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Some Berber Etymologies XI

Abstract

My series “Some Berber Etymologies” is to gradually reveal the still unknown immense Afro-Asiatic heritage in the Berber lexical stock. The first part with some miscellaneous Berber etymologies was published back in 1996. Recently, I continued the series according to initial root consonants¹ in course of my research for the volumes of the “*Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*” (abbreviated as EDE, Leiden, since 1999, Brill)² with a much more extensive lexicographical apparatus on the cognate Afro-Asiatic daughter languages. As for the present part, it greatly exploits the results of my ongoing work for the the fourth volume of EDE (analyzing the Eg. lexical stock with initial n-).

¹ “Some Berber Etymologies II: Berber Lexical Roots with *b-” appeared in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 45 (2003), 93–119; „Some Berber Etymologies III: Berber Lexical Roots with *b̥-” was published in Naït-Zerrad, K. & Ibrizimow, D. & Voßen, R. (eds.): *Nouvelles études berbères, Le verbe et autres articles. Actes du „2. Bayreuth-Frankfurter Kolloquium zur Berberologie”*, Berber Studies vol. 8, Köln, 2004., Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, pp. 191–204; „Some Berber Etymologies IV: Berber Lexical Roots with *f-” in *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 10 (2005), 173–201; „Some Berber Etymologies V: Berber Lexical Roots with *m-” appeared in *Folia Orientalia* 44 (2008), 89–105; „Some Berber Etymologies VI: Berber Lexical Roots with *m-” was published in *Journal of Linguistic Relationship* (Moscow) 2 (2009), 91–113. „Some Berber Etymologies VII: Berber Lexical Roots with *-r/l/w/y-” is forthcoming in Mettouchi, A. (éd.): «Parcours berbères»: *Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand pour leur 90^e anniversaire*, Köln, 2011., Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, pp. 97–115. „Some Berber Etymologies VIII” appeared in Serra, L. & Tolla, A.M. di & Ghaki, M. & Habouss, A. (éds.): *Pluralità e dinamismo culturale nelle società berbere attuali, Studi Africanistici, Quaderni di Studi Berberi e Libico-Berberi* 1, Napoli, 2011., UNIOR (l’Università degli Studi di Napoli „L’Orientale”). Pp. 79–90. „Some Berber Etymologies IX” is forthcoming in Allati, A. (éd.): *Auréoles berbères: Mélanges Offerts à Michael Peyron* (Köln, probably to appear in 2013, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag), whereas part X is to appear in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 55/1 (2013), 99–110.

² Which was carried out partially during my research fellowship at Frankfurt (Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften) in 1999–2000 and 2002, which was facilitated by the grant of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Bonn). I express my utmost thanks to the Humboldt Foundation as well as to my professor in Frankfurt, Herrmann Jungraithmayr, the prominent Chadacist, for his invaluable help and support.

The present part contains etymologies of Berber roots with initial *n- followed by dental stops. The numeration of the entries continues that of the preceding parts of this series. In order to spare room, I quote those well-attested and widespread lexical roots that appear common Berber, only through a few illustrative examples. The underlying regular consonant correspondences between Berber vs. Afro-Asiatic agree with those established by the Russian team of I.M. Diakonoff and summarized by A.Ju. Militarev (1991, 242–3).

Keywords

Berber, Afro-Asiatic vs. Semito-Hamitic, comparative phonology, root reconstruction.

Berber *n- + *-d-

384. Brb. *√ndC₃ „battre (le lait)” [GT] > 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]³ || Sem.: Geez nadʔa „to drive (away), push, lead (off), urge on, spur, impel, cause to be fast etc.” [Lsl.], Tigrinya nädʔe „to push forward” [Lsl.], cf. Harari tā-nādaʔa „to resign o’self” (lit. „to be pushed”) [Lsl.], Amharic nādda „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)⁴ || NOm.: Chara nad-ā, -ē, -ō „burro” [Crl. 1938 III, 173] = nēd-a „butter” [Bnd. 1974 MS, 15] || CCh.: Daba nda „2. battre, frapper” [Mch. 1966, 140].

385. NBrb.: Mzg. nada „1. (re)chercher, 2. parcourir, errer (à la recherche de subsistance), trimer, peiner (pour vivre)” [Tf. 1991, 462] || WCh.: PAngas *nʔōt [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].⁵

³ 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.

⁴ R.O. Faulkner (AEPT 230, n. 7) surmised that PT nd “*may well be the niphʕal*” of Eg. d(w) „to place”.

⁵ Cf. also Angas nyoot „to strain over heavy work” [Flk. 1915, 258] = nyòot „to strain over heavy work” [Jng. 1962 MS, 31].

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

Berber *n- + *-t-

387. Brb. *√*ntC*₃ „to push” [GT] > NBrb.: Shilh *ntu* „pousser” [Jordan 1934, 97] | Qabyle √*nt*: *e-ntu* „être enfoncé, fiché, s’enfoncer”, *sse-ntu* „piquer, enfoncer, planter” [Dlt. 1982, 580] || WBrb.: Zenaga *e-nti* „piquer (sans pénétrer)” [Cohen-TC 2000, 285] ||| 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).

388. SBrb.: EWlmd. ä-nṭu and Ayr ä-nṭu ~ ə-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] ||| Eg. *ntt* „herstellen mit Bezug auf Bauen” (GR, Wb II 357, 5) = „enfermer dans des limites (?)” (Meeks 1977, 88, fm. 6)⁶.

389. SBrb.: EWlmd. and Ayr tə-nte, pl. *tə-nta-wen* „femelle, être de sexe féminin etc.” [PAM 2003, 629] ||| PCu. **naṭ-* „woman” [Bnd. 1994, 1163, #98] > LECu.: Oromo *naḍḍ-ən*, pl. *naḍḍ-ō ~ naḍḍ-ēniwōn* „woman, lady” [Gragg 1982, 298] || SCU.: Dahalo *nát-a*, pl. *naṭ-o, -e* „woman, wife” [EEN 1989, 39]⁷.

390. 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] ||| 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].

391. Brb. *√*ntf* „to pluck” [GT] > NBrb.: Izdeg *ntef* „arracher, épiler, plumer” [Mrc. 1937, 23, 105, 196] | Mzab *ə-ntəf* „arracher (en tirant), cueillir (en tirant), épiler, peler” [Dlh. 1984, 141], Wargla *ə-ntəf* „arracher en tirant, extraire, épiler, plumer, cueillir” [Dlh. 1987, 228] || EBrb.: Ghadames *e-ntəf* „1. rompre en menus

⁶ D. Meeks (l.c.) explained the GR verb from his unattested Eg. **ntj* „évoquent l’idée d’enfermer, d’enclorre” deduced from *ntj* „ficeler”, *ntnj* „vessie”, *ntnt* „diaphragme”, *snj* „tracer les fondations sur le sol” etc.

⁷ Ch. Ehret (1980, 184, #2) compared it with Iraqw *nacaca* “smooth” (which is to me semantically unacceptable) in order to set up SCU. **naṭa* „woman”.

le bec”, mi-ntāš- „instrument avec lequel on arrache ou épile” [BK II 1193]. Borrowing excluded for phonological reasons.

393. NBrb.: Wargla ə-ntəl „s’esquiver, s’enfuir en courant” [Dlh. 1987, 228] ||| Sem.: 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].

Berber *n- + *-d-

394. Brb. *√nd „to search (?)” [GT]: NBrb.: Zwawa √nd: nađi „chercher”, a-nađi „recherche” [Bst. 1890, 321] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr i-nađ „i.a. discuter de (l’un avec l’autre pour parvenir à une décision), se consulter (au sujet de), être appelé à l’aide, être associé, convoqué (guerrier)” [PAM 2003, 590], Ghat ta-nađ, pl. či-nađ-in „conseil, avis” [Nhl. 1909, 131] ||| Sem.: Ar. nšš I „8. interroger qqn. minutieusement, le presser de questions” [BK II 1267] = „to go to the utmost point in questioning or asking, importune the man in questioning or asking, and urge s’one to tell the utmost that he knew, to question or ask the man respecting a thing so as to elicit the utmost that he possessed” [Lane 2797] || MSA: Jibbali nižž leš „he pumped him for information”, šənžž (l-) „to ask secretly, make discreet inquiries” [Jns. 1981, 200], Mehri šənšáwz „to ask secretly, make discreet enquiries” [Jns. 1987, 309–310] ||| Eg. nd „fragen, beraten” (PT-, Wb II 370-1), ndnd „fragen” (MK, Wb II 232, 1-9)¹¹ ||| ECh.: Bidiya ʔinàd/ʔinđù „demander, interroger” [AJ 1989, 82].

395. NBrb.: Mzg. ndef [Mzg. d < AA *č] „1. être (r)avivé, irrité (plaie, blessure), se reouvrir, 2. souffrir d’une ancienne blessure, avoir une blessure qui s’est rouverte” [Tf. 1991, 466] ||| Sem.: Ar. √nšf [Ar. š < AA *č] IV „7. faire vite,

¹¹ The etymology of Eg. nd has been disputed so far. Some of the authors have already surmised the connection of Eg. nd with some of the AA reflexes, although in either semantically or phonologically misleading contexts. A. Ember (1913, 118, #78), followed in GÄSW 168, #683, compared it with Ar. √nšh „to give advice, counsel, be sincere (friend)”. W.F. Albright (1927, 223), followed in GÄSW 168, #683, combined Eg. ndnd with Ar. nğņ I „to deliberate”. C.T. Hodge (1966, 45, #38) equated it directly with Hausa niicú „to come to one’s senses” and nicaccéé „person of reflection”, which, however, belongs to a distinct AA root (below). V. Orel and O. Stolbova (HSED #1825) combined Eg. nd „to call” (!) with Ar. nšš (but in the sense „to dictate (a letter)”) and WCh.: Tumak naž „to chat”, while at the same time (!) they (HSED #1854) identified Eg. nd with CCh.: Glavda nggw „to answer” and ECh.: Sokoro negi „shout”. Ch. Ehret (1995, 321, #655) combined Eg. nd „to consult” with Ar. nšš „to announce, state explicitly” (not in its meaning quoted above which stands much closer to that of Eg. nd) and nšh „to advise and admonish sincerely” at the same time! O. Stolbova (1996, 118) was the first to compare Eg. nd with Bidiya √ʔnd, although erroneously derived the latter from her Ch. *naž- „to ask, tell”. The dilettantic approach of some non-linguist Egyptologists (Maspero 1898, 137–9; Westendorf 1973, 137; Quack 2002, 182) explaining Eg. nd from the primary sense „ver-/zerreiben, mahlen” (OK-, Wb II 369–370) cannot be seriously considered.

promptement, avoir été prompt et expéditif” [BK II 1273]¹². For the glottal sibilant correspondences cf. Takács 2006, 48–63.

396. Brb. *√**ndr** „to jump” [GT] > NBrb.: Shilh nder „bondir, (se) démener” [Jordan 1934, 95], Sus nder (sic, -d-) „sauter” [Lst. 1921, 295] || SBrb.: EWlmd. and Ayr ə-ndər „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] || Sem.: Dathina √nṯr „sauter” [GD 2780], Yemeni Ar. naṯar „to jump” [Pimenta 1990, 488]¹³ || ES *√nṯr „to bounce, jump” [Lsl. 1960, 206]: Amharic nāṯṯārä „to jump, bounce”, Tigrinya nāṯārä „to jump (around)”, Gurage (Gyeto dialect) nāṯārä vs. (Musher, Masqan, Gogot, Soddo) nāṯṯārä „to jump around, bounce, skip around” (ES: Lsl. 1987, 408; Sem.: Lsl. 1979 III 464).

397. SBrb.: Ayr **a-ndər**, pl. ə-ndər-än „déchirure, fente, blessure” [PAM 2003, 591] || Sem.: Soqotri nṣr: nó-ti-ṣar (refl. t-stem) „être déchiré, se fendre” [Lsl. 1938, 272] = „to be torn” [Lsl. 1987] || Geez naḍara ~ naṣara „to rip up, tear off, rend, separate, split” [Lsl. 1987, 387] = naḍara „briser” [Lsl. 1938], Tigre nāḫra „to tear asunder” [Lsl.] || Eg. ndr (GW) „ostracon” (NE, DLE II 44; GHwB 450) = „éclat de pierre” (AL 79.1965), cf. nd3 „Splitter o.ä. (von Holz und Stein)” (MK, NE, Wb II 377, 7-9) = „twig, splinter of wood” (Ember) = „chip (of wood, stone), flakes (of limestone on which inscriptions are written), splinter, nd3 of stone (employed for building, must be sizeable fragment, perhaps used for core masonry” (Harris 1961, 27) = „éclat de pierre, osracon” (Aufrère 1990, 101)¹⁴ || NAgaw (from ES?): Bilin naḫar „zerreißen, zerfleischen” [Rn. 1887, 283]. The underlying AA root might have been *√nḫr ~ *√nḫr „to tear, split” [GT].

398. SBrb.: Hgr. **e-ndər** „gider (gotelettes de bouillie qui cuit)” [Barrère 1994, 17] || Eg. nd3d3 „*wallen (auch mit Bezug auf das Herz)” (Med., GHwB 449,

¹² For the semantic shift cf., e.g., IE *gweiw- „to live” > French vite, English quick.

¹³ A root var. with *m- is represented by Ar. maṯara „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], which was combined in HSED 393, #1819 with CCh.: Glavda mḍar „to run (away), flee, go away” [Rapp & Benzing 1968, 65].

¹⁴ A. Ember (1912, 87; ESS §11.a.39) combined Eg. nd3 with Hbr. nēṣer „Schoß, Sprößling, Wurzelschoß” [GB 519] = „twig, rod” [Ember] = „sprout, offshoot” [KB 718], which is misleading, since the latter originates in Hbr. √nṣr ~ Ar. ndr „glänzen, grünen” [GB] = „to shine, thrive” [KB]. Accepting this inner Sem. derivation of the Hbr. word, F. von Calice (GÄSW 102, #428) assumed in Eg. nd3 a Sem. loanword! Others (Edel in AÄG lxiv; Vrg. 1973 Ib, 156 pace Fecht), in turn, saw in Eg. nd3 a prefix n- attached to an unattested *d3 > (S) ṣḫ, (B) ṣḫi „éclat”. A. Militarev (MM 1983, 199) too, surmised in Eg. nd3 an n- prefix, which he affiliated with Sem. *ṯVr(r)- „кремень”, *ṯr- „to cut”, and and LECu.: Oromo ḫiri „отрезать”.

cf. Wb II 377, 13), *nḍ3ḍ3j.t* „Aufwallen (des Herzens)” (Med., GHwB 449, cf. Wb II 377, 14).

399. NBrb. *√ndr* „to cast” [GT]: Tuzin, Iboqqoyen, Ikhebdanen, Bottiwa *√ndr* „jeter” [Biarnay 1917, 98], Wargla *√ndr: əndər* „1. (laisser) tomber, faire tomber, 2. par ext.: faire une fausse couche, (faire) avorter” [Dlh. 1987, 213] ||| Eg. **ndr* (so far unattested)¹⁵, a possible ancient source yielding Cpt. (SL) **NOYXƎ**, (SBF) **NOYX** „werfen, legen”, qual. „liegen”, (S) **NOYXƎ ƎBOΛ** „weglegen, aussenden, abweisen, wegwerfen” (KHW 137)¹⁶.

400. NBrb.: Mzg. *√ndw: ndew ~ ndu* „lâcher (couture, point de couture, point de couture), être décousu (vêtement)” [Tf. 1991, 469] ||| Sem.: Ar. *naḏā I* „1. ôter (son vêtement), 2. dépouiller qq. de son vêtement, 3. tirer (p.ex. le sabre du fourreau, sortir la verge du fourreau d’un cheval)” [BK II 1282].

Abbreviations of language names

(A): Akhmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, (B): Bohairic, Bed.: Bed’awye, Brb.: Berber, Ch.: Chadic, CCh.: Central Chadic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ECh.: East Chadic, ECu.: East Cushitic, EWlmd.: East Tawllmet, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period, GW: syllabic or group-writing, Hbr.: Hebrew, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Jbl.: Jibbali, (L): Lycopolitan (or Subakhmimic), LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, Lit.: literary texts, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Mzg.: Tamazight, N: North, NBch.: North Bauchi, NBrb.: North Berber, NK: New Kingdom, NOM.: North Omotic, Nslm.: Taneslemt, 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, Samar.: Samaritan, SBrb.: South Berber, Sem.: Semitic, Tna.: Tigrinya, W: West(ern), WBrb.: West Berber, WCh.: West Chadic, Zng.: Zenaga.

Abbreviations of language names

AJ: Alio & Jungrathmayr, Alb.: Albright, BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky, Bnd.: Bender, Brn.: Biarnay, Bst.: Basset, Crl.: Cerulli, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Ehr.: Ehret, Fed.: Foucauld, Flk.: Foulkes, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takács, Hnrg.:

¹⁵ The Eg. etymon of the Cpt. root has been debated. W.M. Müller (RT 31, 1909, 194 and fn. 3), followed by W. Spiegelberg (in his KHW 86), G. Burkard (1977, 39 and fn. 3), W. Vycichl (1990, 231 contra DELC 152), and Ch. Ehret (1995, 324, #631), explained it from Eg. *ndrj* „packen, fassen” (OK-, Wb II 382–3), which Müller still misrendered as „to strike (down)” (rightly corrected by K. Sethe in his ÜKAPT VI 147), which was rightly rejected by the authors of Wb (cf. Vrg. 1950, 291), W. Vycichl (in his DELC 152), J. Osing (NBĀ 839, n. 1132 contra Osing 1998, 96 and 201, n. g), and S.D. Schweitzer (2003, 240, fn. 29). W. Westendorf (KHW 137, also fn. 1), in turn, assumed its derivation either from Eg. *ndr* „zimmern” (allegedly pace Müller, whose suggested basic sense was, however, different) or *nḍ3* „Splitter” (MK, NE, Wb II 377, 7–8).

¹⁶ L. Reinisch (1887, 287) combined the Cpt. word with Sem. **√nšl*, cf. esp. Yemeni Ar. *√nšl I* „to throw away, take off, squander”, III „to disjoin, disconnect, take apart, dispoint, detach” [Piantenta 1990, 488], which is, alternatively in principle, possible.

Huehnergard, JA: Jungrauthmayr and Adams, Jng.: Jungrauthmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, KB: Koeehler & Baumgartner, Lbg.: Loubignac, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, Mlt.: Militarev, MM: Majzel' and Militarev, Mrc.: Mercier, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nhl.: Nehlil, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, Prs.: Prasse, RB: Rapp & Benzing, Rn.: Reinisch, Stl.: Stolbova, Stz.: Satzinger, TC: Taïne-Cheikh, Tf.: Taïfí, Tlm.: Tilmatine, Vrg.: Vergote, Vcl.: Vycichl, Wst.: Westendorf.

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