Angas-Sura Etymologies IX[a]

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Abstract: Gábor Takács, *Angas-Sura Etymologies IX.* The Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences, PL ISSN 0079-4740, pp. 53-72

The paper is a new contribution to revealing the Afro-Asiatic heritage in the lexicon of the Angas-Sura group of Chadic languages by means of interbranch comparison using a.o. the ancient Egypto-Semitic evidence.

Key words: Chadic languages, Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics, African linguistics, ancient Egyptian, Semitic, historical phonology, etymology.

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 (Semito-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 (Koenoem), 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

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[a] The paper has been written in the frames of an IDUB ARR project of the author.

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on in two clusters: 3.1. Sura-Mupun vs. 3.2. Kofyar-Mushere-Chip according to the isoglosses of the complex AS *gʸ-), (4) **Goemaioid** languages (Kanam/Koenoem, Pyapun/Pyapung, Tal, Montol, Goemai).

The inner reconstruction of the Angas-Sura language group had only been elaborated in minor segments[2] until the first comparative lexicon of the Angas-Sura group has been completed (Takács 2004)[3]. Now, it has become plausible to systematically deal also with the external cognates of the Angas-Sura lexical stock. The series "Angas-Sura Etymologies"[4] 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.). Sometimes the devoicing of

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[2] 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 adducing 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.

[3] 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 faciliating 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-Szekfű" 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.

[4] The first part (AS roots with initial *b-) appeared in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 46 (2004), while the second one (AS roots with *ḅ-) 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'Egyptologie* (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), and the eighth part in *Folia Orientalia* (Kraków) 57 (2020).

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 velar or a semi-vowel, i.e., where the -C$_2$- of AA *√C$_1$C$_2$C$_3$ was either *-h/ʔ/ḥ/ʕ- or *-g/k/γ/ḫ- or *-w/y-, but sometimes it is just epenthetic without a consonantal precedent (cf. Dolgopolsky 1982: 32-36).

● Original AA pharyngeals (*ʕ, *ḥ) 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 *ḥ- and *h- > either AS *h- or zero. In the Auslaut, they mostly disappeared, but sometimes they developed in the contrary way, i.e., AA *ḥ- 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, *ḥ) or laryngeal (*ʔ, *h), cf. already Illič-Svityč 1966: 33, fn. 11.

AS *t$^{(h)}$ = Eg.-Brb.-Sem. *t- < AA *t-

284. AS *tā "to cross, go over" [GT 2004, 354]: Mupun táa ~ tāa "to cross" [Frj. 1991: 38], Kofyar tá "to cross, go over, go out as a witch" [Ntg. 1967: 38], Mushere ta-pee "to cross (a stream or river)" (cf. ta "to come", pee "place") [Dkl. 1997 MS: 224], Goemay ta haan "to cross river (lit.: 'fall-climb')" (cf. haan "to climb") [Hlw. 2000 MS: 35] ||| Eg. thj "übertreten" (PT-, Wb V 319-320) ||| Sem.: Ar. taʕā "dépasser, excéder les limites" [BK I 200]. The irregular correspondence of Eg. -h- vs. Sem. *-ʕ- may be explained with the incompatibility of the latter with dentals in OEg. (cf. EDE I 323-325).

285. AS *tā "to stop" [GT 2004: 354]: Angas taa "to stop at a place on the road", e.g. if two men are travelling, one, seeing a house of a relative, may say to the other: an-taa ·beni dang "I am going in here for a little time (I'll follow you later)", cf. taa-laa (probably a compound word) "to relieve (used especially to relieve a friend, who is carrying a load, of his load, so as to give him a rest)" [Flk. 1915: 285-6], Mupun táa ~ tāa "stop by", tà-táa "to stop over" [Frj. 1991: 59-60] || LECu.: Oromo tāya "to sit (down), stay, wait" | HECu.: Burji tay-ḍ- "to sit (down)" (ECu.: Hudson 1989: 135, 142) ||| SCu.: no evident reflex[5] ||| SBrb.: Ayr tyăw (interj.) "commendement pour faire baraquer ou pour faire se tenir immobile ou tranquilliser son chameau" [PAM 2003: 804].

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[5] SCu. *taʕ-as- (caus.) [Ehret] > Ma'a -táʔa "to silence, make still" [Ehret 1980: 169, #13] seems semantically all too vague, let alone its *-ʕ- instead of the expected *-y-. For a deviant Sem. etymology of the SCu. root, namely Ar. taʕʕ-(at)- "1. faiblesse, langueur" [BK I 199], see Ehret 1995: 144, #180 (with different reconstruction).

286. AS *tal (or ***-ā-**?) "hot" [GT 2004: 355] | Dera tile "to burn" [Nwm. 1970, 40] ||| Eg. t3 (< *tl) "heiß sein" (OK-, Wb V 229) ||| Sem.: Ar. taʕal- (root ext. -ʕ-?) "chaleur excessive, feu qu'on ressent dans le gosier" [BK I 200].

287. AS *taŋ ~ *tʸaŋ (?) "1. to seek, look for, 2. find" [GT 2004: 358] | NBauchi *dōm (???) "to look for" [GT]: Tsagu ʒoom [if not ʒ- < *dʸ-] and Miya & Kariya doon [if not < *√dʸm] (WCh.: Skinner 1977: 30) ||| LECu.: Somali dōn [-n reg. < *-m#] "Wille, Wunsch, Begehr, Verlangen", as tr. verb "wollen, begehren, suchen" [Rn. 1902: 113] = don-ayya "1. to want, wish, 2. seek, look for, 3. aim at, apply for, 4. seek, 5. demand" [Abr. 1964: 65] = dōn-id (med.) "to wish, want, will, desire" [Farah & Heck 1993: 152] || SCu. *dōm- > Ma'a -dumu "to love, need, want" [Ehret] ||| NBrb. *√dm [DRB] > i.a. Tamazight dmu "prévoir, s'attendre à etc.", Wargla e-dma "espérer, s'attendre à etc." (NBrb.: DRB 339-340) || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr dăm-ăt "vouloir, désirer" [PAM 2003: 102] < AA *√dm "1. to want, 2. look for" [GT].

A PAA root variety is represented by WCh.: AS *ḍaŋ "1. to wish (?), 2. beg" [GT 2004: 84] | Ron-Fyer ḍaŋ "bitten um, erbeten, betteln" [Jng. 1970: 84] || ECh. *ḍyēm- "to like" [GT] > WDangla ḍìmè "aimer" [Fdr. 1971: 208] | Mubi ʔʒém "wollen" [Lks. 1937: 183] = ḍyím (ḍyêm, ḍyímmà) "aimer" [Jng. 1990 MS: 12], Birgit ʔʒèemá ~ ʔʒòomí (ʔʒóomà, ʔʒóomò) "aimer" [Jng. 2004: 355] ||| HECu. *ṭamʔ- "to ask", *ṭamʔ- "question" [Hudson 1989: 22, 422] ||| Sem. *√ṭmʕ [GT] > Ar. √ṭmʕ > I ṭamiʕa "désirer ardemment, être avide de qqch.., désirer obtenir", ṭamuʕa "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 √ṭmʕ > ṭõʕ "to desire, be greedy for", ṭamʕ "desire, greed" [Jns. 1981: 278]. The regular shift of AS *-ŋ < *-mH# speaks for deriving our AS root *taŋ from this latter AA root above, although we have cases of plain *-m# becoming AS *-ŋ (in spite of the lack of any C₃ laryngeal), but we have here AS *t- < AA *t-/*d- instead of the expected regular AS *ḍ-/*ṭ-. Already K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB 340) surmised a connection between Ar. √ṭmʕ and NBrb. *√dm.

288. Gmy. tau "to consent" [Hlw. 2000 MS: 35] | Hausa to "quite so, yes, all right, in order!" [Brg. 1934: 1017] = tòò "very well!" [Abr. 1962: 868] ||| Eg. tjw "Partikel der Bejahung: ja! wahrlich!" (MK-, Wb V 242, 1-7) = "yes" (FD 294).[6] In AS, Sura tɔ "in Ordnung! gut!" [Jng. 1963: 85] and Gmy. to "yes, all right" [Srl. 1937: 248] are not cognate, being loanwords borrowed from the cited Hausa form, which, in turn, may be perhaps a West Chadic parallel of the Gmy. root.

289. AS *te ~ *ti (or with ***ṭ-**?) "to say" [GT 2004: 360-361] ||| Bed. di "sagen, nennen" [Rn. 1895: 55] = di "to say, mean" [Roper 1928: 167]. L. Reinisch (l.c.) affil-

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[6] V.É. Orel and O.V. Stolbova (HSED #2408) combined Eg. tjw with ECh.: Migama tíyàawá (f) "droite", which, however, is nothing but a secondary semantic shift of Migama tíyáw "manger" [JA 1992: 130]. The same semantical process (so typical in the African words for "right") has undergone also in the neighbouring ECh. language group: Mubi-Toram *tVwVy- ~ *tVyVw- "right (hand)" [GT] > Mubi tìyáwò (m) "la (main) droite" [Jng. 1990 MS: 45], Kajakse tùwàaye "droite" [Alio 2004: 248, #324], Birgit tòotó "droite" [Alio 2004: 359], cf. ECh. *√tw ~ *√ty "to eat" (the source of the preceding root).

iated the Bed. root with LECu.: Saho-Afar ḍah "1. sagen, sprechen, 2. (be)nennen, 3. denken, bei sich sagen" [Rn. 1890: 124], but neither of their phonemes in fact correspond: (1) Bed. d- = LECu. *d-, (2) Bed. -i vs. LECu. *-a-, (3) LECu. *-h = Bed. h.

290. AS *tē "1. to tear (common), 2. break (only Angas and Sura)" [GT 2004: 361] ||| SCu. *dāʕ- "to rend, tear" [Ehret]: Qwadza daʕ- "to bite" | Dahalo d̲āʕ- "to rend, tear (of animal tearing its prey)" (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 163, #13) ||| Sem.: cf. Ar. (Dathina) daʕdaʕ "démolir, casser" [Landberg GD 793; DRS 290].

291. AS *tē "to enter" [GT 2004: 361]: Angas tee "to enter" [Flk. 1915: 291], Mushere tee-am "to enter the water of the river and cross it"[7] (am "water") [Dkl. 1997 MS: 363] ||| Bed. da(i) "to enter (with mention of place entered)" [Roper 1928: 166].

292. Suroid *teɣem (?): Msr. tekem "to be close, be near" [Dkl. 1997 MS: 225] ||| Eg. tkn "nahe sein, nahe kommen" (MK-, Wb V 333-335). Irregular C$_3$ correpondence of the nasals. The underlying PAA root (*√tkN?) may well be biconsonantal, albeit also these distant cognates below are phonologically deviant. We may well be dealing here with the reflexes of at least two or three diverse , albeit eventually related, PAA root varieties (say, *√dh̲, *√th̲, *√t̲h̲), cf. WCh.: AS *duk "near" [GT 2004: 76]: Gerka duk "near", perhaps also *duk in sededuk "narrow" (sede- obscure) [Ftp. 1911: 218], Kofyar dùk "near, now", dùk-dùk ~ duga-duk "very close" [Netting 1967: 8], Goemay duk "near" [Ftp. 1911: 218] = duk (adv.) "near, close" [Srl. 1937: 41] = duk "near" [Krf.] = ḍuk (so, ḍ-) "close (adv.)" [Hellwig 2000 MS: 8] || CCh.: Banana tog "near" [Grb.] etc. (further CCh. reflexes from Kraft 1981 are listed in EDE I 221) ||| Bed. dehá ~ dha (m) "1. Nähe, 2. dann: (nahe) bei, zu, neben" [Rn. 1895: 63, not so in Roper 1928] || Agaw *täh̲/k- "to be near" [Ehret 1987: 72, #296] = *ta/äh̲-t- (refl.-pass. suffix *-t-) "to approach, draw near, be near" [Apl. 2006: 25, 104] || LECu.: Saho-Irob ḍágā "1. die Nähe, 2. postpos.: zu, bei" [Rn. 1890: 121] ||| Brb. *dəɣ "élément déictique indiquant la proximité" [GT pace DRB 357] ||| Sem.: Akk. ṭeḫû ~ ṭaḫû (Ass. ṭaḫāʔu) "ganz nah herankommen, -gehen, -treten, sich nähern (s'approcher de)", ṭēḫu ~ ṭīḫu ~ ṭeḫḫu "(unmittelbare) Nähe, das Anstoßende (voisinage, proximité)" [AHW 1383-4; CAD ṭ 71; DRS 1071] || Soqotri ṭoq "ici" [Leslau 1938: 208] || ES (Leslau: borrowing < Cu.):[8] Geez ṭa/ əqā "proximity, near, close to, by, at hand, nearby, along" [Leslau], Tigrinya ṭəqā "proximity" [Leslau] (ES-Cu.: Leslau 1987: 595; Sem.-Cu.: DRS 1105-1106).[9] These parallels

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[7] Ph. Diyakal's (l.c.) recorded elsewere Mushere teh am "to cross a river", which testifies to a contamination with the Mushere reflex of AS *tā "to cross over" [GT].

[8] W. Leslau (l.c.) quoted a certain Afar tak in this context, but, in fact, such a word for "near" is not attested in the standard lexicons of Afar (Reinisch 1886: 908; Colizza 1887: 134; Parker-Hayward 1985: 197).

[9] With some untenable comparanda in the DRS l.c., which, e.g., mentions also forms like LECu. *ḍaw/y(h)- "near" [GT]: Saho-Afar day (so: plain d-) "nahe sein, Nähe" [Rn. 1890: 121] = Saho ḍaye "to be near (essere vicino)", ḍayih "recently", ḍeh "early, soon, urgently" [Vergari 2003: 74-75] vs. Afar ḍayi "1. to be close, near, 2. quick, soon", ḍàyih "near, recently, soon", ḍayyōwe [PH 1985: 91] | Somali ḍàw "die Nähe", adj. "nahe" [Rn. 1902: 143] = dhawi "Nähe" [Farah & Heck 1993: 79] | Oromo ḍio ~ ḍiho "vicino" [da Thiene 1939: 103] = ḍiʔ-ō (adj.) "near" [Gragg 1982: 123], which, however, appear to be akin better to SCu. *ṭēh̲- "near" [Ehret] = *čăh/w/y- [GT]: WRift *√cw ~ *√cy "near" [GT]: Iraqw tsew, Alagwa tsayu, Burunge čia

may represent reflexes of at least two or three diverse, albeit eventually related, PAA root varieties (say, *√dḫ > Ch., Bed., *√tḫ > Agaw, *√tḫ > Irob, Sem.).

293. AS *tel "1. bottom (?), 2. depth" [GT 2004: 361]: Montol tel "north"[10] [Ftp. 1911: 219], Goemay tel "depth, deepness", toe-tel "very deep" [Srl. 1937: 241, 252] = thel "to be deep" [Hlw. 2000 MS: 38] ||| (?) Eg. d3 [reg. < both *√dl or *√dr] "nieder-schmettern" (PT-, Wb V 414, 4) = "to subdue (lands)" (FD 309) ||| Sem. *√dll I "être inférieur, bas, faible, etc." [DRS 265].

294. AS *tep ~ *tip (?) "to hold, carry" [GT 2004: 362, 366]: Mpn. típ "to hold something" [Frj. 1991: 60], perhaps cognate with Gmy. tep [act. təp < *tip?] "to carry something heavy" [Hlw. 2000 MS: 36] ||| Brb. *√df I "tenir, saisir" [DRB 447-450] ||| Sem. *√tp(p) "faire qqch. avec la main etc." [Belova 1992: 18] < AA *ṭaf "main, paum, creux de la main" [SISAJa II #80]. For Brb.-Sem. see HSED 519, #2483.

295. Gmy. *tʰəm "(to be) lukewarm" [GT 2004: 363]: Gmy. thoem (so, th-) "luke-warm" [Srl. 1937: 243] = them (so, -e-) "to be lukewarm" [Hlw. 2000 MS: 38] ||| Common Om. *tam- "fire" [Bnd. 1988: 146] ||| Eg. thm "etwas kochen" (GR, Wb V 322, 6). Cf. PBantu *-tə̃m- "to burn" [Gerhardt 1980: 212].

296. AS *tiɣir → *təɣər "to pulverize and rub" [GT 2004: 366]: Mpn. tìir "to rub vigorously, squash" [Frj. 1991: 60], Kfy. toègoer [təgər] "to rub" [Ntg. 1967: 40], Gmy. tûr [tūr] "to reduce into bits" [Srl. 1937: 256] ||| Eg. dqr "to touch, hurt, press" (MK, Gardiner, RT 33, 83) = "1. to press (?) against (r)" (FD 316) ||| NBrb.: Shilh s-duq(q)er (caus.) "frapper (à la porte)", Ntifa s-duqʷer (NBrb.: DRB 367) ||| Sem. *√dḳr > i.a. Hbr. and Aram. √dqr "to pierce (with a sword or spear)" [Ember] = "percer, frapper avec qqch. de pointu" [DRS] | Ar. daqara "to tap, touch with the tips of the fingers, prick" [Ember] = "pousser violemment par derrière, se ruer, fondre sur, heurter, toucher" [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 296). For this Eg.-Sem. etymology see Ember 1917: 87, #129; DRS 306. For NBrb.-Ar. cf. DRB 367.

| Qwadza tsahemi, Asa šaiya | Ma'a si-ná (SCu. sine Dahalo: Ehret 1980: 175, #18) as suggested already by R. Kießling and M. Mous (2004: 296), although their reconstruction of WRift *cēgu ~ *ciga (*ts-) "near, early", based on the inclusion of Alagwa tsigĕ "quick, fast, early" < tsiga "to hurry" (of a different etymology being evidently akin to Ch. *√ʒg "to run quickly" [GT] ||| SBrb. *√zg "to quickly" [GT] ||| Eg. zḫz (OK), zḫzḫ (MK) "eilig laufen, eilen" [Wb III 472-473] ||| Sem. *√zg(z)g "to run quickly" [GT], cf. Takács 2001: 63) cannot be accepted semantically. The reconstruction of the SCu. stem may be refined in the light of Dahalo hắṭ-iða "near" [EEN 1989: 14] = hắṭi "near" [Tosco 1991: 135], which, instead of being compared to Burunge hič-at- "to pass (by)" (pace Ehret 1980: 306, #12), seems rather to be a metathesis of *ṭáh- < SCu. *čắh- [GT].

[10] For the formation of "north" < "bottom" in Gerka on the analogy of "south" < "top" see AS *der > *dər "bottom" [GT 2004: 68-69] > i.a. Gerka der-dwal "north" [Ftp. 1911: 221].

297. AS *tiɣiriŋ > *təɣərəŋ vs. *tiriŋ > *tərəŋ[11] "cooking place" (≈ Hs. múrfù "the three stones which form native cooking-place" [Abr. 1962: 685]) [GT 2004: 364, 366]: Angas törüŋ [*tərəŋ] (≈ Hs. murufu) "the cooking place on which the pot is put" [Flk. 1915: 295] = tərəŋ (Ks) "cooking place (Hs. murufu)" [Jng. 1962 MS: 40] = tərŋ "pot stand" [ALC 1978: 64] = tiriŋ ~ tirŋ "hearth" [Gcl. 1994: 41], Mpn. tə́rə̄ŋ "hearth (a three-stone device)" [Frj. 1991: 63], Kfy. toègoèroèng [tə̀gə̀rə̀ŋ < *tiɣiriŋ] "stone tripod for cooking" [Ntg. 1967: 40], Msr. tikiriŋ (≈ Hs. murhu) "the three stones which form a native cooking place" [Dkl. 1997 MS: 223] = tìkirìŋ "oven" [Jng. 1999 MS: 18] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr a-tăɣărom, pl. i-tăɣărom-ăn (≈ a-dăɣara) "trou à feu (petit ebăwel, pour griller un mets, pour une seule personne)" [PAM 2003: 363] < a rare PAA quadri-consonantal *√tKrm (with either *-ḫ-, *-ɣ- or *-ḳ-), whose final C$_4$ may have been a root extension (eventually a lexicalized PAA *m nomen instr. suffix?), cf. Sem.: Ar. taɣara "1. être en ébullition (se dit d'une marmite)" [BK I 200] ||| EBrb.: Ghadames ta-dɣər-t, tə-dɣar-t, pl. tə-dɣrar-īn (hésitation dans la notation: ta-dɣer-t?) "foyer de cuisine"[12] [Lan-fry 1973: 71-72; DRB 363][13] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr a-dăɣara "trou à feu (petit ebăwel, pour griller un mets, pour une seule personne)" [PAM 2003: 93].

298. Msr. tik ~ tiik "descendant of a family" [Dkl. 1997 MS: 371] ||| ECu.: (?) Yaaku -tuk- "to build a house" [Heine 1975: 122] ||| SOm.: Galila tik "to fuck" [Flm.] ||| Eg. wtṯ (reg. < *√wtk < **tuk)[14] "erzeugen" (OK-, Wb I 381-382) > wtṯ.w "Sohn" (XVIII., Wb I 382, 13). For Eg.-Galila see Blz. 1990 MS Bed., 6, #10.

299. PAngas *tīm > *tim "a piece of skin with long hair" [GT 2004: 365]: Angas tiim "1. long growth of hair (of beasts only, such as is on a goat's breast), 2. a skin with long hair, given to a new king to wear during the ceremony of investiture" [Flk. 1915: 293] = ntim "a kind of 'tanned' leather worn by men and circumcized boys" [Gcl. 1994: 27] ||| LECu.: PBoni/Sam *tim "hair" [Heine 1978: 74] ||| Eg. tmm.t "Haut (?) (der Schlangen)" (CT VII 485c, GHWb 933; ÄWb II 2696a). Cf. also Brb. *timmi "eyebrow" [GT after Blz. 1991: 365],[15] whose remotely related root variety with a voiced Anlaut is

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[11] The Kofyar-Mushere parallel dobtlessly does belong here, although its *-ɣ- (> Kofyar -g- vs. Mushere -k-) is not reflected in Mupun even on the level of compensatory vowel length, which is somewhat unusual. No clear Goemay reflex. It is not at all clear whether – in spite of the phonological difficulties – Gmy. ṭang-rû [-rū̃] "a fireplace made up with three large stones" [Srl. 1937: 238] = taŋ-run "traditional fire-place, made of three stones" [Hellwig 2000 MS: 35] can belong here. Gmy. *taŋ- contracted < *ṭarŋ-?

[12] Described by J. Aymo in his paper "*La maison ghadamsie*" (In: Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes 17, 1958: 189) as follows: "*Le foyer est à même le sol. Il est adossé au mur, limité à droite et à gauche par un bas-flanc et une encoignure, bordé frontalement par une nervure en plâtre haute de quelques centimètres. L'ensemble est fractionné en plusieurs emplacements par des nervures en plâtre ... Chaque emplacement correspond à un foyer ...*"

[13] Affiliated by K. Naït-Zerrad (DRS l.c.) with NBrb. *a-dɣar "place". The isolated cognate in SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr a-dăɣara "trou à feu" (apparently omitted in DRB) seems to suggest that it is erroneous.

[14] Regular shift of the root structure in Egyptian according to the law of Belova (cf. EDE I 394-400).

[15] V. Blažek (l.c.) directly equated this Berber term with the LECu. stem, but in the light of all the data listed above, it seems wiser to keep apart two – possibly remotely related – PAA roots, viz. *tim "skin with hair (?)" vs. *Tim "eyebrow".

seen in Cu.-Om. *dēm- "eyebrow, -lash" [Lmb.1987: 534, #14.b] > e.g. LECu.: Dirayta tēmá (pl.) "eyebrow" [Lmb.] | HECu.: Hadiyya and Kambatta dēmm-a "eyebrow" [Hds. 1989: 60] | Dullay *tēm- "Augenbraue" [GT after AMS 1980: 231] ||| NOm.: Omt. *dēm-a "eyebrow, forehead" [Bnd. 2003: 141, #27] > NWOmt. *demm-a "eyebrow, forehead" [Bnd. 2003: 141, #27] > ext. Wlt. *dēm-o "eyebrow, forehead" [Bnd. 2003: 141, #27] | SEOmt. *dēm-o "eyebrow" [Bnd. 2003: 109, #27] | Chara *dēm-a "eyebrow, forehead" [Bnd. 2003: 141, #27] | Zayse dēm-o "eyebrow, -lash" [Lmb.] ||| Brb. *udem "visage" [GT pace DRB 334-336]. Already M.L. Bender (2003: 141, #27) noted the cognacy of Omt. vs. Hdy.-Kmb.

300. AS *tis > *čis "worn-out, ragged" [GT 2004: 367] ||| Eg. *d/tjs (?) > Dem. tjs (djs) "Lappen" (DG 608:5) = "piece of cloth" (CED) > Cpt. (S) ⲧⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓⲥ(ⲉ) etc., (B) ⲧⲱⲓⲥ(ⲓ) (f) "Fetzen, Flicken, Lappen, Windel, Beutel (KHW 225) = "piece, rag" (CD 433a; CED 196).

301. AS *toγom ~ *taγam ~ *teγem (?) "1. front part, 2. first, 3. hence: past time (i.e., what was before) vs. 4. future (i.e., what is ahead, in front)" [GT 2004: 368], possibly < pre-AS *dawam (or sim.) [GT] ||| Brb. *√wdm > *u-dem "visage, face" [DRB 334-336][16] < AA *√dwm [GT].

302. Angas tot "to be idle" [ALC 1978: 65] ||| SCu. *tāwo "for nothing, free, in vain" [Ehret 1980: 170, #17]: NWRift *tāwō "uselessness" vs. *tō "uselessly, in vain etc." [KM 2004: 269] ||| Sem.: Ar. taww- "2. homme insouciant, qui ne se préoccupe ni des choses de ce monde, ni de celles de l'autre" [BK I 209].

303. AS *tu, pl. ***tʷa/e** "to pound" (Suroid) vs. ***tō** (or ***tʷo**?) "to grind flour" (Angas-Goemai) [GT 2004: 371] | WCh.: Kariya tíí "to beat (in gen.)" [Skn.], Tsagu tī- "to beat (in gen.)" [Skn.], Pa'a tà "to beat drum" [MSkn.], Siri ta "to beat drum" [Skn.], Mburku tū "to beat drum" [Skn.], Diri tíyáá "to beat (in gen.)" [Skn.] || CCh.: Kola -tyá- "to beat drum" [Schubert] || ECh.: Kabalai tɜ̀ "to beat (person)" [Caprile], Lele téy "to beat drum" [Garrigues] | Somray tù "to beat drum" [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994: II, 14-17) < PCh. *√ty ~ (?) *√tʔ "to beat" [GT] ||| SCu. *tuʔ- "to pound (grain)" [Ehret]: Iraqw tuʔ-ut- "to pound (grain)" | Asa tuʔ- "to smash" | Ma'a -tu "to grind (grain)" (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 172) ||| Eg. tj "zerstampfen, niedertreten" (PT, Wb V 237, 10-11) = "stampfen (mit der Mörserkeule)" (Calice in GÄSW 216, #894), tjtj "niedertreten" (XVIII., Wb V 244, 3) = "1. (die Feinde) niedertreten, 2. (den Lehm) stampfen" (Brunner 1944: 22, 32) ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr tăyy-ăt "1. être solidement implanté/enfoncé, 2. se tapir", tăytăy "1. enfoncer à coups de marteau, 2. dresser (tente), tendre (selle, de peau)" [PAM 2003: 807], Ahaggar teitei "1. enfoncer à coups de marteau (un piquet, un clou)" [Fcd. 1951-2:

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[16] K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB 336) combined Brb. *√wdm with Ar. ʔadima "être rouge, avoir la peau brunie" > ʔadam- "peau humaine" > ʔadīm- "peau du visage", which, being a secondary sense, is semantically far-fetched.

1887] = teytey "einschlagen" [Zhl. 1932-3: 103][17] ||| Sem.: PAr. *ta? "ударить" based on Ar. √mt? vs. √ht? [Belova 1993: 36, #50] < AA *√ty ~ *√t? "1. to beat, 2. pound" [GT]. For Eg.-Twareg see KHW 248, 244, fn. 4; Eg.-Ar.-SCu.: Ehret 2000 MS: 95, #1447.[18]

304. Suroid *tuγup "anger, annoyance" [GT 2004: 372] ||| SCu.: WRift *qupit (med. by haplology < *qupit-it?)[19] "to be angry" [KM 2004: 237] ||| Eg. *ḫpt (written špt) "ärgerlich, unzufrieden sein" (PT-, Wb IV 453, 10-16) = "ärgerlich (mit, auf), verärgert, verdrießlich sein" (ÄWb I 1297).

305. Gmy. tûr [tǖr] "to rush, hurry, go quickly" [Srl. 1937: 256] ||| SCu. *tir- "to set in motion" [Ehret] > Qwd. til-im- "id." | Dhl. ṭir-ið- "to move restlessly" (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 170, #23) ||| Eg. trr (GW, loan from Sem.?) "wettlaufen: vom Fahren mit Schritten gebraucht" (NE, Wb V 319, 2) = "wettfahren (mit Wasserfahrzeugen)" (Zhl. 1932-3: 85 with a false Brb. etymology; so also Helck l.c.i.) = "to race or go for an outing (refers to a boating in the context of a challenge to determine superiority by performing prodigious feats)" (Hoch 1994: 359) > Cpt. (F) ⲧⲢⲞⲨⲢ "vitesse" (Vrg. 1973: Ib 47, §39 & 149, §86)[20] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd. and Ayr tăṛtăṛ "courir précipitamment" [PAM 2003: 801] ||| Sem.: Ar. tarr- "qui va d'un trot rapide (cheval, etc.)", muntarr- "qui va un (*sic*) trot rapide" [BK I 194] || Tigray √trr "to hurry, hasten" [OS]. Cf. HSED 504-505, #2405 for Sem.-SBrb.

306. AS *tūt < *tʷāt (?) "1. to burn, 2. cook" [GT 2004: 375] ||| Eg. wdd "sieden, kochen" (Med., Wb I 394, 6-7). The Eg. match is a regular reflex of the hollow roots according to the Law of Belova (Eg. wC_1C_2 < AA *C_1uC_2, cf. EDE I 394-400). A.B. Dolgopolsky (1983: 129) equated Eg. wdd with ECu. *wād- "to roast" [Sasse 1982: 186], while V.É. Orel and O.V. Stolbova (1992: 194) with the reflexes of Ch.*waḍ- "to cook"

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[17] E. Zyhlarz (l.c.) equated the Twareg root with Cpt. (S) ⲦⲞⲢⲦⲢ "to thrust in, pierce" (CD 432a) = "durchbohren, einschlagen, anheften" (KHW) derived by him from a hypothetic Eg. *trtr, which is certainly out of the question, since, on the one hand, (1) such an Eg.root is nowhere attested, and, on the other hand, (2) the Coptic verb was convincingly connected by W. Westendorf (KHW 244) to Eg. d̲r "durchstoßen, schlagen" (WB V 244), whereas already he (l.c. + p. 248) pointed out Twareg *√tyty = Eg. tjtj > Cpt. (B) ⲧⲧ "treten, stampfen, walken", and, thirdly, (3), the shift of *r > y is not at all proven in Twareg.

[18] Which, however, Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 95, #1447) has united with further (semantically hardly fitting) comparanda to reconstruct an underlying AA *-tāy- "to break apart, fall to pieces (intr.)".

[19] It may well also be that the Rift stem has to be segmented *qup-it as suggested by R. Kießling and M. Mous (l.c.) and so it might be regarded as the original biconsonantal root shared with CCh.: Hitkala ḫəb-(xəb-) "erzürnen" [Lukas 1964: 110].

[20] Usually regarded as a Semitic loanword because of its syllabic (group) writing, but the debate on its proper source has been until now unsettled. A. H. Gardiner (1935: I 23): Eg. trr "to sail around", probably ~ Akk. târu "to go around", BHbr. √twr "to travel around, spy", rejected by J. Hoch (1994 l.c.i.) as "*questionable on semantic grounds*". W.A. Ward (1963: 432-433): Eg. trr < Akk. darāru "frei bewegen (emancipation)". So also W. Helck (1971: 524, #278): Eg. trr < Sem. *√drr, cf. Hbr. dərōr "freier Lauf, Freilassung", Ar. √drr. Declined by J. Hoch (1994: 359-360, #532 and fn. 18) as "*semantically even more dubious*", instead: < MHbr. (!) √ṭwl "to walk about, enjoy os.", Syr. √ṭwl D "to walk to and fro, pace about for pleasure", Talmudic Aram. √ṭll D "to sport, have fun", but he overlooked the Coptic (F) reflex with -Ⲣ- and -Ⲣ for both C_2 and C_3, resp. Not better is his equation with Sem. *√ṭw/yr "to fly" either.

[GT], cf., e.g., Bole-Tangale *waḍu "to cook" [Schuh 1984: 215] < WCh. *waḍ- "варить, готовить пищу" [Stl. 1987: 238]. It may well be that here we have the simplex root, whose partial reduplication (AA *√dwd < **√wdwd) is seen in the AS-Eg. isogloss and perhaps even in Sem. *√zwd "to boil, overflow" (dissimilation < **√dwd?), whose correspondence with Eg. wdd was discovered already by W.F. Albright (1919: 181, #16).

307. AS *tʷa₃k ~ *tok "1. to touch, 2. push (into), dip" [GT 2004: 375]: Angas tok "to dip" [ALC 1978: 64], Sura tùwàk "etwas jemandem zu-, unterschieben" [Jng. 1963: 86], Mnt. dok-ni (so, d-, error?) "to touch" [Ftp. 1911: 221], Gmy. twâk [twɔk] "1. to poke, 2. touch" [Srl. 1937: 257] | Hausa túúk̀à "1. to stir, 2. propel (boat by oar or pole), 3. drive (car), 4. strain (every nerve) etc." [Abr. 1962: 895] | Kulere tùk "umrühren" [Jng. 1970: 355] | NBauchi *√tkn "to touch" [GT] > Jimbin, Miya, Mburku təkən- [Skinner 1977: 45] || CCh.: Logone tku "klopfen, schlagen" [Lukas 1936: 123] | Musgu-Puss tiki (təka) "2. toucher" vs. "1. prendre, gagner" [Trn. 1991: 119] ||| NOm.: Kaffa tūg "toccare" vs. ṭuq "offendere, far torto a qualcuno" vs. ṭuq "spingere" [Crl. 1951: 504 and 511, resp.] = tūg "трогать, касатсья" [Dlg.] ||| Bed. tah, teh "an/berühren, betasten" [Rn. 1895: 224] = tăh ~ th "to touch" [Roper 1928: 242] = tag- ~ tah- "to touch" [OS] || NAgaw *danq- "to touch" [Apl. 2006: 140] || ECu. *-ta/uḳ- "to touch, push, strike" [Sasse 1979: 48] ||| Eg. tk and tkk "angreifen" (MK-, Wb V 331 and 336, 2-10, resp.). Some of the phonological correspondences (e.g., Eg. -k vs. Hausa-Agaw-ECu. *-ḳ- vs. Bed. -h- or Ch.-Bed.-ECu.-Eg. *t- vs. NAgaw *d-) are irregular and may perhaps be due to incompatibility rules. This semantic dispersion in this root family is presumably much wider going beyond the scopes of this AS root lexicon and may thus only be separately examined in a special study. For comparing Eg. tk(k) with the Cu.-Ch. (sine AS and NBch.!) data, cf. also Dlg. 1966: 81; 1973: 276; OS 1992: 177; 1992: 198.

AS *ṭ- = N/ECu. *ḍ- = Eg. d- ~ t- = Brb. *ḍ- = Sem. *ṭ- < AA *ṭ-

308. AS *ṭā₂ "1. to fall, 2. descend" [GT 2004: 377-378] vs. **AS (Angas-Goemay) *ḍō → *ḍʷə** "to fall" [GT 2004: 94] ||| LECu. *da₁ˤ- "1. to fall, 2. attack, come" [Black 1974: 204] > PSam *ḍāˤ-ì "to fall upon" [Heine 1978: 57]: i.a. Somali ḍāˤ "1. fallen, 2. untergehen (Sonne, Mind, Stern), 3. einfallen, eintreten, 4. überfallen usw." [Rn. 1902: 124] || SCu.: Dahalo ḍiˤ-am- "to go down" [Ehret 1980: 190-191 with false etymology] ||| Brb. *√ḍ "tomber" [DRB 440-441, s.v. √ḍ1] < pre-PBrb. **√ṭʔw [Rössler] = < **√ṭwˤ [GT] > e.g. SBrb. (Twareg) *u-ḍu "fallen" [Rössler]: EWlmd. u-ḍu "tomber, tomber au combat" [PAM 1998: 47] ||| Sem.: Ar. √ṭwˤ I (ṭāˤa) "1. obéir à qqn." [BK II 119] < AA *√ṭˤ "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 ḍāˤ "6. hart bedrängen (durch Gewaltherrschaft)" [Rn. 1902: 124] ||| Eg. dḥ (reg. < *√ṭˤ pace EDE I 326-327) "nieder-, unterwerfen, angreifen usw." (XIX., Wb V 483-484; GHWb 986) ||| Sem.: Ar. √ṭwˤ II "1. rendre obéissant, soumettre" [BK II 119].

308.1. A remotely related root variety with plain AA *d- is also attested in Sem.: Dathina dawwaˤ, dayyaˤ, dāˤ "(faire) descendre" [Landberg GD 898 quoted in DRS 237, 255: isolated in Sem.] ||| SCu.: Ma'a di "beneath, under" [Ehret 1980: 190-191] ||| NOm.:

Kefoid/PGongan *dih- "to fall, stumble" [Fleming]: Kaffa dih- "(на)падать" [Dlg.] = dih- "to fall", caus. dič- "to cause to fall" [Fleming], Mocha dihi- "падать" [Dlg.] = dih-i-ye "to fall", dīs-s-i-ye "to cause to fall" [Fleming: < *dih-s- or *dihs- → *dīss-], Shinasha de-ti "падает" [Dlg.], Shinasha-Wombera dial. dih-a "to fall, stumble" [Fleming], Shinasha-Amuru dē-ti "he fell" [Beke apud Fleming] (NOm.: Dlg. 1966: 74, #5.29;[21] Fleming 1987: 148, #8) < AA *√d(w/y)ˤ "to fall" [GT].

308.2. A root variety with plain AA *t- is also attested in Sem.: (?) Ar. taˤasa I "1. périr, 2. broncher, 3. tomber, 5. être mis par terre, déposé" [BK I 199] = "to perish, fall on one's face, ruin, stumble and fall" [Ehret 1989: 160, t. 33 with birad. reconstr.] ||| SCu. *taˤ-at- (med.) "to fall", caus. *taˤ-as- "to fell" [GT] > Asa taʔ- "to fall" | Dahalo ṯaˤ-āð- "to trap" (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 169, #13 and #14 with false reconstruction).

309. PGmy. *ṭal "afterbirth" [GT 2004: 388, 378]: Gmy. ṭal "afterbirth" [Srl. 1937: 236] = tal "placenta" [Hlw. 2000 MS: 35] || CCh.: Bachama ḍule "egg" [Meek] = ḍù·lé [Skn. quoted in CLR II 123] || ECh. *ḍā₂l- "to lay egg" [GT] > Mgm. ḍòolò (ḍòolé, ḍòláa), pl. ḍòllò (ḍòllé, ḍòlòkká) "1. pondre, 2. (se) mettre dedans, plonger" [JA 1992: 81] | Mubi ḍáál "legen (Ei)" [Lks. 1937: 181] = ḍál (ḍâl, ḍíláàl) "pondre" [Jng. 1990 MS: 10] ||| PCu.-Om. *ṭAyAl[l]- "рождать" [Dlg. 1973: 58] > ECu. *ḍal- "to beget, give birth" [Sasse 1979: 21, 30; 1982: 61-62] > LECu. *Dal- (i.e., *ḍal-) "to beget" [Black 1974: 163, 195] ||| Eg. d3 "to copulate" (BD, FD 309) = "kopulieren, koitieren" (GHWb 969) ||| SBrb.: Wlmd. ā-ḍēl "calf" [Blz., OS, not in PAM 1998, 2003] ||| Sem. *√tly "детёныш" [Dlg. 1973 l.c.] = *ṭálay- "young (of an animal), young person" [Dlg.1983 l.c.] = *ṭalay- "young of sheep, goat, antelope" [Blz.]. See also IS 1966, 316 (Mubi-Sem.-Oromo); Dlg. 1966: 85, #8.10; 1973: 58; 1983: 130 (LECu.-Sem.) and HSED ##2457-2458; Blz. 1994 MS Elam: 11, #58 (ECu.-Sem.- Wlmd.).

310. AS *ṭiŋ (var. *ṭuŋ?) > *ṭəŋ "1. high, 2. upper part, 3. sky" [GT 2004: 384], cf. also **AS *ṭaŋ** "1. to sprout, 2. grow" [GT 2004: 379] and **AS *ṭuŋ** "heap" [GT 2004: 387] vs. **AS *ḍuŋ** "elevation of ground" [GT 2004: 97] vs. **AS *ḍʸeŋ ~ *ḍʸa₂ŋ** "1. upper part, 2. up" [GT 2004: 101] ||| NBrb.: Shawya ḍumm "mettre en tas" [DRB 469 with a different etymology] ||| (?) Eg. tmḥ "praise" (GR 1x: Edfu III 176:1-2, PL 1145) ||| 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 *√tmḥ "to raise" [GT] may be of biconsonantal origin, cf. Ar. √ṭmw 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,

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[21] A.B. Dolgopol'skij (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.].

plus haut que …, dépasser qqn. par sa taille, 4. être rempli, gonflé par la masse d'eau" [BK II 110].

311. AS *ṭəɣər "to raise", also "anthill" [GT 2004: 382] ||| Eg. tw3 "1. stützen, 2. hoch-, an-, emporheben" (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 *√twr "to raise" [GT]. The same AA root is present also in AS ***ḏiɣir** (hence ***ḏər > *ḏūr**) "1. elevation of ground, 2. shore" [GT 2004: 92].

312. Gmy. *ṭəm (< ***ṭu₂m**?) "to say" [GT]: Gmy. tum [*ṭu₂m?] "to tell" [Ftp. 1911: 220] = ṭoem` [ṭə̀m] "to tell, say" [Srl. 1937: 250] = tem [< *ṭu₂m?] "to tell" [Hlw. 2000 MS: 36] vs. rest of **AS *ṭaŋ ~ *ṭoŋ (or *ṭ-?)** "to say" [GT] (AS: Stl. 1987: 241, #11; GT 2004: 388) ||| LECu.: (?) Oromo ḍām (sic: ḍ-) "to communicate" [OS in HSED #1194, not in Gragg 1982] = damu "far sapere, confidare una commissione, preavissare, avertire, mandare a dire" [da Thiene 1939: 90] ||| Eg. dm "aussprechen, nennen" (end of OK-, Wb V 449-450) ||| NBrb.: Shilh dum "dire (?)" [DRB 339: isolated] < AA *√tm ~ *√dm "to say" [GT].

313. AS *ṭuɣun "1. to push (into), 2. pinch" [GT 2004: 385-386]: Mpn. túun "1. to push, 2. drive" vs. tūun "to pinch" [Frj. 1991: 62], Kfy. tugun "to move, push" vs. tugun "to pinch" [Ntg. 1967: 41], Msr. tukun "to inject" (lit. "to push into") vs. tukun "to pinch" [Dkl. 1997 MS: 219, 366], Gmy. (Duut & Dorok) ṭuun` [ṭù̃n] "to push" [Srl. 1937: 256] = ni tuwʊn "to push" [Krf.] ||| Eg. ṯhnj (IVae inf.) "(das Auge, den Augapfel) ver-letzen, (den Himmel) verwunden (?),²² (Leute) schädigen" (MK, Wb V 327; ÄWb II 2706a) = ṯhn "to be pierced, injured (?)" (CT, DCT 741) = "to injure (eye)" (Med., FD 301), cf. also LEg. ṯhn "entrer, pénétrer en un lieu" (GR: Dendara VIII 152:1, AL 78.4603) vs. Dem. ṯhn "Stempel" (DG 654) < (?) Eg. *√ṯhn "1. to thrust into, 2. pen-etrate" (GT) with the regular shift of AA *-ʕ- > Eg. *-ḫ- in the proximity of a dental (cf. EDE I 326-327) ||| Sem. *√ṭʕn "1. to thrust at, 2. penetrate" [GT]: Ug. ṭʕn G "durch-bohren", N "niedergestoßen werden" [WUS 121, #1123] = G "to attack, destroy" [DUL 886], Hebrew ṭʕn pual "durchbohrt werden" [GB 278] = "to be pierced" [KB 377] | Ar. ṭaʕana 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 *√ṭʕn "donner un coup de corne, poignarder" [DRS]: Har-susi √ṭʕn: ṭōn "to thrust at" [Jns. 1977: 128], CJibbali ṭaʕán, EJibbali ṭʕán "to thrust at, stab, butt" [Jns. 1981, 273], Mehri √ṭʕn: ṭān "to thrust at so. (usually with a dagger), butt" [Jns. 1987: 405], Sqt. ṭaʕan "piquer" [Lsl. 1938: 206] (Sem.: DRS 1098). See also HSED 519, #2480 (AS-Ar.). The same AA root is present also in AS *ḏiɣin (var. *ḍuɣun?) → *ḏəɣən (var. *ḍəɣən in Suroid?) "inside" [GT 2004: 92] and Suroid *ḍuɣun "to cop-ulate" [GT 2004: 96]. Root variety with plain *d- and *-g- attested in WBrb.: Zenaga

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²² This is the root that K. Sethe (ÜKAPT VI 201 as PT 1178a) derived the name of Eg. ṯhn "obelisk" from in the light of its popular etymology in Louvre C 3, 6/7: ṯhnn bj3 "stossend in den Himmel".

e-degni "chambre centrale" ‖ SBrb.: EWlmd. e-dgen "s'enfoncer (dans une activité)" (Brb.: DRB 305: isolated in Brb.).

314. AS *ṭʸam "to taste, try" [GT 2004: 388] | Fyer čamî [GT: ča- < *ṭʸa-?] "schmecken, berühren" [Jng. 1970: 84] ‖ CCh.: Logone ɗə́m, dəm "schmecken (tr.)" [Lukas 1936: 89] ‖‖ ECu. *daˤm- "to taste" [GT pace Dlg. 1973: 317-318] ‖‖ SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr sə-ḍḍəmḍəm "goûter un peu de (qqch., pour l'essayer)" [PAM 2003: 138] ‖‖ Sem. *√ṭˤm "kosten" [GB 278]: i.a. Hbr. √ṭˤm qal "1. kosten, den Geschmack prüfen, ein wenig genießen, 2. schmecken, 3. fühlen, empfinden" [GB 278] < AA *√ṭ(ˤ)m "to taste" [GT]. The WCh. data speak for a bicons. var. without an *-ˤ-, since normally *-ˤm# would have resulted in *-ŋ#, let alone that in AS, we don't have a -VγV- reflex of AA *-VˤV- either. See also Prh. 1972: 44, #23.1; 1977: 106-107; Dlg. 1973: 317-318 (ECu.-Sem.-CCh.).

AS *ṭ- depalatalized < **č- (or the other way?) = Sem. *ṣ- < AA *ç-

315. AS *ṭal "to pluck (fruit)" [GT 2004: 378] < AA *√çl "to tear off, cut off" [GT], attested with diverse C₃, cf. Sem.: Ar. ṣalama I "1. couper et arracher avec la racine (le nez, une oreille), 2. mutiler qqn. en lui arrachant le nez ou les oreilles etc." [BK I 1364] ‖‖ Eg. *dlḥ (?) > Cpt. (SL) ϫⲱⲗϩ, (SF) ϫⲱⲗⲉϩ etc. "to cut, prune" (CD 769) ‖‖ SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-zləy "1. mettre à part, séparer etc., 6. séparer (sa jeune épouse) des siens pour l'emmener chez soi" [PAM 2003: 918] ‖‖ WCh.: Ngizim dàlmú "to pluck peanuts from dried vines" [Schuh 1981: 54].

316. AS *ṭā₂p "antelope or gazelle sp." [GT 2004: 380] ‖ ECh.: Tumak nჳōbyō [nჳ- < AA *nč-?] "antilope sp., peut-être gazella rufifrons" [Cpr. 1975: 88] ‖‖ perhaps Eg. ḏbn.w [< *čbn.w] "Art Antilope" (OK, Wb V 568, 2) = "e. Kuhantilope" (GHWb 1005) = "Kuhantilope: Alcephalus buselaphus" (Störk, LÄ I 320 > LÄ VII 502) ‖‖ Sem. *ṯábiy- "gazelle" [Dlg. 1986: 86] = *ẓaby- "gazzella" [Frz. 1968: 294, #5.61]. For the AA etymology cf. also SISAJa III, #55 (Tumak-Sem.-Eg.).

317. AS *ṭat "1. to hit (with leg), kick, 2. shoot" [GT 2004: 380] > i.a Angas tat "to cut off, with one long motion (a strip of leather from the whole skin, as in cutting strips like bootlaces, to sew with)" [Flk. 1915: 289] vs. Gmy. tat (ideoph.) "to kill thoroughly" [Hlw. 2000 MS: 35] ‖‖ NOm.: Ometo čād- "to pound" [Orel 1995: 120, #11; HSED #412] ‖‖ Eg. ḏd (reg. < AA *√çd) "(Feinde mit der Keule) erschlagen" (GR, Wb V 631, 2) ‖‖ Sem.: Ar. √ṣdw: ṣadā I "1. battre des mains", II "1. battre des mains, applaudir", cf. also ṣatta I "3. frapper qqn. (d'une calamité), 4. s'attaquer à qqn., attaquer par des paroles violentes ou injurieuses", ṣatt- "coup violent donné avec la main pour (re)pousser" [BK I 1309-1310, 1325].

318. AS *ṭat "day" (orig. "bright") [GT 2004: 381], whose primary sense has been preserved in **Gmy. ṭat′** [ṭat] "to be bright, be clear" [Srl. 1937: 239] ‖‖ Eg. ḏd (reg. <

AA *c̣d) "Licht (?)" (GR, Wb V 626, 7) ||| Sem.: (?) Akk. ṣādu "1. to shine, be brilliant, 2. fiercy, 3. yellow" [Lsl. 1944: 57] || Geez ṣāʕdawa ~ ḍāʕdawa "to be bright, white" [Lsl. 1987: 542] > ES *√ṣʕd "to be white" [Lsl. 1944: 57] (Sem. Lsl. 1944 l.c.). The *-ʕ- of the Sem. root, not reflected either in AS (as *-VʕV-) or Eg. (as *-ʕ- > *-ḫ- in the proximity of a dental, cf. EDE I 326-327), may be a root ext. as an innovation < PAA *√c̣d "to be bright" [GT].

319. Gmy. *ṭaṭ in: ṭaṭ-ḍi (compound, -ḍi obscure) "an idol, a graven image" [Srl. 1937: 240] ||| Eg. *ḏd (reg. < AA *c̣d), phonetic value of the hieroglyph depicting a "fetish of Osiris at Busiris: lopped tree (?)" (Grd. 1927: 489, R11) = "Baumidol" (Vcl. 1934: 46, 63)[23] = "Pfeiler (?)" (GR, Wb V 626, 7) = "ursprünglich ein freistehender Pfahl, um den in mehreren Stufen kreisförmig pflanzliches Material herumgebunden wurde, und dessen Oberteil aus den angebundenen Zweigen eines Laubbaumes oder aus Schilfstengeln besteht" (Altenmüller, LÄ I 1100-1103)[24] > Dem. twtw (DG 617) > OCpt. ⲧⲁⲧ "der sogenannte Djed-Pfeiler als Symbol der Dauer (Osiris-Symbol) (KHW 248) ||| Sem.: (?) Akk. ṣaddu ~ ṣādu ~ saddu "Signal(holz), Zeichen" (AHW 1073) = (OB, SB) "sign(al)" [CAD ṣ 56].

<center>*</center>

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.: 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):

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[23] W. Vycichl (l.c.) assumed a cognacy with Somali gēd "Baum", but the underlying etymon is ECu. *gēz- "Baum" [Sasse 1976: 137] = *gēzz-/*gāzz- "tree" [Sasse 1982: 72], whose *-z-, however, does not agree with the -d of Eg.

[24] For more details and discussion on its interpretation cf. LÄ (l.c.), where "*frühe Deutungen als entästeter Baum oder als eine aus Schilfstengeln zusammengebundene Säule sind durch Funde von Djed-Pfeiler aus Elfenbein in einem Grab der Frühzeit in Heluan widerlegt*", while the rendering by W. Helck (as "*Garbenbaum, an den in Stufen die nach ägyptischer Weise kurz abgesichelten Ähren gebunden sind ... und der bei Erntenzeremonien aufgerichtet wurde, um die im Getreide lebende Macht zu befrieden und zu versöhnen*") has also been declined here as hardly agreeing "*mit den Darstellungen des ḏd-Pfeilers im AR ..., in denen das Oberteil ... meist eine grüne oder rote Farbe zeigen, und die darauf schließen lassen, daß das Oberteil des ḏd-Pfeilers aus den angebundenen Zweigen eines Laubbaumes od. Aus Schilfstengeln besteht*".

Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaean, Sem.: Semitic, Sqt.: 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 & Jungraithmayr, Alj.: Alojaly, Alm.: Alemayehu, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, Bgn.: Beguinot, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Blc.: Blachère, Blv.: Belova, Blz.: Blažek, Bnd.: Bender, Brg.: Bargery, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brq.: Burquest, Brt.: Barreteau, Clc.: von Calice, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cosper, Ctc.: Caïtucoli, 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: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & 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, Prh.: Porhomovskij, 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, TG: Takács, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

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