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Lexica Afroasiatica XIII**Abstract**

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 AA roots (not attested in Egyptian) for a separate Afro-Asiatic root catalogue in late 1999. The series *Lexica Afroasiatica* has started in 2002² with new Afro-Asiatic lexical 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 *-ʕ. 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

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 (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-) 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” (AA *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” (AA *f-) was published in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 57/4 (2004), 457–473. Part V (AA *ʕ- 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) is forthcoming in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (2012). The seventh part (AA 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” (additional AA roots with *m-) appeared in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 62/2 (2009), 26–125. „Lexica Afroasiatica IX” (AA *n- + labials) was published in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 52/2 (2010), 85–98. „Lexica Afroasiatica X” (AA roots with *n- + dentals) is forthcoming in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 64/2 (2011), while „Lexica Afroasiatica XI” (new AA roots with *n- + sibilants) is published in *Journal of Linguistic Relationship* 6 (2011), 141–171. Part XII (AA *n- + velars and uvulears) appeared in *Aula Orientalis* 30/1 (2012), 75–108.

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 linguistics, lexicography, Asia, Africa

AA *n- + *^o

1051. AA *√n^o „to twist around” > Eg. n^oj „Stricke drehen” (OK, Wb II 207, 1), n^oj „Seiler (als Verfertiger von Stricken und Wedeln)” (NE, Wb II 207, 2) ||| SCu.: WRift *ni^o „to move in a circle” [KM]: Burunge nīni^o-id „to encircle” (WRift: KM 2004, 217). Eventually related to the next two AA roots?

1052. AA *√n^o „to cavort around excited (?)” > Sem. *n^oy [GT]: Akk. *√n^oī/ū D „aufhetzen, aufstacheln, aufputschen, anregen”, ēpiš nu^oūti „jemand, der die Leute mit Witzen o.dgl. anregt, Witzmacher” [Soden 1955, 388-9] || Ar. √n^oy X „1. courir çà et là et porter son cavalier on ne sait où ,, cf. also √n^oy: na^oā I „3. exciter, presser, talonner”, X „5. persister, persévérer dans qqch., 6. accabler qqn., fondre sur lui de toutes parts” [BK II 1300] ||| Eg. n^ow „sich Gauklerweise herumziehen” (PT 702a, ÜKAPT VI 138) = „to caper with” (AEPT 132) = „to cavort (?)” (Allen 1984, 570) = „bondir (??)” (Jacq 1986, 31) = „herumtollen” (GHWb 395; ÄWb I 600)³ ||| SCu.: WRift *ni^o-im „to dance” [KM 2004, 217].⁴

1053. AA *√n^o „to penetrate, copulate”⁵ > Eg. n^ow „pénétrer, s’accoupler” (late NK, AL 77.2005) = „(unknown)” (DLE II 8) = „durchdringen, sich paaren” (GHWb 395) ||| NBrb.: Tamazight √n: uni „enfonce, emboîter, faire entrer une chose dans une autre”, cf. also Tamazight a-na „unité (d’une paire, un des objets formant une paire)” [Tf. 1991, 458], Izdeg a-na „paire (objets)” [Mrc. 1937, 183] ||| SCu.: Alagwa ni^o- „to copulate with” [Ehret],⁶ Burunge ni^o-im „to have sexual intercourse” [KM] ||| CCh.: Puss (Munjuk) niyi

³ The rendering of n^ow.tj „fahrender Gaukler” (AÄG 107, §247; ÄWb I 599) indicates that E: Edel was inclined to explain this word from Eg. n^oj „fahren” (Wb). The PT hapax and LEg. n^ow „to copulate” have been connected by H. Satzinger (2003, 222).

⁴ Equated by R. Kießling and M. Mous (l.c.) with Burunge nīni^o-id „to encircle” < WRift *ni^o „to move in a circle”.

⁵ Eventually, the underlying AA root may have primarily signified an excited rhythmical circular motion.

⁶ Combined by Ch. Ehret (1980, 186) with Iraqw na^oani „penis” and Dahalo nyi^oanyi^oe „thick” < SCu. *ni^o- „to thicken”.

„1. entrer, 2. faire l’amour” [Trn. 1991, 108], Mulwi (Vulum) \sqrt{ny} : $n\dot{y}i$ „entrer, faire l’amour” [Trn. 1978, 304]⁷ || ECh.: Kwang-Ngam $n\grave{a}:n\grave{e}$: [$< * \sqrt{ny}^{\circ} ?$] „coucher avec femme, foquer” [Lns. 1982, 110].

1054. AA $*\sqrt{n}^{\circ}$ „penis” > Sem.: (?) Ar. $na^{\circ}na^{\circ}a$ „1. devenir flasque (la verge du cheval à la suite de l’érection)” [BK II 1299] || SCu.: Iraqw $na^{\circ}ani$ (sic, $-^{\circ}$ -) „Penis” [Dempwolff 1916-7, 310, #28] = $na^{\circ}ni$ (f), pl. $ne^{\circ}\dot{e}no$ „penis” [Mgw. 1989, 116] = $na^{\circ}ani$ (f), pl. $na^{\circ}\dot{e}no$ „penis” [Mous 1996, 271; MQK 2002, 76], Gorowa $na^{\circ}ani$ „penis” [KM]⁸ || ECh.: Kwang-Ngam $t\grave{a}-n\grave{a}$ (f), pl. $k\grave{a}-n\grave{a}$ „penis” [Jng. 1973 MS]. Related to the preceding root.

1055. AA $*\sqrt{n}^{\circ} \sim * \sqrt{nh}$ „to feel pity” > Eg. n° „gütig, mitleidig (vom Herzen gegen), Mitleid haben mit jem., sich jemds. erbarmen” (XIX-XX., GR, Wb II 206, 4-6) = „to be lenient” (FD 126)⁹ > Dem. n° „barmherzig, gütig sein” (DG 208) > OCpt. $n\dot{ie}$ „to have pity” (Černý, Kahle, Parker 1957, 94) vs. (S) $n\lambda(\lambda)$, (B) $n\lambda$ „avoir pitié (de)” (DELIC 136) || LECu. $*nah-$ [Black 1974, 160]:¹⁰ Oromo-Borana $nah-$ „pity, to be afraid” [Black] = $n\grave{a}$ „to feel pity, sympathy for, worry about s’one, feel concern for” [Strm. 1987, 372; 1995, 211] | Somali nah „2. Mitleid, Erbarmnis” [Rn. 1902, 312], Somali-Jabarti nah „bemitleiden” [Rn. 1904, 80] || CCh.: (?) Gude nee (tr. verb), cf. $nee ka t\grave{a}guun\grave{a}$ „to feel sorry for, have mercy on” ($t\grave{a}guun\grave{a}$ „pitifulness”) [Hsk. 1983, 250, 272].

1056. AA $*\sqrt{n}^{\circ}$ „wet, fresh” > Sem.: Ar. $na^{\circ}w-$ „dattes nouvelles” [BK II 1299] || SCu. $*na^{\circ}-$ „to get wet” [Ehret]: Irqaw and Burunge $na^{\circ}-$ „to get wet, unripe”, Alagwa $ana^{\circ}at$ „unripe” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 352, #2). Can we see – in spite of the Ar. evidence – the extension of this very root by $*-r$ in the following entry?

1057. AA $*\sqrt{n}^{\circ}r \sim * \sqrt{nyr}$ „1. to be wet, 2. rot” > Sem.: Official Aram. $n^{\circ}r qal$ „to foam (said of wine), ferment (?)” (meaning uncertain) [DNWSI 739] | Ar. \sqrt{nyr} IV „2. être gâté corrompu” [BK II 1300] || (?) Eg. $n^{\circ}r^{\circ}t$ „etwas an einer Geschwulst” (Med., Wb II 209, 9) = (to be read $n^{\circ}r^{\circ}r^{\circ}$?) „Krankheitserscheinung am Ohr” (WMT I 448; GHWb 395) || EBrb.: Ghadames $n\grave{a}r$ „moisir, se corrompre” [Lanfry 1973, 245, #1151] || SCu.: PRift $*na^{\circ}ar-$ „wet” [Ehret]: Iraqw $na^{\circ}aro$ „wet” | Asa $na^{\circ}ar-at$ „cow dung” (originally $*\sqrt{w}$ „wet cow dung”, SCu.: Ehret 1980, 351).

1058. AA $*\sqrt{n}^{\circ}t$ „superior” > Sem.: OSA (Qtb.) $t-n^{\circ}t$ „excellence (?)” [Ricks 1982 MS, 156/7], Ar. $\sqrt{n}^{\circ}t$: $na^{\circ}ita$ I „être rapide à la course (se dit d’un cheval)”, IV „être beau et mériter d’être décrit et vanté; mériter des épithètes élogieuses”, $na^{\circ}t-$ „bon, de race, et qui devance les autres à la course (cheval)”, $nu^{\circ}t-at-$ „tout ce qu’il y a de plus

⁷ O. Stolbova (2005, 99-100, #338) connected the CCh. root with ECh. $*nVy-$ „to be(come) pregnant (animals)” under a common Ch. $*nVy-/*n\dot{V}-$ „to copulate”.

⁸ M. Mous and R. Kießling (2004, 213) explained both WRift $*na^{\circ}ani$ „penis” and $*na^{\circ}ay$ „child” as an innovation on the basis of WRift $*na^{\circ}-$ „to be wet, moist, fresh”.

⁹ The etymology of the Neo-Eg. root has been disputed among egyptologists. W. Westendorf (KHW 117) supposed a metathesis from Eg. n° (Wb I 190). W. Vycichl (DELIC 136) connected it with PT 542 n° „den Tod verkünden” (Wb). J.F. Quack (1994, 93, fn. 31), in turn, explained Eg. n° „1. mitleidig, 2. sanft, zärtlich” from \sqrt{n}° with a *Grundbedeutung* „glatt sein”. Similarly, Ch. Ehret (1995, 322, #626) derived it from his AA $*na^{\circ}-$ „to be soft” along with Eg. n° and $n^{\circ}j$.

¹⁰ H.-J. Sasse (1979, 23) reconstructs ECu. $*nah-$ „fear” as the etymon of all the ECu. forms.

beau”, na^t-at- ~ na^tit-(at)- ~ mu-nta^tit- „excellent, qui devance tous les autres à la course (cheval)” [BK II 1292]¹¹ ||l WCh.: Angas-Sura *nā₂t „important, great” [GT 2004, 266]: Angas nēt „serious” [Gcl. 1994, 41], Sura nāt „groß, schwerwiegend, bedeutend” [Jng. 1963, 76], Mupun nāt „boss” [Frj. 1991, 41].

1059. AA *√n^ts „low class person” > Eg. nds „(probably) an individual of the lowest class, a laborer rather than a peasant” (Badawy 1961, 145, n. a) ||l LECu. *na^tas- [Black 1974, 203]: Afar na^tás „slave” [Black] = na^tasu (m), na^taso (f) „slave” [PH 1985, 173] | Somali ná^tas „fool, person who lets others manipulate him” [Black]. The special Eg.-ECu. isogloss is ultimately related to Sem. *√n^ts „to be small” [GT]:¹² Ar. na^tasa „être faible, infirme, débile” [BK II 1294] || Soqotri ná^tseh „morceau (de poisson, de pain)”, ne^tésoh „un peu” [Lsl. 1938, 269] || Geez nə^tsa „to be small” [Lsl. 1987, 381] = ne^tesa [Hommel: so besser als ne^tesa] = n^ts „diminuer” [Cohen] = nə^təsä „to be less, diminished” [Lsl. 1969, 27] = nə^təsä „to be small” [Faber] ||l (?) Eg. nds [-d- < *-^t- poss.] „klein, schwach, gering” (PT-, Wb II 384-5) = „little, small (of size, degree)” (FD 145)¹³. This latter etymology has been well known.¹⁴

1060. AA *√n^tg ~ *√ng^t „to break” > Sem.: Tigrinya negwě^te „se briser, se casser” [Coulbeaux apud Wajnberg 1935, 60] ||l Eg. n^tg „zerkleinern” (Med., Wb II 210, 2; GHWb 396) ||l CCh.: Daba ḡḡa „to break (in general, a stick)”, Kola ḡḡa „to break (a pot)”, Musgoy ḡḡa „to break (general)” (CCh.: Stl. 2005, 124, #449).

Abbreviations of languages

(A): Akhmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, Ass.: Assyrian, (B): Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BD: Book of the Dead, Bed.: Bed’awye, Brb.: Berber, Ch.: Chadic, CCh.: Central Chadic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, ECh.: East Chadic, ECu.: East Cushitic, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, EWlmd.: East Tawlemmet, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period, GW: syllabic or group-writing, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, Hgr.: Ahaggar, IMP: Intermediate Period, JAram.: Jewish Aramaic, (L): Lycopolitan (or Subakhmimic), LECu.:

¹¹ O. Rössler (1971, 299) combined the Ar. root with Eg. nḥt „stark sein” (OK-, WB II 314-6).

¹² The reflexes of this Sem. root have been usually equated (or confused) with those of Sem. *ʔnš „to be weak, small” [Faber], e.g., Hebrew ʔnš nifal „to be sickly, decrease” [Lsl.] ||l Soqotri ʔenes „to be small” [Lsl.] ||l SEthiopian *ʔns „to be less, diminish” [Lsl.], cf. Lsl. 1956, 180; 1968, 350, #268; 1969, 27; 1987, 381; Faber 1984, 200, §1 (her suggestion of directly equating *ʔnš with Eg. nds is certainly unacceptable).

¹³ The widespread comparison of Eg. nds with Ar. na^tasa (so in Hommel 1883, 441, fn. 30; 1894, 351, fn. 1; Erman 1892, 113; Ember 1912, 90, fn. 4; 1926, 6; 1926, 309, fn. 8; ESS, 111, §24.d.2, also §11.a.43; Vycichl 1934, 63; GÄSW 69, #235; Vergote 1945, 147, §24.b.2; Cohen 1947, #80; Rössler 1966, 228; Faber 1984, 200, §1) was rejected by W.M. Müller (1907, 303, fn. 2) and J. Osing (2001, 579), since in stem I, its primary sense was „1. to drowse, be(come) drowsy, heavy with sleepiness, slumber, doze”, whence only secondarily it denoted „2. to be soft, weak, stagnant, dull (with respect to traffic)” [Lane 2815-6]. Nevertheless, Eg. nds is also applied in the sense „schwach, gering vom mangelhaften Zustand der Körperfunktionen: Augen, Ohren, Eßlust” (Wb II 384, 11-13) = „dim (of eyes), dull (of ears), poor (of appetite)” (FD 145). V. Orel and O. Stolbova (1992, 201; HSED #964) presupposed in Eg. nds a prefix n- and equated it with CCh. *ḡwas- „short”. Alternatively, I would not exclude a cognacy with NOm.: Mao-Bambeshi nīcīšī „few”, nī:cīšīè „small” [Wdk.-Sbr. 1993, 56] < AA *√n^tçs.

¹⁴ See Hommel 1915, 16, fn. 3; Cohen 1947, #80; Bnd. 1975, 186; Faber 1984, 200.

Lowland East Cushitic, Lit.: literary texts, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Med.: medical texts, 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, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Samar.: Samaritan, SBrb.: South Berber, Sem.: Semitic, W: West(ern), WBrb.: West Berber, WCh.: West Chadic, Wlmd.: Tawlemmet, WSem.: West Semitic.

Abbreviations of author names

BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky, Bnd.: Bender, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Gcl.: Gochal, GT: Takács, Hsk.: Hoskison, Jng.: Jungrauthmayr, KM: Kießling and Mous, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lns.: Lenssen, Lsl.: Leslau, Mgw.: Maghway, MQK: Mous, Qorro, Kießling, Mrc.: Mercier, OS: Orel and Stolbova, PH: Parker and Hayward, Rn.: Reinisch, Rsl.: Rössler, Ss.: Sasse, Stl.: Stolbova, Strm.: Stroomer, Stz.: Satzinger, Tf.: Täifi, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote.

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