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Angas-Sura etymologies X

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Dedicated to the memory of my dear Father,
József Takács (1940-2022)¹

Abstract: Gábor Takács, *Angas-Sura etymologies X*. The Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences, PL ISSN 0079-4740, pp. 73-96

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

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

¹ A true *Lebenskünstler* in the best sense of the word, a lover of life and an almost perfect *perpetuum mobile* until the very end of his productive life. It was during writing this paper that his fronto-temporal atrophy (incurable at the moment all over the world) definitely forced him into bed. He, as originally a carpenter by his profession, had played an enormous rôle, beginning from 1993, in the long construction phases of the uncountable wooden containers in my traditional paper-based library in our good old panel block apt. at Székesfehérvár, which was moved in 2015 into our new house in Ederics bay. He took part in building up my Afro-Asiatic linguistic library also by transporting tons of xero-copies from abroad with his car, all in all several thousands of km, on a number of occasions when I had completed my extremely fruitful missions in the libraries of Frankfurt a/M (Dec. 2000 and Aug. 2002), Vienna (June and Nov. 2004, June 2007), Berlin (Sept. 2004).

Introduction

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

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

The inner reconstruction of the Angas-Sura language group had only been elaborated in minor segments² until the first comparative lexicon of the Angas-Sura group has been completed (Takács 2004)³. Now, it has become plausible to systematically deal also with the

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

³ I express my best thanks for the constant and many-sided unselfish support yielded for my work by the great Chadicist, Prof. Herrmann Jungrathmayr (Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften, J.W. Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt a/M). I am greatly indebted also to the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (Bonn) for facilitating my research stay at Frankfurt a/M (1999-2000, 2002) as well as for funding the publication costs of the Angas-Sura comparative lexicon together with the OTKA (Hungarian National Scientific Research Fund, project nr. D 45976). I express my deep gratitude to the City Hall of Székesfehérvár (Hungary) for its "Lánczos-Szekfü" prize granted almost twenty years ago for an early phase of my research on the Afro-Asiatic background of the Angas-Sura lexicon, which I eventually began back in Sept. 1998 during my research at the Haifa University (funded by the OSI at Prague, which is gratefully acknowledged also in this place) with the guidance of the late Prof. A.B. Dolgopolsky (1930-2012), one of the greatest Afro-Asiatic or Semito-Hamitic comparativists of all times, may his memory be blessed.

external cognates of the Angas-Sura lexical stock. The series “Angas-Sura etymologies”⁴ is contributing to outlining the so far unknown background of Angas-Sura lexical stock primarily with new lexical parallels. In this issue of my series, the new external (Afro-Asiatic) correspondences of some of the Angas-Sura (AS) roots with initial *z- are discussed, collected mostly during my 2019 research on the Afro-Asiatic root stock with initial dentals in my Ederics library.

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

- A general devoicing of the voiced PAA stops in the Auslaut of the AS stems is a recent development. There are but a handful of records of older final *-b#, *-d#, and hardly any for *-g# (cf. Takács 2004: xxv-xxvi, xxxi, resp.). Sometimes the devoicing of plosives may be observed even in other positions too under conditions that cannot be precisely known as yet.
- Labials basically reflect the original AA triad of *b, *p, *f as demonstrated by J.H. Greenberg (1958) and manifold corroborated by V.M. Illič-Svityč (1966: 9, 14-15), O.V. Stolbova (e.g., 1996: 15, §I.1.), and G. Takács (2001: 55; 2011: 148-152 etc.).
- AS *-VγV- < either an AA root medial “laryngeal” or a velar or a semi-vowel, i.e., where the -C₂- of AA *√C₁C₂C₃ was either *-h/?/ħ/ʕ- or *-g/k/γ/ħ- or *-w/y-, but sometimes it is just epenthetic without a consonantal precedent (cf. Dolgopolsky 1982: 32-36).
- Original AA pharyngeals (*ʕ, *ħ) and laryngeals (*ʔ, *h) were mostly preserved in the Inlaut as AS *-γ- (above). In the Anlaut, normally, AA *ʕ- and *ʔ- > AS zero, while AA *ħ- and *h- > either AS *h- or zero. In the Auslaut, they mostly disappeared, but sometimes they developed in the contrary way, i.e., AA *ħ- and *h- may have resulted in AS *-k#.
- Final AS *-ŋ – beside being a natural result of an older nasal (*m, *n) + velar, of course – otherwise usually derives from the contraction of an AA medial nasal (*-m- or *-n-) + lost AA pharyngeal (*ʕ, *ħ) or laryngeal (*ʔ, *h), cf. already Illič-Svityč 1966: 33, fn. 11.

AS *z- (+ Ø, labials, dentals, velars) = Eg.-Brb.-Sem. *z- < AA *ʒ-

- **320. Goemai za** “fish species” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (Takacs 2004: 421: isolated in AS) | Hausa (Sokoto) zááwà, (Katsina) zááwò, (Hadejiya) zááwà “a kind of fish” [Bargery 1934: 1137] = zááwò, var. zááwàyí “type of fish” [Abr. 1962: 972] (not discussed in Skinner 1996:

⁴ The first part (AS roots with initial *b-) appeared in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 46 (2004), 131-144. The second one (AS roots with *b-) in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warsaw) 57/1 (2004), 55-68. The third issue (AS *p-) in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 48 (2006), 121-138. The fourth part (AS *f-) has been published in *Folia Orientalia* (Kraków) 47/2 (2011), 273-289. The fifth part (AS *m- in monoconsonantal roots) in the *Cahiers Caribéens d’Égyptologie* (Schoelcher, Martinique) 13-14 (2010), 137-142. The sixth part (the rest of AS etymons with *m-) is forthcoming in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warszawa) 74/1 (2021), while the seventh one appeared in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 62/3 (2020), 95-120. The eighth part in *Folia Orientalia* (Kraków) 57 (2020), 321-354. The ninth part in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 63/1 (2021), 53-72.

298) || CCh.: Mafa žúwáy (zl-) “*Alestes macrolepidotus* (poisson)” [Br. & Bléis 1990: 405] || SBrb. (*Wanderwort*): WWlmd. zāwāy, pl. zāwāy-ān “esp. de poisson (à queue rouge)” [PAM 2003: 907] = “esp. de poisson: poisson-chien” (*Hydrocynus*-Arten)” [Ritter & Prasse 2009 II: 226] || Eg. zw “Art Fisch” (1x in XXII.: old word, Wb III 426, 11), perhaps also Eg. z “Art Fisch” (3x in XXII., Wb III 406, 12).⁵ areal word? Eg.-Hausa-Mafa: Stolbova 1994 MS: 2. The green (?) Saharan *Wanderwort* passed also into Songhay as nzawey (det. nzawa) “*Hydrocyon* de Forskahl (très vorace, mord les nageurs)” [Prost 1956] = zawey “*Hydrocyon brevis* & *Hydrocyon somonorum*” [Ducroz & Charles 1978] (quoted after Ritter & Prasse l.c.).

● **321. Suroid *zā** [GT]: Mupun zāa “to tease” [Frj. 1991: 69] (isolated in AS)⁶ || Sem. *√z^cz^c: Hbr. *māza^czē^c “oppresseur” [DRS], Aram. of Talmud za^czē^c “ébranler, effrayer” [DRS] || Ar. za^cza^ca “agiter, secouer avec force” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 769). AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 78; 2011: 154.

● **322. Goemai *zā** [GT]: Goemai zaa “to be sickish” [Sirlinger 1937: 282] (Takacs 2004: 421: isolated in AS)⁷ || LECu.: Afar da^cayn [Sasse 1979: 55: d- < ECu. *z- regular] “old” [Ehret 1987] || SCu.: Alagwa da^c-it-im-o [d- < SCu. *ž-?] “weak” [Ehret 1980: 163, #II.A.12]⁸ < ECu. *zaⁱ^c- “to be thin, weak” [Ehret 1987] = *ža^a^c- (?) “feeble” [GT] (Cu.: Ehret 1987: 54, #200) || Sem.: cf. ES *√z^cz^c (?) [DRS]: Amharic zazza ~ žažža ~ žožža ~ žažža “être fatigué, faible” [DRS 769] < PAA *√d/z/ž^c “feeble” [GT]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 78; 2011: 154.

⁵ J. Osing’s (2001, col. 572) view, that it occurs “nur (sic) Naville, Festival Hall, pl. 18 (22. Dyn.)” and that it had an “ursprünglicher Ansatz vermutlich s3jw (< s3rw Synodontis Schall, Bloch-Schneider?)”, discloses a rude simplification of the problem and can, henceforth, only be conceived as misleading. There are several fish-names with an initial s- or z- + weak consonant or r with diverse determinatives denoting probably unrelated specimens that are not to be confused. Most recently D. Meeks (kind p.c. on 6th April 2004) classified all these words max. in seven but at least in three diverse groups. Of all these, the following circumstances are important for our discussion. (1) First, the fish-name z occurs, according to I. Gamer-Wallert (1970: 45), already on the Ostr. Deir el-Medine no. 443.4. (2) Secondly, Meeks (AL 77.3326, 77.3351) long ago emphasized that the etymological status of LEg. z vs. zw (XXII.) should be carefully distinguished from that of NEg. s3r (perhaps with a var. s3) which is clearly a “synodonte” (Valbelle 1977: 24, #21-2, also RdÉ 29: 11). Note that the determinatives of s3r vs. the z words are also different. (3) Thirdly, the determinative of NEg. s (Valbelle 1977, no. 5217) depicts a “mormyre” (AL l.c.), again a distinct specimen, hardly connected to s3r. (4) The form s3j.w occurs once in CT VI 245u as the name of a fish-god, and its sense is still obscure (Gamer-Wallert 1970: 33, fn. 195: “e. Gottheit”, AECT II 211: “s3yw-fish”, DCT 439: untranslated). Meeks (p.c.) does not exclude a connection between CT s3j.w and NEg. s3r, but this is not yet demonstrated either. In his opinion, “z et s(3) sont probablement différents et, de plus, on voit difficilement comment s3rw ou s3jw pourrait donner z ou zw”. One can only agree with this careful view.

⁶ Takács 2004: 421: combined with Goemai zaa “to be sickish” [Sirlinger 1937: 282], which now seems semantically dubious.

⁷ Takács 2004: 421: combined with Mupun zāa “to tease” [Frj. 1991: 69], which now seems semantically dubious.

⁸ Derived by Ch. Ehret (1980: 163, #II.A.12) from his alleged SCu. *da^c- “to be weak, be frail” [Ehret] based on its semantically far-fetched equation with Ma’a mda’amá “crutch, cane, old man’s walking stick” and Dahalo dá^cani “widow”.

- **323. Goemai *zʷi** [GT]: Goemai zwi “a roll”, zwi toeḅa “a roll of tobacco” [Sirlinger 1937: 287] (Takacs 2004: 429: isolated in AS) || NBrb.: Qabyle \sqrt{zy} [Dallet 1982: 963] = \sqrt{zzy} regular < \sqrt{zwy} [GT] > e-zzi “1. (re)tourner, revenir, se retourner, 2. enrouler”, tu-zzya “1. action de tourner, tour, 2. giration (rite d’expulsion du mal)” [Dallet 1982: 963].
- **324. Suroid *zō** (or ***zo**) [GT]: Mushere zoo (false vowel length?) “slope” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 345] (Takacs 2004: 425: isolated in AS) || SBrb. $\sqrt{zh_1h_2}$ “vallon en pente faible” [Prasse]:⁹ Tadghaq ä-ša [Foucauld apud Prasse], Ayr ä-za [Foucauld apud Prasse], Ahaggar ä-ha, pl. i-hah-ân “vallon à fond en pente très faible, un vallon où, la pente du sol étant faible, les eaux stationnent et produisent une belle végétation (il peut être en plein ou en montagne; certains äha se jettant dans d’autres vallons, dans des ravins, ou dans des vallées; d’autres se déversent sur des plateaux où ils se penchent, d’autres sont de petits bassins formés)” [Foucauld followed by Prasse] (SBrb.: Foucauld 1951-2 II: 500; Prasse 1969: 43, #118) || Sem.: Eth.-Sem. $\sqrt{zw(zw)}$: Tigrinya zāw bälä “pencher (céréales), tomber sur les épaules (chevelure)”, zāzāw bälä “bouger, se balancer”, zazāwä “pencher incliner”, Harari zāw bayä “pencher (arbre, maison), changer d’avis” (Eth.-Sem.: DRS 696 and 712, ZZW).¹⁰
- **325. Mupun zù** “free of charge” [Frj. 1991: 69] (Takacs 2004: 425: unidentified in AS) | Bole-Tangale \sqrt{zVw} - “to sell, buy” [CLD] || CCh.: Kotoko-Makari nzayo “contribution” [Allison 1999: 44 > CLD] | Lame (Zime-Batna) zù “cadeau” [Sachnine 1982 > CLD] < Ch. \sqrt{zV} - “a present” [CLD] (Ch.: CLD III 112, #371) || Sem. \sqrt{zw} > Hassaniyya zowze “donner peu” [CTC > DRS 699, ZWZY3: isolated in Sem.], perhaps Ar. zawwaḅa II “donner en cachette et souvent” [Cherbonneau I 428 > DRS 701, zwh₂: isolated in Sem.]. Any connection to Eth.-Sem. $\sqrt{zhw/y}$ (??): Tigre zəho “otage, garantie” [WTS 493 > DRS 691, ZHW/Y4: isolated in Sem.]?
- **326. Pangas *-zū** (with prefixes ***tē-/*lē-**) “1. ant sp., 2. anthill” [GT]: Angas tai-su zum (so, -su!) “ant” (cf. AS \sqrt{zuyum} “ant sp.”, q.v.) [Ormsby 1914: 207] = lee-zuu “an ant-hill”, tee-zuu “the ordinary white ant, which is capable of killing the big black ant” [Foulkes 1915: 237, 292] = ntèe-zu (Kabwir dialect) ~ tètè-zu (Kabwir dialect) “1. small low anthill”, “2. a big white ant building houses” [Jng. 1962a MS: 29, 40] = te-zu “termite, termite-hill” [ALC 1978: 63] = tètè-zu “termite”, lù tètè-zu “anthill” [Kraft], perhaps identical with Mushere \sqrt{zi} - (as prefixed element in compounds) “ant sp.” (q.v.) || CCh.: PMasa \sqrt{zuwa} ~ \sqrt{siw} (?) “termite” [GT]: Gizey sìwsìw vs. Wina sùsù, Musey sìw, Marba síw “termitière”, cf. Masa sùs ~ zùs vs. Gizey/Wina and Musey hùs “termite ailée” [Ajello et al. 2001: 54], Lame zùwà “termite sp.” [Sachnine 1982: 436], Zime-Dari zùwà “termite ailée, comestible” [Cooper 1984: 31].
- **327. Goemai *zāp** (perhaps **AS *zayap?**) [GT] > Goemai zaap [-aa- regular < AS \sqrt{aya} - < AA $\sqrt{VH/KV}$ -] “to alter, change” [Sirlinger 1937: 283] (Takacs 2004: 422: isolated in AS)

⁹ Prasse l.c.: “À cause de la chute totale au sg., le second *h* du pl. est peut-être à regarder comme in *h* primitif.”

¹⁰ Affiliated in DRS 696 with Harari zāwzāw bayä “être agité par le vent” and NBrb.: Mzab zwa “être ventilé, aéré” etc.

III Sem.: Ar. zaʔaba “changer”, zuʔāb- “instabilité, vicissitudes (du temps)” [BK I 965-966, cf. DRS 665]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 79; 2011: 155.

● **328. AS *zʷop ~ *zʷop > *žop** “to plunge, dip (into a liquid)” [GT]:¹¹ Angas zop [žop with ž- < AS *zʷ-/ *zʷ-] “to soak” [ALC 1978: 70], Mupun ziōp “1. to push, dip, twist, 2. have sexual intercourse, satisfy urges” [Frj. 1991: 69], Goemai zwop “to dip something partly or fully into water” [Sirlinger 1937: 287] (AS: Takacs 2004: 429) III Sem.: ES *√zʷfz: Geez zafzafa, Tigre zāfzāfā, Amh. zāfāzzāfā “plonger dans l’eau, faire fermenter”, Tigrinya zāfzāfā “macérer, amollir en trempant” (ES: DRS 778) < PAA *√3P (either *-p or *-f) “1. to dip, 2. impegate” [GT].

● **329. Goemai zwop** “to protrude (e.g. lips)” [Sirlinger 1937: 287] III Sem. *√zwp: Omani Ar. √zʷf I: zāfa “déborderer” || Geez ta-zawwafa, ta-zāwafa, Tigre zāfwādā “se vanter” (Sem.: DRS 708, ZWP2-3: with some semantically doubtful parallels) < PAA *√3wP (either *-p or *-f) “to rise (?)” [GT].

329.1. Remotely related to a variety with voiced C₂, viz. Sem. *√zby: Ar. √zby: tazābā “marcher avec fierté, se comporter avec hauteur” etc., zuby-at- “terrain élevé que l’eau n’inonde pas etc.”, Maghrebi dialect zubyā “fosse à fumier, tas d’ordures etc.” (Ar.: DRS 673, ZBY2-3: isolated in Sem.).

● **330. Mupun zāt** (adv.) “straight” [Frj. 1991: 69] (Takács 2004: 423: isolated in AS) III (?) NOm.: Yemsa *zata “to pull” [Bender 2003: 171, #103] vs. Yemsa sūutú “to pull” [Alemayehu] | Kafa šot- “to pull” [Bender 2003: 171, #103] III (?) Sem. *√ztt: cf. esp. Ar. (Maghreb) zəttət “se précipiter droit devant soi” [DRS 807] < PAA *√3t “1. to stretch out (?), 2. straighten” [GT]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 79; 2011: 155.

● **331. Goemai zat** “to convulse” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (isolated in AS: Takács 2004: 423-424) || CCh.: Gizey/Wina žīḏ, Masa žīriy [-r- < *-ḏ-?] “trembler” [Ajello et al. 2001: 55], cf. Lame žèḏ (dz-) “taper à petits coups” [Sachnine 1982: 408] || ECh.: Mubi-Toram *√[z]ḏk “to beat” [GT]: Mubi zòḏògé (zùḏùk, zùḏóok), pl. zàḏàgé (zèḏík, zìḏáak) “battre, taper” [Jng. 1990 MS: 49], Toram hiḏik [h- < *z-?] “abattre un arbre” [Alio 2004: 256, #188] III NBrb. *√zuḏ [Renisio] = *√zʷḏ “to shake” [GT]: Iznasen, Tuzin, Wariaghel, Iboqqoyen, Ait Ammart e-zwəḏ. Senhazha e-zwi [-Ø < *-ḏ] “secouer un arbre, une branche, pour en faire tomber les fruits” [Renisio 1932: 320] | Tamazight √zuḏ: zawḏ “lancer, jeter, se débarrasser de qqch. en lançant au loin” [Taïfi 1991: 817] III Sem. *√zṯ (“groupe biconsonantique ... à la base de plusieurs racines, comportant des élargissements, et qui présentent parmi les valeurs, celle de ‘jeter, lancer’, valeur qui peut être associée à la notion de ‘avalier de grousse bouchées’”) [DRS 720, -zṯ-] = “to be (or move) perpetually agitated (?)” [GT] > Ar. zaṯṯa “bourdonner (mouche)” [DRS 720, zṯ1], Dathina zaṯzaṯ “se glisser, se faufiler partout” [GD

¹¹ Earlier, assuming a primary sense “to dip into, push into a liquid”, I was disposed to affiliated this root with Sem.: Ar. √zʷf I zaʔafa “presser, exciter à plus vite”, IV ʔazʔafa “achever un blessé, 2. alourdir quelqu’un au point de l’empêcher de se mouvoir (ventre)”, cf. Ar. (dialect of Chad) zahaf “avancer, se pousser un peu” [DRS 668, 694]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 83; 2011: 158.

1838] || ES: Amh. ʔazāṭāzzāṭā “travailler sans suite, de temps en temps”, zāṭṭzāṭṭ alā “aller de côté ou d’autre, musarder, avoir un trot fatiguant” [Baeteman 1929: 852] (Sem.: DRS 720, zṭṭ1-2) < PAA *√zṭ “1. to shake, 2. agitate” [GT].

● **332. Mushere *zet**, in: **met-zet** “fast jump over sg.” (cf. AS *met “to jump”) [Diyakal 1997 MS] (isolated in AS: Takács 2004: 423-424) || Sem. *√zd “to move vehemently (?)” [GT] > Moroccan Ar. √zdy (extended via weak C₃): zāda “agir sans interruption” [Colin 1993: 699 > DRS 688, zdy: isolated in Sem.], cf. also Ar. √zdh (extended via pharyngeal C₃): Moroccan Ar. zdaḥ “jeter brutalement sur le sol un objet lourd et mou (sac, etc.), s’asseoir ou marcher lourdement, damer le sol”, zdēḥ “bruit de chute d’objets lourds ou de pas lourds”, mæzdāḥ “gros derrière, lourd, mou” [Colin 1993: 698], Zaër zaddaḥiyya “petite outre à battre le beurre” [Loubignac 1952: 443] (Ar.: DRS 688, zdḥ1, 3, resp.) vs. Ar. √zdʕ: zadaʕa “cohabiter avec une femme”, mizdaʕ- “agile et qui va vite en besogne” [BK I 982; Beaussier 1913: 427 > DRS 689, zdʕ2] < PAA *√zd “to act fast (?)” [GT].

332.1. Is this root eventually related to CAA *√zwd “1. to push, 2. chase” [GT]? Cf. Sem.: Maghrebi Ar. (borrowed from NBrb.) zawwəd/t/ṭ “chasser, renvoyer” [Lentin 1958: 119-120 > DRS 698, zwd/t/ṭ: isolated in Sem.] || NBrb.: Qabyle √zwd: zewwed “2. chasser, expulser à coups de bâton” [Dallet 1982: 960] || CCh.: Mbara zūt “pousser (push)” [TSL 1986: 282] | PMasa *zut “to push” [GT]: Masa-Bongor zūt-nà “pousser” [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 118, 139], Masa zūt “pousser” [Caïtucoli 1983: 157], Gizey and Wina, Masa, Ham, Musey, Lew, Marba all: zūt “pousser” [Ajello et al. 2001: 46].

● **333. AS *zet** > (?) **zet (?) > (???)¹² *žet “short, small” [GT]: Mupun ḥá-žèt “small, short” [Frj. 1991: 8], Goemai zèt [zet] “a very small sized bird” [Sirlinger 1937: 285] (isolated in AS: Takács 2004: 424) || Sem.: PArAm. *√zwt [DRS]: Targumic and JPArAm. zōṭā “tendre, jeune, petit”, Syr. zawṭā “petit garçon”, Mandaic zuṭa “petit”, NArAm. zūt “petit” (Aram.: DRS 701, zwt1, isolated in Sem.) < PAA *√zṭ “small” [GT]. Cf. the entry no. 336 for AS *zatur ~ *zatur (var. with *ž-?) “sort of small insect” [GT] below.

● **334. PGoemai *zōt** (from *zut?) [GT]: Goemai zūt [zūt] “to boil in water” [Sirlinger 1937: 286], eventually cognate with a variation in PAngas *žwīt “to cook guinea corn” (AS: Takács 2004: 425) || Sem. *√zyd “to well up” [DRS]: i.a., OHbr. √zyd: qal (zād) “être enragé contre”, hifil “faire bouillir, s’enorgueillir”, NHbr.-Aram. zūd, zīd “bouillir, déborder” (Sem.: DRS 722) < CAA *√zwd “1. to boil” [GT].

● **335. Suroid *zut** [GT]: Mushere zut “plenty, sufficient, much (describing coming out of sg. like mucus inside nose)” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 347] (Takács 2004: 428: isolated in AS) || NOm.: PYemsa (Janjero) *zutt- “all” [GT]: Yemsa zūt- “all” [Akililu-Siebert] = ’zut- “all” [Bender] = zūt- “to gather” [Lamberti] = zutt- “all” [Wedekind] (Yemsa: Bender 2003: 158, #1) || NBrb.: Qabyle √zdy: e-zdi “1. unir, rassembler, 2. être uni, s’unir, 3. être dans

¹² Provided it was not a secondarily palatalized (*ži- < **di-) reflex of AS *di/ut “short, small” [Takacs 2004: 73].

l'indivision familiale (famille traditionnelle, les frères, leurs femmes, sous la direction de l'aîné" [Dallet 1982: 931], cf. also Qabyle (borrowed from Ar. \sqrt{zyd}) \sqrt{zyd} : zid "1. être abondant, considérable, excellent, être exagéré, superflu, 2. ajouter, continuer" [Dallet 1982: 965] III Sem. $*\sqrt{zyd}$ "to increase" [GT]: Ar. zāda "augmenter, accroître", zāyada "enchérir sur qqn.", (?) tazāda "naître" || MSA: Jibbali zed, Mehri zəyūd, Harsusi zōd, Soqotri zed "augmenter, s'accroître", Mehri zōyəd, Jibbali, Harsusi zēd "plus" || ES: Tigre zedä "être plus, plus précieux, exceller", Tna. zayädä "1. emporter sur, avoir l'avantage" vs. Oriental Ar. dialects $*\sqrt{zwd}$:¹³ zawwad "donner en sus, donner comme augmentation", dzawwad "être augmenté", zawwad "munir de provisions de voyage, etc.", Egyptian dialect ziwāda "augmentation (de salaire)", Iraǧi zād, impf. izūd "être en excès", Central Arabian dialect ʔazwad "plus, de vantage", Omani Ar. min zād "plus que", Tunisian Ar. zāda "aussi, de même" (Sem.: DRS 722-723) < PAA $*\sqrt{zd}$ ~ $*\sqrt{zt}$ "1. much, 2. (to unite) all" [GT].

● **336. AS *zatur ~ *zutur** (var. with *ž-?) "sort of small insect" [GT]: Angas žatur [žatur] "a flea" [Foulkes 1915: 200] = nžätür "Wanze" [Jng. 1962a MS: 46], Sura nzütür ~ nzëtür [irreg. z- < *ž-] "Wanze" [Jng. 1963: 77], Mushere zutur "bedbug" [Diyakal 1997 MS: 345] (AS: Stolbova 1987: 186, #372; Takács 2004: 423, 428) III Sem. $*\sqrt{ztr}$: Aram. of Targum zōtrā "petit, jeune", zōtar "paraître petit", Syr. zātrā "jeune garçon" (Aram.: DRS 721, ztr1: isolated in Sem.) < PAA $*\sqrt{ztr}$ "small (creature)" [GT]. May be an ancient (PAA) C₃ root extension of a primary biliteral root. Cf. PAA $*\sqrt{zt}$ "small" [GT] above in the entry no. 333 for AS *zet > (?) **žet (?) > (???)¹⁴ *žet "short, small" [GT].

● **337. Suroid *zoyop** [GT]: Kofyar zogop "crushing, to crumble, pound in mortar" [Netting 1967: 46] (Takács 2004: 426: isolated in AS) III Sem. $*\sqrt{z^{\circ}p}$ > Aram. of Targum zəʕap "1. heftig sein, 2. zürnen" [Dalman 1922: 131] = "stürmen, toben" [Levy 1924 I: 546] = "to rage, threaten, storm" (cf. zaʕapā "stormwind, hurricane") [Jastrow 1950: 408] = "être violent, impétueux, en colère" [DRS], Syr. $\sqrt{z^{\circ}p}$ "pousser, presser" [DRS], NSyr. zāʕūpā "coup" [DRS] | Ar. zaʕafa I "he killed (so.) on the spot or cast, shot (at so.), smote (so.) so that one died on the spot, quickly, he killed (so.) quickly", IV "he hastened and completed (so.'s) slaughter" [Lane 1231] = I also: "housser, nettoyer avec le houssoir (balai de branches, de plumes)" [Dozy I 502] = I "tuer qqn. sur place" [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 771 with further semantically dubious *comparanda*) vs. Ar. zaʕaba "repousser, éloigner qqn., couper, retrancher, partager, emplir, charger d'un fardeau, charger qqn. d'injures" || ES: Tigre zäʕabä "faire mal, causer de la douleur" (Sem.: DRS 766-767, zʕb1 with semantically untenable *comparanda*). Further root varieties:

¹³ DRS I.c.: "En arabe, dans les dialectes orientaux surtout, la deuxième radicale apparaît dans de nombreuses formes comme W... ces formes ont aussi des valeurs qui procèdent de ZWD ...". Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 109, #1511) affiliated Ar. zaud- "increase, growth", zaid- (v.n.) "to increase, augment" ("durative" root extension *d) with PCu. *zayl- "heavy", some Ech. *ḏw "grass" and Ngizim ḏūwāy- "to sprout, become bushy", PCh. *ḏy "mountain", NOM.: Dorze zūm-a "mountain" etc. < AA *-zay-/*-zuw- "to grow, swell, rise".

¹⁴ Provided it was not a secondarily palatalized (*ž- < **di-) reflex of AS *di/ut "short, small" [Takács 2004: 73].

337.1. Extended with a different (velar) C₂, cf. Sem. *√zḳp > Oriental Ar. zaqqaf “battre des mains en mesure, applaudir” [DRS 785, ZQP4: isolated in Sem.].

337.2. Without the pharyngeal and velar C₂, the pure biradical core root, cf. SAA *√ǰp/f/b (???) “1. to pound, 2. thresh” [GT] > Ch. *ǰVb- “to pound” [CLD III 221, #1017] || PCu. *za/if- “to pound (grain)” [Ehret] = *√ǰf¹⁵ “to thresh (grain) by pounding (?)” [GT] > NAgaw: Bilin ǰǎfǰǎf “to thresh” [Ehret: Agaw *ǰ > Bilin ǰ] (not found in Reinisch 1887: 176) || (???) SCu. *d/ḍi/īf- “to pound” [Ehret]: Iraqw dif- “to butt”, Gorowa dif-it- “to thresh”, Burunge dif- “to beat”, Alagwa dif- “to fight” | Ma’a mu-dufú “flour” (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 165, #II.A.25) || Eg. zp.t (OK: “auch ohne *t* geschrieben”) “1. die Tenne (vgl. das Schriftzeichen), 2. der auf der Tenne zum Dreschen aufgeschichtete Garbenhaufen, bes. in den Verben: wbs (r) zp.(w)t, ḥw zp.t.” (OK, MK, Wb III 434, 12-18).¹⁶ Bilin-SCu. due to Ch. Ehret (1987, 54, #197). The correspondences of Ch. *-b- vs. Eg. -p vs. SCu. *-f- are irregular, so we may only assume here the remote cognacy a loosely related variant roots.

337.3. The variety of the same biradical root with a voiceless C₁, cf. AA *-sa/ǎp- “to hit repeatedly” [Ehret] = *√sp (perhaps AA *sap-) “1. to hit, 2. grind grain by pounding” [GT] > Sem.: Ar. safa^a I “1. frapper, donner un coup (se dit surtout des oiseaux, lorsqu’en combattent ils se donnent réciproquement de vigoureux coups d’aile), 2. souffleter qqn., lui donner un soufflet, des soufflets, 3. (en gén.) frapper, battre, 5. saisir qqn. au toupet, et le traîner ignominieusement après soi” vs. safaqa I “1. fermer (la porte) avec bruit, 2. souffleter (les joues)”, safq-at- “poignée de main (qui se donne soit pour saluer qqn., soit pour conclure un marché)” [BK I 1100-1101] = safc- “to box the ears, beat”, safq- “to box on the ears” [Ehret] || ECu.: Yaaku -sǎp- “to grind to flour” [Heine 1975: 126] || SCu.: Burunge sap- “to forge (iron)” [Ehret] || Ch. *sV[p]- “to pound” [CLD III 49, #78] > WCh.: Ngizim sǎpḍú “to do first pounding (of grain) to remove bran” [Schuh 1981, 144]. Ar.-Burunge-Ngizim due to Ch. Ehret (1995: 162, #226).

337.4. Some of the reflexes listed under **#329.1.** (viz., Bilin ǰǎfǰǎf, SCu. *d/ḍi/īf-) and **#329.2.** (Yaaku -sǎp-) were confused by Ch. Ehret (1987: 54, #197) as reflexes of phonologically one and the same parental root, compared under his alleged PCu. *za/if- “to pound (grain)” [Ehret].¹⁷ But, ignoring further comparative data and the results (primarily, of I.M. Diakonoff and his Muscovite team) in AA comparative-historical phonology, he failed to see how much his misconceived PCu. *z- here clearly contradicts to, e.g., SCu. *d/ḍ- (in fact, just *d- < AA *d- or *ǰ-)¹⁸ or Yaaku s- (regular from both ECu. *s-/ǰ-).¹⁹

¹⁵ SCu. *-f speaks evidently for PCu. *-f, which does not agree either with Eg. -p nor Ch. *-b.

¹⁶ Assuming an arbitrary primary sense of threshing that “removes waste portions of the grain”, it was affiliated by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 105, #1490) with Ar. zafar- “dirt” and NOM.: Mocha yǎpp- “to clean teeth” < AA *-zǎp- “to clean, remove dirt, rubbish, waste”.

¹⁷ Affiliated by Ch. Ehret (1995: 147, #187) with Eg. zf “to cut off/up”, sfsf “to break (?)”, zft “to slaughter”, zft “sword, knife”, WCh. *ḍǎft- “flour” < AA *-zif- “to break up (by hitting)”.

¹⁸ One wonders if SCu. *d-, although this was not directly demonstrated by G. Takács (1999: 412; 2000: 77-78, §4), was beside SCu. *d- < AA *d-, also a possible reflex of AA *ǰ- too via depalatalization just as Ug., Aram., Soqotri ḍ- via common Sem. *ḍ- (cf. SED I LXVIII-LXIX; Kogan 2009: 28-29) or Eg. d- ~ z- (cf. EDE I 248-249, 268).

¹⁹ See Sasse (1979: 54): “Both *s and *ǰ normally continue as *s*” in Yaaku, for which instances were listed (q.v.).

- **338. AS *za₃ya₃t** “to tie (into bundle)” [GT]: Angas zàt “to hobble (e.g. a horse)” [Jng. 1962a MS: 45], Sura za₃ya₃t “Holzbündel” [Jng. 1963: 89], Mupun zòt [strange short -o-] “bundle”, zót “to tie up, bundle up” [Frj. 1991: 69] (AS: Takacs 2004: 421) || Eth.-Sem. *√zKT (in diverse C_{2/3} varieties) “1. to join, 2. complete” [GT]: Tigrinya zākātā “1. ajouter” (beside “2. enfermer, bloquer, 3. saupoudrer”) [DRS 731, ZKT3: isolated in Sem.] vs. Tigrinya zāgātā “réunir en un lieu étroit, enfermer, parquer (les bêtes)” [DRS 688, ZGT: isolated in Sem.] vs. Geez zagada, Amharic žaggädä “ajouter du bois sur le feu”, täžgwädägg^wädä “se multiplier, grandir, se presser, se bousculer (foule)”, Harari zēgäda “étendre” (Sem.: DRS 683, ZGD2) < CAA *√zKT (diverse C_{2/3} varieties) “to (ad)join” [GT].
- **339. AS *zu₁yut** “heap” [GT]: Sura zúgút “Haufe” [Jng. 1963: 89], perhaps reflected also in the 2nd component of Kofyar kom-zúgút [< *zu₁yut] “guržiya, Bambara ground nut” (cf. Kofyar kóm “ground nuts” < AS *k^wam “groundnut” [GT], Hausa gúržíyáá ~ gúžíyáá “Bambara ground-nut” [Abr. 1962: 339]) [Netting 1967: 20] (Takacs 2004: 427: isolated in AS)²⁰ || CCh.: Uldeme zikètəŋ “entasser”, zəkāt “faire un tas de terre, réunir” [CLD III 125, #450 with further dubious parallels] || (???) SBrb. *√zgd “to jump up” [GT: < * “to rise up by jumping (???)”]: Ayr žaggädo, EWlmd. žaggädo, pl. žaggädo-tän (m) [žaggädaw, pl. žaggädaw-tän] “1. course entrecoupée par des sauts, 2. saut rapide, haut et long”, but cf. EWlmd. a-žaggäda, pl. i-žaggäda-n “pente” [PAM 2003: 878] || Sem.: Ar. zakata “remplir un outre”, Sudanic Ar. zakat “manger à satiété” (Ar.: DRS 731, ZKT2: isolated in Sem.) vs. Sem. *√zgd: Yemeni Ar. zağda “tas, touffe” || MSA: Mehri zēgəd, zəgūd, Harsusi zegöd “soulever, piller, saisir”, Soqotri zegid “lever, charger sur qqn.” || Geez zagada, Amharic žaggädä “ajouter du bois sur le feu”, täžgwädägg^wädä “se multiplier, grandir, se presser, se bousculer (foule)”, Harari zēgäda “étendre” (Sem.: DRS 683, ZGD2) < CAA *√zKd “1. to heap up, 2. fill up, 3. rise” [GT].
- **340. AS *zu₁yum** “1. generous, 2. gift (lit. ‘generosity?’)” [GT] = *zu₁gum [Stolbova] = *zu₁yum “present, gift” [Dlg.]: Angas zum “gift, a present” [Ormsby 1914: 208, 314] = zum “1. a present, 2. generous” [Foulkes 1915: 312] = zum “Geschenk” [Jng. 1962a MS: 45] = (bii) zuum “present, gift” [Hoffmann] = mbi-zum “gift” [ALC 1978: 37], Sura zùgùm ~ zùyùm “Geschenk, Gabe” [Jng. 1963: 89] = zugum ~ zu₁yum “present, gift” [Hoffmann], Mupun zùùm “to give gifts”, zùum “gift” [Frj. 1991: 70] (AS: Hoffmann 1975: 21, #113; Stolbova 1977: 158, #255; Takacs 2004: 426) || Eth.-Sem. *√zHm (or *√zmH) [GT]: Amh. žäma “très généreux” [DRS 743]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 80; 2011: 156.
- **341. AS *zu₁yum** (var. *z^wayam?) “cold” [GT] = *zu₂gum “cold” [Stolbova] = *zu₂yum “to become cold” [Hoffmann]: Angas (hill) zum “cold (of water)” [Foulkes 1915: 313], Sura zùgùm ~ zùyùm “kalt” [Jng. 1963: 89] = zugum ~ zu₁yum “to become cold” [Hoffmann] = sùyùm (so, s-) “coldness” [Kraft], Mupun zùm ~ zùum “cold”, zùmzùm “very cold” [Frj. 1991: 48, 70], Kofyar zùgum “cold” [Netting 1967: 46] = zugum “to become cold” [Hoffmann], Montol kut-zum “cold” (cf. AS *kūt “cold, wind”) [Ftp. 1911: 215], Goemai

²⁰ Any connection to Goemai šat [< *šayət? irreg. š-] “heap” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 33]?

zââm [zɔɔm < *zaɜyaɜm or *zoɜom < *z^wayam] “1. cold, 2. dampness, 3. absence of passion”, zââm “to cool, make cold, comfort”, cf. n’zââm “unsalted, insipid (lit. ‘with cold’)” [Sirlinger 1937: 169, 282] = zoom “to become cold” [Hoffmann] = zôm “coldness” [Kraft] = zoom “to be cold” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (AS: Hoffmann 1975: 21, #111; Stolbova 1972: 182; 1977: 158, #256; Takács 2004: 426) III Sem.: Ar. (Lebanese dialect) zahme “froid intense” [DRS 693: isolated in Sem.]²¹ AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 80-81; 2011: 156. This appears to be an original biradical root extended with a C₃ *Wurzelaugment/-determinativ*, cf. the following remote biradical root varieties (changing C₂):

341.1. NWometo *zak- “cold” [GT]: Basketo zak “cold” [Bender] = zāk “cold (of air)” [Fleming], Doko zakk- “cold” [CR] (NWometo: Bender 2003: 55, #26a).

341.2. SCu. *t̪çak/k̪^w- > *t̪çak/k̪^wam- “cold” [GT] = *taḵ^wa- “wind” [Ehret]: WRift *cāqwa (ts-) “cold wind, coldness” [KM 2004: 292]: Gorowa caqwa (ts-) “cold”, Burunge čaqomo (c-) “cold”, Alagwa caqwa (ts-) “wind”, caq-ut-is- “to become cool” | (?) Asa: no sure reflex²² | (?) Dahalo: no sure reflex,²³ but cf. Dahalo tókkōme [GT: irregular < *t̪óḵḵōm-?] “cold”²⁴ (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 173, #II.C.5).

341.3. All these forms above can by no means be traced back to one common AA root, so we have to assume a few rhyme-roots (based on the biliteral sequence of a sibilant C₁ and a back consonant as C₂) for “cold” like AA *√zh (AS-Ar.) vs. *√zk (Ometo) vs. *√t̪çk^w/k̪^w (SCu.).

• **342. AS *zuyum → *zūm** “small black ant specimen” [GT]: Angas tai-su zum “ant” (cf. AS *-zū “ant sp.”, q.v.) [Ormsby 1914: 207] = zum “the ordinary small black ants” (≈ Hausa činnáákà “type of biting ant”, Abr. 1962: 146) [Foulkes 1915: 312] = nzùm “kleine schwarze Ameise (Hausa čináákà?)”, nzùum “schwarze Ameise” [Jng. 1962a MS: 46], Sura

²¹ The Lebanese dialectal form with the laryngeal -h- was not recognized by J. Lentin (kind p.c., 14 April 2022), a leading member of the DRS project recently, who thinks of the special semantic shift from a different Arabic root with laryngeal -h- in this context: “L’arabe ‘standard’ *zahma* (je ne connais pas le libyen *zahme*) peut en effet signifier ‘grand froid’, mais plutôt quand les deux mots sont associés (*zahmat al-bard*, comme on dirait *šiddat al-bard* ‘la force, l’intensité du froid’). C’est-à-dire, littéralement, que le froid ‘presse’ les gens. Il ne faut donc pas chercher autre chose que le sens général de *ZHM*, racine attestée seulement en ar. et en aram., d’après DRS (715B-)/716A.” Still, in the DRS, nothing indicates whether such a root existed. Later, Prof. Lentin (kind p.c., 17 April 2022) added: “About *zahme* with laryngeal (-e is of course the dialectal form of *a-t*), it is apparently attested only in Lebanese ... Arabic and in a neighboring area in Syria. As stated in DRS 694, in Denizeau ‘froid intense et piquant’, taken from Frayha, 76. Also attested in Milelli 284 ‘froid perçant’. I looked after it on the internet, and found only two attestations, one in a poem, and one in an advertising for a restaurant. Both occurrences are Lebanese, and in both *zahme* appears in combination with *bard* ‘froid’: *zahmet (al-)bard*. It is also attested in coastal Syria : ‘Abd al-Rahīm 710 *zahme* = *nasamet al-bard al-lādī’a* ‘blast of biting cold’. My two favourite Lebanese informants do not know the word.” The eminent Russian arabist, A.G. Belova (Moscow, kind p.c., 17 April 2022) only saw “en arabe *zahmat*- ‘l’odeur de la viande pourrie, la puanteur’, aussi dans les dialectes. Voici tout ce que j’ai trouvé dans mes sources.”

²² Ehret l.c.: ~ Asa šoʔok “wind”. Cf. alternatively SCu. *çaʔ- “cold”?

²³ Ehret l.c.: ~ Dahalo gāṭa [Ehret: < *taḡ- < **taḵ^w-] “wind” arguing that Rift consonant order must be original since *k̪^w had to be in medial position in Dahalo to account for voicing shift. See chapter 10, section I in Ehret (1980) for further comments on this unusual kind of metathesis in Dahalo.

²⁴ Treated in Ehret (1980: 176, #II.C.24) as the reflex of SCu. *c/çaʔ- “cold” [GT] = *toḵ- (!) “cold” [Ehret], but it would be difficult to accept the correspondence of Dahalo -kk- vs. Rift-Ma’a *-ʔ-.

nzùgùm-láa “winzig kleine Ameisenart” (cf. làa “klein”) [Jng. 1963: 77], Mupun ndò-zùm (so, short -u-!) “small black ants” [Frj. 1991: 42], Kofyar ná-zùgum “ant” [Netting 1967: 29], Goemai nzûm [zûm < *zǝm < *zûm] “a small black ant (its bite is painful)” [Sirlinger 1937: 169] (AS data: Takács 2004: 426-427) III Sem.: Ar. zukm-at- “ver du bois, termite” [BK I referred to apud DRS col. 730b, but not found there in fact].²⁵ The incredibly perfect Arabo-AS match can only fail if one definitely fails to locate the alleged Arabic lexeme as truly attested in the lexicographic sources.

342.1. Whether the same biliteral root (*sine* velar C₂ extension < AA *√zm “ant” [GT]???) hides in the first two radicals of NOM.: NWometo *zimand-o “ant” [GT]: Malo zimando [Alemayehu Abebe] = zimando [Siebert & Caudwell], Gofa zimando [Moreno] (NWometo data: also Bender 2003: 315, #2), is open to further research.

● **343. AS *zak(a)** “1. too, 2. again” [GT]: Angas zàkà “again”, zàka (Kabwir dialect) “not again” [Jng. 1962a MS: 45] = zaka (~ zaka-tak-na?) “not any more” [ALC 1978: 70] = (Pang, Garam, hill dialects) zak “again” [Gochal 1994: 35, 109], Sura zàk “1. auch, ebenfalls, wieder, 2. außerdem” [Jng. 1963: 89], Mupun zák (adv.) “also, too, again, another (occurs in clause final position)” [Frj. 1991: 69], Kofyar zák “again” [Netting 1967: 45], Goemai zak (adv.) “too, also” [Sirlinger 1937: 283] = zak (adv.) “also”, zak yit (adv.) “again” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (AS: Takács 2004: 421) III Sem.: Ar. √zyk I: zāka “aller et venir plusieurs fois”, cf. zīk- “rangée de petites pierres autour d’une grande qui forme le chaton d’une bague” [BK I 1033; Dozy I 619; DRS 725: isolated in Sem. in this sense].

● **344. AS *-zak** (prefix *kǝ-) “roughly ground flour” [GT]: Angas ga-zák “1. roughly ground flour, 2. also, flour is mixed with water, and, after the water is drunk off, a residue of wet flour (*gǝzǎk*) remains, which is then eaten” (≈ Hausa tsekki, so! cf. tsàkíf “the coarse part of ground-flour”, Abr. 1962: 874) [Foulkes 1915: 185] = ġǝ-zák (Kabwir dialect) “roughly ground flour (Hausa tsekki)” [Jng. 1962 MS], Mushere kǝ-zaak (false length of -aa-) “dregs”, waar ni ku kǝ-zaak “the gruel has dregs” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 135] (AS: Takács 2004: 421) < Ch. *zVk- “to thresh, pound” (in Miya, Zime-Batna) [CLD III 125, #445] (to be distinguished from Ch. *zVg- “to rub” [CLD III 123, #435]?) III Sem.: Ar. √zhk I: zahaka “broyer entre deux pierres” [DRS 692 pace BK I 1022 and Belot 1913: 301 etc.].²⁶

²⁵ This form was unknown from earlier Arabic sources to Arabist Adrian Măcelaru (Rumanian embassy at Riyadh, kind p.c., 14 April 2022): “I never heard about the meaning given by DRS to the word *zukmat*-. Also it is not given in the online al-Maani Arabic Dictionary which is supposed to be exhaustive when it comes to Literary Arabic.” The puzzling source of this lexeme was not cleared by J. Lentin (kind p.c., 14 April 2022), a leading member of the DRS project recently, either: “ar. *zukm-at*- ‘ver du bois, termite’ (DRS 730b) n’est pas non plus dans Kazimirski ni dans LA cités par DC. C’est donc vraisemblablement une erreur.” He (kind p.c., 17 April 2022) confirmed again: “As for *zukm-at*- yes, I think it is a ghost word.” For the eminent Russian arabist, A.G. Belova (Moscow, kind p.c., 17 April 2022), “en arabe, la racine “*zkm*” n’est associée qu’aux significations “nez qui coule, rhume”, dans les autres correspondances sémitiques je ne sais pas.”

²⁶ Referring also to other sources (Qamus 848; LA III 58) which “considèrent qu’il s’agit d’une variante de SHK, laquelle, pour LA, serait préférable”, which may even be projected to an old AA stage: < CAA *√zk vs. *√sk “to grind by pounding”.

= *zakh-* (v.n.) “to crush between two stones” [Ehret]²⁷ < CAA * $\sqrt{3}k$ “to grind by pounding” [GT]. For Ar.-Ch. see CLD III 125, #445. Apparently member of a larger root family:

344.1. An ancient AA root variety with a voiceless C₁ is represented by Ch. *sVk- “to thresh, press firmly” [CLD III 68, #176] || OEg. *s/zkj (???) > MEg. *sk* (Wb) = *skj* (GT) “mahlen” (Med., BD, NE, Mag., Wb IV 314, 14), hence *skjj* (-jj typical for the part. pf. pass. of the IIIae inf.) “Gemahlenes, Mehl” (Med., NK, Wb IV 314, 15-16) > Dem. *sk* “mahlen” (DG 466:6) > Coptic (SA) **CIKE**, (B) **CIKI**, (S) **COKE**⁺, **COOKE**⁺ “to grind, pound” (CD 328a; CED 149) = “mahlen, zerkleinern” (KHW 180)²⁸ || Sem.: Ar. *sahk-* (v.n.) “to grind”, *sahġ-* (v.n.) “to pound, grind” [Ehret],²⁹ extended by an infix root extension -h- < CAA * \sqrt{sk} “to grind by pounding” [GT].

• **345. Angas zak** (hill ≈ plain doo daa), in: *nyi zak* (≈ Hausa *shi ke nan*) “all right, it is so” [Foulkes 1915: 312] (isolated in AS: Takács 2004: 421) || SBrb.: *Ahaggar ne-heġġi* (i.e., -g^yg^y-) “se convenir réc. (avec), convenir (pour)” [Foucauld 1951-2 II: 527] = *nə-heġġi* [Prasse] (Brb.: Prasse 1969: 48, #74). This isogloss may eventually be akin perhaps³⁰ with that of PCh. *zVk- “to rest, stay in place” [CLD III 124, #442] || NBrb.: *Qabyle e-zġ* (i.e., -g^y) “1. aller à, soir, 2. se placer, séjourner, fréquenter” [Dallet 1982: 934] < PAA * $\sqrt{3}g$ “(con)venire” [GT].

• **346. AS *z^wak ~/< *zuk** → *zək “to push” [GT]: perhaps Angas (Kabwir dialect) *žək* [ž- < *z^w-?] “to shake f.i. a pole, tree” [Jng. 1962a MS: 45], *Goemai zwak* “to push with the hands” [Sirlinger 1937: 286], *Mupun zək* “to move a bit, toss (e.g. about a baby)” [Frj. 1991: 70] (AS: Takács 2004: 428) | *Karekare nzùk^wa* “to push” [Kraft] | *Warji nzaḳ^w-* “to poke” [Skinner apud Stolbova], *Miya a zùkù-tisəy* “to push” [Kraft] | *Geji žèkkà* “to push” [Kraft] | *Ngizim žəḡ-žàžə̀rú* “to repeatedly jostle or touch” [Schuh 1981: 82] (WCh.: Kraft 1981: #357; Stolbova 1987: 189, #399; 1995: 151) || CCh.: *Lame zòknò’ò* (dz-) “pousser qqn.” [Sachnine 1982: 414], *Zime-Dari zòknò’* (dz-) “pousser avec force”, *zòknò’ vùn* “imiter” (litt.: “pousser + bouche”) [Cooper 1984: 6], cf. *Lame žik* (dz-) “pousser qqch. de lourd, traîner, déplacer” [Sachnine 1982: 407] || Eg. *zhj* “schlagen” (PT, Wb III 466-467) || Sem.: Ar. *zaḥḥa I* “1. pousser ou jeter qqn. ou qqch. d’un lieu plus élevé dans un précipice, 2. faire marcher d’un bon train (se dit d’un chamelier qui mène ses chameaux), 3. cohabiter avec une femme, 4. lâcher (l’urine), 5. faire un saut, 6. marcher d’un pas vigoureux” [BK I 980] = “1. pousser, 2. jeter dans un précipice, 3. sauter, 4. lâcher un liquide (urine, etc.), 5. coha-

²⁷ Miscompared by Ch. Ehret (2000) in the same work, on the one hand (op.cit., p. 101, #1475), with Eg. *zjn* “to rub” etc. < AA *zih- “to rub against”, and on, the one hand (op.cit., p. 473, #3190), with WCh.: *Ngizim dāādúkòk* “stone for sharpening” (assuming root ext. *z for intensive of manner, *k^w finitive), also *dāayí* “coarse pant of pounded flour” (extended with an alleged deverbative *y implying original application to ground flour) < AA *zā/ah- “to grind two stones together”.

²⁸ Erroneously derived by Ch. Ehret (1995: 292, #553), ignoring the correct pharaonic etymon, from Eg. *sk* “to wipe” (!) < AA *çū/ik- “to rub off”.

²⁹ Combined by Ch. Ehret (1995: 284, #532) with Eg. *sh3.t* (sic) etc. < AA *šah- “to pound (loosen)”.

³⁰ The Qabyle-Ahaggar equation was refuted by K.-G. Prasse (l.c.) similarly to that with Ahaggar *ə-heġ* “suivre rapidement”.

biter avec une femme” [DRS 718] = “to thrust, throw, drive, push, eject (semen, urine)” [Albright], cf. zahzaḥa “cohabiter avec une femme” [DRS] < AA * $\sqrt{3}Q^{31}$ “to thrust” [GT].³² AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 82; 2011: 157.

● **347. Suroid *zek** [GT]: Mushere zek-zek “describing a person who is tall but has no flesh on him: tiny person” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 347] (isolated in AS: Takács 2004: 422) || W/CCh. * \sqrt{zk} “small” [JS 1981] || Sem. * $\sqrt{zk(z)k}$: Ar. zakka “être affaibli (par la maladie, la vieillesse)”, zakk- “maigre, amaigri”, zukāzik- “petit, chétif”, cf. Oriental dialect zakk “trop juste, étroit (vêtement)” and zakzak “être trop serré, trop ajusté sur” [DRS 729: isolated in Sem.] < PAA * \sqrt{zk} “meager (???)” [GT].

One wonders whether this root has anything to do with PAA * \sqrt{zk} “youth (?)” [GT], cf. Sem.: Akk. (nA) zūku “infantry” [CAD z 153-154 pace Manitius, ZA 24, 122 and Ungnad, AfO 14, 329] = zūku “Infanterie” [AHW 1536a: origin obscure] = zūk- “infanterie” [DRS 724: “origine inconnue”] || (?) Aram.: not sure reflex³³ || WCh.: NBauchi *zakwat- “youth” [Skinner 1977: 49].³⁴

Part of a large family of homorganic roots³⁵ (whose distinct Cushitic reflexes were commonly treated in the literature as sprung from one common etymon):³⁶

● **347.1. SAA * $\sqrt{cg/\gamma}$** “1. small” [GT]: PCu. * $\hat{c}A(g)g^w$ - (sic: * \hat{c} -) “быть маленьким” [Dlg.] = * $\hat{t}ig^w$ - “to be small, young” [Ehret] = * cig/k - (better than * \hat{c} -) “1. small, 2. young, 3. light” [GT] > NAgaw * cig^w - “to be small” [Apl. 1991: 23] = * $c\acute{a}g^w$ - “1. small, 2. young” [Ehret, Blazek, Apl. 2006] (NAgaw: Apl. 2006, 125; Cu.: Dlg. 1973: 119 > Boisson 1990 MS: 17) || Ch. * cVg - “small” [Stolbova in CLD] > WCh.: Hausa $c\grave{i}g\acute{i}g\acute{i}$ (ts-) “1. a tiny excrescence on the ‘parson’s nose’ of a bird, 2. anything very small, a trace, 3. being small and short” [Bargery 1934, 1036] = $c\acute{i}g\acute{i}g\acute{i}$ ~ $c\grave{i}g\acute{i}g\acute{i}$ (ts-) “short, small” [Abraham 1962: 883-884] || CCh.: Kotoko-Makary sugu “very small” [Allison 1999] (Ch.: CLD III 151, #593).

● **347.2. S²AA * $\sqrt{cg/\gamma}$** > var. * $\sqrt{cng/\gamma}$ (epenthetic nasal) “2. young” [GT]: Eg. $s\acute{d}.tj$ [regular < * \sqrt{sg}]³⁷ “Kind, Zögling” (OK, Wb IV 377, 8-12) || SCu.: PRift * $c/\dot{c}ig$ - (* ts/ts' -) “offspring, youth” [Ehret 1980] = * $\dot{c}igan$ - (-n- noun suffix) “young, offspring” [Ehret 1987]: Iraqw $cigan$ [ts-] “young locusts” | Qwadza $cenegayo$ “just-circumcized youths” (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 355;

³¹ Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{z}g^w$ I: $z\acute{a}g\acute{a}$ “pousser doucement”, Maghrebi Ar. $z\acute{a}g\acute{g}$ “pousser”, Hispanian Ar. $z\acute{a}g\acute{g}$ “donner un coup de poign” [DRS 682, 684] may represent an AA var. root with *-g.

³² For the Ar.-Eg. etymology cf. also Albright 1927: #71; Vergote 1945: 140, §15.a.14.

³³ Cf. Syr. $z\acute{a}g\acute{a}$ “poussin”, hence: $z\acute{a}g\acute{z}\acute{u}g\acute{a}$ “petit enfant” (DRS: “semble formé par redoublement”), considered in DRS 684 as “emprunt persan” (referring to Persian $z\acute{a}q$ “petit d’amimal”, $z\acute{a}g$ and $z\acute{a}q$ “enfants”).

³⁴ The Chadic parallels listed by N. Skinner (q.v. in l.c.) are phonologically untenable.

³⁵ Whose diverse Cushitic and Berber reflexes were affiliated by V. Blažek (1992, 28, fn. 28) with several alleged remote extra-AA/Nostratic parallels like Basque $txiki$ “little”, NCaucasian * $\dot{c}\acute{c}\acute{a}k^w$ - “1. little, 2. young, 3. boy”.

³⁶ Like AA * CiK^w - “little” [Blazek] covering most of the diverse root varieties. See Cohen 1947: 146, #304; Fleming 1969: 22-23; Dlg. 1973: 119; Apl. 1989 MS: 6 and 2006: 125 (“although the formal fit is not without problems” between NAgaw and ECu.); Blažek 1992: 28, no. 28; Ehret 2000 MS: 125, #1587.

³⁷ Blažek’s (1991: 364) attempt at identifying Eg. $s\acute{d}.tj$ with ECu. * sVz -/* $\acute{s}Vz$ - “-in-law” is incorrect. Beside the semantic problems, Eg. \acute{d} and ECu. * z can by no means be traced back to one common source in a cognate set. Similarly, Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 125, #1587) miscompared Eg. $s\acute{d}.tj.w$ “weaklings (?)” with SOm.: Ari $\dot{c}\acute{e}d\acute{i}$ “short” and CCh. * $\sqrt{s}dk$ “small” < AA * $-t/\acute{s}\acute{e}z$ - “to become small”.

PRift-NAgaw: Ehret 1987: #122) || CCh.: Higi sēgʷíí ~ sūgi “Kind” [Strümpell] | Gisiga seng and Balda(mu) sing “Kind” [Strümpell] (CCh.: Strümpell 1922-3: 119).

● **347.3.** The C₃ *-r extension of the same root may be present in both Semitic and Hausa, cf. Sem. *√šyr “быть маленьким” [Dlg.]: Akk. šeḫēru “klein, jung, wenig sein, werden” [AHW 1087] || Ug. šy/ḡr “klein, jung” vs. sy/ḡr “klein” [WUS 221, #1940 vs. 269, #2340] | Ar. šayara “être moins âgé, le cadet de qqn. de tant”, šayī/ura “1. être petit, 2. être en petite quantité, 3. être d’un bas prix, 4. être de qualité inférieure, ordinaire, vile, 5. être méprisé, regardé comme peu de chose”, šayīr- “petit, chétif” [BK I 1341-2] || WCh.: Hausa cìḡíḡíí (ts-) ~ Katsina dialect cagargari (m) “(a) naturally short, thin (person)” [Bargery 1934: 1036] = cìḡíḡíí (ts-) (m) “short, thin (person)” [Abraham 1962: 884] < PAA *√čyr (better than *√cgr which only occurs sporadically in Sem.) [GT]. Sem.-Cu.: Cohen 1947: 146, #304; Dlg. 1973: 119.

● **347.4.** PAA *√šk (hardly *č- lest for Brb.) “small” [GT]: (???) PBrb. *mazz/zžuk (with secondary *-zz- > -zz/sʷ/šš-) “(to be) small”, *mazz/zžik (stative?) “is small”³⁸ < (???) participial m- + PBrb. **√zk (regular < AA *√šk) [GT] > EBrb.: Audjila meššek “être petit” [Paradisi 1960, 171], Sokna √mzy > mazzī, fem. mazzok-iy-ət, pl. mēzzuk-ət “petit” [Laoust] || NBrb.: Nefusa meššék “piccolo” [Beguinot 1931: 239; 1942: 305] = məšək, fem. məšuk-ət “petit” [Laoust] = mešek, fem. mešuk-et “small” [Blazek < Laoust] | Petite Kabylie a-meččuk “petit garçon” [Genevois 1955: 72], Zwara a-meškun “petit” [Serra 1970: 45] | Mzab √mzy > əmzi / i-məzzi “être petit, jeune”, (i)-məzzi “1. petitesse, 2. jeunesse, 3. enfance” [Delheure 1984: 126] | Ait Mgild a-mzzi-an, pl. i-mzzi-ann “small” [Harries 1974: 225] | Shilh mzzi “être petit” [Justinard 1914: 143] = mzi “to be small, grow smaller” [Applegate 1958: 61], Sus mezzuk-et “small” [Blazek < ?] || WBrb. *√mzg [*-g regular < *-k#]: Zenaga √mzg > mazzig “petit” [Basset 1883] = √mzg > maizzug “être petit” [Basset 1890] = məđđug, məzzug, māšk “petit”, mazzig, mazzuḡ “il est petit” [Nicolas 1953: 220] (Brb.: Basset 1883: 299; 1885: 187; 1887: 423; 1890: 315; Laoust 1931: 275; Kossmann 1999: 224,

³⁸ There has been no agreement in Berber studies on the precise nature of the C₂ and C₃ of the ultimate Berber proto-form and its underlying root. Ad hoc suggestions (offered without any further reasoning) like Basset’s √mzg, Laoust’s √mzy, Delheure’s √mzy are only restricted to some daughter language and do not account for all the common Berber reflexes, from which Kossmann (1999: 224-225), singling out just the cases with -šš- among many similar other Berber roots, only put forward his hypothesis “d’une règle proto-berbère *sy > *šš” immediately carefully adding that: “Remarquerons d’une part, qu’il n’existe pas de mots que l’on peut reconstruire en proto-berbère qui ont le groupe consonantique *sy. De l’autre part, l’évidence pour une assimilation *sy > *šš est extrêmement maigre. Une règle de même type peut être posée de façon plus certaine pour *zy > *žž. Si l’on accepte le règle *sy > *šš, on peut analyser la variation MA *timišša* «silex», Rif *timiksa* < **timiysa* «silex» comme le résultat d’une métathèse: **timisya* > *timišša*, **timiysa* > *timi(y)sa*”. We learn here, however, nothing about the variation of *-šš- vs. *-zz- vs. *-žž- in this Berber root, which reminds us, on the one hand, of the possible interchange of *-šš- vs. /< *-zz- in Twareg (Militarev 1991: 244, table 3), while, on the other hand, Brb. *-z- vs. *-žž- are regular from PAA *-c- vs. *-č-, resp. (Militarev 1991: 242), i.e., precisely those two phonemes that are apparently yielding the diverse root varieties in the other AA cognates also. Even today, M. Kossmann (p.c. on 31 July 2022), the leading authority of Berber comparative phonology, cannot resolve the puzzles of this Berber root fully: on the one hand, he safely excluded the final *-g as primary in this Berber root as it only appears in Zenaga where /g/ in final position can be a lenition of *-k#. Elsewhere, there is apparently no indication for *-g. On the other hand: “The variation is between *K* and *Y*. ... The *Y* also appears in varieties that do not have *g > y. The *k/y* correspondence is not unique to this word (see my 1999 book), but not really explained either. I don’t see a way to join *mečček* type of words to *MZY/K*, so I don’t believe they belong to the same root. My guess would be that they developed from a root **MT^yY/K*, i.e. **met^yey* or **met^yek* (like my explanation for *čč* in the verb ‘to eat’).”

#682) ||l ECu. *ci/ak- “light (weight)” [Ehret 2000 MS: 125, #1587] vs. LECu.: Konso šāka “small” [Fleming] = šəka “few, little” [Blazek] ||l NOm.: Dizoid *šik/g- “short” [Bender 2003: 255 and 306, #A83], cf. also Sheko šiku-šiku- ~ šaku-šaku- “thin” [Bender 2003: 218, #134] ||l Ch. *šVkv “small, light (in weight)” [Stolbova in CLD] > WCh.: Bole sòkùwum “light (in weight)” [Gimba et al.], also Bole sikit- “herabsetzen (Preis)” [Lukas 1971: 138], Ngamo sikt- “to reduce, decrease” [Ibrizimow] || CCh.: Bura êik-êika (thl-) [Stolbova: šikčika, dissim. < *šikšika] “small, undernourished, not comely (of a goat)”, cf. êik-fuka (thl-) “a poor specimen of a goat” [BED 1953: 201] || ECh.: Sokoro éške “small” [Lukas 1937: 33] (Ch.: CLD II 82, #181).

● **347.5. PAA** *√çk “small” [GT] > Sem. *√çyḳ “to be narrow” [Ehret 2000 MS: 125, #1587]: Ar. √dyq I: ḏāqa “être, devenir étroit, se rétrécir” [BK II 49] ||l NAgaw *çəḳw- “small” [GT]: Hamir çiku “small” [Fleming pace Reinisch] = çikw- “small” [Blazek pace Reinisch] = šiḳū- “small, young” [Apl. pace Reinisch], Kaĩlina şəgwaq̄ (sic) “small, young” [Apl.] (NAgaw: Apl. 2006: 125)³⁹ || ECu. *tiḳḳ-o and *diḳḳ-o “small” [Fleming] = *diḳḳ-/*duḳḳ-/*diḳḳ- “small” [Apl.] > HECu. *tuḳḳ- (?) “to be narrow”, *tuḳḳ-a (?) “narrow” [Hudson 1989: 423] = *ti/uḳḳ- [Ehret] || SCu.: Burunge çoko [Fleming] = “little” [Blazek] ||l NOm.: Male çik-o “small” [Lewis apud Fleming] = ḏaka “small” [Donham apud Fleming] ||l SOM.: Dime çəḳḳ-ənd (f) “small” [Fleming] (Cu.-Om.: Fleming 1976: 320).

● **348. PGoemai** *-zek “plenty, abundant (???)” [GT]: Goemai pə-zek (ideoph.) “can be used with reference to worms, maggots, grains in a bowl (when you stir/shake them), fish on the market”, e.g. laŋ pə-zek ɓak “plenty of them are here” (cf. laŋ “to hang, move etc.”) [Hellwig 2000 MS: 27] (Takacs 2004: 423: isolated in AS) ||l Sem.: Ar. √zkw/y I: zakā and zakiya “croître, grandir, prospérer, être pur, probe”, Maghrebi Ar. zkā “gonfler en cuisant (couscous)” [DRS 729, ZKW/Y1: isolated in Sem.] vs. Eth.-Sem. *√zg “être large” [GT]: Amh. aḏägäḏḏägä “être très large (maison)” [DRS 684, ZGZG4: isolated in Sem.] and Harari zāgaḥa “être large” [DRS 684, zḡh4: isolated in Sem.].

● **349. AS** *-zək ~ *-sək (with prefix *tə-) “bat” [GT]: Angas tó-zók (Kabwir dialect) “bad living in house” (so!) [Jng. 1962 MS: 40], Sura tó-sək “Fledermaus” [Jng. 1963: 85], Mupun tó-zók “bat” [Frj. 1991: 63] (AS: Takacs 2004: 423) || CCh.: Uldeme zəḡwáy (j- [dz-]) “chauve-souris” [Colombel 1997: 171] || ECh.: Lele žīgā-žīgā “chauve-souris: megaderme à ailes orangées” [WP 1982: 40] = žīgá-žīgá [Stolbova] | Mubi-Toram *zawḳ- “bat” [GT]: Birgit zàwyó (m), pl. zàwyà “chauve-souris” [Jng. 2004: 360], Kofa sàwk (f), pl. sáwkàn “bat (chauve-souris)” [Jng. 1977 MS: 14, #334] < Ch. *žVg- “1. mouse, 2. bat” [CLD III 233-234, #1078] = *zəkw-, var. *žik- “bat” [GT].

● **350. AS** *zok “1. generosity, 2. gift” [GT]:⁴⁰ Montol zok “gift” [Ftp. 1911: 217], Goemai šin-zok “gift” (lit. “thing of generosity”, cf. šin- “thing”) [Ftp. 1911: 217] = zək [zək]

³⁹ D. Appleyard (l.c.) attributed also these parallels to NAgaw *çəḳw-, although he too admitted that it “with unexpected medial *q*”.

⁴⁰ Cognate with AS *zuḡum “generous, gift”?

“kindness, generosity” [Sirlinger 1937: 283] = zok “to be generous” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (AS: Takacs 2004: 426) || Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{shw/y}}$ I: saḥā “1. être généreux, 2. donner largement, être généreux dans les dons que l’on fait” [BK I 1067-8]. Vacillation of AA *z- (AS) vs. *c- (Ar.)?

● **351. AS *zük** “hole” [GT]: Angas zük “rat hole whose opening has been is filled up by the rat with earth” [Foulkes 1915: 312] = zük (Kabwir dialect) “rat hole filled up by rat with earth” [Jng. 1962 MS: 45], Mupun zük wūs ~ zük (alone) “open hearth (where men only are allowed to sit)” (act. “hole of fire”? cf. wūs “fire”) [Frj. 1991: 70] (AS: Takacs 2004: 427) || CCh.: Munjuk-Puss zugūḍi (zugūḍa) “creuser (à la pioche)” [Tourneux 1991: 129] || perhaps SBrb. *-zak (?) [GT]: Ahaggar tā-hak [h < *z?] “cavité d’un tube” [Prasse 1969: 50, #198: not attested elsewhere in SBrb.] || Eg. zk “graben (einen Teich)” (PT, Wb III 487, 10). AS-Sem.: Takacs 2001: 81; 2011: 156. Eventually, it derives from PAA $\sqrt{\text{zk}}$ “to dig a hole” [GT].⁴¹

● **352. AS *zük** “heap of rubbish” [GT]: Angas zük “rubbish-heap” [ALC 1978: 70], Sura zük “heap” [Blench apud CLD], Kofyar zük “composted manure” [Netting 1967: 46] (AS: Takacs 2004: 427) || Sem. $\sqrt{\text{zk}}$: Ar. zaqqa “rendre les excréments (se dit d’un oiseau)”, zaqzaqa “rendre les excréments (se dit des oiseaux)” [BK I 998-999], Ar. (dialect of Sudan) zagḡ “déféquer” [DRS] || Eth.-Sem.: Amh. azzaqa “faire amasser et emporter les immondices” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 785-786). AS-Sem.: Takacs 2001: 81; 2011: 156.

● **352.1.** If, however, the AS primary sense was “heap”, cf. better WCh.: Miya žəkə “much, many” [Skinner apud CLD] || Sem.: Ar. zuqy-at- “tas de pièces de monnaie” [DRS 783, ZQY1: isolated in Sem.]. Miya-AS due to O.V. Stolbova (CLD III 125, #450 with further dubious parallels).

● **353. AS *zük ~ *sük** (with prefix *gu-/*ku-/*kə-) ≈ Hausa áččà “the cereal grass *Digitaria exilis*” [Abr. 1962: 5], i.e., “acha” [GT]: Angas gú-zük “a grain food” (≈ Hausa iboru (sic!), cf. Hausa ibùrò “cereal like áččà” [Abr. 1962: 394]) [Foulkes 1915: 191] = gu-zük “Hirseart: *Acha Digitaria exilis*”, gú-zúk “Getreidefrucht (Hausa ibùrò)”, ḡu-zük (Kabwir dialect) “corn (Hausa ača)” [Jng. 1962a MS], Sura kú-súk “*Digitaria exilis* (Hausa áččà), ein Getreidegras, das Anfang Oktober geerntet wird” [Jng. 1963: 71], Mupun kù-súk ~ súk “hungry rice (*Digitaria exilis*)” [Frj. 1991: 29], Mushere ku-zük “1. acha, 2. another type of snake that stays inside the *acha*”, ngu heeh kuzuk “person harvesting acha” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 115], Goemai goe-zug (so, -g) “Hausa *acha*” [Sirlinger 1937: 67] = gə-zük “acha” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 11] (AS: Takacs 2004: 427) || SBrb.: Ayr a-zgāḡ, pl. i-zgāḡ-ān “esp. de graminée (*Cyperus conglomeratus*)” [PAM 2003: 878] || Eg. sh.t (PT: written sš.t, since OK often sh.t) “eine Körnerfrucht, als Inhalt der Scheune, als Medikament, als Opferspeise, besonders mit den Zusätzen ‘weiss’ und ‘grün’: in der Opferliste und in offizineller Verwen-

⁴¹ Remotely (on biconsonantal grounds) related to Sem. $\sqrt{\text{zk}}$ “to dig” [GT]: OHbr. $\sqrt{\text{zq}}$ piel “umgraben”, NHbr. $\sqrt{\text{zq}}$ “aufhacken” | Ar. $\sqrt{\text{zqa}}$ “mit einer Hacke umgraben”, Geez $\sqrt{\text{zqa}}$ “to dig, make a hole” (Sem.: GB 578; Leslau 1987: 81). From an AA root variety $\sqrt{\text{zk}}$ (?) [GT].

dung, auch durch Stampfen zu Speise verarbeitet” (PT-XXVI., Wb IV 267, 9-12). Vacillation of AA *ʒ- (AS) vs. *c- (Eg.)?

● **354. PAngas *zuk** “please” [GT]: Angas zuk-zuk “please” vs. gu-zuk “please” [ALC 1978: 20, 70] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 427) || SBrb.: Ahaggar ti-na-həy-în (pl. tante) [Prasse: < *√h₁h₂γ, GT: regular < *√z(h₂γ) “grâce, amnistie (levée d’une peine)” [Prasse 1969: 62, #335]⁴² || Sem.: perhaps OHbr. √z^oq “appeler à l’aide” [DRS 772 with a different etymology].

● **355. Suroid *-zuk** [GT]: Sura tu-zúk (prefix tu-) “Masern” [Jng. 1963: 86] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 427) || Sem. biradical *√zg “to be long” [GT]: Aram. of Talmud zəgā? “s’établir, s’allonger”, Mandaic zga “être étendu, se coucher” | Ar. zağğa “être fin, allongé (sourcil)”, Egyptian Ar. zaggiğ “se faire les sourcils (au crayon)” || Eth.-Sem.: Tigrinya zäg bälä, Amharic zägg alä “1. tomber lourdement, 2. s’étendre de tout son long”, zägäzzägä “durer longtemps”, Harari zäg bayä, Gurage zugä barä “être étendu” etc. (Sem.: DRS 682, zg^o/g/y1 vs. 683, ZGG4 vs. 684, ZGZG3).

*

Abbreviations of languages and other terms

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Hamito-Semitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amhara, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bch.: Bauchi, Bed.: Bed’awye (Beja), BM: Bura-Margi, BN: Bade-Ngizim, Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), BT: Bole-Tangale, CCh.: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, DB: Daffo-Butura, Dem.: Demotic, E: East, Ebl.: Eblaite, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, Gmy.: Goemai, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi (in MSA), Hs.: Hausa, IE: Indo-European, irreg.: irregular, JAram.: Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, Jbl.: Jibbali, Kfy.: Kofyar, KK: Kera-Kwang group, L: Late, L: Low-land, lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, Math.: mathematical papyri, Med.: medical texts, MG: Mofu-Gudur, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Mada group, Mnt.: Montol, Mpn.: Mupun, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Msr.: Musheru, N: New, N: North, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, reg.: regular, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaeen, Sem.: Semitic, Sgt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram): Aramaic of Talmud, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, (E)Wlmd.: (East) Tawllmmedt, Y: Young(er).

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungrauthmayr, Alj.: Alojaly, Alm.: Alemayehu, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, Bgn.: Beguinot, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Blc.: Blachère, Blv.: Belova, Blz.: Blažek, Bnd.: Bender, Brg.: Bargery, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brq.: Burquest, Brt.: Barreteau, Clc.: von Calice, Cpr.: Caprile,

⁴² Affiliated by K.-G. Prasse (l.c.) with Ahaggar a-həy “piller, razzier, recueillir (du liquide, vase etc.)”, but he failed to argue for the supposedly underlying semantical shift.

CR: Conti Rossini, CrI.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cosper, Ctc.: Cañucoli, CTC: C. Taïne-Cheikh, Dbr.: Djibrine, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopof'skij, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Egc.: Eguchi, Ehr.: Ehret, Eld.: Elderkin, Fed.: Foucauld, Fdr.: Fédry, FH: Farah & Heck, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, Grb.: Greenberg, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hlw.: Hellwig, Hsk.: Hoskison, Hyw.: Hayward, Ibr.: Ibriszimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Krf.: Kraft, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, Mgd.: Migeod, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mrn.: Moreno, Mts.: Matsushita, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nct.: Nachtigal, Nhl.: Nehlil, NM: Newman & Ma, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, PH: Parker & Hayward, Prh.: Porhomovskij, Prs.: Prasse, RB: Rapp & Benzig, Rn.: Reinisch, Rpr.: Roper, Rsg.: Rossing, Rsl.: Rössler, Sbr.: Siebert, Scn.: Sachnine, Skn.: N. Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Snd.: Schneider, Spg.: Spiegelberg, Srl.: Sirlinger, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Sts.: Starostin, Tf.: Taïfi, TG: Takács, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

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