

GÁBOR TAKÁCS

Lexica Afroasiatica XV

Abstract

The article continues the series of papers, in which new Afro-Asiatic lexical roots are reconstructed as a result of the author's project for a catalogue of Afro-Asiatic roots.

Keywords: Afro-Asiatic languages, Asia, Africa, linguistics

Introduction

During my current work on the „*Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*” (EDE), I have collected a great number of new AA parallels, which – to the best of my knowledge – have not yet been proposed in the literature¹. Along the EDE project (and the underlying „Egyptian etymological word catalogue”), I have started collecting Afro-Asiatic roots (not attested in Egyptian) for a separate catalogue in late 1999. The series „*Lexica Afroasiatica*” has been started in 2002² for publishing the new Afro-Asiatic lexical

¹ I did my best to note it wherever I noticed an overlapping with the existing Afro-Asiatic dictionaries (Cohen 1947, SISAJa, HCVA, HSED, Ehret 1995).

² The first part of this series (new lexical parallels with with PAA *b-) appeared in *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* (Köln) 67 (2002), 103-151. The second part (additional lexical roots with AA *b-) in Kogan, L. (ed.): *Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute, Issue III: Studia Semitica* (Moscow, 2003., Russian State University for the Humanities, pp. 331-348). „Lexica Afroasiatica III” (AA *p-) in Takács, G.: *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam Werner Vycichl* (Leiden, 2003., E.J. Brill, pp. 510-550). „Lexica Afroasiatica IV” (AA *f-) in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 57/4 (2004), 457-473. Part V (AA *p- and *P-) appeared in *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 9 (2004), 159-178. The sixth issue (roots with *m- followed by dentals, palatals, laterals, velars, pharyngeals, and laryngeals) in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 54/1 (2012), 99-132. The seventh part (AA roots with *m- followed by sonorants) in Takács, G. (ed.): *Semito-Hamitic Festschrift for A. Dolgopolsky and H. Jungraithmayr*. Berlin, 2008., Dietrich Reimer Verlag. Pp. 310-336. „Lexica Afroasiatica VIII” (additional AA roots with *m-) in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 62/2 (2009), 26-125. „Lexica Afroasiatica IX” (AA *n- + labials) in

correspondences observed recently during my work. The numeration of the etymological entries is continuous beginning from the first part of the series „*Lexica Afroasiatica*”. This part contains new Afro-Asiatic roots with *n- followed by the sonants.

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

Keywords

Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics, lexicography and etymology of Semitic, Egyptian, and other African cognate languages, phonological and lexical reconstruction

AA *n- + *-m-

1084. AA *√nm „1. to take, 2. hold” [GT]: Eg. nm „to rob, steal” (MK, FD 133) = „to seize s’one” (NK Med., Leitz 1999, 100)³ ||| SOm.: Ari num- „to hold, keep” [Bnd. 1994, 152: isolated in SOm.] ||| WCh. *nVm- „to hold, take, get” [CLD I 139, #532] vs. *na/im- „to hold, touch” [CLD I 50, #3]: WCh.: Ngamo nāmî „to take (prendre), carry (load)” [Alio 1988 MS] = nam- „to take” [Ibr. 2003 MS, 7] | Diri nama „to touch” [Skn.] | Guruntum nāmî „to get, accept, find” [Jaggar 1989, 183] = nāmî „to receive” [Haruna 1992 MS, 27], Saya nīm „to hold” [Krf.], Zaar nām „to hold (in hand)” [Smz. 1975 MS, 36], Boghom nāmu „to hold” [Krf.] = nām „to take” [Smz. 1975 MS, 38], Jimi nimîi

Lingua Posnaniensis 52/2 (2010), 85-98. „Lexica Afroasiatica X” (AA roots with *n- + dentals) is forthcoming in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 64/2 (2011), 73-86. „Lexica Afroasiatica XI” (AA roots with *n- + sibilants) in *Journal of Linguistic Relationship* 6 (2011), 141-171. Part XII (AA *n- + velars and uvulars) in *Aula Orientalis* 30/1 (2012), 75-108. Part XIII (AA *n- + ‘ayin) in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 67/2 (2014), 28-35. Part XIV (AA *n- + *-γ, *-h, *-h and *?-) in Boumalk, A. (éd.): *Revue Asinag* (scientific review of the Royal Institute for the Amazighe Culture), „*La racine dans les langues chamito-sémitiques (afro-asiatiques): nature et fonction*” (scheduled for the end of 2017).

³ Explained by M.K. Feichtner (1932, 222) erroneously as an m- prefix extension of Eg. 3m „ergreifen”. H. Satzinger (1994, 201) too assumed a connection between the two, which he, however, traced back to a common AA *√lm. A similar idea was expressed by C.T. Hodge (1992, 212) in a wider AA context.

„to hold, take”, namii „to obtain”, nimto „to seize” [Csp.], Zul nəmi „to hold, take” [Csp.]. Areal parallel in Nilo-Saharan *nè/ēm „to grasp, grip” [Ehret 2001, 315, #260].

1085. AA *√nm „1. to go wrong, 2. mislead” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √nmm I „1. rapporter dans l’intention de nuire à qqn. ou de brouiller les gens, 2. calomnier, 3. remplir son discours de mensonges”, nummiy- „3. vice, défaut qui détruit la pureté d’une chose” [BK II 1346] ||| Eg. nm „sich an jmdm./etw. vergreifen, schief gehen (Pläne)” (MK, Wb II 264, 11-12; GHWb 412) = nm „to go wrong (of plans)” (FD 133) = √nmjw „to go wrong” (DCT 226).

1086. AA *√nm „big vessel: kettle, basin (?)” [GT]: Sem.: Akk. namû < Oakk. namāʾum „ein Kupfergast.” [AHW 729] = namû < Oakk. namaʾum „(a kettle)” [CAD n₁ 252] = Oakk. namaum „(a container?)” [Gelb 1973, 202] ||| Eg. nm.(t) „part of the vessel: the base” (V: Abusir papyri, Silverman 1975, 249) = „Boden eines Gefäßes” (WD I 109), nm „Kelter für Wein, Brauerei für Bier” (XVIII.: Urk. IV 687:12, Wb II 265, 1-2; Ch. Meyer, LÄ VI 1178, n. 27) = „Becken, Behälter” (von Bissing 1904, 90) = „vats” (FD 133), also nm „grosses Gefäß zum Aufbewahren von Gerste und von Getränk” (NK: pWestcar 11:8, Wb II 264, 14-15) = „Behälter” (von Bissing l.c.).⁴ Areal word?

1087. AA *√nm „to cover, close” [GT]: Eg. nm^c (act. *nm?)⁵ „bekleiden: 1. ein Bett mit Leinen beziehen, 2. Mauern mit feinem Stein bekleiden” (NE, Wb II 266, 11-13) = „1. to cover a bed with sheets, 2. line with stone, 3. build” (Badawy 1956-7, 71) = „1. to cover, 2. set out, lay down walls” (DLE II 19) = „to cover, spread” (Hoch 1994, 186) = „tendre (un lit, des draps)” (Mathieu 1996, 53, n. 151, 107, n. 359, 124, n. 425), cf. nm^c „to hide o’self” (CT, DCT 227) ||| WCh. *nVm- „to close” [CLD I 141, #451] > Tangale nṃṃe „to lock, close against s.o., block up, bar” [Jng. 1991, 125], Dera nṃṃe „to shut, close” [Kidida 1991 MS, 13], Pero nṃṃ(m)ò „to shut”, nṃṃmò „to close” [Frj. 1985, 44].

A root var. with *l- is also attested, cf. Agaw: Bilin läm „eindecken, eindecken (das Haus mit Gras)” [Rn. 1887, 256], Qwara läm „eindecken, -flechten das Haus mit Gras, einschließen” [Rn. 1885, 94], Kemant lim „couvrir, fermer” [CR 1912, 224] | Awiya lem „chiudere, coprire” [CR 1905, 167] = læm-əŋ „to shut”, ləm-tí „closed”, læm-čí „door, lid” [Hetzron 1969, 101; 1978, 137] ||| WCh.: Guruntum lṃj [-ŋ < *-mH] „to close, shut, cover (a pot)” [Haruna 1992 MS, 21] || Ech.: Tumak lṃj [-ŋ < *-mH] „clôturer” [Cpr. 1975, 81] | WDangla lámè „fermer les yeux à-demi (soit somnolence, soit modestie pour les filles)” [Fédry 1971, 352].

⁴ Segmentation and rendering debated. Read by A.M. Blackman (1927, 189-190) as tnm.w „beer”.

⁵ An orthographic problem of m + virtual ^c occurring also with Eg. nm^c (act. *nm) „to sleep”, akin to Sem. *√nwm „to sleep”.

1088. AA *√nm „small” [GT]: Sem.: Yemeni Ar. √nmm > namīm- „fine, minute, small”, „anamm „smaller”, nāmī (m), nāmiyāh (f) „baby” [Piamenta 1990, 498] ||| Eg. nm.w⁶ > (NK) nmj „Zwerg, der Verwachsene” (MK-, Wb II 267, 4) = „evidently a person who is undersized because of his abnormally short legs and not merely a person of unusually small proportions” (Gunn, RT 39, 1920-1, 102, fn. 2) = nm.w (vars. nmj, nmj.w, nmwj) „the achondroplastic dwarf (the commonset type in Egypt), especially characterized by a big size of the head, a normal size of the trunk and by short extremities, whose symptoms were described in a NK magical text: dwarf, big in his face, high in his back, short of thighs (Lange 1927, pl. viii, ll. 9-11)” (El-Aguizy 1987, 53 & fn. 2, so also already Dawson 1938, 188-189) = „pathologisch (verwachsen)er Zwerg” (LÄ II 823; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 91) = „chondrodystrophischer (Krüppel-)Zwerg” (E. Brunner-Traut, LÄ VI 220; K.-J. Seyfried, LÄ VI 1432) ||| ECu. *ʔin(a)m- „1. (m) son, boy, 2. (f) daughter, girl” [Sasse 1979, 24].

1089. N²AA *√nm „to grow” [GT]: Sem.: OSA (Sabaic) √nmw „to increase”, mntm (adj.) „fat, rich (said of curds)” (?) ≈ Ar. muntamin „fat, satiated” [Biella 1982, 306], OSA (Madhabi) √nmy „augmenter” [Arbach 1993, 78], Ar. √nmw and √nmy > I namā „1. croître, grandir, prendre de la croissance (se dit des végétaux, des hommes etc.), 2. hausser, monter (se dit des prix des subsistances), 5. s’élever, croître (se dit des eaux)”, nāmiy-at- „2. végétation, croissance, faculté de grandir, développement”, II „5. alimenter, nourrir le feu en y ajoutant du combustible”, namiyy-at- „végétation etc.”, namā²- „1. végétation, croissance” [BK II 1350-1], Yemeni Ar. √nmw > namā „to grow” [Piamenta 1990, 498] ||| Eg. nm (coll.) „Ertrag des Ackers” (GR, Wb II 265, 3) ||| NBrb.: Shilh nem „être entassé” [Jordan 1934, 96] ||| ECh.: Kajakse námām „gros (big)” [Alio 2004]. The Kajakse-Ar. comparison is due to O.V. Stolbova (2005, 232).

1090. AA *√nm „to move” [GT]: Eg. nmnm „sich bewegen, sich regen” (PT-, Wb II 267) = „to-and-fro movement” (AECT II 182-183, spell 578, n. 2) = „to quake” (CT VII 255c, AECT III 127) = „to quiver” (CT VII 255c, Lesko 1972, 145) = „von der richtigen Stelle gerückt sein” (PT 782b, 1610b, Kaplony 1972, 233) = „aller çà et là, trembler” (PT-CT, AL 78.2114; Jacq 1986, 32) = „bouger, se mouvoir, trembler, n’être plus très stable” (PK 1976, 201, D9; Cannuyer 1983, 27) = „Wackeln, Instabilität, hierhin oder dorthin gehen” (GHWb 413) ||| LECu. *ñām- [GT]: Arbore ñām- „to jump”, ñañām- „to jump repeatedly, jump up and down” [Hyw. 1984, 388], Elmolo nyām „springen” [Heine 1973, 282] = nyām „to jump” [Heine 1980, 208], Rendille a-nyāma „ich renne, springe, fliege” [Schlee 1978, 143, #833] = nyāma „1. to launch (o’s.) into rapid movement, (start to) jump, run (away), take off (running or flying, of birds), fly (away), 2. go off, leave” [PG 1999, 236].

⁶ Derived by J. Osing (NBÄ 831, n. 1115) from an unattested Eg. verbal root *√nm „mindern, kürzen” in a rather debatable comparison with Eg. nm „Schaden zufügen, schmälern” (Wb II 264, 11-13).

1091. NAA *√nm „to beget” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √nmw and √nmy I „produire, engendrer, donner naissance”, IV „propager, multiplier par la génération” [Dozy II 727] ||| Eg. nmmj „der Begatter” (NK Mag., Wb II 267, 15).

1092. NAA *√nms „to cover with cloth” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √nms I: namasa „1. cacher”, II „cacher, céler qqch.”, III „2. se cacher, se blottir dans une hutte pour y guetter sa proie (se dit d’un chasseur)”, V „être couvert, caché par qqch., se dérober aux regards” [BK II 1347] ||| Eg. nms „in Binden hüllen (insbes. Die Götterbilder)” (ritual texts, Wb II 269, 5) > Dem. nms „to cover” (Vos 1993, 361), hence: nms „Leinenbinde für Götterbilder, Kopftuch des Königs” (MK-, Wb II 269, 1-4) = nms.w „Verhüllung” (GHWb 415).⁷

A root var. with *l- attested in SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr √lms: ləmuməs „enveloppe, submerger, recouvrir, mouler” [PAM 2003, 487] ||| WCh.: Hausa lúmšè „overcast (sky), heavy with sleep (eys), close (eyes) in drowsiness”, cf. also láámùšéé „2. to fold (garment)” [Abr. 1962, 623, 613] || CCh.: Mada élməs „nuit noire, ténèbres” [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 160] (Ch.: CLD I = Stl. 2005, 85-86, #272).

1093. NAA *√nmy „to rise” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √nmy > namaγ-at- „1. sommet (d’une montagne, de la tête), 2. sommet du crâne chez un enfant nouveau-né” [BK II 1349] ||| Eg. nm^o „rising one” (GR Hibis, Cruz-Uribe 1988, 269). Root var. with *l- in AA *√lm^o „to rise” [GT], cf. Sem.: Ar. lama^oa I „7. enlever, chipper” [BK II 1027] || Tigre lā^oama ~ lām^oa „to have profit” [Lsl. 1982, 47] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *laŋ [-ŋ regular < *-m^o] „1. to mount” [Takács 2004, 220-1].

AA *n- + *-n-

1094. AA *√nn „to tie with rope” [GT]: Sem.: MAram. (Talmud, Midrash) nīnyā^o ~ ninyā^o „ein Seil aus Hanf” [Levy 1924 III 388] | Yemēni Ar. nūnah „large plait bent backwards from the crown of the head forming a loop, thereby decorating a bride’s hair” [Piamenta 1990, 501] ||| Eg. nn.(w)t (pl., rope or curl determinatives) „replis (?)” (CT VII 209g, AL 78.2131) = „coils (?)” (DCT 232)⁸ ||| LECu.: Oromo-Borana noni-ō „a rope around the muzzle of a camel during a transport” [Stroemer 1995, 212] ||| CCh.: Hurzo ṇan „attacher” [Mch. 1953, 179] || ECh.: Sokoro nīnē „binden” [Lukas 1937, 36].

A root var. is also known with initial *l-, cf. to be equated with NBrb.: Qabyle √ln: e-ln-et and llen-tet „1. tendre les lissettes ou boucle de lisse, 2. être passé, tendu (fil de lisse, tissage sur métier de haute lisse)”, i-lni, pl. i-ln-an „1. lisse (tissage), 2. ficelle”

⁷ This etymology makes us overwrite the old comparison of Eg. nms with Sem. *√lbš (cf. Ember 1926, 311, §1; Farina 1926, 24; GÄSW 101, #421; Vergote 1945, 135, §8.b.2; Cohen 1947, 183, #438; Ward 1960, 325; Vycichl 1990, 110, §5.3; Vernus 2000, 189).

⁸ Only found in CT VII 209g. As R.O. Faulkner (AECT III 103, n. 5) supposes, there is probably no connection with Eg. nn “a garment or material” (BD 340:2).

[Dlt. 1982, 457] ||| WCh.: Hausa lányáá „2. tying rope round and round sg.”, lányàcéé „1. tied string round and round sg.” [Abr. 1962, 614] < AA *√ln „to tie around” [GT].

1095. AA *√nn „(to nourish with) food” [GT]: Eg. nn „eine Speise (unter Broten und dgl. genannt)” (NE, Wb II 275, 1) = „(among pastry)” (AEO II 231*, #535) = „*e. Brot (in e. Verkaufsliste)” (Helck: MWNr 672, §28; GHwB 416) = „food” (GR, PL 523)⁹ ||| Sem.: Ar. naʔnaʔa „3. nourrir bien et entretenir avec soin” [BK II 1177], Yemeni nāneh „Brot” [Deboo 1989, 196] ||| LECu.: Oromo-Borana nān-ā and -Wolane nān-ā „food, sweets” [Stroomer 1987, 372, 374; 1995, 211].

1096. AA *√nn „(sort of) stone” [GT]: Eg. nn or njj „le schiste ou la pierre saponaire” (Daressy, RT 30, 2) = „material of a divine statue, twice gilded, maybe a specific variety of schist of a characteristic colour (not impossible)” (Harris 1961, 89) = „schiste (?)” (Andreu & Cauville 1977, 9; AL 77.2121) ||| CCh.: Holma nwón ~ nwen „Stein” [Str. 1922-3, 128 and fn. 6] | Masa nón-ná „silure” [Jng. 1973 MS].

1097. AA *√nn „to (make) appear” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √ʔnn I: „anna „paraître, se présenter” [DRS 25: isolated in Sem.] ||| Ch. *√nn „to show” [JS 1981, 227F] > WCh.: Hausa núúna „to show”, núúnà „to point at” [Abr. 1962, 707-708], Gwandara nána „1. to show, 2. point” [Mts. 1972, 86] || CCh.: Kotoko (reflex not specified in JS l.c.). Root variety with *- in HECu. *lell- „to appear, be seen” [Hds. 1989, 21]?

AA *n- + *-r-

1098. AA *√nr „wind” [GT]: Eg. n3.w > nj.w „Lufthauch, Atemluft, Brise” (XVIII., Wb II 200, 5-6; GHwB 390) = jz-n3.w (vars. nw, nj.w, n3) „Lufthauch” (Müller 1893, 33) = n3w „wind” (Müller 1896, 189) = n3.w (pl.) „breezes” (CT VII 338, Lesko 1972, 78 & 79, n. o)¹⁰ ||| NOM.: Maji naru „air”, nur „wind” [Toselli 1939, 39], Dizi nur „wind”, cf. narin-k „to blow” [Toselli apud Bnd. 1996 MS, #104].

⁹ V. Orel and O. Stolbova (1989, 135; 1992, 190) combined Eg. nn with WCh.: Zaar nīj „food”, which, however, cannot be derived from an earlier *nin- as they insisted.

¹⁰ Its origin is highly debated. There are a few alternative suggestions. (1) Piehl (1893, 487, §1) and W. Max Müller (1896, 189) saw in Eg. n3.w a younger (or dialectal) form of OEG. nf.w (!) with the alleged (in fact, nowhere attested) shift of f into w (Piehl: „*n'est pas plus étonnante, que celle de pfj en pwj, formes du pronom démonstratif!*”). Müller spoke of a seeming change of f into w (but why, the reason has not become clear), which is out of question, since in the first case the underlying Eg. root was √n3 [< *nr or *nl], while the -w was a fossilized masc. pl. ending. (2) Our word was also combined (probably falsely) by H. Abel (1933-4, 305) and E. Zyhlarz (1934-5, 175) with the (non-AA) Nubian: Kunuzi & Dongola new „atmen” [Reinisch 1879, 4]. Note, however, that an areal parallel could hardly belong to a semantical domain like this, let alone that the regular shift of Eg. 3 < *r, *l excludes any connection to Eg. n3.w. (3) The alternative equation of Eg. n3.w with the isolated WCh.: Daffo-Butura lwaʔ „soul”, proposed in HSED #1677, is also very weak, since the final -w was not part of the Eg. root.

1099. AA *√nr „1. to search, 2. pursue” [GT]: Eg. nr „to charge after” (XVIII., FD 134) = „stürmen” (GHWb 417)¹¹ ||| NBrb.: Qabyle √nyr: neyyer (hardly Ar.)¹² „continuer, poursuivre” [Dallet 1982, 588-9] ||| HECu.: Sidamo nara „to have a desire for, long for (esp. coffee, salt-beasts)” [Gsp. 1983, 245] ||| Ch. *nVr- „to hunt, search” [CLD I 144, #557] > WCh.: Saya nar „hunting” [Krf.] = naar „a hunt” [Csp.] || CCh.: Buduma nera „suchen” [Nct. apud Lukas 1939, 120].

1100. AA *√nr „1. to fear, 2. frighten” [GT]: Sem.: Hbr. √nʔr „to be abhorred, spurned” [Guillaume] = piel „to repudiate” [KB 658]¹³ | (?) Ar. √nwr II „10. effrayer, effaroucher”, X „3. mettre en fuite en effrayant qqn.” [BK II 1364-5] ||| Eg. nrj (IIIae inf.) „erschrecken, schaudern, schrecklich sein” (PT-, Wb II 277, 4-8) = „to be terrified, shudder” (Breasted 1930, 143-144), also intr. „to be afraid” (PT, Allen 1984, 570) ||| Ch. *√nr „(to) fear” [JS 1981, 101, C₂]¹⁴ > CCh.: Masa náará „craindre”, nààrà „peur”, náár-dá „le peur” [Jng. 1973 MS] = nār „1. la peur, 2. (adj.) qui a peur, 3. le pereux, le lâche” [Ctc. 1983, 121] || ECh.: Kwang-Mobu nāārē „to fear” [Jng. 1972 MS, 22, #569] = -Mobu naare vs. -Ngam naaré „craindre, avoir peur” [Lns. 1982, 109; 1984, 69], Kwang-Gaya tê-ñAr and -Alowa tê-ñar and -Mindera ti-nAr „avoir peur” [Coates 1991 MS, 3]. The etymology of the Egyptian root has been surrounded by controversies. Since Eg. nr.w „der Schrecken, Respekt” (PT-, Wb II 277-8), i.e., *nīr.w (Schenkel 1983, 226; Kahl 1994, 78),¹⁵ contained not just a transliterational, but a „real” [-r-],¹⁶ the alternative AA etymology (another AA root for „to fear” with *-l-)¹⁷ is to be ruled

¹¹ Compared by Ch. Ehret (1995, 333, #651) with Ar. √nrš “to reach for, take in one’s hand” and a certain ECU. *nawr- „to arrive, come up to” (one of Ehret’s ECU. reconstructions that are much less reliable than those proposed by H.-J. Sasse 1979), which semantically does not fit.

¹² No Arabic root appears it might be explained from. BK II 1375 only has √nyr IV „2. appeler qqn. tout haut”.

¹³ The etymology of this Hebrew root, rendered in GB 478 still as „(ein Heiligtum) entweihen, (einen Bund) aufheben”, has always been heavily debated and has until now remained – in my opinion – unsettled. In KB 658, a number of false cognates are quoted, namely Ar. √nwr III „to insult” (after König), Hbr. √nʔr „to roar” (after Driver), held to be a dialectal by-form of Hbr. √ʔrr „to curse” (KB). A. Guillaume (1965 IV 9), in turn, equated it with Ar. maʔira „to be hated”. E. Klein (1987, 401) suggested a comparison with Akk. nāru ~ nēru G „(er)schlagen, töten” [AHW 780], which is certainly out of the question the underlying Semitic root being *√nh̄r „durchstechen, -bohren” [AHW].

¹⁴ The comparison of Eg. nrj with C/ECh. *nār „to fear” (without mentioning reflexes in the Chadic daughter languages, just with a remark: „reconstruction error?” for an expected *nar) was first put forward by Ch. Ehret (1995, 331, #646) along with two further uncertain parallels: Ar. √nrz „to hide o’self for fear” and SCu.: Qwadza nyele-siko „thing of supernatural danger”.

¹⁵ M. Görg (VT 35, 1985, 363-368, cf. AEB 85.328) explained, by the way, Hbr. nīr “ein ‘Machtzeichen’ Davids” (in 1 Kings XI 36), which is traditionally rendered “Licht, Leuchte, bildl. v. Fortbestehn eines Geschlechtes” [GB 503] = “light, lamp” [KB 697], from Akk. nīru “1. Joch, Querholz, 2. Joch der Herrschaft” [AHW 793-4] = “dominion” [Görg] as well as Eg. nr.w “terror”.

¹⁶ This [-r-] is reflected in the personal name transcribed as Ḍv̄t̄p̄t̄ reflecting Eg. ʕ3-nr.w, cf. NBĀ 85.

¹⁷ Cf. Nbrb.: Tamazight nnul „1. craindre, 2. s’enfaire, s’inquiéter, se soucier” [Taifi 1991, 490] ||| ECh. *√jn- „peur” [JI]: Tumak lāp „craindre, avoir peur” [Caprile 1975, 79], Gadang láány “avoir peur” [JI 1990 MS, 1, #17] | Somray láíne “fürchten” [Lukas 1937, 80] = lány “avoir peur”, lányá (m) “peur” [Jng. 1993 MS, 41].

out. It was treated by W. Westendorf (GMT 1962, 11, §22.c.5) as a mere root variety of Eg. nwr ~ 3wr „zittern”, which is semantically certainly not tenable. Not much better is the suggestion by E. Zyhlarz (1934, 119), who equated it with Tuareg o-nrú ~ o-rnú „obsiegen, übermächtig sein”, but the SBrb. root was *√nrC₃ (C₃ = weak consonant?) with a basic meaning „to win, subdue” [GT].¹⁸ A.R. Bomhard (1981, 450; 1984, 277, #295) combined the Eg. root with IE *nə/ar- „to be strong, manly”.

1101. AA *√nr „to be damaged (?)” [GT]: Eg. *√nrj > nr.wt „Art Bruch (der Rückenwirbel und der Rippen)” (Med., Wb II 279, 8-9) = „an injury producing a rending or strain of an articulation without a dislocation or a break: a sprain (in a vertebra of neck)” (Breasted 1930, 320-322)¹⁹ = „Zerrung (als Knochengelenkverletzung)” (GHWb 418; WMT 467) = „sprain or joint injury” (Nunn 1996, 223) ||| ECu.: Dullay: Harso and Dobase nar- „zusammenfallen einstürzen (altes Haus, Stuhl, Baum u.ä.)” [AMS 1980, 176]²⁰ ||| ECh.: EDangla nòriyē „dissoudre, désintégrer, désagréger” [DM 1973, 220] | Mawa nār-áj (verbal noun suffix -j) „zerstören” [Jng. 1978, 38] = nò nárê „ich zerstöre” [Jng. 1981, 56].

1102. AA *√nr „year (?)” [GT]: Eg. nrj „bestimmter Zeitpunkt, bes. beim Ackerbau” (NK, Wb II 279, 11-13) = „specified time, term” (CED 105 pace Wb) = „time, the return of the year” (AEO I 12*, nr. 57; Caminos 1954 LEM, 380f.; 1956, 33-34; FD 135) = „das wiederkehrende Jahr (nicht einfach Zeit, wie noch Gardiner dachte)” (Guglielmi 1973, 155), nr.t „year”, (m) nr.t-nr.t „year after year” (Blackman & Fairman, JEA 29, 1943, 23f.)²¹ ||| HECu. *nir- „year, last” [Hudson 1989, 419].

1103. AA *√nr „to pile up, thresh grain (?)” [GT]: Brb. *a-nrar „aire à battre” [GT] > EBrb.: Ghadames a-narar [Lnf.] || NBrb.: e.g., Mzab a-nrar, pl. i-nurar ~ a-rnan, pl. i-rnan-ən (met.) [Dlh. 1984, 139] | Qabyle a-nnar, pl. i-nurar [Dlt. 1982, 574] || SBrb.: Ahaggar a-nanar [Fcd. 1951-2, 1394] ||| HECu. *nār- „to pile up, stack (grain)”, *nār-a „pile, stack (grain)” [Hds. 1989, 419].

¹⁸ Cf. Ahaggar e-rnu “vaincre” [Fcd. 1951-2, 1643], ETawillemmet and Ayr a-rnu “vaincre, subjuger etc.” [PAM 2003, 674].

¹⁹ Finding it “difficult to trace nr.wt to any known root”, J.H. Breasted (1930, 323) could not resist the temptation of falling into a speculation that “it has evidently (!) inclined in its semantic history in a different direction from nr.t ‘fright, terror’ ... or nr.t ‘neck’ (of collar bone) ...”, for either of which, however, he failed to present a convincing argument.

²⁰ This word was identified by Ch. Ehret (1991, 268, #242) with LECu.: Arbore par-ḏ-os “to make thin, emaciate (tr.)” etc. < ECu. *ḡa/ir- “to be weak, frail”, which is semantically unconvincing.

²¹ With regard to Cpt. (B) **nei**, **nhi**, (L) **nee** (f) “Termin, Zeit(punkt)” (KHW 120; Vergote 1950, 293) = “délai, terme, instant” (DELIC 141) < Dem. n3j “Zeit” (DG 205:5) vs. nj3 “term, timespan” (Smith 1987, 171) < *nérj(w/j) (NBÄ 432) = *nirj.at → *ni3j.at ~ *niy3.at (DELIC), in which *-e/i-, besides, corroborates the correctness of its equation with HECu. *nir-, one can hardly agree with V. Orel and O. Stolbova (1992, 189; HSED #1665) to affiliate Eg. nrj with CCh.: Matakam lēf and Banana lor “time”.

[Dalman 1922, 266] = *nəwal* „spinnen, weben” [Levy 1924 III 358], JP_{Aram.} *nwwl* „loom, web of a loom” [Sokoloff 1990, 344], JN_{Aram.} *nawilta* „horizontal loom” [Sabar 2002, 231] | Ar. *nawl-* „5. atelier du tisserand” [BK II 1371] ||| Eg. *n3j.t* „Art Haus, bes. als Arbeitsraum der Handwerker und Aufenthaltsort der Sklavinnen” (MK, Wb II 200, 2-4) = „weaving workshop” (PL 489) = „the workshop probably for textile work, the spinning-house (also where Isis and Nephthys weave the mummy cloth of Osiris in pMed. London 14:8-12 and pDem. Mag. 6:12, etc.)” (Klasens 1952, 67-68) = „l’atelier de tissage” (RdE 9, 1952, 58, fn. 3, cf. also RdE 24, 1972, 117, fn. 9) = „Spinnstube, Spinnerei” (Bidoli 1976, 68) = „Spinnerei, Weberei, Textilmanufaktur” (pSallier II 6:1-5, Seibert 1967, 147, n. g, 166, n. a-b) = „Webraum der Göttinnen” (ZÄS 123, 1996, 75, n. 42) vs. *n3.t* (var. to *n3j.t*) „hall” (Lit. MK, Grd. 1909, 115) = „weaving-room(s)” (AEO II 215*, #456; FD 125) ||| NBrb. **√nlw* > Mzab *nəll-ət* „tendre, nouer et placer la lisse sur un métier à tisser”, *i-nəlli* „fil de lisse, lisse” [Dlh. 1984, 137], Wargla *i-nəlli* ~/> *i-nənni* „lisse de métier à tisser” [Dlh. 1987, 209] ||| CCh.: Buduma *nal* „weben” [Lukas 1939, 120].

1108. AA **√nl* „timber (?)” [GT]: Eg. *n3j.w* [-3- reg. < *-l-] „kind of timber for boat (?)” (Glanville 1932, 22, n. 50 & p. 35; Jones 1988, 170, §80) = „bois servant à la construction des navires” (AL 78.1965) = „Bohle für Schiffsbau” (GHWb 390 pace Helck MWNR 889, n. m) = „Holzteile, Balken aus einem Holzgerüst” (Düring 1995, 55) ||| NBrb.: Shilh *ta-nəl-t*, pl. *ti-nəl-īn* „poutre” (cf. *nnil* „être étayé”) and Sus *ta-nnəl-t*, pl. *ta-nnəl-in* „poutre” [Lst. 1942, 24, §17].

1109. AA **√nl* „tomb” [GT]: Eg. *nj.t* [reg. < **√nl*] „demeure (?), tombeau (?)” (LP, AL 78.1979 pace Assmann 1978, 25, col. 4) ||| Brb. **√nl* > e.g. NBrb.: Zayan & Sgugu *√nnl*: *ē-nneḷ* „ensevelir, enterrer”, *ta-nnell*, pl. *ti-nnəl-in* „tombe” [Lbg. 1924, 577] | Mzab & Wargla *a-nil* „tombeau, tombe, sépulture, sépulcre” [Dlh. 1984, 137; 1987, 221], Sened *a-nil* „sépulcre, tombeau” [Prv. 1911, 137].

1110. AA **√nl* „to cry (?)” [GT]: SBrb.: Ayr *ə-nəl* „1. donner la voix rauque à (qqn.), 2. avoir la voix rauque”, *te-nil-t* „1. son rauque, 2. ronflement (d’un chameau mâle)” [PAM 2003, 616] ||| LECu.: Oromo *nyalū* „to complain, grumble”, *nyala* „complaint”, *nyaltī* „grumble (n)” [Bitima 2000, 209] ||| ECh.: Somray *nul* „pleurer” [Jng. 1978, 186],

thread”) and that “the foreign name must have come to the Near East with a new type of loom” with reference to C. Beir stating that “a more complicated type of loom is the draw-loom, the origins of which are not clear, but this technology seems to have travelled westward to the Near East by Late Roman times”. A.Ju. Militarev (MM 1983, 255, so also in KB 600), in turn, saw in Ar. *nawl-* „ткацкий станок” a variety of the Sem. root **√nw/yr*, cf. Oakk. *nīrum* “yoke, crosspiece” [Gelb 1973, 193] || Hbr. *mənōr-ʔorgīm* “weavers’ beam, cross-beam of the loom” [KB] = „der Weberbaum, um den der fertige Stoff gewickelt wird, der Querbaum des Rahmens” [GB 437], M_{Aram.} *nīr* IV “cross-beam of the loom, also the cross-rod under the cross-beam to which the ends of the leashes are fastened” [Jastrow 1950, 885] | Ar. *nīr-* „die Vorrichtung, durch die die Fäden des Aufzuges gehoben und gesenkt werden” [GB].

Kwang-Mobu nêwélé and Ngam nêwèle „crier à rue-tête” [Lns. 1982, 110]²⁴ | EDangla náálé „brüllen (Rinder)” [Ebs. 1979, 133; 1987, 79].

1111. AA *√nl „brain” [GT]: Sem.: ES (from Agaw?): Geez nālā „brain, skull” [Lsl. 1987, 398], Tigre nāla „cervello” [CR 1905, 224] = Amh. & Tigre nālā „cerveau” [CR 1912, 238] = Tigre, Tna., Amh. nala „brain, skull” [Lsl.] ||| NBrb. *a-n(V)li „brain” [GT] > Shilh a-nella ~ a-leni „cerveau” [Jordan 1934, 28, 37] | Tamazight a-nuli, pl. a-nuli-t-n ~ a-lli-wn „cerveau, cervelle” [Tf. 1991, 490], Ait Ndir 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], Tamsaman a-ži [< *a-lli < *a-nli] „cerveau, cervelle” [LR] (NBrb.: LR 2002, 332) ||| Agaw (from ES?) *nal- „brain” [GT]:²⁵ Qwara nāl-ā „Gehirn” [Flad apud Rn. 1885, 105], Hamta nil-ā „cervello” [CR 1905, 224] | Awngi nalí „brain” [Htz. 1978, 136; Apl. 1994 MS, 14] ||| ECu.: Tsamay nol-o „brain” [Sava 2005 MS, 249] ||| Om.: cf. also Ongota²⁶ nólú „brain” [Flm. 1992, 191] ||| WCh.: (???) Nbauchi *ndəl- [GT: nd- < *n-??] „brain” [Skn. 1977, 13] || (???) CCh.: PMandara-Matakam *√nš „brain” [GT: < **√nl??].²⁷ The Nbauchi-CCh. comparison is due to H.G. Mukarovskij (1987, 108).

1112. AA *√n(y)l „to descend” [GT]: Sem.: Akk. nālu „sich schlafen legen” vs. niālu ~ nālu „sich hinlegen” [AHW 725, 754] = niālu ~ nālu „to lie down”, najālu „reclining” [CAD n₁ 204, 152] = nā/ēlu „sich niederlegen” [WUS] || Ug. nl „im Bette ruhen” [WUS #1788] || Jibbali √nyl > enyél „to bring down with a bump, return (a ball) vigorously”,

²⁴ Ch. Ehret (1995, 325, #633) mistakenly combined ECh.: PSomray *nūl „to weep, cry” [Jng.] with LEg. nrh (act. *√lh) „to abuse” and ECu. *ḡal- „to express string feelings” < AA *ḡal- „to cry out”.

²⁵ To be distinguished from Agaw *ḡar- (???) „brain, head” [GT] > Kemant ḡar-a ~ nār-ā „cerveau” [CR 1912, 238-239] = nara „brain” [Apl.] | Awngi (and Damot) ḡar-ī „tête” [CR 1912, 238] = ḡarí „head” [Apl. 2006]. The interrelationship of the two Agaw etymons with *-l- vs. *-r- has not yet been satisfactorily explained. D. Appleyard (2006, 36) reconstructed for the -r- forms PAGaw *ḡat-a „head” (including, in his view, irregular Kemant and Awngi reflexes with -l-) as a match of Bed. mat „crown of the head” and ECu. *math- „head”, whereby he regarded the Hamta and Awngi reflexes with -l- as either loans from or as influenced by the ES word with -l-. On the other hand, Appleyard even alternatively surmised a reverse way of borrowing from Agaw into ES, whose -l- words „may have influenced in turn some of the Agaw originals”, which is little convincing, since then it becomes difficult 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 with *-t-, but rather with *-r-) might be identified with LECu.: Oromo ḡār-ō „marrow” [Gragg 1982, 301], which, besides, Ch. Ehret (1991, 264, #229) erroneously affiliated with Oromo ḡār-ō „eyebrow” < ECu. *ḡār- (sic) „forehead”, which represents a distinct AA root, namely *√nyr ~ *√nhṛ „eyebrow” [GT] (attested in Eg., SBrb., Oromo, and Mokilko, cf. Takács 2005, 21, #1.3, fn. 9). Secondly, the ES data with *-l- have parallels in ECu. and Ongota (listed above).

²⁶ Its classification within AA is still unsettled. In any case, it seems to stand closest to Om. (cf. Fleming et al. 1992).

²⁷ Attested in Mandara *nuš- „brain” [GT] > Dghwede (Zeghwana) nās-tè [Krf.] = nîšè [Mkr.], Guduf-G. nušà [Mkr.], Guduf-N. nās-tè [Mkr.], Gava nušà [Krf.] (Mandara gr.: Krf. 1981, #37; Mkr. 1987, 108) | Mada énnèš „cerveau (organe et centre de la pensée)” [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 207].

ontēl „to fall from a height” [Jns. 1981, 200], cf. perhaps also Soqotri $\sqrt{n}^?l > \text{refl. n}^?ol$ „s’écrouler” [Lsl. 1938, 154] || CCh.: Bura nlla „niederfallen” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 94]. Root var. with *-r- in WCh.: (?) Fyer nyèr „sich niederlegen” [Jng. 1970, 392] = nyer „to lie down” [Blench 2000 MS, 2, #f008] = nyèr [Seibert 2000 MS, #f008]²⁸ || CCh.: Mofu nar „dormir” [Mch. 1953, 167] || ECh.: EDangla nàrē „s’étendre sur le dos, se coucher” [DM 1973, 215] = „sich hinlegen” [Ebs. 1987, 85, 125] (Ch.: CLD I 145, #561 with dubious comparanda).

AA *n- + *-w-

1113. AA * \sqrt{nw} (?) „breath” [GT]: LECu.: Afar nāwā (m) „1. Atem, 2. Leben” [Rn. 1886, 890] = nawa „1. respiration, 2. vie” [Cohen] = nāwī „wind before a storm” [PH 1985, 172]²⁹ || WCh.: PGoemay *n^wā “breath” [Takács 2004, 271] > Goemay nūoe (Srl.: “*the oe is long here*”) [nūā < *n^wā] “breath, breathing” [Srl. 1937, 167] = nie [nüe] “breath” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 25]. It is a question whether LECu.: Somali ne^ʿāu (f) „(frische) Luft, leichter Wind” [Rn. 1902, 309] = ne^ʿaw „1. fresh air, 2. air” [Abr. 1964, 188] = nē^ʿaw „breeze (leichter Wind, Brise)” [Farah & Heck 1993, 255]³⁰ | HECu.: Hadiya nī^ʿ „to fart”, nī^ʿ-o „fart” [Hds. 1989, 61] are also related, the *-^ʿ- which is not reflected in the Afar stem.

1114. AA * \sqrt{nw} „to do/say wrong (?)” [GT]: Eg. nw „Unrecht” (MK, Wb II 217, 14) || EBrb.: Ghadames \sqrt{nw} : ta-niw-īt, pl. tə-niw-īn „mensonge”, ṣ-nīw-ət „mentir” [Lanfry 1973, 252, #1187] || Bed. nēw „beleidigen, schimpfen”, nēw ~ nēû „Beleidigung, Schimpf” [Rn. 1895, 186] = nēu ~ new „to abuse, scold” [Roper 1928, 226] = nuw „to curse” [Hds. 1996 MS, 101] || WCh.: Ngizim nyùwáú „to slander, gossip about, blame” [Schuh 1981, 130] || CCh.: Zime-Batna náo „être méchant” [Scn.] || ECh.: Mokilko nāwā „méchant, terrible” [Jng. 1990, 144] (Ch.: CLD I = Stl. 2005, 108, #371).

1115. AA * \sqrt{nw} „handle of instrument” [GT]: Sem. *naw-at- „handle of instrument” [GT]: Akk. (Oakk., YBab.) nātu „(Messer-, Sichel-)Griff (?)” [AHW 766] = (Oakk. nātum) „handle (of a knife)?” [Gelb 1973, 194] = „handle (?)” [CAD n2, 121]³¹ || Ar.: attestation dubious³² || ES: Tigre nəwe and Tna. nāwit „plough-beam” [Lsl.] = Tigray nāwwīt „timone dell’aratro” [CR], Gurage: Chaha, Ezha, Selti, Wolane nāwe, Zway nūwī, Muher and Mäsqān nəbe [-b- < *-w-], Gogot nəbeyä „wooden part of the plough to which the iron is attached” [Lsl.] (ES: Lsl. 1979 III, 447; 1982, 57) || Eg. nw (wood

²⁸ The rest of the Ron parallels indicate a stem *nya- with a different 3rd radical.

²⁹ L. Reinisch (1886, 890; 1902, 310), followed by M. Cohen (1947, 187), set the Afar word in the context of a false AA etymology (LECu.-Sem. * \sqrt{nf} etc.).

³⁰ L. Reinisch (1902, 309) compared it with Ar. naḥafa „spiritum duxit”, nafaḥa „flavit”. Phonologically dubious.

³¹ J. Huehnergard (1987, 150) accepted the proposal by Boyd (in a Ph.D. diss. from 1975) to compared Oakk. nātum with Ug. syll. [ni^ʿtu], pl. [ni^ʿātu] „type of tool”.

³² The position of Yemeni Ar. nawḥ „Pflugsterz (plow-handle)” [Deboo 1989, 199] is obscure.

1118. AA *√nwç „to step back, yield” [GT]: Sem.: Hbr. nwç qal „to distance o’self” [KB 682] | Ar. nwš I „to put o’self in motion and go away, turn aside, away, draw back, recede, retreat, retire, turn away and flee, escape, avoid” [Lane 2868a] = „1. rester en arrière de qqch. ou se recouler de ..., 2. fuir, éviter qqn., se mettre à l’écart de qqn.” [BK II 1367] = „to avoid, flee” [Driver apud KB l.c.] ||| Eg. nwd „ein Verbum der Bewegung: zurücktreten, Abstand nehmen (von einem Anspruch)” (PT, Edel 1981, 68-69) = „to deviate (?), possibly factitive: divert” (PT, Allen 1984, 557) = nwd (PT) „1. *Abstand nehmen” > nwd (Med.) „weichen, sich entfernen von jem.”, nwd (PT) „2. Rücktritt” (GHWb 400) = nwd „to turn aside, stray from” (CT, DCT 210).

1119. AA *√nwm „to eat (food)” [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √nwm > nīm-at- „nourriture” [BK II 1372] ||| Eg. √nwm „essen” (OK-Wb I 320-321), hence also: nmj „food (?)” (CT VI 381, AECT II 287, spell 752, n. 3; DCT 127) ||| LECu.: Arbore nuhum-is- „to feed” [Hyw. 1984, 388], Elmolo nūm „Speise”, nūmān „essen” [Heine 1973, 280, 282] = nūm „food” [Heine 1980, 208] ||| WCh.: Goemay nuom „to overfill one’s mouth with food” [Srl. 1937, 168; Takács 2004, 271: isolated]. The Ar. etymology of Eg. √nwm < *√nwm is due to A. G. Belova (1991, 87, #9; 1993, 52).

1120. AA *√nwr „fire” [GT]: Sem. *√nwr > Ug. nr „Feuer” [WUS #1849] = nr L „to burn” [DUL 641-2] | Samar. Aram. nwr „fire” [Tal 2000, 512], JArām. (Talmud, Targum, Midrash) nōrā „Feuer” [Dalman 1922, 266], Ma’lula nūra „1. Feuer(brand), 2. Hölle” [Bergsträsser 1921, 64] | Ar. √nwr > nār- „1. feu, 2. marque imprimée sur la peau avec un fer rougi au feu” [BK II 1365] = „Feuer, Höllenfeuer” [WUS] || Geez nawer „Brandfleck” [WUS] ||| Eg. n3.w [reg. < *√nr] „fire (?)” (CT V 397a, VII 371h?, DCT 200) = „fire” (AECT II 103; AECT III 151). In the Chadic branch, we find reflexes displaying a shift of *√nwr > *√lw/yr [GT], cf. CCh.: Mafa lāwār „brûler” (pour un feu qui brûle qqn.)” [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 216] | Lele lōr „to burn” [Simons 1981, 37, #669] = lōr „brûler, incendier”, lōrē „brûlage” [WP 1982, 58]. The Lele-Ar. parallel was first (independently from me) identified by O.V. Stolbova (2005 = CLD I 154, #615).

1121. AA *√nwr ~ *√nyr „dark” [GT]: Sem.: Hadramawi nawwar „se mettre à l’ombre pendant l’heure de la plus forte chaleur” [Landberg 1901, 728] ||| Ch. *√nyr „black, dark(ness), shade” [JS 1981, 45E].

1122. NAA *√nwl „to ferry” [GT]: Sem.: MSA: Jibbali √nwl: nul „fare”, enbél „to pay a fare”, gé-níl „to take from one another, go far and take s’one with one” [Jns. 1981, 198] ||| Eg. nwr.w „Name eines Fährmanns am Himmel” (PT, Wb II 223, 3) = „the ferryman” (AEPT 284-5, utt. 669, n. 5) = „une désignation du passeur de l’ua-delà” (Meeks 2005, 246-247).³⁸

³⁸ Recently, R. Hannig rendered Eg. nwr both in PT 1183a and 1964b as a „Wassertier (*Kalmar, *Loligo)” (ÄWb I 606a), which has not been supported by Eg. lexicography, although it might fit well in the context of the

1123. AA *√nwy „1. to collect, 2. complete” [GT]: Sem.: Mandaean √nwA „to accomplish, achieve” [Drower & Macuch 1963, 293] | Ar. √nwy (nawā) II „3. accomplir, exécuter, atteindre ce que l’on se proposait” [BK II 1374] ||| Eg. √nwj „to gather together” (Grd. 1909, 115) = „to collect, assemble” (FD 127) = „to gather, assemble” (DLE II 11) = „versammeln usw.” (Fischer-Elfert 1986, 61, n. d; GHWb 398) = „etwas (ein)sammeln” (Junge 1999, 353)³⁹ ||| NBrb.: Izdeg √nw: ta-nüi, pl. ti-nüy-win „assemblage” [Mrc. 1937, 25] ||| ECh.: Mokilko néèwè „accueillir” [Jng. 1990, 144].

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

1124. AA *√nwy „to rest” [GT]: Eg. njwj „von der Überschwemmung, die ‚zum Stehen kommt’” (GR, Wb II 203, 2) = „to come to rest” (PL 490) ||| WCh.: Dera nóowé „to rest” [Nwm.] || CCh.: Musgu-Puss niwi „Untergang (der Sonne)” [MB 1972 MS, 10] = nuwi „se coucher (pour le soleil)” [Trn. 1991, 108] ||| ECh.: WDangla nàwiyè „rester sans relâche pour parler beaucoup, causer sans relâche sur un sujet, travailler” [Fédry 1971, 215] (Ch.: Stl. 2005 = CLD I 101, #345). To be distinguished from AA *√nw ~ *√ny „to sleep” [GT] (above).

1125. AA *√nwy (var. *√ny?) „to return” [GT]: Eg. nwj „1. zurückkehren an einen Ort, 2. kommen zu jem. (n, hr), 3. jem. zurückbringen, 4. sich zurück begeben” (XVIII., Wb II 220-221) ||| LECu. *nā- „to return (intr.)” [GT]: PBoni *nā-ne-d- (intr.) „to return” [Heine 1982, 147] | Galab nā-ḏa „to come back” [Sasse 1974, 428] ||| ECh.: Mobu niyé

“ferryman texts” like PT 1964b. In PT 1183a, in turn, K. Sethe (ÜKAPT V 76) assumed Eg. nwr.w „nach dem Zusammenhang des Textes ein Vogel zu sein”, cf. nwr „eine Reiherart” (PT 2179, falsely also BD contra Barns l.c. infra, Wb II 223, 5; GHWb 399) = “heron” (CT III 79, 393d, IV 12, VI 309, AEPT I 154, spell 184, n. 2; p. 206, spell 273, n. 6; II 247 and 249, spell 682, n. 6; Barns 1956, 18, n. 17, fn. 3), and to primarily signify “Trembler” (so also R.O. Faulkner in AEPT 190, utt. 516). In the opinion of D. Meeks (2005, 246-247, nr. 606a), who, in addition, referred also to H. de Meulenaere (Acta Orientalia Belgica 15, 2001, 294-9) surmising in Eg. nwr.w „un poisson très particulier; le silure électrique”, however, it may be stated about PT nwr.w that „rien n’indique qu’il faille l’identifier à l’animal aquatique nwrw’ of the CT.

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

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

Abbreviations

AA: Afro-Asiatic, Ar.: Arabic, (B): Bohairic, BD: Book of the Dead, Bed.: Bed'awye, Brb.: Berber, Ch.: Chadic, CCh.: Central Chadic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, E: East(ern), ECh.: East Chadic, ECu.: East Cushitic, Eg.: Egyptian, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Greek and Roman period, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, (L): Lycopolitan (Subakhmimic), LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, LP: Late Period, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, N: North(ern) or New/Neo-, NBch.: North Bauchi, NBrb.: North Berber, NEg.: Neo-Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, NOm.: North Omotic, O: Old, OEG.: Old Egyptian, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, PCh.: Proto-Chadic, PCu.: Proto-Cushitic, PT: pyramid texts, Qbl.: Qabyle, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, SBrb.: South Berber, Sem.: Semitic, W: West(ern), WBrb.: West Berber, WCh.: West Chadic, WSem.: West Semitic.

Abbreviations of author names

AC: Andreu & Cauville, AJ: Alio & Jungrauthmayr, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Biberstein Kazimirski, Blv.: Belova, Bmh.: Bomhard, Bnd.: Bender, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brt.: Barreteau, Bst.: Basset, Btm.: Bitima, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Csp.: Cospes, Ctc.: Caïtucoli, Dbr.: Djibrine, DL: Dietrich & Loretz, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier, Drn(b): Doornbos, Ebs.: Ebobisse, EEN: Ehret, Elderkin, Nurse, Egc.: Eguchi, Ehr.: Ehret, Fcd.: Foucauld, Fdr.: Fédry, FH: Farah & Heck, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gdc.: Gaudiche, Grd.: Gardiner, Gsp.: Gasparini, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hlw.: Hellwig, Nnrg.: Huehnergard, Htz.: Hetzron, Hyw.: Hayward, Ibr.: Ibriszimow, JA: Jungrauthmayr & Adams, Jgr.: Jaggard, JI: Jungrauthmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungrauthmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungrauthmayr & Shimizu, KB: Köhler & Baumgartner, Krf.: Kraft, Kwh.: Kleinewillinghöfer, Lbg.: Loubignac, LG: Lienhard & Giger, LH: Littmann & Höfner, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lns.: Lenssen, LR: Louali-Raynal, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, MB: Meyer-Bahlburg, Mch.: Mouchet, Mgw.: Maghway, Mkr.: Mukarovskiy, Mlt.: Militarev, MM: Majzel' & Militarev, Mnt.: Montgolfier, MQK: Mous, Qorro, Kießling, Mrc.: Mercier, Mts.: Matsushita, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nct.: Nachtigal, Nhl.: Nehlil, Nkn.: Nakano, Nwm.: Newman, NZ: Naït-Zerrad, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, PH: Parker & Hayward, PK: Posener-Kriéger, Prs.: Prasse, Prv.: Provotelle, RK: Reutt & Kogan, Rn.: Reinisch, Rpr.: Roper, Rsg.: Rossing, Sbr.: Siebert, Sen.: Sachnine, Skn.: Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Snk.: Schenkel, Spg.: Spiegelberg, Srl.: Sirlinger, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Strm.: Stroomer, Sts.: Starostin, Stz.: Satzinger, Tf.: Täffi, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Wdk.: Wedekind, WP: Weibegü & Palayer, Wst.: Westendorf, Zhl.: Zylharz.

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