

GÁBOR TAKÁCS

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 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 - *ʈ was kept as such by Semitic and South Cushitic (AA *ʈ 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, *ʒ, *ç, *s, *š, *ʒ, *ç, *š, *ç, *ç, *š) was best preserved in Semitic, South Cushitic and West Chadic (while some of these phonemes suffered a merger in other branches and groups). The Russian scholars assumed a triad of postvelar (uvular) stops with a voiceless spirant counterpart: *g, *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.

*

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. nädä „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 nädəʔ, Tna. nədəʔti, 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, *ḥ, *h, 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 „fethers” (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. nad[?]-at- „4. teinte rouge et lumineuse qui colore les nuages au lever ou au coucher du soleil” [BK II 1224] || WCh.: Angas-Sura *nât „красный” [Stl.] = *nâ₂t „red” [GT]:⁸ Angas net ~ neet „1. red, 2. hot, heat” [Flk. 1915, 254] = nèet „reif, rot” [Jng. 1962 MS, 28] = nét-nét „red” [Brq. 1971, 23, #18] = net ~ net gə „red” [ALC 1978, 43] = net „red” [Krf.] = nèt „red” [Gcl. 1994, 41], Sura nàat „rot” [Jng. 1963, 76] = nât „red, yellow” [Krf.], Mupun nàat „1. red, 2. white man” [Frj. 1991, 41], Kofyar nàat „1. red, 2. ripe” [Ntg. 1967, 28], Mushere naat „red” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 175], Chip nât „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 *n^yōt [Takács 2004, 276]: Angas nyoot „to gaze, stare, stand in tip-toe to look” [Flk. 1915, 258] = nyòot (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] = nyòot „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 „fethers” 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. nädärä „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 mdar „to rush”, mdər „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. nētu „to chop (?)” [CAD n2, 198] vs. Ar. nataʔa VIII „être coupé, taillé et enlevé de sa place” [BK II 1191] vs. Sem. *nt^c [root ext. *-^c]: Akk. natû „to strike, crush, split” [Lsl.] || ES: Tna. nāt^ce „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 nât-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”, nt^{wá} „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] | Qabyle √nt: e-ntu „être enfoncé, fiché, s’enfoncer”, sse-ntu „piquer, enfoncer, planter” [Dit. 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.-Jng. 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 membre 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], Sʿaḍdah (Yemen) nataf „Vögel rupfen” [Behnstedt 1987, 305] || Hrs. netōf „to pluck (hair)” [Jns. 1977, 98], Jbl. ntōf „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) **νοῦτq**, (SB) **νοῦqτ** „to loosen, dissolve” (CD 232a; CED 111) = „lösen, erschlaffen” (KHW 129) = „déliier” (DELIC 147) || NBrb.: Izdeg ntef „arracher, épiler, plumer” [Mrc. 1937, 23, 105, 196] | Mzab ă-ntōf „arracher (en tirant), cueillir (en tirant), épiler, peler” [Dlh. 1984, 141], Wargla ă-ntōf „arracher en tirant, extraire, épiler, plumer, cueillir” [Dlh. 1987, 228] || EBrb.: Gdm. e-ntōf „1. rompre en menus morceaux (pain), 2. enlever brin à brin, morceler, désagrégér, 3. arracher” [Lnf.

¹¹ D. Meeks (l.c.) explained the GR verb from his unattested Eg. *nt „évoquent l’idée d’enfermer, d’enclorre” deduced from nt „ficeler”, ntnt „vessie”, nnt „diaphragme”, snt „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 nāñāf „être réécorché et ouvert de nouveau (blessure, plaie, égratignure)” [PAM 2003, 630]. Of biconsonantal origin?¹³

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

911. AA *√ntĉ „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 *√ntŜ „to moisten” > Sem.: Ar. ntš IV „1. se gonfler après avoir été impregné 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 *√nt^o „red skin” > ES: Geez nat^o „tent covering, tanned hide dyed red”, Tna. nāt^oi and Tigre nāt^o „tanned hide (peau préparée avec le poil)” (ES: Lsl. 1982, 57; 1987, 407) || Bed. nāt^oa (m) „Lederschurz der Arbeiter und Sklaven” [Rn. 1895, 185] || LECu.: Saho nā^oa/et-ā „rot gegerbte Haut als Lederschurz für Sklavinnen und ärmere Frauen, sowie als Unterlage beim Schlafen verwendet” [Rn. 1890, 281], Afar na^oāti, pl. nā^oit „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, nt^o, 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 < *ntk [*ntč]. 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 elleged 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^c1 „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. nāṭṭārä „to jump, bounce”, Tna. nāṭārä „to jump (around)”, Gurage (Gyeto) nāṭārä vs. (Musher, Masqan, Gogot, Soddo) nāṭṭārä „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 nadd-ēn, pl. nadd-ō ~ nadd-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, DhI.: Dahalo, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, EWIm.: East Tawlemmet, (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.: Tawlemmet, 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.

Quoted literature

- Abraham, R.C.: Dictionary of the Hausa Language.² London, 1962., University of London Press.
 Abraham, R.C.: Somali-English Dictionary.² London, 1964., University of London Press Ltd.
 AECT = Faulkner, R.O.: The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts. Vol. I-III. Warminster, 1973-8., Aris & Phillips Ltd.
 AEPT = Faulkner, R.O.: The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts. I. Oxford, 1969., Clarendon Press.
 AHW = Soden, W. von: Akkadisches Handwörterbuch. I-III. Wiesbaden, 1965-1981., Otto Harrassowitz.
 AJSL = The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago).
 AL I-III = Meeks, D.: Année lexicographique. Égypte ancienne. Tome 1-3 (1977-1979). 2^{ème} édition. Paris, 1998., Cybele.
 Albright, W.F.: Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology. II. = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures 34/4 (1918), 215-255.
 ALC 1978 = Angas Language Committee (in Cooperation with Nigeria Bible Translation Trust): Shàk nkarj kè shàktok mwa nɗon Ngas. Ngas–Hausa–English Dictionary with Appendix Showing Some Features of Ngas Grammar. Jos, Nigeria, 1978., Nigeria Bible Translation Trust.
 Alio, Kh.: Wordlist of Karekare. MS. 1988 and 1991 (?).
 Alio, Kh.: Préliminaires à une étude de la langue kajakse d'Am-Dam, de Toram du Salamaat, d'ubi du Guéra et de masmaje du Batha-est. = Takács, G. (ed.): Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam Werner Vycichl. Leiden, 2004., E.J. Brill. Pp. 229-285.
 Allen, T.G.: The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts. Bibliotheca Aegyptia, vol. 2, fasc. 1-2. Malibu, 1984., Undena Publications.

- Appleyard, D.: A Comparative Approach to the Amharic Lexicon. = *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 5/2 (1977).
- Barreteau, D. & Bléis, Y.: *Lexique mafa. Langue de la famille tchadique parlée au Cameroun*. Paris, 1990., ORSTOM, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Barreteau, D. & Jungraithmayr, H.: *Les verbes monoradicaux dans les langues tchadiques*. = Jungraithmayr, H. & Tourneux, H. (eds.): *Études tchadiques. Verbes monoradicaux suivis d'une note sur la negation en haoussa. Actes de la XIIème réunion de Groupe d'Études Tchadiques LACITO-CNRS-PARIS*. Paris, 1990., Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner. Pp. 37-214.
- Basset, R.: *Mission au Sénégal. Tome I. Étude sur le dialecte zenaga*. Paris, 1909., Ernest Leroux.
- BED = Anonymous: *Bura-English Dictionary*. (Place unknown), 1953., (publisher unnamed). Master copy in the library of the Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen der Universität Hamburg (inv. no.: 15 748 / JT 1526).
- Behnstedt, P.: *Die Dialekte der Gegend von S'a'dah (Nord-Jemen)*. Wiesbaden, 1987., Harrassowitz.
- Behnstedt, P.: *Glossar der jemenitischen Dialektwörter in Eduard Glasers Tagebüchern (II, III, VI, VII, VIII, X)*. Wien, 1993., Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Bender, M.L.: *Word and Phrase List for Fieldwork in Western Ethiopia (rev. 1974)*. Chara I. MS. 1974.
- Bender, M.L.: *The Mystery Languages of Ethiopia*. = Marcus, H. (ed.): *New Trends in Ethiopian Studies. Vol. 1*. Lawrenceville, 1994., Red Sea Press. Pp. 1153-1174.
- Biberstein Kazimirski, A. de: *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. Paris, 1860., Maisonneuve & Co. Editeurs.
- Brenzinger, M.: *The „Islanders” of Lake Abaya and Lake Ch'amo: Harro, Ganjule, Gats'ame and Bayso*. = *SLE Linguistic Reports* 26 (1995), 4-27.
- Burquest, D.A.: *A Preliminary Study of Angas Phonology*. = *Studies in Nigerian Languages* 1 (1971).
- CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Vol. 1-21. Glückstadt & Chicago, Since 1956, J.J. Augustin, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- CD = Crum, W.E.: *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford, 1939., Oxford, 1939., Oxford University Press.
- CED = Černý, J.: *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. London, Cambridge, 1976., Cambridge University Press.
- Cerulli, E.: *Studi etiopici. III. Il linguaggio dei Giangerò ed alcune lingue Sidama dell'Omo (Basketo, Ciara, Zaissè)*. Roma, 1938., Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Cerulli, E.: *Studi etiopici. IV. La lingua caffina*. Roma, 1951., Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Cohen, D. & Taine-Cheikh, C.: *À propos du zénaga. Vocalisme et morphologie verbale en berbère*. = *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 95/1 (2000), 267-320.
- Cohen, M.: *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*. Paris, 1947., Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion.
- Dallet, J.-M.: *Dictionnaire qabyle-français. Parler des At Mangellat (Algerie)*. Paris, 1982., SELAF (Société d'études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France).
- DCT = Molen, R. van der: *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Leiden, 2000., E.J. Brill.
- DG = Erichsen, W.: *Demotisches Glossar*. Kopenhagen, 1954., Ejnar Munksgaard.
- DELC = Vycichl, W.: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*. Leuven, 1983., Peeters.
- Delheure, J.: *Dictionnaire mozabite-français*. Paris, 1984., Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologique de France (SELAF).
- Delheure, J.: *Dictionnaire ouargli-français*. Paris, 1987., Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologique de France (SELAF).
- Diyakal, Ph.: *Mushere-English Dictionary. Collection of words carried out by Mr. Ph. I.D. started on September 10th, 1997 under the supervision of Herrmann Jungraithmayr (Univ. of Frankfurt)*. MS. 390 p.
- D'jakonov, I.M.: *Semitohamitskie jazyki. Opyt klassifikacii*. Moskva, 1965., Nauka.
- Diakonoff, I.M.: *Letter to the Conference*. = Bynon, J. (ed.): *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics*. Amsterdam, 1984., John Benjamins. Pp. 1-10.
- D'jakonov, I.M. & Militarev, A.Ju. & Porhomovskij, V.Ja. & Stolbova, O.V.: *Obščefrazijskaja fonologičeskaja sistema*. = Porhomovskij, V.Ja. (ed.): *Afrikanskoe istoričeskoe jazykoznanie. Problemy rekonstrukcii*. Moskva, 1987., Nauka. Pp. 9-29.

Diakonoff, I.M.: *Afrasian Languages*. Moscow, 1988., Nauka.

Diakonoff, I.M. (with assistance by Militarev, A.Ju. & Stolbova, O.V.): *Proto-Afrasian and Old Akkadian*. = *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* 4/1 (1992).

Diakonoff, I.M. & Militarev, A.Ju. & Porkhomovskij, V.Ja. & Stolbova, O.V.: *On the Principles of Afrasian Phonological Reconstruction*. = *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 1 (1993), 7-15.

Djibrine, B.A.Z. & Montgolfier, P. de (etc.): *Vocabulaire dangaléat. Kawo danja*. Place not indicated, around 1973. (deduced by G. Takács), publisher not indicated.

DLE = Lesko, L.H.: *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*. Volume I, II, III, IV. Berkeley, 1982., 1984., 1987., 1989. B.C. Scribe Publications.

Dozy, R.: *Suppléments aux dictionnaires arabes*. Tome I-II. Leiden, Paris, 1881., E.J. Brill, Maisonneuve.

DUL = Olmo Lete, G. & Sanmartín, J.: *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Part One [ʔ(a/i/u)-k]. Part Two [l-z]. Leiden, 2003., E.J. Brill.

Ebobisse, C.: *Die Morphologie des Verbs im Ost-Dangaleat (Guera, Tschad)*. Berlin, 1979., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Ebobisse, C.: *Les verbaux du dangaléat de l'est (Guera, Tchad). Lexiques français-dangaléat et allemand-dangaléat*. Berlin, 1987., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

EDE I = Takács, G.: *Etmological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Volume One: *A Phonological Introduction*. Leiden, 1999., E.J. Brill.

Ehret, Ch.: *The Historical Reconstruction of Southern Cushitic Phonology and Vocabulary*. Berlin, 1980., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Ehret, Ch. & Elderkin, E.D. & Nurse, D.: *Dahalo Lexis and Its Sources*. = *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 18 (1989), 5-49.

Ehret, Ch.: *The Origin of the Third Consonants in the Semitic Roots. An Internal Reconstruction Applied to Arabic*. = *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* 2/2 (1989), 107-202.

Ehret, Ch.: *Reconstructing Proto-Afroasiatic (Proto-Afrasian). Vowels, Tone, Consonants, and Vocabulary*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, California, 1995., University of California.

ESS = Ember, A.: *Egypto-Semitic Studies*. Leipzig, 1930., The Alexander Cohut Memorial Foundation.

Fagnan, E.: *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*. Alger, 1923., Jules Carbonel.

FD = Faulkner, R.O.: *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford, 1962., Clarendon Press.

Foucauld, Ch. de: *Dictionnaire touareg-français, dialecte de l'Ahaggar*. Vol. I-IV. Paris, 1951-52., Imprimerie Nationale de France.

Foulkes, H.D.: *Angass Manual. Grammar, Vocabulary*. London, 1915., Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.

Frajzyngier, Z.: *A Dictionary of Mupun*. Berlin, 1991., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Gardiner, A.H.: *Egyptian Hieratic Texts. Series I: Literary Texts of the New Kingdom. Part I: The Pap. Anastasi I and the Pap. Koller Together With the Parallel Texts*. Leipzig, 1911., J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

Gardiner, A.H.: *A Pharaonic Encomium (II)*. = *JEA* 42 (1956), 8-20.

GÄSW = Calice, F. von: *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleihung*. Wien, 1936., Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Institutes der Universität Wien.

GB = Gesenius, W. (bearbeitet von Buhl, F.): *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. Unveränderter Neudruck der 1915 erschienenen 17. Auflage. Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg, 1962., Springer-Verlag.

GD = Landberg, Le Comte de: *Glossaire daïnois*. Vol. I-III. Leiden, 1920., 1923., 1942., E.J. Brill.

GHWb = Hannig, R.: *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*. Mainz, 1995., Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

Gochal, G.: *A Look at Shik Ngas*. Jos, 1994., Jos University Press.

Gragg, G.: *Oromo Dictionary*. East Lansing, Michigan, 1982., Michigan State University.

Greenberg, J.H.: *Studies in African linguistic Classification*. Branford, Connecticut, 1955., Compass Publishing Company.

Greenberg, J.H.: *The Languages of Africa*. = *International Journal of American Linguistics* 29 (1963).

Haberland, E. & Lamberti, M.: *Ibaaddo ka-Ba'iso. Culture and Language of the Ba'iso*. Heidelberg, 1988., Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

HCVA I = Diakonoff, I.M.; Belova, A.G.; Militarev, A.Ju.; Porhomovskij, V.Ja.; Stolbova, O.V.: *Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian. Part 1*. = *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 2 (1993), 5-28.

HCVA II = Diakonoff, I.M.; Belova, A.G.; Militarev, A.Ju.; Porhomovskij, V.Ja.; Stolbova, O.V.: *Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian. Part 2*. = *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 3 (1994), 5-26.

HCVA III = Diakonoff, I.M.; Belova, A.G.; Militarev, A.Ju.; Porhomovskij, V.Ja.; Stolbova, O.V.: *Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian. Part 3*. = *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 4 (1994), 7-38.

HCVA IV = Diakonoff, I.M.; Belova, A.G.; Militarev, A.Ju.; Porhomovskij, V.Ja.: *Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian. Part 4*. = *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 5 (1995), 4-32.

HCVA V = Diakonoff, I.M.; Belova, A.G.; Militarev, A.Ju.; Porhomovskij, V.Ja.: *Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian. Part 5*. = *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 6 (1997), 12-35.

Hoffmann, C.: *Zur Sprache der Cibak*. = Lukas, J. (ed.): *Afrikanistische Studien*. Berlin, 1955., Akademie-Verlag. Pp. 118-143.

HSED = Orel, V.É. & Stolbova, O.V.: *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden, 1995., E.J. Brill.

Hudson, G.: *Highland East Cushitic Dictionary*. Hamburg, 1989., Buske.

Huehnergard, J.: *Further South Semitic Cognates to the Akkadian Lexicon*. = Kaye, A.S. (ed.): *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His Eighty-Fifth Birthday, November 14th, 1991*. Volume I. Wiesbaden, 1991., Otto Harrassowitz. Pp. 690-713.

Jacq, Ch.: *Lexique des verbes de mouvement dans les textes des pyramides et les textes des sarcophages*. Paris, 1986., I.M.O., *Recherches Égyptologiques*.

Jastrow, M.: *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. Volume I: ʔ-k, Volume II: l-t. New York, 1950., Pardes Publishing House Inc.

Johnstone, T.M.: *Harsūsi Lexicon*. London, 1977., Oxford University Press.

Johnstone, T.M.: *Jibbāli Lexicon*. London, 1981., Oxford University Press.

Johnstone, T.M.: *Mehri Lexicon*. London, 1987., University of London.

Jordan, A.: *Dictionnaire berbère-français (dialectes tašelhait) contenant 6.025 formes*. Rabat, 1934., Éditions Omnia.

Jungraithmayr, H.: *Wörterbuch der Angas-Sprache*. MS. 1962.

Jungraithmayr, H.: *Die Sprache des Sura (Maghavul) in Nordnigerien*. = *Afrika und Übersee* 47 (1963), 8-89, 204-220.

Kraft, Ch.H.: *Chadic Wordlists. I-III*. Berlin, 1981., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Ladefoged, P.: *A Phonetic Study of West African Languages. An Auditory-Instrumental Survey*. Cambridge, 1964., University Press.

Lamberti, M.: *Materialien zum Yemsa*. Heidelberg, 1993., Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

Laufry, J.: *Ghadames. II. Glossaire*. Alger, 1973., *Le Fichier Périodique*.

Laoust, E.: *Étude sur le dialecte berbère du chenoua comparé avec ceux des Beni-Menacer et des Beni-Salah*. Paris, 1912., Ernest Leroux.

Laoust, E.: *Cours de berbère marocain. Grammaire – vocabulaire – textes. Dialectes du sous du Haut et de l'AntiAtlas*. Paris, 1921., Augustin Challamel.

Leitz, Ch.: *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom. Hieratic Papyri of the British Museum VII*. London, 1999., British Museum Press.

Lenssen, T.: *Studien zum Verb im Kwang (Tschad)*. = *Africana Marburgensia Sonderheft* 8 (1984).

Leslau, W.: *Lexique soqotri (sudarabique moderne), avec comparaisons et explications étymologiques*. Paris, 1938., Librairie C. Klincksieck.

- Leslau, W.: Vocabulary Common to Akkadian and South-East Semitic (Ethiopic and South-Arabic). = *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 64 (1944), 53-58.
- Leslau, W.: Homonyms in Gurage. = *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 80/3 (1960), 200-217.
- Leslau, W.: *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1963., University of California.
- Leslau, W.: *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic*. Wiesbaden, 1969., Otto Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, W.: *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*. Vol. III. Etymological Section. Wiesbaden, 1979., Otto Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, W.: North Ethiopic and Amharic Cognates in Tigre. = *AION (Supplemento 31)*, vol. 42, fasc. 2 (1982), 1-86.
- Leslau, W.: *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden, 1987., Otto Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, W.: *Analysis of the Ge'ez Vocabulary: Ge'ez and Cushitic*. = *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 32 (1988), 59-109.
- Loubignac, V.: *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Zaïan et Aït Sgougou*. Textes (deuxième section). Paris, 1924., Ernest Leroux.
- Lukas, J.: *Zentralsudanische Studien*. = *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde*. Hansische Universität, Reihe B, Band 45/24 (1937).
- Meeks, D.: Notes de lexicographie (§5-8). = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 77 (1977), 79-88.
- Mercier, H.: *Vocabulaires et textes berbères dans le dialecte des Ait Izdeg*. Rabat, 1937., René Céré.
- Mouchet, J.: *Vocabulaires comparatifs de quinze parlers du Nord-Cameroun*. = *Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises* 29-30 (1950), 5-74.
- Mouchet, J.: *Le parler daba: esquisse grammaticale précédée d'une note sur l'ethnie daba, suivie de lexiques daba-français et français-daba*. Yaoundé, 1966., R.E.C.
- Mukarovsky, H.G.: *Mande-Chadic Common Stock. A Study of Phonological and Lexical Evidence*. Wien, 1987., Afro-Pub.
- Netting, R.M.: *Kofyar Vocabulary*. MS. 1967.
- Nicolas, F.: *La langue berbère de Mauritanie*. Dakar, 1953., Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.
- Orel, V.É. & Stolbova, O.V.: *On Chadic-Egyptian Lexical Relations*. = Shevoroshkin, V. (ed.): *Nostratic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric and Amerind*. Bochum, 1992., Brockmeyer. Pp. 181-203.
- Osing, J.: *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I*. Text. Copenhagen, 1998., Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Osing, J.: *Zum Lautwert von [d] und [d̥]*. = *Lingua Aegyptia* 9 (2000), 165-178.
- Parker, E.M. & Hayward, R.J.: *An Afar-English-French Dictionary (with Grammatical Notes in English)*. London, 1985., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Pearce, M.: *Consonant and Tone in Kera (Chadic)*. = *Journal of West African Languages* 27/1 (1998-99), 33-70.
- Pellat, Ch.: *Textes berbères dans le parler des Aït Seghrouchen de la Moulouya*. Paris, 1955., Éditions Larose.
- Piamenta, M.: *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. I-II. Leiden, 1990-91., Brill.
- Pillinger, S. & Galboran, L.: *A Rendille Dictionary*. Köln, 1999., Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- PL = Wilson, P.: *A Ptolemaic Lexikon. A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. Leuven, 1997., Peeters.
- Prasse, K.-G.: *A propos de l'origine de h touareg (tahaggart)*. = *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser* 43/3 (1969).
- Prasse, K.-G. & Alojaly, Gh. & Mohamed, Gh.: *Dictionnaire touareg-français (Niger)*. Copenhagen, 2003., Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen.
- PT = Sethe, K.: *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*. I-II. Leipzig, 1980., 1910., J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Rapp, E.L. & Benzing, B.: *Dictionary of the Glavdá Language*. Frankfurt am Main, 1968., Bible Society Frankfurt am Main.

Reinisch, L.: Die Afar-Sprache. II. = Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Classe 113/2 (1886), 795-916.

Reinisch, L.: Wörterbuch der Saho-Sprache. Wien, 1890., Alfred Hölder.

Reinisch, L.: Wörterbuch der Bedawye-Sprache. Wien, 1895., Alfred Hölder Verlag.

Reutt, T.E. & Kogan, E.Z.: Materialy po leksike jazykov margi i bura. = Bespis'mennye i mladopis'mennye jazyki Afriki. Moskva, 1973., Nauka. Pp. 83-147.

Rhodokanakis, N.: Der vulgärarabische Dialekt im D'ofâr (Z'fâr). II. Einleitung, Glossar und Grammatik. Wien, 1911., Alfred Hölder.

Sasse, H.-J.: An Etymological Dictionary of Burji. Hamburg, 1982., Helmut Buske Verlag.

Satzinger, H.: Afroasiatischer Sprachvergleich. = Grunert, S. & Hafemann, I. (Hrsg.): Textcorpus und Wörterbuch. Aspekte zur ägyptischen Lexikographie. Leiden, 1999., Brill. Pp. 367-386.

SD = Beeston, A.F.L. & Ghul, M.A. & Müller, W.W. & Ryckmans, J.: Sabaic Dictionary (English-French-Arabic). Dictionnaire sabéen (anglais-français-arabe). Louvain-la-Neuve, Beyrouth, 1982., Peeters, Librairie du Liban.

SISAJa I = D'jakonov, I.M.; Belova, A.G.; Četveruhin, A.S.; Militarev, A.Ju.; Porhomovskij, V.Ja.; Stolbova, O.V.: Sravnitel'no-istoričeskij slovar' afrazijskich jazykov. Vypusk 1. p-p-b-f. = Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XV godičnaja naučnaja sessija Leningradskogo Otdelenija Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Moskva, 1981., Nauka. Pp. 3-127.

SISAJa II = D'jakonov, I.M.; Belova, A.G.; Militarev, A.Ju.; Porhomovskij, V.Ja.; Stolbova, O.V.: Sravnitel'no-istoričeskij slovar' afrazijskich jazykov. Vypusk 2. t-t-d. = Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XVI godičnaja naučnaja sessija Leningradskogo Otdelenija Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Moskva, 1982., Nauka. Pp. 3-93.

SISAJa III = D'jakonov, I.M.; Belova, A.G.; Militarev, A.Ju.; Porhomovskij, V.Ja.; Stolbova, O.V.: Sravnitel'no-istoričeskij slovar' afrazijskich jazykov. Vypusk 3. s-c-ç-z, č-č-ž, č-č-č s labialami. = Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XVI godičnaja naučnaja sessija Leningradskogo Otdelenija Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Moskva, 1986., Nauka. Pp. 3-46.

Stolbova, O.V.: Opyt rekonstrukcii verhnjezapadnočadskih kornej. = Jazyki zarubežnogo Vostoka. Sbornik statej. Moskva, 1977., Nauka. Pp. 152-160.

Stolbova, O.V.: Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja fonetika i slovar' zapadnočadskih jazykov. = Porhomovskij, V.Ja. (ed.): Afrikanškoe istoričeskoe jazykoznanie. Problemy rekonstrukcii. Moskva, 1987., Nauka. Pp. 30-268.

Stolbova, O.V.: Chadic Lexical Database. Issue I. L, N, NY, R. Kaluga, 2005., Poligrafija.

Taifi, M.: Dictionnaire tamazight-français (parlers du Maroc central). Paris, 1991., L'Harmattan-Awal.

Takács, G.: Towards Proto-Afro-Asiatic Phonology: Ancient Remnants in South Cushitic, Angas-Sura, and North Bauchi = RoczNIK Orientalistyczny 54/2 (2001), 55-125.

Takács, G.: Comparative Dictionary of the Angas-Sura Languages. Berlin, 2004., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Tal, A.: A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic. Vol. I-II. Leiden, 2000., E.J. Brill.

Thausing, G.: Ägyptische Confixe und die ägyptische Verbalkonstruktion. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 68 (1941), 5-34.

ÜKAPT I-VI = Sethe, K.: Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten. I-VI. Glückstadt, Hamburg, 1935-62., J.J. Augustin.

Vergote, J.: Phonétique historique de l'égyptien. Paris, 1945., Le Muséon.

Voigt, R.M.: Die Wurzel $\dot{\text{š}}^c$ (* $\dot{\text{š}}^c$) im Hebräischen sowie im Frühnord- und Altsüdarabischen. = Zeitschrift für Althebraistik 10/2 (1997), 169-176.

Wb = Erman, A. & Grapow, H.: Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache. I-V.² Berlin, 1957-1971., Akademie-Verlag.

WUS = Aistleitner, J.: Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache. = Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Phil.-hist. Klasse 106/3 (1963).

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Wiesbaden).

Zyhlarz, E.: Die Sprachreste der unteräthiopischen Nachbarn Altägyptens. = Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen 25 (1934-35), 161-188, 241-261.