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Some Berber etymologies XIII

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The paper contains new etymological entries to Berber lexical roots and is part of a long-range series eventually resulting, when completed, in materials for an etymological dictionary of Berber, a desired addition to the fascicles of the comparative dictionary of Berber roots (DRB).

Keywords: Berber, lexical roots, reconstruction, comparative Afro-Asiatic linguistics, historical phonology.

Introduction

This series is to gradually reveal the still unknown immense Afro-Asiatic heritage in the Berber lexical root stock. The first part with some miscellaneous Berber etymologies arranged at random was published back in 1996.¹ More recently, I have continued writing several new parts of “Some Berber etymologies” that have since then grown into a series (abbreviated as SBE) arranged according to initial root consonants² in course of my research

¹ See my “Some Berber etymologies I” in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 38 (1996), 43-59.

² ● Part II: Berber *b-, in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 45 (2003), 93-119; ● part III: Berber *ḅ- in Naït-Zerrad, K. & Ibrizimow, D. & Voßen, R. (éds.), *Nouvelles études berbères: Le verbe et autres articles: Actes du “2. Bayreuth-Frankfurter Kolloquium zur Berberologie”* (Berber Studies vol. 8), Köln, 2004, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, pp. 191-204; ● part IV: Berber *f- in *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 10 (2005), 173-201; ● part V: Berber *m- + in *Folia Orientalia* 44 (2008), 89-105; ● part VI: Berber *m-, in *Journal of Linguistic Relationship* (Moscow) 2 (2009), 91-113; ● part VII: Berber *n- followed by *r/l/w/y, in Mettouchi, A. (éd.), «*Parcours berbères*»: *Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand pour leur 90^e anniversaire*, Köln, 2011, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, pp. 97-115; ● part VIII: Berber *n- + labials, in Serra, L. & di Tolla, A.M. & Ghaki, M. & Habouss, A. (éds.), *Pluralità e dinamismo culturale nelle società berbere attuali* (Studi Africanistici, Quaderni di Studi

for the volumes of the *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian* (EDE, Leiden, since 1999, Brill)³ with a much more extensive lexicographical apparatus on the cognate Afro-Asiatic daughter languages.

The underlying regular consonantal correspondences between Berber vs. Afro-Asiatic followed in these studies basically agree with those established in the 1980s by the Russian (Moscow) team of I. M. Diakonoff and as summarized by A. Ju. Militarev (1991: 242-243), which my researches for an etymological root dictionary of Berber over the past few decades have only corroborated. In order to spare room, whenever it comes some wide-spread and well-attested lexical root that evidently appears as Common Berber, I only quote those roots through but a few illustrative examples or a reconstructed Proto-Berber root or stem form.

Several parts of my series “Some Berber etymologies” (VII-XII), immediately preceding this one, greatly exploited the results of my work ongoing some decade ago (the years after 2008) for the the fourth volume⁴ of EDE (analyzing the Eg. lexical stock with initial n-). The same is the case with the present part, which contains etymologies of Berber roots with initial *n- followed by laryngeals and sonants. Some items have already been dealt with to a certain degree in part VII, but in the meantime since then, new reflexes have emerged in my research and so it has become desirable to re-examine these lexical roots here. As for these additions to SBE VII, the re-examined entries are introduced here by “Ad SBE VII, #...” with the original numeration.

The numeration of the entries continues that of the preceding parts of this series. Whenever such a Berber root occurs that has already been processed in some of the preceding parts

Berberi e Libico-Berberi 1), Napoli, 2011, UNIOR (l'Università degli Studi di Napoli “L'Orientale”), pp. 79-90; ● part IX: Berber *n- with dental stops, in Allati, A. (éd.), *Auréoles berbères: Mélanges Offerts à Michael Peyron*, Köln, 2016, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, pp. 295-305; ● part X: Berber *n- with sibilants, in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 55/1 (2013), 99-110; ● part XI: Berber *n- with dental stops (with some unfortunate redundances overlapping with some entries of part IX due to my involuntary fault), in *Folia Orientalia* (Kraków) 52 (2015), 307-317; ● part XII: Berber *n- followed by velars, in Tolla, A. M. di (ed.), *La lingua nella vita e la vita della lingua: Itinerari e percorsi degli studi berberi: Miscellanea per il Centenario di studi berberi a «L'Orientale» di Napoli. Scritti in onore di Francesco Beugnot* (Quaderni di Studi Berberi e Libico-berberi, Studi Africanistici 4). Volume IV. Napoli, 2015, UNIOR, Università degli Studi di Napoli “L'Orientale”, pp. 367-386. ● part XIV: new etymologies of Berber roots with initial *d-, to appear in *Études et Documents Berbères* (Paris) 45-46 (2021), 341-395, in a special volume with *les actes du Colloque 2020 de l'Histoire du berbère, session de décembre 2020*. ● part XV: new etymologies of Berber roots with initial *ḏ-, scheduled to appear in *Études et Documents Berbères* (Paris) 47 (2022).

³ 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 thanks to the Humboldt Foundation as well as to my professor in Frankfurt, Herrmann Jungraithmayr, the prominent Chadicist, for his invaluable help and support. This part has been completed in the frames of my research project “Micro-reconstructions in the Southern Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) lexical root stock” supported by the grant of “Advanced Research in Residence” (ARR) of the University of Łódź and personally encouraged by Prof. Krzysztof Witczak (head of the Dept. of Classical Philology), which I gratefully acknowledge in this place.

⁴ As for all the puzzles around finishing EDE IV and the research for the subsequent parts, the publication of a “Second Interim Report on the Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian” has become desirable (forthcoming perhaps in RO), which is going to examine the circumstances affecting the prospects of my EDE series. Cf. my pre-EDE “First preliminary report on the Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian (in preparation)” in *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* (Kraków) 3 (1998), 163-164.

of my series, and it is re-examined here in the light of some further new parallels, the entry is headed by SBE + Roman letters (indicating the number of the preceding part) + Arabic number of the very entry where it first appeared.

Berber *√n-/h-

431. NBrb.: Mzg. nḥer (no indication of an Ar. loan) “1. égratigner, 2. écorcher, érafler, 3. user (par frottement), être usé” [Taïfi 1991: 482] || Sem.: Ar. *naḥara* I “1. toucher, atteindre et causer à qqn. une lésion à la clavicule” [BK II 1212-3].

432. NBrb.: Mzg. nhem “2. élaner (plaie, blessure)” [Taïfi 1991: 482] || Sem.: perhaps Ar. *nahama* I “4. jeter, lancer des petits cailloux” [BK II 1359] || ECh.: Dangla-Migama *nṽm- “to pierce” [Stolbova in CLD] = *nōm- < **nohm- (?) [GT]: WDangla *nóòmè* “trans-percer, laisser se fendre (poterie)” [Fédry 1971: 218], EDangla *noomē* “etwas mit Gewalt durchbohren” [Ebobisse], Migama *nòòmò* “percer” [JA] (ECh.: CLD I 141, #543).

433. SBrb. *a-nhar “eyebrows, sourcil” [GT]: Hgr. *i-nər* “sourcil” [Basset 1929: 20 pace Foucauld] = *é-ner*, pl. *ă-nâr-en* “sourcil” [Foucauld 1951-2: 1399] = *e-nər*, pl. *ă-nar-ən* [Prasse] = *ē-nēr* [Ajherval’d 1986: 9: < *a-enēr], Ghat *a-nar*, *a-nar-en* “sourcil” [Nehilil 1909: 207, so adopted by Basset 1929: 20], Nslm. *i-nhər* ~ *a-nhar* [Prasse], Ayr *a-nar* & EWlmd. *a-nar*, pl. *a-nar-ăn* “sourcil” [Alojaly 1980: 149] = Wlmd. *i-nər* ~ *a-nar* ~ *a-nir* ~ *a-nirəh* [Prasse] (SBrb.: Prasse 1969: 84, #560) || EBrb.: Ghadames *a-nber*, pl. *a-nḥar-en* [secondary -ḥ- < *-h^w-?] “cils” [Lanfry 1973: 233, #1081] (further Brb. cognates: Basset 1929: 19-20) || ECu. *nyār- “1. eyebrow, 2. forehead” [GT]:⁵ Oromo *nyar-a* “eyebrow, eyelash” [Foot 1913: 46] = *ńār-a* [Sasse 1979: 36: -ā- < *-aḥ- reg.] “eyebrow”, cf. *ńāra gura* “to frown, wrinkle forehead” [Gragg 1982: 301] = *ñār-a* “eyebrow” [Hudson 1989: 60] = *nyār-a* “eyebrow” [Bitima 2000: 209], Arbore *ńār* (m) “forehead” [Hayward 1984: 388] = *ñār* [Ehret] | Dullay: Tsamay *nyār-a* “forehead” [Ehret] (ECu.: Ehret 1987: 110, #466; 1991: 264) || Ongota *nāra* “forehead” [Fleming 1992: 191] || ECh.: Mokilko *nyínyàri* (pl.) “Augenbrauen” [Lukas 1977: 219] < CAA *√ny/ḥr, perhaps *-ny/ḥar- (???) “eyebrow” [GT], whose truly rare Anlaut cluster is represented by the astonishing Berbero-Cushito-Chadic match of *-nC₂-, be the C₂ a labialized *-h^w- (Berber) or a glide *-y- (as in Oromo and Mokilko).

The metathesis of the same CAA root seems to be represented by the much later innovation of the special, exclusively Egypto-Chadic stem *riN(h)- “eyebrow” [GT], apparently based on the original biradical root *√rm (?) void of the nominal class marker *ḥ⁶ resulting

⁵ The Oromo and Arbore terms, along with LECu.: Oromo *ńār-ō* “marrow” and HECu.: Sidamo *gār-a* “1. eyelashes, 2. forehead”, Burji *gār-i* “eyebrow”, were all (!) derived by Ch. Ehret (1987: 110, #466; 1991: 264) from his (L)ECu. *ṅār- (!) “forehead”, which he in 1987 equated with Agaw *ṅar- “head, brain” < PCu. *ṅar- “forehead”. This equation, esp. in such an omnicomparatistic fashion, is certainly out of the question because of the anomalous *Anlaut*, let alone the primary sense “eyebrow” in Oromo inherited from Afro-Asiatic.

⁶ Only the Egyptian form is containing the once productive affix *ḥ of the CAA anatomical terms (cf. Takács 1997).

in the cluster (?) *-nh-, cf. the isogloss of Eg. jnh̄ [< *√rn̄h̄ via palatalization of *ri- > *yi-]⁷ “Augenbraue” (OK, Wb I 99, 1) = “eyebrows” (FD 24) III WCh.: Angas-Sura *-rim (var. *-re2m?) → *kərəm (with prefix *ki- + *yit “eye”) “eyebrow” [Takács 2004: 310]: Angas nk̄him-yit (so, -kh-, no medial *-r-!) [GT: *kiyim < *kirim by erosion?] “eye-brow” [Gochal 1994: app.], Sura kər̄im yit [< *kirim] “Augenbrauen” [Jng. 1963: 70], Kofyar koeroem áyít [kər̄əm] “eyebrows” [Netting 1967: 19], Goemay kerem goe yit [irreg. -e- < *-i-, or reg. < *-e2-?] “eyebrow” [Sirlinger 1937: 99].

One may not, of course, *a priori* exclude the remote (PAA) connection of AA *-ny/ḥar- “eyebrow” [GT] vs. AA *naḥr- “front part” [GT] (for reflexes see entry #453. in this paper), although – to the best of my knowledge – only A. Basset (1929: 20) has proposed the connection of the E/NBerber term for “front” and Twareg “eyebrow”, cf. NBrb. *(t)a-nyar-(t) < **√nh̄r “front” [GT]. Whether the Berber reflexes of both PAA roots do (perfectly?) overlap (cf. Gdm. -nh̄- vs. Twareg *-nh- vs. NBrb. *-ny-), however, has to be further investigated.

⁷ J. Osing’s (2001, col. 576) objection as to its reading and his inner Egyptian root etymology (“jnh̄ Augenbraue (zusammen mit dem zugehörigen Verb jnh̄ umgeben, umranden) ...: die ältere, sicherlich ursprüngliche Form ist ʿnh̄”) are ill-founded for a number of reasons. ● (1) In support of the older ʿnh̄, Osing (l.c., fn. 99) cited a number of CT places (“S. CT IV 298/299b, 301c, 313b^{T2B3}, V 32d, VI 123k = 124b, VII 159g”, sic!), which comprise altogether 23 occurrences of our word, whereby ʿnh̄ is attested 6 times, while jnh̄ only twice, but the “younger” jnh̄ occurs in 15 instances (!). The var. ʿnh̄ occurs 6x (CT IV 298b: Sq4Sq, T1C^b; CT V 32d: B1C; CT VI 123k: M36C, M35c; CT VII 159g: P. Gard. III) and jnh̄ 2x (CT IV 298b: B9C^b, CT V 32d: B2L), while jnh̄ 15 times (CT IV 298b: B14, M4C, M54C; CT IV 299b: L1N4, T1Be, T3Be, M57c, M1N4; CT IV 301c: M4C, M54C, T1Be, T2Be, T3Be; CT IV 313b: T2Be; CT VI 124b: M1 Ann.). Surprisingly, Osing quoted whole CT passages for ʿnh̄ which do not have even one single (!) instance of ʿnh̄ (cf. CT IV 299b, IV 301c, IV 313b, VI 124b)! Did Osing suppose that the reader will not check back his “evidence”? One cannot be astonished enough at this kind of presentation of data. ● (2) Secondly, since most forms display jnh̄, it is no wonder that CT vars. are glossed as jnh̄ even most recently in DCT 41 – similarly to the OEg. ʿnh̄ (listed as jnh̄!) “Augenbraue” (only 1x, V., ÄWb I 156), which, besides, Osing left unnoticed. ● (3) Thirdly, the fact that there is one single OK var. with ʿ- does not alter PEG. *jnh̄ > ʿnh̄ ~ *jnh̄ (together with PEG. *jnh̄ > OK ʿnh̄ ~ jnh̄ “to live”, below) as an early example of the change PEG. *j- > OEg. ʿ- (hence later j-) in the proximity of ḥ and ḥ. ● (4) Moreover, the metathetic change of OEg. roots containing ḥ and a nasal (m, n) is known in a number of examples. Cf. (4.1) OK ḥmz (m) vs. ḥmz.t (f) “alte Schreibung für mzh.(t)” > Greek χάμψα, the Egyptian name of crocodile according to Herodot (Wb III 96, 11-12), early vars. to mzh̄ “Krokodil” (OK, Wb II 136), perhaps related to ES-Cu. (*Wanderwort?*) *ḥazz- [GT: < *ḥamz-?] “crocodile” (cf. Leslau 1963: 87; 1979 III: 119; Cerulli 1951: 408); (4.2) Eg. ḥms “Kornähre” (BD, Wb III 367, 5) = ḥms ~ ḥmz “ear of corn” (CT, DCT 419) < OEg. *ḥmz (unattested) [reg. < *ḥmz], cognate to Ar. mazḥ- “Kornähre” (Eg.-Ar.: Vycichl 1958: 388; 1959: 146, #4; 1990: 52), cf. also NOm.: Kaffa moč “metter la spiga (pianta)”, močč-ō “spiga” [Cerulli 1951: 468]; (4.3) OK ḥm^c, var. to mḥ^c ~ m^cḥ “Flachs” (Wb II 121, 4; AÄG = Edel 1955: §93). ● (5) For all these reasons I have to refute Osing’s leaking objection and to maintain derivation of Eg. jnh̄ < *rn̄h̄ from AA *-naḥr- ~ *nyar- “eyebrow” [GT]. ● (6) His inner Eg. derivation, besides, is not original at all, cf. J. Vergote’s (1971: 49) *ex cathedra* allegation on the primary sense of Eg. jnh̄ > Cpt. *(é)nāḥ (sic) as “that which encircles, surrounds” following, in his view the Sem. *qitalu ~ Eg. *sídmu pattern of a “concrete noun”, and, unfortunately, they both forgot to refer to that their ideas are dating back as early as F. von Calice’s comment in GÄSW 119, #499 where such a derivation was critically considered as out-dated already therein: “wenn auch diese Zusammenhänge wenigstens zum Teil durchaus möglich sind, so greifen sie doch m.E. über das von uns gegenwärtig Erfassbare hinaus”. In addition, the “*Ableitungsverbum*” NK jnh̄ “umgeben” (XVIII., Wb I 99) = “to surround, enclose” (FD 24), explained by Osing from an unattested and baseless OEg. *ʿnh̄ (cf. also NBÄ 538-9, n. 373), displays in fact the very same *Lautgeschichte* as Eg. jnh̄ ~ ʿnh̄ “eyebrow” (i.e., < *rn̄h̄, met. of *nh̄r), cf. WCh.: Suroid *nēr “to surround” [Takács 2004: 267]; Sura nēr “umgeben, umliegen, umzingeln” [Jng. 1963: 76], Mupun nēr “to surround, gang up on someone” [Frj. 1991: 42] < Eg.-Ch. (CAA???) *√nh̄r “to surround” [GT]. This is how Osing’s failure on the history of this root becomes complete.

Moreover, diachronically how “eyebrow” comes from the sense “front part” (and not *vice versa*, which is for me hardly conceivable), cannot be definitely answered here.

Ad SBE VII, #300. Brb. * $\sqrt{\text{nh}}$ r “conduire” [GT] > NBrb.: Qabyle $\text{n}\acute{\text{a}}\text{h}\acute{\text{e}}\text{r}$ “conduire” [Cohen] = e-n $\acute{\text{h}}\acute{\text{e}}\text{r}$ “conduire, mener (animal, bête de somme)” [Dallet 1982: 558] || WBrb.: Zenaga $\sqrt{\text{nr}}$: t(ə)-nār-t “fait de (se) guider, s’orienter”, ä-m-nər, pl. ə-m-nir-än “guide”, yi-š-nār “se guider, (savoir) s’orienter, connaître la route (de)” [TC 2008: 403] || SBrb.: Twareg (sic) ɛ- $\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\text{r}$ “führen, leiten” [Zyhlarz 1934: 119] = Brb. (sic, no lg. name detailed) neru (sic) “leiten, führen” [Calice pace Vycichl in GÄSW 163, #662] = Twareg (sic) ənər “conduire” [Cohen],⁸ Ahaggar e-ner “guider (servir de guide à)” [Foucauld 1951-2: 1396], EWlmd. ə- $\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\text{r}$ “1. guider (qqn., une caravane), 2. être guidé, 3. se guider (sur), trouver son chemin (au moyen de)”, EWlmd.-Ayr ta- $\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\text{r}$ “chemin de salut (mythologique)”, e-mə $\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\text{r}$, EWlmd. a-mə- $\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\text{r}$ ~ a-mā- $\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\text{r}$ “guide connaisseur des routes” [PAM 2003: 621-622] || WCh.: Goemay ner “to drag along, carry away” [Srl. 1937: 157] || CCh.: Masa nār “conduire (le troupeau)” [Caütucoli 1983: 119].⁹

A remotely related root variety with C₃ *-l is presumably attested in Sem.: Hbr. $\sqrt{\text{nh}}$ l piel “1. die Herde führen, (v. anderen) führen” [GB] = piel “1. to escort, wit care (to a meadow, to water), 2. transport (on donkeys), provide with food” [KB], NHbr. $\sqrt{\text{nh}}$ l piel “leiten” [GB] = “to lead” [KB] | Ar. $\sqrt{\text{nh}}$ l “zum Trankorte führen” [GB] (Sem.: GB 489; KB 675).

434. PBrb. *i-n $\sqrt{\text{h}}$ ir “antelope” [Kossmann 1999: 81, #128] > NBrb.: Shilh a-nir “antelope” [Jordan 1934: 36], Medieval Shilh i-nir-en “antilopes” [Kossmann] || WBrb.: Zenaga a-na ?r , e-na ?r^{h} , a-nè ?ri “*Gazella Dama Dama*” [Nicolas 1953: 149, 230] || SBrb. * $\sqrt{\text{nh}}$ 3r “antelope mohor” [Prasse] = *é-nhir [Kossmann 1999: 65, #28]: Ahaggar e-nir, pl. i-nîr-en [Foucauld

⁸ The Twareg root was equated by E. Zyhlarz (1934: 119) and M. Cohen (1947: #461) with Eg. nrj “hüten, bewachen” (OK-, Wb II 278, 15) = “to protect” (FD 134) > nr “Hüter, Hirt” (PT-, Wb II 279, 1) = “cattle-herd custodian (Junker: Hirt, Badawy: herdsman)” (OK-, Jones 2000: 484, #1812), which, however, does not reflect the C₂ laryngeal of the Qabyle cognate. Following W.F. Albright (1918: 233, #53; also ESS §11.a.26) and F. Behnk (1927: 81: #7), Cohen also compared (in the same entry!) ES: Geez nōlāwī “Hirt” [Behnk] = nōlāwī “berger” [Cohen], which had well before him been rejected already by C. Brockelmann (1932: 109, #41) and F. von Calice (GÄSW 163, #662) as both Albright and Behnk disregarded the rendering of this Geez word by Praetorius (in ZDMG 43, 324; 47, 385) who saw here a loan from LECu.: Oromo lōn “herd, flock” + ending -āwi via metathesis. This view was supported by W. Leslau (1987: 398; 1988: 88) too, who included in this comparison also Geez nolaw/ya “to tend flocks, be a shepherd”, perhaps nələw “following, retinue, escort” (unless an error by misprint for talawa “to follow”) and LECu.: Saho lāwin-ā ~ lōyn-ā “der Hirt” [Reinisch 1890: 251] = lawin-ā “shepherd” [Leslau] = lōyn-ā “Hirte” [PW], for which cf. also Saho-Assaorta lōyn-ā “pastore” [CR 1913: 69], Saho-Irob loyni, pl. lōn “Hirte” [PW 1953: 387] and Afar lōyn-a (m) “1. herdsman, shepherd, guardian, 2. owner, one in charge, 3. flock, herd, group” [PH 1985: 156] || CCh.: Bura luwali “a guardian” [BED 1953: 125]. I wonder, however, how a loan from LECu. agrees with a metathesis at a time and whether the Geez root is perhaps in any way related to NBrb. *a-nilti “berger” [GT] > e.g., Common Zenet *a-nilti ~ *a-linti [Laoust 1931: 202], Nefusa nilti [Motylinski 1898: 124].

⁹ O.V. Stolbova (CLD I 144, #577) affiliated the Masa root with some other reflexes of her Ch. *nVr- “to hunt, search”, which certainly belongs to another AA root, cf. the entry for NBrb.: Qabyle $\sqrt{\text{ny}}$ r: neyyer “continuer, poursuivre” [Dallet 1982: 588-9] below (ad SBE VII #327). Her equation of all these *comparanda* with Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{nh}}$ r I: nahara “4. éloigner, chasser, repousser à force de cris”, VIII “1. chasser, éloigner qqn. à force de cris” [BK II 1354] seems perhaps to fail also for semantical reasons.

1951-2: 1399 > Prasse], Nslm. ti-nhir-t [Basset > Prasse], Tadghaq e-nher, pl. i-nher-än and Tudalt e-ner, pl. i-ner-än “gazelle (dama/mohor)” [Sudlow 2001: 272], Wlmd. ê-ner [Basset 1887: 447] = i-nir, a-nər, fem. ti-nir-t [Prasse] = ä-naṛ ~ e-neṛ “antelope” [Drouin], EWlmd. ē-nēr “faon” [Nicolas 1950, 18] = e-ṇer, pl. i-ṇer-an (“antelope dama, mohor, *Gazella dama* (Pallas)”) [PAM 2003: 622], Tameseghlalt ä-naṛ “antelope” [Drouin 1979-1984: 513], Ayr e-nir ~ a-nir, pl. i-nir-ən [Prasse], Ghat i-nir, pl. i-nir-en [Nehlil 1909: 127] (SBrb.: Prasse 1969: 84, #559; Brb.: Kossmann 1999: 65, #28; 81, #128) || NOm.: Yemsa (Janjero) nor-ō “capra” [Cerulli 1938 III: 81] = “goat” [Bender 2003: 341, #40: isolated in NOm.]

435. Brb. *√nhl “to easen” [GT] > NBrb.: Zayan & Sgugu ɛ-nheḷ “1. calmer une douleur” [Loubignac 1924: 577] || SBrb.: Ahaggar i-nhal and Ghat ə-nhil “être facile” [Prasse 1969: 82, #543], Ayr i-nhal “être facile”, nəhəlhəl “chanceler, (se sentir) défaillir, languir (de faim etc.)” [PAM 2003: 607], Ghat e-nhil “être facile” [Nehlil 1909: 159] || Sem.: (???) Hbr. √nhl piel “beruhigen (pace Haupt)” [GB 489]¹⁰ || Eg. *√nhl > nh3 (ḏw) “calmer (la douleur)” (XXVI., AL 78.2149 pace Assmann 1977: 99, col. 26 and 101, n. k), cf. nh3 (not translated) in compounds, viz. nh3-ḥrw, nh3-ḥr, nh3-t3 (NK: Amduat, cf. Wb II 283, 4, Hornung 1963 II: 65), whence a participle may be nh3.w (pl.) “ceux qui sont calmes, abattus (?)” (CT VII 470c, AL 78.2150, cf. AECT III 169, spell 1130, n. 18) = “les Apaisés” (Barguet 1986: 664) = “die Beruhigten (der Unterwelt)” (ÄWb II 1307c; GHWb 419) < NAA *√nhl “calmer (la douleur)” [GT]. Is this Egypto-Berber isogloss of biconsonantal origin? Cf. ES *√nhly [GT] > e.g., Geez √nhly “to feel relieved” [Leslau 1987: 394].

436. Common Brb. *a-nhil, pl. *i-nhal “Strauß” [Zyhlarz 1931-2: 5] = *ā-nihīl, pl. *ī-nuhāl [Prasse 1974: 167] = *a-nḤil [Kossmann 1999: 83, #138] = *√nh/yl [Prasse 1999 p.c.] > NBrb. *a-nīl “Strauß” [Zyhlarz]: Shilh a-nhir “autruche” [Jordan 1934: 36], Djebel Bani (S. Shilh in W. Anti-Atlas) a-nhir “ostrich” [Laoust 1931: 198 apud Blench and Kossmann 1999: 84] | Beni Snus a-nhil (rare) [Kossmann] = a-nhīl, fem. ta-nhīl-t “autruche” < Twareg? [Prasse] || Twareg *a-nhīl “Strauß” [Zyhlarz]: Wlmd. e-nhe (?) [Barth] ~ a-nil [Basset], pl. e-nhal (1883) ~ i-nhal (1887) “autruche” [Basset] = a-nhil ~ a-nil “autruche” [Prasse], EWlmd. a-nīl, pl. i-niāl “ostrich (*Struthio camelus*)” [Nicolas 1950: 13] = a-nil, pl. i-nəyal “autruche (*Struthio camelus camelus*)” [PAM 2003: 617], Ayr a-nhil ~ a-nil ~ i-nil, pl. e-nhal “autruche” [Prasse] = e-nil, pl. ə-nyal “autruche etc.” [PAM l.c.], Kel-Ui a-nhal, pl. i-nhal-en “autruche” [Basset], Ahaggar a-nhil, pl. i-nhal “autruche mâle” [Basset] = a-nhēl, pl. i-nhāl “autruche” [Prasse] = a-nhel (“in other Tuareg dialects” a-nhil, a-nāhil) [Militarev 1988: 199] = a-nhel, pl. i-nhal [Prasse 1999 p.c.], Ghat e-nali “autruche” [Basset] = a-nhil, pl. i-nhal, fem. ta-nhil-t, pl. te-hinhal “autruche” [Nehlil 1909: 131] = e-nhil, pl. i-nhal, fem. ta-nhil-t, pl. či-nhal “autruche” [Prasse], Tamasheq a-nhil, pl. i-nhal [Vycichl], Tadghaq a-nhel, pl. i-nhal ~ (pace Sudlow) a-nāhil, pl. i-nhal [Prasse 1999 p.c.], Tudalt (Udalan) a-nil, pl. i-nyal “ostrich” [Sudlow 2001: 274], Taneslemt a-nhel, pl. i-nhal ~ a-nāhil, pl. i-nhal [Prasse 1999 p.c.], Sergou e-nhil “autruche” [Basset] (SBrb.: Basset 1883: 320; 1887: 334, 447; Prasse in p.c. on 5 July 1999, p. 6; Brb.: Kossmann 1999: 67,

¹⁰ This is an older rendering of the Hebrew root otherwise treated s.v. SBE VII 300 above.

#44, 75, #98, 83, #138; Blench 2000 MS: 10 after Prasse 1969: 82, #544). The Afro-Asiatic etymology of this Berber zoonym had been unknown until W. Vycichl (1933: 176) and E. Zyhlarz (1934: 109), who equated it with Eg. nj.w ~ sporadic nr.w¹¹ [Vycichl: < *nl.w] “Strauss” (PT-, Wb II 202, 8) = “ostrich” (FD 125; Houlihan 1986: 1-5, #1 with disc.) = “Strauß (*Struthio camelus*)” (ÄWb I 595a).¹² Earlier, I also followed W. Vycichl’s idea (EDE I 89-90), although I was puzzled by Brb. *-h- unreflected by the Egyptian parallel, which I was disposed to regard as an -h- *furtivum*, an inetymological or parasitic -h- (pretty well attested in Soqotri, cf. Leslau 1938 passim) not part of the original root. Then, V. Blažek (2001: 626) ventured to explain Brb. *-h- here from *-b- (sic, not *-b-), although normally only Twareg *-h- can originate from *-b- if there is an East Berber evidence (which we do not have here, however), for which he quoted plausible and really striking cognates from LECu.: Rendille nabāl “Strauß (Vogel)” [Schlee 1978: 142, #802] = nabāl “ostrich” [Oomen 1981: 70] = “ostrich(es) (*Struthio camelus*)” [PG 1999: 230], Arbore nebel (m) “ostrich(es)” [Hayward 1984: 387], Elmolo nápal (m) “ostrich” [Heine 1980: 208], cf. Dasenech nēi [GT: perhaps < *newey < **nebel?] “ostrich” [Tosco 2001: 520]. If the Brb.-LECu. match indeed proves correct, we should assume that: (1) Eg. nj.w ~ nr.w < *nl.w was borrowed from a Berber form like *nil from some pre-Twareg source (like Tawllemmet or Ayr) where *-h- disappeared, which would be an apparent anachronism, since the Egyptian word is attested as early as the late OK,¹³ when Proto-Berber is supposed to have been a unity as yet.¹⁴ (2) The strange anomaly of CBrb. *-b- > NBrb. *-h- (instead of an expected *-w- > -Ø-) may be due to a NBrb. borrowing from Twareg as supposed for the case of Benis Snus by K.G. Prasse (1969 l.c.). However be it, additionally, the LECu. root seems now to be also reflected in SOm.: Hamer lâ’bálí (-’b- for -b-?) [GT: assim. < *nabal-] “ostrich” [Fleming 1990 MS: 1] || Ech.: perhaps Mubi-Toram *nya₂bVI- “guinea fowl” [GT] > Mubi nyèbèlò (m, f), nyèbèl “Perlhuhn” [Lukas 1937: 184] = nyèbèlò (m), nyèbèlé (f), pl. nyèbèl “pintade” [Jng. 1990 MS: 37], Kajakse nyabùlo, pl. nyabili “pintade” [Alio 2004: 246, #257].

¹¹ For the sporadic spelling as nr.w (e.g., pap. Koller 4:1, where 3:6 has nj.w, pap. Turin 125:6) cf. Gardiner 1911: 41*, fn. 3. Note that not all the varieties listed by V. Loret (1904: 231) can belong here.

¹² All other etymologies of Eg. nj.w are to be discarded. F. von Calice (GÄSW 159, #644.a) and A.Ju. Militarev (MM 1983: 256) ventured an equation with the Sem. term for “ostrich”: Hbr. yā’ēn < *ya-’in- (?), Syr. na’ām- | Ar. na’ām- < *na’am-. Besides, W. Westendorf (1989: 84-85) explained the phonetic value of the Eg. hieroglyph D41 depicting, in his view, “eig. ein Straußenbein” (Westendorf) = “avant-bras dont la main a la paume retournée” (Lefèbvre 1955: 390, D41) = “une patte d’autruche (*Struthio camelus*) qui n’est pourvue que de deux doigts” (Keimer 1957: 97-99), on the basis of Eg. nj “abweisen, niederwerfen”. Moreover, he believed to have understood the origin of Eg. negation njj, which was for him “aus der ... Abwehrkraft des Straußenbeines zu erklären”, although apparently he himself was uncertain the way these comparanda are to be connected: “oder umgekehrt: nj.w ‘Strauß’ < eig. *‘der Abweisende, der Niederwerfer’ ...”! H. Satzinger (1994: 199), without going into any etymology, surmised behind the Egyptian orthographies nj.w ~ nr.w eventually a reading *lj.w, which would certainly discard any relation to the Berber term.

¹³ Prior to the PT 469a of Unis (cf. AEPT 96; Spiegel 1971: 296; ÄWb I 595a), the last king of the 5th Dynasty, apparently, the word has not been recorded at all (FÄW 216 lacks it).

¹⁴ The lexicostatistical and glottochronological calculations by A.Ju. Militarev (2010: 262-263, table 4) suggest a relatively late disintegration of the Berber parental language community around the middle of the second mill. BC.

Berber *√nm-

437. NBrb.: Shilh nem “être entassé” [Jordan 1934: 96] || Sem.: OSA (Sabaic) √nmw “to increase”, mntm (adj.) “fat, rich (said of curds)” (?) ≈ Ar. muntamin “fat, satiated” [Biella 1982: 306], OSA (Madhabi) √nmy “augmenter” [Arbach 1993: 78], Ar. √nmw and √nmy > I namā “1. croître, grandir, prendre de la croissance (se dit des végétaux, des hommes etc.), 2. hausser, monter (se dit des prix des subsistances), 5. s’élever, croître (se dit des eaux)”, nāmiy-at- “2. végétation, croissance, faculté de grandir, développement”, II “5. alimenter, nourrir le feu en y ajoutant du combustible”, namiyy-at- “végétation etc.”, namā?- “1. végétation, croissance” [BK II 1350-1], Yemeni Ar. √nmw > namā “to grow” [Pimenta 1990: 498] || Eg. nm (coll.) “Ertrag des Ackers” (GR, Wb II 265, 3) || ECh.: Kajakse námmà “gros (big)” [Alio 2004] < N²AA *√nm “to grow (of vegetation)” [GT]. The Kajakse-Ar. comparison is due to O.V. Stolbova (CLD I 232, #98).

438. SBrb.: EWlmd. and Ayr ə-ṇəm “1. s’habituer et s’attacher à, 2. s’apprivoiser/devenir familier avec, 3. être habitué à/se laisser têter par un petit dont elle n’est pas la mère (femelle)” [PAM 2003: 618] || WCh.: Bole- Tangale *√nm “close (proche, nah)” [GT]: Tangale ṇimṇim “near, close” [Jng. 1991: 124], Pero némò “to approach”, nīmì “close” [Frj. 1985: 43], Maha ném “near” [Alio 1988b MS], Ngamo ném “near” [Alio 1988c MS], Dera ném “near(ly)”, nùmè “to close” [Newman 1974: 130] = némámá “near” [Kidda 1991 MS: 7]. Any connection to WCh.: Kofyar nung “to belong” [Netting 1967: 30] (GT 2004: 271: isolated in Angas-Sura)?

439. NBrb.: Mzg. nemnem (from Ar.?) “1. médire, calomnier, 2. rapporter, 3. cancaner, 4. remplir son discours de mensonges, 5. moucharder” [Taïfi 1991: 492] || Sem.: Ar. √nmm I: namma “1. rapporter dans l’intention de nuire à qqn. ou de brouiller les gens, 2. calomnier, être calomniateur, 3. remplir son discours de mensonges”, nummiyy- “3. vice, défaut qui détruit la pureté d’une chose” [BK II 1346] || Eg. nm “sich an jmdm./etw. vergreifen, schief gehen (Pläne)” (MK, Wb II 264, 11-12; GHWb 412) = nm “to go wrong (of plans)” (FD 133) = √nmjw “to go wrong” (DCT 226) || LECu.: Dasenech ṇimísu “to deceive, trick” [Tosco 2001: 522] || Ch. *nVm- “to tell a lie, conceal sg.” [CLD] > WCh.: Angas-Sura *num → *nəm “to deceive” [GT 2004: 270] = *nu₁m “to deceive (обманывать)” [Stolbova 1977b] = *num [Stolbova 1987]: Angas (hill) nüm “to deceive” [Foulkes 1915: 256] = num (so, false -u-) [Stolbova < Foulkes], Sura num pεε “betrügen” [Jng. 1963: 77] (AS: Stolbova 1977b: 156, #155; 1987: 243, #51) || ECh.: (???) Bidiya reflex semantically certainly unconvincing¹⁵ (Ch.: CLD I 82-83, #260) < AA *√nm “1. to go wrong, 2. mislead” [GT]. Angas-Ar.: HSED #1884. Ch.-Ar.: Stolbova 1996: 85; CLD I 139, #531.

Root variety with an *Anlaut* *l- (due to nasal dissim.?) attested in SCu. *lama- “lie” [Ehret].¹⁶ Iraqw lama “lie”, lam-us-mo “liar”, Burunge lama “lie”, lam-is-eṅ “liar”, Alagwa

¹⁵ Cf. Bidiya nyiim “feindre, se taire sur qqch.” (cf. nyiimo “secret, clandestin”) [AJ 1989: 103] = “to simulate, conceal” [Stolbova in CLD].

¹⁶ Borrowed into PBantu *-limi “lie”, cf. Ehret 1974: 80.

lam-us-umo “liar” (WRift: Ehret 1980 l.c.) | Ma’a lāmġ “Lüge” [Meinhof 1906: 312] = mlamé “lie, falsehood” [Ehret 1974 MS: 39] | Dahalo lankaḍ- [-nk- < *-mk-] “to lie” [Ehret] (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 202, #4) || Ch. *IVm- “1. to tell a lie, 2. flatter” [Stl.] > e.g., WCh.: Tangale meḷem “a lie”, muḷum “lie, falsehood” [Jng. 1991: 119, 122] || CCh.: Bata lāmò “to blackmail” [Pweddou 2000: 49] | Mada álma “attirer par ruse, par tromperie, tromper” [Barreteau-Bléis 2000: 160], Matakam lám “to deceive, trick” [Rossing 1978: 235, #185 and 350, #760] || ECh.: Gadang là:m “tromper” [JI 1990 MS: 14, #267], Sibine lāmà “to tell a lie” [Stolbova] (Ch.: CLD I 82-83, #260). SCu.-Ch.: HSED #1649; CLD I 82-83, #260; Stolbova 2005: 50, #2 and 57, §1.6.7 (both Ch. *n- and *l-).

Berber *√nn-

440. Brb. *nna “mother” [GT] > e.g., NBrb.: Wargla nna, nanna “(ma) mère” [Delheure 1987: 209] || SBrb.: Ahaggar a-nna “Mutter” [Basset apud Lippert], EWlmd.-Ayr a-nna “(ma) mère (des humains)” [PAM 2003: 582] || ECu. *naḥ- “mother (?)” [GT]: LECu.: Borana Oromo nanā “young women, girlfriends” [Stroomer 1995: 212] | Dobase (Qawko) naḥayye “wife, woman” [Hayward 1978: 62], Yaaku nēne, pl. nēne “mother”, neḥeh “mother (other than one’s own)” [Heine 1975: 130] = neḥeh [Hyw.] || Common Ch. *n- “mother” [JS 1981: 185B] = *nV̄ “(my) mother” [Stl.] > e.g., WCh.: Hausa (Sokoto, Zanfara) inna “Mutter” [Basset apud Lippert] | Karekare nānā “Mutter” [Lukas 1966: 203], Tangale nāā ~ neḡ, nāa-, also nuṇe, nu- “mother” [Jng. 1991: 123, 125], Kwami nó “Mutter” [Leger 1993: 172] || CCh.: Fali nu [Barth] = no [Strümpell] = né “Mutter” [Lukas] | Masa naa “Mutter” [Lukas] || ECh.: Kwang-Modgel ná “Mutter” [Lukas] (Ch.: Lukas 1937: 97; CLD I 105, #363). Ahaggar-Hausa: Lippert 1906: 341, #16; Brb.-Ch.-Afar: Blažek 2002: 112, #6.3.

441. NBrb.: Zayan and Sgugu √nn: ɛ-nnu (regarded as < *√md!) “traverser un pays, un cours d’eau” [Loubignac 1924: 571] || LECu.: Dasenech nú “to pass, cross” [Tosco 2001: 521] || CCh.: Masa nānā “to go” [Jng. in JI 1994 II: 163].

442. SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr a-ṇṇ “1. être dressé, formé (animal), 2. être formé, cultivé, éduqué (personne, p.ex., par des études), être corrigé, apprendre les bonnes mœurs, 4. être rendu docile, dompté (personne), 5. s’entraîner, se former” [PAM 2003: 620]¹⁷ || Sem.: Ar. ʔanna “paraître, se présenter” [DRS 25] || Ch. *n-n “to show” [JS 1981: 227F]: WCh.: Hausa núúnà “to show”, nùúnáá “to point at” [Abraham 1962: 707], Gwandara nāna “1. to show, 2. point” [Matsushita 1972: 86] | Angas-Sura *nʔin > *nin ~ *nən “to show” [GT 2004: 275]: Angas (Kabwir dialect) nyin ~ nyín (so, long -ii-) “to show” [Jng. 1962a MS: 31] = nyin “to show” [ALC 1978: 49], Msr. nin “to show, reveal, point with finger”, cf. nin-kə-yit “to differentiate, distinguish” (lit. “showing of limits”, cf. AS *yit “boundary”) [Diyakal 1997 MS: 161, 168],

¹⁷ Compared by K.-G. Prasse (PAM l.c.) with Ar. ʕinān- “rêne”, ʕunn-at- “clôture”, ʔaʕanna “domestiquer” (pace M. Cohen).

Goemay nin “to show, teach” [Sirlinger 1937: 161] = nin “zeigen” [Jng. 1962b MS: 9] = ni nin “to show” [Kraft] = nin “to show, point” (Hausa nuna) [Hellwig 2000 MS: 25].

443. Brb. *√*nn* [GT] > NBrb.: Tamazight (Zemmur) nin “gémir” [Taïfi 1991: 458] || SBrb.: EWImd.-Ayr ə-ṇṇəṇ “1.épeler, 2. bégayer, ânonner” [PAM 2003: 621] || Bed. n̄n “Gesang, Vortrag der Barden, Rapsodie”, n̄n “(be)singen” [Reinisch 1895: 184]¹⁸ < AA *√*n(y)n* [GT].¹⁹

444. NBrb.: Mzg, e-nnun “anguille” [Abès 1916: 118] || Sem. *nuwn- “fish” [Fox 1998: 23] = *√*nwn* > *nūn- “fish” [Huehnergard 2000: 2066]:²⁰ Akk. nūnum [Fox] || Phoenician *nūn “fish” [Huehnergard],²¹ Syriac nuṇā [Fox] | Ar. nūn- “poisson (surtout grand)” [BK II 1373] || CCh.: Masa *non “poisson sp.: silure” [GT]: Masa-Bongor nōn-ná “silure” [Jng. 1971], Masa nōn “le poisson sp., prob. le silure” [Caïtucoli 1983: 119] = nōn “poisson: *Clarias lazera*” [Ajello], Gizey nòṇi “poisson: *Clarias lazera*” [Ajello], Ham, Musey, Lew ṽòṇón “poisson: *Clarias lazera*” [Ajello], Marba ṽàṇòṇ “poisson: *Clarias lazera*” [Ajello] (Masa group: Ajello 2001: 45) < CAA *√*nn*, prob. *nun “fish” [GT].

445. Brb. “verbe primitif” *nunny (attested with diverse prefixes: **q-, h-, k-, g-**) < *√*ny* “rouler etc.” [NZ 2002: 367] || (?)²² Eg. nnj “(weg)gehen” (PT-, Wb II 276, 1-2) = “aller, se tourner (?)” (Jacq 1986: 32) = “weg-, zurückgehen” (GHWb 416) > nnj “1. to turn about (CT I 306a), 2. go to and fro (CT V 263 as in PT 310)” (AECT I 275-276, spell 341, n. 2 vs. II 69, spell 423, n. 8) = “to go to and fro” (DCT 231), hence: nnj.t “Schritt” (PT-, Wb II 276, 3) > (?) nn.wt “windings (?) (allusion to the bends of the Nile)” (CT IV 343, AECT I 1.c.) || LECu.: Oromo nannaū “girare, voltare, far rotolare, ruzzolare, girare su di un perno, aggirare, ravvolgersi ...” [da Thiene 1939: 254]= nānna^wa “to go round, turn, rotate” [Gragg 1982: 297] || WCh.: Boghom nyaan “to turn round (intr.)” [Shimizu 1975: 38]. Reduplica-

¹⁸ Equated by M. Cohen (1947: 95, #83) as a “forme à redoublement” with Sem.: Ar. √*ny*, Hbr. √*ny* “chanter”, Ar. √*nn* “gémir”, Hbr. √*qnn*, Geez √*qny* “chanter” (as “variantes”) || NBrb.: Beni Snus, Sus īni “dire, exprimer” || SBrb.: Twareg e-un “dire, exprimer” (Cohen: “douteux, correspondance des sens imparfaite”).

¹⁹ Remotely related to the NAA isogloss of Sem.: (?) Akk. naʔū “to shout (with joy or pain)”, nuʔū ~ nuḥḥū “to lament” [CAD n2 134] || Hbr. √*nhh* qal “wehklagen”, nifal “hinter jem. her klagen” [GB 488-489] = qal “to lament” [KB 675] | NSyr. √*nhy* “to moan” [MacLean] = “seufzen” [GB], JNAram. √*nhy* “to groan, yearn”, niḥya and nhīta “groaning, weary”, nehwaṭa (pl. of *nehwa?) “groans” [Sabar 2002: 230] || (?) Eg. nhnh [footnote omitted] “vom Brüllen des Löwen” (NE mag., Wb II 286, 7) < NAA *√*nh* “to cry” [GT].

²⁰ M. Cohen (1947: 188, #466) affiliated Hbr.-Ar. nūn- with Eg. rm “fish”, NBrb.: Sus a-mun and Twareg e-men “sorte de poisson”, also LECu.: Somali mal(a)lay, HECu.: Sidamo mûoliyā “fish”, for which he was compelled to arbitrarily assume several obscure “assimilations et dissimilations de liquides”. The Semitic word has similarly certainly nothing to do with Dravidian *mīn- or NCAucasian *χwanḥV and Sino-Tibetan *ḡ(j)ā “fish” as S. Starostin (2003: 470) suggests.

²¹ This is the Semitic word the 14th letter of the Phoenician alphabet (and, henceforth, also Greek *ν*) has gained its name from, cf. Huehnergard (2000: 2066).

²² As can be seen from the presentation of the Eg. gloss, the rendering of this verbal root is disputed as well as its etymology. J. Osing (2000: 174, fn. 79; 2001, col. 579) saw in Eg. nnj “(weg)gehen” a n- prefix derivative of Eg. wnj “eilen, vorbeigehen”.

tion, cf. the entry of SBrb.: Ayr ə-ḥwəy [PAM] (below) for the cognate of its simplex root, namely AA *√nwɣ “to be/go/make round” [GT].

Berber *√nr-

Ad SBE VII, #304. EBrb.: Ghadames √nr > nār “moisir, se corrompre” [Lanfry 1973: 245, #1151] || Sem.: Official Aram. nʿr qal “to foam (said of wine), ferment (?)” (meaning uncertain) [DNWSI 739] | Ar. √nr IV “2. être gâté corrompu” [BK II 1300] || (?) Eg. nʿrʿ.t “etwas an einer Geschwulst” (Med., Wb II 209, 9) = (to be read nʿrʿr?) Krankheitserscheinung am Ohr” (WMT I 448; GHWb 395) || LECu.: Dasenech nyurān “wet” [Bender 1971: 251, #94] || SCu.: PRift *naʿar- “wet” [Ehret]: Iraqw naʿaro “wet” | Asa naʿar-at “cow dung”, originally “wet cow dung”? (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 351) || WCh.: Gwandara nyàra “1. dampf, 2. unripe, green, 3. uncooked” [Matsushita 1972: 91] < AA *√nrʿr ~ *√nrɣ “1. to be wet, 2. ferment, rot” [GT].²³ The Berber reflex supports PAA C₂ *-ʿ/Ø-.²⁴

446. NBrb.: Mzg. a-niri, pl. i-niri-t-n “tristesse, chagrin causée par la mort d’un proche” [Taïfi 1991: 495] || ECh.: Mokilko nyírnyírè “pleurer (bébé)” [Jng. 1990a: 149].

Ad SBE VII, #302. WBrb.: Zenaga e-nnar “être rassasié”, te-nir “satiété” [Basset 1909: 247, 249] = √nr (3rd person sg. masc. aor.: iḡ-nnar, n. act.: ta-naʿr-t) “se rassasier” > ta-ʿnār-t “satiété” [Nicolas 1953: 229-230] || Sem.: Ar. √nr I “to complete (things or affairs)” [Lane 2870] (?) > mu-nayyar- “gros, épais (cuir, peau)” [BK II 1376] || ECh.: WDangla nyààrè “obturer d’un bouchon de terre” [Fédry 1971: 254] < AA *√nrɣ “to (be) fill(ed)” [GT].

447. Brb. *a-nnar, pl. *i-nurar “aire à battre” [Chaker]²⁵ = *a-nnar [GT] > EBrb.: Ghadames a-narar, pl. narar-en “meule (de paille, etc.)” [Motylinski 1904: 136] = a-narar, pl. narār-en “aire à battre” [Lanfry 1973: 246, #1155] || NBrb.: e.g., Shilh a-nrar “aire (à battre)” [Justinard 1914: 121] = a-nnrar, pl. innrar-en “aire à battre” [Destaing apud Chaker], Tazerwalt a-nrär ~ a-rrär “Tenne” [Stumme 1899: 165] | Seghrushen a-nrar, pl. i-nurar “aire à battre” [Pellat 1955: 121] = (also in Ait Ayash) same form “threshing ground” [AM 1971: 387] | Harawa a-nnar, pl. i-nura “meule” [Basset], Mzab a-nrar “meule” [Basset] = a-nrär “meule de paille/céréales en gerbes” [Laoust] = a-nrar, pl. i-nurar ~ a-rnan, pl. i-rnan-ən (met.) “aire à battre” [Delheure 1984: 139], Wargla a-nnar, pl. i-nurär “aire à battre” [Renisio

²³ Shall we assume an ultimate cognacy with the isogloss of Sem. *√nrʿr “молодой (young)” || CCh. *áV[H]rV “свежий (fresh), молодой (young)” established (by the way, as a reflex of Nostratic *hóʿrE/*hóʿrE) by N.S. Panova, A.B. Dolgopolskij, and V.Ja. Porhomovskij (1972: 65)? Cf. also WCh.: Galambu lãrà “young” [Alio 1988a MS].

²⁴ Elsewhere, AA *ɣ yields as a rule Brb. *ɣ (Takács 2011: 145-148).

²⁵ A. Boulifa (1913: 390-391) surmised a borrowing from Latin area with a question mark, which would, however, *a priori* be incompatible with assuming a Common Berber term. Instead, S. Chaker (l.c.) concluded to that PBrb. *a-nnar “est un terme isolé au plan dérivationnel ... et la morphologie insolite de son pluriel ... laissant supposer une histoire linguistique assez particulière”.

1932: 393] | Nefusa a-rnan (metathesis) “meule (de paille, etc.)” [Motylinski] = a-rnān, pl. i-rnan-ən “meule de paille/céréales en gerbes” [Laoust] | Qabyle a-nnar, pl. i-nurar “aire à battre” [Dallet 1982: 574], Zwawa a-nrar, pl. i-nurar and Bugi a-nnar, pl. i-nnurar “aire” [Basset] = Bugi a-nnar, pl. i-nnur-en “aire” [Provotelle 1911: 108] (NBrb.: Basset 1895: 98; Laoust 1931: 259) || SBrb.: Ahaggar a-narar, pl. i-nūrār “enclos solide pou-vant se fermer” [Foucauld 1951-2: 1394] (Brb.: Chaker 1986: 369-370) || HECu. *nār- “to pile up, stack (grain)”, *nār-a “pile, stack (grain)” [Hudson 1989: 419] < AA *√nr “1. to pile up grain (for threshing?), 2. thresh grain (?)” [GT].

Ad SBE VII, #305. Brb. *√n^wrz [*-z reg. < AA *-Ŝ] “talon” [NZ] > i.a. NBrb.: Mzab & Wargla i-nərz [Delheure 1984: 139, 1987: 224], Nefusa i-nərz [Laoust 1931: 298] || EBrb.: Ghadames a-nerz [Lanfry 1973: 247, #1158] || WBrb.: Zenaga uriž [Basset 1909: 247] || SBrb.: Ghat i-rez [Nehlil 1909: 209] (Brb.: NZ 2001: 186) || Eg. n3š [-3- reg. < *-r-] “point (?) (possibly the reference may be to a thorn zareba about the child)” (CT, AECT II 247, 249, spell 682, n. 10; AL 78.1969) < AA *√nrŜ “peak” [GT]. Cf. also NBrb.: Ait Said [ni^az] (√nrz) “la cheville” [Allati 1986: 34].

Berber *√nl-

Ad SBE VII, #307. SBrb.: Ayr ə-nəl “1. donner la voix rauque à (qqn.), 2. avoir la voix rauque”, te-nil-t “1. son rauque, 2. ronflement (d’un chameau mâle)” [PAM 2003: 616] || LECu.: Oromo nyalū “to complain, grumble”, nyala “complaint”, nyaltī “grumble (n)” [Bitima 2000: 209] || ECh.: Somray nul “pleurer” [Jng. 1978a: 186], Kwang-Mobu nēwélé and Ngam nēwèle “crier à rue-tête” [Lenssen 1982: 110]²⁶ | EDangla náálé “brüllen (Rinder)” [Ebobbise 1979: 133; 1987: 79] < AA *√nl “to cry (?)” [GT].

Ad SBE VII, #306. NBrb.: Shilh *ta-nnāl-t [< **-nwal-?] “poutre” [GT] > Shilh ta-nāl-t, pl. ti-nīl-īn “poutre” (cf. nnīl “être étayé”) and Sus ta-nnāl-t, pl. ta-nnāl-in “poutre” [Laoust 1942: 24, §17] || Eg. n3j.w [-3- reg. < *-l-] “kind of timber for boat (?)” (Glanville 1932: 22, n. 50 & p. 35; Jones 1988: 170, §80) = “bois servant à la construction des navires” (AL 78.1965) = “Bohle für Schiffsbau” (GHWb 390 pace Helck MWNR 889, n. m) = “Holzteile, Balken aus einem Holzgerüst” (Düring 1995: 55) < AA *√nl “timber (?)” [GT].

448. NBrb.: Tamazight nnal [< **-nHal-?] “supporter, soutenir, étayer, caler”, ta-nnal-t “1. poutre qui supporte la toiture, 2. étai” [Taïfi 1991: 490] || Eg. nhn “sich stützen auf etwas (m)” (NK, Wb II 286, 5),²⁷ possibly (???) < nhnj “sich stützen” (PT 339a, ÄWb I 641: unklar)²⁸ < NAA *√nhl “to lean on” [GT].

²⁶ Ch. Ehret (1995: 325, #633) mistakenly combined ECh.: PSomray *nul “to weep, cry” [Jng.] with LLeg. nrh (act. *√lh) “to abuse” and ECU. *jal- “to express string feelings” < AA *-jal- “to cry out”.

²⁷ For a possible n- prefix in the Eg. root cf. Thausing 1941: 21 and Watson 1979: 102.

²⁸ For this hapax cf. otherwise also AEPT 72-73, fn. 3 (denying its connection to nhn “to lean on”) and SAK 1 (1974), 185.

Ad SBE VII, #309. EBrb.: Ghadames a-nnel [$< **\text{-nhel-?}$] “verser” [Motylinski 1904: 168] || (???) Eg. nj [if $< * \sqrt{\text{nl}}$] “remplir d’eau” (CT I 288b, AL 78.1974 contra AECT I 64, spell 67, n. 27) = “füllen (mit Wasser)” (GHWb 391)²⁹ || Sem.: Akk. na[?]ālu “(etwa) befeuchten”, na[?]īlu “überflutete Niederung”, najjālu “Bewässerer, ein Gärtner”, nīlu ~ ni[?]lu “Befeuchtung: 1. Überflutung, 2. Sperma” [AHW 694, 717] || Hbr. nahālāl (nahālōl) “Wasserplatz, Tränkstelle” [KB] | Ar. nhl “Durst löschen” [AHW] = nahal- “a first drinking”, ma-nhal- “watering place” [Lane 3039] (Sem.: Sjöberg 1998: 254, #163) || CCh.: Buduma nal “voll werden” [Nachtigal apud Lukas 1939: 120] = “remplir” [Gaudiche 1938: 30] = “to fill (intr.)” [JI 1994 II: 157] $< \text{AA } * \sqrt{\text{nhl}}$ “to pour” [GT].

Ad SBE VII, #308. Brb. $* \sqrt{\text{nnl}}$ $< ** \sqrt{\text{nw/y/HI}}$? [GT] $>$ e.g. NBrb.: Zayan & Sgugu $\sqrt{\text{nnl}}$: ɛ-nneġ “ensevelir, enterrer”, ta-nnell, pl.ti-nnġ-in “tombe” [Loubignac 1924: 577] | Mzab & Wargla a-nil “tombeau, tombe, sépulture, sépulcre” [Delheure 1984: 137; 1987: 221], Sened a-nil “sépulcre, tombeau” [Provotelle 1911: 137] || Eg. nj.t [reg. $< * \sqrt{\text{nl}}$] “demeure (?), tombeau (?)” (LP, AL 78.1979 pace Assmann 1977: 25, col. 4) || Sem.: Ar. ma-nhal- “2. tombeau, tombe”, ma-nhāl- “tombeau” [BK II 1358] $< \text{NAA } * \sqrt{\text{n(h)}}$ “tomb” [GT].

Ad SBE VII, #310. NBrb.: Mzg. $\sqrt{\text{nl}}$ ($* \sqrt{\text{nyl!}}$): nnul “1. craindre, 2. s’inquiéter, se soucier” [Täiffi 1991: 490] might be a reflex of AA $* \sqrt{\text{nl}}$ $\sim * \sqrt{\text{ln}}$ (metathesis) “to fear” [GT], cf. SCu.: Qwadza nyele-siko “thing of supernatural danger” [Ehret 1995: 331, #646 with several unacceptable cognates] || ECh.: Somray laiġe “fürchten” [Lukas 1937: 80] = lāny “avoir peur”, lānyá (m) “peur” [Jng. 1993 MS: 41], Tumak lājn “craindre, avoir peur” [Caprile 1975: 79].

Ad SBE VII, #312. NBrb. $* \sqrt{\text{nnl}}$ $< ** \sqrt{\text{nlw}}$ (?) [GT] $>$ Mzab nall-ət “tendre, nouer et placer la lisse sur un métier à tisser”, i-nəlli “fil de lisse, lisse” [Delheure 1984: 137], Wargla i-nəlli $\sim />$ i-nənni “lisse de métier à tisser” [Delheure 1987: 209] || (?) Sem. $* \sqrt{\text{nlw}}$ ³⁰ $>$ NHbr. nūl

²⁹ Whence (?), in the view of D. Meeks (AL I.c.), derives perhaps reduplicated: Eg. njnj “1. als Begrüßungswort (alt), 2. Begrüßung durch Wassersprengen” (PT-, Wb II 203) = “rite de lavement de mains” (Jéquier 1921: 317) = “Nini (mit reinen Händen gesprochen, teils als Gruß, Aus-/Anruf, teils als eine Geste, bei der man Wasser über die Hände laufen läßt)” (Brunner-Traut, LÄ VII col. 509-510) = “Willkommensgruß ..., für den sic der Empfangende die Hände gewaschen haben muß” (Brunner-Traut, VII col. 578-579) = “verser de l’eau (en signe de bienvenue)” (Al I.c.). The Eg. welcoming gesture njnj, whose exact and original nature, being performed almost exclusively by goddesses and gods, R.A. Caminos (LÄ II col. 916) regarded as pretty doubtful, was, however, rendered by E. Brunner-Traut (LÄ IV col. 509-510, VII col. 578-579) otherwise from the dat. prep. n: $* \text{n=j n=j}$ “(komm) zu mir! (komm) zu mir!” referring to a stela (Metropolitan Museum 13.182.3) of king Antef II (Dyn. XI, early MK), where “die Bedeutung von Wort wie Gebärde wird erhellt durch den Ausspruch des Königs vor Hathor ...: ‘Meine Hände machen den Gestus ‘Komm (sic!) zu mir, komm zu mir!’ , und so bezeichnet sich der König als der ‘reine’ Ihi ...” A third hypothesis was put forward by J. Osing (1998: 81, n. r and fn. 367), who emphasized the nature Eg. njnj as a “Grußwort, Bez. für eine Begrüßung mit der in der Determinativ dargestellten Armhaltung”, which he regarded to be “identisch mit dem wohl daraus abgeleiteten” njnj “die Arme hängen lassen” $>$ “entmutigt sein” (XX., Wb) or (!) with nnj $< * \text{njnj}$ “ermüden, ermatten” with special regard to pEbers 97:12: rd.wj=sj m njnj “indem/wenn ihre Füße müde (oder: in njnj) sind” (although it remains obscure what this place might prove about the suggested etymology)! Surprisingly, Osing was not wasting even a word to either of the other two earlier concurring theories on njnj.

³⁰ The etymology of this Sem. root, i.e., whether these Sem. forms have anything in common with the afore-described AA root, is highly dubious. According to the *communis opinio* maintained in Sematology since

“weaver’s loom” [Podolsky] | MAram. *nəwal* II “weben”, *nawlā* “1. Gewebe, 2. Webstuhl” [Dalman 1922: 266] = *nəwal* “spinnen, weben” [Levy 1924 III: 358], JPArAm. *nwwl* “loom, web of a loom” [Sokoloff 1990: 344], JNAram. *nawilta* “horizontal loom” [Sabar 2002: 231] | Ar. *nawl-* “5. atelier du tisserand” [BK II 1371] ||| Eg. *n3j.t* [regular < * \sqrt{nw} l]³¹ “Art Haus, bes. als Arbeitsraum der Handwerker und Aufenthaltsort der Sklavinnen” (MK, Wb II 200, 2-4) = “weaving workshop” (PL 489) = “the workshop probably for textile work, the spinning-house (also where Isis and Nephthys weave the mummy cloth of Osiris in pMed. London 14:8-12 and pDem. Mag. 6:12, etc.)” (Klasens 1952: 67-68) = “l’atelier de tissage” (RdE 9, 1952, 58, fn. 3, cf. also RdE 24, 1972, 117, fn. 9) = “Spinnstube, Spinnerei” (Bidoli 1976: 68) = “Spinnerei, Weberei, Textilmanufaktur” (pSallier II 6:1-5, Seibert 1967: 147, n. g, 166, n. a-b) = “Webraum der Göttinnen” (ZÄS 123, 1996, 75, n. 42) vs. *n3.t* (var. to *n3j.t*) “hall” (Lit. MK, Grd. 1909: 115) = “weaving-room(s)” (AEO II 215*, #456; FD 125) ||| CCh.: Buduma *nal* “weben” [Lukas 1939: 120] < AA * \sqrt{nl} ~ * \sqrt{nw} l (?) “to weave (?)” [GT].

Ad SBE VII, #311. NBrb. * \sqrt{nly} (?) > *a-n(VI)li** “brain” [GT] > Shilh *a-nella* ~ *a-lleni* “cerveau” [Jordan 1934: 28, 37] | Tamazight *a-nuli*, pl. *a-nuli-t-n* ~ *a-lli-wn* “cerveau, cervelle” [Täifi 1991: 490], Ait Ndhir *a-nli* “cerveau, cervelle” [LR], Izdeg *a-nuli*, pl. *i-nuli-t-en* ~ *i-nula* “cervelle” [Mercier 1937: 46], Zayan, Sgugu *a-nuli* “cervelle” [Loubignac 1924: 577] = Zayan *a-nli* “cerveau, cervelle” [LR] | Iznasen *a-lli* [assim. < **a-nli*] “cerveau, cervelle” [LR], Tamsaman *a-ži* [< **a-lli* < **a-nli*] “cerveau, cervelle” [LR] (NBrb.: LR 2002: 332) ||| Sem.: ES (from Agaw?): Geez *nālā* “brain, skull” [Leslau 1987: 398], Tigre *nālā* “cervello” [CR 1905: 224] = Amh., Tigre *nālā* “cerveau” [CR 1912: 238] = Tigre, Tna., Amh. *nala* “brain, skull” [Leslau] ||| Agaw (from ES?) **nal-* “brain” [GT].³² Qwara *nāl-ā* “Gehirn” [Flad**

S. Fraenkel (1886), the Neo-Hebrew and Arabic forms represent loans from Aramaic. Arguing that this family of words is only attested as verbal root in Aramaic (even there, it was possibly a denominative verb), B. Podolsky (1998: 200-201, §2) regarded it as “highly implausible” that the original Semitic word is only preserved in one single language and no genetic cognates are to be found elsewhere. In other words, we may not assume an underlying Sem. * \sqrt{nw} l. Instead, Podolsky suggests that the Aramaic word was borrowed from some Dravidian source (having reflexes like Tamil *nūl* “yarn, cotton thread”, Malayalam *nūlkka* “to spin”, Kota *nūl* “thread”, Kannada *nūl* “yarn, thread”) and that “the foreign name must have come to the Near East with a new type of loom” with reference to C. Beir stating that “a more complicated type of loom is the draw-loom, the origins of which are not clear, but this technology seems to have travelled westward to the Near East by Late Roman times”. A.Ju. Militarev (MM 1983: 255, so also in KB 600), in turn, saw in Ar. *nawl-* “ткацкий станок” a variety of the Sem. root * $\sqrt{nw/yr}$, cf. OAKk. *nīrum* “yoke, crosspiece” [Gelb 1973: 193] || Hbr. *mənōr-’orgīm* “weavers’ beam, cross-beam of the loom” [KB] = “der Weberbaum, um den der fertige Stoff gewickelt wird, der Querbaum des Rahmens” [GB 437], MAram. *nīr* IV “cross-beam of the loom, also the cross-rod under the cross-beam to which the ends of the leashes are fastened” [Jastrow 1950: 885] | Ar. *nīr-* “die Vorrichtung, durch die die Fäden des Aufzuges gehoben und gesenkt werden” [GB].

³¹ For the regular correlation of Eg. IIIae inf. roots with Sem. hollow ones with C₂ *-w- see Vycichl 1953.

³² To be distinguished from Agaw **ḡar-* (???) “brain, head” [GT] > Kemant *ḡar-a* ~ *nār-ā* “cerveau” [CR 1912: 238-239] = *nara* “brain” [Apl.] | Awngi (and Damot) *ḡar-i* “tête” [CR 1912: 238] = *ḡarí* “head” [Apl. 2006]. The interrelationship of the two Agaw etymons with *-l- vs. *-r- has not yet been satisfactorily explained. D. Appleyard (2006: 36) reconstructed for the -r- forms PAgaw **ḡat-a* “head” (including, in his view, irregular Kemant and Awngi reflexes with -l-) as a match of Bed. *mat* “crown of the head” and Ecu. **math-* “head”, whereby he regarded the Hamta and Awngi reflexes with -l- as either loans from or as influenced by the ES word with -l-. On the other hand, Appleyard even alternatively surmised a reverse way of borrowing from Agaw into ES, whose -l- words “may have influenced in turn some of the Agaw originals”, which is little convincing, since then it

apud Reinisch 1885: 105], Hamta nil-ǎ “cervello” [CR 1905: 224] | Awngi nalí “brain” [Hetzron 1978: 136; Apl. 1994 MS: 14] || ECu.: Tsamay nol-o “brain” [Sava 2005 MS: 249] || (?)³³ Om.: cf. also Ongota nóolu “brain” [Fleming 1992: 191] || WCh.: (???) NBauchi *ndəl- [GT: nd- < *n-???] “brain” [Skinner 1977: 13] || (???) CCh.: PMandara-Matakam *√nš “brain” [GT: < **√nl???] ³⁴ < AA *√nl “brain” [GT].

Berber *√nw-

Ad SBE VII, #315. EBrb.: Ghadames √nw: **ta-niw-īt, pl. tə-niw-īn** “mensonge”, ṣ-nīw-ət “mentir” [Lanfry 1973: 252, #1187] || Eg. nw “Unrecht” (MK, Wb II 217, 14) || Bed. nēw “beleidigen, schimpfen”, nēw ~ nēū “Beleidigung, Schimpf” [Reinisch 1895: 186] = nēu ~ new “to abuse, scold” [Roper 1928: 226] = nuw “to curse” [Hudson 1996 MS: 101] || WCh.: Ngizim nyūwáu “to slander, gossip about, blame” [Schuh 1981: 130] || CCh.: Zime-Batna náó “être méchant” [Sachnine] || ECh.: Mokilko náàwá “méchant, terrible” [Jng. 1990a: 144] (Ch.: CLD I = Stolbova 2005: 108, #371) < AA *√nw “to do/say wrong (?)” [GT].

Ad SBE VII, #316. SBrb. *ta-naw-t “handle of shield” [GT]: Ahaggar tā-naw-t “poignée de bouclier” [Foucauld 1951-2: 1395], Ayr tā-ñaw-t, pl. ti-ñaww-en & EWlmd. tə-ṇu-t “poignée de bouclier” [PAM 2003: 580, 631] || Sem. *naw-at- “handle of instrument” [GT]: Akk. (Oakk., YBab.) nātu “(Messer-, Sichel-)Griff (?)” [AHW 766] = (Oakk. nātum) “handle (of a knife)?” [Gelb 1973: 194] = “handle (?)” [CAD n2, 121]³⁵ || Ar.: attestation dubious³⁶ || ES: Tigre nəwe and Tna. nāwīt “plough-beam” [Leslau] = Tigray nāwwīt “timone dell’aratro” [CR], Gurage: Chaha, Ezha, Selti, Wolane nāwe, Zway nū^{wi}, Muher and Mäsqän nəbe [-b- < *-w-], Gogot nəbeyä “wooden part of the plough to which the iron is attached” [Leslau] (ES: Leslau 1979 III: 447; 1982: 57) || Eg. nw (wood det.) “handle of an adze” (late NK, DLE II 11 after Černý, its attestation in Ostr. Deir el-Medineh 105, 6 is disputed by Janssen 1975: 422) = “Holzgriff” (GHWb 397) || Bed. niu “plough-handle” [Ehret]

becomes difficult to explain the -l- in ES. Although I am unable to give a definite answer either, I find a further group of parallels of high interest that are also to be accounted for. First, the Agaw root (hardly with *-t-, but rather with *-r-) might be identified with LECu.: Oromo ñār-ō “marrow” [Gragg 1982: 301], which, besides, Ch. Ehret (1991: 264, #229) erroneously affiliated with Oromo ñār-ō “eyebrow” < ECu. *ṅār- (sic) “forehead”, which represents a distinct AA root, namely *√nyr ~ *√nhr “eyebrow” [GT] (attested in Eg., SBrb., Oromo, and Mokilko, cf. Takács 2005a: 21, #1.3, fn. 9). Secondly, the ES data with *-l- have parallels in ECu. and Ongota (listed above).

³³ Its classification within AA is still unsettled. In any case, it seems to stand closest to Om. (cf. Fleming et al. 1992).

³⁴ Attested in Mandara *nuš- “brain” [GT] > Dghwede (Zeghwana) nəš-tè [Kraft] = nšè [Mukarovsky], Guduf-G. nušà [Mukarovsky], Guduf-N. nəš-tè [Mukarovsky], Gava nušà [Kraft] (Mandara gr.: Kraft 1981: #37; Mukarovsky 1987: 108) | Mada énnéš “cerveau (organe et centre de la pensée)” [Brt.-Brunet 2000: 207]. The NBauchi-CCh. comparison is due to H.G. Mukarovsky (1987: 108).

³⁵ J. Huehnergard (1987: 150) accepted the proposal by Boyd (in a Ph.D. diss. from 1975) to compare Oakk. nātum with Ug. syll. [niʔtu], pl. [niʔātu] “type of tool”.

³⁶ The position of Yemeni Ar. nawḥ “Pflugsterz (plow-handle)” [Deboo 1989: 199] is obscure.

|| NAgaw (< ES): Kemant nuwī, pl. nū-kā “âge (sic) de la charrue” [CR 1912: 238]³⁷ || LECu.: Saho-Assaorta nawīti “aratro” [CR 1913: 73] (GT: originally < **“timone dell’aratro”*?) || CCh.: (???) Hitkala (Hide) nuča [< **nu-ta*???) “poignée de houe” [Eguchi 1971: 222] < AA **√nw* “handle of instrument” [GT]. The Eg.-Sem. parallel has already been identified by myself in my “Aegyptio-Afroasiatica XI” (Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hung. 58/4, 2005, 409-420, #143).

Ad SBE VII, #314. Brb. **√nw* [GT] > NBrb.: Wargla nñəwnəw “se plaindre par petits cris à la manière d’un bébé, geindre comme un chiot, de façon lamentable” [Delheure 1987: 229] || WBrb.: Zenaga a-naw “bruit”, e-nawi ~ e-néwi “son” [Basset 1909: 249] || Eg. nj “als Laut eines Kindes, das lebensfähig ist” (Med., Wb II 201, 10) = nj “Kinderschrei” (WD III 59 pace SAK 23, 1996, 154) || CCh.: Bura nya “describing the crying of an infant” [BED 1953: 166] < AA **√ny* “to cry (of a child)” [GT]. Note that Sem.: Hbr. **nī-* (cstr. from **nəhī-*) “Klagegesang” [GB 502] represents a distinct root (< Sem. **√nhy*).

449. SBrb.: Ayr ă-ŋwa (peu us.) and **Tadghaq ă-ŋqa** “(mon) frère” [PAM 2003: 632] || NOm.: Dizoid **nan-u* “brother” [Bender 2003: 207, #21]³⁸ || WCh.: AS **non-* ~ **nan-* (?) combined with **-saw* [GT 2004: 269]: Gerka non-so “to be equal” [Ftp. 1911: 216], Montol nan-sau “alike” (-sau obscure) [Ftp. 1911: 214].

Ad SBE VII, #320. SBrb.: Ayr ə-ŋwəy “tourner la tête en arrière pour éviter, faire demi-tour pour éviter”, a-ŋəway “demi-tour” [PAM 2003: 633] || Eg. nj.t “l’ovale (du monde)” (CT IV 60j, AL 78.1977 after AECT I 225, spell 306, n. 6: “meaning unknown”) = “oval, dung-ball” (DCT 201) vs. nw.t “vielleicht Mistkugel des Sonnenkäfers” (NK, Wb II 217, 9) = “1. (primär) die Mistkugel des Skarabäus (die einerseits als Sonnenscheibe, andererseits als Unterwelt gedeutet werden kann), 2. das Oval mit Sokar und der geflügelten Schlange” (Hornung 1963 II: 105) = “Oval” (GHWb 397) || WCh.: PGerka **nay* (?) “ring” [Takács 2004: 266]: Gerka nai-ta “ring” (ta- “finger” < Angas-Sura **šār* “hand”) [Ftp. 1911: 219] || ECh.: Gadang nā “préparer la boule” [JI 1990 MS: 12, #214] | Mubi nàá (f) “boule (de mil)” [Jng. 1990b MS] < AA **√nwy* “to be/go/make round” [GT]. The (partial) reduplication of the same AA root might be preserved in Brb. “verbe primitif” **nunny* (attested with diverse prefixes: q-, h-, k-, g-) < **√nny* “rouler etc.” [NZ 2002: 367], cf. above for its further cognates pointing to an ancient reduplication inherited from PAA.

450. NBrb.: Izdeg **√nw*: **ta-nüi, pl. ti-nüy-win** “assemblage” [Mercier 1937: 25] || Sem.: Mandaean **√nwA* “to accomplish, achieve” [Drower & Macuch 1963: 293] | Ar. **√nwy* (nawā) II “3. accomplir, exécuter, atteindre ce que l’on se proposait” [BK II 1374] || Eg. **√nwj* “to gather together” (Grd. 1909: 115) = “to collect, assemble” (FD 127) = “to gather, assemble” (DLE II 11) = “versammeln usw.” (Fischer-Elfert 1986: 61, n. d; GHWb 398) =

³⁷ Ignoring its borrowed status, Ch. Ehret (1979: 174, §40) reconstructed PCu. **√nw* “plough” from Bed. niu and Agaw **nuw-*.

³⁸ Cf. Aroid **kan* [Bender]?

“etwas (ein)sammeln” (Junge 1999: 353)³⁹ || ECh.: Mokilko néèwè “accueillir” [Jng. 1990a: 144] < AA *√nwý “1. to collect, 2. complete” [GT].

A root variety with *l- is also to be accounted for, cf. AA *√lwy “to assemble, collect” [GT] > Sem.: OHbr. √lwy nifal “to be joined onto” [Leslau 1958: 28], MHbr. √lwy “sich zu jemdm. gesellen, ihm angehören” [Levy 1924 II: 483], Epigraphic Aram. √lwy “соединяться, объединяться, примыкать, присоединяться” [SAN III 156] || MSA: Soqotri *√lwy: ló-te (refl.) “se réunir, se mettre d’accord” [Leslau 1938: 230] = lo-te “to come together” [Johnstone 1977: 86] || SCu.: Dahalo lāw- “to gather (fruits)” [EEN 1989: 42]⁴⁰ || ECh.: Kera léwé “sich nach und nach versammeln” [Ebert 1976: 78] | Somray lay “ramasser, recueillir” [Jng. 1993 MS: 41], Tumak lay “ramasser, rassembler” [Caprile 1975: 80], Sarwa layàylà and Gadang lèy-ny “ramasser” [JI 1990 MS: 12, #217] | EDangla lèyē “rassembler le troupeau, encercler, enfermer” [DM 1973: 187], Mokilko lèwíyè “1. s’entasser, se rassembler, 2. entourer” [Jng. 1990a: 132].

Berber *√ny-

451. Brb. *√ny “monter” [GT pace Kossmann 1999: 191, #561] || CCh.: PBata *nay (?) “head” [GT]: Gude na [Mouchet] = nna [IL] = ná “1. head, 2. top”, a-nə “on (top of)” [Hoskison 1983: 246], Bata nāē (nááee?) [Strümpell 1910: 451] = ne [Strümpell apud JI] = ne [Mouchet] = ne, pl. nøyge [Boyd 2002: 57], Bata-Garwa ně and Bata-Demssa [Strümpell], Kobochi iině [Strümpell], Bachama ne:, pl. nye:me [Carnochan 1975: 464, #47] = nē: [Skinner] = ne [Meek] (CCh.: Strümpell 1922-3: 113; JI 1994 II: 183). The underlying verbal root may be represented by NAA *√nw “to r(a)ise” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √nw? I: nāʔa “se lever avec peine” [BK II 1361],⁴¹ Dathina nwʔ: nāʔa “se lever (avec peine), être haut, s’élever, grandir, survenir, croître, grandir” [GD 2829]⁴² || Eg. nw “to stir up, rouse” (NE, DLE II 11).

Ad SBE VII, #321. Brb. *√ny “new” [GT] = *(H)inay [Mlt. 1995] = *yVnay [Mlt. 2005] > e.g. WBrb.: Zenaga √ni “être neuf” [Nicolas 1953: 222] = inay “être nouveau” [Cohen & TC 2000: 310] || SBrb.: Udalan iynay “être nouveau, neuf, récent” [Prasse & Dicko 2002: 29] || Sem. *√ny? ~ *√nw? “raw, uncooked” [Mlt.] || Eg. nj “être en enfance, rajeunir” (CT VII 470a, AL 78.1976 after AECT III 196) = “*in der Kindheit sein, verjüngen” (GHWb 391) || WCh.: Galambu nyá “green, unripe” [Alio 1988a MS] || CCh.: Gisiga nawayá “new” [JI 1994 II: 255] < AA *√ny “to be fresh, new” [GT]. The Sem.-Brb.-Gisiga

³⁹ K.P. Kuhlmann’s (1991: 219) omnicomparatistic theory on Eg. √nwj is unacceptable. For a critical appraisal of the methods appearing in his and others’ similar Eg. “etymologies”, cf. Takács 2005b: 623ff.

⁴⁰ Indirectly, already Ch. Ehret (1995: 407, #830) has mentioned the link between Eg. nwj and the Dahalo root (replaced by his SCu. *lāw- “to take hold of”).

⁴¹ Derived by Ch. Ehret (1995: 334, #654) from his AA *-ṇaw/- “to rise, swell, expand” based on a number of semantically dubious or evidently false *comparanda*.

⁴² Compared by count Landberg (GD l.c.) with Eg. nw “time” and even Eg. nwn.t “hour”, but this is semantically more than problematic.

etymology was first suggested by A.Ju. Militarev (in Starostin et al. 1995 MS: 21; Militarev 2005b: 371, #59). I only added the Eg. and further Ch. cognates.

452. NBrb. *√ny (?): Tamazight: uni “enfoncez, emboîter, faire entrer une chose dans une autre” [Taïfi 1991: 458]⁴³ || Eg. n^ow “pénétrer, s’accoupler” (late NK, AL 77.2005) = “(unknown)” (DLE II 8) = “durchdringen, sich paaren” (GHWb 395) || SCu.: Alagwa ni^o- “to copulate with” [Ehret],⁴⁴ Burunge ni^o-im “to have sexual intercourse” [KM] || CCh.: Puss (Munjuk) niyi “1. entrer, 2. faire l’amour” [Tourneux 1991: 108], Mulwi (Vulum) √ny: niyì “1. entrer, 2. faire l’amour” [Tourneux 1978: 304]⁴⁵ || ECh.: Kwang-Ngam pà:pe: [< *√ny^o?] “coucher avec femme, foquer” [Lenssen 1982: 110] < AA *√n^o “1. to enter, penetrate, 2. copulate” [GT]⁴⁶.

453. Brb. *ta-nyer-t (??) “front” [Kossmann] = *(t)a-nyar-(t) [GT] > EBrb.: Gdm. i-nar [Basset pace Mtl. 1904: 123] = ê-nar “front” [Lanfry], Siwa ne-nnier (mit Genitivexponent) “Stirn” [Scholz apud Stumme] = e-nnîr [Stumme 1914: 94-95, 104] = i-nîr “forehead” [Quibell 1918: 100] = i-nir “front” [Basset] || NBrb.: medieval Shilh a-yner “front” [van den Boogert] | Tamazight i-nir, pl. i-nr-eun “front” [Abès 1916: 123] = i-nir, pl. i-nir-n “front (anatomie)” [Taïfi 1991: 495] = Mzg. (Middle Atlas) a-yenyir ~ a-yenri (Izdeg) ~ i-nir [Taïfi], Ait Ndir i-nir [Basset], Ishqern ta-inər-t [Basset] | Seghrushen a-nyír, pl. i-nyar “front” [Destaing 1914: 140 and Pellat 1955: 122 > so also Kossmann], Rif ta-nyar-t [Renisio] = Rif: Boqqoyen, Ait Said ta-nyər-t [Basset pace Biarnay], Iznasen (along with Salah, Messaud) ti-nyər-t [Basset pace Destaing] = ta-niər-t, pl. ti-nir-iw-in [Renisio] = ta-nyer-t [Basset and Ksm.], Tamsaman and Boti-wa ta-inər-t [Basset], Ait S’id ta-niar-t “front” [Biarnay] = √nj(r) > ta-nā-t “le front” [Allati 1986: 37], Amert a-inär [Renisio], Tuzin te-inar-in (pl.) [Renisio], Beni Snus ti-yyer-t [Destaing 1914: 142] = ti-yyər-t [Basset pace Destaing], Figig ta-nyer-t [Kossmann], Shenwa hi-nir-t, pl. hi-nyar ~ hi-nery-in [Laoust 1912: 149], Menacer ta-nyer-t and Metmata ti-nner-t [Destaing] = Menacer ta-nyər-t vs. Metmata ti-nnər-t [Basset pace Dst.], Shenwa t-nir-t [Basset pace Laoust], Zemmur and Halima ti-nər-t [Basset], Harawa tī-dnər-t [Basset pace R. Basset], Zkara ti-nyər-t [Basset pace Destaing], Beni Bou Oulli a-innər [Basset], Igeznayen a-ynar [Justinard > Basset], Mzab a-nray [Basset] etc. – all denoting “front” (Zenet: Destaing 1914: 142; data where the author is not indicated are from: Renisio 1932: 391) | Qabyle a-nyír “front” [Dallet], Zwawa a-nir ~ a-nir, pl. i-nir-en “front saillant” [Basset 1890: 326] = a-nir “front” [Biarnay 1917: 101] || WBrb.: Zanaga neur “front” [Masqueray 1879: 41] = ir [R. Basset] = nēr, pl. nērun “front” [Nicolas 1953: 230] = nēr [Nicolas quoted by Kossmann] = √nyr: ə-näyr “front”

⁴³ It would be tempting to etymologize this verb inside Berber, cf. also Tamazight a-na “unité (d’une paire, un des objets formant une paire)” [Taïfi 1991: 458], Izdeg a-na “paire (objets)” [Mercier 1937: 183], but the AA cognates above may convince us otherwise.

⁴⁴ Combined by Ch. Ehret (1980: 186) with Iraqw na^oani “penis” and Dahalo nyi^oanyi^oe “thick” < SCu. *ni^o- “to thicken”.

⁴⁵ O. Stolbova (CLD 99-100, #338) connected the CCh. root with ECh. *nVy- “to be(come) pregnant (animals)” under a common Ch. *nVy-/*nV̄- “to copulate”.

⁴⁶ Eventually, the underlying AA root may have primarily signified an excited rhythmical circular motion.

[TC 2008: 413] (Brb.: Kossmann 1999: 201-202, #604 pace Basset 1929: 19-22) || Sem.: Ar. *naḥr*- “the uppermost part of the breast or chest”, cf. *naḥīr*- “faced or fronted”, *nāḥīr*-(at)- “the parts facing, in front of” [Lane 2774-5] = *naḥr*- “2. clavicule et la partie du corps entre le bas du cou et le sternum, 3. vis-à-vis, 4. commencement”, cf. *naḥara* I “4. faire face, vis-à-vis à un autre (se dit, p.ex., d’une maison par rapport à une autre), 5. se tenir tout droit, le regard ditrigé du côté de la Mecque, et la main droite posée sur le revers de la main gauche”, VI “3. se faire face (se dit de deux maisons, etc.)” [BK II 1213] || LECu.: Saho *naḥār* “Brust” [Rn. 1890: 290] = *naḥār* (so, -ḥ-!) “1. petto, 2. (talora anche il senso di) cuore” [CR 1913: 73], Afar *naḥār* “Brust”, *naḥār*-a “Anfang, Beginn” [Rn. 1886: 889-890] = *nahar* “chest, front (poitrine, avant)” [PH 1985: 173] < AA **naḥr*- “front” [GT].

The same root is attested with metathesis in NBrb.: Uriaghel *ta-warna* [Renisio] = *ti-warna* [Kossmann], Iboqqoyen and Senhazha *ta-warna* [Renisio] = Iboqqoyen and Uriaghel *ta-urna* [Basset], Mzab *a-rnay* (sic) [Delheure] = *a-nray* (see above) [Basset] | Nefusa *a-rnay* [Basset] – all denoting “front” (Zenet: Renisio 1932: 391; NBrb.: Basset 1929: 19-20) < AA **√nrḥ* [GT], cf. the Egypto-Chadic stem **riN(h)*- “eyebrow” [GT] s.v. #433. above.

Following A. Basset’s (1929: 20) proposal, we may not rule out the ultimate connection of NBrb. *(t)a-*nyar*-(t) “front part” [GT] to SBrb. **a-nhar* “eyebrows, sourcil” [GT] || EBrb.: Ghadames *a-nḥer*, pl. *a-nḥar-en* [secondary -*b-* < **-h^w-?*] “cils” [Lanfry 1973: 233, #1081] (for the EBrb.-Twareg stem see #433. above) provided the sense “eyebrow” has evolved from “front part”.

Ad SBE VII, #326. Brb. *i-nīr “torch” </> (?) **√nyr* “to shine” [GT]: EBrb.: Ghadames *ī-nīr* “lampe de terre cuite en une ou deux pièces, la lampe des fêtes, scellée dans le mur du vestibule” [Lanfry 1973: 245, #1152] || NBrb.: Izdeg *niyer* “briller” [Mercier 1937: 39] | Mzab *nnir*, pl. *i-nnar-ən* “lampe (surtout à huile)” [Delheure 1984: 139: Ar. origin not indicated], Wargla *nir*, pl. *i-nnar-ən* ~ *i-nir-ən* “petite lampe à huile, à pétrole” [Delheure 1987: 224: Ar. origin not indicated], Sened *nir* “petite lampe à lampe” [Provotelle 1911: 120] | Nefusa *i-unir* “petite lampe à lampe” [Provotelle 1911: 120] || SBrb.: Ahaggar *e-nir*, pl. *i-nīr-en* “1. bougie, cierge, chandelle, lampe (en matière qcq., à un ou plusieurs becs, de la forme des lampes romaines antiques, destinée à contenir de l’huile et une ou plusieurs mèches), 2. p.ext.: lampe (qlconque, servant à éclairer par n’importe quel procédé, 3. la mèche des bougies, des vierges, du chandelles, ainsi que celles des lampes s’appelle tefetilt ...” [Foucauld 1951-2: 1399], Ghat *i-nir*, pl. *i-nir-en* “flambeau” [Nehliil 1909: 161] || Sem. **nawir*- “luminoso” [Fronzaroli 1965 III: 144, #3.07]: Oakk. *√n[?]r*: *naw(i)rum*, *namrum* “shining”, *ni(w)rum* “shine” [Gelb 1973: 192] > Akk. *naw/māru* “hell sein/werden, leuchten”, *nūru* “Licht, Helligkeit” [GB, AHW 768, 805] || Ug. *√nyr* “to shine” [Gordon 1955: 296, #1240] = *nr* < **√nyr* “leuchten” [WUS # 1850] = *nr* G “to shine”, L “to burn” [DUL 641-642], Hbr. *√nwr*: *nīr* I “Licht, Leuchte, bildlich vom Fortbestehn eines Geschlechtes”, *nēr* I “Leuchte, Lampe”, *mənōrāh* “Leuchter” [GB 494, 522, 437, resp.] | Ar. *nāra* “Leuchten” [GB] = *nayyir*- < **nawīr*- “luminoso” [Fronzaroli] || Geez *ʾanwara* “segno a fuoco” [Fronzaroli].

The AA cognates suggest a connection with the name of “fire”, cf. Sem. **√nwr*: Ug. *nr* “Feuer” [WUS #1849] = *nr* “luminoso” [Fronzaroli] = *nr* L stem “to burn” [DUL 641-2] |

JPArām. nwr “fire” [Sokoloff 1990: 345], Samar. Arām. nwr “fire” [Tal 2000: 512], Arām. of Talmud, Targum, Midrash nōrā “Feuer” [Dalman 1922: 266], Syriac nūrō “fuoco” [Fronzaroli], Mandaic nura “fire” [Drower & Macuch 1963: 294], Ma^llula nūra “1. Feuer(brand), 2. Hölle” [Bergsträsser 1921: 64] || OSA: Madhabi m-nwr-t “feu (?)” and Sabaic h-nr (caus.) “offrir un holocauste” [Arbach 1993: 79], Ar. nār- [√nwr] “1. feu, 2. marque imprimée sur la peau avec un fer rougi au feu” [BK II 1365] = “Feuer, Höllenfeuer” [WUS] || Geez nawer “Brandfleck” [WUS] (Sem. bicons. root: MM 1983: 186; Militarev 2005a: 99) || Eg. n3.w [< *nr.w] “fire (?)” (CT V 397a, VII 371h, DCT 200) = n3.w “fire (?)” (AECT II 103) = “fire” (AECT III 151) < NAA *√nr “fire” [GT].

No attestation with initial *n- known to me from SAA aside from ECh.: WDangla nyárúúikà “brûlure” [Fédry].⁴⁷ In the Chadic branch, we find reflexes displaying a shift of *√nwr > *√lw/yr, cf. CCh.: Mafa lāwār “brûler” (pour un feu qui brûle qqn.) [Brt.-Bléis 1990: 216] | Lele lōr “to burn” [Simons 1981: 37, #669] = lōr “brûler, incendier”, lōrē “brûlage”, cf. lērwē “chaleur, chaud” [WP 1982: 56, 58]. The Lele-Ar. parallel was first (independently from me) identified by O.V. Stolbova (CLD I 154, #615).

Ad SBE VII, #327. NBrb.: Qabyle √nyr: neyyer (hardly Ar.)⁴⁸ “continuer, poursuivre” [Dallet 1982: 588-9] || Eg. nr “to charge after” (XVIII., FD 134) = “stürmen” (GHWb 417)⁴⁹ || HECu.: Sidamo nara “to have a desire for, long for (esp. coffee, salt-beasts)” [Gasparini 1983: 245] || Ch. *nVr- “to hunt, search” [CLD I 144, #557] > WCh.: Saya nar “hunting” [Kraft] = naar “a hunt” [Cospér] || CCh.: Buduma nera “suchen” [Nachtigal apud Lukas 1939: 120] < AA *√nr “1. to search, 2. pursue” [GT].

454. Brb. *te-nErE “desert with scarce plants” [GT] > WBrb.: Zenaga √nyr: t-näyri^h “1. brousse, désert, vide” [TC 2008: 413 and fn. 773 comparing Ahaggar] || SBrb. *te-nere “desert” [GT]: Ahaggar té-néré, pl. ti-nâr-iouîn “1. plaine (étendue assez grande de terrain plat, sans montagne ni dune de sable), 2. p.ext.: plaine déserte non montagneux, désert (plat)” [Foucauld 1951-2: 1397], Ayr & EWlmd. te-ṇere, pl. EWlmd. šī- and Ayr ti-ṇar-iwen “plaine désertique, étendue assez vaste de terrain plat, sans montagnes ni végétation” [PAM 2003: 622] || Eg. n3w.t [-3- < regular < *-l/r-] “Art Pflanze”, in: jmj-n3w.t “als Bez. einer Schlange” (PT 238a, Wb II 200, 7) = “Pflanzenwort” (ÜKAPT VI 137) = “e. Gestrüpp (in dem Schlangen leben)” (GHWb 390) > n3j.t (in Mag. PTurin CG 54003, rt. 9, vs. 11, Roccati: 1st IMP,

⁴⁷ Ch. Ehret (1995: 328, #641) affiliated Sem. *nwr “to light, shine” with his SCu. *ṇûr- “fire, blaze” (reflexes unspecified) and Ch. *ṇurj “embers” > “some W/ECh.” *nurn “charcoal” (plausible, cf. below) to reconstruct his AA *-ṇiwr- “flames, firelight”. L. Kogan (2002: 195) was right in having declined the equation of Sem. *nī/ūr- “light (n.)” with CCh.: Logone nuur “light” < AA *nVwur- in the HSED 410, #1905 the Logone word being merely a late Arabic loan. O.V. Stolbova (CLD I 154, #615) reconstructed her Ch. *nyVr- “to burn (tr./intr.)” on the basis of ECh.: Lele reflex with l- (separate root var.) and WDangla nyârùwè “donner ou avoir ampoules” [Fédry] (semantically dubious) in comparison with Ar.-Hbr. *√nwr. Remarkable, however, is her Ch. *nVrV “ash, coal” [CLD I 147, #576], cf. also WCh. *ṇrj “ashes” [JS 1981]

⁴⁸ No Arabic root appears it might be explained from. BK II 1375 only has √nyr IV “2. appeler qqn. tout haut”.

⁴⁹ Compared by Ch. Ehret (1995: 333, #651) with Ar. √nrš “to reach for, take in one’s hand” and a certain ECU. *ṇawr- “to arrive, come up to” (one of Ehret’s ECU. reconstructions that are much less reliable than those proposed by H.-J. Sasse 1979), which semantically does not fit.

Borgouts: MK) “cespuglio” (Roccati 1970: 25, n. b: also in CT VII 952^{S14C}) = “bush (as habitat of the snake)” (Borghouts 1971: 91, fn. 136) = “buisson” (AL 78.1966). This NAA word may have originally denoted the sporadic shrubs scattered through of the vaste savannah areas of the desiccating/ed Sahara.

*

Abbreviations of languages and other terms

AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Hamito-Semitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amhara/ic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, Bab.: Babylonian, Bed.: Bed'awye (Beja), Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), C: Central or Common, CAA: Common Afro-Asiatic, Can.: Canaanite, CCh.: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, EWlmd.: East Tawllemmet, Gdm.: Ghadames, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, Hbr.: Hebrew, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, Hgr.: Ahaggar, irreg.: irregular, JAram.: Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, JNAram.: Jewish Neo-Aramaic, LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, LEg.: Late Egyptian, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, MK: Middle Kingdom, Mzg.: Tamazight, N: New or North(ern), NAA: Northern Afro-Asiatic (common to Semitic, Egyptian and Berber), NE(g.): New/o-Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, Nslm.: Taneslemt, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, P: Proto-, PT: pyramid texts, reg.: regular, S: South, SAA: Southern Afro-Asiatic (common to Cushitic, Omotic and Chadic), Sem.: Semitic, Syr.: Syriac, Tna.: Tigrinya, W: West, (E)Wlmd.: (East) Tawllemmet, Y(Bab.): Young(er) (Babylonian), Zng.: Zenaga.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Alb.: Albright, Alm.: Alemayehu, AM: Abdel-Massih, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Brt.: Barreteau, CR: Conti Rossini, Dbr.: Djibrine, Dlg.: Dolgopolskij, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier (in ECh.), Ebs.: Ebobisse, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Fcd.: Foucauld, FH: Farah & Heck, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Grb.: Greenberg, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takacs, IL: Institute of Linguistics, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kiesling & Mous, LR: Louali-Raynal, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, MM: Majzel' & Militarev, MQK: Mous & Qorro & Kiesling, Msq.: Masqueray, Mtl.: Motylinski, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nct.: Nachtigal, NZ: Nait-Zerrad, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, PH: Parker & Hayward, Prh.: Porhomovskij, PW: Plazikowsky & Wagner, RB: Rapp & Benzig, Rn.: Reinisch, Rns.: Renisio, Srl.: Sirlinger, Stl.: Stolbova, TC: Taine-Cheikh, Trn.: Tourneux.

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