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Agaw Lexicon and Its Cushitic and Afro-Asiatic Background¹

Abstract

The long awaited *Comparative Dictionary of the Agaw Languages* published most recently by David Appleyard (2006) presents a precious etymological treatment not only for specialists of Agaw and Cushitic, but also from the standpoint of our current research on comparative Afro-Asiatic lexicon. The present paper is to examine Appleyard's material and suggestions from these aspects for possible addenda and corrigenda.

Keywords: Agaw language, Cushitic languages, Africa, Asia

Introduction

The Agaw (or Central Cushitic) languages and peoples, on which the earliest reference dates back to the first centuries AD², are scattered today in four main blocs: (1) Bilin in the area of the town Kärän in Eritrea, (2) in Ethiopia: Ḥaməṭ ~ Ḥəməṭ people (sg. Ḥamra ~ Ḥəmra) in the area of northern Wag, (3) Kemant of Kärkär and çälga (north of Lake Tana), the Falasha or Betä Isra'el, (4) Awi (sg. Awiya) of Agäwmädär in Gojjam and the Kunfäl of the lowlands to the west of Lake Tana. Hamtanga and Awngi in Ethiopia and Bilin in Eritrea have regional language status.

¹ The ideas of this paper were originally presented at the 5th International Conference on Cushitic and Otic Languages (Paris, 16–18 April 2008), but the text is not going to be published in its proceedings (which are still just forthcoming in early 2012).

² The name of the people is attested in the Greek Adulis inscription (Monumentum Adulitanum, 2nd half of 3rd cent. AD, lost, copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the early 6th cent.) as Ἀθαγαυός < *ʔad-ʔagäw, which is also mentioned in the Geez inscription of ʿEzana (4th cent. AD) as Atagäw.

Appleyard distinguishes basically four principal languages (with dialects or variants):

(1) Bilin (dialects: Tā'ak^wər and Tärķek^wər or Senhit), with 90–120 thousand speakers in Senhit province of Eritrea focusing on the towns Kärän and Halhal, both Christians and Muslims.

(2) Hamtanga, identical with Reinisch's Hamir (Hamta of Conti Rossini 1904 is to be regarded its dialect), spoken by the Ḥaməṭ ~ Ḥəməṭ people in the northern part of the Wag region (in the former Wällo province) with a highly uncertain number of speakers³.

(2-3) Kailinya (Kayləñña or the language of the Kayla formerly applied to the Betä Isra'el, recorded by Jacques Faitlovitch somewhere in 1904–5 and 1908–9) with a position between the Hamtanga and Kemant clusters.

(3) Kemant (dialects: Qwara vs. Falasha of Flad 1866⁴), now with about 1,650 speakers (all bilingual Amharic speakers), although the 1998 Ethiopian census counted 172,327 people identifying themselves as ethnic Kemant (no longer speaking it).

(4) Awngi (dialects: Damot, Agawmidir), i.e., the language of the Awi(ya), in Agäwmədər and eastern Mätäkkäl districts of the once Gojjam province, with about 100 thousand speakers (Wedekind in 1995) = 279,326 (1998 census). A closely related language is Kunfäl with no more than 2 thousand speakers in the lowlands west of Lake Tana.

These major Agaw languages are as a rule accounted for by Appleyard when discussing the individual Agaw etymologies. The critical analysis offered below will take Appleyard's 2006 PAgaw reconstructions as a starting point of the discussion (without repeating the individual forms of the Agaw daughter languages) – unless either (1) the Agaw root is only known in isolated forms and no P(N)Agaw reconstruction can be attained or (2) the proto-form proposed by Appleyard is problematic.

Comments on the Agaw roots

• **Agaw *säg** “(upper) back” [Apl. 2006, 27], akin to LECu.: Oromo sag-ō “back of the head” and Dasenech sug-u “back” < PCu. *sVg- “back” [GT], cannot be related to Bed. sinkwa ~ sankwa ~ sunka ~ sinka “shoulder” as mentioned by Appleyard, since it represents (via *-mk- > -nk-) a fully distinct AA root, namely *č-k-m ~ *č-m-k “shoulder” [GT], cf. EDE III 594-5 s.v. Eg. mst.

• **Agaw *yāw** “back (of body), lower back” [Apl. 2006, 26-27] has possible AA cognates in NBrb.: Beni Snus ṭi-wa and Zemmur ṭ-uyā ~ ṭ-woyé “dos” [Blz. 1994 MS Bed., 2] ll WCh.: Ron *wuy [met. < *yuw?] “Rücken” [GT]: Sha wuy, Kulere wūy (Ron: Jng. 1970, 387) ll CCh.: Margi yī “back” [JI 1994 II 6]. Whether the isogloss of Eg. jw “der

³ 5 thousand to at least 80 thousand, but possibly more than 100 thousand (Berhanu Hailu et al. in 1995, cited by Appleyard) = 93,889 monolinguals with a total of 143,369 mother tongue speakers (the 1998 Ethiopian census).

⁴ Spoken just by a few elderly in Israel, formerly northwest of Lake Tana + Dembiya in the 19th cent., northern shore of Lake Tana.

Bucklige” (MK, Wb I 43, 11) = “hump-back” (FD 11) = “Buckliger” (GHWb 31) III Brb. *tu-Hi/a “bosse” [Ksm. 1999, 105, #224] = *ta-wuhi “camel’s hump, back” [Apl.] can also belong here remains open. Appleyard (2006, 84) quotes this etymology of mine s.v. Agaw *yāw “hips”. For a different etymology of the NBrb. parallels cf. Gouffé 1974, 367.

• **Bilin māk^wa** “backside, anus” [Apl.] = māk^wá, pl. mākuk “Steiß, Podex” [Rn. 1887, 267] = mækk^wa, pl. mækk^wək^w “buttocks” [Lmb. 1988, 93, §115; LT 1997, 510] = mækkwa “buttock” [HL 1988, 50] is – beside LECu.: Afar makuḥ [affix -ḥ of body parts] “spine”, Boni múkkə “buttocks”, Yaaku muk “lower part of the body” mentioned by Appleyard (2006, 27) – cognate to Ar. makw-at- “cul, derrière” [BK II 1140] III Bed. mīk^wa (m) “femur, humerus, tibia (anat.)” [Rpr. 1928, 216]. From AA *muk- “1. neck, 2. back” [Blz.]⁵ = *m-k^w “back parts” [GT]? Lit. for the AA etymology: Rn. 1895, 167 (Eg.-Bed.); Behnk 1928, 139, #32 (Eg.-Bed.); Zhl. 1932-33, 168 (Eg.-Bed.); Blažek 1987, 159 (Eg.-Bed.); 1994 MS Bed., 26; 2000, 185-6, §21; 2000 MS, 5, §21 (Bed.-Agaw-ECu.-Eg.).

• **Hamir čəqa** “bad” [Apl.]: Appleyard (2006, 27) was disposed to see in it a devoicing and palatalization from a hypothetical Agaw *dək[k]- and to identify it with Awngi dəkkí “bad”, but Hamir č- (vs. -q-) < Agaw *d- (vs. *-k-, resp.) would be very strange. Instead, cp. perhaps SCu. *č₁ak^w- [*č₁- reg. < AA *č₁-/*č₁-] “bad” [Ehr.]: Iraqw & Alagwa čak^w “bad, sorry, ugly, nasty, evil”, hence Iraqw čak^w-e “badness”, čak^w-es-a “crime”, čaku-s-mo “evil-doer”, Burunge čak^w-i “1. bad, etc., 2. rotten” | Qwadza čak^w-a “bad”, Asa dak-a “1. bad, etc., 2. rotten” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 214-215, #8) < AA *č₁-k “bad, abnormal” [GT].

• **NAgaw *fäy-** “to bake (bread)” [Apl.] was combined by Appleyard (2006, 28) with LECu.: Afar faḥ- “to boil, ferment”. A further cognate appears in Eg. wfḥ “verbrennen” (LP, Wb I 306, 6), which, besides, V. Orel (1995, 103, #45; HSED #819) compared with the Ch. word for “fire” (dubious, cf. EDE II 424-5). Cf. also LECu.: Somali fōḥ-a “gum for burning” [Bell 1969, 167]?

• **Agaw *qaf** “bark of tree” [Apl. 2006, 28]: akin to SCu.: Iraqw qafi, qâafi, pl. qâafa “bark of a tree”, qâf-ta “shell, rind of fruit” [Wtl. 1953] < PCu. *qaf- “bark” [GT] (Cu.: Dlg. 1973, 233). SCu.: Iraqw -f- points to PCu. *-f- (not *-p-) in this root. Cp. perhaps also NEg. hf “schälen, enthülsen (von Früchten)” (Med. XIX., late NK, Wb II 489, 13) with an irregular Eg. h- ~ Cu. *k- (for which cf. the equally irregular, albeit fairly well attested, correspondence of Eg. ḥ- ~ AA *k- in EDE I 302-4).

• **NAgaw *wan-/*wän-** “to be” [Apl.] can hardly have anything to do with the reflexes of Cu. *w-y-n “to be big” [GT] as suggested by Ehret (1987, 135; 1995, 467), whom D. Appleyard (2006, 29) quoted with right hesitation (“*With regard to the Agaw root being cognate, the semantics seem problematical*”). The Agaw root has – beside Eg. wnn (for the Agaw-Eg. equation cf. also Blz. 1992, 141) – no further AA cognates according to my

⁵ Note that Blažek (1987, 159; 2000, 185-6, §21; 2000 MS, 5, §21) affiliated the underlying with remote (Nostratic) parallels like Drv. *mak(k)- “neck” [DED #4622], Ur. *muka “back” [Sammallahti], Alt.: Korean mok “neck, throat”, and Pamir Iranian: Shugni & Wakhi māk, Sarikoli mok & Ishkashim mak “back of the neck, nape” [Morgenstierne].

etymological catalogue. Appleyard's alternative comparison with Awngi wena "pregnant animal" is semantically equally weak.⁶

• **Awngi ǎšʷ-** "to spend the day, be" [Apl. 2006, 29]: identical with LECu.: Saho & Afar as- "den Tag zubringen mit etwas" [Rn. 1890, 48] = "passer la journée" [Chn.], which Cohen (1947, #276) compared with the reflexes of AA *s-[?] "day" [GT], cf. Eg. s.w "Monatstag" (MK, Wb IV 58, 2) > Cpt. (SALBF) **coγ-** "Tag, Monatstag" (KHW 174) vs. s.w "Zeit" (MK, Wb IV 47-58) III (???) Brb. *a-ss "day" [Djk.] (GT: unless < *a-sf) III LECu.: Oromo sia "time" [Mkr. 1987, 415], Boni saʔ- "time" [Sasse 1979, 52 with further ECU. comparanda] III NOM.: Janjero aši "now" [Grb.] III WCh.: Sura šíi "Tag (24 Stunden)" [Jng. 1963, 83] (isolated in AS, cf. GT 2004, 345) II CCh.: PKotoko *cV "day" [Prh.]: Ngala & Logone see "day" [Grb.], Buduma či ~ če "Tag" [Lks. 1939, 94]. See also Chn. 1947, #276 (Eg.-Brb.-LECU.); Grb. 1963, 55, #22(Cu.-Brb.-Janjero); Djk. 1965, 42 (Brb.-CCh.); Prh. 1972, 58, #32.1 (Kotoko-Brb.-PCu.).

• **Bilin šäkʷäm** "beard" [Apl.] = šekúm ~ var. çeḥúm "Kinn und -bart" [Rn.] = šäkʷäm "chin" [KH/Apl.]: affiliated – along with Hamta çeḥem [Rn.] = çeḥəm [Apl.] – by Reinisch (1887, 170) and Appleyard (2006, 29) with ES: Geez ṣəḥm "beard", Tigre ṣəḥəm ~ çeḥəm "beard, jaw, chin", Tna. çeḥmi "beard". Reinisch regarded Bilin šekúm as a *Nebenform*. Although the reflexes of the AA glottalized affricates *ç- and *č- in Chadic have been so far little investigated, it seems that a prenasalized variety yields AS *ṣ̌- (cf. Stl. 1996, 41-42, 47-49), and thus the Ethiopian root might be alternatively affiliated with WCh.: AS *ṣ̌aγam ~ *ṣ̌a₃γa₃m > *ṣ̌əγam (?) "1. chin, 2. beard (?)" [GT 2004, 432] II ECh.: Mokilko zúkùmó ~ zúkìmó "1. Kinn, 2. Bart (menton, barbe)" vs. sùkùmó "mâchoire" [Jng. 1990, 202, 178], whose former comparison with Sem. *ḍi/aḵan- "beard" [SED] (HSED #2650; Stl. 1996, 49; SED I 59-60, #63) is dubious because of the anomalous C₃.

• **Bilin šəḥar** "beauty", šəḥar-d "to beautify", šəḥar-t "to be beautiful", šəḥar-əḥʷ "beautiful" [Apl. 2006, 30] = šayar ~ (häufiger) šeyar "schön sein", šeyár "Schönheit" [Rn. 1887, 318]: no cognates were suggested by either authors. Cp. Sqt. škér "être beau"⁷ [Lsl. 1938, 416] = fərəḥəm di škérəḥ "the nice girl" [kind p.c. by M.-C. Simeone-Senelle, Paris, April 2008]. With regard to the very frequent OK interchange of Eg. ḥ- ~ š-, one is tempted to identify this root with Eg. ḥkr (OK var. škr) "geschmückt sein" (PT, Wb III 401).

• **Agaw *ʔaräg-** "bed, couch" [Apl. 1994 MS, 2] = *ʔar[ə]g- [Apl. 1991 MS, 2]: cognate with Eg. 3ṭ.t [reg. < *rk-t] "bed" (OK, Wb I 23, 11) = 3ṭ.(w)t "Bett, Bahre (auch aus Elfenbein)" (ÄWb I 22) III WCh.: WBade rákè-n "bed", Bade-Gashua lákàì [Schuh: l- < *r-]

⁶ For this latter root cf. rather Eg. wn.w "1. (Med.) vom Kind im Mutterleib, 2. (GR) Kind als Bez. des jungen Sonnengottes und des Königs" (Wb I 315, 10-12) III WCh.: Sha (pl.) wòn ~ wúnòn "Knabe, Kind" [Jng. 1970, 284] | Nbauchi *wun- "girl, daughter" [Skn. 1977, 23] = *wuna "дочь, девочка" [Stl. 1987, 260] | Sbauchi: Buli unni [Gowers] = wənaʔ "child" [IL], Wangday wón "child" [IL] | Bade wùn-ən "Sohn" [Lks. 1968, 224], Ngizim wùn "son" [Schuh] II CCh.: Zime-Dari wenyón "child" [Str.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 74-75). For an alternative Ar. etymology of Eg. wn.w see Belova 1987, 280; 1993, 52.

⁷ Identified by Leslau with Ar. škl V: tašakkala "être beau (d'une belle forme)" (leaving the irregular C₃s unexplained).

“bed” (Bade: Schuh 1975, 112). The Agaw-Bade-Eg. etymology was first suggested in EDE I 52, 234. These AA cognates are leading to AA *r-k “bed” [GT], as verb “to lean on” (or sim.) [GT], cf. HECu. *irk-aḏ- (med.) “to lean upon”, *irk-is- (caus.) “to support” [Hds. 1989, 414]. Note that Agaw *-g- is irregular, which does not agree with Eg. *-k-, HECu. *-k-, and Bade -k-. Note that Osing (2001, 574) erroneously explained OK “bed” from 3t [\leq *lkj] “to nurse” (PT, CT, FD 6; DCT 10) = 3tj (IIIae inf.) “1. aufziehen (Kind), hegen, 2. (fig.) sich kümmern um (Stadt)” (OK 2x, ÄWb I 21), which, besides, represents a root with *l- (not *r-)⁸. Note that Satzinger (1999, 381) most recently suggested for OK 3t.t an unconvincing external (AA) etymology⁹.

• **Agaw *ḡac** “bone” [Apl.]: Appleyard convincingly rejects its usual derivation from AA *k̄as- “bone” [GT] as well as its comparison with HECu.-Om. *miḵ-/*meḵ- “bone” [Lmb.], which are phonologically untenable. Instead, he prefers an equally dubious equation with a certain ECu. *moḥ- “bone” [Arvanites] based on Somali maḡin “limb” and Yaaku moḥ-o “bone”. But this comparison is false: (1) the Somali word derives from ECu. *magin- “foot” [Sasse 1979, 54], while (2) Yaaku moḥ- < ECu. *mVḵ- (although Sasse 1979, 54 has ECu. *k̄ > Yaaku q ~ ḡ). Perhaps Agaw *ḡac has to be compared with WCh.: Sbauchi *n^yVs- ~ *yVḡs- “bone” [GT] > Mbaaru yḡḡi [Smz.], Guruntum yengḡi [Gowers] = yḡḡ/ḡḡi [Smz.] = yḡḡi [Jaggar], Geji isi [Gowers] = iḡi [IL] = ?i:sù [Smz.], Tule nyèḡè [Smz.], Wangday yḡs [IL] = yes [Smz.], Chari ḡis [Smz.] (Sbauchi: Smz. 1978, 21, #7; JI 1994 II 36).

• **Agaw *ḡar-** “brain” [GT]: Kemant ḡar-a ~ nār-ā “cerveau” [CR 1912, 238-9] = nara “brain” [Apl.], Qwara nāl-ā “Gehirn” [Flad apud Rn. 1885, 105], Hamta nil-ā “cervello” [CR 1905, 224] | Awngi (and Damot) ḡar-ī “tête” [CR 1912, 238] = ḡarí “head” [Apl. 2006] vs. Awngi nalí “brain” [Htz. 1978, 136; Apl. 1994 MS, 14], perhaps Kunfel ḡk^huri “head” [Apl.]: Appleyard (2006, 36) reconstructs PAgaw *ḡat-a “head” (with irregular Kemant and Awngi reflexes) as a match of Bed. mat “crown of the head” and ECu. *math- “head”, whereby he regarded the Hamta and Awngi reflexes with -l- as either loans from or influences by ES: Geez nālā “brain, skull” [Lsl. 1987, 398], Tigre nāla “cervello” [CR 1905, 224] = Amh. & Tigre nālā “cerveau” [CR 1912, 238] = Tigre & Tna. & Amh. nala “brain, skull” [Lsl.]. On the other hand, Appleyard even surmised a reverse way of borrowing from Agaw into ES, whose -l- words “*may have influenced in turn some of the Agaw originals*”, which is little convincing, since then how to explain the -l- in ES? Although I am unable to give a definite answer either, I find a further groups of parallels of high interest that are also to be accounted for. First, the Agaw root (hardly

⁸ Cf. Ar. laki⁹a “2. se livrer entièrement à qqch.”, lky: laka “1. se livrer avec assiduité à qqch., ou être adonné à qqch. (av. b- de la chose), 2. s’attacher à qqch. et le suivre partout (av. b- de la pers.)” [BK II 1020, 1022] = lakiya “an j-m hängen, zu j-m halten” [WKAS II 1267]. Cf. perhaps also Ar. lakka “jmdn. (mit Fleisch, Muskeln) beschlagen, ausstatten, reichlich versehen” [WKAS II 1240] with special regard to the special sense of OK 3tj “hegen, *säugen” (PT 371: synonym of snq “to suckle”, ÄWb I 21) = “to nourish” (Ember 1930, #22.a.8).

⁹ He equated Eg. 3t.t with AA *dVḵ (sic!) “Stufe, Sitz” [SISAJa II #129], which is for me unacceptable for phonological reasons.

with *-t-, but rather with *-r-) might be identified with LECu.: Oromo ñār-ō “marrow” [Gragg 1982, 301], which, besides, Ehret (1991, 264, #229) erroneously affiliated with Oromo ñār-ō “eyebrow” < ECu. *ñār- (sic) “forehead”, which represents a distinct AA root, namely *n-y-r ~ *n-ḥ-r “eyebrow” [GT] (attested in Eg., SBrb., Oromo, and Mokilko, published by Takács 2005, 21, #1.3, fn. 9). Secondly, the ES data with *-l- have parallels in NBrb. *a-n(V)li “brain” [GT]¹⁰ ||| ECu.: Tsamay nol-o “brain” [Sava 2005 MS, 249]. Cf. also Ongota nóolu “brain” [Flm. 1992, 191].

• **NAgaw *kär-/*käl-** “to break” [Apl. 2006, 37]: Appleyard’s equation with ECu. *ka/e/ur- “to cut” is both phonologically (NAgaw *k- ≠ ECu. *k-) and semantically unconvincing. More appropriate seems to compare the Agaw root with Eg. ḥrḥr “zerstören” (late NK, Wb III 330, 7) with the correspondence of Eg. ḥ- ~ “African” AA *k- pointing to an original voiceless postvelar (*q).

• **Agaw *ʔəngw-/*ʔangw-** “breast” [Apl. 2006, 37]: beside the Saho-Afar parallel mentioned by Appleyard, one can combine this root with further AA parallels like CCh.: PKotoko *engw- “Weiberbrüste” [GT]: Sao emgpie (sic) [-mgrp- < *ngw-ʔ] “seins” [GD], Makeri énkwe “female breast” [Barth], Gulfei emgwe “seins” [GD], Kuseri embwi [-mbw- < *-ngw-] “seins” [GD] (Kotoko: Sölken 1967, 260).

• **NAgaw *məɣw-/*mäɣw-t-** “to carry” [Apl. 2006, 41] = *məq^w-/*mäq^w-t- “to carry on the back” [Apl. 1989 & 2005] = *mVɣ^w-T- “to carry (on the shoulders)” [Apl. 1991] (Agaw: Apl. 1989 MS, 16; 1991 MS, 3; 2005 MS, 21) is not isolated in AA, cf. AA *m-Q (vars. *m-ḳ ~ *m-gʔ) “to carry” [GT] > LECu.: perhaps Rendille meḥ, pl. meḥāḥ [irreg. -ḥ] “load” [Heine 1976, 218] | Dullay: Tsamay mēgʔ- “to fetch water” & Dobase maḡʔgʔ- “to ladle up water” [Hyw. 1989, 6, 23] ||| WCh.: Ngamo mòkk-tí “to bring” [Alio 1988 MS] = mok- “to carry, take” [Ibr. 2003 MS, 7] || CCh.: Mulwi √m^w-g: mùgí “enlever (une femme), saisir à bras-le-corps” [Trn. 1978, 304] || ECh.: Kera móké “etwas Schweres hochheben” [Ebert 1976, 82] | Bidiya mòg “aider qn. à porter un lourd fardeau” [AJ 1989, 99].

• **NAgaw *nāw** “calf (animal)” [Apl. 2006, 40-41]: presumably akin to ECu.: Elmolo nú-te (f) “kid, lamb” [Heine 1980, 208] || SCu.: Alagwa nū “male child, son” [KM], Burunge naw “baby boy” [Ehret 1980, 153, #6] = naw “male infant” [KM] (WRift: KM 2004, 216 with different etymology) ||| Eg. nw.w “Kind: 1. Säugling, 2. Jüngling” (NK, Wb II 215, 20-23) = “Junge” (JW 1996, 522) < AA *n-w “child” [GT]. Cp. also a root var. with *-y attested in ES: Endegeny nayä [unless -y- < *-ry-] “the young of a horse or donkey or mule” [Lsl. 1979 III, 466] ||| Eg. nj “être en enfance, rajeunir” (CT, AL 78.1976) = “*in der Kindheit sein, verjüngen” (GHWb 391) = “jung sein” (HAM 839) ||| ECh.: Mokilko ʔinnyí (pl.) “Junge, Kind” [Lks. 1977, 221] < AA *n-y “young” [GT].

¹⁰ Attested in Shilh a-nella ~ a-lleli “cerveau” [Jordan 1934, 28, 37] | Tamazight a-nuli, pl. a-nuli-t-n ~ a-lli-wn “cerveau, cervelle” [Tf. 1991, 490], Ait Ndhir a-nli “cerveau, cervelle” [LR], Izdeg a-nuli, pl. i-nuli-t-en ~ i-nula “cervelle” [Mrc. 1937, 46], Zayan & Sgugu a-nuli “cervelle” [Lbg. 1924, 577] = Zayan a-nli “cerveau, cervelle” [LR] | Iznasen a-lli [assim. < *a-nli] “cerveau, cervelle” [LR], Temsaman a-ži [< *a-lli < *a-nli] “cerveau, cervelle” [LR] (NBrb.: LR 2002, 332).

- **NAgaw *g^way-/*gay-** “cave” [Apl. 2006, 42]: to be identified with ECu.: Dullay perhaps **hoḥ*- “hole” [GT]: Dobase *hoḥr-o* & Gollango *hóhn-o* “Loch” (Dullay: AMS 1980, 192) || SCu.: WRift **hoḥ*- > **hoḥōḥ*^w “hollow form”, pl. **hoḥēri* “hollow forms” [KM 2004, 323] || Sem. **hawḥ*- “hollow” [TG]: Hbr. *ḥāwāḥīm* ~ *hoḥīm* (pl.) [< **hawḥ*-] “hole, crevice” [KB 296] = “das Felsspalten” [GB 217] = “hollows, recesses” [Lsl.] || Ar. *hawḥ-at*- “aperture in a wall, small doorway between houses” [Lsl.] || Geez *hoḥət* “door(way)” [Lsl. 1987, 260] = *hōḥt* “hole in the wall” [KB] || WCh.: Angas-Sura **kuk* ~ **kok* “(i.a.) be empty” [GT 2004, 207]: cf. esp. Angas *kok* “empty” [Ormsby 1914, 209]. The correspondence of Agaw **g-* ~ Dullay & WRift **ḥ-* has to be investigated. The non-reduplicated root appears in Sem. **ḥwy* “empty” [GT] || WCh.: Montol *ku* (so, without -k) “empty” [Ftp. 1911, 216].
- **NAgaw *qac/*qāc** “cheek (side of the face)” [Apl. 2006, 42]: akin to SBrb.: Ahaggar *ǎ-g/ǎgaz* (-ǎ- apud Fcd.) “joue” [Fcd. 1951-2, 491] || PCu. **gAc(c)-* “лицо, лоб” [Dlg.] > Bed. *gēdi* “das Gesicht, Antlitz, Auge” vs. *g^wad* ~ *g^wāda* ~ *g^waǎ* ~ *gǎǎ* “Auge, Gesicht” [Rn. 1895, 89-90] = (also) *g^wad*, pl. *g^wada* “face, eye” [Dlg.] || ECu. **gaḍ-* “jaw” [Apl., KM] || SCu.: WRift **gicē* “forehead” [KM 2004, 117] || ECh. **gaḍ-* “cheek” [GT]: Kabalai *kwaǎi* [Cpr.] | Somray *gǎǎ* [Jng.] | WDangla *gǎḍumò* [Fédry] [GT: affix *-um of anatomic terms?] | Birgit *gǎḍáyó* [Jng.] (all forms mean “cheek”, ECh.: JI 1994 II, 69) < AA **g-ç/č* “cheek” [GT] (lit. for the AA root: Chn. 1947, #197; Dlg. 1973, 297; HSED #866 vs. #914).
- **NAgaw *lǎm-/*lām-** “to close, shut, cover” [Apl. 2006, 46, 49]: cognate with Eg. *nm^c* “bekleiden: 1. ein Bett mit Leinen beziehen, 2. Mauern mit feinem Stein bekleiden” (late NK, Wb II 266, 11-13) = “1. to cover a bed with sheets, 2. line with stone” (Badawy 1956-7, 71) = “to cover, set out, lay down walls” (DLE II 19) < (?) *nm^c* “to hide o’self” (DCT 227) || WCh.: Guruntum *lín* “to close, shut, cover (a pot)” [Haruna 1992 MS, 21] || ECh.: Tumak *lùḥ* “clôturer” [Cpr. 1975, 81] | WDangla *lámè* “fermer les yeux à-demi” [Fédry 1971, 352]. Cf. also (W)Ch. **nVm-* “to close” [Stl. 2005, 141, #541].¹¹
- **Agaw *čāb-/*čīb-** “to count” [Apl. 2006, 48]: cp. perhaps CCh.: Gisiga-Dogba *tlof* “zählen, lesen” [Lks. 1970, 137], Mofu *-sləf-* “compter, lire” [Brt. 1988, 234] = *-łǎf-* “to count” [JI]. Note that the resemblance to CCh.: Margi *čǐbá* “to count, tell, confess” [Hfm./RK 1973, 108] is misleading, since Hoffmann (l.c.) explained it from the root *čǐ* “to speak”. Highly noteworthy are WCh. **bVs-* “to count” [GT]: Bole-Tangale **mbasu* [met. < **msabu*?] “to count” [Schuh 1984, 215] | Boghom *bis* “to count” [Smz.] || CCh. **pVš-* (secondary lateral) “to count” [GT]: Logone *psè* [Lks.] = *pǎš* [Bouny] | Musgu *p’ǎ* [Trn.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 90-91), which I (EDE I 189) was disposed to combine with Eg. *ḥsb* “(be)rechnen” (PT, Wb III 166-7) = “to count, reckon” (FD 178) || Sem. **ḥšb* “to count” [Lsl. 1987, 244-245].

¹¹ Attested a.o. in WCh.: Bole-Tangale **numV* “to close” [GT] > Tangale *numè* “to lock, close against s.o., block up, bar” [Jng. 1991, 125], Pero *núm(m)è* “to shut”, *númmò* “to close” [Frj. 1985, 44], Dera *númè* “to shut, close” [Kidda 1991 MS, 13].

- **Agaw *kat-** “to cross” [Apl.]: Appleyard’s (2006, 49) traditional segmentation of *-t- in it as a pass.-refl. extension (added to a stem **ka-) and its equation with ECu. *ka^ɸ- “to get up, rise” seems very unlikely (cf. rather SCu. *ka^ɸ- and Eg. ḥ^ɸj “to rise”). In this case, *-t- was perhaps part of the root, cf. Eg. ḥt (Präposition) “1. durch ein Land hin; 2. durch die Glieder” (OK, Wb III 343).
- **Agaw *wāy/ɸ-** “to cry, shout” [GT]: Appleyard (2006, 50) compared this stem only with ECu. *wa^ɸ- “to shout, call, invite” [Sasse 1979, 42], but cp. also Ar. wa^ɸwa^ɸa “hurler (se dit d’un chien ou d’un loup)”, wa^ɸwā^ɸ- “1. bruit, vacarme que fait une troupe d’hommes, 2. hurlement (du loup, du chien, du chacal), 3. bavard, loquace”, cf. w^ɸy: wa^ɸā “se rappeler qqch.” [BK II 1570] || ES: Geez wawwā^ɸa “to clamor, raise a shout, shout loudly, cry aloud, howl, roar, wail” [Lsl. 1987, 623] || Eg. w^ɸ3 [if < *w^ɸ?] “to curse” (MK, FD 57) || PCu. *wā^ɸ- “to yell” [Ehret] > SCu. *wā^ɸ- “to curse, revile” [Ehret 1980, 313] || Ch. *wa “to call” [Nwm. 1977, 23]. For the AA etymology see also Mlt. 1984, 157 (Cu.-Sem.-Eg.); Ehret 1987, #585 (Bed.-ECu.-SCu.).
- **Agaw *ʔəc-** “to curse” [Apl.]: Appleyard’s (2006, 51) suggestion to combine it with ECu. *ḥid- “to tie, bind” is very weak in terms of both phonology and semantics. Instead, it has to be equated – especially in the light of the semantic disperison seen in the preceding etymological item – with Eg. ʕš “rufen” (MK, Wb I 227, 4) = “to summon” (FD 48) || WCh.: Bole ʔeeš- “rufen” [Lks. 1971, 133] | Boghom yi:s “rufen” [Smz.] (WCh.: JI 1993, 140; 1994 II, 58) < AA *ɸ-Ŝ “to shout” [GT]. The Eg.-WCh. parallel was first suggested in OS 1992, 193; Orel 1995, 100, #8. Note that Agaw *əzz- “to call” [Ehr. 1987, 117, #491] may ultimately also be a derivative of the same AA root (via *Wortspaltung* resulting in Agaw reflexes with *-c- vs. *-z-?).
- **Agaw *kāb-/*kab-** “to cut” [Apl.]: Appleyard (2006, 51) correctly equated it with SCu. *ḥab- “to split firewood” [Ehret 1980, 304], which points to PCu. *ḥ- and an AA voiceless postvelar. This is corroborated also by Eg. ḥb “1. (late NK) hinrichten (als Strafe), 2. (GR) (die Feinde, die Bösen) vernichten, töten, 3. (GR) (Schenkel) abschneiden” (Wb III 252), ḥbj.t “Gemetzelt (im Kampf)” (XVIII., Wb III 252, 15) vs. ḥbb “Gemetzelt” (GR, Wb III 253, 17).
- **Agaw *təngʷər/*dənkʷr** “deaf” [Apl.]: as rightly pointed out by Appleyard (2006, 53), this is related (presumably as the source of borrowing of it) to ES *√dnkʷr (which has, acc. to Apl., “no secure Semitic etymology”), in which, eventually, the 4th root consonant may have been an extension, cf. Geez danqawa and Harari dōnqa “to be deaf, stupid”, which rules out any etymological connection to Agaw *dəŋʷar- “donkey” suggested by Appleyard. This is confirmed also by Eg. *dlg: (MK) dng ~ d3g ~ dg, (late NK) dnrg “eine schlechte Eigenschaft des Ohrs” (Wb V 470) = “to be deaf” (DLE IV 136) = “*taub” (GHWb 982).
- **Agaw *kət-** “to die” [Apl.]: aside from the NOM.: Kefoid cognates quoted by Dolgopolskij (1973, 245) and Appleyard (2006, 54), cp. also SBrb.: Ahaggar ketiy-et “1. s’en aller (le suj. étant une personne ou un animal qui partent pour franchir une longue distance), 2. fig.: s’en aller (de la vie), mourir” [Fcd. 1951-2, 935] = kətiy-ət “to die” [Mlt.] (Brb.-NOM.: Mlt. 1991, 247; 1991, 255, #17.3) || CCh.:

(?) Hitkala kəð- “zu Ende gehen” [Lks. 1964, 107]. Any connection to AA *k-t “old” [GT]¹²?

• **NAgaw *g^wāz-** “to till the earth, plough” and **SAgaw *gəz-** “to dig” [Apl.]: aside from the HECu. and Om. cognates (with voiced *g- and voiceless *-s-) listed or mentioned by Appleyard (2006, 54), we have a firm external parallels with -z < AA *-z, namely Sem.: presumably Ar. *ḥz “to sting, pierce” [Zbr.]: Ar. ḥazza ~ naḥaza ~ waḥaza (lit. for Ar. *ḥz: Zbr. 1971, 71, #113; Eilers 1978, 128; Blv. 1993, 34, #22) ||| Eg. ḥz ~ ḥz3 (GW for ḥz) “Kanal, Brunnen” (XVIII., Wb III 332, 4) = “creek, runnel” (FD 185) = “Sumpfloch, Rinnsal, Bach”, ḥz n mw “Brunnen (am Grab)” (GHWb 619) ||| NBrb.: Qabyle ə-γz “creuser” || SBrb. *√γ-z “creuser” [GT]: Ahaggar ə-γəh, Taneslemt ə-γəš, Tawlemmet ə-γəš ~ ə-γəz ~ ə-ḥəz, Ayr ə-γəz, Ghat ə-γ(γ)əz (Brb.: Prs. 1969, 84, #565) < AA *g-z “to dig” [GT]. These correspondences also confirm that Agaw (and Cu.) *g- may derive (also) from AA *g-.

• **NAgaw *bän-** “to divide” [Apl.]: the relationship to ECu. *ban- “to open” suggested by Appleyard (2006, 55) may be perhaps eventually correct, but more natural and semantically much closer cognates appear in Sem. *byn “to (be) separate”, *bayn- “Zwischenraum” [Dlg.], hence *bayna “between” [DRS-Dlg.] (Sem.: GB 94; WUS #537; Dlg. 1986, 80, #23; Lsl. 1987, 155-116) ||| WCh.: Gwandara babbántà [-bb- < *-nb-] “to be different”, bábán-ĕi “difference” [Mts. 1972, 22] | Angas pwan [p- reg. < *b-] “to discriminate” [ALC 1978, 54] ||| ECh.: WDangla búùnè “décoller” [Fédry 1971, 99] < AA *b-n (hence *b-y-n ~ *b-w-n) “to separate, make distinction” [GT].

• **NAgaw *bäl-a** “(wooden) door” [Apl.]: Appleyard (2006, 56) correctly surmises that “it is perhaps debatable whether PNA *bäl-a ... is itself from EthSem. bär”. All the more, since the NAgaw stem has parallels with *-l, cf. LECu.: Oromo balbul-a, balbal-a, balball-a, bälbäl-a “gate, door” [Sasse] = balbal-a “door” [Gragg 1982, 34], Konso palpal-a [p- < *b-] “door” [LS], Gidole palpal [p- < *b-] “door” [Sasse] (LECu.: Sasse 1982, 33) ||| WCh.: Buli biḥa “doorway” [Stl.?] ||| ECh.: Lele bulo “window, entrance” [Skn. 1996, 32] | (?) Bidiya bèrèl (adv.) “ouvert” [AJ 1989, 58].

• **NAgaw *mär-a** “door” [Apl. 2006, 56] (Agaw: Rn. 1884, 394; 1887, 273; Apl. 1996, 14): akin to Ar. murh-at- “2. creux en terre où l’eau demeure stagnante” [BK II 1097] ||| Eg. m3h.t “Tür: 1. Außentür des Tempels zwischen den Türmen des Pylons, 2. Tür der Tempelräume, 3. Kapellentür” (GR, Wb II 30, 11-13) = “lieu à ciel ouvert, vestibule” (Ceugney 1880, 2, §4) = (masc. var. m3h) “Tür” (Edfu, Kurth 1994, 12, #48) ||| WBrb.: perhaps Zenaga i-mir “bouchage” [Bst. 1925, 8: √γ-m-r] ||| CCh.: Mada miré “intervalle, espace vide entre objets” [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 192]. From AA *m-r-h “opening, hole” [GT]?

• **Agaw *Vnbär-** “to dream” [GT] > NAgaw: Kemant abər “dream (noun)” [Apl. 1991 MS, 4] = abär “dream” [Apl. 2006], Qwara abäri “dream” [Apl. 2006] | SAgaw: Awiya emberí “dream”, embar-t- “to dream” [Apl. 2006] (Agaw: Apl. 2006, 57). This root may

¹² Cf. Eg. ktkt “alt werden” (GR hapax, Wb V 146) ||| ECu.: Elmolo inikutate “alt” [Heine 1973, 279] ||| CCh.: Lame kòtókó “old” [Krf. 1981, #296]. WCh.: Tangale kude does not belong here as suggested by Mukarovskiy (1987, 278), its basic sense being “big, large, huge, plenty” [Jng. 1991, 103].

be akin to Eg. *b3n¹³ [reg. < *brn, perhaps met. < *nbr], attested as j.b3n “schlafen” (PT, Wb I 62, 19) = “être endormi” (CT VI 103b-c, AL 78.1237) = “entschlummern, eingeschlafen sein” (GHWb 41) ||l WCh.: SBAuchi *yV^mbVr ~ *yV^mbVI “to sleep” [GT]: Geji yémbili [Gowers] = yambıl, yambəl [Smz.], Polchi ndià yùimbrə [Smz.], Zodi naambar [Smz.], Jimi yemburdo [Gowers], Soor (Zangwal) nda imbər [Smz.], Sho (Ju) nda imbr- [Smz.], Booluu nda yèmbal [Smz.] (SBCh.: Smz. 1978, 37, #71; JI 1994 II, 298). From AA *(n)-b-r ~ *b-r-n (?) “to sleep” [GT]? One wonders if the ultimate AA root was just biconsonantal (*b-r), cf. CCh.: Masa bùrə “se coucher” [Ctc. 1978, 71] = bùr “1. (tr.) coucher, poser, 2. (intr.) se coucher, dormir” [Ctc. 1983, 40], Lamè bàr “se coucher” [Scn. 1982, 279].

• **Agaw *zaq-/*zaq-** “to drink” [Apl.]: its relationship to ECu. *ḍug- “to drink” proposed by Applear (2006, 57) seems very unlikely. Instead, it might be perhaps combined with Ar. (Maghrebi) ḍʿaq “manger, dévorer” [Beaussier/DRS 338] ||l SCu. *ʒ₁aḵ/ḥ- [GT] (theoretically possible and regular), Qwadza čaʔ-am- “to drink” [Ehr. 1980 MS, 11]. Perhaps from AA *ʒ₁-(ʿ)-[ḵ] “to drink (?)” [GT]? Any connection to SBrb.: perhaps Ayr i-zʔay “être trempé (par la pluie, dans l’eau de lavage, dans un bain de teinture etc.)”, Ayr & ETawlemmet a-zʔay “être inondé (terrain plat)” [PAM 1998, 370]?

• **Agaw *ʔəñq^w-** “ear” [Apl.]: Appleyard’s (2006, 59) reluctance to accept its old equation wih Eg. ʿnh.wj “die zwei Ohren (als Körperteil des Menschen)” (MK, Wb I 204-5)¹⁴ – as “*probably not related*” – is baseless. Further possible cognates, by the way, appear in CCh.: Bura ngga “hören”, ngga-ta “hören, fühlen, empfinden” [Hfm. in RK 1973, 93], Chibak ḡá-ti “hören” [Hfm. 1955, 135], Margi-Wamdiu ḡa-ri “to hear” [Krf.], WMargi ḡə-dì “to hear”, ḡə-dì “1. to hear, 2. feel” [Krf.] | Higi ḡa-rdì “entendre” [Krf.] (CCh.: Krf. quoted by Jng.-Brt. 1990, 77) || ECh.: Mokilko ʔəñnigá “(se) taire” [Jng. 1990, 58] < AA *ʿ-n-Q “to listen, hear” [GT].

• **Agaw *q^w-** “to eat” [Apl.] (Agaw: Apl. 1984, 53). Appleyard (2006, 59) is probably wrong in assuming that it is cognate with ECu. *-ḵm-/*-ḵām- “to chew” [Sasse 1982, 121-2] and that the loss of *-m may be due to that Agaw *q^w- “*derives from the same asyllabic stem variant*” as seen in ECu. *-ḵm-. Instead, cp. ECu.: Yaaku -qau- “to bite” [Heine 1975, 121] || SCu. *ḵeḥ- “to bite” [Ehr.]: WRift *ḵeḥ- [GT] | Qwadza ḵa- | Dahalo ḵaḥ- (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 252, #27) ||l WCh.: NBAuchi *ḵiy- “to bite” [Skn.]: Warji ḵiy- [Skn.] = ḵi! [Jng.] = kíya^u [IL], Mburku ḵiy- [Skn.], Pa’a ḵi [Jng., IL] = ḵii [MSkn. 1979], Siri ḵii [Skn.] = ḵíwá [IL] = kíf (so, k-!) [Skn./JI], Miya kíy- [Skn.], Kariya kàkí [Skn.] (NBCh.: Skn. 1977, 13; JI 1994 II 24). From AA *ḵ-h “to bite” [GT]. The NBAuchi-Bilin etymology was first suggested by Mukarovsky (1987, 95).

• **NAgaw *k^wən-** “(to become) evening, spend the night” vs. “evening” [Apl.]: Bilin k^wən- (v.), k^wənəḡ (n.) [Apl.] = kun- “to spend the evening” [KH], Hamta k^wən- (v.), k^wənwa/k^wənəḡ (n.) [Apl.], Kemant k^wəna (n.) [Apl.], Qwara kḡḡā ~ kḡḡiḡā (Apl.:

¹³ Meeks (AL 78.0256) considers jḡ3n a pseudo-participle of *b3n with prothetic j-. Similarly, Hannig supposes a *Grundform* *b3n.

¹⁴ For this Agaw-Eg. etymology see Zhl. 1932-33, 166.

[k^wənəŋa] (n.) vs. kwəm- (v.) “to spend the evening” [Rn.] | Awngi kəm- (v.) [Apl.] vs. kemań “evening” [CR]. Appleyard (2006, 62) is presumably right in distinguishing this common Agaw stem from Kemant k^wəlŋa [Apl.], Hamta kelú “evening” [Apl.], Qwara k^wərŋa [Apl.] (extended with -ŋa suffix) < *k^wəl-/*k^wər- [GT], for which cf. Agaw *qir-/*qar- “night” [Apl. 1991, 21] || SCu.: Iraqw h^wera “night, esp. the earlier part of it” [Ehret 1980, 270 with false etymology] || Eg. ḥ3.wj [reg. < *ḥr- sg.] “Abend” (PT, Wb III 225). As for NAgaw *k^wən-, Appleyard pondered reconstructing the PAgaw root with *-m- (as in Qwara and Awngi) and comparing it with Eg. km “black”. But *k^wəm- might be just as well be due to an assimilation < *k^wən-, for which cp. rather Eg. knm.t “die Finsternis” (BD, NK, Wb V 132, 10; GHWb 885) vs. knḥ.w “Finsternis, Verfinsterung” (BD, GR, Wb V 133; GHWb 885) < biconsonantal *kn- “dark” (?).

• **NAgaw *ʔus-äti** (fem. ending *-äti) “female” [Apl.]: Appleyard (2006, 65) rightly rejects deriving the forms from *ʔus- and comparing it with *näs-aḥ^w as suggested by Reinisch (since the -ä ~ -Ø/-ə- ablaut is not part of Agaw adjectival morphology). Similarly dubious is Dolgopol’kij’s (1973, 288) comparison of the Agaw stem with Sem. *nVš- (pl. stem) vs. *ʔVnt- (sg.) < *ʔVnš- “man” + fem. *-t- (with *-št- resulting in *-t-). Instead, cp. (?) Eg. 3s.t “Isis” (OK, Wb I 8, 11; FD 5), vocalized *ʔús.t > Cpt. (S) HCE (Stz. 1980, 83, fn. 5, for *-ú- > -H- cf. Oasing, MDAIK 30, 1974, 104) || NOm.: Male ús-o “женщина, имеющая ребенка” [Jensen apud Dlg.] (Agaw: Dlg. 1973, 288) || CCh.: Glavda ús(à) (Cena dial. úsá) “Frau” [Wolff 1974-5, 205], Glanda (Ghboko) & Bokwa usa (sg.) “Frau” [Büchner 1964, 41] < AA *ʔus- “woman” [HSED]. For Agaw-NOm.-CCh. see Mlt. 1984, 159; OS 1992, 209; HSED #141. For Masai parallel of Agaw see Hohenberger 1975, 98.

• **NAgaw *šeka/*šeḥa** “field, open country” (hence Tigre šeka) [Apl. 2006, 66] > Bilin šaka [Apl.], Hamir šawa [Apl.] = šéwā [Rn.], Qwara šawa [Apl.], Kemant sēhā (so, misprint for *sēhā) “prairie” [CR 1912, 241] (no AA cognates in Apl. l.c.) were unconvincingly compared by Reinisch (1887, 319) with Geez sayḥ. But Agaw *š- ≠ Sem. *š-, while Agaw *-k/ḥ- ≠ Sem. *-ḥ-. Instead, the Agaw root has safe cognates in Sem. *šḥḥ: Akk. saḥḥu “meadow, productive meadow land” [Alb.] = “Aue” [AHW 1009] = “meadow, waterlogged land” [CAD s 56] || Ar. saḥāḥ- “terre franche, bonne terre, terrain doux et bon pour la végétation”, saḥḥāʔ- “endroit où il y a de la terre franche” [BK I 1064] = saḥāḥ- “sweet, good ground”, saḥwāʔ- (sic) “plain with sweet soil” [Alb.] (Sem.: Alb. 1916, 231) || Eg. šḥ.t “Feld, Gefilde” (PT, Wb IV 229-231) = “field, country (beside town)” (FD 239) = “Feld, Kulturland, Flur (einer Stadt)” (ÄWb I 1193) || CCh.: Logone šḥē “Acker, Feld” [Lks. 1936, 119] = („Kotoko”) sḡe “champ” [Mch. 1950, 19], Buduma čúí [-i < *-ḥ reg.] “Acker, Feld” [Lks. 1939, 96] (Kotoko: Prh. 1972, 62, #35.1). From AA *c-ḥ “field” [GT]. For the Eg.-AA etymology see: Alb. 1923, 67; 1927, #77; Vrg. 1945, 139, #13.13; Chn. 1947, #294; Mlt. 1983, 103, fn. 25; Djk. et al. 1986 MS, 33; OS 1989, 135; 1990, 89, #27; 1992, 190; Mlt.-Stl. 1990, 53; HSED #385.

• **NAgaw *ʔənsay-** “to fill” [Apl.]: its kinship with ECu. *-mg- “to fill” [Sasse 1979, 25] imagined by Appleyard (2006, 67) (speculating that both tr. *ʔənsay- and intr. *ʔəntay- were extended by *-s-/*-t-, resp., via metathesis) is very far-fetched. Any connection to

uppulu “lausen” [AHW 1423, 1425] || CCh.: Mada offól “tique (du chien, des vaches)” [Br̄t.-Brunet 2000, 104].

• **Nagaw *l̄ak^w** “foot, leg” [Apl. 2006, 71]: cognate with Eg. *3t̄ [reg. < *lk] “foot (or sim.)” can be reconstructed from the foot hieroglyph occurring in the MEG. title (glossed in Wörterbuch as w^r.t.w) “Vorsteher, Aufseher” (MK, Wb I 288, 9-14), which is to be read correctly as 3t̄.w (cf. Posener, Revue d’Égyptologie 15, 1963, 127-128; Berlev, Palestinskij Sbornik 17, 1969, 6-20; GHWb 17; Satzinger, kind p.c. on 9 Febr. 1996).

• **Nagaw *m̄ḥi-** (with an irreg. *ḥ-) “to forget” [Apl. 1989] = *m̄ḥi-T- (pass./refl. ext.) [Apl. 1991] = *m̄ḥ-iR- < *-Vt- [Apl. 2006]: the Yaaku and Eg. parallels (quoted by Appleyard 2006, 72 after EDE I 122) can be extended by WCh.: Guruntum m^ʷa-wi ~ m^ʷau-mi “to forget” [Jaggar 1989, 184] = myáuwà “to forget” [Haruna 1992 MS, 25] = myoowì “to forget” [Csp. 1994, 18] || CCh.: Bura mwi “ignoramus” [BED 1953, 146] | Banana mawa “to forget” [Kraft 1981 III, 181].

• **Nagaw *wah̄är-** “game” vs. ***waȳär-t-** “to play” [Apl. 2006, 73, 110-1] > Hamta war-d- “to play”, war-d-a “game” [Apl.], Hamir wār ~ ewār “Spiel”, wār-t ~ ewār-t “spielen” [Rn. 1884, 425], Kemant wāyer-t- “to play” [CR/Apl.] = war-t- ~ waȳär-t- “to play”, waȳär “game, conversation”, war-əḡ “game” [Apl.], Qwara wagerī “Spiel”, wager-t “spielen” [Rn. 1884 l.c.] = waȳar “spielen” [Rn. 1886, 828] = wār-t- ~ waȳar-t- “to play, converse” [CR/Apl.]: no connection with Cu. *[?]/VbVII- “to play” as suggested by Dolgopolskij (1973, 197). In fact, Agaw *-γ/ḥ- may be an intervocalic reflex of *-ʔ- (like AS *-γ- < i.a. AA *-ʔ-, cf. Dlg. 1982), cf. AA *w-ʔ-r “1. to play, 2. dance” [GT] > Eg. w3r [-3- reg. < *-ʔ-] “tanzen” (GR, Wb I 252, 11) || NBr̄b.: Menaser, Zwawa, Bugi urar “jouer” [Bst. 1885, 171] || CCh.: Bata-Demsa ḥē nā ūrō “ich tanze” [Str. 1922-23, 145], Bachama wūrō “to dance” [JI] || ECh.: Dangla wâr:rè “danser” [Fédry 1981, 446], Migama wàarō “to dance” [JA 1992, 133; Mkr. 1987, 13], Bidiya waar “danser”, wáareḡ (f) “danse” [AJ 1989, 123] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 101). See also OS 1992, 179 (Eg.-Agaw); HSED #2490 (Eg.-ECh.).

• **Bilin wā^ʕab ~ mā^ʕab** “1. to play, 2. game” [Apl.]: no cognates were given by Appleyard (2006, 73, 110). Eventually, however strange it may *prima vista* seem, one might compare perhaps Sem. *l^ʕb > Syr. l^ʕb etpael “seine Lust an etwas haben” [GB] | Ar. la^ʕaba I “scherzen, spielen” [GB] = “2. jouer, badiner, folâtrer, 3. jouer à un jeu de hasard, 4. jouer” [BK II 999] (Sem.: GB 388) and Eg. ḥ^ʕb “(ein Spiel) spielen” (OK, Wb III 42, 6), of which already Greenberg (1950, 180) wrote: “I don’t think we can keep (it) apart from Sem. *l^ʕb”. The mystery of how and why the first radicals (w-, l-, ḥ-) changed in the reflexes of AA *C₁-^ʕ-b “to play” [GT] remains, of course, to be resolved.

• **Nagaw *ʔānfa/ār-a** “boy” [Apl. 2006, 36]: related to Akk. nipru ~ niplu “Sproß, Nachkomme” [AHW 740] = nipru (OB) “offspring” vs. niplu (SB) “offshoot” [CAD n2, 247] || (???) Ar. nāfil-at- “4. petit-fils”, nawfal- “jeune homme très-beau” [BK II 1316] || Eg. nfr.w (pl.) “Jünglinge (bes. die Rekruten)” (MK, Wb II 1-3) = “youth” (de Buck quoted by Donohue 1978, 147-8, fn. 8: cf. Faulkner, JEA 39, 1953, 35-36; Schulman 1966, 20-21) = “Rekruten (nicht Elitetruppen)” (Helck, LÄ IV 133, fn. 22) = “recruits” (Ward 1982, 99, #829) = “adolescents” (Vcl. 1991, 122) < OK nfr (sg.) “Jüngling,

Kadett” (II./III., Fischer, JNES 18, 1959, 258-9; OMRO 41, 1960, 7-13; Pusch 1974, 21; FÄW 238-9) = “adolescent” (DELC 150) = “recruit, cadet, conscript” (Jones 2000, 483, #1807), cf. also nfr “verjüngt sein” (CT IV 292b, Graefe 1971, 168, fn. 1 & 244). See also Hommel 1899, 349; 1904, 110, fn. 1 (Eg.-Akk.); DELC 150 (Eg.-Akk.); Castellino 1984, 16 (Eg.-Akk.-Agaw); Bmh. 1986, 248 (Eg.-Akk.).

• **NAgaw *naγ- < PAGaw **nāk- ~ **nākk-** “to give (here, to the speaker)” [Apl. 2006, 74]: presumably connected with NOm. *ing- < **ink- (?) “to give” [GT] III Eg. hnk “(be) schenken” (PT, Wb III 117) III WCh.: (?) AS *naγ ~ *nuγ < *nʷaγ (?) [partial redupl. < *na-nk?] “to hand over to” [GT 2004, 264]: Gerka nung “to send” [Ftp. 1911, 220], Angas naγ “to give, hand over” [Flk. 1915, 252] = (Pang, Garam, hill) nāng “to give” [Gcl. 1994, 35, 62] II CCh.: Bana ṅgá “donner une partie de qqch. qu’il faut casser”, Higi-Baza ngù “donner” (CCh.: Brt.-Jng. 1990, 151). For Agaw-NOm. see Mkr. 1987, 233, #31. For the loss of the first syllable *HV- in Agaw (i.e., PAGaw **nāk- < **hVnak-), cp. ECu. *he/og- “to be erect, stand” ~ Agaw *gʷ- “to get up, stand up” (Apl. 2006, 74).

• **Agaw *fāt-** “to go” [Apl.] can have nothing to do with Eg. ptpt “to tread, trample” as Appleyard (2006, 75) suggests. By the way, in the Agaw stem, the suffix *-t- has probably to be singled out, cp. Eg. pj “sich begeben” (LP, Wb I 502, 3) III Ch. *p-y “to go (or sim.)” [GT]: WCh.: PRon *fay “to walk (Jng. 1968), go (Jng. 1970)” [GT]: Sha fay, Kulere fa (Ron: Jng. 1968, 8, #65; 1970, 284, 351) | Dera pú- “s’en aller” [Brt.-Jng.] (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 248) II CCh.: (?) Lamang (Hitkala) piy- “treten” [Lks. 1964, 108] | Masa pāi “se promener” [Ctc. 1978, 73] = pày [Ctc. 1983, 125] < AA *p-y “to go” (or sim.) [GT]?

• **Agaw *f-** “to go out, up” [Apl.]: cf. CCh.: Lame pá “sortir” [Scn. 1982, 267] II ECh.: (?) Tumak pàààw “dépasser” [Cpr. 1975, 90]. To be distinguished from the preceding root.

• **Agaw *zəlaw-** “to go round” [Apl. 2006, 75] is to be compared with Ar. (Palest.) t-dāyal “tourner autour” [DRS 331] III WCh.: PGoemay *žʷel [GT]: Goemay žièl “to surround, encircle” [Srl. 1937, 83] = žel “to surround, go round several times” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 14].

• **Agaw *fəntVr-a** “goat” [Apl. 2006, 75]: the etymology of the Agaw root is obscure. Appleyard (p.c., 11 March 2001) knows of no reliable Cu. cognates. Cp. perhaps Eg. ptr (GW) “mule (?)” (NE, AL 78.1058) = “(domesticated animal)” (DLE I 186, cf. Helck 1962, 559, #83) = “ein domestiziertes Tier (*Maultier)” (GHWb 298)?

• **NAgaw *bVγʷ-a** “gourd” [Apl.]: aside from HECu. *buk̄k-ē “gourd” [Hds. 1989, 72] correctly compared by Appleyard (2006, 76), further cognates appear (with an epenthetic nasal) in Eg. bnd̄.t ~ bd̄.t [reg. < *b(n)g.t] “concombre, cucurbitacée” (OK, AL 77.1271, 79.0909, cf. Yoyotte in BIFAO 61, 125-6; 77, 116; MDAIK 16, 420-3) → Cpt.: (S) **BONTE**, (SA) **BAÑTE**, (B) **BON†**, (F) **BAÑ†** “gourd, cucumber” (CD 41a, cf. AEO II 220* & CED 25) = “Kürbis, Gurke” (KHW 25) = “1. melon, concombre, 2. jardin où on cultive les melons, les concombres” (DELC 30) III Brb.: Guanche (all islands) bugango ~ bubango “citrouille, calabacita” [Wlf. 1965, 509, #223] = “small gourd” [Mlt. 1991, 165] III WCh. *bang- “calabash, gourd” [GT] = *bangʷ/gA “тыква” [Stl.]: Hausa bāṅgóó, pl. bāṅgúnà “3. (Skt.) any large neckless gourd” [Abr. 1962, 73] | PAngas-Sura *ba₂ng “gourd, calabash” [GT 2004, 10] | Galambu bāngó “large, round gourd (used by

fishermen” [Schuh 1978, 81], Bole b̀ungá [b- not clear] “any ball-like object”, b̀ungá kúlà “gourd as a plant” [Ibr.-Gimba 1994, 129] | Saya byaŋ “gourd” [Csp. 1994, 52] (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 153, #79) || CCh.: Bura pumbang “kind of gourd” [BED 1953, 15] | (???) Logone b́ngūs (compound?) “Carica Papaya, Melonenbaum” [Lks. 1936, 85]. Lit.: Mlt. 1984, 23, fn. 7 (Guanche-WCh.); Takács 1999, 90 (Eg.-WCh.); 1999, 200, #2.1 (Eg.-WCh.-Guanche).

- **Nagaw *nan** “hand, arm” [Apl. 2006, 79]: naturally, it has nothing in common either with WCh. *niwan- or Eg. ʿn “fingernail” as suggested in HSED #401. Instead, it is cognate with WCh.: Gwandara náni “hand” [Mts. 1972, 86], cf. Hausa hánnúú [Lsl.: prefix ha- of body parts] “hand” [Abr. 1962, 371]. See also Lsl. 1962, 67 (Agaw-Hausa); Mlt. in Sts. et al. 1995 MS, 15 (Agaw-Gwandara). Any connection to SOM. *ǎn- “hand, arm” [GT]: Ari (?)ǎn-í, Hamer ǎn-(i), Dime ǎn- (Som.: Bnd. 1994, 151, #37) via partial redupl.?

- **Nagaw *bántäl/r-** “hare, rabbit” > i.a. Bilin mántälära [Apl. 2006, 79]: the 4th radical (*-är/l-) was presumably not part of the original root, cf. Ch. *b[i]nd-ab (presumably from an older **bint-) “hare” [GT]: WCh.: Guruntum beeḍâu [probably < *bendaḅ] [Jaggar] || CCh. *bi/and-ab [*-nd- < **-nt-?] → *mi/and-ab “hare” [GT]: Dghwede v̀ndá [Frick], Matakam wándâv [Schubert], Mofu hwòndáv [Brt.], Gisiga-Dogba mandaf [Lks.] | Musgoy m̀ondəvɔŋ [Mch.], Daba mandàvın (“rabbit”) [Lnh.] | Gidar m̀ándav̄a [Mch.] (CCh.: JI 1994 II 181), where the nasal may be secondary, cf. Ch. *bit- “hare” [GT] > WCh.: Diri ávičá [Skn.] | Ngizim víidà (“rabbit”) [Schuh] || CCh.: Bura pti [Krf.], Margi pitu [Krf.] | Gude pita [Krf.], Glavda víida [Rapp] | Masa vét-ná (m) [Jng.], Zime-Batna fítu [Scn.] || ECh.: Kera àvèté [Ebert] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 180-1).

- **Nagaw *məq[aq]-** “herdsman, shepherd” [Apl. 2006, 83] might be compared to Ar. maqā I “garder qqch., veiller sur qqch.”, maqw- ~ maqw-at- ~ muqāw-at- ~ maqy-at- “garde, soins qu’on prend pour conserver qqch.” [BK II 1136-7] = “to watch, guard” [Lsl.] || ECh.: Migama mággú (m), mággá (f), pl. mággée “berger” [JA 1992, 105]. AA *m-k “to guard” [GT]?

- **Nagaw *bər-** “to be hot, warm” [Apl. 2006, 85] derives from AA *b-r “warm” [Sasse 1981, 160, #4] = *b-(^ʿ)r “1. to be hot, 2. burn” [GT] > i.a. Sem. *b^ʿr [infix *-^ʿ-?]: esp. Emar buhri [*b^ʿr/*bɣr] “hot” [Zadok 1991, 116, #8] || ECh.: Kera bóoré [-oo- < *-oH-] “sich aufwärmen, Feuer fangen” [Ebert 1976, 33].

- **Bilin laû** “erben, Erbe sein” [Rn. 1887, 260] = law “to inherit” [Ehret 1987, 75, #315] = läw “to inherit” [Apl. 2006, 87]: Appleyard gives no cognates. Apparently cognate with Eg. jw^ʿ [reg. from *lw^ʿ] “to inherit” (OK, FD 12; Wb I 50, 8-10), whose further AA cognates can equally not be found as yet.

- **Bilin bəsk^wi ~ bəsk^w** “kidney” [Apl. 2006, 89]: Appleyard gives no cognates. However, it is perhaps to be compared with Eg. bsk “1. Eingeweide allgemein (oft neben Herz), 2. auch für das Herz selbst” (MK, Wb I 477, 10-11) = bsk.w (pl.) “entrails” (PT 292, FD 85) = “1. viscères, 2. aussi: cervelle (?)” (CT V 180g, AL 78.1370) = “Eingeweide, dual. Eingeweide, Innereien” (GHWb 262). The AA parallels suggest a biconsonantal origin (*bs-k), where *k (suffix of body parts?) originally did not belong to the root,

cp. NOm.: Zayse bīš-a “uterus” [Hyw. 1988, 285] || CCh. *bus- [GT]: Bura busu “the stomach proper” [BED 1953, 29], Bura-Pela busu “belly” [Meek] | Bata-Garwa bubschihé [-sts-] “belly” [Str.], Gude būsá “unidentified internal organ next to intestines” [Hsk. 1983, 163] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 20-21).

• **Agaw *ʔarq-** “to know” [Apl. 1989 MS, 6; 1991, 23] = *ʔärq- [Apl. 2006, 89-90] || LECu. *ʔarg- “to see” [Sasse 1982, 26] (NB: LECu. *-g- strange) originate from the AA basic sense “to see” (cf. IE *weid-). Add also Bed. erh- “sehen, schauen, erblicken” [Rn. 1895, 29] = erh, irh, reh, rih “to see” [Rpr. 1928, 153], Ammar’ar reh- ~ rh- “to see (видеть)” [Dlg.], Bisharin rēh- ~ rh- “to see” [Almkvist] (Bed.: Dlg. 1973, 170) || Eg. rḥ “to know” (OK, FD 151; Wb II 442-5) as suggested by many authors: Hommel 1894, 357; Rn. 1895, 29; Zhl. 1932-33, 169; Vcl. 1934, 46, 77; 1938, 134; Chn. 1947, #415; Dlg. 1973, 170-1; OS 1992, 176.

• **Agaw *b-** “to lack, not to have” [Apl. 2006, 90]: cp. also SBrb.: Ahaggar a-ba “ne pas y avoir de, ne plus y avoir de” [Fcd. 1951-2, 13], ETawlllemmet-Ayr i-ba “1. ne pas y avoir de, 2. y avoir disparition/perte de, 3. y avoir mort de”, hence i-ba, pl. i-ba-t-än “1. perte, 2. mort, 3. manque” [PAM 1998, 2], Taneslemt i-bba ~ i-ba “not to have, to lose” [HCVA] (SBrb.: DRB I 6) || NOm.: POMeto *ba[ʔ]- “not to have, not to be” [GT]: NWOMeto: Wolayta ba-wa “non esserci” [Crl. 1929, 28] = bay- “to get lost” [Hbr.-Lmb.], Basketo bā “non esserci, non avere” [Crl.] = bā- “not to be there” [Hbr.-Lmb.], Gamo be-t- “to disappear” [Hyw. 1994 MS, 2] = bā-wa [Lmb.: copula -wa] “there is not” [Hbr.-Lmb.], Dawro (Kullo) bay- “to be lost” [LS] | SEOMeto: Zala bawa “non esserci” [Crl. 1929, 43], Zayse baʔa “non esserci” [Crl.] = bay- “to get lost, migrate” [Hbr.-Lmb.], Koyra (Baditu) bay-s caus. “finire” [Crl.] etc. | Chara baʔ- “not to be there” [Hbr.-Lmb.] (NOm.-Cu.: Crl. 1938 III, 114, 201; Dlg. 1966, 49; 1973, 39; Hbr.-Lmb. 1988, 80; Bnd. 1988, 152; 1990, 683; LS 1997, 326) || WCh.: Hausa baa “there is / are / was / were not” [Abr. 1962, 47] = baà- “not to exist” (with verbal suffixes), e.g. baà-ni dà mai “I exist not with oil” = “I do not have oil” [Hodge 1987, 156] | Dera bòi “to spoil (intr.), get lost” [Nwm. 1974, 121] | Bade bee “nicht vorhanden” [Lks. 1974-5, 100] || CCh.: Lamang (Hitkala) bíú “nicht vorhanden” [Lks. 1964, 106] | (?) Musgu pai ~ poi [p- irreg.] “nicht (vorhanden)” [Lks. 1941, 72] || ECh.: Kera biʔí “verderben, zerstören (porrir, détruire)” [Ebert 1976, 33].

• **NAgaw *yəb-** “leopard” [Apl. 2006, 92] = *yibā [GT]: presumably palatalized from *lib- and thus akin to LECu.: Saho-Afar lubák “Löwe” [Rn. 1886, 874], Saho-Assaorta lubák “leone” [CR 1913, 67] | Sam *libāh “lion” [Heine 1978, 67] || Eg. 3bj [< *lbj] “Panther” (XVIII., Wb I 7-14) = “panther” (FD 2) || Sem. *labʔ- “lion” [Djk. 1970, 473, fn. 96]. See also Rn. 1886, 874 (ECu.-Sem.); Chn. 1947, #7 and Djk. 1965, 50 (Eg.-Agaw); Dlg. 1983, 124 and Orel 1993, 43 (Sam-Sem.); Hodge 1992, 218 (Eg.-Sem.-Sam); HSED #1636 (Sem.-ECu.).

• **NAgaw *mäl-t-** “to guard, look after” [GT] = *mäl- [CR 1912, 228]: cf. hence, e.g., Qwara mäl- “spähen, beobachten, herumschauen” [Rn. 1885, 98] (NAgaw: Apl. 1994, 248): the comparison with LECu.: Saho-Afar -uble “to see” suggested by Conti Rossini (l.c.) was correctly rejected already by Appleyard (2006, 95). Instead, cp. Ar. ʔml V:

taʔammala “1. regarder avec attention, contempler qqch., 2. réfléchir à qqch., 3. penser, être en méditation” [BK I 56] = “examiner” [DRS 22] ||| Eg. m33 “sehen” (OK, Wb II 7-10) = “to look, see” (FD 100) ||| HECu.: Sidamo malammala “to enquire, examine” [Gsp. 1983, 221], Hadiya mal- “1. to examine, investigate, 2. doubt” [Hds. 1989, 52, 59], Gedeo (Darasa) mall- “to examine, investigate” [Hds.] ||| NOM.: Kaffa mall-et- “osservare” [Crl. 1951, 471]. Here may eventually belong the special Cu. (Agaw-Oromo) isogloss *m-l-ʕ (ext. *-ʕ) “to look” [GT]¹⁸.

• **NAgaw *ʔankan-** “to love, like” [Apl.]: Appleyard correctly singles out in it an old refl.-pass. prefix *ʔan- and compares LECu.: Afar kiḥin- “to love, be loving, happy” and Beja -khan “to love”. The same AA root (i.e., *k-ḥ-n with met.) may be present in Eg. ḥkn “1. (einen Gott) preisen, (das Herz, die Glieder) erfreuen mit (m), 2. jubeln, sich freuen über” (PT, Wb III 178) > ḥkn.w “Lobpreis” (MK, Wb III 179).¹⁹

• **NAgaw *ʔancōwa-** “mouse, rat” [Apl.]: the cognates like Saho-Afar ʕandaw-a and Oromo hantūt-a (listed by Appleyard 2006, 102) – add SOM.: Ari (ʔ)untin “rat, mouse” [Bnd. 1994, 156] – indicate an interchange of initial *ʕ- ~ *ḥ-, which makes a connection with Eg. ḥnt3 ~ ḥntj “ein Tier mit Stacheln (dessen Haar officinell verwendet wird)” (Med., Wb III 121, 15 & 122, 7) = “porcupine (?)” (FD 173) = “*Igel, *Stachelschwein” (GHWb 543) probable. For Eg.-Cu. see also Orel 1993, 41; 1995, 100, #5. Not clear whether WCh.: Bole-Tangale *gʷand- “giant rat” [Schuh 1984, 209] can also be related (whether we can project a process *gʷand- < **ḥʷant- < **ḥantaw- has to be subject to further research).

• **NAgaw *mäk-** “mouth” [Ehret 1987, #438; Apl. 1989 MS, 16] = *mäkäy-[a] “mouth” [Apl. 2006, 102]: this stem has been clearly extended with *-k- (found in some other AA anatomical terms). The Agaw stem represents an old AA root and is akin to Akk. maʔu ~ maʔtu “tongue or a part of the tongue” [CAD m1, 414, 435] ||| Brb. *imi “1. bouche, 2. entrée, ouverture” [Bst. 1890, 37; 1890, 312; Bst. 1929, 33-34] = *imi, pl. *im-awn “bouche” [Durand 1993, 243] = *a-mwi (sic) “mouth” [Blz.] = *mV- (sic) [HSED]

¹⁸ NAgaw: Bilin milfʕ y “hinschauen, sich umsehen” [Rn. 1887, 269] || LECu.: Oromo mil- “guardare” [Crl. 1951, 471] = milʔ-aḏḏa “to look back, glance”, milʔū “glance, look” [Gragg 1982, 287, 432] = milʕ-aḏḏa (so, -ʕ-) “anblicken”, milʕū “Blick” [Rn. 1887, 269] = mill-eḏḏa “to look at one point” [Strm. 2001, 56] = mill-aḏḏa “1. (Borana) to look at, observe sg. sharply, pay attention to, 2. (Waata) have a quick look at” [Strm. 1987, 368] = (Borana) mill-aḏḏa “to look at, observe sg. sharply, glance, watch, pay attention to” [Strm. 1995, 209]. The intr. sense of the underlying AA root is to be seen in LECu.: Oromo mulʔ-aḏḏa “to appear, become clear, apparent”, mulʔ-isa “to reveal, make known, show” [Gragg 1982, 294; Hds. 1989, 21: no HECu. cognates], Oromo-Borana mul-aḏḏa “to appear” [Strm. 1987, 368; 1995, 211].

¹⁹ For the semantic dispersion “to like ~ to praise”, cf., e.g., Sem.: Ar. tny II “to praise” [Lsl.] = tny: ṭanā “louer qqn., prononcer ou écrire son éloge” [BK I 238] ||| Eg. snsj “preisen, verehren” (XVIII., Wb IV 171, 5-10), snsn “id.” (NK, Wb IV 171, 15-16) ||| LECu.: Somali sāni “lover” [HRV 1979, 79] ||| NOM. *šun- “to love, like” [GT] (NOM. data: Dlg. 1973, 115; Bnd. 1988, 150; Flm. 1987, 150, #7) || SOM.: (?) Galila šol-ım [Flm.: < *šon- with a passive-reflexive -ım] “to love” [Flm. 1976, 319] ||| WCh. *čan- “to like, wish” [Stl. 1986, 87; 1987, 192]: Sura čan pʷō “sich rühmen, prahlen” [Jng. 1963, 61] | (?) NBauchi *čamʷ- [assim. < *čanʷ-?] “to like, desire, love” [GT]: Jimbin sam-, Miya čam-, Kariya čam-, Mburku čamʷ-, Tsagu čōm (NBauchi: Skn. 1977, 29). For Eg.-Ar. see Leslau (1962, 46, #9). Or cp. Sem. *ʕdl “to praise” [Zbr. 1971, 58, #33] ||| Eg. dw3 [< *dwl] “preisen” (OK, Wb IV 426-428) ||| WCh.: Bole-Tangale *ndāl- “to love, like” [Stl. 1987, 248, #19]. Or cf. the history of IE *prei-

= *im(m)i [Stl. 2002, 273, #23] = *ē-mīhīh ~ *ē-māhīh (?) [PAM] = *ʔimi/*yVmi, *ʔimaw-ən (Anlaut *-i- stable) [Mlt. 2005, 370, §56] = *i-miH [GT] || SCu.: (?) Ma'a muǭ ~ muho, pl. miǭ "Mund" [Mnh. 1906, 315] = muʔo "mouth" [Ehret 1980, 387] || PCh. *m-(k) "mouth" [JS 1981, 187B] = *m-y "mouth" [JI 1994 I 122] = *maw/y/?- [Stl. 2002, 273, #23].

• **ECu.** *ḥandur/*ḥundur- "navel" [Sasse 1979, 24] cannot be related to any of the synonymous Agaw terms (Bilin ʔətəb rather ~ Bed. tefa "navel", Kemant gwəmbəra < ES, cf. Geez ḥənbərt) as Appleyard (2006, 104) speculates. A comparison with Eg. ḥnt3 [reg. < *ḥntr] "ein Teil der Brust am Brustbein" (Med., Wb III 122, 8) = "Brustbein, sternum" (GHWb 543) is perhaps also to be ruled out. The ECu. evidence (Saho & Afar ḥundub are only derivable from *ḥVnd-ub-) and NOm.: Kefoid (Gonga) *yund-o "navel" [GT]: Kafa and Mocha yund-o, Wombera yund-/žund-a (NOm.: Flm. 1987, 159; ECu.-NOm.: Blz. 1989 MS Om., 23, #79) indicate that the C₄ was an extension.

• **NAgaw** *nan "now" [Apl. 2006, 106]: akin to Eg. nn "hier, da" (PT, Wb II 274, 3-4) || WCh.: Hausa naŋ "1. this, these (near at hand), 2. here" [Abr. 1962, 698] | Daffo-Butura nān ~ nānnī "hier" [Jng. 1970, 219] = (á)naní "here" [Seibert 2000 MS, d004], Dera néne "hier" [Jng. 1966 MS, 12] = néné "here" [Kidda 1991 MS, 7], Tangale nēṇe "here" [Jng. 1991, 123].

• **NAgaw** *gän- "to be old, grow old" [Apl. 2006, 106]: cognate with ECu. *gān- "1. to become old, grow, 2. big" [Sasse 1982, 73, 78] || SCu.: Dhl. gān-o "big, large" [Ehret 1980, 236] = gān-o "big" [Tosco] || NOm. *gēn-/*genn- "1. old, 2. revered" [GT] (Cu.-Om.: Dlg. 1972, 202; 1973, 211) || ES *gnn "to be abundant" [Lsl.]: Tigre gänna & Tna. gänänä "to exceed the measure", Amh. gännänä "to be abundant", gene "the big one", Gurage-Wolane genä (quṭäl) "large (leaf of the äsät in which dough is placed)" (Sem.: Lsl. 1979 III 281, 284) || Eg. gn "angesehen, mächtig sein" (PT, Wb V 173, 3) = "*mächtig, *angesehen, *geschichtswürdig, *historabel sein" (ÄWb I 1368) || WCh.: Angas-Sura *kun, pl. *k^wan "1. great, 2. long" [GT 2004, 182]: Angas ko-kun "to grow" [Ormsby 1914, 209] = kun "greatness, honour" [Flk. 1915, 222] = kun "1. groß, alt, reif werden; 2. groß machen, ehren" [Jng. 1962 MS, 20] = kun (sg.), kwān (pl.) "to be or grow older or taller" [Gcl. 1994, 48, 74], Kofyar kùn "long in length" [Ntg. 1967, 20], Chip kun-kun "long" [Krf.], Montol kun "long, tall" [Ftp. 1911, 218, 220]. See also Bmh. 1986, 252 (Eg.-Sem.-ECu.).

• **NAgaw** *bəz- "to open, undo" [Apl. 1989; 2006, 108] = *biz- "to open" [Apl. 1991] = "öffnen, aufdecken" [Rn.] = *bəz- "to open" [Ehret 1987, #207]: cognate with ES: Tigre bzz: ʔabzäzä "ouvrir grand les yeux" [DRS 54] || NBrb.: Qabyile bžeḥ "être ouvert à tout vents, ni abrité, ni caché" [DRB I 44] || Eg. bz "1. einführen, 2. Zutritt haben zu jem., 3. eintreten in einen Ort, eindringen" (OK, Wb I 473, 1-18) || WCh.: Hausa báza "to spread out to dry, spread (rumors, etc.)" [Abr. 1962, 94] | Jimbin mbyz-, Siri bužu "to untie" (NBch.: Skn. 1977, 47) < AA *b-Z (*-z/ž) "to open" [GT]. The same root is preserved in PAA *biz- "opening" [GT] > NBrb.: (???) Iznasen bezza "bouche (sens trivial)" [Rns. 1932, 292; DRB I 148] = bəzza [SISAJa I, #67] (unless a *Kinderwort*) || NAgaw: Hamta biz-á "porta" [CR 1905, 209], Hamtanga bíz-a "door" [Apl. 1987,

500] = biz-a “door” [Apl. 1991 MS, 4] = bəz-a “mouth” [Leyew 1994, 4] = biz-ā “door” [Apl. 1996, 14] || PCh. *bizV “opening” [GT]: WCh.: Guruntum biiza, Tala p̄isaa [< *biz-] “door, gate” (SBCh.: Csp. 1994, 19) || ECh.: Mokilko bízé “1. Öffnung, 2. Mund, 3. Rand” [Lks. 1975, 224; 1977, 222 & 224] = bízé “bouche, bec, lèvres” [Jng. 1990, 66].

• **Nagaw *bā[r]-** [GT] > Bilin bāra “outside” [Apl.]: Appleyard (2006, 108) takes it – along with Kemant mäya “outside” – from *bād- ~ Bilin bāda “wilderness, uninhabited land” (< ES). But these are entirely distinct AA roots. For Bilin bāra cf. AA *b-r “outside” [GT] > Sem.: (?) Ug. b-br “outside (?)” [Alb. 1943, 41, fn. 20; Gaster 1944, 21], OArām. br “hors de, excepté” [DRS], Palmyran and Nabataean bry “extérieur” [DRS], EAram. brʔ “hinaus” [GB], NSyr. bārā, bāri, bārāi “hors de, excepté” [DRS] || Ar. barrā, barraⁿ, dial. barra^o “Außen” [Hess 1923, 223, fn. 1] | MSA: Hrs. barra “outside” [Jns.], Jbl. burr “far away desert” [Jns.], Mhr. abārr “outside” [Jns.], ba-barr “dehors” [Lsl.], Sgt. bar “côté” [Lsl.] (MSA: Lsl. 1938, 98; Jns. 1981, 27; 1987, 51) || ES: Tigre bār “dehors” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 87) || (?) Eg. br.w, var. bnr.w ~ bnr [act. *bl] “das Außen” (XVIII., Wb I 461, 1-11) = “outside” (FD 83) || ECU. *bVr- “outside” [GT]: HECu. *bīr- [GT]: Kambatta bīr-ā “fuori” [Crl.], Hadiyya bīr-a “the outside (наружное пространство)” [PB apud Dlg.] vs. bīr-a “outwards (наружу)”, bīr-īnne “from outside (снаружи)” [Dlg.] = bīr-a “outside, exterior” [Hds. 1989, 272] | Yaaku bor “outside” [Grb. & Hobley] (ECu.: Dlg. 1973, 202) || SOM.: (?) Ari bur “after, beyond” [Tully] = “outside” [Hyw.] = “relational particle” [Bnd. 1991, 101] || WCh.: (?) Hausa bāàréé “stranger” [Abr. 1962, 81] || CCh.: Bura abila [I reg. < *r] “1. (adv.) out(side), 2. (prep.) outside” [BED 1953, 1] | Fali-Bwagira -bura “outside” [Skn.] | PMatakam (Mafa-Mada) *bra → *vra “outside” [GT]: Uldeme bārā “dehors” [Clm. 1990, 206] = brā “dehors” [Mch.], Gisiga vra, vre, vri “draußen, heraus” [Lks. 1970, 137, cf. also Jng. 1992-3, 120], Mada ávra “dehors”, á varvá “dehors, à l’intérieur” [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 259] = vórva “dehors” [Mch.], Zelgwa brā “dehors” [Mch.], Balda vārā “vers l’extérieur” [Trn. 1987, 56] (MM: Mch. 1953, 182) | Masa (Banana) burwa “outside” [Skn.].

• **Kemant h^wāla** “penis” [Apl.]: no parallels given by Appleyard (2006, 110). Kemant h^wāl- regularly originates from PAgaw *q^wāl-, which is – due to Agaw *q^w- < AA *k^w- – an irregular correspondence of Eg. t̄3 [reg. < *k^wl] (phallus det.) “Mann” (OK, Wb V 344-5) || WCh.: Pero kpállè [kp- reg. < *k^w-] “penis” [Frj. 1985, 37] || CCh. *k^walV “penis” [GT]: Bura kwâl, Chibak kwalä, Ngwahyi kwàl, Margi kwal | Higi-Nkafa kwala, Higi-Fali kwāla, Fali-Jilbu kwälākū | Nzangi kwàrə, Mwulyen kwáálò | Kotoko-Makeri kòlì (CCh.: Krf. quoted by Mkr. 1987, 284) < AA *k^wal- (var. *k^wal-?) “penis” [GT].

• **Agaw *ʔānk^wər-** “to put, place” [Apl. 2006, 112] has nothing to do with the semantically unlikely ECU. *gūr- “to collect” (via prefixed *mV-gur- > Agaw *ʔānk^wər-) as Appleyard (l.c.) insists. Instead, one is tempted to assume that *ʔān- was not part of the original root (**k^wər-), but an additional element (an old refl. prefix?), cp. Sem. *krr “to lay” [GT]: Akk. karāru “setzen, stellen, legen” [AHW 447] || Tigre kārāra “to lie” [Lsl. 1964, 117] (Akk.-Tigre: Lsl. l.c.) || SOM.: Hamer (Galila) kari “place” [Bnd. 1994, 156] || Ch. *karə “to carry” [Nwm. 1977, 24, #24] = *k-r- “to load” [NM 1966, 237].

- **Agaw *sär-/*sar-** “red” [Apl.]: no cognates listed by Appleyard (2006, 114). May be akin to WCh.: Daffo-Butura šaar “rot weden, sein”, šarân “rot” [Jng. 1970, 221]. This isogloss may have preserved the original biconsonantal root attested in Sem. *šr̥k “to be red” [GB 794; Lsl. 1987, 534] and perhaps eventually Eg. dšr “rot (sein)” (PT, Wb V 488-490) with a prefix d- (cf. Thausing 1941)? For Eg.-Sem. see Alb. 1918, 234-5; Ember 1930, §19.a.9 (with a different and unacceptable explanation of Sem. *-k̥ ~ Eg. d-, though).
- **NAgaw *kʷər-a** “river” [Apl.]: cannot be related to ECu. *gol- “valley, slope” [Sasse 1982, 83] as Appleyard (2006, 116) suggests. Instead, cp. rather LECu.: Oromo kur-ē (hence Amh. kure, Harari kūri) “river, stream” [IS/Witczak] ||| Eg. t3.w [reg. < *kʷr.w] (als Plural, parallel zu mw “Wasser”) (PT, Wb V 342, 13) ||| ECh.: Chire (dial. of Gabri) koray “river” [IS] | Somray króói “Fluß” (related to kúroi “Schiff”?) [Lks. 1937, 79, 83] | Sokoro kóroo “Teich” [Lks. 1937, 35] | Jegu kúráyé “der See” [Jng. 1961, 114] (Ch.: Mkr. 1987, 299 with further cognates). The position of WCh.: AS *kur (in compound with *ʔam “water”) “deep water” [GT 2004, 183]²⁰ is dubious (for Agaw-Angas-ECh. see also IS 1971, #177 adopted by Witczak 1992, 41).
- **NAgaw *qʷal-/*qal-** “to see” [Apl. 1991, 19; 2006, 118]: Dolgopol’skij (1973, 81) compared it with LECu.: Somali qollāli- “to look around (смотреть вокруг, оглядываться)”. Cp. further Eg. q3q3 [reg. < *qlql] “blicken (zum Himmel)” (late NK, Wb V 14, 4; GHWb 850) = “to look (up), ,tower” (DLE IV 4) ||| Brb. *V-ḳḳV1 “regarder” [GT] (Brb.: Bst. 1887, 401-2) ||| WCh.: Hausa ḳwálḳwáléé “to investigate” [Abr. 1962, 580], cf. also Hausa ḳáláláíćéé [*-tē] “to examine minutely” [Abr. 1962, 459] = “to examine thoroughly, be expert in” [Hodge 1968, 22]. See also OS 1992, 176 (Agaw-Som.-Eg.-ECh.).
- **NAgaw *fäz-** “to sow” [Apl. 1987, 505; 1989 MS, 9; 1991 MS, 11]: no cognates were given by Appleyard (2006, 119). Presumably connected (with irregular *-z- < AA *-č-?) to AA *p-(y)-č “1. to scatter (e.g. seed), 2. sow” [GT]: Eg. pjs (GW, corn det.) “*Saat (die einzutreten ist oder vom Feld Eingebrachtes, Korn)” (late NK, GHWb 274) ||| NBrb. *a-yfs, pl. *i-yfs-an “seed” [GT]: NBrb.: Shilh i-fs-an “Saat, Samen” [Mkr.] | Tamazight (Beraber) i-fs-ān “semence” [Lst.], Ndir i-fs-an “sowing seeds” [Pnc. 1973, 105] | Mzab ə-fsa “répandre, verser” [Dlh. 1984, 54] | Nefusa a-ifs “semence” [Lst. 1931, 294] || SBrb. *ta-yfəs-t [GT]: Ahaggar tē-fes-t [*ta-yfas-t], pl. tē-fs-în “semence (de végétal)” [Fcd. 1951-2, 362], Ghat či-fes-t “semence” [Nhl. 1909, 205] (Brb.: Mkr. 1969, 48, #40.1) || HECu.: Alaba fišu “seed” [Bnd. 1971, 244, #70] || SCu.: Alagwa pas-it- “to scatter (intr.)”, pisari “seed”, Burunge pisagariya “seed” (WRift: Ehret 1980, 161, #1) ||| WCh.: Hausa fáćá-fáćá (f) “scattering” [Abr. 1962, 240].

²⁰ Attested in Angas kūr “a deep pool, out of depth, which lasts all the year round” [Flk. 1915, 223] = kur ʔām (Ks) “deep pool” [Jng. 1962 MS, 20] = kur am “lake, sea” [ALC 1978, 28] = kur-ām [kořām] “lake” [Krf.], Sura kur “lake” [Krf.], Msr. kur “deep” [Jng. 1999 MS, 8] = kur ~ kuur “deep”, am kur “deeply water” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 129].

Abbreviations of languages and related terms

(A): Ahmimic dialect of Coptic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Alg.: Alagwa, Amh.: Amhara, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, (B) Bohairic dialect of Coptic, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bch.: Bauchi, Bed.: Bed'awye (Beja), Brb.: Berber, Brg.: Burunge, BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, DhI.: Dahalo, E: East, Ebl.: Eblaite, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic dialect of Coptic, Gdm.: Ghadames, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, Grg.: Gurage, Grw.: Gorowa, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi IE: Indo-European, Irq.: Iraqw, JArAm.: Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, Jbl.: Jibbali, L: Late or Low(land), Lit.: literary texts, lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, Math.: mathematical papyri, mB: Middle Babylonian, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, N: New, N: North, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, Nil.: Nilotic, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, Qwd.: Qwadza, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaeen, Sem.: Semitic, Sqt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram): Aramaic of Talmud, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, Wlm.: Tawlemmet.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Alb.: Albright, AMS: Amborn & Minker & Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, Bgn.: Beguinot, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Blv.: Belova, Blz.: Blažek, Bmh.: Bomhard, Bnd.: Bender, Brt.: Barreteau, Bst.: Basset, Chn.: Cohen, Clc.: Calice, Clm.: Colombel, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cospè, Ctc.: Caitucoli, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, Dlh.: Delheure, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Ehr.: Ehret, Fcd.: Foucauld, Fdr.: Fédry, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, Grb.: Greenberg, Gsp.: Gasparini, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hhn.: Hohenberger, HL: Haberland & Lamberti, Hlw.: Hellwig, HRV: Heine & Rottland & Voßen, Hsk.: Hoskison, Htz.: Hetzron, Hyw.: Hayward, Ibr.: Ibrizimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, Jgr.: Jagger, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, JW: Jansen-Winkel, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Krf.: Kraft, Ksm.: Kossmann, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, LR: Louali-Raynal, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, LT: Lamberti & Tonelli, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, Mnh.: Meinhof, Mrc.: Mercier, Mts.: Matsushita, Nhl.: Nehlil, NM: Newman & Ma, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, Pnc.: Penchoen, Prh.: Porhomovsky, Prs.: Prasse, RK: Reutt & Kogan, Rn.: Reinisch, Rpr.: Roper, Sbr.: Siebert, Scn.: Sachnine, Skn.: Skinner, Slk.: Sölken, Smz.: Shimizu, Srl.: Sirlinger, Ss.: Sasse, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Strm.: Stroomer, Sts.: Starostin, Stz.: Satzinger, Tf.: Taifi, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Wdk.: Wedekind, Wlf.: Wölfel, Wtl.: Whiteley, Zbr.: Zaborski, ZhI.: Zyhlarz.

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