

SOME BERBER ETYMOLOGIES X

GÁBOR TAKÁCS

ABSTRACT: Gábor Takács. *Some Berber Etymologies X*. *Lingua Posnaniensis*, vol. LV (1)/2013. The Poznań Society for the Advancement of the Arts and Sciences. PL ISSN 0079-4740, ISBN 978-83-7654-273-7, pp. 99–110.

My series “Some Berber Etymologies” is to gradually reveal the still unknown immense Afro-Asiatic heritage in the Berber lexical stock. The first part with some miscellaneous Berber etymologies was published back in 1996. Recently, I continued the series according to initial root consonants¹ in course of my research for the volumes of the *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian* (abbreviated as EDE, Leiden, since 1999, Brill)² with a much more extensive lexicographical apparatus on the cognate Afro-Asiatic daughter languages. As for the present part, it greatly exploits the results of my ongoing work for the the fourth volume of EDE (analyzing the Eg. lexical stock with initial *n-*).

The present part contains etymologies of Berber roots with initial **n-* followed by sibilants. The numeration of the entries continues that of the preceding parts of this series. In order to spare room, I quote those well-attested and widespread lexical roots that appear common Berber, only through a few illustrative examples. The underlying regular consonant correspondences between Berber vs. Afro-Asiatic agree with those established by the Russian team of I.M. Diakonoff and summarized by A.Ju. MILITAREV: (1991, 242–243).

Gábor Takács, Székesfehérvár, Hungary, gabtak@mail.datatrans.hu

¹ “Some Berber Etymologies II: Berber Lexical Roots with **b-*” appeared in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 45 (2003), 93–119; “Some Berber Etymologies III: Berber Lexical Roots with **b-*” was published in NAÏT-ZERRAD K., IBRISZIMOW D. & VOSSEN R. (eds.). 2004. *Nouvelles études berbères, Le verbe et autres articles. Actes du “2. Bayreuth-Frankfurter Kolloquium zur Berberologie”, Berber Studies vol. 8*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 191–204; “Some Berber Etymologies IV: Berber Lexical Roots with **f-*” in *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 10 (2005), 173–201; “Some Berber Etymologies V: Berber Lexical Roots with **m-*” appeared in *Folia Orientalia* 44 (2008), 89–105; “Some Berber Etymologies VI: Berber Lexical Roots with **m-*” was published in *Journal of Linguistic Relationship* (Moscow) 2 (2009), 91–113; “Some Berber Etymologies VII: Berber Lexical Roots with **-r//w/y-*” is forthcoming in METTOUCHI A. (éd.). 2011. “*Parcours berbères*”: *Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand pour leur 90^e anniversaire*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 97–115; “Some Berber Etymologies VIII” appeared in SERRA L., TOLLA A.M. di, GHAKI M. & HABOUSS A. (éds.). 2011. *Pluralità e dinamismo culturale nelle società berbere attuali, Studi Africanistici, Quaderni di Studi Berberi e Libico-Berberi* 1. Napoli: UNIOR (l’Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”), 79–90; “Some Berber Etymologies IX” is forthcoming in ALLATI A. (éd.). Probably to appear in 2013. *Auréoles berbères: Mélanges Offerts à Michael Peyron*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

² Which was carried out partially during my research fellowship at Frankfurt (Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften) in 1999–2000 and 2002, which was facilitated by the grant of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Bonn). I express my utmost thanks to the Humboldt Foundation as well as to my professor in Frankfurt, Herrmann Jungrathmayr, the prominent Chadicist, for his invaluable help and support.

Berber *n- + *-z-

361. NBrb.: Mzg. \sqrt{nz} : *i-nziz* “chanter (à voix basse), fredonner, lamenter des chants tristes, funèbres, se lamenter en chantant”, *a-nza* “gémissement, geignement mystérieux entendus à la tombée de la nuit près de la tombe d’un assassiné ou d’un inconnu (on dit que ces gémissements sont des appels à la vengeance)” [Tf. 1991, 512–513] || Sem.: JNAram. \sqrt{nz}° “to cry and sigh” [SABAR 2002, 230] || Eth.-Sem.: Gurage-Zway (*a*)*nāzā* “to sigh, groan, moan” [Lsl. 1979 III 466].

362. NBrb.: Izdeg \sqrt{nz} : *u-nzu* “avoir une hémorragie nasale” [Mrc. 1937, 137] || Sem.: Ar. \sqrt{nzw} (stem I: *nazā*) IV “2. faire saigner, faire perdre beaucoup de sang” [BK II 1243] = I: *nazā* “(à l’actif) perdre son sang jusqu’à épuisement” [FAGNAN 1923, 171] || (???) Eg. *nz* “Blutbad” (XXVI., Wb II 319, 5: ob richtig?)³ || CCh.: (?) Mofu-Gudur *náz* “sangsue” [Brt. 1988, 201] < AA \sqrt{nz} “to bleed” [GT].

363. Brb. \sqrt{nz} : Wargla *i-nəz* “se pencher, s’incliner en avant” [Dlh. 1987, 231] | Mzg. *a-nz* ~ *u-nz* “se soumettre, se baisser, s’incliner”, *a-nmaz* “1. soumission, 2. attitude humble, modeste” [Tf. 1991, 512] | Qabyle *a-nez* “1. s’incliner, 2. se soumettre”, *zzi-nez* “s’abaisser (surtout en sens fig.)”, *a-nmuz* “abaissement, attitude humble” [Dlt. 1982, 589], Menaser and Zwawa *a-nez* “baisser” [Bst. 1885, 152], Shenwa *a-nz* “s’abaisser” [Lst. 1912, 148] || SBrb.: Hgr. *e-neh* “être inclinée en avant” [Fcd. 1950–1951, 1345] || Sem.: Ar. *nassa* “4. descendre à l’eau, à l’abreuvoir, à une aiguade (se dit d’une troupe de nomades, des pâtres, etc.)” [BK II 1243] || Eg. *ns* “vom Einsinken des Fusses in den Ackerboden” (Med., Wb II 320, 19) = “einsinken” (GHWb 430) = “to sink, settle” (BREASTED 1930, 337) > *ns.wt* “eine Krankheitserscheinung am Nackenwirbel: Senkung (?)” (Med., Wb II 324, 16) = “displacement” (Breasted l.c.) || Ch. \sqrt{nc}^4 “to sink” [GT]: WCh.: Hausa *nícà* (-*ts*-) “2. to penetrate into, 3. Vanish”, *nícò* (-*ts*-) “vanishing below the water, 2. swimming under water, 3. being hidden” [Abr. 1962, 705–706] = *nic-* ~ *nuc-* (-*ts*-) “to abate, sink, vanish” [Skn.]⁵, Gwandara *nùcù* “1. to dive, 2. Sink” [Mts. 1972, 91] || CCh.: Margi *nčù* “2. to immerse, dive” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 127] < AA \sqrt{nc} “to sink” [GT].

364. Brb. \sqrt{nz} “to sneeze” [GT]⁶: NBrb.: Mzab *ə-nza* “éternuer” [Dlh. 1984, 142], Wargla *ə-nzi* “éternuer” [Dlh. 1987, 232] || EBrb.: Ghadames *ə-nzu* “éternuer” [LANFRY 1973, 255, #1199], Siwa *ə-nzu* “éternuer” [Lst. 1931, 234] || Eg. *nš.wt* “Schleim der Nase” (Med., Wb II 338, 13) || NOM.: Hozo *ónstì*, Sezo I *ʔónšę*, II *ʔónsòònsá* “to cough” (Mao: Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 11, #88).

365. Brb. \sqrt{nz} “lock of hair” [GT]: NBrb.: Mzg. *ta-unza*, pl. *tì-zi-win* “toupet” [ABÈS 1916, 137], Izdeg *ta-unza*, pl. *tì-unzi-win* “toupet” [Mrc. 1937, 252] | Mzab *ta-nəz-t*, pl.

³ The etymology of this late (Saite) Eg. lexeme is disputed. Alliot (RdE 10, 1955, 1–4) identified it with Eg. *ns* “Verletzung (?)” (NE Mag., Wb II 321, 4) and connected both to *nsns* “(Verbum von den Fingern im Vergleich mit einem Opferstier)” (NE, Wb II 335, 1) = “zerschneiden (?)” (GHWb 432). If this hypothesis is correct, Eg. *nz* has to be withdrawn here.

⁴ O.V. Stolbova (2003, 303) reconstructed PCh. $\sqrt{nuč}$ - “to sink, plunge into the water” on the basis of ECh.: Migama *nũudjò* “enfoncez, plonger” [JA 1992], which is, however, not related to the WCh.-Margi isogloss.

⁵ N. SKINNER (1977, 43) equated the Hausa root with North Bauchi \sqrt{ns} “to swim”, which is to be declined. Later he (SKINNER 1996, 209) suggested even more improbable parallels, e.g., ECu. \sqrt{no}° - “to sink” etc.

⁶ The AA parallels compared by A. MILITAREV & O. STOLBOVA (1990, 70) are either semantically or phonologically untenable.

ti-nzaz “paquet de mèches de laine que l’on tire du peigne et que l’on enroule sur une quenouille pour la filer” [Dlh. 1984, 143] | Qabyle *i-nziz*, pl. *i-nziz-en* “1. crin long (de mulet, de cheval), 2. fil fin et fort, ficelle fine, cordelette, 3. corde vibrante qui soustende la peau du tambourin, 4. fibre (de muscle), 5. élastique (subst.)” [Dlt. 1982, 591] || WBrb.: Zenaga *a-nz* “cheveux” [Msq. 1879, 498] = *e-nziza* “broderie” [Bst. 1909, 248] || Dem. *nšj.t* “Haarlocke” (CED 115) > Cpt. (S) *ṢṢṢṢ* (pl.) “locks of hair” (CD 237a; SMITH 1958, 122) = “Locken (?)” (KHW 132, 526) = “boucles (de cheveux)” (DELC 149), cf. Eg. *nš.t* “Haarmacherin” (MK, Wb II 337, 6–7) = “hair-dresser” (FD 140).

366. Brb. **√nzy* “to pull out” [GT]: NBrb.: Shilh *a-nzay* “attirement, étirement. Tirage” [JORDAN 1934, 38] | Mzg. *nzey* “1. (re)tirer, extraire, 2. haler, traîner” [Tf. 1991, 513], Izdeg *nzey* “extirper, extraire, tirer” [Mrc. 1937, 111, 250], Zayan and Sgugu *nzey* “1. tirer, extraire” [Lbg. 1924, 573] | Nefusa *é-nzay* “tirare, tirar fuori” [Bgn. 1931, 275] = *ə-nzəy* “tirer de l’eau” [Lst. 1931, 302] || EBrb.: Gdm. *ə-nzaʕ* [ʕ < *ɣ] “puiser” [Lst.], Sokna *ö-nzay* “tirer en dehors de qq. lieu que ce soit” [Lst.] || Sem.: Ar. *naqaša* “to extract, pull out” || Jibbali *nqes* “to take out (an embedded thorn)” || Geez *naqasa* “to pluck away, extract (a thorn from the foot)”, Tna. *näqäsä* “to pinch, extract a thorn from the foot”, Amh. *näqqäsä* “to pick, clean by picking, extract a thorn from the foot” (Sem.: Lsl. 1987, 400) || (?) Eg. *nssq* “eine Krankheit am oder im Kopf, Haar ist ausgefallen” (Med., Wb II 336, 14; GHWb 433) = “alopecia areata (umschriebener Haarausfall): Kahlkopf, Glatzköpfigkeit jeder Art” (EBBELL 1924, 56–57, §1, 1929, 119; 1932, 101, 1967, 87–88) = “Haarausfall” (HAM 840) = “a disease of the head which results in loss of hair” (SATZINGER 2003 MS, 1)⁷.

367. Brb. **√nZR* “saigner du nez” [NZ] = “to bleed (of nose)” [GT]: NBrb.: Wargla *√mnzr*: *mmunzər* “saigner du nez” [Dlh. 1987, 232] | Mzg. *√gnzr*: *gunzer* ~ *√knzr*: *kunzer* ~ *√mnzr*: *munzer* “saigner du nez” [Tf. 1991, 514] || SBrb.: Hgr. *a-ñhər* “sang s’écoulant par les narines dans un saignement de nez”, cf. also *fuñhər* “avoir la narine coupée”, Ayr *e-finžar* “coupure de narine (âne)” (SBrb.: PRASSE 1969, 37, #60) || Eth.-Sem. **√nsr* “to bleed” [Lsl. 1979 III 462]⁸ > e.g., Tigre *√nsr* “to bleed”, Amh. *näsir* “nosebleed”, hence Geez *nasir* (ES: Lsl. 1963, 120; 1987, 403).

368. SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr *√nzl*: *ə-nzəl* “1. être effacé (écriture), 2. (EWlmd.) tomber dans l’oubli, en disparaître de l’usage” [PAM 2003, 637] || Sem. **√nzl* “to descend”⁹ [GT]: Mandean *√nzl* “to descend, go down, disappear, melt” [DROWER-MACUCH 1963, 295] | OSA: Sabean *nzl* “going down, descending, downward” [BIELLA 1982, 299], Ar. *nazala* “1. descendre” [BK II 1239] = *nazala* I “s’adoucir, se relâcher de ses exigences, descendre (devant une ville pour l’attaquer, l’assiéger)”, *ta-nzīl-* “diminution, abaissement, descente” [FAGNAN 1923, 170–171] || Eg. *nznzn* [< **nzll*] “schlechter Zustand des Toten” (PT, Wb II 319, 12) = “ver-/untergehen” (ÜKAPT VI 143) = “se détacher complètement (de)” (AL 79.1628) = “to pass away” (ALLEN 1984, 586) = “sich vollständig lösen von (?), vergehen (?), zerstört sein (?)” (GHWb 433) < AA **nzīl* “1. to descend, 2. disappear” [GT].

⁷ Its etymology is uncertain, since – due to its knife determinative – J. Osing (NBÄ 303) rendered it as belonging to the class of “*Intensiva von Verbalsubstantiven*” deriving from Eg. *nsq* “stechen”. EBBELL (1924, 56–57, §1), in turn, equated it with OHbr. *neteq* “Alopecia areata”, but Sem. **t* ≠ Eg. *s*.

⁸ The Eth.-Sem. root has a strangely irregular reflex in Gurage *√ntr* “to bleed” [Lsl.].

⁹ Contamination with Sem. **√nzl* “to flow” [GT]?

369. NBrb.: **Tuat** √*nzl*: *te-nzel-t*, pl. *te-nzal* “oeuf” [Bst. 1887, 422; 1890, 322] | Mzg.: Izdeg *nnizel-t*, pl. *nnizl-at* “orgelet” [Tf. 1991, 514] || Sem.: Akk. *niššulātu* “Fischrogen (?)” [AHW 796] = *niššulu* (*nimšulu*) “(fish) roe (?)” [CAD n2, 235] || Eg. *nš3* (*n šʿj*) “Körner (des Sandes)” (Med., Wb II 338, 16) = “grains (of sand)” (FD 140) = “Sandkorn bzw. -körner” (GHWb 434) < AA *√*nšl* “grain, particle” [GT].

370. Brb. *√*nzy*: NBrb.: Mzg. *nzu* “1. être précoce, arriver tôt, de bonne heure, 2. faire en priorité, faire, commencer le plus tôt possible” [Tf. 1991, 512] | Qabyle *e-nzu*, *e-nzi* “aborder en priorité, faire passer le premier” [Dlt. 1982, 590] || EBrb.: Ghadames *a-mə-nzu* “le début, le commencement” [LANFRY 1973, 255, #1201] || SBrb.: Hgr. *i-ñhi* [*h* < **z*] “aller de grand matin à, chez” [Fcd. 1950–1951, 1350]¹⁰ || CCh.: Mandara *nzə* “surpasser” [Mch.], Malgwa *nza* “früher” [LÖHR 2002, 304].

Berber **n*- + **s*-

371. Brb. *√*ns*: NBrb.: Mzab *t-nas-t* “clé” [Dlh. 1984, 139–140], Wargla *t-nas-t* “clé” [Dlh. 1987, 224–225] | Mzg. *ta-nas-t* “clé (pour ouvrir)” [Tf. 1991, 497] || EBrb.: Gdm. *tu-nīs-t* ~ *tu-nī:ss* “clef à dents, en bois” [LANFRY 1973, 247, #1162] = *tu-nis-t* “clé” [Mtl. 1904, 112], Siwa *t-nās-t* “(longue) clef (de bois)” [Lst. 1931, 216] = *te-nés-t* “key” [QUIBELL 1918, 102], Sokna *t-nās-t* “chiave” [SARNELLI 1924–1925, 14] = *t-nas-t* “(longue) clef (de bois)” [Lst.], Audjila *te-nīš-t* “chiave” [Prd. 1960, 162], Fogaha *ta-nās-t* “chiave” [Prd. 1961, 300], Djerba (Gellala) *te-nās-t* “clé” [SAADA 1965, 496] || SBrb.: Ghat *ta-nas-t* “cadenas, serrure” [Nhl. 1909, 137, 205] || Sem.: Ar. √*ntt* I “1. répandre, propager (une nouvelle)”, √*ntw* I “1. disperser, disseminer çà et là”, √*nty* I “divulger, répandre dans le public (un bruit, un fait)” [BK II 1195, 1197] || Eg. *ns* “ouvrir la bouche de façon hostile” (CT IV 19c, AL 78.2223) = “den Mund öffnen (feindlich)” (GHWb 431) = “to open (?)” (DCT 245) || NAgaw: Kemant *ənš-/ənč-* “to undo” [Apl. 1996, 18], Qwara *ənš-əz-* [Rn./Apl.] < AA *√*nč* “to open” [GT].

372. NBrb.: **Sened** √*ns*: *ens* “s’êteindre”, *s-ens* “êteindre” [PROVOTELLE 1911, 113] || (?) Sem. **nšy* “to forget” [MEPARIŠVILI 1987, 13, §2] || Eg. *nss* “beschädigen, verstümmeln (Statuen, Inschrift)” (MK, LP, Wb II 336, 12–13; ÄWb II 1347a)¹¹ || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur *-nəs-* “1. endommager, abîmer, gâter, (se) perdre, 2. handicaper, 3. maudire” [Br. 1988, 201] < AA *√*ns* “to abolish” [GT].

373. Brb. *√*ns*: Mzg. *nse* “suinter, filtrer (intr.)” [Tf. 1991, 497] | Qabyle *t-nesses* “suinter goutte à goutte, être imbibé”, *a-nessis* “suintement, infiltration (du sol)” [Dlt. 1982, 575] || Sem.: Ar. *nasīs-at-* “1. humidité qui s’échappe et suinté du bois humide, à l’extrémité opposée à celle que le feu consume” [BK II 1244] = *nasīs-* “terrain fendillé par des suinte-

¹⁰ Or any connection to Hgr. *ā-nəhu*, pl. *i-nha* “excédent du partageants (dans un partage par groups égaux)” [Prs. 1969, 81, #536]?

¹¹ Usually treated as the pharaonic etymon of Cpt. (SF) $\lambda\omega\omega\mathcal{C}$, (SBF) $\lambda\omega\mathcal{C}$ “zerbrechen, zerstoßen, brechen” (Wb II 336; VERGOTE 1950, 293; CED 74, KHW 80, DELC 99, SATZINGER 1994, 198), but the root class Ilae gem. (where Eg. *nss* belonged) could not have produced such a Coptic reflex (instead of * $\lambda\mathcal{C}\mathcal{O}\mathcal{C}$). J. ČERNÝ (CED 74) affiliated the Eg. and Cpt. roots with JAram. *rāsas* “to crush” [DALMAN 1922, 386], but Sem. **r-* ≠ Eg. *l-*. The AA etymology (AA **-ḥoč-* “to be damaged, not function right”) offered by Ch. EHRET (1995, 323, #629) for the Eg. root is phonologically equally unacceptable.

ments d'eau”, \sqrt{nsns} “suinter latéralement (parois du puits)” [FAGNAN 1923, 171–172] ||| WCh.: Hausa *náásè* “1. (clothing) become greasy with perspiration, etc., 2. (oil) spread (on clothing), 3. be damp (house)”, *nàs-nàs* “greasiness of mouth after eating oily food” [Abr. 1962, 700] = *nààsóó* “exuding of damp from floor or walls” [Brg.] < AA \sqrt{ns} “to moist” [GT]. An ultimately related var. is represented by AA \sqrt{nc} “to moist” [GT] > Sem.: Ar. \sqrt{ntt} I “1. suer et se couvrir d’humidité à la surface extérieure (se dit d’une outre remplie d’eau), 3. oindre, enduire d’onguent (une plaie, etc.)”, \sqrt{ntnt} I “1. suer, se couvrir d’humidité à sa surface extérieure (une outre), 2. avoir une forte transpiration (se dit d’un homme)” [BK II 1195, 1197]¹² ||| SCu.: Iraqw *nic-a* (-*ts-*) “moisture” [Mgw. 1989, 116] = *nīc* (-*ts*) “to moist”, *nic-a* (-*ts-*) “moisture”, *nic-ī* “to spit without saliva” [MQK 2002, 79] ||| CCh.: Uldeme *nəč* “eau qui s’infiltré dans la terre”, *nəčnəč* (idéoph.) “eau qui s’infiltré dans la terre, se mouiller vite” [Clm. 1986, 144, 1997, 209] = *nəc* (-*ts*) “eau qui s’infiltré” [Clm. 1987, 87].¹³

374. Brb. \sqrt{ns} : Wargla *ss-nəsnəs* “tomber des gouttes de pluie, faire des gouttes”, *ti-nəsnəs* (pl.) “gouttes éparées de pluie” [Dlh. 1987, 224] | Qabyle *e-nnešš* “pluie forte, bruine” [Dlt. 1982, 539] ||| Sem.: Hadramawi \sqrt{nsy} “amener la pluie” [LANDBERG 1901, 723], Dhofar *nəšwa* “Regenwolke” [Rdk. 1911, 59] ||| NOm.: Yemsa *nāsà* “Tau” [Lmb. 1993, 371], Yemsa-Fofa *nā:sā* “dew” [Akl.-Sbr. 1993, 36]. Any connection to Eth.-Sem. \sqrt{nsns} : Geez *nasnasa* “éparpiller (les cendres, l’herbe)” [STRELCYN 1948–1951, 44, §30] = “to scatter, sprinkle, spread, strew about” [Lsl. 1987, 402–403], Tna. *nəsnəsä* “to spread, sprinkle” and Gurage \sqrt{nsns} “to sprinkle powdery substance” [Lsl. 1979 III 461], Amh. *nəsännəsä* “éparpiller” (cf. hence NAgaw: Kemant *nəsänäs*) [CR 1912, 238]?

375. NBrb.: Mzg. \sqrt{ns} > Izdeg and Zayan *ta-nas-t*, pl. *ta-nas-in* “1. pot en fer avec anse, 2. petit récipient en bois ou en fer pour boire, récipient en cuivre du porteur d’eau” [Tf. 1991, 497–498], Zayan and Sgugu *ta-nas-t* “petit récipient en bois ou en fer qui sert à boire” [Lbg. 1924, 573] ||| Sem.: (?) Akk. *nussu* “ein Tonbehälter” [AHW 806] = “cracked pot” [CAD n2, 352] ||| Eg. *nš.w* “Art Topf, auch als Mass” (MK, Wb II 338, 15) = “e. Gefäß (aus Metall, Elfenbein)” (GHwB 435).¹⁴

376. NBrb. $\sqrt{a-nsV}$ “place” [GT]: Shilh *a-nsa* “emplacement, aire” [JORDAN 1934, 37] | Mzg. *a-nsa*, pl. *a-ns-iwn* “endroit, lieu, emplacement, place” [Tf. 1991, 497; PEYRON 1991, 294] | Taghzut *a-nsi* “endroit” [Rns. 1932, 393] ||| Eg. *ns.t* “Thron, Sitz” (PT, Wb II 321–323) = “Stelle, Sitz” (IV., PUSCH 1974, 22)¹⁵ cf. also its specific uses as “Untersatz” (V., ABUSIR & KAPLONY 1972, 206) = “une sorte de support de vase, base (d’objet)” (V., Abusir, PK 1976, C17, 674) > “Teil der Ziegelrampe” (NE, Wb II 324, 1) = “Basis, Fundament (einer

¹² O.V. STOLBOVA (CLD I 231, #92) compared this Ar. root directly with Hausa \sqrt{ns} .

¹³ V. de COLOMBEL (1987, 87) derived it from a monoradical root $\sqrt{-c}$ (-*ts*) “arracher”, but her theory on monoradical roots in Uldeme regularly fails in the light of the external evidence.

¹⁴ The Eg. vessel name has been usually explained deverbally from Eg. *nš* “herausfließen” (GRIFFITH 1898, 52; NBĀ 169; MM 1983, 204).

¹⁵ In the egyptological linguistics (where external etymologies are usually ignored), the Eg. word has frequently been regarded as an *n-* prefix extension of Eg. *s.t* “Sitz, Wohnsitz, Platz, Stelle, Ort” (OK-, Wb IV 1–6), whose reading is somewhat dubious (Wb l.c.: “*vor dem š stand urspr. wohl ein schwacher Konsonant*”, Westendorf: *w.s.t* or *js.t*), cf. AĀG lxiv; FECHT 1960, 181, fn. 508, §374; WESTENDORF 1962, 22, fn. 1; NBĀ 25, 324; VERGOTE 1973 lb, 156; BARTA 1978, 11, fn. 15; FISCHER-ELFERT 1986, 125; PEUST 1992, 119, fn. 13. W. WESTENDORF (1987, 460), in addition, derived both Eg. *s.t* and *ns.t* from a certain Eg. $\sqrt{w3s}$ “heben, erhöhen, tragen” (not attested with these meanings).

Rampe) (NE, FISCHER-ELFERT 1986, 125, 300) ||| Bed. *nīs* (*m*) “pad under (camel’s) saddle to protect animal’s back”, *nīs* “to saddle up” [ROPER 1928, 225; HUDSON 1996, 101] ||| WCh. **nV*s- “to put down” [Stl.]¹⁶: Hausa *násà* “1. to put (e.g., balls of *fúrá* in the cooking-pot), 4. throw (spear at)” [Abr. 1962, 699–700] | Buli *náásə* “to put down” [Cosper apud Stl.] || CCh.: Bura *nsi* “bleiben, sich setzen, werden” [Hfm. apud RK 1973, 94] || Ech.: Birgit *nèsì* (*nèsá, nèsò*) “se réposer” [Jng. 2004, 357] < AA **√ns* “to place” [GT].

377. SBrb. **√nsns*: EWlmd. *nāšnās*, Ayr *nāšnāš* “nettoyer à fond (+ métal), nettoyer les parties métalliques de (+ selle)” [PAM 2003, 626] ||| Eg. *nš* “Korn vom Kornhaufen abkehren zur Worflerin hin” (OK, Wb II 337, 11) = “zusammenscharren” (PUSCH 1974, 22) = “(Korn mit der Gabel) zusammenscharren (?), herausschaufeln (?)” (GHWb 434) = “zukehren” (ALTENMÜLLER 1998, 281) = “abkehren” (WD III 65) < AA **√ns* “to sweep” [GT].

378. Brb. **√nsr* “(se) moucher” [GT]: NBrb.: Rif *nsar* “moucher” [TILMATINE 1998, 113], Mzab *ə-nsər* “être mouché, se moucher, expulser” [Dlh. 1984, 140], Wargla *ə-nsər* “se moucher, être mouché, essuyer le nez” [Dlh. 1987, 225] | Qabyle *e-nsər* “se moucher”, cf. also *e-nzer* “1. se moucher, 2. avoir un grand nez¹⁷” [Dlt. 1982, 577, 592], Zwawa *e-nsər* “moucher” [Bst. 1890, 322] || EBrb.: Gdm. *e-nsər* “se moucher” [Mtl. 1904, 138] vs. *a-nsir-en* (pl.) “morve” [LANFRY 1973, 248, #1170] || SBrb.: EWlmd. *i-nšer-ān* and Ayr *ə-nšer-ān* “mucosités du nez, morve” [PAM 2003, 628], Ghat *i-nšir-en* (pl.) “morve, humeur des narines” [Nhl. 1909, 180] = *i-nšir-ən* “morve” [Bst. 1929, 40]¹⁸ ||| Eg. *nz3* [3 < *r] “to blow out (of one’s nose)” (CT III 100d, AECT I 159; DCT 245)¹⁹ ||| Ech.: (?) Mubi *ḡèsér* (*ḡ-* < obscure) “(se) moucher” [Jng. 1990 MS].

379. Brb. **√nsr*: NBrb.: Mzg. *nsər, nesser* “1. se défaire, détacher” [Tf. 1991, 498–499] || SBrb.: EWlmd. *se-nsər* “déchirer, fendre” [Ncl. 1957, 62] = *ə-ḡsər* and Ayr *ə-ḡšər* “1. être détaché violemment, être arraché de force, 2. être déchiré, 3. être égratigné, gratté, 4. (Ayr) couper par arrachement, décrocher” [PAM 2003, 626, 628] ||| Sem.: Akk. *nasāru* “to cut (?)” [CAD n1, 23] || Ar. *nasara* “déchirer ou ouvrir, faire crever (une plaie, un abcès)” [BK II 1248] ||| Eg. *ns3* (written with -z-) “briser” (late NK, AL 79.1619) = “zerbrechen” (GHWb 431) < AA **√ns/cr* “to tear apart” [GT]. Extended from AA **√ns* “to open” [GT]. Cf. also Sem. **√ntr*: Akk. *našāru* “abteilen” [AHW 759]²⁰ || Ar. *ntr* VI “tomber par morceaux, par parcelles, s’émietter” [BK II 1196], Yemeni Ar. **√ntr* I: *naṭar* “to cut up, dissect, rip out, open”, VI: *atnātar* “to break up, split (intr.)” [PIAMENTA 1990–1991, 478] suggesting AA **√ncr* [GT].

380. Brb. **√nsr* “to burn” [GT]: NBrb.: Wargla *ti-nsər-t*, pl. *ti-nsar* “sorte de brasero en terre cuite qui sert de brûle-parfums ou de chauffe-rette, de réchaud” [Dlh. 1987, 226] | Qab-

¹⁶ O.V. STOLBOVA (CLDI I 133, #495a) compared the WCh. root with Akk. *naʾāšu* (sic) “to throw down” (sic) referring to CAD *n1*, 8, where, however, the meaning of *naʾāšu* is labelled “uncertain” and its “occurrences refer to the symptoms of a sick person”, so it is hardly to be compared at the moment.

¹⁷ This second sense may be purely denominal < *ti-nzer-t*, pl. *ti-nzar* ~ *ta-nzar-in* “1. narine, nez” [Dlt. 1982, 592] and may thus etymologically belong to a distinct AA root.

¹⁸ A. BASSET (1929, 40) explained the Berber word from a basic root *-ns/z-* (sic) “lip”.

¹⁹ Hardly miswritten for *nʃ3*.

²⁰ The Sem. etymology of the Akk. root has been disputed and discussed in other contexts. W. von Soden (AHW 759) combined it with Ar. *nasara* “wegnehmen”, but since BIELLA (1982, 318) identified the latter with Sabea *mnsy:t* “detachment of troops” (Ar. *mansir-, minsar-*), J. HUEHNERGARD (1991, 691) ruled von Soden’s idea and suggested instead Ar. *našara* and Jibbali *nšār* “to spread (out)” (tr.) as cognates of Akk. **√nsr*.

yle *a-nazir* [irregular -z-] “1. brasier avec flamme, 2. grosse chaleur, 3. fièvre” [Dlt. 1982, 593] || EBrb.: Gdm. *ta-naser-t*, pl. *t-nasar* “brûle-parfum en terre cuite” [LANFRY 1973, 248, #1171] || Eg. *nsr* “brennen” (PT, Wb II 335), *nsr* “Feuer, Flamme” (PT, Wb II 335, 13).

Brb. *n- + *-š-

381. NBrb. Izdeg √*nš*: *ta-nuši*, pl. *ti-nuši-win* “assemblage” [Mrc. 1937, 25] || Sem.: Mandaean *NŠA* II “to collect, gather” [DROWER-MACUCH 1963, 307].

382. NBrb.: Zayan and Sgugu √*nns*: *ta-nanša* “cris, vacarme, tumulte”, cf. perhaps *nša* “être grave, importante, critique” [Lbg. 1924, 574] || Sem.: Ar. *našnaša* “9. agiter, secouer, remuer avec force, 10. donner une forte impulsion à qqch., pousser, mettre en mouvement”, *našnašiyy-* “agile, vif, adroit” [BK II 1266] || Eg. *nšnj* “wütend sein, rasen (Gegs. *hṭp* friedlich, gestimmt, ruhig)” (PT-, Wb II 340) < AA *√*nš* “to rage” [GT].

383. NBrb. *√*nšw*: Mzg. (Seghrushen) *nšu* “être déplumé” [PELLAT 1955, 122] = *nšew* “se déplumer, être déplumé” [Tf. 1991, 503] | Qabyle √*nšw* “être déplumé, épilé”, *m-s/še-nšaw* “se battre, s’arracher mutuellement les cheveux” [Dlt. 1982, 541], Zwawa *e-nšū* “être déplumé” [Blf. 1910, 213] || Sem.: Ar. *našnaša* “3. ôter la chair de dessus l’os, 5. arracher des plumes avec le bec et les disperser (se dit d’un oiseau)” [BK II 1266] || Sem.: Ar. √*nšl* (root ext. -l) I: *našala* “weg-, herausreißen” [Hazim quoted apud SHATNAWI 2002, 745] borrowed into NBrb.: Qabyle *e-nšel* “être dépuoillé, privé de sa peau, écorce, 2. s’écailer” [Dlt. 1982, 540] || Eg. *nšnš* ~ *šnš* “(vom Zerreißen o.ä. der Bücher)” (CT V 66f, Wb II 342, 6) = “to tear up (documents)” (DCT 249).

Addenda

384. EBrb.: Gdm. √*nbs*: *a-se-nbəs* “éventail”, *sə-nbəs* “éventer, s’éventer avec l’éventail” [LANFRY 1973, 233, #1084] || Sem.: OHbr. √*nšb* (var. of √*nšp*) *qal* “wehen (v. Winde)” [GB 526] = “to blow” [KB 728], Samaritan Aram. √*nšb* *p^l* “1. to blow (wind), 2. flutter (like an eagle that awakens its nestlings)” [TAL 2000, 549], JAram. √*nšb* “to blow, breathe” [JASTROW 1950, 938, 941], JPAram. √*nšb* “to blow (of wind)” [SOKOLOFF 1990–1991, 361].

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES

(A): Akhmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, (B): Bohairic, Bed.: Bed’awye, Brb.: Berber, Ch.: Chadic, CCh.: Central Chadic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ECh.: East Chadic, ECu.: East Cushitic, EWlmd.: East Tawllemmet, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period, GW: syllabic or group-writing, Hbr.: Hebrew, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Irq.: Iraqw, JAram.: Jewish Aramaic, Jbl.: Jibbali, JPAram.: Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, (L): Lycopolitan (or Subakhmimic), LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, Lit.: literary texts, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Mzg.: Tamazight, N: North, NBch.: North Bauchi, NBrb.: North Berber, NK: New Kingdom, NOm.: North Omotic, Nslm.: Taneslemt, O: Old, OEg.: Old Egyptian, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, PCh.: Proto-Chadic, PCu.: Proto-Cushitic, PT: pyramid texts, Qbl.: Qabyle, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Samar.: Samaritan, SBrb.: South Berber, Sem.: Semitic, Tna.: Tigrinya, W: West(ern), WBrb.: West Berber, WCh.: West Chadic, WSem.: West Semitic, Zng.: Zenaga.

ABBREVIATIONS OF AUTHOR NAMES

Abr.: Abraham, Akl.: Aklilu, Apl.: Appleyard, Bgn.: Beguinot, BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky, Blf.: Boulifa, Bnd.: Bender, Brg.: Bargery, Brt.: Barreteau, Bst.: Basset, Clm.: Colombel, CR: Conti Rossini, CrI.: Cerulli, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, Dbr.-Mnt.: Djibrine & Montgolfier, Ehr.: Ehret, Fcd.: Foucauld, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hnrg.: Huehnergard, JA: Jungtraithmayr and Adams, Jng.: Jungtraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, KB: Koeehler & Baumgartner, Krf.: Kraft, Lbg.: Loubignac, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, Mgw.: Maghway, Mlt.: Militarev, MM: Majzel' and Militarev, MQK: Mous, Qorro, Kießling, Mrc.: Mercier, Msq.: Masqueray, Mtl.: Motylinski, Mts.: Matsushita, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nhl.: Nehlil, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, PK: Posener-Krieger, Prd.: Paradisi, Prs.: Prasse, Prv.: Provotelle, Rdk.: Rhodokanakis, RK: Reutt & Kogan, Rns.: Renisio, Rpr.: Roper, Sbr.: Siebert, Skn.: Skinner, Spg.: Spiegelberg, Stl.: Stolbova, Stz.: Satzinger, Tf.: Taifi, Tlm.: Tilmatine, Vrg.: Vergote, Vcl.: Vycichl, Wst.: Westendorf.

REFERENCES

- AÄG = EDEL Elmar. 1955. *Altägyptische Grammatik*. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
- ABÈS Mohamed. 1916. (?). *Manuel de berbère marocain*. (Place not indicated) (publisher not indicated).
- ABRAHAM R.C. 1962. *Dictionary of the Hausa Language*.² London: University of London Press.
- AECT = FAULKNER Raymond Oliver. 1973–1978. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. I–III. Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- AHW = SODEN Wolfram von. 1965–1981. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. I–III. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- AKLILU Yilma, SIEBERT Ralph, SIEBERT Kati. 1993. “Survey of the Omotic Languages ‘Sheko’ and ‘Yem’.” *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia (S.L.L.E.) Reports* 10, 1–25.
- AL I–III = MEEKS Dimitri. 1998. *Année lexicographique. Égypte ancienne*. Tome 1–3 (1977–1979). 2ème édition. Paris: Cybele.
- ALLEN Thomas George. 1984. *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*. Bibliotheca Aegyptia, vol. 2, fasc. 1–2. Malibu: Udena Publications.
- ALTENMÜLLER Hartwig. 1998. *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- APPLEYARD David. 1996. “‘Kaïliña’ – A ‘New’ Agaw Dialect and Its Implications for Agaw Dialectology.” In: HAYWARD & LEWIS 1996: 1–19.
- ÄWb II = HANNIG Rainer. 2006. *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II. Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit*. I–II. Hannig-Lexica 5. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- BARGER G.P. 1934. *A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary Compiled for the Government of Nigeria*. London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford.
- BARRETEAU Daniel. 1988. *Description du mofu-gudur. Langue de la famille tchadique parlée au Cameroun*. Livre II. *Lexique*. Paris: Éditions de l'ORSTOM.
- BARTA Winfried. 1978. “Bemerkungen zur Etymologie und Semantik der Götternamen Isis und Osiris.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 34, 9–13.
- BASSET André. 1929. *Études de géographie linguistique en kabyle*. (I. *Sur quelques termes berbères concernant le corps humain*). Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux.
- BASSET André. 1929. *La langue berbère. Morphologie. La verbe: étude de thèmes. Collection du centenaire de l'Algérie*. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux.
- BASSET René. 1885. “Notes de lexicographie berbère.” *Journal Asiatique* VIII, 5, 148–198.
- BASSET René. 1887. “Notes de lexicographie berbère.” *Journal Asiatique* VIII, 10, 365–464.
- BASSET René. 1890. *Loqmân berbère avec quatre glossaires et une étude sur la légende de Loqmân*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- BASSET René. 1890. *Le dialecte de Syouah*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- BASSET René. 1909. *Mission au Sénégal*. Tome I. *Étude sur le dialecte zenaga*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- BEGUINOT Francesco. 1931. *Il berbero Nefûsi di Fassâto*.¹ Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- BENDER Marvin Lionel (chief ed.), APPLEYARD David, TAKÁCS Gábor (eds.). 2003. *Selected Comparative-Historical Afrasian Linguistic Studies in Memory of Igor M. Diakonoff*. Lincom Studies in Afroasiatic Linguistics 14. München–Newcastle: Lincom Europa.

- BK = BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI A. de. 1860. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. Paris: Maisonneuve & Co. Editeurs.
- BIELLA Joan Copeland. 1982. *Dictionary of Old South Arabic*. Chico: Scholars Press at Harvard.
- BOULIFA Ammar ben Saïd. 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.
- BREASTED James Henry. 1930. *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*. Vol. I. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- 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.
- CD = CRUM Walter Ewing. 1939. *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CED = ČERNÝ Jaroslav. 1976. *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. London–Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CLD I = STOLBOVA Olga V. 2005. *Chadic Lexical Database. Issue I. L, N, NY, R*. Kaluga: Poligrafiya.
- COLOMBEL Véronique de. 1986. *Phonologie quantitative et synthématique. Propositions méthodologiques et théoriques avec application à l'ouldémé (langue tchadique du Nord-Cameroun)*. Paris: SELAF.
- COLOMBEL Véronique de. 1987a. “Classes verbales en ouldémé?” In: JUNGRAITHMAYR & TOURNEUX 1987: 25–31.
- COLOMBEL Véronique de. 1987b. “Les extensions verbales productives, mi-figées ou fossilisées en langue ouldémé.” In: JUNGRAITHMAYR & TOURNEUX 1987: 65–91.
- COLOMBEL Véronique de. 1997. *La labgue ouldémé (Nord-Cameroun). Précis de grammaire, texte, lexique*. Paris: Association de Linguistique Africaine.
- CONTI ROSSINI Carlo. 1912. *La langue des Kemant en Abyssinie*. Wien: Alfred Hölder.
- CT = BUCK Adrian de. 1935–1961. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. I–VII. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- DALLET Jean-Marie. 1982. *Dictionnaire qabyle-français. Parler des At Mangellat (Algerie)*. Paris: Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologique de France (SELAF).
- DALMAN Gustaf H. 1922. *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch*. Frankfurt a/M: J. Kaufmann Verlag.
- DCT = MOLEN Rami van der. 2000. *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- DELC = VYČIHL Werner. 1983. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*. Leuven: Peeters.
- DELHEURE Jean. 1984. *Dictionnaire mozabite-français*. Paris: Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologique de France (SELAF).
- DELHEURE Jean. 1987. *Dictionnaire ouargli-français*. Paris: Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologique de France (SELAF).
- DROWER E.S., MACUCH R. 1963. *A Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- EBBELL Bendix. 1924. “Die ägyptischen Krankheitsnamen I–III.” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 59, 55–59.
- EBBELL Bendix. 1929. “Die ägyptischen Krankheitsnamen XXI–XXIV.” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 64, 117–122.
- EBBELL Bendix. 1932. “Papyrus Ebers und die altägyptischen Ärzte.” *Acta Orientalia* 10, 95–107.
- EBBELL Bendix. 1967. “Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte einiger Infektionskrankheiten.” *Skrifter Utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi I Oslo, II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse, Ny Serie* 6, 1–112.
- EDE I = TAKÁCS Gábor. 1999. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Volume One: *A Phonological Introduction*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- EDE II = TAKÁCS Gábor. 2001. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Volume Two: *b-, p-, f-*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- EDE III = TAKÁCS Gábor. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Volume Three: *m-*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- EHRET Christopher. 1995. *Reconstructing Proto-Afroasiatic (Proto-Afrasian). Vowels, Tone, Consonants, and Vocabulary*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, California: University of California.
- FAGNAN E. 1923. *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*. Alger: Jules Carbonel.
- FD = FAULKNER Raymond Oliver. 1962. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- FECHT Gerhard. 1960. *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache*. Glückstadt: Verlag J.J. Augustin.
- FISCHER-ELFERT Hans-Werner. 1986a. *Literarische Ostraka der Ramessidenzeit in Übersetzung*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- FISCHER-ELFERT Hans-Werner. 1986b. *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I. Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- FOUCAULD Charles de. 1951–1952. *Dictionnaire touareg-français, dialecte de l'Ahaggar*. Vol. I–IV. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale de France.

- GB = GESENIUS Wilhelm (bearbeitet von BUHL Frants). 1962. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament. Unveränderter Neudruck der 1915 erschienenen 17. Auflage*. Berlin–Göttingen–Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.
- GHWb = HANNIG Rainer. 1995. *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- GRIFFITH Francis Llewelyn. 1898. *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob (Principally of the Middle Kingdom). Text*. London: Bernard Quaritch.
- HAM = WESTENDORF Wolfhart. 1999. *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*. Leiden: Brill.
- HAYWARD Richard J., LEWIS I.M. (eds.). 1996. *Voice and Power. The Culture of Language in North-East Africa*. London: SOAS.
- HUDSON Richard A. 1996. *A Dictionary of Beja. Draft Printout. February 29, 1996*. Version prepared by R.M. Blench.
- HUEHNERGARD John. 1991. "Further South Semitic Cognates to the Akkadian Lexicon." In: KAYE 1991: 690–713.
- JASTROW Marcus. 1950. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. Vol. I: ʔ-k, Vol. II: l-t. New York: Pardes Publishing House Inc.
- JORDAN Antoine. 1934. *Dictionnaire berbère-français (dialectes tašelhait) contenant 6.025 formes*. Rabat: Éditions Omnia.
- JUNGRAITHMAYR Hertmann. 1990. *Lexique mubi-français (Tchad oriental)*. MS. Frankfurt a/M.
- JUNGRAITHMAYR Hertmann. 2004. "Das Birgit, eine osttschadische Sprache – Vokabular und grammatische Notizen." In: TAKÁCS 2004: 342–371.
- JUNGRAITHMAYR Hertmann, ADAMS Abakar. 1992. *Lexique migama*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- JUNGRAITHMAYR Hertmann, TOURNEUX Henry (eds.). 1987. *Études tchadiques. Classes et extensions verbales*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- KAPLONY Peter. 1972. "Das Papyrusarchiv von Abusir." Or. NS 41, 11–79, 180–244.
- KAYE A.S. (ed.). 1991. *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His Eighty-Fifth Birthday, November 14th, 1991*. Vol. I. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- KB = KOEHLER Ludwig, BAUMGARTNER Walter. 1994–2000. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. I–V. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- KHW = WESTENDORF Wolfhart. 1977. *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- LAMBERTI Marcello. 1993. *Materialien zum Yemsa*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- LANDBERG Le Comte de. 1901. *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale. Premier volume: Ḥaḍramoût*. Leiden: Brill.
- LANFRY le P. Jacques. 1973. *Ghadames. II. Glossaire*. Alger: Le Fichier Périodique.
- LAOUST Émile. 1912. *Étude sur le dialecte berbère du chenoua comparé avec ceux des Beni-Menacer et des Beni-Salah*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- LAOUST Émile. 1931. *Siwa. I. Son parler*. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux.
- LESLAU Wolf. 1963. *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California.
- LESLAU Wolf. 1979. *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*. Vol. III. *Etymological Section*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- LESLAU Wolf. 1987. *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- LOUBIGNAC Victorien. 1924. *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Zaïan et Aït Sgougou. Textes (deuxième section)*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- LÖHR Doris. 2002. *Die Sprache der Malgwa (Nára Málgwa). Grammatische Erstbeschreibung einer zentralschadischen Sprache Nordost-Nigerias*. Frankfurt a/M: Peter Lang Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften.
- MAGHWAY J.B. 1989. "Iraqw Vocabulary." *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 18, 91–118.
- MAJZEL' S.S. (additions by and edited by MILITAREV Aleksandr Ju.). 1983. *Puti razvitiya kornevogo fonda semitskih jazykov*. Moskva: Nauka.
- MASQUERAY Émile. 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, 3ème série, tome 5ème*, 483–533.
- MATSUSHITA Shuji. 1972. *An Outline of Gwandara Phonemics and Gwandara-English Vocabulary*. Tokyo: Tokyo Press.
- MEPARIŠVILI M.N. 1987. *Sibiljanty v južnosemitskih jazykah. MS. Avtoreferat dissertacii na soiskanie učennoj stepeni kandidata filologičeskikh nauk*. Tbilisi: Institut Vostokovedenija AN Gruzinskij SSR.

- MERCIER Henri. 1937. *Vocabulaires et textes berbères dans le dialecte des Ait Izdeg*. Rabat: René Céré.
- MILITAREV Aleksandr Ju., STOLBOVA Ol'ga V. 1990. "First Approach to Comparative-Historical Phonology of Afrasian (Consonantism)." In: MUKAROVSKY 1990: 45–72.
- MILITAREV Aleksandr Ju. 1991. "Istoričeskaja fonetika i leksika livijsko-guančskih jazykov." In: SOLNCEV 1991: 238–267.
- MOTYLINSKI Gustave Adolphe de Calassanti. 1904. *Le dialecte berbère de R'edamès*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- MOUS Maarten, QORRO Martha, KIESSLING Roland. 2002. *Iraqw-English Dictionary with an English and a Thesaurus Index*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- MUKAROVSKY Hans G. (ed.). 1990. *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*. Band I. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- NBÄ = OSING Jürgen. 1976. *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*. I–II. Mainz/Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- NEHLIL Mohamed. 1909. *Étude sur le dialecte de Ghat*. Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux.
- NICOLAS Francis. 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.
- OSING J., DREYER G. (Hrsg.). 1987. *Form und Mass. Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst der alten Ägyptern. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- PARADISI Umberto. 1960. "Il berbero di Augila. Materiale lessicale." *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 35(3–4), 157–177.
- PARADISI Umberto. 1961. "El-Fôgâha, oasi berberofona del Fezzân." *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 36(3–4), 293–302.
- PELLAT Charles. 1955. *Textes berbères dans le parler des Ait Seghrouchen de la Moulouya*. Paris: Éditions Larose.
- PEUST Carsten. 1992. "Zur Herkunft des koptischen H." *Lingua Aegyptia* 2, 117–125.
- PEYRON Michaël. 1991 (?). "Isaffen ghanin" (*Rivières profondes*). *Poésies du Moyen-Atlas Marocain traduites et annotées*. Casablanca (Maroc): Wallada.
- PIAMENTA Moshe. 1990–1991. *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. I–II. Leiden: Brill.
- POSENER-KRIÉGER Paule. 1976. *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (Les papyrus d'Abousir)*. I–II: *Traductions et commentaire*. Le Caire: IFAO.
- PRASSE Karl-Gustav. 1969. "A propos de l'origine de h touareg (tahaggart)." *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskaberne Selskab. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser* 43(3).
- PRASSE Karl-Gustav, ALOJALY Ghoubéid, MOHAMED Ghabdouane. 2003. *Dictionnaire touareg-français (Niger)*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen.
- PROVOTELLE Paul. 1911. *Étude sur la tamazir't ou zénatia de Qalaât es-Sened (Tunisie)*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- PT = SETHE Kurt. 1908, 1910. *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*. I–II. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- PUSCH Edgar. 1974. "Register der ägyptischen Wörter zu Junker Giza I–XII." *ZÄS* 101, 13–35.
- QUIBELL J.E. 1918. "A Visit to Siwa." *ASAE* 18, 78–112.
- RdE = Revue d'Égyptologie (Paris).
- RENISIO Amédée. 1932. *Étude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair. Grammaire, textes et lexique*. Paris: Éditions 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.
- RHODOKANAKIS Nikolaus. 1924. "Die Inschriften an der Mauervon Kolän-Timna^o." *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 200(2).
- ROPER E.-M. 1928. *Tu Beḏawie. An Elementary Handbook for the Use of Sudan Government Officials*. Hertford: Stephen Austin & Sons.
- SAADA Lucienne. 1965. "Vocabulaire berbère de l'île de Djerba (Gellala)." *Orbis* 14, 496–500.
- SABAR Yona. 2002. *A Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dictionary. Dialects from Amidyā, Dihok, Nerwa and Zakho, Northwestern Iraq*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- SARNELLI Tommaso. 1924–1925. "Il dialetto berbero di Sokna." *L'Africa Italiana* (Napoli), supplement.
- SATZINGER Helmut. 1994. "Das ägyptische «Aleph»-Phonem." In: *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten. Festschrift Gertrud Thausing*. Wien, Eigenverlag des Institutes für Ägyptologie der Universität Wien, 191–205.
- SATZINGER Helmut. 2003. *Review of EDE II*. MS. To appear in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 93.
- SHATNAWI Ma'en Ali. 2002. "Die Personennamen in den tamudischen Inschriften. Eine lexikalisch-grammatische Analyse im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung." *UF* 34, 619–784.

- STIEBERT Ralph, WEDEKIND Charlotte. 1994. "Third S.L.L.E. Survey on Languages of the Begi/Asosa Area." *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia (S.L.L.E.) Reports* 15, 1–19.
- SKINNER Neil. 1977. "North Bauchi Chadic Languages: Common Roots." *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 4(1), 1–49.
- SMITH H.S. 1958. "Three Coptic Etymologies." *JEA* 44, 122.
- SOKOLOFF Mikhael. 1990. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Bizantine Period*. Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press.
- SOLNCEV V.M. (ed.). 1991. *Jazyki Azii i Afriki*. IV, kniga 2. Moskva: Glavnaja Redakcija Vostočnoj Literatury.
- STOLBOVA Ol'ga V. 2003. "Sibilant Affricates in Chadic." In: BENDER et al. 2003: 291–306.
- STRELCYN S. 1948–1951. "Quelques éléments du vocabulaire magique éthiopien (séries verbales)." *GLECS* 5, 41–45.
- TAÏFI Miloud. 1991. *Dictionnaire tamazight-français (parlers du Maroc central)*. Paris: L'Harmattan-Awal.
- TAKÁCS Gábor (ed.). 2004. *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam Werner Vycichl*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- TAL Abraham. 2000. *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*. Vol. I–II. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- TILMATINE Mohamed (avec la collaboration de EL MOLGHY Abdelghani, CASTELLANOS Carles, BANHAKAIA Hassan). 1998. *La llengua rifenya Tutlayt tarift*. 1. *Gramàtica Rifenya*. 2. *Lèxic bàsic Amazigh-Català-Francès*. 2a edició revisada, corregida i ampliada. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Departament de Traducció i d'Interpretació.
- ÜKAPT I–VI = SETHE Kurt. 1935–1962. *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*. I–VI. Glückstadt–Hamburg: J.J. Augustin.
- VERGOTE Josef. "Review of ERMAN A. & GRAPOW H. 1950. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. Band VI." *Muséon* 63, 289–294.
- VERGOTE Josef. 1973. *Grammaire copte: introduction, phonétique et phonologie, morphologie synthématique (structure des sémantèmes)*. Tome Ia: *partie synchronique*. Ib: *partie diachronique*. Louvain: Peeters.
- Wb = ERMAN Adolf, GRAPOW Hermann. 1957–1971. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. I–V.² Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- WD = LAPP Günther, LÜSCHER Barbara. 2002–2003. *Wordiskussionen. Provisorische Ausgabe*. Band I–III. (Place not indicated), (no publisher).
- WESTENDORF Wolfhart. 1962. *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- WESTENDORF Wolfhart. 1987. "Zur Etymologie des Namens Osiris: *w3s.t-jr.t "die das Auge trägt"." In: OSING & DREYER 1987: 456–461.