

## Lexica Afroasiatica XII

Gábor Takács - Institute of Linguistics, Budapest  
Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Hungary)

[Comparative-historical Afro-Asiatic linguistics has undergone significant development over the last half century since the appearance of “*Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*” (1947) by Marcel Cohen. This revolutionary and fundamental synthesis concluded the second great period of comparative research on the Afro-Asiatic lexicon (the so-called "old school", cf. EDE I 2-4). During the third period (second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), the beginning of which was hallmarked by the names of J.H. Greenberg and I.M. Diakonoff, a huge quantity of new lexical material (both descriptive and comparative) has been published, including a few very recent attempts (either unfinished or rather problematic) at compiling an Afro-Asiatic comparative dictionary (SISAJa I-III, HCVA I-V, HSED, Ehret 1995).]

**Keywords:** Afro-Asiatic linguistics, AA comparative lexicon.

During my current work on the “*Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*” (EDE), I have collected a great number of new AA parallels, which – to the best of my knowledge – have not yet been proposed in the literature or was observed independently from me<sup>1</sup>. Along the EDE project (and the underlying “Egyptian etymological word catalogue”), I have started collecting AA roots (not attested in Egyptian) for a separate Afro-Asiatic root catalogue in late 1999.

The series “*Lexica Afroasiatica*” has started in 2002<sup>2</sup> for communicating new Afro-Asiatic lexical correspondences observed recently during my work, which may later serve as basis of a new synthesis of

1. I did my best to note it wherever I noticed an overlapping with the existing Afro-Asiatic dictionaries.

2. The first part of this series (lexical parallels with with PAA \*b-) appeared in *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* (Köln) 67 (2002), 103-151. The second part (additional lexical roots with AA \*b-) was published Kogan, L. (ed.): *Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute, Issue III: Studia Semitica* (Moscow, 2003., Russian State University for the Humanities, pp. 331-348). My paper “Lexica Afroasiatica III” (new AA roots with \*p-) appeared in Takács, G.: *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam Werner Vycichl* (Leiden, 2003., E. J. Brill, pp. 510-550), while “Lexica Afroasiatica IV” (new etymologies with AA \*f-) was published in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* (Budapest) 57/4 (2004), 457-473. “Lexica Afroasiatica V” (new AA roots with \*ḫ- and \*P-) appeared in *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 9 (2004), 159-178. The sixth issue (roots with \*m- followed by dentals, palatals, laterals, velars, pharyngeals, and laryngeals) is forthcoming in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 54 (2012). The seventh part (roots with \*m- followed by sonorants) was published in Takács, G. (ed.): *Semito-Hamitic Festschrift for A. Dolgopolsky and H. Jungraithmayr*. Berlin, 2008., Dietrich Reimer Verlag. Pp. 310-336. “Lexica Afroasiatica VIII” (containing additional roots with \*m-) appeared in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warszawa) 62/2 (2009), 26-125. “Lexica Afroasiatica IX” (new AA roots with \*n- + labials) was published in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 52/2 (2010), 85-98. “Lexica Afroasiatica X” (new AA roots with \*n- + dentals) is published in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warszawa) 64/2 (2011), 73-

the Afro-Asiatic comparative lexicon. The present part of this series is a collection of additional new Afro-Asiatic etymologies with the Proto-Afro-Asiatic initial bilabial nasal (\*m-) observed after my research periods at Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften of Frankfurt a/M (in 1999-2000 and 2002) guided by Prof. H. Jungraithmayr. The numeration of the etymological entries is continuous beginning from the first part of the series “*Lexica Afroasiatica*”. This part contains new Afro-Asiatic roots with \*n- followed by (post)velars.

Each entry is headed by the proposed PAA root (as tentatively reconstructed by myself). Author names are placed after the quoted linguistic forms in square brackets [] mostly in an abbreviated form (a key can be found at the end of the paper). The lexical data in the individual lexicon entries have been arranged in the order of the current classification of the Afro-Asiatic daughter languages (originating from J. H. Greenberg 1955; 1963 and I. M. Diakonoff 1965) in five (or six) equivalent branches: (1) Semitic, (2) Egyptian, (3) Berber, (4) Cushitic, (5) Omotic (sometimes conceived as West Cushitic), (6) Chadic. For a detailed list of all daughter languages cf. EDE I 9-34. The number of vertical strokes indicate the closeness of the language units from which data are quoted: ||| separate branches (the 6 largest units within the family), || groups (such as East vs. South Cushitic or West vs. East Chadic), while | divides data from diverse sub-groups (e.g., Angas-Sura vs. North Bauchi within West Chadic).

Since we know little about the Proto-Afro-Asiatic vowel system, the proposed list of the reconstructed Proto-Afro-Asiatic forms is arranged according to consonantal roots (even the nominal roots). Sometimes, nevertheless, it was possible to establish the root vowel, which is given in the paper additionally in brackets. The lexical parallels suggested herein, are based on the preliminary results in reconstructing the consonant correspondences achieved by the Russian team of I. M. Diakonoff (available in a number of publications<sup>3</sup>) as well as on my own observations refining the Russian results (most importantly Takács 2001). The most important results can be summarized as follows. The labial triad \*b - \*p - \*f remained unchanged in Egyptian, South Cushitic, and Chadic, while the dental series \*d - \*t - \*ʈ was kept as such by Semitic and South Cushitic (AA \*s continued as \*ḏ in Berber, Cushitic and Chadic, and it was merged into t vs. d in Egyptian). The fine distinction of the diverse sibilant affricates and spirants (AA \*c, \*ʒ, \*ç, \*s, \*č, \*ʒ, \*č, \*š, \*ĉ, \*ĉ, \*š) was best preserved in Semitic, South Cushitic and West Chadic (while some of these phonemes suffered a merger in other branches and groups). The Russian scholars assumed a triad of postvelar (uvular) stops with a voiceless spirant counterpart: \*g, \*q, \*q, and \*h, the distinction of which was retained in Cushitic and Chadic, but was merged into \*h in Semitic and Egyptian. In a number of cases, however, it is still difficult to exactly reconstruct the root consonants on the basis of the available cognates (esp. when these are from the modern branches, e.g., Berber, Cushitic-Omotic, or Chadic). In such cases, the corresponding capitals are used (denoting only the place of articulation)<sup>4</sup>.

\*

84, while “*Lexica Afroasiatica XI*” (new AA roots with \*n- + sibilants) is published in *Journal of Linguistic Relationship* (Moscow) 6 (2011), 141-171.

3. Cf. Diakonoff 1984; 1988, 34-41; 1992; Diakonoff et al. 1987; 1993; SISAJa I-III; HCVA I-V.

4. E.g., the symbol (\*P-) signifies any unknown initial labial, just as, e.g., \*T stands for any unknown dental stop (\*d, \*t or \*ʈ) or \*K for any unknown velar stop (\*g, \*k or \*k) or \*Q for any unknown postvelar/uvular (\*g, \*q or \*q), while \*H for any laryngeal or pharyngeal (\*ʔ, \*h, \*c, \*h, also \*γ).

## AA \*n- + (post)velars

**989. AA \*√ng** “man” > SOm.: Ari (?)aŋ(g)- “man (vir)” [Bnd.], Hamer aŋg- “man (vir)” [Lydall] (SOM.: Bnd. 1994, 154) ||| WCh.: Karekare ŋgáá “person” [Lks.] = ŋga [IL apud JI 1994 II 266] || ECh.: Gabri ūngō (m) “personne” [Cpr. 1972 MS] | Kujarke nigi, pl. noga “man” [Doornbos 1981 MS, 4, #148].

**990. AA \*√ng** “strap, tie” > Eg. *nd* “Faden” (MK-, Wb II 376, 18) > (?) Cpt.: (SB) NAT (m) “1. loom, 2. web” (CD 229a; CED 110) = “1. métier à tisser, 2. tissu, tissage” (DELIC 145) ||| HECu. \*nigg-a “tendon” [Hds. 1989, 419] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura \*nuk (var. \*nik?) “1. bowstring, 2. strap, belt” [GT 2004, 270]<sup>5</sup>: Angas (hill) nük ~ (plain) nuk “a bowstring” [Flk. 1915, 255-256] = nuk (Kabwir dial.) “bowstring” [Jng. 1962 MS, 29] = nuk “strap” [ALC 1978, 48], Mupun nük “1. leather thong, 2. bowstring (used as a loincloth)” [Frj. 1991, 36, 45], Mushere nuk “special kind of leaves used in the olden days by women to cover their private parts” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 167, 359], Goemay nuk “a whip made of hippo skin” [Srl. 1937, 166] = nik (so, -i-) “housewhip”, nnuk (so, nn-and -u-) “whip” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 25-26]. Cf. Ch. \*√ng “to tie (rope)” [JS 1981, 269 A<sub>4</sub>] > CCh. \*nVg- “to spin, tie” [Stl. 2005, 123, #448].

**991. AA \*√ng** “to be hostile towards, insult” > Sem.: Ar. naġaʿa I and VIII “nuire à qqn. par son regard, par son mauvais oeil”, naġʿ-at- “regard d’avidité qui porte malheur”, naġw- “9. qui a un mauvais oeil, qui porte malheur” [BK II 1197] ||| NBrb.: Mzab nnəgnəg “récriminer en grognant, mangréer” [Dlh. 1984, 134] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr a-nəg “détester (qqn.) pour sa mauvaise conduite, haïr avec juste raison” [PAM 2003, 597] ||| SAgaw: (?) Awngi nak-inj [irreg. -k-?] “to despise” [Hetzron 1969, 102] ||| LECu.: Somali-Hawiya nog “annoyarsi” [Crl.] ||| NOm.: Kaffa nag “anfeinden, beleidigen, beschimpfen”, nág-ō “Schimpf, Beleidigung, Schande” [Rn. 1888, 323] = nag “ingiuriare, offendere, nag-ō “ingiuria”, nog “adirarsi, mettersi in collera”, nogg-ō “ira” [Crl. 1951, 478], Mocha naggi(yé) “to insult” [Lsl. 1959, 43] ||| Ch. \*nV(yV)g- “to abuse, insult” [Stl.] = \*nʷa-nʷg [GT]: WCh.: Ngizim náangà “insults, abuse”, nàangú “to abuse, berate, insult” [Schuh 1981, 122] ||| ECh.: Tumak nāŋ “insulter” [Cpr. 1975, 87] (Ch.: Stl. 2005, 122, #443).

**992. AA \*√ng** “1. to grow big, 2. grow high” > ES: Gurage √ngng (or √lglg) “to grow suddenly, grow in front of other leaves, in front of the row” [Lsl. 1979 III, 376], Geez √ngʷ: ta-ngəʷa “to go up (smoke)” and perhaps Tna. √ngʷ: nāgʷaʷ [secondary -ʷ < \*ʷʷ] “who grows fast”, nəguʷ “who surpasses” [Lsl. 1987, 390] ||| Eg. \*ng (unattested)<sup>6</sup> > Cpt.: (S) NO[, (SALFM) Na[, (S) NOK, (S<sup>a</sup>A<sup>s</sup>) NaK, (SBF) NOJ, (SF) NaJ, (B) NOUJ “groß, alt, angesehen” (KHW 138, 121) ||| NBrb. \*√ng “au-dessus” [NZ] = “dessus” [Ksm.]: Mzg. nnig ~ nniy ~ nnag “1. au dessus de, 2. dessus, 3. en haut” [Tf. 1991, 474] | Tuzin ʷnněžž “sur, en haut” [Brn. 1917, 100], Mzab enni, “en haut” [Bst.] = ə-nnəž “sur, au-dessus de, en haut de” [Dlh. 1984, 144], Wargla nnəg “au-dessus, sur, auprès de, de auprès”, nnəžž ~ nnəžuž “dessus d’une maison, partie supérieure d’une maison ordinairement en terrasse, d’où le sens habituel: terrasse” [Dlh.

5. O. Stolbova (2005, 128, #475) equated the Angas-Sura word with Geez naqha “to be attached”.

6. It must have been a word of the Volkssprache. The Eg. etymology of the Cpt. word has been heavily debated, but no satisfactory proposal has been made. (1) G. Fecht (quoted in KHW 138) explained it from Eg. qnj.w → \*nāqjew. (2) W. Westendorf (KHW 138 and fn. 5) derived it from Eg. nht via (S) no[ < \*nots < \*nost, but -ts would have yielded (S) -j as rightly remarked by J. Černý (CED 119). (3) Having rightly rejected both suggestions, W. Vycichl (DELIC 153) assumed in the Cpt. word a “*mot récent, d’origine populaire*” carefully projecting an older Eg. \*nāg or \*nāk or sim. Note that (B) -j and (S) -[ point to OEg. \*-g.

1987, 216], Djerba ennež “en haut” [Bst.], Nefusa d-enneg “en haut” [Bst.] | Qabyle nnig “au-dessus de” [Dlt. 1982, 553], Zwawa e-nnig “sur, au-dessus de” [Brn.] || EBrb.: Gdm. i-nnəž “le haut”, i-nnəž “terrasse au niveau du sol de la cuisine” [Lnf. 1973, 241, #1135], Siwa a-nigg “sur” [Bricchetti-Robecchi apud Bst. 1890, 90] = n-ənniž “supérieur” (adj.) [Lst. 1931, 298] (NBrb.: Bst. 1890, 325; NZ 1998, 153, #164; Ksm. 1999, 148, #348 and 167, #456) || Bed. nag “1. to stick out chin, 2. lift the head” [Hds. 1996 MS, 99] || HECu.: Sidamo nagg y- “to rise”, naggi naggi y- “to be high”, naggimma (f) “loftiness” [Gsp. 1983, 245; Hds. 1989, 124] | Yaaku -nāk- (tr.) “to surpass” [Heine 1975, 135] || CCh.: Lame ngò “to surpass” [Scn. 1978, 200] || (?) ECh.: Kwang-Mobu ángé “soulever” [Ebert 1977 MS, 8] | Somray nàgè “monter, grimper (arbres, montagnes)” [Jng. 1993 MS, 47] | Kujarke nigi “up” [Drnb. 1981 MS, 4, #190]<sup>7</sup>.

**993. AA \*√ng** “to cut into parts” > Sem.: Ar. √ngw IV “9. tailler un arbre, en couper les branches, 10. couper, enlever une branche” [BK II 1210] || PCh. \*√(n)gy “couper en deux, rompre” [Brt.-Jng.] > CCh.: Higi-Baza ngu- “rompre (une corde)” [Brt.-Jng.], Bana ngá “donner une partie de qqch. de qqch., qu’il fant casser” [Brt.-Jng.] | Daba nga “casser (un objet long)” [Mch. 1966, 142] | Peve ...ngá... “to break (a stick)” [Schubert 1971 MS, 17, #375] || ECh.: Kera nje- “couper (avec une hache), trancher” [Ebert] (Ch.: Brt.-Jng. 1990, 141-2).

**994. AA \*√ng** “to be heavy” > SCu.: ERift \*nig- “difficult” [GT]: Qwadza (Ngomwia) niga “schwer” [Claus 1910, 493] = niga “hard” [Ehret 1980 MS, 9] || CCh. \*nVg- “heaviness” [Stl.]: PMasa \*neg- “heavy” [GT]: Masa négè “lourd” [Jng. 1973 MS] = nék “1. le lourd, le poids, 2. le paquet, le fardeau, 3. (adj.) lourd” [Ctc. 1983, 119], Gizey, Ham, Musey nék and Lew, Marba ?ának “1. fardeau, pesanteur, 2. lourd” [Ajello 2001, 25, 34], Banana négè “heaviness” [Stl.] || ECh.: Somray nùg-nùg “très lourd” [Jng. 1993 MS, 48] (CCh.: Stl. 2005, 59, #2.1.1 with further reflexes).

**995. AA \*√ng** “to vacillate” > Sem.: Ar. nağnağa I “6. rôder çà et là sous l’impression de la peur, 8. secouer, remuer”, II “1. être agité, secoué” [BK II 1209] || NBrb.: Mzg. √ng: ngigi “1. bouger, 2. vaciller, 3. branler (pieu, dent)” [Tf. 1991, 474].

**996. AA \*√ngs** “to be dirty” > Ar. nağisa I “1. être sale, malpropre, 2. être immonde, impur” [BK II 1204] || MSA: Jbl. negést “schmutzig” [Bittner 1917, 54] = ngost “pollution” [Jns./SS 1997, 390], Sgt. nigís “malpropre”, reflexive participle pl. mintigeshéten “sale, impure” [Lsl. 1938, 256] || SBrb.: Ghat e-nžes “éclabousser” [Nhl. 1909, 153] || CCh.: Mulwi ngingiži (-ḥ-) “se barbouiller” [Trn. 1978, 305].

**997. AA \*√ngĉ** “to push, thrust” > Sem. \*√ngš “to drive away” [Drower-Macuch] = “to (op)press, drive” [Hnrg.]: Ug. ngš “to press or drive (?)” [Segert], Hbr. ngš qal “drängen, treiben” [GB], cf. Amarna ngš “(vom Wegtreiber der Rinder)” [GB] = “niederstoßen (?)” [1x, Ebeling 1915, 1479] = “niederwerfen, überwältigen (auch von Gebäuden)” [Drexel]<sup>8</sup>, JAram. nagaš “stoßen” [Levy 1924 III 339], JPArAm. ngš “to gore” [Sokoloff 1990, 341], Mandeian ngš “1. to strike at, hit at, attack, 2. touch” [Drower-Macuch 1963, 289] | OSA (Minean) ngš “vertreiben” [GB], Ar. nağša I “(das Wild) aufjagen” [GB] (Sem.: GB 485; Segert 1984, 193; Hnrg. 2000, 2065)<sup>9</sup> || Eg. ndš “(den Ball) schlagen” (GR, Wb II 368, 2) || NBrb.:

7. In the same group, Mubi naak “aufgehen (Sonne)” [Lks. 1937, 184] = nàgè (nak, nùwáak), pl. nàwàgè (nèwík, nùwáak) “monter” [Jng. 1990 MS, 35], Masmaje náakù “monter” [Alio 2004, 283, #136] may reflect \*-k-, cf. AA \*n-ḥ.

8. A. Drexel (1925, 11) assumed in Amarna Akk. √ngš a prefix (root determinative) n- and combined the hypothetic biradical root with WCh.: Hausa kaaše “niederwerfen, überwältigen, umreißen”.

9. Noteworthy is Ar. nağša “pousser, stimuler, exciter à la marche, 2. agiter, remuer, 3. tourmenter” [BK II 1221].

Shilh nges “lutter à coups de tête” [Jordan 1934, 96] | Qabyle negges “bousculer”, naġes “heurter au passage, bousculer” [Dlt. 1982, 556] || EBrb.: Ghadames e-ngəḏ “donner des coups de corne, de tête” [Lnf. 1973, 239, #1121] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-ngəs “1. donner un coup de tête à, 2. frapper à coups de corne, encorner, 3. mordre (serpent, scorpion)” [PAM 2003, 601].

**998. AA \*√ngš** “to burn” > Sem.: Ar. naġaša “allumer le feu” [BK II 1205] || Eg. ndsds “to burn, consume” (Med., BD, Breasted 1930, 485) = “brûler, consumer” (AL 78.2336) = “to burn (tr.)” (FD 145).

**999. AA \*√ng<sup>o</sup> ~ \*√nk<sup>o</sup>** “1. to touch, 2. afflict (of disease)” > Sem. \*ng<sup>o</sup>: Hbr. ng<sup>o</sup> qal “berühren”, nega<sup>o</sup> “1. Schlag, körperliche Verletzung, 2. Schlag, womit Gott den Menschen trifft, Plage, 3. Plage des Aussatzes, v. Kleideraussätze, v. Häuseraussätze, Aussatzfleck, die aussätzliche Stelle eines Kleides” [GB 484] = ng<sup>o</sup> qal “1. to touch, 2. touch violently, strike”, nega<sup>o</sup> “1. outset of illness (general): 1.1. affliction, plague, infestation, 1.2. consumptive disease, skin disorder, 2. blow, violent crime, leprosy” [KB 668-9]<sup>10</sup>, MHbr. nega<sup>o</sup> “Hautkrankheit, Aussatz” [Dalman 1922, 263] | Ar. naġa<sup>o</sup>a I “2. produire son effet sur qqn. (se dit d’un discours, des paroles), 5. se rendre chez qqn. pour obtenir ou tirer qqch. de lui”, II and IV “produire son effet sur qqn. (se dit d’une médecine, d’un discours ou d’un conseil)” etc. [BK II 1205] = “to act upon, influence (speech, food, medicine)” [Rabin] || Eg. nd<sup>o</sup>.wt “eine Alterserscheinung im menschlichen Körper” (Med., Wb II 377, 16, so also WMT 497) = “taches (?) sur la peau” (AL 78.2323) = “\*Altersflecken (der Haut)” (GHWb 449) = “Hautflecken (?)” (HAM 840) || EBrb.: Audjila ngi “toccare” [Prd. 1960, 175] || PCu. \*nak<sup>o</sup>- “to be touching” [Ehret] > SAgaw: Awngi nek-č-əŋ [caus. -s-, inf. ending -əŋ] “to touch” [Hetzron in Apl. 1994 MS, 14] || (?) SCu. \*na<sup>o</sup>ok-/\*nako<sup>o</sup>- “to be touching” [Ehret, not found as listed in Ehret 1980] (Cu.: Ehret 1987, 119, #505) || WCh.: Bokkos ŋgyé<sup>o</sup>i “berühren” [Jng. 1970, 142] and Daffo-Butura ŋgyây “berühren, schmecken” [Jng. 1970, 215]. The Sem.-Ron comparison is due to Rabin 1982, 26, #16.

**1000. AA \*√ngh** “1. to sink (fig.) to a miserable condition, 2. vanish” > Sem.: Yemeni Ar. nġh I “to come to an end, finish, vanish, fade, be consumed, be spent, done with, annihilated, empty”, II and IV “to finish, destroy” [Piamenta 1990, 478] || Eg. ndh<sup>o</sup>dh “(Verbum: ein krankhafter Zustand des Herzens)” (Med., Wb II 384, 6) = “(désigne un état maladif du coeur)” [Montet 1911, 214, #18] = “sinken, herabhängen” (HAM 112, 840) || NBrb.: Qabyle √ngh: e-nġeh “1. être déchu, destitué, 2. tomber dans la misère” [Dlt. 1982, 555: no Ar. borrowing is indicated].

**1001. AA \*√ngr ~ \*√nkr ~ \*√nhr** “1. to grow high, long, 2. swell” > Sem.: Syr. √ngr “to be long” [Brk. in Tritton 1933-35, 595]<sup>11</sup> || Eg. ng3g3 with var. n<sup>-</sup>3<sup>-</sup>3 “strotzen (von den Brüsten säugender Frauen)” (PT, Wb II 349, 11 and 306, 10; Feichtner 1932, 315; AĀG 53, §119) = nġ3ġ3 “croître, pousser, rebondir” (Piehl 1898, 322) = nġ3ġ3 “to be distended (of breasts of a goddess suckling her baby)” (Barns 1956, 22) = nġ3ġ3 “(une poitrine) brinqueballante” (Lacau 1972, 29, §26)<sup>12</sup> = ng3g3 “to be swollen (of breasts, with milk)” vs. nġ3ġ3 “to dangle” (Allen 1984, 587 and 558) > ng3g3 “se lever (en parlant du

10. Hbr. ng<sup>o</sup> was combined in the old lit. (Ember 1913, 116, #58; Albright 1918, 220; ESS §11.a.34; GĀSW 68, #230, cf. also Hoch 1994, 156, #262) with a certain Eg. ng3 (sic) “to touch” (sic), which, however, does not exist (cf. Meeks 1997, 45, #262).

11. A.S. Tritton (l.c.) combined it with Ar. √ġrr “to pull” assuming a root ext. (prefix) n- in Syr., which is semantically dubious.

12. P. Lacau (l.c.) derived PT nġ3ġ3 from Eg. wġ3 “secouer”, while G. Conti (1980, 93) affiliated it with Eg. ħ3ġ3 “ventilare”, nġ3ġ3 “flagello”, and wġ3 “scuotere”.

vent)” (CT II 1171, AL 78.2266)<sup>13</sup> ||| WBrb.: Zenaga √ngr: anguʾr ən tā-ufuk-t “le lever du soleil” [Ncl. 1953, 234] ||| PCh. \*naḥar- “to become thick, fat” [Stl.] > WCh.: Angas-Sura \*niyir (?) → \*nəḡər “thick, fat” [GT 2004, 268-9]: Sura nəḡər “dick (z.B. Mauer)” [Jng. 1963, 77], Mupun nəḡər “thick” [Frj. 1991, 46], Chip nikir [-k- < \*-γ-] „fatness” [Krf.], Mushere nikir [nəḡər?] „1. thick, 2. heavy”, cf. waar ni nikir “the gruel is thick” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 176], Goemay nūr [nūr < \*nəḡər] “thickness” [Srl. 1937, 168] = nur [nūr] “to be thick, be fat” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 25] || CCh. \*nyar- “fat (noun)” [Stl.]: Guduf ḡəla [Smz.], Dghwede ḡglà [Frick] | Gisiga mú-ḡgùl [Rsg.] = mu-ngul [Str.], Zulgo mə-ḡgól [Rsg. 1978, 248, #251] (CCh.: JI 1994 II 133; Ch.: Stl. 1996, 84). A var. with an original voiceless C<sub>2</sub> has been preserved in Berber, cf. PBrb. \*nker “se lever” [NZ 1998, 155]<sup>14</sup>.

**1002. AA \*√ngr** “to be/do (sg.) wrong” > Sem.: Ar. nawraḡa “2. calomnier, se faire rapporteur ou calomniateur” [BK II 1233] ||| SBrb.: Ayr ā-negre (m) “mal” [PAM 2003, 601].

**1003. AA \*√ngr** “1. to break open, 2. divide, separate” > Sem.: Dathina √ḡr “ouvrir la terre avec un pic ou une barre en bois dur pointue, aushacken”, orig. \*frapper, battre” [GD 2745]<sup>15</sup> ||| Eg. ngrgr “Messer” (GR, Wb II 350, 1) = “knife” (PL 553) ||| NBrb.: Shilh ngara “se séparer” [Jordan 1934, 95], Tazerwalt ḡāra “sich trennen, von einander Abschied nehmen” [Stumme 1899, 212], Sus ngara “se séparer” [Lst. 1921, 295] ||| WBrb.: Zenaga √ngr: ḡīri “luxation, fracture” [Ncl. 1953, 232] ||| LECu.: Rendille ḡ'ēra “to open up, pull open, throw open”, ḡ'ura “to cut or slice through sg. completely” [PG 1999, 234] ||| ECh.: Nancere nḡḡèr (m), pl. nḡḡír (nomen instr. \*mV-ngVr?) “knife” [Jng. 1977 MS, 7, #127]. Cf. perhaps AA \*n-g-l “to break open” infra.

**1004. AA \*√ngr** “belly” > Eg. ḡ3j (or to be read ḡj?) “Bauch” (NE 1x: Ostr. Torino 9572, 2, KHW) = “belly” (CED) = “ventre” (AL 77.2237)<sup>16</sup> > Cpt.: (S) NY[e, (B) NeJI “Mutterleib” (KHW 527) = “belly, womb” (CD 252a; CED 119; Osing 1978, 186) = “sein (de la mère), ventre, estomac” (DELIC 153) ||| SOm.: Hamer ḡ'urti ~ nuḡurti “small intestines” [Flm. 1990 MS, 4], Galila noḡorti “intestines” [Flm. apud Bnd. 1994, 153].

**1005. AA \*√ngl** “to cut” > Sem.: Ar. naḡala I “7. percer avec une lance” [BK II 1207] = “to remove skin from the slaughtered animal” [Lsl.] || (???) Geez nagala “to be uprooted” [Lsl. 1987, 392] ||| Eg. ḡ3 “1. (PT-) tōten, 2. (GR) auch: die Glieder zerfleischen, den Augapfel ausreißen” (PT-, Wb II 348, 16-17) = “to slaughter (ritually)” (PT, Allen 1984, 558) = “to kill, cut up” (GR, PL 553) = “zerteilen” (OK, Faltings

13. Against AECT I 104, spell 106, n. 9, where R.O. Faulkner tried to render CT ḡ3ḡ3 as a reduplication of ḡ3 “lack”.

14. Attested in NBrb.: Shilh nkēr “se lever” [Jst. 1914, 145] = ə-nkər [Lst. 1931, 252] = nker “1. se lever, 2. croître, pousser, 3. être en rut” [Jordan 1934, 96] = √nkr “to stand up” [Aplg. 1958, 62], Sus nker “se lever” [Lst. 1921, 295], Tazerwalt niker “aufstehen, sich erheben, entspringen (Quelle), losgehen auf etwas, sich an etwas machen, wach werden/sein” [Stumme 1899, 212] | Iznasen, Uriaghel, Tuzin e-nker “se relever” [Rns. 1932, 394], Sened √nkr > e-kker “s'éveiller, se lever” [Prv. 1911, 114] | Qabyle nker “se révolter” [NZ] || WBrb.: Zenaga e-nkər, e-nkur “se lever” [Cohen-TC 2000, 281, 289] || SBrb.: Ahaggar e-nker “1. se lever, 2. (+ day) se lever dans/contre: se révolter” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1377] (Brb.: NZ l.c.; LR 2002, 327-8).

15. Unless a var. of √nqr as supposed by Count Landberg (GD l.c.).

16. Explained by G. Fecht (quoted in KHW) from Eg. ḡ3 “aufbrechen”, thus lit. \**“das Aufgebrochene”* oder \**“Aufzubrechende”*, cf. ḡ3j.t (Wb II 349, 10: “von der Entjungferung”).

1998, 77)<sup>17</sup>. Remotely, already A.R. Bomhard (1984, 279, #302) has referred to the connection of Sem. \*√ngl and Eg. ng3.

**1006. AA \*√ngl** “to (break) open” > Sem.: Ar. nağala “8. fendre, percer”, nağila “avoir de grands yeux”, ʔanğalu “2. grand, bien fendu (oeil), 4. vaste, spacieux (espace, place)” [BK II 1207] ||| Eg. ng3 (old) > ngj (later) “zerbrechen (Statuen), anbrechen, öffnen (Tore, Auge)” (MK-, Wb II 348, 6-12) = “to break open, break up, breach” (FD 141; DCT 252)<sup>18</sup> > Cpt. (S) NOUJe “aufbrechen”, (m) “Ausbruch” (KHW 528) ||| Bed. ēngél “auf/entdecken, öffnen”, negálo “offen” [Munzinger apud Almkvist] = négil “1. öffnen, 2. bloss legen, aufdecken, enthüllen” [Almkvist 1885, 51] = negál “offen” nigil “öffnen, aufdecken, enthüllen, bekannt machen” [Rn. 1895, 181] = nigil “to open, uncover, expose, make known”, nagál “open, exposed” [Rpr. 1928, 222] = nigil “1. to open, 2. lay bare, 3. expose” [Hds. 1996 MS, 99] || LECu.: Somali nugúl “offen”, nuglân ~ núgayl (m) “Offenheit” [Rn. 1902, 312] ||| WCh.: (?) Bokkos ŋgyel [unless ŋ- is prothetic] “brechen (Stock etc.)” [Jng. 1970, 142]. Eventually related to the preceding AA root?

**1007. AA \*√ngl** “thread” > Eg. ng3 “einengende Schnur, Schlinge, die Randschnur des Netzes (damit kann nur die an den vier Streben des Schlagnetzes vorbeilaufende Randschnur gemeint sein)” (CT III 125c, Bidoli 1976, 90) = “corde, lien” (AL 78.2265) = “ein Schnur (\*einengende Schlinge)” (GHWb 439) = “cord of net” (DCT 252) ||| Bed. nīgil (m) “thread got by ravelling linen” [Hds. 1996 MS, 99].

**1008. AA \*√ngl** “poor” > Eg. ng3 “Mangel leiden” (XIX., Wb II 349, 7) = “to be destitute” (AECT I 103-4, spell 106, n. 9 pace JEA 49, 1963, 32) = “to be impoverished” (Gdk. 1977, 96, n. af) > ng.w [< \*ng3.w] “loss” (Urk. IV 1344:16, FD 141) vs. ng3.w “lacking, poverty” (DLE II 37)<sup>19</sup> ||| ECU. \*nugl- “poor, weak” [GT] = “weak, soft” [Sasse]: (?) Somali déga-nugúl “gehorsam” (cf. nugl-âu “gehorsam, willig, folgsam sein”) [Rn. 1902, 312] = “obedient” [Sasse]<sup>20</sup>, Rendille nugúl “few” [Heine 1976, 215] = nugúl “small, young”, nugl-āda (middle inchoat.) “to become small, diminish” [PG 1999, 234-5] vs. nučul “small” [Sasse: č < \*g unclear], Baiso nugul-āt- “to become emaciated” [Hyw. 1979, 119], Oromo nugl-a “lazy” [Sasse], Konso nukkul-l- “weak, soft, lazy, well-ground, cheap” [Sasse] | Burji nugul-i (adj.?) “poor”, more probably a noun (m) “pauper” [Sasse] = nugul- “to be poor”, nugul-ča (adj.) “poor”, nugull-a “poverty” [Hds. 1989, 115-116], Hadiya nāgúl-a “ignorant” [Lsl.] (ECU.: Sasse 1982, 153; Lsl. 1988, 196).

**1009. AA \*√nk** “to fasten (with thread)” > Eg. nt̄ “fesseln, gefesselt sein” (OK, Wb II 367, 2) = “lier, attacher” (Baillet 1906, 129, §16) ~ nt̄ “ficeler” (OK, AL 77.2257, BIFAO 77, 1977, 88, n. 4) = “binden” (GHWb 443) = “zuschnüren” (Schneider 1997, 265)<sup>21</sup> ||| NBrb.: Mzab √nč [< \*√nk]: i-nči, pl. i-

17. Erroneously combined by E. Zyhlarz (1932-33, 95) and D.J. Wölfel (1955, 121, #1) with Brb. \*√ny “töten”, although the second radicals do not agree (Eg. g = Brb. \*g, while Brb. \*g = Eg. q and h).

18. The various etymologies offered so far for Eg. ng3 did not explain its third -3, cf. (1) Zyhlarz 1934, 119: ~ SBrb.: Hgr. ę- ngí “strömen (vom Wolkenbruch)”; (2) GÄSW 68, #230; Vergote 1945, 128, §1.b.3: ~ Hbr.-Aram. √ng<sup>c</sup> “berühren”; (3) OS 1992, 192; HSED #1866: ~ CCh. \*lig- “to break”.

19. The Eg. word has been mostly explained as a fossilized compound n-g3.w “for lack of” (Wb V 152, 10), cf. Montet 1911, 225-6, §7; Caminos LEM 128; Borghouts 1971, 62, n. 77 against Gdk. 1977, 96, n. af.

20. L. Reinisch (l.c.) explained this phrase from Somali nugúl “offen” (hence déga nugúl “offene Ohren”), while H.-J. Sasse (l.c.) preferred his ECU. \*nugl- “weak” ignoring Reinisch’s proposal.

21. The Eg. root might alternatively be derived from \*lkk and be combined with Ar. lkk VIII “être comprimé, (res)serré” [BK II 1019] = I “to be cramped, straightened”, VIII “to be confined, shut in” [Ember] = VIII “eingeschloßen sein” [Clc.] as

nč-an “fuseau à filer le fil de chaîne” [Dlh. 1984, 131] ||| SAgaw: Awngi ənkoku “to fasten” [Hetzron 1978, 140] || LECu.: Saho nakay “anheften, mit einem Nagel befestigen” [Rn. 1890, 291].

**1010. AA \*√nk** “dirty” > Eg. ntn.t [*< \*√nkn, partial redupl.?*] “Schmutz” (PT 1363a-b, Wb II 357, 11; AÄG 28, §61; GHWb 443) = “putrefaction or stench” (AEB 87.0281 pace Youssef 1987, 263)<sup>22</sup> ||| NBrb.: Mzab √ng: i-nğ-an “saleté, résidus”, i-n(əž)ž-an (pl.) “crasse, saleté” [Dlh. 1984, 135, 232], Mzg. √nk: ti-nik-t, pl. ti-nik-in “1. crasse produit par l’exercice d’un métier où l’on se salit, ou par la poussière du chemin, 2. rouille” [Tf. 1991, 485] || SBrb.: EWlmd. e-nəg and Ayr e-nəg “crasse de la tête” [PAM 2003, 598] || WBrb.: Zenaga √nk: ti-nik-t “rouille” [Ncl. 1953, 233] ||| SCu.: Iraqw nika (m) “mud, long term dirt on body” [MQK 2002, 78] ||| CCh.: (???) Buduma náka “schwarzer Morastboden” [Nct. apud Lks. 1939, 120].

The same biliteral root is also attested with a root extension \*-l in Brb. \*√nk<sup>23</sup>, cf. NBrb.: Qabyle a-nakal, pl. i-nakal-en “souillure” [NZ] || SBrb.: Hgr. e-nkel “souiller” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1374], EWlmd. è-nəkəl “lie, ordures” [Ncl. 1957, 63], EWlmd. and Ayr ə-nkəl “1. être sale, 2. (EWlmd.) fangeux (puits etc.)”, ā-nkālök “excrément d’homme” [PAM 2003, 611], Tudalt and Tadghaq ə-nkəl “to be messy, dirty”, ā-nnikāl “rubbish” [Sudlow 2001, 134, 325] (Brb.: NZ 1998, 154-5, #169).

**1011. AA \*√nk** “to pressionate” > Sem.: Ar. nakka I “insister, presser, importuner” [BK II 1336] ||| NBrb.: Senhazha, Uriaghel √ng [assim. *< \*√nk?*]: e-ng “pousser, ex/inciter” [Rns. 1932, 394] ||| CCh.: Mulwi √nk: niki “se presser” [Trn. 1978, 304].

**1012. AA \*√nk** “now, today” > PAgaw \*nə/aki “today” [Apl.]: NAgaw: Bilin nikô “jetzt, heute” [Rn.] = niki “today” [Apl.], Hamir (Hamtanga) nič “jetzt, heute” [Rn. 1884, 399], Hamta než “oggi” [CR 1905, 224] = nċ (nəç) “today” [Apl. 1987, 505], Kemant niḥ (nəḥ) “today” [Apl. 1991 MS, 12], Qwara niḥi ~ ney “heute” [Rn. 1885, 106] = nəy “today” [Apl.], Dembea nekī “jetzt, heute” [Rn.], Kailinya nəqi “today” [Faitlovitch apud Apl.] || SAgaw: Awngi (Agawmeder) naka “jetzt, heute” [Rn., so also Apl.] = ḥaká “oggi” [CR 1905, 170-1] = náki “today” [Hetzron apud Apl. 1994 MS, 14] (Agaw: Apl. 1984, 47; 1991, 17; 1996, 10, #12 and p. 18; 2005 MS, 118)<sup>24</sup> || ECU.: Yaaku anče “today” [Heine 1975, 135] ||| (?) NOm.: Maji (Magi) neginakn “giorno” [Toselli 1939, 39] ||| WCh.: Maha íncé “today” [Alio 1988 MS] ||| CCh.: Mada náka “maintenant” [Mch. 1953, 192] = náaká “now” [Stl.] || ECh.: Mokilko ʔəŋki “aujourd’hui” [Jng. 1990, 59]. The comparison of the Bilin-Mada-Mokilko reflexes was also observed independently by O. Stolbova (2005, 129, #477).

**1013. AA \*√nk** “nose” > WBrb.: Zenaga √nk ~ √ng: əki “sentir, rechercher l’odeur” [Ncl. 1953, 233] ||| ECU.: Yaaku (Mogogodo) nuya (-gh-) “nose” [Grb. apud Bnd. 1971, 281, #60] = núka?, pl. nukáčo? (m) “nose” [Heine 1975, 130] ||| SCu.: Qwadza (Ngomwia) níykwa-to, pl. niykwé-mama “Nase” [Claus 1910,

suggested in ESS §22.a.11; Albright 1927, 233, #92; GÄSW #679. But further comparative data indicate that the basic sense of the Ar. was “to shut”, which hardly fits Eg. ntt, cf. Tigre lakāka “to shut a beast’s mouth” [LH 43], Tna. lāk<sup>w</sup>āk<sup>w</sup>ā “to cover” [Lsl. 1982, 48].

22. The old rendering as “Maske oder Lederhülle” (ÜKAPT V 293; VI 145; Borghouts 1971, 41, fn. 1; AEPT; GHWb 443) was convincingly disproved by A.A.-H. Youssef (1987), but his comparison with Ar. natuna “sentir mauvais, puer (se dit des viandes, de l’haleine)” [BK II 1194] cannot be accepted because Ar. t ≠ Eg. t.

23. This trilateral Brb. root was combined by Th. Schneider (1997, 200, #49) directly with Eg. ntn.t, but he failed to explain why Brb. \*n...l is reflected in Eg. as n...n (not, for instance, as \*n...r).

24. G. Conti Rossini (l.c.) erroneously combined the Agaw word with Eg. rk “time”. Cf. also Cohen 1947, #419. Later, V. Blažek (1990, 212, #335 pace Bomhard 1984, 277) compared the Agaw forms with Eg. nw “time”, which is equally mistaken.



492] = ningwa-to, pl. ningwagwawa “nose” [Ehret 1980 MS, 9; 1980, 192: < \*d̥iŋwa] | Ma'a (Mbugu) nūñā (nungha) “nose” [Mnh. 1906, 316] = nuña [Grb.] = nung'a [Ehret 1974 MS, 48] ||| SOM. \*nuk- “nose” [GT]: Ari nūki [Bnd. 1971, 263, #60] = nuki [Bnd. 1994, 1159, #59], Banna nūki [Bnd. 1971, 264, #60], Dime nūko [Bnd. 1971, 263, #60] = nuku [Flm./Mkr.] = nūk- [Bnd. 1994] = nūkú [Sbr./Bnd. 1996 MS, 2, #59], Hamer nūki “nose, nostril” [Flm. 1990 MS, 9] = nūki [Mkr.] = nuk- [Bnd.], Bako nuki [Grb./Mkr.], Ubamer nuki [Mkr.], Galila nuk- [Bnd.] = nuki, nuku [Mkr.], Karo nuki [Bnd. 1971, 264, #60] (SOM.-Cu.: Mkr. 1987, 276; Bnd. 1994, 155) ||| WCh.: (?) Boghom nyuñsi “nose” [Jng.] = nūñsuuñ [IL] = nyongsong [Gowers] = nyuñsuñ [Smz.] || CCh.: Gidar ĩnkĩkō “Nase” [Str. 1910, 451] = mĩñkiñ “nose” [Mch.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 259). The Yaaku-SOM. comparison is due to Greenberg 1963, 35, #126.

**1014. AA \*√nk** “to drink” > Bed. nagē “to drink at well and pass on” [Hds. 1996 MS, 99] || LECu.: Afar nak- “to drink” [Ehret 1995, 520, #652 with a false etymology] ||| CCh.: Masa nyèk-ñā “to drink” [Ctc.] = hūñèk-ñā [Jng./JI 1994 II 110].

**1015. AA \*n-k ~/> \*n-g**<sup>25</sup> “bull, cow” > Eg. ng “Art große Rinder mit langen Hörner” (OK-, Wb II 349, 1) = “Ochse (nicht Stier)” (ÜKAPT VI 144) = “long-horn” (AEPT 98, utt. 314, n. 1) = “taureau” (Roquet 1976, 43) ||| SCu.: Ma'a ya-nkō “grey cow” [Ehret 1974 MS, 47] ||| PCh. \*nVkv “cow” [Stl.]: WCh. \*nAk-n “бык, корова” [Stl.]: (?) Angas-Sura \*niñ (var. \*nuñ?) → \*nəñ “cow” [GT] = \*n[i]ñ [Stl. 1977] = \*n[ə]ñ “cow” [Dlg.] = \*nung < \*\*nAk-n [Stl. 1987]<sup>26</sup> | Boghom (Burma) naakh “cow” [Gowers] = na:k [Smz.] = nāk “бык” [Stl.], Mangas na-nak “bull” [Csp.], Tala nāk “cow” [Csp.] (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 235, #816) || CCh.: Bata nākai “Ochs” [Barth 1852, 413] = nake “Kuh” [Str. 1910, 488] = nāq̄ke “boeuf” [Mch. 1950, 22] = nāākai “bull”, nāaku-tō “cow”, pl. nāāk̄yé “cattle” [Pwd. 2000, 59], Nzangi nakwe “cow” [Meek] = nāq̄ko “boeuf” [Mch.] (Ch.: CLD I 127, #470). The Eg.-Angas-Sura etymology is due to HSED #1832 (albeit with false reconstructions). For the comparison of Eg. ng with extra-AA areal parallels (i.a., Ful nagge “Kuh, Rind”) see Montet 1954, 55, fn. 2; Mkr. 1957, 131; 1959, 17, #28; Djk. 1981, 54, fn. 89; Obenga 1982; 1983.

**1016. AA \*√nk ~ \*√nk<sup>w</sup>** “small” > Sem.: Ar. √nyk: ma-nyūk- and nayyāk- “un barduche, un mignon” [Dozy II 742]<sup>27</sup> ||| SCu.: NWRift \*ninak<sup>w</sup> “small” [KM 2004, 217] > Iraqw nak<sup>w</sup> ~ nīnak<sup>w</sup> (pl.) “small” [Wtl. 1953], cf. also Alagwa nuk-ut- “to fall short” [Ehret 1980, 327]<sup>28</sup> | Qwadza ninak<sup>w</sup> “small” [Eld./Ehret 1980 MS, 9] ||| Ch. \*nVkv “small, light” [Stl.] > CCh.: Bura raka [r < \*n] “klein, jung, wenig”

25. Is the -g- in Eg. due to a secondary voicing influenced by n-? Note that such an effect of n has been known in Eg. Note that Hausa-Sokoto nāggè “cow” [Abr. 1962, 695] is supposed (CLD l.c.) to be a Ful borrowing.

26. Provided it originates in a partial reduplication \*ni-nk (cf. Mangas supra). Attested in Angas nung [act. nūñ?] “cow” [Ormsby 1914, 208, 314] = nūñ “a cow” [Flk. 1915, 256] = nōñ “cow” [Jng. 1963, 278] = nəñ (so, -n) “cow” [Hfm.] = nəñ “cattle” [ALC 1978, 46] = niñ [nūñ] “cow” [Krf.] = ning “cow” [Gcl. 1994, 52], Sura niñ “Kuh (ohne Höcker)” [Jng. 1963, 77] = niñ “humpless cow” [Hfm.] = nin (so, -n) [Stl.], Mupun nōñ “dama cattle” [Frj. 1991, 46], Kofyar noeng [nəñ] “cow” [Ntg. 1967, 29] = nəñ “cow” [Hfm.], Montol nung [act. nūñ?] “cow” [Ftp. 1911, 215], Goemay noeng [nəñ] “cow, bull, ox, cattle” [Srl. 1937, 164] = nəñ “Kuh” [Jng. 1962 MS, 4] = neñ (or nəñ, not legible well) “cow” [Hfm.] = niñ “cow” [Krf.] = neñ “cattle, cow” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 25] (AS: Hfm. 1975, 22, #141; Stl. 1977, 156, #152; 1987, 235, #816 & 243, #52; Takács 2004, 269).

27. O. Stolbova (CLD I 128, #473) combined the Ch. root with Ar. √nhk I “maigrir, affaiblir” [BK II 1357], which, however, derives from Ar. √hkk as Stolbova herself remarked it.

28. Ch. Ehret (1980, 327; 1987, #102) compared it to Bed. nekās ~ -š “klein, kurz sein, werden, sich verringern” [Rn. 1895, 183] = nekas [Ehret 1980] = nik<sup>w</sup>is “to be short of, lacking” [Ehret 1987] to reconstruct PCu. \*nik<sup>w</sup>-/\*nuk<sup>w</sup>- “to fall short” [Ehret], but the C<sub>3</sub> in the Bed. verb is in fact part of the root (not a caus. affix). Later, Ehret (1995, 319, #618) extended this erroneous equation to Ar. nakd- “little, a trifle”, niks- “weak, powerless” and even Eg. nkt “some, a little ...” (for these forms cf. AA \*√n-k-t infra) under his AA \*nik<sup>w</sup>- “to be deficient, little, few”.

[Hfm. in RK 1973, 95] | Mada nükwēē ~ níké “peu” [Mch. 1953, 193] = nnoékwè “un peu, un tout petit peu” vs. nníkè “un peu, un tout petit peu”, cf. ének “léger” [Br̄t.-Brunet 2000, 206] || ECh.: Mokilko nyêṅkú (m), nyêṅkó (f), pl. nyêṅkití [partial redupl.] “petit” [Jng. 1990, 148] (Ch.: Stl. 2005, i.e., CLD I 128, #473).

**1017. AA \*√nkd** “great” > Sem.: Sqt. nékid “2. devenir gras” [Lsl. 1938, 267: isolated in Sem.] ||| NBr̄b.: Mzg. √nkt [assim. < \*nkd?]: a-nekt ~ /→ a-nešt [š < \*k] “taille, quantité, grandeur” [Tf. 1991, 488, 502].

**1018. AA \*√nkt** “small” > Sem.: Mandaean nukut ~ nukta “small quantity, speck, grain” [Drower-Macuch 1963, 293] | Ar. nukt-at- “a dot, a point, a speck, a minute spot” [Lane 2846] = “1. point, 3. tache” [BK II 1337], cf. also Ar. nakd- ~ nukd- “exigu, insignificant (don, etc.)” [BK II 1339] ||| Eg. nkt “etwas von, ein wenig ...” (MK-, Wb II 347, 10) = “1. some, a little, sg., piece of ..., 2. profit, advantage” (FD 141) = “ein bißchen was (cf. SAK 19, 1992, 276, fn. 85), anything (cf. SAK 25, 1998, 298)” (WD III 66)<sup>29</sup> ||| NBr̄b.: Wargla √nšt [-š- reg. < \*k-]: ə-nnəšt “d’une certaine quantité, d’un certain volume” [Dlh. 1987, 227] ||| SAḡaw: Awngi neket-əḡ “to lessen” [Hetzron 1969, 102]. For comparing Eg. nkt vs. Ar. nakd- see Ehret 1995, 319, #618 (albeit with false reconstructions).

**1019. AA \*√nkr** “to consider, think” > Sem. \*nkr: Hbr. √nkr II qal “scharf betrachten, erkennen”, nifal “er/gekannt werden”, piel “ansehen, berücksichtigen” [GB 505] || MHbr. √nkr hifil “1. (er)kennen, 2. bekanntmachen” [Dalman 1922, 270] = hifil “betrachten, (er)kennen” [Levy 1924 III 395] = hifil “1. to recognize, know, favour, 2. make known, identify, acknowledge” [Jastrow 1950, 911], Samaritan Aram. nkr “knowledge, recognition”, √nkr ʔpʕl “to recognize”, ʔkkrw “recognition” [Tal 2000, 527], JPAr̄am. √nkr “to recognize” [Sokoloff 1990, 351] | Ar. nakr- “2. finesse d’esprit, esprit fin ét délié, 3. astuce rus” [BK II 1340], Yemeni Ar. √nkr X “to wonder at”, tankīr- “insight, understanding” [Piamenta 1990, 497], Dathina √nkr I “regarder fixement, scharf blicken” [GD 2819-20] || Hrs. ankōr “to feel, realize” [Jns. 1977, 96], Jbl. nēkār “to catch on, comprehend”, enūkur “to recognise”, enkēr “to realise, recognise”, nūtkur “to suspect sg. bad (about s’one)” [Jns. 1981, 188], Mhr. nīkār “to understand what s’one means, catch on”, hānkūr “to feel (as if), realise, understand, feel (pain)” [Jns. 1987, 295] ||| Eg. nk3 “überlegen, an etwas denken” (MK-, WB II 345, 13-14) = nk3j (IVae inf.) “to meditate on, think about, take counsel” (FD 141 pace Grd. 1909, 115) = “to consider” (DCT 250)<sup>30</sup>. The Eg.-Sem. comparison was observed independently by Th. Schneider (1993, 79) also.

**1020. AA \*√nk** “1. to be wet, 2. moisten” > Sem. \*nkʕ [root ext. -ʕ]: Ar. √nqʕ I: naqaʕa “1. tremper et macérer un médicament dans l’eau”, IV “1. macérer etc.”, nāqiʕ- “1. qui pénètre et s’infiltré dans le sang (poison, venin)” [BK II 1329-1330] = √nqʕ II “détremper, délayer dans une liqueur, infuser, faire tremper, macérer dans un liquide”, VIII “baigner, tremper, être dans qqch. de liquide, s’imbiber” [Dozy II

29. J. Osing’s (NBÄ 211; 2001, 574) dilettantic suggestion (Eg. nkt < ktt “small” via an n- prefix of obscure meaning) is out of question. Earlier I (EDE I 217) I was disposed to see in Eg. nk.t an original fem. (later fossilizing its fem. -t as part of the root), which was suggested already by W. Vycichl (DELIC 141).

30. In Eg. linguistics (Feichtner 1932, 222; Derchain-Urtel 1973, 51), this verb has been usually rendered as an n- prefix derivative of Eg. k3j “denken, beabsichtigen”, which, however, does not necessarily exclude a comparison with Sem. \*nkr. O. Stolbova (2005, 230, #82) equated Eg. nk3 with WCh.: Montol nanakie “to think” [Ftp.], but the underlying root in the latter one must be just \*kʕe.

715)<sup>31</sup> || Eg. nq.wt “Feuchtigkeit” (Med., Wb II 343, 17) = “moisture” (Breasted 1930, 497; FD 141)<sup>32</sup>, cf. LEg. nqq “Wasser” (GR, Osing 1998, 91) || PAgaw \*ənq-at- “to bathe” [Ehret] || ECu. \*noḳ- “to flow” [Ehret]: Yaaku (Mogogodo) nogoi “river” [Grb. 1963, 36, #142] = nḳḳi, pl. nḳḳiyá (m) “river” [Heine 1975, 132] (Cu.: Ehret 1987, 108, #460) || Om. \*noḳ- “water, river” [OS]. The Om.-Eg. etymology is due to HSED #1881.

**1021. AA \*√nḳ** “1. to hit, 2. kill” > Common Brb. \*√ny<sup>33</sup> “to kill” [GT] = “destruction” [Chaker 1973-79, 300], cf., e.g., NBrb.: Sus ney, nuy “tuer” [Lst. 1921, 295] | Mzg. ney “1. tuer, faire mourir, 2. faire souffrir, mal, 3. accabler, exténuer, tourmenter, fatiguer, assommer” [Tf. 1991, 478], Izdeg ney “assassiner, nuire, tuer” [Mrc. 1937, 25, 177, 256], Zayan & Sgugu ɛ-ny “1. tuer, mettre à mort, 2. faire souffrir qqn., faire mal à qqn. (partie du corps)”, ti-nyi “1. douleur, 2. dommage, préjudice” [Lbg. 1924, 574-5] | Mzab nəy “tuer, faire beaucoup souffrir, éteindre” [Dlh. 1984, 138], Wargla nəy “tuer, assassiner, au fig. accabler” [Dlh. 1987, 222] | Qabyle ney “tuer, faire mourir” [Dlt. 1982, 567], Nefusa á-nay “uccidere” [Bgn. 1931, 274] || EBrb.: Siwa e-ny “tuer” [Mtl. 1904, 166] = ə-ny “tuer” [Lst. 1931, 306], Sokna ö-ny “uccidere” [Srn. 1924-24, 26] || WBrb.: Zenaga ẽ-ni “tuer, déchirer” [Bst. 1909, 248] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ǎ-nyu, Ayr var. ə-nyu “tuer” [PAM 2003, 605], Ghat e-ny “tuer” [Nhl. 1909, 212], Tudalt and Tadghaq ǎ-ny (imper.) “to hit, smite, kill” [Sudlow 2001, 152] (Brb.: Bst. 1883, 328; 1885, 196; 1887, 429; 1890, 323; Wölfel 1955, 121, #1) || HECu. \*naḳ- “to hit” [Hds.]: Burji naḳ- “to beat, hit hardly” [Sasse 1982, 152]<sup>34</sup> = naḳ “to knock, hit” [Hds. 1989, 87], Kambatta naḳ- “to hit (with fist)” [Hds.], Sidamo naḳ- “to drive into, infect” [Gsp.] (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 80) || WCh.: Buli niḡu “to kill” [Krf. 1981, #355] || ECh.: WDangla nak “idéophone de /dɛ:/ tuer, /gáàsè/ finir complètement” [Fédry 1971, 215].

**1022. AA \*√nḳ** “to r(a)ise” > Sem.: Ar. nīq-, pl. niyāq- ~ nuyūq- ~ ʔanyāq- “sommets d’une montagne” [BK II 1370] || SCu. \*niḳ- “to lift, raise” [Ehret]: Iraqw nuq-m-is- “to pick up” | Dahalo niḳḳ-id- “to raise the eyebrows” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 185, #15).

**1023. AA \*√nḳ** “to avoid, refuse” > ECu.: Yaaku -naq- (tr.) “to refuse” [Heine 1975, 132] || PCh. \*√(n)kw/y “refuser” [Brt.-Jng.] = \*√nK(y) [GT] > WCh.: Pero náakò “to avoid” [Frj. 1985, 43] | NBauchi \*ngya “refuser” [GT] > Dera ḡgyê, Geji nge, Miya n,a- (NBauchi: Skn. apud Brt.-Jng.) | Guruntum nga “refuser, empêcher” [Brt.-Jng.] = ngai “to refuse, prevent” [Jaggar 1989, 187] || CCh.: Kilba áḡgé-ř “refuser” [Krf.] (Ch.: Brt.-Jng. 1990, 76, 183). Areal parallel: NS \*nàk<sup>h</sup> “to reject” [Ehret 2001, 313, #251].

31. Note that Geez naqʿa “to flow, pour out, gush out, spring up” (cf. also Tigre nāqʿa “to ooze out, burst asunder, flow”) is merely a derived secondary sense of “to be split, burst, rupture, be cleft, be slashed, burst forth, have cracks, become torn” [Lsl. 1987, 399], which is why one has to decline O. Stolbova’s (2005, 230, #81) suggestion to compare it with ECh.: Dangla nyoke “to rain”.

32. Compared by several authors (Orel 1995, 108, #124; HSED #1881; Sts. et al. 1995 MS, 33; Hodge 1997, 212) with Sem. \*nḳy “to pour” [AHW 744]. A. Dolgopolsky (1983, 136), in turn, assumed in the Eg. word a prefix n- and combined it with ECu. \*ḳoyy- “wet” [Black 1974, 198; Sasse 1979, 49].

33. Alternatively, the Brb. root might be equated with Ar. naḡaʿa “2. égorger un animal en portant le couteau au haut du cou, presque au haut de la colonne vertébrale, 3. (en gén.) tuer, mettre à mort, anéantir” [BK II 1222]. D.J. Wölfel (1955, 121, #1) combined the Brb. root with Eg. ng “töten”, nkʿ (sic) “verwunden” (sic), and nk (sic) “schlagen”. A.R. Bomhard (1986, 254) compared it with a certain Eg. nk.

34. Surprisingly, H.-J. Sasse (l.c.) explained the Burji verb from his ECu. \*naḳ- “to put down, turn”.

**1024. AA \*√nk** “to fill” > SCu.: Iraqw -niāq- “to fill” [Wtl. 1958, 93] = niq- [Ehret] = nōq “to fill” [Mgw. 1989, 116] = nīq [MQK 2002, 78; KM 2004, 218]<sup>35</sup> ||| CCh.: Hitkala ndəγ- (-gh-) [nd- < \*n-?]<sup>36</sup> “füllen” [Lks. 1964, 108] | Glavda rəγ- (-gh-) and Chena dial. ɛrɣè (-gh-) [-r- < \*n-] “füllen” [Wolff 1974-75, 205].

**1025. AA \*√nñ** “1. to be sweet, 2. delicate (?)” > Sem.: (?) Ar. √nyq V: tanayyaqa “être recherché dans sa mise et difficile dans le choix des mets” [BK II 1376] ||| SCu.: Iraqw nūqnuq “sweetness” [Wtl. 1958, 93] = nuqnuq “sweetness” [Ehret 1980, 186, #19] = nuqñūq “sweet” [Mgw. 1989, 116] = nuqunūq “sweet, good (of taste)” [MQK 2002, 79], Burunge nuqu “sweet” [Ehret]<sup>37</sup> ||| CCh.: Mofu-Gudur nanákw nanákw, nenékw nenékw “sucré” [Br. 1988, 200] | Daba nínèk “bon” [LG 1975, 100].

**1026. AA \*√nkf** “to hurt” > Sem.: Hbr. nqp piel “1. niederschlagen, umhauen (das Dickicht eines Waldes), 2. Haut abreißen” [GB 521], MHbr. nqf qal “stoßen, schlagen”, neqep “Schlag, Verwundung” [Dalman 1922, 277] = nqp qal “to bring in close contact, strike against, wound” [Jastrow 1950, 934], Samaritan Aram. √nqp “stroke”, ʔpʕl “to strike”, nqwp “pointed” [Tal 2000, 548], JPAr. √nqp “1. stechen, verwunden, stoßen, schlagen” [Levy 1924 III 440], Syr. nūqāpā “striking” [Lsl.] | Ar. √nqf I “1. casser une chose à tel point qu’on voit ce qui est en dedans (p.ex. fracasser la tête, le crâne jusqu’à mettre à nu la cervelle), 2. casser, briser, fendre (p.ex. de l’oiseau qui casse ses oeufs) etc.” [BK II 1331] = I “donner une chiquenade à qqn., lancer contre lui une petite pierre avec les doigts” [Dozy II 716] = I “(fra)casser, fendre” [GD] = I “to break, split” [Lsl.], Dathina nqf “arracher, faire des incisions, tailler (des pierres)” [GD 2639] ||| Sqt. néqof “racler”, neqáuf “travailler une matière, enlever, racler” [Lsl.] ||| Geez naqafa “enlever l’écorce” [Lsl. pace Jahn] = “to defile, contaminate, blemish, blame, rebut (testimony), stain, spot separate, reject” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1938, 275; 1987, 399) ||| Eg. nqf “beschädigen, wegnehmen” (late XVIII. or early XIX.: Mag. Pap. Budapest 51.1961, Kákosy 1971, 163, n. i) = “meurtrir” (AL 78.2253)<sup>38</sup> ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-nkəf “heurter (avec le pied contre, du pied), se heurter à/contre” [PAM 2003, 610].

**1027. AA \*√nkʒ** “to be angry” > Sem.: Jbl. √nkq: nəkq “to get annoyed at (l-) s’one but express o’self gently”, ʒénikəḏ “to get angry at s’one” [Jns. 1981, 190] ||| Eg. \*nqz (unattested) > Cpt. (SLF) NOU[c, (S) Naake, (A) NOUkc, Nakc<sup>+</sup>, (L) NaSc<sup>+</sup> “to be, make wrath” (CD 252b) = “erbittert sein, zürnen, verärgert sein, Anstoß nehmen” (KHW 122, 138, 526) = “être irrité, en colère” (DELIC 153), cf. (S) Na[ce “Zorn, Grimm” (KHW)<sup>39</sup>. A metathetic var. with AA \*-z- is attested in Sem. \*nz”, cf. Akk.

35. Ch. Ehret (1980, 327, #68) erroneously equated the Iraqw verb with LECu.: Oromo naq- “to pour, load (gun)”.

36. There can be found parallels in Hitkala for the shift of \*n- > nd-.

37. Ch. Ehret (190, 186, #19) combined the Iraqw-Burunge forms with Dahalo nūḵ- “to suck beer through a straw” to reconstruct a SCu. verbal root \*n/ñjūḵ- “to savor, sip”.

38. Borrowing from Sem. is excluded because of the -f.

39. The etymology of the Cpt. verb has been so far obscure and formed the a matter of great controversies: (1) G. Fecht (quoted in DELIC 153 and KHW 138 and fn. 8) explained it from a caus. Eg. s-qnd “mettre en colère” via \*sāqnad > \*sāqna > trilateral \*qānes > \*nāqes, which was rightly rejected in DELIC as a “développement phonétique fort compliqué” that does not explain why s-qnd yielded an intr. meaning. (2) J. Černý (CED 119) derived it from Eg. nsq “beißen, stechen” (cf. Wb II 336, 15-16) = “to bite (?), cut, prick, irritate” (CED), which, with its original \*-l-, could have hardly produced a metathetic Cpt. reflex suggesting an original \*n- in this same sense given Cpt. (S) lwkc “to bite, pierce, stab” (CED 71), which was rightly declined by W. Vycichl (DELIC 1.c.). (3) Elsewhere, Fecht (quoted in KHW 526) proposed a derivation from Eg. caus. snht “steif machen” (Wb IV 170, 7).

nazāqu “to worry, be upset” [CAD n2, 136] = nazāqu “sich ärgern, Kummer haben, knarren”, niziqtu “Ärger, Kummer” [AHW 772, 799] || Ar. nżq I “3. se mettre facilement en colère et se radoucir promptement”, III “2. assaillir qq. d’injures”, VI “se lancer réciproquement des injures” [BK II 1238-9] = I “sich erregen” [AHW] (Sem.: Frolova 2003, 95, §vi.3.1). It is not excluded either that the Cpt. verb suffered metathesis and should be directly compared with Sem. \*nzḳ.

**1028. AA \*√nḳs** “to diminish” > Sem.: Ar. naqa[a [< \*nqš via secondary assim.?] “1. diminuer, baisser, être en déchet, décroître, 2. amoindrir, réduire qqch.” [BK II 1326], Yemeni Ar. nāguṣ “minderwertig, minus”, nuḡsān “Mangel (scarcity), Fehler (defect)” [Deboo 1989, 195, 203] || Sgt. Nāqas “diminuer, manquer, perdre” [Lsl. 1938, 275] || Tigre nāqāsa “to be little, diminish”, Tna. nāqāsā “to lower the price” (ES: Lsl. 1982, 56) || NBrb.: Qabyle e-nḡes “diminuer, décroître, se réduire” [Dlt. 1982, 571], Zwawa e-nḡ'es “être diminué” [Blf. 1910, 214] || Bed. nekās ~ -š “klein, kurz sein, werden, sich verringern” [Rn. 1895, 183] = nakas ~ -š “short, small in stature”, nikwis “to be short, lacking” [Rpr. 1928, 224] = nakaš “to be short” [Hds. 1996 MS, 100] || LECu.: Saho naqas “weniger, geringer sein/werden” [Rn. 1890, 291] || ECh.: EDangla nāksiyē “diminuer, réduire, perdre des enfants, être dépossédé, perde, être vaincu” [DM 1973, 213].

**1029. AA \*√nḳʿ** “to split, crack” > Sem. \*nḳʿ: Hbr. nqʿ qal “sich abtrennen, entfremdet werden” [GB 521] = “to split, become separated” [Lsl.], MHbr. neqaʿ “Erdvertiefung, Erdritzen, Sprünge” [Levy 1924 III, 441], Syr. neqʿā “cave, hole” [Lsl.] | Ar. naqaʿa “7. tuer qqn., 12. égorger un chameau pour ses hôtes, 13. éclater contre qq. en injures”, IV “7. déflorer une fille”, ʿunqūʿ-at- “1. creux où les eaux affluent, 2. creux fait dans le tas de riz cuit où l’on met de la graisse” [BK II 1329-30], Yemeni Ar. naqaʿ I “to strike (sun), bore through, deflower”, II “to crack” [Piamenta 1990-1, 495] = nuḡʿ [-g- < \*-q-] “Riß (tear, gap)” [Deboo 1989, 203] || Geez √nqʿ “spalten” [Vrg.] = naqʿa “to split, burst, rupture, be cleft, slashed, burst forth, have cracks, become torn” [Lsl.], Amh. nāqqa “to crack, split, fracture, burst forth, etc.” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1969, 60; 1987, 399) || Eg. nqʿ “(das Herz) ausreißen” (BD, Wb II 343, 7) = “to tingle, prick, scrape, incise” (NE, DLE II 36) = “einritzen, aufreißen” (NBÄ 80 pace Keimer, Acta Orientalia 6, 1928, 288f.) = “ritzen” (KHW 524) = “picoter (les narines)” (Caminos, JEA 50, 1964, 82; Andreu-Cauville 1977, 9) = “schneiden” (WMT 485) = “ausreißen, beißen, prickeln” (WD I 114, II 80)<sup>40</sup>, hence nqʿ.wt ~ nq.w (pl.) “Schneiden als Schmerzen” (Med., WMT 485; NBÄ 80) = nqʿ.wt “stechende Schmerzen (piercing pains) (?)” (Wst. 1962, 18, §30.a.1; 1989, 75; Walker 1996, 99) = nq.w “eine Krankheitserschneinung” (Wb II 343, 16) and nqʿ.w (pl.) “ob: die ‘Wehen’ der Schwangeren (?)” (GR, Wb II 343, 14) > Cpt. (S) Naake, (B) nakhi, (A) nekhe “pains of travail” (CD 233a) = “Wehen, Schmerz” (KHW 121; NBÄ 543, n. 385) = “douleurs (de l’enfantement ou en général)” (Vrg. 1973 Ib, 31; DELC 142)<sup>41</sup> || Bed. nikʿ(a) “to crack (intr.), become cracked”, nekʿε (f) “crack” [Rpr. 1928, 223] = nīki (f)

40. W. Vycichl (DELC 95), followed by H. Satzinger (1994, 198), equated the Eg. root with Ar. √lqʿ “piquer (dit d’un serpent)”. A.F. Shore (1990, 165-166), in turn, concluded to regarding Eg. nqʿ as merely a var. (!) of Eg. nqr “(durch)sieben” (OK-, Wb II 344) reinterpreted by him as “1. (MK) to smash, harrow, 2. (Med.) pound or grind the materia medica with pestle and mortar” (hence Dem. nqr “to hammer, pound”) affiliated with Sem.: Akk. naqāru “to carve, eat away, scrape out, incise, scarify” and Hbr. √nqr “to dig”.

41. G. Sauneron (BIFAO 64, 1966, 8-9) and J. Černý (CED 107) derived the Cpt. word from Eg. \*nhq.t “movement of a woman which reveals whether she is pregnant or not” (cf. nhq in Wb II 288, 1), which was disproved by W. Westendorf (KHW 121, 524) and by J. Osing (NBÄ 882). For (B) -h- < \*-ʿ- cf. KHW 121, fn. 4 with further lit. and Peust 1999, 105.

“ground cracked and dry” [Hds. 1996 MS, 100]. The Eg.-Geez etymology is due to F. von Calice (GÄSW 68, #228) and J. Vergote (1945, 133, §3.c.8).

**1030. AA \*√nk** “to give” > NAgaw \*nak/h- “to give here, bring” [Apl. 1984, 36; 1989 MS, 16; 1991 MS, 6; 2005 MS, 18] ||| ECh.: EDangla nyááké “belohnen” [Ebs. 1979, 133; 1987, 77]. It is not yet clear whether and how SCu.: Asa-Aramanik nge “to give” [Flm. 1969, 13, #25] ||| NOm. \*ing- “to give” [GT]: Koyra Īng- [Bnd. 1971, 256] = iŋ [Flm. 1990, 27: < \*img, GT: < \*ing] = ?Inge [Sbr. 1994, 15], Baditu ing “dare” [CrI. 1938 III, 112], Zayse ĩnge- [Bnd. 1971, 264] = ?iŋ- [Hyw. MS n.d., 2] = ?iŋga [Sbr. 1994, 15], Gidicho Ing-'ga [Bnd. 1971, 256], Male Ing- [Bnd. 1971, 264] = ?iŋ- [Hyw. MS n.d., 2] = ?mge-ni “he gives it to me” [Sbr. 1994-5, 9, #76], Gofa ?iŋ- [Hyw. MS n.d., 2], Zergulla ĩnge- [Bnd. 1971, 257], Kachama ?inagon [Sbr. 1994, 15], Oyda In'g- [Bnd. 1971, 254], Dorze Ing- [Bnd. 1971, 257] ||| SOm.: Karo inkara “to give” [Bnd. 1971, 264], Ari Imka “to give” [Bnd. 1971, 263] ||| CCh.: Higi ŋge “to give” [Mrl. 1972, 99], Higi-Baza ngù-ndō “donner” [Krf. apud Brt.-Jng. 1990, 81], Higi-Bana ŋá “donner une partie de qqch. qu'il faut casser” [Brt.-Jng. 1990, 151] are connected. The first syllable common in the SCu.-Om.-CCh. parallels may well reflect a lost first radical (a laryngeal or pharyngeal?), cf. also Eg. ḥnk “(be)schenken” (PT-, Wb III 117-8).

**1031. AA \*√nk** “to be bad” > ECu.: Dirayta in-nayḳ- [ʔin-naʔg] and Bussa nayḳayča [najḡáʕa] “bad” [Wdk.-Tanabaa-Cheru 1994, 7, #257] ||| ECh.: WDangla nígé “abîmer, détériorer, gaspiller” [Fdr. 1971, 218], Migama ñngò “rendre mauvais, gâter, abîmer”, ñàngò “devenir mauvais, tomber en panne, se gâter, s'abîmer” [JA 1992, 109].

**1032. AA \*√nkb** “to be dry” > Sem. \*ngb “to be dry” [Lsl.]: Hbr. negeb “1. ausgetrocknetes, dürres Land, 2. Süd” [GB 481-2], Aram. ngb “dessécher” [Lsl.], Maʕlula nkb “trocken, hart, reif (Getreide), mager sein, trocknen” [Bergsträsser 1921, 63-64] ||| Sqt. ngb “sécher” [Lsl.] ||| Geez nagaba “1. to be dry, destroyed, 2. make burn, set fire to” [Lsl. 1987, 390] (Sem.: Lsl. 1938, 255-6) ||| Eg. nṭb [from \*nkb] “verzehren (Brennen)” (CT VI 270e, Osing 1976, 88) = “vb de sens inconnu: dessécher, brûler (?)” (AL 78.2281)<sup>42</sup> < nṭb “dessécher (ou sim.)” (PT 396c, Meeks 2005, 248) > Cpt. (O) NTBe-”auf-, verzehren (Feuer, Flamme)” (Osing 1976, 88; KHW 524).

**1033. AA \*√ng** “to complain” > Sem.: Akk. √nh̄y D: nuḥḥū<sup>43</sup> “(im Kult eine Art von) klagen (im Gebet, die in Ritualen allerdings bisher nicht nachweisbar ist)” [von Soden 1955, 389] = “to lament” [CAD n<sub>2</sub> 134] ||| MSA: Mehri √nh̄y: nḥau “er klagte”, d-enôḥī “indem ich klagte” [Bittner 1915, 39, #34, not apud Jahn] ||| Eg. nh̄j “klagen” (MK, Wb II 305, 11)<sup>44</sup> ||| SBrb.: perhaps EWlmd.-Ayr √nkk: u-nkak “sangloter” [PAM 2003, 610] ||| ECh.: Somray nyāḡānī (f) “deuil” [Jng. 1993 MS, 49] | Mubi nègín (m) “deuil” [Jng. 1990 MS, 36].

42. Alternatively, D. Meeks (AL l.c.) suggested the translation “maintenir à distance (par l'effet de la chaleur)”, which, interestingly, would fit a comparison with Ar. nakaba “1. dévier, s'écarter du chemin” [BK II 1336].

43. CAD l.c. suggests to read rather nuʔʔū.

44. Usually compared with Akk. anāḥu “to sigh”, cf. Albright 1918, 234, #57; ESS §11.a.30; Leslau 1962, 46, #15; Castellino 1984, 16. Rightly doubted by F. von Calice (GÄSW 165, #670) as “*bedenklich*”. O. Rössler's (1971, 299) comparison with Ar. √nʕy I “den Tod verkünden” was correctly rejected by J. Osing (1997, 228, fn. 28) as “*baseless*”.

**1034. AA \*√ng** “child” > Sem.: (?) Akk. *naḥtu* “1. fledgling, bird”, *niḥtu* “fledgling (?)” [CAD n<sub>1</sub> 142] ||| Eg. *nḥḥ* “Knabe, Jüngling” (PT, Wb II 313, 6-7), cf. *nḥḥ* “neu geboren werden” (GR, Wb II 313, 4-5) ||| NBrb.: (?) Shilh *a-nugu*, pl. *i-nuga* [unless < \*√nbg] “Bock” [Ksm. 1999 MS, 6] ||| LECu.: Rendille *nyáḥut* (pl. of *wel*) “Kinder” [Schlee 1978, 143, #832] | Arbore *nág* (m) “boy”, *nāg* (f) “girl” [Hyw. 1984, 386], Elmolo *nāk* “child” [Heine 1980, 208] = *nāk* [\*-g] “Kind, kleines Mädchen” [Lmb. 1993, 365-6; LS 1997, 481-2] || SCu.: Ma'a *ka-nyaḥe* “baby” [Ehret 1974 MS, 49] ||| NOm.: Sheko *ñaku* “young” [Flm. 1972 MS, 9].

**1035. AA \*√ng** “to be alive” > Sem.: Ar. *√nhw* II “animer, stimuler, aiguillonner le courage, exciter au combat” [Dozy II 650], Dathina *√nhj* “exciter, zum Kampf auffordern” [GD 2755] ||| Eg. *nḥj* “vom Andauern des Namens” (PT 1881a, Wb II 306, 1) = “bleiben, dauern” (ÜKAPT VI 142) = “andauern” (Fecht 1960, 193, fn. 543) = “to survive (?)” (Allen 1984, 570) = “(in Zshg. mit Fortdauern des Namens)” (GHWb 425), cf. *nḥḥ* “(parallel zu *ḥnh* von Personen und vom Namen)” (PT 1477d<sup>p</sup>, BD, Wb II 313, 2) = “prosperer” (Piehl 1898, 321-2) = “dauernd gehören, zu eigen sein, sich zu eigen geben” (ÜKAPT VI 142) = “lange leben” (Fecht) = *nḥjhj* (not *Ilae* gem.) “to endure, survive” (Allen 1984, 586) ||| SBrb.: (?) EWlmd.-Ayr *a-nga* “valeur nutritive (d’un aliment)” [PAM 2003, 598] ||| ECu. *\*nagay-* “peace, health” [Sasse 1982, 152] ||| CCh.: Bura *ngga* “in health” [BED 1953, 154] = *ngga* “gesund” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 93] | Bata *ngá* “surviving ...” [Pweddson 2000, 62] | Logone *ngá(á)* “Gesundheit, gesund” [Lks. 1936, 114], Buduma *ngaa* “gesund, wohl” [Lks. 1939, 121], Gulfei *nga* “lebendig” [Lks. 1937, 150] | Pus *nga* (invar.) “en bonne santé” [Trn. 1991, 109] ||| ECh.: Sokoro *nga* “lebendig” [Lks. 1937, 37].

**1036. AA \*√ng<sup>45</sup>** “to watch” > NOm.: Wolayta *nag-* ~ *nang-* “to wait”, Gofa, Chara *nag-* “to look after, wait”, Gamu, Dache *nang-* “to wait” (NOm.: LS 1997, 486-7) ||| SOM.: Dime *ng-* “to see” [Bnd. 1994, 157: isolated in SOM.] = *ángo* “to see, look at” [Bnd. 1996 MS, 2, #69] ||| PCh. *\*√ng* “to see” [JS 1981, 219A] = *\*√ngn<sup>46</sup>* “to see” [JI 1994 I 145] = *\*noqa* “to see” [Stl. 1996, 84] = *\*nVk/γ-* ~ *\*núγ-* “to watch, observe, look” [Stl. 2005, 120] vs. *\*nVg/γ-* “to wait for” [Stl. 2005, 59, §2.1.3]: WCh.: Galambu *nyíngá* “sehen” [Alio 1988 MS], Pero *níngò* “to look at” [Frj. 1985, 43] | Watji *náhã* “sehen” [IL] = *nah-* [Skn.], Kariya *nāhē* “sehen” [Skn.], Mburku *nay-* “sehen” [Skn.] | Bubbure *néekò* “to look at” [Haruna 1992 MS, #f093] ||| CCh.: Fali-Bwagira *ngu-n*, Fali-Muchella *nuṅga*, Fali-Gili *nàki* “voir” (Bata gr.: Krf. 1972 MS) | Gude *nəhə* ~ *nəngə* “to watch, look after, take care of, stand guard over” [Hsk. 1983, 246] | Lamang (Hitkala) *ny-* (ngh-) “sehen” [Lks.] = *nya*, *nyá* “surveiller, garder, regarder” [Egc. 1971, 222] = *nəγ-a* (-gh-) “sehen” [Wolff 1972, 198] | Dghwede *nyínè* (ngh-) ~ *nya* (ngha) “sehen” [Frick apud JI] = *négà* “to see” [Frick 1976 MS, 2, #41] = *nəhénè* (-x-) [IL], Glavda *nay-* (nagh-) “to see, perceive, be aware of” [RB 1968] | Mofu-Gudur *ḥnək-* “regarder, voir, examiner” [Brt. 1988, 200] | Kotoko-Logone *ngwa* “sehen”, *ngu-lí* ~ *ngo-li* “(hinein)sehen”, *ngo-há* “aufwachen, wach sein” [Nct. apud Lks. 1936, 114] = *gwa* [Mch.] = *ʔəngə* “voir”, *ngɣ* “vois” [Bouny 1978, 109] ||| ECh.: Bidiya *nák* “surveiller, observer” [AJ 1989, 101] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 284-5; Stl. 1996, 84; 2005, 119, #429 and 120, #429a).

**1037. AA \*√ngp** “to breathe” > Sem.: Ar. *√nhf* I: *naḥafa* “1. faire sortir l’air par le nez, comme si l’on éternuait, ou comme si l’on voulait jeter les glaires, 2. aspirer l’air par le nez”, IV “renifler, répéter souvent le *naḥf-*” [BK II 1222] ||| NBrb.: Mzg. *√ngf*: *ngef* ~ /→ *nyef* “perdre halaine, être essoufflé, haleter,

45. The Chadic reflexes suggest a (voiced?) postvelar instead of a velar stop. Nevertheless, Ch. Ehret (1995, 317, #612) reconstructed AA *\*-ne/ag-* “to watch” comparing the Chadic root (adopting *\*√ng* of JS) with Sem.: Ar. *√nǧt* and *√nǧš* “to examine, test, investigate” and LECu.: Somali *neg* “to be still, unmoving, calm”, which are, however, not to be compared.

46. The third *\*-n* is baseless.

être oppressé”, a-ngaf, pl. i-ngaf-n “1. essoufflement, halètement, 2. perte d’haleine, 3. respiration difficile, 4. asthme” [Tf. 1991, 475].

**1038. AA \*√ngc** “to diminish” > Sem.: Akk. (O-MBab.) naḥsu ~ naḥḥasu “(sehr) dünn, schmal” [AHW 715] || Ar. naḥisa “1. diminuer, être en déchet (se dit des chairs de celui qui maigrit)”, cf. naḥša ~ naḥša I “7. maigrir, devenir maigre” [BK II 1221] || NBrb.: Tamazight √ngz: nnegza [z < \*c reg.] “1. être interrompu (prématurément), avorter (affaire), échouer, être inachevé, 2. manquer, 3. être insuffisant” [Tf. 1991, 477]<sup>47</sup>.

**1039. AA \*√ngc** “to torment” > Sem.: Ar. naḥasa “3. tourmenter, causer de la peine, du mal à qqn.” [BK II 1221] || NBrb.: Mzg. √ngz: ngez “1. faire mal, faire souffrir, élaner (douleur vive), 2. souffrir, ressentir, éprouver”, a-ngaz, pl. i-ngaz-n “douleur, souffrance, élancement, peine” [Tf. 1991, 477]. Borrowing excluded for phonological reasons.

**1040. AA \*√ngc** “to be small” > Sem.: Ar. naḥša “être maigre et décharné par suite de la vieillesse”, naḥša “diminuer, être en déchet (se dit des chairs chez une personne maigre)” [BK II 1221-2] || NBrb.: Qabyle √ngz: a-ngāz “misère, dénuement” [Dlt. 1982, 557] || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur nekəḏey “un peu, peu de temps (après)”, nekəḏey nekəḏey “1. lentement, 2. un peu tout petit peu” [Brt. 1988, 200], Zulgo (Zelgwa) nikīḏ “to diminish” [Brt. 1995, 202] || ECh.: Dormo nagad-éng (-Vng ending, -d error for -ḏ?) “wenig” [Lks. 1937, 91] | EDangla nyókóḏí “tout petit, minuscule, nain, menu” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 224]. Eventually related (as var.) to AA \*√nkš supra.

**1041. AA \*√ngc** “to travel far away” > Sem.: Ar. √nh VIII “2. être jeté loin des siens, de son pays” [BK II 1222] || NBrb.: Mzg. i-nigi ~ i-niyi, pl. i-nig-an “1. voyageur, 2. individu qui quitte son pays pour une longue durée” [Tf. 1991, 475]. Borrowing excluded for phonological reasons.

**1042. AA \*√ngn** “child” > Eg. nḥn “Kind” (PT-, Wb II 311) = “(überwiegend für) das Kleinkind, (doch gelegentlich) auch für ältere Knaben verwendet” (Feucht, LÄ III 430)<sup>48</sup> || LECu.: Dasenech (Galab) niḡēn “young man” [Sasse 1974, 419] = niḡéḡn (coll.f) “boy, male adolescent” [Tosco 2001, 522] || ECh.: Bidiya niḡó (m), nēḡó (f) [met. < \*nign-?] “bébé” [AJ 1989, 102]. Derives from AA \*n-g “child” supra.

**1043. AA \*√ngl** “to bend” > Eg. nḥ3 “gewunden” (PT, ÜKAPT II 44; AÄG 202, §452, cf. contra Altenmüller 1966, 88, 92) > nḥ3 “recurved, winding” (CT VII 458, Lesko 1972, 14, 128) “gewunden, krumm” (Bidoli 1976, 42) = “winding” (AECT III 166) = “pendulous, winding” (DCT 240), hence nḥ3.w (pl.) “those who are twisted” (CT VII 338b, Lesko 1972, 78) || NOm.: Yemsa ʔēḡḡalá “crooked” [Bnd. 2003, 339] || WCh.: Ngamo ngol-ḏ- “to bend sg.” [Ibr. 2003 MS, 6].

47. Hardly a borrowing from Ar. naḡaza “1. accomplir, exécuter, mener à bonne fin, achever etc.” [BK II 1203].

48. G. Thausing (1941, 28), followed by Ch. Cannuyer (1983, 26), Ch. Reintges (1994, 224), derived it from a hypothetical Eg. \*√h carrying the “Grundidee des Werdens” (Thausing) = “to be an infant” (Reintges), cf. Eg. \*ḥ “placenta (?)”, ḥj “child”. The external etymology of Eg. nḥn has also been debated: (1) Albright 1918, 235, #58; ESS §11.b.13; GÄSW #572 (with right doubts): ~ Akk. lāḥu “shoot, sprout” [Alb.] = “junger Sproß” [AHW 528] (borrowed from Can. \*lah!); (2) Rössler 1971, 299: ~ Ug.-Hbr. √nʕr “Knabe, Knecht” [WUS #1808]; (3) OS 1992, 169; 1992, 184; HSED #1180: ~ Cu.-Om. \*naʔ- “child” || WCh. \*hinan- “child”.



**1044. AA \*√nq̄** “saliva” > Sem. \*naḥ- “mucus (membrane)” [SED I 176, #197] = \*nVḥ- “слизь, сопля, мокрота” [Kogan-Mlt. 2002, 151, #10]: Akk. (NAss.) naḥnaḥatu “Nasenscheidewand” [AHW 715] = “cartilage” [CAD n<sub>1</sub> 140] || Syr. naḥnaḥtā “tonsillae” [Brk. 1928, 413] | Ar. nuḥm-at- ~ nuḥām-at- [root ext. -m] “ce que l’on jette par la bouche ou par le nez, comme pituite, glaire, etc.” [BK II 1223] || Jbl. nḥḥ “phlegm” [Jns. 1981, 199], Mhr. nəḥyōḳ “phlegm” [Jns. 1987, 308] || Geez naḥā’ ~ na’ah “phlegm” [Lsl. 1987, 396] || Eg. nḥ “Speichel” (PT, Wb II 318, 14-15) || WCh.: NBauchi \*nəḳ- “saliva” [GT]: Warji nənīki-na ~ nənāki, Kariya nənāki, Miya nīnāki, Siri nīki, Mburku nānəḳə etc. (NBch.: Skn. in JI 1994 II 278) | Ngizim nāwək “saliva” [Schuh 1981, 123] || CCh.: Tera jaḥa “saliva” [Nwm. 1964, 39, #108] | Mandara neḥe [Mch.] | Paduko ərhə [-r- < \*-n-] “salive/cracher” [Mch.] | Muzuk te-neḳ “salive/cracher” [Mch.] etc. (CCh.: Mch. 1950, 37; Ch.: JI 1994 II 279). For the Eg.-Mandara etymology see already Grb. 1963, 61, #61 and HSED #1856. The Ch.-Eg. comparison was independently described by O. Stolbova (2005, 102, #350).

**1045. AA \*√nh̄** > \*√nyḥ ~ \*√nwḥ “to mount” > Sem.: Geez nwḥ “to be high, tall, long, lofty, of long duration, distant, extended, be far off, stretched out, repose, longer”, nuḥ “length, height, tallness, extent”, nawwāḥ “long, high, elevated, tall, lofty, extended, extensive, far away/off, distant” [Lsl. 1987, 409]<sup>49</sup> || PBrb. \*√nk (hence NBrb. \*√ny) “to mount” [GT] > NBrb.: Mzg. nek > ney “monter (sur un animal, dans un véhicule), enfourcher, s’embarquer”, ta-naka ~ ta-naša, pl. ti-niki-win “action de monter, d’enfourcher, equitation” [Tf. 1991, 485-6, 509-10], Zayan-Sgugu nī “monter à cheval”, ta-naḳa “équitation” [Lbg. 1924, 577] | Nefusa é-nni “montare (su una cavalcatura, carrozza)” [Bgn. 1931, 275] || WBrb.: Zenaga i-nag “monter (sur une bête)” [Msq. 1879, 520] = neg ~ nek “monter à cheval” [Bst. 1890, 250] = ta-nək-t “montée, action de monter (sur un animal)” [Ncl. 1953, 232] || NAgaw: Kemant nakā “s’éveiller” [CR 1912, 237] || PCh. \*nük- “to rise, mount” [Stl.] > WCh.: Goemay niak (pl. of niang) [unless -k is pl. marker] “2. surpass, be above” [Srl. 1937, 159] || CCh.: Muḥgu niake “steigen” [Lks. 1941, 71] || ECh.: Sarwa nākā “monter” [Jng. 1990 MS, 9, #164] | Mubi-Toram \*nāk- “to mount” [GT] > Mubi naak “aufgehen (Sonne)” [Lks. 1937, 184] = nāgég (nak, nūwāak), pl. nāwāgég (nēwīk, nūwāak) “monter” [Jng. 1990 MS, 35], Masmaje nākū “monter” [Alio 2004, 283, #136] (Ch.: Stl. 2005, 126, #462). The Geez-Ch. comparison is due to Stolbova (l.c. and 2005, 59, #2.1.2). Cf. AA \*n-g and \*n-ḳ.

**1046. AA \*√nh̄** “to be pleased” > Eg. nḥnh̄ “(vom Herzen) sich freuen” (PT, Wb II 312, 11; GHWb 427)<sup>50</sup> || Sem.: MSA \*√nh̄w: Harsusi nḥō “to be glad (for s’one)” [Jns. 1977, 99], Mehri nəḥū “to relax”, hənḥū “to be happy” [Jns. 1987, 309] || SCu.: perhaps WRift \*ʔānh̄ “to be satiated” [KM 2004, 58].

**1047. AA \*√nh̄** “fat, thick” > Sem. \*√nh̄ḥ:<sup>51</sup> Akk. (OAss.-) nāḥu ~ nuḥḥu “lard” [CAD n<sub>1</sub> 142, n<sub>2</sub> 317] = “(Schweine)-Schmalz” [AHW 715] || (?) Ar. nuḥḥ-, naḥāḥ-at- “moelle” [BK II 1219]<sup>52</sup> || WCh.: Angas-Sura \*nək (from \*nuk or \*nik?) “thickness of a fluid” [GT 2004, 268]<sup>53</sup>.

49. W. Leslau (l.c.) presented no convincing Sem. etymology. His derivation from Sem. \*√nwḥ “to rest” is semantically unconvincing.

50. Rendered by T.G. Allen (1984, 578) as “to beat rapidly (?)”, although it is used parallel to ḥʕj “to rejoice”.

51. The authors of SED I 176, #197 (L. Kogan and A. Militarev) wondered if this Sem. root can be compared with Sem. \*naḥ- “mucus (membrane) with a meaning shift phlegm” → “a viscid substance” on the analogy of OHbr. ḥēleb “fat” vs. JArām. ḥēleb “a viscous substance, glair” < Sem. \*ḥilb- “fatty tissue covering interior organs, caul”.

52. Unless a secondary var. of Ar. muḥḥ- “moelle” as suggested in BK l.c.

**1048. AA \*√nh** “to be soft” > Sem.: Ar. *nhġ* (root ext. \*-g) *naḥaġa* V “être mou, tendre au toucher” [BK II 1220] ||| Bed. *nʔakw* “to be soft, fine, tender”, *nʔakw ~ nʔaukw* (m) “softness” [Roper 1928, 224].

**1049. AA \*√nhb ~ \*√ngb** (with met. also) “to sprout” > Sem.: JAram. *nabgā* “eig. was hervorsproßt, daher: Trieb, Sproß, Zweig” < *nəbag* “hervorgehen, hervorquellen” [Levy 1924 III 325], Mandaean *√ngb* “to sprout (up), surge up, spring upwards, emerge”, *nigba* “plant, shoot, sprout, offshoot” vs. *√nbg* “to r(a)ise, spring up, sprout, break out, well up, surge upwards” [Drower-Macuch 1963, 287-8, 296] | Ar. *√ngb* I “prosperari (in frugibus), réussir bien (arbre)”, II “prosperari”, IV “enfantier, engendrer, produire, (absolument) être productif” [Dozy II 640] ||| Eg. *nhb* “Sproß (?)” (PT 322b, ÜKAPT VI 143) > “Lotusblüte: 1. eig. als Blume zu Sträuben als Gabe für die Götter, 2. von der Blume, aus welcher der Sonnengott entstand” (end of NK-GR, Wb II 307), *nhb.t* “Knospung (eine Personifikation)” (GHwB 1217) = “germination (?), vegetation (?)” (DCT 240)<sup>54</sup> ||| SBrb.: *Ayr ə-nbəy* “1. sortir de, 2. pousser, germer (plante), produire des fleurs, fleurir (plante)” [PAM 2003, 583].

**1050. AA \*√nq** “to emit fluid, flow/pour out” > Sem.: Ar. *√nhʕ* (root ext. -ʕ?) I: *naḥiʕa* “être en sève (se dit du bois des arbres au printemps)”, V “1. jeter la pituite, 2. vomir, 3. de là: donner de la pluie (se dit des nuages)”, VIII “1. donner, verser de la pluie (nuage)” [BK II 1222] ||| Eg. *nhh* “(Verbum vom Ergießen des Samens?)” (GR, Wb II 314, 4, cf. WD II 79 for further lit.) = “féconder” (RdE 15, 60, n. c) ||| NBrb.: *Shilh ngi* “couler, déborder”, *a-ngi*, pl. *i-ngi-an* “crue, flot, débordement, inondation” [Jordan 1934, 36, 96] = *ngi* “to run, wander, rush” [Aplg. 1958, 62], *Zrwl. ngi* “groß werden (Fluß), überfließen, dahinströmen” [Stumme 1899, 212], *Sus ngi* “couler, déborder (rivière)” [Lst. 1921, 295] | Mzg. *√ngy*: *ngey, ngi-ngey, neggey* “être en crue (cours d’eau), déborder, se répandre par dessus bord”, *a-ngi* > *a-nyi*, pl. *i-ng-an* “1. crue (d’un cours d’eau), 2. inondation, eau de pluie qui envahit la tente lors d’une forte averse” [Tf. 1991, 475, 477] || SBrb.: *EWlmd.-Ayr ə-ngəy* “ruisseler, couler (eau etc.)” [PAM 2003, 602], *Tudalt and Tadghaq ə-nġəy* (imper.) “to flow”, *a-nġi*, pl. *i-nġi-t-an* “flood, flow” [Sudlow 2001, 133, 306] ||| LECu.: *Oromo naqō* “ejaculation”, *nannaqa* [< \*naqnaq-] “1. pouring out, 2. ejaculation”, *nannaqī* “rain that comes down for a long time”, *nannaqū* “1. to pour out repeatedly, 2. ejaculate” [Btm. 2000, 208] ||| CCh.: *Uldeme nēk nēk* “tomber goutte à goutte, pleuvoir un peu” [CIm. 1997, 209] || ECh.: *Mokilko ʔəŋké*<sup>55</sup> “1. donner de la sauce à qqn., 2. enduire avec une matière collante” [Jng. 1990, 155] | *WDangla nyòkè* “pleuvoir (le ciel, l’eau)” [Fédry 1971, 256], *EDangla nyóké* “regner” [Ebs.], *Bidiya nyoog* “bruiner” [AJ 1989, 103].

53. Attested in *Angas nük* “any thickened liquid (as gruel, beer, etc.)” [Flk. 1915, 255] = *nək* “Dickflüssigkeit, dickflüssig” [Jng. 1962 MS, 28], *Mushere nik* [nək?] “thick”, *puk ni mun nik* “the soup is too thick” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 165], *Goemay noek* [nək] “thickness (e.g., of sauce)” [Srl. 1937, 163] = *nek* (so, -e-, error?) (verb & adj.) “referring to thick fluid, e.g. kamu”, *nə nek* “very thick” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 25] (*Angas-Sura*: GT 2004, 268).

54. K.P. Kuhlmann’s (1991, 222) hypothetical derivation from Eg. *nhb* “ziehen” is unconvincing.

55. For this root structure in *Mokilko* see Takács 2002, 145-161.

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES

(A): Akhmimic,  
 AA: Afro-Asiatic,  
 Akk.: Akkadian,  
 Amh.: Amharic,  
 Ar.: Arabic,  
 Aram.: Aramaic,  
 AS: Angas-Sura,  
 Ass.: Assyrian,  
 (B): Bohairic,  
 Bab.: Babylonian,  
 BD: Book of the Dead,  
 Bed.: Bed'awye,  
 Brb.: Berber,  
 BT: Bole-Tangale,  
 Ch.: Chadic,  
 CCh.: Central Chadic,  
 CT: coffin texts,  
 Cu.: Cushitic,  
 ECh.: East Chadic,  
 ECu.: East Cushitic,  
 Dhl.: Dahalo,  
 E: East(ern),  
 Eg.: Egyptian,  
 ES: Ethio-Semitic,  
 EWlm.: East Tawllemmet,  
 (F): Fayyumic,  
 Gdm.: Ghadames,  
 GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period,  
 GW: syllabic or group-writing,  
 HECu.: Highland East Cushitic,  
 Hgr.: Ahaggar,  
 Hrs.: Harsusi,  
 IE: Indo-European,  
 IMP: Intermediate Period, Irq.: Iraqw,  
 JAram.: Jewish Aramaic,  
 Jbl.: Jibbali,  
 (L): Lycopolitan (or Subakhmimic),  
 LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic,  
 Lit.: literary texts,  
 LP: Late Period,  
 M: Middle,  
 Med.: medical texts,  
 Mhr.: Mehri,  
 MK: Middle Kingdom,  
 MSA: Modern South Arabian,

Mzg.: Tamazight,  
 N: North,  
 NBch.: North Bauchi,  
 NBrb.: North Berber,  
 NK: New Kingdom,  
 NOm.: North Omotic,  
 O: Old,  
 OEg.: Old Egyptian,  
 OK: Old Kingdom,  
 Om.: Omotic, OSA:  
 Old South Arabian,  
 PCh.: Proto-Chadic,  
 PCu.: Proto-Cushitic,  
 PT: pyramid texts,  
 Qbl.: Qabyle,  
 Qwd.: Qwadza,  
 S: South(ern),  
 (S): Sahidic,  
 Samar.: Samaritan,  
 SBrb.: South Berber,  
 Sem.: Semitic,  
 Sqt.: Soqotri,  
 Tna.: Tigrinya,  
 W: West(ern),  
 WBrb.: West Berber,  
 WCh.: West Chadic,  
 Wlmd.: Tawllemmet,  
 WSem.: West Semitic,  
 Y: Younger.

ABBREVIATIONS OF AUTHOR NAMES

Abr.: Abraham,  
 AC: Andreu & Cauville,  
 AJ: Alio & Jungrathmayr,  
 Ajl.: Ajello,  
 Akl.: Aklilu,  
 Alb.: Albright,  
 AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse,  
 Apl.: Appleyard,  
 Apls.: Applegate,  
 Ast.: Aistleitner,  
 Bgc.: Bougchiche,  
 Bgn.: Beguinot,  
 BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky,

- Blf.: Boulifa,  
 Blz.: Blažek,  
 Bmh.: Bomhard,  
 Bnd.: Bender,  
 Brg.: Bargery,  
 Brk.: Brockelmann,  
 Brn.: Biarnay,  
 Brt.: Barreteau,  
 Bst.: Basset,  
 Chn.: Cohen,  
 Clm.: Colombel,  
 Cpr.: Cooper,  
 CR: Conti Rossini,  
 Crl.: Cerulli,  
 Csp.: Cospè,  
 CTC: Taine-Cheikh,  
 Ctc.: Caitucoli,  
 Djk.: D'jakonov,  
 Dkl.: Diyakal,  
 DL: Dietrich & Loretz,  
 Dlh.: Delheure,  
 Dlt.: Dallet,  
 DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier,  
 Ebs.: Ebobisse,  
 Egc.: Eguchi,  
 Fcd.: Foucauld,  
 Fdr.: Fédry,  
 Flk.: Foulkes,  
 Flm.: Fleming,  
 Frj.: Frajzyngier,  
 Ftp.: Fitzpatrick,  
 GB: Gesenius & Buhl,  
 Gcl.: Gochal,  
 Gdk.: Goedicke,  
 Grb.: Greenberg,  
 Grd.: Gardiner,  
 Gsp.: Gasparini,  
 GT: Takács,  
 Hds.: Hudson,  
 Hlw.: Hellwig,  
 Hnrg.: Huehnergard,  
 Htz.: Hetzron,  
 Hyw.: Hayward,  
 Ibr.: Ibrizimow,  
 IL: Institute of Linguistics,  
 JA: Jungrathmayr & Adams,  
 Jgr.: Jagger,  
 Jng.: Jungrathmayr,  
 Jns.: Johnstone,  
 JS: Jungrathmayr & Shimizu,  
 Jst.: Justinard,  
 JW: Jansen-Winkeln,  
 KB: Koeehler & Baumgartner,  
 KM: Kießling & Mous,  
 Krf.: Kraft,  
 Ksm.: Kossmann,  
 Lbg.: Loubignac,  
 LG: Lienhard & Giger,  
 LH: Littmann & Höfner,  
 Lks.: Lukas,  
 Lmb.: Lamberti,  
 Lnf.: Lanfry,  
 Lns.: Lenssen,  
 LR: Louali-Raynal,  
 LS: Lamberti & Sottile,  
 Lsl.: Leslau,  
 LSS: Lonnet & Simeone-Senelle,  
 Lst.: Laoust,  
 Mch.: Mouchet,  
 Mgw.: Maghway,  
 Mkr.: Mukarovsky,  
 Mlt.: Militarev,  
 MM: Majzel' & Militarev,  
 Mnh.: Meinhof,  
 Mntsr.: Mountassir,  
 MQK: Mous & Qorro & Kießling,  
 Mrc.: Mercier,  
 Mrl.: Mohrlang,  
 Msq.: Masqueray,  
 Mtl.: Motylinsky,  
 Mts.: Matsushita,  
 Ncl.: Nicolas,  
 Nct.: Nachtigal,  
 Nhl.: Nehlil,  
 Nkn.: Nakano,  
 Ntg.: Netting,  
 NZ: Naït-Zerrad,  
 OS: Orel & Stolbova,  
 PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed,  
 PG: Pillinger & Galboran,  
 PH: Parker & Hayward,  
 PK: Posener-Kriéger,  
 Prd.: Paradisi,  
 Prs.: Prasse,

Prv.: Provotelle,	Srl.: Sirlinger,
Pwd.: Pweddou,	Srn.: Sarnelli,
RB: Rapp & Benzing,	SS: Simeone-Senelle,
Rdk.: Rhodokanakis,	Ss.: Sasse, Stl.: Stolbova,
RK: Reutt & Kogan,	Str.: Strümpell,
Rn.: Reinisch,	Sts.: Starostin,
Rns.: Renisio,	Stz.: Satzinger,
Rpr.: Roper,	TC: Taine-Cheikh,
Rsg.: Rossing,	Tf.: Taïfi,
Rsl.: Rössler,	Trn.: Tourneux,
Sbr.: Siebert,	Vcl.: Vycichl,
Scn.: Sachnine,	Vrg.: Vergote,
Sgn.: Seignobos,	Wdk.: Wedekind,
Skn.: Skinner,	Wlf.: Wölfel,
Smz.: Shimizu,	Wst.: Westendorf,
Snd.: Schneider,	Wtl.: Whiteley,
Snk.: Schenkel,	Zhl.: Zyhlarz.
Spg.: Spiegelberg,	

QUOTED LITERATURE

- AÄG = Edel, E.: *Altägyptische Grammatik*. Roma, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
- Abraham, R. C. 1962. *Dictionary of the Hausa Language*.<sup>2</sup> London. University of London Press.
- Abraham, R. C. 1964. *Somali-English Dictionary*.<sup>2</sup> London, 1964., University of London Press Ltd.
- AEB = *Annual Egyptological Bibliography*.
- AECT = Faulkner, R. O.: *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. I-III. Warminster, 1973-8., Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- AEPT = Faulkner, R. O.: *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. I. Oxford, 1969., Clarendon Press.
- AHW = Soden, W. von: *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. I-III. Wiesbaden, 1965-1981., Otto Harrassowitz.
- Ajello, R.; Karyo, M.; Melis, A.; Dobio, Ou. 2001. *Lexique comparatif de six langues tchadique central (Gizey, Ham, Lew, Marba, Masa, Musey)*. Pisa, Edizioni Plus, Università di Pisa.
- AJSL = *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (Chicago).
- AL I-III = Meeks, D.: *Année lexicographique. Égypte ancienne*. Tome 1-3 (1977-1979). 2<sup>ème</sup> édition. Paris, 1998., Cybele.
- Albright, W. F. 1918. "Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology. II", *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 34/4:215-255.
- Albright, W. F. 1927. "Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology. III", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 47:198-237.
- ALC 1978 = Angas Language Committee (in Cooperation with Nigeria Bible Translation Trust): Shòk nkarŋ kè shòktok mwa ndən Ngas. Ngas–Hausa–English Dictionary with Appendix Showing Some Features of Ngas Grammar. Jos, Nigeria, 1978., Nigeria Bible Translation Trust.
- Alio, Kh. 1988 (?). Wordlist of Ngamo. MS..
- Alio, Kh. 1988 (?). Wordlist of Maha. MS.
- Alio, Kh. & Jungraithmayr, H. 1989. *Lexique bidiya*. Frankfurt am Main, Vittorio Klostermann.
- Alio, Kh. 2004. "Préliminaires à une étude de la langue kajakse d'Am-Dam, de Toram du Salamaat, d'Ubi du Guéra et de masmaje du Batha-esta", in Takács, G. (ed.), *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam Werner Vycichl*. Leiden E. J. Brill:229-285.

- Allen, T.G. 1984. The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts. *Bibliotheca Aegyptia*, vol. 2, fasc. 1-2. Malibu, Undena Publications.
- Almkvist, H.: Die Bischari-Sprache Tū-Beḏāwīe in Nordost-Afrika. Zweiter Band: Bischari-deutsches und deutsch-bischarisches Wörterbuch. Uppsala, Akademische Buchdruckerei.
- Altenmüller, H. 1966. "Messerssee", "gewundener Wasserlauf" und "Flammensee". Eine Untersuchung zur Gleichsetzung und Lesung der drei Bereiche.= *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 92:86-95.
- Andreu, G. & Cauville, S. 1977. Vocabulaire absent du Wörterbuch (I), *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29:5-13.
- Applegate, J. R. 1956. *An Outline of the Structure of Shilha*. New York, American Council of Learned Societies.
- Appleyard, D. 1984. "The Internal Classification of the Agaw Languages. A Comparative and Historical Phonology" = Bynon, J. (ed.). *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia, John Benjamins:33-67.
- Appleyard, D. 1989. *Agaw Vocabulary Comparative Notes*. MS. London.
- Appleyard, D. 1991 "The Vowel Systems of Agaw: Reconstruction and Historical Inferences", in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*. Band II. Wien, Afro-Pub: 13-28.
- Appleyard, D. 1991. A Comparative Agaw Wordlist. MS. London.
- Appleyard, D. 1994. "A Falasha Prayer Text in Agaw", in Goldenberg, G. & Raz, Sh. (eds.), *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz: 206-251.
- Appleyard, D. 1994. *Preparing a Comparative Dictionary of Agaw*. MS (Paper presented at the III. Kuschtisten- und Omotistenkongress, Berlin).
- Appleyard, D. 1996. "The Position of Agaw within Cushitic", in Zemánek, P. (ed.), *Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures. Memorial Volume for Karel Petráček*. Praha, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute:1-14.
- Appleyard, D. 1996. "'Kaĩliña' – A 'New' Agaw Dialect and Its Implications for Agaw Dialectology". in Hayward, R. J. & Lewis, I. M. (eds.), *Voice and Power. The Culture of Language in North-East Africa*. London, SOAS: 1-19.
- Appleyard, D. 2005. *Comparative Agaw Dictionary*. MS.
- Baillet, A. 1906. "Les noms de l'esclave en égyptien", *RT* 28:113-131.
- Barns, J.W.B. 1956. *Five Ramesseum Papyri*. Oxford, University Press at Oxford by Charles Batey.
- Barreteau, D. 1988. *Description du mofu-gudur. Langue de la famille tchadique parlée au Cameroun*. Livre II. *Lexique*. Paris, Éditions de l'ORSTOM.
- Barreteau, D. & Jungraithmayr, H. 1990. "Les verbes monoradicaux dans les langues tchadiques", in Jungraithmayr, H. & Tournoux, H. (eds.), *Études tchadiques. Verbes monoradicaux suivis d'une note sur la négation en haoussa. Actes de la XIIème réunion de Groupe d'Études Tchadiques LACITO-CNRS-PARIS*. Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner:37-214.
- Barreteau, D. & Brunet, A. 2000. *Dictionnaire Mada*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Barth, H. 1852. "Auszug aus einem Briefe des Dr. Barth an Dr. Beke", *ZDMG* 6:412-413.
- Basset, R. 1883. "Notes de lexicographie berbère", *Journal Asiatique*. Ser. VIII, 1/3:281-342.
- Basset, R. 1885. "Notes de lexicographie berbère", *Journal Asiatique*. Ser. VIII, 5:148-198.
- Basset, R. 1887. "Notes de lexicographie berbère", *Journal Asiatique*. Ser. VIII, 10:365-464.
- Basset, R. 1890. *Le dialecte de Syouah*. Paris, Ernest Leroux.
- Basset, R. 1890: *Loqmân berbère avec quatre glossaires et une étude sur la légende de Loqmân*. Paris, Ernest Leroux.
- Basset, R. 1909. *Mission au Sénégal*. Tome I. *Étude sur le dialecte zenaga*. Paris, Ernest Leroux.
- BED = Anonymous: *Bura-English Dictionary*. (Place unknown) 1953 (publisher unnamed). Master copy in the library of the Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen der Universität Hamburg (inv. no.: 15 748 / JT 1526).

- Beguinet, F. 1924. "Sul trattamento delle consonanti b, v, f in berbero", in *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*. Ser. V, 33:186-199.
- Beguinet, F.: Il berbero Nefûsi di Fassât<sup>1</sup>. Roma, 1931., Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Bender, M. L. 1971. "The Languages of Ethiopia. A New Lexicostatistic Classification and Some Problems of Diffusion", *Anthropological Linguistics* 13/5:165-288.
- Bender, M. L. 1994. "Aroid (South Omotic) Lexicon", *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 38:133-162.
- Bender, M. L. 1994. "The Mystery Languages of Ethiopia", in Marcus, H. (ed.), *New Trends in Ethiopian Studies*. Vol. 1. Lawrenceville, Red Sea Press:1153-1174.
- Bender, M. L. 1996. *Wordlists of Dimé, Dizi, Nayi, Sheko*. MS.
- Bender, M. L. 2003. *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*. Carbondale, SIU Printing / Duplicating, Southern Illinois University.
- Bergsträsser, G. 1921. *Glossar des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Maṣlūla*. Leipzig, DMG. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 15/4.
- Biberstein Kazimirski, A. de. 1860, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. Paris, Maisonneuve & Co. Editeurs.
- Biarnay, S. 1917. *Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif. Lexique, textes et notes de phonétique*. Paris, Ernest Leroux.
- Bidoli, D. 1976. *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze in den altägyptischen Sargtexten*. Glückstadt, J.J. Augustin.
- BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (Le Caire).
- Bitima, T. 2000. *A Dictionary of Oromo Technical Terms. Oromo-English*. Köln, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Bittner, M. 1915. *Studien zur Šhauri-Sprache in den Bergen von Dofâr am Persischen Meerbusen*. I. *Lautehre und zum Nomen im engeren Sinne*. Wien, Alfred Hölder.
- Bittner, M. 1917. "Studien zur Šhauri-Sprache in den Bergen von Dofâr am Persischen Meerbusen. IV. Index (Šhauri-deutsches Glossar) und Nachträge zu den Texten von D.H. von Müller (textkritische Noten nach den ersten Aufnahmen)", *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 183. Band, 5. Abhandlung:1-106.
- Black, P. D. 1974. *Lowland East Cushitic: Subgrouping and Reconstruction*. Ph.D. dissertation. Yale University.
- Blažek, V. 1990. "Lexica Nostratica. Addenda et Corrigenda II", *Archív Orientální* 58:205-218.
- Bomhard, A. R. 1984. *Toward Proto-Nostratic*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins.
- Bomhard, A. R. 1986. "Common Indo-European/Afroasiatic Roots. Supplement 1", *General Linguistics* 26:225-257.
- Borghouts, J.F. 1971. *The Magical Texts of the Papyrus Leiden I 348*. Leiden, E.J. Brill.
- Boulifa, S.A. 1910. *Une première année de langue kabyle (dialecte zouaoua) à l'usage des candidats à la prime et au brevet de kabyle*. Deuxième édition. Alger, Adolphe Jourdan.
- Bouny, P. 1978. "La formation du pluriel des nominaux en kotoko", in Caprile, J.-P. & Jungraithmayr, H. (eds.), *Préalables à la reconstruction du proto-tchadique*. Paris, SELAF:51-65.
- Bouny, P. 1978. "Intervention au sein du groupe de travail sur la reconstruction d'un proto-tchadique à partir de la liste de 225 items présentés par l'équipe de Marburg", in Caprile, J.-P. & Jungraithmayr, H. (eds.), *Préalables à la reconstruction du proto-tchadique*. Paris, SELAF:59-78.
- Bouny, P. 1978. "Un conte mandague (parler kotoko)", in Jungraithmayr, H. & Caprile, J.-P. (eds.), *Cinq textes tchadiques (Cameroun et Tchad)*. Berlin, Reimer:73-119.
- Bouny, P. & Jouannet, F. 1978. "Comparaison lexicale: kanembou-kotoko", in Caprile, J.-P. & Jungraithmayr, H. (eds.), *Préalables à la reconstruction du proto-tchadique*. Paris SELAF: 177-191.
- Breasted, J.H.: *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*. Vol. I. Chicago, 1930., The University of Chicago Press.
- Brockelmann, C. 1928. *Lexicon syriacum*<sup>2</sup>. Halle, Max Niemeyer.

- CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Vol. 1-21. Glückstadt & Chicago, Since 1956, J. J. Augustin, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Caïtucoli, C. 1983. *Lexique masa*. Paris, Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique.
- Caminos, R. 1954.: *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. London, Oxford University Press.
- Cannuyer, Ch. 1983. “Les formes dérivées du verbe en ancien égyptien. Essai de systematization”, *GM* 63:25-33.
- Caprile, J.-P. 1972. *Kebe mo:nde (gabri)*. MS. Djoun, commune de Lai.
- Caprile, J.-P. 1975. *Lexique tumak-français (Tchad)*. Berlin, Verlag von Dietrich Reimer.
- Castellino, G. R. 1984. “Relazione introduttiva”, *Atti della Terza Giornata di Studi Camito-Semitici e Indoeuropei*. Roma, Università degli Studi “La Sapienza”:8-18.
- CD = Crum, W. E.: *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford, 1939., Oxford, 1939., Oxford University Press.
- CED = Černý, J.: *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. London, Cambridge, 1976., Cambridge University Press.
- Cerulli, E. 1938, *Studi etiopici*. III. *Il linguaggio dei Giangerò ed alcune lingue Sidama dell’Omo (Basketo, Ciara, Zaissè)*. Roma, Istituto per l’Oriente.
- Cerulli, E. 1951. *Studi etiopici*. IV. *La lingua caffina*. Roma, Istituto per l’Oriente.
- Chaker, S. 1973-79. “Les racines berbères trilitères à 3<sup>ème</sup> radicale alternante”, *Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d’Études Chamito-Sémitiques (GLECS)* 18-23:293-303.
- Claus, (?). 1910. “Die Wangómwia”, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 42:489-497.
- CLD I = Stolbova, O. V.: *Chadic Lexical Database*. Issue I. L, N, NY, R. Kaluga, 2005., Poligrafiya.
- Cohen, D. & Taine-Cheikh, C. 2000. “À propos du zénaga. Vocalisme et morphologie verbale en berbère”, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 95/1:267-320.
- Cohen, M. 1947. *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*. Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion.
- Colombel, V. de. 1997. *La langue ouldémé (Nord-Cameroun). Précis de grammaire, texte, lexique*. Paris, Association de Linguistique Africaine.
- Conti, G. 1980. *Studi sul Bilingualismo in Semitico e in Egiziano*. 1. *Il Tema Verbale N1212*. Firenze, Istituto Linguistica e di Lingue Orientali, Università di Firenze.
- Conti Rossini, C. 1905. “Note sugli agau. 1. Appunti sulla lingua khamta dell’Averghellé”, *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 17/2<sup>a</sup>:183-242.
- Conti Rossini, C. 1905. “Note sugli agau. 2. Appunti sulla lingua Awiyā del Danghelà”, *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 18:103-194.
- Conti Rossini, C. 1912. *La langue des Kemant en Abyssinie*. Wien, Alfred Hölder.
- CT = Buck, A. de: *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. I-VII. Chicago, 1935-61., The University of Chicago Press.
- Dallet, J.-M. 1982. *Dictionnaire qabyle-français. Parler des At Mangellat (Algerie)*. Paris, SELAF (Société d’études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France).
- Dalman, G.H. 1922. *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch*. Frankfurt a/M, J. Kaufmann Verlag.
- DCT = Molen, R. van der: *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Leiden, 2000., E.J. Brill.
- Deboo, J. 1989. *Jemenitisches Wörterbuch. Arabisch-Deutsch-Englisch*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- DELCO = Vycichl, W.: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*. Leuven, 1983., Peeters.
- Delheure, J. 1984. *Dictionnaire mozabite-français*. Paris, Société d’Études Linguistiques et Anthropologique de France (SELAF).
- Delheure, J. 1982. *Dictionnaire ouargli-français*. Paris, Société d’Études Linguistiques et Anthropologique de France (SELAF).
- Derchain-Urtel, M. Th. 1973. “Das n- Präfix im Ägyptischen”, *Göttinger Miszellen* 6:39-54.



- Diyakal, Ph. 1997. *Mushere-English Dictionary*. Collection of words carried out by Mr. Ph. I. D. started on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1997 under the supervision of Herrmann Jungrathmayr (Univ. of Frankfurt). MS.
- D'jakonov, I. M. 1965 *Semitohamitskie jazyki. Opyt klassifikacii*. Moskva Nauka.
- Diakonoff, I. M. 1981. "Earliest Semites in Asia. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry According to Linguistic Data (VIIIth-IVth Millennia B.C.)", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 8:23-74.
- Diakonoff, I. M. 1984. "Letter to the Conference", in Bynon, J. (ed.), *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins:1-10.
- D'jakonov, I. M. & Militarev, A. Ju. & Porhomovskij, V. Ja. & Stolbova, O. V. 1987. "Obščefrazijskaja fonologičeskaja sistema", in Porhomovskij, V. Ja. (ed.), *Afrikanskoe istoričeskoe jazykoznanie. Problemy rekonstrukcii*. Moskva, Nauka:9-29.
- Diakonoff, I. M. 1988. *Afrasian Languages*. Moscow, Nauka.
- Diakonoff, I. M. (with assistance by Militarev, A. Ju. & Stolbova, O. V.). 1992. "Proto-Afrasian and Old Akkadian", *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* 4/1.
- Diakonoff, I. M. & Militarev, A. Ju. & Porhomovskij, V. Ja. & Stolbova, O. V. 1993. "On the Principles of Afrasian Phonological Reconstruction", *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 1:7-15.
- DLE = Lesko, L. H.: *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*. Volume I, II, III, IV. Berkeley, 1982., 1984., 1987., 1989. B.C. Scribe Publications.
- Dolgopolsky, A. 1983. "Semitic and East Cushitic. Sound Correspondences and Cognate Sets", in Segert, S. & Bodrogligeti, A. J. E. (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies Dedicated to Wolf Leslau*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz:123-142.
- Doornbos, P. 1981. *Kajakse Notes*. MS.
- Doornbos, P. 1981. *Kujarke Notes*. MS.
- Doornbos, P. 1981. *Kujarke Notes*. MS.
- Dozy, R. 1981. *Suppléments aux dictionnaires arabes*. Tome I-II. Leiden, Paris, E. J. Brill, Maisonneuve.
- Drexel, A. 1925. "Der semitische Trikonsonantismus und die afrikanische Sprachwissenschaft", *WZKM* 32:1-29.
- Drower, E.S. & Macuch, R. 1963. *A Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Ebeling, E. 1915. "Glossar", in Knudtzon, J. A., *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*<sup>2</sup>. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs.
- Ebert, K. H. 1977?. *Vergleich Kera-Kwang*. MS. Noted dated 1977..
- Ebert, K. H. 1977?. *Vergleich Kera-Tupuri-Français-Kwang-Mobu*. MS. Noted dated 1977?.
- Ebobisse, C. 1979. *Die Morphologie des Verbs im Ost-Dangaleat (Guera, Tschad)*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Ebobisse, C.: 1987. *Les verbaux du dangaléat de l'est (Guera, Tchad). Lexiques français-dangaléat et allemand-dangaléat*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- EDE I = Takács, G.: *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Volume One: *A Phonological Introduction*. Leiden, 1999., E. J. Brill.
- Eguchi, P. K. 1971. "Matériaux pour servir à l'étude de la langue hidé. Vocabulaire", *Kyoto University African Studies* 6:195-283.
- Ehret, Ch. 1980. *Ma'a – English Vocabulary*. MS. Los Angeles, California, around 1974 (in Ehret 1980, 390 dated for 1966-74).
- Ehret, Ch. 1980. *The Historical Reconstruction of Southern Cushitic Phonology and Vocabulary*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Ehret, Ch. 1980. *Kw'adza Vocabulary*. MS. Los Angeles, California.
- Ehret, Ch. 1987. "Proto-Cushitic Reconstruction", *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 8.
- Ehret, Ch. 1995. *Reconstructing Proto-Afroasiatic (Proto-Afrasian). Vowels, Tone, Consonants, and Vocabulary*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, California, University of California.
- Ehret, Ch. 2001. *A Historical-Comparative Reconstruction of Nilo-Saharan*. Köln, Köppe.

- Ember, A. 1913. "Kindred Semito-Egyptian Words. New Series", *ZÄS* 51:110-121.
- ESS = Ember, A., *Egypto-Semitic Studies*. Leipzig, 1930., The Alexander Cohut Memorial Foundation.
- Faltings, D. 1998. *Die Keramik der Lebensmittelproduktion im Alten Reich. Ikonographie und Archäologie eines Gebrauchsartikels*. Heidelberg, Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- FD = Faulkner, R. O.: *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford, 1962., Clarendon Press.
- Fédry, J. avec la collaboration de Khamis, J. & o/Nedjei, M. 11971. *Dictionnaire dangaleat (Tchad)*. Thèse de 3<sup>ème</sup> cycle, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales. Lyon, Afrique et Langage.
- Feichtner, M.K. 1932. "Die erweiterten Verbalstämme im Ägyptischen", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 38:195-228.
- Feichtner, M.K. 1932. "Die t-Präfix- und t-Suffixverben im Ägyptischen", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 39:295-316.
- Fitzpatrick, J. F. J. 1910-11. "Some Notes on the Kwolla District and Its Tribes", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 10:16-52, 213-22.
- Fleming, H. C. 1969. "Asa and Aramanik: Cushitic Hunters in Masai-Land", *Ethnology* 8/1:1-36.
- Fleming, H. C. 1969. "The Classification of West Cushitic Within Hamito-Semitic", in McCall, D. F. & Bennett, N. R. & Butler, J. (eds.), *Eastern African History*. New York, Praeger:3-27.
- Fleming, H. C. 1972. *Sheko Word List*. MS. CA.
- Fleming, H. C. 1990. "Omotica, Afrasiana and More: Ethiopia as the Ever-Flowing Vase", *Mother Tongue* 12:22-30.
- Fleming, H. C. 1990. *Hamar, Recorded by Harold Fleming in 1990 from Awok'e Akike, Baldambi Son*. MS.
- Foucauld, Ch. De. 1951-52. *Dictionnaire touareg-français, dialecte de l'Ahaggar*. Vol. I-IV. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale de France.
- Foulkes, H. D.. 1915. *Angass Manual. Grammar, Vocabulary*. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.
- Frajzyngier, Z. 1985. *A Pero-English and English-Pero Vocabulary*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Frajzyngier, Z. 1991. *A Dictionary of Mupun*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Frick, E.J. 1976. "Dghwede", in Dakubu, M.E.K. (ed.), *West African Language Data Sheets*. Vol. I. (Place not indicated), West African Linguistic Society.
- Frolova, T.2003. "The Reconstruction of the Vowel in the Proto-Semitic Verbal Base -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>VC<sub>3</sub>-. The Evidence of Akkadian and Arabic", in Kogan, L. (ed.), *Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute. Issue III. Studia Semitica*. Moscow, Russian State University of Humanities:79-101.
- Gardiner, A.H. 1909/1990. *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 Recto)*. Leipzig, J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 2. Nachdruck: Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, Georg Olms Verlag.
- Gasparini, A. 1983. *Sidamo-English Dictionary*. Bologna, E.M.I.
- GÄSW = Calice, F. von: *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung*. Wien, 1936., Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Institutes der Universität Wien.
- GB = Gesenius, W. (bearbeitet von Buhl, F.): *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. Unveränderter Neudruck der 1915 erschienenen 17. Auflage. Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg, 1962., Springer-Verlag.
- GD = Landberg: *Le Comte de: Glossaire daïnois*. Vol. I-III. Leiden, 1920., 1923., 1942., E.J. Brill.
- GHWb = Hannig, R.: *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*. Mainz, 1995., Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Gochal, G 1994. *A Look at Shik Ngas*. Jos, Jos University Press.

- Goedicke, H. 1977. *The Protocol of Neferyt (The Prophecy of Neferti)*. London, The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Greenberg, J. H. 1953. *Studies in African linguistic Classification*. Branford CT, Compass Publishing Company.
- Greenberg, J. H. 1963. "The Languages of Africa", *International Journal of American Linguistics* 29.
- HAM = Westendorf, W.: *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*. Leiden, 1999., Brill.
- Haruna, A. 1992. *Cultural Vocabulary of Bubure*. MS.
- Hayward, R. J. 1979. "Bayso Revisited: Some Preliminary Linguistic Observations. II.", *Bulletin of the School of African and Oriental Research* 62:101-132.
- Hayward, D. (= R. J.). 1984. *The Arbore Language: A First Investigation Including a Vocabulary*. Hamburg, Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Hayward, R. J. *The Velar Stem Alternation in Omotic*. MS. Not dated.
- HCVA I = Diakonoff, I. M.; Belova, A. G.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Porhomovskij, V. Ja.; Stolbova, O. V.: *Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian*. Part 1.= St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies 2 (1993), 5-28.
- HCVA II = Diakonoff, I. M.; Belova, A. G.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Porhomovskij, V. Ja.; Stolbova, O. V.: *Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian*. Part 2.= St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies 3 (1994), 5-26.
- HCVA III = Diakonoff, I. M.; Belova, A. G.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Porhomovskij, V. Ja.; Stolbova, O. V.: *Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian*. Part 3.= St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies 4 (1994), 7-38.
- HCVA IV = Diakonoff, I. M.; Belova, A. G.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Porhomovskij, V. Ja.: *Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian*. Part 4.= St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies 5 (1995), 4-32.
- HCVA V = Diakonoff, I. M.; Belova, A. G.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Porhomovskij, V. Ja.: *Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian*. Part 5.= St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies 6 (1997), 12-35.
- Heine, B. 1975. "Notes on the Yaaku Language (Kenya)", *Afrika und Übersee* 58/2:119-138.
- Heine, B. 1976. "Notes on the Rendille Language", *Afrika und Übersee* 59:176-223.
- Heine, B. 1980. *The Non-Bantu Languages of Kenya*. Berlin, Reimer.
- Hellwig, B. 2000. *Goemai – English – Hausa Dictionary*. MS. Draft.
- Hetzron, R. 1969. *The Verbal System of Souther Agaw*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- Hetzron, R. 1969. "Third Person Singular Pronoun Suffixes in Proto-Semitic", *Orientalia Suecana* 18:101-127.
- Hetzron, R. 1978. "The Nominal System of Awngi (Southern Agaw)", *BSOAS* 41:121-141.
- Hoch, J. E. 1994. *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Hodge, C. T. 1997. "An Egyptian Etymology: Egypto-Coptic m3č". *Anthropological Linguistics* 39/2: 196-219.
- Hoskison, J. T. 1983. *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Gude Language (Chadic)*. Ph.D. dissertation. The Ohio State University.
- HSED = Orel, V. É. & Stolbova, O. V.: *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden, 1995., E. J. Brill.
- Hudson, G. 1989. *Highland East Cushitic Dictionary*. Hamburg, Buske.
- Hudson, R.A. 1996. *A Dictionary of Beja. Draft Printout*. Version prepared by R.M. Blench.
- Huehnergard, J 2000. "Proto-Semitic Language and Culture", *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. Fourth Edition. Boston, New Yor, Houghton Mifflin Company:2056-2068.

- Ibrizimow, D. 2003. *The Verb in Ngamo*. MS. Presented at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Biennial International Colloquium on the Chadic Languages, Prague, 11-12 October..
- IL = Institute of Linguistics. Bauch Area Survey Report presented by N. Campbell and J. Hoskison. MS. Zaria, 1972.
- Jaggar, Ph. J. 1989. "Guruntum (gùrdùṅ) (West Chadic-B): Linguistic Notes and Wordlist", *African Languages and Cultures* 2/2:175-202.
- Jastrow, M. 1950. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. Volume I: ?-k, Volume II: l-t. New York, Pardes Publishing House Inc.
- JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London).
- Johnstone, T. M. 1977. *Ḥarsūsi Lexicon*. London, Oxford University Press.
- Johnstone, T. M. 1981. *Jibbāli Lexicon*. London, Oxford University Press.
- Johnstone, T. M. 1987. *Mehri Lexicon*. London, University of London.
- Jordan, A. 1934. *Dictionnaire berbère-français (dialectes tašelhait) contenant 6.025 formes*. Rabat, Éditions Omnia.
- Jungraithmayr, H. 1962. *Wörterbuch der Angas-Sprache*. MS.
- Jungraithmayr, H. *Wörterbuch der Goemay-Sprache*. MS.
- Jungraithmayr, H. 1963. "Die Sprache des Sura (Maghavul) in Nordnigerien", *Afrika und Übersee* 47:8-89, 204-220.
- Jungraithmayr, H. 1970. *Die Ron-Sprachen. Tschadhamitische Studien in Nordnigerien*. Glückstadt, Verlag J. J. Augustin.
- Jungraithmayr, H. 1973. *Masa (Bongor) Lexicon*. MS. Marburg (now in Frankfurt).
- Jungraithmayr, H. 1977. *Wordlist of Sarwa (collected on 16 March 1973)*. MS.
- Jungraithmayr, H. 1977. *Kofa Wordlist*. MS.
- Jungraithmayr, H. & Shimizu, K. 1981. *Chadic Lexical Roots. Vol. II. Tentative Reconstruction, Grading and Distribution*. Berlin, Verlag von Dietrich Reimer.
- Jungraithmayr, H. 1990. *Lexique mokilko*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Jungraithmayr, H. 1990. *Lexique mubi-français (Tchad oriental)*. MS. Frankfurt a/M.
- Jungraithmayr, H. & Ibrizimow, D. 1990. *Wordlist of Sarwa, Gadang, Miltu (Gali)*. MS. Groupe d'Études Tchadiques.
- Jungraithmayr, H. & Adams, A. 1992. *Lexique migama*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Jungraithmayr, H. 1993. *Lexique sibine (sumray)-français*. MS. Frankfurt a/M, versions of 20 April (?a-bākùgómī), 7 June (bālāwrāṅ-gēndārā), 17 June (góníny-sārā), 7 June (sār-ʔywalār).
- Jungraithmayr, H. & Ibrizimow, D. 1994. *Chadic Lexical Roots. Volume I. Tentative Reconstruction, Grading, Distribution and Comments*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Jungraithmayr, H. & Ibrizimow, D. 1994. *Chadic Lexical Roots. Volume II. Documentation*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Justinard, (?). 1914. *Manuel de berbère marocain (dialecte chleuh)*. Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Kákosy, L. 1971. "Ein magischer Papyrus des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Budapest", *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 19/3-4:159-177.
- KB = Koehler, L. & Baumgartner, W.: *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. I-V. Leiden, 1994-2000, E. J. Brill.
- KHW = Westendorf, W.: *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*. Heidelberg, 1977., Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Kießling, R. & Mous, M. 2004. *The Lexical Reconstruction of West-Rift Southern Cushiti*. (Kuschitische Sprachstudien, Band 21), Köln, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Kogan, L. and Militarev, A. 2002. "Novye i utočnennye étimologii akkadskih anatomičeskikh terminov (po materialam 'Semitskogo étimologičeskogo slovarja')", in *Istorija i jazyki Drevnego Vostoka: pamjati*

- I.M. D'jakonova. Sankt-Peterburg, Institut Vostokovedenija Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, sankt-peterburgskij filial:146-156.
- Kossmann, M. 1999. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*. Köln, Köppe.
- Kossmann, M. 1999. *Die Vokalsysteme der Berbersprachen*. MS. Paper presented on 26 Nov. in the Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften, Frankfurt a/M.
- Kraft, Ch. H. 1972 *Gude-Dialekte*. MS.
- Kraft, Ch. H. 1981 *Chadic Wordlists*. I-III. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Kuhlmann, K.P. 1991. "Die Stadt ([njw.t]) als Sinnbild der Nachbarschaft", *MDAIK* 47:217-226.
- Lacau, P. 1972. *Études d'Égyptologie*. II. *Morphologie*. Le Caire, IFAO.
- Lamberti, M. 1993. *Die Shinassha-Sprache. Materialien zum Boro*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Lamberti, M. 1993. *Materialien zum Yemsa*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Lamberti, M. & Sottile, R. 1997. *The Wolaytta Language*. Köln, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Lane, E. W. 1863-93. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. I-VIII. London & Edinburgh, Williams and Norgate.
- Lanfry, J. 1973. *Ghadames*. II. *Glossaire*. Alger, Le Fichier Periodique.
- Laoust, E. 1921. *Cours de berbère marocain. Grammaire - vocabulaire - textes. Dialectes du sous du Haut et de l'Anti-atlas*. Paris, Augustin Challamel.
- Laoust, E. 1931. *Siwa*. I. *Son parler*. Paris, Librairie Ernest Leroux.
- LÄ = Helck, W. & Westendorf, W. (Hrsg., begründet von W. Helck und E. Otto): *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Band I-VII. Wiesbaden, 1975-92., Harrassowitz.
- LEM = Caminos, R.: *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. London, 1954., Oxford University Press.
- Lesko, L.H. 1972. *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California Press.
- Leslau, W. 1938. *Lexique soqotri (sudarabique moderne), avec comparaisons et explications étymologiques*. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Leslau, W. 1959. *A Dictionary of Moča (Southwestern Ethiopia)*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- Leslau, W. 1962. "Semitic and Egyptian Comparisons", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 21:44-49.
- Leslau, W. 1969. *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, W. 1979. *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*. Vol. III. *Etymological Section*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, W. 1982. "North Ethiopic and Amharic Cognates in Tigre", *AION* (Supplemento 31), 42/2:1-86.
- Leslau, W. 1988. "Analysis of the Ge'ez Vocabulary: Ge'ez and Cushitic", *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 32:59-109.
- Leslau, W. 1988. "Observations on Sasse's Vocabulary of Burji", *Afrika und Übersee* 71:177-203.
- Levy, J. 1924. *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim nebst Beiträgen von Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer*. Zweite Auflage mit Nachträgen und Berichtigungen von Lazarus Goldschmidt. I-IV. Berlin & Wien, Benjamin Harz Verlag.
- Lienhard, R. & Giger, M. 1975. *Daba (parler de Pologozom). Description phonologique*. Yaoundé, Société Internationale de Linguistique.
- Louali-Raynal, N. 1989. "La spirantisation en berbère", in Lamberti, M. & Tonelli, L. (eds.), *Afroasiatica Tergestina. Papers from the 9<sup>th</sup> Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) Linguistics*, Trieste, April 23-24, 1998 (Contributi presentati al 9<sup>o</sup> Incontro di Linguistica Afroasiatica (Camito-Semita), Trieste, 23-24 Aprile 1998). Padova, Unipress:271-298.
- Loubignac, V. 1924. *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Zaïan et Aït Sgougou. Textes* (deuxième section). Paris, Ernest Leroux.

- Lukas, J. 1936. "Die Logone-Sprache im Zentralen Sudan", *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 21/6.
- Lukas, J. 1937. *Zentralsudanische Studien* (Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde. Hansische Universität, Reihe B, Band 45/24).
- Lukas, J. 1939. *Die Sprache des Buduma in Zentralen Sudan* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 24/2).
- Lukas, J. 1964. "Das Hitkalanci, eine Sprache um Gwoza (Nordostnigerien)", *Afrika und Übersee* 48: 81-114.
- Lukas, J. 1941. *Deutsche Quellen zur Sprache der Musgu in Kamerun*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Maghway, J. B. 1989. "Iraqw Vocabulary", *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 18:91-118.
- Masqueray, E. 1879. *Comparaison d'un vocabulaire du dialecte des Zenaga avec les vocabulaires correspondants des dialectes des Chawiya et des Beni Mzab* (Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires, 3<sup>ème</sup> série, tome 5<sup>ème</sup>):483-533.
- Meeks, D. 1997. "Les emprunts Égyptiens aux langues sémitiques durant le Nouvel Empire et la Troisième Période Intermédiaire. Les aléas du comparatisme". Recension de Hoch, J. E., *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 54/1-2:32-61.
- Meeks, D. 2005. Review of Hannig, R., *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I. Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, *Lingua Aegyptia* 13:231-263.
- Meinhof, C. 1905. "Linguistische Studien in Ostafrika. Fortsetzung", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 9:278-333.
- Mercier, H. 1972. *Vocabulaires et textes berbères dans le dialecte des Ait Izdeg*. Rabat, René Céré.
- Mohrlang, R. 1972. "Higi Phonology", *Studies in Nigerian Languages* 2:1-106.
- Montet, P. 1911. "Notes sur les tombeaux de Béni-Hassan", *BIFAO* 9:1-36.
- Montet, P. 1911. "Le préfixe *n* en égyptien", *Sphinx* 14:201-244.
- Montet, P. 1954. "Les boeufs égyptiens", *Kémi* 13:43-58.
- Motyliniski, A. de C. 1904. *Le dialecte berbère de R'edamès*. Paris, Ernest Leroux.
- Mouchet, J. 1950. "Vocabulaires comparatifs de quinze parlers du Nord-Cameroun", *Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises* 29-30:5-74.
- Mouchet, J. 1953. "Vocabulaires comparatifs de sept parlers du Nord-Cameroun", *Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises* 41-42:136-206.
- Mouchet, J. 1966. *Le parler daba: esquisse grammaticale précédée d'une note sur l'ethnie daba, suivie de lexiques daba-français et français-daba*. Yaoundé, R.E.C.
- Mous, M. & Qorro, M. & Kießling, R. 2002. *Iraqw-English Dictionary with an English and a Thesaurus Index*. Köln, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Mukarovskij, H. G. 1957. "Das 'Sonnenrind' der Ful'be", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 54:130-140.
- Mukarovskij, H. G. 1959. "Altmediterranes Wortgut in Westafrika", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 55:1-48.
- Mukarovskij, H. G. 1987. *Mande-Chadic Common Stock. A Study of Phonological and Lexical Evidence*. Wien, Afro-Pub.
- Naït-Zerrad, K. 1988. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*. I: *a-b ʕz*. Paris, Louvain, Peeters.
- NBÄ = Osing, J.: *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*. I-II. Mainz/Rhein, 1976., Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Nehilil: *Étude sur le dialecte de Ghat*. Paris, 1909., Ernest Leroux.
- Newman, P. 1964. "A Word List of Tera", *Journal of West African Languages* 1/2:33-50.

- Nicolas, F. 1953. *La langue berbère de Mauritanie*. Dakar, Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.
- Nicolas, F. 1957. "Vocabulaires ethnographiques de la Tamâjeq des Iullemeden de l'est (Touâreg de la Colonie du Niger, Afrique Occidentale Française)", *Anthropos* 52:49-63, 564-580.
- Obenga, Th. 1982. "'Boeuf', 'taureau', 'bétail' en égyptien ancien et en négro-africain moderne", *Cahiers Congolais d'Anthropologie et d'Histoire* (Brazzaville) 7:51-61 (The same article appeared in *JSSEA* 13 (1983), 48-50).
- Orel, V. É. & Stolbova, O. V. 1992. "Cushitic, Chadic, and Egyptian: Lexical Relations", in Shevoroshkin, V. (ed.), *Nostratic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric and Amerind*. Bochum, Brockmeyer: 167-180.
- Orel, V. É. & Stolbova, O. V. 1992. "On Chadic-Egyptian Lexical Relations", in Shevoroshkin, V. (ed.): *Nostratic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric and Amerind*. Bochum, Brockmeyer: 181-203.
- Orel, V. É. 1995. "Semitohamitskij, sinokavkazskij, nostratičeskij", *Moskovskij Lingvističeskij Žurnal* 1: 99-116.
- Ormsby, G. 1912-1913. "Notes on the Angass Language", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 12: 421-424
- Ormsby, G. 1913-1914&. "Notes on the Angass Language", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 13:54-61, 204-210, 313-315.
- Osing, J. 1976. *Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- Osing, J. 1976. "Ächtungstexte aus dem Alten Reich (II)", *MDAIK* 32:133-185, Taf. 40-51.
- Osing, J. 1978. Review of CED, *JEA* 64:186-189.
- Osing, J. 1997. "Zum Lautwert von 3 und ʿ", *Studien zum Altägyptischen Kultur* 24:223-229.
- Osing, J. 1998. *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I. Text*. Copenhagen, Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Paradisi, U. 1960. "Il berbero di Augila. Materiale lessicale", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 35/3-4:157-177.
- Peust, C. 1999. *Egyptian Phonology. An Introduction to the Phonology of a Dead Language*. Göttingen, Peust & Gutschmidt Verlag GbR.
- Piamenta, M. 1990-91. *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. I-II. Leiden, Brill.
- Piehl, K. 1898. "Contributions au dictionnaire hiéroglyphique", *PSBA* 20:190-201, 306-327.
- Pillinger, S. & Galboran, L. 1999. *A Rendille Dictionary*. Köln, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- PL = Wilson, P.: *A Ptolemaic Lexikon. A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. Leuven, 1997., Peeters.
- Prasse, K.-G. & Alojaly, Gh. & Mohamed, Gh. 2003. *Dictionnaire touareg-français (Niger)*. Copenhagen, Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen.
- Provotelle. 1911. *Étude sur la tamazir't ou zénatia de Qalaât es-Sened (Tunisie)*. Paris, Ernest Leroux.
- PT = Sethe, K.: *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*. I-II. Leipzig, 1980., 1910., J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Pweddton, N.N. (ed. by N. Skinner). 2000. *Bwatiye-English Dictionary with English-Bwatiye Index*. Madison, Wisconsin, Dr. Nicholas Pweddton.
- Rapp, E. L. & Benzing, B. 1968. *Dictionary of the Glavdá Language*. Frankfurt am Main, Bible Society Frankfurt am Main.
- Rabin, Ch. 1982. "Ron-Semitic Etymologies", in Jungraithmayr, H. (ed.), *The Chad Languages in the Hamitosemitic-Nigritic Border Area*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag:24-31.
- RdE = *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris).
- Reinisch, L. 1884. "Die Chamirsprache in Abessinien. II. Chamir-deutsches Wörterbuch", *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Classe* 106:330-450.
- Reinisch, L. 1885. "Die Quarasprache in Abessinien. II. Quarisch-deutsches Wörterbuch", *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Classe* 109/1:3-152.

- Reinisch, L. 1988. "Die Kafa-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika. II. Kafa-Deutsches Wörterbuch", *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Classe* 116:251-386.
- Reinisch, L. 1890. *Wörterbuch der Saho-Sprache*. Wien, Alfred Hölder.
- Reinisch, L. 1895. *Wörterbuch der Bedawye-Sprache*. Wien, Alfred Hölder Verlag.
- Reinisch, L. 1902. *Die Somali-Sprache. II. Wörterbuch*. Wien, Alfred Hölder Verlag.
- Reintges, Ch. 1994. "Egyptian Root-and-Pattern Morphology", *Lingua Aegyptia* 4:213-244.
- Renisio, A. 1932. *Étude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair. Grammaire, textes et lexique*. Paris, Ernest Leroux.
- Reutt, T. E. & Kogan, E. Z. 1973. "Materialy po leksike jazykov margi i bura", in *Bespis'mennye i mladopis'mennye jazyki Afriki*. Moskva, Nauka:83-147.
- Roper, E.-M. 1928. *Tu Bedawie. An Elementary Handbook for the Use of Sudan Government Officials*. Hertford, Stephen Austin & Sons.
- Roquet, G. 1976. "Le nom de l'ânôn' en égyptien et en copte: sk3 (5<sup>e</sup> dynastie) CY[", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 76:37-63.
- Rossing, M. O. 1978. *Mafa-Mada: A Comparative Study of Chadic Languages in North Cameroun*. Ph.D. dissertation. Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Rössler, O. 1971. "Das Ägyptische als semitische Sprache", in Altheim, F. & Stiehl, R. (eds.), *Christentum am Roten Meer*. Band I. Berlin, New York, Walter de Gruyter:263-325.
- Sachnine, M. 1978. "Liste lexicale en Lamé du Cameroun", in Caprile, J.-P. & Jungrathmayr, H. (eds.), *Préalables à la reconstruction du proto-tchadique*. Paris, SELAF:195-201.
- SAK = *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* (Hamburg).
- Sarnelli, T. 1924-25. *Il dialetto berbero di Sokn*. (L'Africa Italiana, Supplement). Napoli.
- Sasse, H.-J. 1974. "Notes on the Structure of Galab", *BSOAS* 37:407-438.
- Sasse, H.-J. 1979. "The Consonant Phonemes of Proto-East-Cushitic (PEC)", *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 7/1: 1-67.
- Sasse, H.-J. 1982. *An Etymological Dictionary of Burji*. Hamburg, Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Satzinger, H. 1994. "Das ägyptische «Aleph»-Phonem", in *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten. Festschrift Gertrud Thausing*. Wien, Eigenverlag des Institutes für Ägyptologie der Universität Wien:191-205.
- Schlee, G. 1978. *Sprachliche Studien zum Rendille: Grammatik, Texte, Glossar*. Hamburg, Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Schneider, Th. 1993. "Sur l'étymologie de ncr 'dieu'. A propos d'une interprétation récente", *Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche* 12:77-86.
- Schneider, Th. 1997. "Beiträge zur sogenannten 'neueren Komparatistik'. Zum Gedenken an Otto Rössler (1907-1991)", *Lingua Aegyptia* 5:189-209.
- Schneider, Th. 1977. "Das Schriftzeichen 'Rosette' und die Göttin Seschat", *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 24:241-267.
- Schubert, K. 1971. *Kola Wordlist*. MS. Moloko.
- Schuh, R. G. 1981. *A Dictionary of Ngizim*. Berkeley CA, University of California.
- SED I = Kogan, A. & Militarev, A. (with assistance of A. Belova, A. Kovalev, A. Nemirovskaja, D. Nosnitsyn): *Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Vol. I. *Anatomy of Man and Animals*. Münster, 2000., Ugarit-Verlag.
- Segert, S. 1984. *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language with Selected Texts and Glossary*. Berkeley, Los Angeles CA, University of California Press.
- Shore, A.F. 1990. "Smash Not Sieve: Heqanakhte II, Rt. 30", *JEA* 76:164-166.
- Siebert, R. 1994. "Languages of the Abbaya/Chamo Area – Report Part I (with Notes on Koorete by L. Hoefl)", in *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia (S.L.L.E.) Reports* 21:1-24.



- Siebert, R. 1994-95. "A Survey of the Male Language", *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia (S.L.L.E.) Reports* 24:1-12.
- Simeone-Senelle, M.-C. 1997. "The Modern South Arabian Languages", in Hetzron, R. (ed.), *The Semitic Languages*. London, New York, Routledge:378-423.
- Sirlinger, E. 1937. *Dictionary of the Goemay Language*. Jos, Nigeria, Prefecture Apostolic of Jos.
- SISAJa I = D'jakonov, I. M.; Belova, A. G.; Četveruhin, A. S.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Porhomovskij, V. Ja.; Stolbova, O. V.: *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskij slovar' afrazijskih jazykov. Vypusk 1. p-ḫ<sup>3</sup>-b-f.* (Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XV godičnaja naučnaja sessija Leningradskogo Otdelenija Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR). Moskva, 1981., Nauka:3-127.
- SISAJa II = D'jakonov, I. M.; Belova, A. G.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Porhomovskij, V. Ja.; Stolbova, O. V.: *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskij slovar' afrazijskih jazykov. Vypusk 2. t-t-d.* (Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XVI godičnaja naučnaja sessija Leningradskogo Otdelenija Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR). Moskva, 1982., Nauka:3-93.
- SISAJa III = D'jakonov, I. M.; Belova, A. G.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Porhomovskij, V. Ja.; Stolbova, O. V.: *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskij slovar' afrazijskih jazykov. Vypusk 3. ɕ-ʒ, č-č-ž, š-š-š, D-E-, f-G-H s labialami* (Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XVI godičnaja naučnaja sessija Leningradskogo Otdelenija Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR). Moskva, 1986., Nauka: 3-46.
- Soden, W. von. 1955. "Zum akkadischen Wörterbuch. 67-80", *Orientalia* NS 24:377-394.
- Sokoloff, M. 1990. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Bizantine Period*. Ramat-Gan, Bar Ilan University Press.
- Stolbova, O. V. 2005. *Studies in Chadic Comparative Phonology*. Moscow, "Diaphragma" Publishers.
- Stolbova, O. V. 2005. *Chadic Lexical Database. Issue I. L, N, NY, R*. Kaluga, Poligrafija.
- Stolbova, O. V. 2005. "Vocabulary of 'Fishing' and 'Hunting' in Chadic and Hamito-Semitic", Mengozzi, A. (ed.), in *Studi Afroasiatici: XI Incontro Italiano di Linguistica Camitosemitica. Afro-Asiatic Studies: 11<sup>th</sup> Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic Linguistics*. Milano, Francoangelli: 29-41.
- Strümpell, F. 1910. "Vergleichendes Wörterverzeichnis der Heidensprachen Adamauas", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 42:444-488.
- Stumme, H. 1898. *Handbuch des Schilchischen von Tazerwalt*. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Sudlow, D. 2001. *The Tamasheq of North-East Burkina Faso. Notes on Grammar and Syntax Including a Key Vocabulary*. Köln, Köppe.
- Taïfi, M. 1991. *Dictionnaire tamazight-français (parlers du Maroc central)*. Paris, L'Harmattan-Awal.
- Takács, G. 2002. "Mokilko and Afro-Asiatic Comparative Linguistics", *Lingua Posnaniensis* 44:145-161.
- Takács, G. 2004. *Comparative Dictionary of the Angas-Sura Languages*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Tal, A. 2000. *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*. Vol. I-II. Leiden, E.J. Brill.
- Thausing, G. 1941. "Ägyptische Confixe und die ägyptische Verbalkonstruktion", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 68:5-34.
- Tosco, M. 2001. *The Dhaasanach Language. Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary of a Cushitic Language of Ethiopia*. Köln, Köppe.
- Toselli, P.G. 1939. *Elementi di lingua magi. Grammatica e dizionario con alcuni cenni sulla popolazione magi, a cura del P.G. Chiomio*. Torino, Istituto Missioni Consolata.
- Tourneux, H. 1978. *Le mulwi ou vulum de Mogroum (Tchad). Langue du groupe musgu - famille tchadique*. Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Tourneux, H. 1991. *Lexique pratique du munjuk des rizières. Dialecte de Pouss*. Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

- Tritton, A. S. 1933-35. "The Place of n in Forming Semitic Roots", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 7:33-35), 595-597.
- Urk. IV = Sethe, K. & Helck, W.: *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Heft 1-16 & 17-22*. Berlin, 1927-30., 1955-58., Akademie-Verlag.
- ÜKAPT I-VI = Sethe, K.: *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*. I-VI. Glückstadt, Hamburg, 1935-62., J. J. Augustin.
- Vergote, J. 1845. *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien*. Paris, Le Muséon.
- Vergote, J. 1973. *Grammaire copte: introduction, phonétique et phonologie, morphologie synthématique (structure des sémantèmes)*. Tome Ia: *partie synchronique*. Ib: *partie diachronique*. Louvain, Peeters.
- Walker, J. H. 1996. *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Anatomical Terminology*. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- Wb = Erman, A. & Grapow, H.: *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. I-V.<sup>2</sup> Berlin, 1957-1971, Akademie-Verlag.
- WD = Lapp, G. & Lüscher, B.: *Worddiskussionen. Provisorische Ausgabe*. Band I-III. (Place not indicated), 2002-03, (no publisher).
- Wedekind, K.; Tanaba, Wolde-Gebriel; Cheru, Zewde, "On the Wordlists of Diraasha (Gidole) and Muusiye (Bussa)", *SLLE Linguistic Reports* 19:3-16.
- Westendorf, W. 1962. *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag.
- Westendorf, W. 1989. *Bemerkungen und Korrekturen zum Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Göttingen, Universität Göttingen.
- Whiteley, W. H. 1953. *Studies in Iraqw*. Kampala, East African Institute of Social Research.
- Whiteley, W. H. 1958. *A Short Description of Item Categories in Iraqw (with Material on Gorowa, Alagwa and Burunge)*. Kampala, East African Institute of Social Research.
- WMT = Deines, H. von & Westendorf, W.: *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*. I-II. Berlin, 1961-2., Akademie-Verlag.
- Wolff, E. 1972. *Die Verbalphrase des Laamang (Nordostnigeria). Eine Studie zur Morphologie tschadischer Sprachen*. Ph.D. dissertation. Hamburg, Universität Hamburg.
- Wolff, E. 1974-75. "Sprachwandel und Sprachwechsel in Nordostnigeria", *Afrika und Übersee* 58/3-4: 187-212.
- Wölfel, J. D. 1955. "Eurafrikanische Wortschichten als Kulturschichten" (*Acta Salamanticensia. Filosofia y letras* 9/1). Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca.
- WUS = Aistleitner, J.: *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Phil.-hist. Klasse 106/3 (1963).
- Youssef, A. A.-H. 1987. "Two Lines of the Pyramid Texts Reconsidered", *ASAE* 71:261.4.
- Zyhlarz, E. 1932-33. "Ursprung und Sprachcharakter des Altägyptischen", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 23:25-45, 81-110, 161-194, 241-254.
- Zyhlarz, E. 1934. "Konkordanz ägyptischer und libyscher Verbalstammtypen", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 70:107-122.