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Agaw Lexicon and Its Cushitic and Afro-Asiatic Background¹

Abstract

The long awaited *Comparative Dictionary of the Agaw Languages* published most recently by David Appleyard (2006) presents a precious etymological treatment not only for specialists of Agaw and Cushitic, but also from the standpoint of our current research on comparative Afro-Asiatic lexicon. The present paper is to examine Appleyard's material and suggestions from these aspects for possible addenda and corrigenda.

Keywords: Agaw language, Cushitic languages, Africa, Asia

Introduction

The Agaw (or Central Cushitic) languages and peoples, on which the earliest reference dates back to the first centuries AD², are scattered today in four main blocs: (1) Bilin in the area of the town Kärän in Eritrea, (2) in Ethiopia: Ḥaməṭ ~ Ḥəməṭ people (sg. Ḥamra ~ Ḥəmra) in the area of northern Wag, (3) Kemant of Kärkär and çälga (north of Lake Tana), the Falasha or Betä Isra'el, (4) Awi (sg. Awiya) of Agäwmədər in Gojjam and the Kunfäl of the lowlands to the west of Lake Tana. Hamtanga and Awngi in Ethiopia and Bilin in Eritrea have regional language status.

¹ The ideas of this paper were originally presented at the 5th International Conference on Cushitic and Omotic Languages (Paris, 16–18 April 2008), but the text is not going to be published in its proceedings (which are still just forthcoming in early 2012).

² The name of the people is attested in the Greek Adulis inscription (Monumentum Adulitanum, 2nd half of 3rd cent. AD, lost, copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the early 6th cent.) as Ἀθαγᾶους < *ʔad-ʔagāw, which is also mentioned in the Geez inscription of ʿEzana (4th cent. AD) as Atagāw.

Appleyard distinguishes basically four principal languages (with dials. or vars.):

(1) Bilin (dialects: Tā'aḳ'wər and Tärḱeḱ'wər or Senhit), with 90–120 thousand speakers in Senhit province of Eritrea focusing on the towns Kärän and Halhal, both Christians and Muslims.

(2) Hamtanga, identical with Reinisch's Hamir (Hamta of Conti Rossini 1904 is to be regarded its dialect), spoken by the Ḥaməṭ ~ Ḥəməṭ people in the northern part of the Wag region (in the former Wällo province) with a highly uncertain number of speakers³.

(2-3) Kailinya (Kayləñña or the language of the Kayla formerly applied to the Betä Isra'el, recorded by Jacques Faïtlovitch somewhen in 1904–5 and 1908–9) with a position between the Hamtanga and Kemant clusters.

(3) Kemant (dialects: Qwara vs. Falasha of Flad 1866⁴), now with about 1,650 speakers (all bilingual Amharic speakers), although the 1998 Ethiopian census counted 172,327 people identifying themselves as ethnic Kemant (no longer speaking it).

(4) Awngi (dials.: Damot, Agawmidir), i.e., the language of the Awi(ya), in Agäwmədər and eastern Mätäkkäl districts of the once Gojjam province, with about 100 thousand speakers (Wedekind in 1995) = 279,326 (1998 census). A closely related language is Kunfäl with no more than 2 thousand speakers in the lowlands west of Lake Tana.

These major Agaw languages are as a rule accounted for by Appleyard when discussing the individual Agaw etymologies. The critical analysis offered below will take Appleyard's 2006 PAgaw reconstructions as a starting point of the discussion (without repeating the individual forms of the Agaw daughter languages) – unless either (1) the Agaw root is only known in isolated forms and no P(N)Agaw reconstruction can be attained or (2) the proto-form proposed by Appleyard is problematic.

Comments on the Agaw roots

• **Agaw *säg** “(upper) back” [Apl. 2006, 27], akin to LECu.: Oromo sag-ō “back of the head” and Dasenech sug-u “back” < PCu. *sVg- “back” [GT], cannot be related to Bed. sinkwa ~ sankwa ~ sunka ~ sinka “shoulder” as mentioned by Appleyard, since it represents (via *-mk- > -nk-) a fully distinct AA root, namely *č-k-m ~ *č-m-k “shoulder” [GT], cf. EDE III 594-5 s.v. Eg. mst.

• **Agaw *yāw** “back (of body), lower back” [Apl. 2006, 26-27] has possible AA cognates in NBrb.: Beni Snus ti-wa and Zemmur t-uyā ~ t-woyé “dos” [Blz. 1994 MS Bed., 2] ll WCh.: Ron *wuy [met. < *yuw?] “Rücken” [GT]: Sha wuy, Kulere wūy (Ron: Jng. 1970, 387) ll CCh.: Margi yī “back” [JI 1994 II 6]. Whether the isogloss of Eg. jw “der

³ 5 thousand to at least 80 thousand, but possibly more than 100 thousand (Berhanu Hailu et al. in 1995, cited by Appleyard) = 93,889 monolinguals with a total of 143,369 mother tongue speakers (the 1998 Ethiopian census).

⁴ Spoken just by a few elderly in Israel, formerly northwest of Lake Tana + Dembiya in the 19th cent., northern shore of Lake Tana.

Bucklige” (MK, Wb I 43, 11) = “hump-back” (FD 11) = “Buckliger” (GHWb 31) III Brb. *tu-Hi/a “bosse” [Ksm. 1999, 105, #224] = *ta-wuhi “camel’s hump, back” [Apl.] can also belong here remains open. Appleyard (2006, 84) quotes this etymology of mine s.v. Agaw *yāw “hips”. For a different etymology of the NBrb. parallels cf. Gouffé 1974, 367.

• **Bilin māk^wa** “backside, anus” [Apl.] = māk^wá, pl. mākuk “Steiß, Podex” [Rn. 1887, 267] = māk^wa, pl. māk^wək^w “buttocks” [Lmb. 1988, 93, §115; LT 1997, 510] = māk^wa “buttock” [HL 1988, 50] is – beside LECu.: Afar makuh [affix -h of body parts] “spine”, Boni múkkə “buttocks”, Yaaku muk “lower part of the body” mentioned by Appleyard (2006, 27) – cognate to Ar. makw-at- “cul, derrière” [BK II 1140] III Bed. mīk^wa (m) “femur, humerus, tibia (anat.)” [Rpr. 1928, 216]. From AA *muk- “1. neck, 2. back” [Blz.]⁵ = *m-k^w “back parts” [GT]? Lit. for the AA etymology: Rn. 1895, 167 (Eg.-Bed.); Behnk 1928, 139, #32 (Eg.-Bed.); Zhl. 1932-33, 168 (Eg.-Bed.); Blažek 1987, 159 (Eg.-Bed.); 1994 MS Bed., 26; 2000, 185-6, §21; 2000 MS, 5, §21 (Bed.-Agaw-ECu.-Eg.).

• **Hamir čəqa** “bad” [Apl.]: Appleyard (2006, 27) was disposed to see in it a devoicing and palatalization from a hypothetic Agaw *dək[k]- and to identify it with Awngi dəkkí “bad”, but Hamir č- (vs. -q-) < Agaw *d- (vs. *-k-, resp.) would be very strange. Instead, cp. perhaps SCu. *č₁ak^w- [*č₁- reg. < AA *č-/ *č̣-] “bad” [Ehr.]: Iraqw & Alagwa čak^w “bad, sorry, ugly, nasty, evil”, hence Iraqw čak^w-e “badness”, čak^w-es-a “crime”, čaku-s-mo “evil-doer”, Burunge čak^w-i “1. bad, etc., 2. rotten” | Qwadza čak^w-a “bad”, Asa dak-a “1. bad, etc., 2. rotten” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 214-215, #8) < AA *č-k “bad, abnormal” [GT].

• **NAgaw *fäy-** “to bake (bread)” [Apl.] was combined by Appleyard (2006, 28) with LECu.: Afar faḥ- “to boil, ferment”. A further cognate appears in Eg. wfḥ “verbrennen” (LP, Wb I 306, 6), which, besides, V. Orel (1995, 103, #45; HSED #819) compared with the Ch. word for “fire” (dubious, cf. EDE II 424-5). Cf. also LECu.: Somali fōḥ-a “gum for burning” [Bell 1969, 167]?

• **Agaw *qaf** “bark of tree” [Apl. 2006, 28]: akin to SCu.: Iraqw qafī, qâafi, pl. qâafa “bark of a tree”, qâf-ta “shell, rind of fruit” [Wtl. 1953] < PCu. *qaf- “bark” [GT] (Cu.: Dlg. 1973, 233). SCu.: Iraqw -f- points to PCu. *-f- (not *-p-) in this root. Cp. perhaps also NEg. hf “schälen, enthülsen (von Früchten)” (Med. XIX., late NK, Wb II 489, 13) with an irregular Eg. h- ~ Cu. *k- (for which cf. the equally irregular, albeit fairly well attested, correspondence of Eg. ḥ- ~ AA *k- in EDE I 302-4).

• **NAgaw *wan-/ *wän-** “to be” [Apl.] can hardly have anything to do with the reflexes of Cu. *w-y-n “to be big” [GT] as suggested by Ehret (1987, 135; 1995, 467), whom D. Appleyard (2006, 29) quoted with right hesitation (“*With regard to the Agaw root being cognate, the semantics seem problematical*”). The Agaw root has – beside Eg. wnn (for the Agaw-Eg. equation cf. also Blz. 1992, 141) – no further AA cognates according to my

⁵ Note that Blažek (1987, 159; 2000, 185-6, §21; 2000 MS, 5, §21) affiliated the underlying with remote (Nostratic) parallels like Drv. *mak(k)- “neck” [DED #4622], Ur. *muka “back” [Sammallahti], Alt.: Korean mok “neck, throat”, and Pamir Iranian: Shugni & Wakhi māḥ, Sarikoli mok & Ishkashim mak “back of the neck, nape” [Morgenstierne].

etymological catalogue. Appleyard's alternative comparison with Awngi wena "pregnant animal" is semantically equally weak.⁶

• **Awngi ăṣʷ-** "to spend the day, be" [Apl. 2006, 29]: identical with LECu.: Saho & Afar as- "den Tag zubringen mit etwas" [Rn. 1890, 48] = "passer la journée" [Chn.], which Cohen (1947, #276) compared with the reflexes of AA *s-[ʔ] "day" [GT], cf. Eg. s.w "Monatstag" (MK, Wb IV 58, 2) > Cpt. (SALBF) coʔ- "Tag, Monatstag" (KHW 174) vs. s.w "Zeit" (MK, Wb IV 47-58) III (???) Brb. *a-ss "day" [Djk.] (GT: unless < *a-sf) III LECu.: Oromo sia "time" [Mkr. 1987, 415], Boni saʔ- "time" [Sasse 1979, 52 with further ECu. comparanda] III NOm.: Janjero aši "now" [Grb.] III WCh.: Sura šíi "Tag (24 Stunden)" [Jng. 1963, 83] (isolated in AS, cf. GT 2004, 345) II CCh.: PKotoko *cV "day" [Prh.]: Ngala & Logone see "day" [Grb.], Buduma či ~ če "Tag" [Lks. 1939, 94]. See also Chn. 1947, #276 (Eg.-Brb.-LECu.); Grb. 1963, 55, #22(Cu.-Brb.-Janjero); Djk. 1965, 42 (Brb.-CCh.); Prh. 1972, 58, #32.1 (Kotoko-Brb.-PCu.).

• **Bilin šäkʷäm** "beard" [Apl.] = šekúm ~ var. čəhúm "Kinn und -bart" [Rn.] = šäkʷäm "chin" [KH/Apl.]: affiliated – along with Hamta čəhem [Rn.] = čəhəm [Apl.] – by Reinisch (1887, 170) and Appleyard (2006, 29) with ES: Geez šəhm "beard", Tigre šəhəm ~ čəhəm "beard, jaw, chin", Tna. čəhmi "beard". Reinisch regarded Bilin šekúm as a *Nebenform*. Although the reflexes of the AA glottalized affricates *č- and *č̣- in Chadic have been so far little investigated, it seems that a prenasalized variety yields AS *č̣- (cf. Stl. 1996, 41-42, 47-49), and thus the Ethiopian root might be alternatively affiliated with WCh.: AS *č̣aɣam ~ *č̣a₃ɣa₃m > *č̣əɣam (?) "1. chin, 2. beard (?)" [GT 2004, 432] II ECh.: Mokilko zúkùmó ~ zúkímó "1. Kinn, 2. Bart (menton, barbe)" vs. sùkùmó "mâchoire" [Jng. 1990, 202, 178], whose former comparison with Sem. *di/aḵan- "beard" [SED] (HSED #2650; Stl. 1996, 49; SED I 59-60, #63) is dubious because of the anomalous C₃.

• **Bilin šəḥar** "beauty", šəḥar-d "to beautify", šəḥar-t "to be beautiful", šəḥar-əḥʷ "beautiful" [Apl. 2006, 30] = šayar ~ (häufiger) šeyar "schön sein", šeyár "Schönheit" [Rn. 1887, 318]: no cognates were suggested by either authors. Cp. Sqt. škér "être beau"⁷ [Lsl. 1938, 416] = fəréhəm di škérəh "the nice girl" [kind p.c. by M.-C. Simeone-Senelle, Paris, April 2008]. With regard to the very frequent OK interchange of Eg. ḥ- ~ š-, one is tempted to identify this root with Eg. ḥkr (OK var. škr) "geschmückt sein" (PT, Wb III 401).

• **Agaw *ʔaräg-** "bed, couch" [Apl. 1994 MS, 2] = *ʔər[ə]g- [Apl. 1991 MS, 2]: cognate with Eg. 3ṭ.t [reg. < *rk-t] "bed" (OK, Wb I 23, 11) = 3ṭ.(w)t "Bett, Bahre (auch aus Elfenbein)" (ÄWb I 22) III WCh.: WBade rákè-n "bed", Bade-Gashua lákàì [Schuh: l- < *r-]

⁶ For this latter root cf. rather Eg. wn.w "1. (Med.) vom Kind im Mutterleib, 2. (GR) Kind als Bez. des jungen Sonnengottes und des Königs" (Wb I 315, 10-12) III WCh.: Sha (pl.) wōon ~ wúnōn "Knabe, Kind" [Jng. 1970, 284] I Nbauchi *wun- "girl, daughter" [Skn. 1977, 23] = *wuna "дочь, девочка" [Stl. 1987, 260] I Sbauchi: Buli unni [Gowers] = wəṇaʔ "child" [IL], Wangday wón "child" [IL] I Bade wùn-ən "Sohn" [Lks. 1968, 224], Ngizim wùn "son" [Schuh] II CCh.: Zime-Dari wenyón "child" [Str.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 74-75). For an alternative Ar. etymology of Eg. wn.w see Belova 1987, 280; 1993, 52.

⁷ Identified by Leslau with Ar. škl V: tašakkala "être beau (d'une belle forme)" (leaving the irregular C₃s unexplained).

“bed” (Bade: Schuh 1975, 112). The Agaw-Bade-Eg. etymology was first suggested in EDE I 52, 234. These AA cognates are leading to AA *r-k “bed” [GT], as verb “to lean on” (or sim.) [GT], cf. HECu. *irk-aḏ- (med.) “to lean upon”, *irk-is- (caus.) “to support” [Hds. 1989, 414]. Note that Agaw *-g- is irregular, which does not agree with Eg. *-k-, HECu. *-k-, and Bade -k-. Note that Osing (2001, 574) erroneously explained OK “bed” from 3t [**lkj*] “to nurse” (PT, CT, FD 6; DCT 10) = 3tj (IIIae inf.) “1. aufziehen (Kind), hegen, 2. (fig.) sich kümmern um (Stadt)” (OK 2x, ÄWb I 21), which, besides, represents a root with *l- (not *r-)⁸. Note that Satzinger (1999, 381) most recently suggested for OK 3t.t an unconvincing external (AA) etymology⁹.

• **Agaw *ḡac** “bone” [Apl.]: Appleyard convincingly rejects its usual derivation from AA *kas- “bone” [GT] as well as its comparison with HECu.-Om. *miḵ-/meḵ- “bone” [Lmb.], which are phonologically untenable. Instead, he prefers an equally dubious equation with a certain ECu. *moḥ- “bone” [Arvanites] based on Somali maḡin “limb” and Yaaku moḥ-o “bone”. But this comparison is false: (1) the Somali word derives from ECu. *magin- “foot” [Sasse 1979, 54], while (2) Yaaku moḥ- < ECu. *mVḵ- (although Sasse 1979, 54 has ECu. *ḵ > Yaaku q ~ ḡ). Perhaps Agaw *ḡac has to be compared with WCh.: Sbauchi *n^yVs- ~ *yVḡs- “bone” [GT] > Mbaaru yḡḡši [Smz.], Guruntum yengši [Gowers] = yàḡ/ḡḡši [Smz.] = yḡḡši [Jaggar], Geji isi [Gowers] = fḡí [IL] = ?i:sù [Smz.], Tule nyèḡḡ [Smz.], Wangday yḡs [IL] = yes [Smz.], Chari ḡḡs [Smz.] (Sbauchi: Smz. 1978, 21, #7; JI 1994 II 36).

• **Agaw *ḡar-** “brain” [GT]: Kemant ḡar-a ~ nār-ā “cerveau” [CR 1912, 238-9] = nara “brain” [Apl.], Qwara nāl-ā “Gehirn” [Flad apud Rn. 1885, 105], Hamta nil-ā “cervello” [CR 1905, 224] | Awngi (and Damot) ḡar-ī “tête” [CR 1912, 238] = ḡarí “head” [Apl. 2006] vs. Awngi nalí “brain” [Htz. 1978, 136; Apl. 1994 MS, 14], perhaps Kunfel ḡḡh^{uri} “head” [Apl.]: Appleyard (2006, 36) reconstructs PAgaw *ḡat-a “head” (with irregular Kemant and Awngi reflexes) 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 influences by ES: Geez nālā “brain, skull” [Lsl. 1987, 398], Tigre nālā “cervello” [CR 1905, 224] = Amh. & Tigre nālā “cerveau” [CR 1912, 238] = Tigre & Tna. & Amh. nala “brain, skull” [Lsl.]. On the other hand, Appleyard even 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 how to explain the -l- in ES? Although I am unable to give a definite answer either, I find a further groups of parallels of high interest that are also to be accounted for. First, the Agaw root (hardly

⁸ Cf. Ar. laki²a “2. se livrer entièrement à qqch.”, lky: laka “1. se livrer avec assiduité à qqch., ou être adonné à qqch. (av. b- de la chose), 2. s’attacher à qqch. et le suivre partout (av. b- de la pers.)” [BK II 1020, 1022] = lakiya “an j-m hängen, zu j-m halten” [WKAS II 1267]. Cf. perhaps also Ar. lakka “jmdn. (mit Fleisch, Muskeln) beschlagen, ausstatten, reichlich versehen” [WKAS II 1240] with special regard to the special sense of OK 3tj “hegen, *säugen” (PT 371: synonym of snq “to suckle”, ÄWb I 21) = “to nourish” (Ember 1930, #22.a.8).

⁹ He equated Eg. 3t.t with AA *dVḵ (sic!) “Stufe, Sitz” [SISAJa II #129], which is for me unacceptable for phonological reasons.

with *-t-, but rather with *-r-) might be identified with LECu.: Oromo ñār-ō “marrow” [Gragg 1982, 301], which, besides, Ehret (1991, 264, #229) erroneously affiliated with Oromo ñār-ō “eyebrow” < ECu. *ñār- (sic) “forehead”, which represents a distinct AA root, namely *n-y-r ~ *n-ḥ-r “eyebrow” [GT] (attested in Eg., SBrb., Oromo, and Mokilko, published by Takács 2005, 21, #1.3, fn. 9). Secondly, the ES data with *-l- have parallels in NBrb. *a-n(V)li “brain” [GT]¹⁰ || ECu.: Tsamay nol-o “brain” [Sava 2005 MS, 249]. Cf. also Ongota nóolu “brain” [Flm. 1992, 191].

• **NAgaw** *kär-/*käl- “to break” [Apl. 2006, 37]: Appleyard’s equation with ECu. *ka/e/ur- “to cut” is both phonologically (NAgaw *k- ≠ ECu. *k-) and semantically unconvincing. More appropriate seems to compare the Agaw root with Eg. ḥrḥr “zerstören” (late NK, Wb III 330, 7) with the correspondence of Eg. ḥ- ~ “African” AA *k- pointing to an original voiceless postvelar (*q).

• **Agaw** *ʔəngw-/*ʔangw- “breast” [Apl. 2006, 37]: beside the Saho-Afar parallel mentioned by Appleyard, one can combine this root with further AA parallels like CCh.: PKotoko *engw- “Weiberbrüste” [GT]: Sao emgpie (sic) [-mgrp- < *ngw-ʔ] “seins” [GD], Makeri énkwe “female breast” [Barth], Gulfei emgwe “seins” [GD], Kuseri embwi [-mbw- < *-ngw-] “seins” [GD] (Kotoko: Sölken 1967, 260).

• **NAgaw** *məɣw-/*mäɣw-t- “to carry” [Apl. 2006, 41] = *məqʷ-/māqʷ-t- “to carry on the back” [Apl. 1989 & 2005] = *mVɣw-T- “to carry (on the shoulders)” [Apl. 1991] (Agaw: Apl. 1989 MS, 16; 1991 MS, 3; 2005 MS, 21) is not isolated in AA, cf. AA *m-Q (vars. *m-q̣ ~ *m-gʔ) “to carry” [GT] > LECu.: perhaps Rendille meḥ, pl. meḥāḥ [irreg. -ḥ] “load” [Heine 1976, 218] | Dullay: Tsamay mēgʔ- “to fetch water” & Dobase maḡʔgʔ- “to ladle up water” [Hyw. 1989, 6, 23] || WCh.: Ngamo mòkk-tí “to bring” [Alio 1988 MS] = mok- “to carry, take” [Ibr. 2003 MS, 7] || CCh.: Mulwi √mʷ-g: mùgí “enlever (une femme), saisir à bras-le-corps” [Trn. 1978, 304] || ECh.: Kera móké “etwas Schweres hochheben” [Ebert 1976, 82] | Bidiya mòg “aider qn. à porter un lourd fardeau” [AJ 1989, 99].

• **NAgaw** *nāw “calf (animal)” [Apl. 2006, 40-41]: presumably akin to ECu.: Elmolo nú-te (f) “kid, lamb” [Heine 1980, 208] || SCu.: Alagwa nū “male child, son” [KM], Burunge naw “baby boy” [Ehret 1980, 153, #6] = naw “male infant” [KM] (WRift: KM 2004, 216 with different etymology) || Eg. nw.w “Kind: 1. Säugling, 2. Jüngling” (NK, Wb II 215, 20-23) = “Junge” (JW 1996, 522) < AA *n-w “child” [GT]. Cp. also a root var. with *-y attested in ES: Endegeny nayä [unless -y- < *-ry-] “the young of a horse or donkey or mule” [Lsl. 1979 III, 466] || Eg. nj “être en enfance, rajeunir” (CT, AL 78.1976) = “*in der Kindheit sein, verjüngen” (GHWb 391) = “jung sein” (HAM 839) || ECh.: Mokilko ʔinnyí (pl.) “Junge, Kind” [Lks. 1977, 221] < AA *n-y “young” [GT].

¹⁰ Attested in Shilh a-nella ~ a-lleti “cerveau” [Jordan 1934, 28, 37] | Tamazight a-nuli, pl. a-nuli-t-n ~ a-lli-wn “cerveau, cervelle” [Tf. 1991, 490], Ait Ndhir a-nli “cerveau, cervelle” [LR], Izdeg a-nuli, pl. i-nuli-t-en ~ i-nula “cervelle” [Mrc. 1937, 46], Zayan & Sgugu a-nuli “cervelle” [Lbg. 1924, 577] = Zayan a-nli “cerveau, cervelle” [LR] | Iznasen a-lli [assim. < *a-nli] “cerveau, cervelle” [LR], Temsaman a-ži [< *a-lli < *a-nli] “cerveau, cervelle” [LR] (NBrb.: LR 2002, 332).

- **Nagaw** *gʷay-/gʷay- “cave” [Apl. 2006, 42]: to be identified with ECu.: Dullay perhaps *hoḥ- “hole” [GT]: Dobase hoḥr-o & Gollango hóhn-o “Loch” (Dullay: AMS 1980, 192) || SCu.: WRift *hoḥ- > *hoḥōḥʷ “hollow form”, pl. *hoḥēri “hollow forms” [KM 2004, 323] || Sem. *hawḥ- “hollow” [TG]: Hbr. ḥāwāḥīm ~ ḥoḥīm (pl.) [< *hawḥ-] “hole, crevice” [KB 296] = “das Felsspalten” [GB 217] = “hollows, recesses” [Lsl.] || Ar. ḥawḥ-at- “aperture in a wall, small doorway between houses” [Lsl.] || Geez hoḥət “door(way)” [Lsl. 1987, 260] = ḥōḥt “hole in the wall” [KB] || WCh.: Angas-Sura *kuk ~ *kok “(i.a.) be empty” [GT 2004, 207]: cf. esp. Angas kok “empty” [Ormsby 1914, 209]. The correspondence of Agaw *g- ~ Dullay & WRift *ḥ- has to be investigated. The non-reduplicated root appears in Sem. *ḥwy “empty” [GT] || WCh.: Montol ku (so, without -k) “empty” [Ftp. 1911, 216].
- **Nagaw** *qac/*qāc “cheek (side of the face)” [Apl. 2006, 42]: akin to SBrb.: Ahaggar ā-gʷ/ġaz (-ġ- apud Fcd.) “joue” [Fcd. 1951-2, 491] || PCu. *gAc(c)- “лицо, лоб” [Dlg.] > Bed. gēdi “das Gesicht, Antlitz, Auge” vs. gʷad ~ gʷāda ~ gʷaḏ ~ gaḏ “Auge, Gesicht” [Rn. 1895, 89-90] = (also) gʷad, pl. gʷāda “face, eye” [Dlg.] || ECu. *gaḏ- “jaw” [Apl., KM] || SCu.: WRift *gicē “forehead” [KM 2004, 117] || ECh. *gaḏ- “cheek” [GT]: Kabalai kwaḏi [Cpr.] | Somray gāḏé [Jng.] | WDangla gādumò [Fédry] [GT: affix *-um of anatomic terms?] | Birgit gādáyó [Jng.] (all forms mean “cheek”, ECh.: JI 1994 II, 69) < AA *g-ḱ/ḱ “cheek” [GT] (lit. for the AA root: Chn. 1947, #197; Dlg. 1973, 297; HSED #866 vs. #914).
- **Nagaw** *lām-/*lām- “to close, shut, cover” [Apl. 2006, 46, 49]: cognate with Eg. nmʿ “bekleiden: 1. ein Bett mit Leinen beziehen, 2. Mauern mit feinem Stein bekleiden” (late NK, Wb II 266, 11-13) = “1. to cover a bed with sheets, 2. line with stone” (Badawy 1956-7, 71) = “to cover, set out, lay down walls” (DLE II 19) < (?) nmʿ “to hide o’self” (DCT 227) || WCh.: Guruntum lín “to close, shut, cover (a pot)” [Haruna 1992 MS, 21] || ECh.: Tumak lùḡ “clôturer” [Cpr. 1975, 81] | WDangla lámè “fermer les yeux à-demi” [Fédry 1971, 352]. Cf. also (W)Ch. *nVm- “to close” [Stl. 2005, 141, #541].¹¹
- **Agaw** *čāb-/*čīb- “to count” [Apl. 2006, 48]: cp. perhaps CCh.: Gisiga-Dogba tlof “zählen, lesen” [Lks. 1970, 137], Mofu -sləf- “compter, lire” [Br. 1988, 234] = -ləf- “to count” [JI]. Note that the resemblance to CCh.: Margi číbə “to count, tell, confess” [Hfm./RK 1973, 108] is misleading, since Hoffmann (l.c.) explained it from the root čý “to speak”. Highly noteworthy are WCh. *bVs- “to count” [GT]: Bole-Tangale *mbasu [met. < *msabu?] “to count” [Schuh 1984, 215] | Boghom bis “to count” [Smz.] || CCh. *pVš- (secondary lateral) “to count” [GT]: Logone pṣə [Lks.] = pàḥ [Bouny] | Musgu pʼɬʼ [Trn.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 90-91), which I (EDE I 189) was disposed to combine with Eg. ḥsb “(be)rechnen” (PT, Wb III 166-7) = “to count, reckon” (FD 178) || Sem. *ḥšb “to count” [Lsl. 1987, 244-245].

¹¹ Attested a.o. in WCh.: Bole-Tangale *numV “to close” [GT] > Tangale numē “to lock, close against s.o., block up, bar” [Jng. 1991, 125], Pero nóm(m)ə “to shut”, númmə “to close” [Frj. 1985, 44], Dera nómə “to shut, close” [Kidda 1991 MS, 13].

- **Agaw *kat-** “to cross” [Apl.]: Appleyard’s (2006, 49) traditional segmentation of *-t- in it as a pass.-refl. extension (added to a stem **ka-) and its equation with ECu. *ka^ʕ- “to get up, rise” seems very unlikely (cf. rather SCu. *ka^ʕ- and Eg. ḥʕj “to rise”). In this case, *-t- was perhaps part of the root, cf. Eg. ḥt (Präposition) “1. durch ein Land hin; 2. durch die Glieder” (OK, Wb III 343).
- **Agaw *wāy/ʕ-** “to cry, shout” [GT]: Appleyard (2006, 50) compared this stem only with ECu. *wa^ʕ- “to shout, call, invite” [Sasse 1979, 42], but cp. also Ar. waʕwaʕa “hurler (se dit d’un chien ou d’un loup)”, waʕwāʕ- “1. bruit, vacarme que fait une troupe d’hommes, 2. hurlement (du loup, du chien, du chacal), 3. bavard, loquace”, cf. wʕy: waʕā “se rappeler qqch.” [BK II 1570] || ES: Geez wawwəʕa “to clamor, raise a shout, shout loudly, cry aloud, howl, roar, wail” [Lsl. 1987, 623] || Eg. wʕ3 [if < *wʕʔ] “to curse” (MK, FD 57) || PCu. *wāʕ- “to yell” [Ehret] > SCu. *wāʕ- “to curse, revile” [Ehret 1980, 313] || Ch. *wa “to call” [Nwm. 1977, 23]. For the AA etymology see also Mlt. 1984, 157 (Cu.-Sem.-Eg.); Ehret 1987, #585 (Bed.-ECu.-SCu.).
- **Agaw *ʔəc-** “to curse” [Apl.]: Appleyard’s (2006, 51) suggestion to combine it with ECu. *ḥid- “to tie, bind” is very weak in terms of both phonology and semantics. Instead, it has to be equated – especially in the light of the semantic discrepancy seen in the preceding etymological item – with Eg. ʕš “rufen” (MK, Wb I 227, 4) = “to summon” (FD 48) || WCh.: Bole ʔeeš- “rufen” [Lks. 1971, 133] | Boghom yi:s “rufen” [Smz.] (WCh.: II 1993, 140; 1994 II, 58) < AA *ʕ-Ŝ “to shout” [GT]. The Eg.-WCh. parallel was first suggested in OS 1992, 193; Orel 1995, 100, #8. Note that Agaw *əzz- “to call” [Ehr. 1987, 117, #491] may ultimately also be a derivative of the same AA root (via *Wortspaltung* resulting in Agaw reflexes with *-c- vs. *-z-?).
- **Agaw *kāb-/*kab-** “to cut” [Apl.]: Appleyard (2006, 51) correctly equated it with SCu. *ḥab- “to split firewood” [Ehret 1980, 304], which points to PCu. *ḥ- and an AA voiceless postvelar. This is corroborated also by Eg. ḥb “1. (late NK) hinrichten (als Strafe), 2. (GR) (die Feinde, die Bösen) vernichten, töten, 3. (GR) (Schenkel) abschneiden” (Wb III 252), ḥbj.t “Gemetzelt (im Kampf)” (XVIII., Wb III 252, 15) vs. ḥbb “Gemetzelt” (GR, Wb III 253, 17).
- **Agaw *təŋwər/*dənkʷr** “deaf” [Apl.]: as rightly pointed out by Appleyard (2006, 53), this is related (presumably as the source of borrowing of it) to ES *ʕdnkʷr (which has, acc. to Apl., “no secure Semitic etymology”), in which, eventually, the 4th root consonant may have been an extension, cf. Geez danqawa and Harari dōnqa “to be deaf, stupid”, which rules out any etymological connection to Agaw *dəŋwər- “donkey” suggested by Appleyard. This is confirmed also by Eg. *dlg: (MK) dng ~ d3g ~ dg, (late NK) dnrg “eine schlechte Eigenschaft des Ohrs” (Wb V 470) = “to be deaf” (DLE IV 136) = “*taub” (GHWb 982).
- **Agaw *kət-** “to die” [Apl.]: aside from the NOm.: Kefoid cognates quoted by Dolgopolskij (1973, 245) and Appleyard (2006, 54), cp. also SBrb.: Ahaggar ketiy-et “1. s’en aller (le suj. étant une personne ou un animal qui partent pour franchir une longue distance), 2. fig.: s’en aller (de la vie), mourir” [Fcd. 1951-2, 935] = kətiy-ət “to die” [Mlt.] (Brb.-NOm.: Mlt. 1991, 247; 1991, 255, #17.3) || CCh.:

(?) Hitkala kəḏ- “zu Ende gehen” [Lks. 1964, 107]. Any connection to AA *k-t “old” [GT]¹²?

• **Nagaw *gʷāz-** “to till the earth, plough” and **Sagaw *gəz-** “to dig” [Apl.]: aside from the HECu. and Om. cognates (with voiced *g- and voiceless *-s-) listed or mentioned by Appleyard (2006, 54), we have a firm external parallels with -z < AA *-z, namely Sem.: presumably Ar. *ḥz “to sting, pierce” [Zbr.]: Ar. ḥazza ~ naḥaza ~ waḥaza (lit. for Ar. *ḥz: Zbr. 1971, 71, #113; Eilers 1978, 128; Blv. 1993, 34, #22) || Eg. ḥz ~ ḥ3z (GW for ḥz) “Kanal, Brunnen” (XVIII., Wb III 332, 4) = “creek, runnel” (FD 185) = “Sumpfloch, Rinnsal, Bach”, ḥz n mw “Brunnen (am Grab)” (GHWb 619) || NBrb.: Qabyle ə-γz “creuser” || SBrb. *√γ-z “creuser” [GT]: Ahaggar ə-γəḥ, Taneslemt ə-γəš, Tawlemmet ə-γəš ~ ə-γəz ~ ə-ḥəz, Ayr ə-γəz, Ghat ə-γ(γ)əz (Brb.: Prs. 1969, 84, #565) < AA *g-z “to dig” [GT]. These correspondences also confirm that Agaw (and Cu.) *g- may derive (also) from AA *g-.

• **Nagaw *bān-** “to divide” [Apl.]: the relationship to ECu. *ban- “to open” suggested by Appleyard (2006, 55) may be perhaps eventually correct, but more natural and semantically much closer cognates appear in Sem. *byn “to (be) separate”, *bayn- “Zwischenraum” [Dlg.], hence *bayna “between” [DRS-Dlg.] (Sem.: GB 94; WUS #537; Dlg. 1986, 80, #23; Lsl. 1987, 155-116) || WCh.: Gwandara bābbāntà [-bb- < *-nb-] “to be different”, bāmān-ḥi “difference” [Mts. 1972, 22] | Angas pwan [p- reg. < *b-] “to discriminate” [ALC 1978, 54] || ECh.: WDangla búùnè “décoller” [Fédry 1971, 99] < AA *b-n (hence *b-y-n ~ *b-w-n) “to separate, make distinction” [GT].

• **Nagaw *bāl-a** “(wooden) door” [Apl.]: Appleyard (2006, 56) correctly surmises that “it is perhaps debatable whether PNA *bāl-a ... is itself from EthSem. bārr”. All the more, since the Nagaw stem has parallels with *-l, cf. LECu.: Oromo balbul-a, balbal-a, balball-a, bālbāl-a “gate, door” [Sasse] = balbal-a “door” [Gragg 1982, 34], Konso palpal-a [p- < *b-] “door” [LS], Gidole palpal [p- < *b-] “door” [Sasse] (LECu.: Sasse 1982, 33) || WCh.: Buli biṭa “doorway” [Stl.?] || ECh.: Lele bulo “window, entrance” [Skn. 1996, 32] | (?) Bidiya bèrèl (adv.) “ouvert” [AJ 1989, 58].

• **Nagaw *mār-a** “door” [Apl. 2006, 56] (Agaw: Rn. 1884, 394; 1887, 273; Apl. 1996, 14): akin to Ar. murh-at- “2. creux en terre où l’eau demeure stagnante” [BK II 1097] || Eg. m3h.t “Tür: 1. Außentür des Tempels zwischen den Türmen des Pylons, 2. Tür der Tempelräume, 3. Kapellentür” (GR, Wb II 30, 11-13) = “lieu à ciel ouvert, vestibule” (Ceugney 1880, 2, §4) = (masc. var. m3h) “Tür” (Edfu, Kurth 1994, 12, #48) || WBrb.: perhaps Zenaga i-mir “bouchage” [Bst. 1925, 8: √γ-m-r] || CCh.: Mada mīré “intervalle, espace vide entre objets” [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 192]. From AA *m-r-h “opening, hole” [GT]?

• **Agaw *Vnbār-** “to dream” [GT] > Nagaw: Kemant abər “dream (noun)” [Apl. 1991 MS, 4] = abär “dream” [Apl. 2006], Qwara abäri “dream” [Apl. 2006] | Sagaw: Awiya emberí “dream”, embar-t- “to dream” [Apl. 2006] (Agaw: Apl. 2006, 57). This root may

¹² Cf. Eg. ktkt “alt werden” (GR hapax, Wb V 146) || ECu.: Elmolo inikutate “alt” [Heine 1973, 279] || CCh.: Lame kòtókó “old” [Krf. 1981, #296]. WCh.: Tangale kude does not belong here as suggested by Mukarovsky (1987, 278), its basic sense being “big, large, huge, plenty” [Jng. 1991, 103].

be akin to Eg. *b3n¹³ [reg. < *brn, perhaps met. < *nbr], attested as j.b3n “schlafen” (PT, Wb I 62, 19) = “être endormi” (CT VI 103b-c, AL 78.1237) = “entschlummern, eingeschlafen sein” (GHWb 41) ||l WCh.: SBAuchi *yV^{mb}Vr ~ *yV^{mb}Vl “to sleep” [GT]: Geji yémbili [Gowers] = yambıl, yambıl [Smz.], Polchi ndià yìimbrə [Smz.], Zodi naambar [Smz.], Jimi yemburdo [Gowers], Soor (Zangwal) nda imbər [Smz.], Sho (Ju) nda imbr- [Smz.], Booluu nda yèmbal [Smz.] (SBCh.: Smz. 1978, 37, #71; JI 1994 II, 298). From AA *(n)-b-r ~ *b-r-n (?) “to sleep” [GT]? One wonders if the ultimate AA root was just biconsonantal (*b-r), cf. CCh.: Masa bùùrà “se coucher” [Ctc. 1978, 71] = bùr “1. (tr.) coucher, poser, 2. (intr.) se coucher, dormir” [Ctc. 1983, 40], Lame bàr “se coucher” [Scn. 1982, 279].

• **Agaw *3aq-/*3aq-** “to drink” [Apl.]: its relationship to ECu. *ḍug- “to drink” proposed by Applear (2006, 57) seems very unlikely. Instead, it might be perhaps combined with Ar. (Maghrebi) ḍʿaq “manger, dévorer” [Beaussier/DRS 338] ||l SCu. *3ak/ḥ- [GT] (theoretically possible and regular), Qwadza čaʔ-am- “to drink” [Ehr. 1980 MS, 11]. Perhaps from AA *3-(ʿ)-[k] “to drink (?)” [GT]? Any connection to SBrb.: perhaps Ayr i-zʔay “être trempé (par la pluie, dans l’eau de lavage, dans un bain de teinture etc.)”, Ayr & ETawlemmet a-zʔay “être inondé (terrain plat)” [PAM 1998, 370]?

• **Agaw *ʔəṇqʷ-** “ear” [Apl.]: Appleyard’s (2006, 59) reluctance to accept its old equation wih Eg. ʿnh.wj “die zwei Ohren (als Körperteil des Menschen)” (MK, Wb I 204-5)¹⁴ – as “*probably not related*” – is baseless. Further possible cognates, by the way, appear in CCh.: Bura ngga “hören”, ngga-ta “hören, fühlen, empfinden” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 93], Chibak ṅgá-ti “hören” [Hfm. 1955, 135], Margi-Wamdiu ṅga-ri “to hear” [Krf.], WMargi ṅgə-dì “to hear”, ṅgə-dì “1. to hear, 2. feel” [Krf.] | Higi ṅga-rdì “entendre” [Krf.] (CCh.: Krf. quoted by Jng.-Brt. 1990, 77) || ECh.: Mokilko ʔənnigá “(se) taire” [Jng. 1990, 58] < AA *ʿ-n-Q “to listen, hear” [GT].

• **Agaw *qʷ-** “to eat” [Apl.] (Agaw: Apl. 1984, 53). Appleyard (2006, 59) is probably wrong in assuming that it is cognate with ECu. *-ḵm-/*-ḵām- “to chew” [Sasse 1982, 121-2] and that the loss of *-m may be due to that Agaw *qʷ- “*derives from the same asyllabic stem variant*” as seen in ECu. *-ḵm-. Instead, cp. ECu.: Yaaku -qau- “to bite” [Heine 1975, 121] || SCu. *keḥ- “to bite” [Ehr.]: WRift *keḥ- [GT] | Qwadza ɬa- | Dahalo ɬaḥ- (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 252, #27) ||l WCh.: NBAuchi *ḵiy- “to bite” [SkN.]: Warji kiy- [SkN.] = ki! [Jng.] = kíya^u [IL], Mburku kiy- [SkN.], Pa’a ki [Jng., IL] = kii [MSkN. 1979], Siri kii [SkN.] = kíwá [IL] = kíf (so, k-!) [SkN./JI], Miya kiy- [SkN.], Kariya kàkí [SkN.] (NBCh.: SkN. 1977, 13; JI 1994 II 24). From AA *ḵ-h “to bite” [GT]. The NBAuchi-Bilin etymology was first suggested by Mukarovsky (1987, 95).

• **NAgaw *kʷən-** “(to become) evening, spend the night” vs. “evening” [Apl.]: Bilin kʷən- (v.), kʷənəṇ (n.) [Apl.] = kun- “to spend the evening” [KH], Hamta kʷən- (v.), kʷənwa/kʷənəṇ (n.) [Apl.], Kemant kʷəna (n.) [Apl.], Qwara küñā ~ küñiñā (Apl.:

¹³ Meeks (AL 78.0256) considers j.b3n a pseudo-participle of *b3n with prothetic j-. Similarly, Hannig supposes a *Grundform* *b3n.

¹⁴ For this Agaw-Eg. etymology see Zhl. 1932-33, 166.

[kʷənəŋa] (n.) vs. kwəm- (v.) “to spend the evening” [Rn.] | Awngi kəm- (v.) [Apl.] vs. kemań “evening” [CR]. Appleyard (2006, 62) is presumably right in distinguishing this common Agaw stem from Kemant kʷəlŋa [Apl.], Hamta kelú “evening” [Apl.], Qwara kʷərŋa [Apl.] (extended with -ŋa suffix) < *kʷəl-/ *kʷər- [GT], for which cf. Agaw *qir-/ *qar- “night” [Apl. 1991, 21] || SCu.: Iraqw hʷera “night, esp. the earlier part of it” [Ehret 1980, 270 with false etymology] || Eg. ḥ3.wj [reg. < *ḥr- sg.] “Abend” (PT, Wb III 225). As for NAgaw *kʷən-, Appleyard pondered reconstructing the PAgaw root with *-m- (as in Qwara and Awngi) and comparing it with Eg. km “black”. But *kʷəm- might be just as well be due to an assimilation < *kʷən-, for which cp. rather Eg. knm.t “die Finsternis” (BD, NK, Wb V 132, 10; GHWb 885) vs. knḥ.w “Finsternis, Verfinsterung” (BD, GR, Wb V 133; GHWb 885) < biconsonantal *kn- “dark” (?).

• **NAgaw *ʷus-äti** (fem. ending *-äti) “female” [Apl.]: Appleyard (2006, 65) rightly rejects deriving the forms from *ʷus- and comparing it with *näs-aḥʷ as suggested by Reinisch (since the -ä ~ -Ø/-ə ablaut is not part of Agaw adjectival morphology). Similarly dubious is Dolgopol’kij’s (1973, 288) comparison of the Agaw stem with Sem. *nVš- (pl. stem) vs. *ʷVnt- (sg.) < *ʷVnš- “man” + fem. *-t- (with *-št- resulting in *-t-). Instead, cp. (?) Eg. 3s.t “Isis” (OK, Wb I 8, 11; FD 5), vocalized *ʷús.t > Cpt. (S) HCE (Stz. 1980, 83, fn. 5, for *-ű- > -H- cf. Osing, MDAIK 30, 1974, 104) || NOm.: Male ús-o “женщина, имеющая ребенка” [Jensen apud Dlg.] (Agaw: Dlg. 1973, 288) || CCh.: Glavda ús(à) (Cena dial. úsá) “Frau” [Wolff 1974-5, 205], Glanda (Ghboko) & Bokwa usa (sg.) “Frau” [Büchner 1964, 41] < AA *ʷus- “woman” [HSED]. For Agaw-NOm.-CCh. see Mlt. 1984, 159; OS 1992, 209; HSED #141. For Masai parallel of Agaw see Hohenberger 1975, 98.

• **NAgaw *šeka/*šeḥa** “field, open country” (hence Tigre šeka) [Apl. 2006, 66] > Bilin šaka [Apl.], Hamir šawa [Apl.] = šēwā [Rn.], Qwara šawa [Apl.], Kemant sēhā (so, misprint for *sēḥā) “prairie” [CR 1912, 241] (no AA cognates in Apl. l.c.) were unconvincingly compared by Reinisch (1887, 319) with Geez ṣayḥ. But Agaw *š- ≠ Sem. *š-, while Agaw *-k/ḥ- ≠ Sem. *-ḥ-. Instead, the Agaw root has safe cognates in Sem. *shḥ: Akk. saḥḥu “meadow, productive meadow land” [Alb.] = “Aue” [AHW 1009] = “meadow, waterlogged land” [CAD s 56] || Ar. saḥāḥ- “terre franche, bonne terre, terrain doux et bon pour la végétation”, saḥḥāʔ- “endroit où il y a de la terre franche” [BK I 1064] = saḥāḥ- “sweet, good ground”, saḥwāʔ- (sic) “plain with sweet soil” [Alb.] (Sem.: Alb. 1916, 231) || Eg. šḥ.t “Feld, Gefilde” (PT, Wb IV 229-231) = “field, country (beside town)” (FD 239) = “Feld, Kulturland, Flur (einer Stadt)” (ÄWb I 1193) || CCh.: Logone šḥē “Acker, Feld” [Lks. 1936, 119] = („Kotoko”) sḡe “champ” [Mch. 1950, 19], Buduma čúi [-i < *-ḥ reg.] “Acker, Feld” [Lks. 1939, 96] (Kotoko: Prh. 1972, 62, #35.1). From AA *c-ḥ “field” [GT]. For the Eg.-AA etymology see: Alb. 1923, 67; 1927, #77; Vrg. 1945, 139, #13.13; Chn. 1947, #294; Mlt. 1983, 103, fn. 25; Djik. et al. 1986 MS, 33; OS 1989, 135; 1990, 89, #27; 1992, 190; Mlt.-Stl. 1990, 53; HSED #385.

• **NAgaw *ʷənsay-** “to fill” [Apl.]: its kinship with ECu. *-mg- “to fill” [Sasse 1979, 25] imagined by Appleyard (2006, 67) (speculating that both tr. *ʷənsay- and intr. *ʷəntay- were extended by *-s-/ *-t-, resp., via metathesis) is very far-fetched. Any connection to

WRift *hac “to be full” [KM 2004, 134] = PRift *haç- “to be full” (cf. Asa haš- id., Qwadza hacumo “much”) [Ehret 1980, 81, #2], whose a doubly irreg. cognate appears in Ar. ḥašaʿa “remplir, bourrer, farcir de qqch.”, ḥašiʿa “être rempli” (de qqch.)” [BK I 435]? Note that Rift *h- ≠ Sem. *ḥ-, neither Rift *c corresponds to Sem. *š.

• **Agaw *dəŋw-** “to finish” [Apl.]: aside from ECU. *ḍa/i/um- “to come to an end” suggested by Appleyard (2006, 67), cp. also Sem. *ṭmm¹⁵ and Sem. *ʔṭm “to stop up”¹⁶ [GT] || Eg. tmm “verschließen” (PT, Wb V 308, 5-9) = “to close” (FD 298)¹⁷. The Eg.-Sem. parallel has been first pointed out by Vergote (1945, 144, #21.b.11) and Cohen (1947, #33).

• **Agaw *läh-** “fire” [Apl.]: this can not be compared with ECU. *la^c- “hot, day” and Eg. r^c “sun” as Appleyard (2006, 68) maintains. Instead, cp. Eg. 3ḥ.t [reg. < *lḥ.t] “Flamme, Feuer” (BD-GR, Wb I 17, 6).

• **Bilin bəgbag** “flame” [Apl. 2006, 68]: akin to Eg. bḥḥ “glühen, brennen” (NK, Wb I 472, 1) = “consumer” (already CT IV 65j, AL 78.1354) = “glühen, brennen” (GHWb 259) || NBrb.: Mzab bbəkbək “2. être agité de fièvre” [Dlh. 1984, 6] || SCU.: Dahalo ḥakk-ēḏ- “to kindle” [Ehret 1980, 142; EEN 1989, 32] = ḥakk- “to lit fire” [Tosco 1991, 130] || NOm.: Chara bāk-a “fireplace (3 stones)” [Bnd. 1974, 13] || SOm. *bāk-/*bakk- “hearth, fireplace” [GT]: Ari bak-a [Flm.], Galila bāk-a [Flm.], Hamer bak-a [Flm.], Karo bak-ulu [Flm.], Dime bāk-u [Flm.] (SOm.: Flm. 1988, 166; Bnd. 1994, 150), cf. also Hamer baka “to cook” [Bnd. 1994, 147] || Ch. *b-k- “to burn, roast, grill” [JS 1981, 144C & 214A] = *b-k “to burn” [JI 1994 I, 139 & GT] = *b-kə “to roast, burn” [Nwm. 1977, 31].

• **NAgaw *fVIVt-a** “flea” [Apl.] has certainly nothing to do with Sem. *paryūt- “flea” [Apl.] and probably with CCh. *pilu “mosquito” [Stl. in HSED #423] either as Appleyard (2006, 69) supposes. Instead, its derivation from PAA *p-l(y) “flea” [GT] has to be considered, cf. Sem.: Ar. fly (falā) II “to remove lice, hunt for fleas” [Alb.] = sich lausen” [Holma] = “flohen, lausen” [Clc.] = “épouiller” [Chn.] | MSA *flw ~ *fly “to delouse” [GT]: Hrs. felō “to delouse” [Jns. 1977, 33], Jbl. félé “to delouse” [Jns. 1981, 58], Mhr. fālō “to delouse (so.’s hair), look for and remove bugs on an animal” [Jns. 1987, 95] || WCh.: Sura ṁbálíp [-b- and -p obscure] “Floh” [Jng. 1963, 74]. Here might belong also AA *ʔ-p-l “a parasite insect (or sim.)” [GT], cf. Akk. uplu ~ ublu “Tiername (≈ mutqu ‘Wanze’): Laus (?)” [Holma 1914, 154] = uplu “Kopflaus”, denom. (a/jB) D

¹⁵ Cf. Akk. ṭummumu D “(Ohren) verschließen, taub machen” [AHW 1394] || MHbr. & JAram. ṭmm „verstopfen” [Levy 1924 II 166] = “to fill up, stop”, itpe. “to be covered up”, palp. “to close (around)” [Jastrow 1950 I 540], Syr. ṭmm “to shut, close, stupefy” [Zbr.] || Ar. ṭmm “to fill up, choke up etc.” [Lane 1877] = “1. former une grande masse (p.ex., l’eau), 2. envelopper, couvrir qqch. de sa masse, 3. remplir jusqu’aux bords (un vase ou un puits)” [BK II 105] = “to stop up” [Zbr.] (Sem.: Zbr. 1971, #267).

¹⁶ Reflected by: Hbr. “ṭm qal” 1. to stop up (one’s ears), 2. (archit. term of window) closed, barred, framed (?) [KB 37], Syr. ʔetam “to be deaf” [KB] || Ar. ʔaṭama II “1. couvrir”, IV “fermer (une porte)” [BK I 39] = “to stop up, close” [Zbr.] = “serrer, fermer”: I ʔaṭima “être resserré (to be constricted)”, ʔaṭama “rétrécir (l’orifice d’un puits)” [Blachère 147] (Sem.: Zbr. 1971, #267).

¹⁷ The derivation from Eg. tm „vollständig sein” (Wb) proposed by Leslau (1949, 314, #33; 1962, 45, #3) and Osing (2001, 579), is just a pseudo-etymology rightly refuted already by Ward (1962, 400-2, #4).

uppulu “lausen” [AHW 1423, 1425] || CCh.: Mada offól “tique (du chien, des vaches)” [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 104].

• **Nagaw *lɛk^w** “foot, leg” [Apl. 2006, 71]: cognate with Eg. *3t [reg. < *lk] “foot (or sim.)” can be reconstructed from the foot hieroglyph occurring in the MEg. title (glossed in Wörterbuch as w^r.t.w) “Vorsteher, Aufseher” (MK, Wb I 288, 9-14), which is to be read correctly as 3t.w (cf. Posener, Revue d’Égyptologie 15, 1963, 127-128; Berlev, Palestinskij Sbornik 17, 1969, 6-20; GHWb 17; Satzinger, kind p.c. on 9 Febr. 1996).

• **Nagaw *məḥi-** (with an irreg. *-ḥ-) “to forget” [Apl. 1989] = *miḥi-T- (pass./refl. ext.) [Apl. 1991] = *məḥ-iR- < *-Vt- [Apl. 2006]: the Yaaku and Eg. parallels (quoted by Appleyard 2006, 72 after EDE I 122) can be extended by WCh.: Guruntum m^a-wi ~ m^aau-mi “to forget” [Jaggar 1989, 184] = myáu-wà “to forget” [Haruna 1992 MS, 25] = myoowì “to forget” [Csp. 1994, 18] || CCh.: Bura mwi “ignoramus” [BED 1953, 146] | Banana mawa “to forget” [Kraft 1981 III, 181].

• **Nagaw *wəḥär-** “game” vs. ***wayär-t-** “to play” [Apl. 2006, 73, 110-1] > Hamta war-d- “to play”, war-d-a “game” [Apl.], Hamir wär ~ ewär “Spiel”, wär-t ~ ewär-t “spielen” [Rn. 1884, 425], Kemant wäyer-t- “to play” [CR/Apl.] = war-t- ~ wayär-t- “to play”, wayär “game, conversation”, war-əḡ “game” [Apl.], Qwara wəgērī “Spiel”, wəgər-t “spielen” [Rn. 1884 l.c.] = wayar “spielen” [Rn. 1886, 828] = wär-t- ~ wayar-t- “to play, converse” [CR/Apl.]: no connection with Cu. *[?]VbVII- “to play” as suggested by Dolgopol’skij (1973, 197). In fact, Agaw *-γ/ḥ- may be an intervocalic reflex of *-ʔ- (like AS *-γ- < i.a. AA *-ʔ-, cf. Dlg. 1982), cf. AA *w-ʔ-r “1. to play, 2. dance” [GT] > Eg. w3r [-3- reg. < *-ʔ-] “tanzen” (GR, Wb I 252, 11) || NBrb.: Menaser, Zwawa, Bugi urar “jouer” [Bst. 1885, 171] || CCh.: Bata-Demsa ḥē nā ūrō “ich tanze” [Str. 1922-23, 145], Bachama wūrō “to dance” [JI] || ECh.: Dangla wâ:rê “danser” [Fédry 1981, 446], Migama wàarō “to dance” [JA 1992, 133; Mkr. 1987, 13], Bidiya waar “danser”, wáareḡ (f) “danse” [AJ 1989, 123] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 101). See also OS 1992, 179 (Eg.-Agaw); HSED #2490 (Eg.-ECh.).

• **Bilin wä^aab ~ mä^aab** “1. to play, 2. game” [Apl.]: no cognates were given by Appleyard (2006, 73, 110). Eventually, however strange it may *prima vista* seem, one might compare perhaps Sem. *l^ab > Syr. l^ab etpael “seine Lust an etwas haben” [GB] | Ar. la^aaba I “scherzen, spielen” [GB] = “2. jouer, badiner, folâtrer, 3. jouer à un jeu de hasard, 4. jouer” [BK II 999] (Sem.: GB 388) and Eg. ḥ^ab “(ein Spiel) spielen” (OK, Wb III 42, 6), of which already Greenberg (1950, 180) wrote: “*I don’t think we can keep (it) apart from Sem. *l^ab*”. The mystery of how and why the first radicals (w-, l-, ḥ-) changed in the reflexes of AA *C₁-^a-b “to play” [GT] remains, of course, to be resolved.

• **Nagaw *ʔənfa/är-a** “boy” [Apl. 2006, 36]: related to Akk. nipru ~ niplu “Sproß, Nachkomme” [AHW 740] = nipru (OB) “offspring” vs. niplu (SB) “offshoot” [CAD n2, 247] || (???) Ar. nāfil-at- “4. petit-fils”, nawfal- “jeune homme très-beau” [BK II 1316] || Eg. nfr.w (pl.) “Jünglinge (bes. die Rekruten)” (MK, Wb II 1-3) = “youth” (de Buck quoted by Donohue 1978, 147-8, fn. 8: cf. Faulkner, JEA 39, 1953, 35-36; Schulman 1966, 20-21) = “Rekruten (nicht Elitetruppen)” (Helck, LÄ IV 133, fn. 22) = “recruits” (Ward 1982, 99, #829) = “adolescents” (Vcl. 1991, 122) < OK nfr (sg.) “Jüngling,

Kadett” (II./III., Fischer, JNES 18, 1959, 258-9; OMRO 41, 1960, 7-13; Pusch 1974, 21; FÄW 238-9) = “adolescent” (DELC 150) = “recruit, cadet, conscript” (Jones 2000, 483, #1807), cf. also nfr “verjüngt sein” (CT IV 292b, Graefe 1971, 168, fn. 1 & 244). See also Hommel 1899, 349; 1904, 110, fn. 1 (Eg.-Akk.); DELC 150 (Eg.-Akk.); Castellino 1984, 16 (Eg.-Akk.-Agaw); Bmh. 1986, 248 (Eg.-Akk.).

• **NAgaw *naγ- < PAGaw **nāk- ~ **nākk-** “to give (here, to the speaker)” [Apl. 2006, 74]: presumably connected with NOm. *ing- < **ink- (?) “to give” [GT] ||l Eg. hnk “(be) schenken” (PT, Wb III 117) ||l WCh.: (?) AS *naγ ~ *nuγ < *nʷaγ (?) [partial redupl. < *na-nk?] “to hand over to” [GT 2004, 264]: Gerka nung “to send” [Ftp. 1911, 220], Angas naγ “to give, hand over” [Flk. 1915, 252] = (Pang, Garam, hill) nāng “to give” [Gcl. 1994, 35, 62] ||l CCh.: Bana ṅgá “donner une partie de qqch. qu’il faut casser”, Higi-Baza ṅù “donner” (CCh.: Brt.-Jng. 1990, 151). For Agaw-NOm. see Mkr. 1987, 233, #31. For the loss of the first syllable *HV- in Agaw (i.e., PAGaw **nāk- < **hVnak-), cp. ECu. *he/og- “to be erect, stand” ~ Agaw *gʷ- “to get up, stand up” (Apl. 2006, 74).

• **Agaw *fāt-** “to go” [Apl.] can have nothing to do with Eg. ptpt “to tread, trample” as Appleyard (2006, 75) suggests. By the way, in the Agaw stem, the suffix *-t- has probably to be singled out, cp. Eg. pj “sich begeben” (LP, Wb I 502, 3) ||l Ch. *p-y “to go (or sim.)” [GT]: WCh.: PRon *fay “to walk (Jng. 1968), go (Jng. 1970)” [GT]: Sha fay, Kulere fa (Ron: Jng. 1968, 8, #65; 1970, 284, 351) | Dera pú- “s’en aller” [Brt.-Jng.] (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 248) ||l CCh.: (?) Lamang (Hitkala) piy- “treten” [Lks. 1964, 108] | Masa pāi “se promener” [Ctc. 1978, 73] = pày [Ctc. 1983, 125] < AA *p-y “to go” (or sim.) [GT]?

• **Agaw *f-** “to go out, up” [Apl.]: cf. CCh.: Lame pá “sortir” [Scn. 1982, 267] ||l ECh.: (?) Tumak pàáàw “dépasser” [Cpr. 1975, 90]. To be distinguished from the preceding root.

• **Agaw *ʒələw-** “to go round” [Apl. 2006, 75] is to be compared with Ar. (Palest.) t-ḏāyal “tourner autour” [DRS 331] ||l WCh.: PGoemay *ʒʷel [GT]: Goemay ʒièl “to surround, encircle” [Srl. 1937, 83] = ʒel “to surround, go round several times” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 14].

• **Agaw *fəntVr-a** “goat” [Apl. 2006, 75]: the etymology of the Agaw root is obscure. Appleyard (p.c., 11 March 2001) knows of no reliable Cu. cognates. Cp. perhaps Eg. ptr (GW) “mule (?)” (NE, AL 78.1058) = “(domesticated animal)” (DLE I 186, cf. Helck 1962, 559, #83) = “ein domestiziertes Tier (*Maultier)” (GHWb 298)?

• **NAgaw *bVγʷ-a** “gourd” [Apl.]: aside from HECu. *bukk-ē “gourd” [Hds. 1989, 72] correctly compared by Appleyard (2006, 76), further cognates appear (with an epenthetic nasal) in Eg. bnḍ.t ~ bḍ.t [reg. < *b(n)g.t] “concombre, cucurbitacée” (OK, AL 77.1271, 79.0909, cf. Yoyotte in BIFAO 61, 125-6; 77, 116; MDAIK 16, 420-3) → Cpt.: (S) **BONTE**, (SA) **BANTE**, (B) **BON†**, (F) **BAN†** “gourd, cucumber” (CD 41a, cf. AEO II 220* & CED 25) = “Kürbis, Gurke” (KHW 25) = “1. melon, concombre, 2. jardin où on cultive les melons, les concombres” (DELC 30) ||l Brb.: Guanche (all islands) bugango ~ bubango “citrouille, calabacita” [Wlf. 1965, 509, #223] = “small gourd” [Mlt. 1991, 165] ||l WCh. *bang- “calabash, gourd” [GT] = *bangʷ/gA “тыква” [Stl.]: Hausa bàngóó, pl. bángúnà “3. (Skt.) any large neckless gourd” [Abr. 1962, 73] | PAngas-Sura *ba₂ng “gourd, calabash” [GT 2004, 10] | Galambu bàngó “large, round gourd (used by

fishermen” [Schuh 1978, 81], Bole búngá [b- not clear] “any ball-like object”, búngá kúlà “gourd as a plant” [Ibr.-Gimba 1994, 129] | Saya byañ “gourd” [Csp. 1994, 52] (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 153, #79) || CCh.: Bura pumbang “kind of gourd” [BED 1953, 15] | (???) Logone bángūs (compound?) “Carica Papaya, Melonenbaum” [Lks. 1936, 85]. Lit.: Mlt. 1984, 23, fn. 7 (Guanche-WCh.); Takács 1999, 90 (Eg.-WCh.); 1999, 200, #2.1 (Eg.-WCh.-Guanche).

• **Nagaw *nan** “hand, arm” [Apl. 2006, 79]: naturally, it has nothing in common either with WCh. *niwan- or Eg. ʿn “fingernail” as suggested in HSED #401. Instead, it is cognate with WCh.: Gwandara nání “hand” [Mts. 1972, 86], cf. Hausa hánnúú [Lsl.: prefix ha- of body parts] “hand” [Abr. 1962, 371]. See also Lsl. 1962, 67 (Agaw-Hausa); Mlt. in Sts. et al. 1995 MS, 15 (Agaw-Gwandara). Any connection to SOm. *ǎn- “hand, arm” [GT]: Ari (?)ǎn-í, Hamer ǎn-(i), Dime ǎn- (SOm.: Bnd. 1994, 151, #37) via partial redupl.?

• **Nagaw *bäntäl/-** “hare, rabbit” > i.a. Bilin mäntälära [Apl. 2006, 79]: the 4th radical (*-är/-) was presumably not part of the original root, cf. Ch. *b[i]nd-ab (presumably from an older **bint-) “hare” [GT]: WCh.: Guruntum beedâu [probably < *bendaḅ] [Jaggar] || CCh. *bi/and-ab [*-nd- < *-nt-?] → *mi/and-ab “hare” [GT]: Dghwede vëndá [Frick], Matakam wándâv [Schubert], Mofu hwòndáv [Brt.], Gisiga-Dogba mandaf [Lks.] | Musgoy mōndəvɔŋ [Mch.], Daba mandàvɪn (“rabbit”) [Lnh.] | Gidar mǎndava [Mch.] (CCh.: JI 1994 II 181), where the nasal may be secondary, cf. Ch. *bit- “hare” [GT] > WCh.: Diri ávíčá [Skn.] | Ngizim víidà (“rabbit”) [Schuh] || CCh.: Bura pti [Krf.], Margi pitu [Krf.] | Gude pita [Krf.], Glavda víída [Rapp] | Masa vét-ná (m) [Jng.], Zime-Batna fítu [Scn.] || ECh.: Kera àvèté [Ebert] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 180-1).

• **Nagaw *məq[aq]-** “herdsman, shepherd” [Apl. 2006, 83] might be compared to Ar. maqā I “garder qqch., veiller sur qqch.”, maqw- ~ maqw-at- ~ muqāw-at- ~ maqy-at- “garde, soins qu’on prend pour conserver qqch.” [BK II 1136-7] = “to watch, guard” [Lsl.] || ECh.: Migama mággú (m), mággá (f), pl. mággée “berger” [JA 1992, 105]. AA *m-k “to guard” [GT]?

• **Nagaw *bər-** “to be hot, warm” [Apl. 2006, 85] derives from AA *b-r “warm” [Sasse 1981, 160, #4] = *b-(^ʿ)-r “1. to be hot, 2. burn” [GT] > i.a. Sem. *b^ʿr [infix *-^ʿ-?]: esp. Emar buhri [*b^ʿr/*b^ʿyr] “hot” [Zadok 1991, 116, #8] || ECh.: Kera bóoré [-oo- < *-oH-] “sich aufwärmen, Feuer fangen” [Ebert 1976, 33].

• **Bilin laû** “erben, Erbe sein” [Rn. 1887, 260] = law “to inherit” [Ehret 1987, 75, #315] = läw “to inherit” [Apl. 2006, 87]: Appleyard gives no cognates. Apparently cognate with Eg. jw^ʿ [reg. from *lw^ʿ] “to inherit” (OK, FD 12; Wb I 50, 8-10), whose further AA cognates can equally not be found as yet.

• **Bilin bəsk^wi ~ bəsk^w** “kidney” [Apl. 2006, 89]: Appleyard gives no cognates. However, it is perhaps to be compared with Eg. bsk “1. Eingeweide allgemein (oft neben Herz), 2. auch für das Herz selbst” (MK, Wb I 477, 10-11) = bsk.w (pl.) “entrails” (PT 292, FD 85) = “1. viscères, 2. aussi: cervelle (?)” (CT V 180g, AL 78.1370) = “Eingeweide, dual. Eingeweide, Innereien” (GHWb 262). The AA parallels suggest a biconsonantal origin (*bs-k), where *k (suffix of body parts?) originally did not belong to the root,

cp. NOm.: Zayse bīš-a “uterus” [Hyw. 1988, 285] ||| CCh. *bus- [GT]: Bura busu “the stomach proper” [BED 1953, 29], Bura-Pela busu “belly” [Meek] | Bata-Garwa bubschihé [-sts-] “belly” [Str.], Gude būsá “unidentified internal organ next to intestines” [Hsk. 1983, 163] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 20-21).

• **Agaw *ʔarq-** “to know” [Apl. 1989 MS, 6; 1991, 23] = *ʔärq- [Apl. 2006, 89-90] || LECu. *ʔarg- “to see” [Sasse 1982, 26] (NB: LECu. *-g- strange) originate from the AA basic sense “to see” (cf. IE *weid-). Add also Bed. erh- “sehen, schauen, erblicken” [Rn. 1895, 29] = erh, irh, reh, rih “to see” [Rpr. 1928, 153], Ammar’ar reh- ~ rh- “to see (видеть)” [Dlg.], Bisharin rēh- ~ rh- “to see” [Almkvist] (Bed.: Dlg. 1973, 170) ||| Eg. rḥ “to know” (OK, FD 151; Wb II 442-5) as suggested by many authors: Hommel 1894, 357; Rn. 1895, 29; Zhl. 1932-33, 169; Vcl. 1934, 46, 77; 1938, 134; Chn. 1947, #415; Dlg. 1973, 170-1; OS 1992, 176.

• **Agaw *b-** “to lack, not to have” [Apl. 2006, 90]: cp. also SBrb.: Ahaggar a-ba “ne pas y avoir de, ne plus y avoir de” [Fcd. 1951-2, 13], ETawlllemmet-Ayr i-ba “1. ne pas y avoir de, 2. y avoir disparition/perte de, 3. y avoir mort de”, hence i-ba, pl. i-ba-t-ān “1. perte, 2. mort, 3. manque” [PAM 1998, 2], Taneslemt i-bba ~ i-ba “not to have, to lose” [HCVA] (SBrb.: DRB I 6) ||| NOm.: POMeto *ba[ʔ]- “not to have, not to be” [GT]: NWOMeto: Wolayta ba-wa “non esserci” [Crl. 1929, 28] = bay- “to get lost” [Hbr.-Lmb.], Basketo bā “non esserci, non avere” [Crl.] = bā- “not to be there” [Hbr.-Lmb.], Gamo be-t- “to disappear” [Hyw. 1994 MS, 2] = bā-wa [Lmb.: copula -wa] “there is not” [Hbr.-Lmb.], Dawro (Kullo) bay- “to be lost” [LS] | SEOMeto: Zala bawa “non esserci” [Crl. 1929, 43], Zayse baʔa “non esserci” [Crl.] = bay- “to get lost, migrate” [Hbr.-Lmb.], Koyra (Baditu) bay-s caus. “finire” [Crl.] etc. | Chara baʔ- “not to be there” [Hbr.-Lmb.] (NOm.-Cu.: Crl. 1938 III, 114, 201; Dlg. 1966, 49; 1973, 39; Hbr.-Lmb. 1988, 80; Bnd. 1988, 152; 1990, 683; LS 1997, 326) ||| WCh.: Hausa baa “there is / are / was / were not” [Abr. 1962, 47] = baà- “not to exist” (with verbal suffixes), e.g. baà-ni dà mai “I exist not with oil” = “I do not have oil” [Hodge 1987, 156] | Dera bòi “to spoil (intr.), get lost” [Nwm. 1974, 121] | Bade bee “nicht vorhanden” [Lks. 1974-5, 100] || CCh.: Lamang (Hitkala) bíú “nicht vorhanden” [Lks. 1964, 106] | (?) Musgu pai ~ poi [p- irreg.] “nicht (vorhanden)” [Lks. 1941, 72] || ECh.: Kera biʔí “verderben, zerstören (porrir, détruire)” [Ebert 1976, 33].

• **NAgaw *yāb-** “leopard” [Apl. 2006, 92] = *yibā [GT]: presumably palatalized from *lib- and thus akin to LECu.: Saho-Afar lubák “Löwe” [Rn. 1886, 874], Saho-Assaorta lubák “leone” [CR 1913, 67] | Sam *libāh “lion” [Heine 1978, 67] ||| Eg. 3bj [< *lbj] “Panther” (XVIII., Wb I 7-14) = “panther” (FD 2) ||| Sem. *labʔ- “lion” [Djk. 1970, 473, fn. 96]. See also Rn. 1886, 874 (ECu.-Sem.); Chn. 1947, #7 and Djk. 1965, 50 (Eg.-Agaw); Dlg. 1983, 124 and Orel 1993, 43 (Sam.-Sem.); Hodge 1992, 218 (Eg.-Sem.-Sam); HSED #1636 (Sem.-ECu.).

• **NAgaw *māl-t-** “to guard, look after” [GT] = *mēl- [CR 1912, 228]: cf. hence, e.g., Qwara māl- “spähen, beobachten, herumschauen” [Rn. 1885, 98] (NAgaw: Apl. 1994, 248): the comparison with LECu.: Saho-Afar -uble “to see” suggested by Conti Rossini (l.c.) was correctly rejected already by Appleyard (2006, 95). Instead, cp. Ar. ʔml V:

taʾammala “1. regarder avec attention, contempler qqch., 2. réfléchir à qqch., 3. penser, être en méditation” [BK I 56] = “examiner” [DRS 22] ||| Eg. m33 “sehen” (OK, Wb II 7-10) = “to look, see” (FD 100) ||| HECu.: Sidamo malammala “to enquire, examine” [Gsp. 1983, 221], Hadiya mal- “1. to examine, investigate, 2. doubt” [Hds. 1989, 52, 59], Gedeo (Darasa) mall- “to examine, investigate” [Hds.] ||| NOm.: Kaffa mall-et- “osservare” [Crl. 1951, 471]. Here may eventually belong the special Cu. (Agaw-Oromo) isogloss *m-l-ʿ (ext. *-ʿ) “to look” [GT]¹⁸.

• **Nagaw *ʔankan-** “to love, like” [Apl.]: Appleyard correctly singles out in it an old refl.-pass. prefix *ʔan- and compares LECu.: Afar kiḥin- “to love, be loving, happy” and Beja -khan “to love”. The same AA root (i.e., *k-ḥ-n with met.) may be present in Eg. ḥkn “1. (einen Gott) preisen, (das Herz, die Glieder) erfreuen mit (m), 2. jubeln, sich freuen über” (PT, Wb III 178) > ḥkn.w “Lobpreis” (MK, Wb III 179).¹⁹

• **Nagaw *ʔancəwa-** “mouse, rat” [Apl.]: the cognates like Saho-Afar ʿandaw-a and Oromo hantūt-a (listed by Appleyard 2006, 102) – add SOM.: Ari (ʔ)untin “rat, mouse” [Bnd. 1994, 156] – indicate an interchange of initial *ʿ- ~ *ḥ-, which makes a connection with Eg. ḥnt3 ~ ḥntj “ein Tier mit Stacheln (dessen Haar offizinell verwendet wird)” (Med., Wb III 121, 15 & 122, 7) = “porcupine (?)” (FD 173) = “*Igel, *Stachelschwein” (GHWb 543) probable. For Eg.-Cu. see also Orel 1993, 41; 1995, 100, #5. Not clear whether WCh.: Bole-Tangale *gʷand- “giant rat” [Schuh 1984, 209] can also be related (whether we can project a process *gʷand- < **ḥʷant- < **ḥantaw- has to be subject to further research).

• **Nagaw *mäk-** “mouth” [Ehret 1987, #438; Apl. 1989 MS, 16] = *mäkäy-[a] “mouth” [Apl. 2006, 102]: this stem has been clearly extended with *-k- (found in some other AA anatomical terms). The Agaw stem represents an old AA root and is akin to Akk. maʔu ~ maʔtu “tongue or a part of the tongue” [CAD m1, 414, 435] ||| Brb. *imi “1. bouche, 2. entrée, ouverture” [Bst. 1890, 37; 1890, 312; Bst. 1929, 33-34] = *imi, pl. *im-awn “bouche” [Durand 1993, 243] = *a-mwi (sic) “mouth” [Blz.] = *mV- (sic) [HSED]

¹⁸ NAḡaw: Bilin milfʿ y “hinschauen, sich umsehen” [Rn. 1887, 269] || LECu.: Oromo mil- “guardare” [Crl. 1951, 471] = milʔ-adḡa “to look back, glance”, milʔū “glance, look” [Gragg 1982, 287, 432] = milʿ-adḡa (so, -ʿ-) “anblicken”, milʿū “Blick” [Rn. 1887, 269] = mill-eḡḡa “to look at one point” [Strm. 2001, 56] = mill-adḡa “1. (Borana) to look at, observe sg. sharply, pay attention to, 2. (Waata) have a quick look at” [Strm. 1987, 368] = (Borana) mill-adḡa “to look at, observe sg. sharply, glance, watch, pay attention to” [Strm. 1995, 209]. The intr. sense of the underlying AA root is to be seen in LECu.: Oromo mulʔ-adḡa “to appear, become clear, apparent”, mulʔ-isa “to reveal, make known, show” [Gragg 1982, 294; Hds. 1989, 21: no HECu. cognates], Oromo-Borana mul-adḡa “to appear” [Strm. 1987, 368; 1995, 211].

¹⁹ For the semantic dispersion “to like ~ to praise”, cf., e.g., Sem.: Ar. tny II “to praise” [Lsl.] = tny: tanā “louer qqn., prononcer ou écrire son éloge” [BK I 238] ||| Eg. snsj “preisen, verehren” (XVIII., Wb IV 171, 5-10), snsn “id.” (NK, Wb IV 171, 15-16) ||| LECu.: Somali sāni “lover” [HRV 1979, 79] ||| NOm. *šun- “to love, like” [GT] (NOm. data: Dlg. 1973, 115; Bnd. 1988, 150; Flm. 1987, 150, #7) || SOM.: (?) Galila šol-im [Flm.: < *šon- with a passive-reflexive -im] “to love” [Flm. 1976, 319] ||| WCh. *čan- “to like, wish” [Stl. 1986, 87; 1987, 192]: Sura čan pʷəɔ “sich rühmen, prahlen” [Jng. 1963, 61] | (?) NBauchi *čamʷ- [assim. < *čanʷ-?] “to like, desire, love” [GT]: Jimbin sam-, Miya čam-, Kariya čam-, Mburku čamʷ-, Tsagu čöm (NBauchi: Skn. 1977, 29). For Eg.-Ar. see Leslau (1962, 46, #9). Or cp. Sem. *ʷdl “to praise” [Zbr. 1971, 58, #33] ||| Eg. dw3 [< *dw1] “preisen” (OK, Wb IV 426-428) ||| WCh.: Bole-Tangale *ndāl- “to love, like” [Stl. 1987, 248, #19]. Or cf. the history of IE *prei-

= *im(m)i [Stl. 2002, 273, #23] = *ē-mīhīh ~ *ē-māhīh (?) [PAM] = *ʔimi/*yVmi, *ʔimaw-ən (Anlaut *-i- stable) [Mlt. 2005, 370, §56] = *i-miH [GT] || SCu.: (?) Ma'a muḡ ~ muho, pl. miḡ “Mund” [Mnh. 1906, 315] = muʔo “mouth” [Ehret 1980, 387] || PCh. *m-(k) “mouth” [JS 1981, 187B] = *m-y “mouth” [JI 1994 I 122] = *maw/y/?- [Stl. 2002, 273, #23].

• **ECu. *ḥandur/*ḥundur-** “navel” [Sasse 1979, 24] cannot be related to any of the synonymous Agaw terms (Bilin ʔətəb rather ~ Bed. tefa “navel”, Kemant gwəmbəra < ES, cf. Geez ḥənbərt) as Appleyard (2006, 104) speculates. A comparison with Eg. ḥnt3 [reg. < *ḥntṛ] “ein Teil der Brust am Brustbein” (Med., Wb III 122, 8) = “Brustbein, sternum” (GHWb 543) is perhaps also to be ruled out. The ECu. evidence (Saho & Afar ḥundub are only derivable from *ḥVnd-ub-) and NOm.: Kefoid (Gonga) *yund-o “navel” [GT]: Kafa and Mocha yund-o, Wombera yund-/žund-a (NOm.: Flm. 1987, 159; ECu.-NOm.: Blz. 1989 MS Om., 23, #79) indicate that the C₄ was an extension.

• **Nagaw *nan** “now” [Apl. 2006, 106]: akin to Eg. nn “hier, da” (PT, Wb II 274, 3-4) || WCh.: Hausa naṅ “1. this, these (near at hand), 2. here” [Abr. 1962, 698] | Daffo-Butura nān ~ nānní “hier” [Jng. 1970, 219] = (á)naní “here” [Seibert 2000 MS, d004], Dera néne “hier” [Jng. 1966 MS, 12] = néné “here” [Kidda 1991 MS, 7], Tangale nẹ̄nẹ̄ “here” [Jng. 1991, 123].

• **Nagaw *gän-** “to be old, grow old” [Apl. 2006, 106]: cognate with ECu. *gän- “1. to become old, grow, 2. big” [Sasse 1982, 73, 78] || SCu.: Dhl. gän-o “big, large” [Ehret 1980, 236] = gǎn-o “big” [Tosco] || NOm. *gēn/*genn- “1. old, 2. revered” [GT] (Cu.-Om.: Dlg. 1972, 202; 1973, 211) || ES *gnn “to be abundant” [Lsl.]: Tigre gänna & Tna. gänänä “to exceed the measure”, Amh. gännänä “to be abundant”, gene “the big one”, Gurage-Wolane genä (quṭāl) “large (leaf of the äsät in which dough is placed)” (Sem.: Lsl. 1979 III 281, 284) || Eg. gn “angesehen, mächtig sein” (PT, Wb V 173, 3) = “*mächtig, *angesehen, *geschichtswürdig, *historabel sein” (ÄWb I 1368) || WCh.: Angas-Sura *kun, pl. *k^wan “1. great, 2. long” [GT 2004, 182]: Angas ko-kun “to grow” [Ormsby 1914, 209] = kun “greatness, honour” [Flk. 1915, 222] = kun “1. groß, alt, reif werden; 2. groß machen, ehren” [Jng. 1962 MS, 20] = kun (sg.), kwān (pl.) “to be or grow older or taller” [Gcl. 1994, 48, 74], Kofyar kùn “long in length” [Ntg. 1967, 20], Chip kun-kun “long” [Krf.], Montol kun “long, tall” [Ftp. 1911, 218, 220]. See also Bmh. 1986, 252 (Eg.-Sem.-ECu.).

• **Nagaw *bāz-** “to open, undo” [Apl. 1989; 2006, 108] = *biz- “to open” [Apl. 1991] = “öffnen, aufdecken” [Rn.] = *bāz- “to open” [Ehret 1987, #207]: cognate with ES: Tigre bzz: ʔabzäzä “ouvrir grand les yeux” [DRS 54] || NBrb.: Qabyile bžeh “être ouvert à tout vents, ni abrité, ni caché” [DRB I 44] || Eg. bz “1. einführen, 2. Zutritt haben zu jem., 3. eintreten in einen Ort, eindringen” (OK, Wb I 473, 1-18) || WCh.: Hausa bāzà “to spread out to dry, spread (rumors, etc.)” [Abr. 1962, 94] | Jimbin mbyz-, Siri bužu “to untie” (NBch.: Skn. 1977, 47) < AA *b-Z (*-z/ž) “to open” [GT]. The same root is preserved in PAA *biz- “opening” [GT] > NBrb.: (???) Iznasen bezza “bouche (sens trivial)” [Rns. 1932, 292; DRB I 148] = bəzza [SISAJa I, #67] (unless a *Kinderwort*) || Nagaw: Hamta biz-á “porta” [CR 1905, 209], Hamtanga bíz-a “door” [Apl. 1987,

500] = biz-a “door” [Apl. 1991 MS, 4] = bəz-a “mouth” [Leyew 1994, 4] = biz-ā “door” [Apl. 1996, 14] || PCh. *bizV “opening” [GT]: WCh.: Guruntum biiza, Tala p̄isaa [< *biz-] “door, gate” (SBCh.: Csp. 1994, 19) || ECh.: Mokilko bízé “1. Öffnung, 2. Mund, 3. Rand” [Lks. 1975, 224; 1977, 222 & 224] = bízé “bouche, bec, lèvres” [Jng. 1990, 66].

• **Nagaw *bā[r]-** [GT] > Bilin bāra “outside” [Apl.]: Appleyard (2006, 108) takes it – along with Kemant māya “outside” – from *bād- ~ Bilin bāda “wilderness, uninhabited land” (< ES). But these are entirely distinct AA roots. For Bilin bāra cf. AA *b-r “outside” [GT] > Sem.: (?) Ug. b-br “outside (?)” [Alb. 1943, 41, fn. 20; Gaster 1944, 21], OArām. br “hors de, excepté” [DRS], Palmyran and Nabataean bry “extérieur” [DRS], EAram. brʔ “hinaus” [GB], NSyr. bārā, bāri, bārāi “hors de, excepté” [DRS] || Ar. barrā, barraⁿ, dial. barra^o “Außen” [Hess 1923, 223, fn. 1] | MSA: Hrs. barra “outside” [Jns.], Jbl. burr “far away desert” [Jns.], Mhr. abārr “outside” [Jns.], ba-barr “dehors” [Lsl.], Sgt. bar “côté” [Lsl.] (MSA: Lsl. 1938, 98; Jns. 1981, 27; 1987, 51) || ES: Tigre bār “dehors” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 87) || (?) Eg. br.w, var. bnr.w ~ bnr [act. *bl] “das Außen” (XVIII., Wb I 461, 1-11) = “outside” (FD 83) || ECu. *bVr- “outside” [GT]: HECu. *bīr- [GT]: Kambatta bīr-ā “fuori” [Crl.], Hadiyya bīr-a “the outside (наружное пространство)” [PB apud Dlg.] vs. bīr-a “outwards (наружу)”, bīr-ínne “from outside (снаружи)” [Dlg.] = bīr-a “outside, exterior” [Hds. 1989, 272] | Yaaku bor “outside” [Grb. & Hobley] (ECu.: Dlg. 1973, 202) || SOM.: (?) Ari bur “after, beyond” [Tully] = “outside” [Hyw.] = “relational particle” [Bnd. 1991, 101] || WCh.: (?) Hausa bààréé “stranger” [Abr. 1962, 81] || CCh.: Bura abila [I reg. < *r] “1. (adv.) out(side), 2. (prep.) outside” [BED 1953, 1] | Fali-Bwagira -bura “outside” [Skn.] | PMatakam (Mafa-Mada) *bra → *vra “outside” [GT]: Uldeme bə̀rà “dehors” [Clm. 1990, 206] = brā “dehors” [Mch.], Gisiga vra, vre, vri “draußen, heraus” [Lks. 1970, 137, cf. also Jng. 1992-3, 120], Mada ávra “dehors”, á varvá “dehors, à l’intérieur” [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 259] = vórvā “dehors” [Mch.], Zelgwa brā “dehors” [Mch.], Balda vərə “vers l’extérieur” [Trn. 1987, 56] (MM: Mch. 1953, 182) | Masa (Banana) burwa “outside” [Skn.].

• **Kemant ḥwāla** “penis” [Apl.]: no parallels given by Appleyard (2006, 110). Kemant ḥwāl- regularly originates from PAGaw *qwāl-, which is – due to Agaw *q^w- < AA *k^w- – an irregular correspondence of Eg. t̄3 [reg. < *k^wl] (phallus det.) “Mann” (OK, Wb V 344-5) || WCh.: Pero kpállè [kp- reg. < *k^w-] “penis” [Frj. 1985, 37] || CCh. *k^walV “penis” [GT]: Bura kwāl, Chibak kwalā, Ngwahyi kwəl, Margi kwal | Higi-Nkafa kwala, Higi-Fali kwəla, Fali-Jilbu kwəlākū | Nzangi kwə̀rə, Mwulyen kwáálò | Kotoko-Makeri kòlì (CCh.: Krf. quoted by Mkr. 1987, 284) < AA *k^wal- (var. *k^wal-?) “penis” [GT].

• **Agaw *ʔənk^wər-** “to put, place” [Apl. 2006, 112] has nothing to do with the semantically unlikely ECu. *gūr- “to collect” (via prefixed *mV-gur- > Agaw *ʔənk^wər-) as Appleyard (l.c.) insists. Instead, one is tempted to assume that *ʔən- was not part of the original root (*k^wər-), but an additional element (an old refl. prefix?), cp. Sem. *krr “to lay” [GT]: Akk. karāru “setzen, stellen, legen” [AHW 447] || Tigre kārāra “to lie” [Lsl. 1964, 117] (Akk.-Tigre: Lsl. l.c.) || SOM.: Hamer (Galila) kari “place” [Bnd. 1994, 156] || Ch. *karə “to carry” [Nwm. 1977, 24, #24] = *k-r- “to load” [NM 1966, 237].

- **Agaw *sär-/sar-** “red” [Apl.]: no cognates listed by Appleyard (2006, 114). May be akin to WCh.: Daffo-Butura šaar “rot weden, sein”, šarân “rot” [Jng. 1970, 221]. This isogloss may have preserved the original biconsonantal root attested in Sem. *šrk “to be red” [GB 794; Lsl. 1987, 534] and perhaps eventually Eg. dšr “rot (sein)” (PT, Wb V 488-490) with a prefix d- (cf. Thausing 1941)? For Eg.-Sem. see Alb. 1918, 234-5; Ember 1930, §19.a.9 (with a different and unacceptable explanation of Sem. *k ~ Eg. d-, though).
- **NAgaw *kʷər-a** “river” [Apl.]: cannot be related to ECu. *gol- “valley, slope” [Sasse 1982, 83] as Appleyard (2006, 116) suggests. Instead, cp. rather LECu.: Oromo kur-ē (hence Amh. kure, Harari kūri) “river, stream” [IS/Witczak] ||| Eg. t3.w [reg. < *kʷr.w] (als Plural, parallel zu mw “Wasser”) (PT, Wb V 342, 13) ||| ECh.: Chire (dial. of Gabri) koray “river” [IS] | Somray króói “Fluß” (related to kúroi “Schiff”?) [Lks. 1937, 79, 83] | Sokoro kóroo “Teich” [Lks. 1937, 35] | Jegu kúráyé “der See” [Jng. 1961, 114] (Ch.: Mkr. 1987, 299 with further cognates). The position of WCh.: AS *kur (in compound with *ʔam “water”) “deep water” [GT 2004, 183]²⁰ is dubious (for Agaw-Angas-ECh. see also IS 1971, #177 adopted by Witczak 1992, 41).
- **NAgaw *qʷal-/*qal-** “to see” [Apl. 1991, 19; 2006, 118]: Dolgopol’skij (1973, 81) compared it with LECu.: Somali qollāli- “to look around (смотреть вокруг, оглядываться)”. Cp. further Eg. q3q3 [reg. < *qlql] “blicken (zum Himmel)” (late NK, Wb V 14, 4; GHWb 850) = “to look (up), ,tower” (DLE IV 4) ||| Brb. *V-kkVl “regarder” [GT] (Brb.: Bst. 1887, 401-2) ||| WCh.: Hausa kʷáľkʷáléé “to investigate” [Abr. 1962, 580], cf. also Hausa káláľáľáćéé [*-tē] “to examine minutely” [Abr. 1962, 459] = “to examine thoroughly, be expert in” [Hodge 1968, 22]. See also OS 1992, 176 (Agaw-Som.-Eg.-ECh.).
- **NAgaw *fäz-** “to sow” [Apl. 1987, 505; 1989 MS, 9; 1991 MS, 11]: no cognates were given by Appleyard (2006, 119). Presumably connected (with irregular *-z- < AA *-č-?) to AA *p-(y)-č “1. to scatter (e.g. seed), 2. sow” [GT]: Eg. pjs (GW, corn det.) “*Saat (die einzutreten ist oder vom Feld Eingebrochenes, Korn)” (late NK, GHWb 274) ||| NBrb. *a-yfs, pl. *i-yfs-an “seed” [GT]: NBrb.: Shilh i-fs-an “Saat, Samen” [Mkr.] | Tamazight (Beraber) i-fs-ān “semence” [Lst.], Ndir i-fs-an “sowing seeds” [Pnc. 1973, 105] | Mzab ə-fsa “répandre, verser” [Dlh. 1984, 54] | Nefusa a-ifs “semence” [Lst. 1931, 294] || SBrb. *ta-yfəs-t [GT]: Ahaggar tē-fes-t [*ta-yfəs-t], pl. tē-fs-īn “semence (de végétal)” [Fcd. 1951-2, 362], Ghat či-fes-t “semence” [Nhl. 1909, 205] (Brb.: Mkr. 1969, 48, #40.1) || HECu.: Alaba fišu “seed” [Bnd. 1971, 244, #70] || SCu.: Alagwa pas-it- “to scatter (intr.)”, pisari “seed”, Burunge pisagariya “seed” (WRift: Ehret 1980, 161, #1) ||| WCh.: Hausa fáčá-fáčá (f) “scattering” [Abr. 1962, 240].

²⁰ Attested in Angas kür “a deep pool, out of depth, which lasts all the year round” [Flk. 1915, 223] = kur ʔām (Ks) “deep pool” [Jng. 1962 MS, 20] = kur am “lake, sea” [ALC 1978, 28] = kur-ām [kuʔām] “lake” [Krf.], Sura kur “lake” [Krf.], Msr. kur “deep” [Jng. 1999 MS, 8] = kur ~ kuur “deep”, am kur “deeply water” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 129].

Abbreviations of languages and related terms

(A): Ahmimic dialect of Coptic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Alg.: Alagwa, Amh.: Amhara, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, (B) Bohairic dialect of Coptic, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bch.: Bauchi, Bed.: Bed'awye (Beja), Brb.: Berber, Brg.: Burunge, BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, Dhl.: Dahalo, E: East, Ebl.: Eblaite, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic dialect of Coptic, Gdm.: Ghadames, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, Grg.: Gurage, Grw.: Gorowa, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi IE: Indo-European, Irq.: Iraqw, JAram.: Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, Jbl.: Jibbali, L: Late or Low(land), Lit.: literary texts, lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, Math.: mathematical papyri, mB: Middle Babylonian, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, N: New, N: North, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, Nil.: Nilotic, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, Qwd.: Qwadza, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaeen, Sem.: Semitic, Sqt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram): Aramaic of Talmud, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, Wlm.: Tawlemmet.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Alb.: Albright, AMS: Amborn & Minker & Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, Bgn.: Beguinot, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Blv.: Belova, Blz.: Blažek, Bmh.: Bomhard, Bnd.: Bender, Brt.: Barreteau, Bst.: Basset, Chn.: Cohen, Clc.: Calice, Clm.: Colombel, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cosper, Ctc.: Caitucoli, Dj.: D'jakonov, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, Dlh.: Delheure, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Ehr.: Ehret, Fed.: Foucauld, Fdr.: Fédry, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, Grb.: Greenberg, Gsp.: Gasparini, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hhn.: Hohenberger, HL: Haberland & Lamberti, Hlw.: Hellwig, HRV: Heine & Rottland & Voßen, Hsk.: Hoskison, Htz.: Hetzron, Hyw.: Hayward, Ibr.: Ibrizimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, Jgr.: Jagger, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, JW: Jansen-Winkel, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Krf.: Kraft, Ksm.: Kossmann, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, LR: Louali-Raynal, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, LT: Lamberti & Tonelli, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, Mnh.: Meinhof, Mrc.: Mercier, Mts.: Matsushita, Nhl.: Nehlil, NM: Newman & Ma, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, Pnc.: Penchoen, Prh.: Porhomovsky, Prs.: Prasse, RK: Reutt & Kogan, Rn.: Reinisch, Rpr.: Roper, Sbr.: Siebert, Scn.: Sachnine, Skn.: Skinner, Slk.: Sölken, Smz.: Shimizu, Srl.: Sirlinger, Ss.: Sasse, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Strm.: Stroomer, Sts.: Starostin, Stz.: Satzinger, Tf.: Taifi, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Wdk.: Wedekind, Wlf.: Wölfel, Wtl.: Whiteley, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

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