

Lexica Afroasiatica XI

The paper represents the next installment in an ongoing series of publications that document the author's search for new Afro-Asiatic etymologies, which he has been elaborating for the last decade, parallel to his work on the *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. The current installment (etymologies 919–988) includes Afro-Asiatic roots with the dental nasal *n- followed by sibilants.

Keywords: Afro-Asiatic languages, Egyptian language, comparative phonology, historical reconstruction.

Comparative-historical Afro-Asiatic linguistics has undergone a significant development over the past half century, since the appearance of “*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 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 were observed independently from myself¹. Along with the EDE project (and the underlying “Egyptian etymological word catalogue”), I started collecting AA roots (not attested in Egyptian) for a separate Afro-Asiatic root catalogue in late 1999.

The series “*Lexica Afroasiatica*” began in 2002² for communicating new Afro-Asiatic lexical correspondences observed recently during my work, which may later serve as a basis for a

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

² The first part of this series (lexical parallels with PAA *b-) appeared in *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* (Köln) 67 (2002), 103–151. The second part (additional lexical roots with AA *b-) was published 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). 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 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. “Lexica Afroasiatica X” (new AA roots with *n- + dentals) is forthcoming in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warszawa) 64/2 (2011).

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 dental nasal (*n-) observed after my research periods at the 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 sibilants.

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 thought of 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 of 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 2011]). The most important results can be summarized as follows. The labial triad *b — *p — *f remained unchanged in Egyptian, South Cushitic, and Chadic, while the dental series *d — *t — *ṭ was kept as such in Semitic and South Cushitic (AA *ṭ continued as *ḏ in Berber, Cushitic and Chadic, and it was merged into t vs. d in Egyptian). The fine distinction of the diverse sibilant affricates and fricatives (AA *c, *ʒ, *č, *s, *š, *ʃ, *ç, *š, *ĉ, *ĉ, *ṣ) 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 fricative counterpart: *g, *q̣, *q, and *ḫ, the distinction of which was retained in Cushitic and Chadic, but was merged into *ḫ in Semitic and Egyptian. In a number of cases, however, it is still difficult to exactly reconstruct the root consonants on the basis of available cognates (esp. when they come from branches that have only modern attested descendants, e.g., Berber, Cushitic-Omotic, or Chadic). In such cases, the corresponding capitals are used (denoting only the place of articulation)⁴.

AA *n- + sibilants

919. AA *√nʒ “to make voice” > Sem.: Ar. nazza I “2. crier, faire entendre sa voix (se dit des gazelles)” [BK II 1233] ||| ECh.: WDangla nízzé “soupirer” [Fédry 1971, 218].

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

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 *ḳ) or *Q for any unknown postvelar/uvular (*g, *q or *q̣), while *H stands for any laryngeal or pharyngeal (*ʔ, *h, *ʕ, *ḥ, also *ʕ).

920. AA * $\sqrt{n}z$ “to make bloodshed” > Sem.: Ar. nzw: nazā IV “2. faire saigner, faire perdre beaucoup de sang” [BK II 1243] = “nzw/y (?)” nazā I (act.) “perdre son sang jusqu’à épuisement” [Fagnan 1923, 171] ||| Eg. nz “Blutbad (ob richtig?)” (XXVI, Wb II 319, 5)⁵ ||| NBrb.: Izdeg u-nzu “avoir une hémorragie nasale” [Mrc. 1937, 137] ||| CCh.: perhaps Mofu-Gudur náz “sangue” [Br. 1988, 201].

921. AA * $\sqrt{n}z$ “to r(a)ise” > Sem.: MHbr. nzz qal “1. eig.: *(auf)springen, 2. übertr.: sich überheben, übermütig werden” [Levy 1924 III 364] | Ar. nzz I “1. se mettre à courir (gazelles)”, III “lutter avec qqn. de gloire, de supériorité”, IV “faire sortir l’eau à sa surface (la terre)”, nzw I “1. sauter, faire un saut, 2. couvrir une femelle, 5. renchérir, monter en prix (se dit des grains), 6. entrer en fermentation (se dit du vin)”, VI “se disputer la gloire, la supériorité” [BK II 1233, 1242–3] = nzw VIII “se révolter contre (son souverain), s’emparer de” [Dozy II 664] ||| Eg. nzj “to raise up (??)” (CT V 28b, AECT II 7; DCT 245)⁶.

922. AA * $\sqrt{n}z$ (var. * $\sqrt{n}z\check{?}$)⁷ “1. to suffer, 2. move convulsively, shake” > Sem. * $\sqrt{n}z$:- Ar. nazaw-ān- “2. la crise, le moment de la plus grande intensité d’une maladie” [BK II 1243], Yemeni Ar. $\sqrt{n}zy$ I: nazā “to suffer from an incurable disease” [Piamenta 1990–1, 483] || ES * $\sqrt{n}znz$: Geez naznaza “1. to vex, torment, cause pain, 2. shake, agitate”, tanaznaza (tānāznāzā) “to be vexed, shaken”, hence, e.g., Tna. nāznāzā “to shake”, Tigre nāznāza “to jog”, Amh. nāzānnāzā “to importune, pester, torment, bother” (ES: Lsl. 1979 III, 466; 1982, 57; 1987, 411) ||| Eg. nznz “to suffer” (CT VI 134i, DCT 247)⁸ ||| CCh.: Glavda nž “1. to feel pain, suffer, 2. convulse” [RB 1968, 74]. Cf. also AA *n-c/s “to groan from suffering” (infra).

923. AA * $\sqrt{n}z$ p “to spread (out, on)” > Sem.: Sqt. ʔénzof “étendre” [Lsl. 1938, 263]⁹ || Geez nazafa II “to spread out (e.g. a mat), spread grass or leaves on the floor” [Lsl. 1987, 411]¹⁰ ||| Eg. nzp “Tätigkeit beim Backen: das Brot glatt streichen” (OK: V. 2x, Wb II 319, 8) = “ein Aufstrich bzw. Überzug (des des Gebäcks und des Brotes) mit der in die Schalen gestrichenen Substanz” (Montet apud Falting l.c. infra) = “mit Brotpachtel Brotlaib formen (glätten, ritzen)” (ÄWb I 661c; GHWb 432) = “Behandlung von šf.t-Gebäck und gw³-Brot mit einem gelben Instrument (Scherbe? Steinschaber?)” (Faltings 1998, 229)¹¹ ||| SBrb. * $\sqrt{n}zf$ “to allon-

⁵ In principle, this word might alternatively be interpreted as a late writing of the equally uncertain Eg. ns “Verletzung (?)” (NE, Wb II 321, 4) as supposed in the lit., cf. Alliot, RdE 10 (1955), 1–4; WD II 79. For Eg. ns, cf. AA *n-s infra.

⁶ Replaced by Eg. t $\check{z}j$ “to raise” but in one single ex. (namely coffin Sq6c) of CT V 28b, all other exx. have nzj. R.O. Faulkner (AECT II 7, spell 366, n. 4), based on this, supposed in nzj a miswriting for t $\check{z}j$, which is unlikely given the fact that nzj occurs in more instances.

⁷ The Sem. evidence clearly supports the reconstruction of AA * $\check{z}$. Eg. z can reflect both AA * $\check{z}$ and * $\check{z}$.

⁸ The rendering of CT VI 134i nznz has been disputed according to different (pre)conceptions: “détruire, être détruit (par le feu)” (AL 78.2235) = “zerschneiden” (ÄWb II 1346b-c). Following E. Edel (1975, 32), R.O. Faulkner (AECT II 157, spell 539, n. 1), D. Meeks (AL 78.2235), and R. van der Molen (DCT 247) suggested an etymological link to OEg. nznzn.w (neg. complement) “sich vollständig lösen von, *vergehen” (PT 903a and 2127g, ÄWb I 662a) = “to pass away” (Allen 1984, 586), which is semantically not at all evident, let alone the fact that CT zznz < * $\sqrt{n}zn$, whereas PT nznzn < either * $\sqrt{n}zn$ or * $\sqrt{n}zl$. In the latter case, one might attach PT *nzlzl to AA *n- $\check{z}$ -l (infra). R. Hannig (ÄWb l.c.), in turn, assumed a derivation from Eg. zn “to cut”. In addition, E. Edel (l.c.) traced both PT nznzn and CT zznz back to Eg. znj “vorbeigehen”, which is semantically dubious.

⁹ Regarded by W. Leslau (l.c.) as a var. of Sqt. ʔéndef “id.”.

¹⁰ Regarded by W. Leslau (l.c.) as a var. of Geez našafa “id.”.

¹¹ D. Faltings (1998, 229) was also inclined to see in OK nzp a term expressing “ein Aufschneiden oder Einritzen”, accepting W. Wreszinski’s (1926, 13; AAÄKG I 399) rendering “zerschneiden (der Spitzbrote mit einem

gate (?)” [GT]: Hgr. *ä-nhəf* “bâton gros, long”, Ghat *a-nzəf* “(trou de) pivot”, *a-nžəf* “tison” (SBrb.: Prs. 1969, 82, #541).

924. AA **√nɜP* “to hurt by cutting” > Sem.: (???) Ar. *√nzf* I “saigner du nez” [Dozy II 659]¹² || Geez *nazafa* I “to tear/cut off” [Lsl. 1987, 411] ||| Eg. *nzp.w* “Wunden, Ritzwunden (?)” (CT, Wb II 319, 9; ÄWb II 1346b; WD I 113) = “Messer (des Re)” (CT VII 370a, 468g, Altenmüller 1975, 347) = “wounds” (Borghouts 1971, 206; DCT 247)¹³, cf. *nzp* “Messer” (GR, Wb II 319, 10) = “knife” (PL 546) ||| NBrb.: Qabyle *√nzf*: *nezzəf* “souffrir d’une douleur aiguë, piquer (douleur)” [Dlt. 1982, 591] || SBrb.: (?) Tadhgaq and Tudalt *ə-nfāz* “to punch in the face” [Sudlow 2001, 133].

925. AA **√nɜr* “to be in pressing need” > Sem.: Ar. *nazara* I “1. être pressant dans ses demandes, 2. presser, talonner qqn.”, pass. *nuzira* I “être importuné, pressé vivement, talonné” [BK II 1235] ||| NBrb.: Mzg. *√nrz* [met. < **nɜr*?]: *nnurz* “1. être dans le besoin, être nécessaire, besoin, 2. attendre après qqn., espérer en qqn., avoir besoin de qqn.”, *a-nnurz* “besoin, gêne, nécessité” [Tf. 1991, 496].

926. AA **√nɜr* “to break into pieces” > Sem.: Sqt. *√nɜr* (var. *√nɜr*): t-stem “to split (intr.): se fendre” [Lsl. 1938, 263] || ES **√nɜr*: Geez *nazara* ~ *nazzara* I “to bite, tear to pieces, pierce, crunch, hit”, *nəzzur* “torn into pieces, pierced, pock-marked”, cf. *nazara* ~ *nazzara* II “to be separated, dispersed”, Tna. *nāzār/lā* “to tear to pieces, bite”, Tigre *nāžra* “to bite off”, Amh. *nāzzārā* “to strike, hit”, cf. *a-nāzzārā* “to squander” (Eth.-Sem.: Lsl. 1987, 411–2) ||| Eg. *nɜ* (GW) “briser” (NE, AL 79.1619) = “zerbrechen” (GHWb 431). A var. (?) with a voiceless -C₂- is also known in Sem.¹⁴

927. AA **√nɜl* “to be dissolved, descend, disappear” > Sem. **√nɜl*: MHbr. *nɜl qal* “to run, melt, be distilled” [Jastrow 1950, 892], Mandaean *√nɜl* “to descend, go down, flow down, disappear, melt” [Drower-Macuch 1963, 295] | Ar. *nazala* I “1. descendre etc.” [BK II 1239; Dozy II 659] = “s’adoucir, se relâcher de ses exigences, descendre” [Fagnan 1923, 170–1] || Geez *nazala* ~ -zz- “to go down, flow, spill over, seep (water), become damp (from seepage)” [Lsl. 1987, 411: < Ar.] ||| (?) Eg. *nznzn.w* (neg. complement) “sich vollständig lösen von, *ver-

Messer)” (stimulated by an alleged etymological connection to Eg. *nzp.w* “wounds” of CT, BD assumed by Wreszinski) rightly remarking, though, that “*doch weisen die beiden Handhaltungen darauf nicht eindeutig hin*” in the OK scenes where the *nzp* activity was depicted. Actually, this rendering would agree quite well with Geez *nazafa* I “to tear/cut off” [Lsl. 1987, 411]. But it is more reasonable to side with the more careful position taken by P. Montet (1925, 241), who observes that on the OK scenes in question “*on voit des boulangers promener sur des pains coniques un instrument qui ressemble à un racloir*” similar in form to the det. of OK *zšp* “(Möbel) glätten, polieren, (Brot) glatt streichen” (PT, Wb III 485, 8–9 pace Montet), and, based on this, concludes that with this instrument “*le produit contenu dans les écuelles zšn.t, était étendu sur toute la surface du pain: c’est à cette opération que se rapportait le terme nɜp*”, while “*le boulanger y procédait avec une sorte de racloir*”.

¹² Alternatively, the Ar. root might be a met. of **√nzf* to be compared with Eg. *znf* “blood”.

¹³ Ch. Ehret (1995, 332, #648) erroneously compared CT *nzp.w* with Sem.: Ar. *ntf* “to suffer from indigestion”, HECu.: Sidamo *nīt-* “to have labour pains”, and NOm.: Benesho *ṇaṇ* (-ts’) “headache”, but Eg. *z* has nothing in common with AA **ṭ*.

¹⁴ Cf. Akk. *našāru* G “abteilen” [AHW 759] = G “1. to cut off a piece of a land holding, expropriate part of a holding, 2. deduct, remove, 3. reduce in size, number, intensity”, D (*nuššuru*) “to set aside, save, cut off (?), diminish in strength, weaken, subtract, etc.” [CAD n2, 60] || Ar. *nasara* I “5. déchirer ou ouvrir, faire crever (une plaie, un abcès)”, V “1. se défaire, se détordre (corde), 2. crever (abcès), 3. être déchiré et mis en lambeaux (vêtement ou papier)” [BK II 1248].

gehen” (PT 903a and 2127g, ÄWb I 662a) = “to pass away” (Allen 1984, 586) ||| NBrb.: Qabyle e-nzel “filer, partir” [Dlt. 1982, 592] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-nzəl “être effacé (écriture), 2. (EWlmd.) tomber dans l’oubli, en désuétude, disparaître de l’usage” [PAM 2003, 637].

928. AA *√nc “to lick” > Sem.: Ar. nasaʔa I “4. lécher (p.ex., une gazelle qui lèche son petit)” [BK II 1244] ||| SCu.: NWRift *nāc (-ts) “to lick” [KM 2004, 216]: Iraqw-Alagwa nac “to lick” [Ehret 1980, 184, #5] = nāc [KM]¹⁵, Iraqw nāc (-ts) “to lick” [Mgw. 1989, 116] = nāc (-ts) “to lick with the tongue” [MQK 2002, 78].

929. AA *√nc (var. *√ns)¹⁶ “to groan from suffering” > Sem. *√nss “1. to suffer, 2. complain” [GT]: Akk. nasāsu “wehklagen” [GB] = “klagen, jammern” [AHW 753] || Hbr. nss I (GB: unsichere Wurzel): qal part. nōsēs “(ein Kranker)” [GB 508] = “to stagger, despair (?)” [KB 703], Syr. *√nss “krank sein”: nsīs “krank, elend” [GB, AHW] | Ar. nasīs- “1. faim violente, 3. peine, fatigue, 4. dernier souffle de la vie”, nasīs-at- “dernier souffle de la vie”, cf. nasnasa I “être faible, débile” [BK II 1244, 1253] ||| NBrb.: Mzg. i-nziz “chanter à voix basse, fredonner, lamenter chants tristes, funèbres, se lamenter en chantant”, a-nza, pl. a-nzat-n “gémissement, geignement mystérieux entendus à la tombée de la nuit près de la tombe d’un assassiné ou d’un inconnu (on dit que ces gémissements sont des appels à la vengeance)” [Tf. 1991, 512] ||| WCh.: Hausa nīisà “1. to groan, rumble, 2. keep on thinking regretfully of dead or absent person” [Abr. 1962, 705]. Cf. AA *n-3/3 (supra).

930. AA *√nc “to descend, sink” > Sem.: Ar. nss I: nassa “4. descendre à l’eau, à l’abreuvoir, à une aiguade (se dit d’une troupe de nomades, des pâtres, etc.)” [BK II 1243], cf. Yemeni Ar. nsl [root ext. -lʔ] I: nasal “to sink down, sink together”, II “to let down”, V “to lower o.s. down” [Piamenta 1990–1, 484] ||| Eg. ns “vom Einsinken des Fußes in den Ackerboden” (Med., Wb II 320, 19) = “to sink, settle into (cultivated ground)” ≈ ḏfj n ḥrw “penetration downward” (Breasted l.c. infra) = “einsinken” (GHWb 430), cf. ns.wt “eine Krankheitserscheinung am Nacken wirbel: Senkung o.ä. (?)” (Med., Wb II 324, 16) = “displacement” ≈ hrp “to sink” (Breasted 1930, 334–5, 337) ||| NBrb.: Mzg. a-nz ~ u-nz “se soumettre, se baisser, s’incliner”, a-nnaz “1. soumission, 2. attitude humble, modeste” [Tf. 1991, 512] | Shenwa a-nz “s’abaisser” [Lst. 1912, 148] | Qabyle a-nez “1. s’incliner, 2. se soumettre”, zzi-nez “s’abaisser (surtout au sens fig.)”, a-nnuz “abaissement, attitude humble” [Dlt. 1982, 589] ||| WCh.: Hausa nīcà (-ts-) “2. to penetrate into, 3. vanish”, nīcò “1. vanishing below the water, 2. swimming under water, 3. being hidden” [Abr. 1962, 705–6] = ni/uc- (-ts-) “to abate, sink, vanish” [Skn. 1996, 209]¹⁷, Gwandara nūču “1. to dive, sink” [Mts. 1972, 91] || CCh.: Margi nčù “1. to plant (GT: < orig. *to plug in’), 2. immerse, dive” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 127] || ECh.: (?) Gadang nāsī “tomber” [Jng. 1990 MS, 14, #257].

¹⁵ Ch. Ehret (l.c.) affiliated this stem with Dahalo *nyānyānte* “leech”.

¹⁶ The sibilant correspondences are controversial. Sem. *s = Brb. *z < AA *c, whereas Hausa -s- < AA *-s-/*-č-.

¹⁷ N. Skinner (1977, 43) equated Hausa *nuce* (-ts-) “to sink” with Nbauchi *√nš “to swim” [GT]. Later, Skinner (1996, 209) combined the Hausa word with CCh.: Mofu-Gudur *nās-* “1. endommager, abîmer, gâter, (se) perdre, 2. handicaper, 3. maudire” [Br. 1988, 201] (GT: cannot belong here, since its basic meaning was hardly “to sink”) || ECh.: Migama *núuḍyó* “enfoncez, plonger” [JA], Bidiya *noody-* “enfouir” [AJ] and a number of impossible comparanda such as, e.g., Ecu. *noč- “to sink”. Similarly, O. Stolbova (2005, 136, #513) derived the Hausa verb from PCh. *nV[č]- “to sink, plunge” in comparison with Migama *núuḍyó*, which, indeed, represents a plausible alternative (Hausa c < both AA *c and *č).

931. AA *√ncnc “bird sp.” > Sem.: (?) Akk. *našnašu* (act. to be read **nasnasu*?) “(a bird)” [CAD n₂, 49] = *našnāšu/ū* “ein Vogel” [AHW 757]¹⁸ || Ar. *nasūs-* “sorte d’oiseau plus grand qu’on moineau, et plus petit qu’une perdrix (il a la tête très-grosse et vit dans les montagnes)” [BK II 1243] vs. *nusnūs-* “nom d’un oiseau à large tête, qui habite les montagnes” [Dozy II 668] ||| Eg. *nsns* (pl.) “ein Vogel (erwähnt bei der Einrichtung des Geflügelhofes für Amun)” (XIX. 1x: Sethi II, MWNR 506) = “Art Vögel (im Geflügelhof)” (GHWb 432).

932. AA *√nc[h] “porcupine” > NBrb. **i-nisi*¹⁹ “hérisson” [GT]: e.g., Shilh *i-nisi* “Igel” [Vcl.] | Mzg. *i-nsi*, pl. *i-ns-an* [Tf. 1991, 498] | Botiwa *i-nsi*, pl. *ins-awen* [Biarnay 1911, 186] | Wargla *i-nsi* [Dlh. 1987, 225] | Qabyle *i-nisi*, pl. *i-nisi-wen* ~ *i-nis-an* [Bgc. 1998, 305; Dlt. 1982, 576] | Nefusa *i-nsi* [Mtl. 1904, 126], Izdeg *i-nsi* [Mrc. 1937, 137] ||| CCh.: Mafa-Mada *(N)cəhi(ḏ) “porcupine” [Rsg. 1978, 305, #538]. Perhaps related to Eg. *nḥs* “stechen (von einem Insekt)” (NE, Wb II 303, 2) ||| Sem. **nāḥāš-* “Schlange” [Hinz 1992, 268] via metathesis.

933. AA *√ncr “to bleed (nose)” > SEth.-Sem., e.g., Amh. *nässärä(w)* “1. to have a nose-bleed, 2. form (pools of melted butter on the surface of cooking sauce), 3. (fig.) predominate, preponderate, be more than”, *näsära* “having a nosebleed, bleeding from the nose”, cf. *nässärä* “to sweat, form on the body (perspiration)” [Kane 1990, 1023] and Tigre *√nśr* “to bleed” [Lsl. 1979 III, 462] (GT: borrowed from Cu. or vice versa?) ||| Brb. **√nżr* “saigner du nez” [NZ]: NBrb.: Shilh *wwunzer* “saigner du nez” [NZ] | Mzg. *√nżr*: Zayan *g/kunzer* ~ Izdeg *munzer* “saigner du nez” [Tf. 1991, 514] | Uriaghel, Iboqqoyen, Senhazha *√nżr*: *funzär* “saigner du nez” [Rns. 1932, 393], Mzab *ggunzer* “saigner du nez” [Dlh. 1984, 61–62], Wargla *mmunzər* “saigner du nez” [Dlh. 1987, 232] | Qabyle *funzr* ~ *wunzr* “saigner du nez” [Chaker 1972–3, 87: prefix *f-/w-*] || EBrb.: Ghadames *fənzər* “saigner du nez” [Lnf. 1973, 90–91, #399] = *fenzer* [NZ] || WBrb.: Zenaga *√nżr*: *ūžər* “saigner du nez” [Ncl. 1953, 239] || SBrb.: Hgr. *ă-ñher* “sang s’écoulant par les narines dans un saignement de nez”, *fuñher* “avoir la narine coupée (par l’arrachement de l’anneau de nez)” [Fcd. 1951–2, 1355], Tadghaq and Tudalt *e-nžār*, pl. *e-nžār-ān* “nosebleed” [Sudlow 2001, 281] ||| NAgaw: Bilin *našar* “aus der Nase bluten”, *našarā* “Blutung, Blut aus der Nase” [Rn. 1887, 286], Kemant *našir* “saignement du nez” [CR 1912, 238] ||| NOm.: Mocha (borrowed from Amh.) *nāširi(yé)* “to bleed” [Lsl. 1959, 44]. The first radical (*f-*, *m-*, *k-*, *g-*, *w-*) in the root type *√C₁nżr*, which frequently occurs among Brb. reflexes (cf. Lst. 1931, 292; NZ 2002, 367–8), may be a secondary non-etymological root extension.

934. AA *√nc “to be wise” > NBrb.: Zayan and Sgugu *√nżz*: *nezz* “être intelligent, avoir du bon sens” [Lbg. 1924, 573] ||| WCh.: Hausa *nicú* “to come to his senses”, *nìcé* “to reflect”, *nìcaccéé* “person of reflection”, *nìcáo* ~ *nìcúúwáá* (f) “being a person of foresight, being a person of reflection” [Abr. 1964, 705–6]

935. AA *√nc “to oppose” > Sem. **nʔs*: Akk. *naʔāšu* > *nāšu* “geringschätzig ansehen” [AHW 758] || Ug. *nʔs* “verachten, beschimpfen” [Ast. 1948, 216, #9; WUS #1731] = “to despise, insult” [DUL 612], Hbr. *nʔs qal* “verschähen, verwerfen (Lehre, Warnung), jem. verächtlich etwas absprechen”, piel “unter Verhöhnung verwerfen” [GB 477] = *qal* “mépriser, dédaigner,

¹⁸ W. von Soden (AHW I.c.) compared the Akk. term with Ar. *naḏnāḏ-* “böartig zügelnd(e) Schlange)” [AHW]. L. Kogan (SED II 222, #168) explained the Akk. form from his PSem. **na/iṣ(š)-* “kind of bird”, whose reflexes, however, usually denote “hawk” or “falcon” and, suspiciously, do not display the reduplicated root structure *√C₁C₂C₁C₂*.

¹⁹ W. Vycichl (2005, 78) assumed PBrb. **√knsy* with a shift of **k-* > **y-*, cf. Hgr. *ē-kenisi* “Igel”, but the additional first radical here might alternatively be interpreted as a root extension.

repousser” [Gray 1933, 128, #57], JAram. neʔūšā “Schmähung” [Ast.] ||| Eg. ndj “feindlich” (GR, Wb II 369, 8) = “hostile towards” (PL 565), ndj.t “Schlechtigkeit” (MK, Wb II 269, 9) = “bassesse, infamie” (Žabá 1956, 119) = “Bosheit” (Fecht, LÄ I 648) = “*Anmaßung, *Geiz, *Sparsamkeit” (GHWb 447) ||| WCh.: Pero nóđđi “offence”, nóđđò “to offend” [Frj. 1985, 43–44]

936. AA *√nç “to cry” > Sem.: Ar. našša “11. produire un bruit (la viande que l’on fait rôtir, de l’eau qui bouillonne, etc.)”, našaʔa “3. stimuler à la marche de sa voix (une bête de somme)” [BK II 1267–8] ||| NBrb.: Mzg.-Izdeg √nz: nzi “1. glapir, 2. chuintier (chouette), 3. gémir, 4. pousser des cris dûs à la douleur, à la souffrance” [Tf. 1991, 515] ||| ECh.: Migama néđđyò “1. gémir, 2. contracter le vente” [JA 1992, 109].

937. AA *√nç/çP “to be vivid” > Sem.: Ar. nšf [Ar. š < AA *ç] IV “7. faire vite, promptement, avoir été prompt et expéditif” [BK II 1273]²⁰ ||| NBrb.: Mzg. nđef [Mzg. đ < AA *ç] “1. être (r)avivé, irrité (plaie, blessure), se reuvrir, 2. souffrir d’une ancienne blessure, avoir une blessure qui s’est rouverte” [Tf. 1991, 466]. For the glottal sibilant correspondences cf. Takács 2006, 48–63.

938. AA *√nçh “to examine” > Sem.: Hbr. nšh piel “1. to inspect” [KB 716] ||| NBrb.: Mzg. √nz: nzu “1. observer, regarder, 2. considérer, examiner”, i-nzi “1. observation, examen, 2. perspicacité, 3. clairvoyance” [Tf. 1991, 515].

939. AA *√nçr “to rain” > Sem.: Ar. našara I “3. arroser abondamment le sol (se dit de la pluie)”, ma-nšūr-at- “(sol) arrosé abondamment d’eau” [BK II 1271–2] ||| Brb. *a-nzar “rain” [GT]:²¹ NBrb.: Shilh a-nzar “pluie” [Mntsr. 1999, 165] | Tamazight a-nzar “pluie” [Tf. 1991, 516], Izdeg a-nzar “pluie” [Mrc. 1937, 196] | Wargla a-mzar, pl. i-muzar “pluie” [Dlh. 1987, 204] || EBrb.: Ghadames a-nazar “pluie” [Lnf. 1973, 256, #1206; Dlt. 1982, 593], Sokna a-mzâr “pioggia” [Srn. 1924–5, 23], Djerba á-nzar “pluie” [Saada 1965, 499] || SBrb.: EWlmd. a-nzer “vent frais d’automne avec pluie légère”, Ayr a-nzer “vent de sable léger avec orage et pluie légère” [PAM 2003, 640].

940. AA *√nçl “to (be) split” > MSA: Mehri náššəl “to come to pieces, come apart (gun)” and Cjibbali nútšəl “to come to pieces, come apart (gun, dagger)” [Jns. 1987, 301] ||| NBrb.: Tamazight √nzl: nzel “se gercer, être gercé, se crevasser (surtout les pieds)”, i-nuzla “gerçures, crevasses” [Tf. 1991, 516].

941. AA *√nçl “to take (away)” > Sem. *nšl “herausreißen” [AHW] = “herausziehen” [Soden 1968, 177]: Akk. (OBab.) našālu “hinausbringen (??)” [AHW 755] || Hbr. nšl qal “herausziehen, -reißen”, nifal “sich retten”, piel “1. plündern, rauben, 2. aus der Gefahr reißen, retten, befreien” [GB 517–8] | Ar. nšl II “2. ôter, extraire, tirer, 5. délivrer qqn. de qqch., acquitter”, V “1. tirer, extraire, arracher qqch., 4. enlever à qqn. tout ce que celui-ci possédait” [BK II 1274–5], Yemeni Ar. našal “wegnehmen, -werfen” [Deboo 1989, 197] || Geez našala “to detach, separate” [Lsl. 1987, 404–5] ||| Eg. ndrj “fassen, packen” (OK-, Wb II 382–3) = “to take hold of” (Allen 1984, 582) = “saisir, retenir, emprisonner” (Cannuyer 1983, 27)²².

²⁰ For the semantic shift cf., e.g., IE *g^{weiw-} “to live” > French *vite*, English *quick*.

²¹ The widespread (e.g., Stumme 1914, 106; Mkr. 1963–6, 181–2, #76; Bnd. 1975, 180, #63.2) comparison of the Brb. word with Ar. *mašar-* “rain” has been correctly rejected by A. Militarev (2005, 373, #65), since Brb. *z does not correspond to Sem. *š.

²² The etymology of the Eg. root has been disputed. K. Piehl (1893, 252–3), followed by K. Sethe (1912, 96), M.K. Feichtner (1932, 224), W. Vycichl (1933, 179), F. von Calice (GÄSW 168–9, #684), P. Kaplony (KBIÄF 160,

942. AA *√ns ~ *nys “1. to breathe, 2. rest” > ECu. *na/ess-²³ “1. to breathe, 2. rest” [Sasse]: PSam *nas “to rest” [Heine 1978, 69/61]: Somali nas-ad- “to breathe, rest” [Sasse], Rendille a-naša “ich ruhe (mich aus)” [Schlee 1978, 142] = nâs “to breathe, rest” [Heine] | Elmolo nás-i “atmen” [Heine 1973, 279], Konso ness-a “soul, breath, noise” [Sasse], Gidole nass “voice, character” [Sasse] | Dullay *nass-ad- (med.) “to breathe” [GT]: Dobase, Gollango, Gawwada nass-ad- “atmen (to breathe)”, hence Dobase, Gollango nass-o “Atem, Seele, Leben” [AMS 1980, 176, 230; Black 1976, 228], Tsamay nass-ad “to breathe, rest” [Sava 2005 MS, 249] > On-gota naʔs-ad ~ nas-ad “1. to breathe, 2. rest” [Flm. 1992, 214] | Yaaku nes-i “breath” (only in compounds) [Sasse] (ECu.: Sasse 1979, 23, §4.13) ||| NOm.: Gimirra/She nāys (falsely recorded as nars by Montandon) “vento” [CR 1925, 622] ||| PCh. *√ns ~ *√nys “1. to breathe, 2. rest” [GT]²⁴ > WCh.: Mangar nyés la “to rest”, mí-nyes “to breathe”, Karfa nyes “to breathe”, Kulere nos “to breathe” (Ron: Seibert 2000 MS, #f013–4) | Ngamo nèesum “to breathe” [Alio 1988 MS], Bole noss- “ruhen” [Lks. 1971, 137], Pero néččò “(to) rest” [Frj. 1985, 43] | Bubbure nósíná “to breathe” [Haruna 1992 MS, #f104] || CCh.: Zime-Dari nyís “esprit, âme, souffle vital, ombre” [Cooper 1984, 20] || Ech.: Migama náàsò “respirer”, cf. násáw “se reposer pour prendre souffle” [JA 1992, 109], Bidiya nees “respirer”, nésò (f) “respiration” [AJ 1989, 101] | Birgit nèsí (nèsá, nésò) “se réposer” [Ing. 2004, 357].

943. AA *√ns “(to) place, (take a) seat” > Eg. ns.t “1. Sitz, 2. Thron” (OK-, Wb II 321–3) = “1. Stelle, Sitz, 2. Ansehen” (Giza, IV., Pusch 1974, 22) = “Untersatz: une sorte de support de vase, base d’objet” (Abusir: V., Kaplony 1972, 206; 1976, 194, C17, 674) = “base” (VIII., Gdk. 1994, 79) = “Basis (einer Rampe), meist als ‘Abdeckpflaster’ übersetzt oder Ziegelabdeckung,

n. 208), and P. Lacau (1972, 35, #40), explained it (via prefix *n-*) from a hypothetical Eg. **ḏr* “packen” that also supposedly underlies *ḏr.t* “Hand” (act. *Greifer”), which Vycichl affiliated with NBrb.: Shilh *ger* “fassen”. Ch. Canuier (1983, 27), in turn, derived it from Eg. *ḏr* “retenir, faire, obstacle, empêcher” (Wb V 595, 5–9). In works by the “old school”, it is usually identified with Sem. **nṯr* (sometimes misquoted as **nṣr!*) “to guard” [Hodge] (cf. ESS §12.a.18, §24.b.5; Hodge 1984, 416), which is very weak semantically. V. Orel and O. Stolbova (1992, 198; HSED #957), in turn, equated it with Ech. **gʷar-* “to seize”, which does not explain Eg. *n-*. Elsewhere in that very same paper (!), they (OS 1992, 196) compared Eg. *nḏrj* with CCh. **nadir-* (!) “to hunt”.

²³ H.-J. Sasse (1979, 59) affiliated this ECu. root with the Saho prefixal verb *-mfes-/mfis-* and verbal noun *nafs-e/nefs-e*, recorded by L. Reinisch (which, is, however, a modern borrowing from Ar.), and, based on this, assumed a shift of the primary cluster **-fs-* > **-ss-* in the rest of the ECu. parallels, which appears rather unlikely in the light of the Ch. cognates.

²⁴ Ignoring the evident Cu. reflexes, V. Orel and O. Stolbova (HSED 400, #1853) mistakenly combined some of the Ch. reflexes with a certain Sem. **nVṣaʕ-* “to introduce a medicine through the nose” and Brb. **nV[c]-* “to sneeze” to reconstruct AA **nečaʕ-* “to inhale through the nose”. Later, O. Stolbova (CLD I 132, #492) changed her view and equated the Ch. root with Sem.: Akk. *nēšu* “1. to live, stay alive, recover” [CAD n₂, 197] = “(auf)leben, genesen” [AHW 783], but its OAkk. form, *naʔāšum*, clearly indicates a different root (von Soden in AHW I.c.: √*nʔ_{3/47}š*), which, moreover, has long been supposed (by W. F. Albright 1927, 208 and J. Aro 1964, 165) to correspond to Ar. *naʕāša* “1. relever qqn. qui a trébuché ou qui est tombé, 2. soulever de terre (un mort, le cadavre), et le mettre sur le brancard, 3. relever qqn., le tirer de la misère (se dit de Dieu)” [BK II 1294] = *naʕāša* I “1. erheben, stützen, 2. zum Aufblühen bringen” [Brk.] = *naʕāša* I “i.a. to set someone up and strengthen his heart”, *naʕš-* “lastingness, endurance, permanence, continuance” [Lane 2816] = *nʕš* IV “dégourdir, ranimer, ravigoter, rendre des forces, rendre la vie, faire revivre, rendre les forces” [Dozy II 690] = *nʕš* I “heben, beleben” [Aro] = *nʕš* VIII “tirer ou prendre de la force, se ravigoter” [Fagnan 1923, 174] || MSA: Jbl. *nʕš*: *enʕés* “to recover from an illness” [Jns. 1981, 178]. Cf. perhaps also Eg. *nʕš* “stark (besonders vom Löwen und Stier, von den Hörnern, Schenkeln, Armen), laut (vom Geschrei, Gebrüll)” (NE-GR, Wb II 209, 12–21) = “stark sein, wüten” (Lange 1925, 37) = “fierce, raging” (Hoch 1994, 183–4, #246) ~ *nʕh* (Urk. IV 1963:4) < MK **nʕh* “strong” attested in *nʕh.w* “les (démon) féroces” (CT V 390f, Meeks 1997, 44, #246) = “the strong ones” (DCT 202) > Cpt. (S) *nooʕe* “to be strong (of bad smell)” (CD 236a; CED 114). For Eg.-Ar. see Brk. 1932, 106, #28 (declined by F. von Calice in his GÄSW 160, #647).

aber besser ist Basis, eine Art Untersatz, Fundament” (Fischer-Elfert 1986, 126, 300)²⁵ > Dem. ns³.t (Spg., OLZ 14, 1911, 258) >²⁶ Cpt. (S) ннсе (f) “Bank, Mastaba” (Spg. KHW 78) = “bench, seat (?)” (CD 229a; CED 110) = “banc, siège” (Vrg. 1973 Ib, 156; DELC 144) = “Treppe, Stufe” (KHW 125 and fn. 6 with lit.; NBÄ 25, 324 pace Fecht 1960, §374; Franke 1984, 121, #1153; Peust 1992, 119, fn. 13)²⁷ ||| NBrb. *√ns²⁸: Shilh a-nsa “emplacement, aire” [Jordan 1934, 37] | Mzg. a-nsa, pl. a-nsi-wn “endroit, lieu, campement, place” [Tf. 1991, 497; Peyron 1991, 294] | Taghzut a-nsi “endroit” [Rns. 1932, 393] ||| Bed. nīs (m) “pad under saddle to protect animal’s back (for camel saddle there are two: one in front and one behind hump)” [Rpr. 1928, 225] = nīs (f) “pad under camel saddle”, nis “to saddle up” [Hds. 1996 MS, 101] ||| WCh. *nVs- “to put down” [Stl.]²⁹: Hausa nása “to put, place” [Abr.] | Buli náasə “to put down” [Csp.] (WCh.: Stl. 2005, 133, #495a) || CCh.: Bura nsi “sich setzen, bleiben, werden” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 94].

944. AA *√ns (var. *√nys) “1. fire, 2. to burn” > Sem.: (?) Ar. ʔanīs-at- “feu” [BK I 61] ||| Eg. njs “flame” (CT II 18a, AECT I 80, spell 77, n. 1; AL 78.1989; El-Sayed 1987, 64; GHwB 393) vs. ns “to burn” (CT I 395e, III 337f, 338e, AECT I 192, spell 246, n. 2; DCT 245) = “brennen” (PT 276b^{WT}, Kahl 1992, 111) vs. ns “1. Flamme, Feuer, 2. (GR) auch: Dürre” (MK-, Wb II 324, 14–15) = “flamme” (MK, Jéquier 1921, 296) = “flame” (CT, AECT I 212–3, spell 283, n. 2) = “Flamme” (PT 323d^W, Kahl 1992, 111) > (?) OCpt. nec “Flamme” (KHW 525)³⁰ vs. nss “fire” (CT VII 262i, 297c, 503i, Lesko 1972, 145) vs. ns.wt “flame” (FD 139)³¹ ||| WCh.: Bokkos nyeš “verbrennen (intr.)”, ʔanyēš “Brand, Verbrennung” [Jng. 1970, 145], Daffo-Butura nyēš “1. sich (ver)brennen” [Jng. 1970, 219], Bokkos, Daffo-Butura nyēš “to burn” [Magwa et al. 1985, 10] || CCh.: Muktele nàzáy “to roast” [Rsg. 1978, 315, #589] < Ch. *nVs- “to burn (tr./intr.)” [Stl.]. For Ar.-Ch. see Stl. 2005, 132, #493.

945. AA *√ns “1. to hit, 2. pierce, wound” > Sem.: Ug. √nsy G “to hit, lash (the legs)” [DUL 645] ||| Eg. ns “Verletzung (?)” (NE, Wb II 321, 4) = “wound” (Massart 1954, 97, n. 4: perhaps

²⁵ For S. Köpfstein (1989, 21, §9) there is “kein Hinweis, daß es um einen konkreten Gegenstand handelte, wie etwa Thron o.ä.”, so ns.t must have denoted rather “ein Abstraktum, eine bestimmte Würde, die für den König mit dem Thron verbunden war und später auf den Privatmann übertragen wurde”. There have been several other conceptions on the origin of Eg. ns.t. Following E. Edel (AÄG xxxix, lxiv) and G. Fecht (1960, 181, fn. 508, §374), J. Vergote (1973 Ib, 156), J. Osing (NBÄ 324), and Barta (1978, 11) saw in it an n-prefix form of Eg. s.t “Sitz”, which H.-W. Fischer-Elfert (1986, 126) modified to an m- prefix, whose “wegen des -s- dissimilierte Variante” was n-. H. Satzinger (1994, 203, #53) reconstructed an OEg. *lūs.t for both ns.t and ʔs.t “seat, place” (following the scholars who assumed a common origin for both words, cf. Wst. 1962, 22, fn.1; 1987, 460; Hodge 1976, 13, #102; Barta 1978, 11; Peust 1992, 119, fn. 13), which is disproved by at least two circumstances: (1) the first radical of Eg. ns.t was [n], not [l], cf. Cpt. (S) ннсе, (2) Eg. ʔs.t should have been spelled as simply s.t. W. Westendorf (1987, 460) explained both s.t and ns.t “Sitz” from his hypothetical Eg. wʔs “heben, erhöhen, tragen”. C.T. Hodge (1976, 13, #102) affiliated it with Sem. *nš? “to carry, raise”.

²⁶ The Cpt. < Eg. etymology was rejected (or, at least, abandoned) in the Wb (cf. Vrg. 1950, 291).

²⁷ Supposed source of Greek πρῶνισιον “banc accolé au mur (dans une dizaine de documents)” with an additional prefix πρῶ- (Fournet 1989, 71, §13 and fn. 52: cf. Husson, CdÉ 51, 1976, 167–8).

²⁸ M. Taifi (l.c.) speculated (with a question mark) about a derivation from Brb. *√ns “passer la nuit”.

²⁹ Equated by O. Stolbova (l.c.) with Akk. naʔāšu “to throw down” [CAD].

³⁰ The OCpt. (better: LEg. in Cpt. script) word was derived by J. Osing (1976, 108; NBÄ 178), followed by W. Schenkel (1983, 227), from Eg. nsr, which, however, does not explain the zero reflex of the last syllable.

³¹ Usually regarded as a written variant of Eg. nsr (Wst. 1962, 31, §47.4; AECT III 156, spell 1099, n. 32; ZÄS 117, 1990, 109; WD I 113; Kahl 1992, 111; DCT 245; ÄWb I 662a; Meeks 2005, 247, #656a). But Ch. Cannuyer (1990, 109) correctly separated Eg. ns from nsr, although, instead, he was inclined (pace Goodwin 1867, 87) to explain ns as a figurative use of Eg. ns “tongue” (cf. Akk. lišān girri “langue de feu”, AHW 556, 698).

an error for nzp “Verletzung”) vs. nsns “(Verbum: von den Fingern im Vergleich mit einem Opferstier)” (NE 1x: Pap. Anastasi I 16:5, Wb II 335, 1) = “découper” (Alliot) = “to prance (?) or show off (?) or be swift (?)”³² or cut up (?)” (DLE II 34) = “zerlegen, tranchieren bzw. zerteilen (Lebensmittel für die Soldaten)” (Fischer-Elfert 1986, 138, n. y) = “zerschneiden (?)” (GHWb 432) > late Eg. nsns (glossed *nacnec*) “zerschneiden” (Pap. Tebtunis, Osing 1998, 54, 83–84, n. s) ||| WCh.: (?) Suroid *nas (suppletive pl. stem of *čit/*čut) “to hit repeatedly” [Takács 2004, 266]: Mupun nás (pl. of čit) “to beat”, hence wèt-nás (proper name, lit. ‘spend the day beating’, cf. wēt “to spend the day”) [Frj. 1991, 36, 41], Kofyar nàs “to whip, hit many times (cf. čut ‘to hit once’)” [Ntg. 1967, 28], Chip nas (pl.) “schlagen” [Jng. 1965, 166–167] || ECh.: Ngam nesí and Mobu nose “percer” [Lns. 1982, 110].³³

946. AA *√ns “to (be) destroy(ed)” > Sem.: (???) Ar. √nss: nasīs- “1. faim violente, 3. peine, fatigue, 4. dernier souffle de la vie” [BK II 1244]³⁴ ||| Eg. nss “(be)schädigen (Statuen, Inschrift)” (MK 1x, LP, Wb II 336, 12–13; Osing 1998, 212 and fn. 1034 with lit.) = “maudire, jeter un sort” (Ward, JNES 37, 27, fn. 28 quoted in AL l.c.) = “détruire, endommager” (AL 78.2239) = “beschädigen, verstümmeln (Statue)” (1st IMP: X., ÄWb I 662b, II 1347a)³⁵ ||| NBrb.: Sened √ns: e-ns “s’étéindre”, se-ns “étéindre” [Prv. 1911, 113] ||| CCh.: Mofu-Gudur ‘nəs- “1. endommager, abîmer, gâter, (se) perdre, 2. handicaper, 3. maudire” [Br. 1988, 201]. Related to the preceding AA root?

947. AA *√ns “to be distant” > Sem.: Ar. nss I “1. s’écloigner rapidement” [BK II 1243] ||| WCh.: Hausa níisáá “distance”, níisóó “to approach”, néésà (adv.) “far away, from afar, to afar” [Abr. 1962, 703, 705], Gwandara nisa ~ niša “1. far distance, 2. long time” [Mts. 1972, 88].³⁶

948. AA *√ns “to suffer from a mental disease” > Sem.: Ar. √nsw ~ √nsy I: nasā “devenir hébété, s’engourdir (rebotarse, hebeo, hebescó)”, nisy-ān- “léthargie (letargia dolencia)” [Dozy II 668], cf. Yemeni Ar. √nws I: nās “to have a severe headache” [Piamenta 1990–1, 500] ||| Eg. nsj.t “eine Krankheit” (Med., Wb II 324, 11) = “epilepsy” (DLE II 31) = “Epilepsie” (Wst., LÄ II 517; GHWb 431) = “unknown disease caused by a disease-demon” (Nunn 1996, 223) = “eine dämonische Krankheit, wohl Epilepsie” (Osing 1998, 70–71, n. i with further lit.)³⁷ ||| WBrb.:

³² This rendering would be externally supported by a comparison with Ar. *nasnasa* “faire marcher devant soi en stimulant à la marche”, *nasnās-* “1. marche rapide, 2. rapide (voyage qu’on fait de nuit)” [BK II 1253].

³³ V. Orel and O. Stolbova (HSED #1838) equated the ECh. data with WCh.: Hausa *nāšè*, mistranslated by them as “to pierce with spear”, when, in reality, it means “to throw a spear at someone” [Abr. 1962, 700]; this led them to a false reconstruction of AA **naḥas-*.

³⁴ Completely uncertain reflex, which seems better to be explained < Ar. √nss I “6. être sec, séché, vieux (pain)” [BK II 1243].

³⁵ In Egyptological works (e.g., Wb II 336; Vrg. 1950, 293; CED 74; KHW 80; DELC 99; Stz. 1994, 198), Eg. *nss* is usually regarded as the Pharaonic etymon of Cpt.: (SF) λωωϵ, (SBF) λωϵ, (A) λωϵϵ (?) “1. (intr.) to be bruised, crushed, 2. (tr.) to bruise, crush, percutere” (CD 145a) = “(zer)brechen, zerstoßen” (KHW) = “casser, briser” (DELC), which is hindered by two fundamental circumstances: (1) a significant semantic anomaly and (2) the fact that the MK verb belongs to the root class of Ilae gem., which should have regularly yielded Cpt. (S) *λϵϵϵ (NBÄ 46, §2.32), whereas (SF) λωωϵ with its double -ωω- reflects a totally different root type (e.g., **lC₂s*, where -C₂- = -ʔ- or -r- > -j-). J. Černý’s (CED 74) comparison of Eg. *nss* with Aram. *rāsas* “to crush” [Dalman 1922, 386] is unacceptable because of the irregular initial radicals. The AA etymology (AA **ḥoṣ-* “to be damaged, not function right”), offered by Ch. Ehret (1995, 323, #629) for Eg. *nss*, is also out of question.

³⁶ This Ar.-Hausa comparison was observed by O. Stolbova (2005, 132, #494) independently.

³⁷ The rendering “epilepsy” has been recently disputed by a few philologists (Bardinet 1988, 17–18 and fn. 78; Leitz 1999, 54; 2000, 275).

(?) Zenaga $\sqrt{ns}$ “être évanoui” [Ncl. 1953, 237] ||| NOm.: Benesho nyas? “headache” [Wdk. 1990, 108].

949. AA $\sqrt{ns}$ “to chase” > Sem.: Ar. ns? I: nasaʔa “1. faire marcher, mener devant soi un chameau, 2. éloigner, reposer (ses bestiaux) de l’abreuvoir”, $\sqrt{nsns}$ I: nasnasa “1. faire marcher devant soi en stimulant à la marche” [BK II 1243, 1253] ||| LECu.: Elmolo anásise “schicken” [Heine 1973, 281].

950. AA $\sqrt{ns}$ “to be(come) moist” > Sem.: Ar. nasīs- “terrain fendillé par des suintements d’eau”, $\sqrt{nsns}$ I “suinter latéralement (parfois du puits)” [Fagnan 1923, 171–2] vs. nasīs-at- “1. humidité qui s’échappe et suinté du bois humide, à l’extrémité opposée à celle que le feu consume” [BK II 1244] ||| NBrb.: Mzg. $\sqrt{ns}$: nses “suinter, filtrer (intr.)”, a-nsis “suintement, infiltration” [Tf. 1991, 497] | Wargla $\sqrt{nsns}$: ss-nāsnās “tomber des gouttes de pluie, faire des gouttes”, ti-nāsnas (pl.) “gouttes éparses de pluie” [Dlh. 1987, 224] | Qabyle $\sqrt{ns}$: nesses “1. suinter, filtrer (intr.), 2. se glisser, s’insinuer”, t-nesses “suinter goutte à goutte, être imbibé”, a-nessis “suintement, infiltration (du sol)” [Dlt. 1982, 539, 575] ||| NOm.: (?) Yemsa nās-à “Tau” [Lmb. 1993, 371], Yemsa-Fofa nās-ā “dew” [Akl.-Sbr. 1993, 36] ||| WCh.: Hausa náášè [-še < *-se] “(clothing) to become greasy with perspiration, etc., (oil) spread on clothing, (damp) permeate the house”, nās-nās “greasiness of mouth after eating oily food”, nààsóó “perspiration” [Abr. 1962, 700] = náášè “1. to be(come) greasy, oily (clothing), be very damp (house), 2. permeate place (damp, oil)”, nààsóó “1. exuding of damp from floor or walls, 2. greasy perspiration on garment” [Brg. 1934, 816–7]³⁸. The Qabyle-Hausa etymology is due to V. M. Illič-Svityč (1976, #323)³⁹. Cf. also AA $\sqrt{n-č}$.

951. AA $\sqrt{ns}$ ~ $\sqrt{ny}$ s (or $\sqrt{ny}$ s?) “sand” > Sem.: Yemeni Ar. nays “sand”, neyseh “pebble (Kieselstein)” [Deboo 1989, 199] = niss “(fine) sand, fine pebble, earth”, ma-nāyīs (pl.), mi-nyās (sg.) “edge of field beside a stream of water, where there is plenty of sand” [Piamenta 1990–1, 502], Ar. of Hadramaut nays ~ nays-at ~ nās-at “sable” [Landberg 1901, 719], Dathina nays ~ nās “sable” [GD 2837] ||| (???) Eg. nš “Sandkörner” (LP, Wb II 338, 6) = “grains of sand” (FD 140) = “Sandkorn bzw. Sandkörner” (GHWb 434)⁴⁰ ||| LECu.: Afar nīs (m) “sand” [PH 1985, 175] ||| WCh.: SBAuchi $\sqrt{nyas}$ - “sand” [OS] = $\sqrt{ni-nyas}$ - [HSED]: Burma ninèsi, Kir ninèesi, Laar nènèesi, Mangas nyènyèsi, Soor nyényas, Zangwal nyényas, Tala nyényes, Polchi nyaaz-ən (pl.), Dikshi nyezə/nyās, Bandas nyeezə, Buli ši-nyes, Boto (Boot) nyòṇsə, Zakshi nyaàs-əṇ, Zaar of Lusa nyaacə (-ts-) (SBAuchi: Smz. 1978, 30, #42; Mkr. 1987, 307–8; JI 1994 II 280 pace Smz.) || CCh.: Masa $\sqrt{n-p}$ -š “sand” [JS 1981, 217A]: Zime-Dari nyēš (-sl) “sable” [Cooper 1984, 20]. The SBAuchi-Eg. etymology was first proposed by V. Orel and O. Stolbova (1992, 188; HSED 1858).

952. AA $\sqrt{ns}/\hat{s}$ “to tear” > Sem. $\sqrt{nš}$: JAram. nəšaṭ “enthäuten, das Fell eines Tieres abziehen” [Levy 1924 III 450], Mandaean $\sqrt{nš}$ “to flay” [Drower-Macuch 1963, 307] | Ar. nsṭ I:

³⁸ O. Stolbova (CLD I 231, #92) compared the Hausa root with Ar. $\sqrt{nnt}$, although Ar. $\sqrt{t}$, as a rule, corresponds to Hausa $\sqrt{č}$.

³⁹ Who, however, gave a false reconstruction (Nst. $\sqrt{nš}$ “влажный”) and an unacceptable Sem. parallel ($\sqrt{nđh}$ “обрызгивать”).

⁴⁰ The Eg. parallel is seriously dubious, since (1) it might simply be a late reflex of Eg. $\sqrt{nš}$ “Körner (des Sandes)” (Med., Wb II 338, 16) as suggested by J.R. Harris (1961, 201), whose final $\sqrt{-š}$ [mostly < AA $\sqrt{-r/-l}$] is not reflected in the Sem. and other cognates, and (2) Eg. $\sqrt{s}$ is not a regular match for AA $\sqrt{s}$ > Sem. $\sqrt{s}$ and Ch. $\sqrt{s}$. For Eg. $\sqrt{nš}$, cf. also AA $\sqrt{n-č-r}$ infra.

našaṭa “1. vider les tripes d’un animal égorgé en les tirant de la cavité du ventre, et en les serrant avec la main, 2. tordre le linge mouillé pour en faire écouler l’eau”, nusut- “ceux qui extraient le fœtus du ventre de la mère dans un accouchement difficile” [BK II 1249] = “to extract, empty” [Drower-Macuch] vs. Sem. *nšṭ: Ar. nšṭ I: našaṭa “6. enlever qqch. et serrer fortement, 7. retirer qqch. promptement, avec vigueur et d’un seul effort (p.ex. le seau du puits sans le secours de la poulie”, VIII “3. enlever l’écaille du poisson, 4. arracher les herbes avec les dents (se dit des bestiaux)” [BK II 1261–2] || Jbl. nšṭ “to untie, undo, open, unload” [Jns. 1981, 195] || CCh.: Uldeme nzàḍ [nz- < *ns- or *nÁ- < AA *√nš-?] “arracher” [CIm. 1987, 77].

953. AA *√nsk ~ *√snk “to kiss” > Sem. *nšk “küssen” [AHW 758–9; MM 1983, 183] ||| HECu. *sunk- “to kiss” [Hds. 1989, 87]. Borrowing from ES excluded because of the metathesis.

954. AA *√nsr “to blow the nose” > Eg. nzʔ [act. *nsʔ < *nsrʔ]⁴¹ (nose det.) “to blow out (of one’s nose)” (CT III 100d, AECT I 159; DCT 245) = “*ausschnauben” (ÄWb II 1331b-c) ||| NBrb.: Rif nsar “moucher” [Tilmatine 1998, 113], Ait Said √nsr: e-nsā “se moucher” [Allati 1986, 34], Mzab ə-nṣər “être mouché, se moucher, expulser” [Dlh. 1984, 140], Wargla √nsr: ə-nṣər “se moucher, être mouché, essuyer le nez” [Dlh. 1987, 225] | Qabyle √nsr: e-nser “se moucher”, but also “1. se moucher, 2. avoir un grand nez” [Dlt. 1982, 577, 592] || EBrb.: Ghadames e-nser ti-nzer-t “se moucher” [Mtl. 1904, 138] = a-nsir-en (pl.) “morve” [Lnf. 1973, 248, #1170] || SBrb.: EWlmd. a-sè-nsīr “morve (viscosité)” [Ncl. 1957, 62], EWlmd. i-nšer-ān, Ayr ə-nšer-ān (pl.) “mucosités du nez, morve”, EWlmd.-Ayr šə-nšər (caus.) “faire sortir par les narines (mucosités du nez), (se) moucher” [PAM 2003, 628] ||| ECh.: (?) Mubi ṇisēer [ṇ- < ?] “sich schneuzen” [Lks. 1937, 184] = ṇēsér (ṇisīr, ṇisēer), pl. ṇāsár (ṇēsīr, ṇisāār) “(se) moucher” [Jng. 1990 MS, 36].

955. AA *√n[s]r (var. *√nʒr)⁴² “1. fire, 2. to burn” > (?) Sem. *√rSn (met.)⁴³ “to burn” [GT]: Dathina Ar. √ršn: rišin “être allumé”, rašan “allumer” [GD 1281] || ES *√rsn: Geez rāsna “entzünden, verbrennen” [Müller] = rasna “to glow, be red-hot, be heated, be inflamed”, rəsn (rasn) “(burning) heat, heating, incandescence” [Lsl.], Tna. rāsānā “to be very hot” [Lsl.], Tigre rāsna “to glow” [Lsl.] etc. (ES: Lsl. 1987, 474) ||| Eg. nsr “brennen” (PT-, Wb II 335, 4–10), nsr “Feuer, Flamme” (PT-, Wb II 335, 12), var. nʒr “verbrennen (auch tr.)” (OK, Kaplony, LÄ IV 462, n. 1, cf. ÜKAPT VI 143 for PT 653d), nʒr “Glut” (PT 276b, ÜKAPT VI 143), hence pr-nʒr “Haus der Feuerzeremonien” (Kaplony, LÄ VII 24) > Cpt.: (L) nɔɣɐp, nɔpɐ= (met.) “zerstören, vernichten” (KHW 525 pace CED 110; DELC 144) ||| NBrb.: Wargla ti-nṣər-t, pl. ti-nṣar “sorte de brasero en terre cuite qui sert de brûle-parfums ou de chaufferette, de réchaud” [Dlh. 1987, 226] | Qabyle a-nazir (non admis par plusieurs) “1. brasier avec flamme, 2. grosse chaleur, 3. fièvre” [Dlt. 1982, 593] || EBrb.: Gdm. ta-naser-t, pl. t-nasar “brûle-parfum en terre cuite”

⁴¹ The correspondence of Eg. z = Brb. *s is not regular. Normally, Brb. *s = Eg. s < AA *s, *č (or = Eg. š < AA *š). In principle, however, we might assume a non-historical MK spelling of OK s.

⁴² This AA root might be an extension of AA *n-s (supra). This is why here as well one should suppose an AA *-s- (instead of *-c-).

⁴³ It is rather uncertain if the Sem. root really belongs here, not merely because one would have to assume metathesis, but also due to irregular sibilant correspondences (normally, Ar. š = ES *š, which, however, could not agree with Eg.-Brb. *s ~ *z). Moreover, the origin of Dathina √ršn is itself also dubious. F. Praetorius (ZDMG 57, 1903, 272–3) was inclined to see in it a late borrowing from Persian *rošan*, whereas Count Landberg (GD 1281) supposed that it was a secondary meaning of Dathina Ar. *rišin* “être fixé à..., adhérent à...”. But already a contemporary colleague of Landberg (quoted in GD l.c.), followed by W. Leslau (1987, 474), identified Dathina √ršn with ES *√rsn.

[Lnf. 1973, 248, #1171] ||| CCh.: (?) Muktele nàzai [if -i < *-r] “to roast (grill)” [Rsg. 1978, 315, #589 apud JI 1994 II 275]. The Geez-Eg. etymology is due to W.W. Müller (1961, 202, #12).

956. AA *√nǝ “to excrete” > Sem.: Ar. naḍḍa I “uriner”, naḍīḍ- “2. salive ou glaire, ce qu’on jette par le nez ou par la bouche” [BK II 1231] ||| CCh.: Malgwa nǝ “Fäkalien”, nǝá-ša “Kuhdung” [Löhr 2002, 304].

957. AA *√nč “to open, spread out” > Sem.: Ar. ntṭ I “1. répandre, propager (une nouvelle)”, ntṭw I: naṭā “1. disperser, disséminer ça et là, 2. ébruiter, faire connaître, livrer au public (une nouvelle)”, ntṭy I: naṭā “1. divulger, répandre dans le public (un bruit, un fait)” [BK II 1195, 1197] ||| Eg. ns “to open (?) (on’s mouth against someone)” (AECT I 208; DCT 245) = nsw “ouvrir (la bouche de façon hostile)” (AL 78.2223) = nsw “den Mund öffnen (feindlich)” (GHWb 431)⁴⁴ ||| NAgaw: Kemant ənš- ~ ənč- “to undo” [Apl. 1996, 18], Qwara ənš-əz- “to undo” [Rn./Apl.] ||| CCh.: (?) Margi nḍǝ [nc- voiced?] “to open wide” [Ladefoged 1964, 65] = nǝǝnǝ “wide open” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 129].

958. AA *√nč “to be(come) moist” > Sem.: Ar. √ntṭ: naṭṭa I “1. suer et se couvrir d’humidité à sa surface extérieure (se dit d’une outre remplie d’eau), 3. oindre, enduire d’onguent (une plaie, etc.)”, naṭṭ- “humide, qui sue l’humidité (muraille)”, naṭṭ- “humidité sort à la surface extérieure d’une outre remplie d’eau, d’une muraille”, √ntṭ: naṭnaṭa “1. suer, se couvrir d’humidité à sa surface extérieure (se dit d’une outre), 2. avoir une forte transpiration (se dit d’un homme)” [BK II 1195] ||| SCu.: Iraqw nic-a (-ts-) [Iraqw c reg. < SCu. *č] “moisture” [Mgw. 1989, 116] = nīc (-ts) “to moist”, nic-a (m) “moisture”, nic-īt “to spit without saliva” [MQK 2002, 79] ||| CCh.: Uldeme nàč “eau qui s’infiltre dans la terre” [CIm. 1986, 144] = nàč (so, -ts) “eau qui s’infiltre” [CIm. 1987, 87]⁴⁵ = nàč nàč “1. eau qui s’infiltre dans la terre, 2. se mouiller vite” [CIm. 1997, 209]. Cf. AA *n-s too.

959. AA *√nčr “to separate” > Sem.: Akk. našāru “abteilen” [AHW 759 with a different etymology]⁴⁶ || Ar. √nṭr VI “2. tomber par morceaux, par parcelles, s’émietter” [BK II 1196], Yemeni Ar. √nṭr I: naṭar “to cut up, dissect, rip out, open”, VI: atnāṭar “to break up, split (intr.)” [Piamenta 1990, 478] ||| Eg. nzǝw (GW for *nsǝ < *nčr?) “briser (le dos)” (KRI II 90:11, AL 79.1619) = “zerbrechen” (GHWb 431), cf. older nsǝw “Schlachtmesser des Šzmw” (CT I 123b, VI 179h, Altenmüller 1975, 347) = “Spieß (?)” (Kaplony, LÄ IV 462, n. 3) = “knives” (AECT I 24, spell 33–35, n. 32)⁴⁷ ||| SBrb. *√nsr: EWlmd. ə-ṇsər, Ayr ə-ṇsər “être détaché violemment, être arraché de foru, 2. être déchiré, 3. être égratigné”, Ayr ə-ṇsər, EWlmd. ə-ṇsər “1. détacher violemment, arracher de force, couper par arrachement, 2. décrocher, 3. égratigner, gratter” [PAM 2003, 626].

⁴⁴ The same verb is supposed to occur in the BD (cf. Wb II 324, 13). R.O. Faulkner’s (AECT I 209, spell 277, n. 8) hypothesis that this verb was actually derived from Eg. ns “tongue” is unlikely.

⁴⁵ Erroneously derived by V. de Colombel (l.c.) from Uldeme √-c (-ts) “arracher” via prefix n-.

⁴⁶ W. von Soden (AHW l.c.) combined the Akk. verb with Ar. √nsr I: nasara “ôter, enlever une chose de dessus une autre” [BK II 1248] = “wegnehmen” [AHW] = “to take away” [Hnrg.], which was opposed by J. Huehnergard (1991, 691) who pointed to J. C. Biella’s (1982, 318) comparison of Ar. √nsr (Ar. ma-nsir-, mi-nsar-) with OSA (Sabeen) m-ns₃-t “detachment of troops”, whose s₃ excludes a connection with Akk. √nsr, which he eventually affiliated with Ar. √nsr and MSA: Jbl. nšār “to spread out (tr.)”, but it is also unlikely from a semantical point of view.

⁴⁷ R.O. Faulkner (AECT l.c.) derived it from Eg. zǝw “to cut off (nose or ears)” (cf. Wb III 419, 12), but failed to explain the function of n-.

960. AA *√nčr “1. to spread (out), 2. loosen” > Sem.: Akk. *našāru* “to pour out” [CAD n₂ 60] || Ar. *√ntr* I: *naṭara* “1. répandre, disperser, disséminer”, VI “1. être répandu, dispersé, disséminé” [BK II 1195], Dathina *ntr* I “répandre, verser, défaire, (dans le Sud) laver la tête, défaire les cheveux, endosser (la cotte de mailles), ôter” [GD 2742], Yemeni Ar. *nṭwr* I: *naṭwar* “to scatter, spread (a bundle)” [Piamenta 1990–1, 478] || MSA: Hrs. *neṭōr* “to pour” [Jns. 1977, 99], Jbl. *nṭōr* “to untie” [Jns. 1977] = *nṭōr* [Jns. 1981, 198] = *nṭōʿr* “to untie” [Nakano 1986, 89, #649], Mhr. *nəṭōr* “to untie” [Jns. 1987, 305] = *neṭōr* (so, -t-) “losmachen, lösen, abladen, wegnehmen” [Jahn apud Jns.] = *√ntr* “lösen, aufmachen, ablegen (ein Kleid)” [Bittner 1917, 55], Sgt. *nétor* “lâcher une parole” [Lsl. 1938, 279] (Sem.: Frolova 2003, 91, §III.4.1) ||| Eg. *nsr* “vom Behandeln einer Wunde mit Öl: betupfen” (Med., Wb II 335, 3) = “to anoint (injury)” (Breasted 1930, 171; FD 140) = “beträufeln (?)” (HAM 840) = “betupfen, beträufeln” (GHWb 443) ||| NBrb.: Mzg. *√nsr*: *nser* “1. se défaire, détacher, 2. glisser (maille), s’effil(och)er, s’érailler, 3. se tirer (d’un fourreau, d’un étui, d’un trou), se démancher (outil)” [Tf. 1991, 498–9]. The AA root might have been of biconsonantal origin, cf. Ar. *nṭṭ* I: *nattā* “2. répandre, propager (une nouvelle), 3. oindre, enduire d’onguent (une plaie)”, *niṭāt-* “huile avec laquelle on humecte légèrement une plaie” [BK II 1195].

961. AA *√nčl “fat” > Sem.: Ar. *naṭil-at-* “3. viande grasse” [BK II 1197] ||| NBrb.: Mzg.-Zemmur *nessel* “être gras (avoir beaucoup de graisse), potelé, dodu” [Tf. 1991, 498].

962. AA *√nč “to tremble” > Sem. *√nwš: Akk. *√nwš* G: *nāšu* ~ *nuāšu* “in (unruhige) Bewegung geraten” [AHW 761] = G *nāšu* ~ *nuāšu* “1. to quake, shake, 2. be weakened, become shaky”, D *nuššu* “1. to make quake, shake, 2. move, dislodge, shake” [CAD n₂, 113] = “beben” [GB]⁴⁸ || Ar. of Hadramaut *nwš* I “secouer”, II “pendiller” [Landberg 1901, 728], EDathina *nwš* I “secouer”, II “pendiller” [GD 2834], Yemeni Ar. *√nwš* I: *nāš* “to move (tr.), shake (intr.), swing back and forth, swing one’s head with thick, long hair”, II “to shake (tr.)”, *nawš* “motion”, *nuwwāš* “shaking” [Piamenta 1990–1, 500] ||| Eg. *nš* “erschauern, erzittern” (NE, Wb II 338, 4) = *nšj* “flattern” (LP, JW 1996, 523, §158, §164) = *nš* “to tremble, shudder” (NE 2×, DLE II 34; Borghouts 1971, 186, n. 459 with further exx. and lit.)⁴⁹. The Eg.-Akk. comparison is due to GB 494 and A. Ember (1912, 90, cf. ESS §11.a.33). The reduplication of the same AA biliteral root is also attested, cf. Sem. *√nšnš: Ar. *našnaša* “to agitate, swing back and forth (secouer)” [Lsl.] || MSA: Sgt. *nešneš* “to agitate” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1938, 278; 1987, 402 with false comparanda) ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr *nāznāz* “1. secouer, mettre en marche (+ monture), 2. être secoué” [PAM 2003, 638].

963. AA *√nčk “to (be) extract(ed)” > Sem. *nḵš: Ar. *naqaša* “to extract, pull out” [Lsl.] || MSA: Jbl. *nqeš* “to take out (an embedded thorn)” [Lsl.] || ES: Geez *naqasa* “to separate, dis-

⁴⁸ The Akk. verb was combined by F. Delitzsch (quoted in GB l.c.) with Hbr. *√nwš, and by Th. Nöldeke (ZDMG 40, 724) and W. von Soden (AHW l.c.) with Ar. *√nwš*: *nāsa* I “1. pendiller, être agité ça et là (un objet suspendu)”, IV “agiter” [BK II 1366] = I “baumeln” [GB] = I “hin- und herpendeln” [AHW], but neither of these suggestions can be accepted, given the irregular sibilant correspondences (here, Akk. š < Sem. *š, which does not agree with either Hbr. š here < Sem. *š or with Ar. s here < Sem. *s). The Ar. form, in fact, represents a var. root (AA *n-c), cf. also Akk. *nasāsu* G and *nussusu* D “to shake out (hair), wag (tail)” [Lsl.] = D “schütteln” [AHW 806] || Ug. *nss* “to zigzag, wriggle (?)” [Moore apud Lsl.] || Hadramawi Ar. *nws* “brandiller” [Landberg 1901, 728], Yemeni Ar. *nws* I: *nāš* “schütteln” [Deboo 1989, 197] || Geez *nas(a)sa* “to sway, move, shake” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1987, 402; Hnrg. 1991, 692).

⁴⁹ W.F. Albright (1927, 222), followed by F. von Calice (GÄSW 67, #225) and J. Vergote (1945, 136, §9.b.23), equated the Eg. root with Ar. *lašlašā* “être pris d’une grande frayeur, au point d’éprouver un saisissement dans les intestins” [BK II 992] = “to shake with fear” [Alb.] = “vor Angst beben” [Vrg.].

tinguish, pluck away, extract (a thorn from the foot)", Tna. nāqāsā "to pinch, extract a thorn from the foot", Amh. nāqqāsā "to pick, clean by picking, extract a thorn from the foot" (ES: Lsl. 1987, 400) ||| (?) Eg. nssq "eine Krankheit am oder im Kopf" (Med., Wb II 336, 14) = "(am Kopf, Haar ist ausgefallen)" (GHWb 433) = "Haarausfall" (HAM 840)⁵⁰ (?) < *nsq (unattested) "to fall out (hair)", i.e. **"to be extracted (???)" (GT) ||| NBrb.: Shilh a-nzaγ "1. attirement, étirement, tirage, 2. rouleau de laine prêt pour le filage" [Jordan 1934, 38] | Mzg. nzeγ "tirer" [Abès 1916, 131] = nzeγ "1. (re)tirer, extraire, 2. haler, traîner" [Tf. 1991, 513], Beraber ə-nzəγ "tirer" [Lst.], Izdeg nzeγ "extirper, extraire, tirer" [Mrc. 1937, 111], Zayan & Sgugu nzeγ "tirer, extraire" [Lbg. 1924, 573] | Iznasen, Tuzin, Uriaghel e-nzaγ "perdre qqch. (au sens propre) et perdre qqch. mémoire, oublier" [Rns. 1932, 393] | Nefusa é-nzaγ "tirare, tirar fuori" [Bgn. 1931, 275] = ə-nzəγ "tirer de l'eau" [Lst. 1931, 302] || EBrb.: Gdm. ə-nzaʕ "puiser" [Lst.], Sokna ö-nzaγ "tirer en dehors de qq. lieu que ce soit" [Lst.], Audjila nžāγ "attingere, tirare acqua dal pozzo senza animale" [Prd. 1960, 160]

964. AA *√nĉr "to scatter, spread" > Sem.: Ar. našara "3. disperser, disséminer", našīr- "céréales réunies en tas que l'on n'a pas encore l'intention de battre" [BK II 1258–9] = √nšr I "déployer les voiles, divulguer, répandre", VIII "s'étendre, se répandre, se disperser", nušār-at- "scuire, l'espèce de poussière qui tombe du bois quand il est rongé par les vers" [Dozy II 671], Dathina √nšr VIII "se disperser, se ranger à la file, s'aligner (soldats, danseurs)" [GD 2772] || MSA *√nšr: Jbl. nšōr "to spread (tr.)" [Jns. 1981, 195], Mhr. nəšūr "to spread out" [Jns. 1987, 302] ||| Eg. nš3 "Körner (des Sandes)" (Med., Wb II 338, 16).

965. AA *√nĉ ~ *√nĉ "to quest(ion)"⁵¹ > 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 someone 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", šānzéž (I-) "to ask secretly, make discreet inquiries" [Jns. 1981, 200], Mehri šānsāwz "to ask secretly, make discreet enquiries" [Jns. 1987, 309–310] ||| Eg. nđ "fragen, beraten" (PT-, Wb II 370–1), nđnd "fragen" (MK, Wb II 232, 1–9)⁵² ||| NBrb.: Zwawa √nđ: 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

⁵⁰ Usually explained from Eg. nsq "stechen, beißen" (cf. NBÄ 303).

⁵¹ A further var. root (with *l-) is also attested, cf. AA *√lwĉ "to ask": Sem.: Ar. lāša IV "2. demander qqch. à qqn." [BK II 1048] ||| WCh.: Bole loođ- "fragen, bitten" [Lks.].

⁵² The etymology of Eg. nđ has been disputed so far. Some of the authors have already surmised the connection of Eg. nđ 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. nđnd with Ar. nğng I "to deliberate". C.T. Hodge (1966, 45, #38) equated it directly with Hausa niicú "to come to one's senses" and niicáccéé "person of reflection", which, however, belongs to a distinct AA root (below). V. Orel and O. Stolbova (HSED #1825) combined Eg. nđ "to call" (!) with Ar. nšš (but in the sense "to dictate (a letter)") and WCh.: Tumak naž "to chat", yet at the same time (!) they also (HSED #1854) identified Eg. nđ with CCh.: Glavda nggw "to answer" and ECh.: Sokoro negi "shout". Ch. Ehret (1995, 321, #655) combined Eg. nđ "to consult" with Ar. nšš "to announce, state explicitly" (not in its meaning quoted above, which is much closer to that of Eg. nđ) and nšh "to advise and admonish sincerely" at the same time! O. Stolbova (1996, 118) was the first to compare Eg. nđ with Bidiya √nđ, although she erroneously derived the latter from her Ch. *naž- "to ask, tell". The dilettantish approach of some non-linguist Egyptologists (Maspero 1898, 137–9; Westendorf 1973, 137; Quack 2002, 182) explaining Eg. nđ from the primary meaning "ver-/zerreiben, mahlen" (OK-, Wb II 369–370) cannot be taken seriously.

2003, 590], Ghat ta-naṭ, pl. čī-naṭ-in “conseil, avis” [Nhl. 1909, 131] ||| ECh.: Bidiya ʔinàḍ / ʔinḍu “demander, interroger” [AJ 1989, 82].

966. AA *√nċ “to loosen, untie” > Sem.: Ar. naḍā I “1. ôter (son vêtement), 2. dépouiller qqn. de son vêtement, 3. tirer (p.ex. le sabre du fourreau, sortir la verge du fourreau d’un cheval)” [BK II 1282] ||| NBrb.: Mzg. √nḍw: nḍew ~ nḍu “lâcher (couture, point de couture, point de couture), être décousu (vêtement)” [Tf. 1991, 469].

967. AA *√nċr ~ *√nċr “to tear, split” > Sem.: Sqt. 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 năċra “to tear asunder” [Lsl.] ||| Eg. nḍr (GW) “ostrakon” (NE, DLE II 44; GHWb 450) = “éclat de pierre” (AL 79.1965), cf. nḍ “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, nḍ of stone (employed for building, must be sizeable fragment, perhaps used for core masonry)” (Harris 1961, 27) = “éclat de pierre, ostrakon” (Aufrère 1990, 101)⁵³ ||| SBrb.: Ayr a-nḍər, pl. ə-nḍər-ən “déchirure, fente, blessure” [PAM 2003, 591] ||| NAgaw (from ES?): Bilin naṣar “zerreißen, zerfleischen” [Rn. 1887, 283].

968. AA *√nċr “to well up” > Eg. nḍḍ “*wallen (auch mit Bezug auf das Herz)” (Med., GHWb 449, cf. Wb II 377, 13), nḍḍḍ.t “Aufwallen (des Herzens)” (Med., GHWb 449, cf. Wb II 377, 14) ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar e-nḍər “gider (gotelettes de bouillie qui cuit)” [Barrère 1994, 17].

969. AA *√nċr “to throw” > Eg. *nḍr (so far unattested)⁵⁴ yielding Cpt. (SL) нoуxε, (SBF) нoуx “werfen, legen”, qual. “liegen”, (S) nouje ebol “weglegen, aussenden, abweisen, wegwerfen” (KHW 137)⁵⁵ ||| NBrb.: Tuzin, Iboqqoyen, Ikhebdanen, Bottiwa √nḍr “jeter” [Biarnay 1917, 98], Wargla √nḍr: ənḍər “1. (laisser) tomber, faire tomber, 2. par ext.: faire une fausse couche, (faire) avorter” [Dlh. 1987, 213].

970. AA *√nṣ “to tear off” > Sem.: Ar. √nṣṣ I: naṣnaṣa “5. s’arracher des plumes avec le bec et les disperser (se dit d’un oiseau)” [BK II 1266] ||| Eg. nṣṣ “vom zerreißen o.ä. der Bü-

⁵³ A. Ember (1912, 87; ESS §11.a.39) combined Eg. nḍ 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. nḍr “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. nḍ a Sem. loanword! Others (Edel in AÄG lxiv; Vrg. 1973 Ib, 156 pace Fecht), in turn, saw in Eg. nḍ a prefix n-, attached to an unattested *ḍ > (S) xḥ, (B) xḥ “éclat”. A. Militarev (MM 1983, 199) also analyzed Eg. nḍ as containing the n-prefix, which allowed him to affiliate it with Sem. *ṭVr(r)- “flint”, *ṭr- “to cut”, and LECu.: Oromo ċiri “отрезать”.

⁵⁴ 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. nḍrj “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); this was correctly rejected by the authors of Wb (cf. Vrg. 1950, 291), W. Vycichl (in his DELC 152), J. Osing (NBÄ 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. nḍr “zimmern” (allegedly pace Müller, whose suggested basic sense was, however, different) or nḍ “Splitter” (MK, NE, Wb II 377, 7–8).

⁵⁵ L. Reinisch (1887, 287) combined the Cpt. word with Sem. *nṣl, cf. esp. Yemeni Ar. nṣl I “to throw away, take off, squander”, III “to disjoin, disconnect, take apart, dismount, detach” [Piamenta 1990, 488], which is theoretically possible as an alternative.

cher” (CT, Wb II 342, 6) = “to tear up (documents)” (CT V 66f, DCT 249) > LEg. n[š]nš “zerreißen” (Pap. Tebtunis, 2nd cent. AD, Osing 1998, 213, 215, n. ai)⁵⁶ ||| NBrb.: Seghrushen √nšw: nšu “être déplumé” [Pellat 1955, 122] = nšew “se déplumer, être déplumé” [Tf. 1991, 503] | Qabyle √nšw “être déplumé, épilé”, msenšaw ~ mš- “se battre, s’arracher mutuellement les cheveux” [Dlt. 1982, 541], Zwawa e-nšû “être déplumé” [Blf. 1910, 213].

971. AA *√nš “to clear meat off the bone” > Sem.: Ar. √nšnš I: našnaša “3. ôter la chair de dessus l’os” [BK II 1266] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-ṇṇəs [-s < *-š]⁵⁷ “nettoyer un os en enlevant toutes les parcelles de viande” [PAM 2003, 624] ||| ECh.: EDangla nyile [-l- < *-š]⁵⁸ “Fleisch von einem Knochen abkratzen” [Ebs. 1979, 126]. Derived from the preceding AA root?

972. AA *√nš “a type of vessel” > Eg. nš.w “Art Topf, auch als Maß” (MK, BD, Wb II 338, 15) = “ein Gefäß (aus Metall, Elfenbein)” (GHWb 435)⁵⁹ ||| NBrb.: Mzg. √ns: ta-nas-t “1. pot en fer avec anse, 2. petit récipient en bois ou en fer pour boire, récipient en cuivre du porteur d’eau” [Tf. 1991, 497–8], Zayan & Sgugu ṭa-nas-t “petit récipient en bois ou en fer qui sert à boire” [Lbg. 1924, 573]. Note that Sem.: Akk. (M-YBab.) nussu “ein Tonbehälter” [AHW 806] = “cracked pot” [CAD n₂ 352] might only be compared as an irregular reflex (AA *-š- > Akk. -š-).

973. AA *√nšç “to tear, hurt” > Sem.: Ar. nšṣ I: našaša “7. percer qqn. avec une lance”, VIII “déraciner (une arbre)” [BK II 1260] ||| Eg. nšd.w “griffures, éraflures, déchirures, arrachements” (PK 1976, 206, D21; Andreu-Cauville 1978, 15; AL 77.2220, 78.2251) = “*Kratzspuren (als Sachschaden)” (GHWb 436) > nšd “1. (Blumen) pflücken, 2. zerfleischen (eigtl. von den Krallen, bes. des Falken)” (GR, Wb II 342) = “action du faucon déchirant ses ennemis avec ses serres” (PK l.c.) = “to flay” (Smith 1979, 16) = “to tear, rend” (PL 550)⁶⁰.

974. AA *√nšr/l “meager” > Sem.: Ar. našala I “6. être fort peu charnu (se dit des cuisses)”, nāšil-at- “cuisse maigre” [BK II 1265] ||| NBrb.: Mzg. nser “3. maigrir, être maigre” [Tf. 1991, 498].

975. AA *√nšl “1. to draw out, 2. extract” > Sem.: Ar. našala I “1. tirer, extraire et enlever rapidement, 2. tirer, p.ex. un morceau de viande de la marmite” [BK II 1265] = I “1. weggreifen, herausreißen, 2. retten” [Hazim apud Shatnawi 2002, 745] ||| NBrb.: Mzg. nšel “puiser (de l’eau)” [Tf. 1991, 502] | Qabyle e-nšel “être dépouillé, privé de sa peau, écorce, s’écailler”, sse-nšel ~ šše-nšel “1. peler, épilucher, dépouiller, 2. (se) peler, changer de peau” [Dlt. 1982, 540].

976. AA *√nš⁶¹ “bee” > SCu. *naša “bee” [Ehret]: Asa naša “bee” | Dahalo nàla [Ehret: presumed contraction of *nšala] “honey” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 184, #4) ||| WCh.: (?) Angas-Sura

⁵⁶ Ch. Ehret (1995, 326, #635) combined the Eg. root with Sem. *√nš “to cut” (sic!) and ECu. *ḡalil- “to stab”.

⁵⁷ AA *š may yield Brb. *s, cf. Mlt. 1991, 242.

⁵⁸ The shift of PCh. *š > Dangla-Migama *l is regular both in the initial and internal position, cf. Stl. 1996, 39, table 4 and p. 112, table 23.

⁵⁹ Known also in cuneiform transcription, cf. Amarna Akk. našša ~ -i “a vessel” [AHW 79 pace Lambdin 1953, 367, #25s] = “type of vessel used as a measure” [Cochavi-Rainey 1997, 101] = “a kind of pot or measure” [Muchiki 1999, 300]. Usually (Griffith 1898, 52; NBÄ 169) derived from Eg. nš “to sprinkle” (sic, Griffith) = nš/h “herausfließen (lassen)” (sic, NBÄ), which is unattested.

⁶⁰ For the LEg. nšd, alternatively, a derivation from Eg. šdj “to take away, remove, pull” (FD 273) has also been suggested (PL 551).

⁶¹ The Angas-Sura evidence speaks for AA *č, but it is not clear which lateral is reflected by the SCu. parallels.

*nšī “1. bee, 2. fly, 3. honey” [Takács 2004, 345] || CCh.: Higi-Nkafa unze and Higi-Kamale umzcho “1. bee, 2. honey” [Meek apud JI 1994 II 18, 191].

977. AA *√nŜ “to chase” > Sem.: Ar. √nšš I: našša “3. faire marcher doucement une bête de somme devant soi” [BK II 1254] = “émoucher, chasser les mouches avec un évantail” [Dozy II 669] = “to drive or whisk away the flies” [Lane 2790], Yemeni Ar. niš! “a cry to dry away flies” [Piamenta 1990–1, 484] ||| Eg. nš “1. vertreiben, verdrängen, 2. auch: verstoßen (Frau), 3. (GR, Kummer) vertreiben” (OK-, Wb II 337–8; GHWb 434)⁶². Cf. AA *n-s supra.

978. AA *√nŜ “lock of hair” > Eg. nšj “to dress hair” (CT, BD, FD 140; DCT 248) = nš “das Haarmachen, ob: kämmen (?)” (BD, Wb II 337, 3) vs. nš (fem. Inf. < *nš.t) “das Haarmachen” (NE, Wb II 337, 5) > nš.t “Haarmacherin” (MK, Wb II 337, 6–7) = “hairstylist” (Ward 1982, 100, #838; 1986, 9) → Dem. nšj.t “Haarmacherin” (Thissen 1984, 87), hence *nšj.tj (unattested) > (?) Dem. nšj.t “lock of hair” (CED) → Cpt.: (S) nḡṛṛ (pl. 1×) “locks of hair” (Smith 1958, 122; CED 115 after CD 237a) = “Locken (?)” (KHW 132, 526) = “boucles de cheveux” (DELC 149) ||| NBrb.: Mzg. ta-unza, pl. ti-zi-win “toupet” [Abès 1916, 137], Izdeg ta-unza, pl. ti-unzi-win “toupet” [Mrc. 1937, 252] | Mzab √nz: ta-nzəz-t, pl. ti-nzaz “paquet de mèches de laine que l’on tire du peigne et que l’on enroule sur une quenouille pour la filer” [Dlh. 1984, 143] | Qabyle i-nziz “1. crin long (de mulet, de cheval), 2. fil fin et fort, ficelle fine, cordelette, 3. corde vibrante qui soustend la peau du tambourin, 4. fibre (de muscle), 5. elastique (subst.)” [Dlt. 1982, 591] || WBrb.: Zenaga a-nz “cheveux” [Msq. 1879, 498].

979. AA *√nŜ “to rage” > Sem.: Ar. √nšš I: našnaša “9. agiter, secouer, remuer avec force, 10. donner une forte impulsion à qqch., pousser, mettre en mouvement”, našnašiy- “agile, vif, adroit” [BK II 1266] ||| Eg. nšnj (IVae inf.?) “wütend sein, rasen (Gegensatz ḥtp ‘friedlich gestimmt, ruhig)’ (PT-, Wb II 340) = “se mettre en rage, être tempétueux” (Cannuyer 1983, 26) = “to work (disaster)” (Breasted 1930, 543), nšnj “1. Wut, 2. Unwetter” (OK-, Wb II 341) = “1. wrath, 2. convulsion, strife” (LP, Caminos 1958, 90, §131)⁶³ ||| NBrb.: Zayan & Sgugu √nnš: ta-naṇša “cris, vacarme, tumulte”, cf. nša “être grave, importante, critique” [Lbg. 1924, 574].

980. AA *√nŜ (perhaps var. *√ns) “to flow”⁶⁴ > HECu. *ānš- “to wash” [Hds. 1989, 404] ||| Ch. *naši “to swim” [Stl. 1996, 119] = *nVÁ- [Stl. 1995, 59] = *√nŜ ~ var. *√ns [GT]⁶⁵ > WCh.: Nbauchi *n[i]s- “to swim” [GT]: Warji nəš-, Kariya nəsa-, Tsagu nišun (noun) (Nbauchi: Skn. 1977, 43) || CCh.: Mbara níš (-š) “nager” [TSL 1986, 274] | Logone nši ~ lši (-š-) “schwimmen” [Lks. 1936, 106], Buduma nul “nager” [Gaudiche 1938, 30] | PMasa *nus “nager” [GT]: Gizey,

⁶² Combined by W.F. Albright (1927, 222), F. von Calice (GÄSW 67, #226), and J. Vergote (1945, 136, §9.b.24) with Ar. √lšš I “to push, repulse” [Alb.] = “stoßen” [Vrg.]. Th. Schneider’s (1997, 199–200, #47) etymology (comparison with Hbr. nḥy/w “nach einer Seite gehen, leiten” etc.) is out of question.

⁶³ P. Kaplony (KBIÄF 192–3, n. 287) derived this from the biliteral root of Eg. nšnš “spucken (PT 205a: von Seth als dem bei seiner Geburt ausgespienen Gott)”, which he eventually connected with Eg. bšj as “stammverwand!” Ch. Cannuyer (1983, 26), in turn, saw in this Eg. root a prefix n- + Eg. *√šn, deduced from šnj.t “grêle, tempête” (cf. Wb IV 502–3) and šnj ḥšj.t “Aufruhr niederschlagen” (Wb IV 503, 5), although these forms are not even mutually related. Moreover, he *a priori* excluded any connection with Eg. nšnš “déchirer” (CT, Cannuyer) = “zerreißen” (Wb IV 517, 6), although it has most recently been taken up by C. Peust (1997, 269).

⁶⁴ For the semantic shifts in HECu. vs. Ch. cf., e.g., IE *pleu- “ri/ennen, fließen” > i.a. OGreek πλύνω “wasche”, Lithuanian (caus.) pláuju “waschen, spülen” vs. OIndic plavá- “schwimmend”, OGreek πλέ(F)ω “schiffe, schwimme” (IE: IEW 835–7).

⁶⁵ O. Stolbova did not take into account the North Bauchi and Masa gr. reflexes, which suggest a root var. with *-s (secondary CCh. *š?).

Masa, Ham, Lew, Marba nús, Musey lús (Masa gr.: Ajello 2001, 38) || ECh. *√nl [*1 < *Ŝ] “to swim” [GT]: Kwang-Ngam nàle | Lele nàl | Somray nàl and Ndam nàlà (Ch.: Stl. 1991 MS, 3; 1995, 59, §ii.10; 1996, 119–120).

981. AA *√nŜp “to moisten, absorb moisture” > Sem.: Ar. √nšf I “2. absorber, pomper l’eau, 3. être absorbé et disparaître de la surface”, II “3. donner du lait écumant (chamelle)”, IV “donner à qqn. à boire du lait tout chaud et écumant” [BK II 1263] = II “sucer, absorber l’eau”, IV “s’absorber” [Dozy II 672] = nšf I: našafa “absorber” [Chouemi 1963–65, 73], Yemeni Ar. nišif I “to sip (coffee etc.)”, II “to sip making a sucking noise” [Piamenta 1990–1, 486], Ar. of Hadramaut √nšf “absorber, boire, sécher” [Landberg 1901, 723] || MSA *√nšf: Jbl. níšf “to sip”, nāšfót, pl. enšéf “drop, sip (usually of milk)” [Jns. 1981, 194] ||| Eg. nšp “den Acker befeuchten” (GR, Wb II 339, 9).

982. AA *√nŜz “to rise” > Sem.: Ar. √nšz I “1. se dresser au-dessus des points d’alentour, être situé plus haut, sur un endroit plus élevé, 3. enlever qqn., le soulever du sol et puis le jeter à terre”, IV “enlever qqch. de sa place” [BK II 1260] ||| Eg. *nšz “to rise (???)”, cf. PT 1569b twt nšz twt nšzz.t⁶⁶ parallel to PT 1569a: twt šwj twt šwj.t “you are he who is lifted up, you are she who is lifted up” (AEPT 237).

983. AA *√nŜm “to flow out” > Sem.: Ar. √nšm II “3. laisser sortir à sa surface et, pour ainsi dire, suer l’eau (se dit de la terre)” [BK II 1265] ||| Eg. nšm.t > nšmj “*Ausfluß” (Med., WMT 484; GHWb 435).

984. AA *√nZ “to pre-/excede” > Brb. *√nzy “zuerst kommen, vorangehen” [Snd.] > NBrb.: Mzg. nzu “1. être précoce, arriver tôt, de bonne heure, 2. faire en priorité, commencer le plus tôt possible” [Tf. 1991, 512] | Qabyle e-nzu “aborder en priorité, faire passer le premier” [Dlt. 1982, 590] || SBrb.: Hgr. ā-nəhu, pl. i-nha “excédent du partageants (dans un partage par groupes égaux)” [Prs. 1969, 81, #536] etc. (abundant Brb. reflexes, cf. Mlt. 1988, 197, #3.2.1.4; Snd. 1993, 170–2) ||| CCh.: Mandara nzə “surpasser” [Mch.]⁶⁷, Malgwa nza “früher” [Löhr 2002, 304].

985. AA *√nS “a bit, a little” > SCu.: Iraqw nas-ūt “to become small, thin, broken”, nāsú (m) “a pinch of ...” [MQK 2002, 77–78] ||| NOm.: Baditu nayš-ē “piccolo” [Crl. 1929, 62] | Nayi -nča- “thin” [Akl.] = naču [Bnd. 1996 MS, #83] ||| CCh.: Baldamu niše “petit” [Sgn.-Trn. 1984, 26] || ECh.: Kera nús “a bit” [Pearce 1998–9, 64].

986. AA *√nS “child” > SOm.: Dime nic [-ts] “boy, child, son” [Flm. apud Bnd. 1996 MS, 1, #17] = (gostə)-nic [-ts] “boy, child, baby” [Bnd.] = níth “boy, child, son” [Sbr. apud Bnd.], Ari nit “child, son” [Flm.], Hamar nās-i “boy, child, baby” [Bnd.] = “child, son” [Flm.] (SOm.: Flm. 1988, 171, #16; Bnd. 1994, 146) ||| CCh.: PBata *nsV “Kind” [GT]: Bata-Demsa nšē [Str.], Bachama nze [Meek], Gudu ñzú [Krf.], Kobochi nsē [Str.], Wadi nso [Str.], Nzangi ěnsē [Str.] = inzə [Meek], Holma nānsē [Str.] (CCh.: Str. 1922–23, 119; JI 1994 II 75).

987. AA *√nS “to close” > NBrb.: Mzg. ta-nas-t “1. clé (pour ouvrir), 2. grosse clé des verrous anciens” [Tf. 1991, 497] | Mzab-Wargla a-nnas “serrure, clef” [Lst. 1931, 295], Mzab

⁶⁶ These phrases have so far resisted a reliable translation (cf. Wb II 342, 9–10; AÄG 97; AEPT 237).

⁶⁷ O. Stolbova (2005, 135, #506) misderived this word from her Ch. *nVS- and combined it with Akk. nēs/šu “strong” [CAD 190] = “ein Starker” [AHW 782] (misquoted by Stolbova with -ī-).

a-nnas “serrure (surtout ancienne)”, t-nas-t “clé” [Dlh. 1984, 139–140], Wargla a-nnas “serrure, système de fermeture d’une porte, gros loquet”, t-nas-t “clé” [Dlh. 1987, 224–5] || EBrb.: Ghadames tṭ-nṣ-t “clef à dents, clef en bois” [Lanfry 1973, 247, #1162], Siwa ti-nas-t “Schlüssel” [Stumme 1914, 103] = te-nés-t “key” [Quibell 1918, 102] = t-nās-t “longue clef de bois” [Lst. 1931, 216], Djerba (Gellala) te-nās-t “clé” [Saada 1965, 496], Fogaha ta-nās-t “chiave” [Prd. 1961, 300], Audjila te-nīš-t ~ t-nīš “chiave” [Prd. 1960, 162], Sokna t-nās-t “chiave” [Sarnelli 1924–5, 14] || SBrb.: Ghat ta-nas-t “cadenas” [Nhl. 1909, 137] ||| SCu.: Iraqw nōc- (-ts-) “to stop up” [Wtl. 1960, 81] = nōc (-ts) “to patch up a hole in a container” [Mgw. 1989, 116; MQK 2002, 79] ||| WCh.: Tangale nasē “to close” [Jng. 1991, 123] || CCh.: (?) Daba-Kola nṣau [*nc-voiced?] “serrer” [Wdk. 1975, 93].

988. AA * $\sqrt{n}$ S “tail” > (?) Eg. ns “Schurzzipfel (der aus dem Gürtel herausragt)” (GHWb 430) ||| EBrb.: Siwa a-nšuš “anus”, i-nšūš-ín “Gesäß”, a-friq n-a-nšuš “Hinterbacke” [Stumme 1914, 97] ||| NOm.: (?) Haruro nāzz-ē “membro virile” [CR 1937, 656], Ganjule néce (-ts-) “tail” [Sbr.], Kachama nacé (-ts-) “tail” [Sbr.], Koyra nacce “tail” [Sbr.] (NOm.: Sbr. 1994, 20) ||| CCh. * $\sqrt{n}$ ys (?) “tail” [JS 1981, 260]: Bachama nyīsé, pl. nyēšé “tail” [Skn. apud Pweddson 2000, 67], Gudu nēzu “tail” [IL] | Buduma nṣui “tail” [Nct.] = nṣùè [Cyffer] (CCh.: JI 1994 II 317).

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.: Berber, BT: Bole-Tangale, Ch.: Chadic, CCh.: Central Chadic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, ECh.: East Chadic, ECu.: East Cushitic, Dhl.: Dahalo, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, EWlm.: East Tawlllemmet, (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.: Tawlllemmet, WSem.: West Semitic, Y: Younger.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AC: Andreu & Cauville, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Akl.: Aklilu, Alb.: Albright, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, Ast.: Aistleitner, Bgc.: Bougchiche, Bgn.: Beguinot, BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky, Blf.: Boulifa, Bnd.: Bender, Brg.: Bargery, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brn.: Biarnay, Brt.: Barreteau, Bst.: Basset, Chn.: Cohen, Clm.: Colombel, Cpr.: Cooper, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cospèr, Dj.: D’jakonov, DL: Dietrich & Loretz, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier, Ebs.: Ebobisse, Fcd.: Foucauld, Fdr.: Fédry, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gdk.: Goedicke, Grb.: Greenberg, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hlw.: Hellwig, Hnrg.: Huehnergard, Hyw.: Hayward, IL: Institute of Linguistics, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, JW: Jansen-Winkeln, KB: Koeehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Krf.: Kraft, Lbg.: Loubignac, LH: Littmann & Höfner, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lns.: Lenssen, Lsl.: Leslau, LSS: Lonnet & Simeone-Senelle, Lst.: Laoust, Mgw.: Maghway, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, MM: Majzel’ & Militarev, Mntsr.: Mountassir, MQK: Mous & Qorro & Kießling, Mrc.: Mercier, Msq.: Masqueray, Mtl.: Motylinsky, Mts.: Matsushita, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nct.: Nachtingal, Nhl.: Nehlil, Nkn.: Nakano, Ntg.: Netting, NZ: Naït-Zerrad, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly &

Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, PH: Parker & Hayward, PK: Posener-Kriéger, Prd.: Paradisi, Prs.: Prasse, Pwd.: Pweddson, RB: Rapp & Benzing, Rdk.: Rhodokanakis, RK: Reutt & Kogan, Rn.: Reinisch, Rns.: Renisio, Rpr.: Roper, Rsg.: Rossing, Rsl.: Rössler, Sbr.: Siebert, Sgn.: Seignobos, Skn.: Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Snd.: Schneider, Snk.: Schenkel, Spg.: Spiegelberg, Srl.: Sirlinger, Srn.: Sarnelli, SS: Simeone-Senelle, Ss.: Sasse, Stl.: Stollbova, Str.: Strümpell, Stz.: Satzinger, Tf.: Taïfi, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Wdk.: Wedekind, Wst.: Westendorf, Wtl.: Whiteley.

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Статья представляет собой очередную серию новых афразийских этимологий, собранных и обработанных автором на протяжении последнего десятилетия в ходе работы над этимологическим словарем египетского языка. Данная публикация (этимологии 919–988) посвящена афразийским корням, начинающимся с дентального носового *n- и имеющим в качестве второго корневого согласного сибилант.

Ключевые слова: афразийские языки, египетский язык, историческая фонетика, языковая реконструкция.

