

Marginal notes on Chadic lexical roots with *n- (Addenda et corrigenda to O.V. Stolbova's *Chadic Lexical Database*, Issue I: L, N, NY, R)

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Abstract. This paper examines the Afro-Asiatic etymologies of Chadic lexical roots discussed by Olga V. Stolbova in her *Chadic Lexical Database*, Issue I (2005). The analysis is arranged according to the following sections: (1) Common Chadic reconstructions, (2) Isolated Chadic roots that nevertheless have Afro-Asiatic cognates. The paper represents the third part of my longer series of papers on addenda et corrigenda to Chadic lexical roots.

Introduction

In this part of my longer series of papers on addenda et corrigenda to Chadic lexical roots, I will deal with those containing an *n- in the *Anlaut*. This paper in fact represents addenda et corrigenda to O.V. Stolbova's most recent 'Chadic Lexical Database, Issue I: L, N, NY, R' (published in Kaluga: Poligrafija, 2005), which is so far the most detailed elaboration of reconstructed Chadic lexical roots with initial *l-, *n-, and *r-.

The etymological material discussed is divided into two sections, namely (1) that with reconstructed Chadic roots (even if attested purely within one and the same group) and (2) that with isolated Chadic forms, respectively. My remarks overwhelmingly carry additional information (new AA *comparanda* or those neglected by Stolbova) and sometimes corrections to Stolbova's comparisons. Since this is not a review *stricto sensu*, I am not going to list the misprints that are unfortunately quite abundant in this book. Anyhow, neither of my remarks can diminish the serious values of this undisputably original compendium containing numerous precious insights into the historical development of the Chadic lexicon.

Chadic reconstructions

● **Ch. *nV** 'to come, go' [Stl. 2005, 96, #325]: add WCh.: Bade n- 'gehen, kommen' [Lks. 1974–75, 103] || CCh.: Margi ná (particle before verb meaning an order) lit. 'come (and ...)!' [Hfm. apud RK 1973, 127] | Mboku na and Hurza na ~ ni 'venir'

[Mch. 1953, 173] | Masa na ‘aller’ [Ctc. 1983, 120] = na ‘aller’ [Brt.-Jng. 1990, 107], Gizey nà ‘aller’ [Ajl. 2001, 2], although the latter forms may better go back to *nda, cf. Ham & Musey ndà ‘aller’ [Ajl.]. The long vowel in WCh.: Bubure náawò ‘to come’ [Hrn. 1992 MS, #f224] has to be explained. The comparison with Geez na^oa ~ na^oā ~ nə^oā (suppletive form, imper. tante) ‘come! come now! up!’ [Lsl. 1987, 382] and Ar. nhw/y ‘venir, arriver’ [BK II 1359] (at a time!) excludes one another. The choice between the AA *comparanda* is uncertain. (1) The Geez root and its ES kindred have been explained from a different basic sense (Dlg. 1969, 237; Lsl. l.c.; OL 1998, 61; discussed in a most detailed form by Testen 1997, 175, §2.2). (2) On the other hand, this ES root has been alternatively affiliated (by Alb. 1918, 98; 1927, 219; Cohen 1947, #447; Dlg. 1969, 237) with Eg. n^oj ‘gehen, kommen’ ~ ‘im Schiff fahren’ (OK, Wb II 206, 7–12) = ‘fahren’ (ÜKAPT VI 138) > Dem. n^o ‘kommen (im futurischen Sinne)’ (Erichsen 1954, 373) > Cpt. (OSAB) na ‘gehen’, with the prep. ε- ‘unterwegs sein, zukommen, passen’ (KHW 116). The Geez-Eg. etymology was declined by Hintze (1951, 85, §447) as ‘unwahrscheinlich’. (3) Dahalo nā^o ‘to go’, nā^o-am-eđiđ- ‘to walk about’ [EEN 1989, 39] || SOM.: (?) Hamer na ‘to come, arrive’ [Lydall, Flm. apud Bnd. 1994, 147] and/or Banna ni^o ‘to come’ [Ehret]. For Eg.-Ngz.-Banna see also Ehret 1995, 323, #627.

●Ch. *nV ‘to fill’ [Stl. 2005, 96, #326]: add CCh.: NMargi nyu ‘remplir’ [Krf./Brt.-Jng.] | Bata nà ‘to fill’ [PwD. 2000, 59], Gude na ‘to fill, become full’ [Hsk. 1983, 246] | Malgwa ná ‘3. füllen’ [Löhr 2002, 303] || ECh.: (?) Nancere nyó ‘ramasser’ [Brt.-Jng.] | Mokilko ònné ‘suffisant’ [Jng. 1990, 154] (for Mokilko ʔV- see Takács 2002). For further Ch. reflexes see Brt.-Jng. 1990, 75, 77, 78, 85, 88, 93, 115–6. AA cognates appear in Eg. nj ‘remplir d’eau’ (AL 78.1974) = ‘füllen (mit Wasser)’ (GHWb 391). Stolbova’s supposition about two var. PCh. roots may be corroborated here, cf. Ch. *nVγV [Stl.] > WCh.: Bade nuhwi CCh.: Bura nhyi nhyi ‘gefüllt, voll’, nhye-nta ‘(er) füllen’ [Hfm./RK 1973, 94] | Mandara-Mora ānnāha ‘full’ [Egc. 1969, 140], which fit Ar. √nh^o I ‘être rempli, bourré’ [BK II 1351].

●Ch. *nV ‘to be (present), exist, become’ [Stl. 2005, 96, #327]: add WCh.: Angas nee ~ nó ‘sein (?)’ [Jng. 1962 MS, 28] | Karekare na ‘être, se trouver’ [Pls.], Dera na ‘être, se trouver’ [Pls.] vs. nínì ‘es gibt, gab’ [Jng. 1966 MS, 12] | Boghom náa ‘(wo) sein’ [Jng. 1965, 177] | Bade nàa ‘es gibt’ [Lks. 1973–74, 103], Ngizim nàa ‘there is/are’ [Schuh 1981, 121] (WCh.: Pls. 1958, 83, #62) || CCh.: Margi nà ‘to be(come)’ [Hfm./RK 1973, 127] | Uldeme này ‘être’ [CIm. 1986, 139] = -náy- ‘être (là)’ [CIm. 1997, 209], Gisiga ne ‘vorhanden sein, da sein’ [Lks. 1970, 132] | Musgu: Girvidik na ‘sein, sich befinden’ [MB 1972–73, 70], Puss naa ‘être présent’ [Trn. 1991, 108]. Comes from the common AA heritage, being akin to Eth.-Sem. (from Cu.): Amh. nä-

‘to be (stative copula)’ [Hds.] ||| LECu.: Saho-Afar na ‘esse, sein, sich befinden’ [Rn. 1890, 278–9] = ‘essere’ [CR 1913, 72], Boni ne[?]-ed (med.) ‘werden’ [Heine 1980, 99] | HECu.: Burji -na ‘to be (stative copula)’ [Hds.], Sidamo no ‘essere, esistere’ [Mrn.] = nō ‘esserci’ [Crl.] = no ~ nō (defective verb) ‘to be’ [Gsp. 1983, 247], Hadiya nā ‘è (copula)’ [Crl.] (HECu. parallels: Hds. 1989, 24) ||| NOm.: Kaffa ne ‘sein (indeclinables Verbum)’ [Rn. 1888, 322] = ne ‘(copula)’ [Mrn.] = ne ‘è (copula)’ [Crl.] (Cu.-Om.: Mrn. 1940, 231; Crl. 1951, 477).

● **Ch. *nV > *nV̄ ~ *nVy** ‘1. to fall, go down, 2. put down’ [Stl. 2005, 97, #328]: add WCh.: Maha ʔináyò ‘laisser tomber’ [Alio 1988 MS] | Ngizim niyú ‘to submerge, go downward’ [Schuh 1981, 128] || CCh.: Mofu niyáhá ‘to lie down’ [Rsg. 1978, 282, #424] | Musgu-Puss niwi ‘Untergang (der Sonne)’ [MB 1972 MS, 10] | Lame nóʔó ‘1. mettre dans, enfoncer, plonger, 2. mettre (parure, vêtement du bas), 3. baisser (tête, yeux), 4. se coucher (pour le soleil)’ [Scn. 1982, 378] (listed by Stolbova 2005, 100, #341 in a separate entry) || ECh.: Mokilko -né ‘là-bas (dont on a déjà parlé)’ [Jng. 1990, 144]. The relatedness of CCh.: Masa ni:á ‘to fall down’ [Jng.] suggested by Stolbova is dubious, cf. WCh.: Wangday nā ‘to fall’ [IL] < WCh. *ndǎ ‘to fall’ [GT] (present in NBauchi and SBauchi). Similarly, Barreteau and Jungraitmayr (1990, 140) explained also CCh.: NMofu n- ‘se coucher’ | Masa ni ~ ne ‘tomber’ etc. from Ch. *√n-d ‘coucher, tomber’. Cf. Masa gr.: Gizey nì, Ham ndì, Musey ndì ~ dik, Lew ndèk, Marba ndè ‘tomber’ (Masa: Ajl. 2001, 55). Stolbova’s proposal to derive also WCh.: Kulere nyà ‘liegen, sich (nieder)legen, schlafen’ [Jng. 1970, 354, 392] is equally unconvincing, cf. Fyer nyèr ‘id.’ [Jng. 1970, 392, 88], Karfa nyây ‘to lie down’ [Seibert 2000 MS, #f008]. It is puzzling why Stolbova lists CCh.: Logone nal (!) ‘to fill’ [JI] under this root. A possible AA cognate appears in Eg. nj ‘niederwerfen’ (PT, Wb II 201, 8) = ‘niederstoßen’ (NBÄ 692, n. 789).

● **CCh. *nV** ‘to scratch, notch’ [Stl. 2005, 97, #329a]: perhaps better *√n-w with regard to Daba nèwà ‘scarifications’ [LG] and Ar. nwn (partial redupl.) ‘marquer, tatouer avec aiguille’ [BK] (quoted by Stl.). Highly noteworthy are also Eg. nwt ‘Werkzeug: der Dächsel des Zimmermanns, viell. bildlich für die Krallen’ (PT, Wb II 216, 1) ||| Bed. nawe (f) ‘Dorn, Stachel, Gabel’ [Rn. 1895, 186] = ‘thorn, fork, sting’ [Rpr. 1928, 226] ||| CCh.: Kotoko *nVwV ‘finger’ [GT after Slk. 1967, 259]. Cf. Zhl. 1932–33, 168 (Eg.-Bed.); Blz. 1994 MS Bed., 29 (Bed.-Eg.-Kotoko).

● **CCh. *nV** ‘to love, want’ [Stl. 2005, 97, #330]: add CCh.: Daba ne ‘demander’ [Mch. 1966, 141] | Peve ...nɛ... ‘to ask’ [Schubert 1971 MS, 15, #325]. The comparison with both Eg. nhj and Ar. nw^o and nwy at a time cannot be accepted. (1) For the former cp. also Ar. naḥw- ‘intention, dessein’ [Fagnan 1923, 169]. (2) For the latter, in turn, cp. Ug. n^o- (?) ‘to require, ask’ [Segert 1984, 194].

●Ch. *nV̄ ‘to lack, be absent, fail’ [Stl. 2005, 98, #334]: add also WCh.: Bokkos ní-îmâ ‘vergessen’ [Jng. 1970, 145] may belong here, cf. esp. CCh.: Bura ni ‘to lose out, fail to accomplish what one sets out to do’ [BED 1953, 160]. In the long -aa- of ECh.: WDangla náâyè ‘perdre, égarer’ [Fédry 1971, 215], the trace of AA *-h- may be preserved. The comparison with Hbr. √ʔlh ‘to fall short’ [KB 49] is unconvincing. For this distinct AA root cf. rather Ar. lhw: I ‘1. den Verlust einer Sache verschmerzen, 2. vergessen’, VIII ‘mit einer Sache so beschäftigt sein, dass man eine andere darüber vergisst’ [Růžička 1911, 133] = lahiya ‘négliger, oublier’ [Dozy II 553] || Jibbali εlhé ‘to overlook’ [Jns. 1977, 83] || SCu.: Ma’a -láha [l- never < *n-] ‘to be lost’, -lahá-ti ‘to lose’ [Ehret 1974 MS, 39] || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur -läh- ‘(s’)échapper, se sauver, manquer, rater’ [Brt. 1988, 156] | Kola lε ‘perdre’ [Wdk. 1975, 101] | Peve ...lék... ‘to lose’ (sg.) [Schubert 1971 MS, 16, #332]. For Ch. *nV̄ (from *nVh?), in turn, cp. better Eg. nhj ‘entgehen, verfehlen, Mangel haben/leiden’ (PT, ÜKAPT VI 141; Spiegel 1971, 484, 442–3, fn. 23) > nh.w ‘Verlust, Verminderung’ (MK, Wb II 281, 1) || LECu.: Saho nah (part.) ‘nicht, ohne seiend’ [Rn. 1890, 289], Assaorta nah ‘non essere, non esistere’ [CR 1913, 73]. Perhaps connected (without *-h-?) to Bed. nāw ‘abgehen, fehlen, sich in einer Klemme befinden, ermangeln, nicht haben, nicht erlangen, nicht finden’, cf. nuw ‘gering, wenig sein’ [Rn. 1895, 186–7] = naw ‘to miss, lack, not to find’ [Rpr. 1928, 225] = naw ‘to be in want, lack’ and (m) ‘want, necessity’ [Hds. 1996 MS, 98]. The Eg. root was combined by Brockelmann (1932, 107) and Osing (2001, 579) with Ar. nhy I ‘lâcher, abandonner ce qu’on cherchait’ [BK II 1359]. Cf. also S’a^odah (Yemen) nhy: ʔantaha ‘zu Ende gehen’ [Behnstedt 1987, 308].

●Ch. *nV̄ ‘to see’ [Stl. 2005, 99, #337] = *nah/y- [Stl. 1996, 83] = *n- ‘to see’ [NM 1966, 238] = *na [Nwm. 1977, 31]: its usual comparison with Eg. nw ‘sehen’ (XVIII., Wb II 218, 3–16), echoed by many authors (Grb. 1963, 61, #62; Hodge 1968, 26; Müller 1975, 70; OS 1992, 201; HSED #1820; Orel 1995, 124–5, #39) and followed by Stolbova (l.c.), may be illusory for several reasons. (1) The original MEG. form is attested as nw3 [< *nwr/l] in the CT (Gardiner, JEA 31, 1945, 113; Barns 1956, 3; CED 113; NBÄ 38, 200, 503f., 487; ZÄS 103, 1976, 63; DELC 147; SAK 13, 1986, 305f.; Peust 1999, 147 & fn. 180), whereby—plus from the Cpt. evidence—Schweitzer (2003, 246) deduced a IVae inf. Eg. √nw3j. (2) The long vowel + trace of a laryngeal C₂ in WCh. *nah- [Stl. 1987, 235] and elsewhere leading Stolbova (2005, 119, #429) to reconstruct in addition a PCh. *nV̄γ ‘to see’ derived by her eventually from Ch. *nV̄ (mistakenly combined by her with the Ar. denom. reflex of Sem. *^oayn- ‘eye’). (3) The consistently long vowel (e.g., in AS, BT), Nbauchi *-γ-, Mandara *-γ- probably corresponds to the C₂ (*-h-) of SBrb. *√n-h₃-y ‘voir’ [Prs. 1969, 84, #563] = *enhey ‘voir’ [Ksm. 1999, 65, §30]. For Ch.-Brb. see Bynon 1984, 267, #27.

● **Ch. *nVy ~ *nV̄** ‘to copulate’ [Stl. 2005, 99–100, #338]: add ECh.: Kwang-Ngam *nà:ne*: ‘coucher avec femme, foquer’ [Lns. 1982, 110] | Bidiya *niyàw* ‘enfanter, engendrer’ [AJ 1989, 102]. Related to Eg. *n^oj* (ejaculating phallus det.) ‘pénétrer, s’accoupler’ (late NK, AL 77.2005) = ‘durchdringen, sich paaren’ (GHWb 395) || SCu.: WRift **ni^c*- ‘to copulate with’ [GT]: Burunge *ni^c-im* ‘to have sexual intercourse’ [KM], Alagwa *ni^c*- ‘to copulate with’ [Ehr.]. Cf. perhaps also SCu.: Iraqw *na^cani* ‘penis’ [Dempwolff; MQK 2002, 76] = *na^cni* [Mgw. 1989, 116], Burunge *na^cni* ‘penis’ [Dempwolff] (WRift.: Dempwolff 1916–17, 310, #28; Ehr. 1980, 186; KM 2004, 213) || ECh.: Kwang-Ngam *tá-nā* (f), pl. *kā-nā* ‘penis’ [Jng. 1973 MS], although the anomaly of Ngam *n-* vs *n-* should still be explained. Any connection to NBrb.: Tamazight *√n*: *uni* ‘enfoncer, faire entrer une chose dans une autre’ [Tf. 1991, 458] or NBrb.: Tamazight *a-na*, pl. *a-na-t-n* ‘unité (d’une paire, un des objets formant une paire)’ [Tf. 1991, 458], Izdeg *a-na*, pl. *a-na-t-en* ‘paire (objets)’ [Mercier 1937, 183]?

● **Ch. *nV̄/V̄-** ‘to cook’ [Stl. 2005, 100, #339]: cp. NBrb.: Shilh *nua* ‘cuire, préparer’ [Jst. 1914, 145] | Seghrushen *nw* ‘to be cooked’ [AM 1971, 405], Ntifa *nwo* ‘être cuit’ [Lst. 1918, 13] || EBrb.: Ghadames *e-nn* ‘être cuit, cuire’ [Lanfry 1973, 231, #1071] || WBrb.: Zenaga *√n-w* ‘cuire, être cuit’ [Ncl. 1953, 222].

● **Ch. *nVn-** ‘to be cooked’ [Stl. 2005, 100, #339a]: cp. perhaps Eg. *nn.t* (fire det.) ‘Zubereitung der Milch’ (Med. XIX., Wb II 272, 9), combined with WCh.: Hausa *nuna* ‘kochen’ already by W. Vycichl (1934, 84). Note that in CLR I 138, Jungraithmayr reconstructs PCh. **n-w-k* ‘to ripen’ > WCh.: Hausa *nùnuná* [**nukn-a* > **nuwn-a*] vs. *nùká* [**nùuká*].

● **Ch. *nVʔ-** ‘to tie, sew’ [Stl. 2005, 100, #342]: the quoted Eg. form (*nwh*) is false. Correctly: *nwh̄*.

● **Ch. *nVw-** ‘to be tired’ [Stl. 2005, 101, #344]: cp. also Eg. *nw* ‘schwach, schlaff (von den Armen als Zeichen des Alters)’ (MK, Wb II 217, 13).

● **Ch. *nV̄w-** ‘to rest’ [Stl. 2005, 101, #345]: perhaps akin to Eg. *njwj* ‘(von der Überschwemmung, die) “zum Stehen kommt”’ (GR, Wb II 203, 2).

● **Ch. *nV(y)-** ‘to give’ [Stl. 2005, 101, #347]: add CCh.: Margi *ná* ‘to give’ [Hfm./RK 1973, 127]. Cognate with Agaw: Kailinya *näy-* [Faitlovitch], Hamtanga *näy-* [Apl.], Hamta *nay-* [CR] ‘to give’ (Agaw: Apl. 1996, 15) || NOm.: Hozo *nēnū* & Sezo *I nē/ēnū* ‘gives to me’ [Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 13].

● **CCh. *nVḥV** ‘saliva’ [Stl. 2005, 102, #350b]: akin to Sem. **naḥ-* ‘mucus’ [SED I 176, #197]. The comparison with Ar. *nḥḥ* ‘tousser’ [BK] apud Stolbova is weak.

● **WCh. *nVwV** ‘black’ [Stl. 2005, 104, #358] > SBauchi: Boghom *nywà* ‘black’ [Smz.]: akin to Eg. *njj* ‘to darken (?) (of sun)’ (PT 891, FD 125).

● **Ch.** ***nV̄** ‘mother’ [Stl. 2005, 105, #363] = ***n-** [JS 1981, 185B]: add WCh.: Kwami nó ‘Mutter’ [Leger 1993, 172] | Zaar nààna, nàa ‘mother’ [Smz. 1975, 31], Boghom naŋ ‘Mutter’ [Jng. 1965, 177] || CCh.: Fali né ‘Mutter’ [Lks.] = nu [Barth] = no [Str. 1910, 455] | Bata noi (or nogi) ‘mother’ [Barth 1852, 413] | Masa nā ‘Mutter’ [Lks.] (CCh.: Lks. 1937, 99). This Ch. root is akin to NBrb.: Wargla nna ~ nanna ‘(ma) mère’ [Dlh. 1987, 209] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr a-nna ‘(ma) mère (des humains)’ [PAM 2003, 582] || LECu.: (?) Borana nanā ‘young women’ [Strm. 1995, 212] | Yaaku nēne ‘mother’ vs. nēhēh ‘mother (other than one’s own)’ [Heine 1975, 130].¹ For the Ch.-Brb. etymology see Blz. 2002, 112, #6.3.

● **Ch.** ***nVy/w-n-** ‘hunger’ [Stl. 2005, 106-7, #367] may indeed be a partial reduplication (as supposed by Stolbova) if akin to NOm.: Malo nay-int- ‘hungry’, Zaysse nāyye ‘hunger’ (NOm.: LS 1997, 486).

● **CCh.** ***nV(yV)** ‘water’ [Stl. 2005, 106-7, #367]: akin also to Sem.: OSA (Sabaean) nwy ‘watering place, channel (?)’ [Biella 1982, 297], (?) Ar. naw?- ‘pluie’ [Dlt.], Dathina nāw-at ‘pluie fine, aussi brouillard mêlé de pluie’ [GD 2830] || ES: Tigre new-at ‘watering place, channel (?)’ [Irvine apud Biella] || NBrb.: Qabyle e-nwu ‘être humide (terre à cultiver)’, e-nnwa ‘humidité’ [Dlt. 1982, 585]. Alternatively, cf. SCu.: WRift ***na^c**- ‘to get wet’ [Ehret 1980, 352, #2]. The etymology of ES: Endegeny nannu [**< *nəwnəw**] ‘wet, humid’ is dubious. Leslau (1979 III, 457) assumes a connection with Sem. ***√rbrb** with a shift of **r ~ n** and ***b > *b̄ > w**.

● **Ch.** ***nVwV** ‘finger’ vs. **SBCh.** ***nyVwVn-** ‘nail’ [Stl. 2005, 107, #368]: its comparison with Eg. ^cn is untenable. No trace of the first syllable (*^cV-) in Chadic, not even as ***ŋ-**.

● **Ch.** ***n(Vy)V[?]V** ‘hippo’ [Stl. 2005, 107, #369]: add WCh.: (?) Ngamo nēyém ‘hippo.’ [Alio 1988 MS] | Bubure náayèe ‘hippo.’ [Haruna 1992 MS, #A004] || CCh.: Kotoko nāy ‘hippo’ [Bouny 1975, 18, #286], Ngala nai ‘hippo.’ [Mgd. 1922, 237], Sso nāi ‘Flußpferd’ [Duisburg 1914, 42] | Mesme nēē ‘hippo.’ [Ksk. 1990, 41] || ECh.: Kwang-Mobu tó:-nī (f) vs. kā-nī ‘hippopotamus’ [Jng. 1972 MS, 12]. The Ch. word comes from the common AA heritage, cf. SCu.: Dahalo nyáhe ‘hippo’ [EEN 1989, 40] = ña^e (sic, -?) ‘Nilpferd’ [Dammann 1949-50, 232]. The Ch.-Dahalo comparison appears also in Stl. 2005, 59, #2.1.6. Thus, Stolbova’s reference to **Ch.** ***nVy/wV** ‘elephant’ and ***nVw/[?]V** ‘cow’ is somewhat dubious.

● **Ch.** ***nVwV** ‘bad, evil’ [Stl. 2005, 108, #371] > WCh.: Gerka nioya ‘to hate’ [Ftp.]: akin to Ngizim nyànyá ‘feeling aversion’ [Schuh 1981, 130].

¹ Besides, R. Hayward (1978, p. 62) combined the Yaaku form with Dobase naḥayye ‘wife, woman’, which is semantically dubious.

● **WCh.** ***nVʔV** ‘kind of antelope’ ~ **CCh.** ***nVwV** ‘(she) goat’ [Stl. 2005, 109, #373]: add CCh.: Paduko nawa ‘goat’ [Hfm. 1971, 226]. Cf. Bed. nāy, pl. nay ‘Ziege’ [Rn. 1895, 187] = nʔaí, nəʔaí (f), pl. nʔei ‘she-goat’ [Rpr. 1928, 221] = nai (f), pl. nē ‘goat’ [Hds. 1996 MS, 98] || NAgaw: Bilin nawít, pl. nawáyit ‘Ziklein, junge Ziege’ [Rn. 1887, 288] || LECu.: (?) PBoni *núí (m) ‘greater kudu’ [Heine 1982, 148].

● **Ch.** ***ḡVḡV** < ***nVHnVH** (?) ‘to bend’ [Stl. 2005, 109, #377]: add WCh.: AS *ḡnā₃n [GT]: Goemay gnâân [-ɔɔ-] ‘to bend, be bent’ [Srl. 1937, 60]. Perhaps < *naʔnaʔ. Here may belong Eg. njj [*njnj < *nʔnʔ] ‘sich beugen’ (GR, Wb II 276, 8). In this case, the comparison with Ar. √ny^c has to be ruled out.

● **Ch.** ***ḡVwV** < ***nVHVw** ‘snake’ [Stl. 2005, 109, #377]: this reconstruction (based solely on Suroid and one isolated WDng. form with ny-) is certainly out of the question. (1) The Suroid forms can only be derived from AS *wò ~ *nwò ‘snake (in general)’ [GT 2004, 404],² where the nasal element seems to be merely prefixed. (2) These are to be securely separated from WDangla nyinyódyà [Fédry], which one might better compare with CCh.: Gizey, Masa, Ham nēynēy ‘serpent: Ramphiophis oxyrhynchos’ [Ajl. 2001, 52]. (3) Eg. n^cw has been explained on Eg. grounds (Hornung 1963 II 190, n. 1; Zandee, ZÄS 100, 1973, 69–70; AECT II 222–3, spell 647, n. 8; Leitz 1996, 393), so it has hardly anything to do with any AA ophiological term.

● **WCh.** ***ḡV̄** < ***nVHV** (?) ‘child’ [Stl. 2005, 109, #380]: its comparison with SCu.: WRift *na^cay- ‘child’ [GT] is indeed correct, cf. also Om. *naʔ- ‘boy’ [Bnd. 1988, 150] = ‘child’ [Mlt. 1995, 125, #35], but this isogloss can have nothing to do with Hbr. nīn ‘offspring’ or Angas-Sura *nun ‘little’, for which cf. rather Sem. *nīn- ‘a remote younger relative, poss. Nephew’ [Djk.-Kogan 2001, 150, #10]: Dathina nīnū ‘bambin’ [GD 2838] = nīnī, pl. nayānī ‘bambino, vezzeggiativo’ [Rossi], Yemeni Ar. nīnī (sg.), nīniyāt ~ nawāni (pl.) ‘baby’, an-nūnī, an-nūnū, nīnī ‘the little one (as surnames)’ [Piamenta 1990, 501–2] = nīneh, pl. nīniyāt ‘weibliches Kind (Kosewort)’, nīnī, pl. nayānī ‘männliches Kind’ [Deboo 1989, 201] || Eg. nn ‘Kind’ (OK, Wb II 272, 4–6) || Cu.-Om. *nin- ‘small’ [GT after Flm. 1969, 22; Dlg. 1973, 176] || WCh.: Mangas nàāñ, Soor (Zangwal) náan etc. ‘small’ (SBCh.: Smz. 1978, 45, #99) || CCh.: (?) Bura-Margi *ñVnnV(mV) ‘молодой, свежий’ [Pnv. 1977, 60] || ECh.: Kwang-Alowa Inyan ‘peu’ [Coates 1991 MS, 2].

● **Ch.** ***nVp-** ‘to smell’ [Stl. 2005, 113, #398]: add CCh.: Buduma napu ‘smell’ [Talbot 1911, 253].

² Cf. Sura ḡwòò ‘Schlange’ [Jng. 1963, 78] = wòò ‘snake’ [Krf.], Mupun nwò ‘snake’ [Frj. 1991, 45], Kofyar wò ‘snake’ [Ntg. 1967, 43], Mushere woh [wò] ‘snake’ [Dkl. 1997 MS, 293, 299], Chip nwò ‘snake’ [Krf.], Goemay woo [wò] ‘snake’ [Srl. 1937, 270] = wòò ‘Schlange’ [Jng. 1962 MS, 6] = wò ‘snake’ [Krf.] = wo ‘snake’ [Hlw. 2000 MS, 40].

● **Ch. *nVd- > *nd- ~ *ʔVnd-** ‘1. to speak, 2. ask’ [Stl. 2005, 113, #401]: there seems to be a contamination of two distinct Ch./AA roots: (1) the mng. ‘to ask’ is correctly compared with Ar. $\sqrt{\text{ndw}}$. (2) On the other hand, the Ch. *nd- forms ‘to speak’ are possibly from *md-, cf. ES: Harari emädä ‘говорить (to speak)’ [IS] = emäda ‘dire, informer’ [DRS] ||| Eg. mdw ‘1. sprechen, reden, 2. diskutieren usw.’ (OK, Wb II 179) ||| Ch. *mVd- ‘to speak’ [Stl.]. But the Ch. *n- may be prefixed as well, cf. Bed. di ‘to say, mean’ [Rpr. 1928, 167, 213] ||| LECu.: Elmolo anádedeya ‘sprechen’ [Heine 1973, 282] ||| CCh.: Masa deʔe ‘to speak’ [Krf.], Banana da ~ di ‘parler, dire’ [Mch. 1950, 32] = diyè ‘to speak’ [Krf.] ||| ECh.: Dangla díyè [d- < *nd-ʔ] ‘dire’ [Fédry 1971, 208] = diye (sic, d-) ‘to speak’ [Skn.].

● **Ch. *nVd- > *nd-** ‘to fall, throw’ [Stl. 2005, 114, #403]: akin to Eg. ndj ‘niederwerfen’ (PT, Wb II 367, 12), whose comparison with Sem. *ndʔ is well-known (cf. Ember 1913, 115, #48; 1930, #11.a.37; Sethe 1912, 94; Zhl. 1934, 119; Vrg. 1945, 144, #23.a.6; Djk. 1965, 49; 1967, 196–7, fn. 57; Conti 1978, 41).

● **Ch. *nVd- > *nd-** ‘to swallow’ [Stl. 2005, 114, #404]: add WCh.: Bade nta-n ‘avalér’ [Krf.] ||| CCh.: WMargi ndà ‘avalér’ [Krf.] | Lmg. nda ‘avalér’ [Wolff], Pdk. nde ‘avalér’ [Jarvis] | MM *Ndáy ‘to swallow’ [Rsg. 1978, 339, #707] = *nda [Mch. 1953, 177] > i.a. Mada á-ndà ‘avalér’ [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 209], Zelgwa nde ‘avalér’ [Haller] = ndē ‘to swallow’ [Brt. 1995, 202], Muyang nda [Rsg.], Moloko ndáy [Rsg.], Uldeme nda ‘avalér’ [Mch.] (Ch.: Brt.-Jng. 1990, 68, 77, 80–7, 93–103). Akin to LECu.: Saho-Afar nadaʔ- ‘verschlingen, -schlucken’ [Rn. 1886, 889]. For the LECu.-Ch. etymology cf. HSED 395, #1827. Therefore, there cannot be any connection with Ch. *tV ‘to eat’ as surmised by Stolbova (l.c.).

● **Ch. *nyVd-** ‘to grind grain, crush’ [Stl. 2005, 116, #413]: may be akin to Eg. nd ‘zerreiben, mahlen’ (OK, Wb II 369–70) ||| HECu. *inč- [č < ECu. *ḍ] ‘to chew’ [Hds. 1989, 413] ||| NOm.: Yemsa niʔ- [-ʔ- reg. < *-ḍ-] ‘mahlen (durch Zerreiben)’ [Lmb. 1993, 370]. The etymology of Sem.: (?) Akk. naṣû ~ neṣû ‘(Haus) abkratzen’ [AHW 758] = ‘1. to tear down, 2. slit open, make an incision’ [CAD n 190] is not clear.

● **Ch. *nVt-** ‘to tie’ [Stl. 2005, 116, #416]: cf. also ECh.: Kera óntí ‘to tie up’ [Pearce 1998–99, 67], Kwang dials.: Mobu éndé & Ngam ènte ‘attacher avec une corde’ [Lns. 1982, 106] ||| HECu.: Rendille nyuta ‘to tie (two ends) together, join (two ends)’ [PG 1999, 237–8]. Ultimately cognate may be (as root vars. with AA *-d) Sem.: Ar. nudaʔ-at- ‘faisceau, botte de plantes, d’herbes’ [BK II 1224] ||| Tigre nədəʔ ‘sheaf’ [LH 339] ||| (?) Eg. nd.wt (unless this is miswriting of nt.wt) ‘fetters’ (CT III 261c, DCT 258) ||| Cu. (from ES): Bilin & Saho nadó ‘Garbe’ [Rn. 1887, 280; 1890, 284] ||| WCh.: Karfa ndod ‘bundle’ [Seibert 2000 MS, #F038].

● **CCh.: Bura-Margi *ntV < Ch. *nVt-** ‘to cut, split’ [Stl. 2005, 117, #422]: add Eg. nt (knife det.) ‘schlachten’ (GR, Wb II 351, 3) ||| HECu.: Burji nát-o ‘type of knife’

[Sasse 1982, 151]. For Sem. \sqrt{nt}^c ‘to crush (or sim.)’ (Akk.-ES) see Lsl. 1944, 57; 1979 III, 462. That \sqrt{nt}^c was a root det. is corroborated also by Akk. *nittu* ‘Einbrecher’ [AHW 798] || Ar. *nataʿa* VIII ‘être coupé, taillé’ [BK II 1191].

● **Ch. *nVg/γV** ‘healthy, strong’ [Stl. 2005, 121, #437]: add CCh.: Musgu-Puss *nga* (invar.) ‘en bonne santé’ [Trn. 1991, 109], cognate with ECu. **nagay-* ‘health’ [Sasse 1979, 43].

● **Ch. *nV(yV)g-** ‘to abuse, insult’ [Stl. 2005, 122, #443]: akin to Ar. *naġaʿa* I, VIII ‘nuire à qqn. par son regard, par son mauvais oeil’ [BK II 1197] || Eg. *ndj* [< *ngy] ‘feindlich’ (GR, Wb II 369, 8) = ‘to be hostile towards’ (PL 565), cf. *ndwj.t* ‘Verleumdung (?), Bosheit (?)’ (MK, Wb II 377, 17) || NBrb.: Mzab *nnəgnəg* ‘récriminer en grognant, mangréer’ [Dlh. 1984, 134] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr *a-nəg* ‘1. détester (qqn.) pour sa mauvaise conduite, 2. haïr avec juste raison’ [PAM 2003, 597] || SAgaw: Awngi *nak-in* ‘to despise’ [Hetzron 1969, 102] || NOm.: Kafa *nag* ‘anfeinden, beleidigen, beschimpfen’ [Rn. 1888, 323] = *nag* ‘ingiurrare, offendere’, *nag-ō* ‘ingiuria’ [Crl. 1951, 478], Mocha *naggi(yé)* ‘to insult’ [Lsl. 1959, 43].

● **CCh. *ngg- < *nVg-** ‘to break (a pot, a stick)’ [Stl. 2005, 124, #449]: add Daba *nga* ‘casser’ [Mch. 1966, 142] | Peve ...*ngá...* ‘to break (stick)’ [Schubert 1971 MS, 17, #375]. For further reflexes of Ch. $\sqrt{(n)-g-y}$ ‘couper en deux, rompre’, see Brt.-Jng. 1990, 141–2. Hbr. *ng^c* has semantically close ES parallels in Tna. *neg^{wě^ce}* ‘se briser, se casser’ [Coulbeaux] = ‘scolare il succo dalle piante’ [Bassano], Masqan *tä-nagga* & Wolane *tä-naga* ‘to crush’ [Lsl.] (ES: Wajnberg 1935, 60; Lsl. 1958, 33; 1979 III) || Eg. *n^cg* ‘zerkleinern’ (Med., GHWb 396; Wb II 210, 2), cf. *n^cg* ‘(Tür)Spalt’ (BD, GHWb 396; Wb II 210, 4). The same biconsonantal root is attested in Ar. *nġw* IV ‘9. tailler un arbre, en couper les branches’ [BK II 1207] || Eg. *ngj* ‘zer-, aufbrechen’ (MK, Wb II 348, 6–12) = ‘to break open, up’ (FD 141).

● **Ch. *nV̄k-** ‘to rise, mount’ [Stl. 2005, 126, #462]: the correct rendering of Mubi *nāk* is ‘aufgehen (Sonne)’ [Lks. 1937, 184] (not ‘aufstehen’), recorded later as *nàgè* ‘monter’ [Jng. 1990 MS]. Add WCh.: (?) Goemay *niak* ‘2. to surpass, be above’ [Srl. 1937, 159] (unless -k is the marker of Angas-Sura pl. stems) || ECh.: Sarwa *nākâ* ‘monter’ [JI 1990 MS, 9, #164], Somray *nàgè* ‘monter, grimper (arbres, montagnes)’ [Jng. 1993 MS, 47]. A remotely related var. root is attested in Ar. *naġaha* I ‘2. survenir et surprendre qqn.’ [BK II 1209] || ES: Geez *ngʔ:* *tangəʿa* ‘to go up (smoke)’, Tna. *näg^wa^c* ‘who grows fast’, *nəgu^c* ‘who surpasses’ (ES: Lsl. 1987, 390) || Common Brb. $\sqrt{n-g}$ ‘dessus’ [GT pace Ksm. 1999, 148, #348] || HECu.: Sidamo *nagg y-* ‘to rise’ [Hds. 1989, 124] > *naggi naggi yâ* ‘to be high’ [Gsp. 1983, 245] || ECu.: Yaaku *-nāk-* ‘to surpass’ [Heine 1975, 135].

●**Ch. *nVkV** ‘small, light’ [Stl. 2005, 128, #473]: add CCh.: Bura raka [r- < *n-reg.] ‘klein, jung, wenig’ [Hfm. apud RK 1973, 95] = rəka ‘small’ [Mkr. 1987, 48] | Mada nüküë, nīkə ‘peu’ [Mch. 1953, 193] = nnīkè ‘un peu, un tout petit peu’ [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 206]. Akin to AA *n-k ‘small’ [GT] > perhaps Ar. nawayak- ‘bardache, mignon’, ma-nyūk- ‘un bardache, un mignon’ [Dozy II 742] ||| SAgaw: Awngi neket-əŋ ‘to lessen’ [Hetzron 1969, 102] || SCu.: (?) Iraqw pl. nak^w ~ nīnak^w ‘small’ [Wtl. 1953] (unless -k^w is a pl. marker), Alagwa nuk-ut- ‘to fall short’ [Ehret 1980, 327; 1987, #102]. On the problems of Eg. nkt ‘ein wenig ... , etwas von’ (MK, Wb II 347, 10) = ‘some, a little, something, piece’ (FD 141), see Takács 2005, 54, #4.25.

●**WCh.: Angas-Sura *nVkV** ‘bow-string’ [Stl. 2005, 128, #475]: more appropriate seems to reconstruct AS *nuk (var. *nik?) ‘1. bowstring, 2. strap, belt’ [GT 2004, 270], cf. the reflexes ignored by Stolbova: Angas nuk (K) ‘bowstring’ [Jng. 1962 MS, 29] = nuk ‘strap’, nuk ḥwin ‘belt’ (ḥwin ‘waist’) [ALC 1978, 48], presumably Musheru nuk ‘special kind of leaves used in the olden days by women to cover their private parts’ [Dkl. 1997 MS, 167, 359] (GT: lit. *‘belt?’), Goemay nuk ‘a whip made of hippo skin’ [Srl. 1937, 166] = nik (so, -i-) ‘housewhip’, nnuk (so, nn-and -u-) ‘whip’ [Hlw. 2000 MS, 25–26]. Angas-Sura *-k# < AA *-g is reg. Therefore, more likely cognates appear in Eg. nwd.t [< *nwg-t] ‘scourges’ (PT 2112, AEPT 299–300, n. 5) ||| HECu. *nigga ‘tendon’ [Hds. 1989, 419]. Note that CCh.: Hina lūgō [var. with l-, or l- < n-?] ‘Bogensehne’ [Str. 1922–23, 133] < PCh. *r-g.

●**Ch. *nVkV** ‘now, today’ (based purely on Mada and Mkl.) [Stl. 2005, 129, #477]: add also WCh.: Maha ínčé ‘today’ [Alio 1988 MS] ||| PAgaw *nə/aki ‘today’ [Apl. 2005] > NAgaw: Hamir nič ‘jetzt, heute’ [Rn. 1884, 399], Hamta nīč ‘today’ [Apl. 1987, 505] = neḡ ‘oggi’ [CR 1905, 224], Kailinya nəqi ‘today’ [Faitlovitch apud Apl.] (palatalization of *-ki > *-č) | SAgaw: Awngi ḥaká ‘oggi’ [CR 1905, 170–1] = naka [Apl. 1991] = nákí [Apl. 1994 MS, 14] (Agaw: Apl. 1991 MS, 12; 1996, 10, #12; 2005 MS, 118) ||| ECu.: Yaaku anče ‘today’ [Heine 1975, 135].

●**Ch. *nVk-** ‘to grind’ [Stl. 2005, 129, #481]: add Fyer-Tambas niḵ ‘mahlen’ [Jng. 1970, 392], Fyer nik ~ niq & Monguna ní? [-? < *-k] ‘to grind’ [Seibert 2000 MS, #F029] | Dott/Zodi nok ‘to grind’ [Caron 2002, 212], Guus/Sigidi nəg ‘to grind’ [Caron 2001, 31]. Whether here belongs also ECh.: Kera ki-ngí (m), pl. kə-ningíw ‘Stein zum Aufrauhen des Mahlsteins’ [Ebert 1976, 71] is dubious (for a different etymology cf. Ebert 1978, 46, 49, fn. 3). Akin to SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr nənnəγ-ət [-γ-reg. < AA *-k-] ‘1. frotter et comprimer par des pressions fortes et répétées entre les mains ou les doigts, 2. assouplir par des battements répétées (peau teinte et un peu séchée), 3. (Ayr only) être écrasé par frottage, râpé, broyé, émietté (par frottage)’ [PAM 2003, 621] ||| SCu.: Dahalo nūḵ- ‘to rub’ [Eld. 1973 MS, 6, #377] ||| NOm.: Kafa naq ‘macinare’ [Crl. 1951, 480]. For the PCh.-Dahalo equation, see also Ehret 1995,

330, #645. The underlying AA root may have primarily meant ‘to rub sg. pressed between hands’. Jungraithmayr (1978, 37) derived from this WCh. root also WCh.: Miya nəḵ ‘to scratch’, Pa’a nəḵ ‘to stir up’ (see also Skn. 1996, 208).

● **Ch. *nVs-** ‘to pierce’ [Stl. 2005, 131, #490]: cp. perhaps Ar. nasa‘a ‘4. s’enfoncer dans l’intérieur du pays’ [BK II 1249] rather than Ar. nḥs (as suggested by Stolbova), since the Ch. reflexes have no trace of AA *-ḥ-.

● **Ch. *nVs-** ‘to burn’ [Stl. 2005, 132, #493]: akin to Eg. ns.wt ‘1. Flamme, Feuer, 2. (GR) auch: Dürre’ (MK, Wb II 324, 14–5), also njs ‘flamme’ (CT II 18a, AL 78.1989 pace AECT I 80, spell 77, n. 1) and ns ‘fire’ (Grieshammer, LÄ II 205). But Hbr. nīšō‘ ‘spark’ [KB 615] cannot be related (Hbr. -š- ≠ Ch. *-s- = Eg. -s) as suggested by Stolbova.

● **Ch. *nVs-** ‘to (be, go) far away’ [Stl. 2005, 132, #494]: add WCh.: Gwandara nisa ~ -š- ‘1. far distance, 2. long time’ [Mts. 1972, 88].

● **WCh.: SBauchi *nyVs- ~ *ṅV̄s- < *nVHV-** ‘to bite’ [Stl. 2005, 133, #497]: akin to Eg. nḥs ‘stechen (Insekt)’ (late NK, Wb II 303, 2).

● **Ch. *nVs-** ‘to quarrel, disagree’ [Stl. 2005, 133, #498]: cf. perhaps Eg. nsw ‘den Mund öffnen feindlich gegen ...’ (BD, GHWb 431), a hapax legomenon of uncertain rendering?

● **Ch. *nVs- ~ *ṅVs-** ‘1. to cut, 2. shave, scrape’ [Stl. 2005, 132, #493]: cp. Eg. nsns ‘découper’ (late NK, Alliot, RdE 10, 1955, 1–4) = ‘to cut up (?)’ (DLE II 34) = ‘zerlegen, tranchieren’ (Fischer-Elfert 1986, 135, 138, n. y) = ‘zerschneiden (?)’ (GHWb 432) = ‘zerschneiden’ (Osing 1998, 54, 83, ns ‘Verletzung (?)’ (late NK Mag., Wb II 321, 4), nss ‘beschädigen (Statuen, Inschrift)’ (MK, Wb II 336, 12–3).

● **WCh. *nzVI-** ‘to pour’ [Stl. 2005, 134, #505]: from the same AA root, i.e., *n-ḡ-l ‘to flow, pour (?)’ [GT]; might derive from Eg. mnz3 (m- prefix nomen instr.) ‘Krug für Wasser’ (OK, Wb II 88, 8; 110) || SCu.: Qwadza ma-nḡal-em-o (-dz-) ‘dew’ [Ehret 1980 MS, 4]. For Eg. mnz3 cf. esp. Akk. (a/jB) mazzālu [< *manzāl-] ‘eine Gießkanne (?)’ [AHW 637] = mazzalu ‘vessel for pouring out oil or water’ [CAD m1, 440].

● **CCh. *nzV** ‘to surpass’ [Stl. 2005, 134, #505], based solely on Mandara nḡ ‘surpasser’ [Mch.]: add perhaps CCh.: Malgwa nza ‘früher’ [Löhr 2002, 304] | Mada enzé ‘avant, d’abord, en premier’ [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 213]. These can hardly be related to Akk. nīšu ‘strong’ [CAD m 190] (as proposed by Stolbova) either semantically or phonologically (Akk. -š- ≠ Ch. *-z- or better *-ḡ-). More promising seems a comparison with Common Brb. *ənḡVy ‘to come and go first’ [Mlt.] = *√n-z-(y) ‘zuerst kommen, vorangehen’ [Snd.] > *ā-mə-nzVy ‘first, first-born, one who comes first’ [Mlt.]: SBrb.: Hgr. e-māñhi ‘forerunner, herald’ [Prs.] || Guanche menzei ‘king (rey)’ [Wlf.] etc.

(Brb.: Mlt. 1988, 197; 1991, 166, 170). Cf. also Eg. nzw ‘König’ (PT 814c, Wb II 319, 6–7; ÜKAPT VI 144), for the Eg.-Brb. etymology see Schneider 1993, 170–2.

● **Ch. *nV[ç]-** ‘to sink, plunge’ [Stl. 2005, 136, #513] = *nuç- ‘to sink, plunge into the water’ [Stl. 2003, 303]: among its supposed reflexes, in my view, WCh.: Gwandara nùču ‘1. to dive, 2. sink’ [Mts. 1972, 91] || CCh.: Bura nča/i ‘to tip into water’ [BED] = nčÿ ‘2. to immerse, dive’ [Hfm. in RK 1973, 127] | Mofu-Gudur nəs- ‘abîmer’ [Brt.] (the first and the latter parallels were not considered by Stolbova) do not support reconstructing a glottalized *-ç- in the root. In addition, external cognates suggest that there may have been a var. root with a non-glottalized sibilant affricate, cf. AA *n-[c] ‘to sink, descend’ [GT] > Ar. 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] || Eg. ns ‘vom Einsinken des Fußes in den Ackerboden’ (Med., Wb II 320, 19) = ‘to sink, settle into (cultivated ground)’ (Breasted 1930, 337) = ‘einsinken’ (GHWb 430), cf. perhaps ns.wt ‘eine Krankheitsercheinung am Nackenwirbel: Senkung o.ä. (?)’ (Med., Wb II 324, 16) = ‘displacement’ (Breasted l.c.) || NBrb.: Tamazight √n-z > a-nz, u-nz ‘se soumettre, se baisser, s’incliner’ [Tf. 1991, 512] | Shenwa a-nz ‘s’abaisser’ [Lst. 1912, 148] | Qabyle a-nez ‘1. s’incliner, 2. se soumettre’, zzinez ‘s’abaisser (au sens fig.)’ [Dlt. 1982, 589] || SBrb.: Ahaggar i-ñhw [h < *z] ‘s’en aller en descendant et en glissant’ [Prs. 1969, 83, #552]. Note that Brb. *z < AA *c is regular.

● **Ch. *nVm-** ‘to hold, take, get’ [Stl. 2005, 139, #532] = *nam- ‘to touch, hold’ [Stl. 1996, 85]: add WCh.: Guruntum nəmì ‘to receive’ [Haruna 1992 MS, 27], Zaar nəm ‘to hold (in hand)’ & Boghom nəm ‘to take’ [Smz. 1975, 36, 38]. Of AA origin, cf. Eg. nm ‘sich an jmdm./an etwas vergreifen’ (MK, Wb II 264, 11–2) = ‘to rob, steal’ (FD 133) = ‘to seize s’one’ (Med., Leitz 1999, 100) || SOm.: Ari num- ‘to hold, keep’ [Bnd. 1994, 152]. Areal parallel: Nilo-Saharan *nè/ēm ‘to grasp, grip’ [Ehr. 2001, 315, #260].

● **Ch. *nVm-** ‘to go away, walk’ [Stl. 2005, 140, #536]: akin to Ar. nām-at- ‘2. mouvement’ [BK II 1346] || Eg. nmj ‘1. (tr.) einen Ort durchfahren, 2. (intr.) fahren, gehen’ (PT, Wb II 265) || LECu.: Rendille nyāma ‘1. to launch (o’s.) into rapid movement, (start to jump), run (away), take off (running and flying, of birds), fly (away), 2. go off, leave’ [PG 1999, 236] = a-nyāma ‘ich renne, springe, fliege’ [Schlee 1978, 143, #833], cf. also Arbore ñām- ‘to jump’ [Hyw. 1984, 388], Elmolo nyām ‘to jump’ [Heine 1980, 208] || NOm.: SMAo nim ‘to go’ [Bnd. 1971, 258, #32].

● **WCh. *nVm-** ‘to shut, close’ [Stl. 2005, 51, #6; 2005, 141, #541]: cp. Eg. nm^c ‘to cover’ (DLE II 19).

● **Ch. *nVmV** ‘man, person’ [Stl. 2005, 143, #548a] was derived by Stolbova from PCh. *nVmV ‘one, to be equal’. But the original meaning ‘person’ inherited

from AA seems more probable (as suggested by Ehret 1995, 320, #621 and as also acknowledged by Stolbova 2005, 71, #1.6.1 in another paper), cf. OSA ʔnm ‘hommes, habitants, gens de’ [DRS 25], Ar. ʔanām- ‘creatura’ [Rn.] = ʔa/ānām- ‘créatures, hommes’ [DRS] ||| LECu. *n[u/a]m- ‘man’ [Black 1974, 152]: PSomali *nama ‘Mann’ [Lmb. 1986, 445] > Somali nin, pl. nimán < nímó ‘1. Mann, 2. Gatte’ [Rn. 1902, 315], Oromo nama ‘man, person’ [Gragg 1982, 299], Konso nama ‘man’ [Bnd. 1971, 249, #49], Dirayta nam ‘man’ [Wdk.-Tanaba-Cheru 1994, 12, #108], Gidole nam^a ‘man’ [Bnd. 1971, 2487, #49] ||| NOM.: Kaffa anāmo ‘Mann’ [Rn.].

● **Ch. *nVr-** ‘to hunt, search, drive cattle’ [Stl. 2005, 144, #557] > i.a. CCh.: Masa nār ‘conduire (le troupeau)’ [Ctc. 1983, 119]: there are AA cognates, cf. Eg. nrj ‘als Hirt hüten, bewachen’ (OK, Wb II 278, 15), nr ‘Hüter, Hirt’ (PT, Wb II 279, 1) ||| NBrb.: Qabyle e-nher ‘conduire, mener (animal, bête de somme, voiture)’ [Dlt. 1982, 558] || SBrb.: Ahaggar ɛ-ɲɛr ‘führen, leiten’ [Zhl.] = e-ner ‘guider (servir de guide à)’ [Fcd. 1951–2, 1396] = ə-nər ‘conduire’ [Chn. pace Fcd.], EWlmd. ə-ɲɛr ‘guider (qqn., de caravane)’ [PAM 2003, 621]. For Eg.-SBrb. see also Zhl. 1934, 119; GÄSW #662; Chn. 1947, #461. Note that, in principle, Eg. nr might be derived also from *nl (which would be supported by an alternative etymology).

● **Ch. **nVyVr-** ‘to surround’ [Stl. 2005, 145, #562], which was in fact based by Stolbova on Angas-Sura *nēr ‘to surround’ [GT 2004, 267]: Sura nɛɛr ‘umgeben, umliegen, umzingeln’ [Jng. 1963, 76], Mupun nēr ‘to surround, gang up on someone’ [Frj. 1991, 42]. This root might be cognate with Eg. jnh ‘umgeben’ (XVIII, Wb I 99), a palatalization from *rnḥ, which is a metathesis of **nhr.

● **ECh. *nṼr-** ‘to refuse, forbid’ [Stl. 2005, 146, #568]: cf. Eg. nj ~ nj3 [< *nyr] ‘ab-, zurückweisen’ (MK, Wb II 201, 4–5).

● **Ch. *nVrV** ‘wicked, angry’ [Stl. 2005, 149, #585]: cp. Akk. narru ‘ein Verbrecher (?)’ [AHW 748] = ‘wrongdoer, criminal’ [CAD n 362].

● **Ch. *nyVwV** ‘horn’ [Stl. 2005, 150, #591]: perhaps related to Eg. njwj ‘Speer, Lanze’ (XIX, Wb II 202, 15) = ‘spear (a rather short, light-shafted object, preferable to javelin, lance)’ (Janssen 1975, 325–6, §96) ||| SCu.: Asa nya ‘gonge’ [Flm. 1969, 14, #28]?

● **Ch. *nyVk-** ‘to commit adultery, copulate’ [Stl. 2005, 152, #604]: Stolbova based this reconstruction solely on WCh.: Bokkos nyôk ‘koitieren, begatten’ [Jng.] ||| CCh.: Bura lika ‘(to commit) adultery’ [BED] and their comparison with Akk. nâqu and Ar. nkḥ, which is not to be approved in this form. First, the Bura form with l- can hardly belong here (NB: Ch. *n- > Bura r-!), for which cf. rather Bed. lok ‘to copulate’ [Hds. 1996, 86]. Second, the Bokkos root has rather different Ch.

cognates, cf. CCh.: Malgwa níka ‘Ehe’ [Löhr 2002, 304] || ECh.: Migama nâwkà ‘enceinte (se dit des animaux seulement)’ [JA 1992, 109]. Third, most of the AA cognates to the Chadic (Bokkos) root have long been known, cf. Sem. *nyk ‘to have sexual intercourse’ [SED]: Akk. $\sqrt{\text{nj}}$ k: niāku ‘beischlafen’, pass. part. nīku [< *najku] ‘begattet’ [AHW 784, 790] || Ar. nyk ‘cohabiter avec une femme (ce mot est du bas langue)’ [BK II 1376] || MSA: Harsusi neyōk ‘to sleep (with a woman)’ [Jns. 1977, 100], Jibbali nyk: nēk ‘to sleep with (a woman)’ [Jns. 1981, 199], Mehri nāyūk ‘to have sexual intercourse with, sleep with (a woman)’ [Jns. 1987, 309] (Sem.: SED I 313, #53) || Eg. nk [$\sqrt{\text{*nj}}$ k] ‘den Beischlaf vollziehen’ (PT, Wb II 345, 3–10), hence nk.w ‘Beischläfer, Ehebrecher’ (OK, Wb II 345, 11) > (S) $\text{no}\epsilon\text{ik}$ ‘adulterer’ (CED 107) = ‘Ehebrecher’ (KHW 120–1) ~ nkjkj ‘den Leib der Frau befruchten’ (PT, Wb II 346, 1) = ‘schwängern’ (Edel 1956, 14, #13) || SBrb.: Ahaggar e-nkí [$\sqrt{\text{*n-k-y}}$] ‘coire, begatten, faire les mouvements de l’acte sexuel’ [Fcd. 1951–2, 373–4] || Bed. nek^{wi} ‘empfangen, der Geburt entgegen sehen, schwanger werden’ [Rn. 1895, 183] = nikwi ‘to become pregnant’ [Rpr. 1928, 224] = nekwi ‘to be pregnant’ [Hds. 1996, 100] || SCu.: Qwadza nakwa ‘husband’ [Ehr. 1980 MS, 9] || NOM.: Zayse enk-ō ‘membro virile’ [Crl. 1938 III, 199] < AA *n-y-k ~ *n-k-y ‘to copulate’ [GT]. This AA root has a huge etymological literature.³

Isolata

● **ECh.:** **Somray nyāw** ‘to dig’ [JI] compared by Stolbova (2005, 228, #48) with Ar. n’y I ‘2. creuser une rigole, des rigoles autour d’une tente’ [BK II 1178]. One may add here (as also done elsewhere by Stolbova 2005, 228, #48) WCh.: Pero náanò ‘to dig’ [Frj. 1985, 43]. In Sem., cf. also OSA (Madhabi) $\sqrt{\text{nwy}}$ / $\sqrt{\text{n’y}}$: nwy ‘fossé (?)’ and (Sabaeen) nwy ‘fossé’ [Arbach 1993, 79].

● **ECh.:** **Zime-Batna né** ‘avoir peur’ [Scn.] was compared by Stolbova (2005, 228, #51) with Ar. na^ʔna^ʔ- ‘2. peureux, timide’, whose first and basic meaning is, however, ‘faible, débile’ [BK II 1177–8], and which seems to represent a distinct AA root. More likely seems a comparison with ECu. *naḥ- ‘to fear’ [Sasse 1979, 22–3; 1982, 150].

● **ECh.:** **WDangla nyàpè** ‘monter sur un animal’ [Fédry] and **EDangla nyí pé** ‘steigen’ [Ebs.] were combined by Stolbova (2005, 228, #58) with Ar. n^ʔf VIII ‘monter’ [BK II 1294]. A new Ch. cognate appears in WCh.: Goemay niaap ‘to

³ See GD 2837; Müller 1909, 200, fn. 1; Ember 1916, 73; Trb. 1923, 138, #248; Zhl. 1932–33, 95; 1934, 119; GÄSW #62; Chn. 1947, #464; Vcl. 1958, 376; 1959, 39; Djk. 1965, 44; 1967, 188; Rabin 1982, 25, #7; Sasse 1982, 153; DELC 141; Mlt. 1986, 71, #3.3; Djk. et al. 1986, 44; Behrens 1987, 240, #3; Blz. 1989, 216; Hnrg. 1991, 692; Blv. 1993, 42, #195; Voigt 1998, 611.

add, increase' [Srl. 1937, 159]. Cp. also Sem. *nwp: Ug. np Š 'to raise' [DUL 634], Hbr. nōp 'Erhebung, Höhe' [GB 494] | Ar. nwf '1. être haut (chameau), saillant et surplomber au-dessus de qqch.' [BK II 1369] > nawf- 'Kamelhöcker' [GB] || Eg. nfnf 'das Überschwemmungswasser' (GR, Wb II 252, 8–9) || SBrb.: Ayr a-nəf- '1. monter sur' [PAM 2003, 592] || NOm.: Kaffa naf 'gonfiarsi, esser gonfio' [Crl. 1951, 478].

● **WCh.:** **Angas nagyā** 'old' [Ftp.] was compared by Stolbova (2005, 229, #70) with Ar. ʿanaḡ- 'vieillard' [BK II 381], which is a mistake, since the Angas-Sura root in question was *gʷa (mostly with prefix *na-) 'old' [GT 2004, 141].⁴

● **ECh.:** **WDangla nyòkè** 'pleuvoir' [Fédry] and **EDangla nyóké** 'regnen' [Ebs.], connected by Stolbova (2005, 230, #81) with Geez naqʿa 'to pour' [Lsl.]. But the ECh. root might be equally compared to Ar. naḥiʿa I 'être en sève (se dit du bois des arbres au printemps)', V '1. jeter la pituite, 2. vomir, 3. donner de la pluie (se dit des nuages)', VIII '1. donner, verser de la pluie' [BK II 1222] || NBrb.: Tazerwalt ngi 'groß werden (Fluß), überfließen, dahinströmen' [Stumme 1899, 212], Sus ngi 'couler, déborder (rivière)' [Lst. 1921, 295] | Tamazight ngey 'être en crue (cours d'eau), déborder' [Tf. 1991, 477] || EBrb.: Audjila ngi 'toccare' [Prd. 1960, 175] || SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr ə-ngəy 'ruisseler, couler' [PAM 2003, 602], etc.

● **WCh.:** **Montol nanakie** 'to think' [Ftp.] was derived by Stolbova (2005, 230, #82) from *√n-k-r and connected with Eg. nk3 [reg. < *nkr/l] 'überlegen, an etwas denken' (MK, Wb II 345, 13–4). But the obscure Montol form (recorded by Ftp. only) is certainly a chain of diverse morphemes (usually erroneously published by Ftp. as one word), whereby the root (if correct at all) can only be *kʷe (any other segmentation would be atypical for Angas-Sura roots).

● **WCh.:** **Hausa nààsóó** 'exuding of damp from floors or walls' [Stl.] = náásóó ~ nááàsè [-še < *-se] '1. to become greasy with perspiration, etc. (clothing), 2. to spread (oil on clothing), 3. be damp (house)' [Abr.] equated by Stolbova (2005, 231, #92) with Ar. ntt 'suer et se couvrir d'humidité à la surface extérieure (se dit d'une outre remplie d'eau)' [BK II 1195]; this correspondence is irregular, since Ar. t = Hausa č. Cf. rather Ar. 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] = nasīs- 'terrain fendillé par des suintements d'eau', nsns I 'suinter latéralement (parois du puits)' [Fagnan 1923, 171–2] || NBrb.: Tamazight nses 'suinter, filtrer (intr.)' [Tf. 1991, 497] | Qabyle nesses 'suinter, filtrer (intr.), se glisser, s'insinuer' [Dlt. 1982, 575] || NOm.: Yemsa

⁴ Attested in Sura kää ni-gi-mat [nü-gü- < *na-gya-] 'old woman' (kää 'Großmutter', mat 'woman') [Krf.], Chip nà-gya 'old man', nà-gya-mat 'old woman' [Krf.], Goemay na-gya 'old' [Ftp. 1911, 219] = gia 'old', na-gia 'old age, old' [Srl. 1937, 59, 152] = nà-gya [< *na-gya-] 'old man' [Krf.] = gya 'to be old', na-gya 'old (adj.)', na-gya 'old person' [Hlw. 2000 MS, 12, 24].

nās-à ‘Tau’ [Lmb. 1993, 371: isolated in Om.], Yemsa-Fofa nā:s-ā ‘dew’ [Akl.-Sbr. 1993, 36] ||| CCh.: Uldeme nəc (-ts) ‘eau qui s’infiltré’ [Clm. 1987, 87].⁵ The Qabyle-Hausa correspondence has already been observed by V.M. Illič-Svityč (1976, #323).

● **ECh.:** **Mokilko nùunfýè** ‘hyène’ [Jng. 1990, 145; JI 1994 II 205: isolated]: not listed in Stl. 2005, but cp. SOM.: Dime nayu ‘hyena’ [Flm. apud Bnd. 1994, 152] = náí [Sbr. apud Bnd. 1996 MS, 3, #48].

Abbreviations of languages

AA: Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Bch.: Bauchi, Bed.: Bedawye (Beja), BM: Bura-Margi, Brb.: Berber, BT: Bole-Tangale, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Egyptian Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, E: East(ern), ES: Ethio-Semitic, Eg.: Egyptian, Eth.: Ethiopian (dynasties), GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, Grg.: Gurage, Hbr.: Hebrew, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, Hrs.: Harsusi (Ḥarsūsi), Jbl.: Jibbali, Hs.: Hausa, Ktk.: Kotoko, L: Late, LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, Lit.: literary texts, lit.: literature or literary, LP: Late (Third Intermediate) Period, M: Middle, Mag.: Magical, Mat.: mathematical papyri, Med.: medical texts, MEg.: Middle (Classical) Egyptian, Mhr.: Mehri, MK: Middle Kingdom, N: New, N: North(ern), NBch.: North Bauchi, NE(g.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, O: Old, OEg.: Old Egyptian, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, Phn.: Phoenician, PT: pyramid texts, Pun.: Punic, Qtb.: Qatabanian, rel.: religious, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaeian, SBch.: South Bauchi, Sem.: Semitic, Sgt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, Tna.: Tigrinya, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West(ern), Wlmd.: Tawllemet.

Abbreviations of names of authors

Abr.: Abraham, AF: Adolf Friedrich, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Ajl.: Ajello, Akl.: Aklilu, Alb.: Albright, Alm.: Alemayehu, AM: Abdel-Massih, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky, Blv.: Belova, Blz.: Blažek, Bnd.: Bender, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brt.: Barreteau, Chn.: Cohen, Clc.: Calice, Clm.: Colombel, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Cpr.: Caprile, Csp.: Cosper, Ctc.: Cañucoli, Dbr.: Djibrine, Djk.: D’jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopolskij, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier, Ebs.: Ebobisse, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Egc.: Eguchi, Ehr.: Ehret, Eld.: Elderkin, Fcd.: Foucauld, Fdr.: Fédry, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, Grb.: Greenberg, Gsp.: Gasparini, GT: Takács, Gtr.: Guthrie, Gwr.: Gowers, Hds.:

⁵ Derived by V. de Colombel from $\sqrt{-c}$ (-ts) ‘arracher’, which is semantically unconvincing.

Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hlw.: Hellwig, Hnrg.: Huehnergard, Hrn.: Haruna, Hsk.: Hoskison, Htz.: Hetzron, Hyw.: Hayward, Ibr.: Ibriszimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, Jst.: Justinard, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Krf.: Kraft, Ksk.: Kieschke, Ksm.: Kossmann, Lbf.: Lebeuf, LG: Lienhard & Giger, LH: Littmann & Höfner, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lns.: Lenssen, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, MB: Meyer-Bahlburg, Mch.: Mouchet, Mgd.: Migeod, Mgw.: Maghway, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, Mnh.: Meinhof, Mnt.: Montgolfier, MQK: Mous & Qorro & Kießling, Mrc.: Mercier, Mrn.: Moreno, MSkn.: Margaret Skinner, Mts.: Matsushita, Ncl.: Nicolas, NM: Newman & Ma, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, OL: Olmo Lete, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, Pls.: Pilszczikowa, Pnv.: Panova, Prd.: Paradisi, Prh.: Porhomovskij, Prs.: Prasse, Pwd.: Pweddson, RB: Rapp & Benzing, RK: Reutt & Kogan, Rn.: Reinisch, Rpr.: Roper, Rsg.: Rossing, Rsl.: Rössler, Sbr.: Siebert, Scn.: Sachnine, Skn.: Neil Skinner, Slk.: Sölken, Smz.: Shimizu, Snd.: Schneider, Srl.: Sirlinger, Ss.: Sasse, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Strm.: Stroomer, Tf.: Taïfi, Trb.: Trombetti, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Wdk.: Wedekind, Wtl.: Whiteley, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

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