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Angas-Sura Etymologies VIII

Introduction

The languages of the Angas-Sura (AS) group are spoken between the South-Eastern Plateau and the Benue river, Plateau State of Nigeria, by about 200.000 people in the estimation of H. Jungraithmayr (1981, 407). The Angas-Sura language group belongs to the West Chadic subbranch (cf. e.g. Jng. 1981, 407-8; Stl. 1987, 31; JI 1994 II, viii) of the Chadic branch, which, in turn, represents part of the great Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) language family (or phylum), which is divided into six equipotential cognate branches: Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Omotic, Chadic.

The best inner classification of the Angas-Sura group was suggested by C. Hoffmann (1971; 1975 MS, 2), who assumed Gerka to have been the first member split off from the group. The remaining group falls into three subgroups: (1) **Northern**: Angas, (2) **North-Eastern**: Sura, Mupun, Chakfem-Mushere Chip, Jorto, Kofyar, (3) **Southern**: Kanam (Koeniem), Pyapun(g), Tal, Montol, Goemai. On the basis of my own research on comparative AS phonology, I can state that the phonological isoglosses confirm the correctness of Hoffmann's inner classification. Henceforth, I use the following (slightly modified) inner grouping: (1) **Gerka**, (2) **Angas**, (3) **Suroid** languages (falling further on in two clusters: 3.1. Sura-Mupun vs. 3.2. Kofyar-Mushere-Chip according to the isoglosses of the complex AS $*g^y$ -), (4) **Goemaioid** languages (Kanam/Koeniem, Pyapun/Pyapung, Tal, Montol, Goemai).

The inner reconstruction of the Angas-Sura language group had only been elaborated in minor segments¹ until the first comparative lexicon of the Angas-Sura group has been completed (Takács 2004)². Now, it has become plausible to systematically deal also with the external cognates of the Angas-Sura lexical stock. The series „Angas-Sura Etymologies”³ is contributing to outlining the so far unknown background of Angas-Sura lexical stock primarily with new lexical parallels. In this issue of my series, the new external (Afro-Asiatic) correspondences of some of the Angas-Sura (AS) roots with initial *d- are discussed, collected mostly during my 2019 research on the Afro-Asiatic root stock with initial dentals in my Ederics library.

Some peculiar elements of the Afro-Asiatic background of the Angas-Sura historical consonantism

- A general devoicing of the voiced PAA stops in the Auslaut of the AS stems is a recent development. There are but a handful of records of older final *-b#, *-d#, and hardly any for *-g# (cf. Takács 2004, xxv-xxvi, xxxi, resp.).

¹ Thus, G. Greenberg (1958) surveyed the Angas-Sura roots beginning with labials pointing out the original labial triad *b - *p - *f inherited from Afro-Asiatic. O. V. Stolbova devoted two studies to the subject, using basically the Angas (Foulkes 1915, Ormsby 1913-4) and Sura (Jungraithmayr 1963) lexicons for the comparison adding some additional data from Chip, Montol, Gerka (collected and published by Jungraithmayr 1965). In 1972, she proposed a historical-comparative survey of the Proto-Angas-Sura consonant system in the light of some illustrative lexical material (2-3 exx. for each correspondence). In her 1977 paper, Stolbova presented 256 lexical roots and Proto-Angas-Sura reconstructions accompanied by a brief sketch of vowel correspondences. C. Hoffmann (1975 MS) offered a phonological (both consonantal and vowel) reconstruction of the Proto-Angas-Goemai level (on the basis of Goemai, Mernyang, Sura, and Angas) through 248 lexical roots. The West Chadic historical phonology by Stolbova (1987, 240-244) also contains a separate list of some 64 Proto-Angas roots.

² I express my cordial thanks for the constant and many-sided unselfish support yielded for my work by the great Chadicist, Prof. Herrmann Jungraithmayr (Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften, J.W.Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt a/M). I am greatly indebted also to the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (Bonn) for facilitating my research stays at Frankfurt a/M (1999-2000, 2002) as well as for funding the publication costs of the Angas-Sura comparative lexicon together with the OTKA (Hungarian National Scientific Research Fund, project nr. D 45976). I express my deep gratitude to the City Hall of Székesfehérvár (Hungary) for its „Lánczos-Szekfü” prize granted almost twenty years ago for an early phase of my research on the Afro-Asiatic background of the Angas-Sura lexicon, which I eventually began back in Sept. 1998 during my research at the Haifa University (funded by the OSI at Prague, which is gratefully acknowledged also in this place) with the guidance of the late Prof. A. B. Dolgopolsky (1930-2012), one of the greatest Afro-Asiatic or Semito-Hamitic comparativists of all times, may his memory be blessed.

³ The first part (AS roots with initial *b-) appeared in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 46 (2004), while the second one (AS roots with *b-) in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warsaw) 57/1 (2004), and the third issue (AS *p-) in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 48 (2006). The fourth part (AS *f-) has been published in *Folia Orientalia* (Kraków) 47/2 (2011), while the fifth part (AS *m- in monoconsonantal roots) in the *Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie* (Schoelcher, Martinique) 13-14 (2010). The sixth part (the rest of AS etymons with *m-) is forthcoming to appear *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warszawa) 74/1 (2021), while the seventh one in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 62/3 (2020).

Sometimes the devoicing of plosives may be observed even in other positions too under conditions that cannot be precisely known as yet.

- Labials basically reflect the original AA triad of *b, *p, *f as demonstrated by J.H. Greenberg (1958) and manifold corroborated by V.M. Illič-Svityč (1966, 9, 14-15), O. V. Stolbova (e.g., 1996, 15, §I.1.), and G. Takács (2001, 55; 2011, 148-152 etc.).
- AS *-VγV- < either an AA root medial „laryngeal” or a semi-vowel, i.e., where the -C₂- of AA *√C₁C₂C₃ was either *-h/?/h/?- or *-g/k/γ/h- or *-w/y-, but sometimes it is just epenthetic without a consonantal precedent (cf. Dolgopolsky 1982, 32-36).
- Original AA pharyngeals (*ʕ, *ħ) and laryngeals (*ʔ, *h) were mostly preserved in the Inlaut as AS *-γ- (above). In the Anlaut, normally, AA *ʕ- and *ʔ- > AS zero, while AA *ħ- and *h- > either AS *h- or zero. In the Auslaut, they mostly disappeared, but sometimes they developed in the contrary way, i.e., AA *ħ- and *h- may have resulted in AS *-k#.
- Final AS *-ŋ – beside being a natural result of an older nasal (*m, *n) + velar, of course – otherwise usually derives from the contraction of an AA medial nasal (*-m- or *-n-) + lost AA pharyngeal (*ʕ, *ħ) or laryngeal (*ʔ, *h), cf. already Illič-Svityč 1966, 33, fn. 11.

AS *ḍ = Eg. d ~ t = Brb. *ḍ = Sem. *ṭ < AA *ṭ

238. AS (or just Suroid?) *ḍayar “star” [GT 2004, 82]: (?) Gerka dar-kir (compound) [d- < *ḍ- or *z-?] “star” [Ftp. 1911, 220], Kfy. ḍàgar [reg. < *ḍayar] “star” [Ntg. 1967, 8], Msr. ḍakar [-k- reg. < *-γ-] “star”, ḍakar poo-bit “early morning star” (poo-bit “early morning”), ḍakar pya pee “the star shines the place” (pya “to shine”, pee “place”) [Dkl. 1997 MS] ||| Eg. *dw3 „(phonetic value of the hr̥gl. depicting a) „star (and a star in circle)” (Grd. 1927, 475, N14 and 476, N15, resp.) ||| Sem.: cf. perhaps Ar. √ṭr I „13. briller, se montrer (se dit, p.ex., des étoiles)” [BK II 64] < AA *√ṭ(w)r „star” [GT]. Gerka dar- may alternatively be equated with NOM.: Sheko ‘dertn „star” [Bnd. 2003, 217, #127].

239. AS *ḍak (var. *ḍak?) → *ḍək “to care for” [GT 2004, 82]: Angas ḍək (so, d-) “ein Baby versorgen” [Jng. 1962 MS], Gmy. ḍak “1. to attend upon a sick person or a sick beast, 2. look well after oneself” [Srl. 1937, 24] = ḍak “to heal” vs. dak [ḍak ~ dak] “to feed (e.g. chicken)” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 4, 6] ||| ES *√ṭnqq (epenthetic nasal?) „to be careful” [Leslau 1987, 594].

240. AS *ḍak (< *ḍʷak?) “true, truly (?)” [GT 2004, 82]: probably Angas o-ḍak (≈ o-gak) “okay” (≈ Hausa too “very well!”), Abr. 1962, 868) [ALC 1978, 50], Sura ḍak “2. tatsächlich, wirklich” (≈ Hausa dáí “indeed”, Abr. 1962, 170) [Jng. 1963, 63], perhaps Kfy. ší-dùk [< *ḍʷak?] “truth” (cf. AS *šik- “matter”?) [Ntg. 1967, 36] ||| ES: Geez ṭanqaqa „to be exact, strict, accurate, equal, fit exactly,

do sg. accurately, with precision or with attention, measure exactly, be accomplished” [Leslau 1987, 594]. Cf. the next entry.

241. Gmy. ḍak (adv.) “very (generally used with ḥal ‘hard’ only)” [Srl. 1937, 90], vars. in Gmy. toe-ṭak “entirely” [Srl. 1937, 252] vs. Gmy. tak-talak “very” [Srl. 1937, 236] ||| ES: Geez ṭəqqa „exactly, precisely, accurately, certainly, surely, completely, greatly, exceedingly, extremely, very (much), even, indeed, more, how much (more)!” [Leslau 1987, 596] = „exactement, complètement, beaucoup” [DRS 1109], usually explained from Geez ṭanqaqa „to be exact etc.” [Leslau]. Related to the preceding entry.

242. Angas ḍák “steckenbleiben” [Jng. 1962 MS] ||| Sem.: MSA *ṭyḳ: Mehri ṭəyāk and Jibbali ṭayāk „être collé, attaché”, eṭeyāk „marcher dans la boue” [DRS 1099: isolated in Sem.]. Alternatively, cf. the section for AS *ḍ secondary < AA *H + *d or *d + AA emphatics (below).

243. Gmy. *ḍam “to dive” [GT 2004, 83]: Gmy. ḍam’ [ḍám] “to dive”, cf. also ḍam ka “to pass over one’s head, be deep” [Srl. 1937, 26, 46] = ḍam “to dive, sink” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 6] ||| LECu.: Afar ḍūme „submerger (to sink)” [PH 1985, 94] ||| Sem. biconsonantal *ṭm „to sink (?)” [GT] > Ar. ṭamtama „nager, voguer au milieu des flots” vs. ES *ṭmʿ: Geez ṭamʿa „1. immerger, tremper, 2. teindre”, Tigrinya ṭāmʿe „plonger, tremper” (Sem.: DRS 1085, 1087).

244. AS *ḍaṇ “1. to wish (?), 2. beg” [GT 2004, 84]: Angas ḍaṇ “bitte, doch” [Jng. 1962 MS] = ḍaṇ “please” [ALC 1978, 12], Sura ḍaṇ “bitten, erbitten” [Jng. 1963, 63], Mpn. ḍaṇ (so) ~ ḍaṇ “to beg” [Frj. 1991, 14], Kfy. ḍaṇ “to beg” [Ntg. 1967, 9, 42], Msr. ḍaṇ “to beg” [Jng. 1999 MS, 4], Gmy. ḍaṇ “to prefer, like” (so) [Srl. 1937, 28] | Ron-Fyer ḍaṇ „bitten um, erbeten, betteln” [Jng. 1970, 84] ||| HECu. *ṭamʿ- „to ask”, *ṭamʿ- „question” [Hudson 1989, 22, 422] ||| Sem. *ṭmʿ [GT] > Ar. ṭmʿ > I ṭamiʿa „désirer ardemment, être avide de qqch., désirer obtenir”, ṭamuʿa „être avide, être rempli d’avidité”, cf. also ṭamaḥa I „4. chercher qqn. ou qqch. partout et avec persistance” [BK II 108 vs. 104, resp.] || Jibbali ṭmʿ > ṭōʿ „to desire, be greedy for”, ṭamʿ „desire, greed” [Jns. 1981, 278] || Tigre ṭāmʿa „(re)garder avec convoitise”, Tigrinya ṭāmməʿe „être pingre, avaricieux” (ES: DRS 1087) < AA *ṭmʿ „1. to wish, 2. ask (for)” [GT]. Cf. also AS *ḍem ~ *ḍom vs. *ḍwam “1. to desire (for flesh), lust, 2. be greedy, 3. want, love, agree” [GT 2004, 88] < AA *ṭm (below), the biliteral simplex of the present root. Another PAA root variety is represented by AA *ṭdm „1. to want, 2. look for” [GT] discussed s.v. AS *dem > *deṇ “to prefer, favour” [GT 2004, 68] (above).

245. AS *ḍaṇ “lizard sp.” [GT 2004, 84]: Angas ḍaṇ “lizard” [Ormsby 1914, 313], Mpn. ḍaṇ “monitor lizard” [Frj. 1991, 14], Gmy. ḍaṇ “the iguana, kind of

large sized lizard living near waters (two feet long)” [Srl. 1937, 28] = *ḍaŋ* “monitor lizard” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 6] ||| (?) Bed. *ḍan* ~ *ḍaʿan* [< metathesis * $\sqrt{t}^?m$ of * $\sqrt{tm}^?$] „gecko, house lizard” [Roper 1928, 177] ||| Eg. **dmj* [regular < * $\sqrt{tm}^?$], phonetic value of the „späte Hieroglyphe” depicting „ein eidechsenartiges Tier” (Zyhlarz 1934-5, 171) = „(Hieroglyphe 'Eidechse' mit der Lesung *dmj* e.g. in Philae I 102:13, II 87:1, Edfou VIII 75:1)” (Brunner-Traut, LÄ I 1205, n. 1, cf. LÄ VII 500) ||| possible Semitic reflexes < * \sqrt{tm} (with semantic shifts)⁴ corroborating AA * $\sqrt{tm}^?$ „lizard” [GT]. An ultimately related PAA root variety with plain **d-* must have also existed, cf. the following SAA varieties with diverse extensions:

(245.1) SAA * \sqrt{dm} [GT] > LECu.: PSam **ḍim* „tortoise” [Heine 1978, 56] ||| WCh. **dam-* „lizard” [GT]: Hausa *dámóó* „1. an iguana lizard” [Bargery 1934, 207] = *damo* „Kammechse” [Vycichl 1938, 135] = „1. land-monitor” [Abraham 1962, 182] | Sura **dam-* in *ḍàm-sàr* (compound)⁵ “Gecko” [Jng. 1963, 63] || CCh.: Mwulyen *dàmwàzá* „lizard” [Kraft 1981 III, 58, #171]. Already W. Vycichl (l.c.) surmised that the hieroglyph depicting a lizard-shaped animal with 4 legs (GT based on Wb V 453) with the phon. value *dm* „in den späten Schreibungen für *dmj* 'Stadt' könnte aber alt sein und mit Hausa *damo* 'Kammechse' zusammenhängen”. As an areal parallel cf. Nubian: Mahasi *dimō* „Chamäleon”, which already E. Zyhlarz (l.c.) combined with Eg. **dmj*.

(245.2) SAA * \sqrt{dmb} [GT] > Bed. *damba* „lizard” [Roper 1928, 171] ||| ECh. **dimbil-* „lizard sp.” [GT]: Bidiya *dimbil* (m) „gros lézard” [AJ 1989, 68] | Ubi *dimbil* „ver de terre” [Alio 2004, 269, #84].

(245.3) SAA/Ch. (also in AA?) * \sqrt{dng} [GT] > WCh.: perhaps Gmy. *diang* (so, *dia-*) in: *nem-mat-diang* “frog” (cf. AS **lam-wat* “frog”) [Ftp. 1911, 217] || CCh.: Musgu *dínjidiŋí*, pl. *dénjɛŋ* ~ *diŋediŋakái* „Eidechse” [Krause apud Lukas 1941, 51] = *diŋidiŋí* „lizard” [Kraft 1981 apud Mkr.] || ECh. **tiyaŋg-* (unexpected **t-*) „chameleon” [GT]: WDangla *tiyàngò* (*túiyàngò*?) (m), pl. *tiyaŋgina* „caméléon” (ar. *irbe*) [Fédry 1971, 163] | Kofa *tiyaŋ* (m) „chameleon” [Jng. 1977 MS, 13,

⁴ One wonders if Ar. *ṭamma* „6. courir rapidement, 7. être rapide, véloce”, \sqrt{tmy} I: *ṭamā* „passer avec rapidité” vs. *ṭimm-* „1. grand nombre, masse, foule” vs. *ṭimm-* „5. pénis d’une grandeur démesurée” [BK II 105, 110] preserve the traces of a lost word for „lizard” < AA * \sqrt{tm} „lizard” [GT]. Noteworthy, the very same semantic (resembling the typical attributes of lizards) spectrum appears in the case of Eg. ʕš3 „lizard” (MK/CT, FD 49; DCT 79) = „gecko” (Zyhlarz 1934-5, 171) = „Gecko (Hemidactylus spec.), Scheibenfinger” (ÄWb II 570) vs. ʕš3 „viel sein” (OK-, Wb I 228, 8-26) || Sem.: Ar. ʕšir-at- „4. plume de la queue d’un oiseau” vs. Ar. maʕšar- „1. réunion, assemblée d’hommes, de personnes ou de démons” vs. ʕšrab- „3. qui court avec rapidité, bon marcheur” [BK II 261-262]. E. Zyhlarz (l.c.) connected Eg. ʕš3 with Nubian: Mahasi *aža(r)*, Kunuzi, Dongola *aši* „Gecko”.

⁵ For its second component cf. AA * \sqrt{Sr} „lizard” [GT] > Eg. ʕš3 (root extension ʕ- ?) „lizard” (MK/CT, FD 49; DCT 79) ||| NOm. **zar-* „lizard” [Bender 1988, 151] ||| WCh.: Hausa *zarái* „the lizard zarya” [Brg. 1934, 1132], cf. also Hausa *záryáá* „a smooth-skinned skink with red sides, similar to *kul’ba* but much longer” [Brg. 1934, 1135] = „the skink *šäärindò* (= *mázáríi*)” [Abr. 1962, 970] || CCh.: (?) Mofu *màklàzàráw* (compound?) „lizard” [Rossing 1978, 285, #433.b].

#302] ||| (???) Eg. dngngs „Bez. der Uraeusschlange (an der Stirn des Königs)” (GR, Wb V 470, 8) = „l'uraeus” (Cauville 1997, 639).⁶

(245.4) An ultimately related quadriliteral extended AA root variety is represented by SAA $\sqrt{\text{dngr}}$ [GT] > P.Om. *dingar „snake” [Blažek 1989, 212 pace Cerulli 1951, 431] = *dingar „lizard” [OS] ||| WCh.: Hausa *ka-dàngàrè* (m), pl. *ka-dàngàruú* „lizard” [Abr. 1962, 442]⁷ | Karekare *dənkara*, Ngamo *də̀kùra* „lizard” (BT: Kraft 1981) || CCh.: PFali *danguɗ [-d- < *-rd-?] „chameleon” [GT]: Fali *tanerugu* [metathesis < *taneg^wur/d-?] „Chamäleon” [Strümpell 1910, 468], Fali-Mubi *dängüďä* „Chamäleon” [Strümpell 1922-3, 135], Fali-Bwagira *taŋgwùʔun* „chameleon” [Kraft], Fali-Mucella *taŋgwùʔu* „chameleon” [Kraft], Fali-Jilbu *taŋgüwi* „chameleon” [Kraft] | Gude *taŋgwùď* „chameleon” [Kraft] (CCh.: Kraft 1981 III, 8, 18, 28, 38, #179). For N.Om.-WCh. see Mukarovsky 1987, 244 and HSED #716.

(245.5) But both Skinner (l.c.; also 1995, 32) and Rössler (l.c.) affiliated it with Bed. *adangaláy* „Eidechse” [Rn. 1895, 8] = *dangálay* „lizard” [Roper 1928, 172], in which L. Reinisch (l.c.) segmented a basic stem *adang- + suffix *-aláy, which, if correct, would certainly discard any equation with P.Om. *dingar or other reflexes of this quadriliteral SAA root, where the same analysis is not possible, and, instead, would support a direct cognacy with AA $\sqrt{\text{dng}}$ under #3 above. By the way, after L. Reinisch (1888, 280), V. Blažek (1989, 217) combined the N.Om. stem above with a certain LECu.: Oromo *dāngalé* „Kaulquappe” [Rn.] = „tadpole” [Blz.], which is, however, not attested in this shape in the lexicon either by G. da Thiene (1939, 91) or by G. Gragg (1982, 98). A remote cognate from WCh.: Dera *gəndəl* [metathesis < *dangalʔ] „lizard” [Kraft 1981 II, 133, #171] = *gandal* [Skinner], adduced in comparison with the Bed. and Chadic terms above by N. Skinner (l.c.), might in principle point to a sporadic SAA $\sqrt{\text{dngl}}$ „lizard”.

246. AS $\sqrt{\text{dār}}$ “to tremble” [GT 2004, 85] ||| Eg. *d3* (reg. < $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$) „zittern (von den Fingern, Füßen, vom Kopf)” (Med., Wb V 415, 1), *d3.wt* „das Zittern” (CT-, Wb V 415, 2), *sd3* (caus.) „zittern” (PT-, Wb IV 365-366) < AA $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$ [GT]. Its root variety with a PAA plain voiceless $\sqrt{\text{t-}}$ is attested in Sem.: Akk. (Bab. Lit.) *tārāru* „zittern”, (younger Bab.) *tārāru* „Zittern” [AHW 1325] || Ar. *tartara* „1. agiter, secouer” [BK I 195] = „to move, (be) shake(n), tremble” [Ehret] ||| SCu. $\sqrt{\text{tarar-}}$ „to tremble, shake” [Ehret]: Ma’a *-taráʔi* „to shake” | Dahalo *tarar-* „to tremble, shake” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 169, #8). For Ar.-SCu. see also Ehret 1995, 143, #176.

⁶ Alternatively, see entry #201 in my „Angas-Sura Etymologies VII”.

⁷ The Hausa form was rightly segmented by N. Skinner (1981, 175, #12), whereas O. Rössler (1983, 332, #1.09), erroneously assuming a shift of *r* < $\sqrt{\text{l}}$ in the Hausa word (hardly the case in the light of the above parallels), derived it from an ill-founded AA $\sqrt{\text{qdngli}}$ (sic: $\sqrt{\text{i!}}$) set up on the basis of unrelated parallels. Like ES: Amhara *ʔəṇqāqəla* and NAgaw: Qwara *ʔəṇḥalḥala* „Eidechse”.

247. AS *ḏā₂r⁸ “(to)morrow” [GT 2004, 85-86] < Ch. *ḏ-(r) „tomorrow” [NM 1966, 240] = *ḏr [GT] ||| HECu. *dar- „morning” [GT: irreg. *d- for **ḏ-]: Had- iyya dara „morning”, cf. Kambatta sōdarāro „early morning” (*darār- contracted with sōz- „to dawn”) [Hudson 1989, 89] ||| Eg. dw3.w „1. Morgenfrühe, 2. morgige Tag” (MK-, Wb V 422-423) = „1. dawn, morning, 2. tomorrow, the morrow” (FD 310). Further parallels are just as obscure as the ultimate etymology of the underlying AA word (*ḏtr or *ḏwr or *ḏrr [GT]?).⁹

248. AS *ḏek ~ *ḏik > *ḏək “1. to shake, 2. sift, winnow” [GT 2004, 87] ||| NBrb.: Wargla ṭteḡteḡ „frétilier, se trémousser de contentement, de joie, sautiller” [DRB 457: isolated in Brb.] | Qabyle ṭeyṭey ~ ṭeyḏey „bouillonner, crépiter, pétiller (liquide), radoter” [DRB 478] ||| Sem.: (?) Syriac ṭāḥīḥ (DRS: ṭāḥīḥ!) „inquiet” [Brk. 1928, 272 cited in DRS 1071] | Ar. ṭayw: I ṭayā „6. être agité, en fureur (se dit de la mer, des vagues), 7. bouillonner, être en mouvement (se dit du sang)” [BK II 86]. The C₂ correspondences (e.g., Wargla -g- vs. Qabyle -ḡ- or Syr. -ḥ-, even if < *ḥ- vs. Ar. -ḡ-) are sometimes irregular.

Root varieties with plain voiced or voiceless stops (*d- or *t-) are attested in SBrb.: Ahaggar ḥetəḡtəḡ „palpiter” [Prasse 1969, 70, #416] ||| Eg. ṭḥṭḥ „verwirren, verworren sein, in Unordnung geraten sein, zerknittern” (MK-, Wb V 323, 8-13; GHWb 939) = „1. to make disturbance (PT 392d), 2. disorder (hair) (Urk. V 87:4, Herdsman 25), 3. crumple (papers) (CT IV 385d)”, adj. „inimical” (AEPT 251, utterance 607, n. 3, also p. 330) = „to mess up, disorder” (Allen 2000, 471) ||| Sem.: Ar. dayḏaya „6. troubler (l’esprit etc.), 7. agiter, remuer” [BK I 707].

249. AS *ḏe₂l ~ *de₂l (?) “top” [GT 2004, 67]: Gerka del-la “south”¹⁰ [Ftp. 1911, 221], Angas n-dil-ke (so, d-) “on, over, above, etc.” [Gel. 1994, 111], Mpn. ḏél (prep.) “on top” [Frj. 1991, 15], Msr. deel (sic: d-, false vowel length?) “peak of a hill, mountain, tree” [Dkl. 1997 MS], Gmy. ḏèl’ [ḏél] “a crest of hair running from the back of head to the forehead (seen among hillmen)” [Srl. 1937, 30].

⁸ Contrary to my earlier assumption (Takács 2004, 86), there was no AS variety *ḏā₂ya₂r, neither a primary sense „morning star”, since Kofyar ḏàgar [< *ḏayar] “star” [Ntg. 1967, 8] is the reflex of AS *ḏayar “star” (above) with a regular -g- instead of being an irregular match of the Suroid (Sura, Mupun, Mushere, and Chip) reflexes of AS *ḏā₂r (without *-ḡ-) „star” pointing to an AS var. *ḏā₂ya₂r. the

⁹ Any connection to either of (1) ECU. *ḏawr- „to prevent” [Sasse 1979, 46] or (2) ECU. *ḏur- „preceding, previous, to be in front” [Blažek pace Sasse 1982, 58] ||| WCh.: Nbauchi *(n) d-r „to begin” [Skinner 1977, 12] = *[n]dar- [Stl. 1987, 172] ||| ECh.: WDangla dūryè «inaugurer, commencer» [Fédry 1971, 199] or (3) Sem.: Syr. ṭawrā „espace de temps” | Ar. ṭawr- „i.a. fois, limite, phase” || Mehri, Harsusi ṭawr „temps, fois” (Sem.: DRS 1067)?

¹⁰ „North” being „the bottom” in AS. For the formation of “north” < “bottom” in Gerka on the analogy of “south” < “top” see AS *der > *ḏər “bottom” [GT 2004, 68-69] > i.a. Gerka der-dwal “north” [Ftp. 1911, 221]. Or cf. AS *tel “1. bottom (?), 2. depth” [GT 2004, 361] > Montol tel “north” [Ftp. 1911, 219].

May be akin to either of the following AA root varieties. Cf. AA $\sqrt{t}l$ > LECu.: Somali $d\acute{a}/\acute{a}lo$ „Scheitel, Spitze des Kopfes” [Rn. 1902, 135] ||| Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{t}l$ IV „2. paraître sur une hauteur, émerger, se lever, apparaître”, VI „allonger le cou ou se dresser sur les orteils pour voir mieux et plus loin”, X „2. regarder d’en haut ce qui est en bas” [BK II 92; DRS 1078: isolated in Sem.], also Sem. $\sqrt{t}l^c$ (root ext. $\sqrt{t}l^c$) „to ascend” [GT after DRS 1080]. Cf. also AA \sqrt{dl} > LECu.: Somali dul „1. Oberseite, -fläche eines Gegenstandes, 3. als Richtungspartikel und adv.” [Rn. 1902, 109] = $d\acute{u}l$ „2. (prep.) on, over, 3. up above, upstairs, 4. top” [Abr. 1964, 68] = dul „top part of sg.” [Ehret 1995, 131 #137 with different etymology] ||| NBrb. $\sqrt{dl}VI$ „temple of head” [GT]: Shilh $ta-dlal-t$ „tempe”, CA Algerian dial. $a-dlil$ „tempe”, Wargla $ta-dlal-t$ „tempe, côté du front” (NBrb.: DRB 328).

250. AS $\sqrt{d}em \sim \sqrt{d}om$ vs. \sqrt{d}^*am “1. to desire (for flesh), lust, 2. be greedy, 3. want, love, agree” [GT 2004, 88] = \sqrt{d}^*em “to desire for good food, esp. meat” [Dlg.] || ECh. $\sqrt{d}yem$ „to like” [GT] > WDangla $\dot{d}im\acute{e}$ „aimer” [Fédry 1971, 208] | Mubi $\sqrt{z}em$ „wollen” [Lukas 1937, 183] = $\dot{d}y\acute{im}$ ($\dot{d}yem$, $\dot{d}yimm\grave{a}$) „aimer” [Jng. 1990 MS, 12], Birgit $\sqrt{z}eem\acute{a} \sim \sqrt{z}oom\acute{í}$ ($\sqrt{z}oom\grave{a}$, $\sqrt{z}oom\grave{o}$) „aimer” [Jng. 2004, 355] < AA $\sqrt{t}m$, whose root extension is represented by AA $\sqrt{t}m^c$ „1. to wish, 2. ask (for)” [GT] examined s.v. AS $\sqrt{d}a\eta$ “1. to wish (?), 2. beg” [GT 2004, 84] (q.v. above). Another PAA root variety is represented by AA $\sqrt{d}m$ „1. to want, 2. look for” [GT] discussed s.v. AS $\sqrt{d}em$ > $\sqrt{d}ej$ “to prefer, favour” [GT 2004, 68] (above).

251. AS $\sqrt{d}en \sim \sqrt{d}en$ “to put” [GT 2004, 89]: i.a. Angas den (sic: $d-$) “to place, put down” [Flk. 1915, 166] = $\dot{d}en \sim \dot{d}en$ “setzen, legen, stellen, plazieren, fixieren, erschaffen” [Jng. 1962 MS] = $\dot{d}en$ “to place” [ALC 1978, 13] = $\dot{d}en$ “to put down” [Krf.] = (usual) $\dot{d}en$, (hill) $\dot{d}in$ “to put” [Gcl. 1994, 33, 72], Mpn. $\dot{d}een$ “to put on, lay” [Frj. 1991, 15], Kfy. $\dot{d}en$ “to put, place” [Ntg. 1967, 9] etc. ||| Eg. $w\acute{d}n$ „einsetzen (als König), setzen (auf Thron)” (PT, Wb I 389, 13; GHWb 228) > „die königliche Titulatur urkundlich festsetzen” (NK-, Wb I 389, 11) = „1. (PT) to instal (as god or king), 2. (XVIII./Urk. IV) record (royal titulary)” (FD 73), cf. $w\acute{d}n$ „vom Niederwerfen der Feinde” (XIX., Wb I 389, 10) ||| Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{w}tn$: I $wa\acute{t}ana$ „séjourner qq. temps dans un lieu et s’y habituer”, II „choisir un lieu pour s’y fixer, le prendre pour son séjour”, IV „se domicilier, s’établir” [BK II 1563; DRS 529] = II „to dispose and subject one’s mind or o’self to do a thing”, IV and X „to take for o’self as a home, settle place of abode or residence”, $wa\acute{t}an-$ „the place of abode, constant residence, dwelling, home” [Lane 3056]¹¹ < AA $\sqrt{t}n$ (hence NAA $\sqrt{w}tn$) „1. to set(tle) down, 2. fix” [GT].

¹¹ For the semantic shift in Ar., cf., e.g., Cpt. (SALBF) $\sqrt{w}tn$ etc. „1. legen, setzen, werfen, 2. stürzen, stoßen, hinzufügen, 3. sich niederlassen, sich aufhalten, bleiben, wohnen”, as noun (m) „Aufenthaltort, Wohnort, Platz usw.” (KHW 284).

252. AS *ḍe/ēs “1. many, 2. large, great” [GT 2004, 89]: presumably Gerka det [t reg. < *s] “power” (lit. “greatness”?) [Ftp. 1911, 219], Sura ḍés “1. viel(e), 2. groß, 3. bedeutend, mächtig” [Jng. 1963, 64] = (ḍi)ḍés “large” [Krf.], Mpn. ḍés “big, large”, ḍées “many, very much” [Frj. 1991, 15], Msr. ḍees (so, long -ee-, error) “plenty” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 224] = ḍés “plenty”, ḍés “much” [Jng. 1999 MS, 4] || ECh.: (?) Ubi ḍisse „colline” [Alio 2004, 270, #99] < *, „big, huge” (?) || Common Brb. *ṽḍs > *a-ṭṭas „beaucoup, trop” [DRB 498] || Sem.: Ar. ṽṭys: I ṭāsa „être nombreux”, ṭays- and ṭaysal- „1. grand nombre, nombre immense, incalculable, essaim, myriads (se dit, p.ex., en parlant du sable, de l’eau, des insectes)” [BK II 130; DRS 1073: isolated in Sem.] < AA *ṽṭys „many” [GT].

253. AS *ḍiṽin (var. *ḍuṽun?) → *ḍəṽən (var. *ḍəṽən in Suroid?) “inside” [GT 2004, 92] = *ḍəṽən “inside (n.)” [Dlg.] || LEg. ṭṭn „entrer, pénétrer en un lieu” (GR: Dendara VIII 152:1, AL 78.4603) < Eg. *ṽṭṭn „1. to push (into), 2. penetrate” (GT) with the regular shift of AA *-ṽ- > Eg. *-ḥ- in the proximity of a dental (cf. EDE I 326-327) || Sem. *ṽṭṭn „1. to thrust at, 2. penetrate” [GT]: cf. esp. Ar. ṭaʿana I „3. pénétrer dans l’intérieur, s’enfoncer dans l’intérieur des terres, du désert” [BK II 85]. For more details on this AA root cf. Suroid *ḍuṽun “to copulate” [GT 2004, 96], also AS *ṭuṽun “1. to push (into), 2. pinch” [GT 2004, 385-386]. Root variety with plain *d- and *-g- attested in WBrb.: Zenaga e-degni „chambre centrale” || SBrb.: EWlmd. e-dgen „s’enfoncer (dans une activité)” (Brb.: DRB 305: isolated in Brb.).

254. AS *ḍiṽir (hence *ḍṛ > *ḍūr through mergers) “1. elevation of ground, 2. shore” [GT 2004, 92]: Sura ḍiṽir “Land, Festland” [Jng. 1963, 64], Msr. ḍikir “1. riverbank, 2. over to another river-bank, 3. edge or margin” [Dkl. 1997 MS], Gmy. ḍūr [ḍūr] “an elevation, a rising on the ground” [Srl. 1937, 43] || Eg. tw3 „1. stützen, 2. hoch-, an-, emporheben, 3. tragen” (PT-, Wb V 248-250) || Sem.: Ar. ṭawr- and ṭūr- „montagne”, cf. ṭa/iwār- „longueur et largeur d’une maison, aire” [BK II 118] < AA *ṽṭwr „to raise” [GT]. The same AA root is present also in AS *ṭəṽər „to raise”, also „anthill” [GT 2004, 382] (cf. „Angas-Sura Etymologies VII”).

255. AS *ḍiṽir > *ḍəṽər “to carry load on head (balancing)” [GT 2004, 92] = *ḍəṽər “to carry on head” [Dlg.]: Angas ḍiir “to carry on head” [Hfm.] = ḍər “to carry on the head” [ALC 1978, 14], Sura ḍiṽir “auf dem Kopf tragen, balancieren” [Jng. 1963, 64] = ḍiṽir “to carry on head” [Hfm.], Kfy. ḍəṽər “to carry on head” [Hfm.], Gmy. ḍūr [ḍūr] (verb), used in the following expression only: ḍūr lê “to carry a load on one’s head without holding it with the hands” [Srl. 1937, 43] = ḍṭūr [ḍūr] “to carry on head” [Hfm.] = ḍūr [ḍūr] “to carry on head” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 7] (AS: Hfm. 1975, 20, #84; JI 1994 II, 62) || Eg. tw3 „1. stützen, 2. hoch-, an-, emporheben, 3. tragen” (PT-, Wb V 248-250) < AA *ṽṭwr „to raise” [GT]. In other words, this AS entry etymologically eventually represents the same AA root as seen in AS *ḍiṽir “elevation of ground” [GT 2004, 92] (above).

256. PAngas *ḍim > *ḍəm “to finish” [GT 2004, 92] ||| Eg. tmm „verschließen, verschloßen sein” (PT-, Wb V 308, 5-9; ÄWb I 1432), cf. tmm „von einer Wunde die sich unverwünscht schließt” (Med., Wb V 308, 10), also tmtm „être annihilé” (GR: Dendera, Cauville 1997, 616) ||| LECu. *ḍa/i/um- „to come to an end” [Apl.]¹² = „1. to be finished, end, 2. be completed” [GT]: Afar ḍimmo „full stop (of punctuation)” [PH 1985, 92] | PSam *ḍam-mē „to finish” [Heine 1978, 79] = *ḍam-may- [Apl.] > e.g. Somali = šo ḍán [-n < *-m#] „complete, entire”, ḍamm-ānayya „A) 1. to come to an end, 2. be ready, 3. end in sg., B) 1. to perish, 2. be worn out”, ḍamm-ānayya „to finish sg., complete sg., end”, ḍamm-ān „1. end, completion, 2. speak out, 3. completely do” [Abr. 1964, 47] = ḍamm-ād „end”, ḍamm-ayn „to have finished or have done” [Farah-Heck 1993, 176] | Oromo ḍum „1. aufhören, zu Ende gehen, 2. sterben” [Rn.] = ḍumu „1. finire, terminare, 2. essere finito, terminato, ultimato, 3. essere annientato, sterminato, soppresso, distrutto, consumato” [da Thiene 1939, 117] = ḍuma „to come to an end, be finished” [Gragg 1982, 131] = ḍum- „to end”, ḍum-aḍ- „to perish, come to an end” [Apl.] (LECu.: Reinisch l.c.; Apl. 2006, 67) ||| Sem. *ṣṭm „to stop, close” [Zaborski 1971, #267] > *ṣṭmm: Akk. ṭummumu D “(Ohren) verschließen, taub machen” [AHW 1394] || Hebrew ṣṭmm: nəṭammonū „are stopped up, ‘wooden-headed’ [KB 376], MHebrew and Jewish Aramaic ṭmm “verschließen, verstopfen” [Levy 1924 II 166] = qal “to fill up, stop”, itpe. “to be covered up, buried”, palp. “to close (around)”, itpalp. „to be closed” [Jastrow 1950 I 540] = „to stop up, block” [KB 376], Syriac ṭamm „boucher, obstruer” [DRS] = ṭmm „to shut, close, stupefy” [Zbr.] | Ar. ṣṭmm I “to fill up, choke up etc.” [Lane 1877] = I “3. remplir jusqu’aux bords (un vase ou un puits)”, VII „être rempli, comble” [BK II 105] = „to stop up” [Zbr.] || Tigrinya ṭememe „fermer les yeux et la bouche à un mourant” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 1086) vs. Sem. *ṣṭm: Hebrew ṣṭm qal „1. to stop up (one’s ears), 2. (archit. term as part., of a window) closed, barred, framed (?)” [KB 37] | Ar. ṣṭm IV “fermer (une porte)” [BK I 39] = ṣṭm “serrer, fermer”: I ṣṭma “être resserré

¹² Under this common ECU. reconstruction, D. Appleyard (l.c.) seems to have forced together words indicating at least 3 or 4 diverse ancestral roots that can semantically be distinguished from one another: (1) the LECu. forms discussed above in the main entry stem from a basic sense „to complete, close, stop” neatly agreeing with that of the Sem. comparanda, while (2) this is hardly the case with LECu.: Saho ḍame (intr.) „to be melted, dissolved” [Vergari 2003, 74], Afar ḍam-(i) se (tr.) „to dissolve” [PH 1985, 90], whereas (3) also Somali ḍin [-n < *-m#] „Abnahme, Abgang”, intr. verb „abgehen, mangeln, fehlen, weg sein”, tr. „verkürzen, vermindern, etw. abziehen, wegnehmen vom ganzen”, ḍim-ad „Abgang, Mangel, Entgang, Verlust”, ḍim-o „1. sich vermindern, abnehmen, 2. sterben”, ḍim-an „1. (pass. part.) vermindert u. dgl., 2. (adj.) abgänglich, mangelnd, fehlend” [Rn. 1902, 138] = ḍim-ayya „to reduce, have shortcomings”, ḍim-ānayya „to die”, ḍim-ašo „to die, death”, ḍim-ād „putrefaction” [Abr. 1964, 62; Farah-Heck 1993, 176] appears to represent yet another, etymologically distinct root. (4) D. Appleyard (l.c.) included in his LECu. etymology also Konso ḍum- „to set (of the sun)” [Apl.] with right hesitation, since this form seems to clearly represent a distinct ECU. root, cf. Saho ḍume „to set (of the sun), grow dark” [Vergari 2003, 76], Afar ḍūme „to sink (submerger)” [PH 1985, 94].

(to be constricted)”, ʔaṭama “rétrécir (l’orifice d’un puits), to narrow (the mouth of a vessel)” [Blachère 147] = „to stop up, close” [Zbr.] (Sem.: Zaborski 1971, #267) < AA *√ṭm „to close” [GT]. For Eg.-Sem. see Erman 1892, 122; GÄSW 41-42, #99; Vergote 1945, 144, #21.b.11; Cohen 1947, #33; Ward 1962, 400-2, #4; HSED #2467.

Cf. also a remote PAA root variety with plain voiced *d- discussed s.v. AS *dim → *dēm “to finish (?)” [GT 2004, 71-72] < AA *√dm „to (be) finish(ed)” [GT] (with many further details discussed above).

257. AS (Angas-Goemay) *dō → *dʷə “to fall” [GT 2004, 94] vs. **AS *ṭā**, “1. to fall, 2. descend” [GT 2004, 377-378] ||| LECu. *ḍa₁ “1. to fall, 2. attack, come” [Black 1974, 204] > PSam *ḍā^ᶜ-i “to fall upon” [Heine 1978, 57]: i.a. Somali ḍā^ᶜ „1. fallen, 2. untergehen (Sonne, Mind, Stern), 3. einfallen, eintreten, 4. überfallen usw.” [Rn. 1902, 124] || SCu.: Dahalo ḍi^ᶜ-am- „to go down” [Ehret 1980, 190-191 with false etymology] ||| Brb. *√ḍ „tomber” [DRB 440-441, s.v. √ḍ₁] < pre-PBrb. **√ṭʷ [Rössler] = < **√ṭw^ᶜ [GT] > e.g. SBrb. (Twareg) *u-ḍu „fallen” [Rössler]: EWlmd. u-ḍu “tomber, tomber au combat” [PAM 1998, 47] ||| Sem.: Ar. √ṭw^ᶜ I (ṭā^ᶜa) „1. obéir à qqn.” [BK II 119] < AA *√ṭ^ᶜ „to fall” [GT]. For the Twareg-Somali etymology see also Rössler 1964, 207 (with mistaken reconstruction). The trans. sense of the same AA root is to be seen in LECu.: Somali ḍā^ᶜ „6. hart bedrängen (durch Gewaltherrschaft)” [Rn. 1902, 124] ||| Eg. ḍḥ (reg. < *√ṭ^ᶜ pace EDE I 326-327) „nieder-, unterwerfen, angreifen usw.” (XIX., Wb V 483-484; GHWb 986) ||| Sem.: Ar. √ṭw^ᶜ II „1. rendre obéissant, soumettre” [BK II 119].

A remotely related root variety with plain AA *d- is also attested in Sem.: Dathina dawwa^ᶜ, dayya^ᶜ, dā^ᶜ „(faire) descendre” [Landberg GD 898 quoted in DRS 237, 255: isolated in Sem.] ||| SCu.: Ma’a dī „beneath, under” [Ehret 1980, 190-191] ||| NOm.: Kefoid/PGongan *dih- „to fall, stumble” [Fleming]: Kaffa diḥ- „(на) падать” [Dlg.] = diḥ- „to fall”, caus. dič- „to cause to fall” [Fleming], Mocha dihi- „падать” [Dlg.] = diḥ-i-ye „to fall”, diṣ-s-i-ye „to cause to fall” [Fleming: < *dih-s- or *dihs- → *diṣs-], Shinasha de-ti „падает” [Dlg.], Shinasha-Wombera dial. diḥ-a „to fall, stumble” [Fleming], Shinasha-Amuru dē-ti „he fell” [Beke apud Fleming] (NOm.: Dlg. 1966, 74, #5.29;¹³ Fleming 1987, 148, #8) < AA *√d(w/y)^ᶜ „to fall” [GT]. A root variety with plain AA *t- is also attested in Sem.: Ar. ta^ᶜasa I „3. tomber, 5. être mis par terre, déposé” [BK I 199] ||| SCu. *ta^ᶜ-at- (med.) „to fall”, caus. *ta^ᶜ-as- „to fell” [GT] > Asa taʔ- „to fall” | Dahalo ṭa^ᶜ-āḍ- „to trap” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 169, #13 and #14 with false reconstruction).

¹³ A.B. Dolgopolskij (l.c.) combined the Kefoid parallels mistakenly with LECu.: Somali daʔ „leichter Regenfall, ein Spritzer”, as tr. verb „regnen, Wasser spritzen, sprengen” [Rn. 1902, 35] = (so: d-) „падать (о дожде)” [Dlg.].

258. Gmy. *ḏū (hence *ḏ^uē) “1. to put (into)” [GT 2004, 93] ||| SCu. *ḏa^c- „to insert, put into” [Ehret]: Alagwa ḏa^c- „to thrust into” | Dahalo ḏa^c- „to insert, put into” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 189, #11) < AA *ṽṭ^c „to put into” [GT].¹⁴

259. Suroid *ḏuyun “to copulate” [GT 2004, 96]: Mpn. ḏúhùn ~ ḏúun [-h- reg. < *-γ-] “to have sex, sexual intercourse” [Frj. 1991, 16], Kfy. ḏùgun & ḏwagan (repeated action) “to copulate” [Ntg. 1967, 11] ||| Eg. *ṽṭhⁿ „1. to push (into), 2. penetrate” (GT) with the regular shift of AA *-ṽ- > Eg. *-ḥ- in the proximity of a dental (cf. EDE I 326-327), cf. Eg. ṭhⁿj „to be pierced, injured (?)” (CT, DCT 741) vs. LEg. ṭhⁿ „entrer, pénétrer en un lieu” (GR: Dendara VIII 152:1, AL 78.4603) vs. Dem. ṭhⁿ „Stempel” (DG 654) ||| Sem. *ṽṭ^cn „1. to thrust at, 2. penetrate” [GT]: Ug. ṭ^cn G „durchbohren”, N „niedergestoßen werden” [WUS 121, #1123] = G „to attack, destroy” [DUL 886], Hebrew ṭ^cn pual „durchbohrt werden” [GB 278] = „to be pierced” [KB 377] | Ar. ṭa^cana I „1. frapper avec une lance, lui porter un coup de lance, et l’en blesser, 2. (fig.) lancer contre qqn. des propos injurieux, médire, calomnier, déchirer qqn., 3. pénétrer dans l’intérieur, s’enfoncer dans l’intérieur des terres, du désert” [BK II 85] = „mit der Lanze durchbohren” [WUS] || MSA *ṽṭ^cn „donner un coup de corne, poignarder” [DRS]: Harsusi ṽṭ^cn: ṭōn „to thrust at” [Jns. 1977, 128], CJibbali ṭa^cán, EJibbali ṭ^cán „to thrust at, stab, butt” [Jns. 1981, 273], Mehri ṽṭ^cn: ṭān „to thrust at so. (usually with a dagger), butt” [Jns. 1987, 405], Sq. ṭa^can „piquer” [Lsl. 1938, 206] (Sem.: DRS 1098). See also HSED 519, #2480 (AS-Ar.). The same AA root is present also in AS *ḏiyin (var. *ḏuyun?) → *ḏəγən (var. *ḏəγən in Suroid?) “inside” [GT 2004, 92] and AS *ṭuyun “1. to push (into), 2. pinch” [GT 2004, 385-386]. Root variety with plain *d- and *-g- attested in WBrb.: Zenaga e-degni „chambre centrale” || SBrb.: EWlmd. e-dgen „s’enfoncer (dans une activité)” (Brb.: DRB 305: isolated in Brb.).

260. Suroid *ḏuyun [GT 2004, 96]: Mpn. ḏúhùn [-h- reg. < *-γ-] “to be superior” [Frj. 1991, 16] ||| Eg. dhⁿ.t „Felswand, Bergvorsprung, Bergspitze” (NK-, Wb V 478, 11) = „mountain, top, peak, summit, promontory, hilltop” (DLE IV 139) ||| Sem.: Ar. ṭuhⁿ-at- „homme grand et stupide” [BK II 114; DRS 1059: isolated in Sem.].

261. AS *ḏuṇ “elevation of ground” [GT 2004, 97] > Mpn. ḏúṇ “riverbank” [Frj. 1991, 16], Mnt. dong (so, -o-) “hill” [Ftp. 1911, 217], Gmy. ḏung maar “the top of a furrow (ḏiang maar is the depression between two furrows)” [Srl. 1937, 42] vs. AS *ḏ^ueṇ ~ *ḏ^ua₂ṇ “1. upper part, 2. up” [GT 2004, 101], cf. also AS *ṭiṇ

¹⁴ As for the SCu. stem, it has to be emarked here that Ch. Ehret (1995, 137, #157) equated a certain PCu. *ḏa^c- „to insert, enter” [Ehret] ||| Sem.: Ar. *ṽḏ^c „to put into, stick into” > ṽḏ^cd^c „to fill the dish”, ṽḏ^cs „to fill, pierce”, ṽḏ^clq „to go deeper into the water” [Ehret]. But this comparison has little evidence value. For instance, the PCu. *d- is hardly correct in the light of the SCu. data, while the reconstruction of a PSem. Basic sense „to put into” can hardly issue from the Ar. *comparanda*.

(var. **ṭuŋʔ*) > **ṭəŋ* “1. high, 2. upper part, 3. sky” [GT 2004, 384], AS **ṭəŋ* “1. to sprout, 2. grow” [GT 2004, 379] and AS **ṭuŋ* “heap” [GT 2004, 387] ||| NBrb.: Shawya ḍumm „mettre en tas” [DRB 469 with a different etymology] ||| (???) Eg. tmḥ „praise” (GR 1x: Edfu III 176:1-2, PL 1145)¹⁵ ||| Sem.: OSA: Sabaic ṭmḥ „qui est en amont” [SD 153], Ar. ṭamaḥa „1. élever, porter vers le haut (ses yeux, ses regards), 2. être élevé, porté vers un point plus élevé (se dit des regards), 6. emporter, enlever, ravir”, II „1. élever les deux pieds de devant en l’air (se dit d’un cheval qui s’élance à la course), 2. lancer en haut (l’urine en urinant)” [BK II 106], Sudanic Ar. ṭamaḥ „monter, déborder (lait, eau, vagues ...)” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 1085). The underlying AA **ṭmḥ* „to raise” [GT] may be of biconsonantal origin, cf. Ar. ṭmḥ I: ṭamā „1. s’élever bien au-dessus du sol, être haut (se dit des plantes d’une taille considérable), 2. (fig.) être haut, élevé (se dit d’esprit, de la pensée), 3. être plus grand, plus haut que ..., dépasser qqn. par sa taille, 4. être rempli, gonflé par la masse d’eau” [BK II 110].

262. AS **ḍʷam* ~ **ḍʷam* “to die (of sickness or be killed?)”: Kfy. dwám “to die of sickness, perish (pl. obj.)” [Ntg. 1967, 8], Msr. ḍuwam (pl. of tuh) “to kill” ~ var. duwaam (sic: d-) “to kill” [Dkl. 1997 MS] ||| LECu.: perhaps Oromo ḍum „1. aufhören, zu Ende gehen, 2. sterben” [Rn. 1902, 138] ||| LEg. tmtm „être annihilé” (GR: Dendera, Cauville 1997, 616) ||| Sem.: Ar. ṭūm-at- „1. mort, 2. calamité, malheur” [BK II 125; DRS 1065: isolated in Sem.] < AA **ṭwm* „to perish” [GT]. In this case the AS var. **ḍʷam* has to be regarded secondary < **ḍʷam*.¹⁶ Presumably ultimately cognate with the AA root specified s.v. PAngas **ḍim* > **ḍəm* “to finish” [GT 2004, 92].

AS **ḍ* = Eg. *ḍ* = Brb. *** = Sem. **ṣ* < AA **ṣ*
 AS **ḍ* = Eg. *ḍ* = Brb. *** = Sem. **ṭ* < AA **ṭ*
 AS **ḍ* = Eg. *ḍ* = Brb. **ḍ* = Sem. **ṣ* < AA **ṣ*

263. AS **ḍap* ~/< **ḍab* “to lift up, take up” [GT 2004, 85] > cf. esp. Angas dap “to take” [Flk./Mgd. 1911, 383] = dab ~ dap “to lift up, carry (Hs. ḍauka)” [Flk. 1915, 163] = ḍap “aufnehmen, einsammeln” [Jng. 1962 MS] = ḍap “to lift” [Jng. 1963, 274] = ḍap “1. to lift, 2. hold” [Krf.] | Hausa ḍíibà „1. (b) to gather, pluck, (c) scoop up” [Abr. 1962, 210] < Ch. **ḍVb-* „to pluck, gather (fruit)” [CLD III 111, #307 sine AS] ||| Eg. ḍb „sammeln” (GR, Wb V 553, 1) ||| SBrb. **ḍb* [DRB]: Ahaggar ṭub-et „être réuni en masse, être tous réunis sans exception, se réunir en masse (p.)” [DRB 444: isolated in Brb.] ||| Sem.: Ar. ḍbb I „7. prendre qqch. avec toute la

¹⁵ With a semantic shift as seen, e.g., in English exalt < Latin altus „high, deep”, similarly translated into Hungarian magasztal „to exalt” < magas „high”.

¹⁶ And so its coincidence with Sem.: Hebrew dūmā „silence” (hence in Middle Hebrew: also „the angel of death”), dūmām „1. quiet, silence, 3. underworld” [KB 216] may be due to pure chance.

main, en ramassant, p.ex., les bouts, pour les tenir dans la main, de là: 8. s'emparer de tout, empoigner tout", II „1. empoigner une chose, prendre avec toute la main", IV „3. s'emparer d'une chose toute entière, l'empoigner en ramassant tous les bouts ou toutes les parties, se rendre entièrement maître de qqch., et tenir ferme" [BK II 2-3] < AA * $\sqrt{\text{čb}}$ „2. to pick up and collect all" [GT], whose 1st sense „to r(a)ise" may have been preserved by Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{dbw}}$ IV „8. enlever, ôter", cf. also $\sqrt{\text{šb}}^?$ I: $\text{šaba}^?a$ „1. se lever (se dit d'une étoile)" [BK I 1305 and II 8, resp.], which testifies to a PAA root variety * $\sqrt{\text{čb}}$ [GT]. This PAA root pair is presumably ultimately related to that whence Ch. * $\sqrt{\text{čVb-}}$ „pile" [CLD III 162, #652] > WCh.: e.g., Hausa cibi (ts-) „pile" as well as Ch. * $\sqrt{\text{č}}\text{VbV}$ „abundance" vs. Ch. * $\sqrt{\text{čVb-}}$ „to pile up" [CLD III 111, #310 and #310.a sine AS] > WCh.: e.g., Hausa đibi „thing placed on another, 2. surplus" [Abr. 1962, 211] = đibi [Hodge] ||| Sem.: cf. Ar. đabba „1. être attaché, s'attacher" [BK II 2] may have originated from. Noteworthy is that the underlying PAA varieties, viz. * $\sqrt{\text{čb}}$ vs. * $\sqrt{\text{čb}}$ „3. to heap up and collect all" [GT] survived also in Semitic, but with a C₃ root extension *-r in both cases, cf. Ar. đabara I „2. ranger, mettre en ordre (les pierres, etc.), 3. assembler, réunir (les feuillets en cahiers)", II „1. assembler, réunir" [BK II 5] vs. Ug. šbr-t „Schar" [WUS #2301], Hebrew $\sqrt{\text{šbr}}$ qal „aufhäufen, aufschütten", šibbur „Haufe" [GB 762] | MAram. $\text{šibbūr} \sim \text{šibbūrā}$ „Menschenhaufe, Versammlung, Gemeinde" [Levy 1924 IV 167] = „Gesamtheit, Versammlung" [WUS] | Ar. šabara I „11. entasser, amonceler, accumuler, mettre en tas sans peser ni mesurer (p.ex., des grains)" [BK I 1305] > šubr-at- „Getreidehaufen" [WUS] ||| WCh.: Zaar cóbər „rubbish heap" [Caron in CLD]. C.T. Hodge (1969, 109, #21) has already affiliated some of the Hausa, Twareg, and Ar. parallels above with Eg. wdb „6. Opfer umleiten" (OK-, ÄWb I 402) = „to divert offerings" (FD 76) > db.w „Einkünfte, Zuwendungen" (OK-, WB V 553, 4) = „revenue, which, however, derive from a root with a fully different basic sense (Eg. wdb „to turn")).

264. AS * $\sqrt{\text{đār}}$ (var. * $\sqrt{\text{đer}}$ in Msr.) „1. to stand, 2. stay, 3. stop" [GT 2004, 85]: Gerka dir (sic: d-) [-i- obscure] „to stand" [Ftp. 1911, 220], Angas dar (sic: d-) „1. to stand, 2. stop" [Ormsby 1914, 315] = daar (sic: d-) „to stop, stay" [Flk. 1915, 164] = đaar „stehen bleiben" [Jng. 1962 MS] = đar „to stand, stop", cf. đar tur „to resist" [ALC 1978, 13] = đar [đār] „to stand up" [Krf.] = (Pang, plains) đār , (hill, Garam) dór (so, -o-) „1. to stand, stop", ka đar-đar „standing" [Gcl. 1994, 33, 37, 109], Sura đār „stehenbleiben, bleiben" [Jng. 1963, 63], Mupun đār „to stand (about living things, including trees), step, stand up, wait" [Frj. 1991, 14], Kofyar đār (sg.), đyaram (pl.) „to stay, stand" [Ntg. 1967, 9], Mushere $\text{đar} \sim \text{đer} \sim \text{deer}$ (sg.), đirang (pl.) „1. to stop, end (verb or noun?), 2. stand, wait", đe(e)r-tiktik „(to stand) without movement, motionless, inactive" [Dkl. 1997 MS] = đer „stand(ing)" vs. đer „end" (lit. “stopping?") [Jng. 1999 MS, 4], Tal đái [-i < *-r#] „to stand" [IL], Mnt. dai (sic: d-) [-i < *-r#] „to await", cf. dai-bien „to delay" (lit. “to stay behind”),¹⁷ yal-dai [-i < *-r#] „to

¹⁷ Mnt. bien < AS * $\sqrt{\text{pwoyōn}} \sim \sqrt{\text{pwiyin}}$ or * $\sqrt{\text{pwe}_2\text{ye}_2\text{n}}$ “hind part, buttocks" [GT 2004, 43].

stand” (lit. „to rise and stand”)¹⁸ [Ftp. 1911, 214, 216, 220] | Hausa cáyà [ts- < *ç-, reg. change of -y- < *-r-] „to stand” [Abr. 1962, 881] | Fyer ɗar „to stand” [Jng.] | Maha ɗeri „to stand” [Nwm.] | Nbauchi *çurw- → *çərw-, „1. to stand, 2. stop, wait” [Skn.]: Warji çərw-, Miya, Mburku, Kariya, Tsagu şər-, Pa’a çura, Siri çuru, Diri şala (Nbauchi: Skinner 1977, 42) < WCh. *çVr- „to stand” [CLD III 180, #766] || CCh.: Zime-Batna càr [ts-] á sém „to stand” [Scn.] || ECh.: Kwang ɗyèrē „to stand” [Jng.] | Mubi-Toram *ɗār- „1. to stand, 2. stellen” [GT]: Mubi ɗaar „sich hinstellen, stehen”, ɗér „hinstellen” [Lukas 1937, 181] = *ɗaar „to stand” [Bender-Doornbos 1983, 78, #77] = ɗār (ɗār, ɗidàār) „s’arrêter, rester debout” [Jng. 1990 MS, 10], Minjile *ɗéyru „to stand” [Bnd.-Drn.], Kajakse ɗaarù (impér.) „se tenir debout”, ɗaarà „debout” [Alio 2004, 241, #87-88], Masmaje ɗaarù „s’arrêter, freiner” [Alio 2004, 281, #52] etc. (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 304-305) || SBrb.: perhaps EWlmd. a-zyar, pl. i-zyar-ān „2. (poét.) „bouclier” [PAM 2003, 929] || (?) Eg. ɗr (unless *ɗl)¹⁹ „1. fernhalten von (r) jem., 2. e. Zustand (Hunger, Zustand o.ä.) beseitigen, 3. aufgehalten werden (Fuss, Schreiten, Schritt)” (PT-, Wb V 595, 5-9; GHWb 1011; ÄWb I 1507c; ÄWb II 2851a-b) = „wohl: gebannt sein, (etwas ähnliches wie rth) einschränken, hemmen, beängstigen (?), vorenthalten (mit r der Person), (den Fuß, den Schritt) hemmen,

¹⁸ Cf. AS *ya₃ya₁l “to rise” [GT 2004, 411].

¹⁹ The Coptic evidence seems to speak for OEg. *-l in this root reconstructed as IIIae inf. *√dlj „fern/aufhalten” suggested by J. Osing throughout his NBÄ (p. 38, p. 203, p. 738, n. 896, cf. KHW 572) in the light of (SL) **ⲭⲱⲱⲗⲉ**, (L) **ⲭⲱⲗⲉ**, (S) **ⲭⲟⲟⲗⲉ**+ „1. (intr.) to be hindered (?), 2.(tr.) (L) stop, make cease” > (L) **ⲭⲗⲉ** (m) „hindrance (?)” (CD 766b) = (SL) **ⲭⲱⲱⲗⲉ** etc. „1. hindern, hemmen, anhalten, beenden, 2. bleiben, aufhören” (KHW 419) = (SL) **ⲭⲱⲱⲗⲉ** etc. „(zum) aufhören (bringen)” > (ML) **ⲭⲗⲉ** (m) „1. Hindernis, 2. Zaun” (Osing) – all this is, however, not in a necessary contradiction with the AA etymology above in the light of the number of instances of anomalous Cpt. (outside F) **ⲗ** < Eg. r < AA *r or vice versa: Eg. r- = AA *l- contra Cpt. **ⲡ**- collected by G. Takács (2005, 82-83), which is corroborated by the history of Cpt. (ML) **ⲭⲗⲉ** (m) „Hindernis, Zaun” vs. (B) **ⲉⲗⲟ**, **ⲉⲡⲟ** (m) „Wand, Mauer, Wall, Zaun, Hecke” and (B) **ⲉⲡⲱ** (f) „Wand, Mauer”, all explained by J. Osing (NBÄ 658, n. 695, p. 668, n. 734, p. 891, Nachtrag zu S. 418) ultimately from the same Eg. verbal root reconstructed by him as *√dlj „fern/aufhalten” and its nominal derivatives: cf. ɗrj „(Um)Wall(ung), Umfassungsmauer” (OK-MK, NBÄ, cf. Wb V 598, 11-12) = „enclosing wall (?)” (FD 323) = „*Mauer, Palissade” (ÄWb II 2852b), pl. tante ɗr.w „Teil des Hauses oder seiner Ausstattung” (MK, Wb V 601, 2) = ɗrj.w „Zäune (?), Wände (?)” (NBÄ) = „*Mauern des Hauses” (ÄWb II 2852a) vs. ɗrw.w „Seitenwand” (OK, ÄWb I 1508) = „Wand” (LEM 415, 12:3; WD I 240) vs. ɗrj.t „wall (?)” (FD 323) = „ein Gebäudeteil (teilweise schon Wand, Mauer)” (NBÄ), hence denom. (?) ɗrj „ein/umschließen” (CT I 386a, ÄWb II 2852b), which, however, are all, in turn, evidently akin to Sem.: OSA: Qatabanian √šyr „to wall, embank” [Richs 1989, 135], Sabeian √šyr „to wall, embank” [Biella 1982, 422-423], Dathina šir-at „Einfriedigung” [Miessner/GD] = „enclos de pierres à hauteur d’homme” [GD 2161] = stone fence” [Biella], resp. Cf. also the special isgloss of Sem.: Ar. √šyr I „1. se faire, devenir tel ou tel, finir par être tel ou tel” [BK I 1391] = „2. entstehen, werden” [Torczyner apud GD 2161] || Eg. ɗr „1. i.a., to end up as (aux. vb.)” (FD 323) = „schließlich sein, *beinahe (sein)” (GHWb 1011) || WCh.: Mushere *ɗer „(to) end” [Jng./Dkl.] (above). The same anomaly may appear in Cpt. (SF) **ⲭⲱ(ⲱ)ⲗⲉ** etc. „sammeln, ernten, (Steuern) einziehen” (KHW 419 with a different, albeit semantically vague etymology) < (?) Eg. ɗr^c „(ob) sammeln (?)” (XX., Wb V 603, 4) vs. Sem.: Ar. √šwr I „8. réunir, rassembler” [BK I 1383] || WCh.: AS *ɗuyur “to sum up, collect all (?)” [GT] (in detail see below).

(den Zutritt) verwehren” (PT 235a, 162a, 622d, 625d, 976d, resp., ÜKAPT I 204 and IV 266, resp.) = „1. to end (hunger), 2. hinder, obstruct” (FD 323), hence also Eg. *ḏr* „obstacle” (CT, FD 323) = *ḏr.w* (Pleneschreibung 1x unter Hatshepsut) „Hindernis” (Osing) = „Behinderung, Hindernis” (CT VII 514j, ÄWb II 2851b) and *d3* „to be blocked” (CT, DCT 814) ||| Sem.: OSA (Sabea) *šrr* „to stay, stand (demeurer, rester debout)” [SD 147], cf. Ar. *šarra* I „3. dresser les oreilles et les serrer contre la tête (se dit d’un cheval quand il écoute)”, III „retenir qq., et le contraindre à qqch.”, IV „3. persévérer, persister dans qqch.”, VIII „être étroit, resserré (se dit d’un sabot petit et comme pincé)”, mu-širr- „1. persévérant, qui persiste dans qqch. et poursuit avec opiniâtreté qqch.” [BK I 1325-1327] vs. Ar. *√šry*: I *šarā* „5. retenir (l’urine ou le sperme) dans ses reins, et de là: s’abstenir du commerce sexuel”, *šariya* „être retenu dans le canal (se dit de l’urine ou du sperme), 2. croupir, être à l’état de stagnation au point de se gâter (se dit de l’eau)”, II „réservé, mettre à l’écart et empêcher de traire une femelle pour faire augmenter la quantité de lait” > *šarā-t-* „1. tout ce qui reste à l’état de stagnation et croupit, p.ex., eau stagnante, sperme arrêté dans le canal, etc., 2. femelle qui n’a pas été traitée pendant quelques temps” [BK I 1336] vs. Ar. *√šyr* (whose basic sense was conceived by Torczyner as „1. stehen, 2. entstehen, werden”, cf. GD 2161) II: *šayyara* „3. arrêter (p.ex., l’eau dans son cours)” [BK I 1390-1391] || MSA **√šwr* [Jns.] > Harsusi *√šwr*: *šōr* „to stand, stay”, *ašwōr* „to stand (tr.), stop, hold off, get sg. to stand still” [Jns. 1977, 117], Jibbali *šor* „to stand (up)” [Ricks] = *√šwr*: *šōr* „to stand” [Jns. 1981, 243], Mehri *š/zâr* „stehen (bleiben)” [Jahn, Bittner quoted in GD] = *šâr* „to stand (up)” [Ricks] = *√šwr*: *šōr* „to stand”, *həšwūr* „to make (sg.) stand, stand (sg.)” [Jns. 1987, 368], Soqotri *šer* „retenir, refuser, renvoyer, séparer” [Leslau 1938, 351] = *šər* „to hold back” [Biella 1982, 422-423] (Ar.-MSA: also GD l.c.; Ricks 1989, 135) < AA **√čr* „1. to stand, 2. stop, obstruct” [GT].

265. AS *ḏa₍₂₎r* (?) “to excuse” [GT 2004, 86]: Angas de (sic:plain d-) [loss of *-r#?] “excuse” [Flk. 1915, 165], Msr. *ḏar* aku “to excuse” [Dkl. 1997 MS] ||| Eg. *d3.w* „protection magique (?)” (NE Mag., AL 78.4865) = „Schutzzauber” (WMT 995) ||| Sem.: Ar. *√šry* I „2. éloigner de qq. un mal, un danger, etc., 3. sauver, délivrer qq., 6. se séparer, se mettre à l’écart” [BK I 1336]. Curiously, the same special (original?) sense „to save, deliberate from sg. bad” appears in both the Egyptian and Semitic roots, whence it appears right to assume a NAA **√čr* „to save” [GT].

266. Mpn. **ḏā_{1/2/3}r* > *ḏāar* “to scream” [Frj. 1991, 14] ||| Sem.: Ar. *√šrr* I „4. crier (se dit du bruit que fait une plume sur le papier quand on écrit, ou des dents qui grincent, ou d’une porte qui tourne sur ses gonds, des grillons, des cigales, etc.)”, 5. gronder, mugir, rugir (se dit du vent, etc.)” [BK I 1325-1326]. The Ar. root was combined with semantically dubious WCh. parallels in HSED 103, #433.

267. Gmy. **ḏā₍₃₎r* (perhaps < AS **ḏa₃ya₃r*?) “confession” [GT 2004, 86]: Gmy. lap *ḏaar* ~ *ṭoem ḏaar* “to confess” (lap “to answer”, *ṭoem* “to say”) [Srl. 1946, 55]

= door (so, -oo-) “confession” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 6] ||| ECu. *tār- „to swear” [Apl. 1991, 23] = *čar- „клясться” [Dlg. 1973, 126] = *dār- [GT] ||| Sem. *√thr: MSA: Sabaic h-hr „to testify, witness, certify”, hr „document, certificate” [SD 171], Ar. √hr I „1. (ap)paraître, 2. être clair, évident, 4. divulguer”, IV „1. faire voir, manifester, montrer, 2. proclamer, témoigner hautement, 7. réciter qqch. de mémoire, ce qu’on sait par coeur”, VI „1. paraître, se faire voir, se déclarer (se dit d’une chose), 2. montrer qqch., mettre en avant” [BK II 143-144] (Sem.: DRS 1126) < AA *√čhr „to declare” [GT]. Cf. its ancient root variety with PAA *s- (?).²⁰

268. Gmy. *ḍā₃r (perhaps < AS *ḍa₃ya₃r?) > **Gmy. ḍāâr** [ḍoôr] “the perineum” [Srl. 1937, 23] | Hausa tsáraá „middle of back from neck to coccyx” [Abr. 1962, 878] || ECh.: Kera čečerká „Rückgrat, colonne vertébrale” [Ebert 1976, 35] < Ch. *čVr- „spinal cord” [CLD III 216, #986] ~ var. *čahar- [GT] ||| (?) Eg. ḍ3j.w „hump” (CED) = „bosse” (AL 77.5136) = „Buckel” (GHWb 994) > Cpt. (SB) ጸዑ, (B) ለጸዑ „crook-back” (CD 753b; CED 309) = „Buckliger” (KHW 412) ||| Sem. *tahr- (with no *-h- in Ugaritic) „back” [Klein 1987, 542] < AA *√čr „back, bottom of torso” [GT]. The Goemay word has been tentatively combined by G. Takács (2004, 96) with **Suroid *ḍuyur** “kidney” (discussed below, q.v.) < AS **ḍ^wayar or **ḍoyor (?) [GT]²¹ ||| LECu.: Somali-Jiddu žōro (ž’-) „kidney” [Ehret: ž’- < ECu. *č-] = čarrə „Niere” [Lamberti 1986, 262, 353 with a dubious alternative derivation], which appears to be semantically plausible (cf. Eg. dp.t „kidney” vs. AA **√dP „back”). O.V. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) has already combined the Hausa-Kera parallel with PSem. *tahr-, whereas Ch. Ehret (1995, 291, #550) has already equated the latter with the Jiddu term (above).

269. Sura ḍēē “verloren gehen, sterben” [Jng. 1963, 63] ||| Eg. ḍ^c „wüst liegen” (XIX., Wb V 534, 12; GHWb 998) > Cpt. (S) ጸላጤ, (FM) ጸላዝ „Wüste, Einöde” (NBÄ 412) ||| Sem. *√šy^c „to be spoiled, perish” [Dlg.]: Ar. √ḍy^c I ḍā^ca „1. périr, 2. être perdu”, II „1. laisser tomber, perdre ou répandre ce qu’on avait sur eus, des richesses, le temps précieux”, ḍāyi^c- „vide (en parlant des intestins)”, ma-ḍī^c-at- „1. perte, ruin, 2. qui perd souvent, toujours qqch.” [BK II 47] = „to perish, be lost” [Dlg.] || Harsusi √zy^c „to spoil”, Jibbali √zy^c „to become thin, go waste,

²⁰ Attested in AS *s^he₂ye₂r → *s^həyər ~ var. *s^hē₂r (without *-y-) “to swear, oath” [GT 2004, 332] vs. AS *s^hē₂r (Mnt. var. *s^hwar?) “1. to confess, disclose (a secret), 2. regret, 3. (make) excuse” [GT 2004, 332] ||| NA₂gaw *car- „to swear” [Apl. 1991, 23] = *cā/ar- „to swear an oath” [Apl. 2006, 131] ||| Eg. sr „to show sg. to, sy. into” (MK, FD 235) = „to (be) show(n)” (DCT 519) = „zeigen, einführen, *geleiten” (ÄWb II 2280) ||| Sem.: Ar. √srr IV „2. divulguer (un secret), 3. confier un secret à qqn.” [BK I 1074]. Cf. OS 1992, 177.

²¹ Phonologically fully possible, cf. AS *ḍuyur, pl. *ḍ^wayar (> Gmy. *ḍa₃ya₃r) “1. to block, 2. cover, 3. lock” [GT 2004, 76].

get lost”, Mehri \sqrt{zy}° „to waste, lose money” (Sem.: Dlg. 1987, 208, #96)²² < AA $*\sqrt{cy}^{\circ}$ „to get lost, go waste” [GT].

270. AS $*\delta el$ “1. to pass by, 2. cross, 3. go in” [GT 2004, 87] || ECh.: Mgm. $\delta yil\ddot{o}$ ($\delta yil\ddot{e}$, $\delta y\ddot{e}l\ddot{a}a$) „(dé)passer, se terminer” [JA 1992, 82] || NBrb.: (?) Tamazight a- δel „être enfoui” [DRB 462: var. to \sqrt{dl}] || Eg. δj „1. überfahren (auf die andere Flußseite), (hin)überfahren, kreuzen, (Gewässer) durchschreiten, 2. durchfahren, durchziehen (Land, Himmel), 3. übersetzen usw.” (OK-, Wb V 511-513; GHwB 992) = „to ferry s’one across water, cross (sky)” (FD 318) || Sem.: Ar. \sqrt{dl} I „1. s’écarter de la ligne droite, prendre une fausse route (se dit de l’homme), 2. aller, s’égarer qq. part, et ne pas arriver au but (se dit des choses ou des arguments faux)”, cf. \sqrt{dly} I ($\delta al\ddot{a}$) „périr”, V ($\delta all\ddot{a}$) „rechercher la société des hommes égarés” [BK II 33, 36, resp.] < AA $*\sqrt{cl}$ [GT]. A remotely related PAA root may be seen in SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr \sqrt{zly} : $\delta -z\ddot{l}ay$ „i.a. mettre à part, séparer” [PAM 2003, 918] || EBrb.: Ghadames \sqrt{zl} : $\delta \ddot{z}il$ „être absent, parti” [Lanfry 1973, 424, #1790] || Sem.: Ar. \sqrt{zll} X „3. sortir du fond, de l’intérieur du corps, etc. (se dit du sang)” [BK II 136] < AA $*\sqrt{cl}$ [GT]. Both PAA roots above may have primarily meant „1. to transgress, 2. pass away, depart” (or sim.).

Alternatively, if AS $*\delta -$ < AA $*t-$, or simply as a root variety, one might compare (also) Sem.: Ar. \sqrt{tlh} (root extension $*-h$?): I $\delta alaha$ „traverser (un pays) en se traînant lentement, comme un homme fatigué” [BK II 103] || Amh. $\sqrt{twtlwtl}$: $\delta \ddot{a}nt\ddot{o}l\ddot{a}l\ddot{t}ol\ddot{a}$ „1. marcher à pas courts et rapides, courir de ci de là, 2. regarder avec inquiétude de tous côtés” [Baeteman quoted in DRS 1065: isolated] || Eg. δndn [reg. < $*\sqrt{tltl}$] „durchwandern” (PT, Wb V 470, 12-13) < NAA $*\sqrt{tl}$ „to transgress (or sim.)” [GT].

271. Gmy. $*\delta em$ (or $*\delta u_m$?) “remainder” [GT 2004, 88] || Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\delta mm}$ II „1. continuer, persévérer, persister dans qqch., 2. raffermir, maintenir avec force” [BK I 1366].

272. AS $*\delta en$ (var. $*\delta en$?) “to prevent, keep back” [GT 2004, 89]: presumably Gerka $\delta un-\delta ang$ (so, $-u-$!) “to prevent” (δang obscure) [Ftp. 1911, 219], Angas δen “to hinder” [Ormsby 1914, 209] = δen “to prevent, stop (someone)” [Flk. 1915, 166] = $\delta \acute{e}n$ “ablehnen, zurückweisen” [Jng. 1962 MS] = δen (so: $\delta -$) “to deny (someone, something)” [ALC 1978, 11] = δen “to keep” [Gcl. 1994, 72], Mpn. $\delta \acute{e}n$ “to refuse, prevent, deny (the person to whom sg. is denied is the direct

²² A.B. Dolgopolsky (l.c.) equated the Sem. root with SCu.: PRift $*\hat{c}i^{\circ}$ - „to stink” [Ehret 1980, 360] = $*\hat{c}i^{\circ}$ - [Dlg.]. Semantically dubious. Plausible, provided its primary sense was $*\sqrt{}$ „to be spoilt” (unattested). But much closer stands his other comparandum, ECu. $*\sqrt{su}^{\circ}$ -s- (caus.) „to smell” [Sasse 1979, 33; 1982, 170], which testifies to SCu. $*\hat{c}-$ < AA $*\hat{c}-$ here, and not < AA $*\hat{c}-$ (both cases are attested, cf. Takács 2011, 131-133).

object)” [Frj. 1991, 15], Msr. *ḍen* “to keep” [Dkl. 1997 MS] = *ḍen* “to keep” vs. *den* (so, d-) “keeping” [Jng. 1999 MS, 3-4], Gmy. *den* (so: plain d-) “to refuse, hinder, forbid” [Srl. 1937, 32] = *den* (so, d-!) “to prevent, forbid” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 5] ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar *e-ḍen* „i.a. paître (surveiller au pâturage des animaux), veiller sur”, EWlmd. *e-ḍen* „paître, pâturer, surveiller au pâturage” etc. (SBrb.: DRB 473) ||| Eg. *ḍnj* (PT) > *dnj* (MK) „1. abdämmen (gegen das Wasser), 2. auch: die Ufer befestigen (mit Stein)” (PT-, Wb V 575, 10-12) = „(Wortstamm für) das Abdämmen des Wassers” (PT 278c, ÜKAPT I 313) = „to dam (water), construct dam” (FD 314) > *dnj* „1. jemanden zurückhalten, 2. vom Arm (°): dessen Gebrauch hindern” (BD-, Wb V 464, 13-17) = „to hold back, restrain (s’one), revet (earthen banks with stone)” (FD 314) ||| Sem. **ṣwn*: Hebrew *ṣnn* III: *ṣinnā* „der große, den ganzen Körper deckende Schild, Schild(dach)” [GB 687] | Ar. *ṣwn*: I *ṣāna* „1. protéger qqn. contre qqn. ou qqch., 2. conserver, cacher, serrer, tenir renfermé”, VIII „garder, conserver”, ma-*ṣūn* ~ ma-*ṣwūn* „gardé, préservé, conservé, caché, serré, renfermé” [BK I 1387-1388], Ar. of Yemen *ṣawān* „guarantor, surety” [Leslau] || Geez *ṣwn* ~ *ḍwn*: *ṣawwana* ~ *ḍawwana* „to protect, defend, preserve, shelter” [Leslau 1987, 566-567] = „umhegen, behüten” [GB], Amharic *ṣawān* „refuge” [Leslau] < AA **ṣn* (NAA **ṣwn*) „1. to keep back, 2. protect” [GT]. For Eg.-Sem. cf. also Schneider 1997, 207, #17.²³

273. Angas ḍar “to agree” [ALC 1978, 14] ||| Sem.: Ar. *ṣry* I „12. réconcilier, mettre le paix entre les gens, 16. traiter qqn. avec bienveillance, et lui témoigner de l’affection” [BK I 1336].

274. AS (Gmy.-Montol) *ḍi “to pour, urinate” and **AS (sine Gmy.) *ḍō** „2. pour into” [GT 2004, 91 and 93, resp.] ||| (?) Eg. *wḍh* „schütten, giessen” (OK-, Wb I 393, 6-13) ||| Sem. **ṣḥ* [GT] > Sem. **nṣḥ* „to sprinkle” [GT]²⁴ and ES **wṣḥ* „to pour” [Apl. 1977, 30] = „verser, goutter, être tamisé” [DRS 591].²⁵ For the Eg.-Sem. equation see Ember 1930 (ESS), §26.b.2; Calice 1936 (GÄSW),

²³ Albeit this study is to be handled with utmost caution (like most of the works conceived in the frames of the so-called „*Neuere Komparatistik*”, a far-fetched and ill-founded hypothesis based on O. Rößler’s otherwise precious ideas, which his new fans turned into an uncontrolled chaos, which received severe critics over the past decades, for more details cf. Takács 2003). Here, e.g., the author ignored the earlier form of Eg. *ḍnj* and working with Eg. *dnj* (in his notation: *ṭnj*) forced the erroneous Rösslerian rule of Eg. *d* = Sem. **ṣ*. The same mistake is to be found in C.T. Hodge’s (1968, 4) and the Diakonoff team’s (SISAJa II #170) comparison of Eg. *dnj* with AA parallels with **d*.

²⁴ W.A. Ward (1962, 410, fn. 4) misquoted the Arabic reflex of Sem. **nṣḥ* as *nadaḥa* (sic: *-d*) „to sprinkle”.

²⁵ W. Leslau (1962, 45, fn. 5), followed by O. Rößler (1971, 289-290), W. Vycichl (1985, 172), attributed to A. Ember having misquoted the ES root **wṣḥ* as **wḍh* (which indeed never existed), which is not really true, since in ESS l.c., Ember quoted the ES root correctly as **wṣḥ* with **-ṣ* under the alleged rule of Sem. **ḍ/ṣ* and **ṣ*, whereas, misquoting the false ES **wḍh* mentioned above was in fact committed by W. Vycichl (1958, 373).

#30; Vergote 1945, 138, §12.a.2; Cohen 1947, 105, #140; Rössler 1971, 289-290; DRS 592. Both Ember and Rössler assumed here a direct correspondence of OEg. -d- vs. Sem. *-š-, which is not tenable in the frames of the regularities elaborated in EDE I 240-249. Nevertheless, we may admit in Eg. vs. Sem. two different, albeit remotely cognate PAA biconsonantal root varieties, viz. *√th vs. *√çh. The WCh. root (for whose comparison with Eg. cf. OS 1992, 179) may in principle be a regular reflex of either varieties. Given the Law of Belova (cf. EDE I 394-400), Eg. wdḥ may reflect AA *√twh, which, in turn, seems best correspond to AS (sine Gmy.) *dō.

275. AS *dū ~ *du “(to) smell” [GT 2004, 95] || ECh.: Mokilko (t)iddā [< *i-dʿa] „péter” [Jng. 1990, 110] || LECu.: Somali ḍaʿ- „to blow (of the wind)” [Bell 1969, 165] || Common Brb. *a-du „wind” [GT]: cf. e.g. Tamazight √d: a-du „vent, arôme” [Taïfi 1991, 86] | NBrb.: Nefusa a-tu „vent” [Laost 1931, 309] = a-tū „vento” [Beguinet 1942, 275] | Qabyale √d: a-du „vent, rhume” [Dallet 1982, 171] || SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. a-du „vent, odeur, parfum, fumet” [Alj. 1980, 30], Ghat a-dhou [-du] „vent” [Nehlil 1909, 213] || Eg. dʿ „Sturmwind” (OK, Wb V 533-4), hence dʿ „Winde lassen (von einer Person)” (Med., Wb V 534, 7) = „Blähungen haben, Winde haben, lassen” (GHWb 998) || Sem.: Ar. √dwʿ I: dāʿa „8. répandre son odeur (se dit d’une chose qui sent bon ou mauvais, lorsque remuée elle fait sentir sa présence)” [BK II 45] < AA *√çʿ „1. to blow (wind), 2. break wind, 3. smell” [GT]. See also Mlt. in Sts. et al. 1995, 36 (Brb.-Somali); Takács 2002, 149 (AA).

276. AS *ḍuyur > *dūr “to sum up, collect all (?)” [GT]: Mpn. ḍūr “all”, also dūr “to finish” (denom. verb, lit. *“(to) total”?) [Frj. 1991, 17], Msr. ḍukur [-k- reg. < *-γ-] “to gather (intr.)” [Dkl. 1997 MS] || Sem.: Ar. √šwr I „8. réunir, rassembler” [BK I 1383] < AA *√çwr „to collect” [GT]. One wonders if all this is related to (?) Eg. drʿ (root ext. -ʿ?) „(von Besiegten neben ’versprengt sein’: ob) sammeln (?)” (XX., Wb V 603, 4) = „sich sammeln (nach dem Versprengtsein) (GHWb 1013): both its meaning²⁶ and its Coptic reflexes²⁷ are uncertain || Ch. *çVr- „to pack, gath-

²⁶ Its rendering and Semitic etymology are highly disputed, cf. Helck 1962, 578, #314 and 1971, 527, #314 pace Burchardt („niederwerfen” ~ Sem. *√šrʿ) followed in DLE IV 151 and 165 too („to throw down” and „to lay down”, resp.); CED 319 and DELC 331a („to scatter”/„se disperser” > ~ Sem. *√zrʿ „to sow”); Hoch 1994, 392-393, #590 („to lay down, overthrow the defeated army of enemy” ~ Sem. *√wšḥ. Accordingly, its Coptic etymology (if any) is equally under dispute.

²⁷ The authors of Wb (l.c.) connected it with Dem. dlʿ ~ dl3 „1. (Früchte) sammeln, 2. (in übertragener Bedeutung) protokollieren, aufnehmen”, p3 dlʿ „die Weinlese” (DG 684-685) > Cpt. (SF) xw(ω)λe, (S) wωλe, (S) xeeλe-, x(o)λ=, (SM) xele-, (SL) xwale-, (A) xo(γ)(oγ)λe, (L) xal=, (MF) xole, (F) xoolē, xale-, (B) σωλ, wωλ, σελ-, σολ-, σολ=, σολ+ etc. „sammeln, ernten, (Steuern) einziehen”, (SA) xalē (m) „Nachlese (Bezeichnung einer Traubenart)” (KHW 419), for which J. Černý (1950, 44) and W. Westendorf (KHW l.c.) suggested a differ-

er” [CLD] = *√čr (?) „to pile up” [GT] > WCh. *čīr- < **čīHr- (?) [GT]: Hausa círá (ts-) „to pile up”, círì (ts-) „1. odds and ends packed into a vessel, 2. a pile of articles, e.g., vessels, loads etc., packed one on top of another” [Brg. 1934, 1039-1040; Abr. 1962, 886-887] | Gmy. *šīr (?) “heap” [GT 2004, 353]: Gmy. šīr [š-] “1. a collection, a heap of things, 2. to be heaped up, be buddled together” [Srl. 1937, 220] || CCh.: Mofu -čár- „cueillir, déchirer, picorer”, -čárhw- „piler (le mil pour séparer la balle de la graine)”, -čárž- (-zl-) „empiler, mettre par dessus” [Brt. 1988, 96] (Ch.: CLD III 180, #765.a). For Hausa-Eg. cf. HSED #446.

277. AS *ḍuyur ~ *ḍʷayar > *ḍʷār “to (be) tire(d), not feel well” [GT 2004, 96]: Sura ḍugur ~ ḍuyur “ermüden”, ḍùgùr “Müdigkeit” [Jng. 1963, 65] = ḍùgùr “fatigue”, ḍuyur “to be tired” [Krf.], Mpn. ḍùur “fatigue”, ḍūr “to tire (tr.)” [Frj. 1991, 16-17], Gmy. ḍwaar [< *ḍʷayar] “to be ill at ease, not to feel well”, cf. also ḍwaar kê “spoiled eggs left over after hatching” [Srl. 1937, 45] ||| Sem.: Ar. √swr I „2. affaiblir” [BK I 1383] = I „étourdir les oreilles”, II „assourdir”, VII „être étourdi, assourdi” [Dozy I 852]. There are also root varieties with AA *t-/t-²⁸ as well as with AA *č- > Sem. *š-²⁹

278. Suroid *ḍuyur “kidney” [GT 2004, 96]: Sura ḍúgúr “Niere” [Jng. 1963, 65] = ḍugur “kidney” [Krf.], Mpn. ḍúur “kidney” [Frj. 1991, 17], Chip ḍùgur (so, plain d-! error) “kidney” [Krf.] || CCh.: Mwulyen ḍúgúrí „kidney” [Kraft 1981 III 56, #71] ||| LECu.: Somali-Jiddu žōro (ž’-) „kidney” [Ehret: ž’- < ECu. *č-] = čarrə „Niere” [Lamberti 1986, 262, 353 with a dubious alternative derivation]. The SAA stem seems to have been sg. like *tuH/K/wur (or with a glottalized sibilant affricate in the Anlaut), which might in principle be compared either with a semantically rather vague ES-NEg. parallel (implying a NAA *√tgʷr)³⁰ or, much

ent, albeit semantically vague etymology Eg. ḍʳr „suchen” (Wb) = „to seek and collect” (Černý), which was succesully equated with Cpt. (S) ḍʳḥ „to examine, study” by Sethe (1899 I, §233.3 and §309.1) and Spiegelberg (KHW 276). At any rate, the anomaly of (B) ḍ- vs. Eg. ḍ- remains in either case puzzling. But both J. Černý (CED 319) and W. Vycichl (DELG 331a) saw in LEg. ḍrʳ the LEg. etymon of Dem. ḍrʳ „zerstreuen, ausbreiten”, cf. ḍl3 „sich zerstreuen” (DG 684:1 and :7) = „to scatter, spread” (CED) > Cpt. (S) ḍʳḥḥḥ, (B) ḍʳḥ, (A) ḍʳḥḥḥḥ „to scatter” (CD 782a) = „1. étendre, répandre, 2. disperser, 3. se répartir, 4. (+ εβολ) anéantir” (DELG), which, regarding (B) ḍ-, is phonologically more satisfactory.

²⁸ Cf. Suroid *tuyur “tired” [GT 2004, 372]: Mpn. túur (var. with t-?) “1. to be tired, 2. tire” [Frj. 1991, 62], Msr. tukur to be tired of sg. or a person” (Hs. gaži), tukur-pee “to disturb, be tired of” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 225-6].

²⁹ Cf. Ar. √dwr V „1. se tordre, se contracter et se rouler par terre (se dit d’un homme qui éprouve une faim, des douleurs violentes), 2. hurler (se dit des bêtes carnivores tourmentées par la faim)”, X „être en chaleur, en chasse (se dit des vaches)”, ḍawr- „faim violente”, ḍūr-at- „pauvre, misérable”, √drr V „1. être fatigué de qqch.” [BK II 45 and 14, resp.].

³⁰ Cf. Eg. dg3j.t „Art Fleischstück (als Speise, als Maß für Fleisch), unter Anderm von Dörrfleisch” (NE, Wb V 500, 2-4; Helck, LÄ III 1205) = „cuts of red meat” (DLE IV 144) =

more probably, with PSem. *ṭahr- „back”, which has already been equated with the Jiddu term above by Ch. Ehret (1995, 291, #550). This semantical shift would be plausible (cf. Eg. dp.t „kidney” vs. AA **√dP „back”) and project PAA varieties like *√ḫr ~ *√ḫw, whose alternation *-h- ~ *-w- would neatly agree with Suroid *-γ-. In addition, cf. perhaps also Eg. d3j.(t) (regular < AA *√ḫw) „une partie de l’abdomen” (NE, AL 77.5139) = „part of abdomen (?)” (DLE IV 144) = „e. Teil des Unterleibes” (GHWb 994).

279. AS *ḏ^{er} (or *ḡ²-) “to pour” [GT 2004, 101]: Msr. ḏeer (false vowel length) “to pour water from the calabash slowly or gently” [Dkl. 1997 MS], Gmy. ḏier “to pour some liquid out of a vessel by tilting its top” [Srl. 1937, 35] < either Ch. *ḫVr- „to pour” [CLD III 180, #767] vs. Ch. *ḫVr- „to pour into” [CLD III 216, #985] vs. Ch. *ḫVr- „to pour”, *ḫVr- „liquid” [CLD II 121, #361] ||| Eg. d3d3 „(einen Brunnen) Wasser geben lassen” (GR, Wb V 532, 11) ||| Sem.: Akk. ṣarāru G „träufeln, tröpfeln (Speichel, Samen, Blut usw.)” (Bab., NAss.), D (ṣurruru) „(im Kult) tröpfeln lassen, libieren” (MAss.) [AHW 1084-1085] = G „to flow, drip”, D „to libate, pour out” [CAD ṣ 105b-106a] || Ar. ṣry I: ṣarā „1. couler (se dit de l’eau)” [BK II 133] vs. Ar. ṣdrw I: ḏarā „1. saigner (se dit d’une plaie ou d’une artère coupée), 2. couler”, IV „5. boire le suc exprimé des dattes” [BK II 25] || Soqotri ḏē^{er} and Jibbali ḏar ~ ḏar (root ext. -ʿ-) „verser” [Leslau 1938, 363] < AA *√ḫr ~ *√ḫr ~ *√ḫr „to flow” [GT]. For Ch.-Ar. see also CLD l.c.

AS *ḏ secondary < AA *d + *H

280. AS *ḏā, “1. calabash, 2. dish” [GT 2004, 81] = *ḏā, “calabash (сосуд из тыквы)” [Stl. 1972, 180; 1977, 153, #46; 1987, 174, #273] = *ḏā “calabash” [Dlg.] | Daffo ḏeçy [Jng.] | Karekare ḏaayí [Jng.] | Jimi dyé [Gowers] || ECh.: Kera tó:yó [Ebert] (Ch.: CLR II 56) || SCu. *ḏaḥ- „wooden vessel” [Ehret]: WRift *ḏaḥāngw (KM: SWRift *ḏaḥāng via delabialization) „calabash”, pl. *ḏaḥēri [KM] = *ḏaḥ- „calabash” [GT] > Iraqw ḏaḥaḥ „large calabash”, ḏaḥari „small calabash” [Ehret] = Iraqw ḏaḥāngw, pl. ḏaḥēri „calabash” [KM], Gorowa ḏaḥāngw, pl. ḏaḥēri? ~ deḥēri? „calabash” [KM], Alagwa ḏaḥa [KM: terminal denasalization], pl. ḏaḥēri „calabash” [KM], Burunge ḏaḥaḥ „half calabash cup” [Ehret] = ḏaḥāng, pl. ḏaḥēri „calabash” [KM] (WRift: KM 2004, 84) | ERift: (?) Qwadza da-layiko „wooden winnowing tray” [Ehret] | (???) Dahalo ḏau „cooking pot” [Ehret]³¹ (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 189, #14) < SAA *ḏaḥ- „calabash” [GT], a remote root variety to SAA/PCh. *ḏaḥ- „calabash” [GT] surveyed below s.v. AS *ḏak ~ *dak “calabash” [GT 2004, 83].

„Fleischstück: *Fleisch in Scheiben, *Gulasch” (GHWb 989) ||| ES *√ṭ^{gwr}: Amharic ḫaggwar(r)a „estomac des ruminants, panse” [DRS 1057-1058: isolated in Sem.].

³¹ Included by Ch. Ehret (l.c.) in this comparison as a rare example of irregular Dahalo *ḥ > /h/ after voiced alveolar stop.

AS *ḍ secondary < AA *d + emphatics

281. AS *ḍak ~ *dak “calabash” [GT 2004, 83]:³² Kfy. *ḍak* (so, plain d-) “calabash (eating)” [Ntg. 1967, 6], Gmy. *ḍak* “a species of calabash” [Srl. 1937, 24], also Gmy. *ḍa-ḍak* “a very shallow calabash for eating purposes” [Srl. 1937, 90] = *ka-ḍak* “calabash” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 15] | WCh.: Tangale *dego* “calabash” [Jng.] | Ngizim *gádákùwà* “calabash (for eating)” [Schuh] || CCh.: Kotoko *ḍúhúsàà*, pl. *ḍàhwàsàn* “calabash” [Lukas] || ECh.: Lele *dāngá* “calabash” [Caprile] | Somray *ḍágónà* “calabash” [Jng.] | Dangla-Migama *ḍě/ōk- < **ḍay/wk- (?) „calabash” [GT]: EDangla *ḍàwḡā* (f), pl. *ḍàwḡinà* „la calebasse (Coloquinthe coupée au milieu et évidée, nombreux usages)” vs. EDng. *ḍíkīyē* (f), pl. *ḍíkīyāngē* „la calebasse (petite taille)” [DM 1973, 90, 94], WDangla *ḍóòka* (DM: *ḍóòkà*) „calebasse: coloquinthe coupée par le milieu et évidée, utilisée par les Dungaléat pour toutes sortes d’usages”, *ḍóòko* „fruit de calebassier (calebasse encore non évidée)”, cf. *ḍòkinyè* „puiser avec une calebasse”, *ḍòkàny* „puises” (mot formée sur /ḍóòka/) [Fdr. 1971, 210], Migama *ḍyèékú* (*ḍye-* < *ḍe-) (m) „grande calebasse” [JA 1992, 82] | Kofa *ḍèk* (m), pl. *ḍèkík* „calabash” [Jng. 1977 MS, 7, #124b], (?) Jegu *ḍékdék* „Knollenfrucht (flach)” [Jng. 1961, 112] < PCh. *ḍaḡ- „calabash” [GT],³³ which may be a remote root variety to SAA *ḍaḡ- „calabash” [GT], discussed s.v. AS *ḍā₂ „calabash” [GT] (above).

Special attention is to be devoted to the apparent special Ch.-Eg. triconsonantal isogloss *ḍaḡal- (extended from *ḍaḡ-?) ~/> *ḍalaḡ- (metathesis?) “calabash” [GT], cf. CCh.: Dghwede *ḍdg^wl > *mádgwálà* (prefix *mV-?) “calabash” [Frick] || NEg. *dnrg* (act. *dlg, regular < older **dlq) ~ *j.dnrg* (prothetic *j-* of morphological nature)³⁴ „eine essbare Pflanze” (NE, Wb V 470, 4) = „Melone, Gurke, Kürbis” (Helck, LÄ I 1269 and II 921, 922, n. 5, cf. Störk, LÄ III 269, n. 11, cf. LÄ VII 501) = „squash and/or gourds, melon” (DLE IV 136-137) = „a sweet melon, perhaps water-melon” (Hoch 1994, 46, #43) = „gourd” (Ward 1996, 27)³⁵ > Dem. *glg*

³² Synchronically, the AS stem would easily look like a mere extension of AS *ḍā₂ “1. calabash, 2. dish” [GT 2004, 81] (discussed above, q.v.). But the AA parallels discussed here suggests that behind the AS varieties, two diverse SAA root varieties for “calabash” may underlie, viz. *ḍaḡ- vs. *ḍaḡ- [GT].

³³ Whether ECh.: Ndam *žók* [Jng.], Tumaḡ *žóóg* [Caprile] | Birgit *žùgùnáy* [Jng.] – all “calabash” (ECh.: CLR II 57) display a secondary shift of *ž-* < *ḍy- from this root above or represent a distinct one with an original voiced affricate, remains subject to further research, cf. SAA **žung*-(Vr)- „sp. of gourd” [GT 2001, 65] > SCu.: Ma’a *i-zunge* [-Ø < *-r# regular] „cucumber” [Ehret 1974 MS, 75] || WCh.: Hausa *zùḡgùrúú* „long gourd (worn on arm by women to protect newly-hennaed hands)” [Abr. 1962, 980] | Bole-Tangale **sVng-* [irregular *s-?] „melon” [GT]: Ngamo *šenži*, Pero *čonži*, Tangale *yəngu* [*y-* < *s-] (WCh.: Kraft 1981, #227).

³⁴ J. Hoch (l.c.) collected the following orthographical vars. from Dyn. XIX-XXI: *jdng* (6x) *jdng* (2x), *jdndrg* (1x), *jdndng* (1x), *jdnrq* (2x), *jndrg* (1x), *dg* (1x), *dgi* (1x).

³⁵ The NEg. term had earlier been rendered „carob” (Loret, RT 15, 1893, 119f.; Caminos, LEM 74, 76; DLE l.c.) = „Johannisbrot(frucht)” (Helck, LÄ II 922, n. 5 and Störk, LÄ III 269, n. 11, both pace Loret). But the meaning „melon” has become commonly accepted.

(via assimilation < *dlg)³⁶ „gourd” (not in DG, CED l.c.: pap. Cairo 30982, vo. 11) > Cpt. (S) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ, (L) ⲉⲃⲗⲁⲃ, (B) ⲉⲗⲟ/ⲱⲭ, ⲉⲗⲟⲩ, ⲉⲃⲗⲟⲭ, ⲉⲭⲗⲟⲭ, ⲱⲗⲱⲭ (m) „gourd” (CD 815a; CED 330) = „Kürbis” (KHW 455). NEg. *dlg has had so far a phonologically ambiguous etymology, a presumed borrowing from Sem. *√dlʕ.³⁷ Since our word does not occur in script before LEg., it may well indeed be a loan, but not necessarily *eo ipso*. In the light of the Chadic parallels, however, and especially in that of Dghwede, one is disposed to side better with J.J. Jansen (Ex Oriente Lux 19/6, 1967, 445) in assuming in NEg. *dlg not a Semitic loan, but a „well known” (i.e., a native) Egyptian word for „gourd”. What if NEg. *dlg „gourd” (or sim.) evolved from an AA *√dḳ „calabash” [GT] on the analogy of at least two similar instances of an epenthetic Eg. *-l- as C₂, i.e., another means of triconsonantization?³⁸ May we perhaps recognize, by the way, the same root extended by *-l- (i.e.,

³⁶ J. Černý (CED 330) projected this assimilation to Coptic assuming an unattested primary *ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ < *dlg referring to a parallelism with the case of (S) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ vs. < ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ, but this is unprecise, since here, both Coptic forms are attested, whereas the change in the word for „melon”, in fact, had been completed by Demotic glg < *dlg. The same pertains to W. Westendorf’s (KHW 455) argument of Cpt. (S) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ vs. < ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ „Niere”.

³⁷ J. Hoch (1994, 46-48, #43) explained it from Mishnaic and modern Hebrew dāʕlaʕat „cucumber, pumpkin” [Hoch, Ward] | Maghrebi Ar. dallāʕ „water-melon” [Hoch] = dallāʕa ~ dullāʕa „pastèque, melon d’eau (sandia)” [Dozy I 457; DRS 267: isolated in Sem.], Moroccan Ar. dāllāḥ ~ dāllāʕa „pastèque” [Premare 1994 IV 318], although he too found the reflection of Sem. *ʕ (not *γ) as LEg. -g as „unexpected”, which compelled him to postulating that LEg. *dlg originated in an unattested Semitic root *√dlʕ, which „passed into Arabic via a language, such as Syriac, that no longer distinguished”, which, in his view is „slightly supported by the fact that Ar. dallāʕ refers to melons called Indian, Palestinian, and Syrian” (cf. Dozy I 457b). In this respect I regard the reflection of NBrb.: Wargla ta-dluḥ-t, pl. ti-dluḥ-in „sorte de coquillage” [Dlh.] as Ar. dullaʕ (DRB 332) to be noteworthy. Even more far-fetched is his alternative hypothesis on the anomaly of *ʕ vs. *γ here: „the Egyptian perception of ʕ as γ could have had a simple phonetic basis: assimilation of voicing from /d/ and /l/”, although both phonemes were voiced, their difference being due to their place of articulation. Hoch’s third theory is not better either: „or misperception on the part of the Egyptians?”. Nonetheless, since W.A. Ward (1996, 27) found the word nowhere else in Semitic than Mishnaic Hebrew and Maghrebi Arabic, he excluded a connection of the Sem. and Eg. plant names. Now, AA *√dlḳ „calabash” [GT] appears to offer a phonologically much safer option for Eg. dnrg.

³⁸ Cf. (1) Eg. dnrg (*dlg) „to be deaf” (NE, DLE IV 136) < AA *√dg ~ *√dḳ „1. deaf, 2. stupid” [GT], examined s.v. AS *duyur ~ *dʷayar (?) → *duyar “4. to be deaf” [GT 2004, 76] in „Angas-Sura Etymologies VII”. Or cf. (2) Eg. ḥ3g (MK) > ḥnrg, i.e., *ḥlg (XIX.) > ḥrg (GR) „froh sein, sich freuen” (MK-, Wb III 34, 18-20) = „to be glad, joyous” (Yeivin 1936, l.c., so also Ward 1962, l.c. infra) = „to be merry, rejoice” (CED) = „to be content” (DLE II 122) > Cpt. (S) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ, (ALF) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ, (Sa) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ, (B) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ „1. to be sweet, 2. take delight” (CD 673a; CED 281) = „1. süß, angenehm sein, 2. sich wohl fühlen, sich erfreuen, sich vergnügen” (KHW 369) vs. Eg. ḥ3g3g „froh sein über (r)” (rituals, Wb III 35, 2-3) = „to rejoice over” (CT VI 356n, DCT 311 pace Yeivin 1936, l.c. infra) vs. Eg. ḥngg „jubeln, sich freuen” (GR, Wb III 121, 7-9) ||| Sem.: Hebrew ṿḥgg qal „ein Fest feiern (to celebrate a feast), taumeln”, ḥāg „Fest” [GB 213] | Ar. ṿḥgʕ I „1. se réjouir de qqch.”, V „1. se réjouir de qqch.” [BK I 379] vs. ṿḥgʕw I: ḥāgiya „6. être gai, joyeux” [BK I 386] vs. ṿḥgʕ „to perform (the religious rites and ceremonies of) the pilgrimage”, ḥa/iḡg-at „pilgrimage” [Lane 513-514] (Sem.: also Ward l.c. infra). For this Eg.-Sem. equation see also Yeivin 1936, 76-77, #33;

a *pars pro toto* semantical shift from AA/Eg.-Ch. * $\sqrt{dlk} \sim * \sqrt{dkl}$ “calabash”?) also in NAA * \sqrt{dlk} „some round object” [GT] > Sem. * \sqrt{dklk} > Palmyrene Ar. mdaglag „rond, sphérique” [DRS 304: isolated in Sem.] ||| NBrb.: Wargla $\sqrt{dl\gamma}$ [γ < AA * k] > ta-dluḥ-t, pl. ti-dluḥ-in „sorte de coquillage servant du cuiller pour faire manger les petits enfants” [Dlh. 1987, 52] compared by K. Naït-Zerrad (in DRB 332) with Ar. dullaʿ „espèce de coquillage” (as a loan?)?

282. AS * $\dot{d}ak \sim * \dot{d}uk$ “also” [GT 2004, 82]: Angas pé- $\dot{d}ak$ (Ks) “also (like kwát)” [Jng. 1962 MS, 32], Mpn. $\dot{d}uk \sim \dot{d}uk-maa$ (adv.) “also” [Frj. 1991, 16] ||| Brb. * $\sqrt{d\gamma}$ „1. encore, de nouveau, 2. aussi etc.” [GT after DRB 356] < AA * \sqrt{dk} [GT].

283. Angas $\dot{d}ak$ “steckenbleiben” [Jng. 1962 MS] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-ddəy „1. collar (à la colle), 2. adhérer à, etc.” [PAM 2003, 90; DRB 356: isolated in Brb.] < AA * \sqrt{dk} . Alternatively, cf. the section for AS * \dot{d} = Eg. $d \sim t$ = Brb. * \dot{d} = Sem. * \dot{t} < AA * \dot{t} (above).

*

Abbreviations of languages and other terms

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Hamito-Semitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amhara, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bch.: Bauchi, Bed.: Bed’awye (Beja), BM: Bura-Margi, BN: Bade-Ngizim, Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), BT: Bole-Tangale, CCh.: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, DB: Daffo-Butura, Dem.: Demotic, E: East, Ebl.: Eblaite, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, Gmy.: Goemay, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi (in MSA), Hs.: Hausa, IE: Indo-European, irreg.: irregular, JAram.: Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, Jbl.: Jibbali, Kfy.: Kofyar, KK: Kera-Kwang group, L: Late, L: Low(land), lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, Math.: mathematical papyri, Med.: medical texts, MG: Mofu-Gudur, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Mada group, Mnt.: Montol, Mpn.:

Ward 1962, 405, fn. 6; KHW 369; Castellino 1984, 16. Curiously, W.A. Ward (1972, 20) negated later „*Yeivin’s tempting etymology*” having found it as a theory disproven by the LEg. evidence for its C_2 as *-l-, whose secondary epenthetic nature (as a root extension) only now can we understand. All this overwrites the comparison of Sem. * \sqrt{hlw} „sweet” with Eg. * $\sqrt{hl\dot{g}}$ (cf. Vycichl 1990, 50), whose old meaning, as we have just seen, was substantially different.

Mupun, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Msr.: Mushere, N: New, N: North, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, 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, reg.: regular, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaeen, Sem.: Semitic, Sgt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram): Aramaic of Talmud, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, (E)Wlmd.: (East) Tawllemmet, Y: Young(er).

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungrathmayr, Alj.: Alojaly, Alm.: Alemayehu, Apl.: Appleyard, Bgn.: Beguinot, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Blc.: Blachère, Blz.: Blažek, Bnd.: Bender, Brg.: Bargery, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brq.: Burquest, Brt.: Barreteau, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cospè, Ctc.: Caîtucoli, Dbr.: Djibrine, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Egc.: Eguchi, Ehr.: Ehret, Eld.: Elderkin, Fcd.: Foucauld, Fdr.: Fédry, FH: Farah & Heck, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, Grb.: Greenberg, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hlw.: Hellwig, Hsk.: Hoskison, Hyw.: Hayward, Ibr.: Ibriszimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungrathmayr & Adams, JI: Jungrathmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungrathmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungrathmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Krf.: Kraft, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, Mgd.: Migeod, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mrn.: Moreno, Mts.: Matsushita, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nct.: Nachtigal, Nhl.: Nehlil, NM: Newman & Ma, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, PH: Parker & Hayward, Prs.: Prasse, RB: Rapp & Benzig, Rn.: Reinisch, Rpr.: Roper, Rsg.: Rossing, Rsl.: Rössler, Sbr.: Siebert, Scn.: Sachnine, Skn.: N. Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Snd.: Schneider, Spg.: Spiegelberg, Srl.: Sirlinger, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Sts.: Starostin, Tf.: Taïfi, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

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