

SOME BERBER ETYMOLOGIES XV

by

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INTRODUCTION

This series is to gradually reveal the still unknown immense Afro-Asiatic heritage in the whole Berber lexical root stock. The first part, with some miscellaneous Berber etymologies arranged at random, was published back in 1996.¹ More recently, I continued the series „Some Berber Etymologies” according to initial root consonants² in course of my research for the volumes

1. See my „Some Berber Etymologies I” in: *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 38 (1996), 43-59.

2. ● Part II: Berber *b-, in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 45 (2003), 93-119; ● part III: Berber *b̥- in Naït-Zerrad, K.; Ibrizimow, D.; Voßen, R. (éds.): *Nouvelles études berbères: Le verbe et autres articles: Actes du „2. Bayreuth-Frankfurter Kolloquium zur Berberologie”*, Berber Studies vol. 8, Köln, 2004., Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, pp. 191-204; ● part IV: Berber *f- in *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 10 (2005), 173-201; ● part V: Berber *m- + in *Folia Orientalia* 44 (2008), 89-105; ● part VI: Berber *m-, in: *Journal of Linguistic Relationship* (Moscow) 2 (2009), 91-113; ● part VII: Berber *n- followed by *r/l/w/y, in: Mettouchi, A. (éd.): «Parcours berbères»: *Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand pour leur 90^e anniversaire*, Köln, 2011., Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, pp. 97-115; ● part VIII: Berber *n- + labials, in: Serra, L.; di Tolla, A. M.; Ghaki, M.; Habouss, A. (éds.): *Pluralità e dinamismo culturale nelle società berbere attuali*, Studi Africanistici, Quaderni di Studi Berberi e Libico-Berberi 1, Napoli, 2011., UNIOR (l'Università degli Studi di Napoli «L'Orientale»), pp. 79-90; ● part IX: Berber *n- with dental stops, in: Allati, A. (éd.): *Auréoles berbères: Mélanges Offerts à Michael Peyron*, Köln, 2016., Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, pp. 295-305; ● part X: Berber *n- with sibilants, in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 55/1 (2013), 99-110; ● part XI: Berber *n- with dental stops (with some unfortunate redundances overlapping with some entries of part IX due to my involuntary fault), in: *Folia Orientalia* (Kraków) 52 (2015), 307-317; ● part XII: Berber *n- followed by velars.= Tolla, A. M. di (ed.): *La lingua nella vita e la vita della lingua: Itinerari e percorsi degli studi berberi: Miscellanea per il Centenario di studi berberi a «L'Orientale» di Napoli. Scritti in onore di Francesco Beguinot. Quaderni di Studi Berberi e Libico-berberi (Studi Africanistici) 4. Volume IV*, Napoli, 2015., UNIOR, Università degli Studi di Napoli «L'Orientale», pp. 367-386. ● part XIII: Berber roots with initial *n- + C₂ as either pha/laryngeals or sonants (*-m-, *-n-,

of the „*Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*” (abbreviated as EDE, Leiden, since 1999, Brill)³ with a much more extensive lexicographical apparatus on the cognate Afro-Asiatic daughter languages.

The underlying regular consonantal correspondences between Berber vs. Afro-Asiatic followed in these studies basically agree with those established in the 1980s by the Russian (Moscow) team of I. M. Diakonoff and as summarized by A. Ju. Militarev (1991, 242-243), which my researches for an etymological root dictionary of Berber over the past few decades have only corroborated. In order to spare room, whenever it comes some widespread and well-attested lexical root that evidently appears as Common Berber, I only quote those roots through but a few illustrative examples or a reconstructed Proto-Berber root or stem form.

As for the immediately preceding several parts of my series „Some Berber Etymologies” (VII-XIII), they greatly exploited the results of my work ongoing some decade ago (the years after 2008) for the the fourth volume⁴ of EDE (analyzing the Eg. lexical stock with initial n-). Beginning from the present part on, a few subsequent parts (XIV-XVI) will contain etymologies of Berber roots with initial dental plosives (*d-, *ɖ-, *t-) issuing from my

*-r-, *-l-, *-w-, *-y-), forthcoming in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 63/2 (2021). ● part XIV: new etymologies of Berber roots with initial *d-, to appear in *Études et Documents Berbères* (Paris) 45-46 (2021), 249-302, in a special volume with „*les actes du Colloque 2020 de l'Histoire du berbère, session de décembre 2020*”.

3. Which was carried out partially during my research fellowship at Frankfurt (Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften) in 1999-2000 and 2002, which was facilitated by the grant of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Bonn). I express my thanks to the Humboldt Foundation as well as to my professor in Frankfurt, Herrmann Jungraithmayr, the prominent Chadicist, for his invaluable help and support. This part has been completed in the frames of my research project „Micro-reconstructions in the Southern Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) lexical root stock” supported by the grant „Advanced Research in Residence” (ARR) of the University of Łódź and personally encouraged by Prof. Krzysztof Witczak (head of the Dept. of Classical Philology), which I gratefully acknowledge in this place.

4. As for all the puzzles around finishing EDE IV (lexical stock with Eg. n-, whose files are fundamentally prepared for starting the writing the individual etymological entries), and the research for the subsequent parts, the publication of a „Second Interim Report on the Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian” has become desirable (forthcoming perhaps in RO), which is going to examine the circumstances affecting the prospects of my EDE series. Cf. my pre-EDE „First Preliminary Report on the Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian (in Preparation).” = *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* (Kraków) 3 (1998), 163-164.

research for EDE V⁵ as well as for EAAN II,⁶ which, altogether, constitute the abundant etymological materials of the attachment to my presentation „*Isoglosses entre le berbère et les autres branches afro-asiatiques (sémito-chamitiques): traitement des dentales*” prepared for three sessions of the „*Colloque de l’histoire du berbère*” held at Paris in autumn and winter 2021.⁷

The numeration of the entries continues that of the preceding parts of this series. Whenever such a Berber root occurs that has already been processed in some of the preceding parts of my series, and it is re-examined here in the light of some further new parallels, the entry is headed by SBE + Roman letters (indicating the number of the preceding part) + Arabic number of the very entry where it first appeared.

BRB. *ḍ-

552. Brb. *√ḍ „tomber” [DRB 440-441, s.v. √ḍ1] < pre-PBrb. **√ṭʷ [Rössler] = < **√ṭʷʳ [GT] > e.g. SBrb. (Twareg) *u-ḍu „fallen” [Rössler]: EWlmd. u-ḍu “tomber, tomber au combat” [PAM 1998, 47] ||| Sem.: Ar. √ṭʷʳ I (ṭāʿa) „1. obéir à qqn.” [BK II 119] ||| LECu. *ḍa₁ʿ- “1. to fall, 2. attack, come” [Black 1974, 204] > PSam *ḍāʿ-ī “to fall upon” [Heine 1978, 57]: i.a. Somali ḍāʿ „1. fallen, 2. untergehen (Sonne, Mind, Stern), 3. einfallen, eintreten, 4. überfallen usw.” [Reinisch 1902, 124] || SCu.: Dahalo ḍiʿ-am- „to go down” [Ehret 1980, 190-191 with false etymology] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *ṭā₂ “1. to fall, 2. descend” [Takács 2004, 377-378] vs. Angas-Goemay *ḍō → *ḍʷə “to fall” [Takács 2004, 94] < CAA *√ṭʿ „to fall” [GT]. For the Twareg-Somali etymology see also Rössler 1964, 207 (with mistaken reconstruction).

5. The 5th vol. of my „Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian” is to comprise roots with initial Eg. t-, d- and ṭ-, ḍ-. The research for this segment of the Egyptian etymological word catalogue is ongoing, with lengthy pauses, since 2009.

6. A subsequent vol. of my series containing the many hundreds of new etymological entries (not yet observed in any of the available comparative lexicons of Afro-Asiatic, i.e., Cohen 1947, SISAJa, HCVA, HSED, Ehret 1995, 2000) for a planned entirely new and comprehensively referenced comparative Afro-Asiatic dictionary (CAAD), a project whose catalogue I have begun to work for in December 1999 during my Humboldt fellowship research at the Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften in Frankfurt a/M. Cf. EAAN I = Takács, G.: *Etyma Afroasiatica Nova: Roots with Initial Labials* (*b-, *p-, *f-, *m-), Berlin, 2016., Dietrich Reimer Verlag (comprising a total of 978 entries). The forthcoming EAAN II is to elaborate the still unknown segment of the Afro-Asiatic root stock with initial dental plosives (*d-, *ṭ-, *t-) and *n-.

7. Thus, SBE XIV is to appear in „*les actes du Colloque 2020, session de décembre 2020*”, whereas SBE XV is scheduled for the „*Journées du 16 et 17 septembre 2021*” (both held at the INALCO of Paris), followed by SBE XVI designed for the „*Colloque 2021 prévu à Tunis les 10-12 décembre 2021*”.

552.1. The transitive sense of the same AA root is to be seen in LECu.: Somali *dāʕ* „6. hart bedrängen (durch Gewaltherrschaft)” [Reinisch 1902, 124] ||| Eg. *dh* (reg. < **ṭ* 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].

553. NBrb.: Mzg. *ṭ*: **ta-ṭa** (no pl.) “protection, alliance instituée entre deux tribus, surtout contre les vols” [Taïfi 1991, 86] (not found in Qabyle, EWlmd.-Ayr, Ahaggar, DRB 440: isolated in Brb.) ||| Sem.: (?) Ar. *ṭḥw* II “2. faire paître les bestiaux” [BK II 12] (unless < “pleine jour”) ||| SCu.: WRift **ṭaḥ-as* (caus.) “to forbid, prevent” [KM]: Iraqw *ṭaḥ-ās* “to keep cattle herd together, prevent cattle from going astray”, Alagwa *ṭaḥ-as* & Burunge *ṭāṭaḥ-as* “to forbid, prevent” (WRift: KM 2004, 275). Mzg.-WRift-Ar.: Takács 2006, 58.

554. Common Brb. ***a-ḍu** „wind” [GT]: cf. EBrb.: Ghadames *a-ḍu* „1. vent, 2. parfum, 3. senteur, 4. odeur” [Lanfry], Sokna *a-ḍu* „odeur” [DRB] || NBrb.: e.g., Shilh *a-ḍu* „1. odeur, 2. vent (doux), 3. brise, 4. piste, 5. fumet” [DRB] | Tamazight *ṭ*: *a-ḍu* „1. vent, 2. odeur, 3. arôme, 4. rien (en phrase négative), 5. sort, 6. seul (avec affixe p.)” [Taïfi 1991, 86] | Nefusa *a-ṭu* „vent” [Laoust 1931, 309] = *a-ṭu* „vento” [Beguinet 1942, 275] | Qabyle *ṭ*: *a-ḍu* „vent, rhume” [Dallet 1982, 171] || SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. *a-ḍu* „1. vent, 2. odeur, parfum, 3. fumet, 4. ferveur, ardeur, 5. envie de marcher vite” [Alojaly 1980, 30], Ghat *a-dhou* [-ḍu] „vent” [Nehlil 1909, 213], Hgr. *â-ḍu* „1. vent, 2. air, 3. odeur (bonne ou mauvaise, 4. parfum (odeur agréable)” (Brb.: DRB 437-439: ḍ10) ||| Sem.: Ar. *ṭwʕ* I: *dāʕa* „8. répandre son odeur (se dit d’une chose qui sent bon ou mauvais, lorsque remuée elle fait sentir sa présence)” [BK II 45] ||| Eg. *ḍʕ* „Sturmwind” (OK, Wb V 533-4), hence *ḍʕ* „Winde lassen (von einer Person)” (Med., Wb V 534, 7) = „Blähungen haben, Winde haben, lassen” (GHWb 998) ||| LECu.: Somali *dāʕ*- „to blow (of the wind)” [Bell 1969, 165] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura **ḍū* ~ **ḍu* “(to) smell” [Takács 2004, 95] || ECh.: Mokilko (t)ḍḍā [*< *i-ḍʕa*] „péter” [Jng. 1990, 110] < CAA **ṭṭ* „1. to blow (wind), 2. break wind, 3. smell” [GT]. See also Militarev in Starostin et al. 1995, 36 (Brb.-Somali); EDE I 260 (Eg.-AA, quoted also in DRB 439); Takács 2002, 149 (Eg.-AA); Takács 2006, 57-58 (Brb.-Ar.-Eg.-Somali-Mokilko).

BRB. *ḍ- + LABIALS

555. SBrb. **ṭḍb* [DRB]: **Ahaggar ṭub-et** „être réuni en masse, être tous réunis sans exception, se réunir en masse (p.)” [DRB 444: isolated in Brb.] ||| Sem.: Ar. *ṭḍb* I *ḍabba* „1. être attaché, s’attacher” [BK II 2] vs. „7. prendre qqch. avec toute la main, en ramassant, p.ex., les bouts, pour les tenir dans

la main, de là: 8. s'emparer de tout, empoigner tout", II „1. empoigner une chose, prendre avec toute la main", IV „3. s'emparer d'une chose toute entière, l'empoigner en ramassant tous les bouts ou toutes les parties, se rendre entièrement maître de qqch., et tenir ferme" [BK II 2-3] ||| Eg. *ḏb* „sammeln" (GR, Wb V 553, 1) ||| WCh.: Hausa *ḏíḃà* „1. (b) to gather, pluck, (c) scoop up" [Abraham 1962, 210] | Angas-Sura **ḏap* ~/< **ḏab* „1. to lift up, take up, 2. collect" [GT 2004, 85] > cf. esp. Angas *dap* „to take" [Migeod 1911, 383, so also Foulkes] = *dab* ~ *dap* „to lift up, carry (Hausa *ḏauka*)" [Foulkes 1915, 163] = *ḏàp* „aufnehmen, einsammeln" [Jng. 1962 MS] = *ḏàp* „to lift" [Jng. 1963, 274] = *ḏàp* „1. to lift, 2. hold" [Kraft] < Ch. **ḑVb-* „to pluck, gather (fruit)" [CLD III 111, #307 sine AS] as well as Ch. **[ḑ]VbV* „abundance" vs. Ch. **ḑVb-* „to pile up" [CLD III 111, #310 and #310.a sine AS] > WCh.: e.g., Hausa *ḏìḃì* „thing placed on another, 2. surplus" [Abraham 1962, 211] = *ḏìḃì* [Hodge] < CAA **ṽḑb* „2. to pick up and collect all" [GT], whose 1st sense „to r(a)ise" may have been preserved by Sem.: Ar. *ṽḑbw* IV „8. enlever, ôter" [BK]. C.T. Hodge (1969, 109, #21) has already affiliated some of the Hausa, Twareg, and Ar. parallels above and below with Eg. *wḏb* „6. Opfer umleiten" (OK-, ÄWb I 402) = „to divert offerings" (FD 76) > *ḏb.w* „Einkünfte, Zuwendungen" (OK-, WB V 553, 4) = „revenue, which, however, derive from a root with a fully different basic sense (Eg. *wḏb* „to turn"). Cf. also further isoglosses which testify to further PAA root varieties that may have originated from an ultimate common source:

555.1. CAA **ṽḑb* „to r(a)ise" [GT] > Sem.: Ar. *ṽṣbʔ* I: *ṣabaʔa* „1. se lever (se dit d'une étoile)" [BK I 1305 and II 8, resp.] ||| Ch. **ḑVb-* „pile" [CLD III 162, #652] > WCh.: e.g., Hausa *cíḃì* (ts-) „pile" [Abraham]. This PAA root pair is presumably ultimately related to that analyzed above carrying the basic notion „to take up to collect", whence the sense „to r(a)ise" here can be understood.

555.2. Noteworthy is that the underlying PAA varieties, viz. **ṽḑb* vs. **ṽḑḅ* „3. to heap up and collect all" [GT] survived in CSemitic also with a C₃ root extension *-r in both cases, cf. Ar. *ḏabara* I „2. ranger, mettre en ordre (les pierres, etc.), 3. assembler, réunir (les feuillets en cahiers)", II „1. assembler, réunir" [BK II 5] vs. Ug. *ṣbr-t* „Schar" [WUS #2301], Hebrew *ṽṣbr qal* „aufhäufen, aufschütten", *ṣibbur* „Haufe" [GB 762] | MAram. *ṣibbūr* ~ *ṣibbūrā* „Menschenhaufe, Versammlung, Gemeinde" [Levy 1924 IV 167] = „Gesamtheit, Versammlung" [WUS] | Ar. *ṣabara* I „11. entasser, amonceler, accumuler, mettre en tas sans peser ni mesurer (p.ex., des grains)" [BK I 1305] > *ṣubr-at-* „Getreidehaufen" [WUS] ||| WCh.: Zaar *cóbàr* „rubbish heap" [Caron in CLD].

556. NBrb. **ṽḏbr* „sort of vessel" [DRB]: Snus *ta-ḏebri-t* „pot à beurre, à huile" | Qabyle *ta-ḏebri-t* „grande jarre pour l'eau ou pour l'huile",

ta-debriw-t „pot à huile, petite jarre” (NBrb.: DRB 445) ||| Eg. tb3 [regular < *√tbr] „Mass oder Behälter für Kupfer(sachen)” (MK, Wb V 261, 8), cf. tb.t „Subst.: wie ein Mass gebraucht” (MK, Wb V 261, 4) ||| Sem.: Ar. ṭabara „remplir qqch.” [BK II 53] > (or borrowed from NBrb.?) Maghrebi Ar. ṭabriyya „grande jarre, terrine” [Beaussier in DRS 1055: isolated]. An old Mediterranean *Wanderwort*?

557. NBrb. *√dbr [DRB]: Figuig ṭṭabara „fête du première jour de l’été” [DRB 445: isolated] = ṭabara, pl. id ṭabara „nom de la fête célébrée le 14 mai (grégorien) ou le premier mai local (agrarier)” [Benamara 2013, 459],⁸ (a term of a fully obscure etymology), for which, merely and purely as a speculative guess instead of a solidly established etymology thereof, I would perhaps venture to mention the solar (???) basic sense of Eg. tbj [-j < palatalized *-r#], in: jr.t-tbj „als Bez. der Sonne”, in: t3-tbj (vgl. das Vorstehende) (PT, Wb V 261, 9-10) = jr.t-tbj (PT 290a) vs t3-tbj (PT 1394b) „altes Äquivalent von Re” (ÜKAPT VI 200) ||| Sem.: ES *√t’br [DRS]: Gafat ṣābārā „(lumière du) soleil”, Amharic ṣorra „rayon de soleil ou de lune”,⁹ ṣārār „rayons du soleil” (ES: DRS 1055) vs. ES *√t’br [DRS]: Amharic ṣāṭṣārābbārā „luire, scintiller, causer une réverbération qui fait apparaître des mirages” and ṣāṣārābbārā „1. être ébloui par la lumière, 2. prendre en cachette le bien d’un autre” (ES: DRS 1056) < NAA *√t’br „heat/light of sun” [GT], which in the CAA root stock may have been biconsonantal, cf. HECu.: Burji ṭab- „to give light”, ṭabar- „to shine (sun)”, ṭabi

8. The feast was described by H. Benamara (2013, 531-532): „*Pendant ce jour, on coupe des branches de grenadier au goût aigre pour les introduire dans les trous des murs (maisons, rues ...) et on nettoie tout l’aghrem (ville). La légende veut que par ce geste les redoutables scorpions de l’été soient évités et éloignés des hommes. Au niveau de la cuisine, on fait un couscous au romarin (pour se protéger des poisons). Les familles qui ont un bébé qui n’a pas encore atteint l’âge de douze mois arrachent un morceau de laine noire à un mouton tout noir, suffisamment de laine pour en faire un collier au bébé. En suite, elles imbibent cette laine d’une sève noire taməmt n iyəddidən miel des outres extraite du génévrier, elle ressemble au goudron et laissent ce collier pendant toute la nuit sur la terrasse à la belle étoile. Le lendemain, avant le réveil des oiseaux ijdaḥ, elles prennent ce collier et mettent au cou de l’enfant. La tradition explique cette pratique par le fait qu’un oiseau nocturne, sorte de chauve-souris, fait tomber sa salive sur les humains (dans ces régions, les gens se couchent, pendant l’été, sur les terrasses en raison de la chaleur) et lorsque ce liquide atteint un bébé qui n’a pas mis ce collier, il expose au mutisme, à la cécité, à la surdité ou à la mort. L’enfant à qui l’on a mis ce collier est éternellement immunisé contre cette „maudite” salive. Lorsqu’un enfant à qui l’on n’a pas mis ce collier en question tombe malade, on dit qu’il a été atteint par cet oiseau tut i təjditt, pl. id ṭabara.*”

9. This Amharic lexeme (rendered as „disque du soleil”) was, however, elsewhere (Cohen 1947, 115, #187) conceived as a Cushitic loan, cf. NAgaw *kʷara || LECu.: Somali korrah „soleil” etc. J. Lentin (DRS 1121) listed both Amh. ṣorra and ṣārār under both Sem. *√t’br and *√t’rr.

and ṭabara „light (of sun)” (n.) [Hudson 1989, 223: isolated].¹⁰ Eventually, however, M. Kossmann¹¹ may be right about the Figuig feast having no solar aspect at all, which be well explained as a loan from Arabic.¹²

558. NBrb.: Mzg. √ḍbl: a-ḍebbal “morveux, qui a le nez qui coule sans cesse” [Taïfi 1991, 86; DRB 445, ḍbl2: isolated in Brb.!), Izdeg a-ḍebbal “morveux” [Mercier 1937, 170] ||| Sem. *√ṭbl: Hbr. √ṭbl qal “to dip sg. into” [KB 368] | Ar. mu-ṭabbal- “moist” [KB]. Mzg.-Sem.: Takács 2006, 55.

559. Brb. *√ḍf I „tenir, saisir” [GT after DRB 447-450] ||| Sem. *√ṭp(p) „faire qqch. avec la main etc.” [Belova 1992, 18] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *ṭep ~ *ṭip (?) “to hold, carry” [Takács 2004, 362, 366]: Mupun ṭip “to hold something” [Frj. 1991, 60], perhaps cognate with Goemay ṭep [act. ṭəp < *ṭip?] “to carry something heavy” [Hellwig 2000 MS, 36] < AA *ṭaf „main, paum, creux de la main” [SISAJa II #80]. For Brb.-Sem. see HCVA III 31, #223; HSED 519, #2483; Takács 2006, 58.

560. Brb. *√ḍfC₃ (eroded weak C₃) „(to emit) excrement” [GT] > NBrb. *√ḍfy [DRB]: Qabyle e-ḍfi „appliquer de la bouse de vache sur les bourgeons du figuier pour les préserver des bêtes, des chèvres surtout, 2. être recouvert d’un enduit de bouse, 3. salir, déshonorer”, a-ḍfay „enduit de bouse de vache ou de fiente de chien, 2. l’application de cet enduit” [Dallet 1982, 173a] || SBrb. *√ḍfw „to empty out belly” [DRB]: Ahaggar e-ṭfu „être vidé (le sujet étant la panse d’un ruminant ou son contenu), se vider, 2. par ext.: se vider (vider son gros intestin, expulser les gros excréments), 3. fig.: être vidé (être dépuoillé tout, être vidé comme un boyau, perdre, le sujet étant une personne)” [Foucauld 1951-2, 261], EWlmd.-Ayr ā-ḍfu and Ayr also ā-ḍfu „vider (la panse, le petit intestin d’un ruminant abattu), être vidé” [PAM 2003, 132] (Brb.: DRB 456) ||| Sem. biliteral *√ḍp „to excrete” [Ehret] > Sem. *√ḍpʿ „dung” [Stolbova in CLD pace KB 1048; Leslau 1987, 148] vs. MSA: Mehri √ḏfʿy „to step into wet cow dung” [Johnstone 1987, 473] vs. Ar. ḍafaqa I „faire caca, surtout le faire en une seule fois” [BK II 32] =

10. The Burji root was affiliated by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 122, #1576) with Ar. ṭabḥ- (v.n.) „to cook, bake, make boil” < his AA *-ṭap- „to burn (intr.).”

11. At my request, M. Kossmann (kind p.c. on 3 May and 24 Aug. 2021) was generous enough to formulate his *ad hoc* opinion as for my proposed etymology of the Figuig term as follows: „The word is feminine and looks like a loan from Arabic (no prefix, non-geminated s-, final a), and is almost certainly not old in Figuig. There doesn’t seem to be any relation to sunshine (Figuig is pretty sunny all year round anyway) or heat. So I don’t think there is any reason to relate this word to the other terms - no reason to think this is old in Figuig, no reason to think it has anything to do with light or sunshine.”

12. Regarding the profilactic nature of the described ceremonial habit and M. Kossmann’s suspicion (quoted in the next footnote below) about a not excluded Arabic origin of the term, an alternative etymology might very well be Ar. banātu ṭabāra „malheurs, calamités” [BK II 53].

„to ease the bowels once” [Ehret] vs. Ar. *ḍafana* I „1. rendre les excréments, faire caca” [BK II 32] = „to ease the bowels” [Ehret] (Sem.: Ehret 1995, 412, #842 with a false AA etymology)¹³ || Ch. *ḥVfV > *ḥVfVrV (pl.?) (i.e., *ḥ’-) „dung, dirt” [Stolbova in CLD]. Equation of Sem. *ḍp^o + Ch. in: CLD II 112, #314. M. Cohen combined Sem. *ḍp^o with a certain Twareg (sic) e-dafi (sic: d-) „crottin”.

561. SBrb. *ḍf „garder, surveiller” [GT pace DRB 450] || WCh.: Angas-Sura *ṭap → *ṭəp “1. to take care of, 2. follow, drive, guard, tend cattle, 3. wait for” [Takács 2004, 379].

562. SBrb. *ḍfs „to swell” [GT]: Ahaggar e-ṭfēs „être gonflé (de lait, sein ou mamelle), être gonflé (de colère), se gonfler”, EWlmd. & Ayr e-ḍfēs „être gonflé (de lait, mamelle), être plein d’eau (nuage)” (SBrb.: DRB 455 with no attestation elsewhere)¹⁴ || Sem. *ṭpš [DRS] = *ṭps (sic: -s) „to be fat” [Ehret]:¹⁵ Akk. ṭapāšu (jB) „etwa: fett sein (?)”, ṭapšum (aA, aB) „etwa: fett (?)”, ṭuppušu (spB PN) „sehr füllig”, ṭupšu (jB) „Fettes, Überfülle” [AHW 1380a-b, 1395b, 1396b] = ṭapāšu „to become plump”, ṭapšu „plump, fat”, ṭuppušu „thick, plump” (as personal name only), ṭupšu „abundance”, ṭupuštu „thickness” [CAD XIX 49, 150, 163, 164] = ṭapāšu „être gras” [DRS] || attestation elsewhere in Sem. dubious.¹⁶ The Twareg-Akkadian isogloss had already been suggested (in the context of AA *ṭf „swelling”) in HCVA II 32, #225 much earlier than it was observed independently by me also, which is why I included this root here.

563. SBrb.: EWlmd. ḍəfəkk-ət „1. être rempli jusqu’au bord, 2. déborder” [PAM 2003, 132; DRB 451: isolated in Brb.] || Sem.: Akk. (mA, jB) ṭapāpu „etwa: sehr voll sein” [AHW 1379b-1380a] = „to become full, sated”

13. Ch. Ehret (l.c.) derived the Semitic roots from his AA *-dē/ḍf- „to flow out”, but Sem. *ḍ- cannot derive from AA *d-.

14. K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB 455) surmised a link with common Brb. *ḍfs „1. plier, 2. doubler, 3. multiplier”. Interestingly, he listed no Sem. comparanda this time, probably because of the missing reflex in Arabic.

15. The *-s of Ch. Ehret’s (1995, 171, #252) Sem. *ṭps is certainly wrong with regard to the well documented Akkadian evidence. He, by the way, mentioned it among the alleged reflexes of his AA *-ṭap- „to rise”, where – along with a few semantically untenable comparanda – he derived it from his biconsonantal Sem. *ṭp „to rise, swell”, which is perhaps the only plausible piece of his theory in this etymological entry.

16. W. von Soden (AHW 1380a) pondered its cognacy with Ar. ṭafisa „être sale, crasseux”, which is disproven by its MSA match pointing to final Sem. *-s (not *-š) in this root as pointed out by J. Lentin (DRS), who, in turn, sided with the HCVA III 32, #225 regarding the comparison of the Akk. root with Hbr. ṭāpaš „être stupide, incompréhensif” [DRS] referring to alleged parallels of an „évolution sémantique ’gras’ > ’stupide, fou’” adduced by Palache (???).

[CAD XIX 48].¹⁷ Addition of C₃ *Wurzelaugment* in Twareg. The Twareg-Akkadian isogloss had already been suggested (but at the same embedded in a misplaced context of AA *√tf „to drip”, etymologically certainly a different root in my view) in HCVA III 32, #226 much earlier than it was observed independently by me also, which is why I included this root here.

BRB. *ḍ- + DENTALS

564. Common SBrb. *√ḍḍ > *a-ḍaḍ „finger” [GT after DRB 435-436]: its Afro-Asiatic etymology has until now remained dubious.¹⁸ No surprise, because, as it has by now become pretty clear to me during my in/extensive research in the AA root stock over the past decades, apparently no semantically identical reflex has been preserved in any other AA branch. Henceforth, we may not exclude the chances of a metonymy in our search for possible cognates, which has yielded noteworthy results, cf. AA *√t(ʿʷ)-tʿ „shoot of branch” [GT] > Sem. *√ttʿ [DRS] > Tigre ṭāttəʿa „mettre des feuilles, pousser”, Tigrinya ṭāṭāʿä „sortir de terre, borgeronner” (ES: DRS 1072) ||| WCh.: PGoemay *ṭat [Takács 2004, 381]: Goemay toe-ṭat (prefix tə-) “twigs (firewood)” [Sirlinger 1937, 252]. Plant, if conceived as body, whose fingers may have been compared to branches with pointed edges, may explain an ultimate kinship with SAA *√tṭh „pointed edge” [GT] > SCu. **ṭṭh- (a possible option) [GT]: WRift *ciciḥā (f) [WRift *c < SCu. *ṭ- possible] „points, edges, blades” [KM 2004, 300] ||| WCh.: Hausa ḍááḍà „l. sharpened edge of tool” [Abraham 1962, 161].

565. Common Brb. *√ḍḍ „to suck (milk)” [GT] > i.a. NBrb. *ə-ṭṭəḍ „téter”, verbal noun: *uḍuḍ „tétée, allaitement”, caus. *s(s)-uḍəḍ ~ *s(s)-uḍəḍ „allaiter” [GT] || WBrb.: Zenaga a-ḍuḍ „allaiter”, duḍ ~ a-dduḍ „téter” [TC] || SBrb.: Ayr ə-ṭṭəḍ „téter, être à la mamelle” [PAM] vs. Brb. *ta-ḍḍi-t

17. V. Orel and O. Stolbova (HSED 519, #2481) equated the Akkadian root with WCh.: Hausa tumfaye „to fill up”, but the initial dentals don’t agree.

18. M. Cohen’s (1947, 147, #310) eclectic *comparanda* (like Sem. *√sbʿ, Eg. ḍbʿ, Bed. gība, Hamir sefir, Somali far etc., which are not even mutually related with one another except for the Eg.-Sem. root) are certainly to be discarded on phonological grounds. The most popular scenario of assuming a hypothetical PBrb. *a-ḍbaḍ reflecting somehow Sem. *-ṣbaʿ < AA *√cbʿ certainly fails for a number of facts as (1) Sem. *š = Brb. * (as demonstrated by Takács 2006, 48ff.), (2) while a totally traceless disappearance of Brb. *-ḥ- in all daughter languages (the -ɣ- of Zenaga a-ḍayḍi hardly being of any evidence value in this respect), (3) and not even this Sem. comparison clarifies the origin of the second *-ḍ of the Berber root, since in Amharic ṭat „finger, toe” [Kane 1990, 2152] (hence NAgaw: Kemant ṭat [Apl.], Qwara šāt [Reinisch], Falashan zāt [Flad] „finger”, cf. Apl. 2006, 67) and Argobba ṭad „finger” [Leslau 1997, 223] quite different rules and facts worked during their derivation from an underlying fem. ES etymon *šibʿ-at (cf. SED I 228, #256), which were not the case in Common Berber.

„leech” [GT] > e.g., NBrb.: Shilh ta-ḏḏi-t ~ ta-ḏḏi-t ~ ta-dd’di-t „sangsue” | Mzg. ta-ḏḏi-t „sangsue” | Wargla ti-ḏḏed-t „sangsue” | Qabyle ti-tṭṭi-t „sangsue” etc. (NBrb.: DRB l.c.) || SBrb. *ta-ḏi-t „sangsue” [Nehilil] (Brb.: DRB 433-435) || ECh.: Mubi-Toram *ḏyūḏy- «to suck» [GT]: Mubi ḏyūḏy (ḏyóč, ḏyúḏḏyà), pl. ḏyáḏyé (ḏyáč, ḏyidyááč) «sucer (bonbon, citron)» [Jng. 1990 MS, 12], Kajakse ḏyūḏyù (impér.), ḏyūḏyùwà «sucer» [Alio 2004, 242, #103] || HECu. *ṭūṭ- „to suck” [Hudson 1989, 146] || Sem.: debatable ES parallel.¹⁹ Mubi-Toram *ḏyūḏy-, via **ḏyawḏy(aw)-, was presumably a partial reduplication of ECh. *ḏyaw- [GT]²⁰ > ECh.: Dangla-Migama *ḏyVw- „to milk” [GT]: EDangla ḏyúwé „1. traire (un animal), 2. aspirer, boire le lait au sein (enfant)” [DM 1973, 100], Bidiya ḏyàaw (ḏyàawí, ḏyàawèṅ), pl. ḏyàwàw (ḏyàwaawí, ḏyàwaawèṅ) „traire” [AJ 1989, 73], Migama ḏyúwáw (ḏyúwé, ḏyòwòkká) / ḏyíwáw (ḏyíwé, ḏyèwèkká) „traire” [JA 1992, 82] | Mubi ḏyáw (ḏyâw, ḏyúwâa) «1. sucer, 2. faire une saignée avec une corne» [Jng. 1990 MS, 12].

BRB. *ḏ- + SIBILANTS

566. Brb. *ṽḏz/ṣ (a/dissimilated </> **ṽḏz ~ **ṽḏs?) „buttock” [GT: borrowed from Ar.?] > NBrb.: Wargla ta-ḏiṣ-t [GT: ṣ-t < *-t] „partie d’une personne entre la peau de la poitrine et le vêtement, au-dessus de la ceinture, surtout chez les femmes qui s’en servent comme d’une grande poche fourre-tout” [Delheure 1987, 68a > DRB 498: isolated] | Qabyle ṽḏ: ṭtezz (avec excuse) „cul, derrière”, cf. caus. s-ṣtezztezz „1. péter, 2. bafouiller” [Dallet 1982, 846] || SBrb.: Ahaggar tiṣz (sic: t-) „anus (de personne ou d’animal)” [Foucauld 1951-2 IV 1927] (Brb.: DRB 504) || Sem. *ṭiz-(at)- (sic: -z) „buttocks” [GT]: Syr. ṭizā „anus, derrière” [DRS pace Brk. 1928, 274] | Ar. ṭiz-, pl. ʔatyāz- „cul, derrière” [BK II 130] = ṭiz „cul, derrière” [Beaussier] (Sem.: DRS 1072) || ECu.: Dullay: Dobase and Gollango ḏusʕ-e (f) „Nièr” [AMS 1980, 156, 198] || NOm.: PChara *ṭus-a „buttock(s)” [GT]: Chara

19. G. Hudson marked a parallelism with ES: Amharic ṭäbba „to suck” vs. ṭuṭ „breast”, which can only be a loan from ECu. Already M. Cohen (1947, 156, #343) tried also to combine, in an omnicomparatistic fashion, i.e., Sem. *ṽṭb „mamelle”, NBrb.: Sus tibbit „mamelle” (!) (although ti-...-it are just a circumfix, which he ignored) and Beni Snus ə-ṭṭəḏ (nom d’action uḏṭ) „téter”, which certainly stand for three totally different AA roots here. Obscure is the etymology of ES: Amharic ṣoço „vase pour traire et conserver le lait” [Baeteman quoted in DRS 1063: isolated in Sem.].

20. In Chadic, O.V. Stolbova (CLD II 108, #297) set up a *ḏVy/w- „to wring, squeeze out”, whence she derived the Dangla-Migama verb quoted above. Separately (CLD II 108-109, #300), she assumed a PCh. *ḏV(ḏV) „to suck”, whereby she explained the reduplicated Mubi-Toram reflexes quoted above with the reluctant remark: „note that in this very case (in the view of semantics) a mere coincidence (not regular correspondence) cannot be excluded”.

tuš-a [Fleming] = tuš-a ~ duš-a [Aklilu] (Chara: Bender 2003, 331, #10, isolated in Om.) ||| WCh.: PGoemay *tas (var. *tās?) „buttocks, back part” [Takács 2004, 360]: Goemay tas “the buttocks” [Sirlinger 1937, 239] vs. Goemay taas “part of the body that contains the kidneys” [Sirlinger 1937, 234].²¹ The AA reflexes suggest that the emphatic NBrb. C₂ is secondary due to the influence of the emphatic NBrb. C₁ and so we may most probably assume an underlying CAA *√tʒ (Sem.) and also a var. *√tʃ (Dullay, Chara, AS).

567. Common Brb. *√dʒ > *a-ṭtas „beaucoup, trop” [GT after DRB 498] ||| Sem.: Ar. √tys: I ṭāsa „être nombreux”, ṭays- and ṭaysal- „1. grand nombre, nombre immense, incalculable, essaim, myriads (se dit, p.ex., en parlant du sable, de l’eau, des insectes)” [BK II 130; DRS 1073: isolated in Sem.] ||| NOm.: (???) Mao: PHozo *ṭæç- „long, tall, deep” [GT after Bender 2003, 276, #83] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *ḍe/ēs “1. many, 2. large, great” [Takács 2004, 89]: presumably Gerka det [t reg. < *s] “power” (lit. “greatness”?) [Fitzpatrick 1911, 219], Sura ḍēs “1. viel(e), 2. groß, 3. bedeutend, mächtig” [Jng. 1963, 64] = (ḍi)ḍēs “large” [Kraft], Mupun ḍēs “big, large”, ḍees “many, very much” [Frj. 1991, 15], Mushere ḍees (so, long -ee-, error) “plenty” [Diyakal 1997 MS, 224] = ḍēs “plenty”, ḍes “much” [Jng. 1999 MS, 4] < AA *√tys „many” [GT].

568. Common Brb. *√dʒs/ʃ „to laugh (rire)” [GT after DRB 495-497] ||| Sem.: MSA: perhaps Soqotri ṭaš „se réjouir” [Leslau].

568.1. A variety with a non-glottalized *Anlaut* is attested in ES:²² Tigrinya dās bālā- „to be glad”, dāsta „joy”, Amharic, Argobba, Gafat dāss alā „to be joyful, glad (se réjouir)”, Amharic dāsta „happiness”, Harari tāss bāya- „to be happy”, Gurage: Masqan, Goggot, Selti, Wolane dāss *balā-, Soddo dās balā-, Soddo and Selti tāss balā-, Zway tās-əm bā/ālā- „to be glad, content, rejoice, be pleased, satisfied, feel cool, like” (Sem.: DRS 1068 after Leslau 1938, 202 and 1979 III 222) ||| NAgaw: Qemant dās y-, Hamir and Hamta diš y, Awngi déss’- ~ déss n- „to be happy” || LECu.: Afar tassa „joy”, tassa eḍhe „to be happy” | HECu.: Qabenna tašši-yo’ „to be pleased”, Qabenna and Alaba taššiti „joy” (ES-Cu.: Leslau 1979 III 222-223, 603-604; Apl. 2006, 79).

21. Any connection to Suroid *tuyus “body part at the area of back and shoulder” [Takács 2004, 373] also?

22. With reservations, F. Praetorius (1879, 265) rendered these Ethio-Semitic forms as modern reflexes of Geez tāhaś(ā)yā „to rejoice, enjoy oneself, be joyful, exult, be glad” < ḥaś(a)yā „to make happy, give joy” [Leslau 1987, 247], which W. Leslau labelled in his Gurage etymological lexicon from 1979 (l.c.) as „unlikely” and he abandoned without even a mention in his 1987 etymological dictionary of Geez also. More likely seems a Cushitic influence on Ethio-Semitic.

568.2. Eventually, in spite of the (at the moment all too) ambiguous C₂ sibilant correspondences (much better studied in the *Anlaut* as a rule), but regarding the semantic dispersion of „happy” vs. „dance, play” vs. „sing” so widespread in AA, it may be related to the isogloss represented by Sem.: Ar. *ṭatt-* „jeu d’enfants” [BK II 59; DRS 1123: isolated] ||| NOM.: Chara *ṭ*/ *tóš* „to dance” [Aklilu apud Bnd. 2003, 332, #18: isolated in SEOmeto] ||| WCh.: PGoemay **tis* “to joke” [Takács 2004, 367]: Goemay *tis* [tis] “joke, jest”, cf. *tam-tis* “fable, folklore, story” [Sirlinger 1937, 237, 248] = *tis* “to make fun”, *tis* “jokes”, cf. *tam-tis* “folktale” [Hellwig 2000 MS, 35-36]. The ES/Amharic/HECu. **d-* and Goemay *t-* < **d-* may speak for an ancient root variety with AA **d-* (instead of **ṭ-*).

569. Common Brb. *√ḏs/ṣ* „to sleep” [GT after DRB 494]: e.g., Mzg. *ḏḏes* ~ *ṭṭes* “dormir, se coucher pour dormir” [Taïfi 1991, 95] | Qabyle *e-ṭṭeṣ* “1. se coucher (pour dormir), 2. être arrêté, ne pas fonctionner” [Dallet 1982, 182] || SBrb.: Hgr. *e-ṭṭes* “dormir” [Foucauld 1951-2, 292], EWlmd. *ə-ṭṭəs* “dormir” [PAM 2003, 144] ||| NWomt.: Wolayta *ṭesk-* [LS], Gofa *ḏisk-* [Moreno] „to sleep” (Bender 2003, 23, #119: isolated in Om.). In my paper (Takács 2006) for the Tetuan conference (2005), I sought the match of the Berber root in ES: Geez *ṭasasa* “to be tired, weak” & Tna. *ṭäṣṭäsä* “to become old, weak”, Tigre *ṭäšša* “to become weak, dim (eyes)” (ES: Leslau 1987, 598), which may eventually be cognate < CAA **√ts* “1. to be tired, weak, 2. sleep” [GT]. Brb.-ES: Takács 2006, 56-57.

570. Common Brb. **√ḏs* „to touch” [GT after DRB 497-498] ||| ES: Tigre *√ṭss*: *ṭässä* „toucher, caresser” [WTS 613 > DRS 1095: isolated in Sem.].²³

571. SBrb.: EWlmd. *√ḏsy*: *té/á-ḏäsäy-t*, *pl. ši-ḏäsäy-en* „1. santé, activité, bonne forme, 2. vigueur” [PAM 2003, 145; DRB 499: isolated in Brb.] ||| WCh.: Hausa *ḏásáá* „well”, e.g., *ḏáákì yáá yí kyau ḏásáá* „the house is fine”, cf. also *ḏás* used in: *yáá záúnà* „it sits firmly” [Abraham 1962, 196-197].

BRB. **ḏ-* + VELARS

572. EBrb.: Ghadames *√ḏgʷ* > *e-ṭṭəḡ* (i.e., *-gʷ/-ḡ*) „(se) farder” [Lanfry 1973, 376, #1608] = *é-ṭṭeḡ* [DRB 457, *ḏg5*: isolated in Brb.] ||| Sem. **√dw/yk* (irregular **d-*) [DRS]: Maghrebi Ar. *dayyag* „farder”, *dīga* „fard” [DRS 238: isolated] ||| Dem. *ṭk3* (regular < MEg. **ḏg3/j*)²⁴ „der Färber” (DG 659) = *ṭk3*

23. In the DRS (l.c.) though, it was affiliated with Ar. *ṭassa* „quereller qqn.” and also Ar. (Sudanese dialect) *ṭass* „heurter, cogner, frapper qqn. pour le faire se déplacer”. Semantically vague.

24. Not attested before Demotic. J. Osing (NBÄ 147, 256, esp. 633, n. 655) set up the Eg. verbal root as IIIae inf. **√tkj* „färben” and with *ṭ-*, which may well be true about

(KHW) > Coptic (S) $\chi\omega(\omega)\sigma\epsilon$, $\chi\omega\chi\epsilon$, (B) $\sigma\omega\chi$ (etc. with further dialectal varieties) „to dye, stain” (CD 801a; CED 324) = „(sich) färben, beizen”, als Subst. „Farbe, Purpurfarbe”, adj. „purpurrot” (KHW 444). Curiously, no indication of a borrowed status of the Maghrebi Arabic root. The word may well be a loan in Late Egyptian also. Apparently an ancient local (NAfrican) cultural *Wanderwort*.

573. WBrb.: Zenaga $\sqrt{dg} > te-d\ddot{d}eg-t$ „lien, entrave en peau tannée ou en écorce” [DRB 458: isolated] ||| SOm.: Ari $\dot{d}ak-$ [Bender & Tully] = $\dot{d}ak(s)-$ [Hayward] „to tie” (isolated in Aroid apud Bender 2003, 352, #104). Cf. also Brb. $*\sqrt{dk} \sim *\sqrt{dg}$ (above).

574. SBrb. \sqrt{dg} „aller en rezzou contre” [GT after DRB 456-457] ||| Eg. $tk \sim tkk$ „angreifen” (MK-, Wb V 331, 336) ||| NOm.: Kaffa $t\dot{u}q$ „offendere, far torto a qualcuno” [Cerulli 1951, 511]. Diverse varieties with C_2 velars < AA $*\sqrt{t}K$ „to attack” [GT]?

574.1. Identical with the isogloss of MSA: Jibbali $t\acute{e}ka^\circ$ „to push” [Johnstone 1981] ||| NOm. $*tu(r)k-$ „to push” [GT] = „Ta-Ne” (practically, common NOm.) $*tuk-$ (?) „to push” [Bender 2003, 255 and 306, #A70] > Kefoid $*t/tug/q-$ „to push” [Bender 2003, 200, #70] = Gongan $*\sqrt{tuk}-$ „to push” [GT after Fleming 1987, 147, #4] | Hozo $t\dot{u}k\acute{a}$ [Atieb & Bender] = $tukka$ [Siebert & Wedekind] „to push” (isolated in Mao apud Bender 2003, 356, #70) ||| WCh.: PGoemay $*\dot{t}uk$ “to push carefully” (or sim.) [Takács 2004, 386]: Goemay $\dot{t}uk$ “to carry carefully, progressively, painfully” [Sirlinger 1937, 255] = tuk “to push sg. up” [Hellwig 2000 MS, 37] by the extension of meaning.

575. SBrb.: Ayr $\sqrt{dg} > \dot{a}-d\dot{a}g$ „être avalé de travers (liquide), passer de travers dans la gorge pour (qqn.), faire avaler de travers” [PAM 2003, 133; DRB 314: isolated] ||| CCh. $*\sqrt{dk} (m-)$ „to swallow” (attested in Tera, Bachama, Dghwede, Matakam, Daba-Kola) [JS 1981, 258C, 293]. A remotely related root var. is present in NBrb.: Snus $\sqrt{dyn} > dey\ddot{y}en$ „avalier précipitamment” [DRB 362] (above).

576. SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr $\sqrt{dgz}: e-dgez$ „1. serrer, 2. coincer, 3. tourmenter, embêter, persécuter, gêner, 4. prendre au sérieux”, $\dot{a}-dagaz$ „endroit

Coptic, Demotic and even Neo-/Late Egyptian, although Dem. \dot{t} - usually reflects older Eg. d - and not t -, but hardly about classical (MK, OK) Egyptian where \dot{t} was incompatible with k in the same root. Henceforth, in this word of the we may either assume the borrowing of a foreign word in LEg. or the reflex of the unwritten pre-NK Volkssprache (where such a sequence was perhaps tolerated, cf. $q\dot{d}.t$ „hand”), whose precise form cannot be determined as yet. In the latter scenario, in any case, a development of older Eg. $*dgj/3$ or $*dqj/3 > Dem. \dot{t}k3 > pre-Coptic *T\omega\omega\sigma\epsilon$, in which the shift of $*T- \sim \chi-$ may have been due to the palatalized C_2 .

serré, passage étroit, malaise” [DRB 458-459: isolated in Brb.] ||| Sem.: Ar. *ḍaṣaṭa* I „serrer en poussant”, III „presser qqn. dans la foule”, VII „se serrer contre un mur en cherchant à s’effacer ou à se cacher”, *ḍiṣāt-* „presse, grande foule où l’on se presse”, *ḍiṣṭ-at-* „1. pression dans la foule ou contre le mur quand on est acculé dans un espace étroit, 2. espace étroit de la tombe”, *ḍuṣṭ-at-* „1. étroitesse, gêne, malaise qui résulte de l’étroitesse de l’espace, de là: 2. malheure, 3. contrainte”, *dāṣūt-* „cauchemar”, *ma-ḍyaṭ-* „terrain bas et encaissé abondant en cours d’eau”, cf. also *ḍaṣada* I „serrer qqn. à la gorge, étrangler, étouffer” [BK II 29] ||| WCh.: Hausa *ćatćagáá* (ts-, -tts-) „1. (= *ćaććaka*) to compress, ram down, e.g., contents of a sack, 2. load a dane-gun, 3. beat ground round a post to increase stability, 4. tap ground with finger – a sign of vexation, 5. separate the gums from the root of a tooth preparatory to extraction” [Bargery 1934, 1032] = „1. (= *ćaććákà*) rammed earth, etc., pester s’one by cadging, 2. tapped ground with bit of dry grass in vexation, 3. an *tsattsaga* *gindiṅ haḱōrī*: gums have been separated from root for extraction” [Abraham 1962, 880] = *ćatćagaa* [Stolbova]. Irregular C₁ and C₃ correspondences: SBrb. * \sqrt{dg} < NAA * $\sqrt{ć}/tg/\gammać/ć$ vs. Ar. $\sqrt{ḍyṭ}$ < NAA * $\sqrt{ćyṭ}$ vs. Hausa \sqrt{ctcg} < SAA * $\sqrt{ćtćg}/\gamma$, which may only be conceived as root varieties of a semi-reduplication containing uncertain glottal sibilants.

576.1. The Ar.-Hausa equation is due to O.V. Stolbova (CLD II 114, #324), who derived the Hausa word, in comparison with CCh.: Kotoko-Makeri *ćagi* „to stop up” [Allison], from her Ch. * $\sqrt{ć}Vg-$ „to press stop up”. For the underlying PAA glottal sibilant affricate of the surmised partial reduplication alternation cf. SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr \sqrt{zgg} „1. serrer, presser (pour empêcher de bouger), 2. Ayr: barrer, remplir (sac, porte-monnaie etc.), 3. être serré, 4. Ayr: être bourré”, EWlmd. *tā-zagg-at* „1. rétention d’urine (maladie, peut comporter l’hématurie: sang dans l’urine, causé par la marce dans la chaleur / l’humidité), 2. p.ext.: cystite” [PAM 2003, 913], in which the z < NAA * $ć/ć$.

577. SBrb. * $\sqrt{ḍkḍ}$ „estimer” [GT pace DRB 462] ||| Sem.: perhaps ES * \sqrt{tyk} > Geez *ṭayyaqa*, Tigrinya *ṭäyyäqä* „observer, examiner”, Amh. *ṭäyyäqä* „demander, rechercher”, Gurage (a)*čäqä* „s’assurer de” (ES: DRS 1074 pace Leslau 1987, 600) ||| Bed. *ḍigwi* „1. to count, reckon, 2. inform, give information, render an account, recount”, *ḍagwi* (m) „(ac)count, adding”, (f) „information, account” [Roper 1928, 176] || ECu.-Dullay: Dobase and Gollango *ḍih-* „zählen”, *ḍih-im-aḍ-* (Soz(io)-Med(iopass). suffix -aḍ-) „diskutieren” [AMS 1980, 155, 197] ||| NOm.: SEOmeto **tāg-* (irregular **t-*) „to count” [GT]: Koyra *tà(t)* [Cumbers] = *tāg(g)/dd-* [Hayward], Kachama *ṭāg-* [Siebert & Hoeck] (SEOmeto: Bender 2003, 85, #30) ||| Ch. * $\sqrt{ḍgn}$ attested in Dghwede and Kabalay [JS 1981, 78B]. The C₂ correspondences are often irregular, e.g., Brb. **k* ≠ ES **k* ≠ Bed. *g* ≠ Dullay **h*.

578. NBrb. * $\sqrt{\text{d}\gamma}$ „1. to be fat, 2. great” [GT]: Mzg. i- $\text{d}\gamma$ a “être, devenir grand” [Taïfi 1991, 88] | Shawya $\text{t}\text{t}\text{iq}$ -et „être gras” [DRB] | Qabyle $\sqrt{\text{d}\gamma}$: $\text{t}\text{t}\text{uqq}$ -et „être nombreux”, $\text{t}\text{t}\text{aqqa}$ „1. abondance, grande quantité, 2. beaucoup, 3. majorité”, s- tuqq -et (caus.) „amplifier, augmenter, exagérer” [Dallet 1982, 841] (NBrb.: DRB 479 sine Mzg.) || (???) SBrb.: EWlmd. and Ayr $\sqrt{\text{t}\text{g}}$ (if in fact < * $\sqrt{\text{d}\text{g}}$, not just a secondary pharyngealization of $\sqrt{\text{t}\text{g}}$?): $\text{ə-t}\text{t}\text{əg}$ [irregular -g] „être gros, fort” [PAM 2003, 779] || Sem.: Akk. $\text{t}\text{u}\text{ḥ}\text{du}$ „abundance, fat, grease” [Leslau 1945, 244] = $\text{t}\text{u}\text{ḥ}(\text{u})\text{du}$ „abundance, prosperity” < $\text{t}\text{aḥ}\text{ādu}$ G „to thrive, prosper”, $\text{t}\text{u}\text{ḥ}\text{ḥ}\text{udu}$ D „to provide lavishly, endow richly, make prosperous” [CAD t 42, 122]²⁵ || Ar. $\sqrt{\text{t}\text{y}\text{h}}$ II „2. rendre qq. gras, le faire engraisser” [BK II 128], cf. also Ar. $\sqrt{\text{t}\text{y}\text{y}}$ „to swell, rise” and $\text{t}\text{ayw-}$ „high place, mountain, summit” [Ehret]²⁶ || Eg. $\text{t}\text{ḥ}$ «fett, gemästet (von Ochsen)» (GR, Wb V 325, 15) || Bed. ḍaḥ «fett, dick», ḍāḥa «fett, dick» [Reinisch 1895, 73 with false Cu. *comparanda*] = ḍaḥ „to be fat”, ḍāḥa „fat” [Roper 1928, 176] || WCh.: Buli $\text{ḍu}\text{ḡ}$ «Fett» [Shimizu in JI 1994 II, 132] | Ngizim $\text{ḍ}\text{ə}\text{k}\text{āu}$ (v.n. $\text{ḍ}\text{ə}\text{k}\text{āy}\text{à}$, when used with an object, becomes $\text{ḍ}\text{ə}\text{k}\text{ii}$) „1. to exceed, surpass, be more than (or if context makes compared quality clear, could also mean: be bigger than, taller than, better than), 2. X exceeds Y with respect to quality Z, X is more Z than Y, 3. X is preferable, 4. $\text{ḍ}\text{ə}\text{k}\text{ii-k}$ X (where X is a noun phrase): more than X, that which exceeds X” [Schuh 1981, 51-52]²⁷ || CCh. * nda/uQ^{w} - «fatness» [GT: irreg. * nd-] (CCh.: Kraft 1981, #300): from CAA * $\sqrt{\text{t}\text{h}}$ (root vars. with * t- and * d- ?) “1. fat, 2. abundant” [GT].²⁸ Mzg.-Eg.-Bed.-Buli-CCh.: Takács 2004, 47-89, #380; 2006, 55.

579. NBrb. $\sqrt{\text{d}\gamma\text{d}\gamma}$ „to vibrate” [GT]: Wargla $\text{t}\text{t}\text{əg}\text{t}\text{əg}$ „frétilleur, se trémousser de contentement, de joie, sautiller” [DRB 457: isolated in Brb.] | Qabyle $\text{t}\text{əy}\text{t}\text{əy} \sim \text{t}\text{əy}\text{ḍ}\text{əy}$ „bouillonner, crépiter, pétiller (liquide), radoter” [DRB 478]

25. The Akkadian root was identified by W. Leslau (1945, 244) with one single Semitic parallel: Soqotri $\text{t}\text{adaḥ}$ „back”, i.e., < * „marrow of spinal-cord (???)”, which was not preferred by J. Lentin keeping both forms distinct (DRS 1058, 1071) and not even referring to such a link. In principle, Akk. - h- < Sem. * -h- possible (cf. Kogan 1995). This Semitic match was affiliated by V. Blazek (1994 MS Bed., 11-12), among the Beja cognate (above) and LECu. * ?aḍaḥ- „back” [Blazek], also with LECu. * ḍūḥ- „marrow” [Black 1974, 108]. If correct, the Sem.-LECu. isogloss could point to CAA * $\sqrt{\text{t}\text{h}}$ „fat” [GT], which might stand as a root variety next to that listed under NBrb. * $\sqrt{\text{d}\gamma}$ (above).

26. Derived by Ch. Ehret (1995, 168, #243) from his AA * $\text{-t}\text{ôy-}$ „to rise”. But the Ar. root, rendered in stem I as „1. sortir des bornes, déborder, 2. bouillonner (sang, mer)”, $\text{t}\text{āy}\text{ī}^{\text{n}}$ „1. qui sort des bones, 2. injuste, orgueilleux” [BK II 86] seems to originate in a quite different basic sense, cf. DRS 1099a.

27. Derived by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 108, #1509) from his AA * -zōḥ- „to grow larger”, which is phonologically unlikely.

28. For further details cf. Takács, G.: Aegyptio-Afroasiatica XIX, #380 (Rocznik Orientalistyczny 57/2, 2004, 47-89).

||| Sem.: (?) Syriac *ṭāḥīḥ* (DRS: *ṭāḥīḥ!*) „inquiet” [Brk. 1928, 272 cited in DRS 1071] | Ar. *ṭayw*: I *ṭayā* „6. être agité, en fureur (se dit de la mer, des vagues), 7. bouillonner, être en mouvement (se dit du sang)” [BK II 86] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura **ḍek* ~ **ḍik* > **ḍək* “1. to shake, 2. sift, winnow” [Takács 2004, 87]. The C₂ correspondences (e.g., Wargla -g- vs. Qabyle -γ- or Syr. -ḥ-, even if < **-ḥ-* vs. Ar. -γ-) are sometimes irregular. Part of a large root family with diverse varieties: cf., e.g., the entries for (1) NBrb.: Tamazight *ṭdy*: *ḍiyey* „être agité, ne pas tenir en place, 2. être troublé, anxieux” [DRB 365], (2) SBrb.: Ahaggar *ṭtg^yg^y*: *ḥəṭəṭəṭəḡ* „palpiter” [Prasse 1969, 70, #416].

580. SBrb. **(t)a-ḍayay-(t)* „1. pebble, 2. grain” [GT]: Ahaggar *a-ḍay* „cail-lou qu’on place dans le feu et qu’on met ensuite dans une matière liquide ou demi-liquide pour la chauffer”, *ta-ḍaq* „1. grain (fruit ou semence de très petit volume; petite parcelle), 2. pilule, comprimé, capsule, 3. grain de chapelet, 4. capsule (d’arme à feu), 5. (pl. *ti-ḍay-in*) grain de blé, de chapelet, de toute espèce”, Ghat *ta-ḍeq*, pl. *či-ḍayay-in* „grain de céréale” (SBrb.: DRB 477-478, *ḍy6*) ||| Sem.: Ar. *ṭayy-at-* „1. montagne escarpée, 2. petite pierre”, cf. *ṭayā* „2. être trop grand, très-haut” [BK II 86] ||| ECu. **ḍag-* (not **ḍ₁-*) „stone” [Sasse 1979, 18, 61] ||| NOm.: Kafa **ṭakḵ-/ṭāk-* „stone” [GT after Bender 2003, 175, #128] vs. Om. **ḍuK-* „mountain” [GT] > NOm.: Male *ḍuka* „mountain, hill” [Fleming in Bender 2003, 60, #90] || SOm.: Hamer *ḍuka* „mountain” [Lydall in Bender 2003, 214, #90] (Male + Hamer: Bender 2003, 241, #88) ||| WCh.: Boot *ḍoge* „stone” [Shimizu 1978, 31] < CAA **ṭak-* (NOm.) ~ **ṭay-* („1. mountain, 2. stone, 3. pebble” [GT]. ECu.-Om.: Mukarovsky 1966, 31, #86; 1981, 211-212, #43; 1987, 27; Dolgopol’skij 1973, 124 (Cu.-Om. **ĈA[g]A-* „камень”).

580.1. As early as W.W. Müller (1975, 66, #33) and H.G. Mukarovsky (1987, 27), the LECu. and Om. reflexes with **ḍ-* (sine Berber) have been miscompared with the (Amharic, Ch.) reflexes of an AA variety with plain **d-* in the *Anlaut*, cf. Sem.: cf. ES reflexes below ||| Eg. *ḍḡ.wt* „Steinblöcke” (NE, Wb V 484, 10) ||| EBrb.: Siwa *a-ḍya(γ)* „1. pierre, 2. meule (de moulin à huile), cf. Nefusa (a)-*ḍyaγ* „pierre (coll.)” [DRB] || NBrb. **a-ḍayay* „pierre” [GT pace DRB] (Brb.: DRB 359-360, *ḍy17*) ||| Ch. **(N)d-G-* „stone” [NM 1966, #104] > e.g., CCh.: Tera-Pidlimdi *ndòkti* [Kraft 1981 II 5, #141], Ga’anda (Gabin) *ḍèkwini* [Kraft 1981 II 34, #141] = *dèkwini*? [Mukarovsky].

580.2. Noteworthy is the isogloss of specially extended reflexes with epenthetic nasal in ES **ṭdngl* [DRS] = **dEngay* „stone” < ***dangar-* (???) [GT]: Amharic *dängəya* ~ *dəngay* [Apl.] = *dängiya* ~ *dəngay* [DRS] = *dəngay* ~ *dängiya* ~ *dəngay* [Kane 2000, 1809], Argobba *dingay* [Apl., DRS] = *dəngay* [Leslau 1997, 199], Gafat *dānga* [Leslau 1956, 197, so also DRS] = *dānga* [Apl.], Tna. *dāng^wälla* („rock”) [Apl.] = (so also in Tigre)

[DRS], Gurage-Muher dəng'āla [Apl.], Gurage-Mäsqān dəng'ālā [Apl.] (ES reflexes: Cohen 1961, 70, #96; DRS 279: DNGL4; Kogan 2015, 42, fn. 105) ||| NAgaw: Bilin dāng^wəra, Hamir dəg^wəra (NAgaw-ES: Appleyard 1977, 36) ||| NOm.: Mocha 'diŋgaro „rock” [Leslau 1959, 27: no cognates listed].²⁹ L. Kogan (l.c.) regarded the ES forms as Cushitisms referring to the Agaw source collected by D. Appleyard (l.c.).

580.3. An AA variety *√d^c seems to emerge from NBrb.: Rif ta-(w)di-t „galet, caillou, roulé” [DRB 280, D69] ||| SCu.: Dahalo ndó^co „sand” [Ehret]³⁰ ||| WCh.: Jimbin ɖaya [ɖ- < *dH-] „stone” [OS] | Dwot ɖayi [ɖ- < *dH-] „stone” [OS], Boot dəyi „stone” [Shimizu 1978, 31] || ECh.: Tumak dəə:y „stone, rock” [OS]. Note that WCh.-Eg.: OS 1992, 188; WCh.-Eg.-Qabyile: HSED #629.

581. NBrb.: Taneslemt a-ɖkār „colère” [DRB 462, ɖkr1] ||| Sem. *√tgr [DRS]: Syr. ʔeṯtaggar „maltraiter, quereller, lutter contre”, ʔāgarā „tourments, reproches, dispute” [DRS 1058: tgr1] || ES: Gurage (Selti) ʔāgarā „to be unpleasant” [Leslau 1979 III 615] = „désagréable” [DRS 1058: tgr2 < Brk. 1928, 268] ||| Eg. tḥ3tḥ3 ~ tḥtḥ, in: nṯr.w tḥ3tḥ3.w „böse Götter” (PT, Wb V 325, 21)³¹ (???) > Dem. tḥr ~ tḥ^c3 „schlecht, böse sein” (DG 654-655) ||| HECu.: Kambatta and Hadiyya ɕoggara „unpleasant” [Leslau] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *ɖoyor “anger” [GT] = *dɔhɔr (so, *d-) [Stolbova 1977]: Angas dur “1. anger, 2. to be angry” [Ormsby 1914, 207] = döör ~ düür “anger” [Foulkes 1915, 171, 174] = ɖoor (ɖòòr, ɖóór) “sich ärgern, ärgerlich werden” [Jng. 1962 MS] = ɖor “anger” [ALC 1978, 14] = ɖor “anger, annoyance”, ɖōr “to be annoyed” [Gochal 1994, 69, 109, 119], Sura dohor [*ɖoyor] “anger” [Dlg. 1982 < Stolbova], Mupun dòor “to be annoyed” [Frj. 1991, 16], presumably Mushere ɖokor “curse” [Diyakal 1997 MS] (AS: Stolbova 1977, 153, #43; Takács 2004, 94) < CAA *√tKr „1. angry, 2. wicked” [GT]. Irregular C₂ correspondences: Sem. *-g- ≠ Eg. -ḥ- ≠ Brb. and Dullay *-k-. Its ultimate biliteral root has also been retained in one branch, cf. ECu.: Dullay *ɖak- „angry” [GT]: Harso & Dobase ɖak-ōɖ- „ärgerlich sein”, Dobase ɖak-is- (caus.) „beleidigen”, ɖak-am-če „Ärger”, ɖak-āmp-akkó (adj.) „ärgerlich, böse”, Gollango ɖak-is- (caus.) „beleidigen”, ɖak-is-atto „Beleidigung” (Dullay: AMS 1980, 154, 197).

29. Affiliated by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 69, #139) with the alleged reflexes of his AA *ɖiŋ- „rock”, among others, Eg. dnj.

30. Equated by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 78, #1378) with MSA *√d^cn „stoney ground” and a certain Eg. d^c.t (sic, correctly: d^c.t) „vein of ore”, all derived < his AA *indóo^c- „bare sandy or stoney ground, stoney surface”.

31. This AA etymology disproves the theory on its derivation from Eg. √tḥtḥ (which displays no trace of -3 as C₃) by an all too suggestive translation „Störung verursachen(d)” (PT 392d, 1701c-d, ÄWb I 1435) and reaffirms K. Sethe’s original rendering.

Further trilateral root varieties, each of which may be traced to an ultimate biliteral root, viz. AA $*\sqrt{d}k^{32} \sim * \sqrt{d}y^{33} \sim * \sqrt{t}k^{34}$ „to be bad” [GT]: **(581. 1)** C[?]/NAA $*\sqrt{d}kr$ „to be furious” [GT] discussed in the entry for Brb. $*\sqrt{d}kr$ [DRB] (q.v. above). **(581.2)** CAA $*\sqrt{d}kl \sim * \sqrt{d}yl$ „to spoil sg. out of wickedness” [GT] discussed in the entry for Brb. $*\sqrt{d}kr$ [DRB] (q.v. above). **(581.3)** NAA $*\sqrt{t}hr$ [GT] > ES: Geez ṭāhara, Tigre and Tigrinya ṭāharä „être furieux” (ES: DRS 1070) ||| Eg. (?) > Dem. tr „betrübt sein” (DG 654).

BRB. $*d$ - + SONANTS

582. NBrb.: Shawya ḍumm „mettre en tas” [DRB 469 with a different etymology]³⁵ ||| Sem./Ar. biconsonantal $*\sqrt{t}m$ „to flow over” [Ehret 2000 MS, 122, #1575]:³⁶ Ar. $\sqrt{t}mw$ I: ṭamā „1. s’élèver bien au-dessus du sol, être haut (se dit des plantes d’une taille considérable), 2. (fig.) être haut, élevé (se dit d’esprit, de la pensée), 3. être plus grand, plus haut que ..., dépasser qqn. par sa taille, 4. être rempli, gonflé par la masse d’eau” [BK II 110] ||| ECu.: Dullay $*ḍamm$ - „great” [GT] > Harso & Dobase ḍamm- „groß werden”, ḍamm-a (verb. adj.) „groß, viel”, Gollango ḍamm-a (adj.) „groß” [AMS 1980, 155, 197] ||| NOm.: Dizoid $*ṭum$ - „mountain” [Bender 2003, 214, #90] ||| SOm.: probably Ari ḍām- „to stand (up)” [Hayward in Bender 2003, 217, #126]³⁷ < CAA $*\sqrt{t}m$ „to r(a)ise, grow high” [GT]. The underlying biconsonantal may have been the ultimate PAA origin of further triconsonantal roots extended with diverse third radicals, cf.:

582.1. AA $*\sqrt{t}mh$ „to raise” [GT] > Sem.: Ar. ṭamaḥa I „être fier” [BK II 106; DRS 1085: isolated] ||| WCh.: pre-Hausa $*ḍamk$ - „to elevate” [GT] > Hausa ḍáúkà „1.a) took up”, ḍáúkáá „1.a) raised up sg. with intention of

32. Cf. Ehret 2000 MS, 63, #1309 for his AA $*-daḵ$ - „to get a bad feeling” and o.c., p. 64, #1315 for his AA $*-daḵ^w$ - „to be/do bad(ly)”, where reflexes are listed.

33. Cf. DRS 294 for Sem. biliteral $*\sqrt{d}y$ associated to the „*notions de 'méchancelé, perfidie, haine*”.

34. Cf. the reflexes of a NAgaw $*ḥəq$ - < $**ṭəq$ - (but hardly $*dək$ -) „bad” [GT] which D. Appleyard (2006, 27) tried to link to ES: Amh. dəkkí „bad” > NAgaw: Qwara dəka, Kunfāl dəki „bad”. Two distinct varieties?

35. Affiliated by K.Naït-Zerrad (DRB) with a homophonous root for „balayer”.

36. Affiliated by Ch. Ehret (l.c.) with NOm.: Mocha ḥim-o „sieve for beer” [Leslau 1959, 24].

37. The Omotic reflex has presumably retained the purest primary sense of the root. For the semantic dispersion „to stand up” ~ „heap” cf., e.g., Eg. ḥʿ „1. (da)stehen, 2. Stand halten vor jem. = ihm Widerstand leisten, 3. still stehen (nach einer Bewegung), 4. aufstehen, sich erheben, 5. aufgerichtet sein, 6. an jemds. Stelle treten, (den Thron) besteigen usw.” > ḥʿ „Haufen” (both OK-, WB II 218-220).

looking underneath and replacing”, *ḏáúkákáá* „1. lifted up, 2. honored, 3. promoted, 4. helped” [Abraham 1962, 199, 201] < CAA **√tmh* [GT] vs.

582.2. AA **√tmh* „to raise” [GT] > Sem.: OSA: Sabaic *tmh* „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) ||| (?) Eg. *tmh* „praise” (GR 1x: Edfu III 176:1-2, PL 1145) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura **ṭiṇ* (var. **ṭuṇ*?) > **ṭəṇ* „1. high, 2. upper part, 3. sky” [Takács 2004, 384], cf. also AS **ṭaṇ* „1. to sprout, 2. grow” [Takács 2004, 379] and AS **ṭuṇ* „heap” [Takács 2004, 387] vs. AS **ḏuṇ* „elevation of ground” [Takács 2004, 97] vs. AS **ḏəṇ* ~ **ḏa₂ṇ* „1. upper part, 2. up” [Takács 2004, 101] < CAA **√tm* [GT].

583. SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr sə-ḏḏəmdəm „goûter un peu de (qqch., pour l’essayer)” [PAM 2003, 138] ||| Sem. **√tʿm* “kosten” [GB 278]: i.a. Hbr. *√tʿm qal* „1. kosten, den Geschmack prüfen, ein wenig genießen, 2. schmecken, 3. fühlen, empfinden” [GB 278] ||| ECu. **ḏaʿm*- “to taste” [GT pace Dlg. 1973, 317-318] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura **ṭʿam* “to taste, try” [Takács 2004, 388] | Fyer *čamī* [GT: ča- < *ṭʿa-?] „schmecken, berühren” [Jng. 1970, 84] || CCh.: Logone *ḏəm, dəm* „schmecken (tr.)” [Lukas 1936, 89] < AA **√tʿ(ʿ)m* „to taste” [GT]. The WCh. data speak for a bicons. var. without an **-ʿ-*, since normally **-ʿm#* would have resulted in **-ṇ#*, let alone that in AS, we don’t have a -VγV- reflex of AA *-VʿV- either. See also Porhomovskij 1972, 44, #23.1; 1977, 106-107; Dlg. 1973, 317-318 (ECu.-Sem.-CCh.).

584. SBrb. **√ḏn* „to guard cattle” [GT]: Ahaggar *e-ḏen* „i.a. paître (surveiller au pâturage des animaux), veiller sur”, EWlmd. *e-ḏen* „paître, pâturer, surveiller au pâturage” etc. (SBrb.: DRB 473) ||| Sem. **√ṣwn* „1. to preserve, 2. protect” [GT]: Hebrew *√šnn* III: *šinnā* „der große, den ganzen Körper deckende Schild, Schild(dach)” [GB 687] | Ar. *√ṣwn*: I *šāna* „1. protéger qqn. contre qqn. ou qqch., 2. conserver, cacher, serrer, tenir renfermé”, VIII „garder, conserver”, ma-*ṣūn*- ~ ma-*ṣwūn*- „gardé, préservé, conservé, cahé, serré, renfermé” [BK I 1387-1388], Ar. of Yemen *ṣawān* „guarantor, surety” [Leslau] || Geez *√ṣwn* ~ *√ḏwn*: *ṣawwana* ~ *ḏawwana* „to protect, defend, preserve, shelter” [Leslau 1987, 566-567] = „umhegen, behüten” [GB], Amharic *ṣawān* „refuge” [Leslau] ||| Eg. *ḏnj* (PT) > *dnj* (MK) „1. abdämmen (gegen das Wasser), 2. auch: die Ufer befestigen (mit Stein)” (PT-, Wb V 575, 10-12) = „(Wortstamm für) das Abdämmen des Wassers” (PT 278c, ÜKAPT I 313) = „to dam (water), construct dam” (FD 314) > *dnj* „1. jemanden zurückhalten, 2. vom Arm (ʿ): dessen Gebrauch hindern” (BD-, Wb V 464, 13-17) = „to hold back, restrain (s’one), revet (earthen

banks with stone)” (FD 314) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *ḍen (var. *den?) “to prevent, keep back” [Takács 2004, 89]: presumably Gerka dun-dang (so, -u-!) “to prevent” (dang obscure) [Fitzpatrick 1911, 219], Angas den (sic: d-) “to hinder” [Ormsby 1914, 209] = den (sic: d-) “to prevent, stop (someone)” [Foulkes 1915, 166] = ḍén “ablehnen, zurückweisen” [Jng. 1962 MS] = den (so: d-) “to deny (someone, something)” [ALC 1978, 11] = ḍen “to keep” [Gochal 1994, 72], Mupun ḍén “to refuse, prevent, deny (the person to whom sg. is denied is the direct object)” [Frj. 1991, 15], Mushere ḍen “to keep” [Diyakal 1997 MS] = ḍen “to keep” vs. den (so, d-) “keeping” [Jng. 1999 MS, 3-4], Goemay den (so: plain d-) “to refuse, hinder, forbid” [Sirlinger 1937, 32] = den (so, d-!) “to prevent, forbid” [Hellwig 2000 MS, 5] < AA *ṣḥn (NAA *ṣḥwn) „1. to keep back, preserve, 2. protect, guard” [GT]. For Eg.-Sem. cf. also Schneider 1997, 207, #17.³⁸

585. Brb. *ṣḥn „to be sick” [GT] > EBrb.: Gdm. a-ḍen „être malade”, Sokna a-ṭan „tomber malade”, Siwa u-ṭen „être malade” (EBrb.: DRB 472) || NBrb.: e.g., Shilh a-ḍn „être malade, souffrir, avoir mal, devenir malade” [DRB] | Mzg. ṣḥn: a-ḍen “avoir mal, être malade, souffrir, être à l’article de la mort, être infecté (plaie, blessure)” [Taïfi 1991, 91] | Qbl. a-ḍen “être malade” [Dallet 1982, 178] etc. || WBrb.: Zenaga ā-den (sic: d) „être malade” [DRB] (Brb.: DRB 471-472) ||| Sem.: Ar. ṣḥny I: ḍaniya “3. être mince de corps et chétif, 4. être maladif, avoir un principe maladif en soi, qui fait qu’après un court rétablissement on retombe malade”, III “affaiblir et user l’existence de qqn. (se dit d’un principe de maladie latente qui fait faire des rechutes après un court rétablissement)”, VIII “1. être malade, 2. maigrir, être amaigri” [BK II 42], cf. also Ar. ṣḥmn (infixed root extension -m-???) I: ḍamina I “2. être atteint d’une maladie”, ḍaman- “maladie, mal” [BK II 40, 42] < NAA *ṣḥn „to be unwell” [GT]. Not a loan (Ar. -y!). NBrb.-Ar. equated in: Takács 2006, 58.

586. NBrb. *ṣḥny „1. gros, 2. épais, gras” [GT] > NBrb.: Shilh ḍni, i-ḍni „être gros, solide, fort, épais, massif”, ti-ḍni „épaisseur” | Qabyle e-ḍni „être gras, corpulent” (NBrb.: DRB 476)³⁹ ||| Sem.: Ar. ṣḥny: ḍaniya I „1. avoir

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

39. In his DRB, K. Naït-Zerrad (l.c.) carefully kept apart this NBerber root under *ṣḥny 1 from the Twareg cognates under *ṣḥny 2, which will be discussed in the following entry here.

beaucoup d'enfants (se dit d'une femme), 2. augmenter, s'accroître, devenir plus considérable (se dit d'un lot, d'une portion)" vs. $\sqrt{\text{dn}}^?$: $\text{ḏana}^?a$ I „2. être très-féconde, avoir eu beaucoup d'enfants (se dit d'une femme), 3. être nombreux (se dit des bestiaux, d'un troupeau)", $\text{ḏāni}^?-$, fem. $\text{ḏāni}^?-at$ „féconde (femme)" vs. $\sqrt{\text{ḏwn}}$: ḏāna I „avoir une nombreuse postérité, beaucoup d'enfants" [BK II 41-42, 46] < NAA $\sqrt{\text{ḏny}}$ „to prosper, be abundant (?)" [GT]. Cf. the next entry.

587. SBrb. $\sqrt{\text{ḏny}}$ „to fill up" [GT]: Hgr. $e-\text{ḏni}$ „entonner dans, de, verser un liquide dans une chose à orifice étroit avec ou sans entonnoir" [Fcd.], EWlmd.-Ayr ə-ḏnəy „1. entonner, remplir, 2. remplir à ras bord, bourrer, combler (avec n'importe quoi), 3. engraisser par alimentation forcée (jeune fille), 4. être entonné etc., 5. (Ayr) s'écouler (temps)" [PAM 2003, 140], Nslm. $i-\text{ḏnāy}$ (prét.) „remplir" [DRB] (SBrb.: DRB 476-477, $\text{ḏny}2$) ||| Eg. jdn „*er/ausfüllen" (CT VI 381k, V 34c, ÄWb II 456c; GHWb 118) vs. dn „nachfüllen (mit Wasser zum Verdünnen des Bieres)" (Math., Wb V 464, 3) = $dn.t$ st.t „Teig verdünnen (zu einem Brei)" (Helck, LÄ I 790 > VII 501) = dnj „nachfüllen, verdünnen" (GHWb 981)⁴⁰ ||| NOm. $\sqrt{\text{ḏon}}$ - ($\sqrt{\text{ts'on}}$ -) „full" [Bender 1988, 150] > Gimirra $\sqrt{\text{ḏon}}^?$ - „full" [GT pace Bender 2003, 165, #57] | Kefoid $\sqrt{\text{ḏēn}}$ - ($\sqrt{\text{ts'}}$ -) „full" [Bender 2003, 165, #57] = $\sqrt{\text{ḏēn}}$ - [GT] | Mao $\sqrt{\text{ḏōn}}$ - „full" [Bender 2003, 273 and 302, #57] | Dizi and Aroid: reflex doubtful⁴¹ (Om.: also Bender 2003, 273, #57). Without a certain Semitic reflex, the initial radical (whether a sibilant affricate or a $\sqrt{\text{t}}$ -) in the underlying CAA root can hardly be securely reconstructed. The Brb.-Om. match is due to A.Ju. Militarev (in Starostin et al. 1995 MS, 12), who equated it with Ar. $\sqrt{\text{ḏn}}^?/y$ „to be fertile, multiply", i.e., the Arabic roots affiliated with which would speak for AA $\sqrt{\text{ḏē}}$ - and the ultimate cognacy with the NAA root presented in the preceding entry.⁴²

40. The reconstruction of an Eg. $\sqrt{\text{ḏnj}}$ „eintröpfeln" > dnj/w „nachfüllen" in J. Osing's mistaken conception (NBÄ 102 and 583, n. 492), on the basis of his perfectly erroneous comparison with Coptic (B) $\Theta\lambda\text{H}$ „tropfen (lassen)" (KHW 229-230, cf. CD 410a) and his misguided *Wurzelprinzip*, is due to a confusion of two distinct roots.

41. M.L. Bender (2003, 273, #57) equated the NOmotic cognates (Gimirra, Kefoid, Mao above) with Dizaroid $\sqrt{\text{ḏoḏ}}$ - < Om. $\sqrt{\text{ḏo}}$ - (?), which is certainly out of the question in this form. But the cognacy of the Dizaroid match as well as that of the Afro-Asiatic parallels being both pretty evident, a scenario of a partial reduplication (like $\sqrt{\text{ḏoḏ}}$ - < $\sqrt{\text{ḏoḏ}}$ -) appears likely.

42. In any case, the sibilant affricate in Omotic also evidently speaks for AA $\sqrt{\text{ḏē}}$ - (not $\sqrt{\text{ḏ}}$ - or $\sqrt{\text{ḏ}}$ - both yielding Brb. $\sqrt{\text{z}}$ -, cf. Takács 2006) instead of $\sqrt{\text{t}}$ -, although the Egyptian forms attested from the MK and later only agree with the latter. Henceforth, one may only suppose an OK $\sqrt{\text{ḏnj}}$ in spite of 6 exx. of dnj (with d -) from Dyn. V-VI (ÄWb I 1478a). For the vacillation of ḏ vs. d in the late OK, see AÄG 49-50, §112.

588. Common Brb. *√**ḍr** > ***a-ḍar** „1. pied, 2. jambe, 3. patte” [GT after DRB 479-480]⁴³ ||| Eg. d3.t [regular < *√**ṭr**] „claw” (CT, DCT 779).

589. Common NBrb.-Zenaga *√**ḍr** „tomber, descendre” [GT] > e.g., NBrb.: Tuat, Gurara, Tidikelt ḍer „abattre” [DRB] | Tamazight √**ḍr**: ḍḍar ~ ṭṭar “1. descendre, aller en pente, baisser (intr.), 2. tomber (nuit), 3. tomber sur, trouver, 4. capoter, être destitué” [Taïfi 1991, 91] || SBrb.: unattested (Brb.: DRB 480-481, cf. also Bynon 1984, 280, #46) ||| Sem. *√**ṭr**? „to submerge, descend” [GT]: Akk. ṭerû ~ Ass. ṭarāʾu(m) G „1. (aAk) prägern (?), 2. tief eindringen (mit Akk.), Stativ etwa: etwas dringt durch, erfaßt ganz, 3. (Kranker) unterläuft (Blut), 4. (m/jB med.: Salbe mit einem Tuch oder Lederlappen) einreiben, einmassieren, 5. schlagen, (ver)prügeln” [AHW 1388-9] = „pénétrer profondément dans etc.” [DRS] || Ar. ṭaraʾa “tomber dans l’esprit” [Dozy II 29] = “to descend, befall” [Bynon], cf. also ṭarra I “tomber en bas” [BK II 64] (Sem.: DRS 1110, ṭrʾ1) ||| Eg. d3 [regular < *√**ṭr**] „niederschmettern” (PT-, Wb V 414, 4) = „to subdue (lands)” (FD 309), hence prob. also Eg. dw3.t or d3.t “Unterwelt” (OK, ÄWb I 1467) ||| WCh.: Ron *ḍōr “absteigen” [GT]: Fyer ḍwāṅ [< *ḍō-(r)-aṅ], Bokkos ḍoor, Daffo-Butura ḍoor ~ ḍor, Sha dô [< *r reg.], Kulere ḍor- (Ron: Jng. 1970, 173, 284, 391): < CAA *√**t(w)r** “to descend” [GT]. For Brb.-Ron-Ar. see Bynon 1984, 280, #46. For Eg.-Brb.-Ron-Ar.: EDE I 60, 247 (adopted in DRB 481 also).

590. NBrb. *√**ḍr** (with a weak C₃) „to arrive” (borrowed < Ar.?) [GT]: Qabyle ḍru „arriver, advenir etc.”, extreme oriental Qabyle iṭra kra „il s’est passé qqch.” | Shawya ḍra „advenir” (NBrb.: DRB 479)⁴⁴ ||| Sem.: Ar. ṭaraʾa I „survenir inopinément, se présenter subitement à qqn., surgir” [BK II 65] = „to come, come forth upon (from a distant place or unexpectedly, from an opening or from a wide, open tract), come to so. (without one’s knowledge), come to pass, happen, occur unexpectedly” [Lane 1835a], also Ar. √**ṭrw** I: ṭarā „to come forth (upon so.) from a distant place, without one’s knowledge, also: go (away)” vs. ṭariya „to advance, come forward”, pass (by), go away” [Lane 1851c] = ṭarā (v.n. ṭuruww-) venir de loin”, ṭariya „venir, arriver” [BK II 80; DRS 1112: isolated in Sem.] ||| (?) Eg. d3 [regular < both *√**ṭr**/*√**t**] „entkommen” (alte religiöse Texte, Wb V 414, 8) < NAA *√**ṭr** „to come forth from somewhere (?)” [GT]. Connected with the preceding entry (i.e., originally from an older signification *, „to descend” of the

43. Its equation with Eg. rd „pied” and LECu.: Somali rād „empreinte du pied, trace” by M. Cohen’s (1947, 180, #421) is phonologically excluded the dental plosive having been here certainly a CAA *d.

44. The connection with CBrb. *√**ḍr**: ***a-ḍar** „pied” [DRB], suggested by K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB), is doubtful.

same CAA root?)? Cf. also the isogloss of Sem.: Ar. *ṭurʔ-ān-* „1. chemin” [BK II 65] ||| Ch. **√ḍr* „path (way)” [JS 1981, 200B₁]

591. NBrb.: Rif ḍer „s’habiller, se vêtir”, caus. s-ḍer „s’habiller” [DRB 483, ḍr20]: regarded as the metathesis of the more widespread Brb. **√rd* (or vice versa?) ||| Eg. *dr* „Gewand, Kleid (für das Götterbild, als Gewand der Priester, als Mumienbinde, auch für die Osirisleiche, auch: Binden aus der Kleid)” (LP, Wb V 475, 9-13) vs. „dressed, drawn” (DLE IV 138) < NAA **√tr* (?) „to dress” [GT].

592. Common Brb. **√ḍr* „tremper, imbiber” [GT after DRB 481] > e.g., EBrb.: Ghadames a-ḍer „être imbibé gonflé (de liquide)” [Lanfry 1973] || NBrb.: Shilh a-ḍr „malaxer, être imbibé d’eau et malaxé (terre, argile), brasser un mélange à la main (henné et eau) ou avec les pieds (terre et eau), être humecté, se dit surtout en parlant du mortier, trituré avec des pieds, le râteau, pétrir, modeler, se disputer” [DRB] | Tamazight *√ḍr*: a-ḍer “1. mélanger, gâcher, corrompre, 2. maltraiter, affaiblir” [Taïfi 1991, 92] || SBrb.: EWlmd. and Ayr a-ḍer “1. tremper qqch. dans un liquide” [PAM 2003, 141] ||| WCh.: (?) Mushere ḍyaar “to melt, dissolve”, e.g., moor ḍyaar ki wus “oil melted on fire” (moor „oil”, wus „fire”) [Diyakal 1997 MS; Takács 2004, 99: isolated in AS] | Ngizim ḍárí, used in: *ām ḍárí* „water in which grain from which bran is removed has been soaked in preparation for pounding into flour” [Schuh 1981, 54] = (misrendered as) „grain with bran removed” [Ehret]⁴⁵ < C’AA **√tr* „to soak in water” [GT].

Note that this is part of a larger root family, where several root variations with diverse C₃ root extensions as well as with Anlaut *d- and *Inlaut* *-l- are also widely attested, albeit, curiously, merely throughout NAA, it seems so at the moment at least, cf., e.g.:

592.1. NAA **√tr* [GT] > Sem.: Ar. *ṭarḥ-* „2. vase qui reste sur le sol lorsque le fleuve qui avait débordé rentre dans son lit”, cf. perhaps also *ṭaria* I „1. être d’un naturel méchant et insociable” [BK II 67] = *ṭarḥ-* „mud in the water” [Ehret] ||| perhaps Eg. *t3ḥ* [regular < **trḥ*] „Verbum (von Gewässern, vgl. die folg. Wörter)” (PT, Wb V 233, 8) = „mud, slime” (Sethe in ÜKAPT II 182 followed by Ward l.c.) = (n.) „Schlamm” vs. (vb.) „versinken, eingetaucht werden” (OK, Wb I 1405c) > „eintauchen, eingetaucht werden (von Gefesselten in ein Gewässer)” (NE, Wb V 233, 9-10) = „to trouble, disturb a liquid” (Dévaud 1923, 22-23 followed by Ward 1962, 397-398) = „stören” (MK-, ÄWb II 2650) > *t3ḥ.t* „eine Flüssigkeit” (sic!) (Med., Wb V 233-234) = „Hefe” (Lefèbvre and Ebbell apud WÄDN) = „Bodensatz als Bestandteil von Flüssigkeiten, von äusserlich angewendeten Heilmittel: eine Flüssigkeit,

45. Derived by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 105, #1492) from his AA **zâr-* „seed”.

ob dicklicher Bodensatz (?)” (WÄDN 547) = „the drags of a thick liquid (like wine or beer) that settle to the bottom of the container, the thick sediment (dregs or mud) which settles at the bottom of a body of liquid” (Ward l.c.) and t3ḥ „sich senken, sich ablagern (vom Schlamm eines Gewässers)” (GR, Wb V 233, 11) > Coptic (SLF) Ṭⲱⲉ „trübe werden, trüben, verwirren, mischen” (KHW 259).

592.2. Sem. √ṭṛḳ [DRS] > Mandaic ṭirqa „trouble, confusin, agitation” [DRS 1119, ṭṛq7] | Ar. ṭaraqa I „9. salir l’eau en urinant dedans”, ṭariqa „1. boire de l’eau trouble”, II „1. rendre les excréments”, ṭarq- „2. eau de pluie ou autre que les chameaux dans leur passage ont salie d’urine et de fiente, 3. sperme (d’un étalon)”, ṭaraq- „3. endroits creux où l’eau stagnante séjourne, et qui forment, pour ainsi dire, des plis sur une certaine étendue de terrain” [BK II 75-76] || Eth.-Sem.: Geez ṭaraqa, Amh. ṭärräqä „avoir la diarrhée” (ES: DRS 1119, ṭṛq8).

592.3. Sem. *√ṭlh [DRS] > Ar. ṭalh- „4. reste de l’eau trouble au fond du bassin”, cf. ṭalāḥ- „1. mauvais état, corruption, 2. ruine” [BK II 94-95], extended into Sem. √ṭlhm > Ar. ṭulhūm- „eau corrompue et fétide” || (???) Tigre ṭalḥam „maladie du bétail” (Sem.: DRS 1077) and Ar. ṭalḥaṭa „éclabousser, souiller” [BK II 95; DRS 1077].

592.4. NAA *√ṭlh „to mire” [GT] > Sem. *√ṭlh > Ar. ṭalaḥa „salir, noircir” || Jibbali ṭeleḥ „1. salir, barbouiller, 2. insulter, médire” (Sem.: DRS 1077) || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ḍālāy „être troublé (eau, liquide)” [PAM 1998, 51] = „être trouble, boueux, bourbeux, sale (eau), 2. être sali, pollué (eau), être de couleur sombre, foncée (chose qcq.)” [PAM 2003, 99] (DRB 467: isolated in Brb.).

592.5. NAA *√ṭlbḥ ~ *√ṭlbḳ „to immerge in water” [GT] > Sem. *√ṭlbḳ ~/> *√ṭlbḳ (via metathesis) > ES: Tigrinya ṭäbloq bälä, ṭobloq bälä, Gurage ṭulbuq barä, ṭubuluq barä, ḍalbuq bea „plonger (to plunge)” (ES: Leslau 1979 III 617; DRS 1053: isolated)⁴⁶ || Eg. t3ḥb [regular < ṭlhḥ] „(über Rindern die durch das Wasser getrieben werden)” (OK: V, Wb V 234, 13; ÄWb I 1405) > (?) ṭḥb „eintauchen” (MK Med.: XII., ÄWb II 2705) vs. t3ḥb „krakhafter Zustand der Nase” (Med., Wb V 234, 14) = ṭḥb (!) „Feuchtigkeit absondern (Krankhaftes der Nase)” (GHWb 939 < WMT 961) || Nagaw: Bilin ṭamba-laḳ || LECu.: Oromo dolbok (so apud Leslau: -k for -q) | HECu.: Kambata ṭulbuq ye?, Hadiya tulbuq aʔäḳko (so apud Leslau: plain t-) – all Cu. forms meaning „to plunge” (Cu.-ES: Leslau l.c.: Cu. probably < ES, quoted in

46. Already J. Lentin (DRS) has correctly explained this quadriliteral root as an „élargissement par insertion de b dans ṭlq, avant la 2^{ème} ou la 3^{ème} radicale? Le radical se présente en gouragué sous diverses formes phonétiquement évoluées” (on this cf. Leslau 1979 III 617).

DRS l.c.). W. Leslau's (l.c.) view on the ES-Cu. root (along with Gurage $\sqrt{\text{tmbq}}$, $\sqrt{\text{dmb}}^{\text{w}}(\text{r})\text{q}$ as „a secondary formation of” Gurage $\sqrt{\text{täläqä}}$ „to dive” may be modified by the Egyptian cognate, which suggests the primacy of the quadriliteral variety $\sqrt{\text{t}^{\text{b}}\text{lbk}} \sim /> \sqrt{\text{t}^{\text{b}}\text{lbk}}$.

592.6. NAA $\sqrt{\text{dlh}}$ „to trouble water” [GT] > Sem. $\sqrt{\text{dlh}}$ [Ward] = $\sqrt{\text{dlh}}$ [DRS]⁴⁷ > Akk. dalāhu „trüben, aufstören” [AHW 152] = „to stir up, roil (water), confuse, trouble”, hence dalhu „muddy, cloudy, confused”, dilhu „Mud” [CAD > Ward l.c.] = „1. troubler l'eau, 2. déranger, rendre confus”, dilh- „trouble, confusion” [DRS] || Hbr. $\sqrt{\text{dlh}}$ „trüben” [AHW] = „to disturb, make water turbid or disturbed” [Ward] = „troubler l'eau” [DRS], JPArAm. and Syr. d'lah „embrouiller, troubler” [DRS] || Harari däläha „s'égarer, pécher” [DRS], Gurage dälla „s'égarer, induire en erreur” [DRS], Amh. gäleh „mélanger avec beaucoup d'eau” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 263-264) || SBrb.: Ahaggar deley „être trouble (eau jaunie par des parcelles de terre en suspension)”, deley „être couleur d'eau trouble” [DRD 332, dly3 : isolated in Brb.].

593. NBrb. $\sqrt{\text{ḍr}}$ „salir, être sali” [GT after DRB]: Shilh a-ḍr „salir, être sali” [DRB] | Tamazight $\sqrt{\text{ḍr}}$: a-ḍer “1. salir, souiller, etc.” [Taïfi 1991, 92] (NBrb.: DRB 481, ḍr7) || Eg. tr „Unreines, Schlechtes” (LP, Wb V 317, 10) = trj.t „id.” (NK, Wb V 317, 12; GHWb 936) < trj.t (orthographical var. to trj.t) „evil, sin, uncleanness” (CT, DCT 765)⁴⁸ || Sem.: Ar. ṭarra I “7. enduire de boue, récrépir une citerne, restaurer (un édifice)” [BK II 64] || Gurage: Selti, Wolane, Zway nätärä “to be dirty” [Leslau 1979 III 464] || ECu. $\sqrt{\text{ḍr}}$ ur- “dirty” [Sasse 1979, 29, 31; 1982, 49] > i.a. LECu.: Oromo ṭur- „to be dirty” [Sasse] | HECu. $\sqrt{\text{ṭur-}}$ “to be dirty”, $\sqrt{\text{ṭur-e}}$ „dirt of body, clothing” [Hudson 1989, 423, cf. also Leslau 1988, 185] | Dullay $\sqrt{\text{ṭur-}}$ „dirty” [Sasse] | Yaaku - ṭer (adj.) „bad” [Heine 1975, 120] = ṭVr- „bad” [Sasse] || WCh.: NBauchi $\sqrt{\text{ṭ}}\text{ArA}$ “mycop” [Stolbova 1987, 253, #71], cf. Jimbin adəri , Miya tiri, Kariya turku „dirt” (NBauchi: Skinner 1977, 18) < CAA $\sqrt{\text{ṭr}}$ „dirty” [GT]. Brb.-Sem.-ECu.-WCh.: Takács 2006, 56. Presumably not akin eventually to the root in the preceding entry.⁴⁹

47. W.A. Ward (1962, 397-398, #1) equated this Semitic root directly with Eg. t3 , which is unlikely. Only a remote cognacy is conceivable between the two as members of two distinct root variations within the the same root family.

48. J. Osing (2001, col. 575) is semantically mistaken in deriving the CT exx. from Eg. trj „1. respektieren, 2. abweisen” (sic), which is not even itself representing one single root.

49. Following the apparent tradition of Berber lexicography, K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB 481) preferred to treat the homophonous roots meaning „tremper” vs. „salir” under the same entry of $\sqrt{\text{ḍr7}}$. Already Ch. Ehret (1995, 172 and app. 1 on p. 499, #256) proposed the ultimate cognacy of his biliteral PAr. $\sqrt{\text{ṭr}}$ „to be dirty” > Ar. $\text{ṭur}^{\text{?}}\text{-ān-}$ „bad”, ṭarḥ- „mud in the water”, ṭarfās- „to be muddy”, ṭarq- „to befoul the water” (v.), befouled water” (n.) as

594. SBrb. *√ḍr > *e-ḍEr „excrement” [GT]: SBrb.: EWlmd. e-ḍer, pl. i-ḍer-ān “excrément (surtout en forme de boudin d’homme, chien, chat, oiseau)” [PAM 2003, 141], Hgr. é-ḍir „gros excrément” [Foucauld 1951-2], Nslm. é-ḍér „gros excrément (homme, quadrupèdes carnassiers)” [DRB] (NBrb.: DRB 483, ḍr16) ||| SOm.: Ari ḥōrē „cow dung” [Ehret]⁵⁰ < AA *√ḥr (?) [GT]. Derived in HCVA III 34-35, #234 from an AA *√ḥr > *√ḥrʔ „(to cover with) mud, clay”. Remotely related to the root in the preceding entry? The C₃ PAA root extension, however, proves the existence of this biliteral PAA root with initial *ḥ-, cf. the cognates s.v. NBrb. *√ḍrg „to excrete” [GT] in the entry #601 below.

594.1. Further remotely related cognates representing a root variety with a distinct PAA sibilant affricate (*ḥ-) in the *Anlaut* may appear in the isogloss of SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr zārr-āt „jaillir (liquide qq.), 2. être lancé en jet (liquide, lumière, balles)” > Ayr zərr-at „1. jet d’urine, 2. diarrhée avec tranchées gastriques, douleurs d’estomac” [PAM 2003, 924] ||| Sem.: Ar. zarā I „1. couler (se dit de l’eau), 2. avoir la diarrhée” [BK I 133].⁵¹

595. Brb. *√ḍr „1. to be tight, 2. be in need” [GT] > SBrb. *√ḍr: EWlmd.-Ayr ta-ḥr-ut, EWlmd. pl. ši-ḥara, Ayr pl. tyəṭra „2. endroit/passage très étroit” [PAM 2003, 798] vs. 2nd sense attested in NBrb.: Qbl. ḍruri „être dans le besoin, dans la gêne, avoir besoin, être pressé par le besoin” [Dallet 1982] || SBrb. *√ḍrr „(to be in) need” [GT]: EWlmd. ā-ḍḍerur ~ EWlmd.-Ayr e-ḍḍerur „besoin, envie de tabac / thé / drogue”, Hgr. ḍerer „avoir besoin de, être dans le besoin” [Fcd.], Ghat ḍārār „avoir besoin de” (SBrb.: DRB 482-483, ḍr13) ||| (?) Eg. ḍ3r (ḍ regular < AA *ḥ-, unless Eg. -3r =< *-ll)⁵² „Bedürfnis” (MK-, Wb V 524-525) = „need” (FD 319) ||| Sem.: Ar. √ḍrr III “4. se presser en foule les uns sur les autres”, IV „2. toucher de trop près (se dit du torrent qui touche au mur et le vonge, d’un nuage qui rase presque la terre), 3. se mettre tout près, 2. s’approcher de qqn.”, ḍarar- „4. étroit”,

well as ECu. *ṭur- „to be dirty” < AA *ṭur- „to be dirty”, which may be approved on most of its points.

50. Equated by Ch. Ehret (1995, 291, #549) with LECu. *ḥohr- „rubbish, trash, residue” and NOm.: Bench ḥor²⁻³ „leftover (of drink), residue”. Semantically less convincing.

51. Borrowed into ECh. *√ḍr „to have diarrhea” (from Ar.) [GT] > EDangla ḍérā „avoir la diarrhée, avoir la colique” [DM 1973, 92], WDangla ḍèrè „avoir la diarrhée” [Fédry 1971, 207], Bidiya ḍiir (ḍiiri, ḍiiren), pl. ḍiraw (ḍiraawī, ḍiraawen) „avoir ladiarrhée”, ḍiuro (m) „selles liquides” [AJ 1989, 71], Migama ḍirāw (ḍiré, ḍérékkā) „avoir la diarrhée”, ḍirāaki (pl.) „selles d’un homme qui a la diarrhée” [JA 1992, 81] | Mubi ḍàrrā (ḍàrrā, ḍirràā) (Ar.) «avoir la diarrhée» [Jng. 1990 MS, 10].

52. Already W.A. Ward (1962, 403-405, #5) mentioned „a phonetic difficulty in the presence of -3-”, which seems to be justified by a late (NEg.) orthography ḍ3nr = ḍ3l „Bedürfnis” cited by J. Osing (NBĀ 677, n. 755). If this was really the case, cf. better LECu. *ḥal- „to lack” [Ehret 2000 MS, 221, #2043 with further comparanda].

cf. „2. nécessité, 3. misère, pauvreté, gêne, 5. bord d’une caverne”, *ḡurr-at-* „nécessité, urgence, 2. contrainte”, *ḡārūrāʔ-* „2. contrainte, nécessité absolue où l’on se trouve de faire qqch. contre son gré”, *ḡārūr-at-* and *ḡārūr-at-* „1. nécessité, urgence, besoin pressant”, *ḡarrāʔ-* „5. chemin mauvais, impraticable, de là: 6. fourré, arbres entrelacés dans une vallée, 7. chemin à travers un pays nu, désert, ouvert” [BK II 14-15] < NAA **ṡḡr* „1. to (press/be) tight (?), 2. be in need” [GT]. Brb.-Ar.: DRB 482-483, ḡr13.

The Eg. cognate has been affiliated by W.A. Ward (1962, 403-405, #5) with his biliteral Sem. **ṡḡr* „1. to enclose, 2. be in distress” > i.a. OT Hbr. *ṡārār* „to enclose, be narrow, be in distress”, *yāṡār* „to be narrow, be distressed”, *ṡār* „narrow, distress” etc., which may well turn out to represent a PNAA root variety **ṡḡr* to NAA **ṡḡr* above.

596. (see also #636 bis.) SBrb. **ṡḡr* (???) > **ṡṡṡr* ~ **ṡṡr* „to demand” [GT]: EWlmd.-Ayr *ə-tṡṡr* [-tṡ- regular < *-ṡw-] „démander (à Dieu) dans la prière (qqch.)”, Ayr *e-tṡṡr* „demande en mariage” [PAM 2003, 797] || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur *-ḡṡwl-* [-l- regular < *-r-] „supplier, demander, prier en parlant aux ancêtres” [Barreteau 1988, 111]. The Brb. cognate reflects a hollow root: CAA **ṡṡṡr* > **ə-ḡwər*. A miraculous survival of a so precise semantical isogloss, i.e., CAA **ṡṡṡr* „to make a solemn request towards a superhuman spirit” [GT] even in two modern African daughter languages groups like Twareg and Matakam thousand miles away from one another. The EWlmd.-Ayr *-tṡ-* would seem secondary allophonic regarding the common Berber evidence, although the isogloss above may convince us otherwise, i.e., we may ask whether Berbero-Chadic **ṡṡṡr* above was an ancient variety to:

596.1. NAA **ṡṡṡr* „to demand” [GT], cf. common Brb. **ṡṡṡr* < ***ṡṡṡr* [GT] > EBrb.: Gdm. *ə-tṡṡr* „démander l’aumône” [Laoust] = *e-tṡṡr* (ṡ: interdental, Lanfry: „la première radicale est nettement interdentale spirante (et non pas affriquée ...)”) „1. mendier, 2. Demander, 3. supplier Dieu (tr. dir.)” [Lanfry 1973, 373, #1584] || NBrb.: Mzg. (Beraber) *ə-tṡṡr* „démander” [Laoust 1931, 223] | Wargla *ə-tṡṡr* „démander, quémander” [Dlh. 1987, 336] | Qbl. *tṡṡr* „démander” [Dallet 1982, 827] || SBrb.: Ahaggar *e-tṡṡr* „démander (de Dieu) dans la prière (qqch.), en le priant (au moyen de prières vocales ou mentales ql.conques)” [Foucauld 1951-2, 1911] (not listed in DRB 479-484 under *ṡḡr*) || WBrb.: Zenaga *ṡṡṡr*: *i-téter* „démander” [Masqueray 1879, 32, 53] = *e-tṡṡr* ~ *i-tṡṡr* „demander, vouloir, supplier, invoquer”, *e-tṡṡr* „désir, recherche” [R. Basset] = *ṡṡṡr* ~ *ṡṡṡr* ~ *ṡṡṡr* „demander (par paroles)”, *ə-tṡṡr* „chercher (à obtenir de qqn.), quémander, solliciter, demander, désirer” [GT] = *ä-tṡṡr* „demander, prier, solliciter (auprès) de qqn. qqch. / que ...” [TC 2008, 517-518] (Brb.: TC 2008, 517, fn. 942) || Eg. *tw3* [regular < **ṡṡṡṡṡr*] „jemandem bittend angehen, jemandem bittend etwas vortragen”

(MK-, Wb V 248, 6-7) = „to put a claim (on s'one), claim from (s'one), appeal to (s'one)” (FD 295).

597. Common NBrb. * $\sqrt{\text{drdr}}$ “être sourd” [GT after DRB 482]⁵³ ||| Sem.: Ar. ṭarīṭa “to be(come) foolish, stupid, unsound in intellect or understanding” [Lane 1841] = “être sot, stupide” [BK II 71] < NAA * $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$ “deaf” [GT]. Ar.-NBrb.: Takács 2006, 56.

598. NBrb.: Qabyle $\sqrt{\text{drdr}}$: ṭterṭer „être fourbu, épuisé, usé, crevé (sac), péter etc.” [DRB 482: isolated] ||| ES: Amh. ṭäyyärä „périr, être perdu” and ṭarä „être affligé, souffrant, agonisant” [DRS 1074] and Sudanese Ar. ṭarṭūr „homme ou domestique faible” [DRS 1114] vs. Amh. ṭərr alä „paraître vide, désert, inhabité” ṭərär alä „être faiblement perçu au loin (bruit, appel), être versé un peu (eau, sang), se friper (habit)” [DRS 1121] ||| HECu.: Gedeo (Darasa) ṭēr- „to waste” (tr.) [Hudson 1989, 164: isolated], Kambatta ṭir „to perish” [Leslau] | Yaaku -ṭar-at- „to be destroyed”, -ṭar-as- (caus. -as-) „to destroy” [Heine > Ehret]⁵⁴ ||| NOm.: Gonga * ṭir- „to be finished, perish” [Ehret]⁵⁵ > Mocha ṭira(yé) „to be finished” [Leslau 1959, 25]⁵⁶ < CAA * $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$ „to go waste” [GT].

599. SBrb. * $\sqrt{\text{drdr}}$ (?): EWlmd. a-ṭərṭur , pl. EWlmd.-Ayr ə/i-ṭərṭur-ān „1. vallon, 2. piste” [PAM 2003, 801] ||| HECu.: Gedeo (Darasa) ṭūrr-e „road” [Hudson 1989, 124: isolated] ||| WCh.-CCh. * $\sqrt{\text{dr}}$ „path(way), sentier (chemin), Pfad (Weg)” [JS 1981, 200B₁] < CAA * $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$ „path” [GT].

599.1. A root variety with plain AA * -t- is also attested, cf. Sem.: Akk. $\text{titūru} \sim \text{titurru}$, hence Ug. tita/irru , Aram. ti/attūrā „Brücke” [AHW 1363] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura * $\text{-tar} \sim * -dor- (?) (combined with * $\text{ku} \sim * ko- ?) “bridge” [Takács 2004, 359]: Sura ku-tar “Brücke” [Jng. 1963, 71], probably related to Kofyar dór-kò [met. < * ko-dor- ?] “bridge” [Netting 1967, 8] < PAA * $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$ „bridge” [GT], a unique Semito-Chadic isogloss in this sense which now can be projected to the PAA era. Cf. also NBrb. * a-dur „rang, ligne” [GT] discussed above.$$

600. NBrb. * $\sqrt{\text{drf}}$ „to draw a furrow” [GT] > Shilh $\text{a-ḍrf} \sim \text{a-drḥ}$ „1. labour(age), 2. sillon” | Ntifa a-ḍrf „sillon” | Tamazight a-d/terf „sillon” | Qabyle d/terref „tracer à la charrue le sillon préparatoire pour délimiter la

53. Explained by M. Cohen (1947, 153, #329) as a „forme à répétition, avec liquide” (i.e., * -r-) root extension originating from an AA * $\sqrt{\text{dd}}$ (!) attested from ES, Agaw, Oromo.

54. Derived by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 123, #1578) from his AA * -tar- „to be blotted out, got rid off”.

55. Derived by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 123, #1581) from his AA * -ṭir- „to be finished off, disappear”.

56. Explained by W. Leslau (1959, 25), along with the Kambatta form, as borrowed from Amh. ṭərräsä and being due to a „reduction of the original trilateral root to biliteral”.

parcelle à labourer”, a-ḍref „sillon (préparatoire du labourer pour délimiter les parcelles à labourer, 3. labour” (NBrb.: DRB 485) ||| Sem.: Ar. ṭarf- „3. bord, extrémité”, ṭaraf- „1. partie, côté, 2. bout, pointe, 3. bord, extrémité”, denom. (?): √ṭrf II „2. donner, renvoyer à qqn. l’extrémité, le bord, la partie qui est à l’extrémité d’une chose, p.ex., une partie de son troupeau à qqn., 4. faire une charge sur la partie des troupes qui se trouve à l’extrémité de la ligne”, IV pass. ʔaṭrifa „être bordé de raies aux deux extrémités (se dit d’une étoffe)”, V „prendre, enlever les bords, les marges, dévorer les herbes aux extrémités d’un pré” [BK II 72-73] ||| Eg. drf [regular < *√ṭrf] „1. Strich, Linie in einer Zeichnung, 2. die Schrift, 3. Geschriebenes, Schriftstück, Aktenstück” (MK-, Wb V 477), cf. the phon. value drf „vom Zeichen der Augenbraue (mit schwarzer Farbe)” (BD, Wb V 477, 7) < NAA *√ṭrf „to draw (along) a line (?)” [GT]. NBrb.-Ar.: DRB l.c.

601. NBrb. *√ḍrg „to excrete” [GT]: Shilh a-ḍrig „diarrhée” [DRB] | Mzg. √ḍrg: ḍreg, te-ḍrag “aller à la selle, faire ses besoin (animal)”, i-ḍrag-n ~ i-ḍrag-en ~/> i-ḍray-en (pl.) “crottes, crottin collé à la queue des animaux” [Taïfi 1991, 93-94] | Qbl. e-ḍreg “aller à la selle”, i-ḍerg-an „matières fécales”, ttwi-ḍreg „1. se salir, 2. faire dans sa culotte” [Dallet 1982, 182] (Brb.: DRB 485-486, ḍrg1) ||| Sem.: Ar. ḍaraġa I “2. salir, imprégner de qqch. de sale”, V “1. être sali, souillé, couvert de ... (p.ex. sang)” [BK II 19-20]: < AA *√ḥrg “dirt (?)” [GT]. For the fairly significant semantical difference, borrowing from Ar. is excluded. Mzg.-Ar.: Takács 2006, 58-59. The C₃ was a PAA root extension, cf. the cognates s.v. SBrb. *√ḍr > *e-ḍEr „excrement” [GT] in #594 (above).

602. NBrb.: Mzg. √ḍl: ḍlu “être en grande quantité, abonder, être en abondance” [Taïfi 1991, 89] (GT: seems isolated, not found with such a sense in Qabyle, EWlmd.-Ayr, Hgr.)⁵⁷ ||| Sem. *√ṭlʿ „to ascend” [GT after DRS]: Ar. ṭalaʿa “s’élever sur une hauteur, se lever” [BK II 96] || ES: Geez ṭalʿa ~ ṭalʿa “to grow, prosper, be tall (plant)” [Leslau 1987, 590] (Sem.: DRS 1080) < NAA *√ṭlʿ „1. to grow (densely), 2. prosper” [GT]. Mzg.-Sem.: Takács 2006, 55-56. The Berber reflex(es) have neatly retained the syllabic trace of the lost pharyngeal C₃ that was originally but a root extension *-ʿ.

602.1. The primary biliteral root = PAA *√ṭl „to grow high” [GT] has been preserved by Sem.: Ar. √ṭl IV „2. paraître sur une hauteur, émerger, se lever, apparaître”, VI „allonger le cou ou se dresser sur les orteils pour voir mieux et plus loin”, X „2. regarder d’en haut ce qui est en bas” [BK II 92;

57. Nevertheless, in the view of K. Naït-Zerrad (DRB 463, ḍl7), there may be some semantically farther evolved cognates in EBrb.: Ghadames é-ḍl „être serré, planté ou semé serré” [Lanfray 1973, 82, #0342] || NBrb.: Qabyle ḍlu „1. s’aggraver, 2. prendre des proportions inquiétantes, 3. provoquer des conséquences fâcheuses, 4. être trop serré (plantation)” etc. (some further, semantically unrelated, senses) [Dallet 1982, 175].

DRS 1078: isolated in Sem.] ||| LECu.: Somali *dá/álo* „Scheitel, Spitze des Kopfes” [Reinisch 1902, 135] ||| NOm.: Gimirra-Benesho *ṭul* [Bender] = *ṭul* 1 [Wedekind] „mountain” (Bender 2003, 169, #90: isolated, loan < Oromo?) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura **de₂l ~ *de₂l (?)* “top” [Takács 2004, 67]: Angas *n-dil-ke* (so, d-) “on, over, above, etc.” [Gochal 1994, 111], Mupun *dél* (prep.) “on top” [Frj. 1991, 15], Mushere *deel* (sic: d-, false vowel length?) “peak of a hill, mountain, tree” [Diyakal 1997 MS], Goemay *dèl’* [dél] “a crest of hair running from the back of head to the forehead (seen among hillmen)” [Sirlinger 1937, 30].

603. NBrb.: Tamazight a-dél „être enfoui” [DRB 462: var. to *√dl*] ||| Sem.: Ar. *√dll* I „1. s’écarter de la ligne droite, prendre une fausse route (se dit de l’homme), 2. aller, s’égarer qq. part, et ne pas arriver au but (se dit des choses ou des arguments faux)”, cf. *√dly* I (*ḍalā*) „périr”, V (*taḍallā*) „rechercher la société des hommes égarés” [BK II 33, 36, resp.] ||| Eg. *ḍj* „1. überfahren (auf die andere Flußseite), (hin)überfahren, kreuzen, (Gewässer) durchschreiten, 2. durchfahren, durchziehen (Land, Himmel), 3. übersetzen usw.” (OK-, Wb V 511-513; GHWb 992) = „to ferry s’one across water, cross (sky)” (FD 318) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura **ḍel* “1. to pass by, 2. cross, 3. go in” [Takács 2004, 87] ||| ECh.: Migama *ḍyilò* (*ḍyilél, ḍyéláa*) „(dé)passer, se terminer” [JA 1992, 82] < CAA **√ḍl* „1. to pass by, 2. pass/go away” [GT].

603.1. A remotely related PAA root may be seen in SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr *√zly*: *ə-zləy* „i.a. mettre à part, séparer” [PAM 2003, 918] || EBrb.: Ghadames *√zl*: *zīl* „être absent, parti” [Lanfry 1973, 424, #1790] ||| Sem.: Ar. *√zll* X „3. sortir du fond, de l’intérieur du corps, etc. (se dit du sang)” [BK II 136] < AA **√ḍl* [GT]. Both PAA roots above may have primarily meant „1. to transgress, 2. pass away, depart” (or sim.).

604. Brb. **√dlC₃* (weak C₃ lost by erosion) „1. black, 2. dark (?) green” [GT] > NBrb.: Shilh *ḍlu* „être, devenir noir”, *ta-ḍlu-t* „noirceur, noircissement” [DRB] | Semlal *i-ḍili* „black” [Militarev 1991, 253, #8.10] || WBrb.: Zenaga *yidiy* „devenir noir”, *eḍey* „noir” [TC] || SBrb.: Ahaggar *e-ḍlu* „être vert et pousser vigoureusement (végétal)” [Foucauld 1951-2] (Brb.: DRB 463, ḍl5) ||| Sem.: Ar. *ʔaṭḥal-* „1. trouble, qui n’est pas clair, 2. gris tirant sur le noir, vert tirant sur le noir, sale couleur de la rate” [BK II 61; DRS 1069: isolated in Sem.], cf. also a C₃ variety in Ar. *ṭalaḥa* „2. noircir” [BK II 95] ||| ECu. **ḍi i/ulḥ-* „charcoal” [Sasse 1979] >/~ (?) HECu.: Gedeo (Darasa) *ṭillo* „black” [Hudson 1989, 28: isolated in HECu]. The Brb.-ECu. parallel is due to A.Ju. Militarev and O.V. Stolbova (1990, 56-57), who, however, affiliated this match with Sem. **ṭill-* „shade” etc. < AA **√ḍl* (so also Militarev 1991, 263, #37.6), but the initial sibilant there does not agree with the C₁- of CAA **√ṭl* „1. black, 2. dark (?) green” [GT] in our case here.

605. SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ɗālāy „être troublé (eau, liquide)” [PAM 1998, 51] = „être trouble, boueux, bourbeux, sale (eau), 2. être sali, pollué (eau), être de couleur sombre, foncée (chose qcq.)” [PAM 2003, 99] (DRB 467: isolated in Brb.) ||| Sem. √tlh [DRS] > Ar. ʔalaḥa „salir, noircir” || Jibbali ʔeleḥ „1. salir, barbouiller, 2. insulter, médire” (Sem.: DRS 1077) < NAA *√tlh „to mire” [GT]. Cf. the entry for Common Brb. *√ɗr „salir, imbiber” [GT after DRB 481] for further cognates.

606. NBrb.: Wargla (i-yes) ʔiwʔiw „(os du) coccyx” [Delheure] || SBrb.: (???) EWlmd.-Ayr e-ɗəwi „bout de queue blanc” [PAM 2003, 145] = té-ɗew-it „bout de la queue d’un animal” [DRB]⁵⁸ (Brb.: DRB 500: ɗw6+9) ||| Ch. *ɕVw/y- „tail” [Stolbova] > WCh.: (???) Hausa wútsíyà (metathesis < *ɕuw...-?) „1. tail of animal or cloth, 2. penis” [Abraham 1962, 937] = wúciyàà [JI] | Diri ɕuwaa „tail” [Skinner] || CCh.: Buduma (Yedina) nʒuwi „tail” [Nachtigal] = nʒùè [Cyffer], Kotoko zúee [Nachtigal] | Masa *čaw > *nʒaw „(bushy end of) tail” [GT]: Zime-Dari čēw „queue” [Cooper 1984, 4], Gizey/Wina čaw, Ham nʒaw, Musey nʒaw, Lew and Marba ʔanʒaw „queue”, Masa ʒaw ~ yaw, Ham nʒaw, Musey nʒaw «crin de la queue» [Ajello et al. 2001, 47], Masa čaw [čáwnā] „1. la queue (en fait, la partie postérieure du corps d’un animal, l’arrière-train, différent de [giðèèrà] ‘la queue proprement dite’)” [Caïtucoli 1983, 55] (Ch.: CLD III 209, #937).

607. NBrb.: Shilh tu-ɗy-t ~ u-ɗy „1. beurre, graisse” [DRB 502: isolated] ||| LECu.: Somali ɗay „1. das Fett im Fettschwanz der Somalischafe, 2. Behandlung, Pflege einer Wunde (weil dieses Fett hierzu verwendet wird)” [Reinisch 1902, 143] = „Fett im Fettschwanz der Schafe” [Meinof 1906, 331]⁵⁹ < C²AA *√ɗy „1. to swell, 2. (?) grow fat” [GT]. Alternatively, if one considers W. Vycichl’s (1992) law of Brb. *y < AA *h and *ɕ, cf. the entry for NBrb. *√ɗy.

608. SBrb. *√ɗy „to swell” [GT] > Ayr ɗāɗāy „être enflé, gonflé, (se) enfler, gonfler”, hence also (with C₁- root ext. h-) Ahaggar heɗeɗy and EWlmd. heɗeɗey „être enflé, enfler” (Brb.: DRB 502-503: ɗy2, ɗy6, ɗy9) ||| Sem. *√ɗyy [DRS] > ES: Amh. ʔay ~ ʔiy ~ ʔi ~/> ti „sorte de tumeur, espèce de ganglion qui se forme sous la peau, hernie” [DRS 1072-3] ||| WCh.: presumably NBauchi *ɗ-y „mountain” [Skinner 1977, 32].

58. This meaning may well be secondary and derive from EWlmd.-Ayr e-ɗəwi „1. gerboise (Jaculus jaculus deserti (Loche)), 2. EWlmd.: animal à bout de queue blanc (comme la gerboise) (chameau/mouton)” [PAM 2003, 145].

59. Combined by C. Meinhof (l.c.) with the Burunge reflex of SCu. *deɕ- „to be fat” [Ehret 1980, 165], which is, however, phonologically unfitting.

Would be tempting to alternatively compare the Twareg root with SCu. *ĉa^ĉ-⁶⁰ „to put up high” [Ehret 1980, 215, #10]⁶¹ > Dahalo *ĉa^ĉ- „to put up high” [Ehret], which, however, would rule out the Sem.-Ch. comparanda, where AA *ĉ- would be reflected otherwise. For the correspondence of Brb. *y vs. Sem. *ĉ/* see Vycichl 1992.

609. NBrb.: Mzg. √ḏyl: ḏeyyel “s’inquiéter, être inquiet, préoccupé par” [Taïfi 1991, 97] (not found in Mzab, Wargla, Qabyle, EWlm.-Ayr, Hgr.; DRB 503: isolated in whole Brb.): represents perhaps NAA *√tyl, which might be a var. root of NAA *√tyš (with the PAA interchange of the laterals *l vs. *š),⁶² cf. Ar. tyš I “être léger, volage, inconstant”, ṭāyīš- “inconstant, inquiet etc.” [BK II 130]. Mzg.-Ar.: Takács 2006, 57.

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ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES AND OTHER TERMS

(A): Ahmimic, aA: Old Assyrian, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Hamito-Semitic), aAk: Old Akkadian, aB: Old Babylonian, Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amhara/ic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bed.: Bed’awye (Beja), BM: Bura-Margi, BN: Bade-Ngizim, Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central or Common, CAA: Common Afro-Asiatic, Can.: Canaanite, CCh.: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CSem.: Central Semitic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, DB: Daffo-Butura, Dem.: Demotic, Dhl.: Dahalo, E: East(ern), Ebl.: Eblaite, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, EWlmd.: East Tawllemmet,

60. Note that, in principle, SCu. *ĉ- < both AA *ĉ- and *ĉ- are possible.

61. Based on the comparison of the Dahalo word with Burunge ĉa^ĉ-as- „to jump, fly” [Ehret], which is semantically doubtful.

62. For which, cf., e.g., NAA *√mš^ĉ «to march» [GT]: Sem.: Ar. √mš^ĉ I: maša^ĉa «3. marcher doucement» [BK II 1111] ||| Eg. mš^ĉj «1. marschieren (von den Soldaten), reisen, 2. (sich) bewegen, 3. Reise, Marsch» (NK, Wb II 156, 4-12). Cf. also Ar. mala^ĉa «marcher avec rapidité, d’un pas léger et rapide (se dit d’une chamelle)» [BK II 1149], where we may assume an interchange of the PSem. laterals (*-l- ~ *-š- > Ar. -l- ~ -š-). From this standpoint, interesting is the cognacy of Sem.: Ar. mal^ĉ- «troupe, bande, partie» [BK II 1149] ||| Eg. mš^ĉ «Heer, Truppen» (OK, Wb II 155, 2-19), which, besides, may be genetically related to AA *√mš^ĉ «to march». Cf. Takács 2009, 240, #469; EDE III 620-621; EAAN I 144, #707.

(F): Fayyumic Coptic, Gdm.: Ghadames, Gmy.: Goemay, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, Hbr.: Hebrew, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi (in MSA), IE: Indo-European, irreg.: irregular, JAram.: Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, jB: Young Babylonian (jungbabylonisch), Jbl.: Jibbali, JPA(ram.): Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, KK: Kera-Kwang group, L: Late, (L): Lycopolitan (Sub-Achmimic) Coptic, LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, LEg.: Late Egyptian, (M): Mesokemic (Coptic), Lit. (MK): literature of the Middle Kingdom, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, mA: Middle Assyrian, Mag.: magical texts, Math.: mathematical papyri, Med.: medical texts, MG: Mofu-Gudur, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Mada group, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Mzg.: Tamazight, N: New or North(ern), NAA: Northern Afro-Asiatic (common to Semitic, Egyptian and Berber), NE(g.): New/o-Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, Nslm.: Taneslemt, NWOmt.: Northwest Omoto, O: Old, (O): Old Coptic, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, Omt.: Omoto, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: pyramid texts, Qbl.: Qabyle, reg.: regular, S: South, (S): Sahidic, SAA: Southern Afro-Asiatic (common to Cushitic, Omotic and Chadic), Sab.: Sabaeen, SBab.: Standard Babylonian, Sem.: Semitic, SEOmt.: Southeast Omoto, spB: Late Babylonian (spätbabylonisch), Sgt.: Soqotri, Sum.: Sumerian, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram.): Aramaic of Talmud, Tna.: Tigrinya, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, (E)Wlmd.: (East) Tawllemmet, Y(Bab.): Young(er) (Babylonian), Zng.: Zenaga.

ABBREVIATIONS OF AUTHOR NAMES

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungrathmayr, Ajl.: Ajello, Alb.: Albright, Alj.: Alojaly, Alm.: Alemayehu, AMS: Amborn & Minker & Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, Bgn.: Beguinot, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Brg.: Bargery, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brt.: Barreteau, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Ctc.: Caïtucoli, Dbr.: Djibrine, Dj.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopoli'skij, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier (in ECh.) vs. Drower & Macuch (in Sem.), EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Fed.: Foucauld, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, GT: Takács, IL: Institute of Linguistics, JA: Jungrathmayr & Adams, JI: Jungrathmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungrathmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungrathmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Mgd.: Migeod, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, Mrc.: Mercier, Msq.: Masqueray, Nct.: Nachtigal, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, Prh.: Porhomovskij, Rn.: Reinisch, Smz.: Shimizu, Srl.: Sirlinger, Stl.: Stolbova, TC: Taine-Cheikh, TG: Takács.

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Abstract: The paper contains new etymological entries to Berber lexical roots and is part of a long-range series eventually resulting, when completed, in materials for an etymological dictionary of Berber, a desired addition to the fascicles of the comparative dictionary of Berber roots (DRB).

Key words: Berber; Lexical roots; Reconstruction; Comparative Afro-Asiatic linguistics; Historical phonology.