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Lexica Afroasiatica X

Abstract

Comparative-historical Afro-Asiatic linguistics has undergone a significant development over the past half century, since the appearance *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique* (1947) by Marcel Cohen. This revolutionary and fundamental synthesis concluded the second great period of the comparative research on Afro-Asiatic lexicon (the so-called „old school”, cf. EDE I 2-4). During the third period (second half of the 20th century), whose beginning was hallmarked by the names of J.H. Greenberg and I.M. Diakonoff, a huge quantity of new lexical material (both descriptive and comparative) has been published, including a few most recent attempts (either unfinished or rather problematic) at compiling an Afro-Asiatic comparative dictionary (SISAJa I-III, HCVA I-V, HSED, Ehret 1995).

During my current work on the *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian* (EDE), I have collected a great number of new AA parallels, which – to the best of my knowledge – have not yet been proposed in the literature or was observed independently from me¹. 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 for communicating new Afro-Asiatic lexical correspondences observed recently during my work, which may later serve

¹ I did my best to note it wherever I noticed an overlapping with the existing Afro-Asiatic dictionaries.

² The first part of this series (lexical parallels with PAA *b-) appeared in *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* (Köln) 67 (2002), 103–151. The second part (additional lexical roots with AA *b-) was published Kogan, L. (ed.): *Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute, Issue III: Studia Semitica* (Moscow, 2003., Russian State University for the Humanities, pp. 331–348). My paper „Lexica Afroasiatica III” (new AA roots with *p-) appeared in Takács, G.: *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam Werner Vycichl* (Leiden, 2003., E.J. Brill, pp. 510–550), while „Lexica Afroasiatica IV” (new etymologies with AA *f-) was published in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* (Budapest) 57/4 (2004), 457–473. „Lexica Afroasiatica V” (new AA roots with *ḫ- and *P-) appeared in *Studia Etymologica*

as basis of a new synthesis of the Afro-Asiatic comparative lexicon. The present part of this series is a collection of additional new Afro-Asiatic etymologies with the Proto-Afro-Asiatic initial bilabial nasal (*m-) observed after my research periods at Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften of Frankfurt a/M (in 1999–2000 and 2002) guided by Prof. H. Jungraithmayr. The numeration of the etymological entries is continuous beginning from the first part of the series *Lexica Afroasiatica*. This part contains new Afro-Asiatic roots with *n- followed by a dental radical.

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 1955; 1963 and I.M. Diakonoff 1965) in five (or six) equivalent branches: (1) Semitic, (2) Egyptian, (3) Berber, (4) Cushitic, (5) Omotic (sometimes conceived as West Cushitic), (6) Chadic. For a detailed list of all daughter languages cf. EDE 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).

Since we know little about the Proto-Afro-Asiatic vowel system, the proposed list of the reconstructed Proto-Afro-Asiatic forms is arranged according to consonantal roots (even the nominal roots). Sometimes, nevertheless, it was possible to establish the root vowel, which is given in the paper additionally in brackets. The lexical parallels suggested herein, are based on the preliminary results in reconstructing the consonant correspondences achieved by the Russian team of I.M. Diakonoff (available in a number of publications³) as well as on my own observations refining the Russian results (most importantly Takács 2001). The most important results can be summarized as follows. The labial triad *b - *p - *f remained unchanged in Egyptian, South Cushitic, and Chadic, while the dental series *d - *t - *ṭ was kept as such by Semitic and South Cushitic (AA *ṭ continued as *ḏ in Berber, Cushitic and Chadic, and it was merged into t vs. d in Egyptian). The fine distinction of the diverse sibilant affricates and spirants (AA *c, *ɟ, *ç, *s, *š, *ʒ, *ʕ, *ʃ, *ĉ, *ċ, *ʂ) was best preserved in Semitic, South Cushitic and West Chadic (while some of these phonemes suffered a merger in other branches and groups). The Russian scholars assumed a triad of postvelar (uvular) stops with a voiceless spirant counterpart: *g, *q̣, *q, and *ħ, the distinction of which was retained in Cushitic and Chadic, but was

Cracoviensia 9 (2004), 159–178. The sixth issue (roots with *m- followed by dentals, palatals, laterals, velars, pharyngeals, and laryngeals) is forthcoming in *Folia Orientalia* (Kraków) 48 (2011). The seventh part (roots with *m- followed by sonorants) was published in Takács, G. (ed.): *Semito-Hamitic Festschrift for A. Dolgopolsky and H. Jungraithmayr*. Berlin, 2008., Dietrich Reimer Verlag, pp. 310–336. „Lexica Afroasiatica VIII” (containing additional roots with *m-) appeared in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warszawa) 62/2 (2009), 26–125. „Lexica Afroasiatica IX” (new AA roots with *n- + labials) was published in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 52/2 (2010), 85–98.

³ Cf. Diakonoff 1984; 1988, 34–41; 1992; Diakonoff et al. 1987; 1993; SISAJa I-III; HCVA I-V.

merged into *ḥ in Semitic and Egyptian. In a number of cases, however, it is still difficult to exactly reconstruct the root consonants on the basis of the available cognates (esp. when these are from the modern branches, e.g., Berber, Cushitic-Omotc, or Chadic). In such cases, the corresponding capitals are used (denoting only the place of articulation)⁴.

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AA *n- + labials: addition

894. AA *√nps „to scatter” > Sem.: Ar. √nfs II „2. distraire qqn.”, V „7. disperser l’eau (se dit d’une vague qui se brise et déferle)” [BK II 1310] ||| NBrb.: Seghrushen √nfs: ə-nfəs „asperger” [Pellat 1955, 121].

895. AA *√npš „to scatter” > Sem.: Ar. √nfš I „éparpiller, jeter en tas épars (du blé, etc.)” [Fagnan 1923, 175] = IV „lâcher ses troupeaux au pâturage et les laisser paître sans pâtre” [BK II 1311] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-nfəz „verser en désordre, partout (liquide, grain)” [PAM 2003, 597].

AA *n- + dentals

896. AA *√nd „to push” > Sem.: Geez nadʔa „to drive (away), push, lead (off), urge on, spur, impel, cause to be fast etc.” [Lsl.], Tna. nädʔe „to push forward” [Lsl.], cf. Harari tä-nädaʔa „to resign o’self” (lit. „to be pushed”) [Lsl.], Amh. nädäda „to goad, push, drive cattle” [Lsl.] (ES: Lsl. 1963, 117; 1969, 59; 1987, 385) ||| Eg. nd „to thrust (?) into (r)” (PT 1488b, AEPT 229, 329)⁵ ||| NBrb.: Wargla √nd: ə-nd „être battu (lait), former son beurre” [Dlh. 1987, 211] | Mzg. √nd: e-nd „être battu, baratté (lait), former son beurre (lait)”, ti-ndi, pl. ti-nda „battage du lait, barattage” [Tf. 1991, 461], Zayan and Sgugu √ndu: e-nnu „1. battre le lait pour en retirer le beurre, 2. être battu (lait)” [Lbg. 1924, 572] | Shenwa e-ndu „être battu (beurre)” [Lst. 1912, 147] | Qabyle √nd: e-ndu „être battu, former son beurre (lait)” [Dlt. 1982, 541] || EBrb.: Ghadames e-nd „dépiquer (le mil)” [Lanfry 1973, 234, #1092]⁶ ||| NOm.: Chara nad-ā, -ē, -ō „burro” [Crl. 1938 III, 173] = nəd-a „butter” [Bnd. 1974 MS, 15] ||| CCh.: Daba nda „2. battre, frapper” [Mch. 1966, 140].

897. AA *√nd „to bind” > Sem.: Ar. nudaʔ-at- „faisceau, botte de plantes, d’herbes” [BK II 1224] || Tigre nədaʔ, Tna. nədaʔti, Amh. nädö „sheaf” (ES: Lsl. 1982, 55) ||| (?)

⁴ E.g., the symbol (*P-) signifies any unknown initial labial, just as, e.g., *T stands for any unknown dental stop (*d, *t or *ṭ) or *K for any unknown velar stop (*g, *k or *q) or *Q for any unknown postvelar/uvular (*g, *q or *q̣), while *H for any laryngeal or pharyngeal (*ʔ, *h, *ʕ, *ħ, also *γ).

⁵ R.O. Faulkner (AEPT 230, n. 7) surmised that PT nd „*may well be the niphʕal*” of Eg. d(w) „to place”.

⁶ In the older lit., this Brb. root was erroneously combined with Eg.-Sem. *√ndy “to cast down” [GT], which, however, should be carefully distinguished from the Eg.-Sem. root discussed in this entry.

Eg. nd.wt „fetters” (CT III 261c, DCT 258)⁷ || LECu.: Saho nad-ô (f) „die Garbe” [Rn. 1890, 284] | Somali nud „to tie” [Ehret 1995, 321, #623 with a different etymology].

898. AA *√nd „to burn” > ES *ndd „to burn” [Apl. 1977, 38/80 with no cognates outside ES contra Lsl. 1987, 385] || (???) Eg. ndj „Name des Sonnengottes” (PT 209a, Wb II 367, 14) = „Fahrzeug des Sonnengottes, Sonnenscheibe (?)” (ÜKAPT VI 146) || CCh.: Bana ndí „brûler” [Krf. in Brt.-Jng. 1990, 86] || ECh.: (?) Masmaje náddà „sécher” [Alio 2004, 283, #137].

899. AA *√nd „red” > Sem.: Ar. nadʔ-at- „4. teinte rouge et lumineuse qui colore les nuages au lever ou au coucher du soleil” [BK II 1224] || WCh.: Angas-Sura *nāt „красный” [Stl.] = *nā₂t „red” [GT]:⁸ Angas net ~ neet „1. red, 2. hot, heat” [Flk. 1915, 254] = nēet „reif, rot” [Jng. 1962 MS, 28] = nēt-nēt „red” [Brq. 1971, 23, #18] = net ~ net gə „red” [ALC 1978, 43] = net „red” [Krf.] = nēt „red” [Gcl. 1994, 41], Sura nāt „rot” [Jng. 1963, 76] = nāt „red, yellow” [Krf.], Mupun nāt „1. red, 2. white man” [Frj. 1991, 41], Kofyar nāt „1. red, 2. ripe” [Ntg. 1967, 28], Mushere naat „red” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 175], Chip nāt „red” [Krf.] (AS: Stl. 1977, 156, #146; 1987, 243, #49; GT 2004, 266). Related to AA *n-d „to burn” supra?

900. AA *√nd „1. to look for, 2. make effort” > NBrb.: Mzg. nada „1. (re)chercher, 2. parcourir, errer (à la recherche de subsistance), trimer, peiner (pour vivre)” [Tf. 1991, 462] || WCh.: PAngas *nyōt [Takács 2004, 276]: Angas nyoot „to gaze, stare, stand in tip-toe to look” [Flk. 1915, 258] = nyōot (K) „to gaze in standing on the toes, on tip toe” [Jng. 1962 MS, 31] vs. Angas nyoot „to strain over heavy work” [Flk. 1915, 258] = nyōot „to strain over heavy work” [Jng. 1962 MS, 31].

901. AA *√ndb or *√mdb „1. bottom, 2. base, fundament” > Sem.: Yemeni Ar. ma-nādīb „die Bergterrassen, welche die einzelnen horizontalen ġirab auf den Bergen abtrennen”, mandab „längliches Feld” [Behnstedt 1993, 202], cf. OSA (Sabaic) ndb „to construct, work on” [SD 91] || ES: Geez madab „base, socle, projection, wall, elevated place, seat, stool, platform”, madaba „to build a wall (of stones or bricks)”, Tigre, Tna. mādāb „raised part of the floor for sitting or sleeping”, Argobba nādāb „sleeping place made of masonry”, Harari nādāba „raised seat, elevated terrace”, Amh. mādāb „stall for merchandise, bench of stones and mud built against the inside wall of the house” (ES: Lsl. 1963, 117; 1987, 329; 1988, 71) || Eg. ndb.wt „die Fundamente eines Bauwerks und bes. der Erde (die auf ihnen ruht), bes. in Ausdrücken wie: ein Gebiet auf seinen ndb.wt: das ganze Gebiet” (MK, Wb II 368, 8-9) = „area, extent” (FD 143) = „Fundamente, Fläche, Areal” (GHWb 446)⁹ || CCh.: Daba madaba „cul”, madaba tik „sa partie basse” [Mch. 1966, 133], Musgoy mādāba „cul” [Mch. 1950, 32]. The ES term was borrowed into LECu.:

⁷ CT III 261 nd.wt „fetters” may be compared here provided it was not merely a miswritten form of CT II 112c nt.wt „bonds” < PT 349 ntt.wt as suggested by R.O. Faulkner (AECT I 179-180, spell 227, 5).

⁸ H.G. Mukarovsky (1987, 294) compared the Angas-Sura word with NOM.: Sezo tānti and Hozo tanta „red”.

⁹ J. Osing (2000, 170, fn. 44) suggested two alternative etymologies for MK ndb.wt: (1) either < Eg. ndb „beschlagen, niederstoßen” (CT, Wb II 367, 17) = „to injure, stab by horns” (DCT 259) = „verwunden” (BD, Stz. 1999, 376), which is semantically highly dubious, (2) or ~ Sem. *nšb „auf-, errichten” (Osing), which would presuppose an unattested Eg. ndb.wt.

Afar madab „base or foundation of a house or compound area” [PH 1985, 159] | Oromo madabī „raised platform (usually of mud) in house, usually used as bedstead” [Gragg 1982, 273], Gidole madabe „Matte, die man auf die Erde hinlegt, um sich darauf zu setzen” [Lmb.] etc. ||l NOM.: Shinasha-Bworo madabī „Schlafstätte” [Lmb.] || SOM.: Ari madabe „Schlafstätte aus Blättern” [Lmb.] etc. (Cu.-Om.: Lmb. 1993, 350).

902. AA *√ndr „to burn” > ES: Tigre nädra „to burn heavily”, Tna. nāddärä „to take fire, be angry” (ES: Lsl. 1982, 55) ||l WBrb.: Zenaga √ndr: e-nder „brûler, flamber” [Bst. 1909, 247] = (ə)-ndər ~ ə-ndər ~ è-ndər „(se) brûler, flamber” [Ncl. 1953, 228]. Borrowing excluded, since no Ar. reflex is known.

903. AA *√ndr „to jump” > Sem.: Dathina ndr „sortir, être en saillie” [GD 2756] ||l WCh.: Karekare ñdirè „to jump” [Alio 1991 MS, f246] || CCh.: (?) Glavda mdr „to rush”, mdr „to run, flee, go, run away, go away” [RB 1968] || ECh.: Sokoro nádernáder „Galopp” [Lks. 1937, 36] | EDangla nìdirè „sursauter (sous l’effet de la surprise ou de la peur)” [DM 1973, 218] = „aufspringen” [Ebs. 1979, 141; 1987, 75].

904. AA *√nt „to tie together” > LECu.: Rendille nyuta „to tie (two ends) together, join (two ends)” [PG 1999, 237-8] ||l ECh.: Kera àntí „to tie up” [Pearce 1998-9, 67], Kwang-Mobu éndé „attacher” and Ngam ènte „attacher avec une corde” [Lns. 1982, 106].

905. AA *√nt „to cut in pieces” > Sem. bicons. *nt- attested in Akk. nêtu „to chop (?)” [CAD n2, 198] vs. Ar. nataʿa VIII „être coupé, taillé et enlevé de sa place” [BK II 1191] vs. Sem. *ntʿ [root ext. *-ʿ]: Akk. natû „to strike, crush, split” [Lsl.] || ES: Tna. nātʿe „to be struck, be hurt” [Lsl. 1944] = „to be wounded” [Lsl. 1979] (Sem.: Lsl. 1944, 57; 1979 III, 462 pace Goetze, AJSL 52, 157, fn. 82) ||l (?) Eg. nt „schlachten (ob richtig?)” (GR, Wb II 351, 3)¹⁰ ||l NBrb.: Wargla √nt: tunt, pl. tunatin ~ tuntawin „part(ie), portion” [Dlh. 1987, 228] ||l HECu.: (?) Burji nāt-o „type of knife” [Ss. 1982, 151: no ECu. cognates] ||l CCh.: Bura-Margi *ntV „to cut, split” [Stl.]: Bura nta „1. to cut, incise, 2. split in two, crack” [BED 1953, 163] = nta „spalten, aufschlitzen” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 94], Margi ntà „to split, cut (lengthwise)” [Hfm. 1955, 127] = ntà „to split”, ntʷá „to split in two” [Ladefoged 1964, 65] = ntà „to split, break into (e.g. compound), make an incision, crack (intr.), break (intr.) open, take some (guinea-corn etc.), cut lengthwise” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 129], Chibak nti-lì „percer” [Krf. in Brt.-Jng. 1990, 73]. Some elements of this CCh.-Sem. etymology was first suggested by Stolbova (2005, 117, #422).

906. AA *√nt „to push” > Eg. ntj „in Bedrängnis sein, gefangen sein” (NK hapax: Pap. Torino 1882, 5:1, Wb II 351, 6) = „to be choked or stifled” (Grd. 1956, 15 with a 2nd example) = „être oppressé” (AL 78.2271) = „to be choked, stifled” (DLE II 38) = „erwürgt, erstickt, bedrückt werden” (GHWb 440) ||l NBrb.: Shilh ntu „pousser” [Jordan 1934, 97] | Qabyile √nt: e-ntu „être enfoncé, fiché, s’enfoncer”, sse-ntu „piquer, enfoncer, planter” [Dlt. 1982, 580] ||l WBrb.: Zenaga e-nti „piquer (sans pénétrer)” [Cohen-TC 2000, 285].

907. AA *√nt „to pull” > Ar. bicons. *nt- „to draw out, bring forth” [Ehret 1989, 182, #56], cf. also Ar. natara „2. tirer à soi avec la corde de l’arc, bande l’arc” and natala

¹⁰ Due to its scarce and late attestation, it is a highly doubtful parallel. For an alternative etymology (with Eg. n- < *-l-) cf. HSED #1657.

„1. tirer à soi, entraîner” [BK II 1192, 1194] ||| LECu.: Baiso nat- „to pull, take away” [HL 1988, 134] = naté „to pull” [Brz. 1995, 20] ||| CCh.: Bura ndu-gurtà „tirer” [Krf.], Chibak ndî-rè „tirer” [Krf.], WMargi ndî-rè ~ ndî-gîrà „tirer” [Krf.] (Bura-Margi: Brt.-Ing. 1990, 73-74) | Mafa nât- ~ lát- „tendre (un arc, la main)” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 254].

908. AA *√n[t] „to install, set up a building” > Eg. ntt „herstellen mit Bezug auf Bauen” (GR, Wb II 357, 5) = „enfermer dans des limites (?)” (Meeks 1977, 88, fm. 6)¹¹ ||| SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr ă-nṭu, Ayr ă-nṭu „1. être commencé, commencer (intr.), 2. (Ayr) être solidement fixé (poteau, arbre, personne), bien installé, établi, solidement enraciné, avoir fait un bon début” [PAM 2003, 629].

909. AA *√nt „to swell” > Sem.: Ar. √nt?: nataʿa I „1. être haut, élevé, 3. enfler (plaie, abcès), 4. avoir grandi et être nubile (une jeune fille)”, √ntw: natā I „enfler (n memre du corps)”, X „enfler et aboutir (un abcès)” [BK II 1195, 1199] ||| NBrb.: Mzg. √nt: i-nit „avoir des envies, des caprices (femme enceinte), être en état de grossesse (femme)”, ti-nit „état de grossesse” [Tf. 1991, 504].

910. AA *√ntf „1. to loosen, 2. pluck, 3. tear (in general)” > Sem.: Syr. nāṭup „to pull, draw out” [Lsl.] | Ar. natafa I „1. arracher, tirer (le poil, les plumes, la laine)”, II „arracher avec force, une grande quantité (de poil, de laine, de plumes) à la fois” [BK II 1193] = V, VIII „perdre les cheveux, les poils, ceux de la barbe, les plumes” [Dozy II 639] = I „to pluck out, pull out, tear out” [Lsl.], Dathina ntf „arracher (se dit surtout des poils, d’une épine)” [GD 2741], Yemeni Ar. nataf „to catch, snatch away, tear out (hair), cut (wings)”, nitif „to pick (bird), pluck off” [Piamenta 1990, 478], Sʿaʿdah (Yemen) nataf „Vögel rupfen” [Behnstedt 1987, 305] || Hrs. netōf „to pluck (hair)” [Jns. 1977, 98], Jbl. ntāf „to pluck (hair, e.g. from the armpits and pubes, of women; older, religiously inclined men sometimes pluck their body-hair)” [Jns. 1981, 196], Mhr. nātūf „to pluck (hair)” [Jns. 1987, 303], Sqt. gēnītāf „to pluck slowly, bit by bit” [Jns.] || Geez nat(t)afa „to tear to pieces, tear apart, lacerate, cut asunder, pluck out, spoil, deface, rob, open cotton balls” [Lsl.], Amh. nātāfā „to tear apart (cotton or the like)” [Lsl.], Tigre nātfa „to cut off” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1982, 57; 1987, 407) ||| Eg. ntf (NE) vs. met. var. nft (Med.) „(den Gefesselten) losbinden” (Wb II 356, 9) = „to loosen, untie, let loose” (Grd. 1911, 26, fn. 16; 1956, 15-16) = „to release, unharness” (Leitz 1999, 100)¹² > Dem. ntf „lösen” (DG 232:4) > Cpt.: (SLB) **noṽṽṽṽṽṽ**, (SB) **noṽṽṽṽṽṽ** „to loosen, dissolve” (CD 232a; CED 111) = „lösen, erschlaffen” (KHW 129) = „déliar” (DELIC 147) ||| NBrb.: Izdeg ntef „arracher, épiler, plumer” [Mrc. 1937, 23, 105, 196] | Mzab ă-ntāf „arracher (en tirant), cueillir (en tirant), épiler, peler” [Dlh. 1984, 141], Wargla ă-ntāf „arracher en tirant, extraire, épiler, plumer, cueillir” [Dlh. 1987, 228] || EBrb.: Gdm. e-ntāf „1. rompre en menus morceaux (pain), 2. enlever brin à brin, morceler, désagréger, 3. arracher” [Lnf.

¹¹ D. Meeks (l.c.) explained the GR verb from his unattested Eg. *nṭ „évoquent l’idée d’enfermer, d’enclorre” deduced from nṭ „ficeler”, nṭnṭ „vessie”, nṭnt „diaphragme”, snṭ „tracer les fondations sur le sol” etc.

¹² Its equation with a certain WCh. *tvf- „to tie” (suggested in OS 1992, 199 and HSED #2409) cannot be accepted.

1973, 250, #1177] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr nāṭāf „être réecorché et ouvert de nouveau (blessure, plaie, égratignure)” [PAM 2003, 630]. Of biconsonantal origin?¹³

There is a Sem. root var. with *-ṭ-, cf. Akk. naṭ/tāpu „herausreißen” [AHW 767] = nṭp „1. (I) to tear out, 2. (IV) be plucked, torn out” [CAD n2, 128] = „to tear out, i.a., reeds” [Hnrg. 1991, 691] || Samar. Aram. nṭp „extraction, drawing” [Tal 2000, 521] | Yemeni Ar. nṭf (so, -t-): naṭaf „er hat geöffnet” [Behnstedt 1993, 204-5] || Sqt. nṭf „casser” [Lsl. 1938, 266].

911. AA *√ntê „to pull out” > Sem.: Ar. ntš I „1. tirer, extraire qqch., arracher (p.ex. une épine du pied, 1 poil, etc.), 2. tirer et chercher à enlever, p.ex. la viande avec le bec”, mi-ntāš- „instrument avec lequel on arrache ou épile” [BK II 1193] || SBrb. *√ntz: Hgr. e-nteh „arracher, détacher en tuant avec force et faisant effort” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1424] = ə-ntəh „arracher” [Prs.], Nslm. ə-ntəz „arracher” [Prs.], EWlmd.-Ayr ə-ntəz „1. arracher, 2. arracher et tirer à soi” [Bst./PAM 2003, 631], Ghat ə-ntəž „arracher” [Bst.] (SBrb.: Prs. 1969, 84, #562).

912. AA *√ntš „to moisten” > Sem.: Ar. ntš IV „1. se gonfler après avoir été imprégné d’humidité et crever (se dit de la graine, de la sémence qui germe)” [BK II 1193], Dathina nūtša-dām „Blutstropfen” [GD 2740], Dhofar nūtša „Spritzer” [Rdk. 1911, 57], Yemeni Ar. nataš III „to soil one’s clothes by splashing muddy water” [Piamenta 1990, 478] || Eg. ntš „etwas besprengen, eine Flüssigkeit sprengen” (Med., Wb II 356, 18-20)¹⁴. A var. with a voiced C₃ is present in MHbr. ntz qal „to splash” and JAram. ntz „to gush forth, splash” [Jastrow 1950, 943].

913. AA *√ntš „to hit” > Eg. ntš „to hit, strike” (GR, PL 556)¹⁵ || Sem.: Ar. nataša I „4. frapper, donner un coup, 5. frapper qqch. du bout du pied, de manière a disperser, à faire voler en éclats” [BK II 1193].

914. AA *√ntʿ „red skin” > ES: Geez natʿ „tent covering, tanned hide dyed red”, Tna. nātʿi and Tigre nātʿ „tanned hide (peau préparée avec le poil)” (ES: Lsl. 1982, 57; 1987, 407) || Bed. nātʿa (m) „Lederschurz der Arbeiter und Sklaven” [Rn. 1895, 185] || LECu.: Saho nāʿa/et-ā „rot gegerbte Haut als Lederschurz für Sklavinnen und ärmere Frauen, sowie als Unterlage beim Schlafen verwendet” [Rn. 1890, 281], Afar naʿāti, pl. nāʿit „rot gegerbte Haut als Lederschurz für Sklavinnen und arme Frauen” [Rn. 1886, 887] || NOm.: Kaffa nat-ō „pelle da giaciglio” [Crl. 1951, 481] || WCh.: the etymology

¹³ The third radical may be a root ext. as supposed in Sem. studies (GD 2741; Ehret 1989, 183, #56; Piamenta l.c. supra; Voigt 1997, 173), cf. Sem. *ntk „ablösen” [GB 531] = „to pull out” [Lsl. 1987, 407] as well as Hbr. ntš, ntš, nts, ntʿ, nth, ntr (all with the basic sense „to separate”), or Dathina ntq „arracher, tirer”, ntk „arracher” [GD 2741].

¹⁴ In the old literature of Eg.-Sem. comparison (Alb. 1918, 235, #60; ESS §11.a.35 and §19.d; GÄSW 68, #232; Vrg. 1945, 143, §21.a.5), it was usually equated with Sem. *ntk „(ver)gießen” [WUS #1871] = „to pour” [GT], which led Albright and Ember to assuming an unattested and unexplained shift of Eg. ntš < *ntt [*ntš]. Even less convincing G. Thausing’s (1941, 28) etymology, who derived Eg. ntš from Eg. n.t (fem.!) „Wasser (?)” with postfix -š (referring to Zyhlarz 1934-5, 259 for an alleged prefix š-).

¹⁵ Note that Eg. ndš „(den Ball) schlagen” (GR, Wb II 386, 2) may well display a different root, cf. AA *n-g-ĉ infra.

of Angas-Sura *nā₂t [< **na^ct < **nat^c?] „red” [GT]¹⁶ is uncertain (cf. also AA *n-d „red” supra).

915. AA *√ntr „to spring up and hurry” > Sem.: Ug. ntr „eine flinke Bewegung machen” [WUS #1873] = G „1. to jump, leap, scape, banish, 2. set off”, Š „to escape, fly up, startle” [DUL 652], Hbr. ntr qal „aufspringen, vor Angst (vom Herzen)”, piel „hüpfen (von der Heuschrecke)”, hifil „1. aufbeben machen, 2. losmachen (das Joch)” [GB 532], MHbr. ntr II „(to move) leap” [Jastrow 1950, 946], Samar. Aram. ntr p^cI „to leap” [Tal 2000, 555] || Eg. nt3 „laufen (von der Bewegung schneller Boten)” (PT 769a, Wb II 351, 4) = nt3 „dahinstürmen (von den Herolden)” (ÜKAPT VI 144) = nt3j „to hurry (?)” (PT 1676a^N, 1861b, 2174a, Allen 1984, 582) = nt3j „se hâter” (Jacq 1986, 33) → late nt3 „dahinstürmen o.ä. (es wird eine noch nicht definierte Bedeutungsnuance haben, die es hier zu Verben für ‚zittern, sich hin- und herbewegen’ stellt und zugleich von Verben ‚laufen, eilen’ unterscheidet)” (Tebtunis, Osing 1998, 79).

916. AA *√ntl „to rush out” > Ar. ntl „hervorspringen (aus einer Reihe)” [GB pace Barth, ZDMG 43, 188], Yemeni Ar. ntl X „to rush out of the lines” [Piamenta 1990, 478] || NBrb.: Wargla ə-ntəl „s’esquiver, s’enfuir en courant” [Dlh. 1987, 228].

917. AA *√ntr „to jump” > Sem.: Dathina ntr „sauter” [GD 2780], Yemeni Ar. naṭar „to jump” [Piamenta 1990, 488] || ES *ntr „to bounce, jump” [Lsl. 1960, 206]: Amh. nāṭṭärä „to jump, bounce”, Tna. nāṭärä „to jump (around)”, Gurage (Gyeto) nāṭärä vs. (Musher, Masqan, Gogot, Soddo) nāṭṭärä „to jump around, bounce, skip around” (ES: Lsl. 1987, 408; Sem.: Lsl. 1979 III 464) || NBrb.: Shilh nḍer „bondir, (se) démener” [Jordan 1934, 95], Sus nder (sic, -d-) „sauter” [Lst. 1921, 295] || SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr ə-nḍər „sauter vivement desa place, sauter en l’air, s’envoler (mouche etc.), sauter auprès avoir touché, sans pénétrer, rater (coup de feu, ruse)” [PAM 2003, 591]. A root var. with *m- is represented by Ar. maṭara „4. marcher d’un pas rapide (se dit d’un cheval), 7. s’abattre avec rapidité en descendant des airs (se dit d’un oiseau)” [BK II 1122]¹⁷.

918. AA *√nT „female” > SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr tə-nte, pl. tə-nta-wen „femelle, être de sexe féminin etc.” [PAM 2003, 629] || PCu. *naṭ- „woman” [Bnd. 1994, 1163, #98] > LECu.: Oromo naḍḍ-ēn, pl. naḍḍ-ō ~ naḍḍ-ēniwōn „woman, lady” [Gragg 1982, 298] || SCu.: Dahalo nāṭ-a, pl. naṭ-o, -e „woman, wife” [EEN 1989, 39]¹⁸.

Abbreviations of languages

(A): Akhmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B): Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BD: Book of the Dead, Bed.: Bed’awye, Brb.:

¹⁶ Attested in: Angas net ~ neet „1. red, 2. hot, heat” [Flk. 1915, 254], Sura nāat „rot” [Jng. 1963, 76] = nāt „red, yellow” [Krf.], Mupun nāat „1. red, 2. white man”, nā-nāat „lady, fair-skinned (term of endearment for babies)” (na- fem. prefix) [Frj. 1991, 41], Kofyar nāat „1. red, 2. ripe” [Ntg. 1967, 28], Mushere naat „red” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 175], Chip nāt „red” [Krf.] (AS: Stl. 1977, 156, #146; 1987, 243, #49; GT 2004, 266).

¹⁷ Combined in HSED 393, #1819 with Glavda mḍər „to run (away), flee, go (away)” [RB].

¹⁸ Ch. Ehret (1980, 184, #2) compared it with Iraqw nacaca „smooth” (semantically unacceptable) to set up SCu. *nasa „woman”.

Berber, BT: Bole-Tangale, Ch.: Chadic, CCh.: Central Chadic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, ECh.: East Chadic, ECu.: East Cushitic, Dhl.: Dahalo, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, EWlm.: East Tawllemmet, (F): Fayyumic, Gdm.: Ghadames, GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period, GW: syllabic or group-writing, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi, IE: Indo-European, IMP: Intermediate Period, Irq.: Iraqw, JArAm.: Jewish Aramaic, Jbl.: Jibbali, (L): Lycopolitan (or Subakhmimic), LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, Lit.: literary texts, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Med.: medical texts, Mhr.: Mehri, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Mzg.: Tamazight, N: North, NBch.: North Bauchi, NBrb.: North Berber, NK: New Kingdom, NOm.: North Omotic, O: Old, OEg.: Old Egyptian, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, PCh.: Proto-Chadic, PCu.: Proto-Cushitic, PT: pyramid texts, Qbl.: Qabyle, Qwd.: Qwadza, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Samar.: Samaritan, SBrb.: South Berber, Sem.: Semitic, Sgt.: Soqotri, Tna.: Tigrinya, W: West(ern), WBrb.: West Berber, WCh.: West Chadic, Wlmd.: Tawllemmet, WSem.: West Semitic, Y: Younger.

Abbreviations of author names

Alb.: Albright, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky, Bnd.: Bender, Brq.: Burquest, Brt.: Barreateau, Brz.: Brenzinger, Bst.: Basset, Chn.: Cohen, Crl.: Cerulli, CTC: Taine-Cheikh, DjK.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier, Ebs.: Ebobisse, EEN: Ehret, Elderkin, Nurse, Flk.: Foulkes, Frj.: Frajzyngier, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, Grb.: Greenberg, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takács, Hfm.: Hoffmann, HL: Haberland & Lamberti, Hnrg.: Huehnergard, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, Krf.: Kraft, Lbg.: Loubignac, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lns.: Lenssen, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mrc.: Mercier, Ncl.: Nicolas, Ntg.: Netting, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, PH: Parker & Hayward, Prs.: Prasse, RB: Rapp & Benzing, Rdk.: Rhodokanakis, RK: Reutt & Kogan, Rn.: Reinisch, Ss.: Sasse, Stl.: Stolbova, Stz.: Satzinger, Tf.: Taïfi, Vrg.: Vergote, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

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