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LEXICA AFROASIATICA IX

GÁBOR TAKÁCS

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Comparative-historical Afro-Asiatic linguistics has undergone significant development over the past 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 the comparative research on Afro-Asiatic lexicon (the so-called “old school”, cf. EDE I 2–4). During the third period (second half of the 20th century), whose beginning 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 most recent attempts (either unfinished or rather problematic) at compiling an Afro-Asiatic comparative dictionary (SISAJa I–III, HCVA I–V, HSED, EHRET 1995).

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 were observed independently from me.¹ 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* started in 2002² for communicating new Afro-Asiatic lexical correspondences observed recently during my work, which may later serve as basis of a new synthesis of 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*.

Each entry is headed by the proposed PAA root (as tentatively reconstructed by myself). Author names

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” (with 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 **p*-, **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 the series of GLECS (*Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d’Études Chamito-Sémitiques*). 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.

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 5 (or 6) 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 1 9–34. The number of vertical strokes indicates 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 publications³) 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-l* was kept as such by Semitic and South Cushitic (AA **t* continued as **d* 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*, **č*, **ç*, **s*, **š*, **š*, **ç*, **š*, **ç*, **š*, **ç*, **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 reconstruct exactly 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).⁴

This part contains new Afro-Asiatic roots with **n-* followed by a labial.

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AA **n-*

866. AA **n-b* “odor, smell” > Sem.: Ar. *nabb-at-* “odeur désagréable, fétide” [BK II 1178] ||| ECh.: WDangla *nibé* & EDangla *nibē* “sentir (avec le nez), flairer” [DM 1973, 218] = EDangla *nibē* “riechen” [Ebs. 1979, 126; 1987, 91], Migama *núbáw* “sentir (odeur), flairer, puer” [JA 1992, 110], Bidiya *nuub* “sentir, flairer” [AJ 1989, 102]. This Ar.-ECh. etymology was observed independently also by STOLBOVA (2005, 111, #387).

867. AA **n-b* “to call by name” > Sem. **nbʔ* (tr.) “to name, proclaim” [Hnrg. 1999, 91, #3] > e.g. Akk. *nabû G* “1. (mit Namen) nennen, 2. jmdn. berufen, 3. verordnen” [AHW 699] ||| SOM. (Aroid) **nab-* ~ **nam-* “name” [Bnd. 2003] = **nāb-* (from ***naʔb-*?) “name” [GT]: Ari *nāmi* [Bnd. 1971, 263, #55] = *nām-* [Bnd. 1994, 155] = *nam-i* [Bnd. 1994, 1159, #55], Banna *nābi* [Bnd. 1971, 264, #55], Galila *lām-* [Bnd.], Hamer *nam-* ~ *nab-* [Lydall apud Bnd.], Dime *napp-o* [Bnd. 1971, 263, #55] = *nāp-* [Flm./Bnd. 1994] = *nāb-i/o* [Flm./Bnd. 1996 MS, 2, #55] = *nāf-u* [Bnd. 1996 and 2003] (SOM.: Bnd. 1994, 155; 2003, 214, #92). The Sem.-SOM. etymology was recorded independently by EHRET (1995, 315, #610).

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 **ʔ*) or **K* for any unknown velar stop (**g*, **k* or **k̄*) or **Q* for any unknown postvelar/uvular (**g*, **q* or **q̄*), while **H* for any laryngeal or pharyngeal (**ʔ*, **h*, **ç*, **h*, also **ɣ*).

868. AA *n-b “1. big, 2. old” > Sem. *nyb ~ *nwb “to be big, elder” [GT]: Ar. nyb: *nāba* II “3. être très-âgé (se dit surtout d’une chamelle)”, *nāb-*, pl. *nuyūb-* ~ ?*anyub-* ~ ?*anyāb-* “1. dent canine, 2. (de là) chef d’une tribu, d’une communauté, le premier parmi les siens” [BK II 1375] = *nāb-* “alte Kamelin” [Rdk.] = *nāb-*, pl. ?*anyāb-* “1. (f) dent canine, litt. la ‘grande’ dent, 2. (m) chef de tribu, d’une communauté et son gran homme” [Vcl. in DELC pace Lisān *al-ʿarab*] = *nāb-* “1. she-camel (sic), 2. head of family” [Lsl. 1962, 67] = *nāb-* “1. Stammeshäuptling, 2. alte Kamelstute” [Vcl. 1960], cf. also Ar. *nawb-* “power” [Vollers, ZA 23, 1909, 105], Yemeni Ar. *nwb*: *nāb* (impf. *yinūb*) “to rule” [PIAMENTA 1990, 499] || MSA **nwb*: Hrs. *e-nōb*, *nyōb* “big” [Jns. 1977, 99], Mehri *a-nōb* (f) “groß, älter” [Rdk. 1911, 22, §110] = *nōb*, pl. *nəyōb* “big” [Jns. 1987, 306] = *ḥa-nōb* “grand, âgé” [LSS 1983, 195], Mehri of Qishn *a-nōb* (f) “big (grande)” [SS, also LONNET 1993, 66, fn. 38], Bathari *nawb* “big” [Morris/SS] (MSA: SS 1997, 393) || ES: (?) Geez *nop* ~ *nāp* [irreg. -p] “deacon, Our Lady, strong” [Lsl. 1987, 398] (Sem.: Lsl. 1962, 67) ||| Eg. *nb* “Herr” (OK-, Wb II 227–230) ||| LECu.: Saho *nab* “groß sein, werden, erwachsen”, *nab* “groß, mächtig, vornehm”, *ma-nab-ōytā* “der von der Größe” [Rn. 1890, 281–282] = *nab-a* “to be big, great”, *nab-inta* ~ *nabne* “greatness, bigness, growth”, *ma-nab-otta* “leader of the chiefs, president, governor” [VERGARI 2003, 131, 138–139], Saho-Assaorta *nab* “essere grande, crescere” [CR 1913, 72], Afar *nab* “groß sein, werden”, *ma-nab-ōytā* “der Chef, Anführer” [Rn. 1886, 887–888] = *nab* “essere grande, crescere” [CR 1913, 72] = *nab-a* “to be big, great, many” [PH 1985, 173], Rendille *nāb-o* “Versammlungsplatz der Senioren im Zentrum einer jeden Siedlung” [SCHLEE 1978, 142, #804] = *nāb-o* “fenced circle of the elders (in the middle of a village), elders’ meeting-place (within the clan-village) where elders meet every night to chat and make decisions about matters affecting the village” [PG 1999, 230], Arbore *nīb* “greatly, very” [Hyw. 1984, 388] | HECu.: Kambatta *nub-āčču* “old”, *nubāppe* “to be old” [Lsl.] = *nub-āpp-* “to become, grow old”, *nub-ata* “old”, *nubāčču* [**nubāb-ču*], pl. *nubābu* ~ *nubābb-ata* “old man” [Hds. 1989, 107], Qabenna *nuppiyo* “old” [Lsl.], Darasa *nope* “old” [Lsl.] (HECu.: Lsl. 1956, 988). For Eg.-LECu.: Rn. 1886, 887–888. For Eg.-Ar.: EMBER 1917, 83, #101; DELC 138; Rsl. 1971, 310; VERNUS 2000, 189. For Eg.-Mhr.-Ar.-LECu.: MÜLLER 1975, 68, #58. For the Eg.-Ar.-MSA etymology see Vcl. 1960, 174-5, #4.

869. AA *n-b “to rise” > Sem.: Akk. *nabāʿu* “(etwa) aufsteigen, aufsprudeln (?)” [AHW 697] = “to rise (said of flood)” [CAD n1, 24] || OSA (Sabaeen) *nbʿ* “level, terrace of cultivated land” [BIELLA 1982, 290], Ar. *nabaʿa* “1. être haut, élevé, 2. paraître au dessus de la tête de qqn., apparaître dans un endroit plus élevé que nous sommes” [BK II 1178] = “hoch sein, von oben kommen” [AHW] (for Sem. biconsonantal **nb-* see JUŠMANOV 1998, 133) ||| (?) Eg. *nbnb* (unless < *bnbn*) “vom Kommen der Überschwemmung” (GR, Wb II 245, 7) = “to bring forth” (PL 505) ||| ECU.: Tsamay *nebeh-* “to exceed, surpass” [Hyw. 1989, 13].

870. AA *n-b “hollow” > Sem. **nbb*: Ug. **nbb* “to empty out (Aqht’s remains from the fem. eagle)” [GORDON 1955, 293, #1193 pace Ullendorff, Or. 20, 1951, 272–273] = “to hollow out, eviscerate” [Gordon apud KB] = “aushöhlen, ausweiden” [WUS #1734] = “to hollow (?)” [Segert], Hbr. **nbb* “hohl sein, aushöhlen”, qal part. pass. *nābūb* “1. hohl, 2. (übertragen) leerköpfig, dumm” [GB 479] = **nbb* “to be hollow” [KB 659], MHbr. *nābūb* “hohl” [DALMAN 1922, 260] = “1. hollow, 2. hungry” [JASTROW 1950, 867], Samar. Aram. *nbb* “to be hollow” [TAL 2000, 494] (Ug.-Hbr.: DAHOOD 1976, 360; SEGERT 1984, 193) ||| Eg. *nb.t* “voûte, encourbellement” (NK, AL 77.2048) = “Gewölbe, Laube” (GHWb 401) = “tonnelle

(désigne certainement une petite construction ombragée destinée au réjouissances; il est tentant d'identifier cette construction avec le kiosque figuré parfois dans les jardins décorant les tombes du Nouvel Empire, et qui pouvait servir à conserver les boissons fraîches" (MATHIEU 1996, 48, n. 123) ||| EBrb.: Ghadames \sqrt{nb} : *ta-nab-utt*, pl. *t-nabu* "1. trou de lumière rectangulaire aménagé au centre du plafond pour éclairer la pièce principale d'habitation" [Lanfray 1973, 232, #1076] ||| LECu.: Saho & Afar *nabe'é*, pl. *nábe' (f)* [-^s body parts' suffix in ECu.] "Achselhöhle" [Rn. 1886, 888; 1887, 280; 1890, 283].

NB: Mathieu (l.c.) assumed a connection with Eg. nb "basket", "dont le nom proviendrait peut-être, par métonymie, de son toit en forme de corbeille renversée".

871. AA *n-b "to care for" > Sem.: Ar. *nabnaba* "3. rester longtemps à faire qqch. pour en soigner le travail" [BK II 1189] ||| Eg. *nj.w* "der Schützer jemds., einer Sache" (NK, Wb II 245, 1–2), *nbnb* "bewahren, (be)schützen, in Ordnung halten" (XVIII., Wb II 245, 4–6) = "to protect" (PL 505) ||| ECh.: Bidiya *nebew* "garder les enfants" [AJ 1989, 101].

872. AA *n-b-g "distorted in mind" > Sem.: Ar. *nabġ-ān* "menaces", *nābiġ-at* "2. calamité, malheur" [BK II 1182] ||| Eg. *nbd* [reg. < *nbg] "böse, schädlich" (OK-, Wb II 247, 4) = "schlecht, übel, schädlich, zerstörerisch sein" (GHWb 406) ||| Brb. *n-b-g' [GT] > Ahaggar *ə-nhəġ* & Ghat *ə-nhəġ* "être sans bon sens" [Prs. 1969, 82, #542] = Ghat *e-nheġ* "être fou" [Nhl. 1909, 162], Ayr *ə-nnə-nbəġ* "1. chute, 2. obsession érotique, sexuelle" [PAM 2003, 582].

873. AA *n-b-r "spindle" > Eg. nb3 [reg. < *nbr] "Spindel" (CT III 133b, KHW 87, 519; NBĀ 783-6, n. 980; Osing in LĀ III 948; OSING 1980, 140) = "fuseau" (AL 77.2065, 78.2062) = "*Haarnadel, *Nadel, *Spindel" (GHWb 405) ||| EBrb.: Ghadames \sqrt{nbr} : *a-nabūr*, pl. *nebr-ān* "ensouple du métier à tisser" [LANFRY 1973, 233, #1082].

874. AA *n-b-l "vessel for liquid matter" > Sem.: Ug. *nbl* "flagon" [GORDON 1955, 294, #1199] = "jar, amphoras, skin-bottle, pitcher" [DUL 618 pace Pardee contra DL in UF 17, 1986, 143], Hbr. *nēbel* ~ *nebel* "1. Schlauch, Weinschlauch, 2. Krug, Geschirr, Gefäß" [GB 481] = "skin-bottle (not pitcher)" [GUILLAUME 1965 II, 25] = "(usually rendered jar, bottle, wineskin, flagon as term of measurement; no doubt, it refers to a vessel or container used for liquids; occasionally, it refers to the volume of the contents of a designated vessel)" [JACOBSON 2001, 84], Punic *nbl* "jar (?)" [HARRIS 1936, 123] = "сосуд" [ŠIFMAN 1963, 64] = "(indicating certain type of vessel containing wine, oil, of cast metal etc.)" [DNWSI 712], MHbr. *nēbel* ~ *nebel* "Lederflasche" [DALMAN 1922, 261] = "1. leather bottle, 2. a hollow musical instrument with a leather body" [JASTROW 1950, 869] ||| Eg. nb3 [reg. < *nbl] "ein Gegenstand" (CT, Wb II 243, 11) = "ointment-horn" (AECT I 165, spell 203, n. 10) = "ointment-horn, censer, some object from which a liquid is poured or sprinkled (its strange determinative is seen in the objects used for sprinkling water in rituals)" (WARD 1978, 21, #29 & 110, #216 & 111, #217; cf. OSING 1980, 139: "etymologisch bisher nicht durchsichtig, Einordnung unsicher") = "*Horn (mit Salbe gefüllt)" (GHWb 405).

875. AA *n-p "to spray water" > Sem. *np "to besprinkle" [Zbr.]: Ug. *npp Gt* "to sprinkle o'self, anoint o'self" [DUL 635], Hbr. *nwp I qal* "besprengen" [GB 493] = "to spray with perfume" [KB 682] | Ar. *naffa* "to sprinkle", *?anfāf-* "drizzle" [KB] vs. *nafnafa* "bruiner", *nafnāf-* "bruine, petite pluie froide très-fine" [Dozy II 706] = *nafnafa* "to mizzle, drizzle"

[Zbr.] vs. *nfw/y*: *nafā* “verser, répandre (se dit d’un nuage qui verse l’eau)”, *nafiyy-* “2. un peu d’eau qui tombe de la corde du seau sur le dos de celui qui tire de l’eau, 3. qqes gouttes de pluie” [BK II 1317], Dathina *nff* “plevoir fin, bruiner”, *nafāf- ~ nafnāf-* “pluie fine” [GD 2804, 2810], Yemeni Ar. *naff* “to drizzle” [PIAMENTA 1990, 491] || Geez *nāfnāfā* “to besprinkle” [Lsl.] = *nafnafa* “to besprinkle, bedew” [Zbr.] = *nafnafa* “to drizzle, fall in small drops”, *nāfnāf ~ nə/afnif* “drizzle, shower, moisture, dro/ip” [Lsl.], Tigre *nafnafa* “to spray” [LH 347b], Tna. *nifnif bälā* “a light rain falls” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1958, 33; 1987, 388; Zbr. 1971, #157) || Eg. *npn* “das Wasser” (GR, Wb II 248, 10) || LECu.: Afar *nāfu* (m) “dew” [PH 1985, 172] || CCh.: Margi *nānafə* “sprinkled” [LADEFOGED 1964, 65] | Mada *ānaf* “rosée, sueur” [Brt.-Bléis 2000, 205].

876. AA *n-p “seed, grain” > ES: Geez *nappa* “to produce fruit”, *nāpnāp* “fruit”, *nopnop* “bunch of fruit” [Lsl. 1987, 398] || Eg. *npn.t* “Getreidekorn” (PT, Wb II 248, 13; GHWb 406) = “Korn, Getreide” (Osing in NBÄ) > Cpt. (S) **ⲛⲁⲓⲡⲛⲉ**, (M) **ⲛⲉⲓⲡⲛⲉ** (f) “Korn” (KHW 124), usually regarded as sub-form (Nebenform) of Eg. *npr ~ npj* > (S) **ⲛⲁⲓⲉⲓⲡⲛⲉ** (cf. FECHT 1960, 9, fn. 26; HORNUNG 1963 II, 55, n. 187; CED 110; NBÄ 749, n. 910 with a different etymology; KHW 124; DELC 144) || SBrb.: ETawllemmet & Ayr *ta-nufəy-āt* “esp. de céréale (ou la graine de celle-ci?)” [PAM 2003, 597].

877. AA *n-p-k “well” > Sem.: Ug. *npk ~ nbk* “well” [GORDON 1955, 298, #1263 and 294, #1198] = *npk ~ nbk* “Quelle” [WUS #1819, #1738] = *npk ~ nbk* “fountain, spring” [DUL 617] = syll. NABKU “well, spring (in field designation)” [Hnrg. 1987, 151], Hbr. **nēbek*, in: *nibkē-yām* “Quellen des Meeres” [GB 480] = “sources of water” [KB 663] || Eg. *npt* (old **npt* reg. < **npk*) in: *npt-jtr:w* “als Stelle, von der Wasser entnommen wird” (GR, Wb II 249, 19).

878. AA *n-p-ḥ “lower part of belly” > Sem.: Ar. *ʔinfah(h)-at- ~ ʔinfih-at- ~ m/binfah-at-* “the rennet or rennet-bag, of a kid or lamb [Lane 2821] = *ʔinfah-at- ~ ʔinfihh-at-* “ventricule d’un agneau ou d’un chevreau” [BK II 1306] || Eg. *nph.(w)* “Teil des menschlichen Unterleibes (in der Gegend der Genitalien): ob Leistengegend?” (Med., Wb II 249) = “Hüften, Lenden” (Stern) = “pis” (Montet) = “les aînes, inguina” (LORET 1896, 176–179, §1) = “vermutlich: Kreuzbeingegend” (EBBELL 1937, 305–307) = “vorn unten am Leibe zu lokalisieren: Leistengegend, Euter der Kuh” (GRAPOW 1954, 83–84) = “iliac region” (FD 130) = “Beckenraum, Leistengegend, Unterleibsregion, Euter” (WESTENDORF 1966, 143) = “Beckenraum” (GHWb 407) = “rear parts, udder” (Smith l.c.) = “inguinal lymph nodes, region, groin” (WALKER 1996, 251–256) = “groin” (PL 512). For further parallels cf. TAKÁCS 2004, 59, #349.4.

879. AA *n-p-r “entrails” > Eg. *np3* [reg. < **npr ~ *npl*] “Darm” (CT, Wb II 247, 12) = “navel-string” (CT IV 149, AECT I 251, spell 322, n. 4) = “1. (CT IV 149a) intestine, 2. (CT VI 441) navel-string, umbilical cord” (Walker 1996, 270) = “navel-string, entrails” (DCT 220) || NBrb.: Senhazha *√nfr: e-nneffar* “gros intestin” [Rns. 1932, 392] | Qabyle *√nfr: tineffer-t* “panse des ruminants” [Dlt. 1982, 552]. A false LECu.-WCh. etymology of Eg. *np3* (AA **l-p* “spleen” [GT]) was suggested in OS 1992, 171; 1992, 186 and rejected by TAKÁCS 2004, 206, #914.

880. AA *n-p-r “rim (of a well)” > Sem.: Akk. *nap/burru* “Zinne” [AHW 700] = *naburru*

“battlements” [CAD n, 40] || Jbl. *nīfur* “cut edge of a pit and the soil piled there (which might cause one to lose one’s footing)” [Jns. 1981, 182] || Eg. *npr.t* “Rand eines Beckens und Brunnens, Ufer des Ozeans und des Nils” (MK-, Wb II 249, 8–10) || EBrb.: Ghadames *a-nīfer*, pl. *nīfar-āw-en* “pan de bournous ou de houli” [LANFRY 1973, 237, #1111] || SBrb.: Ahaggar *a-fer*, pl. *i-ferr-en* “pan (d’un vêtement qui a 2 extrémités pendantes)” [Fcd. 1951–1952, 336–337].

881. AA *n-f “fresh” > Eg. *nf* “vom Bier: Erfrischung (?)” (GR, Wb II 250, 9) || SBrb.: ETawllemmet & Ayr *ā-naf* ~ *ə-* “pâturage frais, bons pâturages”, ETawllemmet *a-nāfo* “vent frais et humide provenant de la pluie” [PAM 2003, 592–593] || LECu.: Rendille *nēf* “coolness”, *nēfowa* “to become cool, cool down (mostly of liquids and foods)” [PG 1999, 233].

882. AA *n-f “to chase, abandon, avoid” > Sem. **npp*: MHbr. *npp piel* “treiben lassen” [DALMAN 1922, 274] | Dathina *nff* “repousser brusquement, donner un coup transversal” [GD 2804] || NBrb.: Shilh *a-nef* “fermer, (s’)écarter, s’abriter, changer de direction” [JORDAN 1934, 35], Tazerwalt *ā-nf* “sich seitwärts wenden, abbiegen, beiseiterücken” [STUMME 1899, 165], Sus *a-nf* “changer la direction, se mettre à l’écart” [Lst. 1921, 286] | Zayan *a-nef* “s’écarter” [Lbg. 1924, 575], cf. Tamazight *√nf: ssefnu* “éviter (d’affronter qq. par peur), ne pas répondre aux provocations, ignorer qq.” [TAIFI 1991, 469] | Qabyle *a-nef* 1. s’écarter du chemin, 2. laisser” [Dlt. 1982, 547], Zwawa & Bugi *a-nef* “laisser, abandonner” [Bst. 1890, 324; Blf. 1910, 208] || WCh.: PGoemay **nēp* (?) “to yield, give way to” [TAKÁCS 2004, 267]: Goemay *nēp*, pl. *nap* “to deviate, step aside” [Srl. 1937, 157] = *neep* “to give way” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 25], cf. also Montol *puss-neep* “afternoon”, *puus-neep* “evening” (lit. „[when] sun yields [to night]”?, AS **pūs* “sun”) [Ftp. 1911, 214, 216].

883. AA *n-f “to rise, swell” > Sem. **nwp* (**nūp*) “hoch sein” [DL]: Ug. *np* “height” [Caquot/KB] = *np* (m) “peak”, *np Š* “to raise, offer (in sacrificial language)” [DUL 634], Hbr. *nwp* II: *nōp* “Erhebung, Höhe”, **nāpāh*, cstr. *nāpat-*, pl. *nāpōt* “Erhebung, Höhenzug” [GB 494, 515] = *nōp* “height, towering”, **nāpāh*, cstr. *nāpat-*, pl. *nāpōt* “yoke” [KB 683, 708], MHbr. *nwp* “(eig.) sich erheben”, *hifil* “erheben, in die Höhe schwingen”, *npp piel* “in die Höhe treiben, hoch wachsen lassen” [LEVY 1924 III, 361] | OSA (Sabaeen) *nwf* “to enrich (?)” [BIELLA 1982, 298], Ar. *nwf* I “1. être long et haut (un chameau), 2. être saillant, et surplomber au-dessus de qqch.”, *nawf-* “1. sommet de la bosse d’un chameau”, *nyf: nāfa* II “1. être augmenté, s’accroître, 2. dépasser un nombre, un chiffre”, IV “dépasser, excéder” [BK II 1369, 1376] = *nwf* I & IV “übertagen”, *nawf-* ~ *nūf-* “Kamelhöcker” [GB] = *nwf* “to be high, elevated”, *nawf-* “tip of the hump of a camel” [KB] = *nawf-* “Überschuß” [WUS #1813], also Ar. *nyf/w: nafā* “2. emporter, enlever (torrent ou vent qui enlève tout sur son passage)” [BK II 1317], MLAr. *nāfa* “hoch und erhaben sein, übertreffen, übersteigen, darüber hinausgehen”, *nawf-* “Plus, Überguß” [WEHR 1330], Yemeni Ar. *mi-nyāf* “tall stature”, *nāyif-ah*, pl. *nawāyif* “lofty mountaines” [PIAMENTA 1990, 501] || Mhr. *nauf* “Spitze (des Pfeils)”, *mināuf* “Gipfel” [Hein apud Müller] (Sem.: MÜLLER 1985, 272; DL 1990, 67–74) || Eg. *nfnf* “das Überschwemmungswasser” (GR, Wb II 252, 8–9) = “flood water” (PL 515) = “écoulements” (AUFRÈRE 1990, 611) || NBrb.: Shilh *a-nfa* “colline, sommet” [JORDAN 1934, 35] || SBrb.: Ayr *a-naf* “monter sur, s’accrocher à” [PAM 2003, 592] || Bed. *nif* “benign tumour or swelling” [Hds. 1996 MS, 99] || NOm.: Kaffa *naf* “gonfiarsi, esser gonfio” [Crl. 1951, 478] || WCh.: Goeamay *niaap* “to add, increase” [Srl. 1937, 159; TAKÁCS 2004, 273:

isolated in Angas-Sura] || ECh.: WDangla *nyàpè* “monter sur un animal” [FÉDRY 1971, 253], EDangla *nyipé* “monter (sur qqch. qui avance: animal ou véhicule)” [DM 1973, 223].

884. AA *n-f-t “to loosen” > Sem.: Yemeni Ar. *nafat* “to loosen, untie” [PIAMENTA 1990, 491] ||| Eg. *nft* “verziehen, verdrehen” (Med., Wb II 263, 3) = “to slacken (bow), detach, loosen” (FD 132) = “lösen, lockern (auch Bogensehne)” (GHWb 411).

885. AA *n-f-t “to grow” > Sem.: Ar. *nafata* “1. bouillonner au point de faire jaillir au dehors les gouttes du contenu (un pot), 3. être arrosé de lait ou d’eau au point de se gonfler (p.ex., farine ou autre chose en poudre)” [BK II 1303] ||| Eg. **nfd* (?) > Cpt.: (SB) **NOYQT**, (S) **NOYBT** “schwellen, ausdehnen”, (S) **Ν(Ε)QTΕ** (pl.) “Schwellung, Blähung” (KHW 120, 133) ||| NBrb.: Tamazight *√nfd*: *nfufed* “1. se propager, se répandre, gagner, s’étendre, 2. envahir (en se propageant), 3. se couvrir de petits boutons, s’infecter” [TAIFI 1991, 470] | Qabyle *nfufed* “gagner, se propager (feu)” [Dlt. 1982, 549] ||| CCh.: Fali-Jilbu *nāft* & Fali-Muchella *nāft* “to fill” [KRAFT 1972 MS].

886. AA *n-f-ʕ “to chase” > Ar. *naʕafa* VIII “2. laisser qqch. chez qqn., la lui abandonner” [BK II 1295] ||| Jbl. *naʕaf* “to chase” [Jns. 1981, 178] ||| Eg. *nʕ* “1. (das Gewölk) vertreiben (PT), 2. (MK) sich eilig davon machen, 3. (GR) (die Herzen der Bösen) ausreißen” (Wb II 252, 4–6) = “loslösen, entfernen, vertreiben, heraus schneiden” (KEES 1922, 112, §28) = “to push back” (PT, ALLEN 1984, 558) ||| (?) Bed. *nifʕ* “to dust, brush, sweep” (GT: lit. *“(to expel dust”?) [Rpr. 1928, 222]. Diverse unconvincing etymologies of Eg. *nʕ* have so far been published, see Vcl. 1933, 180, #10; Lsl. 1962, 47, #28; Rsl. 1971, 288; OS 1992, 197; HSED #1894.

887. AA *n-f-r “to blow the nose” > Sem.: JNAram. *npr* “to blow the nose” [SABAR 2002, 234] ||| Eg. *nf3* [reg. < **nfr*] “ausniesen, (aus)schnauben” (CT, Wb II 252, 3; OSING 1986, 209, n. a) = “respirer, souffler” (LACAU 1972, 36, §43, #5) = “expirer, expulser (du nez)” (CANNUYER 1983, 26) = “to blow, exhale” (DCT 222) ||| NBrb. **n-f-r* “to exhale” [GT]: Nefusa *e-nfer* “se moucher” [Mtl. 1904, 138] | Tamazight (Zemmur) *nfer* “se moucher”, *a-nfur*, pl. *a-nfur-n* “1. (gros) nez, 2. narine” [TAIFI 1991, 473] | Qabyle *neffer* “1. exhaler, expirer, souffler (l’air, fumée, vapeur), 2. fumer” [Dlt. 1982, 551] ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar *e-nfer* [Fcd. 1951–1952, 1319–1321], ETawillemmet & Ayr *ə-nfər* “renâcler (cheval, âne, chèvre, personne)”, *nəfərnəfər* “1. ronfler longuement par le nez (personne, animal), renâcler, s’ébrouer, frémir, expulser l’air avec bruit, 2. inspirer l’air avec bruit par le nez” [PAM 2003, 595–596]. In the literature (GÄSW 34, #57; CONTI 1978, 96; EHRET 1995, 316, #611; FRANCI 2005, 60), Eg. *nf3* has been so far directly derived from AA **n-f* “to blow”, while the authors were all overlooking its direct triconsonantal cognates suggesting **n-f-r* for the PAA level (cf. EDE I 126–127).

888. AA *n-f-r “to flee” > Sem. **npr*: Ug. *npr* (PN) [GORDON 1955, 298, #1268; 1965, 446, #1680] = “to flee” [Lsl.], Syt. *npr* (?*afʕel*) “to put to flight” [Lsl.] | Ar. *nafara* “fuir et se disperser, 3. s’enfuir, se sauver (gazelle), 5. s’élancer le premier pour faire qqch., 7. mettre qqn. en fuite, en déroute” [BK II 1307–1308] = “jaillir (eau), s’épouvanter (en parlant d’un troupeau), fuir çà et là etc.” [Dozy II 698, 700], Dathina *nafar* “s’éligner, s’enfuir, se réfugier” [GD 2806] = “to jump” [Lsl.] ||| MSA: Jbl. *nʕr* “to run down the mountain” [Jns. 1981, 182], Mhr. *nəfūr* “to run down the mountain, usually in a panic” [Jns. 1987, 284], Sq. *nfr*:

ʾēnfer “déliér, racheter, sauver” [Lsl. 1938, 271] | Geez *nafara* “to fly” [Lsl.], Tigre *nāfra* “to jump” [Lsl.], Tna. *nāfārā* “to fly away”, *nāfrārā* “to run away” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1938, 271; 1987, 389) ||| Eg. *nʒfʒ* [reg. < **nʒfrʒ*] “sauter (comme un puce)” (CT I 216a, AL 78.2088) = “to creep” (AECT I 45; DCT 222).

889. AA *n-f-r “young man” > Sem.: (?) Ar. *nafar-* “Mannschaft, insbesondere kriegerische” [Brk.] ||| Eg. *nfr.w* “Jünglinge (bes. die Rekruten), Jungmannschaft” (MK, Wb II 258; KAPLONY 1984, 523f.) = “Kadett” (II./III., Fischer, JNES 18, 1959, 258–259; OMRO 41, 1960, 7–13; FÄW 238–239) = “Jüngling, Kadett” (IV., PUSCH 1974, 21) = “Rekruten (nicht Elitetruppen)” (Helck, LÄ IV 133, n. 22) = “recruits” (MK, WARD 1982, 99, #829) = “adolescents” (Vcl. 1991, 122) = “young men (recruits, cadets, conscripts)” (JONES 2000, 453, #1697) ||| NAgaw: Bilin *ənfa* > *əmfa* “child, boy” [Apl.], Hamir *əffa* ~ *əfa* ~ *əfəra* “child, boy” [Apl.], Hamtanga *əmḥāra* “servant, boy” [Apl.], Kemant *ənḥāra* ~ *-m-* “child, boy” [Apl.], Kailinya *ə-fara* “servant, boy” [Faitlovitch apud Apl.], Qwara *ənḥāra* “servant, boy” [Rn.], Falasha *imḥera* “servant, boy” [Flad apud Apl.] (NAgaw: Apl. 1984, 39; 1996, 17). For Ar.-Eg. see Brk. 1932, 106, #32. For Eg.-NAgaw see CASTELLINO 1984, 16.

890. AA *n-f-y „to chase” > Sem. **npy*: Ug. *npy* „verstossen” [WUS #1816] | Ar. *nfy* I: *naḥā* “chasser, expulser, bannir, nier, refuser qqch.” [BK II 1317] = “vertreiben, verstossen” [WUS], Dathina *nfy* “expulser, chasser” [GD 2810] || Jbl. *nfy*: refl. *ntūfi* “sich entfernen” [Bittner 1917, 54] ||| NBrb.: Izdeg *nḥu* “proscrire (homme)” [Mrc. 1937, 206] | Zwawa *e-nḥu* “exiler, expulser” [Bif. 1910, 214].

891. AA *n-P “to open” > Sem.: Ar. *naḥnaf-* “1. précipice entre deux rochers, 2. tout l’espace compris entre le terre et la ciel” [BK II 1317] ||| NBrb.: Tamazight *a-nef* “1. ouvrir, être ouvert, 3. s’écarter, être écarté” [TAIFI 1991, 469].

892. AA *n-P-ʿ “to be fertile, useful” > Sem.: Ug. *nḥʿ* “to flourish” [GORDON 1955, 298, #1265] | Ar. *naḥaʿa* “être utile, avantageux à qqn., servir à qqch., profiter, être bon pour la santé” [BK II 1314] = “to be useful, become of value, strong” [Lsl. 1987, 387] | MSA **nḥʿ*: Jbl. *nḥaʿ* “1. to be useful, of use, 2. to cure” [Jns. 1981, 181] ||| ECh.: EDangla *nàḥānē* “être utile, rendre service”, *nàḥānē* “utile, utilisable, commode, convenable, usuel, valable, avantageux, profitable, fructueux, précieux, fertile, fécond, propice, favorable, efficace, salutaire”, *nàḥkīyē* “être utile, rendre service, fructifier, être nécessaire” [DM 1973, 214], cf. also WDangla *nàḥkīyē* “profiter de son labeur” [FÉDRY 1971, 214] | Mokilko *ʾampē* “valoir, être utile, utilisable, convenable” [Jng. 1990, 58].

893. AA *n-P-l “loose skin (???)” > Sem.: Hbr. *npl*: **mappāl* in *mappālē-bāšārō* “seine fleischigen Wampen” [GB 449] = *mappālē-bāšār* “folds of flesh” [KB 618] ||| EBrb.: Ghadames *a-naful*, pl. *nūfal* “outre de peau pour conserver des provisions sèches: farine, etc. ..., sauf les dattes”, *ta-naful-t*, pl. *t-nufal* “petite outre” [LANFRY 1973, 237, #1110].

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES

(A): Akhmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, (B): Bohairic, Bed.: Bed’awye, Brb.: Berber, BT: Bole-Tangale, Ch.: Chadic, CCh.: Central Chadic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, ECh.: East Chadic, ECu.: East Cushitic, DhI.: Dahalo, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, EWIm.: East Tawlemmet, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period, GW: syllabic or group-writing, HECu.: Highland

East Cushitic, Hgr.: Ahaggar, IMP: Intermediate Period, Irq.: Iraqw, JArAm.: Jewish Aramaic, (L): Lycopolitan (or Subakhmimic), LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, Lit.: literary texts, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, MK: Middle Kingdom, N: North, NBch.: North Bauchi, NBrb.: North Berber, NK: New Kingdom, NOm.: North Omotic, OEg.: Old Egyptian, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, 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, W: West(ern), WBrb.: West Berber, WCh.: West Chadic, WSem.: West Semitic.

ABBREVIATIONS OF AUTHOR NAMES

AJ: ALIO & JUNGRAITHMAYR, Apl.: APPELYARD, BK: BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKY, Bf.: BOULIFA, Bnd.: BENDER, Brk.: BROCKELMANN, Brt.: BARRETEAU, Bst.: BASSET, CR: CONTI ROSSINI, CrI.: CERULLI, DL: DIETRICH & LORETZ, Dlt.: DALLET, DM: DJIBRINE & MONTGOLFIER, Ebs.: EBOBISSE, Fcd.: FOUCAULD, Fdr.: FÉDRY, Ftp.: FITZPATRICK, GB: GSENIUS & BUHL, GT: TAKÁCS, Hds.: HUDSON, Hlw.: HELLOWIG, Hnrg.: HUEHNERGARD, Hyw.: HAYWARD, JA: JUNGRAITHMAYR & ADAMS, Jng.: JUNGRAITHMAYR, Jns.: JOHNSTONE, KB: KOEEHLER & BAUMGARTNER, Krf.: KRAFT, Lbg.: LOUBIGNAC, LH: LITTMANN & HÖFNER, Lnf.: LANFRY, Lsl.: LESLAU, LSS: LONNET & SIMEONE-SENELLE, Lst.: LAOUST, Mrc.: MERCIER, Mtl.: MOTYLINSKY, Nhl.: NEHLIL, OS: OREL & STOLBOVA, PAM: PRASSE & ALOJALY & MOHAMED, PG: PILLINGER & GALBORAN, PH: PARKER & HAYWARD, Prs.: PRASSE, Rdk.: RHODOKANAKIS, Rn.: REINISCH, Rns.: RENISIO, Rpr.: ROPER, Rsl.: RÖSSLER, SS: SIMEONE-SENELLE, Srl.: SIRLINGER, StI.: STOLBOVA, Vcl.: VYCIHL.

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