

Václav Blažek

Pribram

A LITTLE MOON-LIGHT ON AFROASIATIC “NIGHT”

1. Attestation in Hieroglyphic and Demotic Egyptian and orthographic variants.
2. Attestation in Coptic and vocalization.
3. Survey of existing etymologies.
4. Comments.
- 5./6. New etymology.
7. Conclusion.

1. The Egyptian word *3bd/ibd* „month“ (1) is known from the beginning of the Old Kingdom. From the Greek period the meaning (1i) „name of a moon“ is also attested (Wb. I, 65). The transcription *3bd* is confirmed by the personal name (1b) *3bdw* (Wb. I, 8), but the variant reading *ibd* is retained (Gardiner 1988, 486), cf. also Demotic *ibt, ibd* „month“ (Černý 1976, 33; Vycichl 1984, 39 respectively).

(1a) OK	(1b) OK: personal name	(1c) MK	(1d) NK	(1e) NK: Dynasty 22
	  	 	 	  

Satzinger (1998-99, 81) explains the ‘bizarre’ spelling of the New & Late Egyptian records (1e+f) by insertion of the sign complex (1g+h) *dw3.w* „tomorrow“ (Wb. V, 422):

(1f) Late Egyptian	(1g) MK	(1h) Late Egyptian	(1i) Greek Period
   	  	  	  

2. The word continues in Coptic: Sahidic ⲉⲃⲟⲩ, pl. ⲉⲃⲁⲩⲉ, Bohairic ⲁⲃⲟⲩ, pl. ⲁⲃⲏⲩ „month“ (Vycichl 1984, 39). Osing (1976, 45) proposes the vocalization **ʒabād* of the abstract name, according to the pattern **saḏām*, forming also nomina actionis and infinitives. Similarly Loprieno (1996, 52, 61-62) who reconstructs sg. **ʒabād* vs. pl. **ʒabūdaw*.

3. Up to the present time the following etymologies of this word have been proposed, in chronological order:

3.1. Ember (1913, 118, #73): Arabic *badr*, pl. *budūr* „full moon“.

3.2. Farina (1924, 323) & Ember (1930, 6): Semitic $\sqrt{\text{'}}-b-d$ „to wander, be lost“; the Egyptian word „month“ would thus be the perfect participle „wanderer“ → „moon“ → „month“.

3.3. Cohen (1947, 77, #5): Central Cushitic **ärb-* „month, moon“ > Bilin *ärba* „month, moon“, Qwara *arfā* id., Khamtanga *arfa* „month“, *arba* „moon“, Kemant *arfa* „month“, Awngi *árfi* „month“, *árfá* „moon“, Kunfāl *arfa* „month“ (Appleyard 2006, 100). Cohen’s so-called „Sidamo“ cognates represent in reality the Omotic counterparts from the Sidamo region (former province): She *erf*, Bench *yarp*; Dime *irḫe*, Hamar *arpe*, *arfi*, Banna *arpi*, Ari & Ubamer *arfi*, Galila *árfená* „moon“ (Blažek 2008, 80, 116).

3.4. Osing (1976, 45, 511, fn. 238): Egyptian *ʒbd* „dauern“ (missing in Wb.) & Arabic $\sqrt{\text{'}}-b-d$ „to continue, go on“, *abad* „eternity“.

3.5. Skinner (1977, 31): West Chadic: Hausa *wata* „moon“ and North Bauchi: Diri *afada* „moon“.

3.6. D’jakonov et al. (1981, 45-46): Egyptian *bd* „erhellen“ ||| West Chadic **b-d* „to open, begin“ or Angas-Sura **bit* „morning“.

4. Comments:

Ad 3.1. Cf. also Arabic *ibdār* „light of the full moon“ (Steingass 1988, 3). The Arabic word *badr*, pl. *budūr* „full moon“ is isolated within Semitic (see DRS 46), but an internal etymology is possible if it is analyzed as a compound in which the first component is the root attested in Arabic *badi^c*, pl. *bud^c* „new“ (Steingass 1988, 111), and the second member is the root $\sqrt{\text{'}}-w-r$ „light“, continuing e.g. in Ugaritic *ar* / *ir* id., Hebrew *’or*, *’orā* id., and especially in Soqotri *ere* „moon“ (DRS 13). The hypothetical compound **bud^c-’ūr* „new light“ could be simplified as *budūr* and reinterpreted as a plural from which the regular singular *badr* was formed. Alternatively it is possible to surmise a compound of Arabic *badi^c* „new“ & *ray^c* „light; brightness of the day“ (Vycichl 1959, 30; 1984, 170; EDE I, 363). Concerning semantics, cf. Hebrew *hodes̄* „new moon; month“ : *hādās̄* „new, fresh“, Phoenician *hdš* „new moon“, Ugaritic *hdt* „month“ : *hdt* „new“ (HAL 294; DRS 838).

Ad 3.2. The meaning „to wander“ is not actually attested in Semitic: Akkadian *abātu* „to perish“; Ugaritic *bd* id.; Hebrew *’ābad* „id., go astray“; Aramaic *ābad*

„to be lost“, Syriac *ʿebad* „id., come to naught“; Arabic *ʿabada* „to become wild (cattle), shy away“; Geez *ʿabda* „to be insane, become enraged, be mad“ etc. (DRS 2; Leslau 1987, 2-3; HAL 2). The primary meaning „to be lost; disappear“ *vel sim.* is too far from „month“.

Ad 3.3. Cohen speculated about a correspondence between Egyptian *d* and Central Cushitic **r*. This is not regular, but there is another possibility. The Egyptian word is reconstructible as **ʿabad* in the first approximation, but also **rabad* or even **arbad*, if the primary skeleton was **i3bd*. But the final *-d* is so far explainable (cf. Takács 2005, 84). Maybe a compound **arb(V)-baḏ^o* „moon of the night“, modifying the etymology explained in §5?

Ad 3.4. Besides Arabic *ʿabada* the Semitic root $\sqrt{b-d}$ continues in Hebrew *ʿobēd* „duration“ and Ugaritic *šd ubdy* „loan for ever“ (HAL 3; DRS 2). None of these meanings are directly compatible with the concrete time interval „month“.

Ad 3.5. Takács (2005, 83-84) declares the mutual phonetic incompatibility of Skinner’s examples.

Ad 3.6. Takács (2005, 84) is right in his doubts concerning a common semantic denominator of examples collected by D’jakonov’s team. For more about Egyptian *bd* see EDE II, 359.

Takács himself (2005, 84) discusses some new possibilities, but with healthy criticism:

Central Cushitic: Khamir *bātā* „beginning of month“; East Cushitic: Oromo *baatii* „new moon“, Burji *bāati* id. < Geez *baʿat* ~ *bāʿat* „entry; beginning of month“ : *boʿa* $\sqrt{b-w}$ „to entry“ (Leslau 1987, 83, 114-15).

5. The key to a new etymology may be found in Tashelhit *ayyur wwaḏan* „full month“, lit. „month of the nights“ (cited by Vycichl 1984, 39) = Tashelhit of Tazerwalt *ayyūr wāḏān* „ein Monat an Nächten“ = „die Zeit von einem Monat“, where the plural (*w*)*āḏān* has also been used in the meaning „Zeit“ (Stumme 1899, 241).

5.1. The word „night“ is among the best preserved words common to all groups of Berber languages:

East: Siwa *iṭ* (Laoust), *īṭ* (Vycichl), Sokna *iṭi* (Sarnelli), Foqaha *aṣṣāḏ* (Paradisi), Augila *ávoṭ*, pl. *voṭáwen* (Paradisi).

North: Ghadames *ībed*, pl. *ībedawen* (Lanfry), *ifaḏ*, pl. *-en* (Motylinski), Jebel Nefusa *yeṭ*, pl. *iṭan* (Motylinski), Nefusa of Fasato *īṭ*, pl. *īṭáwen* (Beguinet), Zwara *īḏ* (Paradisi), *iḏ* (Mitchell), Sened *iṭ*, pl. *ieṭan* (Provotelle), Shawiya *iḏ* (A. Basset), Matmata *ēḏ* (Destaing), Wargli & Mzabi *iḏ*, pl. *iyḏan* (Delheure), Kabyle *iḏ*, pl. *uḏan* & *aḏan* (Dallet), Figuig *iḏ*, pl. *iḏan* (Kossmann), Beni Snus *ēḏ*, *ēḏ*,

pl. *idḏān* (Destaing), Rif: Iznacen *id'* (Destaing), Tamazight *id*, pl. *idawen* (Cid Kaoui), Tashelhit *yḏ*, pl. *āḏān* (Stumme).

West: Zenaga *īḏ*, pl. *āḏan* (Taine-Cheikh), *id'*, pl. *āḏ'an* (Nicolas).

South: Ghat *ihed*, pl. *-en* (Nehilil), Ahaggar *éhōḏ*, pl. *ihăḏān* (Foucauld), Taneslemt *ehaḏ & ihəḏ* (Militarev), Ayr *ehăḏ*, pl. *yăḏan & ihăḏawăn* (Alojaly), East Awlemmiden *ehăḏ*, pl. *ăḏan* (Alojaly), Tadghaq *éhæḏ*, pl. *ihéḏan* (Heath).

5.1.1. There have been several attempts to reconstruct the Berber protoform:

DRB III, 436-37: $\sqrt{d}_8$.

Kossmann 1999, 69, #55; 96-97, #189: **iĤed*.

Prasse 1969, 45, #145: $\sqrt{H_2-d-H_1}$.

Prasse 1974, 145: South Berber **ē-baḏaH*, pl. **ī-baḏāH-an*.

5.2. The closest cognates to Berber „night“ are found in the most widespread word for „night“ in Chadic languages, as first determined by Rössler (1979, 20; see examples from JI 256-57; Kraft 1981; Sölken 1967, 99-101)¹:

West:

Angas-Ankwe: Angas *paar*, Sura *par*, Gerka *piru* id. vs. *par-ra* „dawn“, Tal *p^hāi*, Yiwom *p^hwɔ:t^h* „night“ < **pār ~ *par* (Takács 2004, 281).

Ron: Kulere *máfōḏ*, Bokos *fwo'*, Daffo *fulul*.

Bole-Tangale: Bole *bōḏi*, Kirfi *búḏi*, Karekare *bèèḏi*, Dera *bóri* < **baḏi* (Schuh 1984, 211).

South Bauchi: Boghom *vōḏ*, Kir *fūt*, Tala *káfūr*, Jimi *berhudo*, Guruntum *bauru/vùru*, Zaar *gùvùḏi* etc. (Shimizu 1978, 28).

Bade-Ngizim: Bade *dəvig*, Ngizim *diviḏ*.

Central:

Tera: Tera *vidki*, Pidlimdi *viḏiti*.

Margi: Bura-Pela *viri*, Kilba-Pela *vəi*, Margi *vi'i*, Ngwaxi *viri*, Chibak *viri*.

¹ D'jakonov et al. (1981, 49) connected the Berber „night“ with Assyrian *bādu* „evening“, *biādu(m)* „to spend the night“, but a more archaic form is preserved in Akkadian *biātum* „to spend the night, stay overnight“, a derivative of *bītum* „house“ (CDA 35, 43, 46). Bade (West Chadic) *pūtē* „west“ and Kotoko (Central Chadic): Affade *butéh*, *fūtē*, Ngala *futé*, Klesem, Makari *futé*, Gulfei, Shoe *bute* „west“, are loans from Kanuri *fūte* „west“ (Sölken 1967, 200-01). On the other hand, D'jakonov et al. (1981, 73) connect the Chadic „night“ with South Semitic: Soqotri *bó'or*, Harsusi *ba'ar*, Mehri *bār* „voyager la nuit; avoir lieu pendant la nuit“ (but Leslau 1938, 92 related it to Hebrew *ereb* „evening“, Arabic *garb*) || East Cushitic: Saho *bar* „night; age“ (Vergari), Afar *bar* id. (Parker & Hayward) < East Cushitic **bar(r)-* „time, age, year“, while Sidamo *bero*, Kambatta *bere*, Gedeo *bere-k'e*, Burji *baray* „yesterday“ < HEC **bere* id. < East Cushitic **bar-/ber-/bor-* „yesterday“ (Sasse 1982, 34-35; Hudson 1989, 155, 171).

Higi: Higi-Nkafa *ɪvrɛ*, Fali Kiria *vɪllɛ*, Fali Gili *vɪrɔ̃dɪ*, Higi Futu *vidɪ*.

Bata: Gude *vɪda*, Nzangi *vədə*.

Lamang: Lamang *vidɪ*.

Mandara: Wandala *vəjɪá*, Glavda *áávəɖà*, Guduf *vide*, Dghwede *v(ə)dɪ*, Gava *vidɪyà*.

Sukur: Sukur *vət*.

Mafa-Mada: Mafa *vàɖ*, Muktele *vəɖ*, Mofu *tàvávɔ̃*, Gisiga *dùvúɖ*, Hurza *həvávɔ̃*, Vame *lùvávɔ̃*, Muyang *mə̀lávávɔ̃*, Mada *mə̀lárə̀vávɔ̃* < **(hu-la-)vavɔ̃* (Rossing 1978, 298).

Daba: Daba *vùdũ*, Musgoy *vədu*, Kola *vúɖú*.

Gidar: Gidar *dəfɖə*.

Kotoko: Afade *fádáy*, Maltam *fádáy*, Makari *fàɖáy*, Gulfey *fàɖáy*, Kuseri *̀nvàɖè*, Logone *̀nvàɖè*, Mazera *̀nvəɖáy*, Zina *lə̀və̀yən* < **faday* (Tourneux 2003, 119-20, 122).

Musgu: Musgu *nufúr*.

Masa: Zime-Batna *ndufun*.

East:

Sokoro: Sokoro *bàdũm*, Mawa *bədəŋ*.

5.2.1. There have also been several attempts to reconstruct the Chadic protoform:

Newman 1977, 29, #92: **bədɪ* „night“

Stolbova 1987, 154: Chadic: (West) **bardi* „night“.

Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow 1994, 128: **b-d* „night“.

Stolbova 1996, 22: Common Chadic **-bor-odi* „night“.

5.3. Egyptian *d* corresponds to both (a) voiced dental and (b) its emphatic counterparts in other Afroasiatic languages (EDE I, 240-48):

(a) Egyptian *dw3* „to praise“ ||| Semitic $\sqrt{d-l-l}$ id. ||| West Chadic **dal-* “to love, like”.

Egyptian *rd* “foot” ||| Semitic $\sqrt{r-d-y}$ “to tread, step” ||| East Cushitic: Somali *raad* “footprint, trace”.

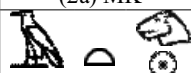
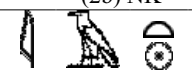
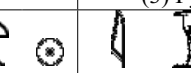
Egyptian *idmj* „red linen“ ||| Semitic $\sqrt{-d-m}$ “to be red” ||| Cushitic: (Central) Awngi *dəmmi* “red”, Kunfāl *demé* id. || East Cushitic **dum-/dim-* “red” || (South) Qwadza *dimayi-* “red” ||

(b) Egyptian *d3 /dr/* „niederschmettern, to subdue“ ||| Semitic: Arabic *ṭara’a* „to descend, befall“ ||| Berber $\sqrt{d-r}$ „to descend, go down into, fall“ ||| West Chadic: Ron: Bokkos *door*, Daffo-Butura *ɖor* “to descend”.

Egyptian *d3 /dl/* „to copulate, coire“ ||| East Cushitic **dal-* „to beget, give birth“.

Egyptian *qnd* „wütend werden, zürnen“ ||| Semitic $\sqrt{q-n-t}$ „züren“.

6. It remains to explain the first member of the hypothetical compound *3-bd* / *i-bd*. A good candidate could be Egyptian (2a) *3.t* „Zeit“ (Wb. I, 1) attested from the Middle Kingdom, known also from the variant (2b, 2c) *i3.t* „Zeitpunkt“ recorded in the New Kingdom (Wb. I, 27), or some formation of the verb (3) *i3* „weit schreiten“ (Wb. I, 26), known from the Old Kingdom and Pyramid Texts which may be a source of both *3.t* „Zeit“ and *i3.t* „Zeitpunkt“². The primary meanings of this hypothetical compound *„night-timer“ ~ *„night-timing“ or “walking through the night” represent a factual designation of the moon as a timekeeper.

(2a) MK	(2b) NK	(2c) NK	(3) Pyr, OK
			

7. In summary, assuming the preceding arguments are valid, it is possible to add the Egyptian counterpart to the Berber-Chadic isogloss „night“.

Abbreviations: HEC Highland East Cushitic; NK New Kingdom; OK Old Kingdom; Pyr Pyramid Texts; RG Rgved.

² Vycichl (1984, 56) derived *3.t* „time“ from one of three homonymous verbs *w3y* (i) „sich anschicken zu etwas, in einen Zustand geraten“, (ii) „kommen“, (iii) „sich einlassen“ (Wb. I, 246, 244). But none of these comparanda stand as semantically close to „time“ as „weit schreiten“. A parallel semantic development has been proposed e.g. for Germanic **aþnaz* & **aþnja* > Gothic dat. pl. *aþnam*, gen. pl. *at-aþnjis* “year”, Latin *annus* “year”, Umbrian *acnu* “annos”, Oscan *akenei* “in anno” < **atno-*, all from a verb preserved in Vedic *sám atasi* [RV I, 30.4] “du rennst darauf los”, *átamāna-* [RV II, 38.3] “wandering”. Maybe also Sanskrit (lex.) *atna-* “sun” is of the same origin. Similarly Old English *wadōl* „full moon“ vs. Old High German *wadalōn*, *wallōn* „to wander“, Middle Irish *fethid* „walks“ (see Schaffner 2004, 286). Vergote (1965, 93; 1973, 114) etymologized Coptic Sahidic *oo2*, Bohairic *io2*, Fayyumic *aa2* “moon” in a similar way, on the basis of Semitic *√r-w- h* > Arabic *rāha* „to go, travel“ & *√h-w-r* > Arabic *hāra* “to return”, Thamudic *hr* id., Geez *hōra* „to go (forth)” (Leslau 1987, 249-50; DRS 850-51). The Coptic word „moon“ is a continuation of Egyptian *ičh* “moon” (Old Kingdom) which can be vocalized as **yačhaw* and further derived from **wačhaw* with regard to use of the ‘moon-determinative’ (‘) in both the words “moon” and *wčh* “Körnerfrucht” (Wb. I, 289) < **wa3haw* < **warhaw*, while the traditional comparison with Semitic **wariḥ-* “month” is more problematic due to incompatibility of *h* vs. *ḥ* than metathesis (Vycichl 1984, 156). But there are other alternative comparanda of Egyptian *ičh* “moon” (EDE I, 280), namely in East Cushitic **le^c*- id. ||| West Chadic: South Bauchi **li(-N)* ||| South Berber **tā-lilit-t*, pl. **tī-liHlāH* „moon“ < “lunar month”, from *√l-H-H* (Prasse 1974, 170). On the other hand, for Egyptian *3.t* „time“ external comparanda have also been sought. Zyhlarz (1932-33: 165, #1) saw a cognate in Beja *’aá f*. „time, period“ (Roper) = *’át* „tempo“ (Cifoletti), but it could instead be an ancient loan. Orel & Stolbova (1995, 23, #85) compare *3.t* and *i3.t* with hypothetical West Chadic cognates from the Angas-Ankwe group: Angas *yi(i)* „year; time“, Mapun *yí* „year“, Chip *yīi* id., Goemai *yīi* „year“, Montol *yí* „time“ < **yí* „year“ vs. Sura *yit* „times“ = German *mal*, Mapun *yit* id. < **yit* (Takács 2004, 416, 419; see also Id. 1999, 102).

References

- Alojaly, Ghoubeïd. 1980. *Lexique Touareg-Français*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
- Appleyard, David L. 2006. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Agaw Languages*. Köln: Köppe.
- Barth, Heinrich. 1858. *Reissen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Central-Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 1855*, Bd. 5. Gotha: Perthes.
- Beguïnot, Francesco. 1942. *Il Berbero Nefûsi di Fassâtò. Grammatica, testi raccolti dalla viva voce, vocabolarietti*. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Biarnay, S. 1917. *Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif. Lexique, textes et notes phonétique*. Paris: Leroux.
- Blažek, Václav. 2008. A lexicostatistical comparison of Omotic languages. In *Hot Pursuit of Language in Prehistory. Essays in the four fields of anthropology in honor of Harold Crane Fleming*, ed. by John D. Bengtson. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: Benjamins, 57-148.
- Calice, Franz. 1936. *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wörtvergleichung*. Wien: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Institutes der Universität.
- Cid Kaoui, S. 1907. *Dictionnaire Français-Tachelh'it et Tamazir't (dialectes berbère du Maroc)*. Paris: Leroux.
- CDA *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, ed. by Jeremy Black, Andrew George, Nicholas Postgate. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2000.
- Cohen, Marcel. 1947. *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*. Paris: Champion.
- Cortade, Jean-Marie. 1967. *Lexique français-toureg: dialecte de l'Ahaggar*. Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques.
- Černý, Jaroslav. 1976. *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Dallet, J.-M. 1982. *Dictionnaire kabyle-français: Parler des At Mangellat, Algerie*. Paris: SELAF.
- Dallet, J.-M. 1985. *Dictionnaire Français-Kabyle: Parler des At Mangellat, Algerie*. Paris: SELAF.
- Delheure, Jean. 1987. *Dictionnaire ouargli-français*. Paris: SELAF.
- Delheure, Jean. 1984. *Dictionnaire mozabite-français*. Paris: SELAF.
- Destaing, Edmond. 1914. *Dictionnaire français-berbère (dialecte des Beni-Snous)*. Paris: Leroux.
- D'jakonov, Igor M. et al. 1981. *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskij slovar' afrazijskix jazykov*, Vypusk 1. Moskva: Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka, XVI, č. IV.
- DRB = Naït-Zerrad 1998-2002.
- DRS *Dictionnaire des racines sémitique*, fasc. 1-8, by David Cohen et al. Paris-La Haye: Mouton / Leuven: Peeters 1970-2010.
- DUL = *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in alphabetic tradition*, by Gregorio del Olmo Lete & Joaquín Sanmartín. Leiden-Boston: Brill 2003.
- EDE I, II = *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, Vol. I, by Gábor Takács. Leiden-Boston: Brill 1999, 2001.

- Ember, 1913. Kindred Semito-Egyptian Words. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 51, 110-121.
- Ember, Aaron. 1930. *Egypto-Semitic Studies*, ed. by Frida Behnk. Leipzig: Asia Major.
- Farina, G. 1924. Le vocali dell'antico egiziano. *Aegyptus* 5/4, 313-325.
- Gardiner, Sir Alan. 1988. *Egyptian Grammar*₃. Oxford: Asmolean Museum, Griffith Institute.
- HAL *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, by Ludwig Koehler & Walter Baumgartner. Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill 2001.
- Heath, Jeffrey. 2006. *Dictionnaire touareg du Mali: Tamachek-anglais-français*. Paris: Karthala.
- Hodge, Carleton. 1976. An Egypto-Semitic comparison. *Folia Orientalia* 17, 5-28.
- Hudson, Grover. 1989. *Highland East Cushitic Dictionary*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Ibáñez, Esteban. 1949. *Diccionario Rifeño-Español (etimológico)*. Madrid: Instituto de estudios Africanos.
- JI = Jungrathmayr, Herrmann & Ibriszimow, Dymitr. 1994. *Chadic Lexical Roots*, II: *Documentation*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Jungrathmayr, Herrmann & Ibriszimow, Dymitr. 1994. *Chadic Lexical Roots*, I: *Tentative Reconstruction, Grading, Distribution and Comments*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Justinard, (commandant). 1926. *Manuel de berbère Marocain (dialecte Rifain)*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Kossmann, Maarten. 1999. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*. Köln: Köppe.
- Kraft, Charles. 1981. *Chadic Wordlists*, I-III. Berlin: Reimer.
- Lafkioui, Mena. 2007. *Atlas linguistique des variétés berbères du Rif*. Köln: Köppe.
- Lanfry, J. 1973. *Ghadamès II: Glossaire (Parler des Ayt Waziten)*. Fort-National: Fichier.
- Laoust, E. 1931. *Siwa I: Son parler*. Paris: Leroux.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1938. *Lexique Soqotri (sudarabique moderne)*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1987. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Loprieno, Antonio. 1996. *Ancient Egyptian. A linguistic introduction*. Cambridge University Press.
- Masqueray, E. 1879. Comparaison d'un vocabulaire du dialecte des Zenaga avec les vocabulaires correspondants des dialectes des Chawia et des Beni Mzab. *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3ème série, Tome 15.
- Militarev, Aleksander. 1991. Istoričeskaja fonetika i leksika livijsko-guančskix jazykov. In: *Jazyki Azii i Afriki*, IV.2: *Kušitskie jazyki. Livijsko-guančskie jazyki. Egipetskij jazyk. Čadskie jazyki*. Moskva: Nauka, 238-267.
- Mitchell, Terence Frederick. 1957. Some properties of Zuara nouns, with special reference to those with consonant initial. In: *Mémorial André Basset (1895-1956)*. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 83-96.
- Mitchell, Terence Frederick. 2007. *Ferhat: An Everyday Story of Berber Folk in and around Zuara (Libya)*, with an introduction by Harry Stroemer. Köln: Köppe.
- Motyliniski, A. de C. 1898. *Le Djebel Nefousa*. Paris: Leroux.
- Motyliniski, A. de C. 1904. *Le dialecte berbère de R'edamès*. Paris: Leroux.

- Naït-Zerrad, Kamal. 1998/1999/2002. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères*. Paris-Louvain: Peeters.
- Nehllil. 1909. *Étude sur le dialecte de Ghat*. Paris: Leroux.
- Newman, Paul. 1977. Chadic classification and reconstructions. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 5/1, 1-42.
- Nicolas, Francis. 1963. *La langue berbère de Mauritanie*. Dakar: IFAN.
- Orel, Vladimir & Stolbova, Olga. 1995. *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill.
- Osing, Jürgen. 1976. *Die nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*. Mainz/Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Paradisi, Umberto. 1960. Il berbero di Augila. Materiale lessicale. *Rivista degli studi orientali* 35, 157-177.
- Paradisi, Umberto. 1963. Il linguaggio berbero di El-Fógāha (Fezzân). Testi e materiali lessicale. *Annali di Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli* N.S. 13, 93-126.
- Paradisi, Umberto. 1964. Testi berberi in dialetto di Zuara. *Annali di Istituto universitario oriente di Napoli*, N.S. 14.1, 415-419.
- Penchoen, Thomas G. 1973. *Tamazight of the Ayt Ndhir*. Los Angeles: Undena Publications (Afroasiatic Dialects, Vol. 1).
- Prasse, 1969. *À propos de l'origine de h touareg*. København: *Det kongelige Danske Videnskaberne Selskab Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* 43.3.
- Prasse, Karl-G. 1972/1973/1974. *Manuel de grammaire touaregue (tāhāggart)*., I-III, IV-V, VI-VII. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
- Rabin, Chaim. 1981. Ron-Semitic Etymologies. In: *The Chad languages in the Hamito-Semitic/Nigritic border area*, ed. by H. Jungraithmayr. Berlin: Reimer, 24-31.
- Renisio, A. 1932. *Étude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Sraïr. Grammaire, textes et lexique*. Paris: Leroux.
- Rossing, Melvin O. 1978. *Mafa-Mada: A comparative study of Chadic languages in North Cameroon*. Madison: Ph.D. Thesis of Niversity of Wisconsin.
- Rössler, Otto. 1964. Libysch-Hamitisch-Semitisch. *Oriens* 17, 199-216.
- Rössler, Otto. 1979. Berberisch-tschadisches Kernvokabular. *Africana Marburgensia* 12/1-2, 20-32.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1982. *An Etymological Dictionary of Burji*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Schaffner, Stefan. 2004. Mittelirisch *fethid* 'geht, macht seinen Weg', althochdeutsch *wadalōn*, *wallōn* 'umhergehen, wandern, umherwogen', altenglisch *waðuma* 'Woge, Welle', *waðōl* 'Vollmond', und Verwandtes. In: *Die Indogermanistik und ihre Anrainer*, ed. by Torwald Poschenrieder. Innsbruck: IBS 114, 277-314.
- Schuh Russell G. 1984. West Chadic vowel correspondences. In: *Current Progress in Afroasiatic Linguistics. Papers of the 3rd International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, ed. J. Bynon. Amsterdam - Philadelphia: Benjamins, 167-221.
- Shimizu, Kiyoshi. 1978. The Southern Bauchi group of Chadic languages. *Africana Marburgensia*, Special Issue 2, 1-50.
- Skinner, Neil. 1977. North Bauchi Chadic Languages: Common Roots. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 4/1, 1-49.
- Skinner, N. 1996. *Hausa Comparative Dictionary*. Köln: Köppe.

- Sölken, Heinz. 1967. *Seetzens Áffadéh. Ein Beitrag zur Kotoko-Sprachdokumentation*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Steingass, F. 1988. *Arabic-English Dictionary*. Jalandhar City: Gaurav.
- Stolbova, Olga V. 1987. Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja fonetika i slovar' zapadnočadskix jazykov. In: *Afrikanskoe istoričeskoe jazykoznanie*. Moskva: Nauka, 30-268.
- Stolbova, Olga. 1996. *Studies in Chadic comparative phonology*. Moscow: Diaphragma.
- Stumme, Hans. 1899. *Handbuch des Schilhschen von Tazerwalt*. Leipzig: Hinrich.
- Sudlow, David. 2001. *The Tamasheq of North-East Burkina Faso: notes on grammar and syntax including a key vocabulary*. Köln: Köppe.
- Takács, Gábor. 1999. The 'Aleph Problem' in Ancient Egyptian. *Rocznik orientalistyczny* 52/1, 101-121.
- Takács, Gábor. 2004. *Comparative Dictionary of the Angas-Sura languages*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Takács, Gábor. 2005. Aaron Ember and Establishment of Egypto-Semitic Phonological and Lexical Coparison (Part I). *Acta Orientalia Vilnensia* 6.2, 78-101.
- Taine-Cheikh, Catherine. 2008. *Dictionnaire zénaga-français*. Köln: Köppe.
- Tourneux, Henry. 2003. Le système consonantique des langues dites „kotoko“. In: *Topics in Chadic Linguistics. Papers from the 1st Biennial International Colloquium on the Chadic Languages* (Leipzig, July 5-8, 2001), ed. by Ekkehard Wolff. Köln: Köppe, 115-135.
- Vergote, J. 1965. *De verhouding van het Egyptisch tot de semietische talen*. Brussel: Paleis de Academiën.
- Vergote, J. 1973. *Grammaire Copte*, Tome 1. Louvain: Peeters.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1955. Der Umlaut in den Berbersprachen Nordafrikas. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 52, 304-325.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1959. Is Egyptian a Semitic language? *Kush* 7, 27-44.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1984. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*. Leuven-Paris: Peeters.
- Vycichl, Werner. 2005. *Berberstudien & A Sketch of Siwi Berber (Egypt)*. Köln: Köppe.
- Wb. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, I-V, ed. by Adolf Erman & Hermann Grapow. Leipzig: Akademie Verlag 1971.
- WPS = *Wortschatz der Pharaonen in Sachgruppen*, by Rainer Hannig & Petra Vomberg. Mainz: Zabern 1999.
- Zyhlarz, Ernst. 1933. Ursprung und Sprachcharakter des Altägyptischen. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 23, 25-45, 81-110, 161-194.

Acknowledgement:

The present study was prepared thanks to the grant of the Grant Agenture of the Czech Republic, P406/12/0655. The author would like to express his gratitude to John D. Bengtson for help with correction of English.

<blazek@phil.muni.cz>