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Angas-Sura Etymologies VII

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Abstract: Gábor Takács, *Angas-Sura Etymologies VII*. The Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences, PL ISSN 0079-4740, pp. 95-120

The paper as part of a long-running series is devoted to the etymological analysis of a new segment (namely that with initial dental *d-) of the Angas-Sura root stock, a small group of modern languages remotely and ultimately akin to pharaonic Egyptian and the well-known Semitic languages or Twareg in the Sahara etc. Doing so, I wish to continue the noble tradition initiated by J.H. Greenberg (1958), the founding father of modern Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics (along with I.M. Diakonoff), who was the first scholar ever to have established by Neo-Grammarians the methods regular consonantal correspondences between Angas-Sura and ancient Egyptian in his pioneering (painfully isolated) paper on the ancient trichotomy of the word-initial labials in both branches. Nowadays our chances in following this path are substantially more favourable being equipped with our gigantic comparative root catalogue system of the Egyptian etymologies ever published (ongoing since 1994) and of the Afro-Asiatic parental lexical stock (ongoing since 1999).

Keywords: comparative-historical linguistics, etymology, phonological reconstruction, consonantism, Afro-Asiatic, Chadic languages, African linguistics, ancient Egyptian, Semitic studies

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: 407-408; 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 (Mwaghavul), Mupun, Chakfem-Mushere Chip, Jorto, Kofyar, (3) **Southern**: Kanam (Koenoen), Pyapun(g), Tal, Montol, Goemai (Ankwe). 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) **Goemaoid** languages (Kanam/Koenoen, 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.

¹ Thus, J.H. 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 (Jungrauthmayr 1963) lexicons for the comparison adducing some additional data from Chip, Montol, Gerka (collected and published by Jungrauthmayr 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 best thanks for the constant and many-sided unselfish support yielded for my work by the great Chadicist, Prof. Herrmann Jungrauthmayr (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 stay 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).

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 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 -C₂- of AA *√C₁C₂C₃ was either *-h/?/ħ/?- or *-g/k/γ/ħ- 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 *d = Eg.-Brb.-Sem. *d- < AA *d-

201. Suroid *dayan ~ *doyon (?) “snake sp.” [GT 2004: 62] = *dayan “snake” [Stl. 1977: 156, #149]: Sura ndàyàn “Schlangenart” [Jng. 1963: 76], Msr. ndokon “snake sp. that spits saliva in one’s eyes” [Dkl. 1997: MS, 174] ||| Eg. dngngs “Bez. der Uraeuschlange (an der Stirn des Königs)” (GR, Wb V 470, 8) = “l’uraeus” (Cauville 1997: 639). The underlying AA *√dgn may well be a metathesis of *√dng, for which cf. the extensive discussion of AS *ḍaŋ “lizard sp.” [GT 2004: 84] below.

202. AS *dayar → *dəyər “top, peak” [GT 2004: 62]: Angas dār kee (kē) “from the top (of)” [Flk. 1915: 164] = ḍààr kée kə “oberhalb von, auf” [Jng. 1962 MS] = dar ke “on top of” [ALC 1978: 11], Mpn. dáhər [< *dəyər] “top, peak” [Frj. 1991: 13] ||| Sem.: MSA *√dyrr “pointe, sommet (d’une montagne)” [DRS]: Harsusi dyerēr, pl. dyerōr “point, summit (of a mountain)” [Jns. 1977: 23], Jbl. dayrér, pl. dayrór “projection on a mountain”, cf. dáyer, pl. dəyéhr “edge, top, point” [Jns. 1981: 35], Mehri dəyáyr, pl. dəyōr (DRS l.c.i.: dayrer ~ dyerayr!) “point, summit, peak, spike”, cf. dəyər “projecting tongue, small ledge on a cliff-face” [Jns. 1987: 65] (Sem.: DRS 296).

203. AS *dayar (var. *-a₃-?) “to limp” [GT 2004: 62] = *dayar “to limp (хромать)” [Stl. 1977: 153, #35]: Angas daar “1. to go haltingly (not from permanent lameness, but

from a temporary disability, such as a sprain or a cut foot), 2. limp” [Flk. 1915: 164] = dàar “Hinken, Lahmheit” [Jng. 1962 MS] = dár “to limp” [ALC 1978: 11], Sura dayar “hinken” [Jng. 1963: 62], Gmy. dâar [dɔɔr < *da₃ya₃r?] “to limp, walk with a limp” [Srl. 1937: 23] ||| SCu.: Iraqw toqoramo “lame person, cripple” [Ehret 1980: 171, #30, a.1]⁴ = toqōrmō ~ taqōrmō (m), pl. toqōri ~ taqōrāy “crippled man or animal, disformed limb(s)” [MQK 2002: 100, 106] ||| SBrb.: perhaps Ayr təkərtəkər “1. galoper (boeuf, veau), 2. trotter, 3. chancellor” [PAM 2003: 786]. The consonantal correspondences are on some points (e.g., AS *d- ≠ SCu./SBrb. *t-, SCu. *-k- = AS *-ɣ- ≠ SBrb. *-k-) irregular.

204. Gmy. *dak “to open” [GT 2004: 62] ||| SBrb. *√dy “frapper” [GT pace DRS 361: dy/q(t)] ||| LEg. dq “to hack up” (NE, DLE IV 143) ||| Sem.: i.a. Tigre dāqdāqā “fendre” [DRS 302].

205. AS *dal (with nasal prefix) “rat sp.” [GT 2004: 62]: Msr. ndal “rat sp. (brown-white, it is much cleverer than any other rat type)” [Dkl. 1997 MS: 164], Gmy. ndal “a spotted field mouse” [Srl. 1937: 154] || ECh.: Tumak dāl “rat géant” [Caprile 1975: 127] ||| SCu.: WRift *diláy, pl. *dilayaʔi “rat sp.” [KM]: Alagwa diláy, pl. dilāʔi “Tatera gerbil”, Burunge dilayʔ, pl. dilāʔē “rat sp.” (WRift: KM 2004: 94) ||| Sem.: perhaps Ar. duldul- “hérisson” [BK I 722]. For Ar.-Tumak see SED II 100-101, #68. The etymology of Syr. dalqā “(fourrure de) belette” [DRS] | Ar. dalaq- “fouine” [BK I 725] = “(fourrure de) belette” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 268) is ambiguous⁵.

206. AS *dāl “to beat (with feet?)” [GT 2004: 62]: Kfy. daal “to tread (as in mixing mud)” [Ntg. 1967: 6], Gmy. dal “to beat, strike” [Srl. 1937: 25] = dal [dal] “to beat” [Hlw. 2000 MS: 4] ||| HECu.: Kambatta and Sidamo udul- “to pound (in mortar)” [Hudson 1989: 116] ||| Eg. dr z3t.w “1. (alt) die Fussbodenplatten hinbreiten (beim Bauen), 2. (XVIII.) den Erdboden hinbreiten (bei der Schöpfung), 3. (XVIII.) den Fussboden (des Tempels) aus Gold glatt machen” (Wb V 475, 3-5) = “to flatten pavement (by pounding?)” (GT).

One wonders whether this above is the root that the exclusive isogloss of Eg.-Sem. *√dldl “to even out, level off (the ground)” [GT] ultimately derives from with the primary intensive (reduplicated) meaning “to pound (the whole surface of the ground) with feet” [GT], cf. Eg. drdr.w “nivellement” (CT VI 1g, AL 77.5078) = “*Nivellierung”

⁴ Ch. Ehret (l.c.) mistakenly equated it with Dahalo tókone “orphan” (!) to reconstruct a common SCu. *toko+ “weak person, person lacking physical strength or social power”, which is hardly acceptable both *eo ipso* and in the light of the AA cognates.

⁵ Since, beside its C₃ being possibly a root extension, it might just as well be regarded as representing the metathesis of a PCh. *√d[k]l “rat” [GT] > CCh.: Mandara žigalē [Mouchet] | Glavda čaghulbā [Rapp] | Buduma čókel [Nachtigal] || ECh.: Jegu midgel (prefix *mV-) «Hausratte» [Jng. 1961, 115]. This root, in turn, may contain an extension *-l attached to an ultimately biconsonantal PCh. *√d[k] “rat” [GT] present also in WCh.: Karekare gándigàu [Alio] | Warji gándákwaná [Skinner] | Ngizim gáadágum [Schuh] || CCh.: Gisiga-Midjivin kotokom “mouse” [Lukas] | Kola kótókóm [Schubert] | Gidar kátqam [Mouchet] (Ch.: CLR II 270-271, all forms, if otherwise not indicated, denote “rat”), whose simplex appears too in CCh.: Tera dúk “bush rat” [Newman], which is akin to PBrb. *√dy “belette” [DRB 359] < AA *√dk “rat” [GT].

(GHWB 984; ÄWb II 2796)⁶ || Sem.: Ar. dandal- “esplanade, promenade, lieu où l’on se promène” [Barth apud Dozy I 463] || ES *√dlldl “to even out, level off (the ground)” [Leslau 1987, 131]⁷ > Geez daldala “aplanir, niveler”, Tigre dāldālā “tenir prêt, rendre solide, construire un pont”, Tigrinya dāldālā, Amharic dālāddālā, Harari dilādālā, Gurage delādālā “aplanir le sol en comblant les trous” (ES: DRS 262).

207. PAngas *dāl (nasal prefix) “pride” [GT 2004: 63]: Angas ndaal “Stolz, pride, Frechheit” [Jng. 1962 MS, 28] = ndal “arrogance, pride” [Gcl. 1994, 61], cf. also Angas dël [d- < *nd- and -e- < *-a₂-?] “to brag”, ngo ɖap dël “proud person” (ngo “person”) [ALC 1978, 13, 44] || Sem.: Akk. dalālu “to proclaim, glorify” [CAD d 47] || Hbr. √dll III “to praise (?)” [KB 223] = “huldigen, preisen” [AHW 153] | Ar. dalla (impf. -u-) “to glory in, boast of (certain properties or peculiar qualities), embolden” [Lane 900c] = “se glorifier, se vanter de, agir avec hardiesse ou avec audace en feignant la timidité, mi-nauder” [DRS 265].

208. AS *dam (also with nasal prefix) “stick, branch” [GT 2004: 63]: Angas dam “stick, staff” [Flk. 1915: 162] = dām “Stock, Stab” [Jng. 1962 MS] = [ᵐdām] “stick” [Brq. 1971: 15, 43] = ndam “stick” [ALC 1978, 42] = ndām “stick” [Krf.] = ndām “stick (from the Hausa)” [Gcl. 1994: 26, 33], Mpn. ndām “1. light branch of a tree, 2. whip, staff” [Frj. 1991: 41] vs. its variation in **AS *zam** > ***zaŋ** ~ ***žāŋ** “stick” [GT 2004: 422] || SCu.: Qwadza dam-ali-ko [d- reg. < SCu. *ž₂-] “bough” [Ehret 1980: 225; 1980 MS: 5] = “branch” [Ehret 1987: #450]⁸ || ECU. *zām- “twig, branch” [Sasse 1976: 140; cf. also Lsl. 1988: 186] = *daʔm- [Sasse 1982: 52] = *zāmm- “branch” [Ehret 1987: #450] < pre-PECu. **zamʔ- < **zaʔm- (via met.) [GT] || NBrb.: Shilh ta-dem-t “fêrule” [DRB 339: isolated in Brb.] || Eg. zm3.w (pl.) [< *√zmr and *√zmʔ both possible] “die Zweige der Bäume” (MK, Wb III 452, 2-5) = “branches of tree” (FD 226) || Sem. *√zmr > Ug. āzmr “branchages (?)” [DRS] = azmr “branches” [DUL 137] (not translated as yet in WUS 98, #883; Gordon 1965: 393, #823) | Hebrew √zmr II qal “to prune” [KB 274] = “tailler la vigne” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 751). The Eg.-ECu. match was first proposed by A. B. Dolgopolsky (1983: 140), followed by V. Blažek (1990 MS Bed.: 5, #8). The C₁ (*ž-/ *ž₂-/ *d-) of the underlying PAA word is not fully evident even in the light of all the parallels listed above⁹. Maybe there were diverse varieties even in PAA?

⁶ Formerly, its rendering had been controversial. AECT II 106 and 107, n. 6 to spell 472: “strange sites (?) (of the desert plateau)” < drdr “strange”. Barguet 1986, 48: untranslated: “drdrw ... (du plateau désertique)”. DCT 802: act. “that what has to be removed”, cf. Eg. dr “to remove”.

⁷ Affiliated by W. Leslau (l.c.) with Sem.: Hbr. √dll and Ar. (ta)dan/ldala “to dangle”, which are in the DRS l.c., in turn, kept apart as distinct roots.

⁸ The position of Qwadza damaliko has been disputed. In 1980, Ch. Ehret derived it from SCu. *ᵐām- “stalk, stem”, but this reconstruction is semantically not too convincing. Later, Ehret (1987) separated Qwadza *dam- from SCu. *ᵐām- and identified (correctly) it with ECU. *zām-.

⁹ Perhaps AA *zamʔ-/ *žamʔ-/ *damʔ- “stick, branch of tree” [GT]? H.-J. Sasse (l.c.) first reconstructed in the ECU. root *z- (1976 and 1979) in the light of Harso san-čē, Gollango sam-te “branch”, but later *d- (1982). The reason of this change was that – as Sasse (p.c. on 24 Feb. 2008) confirmed to me – he thought Rendille dahán “arm, (dry) riverbed” could also be related. If so, this would point to d because *z is represented in Rendille as y. But he added that “of course, if ... that AA evidence speaks in favor of *z, the case should

209. AS *dam “to destroy, spoil” [GT 2004: 63]: Mnt. tam (so, t-) [irreg. t- < *d-?] “to destroy” [Ftp. 1911: 216], Gmy. dam “to spoil, destroy” [Srl. 1937: 25] = dam “to destroy, spoil” [Hlw. 2000 MS: 4] ||| NAgaw *duḡ- > *dəḡw- “1. to finish (tr.), 2. destroy” [GT]: Bilin duḡ “i.a. 4. vollenden im Sinne des Vernichtens, niedermachen im Kampfe, aufreiben, 5. vernichten das Besitztum, rauben, aufzehren, vergeuden” [Rn. 1887: 109], Kemant duḡ “2. détruire” [CR 1912: 187] = dām- “to demolish, destroy” [Apl. 2006: 53], Qwara dāḡw “u.a. 2. den Garaus machen” [Rn. 1885: 51] etc. ||| Sem. *√dmm/y: Akk. dam-t-um ~ tam-t-u (Oakk., O-YBab.) “Vernichtung” [AHW 158] = damtu “destruction” [CAD d 74] || Hbr. √dmm III qal “to perish, be destroyed”, nifal (pf. *nādam) “to be devastated (pasture), perish”, hifil “to cause to perish” [KB 226] vs. Hbr. √dmy qal “cesser, être calme”, nifal “être anéanti, se taire” [DRS 272] | Ar. damma I “8. anéantir, exterminer” [BK I 728] = “frapper, écraser, détruire” [DRS], also Ar. damdama “2. anéantir, perdre, détruire, exterminer (se dit de Dieu)” [BK I 730] (Sem.: DRS 274)¹⁰ < AA *√dm “1. to (be) finish(ed), 2. destroy” [GT], whose primary sense has been preserved i.a. in AS *dim → *dām “to finish (?)” [GT 2004, 71-72], whose entry in this paper contains the full description of the underlying AA root.

The triradical variety of ultimately the same PAA biconsonantal root with a voiceless Anlaut and a prefixed root extension *h- may be found in the exclusive isogloss of SCu.: WRift *ḥitim (dur. “to destroy” [KM 2004: 154] ||| Eg. ḥtm “vernichten, beseitigen (Unreines, Durst), vertilgen” (OK, ÄWb I 911). Here too, the underlying AA root has the same primary sense as its counterpart with the voiceless Anlaut, cf. Eg.-Sem. *√tm “to cease” [GT] discussed s.v. AS *dim → *dām “to finish (?)” [GT 2004: 71-72] (below).

210. Msr. ndam “1. to stain, 2. dye” [Dkl. 1997 MS: 170] ||| NBrb.: Qabyle ddemdem “1. être violet, 2. être de teinte imprécise”, a-demdem ~ a-demdam(i) “de couleur imprécise” [DRB 341: isolated in Brb.] ||| (?) Eg. sdm (caus. of *dm?)¹¹ “schminken (die

be reconsidered”. Even in the light of the external data, it becomes hardly less difficult to judge this question. The initial ECu. *z- would be a regular correspondence to Eg. z- and both AS *z- and *ž-, while ECu. *d- would be supported by the Qwadza & Angas-Sura data. At the moment, Qwadza d- seems to be a merger of SCu. *d- and *ž- (cf. the section for SCu. below). Therefore, Qwadza d- cannot decide the question of AA *C₁- either. In addition, an anomalous correspondence of SCu. *d- ~ Ch. *ž- cannot be excluded either, cf. SCu. *ʔi-daj- “twins” [Ehret 1980: 166] ||| WCh. *žanV “twins” [Stl. 1987: 195, #465] (SCu.-WCh. suggested by Blažek 1999: 234). AS *nd- is quite unexpected in the light of the Eg. and ECu. data. The z- of Eg. zm3.w and ECu. *zām- suggests an initial AA *z-/*ž-. Qwadza d- and AS ž- speak in favour of AA *z-. The Pero parallel is, unfortunately, of little evidence value here at the moment, since the isoglosses are too few to definitely confirm Pero ž < BT *z (i.e., Ch. *ž). But cf. Pero žibóri “earthworm” [Frj. 1985: 33] < BT *zVwri “worm” [Schuh 1984, 214]; Pero tíži “vein” [Frj. 1985: 91] < BT *taze/i “vein” [Schuh 1984: 214], whereas BT *ž- usually appears as Pero č-. In addition, however, AS *zam > *zaj “stick” seems also to indicate a third (PAA?) var. with *z-. All in all, the presently available data seem to point to three AA variants (with *ž-, *z-, and *d-).

¹⁰ One wonders if Ug. t-dmm (m) “lascivious, degrading treatment” [DUL 860] = “agir mal” [DRS] | Ar. √dmm II “1. se conduire mal, agir mal”, IV “1. commettre de vilaines actions, se conduire indigne” [BK I 728] = “soumettre, agir mal” [DRS], contaminated in the DRS under the same root, represent in fact a distinct Semitic root.

¹¹ Alternatively, Eg. sdm (as a primary noun) has been equated with Ar. ʔitmid- ~ ʔatmud- “antimoine dont on fait le collyre” [BK] = “Antimon, zur Herstellung von Augenschminke” [Vcl.], cf. Vollers 1896: 655;

Augen)” (PT-, Wb IV 370, 3-8), sdm “Schminke (für die Augen)” (OK-, Wb IV 370, 9) = “collyre pour les yeux” (Ceugney 1880: 8 pace Pierret) ||| Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{dmm}}$ I “10. teindre (une étoffe)”, II “enduire (l’oeil de collyre, d’onguent)”, damm- “onguent, pâte, toute substance avec laquelle on enduit, collyre dont on enduit les paupières”, dimam- “toute matière gluante avec laquelle on colle et répare les vases cassés, etc.”. [BK I 728], cf. also Ar. dammahāra “das Auge mit Kollyr behandeln” [Vrg.]. For this Eg.-Ar. comparison there is a long tradition of agreement.¹²

211. Mpn. dáí “(adv.) much (about food only)” [Frj. 1991: 11] < Suroid *day [GT 2004: 67], presumably related to **Angas *tā₂** (?): Angas (hill) taa “to be full (of a river)”, tee “abundance, more than enough for oneself” [Flk. 1915: 285, 290] < AS *Tay “more than enough” [GT] ||| NBrb.: Shawya daya “assez” [DRB 422] vs. NBrb. *u-du “être suffisant, suffire, avoir assez” [GT pace DRB 274] ||| Sem.: Hbr. day “suffisance, assez” etc. [DRS 251].

212. AS *das (var. *tas?) “heap” [GT 2004: 66]: Msr. dass (so, -ss) “heap”, dass kas mak “your millet heap (act of piling things together in one pile)” [Dkl. 1997 MS] ||| NOm.: Gidicho detsi “mountain” [Flm. in Bnd. 2003: 91, #90: isolated] ||| NBrb.: Tama-zight a-ndaz ~ a-nnaz [z regular < AA *c] “1. abundance, richesse, biens, fortune, 2. opulence” [Taïfi 1991: 464] < AA * $\sqrt{\text{dc}}$ “heap” [GT].

213. Gmy. dek “1. to drive away” [Hlw. 2000 MS: 5] ||| Bed. digōg “senden, schicken” [Rn. 1895: 62] || ECu.: Yaaku -tig-in-s- “to remove” < *-dig-im-s- [Ehret 1987: 66, #265].

214. AS *dem > *deŋ “to prefer, favour” [GT 2004: 68]: Mpn. dém (sic: plain d-) “to prefer, like” [Frj. 1991: 12], Gmy. doeng (sic: plain d-) [dəŋ > *deŋ] “1. (v.) to favour, 2. (n.) favour” [Srl. 1937, 39]. That these forms are not mere misrecords of **AS *dem** (q.v.) is corroborated by **AS *taŋ** ~ *tʰaŋ (?) “1. to seek, look for, 2. find” [GT 2004: 358] as well as by the AA cognates with plain *d-, cf. WCh.: Nbauchi *dōm (???) “to look for” [GT]: Tsagu žoom [if not ž- < *dy-] and Miya & Kariya doon [if not < * $\sqrt{\text{d}^{\text{y}}\text{m}}$] (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. * $\sqrt{\text{dm}}$ [DRB] > i.a. Tama-zight dmu “prévoir, s’attendre à etc.”, Wargla e-dma “espérer, s’attendre à etc.” (NBrb.: DRB 339-340) || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr dām-āt “vouloir, désirer” [PAM 2003, 102] < AA * $\sqrt{\text{dm}}$ “1. to want, 2. look for” [GT]. The regular shift of AS *-ŋ < *-mH# speaks for

Müller 1905: 415-416; Vycichl 1958: 393; 1960: 174, § 2; 1985: 171, § 11; Saleh 1972; 145-146; Belova 1987: 276; 1989: 12 (with doubt).

¹² See Lacau 1903: 148; Albright 1918: 230, fn. 1; 1919: 188, fn. 1; ESS § 26.a.29; GÄSW § 417; Vergote 1945: 145, § 23.a.10; Belova 1987: 276; 1989: 12.

deriving AS ***taŋ** from AA \sqrt{tm}° “1. to wish, 2. ask (for)” [GT] examined s.v. AS ***ḏaŋ** “1. to wish (?), 2. beg” [GT 2004, 84] (below), although we have cases of plain ***-m#** becoming AS ***-ŋ** (in spite of the lack of any C_3 laryngeal), but we have here AS ***t- < AA *t-/*d-** instead of the expected regular AS ***ḏ-/*ṭ-**. Already K. Nait-Zerrad (DRB 340) surmised a connection between Ar. \sqrt{tm}° and NBrb. ***ḏm**.

215. AS *der > *ḏer “bottom” [GT 2004: 68-69] || CCh.: Hitkala \acute{n} - \acute{d} rdà “unter” [Lukas 1964: 108] || SBrb.: Ahaggar e-dir “fond” [Fcd. 1951-2: 228] || (?) Eg. d3.t “Unterwelt” (PT-, Wb V 415-416) = “netherworld” (FD 310)¹³. The corresponding verbal root has survived in WCh.: Sha dōḥ “absteigen”, doʿó “herabsteigen” (NB: Sha ḥ and \acute{c} are regular < Ron *r) [Jng. 1970: 284] (from an older Ron *ḏor)¹⁴ || HECu. *dirr- “to descend, go down” [Hudson 1989: 49] || NBrb.: Tamazight a-dər “abaisser, faire descendre” [Taïfi 1991: 70] | Qabyle a-dər “descendre”, nduder “être baissé, bas, en contrebas” [Dallet 1982: 152, 545, resp.] || SBrb.: Ahaggar se-der (caus.) “abaisser au-dessous des yeux” [Fcd. 1951-2: 228] < pan-Berber *a-dər “to lower (oneself), descend” [Bynon 1984: 280, #46] || Eg. d3 “niederschmettern” (PT-, Wb V 414, 4) = “to subdue (lands)” (FD 309) || Sem. \sqrt{dry} [DRS]: Tigre dāra “faire descendre, faire couler, descendre”, Amh. dāra “être bas (toit)” (ES: DRS 313). For Sem.-Brb. cf. DRS 313.

216. Angas *-ḏək in the compound ***gəm-ḏək** “dark” [GT 2004, 69]: Angas güm-dük “dark, dusky” [Flk. 1915, 190] = gəm-dək (K) “dark (in dense forest)” [Jng. 1962 MS] || SCu.: Ma’a ki-dug/γú “darkness” | Dahalo (Ehret: borrowed < Oromo) dúkkana “darkness” (SCu.: Ehret, 1980: 190, #18) || Sem. \sqrt{dg} : Ar. daḡdaḡa “devenir sombre”, daḡḡa

¹³ Traditionally explained from an inner Egyptian origin: *dúw3.at “underworld” < **“place of morning twilight” (Vergote 1973 Ib, 83, § 139) = *dúw3.t “1. Gegend im Osten des Himmels, wo Sonne und Sterne aufgehen, 2. Unterwelt” < $\sqrt{dw3}$ “früh sein, am Morgen erscheinen” (NBÄ 266, 839, n. 1134: cf. Fecht 1960: fn. 365). E. Hornung (LÄ I 994) also assumed that its star idea/logogram and “ihre deutliche Verbindung mit den Gestirnen in den ältesten Texten scheinen die Dat als ursprüngliches ‘Reich der Sterne’ als ‘Sternenkreis’ zu kennzeichnen, den das ägyptische ‘Weltbild’ unterhalb des Himmels ansetzt”. In the Pyramid Texts, he maintains, “Dat ist eine Jenseitsregion, die der Tote bei seinem Aufstieg zum Himmel erreicht und erscheint zumeist in enger Nachbarschaft mit Gestirnen und Himmel. ... Diese himmlische Lokalisierung der Dat lebt noch im MR fort. Daneben aber gibt es schon in den PT eine chthonische Dat, zu der die Gestirne hinabsteigen (877f), die in Opposition zum Himmel (882c) und Parallele zu Geb erscheint (1986b). Hier wurzelt wohl die Vorstellung einer ‘Unteren Dat’ (d3.t-ḥrj.t) in den CT II 119i, IV 114c usw. Seit dem Beginn des NR scheint der Ägypter unter Dat nur noch die Unterwelt zu verstehen, bes. deutlich in der Dreiteilung der Welt in p./t3/d3.t (seit Dyn. 18 greifbar) ... Als Eigenschaften der Dat treten im NR vor allem Tiefe, Verborgenheit und Finsternis hervor”.

¹⁴ The regular shift of Sha ḥ and \acute{c} < Ron *r was examined by H. Jungraithmayr (1966: 171-173) both in the An- and Inlaut including the case of Sha dóʿó (o.c., p. 173), whose all other cognates in the Ron group have, however, ḏ- instead of plain d- (NB: Sha also possesses the former phoneme), cf. Bokkos ḏoor, Daffo-Butura ḏor, Kulere ḏoró, also Fyer ḏwāŋ [Jng.: < *ḏoo-āŋ with the erosion of *ḏoor-] “absteigen” (Ron: Jng. 1970: 141, 214, 351, also 391, resp.). Ignoring these facts, V. Orel and O. Stolbova (HSED 270, #1215) misquoted the Ron verbs with plain d- to combine them with Ar. ḥadara I “8. laisser tomber (les larmes, se dit des yeux), 9. descendre d’un endroit plus élevé, 10. aller en pente, descendre, s’abaisser (se dit du terrain), 12. faire descendre ou jeter en bas, 15. (fig.) faire descendre qqn. de la place qu’il occupait, 16. accabler, jeter dans la misère (se dit d’une année de disette)” [BK I 392], which, may, in principle be derived from AA \sqrt{dr} described above.

“baisser le rideau”, duḡḡ-at- “ténèbres” (Sem.: DRS 217-218) < AA *√dg “dark” [GT]. A remotely related root variety is to be found in AA √tḥ “dark” [GT] > Sem.: Ar. √tḥw I “être sombre, obscur” [BK II 63-64; DRS 1071: isolated in Sem.] ||| SCu.: Dahalo ḍēkʷāni “shadow” [Ehret, l.c.].

217. AS *ḍim → *ḍəm “to finish, do finally (?)” [GT 2004: 71-72]: Angas ḍəm “spät, schließlich kommen, gehen, ankommen, hingelangen” [Jng. 1962 MS], Gmy. ḍim’ [ḍim] (so, d-) “to finish a work” [Srl. 1937: 36]¹⁵ ||| NAgaw *ḍəḥ- [-ḥ- reg. < Cu. *-m#] “to finish (tr.)” [Apl.] = *ḍuḥ- > *ḍəḥw- “1. to finish (tr.), 2. destroy” [GT]: Bilin ḍuḥ “1. vollenden, vollbringen, fertig machen, beenden, 2. vollenden das was zu tun möglich = fleissig arbeiten, 3. (im pf. subordin., mit einem Hauptverb) drückt es die Verwirklichung der Handlung des Hauptverbs aus, 4. vollenden im Sinne des Vernichtens, niedermachen im Kampfe, aufreiben, 5. vernichten das Besitztum, rauben, aufzehren, vergeuden” [Rn. 1887, 109] = du/əḥw- “to finish (tr.)” [Apl.], Kemant ḍuḥ “1. finir, achever, 2. détruire” [CR] = ḍəḥw- “to finish (tr.)” [Apl.], Qwara ḍəḥw “1. vollenden, vollbringen, fertig machen, beenden, 2. den Garaus machen” [Rn. 1885, 51] = ḍuḥ [Rn. 1887], Dembea ḍiḥw “finir etc.” [CR] = ḍuḥ “vollenden usw.” [Rn. 1887] | SAgaw: Awiya (Awngi) ḍuḥ “finir etc.” [CR] = Agawmeder ḍuḥ “vollenden usw.” [Rn.] (Agaw: Rn. l.c.; CR 1912: 187; Apl. 2006: 67) ||| ES: Geez dammama “fermer, couvrir”, Tigre dāmāmā “arrêter la lactation”, Tigrinya dāmdāmā “finir”, Gurage dāmāddāmā “finir de couvrir un toit” (ES: DRS 274) < AA *√dm “to (be) finish(ed)” [GT]. The tr. use of the same PAA root is also attested, cf. **AS *dam** “to destroy, spoil” [GT 2004, 63].

A remotely related PAA root variety *√tm “1. to close, 2. finish” [GT] has been retained in **AS *ḍim** > *ḍəm “to finish” [GT 2004: 92] (details discussed below).

A further PAA root variety with a voiceless Anlaut is attested in Eg. tm “1. aufhören, zu Ende sein (Trauer, Krankheit, Unglück), 2. vergehen (der Tote), 3. zu Nichte werden, zu Grunde gehen (von Bösen), 4. nicht vorhanden sein, 5. (vom Herzen, im Sinne von) vergesslich sein, 6. (tr.) vernichten” (PT-, Wb V 301-302), tmtm “être annihilé” (GR: Dendera, Cauville 1997: 616) ||| Sem.: Ar. tamma I “1. finir, être fini, achevé, être complété, arriver à sa fin, 3. finir, achever, terminer etc.” > ta/i/umm- “1. fin, terme etc.” [BK I 206] < AA *√tm “1. конец (end), завершение (finish), 2. полнота (completeness)” [SISAJa]¹⁶.

218. AS *ḍim (?) ~ *ḍem → *ḍəm (?) “large” [GT 2004: 72]: perhaps Angas a-dinkeke “to increase” (-keke obscure) [Ormsby 1914: 210] (?) = ḍəm ~ ḍüm “(to have a) thick growth (as of hair, grass, etc.)” [Flk. 1915: 162, 173], Gmy. ḍim’ [ḍim] (adv. “large sized” [Srl. 1937: 36] ||| NWomt. *dam- “big” [GT] > Malo dāmmo “big” [Sbr. & Caudwell in Bnd. 2003: 13, #10], Oyda damma [Bnd.] = ḍəm(ə) [Flm.], Doko dammē

¹⁵ Cf. perhaps also (metaphorically?) PAngas *ḍim ~ *tim → *ḍəm “to finish eating or drinking all” [GT 2004: 72]: Angas ḍəm “verzehren, essen, konsumieren” [Jng. 1962 MS] = ḍəm “to drink all” [ALC 1978, 11] = ḍim “to drink up” [Gochal 1994: 62].

¹⁶ For this Eg.-Sem. etymology, cf., i.a., GÄSW 86, #348; Vergote 1945: 143, § 21.a.11; Ward 1962: 402-403, #4; SISAJa II 19, #35; Blažek 1990: 32.

[CR] (Bnd. 2003: 54, #10) || NBrb.: Shilh ddem “être gros, gras (produit, gras)”, Sened ta-dum-t “le gras” || EBrb.: Siwa ta-dem-t “graisse” (Brb.: DRB 338, √dm 4).

219. AS *dim “warm” [GT 2004: 72]: perhaps also Mnt. di (so, without -m, misrecorded?) “hot” [Ftp. 1911: 217], Gmy. dim (noun?) “warm” [Hlw. 2000 MS: 6] | Sha ḍyèṅ “kochen” [Jng. 1970: 284] || SAgaw: Awngi dəṅʷ- [-ŋ- reg. < Cu. *-m#] “to burn (tr.)” [Apl. 2006: 39-40]¹⁷.

This isogloss might be a variation of the AA root represented by **Gmy. *tʰəm** “lukewarm” [GT 2004: 363]: Gmy. thoem (so, th-) “lukewarm” [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 *-tēm- “to burn” [Gerhardt 1980: 212] (discussed in the next part of this series).

220. AS *diŋ “1. obscure, 2. dumb” [GT 2004: 72]: Sura tí-diŋ “ein Stummer” (so!) [Jng. 1963: 85] = “a mute, dumb person” [Jng., p.c. on 21 August 2003], Gmy. ding “to be in the dark” [Srl. 1937: 37] || ECh.: Migama dāngó-dāngó (f) “engourdissement” [JA 1992: 77], EDangla dōngiyē “être engourdi, avoir des fourmis, être ankylosé” [DM 1973: 75]¹⁸ || HECu.: Kambatta (Tembaro) danqa “fool” (?) vs. (Qabenna) dōngá “deaf” [Leslau 1979: l.c.] = danḵ- “to be deaf”, danḵ-a “deaf person” [Hudson], Sidamo danḵ- “to be deaf”, danḵ-ičča “deaf person” [Hudson] (HECu.: Hudson 1989: 47) || ES *√dnqʷ “to be deaf” [GT pace Leslau 1987: 138] < AA *√dnḵ “deaf and/or mute” [GT].

The metathesis of a remotely related variety to this AA root (with a voiced velar and a varying nasal element), namely NAA *√dgm/n “blind, deaf and/or mute” [GT], is attested in Sem. *√dgn: Syriac dʿgen “être affaibli (vue)”, degnā ~ degānā “ophtalmie” | Ar. daḡana “être sombre” (Sem.: DRS 220) vs. ES *√drgm (root extension *-r- and change of the nasal): Gurage dərgəmm alā “se taire, ne pas répondre” [DRS 309] || Eg. dgm “ohnmächtig, benommen sein: 1. eines Menschen (der infolge dessen nicht sprechen oder antworten kann), 2. eines Rindes” (Med., Wb I 500, 6-7) = “bewußtlos, benommen” (Med., WMT 992) = “to be speechless” (FD 317) = “*sprachlos, ohne Erklärung sein, Befehl nicht erklären können” (OK-, ÄWb I 1483b) > dgm.t “Bewußtlosigkeit” (NK Mag., Wb V 500, 8). For further reflexes of the underlying PAA biconsonantal root (*√dg) see the entry for AS *duk “blunt” [GT 2004: 76] (below).

221. AS *dir → *dər “1. orig. (to/at the) place (of), 2. toward” [GT 2004: 72]: An-gas dhīr (so dh-) ~ dī (equal to dhīr in all respects) “Fr. chez (Hs. wurin): at, or to, the place of”, dī-dhīr “(≈ Hs. awurin)” [Flk. 1915: 167] = dər “Platz”, də-dər “sein Platz, zu ihm” [Jng. 1962 MS] = dər ~ le-met dər “toward, to”, də-dər “to him, to her” [ALC 1978, 11-12, 32] = dir-ting “an inner living space” [Gochal 1994: 27], cf. Mpn. dər

¹⁷ Affiliated by D. Appleyard (l.c.) as a cognate of Agaw *dəṅʷ- “to finish (tr.)”, which seems to be erroneous.

¹⁸ For the semantic dispersion cf. ES *√dngz: e.g., Amhara dānāggāzā “être fatigué, avoir la vue basse”, Gurage dāngəzāz balā and Harari dāngəš bāyā “être engourdi” (ES: DRS 279) || HECu.: Qabenna dingižž iyo “s’émousser” [DRS 279].

(prep.) “spatial specifier with the meaning ‘by X, along with X’ (used with various prepositions to indicate spatial relationship), n-dər (adv.) “along with” [Frj. 1991: 14, 40] ||| NBrb.: Shilh dar ~ der “1. chez”, Tamazight dar “chez” (toujours suivi d’un pron. p. aff. ind.), Ntifa dar “chez” (NBrb.: DRB 373).

222. AS *dit > *dət (Angas) vs. ***dut > *dʷat** (Suroid) vs. ***dat > *tat** (?) (Goemaïoid) “short, small” [GT 2004: 73] ||| NOm.: Chara dodā [Crl.] = dōda [Flm.] “small” (NOm.: Bnd. 2003, 94, #120).

223. AS *doyol > *dəyəl ~ *döl “1. much, many, 2. big, fat” [GT 2004: 73]: Kfy. dōyol “much, many” [Ntg. 1967: 8], Msr. a-dikil [act. -dəkəl < *doyol?] “surplus”, a-dikil ni “it is the plentiness of the items”, a-dikil ni le ku kyak mu “it is the surplus that made you not pack” [Dkl. 1997 MS], Gmy. dāâl’ [dóól < *doyol] “1. fatness, stoutness, 2. to fatten” [Srl. 1937: 22] = dowəl (so, -w-) “fatness” [Krf.] = dool “to be fat” [Hlw. 2000 MS: 6] ||| ES: Amhara ʔadgäläggälä “faire gonfler beaucoup”, dägəlgəl “rond et trapu, malformé” [DRS 220]. AS *doyol may also be equated via metathesis with a remotely related root variety in Sem.: Ar. daliḥa “être gras” > dāliḥ- “1. gras, *et de là*: 2. qui a fait une récolte abondante (dans une année d’abondance)”, dulūḥ- “1. gras, 2. chargé de fruits (palmier)” [BK I 722] < AA *√dlQ, whose C₃ was presumably a root extension, cf. AA *√dl “great” [GT].¹⁹

224. AS *doyon ~ *deyen → *dəyən, also ***den** (without *-γ-!) “yesterday” [GT 2004: 73-74] = ***dəyən-dəyən** [Stl.] ||| NOm.: NWomt. *zin- ~ *zigVn- (?) “yesterday” [Bnd. 2003, 77, #113] > ext. Wlt. *zin- ~ *zikin- “yesterday” [Bnd. 2003: 48, #113] | SEOmt. *zigin-e ~ *zin-e “yesterday” [Bnd. 2003: 110, #113] | Chara zín-a “yesterday” [Bnd. 2003: 146, #113] < Omt. *zikin- “yesterday” [Bnd. 2003: 146, #113]. This is an irregular match with AS *d- (instead of the expected *z-) vs. Om. *z-.

225. AS *dū (or ***du**?) “to sleep” [GT 2004: 75]: Gerka du-dur (so, -r) [-duy < *du?] “to sleep” [Ftp. 1911: 220] = dùu? (so, -ʔ) “to sleep” [IL], Gmy. goe-du “bed” (act. “that of sleeping”) [Srl. 1937: 63] ||| NOm.: Kachama ʔdih- and Ganjule de-a- “to sleep, lie down” [Akl. Yilma in Bnd. 2003: 94, #119] | Chara dino (imper.) “to sleep, lie down” [Flm. in Bnd. 2003: 94, #119] ||| SBrb.: (?) Ayr ta-dāda “couche de lit” [DRB 282: isolated in Brb.] ||| Sem. *√dwy [DRS] > Ar. (Palestina) dawa “(s’en)dormir” || Tigre dāwa “1. rester, durer, 2. devenir très vieux, 3. cesser, être calme” (Sem.: DRS 234).

226. AS *dū (prothetic ***n-**) “lizard sp. (salamander?)” [GT 2004, 75]: Angas duu “a lizard with red longitudinal stripes along the sides” (Hs. šarun duma, sic!) [Flk. 1915: 172] = duu “rotgestreifte Eidechse” [Jng. 1962 MS] = ndu “type of lizard”, ndu-ran

¹⁹ Attested in Sem.: Ar. duldul- “2. grand, 3. affaire grave et importante” [BK I 722] ||| SCu.: Burunge dayloʔi “to be heavy” [Ehret 1980: 167, #40] ||| SOM.: Dime dildo “many, much” [Bnd. 1994: 154]. Ch. Ehret (1995: 131, #136) equated the Dime word directly with Ar. √dlḥ assuming in its C₃ the trace of a Sem. *ḥ^w “finitive fortative” root extension.

“striped lizard” (AS *ran “to draw a line”, q.v.) [ALC 1978: 42], Sura nduu “große Eidechsenart” [Jng. 1963: 76], Mpn. ndú “salamander” [Frj. 1991: 41] || NOm.: Malo dawe “python” [Bnd. 2003: 22, #104], Oyda dawwe and Bsk. dəwi “python” [both by Flm. in Bnd. 2003: 61, #104]²⁰.

227. AS *duyul ~ *ḍuyul “stick” [GT 2004: 75]: Angas dül “1. a club, to fight with, or to throw after game, 2. a bludgeon, 3. a stake to which a horse, etc., is tied” [Flk. 1915: 172] = dүүл “Wurfholz, Keule, mit gekrümmtem Kopf” [Jng. 1962 MS] = dul ~ ndul “handle” [ALC 1978, 12, 42], Sura dùyul [sic, d-] “Knüppel” [Jng. 1963: 62], Mpn. dүүл “cudgel, club, stick”, ḍүүл (sic, ḍ-) [ḍ- < *nd-?] “stick” [Frj. 1991: 13, 16], Kfy. dùgùl “club, stick for hunting, pestle” [Ntg. 1967: 8], Msr. dukuul (false second vowel length) “stick with round head” [Dkl. 1997 MS], Chip tükùl (so, t-) “stick” [Krf.] || Sem.: Ar. daqal- “poutre mise en travers dans une embarcation”, dawqal- “1. poutre mise en travers dans une embarcation, 2. verge, pénis” [BK I 717] || Soqotri dáqal “mât” [Lsl. 1938: 134], Jibbali déqál “mast” [Jns. 1981: 38], Mehri dəqāl “mast” [Jns. 1987: 69] || Gees daqal “mast of ship” etc. (from Ar.) [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1987: 139; DRS 303).

228. AS *duyul > *dül “hump of back, buttocks (?)” [GT 2004: 75]: Msr. dukul “hum[p]”, ridong ni ḍeng dukul “the cow has no hum[p]” [Dkl. 1997 MS], Gmy. duul “the down end of the back-bone” [Srl. 1937: 44] = duul “buttocks, anus” [Hlw. 2000 MS: 6] || CCh.: Bura-Margi *dal- “buttocks” [OS] || NOm.: extended Wolayta cluster *dull-e “buttocks” [Bnd. 2003: 47 and 140, #10]: i.a. Wolayta dullyā “1. buttocks, 2. root” [Crl. apud LS 1997: 340; Bnd. 2003: 22, #109] || LECu.: Somali dul “2. Rücken der Tiere” [Rn. 1902: 109] = “person’s, animal’s back” [Abr. 1964: 68] || HECu.: Gedeo, Sidamo dolla “buttocks” [Bender 2003: l.c.] || SBrb.: Qwadza dilinga “back (of the knee)” [Ehret 1980: 190-191 with a different etymology] || EBrb.: Ghadames dalil “après-demain” [DRB 328: isolated] || Eth.-Sem.: Gees da’älle “bone of the back, buttocks”, Amh. dalle “hips (of a woman)” (ES: Leslau 1987: 130). Perhaps AS *duyul < **duḥul- extended by the AA affix of the nominal class of anatomical terms (cf. Takács 1997)? Cf. HSED 146, #636 (ES-BM). M.L. Bender (2003: l.c.) already noted the relationship of NOm. to HECu. and Amh. dalle “hip”.

229. Suroid *duyum [GT]: Sura dugum ~ duyum “Antilopenbock” [Jng. 1963: 62]²¹ || Ech.: Kera gə-dàamó (HSED: prefix gV-) (m) “Pferd” [Ebert 1976: 49] || LECu.: Afar daami (not *dāmi) “Zebra” [Isenberg 1840 quoted in Rn. 1890, 834] = da’ami [Rn. 1887:

²⁰ Bender (l.c.): cf. Oromo žawwē.

²¹ Apparently isolated in AS. O.V. Stolbova (1977: 153, #44) identified the Sura form with Mnt. dugún “Ziegenbock” [Jng. 1965: 171] under a common AS *du₁gu[m] “козел (goat)” (sic), which is both semantically and phonologically false. Mnt. -g- < AS *-γ- is irregular, the correct reflex being -Ø-. Moreover, the Montol form is a reflex of AS *-guḥ “he-goat” (used usually with prefix *du-/*də-). If there is any comparanda for the Sura form, perhaps only Gmy. dong-ya “a large sized antelope” (≈ Hs. dári “Senegal hartebeeste” [Abr. 1962: 194]) [Srl. 1937: 40] may be remotely related, although it can by no means be quoted under the very same AS etymon with its irreg. ḍ- and -o-, but it may rather be conceived as an AS parallel reflecting a root variety **√tNK/H, e.g., **√tm? or sim. [GT].

126] ||| NBrb.: Shilh a-dmu “grande gazelle du Sahara, variété de gazelle” [DRB] | Shawya a-dmu, pl. i-dmu-in “gazelle mâle” [Huyghe 1907, 13] || SBrb.: Ahaggar é-demi “gazelle de grande espèce” [DRB], EWlmd. and Ayr e-dəmi, pl. i-dām-an, EWlmd. also i-dəmi, pl. a-dām-an “gazelle ruffifrons (de grande espèce), biche, 2. p.ext.: chameau couleur *edəmi*”²² [PAM 2003: 102] || WBrb.: Zenaga dāmi, pl. dəmi-ān “Gazella Ruffifrons” [Nicolas 1953, 251] (Brb.: DRB 338-339) || Sem.: Akk. (O-YBab.) da(m)dammu “eine Art Maultier” [AHW 157] = (Chager Bazar, Mari, NAss.) damdammu (damdāmu > daddāmu) “a mule” [CAD d 64] = “sorte de mule” [DRS 271: isolated in Sem.] < AA *dam- “equid” [OS] = *√dm ~ *√dʔm [GT], whose *-ʔ- (reflected by Afar) may explain the Kera vowel length in the 1st syllable and also Suroid *-γ-. For the AA comparison (sine AS) cf. HSED 148, #641.

230. AS *duyun ~ *dʷayan “to spoil, be spoiled” [GT 2004: 75-76]: (?) Gerka ya-don-ki [-don- < *-dʷayan-ʔ] “bad” [Ftp. 1911: 214], Angas doon (so, -oo-) “to destroy” [Ormsby 1914: 208] = duun “to spoil, vitiate, be spoiled” [Flk. 1915: 173] = dùn “1. verderben (tr., intr., Menschen und Sachen), 2. krank machen” [Jng. 1962 MS] = [dùŋ] “to be spoiled” [Brq. 1971: 31] = dun “to spoil”, cf. ʔut dun-dun “sadness, sorrow” (ʔut “belly”) [ALC 1978: 7, 12] = dun “to spoil” [Gochal 1994: 61], presumably Msr. ndukan ~ dukan [du-/đu-zero grade < *dʷa-, i.e. < *dʷayan] “1. condemn” [Dkl. 1997 MS: 164] ||| Sem.: cf. Ar. daʕin- and mudʕan- “1. méchant, de mauvais caractère, 2. qui est nourri mal ou nourri de mauvais aliments” [BK I 704; DRS 292: isolated in Sem.] and/or Ar. √dwn I “1. être de qualité inférieure, 2. être vil, bas, méprisé”, IV “rendre bas, vil, inférieur ou ignoble” [BK I 754].

231. AS *duyur, pl. *dʷayar (hence Gmy. *da₃ya₃r?) “1. to block, 2. cover, 3. lock” [GT 2004: 76]: Angas duur “1. bunged up, stuffed up, 2. to block up, fill up, stammer” [Flk. 1915: 174] = dùr “verschloßen, verhüllt sein (z.B. durch Nebel)” [Jng. 1962 MS], Sura duyur ~ dugur “verstopfen, flicken (z.B. ein zerrisenes Hemd), ausbessern (z.B. Hütte), blockieren, bedecken” [Jng. 1963: 63], Mpn. dúur “to cover a hole”, dùr “block, cover (noun)” [Frj. 1991: 13] = dúur “to cover a hole”, dùr “block, cover” [Frj. 1991: 13], Kfy. dūgur, (repeated action) dwàgar “to lock” [Ntg. 1967: 8], Msr. ndukur “1. to cover, 2. close, seal” [Dkl. 1997 MS: 355], Gmy. dââr [dðɔr < *da₃ya₃r < *dʷayar] “to (be) closed” [Srl. 1937, 23, 46] = door “to cover, block” [Hlw. 2000 MS: 6] (AS: GT l.c., cf. also Stl. 1977: 153, #45; 1987: 173, #253) ||| NBrb. *√dyr > *ta-dyar-t “covering” [GT]: Shilh ta-dyar-t “1. loque, chiffon, 2. morceau d’étoffe dont on se couvre la tête, 3. ruban qui porte les bijoux du diadème” | Tamazight ta-dyar-t “doigt de gant qui protège l’index gauche du moissonneur” | Ntifa ta-dyar-t “sacoche en cuir que l’on suspend autour du cou” (NBrb.: DRB 362-363) ||| Eg. dqr “überziehen (Grabwand mit Verputz)” (GHWb 988) > dg3 (with a late shift of OK q > g) “III. (NE) etwas (steinerne Bauteile, Schiffe, Stab) mit Gold überziehen, IV. (LP) etwas ankleben an etwas” (Wb V 499, 12-14)

²² Cf. EWlmd. and Ayr dām-āt “être de couleur edəmi (rougeâtre ou jaune-rougeâtre)” [PAM 2003: 102], which suggests the zoonym to have been derived from the colour name (in which case it cannot belong here) unless there was a contamination of both.

= “1. to overlay, cover, hide, 2. be covered, decked” (NE, DLE IV 143) ||| Sem.: Ar. daqara “barricader”, diqr- “barre (pour fermer la porte)”, cf. dayraqa ~ yardaqa “couvrir, cacher”, oriental dials. daqar “être arrêté (commerce, travail)”, daqqar “fermer au verrou”, dāqūr “obstacle” [DRS 305, 296: isolated in Sem.] < AA *√dqr “1. to cover, 2. block” [GT]. Cf. also LECu.: Oromo danqara “a bar (for gate or door)”, danqarā “stick used to keep door closed”, danqar-aḏḏa “to close for self” [Gragg 1982: 99] ||| ES: Amharic dānqara “obstacle” [DRS 286: isolated in Sem.] with an epenthetic nasal.

232. AS *duyur ~ *dʷayar (?) → *duyar “4. to be deaf” [GT 2004, 76]: this seems – at least viewed from the standpoint of AS lexicography – to be identical with the preceding AS root²³ originally used as combined with AS *kʷam “ear”, which later became elliptic. If so, however, how should we then regard its astonishing semantical parallels practically with the same consonantism? Cf. HECu.: Kambatta (Qabenna) dān-qóro “deaf” [Leslau] | LECu.: Oromo donqoro “stupid” [Apl. 1977, 13/55] || NAgaw *dānkʷVr “deaf” [Apl.]: Khamir donqūr (i.e., donqʷer) ~ donqūr (i.e., donqʷr) “1. taub sein, 2. sich staub stellend, trotzig [Rn. 1884: 354] = dōnqūr [Apl.], Khamta dānkʷar “deaf” [Apl.], Kemant dānqoro ~ dānkuro “deaf” [Apl.] || SAgaw *təŋgʷər [Apl.]: Awn-gi (Awiya) çəngúr and Damot çungúr “sordo, sordo-muto, stupido” [CR 1905: 181] = “глухой, глухонемой, глупый” [Dlg.] = çangur [Murray] = çəngúr “deaf”, çonger- “to be deaf” [Apl.] ||| ES (Apl. 1977: 13/55, also Dlg. l.c.: < Cu.): Tigrinya and Amharic danqôrô “deaf” [Dlg.] = Tigrinya dānqʷärä “to be dumb” and Amharic dānāqqʷärä “to be dumb and deaf” [Leslau 1979 III: 215; 1988, 186] = Amharic dānāqqʷärä “1. être sourd, muet, 2. être stupide, niais” > dānqʷäro “sourd, muet” [DRS], Argobba dongaro “sourd, muet” [DRS], Gurage √dnqʷr “1. to be deaf, 2. fool, stupid, 3. dumb” [GT pace Leslau] (ES-Cu.: Apl. 1977: 13/55; DRS 286). May we see in Cu.-ES *√dnkʷr “to be deaf” [GT] with its epenthetic (?) nasal the manifold spread of the semantic shift sprung from (the etymon?) of the isolated ES: Amharic dānqara “obstacle” [DRS 286] ||| LECu.: Oromo danqarā “crossbar”, danqartī “obstacles” [Bitima 2000, 83-84] in the Ethiopian lg. area? This family of roots has a far-reaching history, so far never examined closer in all of its branches:

(232.1) Following M. Cohen (1951-4, 15-16), D. Appleyard (1977; 2006: l.c.) regarded Cu.-ES *√dnkʷr “to be deaf” [GT] as an “*Ethiopian areal item*” cognate with Agaw *dəyʷar- “donkey” [Apl.] = *dəyʷ/qʷar- [Ehret 1987: 96, #406]²⁴, the reflexes of which already L. Reinisch (1887: 103) and G. Conti Rossini (1912: 184) have equated with

²³ Which would seem to be corroborated by the apparently analogous parallelism of Ar. √swr I “2. affaiblir” [BK I 1383] = I “étourdir les oreilles”, II “assourdir”, VII “être étourdi, assourdi” [Dozy I 852] ||| (?) Brb. *√dṛṛ “être sourd” [GT after DRB 482] vs. Sem. *√sr “1. to stand, 2. stop” [GT] ||| Eg. ḏr “1. to end (hunger), 2. hinder, obstruct” (FD 323) ||| WCh. *cVr- “1. to stand, 2. stop” [GT after CLD III 180, #766], discussed s.v. AS *dār (var. *ḏer in Msr.) “1. to stand, 2. stay, 3. stop” [GT 2004: 85] in “Angas-Sura Etymologies VIII”.

²⁴ The voiceless *-kʷ- in PAgaw *dikʷar- “donkey” as reconstructed by V. Orel & O. Stolbova (HSED #667) does not agree with the Inlaut of the reflexes, cf. Bilin and Khamta dəḥwara, Kemant dəyʷära, Awn-gi dəyʷarí (quoted after Apl. l.c., but cf. also, e.g., the records with Inlaut -q-, -ḳ-, -ḥ- collected by L. Reinisch 1887: 103 and G. Conti Rossini 1912: 184).

LECu.: Oromo dongora “Maulesel” [Rn.]. This Cushitic root (without the secondary nasal of the latter reflex) seems to be, however, alternatively (?) explained from the primary sense “stubborn” in NBrb.: Shilh dduq(q)er “1. avoir la tête dure, 2. être têtu, entêté, 3. être inintelligent”, a-se-ddaqqar “1. inintelligent, 2. stupide” [DRB 367: isolated in this sense in Brb.] || SBrb.: Ayr dāqqār “avoir pour x favori(te), 2. aimer obstinément, s’entêter à aimer” [PAM 2003: 93], which leads us to Common Brb. *√d̥y̥r “coller, être collé à” [DRB 363-364], cf. especially SBrb.: EWlmd. -Ayr ə-d̥y̥r “1. coller (à la colle), 2. être collé, adhérer à, 3. choisir, préférer, 5. aimer obstinément”, EWlmd. dəyir-ət “coller à terre” [PAM 2003: 92-93], Ahaggar dəyir-et “1. refuser absolument de se lever (animal accroupi), 2. fig.: prolonger sa présence ou son séjour dans un lieu ou chez qqn.”, a-deyāra “animal qui refuse absolument de se lever” [Fcd. 1951-2] || older Eg. dqr “angeheftet sein an (r) etwas” (Med., Wb V 496, 4) = “to press against (r)” (FD 316) > LEg. dg3 (regular late shift of -q- → -g- and -r weakened > -3) “IV. etwas ankleben an (m) etwas, auch: mit (r) einem Klebemittel” (LP, Wb V 499, 13-14) < perhaps NAA *√d̥kr “to be closely attached, stick to” [GT].

(232.2) The authors dealing with ES-Cu. *√dn̥k̥w̥r “to be deaf” [GT] above (cf. Dolgopol’skij 1966: 74, #5.30; Appleyard 1977: 13/55; 2006: 53; Leslau 1979 III: 215; 1987, DRS 286) used to point out also the Ethiopian parallels often attested without the final *-r (C₄) and sometimes even the Inlaut nasal (C₂), which make us suspect that the above AS-Eth. parallelism is due to pure chance, cf. ES: Geez dānqāwā (1979) vs. danqawa (1987) “to be deaf, hard of hearing, ignorant, stupid”, dānqaw “deaf, hard of hearing, simple, plain”, Harari dōnqa “deaf”, Gafat dānqu “deaf”, Gurage √dn̥k̥w̥ “to be deaf” (ES: Appleyard 1977: 13/55; Leslau 1987: 138 repeated in DRS 285 in French) || LECu.: perhaps (via metathesis?) Somali dōqon, pl. dōqomo “Dummkopf, einfältiger Mensch” [Rn. 1902: 108] = dōqon, pl. dōqónnó “1. fool, 2. stupidity” [Abr. 1964: 66] = doqon, pl. doqomo “дурак, недалекий человек” [Dlg.] | Oromo donqo “stupid” [Leslau] = donqo [Apl.] | HECu.: Kambatta (Tembaro) danqa “fool” (?) vs. (Qabenna) dōngá “deaf” [Leslau 1979, l.c.] = danq̥- “to be deaf”, danq̥-a “deaf person” [Hudson], Sidamo danq̥- “to be deaf”, danq̥-ičča “deaf person” [Hudson] (HECu.: Hudson 1989, 47) || NOM.: Gimirra-Maji dungu “sordo (deaf)” [Cerulli 1951, 432] || WCh.: AS *diñ “1. obscure, 2. dumb” [GT 2004, 72] (examined above). Any connection of the underlying Cu.-ES-AS *√dn̥k̥(w) to LECu.: Oromo danqa “block, obstruction”, danqū “block, obstruct” [Bitima 2000, 83-84]?

(232.3) Moreover, E. Cerulli (1951: 432), followed by some of the above listed authors (Dolgopol’skij, Appleyard), affiliated also NOM.: Kaffa diqq-ō “scemo” [Cerulli 1951: 432, not in Rn. 1888: 279] = diq̥q̥-ō [Dlg.], which may in principle be a trace of the simplex (without nasal C₂) to Cu.-ES *√dn̥k̥w̥ “1. deaf, 2. fool” [GT]. Interestingly, here too emerges a suspicious parallel among the zoonyms, cf. SCU.: PRift *daḵ^wayi < pre-PRift *diḵ^wayi (sic: unexplained *d̥-) “donkey” [Ehret 1980: 345, #7; 1987: 96, #406] > WRift *daqway “donkey” [KM 2004: 88]²⁵ | ERift: Qwadza daḵ^waḵ^wayiko “donkey” [Ehret], Asa (Ngomwia) dagwawai-ko / dawaḥe-tuko “donkey” [Fleming] (SCU.: Fleming 1969: 29, #22; Ehret 1980: 345, #7), which H.C. Fleming (l.c.), Ch. Ehret (1987: 96,

²⁵ Widespread in the neighbouring Tanzanian lgs., cf. Nyilamba ndogúí, Langi ndakwi, Sandawe daḵwèé.

#406), V. Orel & O. Stolbova (HSED #667), R. Kießling & M. Mous (l.c.), and D. Appleyard (2006: 56) all directly (!) equated with the reflexes of Agaw *dəɣ^war- “donkey” [Apl.]. Noteworthy, in the light of the alternative Alagwa sg. daqwa (m), daqwí (f), the former pair of authors (l.c.) pointed out the derived status of WRift *daqway as a collective in *-ay < original **daqw-.

(232.4) On the other hand, to the best of my knowledge, one has so far almost fully overlooked in this context the biconsonantal simplex in Sem.: Syr. dūggā “sourd”, ʾadeg (af^{el} stem) “devenir sourd”, and Mandaic duga “sourd” (listed in DRS 217 among the reflexes of Sem. *ʾdgg “ténèbres”), except for M. Cohen (1951-4: 16), who also pointed to a possible cognacy of ES *ʾadg- “ass” [Cohen]: Geez ʾadg “ass”, Tigrinya ʾadgi, Tigre ʾadg “donkey”, which was cited also by W. Leslau (1987, 7) as unconvincing. But hardly can the matter be swept off so swiftly, since for ES *ʾadg-, one might compare also HECu.: Kambatta (Qabenna) (h)adāga “stupid” [Leslau] → ES: Gurage (Chaha, Ezha, Soddo) adaga, (Ennemor, Gyeto) adāga, (Endegeny) adāgā “one who acts in a rash way, fool” (ES: Leslau 1979 III 16) ||| WCh. Ngizim daakūyà (n./adj.) “deaf (person)” [Schuh 1981: 40] || CCh.: Lele múdùgú “sourd-muet” [WP 1982, 65] < AA *ʾdg “1. deaf, 2. stupid” [GT].

(232.5) H.G. Mukarovsky (1987: 99) equated Khamir √dnq^wr “deaf” with the reflexes of Ch. *ʾdnr ~ *ʾdn̄g ~ *ʾdg “blind” [GT], which strikingly resemble the above listed Cu.-ES root varieties for “deaf” (viz. *ʾdnk^wr ~ *ʾdnk^(w) ~ *ʾdk̄k̄), cf. CCh.: Gidar dáṅar | Masa dugia, Banana dukà, Musey ndugiya vs. Lame diṅàra, Lame-Peve dṅa, Zime-Batna dṅàr || ECh.: Lele ḍugyá. The question remains here also open whether this coincidence of sequences is due to pure chance.

(232.6) On the top of all this, there is the so far unravelled enigma of LEg. dng (GT: in fact, written dnrg/*dlg) “eine schlechte Eigenschaft des Ohrs” (NE, Wb V 470, 2) = dnrg “to be deaf” (NE, DLE IV 136) = dng, dnrg (*dlg) “eine schlechte Eigenschaft des Ohrs: *taub” (GHWb 982), already mentioned (as Eg. ʾdngʾ) in this Ethiopian context by M. Cohen (1951-4, 16). The group -nr- stands, however, in LEg. orthography typically for an *-l-, thus our word cannot be treated as a metathesis of a hypothetical *dnrg, however tempting seems its direct equation with Cu.-ES *ʾdnk^wr “to be deaf” [GT]. What if NEg. dnrg (*dlg) “to be deaf” (NE, DLE) evolved from an AA *ʾdg ~ *ʾdk̄ “1. deaf, 2. stupid” [GT] on the analogy of at least two similar instances of an epenthetic Eg. *-l- as C₂, i.e., another means of triconsonantization?²⁶ This somewhat discards also

²⁶ Cf. (1) NEg. dnrg (act. *dlg) ~ j.dnrg (prothetic j- of morphological nature) “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) > Dem. gl̄g (via assimilation < *dlg) “gourd” (not in DG, CED l.c.: pap. Cairo 30982, vo. 11) > Cpt. (S) ḡḡḡ, (L) ḡḡḡ, (B) ḡḡḡ, ḡḡḡ, ḡḡḡ, ḡḡḡ, ḡḡḡ (m) “gourd” (CD 815a; CED 330) = “Kürbis” (KHW 455) ||| CCh.: Dghwede *ʾdg^wl > mádgwálà (prefix *mV-?) “calabash” [Frick] < PCh. and AA *ʾdk̄ “calabash” [GT], examined s.v. AS *ḍak ~ *dak “calabash” [GT 2004, 83] in “Angas-Sura Etymologies VIII”. 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) ḡḡḡ, (ALF) ḡḡḡ, (Sⁿ) ḡḡḡ, (B) ḡḡḡ “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

E. Zyhlarz' (1934-5, 166) hypothesis on Eg. *ḏg* "schwerhörig sein" as a loanword having been borrowed (!) from Nubian (Kunuzi, Dongolaawi) *terig* "taub", which why could not have been the reverse way? The existence of an OEG. **dlg* "deaf" is corroborated not just by the old personal names attested mostly with the ear determinative as *dnrg=j* (NK, PN I 400:14) < *d3g(j)* (MK, PN I 396:3), *d3g=j* (between OK/MK, PN I 396:4), *d3g.t* (MK, PN I 396:5) as suggested already in the Wb (V 470, 3), but also by the Old Egyptian name of an animal that may have possibly been conceived as deaf and/or mute, cf. *d3gj ~ d(3)gj.t ~ drgj.t* "Art Fledermaus" (MK, Wb V 419, 3; 478, 4; 499, 5-6; Störk in LÄ II 263) = "bat" (FD 317) = "(Ohren)Fledermaus" (GHWb 970) > pre-Dem. via metathesis (NBÄ 718, n. 839: old **dlgj/y.t* → **dglj/y.t*) and assimilation (from **√dngl*) > LEg./pre-Dem. *gnl3* "Fledermaus" (DG 582:4) > Cpt. (S) *κλκλω* (prior to palatalization), *σινδλω/ο*, *σινδελω*, *σινδλωγ*, *σινδελω/ο*, *σενδλω*, *σιδλω*, *σωλδελω*, *σιντω*, (F) *σινδλω*, *σερσω*, (B) *ξε(λ)χογ*, *χλλχογ* (f) "bat" (CD 824a; CED 33), in which the > Cpt. -*λ*- equally testifies to an old *-*l*- behind OEG. -*3*-. W. Westendorf (KHW 461, fn. 1) isolated basically two pre-Coptic dialectal variations: Lower Eg. (reflecting the older form) **d'rgāj.et* (NBÄ 366: **dargāj/y.ṯ*) > **g'lgā(j.et)* with a dubious *-*r*- based solely on (F) *σερσω* (left unexplained by either of the authors), cf. also (B) *ξε/λλχογ* vs. Upper Eg.: **d'lgāj.et* > via metathesis **d'glāj.et* > **g'glā(j.et)*, cf. (S) *σ(ι/ε)(ν)δλ-* etc. OEG. **dlgj.t* finds an astonishingly precise match in WCh.: Tsagu *dendilagwan* "bat" [Skinner 1977, 12], while in Chadic, similarly to the case of "blind" (discussed under #3 above), we find a strangely (and despite all irregularities) similar series of the above seen Sem./Eth. root varieties for "deaf"²⁷.

(232.7) Finally (?), albeit we are far from a full overview of all details of this/ese family/ies of roots, we might venture getting a bit closer to a resolution of this mystery,

"froh sein über (hr)" (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 *ḥgg qal* "ein Fest feiern (to celebrate a feast), taumeln", *ḥāg* "Fest" [GB 213] | Ar. *ḥḡḡ*? I "1. se réjouir de qqch.", V "1. se réjouir de qqch." [BK I 379] vs. *ḥḡw* I: *ḥāgiya* "6. être gai, joyeux" [BK I 386] vs. *ḥḡḡ* "to perform (the religious rites and ceremonies of) the pilgrimage", *ḥā'iḡḡ-at-* "pilgrimage" [Lane 513-514] (Sem.: also Ward l.c. infra). For this Eg.-Sem. equation see also Yeivin 1936: 76-77, #33; Ward 1962: 405, fn. 6; KHW 369; Castellino 1984: 16. Curiously, W.A. Ward (1972: 20) found later "Yeivin's tempting etymology" as negated 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. **√hlw* "sweet" with Eg. **√ḥlg* (cf. Vycichl 1990: 50), whose old meaning, as we have just seen, was different.

²⁷ Namely those represented by the following isoglosses, each suspiciously displaying the same consonantal sequences of the diverse root variations for "deaf" (above):

(232.6.1) Sem.-WCh. **√TK* [GT] > MSA: Jibbali *daqqet* "chauve-souris" [Bittner quoted in DRS 305: isolated in Sem., not in Jns. 1981] ||| WCh.: Mupun *ntāhām* [< **ṯəḡəm*] "bat" [Frj. 1991: 45] | Pero *ḏg ḏg* [Krf.] = *ḏg ḏg* "bat" [Frj. 1985: 28]. Cf. Aram. **√dgg* [Cohen] vs. NOm.: Kaffa *√dkk* [Cerulli] signifying "deaf" (above)?

(232.6.2) CCh.: Dghwede (Zeghvana) *takurākā* "bat" [Kraft quoted by Mkr. 1987: 50]. Cf. Cu.-ES **√dnkʷr* "deaf" [GT] (above)?

(232.6.3) Ch. **√tḡg* [GT] > WCh. **ṯang-* "bat" [GT]: Gmy. **ṯaṅ* > **ṯəṅ* "bat" [GT 2004, 379]: Gmy. *ntang* [-ṅ contracted < *-ḡm?] "a large sized bat" vs. *ṯang'* [ṯāṅ] "the large sized bat" [Srl. 1937, 165, 237] = *təṅ* "bat" [Krf.] = *taṅ* "bat" [Hlw. 2000 MS: 35] | Bokkos *tānḏò*, pl. *tānḏò-hay* "Fledermaus" [Jng. 1970, 146] | Pero *ḏəṅ* "bat" [Krf.], Dera *dēṅ* "bat" [Krf.] || CCh.: Gudu *ḡdò:ṅtā*: "bat" [Krf.] | Lame *túṅgā* "bat" [Krf.] (Ch.: Kraft 1981: #177; Mkr. 1987: 87). Cf. Cu.-ES-AS **√dnk(w)* "deaf" [GT] (above)?

which could not have been better formulated as done by M. Cohen (1951-4, 16): “*Si les concordances existent vraiment, il faut penser à des altérations profondes par endroits d’une racine ancienne, et d’autre part à la possibilité des croisements de deux ou trois racines originellement distinctes*”. Perhaps we are not completely mistaken by assuming that: (7.1) We need a comprehensive survey of the pretty rich sets of homophonous/organic (N)AA (mostly Sem., Eg., Brb.) roots with the basic senses “to close” vs. “to hide” vs. “to be dark”. (7.2) At the moment it seems that M. Cohen was right in assuming the derivation of ES *ʔadg- “ass” [Cohen] vs. Aram. *ʔdgg “deaf” [Cohen] or Agaw *dəyʔar- “donkey” [Apl.] < Eth. *ʔdnkʷr “to be deaf” [GT] to have been completed an earlier diachronic phase and the same seems to be the case with the roots for “deaf” vs. “blind” < “closed” or for “deaf” < “bat”. In these shifts, even the modest material presented above makes it clear that they may have been completed already in diverse stages of the AA parental language. Ultimately seems to emerge a biconsonantal PAA root with a dental + velar with a primitive proto-sense “close”, whence we may have even NAA *ʔdkr “to be closely attached, stick to” [GT] and this is how we may understand so many homorganic root varieties for “to cover” vs. “to hide” vs. “to be dark” too. (7.3) How many (dialectal?) PAA root varieties there were for the same basic sense can be more precisely defined after the task #7.1 having been fulfilled. This kind of research is ongoing in the frames of my root catalogue for new AA comparative lexicon, whose 1st fascicle appeared with initial labials (EAAAN I).

233. AS *duk “near” [GT 2004: 76]: Gerka duk “near”, perhaps also *duk in sededuk “narrow” (sede- obscure) [Ftp. 1911: 218], Kfy. dük “near, now”, dük-dük ~ duga-duk “very close” [Ntg. 1967: 8], Gmy. duk “near” [Ftp. 1911: 218] = duk (adv.) “near, close” [Srl. 1937: 41] = duk “near” [Krf.] = duk (so, d-) “close (adv.)” [Hlw. 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 *täḥ/k- “to be near” [Ehret 1987: 72, #296] = *ta/äḥ-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. *dəy “élément déictique indiquant la proximité” [GT pace DRB 357] || Sem.: Akk. ṭəḥû ~ ṭəḥû (Ass. ṭəḥāʔu) “ganz nah herankommen, -gehen, -treten, sich nähern (s’approcher de)”, ṭəḥu ~ ṭīḥu ~ ṭəḥḥu “(unmittelbare) Nähe, das Anstoßende (voisinage, proximité)” [AHW 1383-4; CAD ṭ 71; DRS 1071] || Soqotri toq “ici” [Leslau 1938: 208] || ES (Leslau: borrowing < Cu.)²⁸: 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)²⁹. These parallels may represent reflexes of at least two or three diverse,

²⁸ 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 (Rn. 1886: 908; Colizza 1887: 134; Parker-Hayward 1985: 197).

²⁹ With some untenable comparanda in the DRS l.c., which, e.g., mentions also forms like LECu. *daw/ 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”, ḍayih “near, recently, soon”, ḍayyōwe [PH 1985: 91] | Somali dāw “die Nähe”, adj. “nahe” [Rn. 1902: 143] = dhawi “Nähe” [Farah-Heck 1993: 79] | Oromo ḍio ~ ḍiho “vicino” [da Thiene

albeit eventually related, PAA root varieties (say, $*\sqrt{dh} > \text{Ch.}, \text{Bed.}, *\sqrt{th} > \text{Agaw}, *\sqrt{th} > \text{Irob}, \text{Sem.}$). For the latter, cf. also ES $*\sqrt{tg}^c/*\sqrt{sg}^c/*\sqrt{dg}^c$ “to be close” [GT] $> \text{e.g.},$ Geez ṭāg^a “i.a. to adhere tightly, be attached” and Gurage \sqrt{tgg} “to approach, be near, close” vs. Tigrinya tašaggə^e “to approach, be near” vs. Geez \sqrt{dg}^c “to be close to” (ES: Leslau 1979: III 615; 1987: 148-149, 589, also DRS 1057-1058).

The biliteral reflexes of this AA root have long been compared to Eg. tkn “nahe sein/kommen” (MK-, Wb V 333-335), cf. Cohen 1947, #339; Greenberg 1963: 60, #53; Dlg. 1966: 85, #8.8; EDE I 221; Apl. 2006, 25. But closer seems to be SBrb.: (?) EWlmd. $\text{dāgma-nn}, \text{Ayr dāgāma-nn}$ “(au)près de, à côté de” [DRB 304: isolated in Brb.]³⁰ ||| Bed. danj [metathesis $< *dagn?$] “sich nähern, (herbei)kommen” [Rn. 1895: 68, not in Roper 1928] ||| WCh.: Suroid $*teyem$ (?) [GT]: Msr. tekem “to be close, be near” [Dkl. 1997 MS: 225].

234. AS $*duk$ (with diverse root extensions) “blunt” [GT 2004: 76]: Angas duk “blunt (of a knife, axe, etc.)” [Flk. 1915: 172] = dük “2. stumpf” [Jng. 1962 MS], Msr. ndukus [$< *duyus < **duk + \text{extension -us}$] “describing the edge, margin of a knife which is not sharp” [Dkl. 1997 MS: 170], (?) Gmy. duluk [perhaps epenthetic $-l-?$] “to have a dull edge, dull the edge of some thing” [Srl. 1937: 41] ||| SCu.: WRift $*dāngú$ “blunt knife” [KM]: Alagwa $\text{dāngú}, \text{Burunge dāngway}$ (WRift: KM 2004: 87). This WCh.-SCu. isogloss may be metaphorically related to the derivatives of a common AA biconsonantal $*\sqrt{dg}$ “1. to be numb, 2. slow, weak, 3. silent” [GT 2004: 76] that are typically extended by various in- (C_2) and postfixed ($C_{3/4}$) root augments³¹.

1939: 103] = $\text{ḍi}^?-\bar{o}$ (adj.) “near” [Gragg 1982: 123], which, however, appear to be akin better to SCu. $*\sqrt{eh}$ “near” [Ehret] = $*\sqrt{cāh/w/y-}$ [GT]: WRift $*\sqrt{cw} \sim *\sqrt{cy}$ “near” [GT]: Iraqw $\text{tsew}, \text{Alagwa tsayu}, \text{Burunge čia}$ | Qwadza $\text{tsahemi}, \text{Asa šaiya}$ | 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 $*\sqrt{cēgu} \sim *\sqrt{ciga}$ ($*\text{ts-}$) “near, early”, based on the inclusion of Alagwa tsigē “quick, fast, early” $< \text{tsiga}$ “to hurry” (of a different etymology being evidently akin to Ch. $*\sqrt{zg}$ “to run quickly” [GT] ||| SBrb. $*\sqrt{zg}$ “to quickly” [GT] ||| Eg. zhz (OK), zhzḥ (MK) “eilig laufen, eilen” [Wb III 472-473] ||| Sem. $*\sqrt{zg(z)g}$ “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 hāt-iḍa “near” [EEN 1989, 14] = hāṭi “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 $*\sqrt{tāh-}$ $< \text{SCu. } *ḥāh-$ [GT].

³⁰ Unless it is a compound of d “dans” + agāma “compagne” (as proposed in DRS l.c. with hesitation).

³¹ Cf. (1) the reflexes of the biconsonantal simplex in Sem. $*\sqrt{dgg}$: Ar. \sqrt{dgg} : I dağga “marcher à pas lents, ramper” || ES $*\sqrt{dgg}$: Amhara and Argobba zəgg alā “être calme”, Tigre dəg “calme”, Gafat zəgg bälā “parler lentement” vs. ES $*\sqrt{dg}^w$: Tigre žäg^w “fou, stupide”, Tigrinya $\text{žäg}^w\text{äg}^w$ “être lent, niais” (Sem.: DRS 217) ||| SBrb.: EWlmd. dāgāg “1. être insensible aux coups (animal), 2. être trop lent dans ses décisions (personne)” [DRB 300: isolated in Brb.] vs. Ahaggar degīy-et “marcher à pas lents en frappant du talon le sol et en le posant à terre avant le reste du pied (façon de marcher prétentieuse)” [DRB 307: isolated in Brb.] vs. (2) ES $*\sqrt{dgt}$: Amharic ʔaddagātā “2. fatiguer” [Guidi apud DRS 222: isolated in Sem.] vs. (3) AA $*\sqrt{dg} + \text{nasal in/postfix}$ $>$ reflexes discussed s.v. AS $*\text{di}^j$ “1. obscure, 2. dumb” [GT 2004: 70] (above) vs. (4) Sem. $*\sqrt{dgr}$: Ar. dağira “être stupéfait, interdi, s’embrouiller” || Tigre žägrā “échouer, se fatiguer” (Sem.: DRS 222) vs. ES $*\sqrt{dngr}$ “être lent, troublé” [GT pace DRS 280] vs. (5) AA $*\sqrt{dg} + \text{sibilant postfix}$ in ES $*\sqrt{dngz}$: Tigrinya dāngzā “être lent”, Amhara dānāggzā “être fatigué, avoir la vue basse”, Gurage dāngzāz balā and Harari dāngzāz bāyā “être engourdi” (ES: DRS 279) ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar e-dgez “1. mettre absolument à bout

235. Goemay *dūl “fool” [GT 2004: 77]: Gmy. duul “stupid” [Srl. 1937: 44] = duul “fool” [Hlw. 2000 MS: 6] ||| Sem. *√dly: Ar. daliya “être stupéfait, rester interdit”, Oriental dial. dālī “fou”, Maghrebi dial. būdālī “insensé, stupide, tombé en enfance” (Ar.: DRS 264).

236. AS *du₂l, hence *dəl “to pull, draw” [GT 2004: 77] = *dəl “to pull” [Hfm. 1975: 19, #71] ||| SCu.: Ma’a -dodolí “to drag” [Ehret 1980: 167, #40] ||| Sem. *√dlw “den Eimer herausziehen, schöpfen” [Müller 1975: 66, #27 with dubious Ch. matches] = “puiser de l’eau dans un puits” [DRS] > i.a. MSA *√dlw “to pull up by rope, remove” [Ehret 1995: 131, #137 with dubious AA matches] = “hisser à l’aide d’une corde” [DRS] || ES: Tigre dälla “to draw water with cord dolo” [Leslau 1962: 3] (Sem.: DRS 262-263) < AA *√d(w)l “to pull, draw (sg. heavy?)” [GT].

237. AS *du₂p → *dəp “penis” [GT 2004: 78] ||| ECu. *di/u/ab- “tail” [Sasse 1979: 16; 1982: 57] ||| NOm.: Kullo dupia [Allan] = duṭ-ya [Alm.] = dūp-ya [Bnd.], Konta duṭe [Alm.] “tail” (NOM.: Bnd. 2003: 25, #131) < AA *dub- “2. tail” [GT]. For the comparison with its wider AA kindred with the basic meaning “1. back, bottom”, there is abundant literature³².

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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, Beh.: 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), 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): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaeen, Sem.: Semitic, Sqt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram): Aramaic of Talmud, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, (E)Wlmd.: (East) Tawllemet, Y: Young(er).

de forces, 2. fig.: fatiguer, faire souffrir, tourmenter” [DRB 307: isolated in Brb.] ||| HECu.: Qabenna dingižž iyo “s’émousser” [DRS 279].

³² Cf. Greenberg 1955: 55; 1965: 91-92; IS 1966: 20, #1.36; Dlg. 1966: 70, #5.6; 1983: 124, #1.10 and 127-128, #3.2; Sasse l.c.; SISAJa II 56-57, #111; Hodge 1987: 17; Blažek 1989 MS Om., 27, #95; CLR I 3E; Ehret 1995: 125, #119; HSED #731 and #691. Here, in the latter source, a certain Angas tup “tail” is also involved in this context, which I fail to locate.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Alb.: Albright, Alm.: Alemayehu, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Blv.: Belova, Blz.: Blažek, Bnd.: Bender, Brg.: Bargery, Brq.: Burquest, Brt.: Barreteau, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, CrI.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cosper, Ctc.: Caïtucoli, Dbr.: Djibrine, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier (in ECh.) vs. Drower & Macuch (in Sem.), EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Egc.: Eguchi, Ehr.: Ehret, Eld.: Elderkin, Fcd.: Foucauld, Fdr.: Fédy, FH: Farah & Heck, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, Grb.: Greenberg, 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, Mgw.: Maghway, Mkr.: Mukarovskij, MQK: Mous & Qorro & Kießling, Mrn.: Moreno, Mts.: Matsushita, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nct.: Nachtigal, 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.: Sachnne, Skn.: N. Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Snd.: Schneider, Spg.: Spiegelberg, Srl.: Sirlinger, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Sts.: Starostin, Tf.: Taifi, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, WP: Weibegué & Palayer.

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