

# Some Berber Etymologies XVI

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## SOME BERBER ETYMOLOGIES XVI

by

Gábor Takács

Dedicated to the blessed memory  
of the Master of Twareg studies,  
K.-G. Prasse (1929-2018)<sup>1</sup>

### 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, (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,

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1. Whom I had the honour to encounter in person only once, but all the more intensely, for a few days during the unforgettable „1<sup>st</sup> Conference on Berber history, culture, and linguistics” (Uppsala, 3-6 May 2000, convened by Prof. Bo Isaksson and Dr. Marianne Laanatz-Aringberg from the then Dept. of Asian and African Languages, now Dept. of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University). Still, before and thereafter, we had continued a long correspondence, where he had always been keen on commenting on my queries and etymological proposals. He had always been benevolently following the course of my AA researches (cf. Prasse 2003) and had never hesitated to share any of his works and ideas with me. To my mind, he had been a true friend of Afro-Asiatic comparative approach among the Berber linguists.

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 & Jungraithmayr, 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, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier (in ECh.) vs. Drower & Macuch (in Sem.), EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Fcd.: Foucauld, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, GT: Takács, IL: Institute of Linguistics, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & 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.

## INTRODUCTION

This series is to gradually reveal the still unknown immense Afro-Asiatic (AA) heritage in the whole Berber lexical root stock. The first part, with

some miscellaneous Berber etymologies arranged at random, was published back in 1996.<sup>2</sup> More recently, I have continued collecting new AA companda to Berber roots in the frames of the series „Some Berber Etymologies” according to initial root consonants<sup>3</sup> in course of my research for the volumes of the „*Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*” (abbreviated as EDE, Leiden, since 1999, Brill)<sup>4</sup> 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

2. See the very first portion of my „Some Berber Etymologies” in: *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 38 (1996), 43-59.

3. • Part II: Berber \*b-, in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 45 (2003), 93-119; • part III: Berber \*b- 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<sup>e</sup> 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 \*n- + C<sub>2</sub> as either pha/laryngeals or sonants (\*-m-, \*-n-, \*-r-, \*-l-, \*-w-, \*-y-), in: *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 64/1 (2022), 175-208; • part XIV: Berber \*d-, in: *Études et Documents Berbères* (Paris) 45-46 (2021), 249-302, a special volume with „*les actes du Colloque 2020 de l'Histoire du berbère, session de décembre 2020*”; • part XV: Berber \*d-, in: *Études et Documents Berbères* (Paris) 47 (2022), 163-205.

4. 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 Witzak (head of the Dept. of Classical Philology), which I gratefully acknowledge in this place.

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 volume<sup>5</sup> of EDE (analyzing the Eg. lexical stock with initial n-). Beginning from the present part on, a few subsequent parts (XIV-XVI) contain etymologies of Berber roots with initial dental plosives (\*d-, \*ḏ-, \*t-) issuing from my research for EDE V<sup>6</sup> as well as for EAAN II,<sup>7</sup> 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 recently.<sup>8</sup>

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

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5. 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.

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

7. 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-.

8. Namely, the session of the Colloque 2020 with SBE XIV (online, INALCO of Paris, December 2020), the „*Journées du 16 et 17 septembre 2021*” with SBE XV (INALCO of Paris), followed by the „*Colloque 2021 prévu à Tunis les 10-12 décembre 2021*” with SBE XVI.

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. \*T- + LABIALS

**610. SBrb.: EWlmd. and Ayr** \* $\sqrt{tb}$  > **a-təb** „1. ceinturer, entourer d’une ceinture etc.”, ta-ttab-t, ta-ttab-en „1. ceinture, écharpe, 2. sangle postérieure (non obligatoire, sangle additionnelle placée parfois derrière la sangle ordinaire = tattolt, nouée derrière la bosse et passant sur l’avant des cuisses, en poil de chèvre noir)” [PAM 2003, 774-775] ||| Eg. tp.t „Faden” (XVIII. Mag., Wb V 293, 12) = „cord, thread” (DLE)<sup>9</sup> ||| NOm. \*tip- > \*tup- „to tie” [GT] > Gimirra-Benesho tup/k- „to tie” [Breeze in Bender 2003, 344, #103: isolated] | Kefoid \*tipp- „to tie” [Bender 2003, 201, #104: isolated in TN]: in fact, only in Kafa-Mocha \*tipp- [Leslau 1959] and Bworo típ(p)- [Lamberti, Rottland, and SLLE] „to tie” (isolated in Kefoid: Bender 2003, 344, #104), cf. also Anfillo dább- „rope” [Reinisch in Bender 2003, 343, #75: isolated in Kefoid] ||| WCh.: Suroid \*tep “to plait” [GT 2004, 362]: Sura tèep (false vowel length?) “to plait” [Kraft], Mupun tép (ká) “to plait, braid” [Frj. 1991, 60], Mushere tep “to plait” [Diyakal 1997 MS, 213], Chip tèp-ka gwe “to plait” [Kraft] | Ngizim tàpú „to tie, knot, lock” [Schuh 1981, 153] < CAA \* $\sqrt{tp}$  ~ \* $\sqrt{tb}$  „to bind with cord” [GT].

**610.1.** Any connection to the isogloss of Eg. tp „(word for) darning and sewing” (R. Hall, LÄ VI col. 66) = tp (LÄ) vs. tpj (GHWb) „stopfen, nähen” (LÄ VII col. 498; GHWb 930) = tp ~ tpj3 „to stitch” (CED) = tpj „coudre” (AL 77.4795) > Dem. tp „to stitch” (CED, not in DG) > (S)  $\tau\omega\pi$  „to stitch, stop, caulk” (CD 422b; CED 191) ||| CCh. \* $\sqrt{dp}$  „to sew” [JS 1981]?<sup>10</sup>

## BRB. \*T- + SIBILANTS

**611. SBrb.: Ayr** **ṭäss-āt** „sécher et durcir (terre mouillée, chose qcq. mouillée)” [PAM 2003, 802] ||| Eg. \*ts/\*ds (?) > Coptic (S)  $\tau\omega\varsigma$  „hart, fest, steif, starr, trocken werden/sein, sich sträuben, (sich) strecken, befestigen” (KHW 246: no pharaonic etymology).

9. Derived by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 89, #1422), along with Ar. tibn- „straw” and ECu.: Yaaku tib „pestle”, from his AA \*tip- „thin stick, strand, switch”.

10. Derived by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 70, #1343), along with NOm.: Zayse dup- „to sting”, from his AA \*-dup/f- „to prick, pierce” arguing that the shift „sew” < „pierce” (i.e., with needle) was „a widespread African pattern”.

**612. Common (?) Brb. \* $\sqrt{t\dot{s}H}$  (?)** „1. to consume greedily (?), hence: 2. devastate, spoil, 3. plunder by cheating” [GT] > NBrb.: Tamazight e-tš „1. manger, se nourrir, s'alimenter, absorber, dévorer, 2. dévorer, corroder, éroder, ronger, ravager, raviner, 3. piller, spolier, voler, ruiner, 4. être mangé, consommé, mangeable, comestible, 5. être corrodé, érodé, rongé, ravagé, usé, 6. être pillé, spolié, ruiné, 7. empoisonner, ensorceler, envoûter en faisant manger qqch.” [Taïfi 1991, 729-730] = ə-tš [PAM 2003] || WBrb.: Zenaga  $\sqrt{t\dot{s}}?$  > ātšī „(dé)manger” [TC 2008, 522] || SBrb.: EWlmd. ā-tšu, Ayr ə-ttyu „1. manger, 2. ronger (animal rongeur etc.) 3. ronger, entamer, blesser (arme, qqn.), 4. consumer, dévorer, brûler (feu/eau, qqch.), 5. gratter, causer des démangeaisons, 6. soutirer, usurper, 7. escroquer, tricher, piller (qqn.), 8. prendre (une pièce de l'adversaire au jeu de dāra etc.), conquérir, 9. gagner (au jeu, par des moyens malhonnêtes)” > i.a., EWlmd. tā-tšu, pl. tā-tšu-ten „fait de prendre le bien d'autrui par violence/ruse en ne lui donnant pas ce qu'on lui doit, usurpation, appropriation illégitime”, e- ~ a-mə-tši, pl. i-mā-tš-ān „1. mangeur, 2. escroc, tricheur, usurpateur, 3. pilleur, brigand, 4. couteau/épée très aiguisé(e)/tranchant(e) (surtout au fém. temətšit)” [PAM 2003, 803]: deviating from the usual scenario of treating this parallel as a secondary variation of a PBrb. \*ā-kšīh (?) [Prasse], based on Twareg \*ā-kš (attested in Ahaggar, Tadghaq, Taneslemt, cf. PAM l.c.),<sup>11</sup> I would dare to venture assuming either a reverse way of the historical changes of PBrb. \* $\sqrt{t\dot{s}H}$  (?) > \* $\sqrt{k\dot{s}H}$  [GT] or even a contamination with the latter root regarding the history of PBrb. \* $\sqrt{t\dot{s}H}$  (?) in the light of NOm.: (???) Mao \*tās- ~ \*sās- ~ \*šāt- „to bite” [Bender 2003, 269, #12].<sup>12</sup>

**612.1.** Furthermore, regarding the wide semantic spectrum of the Berber root above (esp. the connotation of devastating consumption and, hence, of gaining greedily and by aggression), one is disposed to suppose an eventual cognacy with Sem.: Ar. tašāḥ- and tušḥ-at- „1. avidité, 2. empressement à défendre les droits des siens, 3. lâcheté, timidité, 4. méchanceté” [BK I 199] = tušḥ-at- „1. ardeur, fureur dans l'attaque (ardour, fury in the attack), emportement (heatedness, anger), zèle (zeal), 2. promptitude à fuir (promptness to flee), couardise (cowardice), 3. âpreté, cupidité, vilenie (keenness, cupidity, meanness)”, ʔatšāḥu (subst.) „homme avide, cupide (grasping, covetous man)” [DAFA 1047b] || NOm.: Sezo tistisá „hunger” [Siebert & Wedekind] (isolated in Mao: Bender 2003, 355, #46), which may lead us to CAA \* $\sqrt{t\dot{s}h}$  „1. to be greedily eager to consume, 2. be hungry for,

11. Here, K.-G. Prasse assumed „\*ākš (?) devenu \*ātš sous l'influence de l'impf. int.?", whence EBrb.: Ghadames āšš || NBrb.: Shilh əšš | Qabyle əčč also originated from, which he (following Greenberg, Newman, Bynon and others) ultimately related to WCh.: Hausa či „to eat” < Ch. \*ti, which cannot be right as, phonologically, neither a PBrb. \*ākš nor an \*ātš can be of any match to Ch. \* $\sqrt{t}$  = Sem. \* $\sqrt{twy}$ .

12. Unless this is via metathesis < NOm.: Ta-Ne \*sās- „to bite” [Bender 2003, 269, #12].



3. greedily consume (by scraping out or violently snatching the bounty), 4. spoil, devastate, 5. be vile, coward” [GT].

**612.2.** At this point, it will be perhaps worth examining one of the oldest names of wild hog in Afro-Asiatic (grottochronologically the supposed oldest late Mesolithic-early Neolithic language community) and thus also in world history. This can be traced back to the era of the SAA<sup>13</sup> parental community, cf. NOm.: *Nayi tissa* [-ss- < \*-Hs-?] „wild hog, bush pig” [Fleming in Bender 2003, 219, #143] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura \*tuγus ~ (Goemaoid var.) \*toγos (from \*tʷaγas?) “wild pig” [GT] = \*tu<sub>2</sub>γus “bush pig” [Dlg.] = \*tu-γʷVS “wild pig” [Stolbova]:<sup>14</sup> Angas tūs “a wild pig” [Foulkes 1915, 298] = tūs “Wildschwein” [Jng. 1962 MS, 41] = tūs [< \*tys (sic!) < \*tHs] [Stolbova], Sura tūgùs ~ tūγùs “Schwein” [Jng. 1963, 85] = tugus ~ tuyus “bush pig” [Hoffmann], Kofyar toγos (so, -o/-o-) “bush pig” [Hoffmann], Montol toos “pig” [Fitzpatrick 1911, 219], Goemay toos “pig” [Fitzpatrick 1911, 219] = tââs’ [tòs] “warthog” [Sirlinger 1937, 234] = toos “bush pig” [Hoffmann] = toos “warthog” [Hellwig 2000 MS, 36] (Angas-Sura: Hoffmann 1975, 19, #62; Stolbova 1987, 171, #237; Takács 2004, 372). I wonder if this SAA zoonym was derived in the Saharan habitat from CAA \*√tšh as a term for a peculiarly greedily devouring animal of the savannah.

**612.3.** One cannot be amazed (enough) how much the above described features of greed etc. fit Seth, possessing all of them as the monstrous member of the ancient Egyptian pantheon with a puzzling totemistic animal (resembling a fabulous mixture of ass and pig), whose name suspiciously bears a metathesis<sup>15</sup> of the same homorganic radicals, cf. Eg. *sth* [GT: regular <

13. The very early divergent union of three branches, namely Omotic, Cushitic, and Chadic, the earliest (around the 8t mill. BC) ones to break away from the PAA parental community.

14. O.V. Stolbova (CLD V 160, #254a) postulated a chain of shifts in the pre-PAn-gas-Sura stem: \*tu-γʷVS < \*\*tV-gʷus < \*tV-gbus, where she isolated a prefix \*t- and affiliated it with her Ch. \*γubVS- „wild pig, warthog” and Sem.: Ar. ḥabūs- „qui enlève, qui emporte comme sa proie” < ḥabasa I „1. prendre avec la main, 2. priver qqn. de son dû”, taḥabbasa „s’emparer d’une proie, d’un boutin” [BK I 533-534; DRS 955: isolated in Sem.].

15. Which occurs strangely often in Eg. roots due to the proximity of, cf. ● Eg. jnh [< \*√rnḥ via palatalization of \*ri- > \*yi-] „Augenbraue” (OK, Wb I 99, 1) ||| SBrb. \*a-nhar “eyebrows, sourcil” [GT] ||| LECu.: Oromo nyar-a “eyebrow, eyelash” [Foot 1913, 46] = ñār-a [Sasse 1979, 36: -ā- < \*-a- reg.] “eyebrow”, cf. ñāra gura “to frown, wrinkle forehead” [Gragg 1982, 301] = ñār-a “eyebrow” [Hudson 1989, 60] ||| ECh.: Mokilko nyínyàrì (pl.) “Augenbrauen” [Lukas 1977, 219] < CAA \*√nyh/r, perhaps \*-ny/ħar- (???) “eyebrow” [GT] (for further details cf. part XIII of this series); ● OK ḥmz (m) vs. ḥmz.t (f) “alte Schreibung für mzh.(t)” > Greek χύμψα, the Eg. name of crocodile acc. to Herodot (Wb III 96, 11-12), early vars. to mzh “Krokodil” (OK, Wb II 136), perhaps related to ES & Cu. (*Wanderwort?*) \*ḥazz- [GT: < \*ḥamz-?] “crocodile” (cf. Leslau 1963, 87; 1979 III 119; Cerulli 1951, 408); ● Eg. ḥms “Kornähre” (BD, Wb III 367, 5) = ḥms ~ ḥmz “ear of corn” (CT, DCT 419) < OEg. \*ḥmz (unattested) [regular < \*ḥmz], cognate to Ar. mazḥ- “Kornähre” (Eg.-Ar.:



\*sth] (seit D.18 auch oft swtj geschrieben, seit D.19 auch swth, bes. als Gott der Hyksos und der fremden Länder), „Name des Gottes Seth, altkopt. **CHT**, griech. Σηθ” (PT-, Wb IV 345), vocalized \*sūtāḥ > Babyl. šutaḥ > Coptic (OS) (-)**CHT** „god Sētekh (Seth)” (CED 163). One is astonished how perfectly the Twareg root quoted above covers the nature of Seth, cf. esp. EWlmd. mā-tšu (réfl.) „1. être mangé etc.etc., 2. être atteint par la folie” täyttäy-nnet tām-mītša „sa raison a été dévorée, i.e., il est devenu fou” [PAM 2003, 803]. Shall we assume the zoonym as a totemistic representation of the vile and devastating powers of nature in the gradually desiccating Sahara, used by the Chadic ancestors as \*\*tuḥuS vs. by the proto-Egyptian as \*\*Sutuḥ, to be projected the last phase of the Chado-Egyptian community in their East Saharan cohabitation in the late mid-Holocene?

## BRB. \*T- + VELARS

**613. SBrb.: EWlmd. and Ayr** √tg (unless derives < \*√dg, cf. above and not just a secondary pharyngealization of √tg): ə-ttəg „être gros, fort” [PAM 2003, 779] (not in Ahaggar), perhaps from the basic sense “fat” [GT] ||| ECh.: Mubi-Toram \*tegen “fat” > Jegu tégén “Fett” [Jng. 1961, 117], Kofa tégén (m) “oil”, tégén kī ’ēm “honey” [Jng. 1977 MS, 5, #68 and 13, #316], Toram tegen “huile”, here also: tegel “beure, graisse” [Alio 2004, 262, #421-2]. For further root varieties cf. the entries of NBrb. \*√dγ „1. to be fat, 2. great” [GT] and SBrb.: Ahaggar √dgg: deḡiḡ-et „être épais (personne, animal, chose)” [Foucauld in DRB 303, DG/Ĝ(T)1].

**614. SBrb. \*√tg<sup>y</sup>(g<sup>y</sup>)** [GT]: Ahaggar ā-tuḡ, pl. i-tuḡḡ-ān „prix, valeur”, EWlmd. uttag „être colporté, (mis) en vente”, sə-təg „colporter, mettre en vente/au marché” (SBrb.: PAM 2003, 779) ||| Sem.: Ar. daḡḡa „faire du commerce”, dāḡḡ- „marchands” [DRS 217: isolated] ||| LECu.: presumably Somali tag „1. marriage (with woman of good family), 2. fortune” [Ehret].<sup>16</sup> Irregular Twareg \*t- vs. Ar. d-. Areal *Wanderwort*?

**615. SBrb.: Ahaggar** √tg<sup>y</sup>g<sup>y</sup>: hətəḡtəḡ „palpiter” [Prasse 1969, 70, #416] || WBrb.: cf. perhaps Zenaga √tg > e-ttag „bondir”, emtettag „bouger” [R. Basset] = √(m)tg > „bouger, se déplacer, remuer, broncher” (mouvement en général), yəmtəttəḡ „il a bougé” [Nicolas 1953, 208] = √ttg: yämtättäḡ „se déplacer, se bouger, se mouvoir – tout seul, par ses propres moyens” [TC 2008, 516] ||| Eg. tḥtḥ „verwirren, verworren sein, in Unordnung geraten

Vycichl 1958, 388; 1959, 146, #4; 1990, 52), cf. also NOM.: Kaffa moč “mettre la spiga (pianta)”, močč-ō “spiga” [Cerulli 1951, 468]; ● OK ḥm<sup>c</sup>, var. to mḥ<sup>c</sup> ~ m<sup>c</sup>ḥ “Flachs” (Wb II 121, 4; AÄG = Edel 1955, §93).

16. Affiliated by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 82, #1391) with Ar.-MSA \*√tgr „to be rich”.

sein, zerknittern” (MK-, Wb V 323, 8-13; GHWb 939) = „1. to make disturbance (PT 392d), 2. disorder (hair) (Urk. V 87:4, Gardiner 1909, 25), 3. crumple (papers) (CT IV 385d)”, adj. „inimical” (AEPT 251, utterance 607, n. 3, also p. 330) = „to mess up, disorder” (Allen 2000, 471) > LEg. *tḥtḥ* „to confuse, intoxicate”,<sup>17</sup> as noun: „confusion, disorder” (DLE IV 97), cf. also Dem. *tḥ* „mischen” (DG 654) ||| SCu.: Iraqw *tēkʷ* „crowd”, *tekʷa* „disorder”, *tek-ūt* „to be messed up” [MQK 2002, 100] ||| WCh.: Hausa *túgùùwáá* „1. churning milk, 2. swaying”, cf. also *túúkè* „1. stirred completely”, *túúkà* „stirred (sg. of thick consistency like *túúwóó*, dye, etc.), 3. propelled brat by oar or pole, 4. drove (car), 5. (a fat person) waddled along” [Abraham 1962, 895]. This AA root constitutes part of a large root family with diverse varieties: cf., e.g., the entries for (615.1.) NBrb.: Tamazight *√dỵy*: *dỵyey* „être agité, ne pas tenir en place, 2. être troublé, anxieux” [DRB 365], (615.2.) NBrb. *√dỵdỵ* „to vibrate” [GT].

**616. SBrb.:** *Ayr √tgn*: *sə-ttəgnən* (caus.) „1. confirmer (la véracité de qqch.), 2. croire à, être convaincu de, 3. avouer” [PAM 2003, 780] ||| Sem.: Akk. *taqānu* (spB auch -m-, -g-) G „geordnet, gesichert sein/werden”, D „ordnen, in Ordnung halten, in Ordnung bringen”, (spB) *tuqqunu* „geordnet, in Lagen gelegt” [AHW 1323, 1372] = *taqānu* „wohl bestellt, geordnet sein” [GB] || Hbr. *√tqn qal* „gerade werden”, *piel* „gerade machen” [GB 888] = Hbr.-Aram. *ta/iqqēn* „zurechtrichten” [AHW] | Ar. *√tqn IV* „construire avec art, habilement et solidement” > *mu-tqan-* „solide” etc. [BK I 202]<sup>18</sup> ||| Eg. *\*tg/q/kn* (unattested) > Coptic (M) *TKΔN* „Stärke, Macht” (Kasser > KHW 228, fn. 1: 2. Inf. von *ΤΩΘN*?). Varieties with different C<sub>2</sub> velars.

**617. SBrb.** *\*√tḳ* „to fill” [GT]: EWLmd. & *Ayr tāktāk* „1. remplir (à coups répétés), 2. être rempli (à ...), 3. être bien rempli, plein à craquer”, *Ayr ə-ttəḳ ~ ə-ttəḳ* „remplir (colère + qqn.)” [PAM 2003, 783, 786] ||| Sem.: Ar. *taʕīqa I* „1. être rempli (se dit d’une outre), 2. fig.: être rempli et, pour ainsi dire, déborder (de colère, de tristesse)”, IV „1. (r) emplir”, *taʕīq-* „plein, rempli de colère ou de qq. autre passion, hors de lui-même (homme), 2. plein de vie, d’ardeur, de feu, en qui la vie et la force débordent (cheval, etc.)” [BK I 188] ||| NAgaw *\*ʕəntay-*<sup>19</sup> (intr.) „to

17. A late contamination with OEg. *tḥj* „to be drunken”, etymologically certainly a distinct root, albeit H. Brunner (LÄ VI 776, n. 15) regarded Eg. *tḥtḥ* „sich in Trunkenheit verwirren” as „die reduplizierte, also intensivierende Form von” *tḥj* „sich betrinken”.

18. Derived by C. Ehret (2000 MS, 85, #1405) from his AA *\*-tīḳ-* „to become aware of, knowledgeable about”.

19. In the hypothesis of D. Appleyard (o.c., p. 73), this stem may be related to ECu. *\*-mg-* „to fill” via *\*\*-t-mVg-* > *\*[ʕə]ntay-*, which is now probably set in an entirely new light in the context of the new AA cognates (above): just opposite to this author’s idea, the *\*-t-* in the NAgaw stem does seem a firm component (a radical) of the original root, whereas the nasal appears to be a secondary root extension (as seen also in Central Chadic).

be full” vs. \*ʔənsay-<sup>20</sup> (tr.) „to fill” [Apl. 2006, 73 and 67, resp.] ||| CCh. \*ntay- „to fill” [GT]: Lamang ndəgh- „to fill” [Lukas] | PGlavda \*dəgh- [GT] > Glavda rəgh- „to fill” [Rapp] | Matakam nd/tha [-Ø# < \*-γ, i.e., < \*ntay?] „to fill” [Schubert], Mofu -ràh- [GT: < \*-day-] „to fill” [Brt.] (CCh.: JI 1994 II 156) < SAA \*√ntk (CCh., NAgaw) < CAA \*√tk (SBrb., Sem.) „full” [GT]. Although EWlmd. & Ayr k is normally being viewed as a mere allophone of plain k in Twareg linguistics (cf. PAM passim, also confirmed to me recently by M. Kossmann, p.c. in Jan. 2021),<sup>21</sup> still, I have collected a handful of curious cases where this „allophone” (?) can also be a match of AA \*k,<sup>22</sup> while there is at least one certain case of Brb. plain \*k- < AA \*k- also.<sup>23</sup>

20. Labelling the hypothesis by L. Reinisch about the intr. \*ʔəntay- irregular development < \*ʔənsay-t- via metathesis as „unusual”, D. Appleyard (o.c., p. 67) merely speculated „whether the s:t elements are inorigin old derivational prefixes that have become metathesized with the root initial. If so, could the underlying root be cognate with PECu. \*mg- ‘fill’ (Sasse 1979, 25). \*\*s-mVg- > \*ʔə[nsay-, \*\*t-mVg- > \*ʔə[ntay-?” This question may now be answered on the basis of our new derivation of NAgaw \*ʔəntay- < SAA \*√ntk < CAA \*√tk „full” [GT], which testifies to that in NAgaw, the intr. stem was primary, which may have been transitivized by adding a caus. \*-s- incorporated, i.e., lexicalized with metathesis: intr. \*ʔəntay- > tr. \*\*ʔəntay-s- > \*\*ʔəntsay-.

21. M. Kossmann (p.c., 18 Jan. 2021): „Indeed, the pharyngealized /k/ is an allophone (marginally phonemic), typical of Ayer, and has no relationship to /q/ or /gh/.”

22. Cf. esp. • SBrb.: Ayr a-kərma, pl. i-kərm-an „gomme arabique (résine d’épineux qq. sauf adāras, blanche ou rougeâtre, visqueuse, comestible à l’état sec)” [PAM 2003, 404] ||| Eg. qmj.t „1. Harz (bestimmter Bäume: der Myrrhe, Therebinthe, Akazie und des Ebenholzbaumes aus Nubien oder Punt), Gummi, auch ein Öl (b3q) von Gummi” (XVIII-, Wb V 39; Helck, LÄ II 921 and n. 21) = „gum, resin” (Urk. IV 329:3 and pap. Ebers 41:18, 10:10, FD 279) = „ein Baumharz, das bes. für die Bindung von Farben benutzt worden ist” (Helck in MWNr VI 60/1004) = „une gomme” (Trautnecker, LÄ II 116) = „1. (ursprünglich) Gummi der Akazie, 2. erweiterter Begriff: Salböl von Grundsubstanz Gummi” (Koura 1999, 159) = „Akaziengummi, das Exsudat der Seyal-Akazie, auch Gummiarabicum genannt” (Germer 2002, 66-67) ||| CCh.: Lame kómro „(arbre) *Commiphora africana* Engl. (Burséracées) (l’écorce, qu’on fait macérer pendant une nuit, est utilisée pour teindre en rouge les marmites et les jarres à eau)” [Sachnne 1982, 480]. • SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr ā-knu, Ayr ə-knu „1. faire, fabriquer, 2. arranger, 3. réparer, 4. (EWlmd.) raviver, ranimer, ressusciter, 5. réconcilier, 6. être (bien) fait, parfait, 7. (EWlmd.) être bien mûr, 8. être bien formé (animal), bien gros, bien en chair, bien graissé, 9. former ses fleurs, fleurir (arbre), 10. se remettre, se rétablir, se reposer (après une fatigue/maladie), 12. être pleine/en gestation (femelle), 13. faire parfaitement bien” [Alojaly 1980, 94; PAM 2003, 384] ||| Eg. qn „fertigen machen, beenden” (MK-, Wb V 49) ||| (?) Sem. \*√kny „1. to create, 2. give birth to” [GT]. Cf. Holma 1919, 46: Eg.-Sem. • SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr e-kānāy, pl. i-kānāy-ān „esp. d’herbe épineuse (jeune pousse: efāyāt, Neurade procumbens)” [PAM 2003, 392] ||| Sem.: Geez kʷināt „lance, épieu, épée” [Cohen 1947, 130, #254] = qan(n)awa „to transfix wit nails, fasten with nails, nail, pierce with a spear, drive a stake into the ground”, qa/ənnōt „nail, goad, mark of nails, sting, scourge, spine” [Leslau 1987, 436-437] ||| Ch. \*kVw/yVn- „claw, nail” [CLD IV 120, #386].

23. Cf. • SBrb.: Ahaggar ā-knef „rösten, backen” [Zyhlarz] = ə-knəf „cuire sous la cendre, dans le sable entre 2 couches de braises” [Foucauld > Knudsen] = ā-knəf, yə-knāf

**618. SBrb.: Ayr təkərtəkər** „1. galoper (boeuf, veau), 2. trotter”, tyərəktyərək „marcher en trotinant” [PAM 2003, 786, 800], cf. also EWlmd.-Ayr tægərtægər „courir à gauche et à droite à la recherche de qqch.” [PAM 2003, 780] ||| (?) ES \*√tkl [irregular \*-l] „to hurry” [GT]: Gurage (Masqan) atekkälä, (Wolane) atehälä, (Selti) atēhālā „to prepare food, \*do sg. fast” equated with Amh. čäkk<sup>w</sup>älä, Tna. šäkk<sup>w</sup>älä „to hurry”<sup>24</sup> (ES: Leslau 1979 III 595) ||| Eg. (unattested) > Dem. tkr ~ tgr „sich beeilen, eilen, schnell” (DG 660). Contamination with the following root in Twareg? Cf. also SBrb. \*√trg „to spring” [GT] (below).

**619. SBrb.: Ayr təkərtəkər** „3. chanceler” [PAM 2003, 786] ||| SCu.: Iraqw toqoramo „lame person, cripple” [Ehret 1980, 171, #30, a.1]<sup>25</sup> = toqōrmō ~ taqōrmō (m), pl. toqōri ~ taqōrāy „crippled man or animal, disformed limb(s)” [MQK 2002, 100, 106] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura \*daɣar (var. \*-a<sub>3</sub>-?) “to limp” [GT 2004, 62] = \*daɣar “to limp (хромать)” [Stolbova 1977, 153, #35]: Angas daar “1. to go haltingly (not from permanent lameness, but from a temporary disability, such as a sprain or a cut foot), 2. limp” [Foulkes 1915, 164] = dàâr “Hinken, Lahmheit” [Jng. 1962 MS] = dār “to limp” [ALC 1978, 11], Sura daɣar “hinken” [Jng. 1963, 62], Goemay dââr [dɔɔr < \*da<sub>3</sub>ɣa<sub>3</sub>r?] “to limp, walk with a limp” [Sirlinger 1937, 23]. The consonantal correspondences are on some points (e.g., AS \*d- ≠ SCu./SBrb. \*t-, SCu. \*-k- = AS \*-ɣ- ≠ SBrb. \*-k-) irregular. Contamination with the preceding root in Twareg?

**620. SBrb.: EWlmd. sə-ttəqq-ət** (caus.) „être fou, toqué, cinglé, félé, timbré (terme facétieux, dit pour plaisanter)”<sup>26</sup> [PAM 2003, 781] ||| Sem.: Ar. √tyk I: tāka „être très-stupide”, cf. √tkk I „1. être stupide, sans intelligence, 2. enivrer, griser (se dit d’une boisson spiritueuse)”, tākk- „sot, imbécile” [BK I 202, 213]. This root is probably akin to the Egypto-Chadic isogloss

„unter Sand kochen” [Rössler 1964, 207] || EBrb.: Siwa √knf „kleine Fleischstücke am Spieß braten” [Müller] < Common Brb. \*e-knəf „rösten” > \*a-knif „Brot” [Zyhlarz] = \*e-knef „couvrir de sable pour faire cuire, faire rôtir” [Rössler] ||| Eg. qfn ~ (NK) qnf „backen” (MK-, Wb V 32, 11-15) > qfn „Gebäck, Brot” (MK-, Wb V 32, 16) ||| Sem.: Ar. kafana „(das Brot) mit heißer Asche bedecken” [Rössler, Knudsen]. Cf. Müller 1912, 428-429; Zyhlarz 1932-3, 83; 1934, 112; Eg.-Brb.; Rössler 1952, 133, #24; Knudsen 1962, 36; Eg.-Ar.-Twareg. But the Eg. root may alternatively be compared to NBrb.: Inzasen ʔa-fqun-t, pl. ʔi-fuqan „foyer”, Senhazha ʔa-feqqun-d „four à pain” (NBrb.: Renisio 1932, 301-302).

24. For the semantical association W. Leslau (l.c.) quoted Amh. fässänä „to hurry” vs. Gurage √fsn „to be ready (food)”.

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

26. Considered in PAM (l.c.) as a secondary sense derived „*par extension*” from a homophonous „1. battre, remuer etc.”.

of Eg. *thj* (irregular *-h-*) „zur Genüge trinken, sich betrinken, betrunken sein” (OK-, WB V 323-324) ||| WCh.: Hausa *tùgwáánà* „was intoxicated” [Abraham 1962, 895]. For Hausa-Eg.: Militarev 1987 MS, #111. A possible AA root var. is reflected in SBrb.: Ayr *dāqq-āt* and in NOm. (discussed above in #484, cf. SBE XIV).

**621. SBrb.: Ayr and Ghat *ta-tāyas-t*, pl. *ti-tāyas-en*** „tout petit bâton” [PAM 2003, 782] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *\*tuγus* ~ *\*toγos* (perhaps < *\*tʷaγas*?), hence *\*təγəs* “1. stump of tree, 2. stub(ble)” [GT 2004, 373].

**622. SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr *tuγər*** „être affamé de sel, avoir besoin de sel (animal), 2. par ext.: être affamé en gén., avoir besoin de nourriture (animal/personne)” [PAM 2003, 782] ||| Sem.: Ar. *taqaʿ-* „faim” [BK I 202] ||| SOM.: Ari *daḵ-(ar)-* „hungry” [GT]: (Galila) *daḥar-* [Bender & Tully] = *daḡ* [Fleming] = *dāqars-* [Hayward] „hungry” (isolated in Aroid and Om. apud Bender 2003, 349, #46). Frozen grammeme *-r-* (as in Aroid) in Twareg < AA *\*√tk* „hungry” [GT]?

**622.1.** A root variety with AA *\*s-* has been retained by Bed. *ḍok* „to be greedy, be eagerly expectant”, *ḍákwa* (f) „greed”, *ḍok* „greedy, gluttonous, eagerly expectant” [Roper 1928, 176] ||| WCh.: Kofyar *ḍwák* „to beg, entreat” [Netting 1967, 11] (isolated in AS, cf. GT 2004, 97).

**623. SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr *a-tāyārom*, pl. *i-tāyārom-ān*** (≈ *a-dāyara*) „trou à feu (petit ebāwel, pour griller un mets, pour une seule personne)” [PAM 2003, 363] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *\*tiyirij* > *\*təγərən* vs. *\*tirij* > *\*tərən*<sup>27</sup> “cooking place” (≈ Hausa *múrfù* “the three stones which form native cooking-place” [Abr. 1962, 685]) [GT 2004, 364, 366]: Angas *törün* [*\*tərən*] (≈ Hausa *murufu*) “the cooking place on which the pot is put” [Foulkes 1915, 295] = *tərən* “cooking place (Hausa *murufu*)” [Jng. 1962 MS, 40] = *tərən* “pot stand” [ALC 1978, 64] = *tiring* ~ *tirng* “hearth” [Gochal 1994, 41], Mupun *tárēn* “hearth (a three-stone device)” [Frj. 1991, 63], Kofyar *toègoèroèng* [*təgərən* < *\*tiyirij*] “stone tripod for cooking” [Netting 1967, 40], Mushere *tikiring* (≈ Hausa *murhu*) “the three stones which form a native cooking place” [Diyakal 1997 MS, 223] = *tikiring* “oven” [Jng. 1999 MS, 18] < a rare PAA quadriconsonantal *\*√tKrm* (with either *\*-h-*, *\*-γ-* or *\*-k-*), whose final *C<sub>4</sub>* may have been a root extension (eventually a lexicalized PAA *\*m* nomen instr. suffix?), cf. also the entry for Brb. *\*√dyr* above.

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

## BRB. \*T- + SONANTS

**624. Brb. \*timmi** „eyebrow” [GT after Blažek 1991, 365]<sup>28</sup> ||| Cu.-Om. \*dēm- „eyebrow, -lash” [Lamberti 1987, 534, #14.b] > e.g. LECu.: Dirayta tēmá (pl.) „eyebrow” [Lamberti] | HECu.: Hadiyya and Kambatta dēmm-a „eyebrow” [Hudson 1989, 60] | Dullay \*tēm- „Augenbraue” [GT after AMS 1980, 231] ||| NOm.: Ometo \*dēm-a „eyebrow, forehead” [Bender 2003, 141, #27]<sup>29</sup> > NWometo \*dem-m-a „eyebrow, forehead” [Bender 2003, 141, #27] > extended Wolayta cluster \*dēm-o „eyebrow, forehead” [Bender 2003, 141, #27] | SEOmeto \*dēm-o „eyebrow” [Bender 2003, 109, #27]: Zayse dēm-o „eyebrow, -lash” [Lamberti] etc. | Chara \*dēm-a „eyebrow, forehead” [Bender 2003, 141, #27]. Cf. also Brb. \*udem „visage” [GT pace DRB 334-336]?

**624.1.** A remotely related root (varieties with both voiced vs. voiceless *Anlaut*) is seen in CAA \*√dm ~ \*√tm „hair(y) hide” [GT] > ES: Geez damdama „laisser pousser sa chevelure”, dāmdāmmā „chevelure”, Amharic dāmāddāmā „laisser pousser ses cheveux” (ES: DRS 271) ||| Eg. tmm.t „Haut (?) (der Schlangen)” (CT VII 485c, GHWb 933; ÄWb II 2696a) = „trail (?)”, hide (?)” (DCT 737) > tm.t (?) „la peau” (GR Dendera, Cauville 1997, 615) ||| LECu.: Pboni/Sam \*tim „hair” [Heine 1978, 74] ||| WCh.: PAngas \*tīm > \*tim “a piece of skin with long hair” [GT 2004, 365]: Angas tiim “1. long growth of hair (of beasts only, such as is on a goat’s breast), 2. a skin with long hair, given to a new king to wear during the ceremony of investiture” [Foulkes 1915, 293] = ntim “a kind of ‘tanned’ leather worn by men and circumcized boys” [Gochal 1994, 27].

**624.2.** Whether the highly dubious isogloss of SCu.: WRift \*dāmōga ~ \*dāmōda „beard” > Irqaw dāmō(t), Gorowa dāmō(g) [KM 2004, 86]<sup>30</sup> ||| CCh.: Masa \*dumu „1. chin, 2. beard” [GT]<sup>31</sup> is also related is uncertain as there are doubts about the origins of both comparanda.

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

29. M.L. Bender (l.c.) referred to the cognacy of the Om. root with HECu.: Hadiyya, Kambatta dēmma.

30. R. Kießling and M. Mous (l.c.) assumed here a „transfer from a Datoogan source”, e.g., a non-AA loan, cf. Gisamjanga dāmūkà „beard”.

31. Cf. Masa dum „beard” [Mouchet], Masa-Bongor dūm-ná „menton” [Jng. 1971/2 MS, 69], Masa dūm [dūmnā] „le menton” [Caïtucoli 1983, 65], Gizey/Wina dūmūk, Masa dūm, Ham dūm, Musey údūm, Lew dūdūm, Marba dūdūm “menton” [Ajello et al. 2001, 36], cf. Lame žīm (dz-) „1. menton” [Sachnine 1982, 408], Zime-Dari žim (j-) „menton, barbe” [Cooper 1984, 11] (CCh.: JI 1994 II 13), which suggest a primary meaning „chin”, not „beard”.



**625. SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr a-təp** „3. avoir une arrière-pensée (bonne ou mauvaise), 4. avoir comme arrière-pensée (une idée, une intention différente de son apparence), 5. avoir dans la tête, songer à”, Ayr also i-təp „avoir dans la tête, songer à” [PAM 2003, 792]<sup>32</sup> || Sem.: Ar.-MSA \*√thm „to think, suspect” [Ehret]: Ar. tahuma I „être suspect, tomber dans la suspicion”, IV „conjecturer, se former une opinion de qqn. ou e qqch., 3. soupçonner qqn. à tort de qqch.”, tuham-at- „1. opinion, conjecture, 2. suspicion, 3. soupçon” [BK I 209]<sup>33</sup> || LECu.: Somali tuhun, pl. tuhmo „suspect” [Ehret: loan < Ar.] || WCh.: PAngas \*t<sup>h</sup>an (?) [GT 2004, 357]: Angas tehana (sic) “to think” [Ormsby 1914, 315].

**626. SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr a-tṃək** „3. fixer avec le regard, regarder fixement”, a-tṃək „regard fixe” [PAM 2003, 742-743] || Sem.: Akk. tamāḫu, 1x -k- „ergreifen, fassen” [AHW 1312] || OT Hbr. √tmk qal „1. ergreifen, 2. (fest)halten, 3. erreichen, erlangen, 4. aufrecht halten, stützen” [GB 881] || Bed. timikw „1. to clench (e.g. fist), 2. knot (esp. money in corner of tob), 3. bruise (usually with boi)”, tunkwi „knot in tob” [Roper 1928, 243] || WCh.: Ngizim tṃnkú [GT: < \*tamku?] „1. to attach rope to calabash in order to use it as a well bucket, 2. put purlins inside roof for support” [Schuh 1981, 157].<sup>34</sup> Semantically, these parallels appear to belong together as reflexes of a CAA \*√tmk „fixer” [GT].

**627. NBrb.: Mzab √tmr: ə-ttəmr-ət ~ -at** „pépin, graine reproductrice” (loan < Ar.?) [Delheure 1984, 218] || Sem.: Akk. (jB) tumurtu „Ameiseneier” [AHW 1370] || Ar. tāmūr- „3. âme, esprit qui anime la matière” [BK I 207] || Eg. tm3.t „die Mutter, in menschlichen Verhältnissen und bes. von Göttinnen (wie Hathor usw.)” (XXII., oft GR, WB V 308, 2-3) = „ancestress, mother” (GR Edfu, PL 1145):<sup>35</sup> usually written with the logogram depicting

32. Glossed in PAM (l.c.) as a secondary metaphoric sense of EWlmd.-Ayr a-təp „1. avoir une maladie secrète”, which is now disproved by the Semitic cognates.

33. Albeit glossed in a separate entry of BK I 209, tahuma is supposed to have been lexicalized on its own from the stem VIII ṭittahama „1.s’imaginer, penser, croire telle ou telle chose, 2. soupçonner qqn. d’une chose” of wahama I „1. se former une idée, une opinion de qqch. (vraie ou fausse), supposer telle ou telle chose etc.” [BK II 1617]. The Twareg etymology above makes us, however, suspect perhaps a reverse way of back-formation.

34. The Ngizim word (misquoted as tṃmk-) was derived by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 87, #1413), along with semantically hardly fitting *comparanda*, from his biconsonantal AA \*-tom- „to put together”.

35. This NAA etymology decides the long dilemmas about the status of this LEg. lexeme surveyed by P. Wilson (PL l.c.), for whom it was unclear if „this is a separate word for ‘mother’ or whether is it linked with jtm.t ‘the female counterpart of Atum’ und thus the *primaeva* mother at Hermopolis”, who gave birth to the gods and was the „mother who begat goddesses” and in most of the cases was „equated with a cow mother goddess”. P. Wilson was convinced that this (j)tm.t „consort of Atum” vs. LEg. tm3.t „cow mother goddess” – very correctly – „must be regarded as two originally separate beings who were



„the uterus of a cow” suggesting that „in origin the word may have meant ‘cow-mother’” (PL) = „uterus (?)” (GT) < NAA \*√tmr „ancestress (?)” [GT]. An ancient NAfrican *Wanderwort*?

**628. SBrb.: EWlmd. a-ttin, pl. a-ttin-ān ~ i-ttan** „bouteille, boîte ronde (en cuir, bois, métal, papier etc. ou d’une vessie, pour miel, beurre, huile, parfums, poudres, médicaments etc.), (sert aussi) de tabatière (en peau), de cendrier (en métal), de boîte à savon, d’étui à fil et à ciseaux, petit flacon (surtout pour parfum)”, cf. ə-ttin, pl. ə-ttin-ān „sorte de couverture” [PAM 2003, 794] ||| Sem.: Akk. tannu ~ (bab.) dannu „eine Holzschale” [AHW 1319]<sup>36</sup> ||| Eg. tnj „plat, en argent: (1) un objet circulaire, (2) une coupe à fond plat et à bords évasées”<sup>37</sup> (Posener-Kriéger 1976, 172, B3) = „flache Schlüssel” (GHWb 934) > (?) tnj ~ tnj (Urk. IV 23, 98, 639) „Art Napf oder Schale” (XVIII., Wb V 380, 5).<sup>38</sup>

**629. SBrb.: Ayr a-tʿəztʿəz** „1. insulte, calomnie, 2. affaire, blâmable, 3. (chose/personne) sujet d’insultes, 4. liaison amoureuse, 5. affaire d’amour (sujet de bavardage)” [PAM 2003, 796] ||| Eg. tnj (regular from \*√tyn)<sup>39</sup> „sich messen mit jem. (im Kampf)” (XX., Wb V 311, 4), cf. also \*tn (???) > Coptic (SALBF) 𐩧-𐩢𐩨𐩣 „zanken, streiten, widersprechen” (KHW 236: no pharaonic etymology) ||| WCh.: Mushere toon (false vowel length?) “enemy” [Diyakal 1997 MS, 226].<sup>40</sup>

**630. SBrb.: Ayr tāzāy** „1. imiter, 2. spéc.: imiter les voisins, s’efforcer de rester à la hauteur de ses égaux” [PAM 2003, 796] ||| Sem.: Ar. √tnn III: tānna

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*later confused and perhaps to some extent amalgamated*”. In any case, she confirmed that „the use of tm3.t at Edfu remains very distinct from that of Tm.t” For the above reasons one may discard also Scharff’s (ZÄS 62, 1927, 100) derivation from LEg. t3 mw.t (fem. defin. art. t3) „the mother” or a Ptolemaic contamination with t3 m3w (equally with fem. defin. art. t3) „the Ancestress” < m3wj „to be new, renew” or its caus. constr. t-m3w „to cause to be new” (PL l.c.).

36. Equated in the HSED 498, #2368 with Eg. tn.w „basket” (GR), which certainly represents a distinct etymon, so their NAA \*tan- „container” remains baseless.

37. There may have well been only one object with this name. P. Posener-Kriéger (l.c.): „on doit donc supposer que dans le première... le scribe a montré une vue en plan de l’objet et... une vue de profil.”

38. The form of this object t/tnj from the Urk. IV (Dyn. XVIII) is P. Posener-Kriéger’s (l.c.) view „identique à celle qui figure sur le fragment 22E” in Abusir (the Fifth Dyn.), but formerly, „l’objet tnj, d’après Barta, n’est pas attesté dans les tableaux d’offrandes avant le Moyen Empire”. Another instance of tnj (gift of Thotmes I, Urk. IV 98:7) has a circular determinative.

39. For the correlation of Egyptian IIIae -j roots with the Semitic hollow (IIae inf.) roots see Vycichl 1953.

40. Affiliated by G. Takács (2004, 370) with Goemay goe-tûn [-tûn < \*tûn?] (adv.) “on the opposite side, on the other side” [Sirlinger 1937, 67] < AS \*tōn (or perhaps \*tûn?) “opposite”, which is semantically doubtful.

„comparer l'un à l'autre, établir la comparaison, entre plusieurs”, V „abandonner les siens et lier société avec des étrangers”,<sup>41</sup> tinn- „1. semblable, pareil, 2. ami, compagnon, 3. égal en rang, en dignité, pair, d'âge égal”, tinān- „1. image, 2. modèle” [BK I 208].

**631. SBrb.: Ayr ter** (interjection) „tiens! ouille! (exprime la surprise)”, cf. tyərɾ „tiens! ouille! (exprime la surprise agréable ou désagréable)” [PAM 2003, 796], cf. Ahaggar terd „(exclamation exprimant le dégoût, le répugnance ou le mépris)” [Foucauld 1951-2, 1913] ||| Eg. tr ~/> (sometimes) tj (palatalized -r# > -j#) „enklitsche Partikel” (PT-, Wb V 316-317) = „(enclitic particle, seems to express surprise or indignation, may be translated as) 1. for sooth, 2. I wonder, 3. pray (or the like)” (EG<sup>3</sup> 188, §256) ||| WCh.: Hausa tır „(an exclamation of annoyance or exasperation)” [Bargery 1934, 1015] = „1. bother!” [Abr. 1962, 866] = „(exclamation exprimant l'exaspération)” [Gouffé] < C<sup>2</sup>AA \*tEr (particle of surprise and annoyance) [GT]. Hausa-Twareg: Gouffé 1974, 369.

**632. NBrb.: Tamazight √ntr: ntuter** (dériv. en N?) „tomber en lambeaux (peau brûlée), avoir la peau qui tombe en lambeaux, en plaques, être gravement brûlée (personne), avoir la peau brûlée, irritée, meurtrie”, a-ntuter, pl. i-ntutur-n „1. brûlure, plaie due à une brûlure, meurtrissure, 3. ecchymose, irritation, brûlure de la peau, 3. plaie” [Taïfi 1991, 505] ||| ES: Geez natra „1. to be hot, be burning, 2. be strong (beer, stew), acid (id.)”, nətur „hot, burning” [Leslau 1987, 407: almost isolated even within ES].

**632.1.** Another astonishing instance of the not rare ES-Berber isoglosses, which may – as it had been surmised already by M. Taïfi (l.c.) – well have sprung from a common biliteral root, cf. CAA \*√tr ~ \*√tl „hot” [GT] > Eg. t3 [regular < both \*tr/\*tl] „heiß sein” (OK-, Wb V 229) > t3j „verbrennen” (GR, Wb V 229, 16), t3 „Töpferofen” (OK-, Wb V 228, 6) ||| ECu.: Dullay-Gollango tor- „heiß sein (Speise)”, tor-is- (caus.) „kochen (tr.)”, tór-a „heiß” (adj.) [AMS 1980, 225] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura \*tal (or \*-ā-?) “hot” [GT 2004, 356]: Angas taal (Kabwir dialect) “to burn” [Jng. 1962 MS, 39] = tal “to burn” [Kraft], Sura tal “heiß, febrig” [Jng. 1963, 84] = tál “hotness” [Kraft], Mupun tál “hot (weather)” [Frj. 1991, 59].

**633. NBrb.: Wargla √ntr** (fossilized root ext. n-?): ǝ-ntǝr „être en bourgeons, bourgeonner, faire des boutons (arbre, fleurs), éclore (bourgeons)” [Delheure 1987, 229] ||| Sem.: Ar. tarra I „7. être frais et juteux”, cf. perhaps also „1. éclater, partir (se dit du noyau de la datte quand on le casse avec une pierre)” [BK I 194] = „1. to be fresh and juicy, 2. be fat and have smooth

41. This latter sense of stem V was miscompared by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 88-89, #1417) with Eg. tnm „to turn aside”.

skin” [Militarev, l.c. infra] = „to be full in flesh and bones” [Ehret]<sup>42</sup> ||| Eg. \*tr: phon. value of the hieroglyph depicting a „budding sprout” (EG<sup>1</sup> 1927, 469, M4) = „palm-branch stripped of leaves and notched to serve as tally” (EG<sup>3</sup> 479, M4) = „Palmrippe” (Schenkel 1997, 60). A.Ju. Militarev (in Starostin et al. 1995 MS, 31) equated Ar.  $\sqrt{\text{trr}}$  with Brb. \*-trar „new”, for which cf. EBrb.: Audjila a-trâr, pl. trâr-en „nuovo, fresco” [Paradisi 1960, 70]: does this form preserve the same biliteral root? Cf. CAA \* $\sqrt{\text{tl}}$  below.

**634. SBrb.** \* $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$  „to hurry” [GT]: EWlmd. and Ayr  $\text{tărtăr}$  „courir précipitamment” [PAM 2003, 801] vs. EWlmd. and Ayr  $\text{təwərtəwər}$  „courir (oiseau)” [PAM 2003, 806] ||| Sem.: Ar. tarr- „qui va d’un trot rapide (cheval, etc.)”, mu-ntarr- „qui va un (*sic*) trot rapide” [BK I 194] || Tigray  $\sqrt{\text{trr}}$  „to hurry, hasten” [OS] ||| Eg. trr (GW, loan from Sem.?) „wettlaufen: vom Fahren mit Schritten gebraucht” (NE, Wb V 319, 2) = „wettfahren (mit Wasserfahrzeugen)” (Zyhlarz 1932-3, 85 with a false Brb. etymology; so also Helck l.c.i.) = „to race or go for an outing (refers to a boating in the context of a challenge to determine superiority by performing prodigious feats)” (Hoch 1994, 359) > Cpt. (F)  $\text{ΤΡΟΥΡ}$  „vitesse” (Vergote 1973 Ib 47, §39 & 149, §86)<sup>43</sup> ||| SCu. \*tir- „to set in motion” [Ehret] > Qwadza til-im-[-l- regular < \*-r-] „to set in motion” | Dahalo  $\text{tīr-iḏ-}$  „to move restlessly” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 170, #23) ||| WCh.: Goemay  $\text{tūr}$  [tūr] “to rush, hurry, go quickly” [Sirlinger 1937, 256]. Cf. HSED 504-505, #2405 adopted in Ehret 2000 MS, 91, #1432 for Sem.-SBrb.

**635. SBrb.: EWlmd. and Ayr  $\text{tărtăr}$**  „2. annuler (convention), être annulé” [PAM 2003, 801] ||| LECu.: Somali tiro „to cancel, eliminate, annul” [Ehret]<sup>44</sup> < AA \* $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$  „to annul” [GT], cf. the following entry.

42. Equated by Ch. Ehret (1995, 142, #174) with his SCu. \*tar- „to increase”, for which cf. rather the entry for SBrb. \*der „together with” [GT] above.

43. Usually regarded as a Semitic loanword because of its syllabic (group) writing, but the debate on its proper source has been until now unsettled. A. H. Gardiner (1935 I 23): Eg. trr „to sail around”, probably ~ Akk.  $\text{tāru}$  „to go around”, BHbr.  $\sqrt{\text{twr}}$  „to travel around, spy”, rejected by J. Hoch (1994 l.c.i.) as „questionable on semantic grounds”. W. A. Ward (1963, 432-433): Eg. trr < Akk.  $\text{darāru}$  „frei bewegen (emancipation)”. So also W. Helck (1971, 524, #278): Eg. trr < Sem. \* $\sqrt{\text{drr}}$ , cf. Hbr.  $\text{dārōr}$  „freier Lauf, Freilassung”, Ar.  $\sqrt{\text{drr}}$ . Declined by J. Hoch (1994, 359-360, #532 and fn. 18) as „semantically even more dubious”, instead: < MHbr. (!)  $\sqrt{\text{twl}}$  „to walk about, enjoy os.”, Syr.  $\sqrt{\text{twl}}$  D „to walk to and fro, pace about for pleasure”, Talmudic Aram.  $\sqrt{\text{tl}}$  D „to sport, have fun”, but he overlooked the Coptic (F) reflex with -r- and -r for both C<sub>2</sub> and C<sub>3</sub>, resp. Not better is his equation with Sem. \* $\sqrt{\text{tw/yr}}$  „to fly” either.

44. Derived by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 91, #1430), in comparison with entirely different (and semantically lesser convincing) *comparanda* (like Sem.: Ar. tark „to leave, abandon, neglect” and WCh.: Ngizim  $\text{tārku}$  „orphan”), from his AA \*tir- „to do without, lack”.

**636. SBrb.: EWlmd. and Ayr  $\sqrt{\text{trtr}}$ : sə-ttərutər** (caus.) „durcir sa position, s’obstiner, refuser de changer quoique soit” [PAM 2003, 801] ||| Sem.: Ar. taʔr- (v.n.) „to hinder” [Ehret, not found in Lane, BK, Blachère]<sup>45</sup> ||| Eg. t3j „widerstehen (?), abweisen (?)” (NE, Wb V 231, 7; MK: ÄWb II 2649) = „to resist” (NE, DLE IV 70-71), t3j.t „Widersacher” (NE, Wb V 231, 9) ||| LECu.: Rendille tire „to refuse” [Heine 1976, 220] < AA  $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$  „to resist, refuse” [GT]. Identical with the preceding AA root?

**636 bis. (see also 596.) Common Brb.  $\sqrt{\text{ttr}}$  <  $\sqrt{\text{twr}}$  „to demand”** [GT] > EBrb.: Ghadames ə-ttər „demander l’aumône” [Laoust] = e-ttər „mendier, demander” [Lanfry 1973, #1584] || NBrb.: Tamazight (Beraber) ə-ttər „demander” [Laoust 1931, 223] | Wargla ə-ttər „demander, quémander” [Delheure 1987, 336] | Qbl. tter „demander” [Dallet 1982, 827] || SBrb.: Ahaggar e-tter „demander (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  $\sqrt{\text{dr}}$ ) || WBrb.: Zenaga  $\sqrt{\text{trtr}}$ : i-téter „demander” [Masqueray 1879, 32, 53] = e-tter ~ i-tter „demander, vouloir, supplier, invoquer”, e-tter „désir, recherche” [R. Basset] =  $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$  ~  $\sqrt{\text{dr}}$  ~  $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$  „demander (par paroles)”, ə-ttər „chercher (à obtenir de qqn.), quémander, solliciter, demander, désirer” [GT] = ä-ttər „demander, prier, solliciter (auprès) de qqn. qqch. / que ...” [TC 2008, 517-518] (Brb.: TC 2008, 517, fn. 942) ||| Eg. tw3 [regular <  $\sqrt{\text{t}}/\sqrt{\text{tr}}$ ] „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) < NAA  $\sqrt{\text{twr}}$  „to demand” [GT].

Root variety in SBrb.  $\sqrt{\text{dr}}$  (???) >  $\sqrt{\text{ttr}}$  ~  $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$  „to demand” [GT]: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-ttər [-tt- regular <  $\sqrt{\text{twr}}$ ] „demander (à Dieu) dans la prière (qqch.)”, Ayr e-ttər „demande en mariage” [PAM 2003, 797] ||| CCh.: Mofu-Gudur -dúwl- [-l- regular <  $\sqrt{\text{r}}$ ] „supplier, demander, prier en parlant aux ancêtres” [Barreteau 1988, 111]. The Brb. cognat reflects a hollow root: CAA  $\sqrt{\text{twr}}$  >  $\sqrt{\text{dwr}}$ . A miraculous survival of a so precise semantical isogloss, i.e., CAA  $\sqrt{\text{twr}}$  „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 -tt- 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  $\sqrt{\text{twr}}$  above was an ancient variety to Brb.-Eg.  $\sqrt{\text{twr}}$ .

45. Derived by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 95, #1449), in comparison with entirely different (untenable) *comparanda* (like Eg. t3j.t „shroud” and HECu.: Sidamo tuḵ- „to cover”) from AA  $\sqrt{\text{tuḵ}}$  „to cover, block up”.

**637. SBrb.** \* $\sqrt{\text{trbtrb}}$ : **EWlmd.**  $\sqrt{\text{tərbətərab}}$  „s’égoutter, tomber goutte à goutte/en gouttes”, **Ayr**  $\sqrt{\text{tərbətərab}}$  „1. tremper (qqch., dans l’eau/le teinture), 2. tacheter, pointiller (tissu), 3. être trempé, tacheté, pointillé” [PAM 2003, 798] ||| Sem.: Akk.  $\text{tarāpu G}$  „mit Farbe überzogen sein (?)”, D „etwa übergießen mit (Akk.)” [AHW 1325] || Syr.  $\sqrt{\text{trp}}$   $\text{peal}$  „1. to be submerged,”<sup>46</sup>  $\text{afel}$  „to make swim” [Sokoloff 2009, 1672a] = „eingetaucht sein” [AHW] ||| WCh.: Hausa  $\text{tārfè}$  „poured out in drops all of”,  $\text{tārfà}$  „1. poured out in drops” [Abr. 1962, 853]<sup>47</sup> < AA \* $\sqrt{\text{trp}}$  „1. to impregnate, 2. dri/op (after having been soaked?)” [GT].

**638. SBrb.** \* $\sqrt{\text{trg}}$  „to spring” [GT]: **EWlmd.** and **Ayr**  $\text{təragg-ət}$  „marcher en sautant en même temps des 2 pieds de levant (an.), 2. sauter les pieds joints (pers.), 3. sauter en bas, 4. sauter de (une monture)”, **EWlmd.**  $\text{a-tārāgga}$ , pl.  $\text{i-tārāgg-n}$  „criquet, sauterelle des champs”,  $\text{təragtərag}$  „sauter en bas, sauter de sa monture, l’un après l’autre, 2. descendre en sautant rapidement (par une pente/un escalier)” [PAM 2003, 799] ||| SCu. \* $\text{tod/rik-}$  „to move suddenly” [Ehret]:  $\text{Ma’a -torike}$  „to leap down upon” |  $\text{Dahalo } \sqrt{\text{turukk-um-}}$  „to enter quickly” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 171, #28). Cf. also the entry for SBrb.: **Ayr**  $\text{təkərtəkər}$  „1. galoper, 2. trotter”,  $\text{tyəṛəḳtyəṛəḳ}$  „marcher en trottinant” [PAM 2003, 786, 800] (above).

**639. SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr**  $\text{ə-trəg}$  „1. dénouer, ouvrir (entrave), 2. désentraver, détacher, lâcher librement (animal), libérer, déboutonner, défaire (tresse, coiffure), dévoiler (secret, création nouvelle), 3. ouvrir (livre), 4. déplier, dérouler (natte)” [PAM 2003, 798] ||| presumably Sem.: Akk. (aAk., a/jB, mA)  $\text{te/irḫatu}$  (Boghazköz 1x  $\text{tarḫātu}$ ) „Brautpreis” [AHW 1348] =  $\text{te/i/arḫatu}$  „1. bridewealt, 2. dowry, bridal gift” [CAD t 350] =  $\text{tarḫātu}$  „Mahlschatz, Brautpreis” [WUS] || Ug. (borrowed from Akk.)  $\text{trḥ}$  „1. to acquire a woman for marriage by paying the bride-price, 2. bridegroom” [Gordon 1955, 334, #1969] = „Brautpreis” vs. „sich ein Braut erkaufen, erheiraten” [WUS 328, #2803] = „auch: Braut kaufen” [AHW] = G/D „1. to pay the brideprice, 2. to marry, get married”, hence „newlywed, groom” [DUL 878].

**640. SBrb.: EWlmd.**  $\sqrt{\text{trg}}$ :  $\text{tərag-ət}$  „enfoncer solidement dans le sol (par pression), planter solidement (piquet), s’enfoncer, pénétrer profondément”, cf. **EWlmd.-Ayr**  $\text{ta-tāryok}$  „1. sillon subnasal, creux naturel sur la lèvre supérieure, 2. (EWlmd. only) bec-de-lièvre” [PAM 2003, 798] ||| Sem.: presumably Akk. (Babylonian)  $\text{tarahḫu}$  „Ausschachtungsböschung:

46. Its other two senses, namely „2. (with b-) make an incision, 3. drive out”, seem perhaps to represent distinct roots.

47. Derived in the HCVA III 19, #185 from AA \*t3 I „to pour, flow, overflow (vessel, reservoir)”.

1. von Kanal, 2. für Gebäude, 3. übertr.: von Gallenbettung”, derived by W. von Soden with some doubt from tarāḥu „aufgraben” [AHW 1324] = tarahḥu (OB, SB) „bank, embankment, revetment: a) of canals, b) of buildings, c) other occ.” [CAD t 203] || Ar. taraḥa „scarifier la peau, y faire une légère incision” [BK I 196] || CCh.: Buduma táragaa, pl. táragae „Loch in Naht oder Stoff” [Lukas 1939, 126] < AA \*√trg „to penetrate” [GT]. Akk.-Buduma: HSED 499, #2374.

**641. SBrb.: EWlmd. ta-truḡ, pl. ši-truḡ-en** „sortie ou entrée secrète (d’un lieu)” [PAM 2003, 799] || Sem.: Ar. taraḡa „être voilé, caché aux regards” [BK I 195], cf. also a root var. in Sem. \*√drḡ „se cacher” [DRS 384-385, DRG3] and Ar. √drq: tadarraqa „se cacher” [DRS 318] || WCh.: PAngas \*tərək [GT 2004, 374: isolated in AS] > Angas tərək (so, -r-!) “to deceive” [ALC 1978, 64].

**642. SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr tərəkḡ-ət** „tomber/venir on ne sait d’où”, Ayr a-mā-ttäreḡki „personne de rencontre, qqn. (tombé du ciel)” [PAM 2003, 799-800] || Sem.: Oriental dialect of Ar. darah „abattre (fièvre), terrasser, coucher à terre”, darrah ~ dōrah „marcotter, provigner” [DRS 313: isolated],<sup>48</sup> cf. Egyptian Ar. darag „couche d’un linceul” (?) [DRS 309: isolated]<sup>49</sup> || ECu.: Dullay \*tark-aḡ- „to sleep, lie”, \*tark-at-ess- „to lay down” [Ehret]<sup>50</sup> < AA \*√TrK „1. to fall down, 2. lie down” [GT]. Irregular Ar. d- and -g and -ḡ.

**643. SBrb.: EWlmd. tārw-āt** „prendre tous en leur entier (plusieurs choses)” [PAM 2003, 801]<sup>51</sup> || Sem.: Ar. ṭarra I „2. rassembler, réunir en un seul lieu, p.ex., les chameaux dispersés de tous côtés”,<sup>52</sup> ṭurr- „1. totalité, tous” [BK II 64-65] || Eg. \*tr/\*dr (???) > Coptic (S) ⲧⲱⲣ „sich vereinigen” (KHW 242: no pharaonic etymon) || SCu.: Dahalo ṭar- „to collect together, mix” [Ehret 1980]<sup>53</sup> = ṭar- „to mix” and ṭar-āḡ- „to mix” [EEN 1989, 8] = ḡaḡdar- (reduplicated stem as frequentative) „to collect” [Ehret 2000]<sup>54</sup> ||

48. Allegedly derived < Syriac dʿrak (Bartélemy).

49. Allegedly derived < Egyptian Ar. darag „envelopper dans un suaire”.

50. Derived by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 90, #1425) from his AA \*-tar- „to go down, be lowered”.

51. Unless derived < EWlmd. ə-rwəy „mêler...” (as suggested in PAM l.c.).

52. Rendered in the DRS 1120b from a substantially deviating basic sense: „pousser vigoureusement devant soi, faire marcher rapidement (les chameaux)” – contamination of two distinct roots?

53. Combined by Ch. Ehret (1980, 168, #6) with Qwadza tal- „to grow”, tal-as- (caus.) „to add to, increase” < SCu. \*tar- „to be added, increased”. Cf. rather the entry for SBrb.: Ayr ə-tləl „être bien développé, bien en chair/graisse, en bon point (animal)” [PAM 2003, 789] below.

54. Combined two decades later by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 105, #1491) already with Sem. \*√zr „to grasp” < AA \*-zar- „to grasp and take”!



WCh. \*tar- „to collect” [GT after OS]. The initial correspondences are irregular. Dahalo-WCh.: HSED 498, #2371. Remote AA root variety in SBrb. \*der „together with” [GT] (#518 above, cf. SBE XIV)?

**644. SBrb.:** **Ayr** **tăṛṛăy** „être attiré (par une chose belle qqch.)” [PAM 2003, 802] ||| Eg. tr.wt „convoitise (?)” (CT, AL 78.4593) = „\*Begierde” (GHWb 936).

**645. Brb.** \*√tl „to twist around” [GT] > NBrb.: Sus mmu-ttel (refl.) „s’enrouler” [Destaing 1920, 111] | Wargla i-təlli „sorte de turban” [Delheure 1987, 334] | Qbl. e-ttel „enrouler, emmailloter” [Dallet 1982, 823] || WBrb.: Zenaga tətəṭ „(en)tortillage, cordelage, tressage” [Nicolas 1953, 140] = yättiy „être enroulé”, tətəṭL „a) fait d’être enroulé, b) fait d’enrouler” [TC 2008, 516] || SBrb. \*√tl(tl) „to roll, twist around (rope, strap, cloth)” [GT]: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-ttəl „1. enrouler (qqch. autour de qqch.), envelopper, emballer, panser, bander (partie blessée du corps), tresser (cheveux), 2. s’enrouler autour de (p.ex. serpent, plante grimpante autour de), 3. être enroulé, enveloppé etc.”, e-ttal „1. tressage (des cheveux), 2. entrave”, Ayr i-təl „manière de se voiler la tête”, EWlmd.-Ayr a-ttol „1. grande tattolt (grande sangle, ventrière), 2. p.ext.: raie du flanc (raie en couleur contrastante qui traverse le flanc d’un animal jusqu’au ventre; là où passe la sangle d’une monture)”, ta-ttol-t, pl. ta-ttol-en „sangle, ventrière (pour chameau et cheval, faite de poil de chèvre ou de cuir tressé, plate)” [PAM 2003, 787], Ayr e-təlli, pl. i-təll-an ~ also i-təlli-t-ăn „bande de pourtour du voile de visage (bande blanche dont on entoure les titəlen du voile pour accomplir l’anāḡaḡ)” [PAM 2003, 788], EWlmd.-Ayr təluntul-ət „être enroulé dans une corde (objet)”, tāltāl „enrouler à plusieurs reprises”, ta-təṭəla „rouleau d’étoffe nouvellement tissée, restant encore sur le métier ou récemment détaché de celui-ci (p.ex. cotonnade en bandes), 2. bobine de métier sur laquelle est enroulé le fil de trame (en coton) qui doit être tramé dans la chaîne” [PAM 2003, 790], Ahaggar e-ttel „enrouler, envelopper” [Foucauld 1951-2, 1893] (Brb.: TC 2008, 516, fn. 940) ||| Sem.: Akk. tillu ~ tillû (bab., m/nA) „ein Behang (?)”: 1. ein Zubehör zur Festkleidung (?) (aB), 2. Wehrgehänge für Bogen usw. (m/spB), 3. an Figürchen, 4. an Pferden, 5. am Wagen usw. q.v.” [AHW 1358], perhaps also Akk. tallultu, spB tullultu „Geschirr für Pferde und Rinder” (nA, spB) [AHW 1311], cf. Akk. tullulu, \*tallulu „(auf) zäumen” (nA, jB) (Denominativ von ta/ullultu?) [AHW 1369] ||| Eg. t3j.t „die Göttin der Webkunst” (PT-, Wb V 231-232) and t3j.t „Name der Stadt der Weberei in U.Äg.” (PT, NK, Wb V 231, 12), t3j.t „1. als Vorhang (?), 2. als Mumienbinde” (CT-, Wb V 232, 13-14), cf. jt3 „Name eines Gewebes” (MK, Wb I 143, 1) ||| perhaps PCu. \*tAl(l)- „шить” [DIg. 1973, 53] < C?/NAA \*√tl „1. to twist, plait together, 2. bind, attach” [GT]. Eg.-Cu.: SISAJa II 25, #50; SBrb.-Eg.-Cu.: HCVA III 22, #195.



**646. SBrb.: Ayr a-təl** „1. empêcher de s’abreuver (animaux), 2. p.ext.: abreuver (certains animaux sélectionnés) en tenant les autres à l’écart”, sə-nnə-ttəl (caus. réfl.) „empêcher, retarder un moment, 2. (f) obstacle à (qqn.), 3. entraver momentanément de la patte droite antérieure (chamelle inquiète, pour la traire), 4. fig.: gêner, embarrasser” [PAM 2003, 786-787] ||| Bed. til „to stop(per), block, plug” [Roper 1928, 242].

**647. SBrb.: Ayr ə-tləl** „être bien développé, bien en chair/graisse, en bon point (animal)” [PAM 2003, 789] ||| Sem.: (???) Akk. tālu (hence Aram. tālā, Ar. tāl-) „junge, erst wenig tragende Dattelpalme” [AHW 1312], perhaps also (jB, nA) tillatu II „Weinstock, -Rebe, -Trieb” [AHW 1358] ||| SCu.: Qwadza tal- „to grow”, tal-as- (caus.) „to add to, increase” [Ehret]<sup>55</sup> < CAA \*√tl „1. young, 2. still growing, 3. vigorous” [GT]. Cf. NAA \*√tr above.

**648. SBrb.: Ayr a-tluγ, pl. ə-tluγ-ān** „fleur brune (acajou) et odorante (apparaît à la fin d’əwelān sur les acacias: afāgag etc. et sur les niébés: tanzant)” [PAM 2003, 788] ||| Sem.: Akk. tuḥḥu „eine Drogenpflanze” [AHW 1369] vs. via metathesis: (jB) tuḥlu ~/> 1x tuḥlu „eine Drogenpflanze” [AHW 1366] vs. (jB) tuḥlulu „ein Wacholder” [AHW 1367] ||| Eg. ṭḥ.w [< older \*t3ḥ/\*tḥ3?] „eine wohlriechende Pflanze (als Blume der Hator, für den Kranz und ähnlich)”, deren Früchte oder Samen offizinell und bei der Kyphi verwendet werden” (XIX. Med., GR, Wb V 325, 10-14).

**649. NBrb.: Qabyle** √tw: ttewtew [-w < Brb. \*-b regular] „1. rester interdit, étonné, 2. ne savoir quoi répondre, balbutier, se taire, 3. être apeuré, effrayé” [Dallet 1982, 829] ||| Bed. tibak „to be in a dilemma, in a difficult place or position” [Roper 1928, 241] ||| LECu.: Oromo tabū „confused, fool, retarded, ignorant” [Gragg 1982, 372].

**650. SBrb. \*√ty(ty)** „to pound in by hammer” [GT]: EWlmd.-Ayr tāyy-āt „1. être solidement implanté/enfoncé, 2. se tapir”, tāytāy „1. enfoncer à coups de marteau, 2. dresser (tente), tendre (selle, de peau)” [PAM 2003, 807], Ahaggar teitei „1. enfoncer à coups de marteau (un piquet, un clou)” [Foucauld 1951-2, 1887] = teytey „einschlagen” [Zyhlarz 1932-3, 103]<sup>56</sup> ||| Sem.: PAr. \*taʔ „ударить” based on Ar. √mtʔ vs. √htʔ [Belova 1993, 36, #50] ||| Eg. tj "zerstampfen, niedertreten" (PT, Wb V 237, 10-11)

55. Combined by Ch. Ehret (1980, 168, #6) with Dahalo ʔar- „to collect together, mix” < SCu. \*tar- „to be added, increased”.

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

= „stampfen (mit der Mörserkeule)” (Calice in GÄSW 216, #894), tjtj „niedertreten” (XVIII., Wb V 244, 3) = „1. (die Feinde) niedertreten, 2. (den Lehm) stampfen” (Brunner 1944, 22, 32) || SCu. \*tuʔ- "to pound (grain)" [Ehret]: Iraqw tuʔ-ut- "to pound (grain)" | Asa tuʔ- "to smash" | Ma'a -tu "to grind (grain)" (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 172) || WCh.: Angas-Sura \*tu, pl. \*tʷa/e "to pound" (Suroid) vs. \*tō (or \*tʷoʔ) "to grind flour" (Angas-Goemai) [GT 2004, 371] | NBAuchi: Kariya tíí "to beat (in gen.)" [N. Skinner], Tsagu tī- "to beat (in gen.)" [N. Skinner], Pa'a tà "to beat drum" [M. Skinner], Siri ta "to beat drum" [N. Skinner], Mburku tū "to beat drum" [N. Skinner], Diri tíyáá "to beat (in gen.)" [N. Skinner] || CCh.: Kola -tyá- "to beat drum" [Schubert] || ECh.: Kabalai tà "to beat (person)" [Caprile], Lele téy "to beat drum" [Garrigues] | Somray tù "to beat drum" [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 14-17) < PCh. \*√ty ~ (?) \*√tʔ "to beat" [GT] < AA \*√ty ~ \*√tʔ "1. to beat, 2. pound" [GT]. For Eg.-Twareg see KHW 248, 244, fn. 4; Eg.-Ar.-SCu.: Ehret 2000 MS, 95, #1447.<sup>57</sup>

**651. SBrb.** \*√ty: EWlmd. ə-ttəy, Ayr a-tyu „augementer, s' accroître”, EWlmd. tə-tti-t, pl. tə-tti-t-en ~ tə-ttəy-en „augmentation” [PAM 2003, 806] || NOM.: Yemsa dāy-s- (caus.) „to add” [Ehret: i.e., \*, „to raise” > „increase in number or amount”].<sup>58</sup>

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

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57. Which, however, Ch. Ehret (2000 MS, 95, #1447) has united with further (semantically hardly fitting) comparanda to reconstruct an underlying AA \*-tāy- „to break apart, fall to pieces (intr.)”.

58. Derived by Ch. Ehret (1995, 449, #942) from his AA \*-rāw/y- „to rise”.

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

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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).

**Keywords:** Berber; lexical roots; reconstruction; comparative Afro-Asiatic linguistics; historical phonology.