

## A. Dolgopolsky's Nostratic Dictionary and Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic)

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The monumental comparative dictionary by Aharon Dolgopolsky (Prof. emer. of the University of Haifa), long awaited by many specialists interested in the long-range comparison of language families, is here at last, available online since spring 2008<sup>1</sup>. What we have here is a life's work completing more than fifty years' research. The first online publication will soon be followed by a second revised edition. The present reviewer had the privilege in Haifa in December 2008 to be able to assist the author in reviewing the etymological entries with initial \*m-.

The author is the internationally widely known doyen of this domain, which he established still in Moscow in the early 1960s together with the late Vladislav Illič-Svityč (1934-1966). Both of them were working initially and basically in the field of Indo-European comparative linguistics. Illič-Svityč was an expert on Balto-Slavonic accentology, while Dolgopolsky started his career as a researcher of Romance philology. But soon, both of them had become familiar with the results of Semitic-Hamitic (recently called Afro-Asiatic after Greenberg), Kartvelian, Dravidian, Uralic, and Altaic historical linguistics. This had led them to a conviction, that has arisen independently in them, on the relationship of the six so-called Nostratic language families enumerated above (including Indo-European). Both scholars had naturally realized that Afro-Asiatic has the least elaborated and reliable phonological and lexical reconstruction<sup>2</sup>, whereas the proto-languages of the other five families had been incomparably more clearly and coherently described or, at least (in the case of Altaic), approached. Not accidentally had both Moscovite scholars got to reconstructing two most problematic branches of Afro-Asiatic: Illič-Svityč chose Chadic<sup>3</sup> and Dolgopolsky focused on Cushito-Omotoc, where his fruitful research had yielded a number of fundamental publications<sup>4</sup> until the end of his career in Moscow (1976)<sup>5</sup>, where he left behind an informal school of comparative linguistics with talented promising pupils like Sergej Starostin (Old Chinese, Altaic, North Caucasian), Evgenij Helimskij (Uralic), and Olga Stolbova (Chadic). Dolgopolsky's pioneering "Comparative-Historical Phonology of Cushitic Languages" ("Сравнительно-исторический словарь кушитских языков") from 1973 has been very frequently quoted even in Western works in spite of its being published in Russian. After 1976 in Haifa, Dolgopolsky has continued – beside Nostratic studies in general – first of all his comparative Afro-Asiatic research and publication activity devoted primarily to clarifying the regular consonant correspondences among the Afro-Asiatic branches<sup>6</sup>, which signifies where the priority task still lies in Nostratic. All these results have long raised Dolgopolsky – beside the late Igor' D'jakonov (1915-1999) of Leningrad (St. Petersburg) – to the rank of the highest authority in comparative-historical Afro-Asiatic linguistics of recent times. This is why I devoted in 2008 a Semitic-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) *Festschrift* in his honour.<sup>7</sup>

Prof. Dolgopolsky's profound knowledge of the lexical stocks involved and of the etymological problems in all language families examined by him can only be admired. My present paper cannot be a review *stricto sensu* of this gigantic accumulation and analysis of many thousands of pieces of linguistic data, let alone the allotted very minimal space. What I regard as most effective under the circumstances is to investigate at least through a few sample entries chosen at random how this magnificent etymological dictionary uses lexical data of the most obscure and scientifically neglected language family, namely Afro-Asiatic. Elsewhere, it might have been probably substantially easier and smoother to extract etymological information from the domains of other language families by far better equipped with reliable etymological lexicons, most of which can be safely regarded as standard tools. If we look at how autonomously Dolgopolsky handles e.g. Indo-European etymologies, we can deduce that he is much farther off than just quoting the relevant etymological sources even in these well-equipped domains.

Unfortunately, the objective circumstances are many times less favorable in the case of Proto-Afro-Asiatic, presumably the oldest one of all the known language families<sup>8</sup>, the parental language of Akkadian, Hebrew, Arabic, Egyptian etc., where we

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<sup>1</sup> Edited by the MacDonald Institute of Archaeological Research (<http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/196512>). Some paper copies have also been released, but in a very limited *tirage*. It is here that I wish to thank Mrs. Zsuzsa Jancsó, the charming secretary (Oriental Dept., Institute of Linguistics, Hungary) for her unselfish help with the paper version of the Dictionary.

<sup>2</sup> The unfortunate retardation of comparative Afro-Asiatic studies (as compared to other language families) has been due to all too numerous reasons that could be studied here.

<sup>3</sup> For the reason of his tragical and premature end, Illič-Svityč had only the opportunity to publish but one pilot study on the reconstruction of Chadic lexical roots with initial labials (1966).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dolgopolsky 1966 (proto-Cushito-Omotoc lexical roots with initial labials and dental stops), 1972 (initial velar stops), 1973 (proto-Cushitic lexicon).

<sup>5</sup> In September 1976, Dolgopolsky completed his *aliyah*. Since then, he has been lecturing at the Hebrew Language (Lashon Ivrit) Dept. of the Haifa University until his most recent retirement.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dolgopolsky 1982 (the origin of intervocalic \*-y- in the Suroid languages, West Chadic subbranch), 1983 (Semitic and East Cushitic), 1987 (South Cushitic lateral consonants compared to Semitic and East Cushitic), 1988 (word-initial laryngeals in Semitic and East Cushitic), 1989 (lateral obstruents in Hamito-Semitic), 1990 (Chadic correspondences of Semitic \*š), 1994 (the Afro-Asiatic origin of some Semitic names of body parts), 1994 (paper presented at the 3<sup>rd</sup> World Archaeological Congress in New Delhi in Dec. 1994 on the external relations of Afro-Asiatic), 1994 (paper presented at the 6<sup>th</sup> International Hamito-Semitic Congress in Moscow in April 1994 on some new Afro-Asiatic etymologies), 1999 (from Proto-Semitic to Hebrew with a section devoted to the Afro-Asiatic background of the Hebrew lexicon).

<sup>7</sup> Takács, G. (ed.): Semitic-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) *Festschrift* for A.B. Dolgopolsky and H. Jungraithmayr. Berlin, 2008., Dietrich Reimer Verlag. On pp. vii-viii, I have published my subjective recollection on both jubilants. In December 2008, during my visit to him at his Haifa home, I have recorded his own recollections (in Russian) on his enormous life which I plan to publish elsewhere (in English translation).

<sup>8</sup> The split-up of the common Afro-Asiatic proto-language (starting with the separation of Cushito-Omotoc from the rest) has been estimated by Militarev with the help of glottochronological methods to have taken place around the 11<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> millennia B.C. (see Mlt. 1983, 104-106;

until now simply lack a comprehensive and high-quality comparative lexicon and a reliable lexical reconstruction<sup>9</sup>. This is why partial results here are at the moment much more important than the very uncertain comparative dictionaries. Ever since I have known Dolgopolsky's Russian and English articles on Nostratic in general, I have eagerly observed how these – as a "side-effect" – contribute to our scanty knowledge about Afro-Asiatic lexical correspondences. To my mind, the language family of all Nostratic families where the quantitative progress in the inner comparative study of the lexicon has gained most from Illič-Svityč's and Dolgopolsky's Nostratic work is just the still obscure domain of Afro-Asiatic etymology, and *vice versa*: I have no doubt that modern Afro-Asiatic comparative research has received the strongest impulse from Nostratic linguistics in Moscow, suffice it to refer – beside Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky – to Stolbova, Militarev, and Blažek (who also belongs to the Moscow school), the most productive authors of comparative Afro-Asiatic in the recent decades.

The Nostratic Dictionary testifies to Dolgopolsky's significant research results contributing to Afro-Asiatic etymology, which is until now hindered by a number of objective circumstances: (1) even we ourselves in the Moscow school only have a general working hypothesis on the basic consonantal correspondences (esp. in the relationship of Proto-Semitic, Egyptian, and Proto-Berber), which have not yet been satisfactorily elaborated and thoroughly tested in all details (esp. in the least explored Omotic and Chadic daughter languages). (2) Secondly, it has always been – almost irrespectively of the individual authors (albeit in different degrees) – difficult in our etymological research, especially in the case of Semitic and Egyptian, to keep a balance between the philological background of our comparanda and their external parallels. Dolgopolsky has worked carefully in order to minimize these unavoidable negative effects. My comments to the following etymological entries that were selected at random mostly carry additional data, new cognates, which signifies the still unexploited immense treasure and possibilities in our domain. May this discussion gain new friends for Nostratic studies and Afro-Asiatic etymology!

● **Nst. \*lEga** "1. to lie (down), 2. lay, put" [Dlg. 2008, 1195f, #1265] = \*LVga "лежать" [IS 1976, §271; also 1965, 346] (Krt., IE, Ur., WCh.). The AA family is represented here by WCh. parallels that may be sorted in two groups that may be mutually unrelated: (1) Sura lè "setzen" [Jng.] etc. (neither reflecting \*-g-) vs. (2) Mangas ligè "to wait" [Csp.] etc. (semantically uncertain). Instead, good cognates appear in Eg. 3g [reg. < \*lǵ] "pflanzen" (PT 513d, Wb I 22, 8) = "pflanzen, wachsen lassen, aufsprießen lassen" (ÄWb I 21) || CCh.: Bachama laga "to plant" [Cm. 1975, 465], which are semantically especially close to Krt. \*lag- ~ \*lǵ- "1. to put → 2. to plant" [Klimov 1964, 118-9].

● **Nst. \*LikV** "to be ill, suffer disaster" [Dlg. 2008, 1200f, #1273] (IE, AA: Agaw, Alt.): the relatedness of Agaw \*läy-an-/\*lay-än- "wound" [Apl. 1991, 19] seems semantically rather unlikely<sup>10</sup>. All the more, since its further AA cognates<sup>11</sup> point to a quite different basic sense (i.e., "wound") of the underlying AA root \*l-k. The same is the case with Geez lak<sup>w</sup>ā, lak<sup>w</sup>ā, lak<sup>w</sup>ē "altercation, strife, conflict", talāk<sup>w</sup>aya "to quarrel with another, dispute, reprimand" [Lsl. 1987, 314], which belongs to yet another AA root<sup>12</sup>. On the other hand, Nst. \*LikV – especially in the light of Albanian lig (adj.) "evil, wicked, bad, sick" – may nevertheless have semantically likely AA reflexes, cf. Eg. \*lklk (or \*lqlq?) > (B) ΛΟΥΚΛΑΚ "böse" (KHW 77) = "être mauvais, méchant" (DELG 96) || EBrb.: Ghadames √l-k: ə-lkuk "être mauvais" [Lanfry 1973, 180, #890].

● **Nst. \*Luka** "to bend" [Dlg. 2008, 1201f, #1274] = \*Luka [Dlg. 1991 MS, #883] (Brb., IE). The quoted Berber reflexes, viz. NBrb.: Mzab lləklək "être ébranlé, bouger, être disloqué, plier sous le poids" [Dlh. 1984, 105] || SBrb.: Ahaggar lək-ət "tourner (changer de direction), décrire une courbe, être courbé" [Fcd. 1951-2, 1028-9], have a nice cognate in Eg. 3k [reg. <

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1984, 9-10; Mlt.-Snr. 1984, 35; Djk. 1988, 23-25, 33, fn. 15; Mlt.-Pejros-Šnirel'man 1988; Mlt. 1989, 128). Of course, this tentative result requires further verification.

<sup>9</sup> The first such attempt, viz. Marcel Cohen's famous and epoch-making "*Essai comparatif* ..." from 1947 has long become fully outdated and only very few entries can be used. Then a long gap followed until D'jakonov and his Moscow team started to publish their "*Comparative-historical Dictionary of Afrasian Languages*" ("*Сравнительно-исторический словарь афразийских языков*", abbreviated as SISAJa I-III, in Russian), which, however had to remain unfinished after the publication of but three thin fascicles (1981: initial labial stops, 1982: initial dental stops, 1986: initial sibilants + labial stops as second radicals). The "*Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*" (HSED) by Orel and Stolbova from 1995 reflects basically the conception and many results of the Moscow team, but suffers from a number of fundamental methodological problems (cf. Takács 1997). The comparative lexicon by Ehret from 1995 contains unfortunately more problems and errors than solutions and is hardly to be used. I have started to publish my series "*Lexica Afroasiatica*" with new etymologies in 2002 (the first issue was, besides, dedicated for the 70<sup>th</sup> birthday of Prof. Dolgopolsky).

<sup>10</sup> The Agaw stem appears at the first glance to be identical with Eg. \*nk "to wound" (its derivation from \*lk is in theory possible) > nkn "verletzen, beschädigen" (PT, Wb II 346, 8), nk.t "blessure" (CT, AL 78.2258; AECT II 100, spell 468, n. 25), nknk.t ~ nkkt "das verletzte Auge" (BD, Wb II 347, 6 & 9), but this Eg. root has been usually combined with Sem. \*nky "to hurt" [Bmh.], which points to an initial AA \*n-. For the Eg.-Sem. comparison see Ember 1913, 115, #47; GÄSW #55; Bmh. 1986, 254.

<sup>11</sup> Sem.: Dathina lkk "donner un coup de poing à la nuque", lklk "frapper du poing à plusieurs reprises", lky: ?alkā "heurter, blesser" [GD 2643] || LECu. \*log- "wound" [GT] || Ch. \*l-k "wound" [Stl.]: Jimbin lakwa "tattoo" [Skn.] || CCh.: Mada mlak "plaie" [Br.] | Hide luku "plaie" [Egc. 1971, 214] (Ch.: Stl. 2005, 71, #212).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. AA \*l-k "to quarrel, 2. fight" [GT] > SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-lək "1. disputer avec au cours d'un jugement, 2. se charger de juger, 3. lutter contre" [PAM 2003, 349] || ECu.: Dobase lāk- "bekämpfen, sich zur Wehr setzen" [AMS 1980, 171] || WCh.: Angas-Sura \*l'ak (Suroid, Goemay) ~ \*l'ok (Angas), hence \*l'ək → \*l'ek „1. to fight, 2. war" [GT] = \*l[i]ak „to fight" [Dlg.]: Angas liok „to fight", leok „war" [Ormsby 1914, 208-9, 314-315] = lääk ~ leok „1. war, 2. to make war, fight, quarrel violently" [Flk. 1915, 232, 237] = læek (so, long -æ-) „kämpfen, streiten", lèèk „Kampf" [Jng. 1962 MS, 23] = lek [leak] „to fight" [Hfm.] = lek „to make war" [ALC 1978, 15, 32, 37] = lèk lèk „to fight a fight" [Gcl. 1994, 109, 121], Sura lek „1. sich auflehnen, kämpfen" [Jng. 1963, 73] = lek „to fight" [Hfm.], Kofyar lek „to fight" [Ntg. 1967, 24] = liak „to fight" [Hfm.], Mushere lek „to fight, struggle" [Dkl. 1997 MS, 139], Chip liyək (so, -ə-) „war" [Krf.], Montol lek „1. to fight, 2. war" [Ftp. 1911, 216, 221], Goemay liak šal „to fight" [Srl. 1937, 126] = liak (šal) „to fight" [Hfm.] = lyak šal „to fight" [Hlw. 2000 MS, 21] (AS: Hfm. 1975, 21, #137; Stl. 1987, 199, #503; GT 2004, 238) || ECh.: Kera mə-lāgà [nomen loci mV- prefix] "belt of war" [Pearce 1998-9, 64]. An AA root variety with \*-h- as C<sub>2</sub> is attested in Sem.: OSA (Sabea) √lhj: lhj[n] ~ var. lhj[n] "dispute, quarrel" [SD 258], Ar. lhjw III "4. calomnier qqn." [BK II 981] || SBrb.: Ayr u-ləy [Brb. \*γ < AA \*h reg.] "1. lutte finale (corps à corps) dans les jeux de tuläge et de rəbəkərbək, 2. défaite" [PAM 2003, 460].

\*lk] "beugen (≈ ħ3b)" (MK, Wb I 22, 3) = "gebogen sein" (ÄWb II 45). On the other hand, some of the quoted cognates deriving from Altaic \*lak'u "to bend, hang" [Sts.], namely Tunguz \*loka- "to hang down (tr.)" [Dlg.], are perhaps better to be affiliated with AA \*l-k "to hang" [GT] > SBrb.: Ayr a-lək "1. être suspendu, 2. se pendre (se suicider en se pendant)" [PAM 2003, 470] || WCh.: Dera lóowè [Nwm.: reg. < \*lóokè] "to hang sg. over shoulder" [Nwm. 1974, 129], Kwami lògáy "aufhängen" [Leger 1992, 27] || (?) CCh. \*l-g "to hang" [JS 1981, 130D<sub>1</sub>] > (?) Logone hí léga "aufhängen" [Lks. 1936, 97]<sup>13</sup> || ECh.: EDangla àlgìyè "hängen" [Ebs. 1979, 146; 1987, 84].

• **Nst. \*Lo[ʔ]ika** "cutting instrument" [Dlg. 2008, 1206, #1278] (IE, Alt., Brb.): the quoted Brb. parallels, namely EBrb.: Ghadames tē-ləq-t "poignard de bras" [Lnf. 1973, #912] || SBrb.: Ahaggar tē-ləq, pl. te-lɣ-īn "poignard" [Fcd. 1951-2, 1109], Ghat te-ləq, pl. te-lɣ-en "small knife" [Alj. 1980, 111] etc., suggest AA \*l-k (or \*l-h) as Dolgopolsky correctly stated. But whether the glottalization of AA \*-k was really due to a contraction of Nst. \*ʔ-k remains uncertain, since a possible AA cognate (not mentioned in the Nostratic Dictionary), viz. Eg. 3qḥ [reg. < \*lḫ] "Kriegsbeil" (XVIII., Wb I 22, 1), if correctly compared, may probably modify the AA reconstruction to \*l-k-ḥ (and, henceforth, the AA cognates either do not belong under this Nst. root or it should be significantly modified: \*Loḥika ~ \*Loḫiḥa).

• **Nst. \*LaKa** "leg" [Dlg. 2008, 1209f, #1282a] = \*l[a]Ka "hora" [IS 1976, #255] (AA, IE, ?Ur., ?Alt.): the AA parallels seem to fall in two groups: (1) Brb. \*IVɣ "part of the leg" [Dlg.] || SCu.: Dahalo lúka "leg from thigh to knee" [EEN 1989, 42; Tosco 1991, 142] vs. (2) Agaw \*lək<sup>w</sup>- "foot, leg" [Apl. 2006, 15] || ECu. \*la/i/uk- "foot, leg" [Sasse 1979, 5], which suggest two PAA root varieties: \*l-k vs. \*l-k, resp. The latter is probably also reflected by Eg. \*3t "foot, leg", a lost word that can be reconstructed from the MK phonetic value 3t of the leg hieroglyph (D56), cf. ÄWb II 47, 50.

• **Nst. \*Lûka** "to swallow" [Dlg. 2008, 1213f, #1286] (AA, Krt., IE, Alt., Drv.): the AA reflexes quoted by Dolgopolsky can be divided into two groups: (1) AA \*l-k vs. (2) AA \*l-k-m. Some additions are possible to both sections: (1) Add Sem.: Sqt. dial. of Qalansiya lākəlak ~ lākələki ~ lākəlak "gosier (derrière de la langue)", dial. of Qadhub lékəlak ~ ləkəlak "gosier, arrière-bouche" [SSL 1991, 1465] || LECu.: Somali liq "schlucken, verschlingen" [Rn. 1902, 276] || SCu.: Dahalo laka "area under chin" [Ehret 1980, 328, #76; ~ LECu.; EEN 1989, 41] || Ch. \*lak- "to swallow" [Stl. 1996] = \*l-k "to eat hastily and choke" [Stl. 2005] > WCh.: Hausa lākè "to rapidly eat up small, tasty amount of", lākəi-lākəi "parasitic glutton" [Abr. 1962, 609] || ECh. \*lak- "to swallow" [Stl.] (Ch.: Stl. 1996, 126; 2005, 72-73, #215). (2) Here, add Sem. \*ḥa-lkum- "faucis, Adam's apple" [SED I #117; Mlt. 2005, 371, #58; 2005, 587-8, #58.1: body part prefix \*ḥa-]. (3) There may have been a third AA root \*l-k-f (with a root extension \*-f), cf. Ar. laqifa "1. avaler qqch. avec précipitation (celui qui a faim p.ex.)" [BK II 1015] || Eg. \*nqf [reg. < \*lḫf], a lost word that can be reconstructed from the throat determinative of nqf (cf. Wb II 344, 2; GHWb 436).

• **Nst. \*lüHka** "to jump" [Dlg. 2008, 1217f, #1290] (AA, IE, Ur., Alt.): the relatedness of Ar. lq<sup>o</sup> "passer rapidement" [BK II 1015] is rather uncertain. The most reliable AA derivative mentioned in ND is WCh.: Ron \*luk "to rise" [GT], cf. Bokkos luk "(auf)fliegen", luk fit "aufstehen", Fyer luk "aufstehen", Daffo-Butura luk "springen (auf und ab)", Sha lúgó "aufstehen (Distanz mit Richtung der Aktion auf Sprecher)" (Ron: Jng. 1970, 87, 144, 217, 286). The Ron root was alternatively combined by Orel and Stolbova (1990, 81, #61) with Ar. ḥlq II "5. planer et tourner dans les airs (oiseau), 8. être au plus haut du ciel (étoile)" [BK I 481], which, however, does not account for the Ar. ḥ-. Although I also observed the regularity of Ron \*k < AA \*k (Takács 2000, 96-97), I would, nevertheless, not exclude the cognacy of Ron \*luk with Eg. jtt [reg. < \*lkk] "Verbum (vom fliegen o.ä. eines Vogels)" (PT, Wb I 151, 6) = \*(herab)fliegen" (GHWb 115; ÄWb I 240).

• **Nst. \*LVK[V]XV ~ \*LVX[V]Ka/æ** "to grasp, catch" [Dlg. 2008, 1220f, #1294]: its only AA reflex mentioned in the ND, Sem. \*lḫ "to take" [Dlg.], is akin to Eg. ḥ3q [reg. < \*ḥlḫ] "erbeuten, erobern" (MK, Wb III 32-33) = "to plunder, capture" (FD 163). For Eg.-Sem. see Ember 1911, 88; 1917, 88, fn. 2; 1926, 302, fn. 10; 1930, #3.c.4, #20.a.6; Holma 1919, 40; Lexa 1938, 217; Vrg. 1945, 130, #1.d.19; Chn. 1947, #442.

• **Nst. \*LiLV** "water, sea" [Dlg. 2008, 1221f, #1296] (AA, IE, ?Alt.): add LECu.: Oromo lol-ā "1. flood, 2. puddle", lola<sup>ʔ</sup>a "flow (n.)" [Btm. 2000, 182], Borana Oromo loll-ā "puddle" [Strm. 1995, 205] | HECu. \*lola<sup>ʔ</sup>a "flood, torrent" [Hds. 1989, 65, 417] || SCu.: (?) Ma'a loló "urine" [Ehret 1974 MS, 40] || NOM.: Kachama ma-lēl-o "river" [Sbr. 1994, 18]. Perhaps also Eg. nn [if < \*ll] "als Bezeichnung der Überschwemmung" (GR, Wb II 275, 14) = "inondation" (DELIC 97)? These parallels speak against alternatively explaining Brb. \*i-lil "sea" [GT] and Bed. līl- "to be liquid" [Rpr. 1928, 86] from Nst. \*lVyVh "to pour (water)" [Dlg.]. The reconstruction of Sem. \*nīl- "large river, flood, watering" [Dlg. pace Vcl.] (based on Akk. + Ar.) and the derivation from \*līl- (via assimilation) is uncertain, since Ar. ʔan-nīl-u "the Nile" is hardly of PSem. origin<sup>14</sup> on the one hand, and Akk. nīlu "watering, flooding" [CAD n2, 234] has been explained from Sem. \*nhl (AHW 694, 790), on the other hand.

• **Nst. \*L/zi/IV** "reed, a water-plant" [Dlg. 2008, 1222, #1297]: fairly certain AA reflexes shows up in Eg. nn.t [reg. < \*ll-t] "eine Pflanze, aus der man Körbe macht: Binse (?)" (PT, Wb II 274, 10) = "Heleocharis palustris (≈ Scirpus palustris Linn.): jonc de marais ou scirpe des marais" (Loret 1932, 308-9), cf. the hieroglyph nn depicting "two rushes with shoots" (Grd. 1927, 471, M22) = "aglet-headed rush, marsh club-rush (Sumpfbinsse, gemeines Ried)" (Bonnier apud Loret l.c.) = "rush with shoots" (Fischer 1983, 34, M22) || WCh.: Kulere lül "Gras, Stroh (zum Dachdecken)" [Jng. 1970, 353].

<sup>13</sup> The CCh. reflex is doubtful, since the CCh. proto-form was based by JS solely on the Logone form, which may have had a different origin, cf. Logone hó "werfen" + léga "darauf" [Lks. 1936]. Buduma lki "aufheben" [Lks. 1939, 117] is little helpful as it may belong to an entirely different AA root. Note that Ehret (1995, 400, #816) combined the uncertain CCh. root with other untenable AA *comparanda* (q.v.).

<sup>14</sup> On the origin of the name of the Nile diverse theories have been put forward, cf. most recently Luft 1992.

● **Nst.** \*lumV "magic, spell, fortune" [Dlg. 2008, 1222, #1298] (Ur., Alt., Ar.): the only AA derivative of this Nst. root very correctly adduced by Dolgopolsky, namely Ar. lamam- "folie, obsession, commencement de la folie attribué à l'action des démons" [BK II 1022-3], can be complemented with new AA reflexes, cf. Eg. \*līm > Cpt. (B) **لَام** "Beschwörung" (KHW 515 pace BIFAO 45, 72, fn. 6) ||| ECh.: (???) Tumaḳ lā:m "tromper" [Cpr. 1975, 79] | Birgit lāmī "ensorceler" [Jng. 2004, 356].<sup>15</sup> The relatedness of Sem.: Gurage: Muher, Masqan, Goggot, Soddo, Wolane ləm etc. "charm, attractiveness" [Lsl.] is doubtful, since Leslau (1979 III, 279) affiliated this form with Gurage: Selti lāma etc. "to prosper" (ultimately < Sem. \*līm<sup>o</sup>) arguing that the noun had the primary meaning of "something what is in a flourishing state, good condition".

#### Abbreviations of languages

Alt.: Altaic, (A): Ahmimic, AA: Afrasian (Afroasiatic, Semito-Hamitic), Amh.: Amhara/-ic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, assim.: assimilation, (B): Bohairic, Bch.: Bauchi, Bed.: Bedawye, Brb.: Berber, C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Drv.: Dravidian, det.: determinative, dissim.: dissimulation, E: East, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic ~ Ethiopian Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Greco-Roman Period, Grg.: Gurage, GW: group-writing (or syllabic writing), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hrs.: Harsusi, IE: Indo-European, irreg.: irregular, Jbl.: Jibbali, Krt.: Kartvelian, Lat.: Latin, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: Magical Texts, Med.: Medical Texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, N: North (in compounds), NE: New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, P: Proto-, poss.: possible, reg.: regular, PT: Pyramid Texts, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, Shr.: Shahri, Sgt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, Tna.: Tigrinya, Ur.: Uralic, Ug.: Ugaritic, var.: variant, W: West, Wlm.: Tawllemmet.

#### Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, Alj.: Alojaly, AMS: Amborn & Minkern & Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Biberstein de Kazimirski, Bmh.: Bomhard, Brt.: Barreteau, Btm.: Bitima, Chn.: Cohen, Crn.: Carnochan, Dbr.-Mnt.: Djibrine-Montgolfier, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, Dlh.: Delheure, Ebs.: Ebobisse, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Egc.: Eguchi, Ehr.: Ehret, Fcd.: Foucauld, Flk.: Foulkes, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, Gcl.: Gochal, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hlw.: Hellwig, IS: Illič-Svityč, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, Krf.: Kraft, Lks.: Lukas, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lsl.: Leslau, Mlt.: Militarev, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, Rn.: Reinisch, Rns.: Renisio, Rpr.: Roper, Sbr.: Siebert, Skn.: Skinner, Srl.: Sirlinger, Ss.: Sasse, SSL: Simeone-Senelle & Lonnet, Stl.: Stolbova, Strm.: Stroomer, Sts.: Starostin.

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<sup>15</sup> Any connection to Ar. lwm: lāma "blâmer, critiquer, reprendre qqn., lui adresser des reproches, blâmer qqn. d'avoir fait qqch." [BK II 1043] ||| NBrb. (from Ar.): Zayan & Sgugu \*lum > lam "réprimander, sermonner" [Lbg. 1924, 563], Senhazha laum "réprimander qqn., lui faire des reproches" [Rns. 1932, 336] ||| ECh.: EDangla löomyië "accuser" [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 190]?

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