

## Lexica Afroasiatica XII

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[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>.

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

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).

**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 ùngō (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 nūk “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-iŋ [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.] = \*n<sup>y</sup>a-n<sup>y</sup>g [GT]: WCh.: Ngizim náangà “insults, abuse”, náangú “to abuse, berate, insult” [Schuh 1981, 122] || ECh.: Tumak pāŋ “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 √ngʿ: ta-ngəʿa “to go up (smoke)” and perhaps Tna. √ngʿ: nāgʿaʿ [secondary -ʿ < \*ʿʿ?] “who grows fast”, nəguʿ “who surpasses” [Lsl. 1987, 390] ||| Eg. \*ng (unattested)<sup>6</sup> > Cpt.: (S) NO[, (SALFM) Na[, (S) NOK, (S<sup>A</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 ʔnnəžž “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. 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

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.

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 n̄ée- “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) níga “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 ʔánék “1. fardeau, pesanteur, 2. lourd” [Ajello 2001, 25, 34], Banana negè “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] = ngəst “pollution” [Jns./SS 1997, 390], Sq̄t. nigis “malpropre”, reflexive participle pl. mintigeshéten “sale, impure” [Lsl. 1938, 256] ||| SBrb.: Ghat e-nžes “éclabousser” [Nhl. 1909, 153] ||| CCh.: Mulwi ngingiži (-ğ-) “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. nəgaš “stoßen” [Levy 1924 III 339], JPAram. ngš “to gore” [Sokoloff 1990, 341], Mandaean 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.: Shilh nges “lutter à coups de tête” [Jordan 1934, 96] | Qabyle negges “bousculer”, nağes “heurter au passage, bousculer” [Dlt. 1982, 556] ||| EBrb.: Ghadames e-ngəž “donner des coups de corne, de tête” [Lnf.

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-ĥ.

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].

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. nağaša “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. nağa<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’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 \*√ngḥ** “1. to sink (fig.) to a miserable condition, 2. vanish” > Sem.: Yemeni Ar. ngḥ I “to come to an end, finish, vanish, fade, be consumed, be spent, done with, annihilated, empty”, II and IV “to finish, destroy” [Piamanta 1990, 478] || Eg. ndḥdh “(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 √ngḥ: e-ngeḥ “1. être déchu, destitué, 2. tomber dans la misère” [Dlt. 1982, 555: no Ar. borrowing is indicated].

**1001. AA \*√ngr ~ \*√nkr ~ \*√nḥr** “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) = nḥ3ḥ3 “croître, pousser, rebondir” (Piehl 1898, 322) = nḥ3ḥ3 “to be distended (of breasts of a goddess suckling her baby)” (Barns 1956, 22) = nḥ3ḥ3 “(une poitrine) brinqueballante” (Lacau 1972, 29, §26)<sup>12</sup> = ng3g3 “to be swollen (of breasts, with milk)” vs. nḥ3ḥ3 “to dangle” (Allen 1984, 587 and 558) > ng3g3 “se lever (en parlant du vent)” (CT II 1171, AL 78.2266)<sup>13</sup> || WBrb.: Zenaga √ngr: anguʔr ən tā-ufuk-t “le lever du soleil” [Ncl.

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. √grr “to pull” assuming a root ext. (prefix) n- in Syr., which is semantically dubious.

12. P. Lacau (l.c.) derived PT nḥ3ḥ3 from Eg. wh3 “secouer”, while G. Conti (1980, 93) affiliated it with Eg. ḥ3ḥ3 “ventilare”, nḥ3ḥ3 “flagello”, and wh3 “scuotere”.

13. Against AECT I 104, spell 106, n. 9, where R.O. Faulkner tried to render CT ng3g3 as a reduplication of ng3 “lack”.

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 nikār [-k- < \*-ḡ-] „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. \*nḡar- “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 √nḡr “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 ngāra “sich trennen, von einander Abschied nehmen” [Stumme 1899, 212], Sus ngara “se séparer” [Lst. 1921, 295] ||| WBrb.: Zenaga √ngr: ngīri “luxation, fracture” [Ncl. 1953, 232] ||| LECu.: Rendille ng'ēra “to open up, pull open, throw open”, ng'ura “to cut or slice through sg. completely” [PG 1999, 234] ||| ECh.: Nancere nḡḡər (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. ng3j (or to be read ngj?) “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 nug'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. ng3 “1. (PT-) töten, 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 1998, 77)<sup>17</sup>. Remotely, already A.R. Bomhard (1984, 279, #302) has referred to the connection of Sem. \*√ngl and Eg. ng3.

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. ng3 “aufbrechen”, thus lit. \**“das Aufgebrochene”* oder \**“Aufzubrechende”*, cf. ng3j.t (Wb II 349, 10: “von der Entjungferung”).

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. \*ḡ = Eg. q and ḡ).

**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] = negāl “offen” nigil “öffnen, aufdecken, enthüllen, bekannt machen” [Rn. 1895, 181] = nigil “to open, uncover, expose, make known”, nagāl “open, exposed” [Rpr. 1928, 222] = nigil “1. to open, 2. lay bare, 3. expose” [Hds. 1996 MS, 99] ||| LECu.: Somali nugúl “offen”, nuglân ~ nūgayl (m) “Offenheit” [Rn. 1902, 312] ||| WCh.: (?) Bokkos ngyel [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-āu “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-nčī, pl. i-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].

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 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. nt̄, 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].

**1010. AA \*√nk** “dirty” > Eg. *nṯn.t* [< \*√nkn, partial redupl.?] “Schmutz” (PT 1363a-b, Wb II 357, 11; AĀG 28, §61; GHWb 443) = “putrefaction or stench” (AEB 87.0281 pace Youssef 1987, 263)<sup>22</sup> ||| NBrb.: Mzab √ng: *i-nḡ-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-nāg* “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 *nāka* “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. *ē-nnəkəl* “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] = *nič* (*nəč*) “today” [Apl. 1987, 505], Kemant *niḡ* (*nəḡ*) “today” [Apl. 1991 MS, 12], Qwara *niḡī* ~ *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.] = *ḡaká* “oggi” [CR 1905, 170-1] = *nákí* “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 *ínčé* “today” [Alio 1988 MS] ||| CCh.: Mada *nāka* “maintenant” [Mch. 1953, 192] = *náaká* “now” [Stl.] ||| ECh.: Mokilko *ʔaḡki* “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) *nuḡa* (-gh-) “nose” [Grb. apud Bnd. 1971, 281, #60] = *núkaʔ*, pl. *nukáčoʔ* (m) “nose” [Heine 1975, 130] || SCu.: Qwadza (Ngomwia) *níykwa-to*, pl. *niykwé-mama* “Nase” [Claus 1910, 492] = *ningwa-to*, pl. *ningwagwawa* “nose” [Ehret 1980 MS, 9; 1980, 192: < \**dḡwa*] | Ma’a (Mbugu) *núnḡā* (*nungha*) “nose” [Mnh. 1906, 316] = *nuḡa* [Grb.] = *núnḡ’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] = *núkú* [Sbr./Bnd. 1996]

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. *ṯ*.

23. This trilateral Brb. root was combined by Th. Schneider (1997, 200, #49) directly with Eg. *nṯn.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.



MS, 2, #59], Hamer núki “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 nyuŋsi “nose” [Jng.] = núuŋsuuŋ [IL] = nyongsong [Gowers] = nyúŋsuŋ [Smz.] || CCh.: Gidar ĩnkĩnkö “Nase” [Str. 1910, 451] = mĩŋkiŋ “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-ŋà “to drink” [Ctc.] = hũŋèk-ŋà [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 \*niŋ (var. \*nuŋ?) → \*nəŋ “cow” [GT] = \*n[i]ŋ [Stl. 1977] = \*n[ə]ŋ “cow” [Dlg.] = \*nung < \*\*nAk-n [Stl. 1987]<sup>26</sup> | Boghom (Burma) naakh “cow” [Gowers] = na:k [Smz.] = nàk “бык” [Stl.], Mangas na-nak “bull” [Csp.], Tala nàk “cow” [Csp.] (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 235, #816) || CCh.: Bata nàkai “Ochs” [Barth 1852, 413] = nake “Kuh” [Str. 1910, 488] = nàq̄ke “boeuf” [Mch. 1950, 22] = nàakai “bull”, nàaku-tō “cow”, pl. nàakyé “cattle” [Pw. 2000, 59], Nzangi nakwe “cow” [Meek] = nàq̄ko “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; Dj. 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” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 95] | Mada nükw̄ɛɛ ~ níq̄e “peu” [Mch. 1953, 193] = nnoékw̄e “un peu, un tout petit peu” vs. nník̄e “un peu, un tout petit peu”, cf. ének “léger” [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 206] || ECh.: Mokilko nyêŋkú (m), nyêŋkó (f), pl. nyêŋkití [partial redupl.] “petit” [Jng. 1990, 148] (Ch.: Stl. 2005, i.e., CLD I 128, #473).

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 nággè “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. nũŋ?] “cow” [Ormsby 1914, 208, 314] = nũŋ “a cow” [Flk. 1915, 256] = nŋŋ “cow” [Jng. 1963, 278] = nən (so, -n) “cow” [Hfm.] = nəŋ “cattle” [ALC 1978, 46] = niŋ [nũŋ] “cow” [Krf.] = ning “cow” [Gcl. 1994, 52], Sura niŋ “Kuh (ohne Höcker)” [Jng. 1963, 77] = niŋ “humpless cow” [Hfm.] = nin (so, -n) [Stl.], Mupun nŋŋ “dama cattle” [Frj. 1991, 46], Kofyar noeng [nəŋ] “cow” [Ntg. 1967, 29] = nəŋ “cow” [Hfm.], Montol nung [act. nũŋ?] “cow” [Ftp. 1911, 215], Goemay noeng [nəŋ] “cow, bull, ox, cattle” [Srl. 1937, 164] = nəŋ “Kuh” [Jng. 1962 MS, 4] = neŋ (or nəŋ, not legible well) “cow” [Hfm.] = niŋ “cow” [Krf.] = neŋ “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”.

**1017. AA \*√nkd** “great” > Sem.: Sqt. nékid “2. devenir gras” [Lsl. 1938, 267: isolated in Sem.] ||| NBrb.: 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> ||| NBrb.: Wargla √nšt [-š- reg. < \*-k-]: ə-nnəšt “d’une certaine quantité, d’un certain volume” [Dlh. 1987, 227] ||| SAgaw: Awngi neket-əṅ “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 ʔpʿl “to recognize”, ʔkkrw “recognition” [Tal 2000, 527], JPArAm. √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” [Piamanta 1990, 497], Dathina √nkr I “regarder fixement, scharf blicken” [GD 2819-20] || Hrs. ankōr “to feel, realize” [Jns. 1977, 96], Jbl. nekər “to catch on, comprehend”, enúkur “to recognise”, enkér “to realise, recognise”, nútukur “to suspect sg. bad (about s’one)” [Jns. 1981, 188], Mhr. nīkər “to understand what s’one means, catch on”, hänkūr “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 \*√nq** “1. to be wet, 2. moisten” > Sem. \*nqʿ [root ext. -ʿ]: Ar. √nqʿ I: naqaʿa “1. tremper et macérer un médicament dans l’eau”, IV “1. macérer etc.”, nāqiʿ- “1. qui pénètre et s’infiltré dans le sang (poison, venin)” [BK II 1329-1330] = √nqʿ 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 715]<sup>31</sup> ||| Eg. nq.wt “Feuchtigkeit” (Med., Wb II 343, 17) = “moisture” (Breasted 1930, 497; FD 141)<sup>32</sup>, cf.

29. J. Osing’s (NBĀ 211; 2001, 574) dilettantic suggestion (Eg. nkt < kt “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 (DELC 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 \*kʿe.

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”.

LEg. nq̄ “Wasser” (GR, Osing 1998, 91) ||| PAgaw \*ənq-at- “to bathe” [Ehret] || ECu. \*nok- “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. \*nok- “water, river” [OS]. The Om.-Eg. etymology is due to HSED #1881.

**1021. AA \*√nk̄** “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-ny “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 \*√nk̄** “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 \*√nk̄** “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 ḡyê, 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 áḡgê-ř “refuser” [Krf.] (Ch.: Brt.-Jng. 1990, 76, 183). Areal parallel: NS \*nàk<sup>h</sup> “to reject” [Ehret 2001, 313, #251].

**1024. AA \*√nk̄** “to fill” > SCu.: Iraqw -niäq- “to fill” [Wtl. 1958, 93] = niq- [Ehret] = nôq “to fill” [Mgw. 1989, 116] = nīq [MQK 2002, 78; KM 2004, 218]<sup>35</sup> ||| CCh.: Hitkala ndəy- (-gh-) [nd- < \*n-?]<sup>36</sup>

32. Compared by several authors (Orel 1995, 108, #124; HSED #1881; Sts. et al. 1995 MS, 33; Hodge 1997, 212) with Sem. \*nky “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”, nk<sup>o</sup> (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”.

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-.

“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 nūquq “sweetness” [Wtl. 1958, 93] = nuquq “sweetness” [Ehret 1980, 186, #19] = nuqnūq “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” [Brt. 1988, 200] | Daba nínèk “bon” [LG 1975, 100].

**1026. AA \*√nḳf** “to hurt” > Sem.: Hbr. nqf piel “1. niederschlagen, umhauen (das Dickicht eines Waldes), 2. Haut abreißen” [GB 521], MHbr. nqf qal “stoßen, schlagen”, neqep “Schlag, Verwundung” [Dalman 1922, 277] = nqf qal “to bring in close contact, strike against, wound” [Jastrow 1950, 934], Samaritan Aram. √nqp “stroke”, ʔpʕl “to strike”, nqwp “pointed” [Tal 2000, 548], JPArām. √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-nḳəf “heurter (avec le pied contre, du pied), se heurter à/contre” [PAM 2003, 610].

**1027. AA \*√nḳž** “to be angry” > Sem.: Jbl.√nḳd: nḳd “to get annoyed at (l-) s’one but express o’self gently”, ḡeníkəḏ “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. nazāqu “to worry, be upset” [CAD n2, 136] = nazāqu “sich ärgern, Kummer haben, knarren”, niziqtu “Ärger, Kummer” [AHW 772, 799] || Ar. nzq I “3. se mettre facilement en colère et se radoucir promptement”, III “2. assaillir qqn. d’injures”, VI “se lancer réciproquement des injures” [BK II 1238-9] =

37. Ch. Ehret (190, 186, #19) combined the Iraqw-Burunge forms with Dahalo nūḳ- “to suck beer through a straw” to reconstruct a SCu. verbal root \*n/ḡjūḳ- “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 \*sāqnd > \*sāqna > triliteral \*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 l.c.). (3) Elsewhere, Fecht (quoted in KHW 526) proposed a derivation from Eg. caus. snḡt “steif machen” (Wb IV 170, 7).

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. \*nzḵ.

**1028. AA \*√nkš** “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”, nugsān “Mangel (scarcity), Fehler (defect)” [Deboo 1989, 195, 203] || Sqt. Náqaṣ “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-nq'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 \*√nḵ** “to split, crack” > Sem. \*nḵ: Hbr. nq̄ qal “sich abtrennen, entfremdet werden” [GB 521] = “to split, become separated” [Lsl.], MHbr. neqā “Erdvertiefung, Erdritzen, Sprünge” [Levy 1924 III, 441], Syr. neqā “cave, hole” [Lsl.] | Ar. naqa'a “7. tuer qqn., 12. égorger un chameau pour ses hôtes, 13. éclater contre qqn. en injurieux”, IV “7. déflorer une fille”, ʔunqū'-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. naqa' I “to strike (sun), bore through, deflower”, II “to crack” [Piamenta 1990-1, 495] = nūq̄ [-g- < \*-q-] “Riß (tear, gap)” [Deboo 1989, 203] || Geez √nq̄ “spalten” [Vrg.] = naq'a “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. nq̄ “(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 nq̄.wt ~ nq̄.w (pl.) “Schneiden als Schmerzen” (Med., WMT 485; NBÄ 80) = nq̄.wt “stechende Schmerzen (piercing pains) (?)” (Wst. 1962, 18, §30.a.1; 1989, 75; Walker 1996, 99) = nq̄.w “eine Krankheitserscheinung” (Wb II 343, 16) and nq̄.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. nikʔ(a) “to crack (intr.), become cracked”, nekʔε (f) “crack” [Rpr. 1928, 223] = nīki (f) “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).

40. W. Vycichl (DELC 95), followed by H. Satzinger (1994, 198), equated the Eg. root with Ar. √lq̄ “piquer (dit d'un serpent)”. A.F. Shore (1990, 165-166), in turn, concluded to regarding Eg. nq̄ 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- < \*-ʕ- cf. KHW 121, fn. 4 with further lit. and Peust 1999, 105.

**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] = ?iŋg- [Hyw. MS n.d., 2] = ?ĩŋga [Sbr. 1994, 15], Gidicho Ing-'ga [Bnd. 1971, 256], Male Ing- [Bnd. 1971, 264] = ?iŋg- [Hyw. MS n.d., 2] = ?mge-ni “he gives it to me” [Sbr. 1994-5, 9, #76], Gofa ?iŋg- [Hyw. MS n.d., 2], Zergulla ĩnge- [Bnd. 1971, 257], Kachama ?inagop [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-ndɔ “donner” [Krf. apud Brt.-Jng. 1990, 81], Higi-Bana ŋgá “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-nayk- [ʔin-naʔg] and Bussa naykayča [najgáʔca] “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. ntb [from \*nkb] “verzehren (Brennen)” (CT VI 270e, Osing 1976, 88) = “vb de sens inconnu: dessécher, brûler (?)” (AL 78.2281)<sup>42</sup> < ntb “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: ḥḥau “er klagte”, d-enḥī “indem ich klagte” [Bittner 1915, 39, #34, not apud Jahn] ||| Eg. ḥḥj “klagen” (MK, Wb II 305, 11)<sup>44</sup> ||| SBrb.: perhaps EWlmd.-Ayr √nkk: u-nkak “sangloter” [PAM 2003, 610] ||| ECh.: Somray nyāgānī (f) “deuil” [Jng. 1993 MS, 49] | Mubi nègín (m) “deuil” [Jng. 1990 MS, 36].

**1034. AA \*√ng** “child” > Sem.: (?) Akk. naḥtu “1. fledgling, bird”, niḥtu “fledgling (?)” [CAD n<sub>1</sub> 142] ||| Eg. ḥḥḥ “Knabe, Jüngling” (PT, Wb II 313, 6-7), cf. ḥḥḥ “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

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*”.

nyáħut (pl. of wel) “Kinder” [Schlee 1978, 143, #832] | Arbore náġ (m) “boy”, nāġ (f) “girl” [Hyw. 1984, 386], Elmolo náġ “child” [Heine 1980, 208] = nāk [\*-g] “Kind, kleines Mädchen” [Lmb. 1993, 365-6; LS 1997, 481-2] || SCu.: Ma'a ka-nyaħe “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 √nh̄y “exciter, zum Kampf auffordern” [GD 2755] || Eg. nh̄j “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. nh̄h “(parallel zu √nh̄ 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) = nh̄jh̄j (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- ~ \*nùγ- “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] | Warji náhã “sehen” [IL] = nah- [Skn.], Kariya nãhã “sehen” [Skn.], Mburku nay- “sehen” [Skn.] | Bubbure néekò “to look at” [Haruna 1992 MS, #f093] || CCh.: Fali-Bwagira ngu-n, Fali-Muchella nuŋga, Fali-Gili nàki “voir” (Bata gr.: Krf. 1972 MS) | Gude nãhã ~ nãngã “to watch, look after, take care of, stand guard over” [Hsk. 1983, 246] | Lamang (Hitkala) ny- (ngh-) “sehen” [Lks.] = nya, ñya “surveiller, garder, regarder” [Egc. 1971, 222] = nãγ-a (-gh-) “sehen” [Wolff 1972, 198] | Dghwede nyínè (ngh-) ~ nya (ngha) “sehen” [Frick apud JI] = néγà “to see” [Frick 1976 MS, 2, #41] = nãhénè (-x-) [IL], Glavda nay- (nagh-) “to see, perceive, be aware of” [RB 1968] | Mofu-Gudur ʾnæk- “regarder, voir, examiner” [Brt. 1988, 200] | Kotoko-Logone ngwa “sehen”, ngu-lí ~ ngò-li “(hinein)sehen”, ngò-há “aufwachen, wach sein” [Nct. apud Lks. 1936, 114] = gwa [Mch.] = ʾəngə “voir”, ngγ “vois” [Bouny 1978, 109] || ECh.: Bidiya náġ “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: naħafa “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 naħf-” [BK II 1222] || NBrb.: Mzg. √ngf: ngef ~ /→ nyef “perdre haleine, être essoufflé, haleter, être oppressé”, a-ngaf, pl. i-ngaf-n “1. essoufflement, halètement, 2. perte d’haleine, 3. respiration difficile, 4. asthme” [Tf. 1991, 475].

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. √nġt and √nġš “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.

**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* ~ *naḥuša* I “7. maigrir, devenir maigre” [BK II 1221] || NBrb.: Tamazight √ngz: *nneḡza* [z < \*c reg.] “1. être interrompu (prématurément), avorter (affaire), échouer, être inachévé, 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 \*√ngç** “to be small” > Sem.: Ar. *naḥša* “être maigre et décharné par suite de la veillesse”, *naḥiša* “diminuer, être en déchet (se dit des chairs chez une personne maigre)” [BK II 1221-2] || NBrb.: Qabyle √ngz: a-nḡaz “misère, dénuement” [Dlt. 1982, 557] || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur *nékəḡey* “un peu, peu de temps (après)”, *nékəḡey* *nékəḡey* “1. lentement, 2. un peu tout petit peu” [Brt. 1988, 200], Zulgo (Zelgwa) *nikid* “to diminish” [Brt. 1995, 202] || ECh.: Dormo *nagad-éng* (-Vng ending, -d error for -ḡ?) “wenig” [Lks. 1937, 91] | EDangla *nyókóḡí* “tout petit, minuscule, nain, menu” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 224]. Eventually related (as var.) to AA \*√nḡs supra.

**1041. AA \*√ngç** “to travel far away” > Sem.: Ar. √nhç 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) *niḡèn* “young man” [Sasse 1974, 419] = *niḡéḡn* (coll.f) “boy, male adolescent” [Tosco 2001, 522] || ECh.: Bidiya *niḡó* (m), *nèḡó* (f) [met. < \*niḡn-?] “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-ḡ* “to bend sg.” [Ibr. 2003 MS, 6].

**1044. AA \*√nḡ** “saliva” > Sem. \**naḥ-* “mucus (membrane)” [SED I 176, #197] = \**nVḥ-* “слизь, сопли, мокрота” [Kogan-Mlt. 2002, 151, #10]: Akk. (NAss.) *naḥnaḥatu* “Nasenscheidewand” [AHW

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. \*√ḡ carrying the “Grundidee des Werdens” (Thausing) = “to be an infant” (Reintges), cf. Eg. \*ḡ “placenta (?)”, ḥḡ “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. √nçr “Knabe, Knecht” [WUS #1808]; (3) OS 1992, 169; 1992, 184; HSED #1180: ~ Cu.-Om. \**na?*- “child” || WCh. \**hinan-* “child”.



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. *nḥṓḥ* “phlegm” [Jns. 1981, 199], Mhr. *nəḥyōḳ* “phlegm” [Jns. 1987, 308] || Geez *naḥā?* ~ *naʾaḥ* “phlegm” [Lsl. 1987, 396] || Eg. *nḥ* “Speichel” (PT, Wb II 318, 14-15) || WCh.: NBauchi *\*nəḳ-* “saliva” [GT]: Warji *nəniḳi-na ~ nənəkí*, Kariya *nənəkí*, Miya *nínəkí*, Siri *nīḳí*, Mburku *nənəḳə* etc. (NBCh.: Skn. in JI 1994 II 278) | Ngizim *nəwák* “saliva” [Schuh 1981, 123] || CCh.: Tera *naḥa* “saliva” [Nwm. 1964, 39, #108] | Mandara *nəḥḥ* [Mch.] | Paduko *ərḥa* [-r- < \*-n-] “salive/cracher” [Mch.] | Muzuk *ṭə-nəḳ* “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 \*√nḥ > \*√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”, *ṭa-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’veiller” [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.: Musgu *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] = *nāagé* (*nak, nūwáak*), pl. *nāwàgé* (*nèwīk, nūwáak*) “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 \*√nḥ** “to be pleased” > Eg. *nḥnḥ* “(vom Herzen) sich freuen” (PT, Wb II 312, 11; GHWb 427)<sup>50</sup> || Sem.: MSA *\*√nḥw:* 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 *\*ʾānḥ* “to be satiated” [KM 2004, 58].

**1047. AA \*√nḥ** “fat, thick” > Sem. *\*√nḥḥ*:<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 *ḥʿj* “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.

53. Attested in Angas *nük* “any thickened liquid (as gruel, beer, etc.)” [Flk. 1915, 255] = *nək* “Dickflüssigkeit, dickflüssig” [Jng. 1962 MS, 28], Musheré *nik* [nək?] “thick”, *puk ni mun nik* “the soup is too thick” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 165], Goemay *noek* [nək]

**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 Sträußen 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-ngəy* (imper.) “to flow”, *a-ngi*, pl. *i-ngi-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 *ʔōḥké*<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].

#### ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES

“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.

(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 & Jungraithmayr,  
 Ajl.: Ajello,  
 Akl.: Aklilu,  
 Alb.: Albright,  
 AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse,  
 Apl.: Appleyard,  
 Aplg.: Applegate,  
 Ast.: Aistleitner,  
 Bgc.: Bougchiche,  
 Bgn.: Beguinot,  
 BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky,  
 Blf.: Boulifa,  
 Blz.: Blažek,

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

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

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