ribs'; Cr i-ca'apwa-ri 'ribs'. (-lš- > ' at 816 also) UACV1809c \***caŋa** 'side, limp': Hp cīŋi 'rib'; Ls čááŋax 'this side'; Miller queries whether Ls čááŋax 'this side' is cognate. Good question, unless -ŋax is a Ls affix/morpheme. Add Ca čīŋay '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 čīŋay 'limp, hop' and Hp cīŋi 'rib' < šVlš. UACV1809d \***silaj** / \***salja** 'rib': CN šillan-tli 'side'; My sána'arim 'costillas'; Yq sana'im 'costilla'. Perhaps Ls šówlaka-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 ŋ in NUA aligning with SUA n. The variety of 2<sup>nd</sup> consonants (w, n, l, ŋ, ŋw, ') 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 contemplatable, and CN šillan-tli 'side' has the Proto-Semitic and Arabic vowels **šilaš-**. [NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb: SUA: Cah, CrC, Azt]

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

UACV2235a \***cihari** / \***ci'rv** 'sunrise, east, morning': B.Tep197 \*si'ari 'east'; L.Son34 \*cira 'amanecer'; M88-ci18; M88-ci1; KH/M-ci18; KH/M-ci1: TO si'al 'morning, east'; NT šíali; ST sia'ly; Wr ce'la-ni / ce'ri-ma 'amanecer, despertar'; Tr če'rá / čí'ri 'amanecer'. In Tepiman, \*h > ' is common, and in Trn it is common in clusters. Combine M88-ci1 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]

UACV2235b \***ta-si'aN** / \***ta-siCaC** 'dawn': initial ta- 'sun'; then -si'aN < šhr: Ch(L) ta-sia 'dawn, v'; Ch(L) ta-siapi / ta-sianti 'dawn, n'; Ch(L) ta-siaŋu 'it became morning, day broke'; Kw tasí'i-zi 'dawn, n'; SP taššiaN 'dawn, v' (Sapir says likely contains ta- 'sun'); WMU *tahsú(ŋ)a-y* 'be early dawn before sun comes up'. SP šia-ppi 'after sunset'. Hopi se'el / sé'ele 'earlier this morning'. [SUA: Tep, Trn; NUA: Num; Hopi]

**746** Hebrew **'ešbaš** 'finger, toe'; pl: **'ešbaš-oot**, plural construct **'ešbəš-oot** 'fingers (of)';

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

UACV2629 \***cipo** 'five': Hp civot 'five' and the \*-s(i)po in TO hītaspo 'five' and -spo in Nv utaspo 'cinco' point to \*cipo / \*cipu. NT ma-sáaviga 'finger' (NT s < UA \*c; NT v < UA \*p; NT g < UA \*w). [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

UACV2633 \***cikwa-si'im** 'six (lit: 5 + 1): CL.Azt148 \*čikwaseem 'six'; M88-ci10; KH/M03ci10:

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**). [SUA: Azt]

**747** Hebrew **ʿešbaʿ** ‘finger, toe’; pl: **ʿešbaaʿ-oot**, plural construct **ʿešbāʿ-oot** ‘fingers (of)’; Arabic **šbʿ** ‘point with the finger, v’; Arabic **ʿušbaʿ** ‘finger’; Syriac **šibʿ-taa** ‘finger’: various vowelings UACV1122 **\*sipwa** / **\*cap(i)wa** ‘finger’: Cr ansībi ‘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 masīwihki’; Ch ma-sīi; CU ma-sīi-vī; (perhaps TSh masīkīn /masikun; Sh masīki ‘hand-leaf’); NT masááviga / masáágiga ‘finger’. Note that Syriac šibʿ- aligns perfectly with WMU sivwə ‘finger’ and with the UA initial syllable of šī rather than ʿVš 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, this being of Semitic-p. [C harmony in NT; reduction -vw- > v or w in Num] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, CrC]

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 > ʾ in Numic again.

**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 / təmah ‘be numb, rigid, speechless, amazed, struck dumb, regard with awe, reverence’; this UA set reflects the impfv stem -tmah; (see 1591 for perfective təmah): UACV855 **\*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 preceding two CN forms vs. CN iimakasi show separate sets. Perhaps Ch(L) mahai-/ mai- ‘with intent to harm’. For the pfv of same verb, see below. [SUA: Trn, Cah, 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 / **təmah** ‘be numb, rigid, speechless, amazed, struck dumb, regard with awe, reverence’; the first two UA forms could be a quttal or huqtal (tutmah) or an Aramaic basic form (təmah) with very short first vowel, 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 (**təmah**) very well: Sr tuma’-q ‘be/keep quiet, shut up’; Ktn tu’mī-k ‘be quiet’; Tb **tehmat** ‘be silent’; Ktn **tīhmī-k** ‘be afraid, be constipated’. Anticipation of 3<sup>rd</sup> C h in 3 forms suggests Semitic tmh, and Ktn ‘afraid’ leans toward tmh too.

**751** Hebrew dmy / damaa ‘to be like, resemble’: UA **\*tama** / tami  
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(B) tami / timi ‘a modo de [in the way of / like], medio, parecido a [appearing like]’  
Ktn tīm / tīhmea ‘same as, similar to’ [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]

**752** Arabic **sahm-** ‘arrow, dart’; pl **suhuum**:  
UACV64 **\*suhuma** ‘arrow’: Sr šumaant ‘bow, arrow’; Ktn šumana-t ‘arrow’; TO ho’oma-čud ‘make a charm, lucky arrow, etc, for’ (TO h < \*s, and TO ʾ < \*h, so TO ho’oma < UA \*sohoma / \*suhuma); TO ho’oma ‘a charm, s.th. that brings good luck’. \*h > ʾ in Tep, so a medial h is reconstructed yet easily lost diachronically; Eu zamát ‘arrow’. Eu has the vowelings of the sg while Sr, Ktn, and TO align with the vowelings of the pl, a broken pl, no less, 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] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn]

**753** Syriac kətif < \*katip ‘shoulder’; Hebrew kaatep ‘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’; UACV407 and UACV1502, a verb and a noun, should be combined, and \*-t- > -c- before high vowels and then \*c > s in Tep is usual; but most interesting is UACV98 in that one Hebrew pl is

kətepot, whose short first syllable was lost and the rest is just as we see in Azt tepoc (< \*tepoti), and Tr -r- is expectable as previously intervocalic:

UACV407 \***kucupu** 'carry on the back/neck': B.Tep124 \*kusuvui 'carry (on the back)'; M88-ku27; KH/M-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 / kusuvar 'neck') and TO kušwi'ot 'shoulder a load, vt' (TO kušo 'back of the neck'). Cf. \*kucipu 'neck'.

UACV1502 (\***kutipu** >) \***kucipu** > **Tep** \***kusivu** 'neck': TO kus(i)wo; LP kúšiv; PYP kusiv; NT kušivu; ST kúšvu. Cf. \*kucupu 'carry on back'. [SUA: Tep]

UACV98 134\***tihpo** / \*tīCpo 'back, shoulder': CL.Azt9 \*təpoc 'back, shoulder'; M88-ti39; KH/M06- ti39: CN tepoc-tli 'back, shoulders'; Pl tepuc 'lump, back'; Campbell and Langacker, Miller, and Hill all list the Azt forms; however, Trn and other forms exist as well: Tr fepó-pa 'espalda'; Tr fepo-gá 'dorso, espalda'; cvTr fepo-mina 'de espaldas, sobre la espalda'; Wr tehópa 'back'. Sr tihpi 'back, behind, n' and Ktn tihpi-c 'loin, back' also show considerable agreement, except in the last vowel, which may be from \*piC 'back'. Tr and Wr may have the locative suffix \*-pa fossilized into them. The Wr -h-, Sr -h-, Tr -p-, and perhaps the Azt forms all suggest that a consonant is clustered with -p-, whether -hp- or something else.

[\*o > Sr i?] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Azt]

754 Hebrew(BDB) pny / panaa' 'turn, turn and look, look'; Hebrew(KB) pny 'turn attention to, to care about'; participle **poone**:

UACV449a \***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'.

UACV449b \***puni** 'turn, look, see': I.Num159 \*puni/\*puh- 'see'; M88-pu6 'see'; KH/M-pu6: Mn puni/poni; NP puni; TSh puniC 'see, look at, study'; Sh puniC/puiC 'see'; Cm puni-ti; Ch puunii 'see, look'; SP pinni 'see'; CU pini-kya 'see, vt'; CU pini-'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 puinuinuih 'spin'; Sh(C) puinuah / puinuiC / puinukkaC 'turn, spin', some with other morpheme(s). [\*u > i in SP and CU, i.e., eastern SNum]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]

755 Hebrew **kuttónet** 'shirt-like tunic'; Samaritan kittaonet:

UACV488 \***kutuni** 'shirt': ST kutun 'traditional tunic'; TO kotoni 'shirt'; NP pina-kkiti 'shirttail' < (back-shirt; i < \*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. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

756 Hebrew šn' 'to hate'; Hebrew šoone' and SamP šanna = Hebrew \*šannaa' '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 sínáwa-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':

UACV569 \***sina'a-** / \***sinawa** 'coyote': Dakin2004b: Kw sina'a-vi; Ch siná'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 sínáwa-vi / süná'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' (Karttunen); 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 šoolopi'yoo-tl 'foolery, deceit'; CN šolopi'-tli 'idiot, fool, dolt'. Might these relate to \*sina

‘shout’ (Wr *siná* ‘shout’; Tr *siná* ‘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]  
[NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

**757** Hebrew **šiphāa** ‘maid, maid-servant’ (BDB), ‘slave-girl, maid’ (KB); 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 viable. Keep in mind that bilabials as first consonant of a cluster typically disappear in UA, as here also; the pharyngeal does its usual w, but also ŋ as we sometimes see in UA, and 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 the others:

**UACV2575a** \***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 *šawāa-may* ‘daughter’. Miller and Bright’s observation that Ls *šawāa-may* ‘daughter’ is the diminutive of Ls *šunāa-l* ‘woman’ is very relevant to the cluster with -w-. CN may show a vowel assimilation to w (\**siwa* > \**sowa*) that occurred in other languages also, probably in Tak \**suŋa*, Tbr \**sona* ‘wife’ and Tep \**hooniga* ‘wife’.

**UACV2575b** \***si’a** ‘girl’: I.Num195 \**si’a* (young) girl; M88-sī11 ‘young girl’; KH/M03-sī11: 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]

**UACV2575c** \***suŋa** ‘man’s daughter, wife’: M88-su21; KH.NUA; KH/M03-su21: Cp *šunāma* ‘man’s daughter’; Ca *šunāma* ‘man’s dau’; Ls *šunāa-l* ‘woman, wife’; Tŋ *ásoŋ* ‘wife’; Sr *šuuŋ* ‘man’s dau’.

Add Ktn *huŋ* ‘descendant’ and Ktn *nīmihuŋ* ‘wife’, pl: *nīmihuŋam* (< \**nīmi-suŋa* ‘man’s-girl/woman’).

**UACV2575d** \***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 *šunāma* ‘daughter of man (diminutive of woman)’; M88-so8; KH/M03-so8: TO *hooniga*; NT *ooniga*; ST *hooni*’; Tbr *soná-r* ‘esposa’. [idddua]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Azt]

**758** Hebrew **š’l** ‘ask’:

**UACV74** \***si’wī** ‘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. [NUA: 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. Both SP and TO may suggest a quttal form: *šuppal*. So all corresponds as expected, except TO *š* puzzles. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

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

**UACV2078** \***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]’?

**UACV1550** \***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]

[SUA: Azt, Cah, CrC]

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

**UACV539** \***siló**/\***soli** ‘ear of corn’: M88-si14; KH/M-si14: CN *šiiloo-tl* ‘tender ear of green corn’ and Tbr *solí-t* ‘ear of corn’ are identical except for a vowel metathesis; Pl *šiilu-t* ‘small green ear of corn’; Hopi *silaw* ‘absent, missing, none there’; Hopi *silaw-ti* ‘be gone, vanished, depleted, used up’.

[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tbr, Azt]

**762** Semitic *ḏṣy* / *ḏṣt* ‘to sweat’, impfv: \*yV-*ḏṣy* and yV-*ḏṣat* ‘to sweat’; Hebrew *yezaʿ* ‘sweat, n.m.’; Hebrew *zeʿaa* ‘sweat, n.f.’; Aramaic *deeʿt-aa* ‘sweat, n.f.’; Syriac *ḏṣt* ‘to sweat’, impfv **ye-*ḏṣat***: UACV2251 \***īʿwa** ‘sweat’: Ca ’é’wa ‘sweat, vi’; Cp é’we ‘sweat, vi’. [NUA: Tak]

**763** Hebrew **šille<sup>ah</sup>** ‘let go, dismiss, send away, **make water flow**’ (qittel): UACV2315 \***sila/i** ‘spill’: Ls *šila/i* ‘spill, pour out’; Ca *silye-če* ‘spill, drip (of liquid)’. [NUA: Tak]

**764** Hebrew **šimlaa** / **šimla-t** ‘wrapper, mantle’ [s.th. wrapped around]; Hebrew *salma-t* ‘garment’ meta-thesis of Hebrew *simla-t*; Arabic *šamlat* ‘cloak’; Arabic *šamila* / *šamala* ‘contain, include, enclose, envelope’: UACV2211 \***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 *samápū* ‘pallet, rug’; WMU *sa’má-ppū* ‘rug, skin, thick blanket, saddle blanket, n’; CU *sa’má-pū* ‘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 *šimni* ‘a wrap for the body, blanket, shawl, robe, cape’; Hp *šiman-ta* ‘make a wrap’ (\*l > n in cluster or usually in NUA); Tb *’iši-t* ‘blanket’. Note l > ’ in a cluster with N at *sml*, *gml*, *dll*. Tb at both UACV2211 and UACV248, now combined here; unstressed V changed. [NUA: SNum, Hp, Tb] UACV248 \***’iši(C)**- ‘blanket’: NP *iziggwi* ‘blanket’; Tb(M) *’iši-t* ‘blanket’; Tb *’iši’đit* ‘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; furthermore, the gemination in NP *iziggwi* suggests C cluster. [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 *xalaʿa*, -*xlaʿu* ‘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’: UACV2039 \***kalu** ‘slide’: Eu *karú-da’a* ‘resbalar [slip, slide]’; Wc *harúanari* ‘liso [smooth]’; Ca *xáyuš* / *xáyuqi* ‘slide down, v’. [r > y; k > h?] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, CrC]

**766** Semitic **rxđ** ‘wash’ (though Egyptian **rx**t ‘wash’ would match as well): UACV2491 \***pa-tiki** ‘wash’: SP *parīgi* ‘wash’; WMU *pa-rügi* ‘wash (s.th. solid, like dishes, baby), vt’; CU *na-vá-rīgi* ‘wash oneself’. [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’. UACV2527 \***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 *himí* ‘what’; Mn *himáa* ‘what’; SP *ma-/maa-* ‘thing, clothing, brush, plant’. UACV2670a \***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)’. UACV2670b \***mi** ‘that, this’: KH/M-dm5: Hp *mi*’ (acc. *mit*; pl. *mima*, acc. *mimiy*) ‘that (far from speaker and hearer)’; Tj *menè* ‘this’; pl. *memo* ‘these’; Tr(H) *mi* ‘aqueil, aquella’; *miká* ‘lejos’ (Ht); Cr *müimü* ‘ese’. [p1m] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

**768** Syriac *makyaan* / *mekaa* ‘hurting, injuring’, not Hebrew *\*makke* ‘smite’ (active hiqtiil participle): UACV1262 *\*mika* / *\*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/M-mi3: Tb *mī*’gat; Cp *meqe*; Ca *mékan/méqa*; Tḡ *moká*; Ls *móknu* / *mókna* / *móqna*; Ktn *mīk* ‘kill, hit’; TO *mī’a* / *mī’i* / *mīa’i* ‘kill’; Eu *méa* ‘matar a uno [kill one]’; Wr *me’á* ‘matar sg. obj.’; Tr *me’á* ‘matar a uno’; My *mé’a* ‘matar’; Cr *ra-me’e-nyí* ‘he’s going to kill him with a knife’ Miller includes Sr *mīmī’kin* ‘hurt sg. obj.’ (the causative of Sr *mīmī’k* ‘die, be sick’), but Ken Hill’s (KH/M03) association of Sr *mýkkaan* ‘kill, hurt, sg.obj.’ with the above forms fits better (*ý* = 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, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]

**769** Hebrew *tqp* ‘to overpower, v’; Aramaic(J) *təqef* ‘be strong’; the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel of Aramaic means it is from Proto-Semitic *\*taqipa* (sg), *\*taqipuu* (pl), exactly as the UA forms: UACV1741 *\*takipa* / *\*takipu* ‘push’: Wr *tahkipúna* ‘empujar muchas veces [push many times]’; Tr(B) *rákiba-* / *rákibú-* ‘empujar [push]’ (alternate forms, Brambila says, the two Semitic variants); Tr(B) *rátakípu-* ‘empujar mucho, dar empollones (repetidas veces) ;\ [push much, give pushes repeatedly]’; Tr(H) *rakibú* ‘empujar [push]’. (Ht); My *táktia* ‘tocar [touch], picar [prick, pierce]’; SP *tīḡwipa* ‘push in with the hand’. Note that repeated action in Wr and Tr both use the Semitic plural form of the verb *taqipu* rather than *taqipa*. [Sem-kw] [NUA: Numic; SUA: Trn, Cah]

## 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* / *ṭaawaa* ‘spin (thread)’:

UACV444: Hebrew *ṭwy* / *ṭawaa* ‘to spin’; Hebrew *maṭwe* ‘yarn, s.th. spun’: CN *caawa* ‘to spin’; Pl *caawa* ‘weave’.

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

UACV2222a *\*cu’mi* > *\*cuṅV* ‘suck, sip, kiss’: M67-420 *\*cun* ‘suck’; CL.Azt10 *\*cinaakan* ‘bat’; M88-cu7; KH.NUA; KH/M-cu7: Kw *čohmi* ‘suck, v’; Hp *čoocoṅa* ‘kiss, suck, suck on pipe’; Hp(S) *coḥcona* ‘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*; AY *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 *višúúsumai* ‘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’<sup>w</sup>a-čomi-gyah* ‘tobacco-chewing-is’. Worth listing, but having variant correspondences are CU *sóö’mi* ‘suck, sip, vt’; Ls *šóómi* ‘swallow whole’. In the below and some of the above, the cluster -*ṣm-* > -*ḡ-* and then > -*n-* in SUA.

UACV2222b *\*cuṅuC* ‘tobacco pipe’: M67-321 *\*cunu* ‘pipe’; M88-cu8 ‘pipe’; KH/M-cu8 ‘tobacco pipe’: SP *čuṅuC*; CU *cuu-ci* ‘pipe, sucker (the fish)’; Hp *cooṅo* ‘tobacco pipe’; Hp *cooçoṅa* ‘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 *\*ními* ‘go, person’. [NUA: Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

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

UACV1474a *\*co’ma* ‘mucus, have a cold’: M67-219b *\*com* ‘snot’; M88-co4 ‘snot’; KH/M-co4: Eu *zóma* ‘moco de narices [mucus]’; Wr *co’má* ‘moco [mucus]’; Tr *co’má* / -*cum* ‘moco’; My *cóómi-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 -m-: \*šošma > šoša; likewise for NT sósoi. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC] UACV1474b \***co’**m-pil ‘have a cold (mucus appendage/falls)’: L.Son41 \*cop ‘moco, catarro’: northern Eu cóbá-t; Wr copé; Tr cohpe. CN compiil-li ‘a cold, n’ and CN compiiliwi ‘have a cold, v’ are likely fuller forms of the reductions in Trn: Wr copé ‘cold (sickness)’; Tr co’pe ‘catarro [cold], n’. The CN, Wr, and Tr terms, of course, seem related to \*co’ma above, compounded with -pil. [N > ø as 1<sup>st</sup> C in cluster] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

773 Hebrew t̥h̥n ‘grind, crush’; Syriac t̥h̥n ‘grind, pound’; Arabic t̥h̥n ‘grind, mill, crush, destroy’; Arabic taḥn ‘grinding, crushing, verbal noun’; Hebrew taḥnaa(t) ‘mill’ (i.e., grinding, crushing, f. verbal noun’; Arabic taḥjuun ‘mill, grinder’; Hebrew t̥h̥joon ‘hand-mill’; both t̥ > c and t̥ > t at times: UACV1188 \***co’**na / \***co’**ni ‘pound, hit’: M67-232 \*con ‘hit’; L.Son39 \*cona/\*con-i ‘abofetear’; M88-col ‘pound’; KH/M-col: 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 čočona ‘dar trancazos’; AYq čočona ‘hit one’. This ties to Num \*to’na ‘stab, hit’. A similar example is b̥h̥n > po’na ‘pull out’. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt] UACV621 \***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 tonari ‘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 tō’náy ‘hit, strike, punch (only once)’; CU tōnápaga-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. These align with the verbal noun \*taḥnat made verb in UA and the semantics ‘grind, crush’ to ‘pound, hit’ is an overlap rather than a change. [NUA: WNum, CNum, SNum; SUA: Trn]

774 Hebrew n̥t̥s̥ ‘to plant’, imperfective: yi-t̥taš ‘he plants’: UACV1635 \***i**ca ‘to plant’: VVH119 \***i**s(ca) ‘to plant’; B.Tep339a \***i**sai ‘he plants’; B.Tep339b \***i**si ‘to plant’; B.Tep339c \***i**i ‘he planted’; B. Tep 338; B. Tep 340; B. Tep 341; B. Tep 343; M88-īl ‘to plant’; M67-323 \***e**/ei ‘plant, v’; L.Son10 \*ica ‘sembrar’; AMR92-6 \*ica ‘to plant’; KH/M-īl \*ica ‘plant, v’: TSh ia; Kw i’a; SP ia; CU iay ‘trap, plant, sow, cultivate, farm’; Hp iya; TO eš(a); PYP esa; NT ísai; ST iis; 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 SUA and Tep forms reflect \*ica clearly. SUA \*ica, Hp iya, 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? [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

775 Hebrew n̥t̥s̥ ‘to plant’; Hebrew neṯaš / naṯaš ‘a growing plant, plantatino’: Hp natwani ‘plants, harvest’.

776 Hebrew n̥tr̥ ‘watch over, guard’, Aramaic by-form of n̥sr̥; Hebrew maṯṯaaraa ‘target, mark (as kept in the eye, watched)’; Arabic n̥tr̥ ‘to watch, guard’: UACV2289 \***natya** / \***natay** ‘plan’: Hopi t̥natya-w-ta ‘1 be careful, prudent, mindful 2 intend to, plan 4 watch over, pay attention to, care for’; Hopi t̥natya ‘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 t̥natya- may have the indefinite object prefix t̥i- fossilized into the form, because -natya- reflects n̥tr̥ with the cluster -tr̥- > -ty- much like the cluster -t̥s̥- > -tw- in Hopi above. [idddua] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn]

**777** Hebrew **ṭabbuur** ‘navel’; MHebrew **ṭibbuur** ‘navel’; Aramaic(J) **ṭiibbuur-(aa)** ‘navel-(the)’:

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	siǵuN	Nv	’ikudi	Wc	šīi.temúuci;
WMU	siǵú-ppi / sugú-ppi	PYp	hikor	Wc	cikīri ‘simbolo usado en la
CU	siǵú-pī	NT	--		fiesta del tambor’
		ST	--	CN	šiik-tli

**UACV1495a \*sikuN / \*sikʷur** ‘navel’: VVH68 \*si<sub>s</sub>ku ‘navel’; M67-301 \*sik; I.Num191 \*siku(n); L.Son240 \*siku ‘ombligo’; CL.Azt113 \*šiik, 257 \*\*siku; M88-si2; KH/M-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 šiik-tli ‘navel’ is cognate, CN sikwil-li (< \*sikwul) ‘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 ṭ > UA \*s. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, CrC, Azt, Tep]

**778** Hebrew **ṭabbuur** ‘navel’; MHebrew **ṭibbuur** ‘navel’; Aramaic (J) **ṭiibbuur-aa** ‘navel’; KB notes with this etymon are ‘center of the land / earth, in Egyptian the primaeval hill’:

Tb(H) šappušt ‘belly’; NP sibudu ‘navel’; Cr sipu; Hp sipna, combining form Hp sivon- (Hp o < \*u). Note Tewa sipu ‘navel’ (areal loan?). Semitic b > b/p is Sem-p; -r- > Tb -s- next to voiceless t. Perhaps tying in also is Hp sipàapīni ‘the hatchway from whence the Hopis believe they emerged to the Fourth World. The structure and function of the kiva symbolizes this passageway’.

**UACV1496 \*sipo/pu...** ‘navel’: M67-302 \*poci; M88-po9; KH/M06-po9: Mn poci; NP sibudu; Cr sii-pu’u-ci. NP (Yerington) has both NP si ‘umbilical cord’ and NP sibudu ‘navel’. My sources have Cr(McMahon) sipuci. The new NP dictionary has NP(B) cibudu ‘navel’. Conventional wisdom often suggests the first syllable to be \*si’i ‘intestines’ compounded with \*po/pu—maybe; on the other hand, it may not be a compound: NP cibudu / sibudu; Hp sivon- (combining form); Cr sipuci (2nd V should be i). Note Tewa sipu. Does Hp sipàapuni ‘hatchway from whence the Hopis believe they emerged to the Fourth World’ tie in? Sipapu is a rather pan-Puebloan term, but its origin is thought to be Hp. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: CrC]

**UACV2189 \*sappu** (perhaps < \*sa’(a)-pī) / \*saCpu- ‘stomach, belly’: M67-416 \*sap ‘stomach’; I.Num177 \*sahpī ‘stomach’; M88-sa12 ‘stomach’; KH/M06-sa12: NP saappī; TSh sappīh; Sh sa-ppi; Cm sappi; Kw sapī-vī ‘stomach, tripe’; Ch sap(i); SP sahpī-vī; CU sapī-vī ‘stomach, intestines, innards, tripe’; Tb(V) sapu-l ‘belly’; Tb(V) saps-t ‘belly’; Tb(H) šappušt; Tb(M) sapuubišt ‘big belly’ (vs. Tb(M) sa’at ~ ’aasa’ ‘defecate’; Tb(V) saa-l ‘feces’); Cr šapīh ‘vagina’;. The 2nd V in the Tb forms seems most likely to be original. Consider also Tr sapé ‘gordo’. Note SNum \*sappī-pī. Some have combined this with \*sa’a ‘intestines, defecte, etc’, but as the contrasting Tb forms above show (and Cr šapīh and Tr sapé ‘gordo’), then \*sap, \*sa’a, and \*sa’apa ‘meat’ are separate stems. [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: CrC, Trn]

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

Wr cuhca ‘1 to rub, 2 to hang up, put on clothes’. The cuh- portion aligns, and the two Wr meanings ‘to rub’ and ‘to put clothes on’ are reconciled to make sense from ‘to coat, over-lay, besmear’.

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

Wr cuhce ‘to place a load on a burro, horse, etc’ if -n- lost in cluster with another morpheme.

**781** Aramaic *dḥp* ‘push, impel’; Hebrew *dḥp* ‘push away, (do) in haste, (niqṭal) to hurry (KB); Hebrew *dḥp* drive, hasten (BDB)’

UACV1736 \***top(p)a** ‘pull, push, move by applying force’: Sapir: SP *toppa / toppi / tovi* ‘come loose, vi, pull out, vt’; CN *topeewa* ‘push, shove s.o. or s.th., vt, press forward, v.refl’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

**782** Arabic *ṭḥy / ṭaḥaa* ‘to hurl, shoot’: Wr *cewa* ‘to throw or hit with a missile’.

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

Hopi *cakwani* ‘plaster’; Hopi *cakwan-ta* ‘be plastering, smearing on’ likely from an unattested *-ṭappel*, which doubles the middle consonant: \*-pp- > -kw-, for Sem-kw.

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

UACV126 \***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 pokaa* ‘bat’. The Mn, TSh, and 2<sup>nd</sup> NP morpheme 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 *-ṭl- > -’n-*. 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.’ [NUA: WNum, CNum]

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

UACV522a \**ayu* ‘good’ (< \***acu**): Sapir; M67-201 \*’*ay* ‘good’; M88-a17 ‘good’; KH.NUA; KH/M-a17: SP ’*ayu/ayī* ‘be good’; Tḥ ’*ayó* ‘in ‘much’, pl: ’*ayó* ‘im ‘many’; Sr ’*a* ’*ai/’a* ’*ayu* ‘good’, \**-ṭṭ-* > UA \**-c-* > NUA *-y-*.

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

UACV522b 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 *tīwī* ‘good, well, rightly’; Tb(H) *tīwīppil* ‘pretty’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

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

UACV1001 \***kītta** ‘harvest, v’: Mn *kīta* ‘reap’; NP *kīta* ‘harvest, v’. [NUA: WNum]

**788** Hebrew \**makke* ‘smite’ (active *hiqtiil* participle):

UACV619 \***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’t-* ‘cut with an axe or machete’. Tr and Wr may be compounds from \**mak-tík*.

UACV1097 \***maki** ‘grind’: M67-233; M88-ma18; Munro.Cup1 \**mááxi-š* ‘acorn flour’; KH/M-ma18 ‘hit/golpear’: Tbr *maká-t* ‘mató [he killed]’; Ls *mááxi* ‘grind acorns on a metate’; Ls *maxi-š* ‘acorn flour’; Cp *máxi-š* ‘acorn flour’; TeNawa -*maga-* ‘pega, golpea, hiera, ultraja [hit, injure, abuse]’; Pl *maka* ‘punish’. Similarly ground, add Tr *ma\*kí* ‘membrilio Cimarron, su hoja, muy fina, la muelen seca y hacen pinole’. [SUA: Tbr, Cah, Trn, Azt; NUA: Tak]

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

UACV964 \***cahar** ‘fork(ed)’: TO *ša’adk/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, but plausible enough to include. [iddddua] [\*h > ’ in Tep; > ø in Cr?; liq; c/s] [SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]

**790** Hebrew **moot** ‘pole, carrying frame’; Hebrew **mootaa** ‘pole, bar of yoke’:

**UACV796 \*mu(C)ti** ‘point (of s.th.)’: M67-368 \*muk / \*muc ‘sharp’; M88-mu15; KH/M-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. [iddddua]  
[NUA: Hp, Tak, CNum]

**791** Hebrew **maṭṭe** ‘staff, rod, branch’:

Hopi **komaci** ‘kindling, small sticks or chips of wood’ (if ko- ‘fire’ < UA \*kut ‘fire’)

**792** Hebrew **ṭap** ‘little children’; Arabic **ṭifl-** < \*ṭipl- ‘infant, child, baby, boy’:

**UACV1361 \*cupi** ‘small’: Eu **čúpi** ‘chico’; Tr **čúpu(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’. [iddddua]  
[SUA: Trn; NUA: Tb, Tak]

**793** Semitic **plṭ** ‘escape’; Hebrew **plṭ** / **paalaṭ** ‘to escape’, pl participle: **poolṭiim**:

UA **\*puCti** ‘escape’: Ca **púti** ‘escape’; Ca -t- < \*-Ct-/\*-tt-.

**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’:

**UACV1619 \*wī’aC** ‘penis’: M67-315 \*we ‘penis’; I.Num284 \*wī’ah/\*wī’aN ‘penis’; Munro.Cup90 \*wəə’i-la; M88-wī8 ‘penis’; KHM/06-wī8: NP **wīa**; TSh **wīaC-ppi**; 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, the Aramaic glottal stop. [V assim] [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 **\*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:

**UACV547 \*apari** ‘elote, new/fresh ear of corn’: Yq’**ába**’i ‘elote’; My **ábari/ábarim** ‘elotes, mazorca’; AYq **avae** ‘fresh corn’. [liquids: \*-r- > -’- > -ø-] [SUA: Cah]

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):

**UACV782 \*tikkaC** ‘eat’: VVH163 \*tī<sub>u</sub>ka to eat; I.Num238 \*tīhka ‘to eat’; M88-tī27; AMR 1993c \*tīkka; KH/M-tī27 \*tīkka: Mn **tīka**; NP **tīka**; TSh **tīkka**; Sh **tīkka**, **tīkīC-**; Cm **tīhka-**; Ch **tūká-**; SP **tīkka**; 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 > ĩ often in Num. [\*-kk-] [NUA: Num, Tb]

**UACV286 \*tikkaC-pī** ‘bread, food’: NP **tīkaba tomīca** ‘bread dough’; Sh **tīkka-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':

UACV783a **\*yī'iki** 'swallow': VVH168 **\*yū'i** 'to swallow'; M67-425 **\*ye** 'swallow'; M88-yī9 'swallow'; I.Num299 **\*yī(h)wi**; KH/M-yī9: Mn **yīkwī** (<**\*yīkkwī**) 'swallow'; NP **yīggwī** 'hu/yīkwī'; Sh **yīmiC**; Cm **yīwi** 'swallow s.th., go out of sight'; Kw **yī'īgi-**; 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]

UACV783b **\*yīki** 'taste, finish': VVH170 **\*yīki**; M88-yī16; KH/M-yī16: Hp **yīki** 'make, fix, finish, taste, copulate'; TO **jīik** 'taste, vt'. Add Nv **duka** (dīka) 'probar [taste]'; NT **dīdīkai** 'probar (comida), vt'; ST **dīka** 'probar, saborear (alimento) [savor (food)], vt'. Karttunen 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 yī9 and yī16, 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 **\*yīk** 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. [idddua] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]

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

UACV784 **\*'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/M-'a36 rightly combines M88-ha4 and 'a36: Cp **áxine** 'eat pinole'; Tj **'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 **aaḡit** 'open the mouth, yawn'. Jane Hill (p.c.) also adds the following: Kw **agi** 'lick or eat mealy substance'; Ca **'áqi** 'to open'; Sh **akiC** 'to open up'. [NUA: Tak, Num, Tb]

Note how consistently Sem-kw final -l yields gemination in Numic: 798 'kl, 4 bšl, 796 to'kal, 647 naxal. Next are examples of Hebrew **y > y**:

**799** Hebrew **zny / zaanaa** 'be a harlot, commit fornication'; Hebrew participle/noun **zoonaa** 'prostitute, harlot'; Aramaic **zny** 'commit adultery, fornication'; Arabic **zny** (same):

Hopi **coona** 'enjoy, have fun doing s.th.'; Hopi **čoocoṇa** 'suck, kiss, suck on a smoking pipe';

Hopi(Voegelin) **coona** 'have fun in an exhibitionistic way'; Hopi(Seaman) **coona** 'be forward, not shy, having fun exuberantly'. In subdued society, exhibitionistic or playful behavior could easily be accused of a next level; such unfair / exaggerated accusations happen even in our liberated society; nevertheless, idddua.

**800** Hebrew **Yahwe** 'Yehovah, God of the Israelites':

UACV1803 **\*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 **-yawē-** 'god' after subtracting **temá-l / temat-** 'earth' from **temáyawē-t** 'earth-god'; Kw **yaahwe'era** 'a supernatural being usually thought of as in bird form'. Though the vowels are reversed from Cp **yawē**, note also Cp **yewáywe** 'pray'. Note **h > '**  as first consonant in a cluster, both here and in Egyptian **\*nhp > UA \*na'pa**. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Cah, 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'/ayínu'** 'right, right side' end like Semitic **yamin-o** 'right (hand/side)-his' though 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 yield Wr **ahamína** < Hebrew **hayaminá**. Note also **\*-aya- > -a-** with loss of intervocalic **-y-** at **\*bayame** 'year' (823) also. Egyptian **imn** 'right' is cognate with Semitic. [SUA: Trn; NUA: Tak]

**802** Hebrew **yaabaal** / **yuubal** / yiblee ‘watercourse, stream’; Aramaic ybel / ibel / yabl-aa ‘stream’; UACV365 **\*yǐppa** ‘valley’: NP yǐpī (< \*yǐppī) ‘valley’; Cp yǐpá-š (< \*yǐppa) ‘valley’; Tb yǐ-t ‘valley’. Tb absolutive suffix -t instead of -l and Cp -p- instead of -v- suggest consonant clusters. Cp’s medial gemination \*-pp- does cause pause, yet the next set shows all 3 consonants with vowel leveling. [Tb \*-t; l/r] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep]

UACV755 **\*yǐpīLa** ‘earth, dirt’: B.Tep32 \*dǐvǐrai ‘earth, dirt’; M88-yǐ14; KH/M-yǐ14 ‘canyon’: TO jǐwǐd ‘soil, earth, world’; PB dǐvar (B); NT dǐvǐrai; ST dǐvǐir; PYP dever ‘earth, land’; Nv duburha [dǐvǐra] ‘tierra’. Ken unites these with \*yǐppa ‘valley’. Geminated \*-pp- in Cp and NP cause pause; but the SNum forms show no gemination: Ch yǐwaavi ‘plain’; SP yuaa ‘level, plain’; SP yuaa-vi ‘desert’; CU yuaa-vi ‘plains, open country, wild country, ground, floor, flat-lands’. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

**803** Hebrew **kǎpǐir** (< **\*kǎpǐir**) ‘young lion’;

UACV1353 **\*kǎp** ‘bobcat’: PYP **kǎper** ‘wildcat’; Wc kapuvi ‘bobcat’. k- is Sem-p. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

**804** Arabic **\*saṣapat** ‘palm leaves’:

UACV1608 **\*caupali** ‘palm sp’: PYP saḥvali / saḥavali ‘palm tree’; NT sáúvali ‘palmilla’; ST soovoly ‘palma’. Preserved final -a- suggests Sem-p. Is Tr sawéara a loan? [SUA: Tep]

**805** Hebrew **heḥii** / **heḥaa** ‘bring’ (causative of bw ‘come’, so cause to come, i.e., bring);

Hebrew impfv: ya-bii’ / **ya-bee**’:

UACV1324a **\*hǐǐpǐ** / **\*hǎpa** ‘get up, vi; lift/pick up, vt’: Kw hǐveezǐ ‘get up, arise, vi’; Kw hǐveezǐ-tii ‘pick up, vt’; PYP e’evnia ‘lift’; Tb(H) aapa’iwit ‘to show, vi’; Tr(H) yeba ‘traer [bring]’. These show intervocalic \*-p-, and the following with \*-kw- are of Sem-kw. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn]

**806** Hebrew pfv: **heḥii** / **heḥaa** ‘bring’, impfv: ya-bii’ / **ya-bee**’; imperative **habeē**’ ‘bring!’:

UACV1324b **\*hǎkwa** / **\*hǎkwi** ‘lift’: Tb(V) he’ewiin(-it) ‘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. [NUA: Tb; SUA: Opn]

**807** Hebrew **šaameḥ** ‘happy, filled with joy’; Hebrew **šimḥaa** / **šimḥat** ‘joy, gladness’;

Ugaritic šmx ‘rejoice’; Arabic šmx ‘be high, proud’; Akkadian šamaaxu ‘be stately, flourish’:

UACV1284 **\*šim** ‘laugh, smile’: M67-252 \*sem ‘laugh’; ; M88-sǐ19 ‘laugh’; KH/M- sǐ19: Cp šeme; Ca sém; TO hǐhǐm; ST h(i)mpa, h(i)mia. Add LP hǐhǐmǐ ‘smile’. Ca sém- ‘laugh’; Ca sém-yaw ‘smile’; Ca séni ‘grin, smile.’ Again m + laryngeal > ŋ in Tak (also 771, 281, 283, 284), m > ŋ as cluster reductions; otherwise, intervocalic -m- (813). [iddddua] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

**808** Hebrew mwq, pfv **\*maaḳ** ‘mock’; Hebrew hiqtiil participle: mamiiḳ ‘mock/mocking’;

Syriac mwq, participle: mayyeq ‘deride, mock’; Aramaic -mayyeq ‘talk contemptuously, sneer, mock’;

Semitic **\*maaqa-hu** ‘he mocked him’; Semitic **maaḳ-uu-hu** ‘they mocked him’, and often u > ī in Num:

UACV 1289 **\*maka(hu)** ‘laugh, tease’: Sr mamq ‘laugh’; Mn **magǐhǐ** ‘tease’; Ktn makaw ‘laugh’; Sr mamq ‘laugh’. The -mok of TǓ eyeeeyenmok ‘estar riendo [be laughing]’ likely aligns with Ktn makaw? Perhaps also the \*maka in Hp is-màaqa ‘suspicious one, ie, coyote-?’ Mn magǐhǐ ‘tease’. As u > ī in Num real often, then Mn **magǐhǐ** very much resembles maaquu-hu ‘they mock(ed) him’. [iddddua] [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp]

Examples of Initial h > ø

**809** Hebrew **-hattel** (< **\*-hattil**) ‘to mock’ (Hebrew qittel / -qattel impfv stem):

UACV1282 **\*’atti** / **\*ata** / **\*aCti** ‘laugh’: VVH39 **\*’aci-a** ‘laugh at’; BTep303 **\*’a’asǐ/i** ‘laugh at’; M67-251 **\*’ac** ‘laugh’; L.Son1 **\*’aci** ‘reirse’; M88-’a1 ‘laugh’; KH/M-’a1 **\*’aci**: Wr a’ci ‘estar riendose’; Tr aǐ ‘reirse’; My aǎce ‘reirse’; AYq aǎce; Cr ra-’á’ace ‘he is laughing at him’; TO a’as; LP ’a’asǐ; PYP a’asi; NT áǎši- /ásyi; ST ’aas/aǎia. Miller also includes Ca ’ála’ ‘mock, echo s.o.’ and Ca ’ála’ has l, which is the Cupan

reflex for intervocalic \*-t-. Add Op aci ‘laugh’. Tr aci, and Tr kačí with initial k, puts it with qty (see 1386, UACV1287). [\*-t- > -l- in Ca, \*-tt- > -c- > -s- in Tep] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]

**810** Hebrew **hikkiir** ‘recognize, know, know how to’ (hiqtiil of nkr):  
Tr **iki-** ‘know, be aware of.’ [SUA: Trn]

**811** Hebrew **-biin** / **he-biin** / yV-biin / tV-biin ‘understand’:

UACV1273 **\*pīni** ‘learn, become familiar with’: L.Son204 **\*pīni** ‘aprender’; M88-pī10; KH/M- pī10:  
Op veni ‘acostumbrar [tame]’; Eu viné ‘aquereciarse [(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.  
[SUA: Trn, Opn]

**812** Aramaic **pty** ‘be wide’; Aramaic (J) **pṭee(y)** ‘be wide, open’; Syriac **pṭaa** / **pṭa**’ / **pṭiy** ‘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:

UACV1168 **\*pītiya** / **\*pīt(t)ī’a** ‘(be) heavy’: VVH3 **\*pīti** ‘heavy’; B.Tep294 **\*vīiti** ‘heavy’; KH.NUA; M67-223 **\*pete** ‘heavy’; CL.Azt84 **\*ṭiik** ‘heavy’; M88-pī1 ‘be heavy’; KH/M-pī1: TSh pīti(tin); Sh pīttin; Cm pīhti; Kw pīta’a; Ch pītiya; WMU **pīhttiye**; CU pītiyay; Hp pīti; Tb pīlīi’it~’ipīlīi’; Sr pīti’; Ktn pīčī’; Ca péle-ma; Eu bete’e-; Op vettea ‘heavy, stout, crude/rough’; Yq béte’a ‘pesar’; AYq vette; My bette; Wr pehté-ni; Tr be’té-re; TO weeč; Nv vīti; PYp veete; NT vīti; ST vīt; Cr tíhete ‘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 **\*pītiya**, perhaps a fuller form; on the other hand, Sr (but not Sr pītiit ‘heavy thing’), Tb, Kw, Yq, Tr, and Eu all show glottal stop for a third consonant, as **\*pīti’a**, and Aramaic has both or either as 3<sup>rd</sup> C. [idddua] [y/’; \*p > h/ø in Azt/CrC; \*-tt- > -l-]  
[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**813** Hebrew **šmḥ** / **šaamaḥ** ‘sprout, grow’ (< Semitic \*ḏamaxa), impfv: **\*yi-šmaḥ** (< **\*ya-ḏmax**):

UACV1101 **\*yama** / **\*yami** ‘sprout(ing), grow (thick)’: M88-ya23; Munro.Cup47 **\*yamii-ča** ‘forest’; KH/M-ya23: Cp yemí-š ‘forest, dense’; Ca yámily ‘leaves’; Sr yaamava’ ‘spring(time)’; Tḥ yáma-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]

UACV2443 **\*yama** ‘up, over, above’: B.Tep12 **\*dama** ‘over, above’; M88-ya14; KH/M-ya14: TO ḏaam ‘above, over, on top of’; PYp daam; NT daáma; ST daam. These are cognate with **\*yama** ‘come up, spring forth (vegetation)’ in KH/M-ya23 at ‘grow’. No rounding suggests x, not pharyngeal, and that this set is Sem-p. [SUA: Tep]

**814** Hebrew **šmḥ** / **šaamaḥ** ‘sprout, grow’ (< Semitic \*ḏamaxa), impfv: **\*yi-šmaḥ** (< **\*ya-ḏmax**):

CN camawa ‘to grow, become big’ and Cr samwa ‘hoja [leaf]’. Having ḥ instead of x is Sem-kw. For comparison, we repeat an earlier item (84) of the impfv 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’:

UACV1079 \***pot** ‘pound, grind’: M67- 331 \*po; I.Num153 \*potV ‘pound (with a stone)’; M88-po7 ‘pound’; KH/M-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’. [NUA: Num]

**816** Hebrew saalšaa ‘locust’:

UACV1066 \***coho** / \***co’o** ‘grasshopper’: B.Tep203 \*soo’oi ‘grasshopper’; Fowler83; M88-co19 ‘grasshopper’; KH/M-co19: TO šoo’o ‘grasshopper’; LP šoo’o; NT sóói; ST sooi. Ken Hill adds Tbr soo ‘chapulin’. [c/s] [SUA: Tep, Tbr]

**817** Hebrew tə’**unaa** / tə’**unat** ‘fig’:

UACV868 \***cuna** ‘fig/higo’: L.Son47 \*cuna ‘higo [fig]’; Fowler83; M88-cu12; KH/M-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-. Pl tuna ‘prickly pear cactus fruit’ Campbell says if from Spanish tuna, which sources say is from Taino tuna. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]

**818** Hebrew šuuš / šwš ‘to bud, blossom, bloom, gleam’; Syriac šuušyaan-aa ‘sparkling’:

UACV865 \***coyaC** or \*coca ‘feather headdress’: Munro.Cup40 \*čééya-t ‘feather headdress’; KH/M-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; however, \*coya can be from \*cuca, because non-initial \*-c- > -y- in NUA. This is Sem-kw because šwš > Sem-kw \*cuya. [jddduu] [NUA: Tak]

**819** Hebrew **tmm** ‘be completed, finished, come to an end’:

UACV876 \***tama/i** ‘finish’: CL.Azt53 \*tami ‘end, run out’; M88-ta38; KH/M-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, add ST tīmo ‘terminar (de hacer) [finish (doing)]’; Kw tīrimaa ‘to finish, be finished’. [SUA: Azt, Tep; NUA: Num]

**820** Hebrew **tmm** ‘be completed, finished, come to an end’ of an unattested quttal: \*tumma:

UACV877 \***cu’ma** ‘be gone, disappear from sight’: M88-cu1 ‘finish’; KH/M-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 **taam** ‘complete, **perfect (in beauty, strength), sound, wholesome**’; Hebrew **taamiim** ‘complete, whole, sound, innocent, having integrity’; these Hebrew adj forms (also of tmm) > UA / Op: Op **temi** ‘fragrant, **beautiful**’.

**822** Hebrew \***ta-npiil** > \***teppil**: ‘cause to fall’:

UACV838b \***tippin** ‘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]

UACV1234 \***tippi** ‘hunt, follow, track’: BH.Cup \*təpi ‘to track’; M88-ti25; KH.NUA; KH/M-ti25 ‘hunt, cazar’: Cp tepíne ‘follow, track’; Ca tépin ‘track, vt’; Ca tépin-če ‘trip, cause to stumble’; Ls tópi ‘to track’. Note underlying \*-pp- (vs. \*-p- > -v-) in all UA terms. [NUA: Tak]

**823** Hebrew **ba-yyamee** ‘in the year of, lit: in the days of’ > \***payami** > UA \***pami** ‘year’:

UACV2603 \***pami** ‘year’: Wr pamíbame ‘years’; Wr pamíbari ‘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. [SUA: Trn]



Like the two above (801, 823), 824 below is a third example of loss of intervocalic -y- in most languages.

**824** Hebrew **hayownaa** / hayoonat '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:

**UACV696 \*hayowi** 'dove': M88-ho3; KH.NUA; KH/M-ho3: Two languages (Hp, Tb) agree with \*howi: Hp höwi, pl: höwiit '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 häimī 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 > höwi (Hp)  
 > 'owii-t (Tb)

Only the -n- is missing. Wc häimī/'áimī 'dove' and the -howa- of Tr čohóvari / čohóbari 'turtle dove' is likely related as well. Wc ĩ could be a leveling of -yow- (\*hayow > häi). TO hoohi 'mourning dove' is probably related in some way, perhaps with preservative consonant harmony (\*howi > hoohi), and TO does keep PUA \*h sometimes. [TO keeps \*h; wN > Wc m ?, -n- > ø] UACV697 below is a compound meaning 'dove' and containing \*hayowa 'dove', though the first morpheme is unknown.

**UACV697 \*maka-hayowa/i** > \*makahowa 'dove': BH.Cup \*mVxél 'dove'; M67-139; HH.Cup; Fowler83; M88-ma27; Munro.Cup36 \*maxéé-l 'dove'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ma27: Tr makáwi / makábi 'paloma'; Ch makahiovi; Sr maqahwt 'dove'; pl: maqahum 'doves'; Gb maqáho 'dove' (Hill); Ktn makahot; Ktn makahoai-t 'dove sp, bigger' (< \*makaho(C)a-wit); Ca máxayi-l y / maxi-l y 'dove'; Cp mexi-l y / maxí-l y 'dove'; Ls mixéé-l 'dove'. Add Eu makáwa 'paloma/dove'; Wr ma'kawé 'paloma azul'; PYP makavi 'dove'; Tb mokowiš-t (< \*mokkowišt) 'bandtailed pigeon'; Yq 'omó'okol 'tortolita/turtledove'; My 'ómmo'okol 'tortolita'. First Bright and Hill (Takic \*mVxél 'dove') and then Hill and Hill (Takic \*maxéél dove) note the word in Takic. Miller (1988: ma27) notes their noting it, but does not list Tb nor any of the TrC forms, of which Eu makáwa, Tr makáwi, and Wr ma'káwe all bear a strong resemblance to Sr maqahwt, at the least, and to the other Tak forms for at least the first three segments \*makV. KH/M06-ma27 adds Ch and Tr. All in all, Eu, Tr, Wr, Tb, Ktn, Sr, and others show a 3rd C w or hu/ho that could be perceived as w, suggesting something like \*makawV or \*makaho.... Yq, and My may align with \*w, with assimilated round vowels, as the \*mokow... forms may show anticipatory assimilation of \*a > o in the presence of w, for both vowels (a-a-w/o > o-o-o) in some language(s) of both NUA (Tb) and SUA (TrC), as in Tb of \*hayowi 'dove' above. In fact, Ch makahiovi would suggest that \*hayowi is the 2nd etymon of a compound. In fact, Ca makayi (< \*makayo < \*makah(a)yo) suggests the same. Sr and Gb show something near \*makaho, losing -ay- from \*makahayowV, and Ktn seems to display a fuller form (as 151 elsewhere: antelope, rock), with final \*-wit > it ('big') on the longer of the two forms: Ktn makahoai-t < \*makahayowa-wiL-t. [v/w in Tep or < -kw-?] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]

**825** Hebrew pašal 'make, perform'; Arabic fašala 'do, make'; Syriac pəšal 'work, v'

**UACV680 \*pu'ay/pu'al** 'do': B.Tep283 \*vuai 'is doing'; KH/M-po29: TO/UP wu'a/wua/wui 'do'; PYP vuihim; NT vueí/weí/vuééyi; ST vua; ST vuidya 'do, happen'. Is Cr baire 'help' a loan from ST palvuidya 'help' like badger at UACV108 \*paNtu' > \*paicu' 'badger': ST vaisily 'tejón'; Cr haihcə(-te); and Wc háicī all match \*paicV (\*p > ST v; \*p > CrC h). CN peeso'-tli 'badger' (but with p) also parallels Wc háicī. [SUA: Tep]

**826** Hebrew **maḥjool** ‘dance in a ring, n’; Hebrew **məḥolaa** ‘dance in a ring, n’ from the verb Hebrew ḥwl / ḥuul ‘go round, turn upon, dance (round) dances’; Arabic ḥwl ‘turn, v’; Aramaic ḥwl ‘dance, v’; Aramaic(CAL) mḥwl’t ‘dance, n.m.’:

**UACV638 \*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 **\*məḥolaa > mula** with pharyngeal rounding influence, plus some suffix. [Tep V anticipation] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep]

**827** Hebrew **dqr / daqar** ‘pierce, pierce through’; Hebrew madqaaraa ‘piercing, stab, thrust’; Syriac dəqar ‘dig, break, pierce through’; Aramaic(J) dəqer ‘mattock’; Semitic dqr is at 72, but here it appears in a compound forming another UA term ‘work’ appearing to derive from Hebrew daqar pana-wa or daqar panaa-w ‘dig/till its surface (surface-its)’:

**UACV2587a \*tikir-panawa** ‘work, cut’: CL.Azt193 \*təkīti ‘work, cut’; as M88-ti23 and KH/M-ti23 note, this ties to \*tiki ‘dig, 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’.

**UACV2587b \*tik...** ‘work, cut’: KH.NUA: Sr tih̄ti(i) ‘work, vi, vt’; Sr tih̄tiyič ‘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.

**UACV2587c \*ti'ai** ‘work’: TSh tūtiāi ‘work, v & n’; Cm tiri'aiti ‘do work, v’. Note from 72 UA \*tiqi ‘sting, stick’: Ls tóqi- (< \*tiqi-) ‘to sting, of an insect’; Ktn cik ‘stick, stab, vt’ (palatalized t- > c-), etc.

[k > ø as in deer] [idddua] [SUA: Tep, Tbr, Cah, Opn, 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 > \*suŋul > \*suŋu:

**UACV535 \*suŋu** ‘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/M-su5; Jane Hill 2007: PUA \*suŋu > 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’; Op šunuu-t ‘corn’; Wr sunú ‘corn’; Tr su\*nu/suunú ‘corn’; My sunu ‘milpa’; CN sin-tli ‘dried ears of maíz’. Ken (KH/M-su5) and Jane Hill (2005, 2007) add Hp soŋowí ‘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 Tŋ soŋ-áxey ‘tortilla’. [nasals]

[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Azt]

**829** Hebrew kns ‘gather, wrap in a cover’:

**UACV473 \*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’. [NUA: CNum]

**UACV498 \*pit-kanas** ‘loincloth, rear-cover’: Hp pitkīna ‘kilt, breechclout’ and Tb pigiiniš-t ‘shirt’; the latter portion of each of these is 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 / ḍamma, impfv: ya-**ḍummu** ‘draw / bring / gather together, join, close, compress (as lips)’; Hebrew šmm, -šommV corresponds to Arabic ḍmm, ya-**ḍummu** but is not attested in the biblical text; another possibility is Hebrew **šm** ‘to shut one’s eyes’; the impfv in later Hebrew ya-ššom (< \*ya- **ššum**) but not in the Masoretic text; the UA forms with -mm- and -’m- better reflect **-ḍummu** / -šummu than -ššumu; CU may depict a vav-consecutive, as well as Sh, WMU, and Ca:

**UACV470a \*cu'ma/i / \*cumma/i** ‘close eyes’: M67-92 \*cum; I.Num259 \*cu(‘)(h)ma/\*cu(‘)(h)mi;

M88-cu5; KH/M-cu5: Sh *iccimih* 'to close the eyes'; SP *čum'maa/-čum'mi* 'close one's eyes'; CU *wəcu'mi* 'close the eyes'; Ca *ihcuma/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'makafi* 'anything covered with earth' at 'bury'; WMU *hwičú'mi-kye / kuhčú'mi-(kye)* 'close the eyes'. Note initial V in Sh, Ca, CU, WMU. [NUA: CNum, SNum, Tak]

**831** Syriac *šmš / šammeš* (< \*šammiš) 'close, shut (eyes)'; Hebrew **šm** 'shut one's eyes' is thought by many Semiticists to relate to Northwest Semitic *šmš*, impfv \*- **šmušu** of MHebrew, Aramaic(J), Syriac; and to Arabic *šmš* 'close (eyes)', impfv: *ya-šmušu*, which corresponds to Northwest Semitic \*- **šmušu**: UACV470b \***mucu(C)-ka** 'close eyes': Mn *mucuqqa-t* 'have one's eyes closed'; NP *mucoga* 'close eyes'. [NUA: WNum]

**832** Syriac *šrt* 'scratch, make a line or stroke, indent, draw or write a line'; Aramaic(J) *šarṭaan* 'scratcher, crab, Cancer (sign of Zodiac)'; Syriac *šarṭaan-aa* 'crab-the'; Arabic *saraṭaan* 'crayfish, Cancer'; Arabic *šrt* 'tear, scratch, impose as a condition':

CU *šičú-či* 'crab' and CU *šičú-ppī* 'fingernail' obviously involve the same stem of CU *šičúC-* 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 *šarṭaan* 'crab' would equate to **šarṭoon** (> 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 *šálu-l* 'claw, nail' shows the exact vowels expected from *šarṭoon*, 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:

UACV458 \***saCtun** > **siCtun** / \***suCtun** 'claw, nail': Sapir; VVH26 \**su<sub>n</sub>tu*/\**si<sub>n</sub>tu* 'fingernail, claw'; B.Tep82 \**huutu* 'fingernail'; M67-298 \**sut*; I.Num193 \**situN* 'claw, nail'; L.Son265 \**sutu* 'uña'; CL.Azt59 \**istə*; M88-su1; Munro.Cup77 \**šulá-t* 'nail, hoof, claw'; KH/M-su2 \**sutiñ* (AMR): Mn *ma/ta-sído* 'finger/toe-nail'; NP *cidu*; *maccidu* 'claw, nail'; TSh *-situn(cci)* 'nail, claw'; TSh *situhi* 'to scratch'; Sh *ma/ta-situn* 'claws, finger/toe nails'; Cm *ta-siito*; *ma-siito*; Kw *ta-šito'o-bī*; Ch *tasico'o*, *masico'o*; SP *šiču*, *ma-ššī(n)čo'-N*; CU *šičúC* / *šičú-ppī*; Tb(H) *šullun-t* 'fingernail, hoof'; Eu *sutút*; Op *sutuu* 'claw, nail'; Tbr *ala-pé-r?*; Yq *sútu*; AYq *sutumi*; Ca *šálu-l* 'claw, nail'; Ca *saluki* 'scratch'; Ca *šáli* 'tear, rip (clothes, body parts, etc)'; My *sutu kócho'oria*; Ls *šulá-t* 'claw, hoof, finger or toenail'; Ls *šúla/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 *úutu*; ST *huut*; Wc *šīité*; Cr (*sité*)*kucape'e*; CN *iste-tl*; Tḡ *čúr* '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 the point of articulation for \**siCtun* forms and assimilated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel for the \**suCtun* forms.

UACV957 \***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*] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**833** Hebrew **šbr** 'pour, heap up'; Akkadian *šabaaru* 'bend'; Aramaic *šbr* 'heap up, collect'; Arabic *šbr / šabara* 'to tie, bind, shackle, be patient, refrain, abstain'; Arabic *šbr* II cause (the foregoing), ask s.o. to be patient, make refrain'; Arabic *šbr* 'gather, collect, assemble': Tepiman *soobidai* (≈ UACV450 \***cokwiya**) 'head off, stop, prevent': B.Tep200 \**soobidai* 'to head off'; M88-co18; KH/M-co18: TO *šoob|id* 'stop, prevent obj from doing s.th., vt'; NT *soobídyai* 'head off, v'; NT *soóbi* 'he headed off'; ST *soobidy* 'head off'; ST *soob* 'he headed off'. [iddddua] [Tep]

**834** Hebrew ʾhʒ / ʾahʒ (< \*ʾxd) ‘take, grasp’; Syriac ʾehad ‘take, hold’;

Arabic ʾaxada ‘take’, impfv: yaʾxudu ‘take’:

UACV392 \*uʾ... / \*uNwa ‘take, carry’: M67-431 ‘take’; M88-ʾu1 ‘carry’; KH/M-ʾu1: Tḡ ʾú ‘take’; Sr ʾuu ‘take, pick up, marry (woman)’; Sr naʾuu ‘marry (either a man or a woman)’; TO uʾu/ui ‘accept, get, take pl objs’; TO uʾa/uʾapa ‘bring, arrive carrying’; Eu úu ‘traer, cogér’; Wr uʾi ‘bring’; Wr(MM) uʾu / uʾi ‘agarrar, cogér’; Cr iʾi ‘carry (flat sg obj)’. Miller also lists Hp oya ‘put pl objs’. Add Ca ʾú ‘put s.th. on the head, carry’ and SP uḡwara ‘catch’. If 3<sup>rd</sup> C is d, like Aramaic, then SP is a 3 m sg perfective form:

ʾahʒada > uḡwara Sem-kw or Sem-p? [\* = ʾ in Tep] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC]

**835** Syriac ʾehad ‘take, hold’; Arabic ʾaxada ‘take’, impfv yaʾxudu ‘take’; Hebrew ʾhʒ / ʾaahʒ (< \*ʾxd) ‘take, grasp’; Hebrew impfv yeʾehoz (< \*yaʾxud), also impfv yooḡhez < \*yaʾḡez:

UACV386 \*yawi / \*yaʾwi / \*yaḡwi ‘carry, grasp’: BH.Cup \*yaw ‘bring’; M67-79 \*ya ‘carry’; I.Num289 \*yaa ‘take, fetch’; M88ya4 ‘carry’; KH.NUA; KH/M-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 yáaʾway ‘carry, take by hand’; Cp yawiçi ‘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’; Tḡ yáw ‘tener’; Tḡ yáʾa ‘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 ḡagioʾid ‘take care of, support’; Ktn yaw ‘grasp, grab, catch’; Ktn yaʾ ‘carry, bring, vt’; and Tb yīw ‘hold, keep it’ (Tb(H) yīwut / yīwwut ‘hold, keep, preserve’) a small vowel change. Semitic-p has the prefix \*ya- (vs. kw: yi-) and \*-x- (vs. kw: \*-ʾḡ-). A cluster \*-ʾḡ- in Sem-p would surely show -ḡ-, as SP does, but the fact that most do not makes me think -w- may reflect the Sem-p glottal stop \*-ʾx-, 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 Aztecan forms like HN yawaʾ/yawi ‘to go’—possible, but not yet. [ʾ/w, medial cluster?] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep]

**836** Hebrew ʾšikkor ‘drunk’; Hebrew šekaar ‘intoxicating drink’; Arabic sakira ‘be drunk’; Arabic sakar ‘intoxicant, wine’; Akk šikaarum ‘intoxicating drink’; Aramaic šikr-aa ‘intoxicating drink’:

UA \*packoʾor ‘sp. of prickly pear’: PYP paskoʾor ‘type of prickly pear, durasnilla’; Tr péçuri ‘nopal o tuna de conejo, Opuntia.’ The Tr c and Tep s correspond to each other, and this is certainly a compound, near \*paC-šikkor, whose consonant cluster reduced to \*-c-, which is -c- in Tr and -s- in Tep. [idddua]

[cluster, vowel assimilations] [SUA: Tep, Trn]

**837** Hebrew peṭer ‘firstborn’ < Semitic \*paṭr- fits UA well:

UACV305 \*paʾti / \*paCtiʾi / \*pa-ci (AMR) ‘older sibling’: Sapir; M67-489b \*paci ‘older sister’; BH.Cup \*paṣ? ‘older brother’; I.Num143 \*paci(ʾi) ‘older sister’; L.Son183 \*paci ‘hermano mayor [older brother]’;

AMR \*paʾ-ci ‘older brother’; KH.NUA; M88-pa1 ‘older brother’; KH/M-pa1 \*paʾ-ci: the following mean ‘older brother’: Ca pas; Cp paṣma; Ls pááʾaṣ; Sr paar, pl: paaham; Tb paadzi; Eu bácwa/vácwa; Tbr wací-r;

AYq avaçi (of a woman); My ábaçi (of a woman); Wr paʾçi; Tr baʾçi; Cr haaciʾi; CN aaç-tli ‘older brother of younger sister’; note CN açto ‘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 \*paʾti 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 (\*paciʾi) 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. [ʾ; cluster] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Azt]

**838** Hebrew npš ‘to breathe’; Hebrew napeš ‘breath, life, soul’; and unattested Hebrew \*hippiš:

UACV302 \*hikwis ‘breathe, spirit, heart’: VVH55 \*hikwi(š) ‘breathe’; B.Tep308 \*iibidaga ‘soul, heart’; M67-60 \*hik/\*hikw; BH.Cup \*hikwVsa; M88-hi3; KH.NUA; KH/M-hi3: Hp hiikwis-ta ‘breathe’;

Tb 'ihk-(it) / 'i'ixk / 'ihk; Sr hiik 'breathe, be alive, come to life, get/be well'; Ca híkus 'breathe, take a rest'; Cp hiqsá'e 'rest'; qusá'e 'breathe'; Ls hakwís 'to breathe, be alive, take a rest'; Tṅ híkin 'wind, spirit'; Eu híbes 'heart'; Wr iwí; Tr iwí/ew; AYq hiapsi 'heart, soul, spirit'; AYq hiavihte 'breathe'. Ken Hill adds Ktn hikaw 'breath, to breathe'; CN ikwšoa 'sneeze, vi'; and queries whether Wc iweme 'via respiratoria [respiratory channel]' 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: \*hinpiiš > hikwis. [Sem-kw] [NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Azt]

**839** Semitic napš 'spirit' prepounded with paa 'water'; that is, water-spirit > fog/mist: Hp panéwsi 'mist, fog' (Voegelin 1957, 15).

**840** Hebrew pws 'spread, disperse, overflow'; scatter is what a wind does when it blows: UACV261a \*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/M-pu12 \*puca (AMR): TO wus 'exhalation'; TO wuso(t) 'blow on obj'; Nv bustana; busiota 'soplar'; NT vúšt'ai / vúšt'iai; ST vúšt'a; Eu pupúca; Wr pupúce; Tr pučá; 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 puhtía(k); Sr poiikkin; Tṅ 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 pws, that is, 'overflow'. Maybe Tb(H) puškat, impv uppušk 'blow'; Tb(M) puskat/'upusk; Tb(V) pušk. Sem-p. [idddua] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Azt]

**841** Semitic \*pšl; Hebrew pišsel, impfv: -pašsel 'skin, peel away (bark from sticks), decorticate'; Hebrew pəšaala, pl: pəšaalo 'stripped sections (of sticks)'; Arabic fašala, impfv: -pšilu 'separate, part, detach'; Arabic bšl II 'peel off skin, strip layers (as from onion)'; whether from unattested impfv \*-pšal with loss of -p- in a cluster or from the denominalized noun pəšaala: UACV2020 \*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)'. [NUA: Tak]

**842** Hebrew pišsel, impfv: -pašsel '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 -fšilV, which vowel (i) is rare; a verb of similar meaning, which also matches the correspondences is Arabic bšl II 'peel off skin': UACV144 \*cila 'to shell, hatch out, be born': M88-ci22; KH.NUA; KH/M-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, even impfv vowel -i- and the would lose p as first element of a cluster. [loss of p in cluster; V's i-a/a-i] [NUA: Tak]

**843** Hebrew pišsel, impfv: -pašsel 'skin, peel away (bark from sticks), decorticate'; Arabic fašala 'separate, part, detach'; Arabic baššala II 'peel off skin': UA \*pacca 'to shell': Tb(H) paccaah '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. [NUA: Tb]

**844** Syriac pəšal 'cleave, cut through, make a way through'; Hebrew pišsel, impfv: -pašsel 'skin, peel away (bark from sticks), decorticate'; Arabic fašala 'separate, part, detach, move away (from), leave (a place)'; Arabic baššala II 'peel off skin': UACV1582 \*pisa 'out, go out': M67-199 \*pis 'go out'; M88-pi11 'go out'; KH/M-pi11: Tb pišsat~'ipiš 'exit, go / come out, be born, emerge from'; Ls piśá-t 'outdoors, outside'; Ls piśá-ṅa 'go outdoors, urinate'; Ls piśa-y 'go outdoors'. \*pisa 'urinate' (Ls piśá-ṅa-, Ca pis) is maybe same stem as \*pisa 'go/come out' since identical stems 'go out' and 'urinate' were the custom before indoor plumbing. [idddua] [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’; Tb below fits the Semitic impfv pattern with 3<sup>rd</sup> m prefix: yi-pšal: Tb(H) ii’šat ‘shell, vt’.

**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:

UACV2018 \***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 fá’čí ‘concha’. Perhaps CN tapač-tli ‘sea shell, cora’. [reduction; \*-c- in NUA <-CC-?] [SUA: Trn, Azt; NUA: Tak]

**847** Hebrew pol ‘bean(s)’:

UACV132 \*(**tī**)-**pol** ‘bean’: a case for \*-pol- (or \*tī-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’ (tī-wol > twol > tol...). [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Tbr]

**848** Hebrew/Aramaic **ba** ‘in/at it (fem sg obj)’:

UACV78 \***-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(-tī) ‘at’; CU -vá(-tī) ‘on’; CU -vaa-tux ‘to, toward’; SP -pa ‘at’; Nv ba; aba; ubai hubana; Tr -mo-ba ‘on’. Also the final \*-pa in Tr répo-pa ‘espalda’; Tr répo-gá ‘dorso, espalda’; Tr répo-mina ‘de espaldas, sobre la espalda’; Wr tehpoá ‘back’; Tbr ha-vá-n, ho-vá-n ‘dentro de’; Wc -pa ‘en, dentro de’. [p1b] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

**849** Aramaic **be** ‘in, at, with it’ (masc sg obj), this Aramaic form consists of b- ‘in, at, with’ with -e ‘him’:

UACV79 \***-pī** ‘at’: KH/M-ns10: Kw -pi/-vi ‘at, on’; Hp -pe, -ve ‘punctive suffix: at, in, or on’, -ep ‘there, at, in, on’ and/or Hp -pi ‘instrumental’; Tj -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; in fact, Yq be- combines with other postpositions to create new ones (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 193); AYq vepa; My beppa; Tbr we-pán ‘sobre, encima de’. [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Opn, Cah, Tbr]

**850** Hebrew(KB) **mə’od** ‘strength, very, very greatly, exceedingly, adv (< ‘strength, n’)’; Ugaritic mad / mid / mud; Hebrew(BDB) **mə’od** ‘muchness, force, abundance, exceedingly’; Akkadian ma’du ‘much’:

UACV15 \***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 \*møyak ‘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 mīiré ‘muchos, numeroso, plural’; Wc mīiša ‘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 ’ or excrescent 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 mīiré and Tbr and others may reflect the final -d. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**851** Akkadian paanu ‘front, pl: face’; Hebrew \***paane** ‘front, face, surface’, pl: \***paniim**, pl construct **paneē**’- ‘face, surface of’; Hebrew **panaa-w** ‘face-his, surface-its’ (panaa- ‘face’ with the m. sg. suffix):

UACV829 \***pana** ‘cheek’: Tr baná ‘mejilla [cheek], carrillo, cachete, cara [face], rostro’; Wr paná ‘cheek, face’. [SUA: Trn]

**852** Akkadian paanu ‘front, pl: face’; Hebrew \***paane** ‘front, face, surface’, pl: \***paniim**, pl construct **paneē**’- ‘face, surface of’:

UACV77 \***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 tañaaban ‘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'; Sh ti-pana 'rock-surface'; CN paan-tli 'row, wall'; CN te-paan-tli 'rock wall'. [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.':

UACV317 \***wippusi** > \***pippusi** 'stink beetle': Ch wiposat '13-line beetle' (Harrington noun list);

Mn pipóisi/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 next 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. It must be Sem-p; otherwise, -pp- > -kw-, though the Proto-Semitic x > ḥ must mean that some x > ḥ in Sem-p also. [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':

UACV328 \***soso-kimara** 'butterfly': B.Tep71 \*hohokimara 'butterfly'; M88so13; KH/M-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, such that enough round vowels are seen (Arabic suus) in the Semitic data above that UA \*soso or \*so(s) 'moth' is a compelling match. [medial C, vowels, L/liquids] [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' (paʿel):

UACV528 \***yuma** > \***yoma** 'copulate': VVH111 \*yoma 'copulate'; M67-99 \*yo; M88-yo3; KH/M-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. [NUA: Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah]

**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' (paʿel):

UACV1210 \***yu'mi** / \***yuwmi** 'warm': M67-453 \*yu 'warm'; I.Num293 \*yu'a/\*yu'i 'warm'; M88-yu9

'warm'; KH/M-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 yonji 'be warm'. Many Num languages have m > w, yet questions remain for this set. Hp and SP suggest a medial cluster rather than a single consonant. [cluster] [NUA: Num, Hp]

**857** Hebrew ḥlp 'come by turns, pass on, pass over, fade away':

Wr yuipa 'be worn out'. [idddua]

The following two sets for 'ankle' are successive sets in the Uto-Aztec Comparative Vocabulary, and both match Semitic qrs'l 'ankle' but each matches a different vowelizing of those four consonants: Semitic qarsol 'ankle' > UA \*kwinc'o 'ankle'; and Semitic qursil / qursin 'ankle' > UA \*koci 'ankle':

**858** Hebrew qarsol ‘ankle’; Middle Hebrew qaršol/ qaršol ‘ankle’; Aramaic(J) qarsool / qarsooll-aa ‘ankle’; Assyrian kišallu:

**UACV40** \*-kwinc- in UA \***ta-(k)wi(n)co-ko** ‘ankle’: Mn ta’wizógo; NP daggwiddzogo; TSh tawincoko. \*ta-(k)wi(n)co-ko is a compound: ta- ‘leg, foot’; -ko ‘at’; and remaining \*-kwinc- 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. [NUA: Num]

**859** Syriac **qursəl-aa** ‘ankle bone’; Akkadian **kursinnu** ‘region of the ankle-bone’:

**UACV41** \***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) siyiqöyi ‘ankle’} and Tr baca-koci {Tr baca-go(a)-ra ‘tobillo’; Tr baca-koči ‘en el tobillo’ (locative of Tr baca-go-a-ra)}. Given the locative suffix in Tr -či ‘at, in’ then it shows only -ko-. Yet the -koš- of TO čikoš-da ‘ankle rattle’ (\*-koc > Tep -kos) and Hp match \*koci perfectly. Add Azt \*koc ‘heel’ with slightly shifted semantics: CN(RJC) in-koc-titeč ‘on their ankles’ and ikooc ‘heel’ in Nahuatl de Sierra de Zacapoaxtla. [\*-c- > NUA y; \*c > Tep s] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

**860** Hebrew qaaṭaan ‘small, young’; Hebrew qaaṭoon ‘be small, young’; Aramaic **qaṭiin** ‘insignificant’:

**UACV145** \***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’-kucí (reduplicated form) ‘son, daughter’; CN kokocin ‘girl, servant girl’; note how similar are CN kokocin and Wr ku’kucí ‘children’. [SUA: Azt, Trn]

**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)**’:

**UACV239** \***kīsa** ‘sour’: Ls kóša/i ‘be sweet or salty’; Ls kuš-úla ‘be sour’ (listed with koša/i);

Cp kešelvekešelva’a-š ‘too sour, adj’. [iddddua] [\*i > Ls o > u] [NUA: Tak]

**UACV2090** \***kīsa** ‘harm(ed), bad’: M88-ki16; KH/M-ki16: Cp kéše/ kəš- ‘to injure, hurt’; Sr kiṣaa ‘bad’; Sr kiṣaa’ik / kišaa’t ‘badly’; Ktn kīša ‘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 UACV239 above. [NUA: Tak]

**862** Hebrew **qbs**, 3<sup>rd</sup> impfv: yiqbaas / yiqboš ‘gather, collect, assemble’; of the Semitic-p with the Arabic impfv vowel (i), **ya-qbiš**; or other possibilities: 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 qbd (i) ‘seize, grasp, collect’, impfv **ya-qbiḍ(V)**; Hebrew qittel 3<sup>rd</sup> impfv: yəqabbeš ‘gather together’; Hebrew 3<sup>rd</sup> yit-qattel impfv: yitqabbeš ‘gather, meet’:

**UACV58** \***yīpisa** (> \***yīpsa** / \***yipisa**) ‘come’: B.Tep20a \*divia ‘he comes’; M67-97 \*ye ‘come (sg.)’; M88-yi7; KH/M-yi7: TO jiwa; UP jiwia; LP divia; PYP devia; NT dyidyívai/diidiívai ‘venir, regresar, llegar’; Yq yépsa sg.; My yépsa- sg. B.Tep20b \*dīvi 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 \*dīvi agai ‘he is going to come’ listed in M88; however, Kenneth Hill includes B.Tep20 in KH/M-yi7. Tep \*diva / \*divia fits Cah \*yepsa quite well, with a slight vowel change, which occurs in Tep itself, since PYP and B.Tep20b \*dīvi agai both show the first vowel to be i also. Of the two Yq forms—Yq háse ‘alcanzar’ and Yq yépsa ‘viene, llega’—the latter belongs here (likewise for My yépsa) and the former belongs with \*hapsi/ha’si below. A \*yīpisa/\*yipisa vs. \*hapsi division is preferable, since both the initial C and first V are different. [SUA: Tep, Cah]

**863** Arabic qbd (i) ‘seize, grasp, collect’, impfv: **ya-qbiḍ(V)**; Hebrew **qabs**- ‘gather, collect, assemble’ (inf); qittel infinitive: qabbeš ‘gather together’, **qabbəš-i** (with a suffix); or Hebrew qbs (in hitqattel pl) (hit/yit)-**qabbəšu** ‘gather, meet’:

**UACV57** \***ha’si** / \***hapsi** ‘arrive, reach, catch up to’: Sapir; VVH59 \*’asī/\*’asi ‘arrive’; B.Tep298 \*’ai(himi); CL.Azt3 \*ahsi; L.Son53 \*hasi/\*has-i; M88-ha9 ‘arrive’; AMR1993; KH/M-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'ahē/aa'i 'overtake, reach'; NT ááhyi 'arrive, reach, be enough'. Sapir includes Wc aše 'llegar varias veces [arrive various times]' 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: Tb **apsV** 'arrive' from the Harrington materials; Tb(H) apšit 'catch up with, overtake'. [cluster; Sem š > ' in Num ? not in Tb, Hp] [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**864** Arabic **quppat** 'large basket'; Aramaic(J) **quupp-aa** 'basket, large vessel' and **quupt-aa**; Later Hebrew quuppaa 'basket' (Klein 586). The Hebrew plural would be **\*quuppoot**: UACV119 **\*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 Hebrew / Aramaic. The Takic forms align well with the Hebrew pl of a f. noun: quppoot UACV2423 **\*koppota** 'turtle': M88-ko10 'turtle': M67-446 **\*ko** turtle; Fowler83; KH/M06-ko10: Sr qöpöt-t 'turtle'; Ktn kopota-t 'turtle'.

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':

UACV527 **\*tī'ma** / **\*tī'ama'a** 'roast, bake (under ashes, under ground), bury': M67-353a; KH.NUA; M88-ti54 'roast'; KH/M- ti54 'roast, bake': Sr tīi' '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 tī'ami 'grave'; Eu témo 'enterrar [bury, inter]'; and Wr(MM) we-temáhi 'enterrar [inter]'. Several other SNum forms are consistent with SP: WMU ṭim'má-y 'bake (usually underground)'; Ch ṭim'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: Trn, Opn]

**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':

UACV284 **\*tīmal-** 'tortilla, tamale': M88-ti8 'tortilla'; KH/M-ti8: TO cīmait; Wr teme; Tr fémé 'tamale, hacer tamales'; Op temai 'make bread or tortillas'; 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 a 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/ī), 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 ṭim'a- 'bake'; SP tī'ma- 'roast under ashes'; WMU ṭim'ma-y 'bake or roast (usually underground)' and others found at 'cook', including Kw tī'ma at both ti8 'tamale' and ti54 'roast, bake'. [Liquids and high front V's] [NUA: SNum; Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, 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*:

**UACV324** \**ma’a* / \**mahi* ‘bury’: M67-108 \**ma* ‘cover’; L.Son129 \**ma* ‘cocer al horno’; M88-*ma10* ‘cover’ and *ma24* are correctly combined in KH/M*ma10*: *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’iṣp* ‘cover, vt’; *TO ma’i* ‘pit roast’; *TO mamma’ikud* ‘roasting pit’; *Eu meitemon* ‘echar a tatemar mescal’. Perhaps also *Tbr mwai-rá-n* ‘asado’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Opn, Cah, Trn]

**868** Aramaic *ṭwr-* / *ṭuur-aa* ‘mountain-the’:

**UACV1459** \**toya* ‘mountain’: I.Num221 \**toya* ‘mountain’; M88-*to18* ‘mountain’; KH/M-*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*). S.Num \**toyaN*: *Ch(L) toyompī* ‘boulder’; *Ch(L) toyonkariri* ‘Boulder Sitting (name of mtn)’; *SP toiampi* ‘gravel, rocks big and small’ with nasalization. We again see \*-Cr- > -Cy- where \*-wr- is that consonant as also at 605. [NUA: Num]

**869** Syriac *ṭaan* / *ṭa’n* ‘body of a shirt’:

**UACV495** \**taa* ‘shirt, clothing’: *SP taa’ü* ‘shirt’; *CU táa* ‘shirt, clothes’; *WMU taá’a* / *taá* ‘clothes, shirt, dress, n’; perhaps *Ktn tavī-č* / *taavi-č* ‘buckskin’ and *Ktn tavī* (referring to clothes). *Jane Hill* notes that these may tie to **UACV256** \**tawayi*, 148 in this work. [NUA: SNum, Tak]

**870** Syriac(CAL) *bwḥšyn(’)* ‘green herbs’; Syriac *buuḥšiinaa* ‘tender grass, herbage in a field’:

**UACV1075** \**puhiC* ‘green’: I.Num157 \**puhi* ‘green’; M88-*pu15*; KH/M-*pu15*: *Mn puhi* ‘blue, green’; *Mn papuhi* ‘grass’; *NP puhi* ‘blue, green’; *TSh puhi/pui* ‘blue, green’; *Sh pui* ‘green’; *Sh puiC*, *pui-ppih* ‘grass’; *Kw puhi-gi* ‘green’. [iddddua] [NUA: Num]

**UACV1296** \**puhiC* ‘leaf’: *NP puuhi-ggwiddaddi*; *Cm puhi(pi)*. \**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. [NUA: WNum, CNum]

**UACV1295** \**pisi* ‘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 *’apelaa* ‘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 *he’epiil* ‘make dark’ with unattested impfv \**ya’piil* (m.) and \**ta’piil* (f.). The unattested *huqṭal* 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 (sun)’ 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*:

**UACV891** \**cuppa* ‘fire go out’: M67-171 \**cupa* ‘fire go out’; 236 \**cu* ‘go out (of fire)’; M88-*cu9*; KH/M-*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)’; *Wr(MM) čoa* / *čo’a* / *čo’wa* ‘apagarse el fuego [fire go out]’; perhaps *Wr(MM) čoipa* / *čo’ipa* ‘apagarse el fuego’ with other morphemes; *Tr čo’á-ri-* ‘have another put out fire’; *Tr čo’wí* ‘dark’; *Nv tubanu* ‘bajar de lo alto [go down from high up]’. [SUA: Trn, Tep; NUA: Tb]

In the following, the semantic tie goes from ‘set, go down, end (day)’ to ‘end (of whatever)’:

**UACV871a** \**cuCpa/i* / \**cuppa* ‘finish, be end of s.th.’: I.Num258 \**cu*/\**co* ‘disappear’; M88-*cu1* ‘finish’; KH/M-*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'píba-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'?

UACV871b \***copa** / \***cupa** 'braid, finish weaving': Tr čobá/čóba- 'trenzarse, hacerse la trenza'; Tb tadzub 'braid it'; CN copa 'finish weaving/constructing s.th.'; CN copi 'piece of weaving or construction to get finished'. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**872** Hebrew \***yu'pal** and \***tu'pal** 'become dark, be gone down' (unattested hoqtal 3<sup>rd</sup> sg masc and fem): UACV233 \***yu'pa** > \***yuppa** 'go out (of fire), (get) dark, black': M88-yu27 and yu26 'fire go out'; KH.NUA; KH/M-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'; Ls yóva/i- 'go down out of sight (sun), to set, vi; drive animals downhill, throw into a hole or over a bank, 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'; Tḡ yuvíkomok 'be getting dark'; Tḡ yupíxa 'black'; Tḡ yuupet 'overcast, cloudy, covered'. Hill adds Wc yīvi / yīivi 'black' (Wc i = \*ü) and Ls yupáqa/i 'go out (fire), vi; put out (fire), vt'; Tḡ 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 have the glottal stop); Ktn yuvitk 'get dark'; and with p- prefix, Ktn p-yivik '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'. [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

**873** Hebrew \***yu'pal** 'become dark, be gone down (light)' > UA \***yu'pa(l)** > Aztecan \***yo'wal** 'night': UACV1532a \***yo'wal** 'night': CL.Azt116 \***yowa(l)** 'night'; M88-yo8; KH/M-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'. UACV1532b \***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 hoqtal 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)**: UACV1996b \***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: Trn, Cah]

**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': UACV2361 \***pi'ari** 'tomorrow': Wr pi'ari 'tomorrow, morning'; Tr be'arí 'tomorrow, morning'. Sem-p. [SUA: Trn]

**876** Hebrew **dŕk** 'be extinguished, go out', Aramaic \***duŕk-aa** / duŕŕaak-aa 'extinguishing-the' UA \***tuka** / \***tuku** / \***tuki** 'fire go out, dark, black, night' (UACV240) Regarding the change from Semitic 'evening/night' to UA 'yesterday/last night' is comparable to 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 goes out at night, it is dark/black, and 'fire go out' is likely the original meaning of that group. PUA \***yuppa** (< Hebrew \***yu'pal**) has the same semantic array: 'fire go out, be dark, black.'

UACV240a \***tuka** / \***tuku** / \***tuki** 'fire go out, dark, black, night': Sapir; VVH23 \***tuu(ku)** 'black'; VVH144 \***tuski** / \***tuska** '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'; L.Num230 \*tuki 'fire goes out'; L.Son320 \*tuku, 320b \*cuku 'obscurecerse'; Dakin 1982; let's combine much of M88-tu2 'night', M88-tu3 'black', M88-tu12 'put fire out', and M88-cu4 'black'; KH/M-tu2 \*tuku 'black, dark, night' and tu12 'fire, to go out' and KH/M-tu25 \*tuka 'night': Mn toqawano 'night-time'; NP tuka 'extinguish fire'; NP tokano 'night'; NP toka cĭpia 'dark'; TSh tukwanni / tukwawani / tukwanippĭh '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 tũkwari (<\*tuukkwati) 'black, dark'; Tb tuugit~'uduuk 'be dark/black'; Tb tuugit 'night, the dark'; Tb tugal 'at night'; Cp tũkmu-t 'night'; Cp tũke 'pass the night'; Cp tũku 'yesterday'; Ca tũk 'go to bed, stay overnight'; Ca tũkmiyat 'night'; Ls tũúk 'camp for the night, v'; Ls tũúku-mi-t, tuk-va '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 tũku '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'; Op čuki 'dark'; Wr tugaó 'noche'; Wr togapá-ni 'become dusk'; Tr rúká-wa-ri 'noche'; Tr rú-/ró- 'be black/dark'; My tukáária 'noche'; Tbr tokú-r; and in CrC (where \*u > ĭ) is Cr wa-tika'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 tũku 'yesterday', Hp tooki 'last night, go out (fire)', and Ktn tuka / 'atuka '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 rúká-wa-ri, and Tepiman \*tukV-gV. Num forms are either reduced by a vowel syncope (\*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 tuppá 'black'; NP tokasĭpĭaga'a 'sun goes down.'

**UACV240b \*cukV (<\*tukV):** M67-45c \*cuk 'black'; L.Son320 \*cuku 'obscurecerse' 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 'obscurecerse'; 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 [is dark]' may be borrowed from TrC, because Cr watika'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 through the dialect chains of SUA; for many of those languages also have \*tuk forms.

**UACV240c \*tuhu / \*tuu (<\*tuku):** Mn tuhutĭpi '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 tũu-kwa-rĭ '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 intervocalic -k- can be lost, likely passing an -h- phase, as the \*tuhu forms: \*tuku > \*tuhu > tuu. In fact, Shaul (1994, 289) shows in PYP tuhu (redupl PYP tutuk) that -k- > -h-, and \*-k- > -h- in 'deer', etc. 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] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, 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 samīm ‘be numb’, though in many UA languages the semantics extend to numbing rain or cold:  
**UACV2521** \***samīm** / \***samiC** ‘be wet, numb(ing), drizzly’: L.Son231 \*samī ‘mojarse’; KH.NUA; M88-sa18; KH/M-sa18: Sr šamīm-q ‘become numb, vi’; Sr šamīm-kin ‘make numb’; Sr šamīimī’n(a) ‘be drizzling’; Ca sāmam ‘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 sāmakna ‘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’? [iddddua] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn]

**878** Hebrew šayṭ / šeṭ ‘bird of prey’; Aramaic(J) šayit-aa ‘bird of prey-the, n.m.’:  
**UACV209a** \***wiCtiki** ‘bird’: Sapir; M67-40 \*wici/\*wiki; Fowler83; M88-wi7; KH/M-wi7: Sr wičit; SNumic \*wiciki: Kw wižiki-ži; Ch wici’ici; SP wici’-ci; CU wici-ci; and Yq wíčik ‘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’. [NUA: Tak, Num, Tb; SUA: Cah, Azt]

**879** Arabic šwy / šawaa ‘broil, grill, roast’; Arabic šawiy ‘broiled, grilled, roasted’; check other Sem  
**UACV266a** \***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’.  
**UACV266b** \***sawi(y)** ‘melt’: TSh sawi ‘melt, vi’; TO haagid ‘melt, thaw’; TO hagito ‘burn up, melt away’; PYP Haag ‘melt’; NT aágyi. [-a/i alternation] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

**880** Hebrew ’aḥ (< \*’ax) ‘brother’; Aramaic(J) ’aḥ-aa ‘brother-the’; Arabic ’ax ‘brother’:  
**UACV307** \***waṇa’a** ‘younger brother’: NP waṇa’a; Mn waná’ / qwaná’. Of Sem-p in that ’ > w, though Proto-Semitic x more like Sem-kw ḥ, which also happened in 834. Pipil iika- ‘younger brother’.  
 [\*w > kw in Mn as in \*wita ‘wrap’ at blanket, n vs. ṇ] [NUA: WNum; SUA: Azt]

**881** Arabic xašiya ‘to fear, dread, be afraid’; Arabic maxšaat ‘fear’; Semitic \*ma-xašiy:  
**UACV854** \***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 tiimq ‘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-.  
 [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC, Azt]

**882** Hebrew šə’er ‘flesh, meat’; Punic š’r ‘flesh’; Ugaritic šir ‘flesh’; Akkadian šiiru ‘flesh, body’ (as meat is red or blood-colored):  
**UACV259**: Cr suúre ‘e ‘blood’; Wc šuuriya ‘blood’; Wc šuure ‘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 unstressed initial la-:  
**UACV889** \***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 ḏ, see TO waḏaḏ (< \*ptt) at ‘flat’. [V leveling]  
 [NUA: WNum; SUA: Cah, 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) taalapiišt ‘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, Semitists relate it to nhr ‘to shine’ which would correspond to UA \*na’ay also:

**UACV878** \*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/M-na7 ‘fire’ and KH/M-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-tī ‘fire, light’; Ca ná ‘burn’; Ls ná ‘burn’; TO naada ‘fire, n’ (TO đ < \*y) and TO naad (pret: nai) ‘make fire’; UP naadi ‘build fire’ (B.Tep); ST naada ‘make a fire’ (prêt: nai; pres: naanda); NT naada ‘build a fire’; Nv nadda ‘hacer fuego, encender lumbre [light a fire]’; Cr á-úu-na’ara ‘go build a fire’; Wc náiwame ‘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] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC]

**886** Hebrew y-’rk ‘be long (verb is usually of time, adj and noun for both time and space/length)

**UACV1390** \*yījī ‘be/pass a long time’: M88-yī18; KH.NUA; KH/M-yī18: Cp yéngé ‘to last a long time, endure’; Ca yén ‘pass a while (of time), stay a while’; Sr yījī’k ‘be a long time, be later’. [NUA: Tak]

**887** Both Semitic taḥt- and taxt- ‘lower part, bottom’ are forms of a noun turned preposition in most Semitic languages: Hebrew taḥat + noun; taḥt-o ‘under him’, taḥt-aa ‘under her’, taḥtee-nu ‘under us’, taḥtee-hem ‘under them’; Canaanite taxtamu ‘among them’; Arabic taḥta ‘under, below’; Biblical Aramaic taḥoot- ‘under’; cuneiform Aramaic tixuutu ‘under’; Syriac has three forms: taḥt-, taḥuut-, and taḥeet-; the first is generally an adverb, the second is used with pronouns, the third with nouns; but, like Payne says, these distinctions are not constant. UA \*tukkaC comes from a Semitic form with -x-, not -ḥ-; and from a short 1<sup>st</sup> vowel and stressed / stronger 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel, more like the 3<sup>rd</sup> Syriac form above—a short vowel easily rounded by adjacent -x-. Also a stressed 2<sup>nd</sup> V can geminate a preceding medial -CC- in UA, which may be the case here:

**UACV698a** \*tukkaC / \*tukka’ (AMR) ‘deep’: Sapir; M67-122 \*tuk ‘deep’; M67-34 ‘below’; I.Num227 \*tuh(kw)e(h) ‘under, below’; L.Son309 \*toko ‘ser hondo’; M88-tu14 ‘deep’; KH.NUA; KH/M-tu14, but overlaps with pa67; KH/M-tu14 \*tukka’ ‘deep’: Mn -duhe(e) / -duhetī ‘underneath’; NP tukapu (< \*tukkappu) ‘deep’; Sh tukkan ‘under’; Cm tuhkati ‘deep, down(ward)’; Kw tukkwi ‘down’; SP tukkwa ‘be deep’; SP tuhkwaC ‘under’; CU tukwa-tī (<\*tukkwa-tti) ‘be deep’; Tb tugaa’it ‘be deep’; Tb tugaa’anit ‘make deep’; Sr pohtk ‘below/under it’; Sr nihtk ‘below me’; Tr ro’ko ‘ser/estar hondo’; Wr to’kó-ni ‘be deep’. Sapir includes CN tlok ‘with, near to’, which is plausible. To the above in M88 we can add TSh tukkwappih ‘deep, adj’; Ch ruka ‘under’. Perhaps TO juuk ‘(be) deep’; ST čuuk ‘deep (of water)’; Tr(B) fókóre ‘be deep’; Hp atkya(q) ‘down (there/below), low(er)’. This stem is also part of a compound in other items at 1389 and 1390. [\*-kk- > Num kk, > Tb g] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Trn, Azt]

We repeat 99 from earlier as it relates to ‘prairie dog’ below in 888:

**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); **UACV461a** \*tī’pu ‘climb up’: NP tībbu’ya ‘climb up’; Wr mo’tepú-na ‘climb up s.th.’.

**UACV461b \*ciCpuhi** 'climb': Mn cibuhi 'climb with arms and legs'; NP cibui 'climb up on s.th.' These WNum forms align with Semitic rkb-uu-hi/ha 'climb up on it' (rkb-uu-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.

**UACV461c \*ciCpiN / \*cippiN** 'climb or come out / onto': Stubbs(2011) reconstructs PSNum \*cippiN from: Kw čipii- 'climb'; Ch cipí- '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: Trn]

**888** Semitic rkb 'mount, climb up on'; \*rakbiin 'ones coming up / upon' (tappi > tappi > cippi): UACV2148b: \*cippi 'prairie dog': Sh(M) cippih 'prairie dog' (as that which comes up, surfaces onto the surface). NP ciipísa; Ch šippiya; Sh(Owyhee) ciipī mean squirrel, perhaps in a semantic shift. See explanation two above at 99. Initial r > t > c before a high front vowel: rVkbī > tikpi > tippi > cippi. [idddua]

**889** Hebrew rikbaa 'riding, verbal noun' (< Hebrew rkb 'to mount, climb up, ride'); Aramaic(J) rikb-aa 'upper millstone-the'; Syriac rkb-aa 'upper millstone-the': UACV1083 \*tippa 'mortar (and/or) pestle': B.Tep242 \*tīpa 'mano de metate'; M88-tī41; Ken Hill disperses tī41 to KH/M-tī12 and KH/M-pa30: Wr(MM) te'pá 'arriba [up, above]'; Tr(H) ripá 'arriba [up, above]'; Tr(H) ripá moba 'sobre, encima [on]'; TO čīpa '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' fits well since Ls o < \*i. Most UA languages also suggest a cluster: -'p- / -pp-. With a different vowel, perhaps Mn tabi 'pound, strike' and Mn \*tabaha 'grinding rock'. [all p, no w/v] [NUA: Ls; SUA: Tep, Trn]

**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': UACV1213 \*kanni (NUA) > \*kali (SUA) 'house': Sapir; VVH141 \*kali; M67-239 \*kali; I.Num53 \*kahni; L.Son74 \*kari; M88-ka6 'house'; KH/M-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; Hp qeni 'place, room, space'; and the last part of Wc kiekári 'pueblo'. [\*-nn- > l in SUA; \*k > h in Tb] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, 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'.

**892** Arabic šanawbar 'stone pine' (type of pine) > (note Sh sanawap-pin 'pine tree'):  
UACV1634 \*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/M-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-pi; 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: Azt]

**893** Arabic daqqa ‘be thin, fine, crush, knock, rap, beat, strum, play (instrument), to sound (of instruments): Hp rīkī- / rīkīkī-ta ‘make grating noise, make rasping sounds, make rasping sounds of a rīkīnpi’; Hp rīkīnpi ‘percussion instrument that includes a notched stick and gourd, to accompany certain songs and dances’. [d > r]

**894** Arabic raqqa ‘be thin, fine, delicate’: Arabic rakiik ‘weak, thin’:  
UACV2279 \***takki** ‘thin’: Mn tagi’acici ‘be extremely thin’; Mn tīgībī ‘skinny one’; NP tīgīya’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’:  
UACV323 \***hi’acapa** ‘bury, cover, grave’ (> Tep \*hi’asapa): B.Tep60 \*hiasapai ‘bury, cover’; KH/M-si24; TO hiašp(a) / hia; NT yáásapai ‘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). [SUA: Tep, Opn]

**896** Hebrew ’sp, impfv: \*ya-’sop > ye-’esop ‘to gather’, aligning with the prefix conjugation without the prefix is SP soopp... : SP sooppaagai ‘to be assembled’; SP sooppaar’ui ‘to gather’

**897** Aramaic tpy / t̄paa ‘shut, close, be hidden away’; Syriac t̄p / t̄pa ‘shut, close (eyes, door); t̄ppi lay near, attach, fasten in’; et-t̄ppi ‘cleave or keep close, be joined to’; plural semantic parallels are in both Aramaic and UA, such as close eyes, put near/hidden away/gather/harvest, joined to/gather/assemble. And the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant -’ is apparent in NP, Yq, and Hopi (as -l-), though the initial vowel and 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant’s frequent gemination are like a quttal passive t̄ppa’:

UACV992 \***cupa** / \***cuppa** ‘gather, close eyes’: M67-194 \*cupa ‘gather’; M88-cu6 ‘gather’; KH/M-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 hícupa ‘harvest, vi’; Yq hicipawa ‘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 tícopa ‘pick up’. Miller also lists Cp čívi ‘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] [idddua] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah]

**898** Hebrew spd ‘mourn for, sing the lament for the dead, bewail’, impfv -spod; UA forms align with Aramaic \***spwd** / **ospoed** ‘lamentation, n’ and ‘lamentation’ equals ‘tears’!:

UACV603a \***osp/ops/ospowa** ‘tears, n’: BH.Cup \*’es ‘teardrop’; M88-’o6 ‘tears’; AMR1997; KH/M-’o6: Cp -is; Ca -’is; Ls -’és; Sr -’oosp; Eu opét ‘lágrima [tear], n’; 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 -sp-/-ps-. 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.

UACV603b \***oowa** ‘tear(s)’: TO oo’og ‘tear’; NT óógai ‘tears’; LP ooga ‘tear.’ These tie to Cahitan \*opowa/opwa, because in Tep, UA \*opowa/opwa > Tep \*owoga/owga, or ooga. [NUA: Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, Azt]

**899** Arabic šinw-, pl ašnaa’ ‘twin, one twin’:

UACV2428 \***cono’o** ‘twin(s)’: Kw cono’o-vi-mī ‘twins’; Tb čono’ ‘twins’. [NUA: Num, Tb]



**900** Hebrew **nʕm** ‘be lovely, pleasant, delightful’; Phoenician **nʕm** ‘good, beautiful’;

ESArabic **nʕm** ‘be good, happy’:

**UACV157** \***numa** > \***noma** ‘good, good-looking’: Ktn **numa-c** / **noma** / **nomo** ‘good, well, pretty’;

Hp **nööma** ‘wife, mistress’; AYq **nuhmeela** ‘youth, young man’. Hp **nööma** matches Ktn **noma**, so wife (Hp) and pretty (Ktn) and youth (AYq) as ‘good-looking’ are reasonable. Sh **-nom-pih** ‘X used for doing Y, instrumental suffix’ yet consider the examples: Sh **pui-nom-pih** ‘binoculars’ (see well/good), Sh **katin-nom-pih** ‘chair’ (makes sitting nicer), Sh **tüpo-nom-pih** ‘pen, pencil’ (writes well/nicely); the thing is ‘good’ or ‘works well’ for / when doing the verb (*Shoshoni Grammar*, McLaughlin, 17). The UA round vowel (o/u) aligns with the rounding of the Semitic ʕ, and most show -o-, but \*u-a > o-a is frequent in UA as well, as Ktn and AYq likely reflect the original vowel. [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Cah]

**901** Syriac **šb** ‘be willing, wish, prefer, seek, have pleasure in, be pleased with, delight in’;

Aramaic(J) **šb** / **šöbee** ‘find pleasure in, choose, desire’; Aramaic(S) **šby** ‘want, desire’:

**UACV2478** \***supiC** ‘like, want’: NP **subidda** ‘like, v’; Eu **sovíce** ‘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’šuuba** ‘copulate’ in light of \***naka/i** having both ‘want/like’ and copulative semantics. Tep should have **h** < \***s**, but let’s mention Nv **saptua** ‘love s.o.’ [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Opn]

**902** Hebrew **pʕm** ‘step, pace, foot’; Phoenician **pʕm** ‘foot’, **pʕm pʕm** ‘step by step’; Mehri **fa’am** ‘leg’:

The puma of Kw **pumake’e** ‘stomp in a regular beat, beat (of the heart)’.

**903** Hebrew **khh**, (qittel) **kehad** ‘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 **kehad** ‘disheartened’ and Ktn **-kihahik** ‘sad’ are striking.

Before launching into another large section (Sem-kw **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** / **-ootee<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 Semitists have noted (Gesenius 1910, 258; Blau 2010, 273):

**UACV2674** \***-ti** ‘plural suffix’: KH/M-ns6: Hp **-t/-ti** ‘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: Opn, CrC, Azt]

**905** Hebrew **-ayim** / **-aym** ‘dual suffix’:

NU and WMU **-im/-yim/-əyəm** ‘dual suffix’; Hp **-om** ‘dual suffix’. [NUA: SNum, Hp]

**906** Hebrew **-o** / **-w** ‘his, its, possessive 3<sup>rd</sup> m. sg. suffix’:

**UACV1703** \***-wa** / \***-w(V)** ‘possessed suffix’: KH/M-ns3: Ca **-w’a**; Cp **-w**; Ls **-w**; CN **-w/-wi/-wa:-** ‘possessed suffix’ (**-kone:-w** ‘child’; **-o’-wi** ‘road’; **-kone:-wa:-n** ‘children’); Pl **-w** (**-o:mi-w** ‘bone (poss’d)’). Add Ch(L) **win’napi** ‘flint’; Ch(L) **huu win’na-wa** ‘arrow’s flint’; Eu **-wa**; Op **-wa** (Shaul 1990, 565; Shaul 2003, 26). [SUA: Azt, Opn; NUA: Tak, Num]

### 5.13 Uto-Aztecan 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-kw’s initial **g** and **q**, as Sem-p

has g/q > k/q in Tactic 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 UACV861 \*aŋapu with its several related terms) and Sem-p SP wigiwi-vi ‘eagle tail-feather’ (\* > w, \*g > UA \*k; at 926 UACV866 \*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-Aztecan

**907** Arabic ġassa (< \*gassa) ‘touch, feel’; Syriac gwš / gaš ‘touch’ or Hebrew gšš ‘touch’; pfv qittel: giššeš ‘grope’; Hebrew qittel impfv: \*-gaššiš:

**UACV2388 \*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. [NUA: Tak]

**908 Hebrew gabal** (II) ‘to forge’; Arabic ġabala ‘mold, form, shape, fashion, knead, create’;

Syriac gbl ‘forge, form’; Syriac gəbiil ‘that which is formed or molded, formation, creation’:

**UACV800 \*ŋapaC** ‘sharp(en)’: Ca ŋavay ‘sharpen’; Cp ŋave ‘sharpen’; Ls ŋáva/i ‘be ground/sharpened, vi, grind (as a tool), sharpen, vt’; Tŋ ŋaava’a ‘sharpen’; Ls(E) ŋávili-š ‘whetstone’ (note -l-). [NUA: Tak]

**909 Hebrew ghh** ‘to heal’ (KB), ‘depart, be cured, healed’ (BDB); MHebrew ghh ‘lean, bend’;

Aramaic gh’ / ghy ‘be freed (from guilt, pain, disease)’; Syriac gh’ ‘escape (pain),

Syriac et-gəhi ‘be delivered, set free’:

Sr ŋöhääh(q) ‘turn, go around a bend, change direction’; Hp ŋaaha/ŋàaya ‘untie, unravel, vt’;

Hp ŋaahi/ŋayya ‘get/come untied’; Hp ŋahí ‘medicine, remedy’. Wr(MM) kahú ‘acabar, terminar [to end]’ –

when freed from pain or disease departs, it ends. Notice that in both Hebrew khh and khh (903), the often fragile h’s are preserved in Ktn -kíhahí- (at 903) and here in Sr ŋöhääh (909). Sr and Ktn are 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’. [Sem-kw keeps h] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn]

**910** Hebrew gab ‘back’ (KB); MHebrew gab ‘elevation, back’; Syriac gəbiib-aa ‘hunchbacked’;

Hebrew gab ‘anything convex, curved, gibbous, e.g., back’ (BDB): Ls ŋavá-ŋva-š ‘stooped, as an old man’.

**911** Hebrew gadiiš ‘heap of sheaves’; Syriac gdš ‘heap up’;

**UACV601 \*ŋattas** ‘tight(en)’: Ca ŋataš ‘be too tight (screws, doorknob, drawer), vi’; Hp ŋùütsü(k-) / ŋjüü(c)(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), and semantically specific, and Hp falling tone often signifies a cluster. Semitic feminine sg perfect is \*gadša(t). While Hopi and Cahuilla share a specific semantic match, the tie with Semitic is that heaps and sheaves consist of tightly piled or bound groups of whatever is heaped or sheaved. [idddua] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**912** Hebrew ħwg / ħuug ‘circle, horizon’ often used in the sense of ‘atmosphere, firmament, heaven’ over

earth or sea (Job 22:14; Proverbs 8:27); Syriac ħuug ‘circle or halo (around sun or moon)’ and used in

phrases like ‘encircling air’ and ‘the circle of the firmament’ (i.e., atmosphere):

Ls huŋ-la ‘the wind’; Tbr honá-/hone-/honi- ‘hacer viento [be windy], v’; Tbr honí-t ‘viento [wind]’. NUA ŋ

corresponds to SUA n. [idddua] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tbr]

**913** Aramaic ’yt- / ’iit- ‘(there) is/are’; ’iit-e ‘he/it is’:

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 ‘no --’. 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 məgera(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 ġirrat ‘cud’; from Syriac grr derives et-gawrar ‘to chew the cud’; Syriac bəṣiiraa 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 the other UA languages emphasize the side to side, and sawing is back and forth: UACV1936 \***ḡaya** ‘to move side to side’: Hp ḡayaya-ta ‘be swaying, rocking from side to side’; Hp ḡayayāki ‘start shaking or swaying from side to side, sway from side to side repeatedly’; Ca ḡaya ‘shake head saying ‘no’ (a side-to-side motion); Cp ḡaye ‘shake head’; Ls ḡaya/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] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**915** Hebrew **gnn** ‘enclose, surround, protect’, perfective: ganno-(ti): Hp ḡön-ta ‘wear s.th. around the neck’; Hp ḡöḡöḡpi ‘necktie, harness’. Hebrew pfv ganno- and final o could assimilate the first: \*ganno > ḡono > Hp ḡön. [iddddua] [NUA: Hp]

**916** Arabic \*ḡadiir ‘walled place’; Arabic ḡaddara ‘to wall in’; 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’: UACV2465 \***yaḡi** ‘fence, enclosure, roofless wall(s)’: M88-ya24; KH.NUA; KH/M-ya24: Sr yaḡiç ‘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’; Tḡ yaḡe ‘windbreak’; Tḡ yaḡ’ar ‘Los Angeles’; Ktn yaḡeki(-n-i-c / yuḡ-e-kin’-ic ‘brush wikiup’ (-ki < 986 UA \*kiC ‘house’). [dominant 1<sup>st</sup> C of Sem-kw cluster] [NUA: Tak]

**917** Arabic **gʕl** ‘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] [NUA: Tak, Num]

**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’: UACV1980b \***-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/M-na16: Hp **-ḡaqw**, -ḡaqö (pausal) ‘from, away from, inside of’; Ls -ḡax ‘from, because’; Cp -ḡax ‘from, because’; Cp -ḡa ‘at, in’; Ca ḡa ‘location’; Tḡ ḡa ‘locative suffix’; but Ca -ḡa-x ‘from’ (Seiler 1977, 201-2). UACV1980a \*(**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’. Both g > ḡ and -nb- > kw reflect Sem-kw. [\*ḡ > SNum ḡ, > C/WNum n] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Azt]

**918** Hebrew ʕešeb ‘herbage, weed’; SamP ʕešəb; Arabic ʕušb- ‘grass, herbage, plants, pasture’: UACV1059 \***hukwi** ‘grass sp’: SNum \*(h)ukwi ‘grass’: Kw hugwi-vi ‘speargrass’; SP ukwi-vi; CU ʕugwi-vi. Medial -kw- < -Cb-, and they all match the Arabic vowelings. [NUA: SNum]

**919** Hebrew gm’ ‘swallow’; Ethiopic **gemʕe** ‘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. [NUA: Hp]

**920** Hebrew grš ‘drive out’: Hp ḡöḡöḡya ‘pursue, chase after’; Hp ḡöy-ta ‘pursuing, chasing after’. [NUA: Hp]

**921** Aramaic **grdš / gardeš** ‘gnaw bones’ (Jewish Babylonian); Syriac **gardeš** ‘gnaw or scrape bones’; Hebrew **grm** ‘gnaw or break (bones), crush (bones)’, infinitive **garoom**: Hp **ḡaro-** ‘crunch down on’ (infinitive **garoom**); SP **qayu** ‘grind up (like a dog crushing bones)’; Ls **ḡooli** ‘gnaw’ (from prtpl **ḡoorem?**). Another Num k with Hp and Tak **ḡ**, as Hp and SP do match each other since Hp **o** < \***u**, but the cluster of **-rd-** in Aramaic **gardVš** may explain Hp **-r-** (< \***-rd-**) instead of **-y-** (\***-r-** > **-y-** more expected in Sem-kw). Ls **o** < \***i**, as **i** is a frequent central schwa-like default vowel. [NUA: Hp, Tak, Num]

**922** Arabic **gdb** ‘pull, attract, pull out’ would correspond to Hebrew **gzb**, and UA **ḡ-s** < **g-z** of Sem-kw: Ls **ḡisi-** ‘pull hair’; but too much not apparent in SP **ova** ‘pull out hair’. [\***ḡ** > **s** in Sem-kw] [NUA: Tak]

**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’. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**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) **gaddalet / 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 / gadal** ‘plait (hair), twine (threads), **weave (nets)**’; Aramaic(J) **gadlay** ‘weaver’:

**UACV2517 \*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) **ḡáaray-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 **ḡáaray-ni** ‘s.th. crocheted or woven’—they are all impressive items. [Ls **y** < **l**, and **l** > ’ in Hopi as 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant in a cluster] [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 UACV861 UA **\*aḡapu** with its several related terms; and also from Semitic **’agap** ‘wing, pinion’ is Sem-p SP **wiḡivī-vi** ‘eagle tail-feather’ which shows the Sem-p changes of \*’ > **w**, \***g** > UA **\*k**, at 926 UACV866 UA **\*wakapu** with its several related terms.

**925** Aramaic(J) **’agap** ‘wing, pinion, arm, shoulder’:

**UACV861 \*aḡapu** ‘wing, arm’: Sapir; VVH58 \*’**a**ḡa ‘wing, feather, arm’; B.Tep302 \*’**a**’ana ‘feathers, wing’; M67-465 \*’**ana** ‘wing’; L.Son4 ’**ana** ‘ala’; M88-a3 ‘wing’; KH/M-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-vü** ‘upper arm’; Tb ’**anambī-l** ‘feather in band’; TO/UP **a’an / ’a’anī** ‘wing, feather’; LP ’**a’an**; PYP **a’ana** ‘wing’; NT **áana/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’. Add Hp **aḡvī / aḡap-** (combining form) (< **aḡapī**) ‘corn husks stored in tied bundles and save as food wrapper in cooking’; corn husks are broad and light like wings and stick out like arms; this may well be the Hp cognate that means wing or arm in the other languages. 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] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC]

**926** Hebrew/Aramaic **’agap** ‘wing, pinion feather, arm, shoulder’; **Aramaic ’agap ‘wing, pinion’**

**UACV866 \*wakapu** > **\*wakaC** > **\*waki / \*wiki** ‘wing, feather’: BH.Cup **\*kawi** ‘wing’; M88-ka18; Munro.Cup139 **\*wakí-t** ‘wing’; KH/M-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 wigiví-vi ‘eagle tail-feather’ and Hp -wíki ‘feather’ in Hp kwaa-wíki ‘primary wing feather of the eagle’ (kwaa ‘eagle’). I agree with Munro’s reconstruction and explanation of Ls 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 that 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant \*-p-. (Sem-p) [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’:  
**UACV705** \***wakam** / \***wajam** ‘down, deep’: Ca wájam ‘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’. [Sem-kw:  $\eta$ /k] [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 ġw $\zeta$  ‘be empty, hungry’:  
Ktn  $\eta$ ihw-ik ‘get worn out, vi’; Ktn  $\eta$ ihw-k ‘wear out, vt’. [iddddua] [NUA: Tak]

**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 ġwl ‘be circulated, go the rounds’; Arabic ġawla(t) ‘circuit, round, patrol’ > Cp **ḡáyl’a** ‘spin, twirl, vi’. [NUA: Tak]

**930** Hebrew **gll** / **galal** ‘roll, roll away’; Hebrew **galiilaa** ‘district (that is, surrounding area), circuit (that one travels)’; Arabic ġwl ‘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’:  
**UACV455b** \***ḡVlila** ‘circle around, curve, head off, catch up to’: Ktn  $\eta$ ilil-k ‘catch up with, overtake, vt’; Cp  $\eta$ elele ‘be surrounding, be all around’; Cp  $\eta$ elele- $\eta$ iye ‘go around visiting’; Ca - $\eta$ élel- ‘go along the edge (of mountains, waters), vi’; Ls  $\eta$ éli ‘go along the side of a hill, vi’; Ls(E)  $\eta$ éela/i ‘be turned, curved, vi, go along the side of a curve, vt’; Ls(E)  $\eta$ elé $\eta$ li-š ‘curvy, curve’; Ls(E)  $\eta$ eléela/i ‘be repeatedly curved, vi, repeatedly go along the curve of s.th., vt’. Besides \* $\eta$ -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, e-lela do suggest a reconstruction of either e-i-a or a-i-a. Ktn’s two different forms—Ktn  $\eta$ ilil-k (930) and Ktn  $\eta$ iríhr-ik (949)—suggest separate proto-forms; thus, Sr  $\eta$ irir-q ‘move, move over, vi’ and Ktn  $\eta$ iríhr-ik ‘edge down over, vi’ are at 949. [NUA: Tak]

**931** Hebrew **gulla(t)** ‘basin, bowl’; Hebrew galgal ‘wheel, whirl(wind)’; Arabic ġulla ‘ball, bowl’:  
**Hopi ḡöla** ‘hoop, ring, wheel’; Hopi  $\eta$ ölöla ‘bend, crook, vt’; Hp  $\eta$ ölö(kna) ‘bend, make crooked’; the rest of UACV455a: VVH152 \* $\eta$ ola/\*( $\eta$ o)  $\eta$ owa/i ‘return, bend, coil’; B.Tep173 \*noragi ‘to go back’; L.Son178 \*nora, nor-i ‘regresar’; KH/M06-no2: the several forms like \*nora in Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tb, plus Hp.

**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’:  
**UACV456** \***ḡoya** ‘leave, go away, go home’: Uto-Aztecans have combined these with (931) above, yet they are a separate set (VVH152 \* $\eta$ ola/\*( $\eta$ o)  $\eta$ owa/i ‘return, bend, coil’; BH.Cup \* $\eta$ é ‘go away’; B.Tep173 \*; Kaufman1981 \* $\eta$ oyV; L.Son178; M88-no2; KH/M-no2): Ls  $\eta$ éya/i ‘to meander’ (< \* $\eta$ oya); Ls  $\eta$ éé ‘leave, go away, go home’; Ls(E)  $\eta$ ée ‘leave, go away, run off (unfaithful spouse), go around (commit adultery), go home, get back, be gone’; Ca  $\eta$ ii/ $\eta$ iy ‘go home, go away’; Cp  $\eta$ iye ‘go away, leave’. As Ken Hill notes,

Hp *ḡöya-* ‘surround, form a circle around’ fits these (vs. Hopi *ḡöla* above 931). Most tie these with *\*ḡola* 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 *ḡée* ‘leave, go away’ vs. Ls(E) *ḡéela/i* ‘be turned, curved, vi, go along the side of a curve, vt’ and Ls(E) *ḡelénli-š* ‘curvy, curve’. Now Ls(E) *ḡéya/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) *ḡée* ‘leave, go away, run off (unfaithful spouse), go around (commit adultery), go home, get back, be gone’. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**933** Syriac *gwr / gaar* ‘to commit adultery’; Syriac (*qattel*) *gayyar* ‘to commit adultery’ would have a prefix conjugation of *\*ya-gayyar* ‘to commit adultery’ whose four consonants all fit Hopi *yonyà* as expected, yet the first Hopi vowel (o) may be anticipating velar *ḡ* in an originally unstressed syllable, though Aramaic’s stress on the last syllable and UA’s tendency for alternating stress, would combine to put stress on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> syllables, encouraging the 2<sup>nd</sup> to be lost, which is exactly what we see: the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel lost, but all four consonants remain remarkably:

Hopi *yonyà-ti* ‘be adulterous, have an affair (with)’. [NUA: Hp]

Just as initial *g-* > *ḡ-*, so also medial *-g-* > *-ḡ-*, and also examples of *-l-* > *-l-*:

At (698) already is Arabic *\*lahgat* ‘tongue’ > UA *\*laḡi / \*laḡu* ‘tongue’: Hp *leḡyi / leḡi* ‘tongue’; Cp *naḡ*; Ca *naḡ-il*’; Sr *naḡ|ač*; Ktn *nḡi-č*; etc.

**934** Hebrew *glm* ‘wrap up, fold, fold together’ (BDB); Hebrew *ḡloom* ‘wrapping, garment’ (BDB); Aramaic(S) *ḡaliimaa* ‘garment, cloak, n.f.’; the Hebrew infinitive is Hebrew *ḡloom* ‘wrapping up’; Hebrew *yi-glom* (< *\*ya-glum*) ‘he/it wraps’; Hebrew *ti-glom* (< *\*ta-glum*) ‘she/it wraps’, etcetera: UACV472 *\*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/ḡloom*; 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: Cah]

**935** Hebrew *glm / gaalam* ‘wrap up, fold, fold together’ (BDB); because Hebrew *g* > *ḡ* of Sem-kw, these forms or UA *\*ḡalam* reflect Sem-kw’s 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pfv: UACV2333 *\*ḡalam / \*ḡalim / \*ḡaliC* ‘entangle(d)’: Ca *ḡáli-* ‘throw a lasso, get entangled, be out of place’, distributive: *pe-ḡaḡlami*; Ca *pe-ḡálamni-l*’ ‘roping (of the cows), n’; Cp *ḡále* ‘fasten, get into, vt’; Ls *ḡalípa* ‘become entangled’. Ls *-p-* suggests a final consonant, and *-m-* appears twice in Ca. Sr *ḡur-kin* ‘lasso, rope, vt’ is at 924 *gdl* > *\*ḡatCa* ‘weave, tie’. [NUA: Tak]

**936** Hebrew *gml / gaamal* ‘complete’ (KB), ‘deal fully with, deal adequately with’ (BDB); Arabic *ḡml / ḡamula* ‘be beautiful/handsome, be proper, suitable, appropriate, befit’; Arabic II *ḡammala* ‘adorn’ V *taḡammala* ‘adorn self’; Arabic *ḡamiil* ‘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’. UACV1299 *\*kami* ‘leave’; M88-ka43; KH/M06-ka43: 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 reduplicated Kw *kagaminiyaa* ‘pleasant’ (*l* > NUA *n*); Tb(V) *kam’-(ut) ~ aḡgam* ‘it fits’; Tb(H) *kam’mut*, pfv *aḡkam* ‘to fit, be proper’ (*l* > ’ in Tb cluster); Ca *qami* (before C), *qamñ* (before V) ‘to leave, quit, stop’; Ls *qamí*’i ‘leave s.th. alone’. This Ca form is of Sem-p, as Sem-kw (935) has Semitic *g* > Ca *ḡ*. Loss of intervocalic liquid in Tr, like Tr *-mea* < *\*mīra*. [NUA: Tak, Num, Tb; SUA: Trn]

**937** Hebrew *gml* / *gaamal* ‘complete’ (KB), ‘deal fully with, deal adequately with’ (BDB); Arabic *ġml* / *ġamala* ‘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’:  
**UACV246** \**kīmal* / \**kamal* (> *kimil*) ‘blanket, wrap (in blanket)’: L.Son82 \**kīma* ‘cobija’; M88-kī8; KH/M-kī8: 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 *kimiloaa* ‘wrap in a blanket, vt’; CN *tlakeemi-tl, -tlakeen* ‘garment, wrap’; CN *tlakeen-tia* ‘get dressed, dress s.o., vt, vrefl’; CN *tlakin-tli* ‘garment’. Add Ca *kámiš* ‘surround, vt’. And Tb *kam’-(ut) ~ ’aŋgam* ‘it fits’ likely fits as well. [idddua] [SUA: Trn, 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*<sup>2nd</sup> & liquid *3rd* C, see *tmr* > *tim’ma* ‘bury’:  
**UACV477** \**wVkka’mi* ‘cover, put blanket over, vt’: SP *wūqqam’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. [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:  
**UACV1095** \**k/ŋamal/n* ‘crush, grind’: Hp *ŋīman-* ‘to grind fine corn meal’ [as s.th. done fully]; Hp *ŋīmni* ‘flour, finely ground corn or wheat’ (of Sem-kw). AYq *kam-ta* ‘crush’ may be Sem-p. As for initial *ŋ-* in Hp and Tak vs. *k* in other branches, note \**ŋani* / *kani* ‘look for’ at ‘search’ (UACV1903) and 1465 \**ŋūha* / *kūh* ‘grasp, catch’ at carry. Hp *ŋeemin* ‘invite along’ is also worth noting, but not yet claimable. [ŋ/k] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah]

Cases of a cluster of *-Nŋ-* (nasal+pharyngeal *ŋ*) reducing to *ŋ* is a rather natural result also:

**940** Semitic impfv: \**-mŋak* < Hebrew *mŋk* ‘squeeze, squash’; Middle Hebrew and Aramaic(J) ‘crush’; Arabic *maŋaka*, impfv: *-mŋaku* ‘rub s.th.’; the cluster *-mŋ-* > *ŋ*:  
**UACV1096** \**ŋaka/i* ‘grind, scrape, rub against’: Tŋ *ŋooxa* ‘muelalo! [grind it]’; Tŋ *ŋooxa-t* ‘cosa molida [s.th. ground]’; Ls *ŋééxa/i* ‘rub against’; Ls *ŋóóxi* ‘grind on metate’; Ls *ŋááxa/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*. [NUA: Tak]

**941** Hebrew *pgr* ‘be exhausted, faint’ only attested in *qittel*, though *qal* would be impf *-pgVr*; Kohler and Baumgartner have Hebrew *pgr* associated with Syriac *bgr*, or *et-bgar* ‘be weak, emaciated’ and *p/b* lost in a cluster puts *-gVr* nicely to *-ŋīy*, though the cluster *-nŋ-* > *-ŋ-* is also possible, from *nŋr* / *-nŋar* ‘shake’, but the semantics of *-pgVr* seem more exact than Semitic *nŋr* / *-nŋar* ‘shake’:  
**UACV677** \**ŋīy* ‘shake, be dizzy’: Ca *ŋéy* / *ŋéye* / *ŋéney* ‘shake (of trees), vi, shake, rock (as a baby)’; Ca *če-ŋéy-* ‘an ‘give a shake or a tap (to wake s.o.)’; Ca *puš-ŋéy* ‘feel dizzy (literally: eyes-shake)’; Cp *ŋéye* ‘be dizzy’; Cp *ŋéye-yaxe* ‘turn over, quake (of earth)’; Sr *ŋīiy-k* ‘get dizzy (as when drunk). However, SP *aaŋwaya* ‘be dizzy’ does show *ŋ* with rounding where the *ŋ* is (if of *-nŋ-*) or where the *-pg-* > *-ŋw-* is. [NUA: Tak]

Semitic uvular *q* also appears as *ŋ* in the same languages as *g* > *ŋ*, that is, in Takic and Hopi:

**942** Hebrew **qiinaa** ‘funeral song, dirge, fem n.’, pl: qiinoot; Hebrew ha-qqiinoot ‘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) **ḡināḡna** ‘feel sorry for, feel compassion towards, be broken hearted, v.t.’; Ls(E) **ḡināḡna/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’. [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):

UACV591 \***ḡaḡi** ‘cry’: BH.Cup \***ḡa** ‘weep’; M88-na10 ‘cry’ (also at **nī4**); KH/M-na10: Cp **ḡaḡa**; Ca -**ḡāḡ**; Ls **ḡāá-** ‘to weep for s.o., cry’; Ls **ḡāáḡi** ‘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. [NUA: Tak, Tb]

**944** Hebrew **tiqqen** ‘make straight, straighten s.th. that is crooked, vt’:

Ktn **tīḡen** ‘straighten arrows’. [NUA: Tak]

**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:

UACV2405 \***ḡani** / \***ḡina** ‘pay’: Cp **nāḡani** ‘pay, vt’; Ca **ḡiḡan** / **ḡiḡan** ‘pay s.o., be expensive’.

UACV1903 \***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 \***galliy** ‘uncover, find’ in \*-ll- > -n- or -n’n-, like Ktn has. [NUA: Tak, Num]

**946** Hebrew **qāḡ** / \***qalaḡ** ‘to sling, throw out (people from land)’:

UACV2311 \***ḡalaw** ‘throw out’: Hp **iḡyala** ‘reject, exclude’; Hp(S) **iḡala** ‘drive away, exclude, throw out, vt’; Ca **ḡalaw** ‘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. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**947** Arabic **qalb** ‘heart, middle, center, core’ > Cp **ḡilvenḡilva’a-š** ‘nook, corner’.

**948** Hebrew **ḡiqqaar** ‘root’; Syriac **ḡeqaar-aa** ‘root, remedy-the’; Arabic **ḡaqaar** ‘medicament, remedy’:

UACV1835 \***ḡa-kaw** ‘root’: KH/M-na6: Sr -**ḡaakaw**; Ktn -**ḡakawi**; Hp **ḡa’at** ‘its root’. A short initial unstressed syllable is often dropped. With Sem-kw **q** > **ḡ**, then initial **ḡa**, or Semitic **ḡiqqaar** > **ḡa-**, since -**kaw** of Sr and Ktn is considered a separate morpheme of the compound. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

A few more examples of Semitic-kw **g** > **ḡ**:

**949** Semitic **gdd II** ‘band together against, roam about’ (KB) move is substitutable for roam; Hebrew **ḡəduud** ‘band, raid, troop of warriors’; Aramaic(J) **ḡidduud** / **ḡiidduud** ‘steep or straight embankment’:

UACV1945 \***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. [idddua]



**950** Hebrew *gerem* ‘bone’; Aramaic *garm-aa* ‘bone, self, essence’; Hebrew *gəraamaa-w* ‘bones-his’ (possessed pl); Arabic *ġirm* ‘body’; though a different ‘bone’ word, Hebrew uses *ʕešem* ‘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:

**UACV1792** \***ɲya(m)** ‘clan, relative’: KH.NUA: Hp *ɲyam* ‘clan members, clan’ (the Hopi dictionary has *-m* as a pl suffix); Sr *ña, ñaa*, pl: *ñaam* ‘relative, relation, kinsman’. The change *ɲy > ña* (nasal plus palatal to a palatalized nasal) is natural enough. [iddddua] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

Like Sr *ña* above, another instance of a *g-* + *-liquid* cluster is the Semitic stem *-glVs*:

**951** Arabic *ġls / ġalasa* ‘sit down’; impfv: *-ġlisu*

Ca *ñaš / naš* ‘sit down, settle down (live or camp), set in (new moon, young fruit as pumpkin)’, though this suggests an impfv vowel *-glas*, which is entirely possible, since impfv stems often have variant vowelings. [NUA: Tak]

**952** Hebrew(BDB) **פִּלַּם** ‘to thrust, impel; probably originally hit, strike, v’ (BDB says);

Hebrew(BDB) *paʕam* ‘beat, hoof-beat, footstep, occurrence/time [originally stroke]’:

**UACV1200** \***poŋo** ‘hit, knock, throw down, pound’: M88-po7; KH.NUA; KH/M-po7: Cp *piŋe* ‘knock on, knock around’; Ls *péja/i* ‘throw, be thrown’; Sr *pöŋ* ‘pound’; Ktn *poŋ* ‘hit with the fist’; Hp *pöŋöjōta* ‘be making knocking or rapping sounds’; Hp *pöŋö-k-na* ‘knock on, give a knock or sharp peck’; AYq *poona* ‘knock’; Yq *pónne* ‘machacar [pound, crush]’; My *póona* ‘hit, touch’; and My *popona* ‘martillar [hit/pound with a hammer]’. Note that all of NUA has medial *-ŋ-* and all of SUA has *-n-*. UA *poŋo* could be from *paʕm-uu* (pl subj) or *paʕm-o* (sg obj, as in Judges 13:25, or tied to 1304. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah]

**953** Arabic **ʕuqaab** ‘eagle’ and ‘a northern constellation’; Arabic *ʕuqayyib* ‘small eagle, eaglet’:

**UACV344** \***yuŋapi** ‘buzzard’: BH.Cup \**yuŋávic* ‘buzzard’; HH.Cup \**yuŋáviš* ‘buzzard’; M88-yu12;

KH/M-yu12: Ca *yúŋaviš*; Cp *yuŋáviš*; Ls *yuŋávi-š* ‘turkey buzzard, vulture, a star, probably Arcturus’;

Ls *yuŋáavay-wu-t* ‘condor’; Tŋ *yoŋaavi-wut* ‘condor’. Initial *y-* gives pause, but all other segments fit, and another possible initial pharyngeal becoming *y* may be *ħrpan > yivana* ‘autumn’. Arabic *ʕuqaab* ‘eagle’ and ‘one of the northern constellations [i.e., Aquila] also called *al-nasr al-ṭaa’ir* [the flying eagle/vulture] (Lane 2102); and in Luiseno are two very similar meanings: Ls *yuŋávi-š* ‘turkey buzzard, vulture; a star, probably Arcturus’. Arcturus is a northern star, a bit outside the big dipper. The sounds match the sound changes of Semitic-kw: *u > u*, *q > ŋ*, long *aa > aa*, *-b- > -v-* intervocalically. Aquila is Latin for eagle and was also known as *vultur volans* [flying vulture]. The recorder of Ls says ‘probably’ and so was not certain of the star/constellation identification; and even if the stars are not an exact match, they are both stars in the north, and both Arabic and Ls have the same unusual pair of meanings: ‘eagle/vulture’ and ‘a star / constellation generally in the north’. [NUA: Tak] The following may be a vowel-line shift of \**yuŋápi*?

**UACV346** \***kupahī** ‘type of buzzard/bird’: Yq *kúpahe* ‘clase de pájaro, como zopilote, pero diferente en los colores de las alas’; Wr *kohiwé / koiwé* ‘zopilote, pelícano, quien, con Cuervo, llevó a Coyote al cielo’. With a metathesis of *h* and *p/w*, Wr seems probable with Yq and with Tak’s 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. [iddddua] [SUA: Trn, Cah]

**954** Arabic *baqiya* ‘stay, be left behind’:

Hp *kwaynya-* ‘behind’. Good match and again Semitic-kw *q > UA ŋ* and Semitic *b > kw*. [NUA: Hp]

**955** Arabic *ħgg / ħagga* ‘overcome, defeat’:

Hp *hoŋvi* ‘strong, sturdy, durable’. Hopi *-vi < Aramaic -be* ‘with/in him/it’; that is, ‘overcome him/it’. [iddddua] [NUA: Hp]

**956** Arabic ḥgz ‘hold back, hinder, block, detain’:

Hopi oŋo-(k-) ‘bump into, collide with, reach an impasse, get blocked in one’s plans’. [NUA: Hp]

#### 5.14 Initial k-, q-, g- in the Semitic-p and Semitic-kw Data

**957** Arabic qarqadaan ‘squirrel’:

UACV2142 \***koŋi** ‘squirrel’: BH \*qéŋic ‘squirrel’; Fowler83; M88-ko22 ‘squirrel’; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup122 \*qééŋi-š ‘ground squirrel’; KH/M-ko22: Cp qíŋi-š ‘squirrel’; Ca qíŋiš ‘ground squirrel’; Ls qééŋi-š ‘ground squirrel’; Tŋ xoŋít; Sr qööŋt; Ktn koŋit ‘ground squirrel’; Hp koonā ‘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 cooconā ‘kiss’ among \*cuŋa ‘suck, kiss’; so a few Hp -n- seem to correspond with Tak -ŋ-. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**958** Hebrew qiynaa ‘funeral song, dirge’, qiynoot ‘lamentations’;

Middle Hebrew qonen ‘to begin singing a dirge’ (a denominative verb from qiynaa):

Hopi kiyna ‘begin singing a song, start a song’. This is Sem-p in contrast to Sem-kw at 942. [NUA: Hp]

**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’:

UACV902a \***komal** ‘griddle’: CL.Azt74 \*komaal; M88-ko25 ‘griddle’; KH/M-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.

UACV902b \***komal** ‘thin’: B.Tep104 \*komarika ‘thin’; M88-ko32 ‘thin’; KH/M-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’.

[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]

**960** Arabic qarqara ‘rumble, grumble, gargle, coo (pigeon)’ and qahqaha is similar, says Lane:

UACV1749a \***kakkara** ‘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/M-ka15: SP qaqqaraC ‘quail’; CU yúaa-qaqXaarī-ci ‘quail’; Cp qaxá-l ‘valley quail’; Ca qáxa-l ‘quail’; Ls qaxáa-l ‘valley quail’; Tŋ 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’.

UACV1749b \***takkaka** / \***kakkata** ‘valley quail’: TSh takkaakacci / kakkaatacci ‘valley quail’; Tb takaah ‘valley quail’; perhaps 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. They both seem Sem-p. [-CC-; k > h]

[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

**961** Hebrew deqel ‘date-tree, palm’; Arabic daqal ‘kind of palm tree’:

UACV1606 \***taku** ‘palm tree’: Fowler83; L.Son271 \*taku ‘palma’; M88-ta11; KH/M-ta11: Eu takú-t; Op takuu ‘palm tree’; Wr tahkú ‘palmilla’; Tr(B) rakú / takú ‘palma real [type of palm tree]’; Tr(H) rakú ‘palma alta de las barrancas’; My takko; Tbr takó-t; Wc taakīi. Add Cr takī ‘palma’ and Yq táko ‘palma’. This is from Sem-p in light of fierce rounding influence of uvular q. [o/u] [SUA: Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

**962** Aramaic(J) qooŋ-aa ‘throat, gullet, windpipe-the’; Aramaic(J) qooŋai-k ‘neck-your’;

Aramaic(CAL) qaaŋooy ‘one who cries’:

UACV1515 \***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 kīipi ‘garganta, buche’; CN kooko’-tli ‘throat, windpipe’; CN kooko’tlan ‘neck, throat’. [NUA: CNum; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]

**963 Hebrew qaašiiir** ‘branch(es)’:

UACV2412 \***kusi** ‘wood’: M67-170c; M88-ku7; KH/M-ku7: Mn kussi-woqqopī ‘Jeffrey pine’; Wr kusí ‘branch, brush, thicket’; Tr kusí/gusí ‘stick’. Sem-p’s rounding of q. [NUA: WNum; SUA: Trn]

**964 Hebrew qerēn / qarn-** ‘horn’:

CN koyooniaa ‘horadar [perforate], agujerear algo [pierce/perforate s.th.]’; Pl kuyuni ‘for a hole to open up or form’; Zḡ koyoni ‘perforarse [be perforated]’. 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 tqṣ ‘stick in, drive in, thrust in (weapon)’ and ‘blow a horn/trumpet’. [SUA: Azt]

**965 Hebrew qrṣ** ‘rip/tear to pieces’, impfv -qraṣ :

UA \*kowV ‘to tear’: Cp qíwe ‘tear’; Ca qíwiw ‘tear (clothes, paper)’ (Ca i < \*o). [NUA: Tak]

**966 Cognate with Hebrew šqp** ‘look down on from above’ (both the ni-qtal & hi-qtiil);

Arabic ḥqf II / ḥaqqafa ‘seize, confiscate’; Aramaic(J) tqp ‘seize, overpower, hold firmly’; the Hopi form has the Hebrew sound correspondences (š < ḥ), 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 are influence of q (Sem-p), or from infinitive or verbal noun Hebrew šəqop. [NUA: Hp]

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:

UACV278 \***kuCta-pi** ‘bow’: Sapir; M88-ku36 ‘bow’; KH/M-ku36: Cp kútapi-š; Tḡ -kúčap (poss’ed); Ls kútupi-š ‘ash tree, bow’. Sapir includes Wc tupí/tuupíi ‘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- (because a lone \*-t- > -l-). Retention of and rounding by q is Sem-p, and the Aramaic form quštaa ‘bow’ is identical except for the usual loss of s in a cluster. What’s more, this fits an Egyptian structure perfectly—noun-p’y ‘this is a noun’ (Junge 2001, 55)—so kuCta-pi ‘this/that is a bow’, final -pi < Egyptian p’y ‘that/this’. The following (968) is the same but reversed, or ‘this bow’. 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 Tḡ] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah, CrC]

**968 Egyptian-Hebrew p’y-qušt** ‘his-bow’:

UACV277 \***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 wiko’i; My wiko’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 > ’] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tbr, Cah]

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 > ḡ 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 > ḡ 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** ‘bow, n.f.’; Syriac qeštaa:

Note Hebrew qešet, **qašt-** ‘bow, weapon’; Hebrew **qašt-o**, and Aramaic(J) **qašt-aa** with UA loss of initial q-: UACV275 \***aCta** ‘atlatl, bow’: Sapir; M67-53; I.Num10 \*etī; M88a4; KH/M-’a4: Mn édi; NP adi; TSh huu’etīn, etīn; Sh (huu)’aitīn; Cm eetī; Kw ’edī; Ch aci; Ch(L) ’aci; SP aci; WMU ačá-rū / ačúr (some

speakers say a voiceless/silent r) ‘bow’; CU ‘áa-ci; Tb ‘aali-t; Wr atá ‘arma’; Wr atapóri ‘arco’; Wr(MM) atá / hatá ‘arma de fuego [firearm]’; 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 may suggest Sem-kw. [\*-Ct- > c in SNum; initial \*w in Tr?] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Trn, Azt]

**970** These Tepiman forms \*gaato may be a voicing of Semitic qašt-o ‘bow-his’:

**UACV276 \*watV** ‘bow’: B.Tep36 \*gaatoi ‘bow’; M67-53; M88-’a4; KH/M-wa32: TO gaat, gatwua; Nv gato; Nv gata ‘make a bow, v’; PYp gaato; NT gaátói; 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. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

**971** Syriac qarduun-aa ‘louse-the, nit-the’ (diminutive of Aramaic qard-aa ‘louse-the, tick-the’); perhaps from unattested Hebrew qard-iim ‘lice’ (loss of initial q- and no rounding, but \*u > i happens also):

**UACV1398 \*’aCtūN > \*’atū(N)** ‘louse’: VVH24\*’atī ‘louse’; B.Tep304 \*’a’atīi ‘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/M-’a10 \*’atīn (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; Tḡ -ár; TO aa’ač; UP aa’ači; LP ’a’at; NT áátīi; NT áátī ‘have lice, v’; ST ’a’aat; Eu atét; Op a’atte ‘head lice’; Tbr até-t; Yq ’éte; AYq etem; My éttem; Wr ehté; Tr(B) té; Cr áte/até ‘louse/black louse’; Wc ’até; CN atemi-tl; HN ’atimi-tl; Pl atimet; Po atomt. Tak absolute -t (vs. -l) shows a final -C, and Sr, Ktn, Cah, and CN show final -m or \*’atīm. While possible, let’s not assume -m is a fossilized pl suffix, as AMR also reconstructed a final nasal. Some forms suggest a geminated consonant (\*-tt-) or cluster (-rd-), so those that do not, later weakened or lost the gemination. [\*-tt- > c in Num; \*-t- > l in Tak] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**972** Hebrew **qippoz** ‘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.

**973** Hebrew gēled ‘skin’, gildaa-w ‘skin-his’; Arabic \*gild ‘skin’; Aramaic gild-aa ‘skin-the’:

**UACV2022 \*’ili... > Tep \*’ilida** ‘skin’: TO elidag / eldag ‘skin of a person or animal, bark of a tree’; Nv iridaka ‘skin, bark’; NT ilíadi ‘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’. [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):

**UACV362 \*aki / \*haki** ‘arroyo, waterway, canyon, valley’: VVH57 \*’aki ‘arroyo’; B.Tep299 \*’aki ‘arroyo’; M67-348 \*’aki; L.Son50 \*haki ‘arroyo’; M88-ha2 ‘arroyo’; KH/M-ha2: NP tihaga’yu ‘canyon’ (Miller has < NP \*’tī’aka); NP(B) tīakai ‘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 fits Sem-kw in loss of initial velar stop and anticipation of r causing a high-front vowel. [\*k > č/\_i in Cr] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC]

**975** Hebrew qrb ‘approach, draw near’; Hebrew qaaroob ‘near’; Hebrew **qéreb** ‘inward part, midst’ (BDB):

**UACV1243 \*’irapa** ‘inside’: B.Tep336 \*’irava ‘inside’; M88-ī15; KH/M-ī15: 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 > qrev-kwo ‘inside-in it’. [\*-r->Tep-r-] [SUA: Tep]

**976** Hebrew qrb ‘approach, draw near’; Hebrew **qaaroob** ‘near’:

**UACV2356 \*’ayopi** ‘soon [i.e., near in time]: Tr ayobe/ayowe/ayowi ‘soon, immediately’. [-r- > Tr y] [SUA: Trn]

977 Arabic qariib ‘near, soon’; Aramaic(J) qaareeb ‘near’: PYp aliv ‘soon’ [SUA: Tep]

978 Semitic \*gabbaar ‘man, strong/mighty man’ in several Semitic languages: Aramaic/Mandaic gabbaar; Syriac gəbar ‘man, strong or mighty man’; Syriac gabr-aa ‘man-the’; Arabic ġabbaar ‘giant, tyrant, mighty, powerful’; Hebrew gibboor < \*gabbaar (oo < \*aa):

UACV1427 \*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- > -pp- is Sem-p, though Tb(H) ekeewan ‘big, large’ (< gabbaar) leans Sem-kw, as \*kw > Tb w. [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’:

UACV206 \*\*apa ‘much, big’: Kw ‘awa-(tü) ‘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 á’avuk ‘grow, get old’; Ca á’avu’wet ‘elder, aged person’. [NUA: SNum, Tak]

980 Arabic klm ‘address s.o.’: Ls ‘ulómi ‘call s.o. names’ [NUA: Tak]

981 Aramaic(J) gaz / gas, gaz-aa ‘bird of prey, falcon-the’:

UACV741 \*\*asa-wīr ‘eagle’: BH.Cup\*’ašwīt; M67-147 \*’as; KH.NUA; M88-’a12; KH/M-’a12: Sr ‘ahīn-t / ahīn-t ‘eagle’; Ls ‘aš-wu-t ‘golden eagle’; Cp ‘ašwe-t ‘eagle’; Ca ‘aswet; Tḡ ‘asáwt ‘golden eagle’; Tb ‘aašawī-t ‘eagle’. As Miller suggests, the -wī syllable in these forms probably means ‘big’. The 2<sup>nd</sup> V -a- after s is in both Tḡ and Tb may mean it is from an Aramaic form. Sr’s ḡ (vs. others’ w) may be a different morpheme. [ḡ/w] [NUA: Tb, Tak]

982 Hebrew qll ‘be small, insignificant, light, fast’; Arabic qaliil ‘little, few, insignificant’; Arabic qll ‘be little, few, insignificant, inferior’:

UACV1356 \*ali ‘little’: B.Tep300 \*’arii ‘little one’; M67-387a \*’ali, 387b \*’ili; M88-’a7; KH.NUA; KH/M-’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 ññišily ‘small one’; Ls ‘ááli-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’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Cah]

983 Hebrew škb, impfv -škab ‘lie down, lie’ something else?

UACV1318 \*hapi ‘lie down’: I.Num31 \*hapi ‘lie down’; M88-ha8 ‘lie down’; KH/M-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 abiíci’i ‘escondido’ and Wc ‘avieta ‘hide (claws/teeth)’ at \*’api ‘hide’. [NUA: WNum, CNum, SNum; SUA: Opn, CrC]

UACV1181 \*\*api ‘hide’: Cr abiíci’i ‘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. [SUA: CrC]

984 Hebrew gullaa ‘bowl’ (< Hebrew gll ‘roll’ niqta: ‘be rolled together’); Akkadian gullu ‘bowl’:

UACV431 \*ola / \*olol ‘ball’: M67-20 \*’ol ball; M88-’o16; KH/M-’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 ḡöla ‘hoop, ring, wheel, tire’ may both be of Sem-kw, in loss of g in SUA and g > ḡ in Hp. Compare 931 for a different form of the same root. [\*o > Cr u, liquids] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]

More examples of Semitic-p preserving initial q-, k-, g-:

985 Arabic kasara ‘break, shatter, fracture’

UACV286 \*kasi ‘break’: Tr kasi ‘break in pieces’; Wr kasi- ‘break (of brittle obj’s), vi’. [SUA: Trn]

**986** Hebrew qyr / qiir ‘wall, town’; Hebrew qiryaa ‘village, town’; Aramaic(CAL) qiryaa / qiryət-aa ‘town’: UACV1214a \***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/M-ki1: Hp ki-/kiih; Ktn ki-c; Sr kii-č; Ca kí-š; Ls kii-ča; Cp kí-š; Eu kit/kíit; Op ki’i-t ‘house’; Tbr ki-tá; TO kii; Nv ki; PYP kii; NT kii; ST kii; Wc kii; Cr čí’i. The looks of Ls and some others point to Aramaic qiryət-aa. [\*k > c/\_i in Cr]

[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

UACV1214b \***kiC-tu** / \***kiC-ta** ‘build a house’: KH.NUA: Sr kiiču’ ‘build a house’; Ls kiiču; Ca kiiču ‘dwell’; Hp kiita ‘build a house’. [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’; Aramaic(CAL) qarra’ ‘pumpkin, melon’ (Sem-p):

UACV2135 \***kuyawi** ‘gourd’: Tr guyowí ‘guaje [gourd]’; Wr kuyawí ‘planta de bule [gourd plant]’;

Tb(H) kooyoo-t ‘turtle’. [\*-r->Tr/Wr -y-?] [SUA: Trm; NUA: Tb]

**988** Arabic qarṣ- ‘gourd, pumpkin’ (Sem-kw); Aramaic(CAL) qarra’ ‘pumpkin, melon’;

Syriac qarṣ-aa ‘pumpkin gourd-the’:

UACV2141 \***ayaw** < \***arawV** ? ‘squash, gourd’: CL.Azt159 \*ayoh ‘squash’; M88-’a2 ‘squash, pumpkin’;

KH/M-’a2: Ls yáá’aya-t ‘turtleshell rattle’; Sr ’aayt ‘rattle’; Hp aaya, pl: aa’aya ‘hand rattle (made of gourd)’;

Wr aláwe ‘calabaza [pumpkin, squash]’; Wr(MM) harawe ‘calabaza’; CN ayo’-tli ‘squash, pumpkin’. AMR

(in his large unfinished article “Ontology”) and Ken Hill add TO haal ‘squash, pumpkin’ and My aayaw, pl aya’aw-im ‘calabaza harota’. 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] [Sem-kw]

[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trm, Cah, Tbr, Opn, Azt]

As a turtle shell resembles 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’:

UACV2422 \***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/M-’a14: Kw ’aya; SP ’aya; CU ’ayapī-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-wī- (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] [idddua] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tbr, 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 qarṣ-aa ‘caller, announcer’ (participle); in the UA set below, the lack of initial q and lack of rounding for final ’ means Sem-kw:

UACV1492 \***aya** ‘call’: M67-75 \*ay ‘call’; M88-’a15; KH/M-’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’.

[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak]

**991** From Semitic qr' / \*qara' 'call, name, cry out, shout, announce' is the Hebrew niqṭal 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 niqṭal 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 ' and Hebrew/Phoenician ni- (instead of earlier NW Semitic and UA \*na-) are all consistent with Sem-kw:

**UACV1490 \*nihya** 'call, name': I.Num117 \*ni(C)a / \*nih- 'call, name, v'; M88-ni2 'call, name, v'; KH/M-ni2: Mn niyat; NP nania; Sh niha/nihya; the -nia of Sh ṭipinia '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'. I like Iannucci's reconstruction \*ni(C)a, because the medial consonant is unclear and the variety again suggests a cluster, and Sh nihya points to exactly the -qr- cluster. [Sem-kw with weakened q, r > y, and no rounding from ' ] [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' reflect either loss of q- in pfv stem or 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 hááyi 'scream'; SP qwarava-ya'i 'cry from pain' vs.

**UACV613 \*otoNwa (oroNwa)** 'groan': SP oronwi 'roar, growl'; WMU orógoa'ni'ni 'groan in pain'; CU 'oróôwa'ni 'suffer'. [NUA: SNum; Np, Tak]

**993** Hebrew qəwūṣoot 'locks'; Arabic quṣṣa(t) 'lock of hair';

Syriac qauṣ-taa / quuṣ-taa 'curl, ringlet-the, n. f.', pl: quuṣaa-taa / qaswaa-taa 'curls-the':

**UACV1111 \*woC** 'hair': M67-210 \*wo; I.Num270 \*woo(h) 'hair/head'; M88-wo6 'hair of the head';

KH/M-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. Note that in Mn wóopi / a-qwoopi the -q- reappears when a prefixed. [w/kw in WNum] [NUA: WNum, Tb]

**994** Hebrew ṣqr 'uproot, weed'; MHebrew(Jastrow) neṣeqar (< \*na-ṣqar) 'be uprooted'; Syriac ṣqr / ṣəqar 'uproot, be barren, heal'; Aramaic ṣəqaar-aa 'root-the'; loss of initial ṣ in initial unstressed short syllable of denominalized verb or perhaps in a cluster, while 2<sup>nd</sup> C -q- is retained in the UA forms being impfv -ṣqar, with -a- instead of -u- as in Ca (such dialect variations happen), or stressed 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable of a pfv ṣ<sup>3</sup>qar > qay:

**UACV2489 \*qaya/i** 'uproot, weed, clean, wash': BH.Cup \*qáyi 'wash'; M88-ka24; KH/M-ka24: Ls káyi '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 qáyi 'get clean, clear (ground, body, etc)'; Ca qáyi-n 'to clean, get rid of, wash, clear'; Cp qéye 'pull out, vt'; Ca qúyen 'to pull out (tree)'. [l'2,2q,3r] [NUA: Tak]

Interestingly, 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, because they are the same verb: the **Syriac verb has both meanings 'uproot' and 'heal'**. Tak shows q instead of k. [NUA: Tak]

**995** Hebrew gbl 'to fix a landmark, form a boundary'; Arabic ḡbal 'mountain';

Hebrew ḡəvuul (< \*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.

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’:

UACV949 \***yī**u < \***kVyu**’u ‘leg’: Kw yu’u-vī ‘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 initial \*ku lost in SNum. Sem-kw. [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 qʾren has nearly no vowel between 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> consonants, making loss of first consonant plausible: SP yīnnī ‘crown of the head’.

**999** Hebrew gaaron ‘throat, neck’ (Sem-kw):

UACV1516 \***iyō**N ‘back of neck, nape of neck’: WMU íyǒ / iyǒ / iyǒm-pi ‘back of neck, nape of neck, n’; CU ’iyö-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)ǒnt’a-qa-y, i(y)ǒn-náqa, ínt’a-qa-y, ín-qa ‘put arm around, hug s.o.’; SP iyonna- ‘carry in one’s arms’; CU ’iyönani’i ‘hug, vt’. Loss of g- and high-fronting of aro > iyo mean Sem-kw. [NUA: SNum]

More examples of Semitic-p retaining initial q-.

**1000** Aramaic(CAL) qwrl’ / qurl-aa’ ‘crane, n.m.’

UACV580a \***koto** / \***koro** ‘crane’: L.Son94 \*koro ‘grulla’; Fowler83; M88-ko18 ‘grulla’; KH/M-ko18: TO kookoḏ; Nv kokorh; Op koro-ci; Eu koró; Tr goró; Yq kórowe; My kóorou; Tbr koló ‘pájaro’; NP kodīdī ‘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 ...’

**1002** Aramaic / Syriac qʕy / qəʕaa ‘call, cry out’; Aramaic qʕwy / qaaʕooy ‘one who cries’;

Aramaic / Syriac participle qaaʕe ‘call, cry out, shout’: Ls qéwi- ‘shout, bark’; Hp qawī ‘speak, say’. Ls -e- could be from PUA \*-o-, assimilating to the pharyngeal’s rounding or it could be an assimilation \*-a-i- > e-i. Less likely is Semitic qwl / Arabic **qawl** ‘speaking (verbal noun), word, speech, saying’ [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**1003** Arabic kirš / kariš ‘stomach, paunch, belly’; Aramaic **karšk-aa** ‘belt’:

UACV2195 \***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- > -c-. And note that Eu kecaka fits perfectly Aramaic karšk-aa ‘belt’. [SUA: Tep, Opn]

**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/š > h in TO.

**1006** Hebrew qšr ‘to reap, harvest’; Hebrew qaašīr ‘harvest, n’; Wr kacuri ‘a kind of sweet corn’. [iddddua]

Sometimes Semitic x softens to h:

**1007** Semitic \*xdl (> Hebrew ḥdl / ḥaadal) ‘cease, cease doing’; ESArabic xdl; Akkadian xadaalu ‘cease’; Arabic xdl / xadila ‘stiffen, become rigid’; intervocalic -d- > -r- is common in English and many languages:



Hp hīrī-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 is not a usual shift. Hopi has other related variant forms such as Hp hīrīla ‘be hesitating, pausing, stopping’. Another possibility is Semitic xrz, Arabic xaraza ‘to pierce, sew’, Aramaic ḥrz ‘to pierce’, Aramaic ḥrez / ḥerz-aa ‘bead, amulet’, Aramaic(J) ‘pierce’; Syriac ḥrz ‘perforate, string together’ > Hp hīrī ‘tough, hard, solid’ in hīrī’yḡwa ‘shell, white bead’ (hard things strung together) and Hp hīrī’iḡ-wīiti ‘Hard Objects Woman’ and ‘shell-woman’. Shells and beads are hard objects often strung together for necklaces, etc. With the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant lost, both xdl and xrz are possible sources, because homophones of different sources happen in every language: two, to, too; wants, once. [NUA: Hp]

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); all 3 C’s show Sem-kw.

**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.

**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.

**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.’;

UACV681a \***hanni** ‘do, make’: I.Num29 \*(ha(h)ni ‘to cook, do, make’; M88-ha7: ‘cook, make’; KH/M-ha7: NP hannī ‘do, make, fix’; TSh hannī ‘do, use’; Sh hannī ‘do, make, fix, prepare’.

UACV681b \***ani** / \***kani** ‘do, cause’: Langacker 1977, 41, 45 and Shaul 2003, 33 note Eu enī ‘do, be’; SP -ni ‘do’; Hp ni; Sr ṇihai ‘do’; Tr nii- ‘be’. Add Kw ‘i-ni- ‘do’; Kw ha-ga-ni ‘do s.th.’; CU ‘inī-k (variants ‘uni-k, ‘anī-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 unī-nupīru ‘make, v’; Ch hagá-ni ‘do what’. Note TSh kan ‘do’ in TSh suwakkan ‘think about doing’ (TSh suwaC ‘think’). Note Ktn tama-wī-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’anīt ‘make deep’ from Tb tugaa’it ‘be deep’. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn, Cah]

**1012** Hebrew **šiqma(t)**, pl -im and **šiqmoot** ‘sycamore tree’; Syriac **šeqma(t)**; the cluster -qm- > -ḡḡ- is very expectable in that q itself does q > ḡ in Sem-kw, then combined with another nasal to yield -qm- > -ḡḡ-, and all else is as expected as well, in that \*-m’- > -ḡ- (salt, husband, lung), also \*-qm- > -ḡ- (large tree):

UACV559 \***šīḡḡa(C)** ‘cottonwood and/or aspen tree’: NP(Y) šīḡḡabi ‘cottonwood’; NP(Y) gaiba šīḡḡabi ‘aspen’; NP(B) šīḡabi ‘tree’; NP(B) šīḡaabi ‘willow’; NP(B) kaibasīḡabi ‘quaking aspen tree’;

Sh šinka-pin / šinna-pin ‘aspen’. Note also TSh šīḡapin ‘aspen’; Sh(C) šinka-ppī / šinkaC-ppin ‘aspen tree, tree (generic), any mountain tree’; WMU sūūá-vū / sūá-vū ‘cottonwood tree, quaking aspen, n’; SP šūya-vū ‘quaking aspen’; SP šīaC- ‘sapling’; CU sūū-vū-pū ‘cottonwood’; CU šīa-vī ‘quaking aspen’. The -ḡ- occurs in all three branches of Num, as nasalized vowels in WMU. In some Sh dialects is seen \*-ḡ- > -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’ (\*šihī, \*saka) though close enough to understandably be confused.

[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 influence of -q-: UACV556 **\*sohopi** ‘cottonwood tree’ (Sem-p); Tak **\*sapo**: M67-104 \*so ‘cottonwood tree’; I.Num180 \*soopih ‘cottonwood tree’; NP so’o ‘aspens’; 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’; Tḡ ševér ‘sycamore’. Probably something like šaqmoot > sahpo (Tak) > sohpo > sohopi. Sem-p dialect may well have pronounced that šaqmat, not like Masoretic šiqmat. 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, assimilated the bilabial nasal to a bilabial stop. The pV syllable is clear in Tak, SP, TSh, Kw, Cm, opposing suggestion of an old absolutive suffix in Num. While most UAnists consider these may be related, an explanation has been elusive. The semantic shift is slight: sycamores, cottonwoods and aspens are all large, leafy shade trees. A strong rounding effect of a former q, and a stop-bilabial cluster of \*-qm- > -hp-, 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 m. [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: UACV1501 **\*kutaC** ‘neck’: Sapir; VVH154 \*ku,ta ‘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/M-ku9 (\*kucV AMR) and at least Tak of KH/M-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’ a ‘nape of the neck’; Ls qelá-t / qilá-t; Eu kutát; Tr gutá(ra); Wr kuhtamó; and CN keč-tli; My kúta’ náwwa ‘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. [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, 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 pronounced -r-, and note the Syriac stress pattern of 1<sup>st</sup> V as schwa-like with stress on later vowels: UACV1391 **\*kapata** ‘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-. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Trn]

**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: UACV666a **\*kopa** / **\*kopor** ‘dig’: B.Tep114 \*kovai ‘he digs’; M88-ko34; KH/M-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 kovóóltiudai ‘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’. And TO and NT show all 3 consonants. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

**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: UACV322 **\*kuC** / **\*kuy** / **\*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 tiku ‘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):  
 UACV60 \*nīk ‘come’: Ca nék-en ‘come’; Cp néqe ‘come’; Cp néqa ‘is coming’; Cp peneq ‘he came’.  
 Ca néq- ‘come’ (Sem-p); Ca néḡ- ‘hide’.

### 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, the stop / hard b. Non-dageshed position is after vowels which was pronounced v in the Masoretes’ reading of the Old Testament.) More than 25 sets show Hebrew dageshed b > PUA \*kw (4-27, 954, etc), while 33 sets (527-559, 870, etc) 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, etc), 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, etc). 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 came together 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 -rḥ- behaves the same in Takic: Egyptian -rḥ- > -ḡ- in Egyptian qṛḥt ‘serpent’ > Tak \*qoḡV ‘snake’ (332). In fact, R. Joe Campbell (1976) found evidence supporting a reconstruction of \*koḡwa ‘snake’. Since Egyptian is associated with Semitic-p, these are consistent with one another.

The two UA sets for ‘penis’—Hebrew bááaar > UA \*kwasi (5) and Aramaic bəšár > 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 effect. 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 qayīs ‘summer’ 738) would suggest the same. In fact, UA \*quwīs ‘summer’ (< Hebrew qayīs ‘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) as also \*makaC ‘give’ < Semitic \*makar; so Sem-p has aligns with 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 \*ʾaxar ‘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 náḡal (< \*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 náḡal > SP noiC / noi-ppi ‘canyon, wash’ shows pharyngeal rounding from ḡ 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 \*ʾaxar that the glottal stop (ʾ) shows rounding like the pharyngeal ʕ and that Proto-Semitic \*x > UA k, instead of \*x > ḡ > ho/w like later Hebrew and like the Phoenician Sem-kw. The distinction of Sem-p preserving Proto-Semitic \*x vs. Sem-kw showing the post-exilic Hebrew change of Proto-Semitic \*x > ḡ is discussed at 5.8 with examples. At 5.13 and 5.14 are discussed and exemplified g/q > ḡ 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 ʾagap-u ‘wing, pinion, arm, shoulder’: one, Sem-kw SP aḡavu-vi ‘arm’, which shows Sem-kw changes of \*ʾ > ø, \*g > ḡ, at 925 UACV861 \*aḡapu; and two, Sem-p SP wiḡivi-vi ‘eagle tail-feather’ which shows Sem-p changes of \*ʾ > w, \*g > UA \*k, at 926 UACV866 \*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 η- (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 possible 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 baśár > 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 (baśár > UA \*pisa) while the unstressed first vowel goes to the unstressed option, UA schwa-like *i*.

Sem-p and Sem-kw 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 ḡe’i ‘get even’ shows the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant’s reflex q > ḡ (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-qqah ‘take, take as wife’ UA \*yikoC > \*yokoC ‘to copulate’;

(886) Hebrew y-’rk ‘be long (verb usually of time) > UA \*yīḡi ‘be/pass a long time’:

Cp yéḡe ‘to last a long time, endure’; Ca yéḡ ‘pass a while (of time)’; Sr yīḡi’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 (< \*ḏqn) ‘old, old man’, impfv: yi-zqan ‘be an old man, be an old woman, grow old’; Hebrew zəqun-iim ‘old age’:

UACV1569 \*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. A form like zəqun- could assimilate both vowels toward -u-. [p or kw?] [NUA: Num]

**1020** Syriac blš ‘to bud, blossom’: Ca če-kwála’an ‘open (eyes or mouth)’. [iddddua]

**1021** Hebrew nhy / nahaa<sup>y</sup> ‘to lament’; Hebrew nahi / nəhi ‘lamentation’; Arabic nhy / nahaa<sup>y</sup> ‘forbid, ban’; Aramaic nhy ‘cry for’:

**UACV1944** \*nihi ‘sing’: M88-ni4 song: B.Tep180 \*ni’i ‘to sing, dance’, and \*ni’i ‘song’; M67-378 \*na ‘sing’; L.Son 170 \*nawahi ‘cantar’; Miller has B.Tep180 at both M88-na22 and M88-ni4 ‘song’; KH/M- ni4; PUA \*h > Tep’, so we reconstruct \*nihi: TO ne’e ‘sing’; PYP ne’em ‘sing’, nei (perfect); NT nii/nii dyagai ‘song’; NT niiyi ‘sing’; ST nii’; Cr tyi’i-nye’e ‘he’s dancing.’ [idddua] [SUA: Tep, CrC]

**1022** Hebrew maaḥaar ‘next day, tomorrow’ < \*ma’xar (what is after) (KB cite Brockelmann); Hebrew moḥjoraat ‘tomorrow’; Aramaic məḥjar, maḥr-aa ‘tomorrow, next day-the’:

**UACV2360** \*muCa / \*mo... ‘tomorrow’: Mn mowahúsu ‘tomorrow’; NP muu’a / mo’a ‘tomorrow’; CN moostla ‘tomorrow’; Ca mawa ‘after awhile, later, tomorrow’. In CN, -r- > -s- in a cluster with a voiceless consonant. [NUA: WNum, Tak; SUA: Azt]

**1023** Hbr tiqqen (< \*tiqqan), taqqen (\*taqqin) ‘make straight’; MHebrew ‘set in order, arrange, correct’; Aramaic tqn ‘prepare, place, set, lay’; Aramaic(J), Samaritan Aramaic, CPArmaic tqn ‘to set, lay’:

**UACV1744** \*tika/i or \*tikaC ‘put lying down, stretched/spread flat’: Sapir; VVH18 \*tiska ‘to put, lay flat object down’; I.Num239 \*tikV put; CL.Azt100 \*teeka ‘lie down’; M88-ti7 ‘place sg. obj., vt’ and M88-ti33 have nearly the same forms, and so KH/M-ti7 soundly combines M88’s two sets: Mn tiki-t ‘place, put, v’; NP tiki/tigi ‘put’; Cm tiki ‘put s.th. away’; TSh tikiC ‘put’; Sh tikiC ‘put, place, create (of God)’; TO ciikid ‘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(B) tégi- / téki- / tegá ‘telar [weave], tender [stretch], restirar los hilos del telar [set strings for weaving], encordar [stretch/put strings on an instrument]’; Tr(B) réká / tegá- ‘poner sg. obj. tendida, acostada, horizontal [put stretched, lying down, horizontal]’; Tr(H) te ‘tejer, extender (hilos para tejer)’; Tr(H) teka ‘afinar el violin [tune the violin]’; My teeka ‘acostarlo [put lying down]’; 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 good, 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-takiiinte ‘lo estira’; Tb(H) tahkinat, prfv attahkin ‘sleep’. A final -n in Cr, Tb, and a final -C in Num suggest a 3<sup>rd</sup> C, though languages without it had the -a/-i active/stative feature as the final vowel. [-a/-i] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**1024** Hebrew tkn ‘examine, check’, Hebrew (qittel): tikken / -takken ‘measure up, assess, calculate the size’; Hebrew token ‘fixed measure, quantity’ (some Semitists see tkn as a variant of tqn):

**UACV690** \*tikīha ‘measure, imitate’: Kw tīgīhaa ‘try, try on, measure’; Kw tīgīhaa and other SNum forms could easily be from \*tikīn-ha with Hebrew -haa ‘it’ a fossilized object: \*tikīnha > tīgīha > tīgaha > tīgaa. Kw tīgēki ‘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 tīgaa-y ‘measure, happen, stretch (a hide)’; CU tīgaa-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 -haa object suffix, that is, measure it’ with loss of -n- in the cluster: \*tVkk/qqVn-ha > \*tikīha. [NUA: SNum]

**1025** Aramaic guurii-taa ‘cub (female), young of animal (usually lion or dog):

**UACV693** \*koCti ‘dog’: Sapir; Ken Hill (p.c. 2004); KH/M-ku39: Sr koči’; Tr kočí. 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-. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

**1026** Hebrew lo ‘to it/him, has’: the -lo of Tbr kowa-ló ‘gallina ponedora (egg-has)’ [11,2w]

**1027** Hebrew yšb ‘sit, dwell’ but Arabic wṯb, impfv: yaṯibu ‘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:

**UACV928a**. \*yasa ‘fly’: M67-182 \*ya ‘fly, v’; M88-ya18 ‘fly, v’; KH/M-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 yīči ‘fly’ below). **UACV928b** \*yaCa ‘fly’: M67-182 \*ya ‘fly, v’: TO da’a; PYP da’a; NT dadāyi, dáigigi; 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 provisions for improved probabilities. The same verb is 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. [NUA: SNum; SUA: Tep]

**1028** Hebrew **yooliid** (< \*yo(w)liid) ‘cause to be born, hatch, vt’; Hebrew **yullad** ‘be born’;

Hebrew yld / yaalad ‘give birth, lay eggs, beget (of man); participle: yooled:

UACV13 \*yoli ‘live, alive, bear, be born’: M67-264 \*yo ‘live’; CL.Azt33; M88-yo4 ‘to live’; KH/M-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’ (719). 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. The Semitic verb mainly refers to parents giving birth to children, while UA \*yoli ‘be born, alive, healed’ seems more often to be a sense of the one ‘born, alive’ which might suggest Hebrew \*yullad ‘be born, etc’ with -d causing raising and fronting the preceding vowel. 1505 is a separate set. [\*o > u in Wc; a-o; liq] [SUA: Cah, CrC, Azt]

**1029** Hebrew **maanaa** ‘divide, count’ (inf \*manoot ‘counting’); Akkadian **manuu** ‘count, reckon, recite’; Hebrew manoot ‘shares, portions’:

UACV21 \*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] [NUA: WNum, SNum]

**1030** Hebrew **nepš** ‘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, and we see short initial syllables n<sup>o</sup>peš often disappear, 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:

UACV27 \*pīsu / \*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’. The original UA pronunciation may have been **napaš**, as naps- would have the -p- absorbed in the cluster. There is a relevant Tr form. [NUA: WNum; SUA: Opn]

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’ > kinii, 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):

UACV29 \*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’. [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp]

**1032** Hebrew **qn** ‘be jealous’, impfv: **-qna**; qn ‘be jealous’:

UA \* $\eta$ a’i > Ls  $\eta$ e’i ‘get even’; My na’ibúke ‘está celoso [is jealous]’. My na’i- aligns with Ls  $\eta$ e’i, because NUA  $\eta$  > SUA n, and Ls assimilated the vowel rather than being of \*o. Semantically, ‘being jealous’ (Semitic) is what one feels and ‘getting even’ (Ls) is doing what one feels. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

**1033** Hebrew qn ‘jealous’; Hebrew qanna ‘zealot, jealous one’:

Kw kīnii-ga-dī ‘one who is greedy or covetous’. [NUA: SNum]

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  $\eta$ e’i shows the dominance of the first consonant of the cluster in Sem-kw, and it shows q >  $\eta$  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** / naqam ‘avenge oneself’, suffixed pfv stem **nəqam-**, prefixed impfv stem **-qqom**;

Arabic **naqama** ‘revenge o.s., be hostile, mad, angry’:

UACV34a \*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’. If k > ’, then Yq ’omte ‘enojarse [become angry]’ and My om-te ‘está enojado’ belong. [Sem-p]

UACV34b \***nakamu** ‘upset, angry’: Wr nehkamú-na ‘estar enojado [be angry]’; Wr(MM) neka / nehka ‘enojarse’; Eu nekauhce ‘enojarse’. Wr and Eu suggest \*-kamu (pl pftv), while Tr, CN, and another Eu form suggest \*-kuma / -kume (sg impfv. [-mC- > -uC- in Eu]) [Sem-p]

UACV34c \***naḡaḡN-ya’i** ‘angry-die’: Kw naha-ye’e ‘be angry’; Kw naha-(m)bištī ‘one who is short-tempered’;

Ch naḡa-ya’i ‘angry’; SP naḡaḡN-y’ai ‘be/get angry < anger-suffer’; WMU naḡi’ye-y / naḡi’i ‘be angry’;

CU naḡy-’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  $\eta$ , which shows Num medially doing the same g/q >  $\eta$  as Tak initially.

[q > h and >  $\eta$ ; - $\eta$ - > -h/-ø-, \*-CC-?; \*a-i > e-e] [Sem-kw] [NUA: SNum; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, 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: qimmes ‘grasp, take handful, collect, save’:

UACV36 \***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. [NUA: Tak]

**1036** Hebrew ntn / naatan ‘give’, imperative: ten / teni ‘give!’ (impv) < \*tani;

impfv: -tten, yi-tten ‘he gives’, ti-tten ‘she gives’:

UACV71 \***tani** ‘ask for’: VVH92 \*tani ‘ask, beg’; M67-13 \*ta; B.Tep212a \*taanii ‘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/M-ta18: TO taani; NT taañi; ST tañia ‘pedirlo, comprarlo’; Wr ihtani; Tr(B) ta-, irr pret: tani ‘pedir [ask for]’; Tr(H) ta / tana / tani ‘pedir’. 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. [iddddua] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

**1037** Hebrew yoore ‘to water, send rain’ (< \*yawre, hiqtil); Hebrew yoore ‘to be watered’ (hoqtal);

Hebrew yoore ‘early rain, n’; Arabic wariy ‘clouds with large raindrops’ = Hebrew yry II, alternative of rwy:

UACV2076 \***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/M-yu2 \*yuya (KCH) ‘rain, v’: UA verb forms ‘snow, v’:

Cp yúye-; Ca yúy-; Ls yúy(u)-; Sr yui ‘snow, vi’; T $\eta$  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 yúúyi-t; T $\eta$  yowaat ‘snow’; Cp yúy ‘cold’; Ca yúciwi ‘cold’; Hp yooya- $\eta$ wī ‘rain, rainstorm’;

NT duúdu ‘it rained’. Add CN -yawī in CN kiyawī ‘rain, v’ and CN sepayawī ‘snow, v’, which may be cognate with Tak \*yuy (< \*yuwi < \*yawī/\*yawya). The final -a of the Cp, Ca, Sr and T $\eta$  forms suggests

final -a may well be original in the noun, at least. I also agree with Sapir's inclusion of Wc 'iivi 'nieve [snow], hielo [ice]', for Wc i < \*u, Wc v < \*w, and i are apparent, though it is missing initial y. [Wc v < \*w] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]

**1038** Hebrew yry, hiqtil impfv: yoore 'to water, send rain', pfv: **hoora**, inf: **hooroot** 'watering'  
UACV1765 \***horo** 'rain, fall': L.Son62 \*horo 'llover [rain]'; M88-ho7 'llover [rain]'; KH/M-ho7: Tbr horo 'llover [rain]'; Op hára; Eu hóro 'fall'. [Liquids] [SUA: Tbr, Opn]

**1039** Ugaritic yrw 'throw, shoot'; Hebrew yry 'throw, shoot'; Hebrew prtclp yoore 'throwing/thrower'; Hebrew (hiqtil impfv) yoore / toore 'he/she throws, shoots':

UACV2319a \***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. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn]

UACV2319b \***yuna/i** 'pour': Mn tīyuna 'pour into'; Cm payuniti 'pour water on, water, vt'; Ch yuná 'put pl obj's'; CU yunáy 'scatter, put pl obj's'; Kw yina / yuna 'pour'. While \*r > n sometimes in NUA, these forms in 2319b seem not as secure as those in 2319a. [NUA: Num]

**1040** Hebrew hml / **haamal**, impfv: -hml 'have compassion'; Syriac hml / h°mal 'gather in, lay up, take up, collect', participle haaml-aa 'one taking-the'; Arabic hml / hamala 'carry, lift, pick up, load up and take along', verbal noun/infinitive haml; Arabic maħmuul '(s.th.) carried':

UA \***homa** 'take, carry': Hp ömâa-ta 'receive, get or take, pick up'; the glottal stop in the following Kw and Wr forms might be an anticipated -l- > -' in a cluster?:

UA \***hu'ma**: Kw hu'ma- 'carry pl obj's'; Wr u'ma / hu'ma, redupl uhuma 'flee (with s.o. or s.th.), choose, carry'. These reflect pfv \*hamal, with rounding for the pharyngeal. [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Trn]

**1041** Hebrew hml / haamal, impfv: -hml 'have compassion', infinitive h°mol; Syriac hml / h°mal / -hml 'gather in, lay up, take up, collect'; Arabic hml / hamala 'carry, lift, pick up, load up and take along':

UACV115b: Ca **húmulku** 'wrap around, vt' reflects either the Hebrew impfv -hml or infinitive -h°mol; 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':

UACV140 \***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/M-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 key. And this is another example of SUA liquids, but not nasals in NUA except Hp, but -yh- in Tak. Sem-kw. [idddua] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah]



**1043** Arabic mar'a(tu) 'woman, wife' (feminine form of the former \*mar'-u):

**UACV2583a** \*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'u 'young woman, dear woman'; WMU mamá-či 'woman'; CU mamá-ci 'woman'. Note the vowel leveling in Kw, as in Kw po'o 'water'. [NUA: Num]

**1044** Aramaic(CAL) řřřyt' / řurřyt' 'wasp'; Aramaic(S) řaaraařii-taa 'wasp-the, n.f.':

**UACV165** \*wa'wa 'wasp': Ls wáawa-la 'mud wasp'; Cp wá'walim 'yellowjacket'; Tb weweehyuu-l 'yellowjacket'. Cp -' and Tb -h- < -r- in a cluster. [assimilated/raised V in Tb ?; \*-řř->-'w-] [NUA: Tb, Tak]

**1045** Hebrew \*mořkat / mořkoot (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 ř > voiceless h in a cluster:

**UACV181** \*mořka 'belt': Tb mohka-t 'the belt'; Tb(H) mohkatt 'belt'; Tbr moó-r 'cincha'; Eu móitepura 'cinta del cabello'. [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tbr, Opn]

**1046** Hebrew řgr / řaaagar 'to gird, gird oneself'; Aramaic(J) řgar 'encircle, gird, tie around';

Hebrew řg'goraa 'girdle, loincloth, n.f.'; Aramaic \*řagor-taa is unattested, but the Hebrew feminine form with the Aramaic definite suffix would be \*řagor-taa. The -rt- > -s- as also the -rř- > -s- in 'turkey vulture' 381 and at 1022; in such cases clustering with a voiceless consonant causes devoicing of r > s: **UACV177** \*wikosa 'belt': L.Son337 \*wiko 'faja [sash, girder worn around the waist]'; M88-wi14; KH/M-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] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn]

**1047** Aramaic kettaanaay / kettaanaay-taa 'linen undergarment'; a related cognate is Hebrew kuttonet (at 755), and the UA term appears to be from an Aramaic term, but with a first round vowel u/o like Hebrew.

Loss of the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel would cluster the consonants -tn- (> -' -), which became glottal stop, as also happened with a similar cluster -rn- (> -' -) at 1058 cocoon: kuttanay-(ta) > kottnay-(ra) > ko'ay(rV).

**UACV481** \*ko'ali 'skirt, enaguas, probably originally a general undergarment': CL.Azt150 \*kweey 'skirt'; M88-kwi6 'skirt'; KH/M-kwi6: CN kweei-tl 'skirt, pettycoat'; Pl kweeyi-t 'skirt, native skirt'; My koá'arim 'enaguas'. To the My and Azt forms in M88-kwi6, add Yq kó'arim 'enaguas'; AYq koarim 'skirt'; AYq ko'arek 'wear skirt'; Eu kóa 'falda [skirt]'; and Tbr koayí-t 'enaguas'; all suggest \*k, not \*kw, and \*a instead of \*i. Note Tbr is again much like Azt. From řagor-taa > ko'ta > ko'ara. [SUA: Azt, Cah, Opn, Tbr]

**1048** Aramaic(Gal) zwtř- 'belt':

**UACV182** \*řutka 'belt': Sr řuutka'(t) 'belt'; Ktn řutkí-t 'belt'. Aramaic -řř- > UA -t- is expected, and the Sr -ka and Ktn -kü are likely a later morpheme. [NUA: Tak]

**1049** Aramaic(S) qnwrq(h/t') 'grape vine creeper' n.f. (CAL):

**UACV184** \*kunuki 'elderberry': Fowler83 \*kunuki 'elderberry': Mn kunugíbi 'elderberry bush'; SP kunnugui 'huckleberry'. [idddua] [NUA: Num]

Two words for younger brother match Semitic words for 'son, child'

**1050** Hebrew bēn 'son', pl: bānee(y) 'sons, children'; Arabic ibn 'son'; :

**UACV310a** \*poni 'younger brother': M67-490 \*po; L.Son213 \*poni 'hermano menor'; M88-po8 'younger brother'; KH/M-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]'. Semantically, an older brother calling a younger brother 'my boy' or bēn-i 'son-my' or such is not a great shift. It may derive from the plural construct form bānee(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] [SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

**1051** Hebrew *ṭap* ‘little children’; Samaritan and Syriac *ṭapl-aa* ‘children-the’; Arabic \**ṭipl-* ‘infant, child’: UACV311 \**cipi* / \**cippiyi* / \**cippili* ‘younger brother’ (> Tep \**sipi(di)*): Nv *sipidiri*; ST *sipji*’n ‘one’s younger sibling’. UA fits Arabic vowelizing best. [SUA: Tep]

**1052** Hebrew *š’p* ‘gasp for air, pant, pant after, long for, snuff up (air)’, participle: *šoo’ep*; Aramaic(J) *š’p* ‘gasp for air, pant’; Aramaic(CAL) *š’p* ‘pant after’: 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. UACV1410 \**sapa* ‘lung(s)’: KH/M-sa30 (not in M88): Ls *savá-sva-š /šavá-šva-š* ‘light on one’s feet, lungs’; TO *hahaw*. Note also the pl of PYp *hakadaga*, pl: *havdaga* ‘lung(s)’ also = \**sap*. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Azt]

**1053** Hebrew *šwb* / *šuub* ‘turn back, return’: Tb *šiiub* ‘back again’; Tb(H) *šiiwpa* ‘again, back again, back’.

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:

UACV330 \*(V)*kupipika* ‘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 *piviwi* ‘moth’. Ls initial *x-* suggests a lost initial syllable, after which, intervocalic \**-k-* > *-x-*. The vowel (u) after *q* is expected for Semitic-*p*, and Ls *o* < \**i*, and UA *-i-* < Semitic *-u-* is common enough in NUA, and the vowel (i) is an exact match. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**1055** Syriac *’aamaqqət-aa* ‘lizard-the, n.f.’:

UACV1374 \**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 *makkiccankacci* ‘horned toad’; Sh(W) *maccankih*; Sh(C) *mahaccianka*, *maccinkipo*; Sh(Owyhee) *máčangina’a* (Fowler’s notes); SP *pahkaca* ‘horned toad’; and Hp *máčàakwa* ‘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 [tadpole]’ with *r* suggest CNum *c* < \**-tt-*. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Tb *mahkahiit* (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. [\**-Ct-* > *-c-*] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep]

**1056** Syriac *ḥady-aa* ‘breast-the, n.f.’, pl: *ḥədaawaat* (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>3</sup>daawaat**:

UACV425 \**tawi*(C) ‘chest’; Sapir; M67-59 \**tawi* ‘breast’; L.Son280 \**tawi* ‘pecho [chest]’; M88-ta29; KH/M-ta29: Hp *tawicqa* ‘breast area, chest’; Ca *táw*; NT *tagí*; Op *tawa*; Tbr *tamwí-t* ‘body’; Tbr *tamwí-ta-m* ‘chest’; Wr *tawiráci*; Tr *fáwi*; Yq *táwi*; My *tauwi*; Cr *tabí*; Wc *tawí/taavii*. 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 *tawicqa*, but with a question mark for *-cqa*. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

**1057** Akkadian **gursiptu** ‘butterfly’:

**UACV333 \*asipu(tonki)** ‘butterfly’: TSh aasiputun̄kwi; Sh a’ipputoonkih; Kw ’aasibī-zi; SP aīši-vwīci. As Sh -’- < -rs-, we see other r-clusters reduced to glottal stop (like also 1058 below). 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] [NUA: CNum, SNum]

**1058** Arabic **šarnaqat** ‘cocoon’, the pl šarnaqaat would correspond to Hebrew sarnaqoot / sarnaqootee<sup>y</sup>:

**UACV507 \*ca’iku / \*caCCiku** ‘cocoon attached to plant’: Wr ca’égori ‘rattles of cocoon’; Tr čayéguri ‘cocoon attached to tree’. Tr and Wr do not often have a regular correspondence of ’:y, which suggests we are dealing with a consonant cluster. Tr -y- from a cluster of an alveolar pair -rn- is natural. [SUA: Trn]

**1059** Arabic dʕw / daʕaa ‘to call, to name, VI to fall down, collapse, sink to the ground (person)’;

Arabic daʕwa(t) ‘a call, summon, invitation’ (verbal noun):

**UACV1489 \*ti(N)wa / \*tīnwa** (AMR) ‘name’: Sapir; VVH20 \*tīnwa ‘to name’; M67-300a \*tew ‘name’; Munro 1973; L.Son302 tīwa; Munro.Cup78; KH.NUA; M88-tī15 ‘name’; KH/M-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 túj-la; Sr tīwan(č) ‘name, n’; Ktn tīw; TO čīīgig ‘name, reputation’; TO cīick ‘name, vt’; TO čīīg ‘(1) find, (2) call by name’; Eu tewát; Tbr temwa-ra; Yq tea; My tééwam; Wr tewá; Tr(B) fēwá ‘1 alisarse, emparejarse [become **smooth, level**]’; 2 nombrar [**to name**]’; Wc tééwáá; Cr an-tyawaa ‘he is named X’. Munro suggests that an intermediate njw may explain the change of \*o > u in Ls. Note nj with w in Hp and Tb. Add PYP teegi ‘name’; ST tūtgi ‘llamar [to call], nombrar [to name], vt’. As salt, girl \*siwa > Ls suj, medial \*w/ŋ. In 10 of 11 branches. Note the unusual semantic combination preserved. [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**1060** Aramaic(S) & Syriac paddaan ‘plow, yoke of oxen’; Syriac paduuʕ ‘iron bar, club, mace, axe’;

If Hebrew had a cognate to Aramaic paddaan, it would be Hebrew \*paddoon:

**UACV673 \*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 pürú-ci ‘root-digger, spade, digging fork’. [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-, hirvii- ‘to water thoroughly (person or thing)’;

Arabic rawiyya ‘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’; note the cognates Hebrew(KB) ʕerwaa ‘nakedness’ and Samaritan irba show the same kind of sound change: -rw- > -rb-, or -w- > -b/p- when clustered with -r-:

**UACV719 \*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’ii ‘to drink’ and \*ii ‘he drank’; M88-hi1; KH/M-hi1: Mn hibi; NP hibi; TSh hipiC; Sh hipiC / hippic; 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. Add Wr(MM) reerohi ‘beber [drink]’. A UA stem found in all branches. Another medial -w- > -v-, especially in a cluster -rv-, pushes for a reconstruction of \*-p-; a cluster makes for a greater variety of medial reflexes: -pp-, -’-, -y-. Note that the first vowel -i- is consistent, but the second vowel is varied in UA as it also is in Hebrew: -a / -e / -i. Also note CN a-yoa / a-yowa (a=’water) ‘get wet, full, be drunk (of a liquid)’ which -y- (< -r-) and -w- (< -w-) are plausible. [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, 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: UACV721 *\*-pasa* ‘dry’ (SNum *\*tapasa*) I.Num140 *\*pasa(h)* ‘(be) dry’; M88-pa19; KH/M-pa19: Mn *pasa* ‘be dry, dried out’; Mn *pasakkī-t* ‘dry (acorns, etc.)’; Mn *kupasa* ‘be dried out’; NP *wipasa* ‘hu’ ‘wind dries it’; NP *mabasaga* ‘dry food’; TSh *pasaC*; *pasanġkīn*; 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 *tiibašuu* > UA *\*tapasu*, with a vowel assimilation or Semitic-*p* *\*ta-* prefix instead of *\*ti-*: UACV721 *\*ta-pasu* ‘dry’ (SNum *\*tapasa*) I.Num140 *\*pasa(h)* ‘(be) dry’; M88-pa19; KH/M-pa19: Kw *tavaši* ‘dry, v’; Kw *tavaši-kwee-pī*; Ch *tavaši*; SP *tavašu* ‘dry, v’; SP *tavaši-i* ‘is drying’; CU *tavaši* ‘be dry, get 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 *tapsiŋolai* ‘thin’ and AYq *tapsiolai* ‘thin’; Eu *tasūkei* ‘thin’ (loss of *\*p* in a cluster is like My’s cluster followed by round V); Cr *tisiisčira* ‘a thin (of person)’, loss of *\*-p-* expected in CrC; and perhaps Ls *taviča/i* ‘dry up, vi, drink dry, vt’. [ta- prefix; -p- lost in Cr] [NUA: SNum; SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC]

**1064** Ugaritic *lxšt* ‘whispering’; Akkadian *laxaašu* ‘whisper, exorcise’; Hebrew 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: UACV1539a. *\*kusu* ‘make sound (characteristic of the animal): VVH122 *\*kusu* ‘to sound (of animal)’; L.Son110 *\*kusu* ‘gritar, 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’; Tŋ *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 Tŋ *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, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr. UACV1539b *\*kus* ‘flute’: M88-ku19: M67-179 *\*kus* ‘flute’; KH/M-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’iši* ‘chirp (bird), rattle (snake)’. Below at 1065 are noun derivations of *\*-kus*: *\*kuspi* ‘throat’. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, 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*: UACV1503 *\*kus(pi)* ‘throat, crawl’: 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 -*kisa*’a in *wá’ikisa*’a ‘garganta’ (*wá*’i ‘fish’); Tr *guséra* ‘flute, larynx’; Yq *kusia* ‘flute’ (-r- lost). [SUA: CrC, Trn, Cah; NUA: Tak]

**1066** Arabic *ḍrṣ / ḍariša* ‘1. be lowly, humble, 2. become weak, slender, light of flesh, lean, emaciated’, verbal nouns *ḍarṣ, ḍuruuṣ* (Lane 1787): UACV1228 *\*corowa / \*corwa* (< *\*cVrVwa*) ‘be hungry’: Stubbs2003-5: Wr *coló-ni* ‘be hungry’ (Wr *co*’-*cóla-ni* ‘be hungry, pl’); Wr(MM) *čoloá / čorowá / čolowá* ‘tener hambre [be hungry]’; Hp *cōŋö-w(i)*, *cōŋ-* ‘hunger’ (< *\*colwa*). Wr *colowá-* and Hp *cōŋö-* match well, since Hp *ö* < *\*o*, and a cluster of *\*-rw-* > *-ŋ-* in NUA, as in 737. Add Tr *čiriwisa* ‘tener hambre’ (the same 3 consonants 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’ (UACV724 below). [Liq; V > i in Tr like at \*(hi)paca ‘sweep’]  
[NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn]

UACV933 and UACV724 \*coro(N) / \*co’ro ‘wither/arrugarse, wrinkle’: L.Son44 \*coro/cor-i ‘arrugarse’; M88-co11 ‘wrinkle’; KH/M-co11 ‘wither/arrugarse’: Eu zorópe- (pret. ~pi, fut. ~ce); Eu coró; My čóori / čooli ‘arrugado’; AYq čoowe ‘dry up, wither (of plant), get skinny’ (-r- > ø in Yq); Tr čo’ró ‘marchitarse [whither, shrivel]’; PYp soron ‘wrinkle’; Nv sorhona ‘arrugar’, pl: sosorhka / sososka; ST šo’lyik ‘encogido [shrunken]’; ST so’lyka ‘encoger [shrink], vt’; CN šoločoa ‘fold, wrinkle’? The -su’u- of Cr ra-sú’uta’ihina ‘lo pliega [fold]’ aligns, since liquid > -’- in Cr, and \*o > Cr u. This tie to \*corowa ‘hungry’ with a laryngeal 3<sup>rd</sup> C explains its becoming the anticipated glottal stop in Tr and ST. [-r- > -’- in Cr]  
[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, 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 baašy-aa ‘advocate’; Syriac bašaa-aa ‘he who desires, entreats, sues’:

UACV1491 \*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/M-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/pác; Wc (h)áine ‘dice’; NT vaidyai; ST vaidy; UP waidi; LP viaj. This is Semitic-p—one, b > p; two, -ğ-, not ʕ, 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] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, 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-qšiiib ‘listen, prick up the ears (to listen)’ (pfv); Hebrew ya-qšeeb-uu (impfv; see Jastrow 1428); Proverbs 2:2 ha-qšiiib ... ozne-ka ‘perk up your ears, cause ears to pay attention’. The UA forms \*kīpu / kepu and \*kipu reflect very well Hebrew’s impfv (present/future) plural: -qšebu / -qšiiibu with loss of -š- in a cluster and various prefixes ya-/ta-/ha-/ma-, or Hebrew pfv (past) plural hi-qšiiibu ‘they heard’; yet notice the -s- in some UA forms:

UACV1164 \*kīpu ‘hear’: Stubbs 2003-34: Eu keivuwa-/keivúve ‘escuchar [listen]’; Tr gipú ‘oir [hear], escuchar’; Wr kepú-na/ma ‘oir’; Op kaivu ‘listen secretly’. Note Eu kéisive ‘oido [inner ear]’. Eu ke ‘oir’ (perhaps an old preterite of \*kīpu). Sr qävaač ‘ear’ is interesting (if < \*kīpa...)? [SUA: Trn, Opn]

1069 Hebrew qšb / ti-qšab-naa ‘be fully alert’ (the ears of listeners)’; Hebrew hi-qšiiib ‘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-, the two languages that best preserve many other late phonemes:

UACV1163 \*kaha ‘hear’: VVH126 \*kahi/\*kaha; M67-221 \*ka ‘hear’; B.Tep98 \*kaī ‘hear’; kai ‘heard’; CL.Azt83 \*kaki, 243 \*\*kahi; M88-ka11; KH/M-ka11: Tb ha’~’aaha’; Sr qävaač ‘ear’; TO kaa, kai; LP kai; PYp kaara; NT kai; ST kīi; ST kka; ST kaaya ‘hear, obey’; ST kaidya ‘s.th. heard, s.o. who can hear’; My hikkaha; 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. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt; 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-qšiiib ‘listen, prick up the ears (to listen)’ (prfv), ya-qšeeb (imprfv; see Jastrow 1428); Proverbs 2:2 ha-qšiiib ... 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	qävaač '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	naŋkávī	TO	naak	Cr	našáih
SP	naŋkava-vi	PYp	naaka	Wc	naaká
SP	naŋka 'hear, v'	NT	naáka	CN	nakas-tli
CU	níká-vi	ST	naak/nak	Pl	nakas

**UACV752a \*nakka / \*naNkapa (< \*na(N)kasapa ?)** ‘ear’: Sapir; VVH47 \*naNka 'ear'; M67-148 \*naka; I.Num109 \*naŋka/\*naŋki; BH.Cup \*naqala; Munro.Cup37 \*nááqa-la; L.Son163 \*naka; M88-na1; B.Tep162 \*naaka; KH/M-nal \*nanka (AMR): some terms of interest include Mn naqqa 'ear, to hear, vt'; NP naka (< \*nakka) 'ear, to hear'; SP naŋka 'to hear, ear ornament'; SP naŋkava 'ear'; Cr našáih 'ear'. WMU has a variety of pronunciations: WMU nügáv / nüügáva / nü'gáva / nugáv / nĪgávačü- 'ear'. 'Ear' is one of few pervasive UA words. Note the -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 [ear]'. Eu ke 'hear', Eu keívuve 'listen' (< \*-qšebu be) and many other initial \*ka... forms are at 'hear'. Those forms and Sr and Eu, 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 nahagīw '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 not surprising. Kw mistakes 3<sup>rd</sup> syllable for a double absolutive. **UACV752b \*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 nakari 'hear'; Kw naga; Kw naa-kee-; Ch nanká-kai; SP naŋka 'hear'; CU níká-y; Ca náqma 'hear, listen'; Cp náqma 'hear'; Cp náq'áci 'listen'; Ls náqma 'hear, listen, understand'. [cluster; s; na-; reduction] [Sem-p, no ŋ < q] [iddddua] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**1071** Related to \*naqšab 'ear' discussed above is 'leaf'; a leaf looks much like an ear:

**UACV1297 \*naNkapi** 'leaf': Kw naga-vī; 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, losing intervocalic -ŋk-. Are Tb and Hp loans from Num or is Num -vī/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 one language means both (e.g., Sr qávaáč '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'). [iddddua] [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':

**UACV756 \*yawa > \*yuwa** 'open country, flat land, outside': AYq yeewi 'towards outside'; Yq yeu- 'para afuera'; TO jīg 'outside'; 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] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Tbr, 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'. 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; levelings like \*supa > sīpī are common; yet Ls šuvoo corresponds to \*supī, which \*supī < \*supa is only an expectable vowel change from identical. And many languages show the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant -t- as a liquid between vowels and perhaps final -ta of the adverbial or locative accusative in WMU, My, Wc, and NT ivīli 'wind': **UACV508a \*sīpī / \*sīpīta / \*sīppī** 'cold, cold wind, winter': Sapir; B.Tep90 \*hīpida-i 'it is cold'; M67-94a \*se/\*sep 'cold', 94b \*si/\*sip, 94c \*sap, 94d \*ce/\*cep; M88-sī7: KH.NUA; KH/M-sī7 \*sīp 'cold/frío': SP šīC- 'cold'; SP šī-ppa 'cold feeling, suffering from cold'; SP šī-ppi 'cold (of objects)'; CU sīpīr-'ay 'be cold (things, persons, or weather)'; CU sīpī-vī 'cold, low temperature, n'; Tb sī'bit~'īsip 'be cold'; Tb(H) šīpīt, pfv iššīip; Cp sevél 'wind'; Ls šuvóo-ŋa 'in winter'; Ls šuvóo-wu-t 'winter'; Ls šuvó-lku 'to shiver with cold'; Tŋ sovó 'cold'; Sr šivīt 'wind'; TO hīpi; LP s'hīpi; PYp heepi 'cold'; PYp heve 'cool';

NT *īpidʷi*; Yq *sé(e)be*; AYq *seve*; *sevele* 'feel cold'; My *sébbe* 'hace frío'; My *sébele / sébere* 'siente frío [feel cold]'; Tbr *sevé/sewé* 'frío [cold], hacer frío [be cold weather]'; Tr *sipi-mea* 'freeze, vi'; Tr *sepe-ca-ma* 'freeze, vt'; Wc *šeere* 'enfriar'; Wc *kaa.šiivari* '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(ii)ppúra-y / süppúra-y / spúra-y* 'be cold (weather or object)'.

**UACV508b \*sīpīl / \*sīppī** 'cold, windy': B.Tep89 *\*hīviri* 'wind': in contrast to \*-pp- in TO *hīipi* '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 *hīwajīd* 'vt, cool, chill, relieve (pain)'; TO *hīwastk* 'be able to endure wind and cold'; LP *s'hipi* 'cold'; LP *ībiri* 'wind'; PYp *heepi* 'cold' vs. PYp *heve* 'cool'; PYp *hevel* 'wind'; PYp *heve-lim* 'to blow'; NT *īpidʷi* 'adj, cold'; NT *īpiarʷi* 'vi, be cold' vs. NT *īvīli/īvīli* 'wind'; ST *hīpidy* 'cold' vs. ST *īvámuku* 'tener frío'; ST *hīvīly* 'wind'; ST *hvr* 'windy'.

**UACV508c \*sappa / \*sīppa** 'freeze, ice': M67-94c: Ls *šáapa/i* 'freeze'; Eu *sebát/ sebáwa* 'ice'; Yq *sápa* 'ice'; My *sáppam* 'snow, ice'; Tb *šip-t* 'ice'; CN *sepayawi-tl* 'snow'. These 'ice' terms may tie to *\*sīpi* 'cold', though the languages listed here have other forms matching *\*sīpi* 'cold'; though the Eu terms suggest a tie: Eu *sebá* 'helar'; Eu *sebé* 'helarse'; Eu *sebí* 'helado'; Eu *sepá* 'enfriar'; Eu *sepé* 'enfriarse'; Eu *sepice* 'estar fresco'. The terms whose 2<sup>nd</sup> V is *a*, often stressed, point to it as the original vowel, and the other schwa-like variants *e/i/i* are likely unstressed variations. Ch(L) and Ls -p- (vs. v/b), and some Eu show \*-pp-.

**UACV508d \*sīpi** 'rain': Hp *sīvīyoyarwi* 'long and steady drizzle'; Tr *sepewá* 'lloviznar [drizzle]'; Eu *sipupé* 'lloviznar' and these 'drizzle' terms belong.

[NUA: Tak, Tb, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**1074 Arabic saahil** 'coast, seashore':

**UACV792 \*suwil** 'edge, shore, border': B.Tep76 *\*hugida* 'edge' {NT *ugídyā*; ST *hugdyā*; UP *hugidī*; LP *hugd*}; M88-su7 'edge/orilla'; KH/M-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 or \*l. What of Sr *a-hīivīa* '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] [SUA: Tep, Trn]

**1075 Hebrew gab** < *\*gabb* 'back, anything convex, curved, gibbous' (BDB); 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'; and Tr / Wr -w- < *\*kw* < *b* for Sem-kw: **UACV803 \*kakwa / \*kappa** 'egg': M67-156 *\*kawa* 'egg'; L.Son77 *\*kawa* 'huevo'; M88-ka10; KH/M-ka10: Yq *kába*; My *kábba*; Wr *ka'wá/ká'awa-rá*; Tr *kawá/gawá/ka'wá*; Tbr *kowa-ló* 'gallina ponedora [laying hen]'; 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. [iddddua] [a- prefix in Eu] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]

**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':

**UACV804 \*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/M-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 they all have -p- < \*-Cp- from a cluster. Other forms at *\*no...* 'pregnant' (M88-no4 'pregnant') might be considered, but CNum and WNum *noyo* are at 1524 Egyptian *isnwi*. [NUA: SNum, Hp]

**UACV805 \*pano** 'egg, testicle': BH.Cup *\*pán* 'egg'; M88-pa42 'egg'; Munro.Cup128 *\*pááni-l* 'testicle, egg'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa42: Perhaps *p'-no'baa > Ktn pano* 'egg' with Egyptian prefix *p'-* 'the'; Ktn aligns with several other Tak forms: Cp *páni-ly* 'testicles'; Cp *páñi'a-t* 'egg'; Ca *pánit* 'testicles' (Hill); Ca *páne-t* 'egg' (BH, Munro); Ls *pááni-l* 'egg, testicle'; Sr *a-páän / paar n* 'egg'; Ktn -pano; Tb *prompt* 'egg'; Tb *po'mt~'opo'm* 'to lay an egg' (cognate? Miller queries; very possible). Munro notes the different forms for 'egg' and 'testicle' in Cp; different forms are listed in Ca as well; in fact, the lowered second vowel in Ca

'egg' is the leveled average of the two vowels (-i'a-) in Cp páñi'a-t 'egg'. [\*-i 'testicle'; \*-i'a/-e 'egg'; Tb V] [NUA: Tak, Tb] UACV804 and 805 together are in [NUA: SNum, Hp, Tak, Tb]

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 some 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'. Syriac *manzaltaa* and Mandaic *mandaltaa* (KB). 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	tadami'a/tadawi'a	Hp	mīiyaw	Eu	miecát / mecát; Op meca
NP	mīha	Tb	mīiyabiš-t	Tbr	macá-t
		Tb	mīiya-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	mīyárogopici	TO	mašad & Nv masada	Cr	máškīra'i
SP	mīaC	PB	mašad	Wc	méca;
CU	mīá-taǵó-ci	PYp	masada	CN	meecc-tli
		NT	masáádai		
		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.

Wr(MM) *me'čá / meehčá / mehčá / mečá / meečá* 'luna [moon]' also exhibits evidence of a cluster.

UACV1451 \***mīcaC** (perhaps < \***mancal**) 'moon': Sapir; VVH158 \***mīya** 'moon'; B.Tep146 \***masadai** 'moon'; M67-286 \***meca**/\***mea**; I.Num102 \***mī'a**/\***mīha**; BH.Cup \***mānila**(?); L.Son145 \***mīca**; M88-mīl 'moon'; Munro.Cup73 \***māyi-la** 'moon'; KH.NUA; KH/M-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**. [NUA: Tb, Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**1078** Arabic **muxx-** 'brain'; Akkadian **muxxu** 'skull': Hebrew **moḥ** 'bone marrow';

Syriac **muuḥ-aa** 'brain-the, marrow-the':

UACV1153 \***mo'o** 'head': Sapir; VVH134 \***mo'o** 'head'; M67-218 \***mo'o**; B.Tep152 **mo'o**; L.Son147 \***mo'o**; M88-mo1; KH/M-mo1: Ls **mée-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' (mo'o-be-i 'head-in it-one?); and Yq **muteka** 'pillow' (mu-teka 'head-lay') fits a compound of the UA etymons \***mo'o** 'head' and \***tīka** 'put, lie', even though Yq itself does not have \***mo'o** for 'head'. [idddua] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

**1079** Aramaic(S) **naanii** 'mother'; Aramaic(A) **naanaa** 'mother' (< Semitic \***nwn** 'multiply, increase');

UACV1454 \***nana** 'mother': Sapir; M67- 487 \***nan** 'mother'; CL.Azt110 \***naan**, 312 \***nana**; M88-na14; KH/M-na14: ST **'innan** 'my m.'; Cr **nána**; CN **naan-tli**. Add Tr **nana** 'mamá'. [SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]



**1080** Syriac tqp ‘wax strong, prevail’, impfv: ne-tqap; MHebrew tqp ‘seize hold of’;  
 Hebrew tqp ‘overpower’; Aramaic(J) təqoop ‘might, strength’:  
 UACV1691 \***takopi** ‘gamble’: M88-ta47; KH.NUA; KH/M-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. [iddduua]  
 [NUA: Tak]

**1081** Syriac tqp ‘wax strong, prevail’, impfv: ne-tqap; MHebrew tqp ‘seize hold of’;  
 Hebrew tqp ‘overpower’; Aramaic(J) təqoop ‘might, strength’:  
 UACV1690 \***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/M-ko19: Eu kové ‘perder en el juego [lose in a game]’; Eu kóva ‘win in a  
 game’; Eu nekóva ‘ganar [win]’; 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’.  
 [\*-p- > -w/-/ø-] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Tep]

**1082** Hebrew **śəlaaw** ‘quail’; Hebrew pl: **śalwiim**; Syriac **salway** ‘quail’; Arabic salwaa ‘quail’;  
 Samaritan **śalwi**:

UACV1751 \***solwi** ‘quail’: Wc šī’au ‘codorniz [quail]’ matches the Hebrew form perfectly, because all the  
 vowels are identical and intervocalic liquids \*-l- > -’- in Wc. Cr sá’u ‘codorniz’ (pl sa’uríte) matches  
 perfectly the \*salwV of the Hebrew plural and the \*salwV of the Arabic and Aramaic forms, again \*-l- > -’-  
 and w > u. These three CN sool-in ‘quail’; Mn sowi’ ‘pigeon’; Mn(L) soowi ‘wild pigeon’ anticipate the  
 rounding of the -w- and the -l- is lost in Mn (much like the -l- in walk, talk, and salmon) but survives in  
 Nawa. Add Pl suul-in ‘quail’; Te suli ‘codorniz’; Tlaxcala Nawa we’-solo-cih ‘codorniz [big-quail-  
 diminutive]’. Ca séyewe-t ‘baby quail’ and Cp síiyewe ‘baby quail’ have Ca/Cp i < \*o, and if -l- > -y- in a  
 cluster later separated. Regardless, their \*so... seems viable. 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 ré’čorí ‘cordoniz’. Note also Ca teseqáxa-l ‘kind of quail’ (Ca qaxal ‘quail’), whose first two syllables  
 agree with \*tīso, given a vowel assimilation. [l > y; \*-’s- > -c-]  
 [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]

**1083** A compound of deer (< Semitic raxel) prefixed with ‘water/big’; see ‘deer’ 638:  
 UACV814 \***pa-tikiya** ‘elk < big-deer’: TSh patihīya; Sh patihīyan; Cm parīa kuhma ‘bull elk’; Kw pa-rīhīya;  
 SP parīia; CU parīyī. 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:  
 UACV948 \***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] [NUA: Num]

**1085** Hebrew hlk, impfv sg: yelek, pl: yelku, and an unattested cohortative \*yelka matches well:  
 UACV1022 \***yīNka** ‘enter, move, travel (sg/pl?)’: Sapir; M67-97 \*ye ‘come (sg)’; M88-yī7; KH/M-yī7:  
 Mn iga; NP iga; Pn ikaC; Sh yīnkah ‘move, v.pl.’; WSh yīnka ‘travel, wander, live, vi pl’; Cm ikarī;  
 Kw ’iga; SP iġa ‘enter’; CU yīgáy ‘enter, come in’; pl: waġáy; Hp yīñ- in Hp yīñ-ya ‘enter, vi. p. pl.’;  
 Hp yīñ-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 iġa. Add Ktn -yīk ‘to, toward, at, directional/locative case ending’; Op de’ek ‘follow’. Hp -ñ- aligns with  
 Num -k-. [medial cluster; CNum -nk-, Hp -ñ-: W/SNum, Azt -k-: CrC glottal stop ?]  
 [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn, CrC, Azt]

**1086** Syriac šql take, take (self away), depart’:

UACV1029 \*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). [SUA: Cah]

**1087** Arabic srʕ ‘be quick, fast, hurry’:

UACV1033 \*i’siwi: Wr isí-na ‘andar [walk]’; CN i’siwi ‘hurry’. Wr and CN match an unattested Aramaic \*asreʕ or \*et-srʕ ‘hurry (oneself)’ or Hebrew hisriiʕ. [SUA: Trn, Azt]

**1088** Arabic xuld ‘mole’; Aramaic(J) ʕld ‘to undermine, cave, dig’; Syriac ʕld ‘to burrow, drive a mine underground’; Syriac ʕaaluud-aa ‘jerboa-the’; Aramaic(CAL) ʕuld-aa ‘mole’; Aramaic(J) ʕild-aa (< \*xild-aa) ‘cave-dweller-the’:

UACV1043 \*kita ‘groundhog’: Mn kidá ‘groundhog’; NP kidī ‘groundhog’. Sem-p. [NUA: WNum]

**1089** Hebrew qippod ‘hedgehog, short-eared owl’; Arabic \*qunpuḏ ‘hedgehog’; Aramaic(J) quuppaad ‘hedgehog’; Aramaic(J) quuppəd-aa ‘hedgehog-the’; Aramaic(J) qurppədai ‘mole’; Mandaic Aramaic qunpuḏ ‘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-:

UACV1044 \*kiNpa ‘prairie dog’: NP kībba ‘prairie dog’; Sh kīmpai ‘prairie dog’. [NUA:Num]

**1090** Hebrew šmḥ / šaamaḥ (< \*šmx) ‘sprout, grow (of plants, hair)’; Ug šmx; Hebrew šémaḥ ‘what sprouts, i.e., grass, etc’; Aramaic(J) šimḥ-aa ‘growth-the, sprout, plant, n.m.’; Akkadian šammu; Hebrew šémaḥ is the underlying correspondent to Aramaic šimḥ-aa with the Aramaic definite article suffix, which corresponds perfectly to Sh siḥmu ‘bunch grass’:

UACV1057a \*(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/M-sa22: KH/M-pa39: CL.Azt237 also discuss the difficulties of these words: Ca sámat ‘brush, herb, grass’; Cp sámat ‘grass sp.’; Sr haamt ‘grass’; Ktn hamat. Semitic š > UA s suggests Sem-p \*šmx, with no rounding effect like Sem-kw pharyngeal ḥ would show (\*šmḥ) though Ls šáamu-t ‘grass, hay, weeds’ and Sh siḥmu ‘bunch grass’ do have final rounding with schwa-like behavior in the first vowel. With pa- ‘water’ prefixed, perhaps KH/M-pa72: Hp paasa ‘field’; Ch pása ‘field’. [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Azt]

**1091** Hebrew šmḥ (< \*šmx) ‘sprout, grow (of plants, hair)’; Ug šmx; Hebrew šémaḥ ‘what sprouts, i.e., grass, etc’; Aramaic(J) šimḥ-aa ‘growth-the, sprout, plant, n.m.’; Akkadian šammu; Hebrew šémaḥ is the underlying correspondent to Aramaic šimḥ-aa with the Aramaic definite article suffix, which aligns with the below \*-soho < \*simḥ-aa with loss of the m as first element of the cluster:

UACV1057b \*(pa)-soho ‘grass’: KH/M-pa39: Hp söhö ‘galleta grass’; Hp(S) pashö; My básso ‘zacate’; AYq vaso ‘grass’. Are TO waša’i ‘grass’ and NT vasoi loans? As UA \*s > Tep h. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah]

**1092** Aramaic(J) qooʕ-aa ‘throat, gullet, windpipe’:

UACV1512 \*ḡoho ‘neck’: Sr ḡyh̄-ṭ ‘throat, neck, voice’; Ktn ḡoho-c ‘neck’; Sr -ȳ- is reportedly a pharyngealized or somewhat rounded high central vowel, and Ktn also has all rounded vowels with help of the pharyngeal. This shows that Sem-kw was also under some Aramaic influence. See 962 for the Sem-p term, vs. this Sem-kw term. [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’:

UACV1078 \*yora ‘green’: Wc yúuyúuri ‘be green, grow’; Tbr nyoa-ká-r ‘blue, green, unripe’; ST momdora ‘light green’; Op de’ero ‘green earth, used for paint, perhaps copper-bearing dirt’. Remember that both OP and ST d < \*y, and Tbr ny < \*y. Tbr and ST show final -a, the reconstructed vowel. [SUA: Tep, Tbr, Opn, CrC]

**1094** Hebrew **ktš** ‘pound (in a mortar), pound fine, bray, v’; perftv: kaataš; impfv: -ktoš < \*-**ktušu** with loss of first consonant in the cluster:

UACV1081 \***tusu** ‘grind’: Sapi; 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/M-tu7: NP tusu; TSh tusu / tusuC; Kw tusu; Sh tusu; SP tušu; CU tisi; Tb tusut~utus; Hp tos-ta; Ca túlus / tús; TO ču’a/čua/čuhi; Eu tusá; Wr tusu-ná; Tr(B) rusu-mea ‘remoler fino [regrind finely]’; Tr(H) rusu ‘moler [grind]’; My tuuse; We 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’; NT tuéeyi ‘moler’; NT tuutidi ‘molerselo’; NT túuhimi ‘moler, progressive’; NT tui ‘la masa [dough, flour]’; Tbr tusi ‘moler’. [s > h’ in TO] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

Uto-Aztec 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’ shows š.

**1095** Hebrew pšš ‘break into pieces’; Arabic faḍḍa < \*paḍḍa ‘break open, smash’; Syriac pšš < \*pdd ‘to fell, grind’:

UACV1093 \***pisa** ‘pound’: NT viaáhai ‘remoler’; Hp pisisi-ta ‘be a continuous drumming or pounding sound’. With vowel leveling, these agree. [idddua] [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 śiaaxum, śaaxu ‘to grow in size or age’; Ugaritic šḥt ‘bush(es), shrub(bery)’; both Arabic šiḥ ‘shrub, bush’ and Arabic šiix ‘to age, grow old’; Hebrew šiḥ / śiyaḥ ‘shrub, bush’, pl: šiḥ-iim; Syriac šiḥ-aa ‘mugwort (plant)’; MHebrew šiḥ / śiyaḥ ‘growth’; the root—Hebrew šiḥ / śyḥ—would have an unattested impfv: \*ya-śyḥ or \*ya-šiḥ / \*ya-śiyaḥ ‘to grow (plant growth)’:

UACV1077 \***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]

UACV1076 \***siyo** / \***siya** ‘green’: KH/M-si20 \*siyV (AMR): Yq síali ‘not ripe’; AYq siasaali ‘greenish’; My síali/siari ‘green’; Wr síona-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 -d- (< \*-y-) suggests the presence of -y- (\*siya) rather than merely a diphthong \*sia. Wr sío- and Tr siyó may suggest a possible relationship to CN šiwi ‘green, year, turquoise’ and the other terms under ‘year’ as well as (1097 below). Note that at ‘sand’ (162) the Cah langauges also lose intervocalic -w-. [CN V<sub>2</sub>V<sub>2</sub> < \*V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>] [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Azt]

**1097** Two forms of the stem—Semitic śyḥ and śyx ‘grow (plants, vegetation)’—emerge as Ugaritic has ḥ and Akkadian has x; Akkadian śiaaxum, śaaxu ‘to grow in size or age’; Ugaritic šḥt ‘bush(es), shrub(bery)’; also both Arabic šiḥ ‘shrub, bush’ and Arabic šiix ‘to age, grow old’; Hebrew šiḥ / śiyaḥ ‘shrub, bush’, pl: šiḥ-iim; Syriac šiḥ-aa ‘mugwort (plant)’; MHebrew šiḥ / śiyaḥ ‘growth’; the root—Hebrew šiḥ / śyḥ—would have an unattested impfv: \*ya-śyḥ or \*ya-šiḥ / \*ya-śiyaḥ ‘to grow (plant growth)’:

UACV2604 \***yasayawa** ‘year’: Hp yàasanw ‘year’; TO ahidag (< \*asiyaw) ‘year’, Tb(H) šuwaa-l ‘ground, earth, year’; Tbr asa-k; the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable of Yq wasúktia ‘year’ and My wasuk-tiria/tiriam ‘year’ in Cah \*wasu(k)- may tie in also, with a different fossilized prefix, though a reconstruction and explanation are difficult. CN šiwi-tl ‘year, grass, turquoise’ may relate. [idddua] [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, Tbr]

**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:

**UACV1108 \*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/M-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 kīipá ‘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 kopoc ‘hair, head’; and TO kuwijk ‘have a dome or peak’ matches Semitic semantics wonderfully. Many UA terms suggest a gemination \*-pp- or cluster (\*kuppa) while others (NP) do not necessarily, which usually means it exists/ed, but was lenited in some languages. [Sr a- pref] [idddua] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, 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); for example, Tr / Wr kupá (1098) and Tr /Wr kowá (1099) show the difference between \*-bb- and \*-b-, respectively: **UACV958 \*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. **UACV958a \*kopa** ‘face’: I.Num62 \*kope ‘face’; M88-ko16 ‘face’; KH/M-’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’.

**UACV958b** 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 wīkobina ‘in front, adv’.

**UACV958c \*kopa** ‘forehead’: B.Tep113 \*kova ‘forehead’; M88-ka31; KH/M-ka31 \*kawaC (AMR): TO koa ‘forehead, brow, cliff, bank, drop off’ (\*p > Tep w and can disappear in a diphthong: \*owa > oa); LP kov ‘forehead’; PYP kova ‘forehead’; NT kóva; ST kov; Tbr ková-r ‘frente’.

**UACV958d \*kopa** ‘head’: Yq kóba ‘head’; My kóbba ‘head’.

**UACV958e \*kowa** (< \*kopa) ‘forehead’: M67-190 \*kowa; L.Son96 \*kowa ‘frente’; M88-ka31 ‘forehead’; KH/M-ka31: Wr koá ‘frente [forehead]’; Tr kowa-ra ‘frente’; Cr kuaaci ‘frente’. The Trn reflexes of a medial bilabial are similar to \*kap(p)a ‘egg’. M88 and CL.Azt 62\*kwaay < 308 \*\*kowa all tie Aztecan \*kwaay ‘head’ to \*kowa ‘forehead’ (CN kwaai-tl ‘head’), which works phonologically, as the Cr form attests, as CrC and Azt oft lose medial \*-p- (\*kopa > \*ko(w)a > kwa) as in 873 \*yu’pal > yowal.

For Tr/Wr -w- < \*-p-, see tobacco.

**UACV958f \*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 (r)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 kīa in Wc kīacá ‘slope’; Wc teekīa ‘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.

[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**1100** Arabic kaṣb- ‘knot, knob, joint, ankle, anklebone, heel’; the \*-ko’oC of \*ta-na-pi-ko’oC

**PUA \*tanapiC-ko’oC** ‘heel’:

**UACV1171a \*tanappiC** (Tb) > \*tampiC / \*tappiC (WNum, SNum) ‘heel’: M67-224 \*tampi ‘heel’, M67-225 \*tem ‘heel’; M88-ta22 ‘heel’; Stubbs2000b-40; KH/M-ta22: Tb tanapi-t / Tb(H) tannappi-t; NP ddabbi; SP tampiC-(ppi); WMU tappi- / tavi-ppū ‘heel, n’; tavi-ppū-n / tappi-n ‘my heel’; CU tá-pi; Mn tapiqó’. [Tb, WNum, SNum]

**UACV1171b \*taNpi(N)ko’oC** ‘heel’: TSh tappiŋko’o(cci); Sh tappikkon; Cm tapiko’. [CNum]

**UACV1171c \*taNpiC > tempe’e-** ‘heel’: My tēmpē’erim; Yq pémpē’im. [Cah]

**UACV1171d \*tanappiCko > \*taniko** ‘heel’: Eu tenúka and Tr ránigora / rániku-ra show a 2nd consonant n, and show the vowel shift/transposition. [Trn, Opn]

**UACV1171e \*tikapo** ‘heel’: B.Tep240 \*tikavo ‘heel’: UP čikiwo; NT tikávo; St tikvo; TO čikwo ‘ankle’.  
[Tep]

**UACV1172a \*tamukpi** ‘heel’: Sr tamukpi; Ktn tímupi-c. 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.). [Tak]

**UACV1172b \*tímo** ‘heel’: Wr talatémori; Tbr teoó-r. \*tímo may be shortening of \*tamukpi ? Or loss of -p-, which may apply to 1172c below also.

Hp kík-tönsi ‘heel (< ‘foot-?’) may contain s.th. like \*tímo [Trn, Tbr, Hp?]

**UACV1172c \*tema/i** ‘heel’: TO čeemi; Nv tíma; PYP teema. Final vowel change from \*tímo. [Tep]

Only 1171b contains Semitic kaʃb, but all are intertwined enough that listing all may be helpful.

**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:

**UACV1220 \*muttanaC** ‘hummingbird’: M88-mu20 ‘hummingbird’; KH/M-mu20: TSh muutu(n)anci / muuttuwancih; 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 múutata-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’

**UACV919 \*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. [NUA: SNum]

**1102** Hebrew ʃwm ‘to fast’ (not eat):

**UACV1231 \*suma** ‘hungry’: Stubbs2003-15: Eu hisúmrava ‘hambre [hunger], n’; Eu hisúme ‘haber hambre [hunger exists]’; Eu hisúm-ce ‘tener hambre [be hungry]’; Eu hisum-muku ‘die of hunger’; Op suwaki ‘fainting from hunger’; ST uama ‘die of hunger’ (\*suma > Tep (h)uma > ST uama, anticipating vowels. If < \*suw(V)ma, this, with a prefix, may tie to \*-suwimu below. [SUA: Tep, Opn]

Hebrew bə-ʃwm/ʃuum ‘in fast, be fasting/hungry’:

**UACV1224 \*kwisuwimu** ‘be hungry’: B.Tep7 \*bihugimu ‘be hungry’; M88-kwi16; KH/M-kwi16: TO bihugim; LP bihigim; NT biúúgimu/giúúgimu; ST biu’/bio; PYP bihi; Nv vihugimu; Nv vihugiga ‘hambre’. Consonant harmony in NT. [SUA: Tep]

**1103** Arabic dakka ‘make flat, level, smooth, stamp, tamp’; Hebrew dakkaa ‘crushed’; Hebrew dkk ‘crush’:

**UACV901a \*takka** ‘flat’: BH.Cup \*táka ‘flat’; M88-ta33; AMR 1993c \*takka; KH/M-ta33: Ca taqtáqa ‘be flattened’; Ls táka/i ‘be straight’; Ls táaki-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.) / Harrington Ch taka(a) ‘roof, top’. [NUA: Tak, Num]

**1104** Hebrew ʃayyaad ‘hunter’ from the root ʃwd ‘to hunt’; Arabic ʃayyaad ‘hunter’; Akkadian ʃayyaadu ‘hunter’; Syriac ʃayyaad-aa ‘hunter-the’: **UACV1238 \*caya** ‘follow’: B.Tep186 \*saada, prēt: \*sai ‘herd cattle’: TO ʃaad ‘to herd, drive a herd of (animals), chase away (an animal)’; NT saadá; NT saadáigi ‘arrear [urge, spur, hurry]’; ST saada. [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’:

**UACV1259 \*kali** ‘kidney’: SP qaniN-, qanimpi ‘kidney’; kʷele- of Hp kʷelevosna ‘kidney’; Ls tákalak-may ‘kidney’ perhaps with prefix ta-, perhaps Ktn kanīm ‘gall’. The Akkadian vowelizing and the Ugaritic consonants suggest a vowelizing like UA. Ls with the fem prefix ta-? [L:n; vowel leveling]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]

**1106** Aramaic(J) sbr ‘be bright, intelligent, understand’; Aramaic(J) sabbaar ‘reasoner, fine scholar’:  
UACV1274 \***suNpa** ‘know’: I.Num186 \*sumpa/\*sumpi ‘know, recognize’; M88-su15 ‘know, recognize’;  
KH/M-su15: NP subbidaggwatu ‘know’; TSh sumpanai ‘know’; Sh sumpanai ‘know s.o.’; Cm supana’i  
‘know of, know about, know s.o.’ [NUA: CNum]

**1107** Aramaic hwn ‘make prudent’; Syriac hwn / huun ‘be endowed with reason, be rational, intellectual, be wise’ denominative verb from Syr hawn-aa’ / **hon-aa** ‘mind, reason’ denominative QATTEL is hawwen:  
UACV1281 \***huna** ‘know’: Yq hú’unea ‘saber [know], conocer [be acquainted with]’; My hu’uneiya /  
hu’uneria ‘lo sabe [know it], lo conoce, entiende, comprende [know, understand]’; Ls huní’i- ‘teach, show’;  
Ls húú’uni- ‘teach’; Tḡ hyuunax ‘know’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

**1108** Hebrew šlś ‘limp, be lame’; Arabic zls / zalaša ‘be lame, limp’, impfv: **-zlašu** ‘limp, walk with a limp, walk lamely’; Hebrew šelaś ‘a stumble, fall, plunge, n’; Aramaic(J) tlf ‘to limp’; Syriac tlf / et-tallaś ‘fall in a stupor, become unconscious’; the UA forms resemble the impfv with loss of 1<sup>st</sup> C in the cluster:  
UACV1340 \***lo’i** ‘lame, limp’: Yq ló’i ‘lame’; Yq ró’iró’ikti weáma ‘anda cojeando [walk limping]’;  
My ro’i/lo’i ‘lame’. Op rho’omoi ‘cripple’ (Shaul 2007) as far as Op rho’o... resembles Cah (Yq, My), perhaps Ktn yu’u’ ‘lame’. But maybe or maybe not NUA’s first syllable of Ca lúúmiš ‘crippled, paralyzed’; Sr luumiš ‘lame one’ (borrowed from Ca, notes Hill); and probably not Hp rohona ‘one-legged’ but list for possibility. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah, Opn]

**1109** Aramaic mḥwṭ-aa’ ‘mucus, n.m.’:  
UACV1475 \***mīt**... ‘snot, mucus’: KH.NUA: Sr mīriič ‘snot’; Tḡ móta’; and Tḡ o < \*i. [NUA: Tak]

**1110** Aramaic(J) ’ard-aa’ ‘mushroom-the, m.’; Syriac ʿard-aa’ ‘mushroom, truffle-the’;  
UACV1482 \***hitto’VC** / \***witto’VC** ‘mushroom’: TSh wiitto’e-cci ‘mushroom’; TSh hiitto’i ‘mushroom’;  
Kw hiito’o-pi ‘mushroom’. [NUA: Num]

**1111** Hebrew **meetar** ‘bowstring, tent rope’, poss’d **meetr-**: CN **maatla-tl** ‘net, sling’ (< \*maata).

**1112** Arabic maa ‘no, not’:  
UACV1537 \***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’:  
UACV84 \***-ci** / \***-cī** ‘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: Trn, Opn]

**1114** a compound of Hebrew šelēg ‘snow’ + Hebrew mukke ‘smitten’:  
UACV1551 \***sīk-mukki** ‘numb < ice/cold-dead’: Hp sīmokiwi|ta (with accent on 1<sup>st</sup> V) ‘be getting numb’;  
Hp(H) sīimokiwta ‘be numb’; NP ta/ma-sīsīḡi ‘foot/hand goes to sleep’; Cm sīsī’ nitī ‘numb, feel numb, asleep’; WMU sī’uú ‘be numb’. The first morpheme is CN sek-tli ‘ice/cold’. Though Hp lost the velar stop, it preserved the vowel pattern and shows the 2<sup>nd</sup> morpheme clearly. NP, Cm, and WMU are reductions showing residual features of both consonants: 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 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable contracted. [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp]

**1115** Arabic ḡauza(t) ‘nut’:  
UACV1562 \***kusi** ‘oak’: AYq kusi ouwo ‘oak tree’; Wr kusí ‘brush, thicket; kind of oak’. [SUA: Trn, Cah]

**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:  
UACV1632 \***copī** ‘pitch, torch’: L.Son42 \*cop ‘ocote’; M88-co13 ‘torch’; KH/M-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: Trn, Tbr, Azt]

UACV1633 \***co’i** ‘pitch’: My čoo’i ‘brea’; Wr co’i ‘trementina’; Tr čó’ré ‘resina’; perhaps AYq ču’ukum ‘gum, tree, resin, pitch’. Note loss of medial bilabials (-p-/-b-/-m-) in dbr and šmr too. [SUA: Trn, Cah]

1117 Aramaic(CAL) kwkby; Syriac(S) kuukkəbbe ‘owl’;

Syriac(P) kuukkəbbay ‘unclean bird, perhaps an owl’:

UACV1589 \***kuku** ‘ground/burrowing owl’: M88-ku35; Munro.Cup87 \*kuku-l/\*kukuu-l ‘owl’;

Stubbs1995-21 \*kwuku; KH/M-ku35: Ca kuku-l ‘ground owl’; Ls kukúu-l ‘burrowing owl’; Tη 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. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]

1118 Arabic ‘akamat ‘hill, reef, heap, pile’:

UACV1624 \***wikka** ‘pile’: NP wikatiga ‘pile up’; TSh wikkatī ‘pile, vi’; TSh wikkatīḡkīn ‘pile up, vt’.

Initial ’ > w would be Sem-p, if m was absorbed in a cluster, but no -m- has it less sure. [NUA: Num]

1119 Hebrew har ‘mountain’; pl: hareeʿ ‘mountains (of)’; Aramaic **hor** / har ‘mountain’; this Aramaic form of ‘mountain’ is known only to be used in names (of mountains), not as an independent noun; however, in some dialects in the past it was likely an independent noun, which would be **hor-aa** ‘mountain-the’ matching the UA word perfectly, since :

UACV1457 \***huya** / \***huri** ‘mountain’: B.Tep317a \*’oidaga (UP,ST) / ’oidigi (LP, NT) ‘world, mountain’; M88-’o23 ‘world, mountain’; KH/M-’o23: UP ’oidagi; LP oijig; NT oidyigi; ST ’oidya’; TO oidag ‘field, farm’. Add Cr hīri ‘cerro [hill]’ and Wc hīrii ‘sierra’ (Cr borrowed from Wc?). Yq hūya ‘árbol, monte’ and My huyya ‘árbol, monte’ may belong at ‘arrow/tree/wood’ where Hill has them, and Tbr huwa ‘monte’. Tbr hanyí-t ‘cerro’ has 3 of 4 segments with the above, since Tbr ny < \*y. Putting Tep \*’oidaga into PUA segments yields \*hoiyawa, the diphthong showing 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] [SUA: Tep, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

1120 Hebrew **yīshaar** ‘oil’; the pharyngealized š may have caused h > ḥ in a cluster, just as clustered \*-qt- > -qṭ- in -qṭol > -qṭol caused t > ṭ in Hebrew vs. Arabic and Proto-Semitic qṭl:

UACV845 \***yuhu** ‘grease’: I.Num294 \*yuhu grease; M88-yu11; KH/M-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 yīhuu/yuhuu-vī ‘fat, grease, lard’; Ch yuhú-vi; SP yu(h)u-vi ‘fat, grease’; CU yūú-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 > i in unaccented syllable] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

1121 Aramaic(J) dabbar ‘lead, drive’; Syriac dbr ‘lead, take, drive away’:

UACV1727 \***tappi** ‘pull, drag’: Kw tapičini ‘drag’; Sh(C) tīppi ‘pull’. Are the following also related or are we dealing with prefixes?: \*ca-pi- or \*capi: Mn capidīna ‘drag’; NP capiwoya ‘to drag with hand’; NP cipi / cibi ‘pluck out’; Cm caḥpi’erī ‘jerk down, pull down’. [\*-pp-] [NUA: Num]

1122 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’: unattested \***panniy** ‘turn (vt), direct’:

UACV1729 \***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 vaissīna ‘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, be closed to one the passage]’ matches Hp pana ‘put into, let enter, bring into’, both of which include examples of corralling animals’. [\*p > Wc h, c/s] [idddua]

**UACV1747 \*pana** ‘put in’: Ken Hill (p.c. 2004), KH/M-pa71: Hp pana ‘put into, let enter, bring into’; Sr paa<sup>h</sup>-van ‘wet, add water to, thin (e.g. soup) by adding water’. Ken Hill noticed this nice pair as Sr paa<sup>h</sup>-van clearly appears to be a compound meaning ‘water-put in’, that is, ‘put s.th. in water’. Add Tb(H) paanat ‘to close, vt’? Of a different vowel, either Hebrew paanuu (qal) or pinnuu (qittel) could yield the first two syllables of NP pīnuyui ‘go in circles, spin like windmills’ [iddddua]  
[NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

**1123** Aramaic *le* ‘to / for him / it’; Syriac *le* ‘to / for him / it’:

**UACV2346 \*li** ‘to, for’: Sapir: Sapir suggests CN -li- / -lia ‘to, for’ and SP ḥkī ‘to, for’ (< \*li-ki). Add Ls lo (< \*le) ‘to, at’. The applicative suffix in most Nahuatl dialects (\*-li-) also usually means ‘to, for’ someone: CN -lia ‘applicative affix’; Pl -lia ‘applicative, allowing indirect objects, ‘to, for, against’ someone’; Mecayapan Nahuatl(Wolgemuth, 120) -li- ‘indica ... complemento no directo [indirect obj]’; Michoacan Nahuatl (Sischo, 355) -li ‘applicative. My -le has that sense ‘to him’: sebbe ‘hace frio [weather is cold]’; sebele ‘siente frio [he feels cold]’, i.e., it’s cold to him; My suale ‘creerlo [believe him]’ (UA \*suwa ‘desire’). [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Cah, Azt]

**1124** Aramaic zwg ‘to yoke, join, join in wedlock’; Dt conjugation ‘have sexual relations’; Arabic zwg II ‘to pair, couple, marry; Arabic zawg ‘one of a pair, husband’; Arabic zawgat ‘wife’; Hopi cīñji ‘copulate, have sex’. Semitic-kw, contributed by JSR. [NUA: Hp]

**1125** Aramaic(S) tiigaar-aa ‘a vessel’ < Middle Iranian \*tigaar (note New Persian taḡaar ‘earthen dish or bowl’) > Arabic tiigaar (Canaanite vowel shift aa > oo in Northwest Semitic):

**UACV1710 \*tiko-(ri)** ‘dish’: Eu tékori ‘plato, carrete’; Tbr teka-lí-t ‘olla’; teko-lí-t ‘olla’. [SUA: Tbr, Opn]

**1126** Hebrew **yšb** or **yšg** (hiqtiil means ‘to set, place’) or **yšf** / Arabic waḍaḥa ‘lay, put down, set, place’; these three roots of first two consonants yš... generally mean ‘to set, put, place’ and only the first two consonants are obvious in UA; the latter should show rounding near the 3<sup>rd</sup> C, perhaps eliminating that, and the one Tr form—Tr acába—may point to **yšb**, unless affixed:

**UACV1742 \*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/M-ya2: TO daaš; LP daaša; 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 yandzīt~‘ayanc ‘sit down, set (of sun)’; 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’; Op daca ‘put, place, vt’. Cah’s raising a > e between two palatals is natural enough. [initial C- > ø in Tr]  
[NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**1127** Three Hebrew stems (yšb, yšg, yšf) in the hiqtiil would all have their participles beginning as mošii-like UA \*moci- ‘set, put’; Hebrew yšg, hiqtiil: hošiiig, yošiiig, ptcl: mošiiig ‘set, place’; Arabic waṣaba ‘be firm’; Hebrew yšb ‘to stand, place’, prt: \*mošiiib; Arabic waḍaḥa ‘lay down’; Hebrew yšf, hiqtiil prt: **mošiiif** ‘spread, make bed’:

**UACV1745 \*mociwa** ‘place pl obj’s seated’: M88-mo2 ‘be seated pl’; KH/M-mo2 ‘be seated’: Wr moci-wí/-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. [SUA: Trn, Tbr]

**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’, Syriac rmy ‘throw, put, place, pour’), and in English “he put the arrow in the bull’s eye”, and toss it there = put it there:

**UACV1743a \*tap** ‘put’: BH.Cup \*tav ‘put’; M88-ta34 ‘put’; KH.NUA; KH/M-ta34 \*tavic (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'; Tj 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. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**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]':

**UACV255 \*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 excremental devoicing (as in TO *o'odham*); nevertheless, TO has \*tVLum in common with Tb, and -u- consistent 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 *taluumat-t* may show the original vowel, and Tb also has two verbs that may relate— Tb *tuluumiin* ~ 'utuluumiin 'to roll his blanket' and Tb *tulu'uma* ~ 'utulu'uma 'it rolls'—and the Tb form has the Semitic 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'. [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Azt]

**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) *pīkahnookaa* 'go to haul deer carcass'; Sh *pīka-ppīh* 'buckskin (of deer or antelope)' (Sh gemination at def article suffix spot. Widespread Numic \*pīhī 'hair, fur, hide, skin' with softened -h- is likely a related variant and Mn has both: **UACV1110 \*pīkya** / **\*pīCCa** (> \*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-pī11 'fur, hide'; KH/M-pī11: 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 *pī-ah* 'hide, skin'; Cp *pēlki-š* 'hide, skin'; the \*-pī'a- in Ch *točí-vī'a-vī* 'head-hair'; Kw *točí-va'aa-vī* 'head-hair'; *točí-vīaa-vi* 'head-hair'; CU *tīčí-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. Hp Sem-p, others Sem-kw perhaps. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC]

**1131** Hebrew *peger* 'carcase'; the following has \*tī- prefixed to the \*-pīhī above:

**UACV2027 \*tīpīhī** 'hide, skin': I.Num249 \*tīpīhī 'hide, skin'; M88- tī26; KH/M-tī26: NP *tīpīhī*; Cm *tīhbī*; Sh *tīpīhī*; SP *tīvīvī* 'skin (owned), hide'. This is often deemed a compound of 'deer-hide' (\*tī-pīhī). [iddddua] [NUA: Num]

**1132** Hebrew **peraš** '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 *farš-* < \*parš- 'long hair' and Arabic *farw-u* < \*parw- / **parwat** 'fur, skin, pelt'; Syriac **perš-aa** 'bud, shoot, blossom-the'; the clusters in the cognate languages show that Hebrew **peraš** as a segolate noun also once clustered the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants: note Hebrew construct pl: *paršoot*. The Hebrew meaning 'hair' and the Aramaic/Syriac vowel are quite identical to UA **\*pī'wa** 'hair': **UACV1110 \*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-pī11 'fur, hide'; KH/M-pī11: Eu *vewá-t* 'pellejo'; My *beewa* 'piel, pellejo, corteza, cuero, cáscara'; Cr *nya-ípée-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) *pīwīi'l* 'down feathers, breast feathers'. Hp *pīwīwpi* 'eyelashes' (redupl of \*-pīw-) may also belong, in contrast to 1130 above Hp *pīkya* 'hide, skin'. [NUA: Tb, Hp; SUA: Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**1133** Syriac **bašw-aa** 'camel hair-the'; that is, hair, fur, or hide of an animal; as Arabic *bašīr* 'camel' takes Semitic *bašīr* 'livestock, any domestic animal' and limits it to camel, Syriac *bašw-aa* similarly reduces the semantics to a camel, though easily extendable, if not originally, hide of any animal':

**UACV1109 \*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/M-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 pii-ly, píh'i 'body hair, fur, down'; Ls pé' 'feathers, fur, body hair'; Tη péhan 'beard, body hair, down'; Sr pöh 'fur, body hair, feathers'; Ktn poho-c 'body hair, feathers, fur'; Hp pöhö 'fur, body hair, body feathers, down, fuzz'; TO wopo 'body hair, fur'; Op bowa 'fine hair, down feather, wool'; 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 -'-, Tη, Sr, Ktn, Hp -h-, and Wr, My, Tr -'w- recommend a cluster that may contain a liquid (Tb) and/or glottal stop, or other combination like -ʃw-. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

**1134** Aramaic(J) tiklaa 'purple-blue wool'; Syriac tiklōtaa 'dark blue, violet, purple';

Hebrew takelet 'a blueish or violet-colored purple wool':

**UACV1777 \*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. [NUA: Tak]

**1135** Hebrew qaaneh 'reed, stalk'; Aramaic and Syriac qanyaa 'reed, stalk':

**UACV1778 \*pa-kaN** 'reed, phragmites': Sapir; VVH8 \*paska '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 \*pááxa-l; KH.NUA; KH/M-pa18: Mn paqa 'arrow'; TSh pakan 'arrow'; Sh pakan 'arrow'; Cm paak/paka 'arrow'; Kw paga-bi 'carrizo grass, common reed'; SP pagaN-, pagampi 'cane'; Tb pahaabīl / paha'bīl 'sugar cane plant'; Cp páxa-l 'arrowreed'; Ca páxal 'common reed, phragmites communis'; Ls páx-ma-l 'type of greens'; Tη páxo-t 'knife, pito de hueso'; Sr paaqa-ʃ; 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 except Opn; semantically it appears to have originally meant 'reed' (apparently used for arrows), then 'arrow' in the Numic languages. Only Numic shows nasal N. [\*p > h in CrC; Tb h < -k/ŋk-; bilabial > ø/\_C] [Sem-p: Tb h < q; no ŋ in Tak] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**1136** Hebrew 'ébeh 'reed, papyrus'; Arabic 'abaa'; Akkadian abu / apu 'reed, papyrsu':

**UACV1781 \*wapi** 'foxtail': BH \*wávic 'foxtail'; M88-wa20; Munro.Cup48 \*wáávi-š 'foxtail (plant)'; KH/M-wa20: Ls wáávi-š; Cp wávi-š; Ca wáávi-š. [Sem-p] [NUA: Tak]

**UACV1785 \*owa / \*oha** 'caña verde': Dakin 1982-63: Tr owé 'maguery 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. [Sem-kw?] [SUA: Trn, CrC, Azt]

**1137** Hebrew góme(ʔ) 'papyrus' or Hebrew qaamaa 'standing grain':

**UACV1786 \*oma** 'reed': Eu omá 'caña [cane]'; Op homa-t 'cane, stalk'; Op omaa 'cane, reed'; Wr omá 'sugar cane, the large variety that grows at lower elevations, from which panocha and mescal are made'. Loss of initial g- suggests Sem-kw. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

**1138** Hebrew šor 'navel, navel cord'; Arabic surr 'navel cord': Sr šuur 'navel'.

**1139** Hebrew roo'ε 'seer', that is, one who sees visions, from the verb r'y / ra'aa 'see':

**UACV1798 \*tī'a** 'have a vision or supernatural power': M67-424; M88-tī40 'supernatural'; KH.NUA; KH/M-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 rightly includes Ls too'wi 'see supernaturally' as Ls o < \*i, and Ls shows medial w, while Sr, Ca, and Hp agree in

four of segments \*tī'a, exactly like the Ls -w- : Sr -' - correspondence in 571 Ls yawáywa and Sr yī'aayi'a'n 'beautiful'. Sem-p. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**1140** Hebrew roo'ε 'seer', one who sees visions: or less likely Aramaic dayw-aa 'evil spirit, devil':

UACV1799 \***tīwi** 'deity, spirit, seer of supernatural means': Munro.Cup34 \*təwi-š 'deity/spirit';

KH/M-tī40: Ls tóowi-š 'spirit, ghost, devil'; Ls tóowi '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'. This is much like 1139 \*tī'a above (Ls in both), except that the other Tak languages have separate terms. [NUA: Tak]

**1141** Hebrew ḥool 'sand'; Aramaic ḥaal-aa; Aramaic(S) pl: ḥaalaat-aa 'sand, sandy area':

UACV1868 \*(**h**)ola (Tep) / \***otta** (Num)'sand': Sapir; B.Tep326a \*'oo'orai 'sand'; M67-355: TO o'od 'sand'; NT óorai 'sand'. Tep oor/La < \*hooLaa, Aramaic-like. 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 taja 'knee' < \*toja as a parallel example of that vowel change. Note also B.Tep326b \*'oo'ia 'sand', a compound of \*hora and \*siwa. [V change] [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

**1142** Aramaic blt / ballet, impfv yV-ballet 'shut eyes, be worm-eaten, moth-eaten, rot':

UACV1848 \***yīpali** 'rotten': B.Tep31 \*dīvariga 'rotten'; M88-yī13; KH/M-yī13: TO jewa; UP jīwaligī; PB dīvilgī; NT(B) dīváliga 'rotten'; NT dīvááli/duvááli 'pudrido'; NT dīváárii 'pudrir, vi'; ST dyīvaalyi'. Add PYP devlim/dever 'rot, vi'; PYP develik 'rotten, adj'. [liquid] [SUA: Tep]

**1143** Arabic pasada, impfv ya-**psudu** 'become bad, rotten, decayed, putrid, spoiled':

UACV1852 \***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 cluster] [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah]

**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':

UACV1863 \***o'mana** 'sad, suffering': CN a'mana 'be unsettled, upset, disturbed' (RJC) (with -l- > -' -, CN aligns nicely); Tr o'moná / o'móna-ma 'be afflicted, saddened'; Tr o'móna-ri 'sadness, affliction'; the -uṅani- portion of Sr ahauṅanik 'sad, miserable'; Sr hahauṅan 'be poor, pathetic, miserable'; Sr hauṅani-č 'poor one, orphan'; Ktn haṅa 'poor'. Words as long as the Sr forms must be compounds, and -ṅani- 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- > -ṅ-; V assim] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Azt]

**1145** Hebrew ṣadooq 'just, righteous' (BDB) from ṣdq 'to be in the right, be just, righteous':

UACV1864 \***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 is not perfect, but likely in that the righteous patiently bear burdens stoically (sadly) or without vengeance. [idddua] [SUA: Cah]

**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 )

UACV1845 \***tikapu** 'rope, thread': Mn tīgápo 'rope'; NP tīgapu 'rope'. [NUA: WNum]

**1147** Hebrew n'q 'to groan'; \*nə'aaqaa / na'aqat / na'aqat 'groan, n'; 'groan/mutter' > 'speak' is not a big semantic shift:

UACV1869 \*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/M-ni1: TO neok(i) 'talk'; UP ñiokī; LP nook; NT ñioókai 'habla'; NT ñiíoóki '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 ni'ok-ti 'become benevolent, compassionate'. Also add Op niwa-t 'word' (Shaul 2007). [diphthongs > V; ' > ø in Tep; NUA u : SUA o] [SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah. CrC; NUA: Hp]

**1148** Aramaic(J) tanni' 'relate, tell'; Syriac təna' 'tell, narrate'; Syriac tanni' 'tell, say':

UACV1877b \*tīni / \*tīNV: M88-tī17; KH/M- tī17: TSh tīniwa 'teach'; Kw tīniya 'tell'; SP tīnnia 'tell'; Tb tīngiinat 'ask for'; Hp tīnla'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 tīñji 'tell to' may better belong here than with M88-tī18. Perhaps Sr täänön 'speak to, say (something) to'. If \*tīn(i)-IV clustered -nl-, might that cluster -nl- > -ŋ- in Hp, Tb, and Np? [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Azt]

**1149** Hebrew impfv -diiš or more fully (yo/to/no)-diiš 'inform, tell' causative impfv of ydš 'to know', prfv hodaš- / hodiiš; yoodiiš 'he says', toodiiš 'she says', noodiiš 'we say'; so the stems are -diiš / -daš; :

UACV1878a \*tīwa / \*ta(hV)wa 'say, advise': My téewa '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). UACV1878b \*(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'. These may align with Aramaic -it-yədeš / ityadaš 'be known, make known (inform/tell) each other', and CN itawi 'be talked about, acquire renown'. [SUA: Cah, Tep, Azt; NUA: Num]

**1150** Hebrew impfv -diiš in (yo/to/no)-diiš 'inform, tell' causative of ydš 'to know', prfv hodaš- / hodiiš; Aramaic iidaš / yədaš; UA \*tīwi shows only 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Cs, as -diiš / -daš, the prominent ones of the stem: UACV1275 \*tīwi 'learn': Hp tīwi / tīwi'-ta 'gain practical knowledge, learn, become familiar with, experience'; NT tīgīdyi '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. [SUA: Tep, Cah; NUA: Hp]

**1151** Syriac pakken 'to speak much, chatter'; Syriac **etpakkan** 'be insolent, abuse, gabble'; Syriac(S) **pakkaanaa** 'garrulous, gossipy'; Syriac(S) pakken 'speak much, chatter'; note Tb shows -n-, 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant: UACV1879 \*aNpaka-y 'talk': Kw 'abigi 'talk'; Kw nipaka 'talk to'; Ch ampága- 'talk/speak'; SP ampa-ğa-; WMU appága-y 'speak, talk'; CU 'apágay 'talk, speak'; NP apika 'speak, pl'; Tb pahkaani~pahkaan 'to speak'; Tb(H) pahkannit, prfv appahkann 'to speak, speak Tubatulabl'. Note that Tb has the 3<sup>rd</sup> C. [V assim in Kw] [NUA: SNum, WNum, Tb]

**1152** Aramaic šgh 'to look, to care for, mind':

UACV1911 \*(i)soko 'look': Hp(S) soh 'look here!' and Wr isógo 'look!' [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn]

**1153** Aramaic(CAL) 'bhl / 'bhwl 'fruit or seed of mountain cypress'

UACV1921 \*paha(i) 'seed': Sh(C) pahai / pahe /pehe 'seed'; Sh paihai 'seed, pit'; TSh pehe(cci) 'seed, pit'; Cm pehe 'seed'. [NUA: CNum]

**1154** Hebrew ksy 'cover'; Hebrew kissaa / kissii- 'cover'

UACV1923 \*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'. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**1155** Arabic *hazza* ‘to shake (s.th.), swing, brandish, wave, rock’; as UA \*-c- > -y- in NUA, these align: UACV1925 \***hīca** > NUA \***hīya** ‘rock, shake, swing’: M88-hī9; KH.NUA; KH/M-hī9: Tj hoyó’o ‘manéalo [shake it]’; Sr hīyī’ ‘shake s.th.’; Ktn hīyīk ‘swing, v’; Ls hóoya/i ‘rock (as rocking chair), vt, blow (of wind), vi’. [NUA: Tak]

**1156** Hebrew *h̄rk* ‘set in motion’ (BDB); Arabic *h̄rk* / *h̄aruka* ‘move, be agitated’; Arabic *h̄rk* II, *h̄arraka* ‘to move, set in motion, stir’:

UACV1926 \***huyuka** ‘move’: M67-296: Hp hoyo(k-) ‘move, change position, grow (taller)’, pl: hoyokya; Tb ’ooyooat ~ ’ooyook ‘he is moving’; Tb(H) ’ooyookat ‘to move, vi’, pfv ’ooyook; TO ulugī / ulugid ‘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. [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep]

**1157** Syriac *haakeel* / *haakiil* ‘now, now then, thus, so, therefore’:

UACV2352b \***ai-pi** ‘now’: Sapir; M88-i19 (one item); KH/M-i19: Kw ’iivi ‘now, today, be new’; Ch ái-vi ‘today, now’; SP ai-vi ‘now’; WMU aa-v / aavuru ‘now, today, adv’; CU ’aa-vi ‘now’. Add Wr(MM) ehé ‘ahorita [right now]’; Wr(MM) ehe-pá ‘ahorita’; the latter aligns with Tepiman \*iipa, as Wr intervocalic -h- would disappear > ø in Tepiman; thus, Wr 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 as expected after loss of the easily lost consonants, so it is worth considering. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Tep]

**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:

UACV2009 \***yukkwi** ‘sit, pl’: I.Num297 \*yikwi/\*yihkwi (dur.) sit, pl.; M88-yi8; KH/M- yi8: Mn yikwi ‘sit, pl. subj, vi’; NP yīkwi ‘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; the vowel change \*u > i is so common in Num that a reconstruction of \*yukkwi is a better choice. [\*-kkw- > -w- in Ch] [NUA: Num]

**1159** Hebrew *ṭbl* ‘dip s.th. into, dive, plunge’ (quttal: ṭbbal), less likely *ṭbʕ* sink down (quttal or hoqtal f.pfv) UACV1993 \***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] [NUA: Num, Tak]

UACV1995 \*(**ho**)-**top** ‘sink’: L.Son23 \*oto ‘atascarse’; M88-’o21; KH/M-’o21: Eu hotóe- ‘haber lodo, atascar’; Op oto-wa; Tr(B) toba- ‘atollarse, hundirse en el lodo [sink in the mud], atascarse [get stuck]’; Tr(H) tobá ‘atascarse [get stuck]’; Tr tobu ‘encajar [to fit in], hundir [sink]’. Add Yq rópte ‘sumirse en el agua [sink/submerge in the water]’; My rópte ‘se sumerigió’; AYq ropte ‘sink, submerge, drown’. If \*t > c preceding a high vowel, then \*cuppa above may be related? [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah]

**1160** Hebrew *ynq* ‘to suck’, impfv: yiinaq; Syriac(S) **yaanq-aa** ‘nursing child-the’; the q is anticipated:

UACV2048 \***yīna** ‘smoke tobacco, smoke by sucking’: Sapir; B.Tep34 \*dīnī-i ‘to smoke’; M67-394 \*yena ‘smoke tobacco’; L.Son357 \*yīna ‘fumar’; M88-yi3 ‘smoke tobacco’; KH/M- yi3: Yq yena ‘to smoke cigar, etc’; My yena; TO jīni; UP dīnī; LP dīnī; NT dīnīy; ST dīn; Wr ye’ni; Cr ra-yáhna ‘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 odorífero, perfume, tabaco, planta medicinal ...’; Nv dīnni / dīdina ‘chupar piciete’. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**1161** Hebrew **qippaa**’oon ‘sharp frost’ (KB), ‘congelation’ (BDB) (< qp’ ‘to congeal, become rigid’)

UACV2074 \***kīp(p)a** ‘snow, ice’: B.Tep135 \*kīvai ‘ice, snow’ (LP gīwī); M67-400 \*kepa ‘snow’; L.Son83 \*kīpa ‘nieve’; M88-kī1 ‘snow’; KH/M-kī1: Tr gepá/kepá-(mea) n-(v); Wr kepá; v: keba-ni; 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)’. Does Tr show gemination \*-pp-? [SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, CrC]

**1162** Hebrew *ṣaṭīšaa* ‘sneeze, n.f.’; Middle Hebrew and Aramaic(J) *ṣṭš* ‘to sneeze’;

Arabic *ṣaṭasa*, -ṣṭisu / -ṣṭusu ‘to sneeze’; the UA form derives from the noun *ṣaṭīšaa* or *ha-ṣaṭīšaa*:

Mn	<i>hakwisa’i</i>	Hp	<i>ahsi; niha</i>	Eu	<i>hačiswa</i>
NP	<i>akwisa’i; sidi’hu</i>	Tb	<i>(’a)hattišah(at)</i>	Tbr	--
TSh	<i>ukkwisai</i>	Sr	<i>ha’tisk</i>	AYq	<i>ha’acihte</i>
Sh	<i>akkwihsic</i>	Ca	<i>há’tis</i>	My	<i>he’ecihte</i>
Cm	<i>aakwisiṭi; ca’akusiṭi</i>	Ls	<i>hatīis(a)</i>	Wr	<i>a’túsa-ni</i>
Kw	<i>ha’wiši</i>	Cp	<i>atise</i>	Tr	<i>atiso(wa); atisi</i>
Ch	<i>haw’isi</i>	TO	<i>bisčk</i>	Cr	<i>he’eciupua</i>
SP	<i>a’ḡwīšši</i>	Nv	<i>vistku</i>	Wc	--
WMU	<i>wi’ṭisiu, wi’ṭisio</i>	PYp	<i>bisca</i>		
CU	--	NT	<i>bištīiky</i>	CN	<i>eukšoa; i’kwišoa;</i>
		ST	<i>biščkia</i>		<i>iukšoa</i>

**UACV2071a** \***ha’t(w)isa** (> \***ha’(N)kwisa**) ‘sneeze, vi’: M67-396 \**hatis* ‘sneeze’; L.Son54 \**hatisa* ‘estornudar’; KH.NUA; M88-ha5 ‘to sneeze’; KH/M-ha5: Tb *ha’dišt* ‘sneeze, n. (cognate? Miller queries; definitely, yes); Cp; Ca; Ls; Sr; Eu; Tbr. Ken Hill adds Tḡ *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-ti*); 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-] **UACV2071b** \***ha’kwisa’i** ‘sneeze’: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; Ch; SP; CN *i’kwišoa*. WMU *wi’ṭisiu*, *wi’ṭisio* lost the first syllable and shows a nasal like SP does.

**UACV2071c** \***kwic...** ‘sneeze’: TO; Nv; PYp; NT; ST. Tep b < kw. In all branches but one. [NUA: Tb, Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, 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’. It shows q (vs. k) and even shows the geminated \*-pp-. [NUA: Tak]

The next two show the cluster -ḥr- > -’w- as r > ’ in a cluster and then glottal stops are often anticipated: \*-ḥr- > -w’- > -’w-.

**1164** Arabic *ṣḥr* XI ‘dry up, become **yellow**’; at 2606b is CN -*sawiya*, a good reflection of the three consonants, while the liquid appears in 2606a:

**UACV2606a** \***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?

**UACV2606b** \***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)osawí(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. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Azt]

**1165** Arabic *baḥr*- ‘sea, large river’, that is, water vs. land; Arabic *baḥra(t)* ‘pond, pool’:  
 UACV2497 \**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 \**páá-la*; KH/M-pa7: 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* and Wr *pa’wé* ‘mar’; Tr *ba’wi* /  
*ba’we* / *ba*’; Tr *ba’wí* ‘agua, jugo, caldo, líquido’; Wr *pa’wí*; Hp *paahi*; Tḡ *par*; Sr *paat*; Ktn *pa-č*; cf. also  
 M88-pa8 ‘ocean’: 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’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 *baḥr*. Other Sr compounds also do so.  
 Note also the -*hī* of Hopi *paahi*, which -*hī* is thought to be a rare absolutive suffix, but could it simply be  
 what is often dropped, as *paahi* < \**baḥr*? 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*; Op *va’a-t* ‘water, river’; Op *va’ara-t* ‘broth’; 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 *váigiü* ‘fetch water’; ST *vaiñdya/vaiñiñ* ‘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’igiü*), ‘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*: Tḡ -*panen* (*par*)  
 ‘water’; Tb -*paan* (*paal*) ‘water’. Some Uto-Aztecanists consider TrC -*wV* a separate morpheme, perhaps  
 \**-wi* ‘big’. [\**p* >  $\emptyset$  in CN] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, 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’; Egyptian uses the same root *imn* for right, but in Egyptian it also 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’; Aramaic(CAL) *qdm*  
 ‘come before, precede’; Aramaic *qdm* ‘to the east’; *qaddiimaa* ‘east wind’:  
 UACV2102 \**kitam* ‘south, east’: BH.Cup \**kicam* ‘south’; HH.Cup \**kīčam* ‘south’; M88-ki6 ‘south’;  
 KH/M-ki6: Ktn *kitamik* ‘toward the east’; Cp *kičám*; Ca *kīčam-ka* ‘southward’; Ls *kíča-mi-k*, *kíča-nuk*  
 ‘southward’; Tḡ *kitáme(k)* ‘south’. Sem-p with *i* between *q* and *d*, but *d* > *l* in neck? [\*-*t* > -*c*-] [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.’:  
 UACV864 \**piyaw* ‘feather, to fly’: Hp *pīiyaw/pīiyal-* ‘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/ī*). 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’d forms: *i’wiu* / *i’wiyo* ‘feather, down’ with loss of \**p*: \**piyaw* > \**iyawi* (loss of  
 Azt *p*) > *i’wi*. This must be Semitic-*p* due to initial *p-*, but some \**x* > *ḥ* in the Sem-*p* dialect? I guess.  
 [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]

**1168** In Aramaic the root pt' / ptw has two similar but different forms in the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant -' or -w- like the UA -' or -w- variation: Aramaic(J) pətaa'aa 'width; wide, open place'; Aramaic(J) pətaawaa 'enlargement, open place'; Aramaic(CAL) pətaawaa 'relief, extent'; Syriac pəta' 'be enlarged, increased, wide, broad'; Syriac patwaa 'largeness'; Aramaic(CAL) petwaa 'wide extent, largeness':  
**UACV205 \*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 piišwabiil 'enormous' with a hyperpalatalization. See 812 for another item from this root. [SUA: Azt; NUA: Tb]

**1169** Hebrew pth / paatah 'to open, open up'; Arabic fataha (< \*pth) 'to open'; Aramaic pətaḥ 'open':  
**UACV1578 \*pitiwa** 'open, uncover': Stubbs2003-29: Tb peleew~'epeleew 'open it up'; Hp piri-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'. [NUA: Tb, Hp; SUA: Opn, Azt]

**1170** Hebrew ha-ruuḥ 'spirit'; Arabic riiḥ 'wind, smell, odor'; Arabic ruuḥ 'soul, spirit':  
**UACV2117 \*arewa** 'spirit': Tr arewá 'alma [spirit, soul]'; Wr arewá 'spirit, soul'. [SUA: Trn]

**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':  
**UACV2122a \*tokV > \*cukV** 'spit, v': Ca čú'an; Ls čúxi; Cp čúxe; Ktn tohvík / toqovík / tohəvək 'spit on/up, vt'. Of the 3 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-). [NUA: Tak]

**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 Semitic 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; because \*wu contains a near identical sequence of sounds, in the KH/M sets are only two initial wu- sets: wu-01 may be wī and this set wu-02 has a good chance of being from \*gupu or gipi, without any any initial wu- sets:  
**UACV2215 \*wupuka or \*gupu-ka** 'strong, strength': B.Tep49 \*guvuka 'strength'; M88-wu2; KH/M-wu2: TO giḅk '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 (\*givi) better fit the forms, since both e/i and u appear, and e/i in 3 of the 5 Tepiman forms? [SUA: Tep]

**1173** Three related stems in many Semitic languages such as Aramaic mwš / mšš / mšy: Aramaic mwš 'suck'; Aramaic mšš 'suck, drain, wring, press'; Hebrew mšš, impfv: yi-mošš 'slurp, lap':  
**UACV2223 \*mos** 'suck': BH.Cup \*mé 'suck'; M88-mo10; KH/M-mo10: Cp mise 'suck (of baby)'; Ca miš 'to chew'; Ls mééči 'chew to extract juice'. [NUA: Tak]

**1174** Hebrew ni-qtal impfv: yinnapeš 'breathe freely, recover'; niqtal infinitive: **hinnapeš**:  
**UACV302 \*hiapsi** 'breathe, rest, live, heart': My hiabite 'breathe, rest'; My hiapsi 'heart'; My hiapsa 'alive'; Yq hiapsa 'vivir [live]'; Yq hiapsi 'corazón [heart]'; Yq hiabihte '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-. [SUA: Cah]

**1175** Hebrew gml, impfv -gmol 'to complete, ripen, wean':  
**UACV1815 \*mo(y)** 'ripen': AYq momoi 'ripe, mature'; ST moomta 'ripen' (of potatoes); ST humtmoidyak 'toward end of the month'. [SUA: Tep, Cah]

**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]’.  
 Wr(MM) neséro ‘mantener a la familia [care for the family]’; Wr(MM) nesé ‘cuidar’. [SUA: Trn]

In addition to three others (796-798), below are three more sets likely 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, here with its infinitive ’əkol, and a semantic shift from ‘eat, enjoy’ to ‘desire’:

UACV2472 \*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 ’í’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: Tak; SUA: Cah, CrC, Azt]

**1178** Arabic ’kl / ’akala ‘eat, eat away, corrode’; worms and moths as eaters is an occasional semantic shift, as in Syriac ’akl-aa ‘weevil’ literally ‘eater-the’:

UACV334 \*akar/l ‘moth, butterfly’: Nv agari ‘polilla [moth]’; Wr akároari ‘butterfly’. Four segments (agar / akar) agree, perhaps with intervocalic voicing, unless Wr be a loan from a Tep language. [k/g] [SUA: Tep, Trn]

**1179** Hebrew ’kl ‘eat’; Syriac ’akl-aa ‘weevil’ literally ‘eater-the’:

UACV2594 \*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’aagin-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’? Note that CN includes a semantic of ‘wild animal’ which are eaters. Both Tb and Ca suggest a final consonant, and Azt has final -l. This set is less secure. [idddua] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]

**1180** Aramaic gabr-aa ‘man, husband, great man’, pl: gabriin (bilabials lost as 1<sup>st</sup> C in cluster \*-br- > -r-); Syriac gabr-aa ‘man (especially a strong or might man)’; Hebrew gbr ‘be strong, mighty’; Hebrew geber (< gabr-) ‘man’; the UA form appears to align with an Aramaic plural with loss of -b- as first C in a cluster (gabriin > kəbri > kəri / kəli) or either a Hebrew or Aramaic plural construct gabr-ee:

UACV1422 \*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: kikīily) ‘male, old man’. [SUA: Tep]

**1181** Hebrew šmr ‘keep (commandments, an agreement, appointment), watch over, take care of, have charge of, restrain (within bounds)’; to keep commandments, an agreement, appointment is ‘to remember, keep in mind, think about’:

UACV2287 \*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 tšumiya ‘ponder, think about’. At M88-su15 ‘know’, Miller has CNum/ TSh/Sh sumpantai ‘know’ and at 1106 in this work, which may merit transfer here. [NUA: WNum, SNum]

**1182** Arabic řidd ‘small prickly shrubs, brambles’; sg. Arabic řiddat would be a single prickly s.th.’; and pl řiddaat; ESArabic řd ‘wood’; Arabic řidaah ‘fair-sized thorny shrubs’; Hebrew řeřaa ‘wood’:

UACV2296 \*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/M-wi5 \*wicaC (after AMR): Mn wíti ‘awl’; NP wiccī ‘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; Op weca-t ‘spine, thorn’; 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 ’íwya-l 'thorn, sticker', the latter showing a pattern of CVCV > VCCV, like CN sometimes does. UACV2296 reflects a possible sg while the vowels of UACV359 reflect the pl of the same.

UACV359 \*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.

[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Azt]

**1183** Aramaic and Syriac mḥy / mḥ’: məḥja’ ‘to strike, smite, beat, wound, kill’

UACV2314 \*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/M-mu5: Tb(M) muu’at / ’umuu’at ~ ’uumuu’ ‘shoot’; Tb muu’išť ‘gun, shooter, hill’; Tb(V) ’uumu’~’uumuu’ ‘shoot’; Ls mu’án 'shoot with a bow'; Cp muha / muháan / mumhane / múxane 'shoot with a bow'; Ca múx/múh/mú 'shoot'; Tḡ 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'; Op mu’umu ‘shoot an arrow’; 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’. [k/x/h/?] [NUA: Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC]

**1184** Syriac(P) qaššet ‘shoot an arrow with a bow’; Hebrew (Aramaic loanword) qošet ‘archery’; Hebrew qešet / qašet, with poss suffixes qašt- ‘bow (for shooting arrows)’; Akkadian qaštu ‘bow, archer’; Aramaic qašt-aa’ ‘bow’; Syriac qaššaataa ‘bowman, archer’; the UA forms show the strong rounding of the q- and the -št- clustered, and another denominalized verb from the noun:

UACV2321 \*kwaCti 'shoot': I.Num77 \*kwahti/\*kwihti 'shoot'; M88-kwa10 'shoot'; KH/M-kwa10: Mn kwati/qwati (i in CNum, but \*a > a in WNum) [NUA:WNum, CNum]

**1185** Syriac(P) qaššet ‘shoot an arrow with a bow’; Hebrew (Aramaic loanword) qošet ‘archery’; this seems to be a reduplication of 1184 above:

UACV2322 \*kuCkwic / \*kukkwic ‘shoot’: Kw kukwi; CU kukwi/kúukwi; Ch kukwi 'shoot, sting’; SP quqqwíc- ‘shoot at’; WMU quhqqwí ‘sting, shoot at’; WMU qúqqwi ‘shoot pl times’; WMU na-gúkkwi ‘fight, have war’. As Miller and Hill have all in kwa10, these SNum likely tie to \*kwaCti of CNum and WNum, and are explainable with kw-reduction. They all point to geminated \*-kkw-. A probable reduplication (\*kwiC-kwiC / \*kwVC-kwVC > \*kukkwic) underlies the SNum forms, which are quite consistent among themselves in PSNum \*kukkwic ‘shoot, sting’. [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’:

UACV2331a \*suma 'tie': M88-su17; M67-439 \*suma 'tie'; KH/M-su17: Hp soma 'to tie s.th.'; Hp somi 'thing tied up'; My summa ‘amarrar’. Add Yq súma ‘atar, amarrar’; AYq suma ‘tie, vt’. Add Yq súma ‘atar, amarrar’; AYq suma ‘tie, vt’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah]

**1187** Hebrew me-rəḥoq / me-rḥoq ‘far, from afar’:

UACV842a \*miCka / \*mihka ‘far’: M67-165 \*meka; B.Tep161 \*miika ‘far’; L.Son146 miika; CL.Azt58 \*wəhka ‘far’, 306 \*\*mi(h)ka (Proto-Aztecán \*w < lenited \*\*m); M88-mi2 ‘far’; KH/M-mi2: TO miikodam; LP miik; PYp meeka; NT miika; ST miik; 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?

UACV842b \*miyho ‘far’: Kw miho; Ch miyó(to); SP mio ‘far off, at a distance’; CU miya. These two sets are of differing reductions from \*miyhoka, in light of h in Kw and some SUA forms; \*miCka stressed a final adverbial -ka to cause reduction of -rḥəq- into one cluster. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn; NUA: SNum]

**1188** Hebrew *yǝṣ* ‘grow weary, labor, struggle’; Arabic *waǧīʿa* ‘have pain, suffer’; noun or f pfv: *yagʿa*: UACV2342 **\*-yowa** ‘suffer’: CN *tlaʿyoowa* ‘to suffer, to fast’; Nv *dodoa* ‘cansar’; Nv *tʿigi dodoa* ‘padercer’. The -g- likely lost in a cluster: *\*yagʿa / yaʿwa* > *yowa*. [no *\*w* > *g* in Tep ’] [SUA: Tep, Azt]

**1189** Hebrew *yǝṣ* ‘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: *yagʿa*: UACV1932a **\*yowa** ‘shake’: Yq *yóa* ‘temblar [tremble], sacudir [shake]’; My *yoowa* ‘temblar’; Wc *yúa* ‘shake, move, vi.’; Wc *yúi-tía* ‘hacer moverse [cause to moving]’. Yq and My *\*yo(w)a* ‘shake’.

UACV1932b **\*yuyi / \*yuwi** ‘shake, be weak, dizzy’: M88-yu25; KH.NUA; KH/M-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: Cah, CrC]

UACV678 **\*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 *yuyuweʿi* ‘faint, v’ as redupl of Kw *yuweʿe* ‘be not, absent’? These sets should have been combined in the UACV. [NUA: Tak]

**1190** Aramaic *ʿaykaa* ‘where’; Syriac *ʿaykaa* ‘where’; Aramaic *ʿaykaw* ‘where’:

UACV2538b **\*haka** ‘where’: Sapir: Sh *hakka* ‘where? somewhere’; TSh *haka-pan/paʿan/ttuh* ‘where’; Cm *hakaapu* ‘which way, where to’; Kw *ha-ga* ‘what? where?’; Ch *hagá-va* ‘locative’; SP *aga* ‘what?’; WMU *agá-va* ‘where?’; Wr *ahká* ‘where? someplace’; Wc *hake* ‘donde [where]’; Wc *hakée-va/pai* ‘adonde’. Add Op *akku* ‘where? See other forms at UACV2538, some resembling *\*hakami* [NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, Trn, CrC]

**1191** Aramaic(CAL) *ʿaatar* ‘place’; Aramaic *ʿaatr-aa* ‘place-the’; Syriac *ʿatar d-* ‘place where, wherever, where’: Wc *-tíré* ‘lugar de [place of, place where]’; Tr *čiri* ‘que? [what?]’; NT *túidīrī* ‘en que parte? [in what part, where?]’ [SUA: Trn, Tep]

**1192** Syriac *ʿaynaa* ‘who, what, m’; Syriac *ʿaydaa* ‘who? what? f’ (< **\*ʿayn-taa**); Syriac *ʿaynaa d-* ‘he who’; Syriac *ʿaydaa d-* ‘she who’; Syriac *ʿaynaa-w* < *\*ʿaynaa-hu*:

UACV2525 **\*hayn-ta** ‘what?’; I.Num39 *\*hii* ‘what, who’; CL.Azt188 *\*tla-* ‘what’ < 287 **\*\*hita**; M88-in2; Munro.Cup136 *\*híi-ča* ‘what, something’; KH/M-in2; KH/M-ta50 *\*tahV* (AMR): Tb **haayn** ‘what’, acc: *haaynt / haaynta*; Tb is identical to the Aramaic accusative, and UA’s accusative -ta is the Aramaic definitie article -taa, but used only in accusative or possessive in UA; Hp *hin* ‘how, in some manner’; *hin-ta* ‘be some way’; Hp *himī*, acc. **hiita** ‘what’; Sr *hiit*, acc. *hiiti* ‘s.th., what’; Ls **híi-ča**, acc. *hí-š*, ‘what?’; Ls *hík* ‘how much?’; Ls *híi-ḡay* ‘why?’; Cp *hi-š* ‘what, s.th.’; Cp *hinqax* ‘how’; Ca *hícʿa / híčeʿa / híčaxa* ‘what’; Tb *haaında* ‘what, nothing’; Eu *hat/hit*, gen. *híte*, acc: *hitá* ‘que [what]’; Op *haita* ‘what, obj’ and Op *hen* ‘place of, place where’; Tbr *hatép-*, *haték-*; Sr *hiit*; Ktn *hit*; Yq *híta*; My *híta*; CN *tle* ‘what’; Wr *ihíta*. The unusual Ca forms, as Munro states, may be derivatives of accusatives or other inflected forms. These fit Aramaic *ʿaynaa / ʿaydaa* (< **\*ʿayn-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. Semitic *-ay- > -i-* is common, or the tendency of *V > i* before alveolar consonants in UA, and here, two such alveolar consonants, either 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 *hima* ‘what’ (of people, things, living and non-living)’; Mn *heeti(sa)* ‘what’ (on non-material objects, like ideas, words)’. The Numic languages more clearly isolate *\*hani / \*hini* ‘what’: Mn *haniʿi-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’. KH/M-ta50 includes the Wr *ihíta* with CN *tlein* ‘what?’; Te *tlin / tlin* ‘what’; Po *te*; Pl *taa / tay* ‘what’, though the Azt forms may be from Semitic *\*daa / Aramaic \*daa* ‘that / what’, a different source than *\*hayn-ta* forms. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn]

**1193** Hebrew *haC-* ‘the’; often UA languages have a prefixed *a-* that could be from Hebrew *haC-* ‘the’: Ls *-wí* ‘fat, grease, oil’ but noun/adj is Ls *ʿa-wí* ‘fat, n and adj’; with UA *\*matta* ‘tick’, Ls *ʿamáča* ‘tick’ may have the same prefix; Ls *ʿa-wól-vu* ‘adult, elder’ would be ‘he is grown-one’ in NE terms *ʿa-wól-vu* (the-grown-he is). Hill also identifies a similar prefix in *\*a-* ‘that’:

**UACV2671 \*a-** ‘that’: KH/M-dm6: Hp a-/áá- (pl. aami) ‘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’). Op a ‘neutral pronoun, this or that’ (Shaul 2020, 25). [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’:

**UACV2377 \*masu** ‘touch, feel’: Wr imasú ‘feel, probe (by feeling)’; Tr masu- ‘feel (with hands), look for (with hands)’ (Brambila supposes ma- ‘hand’). Add Cp mise ‘guard with hands’ (< \*mosV). [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

**1195** Arabic qimma(t) ‘top, summit, peak’:

**UACV2368 \*kumisa** ‘top, tuft, crest’: L.Son105 \*kumisa ‘copete’; M88-ku24 ‘copete’; KH/M-ku24: Eu kumisa ‘plumero, plumaje [plumage], penacho [tuft]’; Op kumi-to ‘plumaje’; Tr kumisa/gumisa-ri ‘copete [crest], penacho, cresta’; Yq kumsa-kam; My kumsa-m ‘cejas’. Unless from a comparable Aramaic cognate, this is ‘maybe’ might wait; Semitic \*t > s happens. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah]

**1196** Hebrew ngš / ti-ngaš ‘she/it touches’; Aramaic t-ngš : Hp toño(k-) ‘come into contact with, touch, reach’

**1197** Hebrew **baaraq** ‘lightning, n’, baaraq ‘to flash lightning’; Aramaic bəraq ‘to flash lightning’; Arabic **baraq** ‘lightning, n’; Arabic baraqa ‘to shine, flash, to lightning’:

**UACV1938 \*kwaraq / \*kwaLak** ‘shake, make noise, be lightning’: Sr kwaara’q ‘shake, vi’; Sr kwaara’q ‘make noise, be noisy, vi’ (KCH separates the two Sr verbs as 1 and 2, though identical phonologically); Tṛ kwaarkwarye ‘be lightning’ (Munro 2000, 189); Ls kwaráti ‘croak (of frogs)’; Ktn kuru’rik ‘boom, thunder, rumble, roar, crash, vi’; TO bebedki ‘thunder, rumbling’. The TO consonants align nicely, and Sr even shows uvular q (vs. k). The AYq bwal- of AYq bwalwotta ‘make tremble’ may belong. The sememes ‘shake (of earth)’ and ‘noise, thunder’ are a semantic combination consistent with lightning, as well as Tṛ actually meaning lightning, and thunder always accompanies lightning. In contrast to 527 Sem-p brq > \*pīrok, this is of the Sem-kw contribution, and note the long first vowel, like Hebrew / Phoenician Sem-kw, in contrast to Sem-p’s more frequent Aramaic stress. This may derive from a geminated middle -rr- conjugation to result in -r- instead of -y-. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah]

**1198** Hebrew šqb ‘seize by the heel, betray, deceive’; Hebrew šaaqeb ‘heel, hoof, footprint’; Hebrew participle \*šooqeb ‘deceiver’ and in a Biblical context, the snake is the deceiver: Hp lölöqaṅw ‘bullsnake, gopher snake’. For final -b > ṅw in Hp, see ‘heart’ (1312) and ‘near’ (1008). [idddua]

**1199** Hebrew šaaqeb ‘heel, hoof, footprint’; šqb ‘to follow’; Arabic yu-šaqqib ‘follow, trail, vt’; Syriac šaqeb, impfv: yə-šaqeb ‘to track down’; the rounding of š would yield yə-šaqeb > yuqib > yīki, as u > ī is frequent:

**UACV2393 \*yīki** ‘make/follow tracks’: M88-yī4 ‘to make tracks’; KH/M-yī4: TO jīkc ‘look for tracks’; TO jīki ‘track’; Wr yehki ‘hacer huellas’; Tr hiyé/(h)iwé/huwe ‘observar, espiar, huellar’; Tr iyé-to ‘seguir la huella [follow the tracks]’. Ls ’iyééqa-t ‘heel’ (\*iyooqaC) may belong to this conjugation also, especially in light of š and the final underlying C (causing -t vs. -l) and even Ls q (vs. k) also aligns. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]

**1200** Hebrew g’l ‘redeem, buy back’:

**UACV2398 \*kowa** ‘buy’: CL.Azt22 \*kowa ‘buy’; M88-ko23; KH/M-ko23: CN koowa ‘buy s.th., vt’; Pl kuwa ‘buy’; Ca ’ú’uwe ‘to buy’. [SUA: Azt]

**1201** Hebrew *təmuuraa* ‘exchange, n.f.’; Hebrew *ha-ttəmuuraa* ‘what is exchanged, exchanging’; Hebrew in Aramaic(J) *təmuuraa* ‘exchange, substitution’:

UACV2399a *\*tīmīrī* ‘buy, trade’: NP *tīmī* ‘buy, vt’; TSh *tīmīh* ‘buy, vt’; Sh *tīmīh* ‘buy’; Cm *mahīpīrīmīrī* ‘buy for self, possess (hold in hand)’; Cm *marīmīrī* ‘buy s.th.’; Cm *narīmīrī* ‘trade, sell to one another, exchange’. [NUA: WNum, CNum]

UACV2399b *\*na-tuwa* / *\*tu’wa* / *\*ru’ma* ‘buy’: these SNum forms show *\*tīmīrV* > *tuway* with the usual SNum -w- < \*-m-: Ch *narú-ga* ‘buy’; SP *naroo’ḡwa* ‘barter’; CU *narúway* ‘buy’; CU *narúgway* ‘trade’; but CU *taguy-naru’ay* ‘be thirsty, buy-thirst’. [NUA: SNum]

**1202** Arabic(Wehr/Lane) *ḡwr* > *ḡaara*, impfv: *ya-ḡuuru* / *ya-ḡwaru* ‘be/make blind, go away with (s.o./s.th.)’; the causative, causing s.o. to go away with is IV *aḡaara* ‘lend, loan’ and could as easily be ‘sell’:

UACV2400 *\*wara* ‘sell’: B.Tep37 *\*gagara* ‘he sells’; KH/M-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). [SUA: Tep, Tbr]

**1203** Aramaic(S) *hwahr’* / *huharaa* ‘net, trap for birds or fish’ (from Akkadian *xuxaarū* ‘bird trap’);

Aramaic(J) *’ohar-aa* / *hohar-aa* ‘net-work, loose fisher’s net’: *\*huhar-aa* > *huhyaC* > *hīyaC*:

UACV2406 *\*hīyaC* / *\*hīwaC* / *\*hī’aC* ‘trap’: M67-444 *\*hewi*; I.Num46 *\*hīya* ‘to trap’; M88-hī6 ‘to trap’; KH.NUA; KH/M-hī6: Mn (*tī*)*hīya* ‘trap, vt’; NP *hīya* ‘trap’; NP *ahī’a* ‘trap, vt’; TSh *hīwa* ‘trap, vt’; TSh *hīwanīmpi* ‘trap, n’; Sh *hīaC* ‘trap, vt’; Sh(C) *hī’aC* ‘trap, catch, vt’; Kw *hīa* ‘trap, set a trap, v’; CU *’ia-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 *hīari* ‘fish, v’; Cm *hīawapi* ‘trapper’. The 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant variety: *\*hī’a* / *hīya* / *hīa* / *hīwa*. For *\*hīwa* are TSh *hīwa*, Tb *’iw-*, Hp *hīwi*. The *hīa* forms simply lost -y- (< -r-), and the -w- in *\*hīwa* 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] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak]

**1204** Hebrew *ḡaab* ‘item of wood (uncertain term)’; MHebrew *ḡoob* ‘beam’; Syriac *ḡaab-aa* ‘thicket, thick wood, thick forest’:

UACV2413 *\*wopi* (< *\*wapaC?*) ‘wood’: Sapir; M67-15; I.Num276 *\*wopi(n)* ‘wood’; M88-wo10 ‘wood’; KH/M-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 *wapal-li* ‘board, small beam’ with Num *\*wopi*, is plausible as sg *ḡoobat* with vowel assimilation. This may tie to M88-’o2 *\*opi* ‘awl’ at ‘awl’ in UACV. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah, Azt]

**1205** Hebrew *qy’* ‘to vomit’, if impfv *\*-qyo’* with loss of -q- in the cluster in *\*ya-qyo’* or infinitive *q’yo’*.

UACV2454a *\*yo’a* ‘vomit’: M67-451; L.Son359 *\*yoa* ‘vomitar’; M88-yo10 ‘to vomit’; KH/M-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 Tḡ *yoyi* (Merriam).

UACV2454b *\*o’a* / *\*o’i* ‘vomit’: Mn *o’i* ‘vomit, vi’; NP *oa’i’hu* ‘vomit, v’; Cm *oo’ití* ‘vomit, v’;

Tr *o’a* / *o’o* / *o’awa* ‘vomitar’. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb?; SUA: Trn, Opn]

**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-*.

UACV2462. *\*-kowli* / *\*kori* ‘wall’: Tr *tegori* ‘cerca de piedra o adobe [fence of stone or adobe], *tapia*, pared’ (< *\*tī-kori*); Tr *tegó-ma* ‘cercar, hacer cercas de piedra o adobe [make fence of stone or adobe’; Wr *isígori* ‘waddle and wicker wall’; Eu *satékori* ‘pared’; Eu *satékora-n* ‘hacer una pared’; Ca *kíwniš* ‘wall’ is interesting in *\*o* > Ca *i* and could correspond to PUA *\*kowli*, yet we would expect *q* vs. *k*. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn]

**1207** Syriac *sw’* / *swy* / *səwaa’* ‘to long, desire’; verbal noun Syriac *səwaa’y-aa* ‘desire, longing-the’; participles: *səwe*, *sawy-aa*, *səwii-t-aa*:

UACV2468a *\*suwaC* ‘want’: Sapir; I.Num185 *\*su(h)wa’i* want; M88-su14 ‘want’; KH/M-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 ...'. Mayo's final -le may be Aramaic le 'to / for him'.

UACV2468b \***siwa** 'want': PYp hehega 'want, desire'; Nv 'i'iga 'querer [want], consentir [consent, agree]'; TO heeg 'a rival, co-wife, a wife's relationship to another wife of the same man'; TO heegig 'happiness'; TO heegid 'agree with'; TO heegigam 'happily, joyfully'. Keep in mind that in the preceding Tep languages, g < \*w. Sapir ties CN seya/siya 'querer [want], consentir [consent]' and SP šuya-ŋwa 'would that ...'. We might add Tb(H) šooyi-n 'his wife' in light of TO's definition of 'co-wife'. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, Azt]

**1208** Hebrew \*ššš / šššš 'delight in'; Syriac ššy / s<sup>o</sup>wa<sup>y</sup> 'delight, gladden, enjoy': UA \*ta-soa 'love, value': CN tla-soaa 'love, value, cherish'; CN -soaa in CN tlaso'-tla 'love' (< \*tlasoaa 'value, love, affection'); Pl tasuhta 'love, esteem, vt'; Cm suatfii 'want, desire, need, v'; Cm su'aciti '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-'ni 'be always happy, by nature/habit'; Kw suvi-ye'e 'be happy'; SP šuai- 'be glad'; SP so'ai-yüi 'is very good, feels very well'; CU suwáay 'be happy'; perhaps TO hohho'id 'enjoy, like, admire, appreciate, care for' (note TO ho'id < sohiy). Cah forms like Yq súa 'cuidar' are above in 1207, but could as feasibly belong here. [SUA: Azt, Tep; NUA: Num]

**1209** Hebrew yabbelet 'wart'; Akkadian ublu 'wart': UACV2481 \***upuliwa** 'wart': TO upulig 'wart'; Nv upurhiga 'verruqa'. Of \*upuli-wa, is -wa a separate morpheme? [SUA: Tep]

**1210** Hebrew qwm, prfv: **qaam** 'rise, stand up': UACV2504 \***kam** 'water to rise, make wave': Eu káme 'encharcarse el agua [water to be puddled], v'; Yq bahekam 'ola(s) [wave(s)]'. [idddua] [SUA: Cah, Opn]

**1211** Aramaic(CAL) šysq 'weasel' > UA \*sisika 'weasel': UACV2506 \***sisika** 'weasel': Fowler83 \*sisika 'weasel': TSh sisika / yisika 'weasel'; Kw sisiga 'weasel'. An amazing match and so specific semantically. [NUA: Num]

**1212** Hebrew kəmo 'like, as'; Aramaic(CAL) kəmaa 'like'; Arabic kamaa; Akkadian kima; Samaritan km; Phoenician km: UACV2529 \***kim** 'how': CL.Azt86 \*keem 'how'; M88-in4; KH/M03-in4: CN keen, keenin, keme 'how'; Pl keen; HN keenihki. [SUA: Azt]

**1213** Hebrew mii 'Who?' but also occasionally in place of maa 'How? What?': UACV2530a \***mi** 'wh-base': BH.Cup \*mi 'when'; eliminate M88-mu22; KH/M-mu22: Cp mi- 'wh-base for postpositional locatives' e.g., Cp mipa 'when?'; Ca mípa 'when?'; Ca mi 'interrogative pronoun'; Ca mi'vi 'which'; Ls mičá 'where?'; Ls mičát 'which?'; Ls miíkiŋa 'sometimes, when?'; Tŋ meyi' 'what?'; meyiha 'how?'. Add Wc mi'áne 'who, what'; Sr hami' 'someone, anyone, who'. [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

**1214** Hebrew mee-'ayn 'from where?'; Arabic min 'ayn 'from where?' > Tb maa'ayn 'where from!'

**1215** šrq 'whistle, hiss'; Hebrew wayyišroq 'he whistled, hissed'; wayyišroq-uu-hi 'whistled-they-him/it' UACV2542 \***wisuko** 'whistle': Mn wisiqohi 'whistle, vi'; SP uššuC-qqi 'whistle'. [NUA: Num]

**1216** Hebrew qaane 'reed, stalk': UACV2553 \***kana** 'willow': M67-461 \*ka/\*kan 'willow tree'; M88-ka12 'willow'; KH/M-ka12: Kw kahna-vi 'sandbar willow'; SP qanna-; CU kaná-vi; Tb haa-l 'willow'; Ca qáankiš 'desert willow'; Hp qahavi 'willow'. [\*k > Tb h] [idddua] [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’:

**UACV104** \***’alal** ‘bad, wrong’: Ca ’eléle- ‘bad, wrong, not right, adj.’; Ca ’elél-kw-iš ‘bad person/thing’; Ca ’elél-kw-imal ‘ugly person’; Ls ’aláxwi ‘be bad’; Ls ’aláxwi-š ‘bad’; Ls ’aláxwi-laka ‘ugly’; Wr na’ála-ni ‘be bad’; Wr na’ála ‘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 [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

**1218** Hebrew **nph** ‘blow, breathe’, f.sg.perf: naaphaa; Akkadian napaaxu; ESArabic 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:

**UACV2560** \***’nika** ‘be windy, blow’: I.Num119 \*nīe ‘wind, blow (of wind)’; M88-nī12 ‘wind’; KH/M-nī12: TSh nīaiC; Sh nīai ‘blow (wind)’; Cm nīaitī; Kw; Ch nīgārī; SP nīai-rī; CU nīai ‘be windy’. [\*k > ō] [NUA: SNum, CNum]

**1219** Arabic **haugaa** ‘hurricane, tornado, cyclone’, pl: huuğ; Sem-p (because \*g > k, not ŋ, and ’ > w), from Sem-p **haugaa** > hugaw:

**UACV2558** \***’hikwa** ‘wind, blow’: Sapir; M67-462 \*heka; I.Num41 \*hikwa ‘blow (of wind)’; L.Son59 \*hika ‘viento’; M88-hi2 ‘wind’; KH/M-hi2: Mn and NP \*hikkwa-pī; Tb(M) ’aakawaal ‘wind, n’; Tb(M) ’aakawaa’it ~ ’aakawaa ‘blow (of wind)’; Tb(V) ’ihkowa ‘wind blows’; Mn hīkwápe; NP hīggwapi; Tb ’ihkowa ‘wind blows’; Eu vahéka ‘aire’; Eu vahéka-n ‘hacer aire, ventear [blow]’ (va- prefix); Op he’eka ‘be windy’; Yq héeka; AYq heeka ‘air, wind, n; blow, v’; My heeka; Wr ega-ní/egi-má; Wr(MM) ega / eká / heká / heeká ‘viento [wind]’; Tr eká/iká; iwigá; Cr eeka; Wc ’eekáa; ’éká ‘blow’; CN eheeka-tl ‘wind, air, bad spirit’; WaE eheka-tl ‘viento, aire’; Pl eheka-t ‘wind’. Cr éeka / háaka / wá-’aaka ‘it is windy’; Sapir also cites Tḡ qahika-. Eu and Wc show a prefixed syllable \*pa-’ika. Note highly different V’s in the Tb dialects. They may be key: \*hVkwaa > \*hikowa > hikwa? Note that NUA shows final -’- > -wV syllable while SUA hardly does. Hp verbs: hik-va ‘for wind to blow’ and Hp hīihikya ‘wind to be gusting, blowing, vi. i. sg.’; Hp noun: Hp hīikyaḡw / hīihikyaḡw ‘wind, n’ also has Hp final -ḡw for Semitic final -’ like for spider (1409) Aramaic kuuky-aa’ > Hopi kookyaḡw. [Tb V assim] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**1220** of Semitic **qrx** is Hebrew(KB, 1140) **qerah** ‘ice, frost, crystal’ wherein Proto-Semitic **x** > Hebrew **ḥ**; note Neo-Assyrian qaraaxu ‘to freeze’, Akkadian qarxu ‘ice’, but Syriac qarḥaa ‘ice’; both Gesenius and von Soden connect Semitic qrš and qrh, which both mean ‘freeze’, e.g., Syriac qrš / qṛaš ‘become chilled, frozen’; Syriac qarīš ‘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; however, the UA term aligns with \*hit-qarah > hitkyaw, and \*x > ḥ > w in UA, suggests UA’s Sem-kw:

**UACV1922** \***’hikka** / \***’hikya** ‘shade’: M88-hī1 ‘shade’; M67-367 \*heka ‘shade’; I.Num44 \*hīpa/\*hīka ‘be cool’; L.Son58 \*hīka ‘sombra’; B.Tep346 \*’īkagī ‘shade, shady’; KH/M-hī1 \*hīika (AMR) ‘shade’: Cm hīkki ‘shade, brush arbor’; Cm hīka-h ‘cool off, v’; WSh hīki ‘shade, shadow’; Hp hīkya ‘cool off, vi, become set in a fixed position’; TO īik ‘get in the shade’; TO īika ‘bec. shaded’; TO īikeg/īihēg ‘shade, n’; TO īikdag ‘shade, shadow’; LP ’īikīg; NT īikágī; ST ’īika’; Nv ’īikada ‘sombra [shade]’; Eu hekát ‘sombra’; Eu hekawa ‘sombra’; Wr ehka ‘haber sombra [be shade]’; My hékka ‘sombra’; CN e’kawyoo-tl / e’kau’yoo-tl ‘shadow, shade’; CN ekawiil-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 īikaya ‘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 Semitists tie Semitic qrš and qrh, and the latter may better align with Aztecan and Tepiman forms, though Syriac **etqawrar** ‘to cool’ fits Azt e’kauyoo-tl rather nicely.

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 *païqqaC* ‘ice’ undoubtedly has *pa-* ‘water’ as a first morpheme, and may be of the same form, or the *-ïqqaC* also fits an unattested *huqta* form or Hebrew *\*huqraš* ‘hardened, frozen’ of the same root. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Azt; NUA: Hp, Num]

**1221** Arabic *ḡirs* ‘molar tooth’ < Arabic *ḡrs* ‘to bite’

UACV2367 *\*cara* ‘molar’: Eu *cará-tamit* ‘muela’; NT *taamúsaragai* ‘la muela’; Cr *si”i-tame* ‘muele’. [-r- > -’- in Cr] [SUA: Tep, Opn, CrC]

**1222** Arabic *šfr* < *\*špr* ‘to whistle, hiss, chirp’; Aramaic(CAL) ‘to whistle, make a loud signal’;

Hebrew *špr* ‘to whistle’:

UACV2559 *\*ciporika* ‘whirlwind’: B.Tep195 *\*sivorika-i* ‘whirlwind’; M88-ci17; KH/M-ci17 ‘whirlwind, remolino’: TO *siw(u)loki*; NT *šivóliki*; ST *šivool’ik*. [idddua] [SUA: Tep]

**1223** Hebrew *dkk/dky* ‘crush’; Hebrew *dakke* ‘crush’ (qittel of *dky*); Arabic *daqqat* ‘beat, thump, hammer, n’

UACV1092 *\*takki* ‘mano for metate’ (crusher for crushing grain on a 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* / *šarqə-taa* ‘fluke worm’; Aramaic(J) *’arqə-taa* ‘a parasite worm in the bowels,

perhaps fluke worm’; Aramaic(CAL) *šrqh* / *šrqt* ‘intestinal worm’; f. sg. without definite article *\*’arqaa*:

UACV2593 *\*wo’a* ‘worm’: I.Num272 *\*wo’a* ‘worm’; M88-wo8; KH/M03-wo8: Mn *wo’ábi* ‘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 came to mean ‘but, however’):

Tr *abe* ‘yes, an emphatic’. [Sem-kw with lack of rounding for the ’aleph and a > e/\_l]

**1226** Aramaic(CAL) *ššyn-* / *ššiin-aa* ‘mud-the’:

UACV765 *\*pa-sakwinaC* ‘mud’: I.Num141 *\*pašihkwi(na)* ‘mud’; M88-pa16 ‘mud’; KH/M-pa16:

Mn *pašikwinábi*; NP *pasaggwabi*; TSh *pasakkwinappi*; Sh *pasakwinappih*; Sr *pääkwiñit*. Add Cm *sekwipi*

‘mud’. The meanings are identical, and if *-š-* > *-w-* > *-kw-* (which most often happens in WNum), all else matches well, though Jane Hill (p.c.) mentioned a possible *\*pa* ‘water’ + *-sa-* ‘mud’ + *kwiya* ‘earth/mud’.

[-Ckw-] [NUA: Num, Tak]

**1227** Arabic *fartaḡa* ‘flatten, broaden’; Hebrew *ptḡ* / Arabic *ftḡ* / *fataḡa* ‘open’; Arabic *ftš* ‘make broad, compress, flat and spread wide (nose)’; Hebrew *paṭṭiiš* ‘forge-hammer’; multiple 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:

UACV904 *\*patta* (> *pata* at times) ‘flat, level, smooth, slippery, bare, naked, bald, uncover, open up, blossom’ (Stubbs2000a-2) yields considerable semantic variety:

UACV904a *\*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/M-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 bétalai ‘plano’ (Yq bétala ‘boca abajo’); Hp pīci ‘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 vāācī]q ‘be flat, flattened’; CN patla-čooa ‘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 Aztecan 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-]

**UACV904b \*sikki-patta** ‘flat’: Mn sikibadagi; NP sikipatadi (< \*sikkippattati) ‘flat, adj’; probably Cm sīipeti. A compound with \*-patta. [NUA: WNum]

**UACV904c \*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 SUA. With vowel changes, the following may belong as well: PYp hepelik ‘flat, lowlands’; Ls hivé-li ‘flatten’; Ls hivél-vi-š ‘flat, wide’.

**UACV904d \*patta / \*patti** ‘bare, smooth’: Mn padagwinigi ‘be naked, vi’; NP patakwinī’a (< \*pattakwinī’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 wadađk ‘bald’ if t > đ. [Num]

**UACV904e \*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’.

**UACV904f \*pici / \*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 pīc- may tie to CN \*pac... or CN \*pat...: Hp pīc-qa ‘flat < wide-extended’; Hp pīc-lawī ‘be widening s.th. linear’; CN patlačooa ‘become flat, collapse, flatten, press, crush s.th.’, v.refl, vt’; CN patlaawa ‘widen/ensanchar(se)lo angosto y estrecho, vi, vt’; Hp pīcqata ‘be flat, v, flat area or surface, n’; CN paacka ‘wring out, squeeze liquid out’.

(if ca- prefix meaning ‘do 1228 Hebrew pšf ‘wound, injure’; Hebrew pšf ‘wound, especially one which has been caused by bruising’; MHebrew pšf ‘squash, slit, wound’; Arabic fašaša (< \*pšf) ‘to squeeze out’;

**UACV904g \*pacu** ‘squeeze, smash’: CN paacooa ‘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]’; but NUA may show medial \*-tt- > -c-, but not \*-c- > -c-: NP capicuna ‘pinch’ with hand because \*-c- > -y- in NUA; Mn -wīpizizih ‘squeeze, vt’. The \*pacu forms and the \*pīc- of the others may all be related, especially since we see a change of \*pacu > picu in one of the \*pacu forms (NP), and fronting and raising of vowels is common before alveolar consonants in UA. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]

**1228** Semitic pny / pnw ‘perish, pass away, vanish’; Hebrew pny ‘turn to, turn away and go on further’

See Genesis 18:22 pny min ‘went on from’ [passed on from?]; Hebrew (Koehler and Baumgartner) have Arabic pny / faniya ‘pass by’ for a definition, and ‘pass away / vanish’ is in most Arabic dictionaries, and KB also list Samaritan and Mandaic as also meaning ‘go away’ which is what one does after ‘passing’. The 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant -y- verbs in Semitic often vascillate between CCy and CCw, and for this stem, while many Semitic languages show a 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant -y-, Ethiopic shows **\*panawa (pnw)**. In addition to all that, Egyptian pnš ‘turn’ spans much the same semantic range as Semitic pny/pnw and also would show 3<sup>rd</sup> C -w-:

CN CN pano / panawi ‘pass, cross’; panawiaa ‘cross, surpass’; panoo ‘cross, go by’

Tel pano ‘pasar [pass], cruzar [cross]’; ki-panabia ‘lo cruza, pasa’

WaE pano ‘cruzar’

Mec panowa ‘pasar, cruzar’

Pl panu ‘pass, cross, go by’

**1229** Hebrew šii<sup>ah</sup> < \*šiih ‘shrub, bush’; MHebrew \*šiih ‘growth’; Arabic šiih ‘shrub, bush’;

Ugaritic šht ‘shrub, bush, bushes, shrubbery’:

**UACV907a \*si’aC** (NUA): BH.Cup \*šə ‘bloom’; I.Num196 \*si’a(h) ‘blossom, grow (of plants)’; KH.NUA;

M88-si6 ‘flower, grow’; KH/M06-si6; M67-178a \*se, 178b \*si, 178c \*so: NP siā ‘plant, v’; Sh siāC ‘grow, v’; Cm sia ‘grow, v’; SP ši’iC/si’i-ppi ‘blossom’; CU si’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); Tj sóyn/swin 'flower'; Sr sí/sī 'flower(s)'; Sr sīī '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.

UACV907b \***sīwa** (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'. The forms here and at 1096—which of Sem-p and which of Sem-kw? [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**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 šošēn; we must mention that the glides as first consonant in a cluster in both Semitic and UA tend to geminate or fortify the second consonant, as weak as glides may seem; thus, \*šowš... > šooči:

UACV907d Azt \***soci** 'flower': CL.Azt63 \*šooči 'flower', 231 \*\*sīyotu 'flower'; CN šooči-tl 'flower, n'; CN šoočiyoaa 'blossom, v'; CN iiššooowa 'blossom, burst forth, v'; Pl šuuči-t 'flower'; Pl -šuuči-w (poss'd).

L.Son 252 (1229 above) equates \*sīwa with Tep -siga- in Tep \*hio-siga-i, but Tep s < \*c usually. And Nawa forms like CN šoočiyoaa 'blossom' align perfectly with \*(hi)soociwa > Tep \*(h)ihosiga. Thus, Tep below:

UACV907c \***hisociwa** 'flower': B.Tep67 \*hiosigai 'flower'; \*sīsoci/hīsoci-ta(i) 'flower, v' and \*sīsociwa 'flower, n' may fit TO hiosig 'blossom, flower, n'; TO hīotap 'bloom, v'; NT yooštyai 'floreceer,vi'; NT yoošíga 'está florecida'; NT yoošígai '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'.

[SUA: Tep, Azt]

**1231** Assyrian mtq 'be sweet'; Ugaritic mtq 'sweet'; Arabic mtq 'smack one's lips'; Hebrew \*maateq 'be sweet, pleasant'; Hebrew maatoq 'sweet, pleasant, adj. and sweetness (of honey), n.m.' (e.g., Judges

14:14,18); Hebrew **motq-** (< \*moteq) 'sweetness' (= Akkadian mutqu) takes suffixes: Hebrw **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:

UACV918 \***mumuh**/kv 'bee': M67-31 \*mumu/\*meme 'bee'; L.Son156 \*mumu 'abejas, panal'; Fowler83; M88-mu11 'bee'; KH/M-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 toomoogal 'bumblebee'. Add Wc mīimīi 'kind of wasp', whose vowel agrees with \*mumu (\*u > Wc i), as do Hp o (< \*u) and Aztecán i (< \*u); and PYP mumur 'bee' belongs too.

UACV917 \***muhu-pa** 'fly': B.Tep156 \*muuvari 'fly'; Fowler83: SNum \*muhu may reflect Semitic \*mutqV: Fowler (1983) cites Kw muhuvaa-vi 'mosquito'; Ch muhuwa-vī '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'. Add Nv mumuva 'abejas de panales'.

Note Wc 'icimipéé 'sp. of bee', which matches Tepiman \*mupa 'fly' in the segments \*-mupV. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Ca muhúli-l' 'mosquito' with a different suffix to \*muhu-. [iddddua]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tep, CrC, Azt]

UACV2262 \***mumus**-(paLawa) 'honey, lit. bee-juice': AYq mumum; My mumu bá'awa; Wr momohá; Hp momospala. This overlaps with the above and should be eliminated from UACV, but since it is in the existing edition of UACV, we will list it. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah, Trn]

**1232** Arabic bakara 'set out early':

UACV1021 \***pakay(N)** / \***pakiN** 'walk (away), sg': Kw pagi 'walk, sg'; Kw pagi-nii 'walk around'; Ch pagí 'walk, pl'; SP pagin 'walk'; WMU paǵáy'kwe-y / paǵáy'-we-y 'walk, sg'; CU paǵá-'ni 'walk around', CU paǵáy-'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. [NUA: SNum]

1233 Hebrew haayuu ‘be (plural), they became, were’ (many plurals became singular in UA):

Yq haáyu ‘be, are, were’ (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 64)

Yq ’á’a mám-po ’aáyu-k ’áa-po=su yo’o-taka-i ’áa-po=su nesauwe (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 49)

His hand-in be-prfv he=emphatic old-being- he=emphatic commands

It is in his hands, he is the authority, he gives commands

By the way, nearly all the words in the Yq sentence are in this book: 523 man ‘hand’; (above) -po ‘in’; (this item) aayu; 151 yo’o ‘old’; 616 taka ‘being’; 731 ne-sauwe ‘command’

1234 Hebrew zərooʿ ‘arm, forearm, power’; Arabic diraaʿ ‘arm, forearm’

UACV1124 \*toC ‘with the hand, instr. prefix’: KH/M-ip3: Mn to- ‘with an instrument’; NP to- ‘with fist, shoulder, hoof’; Sh toC- ‘with hand / fist, away from the body (instr prefix)’. [idddua] [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’:

UACV1158a \*yowa / \*yopa ‘cure’: M67-116 \*yo / \*yopa / \*yoh/’a ‘cure’; L.Son362 \*yowa ‘curar’; M88-yo6 ‘cure’; KH/M-yo6: \*yopa > Tep dowa: TO doa ‘get well’; LP doa; NT duduáádyidi, 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’. Is PYP degevin(ad) ‘cure, save, vt’ relevant in 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’:

UACV1158b \*hitowa ‘medicine’: M88-hi4 ‘medicine’; KH/M-hi4: Tbr hitoá-t ‘medicina’; My hittua ‘remedio’; Yq hitto ‘curar’; Yq hittoa ‘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] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, Tep]

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 \*raap’-aa perhaps with Canaanite vowel shift \*roop’-aa ‘healer’, but even raap’-aa, stressed on 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable, like UA usual has, could have the first unstressed vowel go round before two rounding encouragers -p’-:

UACV1161 \*toŋa ‘cure, administer to’: BH.Cup \*téŋ ‘to doctor’; M88-to25 ‘to doctor’; KH/M-to25: Cp tíŋele; Ca tíŋ’ay ‘cure, doctor s.o.’; Ls téŋal ‘to cure, doctor with herbs’; Ls téŋala-š ‘medicine’; Ls téŋalka-t ‘herb doctor’. Perhaps also Tb dzowaa-l ‘shaman’. Note the glottal stop in Ca, as if another consonant in a cluster is involved. [NUA: Tak, Tb]

1238 Hebrew bayt-aa ‘house-toward, inside-to’

UACV1241 \*paca ‘put in’: B.Tep254 \*vaasa ‘to put into’ and \*vai ‘he put into’; M88-pa4 ‘put in, enclose’; KH/M-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’ (which one puts things into). [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]

1239 Aramaic(CAL) yall-aa’ ‘lizard’; Aramaic(CAL) yarl-aa’ ‘lizard’

UACV1370a \*yul ‘lizard, sp.’: BH.Cup \*yu ... l ‘lizard, sp.’; M88-yu15; KH.NUA; KH/M-yu15: Cp yú’e-l ‘a large lizard’; Ca páyul (pá- ‘water’); Ls yulú’ ‘lizard, sp’. Ls fits the consonants, even to the final glottal stop. Hill also notes Sr yu’aat ‘water turtle’ with these and suggests their relationship to \*yu’a ‘wet’.

UACV1370b \*pa-yil ‘lizard’: TO wajelho ‘whiptail lizard’; ST vadīr ‘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. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

**1240** Arabic raḡul ‘man’, pl: rigaal (would correspond to Hebrew rigool):

UACV1417 \***tihoyi** ‘man, attractive’: Sapir; B.Tep221 \*tiodi ‘man, attractive’; M67-273d \*tiho ‘man’; L.Son281 \*tihoyi ‘hombre’; M88-ti9; KH/M- ti9: TO cïoj; NT tyiodyi; ST(B) tyiody; ST čio’ñ; Wr tihoé / rihoé; Wr(MM) rihoé / tehoyé ‘hombre [man]’; Tr(B) fehóí, pl: fetewi ‘hombre, varon’; Tr(H) rihoy ‘hombre’; Wr tihoé/rihoé; Wr(MM) rihoé / tehoyé ‘man’; Wr also has loans from Tr it appears. While Tr(B) has over 10 derivations with **rehóí**, in none of them is the t- variant tehoi listed, though one pl compound is tehoisi ‘hombres’. Yq -reo ‘agentive suffix’ meaning person/man who customarily does the verb (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 123) very much resembles the rehoi of other languages. A Kiowa-Tanoan form is Kiowa togul ‘young man’ and is better preserved or is it a possible loan source (g > h)? [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]

**1241** Arabic ḡabal ‘mountain(s)’:

UACV1455b \***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 absolutive suffix, but NP, Ch, SP, and WMU show that it is part of the stem. [NUA: Num, Tak]

**1242** Hebrew rbš ‘lie down (often of animals)’; Hebrew rébeš ‘resting place, place of lying down’ with suffixes ribš-o ‘resting place-his’; Arabic rbđ ‘lie down, rest (animals, with chest to the ground)’; Arabic rabađ, pl: arbaad ‘place where animals lie down to rest’; Akkadian tarbašu ‘cattle-pen’; the UA forms seem patterned after forms like rabšaa and rabašoot:

UACV1518a \***tosa** ‘nest’: Eu hitósa; Yq tóosa; My toosa; Tbr tuesá-r.

UACV1518b \***ta’so** ‘nest’: Wr ta’só; Tr(B) fásó.

UACV1518c \***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 no cognates. 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’; b > ø/\_C. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, Azt]

**1243** MHebrew prq ‘remove, take away’; Nabatean prq ‘let out, liberate, redeem’;

Arabic \*paraqa ‘to separate’; Syriac prq ‘separate from, depart, go away’:

UACV1586 \***pa’ku** ‘out’: Yq pá’aku(ni) ‘afuera’; AYq pa’akun(i) ‘outside’; My pá’aku ‘afuera’; Cr pwa’akíéh ‘afuera’; Wc vaka ‘take out’. Tak, with different first vowel, perhaps a quttal form: Sr pura-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’. Cah typically shows -r- > -y-, while Tak often has -r-, both as usual. [SUA: Cah, CrC; NUA: Tak]

**1244** Semitic prq ‘remove, separate’; Arabic \*prq III ‘separate oneself, withdraw, depart, leave, quit’:

UACV1300 \***piyaC** / \***pī’aC** ‘leave’: Sapir; B.Tep273 \*ví’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/M-pi10: Sh pīaC ‘leave’; Cm pīa ‘leave, forsake, quit’; SP piyai-: piya’ñwi ‘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 / ví’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 víia; ST vii; ST vidya ‘leave left overs’; NT viééyi, víidi ‘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’. These may be of a qittel / \*qittal or C<sub>1</sub>iC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>aC<sub>3</sub>. [medial \* / \*y] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**1245** Hebrew *śeefaar* ‘hairiness, body hair, hairy covering’; Hebrew *śaaʕir* ‘hairy’; Ugaritic *šʕr* ‘hair’; Akkadian *šaartu* ‘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’:

**UAC1789** \**suʕi / \*suwi* ‘jackrabbit’: M67-335 \**sui*; BH.Cup \**suʕic*; HH.Cup \**suʕiš*; Munro.Cup66 \**suʕi-š*; M88-su10 ‘jack-rabbit’; AMR1993a \**suuʕit*; KH/M-su10: Hp *soowi*; Tb *suuʕit / šuuʕit*; Sr *hoiiʕt*; Ktn *hwiʕt*; Tḡ *suʕit*; Ca *súʕiš*; Ls *šuʕi-š*; Cp *súʕiš / súʕic*; CN *siʕ-tli*. [ʕ/w] [idddua] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]

**1246** Hebrew *śəmool* ‘left’; Hebrew *ha-śmool* ‘the-left’; Syriac *simaal-aa* ‘left-the’; Arabic *šamaal / šimaal* ‘north’; Old Canaanite **simʕal** ‘left’ or **hassimʕal** ‘the-left’:

**UACV1307** \**si...* ‘left’: Tb \**aašijan / aašijan* ‘left side’; Hp *sīy-ḡakw* ‘from the left side, left-from’. In Old Canaanite **simʕal**, the *m* may be lost as first element of a cluster: **simʕal** > *siʕal / siyal*, resembling Tb and Hopi, but best of all, the Tb form **aašijan** < \***has-simʕal** has all typical UA changes, the cluster *-mʕ-* > *-ḡ-* and NUA final liquid > *n*. [NUA: Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep]

**1247** Hebrew *tly* ‘hang’; \***yutla** (*hoqta*) ‘be hung’; Aramaic(J) *tly / talaa* ‘swing, lift up, suspend, hang’; or perhaps Arabic *dll* ‘suspend’; Hebrew *dll* ‘allow to hang down’, (*hoqta*) *yudlal*:

**UACV1128** \***yula** ‘hang’: Ca *yúlaa* ‘to hang’; Ls *yóora* ‘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(KB) *qəšiiṭaa* ‘ancient weight, used as money, n.f.’;

MHebrew *qəšiiṭaa* ‘a coin, a weight, lamb’; Syriac(S) **qest-aa** ‘a measure, n.m.’:

**UACV2016** \***koCta** ‘bark, shell, money’: M67- 21 \**ko* ‘bark of tree’; L.Son90 \**koci* ‘camarón’; M88-ko6, ko10, ko21; Munro.Cup118 \**qééči-la* ‘shell’; KH.NUA; KH/M03-ko6, ko10: Ls *qéš-la* ‘seashell’; Ls *qéš-la-ka-š* ‘skull’; Tḡ (*a*)-*xóxoc* ‘(su) cáscara’; Cp *qíči-ly* ‘money, silver’; Ca *qíč-ily* ‘money’ (pl: *qišlyam*); Sr *-qöč* ‘hide, bark’; Sr *qöčaaviam* ‘money’; Cr *kúcapeʕe* (Cr *u* < \**o*) ‘cáscara’; Cr *kuhcaʕana* ‘type of tree with useful bark’; Cr *ra-ká-kuhcaʕan* ‘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. Both NUA and SUA show *-c-*, which means they must be from a *-t-* cluster, and not from \**-c-*. The UA form seems from an Aramaic form which has the cluster, like Syriac’s. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Tbr, CrC]

**1249** Arabic *qasaʕa* ‘divide up, measure’; Hebrew *qəšiiṭaa* ‘ancient weight, used as money, n.f.’;

Middle Hebrew *qəšiiṭaa* ‘a coin, weight, lamb’; Syriac(S) **qest-aa** ‘measure, n.m.’; Hebrew *qasqəšet* ‘scales’; or possibly Syriac *qrt(ʕ)* ‘acacia shell’; Arabic *quraidis* ‘shrimp’:

**UACV577** \***pa-koCci** ‘shrimp’: My *baa koóčim*; Yq *baʕakoči*; 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 kapáʕora* = *baa kóóčim* ‘camarón’.

[SUA: Cah, Tbr, Azt]

**UACV2015** \***koyo** ‘shell’: L.Son100 \**koyo* ‘concha’; M88-ko21 ‘concha’ and ko10; KH/M03-ko10:

Eu *kodó(k)* ‘concha’; Op *kodosi* ‘ostia’; Yq *koóyo*; Wr *koʕoyó* ‘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 *qʕoy* ‘olivella’. Miller has here NP *kota* ‘crayfish’ and NP *kotyottī* ‘white shell necklace’. The \**koyo* and \**koCta/i* forms have often been combined. Forms like My *koyóole* (above) and NP *kotyottī*, short of a missing *-t-* in My, and Op *kodosi* (*d* < \**y*) offer substantial resemblance, and shells being a trade item may mean that many of these are loan possibilities, as well.

[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Azt; NUA: Num]

**1250** Aramaic(S) šrq / šrg ‘slip, slide’; Syriac šrṣ ‘slip, slide, glide’; Arabic zaliqa, -zlaqu ‘glide, slide, slip’; or Egyptian šddr ‘lowland, slope’?

**UACV2037c** \*siro ‘slide, slip’; Hp sirokna ‘slide it’; Tr sisiro- ‘patines, deslizaderas [skates]’ or Tr saráame ‘resbaloso [slippery]’; Ktn sirīhr(-)īk / siđīhīrīk ‘play slide (down a hill on a hide)’; Tb šida’yat~’išiday ‘to slide, slip’; Tb šido’dot~’išidoot ‘to slither’. Miller includes Pl šiipinawai ‘to slide, slip’, but see at 1339. For Azt, CN šolooa ‘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 watasiri’ipeka ‘se resbala’ (whose middle portion corresponds to \*-siru’u-). The sir- part of Hp sirpa ‘slip suddenly’; TO heelwua ‘slide’; TO heelwuis ‘slide’. Other considerations of slip/slide terms follow, whether all are cognate or not.

**UACV2037d** \*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’.

**UACV2037e** \*cita / \*ci’ta ‘slip(pery)’: AYq čitahko ‘slippery, smooth’; My čita(h)ko ‘smooth, slippery’.

**UACV2037f** \*cito ‘slide, slip’: Eu čitóvake ‘deslizarse’; My čitohte ‘se resbala’; Eu citóke ‘smooth’; Eu citó-da’a ‘slip’; Yq čitóhte ‘slide’; AYq čitohte ‘slip’; TSh (tac)cituhi ‘slip’. Note variant 2<sup>nd</sup>V a/o in Cah. SNum \*si’yu ‘slip, slide’: 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:

**UACV2037a** \*siko(h’/’i) ‘slide, slip’: I.Num190 \*siko(o) ‘slide’; M88-si10 ‘to slide’; KH/M-si10: Mn siqo ‘slide, vt’; Mn sigógohi ‘slide, vi’; NP sikoi; Sh sikuhiC / sikoo ‘slide, vi’; Kw šigo’i.

**UACV2037b** \*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] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**1251** Hebrew qaw / qaaw ‘string’; Syriac(KB) qawee ‘woven’, pl: qawayyaa / qawīin; the Aramaic pl -iin on Semitic qaw would yield qawīin:

Ls qááwina-š ‘bowstring’

**1252** Arabic taffa (< \*tappa) ‘to spit, spew’; Aramaic(J) tpp ‘spit out’, twp / tuup-aa ‘spittle-the’:

**UACV2122b** \*cupa / \*top ‘spit, vi’: Sr cöv-kin ‘spit, v’; the -cuba of Wr a’kacuba ‘spit, v’.

[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

**1253** Syriac šaaq-aa ‘leg, shank, branch, stem, stock’; Hebrew šooq ‘thigh’:

**UACV2156** \*co(k’/’i) / \*cuC-ki ‘trunk, base, stem, stalk’: M67-66; M88-co9; KH/M-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’.

[SUA: Trn, 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 šy ‘be fettered, cower, tilt, lie down’; Arabic šǧw / šaǧaa ‘to bow, incline, bend, lean’; infinitive or verbal noun šaǧw-u ‘bowing, leaning, inclining’:

**UACV2197** \*cuku ‘stoop, bend over’: L.Son46 \*cuku ‘agacharse’; M88-cu13; KH/M-cu13: Op cuk;

Eu cú-cuku; cuko; Wr cuhkú; Tr cukú/čogó ‘be on all fours, stooped, bent over’. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

**1255** Hebrew sgd, impfv: -sgod ‘bow down’; Arabic saǧada, impfv: \*-sgudu ‘bow down, bow to worship, prostrate oneself’; Aramaic (J) sgd ‘bend, bow, worship’; Syriac səged ‘bow, do reverence’:

**UACV943** \*coko ‘knee, kneel’: L.Son37 \*coko ‘knee’; M88-co12; KH/M-co12: Tr cokóba-ra; Tbr soko ‘kneel’; Tbr mo-sokó-l ‘rótula’; Tr čokó ‘kneel’; Wr(alto) cohkópo ‘knee’. [SUA: Trn, Tbr]

**1256** Egyptian(H) wn ‘sein [be], existieren [exist]’:

But not Hebrew šalaa ‘he stood up, arose’, pl: šaluu ‘they stood up, arose’; for those, see below 1257, 1258:

**UACV2158** \*wīnī ‘stand’: VVH161 \*wīlī ‘to stand’; M67-411 \*wene; I.Num287 \*wīnī/\*wīhnī ‘stand (durative)’; M88-wī6 ‘to be standing’; KH.NUA; L.Son343 \*wīri/\*wīr-i ‘pararse’; KH/M-wī6: Mn wīnī;

NP wini; TSh wini; Sh wini; Cm wini; Kw wini 'stand, stop, sg'; SP wini; CU wini 'be standing'; CU wini-wi 'get up, stand up'; Tb 'iwiniit ~ 'ii'iiwin 'stand up'; Tb winit 'be located, exist'; Tb(H) winni 'be'; Hp wini 'be standing, sg'; Ca wewen 'stand up, be standing, stop, stand still'; Ca wen 'put in place/order'; Ca wen-et 's.th. that is there'; Cp we' 'there it is'; Ls won 'be at a place'; Tη wó 'there is/are'; Tη(JH) woo / woono 'exists, is there'; Sr win/wini 'be in a place, lie (mass/pl)'; Sr čöno'-win resultative of čöno'-k 'stand up, stop, sg'; Eu wéhra 'parar'; Wr weri; Wr(MM) wela / wera / wer- 'parar, poner parado/a [put standing]'; Wr(MM) weri 'estar parado/a [be standing]'; Tr wiri-mea; Tr wer. Miller and Hill have the Cah forms here, but are these Cah forms a separate set?: My wéyyek; My wéyye 'caminar'; AYq weyek 'be standing, sg'. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah?]

**1257** Hebrew šaalaa 'he stood up, arose', participle: šoole, pl: šaluu 'they stood up, arose'; Hebrew infinitive šaalo, inf construct šaloot:

Tb(H) oolit 'get up' (vs. Tb(H) winni 'be' from Egyptian wn / wnn 'be');

1<sup>st</sup> from Hebrew šalaa, but 2<sup>nd</sup> could not be, but aligns with Egyptian wn/wnn or Semitic ḥny. Tb oolit may reflect the participle Hebrew šoole 'arising, ascending, getting up'; Tb oolot 'get up' reflects the Hebrew infinitive construct (possessed) šaloot.

**1258** Hebrew plural: šaluu '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 šalaa 'he stood up, arose, masc singular' and plural: šaluu 'they stood up, arose':

UACV2159 **\*wīwīlu-ka** > **Tep gī(g/r)uka** 'stand, pl': B.Tep48 \*guguka 'to stand, pl'; M88-wu1;

KH/M-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. The fact that Tep **\*wīwīlu** shows both the pl final vowel -u and the pl reduplication suggests that the pl vowel was still productive when the later plural reduplication started. [SUA: Tep]

**1259** Hebrew brk / baarak 'kneel down, bless, praise, adore', impfv: inf: baarook, **-brook**; 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'; My and Hp resemble the infinitive -brook, with Hp's loss of b- in the cluster. Ca -láki 'flatten, stoop down' aligns with impfv **-brak**, losing -b- as first consonant in the cluster.

[Sem-kw] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah]

**1260** Hebrew brk 'kneel down, bless, praise, adore'; inf: **baarook** (UACV2202), **li-brook** (UACV2200):

UACV2202 **\*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 over, stoop]; with \*o > Cr u, AYq and Cr match. In both Cah and Cr, liquids r/l > -' is usual. [Sem-p] [SUA: Cah, CrC]

UACV2200 **\*luka** 'stoop': Ca lúku 'bend the body forward'; Cp áwluke 'set (of sun), v'; Ls lóóqa 'stoop'; \*u-a > o-a may explain Ls o, and Cp has a prefix; and -b/p- lost in the impfv cluster. [NUA: Tak]

**1261** Arabic šdd 'to be firm, solid, hard, strong':

UACV2219 CNum **\*sitta** > SNum **\*sīi** 'strong' (with intervocalic -C- loss): Sh(C) sīttawītti 'strong, muscular'; Cm sutena 'forcefully' (< **\*suttVna**); SNum forms are likely of another source: Kw sīi-ga-dī 'one that is strong, of trees'; SP sīi- 'strong'; SP sūú-ga-ntū; WMU sūú- / sūú-ga / sūú-ga-ttū 'strong';

CU sūú-a-ga-tū 'strong'. Note \*-tt- in CNum. [NUA: Num]

**1262** Aramaic dakar 'remember'; Hebrew zakar 'remember, mention'; Arabic ḍakara 'remember, think, mention'; Tep may have m sg obj oto: ḍakar oto 'think on it':

UACV2286 **\*tikay** 'think': TO čegito 'think'; PYP tekito 'think, need'; Hp tīiqayi 'learn, hear, heed';

Hp tīqaypi 'temple, side of forehead' (-r- > -y-). [SUA: Tep; NUA: Hp]

**1263** Hebrew šlk ‘throw, dispose of, throw away’ and ‘be thrown to the earth’ (hoqṭal)’; \*šillek-aa (qittel with suffix):

**UACV2318** \*sīk ‘beat, throw (with power, furry)’: Ca séqay ‘whip’; Ca pe-séqay ‘whip, throw (one’s power at s.o. to kill him)’ and CN šookoaa ‘hurl s.o. or s.th. down in scorn’. CN assimilated V’s from \*sīk. [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’:

**UACV2332a** \*tappiCta ‘tie’: M67-438 \*tapi ‘tie’; M88-ta24; KH/M-ta24: NP tappi ‘tie’; Kw tapiči ‘tie’; SP tavičča ‘tie’; CU tapic’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—**hit-tapper**— or a similar form is a niqṭal 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’:

**UACV2332b** \*tuppa ‘tie(d)’: NP tupaga (< \*tuppaka) ‘tie with’, Mn wītopisa (< \*wīC-toppisa) ‘tie a knot in’. An intensive (i.e., Hebrew qittel or Arabic II) of Semitic rbṭ (Arabic rubbaṭ ‘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 obvious 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’; or Aramaic kbl / -kbul ‘tie up, fetter’?:

**UACV2330a** \*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/M-pu2: Tb puunāt~’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 vūli ‘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 hīa ‘amarrar’ (typically loses -r-); 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, CrC, Opn, Trn, Azt, maybe NUA: Tb, Tak;]

**1267** Hebrew šml ‘exert oneself’; Hebrew šamel ‘burdened with grief, worker’; unattested huqṭal 3<sup>rd</sup> m sg \*yūšmal ‘be tired’; Arabic šml / šamila, impfv: ya-šmalu ‘to do, work, take pains, exert oneself’:

**UACV2341** \*yūma ‘tired, worn out’: Tbr yum- ‘cansarse [get tired]’; Yq yúume ‘cansarse [get tired]’; My yúume ‘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). NUA has final -a, and SUA -e. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tbr, Cah]

**1268** Hebrew maš<sup>a</sup>le ‘rising, ascent, climb’; Hebrew mašal ‘above, upwards’;

Hebrew maš<sup>a</sup>laa ‘upward movement, upwards, adverb; stair, step, ascent, noun’:

**UACV2444** \*-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 [rise above s.th./s.o., encimarsele [get on top of]’, pl: himo; Wr i’ mó- ‘climb’; Wr mohéna- ‘climb’; Wr mo’tepu- ‘climb up s.th., vt’; Eu hámu ‘subir’; Eu hámuḏau ‘subida’; Kw mo’osí ‘rise, vi’; Hp mó’o-ta ‘be piled high in a mounded shape’; Hp mo’ola ‘pile up, make mound’, but Hp V should be ö. Most are semantically ‘upward’ notions as also Hebrew, yet note Wr i’ móla ‘stairs’ < Hebrew maš<sup>a</sup>laa ‘stair’. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn]



**1269** Hebrew \*na-r'ey 'be seen, appear':

TO neid 'be seen, appear, find out' vs. TO neid 'see, discover, visualize, realize, perceive':

UACV1905 \*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/M-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 r > s in Azt adjacent to voiceless '-': -r' -> -s-. 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 nēéyi '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, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt; NUA: Num]

**1270** Hebrew (\*bayin >) been 'between'; Arabic bayna 'between, among'; Syriac bainai 'between, among': UACV2565 \*kwan 'with': NT abáana 'junto a, junto de, junto con [together with]'; ST baan 'con (apartado)'. 1270 \*kwan is Sem-kw vs. 1397 \*pina Sem-p. [SUA: Tep]

**1271** Hebrew naš-iim 'women, pl' (suppletive plural of 'iššaa 'woman, sg'); Syriac nešee 'women'; Aramaic(CAL) nešiin / nešayyaa / nešee 'women, pl'; nešaaay 'womanly': UACV2574 \*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'uvuk 'bec. old (of women)'; Ls nééču 'bec. an old woman'; Ls nés-la / nés-ma-l 'old woman'; Sr nihtavī't 'old woman', pl: ninihtavī'm; Sr nihtavī'tu 'grow old (of a woman), become an old woman, v'. Ken Hill notes Sr's 1<sup>st</sup> V is likely due to Ca influence. Sr nīiht 'woman' also exists. Ken Hill adds Ktn nohtat, pl: nonohtam. Note Serrano's four terms—Sr naašt 'girl', Sr nāāht 'young woman', Sr nīiht, pl niniim 'woman', and Sr nihtavī't 'old woman' (tav < \*rab 'great'). This may contain the stem in 1334 compounded with \*-tu or \*-tap or other \*nis-t- > -c-. Miller and Hill also have them as separate sets, and there are different vowels in some. [NUA: Tak]

**1272** Arabic qšr / qašara 'to peel, shell, derind, debark, skin, husk', f. impfv **ta-qšir**:

UACV2019a \*asi'a 'bark, n' (SNum): Kw 'asi'a; Ch 'asi'a; CU sí'aa-vi. [loss of initial vowel in CU]

UACV2019b \*si'a 'hull, shell, peel, v': BH.Tak \*si'a 'hull, v'; M88-si6; KH/M-si6 'to shell, hull, v': Cp si'ay 'to hull acorns'; Ca si'ay- 'to peel (fruit, bark of a tree, etc.), vt'; Ls ší'awiš 'shelled acorns'; NP tasi'wa 'to crack pinenuts'. The Semitic-UA 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).

UACV2678 \*-ta 'non-possessed/absolute suffix': Whorf1837b; BH.Cup\*-ta/\*-la/\*-ca 'absolute suffix'; Miller1983,120; KH/M-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/-lʸ/-š/-č; Cp -t/-l/-lʸ/-č; Ls -t(a)-/l(a)-/š/-ča; Tḡ -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; Tb -t / -l; Tr -ra 'noun suffix'; Tbr -r / -t / -ta / -ra / -la 'noun suffix'. Cr -ta'a is the same suffix fossilized in Cr iita'a 'woman' (\*u > Cr i and loss of \*-p-): \*hupi > (h)ii-. 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, Opn, Trn, Tbr, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**1274** Hebrew *kookaab* ‘star’; Aramaic(S) **kookb-aa** / *kookəb-aa* ‘star-the’; Syriac *kaukab* ‘star’; Syriac *kaukb-aa* ‘star-the’:

UA **\*kuppaa** > Sr *kupaa* ‘to shine (as of the stars)’; another verbalization of a noun, even showing geminated \*-pp- and 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’. Also in SUA is Op *kupa-gwa* ‘light with a torch, vt’; and Op *kupappai* said of the shining of glass, gold, silver, and similar things’; Even Syriac itself denominalizes the noun to a verb: Syriac *kawkeb* ‘to cover with stars’. Note that Sr shows the final glottal stop both here and at 1283 *ruumš-aa*. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn]

**1275** Syriac *ḥaql-aa* ‘field-the, open country-the’:

UACV1830 **\*oka** / **\*(/h)oka** ‘sand, earth, rock’: Sapir; M67-355a **\*o** ‘rock’; I.Num11 **\*o(o)h** ‘pebbles’; M88-’o9; Munro. Cup38 **\*ééxa-la** or **hááxa-la** ‘earth/land/sand’; KH.NUA; KH/M-’o9: Sr **’öö’q-ṭ** ‘sand’; Tḡ **’óxor** ‘earth, land, dirt’; Tḡ **’ohét** ‘sand’; Ls **’éx-la** ‘earth, land, dirt’; Ca **í’exi-š** ‘desert’ and Cp **háxa-l** ‘sand’; Sapir lists Tḡ **öxa-r** ‘land’ and Fernandeno **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’. 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**. For the other **\*oN/oC** forms, see at 1295 **’abn-** ‘stone’. [NUA: Tak]

**1276** Aramaic *talg-aa* ‘snow-the’; Syriac *talg-aa* ‘snow-the, n’:

UACV2077 CNum **\*takka** ‘snow’: Sh *takka-pin* ‘snow’; WSh *takka-*; TSh *tahapi*. [CNum]

**1277** Hebrew *rbš*, impfv: *-rbaš* ‘lie down, rest’; Arabic *rbḍ*, impfv: *ya-rbiḍu* ‘lie down, lie, rest (animals, with their chest to the ground’; Aramaic(J) *rbš* ‘lie down’; Syriac **-rbaš** ‘lie down’:

UACV1319 **\*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/M-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’i** ‘estar acostado [be lying down], sg’; Tr **bo’i** ‘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. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]

**1278** Hebrew *ḥmš* ‘be leavened (dough)’; Syriac *ḥmš* ‘to ferment, leaven, mix’;

Aramaic(S) *ḥmš* ‘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 *š* > *ṣ* of Aramaic is similar to UA *s* > Numic *ʃ*.

**1279** Aramaic(J) *yəgar* (< **\*yagar**) ‘hill, heap of stones’; Syriac *yigar, yagr-aa* ‘heap of stones, barrier’; Biblical Aramaic *yəgar* ‘stone monument’:

UACV1546a **\*yakaC** / **\*yakaR** (AMR) ‘nose, point, ridge’: Sapir; VVH110 **yaška** ‘nose, end’; M88-ya3 ‘nose’; M67-308 **\*yaka** ‘nose’; B.Tep11 **\*daaka** ‘nose’; L.Son350 **\*yaka** ‘nariz’; CL.Azt117 **\*yaka** ‘nose’; KH/M-ya3 **\*yakaR** (AMR): Hopi *yaqa* ‘nose’, combining form *yaqas-*; Eu **dakát** ‘nose’; Tbr **níki-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 **ḍaak** ‘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 **níki-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:

UACV1546b \*yaka 'side, ridge, point': Kw yīga/yagaa 'side'; CU yaḡaa-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. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

1280 Aramaic(J) mooq 'felt-sock or stocking'; Aramaic(S) mooq-aa 'shoe-the'; Syriac muuq-aa 'shoe, slipper'; Aramaic pl \*muuq- / mooq-ayyaa 'shoes-the':

UACV1958 \*moko 'footwear': Mn móqo 'shoe'; Mn moqoya 'wear shoes'; NP sogo-moko 'moccasin'. [NUA: WNum]

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.';

UACV1957 \*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]

UACV1960 \*pīta 'footwear': My bera'abotčam 'sandals'; My petatíom '(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: Trn, Cah]

1282 Aramaic(S) řatmaa 'thigh, n.f.', pl: řatmee; Syriac řatmaa 'thigh, n.f.', řətamtaa 'thigh-the':

UACV946b \*uma 'thigh, upper leg': TO um 'thigh'; Nv 'uma 'thigh'.

UACV946a \*om 'leg': M88-'o24 'leg'; KH/M-'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 absolutive -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). [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

1283 Aramaic(J) ramš-aa' / ruumš-aa' 'evening-the, n.m.'; Aramaic(J) ramšiit / ruumšiit 'last night';

Syriac rmš 'become evening'; Syriac rəmiš '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 change from Semitic to Uto-Aztecan, 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. Note that Sr shows the final glottal stop both here and at 1274 kookb-aa' > kuppa'.

1284 Hebrew daawε (< \*dwy), fem: daawaa 'faint, sick, or mentstruating'; Arabic dawīya 'be miserable';

Eth dawaya 'be sick'; Ugaritic dw 'be sick'; Aramaic(S) dwy 'be miserable' and dəwaa'y-aa 'grief-the':

UACV1978 \*tīwoya / \*tī'oy / \*tī'mo 'sick(ness)': M88-tī21: KH/M- tī2: NP tīoyai 'sickness in body';

Sh tīwoi 'sickness, disease'; Sh(M) tīmmai '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/ tīmmai 'be sick'. Cm tī'oi, NP tīoyai and Sh tīwoi 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 tīmmai is CN teemooš-tli 'sickness'. Note also Sr tomaahan 'be very sick'. [NUA: Num, Hp]

1285 Hebrew daawε, fem: daawaa 'faint, sick, or mentstruating'; MHebrew madwε / madvεh 'menstrual

blood flow'; Aramaic(J) dəwaa' 'feel pain, groan'; Syriac dəwaa' 'be sad, wretched, grieve';

Syriac madwəyaan-aa 'afflicting, reducing to misery' > Ktn miyvi' 'menstruate' (d > r > y).

1286 Semitic -a 'accusative suffix'; Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Arabic preserve Proto-Semitic case endings of -u 'nominative / subject'; -i 'genitive / possessor'; and -a 'accusative / object'; these final vowels were generally lost by the time of classical Hebrew and Aramaic, though UA has accusative -a to a degree.

UACV2683 \*-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 at al 1991, 41); and also AYq -a ‘objective case’ (Shaul 1999, 319). John S. Robertson (JSR) first noticed the two—both Semitic and UA accusative -a—first in Eudeve and others. [NUA: Tb, Num; SUA: Cah, Opn]

**1287** Hebrew \*na- of the niqṭal in UA’s mainly reflexive role came to mean ‘the two’ from ‘each other’: UACV2621 \*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 naalöyöm ‘four’ vs. Hp lööyöm ‘two’. See \*na-wakay ‘four’ and \*na-pakay ‘six’. na- is a plural marker in some Kiowa-Tanoan languages as well, perhaps a UA loan. [iddddua] [NUA: Num, Hp]

**1288** Semitic -i ‘one/someone/something from (an area/place or group of people)’: UACV2702 \*-i / \*-ya ‘person from’: Langacker 1977, 45 \*-ya ‘person from’: Langacker lists examples from Tr -i and Ls -ya- though others exist. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

**1289** From unattested Hebrew šgṣ ‘be raging, mad’ appears Hebrew məšuggaṣ ‘raging, mad’; a quttal would be šuggaṣ, and u > i in CN: CN šiikoaa ‘ser celoso [be jealous], estar enojado [be angry], enfadarse [be displeased]’ (Simeon).

**1290** Arabic šibl- ‘lion cub’ or Arabic sabṣ- / sabuṣ ‘beast of prey, lion’—either could underlie Wr tehsebori ‘baby mountain lion’ if teh- is ‘rock’ or other, and -ri ‘noun suffix’.

**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’; and while ‘ant’ is possible, it is at 1460 ‘ant’.

**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’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

**1293** Hebrew hiškiil, hiškāl- ‘to understand, comprehend, have insight, to make wise, insightful’: CN iskaliaa ‘ser discreto, prudente [be discreet, prudent]’ (Simeon), ‘hatch, revive, be restored, teach, nurture’ (Kartunnen).

**1294** Arabic rḥl ‘to set out, emigrate, V to wander, roam’: Tb tooiy ‘to travel about’.

**1295** Hebrew ’eben / ’abn- ‘stone, mineral deposits, ore-bearing stone’; Aramaic(CAL) ’abn-aa ‘stone-the, rock, gem’: M67-355a \*’o ‘rock’; I.Num11 \*(o)h ‘pebbles’; M88-’o9; KH.NUA; KH/M-’o9: KCH at KH/M-’o9 has the set nicely streamlined, but in previous works was a mixture of initial \*ok vs. \*oN/ow, which are separated in this work. At 1275 are the Tak \*ok... forms, but the following better reflect Semitic ’abn-, which is both the Aramaic and the Hebrew construct; remember that bilabials as first consonant in a cluster are usually lost, which would leave nasalization in this case; and the initial short vowel between a rounding glottal stop and bilabial -b- could easily round -a- > -o-; consider: Sh om-pin ‘talus rocks, scree’; Mn pa-’oo ‘gravel’; NP pa’oppī ‘streambed gravel’ (pa- ‘water’ prefixed); 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 oṅkompin ‘small water-worn pebbles or gravel’. Wr o’sé ‘pedregal [scree]’ perhaps the 1<sup>st</sup> syllable, if the 2<sup>nd</sup> is another morpheme. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn]

**1296** Hebrew šll ‘to become dark or black’; Arabic zll ‘be black’: Tr čona ‘to be or become dark or black’; where else did I see -ll- > -n-?

**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 *puruqqwi* ‘to break to pieces, crush, shatter’; Ch *purú’ai-ku* ‘break, shatter’; WMU *purú’aiqu* ‘scatter all over, scatter in the wind, vi’. [NUA: SNum]

**1298** Hebrew *pry* / *paaraa* ‘to bear young, to bear fruit’; Hebrew **paaraa** ‘cow’; Aramaic **parraa** ‘cow’;  
Aramaic(CAL) *pry* / *pəraa* ‘be fruitful, have offspring’; Aramaic *pery-aa* ‘fruit, progeny’:  
UACV1453 \***piya** ‘mother, big’: Sapir; I.Num167 \**pi(y)a* ‘mother, female’; M88-pi18; KH/M06-pi18:  
WSh *pia/pii* ‘mother’; WMU *pii* / *piye* / *piyaa* / *piyá-* ‘mother, n’; CU *píæ-n* ‘my mother’; NP *pia* ‘mother, female’; and others. Iannucci has an identical form in I.Num168 \**pi(y)a* ‘big’. Likewise, Sapir queries whether the two (SP *pia* ‘mother, female’ and SP *pia* ‘main, big’) are the same stem. In the animal kingdom (bear, deer, etc.), where the Uto-Aztecs spent much time, one often sees a mother and her young, in which case the mother is the “big” one. ‘Big’ is a semantic extension of ‘mother’ in both \**yī’i* (UACV1452) and Num \**piya*, both showing the same semantic extension: ‘mother’ > ‘mother, big’. [NUA: Num]

**1299** Syriac *šrh* ‘groan, cry out, crackle (of fire, lightning)’; Arabic *šrx* / *šaraxa* ‘cry, yell’: Akkadian *šrx*;  
Ethiopic *šarxa* ‘shout, cry out, v’; Hebrew *šrh* ‘shout’:  
UACV2072 \***isotoN-(kV)** / \***isoroN-(kV)** / \***osoroN(i)** ‘snore’: Tb *šoloŋ* ‘snore’ (pfv of *ošoloŋ*);  
NP *isododoi* ‘snore’; TSh \**osotoŋwa* < *osoroŋwa* ‘snore’; Sh *šotoppai* / *šoroppai*; Cm *šorokiiti*;  
Kw \**osoroni* ‘snore’; SP *ossoroŋwi* ‘snore’; WMU *söörüi* ‘snore’; PYp *sorkia*; NT *šoróókai* ‘snore, snort (animals)’; ST *sorkia/sarok* (present). Curiously, sneeze and snore remain so pervasively intact. This Sem-p form contrasts with 83, the Sem-kw form. CN *sosolka*. [h>ŋ in Sem-p] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Azt]

**83** Hebrew *šrh* / *šaraḥ* ‘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:  
UACV1972 \***cayaw** ‘shout’: Tb *caayaa* ‘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?] [SUA: Cah, Tbr; NUA: Tb, Hp]

**1300** Hebrew **məlek** / **malk-** ‘king’; denominative verb **mlk** ‘to rule, be king’; thus, the participle  
Hebrew **moolek** ‘king’; Aramaic (CAL) *mlk* ‘reign, advise, give counsel to’; Aramaic *malk-aa* ‘king, ruler’;  
or Hebrew **muul** ‘front’; Aramaic(J) **muul** / **mool** ‘border, front, in sight of’:  
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 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. Whether so or not, Semitic  
*muul* / *mool* ‘front’ fits as well Hp *mò-peq* ‘in front, ahead of’; Hp *mòoti* ‘first, before, at first, initially’ and  
Op *mota* / *moci* ‘beginning, source’ and Tak *muluk* ‘first’. These are in the sets below:  
UACV1547c \***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 a -lk- cluster, after loss  
of the intervening vowel, then showing a velar nasal for the resulting cluster: \**muluka* > \**mulka* > \**muŋa* >  
Hp **moŋwi** ‘chief’ 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. What of Tb(H) *mīškit*  
‘to lead’; Tb(H) *mīškip* ‘in front’ if -l- devoiced next to voiceless -k? [syncope to cluster; Hp -p- < \*-CC-]  
UACV1860 \***moNki** / \***muŋi** ‘lead(er), chief’: Sapir: Hp *moŋwi* ‘leader, head, chief’; SP *moj-* ‘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, as its nasal vowels are the residue of the nasal consonant. [medial -ŋ-]  
[NUA: Tak, Hp, Num, Tb]

**1301** Hebrew **min** / **miC-** / **meC-** / **man-** / **men-** / **minniy** / **minney** ‘from, away from, out of, at / to (place where s.th. can be found) (KB); ‘out of, from, on account of, off, on the side of, since, above, than, so that not’ (BDB); Arabic **min** ‘1 of, some of, part of, pertaining to, from among; 2 at, on, by (time or place): e.g., at (night), on (that day), at / by (his shoulder)’; 3 substituting for an acc: (kindled) **min** ‘some of’ (her curiosity); **minn-aa** ‘from it/her’; Semitic **mVn-** as often means ‘at / toward’ as its basic meaning ‘from’: UA **\*mana** / **\*mina** ‘from, at, beyond / from (there)’: Shoshoni **manai** ‘from’ (McLaughlin 24); WSh **mannai** ‘from’; WSh **mantin** ‘some of, part of’; WSh **manakwa** ‘come from, from’; Ch **manankwa** ‘because of, from’; CU(C) **mana-tarug** ‘on, up’ (CU **tarugwa** ‘climb, go up slowly’); CU(C) **mana-pawikH** ‘down, down there, downward there’ (CU **pawikH** ‘descend, go down from’); the preceding CU terms suggest **mana-** ‘at, from’; SP **minañwa** ‘with, instrumental postposition’; Tb(H) **mina** ‘too’ (from her/it, beyond her/it = also); Tb(H) **oolo-mmina-t** ‘get up and move away (get up-from here-prfv)’ (p. 109); Tb(H) **miniik** ‘toward’; Tr **miná** ‘a little further’ (suggesting, further from it/there) (Tarhumara of Samachique, Cohen, 122); Wr(MM) **yoo-re-go** ‘dentro’; Wr(MM) **yore-mina** ‘dentro de, adentro’; the former two show that Wr **yore-** ‘inside’ adds **-mina** to mean ‘at / from (inside)’; probably containing the same suffix is Wr(MM) **pu’ka-mina** ‘detrás [after]’ (**pu’ka** ‘that’ + **mina** ‘from it’; Armendariz has the same forms: Wr **pukamina** ‘behind’ and **yoremina** ‘inside’ (Armendariz 49). [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Trn]

**1302** Hebrew **bo** / **b-o** ‘in-it/him’:

UACV76 **\*-po** ‘in, at, while/after’: My **-po** ‘adentro, en, mientras’ (Collard and Collard 1984, 202); Tbr **-vó** ‘en, sobre’; Wr(MM) **-pó** / **-bo** ‘en, sufijo locativo’; AYq **-po** ‘in, at, from’ (Shaul 1999, 332). This is another example of how prepositions became postpositions: house in-it, etc. For Sem-kw **b-o**, see [SUA: Cah, Tbr, Trn]

**1303** Hebrew **plk** ‘to be round’; Hebrew **pelek** ‘whirl of a spindle, circle’:  
(in UACS-357) Hp **pölä-ḡ-pī** ‘round as a ball’ (globular shape?-resultative)

**1304** Arabic **\*pgr** ‘to cleave, break up’ II ‘to split, cleave, explode (s.th.)’;

Aramaic(J) **pgr** ‘break up, destroy’; **-gg-** > **-ḡ-** in unattested Hebrew **qittel** cognate **\*piggar**:

UACV1080 **\*piḡa** ‘grind’: In contrast to **\*poḡ**, several **\*piḡ** forms also exist: Sr **piḡai** ‘crumble, pulverize, grind into powder’; Ca **piḡ** ‘get ground, pulverized’; and add Ktn **piḡan** ‘crumble, vi’; Ktn **piḡi** ‘ground finely’; Hp **piḡi** ‘get ground fine, break into bits, shatter’; Hp **piḡya** ‘pulverize, grind finely, crush, shatter, vt’; Hp **piḡyanpi** ‘grindingstone’; and perhaps CN **pinol-li** ‘flour, s.th. ground’ and Ktn **vihḡ-ik** / **vihḡ-ik** ‘break, crumble, vi’ may be a non-initial form of the same. Semitic-p geminated **-gg-** > **-ḡ-** here and at 1387; also final **-ar** > **-a** also suggests Semitic-p, because **-ar** > **-i** in Semitic-kw. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Azt]

**1305** Hebrew **sbb** ‘to turn self around, go around, surround’: Ca **suvuvey** ‘to whirl around’

**1306** Hebrew **nś** / **naśaa** ‘to lift, carry, take’; passive **niqtal** ‘be lifted up in vision’: SP **nonosi** ‘to dream’.

**1307** Hebrew **nes** ‘flag, standard, ensign’: Hp **na’ci** / **naci** ‘standard outside kiva when not in use’.

**1308** Hebrew **nḡl** / **naḡal**, **-nḡal** ‘to maintain as a possession, take possession’; Hebrew **naḡ<sup>a</sup>lat** ‘inherited property’; Arabic **nḡl** / **naḡala**, impfv: **-nḡalu** and ESArabic **nḡl** ‘to present’:  
TO **nolawt** ‘buy, buy from’ (Saxton 1983). Medial **ḡ** > **o** as in Egyptian **nḡbt** > 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’.

**1310** Hebrew **ngd**, **hiqtil**: **higgiid** ‘propose, announce, inform’ (KB) ‘to tell, declare’ (BDB);

Hebrew infinitive: **haggiid**, impfv: **yaggiid** ‘he tells’; **taggiid** ‘she tells’; **’aggiid** ‘I tell’:

UACV1875: M88-ki10 ‘say’; KH/M-ki10: Tb **kīt** ‘says’; Sr **kī-i** ‘say’; Hp **ki-ta** ‘say’. TO **’aagid** ‘to tell s.o. s.th.’ and the other Tep forms **\*agi/aga** are less probable maybes as they align with several **\*awa** terms at UACV1873. [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp]

**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) mīkiy-ti ‘to thaw out’.

[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

**1312** Hebrew \*hal-lebb ‘the heart’: Hp inaṅwa ‘heart, life, battery’: for another Sem-kw \*-ll- > -n-, see 1296.

**1313** Hebrew knṣ > yi-kkaneṣ ‘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’; CN iknoo-tl ‘orphan, s.o. or s.th. poor, humble, worthy of compassion and aid’; Pl iknuu-pil ‘orphan’; WaE ihnoyo-tl ‘miseria [misery], pobreza [poverty], compasion’.  
[SUA: Azt]

**1314** Hebrew kly / kalaa ‘come to an end, be completed, finished’; from that verb is the noun

Hebrew kəliiy ‘utensil, tool, weapon, vessel, receptacle’. Of the four meanings associated with the Hebrew stem—1 complete, 2 tool, 3 weapon, 4 container—note that UA has three:

1 Hp kīikiyva ‘ceremony concludes’; Hp kikiyi ‘to emerge, appear, complete one’s appearances’;

3 Tb kiyii-l ‘arrowhead’; 4 Hp kiyi ‘liquid in a container, any liquid’. Perhaps kəli > kiyi. [NUA: Hp, Tb]

**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)’

**1317** Aramaic(S) trḥ ‘take the trouble’; Hebrew ṭoraḥ ‘burden’; Hebrew ya-ṭriiḥ ‘burden s.o.’;

Arabic trḥ ‘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 scavengered, not cut’;

CN cayawi ‘to spill on the ground (grain); fall (of snow)’. [SUA: Trn, Azt]

**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’.

**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-; for Sem-p \*-bb- > -p-, see 1159.

**1320** Hebrew ṭbṣ ‘to sink down’ or less likely Hebrew ṣbṣ ‘dye’; Akkadian ṣapuu ‘to soak, steep, dye’;

Arabic ṣbḡ / 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’. [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.

**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’:

UACV1208b \***uru** ‘hot’ (SUA): Eu urúe- ‘hacer calor’; Eu urúce- ‘tener calor’; Op uruu ‘heat, hot

(weather); Tr uuri ‘tierra caliente’. Intervocalic -t- or an actual -r-, as in UACV1208a below:

UACV1208a \***it̪i** / \***ir̪i** ‘hot’ (NUA): M88-ī11 ‘hot’; M67-236 \*ete ‘hot’; I.Num26 \*it̪i(h) ‘(be) hot’;

L.Son26 \*uru ‘hacer calor’; KH.NUA; KH/M-ī11: Mn id̪i’i; NP id̪it̪i (<\*it̪it̪i); TSh it̪i-; Sh it̪i; Tb ’iid̪i’-it̪i-’iid̪i’; Hp it̪ih̪i’i; Sr it̪i; Tḡ ’oró’. Hill adds Ch ar̪i ‘it’s hot’ and WSh it̪iin. Note also Ch(L) ar̪ih / ar̪iḥ

‘it burns! Ouch!’ (said only of heat pain); WMU arúü ‘hot! Ouch, it’s hot!’; Kw `atüü ‘ouch!’; SP atturooci ‘hot (of water)’. [NUA ĩ = SUA u] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn]

**1323** Hebrew ḥp̄z ‘make haste’; Arabic \*ḥp̄z ‘to urge, press, to hasten, incite’; or Egyptian ḥfd̄ ‘eilen [hurry]’ UACV2540 \*wīpaC / \*wīppaC ‘to whip’: Sapir; VVH17 \*wīpa ‘to whip’; M67-456 \*wep ‘whip’; I.Num283 \*wīh- instr. pref. ‘whip’; B.Tep50 \*gīvai ‘to whip’; M88-wī5 ‘to hit’; KH.NUA; KH/M-wī5: Mn wī ‘with whipping motion, with sideways motion of long object’; NP wīpagita (< \*wīppakitta) ‘spank’; Sh wīC ‘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 gībī ‘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 \*w > kw in Kw kwipa ‘whip, hit, beat, vt, fall down, vi’ and Ch kwipá ‘whip, hit, fall’; Cm (tī)kwibukitī ‘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. [iddddua] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**1324** Hebrew hēnaa ‘hither, toward here’; Arabic hunaa ‘here’: Wr ena ‘come’; Wr(MM) hená / ená / e’ná ‘venir’; Wr(MM) ená! ‘ven!’; Tr enai / ena ‘here’. [SUA: Trn]

**1325** Hebrew hinné ‘behold! calls attention to the following noun, as for, used for emphasis’; Arabic ’inna ‘intensifying particle introducing a noun or nominal clause, behold, verily, truly, a particle of emphasis, topicalizer, often not translated’: 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’; Wr(MM) iné ‘ser [be]’ (copulative verb), syntactically arriving to look like a copula, like ‘hu’ did also at 108. CN in ‘particle generally translated ‘the’ or left untranslated, also a sense of ‘as for, with reference to’; I-M Nawa in 1 ‘el, la [the], 2 y, e.g., Y Ustedes—a donde van? [And you pl, where are you going?]’ used as a topicalizer; Tetelcingo in ‘el, lo, la, las [the]’. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

**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 drg ‘step forward’; another root very similar phonologically and semantically is Hebrew drk ‘to tread’; Phoenician drk ‘walk’:

UA \*tīy(k) ‘climb, step, make thump noise’: TO(M) čřičđ(k) ‘climb, rise, reach the top’; TO(M) čřđ ‘make a muffled, thumping noise’ (in walking is the example); TO(M) čřđki ‘make a muffled, thumping noise (repeatedly)’; TO čřđđini ‘thump on, hit’; Wr te’ke ‘to step on’; Wr te’kere ‘track, footprints’; Wr te’ki ‘descend’; Wr te’kilaci ‘foothill’. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

**1327** Arabic tb̄ʕ ‘follow, trail, observe’; Arabic tb̄ʕ (the V conjugation) ‘follow, watch, be attached to s.o.’: UA \*tīpu ‘take care of’: Tr(B) tibú- ‘cuidar, guardar, custodiar, vigilar [take care of, watch]’; Tr(H) tibú- ‘cuidar, vigilar’; Wr tebu ‘take care of s.th. / s.o.’; Wr(MM) tebu ‘cuidar [take care of]’; Eu tevó-taan ‘saludar [greet]’; AYq tevo-te ‘greet s.o., vt’; NP tībuhwai ‘seek (a vision)’ (Thornes 2003, 41). [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah; NUA: Num]

**1328** Hebrew ’ak ‘surely, entirely, yet, but, only’: CN ok ‘still, yet, for now, first, in addition’

**1329** Hebrew ’ap ‘(denotes addition) also, yea, even’: UACV2352c \*’i(C)pī ‘also, more, again, now’: B.Tep335 \*’ipī ‘also’; M88-ī5 ‘now’; KH/M06ī5: Tb ’imbī ‘more, again’; TO īip ‘again, also, more’; UP ’īipī; LP ’īip; NT ipī; ST ’ip; TO ep ‘again, also, too, another one, somebody else’. [SUA: Tep; SUA: Tb]



**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)'. [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':  
UACV672 \*wika 'digging stick': B.Tep42 \*giika 'dibble stick, plow'; M67-326 \*wika 'planting stick';  
L.Son334 \*wika 'coa'; M88-wi2 'dibble, digging stick'; KH/M-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. Also consider Mn wagii 'dig a ditch, vi'; Mn wagii'i 'tend ditches, keep them clear'. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt; NUA: Hp, Num]

**1332** Arabic 'ǧl (< \*'gl) 'to hesitate, wait, linger':  
Tb wiih ~ iiwihī 'to wait'; Tb(H) wiihīt, prftv: iiwih 'wait for, look after, take care of, watch over'.

**1333** Hebrew m'n 'refuse':  
Hp meewan- 'forbid, warn' (-w- not > -l-, from geminated -ww-, like rafwa > taawa).

**1334** Hebrew naaš-iim 'women' (plural of 'iššaa 'woman, sg', Syriac nešee 'women';  
Aramaic(CAL) nešiin / nešayyaa / nešee 'women, pl':  
UACV87 \*nīsa 'aunt, mother's older sister (mos)': BH.Cup \*nəš 'aunt, maternal'; M67-501 \*ne 'aunt';  
M88-ni7 'aunt'; KH.NUA; KH/M-ni7 'aunt, mos': Cp neš 'mos'; Ca nes 'mos'; Ls nūš 'mos'; Ls nušmay  
'nephew, niece'; Sr nīm 'mos'; Wr nehsá 'mos'; My né'esa 'tía'; Ktn nihma 'aunt of a certain type'. PUA  
\*nīsa may be compounded with diminutive \*-mara. Ls, Ktn and Sr suggest \*nīsama, compounded with s.th.  
beginning with -ma. Variants of some of these may also be in the compound at 1271.  
[Ls u, but expect o < \*i] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah]

**1335** Semitic 'ahad 'one', Hebrew pl: 'ahadiim 'a few, some'; 'ahadee 'some of ..., ones of ...':  
Tr ahare / ohare / wahare / hare 'some, certain ones, others'. Initial w- is Sem-p, but h > h.

**1336** Arabic(Lane & Wehr) qrs 'be intense cold, congeal, freeze', Arabic (impfv): ta-qrasu / tuqrasu;  
Arabic II: taqarrasa 'freeze, become numb'; NHebrew qrs 'become firm, solid'  
UACV514a \*tī'asīC / \*tu'asuC 'freeze': Mn tī'asī 'be frozen'; NP tiasī 'icy, slippery'; NP ggīggi tiasīggi  
'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 tī'asīiti 'freeze (liquid), v'; Kw ta'asi  
'freeze, v'; Ch tī'āsī 'freeze, v'; CU tī'āsī 'freeze, vi'. Tr(B) fura-ca-ma 'cuajarse, endurecerse por el frio'  
Wr tu'la-pa 'congelarse (agua) [freeze]'; Wr(MM) tula- 'hacer frio'. \*tuqrasu may explain both Num  
(\*tuqrasu > tī'asī, as u > ī in Num and cluster > ') and Trn (\*tuqrasu > tura, with loss of 1<sup>st</sup> C -q- in cluster)  
UACV514b \*pa-tī'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] [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Tbr]

**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 1556b, perhaps 1556a, if w > kw,  
though aspects of some forms in 1556a remain dubious:  
UACV1556b \*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/M-wi9: Mn wiyaC 'acorn' (generic term); NP wia; Kw wi'a-(m)bi / wiya-(m)bi; TSh wiampippī;

Kw wi'a-(m)bi; Tb wiiwat 'to leach acorns'; Cp wi'a-t 'live oak'; Ls wi'á-t 'oak, sp.'; Ca wí'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 i-a (not a-i) and the same meaning. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp] UACV1556a \*kwi(N) 'acorn, oak': M67-1 \*kwi/\*kwini acorn; BH.Cup \*kwínila(?) oak sp; Munro.Cup81 \*kwíiyi-la 'oak sp.'; Fowler83; M88-kwi9; KH.NUA; KH/M-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 kwíñi-l; Ls kwíi-la; Tñ kwar 'bellota' (vowel is wrong); Sr kwiih-ṭ; Hp kwijvi oak (brush); Hp kwijvi-tīva 'acorn'. Tb wijiyaal 'acorn' should be considered, as Tb w < \*kw.

1338 Hebrew kebel 'fetter'; MHebrew kbl 'to fetter'; Syriac kbl 'to bind, fetter'; Arabic kabala 'to bind, braid'; Akkadian kabaalu 'to bind, fetter'; Aramaic(CAL) kbl / kəbal / -kabbil 'tie up'; Aramaic(J) məkabbal 'bound, tied up' (passive participle); Syriac kəbal, -kbul 'bind, fetter'; Syriac kəbel / kabl-aa 'chain':

UACV115c \*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 a 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- '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 cuestras, 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). Add North Puebla Nawa mekapali; Te mekapali; I-M mekápal. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt]

1339 MHebrew šippaa 'to make smooth'; Aramaic(CAL) šp' / šappi 'to smooth, file down, flatten'; Syriac šp' 'to plane wood'; Syriac šappi 'to hew smooth, shave off, make plain, even, smooth': UACV1892 both \*sipa and \*sippa 'scrape, shave': VVH70 \*si<sub>s</sub>pa '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/M-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 šiipan-ta 'peel it'; Hp sipa 'scrape it, shave it'; Tb šiip~'išib~'išibiinat 'shave, whittle'; Cp síve 'shave/peel off'; Cp sípate 'strip off, as bark'; Ca sív 'shave'; Ca -če-sípi '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 /sipi 'raspar, rebanar'; Cr ra-'an-tyí-sii-či-'iri-'i 'he cut it off of him'. Add PYP hiv- 'scrape'; ST hiiwa 'raspar, escarbar'; NT iviíšumai 'brush, scrape, take off'; Eu siswa/sisba 'to brush'; Nv hiva 'raspar'; Nv hivi 'cosa raspada'. Pl šiipinawai 'to slide, slip' (Pl -p- < \*-pp-). We find a wə- prefix in CU wəsívay and TSh wšipeh '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'. Note again NT may show the plural vowel (-u) as in 3 yšb, in contrast to the sg V (-a). In both sets NT and ST -u vs. -a of the others. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]

1340 Arabic fqḥ < \*pqḥ / paqaḥa 'to open the eyes, to blossom'; Syriac pqḥ 'to bloom'; Hebrew pqḥ / paaqaḥ 'to open the eyes':

Ls páqa- 'to sprout through the ground, of plants, v.i.'; Ca púqi 'bloom' {NUA: Tak}; and UACV1581 \*paka 'open': CU paqá-tíi 'open, break open'; CU paqá-kī; TSh kīsapaaha 'open up, come open' (\*kīsa 'yawn/open mouth'); Sh kīsappax 'yawn'. Sem-p, but no rounding for q and ḥ? [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').

Forms in M88 and KH/M-ta7/ta8 are among those below in UACV232 among other t + round vowel + N for an occasional 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant, which are the expected correspondences for r̄sm, though the whole need a sorting yet, not only for this Near-East tie, but within UA itself. No one has clarified the barrel of data:

UACV2328a \***taw** 'thunder': BH.Cup \*táw 'thunder'; M88-ta7; KH.NUA; KH/M-ta7: Cp táwşenve'e-t 'thunder, autumn'; Ca táwva 'thunder, n'; Ca táwvalu 'thunder, v'; Ls táwşuŋva 'autumn (found only in BH)'; Sr taüü'tu' 'thunder, become cloudy with thunder clouds, vi' (ü = high central retroflexed V); Sr taüü't 'thunder, thunder cloud, cloud' (vs. Sr tamöä 'year'); Tḡ tá'or / taa'ur 'trueno [thunder]' and/or Tḡ táwvar 'thunder', poss'd: -táveyaŋa. Hill (KH/M-ta8) is right to combine ta46 and ta8, though Tḡ's two forms are puzzling, as Tḡ tá'or and Sr taüü't could look s.th. like \*ta'V(r), not unlike \*tV'o below.

UACV2328b \***ti'o-** 'thunder': Wr te'ó-na 'buzz, roar, thunder'; Tr fé'o-ma 'thunder'.

UACV2328c \***to'om** 'thunder': Sh(C) to'ompaix, toom-picci, toompai-picci 'thunder'; Cm tomoyaketi 'thunder'; Ls too'ma-wu-t 'thunder, n'; Mn tooyaga 'thunder, v'.

Note TSh tooyakaiC 'thunder, vi' and Cm tomoyaketi are nearly identical except an intervocalic -m- lost in TSh. Might the Num forms suggest \*to'om-yaka 'thunder/cloud-cries', from which WNum reduced to \*tooyaka, yet Sh shows the glottal stop much like SP tom'mu; and Cm tomoyak ... approximates WNum \*tooyaka, missing 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(B) fé'o- 'tronar [thunder]'; Tr(H) ri'ó 'tronar'; Wr te'ó- 'buzz, roar, thunder'; Tr(B) tomó(w)a 'llover [rain]'; Tr(B) fómó 'invierno [winter], tiempo de lluvias finas del otoño e invierno [time of find rain of fall and winter]'; Tr fú'rúmi- 'zumbar [buzz], ronroncar [snore]'; and Wr te'ó- vs. Wr tomó 'winter'; Wr tomóari 'cloud'; AYq ru'uru'utia 'be thundering'. So for now we can keep them separate. [m > ø in Mn, TSh] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah]

UACV2328d \***ta'ŋa** 'thunder': M88-ta8 'to thunder'; KH/M-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 ŋ correspond to SUA n; and then Jane Hill (p.c.) provides us with Tb(H) taŋ[at 'rain, vi'. [NUA: Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tep]

**1342** Syriac guuzl-aa 'left-handed, ambidexter'; Aramaic(S) **gundalaay**-aa 'left-handed':

My míko'ori 'izquierda [left]'; Yq míko'i 'zurdo [left-handed]'; AYq miko'o-tana 'on the left, adv; AYq mikkoi 'left-handed'. Often Semitic \*mi(n)- 'from, of' precedes 'left' (from/to/at the left), and gundlay- > ko'li > ko'oLi. [SUA: Cah]

**1343** Hebrew 'asher 'which, relative pronoun':

Tb(H) aš 'same subject subordinator, when, to, how to, in order to'.

**1344** Hebrew yoore (masc) / toore (fem) 'instruct, teach'; hiqtiil 3 f. sg impfv: toore, and with suffix Hebrew toor-laa 'you/she teaches her': Tb(H) tooyla 'teach, vt'; Tr(H) yura 'guiar [guide]'. Tr aligns with the masc. 3<sup>rd</sup> sg yoore 'he teaches'. This is the same conjugation as Torah 'instruction, guide, law'.

[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

**1345** Aramaic hwy / hawaa 'exist, be, become' literally: was, he/it was';

Syriac hōwaa 'be, exist; be/remain/live in a place':

Ls 'ááw- '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 hilla- / -hallel 'admire, praise, exclaim halleluia' at 712;

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' > \***tihwa** 'you sg' and Aramaic **yehwe** 'he is' > \***yihwa** 'that, he, she'. Also note UACV504, which appears to be a compound of \*pa 'water' and \*hawa 'be':

UACV504 \*(pa)-hawa 'fog, steam': Yq báhe(wa) 'fog'; AYq haawa 'vapor, steam, n'; AYq vahewa 'mist, fog'; AYq vaiweče 'fog, mist' (water-falls?); My baihwo 'neblina [fog], brisa [breeze]'; My háawa 'vapor'; Eu baúua (baúwa) 'rocío [dew], neblina'; Eu beiwat 'neblina'; Ca háway 'be foggy, vi'; Ca háway-š 'mist, fog'. The diachronic fragility of h results in a diphthong and the loss or near loss of the middle syllable after

the prefix \*pa-. Also of interest is the fact that all forms without the prefix \*pa- show \*hawa (Ca, My, and one AYq form) because the first syllable was likely stressed, while all forms with prefix \*pa- show a higher vowel after pa-, i.e., pa-(h)iwa/(h)iwa with second syllable reductions, because pa- was stressed and thus not the first syllable of \*hawa. Furthermore, those high vowels are the UA schwas, and, like the English schwa, often result from lack of stress in unaccented syllables, not from PUA \*i or \*i.

[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Cah, Opn, Azt]

**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':

Wc táášaviikari 'abeja pequeña y oscura [small black bee]'; keep in mind that \*-p- > ø disappears in CrC or it could have been first C in a cluster like debš-aa 'honey-the', so tVpVš > tVVš + Semitic bqr 'seek' perhaps from honey-seeker.

**1350** Semitic šd' / šdy 'grow rusty' > Sr širii'k 'become red, turn red'

UACV1776 \*šīta / \*šīti 'red': Sapir; VVH32 \*šīta 'ochre, red'; M67-343 \*set 'red'; L.Son251 \*šīta 'rojo'; M88-sī3 'be red'; KH.NUA; KH/M-sī3: Ca séleklū 'bec. red'; Ca sél-nek-iš 'red'; Sr širii'k 'bec. red'; Sr šīriiri'n 'be red, vi st'; Sr šīri'kin 'cause to become red'; TO hīt-magi 'be red'; TO hīt '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 šetá; Eu setát 'almagre, tierra colorada'; AYq sata 'red dirt'.  
[\*t > Tak l; -ln- > -l-] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC]

**1351** Hebrew bqš 'split, cleave'; Hebrew biqšaa 'valley'; Syriac pəqaš-taa 'valley-the':

UACV1819 \*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 paṅqwi 'mountain valley'.  
[SUA: Trn, Cah; NUA: Num]

**1352** Hebrew he-qiiim 'lift': Hp ki-ma 'bring, take, carry pl objs' (ki- + -ma 'progressive').

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 qittel -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:

UACV2254 \*poci 'sweep': B.Tep275 \*voisikai 'to sweep, press down' at M88-po25; KH/M-po25; and B.Tep276 \*voisikaroi 'broom' at M88-po26; KH/M-po26: TO wosun(a) 'sweep'; LP(B) voiši 'sweep'; Nv voska 'barrer'; NT vóišikai; ST voššik/voška 'barrer'. [SUA: Tep]

**1354** Hebrew hikbad / hikbiid 'to sweep'; and notice that some UA forms even show the hi- prefix:

UACV2257 \*(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. [SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC]

**1355** Aramaic(S) kabbed ‘to sweep’; Aramaic(J) **-kabbed** ‘to clean, sweep’:

**UACV2496 \*kawi** ‘to clean, clear’: Tr(B) gawi- / kawi- 1 ‘aclarar el dia, amanecer, limpiarse el ambiente [become clear sky, dawn]’ 2 limpiarse el agua, volverse transparente [be clear water, transparent]’;

Tr(H) kawi ‘aclarar (desaparecer las nubes) [be clear, clouds disappear]’; Tr(H) kawí-ame ‘claro, limpiar, sereno (el cielo) [clear, calm sky]’. Wr kawe ‘good, well, fine’; Wr kaweruma ‘new, young, clean, good’; Wr(MM) kawe / ka’we ‘bien, a gusto’; Tr and Wr w’w correspond to -w- or -kw- (< \*-bb-), to which PYp kavilteda ‘to clean house, vt’ suggests kw/b/p, or \*-bb- > -kw- > Tr/Wr -w- / -’w-.

**UACV1039 \*kiwa** ‘good’: BTep136 \*kīiga(di) ‘good’; L.Son86 \*kiwa ‘bueno’; M88-ki10 ‘bueno’;

KH/M06-ki10: TO keeg ‘good, nice, beautiful, completely’; TO keegaj ‘be good, etc.’; LP kīig; NT kīiga;

ST kīi’; Op kia; Eu kewá; Eu kewáe/kewá’e ‘sweet’; Yq kía; My kíwwa ‘sabroso’; Tbr kimwá, kiwá-r/n ‘bueno’; Tbr kemoa ‘bien’; Tbr kwemwa. Add PYp keega ‘good, beautiful’. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]

**1356** Hebrew maatn-ayim ‘loins, dual’; Arabic matnat-aani ‘loins, dual’: Ls mááča-t ‘back’.

**1357** Semitic qr’ ‘call’ to be a ‘caller, crier’; Syriac qaruuy-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 ‘turkey’ has much in common with such:

**UACV2421 \*kuyu**’ / **\*kuyunV** / **\*kuyuNCV** ‘turkey’: Fowler83; Ken Hill (p.c. 2004); KH/M-ku40:

Hopi koyonjo; Cm kuyu’nii / kuyunii’. Hill adds Ch kuyuita and WSh kwi’na. Add Sh(GL) \*kuyunwi’yaa’

‘turkey’ and CU kwiyú-tī (< \*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-tī. 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] [NUA: Num, Hp]

**1358** Hebrew rfy ‘to pasture, tend, graze’, impfv: yi-rfy(y) ‘to herd’; Arabic raʕaa (< raʕay),

impfv: ya-rfy (< \*ya-rʕay) ‘to graze, to tend (a flock of animals)’; so the cluster -rʕ- > -l- quite naturally since in Hopi, ʕ > l before low vowels and then add the help of the other liquid r: \*-rʕay > lay:

Hp laa-layi ‘to herd, drive (animals), vt’ with reduplication; Hp laay-in-ta ‘be herding, driving’.

**1359** Egyptian(F) xm ‘know not, be ignorant of’; Egyptian(L) xm ‘be ignorant, not know, be unacquainted, have no regard for’: Sr huumu’k(i) ‘not understand’.

**1360** Semitic qr’ ‘call, cry out’; not likely Hebrew gaaron ‘throat, neck’ due to g > k, but q > q:

**UACV580b \*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] [NUA: Tak]

**1361** Modern Western ʔuroyo Syriac/Aramaic(A) papuke ‘owl’:

**UACV1595 \*poko** ‘burrowing owl’: Cm pohkóo’ ‘burrowing owl’; TSh sipokko’o ‘screech owl’;

Tb pogoh ‘burrowing owl’. [NUA: Num, Tb]

**1362** Modern Eastern Swadaya Syriac/Aramaic(A) **simmora** ‘squirrel’:

**UACV2146 \*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’;

Wc cíimúaka/simuaka ‘ardilla’. Since Wc u < \*o, Tbr and Wr and Wc match well through 4 segments.

Tb cimi-l ‘mouse’ may tie in. [1s3,2mm,3r] [SUA: Trn, Tbr, CrC; NUA: Tb]

**1363** Aramaic(CAL) hl(’) / hal-aa’ ‘dirt, mud-the’:

**UACV2522 \*hala** ‘moist/wet soil’: Hp halasami ‘moist soil’ (\*sami ‘wet’ UACV2521); 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 rēgel ‘foot, leg’, dual **raglayim** ‘two feet’; Hebrew qittel impfv -raggel ‘move away from, scout’: Tb(H) taṣammin ‘step on, vt’; Tr feke(ta) ‘step’. [NUA: Tb; SUA: Trn]

**1365** Akkadian agaaru ‘hire’; Arabic ’ġr ‘to reward’; Arabic ’aġġara ‘hire out’; Aramaic(J) ’aġar ‘hire, employ, rent’; Hebrew ’gr ‘bring in (harvest)’; Middle Hebrew(J) ’gr ‘gather, collect’: Tb(H) waahay’ ‘work’.

**1366** Syriac twh / tawah ‘be alarmed, startled’; Arabic twh, pfv: taaha ‘stray, perish, be startled’: Sr tahitahi’ ‘hurry up, vi’.

**1367** Syriac mrq ‘rub off, scour, polish, cleanse, vt’: Sr miyī’-kin ‘1. wipe out, 2. cause to shimmer’.

**1368** Syriac ’aṭib / ’aṭ(’)ib ‘do good, treat well’ (causative of ṭ’b; the underlying glottal stop in Syriac parallels what surfaces in some of the UA forms); Hebrew haṭṭiib ‘do well’:  
**UACV1038a\*attip-na** ‘good’: CU ’atti ‘good’; Cp á’či’a ‘good’; Ca áča’e ‘good, fine, well, very’. Related to these are Hp -’civa ‘accord with’, Hp a’civa ‘behave as expected, do what one can with one’s personal resources and limitations’; Hp àacipna/a’cipna ‘do as expected’. Note that Hp a’cipna and Cp á’či’a are identical in five segments (a’ci ... a) except for a consonant cluster in Hp that reduced to a glottal stop in Cp, and that Hp parallels the Semitic wonderfully. With bilabials usually lost as 1<sup>st</sup> C in a cluster, SP’s nasal (below) may be a reduced -pn- cluster with nasal:  
**UACV1038b\*attī(N)**: SP ’attīN ‘good’; WMU á-ttū- ‘good, well’; CU ’á-tī ‘good’. [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num]

**1369** Aramaic(S) kpn ‘be hungry’; Aramaic(S) kappiin ‘hungry’; Syriac kəpen / kəpin ‘be hungry’: Tḡ kovii- / koviiya ‘be hungry’ (Munro 2000, 186-7); Tḡ koviinok ‘be hungry’.

**1370** Semitic ’ay + mi ‘which who?’ > Ktn hami(c) ‘who?’

**1371** Aramaic ’ay + be ‘where-at/in it?’ > Ktn hayp(ea) ‘where?’

**1372** Aramaic(CAL) **tuqqaan** ‘construction, thing created, structure, n’; Syriac taqqen ‘construct, frame, fashion, furnish’; Syriac et-taqqan ‘be formed, equipped, furnished’; Hebrew tiqqen ‘make straight’; the unattested quttal would be Hebrew \***tuqqan** ‘made straight’:  
Hp tīikwa 1 ‘manmade wall, erection of masonry, standing portion of a ruin, partially standing wall, 2 something woven in a simple style, without elaborate technique’. Walls are constructed straight and that Hp term is only missing final -n, and rounding after -uuqq- is expectable, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> definition of s.th. made (woven) simple, straight lines, no zigzag designs’ is not off either. Another of two nearly identical Hp terms is a noun Hp tīikwa ‘s.th. requiring a lot to fill a need or capacity, expensive or costly to keep up or maintain’. The sentence examples in the dictionary include ‘takes a lot of things to put on a kachina dance’ and ‘children are expensive to maintain (require many things)’. Thus, furnishing, equipping, preparing are notions in both Semitic tqn and the latter Hp noun. Contributed by JSR.

**1373** Arabic đrr ‘strew, spray’; Hebrew cognate zrr ‘sneeze’: Ktn tiyiyī’y ‘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-) [NUA: Hp, Num]

**1375** Arabic lk' / laka'a 'strike, hit' or Arabic lkk / lakka 'hit with the fist'; Arabic(Lane) lk' / laka'a 'beat, prostrate s.o. [i.e., knock down]' (Semitic ' and y are often interchangeable, especially as 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant: lky / lk'): Ls(E) lakaya/i- 'knock down, vt, fall, be knocked down, vi'

**1376** Hebrew šor 'flint'; Akkadian šurru 'obsidian, flint': SP čoiC 'bead'.

**1377 Hebrew š<sup>a</sup>pardeaš 'frog':**

UACV973 \*sikwo / \*sibo'o / \*siboro 'tadpole': L.Son247 \*siwori 'renacuajo'; M88-si11; KH/M-si11: Eu zivór; Tr sibóri; My síbo'ori 'tadpole'; Yq síbo'olim. Cr šikwá 'frog' and ST subaa'n 'frog' agree some in that Cr ï < \*u and ST b < \*kw, but the ST s is unexpected. Perhaps Tb šiko-l 'lizard'. As \*-r- > Cah -', the Yq/My sibo'o- stem (-ri noun suffix) could reflect \*siboro or \*sikworo, in Semitic \*-rd- > -r- > -', 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. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, 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 without the prefix initial kw- is left:

**1378** Hebrew \*š<sup>a</sup>parde<sup>aš</sup> 'frog' or ha-špardeš > ha-kwa'ro:

UACV972 \*kwa'ro (> kwara / kwaya / kwa'na) 'frog': M67-191 \*kwa; L.Son119 \*kwaya 'sapo'; Fowler83; M88-kwa6 'frog'; KH/M-si11: Tñ kwá'ro 'sapo [toad]'; TO bábad 'frog'; PYP babadu 'frog' (Tep b = UA \*kw, and \*kw > bw/bo in My next); My boórók, pl: booró'okim 'sapo' (\*kwaro'o > bworo'o); Tr bari; Tb woohnaa-l 'frog'; in many of the following is prefixed UA \*paC- 'water': SP paqqwan'a 'frog, toad'; CU páqxa-kwá'na 'frog'; CU páqxá-ci-ci 'horned toad'; CU paqxwani 'frog' (in English section); Hp paakwa 'toad'; CN kweya-tl 'frog'; NT babáádai 'frog, toad'; NT kuaáli 'frog'; Wc kwaášaa 'species of frog'. What of Eu kohár 'sapo'? Fowler also lists Ls pakwari-t 'tadpole'; Tñ qwarava 'frog'. The words for 'frog' are a difficult collection, yet in Tñ, My, and PYP are signs of 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel o. And Tñ, My, Eu, Tr suggest a liquid in the second consonant or cluster. Besides a cluster -'r- in Tñ, 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 Tñ kwá'ro depict well Hebrew \*špardeš > kwa'ro' with r > ' as first element in a cluster, d > r, and rounding influence of the pharyngeal on the vowel which with a final glottal stop. Likewise, note 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, Trn, Cah, Opn? Tr, CrC, Azt]

**1379** Egyptian rġ + mrr 'sun-go'

UACV2230e \*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 tamera-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'; Tñ támi-t 'sun, day'; Ca tami-t / tamyá-t 'sun, day, time'; Ls timé-t 'sun, day'; Cp támi-t 'day, sun'. [NUA: Tak]

**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':

UACV720 \*waki 'dry, shrivel, thin': VVH99 \*waki 'dry'; M67-143 \*waki; BH.Cup \*wáx 'to dry'; B.Tep38 \*gaki; L.Son325 \*wakí, wak-i 'secarse'; CL.Azt48 \*waaki; KH.NUA; M88-wa4; KH/M-wa4: Tb waagii'it ~ 'awaagii' 'be skinny'; Tb(H) waakit '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 and Tbr; many reflexes also mean 'thin', i.e., dry, wither, become thin. [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, 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-).

**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 qapöc ‘short’.

**1383** Arabic qaṣada ‘sit down’, impfv: -qṣudu; Arabic qaṣda(t) ‘sitting, backside, buttocks’ > Hp kīri ‘buttocks’. For intervocalic -d- > -r-, see moose (735), tail (261). Sem-p

**1384** Hebrew(BDB) liwəyaataan ‘serpent, dragon, leviathan’; Syriac lewyaataan ‘leviathan, sea-monster, serpent, the devil’; Hebrew (KB) liwəyaataan ‘leviathan, seamonster, sea dragon, whale, crocodile, the ocean encompassing the earth’ (as a wreath) from liwyaa(t) + -aan, and liwyaa(t) ‘escort, wreath’ or Syriac lwiyt-aa ‘escort, companion(s)’ is of Semitic LWY ‘twist, accompany, surround’ (as a wreath); KB cite Ugaritic ltn < \*lawtaan; consonantal Mandaic LWAYTA :

Tb(H) way’iinii-š ‘a large snake living in the sky who would fall to earth should the sun ever die (i.e., fail to reappear after being eclipsed). Aramaic \*IVwaaytaan-aa > Tb way’iinii, lost 1<sup>st</sup> syllable, t > ’, aa > ii.

**1385** Syriac qṣuul-aa / qṣuul-taa ‘expansile, expansive as the lungs’:  
Cp qíqil’ve (< \*qoqolVpe) ‘lungs’.

**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) quṯqaaṯaa ‘laughter’; Ca/Ls k, not q: UACV1287 \*kasi ‘smile’: Ca kaskási ‘give a half smile, vi’; CU kisi(‘ni) ‘smile’; Mn kīsito’aqa ‘make faces’; Ls kašikši-š ‘squinting’; Ls kašii-li ‘to wink’. \*kati > kaci > kaskasi [t > s] [NUA: Tak, Num]

**1387** Arabic(Lane) pgl ‘be thick and soft or flaccid’:

Hp pöñjala ‘thick (in size)’; Sh pohonta ‘thick (of book, grass, etc)’; Cm pohotaṯi ‘thick’ (blanket is in the sample sentence, and -nt- > -t-); Sh(C) pohanon / pohanon ‘thick’. [NUA: Num, Hp]

**1388** Arabic ’aḍiya, impfv: ya-’ḍaa ‘to suffer damage, be harmed’; Arabic ’aḍaa(t) ‘damage, harm, injury’; Arabic \*iḍaa ‘harm, damage, hurt’; or a typical impfv vowelng \*yi-’daa:

UACV2089 \*’ica(C) '(have) wound/sore': L.Son9 \*’ica 'llaga'; M88-i2 'wound'; AMR1992b; KH/M-i2 \*’icaC (AMR): Wr ehca 'llaga'; Tr čá-ka, čá-na-ri 'sore, n'; Mn iya-ye 'have sores'; NP iadui'hu 'wound s.o.'; Sh ia 'sore, wound'; Kw ’ia 'wound, hurt, v'; SP ia-vi 'wounded'; CU ’ia-vi 'wound, n'; Hp iya 'sore, scab'; Tbr acá-t 'llaga, sífilis'. Add TSh 'ia- (in compounds); Cm i’a’ 'wound, sore, n'. Medial \*-c- > NUA -y-, so SUA \*’ica and NUA iya/ia (Num, Hp \*’iya). Sem-p noun or Sem-kw verb? [\*-c- > -y-]  
[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn]

**1389** Semitic \*taxt-e ‘under-him/it’ or \*taxta ‘under’; Aramaic and Syriac taḥt-e ‘under him it’ but from Semitic taxt-e:

Wr(MM) te’ré ‘abajo en el suelo; Tr(B) ri’ri ‘abajo’; Tr(B) fé’ré ‘abajo, debajo de’; Tr(H) ri’ré ‘abajo’; Both Semitic taxt and taḥt / taḥt- ‘under, below’ (with x or ḥ) seem to exist. UA follows Semitic taxt-e ‘under him’ as opposed to the pharyngeal which would yield rounding, and it is to be from the Aramaic suffix 3 sg ‘under it / him’ taxt-e. [SUA: Trn]

**1390** Hebrew \*bə-taxat ‘in/at bottom/under’:

UACV698e \*pīṯaha 'under': B.Tep288 \*vīta’a 'under'; M88-pī12; KH/M-pī12: LP vīta; NT úta; ST vīta’ / vuta; PYP veta ‘below, under, ground, floor’. The Tep \*pīṯaha forms align with Semitic \*bītaxat quite well,



though better reflecting the uvular nature of -x- are My bétuku 'debajo [below]'; Yq bétuku(ni) 'below, down'; AYq vétuku 'under'. TO wečo 'under' and Nv buto (\*pīto) 'bajo' likely link to another morpheme. [SUA: Tep, Cah]

**1391** Hebrew pš̄t 'spread out, take off clothes, stretch oneself, remove (skin)'; Aramaic/Syriac pš̄t / pəšaṭ 'stretch out, extend, spread out'; Syriac pəšiit 'straight, plain, flat'; Syriac **et-paš̄tat** 'be stretched out, spread out, extend': 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]': UACV244a **\*ha-pīt** 'blanket': KH.NUA; M88-ha15; KH/M-ha15: Tḡ havót 'blanket'; Sr havīt 'clothes, blanket'. Ken Hill adds Ktn havī-t 'skin, blanket, clothes' and considers the possibility of Hp havii- '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 > Tḡ o] UACV244b **\*(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/M-hi2; M88-pī8 'mat, bed, petate'; KH/M- 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] [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**1392** Syriac p'y 'be becoming, comely'; Syriac **paayuut** (< **\*pa'yuut**) 'beauty, comeliness, elegance' Or Hebrew(BDB) **paa'er** 'beautify, glorify'; Hebrew tip'aaraa 'beauty, refinery, glory': Tr **ba'ó** 'hermosura [beauty]'; Tr **ba'ó-** / **ba'óre-** / **bayóre-** 'ser hermoso [be beautiful], lindo, bonito [pretty]'. Might the cluster \*-y- surface as both -' and -y-!

**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.

**1394** Ugaritic bšd 'behind'; ESArabic 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.

**1395** Aramaic kwb / kwb' / kob / kubba' 'pitcher, goblet'; Syriac kuubaa' 'cup, vessel'; Arabic kuub / kuubat 'drinking glass': Ls kaváá'a-l 'clay pot'.

**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]'.

**1397** Hebrew \*bayin > been / beenee- 'between, among, with'; Arabic **bayna** 'between, among'; Syriac baynay 'between, among': UACV2563b **\*pīna** 'with, unite/go with friend': TO weenačč '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. 1270 \*kwan is Sem-kw vs. this 1397 \*pīna Sem-p. [SUA: Tep, Opn]

**1398** Hebrew bə-paney 'on the surface of': Eu vepán 'encima, sobre'; AYq vepa 'on top of, more than'

**1399** Semitic \*b<sub>xr</sub> ‘test, choose, be/make choice’: Syriac bħr (< \*b<sub>xr</sub>) ‘try, prove (as silver by fire)’; Hebrew bħr (<\*b<sub>xr</sub>) ‘choose’; Hebrew na-bħr ‘be tested (refined in fire, as metal), preferable’; Hebrew bahjir ‘choice’; Hebrew baħuur ‘young man’ (i.e., choice, in prime of life); Amorite bexeru ‘elite soldier’:  
**UACV821** \*bīhīrī ‘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 pīihī ‘new, fresh’.  
 Sem-p shows Sem b > b in Cah and x > x/h (vs. rounding in Sem-kw). Interesting semantic combination retained from Semitic ‘test, choose/choice, best of people or stuff, young/elite’ to UA ‘deceive (test), devil (tester), expensive (best), new/fresh’. [SUA: Cah; NUA: Hp]

**1400** Syriac baatar ‘after, following’ (< b-’atar, which equates to Hebrew b-’ašer); Hebrew ba’āšer ‘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’.

**1401** Hebrew brĥ ‘flee, slip away, pass through, glide past’ > My bóroh-te ‘tiene diarrea’ [iddddua]

**1402** Hebrew kaawaa ‘burn, scorch, brand’; Syriac kōwaa ‘sear, cauterize’; Syriac kawwi ‘cauterize, brand, scorch’; Arabic kwy / kawaa ‘burn (s.th.), sear, cauterize, brand’:  
 CN kawaani (likely kawaa-ni) ‘catch fire’; Mecayapan Nawa kawaani ‘tener fiebre / calentura’. [SUA: Azt]

**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’.

**Note the Semitic-p examples of the pattern of Aramaic -gra > Hopi -kya in**

(1130) Aramaic pagr-aa ‘corpse-the’ > Hp pīikya ‘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** Aramaic ħgr ‘be crippled, lame’; Aramaic ħggōraa ‘lameness’; Syriac ħgr ‘halt, limp, be lame’:  
 Hp hokya ‘leg, stalk’; Hp hokyalmi- ‘to trip’; Hp hokya-plō ‘person with amputated leg’; might ‘bad leg’ have been an original meaning, given that half of the sample sentences at Hp hokya ‘leg’ were ‘bad leg’, ‘hurts along leg’, ‘scarred leg’, ‘whipped on the leg’, ‘shot in the leg’. Nevertheless, only a maybe at present. [iddddua]

**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-ŋ-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<sup>y</sup> ‘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.

**1407** Hebrew maħ<sup>a</sup>ne ‘camp, **people of the camp**, n.m.’; Aramaic mħnh / mħnt’ ‘army, camp, n. f.’; the Hebrew noun is masculine while the Aramaic noun is feminine; the UA form is patterned after a feminine noun, and Hp a final glottal stop; as in-laws become family or people of the camp, this 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.

**UACV2085 \*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 'verno'; M88-mo3; KH/M-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 'verno'; CN moon-tli 'son-in-law'. Sapir also lists Cr muna-ra. Add AYq mo'one 'son-in-law'; Ca mīnkiw'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. Sh and Hp suggest an Aramaic suffixed article: maḥ<sup>a</sup>n-aa' [NUA n : SUA n] [idddua] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**1408** Hebrew zrh 'rise, shine' (< Sem \*ḏrḥ); Syriac dnḥ 'rise, dawn, shine (sun, moon, stars)'; Syriac **dinh-aa** 'sunrise, light, the ascendant or predominant **star** (at birth)', i.e., horoscope; Aramaic(CAL) **denḥ-aa** 'rising, shining, horoscope'; ESArabic 'ḏrḥ:

The -cinuN- part of UA \*tacinuN-pi 'star' fits well with rounding for the pharyngeal:

**UACV2168 \*ta(C)tinuN-pi** 'star': I.Num212 \*taci 'star'; M88-ta32; KH/M-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 **dinh-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] [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':

**UACV2107 \*kuukya / \*kukkaC** (AMR) 'blackwidow spider': Fowler83; M88-ku33; KH.NUA; KH/M-ku33 \*kukkaC (AMR): Hopi **kookyaḡw** 'spider'; Ls kúyxiṇi-š 'black widow spider'; Cp kúka-t 'blackwidow spider'; Sr kuka-ṭ 'spider'; Ktn kuka-č 'spider'. Hopi **kookyaḡw** is most intriguing in that Hp o < UA \*u, so it equates to UA \*kuukyaḡw, 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 kúyxiṇi-š 'black widow spider' anticipated -y- and unstressed vowels > i. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**1410** Hebrew šlṣ 'limp, be lame'; Arabic zlṣ 'be lame, limp'; Hebrew šelaṣ 'a stumble, fall, plunge, n'; Syriac ṭlṣ / et-tallaṣ 'fall in a stupor, become unconscious':

**UACV834 \*culiwa** 'fall, pl': KH/M-cu15; M88-cu15: B.Tep206a \*suriga-i 'fall, pl'; B.Tep206b suuri 'they fell'; TO šulig 'fall, bow, descend, pl'; LP šulg; PYp sulii; NT suulíga/suulígi 'fall, pl'; ST suulygi fall, pl'. Add Wc širi 'fall, pl'. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

**1411** Arabic nasaga, impfv -**nsugu** 'to weave'; unattested Hebrew impfv: \*yi-ssugu:

**UACV2511 \*suku** '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: Trn]

**1412** Hbr baalaa / \*balaya 'wear out, get old, decay':

CN \*palaya / palaani 'to rot'; CN palaš-tli 's.th. festering, rotten'.

**1413** Hebrew **took** 'midst, middle, among, in the middle of, during':

UA \***tok** 'with, near, middle': CN tlok 'with, near'; SP toḡoi-tīqqai 'in the middle of eating, about half through eating'.

**1414** Aramaic(CAL) sgy 'be many'; Aramaic saggi 'many, much'; Syriac saggy 'much, many, great';

Hebrew sg' 'grow'; hisgii 'give stature to'; Hebrew huqtal would be \***husgay / \*husga** 'be caused to grow great':

Hopi **hoskaya** 'large, huge, enormous' aligns well with an unattested huqtal form \*hosgay 'be made great'.

**1415** Hebrew **rdm** ‘sleep’; impfv **yV-rdam**; infinitive or verbal noun **rədoom**:

Tb(H) **culuumat** ‘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 **rədoom**; Tḡ yataamkok ‘dormir [to sleep]’; Tḡ fits the 3 m. sg. impfv well ya-rdam > yataam. In fact, the cluster -rd- remaining -t- is expected, otherwise -r-. [NUA: Tb, Tak]

**1416** Arabic **īdaa / idan** ‘then, therefore, if, when, whenever’:

Tb(H) **tan / tani** 1 ‘if, 2 ’; PN tla ‘si [if]’. Perhaps with additional morphemes Tb(H) **tanaha** ‘1 optative: would ..., 2 if’. [NUA: Tb; SUA: Azt]

**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 **\*ootee** > UA **\*-te**; Aramaic **-aayaa** > UA **-ya**.

Liquid +  $\zeta$  cluster >  $\eta$ , as in (737) Hebrew **širšaa** ‘hornets’ > UA **\*saṅa** ‘yellowjacket’, others, and (1418).

**1418** Syriac **šry / šr’ / šaraa** ‘1 to contain, hold, 2 grasp, take hold’; Hebrew **tašar** ‘sheath’;

Ugaritic(KB) **tšrt** ‘scabbard’ likely vowelized **tašrat** ‘scabbard’; Aramaic(CAL) **tšr / tašr-a** ‘sheath’; Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Aramaic all have forms of this same noun **tšr(t)**; Hebrew and Aramaic list it as a m. noun, while Ugaritic’s is feminine, though either could exist in any of the cognate languages, and it appears that UA was patterned after a f. noun: Tbr **tanaté** shows the final -t followed by what is like the Aramaic 3<sup>rd</sup> m. sg. poss suffix **-e**; Ktn **tāḡata-t** and others also resemble the possessed or accusative forms; Syriac feminine impfv: **te-šre**; Arabic **šr’ / šrw / šaraa**, impfv: **ya-šru** ‘befall, grip, seize’; the final **-y** impfv forms in UA reflect final vowel **-a** rather than Masoretic **-e** as in: bky (560,561), ššy (680): i.e., **\*ta-šra** > UA **taṅa**’; another form that would match is Aramaic **tḡm, taḡem** (m. qattel) / **taḡma / taḡma** (f. qattəlaa), **taaḡmaa** (f. prtəple) ‘mark limits, make a border, set something within borders’; Syriac ‘mark a boundary, to limit, keep within bounds, confine’; as for **-ḡm-**, note that other m-with-laryngeal clusters also go to **-ḡ-** (280, 281, 283, 1012, 1246): UACV111 **\*taṅa** ‘bag, sack’: M88-ta45; KH.NUA; Stubbs2003-4; KH/M-ta45 ‘to contain (several things)’: Sr **taṅat** ‘sack’; Tḡ **taṅar** ‘sack’; Hp **taṅa-ta** ‘put in a container or structure, put (livestock) in a corral’; Hp **taṅa** ‘contents of a rigid, enclosed container’; stative/passive Hp **taṅa-l-ti** ‘go inside, put on clothing’ (i.e. go inside it), become contained in a container or structure’; Hp **patṅa** ‘squash’ (with **pa-**). Stubbs (2003-4) adds Tbr **tanaté** ‘zurrón, mochila de cuero en que se acarrea a la espalda el ineral [bag, leather backpack in which s.th. is carried on the back]’; and last half of Mn **kusatá’ni** ‘sack’ and Sr **qawaataṅat** ‘pocket’. CN **taana** ‘tli ‘basket with a handle’; and Yq **’ía-tana** ‘this shore/side’ (a shore contains/encloses water, is its border / boundary). Add Ktn **tāḡata-t** ‘sack, trunk, box’; Ktn **hu** ‘ataṅata-t ‘granary’. The **\*taṅa** compounded with **\*pa-** ‘water’ produces **\*pa-taṅa** ‘squash, pumpkin, gourd’ (Stubbs 2003:4 and KH/M-pa66 ‘squash’), water / liquid container: Ch **paraṅar(a)** ‘pumpkin’; SP **paraṅwaraN / paraṅwanta** ‘pumpkin’; and Hp **patṅa** ‘squash, pumpkin’ at ‘squash’. Note SP’s rounding, as SNum **-m-** can go to **-w-** itself, let alone in a cluster with a pharyngeal **-ḡm-**. [NUA **-ḡ-**: SUA **-n-**] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Cah, Tbr, Azt]

**1419** Syriac **šagni** ‘remove from its place, alter, transform, change clothing or appearance, bec different’:

Hopi **siinḡi** ‘peel, shed skin (as of a snake)’; Hopi **siinḡya** ‘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:

UACV2238 **\*nur / \*nar** ‘aclerar el día [to dawn, become daylight]’: Eu **nurú** ‘aclerar el día [daylight to dawn]’; Tbr **nare** ‘aclerar el día’. [SUA: Tbr, Opn]

**1421** Arabic saħr- / suħr-, pl: suħuur ‘lungs’; Arabic masaahjir ‘lungs’:

Tb mošooha-t / mosooha-t ‘lungs’; Wr so’locá ‘pulmones [lungs]’. Wr is a tad enigmatic, could possibly belong here or possibly(?) at 281 with most of the language family at Egyptian sm’; Tr and Wr are closely related sister languages, usually with quite parallel forms, so Tr sonorá and Wr so’locá seem too different. Tr sonorá aligns with the other SUA \*sono and NUA \*soŋo / somo, while Wr so’locá seems to better resemble 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. [NUA: Tb, Num; SUA: Trn]

**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.’

UACV1465 \*tori ‘rat’: L.Son314 \*tori ‘rata’; M88-to8 ‘mouse/rata’; KH/M-to8: Eu tori; Wr tori ‘rata’; Tr rorí ‘rata’; My tóori ‘rata’; Tbr tolí ‘rata negra’. With loss of very short 1<sup>st</sup> syllable and Canaanite vowel shift of \*aa > oo, this term reflects a Hebrew/Phoenician/Canaanite cognate. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr]

**1425** Arabic ndw / nadaa ‘invite, call together’:

UACV609 \*nata / \*nara ‘cry’: L.Son167 \*nara ‘llorar’; M88-na10 ‘cry’; KH/M-na10: Op nara; Wr nalá-; Tr nará; HN nanalka ‘snort, bark (of dog)’. [-d- > liquids] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]

**1426** Arabic rmy / ramaa ‘throw, cast’; Hebrew rmy / raamaa ‘throw’;

Syriac rmy/rm’ ‘put, place, pour, cast, leave on the ground’:

UACV989 \*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-/l- in Hopi and Tak. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

UACV1405 \*limu ‘lumpy, bumpy’: Sr rimiimi’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: Cah]

**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 rəwaaħjaa ‘break, clearing, relief’;

Arabic rwħ ‘go in the evening; go away, depart, leave, go’ (verbal noun rawaaħ);

Arabic rawaaħ ‘departure, going, leaving, return trip’:

Sr riwriwih-q ‘disappear (distributive)’; Sr riwit-q ‘disappear’; Sr riwi’-q ‘be gone, absent (resultative)’.

**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.

**1429** Arabic kmn ‘be hidden, concealed, latent’:

UACV2036 \*kuman ‘sleep’: KH/M-ku15: Sr kuuman ‘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] [NUA: Tak]

**1430** Arabic iġpaa’a(t) ‘slumber, nap’; Arabic ġpw / ġpy, impfv ya-ġpuw ‘slumber, doze, fall asleep’ (v.n. ġpuuw) would equate to \*ġpy in Hebrew and Aramaic, but could also fit the impfv of Sem-p ya-ġpuw:

UACV2034a \*ippīwi / \*iCpīwi ‘sleep’: Sapir; M67-385 \*pei ‘sleep’; L.Num24 \*ihpi’i ‘sleep’; M88-pī6; KH/M-pī6: In all NUA languages, \*ippīwi applies to sg vs. pl okko’i ‘sleep’: Hp pīwi; TSh ippīih; Sh ippīih; Cm ihpiiti; pui-(in compounds); Kw ’ipii; Ch ipii; SP ahpīi; WMU pwīi, pwīi’!; CU pīi; perhaps Wc húupu ‘sleep habitually’. Hp pīwi and Numic \*(ih)pīi align well. Sapir also ties Cr hipi ‘sich niederlegen zum

schlafen [lie down to sleep]’ (thus the vowels of Cr hipi correspond to Num ippī) 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 [sleep habitually]’ which belongs as well, though the vowels do not match perfectly (normally, Wc u < \*o, and Wc i < \*u). However, considering Kw ’uupuha-ga-dī ‘sleeper, sleepyhead’, which shows geminated \*-pp- like Cr and all the Num languages, they also all have round vowels in common, as 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. [w/’] [NUA: CNum, SNum, Hp; SUA: CrC]

UACV2034b \*i’wi ‘sleep’: Mn iwi; NP i’wi-, iwika ‘go to sleep’. Most forms of \*(iC)pī’i above have an extra initial syllable that ends with a geminating feature, a consonant (cluster) that doubles the -pp-; and WNum \*i’wi is likely a kw-like result of the doubled bilabial cluster? [\*-pp- > -’w- in WNum] [NUA: WNum]

**1431** Hebrew lḥy / ləḥiy ‘chin, jawbone’; Arabic laḥy- ‘jawbone’:

Hopi öyi ‘chin’; Ls ’óoyi-l ‘jaw, chin’. This UA pair’s vowels puzzle, because PUA \*o > ö in Hopi, but \*o > e in Ls. Yet they surely related, whether a 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. Loss of an initial liquid in an unstressed initial syllable is not surprising, and the pharyngeal’s rounding and the strength of the -y- retention impresses me, and a specific and exact semantic match. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**1432** Arabic dny / daniya ‘be low’; Aramaic(CAL) dny / dānaa ‘submit to higher authority’; et-dny ‘be subjected to higher authority, prostate self’; Syriac dānaa ‘follow, obey’:

UACV700a \*tīN ‘below’: M67-35 \*ten ‘below’; M88-ti28; KH.NUA; KH/M-ti28: TSh tīnaa ‘down’; Sh tīnaa ‘down’; Ls tóo-ḥax ‘down, below, underneath’; Tḥ tōḥko ‘abajo’; Cp téyka ‘go down there’; Cp té- ‘down, below’, té’aw ‘down there’; Sr tīivukya ‘down below’; Cr hetyé-n ‘beneath it/him’ (M88); Cr nye-hetyá ‘beneath me’ (M88); Cr heteén ‘debajo’ (McMahon & McMahon); Wc hee.tīa(na) ‘al pie de’. The medial N is not apparent in some, and forms relating to CL.Azt44 \*\*təmo(wa) ‘descend’ are included by some, but the medial N is different. However, CN tlani ‘below, underneath’ aligns well with Semitic daniya. In fact, other UA forms at UACV701 are similar enough to 700, that we list them below, as well as a similar but different Arabic verb dwn / daana vs dny daniya, and it is common in Semitic that two consonants often appear to create similar but different verbs. So I list the lot of them below, as the two sets, both on the Semitic side and UA side, overlap enough to deserve more thought. Many forget that this work is entitled *Exploring ...* as a first exploration. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: CrC]

Note also: Arabic dwn, daana ‘be low, vi’; II dawwana ‘write (put down in writing)’;

Arabic dwn / duun ‘low, base, adj’; duuna ‘below’ (used as preposition):

UACV701 \*tana / \*tani ‘down, below’: Tb(V) tana ‘get down’; Tb(M) ta’na~andaa’an ‘get down, get off’; NT táana ‘abajo, adv’; CN tlani ‘below, underneath’. It is possible that the leveling of vowels (such as the a-i as in tlani) may be a source for \*tīn; and thus these forms may relate to the above (M88-ti28: M67-35 \*ten ‘below’); however, a variety of medial consonants (m, ’, n) raises many questions; regardless, Tb, NT, and CN all clearly show \*tan. [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Azt]

**1433** Hebrew ḥwš / ḥyš ‘hurry’ (impfv: \*ya-ḥuuš); (hiqtil) yaḥjiš-(uu/aa) ‘hurry, hasten (something)’:

TSh yawī(sī) ‘quickly, fast, in a hurry; hurry up!’.

**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 checkered, have stripes’; TO čičpa’avi ‘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: TO ‘dotted’ and ‘prostitute’ < Semitic ‘blemish’ and ‘damage to reputation’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

**1435** Hebrew ḥaadaaš ‘new, fresh’; Syriac ḥdt ‘be new’; Arabic ḥdθ / ḥadaθa ‘to happen, come to pass’: SNum \*uta’a ‘be’: WMU ura’a-y / ara’a-y ‘be’; CU urá-’ay ‘be, exist’; SP uru’a- ‘be’. [NUA: SNum]

**1436** Hebrew 'išaa, 'ešet 'woman':

UACV2573 \*wa'iC-pī 'woman': I.Num266 \*wa'ihpī('i) 'woman'; M88-wa16; KH/M03-wa16: TSh wa'ippī 'woman, female'; Sh(M) wa'ippī 'woman'; Sh(C) wa'i-ppī 'woman'; Cm wa'ihpī 'woman's female kinsman' (but example uses it as 'woman'). Given s/š > ' in Num (see eye, fall, be 1435, woman), 'ešet > wa'iC- of CNum. Note š > ' in both 1435 and 1436.

**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.

**1438** Hebrew šbʿ 'to dye'; Arabic ḍabaġa 'to dye', impfv ya-ḍbuġu. Given the cluster created by the impfv's vowelings and the usual loss of the first consonant of the cluster, UA \*pu is expected, though finding the other consonants in a different conjugation would be nice.

UACV736 \*pu 'dye': ST vua 'dye'; Wc ḥīye 'color, form'. Both initial syllables agree with \*pu, though second syllables vary. Wc ḥīye looks like part of Wc māīye 'color' which is attached to many color words, and Semitic' ḍbʿ is also much used for words meaning 'color(ed)', not any specific color, but simply creating colors. [SUA: CrC, Tep]

**1439** Hebrew nš' 'lend out'; Arabic ns' / nasa'a 'to sell with delayed payment, grant credit':

Hopi nasi-moki 'borrowed thing, loan, n'; Hopi nasi-mokyāa-ta 'to borrow'. Hopi moki 'bundle', but the first morpheme is of unknown meaning.

**1440** Hebrew 'rḥ / 'aaraḥ 'be on the road, wander'; Hebrew 'oraḥ 'way, path'; Aramaic 'oorḥaa road, path, journey, manner, n.f.'; Akkadian urxu 'way, expedition': Ch(L) 'uru<sup>w</sup>a- 'travel, go, walk'.

**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. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

**1442** Hebrew ʿrb (< \*ḡrb) 'become evening'; Arabic ġaraba 'go down, set (of sun)'; Arabic ġarb 'west'; Hebrew ʿereb / ʿaareb 'sunset, evening'; the Trn forms appear to reflect the latter: Wr ari 'late afternoon'; Wr(MM) ari / hari / aari 'tarde en la tarde [late in the afternoon]'; Tr ariwa-ma 'to become evening'. Note that b > w in Tr and Wr, at \*kabbed > kawer... etc. [SUA: Trn]

**1443** Syriac ašiig 'wash' (aqtel pfv of šwg):

UACV2493 \*asi / \*asī 'bathe, wash': M67-26\*as; VVH139\*asi; BH.Cup \*aš; M88-'a11; KH.NUA; KH/M-'a11 \*asi; Tb 'aasīt~'a'aas 'bathe, swim'; Sr 'a'ah(i); Cp áše; Ca 'á'as; Ls 'áaš(a); Hp aasi 'wash one's own hair'; Tḡ 'ás-; Tḡ(JH) 'aašok (< \*aasek) 'bathe'. Add Ktn 'ah-an 'bathe, vt' and Ktn 'ar 'bathe, vi'. Less likely Arabic ġsl / ġasala 'to wash', prtclp ḡaasil [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'.

**1445** Aramaic me-rma inf of rmy 'put, throw':

CN miina 'shoot arrows, pierce with arrows'; CN mii-tl 'arrow'; Nawa Zongolica mina 'picar [pierce]'. Pl miima 'shoot with an arrow' (miin-ki pret.); Pl mii-t 'bow and arrow'. Pl miima is exactly what is expected for the Aramaic infinitive: Aramaic merma.

**1446** Aramaic / Syriac **bar kəbaan**-(aa) ‘belt’ (CAL), kbn ‘gird’; 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants clear, 2<sup>nd</sup> absorbed in cluster; 4<sup>th</sup> not clear, and 5<sup>th</sup> consonant missing; the guttural nature of -r- likely underlies -q- (< -rk-): UACV180 \***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 as possible possessive. [NUA: Num, Tak]

**1447** Hebrew qṛṣ ‘bite’; Ugaritic qṛṣ ‘gnaw, nip off’; Aramaic(J) qṛṣ ‘bite, pinch, sting’; Arabic qṛṣ, impfv -qruṣu, v.n. qarṣ ‘pinch, nip, scratch, bite, sting’; Arabic qrd, impfv: -qriḍu, v.n.: qarḍ ‘cut, gnaw, nibble, bite, eat’; UACV230 \***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/M-kī2: Mn **kīC**- ‘by biting’; Mn **kīyī** ‘bite, vt’; Mn **kīcoho** ‘chew’; NP **kī-** ‘with mouth’; NP **kīka’a** ‘biting with mouth’; NP **kīpī** ‘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**; **kīcībakitī**; 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-/če’i-**; CN **ke’coma** ‘bite s.th.’ Ken Hill adds **Ktn kī**’; NT **kīi** ‘he bit’. This is Sem-p, as Sem-kw has η < q. Add Ch **kī’i** ‘bite, v’; Wc **kée/kéi**; Nv **kuku(kīkī)/ku’i** ‘bite’; PYP **kekim** ‘bite, vt’; NT **kīi** / **kīkīyi**; 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, CN (\***kī’c-**) and other details suggest a medial cluster, perhaps \***-’c-**, since a glottal stop is apparent in some, medial \***-c-** in others, and both in Wr, Tr, CN. Note that some languages (Tr, Hp, Tb) have two forms (Tb **’ahaaič** and Tb **kī’it**)? [cluster] [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

The set below has separate forms from the above:

**1448** Semitic qrd ‘bite’; Hebrew qṛṣ ‘bite, nip, pinch’:  
> 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. Hp **kīiki** ‘bite’). [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp]

**1449** Aramaic plpl ‘sprinkle with blood’ (<\*palpil): UACV260 \***paīC** / \***pauC** / \***paC** / \***pap** ‘blood, bleed’: I.Num128 \***paīhpi**; M88-i4; KH/M-i4: Mn **paaC-** / **páápi**; NP **bīipi** (< \***pīip-pi**); TSh **paoC-**, **paoppi**; Sh **pīiC-pin**; Cm **pīihpi**; Kw **pīiC-** / **pīi-pī**; Ch **pái-pi** / **paiwa**; Ch(L) **paīpita**; SP **paīC-** / **paī-ppi**; CU **paaC-** / **páa-pī** (vs. -vī), poss’d **páa-pī-n** ‘my blood’. First two syllables of Eu **vávika** ‘bleed’ align, but lacking more are Tbr **avá** ‘blood’; Mn **paaqa** ‘bleed’; and Ls **páa** ‘to menstruate’. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Tbr]

**1450** Arabic **šbb** ‘pour, gush, flow’; Arabic **šabiib** ‘poured out, **blood**, sweat’: CN(RJC) **espipika** ‘blood flow out’ and Sr **ičava** ‘bleed’ maybe from \***et-šbb** or a denominalized verb from s.th. like **šabiib** ‘**blood**’. What of ST **rpukia** ‘bleed’ if -t- > -r- and -s- > ø? [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, 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, -iy ‘accusative or object suffix’ (Anderton, pp. 95, 185,189); Ls -ay ‘oblique case (accusative and possessed). [NUA: Tak]

**1452** Arabic \***našapa** > **našafa** ‘to reach mid-day, become noon’; Arabic **nišf-** / **nušf-** ‘half, middle’: UACV1115 \***nasipa** ‘half, middle’: Tr **nasípa** ‘half, middle’; Wr **nasíba** ‘half, middle’; Wr(MM) **nasipa** ‘a la mitad, en medio [at / in the middle]’; Hp **naasa-ve(-q)** / **naasa-va(-qe)** ‘middle, center, halfway’ (do Tr and Wr say Hp morpheme boundaries correct?); TSh **nasikaka** ‘middle, between’. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn]



**UACV1117 \*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-tü-ika ‘half of it’; SP navaia ‘divide’; WMU naváy ‘divide (in half)’; CU naváyi ‘divide in half’; CU naváy-ti ‘half’; cf. Kw’s V’s in dove and water. [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 payyah ‘breathe forth, exhale’:

Tr pewa- ‘fumar [to smoke]’. Or perhaps Semitic npx, impfv -npuxu ‘to blow, puff, breathe’

**UACV261b \*puh-ki / \*pukki > \*pukkwī** ‘pant, blow, v’: Ls púxi; Sr poiḥkin; Sh puhki / puhkwī; Mn puuhi; NP puuhi’yū; TSh puuhiC; Cm puuhkiti; Ch pukwi; Ch(L) pukwi-gyah ‘blowing (with mouth or bellows, not of wind)’; SP puqqwīai-ḡqī- ‘to pant, make panting noise, v’. Most suggest medial gemination. [CN p < \*p; \*-c- > NUA y, > ’, > h in clusters] [NUA: Num, Tak]

**1454** From Hebrew bšl ‘grow ripe’ would derive unattested Hebrew \*hibbašel ‘be ripened, that which is ripened’ (niqṭal infinitive):

**UACV351 \*ikwasi** ‘fruit, prickly pear’: B.Tep307 \*’iibahi ‘prickly pear, fruit’; M88-’i5; KH/M-’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 ’ikwási ‘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] [SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

**1455** Arabic ġazzaalat ‘spider’ for the -koso portion of the UA terms below (likely with \*tuk- ‘black’):

**UACV2112 \*tokoso** ‘spider’: Tr fókoso-rowsa ‘blackwidow’; Ch hokóso’a-vi ‘spider’.

[SUA: Trn; NUA: Num]

**1456** Hebrew miin ‘type, kind’:

**UACV2530b \*min** ‘what kind, how’: Ca míṅki ‘what kind’; Sr hamiin ‘how, anything, what’; Ktn haminat(a) ‘what, why, how, how are you?’. [NUA: Tak]

**1457** Arabic šbb / šabba ‘pour, fill, flow, drip, be bathed in, melt, sweat, be wet with perspiration’;

Arabic V tašabbab ‘pour forth, shed, drip, overflow, be bathed (in)’:

**UACV1766 \*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 tīikwa ‘rain, vi’ and Mn tīikwá-pe ‘rain, n’ which may contain a prefix. Tr sikuríwa ‘rain hard’ does not correspond to \*c, but in light of the frequent \*c/s dichotomy, it should be kept in mind. 1450 is šbb of Sem-p, while this is of Sem-kw.

**UACV2519 \*cakkway** ‘wet’: I.Num255 \*caṅk(w) ‘wet, soaked’; M88-ca8 ‘be soaked’; KH/M-ca8: SP pa-čakkwi / čakkwa ‘be/get wet’; Hp cèekwe(-k) ‘dripping wet, soaked, drenched’; CU pacáaqXoy (< \*pacakkoy) ‘get wet’; CU pacokkway ‘get soaked, drenched’; Sh cīnki ‘be soaked’; NP paca-ggwinī ‘soak’; even if -tas- > -c- for NP patasawa-kītti ‘absorb, soak’ were the case, the former and following NP forms seem more likely. Add NP pazoko-ga’yū ‘damp’; Cm paco’itī ‘damp, wet’. Cf. \*cikwa ‘rain’ at 1766 immediately above for Hp cekwekwe-ta ‘rain big drops’. [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Trn, Tep]

**1458** Arabic ’abida ‘be wild, untamed, shy, run away, to last, endure’; Arabic ’aabida(t) ‘wild animal, monster’; Hebrew ’bd ‘become lost, go astray, perish’;

**UACV853 \*ikwiya** ‘be afraid’: B.Tep345 \*’iibīdi-i ‘to be afraid’; M88-i16; KH/M-il: TO iibid; UP ’iibidī; LP iibiji; NT iibiidi; 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. [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): UA \*hava / \*ivV ‘go ahead! Yes, go/do!’: Kw ’iivi ‘now’; SP ivī ‘go ahead! (hortatory adv)’; Hopi hīva-m ‘hortative particle for second person dual and plural used in commands and invitations’; AYq hava ‘go ahead!, interjection’; Yq haba ‘Anda pues! [go then!], bueno! [good], está bien! [that’s fine]’. Final -m is pl suffix, so Hopi hīva- matches Hebrew haavaa well, and Yq and AYq match real well, perfectly. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Cah]

**1460** Modern Aramaic(A) **šikwana** ‘ant’; Arabic zunbur ‘hornet’; Aramaic(J) **zibbooraa** ‘hornet’: UACV44 \***siku** ‘ant’: M67-5; CL.Azt2 \***ciika** ‘ant’ < \*301 sika ‘ant’; Fowler83; M88-si12 ‘type of ant’; KH/M06-si12: Op sikku-ci; Eu siku-c; Wr sekú; 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 Aztecan \***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 [gives an itch]’ 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. [SUA: Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, 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: UACV231 \***cipuC** ‘bitter’: VVH13 \***cihpu**; B.Tep \***sivu’u**; M67-43 \***cipu**; L.Son33 \***cipu**; M88-ci1; Munro.Cup16 \***číivu-t**: KH.NUA; KH/M-ci1: Ls číiv ‘be bitter’; Ls čiiu-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 šívu; ST šivu’; Eu čipú; Op čipu ‘bitter’; Yq číibu; My čiiibu; Wr sihpú; Tr čí’pú; Wc cíwi / civi; and perhaps Cr (an)cíhivi (McMahon); Cr ancíhvi’i (JM). Tr po(y)á ‘ser amargo [be bitter]’; Tr čí’pú-ame ‘amargo, amargoso’; Tr čí’korigame ‘agarroso, de sabor muy astringente, quemante [of stringent taste, burning]’ are a puzzling trio for Tr. The -t absolute in Munro’s Takic forms, the glottal stops in Sr and ST, and Bascom’s Tep reconstruction, suggest a lost but lingering final consonant. [Wc **i** < \***u**; medial \***-p-** > **ø** in Wc; TO, PYp **o** < \***u**; c/s in Wr] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn Opn, Cah, Trn, CrC]

**1462** Hebrew **šaapaa(t)** ‘lip, speech, edge, shore (of sea), bank (of river)’ (t > s) UACV788 \***capa-** ‘ridge, edge’: L.Son28 \***capa** ‘loma’; M88-ca13; KH/M-ca13: Eu zápsi (capsi) ‘loma [hill]’; Wr cahpá ‘ridge, edge’; Wr cahpací ‘leg, shin bone’; Tr capá-ci ‘espinilla [shin]’. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

**1463** Hebrew **šaapaa(t)** ‘lip, speech, edge, shore (of sea), bank (of river)’, construct: **šipt-o** ‘lip-his’; dual construct: **šiptec**: UACV1981 \***sap** / \***šip** ‘side’: Sr a-hīvia ‘side, edge, shore; by, beside’; Eu sépuvai ‘de un lado’; TO **hiwču** ‘groin, side of the body’ (< \***šiptu**, i.e., TO h < \*s and w < \*p); Sh sapai-pin ‘side’. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Opn, Tep]

**1464** Semitic has a variety of roots built on gl—gwl, gll, glgl,  $\zeta$ gl—generally meaning ‘round, roll, wrap’: Arabic gwl ‘wander, be circulated, go the rounds’, f. impfv: **taguulu**; Syriac gwl ‘to wind, twine round, stir’; Aramaic gwl ‘roll up, roll away’; Aramaic gll ‘roll’; Aramaic gallel ‘make round’; Hebrew t-goolal ‘roll’; Arabic gallel ‘envelop, wrap’; Aramaic  $\zeta$ gl ‘tie around, make round, roll’: the UA forms below resemble f. sg. Semitic verb forms like (1) ta-guul / ta-gool, or (2) ta-gluul / ta-glool, or (3) ta- $\zeta$ guul / ta- $\zeta$ gool; some UA forms show a glottal stop ta’kolV, which could be an anticipated -l- of the second form or an unrounded pharyngeal of the third form; some unrounded pharyngeals happen, as in 1465 the next entry; this is a less secure entry, so the following are suggestions to consider: UACV433a \***takola** / \***takula** ‘round, (en)circle’: Eu takóris ‘circle’; AYq tekolai ‘round’; My tékolai ‘redondo’; Sr ta’ki’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. [Sr vowel; \***u-a** > **o-a**]

**UACV433b \*cikola/i** (> Tep \*sikoLa) ‘(a)round’: VVH148 \*cikuri/cikori; B.Tep190 \*sikora 'round'; B.Tep191 \*sikori 'around'; M88-ci15; KH/M-ci15: TO sikod ‘round, circumscribed’; TO sikol ‘circular, round’; NT šikóra; NT šikóóraka; ST šikar. Ken Hill adds Cahita číkola ‘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 sikĩrara ‘a circular’; Wc šikĩri ‘girar, caminar en círculos’; Wc šikĩ.ráiyē ‘redondo’; Wc šikĩravi ‘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 UACV433a, b, c all belong given \*tako > \*tiko > \*ciko. Add CN(RJC) tlakolol-li ‘s.th. bent in this way’; CN(RJC) tlakololis-tli ‘act of making crooked or of bending or making a detour on the road’; CN(RJC) nitla-tlakolotuih ‘andar culebreando’.

**UACV433c \*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] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC]

**1465** Hebrew lqḥ, -qqah; imperative forms: qah and qəḥaa, these UA forms are of the latter and Sem-kw: **UACV415 \*ḡiha** / \*ḡihi ‘grasp, catch’: Hp ḡi’a ‘grab, catch’; Hp ḡi’i-wa ‘get caught’; WMU güü / güü-y ‘grasp, catch, get, take, vt’; Kw ku’u ‘catch, get, receive’; CU kií ‘take, pick up, obtain’. Perhaps Ch kwihí ‘catch, take, receive’; SP qwĩ- ‘take’. Sometimes initial k can sound like either k or g to English speakers. Op nua ‘grasp, grab’ aligns with Hp ḡi’a, given the frequent NUA ḡ and SUA n correspondence. [Sem-kw] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Opn]

**1466** Hebrew mšṭ ‘be few, be too small’; Hebrew məšaṭ ‘a little, a little amount, n.m.’: **UACV1362 \*mi’a** ‘small’: Ch mi’áu-nci ‘small’; Ch mi’áu-pičiwĩ ‘small one’; SP mia’-C ‘small’; SP mia’-ppĩ-ci ‘small’; CU míi-ci ‘little (of mass)’; CU míi-pĩ-ci ‘small, little’; WMU mii’ič ‘a little bit’; WMU mičči / mí’püči / míppüči / mii(’)püči ‘little, small, short (one)’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds NP miici ‘short’. Sem-kw with no rounding for pharyngeal? [NUA: SNum, WNum]

**1467** Hebrew pošal ‘daily labor, deed, wage’; Hebrew pəšullaa(t) ‘work, action, wage’: **UACV566 \*puwa(l)** ‘count’: CL.Azt38 \*po(wa) count; M88-po19; KH/M-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 pò- portion of Hp pòotoyla ‘to count’, since the long Hp word must be a compound historically, though we would expect ö for \*o, but o for \*u, as Pl has, unless final *a* lowered the round vowel in Azt: \*u-a > o-a. Denominative verb from ‘wage’ to ‘the count, to count’. [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’:

**UACV941 \*toḡa** ‘knee’: Sapir; VVH30 \*toḡo ‘knee’; M67-245; I.Num108 \*taḡa ‘knee’; B.Tep227 \*toona ‘knee, lower leg’; L.Son311 \*tono ‘rodilla’; M88-to7; KH/M-to7: I like Sapir’s \*toḡa and Bascom’s SUA \*toona reconstructions, which agree. In spite of the unruly vowelings, most Uto-Aztecanists agree that these initial t and medial n/ḡ words are related; Sapir’s rightly suggests that both \*tana/taḡa and \*tono/toḡo assimilated their vowels (in opposite directions), from what contained both: \*toḡa, or \*toḡwa > toḡo / toḡa.

**UACV941a \*taḡa < \*toḡa** ‘knee’: Mn tanabódo / tanobódo / tonobódo; TSh taḡappih; Sh tanka-ppih; Sh tanka-mmattooh ‘kneel, crawl on knees, v’; Cm tana; Kw tana-vĩ; Ch taḡá; SP taḡa; CU táa-vi.

**UACV941b \*toḡo < \*toḡa** ‘knee’: Tb toḡoo-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(B) ronó ‘pie [foot], pierna [leg], pata trasera’ [hind leg]; Cr tunú ‘knee’. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, 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 / \*takowa show similar meanings ‘to wound, to sound/crow (of bird)’. In addition, 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’:

UACV2091 **\*takowa**, perhaps < **\*takawa** ‘injure(d), damage(d), ruin’: Tbr takoá-t ‘dañado [harmed, injured, damaged]’; CN(S) tlakoa ‘dañar [hurt, injure, damage], pecar [to sin]’; 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: Tbr, Azt]

The above reflects Semitic-p q > ko/qo; in contrast, Ktn tí’η-tí’η-k ‘drive in a stake or nail’ (1470) reflects Semitic-kw q > η with anticipation of the ʕ as a glottal stop, and most impressive is its exact meaning agreement with Hebrew(KB) tqʕ ‘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) tqʕ ‘drive in (peg, stake), thrust in a weapon, blow a horn/trumpet, clap (hands)’:  
Ktn tí’η-tí’η-k ‘drive in a stake or nail’; Ktn tí’η-k ‘strain, put through a colander, drive in a stake or nail’.

1471 Hebrew **tqʕ** ‘1. stick in, drive (weapon into), 2. sound/blow (horn)’:

UACV1977 **\*tokowa** ‘to crow, (animals) to make their respective noise’: Hp töötöq- (Hill), Hp töq- (Whorf1937b) ‘shout, cry out, scream, yell, chirp, make a characteristic call’; Tr(B) tókowa ‘cloquear [to crow (as bird)]’; CN tookaai-tl ‘name’; CN tookaa-yoo-tiaa ‘name, vt, call s.o. by name’. Add My reko-te ‘crow, cackle’; Tb tokokoo’at ‘pop, v’. [NUA: Tb, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]

1472 Hebrew **tqʕ** ‘1. stick in, drive (weapon into), 2. sound/blow (horn)’: in UA also ‘to sound / crow’; and besides ‘wound’ and ‘sound’, variants also came to mean ‘Lord’ and ‘palm of the hand’:

UACV1423a **\*tiku** / **\*tikuwa** ‘lord, master, father’: CL.Azt107 **\*teekw** ‘master, father’; Jane Hill 1985; M88-ti10: KH/M-ta2: My téeko ‘patrón’; Tr tékowa / tékoa / tékutuame ‘patrón, amo, jefe, señor’; CN teekw-tli / teku’-tli ‘lord, member of high nobility’. Note Tr t, not f. KH/M-ta2 rightly joins M88-ti10 with ta2, combining **\*takwi** ‘Takwic, a mythological figure, lightning’ and **\*tiku**, and mixing men and gods has been done across many cultures. 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’; Te i-tieko ‘su dueño’. She also aligns Tak **\*taakwi-** ‘divinity manifested as ball lightning’ (1423b below), 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’ (UACV1046) belong? [Tr t, not f] [SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt; NUA: Num]

UACV1423b **\*takwi** ‘ball lightning, supernatural being’: Munro.Cup127 **\*táakwi-š** ‘mythological being’; KH.NUA: Sr taakwč ‘ball lightning, Tahquitz (a supernatural being on Mt. San Jacinto)’; Cp tákwi-š ‘a Cahuilla monster who appears as ball lightning’; Ls táakwi-š ‘ball lightning, Tahquitz’; Ca táku-š; Cr takwa ‘Herr [lord], Eigentümer eines Tieres [owner of animals]’ and Cr takwa-te ‘niederer Götter [lower gods]’ (-te = pl suff) (Preuss 1934). While a and b may mesh, I separate both from **\*tahi** ‘fire’ due to My táhi ‘fire’ and My téeko ‘patrón’ among other things. [medial -kw- or kui?] [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

UACV970 **\*takupi** ‘friend’: SP tīgivī- ‘friend’; WMU tagúvi-n ‘friend-my’; CU tīgivī-n ‘friend-my’. [SNum]

1473 Hebrew **tqʕ** ‘1. stick in, drive (weapon into), 2. sound/blow (horn)’; besides ‘wound’ and ‘sound’, similar terms also mean ‘lord’ and ‘palm of the hand’:

UACV1604 **\*maC-tako(wo)** (< **\*takuwa**) ‘palm’: B.Tep148 **\*ma-taka** ‘palm of the hand’ (**\*ma** = ‘hand’); M67-314 **\*ma-taka** ‘palm of the hand’: Tbr -tako- ‘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 mapqölö ‘palm of the hand’ with PUA **\*w** > Hp l/ \_ö, and PUA **\*o** > Hp ö; thus, Hp qölö < **\*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. This may be a compound of ‘hand’ and **\*takuwa** ‘concavity, lower place where things collect’.

[SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Opn; NUA: Hp, Tak]

**UACV1205 \*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 mapqölö ‘palm of hand’ lost first syllable as also Hp qölö ‘hole in the ground, pit’ and Hp qölljö ‘expanse of, place where there is a lot of, stand of, patch or cluster of’: \*(ta)kowo < \*takuwa. [SUA: Tep, Tbr, Opn; NUA: Hp]

**1474 Hebrew tqš** ‘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’:

**UACV1432 \*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/M-tu4 \*tukuR (AMR): Mn tuku ‘flesh’; NP dduku ‘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 tükúa-vi (< \*tökkua-); Cp tuk’a ‘skin (poss’d)’; Ca tük’u; Ls tuká ‘muscle, lean meat’; Tḡ túkin ‘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] [iddddua] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, Tbr]

In addition to already cited 717 Aramaic / Syriac qlp ‘peel off, shell, rub away’; Arabic qlp ‘strip bark (from tree), verbal noun: qalp for UACV1893 \*kīlipi ‘shell or shuck corn, v’, we also have from Sem-kw:

**1475 Hebrew glb** ‘shear, shave’: Ca ḡep ‘scrub, scrape, vt’; Ca ḡepel ‘scrub, vt’. Is Ca a metathesis, for Sem-kw would have kw < -lb-.

**1476 Hebrew ʕešem** ‘bone’ (< ʕšm ‘be powerful, countless’); Arabic ʕašm- ‘bone’ (< ʕašuma ‘be great, powerful’); this term can take either the fem or masc plural; masc pl ʕəšaam-iim ‘bones of corpse’ has a very short first vowel, easily deleted, but a long 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel; the ʕ, pharyngealized š, and bilabial m, could all tend to round vowels; in light of all that, ʕəšaam-iim > comim > cumi is plausible; or the Aramaic cognate Aramaic ʕaətem ‘bone, thigh’:

**UACV273 \*cuḡmi** ‘bone’: CNum: TSh cuḡmi/cuḡni-ppīḡ; Sh cuḡni/cuḡwi-ppīḡ; Cm cuḡni. Because \*m > n is known in UA, but not \*n > m, we must reconstruct \*m. Hebrew š > UA \*c suggests Sem-kw and Sem-kw tends to lose initial guttural syllables. (Cf. 597 ‘rabbit’.) [-m/n-] [CNum]

In 1476 above, the Semitic emphatic -š- is initial and is retained as UA \*c; in contrast, 1477 below may be from Sem-p, losing the clustered emphatic in UACV272b, but in 272a the clustered emphatic was first reduced to -h- / -’-, then the cluster separated: \*ʕašmV > ohmV / o’mV > ohom / o’om, and then final -m often lost.

**1477 Hebrew ʕešem** ‘bone’ (< Hebrew ʕšm ‘be powerful, countless’); possessed form ʕašm- ‘bone (of)’; Arabic ʕašm- ‘bone’ (< Arabic ʕašuma ‘be great, powerful’):

**UACV272b \*omi** / \*ohomī ‘bone’: Sapir; VVH61 \*’oho; M88-’o1; CL.Azt19 \*oomV < \*\*oho-mī; KH/M-’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 < \*ʕašm- is a good match, given pharyngeal initial rounding, and loss of 1<sup>st</sup> C of the cluster with compensatory vowel lengthening. [\*o > Hp ö, Wc u, Tḡ e] **UACV272a \*oho** / \*oCo ‘bone’: Sapir; VVH61 \*’oho; B.Tep324 \*’oo ’oi/o ‘bone’ and \*’oo ’odī ‘his bone’; M67-52 \*’o/’oho; I.Num13 \*’oho; L.Son14 \*’o; M88-’o1; KH.NUA; KH/M-’o1: WNum: Mn óho; NP oho; SNum: Kw ’oho-vī; Ch ohóvī; Ch(L) hohovī; SP o(h)o-; WMU öö-vū ‘bone (of dead animal)’; WMU öö’-a-

'bone (of living being, usually poss'd)'; CU 'öö-vi; 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 ööt; Ktn oc; Tḡ -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 'odí 'his bone': NT óódí; ST 'a'ood; UP 'oo'ojí 'his bone'. Eu hówa (gen. hóhte; acc. hóhta); Op owa 'bone'; Tbr ho-ta-rá-k/t; o(-la); Yq ota; My otta; Tr o'čí; Wr o'á 'bone'; and 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 ʕzm 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 that or a genitive.

[NUA: WNum, SNum, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**1478 Hebrew ʕar** 'enemy'; Hebrew ʕrr 'treat with hostility, attack'; Arabic ɗrr 'harm, hurt, injure'; UACV817 \***say-** 'enemy, opponent'; M67-158 \*say 'enemy'; L.Son236 \*sayo, sa-i 'enemigo, enfrentarse'; M88-sa14 'enemy'; KH/M-sa14: NP sai 'enemy'; Wr sahi 'adversary, opponent in a game'; Tr na-sayé 'enfrentarse entre varios'; My sáyyo 'enemigo'; Cr sáyuu '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 sáyuu 'el enemigo, el contrario' is a loan as NT s < \*c, NT d < \*y. [\*y > h in Wr again]

[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**1479 Syriac dihl-aa** 'fear, dread, awe'; Syriac dāḥel 'to fear, dread, stand in awe, reverence: or yr' hoḡtal (\*tura 'be made afraid') or Hebrew hiḡtiil (\*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: UACV858 \***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.' [SUA: Tep]

The following may be of Sem-kw:

**1480 Hebrew naʕ<sup>a</sup>raa / naʕ<sup>a</sup>rat** 'girl':

UACV2586b \***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 ñíči-l<sup>y</sup>, pl: ñiḡkič-em 'woman, female'. The reflexes in WNum mean 'little boy' but 'girl' in CNum and SNum. At 90 and 91 are items from nʕr, and this may be also with ʕ > ' and final -N < -r. [NUA: Num, Tak]

**1481 Syriac rḡh** 'seethe, bubble up, grow hot'; these compound xut 'fire' with rḡh as in \*xut-rḡh: UACV1211 \***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 qwattürooci 'be warm (of inanim obj's)'. These SNum terms may tie to TrC \*utu. Compounded with \*kut 'fire' or s.th. like Mn ku 'with heat', we see \*kuttutu with \*-tt- remaining -t-, but single \*-t- > -r-. [NUA: SNum]

**1482 Syriac rḡh** 'seethe, bubble up, grow hot'; Syriac ratḡh-aa 'bubbling up, fermentation, fervent heat'; Hebrew rattaḡ 'bring to boil' (UA probably of a D form with doubled medial consonant to produce intervocalic -t- in Tr and other forms in the 1212b set); MHebrew rḡh 'simmer, be hot'; 1212a resembles an infinitive ratoḡ, and 1212b a noun form ratḡh-aa:

UACV1212a \***tatu'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: \*ta-tu'i. The SUA forms below likely share a morpheme. [Num]

UACV1212b \***tatta** 'hot': My tatta 'hace calor'; Yq táta 'calor [heat], estar caliente [be hot]'; AYq tatalé 'feel hot'; Wr tahtáni 'to be hot'; Tr a'tará- 'to be hot'; Tr(B) ráta-ame 'caliente [hot], cálido [warm]';

Tr(B) fáta-ba-ma ‘calentarse, ponerse caliente [become hot]’; Tr(H) ratá ‘hacer calor [be hot (weather)], vi’; Tr(H) rata-ra ‘tener calenture [be hot], vi’; Tr(H) rata-ba ‘relumbrar, resplandecer, brillar mucho [be shining, very bright]’. Whether relevant or not, a great example of consonant harmony is the three Tr variants: Tr fáta-góbutu/gógutu/bobutu ‘have a fever’. [SUA: Trn, Cah; NUA: Num]

UACV2226 \***taCcaC** < \***tattaC** / \***taCcaC** ‘summer’: VVH27 \***tauca** ‘sun, summer’; M67-423c; I.Num211 \***taca(h)** ‘summer’; B.Tep218 \***tasai** ‘sun, day’; M88-ta4; KH/M06-ta4: this appears in most of the Numic languages semantically as ‘summer’: NP **taca**, Sh **tacaC**, Cm **taaca**, Kw **taza**, SP **tacaC**, WMU **táč / tača-tti**, CU **táča**, etc; but in the Tep languages (\***tasa** < UA\***taca**) as ‘sun, day’; and Cr **táca** ‘be transparent, clear (water)’ may be cognate. The Tep forms at ‘sun’ (\***tasa** < \***taca**) belong here with this set: TO **taš** ‘day, sun, clock’; Nv **tasa** ‘sun, day’; PYP **tasa** ‘sun, day’; NT **tásai** ‘sun, day’; NT **tasīivodī** ‘rays of sun’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, CrC]

**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’: UACV454 \***ruya** ‘roll, turn, twist’: My **ro’akte** ‘to roll over’; AYq **roakta** ‘roll up s.th., vt’; AYq **roakte** ‘roll, vi’ (in Yq -r- > -’- then often lost); 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-qtill form. Initial d > r is seen in Tr and elsewhere. [NUA: Hp, Tb, Num; SUA: Cah]

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 **turu** ‘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’: UACV2391 \*(**sun**)-**tīha** ‘pity, have compassion for’; Mn (wī)**sutīhai** ‘pity, feel sorry for’; NP **tīiha** ‘pity, vt’; NP **suddīhai**; Sh **suntahai** ‘feel sorry for, pity, save’ (likely sun- ‘heart’ in the compounds); CU **tīaa-ni** ‘pitiable’; CU **tīaa** ‘space, area, room.’ The two meanings of CU **tūaa** ‘open space, gap, area’ and CU **tūaani** ‘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). [NUA: Num]

The following uses the same root as the previously cited 886 Hebrew y-’rk ‘be long (time and space/length) > UA \*yīnji ‘be/pass a long time’ (Cp **yéngé** ‘to last a long time, endure’; Ca **yén** ‘pass a while (of time), stay a while’; Sr **yīnji**’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); Aramaic(CAL) ’rk ‘be long, be prolonged’; Aramaic(CAL) **a’rek** ‘make long, prolong’; 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 **wīi-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’; Hp **wīyoq** ‘big, large, older’ (but **wīi-yo-q** ‘big-nom-extent’); both **wīiyaqa** and **wīyoq** match Semitic vowelings of the perfect and infinitive and mean much the same. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Azt]

**1487** Aramaic(CAL) **gšĥ** ‘tear away, lacerate’; Syriac **gšĥ** ‘rub or graze the skin’; Syriac **gaššah** ‘scratch, give a scratch, wound slightly’; Semitic \*x or \*ĥ? UACV2386 \***ḡaska** ‘be rough, scratch’: Cp **ḡášxa** ‘be rough’; Cp **ḡašxaḡášxa**’a-š ‘rough, adj’; Ls **ḡáaxa/i** ‘scratch, scrape, vi, scratch, brush against, vt’. When something is rough, it scratches; and ‘scratch’ is in both

the Semitic and UA definitions. The cluster apparent in Cp was reduced in Ls with compensatory lengthening of the vowel compensating for the reduction. [NUA: Tak]

UACV2385b \***kīškia** ‘itch’: CL.Azt93 \***kəškia** ‘itch’; M88-ki13; KH/M-ki13: CN kekeškia; Pl kekeš; Po koški; T kekeškIa. Perhaps the same stem as Tep \***kīsa** (1490), plus another morpheme. [SUA: Tep, Azt]

**1488** \***m-šly**: the Semitic verb \***šly** ‘go up’ with Semitic mV- prefixed yields a few Semitic forms that would match UA \***mulV** ‘steam’, and steam goes up as smoke goes up; e.g., Hebrew maš<sup>a</sup>le ‘causing to rise/go up’ (maš<sup>a</sup>le is the hiqtiil prtcpl of šly ‘go up’) and is used for ‘smoke going up’ (Judges 20:38):

UACV268a \***mulV** ‘boil’: M67-51; M88-mu23 ‘to boil’; KH.NUA; KH/M-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’.

UACV268b \***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’mon’ ‘boil’. These two, Sr and Tb, show medial -n-, while the Cupan languages show medial -l-, though \***tul** at ‘black’ (710) shows a similar contrast between Sr and the other Tak languages. [l/n; liquids; nasals]

UACV268c \***molo** ‘boil, waft upward’: CL.Azt18 \***moloonV** ‘boil, v’ < \*\***molo** ‘boil’; M88-mo9; KH/M-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 molooni. [\*u-a > o-o; liquids] [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Azt]

**1489** Semitic qrb ‘approach, be near’ (Semitic-kw): Ls njáaya ‘be close, be near’.

**1490** Arabic xdš ‘scratch’, verbal noun: **xadš** ‘scratching’; Arabic xadš- ‘a scratch, scratch mark’:

UACV2385a \***kīca** ‘scratch’: B.Tep134 \***kīsa** ‘to scratch’; KH/M-ki19: LP kīšm(im); NT kīisa; ST kīs; TO keš-kud ‘back scratcher’. Sem-p has x > k. [SUA: Tep]

**1491** Hebrew participle **maš<sup>a</sup>le** ‘cause (smoke) to rise’ is one meaning of the causative of šly ‘go up’; Hebrew maš(ə)le ‘rising, ascent, climb’; Hebrew maš<sup>a</sup>laa ‘upward’:

UACV2050 \***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/M-mo8: Cp mí’at; Ca mí’-at; Ls méyi ‘make medicinal steam or smoke by putting herbs on heat’; Sr möö’ ‘be smoky’; Sr mö’aa’t ‘smoke, n’; Eu moró- ‘humear’; Wr molo / mori ‘hacer humo’; Wr morewa ‘humo’; Tr morí/murí ‘humo’; Eu moráwa ‘humo’. Ken Hill adds Ktn muahkik ‘be smoky, v’; Ktn muaht / mua’t / mwat ‘smoke, haze’; Cr rakīšmwáát<sup>y</sup>e’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 ‘echar humo [put off smoke]’.

UACV769 \***muli** ‘dust’: Ca múli-š ‘dust’; Wr moréwa ‘smoke, dust’; Tr bemorí ‘dust’; ST čumoik ‘dusty, pulverized ground, soft’ (consider ST -moik since ST ču- may be a separate morpheme in light of ST čukuubs ‘dust’; ST kuubiš ‘dust’). UACV769 has some overlap with 2050, but also contains some other forms. The semantic shift from a column of smoke to a column of dust is not great. [l/r/t/ø]

check 1488 and 1491. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**1492** Hebrew mugdal ‘big’: Ls muká-t ‘big, large’. Some question on the -gd- cluster.

**1493** Hebrew **qerah** ‘ice, frost, crystal’ (verbs of this root in other Semitic languages mean ‘freeze’); Syriac quur-aa ‘cold, frost-the’:

UACV516: AMR 1992; KH/M06-’i12: 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-i18 where it was with the Tak forms (Sr ’iči; Tj ’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?



**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). Many Classical Nahuatl (CN) verbs form the past tense by prefixing oo- and then dropping the last vowel:

verb stem	past
petlawā	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 [she did nurse/breastfeed]’

Yet Cora shows the complete wa-, not o-. Also is UACV2697 below

UACV2697 \*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 **ʕrb**, **hit-ʕareb** ‘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 ʕ < \*ʕ or \*ǧ; though unattested, the niqtal or \*na-ʕrab is the shape that UA aligns with:

UACV1447 \*na-**rowa** ‘stir’: Tr na’ro- ‘mix, stir’; Tr na’ro-ame ‘mixed, stirred’; Wr loá-ni, loa-má ‘stir food while cooking’; CN nelooa ‘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 ǧrb, qrb] [SUA: Trn, Azt]

**1496** Hebrew **brd** ‘to hail’; Hebrew baaraad ‘hail’; Syr bard-aa ‘hail-the’; Arabic brd ‘be cold’;

Arabic barad ‘hail’; Aramaic(CAL) brd ‘be struck with hail’; Aramaic bard-aa ‘hail, n’:

Tr bara- ‘ser el tiempo de lluvias [be the time of rains]’; My baali / baayi ‘fresco [cool]’; AYq bali ‘cool’. [SUA: Trn, Cah]

**1497** Hebrew ’ootii ‘me’ (object/accusative pronoun), ’ittii ‘me (acc), with me: Tr ti ‘me’.

**1498** Arabic ǧy’ / -gii’ ‘come, get to, reach, arrive, bring (with b- ‘with’)’:

UACV56b \*ki ‘come, come to do s.th.’: Sapir ties CN kiiu’, pl: kiiwi’ ‘come to do s.th.’ and SP -ki- ‘come in order to’. Add Tḡ kii ‘come’; WMU -ki ‘come, moving this way’; Kw ki ‘come (toward), go this way’; in compounds CU -ki ‘coming this way’. Note that CN kiiu’, pl: kiiwi’ may show the glottal stop as well. Is that and CN tiwi ‘go to do something’ analogically made similar? Perhaps also the ki- of Hp ki-ma ‘to be bringing, taking, carrying things along’ and Arabic \*gy’ ‘come’ means ‘bring’ when b- ‘with’ means coming with s.th.’ [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Azt]

UACV381 \*ki ‘bring, take to’: M67-61a \*ki ‘bring’; M88-ki2; KH/M06-ki2: NP kia ‘give’; Tb kinat~ ’inǧin ‘bring’; Hp ki-ma ‘take, bring pl obj’s’. To the above we might add Hp ki-va ‘bring many things’; AYq kivača ‘bring sg obj’; AYq kiima ‘bring pl obj’. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Cah]

**1499** Hebrew *zry* ‘to scatter, sow’; Aramaic(S) *dry* /*dəraa* ‘to winnow, scatter’; Ugaritic *dry*; Samaritan *dry*; Syriac *dəraa* ‘to scatter, sprinkle, winnow’, verbal noun: **dəree** / **dərii**: UACV1920 \***tari** ‘seed’: Tr *tari* ‘semilla, grano para sembrar [seed for sowing]’; Wr *ih-tari* ‘semillas para sembrar’. [Wr *ih-*] [SUA: Trn]

**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 *parhaa* ‘flower’; Arabic *farx* ‘chick, shoot, sprout’; UA seems to reflect the Hebrew *hi-priix*, fem: *hi-priixa*, pl: *hi-priixu*: UACV908 \***hVpiNka** ‘bloom’: M88-hu18; KH/M-hu18: Mn *hibiga* ‘bloom, vi’; Mn *hibigá* ‘flower, blossom, n’; TSh *hipiŋki* ‘bloom’; TSh *hipi/hipi* ‘flower’; TSh *hipiŋkippī* ‘flower, blossom’; Sh *hipinkī* ‘to bloom’; Sh *hipinkippih*; Kw *hivi-vi* ‘flower’; Tb ‘*ibii*’it~’*ibii*’ ‘to bloom’; Tb ‘*ibii-l*’ ‘flower’. [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 *šin* (Semitic *s<sub>2</sub>*) and sometimes other sibilants sometimes go to *c/č*:

**1502** Hebrew *swp* ‘come to an end’; Hebrew *soop* ‘end, rearguard’; Aramaic(CAL) *swp* / **sawp-aa** / **soop-aa** ‘end-the’; Aramaic *šwp* ‘1 crouch, crawl, 2 rub, sharpen’; Aramaic(J) *šuup-taa* ‘chip, pin, n.f.’: UACV798 \***cuppa** ‘point, prick’: L.Son48 \**cup* ‘punta’; M88-cu19; KH/M-cu19: Wr *cuhpá* ‘punta aguda [sharp point]’; Tr *čupi* ‘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/M-co9, we move here forms along the lines of ‘buttocks, point, hill’: Pl *cupi* ‘arse, anus’; My *čobbe* ‘parte trasera [hind part], 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 \*-pp-. The alternate forms in Tr recommend Eu *cuwat* ‘aguijón de avispa [wasp stinger]’. NP’s vowel metathesis happened at ‘bat’ also (\**pati* > NP *pita*). [p/w] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt; NUA: Num]

**1503** Hebrew *šnp* ‘to wrap up, wind around’; Hebrew *šaniip* ‘headband, turban’; Syriac *šanep* ‘bind, roll around’: UACV479 \***cini** ‘cotton, cloth/clothing made of cotton’: L.Son32 \**cini* ‘cotton’; M88-ci2 ‘cloth’; KH/M-ci2: Eu *čin* ‘algodon [cotton]’; Wr *ciní* ‘tela [cloth]’; Tr *činí* ‘manta [cloak], tela blanca de algodón [white cloth of cotton]’; My *cíni-m* ‘algodon’; Yq *čiinim*. [idddd] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn]

**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’.

**1505** Egyptian(H) *iry* ‘Gefährte [companion], Genosse [comrade]’, pl: *Crew*, *Zugehöriger* [member (belonger to a group)]; Egyptian(L) *iry* ‘fellow, companion’; but also possibly Hebrew **yo(w)liid** ‘begetter, one causing female to bear, father’ (see Mayo ‘engender’ below, and the application to whites / Mexicans may refer to licentious stereotype, yet in other languages, it is members of their own group or Amerindians): UACV1418a \***yori** ‘non-Indian, white person’: L.Son361 \**yori* ‘blanco de raza’; M88-yo2 ‘non-Indian person’; KH/M-yo2: Wr *yori* ‘Blanco’; My *yóori* ‘persona no indígena’; Op *dori* ‘man’; 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’; AYq *yori* / *yoi* ‘Mexican, humanoid chapayeka mask’. UACV1418b \***yorimí** ‘person, Amerindian’: My *yoreme* ‘indígena, Mayo’ (My *a’a yoremia-k* ‘lo engendró [he engendered him]’); 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: Trn, Cah, Opn]

**1506** Hebrew dlǵ ‘leap, spring over’ > TO cǐlko(n) ‘skip’;

UACV1252 \***coṇa** ‘jump’: Stubbs2003-27: Ca čǐṇay ‘hop’; Cr ticúna ‘jump!’; Wc cúniya ‘gotear, saltar’. These match well, since \*o > Ca i, and \*o > CrC u and NUA η: SUA n. [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

**1507** Hebrew regel ‘foot, leg’; Arabic rǵl ‘to go on foot, walk’; Aramaic rǵl ‘do s.th. with the feet’; a denominative verb from ‘foot’, to foot s.th. or boot s.th.; the part used is often made a denominal verb, even in English: to elbow; to knee, to hand s.o. s.th.; perhaps Sem-kw with \*g > η; other possibilities exist: Arabic rkl / rakala, impfv: ya-rkulu / ta-rkulu ‘kick (s.o., s.th.) or Hebrew rǵf, inf: raqfa- (Ezekial 25:6) ‘trample (s.th.), stamp with the feet’ (Ezekial 6:11):

UACV1254 \***ciṇj** ‘kick’: M88-ci15; KH.NUA; KH/M- ci15: Cp čéṇe; Ca čéṇen; Sr čǐṇkin(a) ‘kick, stamp on, v’. Ken Hill adds Ktn čǐṇk ‘kick, v’. [medial η] [NUA: Tak]

UACV1255 \***taṇa** ‘kick’: VVH156 \*ta<sub>n</sub>ṇa ‘to kick’; M88-ta44; Tb ’andaṇ (perf taṇ); SP taṇa; NP taṇa’hu ‘sting, kick’. The -hu resembles the Semitic 3<sup>rd</sup> m. sg. suffix -hu ‘him/it’. Miller assumes η < nk, listing NP tanka’hu for NP taṇa’hu, but many things reduce to η. A palatalization by a high vowel (\*ta > \*ci) would unite Num / Tb \*taṇa and Tak \*ciṇj above. NP taṇa’hu ‘sting, kick’ < rakal-hu ‘kick-it/him’. [NUA: Num, Tb]

**1508** Syriac qmṭ ‘lay fast hold of, take’, participle **qaamiṭ**; Hebrew qmṭ ‘seize’:

Tb(H) **kamiič**’it, pfv: akkamič ‘to catch’.

**1509** Syriac š’p / šp, prfv: šaap ‘crawl (of bugs, etc)’; ša’p-aa / šaap-aa ‘crawling/unfledged locust’;

Aramaic špp ‘crawl, creep’; Aramaic/Syriac šappaap-aa / **šappaapət-aa** ‘creeping (thing)’:

UACV1400a \***sipappitii** ‘body louse’: B.Tep68 \*hivapitii ‘body louse’; M88-si16; KH/M06-si16: TO hiopč ‘body louse, termite’; UP hiopiči; LP hiap; NT ivápitii; ST hiipət; add PYP hiapili/hiapeli. Miller includes NP posiabbi, etc, as possibly tying Num \*pusi’a with Tep, but Ken Hill separates the Tep forms from Num \*pusi’a, which we have at 310. NT suggests a reconstruction of \*sipappitii (> Tep \*hivapitii). Then note UA \***sipappitii** and \*Aramaic **šappaapət-aa** ‘creeping (thing)’. The Tak pair below likely relate also, wherein the 3<sup>rd</sup> C harmonized to the 4<sup>th</sup> C: \*šipapitii- > šipatitii-, intervocalic -t(t)- > -c-.

UACV1400b \***šipati** ‘body louse’: Ktn šivacīc ‘body louse’ and Sr šivāt|ṭ ‘body louse’ have three of four syllables parallel to the Tep forms. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Tak]

**1510** Aramaic(J) šwp ‘to smooth, rub, polish, sharpen’; Syriac šwp ‘to rub’: Ktn šuvi ‘to rub clothes’

**1511** Syriac srd ‘to quake, be terrified’, passive prtpl: sariid: Ktn šariri ‘trembling, adj’

**1512** Semitic xrd > Arabic xarida ‘be coy’; Ugaritic xrd; Hebrew ḥrd, impfv: yeḥerad / tē-ḥ(ε)rad ‘tremble, worry’; Hebrew ḥaarad ‘anxious, frightened at, adj’:

UACV1949 \***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 tiwe ‘tiene vergüenza’; My au tiutúa ‘se avergüenza’; Eu tivé ‘tener vergüenza’; Tr řiwerá ‘apenarse, avergonzarse [be embarrassed]’; 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 secure, and adds a NUA branch to the set. AYq tiwe’era is especially compelling in that ḥ > w, -r- > -’-, -d- > -r-. Two things suggest Sem-kw: \*ti- (not \*ta-) and ḥ (not x). [V metath in Cr?, w > b in Cr; \*w > v in Eu] [SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC; NUA: Tak]

**1513** A custom in the ancient Near-East 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, \*-baḥḥen ‘observe / examine (bird for augury)’;

UACV1732 **\*pu'na** > **po'na** 'pull out, uproot': L.Son212 \*pona 'arrancar'; M88-po5 'weed, uproot'; KH/M-po5: TO wooni 'pick, harvest, uproot'; LP bona 'arrancar hierbas [pull out weeds]'; 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 voóñii 'arrancar'; ST takvuna 'uproot, pull out'; ST voopñia 'pull out (weeds, hair)'; AYq popóna 'pull up, uproot'. \*po'na vs. Aztecan and ST \*-pu'na, but often \*u-a > o-a, so PUA \*u. [iddddua] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

**1514** Hebrew 'rg 'to weave'; as the definition in Hopi, 'pull taut' is the primary activity of weaving: UACV1731 **\*(wi)laḡa** 'pull, drag': Dakin 1982-310: CN wilaana 'drag'; Hp laḡa-k 'be pulled taut, stretch out in a line, vi'; Xal wilaa-na; Mec wilaa-n-ti-á 'ir jalando'. [\*-r- > l] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Azt]

**1515** Syriac ʿrq 'flee, escape, shun, avoid':

UACV1020 **\*wayaq** 'go out (fast)': Sr wayaqḡ 'go out, come out, exit fast (pl subj)'; 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)'; Hp waaya 'move, run, fly away, escape'. Might Hp be a loan from Takic? Otherwise, we would expect ʿ > Hp l. Add Tb waai'it 'fast, quickly'. [NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb]

**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 araku '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)'; UA best fits a qittel form UA \*wiyyek > \*wiik:

UACV399 **\*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 [grab and carry off], arrebatar, robar [rob]; Nv gika 'llevar algo colgado de la mano'; what of Mn wii-(ki) 'get, have, catch'? Add CN wiika 'take, carry, accompany, go together, get married'; WaE wika 'llevar [carry]'; Pl wiika 'take, carry'.

UACV1843 (some of UACV1843 is at 657 **\*wit** 'string, rope, fiber plant');

**\*wika** 'rope': Eu wiká / viká 'estirar [stretch out]'; AYq wikia 'string, rope, cord'; Yq wikia 'mecate, piola'; My wíkyam 'cordones, correas'; Tr wiia '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 / béwika- 'estirar [stretch out]'. These may explain the wik- morpheme in Hp wik-pañwa 'rope, line' and -wi of SP paḡaḡ'wi 'bow string'. [NUA: Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Azt]

**1517** Aramaic(CAL) šubbaaš 'friendship'; Aramaic šabbeš 'to flatter, coax, persuade':

Hp si'pa 'kind, friendly, amiable, cordial'. The glottal stop -' and -p- (vs. -v-) are both natural enough for a medially geminated \*-pp- of Sem-p. Contributed by JSR.

**1518** Hebrew qpz / qps 'leap, jump', **wa-yyi-qpoz** 'he jumped'; Arb qfz (i); Aramaic qps / qpt:

UACV1250 **wippuki** 'jump': Mn wibiki 'jump, vi'; Ch wipúki (< \*wippúki) 'jump'. [\*u > i] [NUA: Num] Though another possibility exists in Egyptian ḥpg 'jump, leap'; Egyptian ḥpget 'a leaping dance', the doubled \*-pp- (< -qp-) and \*wī- of Hebrew waw-consecutive (also in 938 and 1215), make more likely \*wa-yyi-qpoz > wippuki, 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. 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'. [\*u > i] [NUA: Num]

**1519** Hebrew *ʕayn* ‘eye’; Arabic *ʕayn* ‘eye’; Syriac *ʕayyen* ‘to eye, perceive, point out, show’: Ktn *ʕayn* ‘show s.o. s.th.’; perhaps SP *ončoxi* ‘be one-eyed’. [NUA: Tak, Num]

**1520** Hebrew *puš* ‘to spread, disperse, overflow’; Arabic *fyd / faada* ‘overflow, flow, stream, pour forth’: Wr *poci* ‘to be full’; Wr *taipoci* ‘to sweat’; Tb *puuy|ut* ‘be full, get full’.  
**UACV983a** \**puca* > NUA *puya* ‘full’: KH.NUA: Tb *puuyut~ʕuubuui* ‘be full’; Cp *púyi-š* ‘full after eating, also of moon’; Ca *puy* ‘become full with food’; Ls *púya* ‘full from eating’; Tj *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*. KH/M-pu9 includes Tr(H) *bučiami* ‘lleno’ and Tr(H) *bučiwa* ‘llenar, vt’ which fit a NUA -y- and SUA -c- pattern. [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Opn]

**1521** Hebrew *gly*, qittel impfv: -galley ‘uncover (woman’s nakedness), sleep with (woman), remove, reveal’: Sr *ɲalyaɲalya’n* ‘be loose’; Sr *ɲalyaɲalyahkin* ‘loosen, make loose’; Sr *ɲalyaɲalyahq* ‘become loose’.

**1522** Of Hebrew *dwj / dwʕ* ‘to menstruate’ (‘be sick, faint, miserable, menstruate’ in the cognate languages) are three viable forms for UA terms for ‘blood’: 1 Hebrew *daawe* ‘sick, faint, menstruating’; 2 Hebrew *madwe* ‘sickness’, Middle Hebrew *madwe* ‘menstrual flow of blood’; Aramaic *madwe* ‘flux’ [blood of menstrual flow]; prefixed with \**haC-* ‘the’, often *hi-* in UA, then \**hammadwe* > UA \**hiNtwV*, and \**tw* > *kw* (AMR 1991, 1993a) to yield Hp *ɲɲwa*, Tb *ikwa-l*, etc. More probable for some forms is 3 Aramaic(CAL) *et-dawwa* ‘be miserable, weakened’ > Sr *iččawa* ‘bleed’. SUA \**i’ira*, with a glottal stop in most Tep forms, reflects the cluster *et-da* (> UA \**i’da* > *i’ira*) later separated, which separation of clusters often happens in SUA (221, 630). Another feasible possibility is 4 Hebrew \**ʕiddaa / ʕiddiim* ‘menstrual period’; Samaritan *ʕiddaan* ‘time, menstruation’; Arabic *ʕiddat* ‘days (of menstruation)’. The Hebrew ‘the’ prefix \**haC-* is debated whether it is from \**hal-* or \**han-*, and because -*l* > -*n*- in NUA clusters, either would be the same in UA terms (*hiN-*), so any of the three noun forms prefixed with *han-* ‘the’ would collapse two or three consonants to a cluster, possibly carrying the pharyngeal’s rounding past the cluster in the 4<sup>th</sup> form: *han-ʕiddaa* > *hVnʕda* > *iNtw*. That same prefix with the first form is also possible \**han-daawe* > *hVntwV*, or the 2<sup>nd</sup> form as shown above. Nevertheless, the third form seems most probable—*et-dawwa* > *itwa* > *ikwa*—at least for the Sr verb: *et-dawwa* > *iččawa* ‘bleed’.  
**UACV258c** \**i(N)tw* > \**i(N)kwa* ‘blood’: CL.Azt205; M88-ı4: KH/M-ı4 \**itwV* (AMR): Hp *ɲɲw*; Tb *ikwa-l*, *ikwa-n* (poss’ed). The Tak forms 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. The Tak and SUA forms appear to be a reflexive *hit-* / *et-* form from the Semitic verb *dwj / dwʕ* ‘be weak, sick, miserable’, which is also associated with menstruation and has 3<sup>rd</sup> C -y- in most Semitic languages, but a glottal stop -ʔ- in Aramaic, as shows up in Sr. Aramaic *et-dawwa* ‘be miserable, weakened’ > Sr *iččawa* ‘bleed’. Manaster Ramer (in 1993a “Blood, Tears, and Murder” and 1991e “UA \*tw”) suggests \**itwa* ‘blood’ and that a cluster of \*-*tw-* clarifies much, noting the only known source of *kw* in Tb is \**tw*: e.g., Tb *tuugukwi-t* ‘mountain lion’ < \**tuugut-wit-ta* ‘big-wildcat’. He cites other evidence to suggest that at least some Hp -*ɲw-* may derive from \*-*tw-*. (See also crow and bighorn sheep.) Cah (Yq/My) *ohbo* shows the Cah reflex of \**kw* > Cah *bw / bo*, with an assimilation of the first vowel to it: \**ikwV* > *ibw / ibo* > *ohbo*. In no other set have Uto-Aztecanists united lexemes so phonologically diverse as these without explanation, and other than AMR’s huge first step (AMR 1991, 1993a), they have not explained how they relate. Num and CrC do have separate etyma, but Aramaic helps clarify the other branches:

**BLOOD; SANGRE** (from UACV258):

Mn	páápi; paaqa ‘bleed’	Hp	ĩjwa	Eu	erát; vavíka ‘bleed’
NP	bīipi	Tb	ikwa-l	Tbr	ará-t; avá
TSh	paoC; paoppi	Sr	’iṭṭ / i’cča; icawa’ ‘bleed’	Yq	ohbo
Sh	pīiC-pin	Ca	’éwi-ly	My	ohbo
Cm	pīihpi	Cp	éw	Wr	elá
Kw	pīi-pī	Ls	’ów-la	Tr	e*rá; lasí
Ch	pái-pi	TO	īi’id	Cr	suúre’e
SP	paiC	Nv	i’irha	Wc	šuuríya
CU	páa-pī	PYP	e’er		šuuere ‘red, blood-colored’
WM	páa-pī	NT	īirai	CN	es-tli; tlapaloo (tlapal-li ‘dye’)
		ST	i’īir	CN	espipika ‘blood flow out’

UACV258d \*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. These Tak forms lost -k-, simplifying -kw- > -w-.

UACV258a \*ita/ira ‘blood’: Sapir; B.Tep \*i’irai; M67-47a \*’et; CL.Azt16 PAzt \*əs, 205 PUA \*\*i-; L.Son13 \*’ira; M88-i4: KH/M-i4 \*itwV: Eu erát; Op heraa-t ‘blood’; Wr elá; Tr lá/lé-/lasí; Tbr ará-t, avá; Tbr avá-ma-li-r ‘corazón’; TO īi’id; PYP e’er; Nv i’irha; NT īirai; ST īi’ir; Ken Hill adds Ktn ’ič. SUA \*i’ira, with a glottal stop in most Tep forms, reflects the cluster et-da (> UA \*i’da > i’ira) later separated, as we often see in SUA (221, 630).

UACV258b Azt \*is-/\*əs ‘blood’: CL.Azt16 Proto-Azt \*əs, 205 PUA \*\*i- ‘blood’: CN es-tli; Pi es-ti, etc. Azt either lenited an affricate to a fricative ic- > is-, or devoiced -r- > -s- adjacent to voiceless -tli: ira > ir- > is-tli. [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, Azt]

**1523** Hebrew bṭl ‘be inactive, cease working’; Aramaic(CAL) bṭl ‘cease functioning or existing, be removed from, be abolished, be impotent, powerless’; one example of its use is “may all incantations and charms be impotent”:

Hp naavòociwa ‘purify oneself through ritual after participating in a sacred ceremony, discharm oneself’; that is, purify or discharm oneself from ill / evil influences, and similarly Semitic bṭl ‘be removed, powerless’ in incantations / charms becoming impotent. So the semantics are quite specific and identical, and the phonology match is good: -poci- < bootel / bootli, in the probability of naa- as the fossilized reflexive / passive prefix and -wa/-iwa ‘passive’. Contributed by JSR.

**1524** Aramaic ql’ / qly ‘roast’: Ls qali- ‘boil (food)’; different ways to cook, but phonology identical.

**5.16 More Egyptian Sets** found later and put here to avoid renumbering the whole book:

**1525** Egyptian **isnwi** ‘testicles’; the initial vowel and s in a cluster appear lost, leaving nwi:

UACV804 \*noyo ‘egg, testicle’: B.Tep172 \*nonoha ‘egg’; M67-154 \*no ‘egg’; I.Num115 \*no(yo) ‘egg, house, dwelling’; M88-no3 ‘egg’; AMR1993a \*nok ‘egg’; KH/M-no3 \*nok ‘egg’: Mn nóyo; NP noho; TSh noyo-pin; Sh noyo-; WSh noyo ‘egg, testicle’; Hp nōhī; 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-pīh ‘womb’; WSh noi-ci’i ‘ejaculate’. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep]

**1526** Egyptian im ‘Rippe [rib]’:

UACV1808 \*amattaN ‘rib’: I.Num4 \*ama(h)(taN) ‘ribs’; M88-’a20 ‘rib’; KH/M-’a20: Mn awatápi (<\*awattappi); NP amitaba (<\*amittapa); Sh ama ‘waist, rib cage’; Sh amattam-ppi ‘ribs’; Kw ’awatī-bī (<\*awattī-(m)bī); SP aṅwattaN, aṅwattam-pī ‘rib’; CU ’awáta-pi; Wr oma-tére ‘axila / arm pit’. Ken Hill adds Sr -a’mōf; Ktn amu-c; and Cp amsisva-l (Cp -ámi ‘waist, poss’d). [\*-CC-; m/w/ṅw] [NUA: Num, Tak]

**1527** Egyptian(H) ṭnw ‘zählen [to count]’; but the glyph options are both ṭnw and ṭn ‘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):

**UACV2662** \*(i)**tammu** 'we': B.Tep 297 \*'aatī'i; BH.Cup \*c...m; I.Num 205 \*ta(h)-mV; M88-pr5; KH/M-pr5: Mn taq<sup>w</sup>a; NP tammi; Cm tamī; Sh tammīn; TSh tammī; Kw tami; CU tami; Hp itam (acc -iy); Sr ačam/ičam; Ktn icam; Ca čémem; Cp čəmə; Ls čáá'um, čaam, čá'a, čám; Tḡ eyómoma; TO aačim; NT aatī-; ST aat'i'; Eu tamide; Op tamo; Tbr ité; Tr(B) tá / tamu / tamu-hé 'nosotros [we]'; oblique tami 'us, me'; (in region de soguichi) Tr(B) ramu-he; Tr(H) tamuhé 'nosotros'; Tr(H) tami 'me, a mi'; Wr remé; My itapo; Yq itepo, te, ítom; Wc táame; CN te'waan; Pl tehemet. The Numic languages suggest a geminated m. The final vowel was likely \*-u, in light of Numic ĩ (< \*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' has \*tammu 'we, inclusive, you and we' meaning 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, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**1529** Egyptian(H) iw' 'langhornrind [long-horned cattle]';

Egyptian(H) iw't 'langhornkuh [long-horned cow]' > aw'at > a'waC (UA \*a'waC)

**UACV1206** \*awaC / \*a'waC 'horn': Sapir; VVH104 \*'awa 'horn'; M67-235 \*'awa 'horn'; M88-'a5 'horn'; I.Num6 \*awah/awaN; L.Son8 \*'awa 'cuerno'; KH.NUA; KH/M-'a5: Tb 'aawa-t; Tḡ a'á'an; Ls 'ááw; Ca 'áwa-l; Cp áw'a; Sr ää'; Hp aala; Mn 'áwa; NP aa; TSh 'awaC; Sh aan; Cm aamuyake'; Yq 'áawa; My aáwa-m; Wr(MM) awá / ha'wá / ha'awá; Wr awá; Tr awá; Kw 'aa-pī; Ch 'aapī; SP a'aaC-ppi; TO a'ag; Op awa; Eu húsiwa/húsi'iwa; Tbr hamoá-t; Cr e'ewá; hawá; Wc 'aawaa; WMU áa-ppi; PYP a'ag; CN kwaa-kwaw(i)-tl 'head-tree' CU 'áa-pī; NT aagá-dī; CN a'wa-tl 'thorn'; ST aaa. Sapir lists Cr awá 'have horns'. This is one of the classic cognate sets, appearing in nearly every UA language (except possibly Eu or Nawa). Miller lists CN a'wa-tl 'long, slender thorn' (many glottal stops in other forms), but KH/M does not. Or what of CN aawa-tl 'oak' (antler-looking branches?) or CN aawaa-tl 'caterpillar' (horned insect) as possibly related? Also noteworthy is that most of the Num languages and Tb suggest a final consonant. Glottal stop anticipation, going in front of its originally preceding consonant, is common in UA.

[NUA: Tak, Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**1530** Egyptian(F) ḥr 'face'; Coptic ho-/hra-: UA \***holya** 'cheek': Cp hilya 'cheek' (Cp i < \*i or \*o); and perhaps Ls wíwilma-š 'cheek' if from a vowelizing of \*ḥjira (> \*huira > \*wila). [NUA: Tak]

**1531** Egyptian nrit 'vulture' (Lesko, 239); Egyptian nrt 'Geier [vulture]' (Hannig, 417):

Wr(MM) wonóri / honóori / onóri 'zopilote [vulture]'; is Wr wo- assimilated from wir 'big' which final -r- is nearly always absorbed into the next C? The Piman forms suggest that Wr has a prefix and Wr -nori < nrit is highly plausible: **UACV342** \*nupi 'buzzard': B.Tep175 \*nui; M67-68 \*nu; Fowler83-3:70; M88-nu2 'buzzard'; KH/M-nu2: TO nuwi(opa); TO ñuuwi; TO ñuvi (Dolores); LP nui; PYP nui; NT nui; ST nuí. TO shows medial -w/v- but the other 4 show none. The -ui- could develop excrescent -w-. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

**1532** Egyptian(H) g' 'singen [sing], pfeifen [play pipe]':

**UACV1989** \*ka 'sing': Kw kaa 'sing'; SP kaa 'sing'; WMU kaa-y 'sing'; CU káay 'sing'. [NUA: SNum]

**1533** Egyptian **ki / ky** ‘other, another’:

UACV2347 \*-**ki** / \*-**kī** ‘to(ward), for, applicative, benefactive, distributive’:

All Nawa languages have direct object -ki- ‘it/him/her’ as in ‘see it/him/her or another’;

Op ki ‘later, then’ (another time); Op ki makoi ‘9’ and makoi ‘10’ [that is, another (is) ten].

Wr(MM) kie / gie / ke / ge ‘applicativo, una relacion de beneficio’ that is, to/for another, e.g. Wr pasu ke

‘cocer para alguien [cook for someone]’; Wr -ké/-gé ‘for the benefit of s.o.’ (Miller 1996, 161);

Tr ki-makoy ‘9’ (another (is) 10), not as Miller and Murillo say < ka’i -makoy ‘not 10’);

Tr ki (pronoun of indefinite quantity, interpretable as ‘others’)

Tr ču ki ‘cuantos?’ (what others?); Tr mapu ki ‘(todos) los que’

In Tr verbs, a -ki- morpheme fits ‘other’ or ‘it’ or ‘object’ of some sort:

Tr(B) tibu-ki- ‘cuidarlo, guardarlo, cuidarle’ vs Tr tibu- ‘cuidar, guardar, custodiar, vigilar’

Tr(B) to- ‘llevar’; Tr(B) tó-ki- ‘llevarle’

Tr(B) tu- ‘sacar agua de la fuente’; Tr(B) tu-ki- ‘sacar agua para alguien, llevarle agua’

NP -ki ‘alienable suffix on normally inalienable nouns’; e.g., tua-ki ‘child-alienable’ (children generally) or

‘child of another’. Note in these two Mn forms—Mn wacikī ‘lose, vt’; Mn waci ‘be lost, vi’—that the

transitive one has the extra morpheme, possibly serving as object or ‘it’, Mn -kī- ‘do s.th. for s.o., causative’;

Tbr -ki, -kit ‘por eso’; perhaps Hp -k, -kye ‘diffusive suffix, all over the place’.

CU -ki- ‘for (s.o.), benefactive morpheme’ (Givon 1980, 81); SP -ŋki- ‘to, for’ (Sapir 1930, 63); Kw -gi ‘for,

to (benefactive)’. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr, Azt]

**1534** Egyptian nwy ‘sammeln [collect], versammeln [gather], aneignen [acquire], vereinigen [unite].

Zusammenbringen [bring together]’: Wr(MM) newi ‘casarse’

**1535** Egyptian(H) si’t ‘Uräus-Schlange (als Amulett, Talisman)’ find Hannig at 332 also??

UACV2059 \***sayawa** / \***sayawV** ‘rattlesnake’: L.Son235 \*saya ‘víbora de cascabel’; M88-sa19

‘rattlesnake’; KH/M-sa19: Wr sa’yawé; Tr sayáwi; Op sada-ko; Tbr koót hanyá-kam (lit. ‘snake-rattle-

haver’); NP sawiwini / sawiggwini ‘to rattle (of rattlesnake)’. Luis Barragan adds PYc hadag

‘rattlesnake’ which aligns perfectly \*sayaw > Tep hadag. To these could be added Wc šáyé ‘rattlesnake’ and

Eu saducit ‘rattlesnake’. In fact, Eu sadu... fits nicely Wr/Tr \*sayawi with syncope then w > u: \*sayawi >

\*sayw > \*sayu (Eu d < \*y). Yq saa’ákame ‘víbora sorda’ resembles Tbr in both morphemes of a compound,

and Cah (Yq) often loses intervocalic glides. Speaking of syncope, the NUA forms in UACV2060 below

may be the result of syncope: \*sayawV > saywV > sVwV. [SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Tbr, CrC]

UACV2060 \***siwī** ‘rattlesnake’; M88-sī13: BH.Cup \*səwət ‘rattlesnake’; Fowler83; Munro.Cup108;

KH.NUA; KH/M-sī13: Cp séwet; Ca séwet; Ls šóowut; Tŋ šoowot ‘black diamond rattlesnake’; Sr hīī’ŋt

‘rattlesnake’; Ktn hīŋ-t. Ls and Tŋ o < \*i. Is Hp cīī’a ‘rattlesnake’ cognate? Miller queries. [NUA: Tak]

**1536** Eg ḥdy ‘umspannen (Himmel die Erde) [span over (as the Heavens the earth)]’

UACV2214 \***huta/i** ‘pull, stretch, pin s.o.’: Hp hootakna ‘stretch, extend, pin s.o. on his/her back with arms

outstretched’; Ls hóóti- ‘pull, live with a woman out of wedlock’. This pair seems more likely than not. If

from \*huta/i, then Hp has its expected vowel, and Ls could well have lowered the vowel because of the

following low *a*, and then final -a > -i: \*huta > hota > hoti. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

**1537** Eg tpt ‘Auge [eye]’: UA \***tapata** ‘testicle’. See UACV810 for another example of male genitals, penis and two testicles, being compared to a nose and two eyes.

UACV808 \***tapaC** ‘testicle’: Mn tába ‘testicles’; TSh tapa-ppih ‘testicles’; Tbr tepalá-r ‘testicles’.

TSh and Tubar show the 2<sup>nd</sup> -t-. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tbr]

**1538** Egyptian(H) tw’ ‘Anspruch [claim, demand]’:

Wr(MM) tui ‘acusar [accuse], mandar [command], decir [say]’

**1539** Egyptian(F) **ḥḥ** ‘stand, vi’, stand, plural **ḥḥ-w**; Egyptian(F) **ḥḥw** ‘ceremonial stations of persons’;

Egyptian(H) **ḥḥ** ‘aufstehen [stand up], treten an Stelle, Position [step into a place / position]’; aufgerichtet

sein [be erected]’; Egyptian(H) **ḥḥw** Dienstmann, Diener [servant]’:



UA / Hopi laho'-ta (< \*waho'-) 'be standing on all fours [animals], be on hands and knees [persons]'.  
 UA / Numic **\*waŋwi** 'stand, pl': SP waŋwi 'stand, pl'; Kw wowi 'stand, pl'; Ch wami 'stand, stop, pl.'  
 Ch m is perhaps a transcription for audible w, since some Num \*m > w, and other SNum dialects, like WMU Ute, interchange w's and m's in the same word, from speaker to speaker, and sometimes in the same speaker, from minute to minute; nevertheless, the SP and Kw forms match Egyptian **𐎗𐎛** 'stand', perhaps voweled 𐎗𐎛i > waŋwi, or a pl verb 𐎗𐎛-w, and all 3 have the identical meaning 'stand, plural'. Hp hooŋi '1 be standing, standing up, 2 be in office, appointed, in a position of authority, vi pl' and all 3 Num cognates are consistently plural subjects, stand pl. Different vowelings likely underlie the two Hp terms, with added -w suffixed to the latter: Hopi laho'- (< 𐎗𐎛) and Hopi hooŋi (< 𐎗𐎛aaŋ-w / 𐎗𐎛ooŋ-w). [NUA: Hp, Num]

**1540** Egyptian(F) **wh** 'hew (stone)'; Egyptian(H) **wh** 'Steinbrecher [stone quarry cutter]';  
 Egyptian(H) **wh** 'brechen (Stein im Steinbruch) [to break / quarry stone in a stone quarry], pflücken [pluck], ausreissen [tear / pull out]':  
 Hopi waho-(k-) 'for particulate matter to spill (from a single container)'; Hopi wáho-k-in-ta 'be spilling, dumping particulate matter' (like grain, flour, pinyon nuts). Note the high similarity in the Hp forms of 1539 (laho'- < 𐎗𐎛) and 1540 (waho- < wh') except that pharyngeal-w > Hp l, but w > Hp w.

**1541** Egyptian(F) **štyw** 'tortoise'; Egyptian(H) **štw** 'Schildkröte [tortoise]'; The Egyptian dictionaries of Faulkner(F) and Hannig(H) have the variant transcriptions of **štyw** and **štw**, yet interestingly, in both dictionaries, the Hieroglyphic spelling itself includes a glottal stop: **št'**...

UA **\*sutuyuwa / sululuwa** 'turtle': **PYp hu'uruga** 'mud turtle' is interesting since the expected correspondences are UA \*s > PYp h; \*y > PYp d/r; and \*w > g; the only enigmatic consonant is the PYp glottal stop; and the -turu portion of PB komik-turu 'turtle'; the \*komi (< Egyptian x'm) portion of PB is a common UA term for 'turtle, back, etc.' And \*turu fits well Eg's last three consonants—tyw—since \*y > Tep d/r, and the first C, h (< \*s), is extremely fragile, disappearing often, anyway. So the two terms align well with Egyptian **štyw** 'tortoise.' [SUA: Tep]

**1542** Egyptian(H) n'-tbw 'Sohle (d. fusses) [soul (of the foot)], Sandale [sandal], Fuss (e. Längenmass) [foot (a linear measure)]; Egyptian(F) **tbwt** 'sandal, sole'; the pl of **tb** 'sandal, sole (of foot)' is n'-tbwt 'the sandals, the feet':

**UACV938a \*naNpa / \*naCp > \*nappa** 'foot': M67-188 \*napa 'foot'; KH.NUA; I.Num107 \*nampe 'foot, lower leg'; M88-na19 'foot'; KH/M-na19: TSh nampe; Sh nampai; Cm naape; Kw nabi-vi; Ch nampá; SP nampa 'foot'; WMU nappá-n 'my foot'; CU nápa 'foot'; CU napá-n 'my foot'; Hp naap 'on foot'.

**UACV938b \*napo** 'foot': KH.NUA; KH/M-na19: Sr navüüṭ, poss'ed: -näävü 'foot, feet, ankle, footprint'; Ktn navokaha-c 'shoe, sandal'; Tŋ -név 'foot, leg', pl: nénev. Ktn kaha'-c 'front flap, apron' would suggest the Ktn compound may mean 'foot-cover' or such.

**UACV938c \*nanapuni / \*natapuni** 'footprint': NP nanabunni 'tracks'; TSh nampuninna 'tracks'; TSh nampe 'foot, footprint'; Cm nanapuniṭi 'footprint'; Cm napí 'foot, footprint, trail'; Cm narapuniṭi 'footprint'. These may tie to \*na(N)pa 'foot' with an additional morpheme. Might the one Cm form have a hint for what underlies them all: \*natapV > \*naLapu > \*nanapV > \*nampV?

[\*-Np- > \*-pp- (in eastern SNum) > -p/-v- (Sr, Ktn, Tŋ)] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp]

**1543** Four stems are feasible matches for UA 'deer': Egyptian(H) **sxtw** 'Fleisch (des Wildbrets) [flesh (of game)]'; or Egyptian(H) **sk** 'e. Tier [an animal]'; Egyptian sk 'plough ox' or Egyptian sk / **s'q** 'Eselfüllen, Eselfohlen [donkey young], m and f'; Egyptian(H) **s'gt** 'Greif (e. Fabeltier) [fable animal]'

**UACV639 \*suCkaC/\*sukkawi** 'deer': BH.Cup \*súqat; M67-124a \*su/\*suka 'deer'; Munro.Cup32 \*šúúka-t; L.Son261 \*suha 'venado bura'; M88-su8 'deer'; KH.NUA; KH/M-su8: Ls šúúka-t; Cp súqa-t; Ca súka-t; Tŋ sukát; Sr hukaht; Ktn hukaht 'deer'; Tbr suhá-t/ suká-t; Tr sohawí; TO huawí; Op sua. Lionnet separates -wi in \*suha-wi for TO huawí and Tr sohawí. The absolute -t consistent in Tak suggests a final C.

[\*-kk- > h (Tbr) > ø (Tep); Tep w = \*w]

**UACV813 \*pa-suCka** 'elk, horse, lit. big-deer': M88-pa63: Ls páa-šuka-t 'elk, horse'; Cp pášuka-t 'horse'; Ca pášukat horse; Tŋ pášokat 'horse, lit. big deer' (cf. Tŋ pá-hunar 'Great-Bear'; pa-kísar 'gavilán pollero');

Ktn pa-hukah-t 'elk'. Miller shows several Tactic forms showing pa- 'big' as a prefix on other hawk, eagle, and 'big' animal forms; likewise, he mentions Hp pas 'very' as possibly tied to this prefix.  
[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Tbr, Tbr]

**1544** Egyptian psd<sub>w</sub> 'nine, m'; psd<sub>t</sub> 'nine, f' (Allen 2000, 98); the s-like sounds are often lost when first in a cluster, but s actually is in NT, Nv, Eu; thus, the Egyptian feminine psd<sub>t</sub> resembles UA forms \*pVst:  
**UACV2648** \*pa(c)t / \*pa(s)t 'nine': Hp pevt; Yq bátani / vatani; My bátani; NT t̄iv̄ištyáma;  
Nv timbistamama; Eu vesmákoi. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah]

**1545** Egyptian nty (Coptic ente) 'relative pronoun: which, who, that, the one who, he of' (originally 'of' as in possession); the Numic agentive suffix is a reverse word-order: one who verbs > verb-ing one:  
**UACV2692** \*anti / \*-nti 'habitual agentive suffix': SP -ri / -ti / -nti 'present active participle' (Sapir 1930, 129-30); SP ma-nti 'being on, at, some of, belonging to' (Sapir 1930, 451); WMU -ri / -ti / -nti 'one who (usually habitually) does (verb)'; WSh -ti(n) 'habitual, customary aspect suffix (Crum and Dayley 1993, 90-91); Cm -ti(n) 'imperfective participle indicating the person or thing which performs an action or possesses a quality' (Robinson and Armagost 1990, 276); Ch -t(i) 'active participle'; NP -di 'agent nominalizer' and is used in the formation of relative clauses (Thornes 2003, 117-120). Sr ani 'that which, what, who, the ones that'; Hp -'at 'his/her/its' (when possessor is different from clause subject); the atte- of AYq and Yq atte'ak 'poseer, ser dueño [to possess, be owner]'; Eu at / ate 'aque[que]l [that], genitive' or Eu ar / are 'ese [that], genitivo'; Op are 'that one, one's own, refl pronoun'; Op aree-ssa 'he himself, she herself'.  
[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah]

**1546** Aramaic zqr 'weave'; Aramaic zaaqoor-aa 'weaver-the'; also possibly but less likely Eg sxtt-ḥr 'Spinne [spider]' (< Egyptian sxt 'weben [weave], flechten [plait]'):  
**UACV2110** \*(w)osokor/la 'tarantula': Nv ohoku 'tarantula'; ST ho'korai 'spider'; Tbr woso-kól 'tarantula'. For lack of materials, Lionnet nor anyone knows enough about Tubar to justify that morpheme boundary, so Tbr wosokol fits well with ST ho'korai and Nv; Tep fits nicely Aramaic zaaqooraa given \*s > h in Tep and one vowel assimilation: saqora > sokora > hokora. [SUA: Tep, Tbr]  
**UACV2111** \*mari-suka 'tarantula': My márisooka; Yq máisooka; AYq maisooka. Ktn hukah't 'water spider' (Ktn has s > h and thus matches the Cah languages.) [r > ' > ø] [SUA: Cah; NUA: Tak]

**1547** Egyptian(Lesko, 68) sxwy 'bitter gall'; Egyptian(H) sxw 'Galle [gall]:  
**UACV237a** \*siki / \*sikiN / \*sikaC 'sour, bitter, salty': M67-404; M88-si21; KH/M-si21 'sour':  
TSh sikimpi(cci) 'sour'; Sh sikin 'sour'; Cm siki 'sour'; Kw sigi-ga-di/sii-ga-di 'sour'; Kw sigi-gama 'taste sour'; Ch sigi-nka 'tart'; CU sigi-kamáy 'taste bitter, vi'; CU sigi-ka-ri 'bitter, sour, acid, adj.'; and Hp sikya 'sour, bitter'. Ken Hill adds WSh sikiin kammanna (kamman 'to taste'). Add WMU sügú- 'sour, bitter'; WMU sügú-kamma-i 'bitter/sour-tasting'. Do we have vowel leveling between Hp sikya 'sour, bitter' and Num \*siki 'sour': \*i-a > i-i? CU -k- rather than -g- or -x- suggests a consonant cluster at the morpheme boundary (\*sVVC-kaCma).  
Postscript note: These three—Sr čuka't, Ktn cukwa 'bitter, sour, salty', AYq co'oka 'salty'—are somewhat similar to the above, but not enough; so we will deem them a separate set, not attached to the above. Nevertheless, Hp sihi 'salty' has enough in common with Navajo ášijh 'salt' and Tewa 'áhsææh 'salty' (nasalized vowels underlined) to possibly be part of an areal loan, even with the final nasal -N- of Num. Navajo borrowed ášijh from Tewa. Ch(L) 'asi 'salt' is reportedly from Mohave 'ath'i, though close to both Navaho and Tewa. Considerable borrowing in the Southwest, yet its appearance in all of CNum and SNum may suggest a UA origin, no? [NUA: Num, Hp]

**1548** Egyptian mx' 'make fast, tie, bind'; though also possible is Hebrew maṣ'ate (< \*maḡate) 'covering, outer garment, mantle' (< Semitic ḡtw 'cover, wrap'); Arabic ḡtw 'cover, wrap, envelop'; Arabic ḡiṭaa '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':  
**UACV115a** \*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 moġwái’ / moġwé’ / maġwé’ / maaġwáy’ ‘blanket’ (ġ is deep pharyngeal tap; note also Sr -q-); CU moġóy’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. Perhaps SP piccammuqu ‘tie around (?)’ and CN moka ‘full of’. WMU and NP mago’o suggest the first V may have been *a*, not *o*, with the 2<sup>nd</sup> round vowel causing the 1<sup>st</sup> vowel to assimilate: \*a-u > u-u/o-o. TSh mokocci ‘sack, bag, pouch’ and Sh mokoccih ‘sack, bag’ suggest a 3<sup>rd</sup> obstruent evident in their final geminations. Consider also Tbr makorá-t ‘jícara’ nearly identical phonologically to Tb maagulat. My mo’oko ‘basket’ and Wr mo’ke-wari ‘basket’ may match NP mago’o with the frequent Tara-Cahitan glottal stop anticipation (\*CVCV’V > CV’(V)CV). For Hp mooki ‘bundle, parcel, sack’ and Hp mokyáa-ta ‘wrap up, bag or sack s.th., put into a bundle, vt’ is Aramaic moogeraa ‘stored provision’ also possible. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]

**1549** Egyptian(H) fd ‘schwitzen [perspire]’; Eg fdt ‘schweiss [sweat], n’ :

**UACV2250 \*potoC** ‘sweat, v’: TSh pocoC ‘drip down, fall in droplets, leak, vi’; TSh poco’in/paco’in ‘be wet, perspire, sweat’; Wr taipóci-na ‘sweat, v’ (tai- ‘be hot’; Yq tátabhúhte ‘sweat, v’; AYq tatavuhte ‘sweat, v’; AYq tatavuhitia ‘sweat, n’. NUA \*-c- not from PUA \*-c-, so NUA -c- < \*-t- or -d-. Might TSh pocoC be of the plural fdwt / fVdot? [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah]

**1550** Egyptian **xx** ‘Hals [neck, throat]’ (Coptic čáč) or Aramaic qaaq-aa ‘throat, neck-the, n.m.’;

**UACV1506 \*kaki / \*kakki** ‘necklace’: KH/M-ko9: Kw kagi; Ch káagi; SP qagi; WMU qaġáy / qaax ‘necklace’; CU káaga; Mn qakiyánu ‘necklace’; Mn qakki-bi ‘beads’. After the first syllable, Ktn vakahkik ‘type of bead the rich had’ is also highly similar. [NUA: Num, Tak]

**1551** Egyptian(H) mn ‘leiden [suffer], krank sein [be sick], schmerzen [smart]’

**UACV2345b \*-müi / \*-müni / \*-müni** ‘be unable, fail (to do s.th.) (in compound verbs, suffixed to what one cannot do): TSh -müih ‘be unable, can’t, fail to’; Sh(C) -müih ‘be unable to’; WSh -müih / -münih ‘be unable to do, can’t, fail to’; Sh(M) müniC ‘fail at doing s.th.’. [NUA: CNum]

## 5.17 More Semitic-kw Sets

**1552** Aramaic(CAL) part-aa’ / **pert-aa** ‘excrement’; Syriac pert-aa’ ‘undigested food in the stomach, dung’; Hebrew pereš / pirš- ‘contents of the intestines, feces, dung’; this is from Semitic-kw Aramaic pert-aa’ and the noun ‘excrement’ is also made a denominative verb ‘to defecate’:

**UACV644a \*kwiCtaC** > \*kwittaC ‘defecate, v; feces, n’: Sapir; VVH54 \*kwiuta ‘excrement’; B.Tep9 \*biitai ‘excrement, defecate’; M67-126 \*kwita ‘defecate’; I.Num87 \*kwi(h)tah ‘excrement, defecate’; L.Son125 \*kwita; CL.Azt53/224 \*kwitia / \*\*kwita ‘excrement’; M88-kwi1; KH.NUA; KH/M-kwi1: unless noted otherwise, the following are verbs meaning ‘defecate, v’: Mn kwita (< \*kwitta) ‘defecate, vi’; Mn kwidápi ‘feces, n’; TSh kwitaC; Sh kwitaC; Cm kwitápi ‘feces, n’; Kw kwida; Ch kwicá; Ch(L) kwicápi ‘excrement’; SP kwica; SP kwicá-ppi ‘feces, n’; CU kwicay; CU kwicá-pi ‘feces, n’; Hp kwita ‘feces, n’; TO biit; PYP biit; NT biityai; ST biityi; ST biic ‘feces, n’; Eu bitát ‘estiercol, n’; Tbr kwitá-t ‘feces, n’; Yq bwita; My bwita; Wr wihtá; Tr wita-mea; Tr wita/guté ‘feces, n’; Cr ču’ita ‘he is defecating’; Cr čwita ‘excrement, n’; Wc kwitá ‘feces, n’; CN kwitla ‘excrement, n’. Ken Hill adds Ls kwiláli ‘to soil, make dirty’—good inclusion! Add WMU qwiicá-y / kwicé-y ‘defecate, vi’. Though Ls lost it, a medial cluster apparent in all of Num is certain. Kw -d- suggests a nasal or liquid as 1<sup>st</sup> C in the cluster (perhaps also Mn -d-), as \*-t- > Kw -r- and \*-tt- > Kw -t-, but \*- Nt-/\*-Lt- > Kw -d-. Gemination in most Num absolutive \*-ppi forms means a final -C, which again suggests pronunciation of the final -’- of the Aramaic suffix. This stem is in all branches of UA except Tb. Note that the Tr pair exemplify the erratic behavior of \*kw: wita/guté. \*kwitta ‘buttocks’ and related Num forms (TSh kwita; Cm kwitla; Kw kwita) are likely related to \*kwiCta ‘to defecate’ as also those in UACV644b below.

**UACV644b \*kwittuN / \*kwiCtu(N)** ‘buttocks’: Kw kwita ‘buttocks’; Ch kwitú-mukwi; Ch kwitu ‘anus’; Ch(L) kwitumpi ‘anus’; SP qwittuN ‘buttocks, anus’; SP qwittua ‘bottom’; WMU qohttuwa ‘rear, hind end’; CU kutú-pi ‘buttocks’ (< \*kuttú-ppi). [\*-t- > -c-, not -r-, in CU, SP, Ch]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**1553** Hebrew pinn-uu ‘they turn’ (qittel):

UACV448 \*kwinu ‘turn around’: Stubbs1995-56; Stubbs2003-31: TSh kwinu ‘go round in twisting motion’; TSh kwinnukwi ‘go round and round’; Ch kwinú’unu ‘spin, turn’; TO binašvua ‘spin a top’.

Add Cm kwinu’yari ‘spin around, turn around’; Ch kwiin’a ‘to turn’; SP kwinu’nu ‘revolve, turn around’; ST biñña ‘turn around’. For SUA -ia vs. NUA -u’(y)a, cf. worm. [Tep b: Num kw; nasals: SUA n = NUA n] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

**1554** Hebrew šny / šanaa’ ‘to sing’ (IV); Arabic ġny / ġanaa’ (II,V) ‘sing, sing praises of’;

Aramaic(CAL) šny / šanaa ‘respond, sing’; Syriac šny / šanaa ‘respond, raise a song’:

Hopi leena ‘flute, any instrument or device for making music’ (š > l before low vowels, like -e). ‘Sing’ and ‘play flute’ can be associated in the same verb (see 1532). As Proto-Semitic ġ > q/k in Sem-p, but ġ > w in Sem-p, this is from Sem-kw.

**1555** Hbr panneq ‘pamper, spoil’; Aramaic panneq ‘pamper’; Syriac pnq ‘soften, gladden, delight’;

Arabic fnq / fannaqa ‘lead a pleasant, easy, and prosperous life, live in comfort and affluence’:

Hopi kwanwa ‘pleasant, delicious, sweet, clean, good’.

**1556** Arabic bd’ / bada’a ‘begin, start, arise, spring up’ (of Semitic-kw):

UACV2161 \*kwitaC / \*kwitiC-kai ‘arise, get up, cure’: M67-347 \*kwet ‘rise, get up’; BH.Cup \*kwa ‘wake’; KH.NUA; M88-kwi3 ‘rise, get up’; KH/M-kwi3: SP kwiri-kki ‘get up’; CU kirikkī ‘get up’;

Cp kwéle ‘cure, vt; get up, vi’; Ls kwota/i ‘get up, recover, vi; cure, lift something up, vt’; Ca kwé’eqe ‘get up’; Sr kwītk ‘get up’; Ktn kwīčik ‘stand up, get up’. Add WMU qürúkki / kūrúkkai ‘get up, arise, wake up’ and Ch(L) kwitikiyikwitiykiy ‘rise up’. Tb ’ool-(it) ‘get up, fly’ does not belong with these as in AMR 2000.

Being from Sem-kw, the final glottal still causes gemination of the next C, but not rounding as in Sem-p. [NUA: Num, Tak]

**1557** Aramaic lyg ‘quickly’; Syriac lyg or repeated liig liig ‘quickly, directly, swiftly’; when a Semitic’s middle consonant is y or w, either is often interchangeable with the other (bwt / byt); and so

Ls lúña- ‘to swoop down, as a hawk’ would nicely match Sem-kw lwg with adverbial suffix -a, and the semantics of ‘swoop as a hawk’ and ‘quickly, directly, swiftly’ are plenty intriguing: Ls lúña- ‘to swoop down, as a hawk’.

**1558** Hebrew rbš ‘lie down (often of animals)’; Hebrew rebeš ‘resting place’ with suffixes ribš-o ‘resting place-his’; Arabic rbd ‘lie down, rest (animals, with chest to the ground)’; Arabic rabaḍ, pl: arbaaḍ ‘place where animals lie down to rest’; Hebrew impfv -rboš, -rbošuu (pl); Akkadian tarbašu ‘cattle-pen’; or is it from rqd / \*-rqudu ‘sleep’?:

UACV2035 \*koco ‘sleep’: Sapir; VVH34 \*ko<sub>s</sub>ci/\*ko<sub>s</sub>co ‘to sleep’; B.Tep107b \*kookosi ‘to sleep’;

110a \*kooso ‘he sleeps’, \*koi ‘he slept’, 109 \*koosigai ‘sleep’; M67-129b \*koci; L.Son91 \*koco/\*koc-i; M88-ko2; KH/M-ko2 \*kociC: Eu kocó ‘dormir [sleep, vi]’, koci (preterite); TO koosi ‘sleep, vi’; TO koosig ‘sleep, n’; Nv koso; PYP koosim; NT koóso; ST koos/košia; Tbr kos (s due to Tep influence); Yq kóče;

My koče; Wr koci-ná; Tr goči-; Cr kucú; Wc kuucú/kuuci; CN koči. This stem appears in every SUA language, but not in any NUA language. Some put a few Numic \*ko’i forms with these; however, Num forms belong at 178 \*ko’iya ‘kill, die, sleep’. Both -rbo- > kwo / ko and š > c are both typical of Sem-kw, and given the number of final round vowels (-o) may suggest a Semitic plural source (-rbošuu, pl).

[SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**1559** Hebrew kaapaan ‘hunger’; Aramic kpn / etkappan / kəpen, yi-kpan ‘be hungry’;

Semitic kappaan ‘hungry one’ > especially Sr hakwaan(a) ‘be hungry’; Ls hákw-la- ‘be hungry’

UACV1225 \*hakwa / \*hakwi ‘hungry’: KH.NUA; M88-ha14 ‘be hungry’: Cp hákwiaqa ‘be hungry’;

Ls hákw-la- ‘be hungry’; Ls hákw-muwíš ‘hungry’; Sr hakwaan(a) ‘be/get hungry’; Ktn hakwaču’ ‘be hungry, vi’. Note also Wc háakákwiikate, háakwiikwíate ‘hungry, pl. adj.’ in connection with the Takic forms, all agreeing with initial \*hakwV-. [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

**1560** Hebrew šənayim ‘two’; šəney- ‘two of’

Op seni ‘both’. From Sem-kw Phoenician, because Aramaic təreen (< šən-) is very different.

**1561** Hebrew and Aramaic spy ‘carry off, take away’; Arabic šfy (< \*spy) ‘to cure, heal’;

from a Semitic-kw intensive \*sappa / sappi is UA \*sakwa/i:

UACV1162 \*sakwa/\*sakwi ‘heal, get better/good again’: Tr sa’wī-mea ‘aliviar [relieve], sanar [cure], curar’; Wr sa’wi-ná/má ‘get well, give birth’; Wr sa’wá-ni, sa’wa-má ‘cure’; and Tbr -samw- ‘curar’; and perhaps Kw matasukwi ‘medicine’; NP caggwipi ‘healed up’. (Sem-kw) [SUA: Trn, Tbr; NUA: Num]

**1562** Most Semitic roots beginning with gd and whatever 3<sup>rd</sup> C (gdC: gdd, gdʕ) have a basic meaning of ‘cut off, break off’: Ktn ḡġġ-k ‘cut, vt’; Cp ḡet-in ‘cut with an ax, be cut straight’; Cp ḡe-ḡti ‘split wood, cut up meat in large chunks’ (Jane Hill 2005, 141). Sem-kw. [NUA: Tak]

**1563** Hebrew yǝǝ ‘to grow weary, labor, struggle, strive for’; Hebrew yǝǝiʕaa ‘weariness’;

Hebrew yageʕ / yageʕ <sup>a</sup>ʕ < \*yagiʕ ‘to grow weary, labor, struggle, strive for’:

Hp yǝǝyiw-ta ‘time of fasting’ (Seaman); but Hill has Hp yǝǝiw ‘enter, pl’ from yǝǝ ‘enter’. Note that even the least frequent vowel i is apparent as the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel in both Semitic and Hopi. Sem-kw.

**1564** Hebrew (and most Semitic languages) lbš ‘put on, wear, clothe, be clothed’, hiqtiil of lbš: -lbiiš > bbiiš:

UACV250 \*kwisi ‘wrap’ and \*kwisi-capa ‘wrap, surround’: (UA \*s > Tep h): PŸp bihsa/bihis ‘wrap, spin, make thread’; NT bibííšapai ‘envolver [wrap, envelop], vt’; TO bihag ‘surround, wrap (around), vt.’; TO bihiwig ‘wrap around, vt’; and SP kwocai / kwocayai ‘wrap around’ may tie in. The Tep forms are certainly cognate with each other. SP agrees in two consonants, but shows a different vowel; however, the CV combination k w o is not in UA generally; therefore, we would expect that SP o is not original, but a result of kw-reduction, i.e., assimilation to the labio-velar nature of the first consonant, perhaps \*kwisa > kwos/ca. Nonetheless, the Tep forms also suggest the possibility of another consonant; e.g., PŸp bihsa / bihis recommends Tep \*bihis < PUA \*kwisic, and NT often loses the h present in other Tep languages, which corresponds to PUA \*s, so NT bibííšapai similarly suggests \*kwisi-capa. For another example of \*s > SP c, see ‘head’. Another compound of this is \*kwisi-ḡoLa ‘wrap around’: TO bihi-noD ‘wrap, vt’; Nv vinorha ‘envolver alguna cosa’ (< Tep \*bihi-nola < PUA \*kwisi-ḡoLa). [SUA: Tep]

**1565** Hebrew špn ‘to hide, treasure up’ (qal and hiqtil); TelAmarna šapanu ‘set (of sun)’;

Hebrew šaapoon ‘north’, šəpoonii ‘northern’; ha-špoonii ‘the northerner’; UA \*kwin / kwini ‘north’ could only come from an adjectival nisbe form with a strong long final -iy / -ii, which does two things: it shortens the first vowel to almost nothing, and it may cause the middle vowel to also assimilate to -i-: \*špoonii > špiinii > kwini. The same thing happens with the same two initial consonants at 1378 ‘frog’:

UACV1543 \*kwin ‘north’: M67-307a \*kwin, \*kwi ‘north’; I.Num85 \*kwi ‘north, cold’; KH.NUA; M88-kwi7 ‘north’; KH/M-kwi7: Mn kwiwi ‘to the north’; NP kwinaha(na) ‘northwind’; Sh kwinahai ‘north’; TSh kwinnahennaḡkwhah ‘north’; TSh kwinaweppi; Cm kwine-‘nakkwi ‘north’; Ls kwíimik ‘eastward’; Tḡ komí ‘east’; Sr kwiimk ‘north’; Sr akwiinamo ‘east wind’; Ktn kwimika ‘north’; Hp kwiniḡya(q) ‘in or to the northwest’; Hp(S) kwiniwi ‘toward the north’. Add Tb wiinaḡ ‘north’. Of possible interest, Ch kwii-‘left’; Ch kwii-ganti ‘left-handed’; Ch kwii-mi-tu ‘left, to the left’ as left and north are synonymous in most Semitic languages. Other morphemes follow \*kwin(i), overpowering final segments, though Hp and Cm show \*kwini. Add to those TO juupin ‘north’ and ‘sink, seep, disappear into the ground’; TO and the other Tep cognates below seem to derive from the hiqtil with the pharyngeal š causing rounding and being absorbed to double -pp- (ya-špiin > yuppin):

UACV1996a \*yuppín > Tep \*dupi(n) ‘sink’: TO juupin ‘soak in, sink’; Nv dupinu ‘hundirse en el agua [sink in the water]’; NT dupíkyi ‘hide, go in/under’; ST dupñia ‘stuck in mud’.

[NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep]

## 5.18 More Semitic-p Sets (and then other)

**1566** Aramaic *ħrpd* / *ħrpd* 'bat', variants *ħrpt* / *ħrpd* / *ħwr'pth* (note also Syriac *praahduud-aa* 'bat'); like some others, this set loses the initial syllable and keeps the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>: *ħarpad-aa* > *patta*'

UACV124-5 \**pati*' / *patta*'a 'bat'; L.Son258 \**sopī-ci* 'murciélago'; M88-so10; Stubbs 2000a; KH/M-so10: Ca *páli-l* 'bat'; NP *pidahana*'a 'bat'; Tb *paccaawa-l* 'bat'; Kw *paaca*'aa-zi; Ch *paaca*'a-ci; SP *paač*'a-či / *paáč*'a-či; WMU *páač*'a-či / *paača*'a-či / *páač*'æ-či / *páat*'æ-či / *páatæ*'i-či / *paači* / *pa'áci*; CU *paač*'eči.

Several of these Num forms even show the glottal stop of the definite article suffix with an echo vowel: \**patta*'a. Except for Cr *háci*'i, the SUA languages include \**so*'o- prefixed: Tr *so*'péci / *so*'píci 'bat';

Wr *so*'péci 'bat'; Eu *cikúrsopic* 'bat (mouse-butterfly)'; Op *sopi* 'bat'; Eu *sopic* 'butterfly'; My *sotcik* 'bat'; Yq *sóocik* 'bat'; PYp *ho*'opisa 'bat'. These 15 UA languages (of 8 branches) all point to \**pati*' or \**paCti*'a.

Ca *páli-l* and Cr *háci*'i at opposite ends of the north-south UA spread suggest medial \*-t-, and we actually see -t- in some WMU variants and -d- in NP, and -t- > -c- is a frequent palatalization. In fact, NUA -c- is also from \*-t- or clustered \*-Ct-, because PUA \*-c- > NUA -y-, so any NUA -c- is usually from -t- palatalized.

PYp of the Tepiman branch, has the Tepiman sound changes PUA \*s > h and PUA \*c > s, so that PYp *ho*'opisa < \**so*'o-pica. PYp would suggest that syncope of the second *o* occurred in Tr, Wr, and Eu (\**so*'opVti > \**so*'pVci), and vowel (and syllable) syncope is very common in UA non-initial syllables. The Cahitan languages (Yq and My) lost two full syllables—\**so*'o-pati > \**so*'pVci > \**sopci* > \**sooci*-(k).

As for the origin of \**so*'o- in a compound \**so*'o-pVti, nothing is certain, but possibilities emerge. Note that Eu *cikúrsopic* 'bat' contains Eu *cikur*- 'mouse'. German *fledermaus* 'bat' similarly attests to the frequency of 'mouse' words in 'bat' lexemes due to the mouse-like appearance of the little flying mammals. With that in mind, Yaqui (Yq) *asó'ola* 'little mouse' contains a sequence of four segments (-*so*'o-) identical to the *so*'o- in SUA compounds for 'bat'—\**so*'o-pVti. The sequence also shows the syncopated vowel (\**so*'o-pVci > *so*'péci) apparent in both Yq and PYp, but not apparent in Tr, Wr, Op, Eu. Regardless the uncertainty of \**so*'o-, a result of the latter portion \*-pata'a / *paci* / *píci*) is apparent in all 15 languages above, usually with a quite natural and frequent palatalization and vowel assimilation (*paci* > *peci*/*píci*). Miller (1967) reconstructed the NUA forms as \**paca* and Lionnet (1985) reconstructed the Trn/Cah forms as \**sopī-ci*, but the PYp form was not available at that time. Correcting Lionnet's morpheme break, we see substantial similarity between Trn/Cah \*-*píci* and Cora *háci*'i (< \**paci*'i < \**pati*'a) and NUA \**pac*... (< \**paCti*'), though we also see -a- (in Tb, Num, Cr) and -t- (in WMU, NP). Eu and PYp and NP show *i* and *i-a*, which vowels do not correspond to \**i*. So if *e* was already in the repertoire of the vowels of Tr and Wr (after \**i* > *e*), then the *e* in -*peci* would be an assimilation from *a* > *i* rather than deriving from PUA \**i*.

As for Aramaic *ħrpd* / *ħrpt* / *ħrpd*, probably voweled *ħarpad-aa* 'bat-the', the first laryngealized syllable was lost in words of 3 syllables or longer, as also in chest, earth, and others, leaving *pad-aa*'. An original stress on the final -*aa*', as we see in many Aramaic-to-UA forms, could double the preceding consonant: *paddaa*' / *pattaa*'; and an echo vowel often follows a final glottal stop in UA, as we see in the branches of Numic, Tb, and Cr: *a'a*, *i'i*. The vowel pattern (-*i-a*), which we see in NP and PYp, is probably due to that finally stressed -*aa*' which would have the preceding unstressed -*a*- > -*i*-. However, the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel -*i*- in SUA and Ca could be due to that suffix's losing its stress: \**patt-aa*' > *paci*' > *peci*. The suggested changes:

\**patta*'a > \**pita*- (NP)  
 > \**pali* (Ca)  
 > \**paca*'a > \**paca*'a (Tb, Kw, Ch, SP, WMU, CU)  
 > \**paci*'i > *háci*'i (Cr)  
 > \**paci* > -*peci* (Tr, Wr, Eu)  
 > \**paci* > \*-*pica* > Tepiman -*pisa* (PYp)

[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]

**1567** Semitic *byt* / *bwt*, pl: *byt-w* 'spend the night': Arabic *byt* 'spend the night', *bayt* 'house (where one spends nights)'; Hebrew *bayit* / *beet* 'house' (where one comes for the night); Aramaic *beet* / *bawt-aa* 'inn, night time stopping place'; Syriac *bwt* 'to lodge, pass the night'; UA \**pittī* 'arrive' < \**bayt-uu* 'they arrive' meaning came home at night, where they usually come to sleep'; *u* > *i* is also frequent in UA.

**UACV55 \*piCtiC** 'arrive, sg': VVH143 \*piuti 'to arrive'; M67-8 \*pite; I.Num165 \*piti/\*pihti 'arrive'; KH.NUA; M88-pi16; Stubbs 2000a-3; KH/M-pi16 \*pitiC: Mn piti; NP pibiti'hu (< \*pipiti'hu) (dual); TSh piti; Sh pitih; Cm pitinu; Kw pidi; SP picí; WMU píčü-ği- / píču- 'come, sg'; CU picí; Hp piti arrive, sg'; Tb(M) pilit~'ibil; Ca píš; Ls písma; Tj piyó 'llegar, encontrar'; Sr pičii. Hill notes the extended parallel forms of Hp pitito 'be approaching' and Sr pičooṭo 'arrive, come (to), get to'. This stem is prominent in all four branches of NUA, but not found in SUA. The intervocalic \*-t- does not go to -l- as it usually does in Tak, nor to -r- in SP and CU, but to -c/č- instead in all not retaining -t-, meaning that it is clustered \*-tt-, and -y- causes dageshed or geminated following consonant in Hebrew and Aramaic, thus \*-yt- > -tt-. NP and Mn show -t- (< \*-tt-) rather than -d- (< \*-t-). For SUA forms from the same root, see 528.  
[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

**1568** Aramic(JB) kawwee / kavee 'window, small opening' (pl construct):  
Ca kavi 'have a hole, be open (window, etc)'; Ca kávi-ve 'hole'; Sr kiviḥka 'hole'; Sr kiviḥi'q 'be a hole'.  
[NUA: Tak]

**1569** In both Hebrew and Aramaic, the root qrb mainly means 'approach, draw near' but also has a secondary meaning 'go to battle', that is, draw near to fight, and 6 words built on qrb mean 'war, battle, soldier, warlike, bellicosity':  
Hopi kiipo 'attack' (< \*kiippu) from Semitic qrb / qVrbuu 'they approached, they went to battle'. The -p- (instead of -v-) means a consonant cluster in Hopi, and the falling tone also suggests a previous cluster.

**1570** Hebrew qaadqood 'skull, head'; Aramaic qwdqd / quudqVd-aa 'skull, highest place';  
Akkadian qaqqadu 'head':  
**UACV2373 \*katto** 'top, head': SP kacoaa 'top end'; Hp qötö (< \*koto < \*kato) 'head'; AYq hikát 'on top'; AYq hikači 'top, apex'; AYq hikattana 'on/from the top, postp.'; My hikači 'arriba'. The Cah forms have their frequent \*hi- prefix. Notice the hi- prefix in Cah. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Cah]

**1571** Northwest Semitic plḥ 'serve'; plḥh 'service' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, 914-15);  
Syriac plḥ 'labor, plough, make, do, serve, especially serve God':  
CN paleewia 'help, favor, protect, support, look after interests of'.

**1572** Arabic 'abida 'run wild, untamed, shy, run away, to last, endure'; Arabic 'aabida(t) 'wild animal, monster'; Hebrew 'bd 'become lost, go astray, perish, be destroyed'; Hebrew(qittel) 'abbed 'destroy'; Syriac 'abad 'perish, be lost'; Syriac(aphel) 'awbed 'bring to naught, destroy, slay';  
Aramaic(CAL) 'abdaanaay 'harmful, ruinous':  
**UACV815 \*opa** 'strong, foreign, hostile, enemy, fierce, tough, brave (person)': B.Tep321 \*'oobai 'foreigner, enemy'; L.Son18 \*'opa 'enemigo, bravo'; M88-'o3 'fierce' and 'o26; KH.NUA; KH/M-'o3: **Wr obatú (o'óbaru) 'be wild, ferocious'**; Cp ív'a 'strength'; Cp ívawe-t 'strong'; Ca 'íva 'be strong'; Sr ööva 'be strong'; Ktn 'ova' 'force, have strength' (perhaps also Ktn 'ova' 'up, high, over'); Hp ööva 'be tough, hard-skinned'; Mn ohopi 'people or things that are strong, hardy'; Mn ohowani-t 'be strong, made sturdy'; Kw 'ohowa 'fast, loud, strong'; Tb 'oobaal 'strong'; Tb 'ooba-l/n 'muscle'; Tb 'oobawal 'strong person'; UP oobä; TO obga 'enemy'; TO owi 'opponent, the opposition'; LP 'oob 'Indian person'; PYP ooba 'person, Indian, Pima'; PYP im ooba 'enemy'; NT óóbai; ST 'oob 'enemy'; Eu oviwa 'enemigo'; Op oppa; Op o'oppa 'enemy' (Shaul 2020) Is this the source of Opata?; Wr opa (o'óba) 'large, broad-shouldered (person)'; Tr opa 'bravo'. Add Nv obagga 'enemigo'. Tb, TO, Nv, and Eu show a \*-wa suffix: \*opiwa; the consistency of Tep b (< \*kw) vs. \*p in most other branches is curious, though if \*p, it is always in environments easily voiced; therefore \*p is preferable to \*kw. But Hebrew medial -b- explains. Miller mentions in M88-'o3 that the Num forms (Mn, Kw) may relate to M88-'o1 \*o/oho 'bone, strong' (only for Num), but not the others. KH/M-'o3 combines M88-'o26 and M88-'o3. Mn, Kw, and Wr forms like \*ohopa or \*o'opa could be a distributive / repetitive form. [NUA: Num?, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn]

**1573** Aramaic and Hebrew ngn ‘play string instrument’ (qal and qittel): niggen / -naggen; nəgiinaa ‘music, n.f.’; unattested Hebrew \*nə-ggan ‘let’s make music / dance’:

UACV633 \***nikkaN** ‘to dance’: Mn nīga; NP nīkka; TSh nīkkantīn; Sh nīkka; Cm nīhkana / nīhkari; Kw nīka (< \*nīkka); CU nīkáy. Add Ch(L) nīkapī ‘any dance danced in a circle’. All but Mn suggest medial \*-kk-; and Ch(L) and perhaps CNum suggest a final consonant, maybe N (TSh, Cm).

[medial C cluster > glottal stop in Tep?] Sem-p [NUA: Num]

**1574 Arabic fa-qat** < \***pa-qatt** ‘only, no more, merely, solely’:

UACV24 \***piko** / \***piko** ‘alone, only, just, by oneself’: Ca péqi ‘just, only, yet, still, just it/he alone’;

Cp píqi ‘just, by himself’. Ca -i- < \*-o-, and Tak q suggests an earlier \*ko syllable. [NUA: Tak]

Besides \*pa-qatt > UA piko above, below we list 12 previous examples of initial q- > kw- or strong rounding ko- / ku- because of deep uvular q- though a round vowel was not in the original vowel; then after those 12, are some additional new examples of q- > kw- follow (1575-1578):

858 ‘ankle’ qarsol > UA kwince

738 Hebrew qayis / qeys ‘summer’ > UA \*kuwis ‘summer’

987 Arabic qarṣ- ‘gourd, pumpkin’ > UA \*kuyawi ‘gourd’

860 Hebrew qaataan ‘small, young’ > UA \*kuci ‘little one, son, daughter, girl’

957 Arabic qarqadaan ‘squirrel’ > UA \*koṣi ‘squirrel’

963 Hebrew qaaṣiir ‘branch(es)’ > \*kusi ‘wood’

964 Hebrew qeren / qarn- ‘horn’ > CN koyooniaa ‘(i.e., to horn = to gore, perforate)

1014 Aramaic qadaal-aa ‘neck, nape of neck’ > UA \*kutaC ‘neck’

1184 Aramaic qaššet ‘shoot an arrow’ > kwahti ‘shoot an arrow’

1248 Arabic qasaṭa ‘divide up, measure’; Hebrew qásiiṭaa ‘ancient weight, used as money, n.f.’; MHebrew

qásiiṭaa ‘a coin, a weight, lamb’; MHebrew qásiiṭaa ‘a standard value, jewel, lamb’; Syriac(S) qeṣṭ-aa ‘measure, n.m.’ > UA \*koCta ‘bark, shell, money’

634 xaṣra- > Wc kwacápai ‘hip’

961 Semitic daqal ‘palm tree’ > UA taku ‘palm tree’

**1575** Arabic qpl / qapala ‘come home, come back, return, close, lock, hoard, accumulate’;

Aramaic(JB) qpl ‘fold, roll up, wrap’: Aramaic(CAL) qepl-aa ‘fold, hidden thing, secret place’:

CN kwepa ‘turn, turn back, return s.th.’; Pl kwepa ‘return, return s.th.’; N Zong kopa / kop / kweppa ‘vaciar

[empty], voltear [turn], verter [pour], regresar [return]’; WastecaE kwapa ‘voltear, hacer regresar’;

Wc kwaiva ‘a la vuelta’. Given the same consonants and the associated meanings ‘return (home)’ and ‘lie

down / sleep’ (see 528 and pitī ‘arrive’ < byt-uu ‘come home to spend the night), a vowel change may include the following NUA forms:

UACV1320 \***kwapi** > \*kwopi ‘lie down’: Mn qwabitīgi ‘lie on ground’; NP kwabi ‘lie down, d.’;

TSh kopiC/kwapiC ‘lie (down), be in prone position, vi, dual’; Sh kopiC ‘lie down, d., pl.’; Cm kwabitī;

Kw kovi ‘lie down, pl’; Ch kwavi ‘lie down, pl.’; SP kwapi ‘lie down, pl.’; Cp kwív- ‘lie down’. Many Num

forms show \*kwapi (NP, TSh, Cm, Ch, SP) and others show \*kopi (TSh, Sh, Kw). These are undoubtedly variants of each other, as the rounding of a V between two labials is natural enough. Interestingly, Cp kwív- corresponds to \*kwopi (\*o > Cp i), which fits as well as any of the others. With loss of intervocalic -v-, might Ktn kwea’k ‘lie down’ belong?

UACV1805 \***kwaypa** ‘turn back’: CN kwepa ‘turn, turn back, vi’; Wc kwaiva ‘a la vuelta’. CN and Wc may encourage one to reconstruct \*kwaipa; however, since I doubt that PUA had diphthongs, but did have consonant clusters, I prefer \*kwaypa. PYp bidi ‘return’ (b < \*kw, d < \*y) may support the same.

[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]

**1576** Hebrew śrq / srq / śaraq ‘to comb, v’; Syriac srq / səraq, pf: səraq, impf: -sruuq ‘to comb hair or cotton cloth, card’, participle f. pl: saaraq ‘to comb’:

Hp sōöqan- ‘to card wool, cotton, v’. Hp’s two-vowel falling tone nearly always reflects a consonant cluster following the falling tone, and Hp’s final -an in Hp sōöqan- ‘to card wool, cotton’ quite parallels the f. pl.



participle of Aramaic saarq-aan / saarəq-aan ‘they (women) card, or do the carding / combing’. For related but different terms of the same root, see 62 and 63.

**1577** Syriac qwp / qoppaay-aa ‘bearer’ (one who carries s.th.)

UACV385 \*kopa / \*kwapa ‘carry in the arms, hug’: TSh kopanai’ih ‘carry in the arms’; Sh kopaC ‘carry in arms, embrace’; Cm kwabarī ‘hug, squeeze, carry in the arms’. This could be \*kwapa > kopa or \*kopa > kwapa if an anticipatory assimilation began in the first syllable. (Sem-p) [NUA: CNum]

**1578** Aramaic qḥ / qVppVḥ ‘strike, rob, beat, oppress, castigate’

UACV1187 \*kwippa ‘hit’: M88-pa26: NP kwiba ‘hit, vt’; Kw kwippa ‘hit, beat, whip’; CU kwípa ‘hit, beat, whip’; CU kupáy ‘hit on, beat on (with stick or instrument)’; SP qwippa ‘hit, strike, throw, vt’; and Ch(L) kwipa- ‘club, beat, v’. Kw, CU, SP, and Ch all show gemination of 2nd C. [NUA: Num]

**1579** Syriac qṣiil-t-aa ‘braid, plait, rope or wreath pattern, f. noun’; less likely Aramaic bkt ‘spin, weave’; Aramaic baakt-aa / baakket-aa ‘weaving woman’:

UACV2507 \*kwiCta ‘braid, wind around’: M67-57 \*kwi ‘braid’; M88-kwi4 ‘braid’; KH/M-kwi4:

Mn kwitta-t ‘wrap, twine, wind around’; Hp kwite ‘braid’; Ca kwíče’an ‘wring, wash (as clothes)’ (Wanikik dialect); Cp kwíča ‘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 usual in UA, as in Ca and Cp above, and the CNum forms—Sh kwecoi/koicoi ‘wash’; Cm -koce-rī/tī ‘wash’ has one of the two meanings of Ca and Cp (wash, but not wring) and does Sh show vowels of the Semitic pl baktu > kwettoi? [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Azt]

**1580** Aramaic twb ‘return’; pfv: taab, impfv: **yə-tuub**:

Op deto / **detove** ‘return’ (< UA \*yītovī) which aligns well with Aramaic yə-tuub.

**1581** Semitic yqr ‘be precious, costly, highly valued’; Hebrew yqr, adj: yaqar ‘precious, rare, splendid, glorious’; Psalms 45:10 has yiqqəraa ‘the precious ...’; Psalms 37:20 has -iiqar, fem would be -iiqraa ‘glory, splendid’: Hp hiikya ‘price, value, worth, cost’ (maybe a hiqtil form); Tr(B) akare- ‘be good, tasty, sweet’ (Tr loses initial y- also in aká ‘nose’ < \*yəgár); Ls yixé-yxi-š ‘rich’. 219 yields a similar Egyptian stem iqr. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn]

**1582** Hebrew śpḥ ‘lay bare, strip’ (only in qittel) śippaḥ ‘lay bare, strip’; Arabic sfḥ ‘bald’

CN šiipeewa ‘to flay, skin, peel s.th.’; (a different stem: šiipeec-tik ‘smooth, bare, bald’; CN šiipecoaa ‘strip, take off clothes’); WaE šipewa ‘desollar [flay]’; Pl šiipeewa ‘peel, remove skin, bark, shell’.

**1583** Hebrew kpš ‘bend; hiqṭil ‘make bend, make cower, tread down’; Arabic kafisa, -kfasu ‘have bent or crooked feet, be bandy-legged, bow-legged’: UA \*kapa ‘badger’ aligns with a noun or the perfect (Sem \*kapaš) or \*kappaas ‘one who walks with turned-in feet’. Being bow-legged with toes turned inward (Semitic ḥnp) was the tie for the other badger / bear word \*hunap ‘water’ (675); furthermore, Egyptian xpš ‘constellation of the Great Bear’ would have the same consonant correspondences in UA as Semitic kpš.

UACV110 \*kap / \*kapaLi ‘badger’: Fowler83: TO kaaw ‘badger’; LP(EF) hedilkaw-súuly ‘tejón solitario’; LP(EF) súuly ‘tejón’). To Fowler, add NT tīkavali ‘tejón’. UA \*kapa ‘badger’: TO kaaw ‘badger’ (< UA \*kap) and NT tī-kava-li ‘badger’ agree with \*kapaš, since s practically disappears in Tep (\*s > Tep h/ø), so kawa/kava is all we can expect of \*kapaš. [SUA: Tep]

**1584** Hebrew tlf ‘gnaw’; Arabic tlf / talaša ‘stretch one’s neck, crane the neck’; Hebrew toolaaš / toolešaa / toolašat / toolaašat ‘worm’; Syr tawlf-aa ‘worm-the’; Aramaic tlf ‘become wormy’:

Tb(H) tuhaawa-l ‘earthworm’; CN toloaa ‘swallow s.th.’; Pl tulua ‘swallow’; NawaZongolica tolowa ‘tragar [swallow], engullir [gobble]’; Tel ki-toloa ‘lo traga [swallow it]’; WaE toló ‘comer, pasarlo por la garganta [eat, pass it down the throat]’. Persons and especially animals sometimes “crane the neck” when swallowing or getting something down the throat. [NUA: Tb; SUA: Azt]

**1585** Aramaic(CAL) ʕwq ‘be in narrow straits, be in distress, be troubled, worry, grieve’; Aramaic(CAL) ʕqw / ʕqwt ‘distress’; Syriac ʕaaqaa / ʕaaqə-t-aa ‘sadness, grief, distress, adversity, n.f.’; Aramaic ʕqw / ʕqwt ‘distress’; Hp okiw ‘humble, pitiful, poor, suffer from lack of’; Hp okiw-ti ‘run out of, get tired, worn out, run out of steam’. Contributed by JSR.

**1586** Aramaic(CAL) rrgg / ragreg ‘long for’; Aramaic(CAL) et-ragreg ‘desire most strongly, enjoy’; Syriac rg / rwg; rag / ruug ‘desire, covet, lust’; Syriac ruugraag-aa ‘eagerness, enjoyment’; Hp tunla’y-ti ‘come to have a desire for, become infatuated with’; Hp tunla’y-va ‘ask for, beg’; Hp tunla’i ‘s.th. longed for, object of desire’. Contributed by JSR.

**1587** Hebrew nsk / naasak ‘pour out’; Hebrew noosek ‘pouurer, one who pours’; Aramaic nsk ‘pour out’; Aramaic nsk / nsk / nsaak(aa) ‘libation, pouring out’; Syriac nsk / nəsak ‘pour, pour out’; Hp anoska’-ta ‘pour water on s.o. as disciplinary measure for bedwetting’. Contributed by JSR.

**1588** Hebrew təpillaa ‘prayer, phylactery’; Aramaic tpylh / təpiyllaa ‘phylactery, f’; phylacteries are for reminding its bearers of the contents in the phylactery; Hp tivoyla ‘cairn, mark, marker, mnemonic device, shepherd’s monument’; Hp tivoyla has no morpheme breaks and is a nice match of the təpiyllaa as a reminder or s.th. to help remember. Contributed by JSR.

**1589** Aramaic ʕpy ‘be covered in excess’; Aramaic ʕəpaa ‘a wrap, fold, n.f.’; Aramaic ʕappe ‘cover, arrange a corpse for burial’; Aramaic(CAL) ʕəpiipaa / ʕəpiipə-t-aa ‘double vestment’; Syriac(S) ʕappe ‘envelop, cover, conceal, bury’ (i.e., put burial shroud on corpse); Hp oova ‘wedding robe’; the bride is wrapped in one white robe while she carries the other robe, rolled up as a grave bundle, to be wrapped around her upon her death. Contributed by JSR.

**1590** Hebrew zəbuub ‘fly’; Aramaic dabbaab ‘fly’; but also Aramaic dydbh / dydbt / deedab / deedəb-aa ‘fly, n.m.’; deedəbə-t-aa ‘fly, nf’: Hp tootovi ‘fly’, pl: totopt. This certainly matches Aramaic d, not Hebrew z, as does 620 match Aramaic d. This root (ḏbb) is at 620 SUA \*tḏpḏti / \*tḏCpu-ti ‘flea’ with a different vowel which is widespread in all 7 branches of SUA, but not in NUA. However, Hopi tootovi is from a different form and keeps the original meaning ‘fly’. Various routes to Hopi’s different vowel (o) are possible. A short vowel or schwa before a bilabial or near a velar / pharyngeal usually goes to -o- in UA (we see it in all the qə... words), and note the schwa between d and b in Aramaic. Or, Hopi and many/most UA languages do a lot of reduplication of first syllable, so this could be from tovi, still with a short vowel > o. Also of interest is that in both this and the SUA form we see the noun feminine plural endings SUA -uti and Hp -t, though m. vs. f. semantic distinction was lost in UA. Contributed by JSR.

**1591** Aramaic ḥuppaa / ḥuppət-aa ‘marriage chamber, marriage canopy, marriage ceremony, n.f.’; Hebrew(BDB) ḥuppaa ‘canopy, **chamber of bridegroom**, n.f.’ (of ḥpp ‘to enclose, surround, cover’); Hp wīvi ‘climb up (on), climb into a house from above, **go to the groom’s house to begin one’s wedding** (of a bride)’ (combining forms: wīv-, wīp-, wīvi-, -ḥwīp-, -ḥwīvi-). Gemination was lost, which happens. For both Semitic and Hopi to include ‘marriage / wedding’ and ‘chamber / house of the groom’ semantically is significant. Contributed by JSR.

**1592** Aramaic məḥawwər-aan ‘whitener, cleanser’; root ḥwr ‘to be white’, ḥawwer ‘to whiten, to wash’: Hp mooho / moo-ho ‘narrow-leaved yucca’; Hp moo-vi ‘yucca root, used for shampoo’. Semitic pharyngeal ḥ and doubled -ww- all tend to rounding, so to find m- plus a long round vowel (= UA \*muu) is a good match, and the word may be mooho, even better. Tb(H) **hoolohpii-l** ‘soaproot, bulb used for shampoo’ more fully shows the same root but without the mV- prefix. And note both Hp and Tb have a \*-pi suffixed, perhaps Aramaic beh ‘with it, using it (one cleans)’. Also belonging is Tḥ xoxaar / **hoorhort** / hoohot ‘soapweed, raiz de lavar’ recorded / written those three different ways. Contributed by JSR.  
[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak]

**1593** Aramaic waaw ‘hook’; Hebrew waaw ‘hook, pin or peg’; as another among many denominalized verbs, two things make Hp wiwa quite noteworthy: first, the Aramaic noun would be waaw-aa ‘hook-the’ and as we see in other UA reflexes of Aramaic nouns with suffixed definite article -aa, is that the article suffix often carries the stress, keeping final -aa, while preceding vowels without stress undergo relaxed changes, as in waaw-aa > wiwa; second, Hp -w- before low vowels often goes to -L-, but not always; we have shown that an underlying laryngeal is the source of \*-w- > -L-; in contrast, an actual -w- remains -w-, and this as well as the next item, both show Hp -w- remaining -w- before -a- as predicted for an actual -w-: Hp wiwa-k-na ‘attach (to), connect, hook, vt’; wiwawa ‘hanger-on, one who always tags along’. Contributed by JSR.

**1594** Aramaic ’pwk, ’pwk’ / ’aapook, ’aapookaa ‘demon of overturning’:

Hp powaqa ‘sorcerer, sorcery, magical power’; reduplicated povowaqa ‘be practicing sorcery, be doing something magical for an audience’; the Hopi Dictionary has morpheme divisions powa-qa, but followed by a question mark, so as possible is powa being a shortening of powaqa; all -k- > Hp -q- before -a-, and again note that -w- stays -w- before -a-. Contributed by JSR.

**1595** Hebrew ʕbd ‘work, serve’; Arabic ʕbd ‘serve, worship (a God)’; Aramaic ʕbd ‘make, act, do’ (impfv vowels -a/-e-); Syriac 3<sup>rd</sup> sg impfv: **ye-ʕbed** ‘to do, make, work’ (both Hebrew and Arabic employ the more common imperfective vowel -u-, but Aramaic/Syriac have -e- < \*-i-) as apparent in UA, which fits the 3<sup>rd</sup> m. sg. imperfective perfectly, with the cluster **-ʕb-** > **-kw-** and a final -C: **ye-ʕbed** > **yikwiC**):

UACV691 \*yikwi ‘do, make’: Mn yigwi ‘act, do’ (vs. Mn yikwitigi ‘sit’); NP yigwi ‘do with s.th.’ (vs. yikwi ‘sit’); NP yikwi ‘do, act’ (Thornes 2003, 86); TSh yikwiC ‘do, make, go after, get’ (vs. yikwi ‘sit’); Sh yikwiC ‘do, make’ (both Miller and Crapo separate Sh yikwiC ‘sit’ (< \*yukkwi) though identical in both dialects, but different in Mn, NP, TSh). These forms show nicely the Aramaic/Syriac vowel of the imperfective (-e- < \*-i-) in contrast to the more common imperfective vowels -u- and -a-.

[NUA: WNum, CNum]

**1596** Syriac qdy ‘possess, hold fast, enjoy possession’; pl **qadiy-uu**

UACV1701 **\*-ka** ‘possessor’: Sapir; Langacker 1977, 44; Haugen 2006c: NP **-ka’yu** ‘have or be characterized by’; TO -ka ‘have’; SP -kai ‘have’; Yq -ka ‘being, having’ (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 74-75); WMU -ga- ‘having, possessing’; Sh kanti ‘have’; Tb kaj ‘have’. [SUA: Tep, Cah; NUA: Num, Tb]

**1597** Arabic lpp ‘wrap, roll up, fold, etc’; Arabic lapp ‘coiling, folding’;

Aramaic / Syriac lp / lwp ‘join’; Syriac lapaapa ‘envelope’:

Ls lápa/i ‘squat’; Ls lapálapa/i ‘squat continually’; Ls láplapa/i ‘squat now and then’; Ls lapálapa-š ‘crushed (of hat)’. Squatting is a folding of the body. Ls -p- is from a geminated \*-pp-; otherwise, it would be -v-, so the phonological match is identical, and when one squats, one folds the body, or rolling up in a corner is basically doing the squatting position horizontally instead of vertically, so the semantic tie is reasonable.

**1598** Arabic ʕan ‘off, away from, from’:

CN on- ‘prefix for verbs indicating direction or action away from speaker’

**1599** Arabic xuld ‘mole’; Hebrew ʕoled ‘weasel’ (< \*xoled). The -gulat portion of Tb maagulat ‘weasel skin purse’ matches well, though such a morpheme boundary in Tb is not certain.

**1600** Aramaic ʕkwby ‘spider’ (loss of first ʕ, lenition of k, and -hi may originally be a separate morpheme)

UACV2108 **\*hupa(hi)** ‘spider’: Yq húbahe ‘a little spider’; AYq čukui huvave ‘blackwidow’; AYq huvae toosa ‘spiderweb’; Hp -hövi in Hp wishövi ‘cobweb’ (wis- ‘string out’); Hp shows \*o instead of \*u, probably due to \*u-a > o-a, which has the first three segments matching Cahitan: \*hupahi > \*hupahi (Cah)

> \*hopai > \*hopi > hövi (Hp)

The similar Aramaic ʕkbwby ‘spider’ looks more like Mn hapopó’ / **hopopó** ‘spider’. Or did Mn reduplicate and syncopate the above: hupahupa > hopohpo. Yet in both sets, we see a loss of the first syllable of a lengthy word, as in 1054 moth-eaten, 1055 horned toad, 1056 chest, etc. [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Cah]

**1601** Arabic \*pakiha (verb) / fakih (adj) ‘(be) merry, gleeful, cheerful, sportive’; Syriac(S) pkh ‘be tasteless, dim-witted, dull; Syriac causative (ap’el): ‘deprive of salt, sweeten, mollify, assuage’:  
CN paaki ‘be happy, experience pleasure’; Pl paaki ‘be happy’; Zo paki ‘alegrarse [be happy]’; I-M paaki ‘alegrarse [be happy]’; WaE paaki ‘está alegre, está content [ be happy, content]’. [SUA: Azt]

**1602** Semitic -iy ‘suffixed to place names, meaning person of (that place)’:  
Tr(B) -i ‘suffixed to place names, meaning person of (that place)’ (Brambila, 444).

**1603** Aramaic(CAL) dbwrt’ / debboortaa’ ‘bee, wasp’  
UACV160 \*ku(N)ta(N) ‘bee’: Cp kutánva-l ‘bumblebee’; Ls kúukunta-la ‘bumblebee’; My kuta kúmera ‘bee that lives in wood’; Nv kuarhagi mumuva ‘abejas grandes que hacen panales [big bees that make honey]’.  
WMU kuhččá-vi / kwihččá-vü ‘wasp’. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes the match of Cp ku’a-l ‘fly, bedbug’ and the Nv term. Nv is a case of vowel anticipation (\*kuta > kuara), common in Tep, yet I agree with Jane that Cp ku’a-l likely does tie to this set with the reduction of the consonant cluster to glottal stop, which type of reduction does happen. With loss of the first short and unstressed syllable, (de)bboortaa’ > kwootaa > kutta exhibits changes which are all natural to this case. Sem-kw. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah]

**1604** Aramaic zyp / zyp’ / ziip(aa) ‘eyebrows’:  
UACV826 \*sīpī / sīpo ‘eyebrow’: VVH14 \*sīspo ‘eyebrow’; M67-161 \*se/\*sep ‘eyebrow’; L.Son253 \*sīwī ‘parpados’; B.Tep86 \*hīhīvo ‘eyebrow’; M88-sī2; KH.NUA; KH/M06-sī2: Tb šupī-l ‘eyebrow(s)’; Tb(H) sīvī-l; Hp sīivī ‘eyebrow’; TO hīhīwo; Wr se’wekómori ‘ceja, pestaña’; Tr sekobóara ‘pestaña’; My bus sé’ebe-m; Cr sé’e-kī-ri; NP pu’noccipa ‘eyelash’. I agree with Hill’s inclusions: Sr huvaat ‘eye’ and Sr uuvča’ ‘eyelash’ and Ktn uva’ ‘eye’. Add Ca yulséve-l ‘eyebrow’; NT iivo ‘eyebrow’; ST hīivo ‘eyebrow’. Note NP’s exact vowels -cipa. [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC]

**1605** Aramaic(CAL) msy / māsaa, participle masy-aa ‘(of body parts, bodies) to melt away, rot, condense, thicken, coagulate’; Syriac msy / māsaa, participles masy-aa ‘to putrefy, melt, waste, drip away, thicken, curdle’; MHebrew maasaa ‘to melt, dissolve’:  
Hp maasa-w ‘corpse, dead person’; Hp mas-himī ‘thing associated with dead person, corpse-thing, death’; Hp mas-laki ‘atrophy, become atrophied, wasted away’ [lit: dead-dry]; Hp mas-na-vahoma ‘bathe in boiled juniper water after handling a dead person or participating in a burial’. Contributed by JSR.

**1606** Hebrew ḥpr / ḥaapar ‘be ashamed’; Arabic xafira ‘be shy’; Aramaic ḥpr / ḥəpar ‘be ashamed’:  
Hp hovar ‘get to be impure, sin, become profane’; Tḡ(JH) ’epuurok (< \*opuurok) ‘be ashamed’.  
Contributed by JSR. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**1607** About half the verbs beginning with the two consonants lʕ... (or lʕC) have to do with mocking:  
Hebrew lʕg ‘mock, deride’; Hebrew laaʕeg ‘mocking’; Hebrew lʕb ‘jest’; Hebrew lʕʕ / lwʕ ‘talk wildly’; thus, Hebrew laaʕeg ‘mocking’ or any of the others could feasibly underlie Ls:  
Ls lóó’i ‘imitate, mock’ with initial l- even.

**1608** Aramac(CAL) rʕ’ ‘to desire’ and Hebrew rʕy ‘take pleasure in, be favorable to’ are cognate as Aramaic ʕ corresponds to Hebrew ʕ; what’s more, even ʕ > ’ in Numic languages (cf. eye, etc). So SNum tu’i corresponds to Hebrew and Aramaic.  
UACV2474 \*(ha’a)-sun-tu’i ‘want, wish’: Ch ha’i-suntu’i ‘like, v’; SP ’aššintu’i ‘like, want, v’; WMU ásiitti’i / ásti’i ‘want, like, love, vt; CU ’ásti’i ‘want, v’. This is a compound of UA \*sun ‘heart’ and SNum \*tu’i ‘want’. CU sötö- of CU sötö-’na-y ‘wish’ (< \* söCtö-’na-y < \*sun-tu’i-na-y) may be a dialect variant. [NUA: Num]

**1609** Arabic ḥḍr ‘be present, settle, be settled, sedentary’; Arabic ḥaḍar ‘place of residence’; Epigraphic South Arabic ḥḍr ‘dwelling place’; Hebrew ḥaašer ‘settlement, village’: Saxton has TO terms ‘stretch out on back’ and ‘tiger’ being identical, and that is regular behavior of big cats, to lie down stretched out. Semitic ḥḍr means to settle down, make residence—not identical, but not far off either. An option worth considering, especially since TO d corresponds to Cah r:

UACV1351 \***osaLo** ‘large cat’: TO oošad ‘stretch out on the back’ (Saxton 1969); TO oošad ‘tiger, jaguar’ (Saxton 1969); My ouser / ousei / ousel ‘lion’; Yq ’óusei ‘león’; AYq ousei ‘mountain lion’; CN ooseeloo-tl ‘bobcat’. Yq typically loses intervocalic liquids, and CN has the vowels of the Northwest Semitic f. pl. [SUA: Tep, Cah, Azt]

**1610** Aramaic(CAL) dbq / dəbaq ‘stick, adhere, adjoin, reach’; dabbeq ‘attach, make stick’; dubbaq ‘attached, stuck to’; adbeq ‘make stick, overtake, **follow closely after**’; Hebrew dbq / daabaq / daabeq ‘cling, cleave, keep close’; hiqtiil: hidbiq / hi-dbaq- / ya-dbeq ‘**pursue closely**, overtake’; Syriac dbq / dəbaq / dəbeq ‘adhere, touch, remain close to, **follow closely**, attain, **acquire**’; Arabic dbq / dabiqa ‘stick, adhere, cling’; -dabbiq- ‘catch (with birdlime)’; dubbaq ‘be caught’; dabiq ‘sticky, gluey’:

Ls tuvóqi- ‘to swarm after a person (bees, ants)’; note the uvular -q- between not low vowels. In a different area of the above semantic range—‘acquire, catch, cling to’—note these UA forms also:

UACV996 \***tupuk**: CU tuvú-’na-y ‘pull out, pluck out’; AYq tovokta ‘pick up (sg. obj.) with hand v.t., harvest, n.’; My tóbok-tia ‘lo levanta [pick it up]’; ST tuvú’ya ‘harvest, gather things in container’. Add Ktn puk ‘take off’. This aligns with Sem-p in o/u vowels being next to the uvular q, and no -ŋ-/-n- < -q-. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah]

**1611** Aramaic(CAL) dbq / dəbaq ‘stick, adhere, adjoin, reach’; dabbeq ‘attach, make stick’; adbeq ‘make stick, overtake, follow closely after’; **Hebrew** dbq / daabaq / daabeq ‘cling, cleave, keep close’; **dubbaq** ‘be joined together, attached, stuck to’; hiqtiil: hidbiq / hi-dbaq- / ya-dbeq ‘pursue closely, overtake’; **Syriac** dbq / dəbaq / dəbeq ‘adhere, touch, remain close to, follow closely, attain, acquire’; **Arabic** dbq / dabiqa ‘stick, adhere, cling’; -dabbiq- ‘catch (with birdlime)’; **dubbaq** ‘be caught’; dabiq ‘sticky, gluey’ (d/t > c before high Vs):

UACV2181 \***cuppa** ‘adhere’: Eu sačúpa ‘pegar [paste, stick], vt’; Eu sačúpe ‘vi’; Tr na’čopa ‘adherirse, pegarse, conglutinarse [adhere, stick], pl’; Tr čučupa ‘pegarse, adherirse (freq pl)’; Tr o’čopa- ‘adherirse, sg’; Wr na’čupáre ‘stick to, vt’; Ls(E) čépa/i- ‘be attached, pasted on, glued on’ < \*cooppa < \*cuuppa with frequent \*u-a > o-a. UA \*cupa likely ties to \*cappa below, after the first vowel assimilated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>: \*cupa > \*capa, as we do see geminated \*-pp- and possibilities for final -q. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn]

UACV2183 \***cappa** ‘adhere’: Mn cappa’ni ‘stick, get stuck’; NP cabi ‘stick together, vi’; Sh cappaki ‘be stuck’; Cp čapála ‘mend, stick together, vt’; and ST \*-sap- in ST bispa ‘apretar, fajar (cincha)’ (pres: pi’nsap); ST biisap ‘estar apretado (cincha), estar fajado’; ST čubispara. Mn form is also listed in I.Num136 at ‘in’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

**1612** Aramaic(CAL) rny / rn’ ‘to think, ponder, give thought to, care about’; the Aramaic / Syriac etpaal and etpeel forms would be **etranney** and **etrney** / **etrāne(y)** / **etrāni(y)** > \*i’na (NUA) and \*i’ra / \*i’La (SUA). NUA vs. SUA often shows a correspondence of NUA n with SUA liquid, and where a near 3 consonant cluster that includes -t- and both -r- and -n- (-trn-), each half of the language family picks its inclination:

UACV2284 \***i’La** ‘think, remember, feel, want’: B.Tep337 \*i’ridai ‘believe’; L.Son12 \*i’ra ‘sentir, desear’; M88-i7 ‘think’; KH.NUA; KH/M-i7 ‘think of/about’: Hp i’na ‘recall, remember’; Eu erá ‘pensar [think], v’; Eu erádawa ‘pensamiento [thought], n’; My éyya; TO ilid ‘think (about), decide, conclude, wish; fear, be in awe of, vt’; TO ilidadag ‘plan, thought, care, n’; Pl el-kaawa ‘forget’; Pl el-naamiki ‘remember’; Wr e’rébani ‘remember’; Wr e’lá-ni, e’la-má ‘think about, be concerned about, be considerate, work for the welfare of others, be useful, think to be so’. The applicative of that is Wr e’re-na/ma ‘care to do s.th., take good care of s.th., think about, consider s.th.’ Op eraa ‘want, think that’; Op eratu ‘fondle, caress, embrace’; Wc ’erie ‘sentir [feel], pensar [think], creer [believe]’ also belongs with Tep i’ri- and SUA generally. CN eel-li ‘liver’ and also inner organs as seat of emotions. The el- / il- of CN ilnaamiki ‘remember, reflect on s.th.’ and Pl el- ‘inside, internal’: Pl elnaamiki ‘remember’ and Pl elkaawa ‘forget, v’. Tep: UP ’ilidi; LP ’ilč;

NT ʾilīdī 'believe, think, want; ST ʾilʾiidʾ. In Tak are Sr ʾinaan 'know, recognize, learn'; Ca ʾéʾnan 'know, recognize, learn, find out'; Ls ʾóʾna 'know, recognize, be acquainted with'. Add Nv ʾira (urha); AYq ea 'think, feel, vi'. Ken Hill adds Ktn ʾin 'know, know how, understand'. Note how well the Sr and Ca reflect Aramaic **etranni**, as also l > n in 'tongue' due to consonant harmony also.  
[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Trn, CrC, Azt]

**1613** Aramaic(CAL) \*rpy / rāpā 'be or make loose, soft, be healed, relieved'; Aramaic and Syriac rappi 'loosen, slacken, relax, weaken'; unattested Hebrew quttal passive would be \*ruppa 'be loosened'; UACV2441 \***tuppa** 'untie, loosen': Mn toba 'unfasten, untie, free'; NP u cadubba (< \*catubba) 'untie'; TSh cattīpāh 'undo, untie, open by grasping'; SP toppa / toppi / tovi 'come loose, vi; pull out, vt'; and AYq topecei 'naked, nude'. NP shows the high vowel -u- and the other likely assimilated \*-u-a- > -o-a.  
[NUA: Num; SUA: Cah]

**1614** Aramaic tps 'grab, hold, seize'; Hebrew tps / -tappés 'lay hold of, seize, grasp': UA \***tappa** 'carry away, take': Tr(H) tapa 'acarrear, traer (en las manos) [carry, bring (in the hands), vt pl'; not in Tr(B). Ls(E) taapa/i 'disappear, pl subj, make disappear, pl obj'. Both Tr and Ls show underlying \*-pp-, and a most common way to 'make things disappear' is grabbing / taking them.  
[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

**1615** Hebrew dšn 'be fat', **dušnaa / duššənaa** 'fat, fsg, quttal'; Arabic dasina 'be fat': Tr(B) **tuʾna-** 'ser grueso [be stout, heavy set, thick]'; Wr(MM) tuʾna 'estar grueso', tuna-kame 'grueso'; Eu tonei 'grueso, espeso [thick, heavy]. [SUA: Opn, Trn]

**1616** Egyptian(H) tši 'fortgehen [go away], weichen [yield], sich trennen [separate self], desertieren; Egyptian(F) tši 'be absent, missing, desist from': Tr(B) tesa 'pisar [to step], poner el piso, dar el paso [take the step] (irregular present' of Tr te-) Tr(B) tesia 'pisar, poner el piso, dar el paso (future subjunctive)'

**1617** Arabic dwx 'conquer, subjugate (a people, country), humble oneself' II 'subdue, obtain dominion over (inhabitants), subjugate (country)': Tr(B) řuhi- 'caer [fall], pl' (the Tr verb is plural, and plural persons / things don't all fall at the same time unless something causes it); Tr(B) řuhi-na- 'tirar, hacer caer varias cosas [throw, make fall plural objects]'

**1618** Hebrew řrš 'to plough, engrave'; Aramaic řrš 'to plow'; Ugaritic řrθ 'to plough'; Arabic řrθ 'to plow, till, cultivate'; Arabic řarθ 'plowing, tilling'; Arabic **řarθa** 'arable / tillable land'; besides Hebrew řrš 'to plough' is a phonologically identical Hebrew root řrš 'do magic / enchantments' related to Syriac řaršaa 'enchantment', but here we are dealing with the Semitic root meaning 'plow, till (land)' as seen in several Semitic languages, and the feminine noun **řarša** 'tilling or tillable land' is apparent in other Semitic languages, though not attested in the Masoretic text, and that form řarša underlies several UA forms: UACV1636 \*wasa 'plant, till, cultivate': M88-wa14 'to plant'; M67-325 \*was 'to plant'; KH/M-wa14: Tr **wasá** 'cultivated land'; Wr(MM) wahsé 'arar [to plow]'; Cr ra-wás-tye-'e 'he is planting it'. Add Eu wasá-t 'tierra para sembrar [cultivated land]' and PYP gaha 'field, planted land, n' and Ca wés 'to plant'. Cp wáce 'to stick in, plant' likely belongs with cluster > -č-. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Tb wašš[at 'dig'.  
[NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, CrC]

**1619** Hebrew raaʾaa / rʾy 'see, perceive'; Arabic raʾaa / rʾy 'see, consider, think, contemplate, be of the opinion that'; Arabic raʾy- 'opinion, view, idea, notion'; verbal nouns raʾy- and ruʾya; Arabic ruʾiya 'it was decided that ...': Tr(B) ra- 'pensar [think], opinar [be of opinion], creer [believe]'; Tr(B) rayá 'opinar, pensar (gerund)' Tr(H) raʾé 'conocer (lugar) [know/recognize (a place)]'; Tr(B) řu- 'digo, dices, dice, ... [say]'; Tr(B) řue- / řuye- / řuwe- 'decirle, hablarle, avisarle [say to, advise]'; Tr(H) ruyé 'avisar, aconsejar [counsel], informar [inform]'. Note that they all start with r-. Tr(H) raʾiča 'hablar, platicar' (< \*raʾi-ta 'ideas-do?')

**1620** Arabic raqaṣa ‘dance, prance’; Arabic(Lane) raqaṣa ‘dance, do a pace’:

Tr(B) řeké- pīsar [to step]; řekesá (an irregular present); ‘prancing’ is fancy stepping’ and ‘doing a pace’ is stepping more than dancing. [SUA: Trn]

**1621** Arabic řdy ‘be satisfied, agree, accept, be pleased with’; Hebrew raāsoon ‘pleasure, favor, will, good understanding’ (if one agrees or is pleased, then one sees the other’s thinking as good):

Tr(B) řečo-ti ‘listo [ready, mentally sharp], sensate [sensible], juicioso [have good judgment], bien pensado [well thought out]’

**1622** Hebrew / Aramaic lḥṭ ‘to burn, blaze’; Hbr (qittel / qattel) -laḥeṭ-; Hbr laḥaṭ ‘flame, n’.

Tr(B) řahá-mea / řahí-mea ‘arder, quemarse’; Tr(H) raha- / rahi- ‘quemar’.

**1623** Hebrew rgm ‘to stone, cover with a heap of stones’; Arabic rugmat ‘tombstone’; Arabic ragama ‘to stone, curse, revile’; Aramaic rgm ‘to stone’; Aramaic řagaamaa ‘stoning’; Aramaic rgm / ragm-aa ‘stone’:

Tr(H) rahamó ‘peñasco [rock, boulder]’ vowels like Hebrew f. pl; not in Tr(B).

**1624** Arabic raxuma ‘be soft, gentle, pleasant, sit on eggs (hen)’; Amorite rxm ‘love, have compassion’;

Aramaic řḥm ‘love, care for, have compassion’; Syriac řaḥmaa ‘womb, inner parts, bowels, mercy, love’;

Hbr řaḥam řaḥamatayim ‘one or two laps’; Semitic rxm and řḥm both mean ‘be kind, merciful’ and such:

Tr(B) řakó- ‘llevar en el regazo [lap], llevar en el seno [carry in the arms / bosom],

incubar [brood (eggs, of birds)], envolver [wrap], llevar envuelto [carry wrapped / bundled]’

Tr(B) řakó-a tami nesero ba [nos trata como llevandonos en su regazo = he treats us as if carrying us in his bosom (i.e., treats us kindly)].

**1625** Hebrew řḥm ‘to love, to greet / meet s.o. with love’; Hebrew reḥem ‘womb’; Aramaic řḥm ‘to love,

like’; arḥem ‘to befriend, make beloved’; Syriac řaḥmaa ‘womb, inner parts, bowels, mercy, love’; Ugaritic řḥm ‘be friendly, loving’:

Arabic řaḥim ‘womb, relationship, kinship’; Amorite rxm ‘love, have compassion’:

Tr(H) řihimá ‘hermano [brother]’; řihimé ‘tener hermano [have a brother]’. See also 339 for another instance when the pharyngeal ḥ lost its rounding influence and became a regular h.

**1626** Arabic rwḥ ‘1 go away, leave, 2 set out to do’; Arabic rawḥa(t) ‘journey or errand in the evening’;

Hebrew raawaḥ ‘be wide, extend, depart’; Hebrew rewaḥ ‘width, space, interval’;

Syriac rwḥ / rəwaḥ ‘be enlarged, relieved, expand’:

UACV1304 \*toha ‘leave’: Wr tohá- ‘separate (on the road), go different directions’; Yq toha ‘llevar [carry],

traer [bring], echar [discard], dejar [leave]’; AYq sutoha ‘leave, abandon, release’; Yq su’utoha ‘abandonar,

dejar, soltar [let go/loose]’. Tr(B) řoha- ‘apartarse [to depart], separarse [separate]’;

Tr(H) roha- ‘apartarse, pl’: singular tohwa; Wr(MM) tohá ‘separarse, apartarse del camino [part from the

road]’; Tbr towi/tovi ‘quedar [stay, remain]’; Tbr towa ‘dejar [leave s.th. behind]’.

[-a/-i transitive/stative in Tbr] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr]

**1627** Arabic ra’ima ‘to love tenderly, treat tenderly, repair’; ra’uum ‘loving, tender’; ar’ama ‘dress / treat curatively (a wound):

Tr(B) řa’ama-ma ‘apaciguar, tranquilizar [pacify], calmar [to calm], meter en orden [put in order], aconsejar bien [counsel well]’.

**1628** Hebrew regel ‘foot, leg’; Arabic rgl ‘to go on foot, walk’; Aramaic rgl / řagal ‘do s.th. with the feet’:

Wr teha-ni / tehi-ma ‘to kick’; Wr(MM) teha- ‘patear [kick]’; a denominative verb from ‘foot’, to foot s.th. or

boot s.th.; the part used is often made a denominal verb: to elbow; to knee, to boot s.o.; this is Sem-p, as

1507 is Sem-kw with \*g > ṅ, but -g- > -h- as also in 1240 ragul we see -g- > -h-.

**1629** Hebrew **baamaa** (< \*bahamat) ‘back, **ridge**, hill, high place’; Ugaritic bmt ‘back’; Arabic buhmat ‘great mass of stone’ (Lane 268) originally ‘a grave’; these Semitic nouns are from the root \*bhm, which -h- is lost in Hebrew baamaa ‘back, ridge, hill, high place’:  
 CN paami-tl ‘flag, banner; CN paan-tli ‘**row, wall**, line’ (variant of paami);  
 CN kwaač-paami-tl ‘standard, banner’ (CN kwaač-tli ‘large cotton blanket, sheet’);  
 WaE pan-tli ‘bandera’; WaE pami-tl ‘surco [**furrow**], fila [**row**]’; WaE kwitlapami-tl ‘**back**’;  
 WaE te-pami-tl ‘barda de piedra [**fence** of rock]’; Pl paan-ti ‘a measure of or **wall** of firewood’;  
 NT vaam tuééyi van tuééyi ‘arrimarlo [put / place it near]’; NT tuééyi ‘echar, alzar, hacer (un surco) [make furrow]’. Given WaE pami-tl ‘furrow’ and CN paan-tli ‘row, wall’ suggested to be an alternate form of CN paami-, this Aztecan \*paami ‘row, furrow, wall’ aligns well with Hebrew baamaa ‘back, ridge’, since making a furrow is making a ridge. [SUA: Tep, Azt]

**1630** Hebrew lwy / laawaa ‘borrow’, hi-lwe ‘lend’; Epigraphic South Arabic lw’ ‘person in pledge’  
 My reuwa ‘prestó [lent / loaned]’; AYq reuwa ‘loan, borrow’; Yq reuwa ‘prestar [lend]’

**1631** Hebrew h-r’y, ha-r’e- ‘cause to see, look intently at (hiqtiil / causative of r’y ‘see’)  
 UACV1898 \***hatiwa** / \***hariwa** ‘look for’: BH.Cup \*hál ‘look for’; M88-ha12; KH/M06-ha12: Cp hále ‘look for, search’; Ca hál; Ls háál ‘look for, seek’. Add Yq hariwa/hariu ‘buscar [search]’ and My hariu/haría ‘busca’ Miller also includes Hp heeva ‘look for’ (as -rw- > -v- in ‘drink’ 1061). Tak and Cah point to \*hariwa. Lest one doubt Tak’s ability to lose so many final segments, compare \*makah(a)wi ‘dove’ for which Tak yields \*makī. This may contain ha- prefixed to \*tiwa ‘find, see’. Compare the ha- prefix in Tbr ha-tetemo ‘hunt’ vs. Tbr temo ‘find’; but whether from \*ha-tiwa or not, both Yq and My have apocopated variants: hariwa > hariu. And the final vowel in Cp hále suggests that Tak only apocopated one more segment: \*hari(u) > \*halī. [reduction; l/r] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

**1632** Arabic(Lane) xrš ‘scratch’; Syriac ḥrs / -ḥrus ‘to roughen or harden by rubbing’; Aramaic ḥrs ‘itch, be rough’; Aramaic ḥers-aa ‘itching skin’:  
 UACV2379 \***rusa** / \***Lusa** ‘rub, touch’: Eu marúsa ‘tentar con la mano [touch/caress with the hand]’; AYq ruuse ‘rub’; My ruuse ‘raspar [scrape], tallar [carve]’. We can keep in mind, but not yet count, a possible metathesis like Hp ruku- ‘make grating noise’ (by scraping a rough surface). [initial r] [SUA: Cah, Opn]

**1633** Arabic ḍrṣ / ḍaraṣa ‘be humble, weak, lean’, impfv: ya-ḍraṣ-u; ESArabic ḍrṣ ‘humiliate’; Hebrew ṣrṣ ‘be afflicted with a rash, skin disease’:  
 Wr(MM) wi’ló / wi’ró are alternate forms defined thus: wi’ló ‘estar doblado [folded/wrinkled], lacio [withered], flojo [loose, slack], no tener fuerza [not have strength]’ and wi’ró ‘estar doblado [folded/wrinkled], lacio [withered], estar débil [be weak]’ and could reflect the waw-consecutive Hebrew wayyeṣroṣ / wayyeṣraṣ of \*ḍrṣ in the perfective at 1066. Other waw-consecutive forms can be seen at 830, 938, 1215, 1518.

**1634** from Semitic ’pl ‘go down, set (sun/stars)’, Hebrew hiqtiil and hoqtal of ’pl (871-874) are the most employed in UA, and Hebrew **ma’apēl** ‘darkness’ resembles a hiqtiil participle maqtel ‘make dark, do night / darkness’ and aligns with Ca mávi- with loss of glottal stop: Ca **mávi-** ‘get dark, become night / evening’; Ca mávi-lyu ‘stay overnight’; Ca mávi-š ‘evening, night’; Ca mávi-š/y piš ‘in the evening, at night’.

**1635** Semitic **gbb** has to do with ‘convex curvature, round, hump/hill, back’: Hebrew gbb ‘curved, convex, elevated’ (BDB); Hebrew gab ‘back, eyebrows, rim of a wheel, fellow’; Aramaic gbb ‘to bend’; Aramaic gabaab-aa ‘ball or tuft of fiber’; Mandaic et-gabbab ‘be curved’; Aramaic gəbiib ‘curved, humped’; Arabic gubbat ‘bone surrounding the eye-socket’; Arabic **gabuubu** ‘earth’; a similar root (gbn) has similar meanings: Hebrew gbn ‘to curve, be hunched’; Aramaic gbn ‘be bent, coagulate, bulge’; Syriac gibnaa and Aramaic gəbiin-t-aa ‘hunchback’; Syriac gəbiinaa ‘eyebrow’; Syriac gəbiin ‘hunched’; Arabic gabiin ‘forehead’; Arabic gubn- ‘hunchback’; Hebrew gabnoon ‘many-peaked’; Lane says that some see Arabic gabb-aan ‘burial ground’ as from gabb- and **gabuubu** while others derive them from gbn / **gabbaan(at)** ‘big



lumps or clods of clay or mud' (= Hebrew **gabboon**); In UA, we see \*kapon and \*kapot/L and \*kapup, all 3 of which have parallels in Semitic vowelings above:

UACV430 \*kapoC / \*kapon / \*kapuC 'ball, sphere': Sapir; M67-357 \*pot; I.Num151 \*pono; M88-po15; KH.NUA; KH/M-po15: Sh takapoon 'ball'; Nv kaborhi'ka-usi 'ball'; PYP kaver 'ball'; ST kavuulyik 'spherical'; ST kavulykada 'to form like a ball'; Eu kapóris 'ball'; Tr ka\*po-či 'bolitas, esferitas, grumos en forma de bola [spheres, lumps in form of a ball]'; Tr ka\*po- 'hacerse bola, apelonarse [become ball-like], inflarse [inflate]. Perhaps Num \*pono, if from imptv -gbonV > ponV: Mn 'attiC-pono 'round'; NP paccippono'a 'spherical'; Sh pono 'round, spherical'; and SNum if clustered pon-tV > pottV: SP potto(C) 'round, spherical'; CU pöö-ti-kway (< \*pootti-kkway M88) 'be round, circular, spherical'.  
\*kapup: Tj xavuuvoyt 'ball'; Tj xavuuvko 'curly'; Tj xavoove 'bag'; Cp púve 'be spherical; Ca púmle 'be round'; Ls pééva 'be round' (from Ls péva 'roll away') < UA \*popa;  
[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC]

**1636** Semitic pkk /Arabic fakka (< \*pakka) 'separate, disconnect, sever'

Ls paká-ya/i- 'separate, divide'; Ls paká-pka-š 'forked, divided'; Ls paká-vaki- 'divide into several parts'

**1637** Hebrew hullad 'be born, was born' (huqtal); hulledet 'being born, infinitive'

Op huraa 'recently born infant'; at 1028 are other conjugations: Hebrew yooliid 'beget, cause to be born' (hiqtiil) and Hebrew yullad 'be born' (quttal), while this is of Hebrew hullad 'be born' (huqtal).

**1638** Aramaic dwqny 'forked pole'

UACV967 \*tona 'fork': Kw tonon-ñi(m)bi 'fork' (tono 'strike, pierce'); Wr o'toná 'forked tree, forked posts used for making a house'. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

**1639** Egyptian(L) x'ŷ 'leave, abandon, throw, let loose, reject'; Egyptian(F) x'ŷ 'throw, cast off (bonds), abandon, leave, strike down with disease'; Egyptian(H) x'ŷ 'werfen [throw], verlassen [leave, vt], verlassen sein, alleinstehen [be left / alone], freilassen (aus Gefängnis) [let free (out of captivity)], niedergestreckt sein (durch Krankheit) [be struck down (with illness)], verstossen (Frau) [reject/disown (a woman)]'; UA seems patterned or voweled like qa'ŷa/i (> UA qawa/i):

CN kaawa 'leave, abandon'; CN ka'kaawa 'give up, lose, set loose, to free s.o./s.th.';

Ls qáwa/i- 'become clear weather, vi, escape, vt'; Ls qawí-si 'to clean (e.g., a house)';

Cp qaawi 'be sick, die, sg subj'; Hp qe'wa- 'reject'. Hopi shows rather nicely both the ' and ŷ juxtaposed (> -'w-), though such usually go to -l- before low vowels, with the exception that when doubled, two go to -w-. See group 7 under the Hopi -w- section. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

**1640** Egyptian sw 'him, it, he, 3<sup>rd</sup> m. sg. dependent pronoun', pronominal compound 3<sup>rd</sup> sg 'he, she, it', and 3<sup>rd</sup> sg non-enclitic particle' (Faulkner 215); Egyptologists Allen (2000, 49) and Gardiner (1969, 45 & 98) and Junge (2001, 77) explain that sw was of the dependent pronoun series, which forms originally had to follow some other word as objects of most verb forms and subjects of adjectival sentences, but from dynasty XVIII on, sw became part of the paradigm tw- (for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms) as subject of adjective and adverbial predicates and could stand at the beginning of a sentence (Gardiner 1969, 45 and 98);

Egyptian 𓂏-n-f sw 'he ferried him over' (Gardiner 1969, 45);

Egyptian sw hr t' n ŷ'mw, tw-n hr Kmt 'he has the land of the Asiatics, we possess Egypt' (Gardiner 98);

Egyptian psj sw t'-wḥ'-t 'the scorpion has stung him' (Cerny and Groll 1993, 23)

Egyptian imi sw ... 'Give it ...' (Cerny and Groll 1993, 23)

Egyptian iw-i rx sw 'when/being I know it' (Cerny and Groll 1993, 23)

Egyptian iw ntf i-sxpr sw 'it being he who reared him' (Cerny and Groll 1993, 23)

Egyptian m p'-im nty sw im-f 'in the tent in which he was' (Cerny and Groll 1993, 111)

For other vocabulary in above sentences, see 150 t' 'land', 375 t' 'the', 485 psj, 501 imi 'give':

UA \*su 'an emphatic particle with many uses, generally in the realm 'he, it, self, that'

NP su 'sg article preceding nominative nouns' (Thorne 2003, 136);

NP -su 'self' as in nīi-su 'myself', īi-su 'yourself' (Thorne 2003, 172);

NP i-su / u-su / ma-su 'sg subject deictic pronoun (this/that)' (Thorne 2003, 157);

Sh su-tī ‘that (one)’ (Crum and Dayley 1993, 27); Sh has a whole deictic set built on initial s-, which could be a reduced su-, and others built on sīn, perhaps built on su (as u > i real often in Numic);

TSh sufīn ‘he, she, it, sg demonstrative nominative’; sukka ‘him, her, it, sg accusative’ (McLaughlin 28-9)

TSh -sī ‘reflexive suffix’ (McLaughlin 24)

WMU maas (< \*maa-sī) ‘he’

AYq -su ‘as, attached to any part of speech’ (Shaul 1999, 130):

to verbs: AYq hi’ibwaka-**su** tattedek ‘As she was eating, she choked’

to pronouns, nouns for emphasis: AYq vempo-**su** aman katne ‘they should go there’

to adverbs: AYq empo aman-**su** wee’ean ‘you should go there’ (Shaul 1999, 130)

Yq su ‘emphatic clitic, highlights a sentence initial nominalized adjective’ (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 47)

Yq ’á’a mám-po ’aáyuk ’áa-po=**su** yo’o-taka-i ’áa-po=**su** nesauwe (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 49)

His hand-in be-prfv he=emphatic old-being- he=emphatic commands

It is in his hands, he is the authority, he gives commands

Yq beha=**su** ta’á áman wéče-k (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 49: =su serves as the base for attaching)

Now=emphatic sun there fall-prfv (subject clitics onto ... sentence introducers)

Well, the sun set.

Egyptian sw ‘3<sup>rd</sup> person sg’ is the first element in the compound (p’ŷt ‘quail’ treated at 475) of

UACV1752 \***supa’awi** ‘quail’: Yq suba’i ‘codorniz’; AYq suva’u / suva’i ‘quail’; My suubau ‘codorniz’,

pl: suba’awim. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah]

**1641** Egyptian(H) p’y ‘dieser [this], der [the]’; Egyptian(L) p’y ‘this’:

Hp pay ‘now, right now, already’; Sh(C) pīai sīn ‘now’; Sh(C) pīaiC ‘already’. [NUA: Num]

**1642** Aramaic(CAL) hwb ‘incur a debt, be guilty of, commit a crime, sin’; hjoovaa / hjoobetaa ‘liability, sin, guilt’ (< \*hjoobaa-taa); Arabic hwb ‘to do wrong’; Hebrew hjoob ‘guilt’:

Hp hovar / hovari ‘get to be impure, sin, become profane’; Hp hovari-w-pī ‘morally impure, guilty one’;

Hp hovari-w-ta ‘be morally impure, polluted, especially in a ceremonial sense’. The Hopi form reflects a denominalized verb of a feminine noun like the Aramaic or an unattested parallel Hebrew feminine.

Contributed by JSR.

**1643** Arabic al-**mar’a**(tu) ‘the-woman, wife’ show the underlying Semitic \*mar’ ‘lord, prince’ and feminine mar’a(t) ‘princess, woman, wife’; and Aramaic \*mar’-aa ‘lord, prince’ and \*mar’a-taa ‘princess-the, woman / wife / daughter-the’; Aramaic(CAL) maaraa / maartaa, pl: maaraan / maaraataa ‘mistress, among the best of’; 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’:

Hp maraw / márawī, pl: mamráwti ‘member of the women’s Maraw society’; Hp maraw-’anja-kcina ‘Maraw dancer dressed up to emulate a long-hair kachina’; Hp marawwimi ‘rites of the Maraw society’;

Hp maraw-yī ‘Maraw ceremonial mother’. The sense of the Semitic term \*mar’aa is one of female nobility or rulership; just as the masculine is ‘Lord, master’ so also is mar’a the feminine counterpart, princess, queen, mistress in the sense of female master, elite lady, noble woman, not the illicit side-dish. So also the Hp sense seems to be a female society of respectable position. Interestingly, the plural -tī also derives from the Semitic feminine plural. At 1042, Semitic mar’a ‘princess’ yields cognates in SUA \*mara, Tak mayha, and Hp maana. Hp -n- is a bit of a mystery to all, but as -’- > Hp -ŋ- or -ŋw- elsewhere, its cluster with -r- here -r’- may simply have alveolarized the nasal. So Hp mara here, looking more like SUA, may be a loan therefrom or a recycled reflex of another different Hp dialect. Contributed by JSR.

**1644** Aramaic(CAL) qtm ‘be turned to ash, turn s.th. into ashes’; Aramaic qetm-aa ‘ash’:

Hp qööcap- ‘ashes’. The t > c is the usual reflex for t, and \*qo is exactly typical of an Aramaic first unstressed syllable and vowel. That’s how several other UA \*qo- syllables from Semitic initial q- exist, as uvular q- naturally rounded initial unstressed syllables, and we have seen m > p in certain environments of an adjacent stop or such, as happens in WM Ute. As for the long vowel, elsewhere Hp lengthened initial short vowels (see Hp at 174). Hopi must have had initial stress somewhere in its history to elongate some short initial vowels. Contributed by JSR. [NUA: Hp]

**1645** Aramaic gmr / **gəmar** 1 ‘turn into coals or incense’ 2 ‘complete, be completed / perfected’; Aramaic agmar ‘to burn incense’; Ugaritic gmr ‘be complete’; KB cite Arabic kamala ‘be whole, integral, complete, perfect’ (when one is healed / cleansed, one is made whole / complete / perfect again); Hp **ṅömàapi** ‘juniper leaves, used medicinally’ probably Hp **ṅömàa-pi** ‘juniper-with it’ with fossilized -pi ‘instrumental suffix’ (< Aramaic -be ‘with it’) and the falling tone of the long -àa- almost always means a cluster or lost C at the end of the fall. Other Hopi dialects have voiceless aspiration such as -ah- (vs. -àa-), both of which suggest a C at the end of the fall, clustered with the next C. Among the Hopi, juniper was used much like incense, to rid an area of ill or evil: Hp **ṅömap-kīyi** ‘medicine made from juniper leaves boiled in water’; Hp **ṅömap-kwip-lak-vī** ‘dried up boiled juniper leaves’. Contributed by JSR. [NUA: Hp]

**1646** Aramaic sawwed ‘converse with’; Hebrew swd / sawwed ‘chatter’; Arabic saawada ‘speak secretly’: Hp sawiwi-ta ‘be whispering, busily whispering, talking in hushed tones’ (second syllable reduplicated, as sawi- is the root, and exactly as expected for the Semitic D stem sawwed (< \*sawwid); Hp saw-kwa ‘in a whisper’. The Semitic semantics ‘converse, chatter, speak secretly’ match nicely Hp ‘whispering busily’ (like chatter), ‘speak secretly’ (like hushed tones, whisper). Contributed by JSR.

**1647** Aramaic pys ‘appease, plea, persuade’; Aramaic b-pswt ‘through the intercession of’; Syriac apiis ‘persuade, make petition, ask’ (causative of root pys); Syriac pys / pyaas-aa’ ‘persuasion, supplication, intercession’: Hp pa-vasiwa ‘be engaged in ritual supplication, intensive common prayer and ritual in esoteric session’. Contributed by JSR.

**1648** Hebrew śmḥ (< \*śmx) ‘to rejoice, shine, radiate’; śimxaa ‘joy’; ‘shine, radiate’ often to ‘beautiful’: UACV152 \*sihima / \*si’ma ‘beautiful, attractive’: Wr se’má ‘beautiful’; Tr semá/semati ‘hermoso, bello, bonito’; Hp sihimī ‘handsome, attractive’; Ca sinsimniš ‘attractive, cute’. Hp h is where the glottal stop of Wr and Ca are, and -x- may have been anticipated and glottal stopped. UACV153 may also belong. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn]

**1649** Aramaic psl / paasel ‘to quarry, hew stone’; Syriac pasiil ‘hewn, quarried’ (passive); Aramaic psq / paaseq ‘hew wood or stone’, pasiiq ‘hewn’ (passive); Hp pasi-ta ‘be scraping the outer skin off, be paring, whittling’; as the 3<sup>rd</sup> C is lost, it could feasibly derive from either.

**1650** Hebrew ḥórep ‘winter’; Hebrew(BDB) ḥórep ‘harvest-time, autumn’; Arabic xarafa ‘pluck’, Arabic III xaarafa ‘be autumn’; Arabic xariip ‘autumn, fall’; UA \*yīpanaC appears with the Aramaic suffixes -aan-aa’ ‘noun-the’ though no such form is attested in Aramaic and is missing the initial C / syllable, though that happens often in four-syllable words, as also in the following item:  
**UACV-995 \*yīpanaC** ‘autumn’: I.Num298 \*yīpa ‘autumn’; M88-yī11 ‘autumn’; Stubbs1995-61; KH/M06-yī11: Mn yība, yībano ‘be autumn’; NP yībano; TSh yīpani; Sh yīpani; Kw yīvana; SP yīvannaC / yīvwannaC; CU yuvwa-na-tti / yīgwa-na. Note that when -w- develops, then -kw- comes next (CU) in the SNum line of dialects. I have similarly heard Yq native speakers say a slight -gw- for -w-. [UA \*-p- > -kw-] [NUA: Num]

**1651** Hebrew yəbaamaa ‘brother’s widow, sister-in-law’; Aramaic(J) yəbamtaa; Syriac yibamtaa: UACV2580 \*pami ‘girl’: My beeme ‘girl’; Yq béeme; AYq veeme; Tr bamirá. Tr probably shows the more original vowels with vowel leveling occurring in Cah: \*a-i > e-e. Cah terms level the vowels of ‘sand’ similarly: \*siwa > se’e. The first short syllable is lost, and Tr shows rather nicely the Aramaic form with UA’s short schwa-like vowel separating an otherwise cluster. [\*a-i > e-e] [SUA: Cah, Trn]

**1652** Aramaic -e ‘his / its’ 3<sup>rd</sup> masculine sg possessive suffix: 1700. \*-i / \*-e ‘possessor, having, one who has (possessive suffix added to possessed nouns)’: CN -e; Tr -e, Wr -e, Tbr -e. From \*poka ‘stomach’ we see Eu bok-é ‘pregnant, lit: having stomach’; from \*topa ‘stomach’,

Wr tohpá-e ‘pregnant’ (Wr tohpa ‘stomach’); Cr -e ‘at location of’ (Casad 1984, 158). Jason Haugen (2006 and p.c.) informed me of Yq -e (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 187) and NT -i (Bascom 1982; Haugen 2006b). AYq -e ‘possessive case’ (Shaul 318-19); Eu -e / -i ‘possessive suffix’: kun-e ‘la que tiene marido’ (kun- ‘marido’); hub-i ‘casado’ (hub ‘woman’), i.e., woman-his (Pennington 1981, 53-54); Wr -e ‘suffix of possession’: puhku-e ‘tener animal’; tehte-e ‘tener piedra’; wa’kila-e ‘tener camisola’ (Miller 1996, 149-50); Tr(H) -e ‘tiene [has, possesses]’: bus-é ‘tiene ojo(s) [has eyes]’; kun-é ‘tiene esposo [has husband]’; Tbr -e-k / -e-ka ‘poseer, tener propiedad [possess, own]’; My -ek (< \*-e-k) ‘tener [have]’: My totor-e-k ‘tener gallina [have a chicken]’ totori ‘gallina’ (Collard and Collard 1984, 205). A NUA reflex is seen in the Hp pair: Hp tīva ‘pinion nut’; Hp tīve’e ‘pinion pine’. The nut has final -a, but the tree having the pine nuts has -e’e. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt; NUA: Hp]

**1653** Semitic qṭn ‘be small’ is in several Semitic languages and CaCCaaC is a typical noun form, a person or thing being or doing the verb, so though not attested, \***qatṭaan** ‘small one’, with less stressed first vowel after q- always going to a short round vowel like Tr ku’ta, the other forms being reductions therefrom; or a verb like Syriac qṭan ‘be narrowed, grow thin, lean, meagre, small’  
Tr(B) ku’tá / u’tá / tá ‘chico, pequeño [little, small], poco [little amount]’;  
Tr(H) táa ‘chico, infante, pequeño, n’. 860 depicts a different form of the same root.

**1654** 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’; the Ls form below aligns with either a denominalized verb from the noun Hebrew **mah’naaq** ‘strangling, suffocation’; or Hebrew’s unattested hoqtal participle **muh’naq** / **muh’naqaa** ‘be choked’:  
Ls **móónaqa-** ‘choke on a piece of food’ (see 632 for same root, different conjugation).

**1655** Aramaic haa-huu ‘that one, that, you, I’; Syriac **haw** (< haa-huu) ‘he, she, they, that, those’; haa-huu literally means ‘lo/ behold-he, the/this/that-he’; we see sounds reduced thus: Aramaic haa-huu > haw > UA au / aa / a; examples:

Syriac: mṭaa ha-w (< haa-huu) dṭ-mašlem l-ii (Matthew 26:46);

He arrives (he who / the one) that delivers to-me

He arrives that one who betrays / hands over / delivers me.

Syriac: lṭ-ha-w (< haa-huu) dṭ-naššeq naa’ huuyuu l-e aḥjuud-uu (Matthew 26:49);

To-the-he that kiss I that-is to-him you pl. seize.

That one that I kiss, you (pl) grab him.

As seen in the examples above, Aramaic/Syriac direct objects (him) are often introduced by the preposition lṭ- ‘to’ (to him), as also happens in English: ‘inform/address him’ or ‘say to him’; ‘reach it’ or ‘go to it’; ‘reward him with it’ or ‘give it to him’; note also UA \*-li- at 1123. Likewise, in UA objective ‘him’ and ‘to-him’ often become interchangeable:

AYq has two identical morphemes of **au**, both of which are semantically compatible with Sem **ha-hu** > au: AYq **au** ‘herself, himself, itself’; AYq **au** ‘toward, into, beside, next to, from him/her/it’; Yq **au** ‘a el/ella [(to) him/her]’; My a’a ‘le [to him], lo [him, obj], la [her, obj], a el [to him]’; Hp -a / -àa ‘3<sup>rd</sup> person sg obj, him, her, it’; Sr a- ‘his, her, its’ (the sample sentence: Kristina her-name < K that one-name), self / reflexive, with relational nouns (next to the water < water that next-to); NP a= ‘sg indefinite object proclitic’ (Thorne 2003, 157); NP a= ‘indefinite possessor proclitic’ (i.e., one’s) (Thorne 2003, 168); Combined with other morphemes: Wr(MM) ahpō ‘a el, ella(s), ellos’; the au- of Tr(H) aučé ‘otro [another]’; perhaps the aw- of Eu awát ‘ahí [there]’. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Cah, Trn]

**1656** Hebrew hit- ‘reciprocal / reflexive verb prefix’; Aramaic hit- ‘reciprocal / reflexive verb prefix’; Syriac ’et- reflexive / passive verb prefix, Semitic hit- / et- > UA e’- / i’- ‘reflexive verb prefix’, listed first are the Tep and Azt branches, followed by sets with a \*hit-/et- form:

TO da’icud ‘to throw’; TO ’e-da’icud ‘be thrown’

TO ceemo’o ‘to block, stop, corner’; TO ’e-ceemo’o ‘get blocked, stopped’

TO bihivig ‘to wrap, bandage’; TO ’e-bihivig ‘wrap, coil oneself’

TO ba’ivc ‘get ahead of’; TO ’e-ba’ivc ‘be so many minutes past the hour’

TO hemapad ‘to gather, assemble object(s) in one place’;

TO 'e-hemapad 'assemble, get together in on place'  
 CN coma 'sew, vt'; CN i'coma 'get sewn, sew, vrefl/vt'  
 CN činoaa 'burn off land'; CN i'činoaa 'burn, scorch, set fire to, refl/vt'  
 UACV469 \*koppa 'close the eyes'; CN i'kopi 'wink, blink, close eyes';  
 WaE ihkopi 'cierra los ojos [close the eyes]'  
 CN pooça 'to throw up earth, to burrow'; CN i'pooça 'belch'  
 CN tlani 'order, wish, request'; CN i'tlani 'ask, request'  
 CN tlako'kokool-li 's.o. injured, wounded'; Tbr takoá-t 'dañado [injured, damaged]';  
 CN i'tlakoaa / i'tlakiwi / i'tlakawi 'be ruined, corrupted, spoiled, injured, damaged'  
 WaE ihtlakahki 'se descompuso'; ihtlakah-tok 'decomposed'; ihtlakawi 'se descompone';  
 Pl ihtakua / ihtakawi 'break down, decompose, go out of order'  
 CN sol-li 's.th. old, worn out'; CN soloaa 'exhaust oneself, wear s.th. out';  
 CN i'soliwi 'get old, wear out'; CN i'soloaa 'abase self, mistreat, wear out things'  
 165/UACV634 \*tuCtu 'dance': Sr tohto 'dance, vi'; Tḡ tóvtu'ax 'tatahuila dance'; Tḡ tóvtu'ar 'tatahuila  
 dancer'; Ktn tuhtu 'dance, v'; Ktn tuhtuic 'dance, n'; Ktn tuhtuhyit 'dancer, n';  
 CN i'tootiaa 'dance, v'; CN mi'to'tli 'dance, n'; Pl ihtutia 'dance, vt/refl'.  
 1220/UACV1922 \*et-grx > hit-graḥ > UA hikyaw; 1450; 1612; but only still marginally productive in fewer  
 UA languages. [SUA: Tep, Azt]

**1657** UA \*kut 'wood' + Aramaic(CAL) 'ḥy / -'aḥiy 'to gather wood' (qattel form, in Samaritan Palestinian  
 Aramaic, CAL says "a unique form possibly influenced by Arabic"); Aramaic(JB) 'aaḥ-aa' 'wood' is a noun  
 from which may derive the denominative verb -'aḥiy 'to gather wood'; the morpheme boundary cluster -t'- >  
 -L- in NUA, but > ' in SUA, it appears: \*kut-'aḥiy > UA \*kut-'awī > \*kulawī (NUA) / ku'awī (SUA):  
 UACV2409a NUA \*kutawi > \*kīlawī: 'gather firewood': BH.Cup \*kəláwat 'wood'; \*kəláw- 'gather wood';  
 HH.Cup \*kəláawVt 'wood'; \*kəláaw- 'gather wood'; M88-kī17 'to gather firewood'; KH.NUA; KH/M-kī17:  
 Cp kéláwe 'gather wood'; Ca kélaw 'gather wood'; Ls kuláaw 'gather wood'. Hill notes Sr kuṭaai 'gather  
 firewood, vi' (only missing -w-); Sr kuṭaat 'firewood, wood, stick'; Hp kó-lawī 'be cutting firewood (-lawī  
 'continuative verb suffix, but -L- from intervocalic -t- must be the case for the others)'; Hill also notes related  
 noun forms: Ca kélawa-t, kélaw'a; Cp kélawa-t; Tḡ kotá; Ls kuláawut. Note both here and at \*hīwi 'trap'  
 that Sr lost intervocalic -w-.  
 UACV2409b SUA \*ku'awī 'wood, tree, firewood': B.Tep129 ku'agi 'firewood': TO ku'ag 'get firewood';  
 TO kuagi 'firewood'; TO ku'agi 'have firewood'; LP kuagi 'leña'; PYp kuagi / kuhagi 'wood'; NT kuági  
 'firewood'; ST ku'aa 'leña'; ST kua'gia 'cortar leña'. B.Tep120 \*kua'agi-i 'to get firewood': TO ku'agi;  
 LP kua'ag; NT kúági; ST kua'gi. Wc kī'ai 'fetch wood' matches and suggests that the glottal stop may better  
 belong between u and a, as in Wc and TO: \*ku'awai 'fetch firewood', the other Tep forms anticipating the  
 next V as they often do. Add Yq ké'ewe 'get wood' and Tr ka'wí 'ir a cortar leña [go to cut wood]'. Yq and  
 CrC typically lose intervocalic liquids to glottal stop; in other words, we seem to have \*kutawi > \*kVlawV  
 (Tak), > \*ku'awī (Tep, Cah, CrC). In any case, for an Aramaic verb to specifically mean 'gather wood'  
 corresponding to 'gather wood' in UA is noteworthy. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC]

## 6 Six Uto-Aztecan Puzzles Explained by Semitic and Egyptian

### 6.1 One, Tarahumara's initial *ř* (< Semitic/Egyptian *r*) vs. *t* < *t*, *ṭ*, *ḏ*, *d*

From the traditional UA perspective, initial PUA \**t* remained *t* in all UA languages except in Tarahumara (Tr) where it appeared to have changed to *ř*; that is, Tr *ř* corresponds to *t* of the other UA languages. The problem is that Tr also has many words with initial *t* besides initial *ř*; that is, many Tr words begin with *t* besides those that begin with *ř*. So if the traditional view is correct, then where did Tr initial *t* come from? Said differently, why do some UA cognate sets of initial PUA \**t* yield Tr *ř* and others yield Tr *t*?

This is explained by Egyptian *t*, *ṭ*, *d* or Hebrew initial *t*, *d*, *ṭ* > *t* in Tr, but initial *r* of both Semitic initial *r* and Egyptian initial *r*, remain *ř* in Tr, though initial *r* -> *t*- in the other UA languages. This distinction is clear in Tr. A few Tr words have alternate forms, one with initial *t* and one with initial *ř*. Some forms are not identifiable to the Near Eastern tie, but of those identifiable to the tie, 37 of 40, or 93% match this distinction: that Tr initial *ř* corresponds to Egyptian or Semitic *r*, while Tr *t* corresponds to Egyptian *t*, *ṭ*, *d* or Hebrew initial *t*, *d*, *ṭ*. The other 7% may well be items that developed variants, then lost the original of the pair and kept the variant. Nonetheless, in Brambila's Tr dictionary of initial *t*, those identifiable to the Near-East tie relate to Egyptian or Hebrew forms which start with sounds (*t*, *ṭ*, *d*, *ṭ*) that correspond to UA *t*. For this work, I use two Tarahumara dictionaries: Brambila's and Hilton's, abbreviated Tr(B) and Tr(H) respectively; if a term appears in both, then Tr(B&H).

<u>Tarahumara</u> <i>t</i>	<u>Semitic / Egyptian</u> <i>t</i> , <i>ṭ</i> , <i>d</i> , <i>ṭ</i>
725 Tr(B&H) torí 'chicken'	< toor 'turtle-dove' (Hebrew)
1036 Tr(B&H) ta- / taní 'to ask for'	< -ttan 'to give' (Hebrew impfv of natan)
751 Tr(B) tami / timi 'like, look like'; not in Tr(H)	< dmy / damaa 'be like, resemble' (Hebrew)
106 Tr(B) tu / tumu / tumu-hé 'you, pl'; not in Tr(H)	< 'antum / 'attum / -tum 'you, pl' (Aramaic / Arabic)
1327 Tr(B&H) tibú- 'watch, take care of'	< tbf 'follow, trail, observe' (Arabic)
124 Tr(B) tesó; Tr(H) tisó 'use cane' < UA *tíkso 'pierce, hiking stick' < tks 'pierce, poke' (Egyptian)	
1497 Tr(B) ti 'me'; not in Tr(H)	< Hebrew 'ootii 'me' or ittii 'me (acc), with me'
1471 Tr(B) tókowa 'to crow (as bird)'; not in Tr(H)	< tqf 'to sound / blow (a horn)' (Semitic)
620 Tr(B) téburi 'louse nit'; not in Tr(H)	< ḏabboot 'flies' (Semitic) (fly > flea > louse / nit)
1159 Tr(B&H) toba- 'sink in the mud, get stuck' < ṭbl / ṭubbal 'dip into, plunge' (Semitic)	
206 Tr(B&H) towí 'boy'	< ṭ'y 'male, man' (Egyptian)
202 Tr(B) tami / ta 'no'	< tm 'negative' (Egyptian)
351 Tr(B) turusí / řurusí 'venomous spider'; Not in Tr(H)	< řs 'tie, weave' (Egyptian)
160 Tr(B) to- / toa 'bring, carry'; Tr(H) to 'carry, take' < UA *to' / towa < ṭ'w 'take, seize, bear' (Egyptian)	
494 Tr tosá- / řosá- 'white'; Tr(H) tosá-kami 'white, pl'; rosá-kami 'sg' < t'ḥḏt 'the-white' (Egyptian)	
1472 Tr(B) tékoa / tékowa 'master'; not in Tr(H)	< tqf 'pierce(d)' (Hebrew)
1499 Tr(B&H) tari 'seed for sowing'	< dry / dara <sup>y</sup> 'to sow (seed)' (Aramaic)
1614 Tr(H) tapa 'carry, bring (in the hands), vt pl'; not in Tr(B)	< tps / -tappes 'seize, grasp' (Hebrew)
971 Tr(B) té 'louse'; not in Tr(H)	< UA *'aCtiN < qarduun-aa 'louse-the' (Aramaic/Syriac)
1647 Tr(B) ku'tá / u'tá / tá 'small'; Tr(H) táa 'small, infant' < *qaṭṭaan 'small one' (Semitic)	
	less stressed first vowel after q- always goes to a short round vowel like Tr ku'ta,
170 Tr(B) tégu- / téku- 'be drunk, pl'; rikú (sg) < txw 'drunkard' (Egyptian)	
	Tr(B&H) rikú 'bec drunk, sick, faint'; Tr(H) tékúri 'drunks, pl'; rikúri 'sg'
1023 Tr(B) tégi- / téki- / tegá 'weave, stretch, set strings for weaving or on an instrument';	
	Tr(H) te 'weave, stretch strings for weaving'; Tr(H) teka 'tune violin'
	< tiqqen / taqqen 'make straight, set in order, arrange' (Hebrew)
420 Tr(B) tutuguri / řutuburi / utuburi 'a ritual dance'; Tr(H) tutuburi 'indigenous dance';	
	Wr(MM) tuwuli / tuwuri / tuguri 'fiesta'; Wr(MM) tuwul/ri shows the 3 consonants (tw) quite well, and the -g- in the 3 <sup>rd</sup> form is the frequent -w- > -g- before round vowels
	< twt 'perfect, pleasing, delightful, lovely' (Egyptian)
1616 Tr(B) te- / tesá / tesia 'step, put foot out/down' < řsi 'separate, flee, be absent / missing' (Egyptian)	
1528 Tr(B&H) tá / tamu / tamu-hé 'we' < tmmw 'man(kind)' (Egyptian, 127 & 1528 both 'people' > 'we')	

1611 Tr(B) čučupa ‘adhere, stick, pl’; Tr(B) o’čópa- ‘sg’ < dubbaq ‘be stuck together’ (Hebrew)  
\*d > t > c before high vowel

Note that medially, such alveolars as t, t̥, d normally change to r/l in Tr and most UA languages, but that when clustered, the underlying \*-Ct-/\*-tt- remains -t-, as in 971, 1036, 1647 above.

### Tarahumara initial r-

Most UA specialists have thought that UA has no initial liquids, for Semitic and Egyptian initial r- became t- in the rest of UA (thus merging with t-), yet Tarahumara retained initial r in Tr(B) or r in Tr(H), so Tr shows Semitic and Egyptian t > t, but also Semitic r > Tr r as well as Egyptian r > Tr r, most of the time:

- 168 Tr(B) **řamú** ‘small fish’ < **rm** ‘fish’ (Egyptian, Coptic rame)  
163 Tr(B&H) **rawé** ‘day’ < UA \*tawa/tawi ‘sun, day’ < **rš** / **ršw** ‘sun’ (Egyptian)  
164 Tr(B) **řana-** ‘give birth, offspring, son’ pl: taná / řa’taná < **rn** ‘young one, of animals’ (Egyptian)  
169 Tr(B) **řemari** ‘young man’; Tr(B) **témari** ‘pl’; Tr(H) **ri’mari**, pl **témari** < **rmṯ** ‘man’ (Egyptian)  
403 Tr(B&H) **řará** ‘foot’ < **rd** ‘foot’ (Egyptian)  
422 Tr(B&H) **rari-** ‘buy’ < **rđi** / **rđi** ‘give, put, grant, give (the price, i.e. buy), sell’ (Egyptian)  
337 Tr(B&H) **řopá** ‘stomach’ / UA \*to’i / \*to’pa < **r’-ib** ‘stomach’ (Egyptian)  
600 Tr(B) **řewa-/tewa-/fiwi-** ‘see, find’; Tr(H) **riwá** / UA \*řiwa ‘find, see’ < r’y / **ra’aa** (Semitic)  
603 Tr(B) **řeté** ‘rock’; Tr(H) **rite** / UA \*řimí-ta ‘rock’ < \***řimə-taa** ‘large stone-the’ (Aramaic)  
1240 Tr(B) **řehói** ‘hombre, varon’; Tr(H) **řihoy** ‘hombre’ < **ragul** ‘man’ (Semitic/Arabic)  
1242 Tr(B) **řasó** < **rbs** ‘lie down (animals), **rebeš** / **ribs-o** ‘resting place-its/his’ (Hebrew)  
1341 Tr(B) **ře’o-** ‘to thunder’; Tr(H) **ri’ó** < **ršm** ‘to roar, thunder’ (Hebrew)  
94 Tr(B) **řasewa** ‘fornicate’; Tr(B) **řasewa-me** ‘permissive person’; Tr(H) **řasí-ami** ‘disobedient’  
UA \*řasawa ‘be or do bad’ < **ršš** ‘act wickedly’; **rašaas** ‘wicked person’ (Hebrew)  
Tr(B) **řisoa** ‘pain, difficulty’; **řisoa ora-** ‘harm, mistreat’ < **řišřaa** ‘wickedness’ (Hebrew)  
97 Tr(B&H) **řabó** ‘mountain range, hill’ < **rbb** ‘be many, much, **řabboot** ‘great/big ones, f pl’ (Hebrew)  
602 Tr(B) **řekó** ‘soon, in a short time, quickly’ < **řegaš** ‘moment, a short while, abruptly’ (Hebrew)  
1626 Tr(B&H) **řoha-** ‘depart, separate’ < **rwḥ** ‘go away, leave’ (Arabic)  
508 Tr(B&H) **řamé** ‘tooth/teeth’/UA \*řaman ‘tooth/teeth’ < **rmn** ‘row of rowers’ (Egyptian, explained 508)  
1623 Tr(H) **řahamó** ‘rock, boulder’ < **rgm** / **rəgaamaa** / **rugmat** / **ragm-aa** ‘stone, stoning’ vowels like f. pl.  
166 Tr(B) **řewe-** ‘leave (behind)’ < **rwi** ‘flee, turn away, depart, walk away’ (Egyptian)  
1468 Tr(B&H) **řonó** ‘foot, leg’ / SUA \*řona / NUA \*řoņa ‘knee’ < Arabic **rukbat** ‘knee’  
655 Tr(H) **řoró** ‘snore’ / UA \*řororo ‘snore’ < **xrr** / **ḥrr** ‘snore, be hoarse’ (Arabic/Hebrew/Aramaic)  
489 Tr(H) **řurú** ‘rattle’; Tr(B) **řu’rurú** ‘bells used while dancing’  
< **rwi** ‘dance, clap with hands or clapper (Egyptian)  
1624 Tr(B) **řakó-** ‘carry in the arms/bosom/lap’ < Semitic **řaxuma** / řḥm ‘be gentle, care for, love, v, lap, n’  
Tr(B) **řakó-** ‘brood (eggs, of birds) < Arabic **řaxuma** ‘sit on eggs (hen)’; Tr(B) **řakó-a tami nesero ba**  
‘nos trata como llevandonos en su regalo [he treats us as if carrying us in his bosom (i.e. kindly)]’  
1619 Tr(B) **řa-** / **řayá** (gerund) ‘think, be of the opinion’; Tr(H) **řa’é** ‘know/recognize (a place)’;  
Tr(B) **řue-** / **řuye-** / **řuwe-** ‘say to, advise’; Tr(H) **řuyé** ‘to counsel, inform’ < Hebrew r’y ‘see’;  
Arabic **řa’aa** / r’y ‘see, think, be of the opinion that’; Arabic **řa’y-** ‘opinion, view, idea, notion’;  
verbal nouns **řa’y-** and **řu’ya**; Arabic **řu’iya** ‘it was decided that ...’  
1627 Tr(B) **řa’ama-** ‘pacify, calm, put in order, counsel well’ < Arabic **řa’ima** ‘to love tenderly, treat  
tenderly, repair’  
98 Tr(B) **řikiba-ra** ‘knife’ / UA \*řukuNpa ‘knife/metal, obsidian, sky’  
< **řqš** ‘beat (metal) flat/broad’ (Hebrew), **řaaqii** ‘sky (flat/broad expanse)’ (Hebrew)  
598 Tr(B) **řowi** ‘rabbit’; Tr(H) **řuwé** ‘jackrabbit’ / UA \*řopi < ‘arnebet ‘rabbit’ (Hebrew)  
1622 Tr(B&H) **řahá-** / **řahí-** ‘burn, v’ < **lḥt** / **-laheṭ-** ‘to burn, blaze’ (Hebrew/Aramaic); **řahaṭ** ‘flame, n’  
1621 Tr(B) **řečo-ti** ‘mentally sharp, sensible, of good judgment, well thought out’  
< Semitic \*řđy, Hebrew **řaašoon** ‘pleasure, favor, will, good understanding’  
1625 Tr(H) **řihimá** ‘brother’; **řihimé** ‘have a brother’ < Semitic řḥm ‘be friendly, loving’; Arabic **řaḥim**

‘womb, kinship’; Amorite rxm ‘love, have compassion’; the Tr may reflect the Amorite / Semitic -x- or see also 339 for another ḥ losing its rounding influence and becoming a regular h.

- 191 Tr(H) rihata ‘(rain) wash / erode / wear away dirt’; Tr(H) rihači ‘arroyo / wash’  
< rxt ‘to wash (clothes)’; rxyt ‘washerman’ (Egyptian); the following -o- vowel may have helped preserve the stronger -k- in raxuma (1624) and tiku (170) above, while it goes to -h- before non-round vowels, like rihima (1625) above and Tr rihata (191) here.
- 1482 Tr(B&H) ratá ‘be hot’; Tr(H) rata-ba ‘be shining, bright’ < if rtx? / rattaḥ ‘be/make hot, boil, produce glowing heat’ (Hebrew) D form with doubled medial \*-tt-, otherwise \*-t- > -r-.
- 1620 Tr(B) féké- / fেকেসা (an irregular present) ‘to step’ < raqaṣa ‘dance, prance, do a pace’ (Arabic)

**Initial d- > t- and d- > r- in different terms or different dialects;** Spanish Dios > Tr(H) Riosi, this loan also has initial d- > r-

Semitic d presents a dichotomy that is somewhat understandable but not entirely. We might expect to see initial d- > t-, as is the case for many d- > t-. Yet many Spanish loans of initial d- into Tr show initial r-, like Spanish Dios > Tr(H) Riosi. Is the fact that both d- and r- are voiced make d- > r- more likely in Tarahumaran mental phonology than t-. Like that loan, notice that UA words seldom end in a consonant, as if a rule governed some, that requires a final vowel, and often -i, if another is not supplied. Furthermore, very often an initial d- set is split, some showing t- and some showing r-.

- 610 Tr(B) tábiri ‘thing’; Tr(B) fápé ‘thing, a little’; Tr(H) tabé ‘smaller’; Wr ihtapériperi / ta’peri ‘thing’; Eu hitávic ‘algo’; CN tepi-: tepi-cin ‘small thing’ and CN tepiton ‘small thing’  
< Hebrew daabaar ‘speech, word’ > thing, matter’; Hebrew haddaabaar ‘the thing, the word’.
- 269 Tr(B) tagá-či- ‘give fruit (a vine)’; Tr(B) fáká(ra) ‘seed’; Tr(H) raká ‘seed’ < dqr ‘fruit’ (Egyptian)
- 961 Tr(B) rakú / takú ‘type of palm tree’; Tr(H) rakú < daqal ‘date palm tree’ (Hebrew, Arabic)
- 620 Tr(B) téburi ‘louse nit’; Tr(B) řipuči ‘flea’; Tr(H) řipuči ‘flea’  
< \*ḏabb (Semitic) / dabboot(ee) ‘flies’ (Aramaic, with Hebrew pl)
- 617 Tr(B) teté’na- / fe’na- ‘yawn, open mouth’; Tr(H) riná ‘open (mouth)’ < UA \*tī’na ‘mouth’  
< diqn-aa ‘chin’ (Aramaic)
- 876 Tr(B) fuká-wa-ri ‘night’; Tr(H) roko-gó ‘night’; Tr(B) to- ‘bury’; Tr(H) to- ‘bury’; Tr(H) ‘cook in ashes’  
< UA \*tuka ‘extinguish (fire), be dark’ < Aramaic ḏk ‘to extinguish’; duṣṣaak-aa ‘extinguishing’
- 1615 Tr(B) tu’na- ‘be thick’; but Tr(H) ru’na < ḏšn / duššənaa ‘be fat’ (Hebrew)
- 1059 Tr(B) tewé-re- / fəwé-re- ‘be named’; Tr(B) fewá- ‘1 become smooth, level’; 2 to name’;  
Tr(H) riwa-rá ‘nombrar’ < UA \*tīwa ‘name, n’  
< Arabic ḏy / daṣaa ‘to call, name; fall down, collapse, tumble down’, daṣwa ‘call, invitation, n’

**Only d- > r-**

- 1056 Tr(B) fawí ‘chest’; Tr(H) rawé; Wr tawiráci; Hp tawicqa ‘breast area, chest’; Ca táw; NT tagí; Op tawa; Yq táwi; My tauwi; Cr tabí; Wc tawí/taawí < Aramaic ḥadya ‘breast-the’, pl: ḥ<sup>3</sup>daawaat-; the fact that -d- was originally intervocalic likely helped this -d- > -r-.
- 1617 Tr(B) řuhi- ‘caer [fall], pl’; Tr(H) ruhuí ‘fall, pl’ < Arabic dwx ‘be submissive, abject’ II ‘subdue, obtain dominion over (inhabitants), subjugate (country)’. The Tr verb is plural, and plural persons / things don’t all fall at the same time unless something causes it. The -d- in this stem would also be intervocalic in the prefixed conjugations.

The forms below seem presently to be exceptions, though they could be due to other language influences or could be the survivor of a pair of variants that had both forms, but lost the other:

- 743 Tr řu’ya ‘kind of palm tree’; Wr tu’ya ‘palmilla’ < UA \*tu’ya ‘type of palm tree’ < Aramaic tuumr-aa ‘palm-the / date-palm-the’; did an earlier consonant harmony help?: \*tumra > rumra > ru’ya
- 1094 Tr(B) rusu- ‘regrind finely’; Tr(H) rusu ‘grind’ < ktš / -ktuš ‘grind’ (Hebrew); again, being medial rather than initial may have helped the change to r, in this item and
- 866 Tr(B) femé- ‘make tortillas’; Tr(H) rimé ‘tortilla’ < ṭamar ‘hide, bury, cook underground’ (Semitic)



did the pharyngeal / retroflexive nature of Semitic ʔ encourage ʃ rather than t.

769 Tr(L) raki- ‘push’ (L); Tr(H) rakibú ‘push’; Tr(B) ʃatakípu- ‘push much, give pushes repeatedly’  
< UA \*takipa / \*takipu ‘push’ < Semitic \*taqipa (sg), \*taqipu (pl)

1389 Tr(B) ʃeʔré ‘below, under’; Tr(H) riʔré < Aramaic / Syriac taʃt-ee ‘under him it’ but from Semitic \*taxt-ee; both Semitic taxt and taʃat / taʃt- ‘under, below’ existed, and UA reflects Semitic taxt-e ‘under him’ as opposed to the pharyngeal which would yield rounding, and it seems to be from the Aramaic suffix 3 sg ‘under it / him’.

Among the Wr dialects and Tr dialects, all in the general vicinity of each other for convenient recycled borrowing, doublets or word variants that have both an initial t- form and an initial r- form are not surprising, as a Wr t- form would join the Tr r- form. No less than 26 items with initial t- in Tarahumara are from initial t- or t-like stops in Semitic or Egyptian. In addition, 33 items of Tarahumara initial r- align with Semitic initial r- or Egyptian initial r-. Initial d- is not so consistent, perhaps because d- is voiced like r- is and other possible explanations, as initial d- in Near-East forms sometimes show both initial t- and r- in different variants of the same lexeme. Seven other items may or may not be explainable as apparent exceptions.

## 6.2 Two, Hopi w vs. l before Low Vowels: a, ö, e

Uto-Aztecanists have long known that most Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*w change to Hopi l before the low vowels a, e, ö (group 3), but that PUA \*w remains Hopi w before high vowels i, i, o (group 6). Remember the Semitic pharyngeal ʕ and glottal stop ʔ are two sources of UA w, and some Arabic speakers pronounce ʕ as w at times and as r (the other liquid) in certain environments. I heard a native speaker of Syrian Arabic say sabriina (< Arabic sabʕiina ‘seventy’). Many UA sets substantiate Hopi l corresponding to UA \*w in the rest of UA. However, Uto-Aztecanists have also known that a number of exceptions yield Hopi words with syllables like wa and we, which do show Hopi w before low vowels (groups 4, 5, 7). Though aware of this subset of exceptions, an explanation for the exceptions has not been found—until now. The UA tie to Near-East languages explains the exceptions, as follows:

First of all, Hopi l sometimes does come from Semitic l. Group one shows five examples of Semitic l > Hopi l. Next, the fact that the Semitic-p laryngeals (ʕ, ʔ) correspond to PUA \*w underlies the solution. Those PUA \*w and the would-be Hopi w from the Egyptian or Semitic laryngeals (ʕ, ʔ) do change to l in Hopi (groups 2 and 3) when before a low vowel, but when before a high vowel, PUA \*w > w in Hopi (group 6) consistent with what Uto-Aztecanists have long known. However, when Hopi w comes from an actual w, whether from Egyptian w (group 4) or from Semitic w (group 5), then \*w remains w, even before low vowels (groups 4 and 5). In addition, doubled laryngeals remain w; that is, \*-ʔ- > \*-ww- > -w-. Or in the case of consonant clusters in which one consonant is a laryngeal, which in effect doubles the rounding effect similar to \*-ww-, then those clusters or doubled \*-ww- in effect also remain -w- (group 7). That is, Hopi taawa ‘sun’ < \*tawwa < Egyptian raʕwa ‘sun’ and Hopi siwa < Semitic šipʕaa, wherein p is absorbed to double the -w- effect of the pharyngeal: \*-pʕ- > \*-ww- > Hp -w-. Such phenomena explain the exceptions.

Group 1: Hebrew l > Hopi l

Hp loma ‘good, etc’ < Hebrew lummad ‘trained’ (see at 700)

Hp lööqö(k-) ‘wedding’ < Hebrew lqʕ / laaqʕ ‘take (to wife)’ (695)

Hp kwelo ‘sample by tasting’ < Hebrew blʕ / baalaʕ ‘swallow’ (6)

Hp pöönjala ‘thick (in size)’ < Arabic pgl ‘be thick’ (1387)

Hp salây-ti ‘pleased, joyed, gratified’ < Arabic slw / sly / salaa V tasalla ‘to delight, take pleasure in’ (1501)

Group 2: Hebrew/Egyptian ʕ > Hopi l

Hp kwala ‘come to a boil, get angry’ < Hebrew II bʕy / baaʕaa ‘bring to a boil’ (37)

Hp löwa ‘vagina, vulva’ < Hebrew ʕerwaa ‘nakedness, genital area’ (686)

Hp -laqvī in Hp kík-laqvī ‘tracks all over’ < Hebrew ʕaaqeb ‘heel, footprint’ (685)

Hp ma-laci ‘finger’ < \*ma-watti < ma- ‘hand’ + Egyptian ʕnt ‘nail, claw’ (262)

Hp lêesi- ‘horizontal’; Hopi lêe-ta ‘lay across’ < Arabic ʕarḏiy ‘cross- (in compounds), horizontal’ (687)

Hp qölö ‘hole, a lot of’ < Hebrew tqʕ (1473)

Hp nàala(-k-) ‘change places/residence, move’ / UA \*nawa / \*nawi < Egyptian nʕi ‘travel, traverse’ (239)

Hp laaki ‘become dry, thin, v’ < Semitic ʕqr ‘uproot, barren’ (dried up); Arabic ʕaaqir ‘barren, sterile’ (1380)  
Hp laho’- ‘stand on all fours’ < Egyptian ʕḥʕ ‘stand’ (1539)  
Hp leena ‘flute’ < Hebrew ʕaanaa’ ‘sing’ (1554)

Group 3: Hebrew/Egyptian ’ (> UA \*w) > Hopi l

Hp löqö ‘pine’ < Hebrew ’egoz ‘nut’ (569)  
Hp löö(y) ‘two’ < Hebrew ’axar ‘follow/after’ (570 of Sem-p) (vs. Hp ’ahoy < ’aḥar of Sem-kw 643)  
Hp laq-ta ‘sweep snow clear’; UA \*wak ‘sweep’ < Egyptian ’xi ‘sweep together’ (515)  
Hp waala ‘gap, pass, saddle in ridge’ < Egyptian w’t ‘way, path, street’ (514) note w > w, but -’- (> -w-) > -l-  
Hp qaala ‘packrat’; Tb haawa-l ‘wood rats’; Ls qáw-la ‘woodrat’ < Egyptian q’r ‘bundle, pocket’ (328)  
Hp laja ‘be pulled taut’ < Hebrew ’rg ‘weave’; Hebrew ’ereg ‘loom’ (1514)  
Hp -pela in Hp tüpela ‘cliff wall’ < Egyptian bi’ ‘quarry’ (see explanation at 465, UACV-1268c)  
Hp låa-pī ‘shreddy bark, esp. of juniper’ (UA wa’aC ‘juniper/cedar’) < Aramaic ’arz-aa’ ‘cedar-the’ (582)  
Hp aala ‘horn’ < Egyptian iw’t ‘long-horned cow’ > aw’at / aa’at > Hp aala (1529)

Group 4: Egyptian w > Hopi w

Hp mowa ‘moist, wet’ < Egyptian mw ‘water’ (229)  
Hp waala ‘gap, pass, saddle in ridge’ < Egyptian w’t ‘way, path, street’ (514)  
Hp wehe ‘for liquid to spill out’ < Egyptian whi ‘go out, slip out, run/trickle out, pour out’ (469)  
Hp wahi- ‘throw out pl objs’ < Egyptian whi ‘go out, slip out, run/trickle out, pour out’ (469)  
Hp warani ‘s.th. reserved, saved for future use’ < Egyptian wdn ‘load, offer, bring, consecrate’ (516)  
Hp wáḡway ‘summon, call’ < Egyptian wx’ ‘seek, want’ (288)  
Hp wayoḡ- ‘protection, windbreak’ < Egyptian wi’ ‘ward off, protect, turn away’ (517)  
Hp naawa ‘groan, moan’ (example given is old person groaning in death) < Egyptian nw ‘be weak (due to age)’ (518)  
Hp waho(-k-) ‘for particulate matter to spill’ < Egyptian wḥ’ ‘hew (stone), break (stone)’ (186)  
Hp wari ‘run’ < Egyptian wʕr ‘flee’ (186)

Group 5: Semitic w > Hopi w

Hp soniwa ‘beautiful, bright’ < Arabic snw ‘gleam, shine’; Ethiopic snw ‘be beautiful’ (13)  
Hp löwa ‘vagina, vulva’ < Hebrew ʕerwaa ‘nakedness, genital area’ (686)  
Hp tḡwa ‘name’ < Arabic dʕw / daʕaa ‘to call, name’ (1059)  
Hp wḡwa ‘grow up’ < Arabic ʕlw / Hebrew ʕly / ʕalaa ‘ascend, go up, grow’ (681)  
Hp wiwa-k-na ‘attach (to), connect, hook, vt’ < Hebrew/Aramaic waaw-aa ‘hook-the’ (1593)  
Hp powaqa ‘sorcerer, sorcery’ < Aramaic ’pwk’ ‘demon of overturning’ (1594)

Group 6: Hebrew ʕ, ’, ḥ > Hopi w before high vowels i, o, i (or if doubled, next group, group 7)

Hp wḡwa ‘grow up’ < Semitic ʕlw / \*ʕəlwa / ʕalaa ‘ascend, go up, grow’ (681)  
Hp wiiki ‘take along, lead, escort’ < Semitic ’rk ‘long, make long (rope), stretch’ (see details at 1516)  
Hp wiimi ‘religious rite, habit’ < Semitic ḥrm ‘dedicate’ (660)  
Hp wi-hī ‘fat, oil, lard’ < Semitic ḥilb ‘milk’ (652)  
Hp oowa ‘wedding robe or burial wrap’ < Aramaic ʕappe ‘cover, wrap, arrange corpse for burial’ (1589)  
Hp ko-lawī ‘be cutting firewood, lit: wood-do/gather’ < Aramaic ’ʕy / ’aʕiy ‘gather wood’ (last item)

Group 7: When clustered or doubled -ww- > Hopi -w-/\_a/e, whereas single -’- > -l-, not > -w-

Hp meewan- ‘forbid, warn’ < Hebrew m’n ‘refuse’ (< \*mi’’an) from geminated -ww- < \*-’’- (1333)  
Hp taawa ‘sun’ < \*tawwa < Egyptian \*raʕwa ‘sun’ (163)  
Hp siwa ‘younger sister’ < Semitic šipḥaa ‘maiden’ (757)  
Hp löwa ‘vagina, vulva’ < Hebrew ʕerwaa ‘nakedness, genital area’ (686)  
Hp tḡwa ‘name’ < Arabic dʕw / daʕaa ‘to call, name’ (1059)  
Hp qe’wa- ‘reject’ < Egyptian x’ʕ ‘leave, abandon, reject’ (1639)

Matters to contemplate are Semitic-kw final -b > Hopi -ḡw and some final -’ > -ḡw

Hp inaḡwa ‘heart’ < Hebrew hal-lebb ‘heart’ (1312); Hp hayiḡw- ‘draw near’ < Semitic qariib ‘near’ (1008)  
Hp lölöqanḡw ‘bullsnake, gopher snake’ < Hebrew ʕooqeb ‘deceiver’ (1198)

Hp koyoŋo ‘turkey’ < Semitic qr ‘cry, call’ (1357); Hp paŋwī ‘bighorn sheep’ < Egyptian b ‘ram’ (406);  
 Hp wayoŋ- ‘protection, windbreak’ < Egyptian wi ‘ward off, protect, turn away’ (517)  
 Hp kookyaŋw ‘spider’ < Aramaic kuuky-aa ‘spider-the’ (1409)

Possible exceptions, unless / until an explanation surfaces:

Hp aala ‘horn’ < Egyptian iw’t ‘long-horned cow’ > aw’at > Hp aala (1529); this Hp item behaves as if the 1<sup>st</sup> C, -w-, did not exist (only -’- > -l-), as Hp taawa ‘sun’ (< Egyptian \*raʕwa ‘sun’, 163) also behaves as if the 1<sup>st</sup> C, -ʕ-, did not exist (only -w- > -w-); otherwise, ‘sun’ should yield the same as ‘name’ in that they both underlyingly have the same cluster -ʕw-, if clustered.

Hp qe’wa- ‘reject’ < Egyptian x’ʕ ‘leave, abandon, reject’ (1639), cluster -’ʕ- > -’w-, but no -l- ?

Hp wáŋway ‘summon, call’ < Egyptian wx’ ‘seek, want’ (288), cluster -x’- > -ŋw-, no l? or is l in the nasal?

### 6.3 Three, Takic distinguishes Semitic-p velars (k, g > k) and uvulars (q, x, ġ > q)

Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*k is generally k throughout UA, though Hopi and many Numic languages have a rule that lowers PUA \*k > q before low vowels. However, in the Takic branch, we see in Ca, Cp, Ls, and Sr, both initial ka and qa. The k- vs q- distinction adjacent to other vowels or intervocalic -k-/-q- between two vowels might be explained by environmental factors, but to find both initial ka and qa, both before a, in those four Takic languages is a distinction not found elsewhere in UA, yet no satisfactory explanation to date explains that phenomenon in Takic. However, Semitic-p and Egyptian offer an explanation consistent with 40 of the 41 examples. Semitic has velar k and uvular q: e.g., Arabic kalb ‘dog’ and qalb ‘heart’, often pronounced [kælb] and [qalb], as k and q affect their respective adjacent vowels. Besides q, some Semitists are beginning to see an uvular (rather than velar) nature to Semitic \*x and \*ġ (Rubin 2010, 24; Goldenberg 2013, 67).

Interestingly, the Takic languages suggest the same: that Semitic \*x and \*ġ were uvular for speakers of the Semitic-p / Egyptian contribution into UA. First, are presented items from Semitic initial velars \*ga... and \*ka... > Takic ka...; and also medial -k- > -x-. Then are presented items showing Semitic initial uvulars \*qa, \*xa, and \*ġa > Takic qa... Also keep in mind that in the four languages that show the split, q is the more marked option, and the preferable reconstruction, as k is the usual UA result: \*q > k.

In fact, even though other branches of UA do not show a q vs. k distinction, other branches do show evidence of previous/underlying uvular q causing adjacent vowels to round, which velar k does not do.

(961) Hebrew deqel ‘date-tree, palm’; Arabic daqal ‘kind of palm tree’; Semitic \*daqal > UA \*taku ‘palm tree’: Eu takú-t; Wr tahkú; Tr fákú; My takko; Tbr takó-t; Wc taakī; Cr takī; Yq táko.

(738) Hebrew qayis/qeys ‘summer’ > UA \*kuwīs ‘summer’ also shows the strong rounding influence of q.

(527) Semitic baraq ‘lightning’ > UA \*pīrok / Cah beroq ‘lightning’; note -a- > -o- anticipating -q.

(1402) Egyptian mx’ ‘make fast, tie, bind, fetter, v’ > UA \*maġo’i- ‘bag, bind, wrap, blanket’, we see Sr q and also a deep uvular in CU, even a pharyngeal tap in WMU: TO mako ‘connect, couple, hitch together, shackle’; Sr mööq-kin ‘fold, wrap, vt’; NP mago’o ‘bag’; Kw mogwi’i ‘tanned hide’; WMU maġwáy’ / moġwé’ ‘blanket’; CU moġóy’a ‘blanket’; Sh mokoccih ‘sack, bag’.

Another matter relating to rounding adjacent to q are several items showing Takic \*qo..., in which other Uto-Aztecanists have presumed that UA \*ko > Tak qo, or that -o- caused the k- > q- rather than qV with short unstressed vowel going to -o- due to q-, and then \*qo > Ca/Cp qi, Ls qe, Sr qö. The fact that we also have both Takic qa and ka in those four languages suggests that uvular \*q was a proto-phoneme in Takic as well as \*k, or a proto-phoneme in UA, that merged with \*k in other branches, and that unstressed initial \*qV > \*qo happened due to the uvular affecting the otherwise rather non-descript unstressed vowel, a schwa-like vowel in an uvular environment that defaults to \*qo.

In the data below, we first see 6 sets exemplifying velars remaining velars: g, k > k. Then 15 other sets show Semitic uvulars qa, \*xa, \*ġa aligning with Takic uvular \*qa, instead of ka. Then 9 sets show unstressed or less certain vowels of Semitic qV > Takic \*qo. Then 6 other sets show that adjacent to high vowels, \*q > k even in Takic; that is, Semitic qi / qu / qə / iq > Tak ki / ku / kī / ik. Then 5 -q- > -x- are noted, mostly involving medial -x-, which may be the only fricative option in the UA phonology for an original uvular. Intervocalic / medial -q- exists in some highlighted Takic forms, but if fricativized, there is no uvular fricative alternate to velar -x- in UA, and perhaps -x- was as much uvular as velar. So it appears

that fricativization either eliminated the uvular dimension or minimized the difference enough to make it difficult to discern. In fact, Sr -q- aligning with Ca, Cp, Ls -x- in 298 below is evidence of exactly that. Given that, only one Ls form is a certain exception (248). Thus, the statistical support for this explanation for the q vs. k distinction in Takic—40 of 41—may be 97.5%.

### Semitic velars ga / ka > UA velar \*ka

(608) gdʕ / gadaʕ ‘cut down, cut off’ > Sr katu ‘cut up, cut (into several pieces), vt’

(636) Syriac kp ‘bend, bow, incline, curve, lean over’; kappēp ‘bend, vt’; Syriac kapiipuu-ta ‘crookedness’; Syriac kapaap-taa ‘anything hollow or curved, coffer’; Assyrian kappu / Hebrew kap ‘hollow or flat of hand, palm, sole, pan’; and ‘pan, cup of hand, or hollow’ is like an olla, cup, a hole/hollow: Cp kavá‘mal ‘pot’; Ca káva‘mal ‘olla, water jar, cup, pot’; Ls kaváá‘a-l ‘clay pot’; Ls kapa-kpa-ma-l ‘short, low’.

UA \*kapV / 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 kīvihka ‘hole’; Sr kīvihi‘q ‘be a hole’. Also of kp / kappV, note Syriac kapiipuu-ta ‘crookedness’ and Ca kapu-kapu ‘be crooked (back, tree, etc); and Syriac kp / kpy ‘bend, bow, incline, curve, lean over’; Aramaic kpy/kp ‘bend over, turn upside down’ > Ca kavay ‘go round, turn around, to curve (road). And all of these Tak terms show initial ka...

### Semitic medial velars \*-g-/-kk-/-k- > Takic -k-/-x-:

(926) Hebrew/Aramaic ‘agap ‘wing, pinion feather, arm, shoulder’ >

UA \*wakapu > \*wakaC > \*waki / \*wiki ‘wing, feather’: Ca wáka-t ‘wing’, Ca wiki-ly ‘feather’; Ls kawí-t ‘wing’ (< \*waki); Ls no-wki ‘my wing’; Cp wiki-ly / wáki-ly ‘feather’; SP wīgivī-vi ‘eagle tail-feather’ and Hp -wīki ‘feather’ in Hp kwaa-wīki ‘primary wing feather of the eagle’ (kwaa ‘eagle’). Metathesis in Ls (\*waki > kawí); and SP shows the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant \*-p-. In 1103 below is Semitic medial \*-kk- > Takic -k-:

(1103) Semitic dakka ‘make flat, smooth’ > Ls táka/i ‘be straight’; Ls tááki-š ‘stone for smoothing pottery’; among other UA \*takka ‘flat, smooth’ reflexes.

(616) Aramaic dakar ‘male, man’ > UA \*taka ‘man’; Tak \*tax ‘person’: Cp ‘atáx’a; Ca táxlis-wet; Ls ‘a-táax ‘person, self’.

(565) Semitic makar ‘sell’ > UA \*maka ‘give, sell’: Sr naamq ‘distribute, give out, give to several people’; Cp né-mexe ‘sell, give as gift’; Ls námxa ‘give to several people, distribute’; Ca máx ‘give (money, clothes), sell’. Three of the four Tak languages show -x-, but Sr does have unexpected q.

### Semitic uvulars \*qa-, \*xa-, or \*ǧa- > Takic uvular qa-

(690) Arabic ǧayr- ‘other than, different from, no, not, non-, un-’ > Tak \*qay ‘no’, not kay:

Sr qai; Ls qáy; Cp qáy; Ca kílye ‘not’ / kí‘i ‘no’.

(294) Egyptian xpš ‘thigh’ > UA \*kapsi (> \*kasi) ‘thigh’: Tb hapši-l ‘thigh’; Ls qaasi-l; Hp qàasi / qahsi ‘thigh, hind quarter’; but \*kasi throughout the rest of SUA. Tb shows -p- and Hp suggests a cluster, but notice Ls q instead of k, as only Takic has the q vs. k distinction, and Ls is the only Tak language with a reflex in this cognate set.

(322) Egyptian q‘yt ‘high-lying land, hill’ from Egyptian q‘i ‘be high’ > UA \*qawi ‘mountain, rock’:

BH.Cup \*qawíca ‘rock’; HH.Cup \*qawíiča ‘rock’: Cp kawí-š ‘rock’; Ca qáwi-š ‘rock’; Ls qawíī-ča ‘mountain, hill’; Tη xay ‘sierra’; Sr qaiič; Ktn kay-c; Sr qaqaiič ‘mountains all over the place’ and \*kawi in many SUA languages. Loss of bilabial in Tη again; cf. believe (567). Notice that both BH.Cup and HH.Cup reconstruct Takic \*q, not \*k. Ktn has no q, only k, and the four languages that have both available show q.

(960) Arabic qarqara ‘rumble, gargle, coo (of pigeon)’ (and qahqaha is similar) > UA \*ka(k)kara ‘quail’: SP qaqqaraC ‘quail’; Cp qaxá-l ‘valley quail’; Ca qáxa-l ‘quail’; Ls qaxáá-l ‘valley quail’; Tη kakár ‘quail’; Sr kakaata ‘quail’; Mn qahī ‘grouse’; Sh kahan ‘grouse’; TO kakaiču ‘quail’ (< \*kakkatu). This qarqara may differ from squirrel (957) due to different stress patterns.

(329) Egyptian qd ‘go round’; Egyptian qdi ‘walk about’; Egyptian qd / qdd ‘sleep’; Egyptian qdqd ‘wander, stroll’; semantically, Egyptian ‘to dwell/live/be at a place/area, walk around there, return regularly, sleep there’ etc, is summed up by the UA meaning of ‘dwell, live, be’:

UA \*katī / \*kattī ‘sit, be/live (at a place)’: Mn qatī; NP katī; TSh katī; Ch karī; Kw karī; SP qarī; CU karī; Tb halit-~‘aahal; TO kaač; Op katte; Eu kačí; Wr kahtí; My káttek; Yq káatek; Tbr katé.

But the four Takic all show q, not k: Cp qa‘; Ca qál; Ls qál ‘live, be’; Sr qaṭ/qaṭī.

(994) Hebrew  $\zeta$ qr ‘uproot, weed’; MHebrew ne $\zeta$ eqar (< \*na- $\zeta$ qar) ‘be uprooted’; Syriac  $\zeta$ qr /  $\zeta$ eqar ‘uproot, be barren, heal’, impfv: - $\zeta$ quur; Hebrew  $\zeta$ aaqaar ‘infertile’; Samaritan Aramaic  $\zeta$ aqaur ‘death, barrenness’; loss of initial  $\zeta$  with its short unstressed vowel while 2<sup>nd</sup> C q is retained in the UA forms, perhaps from impfv - $\zeta$ qar, with -a- instead of -u- (such dialect variations happen), or stressed 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable of a pfv  $\zeta^{\circ}$ qar > qay:

Takic \*qaya/i ‘uproot, weed, clean, wash’: which Bright and Hill also reconstruct as \*qáyi ‘wash’: 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 **qáyi** ‘get clean, clear (ground, body, etc)’; Ca **qáyi-n** ‘to clean, get rid of, wash, clear’; Cp **qéye** ‘pull out, vt’; Ca **qúyen** ‘to pull out (tree)’. Ls **káyi** ‘to uproot’ has k instead of q.

(631) Aramaic  $\zeta$ amar (< \*xamar) ‘wine’; Hebrew  $\zeta$ emer ‘wine’; Arabic xmr ‘to ferment’; Arabic xamr ‘wine’; Arabic ximiir ‘drunkard’; Arabic xamrat ‘wine’; Ugaritic xmr ‘wine’:

UA \*kamaC ‘drunk’: Sr **qám|(ä)**q ‘get, be drunk, crazy’. Ken Hill shows this Sr term to have pharyngealized vowels (ä) instead of (a), that is, with some rounding, as well as q instead of k.

(1525) Aramaic **ql** / **qly** ‘roast’ > Ls **qali-** ‘boil (food)’; not identical, but both are ways of cooking food, and the phonology is identical.

(486) Egyptian **xfty(w)** ‘enemy(ies), opponent(s)’ > UA \*kaytu ‘enemy, opponent’: keep in mind the bilabial as first element in a cluster -ft- is not expected to remain, and intervocalic -t- > -l- in Takic, so the fact that it remains -t- does suggest the cluster, and -y- may anticipate the y after t; and the Egyptian plural suffix -w may be apparent in Takic: Cp **-qáytu**; Ca **káytu** ‘rival, competitor, enemy’; Ls **káytu-š**; Sr **-qaiš**.

(328) Egyptian q’r ‘bundle, pocket’ > UA \*kawaC ‘pocket, bag’ and UA \*kawaC ‘packrat’; the 1<sup>st</sup> has identical semantics, the 2<sup>nd</sup> only possible, but what makes me think that \*kawaC ‘packrat’ below is from the same Egyptian root is Ls **qáw-la** ‘woodrat’ whose -la suffix is infrequent and happens when the stem ends with a liquid with laryngeal cluster or nasal. Again BH and Munro both astutely reconstruct \*q, not k:

UA \*kawaC ‘rat, packrat’: BH.Cup \*qawala ‘rat’; Munro.Cup107 \*qaawa-la ‘rat’: Mn qawa; NP kawa ‘packrat’; TSh kawan; Sh kaan; Kw kaa-ci ‘woodrat’; SP kaa-ci; CU kaac’a-ci ‘packrat, gopher’; Hp qaala ‘packrat’; Tb haawa-l ‘wood rats’; Sr qää-t; T $\eta$  xar; Ktn ka-č; Ls **qáw-la** ‘woodrat’; Ca **qáwa-l**; Cp **qáwe-l**; Ch kaaci ‘rat’. Note Sr ää, and SNum lost -w-. This is in all branches of NUA, but not in SUA.

### Semitic medial uvulars -q-, -x-, -ğ- > Takic uvular -q-:

(1070) \*na-**qšab** ‘what is perked up, i.e., the ear’ > Sr **qävaac** ‘ear, leaf’; Ca **náq-al**; Cp **náq’a**; Ls **náq-la**; and forms resembling \*naka or \*nakapa are in every other UA language also. Note again Sr -ä-.

(1340) Arabic p $\zeta$ h / **paqaḥa** ‘to open the eyes, to blossom’; Syriac p $\zeta$ h ‘to bloom’; Hebrew p $\zeta$ h / paqaḥa ‘to open the eyes’: Ls **páqa-** ‘to sprout through the ground, of plants, v.i.’; Ca **púqi** ‘bloom’

(298) Egyptian  $\zeta$ bxn ‘frog’ > \*wapqan > UA \*wakaN/C(-ta) > \*wakatta ‘frog’: BH.Cup \*waxa ‘frog’; HH.Cup \*waxaa ‘frog’; Sr waqät ‘frog’; Cp wáxači-ly ‘frog’; Ca wáxačily ‘frog’; Ls waxáw’ki-la ‘type of frog’; Ktn wakata-t; Kw wagata/wogata; TSh wakatta ‘toad’; Ch wagáta-ci ‘frog’; Tb waagaaiš-t ‘little frog’.

(1402) Egyptian mx’ ‘make fast, tie, bind, fetter, v’ > UA \*mağo’i- ‘bag, bind, wrap, blanket’:

TO mako ‘connect, couple, hitch together, shackle’; Sr mööq-kin ‘fold, wrap, vt’; NP mago’o ‘bag’; Kw mogwi’i ‘tanned hide’; WMU mağwáy’ / moğwé ‘blanket’; CU moğóy’a ‘blanket’; Sh mokoccih ‘sack, bag’. In fact, WMU has a very deep pharyngeal tap, and Sr -q- agrees.

(515) Egyptian ’xi / i’xi ‘sweep together’ > UA \*wak / \*waq ‘sweep, comb’: BH.Cup \*wáq-? ‘sweep’:

Ls **wáqi** ‘sweep, brush, comb’; Cp wák ‘comb, sweep’; Ca wáka’an ‘sweep, clean, comb, rake’; Hp laq-ta ‘sweep snow clear’; Sr wööq ‘sweep, brush, comb’; Ktn wok- ‘brush, sweep, v’. In Takic, 2 q and 2 k, and the original following -i may have triggered the two -k-.

### Semitic qV... > Takic \*qo... > qi (Ca/Cp), qe (Ls), qö (Sr)

(630) Hebrew \*xole ‘be sick, hurting’ > UA \*koli ‘be sick, hurt, vi’ in many SUA languages; Takic \*qolV > Cp qil’íqa-t ‘hot, spicy, strong’; Cp qil’íqtu’ni ‘hurt, sting, vt’; Ca qél’ya ‘feel sore, v’; Ca qél’ak ‘peppery, pungent, creating a burning sensation’.

(957) Arabic qarqadaan ‘squirrel’ > UA \*koñi ‘squirrel’: BH \*qéñic ‘squirrel’; Munro.Cup122 \*qééñi-š ‘ground squirrel’: Cp qíñi-š; Ca qíñiš; Ls qééñi-š; T $\eta$  xoñít; Sr qööñt; Ktn koñit.

(864) Arabic quppat ‘large basket’; Aramaic quupp-aa ‘basket, large vessel’ and quupt-aa; Later Hebrew quuppaa ‘basket, tub, ball’. The Hebrew plural would be \*quuppoot > UA \*koppot ‘basket’: Ls qéépiš ‘baby basket’; Sr qöpöt ‘round kind of basket’; but -p- (not -v-) mean \*-pp-.

(332) \*-rḥ- > UA \*-Nw- > -ŋ- in Takic, -ŋw- in one Nahuatl dialect, but -w- in most of UA: Egyptian qṛḥt ‘serpent’; Egyptian qṛḥ ‘friend, partner’; \*qVrḥat > UA \*koNwa ‘snake, twin’: Cp qeqiŋi-ly ‘king snake’ and Ls qiqeŋ-la ‘ring snake’ < Tak \*koŋo all reveal Tak -ŋ- from the -rḥ- cluster (a liquid-pharyngeal cluster), very natural; and while \*kowa has been a common reconstruction, Kaufman (1981) \*konwa and Joe Campell (1976) \*koŋwa, predate me in constructing a nasal \*koNwa.

(1014) Syriac qədaal-aa ‘neck, nape of neck’; Arabic qadaal ‘occiput’; Aramaic qədaal-aa ‘neck’: the rounding effect of q- with a shortunstressed vowel has qV... > qo ...:

UA \*kutaC / \*kura ‘neck’: Mn kúta; Np gguta; TSh kutan; Sh kuta; Kw kura-vi; Ch kura; SP qura-vi; WMU qurá; CU kurá-vi; Tb kulaa-; but Cp **qil’**a ‘nape of the neck’; Ls **qelá-t** / **qilá-t**.

(1248) Arabic qasaṭa ‘divide, measure’; Hebrew qəšiṭaa ‘ancient weight, used as money, n.f.’; MHebrew qəšiṭaa ‘a coin, a weight, lamb’; Syriac **qest-aa** ‘measure, n.m’ > UA \*koCta ‘bark, shell, money’: Munro.Cup118 \*qééči-la ‘shell’: Ls **qés-la** ‘seashell’; Ls qés-la ka-š ‘skull’; Cp **qíči**-ly ‘money, silver’; Ca **qíč**-ily ‘money’ (pl: qišlyam); Sr **-qöč** ‘hide, bark’; Sr **qöča**viam ‘money’.

(594) Hebrew ’aḥoot (< \*’axoot) ‘sister’ (Syriac ḥaat-aa ‘sister’ eliminates the first syllable also) > UA \*ko(’)ti / \*ko’ci ‘older sister’ > Tak \*qoci: Cp **qísma**; Ca **qis-ka**; Ls **qee**’is; Tḡ óxo’; Sr **-qöör**; Eu kócwa; Wr ko’cí; Tr go’čí; etc.

(449) Egyptian **qq** / q’q’ ‘eat’ > UA \*koki ‘graze, v’: Cp **qíxin** ‘graze, pull out (hair)’; Ls **qééxi** ‘graze’.

(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/strip, float’: Ca qípi / qíipi ‘be marked (of line), float (as fish, bird)’; Cp qípe ‘be striped’.

#### However, adjacent to high vowels, Semitic qi / qu / qə / iq > Tak ki / ku / kī / ik

(1166) Hebrew qədem / qedem ‘in front, east’; Hebrew qidmaa ‘(toward) east of’ > UA \*kitam ‘south, east’: Ktn kítamik ‘toward the east’; Ca kíčam-ka ‘southward’; Cp kičám; Ls kíča-mi-k, kíča-nuk ‘southward’.

(986) Semitic qiir ‘wall, town’ > Tak \*kiC ‘house’.

(295) Egyptian xpd ‘buttock(s)’ > UA \*kupta ‘buttocks’: Ls kupča-t ‘buttocks’; Cr kicá ‘buttocks’; Wc kicá ‘buttocks’; Cp xútaxwi ‘back’ whose -t- suggests a cluster -Ct-, as intervocalic \*-t- > -l- in Cupan. The first three (Ls, Cr, Wc) agree in \*kupta, because PUA \*u > Cr/Wc i, PUA \*p > ø in CrC.

(861) Hebrew qšy / qaašay ‘be heavy, hard, difficult’; Aramaic qəša’ ‘be hard, difficult, severe, harmful’; Syriac qš’ / qšy / qəša’ / qəšaa ‘difficult, severe, strong (of smell), harsh (of taste)’ > UA \*kīsa ‘sour’:

Ls kóša/i ‘be sweet or salty’; Ls kuš-úla ‘be sour’ (listed with koša/i); Cp kešelvekéšelva’a-š ‘too sour’.

UA \*kīsa ‘harm(ed), bad’: Cp kéše/ kəš- ‘to injure, hurt’; Sr kī’šaa’ ‘bad’; Ktn kīša’ ‘no good, bad’.

(525) Egyptian isq ‘linger, wait for, vi; hinder, vt’ (s is lost as 1<sup>st</sup> segment in a cluster: \*isqV > \*iska > \*ika) > UA \*ika / \*ikī ‘remain, be in a place, let lie’: Sr ’ikīli ‘be in a place, lie’; Ls ’óka/i ‘leave, let remain, vt; be left, vi’; Tḡ ’okó ‘lie down’; Cp ékeme ‘give’; Ca ’ékamax ‘give s.o. (food/drink)’; Ktn ’ik ‘lie’.

(247) Egyptian xr ‘to fall down/out’ > UA \*kuri ‘fall’: Sr kur-q ‘fall, pl’; Ca kúli ‘fall (in a hole), stick (in), rush in’. The vowel u aligns with qu > ku (see below). Another set has two Ls forms, one of which has q, the other k: UA \*kara ‘fall’: Ls kára ‘fall (of leaves)’; Ktn karara’y ‘fall, vi’; but also Ls qára ‘spill out, fall (as leaves, fruit, hair from the head), slide off’.

Most of these, that might be thought exceptions, show the medial uvular becoming -x-, which may be the only fricative option in the UA phonological repertoire for an original uvular. Intervocalic / medial -q- exists in the sets above, but with fricativization, the fricatives of both -q- and -k- > -x- might be something as close to an uvular as a velar, the -x- in UA. So the fricativization either eliminated the uvular dimension or minimized the difference enough to make it difficult to discern. In fact, the first set below (298), repeated from medial -q- above, shows exactly that: Sr shows the -q- as we would expect from an uvular -x- clustered, but Ca, Cp, and Ls fricativized that uvular to -x- as the only fricative option for -q-. Beyond those medial -q- > -x-, only one Ls form (248) remains an exception, and regarding apparent exceptions, we see doublets or alternate forms in nearly every UA language—alternate forms with b and p in Tr, Yq, My, and Ca káwiya / qáwiya ‘hire, employ’, often due to contact with languages not having two options, like Ktn k, but no q.

(298) Egyptian ʕbxn ‘frog’ > \*wapkan > UA \*wakaN/C(-ta) > \*wakatta ‘frog’: BH.Cup \*waxa ‘frog’; HH.Cup \*waxaa ‘frog’: Kw wagata/wogata ‘frog’; TSh wakatta ‘toad’; Ch wagáta-ci ‘frog’; NP wakatta ‘toad’; Tb waagaaš-t ‘little frog’; Cp wáxači-ly ‘frog’; Ca wáxačily ‘frog’; Ls waxáw’ki-la ‘type of frog’; Sr waqāt; Ktn wakata-t. Note Sr -q- corresponding to -x- of the other Takic languages.

(595) Aramaic ʾaxaat-aa ‘sister-the’ > Ca -wáxalʾ ‘younger sister’ and Cp -wáxalʾi ‘younger sister’.

(632) Semitic xnq ‘put/wear around the neck’ > Tak \*qonxa ‘necklace, s.th. around the neck’. In this, the initial x- does the expected q-, and the later medial -q- > -x-.

(654) Hebrew ʕjr / ʕjarar ‘be hoarse’; Arabic xarxara ‘snore’; Arabic xrr / xarra ‘snore’ > Ls xaráá-ya ‘snore’. This Ls form from Semitic-p \*x > x may have lost prefixed morphemes to show -x- instead of q- or k-.

(244) Egyptian nxx ‘be old, vi; old age, n’; Egyptian nxx ‘youth, boy’; Egyptian nxn ‘young’; Egyptian nxnw ‘child’; Egyptian nxnw ‘youth (abstract)’; for Egyptian nxx to mean both ‘age’ and ‘youth’, the common sememe is ‘grow’—grow up / grow old—and UA \*nakan has the same range—grow up / grow old; the stems nxx and nxn underlie a similar pair of alternate forms in Egyptian nxx.t / nxn.w ‘kind of bread’:

UA \*nakana ‘grow’: BH.Cup \*naxá ‘old man’; HH.Cup \*naxáa ‘old man’: Sh nahnaC ‘grow up’; Kw nahna; Cp naxánču’ve-l ‘old man’; Ca náxaluvel ‘old man’; Ls naxááčuu ‘become an old man’.

(248) Egyptian xr ‘speak to, so say, vi’; Egyptian xrw ‘voice’ > Ls kára/i ‘belch, croak, ring’.

## 6.4 Four, Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*k > Tübatulabal h, versus PUA \*k > Tb k

An explanation for the two reflexes of Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*k in Tübatulabal (Tb) has bounced around in the realms of uncertainty. PUA \*k often remains Tb k, but at least as often PUA \*k > Tb h. The Tb dichotomy is partially explained by the fact that a doubled Semitic \*-kk- remains -k- in Tübatulabal (group 5) while a single k, g, ġ, q, or x > h, unless followed by a back round vowel u, o, or ĩ. The vowel ĩ may not be back and round, but can be back and in Numic its assimilative influences trigger rounding. So ĩ being associated with u and o is not surprising. In the Tr r vs. t data above in 6.1, we similarly see medial Semitic -x- > -k- before round vowels and -x- > -h- more often otherwise. This explanation holds for 41 of the 44 examples below (93%), but the two in group 9 and one in group 3 seem to be exceptions, unless an additional factor is found. In Kenneth Hill’s Tübatulabal Dictionary are 5 pages of ko, ku, kī and 2 pages of ka and 2 of ki, which suggests the same. Yet among initial h- words are 5 pages of Tb ha, but only 1 ½ pages of ho, and less than a half page of hu and a quarter page of hī, and many of those are not from PUA \*k, but \*h. So those ratios are at least consistent with \*k > k before o, u, ĩ, but \*k > h more often before the other vowels. Thus, Semitic/Egyptian k, g, ġ, q, and x all generally become k in UA, but in Tb, the k vs. h distinction is not determined by consonant as much as it is by doubling vs. not, and by the quality of the following vowel.

Group 1: Egyptian and Semitic **x** > **Tb h** (Semitic-p contributions), x > h also in Hopi at times:

Tb šaahat ‘willow’ < Egyptian sxt ‘willow’ (174) UA \*sakat

Tb wahaayu ‘after that’ < Hebrew ʾaxar-o ‘after it, after that’ (570) UA \*wakay

Tb nohhot ‘to roast in the ground’ < Egyptian nwx (172)

Tb hapši-l ‘thigh’ < Egyptian xpš ‘thigh, upper arm’ (294) UA \*kapsi

Group 2: Egyptian and Semitic **q** > **Tb h** when before the vowel **-a**, also in Hopi at times:

Tb tíđiha~’íđiđiha ‘be cut up’ (Tb \*tíđiha redupl’d) < Semitic dqr ‘pierce’ (827)

Tb ha’~’aaha ‘hear’ (pfv of ha’it) < Hebrew hi-qšab ‘listen’ (1069)

Tb haa-l ‘willow’ < UA \*kana ‘willow’ < Hebrew qaane ‘reed, stalk’ (1216)

Tb pahaabīl / paha’bīl ‘sugar cane plant’ < Hebrew qaane ‘reed, stalk’ (1135)

Tb haawa-l ‘wood rats’; Hp qaala ‘packrat’ < Egyptian q’r ‘bundle, pocket’ (328) UA \*kawa

Tb haayčan ‘to chew’ < Semitic \*qrđ > Hebrew qrš ‘bite’ (1448)

Group 3: Semitic **-g-** > **Tb -h-** (in Semitic-p):

Tb(H) wohhompoo-l / wohhoono-l ‘gray pine, bull pine’ < Hebrew ʾegooz < \*VNgoz (569-p)

Tb yahaawi-t / yahaawi-l ‘summit, point of a hill’ < Semitic \*yagar ‘hill, heap of stones’ (1279-p)

Tb wiih ~ iiwihī ‘to wait for’ < Arabic ʾġl < \*ʾġl ‘to hesitate, wait, linger’ (1332-p)

Tb wahaminaš (Takic waŋam) ‘down, deep’ < Semitic ʕgm (927)

Tb(H) waahay’ ‘work’ < Semitic ʾgr ‘hire’ (1365-p)

Semitic ġ > Tb h:

Tb(H) haa'išš(a) 'no, not'; Tb hayyi / haayi 'no, not any, none' < Arabic ġayr 'without, no/not' (690-p)

Group 4: Semitic k > Tb h, before -a (the last three are definitely Sem-p, and so perhaps the first also):

Tb hannii-l 'house' < Semitic \*kann 'shelter, house' (890)

Tb(H) hammaššat 'be sad' < Syr kmr / \*kamar 'be sad' (1422)

Tb mahat, pfv amha 'give' < Hebrew makar 'sell' (565-p)

Tb(M) pahaa'at/'apahaa' 'cry, howl' (Hp pak- ; Ktn paka') < Hebrew baka<sup>y</sup> 'cry'; Syriac bakaa/baka' (559-p)

When Semitic \*-kk- is doubled or clustered \*-Ck- (≈ -kk-), it remains -k- in Tb:

Group 5: Semitic -kk- > Tb -k-

Tb(H) mukut 'dead' < Hebrew mukke 'smitten' (52)

Tb(H) hookii 'deceased grand-relative after death' < Hebrew hukke 'was smitten' (53)

Tb(H) waakaayš-t / Tb waagaaiš-t < \*waCkan < Egyptian ʕbxn 'frog'; \*-bx- > \*-kk- > Tb -k- (298)

Tb pahkaani~pahkaan 'to speak' < Syriac etpakkan 'be insolent, abuse, gabble' (1151)

Tb(H) pikiiniššit 'wear or put on a shirt' < \*piC-kinis (\*-Ck- > -kk-), Semitic kns 'wrap' (829-p)

Tb(H) maakat 'know, vt' < Hebrew makkiir 'know(er), know(ing), participle'

Tb ekeewan / egeewan 'big, large' < Semitic et-kabbar (1015-kw), Tb -'w- < UA \*kw < Semitic b (\*-tk- > \*-kk- > Tb -k- and \*-bb- > -kw- > Tb -w- both suggest \*et-kabbar)

Tb ku is much more frequent than Tb hu, and Tb hu < PUA \*ku is almost nil, which suggests that, all else being equal, the vowel u (and other back round vowels) encourage retention of \*ku > ku, not \*ku > hu:

Group 6: Semitic q > Tb k when before a back round vowel **o**, **u**, and **i**, close to back round:

Tb kulaa- 'neck, n' < Syriac qədaal-aa 'neck, nape of neck' (1014-p)

Tb kuuṇa-l 'husband' < Egyptian qm 'create, beget' (284)

Tb(H) kooyoo-t 'turtle' < Semitic qrf (987)

Tb(H) woṅko-l 'shoe, moccasin, sandal' < Hebrew ʕaaqeb 'heel, footprint'

Tb(V) kii'-, ki'it~'iigī 'bite'; Tb(H) kii'it, pfv: iiki; Ktn ki' < Semitic \*qrđ > Aramaic qrs (1447)

Tb(H) waakit 'be dry', Tb waakinat 'dry, vt' < Semitic ʕqr 'uproot' (1380)

Tb(H) waaki'it 'be thin, be poor' < Semitic ʕqr (1380)

For Egyptian/Semitic x, as for q, the back round vowel **u** encourages retention of UA \*ku > ku:

Group 7: Egyptian/Semitic x > Tb k

Tb kutt 'fire' < Egyptian xt (452)

Tb kutči / kuudzin 'older sister' < 'axoot 'sister' (594)

Tb kuyuu-l 'fish' < \*kicu < Egyptian xddw 'fish' (365)

Tb kuu-l 'yellow flower' < Egyptian x'w 'flowers' (326)

For Semitic k also, the same following vowels **u**, **o**, and **i** encourage retention of UA \*ku > ku:

Group 8: Semitic k > Tb k (perhaps mostly Sem-kw)

Tb kuyuu- 'lower leg' < Hebrew **kəraaf** 'lower leg' (997)

Tb kiyii-l 'arrowhead' < Hebrew kly (1314)

Tb aakit, pfv: a'aak 'open mouth, bite' < Hebrew 'kl 'eat' (798)

Tb kuuhupi-l 'elderberry' < Egyptian **k'w** 'sycamore figs' (1049)

Group 9: One instance of Semitic g- > Tb k- and one of q- > Tb k- are enigmatic:

Tb(H) kam'mut, pfv aṅkam 'to fit, be proper' (l > ' in cluster) < Semitic gml 'beautiful, proper, fit' (571)

Tb(H) kamiič'it, pfv: akkamič 'to catch' < Syriac qmṭ 'lay fast hold of, take', participle qaamiṭ (1508)



## 6.5 Five, Takic Absolutive Suffixes and Luiseño -la

A few noun suffixes (called absolutes in UA) are suffixed to a noun in citation form, but many things cause that suffix to drop, possession being the most frequent. The most common absolutive suffix is PUA \*-ta, from the Aramaic definite article suffix \*-taa ‘-the’. The final vowel usually drops to leave final -l or -t in Tb and in the Takic branch. Similarly, in the Aztec branch it is usually -tl, which is from PUA \*-ta (Whorf 1937), which lateralized as -tla before losing the final vowel: \*V-tla > V-tl. But if the stem ends in a consonant, then a final vowel on the suffix remains (VC-tli) to avoid a final consonant cluster (C-tl does not occur). However, when a Nahuatl noun ends with -l-, then the final -t (or -tli) assimilates to -l (or -l-li), and the suffix’s final vowel -li is also kept to avoid ending with a doubled -l-l, as in tamal-li and chil-li. Similarly, in Luiseño the usual Ls absolutive suffixes are -l and -t: -l when the stem ends with a vowel, such that intervocalic -t- > -l-, as in \*V-ta > V-la > V-l; and Luiseño -t when the stem ends with an underlying consonant no longer obvious, such that the cluster VC-ta causes t to remain t: \*-Cta > -ta > -t. A few examples of each: no final C in stem to absolutive -l:

Ls *ṣuṇáá-l* ‘woman, wife’ < Hebrew *šipḥaa* ‘maid’;

Ls *kaváá’a-l* ‘clay pot’ < Aramaic *kuubaa* ‘cup’ (echo vowel eliminated the otherwise final -C)

final C in stem to absolutive -t:

Ls *wixé-t* ‘canoe’ < UA \*wokoC-t < Hebrew *’egooz* ‘nut tree’;

Ls *yuṇáávay-wu-t* ‘condor’ < Semitic *ṣuqaab-wr* ‘eagle-big’

However, less frequent than those two, but frequent enough is the Luiseño suffix -la. Uto-Aztecanists can see that, synchronically, a final nasal encourages the retention of the vowel on the absolutive suffix (...N-la), as the Ls phonology does not end a word with a two-consonant cluster. For example, the first group of 8 Ls terms end in a nasal consonant (n or ŋ), thus the -la form of the absolutive suffix: N-la rather than N-l. The 4 items in group 2 take the -la suffix also, as they also end with consonants, even if weak consonants. The 3 words in group 3 end with glides (y or w), yet glides are quite vowel-like (y ≈ i, and w ≈ u/o), so in synchronic terms the need for -la is somewhat opaque, though intense glides are indeed consonants. So the first 3 groups are synchronically understandable, resulting from mechanisms to avoid word-final consonant clusters. However, group 4 stems end with long vowels, but no apparent final consonants whatever, yet strangely add -la. Yet the underlying Semitic and Egyptian consonants of gutturals and liquids create a nearly 3-consonant cluster with -la. The liquid encourages the absolutive liquid, as in Nahuatl, and the formidable 2 or 3-consonant clusters clarify the need for the final vowel, because those terms underlyingly end in consonant clusters like -ḥr-, -lʕ-, -ḥr-, -l-, -’r-ta, which all reduce to VV-la. In these Ls apparent vowel-final stems, the need for -la is baffling, until the Semitic and Egyptian sources of these words clarify what underlies VV-la. In other words, when an underlying cluster of guttural + liquid would develop, then -la keeps its original final vowel (CL-ta > CL-ta > VV-la), though the cluster is not synchronically apparent at all. Group 5 has other clusters that may not include a liquid on the stem, but which also reduce a 2- or 3-consonant cluster to one light C: ...CC-la > -la. Stress patterns may also be helpful for preserving the vowel of -la in that when the 1<sup>st</sup> syllable is stressed, the 2<sup>nd</sup> unstressed syllable tends to collapse, which encourages the 3<sup>rd</sup> syllable to be stressed, which may be the suffixed -la, lending it some stress, and thus preserving the final vowel of -la, normally lost in other forms. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> stress would help 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel to disappear and the 2<sup>nd</sup> and perhaps 3<sup>rd</sup> consonants to cluster, creating a 2- or 3-consonant cluster with -la. Most interesting is Ls *tóo-ta* ‘stone, rock’, explained at the end.

### Luiseño -la suffix

Group 1 (...N-la, nasal consonant before -la):

Ls *ṣún-la* ‘heart, sad, suffer’ < Egyptian *swn* ‘suffer’ (218)

Ls *’éṇ-la* ‘salt’ < Egyptian *ḥm’t* ‘salt’ (280)

Ls *kún-la* ‘sack’ < Egyptian *gwn* ‘sack’ (330)

Ls *qiqeṇ-la* ‘ring snake’ < Egyptian *qrḥt* ‘snake’ (332)

Ls *tón-la* < \**tīmīna* ‘antelope’ < Aramaic *rə’emaan-aa* / *reemaan-aa* ‘antelope-the’ (604)

Ls *huṇ-la* ‘the wind’ < Semitic *ḥwg* ‘atmosphere’ (912)

Ls *ṣááṣaṇ-la* ‘yellowjacket’ < Hebrew *širṣa(t)* ‘hornets’ (737)

Ls *túṇ-la* < \**tī(N)wa* ‘name’ < Arabic *dṣw* / *dṣy* / *daṣwa* / *daṣaa* ‘call, name’ (1059)

Group 2 (...š/'-la, non-nasal consonant before -la)

Ls púš-la 'eye' < Semitic \*boošer 'eye' (532)

Ls lá'-la 'goose'; Ca la'la' 'goose' < Arabic laqlaq 'stork, n' (704)

Ls šú'-la 'star' < Egyptian sb' 'star' (154)

Ls qəš-la 'seashell' < Semitic qeš-aa 'measure, coin, jewel, ancient money' (1248)

Group 3 (...y/w-la, a glide/approximant before -la)

Ls súy-la 'scorpion' < Egyptian d'rt 'scorpion' (479)

Ls yúy-la 'spruce tree' < Hebrew yáfar 'wood, forest, thicket, wooded heights with trees to be felled' (92)

Ls qáw-la 'woodrat' < Egyptian q'r 'pocket, bundle' (UA \*qawa) (328)

Group 4 (...VV-la, only vowels are apparent before -la, but guttural-liquid clusters underlie a need for -la)

Ls púú-la 'shaman' < Egyptian p<sub>hr</sub>-ta, Egyptian p<sub>hr</sub> 'stir, make medicine' (...hr-ta > VV-la) (290)

Ls túú-la 'charcoal' < Hebrew toolešaa (...lš-ta > VV-la) (710)

Ls páá-la 'water' < ba<sub>hr</sub> 'water' (...hr-ta > VV-la) (1165)

Ls 'iyáá-la 'poison oak' < Hebrew 'ayil 'tree, oak' (...l-ta > VV-la) (599)

Ls wááwa-la 'mud wasp'; Cp wá'walim 'yellowjacket' < Aramaic šršyt' / šuršyt' 'wasp' (1044)

Ls yúú-la, -yu' (poss'd) 'head, hair' < Egyptian i'rt 'hair (of hide)' (...r-ta > VV-la) (389)

Ls méé-la 'head of cattail rush' < UA \*mo'o 'head' < Arabic/Semitic muxx- 'brain' (xx-ta > VV-la) (1078)

Ls húú-la 'arrow' < Hebrew ḥeš / ḥeši 'arrow'; Arabic ḥazwat / ḥuzwat 'arrow' (...š-ta > VV-la) (78)

Ls kúúkunta-la 'bumblebee' < Aramaic dabboortaa' 'bee, wasp' (> tikwuNta' > kuuNta') (1603)

Another cause of Ls -la is when multiple consonants were reduced, and though not visible at the end of the stem, they underlyingly exist(ed) such that the cluster's effect at the stem's end triggers -la, vowel retained:

Group 5 (...CC-la, underlying consonant clusters before -la more complex than the single consonant seen)

Ls náq-la 'ear' < Semitic na-qšab 'what perks up to listen' (...qšb-ta > q-la) (1070)

Ls móy-la 'moon' < Semitic manzal 'star, heavenly body' (...nzl-la > y-la) (1077)

Ls téé'-la 'belly' < Egyptian r'-ib 'stomach' (...V'b-ta > V'-la) (337)

Ls 'éx-la 'earth, land, dirt' < Syriac ḥaql-aa 'field-the, open country-the' (...ql-la) (1275)

Ls 'áy-la 'abalone' / Ls páá'i-la 'turtle' < Arabic qarš- 'gourd'; Syriac qara'- 'gourd' (...rš-la) (988, 989)  
(vs. Ls páá'aya-t 'turtles shell rattle' < qrš 'gourd, rattle')

Ls tóó-ta 'stone, rock' takes the rare absolutive suffix -ta (original PUA \*-ta), and at 603 we see that this is the Ls reflex of UA \*tīmī-(ta) 'rock', of which every branch of UA has cognates, the UA proto-form being best reflected by Sr and Ktn \*tīmī-t (< Aramaic riimaa / riimat 'large stone'). The underlying UA form must include the final -t and then the -ta added, because Sr, Ktn, and Ls all act as if a geminated \*-tt- was at the morpheme boundary: rimat-ta > tīmīt-ta > \*tīmt-ta > \*tīi-tta > Ls tóó-ta (Ls o < UA \*ī).

Ls tóó-ta 'stone, rock' < Aramaic ryam / rim(a)-taa plus perhaps another synchronic -ta (603)

## 6.6 Six, Uto-Aztecan \*-w- > Luiseño -ŋ- vs. Uto-Aztecan \*-w- > Luiseño -w-

Sapir (1915) noticed one instance of UA \*-w- > Ls -ŋ-, that is, UA \*siwa 'woman, girl' > Ls šuŋáá-l. Munro (1973) listed a few more in a 1973 IJAL article, such as Ls túŋ-la 'name' (< UA \*tīwa 'name'), qiqéŋ-la 'ring snake' (< UA \*koNwa 'snake'), and Ls hiŋéé-ma-l 'boy'. Munro also notes that this only occurs medially, not initially. She also knows that even medially, most UA medial \*-w- remain Ls -w- (148, 150, 159, 165, 229, 251, 332, 328, 488, 570, 600, 835, 1031, 1044, 1163, 1523). Even in cases of Ls -ŋ- (757, 1059, 332, 1237, 411, 412, 413, 270), Ls is sometimes not alone in having \*-ŋ-, as some sets (757, 1059, 332) show other NUA languages also having -ŋ- like Ls. In 1059, Hopi -ŋw- and Tb -ŋw- have some nasalization like Ls túŋ-la, while the other Takic languages and the rest of UA all have -w- in \*tīwa 'name'. So what underlies the differences? As stated several times previously, any one of four Semitic phonemes—w, š, ḥ, or '—can yield UA \*w when initial or intervocalic. However, when one of those is the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant in a consonant cluster, the result is usually -ŋ- in Ls, and depending on the components of the cluster, sometimes -ŋ- in other NUA languages as well.

One of those four rounding phonemes as 2<sup>nd</sup> segment of a cluster yields -ŋ-: \*-CW- > -ŋ- (W = w, ʕ, ɸ, or ' )  
**(757)** Hebrew šiphāa 'maid, maid-servant' > Tak \*suŋa 'man's daughter, wife': Cp ŋuŋama 'man's daughter'; Ca sūŋama 'man's daughter'; Ls ŋuŋáa-l 'woman, wife'; Tŋ ásoŋ 'wife'; Sr ŋuŋ 'man's dau'; Ktn huŋ 'descendant' and Ktn nīmihuŋ 'wife'. All Takic languages do as Ls in their reflexes.

**(1059)** Arabic dʕw / daʕaa 'to call, name' > UA \*ti(N)wa / \*tīnwa (AMR) 'name': Hp tīŋwa 'name, refer to, vt'; Tb 'indīŋwa-l 'name'; Cp téw'a 'name (n. poss'd)'; Ca téwa-l; Ls túŋ-la; Sr tīwan(č) 'name, n'; Ktn tīw; TO čīŋ; Eu tewát; Tbr temwa-ra; Yq tea; My tééwam; and \*tīwa in most other SUA languages. Semitic has an underlying \*-ʕw-, convenient for Hp -ŋw-, Tb -ŋw-, and Ls -ŋ-. Though perfective daʕaa seldom reflects underlying -w- in Semitic verbs, UA reflects such consonants or reflects the verbal noun daʕwa.

**(681)** As in dʕw / daʕ(w)a above, ʕw does the same in Hp as l > N often in NUA, and the pharyngeal helps \*-lw- > -ŋw-: Semitic \*ʕalaa / \*ʕal(w)a 'ascend, go up, grow' > UA \*wīla 'grow', but Hp wīŋwa 'grow up'.

**(332)** \*-rɸ- > UA \*-Nw- > -ŋ- in Takic, -ŋw- in one Azt dialect, -w- in 20 other UA languages:

Egyptian qṛḥt 'serpent'; Egyptian qṛḥ 'friend, partner' > Aztecan \*koŋwa 'snake, twin' or UA \*koNwa 'snake' reflects the cluster -rɸ- (of \*qVrɸat), as well as the feminine ending -at > -a. Cp qeqiŋi-ly 'king snake' and Ls qiqeŋ-la 'ring snake' < Tak \*koŋo have Tak -ŋ- from the -rɸ- cluster (liquid-pharyngeal cluster), very natural. UA \*kowa is often reconstructed, yet Kaufman (1981) \*konwa and Joe Campbell (1976) \*koŋwa, predate me in suggesting a nasal \*koNwa. CN kooaa-tl 'snake, twin' has an odd pair of meanings, yet their Egyptian source-form also has both 'snake' and 'partner':

**(1237)** As \*-pɸ- > -ŋ- in 'daughter', so also \*-p- > -ŋ- in Tak (Cp, Ca, Ls), > -w- in Tb: Semitic \*roop'-aa 'healer' > UA \*toŋa 'cure, administer to': Cp tījele; Ca tīŋ'ay 'cure, doctor s.o.'; Ls téŋal 'to cure, doctor with herbs'; Ls téŋala-š 'medicine'; Ls téŋalka-t 'herb doctor'. Note Tb dzowaa-l 'shaman'.

In the next three, two consecutive pharyngeals (ɸ and ʕ) seem to strengthen the 2<sup>nd</sup> enough to become -ŋ-:

**(412)** Egyptian ḥʕi 'be glad, happy, rejoice'; Egyptian ḥʕwt 'joy, rejoicing'; Egyptian ḥʕʕw 'be happy' > Ls heŋča-wu-t 'cheerful, contented'. Ls e < UA \*o, so UA \*howV reflects the two pharyngeals well.

**(413)** Egyptian ḥʕ 'child, boy' > Ls hiŋé'-ma-l / hiŋéé'-ma-l 'boy'. UA \*howo' / honjo' > Ls heŋé'-, then unstressed Ls e > i, and Ls even shows the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant glottal stop in the one variant, besides the first two consonants matching in these three sets (411-413): Egyptian ḥʕ > UA \*how > Ls heŋ.

**(411)** \*-ʕw- > UA \*-ŋ- > NUA -ŋ-, SUA -n-: Egyptian ḥʕ / ḥʕw 'body' > UA \*hoŋa 'body'; Tepiman n corresponds to NUA ŋ, so UA \*hoŋa 'body' > TO hon 'body'; Nv hona 'body'; PYp hona 'body'. Regardless whatever else may occur in these three (411-413), note that ḥʕ would correspond to UA \*how and to Ls heŋ-, and that the three quite different meanings associated with Egyptian are 'happy' and 'boy' and 'body', all have the expected reflexes in UA/Ls and have the same three meanings in UA as well.

A cluster of a nasal plus pharyngeal/laryngeal in either order strongly tends toward -ŋ- in NUA, as we also see in the four instances of the cluster \*-m'- > NUA -ŋ- > SUA -n- (salt, lung, husband, left) and in which some Numic languages actually show -m- also, while Ls, with the rest of Tak and Hp and Tb have -ŋ-.

(1246) \*-m'- > -ŋ-: Old Canaanite hassim'al 'the-left' > Tb aašīŋan 'left side'

(280) \*-m'- > -ŋ-: Eg ḥm' / ḥm't 'salt' > UA \*omwa > \*oŋa 'salt'; SUA ona

(281) \*-m'- > -ŋ-: Eg sm' 'lung' > UA \*somwo > \*soŋo 'lung'

(284) \*-m'- > -ŋ-: Eg qm' 'create, beget' > UA \*kumwa > \*kuŋa 'husband'; SUA kuna

(940) \*-mʕ- > -ŋ-: -mʕak 'squeeze, crush, rub' > UA \*ŋaka/i 'grind, scrape, rub against'

Thus, the pharyngeal-plus-nasal cluster (\*-ɸn-) in 462 behaves similarly:

**(462)** Egyptian ṭḥn 'shine, gleam, sparkle' > UA \*toŋo / \*toŋa 'shine (of sun), be hot, heat (of) sun/day':

Sr tööŋava' '(in the) summer'; Cp tīŋe 'be hot' (Cp i < UA \*o); Ca tīŋma 'warm'; Hp tööŋi 'heat, hot weather, heat of the day'; Ls itéŋvu 'hot spring'; Ktn toŋava' 'August, summer'; TO toni 'be hot'; NT tonóli 'sunshine'; Wr tonó/toni 'boil'; Eu tonó 'be hot, boil'; CN toonal-li 'warmth of sun, summertime, day'; etc.

**(270)** Egyptian dbḥ 'ask for, beg' > Mn tīpiwī / tībiyu; NP tībiŋa; TSh tīpiŋa; Sh tītīpiah; Sh tībiŋa 'ask for'; Kw tīvina; Ch tīviŋi; SP tīvi / tīvi-ŋu 'to ask'; CU tīviyuy; Hp tīviŋ-ta 'ask (for), inquire of'; Ls tūvyuŋi 'ask a question'; Cp tūvyuŋ 'ask'. This set is a bit puzzling in that a non-clustered \*-ɸ- > -ŋ-; it may have an additional morpheme, as shown in SP, but all the other languages have a nasal without showing such a morpheme break. Note the alignment of SNum or CU tīviyu-y and Tak tūvyuŋi.

Instances of UA \*-w- remaining Ls -w- apparent in this tie are mostly from Egyptian or Semitic solitary or intervocalic -w- or -ʿ-, and not from clusters with laryngeals as are the sources of Ls -ŋ-:

(165) Egyptian rwi ‘dance, v’ > UA \*tawiya / \*tuwiya > \*tuya ‘dance’; redupl \*tu(w/v)tui: AYq tatawiilo ‘turn around, vi’; Sr tuhtu ‘dance, vi’; Ktn tuhtu ‘dance, vi’; Ktn tuhtuic ‘dance, n’; Ktn tuhtuhyit ‘dancer, n’; Ls tóótuwi-š ‘guardian spirit, person who performs a certain dance, the tatahuila’.

(229) Egyptian mw ‘water’; Egyptian mwy ‘watery’ (Coptic mu) > UA \*muwa/i ‘wet’: Hp mowa-ti ‘be wet, moist’; Ls páá-muwi-š ‘wet’.

(322) Egyptian q’yt ‘high-lying land, hill’ from Egyptian q’i ‘be high’ > UA \*qawi ‘mountain, rock’: Cp kawí-š ‘rock’; Ca qáwi-š ‘rock’; Ls qawíi-ča ‘mountain, hill’; Tŋ xay ‘sierra’; Sr qaiič; Ktn kay-c; and \*kawi in many SUA languages.

(600) Hebrew ro’e ‘seer’; Hebrew r’y / raa’aa ‘see, v’ > UA \*tīwa ‘find, see’: Hp tīwa ‘find, perceive’; Tb tīwat~īītīw; Cp tewa ‘see’; Ca téew ‘find, discover’; Ls tów ‘see, look at’; Ls tóówi ‘see by second sight, be clairvoyant’; TO cīig(id); PYp teega ‘find, see’; Eu téwa; Wr tewa; Tr fēwa / tewa; My téwwa; Yq tea.

(148) Egyptian t’yt ‘shroud’ > Ls tawaayi-š ‘cape-like garment of twisted strips of rabbitskin formerly, but now any kind of cape’ (Elliott); UA \*tawayi, redupl UA \*tatawayi > \*talawayi ‘wrap around’: Eu hitárove / hitárawe ‘put on, get dressed’; Tb talaawiš(-it)~atalaauš ‘go around’; Tb talaaw~atalaauš ‘he encircles it’.

(150) Egyptian t’ ‘earth, land, ground, country’ (Coptic to) > UA \*tīwa ‘sand, dust’: Hp tīwa ‘sand’; Hp compounds suggest an originally larger semantic range to include ‘dust, earth’: Hp tīwa-qal- ‘(at) the edge of the land, seashore, horizon’ (qal ‘edge’); Hp tīwa-nasave ‘the center of the earth’; Hp tīwaŋw-ti ‘decompose, turn to dust, become part of the earth’; Tb tīwi-t ‘dust’; Cp tīw- ‘dust’; Cp tewwaŋa ‘where dust was’; Ls toowu-t ‘dust in the air’ (Ls o < \*ī); Sr tiüva-ŧ ‘earth, ground, land, world, country, floor, dirt, dust’.

(1031) Semitic-p qn’ ‘be jealous’, impfv: -qna’ > UA \*nawa ‘jealous’: Cp náwe ‘be jealous of, vt’; Ca nawaan ‘be jealous, vi’; Ls nááwin ‘be jealous’.

(328) Egyptian q’r ‘bundle, pocket’; the similarity of UA \*kawaC ‘pocket, bag’ and UA \*kawaC ‘packrat’, and both semantically derivable from q’r ‘pocket, bag’ may point to q’r > \*kawaC ‘packrat’ also: UA \*kawaC ‘rat, packrat’: Tb haawa-l ‘wood rats’; Sr qää-ŧ; Tŋ xar; Ktn ka-č; Ls qáw-la ‘woodrat’; Ca qáwa-l; Cp qáwe-l; Hp qaala ‘packrat’; NP kawa ‘packrat’; Mn qawa; TSh kawan; Sh kaan; Sr and SNum lost intervocalic -w-: Kw kaa-ci ‘woodrat’; SP kaa-ci; CU kaac’a-ci ‘packrat, gopher’.

A lone intervocalic pharyngeal -ŧ- usually remains its expected and usual -w-:

(488) Egyptian šŧt ‘kind of bread/cake’; Egyptian šŧyt ‘Schot biscuits or baked goods’ > UA \*sawa ‘make tortillas or bread’ and \*sawīC-ta ‘bread’: Ca sáw ‘make tortillas’; Ca sáwi-š ‘tortilla’; Cp šáwi-š ‘bread, acorn bread’; Sr šaawt ‘bread, acorn bread’; Ls šáwa/i ‘singe, get singed’; Ls šááwa-kaa ‘cook tortillas’.

(1044) Aramaic ŧŧyt / ŧŧyt’ ‘wasp’; Aramaic šaaraašii-taa ‘wasp-the, n.f.’ > UA \*wa’wa ‘wasp’: Ls wááwa-la ‘mud wasp’; Cp wá’walim ‘yellowjacket’; Tb weweheyyu-l ‘yellowjacket’. In this instance, we see from Aramaic šaaraašii-taa that UA \*wa’wa results from a later cluster after the 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel syncopated, not from an original cluster (as in 332 above): šaaraašii- > warawV > warwa > wa’wa. Note Tb -y- (< \*-y-). And the stem-end -y in Semitic would be the consonant causing the preservation of the vowel in Ls -la.

(251) Egyptian sŧ’y ‘tremble, v’ > UA \*sawī(ya) ‘fear, v’: CN iisawīaa ‘be overawed, vrefl, frighten, outrage s.o., vt’; Eu sevíce ‘be afraid’ (\*w > v); Ls šuwó ‘be afraid of’ (if \*sawī > suwī > Ls suwo). The difference between 251 and 413 is the double pharyngealization in 413 (see above) vs. a single pharyngeal in 251.

1522 does not have a pharyngeal or laryngeal, and may not even tie to Hp and Tb, thus -w- in all of Takic.

(1522) ham-madwe ‘the-menstrual blood’ > \*hiNtwa > \*i(N)kwa > Hp iŋwa ‘blood’; Tb ikwa-l (\*tw > kw, AMR 1991, 1993a); loss of -k- in Tak \*iwi: Munro.Cup17 \*’æwi-la ‘blood’: Ls ’ów-la; Cp ’æwə-l; Ca ’éwi-ly.

The one instance of glottal stop-plus-w remained as such (\*-’w- > -’w-):

(159) Egyptian ŧ’w / ŧ’y ‘take up, seize, steal, collect, gather/bring together’ (> Coptic jiwe) >

UA \*tī’wi / \*tu’wi ‘gather seeds, harvest’: Ls tó’wi ‘gather (as seeds), harvest’; Numic tu’u ‘take (pl obj’s).

(835) Sem-p \*ya’hez / \*ya’hez ‘grasp, take’ > SP yaŋwi ‘carry’; CU yáa’way ‘carry, take by hand’; Cp yáwe ‘bring, carry’; Ca yáw ‘to catch, touch, have, hold, take care of’; Ls yááw ‘have, hold, take’; Sr yaa’ ‘take, carry’; Sr yaa(i) ‘take, seize, catch’. Given UA -ŋw- / -’w- / -w-, this does belong, but merits thought.

**835** (-'x-) and **159** (-'w-) contain clusters in which I would not have been surprised to see Ls -ŋ-, but what they have in common is glottal stop as 1<sup>st</sup> consonant, and neither 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> is a pharyngeal, though the glottal+uvular cluster in 835 \*-x- comes close, and we do see -ŋw- in SP and -'w- in CU.

With 40 or more medial occurrences of UA \*-w- in Ls, sometimes \*-w- > Ls -w- and sometimes \*-w- > -ŋ-, the great majority conform to the above explanations. Three or four possible exceptions may not be exceptions, as some such clusters occur only once, lacking enough examples for certainty. Thus, 90% or more are consistent with the proposed underlying Semitic or Egyptian data. In addition, the Semitic-Egyptian origins seem to clarify all six former phonological puzzles to a remarkable extent, about 90-95%.

## 7 Other Comparative Matters, Consistencies, and Patterns

### 7.1 Vowel Correspondences

Proto-Semitic and Egyptian vowels were originally only three \*a, \*i, \*u, and a long vowel of each. Arabic still has only those, but Masoretic Hebrew and the Aramaic dialects developed more. The Proto-Uto-Aztec vowels and their reflexes in the various UA languages are presented on page 43 and are discussed on pages 54-59. The PUA vowel correspondences to Semitic enjoy a consistency as good as exists among UA vowels themselves; most abide consistent patterns but include instances of not yet explained variance. I say “not yet explained” because as linguists know, sometimes subsets of exceptions are later explained by a newly discovered principle or environmental cause. Untangling the history or prehistory of stress patterns and changing stress patterns from the two Semitic infusions to the contemporary UA languages may be the most significant contribution toward clarifying UA vowels, though it may also be the most difficult, and perhaps not entirely possible. The PUA vowels (\*a, \*e/i, \*i, \*o, \*u) align with Semitic vowels in the following ways:

**Semitic mid-vowels (e, ə, o) generally rise to UA high vowels i, ĩ, u** (Hebrew participle oo-e > UA u-i):

- (754) Hebrew poone ‘turn, look’ > UA \*puni ‘look, turn’
- (532) Arabic baāšir ‘eye’; unattested Hebrew/Phoenician cognate \*boōšer ‘eye’ > UA \*pusi ‘eye’
- (1318) Hebrew ygr / yaagor- ‘be afraid’, unattested participle \*yooger > Ca yuki ‘get scared, be afraid’
- Other forms similarly show raised vowels:
- (832) Hebrew \*sarṭoon ‘scratcher, crab’ > \*saCtun ‘claw, nail, crab’
- (52) Hebrew mukke ‘smitten’ > UA mukki ‘die, sick, smitten’
- (564) Hebrew śapoot ‘lips’, s<sup>o</sup>pootee<sup>v</sup> ‘lips of’ > UA \*puti ‘lip’
- (607) Hebrew dober ‘pasture, vegetation’ > UA \*tupi ‘grass, vegetation’
- (1384) Aramaic -be ‘with it, in it, by means of it’ > Hp -pi ‘instrumental’ and other UA languages
- (796) Hebrew to’kal > \*tukkaC > tĭkkaC ‘eat’;
- (832) Semitic sarṭoon ‘scratcher, crab’ > UA \*saCtun ‘claw, crab’
- (57) Arabic singaab = expected Hebrew \*siggoob ‘squirrel’ > UA \*sikkuC ‘squirrel’
- (583) Hebrew ’epod ‘ephod, shoulder cape or mantle’ > UA \*wipura ‘belt’
- (755) Hebrew kutónet ‘shirt-like tunic’ > UA \*kutuni ‘shirt’
- (710) toolaaf ‘worm, scarlet stuff’ > UA \*tulo ‘embers, coals, dark, black’ (2<sup>nd</sup> V rounded by pharyngeal)
- (30) Hebrew šippoor ‘bird, small bird’ > UA \*cipuri ‘bird’

Likewise, imperfective stems Hebrew -CCoC / Arabic -CCuCu > UA -CuC with loss of 1<sup>st</sup> C of the cluster.

- (718) Hebrew npl, impfv stem -ppol (< \*-npul) ‘fall, be born’ > UA \*puli ‘to fall, give birth’
- (1094) Hebrew ktš, impfv -ktoš (< \*ktusu) ‘pound, grind’ > UA \*tusu ‘grind’ with loss of 1<sup>st</sup> C in a cluster
- (1064) Semitic lxš, impfv \*-lxoš (< \*-lxusu) ‘whisper, mutter’ > UA \*kusu ‘make its sound (of animal)’

**Semitic low-central vowel A** usually remains (a) in stressed syllables:

- (571-p) Semitic ya’ya’/yaa’ayaa’ ‘beautiful’ > Ls yawáywa, Sr yĭ’aayĭ’a’n ‘beautiful’
- (616-p) Aramaic dakar > UA \*taka ‘man’
- (559-p) Aramaic bakaa / baka’ ‘cry’ > UA \*paka’ ‘cry, v’
- (892-p) Semitic šanawbar ‘type of pine tree’ > Sh sanawap-pin ‘pine tree’

(534-p) Hebrew batt ‘daughter’ > UA \*patti ‘daughter’  
 (567-p) Hebrew ya’amiin-o ‘he believes him/it’ > UA \*yawamin-(o) ‘believe (him/it)’  
 (1055) Syriac ’aamaqqat-aa ‘lizard-the, n.f.’ > UA \*makkaCta(Nka)-ci ‘horned toad’  
 (1079) Aramaic naanaa ‘mother’ > UA \*nana ‘mother’  
 (1190) Aramaic ’aykaa ‘where’ > UA \*haka / \*hakka ‘where?’  
 (639-p) Semitic \*-psax ‘be lame, limp’ > CU sakī- ‘limp’; WMU sügü-y ‘limp, be lame’ (assimilated)  
 (991-kw) Hebrew ni-qra ‘he/it is called/named’ > \*nihya ‘call, name’ (Numic)  
 (954-kw) Semitic/Arabic baqiya ‘stay, be left behind’ > Hp kwayŋya- ‘behind’

**Final low vowel -aa of the suffixed article of Aramaic nouns** usually remains (a), appearing to have preserved the stress that it has in some Aramaic dialects:

(1276) Aramaic talg-aa ‘snow-the’ > UA/CNum \*takka ‘snow’  
 (617) Aramaic diqn-aa ‘beard / chin-the’ > UA \*ti’na ‘mouth’  
 (618) Aramaic di’b-aa ‘wolf-the’ > UA \*ti’pa ‘wolf’  
 (1130) Aramaic pagr-aa ‘carcass-the’ > UA piikya ‘hide, fur, carcass’  
 (1403) Syriac šigr-aa ‘drain, ditch, gutter-the’ > Hp sikya ‘small valley, ravine, canyon with sloped sides’  
 (604) Aramaic rə’emaan-aa ‘antelope-the’ > UA \*timina ‘antelope’  
 (967) Aramaic qušt-aa ‘bow-the’ > UA \*kuCta-pi ‘bow’  
 (1042) Semitic mar’(aa) ‘prince, princess’ > Ktn/Sr mayha; Hp maana ‘daughter’, SUA \*mara ‘child’  
 (1409) Aramaic kuuky-aa ‘spider-the’ > UA \*kuukya ‘spider’

Also at 2, 3, 4, 5, 16, 49, 50, and throughout, are many more *a* < \**a*.

**However, sometimes Semitic *a* rises to UA *ĩ* (schwa-like behavior):**

(581) Hebrew ’arš-aa ‘earth-ward, down’ > UA \*wici ‘fall’  
 (99) Hebrew rakb-uu ‘they mounted, climbed’ > UA \*ti’pu ‘climb up’  
 (1459) Hebrew yhb, haabaa > haavaa ‘come on, let’s, go to (cohortative) > SP ivi ‘go ahead! (hortatory adv)’  
 (1007) Semitic \*xdl (> Hebrew ħaadal) ‘cease, cease doing’; OSArabic xdl; Akkadian xadaalu ‘cease’  
 Arabic xadila ‘stiffen, become rigid’ > Hp hiri-ti ‘come to a stop, harden’; Hp hiri-la ‘be hesitating, pausing, stopping’. Note Hopi’s two very different meanings (stop, harden) both in Semitic (cease, stiffen/rigid).  
 See also 7, 24, etc.

**Semitic \**a* > UA *ĩ* especially in a less stressed first syllable when the second vowel is stressed.**

(1130) Aramaic pagr-aa ‘body/carcass-the’ > UA \*piikya ‘animal hide, carcass’  
 (1077) Semitic \*manzaal > UA \*mīcaC ‘moon’;  
 (1284) Aramaic dawaay-aa ‘grief-the’ > UA \*tiwoya ‘sick(ness)’  
 UA \**a* > *ĩ* when assimilating toward final -i (11, 54, Sr in 571, etc.)

**Many UA verbs \*CīCaC of Aramaic pftv CəCáC 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable stress (vs Hebrew/Phoenician CaaCaC):**

(681) Semitic ʕlw / ʕly / ʕalaa ‘ascend, go up, grow’ > UA \*wīla/i ‘grow’  
 (861-p) Hebrew qaaša’; Aramaic qəša’ ‘be hard, severe, harsh (of taste)’ > UA \*kīsa ‘sour, harm(ed), bad’  
 (683-p) Syriac ʕmṭ ‘become dark, cloud over, be obscure, concealed’ > UA \*(w)umaC / \*(w)īmaC ‘rain’  
 (782-p) Arabic ṭḥy / ṭaḥaa ‘to hurl, shoot’ > Wr cewa ‘to throw or hit with a missile’  
 (600-p) r’y / raa’aa ‘see’ > UA \*tiwa ‘find, see’

**In contrast to Aramaic-like Sem-p, Hebrew/Phoenician Sem-kw CaaCaC preserves 1<sup>st</sup> vowel as -a-:**

(935-kw) Hebrew glm / gaalam ‘wrap up, fold’ > UA \*ḡalam ‘tie, entangle(d)’  
 (946-kw) Hebrew qlṣ / \*qalaṣ ‘to sling, throw out (people from land)’ > UA \*ḡalaw ‘throw out’

**Semitic high front vowel *i*** usually remains *i*, unless assimilated to other nearby segments:

(757) Hebrew šiphaa ‘maid, maid-servant’ > UA \*siwa ‘female, sister, daughter’  
 (769) Semitic taqipa, pl: taqipuu ‘to overpower, be strong’ > UA \*takipa / \*takipu ‘push’  
 (810) Hebrew hikkiir ‘recognize, know, know how to’ > Tr iki- ‘know, be aware of’  
 (853) Aramaic ḥippuṣit-aa ‘beetle-the, n.f.’ > UA \*wippusi ‘stink beetle’  
 (1088) Aramaic ḥild-aa (< \*xild-aa) ‘mole, burrower’ > UA \*kita ‘groundhog’: Mn kidá’; NP kidí  
 (1246) NWSemitic \*has-sim’al ‘the left’ > UA aaṣiṇan ‘left’  
 (1293) Hebrew hiškiil, hiṣkal- ‘to understand, make wise’ > CN iskalia ‘be discreet, prudent’  
 (1403) Syriac šigr-aa ‘drain, ditch, gutter-the’ > Hp sikya ‘small valley, ravine, canyon with sloped sides’.

Many *i* > *ï* when assimilating toward following -a or other non-high V: \**i*-a > *ï*-a  
 (889-p) Aramaic rikb-aa ‘upper millstone-the’ > UA \**tïppa* ‘mortar (and/or) pestle’  
 (617-p) Aramaic diqn-aa ‘beard / chin-the’ > UA \**tï*’na ‘mouth’;  
 (618-p) Aramaic di’b-aa ‘wolf-the’ > UA \**tï*’pa ‘wolf’;  
 (1003) Semitic kirš / kariš ‘stomach, paunch, belly’ > UA \**kïca* ‘belly, waist’  
 (944-kw) Hebrew tiqqen ‘to make straight, straighten s.th.’ > Ktn tïjen ‘to straighten arrows’

**Hebrew mid back round vowel O** often remains o (but sometimes rises to u, see 7.1):

(531-p) Hebrew bw’ ‘come’, infinitive boo’ ‘coming, way’ > UA \**poo*’ ‘road, way’  
 (569-p) Semitic ’e(N)gooz ‘nut tree’ > UA \**wo(N)koC* ‘pine’  
 (724) Semitic parfoš ‘flea (jumper)’ from pršš ‘jump’ > UA \**par*’osi / \**paro*’osi ‘jackrabbit’  
 (630-p) Hebrew \**xole* ‘be sick, hurting’ > UA *koli*, Tak \**qoli* ‘be sick, hurt, vi’  
 (705) Semitic l’y / la’aa’, Hebrew prtcl: loo’e’y ‘grow weary / tired’ > UA \**lo*’i / \**loCi* ‘tired’

Many o are assimilations or lowerings of \**u*-a > o-a

(868) Aramaic t̄wr- / t̄uur-aa ‘rock, hill, mountain-the’ > UA \**toya* ‘mountain’  
 (931-kw) Hebrew gulla(t) ‘basin, bowl’; Arabic ġulla(t) ‘ball, bowl’ > UA \**ŋola* ‘hoop, ring, wheel’

**Semitic high back round vowel U** remains PUA \**u*:

(853) Aramaic ħippušit-aa ‘beetle-the, n.f.’ > UA \**wippusi* ‘stink beetle’  
 (52) Hebrew mukke > UA *mukki* ‘die, sick, smitten’  
 (871) Hebrew \**tu*’pal ‘become dark’ > UA \**cuppa* ‘fire go out, become dark’  
 (872) Hebrew \**yu*’pal ‘become dark, be gone down (sun)’ > UA \**yuppa* ‘fire go out, (get) dark, black’  
 (967) Aramaic qušt-aa ‘bow-the’ > UA \**kuCta-pi* ‘bow’  
 (1283) Aramaic ruumš-aa ‘evening-the’ > Sr rumaaruma’n ‘be dark’; Sr ruma’-cï’q ‘be very dark’  
 (1138) Hebrew šor (< \*šurr) ‘navel, navel cord’; Arabic surr ‘navel cord’ > Sr šuur ‘navel’  
 (606) Arabic dubr/dubur ‘back(side), buttocks’ > UA \**tupur* ‘hip, buttocks’  
 (1409) Aramaic kuuky-aa ‘spider-the’ > UA \**kuukya* ‘spider’

Uto-Aztec initial \**hu* is often from pharyngeal ħ introduced in 78-85, and other examples such as:

(672) Arabic ħabaqa ‘pass air, break wind’ > Hopi hovaqtï ‘smell bad, stink’ (Hopi o < UA \**u*)  
 (675) Semitic ħnp ‘have turned in feet, be pigeon-toed’ (used in lizard/turtle words) > UA \**hunap*- ‘badger’

Also final or medial ħ > o/u, becoming round vowels, and other vowels round when adjacent to pharyngeals:

(1408) Syriac dinĥ-aa ‘sunrise, light, ascendant or predominant star’ > UA \**-cinuN-* in \**ta(C)tinuN-pi* ‘star’  
 (773) Semitic t̄ĥn ‘grind, pound’ > UA \**to*’na(C) ‘hit, pierce, stab’, UA \**co*’na / \**co*’ni ‘pound, hit’  
 (84) Hebrew impfv: yi-šmaĥ ‘sprout’ > UA \**icmo* ‘sprout’: CN *icmo-liini* ‘sprout, grow’.  
 (1308) Semitic nĥl, -nĥal ‘have/ take possession’, naĥ<sup>a</sup>lat ‘property’ > nol- of TO nolawt ‘buy’  
 (188) Egyptian nĥbt ‘neck, back of neck’ > UA \**nohopi* / \**nopi* ‘hand, arm’  
 (1421) Arabic saĥr- / suĥr-, masaaḥir ‘lungs’ > SP *soo-vi* ‘lungs’; Tb *mosooha-t* ‘lungs’

**UA *ï/e*** does not exist in Proto-Semitic or Arabic; Hebrew *e* is from various sources: \**-ay-* or \**i* (> *e*).

(943-kw) Syriac qanqen (< \**qanqin*) ‘to chant, sing’ > UA \**ŋaŋi* ‘to cry’  
 (528-p) Semitic bayit / bayt / beet ‘house’ > Tr *bete* ‘house’  
 (1316) Hebrew yayin / yajn / yeen ‘wine’ > Wr *yena* ‘strong (of liquor)’  
 (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’  
 (1324) Hebrew henea ‘hither, toward here’ > Wr *ena* ‘come’; Tr *enai* / *ena* ‘here’  
 (1325) Hebrew hinné ‘behold!’; Arabic ’inna ‘particle of emphasis’ > UA \**ne* ‘look! adverb of emphasis’

Likewise, the masculine plural construct -eey is originally from -iyy, and UA shows -i also:

(823-p) Hebrew ba-yyamee’y (< \**ba-yyamii*) ‘in the year of’ > \**payami* > UA \**pami* ‘year’:  
 (852) Hebrew pl: \**paniim*, pl construct *panee’y-* ‘face, surface of’ > CN *pani* ‘on top, on surface’

**An unstressed 1<sup>st</sup> vowel** often assimilates to a longer or stressed 2<sup>nd</sup> vowel:

- (569-p) Semitic 'e(N)gooz 'nut tree' > UA \*wo(N)koC 'pine'  
(535-p) Aramaic baquraa / baqura-t-aa 'livestock' > UA \*pukku(C) 'domestic animal'  
(864-p) Arabic/Hebrew quappa(t) 'basket'; Hebrew pl \*quuppoot > UA \*koppot 'basket'  
(934) Hebrew glm 'wrap up, fold together', verbal noun: gəloom 'wrapping, garment' > UA \*koloom 'cover'  
For other examples, see also 966, 1041, 1415.

**Vowels often assimilate toward or anticipate the point of articulation of the following consonant:**

- (527-p) Semitic baraq 'lightning' > UA \*pīrok / My berok- 'lightning'; the 1<sup>st</sup> a > i/e, raised and fronted toward alveolar -r-; the 2<sup>nd</sup> a > o, anticipating back uvular -q  
(726) Hebrew paraq 'drag away, tear away' > Numic \*piyok 'pull, drag'  
(19, 20-kw) Semitic brr / barr(a) 'land, choose' > UA \*kwiya 'earth, choose/take';  
(64-kw) Semitic krr 'circle, dance' > UA \*kiya 'have a round dance';  
(65-kw) Semitic mrr 'go' > UA \*miya 'go';  
(5-kw) Hebrew báásaar 'flesh, penis' > UA \*kwasi 'tail, penis, flesh'.

**Or assimilate to either adjacent consonant:**

- (1284) dwy 'be sick, miserable'; Aramaic dəwaay-aa 'grief-the' > UA \*tīwoya 'sick(ness)'

As in 527 and 726 above, Semitic-p uvular q seems to have a strong rounding influence causing V > u:

- (738-p) Hebrew qayis / qeys 'summer' > UA \*kuwis 'summer'  
(961-p) Hebrew dəqel 'date-tree, palm'; Arabic daqal 'kind of palm tree' > UA \*taku 'palm tree'  
(963-p) Hebrew qaasir 'branch(es)' > UA \*kusi 'wood'

In Masoretic Hebrew phonology, "guttural" consonants (ʕ, ħ, ʔ, r) share behaviors unique to themselves; they cannot be doubled/geminated, must take helping vowels in original clusters, and often lower adjacent vowels in certain environments. In Hopi, two of those original "guttural" consonants being in the same word seem to trigger Hopi ö, originally Hopi's lowest round vowel, corresponding to PUA \*o:

- (695) Hebrew lqĥ / laaqĥ 'take, grasp, take as wife' > Hopi lööqö(-k-) 'to marry' (q and ĥ)  
(663) Hebrew ĥerpaa 'shame, mutilation, reproach, deficiency' > Hp ööpī 'sickly one, invalid, one with disabling sickness' (ĥ and r) (Also note Hopi -p- < \*-Cp-, i.e., from a cluster, or \*-rp- here.)  
(686) Hebrew ʕerwaa 'nakedness, genital area' > Hp löwa 'vulva, vagina' (ʕ and r)  
(280) Egyptian ĥVm'at 'salt' > PUA \*homwa 'salt' > Hopi öŋa 'salt' (ĥ and ʔ)

Anticipating Semitic-kw -l (but not Semitic-p -l) causes a vowel to rise and maybe front: V > i or ī

- (797-kw) Hebrew 'kl, imfv: yo'kal 'eat, enjoy love' > UA \*yī'iki / \*yīki 'swallow, taste, finish'  
(798-kw) Hebrew 'aakal '(he) ate (pfv) > UA \*'aki 'open mouth, eat'  
(1321-kw) Hebrew ĥargol 'locust'; Arabic \*ĥargal / \*ĥurgul 'locust' > Tr urugi-pari 'grasshopper'

The rather universal **centralization of vowels** or schwa-like behavior in unaccented syllables that occurs in many languages worldwide happens in UA also, though both *i* and *i* serve UA as central unstressed schwa.

- (550-p) Biblical Aramaic bəśár 'flesh' > UA \*pisa 'penis'

See other examples in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> groups under 7.2

Short initial unstressed vowels often disappear:

- (1416) Arabic idaa / idan 'then, therefore, if, when, whenever' > Tb tan / tanni 'if'.  
(591) Hebrew 'adaamaa / 'adaamaa 'earth' > UA \*tīma 'earth'  
(592) Hebrew 'abnet, pl: 'abnet-iim 'sash, girdle' > UA \*natti 'belt'  
(1055) Syriac 'aamaqqət-aa 'lizard-the, n.f.' > UA \*makkaCta(Nka)-ci 'horned toad'  
(729) Aramaic 'eebaar-aa / 'eebr-aa 'limb, arm, wing' > UA \*pīra 'arm, right arm'

Or the whole first syllable may be lost when unstressed:

- (593) Akkadian qardammu 'enemy, opponent' > UA \*tīmmu 'opponent'  
(564) Hebrew saapaa(t) 'lip', pl: sapoot 'lips', s'pootee' 'lips of' > UA \*puti 'lip'  
(948-kw) Hebrew ʕiqqaar 'root'; Syriac ʕeqaar 'root, remedy' > UA \*ŋa- in UA \*ŋa-kaw 'root'  
(1054) Aramaic raqĥubit-aa 'decayed-matter, moth-eaten, moth-the' > UA \*(V)kupīpika 'butterfly'



(597-kw) Arabic 'arnab 'hare, rabbit', Hebrew f. pl: \*<sup>a</sup>rnaboot > UA \*taput 'cottontail rabbit'  
 (1325) Hebrew hinné 'behold!'; Arabic 'inna 'particle of emphasis' > UA \*ne 'look! adverb of emphasis'

## 7.2 Medial Consonant Cluster Results in Uto-Aztecan

Medial consonant clusters in UA have been obscure enough that UA specialists have scarcely dealt with them until relatively recently. Alexis Manaster Ramer (1993b, 1997, etc) broke new ground in discovering a few clusters that underlay what were formerly thought single medial consonants. The fact that the medial consonant correspondences were not nearly as consistent as the initial correspondences was a strong hint that more former clusters probably did underlie that medial variety than previously suspected (addressed p. 47); nevertheless, other than Manaster-Ramer's pioneering start, little has been accomplished in clarifying unobvious clusters, perhaps because most could hardly be extracted from the UA data alone. All that were apparent were so many arrays of inconsistent medial correspondences among so many cognate sets. This Near-East consideration for a portion of UA's origins seems to shed light on many previously puzzling aspects of UA—consonant clusters being one such area where such a key is beginning to clarify much. Yet further analyses are also needed to answer some unanswered questions.

### Some clusters remain basically as are:

\*-ky- > -ky-: kuuky-aa 'spider-the' > UA \*kuukya / \*kukkaC 'spider' (1409-p)  
 \*-'y- > -'y-: Eg x'yt 'slaughter, carnage' > UA \*ko'ya 'fight, kill pl objects' (178-9)  
 \*-'w- > \*-'w-: Eg t'w 'take up, collect, bring together' (Coptic jiwe) > UA \*fi'wi / \*tu'wi 'gather seeds, harvest' (159)  
 \*-'w- > \*-w-: Eg t'w 'man, male' > UA \*tawa / \*tawi 'man, male' (205)  
 \*-yl- > -yly-: gyl 'do circles, dance, rejoice' > Cp náy!ya 'spin, twirl' (929-kw)  
 \*-ly- > -ly-: gly / -galley 'uncover (nakedness), sleep with (woman)' > Sr nalyaṅalyah-kin 'make loose' (1521-kw)  
 \*-'b- > \*-'p-: n'bl / nebel 'skin-bottle (of wine)' > no'pal- 'prickly pear cactus fruit' (fermented to alcohol) (720-p)  
 \*-'p- > \*-'p-: naap-aa, written na'p-aa 'louse egg-the' > UA \*no'pa / noppa 'egg' (1076-p)

**Geminated consonant clusters often remain geminated or** doubled in some UA languages, but lenition of \*-CC- > -C- happens as well as, also among UA reflexes themselves:

mukke 'smitten' (\*mu-nkay > mukke) > UA \*mukki 'die, be sick' (52)  
 'aamaqqat-aa 'lizard-the' > UA \*makkaCta(Nka)-ci 'horned toad' (1055)  
 dkk / dakka 'make flat, level, smooth, stamp, crush' > UA \*takka 'flat' (1103)  
 zgg / zagga, impfv \*-zuggu 'throw, squeeze, force, cram' > UA \*cukka/i 'crowded, mixed' (622)  
 šakka 'pierce, prick, stab'; Arabic šikkat 'weapons'; Hebrew sek 'thorn' > UA \*sikki 'spear, pierce, stick' (1291)  
 ngg 'goose' > UA \*naki 'goose' (395)  
 t'-ggt 'the-kidney' > UA \*takkiC 'kidney' (357)  
 qbb 'cool, calm, quiet' > UA \*koppa 'quiet, calm' (134)

### Bilabial stops b and p: in etyma from Semitic-kw, any cluster with -b- becomes -kw-:

\*-bb- > -kw-: šbb / šabba (< \*dabba) 'take hold, keep under lock' > UA \*cakwa / \*cakwi 'catch, grasp, lock' (8-kw)  
 \*-bb- > -kw-: šbb / šabb (< \*dabb) 'lizard (< take hold)' > UA \*cakwa 'lizard' (9-kw)  
 \*-bb- > -kw-: šabber 'break, break in pieces' > UA \*sakway 'break, ruin' (10-kw)  
 \*-bb- > -kw-: dabber (< \*-dabbir) 'speak' > UA \*tikwi 'say' (11-kw)  
 \*-bb- > -kw-: zbb 'be in a frenzy, an ecstatic' > UA \*sakwo / sikwo 'witch, bewitch' (18-kw)  
 \*-bb- > -kw-: rbb / \*rabba 'shoot (an arrow)' > UA \*tikwa 'hit by striking or throwing, shoot (arrow)' (95-kw)  
 \*-br- > -kw-: br' / -bra' 'eat' > UA \*kwa'a 'swallow, eat' (46-kw)  
 \*-br- > -kw-: brii(?/y) 'provide food, feed' > UA \*kwi 'food, feed, give food' (47-kw)  
 \*-qb- > -kw-: (ya)-qbid(V) 'take, grab' > UA \*\*kwisa/i 'take, carry' (44-kw)  
 \*-qb- > -kw-: qbl 'be/face front, go forward', -qbiil 'confront' > Hopi \*kwila 'take a step, step forward' (45-kw)  
 \*-qb- > -kw-: qbr 'bury', impfv: \*-qbor > UA \*kuy / kuC 'bury' (1017-kw)  
 \*-gb- > -kw-: gbr / -gbar 'be strong, prevail' > UA \*kwaC- 'win' (49-kw)  
 \*-nb- > -kw-: gnb / ganba 'side, beside, near' > UA ṅakwa 'side, by, near' (21-kw)  
 \*-bb- > -kw-: ṭibbuur 'navel' > UA \*siku 'navel' (777-kw)  
 \*-lb- > -kw-: lbš / -lbaš-uu 'put on (garment), clothe (oneself)' (-lb- > -bb- > -kw-) > UA \*kwasu 'dress, shirt' (50-kw)  
 \*-sb- > -kw-: sbl 'carry'; sabbaal 'burden carriers'; \*hisbiil > Hp iikwil-ta 'put on the back to carry' (40-kw)  
 \*-šb- > -kw-: yšb / yoošbim 'sit, pl' > UA \*yukkwi 'sit, pl' (1158-kw)  
 \*-šb- > -kw-: ūšb- 'grass, herbage, plants, pasture' > \*(h)ukwi 'grass' (918-kw)

\*-šb- > -kw-: š<sup>o</sup>pardeaf ‘frog’ > UA \*kwa’ro ‘frog’; \*haC- ‘the-’ made cluster \*ha-ššpardVš > kwa’ro ‘frog’ (1378-kw)  
\*-bb- / -nb- > -ŋw-: Hebrew šibbólet ‘ear of grain’; Arabic sunbul ‘ear, spike (of grain)’ > \*sunju ‘corn’ (828-kw)

Also \*-pp- > -kw-

\*-np- > -kw-: npš ‘to breathe’; \*hippiiš ‘breathe’ > UA \*hikwis ‘breathe, spirit, heart’ (839-kw)

\*-pp- > -kw-: tappal ‘to smear or plaster over’ > Hopi cakwani ‘plaster’; Hp cakwan-ta ‘plastering, smearing on’ (783)

### **Semitic-kw more often retains the 1<sup>st</sup> consonants of other clusters, besides -bC- > -kw-:**

\*-mr- > -mi-/-my-: šemær ‘wool’ > UA \*comi / \*comya ‘hair’ (742-kw) (vs. Sem-p tumraa > tu’ya ‘palm tree’)

\*-šm- > -cm-: šmĥ / yi-šmaĥ ‘sprout’ > UA \*icmo ‘sprout, grow’ (84-kw) (vs. Sem-p \*ya-šmax > UA \*yama)

\*-nd- > -n-: buundəq-aa ‘ball, globule, sphere-the’ > UA \*kwinu ‘round, spherical’ (1374-kw) (vs. Sem-p \*potto)

\*-šk- > -sk-: hiškiil, hiškal- ‘understand, make wise, insightful’ > CN iskalia ‘be discreet, prudent’ (1293)

\*-ml- > -m’- > -’m-: šimlaa / šimla-t ‘wrapper, mantle, cloak’ > \*sam’aC ‘to spread, v, a cover, rug, blanket, n’ (764)

\*-xr- > -ĥr- > -w-: Hebrew ĥrd, impfv: tē-ĥ(ε)rad ‘tremble, worry’ > UA \*tiwa ‘shy, embarrassed’ (1512-kw)

\*-gd- > -ŋ-: gadiir ‘walled place’, \*ya-gdiir ‘cause wall to go up’ > UA \*yaŋi ‘fence, enclosure, roofless walls’ (916-kw)

### **In etyma from Semitic-p, we see \*-bb- / -pp- / -Cb- / -Cp- > UA -pp- / -(‘)p-:**

\*-bb- > -pp-: tabbuur / ṭibbuur ‘navel’ > Tb šappušt ‘belly’; NP sibudu ‘navel’; Cr sipu; Hp sivon- (778-p)

\*-kb- > -pp-: kaukb-aa(‘) ‘star-the’ > UA \*kuppaa’: Sr kupaa ‘to shine (as of the stars)’ (1274-p)

\*-pp- > -pp-: tpr / tapper < \*tappir ‘sew together’ > UA \*tappiCta ‘tie’ (1264-p)

\*-pp- > -pp-: tpr / tuppar ‘sown’ > tuppa ‘tie(d)’ (1265-p)

\*-tp- > -pp-: pakken / etpakkan ‘speak much, chatter, gossip’ > NUA/Num \*appaka / \*aNpaka- ‘talk’ (1151-p)

\*-tp- > -pp-: Eg ḥtp hotpe ‘be gracious, peaceable, set (sun)’ > UA \*huppi ‘peaceable, behave, sink, go down’ (182-4)

\*-tp- > -’p-: Eg stpt ‘choice things of food’ > SUA sa’pa ‘meat’; \*sa’pi ‘fat’ (256)

\*-’b- > -p-: di’b-aa ‘wolf-the’ > UA \*tīpa / \*to’apa ‘wolf’ (618-p)

### **In etyma from Semitic-p and Egyptian, bilabials b, p, f are usually lost when 1<sup>st</sup> consonant in a cluster:**

\*-bš- > -w-: šibš- ‘finger’ > UA \*siwa /WMU \*sipwa /Tep\*capiwa ‘finger’ (747-p)

\*-pš- > -w-: Eg ḥpš ‘chew’ > UA \*hiwa ‘taste’ (299)

\*-p’- > -w-: Eg sp ‘centipede’ > UA \*ma-siwa ‘centipede’ (\*sipwa > siwa, bilabial > ø as 1<sup>st</sup> C in cluster) (297)

\*-b’- > -w-: Eg ib ‘dance, run’ > \*yab’a/i > UA \*yawa / \*yawī ‘dance’ (296) (bilabial > ø as 1<sup>st</sup> C in cluster)

\*-b’- > -w-: Eg db ‘leaf’, pl: db-w ‘leaves’ > UA \*sawa ‘leaf’ (467) (bilabial > ø as 1<sup>st</sup> C in cluster)

\*-bx- > -k-: Eg ḥbxn ‘frog’ (> \*wapkan) > UA \*wakaN-ta > \*waqatta ‘frog’ (bilabial > ø as 1<sup>st</sup> C in cluster) (298)

\*-px- > -x-: npĥ ‘blow, breathe’; \*napxat ‘puff, breath, gust’ (\*napxa > nīka) > UA \*nīka ‘be windy, blow’ (1218-p)

\*-pš- > -s-: Eg xpš ‘foreleg, thigh’ (Coptic šopš) > UA \*qapsi ‘thigh’; in Tb -ps-, others kasi (294)

\*-pd- > -t-: Eg xpd ‘buttock’ > UA \*kupta ‘buttocks’; in 1 language kupta, others kuta (295)

\*-ft- > -t-: Eg xfty(w) ‘enemies’ > UA \*qaytu ‘enemy, opponent’ (486)

\*-bt- > -c-: \*-btaĥ > -cawa (542-p)

\*-br- > -r-: gabr-aa, pl: gabr-iim/iin ‘great man’ > UA \*kīri ‘man, old man, elder’ (1180)

\*-bš- > -s-: rbš ‘lie down (often of animals)’; rebēš / rabaš ‘resting place’ > UA \*tosa / \*ta’so / \*tapa’sol ‘nest’ (1242-p)

\*-pĥ- > -w-/Tak -ŋ-: šipĥaa ‘maid’ > \*siwa ‘female, girl, sister, daughter’ (757)

\*-p’- > -w-/Tak -ŋ-: rp’ / raapaa ‘to heal’; \*roop’-aa ‘healer-the’ > UA/Tak/Tb \*toŋa ‘cure, to doctor s.o.’ (1237)

**Sibilants** (though usually > s initially and intervocally) as **1<sup>st</sup> consonant in a cluster**, were absorbed to disappear or show some residual evidence of a former 1<sup>st</sup> consonant, occasionally doubling the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant:

\*-šk- > -hk-: moškat ‘bracelet, fetter, belt’ > Tb mohkat ‘belt’ (1045)

\*-št- > -Ct-: ’išaa / ’išt- ‘woman, wife of’ > Hp wīti / wīhti ‘woman, wife’ (574-p)

\*-št- > -Ct-: qušt-aa ‘bow-the’ > UA \*kuCta-pi ‘bow’ (967-p)

\*-št- > -Ct-: qšt ‘measure’; qəšīītaa ‘weight, money’; qešt-aa ‘measure-the’ > UA \*koCta/i ‘bark, shell, money’ (1248)

\*-št- > -Ct- > -Cc-: qšt ‘measure’; qəšīītaa ‘weight, money’; Aramaic qešt-aa > UA \*pa-koCci ‘shrimp’ (1249)

\*-št- > -Ct-: zwst- ‘belt’ > UA \*šutka ‘belt’ (if -ka another morpheme) (1048)

\*-sk- > -kk-: pšĥ / \*pissex, pl: pišx-iim ‘limping’ > UA \*pisika / \*pikka ‘bad, rotten, infected, limping’ (640-p)

\*-sq- > -k-: Eg isq ‘linger, wait for’, s lost in cluster, \*isqV > \*ika > UA \*ika / \*ikī ‘remain, be in a place, let lie’ (525)

\*-šm- > -m-: šem ‘bone’, pl šəšaam-iim ‘bones’ (< \*šəšm); Arabic šazm- ‘bone’ > Azt \*omi / \*ohomi ‘bone’ (1477)

\*-šh- > -šĥ- > -hu-: yišhar ‘oil’ > UA \*yuhu ‘grease’ (1120)

\*-šk- > h-: -škab ‘lie down’ > UA \*hapi ‘lie down’ (983)

\*-šk- > k-: šakuur ‘drunk’ or šikkoor ‘drunk’ > UA \*kuru ‘mescal, agave’ (59)

\*-sb- > -kw-: sbl ‘carry’; sabbaal ‘burden carriers’; \*hisbiil > Hp iikwil-ta ‘put on the back to carry’ (40-kw)

\*-šb- > -kw-: yšb / yoošbim ‘sit, pl’ > UA \*yukkwi ‘sit, pl’ (1158-kw)

- \*-sl- > -l-: šlŋ / impfv: -šlVŋ ‘limp, be lame’ > UA \*lo’i ‘lame, limp’ (1108)
- \*-šm- > -m-: šmĭ / yi-šmaĭ (< \*ya-dmax) ‘sprout, grow’ > UA \*yama ‘sprout, grow, up’ (813-p)
- \*-sn- > -n-: Eg msnĭ ‘rotate, turn backwards, turn, turn away’ (\*masnVĭ) > UA \*manu ‘turn, change’ (524)

**Sometimes sibilants are lost even as 2<sup>nd</sup> consonants in the cluster**

- \*-uĥši- > -uhi-: bwĥšyn(’) ‘green herbs’ > UA \*puhiC ‘green’ (870-p)
- \*-mš- > -m-: ruumš-aa ‘evening-the’ > Sr \*ruma’- ‘become dark’ (1283-p)
- \*-qš- > -k-: qšb / -qšeebuu ‘perk up (ears), listen, pl’ > UA \*kĭpu ‘hear’ (1068)
- \*-qš- > -k-: qšb / -qšeebuu ‘perk up (ears)’, \*na-qšab ‘what is perked up’ > UA \*naqa / \*nakap / \*nakas ‘ear’ (1070-71)

**Some sibilants are kept, whether as 1<sup>st</sup> consonant or from loss of V becoming a later cluster**

- \*-sg- > -sk-: sgy ‘be many, great’; \*hosgay ‘be made great’ > Hopi hoskaya ‘large, huge, enormous’ (1414)
- \*-šk- > -sk-: hiškiil, hiškāl- ‘understand, make wise, insightful’ > CN iskalia ‘be discreet, prudent’ (1293)
- \*-šk- > -sk-: muskir ‘alcoholic beverage’; unattested \*ma-škar / \*mi-škar > CN meškāl-li ‘alcoholic drink’ (60)
- \*-šr- > -s-: šrq ‘to whistle, hiss’; wayyišroq-uu ‘they whistled, hissed’ > UA \*wisuko ‘whistle’ (1215)

**Sibilants, though usually s initially and intervocalically, often and naturally become c when 2<sup>nd</sup> C of a cluster:**

- \*-dš- > -c-: \*xdš ‘scratch’, xadš ‘scratching’; Arabic xadš ‘a scratch, scratch mark’ > UA/Tep \*kĭca ‘scratch’ (1490-p)
- \*-dd- > -c-: Eg xdw / xddw ‘fish(es), coll. pl’ > UA \*kĭcu ‘fish’ (365-6)
- \*-nz- > -c-, but Ca/Cp -n-: manzaal ‘star, moon’ > UA \*mĭcaC / \*mĭncaC (1077-p)
- \*-nš- > -c-, but -nc- in 2: Eg wnš / wnšiw ‘jackal’; Coptic: woonš ‘wolf’; wnšt ‘f.’ > Num \*wancio / wocia ‘fox’ (129)
- \*-ns- > -s-/-hs-: Eg kns ‘pubic region’ > Wr kohsi ‘anus, vagina’ (358)
- \*-rs- > -c-/-nc- in one language: qarsol ‘ankle’ > UA \*kwi(n)co ‘ankle’ (858-p)
- \*-rs- > -c-: qursal-aa ‘ankle bone-the’; Akkadian kursinnu ‘region of the ankle-bone’ > UA \*koci ‘ankle(bone)’ (859-p)
- \*-rš- > -c-: ‘ars-aa ‘earth-ward, to the earth’ > UA \*wicĭ, NUA \*-y-, Num \*-’- (581-p)
- \*-rš- > -’c-: qrš ‘bite’ > UA \*kĭ’ca ‘bite’ (1447)
- \*-rz- > NUA -’-: ‘ar-aa ‘cedar-the’ > NUA \*wa’aC ‘juniper/cedar’, UA \*-c- > NUA -’- also at 581 and 532 (582-p)
- \*-rs- > -s-: gursiptu ‘butterfly’ > UA \*asiNpu(tonki) ‘butterfly’ (1057).

1057 and 358 above may be exceptions showing \*-CS- > -s- instead of \*-CS- > -c- (S = sibilant) as usual in the other 9, but keep in mind that c and s discrepancies occur in UA itself, as the two can differ only slightly.

**Other 1<sup>st</sup> consonants of clusters are also lost or are absorbed to double the second consonant**

- \*-kb- > -p-: kbd ‘be heavy, honor, sweep’, hiqtiil: hi-kbad > UA \*(hi)paca ‘sweep’ (1354-p)
- \*-kt- > -t-: ktš / \*ktušu ‘pound, bray’ > tusu ‘grind’ (1094)
- \*-kb- > -pp-: kaukb-aa(’) ‘star-the’ > UA \*kuppaa’: Sr kupaa’ ‘to shine (as of the stars)’ (1274-p)
- \*-ks- > -s-, Eu -ks-: Eg tks ‘pierce’ > UA/Eu \*tikso ‘pierce, poke’, but Op/Tr tessu (124)
- \*-nd- > -tt-: buundəq-aa ‘ball, globule, sphere-the’ > SP potto ‘round, spherical’ (1374-p)
- \*-tq- > -k-: motq-o ‘its/his sweetness’; motq-aa ‘her/its ...’ > UA \*mumuko/ka ‘bee’ (1231)
- \*-tq- > -k-/-kk-: ‘etqaraš ‘to shade, put in the shade’ > UA \*hikka / \*hĭkya ‘shade’ (1220)
- \*-tq- > -k-: tqp, impfv: -tqap ‘prevail, overpower’, təqoop ‘might, strength’ > UA \*kopi ‘win/lose in a game’ (1081)
- \*-tm- > -m-: ŋatmaa ‘thigh, n.f.’ > UA \*uma ‘thigh, upper leg’ (1282-p)
- \*-df- > -v-: Eg ddfĭ ‘snake, internal bodily worm’ (Coptic jatfe) > Sr sĭvāt-ĭ ‘body louse’ (311)
- \*-tp- > -pp-: pakken / etpakkan ‘speak much, chatter, gossip’ > UA \*aNpaka- / \*-appaka ‘talk, speak’ (1151-p)
- \*-kb- > -pp-: rakb-uu ‘they climbed up’ > UA \*tĭppu ‘climb up’ (99-p)
- \*-kb- > -pp-: rkb ‘mount, climb up on’ > UA \*cippih ‘prairie dog’ (rVkbĭ > tikpi > tippi > cippi) (888-p)
- \*-kb- > -pp-: rkb ‘mount, climb up on’, rikb-aa ‘upper millstone-the’ > UA \*tĭppa ‘mortar (and/or) pestle’ (889-p)

**Sometimes the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant of a cluster reduces to a glottal stop rather than entirely disappearing:**

- \*-mr- > -’y-: Aramaic tuumr-aa ‘palm-the, date-palm-the’ > UA \*tu’ya ‘palm tree, sp’ (743-p)
- \*-qn- > -’n-: diqn-aa ‘beard-the, chin-the’ > UA \*tĭ’na > \*tĭ’ni ‘mouth’ (617-p)
- \*-qn- > -’n-: zaqn-o ‘chin-his’ > NUA \*ca’no ‘chin, jaw’; SUA \*ca’lo ‘chin, jaw’ (628-kw)
- \*-xt- > -’t-: taxt-e ‘under-him/it’ or taxa ‘under’ > Wr te’ré ‘down on the ground’ (1389-p)
- \*-kt- > -’t-: makteš ‘mortar, grinding stone’ (< ktš ‘grind’) > UA \*ma’ta/\*maCta /\*mattas ‘grinding stone, mortar’ (614)
- \*-kb- > -’p-/-pp-: rkb / rakb-uu ‘they mounted, climbed’ > UA \*tĭ’pu ‘climb up’ (< rakb-uu) (99-p)
- \*-kb- > -’p-/-pp-: rkb / rakb-uu-hi ‘they climbed it’ (Syriac) > UA \*ciCpuhi ‘climb’ (< rakb-uu-hi) (99-p)
- \*-rd- > -’r-: ṣpardeaf ‘frog’ > UA \*kwa’ro ‘frog’; \*haC ‘the’ clustered \*ha-ṣpardVŋ > kwa’ro ‘frog’ (1378-kw)

### Also -h- > -ʔ- as 1<sup>st</sup> consonant of a cluster

- \*-hr- > -ʔr-: Eg p<sub>hr</sub> ‘turn, turn about, revolve,’ > UA \*piʔri-na > \*piyi(na) ‘spin/twist thread, make rope’ (289)
- \*-hp- > -ʔp-: nhp ‘copulate’ > UA \*naʔpa ‘join/be together, copulate’ (192) see also 506
- \*-ht- > -ʔt- > -Ct-: Eg mht ‘insect’ > UA \*matta / \*maCti ‘tick’ (437)
- \*-hw- > -ʔw-: tehwe ‘you are’ > UA teʔwa ‘you’; yehwa ‘he is’ > UA yeʔwa ‘he’ (110-p)

### Glottal stops themselves are often absorbed to double the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant:

- \*-ʔk- > -kk-: ʔaakal, \*toʔkal ‘she/it eats’ > UA \*tikkaC ‘eat’ (796-p)
- \*-ʔq- > -kk-: Eg pʔq ‘thin blade, leaf, sheet (of metal)’ > UA pikkaC ‘knife’ (433)
- \*-ʔq- > -kk-: Eg fʔk ‘be bald, shorn’ > UA \*piCka / \*pikka / \*piNka ‘smooth, bald’ (276)
- \*-ʔd- > -tt- / -Cc-: Eg hʔdt ‘basket’ > UA \*huCta / \*huCca ‘basket’ (404)
- \*-ht- > -ʔt- > -Ct-: Eg mht ‘insect’ > UA \*matta / \*maCti ‘tick’ (437)
- \*-ʔp- > -pp-: Eg kʔp ‘close (eyes), cover, hide self, droop (eyebrows)’ > UA \*kappa / \*kuCpa ‘close (eyes)’ (398)
- \*-ʔp- > -pp-: Eg gʔp ‘cut’ > UA \*kappi ‘break, cut’ (434)
- \*-ʔp- > -pp-: Eg gʔp ‘cut’ > UA \*koppi ‘break’ (435)
- \*-ʔb- > \*-Cp-: Eg iʔbty ‘east, left’ (Coptic yebt ‘east’) (\*yaʔbaty? > \*yoʔboty) > UA \*oCpoti ‘left’ (300)

In the unique cluster of \*-Cʔ- > -ʔw-, the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant > glottal stop, while the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant, a glottal stop > w:

- \*-xʔ- > -ʔw-: Eg wxʔ ‘seek, desire’ > UA \*wiʔwa / \*waʔwa ‘seek, want’ (288)
- \*-xʔ- > -ʔw-: Eg pxʔ ‘purge, clean’ > UA \*piʔwa ‘clean’ (286)
- \*-dʔ- > -w-: in badʔa ‘beginning, start’ > piwa ‘first, begin’ (545-p)

### The clusters in imperfective stems:

Sometimes the pronoun prefix is retained with the imperfective stem

- \*ya-qmuš ‘he grasps, is stingy’ > UA \*yamuC ‘stingy’ (1035)
- \*yaʔamiin ‘he believes’ > UA \*yawamin ‘believe’ (567)
- \*ya-bkay ‘he cries’ > UA \*yaka ‘cry’ (560)
- \*ya-dmax ‘sprout, grow’ > UA \*yama ‘sprout, come out / up’ (813)

However, more often, the impfv stem alone continued into UA without the prefixes. In such cases, the first two consonants of the stem form a cluster (-qm-), but the continuance of the stem without prefix puts that cluster in initial position, which loses its medial behavior tendencies, and naturally almost always loses the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant and simply begins with the 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant for Semitic-p items, for which there is no gemination or sign of the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant.

- \*-kb- > -p-: kbd ‘be heavy, honor, sweep’, impfv: -kbod > UA \*poci ‘sweep’ (1353-p)
- \*-kb- > -p-: kbd ‘be heavy, honor, sweep’, hiqtiil: hi-kbad > UA \*(hi)paca ‘sweep’ (1354-p)
- \*-kp- > -p-: kpr, impfv: \*-kpor ‘cover’ > Tr pora ‘cover’ (1396-p)
- \*-šb- > -p-: šbʔ ‘to dye’; impfv: \*-šboʔ; Arabic impfv: ya-dbuğu ‘to dye’ > UA \*pu ‘dye’ (1438-p)
- \*-šl- > -l-: šlʔ / impfv: -šlVʔ ‘limp, be lame’ > UA \*loʔi ‘lame, limp’ (1108)
- \*-lx- > -k-: lxš / \*-lxus-uu ‘whisper, mutter sounds’ > UA \*kusu ‘make sound (characteristic of species)’ (1064-p)
- \*-kt- > -t-: ktš / \*ktušu ‘pound, bray’ > tusu ‘grind’ (1094)
- \*-qn- > -n-: qnʔ / impfv -qna ‘be jealous’ > UA \*nawa ‘jealous’ (1031-p)
- \*-lm- > -m-: -lmad ‘learn’ > UA \*mata / mati ‘know’ (701)

In contrast, Semitic-kw items even in stem-initial clusters often show their 1<sup>st</sup> consonant prominence in the cluster.

- \*-mʔ- > -ŋ-: -mʔak ‘squeeze, crush, rub’ > UA \*ŋaka/i ‘grind, scrape, rub against’ (940-kw)
- \*-br- > -kw-: brʔ / -braʔ- ‘eat’ > UA \*kwaʔa ‘swallow, eat’ (46-kw)
- \*-gd- > -ŋ-: gadiir ‘walled place’, \*ya-gdiir ‘cause wall to go up’ > UA \*yaŋi ‘fence, enclosure, roofless walls’ (916-kw)

### -R- as 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant clustered with -t- or such simply strengthens the -t-

- \*-zr- > -c-: zrʔ / -zriiʔ ‘bear a child’ > CN ciiwa ‘beget, gender’ (624)
- \*tr- > t-: zʔrooʔ ‘arm, forearm, power’; Arabic điraʔ ‘arm, forearm’ > UA \*toC ‘with the hand’ (1234-p)
- \*-tr- > -t-: hit-rappʔaa ‘have oneself healed’ > UA \*hitowa ‘medicine’ (1236-kw)
- \*-đr- > -Cc-/-ʔci-: Arabic bađara ‘sow’; Arabic bađr- ‘seed(s)’ > \*paCci / \*paʔci ‘seed’ (554-p)

In the next two, the sequence of laryngeal + y + t rounds the vowel and -y- strengthens -t- / -tt-, as also elsewhere:

- \*-hjt- > -uti: Eg mhjt ‘fish (collective), literally: swimmers’ > UA \*muti ‘fish’ (234)
- \*-ʔyt- > -uti: Eg mʔyt ‘sheath, vagina’ > UA \*muci or \*muti ‘vagina’ (235)

### Nasals in clusters with low-back consonants become NUA velar nasal ŋ: \*-mʔ- > -ŋ-, or \*-Nʔ- > -ŋ-

- \*-mʔ- > -ŋ-: Old Canaanite hassimʔal ‘the-left’ > UA/ Tb ʔaašijan / aašijan ‘left side’ (1246)
- \*-mʔ- > -ŋ-: Eg hʔm / hʔmʔ ‘salt’ (Coptic hmu) > \*hʔamʔa(t) > UA \*omwa > \*oŋwa / \*oŋa ‘salt’ (280)
- \*-mʔ- > -ŋ-: Eg smʔ ‘lung’ > UA \*somwo / \*soŋo ‘lung’ (281)
- \*-mʔ- > -ŋ-: Eg qmʔ ‘create, beget’ > UA \*kumCa / \*kumwa / \*kuŋa ‘husband’ (284)

\*-mʕ- > -ŋ-: -mʕak ‘squeeze, crush, rub’ > UA \*ŋaka/i ‘grind, scrape, rub against’ (940-kw)  
 \*-lm- > -’m- > -ŋ-: ’alima ‘to experience grief’, ’almaanaa ‘widow’ > UA \*o’mana / \*oŋana ‘sad, suffering’ (1144)

**Contrast the next two pairs (\*-mr- and \*-qm-), one from Semitic-p and one from Semitic-kw:**

\*-mr- > -’y-: Aramaic tuumr-aa ‘palm-the, date-palm-the’ > UA \*tu’ya ‘palm tree, sp’ (743-p)  
 \*-mr- > -my-/-mi-: šemer ‘wool’ > UA \*comi / \*comya ‘hair’ (742-kw) (vs. Sem-p tumraa > tu’ya ‘palm tree’)  
 \*-qm- > -m-: qmš / impfv: \*ya-qmušu ‘take, be miserly, stingy’ > UA \*yamuC ‘angry, stingy’ (1035-p)  
 \*-qm- > -ŋ-: šiqma(t) ‘sycamore tree’ > UA \*siŋŋa(C) ‘cottonwood or aspen’ (1012-kw)

**In homorganic clusters, the nasals are lost in most languages, but do appear in one or two languages:**

\*-nz- > \*-c-, but Ca/Cp -n-: manzaal ‘star, moon’ > UA \*mīcaC / \*mīncaC ‘moon’ (1077-p)  
 \*-nš- > \*-c-, but -nc- in 2: Eg wnš / wnšiw ‘jackal’; Coptic: woonš ‘wolf’; wnšt ‘f.’ > Num \*wancio / wocia ‘fox’ (129)  
 \*-ns- > \*-s-/-hs-: Eg kns ‘pubic region’ > Wr kohsí ‘anus, vagina’ (358)  
 \*-tn- > -c-: maatn-aim ‘loins, dual’; Arabic matnat-aani ‘loins, dual’ > Ls mááča-t ‘back’ (1356)

In four instances of the cluster \*-qn- below, three of the four (617, 628, 1031) approximate the expected \*-’n-; and in the fourth, Semitic-kw \*-qn- > -ŋ- (1032) is also expected. The 1032 Semitic-kw \*-qn- > -ŋ- and the 628 Semitic-kw \*-qn- > \*-’n- may seem contradictory, but the cluster in 1032 of the impfv verb form has been a permanent cluster in Semitic for thousands of years while the cluster from which 628 derives was only occasional, only when possessed: \*ḏaqan ‘chin’, but daqn-o ‘chin-his’. In other words, the two clusters were set centuries apart.

\*-qn- > -’n-: diqn-aa ‘beard-the, chin-the’ > UA \*ti’na > \*ti’ni ‘mouth’ (617-p)  
 \*-qn- > -’n-: zaqn-o ‘chin-his’ > NUA \*ca’no ‘chin, jaw’; SUA \*ca’lo ‘chin, jaw’ (628-kw)  
 \*-qn- > -n-: qn’ / impfv -qna’ ‘be jealous’ > UA \*nawa ‘jealous’ (1031-p)  
 \*-qn- > -ŋ-: qn’ / impfv -qna’ ‘be jealous’ > UA \*ŋa’i ‘get even, be jealous’ (1032-kw)

In the below, we see in the Semitic-p and Egyptian contributions, the 1<sup>st</sup> consonant nasal is absorbed to double the following stop:

\*-nd- > -tt-: buundəq-aa ‘ball, globule, sphere-the’ > SP potto ‘round, spherical’ (1374-p)  
 \*-nt- > -tt-/-nc-: pant-aa ‘upper leather of a shoe, instep of the foot-the’ > UA \*paNca / \*patta > \*pacca ‘shoe’ (1281-p)  
 \*-nt- > -tt-: Eg ŋnt ‘nail, claw’ (Coptic ine) > UA \*watti ‘claw, fingernail’ (262)  
 \*-nt- > -tt-: Eg bnty ‘breasts’ > UA \*piCti / \*pitti ‘breast’ (139)  
 \*-nt- > -tt-: Eg mnt ‘thigh’; mnty ‘thighs, dual’ > UA \*macci / \*maCti ‘thigh, upper leg’ (301)  
 \*-nt- > -tt-: Eg ḥnt’sw ‘lizard’ (Coptic anḥus) > UA \*-hoto- ‘lizard’ (185)  
 \*-nq- > -kk-: Eg inqt ‘net’ > UA \*ikkaC / \*iCkaC ‘carrying net’ (384)  
 \*-nx- > -ŋ-: Eg ŋnx ‘to live, v, (living) person, n’ > Num \*onka / \*oŋa ‘baby’ (427)  
 \*-nx- > -’ŋ- or SUA -’n-: Eg ŋnxt ‘grain’ > Tr/Wr \*(w)o’na ‘corn cob, olote’ (443)  
 \*-nx- > -’k- or -Ck-: Eg wnxyt ‘clothing’ > UA \*waCkay(la) ‘clothing, shirt’ (223)  
 \*-nh- > -ŋ-: Eg gnh̄t ‘a star’ > Num/SP kaŋa ‘morning star’ (156)  
 \*-nh- > -’-’-n-: dn̄h ‘rise, shine (sun, moon, star)’; din̄h-aa ‘sunrise, star’ > Num tinuN/ti’uN in \*ta-tinuN- ‘star’ (1408)  
 \*-gn- > -ŋ-: šagni ‘remove from its place, transform, change clothing’ > Hopi siin̄i ‘peel, shed skin (of a snake)’ (1419)  
 \*-mm- > -’m-: tmm / tumma ‘be finished, come to an end’ > UA \*tuma / \*tu’ma ‘finish’ (820)

In the four items below, the languages show -mm-, but Kaufman reconstructs \*-nm-, which exactly matches Egyptian, though I do not know how he figured out \*-nm- for them:

\*-nm- > -mm-/-nm-: Eg xnm ‘inhale, smell, enjoy, eat (food)’ > UA \*kuCma/i / \*kunmi (Kaufman) ‘chew, nibble’ (302)  
 \*-nm- > -mm-/-nm-: Eg xnm ‘inhale, smell, enjoy, eat (food)’ > UA \*kaNmu / \*kanmī (Kaufman) ‘jackrabbit’ (463)  
 \*-nm- > -mm-/-nm-: Eg xnm ‘inhale, smell, enjoy, eat (food)’ > UA \*kamma / \*kanma ‘taste, have a taste like’ (303)  
 \*-nm- > -mm-/-nm-: Eg xnm ‘inhale, smell, enjoy, eat (food)’ > UA \*kaCma ‘cheeks, mouth’ (304)

**Nasals had often already assimilated in the ancient languages: Proto-Semitic \*-nC- > Hebrew -CC-**

ngʕ / \*ti-ngaʕ ‘she/it touches’ > Hebrew tiggaʕ > Hp toŋo(k-) ‘come into contact with, touch, reach’ (\*-g- > -ŋ-) (1196)  
 ngd / \*hangiid > Hebrew (y/t’)aggiid ‘tell, announce, inform’ > TO ’aagid ‘tell s.o. s.th.’; Hp ki-ta ‘say’ (1310-p)  
 Arabic singaab ‘squirrel’ corresponds to Hebrew \*siggoob ‘squirrel’ > UA \*sikkuC ‘squirrel’ (57)  
 mukke ‘smitten’ (\*mu-nkay > Hebrew mukke) > UA \*mukki ‘die, be sick’ (52)  
 hukke ‘was smitten’ (< \*hu-nkay) > Tb hookii ‘deceased grandfather / grandson after death’ (53)  
 hikkiir ‘recognize, know’ (< \*hi-nkiir > Hebrew hikkiir) > Tr iki ‘know, be aware of’ (810)  
 npl / \*ta-npiil > \*teppil: ‘cause to fall’ > UA \*tippin ‘trip, hunt, track’ (822)  
 npš ‘to breathe’; nepēš ‘breath, life, soul’; unattested: \*hippiiš ‘breathe’ > UA \*hikwis ‘breathe, spirit, heart’ (838-kw)  
 ntʕ ‘to plant’, \*yi-ntaʕ > Hebrew yi-ttaʕ ‘he plants’ > UA \*’ica ‘to plant’ (774-kw)

## Pharyngeals become a round vowel with glottal stop as 1<sup>st</sup> consonant in a cluster with a nasal (or other):

\*-hjn- > -o'n- or pharyngeal + nasal > u'N / o'N

\*-hjn- > -o'n-: bhjn, \*-bahjhen 'observe, examine, pull out organs to examine' > UA \*po'na 'pull out, uproot' (1513-p)

\*-hjn- > -o'n-: hñy / mañhne < \*mañne 'camp, people of the camp' > UA \*mo'na / \*mo'ona 'son-in-law, in-law' (1407)

\*-hjn- > -o'n-: thjn 'grind, pound, crush, destroy' > UA \*to'na(C) 'hit, pierce' (773)

\*-hjm- > -um-: yhm 'be in heat, be warm' > UA \*yuma > \*yoma 'copulate' (855)

\*-hjm- > -u'm-: yhm 'be in heat, be warm' > UA \*yu'mi 'warm' (856)

\*-hm- > -u'm-: tsm 'taste, eat'; plural participle tosmiim > UA \*cu'mi 'suck, sip' (771)

\*-hti- > -u'ci-: Eg swhty / shty 'fish, sp.' > Wr so'ci 'fish' (456)

\*-htll- > -o'n-: t'allep 'bat'; ha-t'allep 'the-bat'; Aramaic t'allep-aa 'bat-the' > UA \*ho'napi 'bat' (784)

\*-hl- > -ol-: nhj 'take/have as possession'; nah'lat 'inherited property' > TO nolawt 'buy, buy from' (1308)

The Phoenician \*ha- and lack of rounding for the pharyngeal both suggest Semitic-kw for the next item:

\*-st- > -'t-: fatiisaa 'sneeze, n.f.', ha-tiisaa 'the-sneeze' > UA \*ha'tisa 'sneeze' (1162-kw)

The following two may be due to a three-consonant cluster \*-hNw- > -ŋ-:

\*-hjm- > -uŋ-: Eg nhjm 'take, carry off' (Coptic nuuhm), if pl nhmw > Tak \*nuŋu 'carry'; SUA \*nuk 'carry, take' (369)

\*-hjn- > -oŋ-: Eg thjn(w) 'sparkle, shine, gleam'; thjhn 'be bright' > UA \*toŋa 'hot, heat (of) sun/day, shine' (462)

## Liquids, usually l, sometimes remain in the cluster:

\*-lm- > -lm-: blm 'muzzle, wrap, restrain'; baalm-aa 'halter' > UA \*kwalma 'put arm around, carry under arm' (16-kw)

\*-lw- > -l- or -w-: šəlaaw / salway; Samaritan šalwi; Hebrew pl: šalwiim 'quail' > UA \*solwi / \*sowi 'quail' (1082)

## Liquids as 1<sup>st</sup> C in a cluster may double the 2<sup>nd</sup> C, become glottal stop (-LC- > -CC-/-'C-), or nasalize in NUA

\*-lm- > -'m-: 'alima 'to experience grief', 'almaanaa 'widow' > UA \*o'mana / \*oŋana 'sad, suffering' (1144)

\*-lm- > -m-: -lmad 'learn' > UA \*mata / mati 'know' (701)

\*-rn- > -nn-/-'n-: 'arnébet; Akkadian 'arnabu; Arabic 'arnab 'hare, rabbit' > UA \*wa'na/wanna 'rabbit net' (596-p)

\*-rp- > -pp-: hrp / hērpaa 'shame, mutilation, deficiency' > Hp ööpī 'sickly, wounded, invalid, one with disability' (663)

\*-rk- > -kk-: bar kəbaan-(aa) 'belt', kbn 'gird' > UA \*pakkaC 'belt' (1446-p)

\*-rk- > -kk-: karkara / qarqara 'coo (pigeon), grumble, gurgle' > UA \*kakkara 'quail' (960)

\*-rk- > -k-: birkaa 'blessing, praise' (often sung) > UA \*kwika 'sing, song' (35-kw)

\*-rg- > -kk-: hīrgaa 'dust' > UA \*huCkuN 'dust' (665)

\*-rd- > -tt-: 'ard-aa 'mushroom-the' > UA/Num \*hitto'oC / \*witto'oC 'mushroom' (1110-kw?)

\*-rd- > -tt-: qarduun-aa 'louse-the, nit-the' > UA \*aCtiN > \*attiN 'louse' (971-kw)

\*-rd- > -'r-: š'pardeaŋ 'frog' > UA \*kwa'ro 'frog'; \*haC 'the' clustered \*ha-ššpardVŋ > kwa'ro 'frog' (1378-kw)

\*-rd- > -r-: š'pardeaŋ 'frog' > UA \*siboro 'tadpole' (1377-p)

\*-rt- > -Ct-/-tt-: sartaan / \*sartoon 'scratcher, crab' > \*saCtun > siCtun / \*suCtun 'claw, nail, crab' (832-p)

\*-ld- > -t-: \*xuld / \*xild-aa 'mole, cave dweller-the' > UA \*kita 'groundhog' (1088-p)

\*-lt- > -tt-i > -c-i: biltii 'worm sp' > UA \*kwici 'worm' (23-kw)

\*-l- > -l-: \*hool 'sand'; Aramaic hjaal-aa; Aramaic pl: haalaat-aa 'sand, sandy area' > UA \*(h)ola (Tep) (1141)

\*-lt- > -tt-: \*hool-taa > \*otta (Num) 'sand' (1141)

\*-lt- > -tt-: plŋ 'escape', pl participle: pooltiim > UA \*puCti 'escape' (793)

\*-lg- > -k-: Hebrew šəleg 'snow' (< \*θalg) > UA \*sik: CN sek-tli 'snow, ice' (760)

\*-lg- > -kk-: Aramaic talg-aa 'snow-the' > NUA/Num \*takka 'snow' (1276-p)

\*-lp- > -pp-: qlp 'to peel, shell, scrape off, strip off' > Hp hàapo(-k-) 'get loosened, chipped' (1010-kw?)

\*-lk- > -(N)k-/-ŋ-: hlk, impfv: sg: yelek / yelku / \*yelka 'go' > UA \*yika or \*yiŋa / \*yiNka 'enter, move, travel' (1085)

\*-lk- > -ŋ-: mlk 'to lead in council'; mēlek / malk- / moolek 'king' > Hopi moŋwi 'chief' (1300)

\*-rq- > SUA -'k-: prq 'separate from, depart, go away' > UA \*pa'ku 'out' (1243-p)

\*-rg- > SUA -'k-/-y(k)-: drg 'rise, step, tread' > UA/Tep/Wr \*tiy(k) / \*ti'ki 'climb, step, make thump noise' (1326-p)

\*-rq- > SUA -'k-/-k-: Eg srqt / s'qt 'the-scorpion' > UA/TrC \*saka 'scorpion' (363-Eg)

The cluster \*-r'- is nicely arrayed as expected in 1042-kw, which see:

\*-r'- > Tak -yh-, Hp -n-, SUA -r-: mar'a 'princess' > SUA \*mara / Tak \*mayha 'daughter' (1042-kw)

\*-r'- > Num -'-: \*mar'a 'princess, woman' > Num \*ma'a 'woman' (1043)

## -R- with a pharyngeal or other back consonant often yields -ŋ- in NUA:

\*-rŋ- > -ŋ-: širŋaa 'hornets' > UA \*saŋa 'yellowjacket, stinging one' (737-p)

\*-rŋ- > -ŋ-: šrŋ / drŋ 'weak, lean, emaciated', v.n. darŋ, duruuŋ > UA \*corowa / \*corwa > coŋo 'be hungry' (1066-p)

\*-ŋr- > -ŋ-: ŋry / ŋr' / ŋara, impfv: ta-ŋra 'to contain, hold' > UA \*taŋa 'bag, sack, put in container' (1418-p)

\*-rŋ- > -w-/-ŋw-: Eg qrŋt 'serpent, ally, partner' > UA \*koNwa > \*kowa; Tak/Azt \*koŋwa 'snake, twin' (332)

\*-rg- > Num -Nk-/-ŋ-/-kk-: 'argaamaan 'red-purple'; Akkadian argamannu 'purple' > UA/Num \*aNkaC 'red' (587-kw)

\*-rq- > UA/Tak -ŋ-: qarqadaan 'squirrel' > UA \*koŋi 'squirrel' (957-p)

These may not have been clusters originally, but separated consonants that later clustered:

- \*-rʕ-/roʕ- > -ʕw-: ʕaroʕer / ʕarʕaar ‘juniper tree’ > \*waʕwari > waori / awari ‘juniper’ (689-kw)
- \*-rʕ-/raʕ- > -ʕw-: peraʕ / \*parʕ-aa ‘hair’ > UA \*piʕwa ‘hair, hide, fur’ (1132-p)
- \*-rʕ-/rʕʕ- > \*w-: rʕy / impfv: \*ya-rʕʕay ‘to graze, tend(animals)’ > \*way > Hopi layi ‘herd, drive(animals)’ (1358)
- \*-rʕ- > -rʕo-/roʕo-/ʕro-: prʕʕš ‘jump’ / parʕoʕš ‘flea (jumper)’ > \*parʕosi / \*paroʕosi ‘jackrabbit’ (724)
- \*-rw- > -ʕw-/ʕVw-: Eg wr ‘big, much, many’; wrw ‘the greatest’ > UA \*wirwuru > \*wiʕwuru > wiʕwuru ‘big’ (221)

**Clusters separated:** Cluster separation happened in both Masoretic Hebrew and in UA. In Biblical Hebrew, as voweled by the Masoretes centuries after the consonants were written, the so called guttural consonants (ʕ, ʕ, ʕ, r) in original Semitic clusters would separate the cluster with a vowel. For example, an original \*yaʕmiin became yaʕamiin ‘he believes’ (> UA \*yawamin ‘believe’). UA also separates some clusters, and worth noting is that the UA separated clusters also involve laryngeals or r, as happens in Masoretic phonology also.

- \*-rʕ- > -ʕw-: ʕaroʕer / ʕarʕaar ‘juniper tree’ > \*waʕwari / \*wayori > waori / awari ‘juniper’ (689-kw)
- \*-rʕ- > -rʕo-/roʕo-/ʕro-: prʕʕš ‘jump’ / parʕoʕš ‘flea (jumper)’ > UA \*parʕosi / \*paroʕosi ‘jackrabbit’ (724)
- \*-rg- > -rug-: ʕargol ‘type of locust’; Arabic \*ʕargal / \*ʕargul ‘locust’ > Tr urugi-pari ‘type of grasshopper’ (1321-kw)
- \*-ʕt- > -ʕot-: qaʕt-aa ‘pelican’ > UA \*koto / \*koʕota ‘crane’ (1000-p)
- \*-ʕt- > -ʕat-: raaʕtaa / raataa ‘lung(s), n.f.’ > Cr taʕatime ‘lungs’ (1428)
- \*-qb- > -kup-: raqbubit ‘moth’ > UA \*(V)kupipika ‘butterfly’ (1054)
- \*-tp- > -ʕp-: Eg stpt ‘choice things of food’ > SUA saʕpa / saʕapa ‘meat’ (256)
- \*-lb- > -ʕp-: ʕelēb ‘fat’ < \*ʕilb > UA \*wip / \*wiCp / \*wiʕp (> \*wiʕi) ‘fat’ (652-p)

**Liquid > -ʕ- then anticipated (\*-CL- > -Cʕ- > -ʕC-)** or anticipation and glottalization may be simultaneous:

- \*-ml- > (-mʕ- >) -ʕm-: šimlaa / šimla-t ‘wrapper, mantle, cloak’ > \*samʕaC / saʕmaC ‘cover, rug, blanket, n’ (764)
- \*-kl- > (-kʕ- >) -ʕk-: tiklaa ‘purple-blue, violet’ > UA \*tiʕkaC ‘red pigment’ (1134)
- \*-dʕr- > (-cʕ- >) -ʕc-: baʕara ‘sow’; baʕar- ‘seed(s)’ > \*paCci / \*paʕci ‘seed’ (554-p)
- \*-ʕr- > (-wʕ- >) -ʕw-: baʕr- ‘sea, large river, water (vs. land)’ > UA \*paC (pharyngeal -C) / \*paʕwi ‘water’ (1165-p)
- \*-nr- > (-nʕ- >) -ʕn-: Eg ʕnr(t) ‘flint’ > UA \*wiʕnaC ‘flint, arrowhead’ (426)
- \*-mr- > (-mʕ- >) -ʕm-: ʕmr ‘bury, cook underground with coals’ > UA \*tiʕma ‘baked underground with coals’ (865)
- \*-ʕr- > (-tʕ- >) -ʕt-: peʕer ‘firstborn’ < \*paʕr- > UA \*paʕti / \*paCtiʕi ‘older sibling’ (837)

### Other types of 2<sup>nd</sup> consonants > ʕ and then anticipated

- \*-nq- > -ʕn-: ynq ‘to suck’, impfv: yiinaq; yaanq-aa ‘nursing child-the’ > UA \*yiʕna ‘smoke by sucking’ (1160)
- \*-nx- > -ʕŋ- or SUA -ʕn-: Eg ʕnxt ‘grain’ > Tr/Wr \*(w)ʕna ‘corn cob, olote’ (443)

### Liquid as 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant is usually lost or lessened to -y- or -ʕ-:

- \*-ql- > -k-: ʕaql-aa ‘field-the, open country-the’ > UA \*oka ‘sand, earth, rock’ (1275)
- \*-qr- > -k-: qrʕ ‘rip/tear to pieces’, impfv: -qraʕ > UA \*kowV ‘to tear’ (965)
- \*-ql- > -k-: šql take, take (self away), depart’ > UA \*saka(la) ‘go, leave’ (1086)??
- \*-šr- > -lʕ- (Tb): ʕšr (< \*xdr) ‘be green, verdure, vegetation’ > Tb hulʕhulʕ ‘be green’ (1412-kw)
- \*-ʕr- > -r-: ʕrb ‘lay waste, destroy’; ye-ʕrab ‘massacre’ or yuʕrab > SP yurava ‘be overcome’ (exception?) (674)

### Velar/Uvular + -r- > -ky-:

- \*-gr- > -ky-: pagr-aa ‘corpse, body’ > UA \*pikyaa ‘skin, animal hide, flesh’ (1130-p)
- \*-gr- > -ky-: šigr-aa ‘drain, ditch, gutter-the’ > Hp sikya ‘small valley, ravine, canyon with sloped sides’ (1403-p)
- \*-qr- > -ky-: šqr ‘be fair complexion, blond, blondness, redness, fire color’ > Hopi sikya- ‘yellow’ (1405)
- \*-hr- > -r-: Eg phr ‘turn, turn about, revolve’ > UA \*piʕri-na > \*piyi(na) ‘spin/twist thread, make rope’ (289)

### Liquid \*-ll- > -n- in Numic:

- \*-ll- > -nʕn-: bll moisten, mix’ > UA \*kwallV ‘soft(en), stir’, Num -nn-, SP -nʕn- (22-kw)
  - \*-nl-/ll- > -n-: lebb, hal/han-lebb ‘the-heart’ > Hp inaŋwa ‘heart, life’ (1312-kw)
  - \*-ħabbil (< \*ħbl) ‘bind, tie together’ > SP wikkwinta ‘to wrap around, coil’ (658-kw)
- And nasal clusters show glottal stop between the two in SP: \*-NN- > SP \*-NʕN-
- \*-ll- > -nʕn-: bll ‘moisten, mix’ > UA \*kwallV ‘soft(en), stir’, Num -nn-, SP -nʕn- (22-kw)
  - \*-mm-/mml- > -mʕm-: wayyigammel ‘tie, load, adorn’ > SP wikamʕmi ‘put blanket over’ (938)

Clusters sometimes reduce the whole complexity to simply glottal stop -ʕ-. Such even show a difference between closely related languages of the same branch. For example, no UA specialist would doubt the relatedness of the Tr and Wr terms in 1058 (below), or the terms of the closely related Numic languages in 1408, yet the discrepancies -y- vs. -ʕ- and -n- vs. -ʕ- are major differences without explanation to date.

- \*-rn- > -y-/ʕ-: šarnaqat ‘cocoon’, pl \*sarnaqoot > Wr \*caʕiku / Tr \*cayiku < \*caCCiku ‘cocoon’ (1058-kw)
- \*-nħ- > -ʕ-/n-: dnħ ‘rise, shine (sun, moon, star)’; dinħ-aa ‘sunrise, star’ > Num tinuN/tiʕN in \*ta-tinuN- ‘star’ (1408)

\*-rq- > NUA -': 'arqə-taa / ʕarqə-taa 'fluke worm, parasite worm' > UA/Num \*wo'a 'worm' (1224)

\*-rz- > NUA -': 'arz-aa' 'cedar-the' > NUA \*wa'aC 'juniper / cedar tree' (582-p)

\*-rʂ- > -c-: 'arʂ-aa 'earth-ward, to the earth' > UA \*wici, NUA \*-y-, Num \*-'- (581-p)

Note the last two (581, 582) have the similar clusters (\*-rz-, \*-rʂ-) and both go to -' in NUA. SUA does differently.

### 7.3 Grammatical and Morphological Parallels

The grammatical and morphological parallels between the Near-East languages and UA have been noted periodically throughout the book as they occur, but are gathered here for unified consideration.

**Five Stative and Passive Affixes:** Most pervasive, in all branches of UA, is the Egyptian old perfective / stative -i (final vowel -i on verbs), which final -i is also a perfective in Tep and a stative in all other branches:

(116) Egyptian old perfective/stative verb-i verb-i 'intransitive / passive / stative verb'

Three other Egyptian passives or statives are also found in UA, suffixes in both Egyptian and UA:

(117) Egyptian passive verb-w/-iw verb-wa/ verb-iwa

(118) Egyptian passive verb-tw verb-tu / verb-tuwa

(119) Egyptian stative suffix verb-ti verb-ti (WTr, Numic, others)

The Hebrew / Phoenician passive / reflexive / reciprocal prefix is also found in UA:

(2) reflexive/reciprocal/passive verb prefix \*na- > UA reciprocal/ reflexive verb prefix \*na-

**Five plural morphemes:** Four Semitic plural suffixes match four UA plural suffixes, and one Egyptian prefix, which is also a plural prefix in Egyptian.

(1) Northwest Semitic masculine plural suffix \*-iima > UA pl suffix \*-ima

(904) Hebrew feminine plural suffix -oot / -ootee<sup>y</sup>; the primary suffix -oot, is often augmented to -ootee(y) > UA \*-tī 'plural suffix' in three branches of SUA plus Hopi in NUA. Besides being a regular plural suffix in those branches, many other instances of -ootee<sup>y</sup> fossilized into UA terms from the Hebrew feminine plural of which we give an example in 564 below:

(564) Hebrew saapaa(t) 'lip', pl: sapoot 'lips', s<sup>o</sup>pootee<sup>y</sup> 'lips of' > UA \*puti 'lip' in Tbr tini-purí-t 'lip'

(1417) Aramaic -aayaa '-the' is the Aramaic definite plural suffix > Hopi -ya, one of Hopi's non-singular plural suffixes, yet it most often follows -a, as in -a-ya 'pl' to parallel Aramaic -aayaa

For three suffixes—\*-iima > UA \*-(i)ma, \*-ootee<sup>y</sup> > UA \*-tī, \*-aayaa > UA \*-ya—the consistency is that the first vowel is usually lost in UA, while the consonant and final vowel more often remain in UA. The reason the first vowel is often lost is because most UA forms end with a vowel, which creates a diphthong or vowel cluster, which clusters in UA are usually subject to a rule of the first vowel eliminating the second.

One Egyptian plural found in UA is a prefix, again both in Egyptian and in Tarahumara.

(121) Egyptian i- or ip- 'plural prefix on old demonstrative pronouns' (Gardiner 1969, 85; Allen 2000, 53) as in Egyptian pn, pw, tn, tw 'this'; ipn, ipw, iptn, iptw 'plural, these.'

Tr i- or ip- 'plural prefix': Tr čabóči 'spider'; Tr ičápoči 'spiders';

Tr siríame 'local/tribal leader, governor'; pl: isérigame 'leaders' (Brambila 1953, 14, 15)

Tr bineri 'alone, only, sg'; Tr a'wineri 'alone, only, pl' (< \*appineri, Stubbs 1995, 413)

In addition, Hebrew's dual suffix is also a dual suffix in UA:

(905) Hebrew -ayim / -aym 'dual suffix' > Northern Ute and WMU -im/-yim/-əyəm 'dual suffix'

**Egyptian pw:** Impressive is Egyptian -pw 'he/it' in phrases of *noun/adjective-pw* 'he is noun/adjective':

(122) Egyptian pw, originally a demonstrative pronoun 'this/it' later 'he/they' and came to be used for emphasis or topicalization, always in 2<sup>nd</sup> position in specific structures: A-pw B 'it is A who is B / A is B' or A-pw verb 'it is A who verbs'; Egyptian pw > UA \*po/pu 'he, she, it, 3<sup>rd</sup> sg': Ls -pu-; Wc pī-; and My -po.

Ls yixélvu-l 'intelligent, alert' fits perfectly Egyptian iqr-pw 'he (pw) is one excellent, intelligent, capable';

Ls 'itéŋvu 'hot spring' ('itéŋ- 'hot'), so 'itéŋ-vu 'hot-it is' or 'it (is) hot';

(1146) Aramaic tek / tikk-aa 'twisted cord, chain-the' so \*tikka-pu 'cord-it is' > UA \*tikaa-pu 'rope':

Mn tīgápo 'rope'; NP tīgapu 'rope'; and several other examples at 122.



**Late Egyptian article prefixes** are treated at 4.4 and are as follows:

	masculine	feminine
Indefinite singular: ‘a/an’	wa-	wa-
Definite singular: ‘the’	pa-	ta-
Plural ‘the’ for either gender	na-	na-

Several UA terms (373-380, 174, 339, 520, and others) have fossilized the Egyptian article prefix with the Egyptian term. We do not repeat all of them here, but note the following sample:

(174) Egyptian sxt ‘country, pasture, willow, n.fem’ > UA \*sakat / \*sakaC ‘willow’; UA \*sakat ‘willow’ is widespread in most branches, but Hopi has the fossilized feminine prefix for this Egyptian feminine noun in Hopi tūisaqa ‘grass’.

(339) Egyptian t’-ḥimat ‘the-wife’ (Coptic hime) > UA \*tīhima ‘spouse’: These match the definite article form fossilized with the noun: Egyptian t’-ḥimat ‘the-wife’.

(373) Three synonymous variants for Tr ‘bumblebee’—Tr napári, ípára, wapára—have undergone a vowel change from Egyptian bit ‘bee’ which is a feminine noun and so has the three prefixes: na-, ta-, wa-.

Hebrew and Arabic have prefixed definite articles; however, Aramaic has suffixed articles in ‘noun-the’: masculine noun-aa(‘) and feminine noun-t-aa(‘). The final glottal stop is in parentheses because it is written, generally only to signify a long vowel; however, it appears that UA forms may be from a dialect that was pronouncing the glottal stops. In some Aramaic dialects, these forms with definite article have become the citation forms of nouns, the ‘the’ losing its definite significance, as it is in UA also. First, note the masculine nouns to which -aa(‘) ‘the’ is suffixed:

(743) Aramaic tuumr-aa ‘palm-the’ > UA \*tu’ya ‘type of palm tree’ fits Aramaic, but not Hebrew taamaar.

(604) Aramaic rə’emaan-aa / reemaan-aa ‘antelope-the’ > UA \*tīmīna ‘antelope’

(618) Aramaic di’b-aa ‘wolf-the’ > UA \*tī’pa ‘wolf’ (vs. Hebrew haz-zə’eb ‘the-wolf’)

(617) Aramaic diqn-aa ‘beard-the, chin-the’ > UA \*tī’na > \*tī’ni ‘mouth’ (vs. Hebrew zaaqaan ‘beard, chin’)

(1130) Aramaic pagr-aa ‘corpse-the’ > Hp pīikya ‘skin, fur’ (vs. Hebrew hap-peger ‘the-corpse’)

(1403) Syriac šigr-aa ‘drain, ditch, gutter-the’ > Hp sikya ‘small valley, ravine, canyon with sloped sides’.

(1405) Arabic šqr ‘be of fair complexion, blond, fair-haired, color of fire’

> Hopi sikya- ‘yellow’; Hopi sikya-ḡ-pī ‘yellow(ish) thing’; Hopi sikya-qa’ö ‘yellow-corn’.

(1046) Hebrew ḡgr ‘gird (self)’; Hebrew ḡgoraa ‘girdle, loincloth, n.f.’; Aramaic \*ḡgor-aa

> UA \*wikosa ‘belt’. The -r- devoices next to voiceless t, then the whole cluster goes to -s-.

(889) Hebrew rkb ‘to mount, climb up’; Aramaic rikb-aa ‘upper millstone-the’ > UA \*tūppa ‘mortar, pestle’ (i.e., upper millstone): Wr te’pá ‘above’; TO čīpa ‘hole in bedrock for mashing mesquite bean’; ST topaa ‘mortar’; Ls tóopa-l ‘mortar for grinding’ (Ls o < \*i)

(634) ‘loins, hip’: Akkadian xaṣaatu; Syriac ḡṣṣaa; Arabic xaṣr- ‘hip, haunch, waist’; Samaritan ḡarṣ-aa; Aramaic ḡarṣ- ‘hip’; Mandaic haṣa, haṣa > UA \*kaca- ‘hip’

(1409) Aramaic kuuky-aa ‘spiderweb’ > UA \*kuukyaC: Hopi kookyaṅw ‘spider’; even Cp kúka-t ‘blackwidow spider’ shows a final consonant where that glottal stop would be; otherwise, the absolutive suffix would be -l, not -t.

Sometimes the final glottal stop (whether originally pronounced or not) of Aramaic’s definite article suffix—masculine -aa’ or feminine -taa’, is apparent in UA, as in spider above (1409) and in many others (as below):

(81) Aramaic \*ḡaberet > UA \*hupi- > Cr hūi (because \*u > Cr i, and \*-p- disappears in Cora, so

Aramaic \*ḡaberet-aa’ ‘woman’ > Cr hūita’a ‘woman’ (Casad 1984, 161) is a very good match;

(1055) Syriac ‘aamaqqat-aa’ ‘lizard-the, n.f.’ > NP makaca’a ‘horned toad’ (with echo vowel after -a’)

Also notice how well Western Numic (Mn and NP) words for ‘deer’ reflect both the feminine -ta ‘deer’ and the masculine -a ‘buck deer’ as a distinction in Mn and NP:

(638) Semitic \*raxel ‘ewe’ > Mn tīhīta ‘deer’; Mn tīhīya ‘old buck’; Mn(L) tīhīhta ‘deer’; NP tīhīdda ‘deer’; NP(B) tīhī’ya ‘deer’. So Mn has both and the genders of the suffixes match. The NP dialects show one of each as a general word, but no gender distinction, yet NP(B) tīhīda when possessing s.th.’

(794) Aramaic ‘iibr-aa’ ‘penis-the’ > UA \*wī’aC ‘penis’

Longer Aramaic words of 3 and 4 syllables often lose the first syllable in UA, yet all else in the UA term matches that Aramaic form quite well. Of course, a Hebrew cognate may have existed, yet many UA forms match Aramaic forms not found in Hebrew, or would not match Hebrew correspondences as in 1056:

(1054) Aramaic raqbubit-aa ‘moth-the’ > UA \*(V)kupīpika ‘butterfly’

(1055) Syriac ’aamaqqat-aa ‘lizard-the, n.f.’ > UA \*makkaCta(Nka)-ci ‘horned toad’

(1056) Syriac ḥady-aa ‘breast-the, n.f.’, pl: ḥ<sup>o</sup>daawaat- > UA \*tawi ‘chest’; UA aligns with the Aramaic plural with loss of the first unstressed syllable of the plural.

(23) Syriac bilṭii-taa ‘boring worm-the’ > UA \*kwici ‘worm, feces-snake’

(19) Arabic barr- ‘land’; Aramaic \*barr-aa ‘field-the’ > UA \*kwiya / \*kwira ‘earth’

(603) Aramaic rymh (= riimaa) ‘large stone’; with ‘-the’ suffixed would be

Aramaic riimā-taa ‘large stone-the, n.f.’; Syriac ryaam-taa ‘large stone-the, n.f.’ > UA \*timī-ta

Another feature suggests that Semitic-kw is Phoenician-like, while Semitic-p is more Aramaic-like. There is evidence that some nouns from Semitic-kw used to include the Northwest Semitic definite article prefix \*haC- > UA \*iC- (vs. Semitic-p Aramaic suffixes masculine: -aa / feminine: -t-aa); not all Semitists agree whether this prefix \*hal-/\*han- ends with -l- or -n-, but either way, that final -C assimilates to double the initial consonant of the noun in Phoenician/Hebrew and does the same in Arabic for some sounds. Some nouns from Semitic-kw appear to include the article prefix:

(1522-kw) Hebrew \*ham-madwe ‘the-menstrual blood’ > hiNtwa > UA \*iNtwa ‘blood’.

(1312-kw) Hebrew \*hal/han-lebb ‘the heart’ > Hp ṭnaṭwa ‘heart, life’

Note that both reduce to ĩ-. Other forms lost a short initial syllable, which would be quite natural if subject to the prefix \*haC-, causing the first short syllable to collapse and disappear:

(1378-kw) ṣ<sup>o</sup>pardeaṣ ‘frog’ > UA \*kwa<sup>o</sup> ‘frog’; \*haC- ‘the’ encouraged cluster \*ha-ṣṣpardVṣ > kwa<sup>o</sup> ‘ro

(597) Arabic ’arnab ‘rabbit’, Hebrew f. pl: \*<sup>a</sup>rnaboot, ha’rnabot > ha-tapot > UA \*taput ‘cottontail rabbit’

### Noun morphology with possessive suffix

Verbs or Nouns followed by the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular suffix Hebrew -w / -o are fossilized in UA:

(628) Hebrew zaqn-o ‘chin-his’ > SUA \*ca’lo ‘chin, jaw’

(567) Hebrew ya-’amiin-o ‘he-believes-him/it’ > UA yawamino ‘believe him/it’

(906) Hebrew -w ‘his/its’ > UA \*-wa / \*-wV ‘possessed suffix’ usually as -w in most UA languages

### Semitic Verb Morphology in Uto-Aztecan

(1494) explains the morphological and syntactic similarities of the Hebrew vav-consecutive, a perfective or past-tense construction, and the formation of the Nahuatl past tense. The order of morphemes is also the same in both Hebrew and Nahuatl, and both drop the final vowel of the verb stem:

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

In Cora the more clear and original wa- is prefixed.

It is natural to expect that 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular forms would be the most likely to survive, and indeed Semitic 3<sup>rd</sup> person sg forms are what we find in UA, while 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms have not been noticed.

(3) Northwest Semitic sg perfective \***yašiba** ‘sit, reside’ > UA \***yasipa** ‘sit, reside’

pl perfective \***yašibuu** ‘sit, reside, pl’ > UA/Tep \***yasipu** ‘sit, reside’; the two Semitic forms (sg and pl) are not specified as sg and pl in UA, but both exist in UA, having lost number significance.

(4) Hebrew bšl / **baašel** ‘boiled’ > \***kwasiC** ‘cook(ed), ripe(n)’; while most of UA reflects the baašel

adjective, AYq has both the perfect verb \*bašala > AYq bwasa’a (\*-l- > -’) and the adj AYq bwase/bwasi

The final vowel of the Proto-Semitic singular perfective kataba / yašiba was lost in Hebrew (kaatab) and in Aramaic (kətab), but is preserved in Arabic kataba and sometimes appears in UA:

(3) Northwest Semitic sg perfective \*yašiba ‘sit, reside’ > UA \*yasipa ‘sit, reside’

(87) Arabic ṣgz / ṣagaza ‘to age, grow old (of women)’ > Tr wegaca- ‘grow old (of women)’

(94) Hebrew ršf ‘act wickedly, be guilty’ > UA \*tasawa ‘be/do bad’

(580) Semitic qr' / qara'a 'call, cry out' > UA \*koyowa 'yell, shout'

Final vowel -uu of the Semitic **plural -uu** sometimes appears in UA and is sometimes specified as plural in the Tep branch:

(50) Hebrew -lbašuu 'put on (garment), clothe (oneself)' (-lb- > -bb- > -kw-) > UA \*kwasu 'dress, shirt'

(3) Most UA forms reflect sg pfv yašiba, but pl pfv \*yašibuu 'sit, reside, pl' > UA/Tep \*yasipu 'sit, reside'

(99) Hebrew rakb-uu 'they mounted, climbed' > UA \*ti'pu 'climb up'

Syriac rakb-uu-hi 'they climbed it' > UA \*ciCpuhi 'climb'; Mn cibuhi 'climb with arms and legs'

(528) Semitic bayt-uu 'they lie down, pl' > PYp veetu 'lie, be situated, inan pl'; both even agree in plural.

(1034) Hebrew nqm, Arabic naqama 'avenge o.s., be angry', pl naqamu > Wr nehkamú- 'be angry'

(1068) Hebrew hi-qšiiib 'listen, prick up ears', impfv: (ya)-qšeeb, pl: -qšebuu / -qšiiibuu > UA \*kīpu 'hear'

(1258) Hebrew plural: šaluu '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 UA \*wiwīlu-ka 'stand, pl'

(221) Egyptian wr 'big, sg' and wrw/wrwrw > UA \*wīrwīru 'big, pl'

Note how often Tepiman verbs (often pl in Tep also) reflect Semitic plural forms: 3, 221, 528, 1258.

The Hebrew conjugation called hiqtiil in the form of hi-CCiiC is also found in UA:

(810) Hebrew hikkiir 'recognize, know, know how to' (hiqtiil of nkr) > Tr iki- 'know, be aware of.'

(838) Hebrew npš 'breathe'; npeš 'breath, life, soul'; unattested \*hippiiš > UA \*hikwis 'breathe, spirit/heart'

Imperfective (impfv) 3<sup>rd</sup> person prefixed verb forms, both masculine (ya-/yi-) and feminine (ta-/ti-), are also throughout UA: impfv prefix ya-/ta- from Semitic-p vs. yi-/ti- from Semitic-kw.

**Semitic-kw yi-/ti-** (e.g., 20, 1313, 84, 797):

(20) Hebrew/Phoenician \*ti-barr 'select, choose' > Ls čkwáy-i- 'to choose, select' is from Semitic-kw

(1313) Semitic yi-knVš 'be humble' > CN iknoa 'to be humane, compassionate, humble'

(814) Hebrew šmḥ / šamaḥ 'sprout, grow' (< Semitic \*damaxa), impfv: \*yi-šmaḥ (< \*ya-ḏmax):

CN camawa 'to grow, become big' is of Semitic-kw as is the impfv below in 84:

(84) Hebrew šmḥ, impfv: yi-šmaḥ (< \*ya-šmaḥ) 'sprout' > UA \*icmo of CN icmo-liini 'sprout, grow';

However, (813) has the same impfv form from Semitic-p showing both \*ya- and loss of 1<sup>st</sup> C in a cluster:

(813) Hebrew šmḥ, impfv: \*yi-šmaḥ (< \*ya-ḏmax) > UA \*yama 'sprout, grow'; UA \*yama 'up, over'.

We see the Semitic-kw perfective in CN camawa, because š > UA c and pharyngeal ḥ > w, and we see Sem-kw imperfective in UA \*icmo 'sprout, grow' because the first consonant of the cluster is prominent, yi- prefix, and ḥ > o. In contrast, Sem-p UA \*yama 'sprout, grow, up' loses the first consonant of the cluster, shows Sem-p ya- prefix, and did not round the final vowel, because keeping final x, though lost, is not pharyngeal and so would not round the final vowel.

**Semitic-p prefixes ya-/ta-** (e.g., 1035, 567, 560, 561, 796):

(1035-p) Hebrew qmš 'take a handful, be miserly, stingy', impfv \*ya-qmuš > UA \*yamuC 'angry, stingy'

(567-p) Hebrew ya'amiin 'he believes, 3<sup>rd</sup> m sg impfv' > UA \*yawamin- 'believe'

Hebrew ya'amiin-o 'he believes him/it' > UA \*yawamin-o 'believe him/it'

(560-p) Semitic \*ya-bka<sup>y</sup> 'he/it weeps, cries, m.sg.' > UA \*yaCkaC > \*yakka / \*yaka 'cry'

(561-p) Semitic \*ta-bka<sup>y</sup> 'she/it weeps, cries, f.sg.' > NP taka (< \*takka) 'cry, vi'.

Like the ya-/yi- difference in Sem-p vs. Sem-kw prefixes, respectively, UA \*nihya also shows two features that align it with Semitic-kw, having ni- (instead of na-) and no rounding or sign of the glottal stop:

(991-kw) Phoenician/Hebrew ni-qla 'he/it is called/named' > UA \*nihya 'call, name'

Another feature of Semitic morphology apparent in UA are the pfv vowelings. Most Semitic verbs have the pfv vowelings CaCaCa. However, some verbs, perhaps less than 10%, have a vowelings of CaCiCa, where the middle vowel is -i- instead of -a-. Though originally CaCiCa, some of these later changed to CaCaCa. Yet UA consistently shows the original vowelings: CaCiCa.

(769) Hebrew tqp 'to overpower, v'; Aramaic taqep '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/M-ta9: Wr tahkipúna ‘empujar muchas veces [push many times];  
 (3) Semitic yašiba (sg), yašibuu (pl) > UA \*yasipa, \*yasipu  
 (1521) Semitic \*kapina ‘be hungry’; Aramaic(S) kappiin ‘hungry’; Syriac kəpen / kəpin ‘be hungry’:  
 Tḡ kovii- ‘be hungry’.  
 (649) Hebrew ḥaataa ‘miss (a mark), do wrong’ shows the later change, but Arabic xaṭi’a ‘be mistaken, to err’ shows the original vowelings, as appears in the Sem-kw form in UA \*wa(C)tiC ‘lose, lost, misled’

UA shows both the huqṭal participle and the huqṭal perfective of the verb nky below:  
 (52) Hebrew mukke ‘smitten’ (huqṭal participle) > UA \*mukki ‘die, be sick, smitten’  
 (53) Hebrew hukke ‘was smitten’ (3<sup>rd</sup> sg huqṭal pftv) > Tb hookii ‘deceased grandfather, grandson’

Semitic conjugation patterns are very specific. Only one full Semitic sg paradigm exists in UA, and that is in the Nahuatl singular pronouns deriving from the Aramaic verb hawaa ‘to be’:

(110)	<u>Hebrew/Semitic sg</u>		<u>Hebrew/Semitic pl</u>		<u>maghrib Arabic</u>		<u>Classical Nahuatl</u>
1 <sup>st</sup>	’e-/’a-	‘I (verb)’	ni-/na-	‘we (verb)’	n-	‘I verb’	ne’wa / nehwa ‘I’
2 <sup>nd</sup>	ti-/ta-	‘you sg (verb)’	ti-/ta-	‘you pl (verb)’	t-	‘you verb’	te’wa / tehwa ‘you, sg’
3 <sup>rd</sup>	yi-/ya-	‘he (verbs)’	yi-/ya-	‘they (verb)’	y-	he verbs’	ye’wa / yehwa ‘he’

The Classical Nahuatl (CN) singular pronoun series—nehwa (I), tehwa (you), yehwa (he)—parallels the imperfective of the Aramaic ‘be’ verb—’ehwe, tehwe, yehwe. Though the Nahuatl 1<sup>st</sup> person (nehwa ‘I’) differs from Semitic ’e-, the n- of the CN form is analogically like the fundamental n- of most Semitic ‘I/me’ forms. In fact, the maghrib Arabic dialect did the same, analogizing the impfv verb prefixes to be n-, t-, y- (Goldenberg 2013, 86), like the Classical Nahuatl singular series did also—nehwa, tehwa, yehwa.

Keep in mind that full paradigms hardly exist in the ancient Hebrew corpus either. Yet several verbs are found in UA exhibiting two or three or four shapes or conjugated forms of a Semitic verb’s paradigm. Consider some of the groups of items exhibiting various parts of a Semitic conjugation:

(1420) Semitic **nwr** ‘to make/become light’ with infinitive and imperfective: **-nuur(u)**, and perfective **naar**;  
 UA has both in Eu and Tr: UA \***nur** / \***nar** ‘to dawn, become light’: Eu nurú; Tbr nare.

(679) UA ose (< Hebrew pfv: ṣśy or prtcl ṣoose) and (680) UA yo’ose (< Hebrew impfv: y-ṣsy / ya-ṣsey)

	Hebrew root ktš ‘grind’	UA
(1094)	impfv -ktoš (< *ktusu) ‘pound, grind’	*tusu ‘grind’ with loss of 1 <sup>st</sup> C in a cluster
(615)	*kittēš (< *kittaš) ‘grind’	Yq kitte / kittasu ‘grind’
(614)	makteš ‘mortar, grinding stone’	*ma’ta ‘mortar, grinding stone’

(559) Hebrew bky/ baka ‘cry, weep’ (prfv); yV-bkV (imprfv); Syriac bakaa / baka’ > UA \*paka’ ‘cry, v’  
 (24) Hebrew bky/ bakaa’ ‘cry, weep’ > UA \*kwiki/\*o’ki ‘cry’ (Sem-kw) vs. 559 \*paka’ of Sem-p  
 Because bilabials as first element in a cluster disappear (-bk- > -k-), the imperfective 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine singular stem Hebrew \*yVbkV ‘weep’ with imprfv prefix originally \*ya- (later yi-) also matches UA \*yakka  
 (560) Semitic \*ya-bka’ ‘he/it weeps, cries, m.sg.’ > UA \*yaCkaC > \*yakka / \*yaka ‘cry’  
 (561) Semitic \*ta-bka’ ‘she/it weeps, cries, f.sg.’ > 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. So UA has both the m.sg \*ya-bkay > UA \*yakka and the f.sg. \*ta-bkay > UA \*takka, and also the perfective stem in UA \*paka’ of Sem-p and also Sem-kw’s \*kwiki/\*o’ki.

Hebrew ’kl shows various conjugated forms in UA: Hebrew ’akal ‘(he) ate (perfect), \*to’kal ‘she/it eats’; \*yo’kal ‘he/it eats’; ’akol / ’əkol (infinitive):

(798) Semitic ’akal ‘eat/ate’ > UA \*’aki ‘open mouth, eat, take/put into one’s mouth’ of Sem-kw  
 (796) Hebrew \*to’kal ‘she/it eats, f.sg. impftv’ > UA \*tikkaC ‘eat’ of Sem-p as V-l > aC retains vowel a  
 (797) Hebrew impfv: \*yo’kal ‘he/it eats, m.sg. impfv’ > UA \*yī’iki ‘swallow, taste’ of Sem-kw as VI > -i.

(1177) Arabic 'kl / 'akala 'eat, eat away, corrode'; Hebrew 'kl / 'aakal 'eat, savour, have sense of taste, enjoy love'; from Hebrew infinitive 'əkol, and a semantic shift from 'eat, enjoy' to 'desire' > UA \***ukol** 'want'

Note both the Hebrew pfv **laaqah** and the impfv **yi-qqah** in UA:

(695) Hebrew **lqh** / **laaqah** 'take (in hand), take as wife'; Arabic **lqh** / **laqaḥa** 'to impregnate';

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

Hopi(Seaman) **löhqö** / **lööqö** 'she married'; Hopi(Seaman) **löhqöqna** / **lööqökna** 'they gave her in marriage'.

(696) pre-Hebrew \***ya-lqah** > Masoretic Hebrew \***yi-qqah**; final pharyngeal rounded UA vowels:

Hebrew \***yi-qqah** > UA \***yokoC** 'to copulate', Azt **yekoaa** 'taste, copulate'.

(1465) Hebrew **lqh**, imperative forms: **qah** and **qəḥaa** > Hp **ŋi'a** 'grab, catch'; WMU **güü** / **küü-** 'grasp, catch, get, take, vt'; Kw **ku'u** 'catch, get, receive'.

(1031) Hebrew **qn** 'be jealous', impfv: **-qna** > UA \***nawa** 'be jealous' of Sem-p, as ' > w, and no **ŋ**, with loss of first C of the cluster **-qn-**.

(1032) Hebrew **qn** 'be jealous', impfv: **-qna** > Ls **ŋe'i** 'get even'; My **na'ibúke** 'is jealous'. My **na'i-** aligns well with Ls **ŋe'i**, because Sem-kw shows **q** > **ŋ**, 1<sup>st</sup> C prominence, NUA **ŋ** > SUA **n**, no rounding for '.

(1033) Hebrew **qn** 'jealous'; Hebrew **qannaa** 'zealot, jealous one' > Kw **kinii-ga-dī** 'one covetous'

Three different morphological shapes of the root Semitic **kbd** 'be heavy, honor, sweep' appear in UA:

Semitic/Hebrew **kabbed** 'to honor, sweep/clean, make respectable' (**qattel** 'intensive');

and impfv: \***-kbudu** / \***-kbod**; Hebrew **hikbad** / **hikbiid** 'to sweep':

(1353) Semitic \***-kbudu** / Hebrew \***-kbod** > UA \***poci** 'sweep'

(1354) Hebrew \***hikbad-** 'sweep' > \*(**hi**)**paca** 'sweep'

(1355) Aramaic(J) **-kabbed** 'to clean, sweep' > UA \***kaper** 'be clean, good'

(1126) Hebrew **yšb** or **yšg** (**hiqtiil** means 'to set, place') or **yšf** / Arabic **wadaḥa** 'lay, put down, set, place' UA \***yaca** 'set, put' and (1127) UA \***moci** 'set, put' reflect the **qal** perfect and **hiqtiil** participle, respectively

Hebrew **šlw** / **šly**, pfv: **šaala** 'ascend, go up, grow'; and Hebrew impfv: **tašale** 'it/she grows, goes up':

(681) UA \***wila/i** 'grow': Ca **wél** 'to grow, rise up high'; Cp **wéle** 'to grow'; Ls **wola/i** 'grow (of plants or anim subj)'; and Hp **wiŋwa** 'grow, grow up' (**-lw-** > **-ŋw-**)

(682) UA \***tiwil** 'grow': Cp **tewe** 'to grow of plants'; TO **čiwil-him** 'to grow'. Tb **wilaa'lat** 'climb, climb on'

(1258) Hebrew plural: **šaluu** '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 UA \***wiwilu-ka** 'stand, pl'

Aramaic **gəmal** / Hebrew **gaamal** 'complete, ripen, wean' (cognate to Arabic \***ḡamula** 'be beautiful') is found in the the perfective (936, 937, 939) and in the imperfective (1175) and in a **waw**-consecutive conjugation (938). In the imperfective (1175), its first consonant can be expected to be lost because the pattern or conjugation sets it as first consonant in a cluster:

(1175) Hebrew **gml**, impfv **-gmol** 'to complete, ripen, wean' > \***mo(i)** 'ripen'

(936) Note 3 meanings in both Semitic and UA: Semitic: 'complete' and 'beautiful' and 'be proper, befit' > UA 'quit/stop (when complete)' and 'look good' and 'be proper, fit, wrap (in garment/blanket)'.  
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);

Tb(V) **kam'-(ut)** ~ **'aŋgam** 'it fits'; Tb(H) **kam'mut**, pfv **aŋkam** 'to fit, be proper' (**l** > ' in Tb cluster);

Ca **qami** (before C), **qamñ** (before V) 'to leave, quit, stop'.

(937) 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 **kimilli** 'bundle of clothes, blankets'; CN **kimilooa** 'wrap in a blanket, vt';

(938) Hebrew **wayyigammel** > Numic **wikam'mi** 'put on, cover/wrap in blanket'; for same SNum languages with **m** 2<sup>nd</sup> & liquid 3<sup>rd</sup> C, see **ṭmr** > **tim'ma** 'bury'. 939 is Sem-kw perfective.

Semitic \***psx** has both the impfv (\***-psax**) and an adjectival form (\***pissex**) which appear in UA:

(639) Hebrew **psḥ** (< \***psx**) 'be lame, limp'; Arabic **fsx**, **ya-fsaxu** 'dislocate, disjoint'; from the imperfective stem \***-psax**, and bilabials (**b**, **p**) disappear as first consonant in a cluster, so \***sakV** is what we would expect in UA and is what we see in CU, and WMU assimilated/raised the vowel from **a** > **i/ü**:

CU saki- ‘to limp, v’; WMU sügü-y / sügü-y ‘to limp, be lame, vi’.

(640) Hebrew psḥ (< \*psx) ‘be lame, limp’; Hebrew pisse<sup>ah</sup> ‘limping’, pl: pišḥim (> piškiim) ‘limping’ (verbal adj) > UA \*piski / \*pisiki ‘bad, rotten’

Sets 540-543 show four different morphological shapes of the root bṯḥ ‘trust, believe’:

540 Hebrew bṯḥ ‘trust, v’; Hebrew biṯḥa(t) ‘trusting’; Hebrew \*baṯiḥ ‘trusted’

> UA \*pittiwa ‘believe, be true/real, trustable’

541 Hebrew baatūḥ ‘trusting, confident’ > UA \*paso ‘true, consider true, believe, truly, indeed!’

542 Hebrew bṯḥ ‘trust, v’, from the impfv stem -bṯaḥ we expect UA \*cawa ‘believe’ and loss of -b

543 Hebrew baatūḥ ‘trustful, confident’ UA \*puttuwa (> \*puttucuwa) ‘know’

### **Nouns often become verbs, or many Semitic nouns appear in UA as denominalized verbs:**

(63) Syriac sirq-aa ‘comb-the, n’ > UA \*cika ‘to comb, sweep’ (denominalized verb)

(35) Aramaic birkaa ‘blessing’ > UA \*kwika ‘sing’ (denominalized verb)

(86) Hebrew šəṣaaqaa ‘yelling, screaming, call for help, n’ > UA \*coaka ‘cry, v’ (denominalized verb)

(1162) Hebrew ṣaṯiṣaa ‘sneeze, noun fem.’ > \*ha’t(w)isa (> \*ha’(N)kwisa) ‘to sneeze, vi’

(138) Instead of the Egyptian verb bši ‘to vomit’, the noun bšw ‘vomiter’ is made a verb with the verbalizing suffix -ta in UA \*piso-ta ‘to vomit’; likewise,

(170) Egyptian txi ‘to drink, be drunk’, and from the noun txw ‘drunkard’ is made a verb ‘be drunk’

(1274) Syriac kaukb-aa ‘star-the’ > Sr kupaa’ (< \*kuppaa’) ‘to shine (of stars)’

(178) Egyptian x’i ‘disease’; Egyptian x’yt ‘slaughter, corpse-heap’ > UA \*ko’ya ‘fight, kill, die’

(581) Hebrew ’arš-aa ‘earth-ward, to the earth’ > UA \*wīci > Num \*wī’i ‘fall’

(614) Hebrew makteš ‘mortar, grinding stone’ > UA \*ma’ta ‘mortar, grinding stone’ but  
Ca \*mattaš ‘crush, squash’

(942) Hebrew qiinaa ‘funeral song, dirge’ > Ls ḡinaḡna ‘feel sorry for, be broken hearted’ (kwSem q > ḡ)

**Two-word sequences** typical of Semitic or Egyptian are sometimes found in UA. For one word, with its three, four, five, six, or more sounds of the word, to align with that number of the corresponding sounds of the related language’s word is one thing, but for two words—and in the same order—to align both sounds and syntax and for a longer length is more notable, and even less probable by chance. Examples follow:

Egyptian su ‘he/it’ (is) p’ṯt ‘quail’ > su-p’ṯt ‘quail’ > UA \*supa’awi ‘quail’ (475-6)

Egyptian iqr-pw ‘skillful, excellent, capable, intelligent’ (is) ‘he/she’ > Ls \*yikelvu ‘intelligent’ (122, 219)

Aramaic \*tikk-aa ‘cord-the’; with pw, \*tikk-aa-pw ‘cord-the-it is’ > UA \*tikapu ‘rope, thread’ (122, 1146)

Egyptian’s prefixed definite articles—p’ ‘the, masculine’; t’ ‘the, feminine’; n’ ‘the, plural’—appear in UA as well, and are also in prefixed position in UA, and they match the original gender of the noun that they are prefixed to, though gender distinction has not been preserved and they are not recognized as definite articles in UA; examples are found at 174, 185, 339, 357, 373-380

yry / yoore (m) / toore (f) ‘instruct, teach’ (hiqtiil 3 sg impfv), toore le/la ‘teach to him/her’

> Tb tooyla ‘teach (him/her)’ (1344)

pny / bə-paney ‘on the surface of’ > UA bepán ‘on, on top of, over’ (1398-p)

bə-taxat ‘at-under’ > UA \*pītaha ‘under’ (1390-p)

Also in UA, we see forms aligning with Hebrew vav-consecutive forms, a perfective or past-tense construction—wa-pronoun prefix-jussive verb stem—in 938, 1215, 830, 1518.

**7.4 Basic Vocabulary** (animal terms, body parts, basic nouns of nature) from the Near-East tie are numerous, as well as most pronouns (see 101-114). Animals are listed first, roughly from largest to smallest (insects), then birds, then reptiles and fish. The Near Eastern tie provides two terms for antelope, two terms for mountain lion, two for dogs, two for foxes, two for coyotes, two for squirrels, four for lungs, four for hair, etc. **Body parts** are listed generally from top (hair) to bottom (feet), then **man** and **woman**. The **basic nouns of nature** start in the sky (sun, moon, 4 terms for star) and come down to earth. All of these are necessarily abbreviated from the numbered set, which sets themselves can be checked for details:

- (604) Aramaic rə'emaan-aa / reemaan-aa 'antelope-the' > UA \*timīna 'antelope'  
 (29) Hebrew šəvii 'gazelle'; Arabic zaby-; Aramaic ṭaby-aa 'deer, gazelle' > Hp cöövi-wī 'antelope'  
 (147) Egyptian m'i 'lion' > UA \*mawīya 'mountain lion' (\* > w of Sem-p)  
 (566) Hebrew 'ari 'lion' > UA \*wari 'mountain lion'  
 (803) Hebrew kəfiir (< \*kapiir) 'young lion' > PYp kaper 'wildcat'; Wc kapuvi 'bobcat'  
 (618) Aramaic di'b-aa 'wolf-the' > UA \*ti'pa 'wolf'  
 (406) Egyptian b 'buck, ram, soul' > UA \*pa'aC / \*pa'at 'bighorn sheep'; UA \*pa'a 'all living creatures'  
 (734) Hebrew mə-šūdat 'net, prey, game' > UA \*masot (< \*masuta) 'deer'  
 (638) Semitic \*raxel 'ewe' > UA \*tīhīC 'deer': Mn tīhīya 'old buck'; Mn tīhīhta 'deer', and genders match  
 (1025) Aramaic guuryə-taa / guur-taa 'cub (female), young of animal (lion or dog)' > UA \*koCti 'dog'  
 (711) Hebrew kələb, kalb- 'dog'; Arabic kalb- 'dog'; pl: kilaab = \*kiloob  
 > Tb(V) 'iklooba-l 'fox'; Tb(M) yekalooba-l 'grey fox'  
 (447) Egyptian wtw 'pup (fox, dog)' > UA \*woci 'dog'  
 (129) Egyptian wnš 'jackal'; wnšt 'jackal, f'; pl: wnšiw 'Wolfs-hund' > UA \*wancio / wancia 'fox'  
 (391) Egyptian ishḥ 'jackal, fox' > UA \*isa'a(N)pa 'coyote'  
 (580) Hebrew/Arabic/Aramaic qr' / qara' 'call, cry out' > UA \*koyowa 'yell, shout'; \*koyoC 'coyote, fox'  
 (756) Hebrew šn' 'hate'; \*šanna' 'enemy, hating one' > Ch(L) šīnawavi 'Mythic Coyote, the pre-human, immortal personage'; UA \*sīna'a-/\*sīnawa 'coyote, trickster/cosmic hater/enemy of mankind (Sem-p)  
 (675) Arabic ḥnp 'be pigeon-toed, walk with toes inward' (like Arabic ḥnapaa' 'tortoise') > UA \*hunap 'badger'  
 (613) Hebrew \*dobboot 'bears, f pl', unattested \*d'bbotee' 'bears, construct pl' > UA \*poci / \*posi 'bear'  
 (724) Hebrew paršōš 'flea' (jumper, Hebrew pršš 'jump') > UA \*paro'osi 'jackrabbit'  
 (596) Hebrew 'arnēbet 'hare'; Arabic 'arnab 'hare, rabbit' > UA \*wa'na 'rabbit net'  
 (1088) Arabic xuld 'mole'; Syriac ḥld 'to burrow, drive a mine underground'; Aramaic ḥild-aa 'cave-dweller-the'  
 Proto-Semitic \*x > UA k, so \*xuld-aa / \*xild-aa > UA \*kita 'groundhog'  
 (1089) Hebrew qippod 'hedgehog'; Arabic \*qunpuḍ; Aramaic quuppaad 'hedgehog, mole' > UA \*kiNpa 'prairie dog'  
 (57) Arabic singaab 'squirrel'; Hebrew \*siggoob 'squirrel' > UA \*sikkuC 'squirrel'  
 (957) Arabic qarqadaan 'squirrel' > \*koṇi 'squirrel'  
 (579) Arabic \*pa'r- > fa'r- 'mouse' > UA \*pu'wiN (< \*pa'wiN) 'mouse'  
 (68) Hebrew gebiim 'swarm of locusts' (only in pl) > SP qīivi 'grasshopper'  
 (69) Hebrew gobay 'locust' > Eu okoboi 'grasshopper'; Kw haakapayni-ži 'grasshopper'  
 (1321) Hebrew ḥargol 'type of locust'; Arabic \*ḥargal / \*ḥurgul 'locust' > Tr urugi-pari 'grasshopper, sp.'  
 (28) Arabic šuršur 'cricket' > UA \*corcor 'cricket'  
 (88) Hebrew šaluqa(t) 'leech'; Arabic šalaqat; Syriac šilaq- 'leech, anything clammy or sticky' > UA \*walaka 'snail'  
 (363) Egyptian srqt / s'qt / slqt 'scorpion (a constellation)' > UA \*saka 'scorpion'  
 (479) Egyptian d'rt 'scorpion' > UA \*suyi 'scorpion, sting'  
 (832) Syriac srt 'scratch'; Arabic šrt 'tear, scratch'; Aramaic šartaan 'scratcher, crab, crayfish' would be  
 Hebrew šarṭoon > CU sičú-či 'crab' and CU sičú-ppi 'fingernail'; UA \*siCtuN / \*suCtuN 'claw, nail'  
 (1409) Aramaic kəkay / kwkyh 'spider' > UA \*kukkaC 'spider'  
 (1409) Aramaic kuuky-aa 'spiderweb' > Hopi kookyaṇw 'spider'; Ls kúyxiṇi-š 'black widow spider'  
 (141) Egyptian bit 'bee' > UA \*pita / \*piti > \*pica/pici  
 (737) Hebrew širšaa 'hornets' > UA \*saṇa 'yellowjacket, stinging one'  
 (784) Hebrew š'atlepp 'bat'; Aramaic(J) š'atlepp-aa 'bat-the' > UA \*ho'napi 'bat' (explained at 784)  
 (854) Hebrew saas 'clothes moth' (< \*saws); Arabic suus 'mothworm' > Tep \*soso-kimar 'butterfly'  
 (1054) Aramaic raqbubit-aa 'moth-eaten, moth-the' > UA \*...kupīpika / \*(C)Vkupīpika 'butterfly'  
 (17) Semitic ḍabboot 'flies' > Hebrew zabboot > UA \*sikwoti 'flies' (Sem-kw)  
 (620) Semitic ḍabboot 'flies' > Aramaic dVbboot > UA \*tapputi 'fleas' (Sem-p)  
 (390) Egyptian dwt 'mosquito, gnat, sandfly' > UA \*suti 'mosquito, gnat'  
 (310) Egyptian s' 'maggot' > UA \*sa'a / \*si'a 'louse'  
 (971) Syriac qarduun-aa 'louse-the, nit-the' > UA \*'aCtiN > \*'ati(N) 'louse'  
 (1058) Arabic šarnaqat 'cocoon', pl šarnaqaat would be Hebrew \*sarnaqoot  
 > UA \*ca'iku / \*caCCiku 'cocoon attached to plant'  
 (853) Aramaic ḥippušit-aa 'beetle-the' (Arabic \*xunpusaa'/xunpus 'beetle') > UA \*wippusa 'stink beetle'  
 (261) Egyptian sd 'tail' > Hp siri 'tail'

### Birds:

- (381) Egyptian wr(t) ḥq'w 'buzzard, lit: great (of) magic' > UA \*wirhukuN 'buzzard, turkey vulture'  
 (15) Semitic baaz 'falcon' > UA \*kwasa 'eagle' (Sem-kw)  
 (142) Egyptian bik 'falcon' > \*pik 'hawk, sp'  
 (475) Egyptian p'ṭt 'quail'; Egyptian sw 'he, she, it, pronoun': sw-p'ṭt > UA \*supa'awi 'quail'

- (1082) Hebrew *śolaaw*, pl: *salwiim* ‘quail’; Syriac *salway* ‘quail’; Samaritan *śalwi* > UA *\*solwi* ‘quail’  
 (960) Arabic *qarqara* ‘gurgle, coo (pigeon)’ > UA *\*kakkara* ‘quail’  
 (725) Hebrew *toor* ‘turtle-dove’ > UA *\*tori* ‘domestic bird’  
 (824) Hebrew *hayyownaa* / *hayyoonat* ‘dove’ > UA *\*hayowi* ‘dove’  
 (878) Hebrew *śayt* / *śeet* ‘bird of prey’; Aramaic *śayit-aa* ‘bird of prey-the’ > UA *\*wiCtiki* ‘bird’  
 (1117) Aramaic(CAL) *kwkby*; Syriac *kuukkəbbe* ‘owl’ > UA *\*kuku* ‘ground owl, burrowing owl’  
 (1361) Modern Syriac/Aramaic *papuke* ‘owl’ > UA *\*poko* ‘burrowing owl’  
 (1167) Aramaic *pəraḥ* ‘to fly, flower’; Hebrew *pəraḥ* ‘blossom’ > UA *\*pīyaw* ‘feather, to fly’

### Snakes / Reptiles and Fish:

- (115) Egyptian *sbk* ‘crocodile’, Greek *Sobek* > UA *\*supak* / *\*sipak* ‘crocodile’.  
 (332) Egyptian *qrḥt* ‘serpent spirit’ / *qrḥ* ‘friend/partner’ > UA *\*koNwa* ‘snake, twin’  
 (201) Egyptian *dnnwt* ‘snake species’ > UA *\*sinawi* ‘snake’  
 (1055) Syriac *ʾamaqqət-aa* ‘lizard-the, n.f.’ > UA *\*makkaCta(Nka)-ci* ‘horned toad’  
 (9) Arabic *qabb-V* ‘lizard’ > UA *\*cakwa* ‘lizard’ (Sem-kw)  
 (365) Egyptian *xḏw* / *xḏdw* ‘fish, coll. pl’ > UA *\*kicu* / *\*kucu* ‘fish’  
 (168) Egyptian *rm* ‘fish’ (Coptic rame, often in the pl *rmw*) > Tr *famú* ‘small fish’  
 (204) Egyptian *tbt* ‘fish’ > UA *\*(pa-)topa* ‘fish’  
 (234) Egyptian *mḥyt* ‘fish (collective), lit. swimmers’ > UA *\*muti* ‘fish’  
 (455) Egyptian *swr* ‘fish, sp.’ > CN *šowil-in* ‘catfish’  
 (456) Egyptian *śḥty* ‘fish, sp.’ > Wr *so’cí* ‘fish’  
 (185) Egyptian *ḥnt’sw* ‘lizard’ > UA *\*-hoto-* ‘lizard’:  
 (1239) Aramaic *yall-aa* / *yarl-aa* ‘lizard’ > UA *\*yul* ‘lizard, sp.’; Ls *yulú* ‘lizard, sp’  
 (298) Egyptian *śbxn* ‘frog’ > *\*wapkan* > UA *\*wakaN-ta* > *\*wakatta* ‘frog’  
 (1378) Hebrew *\*ś<sup>a</sup>parde<sup>a</sup>ś* ‘frog’ > UA *\*kwa’ro* ‘frog’

### Body Parts, Man, Woman

- (89) Hebrew *śeśaar* ‘hair’; Arabic *śaśr* / *śaśar* ‘hair’; Arabic *śaśira* ‘be hairy’ > UA *\*suwi* ‘body hair’  
 (1132) Hebrew *pəraś* ‘hair, locks’; Arabic *farś-* < *\*parś-* ‘long hair’ and Arabic *farw-u* < *\*parw-u* (nom) / *parw-a* (acc) ‘fur, skin, pelt’; Syriac *perś-aa* ‘bud, shoot, blossom-the’ > UA *\*pi’wa* ‘hair’  
 (1133) Syriac *baśw-aa* ‘camel hair-the’; i.e., animal fur/ hide > UA *\*po’wa* / *\*poCwa* ‘hair, fur, hide, skin’  
 (742) Hebrew *śemer* ‘wool’ > UA *\*comi* / *\*comya* ‘hair’  
 (1098) Hebrew *qubbaa*; Aramaic *qubbə-taa* ‘vault, dome, tent’; Syriac *qbb* ‘to stand on end, bristle (of hair), to over-arch, form a dome’ > UA *\*kuppa* ‘hair of head, head’  
 (1099) Hebrew *góbah* ‘height (of a man), height of other things’; Arabic *ğabha(t)* ‘forehead’ > UA *\*kopa* is ‘forehead’ (in Tep, TrC), ‘face’ (in Num), ‘head’ (in Cahitan)  
 (93) Hebrew *rooš* ‘head’ (< *\*ra’š*); Arabic *ra’s-* ‘head’ > UA SNum *\*toCci* ‘head’  
 (1078) Arabic *muxx-* ‘brain’; Akkadian *muxxu* ‘skull’: Hebrew *moḥ* ‘marrow’ > UA *\*mo’o* ‘head’  
 (511) Egyptian *ḥ* ‘back of the head, back side’ > UA *\*ho’o* ‘back’  
 (851) Hebrew *panaa-(w)* ‘face-(his)’ > UA *\*pana* ‘cheek’  
 (245) Egyptian *xnt* ‘face, n; in front of, prep’ > Tbr *kota* ‘face’  
 (532) Arabic *baaśirat* ‘eye’, Hebrew *\*booser* ‘eye’ > UA *\*pusi* ‘eye’  
 (1279) Aramaic *yəgar* (< *\*yagar*) ‘hill, heap of stones’ > UA *\*yakaC* / *\*yakaR* (AMR) ‘nose, point, ridge’  
 (1070) *\*na-qšab* ‘what is perked up, the ear’ > NUA *\*na(N)kapa* / Aztecan *\*nakas*  
 (617) Semitic *ḏiqn-* ‘chin’ > UA *\*tī’na* ‘mouth’  
 (508) Egyptian *rmn* ‘row of rowers’ > UA *\*raman* ‘tooth/teeth’; Wr(MM) *táme* ‘jaw, jawbone’; see 508  
 (698) Arabic *\*lahgat* ‘tongue’, unattested NW Semitic plural *\*lahgoot* > UA *\*laṅi* / *\*laṅu* ‘tongue’  
 (563) Hebrew *saapaa(t)* ‘lip, edge, shore’ > UA *\*sapala* (< *\*sapata*) ‘lip’  
 (137) Egyptian(F) *bbyt* ‘region of throat’ > UA *\*papi* ‘larynx, throat, voice’:  
 (962) Aramaic *qooś-aa* ‘throat, gullet, windpipe-the’; *qoośai-k* ‘neck-your’ > UA *\*kuwi* ‘throat’  
 (1014) Syriac *qədaal-aa* ‘neck, nape of neck’; Arabic *qadaal* ‘occiput’ > UA *\*kuta* / *\*kura* ‘neck’  
 (999) Hebrew *gaaroon* ‘throat, neck’ (Sem-kw) > UA *\*iyoN* ‘back of neck, nape of neck’  
 (56) Hebrew *śekəm* ‘shoulder’ > UA *\*śika* ‘arm’ / *\*śikuN* ‘shoulder’  
 (51) Hebrew *\*kaatep* ‘shoulder’ > UA *\*kotapa* / *\*kotapo* ‘shoulder’  
 (188) Egyptian *nḥbt* ‘neck, back of the neck’ > UA *\*nohopi* > *nopi* ‘arm, hand, arm’  
 (925) Semitic *\*agap* ‘wing, feather, arm, shoulder’ > UA *\*aṅapu* ‘wing’ (Sem-kw)  
 (926) Semitic *\*agap* ‘wing, feather, arm, shoulder’ > UA *\*wakapu* > *\*wakaC* / *\*wiki* ‘wing, feather’ (Sem-p)  
 (1234) Hebrew *zəroś* ‘arm, forearm, power’; Arabic *diraaś* ‘arm, forearm’ > UA *\*toC* ‘with the hand’  
 (523) Egyptian *mni* ‘hand-arm’ > UA *\*man* ‘hand’



- (746) Hebrew 'ešbəḥ-oot 'fingers'; Syriac šibḥ-taa 'finger' > Hp civot 'five'; \*-c(i)po in TO hitaspo 'five'; and -spo in Nv utaspo 'cinco' point to \*cipo / \*cipu (Tep s < \*c); Aztecan \*cikwa (Sem-kw)
- (262) Egyptian ḥnt 'nail, claw' > UA \*wati 'claw, finger'
- (1056) Syriac ḥady-aa 'breast-the, n.f.', pl: ḥ'daawaat- > UA \*tawi 'chest'
- (744) Hebrew šeelaaš / šalš- 'rib'; Arabic dīlš- / dīlaš- 'rib' > UA \*cawa 'rib': Ca čáwa-'al 'rib', Hp cīḡī 'rib'; CN šillan-tli 'side'; Cahitan \*sána'a 'rib'
- (7) Semitic \*bahamat 'back' > UA \*kwahami 'back' (Sem-kw)
- (910) Hebrew gab 'back, elevation'; Syriac gəbiib-aa 'hunchbacked' > Ls ḡavá-ḡva-š 'stooped, as old man'
- (281) Egyptian sm'w / zm'w 'lungs' > UA \*somwo > \*soḡo 'lungs'
- (282) Egyptian wf 'lungs' (Coptic wof) > Tbr wopa<sup>N</sup>-s 'lungs'
- (1421) Arabic saḥr- / suḥr-, pl: suḥuur 'lungs'; Arabic masaḥir 'lungs' > SP soo-vi 'lungs'; Tb mošooha-t 'lungs'
- (1428) Syriac raa'taa / raataa 'lung(s)' > Cora ta'atime 'lungs'
- (337) Egyptian r'-ib 'stomach' > \*to'i 'bone, belly'; \*topa 'belly, stomach'
- (218) Egyptian swn 'to suffer, know' > UA \*suna 'to suffer, heart' / SUA \*sura 'heart, seed'
- (139) Egyptian bnty 'breast(s, pair of)' > UA \*pici 'breast'
- (140) Egyptian šnbt 'breast' > UA \*sanaC- 'breast' in Tb piišana-t 'breast'
- (777) Hebrew ṭabbuur / ṭibbuur 'navel'; Aramaic(J) ṭiibbuur 'navel' > UA \*sikuN / \*sik<sup>w</sup>ur 'navel'
- (1138) Hebrew šor 'navel, navel cord'; Arabic surr 'navel cord' > Sr šuur 'navel'
- (171) Egyptian sxn / zxn 'kidney fat, kidney tallow, pancreas' > UA \*sikun / \*sikur / \*sikuC 'kidney'
- (1105) Akkadian kaliitu 'kidney'; Hebrew kilyaa 'kidney'; Syriac kooliit-aa 'kidney' > UA \*kali 'kidney'
- (1003) Arabic kirš / kariš 'stomach, paunch, belly' > UA \*kīca 'belly, waist'
- (295) Egyptian xpd 'buttock', xpdw 'buttocks' > UA \*kupta 'buttocks' and UA \*kupitu 'buttocks'
- (606) Arabic dubr/dubur 'back(side), buttocks' > UA \*tupur 'hip, buttocks'
- (1383) Arabic qaḥda(t) 'sitting, backside, buttocks' > Hp kīri 'buttocks'
- (634) 'loins, hip' are Arabic xašr-; Samaritan ḥarš-aa; Mandaic haša > UA \*kaca 'hip'
- (1282) Aramaic ṣaṭmaa 'thigh, n.f.', pl: ṣaṭmee > UA \*uma 'thigh, upper leg'
- (294) Egyptian xpš 'upper arm, thigh': UA \*kapsi 'thigh'
- (301) Egyptian mnty 'thighs, dual' > UA \*macci / \*maCti 'thigh, upper leg'
- (132) Egyptian sbq 'calf of leg' > UA \*sipika 'lower leg':
- (685) Hebrew šaaqeb 'heel, footprint' > Hp -laqvī in Hp kīk-laqvī 'tracks all over' (kīk 'foot')
- (1197) Hebrew šaaqeb 'heel, hoof, footprint' > UA(SUA/Tb) \*woki / \*woku'i 'track, footprint'
- (858) Hebrew qarsol 'ankle' > UA \*-kwinco- 'ankle' (Sem-p)
- (859) Syriac qursəl-aa 'ankle bone'; Akk kursinnu; Hebrew qarsol 'ankle' > UA \*koci 'ankle' (Sem-kw)
- (973) Hebrew geled 'skin, gildaa-w 'skin-his'; Arabic \*gild 'skin' > UA Tepiman \*'ilida 'skin'
- (5) Hebrew báášaar 'flesh, penis' > UA \*kwasi 'tail, penis, flesh' (Sem-kw)
- (550) Aramaic bāsár 'flesh' > UA \*pisa 'penis' (Sem-p)
- (794) Aramaic 'ebr-aa / 'iibraa 'pinion, member male member' > UA \*wī'aC 'penis'
- (616) Semitic \*ḏakar 'male, man' > UA \*taka 'man, male, person, self, body'
- (169) Egyptian rmt 'man, person, mankind' > UA \*rīmatī / \*rī'matī 'young man'
- (205) Egyptian ṭ'y (ṭ'w) 'man, male' > UA \*tawa / \*tawi > \*tīwi 'man, male'
- (572) Hebrew 'iīš 'man, person' (with negatives 'no one') > UA \*wīsi 'person' (Sem-p)
- (76) Hebrew 'aadaam 'man' > UA \*otami / \*wVtam 'man, person'
- (81) Hebrew ḥabéret 'marriage companion (feminine), wife' > UA \*hupi 'woman, wife'
- (339) Egyptian ḥmt / ḥimt 'woman, wife'; Coptic hime; Egyptian t'-ḥimat 'the-wife' > UA \*tīhima 'spouse'
- pl: ḥmwat; > UA \*hamut 'woman'
- (87) Arabic ḡagaza 'grow old (of women)' > Tr wegaca- 'grow old (women)' / UA \*okaci '(old) woman'
- (574) Hebrew 'išaa / 'ešet / 'išt- 'woman, wife of' > Hp wīiti / wīhti 'woman, wife' (Sem-p)
- (1130) Aramaic pagr-aa 'corpse-the' > Hp pīkya 'skin, fur'
- (411) Egyptian ḥš / ḥšw 'body' > UA \*hoḡa 'body'
- (1476) Hebrew ḥešem 'bone' (pl: ḥəšaam-iim > ocomim > cumi) > UA \*cuhmi 'bone' (explained@1476)

## Nouns of Nature

- (163) Egyptian ršw 'sun' > UA \*tawa 'sun, day';
- (1077) Semitic \*manzal 'star, moon', Hebrew maazzaal 'star' > UA \*mīcaC / \*macaC 'moon';
- (154) Egyptian sb' 'star' > UA \*si'pu > \*su' 'star';
- (1274) Aramaic kookb-aa 'star-the' > UA \*kuppaa' 'shine (like stars)': Sr kupaa' 'to shine (like stars)'
- (1408) Syriac dinḥ-aa 'sunrise, light, the ascendant or predominant star' > \*-tinuN- of Numic \*tatinuN-pi 'star'
- (156) Egyptian gnḥt 'a (particular) star' > SP kaḡa- 'morning star'
- (1165) Semitic baḡr 'sea/water' > UA \*pa (with pharyngealized vowel) / \*pa'wī 'water';

- (229) Egyptian mw ‘water’; Egyptian mwy ‘watery’ > Hp mowa-ti ‘be wet, moist’; Ls páá-muwi-š ‘wet’  
 (491) Egyptian phrw ‘water’ > UA \*parawa ‘juice, soup, stew’  
 (98) Hebrew rql ‘beat (out)’; Hebrew raqii<sup>a</sup> ‘extended surface, sky’ > UA \*tukuN-pa ‘sky, metal’  
 (264) Egyptian šmrt ‘bow’, pl: šmrtw ‘bows’ > UA \*ko-samalo ‘rainbow’  
 (683) Syriac ʿmṭ ‘become dark, cloud over, be obscure’ > UA \*(w)umaC / \*(w)imaC ‘rain’  
 (709) Arabic ʿll / ʿalala ‘spray, sprinkle, rain a fine rain, drizzle, bedew’; Hebrew ʿal ‘night-mist, dew’;  
 > Hopi cölö-(k-) ‘to drip (a drop)’; Hopi cölö-lö-ta ‘be dripping, be sprinkling (rain)’  
 (1038) from Hebrew (hiqtil) yooreh ‘to water, send rain’, pfv: hoora, inf: hooroot > UA \*horo ‘rain, fall’  
 (760) Hebrew šleg ‘snow’; Arabic ʿalġ- ‘snow’ > UA \*sġk ‘snow’  
 (603) Aramaic rymh / riimaa ‘large stone’; rimə-taa ‘large stone-the, n.f.’; Syriac ryaam-taa ‘large stone-the’  
 > UA \*tīmī-ta > \*tiN-(pV) ‘rock’  
 (591) Hebrew ʿadaamaa / ʿdaamaa ‘earth’ > UA \*tīma ‘earth’  
 (150) Egyptian t ‘earth, land, ground, country’ > UA \*tīwa ‘sand, dust’  
 (19) Arabic barr- ‘land (vs. sea)’; Hebrew baar ‘field’; Aramaic bar-aa ‘forest, prairie-the’  
 > UA \*kwiya / \*kwira ‘earth’ (Sem-kw)  
 (75) Hebrew tebel ‘firm (dry) land’; Assyrian taabal ‘land’ > UA \*tīpaC / \*tīpal ‘earth’  
 (208) Egyptian(H) ʿḥn ‘shine, gleam’; Egyptian ʿḥnw ‘Libya’ (desert) > TO tohono ‘desert, the south’  
 (162) Egyptian šʿy ‘sand’ > SUA\*siwal / NUA siwaN ‘sand’  
 (1141) Hebrew ḥool ‘sand’; Aramaic ḥaal-aa > UA \*(h)ola (Tep) / \*otta (Num) ‘sand’  
 (280) Egyptian ḥmʿ(t) ‘salt’ > UA \*omwa / \*oḡa ‘salt’  
 (322) Egyptian qʿyt ‘high-lying land, hill’ > UA \*kawi ‘mountain, rock’:  
 (868) Aramaic ʿwr- / ʿuur-aa ‘rock, hill, mountain-the’ > UA \*toya ‘mountain’  
 (274) Egyptian dhnt ‘mountain top’, pl: dhntw > UA \*ton(n)o ‘hill’  
 (1241) Arabic ġabal ‘mountain(s)’ > UA \*kaipa / \*kaapa ‘mountain’  
 (527) Semitic baraq ‘lightning’ > UA \*pīroq ‘lightning’ (Sem-p)  
 (885) Arabic naar ‘fire’ but written naʿr / naʿar (< Sem/Arabic nwr) > UACV-878 \*naʿy- / naʿay ‘fire’  
 (401) Egyptian ḥnt/ḥnw ‘watercourse, swampy lowland’ > UA \*hunuC ‘canyon, gorge, ditch’  
 (1403) Syriac šigr-aa ‘drain, ditch, gutter-the’ > Hp sikya ‘valley, ravine, canyon’  
 (646) Hebrew náḥal (< \*naxal) ‘river valley, wadi, stream’; Akkadian naxallu ‘wadi, gorge’:  
 > Ktn naka-č ‘gully, ravine, cliff’ (Sem-p)  
 (647) Hebrew náḥal (< \*naxal) ‘river valley, wadi, stream’ > SP noiC / noi-ppi ‘canyon, wash’ (Sem-kw)

### Trees:

- (743) Aramaic tuumr-aa ‘palm-the / date-palm-the’ > UA \*tuʿya ‘type of palm tree’:  
 (569) Hebrew ʿegooz ‘nut tree’; Aramaic ʿemguuz-aa ‘nut-the’ > UA \*wokoN / \*wo(N)koC ‘pine’  
 (74) Hebrew təbuuʿaa(t) ‘produce, yield from the land, harvest’ > UA \*tīpiʿat ‘pinion nut’  
 (92) Hebrew yáʿfar ‘wood, forest’ > UA \*yuyiC ‘evergreen sp’  
 (892) Arabic šanawbar ‘pine sp.’ > UA \*salaC / \*sanawap ‘pitch, gum’; Sh sanawap-pin ‘pine tree’  
 (1116) Hebrew zépet (< \*zipt-) / zaapet ‘pitch’ > UA \*copi ‘pitch, torch’  
 (582) Aramaic ʿarz-aa ‘cedar-the’ > UA \*waʿaC / \*waʿaN ‘juniper or cedar tree’  
 (689) Hebrew ʿarōʿer ‘juniper tree’; Arabic ʿarʿar ‘juniper’; Samaritan ʿarʿar  
 > UA/Tr gayorí / kaorí / kawarí / aorí / aborí / waorí / awarí ‘juniper’  
 (599) Hebrew ʿayil / ʿeel- ‘mighty tree’; ʿyl ‘tree and sometimes oak’ > UA \*iyal ‘poison oak’ (Sem-kw)  
 (1337) Hebrew ʿayil ‘mighty tree’; Arabic ʿayyil / ʿiyyal > UA \*wiʿa(N) / \*wiya(N) ‘acorn, oak’ (Sem-p)  
 (1012) Hebrew šiqma(t) ‘sycamore tree’; Syriac šeqma(t) > UA \*sīḡḡa(C) ‘cottonwood and/or aspen tree’  
 (174) Egyptian sxt ‘field, country, pasture, willow, n.f.’ > UA \*sakat / \*sakaC ‘willow’  
 (961) Hebrew dəqel ‘date-palm’; Arabic daqal ‘palm tree’ > UA \*taku ‘palm tree’  
 (227) Egyptian mʿm ‘dom-palm (tree)’ > UA \*mahawa / \*ma(C)wa ‘palm tree’:  
 (489) Egyptian xt ‘wood, stick, tree’ > UA \*kut ‘tree, wood, firewood’  
 (666) Arabic ḥaṭab ‘firewood’ > UA \*hucakwa / \*husaba ‘pitch’ > \*ʿusaba-i ‘pitch’

### Other plants:

- (266) Egyptian šnw ‘hair, grass’ > UA \*soni / \*soḡo ‘grass, straw, blanket’  
 (644) Arabic xuḍar ‘vegetation, greenery, meadow’; Semitic xḍr > ḥḍr > UA \*husa ‘grass’  
 (73) Akkadian dašuu > diišu ‘grass, spring’; Hebrew dešeʿ ‘grass, vegetation’ > Hp tīsi ‘weeds’  
 (720) Hebrew **nebel** ‘skin-bottle, skin’ (< naabal), Syriac nbl / **nʿbl** > Nahuatl noʿpal ‘cactus fruit made alcohol’  
 (400) Egyptian sʿr ‘thorn bush(es), thorny undergrowth, thicket’ > UA \*sawaro ‘saguaro cactus’  
 (198) Egyptian dʿrt ‘bitter gourd’ > UA \*sawara ‘gourd’:  
 (987) Arabic qarʿ- ‘gourd, pumpkin’ > UA \*kuyawi ‘gourd’

- (267) Egyptian twr ‘reed’ > UA \*toli > \*to’i ‘reed, cattail’: CN tool-in ‘reeds’  
 (1216) Hebrew qaane ‘reed, stalk’ > UA \*kana ‘willow’  
 (1135) Hebrew qaane ‘reed, stalk’; Aramaic qanyaa ‘reed, stalk’ > UA \*pa-kaN ‘reed, phragmites’  
 (1136) Hebrew ’ébeh ‘reed, papyrus’; Arabic ’abaa’ > UA \*wapi ‘foxtail’

## 7.5 Unusual Semantic Combinations in Egyptian/Semitic Preserved in Uto-Aztecan

- (98) Hebrew rǝṣ ‘stamp, beat (metal) out, spread out’; Hebrew raaqiiʿ ‘extended surface, expanse, sky’  
 > UA \*tukuN- in \* tukuN-pa ‘sky’ and ‘metal’ in the Tactic languages.  
 (283) Eg qm’ ‘create’ and ‘mourn’ > UA ‘make, create’ and ‘mourn’  
 (332) Egyptian qrh̄t ‘serpent’, without fem -t is Egyptian qrh̄ ‘friend, partner’ > UA/CN koṛwa ‘snake, twin’  
 (406) Egyptian b’ ‘ram, soul’ > UA \*pa’a ‘mountain sheep, all living beings’  
 (411, 412) Egyptian ḥj’ ‘body’ and ‘joy’ > UA \*hoṛ ‘cheerful, contented’ and ‘body’  
 (289, 292) Egyptian pḥr ‘turn’ and (290) ‘medicine’ > UA ‘turn’ and ‘medicine’  
 (1220) Semitic etqaraš ‘be cold’ and ‘what is fixed’ > Hopi ḥikya ‘cool off, vi, be set in a fixed position, vi’  
 (994) Ls qáya/i- ‘blow down (a tree)’, that is, ‘uproot’ and Ls qáya/i- ‘heal’ are listed as separate verbs in the Luiseño dictionary, though phonologically identical, yet the corresponding Syriac verb ʿqr also means both ‘uproot’ and ‘heal’.  
 (1485) Semitic \*rxm (> rḥm) ‘be wide’ and ‘have compassion’ > UA \*taha ‘pity, have compassion’ in most; but the two meanings of CU túaa ‘open space, gap, area’ and CU túaani ‘pitiful, pitiable’ in light of Semitic rḥm ‘compassion’ and ‘wide’ are noteworthy in this Sem-p item.  
 (1007) Semitic \*xdl (> Hebrew ḥaadal) ‘cease, cease doing’; OSArabic xdl; Akkadian xadaalu ‘cease’;  
 Arabic xadila ‘stiffen, become rigid’ > Hp ḥiiri-ti ‘come to a stop, harden’; Hopi Hp ḥiiri-la ‘be hesitating, pausing, stopping’. Note Hopi’s two rather different meanings (stop, harden) are both in Semitic (cease, stiffen/rigid).  
 (1009) MHebrew qmṭ ‘heap together, bind’; Aramaic qmṭ ‘draw together, pack, bind’;  
 Syriac qmṭ ‘lay fast hold of, take, contract, shrink, shrivel, wrinkle’:  
 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 ʿqr ‘uproot, heal’ in Ls at 994.  
 (329) Egyptian qd / qdd ‘wander around, sleep, surround’ > SP qarī ‘sit, dwell’ and SP qarī ‘protect’ (or ‘surround’)  
 (13) Semitic snw ‘be beautiful, shine, bright colors’ > Hopi soniwa ‘be beautiful, bright (of colors)’  
 (1399) bxr (> bḥr) ‘test, choose, be/make choice’; Amorite bexeru ‘elite soldier’ > UA \*biḥiri ‘expensive, opponent’  
 (538) Hebrew bad ‘part, member, alone’ and in phrases ‘except, apart from, beside(s)’  
 > Tr biré and NT pari both mean ‘one/some’ and both also act as a negative particle  
 (19, 20) Semitic brr / barr(a) ‘land, choose’ > UA \*kwiya ‘earth, choose, consider one’s own’; other sets are 1024.  
 (1059) Semitic ‘to call, name; fall down, collapse > UA ‘become smooth, level’ and ‘to name’

## 7.6 Uto-Aztecan Often Preserves Egyptian Phonology Better Than Coptic Did

<u>Coptic</u>	<	<u>Egyptian</u>	>	<u>Uto-Aztecan</u>	
še	<	šm	>	*sima	(131)
Sobek	<	sbk	>	*supak	(115)
sobt	<	sbty	>	*sapti	(133)
mui	<	m’i	>	*mawiya	(147)
siu	<	sb’	>	*sipu’i / *si’pu / *su’	(154)
ji	<	iṭ’	>	*itu’i	(157)
sooše	<	sxt	>	*saka	(175)
		ḥbi	>	*hupiya	(180)
		ḥnqt	>	*hunaqa	(181)
hotpe/hotep	<	ḥtp	>	*huppi	(182)
tebi	<	ḍb’	>	*si’pu (< *sipu’i)	(199)
too’be	<	ḍbt	>	*supa	(200)
neme	<	nbi	>	*napi	(243)
soote	<	st’	>	*sutu’i	(258)
šopš	<	xpš	>	*kapsi	(294)

Egyptian, like its Afro-Asiatic parent language, originally had three basic vowels—a, i, u. Most languages, with time, would naturally develop more than three, like Classical Hebrew did its seven or so, but notice in the list above how often the UA reconstructions show only the same three basic vowels of Afro-Asiatic—a, i, u—as opposed to Coptic’s variety.

Other patterns are consistent in the Egyptian-UA connection itself. For example, initial i/y is consistently lost in stems of more than three consonants. Such a loss of initial consonants does happen in Egyptian itself: Egyptian itnw or Egyptian tnw ‘be difficult’; Egyptian igr/igrt or gr/grt ‘furthermore, moreover’, and the UA forms usually lack that initial i, but reflect the rest quite consistently:

- Egyptian irtt ‘milk’ > UA \*riti/\*riçi ‘milk’ (306)
- Egyptian i’bty ‘left’ > UA \*opoti ‘left’ (300)
- Egyptian irtyw ‘blue’ > UA \*tīyawi/\*tayawi ‘blue/green’ (307)
- Egyptian išdd ‘sweat’ > UA \*-sul/-sud ‘sweat’ (308)
- Egyptian itrw ‘river’ > UA \*t(r)wV/\*tiwī ‘river’ (309)

Also note the consistent pattern of Egyptian Ctt > UA \*Coti (C = any consonant):

- Egyptian Ctt > UA \*Coti (< \*Cotti; otherwise, we might expect Cori or such)
- Egyptian ftt ‘jump’ > UA \*poti ‘jump’ (463)
- Egyptian itt ‘fly’ > UA \*yoti ‘fly’ (215)

**Consistencies in semantic patterns** also occur. What might be dubbed the UA semantic shift down the UA arm—from ‘neck/shoulder’ to ‘arm’ to ‘hand’—happened in UA with Hebrew škm and with Egyptian nḥbt, but also happened in Egyptian, though less dramatically, with Egyptian rnm ‘shoulder’ > ‘arm’ and Egyptian qṣḥ ‘shoulder, upper arm’ > \*qḥ > Cpt keh ‘arm.’

## 7.7 Syntax, Word Order, and Verbal Nouns

Word order was introduced on pages 15-17. Some people may want to claim it significant that UA and perhaps most Native American languages show basic SOV order while some Semitic languages more often show VSO order. However, the facts are that (1) most languages can vary their order due to emphasis (topicalization) or other, regardless their most frequent or basic order; (2) Hebrew can also have SOV order though more often it has VSO order; (3) much of the book of Daniel in Aramaic does have SOV order; (5) and while most UA languages have SOV order, some show VSO order as well as SVO, and (6) for languages to change their basic order when in the midst of languages with a different order happens often and can do so quickly. So basic word order is not a very stable measure or feature of language relatedness. Nevertheless, it is good to look at such syntactic matters to see how certain changes may have occurred.

Though some Semitic languages, like Hebrew and Arabic, often exhibit VSO order, such is not always the case. Hebrew can also exhibit SOV order:

Judges 17:6 ʾiš ha-yyašar bə-ʕeenaa-w ya-ʕase ‘Each man does what is right in his own eyes.’

Man the-right in- eyes-his he-does (subject-object-verb)

(572) (1193) – (849) (1519) (906) (679/680)

In that Hebrew sentence are seven morephemes, and six of the seven are also found in UA.

While most UA languages show basic SOV order, some exhibit VSO order like Hebrew and Arabic.

Cr Verb-Subject-Object (Casad 1984, 168)

TO čikpan o hegai uwi ‘That woman is/was working.’

work is/was that woman

TO huhu’id o g ban g čuwi ‘The coyote is/was chasing the rabbit.’

chase coyote rabbit

The change from Semitic prepositions to UA postpositions is similar to the change within Semitic itself, a change from prepositions to postpositions in Semitic (Goldenberg 2013, 107-8). In UA, the change appears to entail preposition-noun > noun preposition-it, which looks like noun-postposition. For example, the UA postpositions often correspond to Semitic preposition + pronoun: taxt-e ‘under-it/him’; qereb bo ‘midst-in it’. A good example is (562) UA bobica ‘wait for’ from Hebrew -bbiit b-o ‘look at/in/for-him/it’

with its constituents reversed, the very kind of order expected in such a change as -bbiit b-o ‘look at-him’ > bo bica ‘at-him look’ or ‘prep-object-verb’ syntax. More to be done.

## 7.8 The Semitic Liquids and Velars / Uvulars in Uto-Aztecan

One of the most common sequences among Semitic roots is initial q-, k-, or g- and second consonant liquid -r- or -l-. So addressing them together is convenient and again provides data for further analyses.

The liquids as initial consonants have been largely treated in the body of the book: initial r- at sets 93-100, 600-604, 887-889, and initial l- at 695-708. The liquids’ behaviors in consonant clusters are treated at 7.2 on consonant clusters. Here we list the initial l- forms, but mainly address the intervocalic liquids. Intervocalic -l- more often remains each language’s liquid. However, intervocalic -r- > -r- or -y- or other. Uto-Aztecan’s nasal-liquid spectrum is introduced at 1.45-46 (pp. 48-52).

Among NUA languages, Numic has -r-, and Tb and Tak languages have -l-, all presumed to be from intervocalic PUA \*-t-, many of which are, but not all. Hopi has both -r- and -l-, but many Hopi l align with PUA \*w, but not all, and some -r- seem to be from intervocalic stops. A few NUA -n- correspond to SUA liquids. 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, Semitic-p’s -r- usually reflects as -r- and -l- as -l-. For example, in (724), Semitic parʕoʕ ‘flea (jumper)’ from the verb prʕš ‘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 below that most reflexes show -r- < \*-r-, and -l- < \*-l-, though liquid reversals also happen and are common in other language families as well. Even in Numic (below) we see Semitic -r- > Num -r-, though it has been reconstructed as intervocalic \*-t- becoming -r-.

The following two My terms are evidence of 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. Many Uto-Aztecanists have long held that UA has no initial liquids, yet many UA initial l- align with Semitic initial l-.

### Initial \*l- > l-:

l- ‘to/for’; Aramaic le ‘to/for him’ > UA \*li ‘to, for’ (1123)  
 l’y / loo’e ‘grow weary/tired’ > UA \*loi ‘be tired’ (705)  
 lahgat ‘tongue’, pl: \*lahgoot > UA \*laŋi / \*laŋu ‘tongue’ (698-kw)  
 lwz / lawz ‘almonds’ > UA \*lawas ‘pine nut cache’ (702)  
 lwy / laawaa ‘turn, bend, twist’ > UA \*líwa/i ‘be tightly twisted’ (706)  
 lmd / loomed ‘learn’ > UA \*lomi ‘know’ (699)  
 lummad ‘learned, trained, taught’ > UA \*luma ‘good, beautiful, fit, nice’ (700)  
 lmm ‘gather, collect, befall, overcome’ > UA \*limimī ‘burn, fall in (a structure)’ (703)  
 laqlaq ‘stork’ > Ca la’la ‘goose’ (704)  
 lqh / laaqah ‘take (in hand), grasp, take as wife’ > UA \*loko- ‘marry’ (695)  
 lqh / \*ya-lqah > \*yi-qqah ‘take, take as wife’ > \*yikoC / \*yokoC ‘copulate’ (696)  
 lqh, -qqah; imperative forms: qah and qəhāa > UA \*ŋiha / \*ŋihi ‘grasp, catch’ (1465)  
 l’m ‘to bandage, wrap, dress’ > UA \*taluma ‘blanket, garment’ (1129)

### \*-ll- > -n-

lebb, hal/han-lebb ‘the heart’ > Hp inaŋwa ‘heart, life’ (1312-kw)

**Initial \*l- lost**, perhaps due to later stress making l<sup>2</sup>- so short of a syllable that it is lost as when 1<sup>st</sup> C of cluster:

lappiid-aa ‘torch-the, light pot-the’ > pita ‘fire’ (883-p)  
 lhy / ləhiy ‘chin, jawbone’; Arabic lahy- ‘jawbone’ > Hopi öyi ‘chin’; Ls ’óoyi-l ‘jaw, chin’ (1431)

### Velars and Uvulars

Let us examine the transfer of Semitic initial velars and uvulars into UA, whose 2<sup>nd</sup> consonant is often a liquid. 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 6.3). 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.

### Semitic-kw initial g-/ q-/ k- > ø

- (981-kw) gaz ‘bird of prey’, gaz-aa ‘falcoln-the’ > UA/Tak/Tb \*’asa-wir ‘eagle’  
(973-kw) gēléd ‘skin’ > Tep \*’ilida ‘skin’  
(984-kw) gullaa / gullat- ‘basin, bowl, ball’ > SUA \*ola ‘ball’  
(1137-kw) gómē ‘papyrus’ > UA/Eu/Wr \*oma ‘reed’  
(999-kw) gaaroon ‘throat, neck’ > UA/SNum \*iyoN ‘back of neck, nape of neck’  
(974-kw) kakkar ‘valley’ > UA \*aki ‘arroyo, canyon, valley’  
(980-kw) klm ‘address s.o.’ > Ls ’ulómi ‘call s.o. names’  
(993-kw) qəwūsoot ‘locks (of hair)’ > UA \*woC ‘hair’  
(982-kw) qll / qaliil ‘be small, insignificant, light’ > Tep/Cah/Tbr \*ali ‘little’; Tak añii  
(1217-kw) qalal ‘be small, contemptible’; \*qillal / -qallel ‘declare accursed, consider bad’ > Tak/Wr \*’alal ‘bad, wrong’  
(972-kw) qippoz ‘arrowsnake’ > Tr aposini ‘venomous serpent’  
(990-kw) qr’ / qara’a ‘call, cry out’ > UA \*aya ‘call’  
(991-kw) ni-qra’ ‘he/it is called/named’ > UA \*nihya ‘call, name’  
(975-kw) qéreb ‘inward part, midst’ > UA \*’irapa ‘inside’  
(976-kw) qarob ‘near’ > Tr ayobe ‘soon, near in time’  
(977-kw) qariib ‘near’ > Tep/PYp \*alip ‘soon’  
(593-kw) qardammu ‘enemy, opponent’ (Akkadian) > UA \*tīmmu ‘opponent’  
(971-kw) qarduun-aa ‘louse-the, nit-the’ > UA \*aCtiN ‘louse’  
(998-kw) qeren / qarn- ‘horn, corner, tip’ > SP yīnnī ‘crown of the head’  
(997-kw) kəraaf ‘lower leg’ > \*kVyu’u > UA \*yī’u ‘leg’  
(988-kw) qarǫ- ‘gourd, pumpkin’ > UA \*ayaw ‘squash’  
(989-kw) qarǫ- ‘gourd, pumpkin’ > UA \*ayaC / \*ayoC ‘turtle’  
(1272) qšr ‘to peel, shell, derind, debark, skin, husk’, f. impfv ta-qšir > UA \*asi’a ‘bark, peel, shell, n’  
(969-kw) qešet, qašt- ‘bow, weapon’ > UA \*aCta ‘atlatl, bow’

Some q > Hp h

- (1010-kw?) qlp ‘to peel, shell, scrape off, strip off’ > Hp hàapo(-k-) ‘get loosened, chipped’  
(1009) qmṭ ‘draw together, lay hold of, take, contract, shrink, shrivel’ > Hp homi- ‘grab, shrink, draw together, shrivel’  
(1008-kw) qrb ‘approach, be near’, qariib ‘near’, Syriac qərib ‘come near, draw nigh’ > Hp hayinjw- ‘draw near’  
Several etyma seem worth contemplating as feasibly from qr’:  
(992) Semitic qr’ / \*qara’ ‘call, name, cry out, shout, announce’ > Hopi eyoyo-ta ‘ring, peel (bell)’; Ls ’uyá’a ‘feel bad, sad’ (i.e., cry); Ls ’úúyi ‘howl’; Ls hááyi ‘scream’; Ktn yu’ ‘cry, buzz, sing’ of impfv pl yV-qra’u ‘they call/cry’?;  
SP qarava-ya’i ‘cry from pain’ vs. SP orojwi ‘roar, growl’; WMU orógoṁ’ni’ni ‘groan’; CU ’oróḡwa’ni ‘suffer’

### In contrast, Semitic-p kept initial q-, g-, and k- (see also 6.3); some examples follow:

- (717-p) qlp ‘peel off, shell, rub away’ > UA \*kīlipi ‘shell, shuck, degrain, v’  
(1409-p) kuuky-aa(’) ‘spider-the’ > UA \*kuukyaṅw ‘spider’  
(575-p) kama’ ‘truffle’ > UA \*kamo’-ta ‘sweet potato’  
(755-p) kutónet ‘shirt-like tunic’ > UA \*kutuni ‘shirt’  
(803-p) kapiir ‘young lion’ > PYp kaper ‘bobcat’  
(1015-p) kabara ‘be older, big, grow, increase’ > Num kabara ‘tall, long’ though reconstructed \*kapata  
(1117-p) kuukkəbay ‘owl’ > UA \*kuku(pu) ‘burrowing owl’  
(1274-p) kookb-aa’ ‘star-the’ > UA \*kuppaa’ ‘to shine (as of the stars)’  
(738-p) qayış / qeys ‘summer’ > \*kuwīs ‘summer’  
(861-p) qəša’ ‘be hard, severe, harsh (of taste)’ > UA \*kīsa ‘sour, harm(ed), bad’  
(864-p) \*quuppoot ‘baskets’ > UA \*koppot ‘basket’  
(959-p) qml ‘be lean/thin, wilt, wither’ > UA \*komal ‘thin’  
(967-p) qušt-aa ‘bow-the’ > UA \*kuCta-pi ‘bow’

And many more. A puzzle is when we see q- > ø in Tactic (e.g. 982, 1217), which may mean a loan from Tepiman or another nearby branch of UA, because normally Sem-p q- > q- and Sem-kw q- > ŋ- in Tak.

### Intervocalic -l-:

Turning now from initial velars / uvulars to intervocalic liquids, intervocalic Semitic -l- seems to be surprisingly consistent as -l- in UA (or -r-, especially in languages lacking -l-), in etyma from both Semitic-kw and Semitic-p: Semitic-kw -l- > UA -l-, and Semitic-p -l- > -l-; and to -l-, -r-, or -d- in the Tepiman branch; sometimes doubled -ll- > -n-; and some items are not yet clear. Details can be sought at each set, but below is a rough listing of data with intervocalic -l-:

branch	Hopi	Tb	Tak	Num	Tep	Eu	Tr/Wr	Cah	Tbr	CrC	Azt
inventory	l/r/y	l/y	l/r/y	r/y	l/r/d/đ	r/y	r/l/y	r'/l/y	r/l	r'/l/y	l/y
(31) šll	l		l	n							l
(6-kw) blɬ		l	l				r				
(710) tlɬ			l		d		l		l		l
(712) hll	l	l	l					l			
(930-kw) gll			l								
(931/984-kw) gll	l				l						l
(935-kw) galam			l								
(934) gəloom				r				l			
(973-kw) gld					l/but	Nv	r				
(980-kw) klm			l								
(982-kw) qll			l/ñ		l			l			
(1217-kw) qalal			l				l				
(630-p) xly			l		l/r/d		(r?)	?			
(709) tll	l										
(713) tlɬ		l									
(714-p) pl'			l								
(715) dll	l										l
(716) dlq	l										
(717-p) qlp					l						
(645-kw) hbl/*xbl	l										
(681) ɬlw	cluster	l	l								
(677) ɬgl					l/d						
(917-kw) gɬl			l								
(1521-kw) gly			l								
(947-kw) qlb			l								
(765-p) xlq			y			r				r	
(1105) kali	l			n							

**Intervocalic \*-r-:** Intervocalic \*-r- changed somewhat differently in Semitic-kw vs. Semitic-p. The most common or general rule is that Semitic-p \*-r- > UA -r-, Tep -d-, but Semitic-kw \*-r- > UA -y-, Tep -đ-. (Likewise, Proto-Mayan \*r > y in branches of Mayan; and in Egyptian also, -r- > -y/i-.) Many UA liquids in clusters were nasalized in Numic. Some overlap and exceptions also dot the data.

**Semitic-kw intervocalic \*-r- > UA \*-y-** in most branches, > Tep d/đ (see details at numbers listed):

- (19/20-kw) Semitic brr / barr(a) 'land, choose' > UA \*kwiya 'earth, choose/take'; but the Yq pl and Tbr kwira show -r-
- (64-kw) Semitic krr 'circle, dance' > UA \*kiya 'have a round dance'
- (65-kw) Semitic mrr 'go' > UA \*miya 'go'
- (976-kw) Semitic qrb 'approach, draw near'; Hebrew qaarob 'near' > Tr ayobe/ayowe/ayowi 'soon'
- (1367-kw) Syriac mrq 'rub off, scour, polish, cleanse, vt' > Sr miyi'-kin '1 wipe out, 2 cause to shimmer'
- (914-kw) Semitic gr 'ruminate (chew cud), saw' > UA/Tak/Hp ŋayaya 'do circular/back-and-forth motion'
- (920-kw) Hebrew grš 'drive out' > UA ŋoya 'chase'
- (932-kw) Aramaic gwr / gwr-aa 'traveling away from home' > ŋoya 'leave, go away, go/come home'
- (643-kw) 'aħareʿ / 'aaħoor 'back, behind' > UA \*(a)hoyi 'back, follow, return'
- (66) 'mr / 'amar, impfv: yoomar / yoomer 'say' > UA \*umay / \*may 'say'
- (933-kw) gwr / \*yə-gayyar 'to commit adultery' > Hopi yoŋyà-yi-ti 'be adulterous, have an affair (with)'
- (950-kw) gəraamaa-w 'bones-his' > UA/Hp \*ŋya(m) 'clan, relative'
- (999-kw) gaaroon 'throat, neck' > UA/SNum \*iyoN 'back of neck, nape of neck'
- (1483-kw) dwr 'to go round, turn, revolve, move in a circle' > UA/Hp/Yq \*ruya 'roll, turn, twist'
- (868) ɬwr- / ɬuur-aa 'rock, hill, mountain-the' > UA \*toya 'mountain'
- (605-p) ɬwr / ɬuur-aa 'rock-the' or Samaritan Aramaic ɬor-aa > Tep hoda < UA \*soya 'rock'
- (623-kw) zrɬ / zaaraɬ 'sow (seed)'; Arabic zarafa 'sow, plant' > CN cayawa 'sew, scatter seed'
- (625-kw) zeraɬ 'seed, offspring, descendants'; Arabic zarf- 'seed' > Hopi cayo 'child'
- (1156) ħrk / ħaruka 'set in motion, move, stir, be agitated' > UA \*huyuka 'move'
- (670) ħreɬ 'earthenware, vessel, potsherd' > Ca wayisma-l 'plate, dish'
- (1037-kw) yoore 'to water, send rain' (< \*yawri) > UA/Tak \*yawya / \*yuya / \*yawi 'rain, snow'
- (728) yr / yiiraa '(he/it) fears'; yir'a(t) 'fear, n' > UA \*iya-paka 'fear, v'

(1344) yry / yoore (m) / toore (f) ‘instruct, teach’ (hiqtiil 3 sg impfv), toore le/la > Tb tooyla ‘teach (him/her)’  
 (997-kw) kəraaʃ ‘lower leg’ > UA \*yī’u < \*kVyu’u ‘leg’  
 (941-kw) -nʃar ‘shake, grunt, roar’ > \*ŋjy ‘shake, be dizzy’  
 (62) ʃrq / srq ‘to comb’ > UA \*siyuk / \*ciyuk ‘to comb’  
 (727) swrr ‘turn, revolve, dance’ > UA \*suyuyu ‘spin, whirl’  
 (1167-kw) pəraʃ (< \*prx) ‘to fly, depart, flutter, a blossom’ > UA \*piyaw ‘feather, to fly’  
 (726-kw) prq / paraq ‘drag away, tear away’ > UA \*piyok ‘pull, drag’  
 (1164) ʃhr ‘dry up, become yellow’ > UA \*sa’wa / \*sawari / \*sawiya ‘yellow’  
 (67-kw) ʃaaraʃat ‘skin disease, leprosy’ > CN siyo-tl ‘rash, scab, leprosy’  
 (991-kw) ni-qrā ‘he/it is called/named’ > UA/Num \*nihya ‘call, name’  
 (1478) Hebrew ʃar ‘enemy’ > UA \*say- ‘enemy, opponent’; NP sai ‘enemy’; Wr sahi ‘opponent’;  
 Tr saye/sayi-ra ‘enemy’, pl: na-sayira; Tr na-sayé ‘confront each other’; My sáyyo ‘enemy’.  
 (990-kw) qr / qara’a ‘call, cry out’ > UA/NUA \*aya ‘call’  
 (580-p) qr / qara’a ‘call, cry out’ > UA/Azt/TrC \*koyowa ‘yell, shout’  
 (1357) qr / qara’a ‘call, cry out’; many Semitic bird words from this root > UA/Num/Hp \*kuyuC / kuyuyV ‘turkey’  
 In contrast to Sem-p (987-p) qarʃ- ‘gourd, pumpkin’ > UA \*kuyawi ‘gourd’ Tr/Wr/Tb all -y-, Semitic-kw has  
 (988-kw) qarʃ- ‘gourd, pumpkin’ > UA \*ayaw ‘squash’  
 (989-kw) qarʃ- ‘gourd, pumpkin’ > NUA/Azt/Tbr/Wc \*ayaC / \*ayoC ‘turtle’  
 (976-kw) qarob ‘near’ > Tr ayobe ‘soon, near in time’  
 (977-kw) qariib ‘near’ > UA \*alip ‘soon’  
 (1008-kw) qrb ‘approach, be near’, qariib ‘near’, Syriac qərib ‘come near, draw nigh’ > Hp hayijw- ‘draw near’  
 (1489-kw) qrb ‘approach, be near’ > Ls ŋááya ‘be close, be near’  
 (975-kw) qéreb ‘inward part, midst’ > UA/Tep \*’irapa ‘inside’  
 (964) qeren / qarn- ‘horn’ > CN koyooniaa ‘perforate’  
 (998-kw) qeren / qarn- ‘horn, corner, tip’ > SP yinni ‘crown of the head’  
 (730) ʃrp ‘to burn completely’; Hebrew ʃərepa(t) ‘fire’ > UA/Tep/Wr \*saypa / \*saya ‘to burn’

#### **Semitic-kw final -Vr > -i, or -ar > -ay**

(5-kw) Hebrew baaʃaar ‘flesh, penis’ > UA \*kwasiC / \*kwasiy ‘tail, penis, meat’ (all 8 branches)  
 (651-kw) ʃoʃer ‘rod’ > UA \*(h)uci ‘tree, stick’  
 (1372-kw?) dbr ‘turn one’s back’; dubr / dubur ‘rump, back(side), buttocks’ > Ktn tihpi-c ‘loin, back’;  
 in contrast is Sem-p (606-p) dubr / dubur ‘rump, back(side), buttocks’ > UA/Tep \*tupur ‘hip, buttocks’  
 (607) dober ‘pasture, vegetation’ > UA \*tupi ‘grass, vegetation’  
 (610) daabaar ‘speech, word > thing, matter’; Hebrew haddaabaar ‘the thing, the word’ > UA \*(hi)-tapi(ri) ‘thing’  
 (611) dbr ‘speak’; daabaar ‘speech, word, discourse, saying, report, tidings’ > UA \*tapay(a) / tapiya ‘speak’  
 (81) ʃabéret ‘marriage companion (feminine), wife’ > UA \*hupi ‘woman, wife’  
 (974-kw) kakkar ‘valley’ > UA \*aki ‘arroyo, canyon, valley’  
 (92-kw) yáʃar ‘wood, forest, roadless terrain’ > UA \*yuwiN ‘ponderosa pine’  
 (89) ʃeeʃaar ‘hair’; Arabic ʃaʃr / ʃaʃar ‘hair, pelt’ > UA \*suwi ‘body hair’  
 (1245) ʃeeʃaar ‘hair’; Arabic ʃaʃr / ʃaʃar ‘hair, pelt’ > UA \*suwi ‘jackrabbit’  
 (985) ksr / kasara ‘break’ > UA/Tr/Wr \*kasi ‘break’  
 (742-kw) ʃemər ‘wool’ > UA \*comi / \*comya ‘hair’  
 (79) ʃmr ‘to pitch, cover, smear’ (with s.th.); ʃammar ‘to color or dye red’ > UA \*humay ‘smear, spread, rub, paint’  
 (1181) ʃmr ‘keep, watch over, have charge of, restrain (within bounds)’ > UA \*summay / sumiya ‘think about’  
 (10-kw) ʃabber ‘break, break in pieces’ > UA \*sakway ‘break, ruin’

#### **Semitic-p final -ar > -a, as final -r does not raise the preceding vowel like Semitic-kw final -r does:**

(565-p) mkr / maakar ‘sell’ (3<sup>rd</sup> masc sg pfv) > UA \*maka / \*makaC ‘give’  
 (1331-p) ’kr / ’akara ‘till (the ground)’; ’ikkaar ‘agricultural worker’ > UA \*wika ‘digging stick’  
 (550-p) Aramaic bəʃár ‘flesh’ > UA \*pisa ‘penis’  
 (616-p) dakar ‘male, man’ (Aramaic) > UA \*takaC / \*takaN ‘man, person, body’  
 (631-p) \*xamar ‘wine’; Arabic ximiir ‘drunkard’ > UA \*kamaC ‘drunk’  
 (789) thr / taahar ‘be clean (dietarily, of animals/food)’ > UA \*cahar ‘fork(ed)’  
 (1072-p) yáʃar ‘wood, forest, roadless terrain’ > UA \*yuwa ‘open country, outside’  
 (90-p) naʃar ‘boy’ > UA \*nowa ‘son’  
 (1022-p) maaʃaar ‘next day, tomorrow’ (< \*ma’xar) > UA mawa, moosta, muu’a, mowahusu ‘tomorrow’  
 (1421-p) sahr- / suhr-, pl: suhuur ‘lungs’; also masaahjir ‘lungs’ > Tb moʃooha-t / mosooha-t ‘lungs’



### Semitic-p intervocalic \*-r- > -r-

- (28-p) *şurşur* / *şursuur* / *şarşuur* ‘cricket’ > UA \*corcor ‘cricket’  
(527-p) *baraq* ‘lightning’ > UA \*pirok ‘lightning’ / My *berok-* ‘lightning’, Tbr *viriki-t*  
(566-p) *’ariy* / *’arii* ‘lion’ > UA \*wari ‘mountain lion’  
(875-p) *boqer* ‘morning’, *bəqar-iim* ‘mornings’ > UA \*pi’ari ‘tomorrow’  
(1496-p) *brd* ‘be cold, to hail’, *barad/baaraad* ‘hail, n’ > UA/Tr \*bara- ‘be cool, time of rains’  
(660-p) *ħaram* / *ħurmat-* / *ħariim* ‘woman, wife’ > Wr *oerume* / *oorume* ‘woman’  
(1401-p) *brħ* ‘flee, slip away, pass through, glide past’ > My *bóroh-te* ‘tiene diarrhea’  
(1180-p) *gabr-aa*, pl: *gabr-iim/iin* ‘great man’ > UA \*kiri ‘man, old man, elder’  
(1499) *zry* (< \*dry) ‘to scatter, sow’; Aramaic *dry* / *dāraa* ‘to winnow, scatter’, verbal n: *dəree* / *dərii* > Tr/Wr \*tari ‘seed’  
(723) *ṭariya* ‘to be juicy, moist, fresh’ > UA/Wr \*-cori ‘wet/moist’  
(1038-p) *yoore* ‘to water, send rain’, pfv: *hoora*, inf: *hooroot* ‘watering’ > UA/TrC \*hora / \*horo ‘rain’  
(1396-p) *kpr*, impfv: \*-kpor ‘cover’ > Tr *pōra* ‘cover’  
(803) *kəfiir* (< \*kapiir) ‘young lion’ > UA / PYp *kaper* ‘bobcat’  
(1420-p) *nwr*, impfv: *nuur(u)*, pfv: *naar* ‘make/become light’ > UA/Eu \*nur / \*nar ‘become daylight’  
(1202-p) *ṣwr* > *ṣaara* / *ya-ṣwaru* ‘be/make blind, go away with (s.o./s.th.)’; IV *aṣaara* ‘lend, loan’ > UA/Tep \*wara ‘sell’  
(745-p) *šhr* ‘be bright, clear’; Arabic *zhr* ‘appear, arise’ > UA \*cihari / \*ci’ra/i, Num *si’aN* ‘sunrise, east, morning’  
(1222) *špr* ‘to whistle, hiss, chirp’ > UA/Tep \*ciporika ‘whirlwind’  
(1250) *šrg* / *šrq* ‘slip, slide’; or *šrf* / *zrq* ‘slip, slide, glide’ > NUA/Tr \*siro ‘slide, slip’, CN -l-  
(1266) *tpr* / *-tpor* ‘sow together’ > UA/Tep/TrC \*pura/i ‘tie’  
(1016-p) *qbr* ‘bury’ > UA \*kopor ‘dig’, \*kopa ‘(make) a hole’  
(725) *toor* ‘turtle-dove’ > SUA \*tori ‘domestic bird’, CN -l-  
Even Numic and the rest of NUA show intervocalic -r- (< \*-r-) in Sem-p items (though formerly understood as lenited intervocalic \*-t- by previous Uto-Aztecanists):  
(674) *ħrb* ‘lay waste, destroy’; impfv *ye-ħrab* ‘massacre’, or *hoqtal* impfv: \*yuħrab > SP *yurava* ‘be overcome’  
(1322) *ħrr* / *ħaraa* ‘be hot, burn’, Ethiopic/Arabic *ħarra* ‘be hot’ > UA/TrC \*uru / Num \*iri ‘hot’  
(1399-p) *bxx* (> *bħr*) ‘test, choose, be/make choice’; Amorite *bexeru* ‘elite soldier’ > UA \*biħiri ‘expensive, opponent’  
(1015-p) *kabara* ‘be older, great, big, grow, increase’ > UA/Num \*kaparaC ‘long, tall’  
(1484-p) *dwr* ‘to go round, turn, revolve, move in a circle’ > UA/Hp/SNum \*turu ‘whirl, roll, twist’  
(667) *ħwr* / *ħuur* ‘look, behold, gaze’ > UA/Tak \*hura ‘come up, look in/over’  
(655-p) \*xrr / *xarra* ‘to snore’ > Ls *xarāa-ya* ‘to snore’  
(1297-p) *prk* ‘crush’ > SP *puruqqwi* ‘to break to pieces’  
(1066-p) *šrf* (< \*ḍrf) ‘be weak, lean, emaciated’, verbal nouns *ḍarf*, *ḍuruuf* > UA \*corowa / \*corwa > *çoŋo* ‘be hungry’  
(737-p) *širṣaa* ‘hornets’ > UA \*saṣa ‘yellowjacket, stinging one’  
(1299-p) *šrh* ‘groan, cry out’ (< \*šrx) > UA \*isoroN- ‘snore’; UA \*sork  
(1138-p) *šor* ‘navel, navel cord’; Arabic *surr* ‘navel cord’ > Sr *şuur* ‘navel’  
(1511-p) *šrd* ‘to quake, be terrified’ > Ktn *šariri* ‘trembling’  
(1201-p) *tamuuraa* ‘exchange, substitution’; ha-tamuuraa ‘what is exchanged, exchanging’ > Num \*timiri ‘buy, trade’  
(729-kw) *’eebaar-aa* / *’eebr-aa* ‘limb, arm, wing, pinion, male member’ > UA \*pira ‘arm, right arm’

**Puzzles** include the Hp and SP forms in 921 below: in Sem-kw, we would expect Hp *ṣayo* and SP (q)ayu, and in Sem-p, we might expect *qaro* / *qoro* for both, but each shows a characteristic of Sem-kw and another of Sem-p.

(921-kw) *grm* ‘gnaw, break/crush (bones)’, inf: *garom*

> Hp *ṣaro-* ‘crunch down on’; SP *qayu* ‘grind up (like a dog crushing bones)’

### Semitic-p forms showing some -r- > -y- in NUA is enigmatic

- (1373-p) Arabic *ḍrr* ‘strew, spray’ > Ktn *ṭiyiyi’y* ‘drizzle (weather)’ (Sem-p, Semitic *ḍ* > *t*);  
(1365-p) *’gr* / *’agar* ‘to hire, harvest’ > Tb *waahay* ‘work’ (-r- > -y’-)  
(570-p) *’axar* ‘behind, after’; \*’axer ‘other/another’ > UA \*wakay/waxay ‘two, after’  
(1486-p) *’rk* ‘be long (time or space/length)’ > UA *wiiyak* ‘long’  
(994-p) *ṣqr* ‘uproot, weed, heal’ > UA/Tak \*qaya/i ‘uproot, weed, clean, wash, heal’

### Final -r/-l > CN -l, though lost in other UA languages:

- (60-p) Arabic *muskir* ‘alcoholic beverage’; unattested \*ma-škar / \*mi-škar > CN *meškal-li* ‘mezcal, alcoholic drink’  
(866-p) *ṭmr* ‘hide, bury, cook underground with coals’ > UA \*ṭimal- (tamal-li) ‘what is baked underground’  
(720-p) *n’bl* / *nebel* ‘skin-bottle, skin (of wine)’ > CN *no’pal-* ‘prickly pear cactus fruit’ (often fermented to alcohol)  
(873-p) *’pl* / *yu’pal* ‘get dark, (sun, planet) go down’ > UA \*yu’wal ‘night, get dark’

## 7.9 Other Consistencies and Phonological Phenomena

Besides sound correspondences and a substantial number of lexical similarities according to those correspondences, related languages tend to share other patterns, systems, and even systems of systems. The facts that every marker for passive / stative in Egyptian is found in UA, and that five of the UA ways of doing passive / stative align with either Hebrew or Egyptian are rather remarkable.

Egyptian and Semitic also frequently add explanatory power to other matters that have stumped Uto-Aztecanists for decades. For example, underlying Egyptian forms offer a much better explanation than other proposals for the medial *m*, *ɲw*, *ɲ*, *n* segments in ‘salt’ (280), ‘lung’ (281), and ‘husband’ (283), as outcomes of the underlying cluster *-m’-* (*-m* + glottal stop-). In fact, Uto-Aztecanists have quite ignored the forms with *m*, only discussing the NUA *ɲ* and SUA *n* correspondence.

Manaster-Ramer’s meticulous uncovering of some medial clusters, such as the *p* in UA *\*kapsi* ‘thigh’ (Manaster-Ramer and Blight 1993b), which item for decades was reconstructed as *\*kasi* (VVH 1962, Miller 1967), was followed by finding Egyptian *xpš* ‘thigh’ to match *\*kapsi* perfectly (294).

The bilabial stops as first element of a cluster were lost in pronunciation (*-bC-/-pC- > -C-*) as noted in 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 486, 757, 794 at p. 132, *\*kapsi* among them. In fact, the loss of bilabial stops as first element in a cluster was so consistent that it took 80 years to discover and reconstruct *\*kapsi*, while a possible tie with Hebrew and Egyptian reveals a similar and consistent pattern in a dozen other cases. Whether due to clustering or not, Coptic lost many medial bilabial stops as well: Egyptian *sbḡ* ‘Mercury, the planet/bright star’ > *swḡ* > Coptic *sowke*; Egyptian *ṭbwt* ‘sandal’ > later Egyptian *twt/twy*; Egyptian *sb* ‘star’ > Coptic *siu*.

Another consistency is that as 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant, Egyptian final *-i* quite consistently yields UA *\*-iya*:  
147 Egyptian *m’i* ‘lion’; Coptic *mui* > UA *\*mawiya* ‘mountain lion’  
180 Egyptian *ḥbi* ‘be festive, make festival’ > UA *\*hupiya* ‘to sing, song’  
165 Egyptian *rwi* ‘to dance’ > UA *\*tawiya* / *\*tuwiya* ‘to dance’  
387 Egyptian *ḥwi* ‘fliessen, fluten [flow, flood]’ > UA *\*huwiC* ‘canyon, water way’  
In addition, the final *-i/y* stands as a consonant in producing gemination of the next consonant in NUA.

Another consistency is Tara-Cahitan’s and especially *Wr*’s anticipation of a glottal stop to precede the consonant it formerly followed: 154 *sb’* > *si’pu* ‘star’; 199 *ḏb’* > *si’pu* ‘clothing’; 157 *it’* > *i’tu* ‘take’; 724 Hebrew *parfoš* ‘flea (jumper)’ > *\*pa’rosi* ‘jackrabbit’.

Also quite consistent within the Semitic-UA tie is some pre-classical Hebrew phonology. Some vowelings match very early Northwest Semitic vowel patterns, as noted in (1), (2), and (3). Consistent with that earliness are two consonant distinctions that are earlier pronunciations than those reflected by the 23 letters of the Biblical Hebrew text: the Proto-Semitic pharyngeal *ḥ* and *\*x* merged to *ḥêt*, *ḥ* and *\*ḡ* > *ḥ*, and Proto-Semitic *\*ḏ* and *\*z* merged to Hebrew *z*. However, UA’s Semitic-*p* language distinguished those pairs. There are many instances of UA *\*hu/o/u* reflecting a pharyngeal *ḥ*; and several other sets reflect Proto-Semitic *\*x* > *\*k* when Hebrew *ḥeṭ* is from Proto-Semitic *\*x*.

### Other consistencies and patterns:

**Weak third consonants**, like *y*, *w*, and *’*, in Semitic verbs are more often lost or not apparent in the Semitic conjugations. However, in UA they often appear though not expected in Semitic:

*sly* / *salaa* / *saliya* ‘think no more on (s.th.), forget, comfort, delight, take pleasure in’; Hebrew *šalaa* ‘rest’  
> Hp *salayti* ‘be gratified, fulfilled, pleased by/from’ (1501)  
*bahiya* ‘empty, vie, compete’ > Hp *kwahi* / *kwàyya* ‘suffer loss’; *kwaha-* ‘deprive of, take at expense of’ (38-kw)  
*baqiya* ‘stay, be left behind’ > Hp *kwayṅya-* ‘behind’ (954-kw)  
*snw* ‘gleam, shine, be beautiful’ > Hp *soniwa* / *sonwa-y* ‘be beautiful, pleasing, bright’ (13)  
*bky* / Syriac *pfv bakaa* / *baka* > UA *\*paka* ‘cry, v’ (559-p)  
*dwy* / *dawaya* / *daawe* / *daawaa* ‘be miserable, faint, sick’ > UA *\*tiwoya* / *\*ti’oy* / *\*ti’mo* ‘sick(ness)’ (1284)  
*dšw* / *daašaa* ‘to call, name’ > UA *\*ti(N)wa* ‘name’ (1059)  
*ḥt’* (< *\*xaṭi’a*) / *ḥaṭaa* ‘miss (a mark), do wrong’ > UA *\*wa(C)tiN* / *\*waCtiC* ‘lose, lost, misled’ (649-kw)  
*ḥt’* (< *\*xaṭi’a*) / *ḥaṭaa* ‘miss (a mark), do wrong’ > Ktn *’ačaw* ‘miss (the mark)’ (650-p)  
Aramaic *sw’* / *swy* / *səwaa* ‘to long, desire’ > UA *\*suwaC* ‘to want’; UA *\*siwaC* ‘to want’ (1207)  
*šlw* / *šly* / *šaalaa* ‘ascend, go up, grow’ > UA *\*wila/i* ‘grow’; Hp *wiṅwa* (681)  
*pl’* ‘to be extraordinary, wonderful’ > UA *\*palaw* ‘pretty’ (714-p)

pǵy / f.pfv: pǵyaa 'inquire, seek' > UA \*paya 'call, summon' (1067-p)  
 pty / pǵtaa / pǵta' / pǵtiy 'be enlarged, wide, broad' > UA \*pǵttiya / \*pǵt(t)i'a '(be) heavy' (812)  
 pǵtaa'aa / pǵtaa'aa 'wide, enlarged' > UA \*patawa 'wide' (1168)  
 šb' / šǵbee 'wish, prefer, be pleased with, delight in' > UA \*supiC 'like, want' (901-p)  
 qn' / impfv -qna 'be jealous' > UA \*nawa 'jealous' (1031-p)  
 qn' / impfv -qna 'be jealous' > UA \*ǵa'i 'get even, be jealous' (1032-kw)

### **Semitic-p 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant y verbs in the vowelings of Masoretic Hebrew and Aramaic end their imperfective with -e, but UA is consistent in showing imperfective -a, not -e**

hwy / yehwe 'he is' (Aramaic) > UA \*yǵhwa 'that, he, she' (112)  
 bky / impfv masc: \*ya-bka' 'he/it weeps, cries' > UA \*yaCkaC / \*yakka 'to cry, sg' (560-p)  
 bky / impfv fem: \*ta-bka' 'she/it weeps, cries' > UA \*takka (> NP taka) 'to cry' (561-p)  
 \*-ǵr- > -ǵr-: ǵry / ǵr' / ǵraaa, impfv: ta-ǵra 'to contain, hold' > UA \*taǵa 'bag, sack, put in container' (1418-p)  
 ǵšy / yaǵaše 'make, make (write) books, create' > UA \*yo'osa 'write, paper' (680)  
 Aramaic tehwe 'you are, sg' > UA \*ti / \*tihwa 'you, sg' (111)  
 tly 'hang'; \*yutla 'be hung' > UA \*yula 'hang' (1247)

Some of the below include problematic / inconsistent data to think about and for future study.

### **-h- is well preserved in Semitic-kw:**

ghh 'be cured, healed, freed, bend' > Sr ǵǵhäh 'go around a bend'; Hp ǵaaha 'untie', Hp ǵahi 'remedy' (909-kw)  
 khh / kehah 'be inexpressive, dim, dull, colorless, disheartened' > Ktn 'a-kǵhahik 'sad' (903-p or kw?)  
 bahiya 'empty, vie, compete' > Hp kwahi / kwǵyaa 'suffer loss'; kwaha- 'deprive of, take at expense of' (38-kw)  
 bhl 'cease, become quiet, tranquil, calm, gentle' > \*kwaha '1. tamed, 2. peaceful, tranquil, gentle' (39-kw)  
 bahamat 'back, hill, high place' > UA \*kwahama 'back' (7-kw)

**Examples of -w- > -v-:** While lenition (weakening) is the more common kind of consonant change, fortition (strengthening) also occurs in language change. We have already noted other instances of strengthening, especially in initial position: Semitic x > UA k (also Semitic x > Semitic k), and r > t, initially at least. We see that w > v occurs also. I have heard some Arabic speakers say v for Arabic w, and in Modern Hebrew, the original w is pronounced v. Hebrew rwy / raawaa (> raavaa in some dialects) 'drink one's fill', impfv pl: yirvǵyuu. In Talmudic Aramaic, an actual b (> v) is an alternate form due to strengthening of w > b: Aramaic(J) raabe, f: raabaa 'moist, saturated with liquid'. Also Hebrew ǵerwaa / ǵervaa has as its cognate Samaritan irba. Likewise, in UA, Semitic w > UA v occurs often enough, and intervocalic -v- is then re-interpreted as from PUA \*-p-, though other times we see PUA \*w > v in only a few languages, such that -w- occurs in most UA languages, so it can be seen that w > v within UA itself.

Note examples of intervocalic \*-w- > -v-, often causing UA forms to seem from UA \*-p- instead of \*-w-:

- (147) UA \*mawiya 'mountain lion': \*mawiya > mavid in some Tep languages and in Eu. (< Egyptian m'i 'lion')
- (1287) UA \*na-wakay 'four': most languages show -w- in reflexes of \*na-wakay, but \*-w- > -v- in Eu návoi.
- (1037) UA \*yuiwN > \*yuiN 'ponderosa pine' (in Num) and > \*yuy 'conifer sp' (in Tak), and w > v happens often enough in Num: Kw yivi-bi 'ponderosa or yellow pine'; Ch yuimpǵi 'pine sp'; CU yivi-pǵi 'pine tree'.
- (569) UA \*woko(N) 'pine' > Eu vokót/gokót. (< Hebrew 'egooz 'nut tree')
- (286) UA \*pi'wi 'clean, vt' > Eu pigwide/pivide. (< Egyptian px 'purge, clean')
- UACV-1730 \*wokin 'drag': Tb wǵiǵiin~'iǵiǵiin 'drag it'; Hp lölokinta 'drag, pull behind'; \*w > v in Sr vööhkin 'pull, drag'; even if Tb's first vowel does not agree, 4 of the 5 segments agree in Tb and Hp with identical semantics: \*wVkin.
- (575) UA \*kamo'-ta 'sweet potato': Cr kámwah; CN kamo'-tli; ST kamav 'camote' with ' > w > v. [kam'- 'truffle(s)']
- (347) UA \*wiru 'play a reed flute': Ca wǵiru; Ls wǵiru; Sr wiirui'n 'play a reed flute'; Sr wiirui'ni-t 'reed flute'; WMU viyu'/eviiyu'ni 'flute' is very similar to Sr except w > v. [Egyptian wr 'reed flute']
- (165) UA \*tawiya / \*tuwiya > \*tuya 'dance'; redupl \*tu(w/v)tui: AYq tatawiilo 'turn around, vi'; Sr tuhtu' 'dance, vi'; Ktn tuhtu' 'dance, vi'; Ktn tuhtuhyit 'dancer, n'; Ls tótuwi-š 'guardian spirit, person who performs a certain dance, the tatahuila'; Tǵ tóvtu'ax 'tatahuila, kind of dance'; Tǵ tóvtu'ar 'the tatahuila dancer'; Ktn tǵvi-t 'certain type of dancer'; CN i'tootiaa 'dance, v'; CN mi'to'-tli 'dance, n'; Pl ihtutia 'dance, vt/refl' (< Egyptian rwi 'dance, v')
- (799) UA \*yaway > Tbr yáv-a'n 'river' at 'canyon' (< Hebrew ya'or 'river')
- UACV-845 UA \*sawi 'fear' > Eu sevíce 'tener miedo, v' at 'fear' \*sawi
- UACV-1413 UA \*yaway(a)wa / \*yawayo 'lung': CN mimiwayayo-tl 'lungs'; Ca yávayva 'lung, liver'
- (322) Egyptian q'yt 'high land, hill' > UA \*kawi 'mountain': Eu kavít / kawí(t) / hawi 'hill'
- (163) Egyptian rǵw 'sun, day' > UA \*tawa > Eu tavi 'sun'; Numic tava
- (566) Semitic 'ari 'lion' > UA \*wari > Tbr wawi / wowi / vavo 'mountain lion'; Cr waábe'e 'coyote'; Eu bo'i / wo'i
- (1512) \*tiwa > Eu tivé 'tener vergüenza'

- (756) Hebrew \*šannaa' 'enemy, hater' > UA \*sina'a / \*sinawa > Num sináwa-vi 'coyote' as the trickster often representing the cosmic 'hater' or 'enemy' of mankind; Eu zináva 'get angry'  
 (719) Hebrew towlid 'bear a child, fem impfv > Ls tóvli 'to bear a child, lay an egg'  
 (1061) Semitic rwy 'drink' hirwiý > UA hivi (< \*hipi?) 'drink'  
 (1464) Hebrew śá'or 'sour (leavened) dough'; Aramaic sii'uur / sy'wr > UA civu (< \*cipu?) 'bitter'  
 (738) Hebrew qayiš > UA \*kuwīs 'summer': Eu kuvés-rawa 'summer'; Tr kuwésa 'be summer'  
 (758) Hebrew š'l 'ask' > UA \*sī'wī and Ls šóovini 'ask for'  
 (689) Semitic šaršar 'juniper' > UA \*wa'wari > wa'wori > abori 'juniper'  
 (381) Egyptian wr ḥq'w 'buzzard' > UA \*wirhukuN 'buzzard': Wc wirīkī; Cr viskī 'buzzard'  
 (1046) Aramaic ḥagort-aa 'girdle' > UA \*wikosa 'belt': Eu wikosa/vikosa

### Liquids \*/\*r > s in a cluster with or when adjacent to a voiceless consonant

- (381) Egyptian wr(t) ḥq' 'turkey buzzard' > UA \*wiruku in most UA languages, but r > s in Hp wisoko, Tb, and Cr  
 (1279) \*yagar 'point' > UA \*yaka 'nose, summit' Hopi yakas- (combining form)  
 (91) Aramaic \*našar-taa 'girl' > UA \*nawis-t 'girl'  
 (1300) Semitic mlk 'to lead' > Tb miškīt 'to lead, vi'; Tb(H) miškip 'in front'  
 (778) Hebrew ṭabbuur 'navel' > Tb šappuš-t 'belly'  
 (290) Egyptian t'-phrt 'medicine' > Tb tiipoohiš-t 'medicine, herb medicine'  
 UACV-918 Hp momospala 'honey' and PYP mumur 'bee'; Hp also devoiced r > s in buzzard, necklace, etc.  
 (1422) Syriac kmr / \*kamar 'be sad' > Tb hammaššat 'be sad'  
 (1022) Hebrew maaḥaar 'next day, tomorrow' (< \*ma'xar 'what is after' (Brockelmann)); Hebrew moḥoraat 'tomorrow';  
 Aramaic məḥar, maḥr-aa 'next day-the' > CN moostla 'tomorrow'. In CN, -r- > -s- in a cluster with a voiceless C.  
 (1046) Aramaic ḥagort-aa 'girdle' > UA \*wikosa 'belt': Eu wikosa/vikosa; Cah wikosa. -rt- > -s- as also the -rḥ- > -s- in 'turkey vulture' as in both cases clustering with a voiceless consonant causes devoicing of r > s, like Nahuatl y > s.

### Sibilants, especially š > ' in Numic

- (581) Hebrew 'arš-aa 'earth-ward, to the earth' > UA \*wīcī > Num \*wī'i 'fall'  
 (748) Hebrew šibbeš, šibbaš- 'to weave patterns' > SP sikwa'a 'to braid'  
 (33, 32-kw) Hebrew biššar 'make inaccessible' > UA/Num \*kwi'ay / \*kwi'aC 'surround, fence'  
 (1020) Syriac blš 'to bud, blossom' > Ca če-kwála'an 'open (eyes or mouth)'  
 (532) Hebrew \*bošer(et) > UA \*puši 'eye' > Numic \*pu'i

### Samech s > c (the c vs. s results of the four Semitic sibilants (s-like sounds) await more research)

- (1255) Hebrew sgd, impfv: -sgod 'bow down, kneel', infinitive səgod > UA \*coko 'knee, kneel'  
 (1307) Hebrew nes 'flag, standard, ensign' > UA \*naci 'standard outside kiva'  
 (895) Hebrew \*hi'asep 'be gathered, die, be put in family cemetery' > UA \*hi'acapa 'bury, grave' > Tep hi(°)asapa  
 (1462) Hebrew šapat 'lip, speech, edge, shore (of sea), bank (of river)' > UA \*capa- 'ridge, edge'

**Egyptian w > Tepiman w:** normally PUA \*w > Tep g, but instances of \*w > Tep w do occur and may be loans, but collecting such samples to look at (more than these exist) may tell us something:  
 Egyptian (226) wnm 'eat'; (147) m'i 'lion'.

### Initial ' > h in Sem-kw?, which is merely initial devoicing of the first vowel when glottal stop is negligible:

- (1220) Syriac 'etqaraš 'to shade' > \*hīkya 'shade'  
 (1192) Syriac 'aynaa 'who, what, m'; Syriac 'aydaa 'who? what? f' (< \*'ayn-taa)  
 Tb haayn 'what'; acc: haaynta; the other UA forms show \*hinta / \*hitta 'what, acc', that is, a cluster, clear in Tb and a cluster is clear in Ls: Ls híi-ča, acc. hí-š, 'what?' (\*hita > hila, thus \*hinta > hita / hica); Sr hiit, acc. hiiti; Eu hat/hit, gen. hite, acc: hitá 'what'; Sr hiit; Ktn hit; Yq híta; My híta; CN tle 'what'; Wr ihtá

**PUA \*h > Tep h:** the usual correspondence is PUA \*h > Tep ' yet Tep sometimes retains h within UA itself (the first two) and also in the Near-East to UA tie (the last four):

- UACV-560c \*ihoho (> Tep \*i'oho...) 'to cough': B.Tep314 \*'i'ohogī 'cough'; TO i'ihog; LP ihoga/ihosana; PYP i'osin  
 UACV-789 \*hay... 'edge, shore, end': Cp háyve 'end, edge, shore'; Cp háye 'finish, tire of'; Ca háyva 'edge, end';  
 Ls háylu / háyla 'edge, end'; like Cp háye 'finish, tire of' is PYP had 'finish, vt' (UA \*y > Tep d)  
 (184) Egyptian ḥtp 'set (of sun)' > Tep huru 'set (of sun)' and Eu hurun, but Eu h not from \*s as usually in Tep  
 (208) Egyptian ṭḥnw 'glisten, Libya' (the glistening desert) > TO tohono 'desert'  
 (895) Hebrew \*hi'asep 'be gathered, die, be put in family cemetery' > UA \*hi'acapa 'bury, grave' > Tep hi(°)asapa  
 (463) Egyptian ḥš / ḥšw 'body'; Egyptian ḥšwt / ḥššwt 'joy, rejoicing'; Egyptian ḥšī 'rejoice' > \*hoḥa 'body':  
 TO hon 'body'; PYP hona 'body'; Ls héḥča 'happy'. The cluster of -šw- > -ḥ-.

(824) TO hoohi 'mourning dove' (< \*howi < UA \*hayowi 'dove') with consonant harmony (\*howi > hoohi),

**In UA, w > kw** (many more to be gathered)

\*suwi > Mn sukwi 'pubic hair'

\*wacuwini > Mn wahcĩhkwihtu 'four'

**Hebrew Semitic-p non-initial -t- > -c- or -s-**

(1195) Arabic qimma(t) 'top, summit, peak' > UACV-2368 \*kumisa 'top, tuft, crest'

(613) Hebrew dVbbooteey 'bears' > Tep \*posi, CrC \*huce, with loss of first syllable of short unstressed V

(594) Hebrew 'axootee' 'sisters' > UA \*kooci / \*koosi

(633) Semitic xaataan / xooten 'in-law, father-in-law' > UACV-1791 \*kusana 'sibling-in-law':

Ktn -kuhana 'sister-in-law' (< \*kusana); Tñ kúsna 'brother-in-law'.

(1462) Hebrew šaapaa(t) 'lip, speech, edge, shore, bank' > UA \*capa- 'ridge, edge': Eu zápsi (capsi) 'loma [hill]'

(1046) Hebrew/Aramaic ħagort-aa 'girdle' > UACV-177 \*wikosa 'belt'; the -rt- > -s- as also the -rĥ- > -s- in 'turkey vulture' such that in both cases clustering with a voiceless consonant causes devoicing of r > s.

(1386) Syriac qatqet 'laugh'; Aramaic qty / qatqet 'to laugh' > UA \*kasi 'smile': Ca kaskási 'smile'

(381) Egyptian wr(t) ħq' 'turkey buzzard' > UA \*wiruku in most UA languages, but r > s in Hp wisoko, Tb, and Cr

(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 three 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'.

## 8 The Aramaic Leaning of the Semitic-p Language

Curiously, Semitic-p exhibits considerable affinity with Aramaic, a Northwest Semitic language closely related to Hebrew and also spoken in Palestine at various times. Some vowelings of Sem-p are more like Aramaic than Hebrew. For example, Hebrew báášaar 'flesh' is apparent in Sem-kw as UA \*kwasi (5), but the vowels of Aramaic bāsár 'flesh' appear in Sem-p's UA \*pisa (550). UA words for finger not only show the Sem-p expected s instead of c for the sibilant, but also show a voweling only found in Aramaic dialects, like Syriac sebša (> UA sivwa). Hebrew would show rounding for an initial aleph: Hebrew 'ešbaš would be something like UA \*wicpo, but nothing like that exists in UA. In addition, UA's absolute suffix \*-ta is found throughout much of UA and is quite identical to Aramaic's feminine definite article \*-taa, which is also a suffix and is also dropped when the noun is possessed, as in UA:

(1273) Aramaic \*-**taa** 'the' (feminine suffixed definite article, dropped when possessed)

> \*UA \*-**ta** 'absolute suffix (dropped when possessed).

(1274) Aramaic(S) kookb-aa' / kookəb-aa' 'star-the'; Syriac kaukab 'star'; Syriac kaukb-aa' 'star-the': Sr kupaa' 'to shine (as of the stars)' (a verbalized noun, even with final glottal stop). All as expected: vowels generally rise from Semitic to UA (o > u); and Aramaic's suffixed definite article causes the last two consonants to cluster, and Sr -p- instead of -v- shows that a cluster underlies it, such as -kp- / -pp-.

	<u>Hebrew/Semitic sg</u>	<u>Hebrew/Semitic pl</u>	<u>maghrib Arabic</u>	<u>Classical Nahuatl</u>
1 <sup>st</sup>	'e-/a- 'I (verb)'	ni-/na- 'we (verb)'	n- 'I verb'	ne'wa / nehwa 'I'
2 <sup>nd</sup>	ti-/ta- 'you sg (verb)'	ti-/ta- 'you pl (verb)'	t- 'you verb'	te'wa / tehwa 'you, sg'
3 <sup>rd</sup>	yi-/ya- 'he (verbs)'	yi-/ya- 'they (verb)'	y- he verbs'	ye'wa / yehwa 'he'

The Classical Nahuatl (CN) singular pronoun series—nehwa (I), tehwa (you), yehwa (he)—parallels the imperfective of the Aramaic 'be' verb—'ehwe, tehwe, yehwe. Though the Nahuatl first person singular (I) form (nehwa) differs from the verb form, the n- of the CN form is analogically like the fundamental n of most Semitic 'I/me' forms. In fact, the maghrib Arabic dialect did the same thing, that is, analogized the impfv verb prefixes to n-, t-, y- (Goldenberg 2013, 86), just like the Classical Nahuatl singular series—nehwa, tehwa, yehwa. The Hebrew pattern is 'ehye, tihye, yihye, with y vs. the w of Aramaic. So UA better matches the Aramaic pattern. Reflexes of Aramaic \*hawa occur elsewhere in UA also:

At (1345) Aramaic hwy / hawaa 'exist, be, become'; Syriac həwaa > UA \*hawa in Ls and Tb. Aramaic hawaa contrasts with Hebrew hayaa, and the UA forms are like Aramaic, not Hebrew.

At (101) Uto-Aztecan \*ni' 'I' does not align with Hebrew 'anii, because final -i is Uto-Aztecan's favorite final vowel, so if Hebrew 'anii 'I' were the source, there would not be a change in the final vowel. However, Uto-Aztecan \*ni' 'I' does align with Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac 'anaa' with loss of the 1<sup>st</sup> unstressed vowel, as happens in Syriac as well: \*'anaa' > Syriac naa'—and 2<sup>nd</sup> V centralized \*a > i. WMU and other UA languages even have the final glottal stop as do written Arabic, Aramaic/Syriac. At (105/106), Tr tumu / tumuhe (ustedes, vosotros, subj) and SP ηumi 'you, your, pl obj pronoun' both resemble the Aramaic vowels of Aramaic antun 'you pl, subj' and -kon 'you (obj), your pl' after earlier Semitic \*m > n.

In contrast to Hebrew/Phoenician z and Arabic/Proto-Semitic \*ḏ, UA \*t < Aramaic d:  
 (616) Semitic \*ḏakar 'male, man' / Aramaic dakar > UA \*taka 'man, male, person, self, body'  
 (618) Aramaic di'b-aa 'wolf-the' > UA \*ti'pa 'wolf' (vs. Hebrew haz-zə'eb 'the-wolf')  
 (617) Aramaic diqn-aa 'beard-the, chin-the' > UA \*ti'na > \*ti'ni 'mouth'  
 (in contrast to Hebrew zaaqaan 'beard, chin')

In addition, two of those three forms match perfectly the Aramaic form with definite article suffix, but not the Hebrew forms at all. In fact, besides Aramaic's suffixed feminine definite article \*-taa, many UA forms include Aramaic's suffixed masculine definite article also \*-aa. In fact, in some Aramaic dialects, the citation form would include the definite article. Also in Tb, Voegelin translates the Tb citation form as 'the' whatever. In fact, notice how well the Western Numic languages' (Mn and NP) words for 'deer' reflect both the feminine -ta 'deer' and the masculine -a 'buck deer' as a distinction in Mn and NP.

At (638) Semitic \*raxel 'ewe' > Mn tihita 'deer'; Mn tihya 'old buck'; Mn(L) tihhta 'deer';  
 NP tihidda 'deer'; NP(B) tihya 'deer'. So Mn has both and the genders match. The NP dialects show one of each as a general word, but NP(B) tihida when possessing s.th.'  
 At (604) Aramaic(J) rə'emaan-aa / reemaan-aa 'antelope-the' > UA \*timina 'antelope'  
 At (618) Aramaic di'b-aa 'wolf-the' > UA \*ti'pa 'wolf' (vs. Hebrew haz-zə'eb 'the-wolf')  
 At (617) Aramaic(J) diqn-aa 'beard-the, chin-the' > UA \*ti'na > \*ti'ni 'mouth'  
 (in contrast to Hebrew zaaqaan 'beard, chin')  
 At (1130) Aramaic pagr-aa 'corpse-the' > Hp piikya 'skin, fur' (vs. Hebrew hap-pəger 'the-corpse')  
 At (1403) Syriac šigr-aa 'drain, ditch, gutter-the'  
 > Hp sikya 'small valley, ravine, canyon with sloped sides'.  
 At (1405) Arabic šqr 'be of fair complexion, blond, fair-haired, color of fire'  
 > Hopi sikya- 'yellow'; Hopi sikya-η-pi 'yellow(ish) thing'; Hopi sikya-qa'ö 'yellow-corn'.  
 At (1046) Hebrew ḥgr 'gird (self)'; Hebrew ḥ<sup>a</sup>goraa 'girdle, loincloth, n.f.'; Aramaic \*ḥagor-taa  
 > UA \*wikosa 'belt'. The -r- devoices next to voiceless t, then the whole cluster goes to -s-.  
 At (743) Aramaic tuumr-aa 'palm-the / date-palm-the' > UA \*tu'ya 'type of palm tree':  
 Wr tu'ya 'palmilla'; Tr ru'ya 'kind of palm tree'. It fits Aramaic, but not Hebrew taamaar.  
 At (889) Hebrew rkb 'to mount, climb up'; Aramaic rikb-aa 'upper millstone-the'; Syriac rakb-aa 'upper millstone-the' > UA \*tippa 'mortar, pestle': TO čipa 'hole in bedrock for mashing mesquite bean'; ST topaa 'mortar'; Ls too'pa-l 'mortar for grinding' (Ls o < \*i)  
 At (794) Aramaic iibr-aa 'penis-the' > UA \*wi'aC 'penis'  
 At (1025) Aramaic guuryə-taa / guur-taa 'cub (female), young of animal (lion or dog) > UA \*koCti 'dog':  
 Sr koči'; Tr koči. Ktn guci; Wr ku'ci 'puppy'.

Longer Aramaic words of 3 and 4 syllables often lose the first syllable in UA:

At (1054) Aramaic raqbubit-aa 'moth-the' > UA \*...kupipika / \*(C)Vkupipika 'butterfly'  
 At (1055) Syriac 'aamaqqə-t-aa 'lizard-the, n.f.' > UA \*makkaCta(Nka)-ci 'horned toad'  
 At (1056) Syriac ḥady-aa 'breast-the, n.f.', pl: ḥ<sup>a</sup>daawaat- > UA \*tawi 'chest'; UA aligns with the Aramaic plural with loss of the first short unstressed syllable of the plural.

When the 3<sup>rd</sup> consonant is Semitic y or ' in Syriac/Aramaic (CCy/CC'), it is often not apparent in the Semitic perfect \*CaCay > CaCaa, but UA sometimes shows the final glottal stop of Aramaic:

At (559) Hebrew bky/ bakaa' 'cry, weep' (perf stem); Syriac bakaa / baka' > Hopi pak- 'cry';

Tb pahaa'at / 'apahaa' 'cry, bawl, howl' (Tb h < \*k); Ktn paka' 'ceremonial yeller, clown who shouts all day to announce a fiesta'.

Sometimes the final glottal stop of Aramaic's definite article suffix seems evident in UA, whether it is the masculine -aa' or feminine -taa':

(81) Aramaic \*ḥaberet > UA \*hupi- > Cr hii- (because \*u > Cr i, and \*-p- disappears in Cora, so Aramaic \*ḥaberet-taa' 'woman' > Cr hiiita'a 'woman' (Casad 1984, 161) is a very good match; (1409) Aramaic kuuky-aa' 'spiderweb' > Hopi kookyaṅw 'spider'; even Cp kúka-t 'blackwidow spider' shows a final consonant where that glottal stop would be; otherwise, the absolutive suffix would be -l, instead of -t.

(1055) Syriac 'aamaqqat-aa' 'lizard-the, n.f.' > NP makaca'a 'horned toad' (with echo vowel after -a')

(967) Aramaic qušt-aa 'bow-the' > UA \*kuCta-pi 'bow': Cp kútapi-š; Tḥ -kúčap (poss'ed); Ls kútupi-š 'ash tree, bow'; AYq kuta wiko'i 'bow'. A reconstruction of \*kuCtaC with a consonant cluster is needed given Takic intervocalic \*-tt- (as \*-t- > -l-). 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.

The matter of Aramaic influence in both Semitic-p and Semitic-kw merits more study.

## 9 Conclusions

Though a first introduction, this initial investigation into Uto-Aztecans' partial origins from Near-Eastern languages yields numerous consistencies, morphological parallels, and several hundred lexical alignments for each dimension. Some apparent inconsistencies remain to be examined more thoroughly, yet the proposed tie answers many previous questions. Many language relationships / families have been established with one-tenth of what is presented here. Some Semitists might question an assumed lack of the common Semitic words. I say assumed, because many common Semitic words do appear in UA, though less common ones became more prevalent. Some are indeed missing—Hebrew yad 'hand' and šmʿ 'hear'—but for others, it is reversals of prominence rather than lack: e.g., the common Hebrew ʿayn 'eye' does have rare appearance in UA, while the rare Semitic bšr 'see/eye' serves as the common UA word for 'eye'; the common Hebrew 'iš 'man' and 'išaa 'woman' are found in UA, but not as prominently as Semitic \*ḏakar 'male, man' > UA \*taka 'man' and Hebrew ḥaberet > UA \*hupi 'woman', which are more common in UA.

Some may question the citing of cognate forms from various Semitic languages instead of only one. We addressed this matter at 1.25, page 30, and mentioned that we know next to nothing of some ancient dialects and even what we have of Classical Hebrew vocabulary in existing texts is but a fraction of what existed in the spoken dialect(s); so when a match with the expected Hebrew reflex of an existing Arabic form is found, for example, there is little reason to doubt its existence in the ancient spoken cognate language Hebrew. In fact, that is what the philologists who compiled the Hebrew lexicons have always done: validate the Hebrew terms based on cognate terms. We mentioned the lack of a word for squirrel in the Hebrew Old Testament, yet we find two Arabic words for squirrel in UA, corresponding to unattested Hebrew cognates. Another example is Semitic \*km' 'truffle' (575) found in both Arabic to the south and Ugaritic (of Northwest Semitic) to the north, so the term's existence in Hebrew, located between the two, would be likely, even though Old Testament authors had no occasion to talk about truffles or squirrels either one.

Of interest are the Aramaic features (section 8), Aramaic vocabulary, and many nouns with the Aramaic masculine definite article suffix -aa' fossilized into the forms, besides the productive UA \*-ta suffix which resembles and behaves like Aramaic's feminine article suffix \*-taa' 'the'. Regarding Semitic-kw and Semitic-p, we might try to assign the Phoenician/Hebrew similarities to one and the Aramaic to the other; however, both seem to have some items with Aramaic morphology, but Semitic-p more so. Data on most dialects of Northwest Semitic is limited; nonetheless, some scholars (Young 1993, 54-62, 85-86) see an Aramaic influence or substrate among the dialects of ancient Israel, especially northern Israel. What is not known is the degree or extent, though it may have been more pervasive than presently known. The data of this work are relevant to that void in present knowledge.

Marsha White (1997), in a review of Young 1993, summarizes Young's substance more clearly and concisely than either I or Young might: "Young ... suggests that Biblical Hebrew goes back to the adaptation

of the pre-Israelite Canaanite prestige language.... Thus, from the beginning of Israelite history there were two linguistic strata: literary/formal and dialectal/colloquial. This situation of diglossia persisted throughout pre-exilic Israelite history.... The best explanation for ... so many Aramaisms in the early literary language is that they were in the lower (i.e., spoken) form of the language, and that Archaic Biblical Hebrew was open to elements from the underlying dialects. The strong presence of Aramaisms in the oldest Biblical Hebrew undermines the theory that Aramaisms equals late” (White 1997). Spolsky (2014, 30) also mentions a possible Israelite diglossia in which the daily vernacular may have been closer to Aramaic and cites other sociolinguistic examples of peoples’ writing in one language while speaking another, their own but differing colloquial (Spolsky 2014, 36).

This all aligns well with the likelihood of Aramaic substrata serving as underlying dialects to the literary language of Canaanite / Hebrew, perhaps throughout the Northern Kingdom’s centuries. What language did the mothers (Leah and Rachel) of Israel speak? Aramaic! They and their father Laban, the Aramean (Genesis 25:20), lived where Aramaic was spoken, as did Abraham originally. In addition, Aramaic was somewhat a lingua franca throughout most of the area through most centuries. So did the Israelites really set aside their Aramaic upon entering Canaan? Or were degrees of bilingualism the norm while adding the Phoenician / Canaanite literary language? The latter is likely.

Rendsburg (1997) refers to “Israelian [northern kingdom] Hebrew as a dialect bundle, because almost certainly there were minor differences ... the Galilean variety no doubt shared many features with Phoenician and with Aramaic too. However, the available data generally do not allow us to isolate such minor differences” (Rendsburg 1997, 67). I might add that the differences may not all have been minor.

Relative to the Semitic-kw and the Semitic-p infusions, 5.15 is a start in sorting the two, yet to be finished. Their separate sound correspondences (Appendix A) in many instances have helped to distinguish many lexical items’ affiliation, whether of Sem-kw or Sem-p. Yet as both have similar correspondences for some sounds (s, t, m, etc), some items resist sorting; thus, the matter remains opaque at times. The availability of this sizable corpus of raw data provides potential for many studies.

As to the original look of these diffused elements transplanted into the Americas, much remains to be clarified about the processes involving the language mixing, fossilizations, trimming, and molding into this unique result called Uto-Aztecan. Of course, every language mix is a unique product, though the processes often share commonalities. We have mentioned Yiddish, for example.

**Yiddish** yields noteworthy parallels to Uto-Aztecan. One parallel is that in both Yiddish and Uto-Aztecan, the Semitic items fit into a larger non-Semitic grammar. Kerler (1999, 9) explains that “the Germanic derivational machinery sets the major patterns for the morphological and to some degree syntactical integration of the other components” (of Yiddish). Likewise, in UA the fossilized Semitic pieces have largely been put into a larger non-Semitic grammar to a great degree. Bakker and Muysken (1995) explain that it is typical in language mixes that the vocabulary of one language largely fills the grammatical framework of another. In Uto-Aztecan, a sizable Near-Eastern vocabulary fills whatever grammar, fitting the description of language mixes better than Yiddish does, for in Yiddish, German provides both most of the framework and most of the vocabulary and pronouns, while in UA, the Semitic contributes much basic vocabulary and most of the pronouns.

Another parallel is that both involve a smaller Semitic-speaking population transplanted into a foreign land amidst other larger populations. Larger languages normally exert a heavy influence on a smaller language, at the least, if not lead to language loss via the complete adoption of the larger language(s). Examples are many. Native American languages have been heavily subject to the recently arrived European languages: English, Spanish, Portuguese or French. Many Native languages have been lost, and even the surviving languages show the effects of two to four centuries of European language influence. Yiddish, the language of central European Jews (originally Mediterranean Jews), results from the original Hebrew-Aramaic idiom being subject to many centuries of mostly German influence, as well as Slavic and other languages, collecting words from various stopping places along the way. Kriwaczek (2006, 40-48), Weinreich (1980), and Harshaw (1990, 5-7) outline its evolution from Roman Empire times, spreading from Greece, Italy and France into Slavic- and German-speaking areas and elsewhere by the first millenium’s end. Harshaw (1990, 32) and Weinreich (1980, 34) note Leo Wiener’s percentages as 70% German, 20% Semitic, and 10% Slavic. Other estimates similarly put the Semitic component to be between 15-25%, so the great majority of the vocabulary is from outside influences, mostly German. Kriwaczek (2006, 114) cites Wexler’s



(1993) view that much of the Hebrew might be of later adoption from written sources via Judaic religious instruction, education, and culture. If so, the implication is that without written sources, much less or very little Semitic would have survived to the present.

Uto-Aztecans' percentage of Near-Eastern components is nearer 50%, if not above it. As mentioned, the more widespread cognate sets, those found in 8, 9, 10, or all 11 of UA's 11 branches are about 85% from the Near-East components. Among the 2700 Uto-Aztecans' cognate sets in *Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary* (Stubbs 2011), the majority of those sets have reflexes in less than half of the 30 UA languages and in half or less of the 11 branches. In other words, Semitic and Egyptian seem prominent in the origins of UA, a much higher percentage of Semitic than is found in Yiddish.

In fact, all three of the idioms mentioned (Semitic-kw and Semitic-p and Egyptian) appear to have contributed to common UA words found in all or nearly all branches. From Semitic-kw are (4) UA \*kwasi 'cook, boil, ripen' and (5) UA \*kwasi 'tail, penis'; from Semitic-p are (532) UA \*pusi 'eye' and (531) UA \*pow 'road'; and from Egyptian are (280) UA \*omwa 'salt', (284) \*kumCa 'husband', and (508) UA \*t/raman 'tooth'. It appears that all three were present in what is called Proto-Uto-Aztecans', the original mixture from which the UA languages descend. Some may object, citing glottochronology's supposed time-depth of 5,000 years for UA, but holding fast to glottochronological estimates is more a hobby of anthropologists, archaeologists, and non-specialists than of linguists. Most linguists know better and view glottochronological estimates like colds—they usually pass with little permanent damage. Glottochronology is even more useless when it comes to language mixtures or heavy contact situations. For example, the formula would put the Yiddish separation from its Palestinian Semitic at about 10,000 years ago, when we know it was nearer to 2,000 or 3,000 years ago.

Language mixture may also explain many final vowels in UA, a final vowel added to the traditional Semitic form. The phonologies of some languages do not allow ending words with consonants, but must end with a vowel and thus a vowel is added to consonant-final foreign words. Arends, Kowenbergh, and Smith (1995, 103-4) note such a tendency (to add final vowels) for most Surinam creoles: sneki 'snake'; poti 'put'.

One might also wonder how verb-initial languages like Hebrew and Egyptian (VSO) could spawn verb-final languages like UA. First of all, Biblical Aramaic is largely verb-final. What's more, such changes are not unusual, but in fact, frequent in language change. Perhaps the three most common causes of such change seem to be the case for UA as well. First, topicalization as a fronting tool can help bring nouns (subjects and objects) to the front, turning original verb-initial patterns into noun-initial syntactic patterns. This actually happened in the history of Egyptian—changes away from VSO (verb initial) in later Egyptian due to topicalization patterns. Second, we see in UA the use of the Hebrew ha- 'interrogative prefix' (609) also causing such a change. The Hebrew ha- 'interrogative prefix' is first element in Hebrew yes-no questions, while the UA \*ha- 'interrogative particle' is usually second element in UA sentences, and interestingly the first element is always a noun. Both facts are consistent with each other, because topicalization of a noun followed by a question about it essentially reveals the Hebrew structure, yet also explains its consistent second position in UA: My sandal—is it in the house? Third, being among (neighbors to, surrounded by) verb-final languages (SOV) would change most languages to become SOV before long, and SOV is probably the most frequent word order among North American Indian languages. White Mesa Ute changed to English word order in a century or so. Fourth, there are non-SOV and even VSO patterns in some UA languages.

As mentioned, a salient implication suggested by the data is that Egyptian and two dialects of Northwest Semitic and other unknowns, likely of American origin, had merged by Proto-Uto-Aztecans' times. Such is admittedly a strange combination, but many languages are strange combinations—like English. Modern English kept only 15% of the Old English vocabulary (Baugh and Cable 1978, 55), having replaced the other 85% with infusions from French and Latin, etc. In fact, after the Norman French conquest of A.D. 1066, a thorough mixing of Norman French with Old English resulted in Modern English being as much a mix of Old English and Norman French as border Spanish or "Spanglish" is a mix of English and Spanish. Though most of our common words are from Old English, the percentages of a printed page would contain comparable amounts of French, and an unabridged dictionary would show much more Latin and French in modern English than what survived from Old English into modern English. Though the details differ from language to language, many languages are mixtures to varying degrees.

Of course, much more investigating, data-collecting, sorting, cross-checking, and analyses are yet needed. Nevertheless, a substantial amount of data and correlations create a viable case. Academicians claim to be seekers of truth, and minus a few duped by reality-challenged philosophers seeing truth as relative or non-existent, the rest of us should work toward it.

Academicians supposedly encourage open-minded, independent thought or critical thinking, yet they often construe critical thinking to mean rethinking the values system of one's upbringing, apparently confident that students will be 'liberated' from the presumed 'mythologies' of religion or traditional values, but academics' responses are less than enthusiastic should such an investigation confirm what they were sure could not be so. When evidence is presented to suggest conclusions outside their paradigms, such as pre-Columbian transoceanic crossings or Semitic speakers in ancient America, many of their reactions show their paradigms to be as dogmatic as they think religious ones are.

A very interesting difference between Sem-p and Sem-kw is that Sem-p kept  $\zeta$  and  $\dot{g}$  distinct, and kept  $\text{ħ}$  and  $x$  distinct, whereas Sem-kw did the known mergers of  $\text{ħ}$  and  $x$  to  $\text{ħ}$ , and also the merger of  $\zeta$  and  $\dot{g}$  to  $\zeta$ . Among some Israelites, if not all, this merger occurred later, that is, sometime between 300 BC and the first centuries AD (Kutscher 1982, 13-18; Sáenz-Badillos 1993, 81; Blau 1998, 12, 30). The fact that Sem-p shows the distinction in contrast to Sem-kw having merged them, losing the distinction, could be interpreted as a difference in time depth—that Sem-p separated earlier from the Near-East and Sem-kw later. However, that would not need to be the case. The fact that the Phoenician alphabet has two letters for the four sounds suggests that the merger had already taken place in Phoenician by the development of the Phoenician alphabet (1500-1200 BC), whereas Israelite Hebrew bore with using some symbols to represent two sounds each ( $\zeta$ ayn for  $\zeta$  and  $\dot{g}$ ,  $\text{ħeyt}$  for  $\text{ħ}$  and  $x$ ,  $\text{šin}$  for  $\text{š}$  and  $\acute{s}$ ) for a millennium or so, like English uses *th* for both  $\text{ð}$  (this, Heather) and  $\theta$  (think, Timothy). Thus, the Phoenician merger of the four Proto-Semitic consonants to two happened a millennium before the Israelite merger of the four to two. If the Semitic-kw speakers came on a Phoenician vessel, that would explain their merger and much else.

This corpus may provide pertinent data enough for varieties of other analytical studies. If these proposed ties are as viable as the statistical probabilities suggest, they provide a leap forward in explaining some previous unknowns (such as 6.1-6.6), some of which would have been impossible without these keys. Keep in mind, as if 1650 matches were not enough, that there is another way to know whether this is a valid case or not: if it be truth, then this is only the beginning of findings.

**Appendix A: Sound Correspondences of the Semitic and Egyptian in Uto-Aztecan from Semitic-K<sup>w</sup>, Semitic-p, and Egyptian:**

C- (initial), -C- (medial), C (all environments)

<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
ʕ	w/o/'	w/o/u	w/o/u
ḡ (> ʕ Phn)	w/o/'	k	-- (not in Egyptian)
s/d	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-/-c-	t-, -r-/-l-
k	ø-, -k-	k	k
g	ø-, -k-, but Tak ŋ	k	k
q	ø-, -k-, but Tak ŋ	k, but Tak q	k, but Tak q
h	h/ø	h/'/ø	h/'/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

## Appendix B: Semitic and Egyptian Items among the Proto-Uto-Aztecan Sets

All of the 2700 UA cognate sets in *Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary* (2011), which are in three or more of UA's 11 branches, are listed in appendices B-11 to B-3, in descending order from the most prevalent sets in all 11 branches to those in three of the 11 branches. Only 32 sets appear in all 11 branches (B-11). Each item's first number is its number among the 2700 sets in *UACV* (2011). Those linked with a Semitic or Egyptian term have a second number, which is that set's number in this work and those are in bold.

### Appendix B-11: Sets in all 11 of 11 branches (32); those of Semitic or Egyptian (31)

230/1447 *kī' / *kī'ca 'bite'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
240/876 *tuka 'night, fire go out'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
272/1477 *ohomī 'bone'	[NUA: Tak, WNum, SNum, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
521/4 *kwasīC 'cook(ed), ripe(n)'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
719/1061 *hiCpi 'drink'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
752/1070 *na(N/k)ka 'ear, hear'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
833/581 *wīcī > *wīyV/*wī'i 'fall'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1082/614 *maCta 'mortar'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1119/523 *man > *ma 'hand'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1165/218 *suna 'heart, inner part'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1190/178 *ko'ya 'die/kill, pl'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1206/1529 *awaC 'horn'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1451/1077 *mīcaC 'moon'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1533/690 *ka / *kay 'no, not'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1546/1279 *yakaC 'nose, ridge'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1626/569 *wokoN 'pine'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1821/531 *po'wī 'road, way'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1825/603 *īmī-ta / *īm-pV 'rock'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1967/56 *sīka / *sīkuN 'shoulder'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Cah, Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]
2006/329 *katī / *kattī 'sit'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2071/1162 *ha't(w)isa 'sneeze'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2169/154 *si'po / *su'u 'star'	[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2230/163 *tawa / *tawV 'sun, day'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2366/508 *taman 'tooth'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2446/739 *si'i/a 'urinate, urine'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Tbr, Opn, CrC, Azt]
2497/1165 *paC 'water'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2624 *pakay 'three'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2658/102 *nī 'I, me, my'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2659/104-5 *i'/*im(i) 'you sg / pl'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb, Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2662/1528 *(i)tammu 'we'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2678/1273 *-ta 'noun suffix'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, Cah, CrC, Azt]
2703/116 *-i 'stative suffix'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

### Appendix B-10: Sets in 10 of 11 branches (27); those of Semitic or Egyptian (26)

7/720 *no'pal / *napV 'prickly pear'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
300/139 *piCti / *piNti 'breast'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
458/832 *saCtuN 'claw'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
508/1073 *sīpī 'cold'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
644/1552 *kwiCtaC 'defecate, feces'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
655/52 *mukki 'die, be sick, smitten'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
824/532 *pusi 'eye'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
907/1229 *sīwa / *sī'a 'flower, bloom'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
972/1378 *kwa'Lo / *kwa'ro 'frog'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1003/565 *makaC 'give'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1081/1094 *tusu 'grind'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

1168/812 *pittiya/*pittV'a 'be heavy'	[NUA:Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1240/284 *kumCa / *kuCma 'husband'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]
1272/701 *mati 'know'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1366 *nimaC / *nimaN 'liver'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]
1398/971 *'aCtīm > *'atī(N) 'louse'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1489/1059 *tiNwa 'name'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1778/1135 *pakaN 'reed'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1843/1516 *wik- 'string, lead'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1865/280 *omCa / *oNca > oŋa 'salt'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]
1904/604 *tiwa 'find, see'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2271/5 *kwasiC 'tail, penis'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]
2364/698 *lanu 'tongue'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2540/1323 *wipa / *wippaC 'whip'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2543/494 *tosaC/*tusa/*sa-ka 'white'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2622/570 *wakay / *wokay 'two, after'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]
2673/1 *-ima 'plural suffix'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

Tb is not in 7 of the sets; Tbr not in 6; Azt not in 4; Num not in 3;

Hp, Cah, Opn, Tak, and CrC not in 1 each; but Tep and Trn are in all 27 sets.

### Appendix B-9: Sets in 9 of 11 branches (31); those of Semitic or Egyptian (28)

57/863 *ha'si / *hapsi 'arrive, reach, catch up'	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, Cah, CrC, Azt]
63/78 *huc(a) 'arrow'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
204/221 *wiL / *wirwuru 'big, long'	[NUA: Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
261a/840 *puca 'blow'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
343/381 *wiLhukuN 'buzzard, turkey vulture'	[NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp, Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
518/62 *ciyuk 'comb'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
615/72 *tika / *tiki 'cut'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]
696&697/824 *hayowa/i 'dove'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
738 *kwa'a 'hawk sp'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
775/46 *kwa'a 'swallow, eat'	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
860 *(hu-)ma'sa 'feather'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
892/365 *kicu / *kucu(C) 'fish'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]
918/1231 *mumu 'bee'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1109/1133 *poCwa 'hair, fur, hide, skin'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]
1242/530 *pakiC (AMR) 'enter'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1469/617 *ti'na > *ti'ni 'mouth'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1539/1064 *kusu 'voice a sound, flute'	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1892/1339 *sipa / *sippa 'scrape, shave'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]
2028 *huppa 'stink, skunk'	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2058/332 *koNwa 'snake'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
2085/1407 *mo'ona(C) 'son-in-law'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tbr, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
2178&1176/158 *'ici 'steal'	[NUA: SNum, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Azt]
2222/771 *cu'mi > *cuŋV 'suck, pipe'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
2314/1183 *mu'a/i / *mu(h/k)a 'shoot (arrow)'	[NUA: Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
2408/453 *kut- 'tree, wood'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb, Num; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]
2467/409 *naki 'want'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
2525/1192 *hayn-ta 'what, something'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr, Cah, Azt]
2543/494 *tosaC/*tusa/*sa-ka 'white'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2558/1219 *hikawa 'wind, blow'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

### Appendix B-8: Sets in 8 of 11 branches (52); those of Semitic or Egyptian (45)

68/885 & 1030 *na'i-piso 'ashes, fire-dust'	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
115/1548 *makuta 'blanket, wrap, carry a bundle'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Azt]
117 *waha 'to bark (of dog)'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]
124/1566 *paCti'a 'bat'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, CrC]
161/141 *pita > *pica/pici/picu 'bee, wasp'	[NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
173/540 *pittiwa 'believe, be true, trustable, very'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, Cah]

293 *tappa(na/i) 'split'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
302/838 *hikwis 'breathe, spirit, heart'	[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Azt]
305/837 *pa'ti / *paCti'i 'older sibling'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, Azt]
396/44 *kwisiC/*kwisa/i (< *kwisa?) 'take, carry'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, CrC, Azt]
422/582 *wa'aC / *wa'aN 'juniper or cedar tree'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Opn, Tbr, Cah]
425/1056 *tawi 'chest'	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Opn, Cah, CrC]
526 *wa'a / *wa'i 'roast, vt, meat, s.th. roasted'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]
588/28 *cor/sor 'cricket'	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Tbr]
720/1380 *waki 'dry, shrivel, thin'	[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
781/195 *suwa/*suCHaC 'eat up, die'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
791a *kuwa 'sharp, point', b *kwawi 'sharp, tree'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
879/450 *taha / *tahi 'burn, fire'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Tbr, Opn, CrC, Azt]
904/1227 *pattV 'flat, smooth'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Azt]
913/17 *sakwoti / *saypori 'fly'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
958/1099 *kopa is 'forehead, face'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
979a/b/269 *taka(C) 'fruit, root'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1010/231 *miLa/i 'run, flow, go, want'	[NUA: Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1051 *su'u 'maternal grandmother'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1175&2670/461 *ama(ni) 'there'	[NUA: Tb, Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Cah, CrC]
1213/890 *kanni (NUA) / *kaLi (SUA) 'house'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1317/135 *mana/i '(put) lying down, lie flat'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1409/281 *somCo / *soNca > *soŋo 'lungs'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr, Azt]
1495/777 *sikuN / *sik'uL 'navel'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt, Tep]
1590/321 *muhuC 'owl'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Azt]
1597/630 *koli (*kolkoli) 'hurt, be sick, chile'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1700/1651 *-i / *-e 'possessor, one having'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt; NUA: Hp]
1754/597 *taput 'cottontail rabbit'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1847/640 *pisika 'rotten, infected, pus'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
1867/162 *siwaN 'sand'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
1873a *awa 'tell'	[NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, Azt]
2000/594 *ko(°)ti / *ko'ci 'older sister'	[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Tbr, Cah, Opn, CrC]
2005/3 *yasa/i, *yasipa 'sit'	[NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, Cah, CrC]
2016/1248 *koCta 'bark, shell, money'	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Cah, Trn, Tbr, CrC]
2032/98 *tukuN-pa / *tikpa-(wa) 'sky, up'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]
2044/187 *hu'a 'stink, break wind'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn, Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]
2141/988 *ayaw < *alawV ? 'squash, gourd'	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Tbr, Trn, Azt]
2158/1256 *wiLi / *wini 'stand'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah, Tbr, Trn]
2284/1612 *i'la 'think, remember, believe'	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
2309/96 *tapa / *tapi 'throw, hit'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Azt]
2618/496 *sima 'one'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2622&2626/570 *wakay 'two, four'	[NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2667/497 *i- / *iya 'this, here'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, CrC, Azt]
2677/117 *-wa / *-i-wa 'passive'	[NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2690 *-ta 'cause, make, do, make verb from noun'	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

## Appendix B-7: Sets in 7 of 11 branches (81); those of Semitic or Egyptian (65)

1b *sami 'adobe'	only SUA	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
914/620 *tiCpu-ti 'flea'	only SUA	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2035/1558 *koci 'sleep'	only in SUA	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
11/58 *sikuLi (> Tep *hikuri) 'peyote, intoxicat-ed/ing'		[NUA: Tb; Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
15/850 *mu'i 'many'		[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
37/535 *pu(N)ku 'domestic animal'		[NUA: Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr]
43 *a(°)niN 'ant'		[NUA: WNum, CNum, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: CrC, Tbr, Opn]
78/848 *-pa 'at, in'		[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, CrC]
107/675 *hunapi 'badger'		[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC]
131 *muni 'bean'		[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
139/206 *tuwa/i 'to bear, son, child'		[NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
149/89 *(hi)-mu-suwi 'face/mouth-hair'		[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

171 *pacaC / *paca'a / *pacu (< *patu'a ?) 'first'	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
209/878 *wiCtiki 'bird'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
210 *cutu / *cuLu-(ka'i) 'bird, woodpecker'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC]
231/1461 *cipuC / *ci'puC 'bitter'	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
238 *co'(o)ko/*copko (< *cupka?) 'sour, salty'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
241&827/710 *tīlu > *tul 'charcoal, soot, black, eye'	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Trn, CrC, Azt]
395/160 *tu / *to (< *toha?) 'carry, fetch, go to do'	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
399/1516 *wika / *wiki 'take by hand, lead out'	[NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tep, Azt]
455/930-1 *ŋoLa 'go/turn back', *ŋVLiL 'circle around'	[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]
524 *saki 'toast, parch'	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
535/828 *suŋu 'corn'	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Azt]
580a/1000 *ko'ota 'crane'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]
603/898 *opsi / *ospV 'tear, n'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, Tbr]
614/444 *c/sikka 'cut hair, clip, mow'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]
641/734 *masa / *maso 'deer'	[NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
672/1331 *wika 'digging stick'	[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
698a/887 *tukkaC 'deep'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Azt]
711/679 *osa/i / *oswa 'paint, draw, write'	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]
714 *tī-mukki 'dream, v'	[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Azt]
753/19 *kwiya / *kwiLa 'earth'	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]
777/302 *kuCma/i 'chew, nibble'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
815/1572 *opa (< *ohopa?) 'strong, enemy, tough'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]
826/1604 *sipV 'eyebrow'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tep, CrC]
844/652 *wip / *wiCp / *wi'p (> *wi'i) 'fat'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]
861/925 *'aŋapu 'wing'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC]
871/871 *cuCpa/i / *cuppa 'finish, be end of s.th.'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
881/452 *kut 'fire'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Cah, Opn, Tep]
937/403 *taLa 'foot'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Azt]
939/294 *kapsi 'thigh'	[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]
941/1468 *toŋa 'knee'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
1102 *waLo / *'aLo 'guacamaya'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1107/742 *comya 'hair'	[NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp, Num; SUA: Cah, Opn, Azt]
1108/1098 *kuppa 'hair of head, head'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
1214/986 *kiC 'house'	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Tbr, Cah, CrC]
1228/1066 *coLowa 'be hungry, wither'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1262/768 *miCka / *mikka (> *mi'a) 'kill'	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
1266/433 *pikkaC / *pikkat 'knife'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]
1294/467 *sawa 'leaf'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1355/563 *sapaLa (< *sapata) 'lip'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1386/97 *tīpi / *tapu 'long, tall'	[NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, CrC]
1414/616 *takaC / *takaN 'man, person, body'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Cah, CrC, Azt]
1432/1474 *takkuwa 'meat'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Opn, Cah]
1445/333 *kuta/i / *koti 'stir, mix'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tep]
1455a/322 *kawi 'mountain, rock'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Tbr, Cah, CrC]
1501/1014 *kuta 'neck'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Azt]
1591 *tuku 'owl'	[NUA: Hp, Tb, Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, CrC, Azt]
1635/774 *'ica 'to plant'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
1744/1023 *tika/i or *tikaC 'put lying/spread flat'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1768/264 *kosamaLo 'rainbow'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1916/554 *paCci / *pa'ci 'seed'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn, Tbr, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
1922/1220 *hikka(wa) 'shade'	[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Opn, Azt]
1982/35 *kwika 'sing'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2049 *kwitta/i / *kuhita 'to smoke'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, CrC]
2059/1535 *saya(wa) 'rattlesnake'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, CrC]
2095/491 *paLawa 'juice, soup, stew'	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
2105 *toka 'spider'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2263/553 *posa 'swell'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn, CrC, Azt]
2330/1266 *puLa/i 'tie'	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, CrC, Azt]

2348 *pipaC 'tobacco'	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Trn, CrC]
2432. *ta'ta 'uncle'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Trn, Azt]
2494/80 *up(p)a 'bathe'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC; NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb]
2562 *tommo / *tamo' 'winter, year'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Trn, Opn]
2572/81 *hupi 'woman, wife'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]
2575/757 *siwa / *siCwa 'female'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Azt]
2587/827 *tikiL- 'work, cut'	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Tbr, Azt]
2620/538 *pVLV 'one, negative'	[NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
2672 *-(i)s(a) 'time(s)'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn, Tbr]

## Appendix B-6: Sets in 6 of 11 branches (89); those of Semitic or Egyptian (68) Sets in 6 of 11 branches which are only in SUA (13)

4/61 *maC(C)i / *mahi 'agave, mescal'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
94 *ti-pus-ta 'axe, hatchet'	[SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
478 *ikuci (< *hikuti) 'cloth, weave/twine thread'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Trn, CrC, Azt]
1042 *tapusa 'gopher'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Trn, CrC, Azt]
1049/590 *poci / *kwoci 'paternal grandfather'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
1352/566 *waLi 'mountain lion, predatory animal'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, Cah, CrC]
1588 *wikaL 'owe'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Trn, CrC, Azt]
1732/1513 *pu'na 'pull out, uproot'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Trn, CrC, Azt]
1832 *naLwa 'root'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1869/1147 *ni'ok 'speak'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Trn, Tbr, CrC]
2048/1160 *yi'na 'smoke tobacco, smoke by sucking'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Trn, CrC, Azt]
2459/533 *pusaC 'wake up, open eyes'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Trn, CrC, Azt]
2592/23 *kwici 'worm, feces-snake'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

## Sets in 6 of 11 branches which are in both NUA and SUA (76)

56/1498 *ki(ma) 'come'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]
77/852 *pani / *pana 'on, on surface of'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
79/849 *-pi 'at'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Cah, Opn, Tbr]
111/1418 *taŋa 'bag, sack'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tbr, Cah, Azt]
140/1042 *maLa 'child, offspring'	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]
244/1391 *ha-pit 'blanket', *(hi-)pita 'woven mat'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
316/437 *matta / *maCti 'tick'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
324/867 *ma'a / *mahi 'bury'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr]
392/834 *u'... / *uNwa 'take, carry'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
420 *tiN-so (< *tiN-poso ?) 'cave'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, Azt]
433/1464 *takoLa / *takuLa 'round, (en)circle'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
469/398 *kuCpa 'close (eyes)'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]
502 *mosi 'cloud'	[NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tbr, Opn, Azt]
646/740 *si 'intestines'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]
681/1011 *hanni / *'ani / *kani 'do, make'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Cah, Tep]
687/214 *yara 'do, make'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]
721/1062-3 *(ta)-pasa 'dry'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, CrC]
737/15 *kwasa / *kwisa 'eagle'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
756/1072 *yawa 'open country, flat land, outside'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, Tbr, Azt]
760a/150 *tiwaC 'sand, dust'	[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: CrC, Cah, Azt]
761/448 *soko / *coka 'earth, mud'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
797a *ciC- / *ciC-kuta 'poke, (do with) a point, thorn'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, CrC]
828/304 *kaCma > *kaŋa/*kana 'cheek, mouth, chin'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Azt]
863/1132 *piwi / *piCV 'down, feathers'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]
936 *kisa / *kisica > Tep *kihisa 'foot, leg'; *kisa 'step on'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Azt]
944 *huNkaC 'leg'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Opn, CrC, Azt]
973/1377 *sikwo 'tadpole'	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
1012/126 *niimi 'walk around, live'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah, Azt]
1014 *(na)-tinna 'follow, chase, hunt'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]
1050a *kak / *ka' 'grandmother'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]



1055a/174 *sakat / *sakaC ‘willow’	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]
1061/266 *soni / *sono ‘grass, straw, blanket’	[NUA: Tb, Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr]
1103 *tiha ‘hail’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, Cah]
1110/1132 *pi’wa ‘fur, body hair’	[NUA: Tb, Hp; SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1160/290 *puha ‘healing power, medicine’	[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn]
1171 *tanappiCko ‘heel’	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Opn]
1191/179 *na-ko’(i)y(a) ‘fight, hit/kill each other’	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn]
1207/462 *toṇa ‘hot, heat (of) sun/day’	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Opn, Azt]
1208/1322 *iī / *uru ‘hot’	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn]
1233 *’amu ‘hunt’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, Azt]
1300/1244 *pi’a (> *pi’a) ‘leave, save’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1305/300 *opoti > *oCti ‘left’	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1319/1277 *po’o / *po’i ‘be lying down’	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]
1416/205 *tawa ‘man, male, boy’	[NUA: Tb, Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, CrC, Azt]
1423/1472 *tikuwa ‘lord, master’	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt, CrC]
1452 *yi’i / *yiC / *yik ‘mother, big’	[NUA: Hp, Tep; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr]
1463/578 *pu’wiN/*poca ‘mouse’	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, CrC]
1522/657 *wis ‘web, string’	[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]
1604/1473 *maC-takuwa ‘palm, hand-concavity’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Opn; NUA: Hp, Tak]
1630/74 *tipi’at ‘pinion nut, conifer sp.’	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn, Azt]
1636/1618 *wasa ‘plant, cultivate’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC; NUA: Tak, Tb]
1696/290 *pahatu / *pahtu ‘poison’	[NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]
1742/1126 *ya(N)ca ‘put, set down’	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]
1746a *tu’a (> to’a/i) ‘pour, place (pl.obj.)’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]
1751/1082 *salwi > *solwi ‘quail’	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]
1776/1350 *sita / *sita ‘red’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
1843/657 *wit ‘string’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]
2050&769/1491 *moLa/i ‘smoke (to rise)’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]
2064/278 *siktaput ‘red snake’	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tep; NUA: Tak, Num]
2073/655 *hororo ‘snore’	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, Trn, Azt]
2143/57 *tiku > *ciku ‘ground squirrel, mouse’	[NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn]
2221 *ci’i ‘suck(le)’	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
2296/1182 *wicaC / *wiCcaC ‘thorn, awl’	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn, Azt]
2347/1533 *-ki / *-ki ‘to, for, applicative, benefactive’	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr, Azt]
2395/565 *na-maka ‘distribute, sell, give out’	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Azt]
2409/1656 *kutawi / *ku’awi ‘wood, tree, firewood’	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC]
2422/989 *ayaC / *ayoC ‘turtle’	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2453/138 *piso ‘vomit, v’	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]
2454/1205 *yo’a ‘vomit’	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn]
2528/609 *ha- ‘interrogative particle’	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Tbr]
2548 *haka / *haki ‘who’	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tbr, Azt]
2664/122 *pu ‘he, she, it’	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Cah, Trn, Opn, CrC]
2675/2 *na- ‘reciprocal/reflexive/passive prefix’	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]
2695/232 *-mi(r)a ‘future suffix’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2699/119 *-ti / *-ti ‘stative / adjective suffix’	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]

## Appendix B-5: Sets in 5 of 11 branches (85); those of Semitic or Egyptian (61)

### Sets only in SUA (18):

44/1460 *siku ‘ant’	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, Azt]
217 *(w)aLo ‘parrot’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, Azt]
536/392 *muLa ‘ear of grain’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]
614a/444 *sika / *siki ‘cut hair, clip, mow’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]
1011/131 *sima ‘go’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]
1039&2496/1355 *kiwa ‘good’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]
1153/1078 *mo’o ‘head’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC]
1209 *suka ‘to heat, be hot (weather)’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
1474/772 *co’ma ‘mucus, have a cold’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Azt]
1518/1242 *tapa’so ‘nest’	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, Azt]

1606/961 *taku ‘palm tree’	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, CrC]
1690/1081 *kopa/i ‘win/lose in a game’	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, Tep]
1905/1269 *ni(L) / *niL’i ‘see’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2033/163 *tawa-kaLi (> tiwi-ka) ‘sky, sun-house’	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, Azt]
2397 *wika/i ‘owe’	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
2425 *muLi (< *muti ?) ‘turtle’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
2571/87 *okaci ‘(old) woman’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]

## Sets in both NUA and SUA (67)

3 *amu(wV) ‘agave’	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Azt]
34/1034 *na-kuma ‘upset, jealous, angry’	[NUA: SNum; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Azt]
284/866 *timaL- ‘tortilla, tamale, cook under ashes/ground’	[NUA: SNum; Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]
329 *paLo / *papaLo / *paLi ‘butterfly’	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Cah, CrC, Azt]
362/794 *(h)aki ‘arroyo, waterway, canyon, valley’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC]
386/835 *yawwi / *ya’wi / *yaŋwi ‘carry, grasp’	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep]
390 *pina ‘bring’	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
394 *tuku ‘carry on the back’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]
429/31 *ciLV ‘chile’	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Azt]
430/1635 *kapoL / *kapuL ‘ball, sphere’	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]
431/984 *oLa / *olola; NUA *ŋoLa ‘ball’	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]
435 *koLi / *koni ‘bend’	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Cah, CrC, Azt]
441 *maLi ‘twist’, *miLi / *miti ‘twist’, *muLu / *mutu ‘round’	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]
465a *yiCi / *yiki / *yi’i ‘close, door(way)’	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn]
490/529 *paki < *pakati ‘shirt’	[NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Opn]
527/865 *ti’ma ‘roast, cook (under ashes, under ground), bury’	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn]
561 *taCsa / *taCsi ‘cough’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Azt]
622/194 *sowa / *so’a/i ‘pierce, prick, sew’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
634/165 *tawiya / *tuwiya ‘dance’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]
635/296 *yawa/i / *yaCwa/i ‘dance’	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr; NUA: Tak]
702/177 *ko’om ‘down, low’	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]
757/75 *tipaC / *tipaL ‘earth’	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Azt]
783/797 *yi’iki / *yiki ‘swallow, taste, finish’	[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]
798/1502 *cuppa ‘point, prick’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Azt]
799/253 *sipaC ‘point’	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Cah, Opn]
811 *ciko > *cicko > *cico (Tep) ‘elbow’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Opn, Tep, CrC]
817/1478 *say- ‘enemy, opponent’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
878/885 *na’ay ‘fire’; *na’aya ‘build/light a fire’	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
930&274/215 *yutti > yitti / *yotti ‘fly, jump, bounce’	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]
945/301 *macci / *maCti ‘thigh, upper leg’	[SUA: Azt, Cah, Opn, Tbr; NUA: Tak]
971/298 *wakatta / *wakaN-ta ‘frog’	[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Cah, Trn]
1022/1085 *yiNka ‘come, enter’	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, CrC, Azt]
1106/89 *suwi / *suhī ‘hair’	[NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp, Num; SUA: Tep]
1205 *takuwa ‘concavity, low place where things are’	[SUA: Tep, Tbr, Cah; NUA: Hp]
1282/809 *aCti ‘laugh’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC]
1320/1575 *kwapi ‘lie down’ & 1805 *kwaypa ‘turn back’	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]
1322/528 *piCtu ‘lie down, pl; spend night, house’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC; NUA: Tak, Num]
1327/527 *piLok / *pirok (< *paLak ?) ‘lightning’	[SUA: Tep, Cah, Tbr; NUA: Tak, Num]
1433/256 *sa’pa ‘meat, fat’	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]
1470 *’ica ‘chin’	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]
1523/546 *pituC / *pituwa ‘new’	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, CrC]
1583 *pu / *puta / *puL(y)a ‘go/come out’	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]
1618/550 *pisa ‘penis’	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr]
1634/892 *sanawap ‘pitch, gum’	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]
1721 *no’a ‘fetus, pregnant’	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep]
1722/552 *putta > *potta ‘pregnant, full’	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt; NUA: Num, Tak]
1764/683 *(w)umaC ‘rain, be cloudy’	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Tbr]
1783/267 *to’i < *toLi ‘water plant sp., cattail’	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Azt]
1839/289 *pi’ri-na > *piyi(na) ‘spin thread, make rope’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]

1849 *muya > moya 'rot, stink'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC; NUA: Tak]
1862/224 *okoti / *ukuya'a > *okoya 'sad'	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]
1894 *(pi)-suma 'scrape, smooth, skin (animal)'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt; NUA: Tak]
1907/562 *pica (< *pita) 'see'	[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Cah, Trn, Opn]
1929/31 *ciL 'shake, rattle'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]
1949/1512 *tiwa 'shy, embarrassed'	[SUA: Cah, Trn, Opn, CrC; NUA: Tak]
1974 *kwuy / *kwoy 'growl, scold'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]
2001 *pini 'younger sister'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn, Azt]
2002/595 *wakati 'younger sister'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC]
2015/1249 *koyo 'shell'	[SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn, Azt; NUA: Num]
2076/1037 *yuya (< *yawya) 'snow, v/n'	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]
2189/778 *sappu 'stomach, belly'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: CrC, Trn]
2239 *'apka(C) / *(pa)-'akka(C) 'sunflower'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Opn, Azt]
2521/877 *samī / *samiC 'be wet, numb(ing), drizzly'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn]
2554. *wata / *woata 'willow'	[SUA: Opn, Cah, Tbr, Trn; NUA: Tak]
2628a *manniki 'five'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, Tbr, Cah, Trn]
2668/107 *hu 'that'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn]

## Appendix B-4: Sets in 4 of 11 branches (203); sets of Semitic or Egyptian (134)

### Sets only in SUA (41); of Semitic or Egyptian (27):

108 *paNtu' > *paicu' 'badger'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]
125/249 *so'o-paCti 'bat'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah]
216/725 *toL(i) 'domestic bird'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]
310a/1050 *poni 'younger brother'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC]
465b *yawa / *yīwa 'door, hole, opening'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]
744 *tahawi / *ta'awī 'hawk'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, Azt]
803/1075 *kappa / *kakwa (> *ka'wa / kowa) 'egg'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]
809/556 *piyso 'testicle'	[SUA: Cah, Trn, Opn, Tep]
842a/1187 *mīCka / *mīhka 'far'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]
852/237 *masi 'father'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC]
868/817 *cuna 'fig/higo'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]
894/204 *topo / *topa 'fish'	[SUA: Tep, Azt, Tbr, Trn]
927 *ni'i 'fly, jump'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah]
1016/531 *po'o / *po'o-ta 'run, road-do'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah]
1188/773 *co'na / *co'ni 'pound, hit'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]
1380/185 *-hoto- 'lizard'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Tbr]
1418/1505 *yori 'person, man'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]
1454/1079 *nana 'mother'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]
1465/1424 *tori 'rat'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]
1520/161 *waLi 'basket'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]
1554 *toha 'oak'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC]
1607 *sawVya (> saywa in Tbr) 'palm sp'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Azt]
1739 *(ta)taco 'push'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
1954 *kaka 'sandal'	[SUA: Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1984 *nawa 'sing'	[SUA: Tep, Tbr, Trn, CrC]
1986/145 *po'na / *poCna 'play music, play drum'	[SUA: Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
2062/201 *sinawi 'snake'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr]
2088 *sipo 'sore, pain'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]
2155 *con 'base, trunk'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]
2162 *(a)hakwi 'stand'	[SUA: Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr]
2188/143 *poka 'stomach'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC]
2224 *pi'ni 'suckle, nurse, v'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC]
2281/610 *(hi)-tapi(ri) 'thing'	[SUA: Opn, Trn, Cah, Azt]
2336/705 *LoCa/i 'tired'	[SUA: Trn, Tbr, Cah, Tep]
2437/277 *pu'ta/i 'become/get loose'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]
2495/286 *pi'wa 'clean'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Tep, Azt]
2598/297 *masiwa 'centipede'	[SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Opn]
2632 *pusani 'six'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr]

2635/570 *wo-pusani 'seven'	[SUA: Opn, Tbr, Cah, CrC]
1818/309 *pa-tuwa/tiwa/tawi 'river'	[SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
2074/1161 *kipa 'snow, ice'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, CrC]

### Sets only in NUA (14); of Semitic or Egyptian (10):

55/1567 *piCtu 'arrive'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]
208/406 *pa'aC 'bighorn sheep, living creature'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]
290/435 *koppi 'break'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]
567/391 *isa'a(N)pa 'coyote'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]
848 *na'a / *nawa 'father'	[NUA: WNum, Hp, Tb, Tak]
1041 *miyiN / *miCCiN 'gopher'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]
1345 *tukkuC 'wildcat'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb]
1464/328 *kawa 'rat'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]
1543/1565 *kwiN 'north, cold'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak]
1547/1300 *mu... 'nose'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb]
2394 *ti'a/i 'borrow, lend'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]
2406/1203 *hiwaC / *hi'aC 'trap'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak]
2553/1216 *kana 'willow'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]
2594/1179 *pi'akiN 'caterpillar, worm'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

### Sets in both NUA and SUA (148); of Semitic or Egyptian (97):

55/59 *kuLu / *kutu 'mescal, agave'	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Trn, Tbr, CrC]
10/170 *tiku 'drunk'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Tep; NUA: Num]
16/425 *oso 'more, much, many, very'	[SUA: Trn, Cah; NUA: CNum, Hp]
17 *yo 'many'	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC]
28 *pa'i/pa'a 'now, then, already'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah; NUA: Hp]
29/1031 *nawa 'jealous'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah]
41/859 *koci 'ankle(bone)'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]
75 *ko 'at, in, on, while, when'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Opn, Azt]
88a *pahwa 'aunt'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Azt]
95/370 *ho'o/*howa 'back'	[NUA: SNum, Hp; SUA: Cah, Trn]
157/900 *numa > *noma 'good, good-looking'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Cah]
170/545 *piwa(t) 'first, begin'	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, Azt]
176/583 *wipuLa 'belt'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Azt, Opn]
203/18 *sakwo > *sikwo/sikwi 'witch, bewitch'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr]
207 *pa- 'big'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC]
246/937 *kimaL / *kamaL (> kimiL) 'blanket, wrap (in blanket)'	[NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Azt]
255/1129 *taLuma' / *taLumaC 'blanket, garment'	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Azt, Opn]
270/319 *poso 'boil'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt; NUA: Tak]
275/969 *aCta 'atlatl, bow'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Trn, Azt]
277/968 *pakoti > *pikoti 'bow, bowstring'	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Cah, Opn, Tbr]
303/436 *sumaC 'breathe'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Cah]
336/295 *kupta 'buttocks'	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Trn, CrC]
354 *yuṅa 'cactus fruit'	[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, CrC]
364a/474 *yaway 'river, canyon'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tbr, Azt]
365/802 *yippa 'valley'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep]
381/1498 *ki 'bring, take to'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Cah]
384/176 *koma 'hug, carry in arms'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]
400/8 *cakwa / *cakwi 'catch, grasp, close, lock'	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Azt]
471/441 *noma > *nama 'cover'	[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Opn, CrC]
485/442 *nawi 'apron, skirt'	[NUA: Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep]
504/1345 *(pa)-hawa 'fog, steam'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah, Opn, Trn]
509 *si(N)kopa (> *si(N)kwV?) 'cold'	[NUA: Hp, Num, Tak; SUA: Azt]
528/855 *yuma > *yoma 'copulate'	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah]
540/443 *(w)o'na 'corn cob, olote'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Azt]
549 *yawī (> *yowī) '(ear of) corn'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn, CrC, Azt]
582 *waso / *wasa 'crane, heron'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tbr, Tak]
628 *(ciC)-kuLa/i / *kutV 'pierce'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn, CrC]

<b>639/1543</b> *suCkaC / *sukkawi ‘deer’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr]
<b>659/130</b> *sīnu ‘another one, different’	[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Trn, Cah]
<b>846/588</b> *apu / *(h)apu(ti) ‘father, parent, mother’	[NUA: CNum, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah]
850. *tata ‘father’	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC, Azt]
<b>854/881</b> *makasi ‘fear’	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC, Azt]
<b>856/251</b> *sawiya > *sīya ‘fear, v’	[SUA: Opn, Azt; NUA: Tak, WNum]
875 *tapa/i ‘finish, end’	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn]
886 *so ‘burn’	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt; NUA: Tak]
<b>912/347</b> *wiLu ‘play a reed flute’	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Azt]
<b>917/1231</b> *muhu-(pa) ‘fly’	[NUA: Tak, SNum; SUA: Tep, CrC]
<b>952/132</b> *sipikaC / *sapa ‘lower leg, calf’	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tbr, Cah]
990 *sana(k) ‘trash’	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Opn, Cah]
<b>992/897</b> *cuppa ‘gather, close eyes’	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah]
<b>996/1610</b> *tupu(k) ‘pick, gather’	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah]
<b>1035/239</b> *nawa / *nawi ‘go, come, move’	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah]
1047 *kwa’a ‘maternal grandfather’	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, CrC]
<b>1057a/1090</b> *(pa)-samaC / *-samhuC ‘grass’	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Cah]
<b>1063/607</b> *tupi ‘green grass’	[NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, CrC]
1065 *wo’oC ‘grasshopper’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC]
1086 *tu’a / *tu’i ‘flour, s.th. ground up’	[NUA: Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep]
1089 *musa/i ‘crush’	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Tep]
<b>1163/1069</b> *kaha/i ‘hear’	[SUA: Tep, Cah; NUA: Tb, Tak]
1186a *pakkaC / *pakki ‘hit, kill’	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: CrC]
<b>1249/279</b> *puCca/i / *puCta ‘jump’	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Trn, Opn]
<b>1257/171</b> *sikuC ‘kidney’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah; NUA: Tak]
<b>1268/465</b> *(pa)payu ‘flint, ceremonial staff, knife’	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah]
1301/perhaps 835 *yawī-(to) ‘leave’	[NUA: Tb, Num; SUA: Tep, Cah]
<b>1328/14</b> *aNka-kwissaka ‘lightning’	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn]
1337 *piC-tu ‘lame, limp’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
<b>1350/147</b> *mawiya ‘mtn lion’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC; NUA: Tak]
<b>1356/982</b> *aLi ‘little’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Tbr]
<b>1361/792</b> *cupi ‘small’	[SUA: Trn, Opn; NUA: Tb, Tak]
1369 *kwaCca > *kwoCca ‘lizard’	[SUA: Trn, Tbr, Azt; NUA: Hp]
<b>1374/1055</b> *makkaCta(Nka)-ci ‘horned toad’	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep]
1444 *waLa/i ‘stir, do motions to liquid’	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]
<b>1472/628</b> *ca’Lo ‘chin, jaw’	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt; NUA: Hp]
<b>1491/1067</b> *paya ‘call’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
<b>1493/36</b> *kwawa/i ‘invite, call’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]
1498 *mi’a ‘near’	[SUA: Tep; NUA: Tak, Tb, Num]
1500 *caka ‘(at the) side, near’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]
<b>1505/632</b> *konoka ‘beads, necklace’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]
1511 *toLo(ka) ‘throat, voice’	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt; NUA: Hp]
<b>1515/962</b> *kuwi ‘throat’	[NUA: CNum; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]
<b>1578/1169</b> *pitiwa ‘open, uncover’	[NUA: Tb, Hp; SUA: Opn, Azt]
<b>1589/1117</b> *kuku ‘ground/burrowing owl’	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]
1603 *maC-taskaL ‘palm’	[SUA: Tep, Azt, Trn; NUA: Tak]
1613 *cim / *camV ‘quiet’	[NUA: Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep]
<b>1703/906</b> *-wa ‘possessed suffix’	[SUA: Azt, Opn; NUA: Tak, Num]
<b>1755/598</b> *topi ‘cottontail rabbit’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr]
<b>1759/1245</b> *su’i / *suwi ‘jackrabbit’	[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]
1763 *yuku ‘rain’	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]
<b>1766 *cikwa ‘rain’ &amp; 2519 *cakkway ‘wet’/1457</b>	[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Trn, Tep]
1773 *sawaN > *sawīC ‘raw’	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Cah, Azt]
<b>1785&amp;1781/1136</b> *wapi / *owa ‘reed, cane’	[SUA: Trn, CrC, Azt; NUA: Tak]
1789 *wasī ‘parent-in-law’	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt; NUA: Tak]
<b>1803/800</b> *ya’u / *ya’wī ‘leader, deity’	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Cah, CrC]
<b>1813/729</b> *pīta ‘right arm’	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah]
1822 *puLi / *puCi ‘roadrunner’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]

1824/419 *wiC-talo 'roadrunner'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, Azt]
1830a/1275 *(/h)oC / *(/h)oka 'earth, rock'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn]
1882 *tu'i 'say, ask'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt; NUA: Tak]
1883&610/560 *ya... 'say'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: CrC]
1887/363 *saka 'scorpion'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn; NUA: Num]
1897/288 *wa'wa / *wi'wa 'look for'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, CrC]
1910/667 *huLa 'come up, look in/over'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep]
1914/480 *mī / *ma'ay / *mahay 'look, see, find'	[NUA: Hp, Num, Tak; SUA: Trn]
1928/481 *wiwi-'tremble, shake, swing'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Azt]
1932/1189 *yowa/i 'shake, be weak, dizzy'	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Cah, CrC]
1933/250 *sowa (< *sawa) 'shake'	[SUA: Trn, Tbr, Azt; NUA: Tak]
1943 *tuLipa / *tVLV 'shake'	[SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC; NUA: Hp]
1966/51 *kotapa / *kotapo 'shoulder'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]
1969 *mato 'shoulder, n; carry on the shoulder'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn; NUA: Tak]
1977/1471 *tokowa 'crow, (animals) to make their noise'	[NUA:Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]
1981/1463 *sap / *sīp 'side'	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Opn, Tep]
2007 *ho... 'sit, pl'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn]
2072/1299 *VsotoNk 'snore'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Azt]
2079/22 *kwaL 'soft'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC]
2089/1388 *'ica(C) (have) wound/sore'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Tbr]
2137 *soko 'squash'	[SUA: Opn, Trn, CrC; NUA: Num]
2146/1362 *ci'mo 'squirrel'	[SUA: Tbr, Trn, CrC; NUA: Tb]
2160 *kīk / *kīka 'stand'	[SUA: Tep, Cah, Azt; NUA: Tak]
2228/738 *kuwīs 'summer'	[SUA: Opn, Trn, CrC; NUA: Tak]
2285 *wiy'a 'think'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Cah]
2293/691 *(pa)-takuC 'thirst(y)'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn]
2297/194 *so'i 'thorn, pierce'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]
2319/1039 *yu'ri / *yuLi '(be) empty, pour out'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn]
2341/1267 *yu'ma 'tired, worn out'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tbr, Cah]
2374 *taki / *takki 'touch'	[SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn; NUA: Num]
2381/79 *humay / *humaL 'smear, spread, rub, paint'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, CrC, Tep]
2383 *tikka / *tuCka 'touch'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Trn]
2387 *saLuki / *suka/i 'scratch'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn]
2392/685 *woki / *woku'i 'track, footprint'	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Cah]
2415 *(h)ota(N) 'pole'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Trn, Azt]
2442 *kwu(C)ta / *kwuta 'untie, loose(n)'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt; NUA: Tak]
2444/1268 *-mo- 'up(ward)'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn]
2457a/562 *popica 'wait'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn]
2468/1207 *suwaC 'want'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, Azt]
2469 *(a)ya'a 'yearn after, cherish'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep]
2472/1177 *ukoL 'want'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah, CrC, Azt]
2485/693 *pa-ksi (<*pa-kasi) 'wash'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Cah, Azt]
2507a/1579 *kwiCta 'braid, wind around'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Azt]
2508 *coma 'sew'	[SUA: Tep, Cah, Azt; NUA: Num]
2538/1190 *haka / *ha-kami 'where'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]
2541a *pikuya 'whistle'	[SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn]
2541b *wikuya 'whistle'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
2586a/91 *nawiC 'girl'	[NUA: Tak, Tb, Num; SUA: Trn]
2601 *hatawa 'yawn, v'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, Cah, CrC]
2648/1544 *pV(c/s)t 'nine'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn]
2660 *(n)api 'you sg'; apimV 'you pl'	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, CrC]
2674/904 *-ti 'plural suffix'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Opn, CrC, Azt]

## Appendix B-3: Sets in 3 of 11 branches (303); sets of Semitic or Egyptian (175)

### Sets only in SUA (65) of Semitic or Egyptian (32):

1a *sami 'bread, baked'	[SUA: Tep, Tbr, Azt]
2/200 *supa- 'adobe'	[SUA: Trn, CrC, Tep]
13/1028 *yoLi 'live, alive, bear, be born'	[SUA: Cah, CrC, Azt]
71/1036 *tani 'ask for'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]
134/613 *posi 'bear'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
177/1046 *wikosa 'belt'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn]
263/307 *tayawi > *tīyawi / *tīyowi 'blue/green'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah]
327/1070&231 *nakamuLi > *kimuLi 'butterfly'	[SUA: Tep, CrC, Trn]
349 *naka(w) 'prickly pear cactus'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, CrC]
351/1454 *ikwasi 'fruit, prickly pear'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
445 *ci(C)tuL 'be circular, rolled up'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]
460 *hamu 'go up'	[SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC]
479/1503 *cini 'cotton, cloth/clothing made of cotton'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah]
480/584 *ipuLa 'skirt'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
577/1249 *pa-koCci 'shrimp'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]
609/1425 *nata / *naLa 'cry'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt]
642 *maLi 'young of deer'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr]
675 *tamu 'faint'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC]
728 *kan 'duck'	[SUA: Trn, Tbr, Azt]
855/749 *maha(-ri)wa 'fear'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]
895/234 *musi / *muci 'fish'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt]
923 *waho 'mosquito'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn]
900 *po'a 'fishhook'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr]
974. *taci / *ta'aci 'frog'	[SUA: Cah, Tep, CrC]
975 *tīmo 'frog'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, CrC]
1078/1093 *yora 'green'	[SUA: Tep, Tbr, CrC]
1149/1087&890 *mo'o-kaLi 'hat (head-house)'	[SUA: Trn, Tbr, CrC]
1158a/1235 *yowa / *yowLa 'cure'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]
1241/1238 *paca 'put in'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]
1304/1626 *toha / *towa/i 'leave/dejar'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr]
1310 *tikwa'a 'lick'	[SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn]
1348 *tīpo 'wildcat'	[SUA: CrC, Azt, Tbr]
1486 *puha 'remove, take off/away'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Tep]
1526 *hukwa 'recent, new'	[SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC]
1537/1112 *ma 'no'	[SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]
1552 *co'pa 'numb'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Tep]
1708 *soko 'pot'	[SUA: Trn, CrC, Azt]
1718/575 *kamo'-ta 'sweet potato'	[SUA: CrC, Azt, Tep]
1729/1122 *pani 'pull, drag'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
1758a/724 *par'osi 'jackrabbit'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn]
1772 *yo'i 'raw'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]
1827/603 *tiN-to 'rock(s) for supporting pots over fire'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
1852/1143 *soLa 'rot, go to waste, throw away'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah]
1896 *kwuhV 'scrape off, de grain (corn)'	[SUA: Cah, Trn, Azt]
1994/254. *sum 'sink'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah]
2099 *(wa)tona 'atole'	[SUA: Opn, Tbr, Trn]
2100 *ku'uLi 'gruel, thick mix/mush'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn]
2134 *kama 'squash sp'	[SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn]
2138 *papo 'squash sp'	[SUA: Trn, Tbr, Opn]
2190/337 *topa 'belly, stomach'	[SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn]
2484 *pa-ko 'wash'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn]
2536a *hiko 'when'	[SUA: Opn, Trn, Azt]
2549 *hapi(su) 'who'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn]
2557 *ma'i-(tu) 'win, gain'	[SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
2606a/1164 *sawari / *sa'wa 'yellow'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah]
2206/736 *ciLi 'straight'	[SUA: Tep, Tbr, CrC]

2210 *ta'La (< *ta'ta) 'spread, stretch out'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn]
2217 *yuma/i 'able'	[SUA: Opn, Trn, Cah]
<b>2257/1354</b> *(hi)paca 'sweep'	[SUA: Opn, Trn, CrC]
2267 *paha/i 'swell'	[SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn]
2337 *siyawī 'tire'	[SUA: Azt, CrC, Trn]
<b>2367/1221</b> *cara 'moler'	[SUA: Tep, Opn, CrC]
<b>2368/1195</b> *kumisa 'top, tuft, crest'	[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn]
2419 *ciwi 'turkey sp.'	[SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah]
<b>Expl. 246</b> *ikar 'with, using (instrumental)'	[SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]

### Sets only in NUA (51) of Semitic or Egyptian (27):

<b>51/604</b> *timina 'antelope'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Num]
<b>70/270</b> *tipiwa / *tipiN 'ask'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]
<b>133/675</b> *hunap-wiL-ta 'bear, badger-big'	[NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb]
211 *cito 'meadowlark'	[NUA: Hp, Tb, WNum]
213 *ca'i 'blue bird'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]
221 *sayaC 'mud-hen'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]
<b>367/387</b> *huwiC 'canyon, water way'	NUA: SNum, Tb, Tak]
401 *ca'ay 'grasp, hold'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp]
437 *nom / *noyom 'bend'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb]
<b>442/524</b> *mina / *mana / *mVnV 'to turn, return, roll'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]
<b>449/754</b> *puni 'turn, look, see'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]
510 *iti'i 'cold'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]
<b>523/172</b> *noko 'roast (often meat)'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb]
<b>612/559</b> *paka 'cry'	[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak]
<b>703a/182</b> *'uppi (> *opa) 'dive, sink, go down in'	[NUA: Tak, Tb, Num]
768 *tis(-na) 'clay, grimy dirt'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]
742 *kisa 'chicken hawk'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]
<b>784/798</b> *'aki 'open mouth, eat, take/put into one's mouth'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Tb]
<b>796/790</b> *muCti / *muCci / *mucci 'point (of s.th.)'	[NUA: Hp, Tak, CNum]
<b>938/1542</b> *naCpV 'foot, sandal'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp]
<b>962/318</b> *suma / *sumiCa 'forget'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp]
<b>1009/63</b> *miya 'go'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]
<b>1038/1368</b> *attip-na 'good'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Num]
<b>1059/918</b> *huk(w)i 'grass sp'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb]
1085 *paha 'mortar'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]
<b>1259/1105</b> *kaLi 'kidney'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]
<b>1289/808</b> *maka(hu) 'laugh, tease'	[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp]
<b>1415/127</b> *nimī / *nīmi 'person, (Numic) Amerindian'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb]
<b>1492/990</b> *aya 'call'	[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak]
<b>1521/596</b> *wa'na 'rabbit net'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]
1560 *sipi 'oak sp'	[NUA: Tb, Num, Tak]
1646 *pasa / *pasi 'chia'	[NUA: Tak, Tb, Num]
1668 *huna 'cliffrose, bitterbrush'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]
1730 *wokin 'drag'	[NUA: Tb, Hp, Tak]
1833 *timna > *tinna 'root'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]
1780 *sa'iN / *sa'iC 'tule, reed'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb]
<b>1980/21</b> *ḥakwa 'side'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Num]
2025 *sikwa 'to skin (an animal)'	[NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb]
2030 *po(C)ni 'skunk'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]
2042a *upita // *piL 'slow'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]
2066 *tahu 'snake sp.'	[NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb]
2075 *niḥpa 'snow'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Hp]
<b>2118/382</b> *tusaC / *tusiC 'spit'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb]
2145 *tapa... 'chipmunk'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]
<b>2161/1556</b> *kwitaC / *kwiti-kki 'rise, get up, cure'	[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb]
<b>2272/261</b> *sati 'tail' > 'dog'	[NUA: CNum, SNum, Tak, Hp]
2305 *witta/i 'throw away'	[NUA: Tak, Hp, Num]



2570/618 *tu'apa 'wolf'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]
2493/1443 *asa/i 'bathe, wash'	[NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp]
2630 *na-pakay 'six'	[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb]
2679 *-pi 'participle, absolutive suffix'	[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

### Sets in both NUA and SUA (187) of Semitic or Egyptian (116):

20/241 *napi 'all, each'	[SUA: Trn, CrC; NUA: CNum]
22 *tuCV / *tuHV (AMR) 'very'	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Cah, Azt]
64/752 *suhuma 'arrow'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn]
73 *maya 'ask'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah]
87/1334 *nisa 'aunt, mother's older sister'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah]
98/753 *tīpo 'back, shoulder'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Azt]
99/7 *komi 'back, pot'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Azt]
101/94 *tīsawa 'bad, suffer'	[NUA: Tb, Num; SUA: Trn]
114/330 *kuna 'bag, sack'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: CrC]
118/404 *huCta 'basket, jar'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tbr]
121 *cikku 'basket'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Azt, CrC]
152/1648 *sihima / *si'ma 'beautiful, attractive'	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn]
153/1648 *ci'ma / *(L)a'cima 'beautiful'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]
156/420 *tutuli 'beautiful'	[SUA: Trn, Cah; NUA: Tak]
160/1603 *ku(N)ta(N)(pa) 'bee'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah]
162 *wiCta / *wi'ta 'wasp'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah]
172/567 *yawamin 'believe'	[NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Cah]
636/226 *winima 'dance'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep]
236 *si'ta > si'ta 'sour, bad(tasting)'	[NUA: Tak, WNum; SUA: Azt]
237/1547 *sikaC / *sikiN 'sour'	[NUA: CNum, SNum, Hp; SUA: Tep]
256/148 *tawa > redupl. *taLawa 'wrap around'	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn]
266/487 *sawa 'boil, melt, make bread'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]
267 *sa'aC 'boil, cook'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Tep]
268/1488 *muLa / *muna 'bow'	[NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Azt]
278/967 *kuCta-pi 'bow'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah, CrC]
326 *yiLa / *yiLca 'moth'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah]
337 *cum 'buttocks, anus'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah, Azt]
353 *muCta 'cholla cactus':	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Azt]
356 *(h)usi 'thorny plant(s)'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: CrC]
366 *tīpaL(-ka) 'canyon, valley'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]
373 *ta'i 'slope'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tbr, Tep]
388/314 *hitapa 'carry'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Opn]
393/159 *tu'u 'take'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Cah, Trn]
397/275 *po'i 'take s.th. away, dispossess'	[SUA: Tep, Trn; NUA: Num]
432 *(po)Lo'oma 'bend, v'	[SUA: Trn; NUA: Tb, Tak]
436/677 *wakoL 'round(ed)'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]
459/262 *wati 'claw, finger'	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep]
461/99 *tīCpu 'climb up'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn]
464/203 *tīmaC / *tīmam 'to close'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Azt]
476/155 *pu'u-(ki) 'door-(of)-house, hole'	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep]
484/50 *kwasu 'dress, shirt'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Cah]
491/199 *sipu' > *si'pu / *sikpu 'shirt, clothing'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah]
503. *tommo 'cloud, rain'	[SUA: Trn, Tep; NUA: Num]
517/393 *ma'ai / *mayi 'color, be the color of, paint'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, CrC]
530/394 *toC 'copulate'	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn]
532/192 *na'pa / *naCpa 'join/be together, copulate'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah]
533/409 *naka 'copulate, cover, close'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Cah]
551 *huma 'corn meal/flour'	[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Azt]
556a/1013 *sohopim 'cottonwood tree'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Azt]
586 *to... 'crawl'	[NUA: WNum, CNum, Hp; SUA: Azt]
605/86 *coaka (< *cuwaka) 'cry'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Azt]
620/608 *katu' 'cut, wound'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Azt]

623 *puta / *puLa ‘pierce’	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Opn]
624. *mina / *muna ‘pierce’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Azt]
<b>625/659</b> *wi(h)k / *wu(hu)k ‘cut’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah]
626 *cuk ‘jab, peck, cut’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah]
<b>629/445</b> *ta-pusa / *tupusi ‘pierce’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, CrC]
<b>643/638</b> *tikīya ‘deer’ > Tep *siki ‘deer’	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]
<b>654/397</b> *(pa)-uci ‘dew’	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, CrC]
660 *sī’iwī ‘different’	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn]
685 *niwa / *niwa ‘make’	[SUA: Trn, Tbr; NUA: Tak]
<b>701/1432</b> *tana / *tani ‘down, below’	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Azt]
<b>703b/182</b> *huppa ‘untie, come loose, let down’	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep]
727 *pīciN ‘duck’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, Azt]
743 *kiLi / *kiti ‘small kind of hawk’	[SUA: Trn, Cah; NUA: Hp]
<b>778/303</b> *kaCma / *kanma (Kaufman1981) ‘have a quality of taste’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Cah]
<b>780/47</b> *kwi ‘food, feed, give food’	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep]
<b>785/6</b> *kwiLuC ‘swallow’	[NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Opn]
795 *mu’ka / *mukka ‘sharp point’	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]
822 *om ‘dislike’	[SUA: Cah, Opn; NUA: Tak]
<b>876/819</b> *tama/i ‘finish’	[SUA: Azt, Tep; NUA: Num]
<b>891/871</b> *cuppa < *cu’pa ‘fire go out’	[SUA: Tep, Trn; NUA: Tb]
<b>902/959</b> *komaL ‘griddle, thin’	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]
<b>981/238</b> *muya ‘fill, be full, overflow’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, Tep?]
<b>983b/552</b> *putca / *put... ‘full’	[SUA: Trn; NUA: Num, Tak]
<b>998/159</b> *tī’wi / *tu’wi ‘gather seeds, harvest’	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Opn]
1015 *nokka/i / *nukka/i ‘run, move, flow’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Azt]
<b>1018/296</b> *yapi ‘hurry’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah]
1045 *kuLu / *koLu ‘father’s father, paternal grandfather’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Azt]
<b>1058/644</b> *(h)usa ‘grass’	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Tbr, CrC]
<b>1070/125</b> *kuma > *koma ‘gray, dark color’	[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tep]
<b>1080/1304</b> *piṅa ‘grind’	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Azt]
<b>1083/889</b> *tīppa ‘mortar (and/or) pestle’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]
<b>1098/244</b> *nakana ‘grow’	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: CrC]
1099 *ya’wi ‘grow’	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn]
<b>1115/1452</b> *nasi(pa) ‘half, middle’	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn]
<b>1136/712</b> *haLay ‘happy’	[SUA: Cah; NUA: Hp, Tb]
1142 *cī’i ‘hard’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, CrC]
1147 *ponamo ‘hat’	[SUA: Tep, Opn; NUA: Tb]
1154 *ku / *ku’o ‘with the head, instr. prefix’	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Azt]
<b>1166/217</b> *ibidaga ‘heart’	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]
1182 *hupa / *hupi ‘hip’	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah]
<b>1183/634</b> *kaca-(pawī) ‘hip’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, CrC]
1195 *na-yawi ‘fight’	[NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Azt]
<b>1200/952</b> *poṅa ‘hit, pound’	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah]
<b>1212/1482</b> *ta-tu’i / *tatta ‘hot’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah]
1219 *tu’ca / *tuCti ‘hummingbird’	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC]
<b>1280/219</b> *yikaL ‘knowing, able, intelligent’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, Azt]
1290 *oṅa (< *uṅa?) ‘(feel/be) lazy’	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC]
1363 *akuti ‘little, short’	[NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC, Trn]
1378 *kiCti ‘lizard’	[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC]
<b>1385/9</b> *cakwa ‘lizard’	[NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Azt]
<b>1389/468</b> *oti / *utu / *uta ‘long, tall’	[NUA: WNum, Tb; SUA: CrC]
<b>1419/76</b> *otami ‘man, person’	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep]
1435 *na-mikki / *na-mikki ‘meet’	[SUA: Azt, Tep; NUA: Tak]
1436 *pa-tīhwī ‘melt’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, Azt]
1437 *kayu / *kayuCpa ‘melt, smelt’	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Trn?]
<b>1439/193</b> *mu’i ‘milk’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, CrC]
<b>1480/676</b> *pakuwa ‘mushroom, fungus’	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn]
<b>1496/778</b> *sipo/*sipu... ‘navel’	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: CrC]

1510 *kwa'i... 'throat'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Tbr]
1566/151 *yo'o / *yu'u 'old'	[SUA: Cah, Opn; NUA: Tb]
1568/152 *yoci(-tu) '(become) old'	[SUA: Trn, Opn; NUA: Tb]
1577 *tapowa 'open'	[SUA: Trn, Azt; NUA: Num]
1592 *si'ika 'owl'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Azt]
1605/227 *mamahu / *ma(C)wa 'palm tree'	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep]
1610 *yan-(ta/ti) 'be calm, quiet'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah, Azt]
1614 *saNpa / *suNpa 'quiet'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn]
1616/182 *huCpi 'peaceable'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tak, Opn]
1689 *tīpi 'play'	[SUA: Tep; NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]
1714/335 *wakori 'pot'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah]
1734 *hupa 'pull out'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]
1738 *nu'i / *nu'yV 'push'	[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tep]
1741/769 *takipV 'push'	[SUA: Trn, Cah; NUA: Num]
1743/1128 *tap 'put'	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Azt]
1749/960 *kaka / *kakkata 'quail'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]
1816 *wani... 'river'	[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Trn]
1863/1144 *o'mana 'sad, suffering'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Azt]
1898/1631 *haL / *hatiwa 'look for'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tbr, Cah]
1901b/348 *tīm 'look for'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tbr, Azt]
1908 *hiwī 'look, observe'	[SUA: Trn, Cah; NUA: Tak]
1931a *yoki 'shake'	[SUA: Cah, Opn; NUA: Tak]
1938/1197 *kwarak- 'shake (of earth), be noisy'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah]
1953/210 *tuti (> *tuci (Hp), > cuci > Tep susV) 'sandals'	[SUA: Tep; NUA: Hp, Num]
1971 *caNi 'shout'	[SUA: Opn, Trn; NUA: Tak]
1972/83 *cayaw 'shout'	[SUA: Cah, Tbr; NUA: Tb]
1991 *tuwu 'drum, music at festival'	[SUA: Tep, Trn; NUA: Num]
1993/1159 *cuppa 'sink, submerge'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]
2004 *tīpko / *tīpku 'relative, sisterly relationship'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Opn, Trn]
2018/846 *taCca / *ta'ci 'bark, shell'	[SUA: Trn, Azt; NUA: Tak]
2034a/1430 *ippiwi / *piwi 'sleep'	[NUA: CNum, SNum, Hp; SUA: CrC]
2039/765 *kaLu 'slide'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, CrC]
2052 *kummu(C) 'smoke (meat)'	[SUA: Tep, Trn; NUA: Tak]
2056/276 *piCka / *piNka 'smooth, bald'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]
2057/88 *waLaka 'snail'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Azt]
2065 *siktaput 'red?-snake'	[SUA: Opn, Cah; NUA: Tak]
2182/32 *cukoa / *cukwa 'adhere'	[NUA: Num; SUA: CrC, Azt]
2183/579 *cappa 'adhere'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]
2087 *sawa / *sa'awa 'sore'	[SUA: Cah, Azt; NUA: Hp]
2093 *puLa / *puhuLa 'blister, boil'	[NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Tbr]
2098 *kwaCtaC 'gruel, pasty food'	[NUA: Num; SUA: CrC, Azt]
2140/198 *sawara 'gourd'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, CrC]
2156/1253 *coC-ki 'trunk, base, stem, stalk'	[SUA: Trn, CrC; NUA: Hp]
2166/421 *tuC / *tutu 'stand'	[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep]
2175 *tawa 'remain, wait'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tbr, Cah]
2205 *tīyuna 'keep'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]
2213 *wasa / *waca 'stretch'	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Trn]
2226/1482 *taCcaC < *tattaC 'summer'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, CrC]
2235/745 *ci'aLi 'sunrise, east, morning'	[SUA: Tep, Trn; NUA: Num]
2236 *sipi 'east'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn]
2250/1549 *potoC 'sweat, v'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Cah, Trn]
2259/551 *pisa(na) / *pisa(L) 'sweet'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]
2262/1231 *mumus-(paLawa) 'honey, lit. bee-juice'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah, Trn]
2266 *patto- 'swell'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: CrC]
2274 *tīma / *tiCma 'taste'	[NUA: Num; SUA: CrC, Trn]
2303/136 *wina 'throw down/out, spill, empty'	[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn]
2312 *puCka > *poka 'throw'	[SUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tbr]
2352c/263 *(h)īCpio 'now, today'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn]

2373/1570 *katto 'top, head'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Cah]
2382 *tuCci'a 'wipe'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, Cah]
2413/1204 *wopiN (< *wapaL) 'wood'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Cah, Azt]
2433 *kumu (< *kamu) 'uncle, father's older brother'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah, Trn]
2447/235 *muci 'female genitalia'	[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn]
2462/1206 *-kowLi / *kori 'wall'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn]
2478/901 *supiC 'like, want'	[NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Opn]
2500/492 *pa'iwi 'carry/fetch water'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]
2532/216 *ina 'introduces yes-no questions, topicalizer'	[SUA: Tep, Azt; NUA: Tb]
2545/48 *kwaya 'white' (< *kwaca?)	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: CrC]
2589 *timaLa / *tīmaLa 'work'	[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: CrC]
2596/311 *sipuli > *sipuyV / *sipuyu 'worm'	[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Azt]
2610/355 *ki(C)aNwi 'yesterday'	[NUA: SNum; SUA: Tbr, Azt]
2625 *maCkupa 'four'	[SUA: Tep, CrC; NUA: Tak]
2669/114 *pa / *pi 'that, 3 <sup>rd</sup> person pronoun'	[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: CrC]
2698/499 *-i / *-y(V) 'present'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn]
Expl. 7 *kwaham 'back, hump'	[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Azt]
Expl. 69 'grasshopper'	[NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, Tep]
Expl. 134 *koppa 'quiet, calm'	[SUA: Cah, Tep; NUA: Num]

### Percentages of UA cognate sets that are from Semitic or Egyptian

Of UA cognate sets in all 11 of the 11 UA branches, 31 of 32 are of a Near-East source (96.8%).

Of UA cognate sets in 10 of the 11 branches, 26 of 27 are of a Near-East source (96.3%).

Of UA cognate sets in 9 of the 11 branches, 28 of 31 are of a Near-East source (90.3%).

Of UA cognate sets in 8 of the 11 branches, 45 of 52 are of a Near-East source (86.5%).

Of UA cognate sets in 7 of the 11 branches, 65 of 81 are of a Near-East source (80.2%).

Of UA cognate sets in 6 of the 11 branches, 68 of 89 are of a Near-East source (76.4%).

Of UA cognate sets in 5 of the 11 branches, 61 of 85 are of a Near-East source (71.7%).

Of UA cognate sets in 4 of the 11 branches, 134 of 203 are of a Near-East source (66%).

Of UA cognate sets in 3 of the 11 branches, 175 of 303 are of a Near-East source (57.7%).

Of sets in 8, 9, 10, or all 11 of the UA branches, 130 of 142 are of a Near-East source (91.5%).

Of sets in 5, 6, or 7 of the 11 branches, 194 of 255 are of a Near-East source (76%)

Of sets in 3 or 4 of the 11 branches, 309 of 506 are of a Near-East source (61%)

## Bibliography

Sources are listed by subject area: first, Egyptian sources, then Comparative Semitic sources, then Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, Ugaritic, Yiddish, non-UA linguistic sources, and last is the lengthy Uto-Aztecan bibliography. Abbreviations for the sources most frequently cited are to the right. Sources not showing an abbreviation are cited with a standard parenthetical note: e.g., (Blau 1976).

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### **Uto-Aztecan cognate collections (in chronological order) and their abbreviations**

Sapir	Sapir's "Southern Paiute and Nahuatl: a Study in Uto-Aztecan" (1913, 1915)
VVH	Voegelin, Voegelin, and Hale's <i>Typological and Comparative Grammar of UA</i> (1962)
B.Tep	Burton Bascom's <i>Proto-Tepiman</i> (1965)
M67	Wick Miller's <i>Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets</i> (1967)
BH.Cup	William Bright and Jane Hill's "The Linguistic History of the Cupeño" <i>IJAL</i> 33 (1967)
HH.Cup	Jane Hill and Kenneth Hill's "Stress in the Cupan Languages" <i>IJAL</i> 34 (1968)
I.Num	David Iannucci's <i>Numic Historical Phonology</i> (1972)
CL.Azt	Campbell and Langacker's "Proto-Aztecan Vowels," <i>IJAL</i> 44 (1978)
Fowler83	Catherine Fowler's "Lexical Clues to UA Prehistory" <i>IJAL</i> 49 (1983) and her fieldnotes
L.Son	Andrés Lionnet's <i>Relaciones Internas de la Rama Sonorense</i> (1985)
M88	Wick Miller's 1988 Computerized Database of Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets (1988)
Munro.Cup	Pamelo Munro's "Stress and Vowel Length in Cupan Absolute Nouns" <i>IJAL</i> 56 (1990)
KH.NUA	Kenneth Hill's <i>Serrano Dictionary</i> , with comparative notes relevant to NUA (2001)
KH/M	Kenneth Hill's <i>Miller's Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets: revised and expanded by KCH</i> (2006)
UACV	Brian Stubbs' <i>Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary</i> (2011)

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## About the Author

Brian Stubbs became interested in languages after a two-year attempt to learn Navajo, which made all else seem easier. He was first a Semitist, taking Hebrew and Arabic courses, as well as Egyptian, Spanish, German, and Navajo while earning a B.A. from Brigham Young University. Then he began graduate work in Semitic languages (Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic) at the University of Utah. A professor recommended that his program include a linguistics course or two, so he took David Iannucci's "Introduction to Linguistics" and found it so fascinating that he switched to linguistics, and completed an M.A. in linguistics. The presence of Iannucci, Mauricio Mixco, Ray Freeze, and Wick Miller made U of U a primary center for Uto-Aztecan studies at the time, which provided Brian a good foundation in comparative Uto-Aztecan. During that time he could not help but notice a few hundred similarities between Uto-Aztecan and Semitic, with sound correspondences, etc. After an M.A. in linguistics, he resumed studies in Near Eastern languages and completed the coursework and comprehensive exams for a PhD(ABD) in Semitic languages and linguistics, though his primary research interests remained in Uto-Aztecan. After publishing a few articles in the *International Journal of American Linguistics* and elsewhere (see Uto-Aztecan bibliography), he decided that articles are too haphazard a way of scattering one's ideas about and hoping that subsequent scholars might gather them for a cohesive view of one's thoughts on a matter—too optimistic and not likely. So he focused on finishing a three-decade effort to produce the comparative reference book *Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary* (2011, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2020).

Over the years, the number of additional Near-East with Uto-Aztecan similarities that he noticed grew to dimensions difficult to ignore. Yet knowing how unwelcome such would be in the linguistic community and being a peace-loving recluse by nature, he was in no hurry to ignite the controversy. On the other hand, such a presentation should precede one's departure to spheres from whence none return to finish a book. So this is that book, to whichever successive edition it may morph before he expires. As Brian says about all that he writes: "Only when I die do all drafts become final drafts." Brian's UA works preceding this book have been well received by other UA specialists ... until this Near-East tie with UA, which has many wishing to ignore it. Yet among responders, more positive assessments (20) have surfaced than negative (2), and the two negatives were addressed in "Answering the Critis ..." (Stubbs 2020). Those simply railing against it without dealing with the data are not counted.

Roger William Wescott, first in his Princeton class, PhD in linguistics, Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, President of the Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States, author of 500 articles and 40 books, called Brian's work "a strong link between the Uto-Aztecan and Afro-Asiatic languages"—an approximate description since it was not a comparison with Afro-Asiatic, but with specific languages of a later time, the first half of the first millennium BC. David H. Kelley, Harvard PhD, who published in anthropology, linguistics, Uto-Aztecan, and contributed to the decipherment of the Mayan glyphs, said upon receiving an early draft sent him by John Sorenson: "The thick thing came in the mail and I did not want to tackle it, but dutifully opened it, intending to look at a page or two. However, I started to read and ended up reading the whole book. It is the most interesting and significant piece of research I have seen in years." Stephen Ricks and Don Parry and other Semitists have said the Semitic side is sound. PhD linguists Royal Skousen, Mary Ritchie Key, and PhD linguists specializing in UA—David Shaul, Ray Freeze, Dirk Elzinga, and others preferring anonymity—have also spoken well of it. John S. Robertson, a leading Mayanist and Harvard PhD in historical linguistics, has most vociferously commended the strength of the case.