

Lexica Afroasiatica XIV

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[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 literature¹. Along the EDE project (and the underlying “Egyptian etymological word catalogue”), I have started collecting AA roots (not attested in Egyptian) for a separate Afro-Asiatic root catalogue in late 1999. The series “*Lexica Afroasiatica*” has started in 2002² with new Afro-Asiatic lexical correspondences observed recently during my work. The numeration of the etymological entries is continuous beginning from the first part of the series “*Lexica Afroasiatica*”. This part contains new Afro-Asiatic roots with *n- followed by *-γ, *-□, *-h and *-ʔ-.]

Keywords: Afro-Asiatic, comparative linguistics, etymology.

Each entry is headed by the proposed PAA root (as tentatively reconstructed by myself). Author names are placed after the quoted linguistic forms in square brackets [] mostly in an abbreviated form (a key can be found at the end of the paper). The lexical data in the individual lexicon entries have been arranged in the order of the current classification of the Afro-Asiatic daughter languages (originating from J. H. Greenberg and I. M. Diakonoff) in five (or six) equivalent branches: (1) Semitic, (2) Egyptian, (3) Berber, (4) Cushitic, (5) Omotic (sometimes

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 (new lexical parallels with with PAA *b-) appeared in *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* (Köln) 67 (2002), 103-151. The second part (additional lexical roots with AA *b-) in Kogan, L. (ed.): *Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute, Issue III: Studia Semitica* (Moscow, 2003., Russian State University for the Humanities, pp. 331-348). “Lexica Afroasiatica III” (AA *p-) in Takács, G.: *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam Werner Vycichl* (Leiden, 2003., E. J. Brill, pp. 510-550). “Lexica Afroasiatica IV” (AA *f-) in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 57/4 (2004), 457-473. Part V (AA *p- and *P-) appeared in *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 9 (2004), 159-178. The sixth issue (roots with *m- followed by dentals, palatals, laterals, velars, pharyngeals, and laryngeals) in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 54/1 (2012), 99-132. The seventh part (AA roots with *m- followed by sonorants) in Takács, G. (ed.): *Semito-Hamitic Festschrift for A. Dolgopolsky and H. Jungraithmayr*. Berlin, 2008., Dietrich Reimer Verlag. Pp. 310-336. “Lexica Afroasiatica VIII” (additional AA roots with *m-) in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 62/2 (2009), 26-125. “Lexica Afroasiatica IX” (AA *n- + labials) in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 52/2 (2010), 85-98. “Lexica Afroasiatica X” (AA roots with *n- + dentals) is forthcoming in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 64/2 (2011), 73-86. “Lexica Afroasiatica XI” (AA roots with *n- + sibilants) in *Journal of Linguistic Relationship* 6 (2011), 141-171. Part XII (AA *n- + velars and uvulars) in *Aula Orientalis* 30/1 (2012), 75-108. Part XIII (AA *n- + ʕayin) in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 67/2 (2014), 28-35. „Lexica Afroasiatica XV” (*n- + *-m-, *-n-, *-r-, *-l-, *-w-, *-y-) in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warszawa) 70/1 (2017), 130-159.

conceived as West Cushitic), (6) Chadic. For a detailed list of all daughter languages cf. EDE I 9-34. The number of vertical strokes indicate the closeness of the language units from which data are quoted: ||| separate branches (the 6 largest units within the family), || groups (such as East vs. South Cushitic or West vs. East Chadic), while | divides data from diverse sub-groups (e.g., Angas-Sura vs. North Bauchi within West Chadic).

AA *n- + *γ

1061. NAA *√nγl “to rot” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √nγl I: *naγila* “1. se gâter, être gâté au tannage (se dit des cuirs), 2. empirer, s’ulcérer, s’envenimer (plaie)” [BK II 1302] > *naγl-at-* “une certaine maladie, ≈ ulcère, abcès” [Fagnan 1923, 174], cf. Ar. *na^l-at-* “ulcère” [Dozy II 691], Yemeni Ar. √nγl I: *naγal* “to rot (flehs)”, *naγāleh* “decay, rottenness” [Piamenta 1990, 491] ||| Eg. *n^r.t* “etw. an einer Geschwulst” (Med., Wb II 209, 9) = *n^r.t* or *n^r.r* (?) “Krankheitserscheinung am Ohr” (WMT I 448; GHWb 395) = *n^r.t* “Eiter-Gerinnung (?)” (HAM 677). A root variety is attested in NAA *√nγr “to ferment” (below).

1062. NAA *√nγr “to ferment” [GT]: Sem.: Official Aram. √n^r *qal* “to foam (said of wine), ferment” (?) [DNWSI 739] | Ar. √nγr IV “être gâté, corrompu” [BK II 1300] ||| EBrb.: Ghadames √nr > *nār³* “moisir, se corrompre” [Lanfry 1973, 245, #1151]. Any connection to MSA *√nγl “to sweat” [GT] (MSA: Jns. 1977, 95; 1981, 185; 1987, 288; Nakano 1986, 10, #94)?

1063. NAA *√nγr “bird sp.” [GT]: Sem. *nVγVr- “kind of bird” [Kogan] > Akk. (MBabylonian) *nēru* “a bird” [CAD n₂ 178] = “(hapax, obs.)” [AHW 780] || Ar. *nuγr-* “(pas species asinorum comme chez Freytag, mais) species avium” [Dozy II 692] = *nuγar-*, pl. *niγrān-* “1. rossignol, 2. (pl.) petits de passereau”, *nuγar-at-* “sorte de passereau au bec rouge” [BK II 1301] || Mehri *naγōr*, pl. *naγōrīn* “Truthahn” (whereas *noñōr*, pl. *noñōrīn* “Storch”) [Jahn] = *nəγγōr*, pl. *nəγγāwrət* “stork” [Jns. 1987, 289] (Sem.: SED II 209, #158) ||| Eg. *n^r.w* “Art Vogel” (MK, Wb II 209, 7) = “ein Vogel” (GHWb 395).⁴ The Eg.-Sem. match⁵ was first suggested by G. Takács (2012, 116, #158).

AA *n- + *□

1064. AA *√n□ “fire” [GT]: Sem.: MSA *√n□w > Jibbali *n□e* “brennen (tr.)” [Bittner 1917, 54] = *n□e* “brûler” [Lsl.] = CJibbali *en□é* “to burn (tr.)” [Jns. 1981, 187] = *n□āt* “to burn (intr.)” [Nkn.], EJibbali *en□ī* “to burn” [Jns. 1987], Mehri *hən□ū* “to burn” [Jns. 1987, 293], Soqotri *né□e* “être chaud, brûlé, enflammé, brûler, être en colère” [Lsl. 1938, 264] = *ən□ī* “to burn (tr.)” [Jns.] = *né□e* “to burn (tr.)”, *nā□a* “fire”, *inā□a* “hot” [Nkn.] (MSA: Nakano 1986, 28, #237; 27, #224; 107, #751) ||| Eg. *n□* “Feuer (ob richtig?)” (NK, Wb II 288, 9) = “fire/Feuer” (Amduat, Hornung 1963 II, 130, n. 2; Grieshammer, LÄ II 205) = “feu terrible” (Cannuyer 1990, 107)⁶ ||| SOm. (Aroid) *noha ~ *nu- “fire” [Bnd.] = *nUh- [GT] > Ari noha [Bnd.] = *nō* [Daniels] = *nóh-à*, *nó(h)-o* [Hyw.] = *noa* [Tully], Galila *noh/?-a* [Bnd.], Hamar *nu?* [Flm.] = *nu* [Lydall], Karo *no* [Flm.].

3. Elsewhere, AA *γ yields as a rule Brb. *γ (Takács 2011, 145-148).

4. Translated by R. Moftah (1987, 128) as “Tätigkeit: gackern (?)” and equated with Eg. Ar. *na^rar* “Schrei des Viehes, Gebrüll”.

5. A. Ju. Militarev (SED II 210) combined the Sem. stem with SCu.: Dahalo *ngára* “crested crane” [EEN] and ECh.: WDangla *ñáarkò* “grue couronnée” [Fédry 1971, 340], which both are phonologically very dubious.

6. Ch. Cannuyer (1990, 107-108) explained it from Eg. *nḥ3* “dangereux, terrible, terrifiant”.

1065. NAA *√n□ “pleasant (of odor)” [GT]: Sem.: Hbr. nī□ō^a□ “Behagen, Wohlgefallen”, immer in der Verbindung rē^a□ nī□ō^a□ “angenehmer Duft von den Opfern” [GB 503] = “appeasement, soothing odour” [KB 696] | Samaritan Aram. ny□□ “delight”, ry□ ny□□ “a pleasing odor” [Tal 2000, 514] ||| Eg. n□h□ “respirer (?) (un parfum)” (AL 79.1592) = “einatmen (Parfüm)” (GHWb 423).

1066. NAA *√n□ “endless (?)” [GT]: Sem.: Geez nā□hə□ā ~ na□hə□ā ~ nahnə□ā “to be in abundance, be left over, be plenty”, nə□hu□ ~ nəhnu□ “numerous, abundant, which is in excess” [Lsl. 1987, 395] ||| Eg. n□□ “Ewigkeit” (PT-, Wb II 299-302) = “Unendlichkeit” (Sethe 1928, 76) = “eternity” (Vergote 1973 Ib, 138).⁷

1067. AA *√n□ “oil, fat” [GT]: Sem.: Akk. nāḫu (from OAkk. on) vs. nuḫḫu (lexical lists) “lard” [CAD n₁ 142 vs. n₂ 317] = nāḫu ~ nuḫḫu “(Schweine-)Schmalz” [AHW 715] || Ug. n□ “Lederschlauch für Öl” [DL & Sanmartín 1973, 112-113, #52, cf. Watson 2000, 570, #25] = “graisse animale figée” [Bordreuil & Pardee, RSOu 14, 354] = “Schweineschmalz” [Tropper 1995, 64] = “fat” [Watson 1999, 790, #31] = “a type of oil/fat (?)” [DUL 627] ||| Eg. n□□ “Öl” (NE, Wb II 302, 17-20) = “l’huile de sésame” (Keimer 1967, 18-20 and 134-135, cf. Germer 1979, 283-285; 1985, 172) = “Vegetable fat” (Černý 1973, 45, fn. 11) = “un terme générique pour huile, huile végétale” (Meeks 1979, 247, n. 51) = “sesame oil” (DLE II 27, cf. Janssen 1961, 71; 1975, 330-333, #101) = “Sesamöl” (GHWb 424) = “oil of sesame (Sesamum indicum L.)” (Manniche 1999, 147) = “Olivenöl” (Krauss 1999, 293-298 pace Meeks and Baum; Koura 1999, 229) ||| LECu.: Somali nā□(m) “Fettleibigkeit”, as verb “fett, feist werden”, nā□ī (caus.) “feist machen, mästen” [Abr.1964, 186] ||| WCh.: Dikshī nè “oil” [Smz. 1978, 29, #36] || CCh.: Fali-Kiria ḥna ~ ḥā “fatness” [Kraft 1972 MS]. The Akk.-Eg. parallel was conceived in HSED #1836 as a “*cultural word*” with regard to the allegedly irregular correspondence of Akk. ḫ ~ Eg. □, although Akk. ḫ < Sem. *□ is also regular (cf. Kogan 1995). The Eg.-Sem. match was accepted by J. Tropper (l.c.) and W.G.E. Watson (l.c.) too.

1068. NAA *√n□b “to undertake or appoint to a duty (???)” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √n□b I: na□aba “1. faire un vœu, 2. parier, faire un pari, une gageure” [BK II 1211] = “1. to vow, put oneself under an obligation, 2. lay a bet or wager” [Lane 2772] ||| Eg. n□b “(transitives Verbum unklarer Urbed.)” (PT-, Wb II 291) = “to bestow, appoint (the positions)” (Shorter, JEA 21, 1935, 41) = “(wahrscheinlich) geben, verleihen (o.ä.)” ≈ mṭn “anweisen, geben” (Barta, LÄ IV 388) = “donner en dotation, assigner” (ZÄS 126, 1999, 129f.) = “to bestow, enlist” (CT, DCT 238).

1069. NAA *√n□r “to match” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √n□r I: na□ara “4. faire face, faire vis-à-vis à un autre (se dit, p.ex., d’une maison par rapport à une autre”, VI “se faire face (se dit de deux maisons, etc.)”, na□r- “vis-à-vis” [BK II 1213] ||| Eg. n□r “gleichkommen, nicht nachstehen: a) mit dir. Obj.: 1. die Zeit jemsd. Erreichen, 2. die Gabe gleicht dem Gesicht des Empfängers, b) mit Präp.: 1. mit n: gleichen dem, 2. mit r: gleichen dem, 3. auch tr.: gleichmachen” (PT-, Wb II 298). Prefix n- attached to *√r giving i.a. Eg. □r “face” as suggested by Ch. Cannuyer (1983, 26)?

7. For which there are alternative etymologies: K. Sethe (1928, 76) conceived it as a pass. part. of Eg. √n□ “wünschen”, lit.: *”das, was man wünscht, ohne es zu erreichen”. J. Vergote (1973 Ib, 138) saw in it a substantivized adj. *nú□ū without, however, naming the underlying root. J. Osing (NBÄ 869, n. 1392) traced *né□□ > (AL) **ANHZE** “Ewigkeit” back to an etymon *nj-□ he segmented as nj “zugehörig” (not prefix n-) + □□ (vocalized *ǎ□) “Million, unendliche große Zahl” > (SAL) **ZA2** “viele”. Ch. Ehret (1995, 318, #616) derived it from his AA *-ni/ēe/i□ “to last, endure, abide” based on Ar. na□ā□-at- “patience” and his SCu. *ni/ēe/i□ “to (be a)live”.

1070. AA *√n□r ~ *√n□r “to eject” [GT]: Sem.: (?) Hbr. √n□r “schütteln” [GB 510] = qal “1. to shake off (foliage), 2. shake (the hand as a gesture of refusal), 3. be shaken out”, nifal “to shake oneself free, 2. be shaken off”, piel “1. to shake off, toss, 2. shake out” [KB 707] | Ar. √n□r I: na□ara “2. lancer, faire jaillir avec bruit le sang (se dit d’une veine comprimée d’abord, puis lâchée)” [BK II 1293] ||| (?) Eg. n□r.t (spitting mouth det.)⁸ “(Subst.)” (PT 563c, Wb II 209, 8) = “(Hapax ..., das hier den Ort oder Ggst. zu nennen scheint, von dem diese Spesie kommt)” (ÜKAPT III 60) = “(untranslatable hapax)” (AEPT 111, Utt. 342, n. 2) ||| LECu.: Saho na□ar “2. to vomit” [Vergari 2003, 140].

AA *n- + *h

1072. AA *√n[h] “not to be, have” [GT]: LECu.: Saho nah- “nicht, ohne seiend” [Rn. 1890, 289], Saho-Assaorta nah “non essere, non esistere” [CR 1913, 73] ||| WCh.: Mupun nné ~ né “to lack, miss, not have, be without, be absent” [Frj. 1991, 44] (isolated within Angas-Sura, cf. Takács 2004, 266) || CCh.: Lamang na “ne pas être présent” [Brт.-Jng. 1990, 94]. O.V. Stolbova (CLD I 98, #334) derived both the Mupun and the Lamang words from her PCh. *nV̄ “to lack, fail, be absent” [Stl.], which, however, represents a distinct AA root.

1073. NAA *√nh “to cry” [GT]: Sem.: (?) Akk. na?û “to shout (with joy or pain)”, nu?û ~ nuḥḥû “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”, nihya and nhīta “groaning, weary”, nehwāta (pl. of *nehwa?) “groans” [Sabar 2002, 230] ||| (?) Eg. nhnh⁹ “vom Brüllen des Löwen” (NE mag., Wb II 286, 7) ||| NBrb.: Tamazight (Zemmur) nin “gémir” [Taïfi 1991, 458].

1074. NAA *√nhz “to shake (?), disturb (?)” [GT]: CSem. *√nhz > Mandaean √nhz “to move noisily, cause disturbance, clatter about, bluster about, reel about, move boisterously, violently, shake about, struggle violently” [DM 291], Syr. √nhz “to arouse commotion, excite” [DM] | Ar. √nhz I: nahaza “1. repousser qqn.en lui portant un coup de poing dans la poitrine, 3. secouer la tête, 5. agiter le seau qu’on a descendu dans le puits afin qu’il se remplisse d’eau, 6. lever la tête en se mettant en marche (se dit d’une bête)” [BK II 1355] = “to thrust, beat, push back, keep off, goad on, urge” [Ehret]¹⁰ || MSA: Jibbali nēhēz “to nudge so. to stop him saying sg. wrong” [Jns. 1981, 186], Mehri nēhēz “to nudge so. to stop him saying sg.” [Jns. 1987, 291] ||| Eg. √nhzj “er-, aufwachen aus dem Schlaf” (OK, Wb II 287).¹¹ Alternatively, the Eg. parallel might be considered as an irregular

8. As formulated by K. Sethe (ÜKAPT III 60-61), “*Hier sieht das Zeichen wie ein menschliches Gesicht aus, aus dessen Mund Speichel im Bogen herausfließt*”, which he failed to render in the frames of the Eg. lexicon. Instead he was guessing (pace Schäfer, p.c.) whether we have here to do with a corruption of the n□r.t tree, “*der mit einem seitlich herabhängenden Strick ... oder Arm ...das Wappenzeichen des Gaves von Herakleopolis Magna bildete. ... Ob es in Wahrheit die schlechte Wiedergabe der hieratischen Form des Gauenzeichens ist?*” In this case, he was pondering whether “*der Speichelausfluß*” was in fact identical with “*dem herabhängenden Strick*”, although this may not have convinced him entirely either as he then ended up suggesting an alternative: “*Oder ist an den Speichel der Baumgöttin n□r.t gedacht, was zum Getränk paßt*”, which seems to be corroborated by the var. nṯ in Teti’s text (Sethe: “*Determinativ wie die weibliche Brust*”).

9. According to the Wb l.c., this is merely “*wohl verschrieben für nhmhm*”.

10. Explained by Ch. Ehret (1989, 184, #63) from a biconsonantal *√nh-.

11. The derivation from AA *-loh- “to rise, grow up” by Ch. Ehret (1995, 401, #817) is false.

match of PClass. Yemeni Ar. $\sqrt{\text{nkz}}$ I: nukuz “to be frightened from a sudden noise, wake up (intr.)”, II “to wake up, disturb” [Piamenta 1990, 497] (or is it a root var. to Sem. $\sqrt{\text{nhz}}$?).

1075. NAA $\sqrt{\text{nhr}}$ “terror” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. nahara “4. éloigner, chasser, repousser à force de cris” [BK II 1354] || ES: Tigre nāhara “to grow angry” [LH 1956, 323], Tigrinya nāharä “to grow angry” [Lsl. 1982, 56] || Eg. nhr “Bosheit o.ä. des Seth” (GR, Wb II 286, 13), nhr “Bez. des Seth: Bösewicht o.ä.” (GR, WB II 286, 12) = “terror” (CED)¹² > Dem. nhr “Furcht, Schrecken” (DG 222:2) = “terror” (CED 118) > Cpt. (B) (€) **ⲢⲚⲟⲩⲢ** “erschrecken, zittern, schrecklich sein”, also as noun: “Schrecken, Erschütterung, Schauer” (KHW 135; NBÄ 108) = “1. s’effrayer, trembler, 2. (m) effroi” (DELIC 152) = “1. to (cause to) tremble, 2. (noun) fear” (CD 245a).

1076. NAA $\sqrt{\text{nhl}}$ “calmer (la douleur)” [GT]: Eg. $\sqrt{\text{nhl}}$ > nh3 ($\underline{\text{dw}}$) “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) || NBrb.: Zayan & Sgugu $\sqrt{\text{nhl}}$ > ɛ-nhel “1. calmer une douleur” [Loubignac 1924, 577] || SBrb.: Ahaggar i-nhal and Ghat ɛ-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” [Nehilil 1909, 159]. Is this Egypto-Berber isogloss of biconsonantal origin? Cf. ES $\sqrt{\text{nhy}}$ [GT] > e.g., Geez $\sqrt{\text{nhy}}$ “to feel relieved” [Lsl. 1987, 394].

1077. NAA $\sqrt{\text{nhl}}$ “to lean on” [GT]: Eg. *nhn* “sich stützen auf etwas (m)” (NK, Wb II 286, 5),¹³ possibly (???) < nhnj “sich stützen” (PT 339a, ÄWb I 641: unklar)¹⁴ || NBrb.: Tamazight nnal “supporter, soutenir, étayer, caler”, ta-nnal-t “1. poutre qui supporte la toiture, 2. étai” [Taïfi 1991, 490].

1078. NAA $\sqrt{\text{nhl}}$ “to lead” [GT]: Sem.: MHbr. (Talmud, Targum, Midrash) $\sqrt{\text{nhl}}$ piel “leiten” [Dalman 1922, 264] = “to quiet, support, lead” [Jastrow 1950, 881] | OSA: (?) Sabaic $\sqrt{\text{nw}}$ “to lead, guide” [Biella 1982, 297] || Eg. *nhn* “to rule (?)” (AEPT 72, 329).¹⁵

1079. NAA $\sqrt{\text{nhl}}$ “to pour” [GT]: Sem.: Akk. naʾālu “(etwa) befeuchten”, naʾīlu “überflutete Niederung”, najjālu “Bewässerer, ein Gärtner” [AHW 694, 717] || Hbr. nahālāl (nahālōl) “Wasserplatz, Tränkstelle” [KB] | Ar. nhl “Durst löschen” [AHW] = nahal- “a first drinking”, manhal- “watering place” [Lane 3039] (Sem.: Sjöberg 1998, 254, #163) || EBrb.: Ghadames a-nnel

12. Its third radical was considered by G. Thausing (1941, 29) as a root extension in comparison with Eg. *nhs* “Bez. des Seth” (XVIII., GR, Wb II 287, 14-17).

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

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

15. The hapax in PT 339 is about the king: “*I rule (?) for myself those who have gone to it*” (AEPT l.c.). R.O. Faulkner (AEPT 72-73, fn. 3) disputed K. Sethe’s (ÜKAPT VI 142) rendering “sich jmdm. untertänig, dienstbar oder gehorsam machen” as unconvincing, the king’s role being to rule, not to obey, thus “*the context demands that it should refer to authority assumed by the dead king*”. Faulkner regarded the final -j to be “*the preservation of the original suffix -i of the 1st person before -f of the 3rd person*”. J.P. Allen (1984, 600), in turn, declared its meaning to be unknown regarding it as parallel to CT VI 402a nhj “to miss”!

“verser” [Mtl. 1904, 168] ||| CCh.: (?) Buduma nal “voll werden” [Nct./Lukas 1939, 120] = “remplir” [Gdc. 1938, 30] = “to fill (intr.)” [JI 1994 II 157].

1080. AA *√nhw ~ *√nhy “1. to be meager, 2. feeble” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √nhy VIII “se flétrir, se faner” [Dozy II 730] || ES: Tigrinya nāhayä “to be tired of” [Apl.]¹⁶ ||| Eg. nh.w (or nhw?) “weakness (?)” (CT V 39c, DCT 235) ||| Bed. nehau “Magerkeit”, nehaue “mager” [Munzinger] = nehâu “mager sein, werden” [Almkvist 1885, 51] = nehaw “schmächtig, mager, schwach sein” [Rn. 1895, 182-183] = nehâw “schwach werden, abmagern” [Zhl.] = nehau “1. to become weak, 2. thin, 3. weakness”, nehawa “weak” [Roper 1928, 223] = nehau “1. to become thin, 2. weak” [Hudson 1996 MS, 99]¹⁷ || SCu.: Iraqw neh-ût- “to become thin” [Ehret]¹⁸ = nēh-ût- “to become very thin” [MQK 2002, 78]. The Eg.-Bed. match has already been equated by E. Zyhlarz (1932-3, 169).¹⁹ Ultimately, this AA root may derive from AA *√nh(y) “1. small (amount), 2. some, a bit (of)” (above). An ancient AA root variety with *-l- may also be added here, cf. Sem.: Hbr. √lhh qal “erschöpft werden” [GB 379] = “to be languish (the land because of the famine)” [KB 520] || Tigre lallaha < *lahleha “to go limp” [LH 1956, 1931a] ||| WCh.: Dera léhi “to tire” [Newman 1974, 129].²⁰

16. D. Appleyard (1977, 17/59) affiliated Tigrinya √nhy with ES: Amharic & Gurage *√nhy > √nyh “to sleep”, to which W. Leslau (1979 III 445) added closer cognates in Geez nāhayä “to take a rest”, Harari nēʔa “to sleep”. It seems that these parallels represent ES *√nhy “to sleep”, which has been more convincingly compared by W. Leslau (1988, 90) and A. Militarev (2006 MS, 33, #47.13) with Bed. nā “to pass the night” [Roper 1928, 220] = nay “to sleep” [Lsl.] = naj “bedtime” [Hudson 1996 MS, 98] ||| WCh.: Daffo-Butura nyah “schlafen” [Jng.], Sha and Kulere nyā “sich niederlegen, schlafen” [Jng. 1970, 354, 392], Mundat nyàn and Karfa nyây “to lie down” [Seibert], (Ron: Jng. 1970, 393; Seibert 2000 MS, #f008). As for the ES-Ron parallel, cf. Stolbova 2005 (CLD I 118, #424). This AA root is, in my view, hardly comparable with the Eg.-Bed.-Tigrinya isogloss.

17. Following H. Almkvist (l.c. supra), L. Reinisch (1902, 316) affiliated the Beja root with LECu.: Somali núwaf (m) “Schwächlichkeit, Magerkeit, Kraftlosigkeit, Kränklichkeit” (explained by him from a hypothetic *nehwaf) and Ar. naʔifa “macilentus fuit”, which is phonologically highly dubious. Ch. Ehret (1987, 108, #459), in turn, equated Bed. nehaw “to become weak, thin” with his SCu. *neh- “to be light, quick” < PCu. *neh- “to be thin, lightweight”, for which cf. rather Eg. *nhj* “some”.

18. Explained by Ch. Ehret (1980, 352) from his hypothetic PRift *neh- “to be light, quick”, but his *comparanda* are semantically doubtful: Iraqw and Alagwa ne-t- “to dance”, Asa nyenye-m-it- “to play”. Later, Ehret (1995, 318, #614) derived the Rift word from his ill-founded PCu. *neh- “to be thin” and eventually from his AA *-neh- “to be slight” > Ar. √nhš “to be thin, lean” (assuming a root extension *ʔ = *š he failed to render: “*semantics unclear*”).

19. Which would lead to assuming an Eg. √nhw. This striking match may be valid, although there is hardly a direct correspondence here between Eg. .w (masc. nominal ending) vs. Bed. -w (as part of the root).

20. The Dera form was erroneously affiliated by O. V. Stolbova (2005 = CLD I 58, #145) with WCh.: Siri lalaha and Miya lih- “to loosen” [Skn.], which is both semantically and phonologically incorrect. Stolbova, unfortunately, was silent about the closest cognates from the very same Nbauchi group, viz., Jimbin lakwa, Tsagu lokon “to loosen” (Nbauchi: Skn. 1977, 30) as well as further matches from other Chadic groups, viz. WCh.: Bole-Tangale *Iwak “to loosen” [GT] > Dera lākè “to untie”, lāk-lāk “loosely” [Newman 1974, 128], Galambu lākó “to loosen” [Alio 1988 MS], Ngamo lòkò “to loosen, détacher” [Alio 1988 MS], Karekare lākólákó “to loosen” [Alio 1991 MS, #f129] || CCh.: Margi lùkwà “to get loose” [Hfm. apud RK 1973, 122] | Daba lǝk “to lose (sg.), perdre (qqch.)” [LG 1974, 23, #596] | Lame-Peve ...lék... “to lose (sg.)” [Schubert 1971 MS, 16, #332], which all evidently exclude *-h- as C₂, which may have rather been *-k- or *-ḥ-, cf. Eg. wnḥ “verschieben, lösen (zwei Teile voneinander)” (Med., GHWb 200), which is regular < AA *√lwḥ according to Belova’s law (cf. EDE I 393-400). Nevertheless, Stolbova (l.c.) was undisturbed in comparing the Nbauchi root with a number of clearly untenable parallels, which are unrelated even with one another: Ar. √ʔlḥ “être haletant, respirer avec difficulté” [BK I 60], WCh.: Hausa mà-lúhù “person whose eyes are short sighted” [Abr.], CCh.: Mada lèhè lèhè “complètement mort” [Brt.] as well as even Sem. *√ʔw! Elsewhere, in two different places of the same work

1081. AA *√nhy “1. to leave, lose, 2. miss, fail to do, 3. forget to lack, fail, be absent” [GT],²¹ cf. Sem.: Ar. √nhy I: nahā “2. lâcher, abandonner ce qu’on cherchait, c.-à-d. n’en plus continuer la recherche”, IV “5. cesser de chercher une chose qu’on avait cherchée” [BK II 1359] ||| Eg. √nhj “1. (PT) (mit Objekt einer Zeitbestimmung: Todestag) scheuen, entgehen (?), 2. (Amarna) mangeln” (Wb II 280, 11-12) = √nhw “se sauver, s’éclipser” (Piehl 1893, 263) = √nhj “1. abgehen, 2. fehlen, mangeln, zu wenig sein” (Rn. l.c. infra) = √nhj “1. entgehen, verfehlen, 2. Mangel haben” (ÜKAPT VI 141) = √nh (!) “1. to escape, 2. have lost” (FD 135; DCT 234-235) = “1. Mangel leiden, 2. sein Ziel verfehlen” (PT, Spiegel 1971, 442-443, fn. 23 and 484) = √nh (!) “to escape” (CT and PT, AECT I 62-63, n. 11) = √nhj “entgehen, fliehen, meiden” (NBÄ 797, n. 1015) = √nhj “to miss, overlook” (PT, Allen 1984, 570),²² hence cf. also nh.w “Verlust, Verminderung, Einbuße” (MK,

(CLD I 67-68, #192 and 69, #198), she set up PCh. *IVkw- “1. to loosen, 2. be weak, unsteady” and *IVk- “to untie, detach”, resp., as two distinct roots.

21. Its ultimately related root var. with a caus. sense may be NAA *√nh, act. *√nh “to cause to leave”, hence: “to protect from (or sim.)” [GT] > Sem.: Ar. √nhy I “défendre qqch. à qqn.”, II “1. défendre, prohiber, interdire à qqn. telle ou telle chose”, VIII “s’abstenir d’une chose, l’avoir pour interdite”; √nhnh I “éloigner qqn., le repousser du qqch.”, 3. éloigner (une bête féroce féroce) à force de crier”, II “s’abstenir” [BK II 1359] = I “to forbid”, VI, VIII “to refrain, abstain, desist from as forbidden, leave, relinquish, Yemeni Ar. √nhw ~ √nhy IV “to warn, protect against” [Piamenta 1990, 499] || MSA *√nhy > Mehri nāhū “to stop so. nagging, stop st. abruptly, come to the end of st.”, Central Jibbali nēhé “to warn, tell so. no to do st.” (MSA: Jns. 1981, 186; 1987, 291) ||| Eg. √nh “schützen, beschirmen” (MK-, Wb II 281, 7-8) = √nhw “to protect” (CT, DCT 235) and √nh “beseitigen (das Unwetter)” (GR, Wb II 180, 13) = “to do away with” (PL 527) ||| SBrb.: ETawillemet ta-nāh-ūt “neutralisation” [Ncl. 1957, 575]. Cf. Brockelmann 1932, 33, #107 and GÄSW 66, #218 for Eg.-Sem.

22. Note that, in spite of J. Osing’s (NBÄ 797, n. 1015) dilettantic (typically omnicomparatistic) suggestion (conceived in the manner of his other root etymologies, for which cf. Takács 2005 twice; 2015), this verbal root can have nothing in common with Eg. √nh (on nh nh zu lesen?) “(um)schütteln (etwas Zusammengesetztes bei der Kyphbereitung)” (GR, Wb II 282, 5) = √nhj “schütteln, absondern” (NBÄ 232) = √nh “to shake” (PL 528) and √nhnh “geschüttelt werden (von Frucht)” (MK, Wb II 286, 6) ~/= “zittern, beben (vor Angst)” (XI. hapax, ÄWb II 1309), which represents rather an AA descriptive root and may be compared – as suggested by P. Wislon (PL l.c.) – rather with ES: Geez nāḥnāḥa “to shake, agitate” [Lsl. 1987, 317] etc.

(1) The most popular view, represented by M. K. Feichtner (1932, 222), E. Edel (AÄG §427, §458), W. Westendorf (1962, 22, fn. 1), and J. Osing (2000, 174, fn. 79), is that Eg. *nhj* was nothing but an n- prefix extension of Eg. *whj* “1. entgehen, entgleiten, 2. verfehlen, Mißerfolg haben” (MK-, Wb I 339) on the alleged analogy of Eg. *ndj* “niederwerfen” vs. *wj* “setzen, stellen, legen” and *nnj* “(weg)gehen” vs. *wnj* “eilen, vorbeigehen”.

(2) L. Reinisch (l.c. infra) equated Eg. √nhj with Bed. nau or nāw “vermissen, fehlen, mangeln”, (m) “Mangel” [Almkvist 1885, 50] = nāw “abgehen, fehlen”, (refl.) “sich in einer Klemme befinden, ermangeln, nicht haben, nicht erlangen, nicht finden”, nuw “gering, wenig sein” [Rn. 1895, 186-187] = nau “to miss, lack, not to find” [Roper 1928, 225] = nau “to be in want, lack”, as noun (m) “want, necessity” [Hudson 1996 MS, 98], which, semantically, may well look attractive at the first glance, but certainly fails phonologically as Eg. -h- cannot be identified with Bed. -w- < *-w- or *-b-. The only way would be assuming a loss of *-h- in Bed. roots (i.e., √nw < *√nhw in our case), which, however, has not yet been satisfactorily demonstrated. As for the basic senses of the roots in Bed. (“to be in need”) vs. Eg. (“to fail, miss”), I am not convinced that these were the same. Ch. Ehret (1987, 119, #506) equated this Beja root with LECu.: Somali na^c- “to hate” and SCu. *na^c- “to fail to do, avoid doing, refuse to do”, which is certainly mistaken. On the one hand, the Somali parallel is surely to be abandoned semantically, let alone the irregularity of the second radicals (LECu. *-^c- vs. Bed. -w). On the other hand, Ehret’s (1980, 185, #9) SCu. *na^c-, in which the second radical equally does not agree with Bed. -w, was based on Alagwa na^c-am-a “laziness” vs. Dahalo na^c- “to refuse”, which semantically are hardly to be united. For the former, cf. Eg. n^cj “to be lenient” (FD 126).

(3) C. Brockelmann (1932, 107, #33) affiliated Eg. √nhj “mangeln” as part of a widespread root family with a number of Eg. forms that, in my view, are to be traced back possibly to entirely different origins: nh.w “Verlust” (below), nhj “einige, etwas” (below), √nh “schützen” (MK-, Wb II 281) etc. He, followed by J. Osing (2001, 579, but also fn. 231 with a controversial remark) in an ambiguous way, compared all these forms – despite the evident semantical anomalies

Wb II 281, 1; ÄWb II 1306) = “loss, lack” (GR Edfu, PL 529)²³ || (???) Bed. *ne* [irregular loss of *-h???) “1. to err, be wrong, 2. become unconscious, faint”, *ne-am* “to forget” [Roper 1928, 221] = *nē* (m) “blunder” [Hudson 1996 MS, 98] || PCh. **nV̄* “to lack, fail, be absent” [Stl.]²⁴ = **√n(H)y* “1. to leave, lose, 2. miss, fail to do, 3. forget” [GT]: WCh.: Bokkos ní-imâ “vergessen” [Jng. 1970, 145] | Dwot (Zodi) ja “to escape” [Caron 2002, 213], Geji naʔenii “to fail” [Csp. 1994, #894] || CCh.: Bura ni “to lose out or fail to accomplish what one sets out to do” [BED 1953, 160] | Musgu na “(ver)lassen” [Lukas] || ECh.: Bidiya nàay “rater, manquer, être absent” [AJ 1989, 101], WDangla nààyè “perdre, égarer” [Fédry 1971, 215], EDangla nààyē “zu spät merken, daß man etw. verloren hat” [Ebs. 1979, 131] (Ch.: CLD I 98, #334). An old PAA root variety with *-l- is also attested.²⁵

1082. AA **√nh(y)* “1. small (amount), 2. some, a bit (of)” [GT]: Eg. *nhj* “1. etwas, einige (allein, selten), 2. (zumeist mit n + Subst.: alt) etwas von ..., (Nä.) einige”²⁶ (MK-, Wb II 280)²⁷ || WCh.: Dera nini “some thing (non-specific)” [Newman 1974, 130], Galambu nyóo “1. few, 2. some”, ʔányóo “small” [Alio 1988 MS] || CCh.: Gisiga ne, nene “ein wenig” [Lukas 1970, 132] < Eg.-Ch. **√nh(y)* “some” [GT]. A root variety with *-l- seems to appear in SCu.: Iraqw na^láy (m) “many

– with Sem.: Ar. *√nh(y)* (whose basic sense Brockelmann rendered as “*beenden”) > I “défendre qqch. à qqn.”, II “1. défendre, prohiber, interdire à qqn. telle ou telle chose” [BK II 1359] = “verbieten” [Brk.] = “untersagen, zurückhalten” [Osing] and *√nhnh* I “éloigner qqn., le repousser du qqch., 3. éloigner (une bête féroce féroce) à force de crier”, II “s’abstenir” [BK II 1359] = “abwehren” [Brk.] = “entfernen, zurückhalten” [Osing]. Eventually, this may be true if one accepts to unite all meanings of Ar. *√nh(y)* under one and the same root.

(4) Ch. Ehret (1995, 336, #659) too, kept comparing it with Ar. *√nhnh* “to refrain from” and at the same time also with SCu.: Iraqw nah-at- “to hide”, which is semantically equally dubious. Not even the Ar. and SCu. *comparanda* are related.

23. The latter word was regarded by J. Černý (CED 75), followed by W. Westendorf (KHW 515), W. Vycichl (DELIC 101), and H. Satzinger (1994, 200) as a root variety to Eg. 3h.w “1. körperliches Leiden, Schmerz, 2. Kummer, Traurigkeit” (MK-, Wb I 12, 4-6) resulting in Cpt. (SL) *λεζ*, (L) *λΗΖ* (m) “Sorge” (KHW) = “souci, aussi: peur” (DELIC), which is hardly true about Eg. *√nhj* carrying a quite different semantic spectrum.

24. O. V. Stolbova (2005 = CLD I l.c.) equated this PCh. root with Hbr. *√ʔlh qal* “to fall short, be unable” [KB 49] in spite of the anomaly of Ch. **n-* vs. Sem. **-l-* and at the same time also CSem. **√nwʔ* “to decline etc”.

25. Cf. AA **√lh(y)* “1. to lose, 2. forget, 3. miss, avoid” [GT] > Sem. **√lh* “to be in consternation, enervated” [Zbr.] > Hbr. *√lh(y)* “to behave like insane” [Zbr.] | Ar. *√lhw* I “(ʿan) den Verlust einer Sache verschmerzen, vergessen”, VIII “mit einer Sache so beschäftigt sein, dass man eine andere darüber vergisst” [Růžička 1911, 133] = I: lahiya “négliger, oublier”, III “détourner, distraire d’une occupation” [Dozy II 553] = I lahiya “not to pay attention, be inattentive” [Zbr.] || MSA **√lhw* > e.g., Harsusi alhō “to distract s.o. from s.t.”, Eastern Jibbali elhé “to overlook (a friend’s misdemeanour)”, Central Jibbali elhé “to distract s.o.’s attention”, Mehri hālū “to overlook misdemeanour in a friend” (MSA: Jns. 1977, 83; 1981, 162; 1987, 253) || Geez lāhaya, alhaya “trösten, bewirken, dass jemand etwas vergisst” [Růžička] || LECu.: Saho-Assaorta lāy “smarrire, perdere” [CR 1913, 69] || SCu.: Ma’a -lāha “to be lost”, -lahā-ti “to lose” [Ehret 1974 MS, 39] || WCh.: Tangale-Waja lāā- “to avoid, get out of the way” [Kwh. 1990, 238] || CCh.: Daba-Kola lē “perdre” [Wedekind 1976, 101] | Mofu-Gudur -lāh- “(s’)échapper, se sauver, manquer, rater” [Brt. 1988, 156]. A. Zaborski (1971, 73, #128) isolated the same biconsonantal root also in Hbr. *√lyh* “to be in consternation”, Syriac mlahlah “to be stupefied”, Ar. waliha “to be enervated, be in consternation”.

26. This NEg. use of *nhj* + *n* resulted in Dem. *hjn* “some” (DG 268:9) > Cpt. (S) st. abs. **20(ε)INE** “some, certain”, st. nom. **2EN-**, pl. of the indefinite article (CED 287; DELIC 292 with an alternative explanation of metathesis; Peust 1999, 143).

27. Ch. Ehret (1995, 318, #614) derived Eg. *nhj* “some” from his AA **neh-* “to be slight” > Ar. *√nhš* “to be thin, lean” (assuming a root extension **ʔ* = **š* he failed to render: “*semantics unclear*”) and his PCu. **neh-* “to be thin”, for which cf. rather AA **√nhw* ~ **√nh(y)* “1. to be meager, 2. feeble” (below).

very small things” [MQK 2002, 77]. Ultimately related to AA *√nhw ~ *√nhy “1. to be meager, 2. feeble” (below)?

AA *n- + *?

1083. AA *√n(w)? “to sink, descend, fall” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √nw? I: nāʔa “4. tomber, succomber sous le poids de la charge, 5. se coucher à l’occident pendant qu’à l’autre extrémité, à l’orient, il se lève une autre étoile” [BK II 1361] ||| Bed. nuʔ “senken, sinken lassen, niederlassen”, núʔte “unten” [Almkvist apud Rn. 1895, 178] = n(ə)ʔa (defective) “to be down” [Roper 1928, 220]²⁸ ||| WCh.: Wangday nā “to fall” [IL] || CCh.: NMofu n- “se coucher etc.” [Brt.-Jng.], Mofu-Gudur (SMofu) -n- “1. se coucher” [Brt. 1988, 200] | Zime-Dari nōʔ “1. mettre dans, enfoncer, plonger, 3. se coucher (le soleil)” [Cooper 1984, 18], Lame (Zime-Batna) nóʔó “1. mettre dans, enfoncer, plonger dans qqch., 3. baisser (tête, yeux), 4. se coucher (pour le soleil)” [Scn. 1982, 378]²⁹ || ECh.: Mokilko -né “là-bas (dont on a déjà parlé)” [Jng. 1990, 144] (Ch.: Brt.-Jng. 1990, 140; JI 1994 II 130-131). The Ar.-Bed. comparison (with different Ch. parallels) is due to O.V. Stolbova (CLD I 97, #328). The etymology of CCh.: Masa nī-nā ~ nī-nā “tomber” [Jng. 1973 MS] = ni/e “tomber” [Brt.-Jng. 1990, 108] = nii-nā “to fall”, niggāā nā “falling down” [Jng./JI] = ni(k) “tomber” [Ajl.], Gizey nī “tomber” [Ajl.] is ambiguous³⁰

Abbreviations

AA: Afro-Asiatic, Ar.: Arabic, (B): Bohairic, Bed.: Bed'awye, Brb.: Berber, Ch.: Chadic, CCh.: Central Chadic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, ECh.: East Chadic, ECu.: East Cushitic, Eg.: Egyptian, (F): Fayyumic, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, (L): Lycopolitan (Subakhmimic), LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, MK: Middle Kingdom, NBch.: North Bauchi, NBrb.: North Berber, NOM.: North Omotic, OEg.: Old Egyptian, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, PCh.: Proto-Chadic, PCu.: Proto-Cushitic, PT: pyramid texts, Qbl.: Qabyle, (S): Sahidic, SBrb.: South Berber, Sem.: Semitic, WBrb.: West Berber, WCh.: West Chadic, WSem.: West Semitic.

Abbreviations of author names

AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Biberstein Kazimirski, Bnd.: Bender, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brt.: Barreteau, CR: Conti Rossini, Csp.: Cospes, Dbr.: Djibrine, DL: Dietrich & Loretz, Ebs.: Ebobisse, EEN: Ehret, Elderkin, Nurse, Fdr.: Fédry, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gdc.: Gaudiche, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, KB: Köhler & Baumgartner, Krf.: Kraft, Kwh.: Kleinewillinghöfer, Lbg.: Loubignac, LG: Lienhard & Giger, LH: Littmann & Höfner, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lsl.: Leslau, Mlt.: Militarev, Mnt.: Montgolfier, MQK: Mous, Qorro, Kießling, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nhl.: Nehlil, Nkn.: Nakano, Nwm.: Newman, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, Prs.: Prasse, RK: Reutt & Kogan, Rn.: Reinisch, Rpr.: Roper, Skn.: Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Stl.: Stolbova, Stz.: Satzinger, Vrg.: Vergote, Wdk.: Wedekind, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

28. For other (semantically less convincing) *comparanda* to the Bed. root cf. Ehret 1987, 109, #461; OS 1992, 176; HSED #1837; Orel 1995, 124, #36.

29. For a different etymology of the Lame/Zime-Batna root cf. CLD I 100, #341.

30. The rest of the plausible Chadic parallels suggest *ndV (cf. Brt.-Jng. 1990, 140; Ajl. 2001, 55). Two distinct roots? Or are the reflexes with nd- to be also derived from *n-?

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