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Angas-Sura etymologies XI¹

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Dedicated to the memory of my dear Father,
József Takács (1940-2022)²

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

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² 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 enormously 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. As a carpenter by his original profession, he had played a fundamental rôle, beginning from 1993, in the long construction phases of the uncountable wooden containers in my traditional paper-based linguistic 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. Jungraithmayr (1981: 407). The Angas-Sura language group belongs to the West Chadic subbranch (cf. e.g. Jng. 1981: 407-408; 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 segments³ until the first comparative lexicon of the Angas-Sura group has been completed (Takács 2004)⁴. Now, it has become plausible to systematically deal also with the external cog-

³ 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 (Jungraithmayr 1963) lexicons for the comparison adducing some additional data from Chip, Montol, Gerka (collected and published by Jungraithmayr 1965). In 1972, she proposed a historical-comparative survey of the Proto-Angas-Sura consonant system in the light of some illustrative lexical material (2-3 exx. for each correspondence). In her 1977 paper, Stolbova presented 256 lexical roots and Proto-Angas-Sura reconstructions accompanied by a brief sketch of vowel correspondences. C. Hoffmann (1975 MS) offered a phonological (both consonantal and vowel) reconstruction of the Proto-Angas-Goemai level (on the basis of Goemai, Mernyang, Sura, and Angas) through 248 lexical roots. The West Chadic historical phonology by Stolbova (1987: 240-244) also contains a separate list of some 64 Proto-Angas roots.

⁴ I express my best thanks for the constant and many-sided unselfish support yielded for my work by the great Chadicist, Prof. Herrmann Jungraithmayr (Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften, J.W.Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt a/M). I am greatly indebted also to the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (Bonn) for 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.

nates of the Angas-Sura lexical stock. The series “Angas-Sura Etymologies”⁵ 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- (+ nasals) = Eg.-Brb.-Sem. *z- < AA *ʒ-

- **356. Suroid *zam** “much” [GT]: Sura zâm “1. sehr, viel, 2. wirklich” [Jng. 1963: 89], Mupun zám (adv.) “very much” [Frj. 1991: 69] (AS: Takacs 2004: 422) III Sem.: Ar. zamma I “8. remplir (une outre), 9. être rempli”, zumzūm- “masse, amas, grande quantité (de toutes

⁵ 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. The tenth one is forthcoming in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 64/1 (2022).

choses)”, zamzam-(at)- “abondante (eau), qui jaillit abondamment de la source”, zumāzim- “abondant” [BK I 1008, 1011] (DRS 745, 749: isolated in Sem.). AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 78; 2011: 154.

● **357. AS *zam** → ***zaj** “stick” [GT]: Mushere nzang “stick” [Jng. 1999 MS: 13], Goemai zam “a rod, a slender stick” [Sirlinger 1937: 284] | Pero žím [unexpected -i-] “tree stub” [Frj. 1985: 33] ||l ECU. *zām- [< *zaʔm-] “twig, branch” [Sasse 1976: 140; cf. Leslau 1988: 186] = *daʔm- [Sasse 1982: 52] ||l (?) Eg. zm3.w [regular < both *√zmr and *√zmʔ] (pl.) “die Zweige der Bäume” (MK, Wb III 452, 2-5) = “branches of tree” (FD 226) < AA *ʒVmʔ- “branch of tree” [GT]. ECU.-Eg.: Dolgopolsky 1983: 140 followed by Blažek 1990 MS Bed., 5, #8. AS-ECU.-Eg.: Takács 2001: 78; 2011: 154.

357.1. The triconsonantal extension of the same AA root may be seen in Sem.: (???) Akk. (aB, ass.) (a)zamru(m) “Bez. von Früchten” [AHW 1509: “u(nbekannter).H(erkunft).”, i.e., “of unknown origin”] = (a)zamru “(a tree or shrub and its edible fruit): a) (referring to a tree), b) (referring to the fruit)”, perhaps this “could be the designation of the *Zizyphus vulgaris* (*spina Christi*), not the *Zizyphus jujuba*” [CAD z 40-41]⁶ || Ug. azmr (m) “branches” [DUL 137] = ʔzmr “branchages (?)” [DRS] (not translated in Gordon 1965: 393, #823 and the WUS 98, #883), OHbr. √zmr II qal “to prune” [KB 274]⁷ = zəmorāh “vrilles de la vigne”, *zāmar “tailler la vigne” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 751, ZMR2) ||l (?) Eg. zm3.w [regular < both *√zmr and *√zmʔ]⁸ (pl.) “die Zweige der Bäume” (MK, Wb III 452, 2-5) = “branches of tree” (FD 226) ||l (?) NBrb. *√zmr: Rif a-zemmur, pl. i-zemmur-en, Shilh, Zwawa, Bugi (Bougie) a-zemmur “arbre” (NBrb.: Basset 1883: 290) ||l CCh.: (???) Mbara zīmár (m) “bâton de combat” [TSL 1986: 282], Munjuk-Puss zəmar (m) “pilon” [Tourneux 1991: 128] < N/CAA *√zmr “1. branch (of a special tree???)”, 2. stick (in general)” [GT].

● **358. AS *zam** ~ (?) ***sam** “dark” [GT]: Mupun zám (ideoph.) “black jet” [Frj. 1991: 69], per-haps cognate with Goemai sam “grey of colour” [Sirlinger 1937: 197] ||l CCh.: Tera-Pidlimdi žum “darkness” [Kraft > Mukarovsky] | Mwulyen žěèmi “shadow” [Kraft 1981: #261] ||l HECU.: perhaps Burji damm- [d- < *z- plausible] “to pass the night” [Sasse 1982: 52].

358.1. The same root may have been extended to a trilateral one preserved by the exclusive Egypto-Chadic isogloss of ECh.: Mokilko zímòlò “Dunkelheit” [Lukas 1977: 219] = zímòlò [Mukarovsky] ||l Eg. zm3.wj (or *sm3.wjʔ) “Finsternis, Dunkelheit” (LP, Wb III 452, 6), kkw-zm3.w “Dunkel(heit), Dämmerung” (XVIII., Wb V 143-144). The Tera word above

⁶ The editors of the CAD l.c., all in all, referring back to the study by Ebeling (*Orientalia* NS 21, 141) at the end of this entry, arrived at the opinion that this lexeme is: “a designation of a tree or shrub grown in gardens and yielding an edible fruit that was stored either in baskets or (possibly preserved or otherwise prepared) in earthenware containers. No definite identification can be proposed, but it is possible that zamru is the Assyrian designation of a fruit known in Babylonia under another name. In spite of the untenable etymology proposed by Thompson, ... zamru could be the designation of the *Zizyphus vulgaris* (*spina Christi*), not the *Zizyphus jujuba* that, according to Guest, ... is not cultivated in Iraq.”

⁷ The OT Hebrew root was affiliated in KB l.c. with Ug. zbr and Ar. zabbara “to circumcise”.

⁸ The position of Eg. zm3.w depends on the nature of -ʔ-. Other etymologies for Eg. zm3.w (offered in Hodge 1976: 19, #34; Ehret 2000 MS: 114, #1537) are not acceptable.

was, by the way, directly equated by H.G. Mukarovsky (1987: 139) with the Mokilko one, while by V. Orel and O. Stolbova (1992b: 209; HSED #2624)⁹ with Eg. zm3.w (sic).

358.2. A remote root variety with a lateral C₁- may be represented by Sem.: Ar. √šym > šām-at- “2. tout signe noir qu’on voit sur la terre, 3. chamelle noire, 4. tache dans la lune”, ʔašyamu “noir” [BK I 1300].

● **359. Goemai *zam** “farm, field” [GT]: Goemai zam “farm” [Ftp. 1911: 216] = zam “farm” [Sirlinger 1937: 284] = zam “field” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 422) | NBauchi *zīm “поле” [Stolbova 1987: 262, #13] = *zīm “field” [GT] || Eg. zmj.t “1. Wüste (bes. von Wüstenrande), 2. Begräbnisstätte” (PT, Wb III 444-445).

● **360. AS *z^wam ~ *z^wem (?)** “snake sp.” [GT]: Montol zEM [z- < *z^w-?] “Schlange” [Jng. 1965: 172], Goemai zwam “a poisonous snake” (≈ Hausa ígíyàr kásà “any snake” [Abraham 1962: 397]), cf. perhaps also ži-kuk zwam “a caterpillar” [Sirlinger 1937: 286, 84] = zwam “vipér” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (AS: Takacs 2004: 429) || SCu.: PRift *c/çema (ts/ts'-) “python” [Ehret]: Burunge čima (c-) “python”, Alagwa cima (ts-) “python” | Qwadza cema (ts-) “snake” (Rift: Ehret 1980: 355, #III.C.5).

● **361. Kofyar zwam** (repeated action of ták) “1. to dress, put on cloth, 2. throw” [Netting 1967: 38]: although the Kofyar verbal sense listed as second in the source above (Netting l.c.) sounds all too general to be ignored as possibly its primary (?) one, it would be tempting to affiliate it with ECh.: PCh. *zVm- “kind of clothing” [CLD] = *√zm “dress (ing) (either of leather or cloth)” [GT] > CCh.: Lame (Zime-Batna) zīm “vêtement ancien tissé avec la fibre de ‘gùgùlè’” [Sachnine 1982: 434], Zime-Dari ž/žim (Cooper: 3-) “vêtement ancien qu’utilisait les ancêtres” [Cooper 1984: 31] || ECh.: Bidiya zìmlà “vêtement, tissu” [AJ 1989], WDangla ziminna “pagne des femmes” [Fédry quoted in CLD] | Mubi-Toram *zām- “leather (cloth)” [GT] > Birgit zàamà (m), pl. zámà “peau” [Jng. 2004: 360], Kofa zám (m), pl. zámè “cloth (material), drap, tissu, peau (‘pagne’)” [Jng. 1977 MS: 8, #153] (Ch. sine Kofyar: CLD III 134, #494) || Sem.: cf. perhaps Geez zəʕəme “fringe (?), some kind of garment (?)” [Leslau 1987: 630].¹⁰

361.1. Root variety with a voiceless sibilant *Anlaut* in Ch. *sVm- “skin” [CLD III 88, #272]?

361.2. May we see the same root with a C₃ root extension in ECh.: Mubi zòmòdè (zùmút, zùmóot), pl. zamađe (zemit, n.a.) “(se) couvrir (avec une couverture)” [Jng. 1990 MS: 50]?

● **362. Goemai zèm [zEM]** “grain, the arrangement of fibres in a thing” [Sirlinger 1937: 284] (Takacs 2004: 424: isolated in AS) || SCu.: WRift *ca/ima (*tsa/ima) [*c- regular < AA *3-] (m) “core of a tree” [KM] > Iraqw camú (ts-) (m) “legume with strong fibre”, Gorowa cima (ts-) “core of a tree”, Alagwa camí (ts-) (f) “core of a tree”, Burunge čēmiya (f) (c-) “core of a tree” (WRift: KM 2004: 290) || Eth.-Sem.: (?) Amh. ḡəmmat “nerfs, veines, muscles, tendons, cordes de lyre” (ES: DRS 748-749, ZMM1) < AA *√zm “plant fibre” [GT].

⁹ Where Mokilko was misquoted as Migama.

¹⁰ This is of a doubtful meaning, Leslau’s alternative rendering is: “tuft of hair (?)”. See also entry no. 368 below.

362.1. The underlying verbal root of this unique isogloss (eventually related to the AA root of Goemai zum “straps” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] below) may have been preserved in WCh.: SBAuchi: Polchi zumu (dz-) “to gather” [Kraft 1981 II 239] || Sem.: Ar. \sqrt{zym} V “2. s’accumuler, s’entasser de manière à former une masse compacte”, ziyam- “chairs agglomérées ça et là sur tous les membres du corps” [BK I 1043] < AA \sqrt{zm} “to accumulate” [GT].

362.2. NAA \sqrt{zml} “to unite” [GT] contains the same biconsonantal root as in one of the next entries (see there under no. 365), which developed semantically especially close reflexes in the trilateral Egypto-Semitic isogloss of Sem.: Ar. \sqrt{zml} I: zamala “3. s’adjoindre qqn. pour faire l’ouvrage” > ziml-at- “1. réunion de tout ce qui est touffu et entrelacé, p.ex., de jeunes et petits palmiers”, zamal-at- “famille, maison (y compris les domestiques et les suivants), *Smala*” [BK I 1013] = \sqrt{zml} (“Grundbedeutung:”) vereinigen, sich anschließen” [von Calice] || Eg. zm3 “vereinigen” (OK-, Wb III 446-447). For the abundant literature of the well-known Eg.-Sem. match see EDE I 377-378, also Ehret 2000 MS: 104, #1487. For the biliteral Semitic etymology see Vycichl 1934: 43; 1936: 109; 1939: 141; Brunner 1969: 119, #657; Zaborski 1971: #227; Belova 1993: 43, #216 and 45, #267.

362.3. NAA $\sqrt{\text{šmr}}$ “to accumulate” [GT], represented by Berbero-Semitic match, is presumably the rather remote rhyme-root variation of the preceding trilateral root, cf. Sem.: Ar. šamara I “1. cueillir, ramasser (les dattes), 2. ramasser et réunir sur un point, p.ex., les bouts de sa robe ou ce qui était disséminée” [BK I 1267] || SBrb.: Ayr zämmār “s’accumuler à l’intérieur (de), profondément (dans, sur), peser (sur)” [PAM 1998: 893].

● **363. PGoemai $\sqrt{zəm}$** [GT]: Goemai zəem [zəm] “to love, like, agree, believe” [Sirlinger 1937: 285] (Takacs 2004: 424: isolated in AS) | Gwandara žūmá [žu- < *zu- reg.] “to prefer” [Matsushita 1972: 57] || ECh.: Ubi zom-no “ami” [Alio 2004: 276, #363] < P(W)Ch. \sqrt{zVm} “to wish”, also Ch. $\sqrt{zVn-d}$ “to want” [CLD III 132, #487] || NOM.: Yemsa zomó [Cerulli, Lamberti] = zomoba [Fisseha] “friend” (Yemsa data: Bender 2003: 340, #37) || Sem. $\sqrt{z^{\text{c}}m}$ [DRS] (GT: root extension $\sqrt{-^{\text{c}}-}$): Ar. za^cima “désirer ardemment qqc.” [BK I 992] || ES: Gurage žamā “convoiter, désirer ardemment” [DRS 771] vs. Sem. $\sqrt{z^{\text{h}}m}$ [DRS]: Ar. (dialect of Zaër) zḥəm “désirer ardemment qqch.” [DRS 716 among semantically unrelated *comparranda*] < AA $\sqrt{z^{\text{c}}m}$ “to like” [GT]. AS-Sem.: Takacs 2001: 80; 2011: 156.

● **364. PAngas \sqrt{zim}** (?) → $\sqrt{zəm}$ via $\sqrt{züm}$ “1. back, 2. shoulder” [GT]: Angas züm “the shoulders, the upper part of back” [Foulkes 1915: 313] = zəm “Schulterpartie, Rücken, Buckel” [Jng. 1962a MS: 45] = zəm “back”, zəm sar “back of hand”, cf. čir zəm “to reject” [ALC 1978: 9, 70] = cf. perhaps tər kà zəm kənī “to help” [Kraft] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 425) || CCh.: Masa $\sqrt{c/zəḡa}$ “saddle place of horse” [GT]: Lame cəḡā (ts-) “selle (de cheval)” [Sachnine 1982: 400], cf. Lame zəḡā (dz-) “crinière (du cheval)” [Sachnine 1982: 411] || Sem. \sqrt{zmm} : Ar. (dialect of Syria and Palestina) zamma “(em)porter”, (Maroccan) zəmmāmāt (pl.) “muscles qui serrent le sphincter”, (Marazig) zamm “soulever en un seul bloc par en dessous et emporter (quelque chose de lourd)” (Ar.: DRS 748) || MSA \sqrt{zmm} : Jibbali zimm “to embrace and lift so. off his feet”, ezmím “to hold sg./so. on one’s upraised palm at shoulder level” [Johnstone 1981: 319], Mehri zəm “to embrace and lift so. off his

feet” [Johnstone 1987: 468] < CAA * \sqrt{zm} “to carry on the back/shoulders (?)” [GT]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 80; 2011: 155-156.

The underlying CAA * \sqrt{zm} “back” [GT] is reconstructible from further derivatives with diverse C₃ root extensions (SBrb. *-r, Ar. -k and -ḥ):

364.1. PAA * \sqrt{zmk} “back” [GT]: Sem.: Classical Ar. \sqrt{zmk} > zamak- “1. naissance, racine de la queue (chez les oiseaux), 2. queue d’oiseau” [BK I 1012], Maghrebi Ar. \sqrt{zmk} > zanka ~ zbanka ~ zmanka “croupion d’oiseau, postérieur, cul” [DRS 747] || ES: Gurage dialects: Ennemor zäng^wäd, Endegeny zängod, zong^wäd, Gyeto zäng^wät “buttocks, anus, bottom of a thing” (Gurage: Leslau 1979 III: 711) || NOM.: PMao *ziṅk/k- “upper back” [GT]: Hozo zi/ṅṅka “upper back” [Atieb & Bender] = ziṅká “back” [Siebert & Wedekind], Sezo ziṅki “upper back” [Bender & Atieb] = ziṅk/ḳε “back” [Siebert & Wedekind] (Mao: Bender 2003: 353, #4).

364.2. PAA * \sqrt{VngVr} - “back, bottom” [GT]: Sem.: Gafat azänägärä “to go down” [Leslau 1945: 181] = azänägärä “descendre” [Leslau 1956: 250; DRS 759]¹¹ || SCu. * \sqrt{zngr} [GT]: Ma’a mǔ-zǔngǔlǔ “Rücken” [Meinhof 1906: 315] = mzunguré “back” [Ehret 1980: 197, #IV.A.4].¹²

364.3. Sem.: Classical Ar. $\sqrt{zmḥ}$ > zammāḥ “anus, cul”, zamwaḥ “marcher en tortillant le derrière” [DRS 746], which may certainly contain the CAA nominal class indicator *ḥ of anatomical terms (cf. Takacs 1997).

364.4. A further triradicalized reflex of the same CAA root may be preserved in SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr e-zmār “garrot (partie du dos située en avant de la bosse dans/chez le chameau et où se place la selle), 2. avant-dos (du cheval et des autres grands quadrupèdes)”, ə-zmər “1. supporter, 2. i.a.: être bon marcheur/porteur (bête)” [Alojaly 1980: 214; PAM 2003: 893], although its etymological position is vague.¹³

● **365. Goemai zum** “straps” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 427) || Sem. * \sqrt{zmm} “to bind with a rope (?)” [GT]: Syr. zam “lier la vigne”, zāmāmā “lien, mors, bride”, JPParam. z³mam “mettre un mors” | Ar. zamma “lier, attacher, brider un monture, exercer un contrôle”, zimām- “longe, bride, courroie, contrôle” || Eth.-Sem. * \sqrt{zmm} : Geez zamama, Tna. zämmāmā “brider, attacher avec une corde la mâchoire inférieure d’une bête”, zāmām “mors aux narines, lien”, (?) Amh. ḡəmmat “nerfs, veines, muscles, tendons, cordes de lyre” (ES: DRS 748-749, ZMM1).

365.1. Ultimately related to the biliteral root of one of the preceding entries (see there under no. 362), whose Semitic reflex was reconstructed on the basis of further extended derivatives (q.v.) as * \sqrt{zm} “to bind” [Zaborski 1971: #227] = * \sqrt{zm} “связывать, сжимать” [Belova 1993: 43, #216] = * \sqrt{zm} “to tie together” [Ehret 2000 MS: 104, #1487].

¹¹ For the semantic shift in Gafat cf. e.g. SBrb.: Hgr. tə-zuk “buttock” [Foucauld 1951-2], EWlmd. tə-zuk, pl. ši-zuk-en “fesse” [PAM 1998: 371] || HECu.: Kambatta zakku “after” [Leslau 1980: 120] || NOM. *zikk-/zukk- “back” [Blazek 1989 MS Om., 5, #4] || WCh.: Ron: Bokkos žáhá [h < *k reg.] “Gesäß” [Jng. 1970: 143] || ECh.: Jegu zuk ~ zug- “herabsteigen” [Jng. 1961: 118] < AA * $\sqrt{[z]k}$ “back” [GT].

¹² Ehret l.c.: ~ Burunge čigara (c-) “sheep’s tail” < SCu. *zink- “buttocks, hindquarters”.

¹³ Cf. alternatively (?) the entry for AS *zuṅ, from **zum (?) “1. chest”, hence *pV-zuṅ (mostly prefixed reflexes) “2. heart” [GT] below (entry no. 396).

365.2. Root variety with a voiceless sibilant *Anlaut* in WCh.: Pero čámò “rope”, čámù “to make a rope” [Frj. 1985: 24] || Eg. smj “Segelleine” (BD, Wb IV 130, 7) perhaps also smj.w (pl.) “Peitsche (als Gerät zum Prügeln)” (MK, Wb IV 130, 8).¹⁴

● **366. PAngas *zum > *zuŋ** “antelope sp.” [GT]: Angas zung “the H(au)s(a). kanki antelope” [Foulkes 1915: 313] = nzùm “Antilope (Hausa tǎŋkíí)” vs. nzùŋ “Kama, Eng. hartebeest (Hausa kankii)” [Jng. 1962a MS: 46] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 427) < Ch. *zVm- “kind of antelope, bush animal” [CLD III 133, #493] || SBrb.: EWlmd. e-zām, pl. i-zāmm-ān “antelope oryx” [PAM 1998: 375; 2003: 891] || Sem.: Hbr. zemer “sorte de gazelle” [DRS 752]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 82; 2011: 157.

● **367. AS *zum → *zəm** “sort of wasp” [GT]: Angas tang-zum “a wasp” [Foulkes 1915: 288] = ntàŋ-zùm (Kabwir dialect) “a wasp” [Jng. 1962a MS: 29] = ntaŋ-zum “wasp” [ALC 1978: 48], Goemai tang-zoem “a wasp, the small sized one (of reddish colour)” [Sirlinger 1937: 238] (AS: Takacs 2004: 427) | Hausa zùmà “1. honey, 2. honeycomb with honey still in it” [Abraham 1962: 979], Gwandara žúmà [žu- < *zu- reg.] “honey, bee” [Mts. 1972: 57] || CCh.: Tera žum-di “honey” [Meek] | Bata žúma-tiye “honey” [Mouchet], Bata-Demsa jumathé [žuma-čé] “bee”, žumé “honey” [Strümpell], Bachama žuma-to “bee” [Meek] = nžúmwa-to “bee”, nžúmwa-to “honey” [Skinner] | Mandara nžuywa nɔma “bee” [Meek], Glavda nžuyám-àma “bee” [Rapp & Benzig 1968] | Sukur žum-am “bee” [Meek], Gisiga-Dogba zaam-am “bee” [Lukas] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 18-19, 190-191) || ECu. *zagm- ~/> (?) *zamm- [epenthetic *-g-?] “honey” [Sasse 1979: 20, 54, 58] || SCu.: Dahalo nžóme “honey of mpēle bee” [Ehret 1980: 201, #5, so also EEN 1989: 46].¹⁵ Cu.-Ch. (without AS): Blažek 1991: 51-52, #31. Ch.-SCu.: Skinner 1996: 300. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 81; 2011: 156-157.

● **368. AS *zum ~ *zuŋ** “hairstyle” [GT] = *zuŋ “tuft of hair” [Dlg.]: Angas zung (≈ Hausa zonko) “a tuft of hair on the head” [Foulkes 1915: 313] = nzùm “Haartracht” vs. ŋzùŋ “Haarbüschel, besonderer Haarschnitt, urspr. der Jukun” [Jng. 1962a MS: 30, 46] = zuŋ “tuft of hair” [Hoffmann], Kofyar zuŋ “tuft of hair” [Hoffmann], Goemai zung “the needle on a chief’s head” [Sirlinger 1937: 285] = zuŋ “tuft of hair” [Hoffmann] (AS: Hoffmann 1975: 21, #112) || Sem. *√zmm ~ *√z^om [GT]: Aram. zemmā, Syr. zəmtā, Mandaean zimta “hair (cheveux)” (NWSem.: DRS 749) || ES: Geez zə^oəme, pl. za^oāməy “tuft of hair (?)” [Leslau]¹⁶ = frange, touffe de cheveux (?) [DRS], Amharic zoma “long wavy hair” [Leslau] = “longue chevelure ondulée” [DRS] (ES: Leslau 1987: 630; DRS 770-771) < PAA *√zm “sort of peculiar hairstyle (?)” [GT]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 81-82; 2011: 157.

¹⁴ Its etymology is disputed. C.T. Hodge (1968: 28, #94) equated it with Ch. *(k-)s-m “skin”, but abandoning this idea, later he (Hodge 1976: 12, #46) he ventured to change it for a comparison to Sem. *√šyb “grey hair” with an apparent hesitation as for the all too vague semantics of this forged Eg.-Sem. match: “at least formally possible”.

¹⁵ Ch. Ehret (1980: 201, #IV.F.5) based his SCu. *^ocōm+ (*ts-) “kind of bee” [Ehret] upon the vague comparison of Qwadza camayi-tuko “bee” | Dahalo ʒóme “honey of mpēle bee”.

¹⁶ Geez zə^oəme is of doubtful meaning. Leslau’s alternative rendering is: “fringe (?), some kind of garment (?)”.

● **369. AS *zum ~ *zuŋ** “lazy” [GT]: Angas go-zum “idle” (go “person”) [Ormsby 1914: 209] = zum “laziness, lazy” [Foulkes 1915: 312] = zùm “Faulheit, fault” vs. zəŋ (Kabwir dialect) “idle” (≈ Hausa zama baa aiki) [Jng. 1962 MS: 45] = ngo zùm “lazy person” [ALC 1978: 46], presumably Montol ge-zum “patience” (ge- not clear) [Ftp. 1911: 219] (AS: Takacs 2004: 427) < WCh. *√zm “to get tired” [JS 1981]¹⁷ ||| SBrb. *√zmr: EWlmd.-Ayr zəməmmər-ət “1. se traîner sur le sol ..., 2. être pénible” [PAM 2003: 893] ||| Sem. *√zmḥ: Ar. zūmah-, zūmah- “faible, débile” [DRS 746 with semantically unrelated *comparanda*] < PAA *√zm “to be feeble (?)” (extended with diverse C₃ in NAA) [GT].

● **370. AS *zūm** (or *zuŋum?) “to be well” [GT]:¹⁸ Angas zum “prosperity, good health, everything going well” [Foulkes 1915: 313] = zum “Wohlergehen, Gesundheit” [Jng. 1962a MS: 45] = zum “peace”, kaŋ zum “to make peace”, ngo zum “man of peace”, kan (so -n) kə zum “fellowship” [ALC 1978: 24, 46, 70], Mupun zūm “to recover from pain” [Frj. 1991: 70] (AS: Takacs 2004: 426) < WCh. *√zm “good” [JS 1981]¹⁹ < PCh. *zVm- “to be (in) good (health), beautiful” [CLD III 134-135, #500] ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar zemzem “être épanoui (de joie, le sujet étant le visage d’une personne), s’épanouir (de joie) (exprime exclusivement l’épanouissement du visage produit par la joie, non celui de la jeunesse, ni de la beauté; se dit de n’importe quelle personne, jeune ou vieille, belle ou laide, dont la joie est peinte sur le visage; peu usité)” [Foucauld 1951-2: 1971].

● **371. Suroid *zan** “to stretch out” [GT]: Sura zan “ausstrecken (Beine, Arme)” [Jng. 1963: 89], Mushere zan “to straighten” [Jng. 1999 MS: 20] ||| Eg. zn “öffnen” (PT, Wb III 454) ||| Sem.: Ar. √zn? I: zanaʔa “7. être resserré, étroit”, √znw: zanā “être resserré, étroit (d’un lieu)”, zaniyy- “étroit” [BK I 1015, 1018, cf. DRS 760] < PAA *√zn “1. to stretch out, 2. straighten out” [GT]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 78; 2011: 155.

● **372. Suroid *zʷan ~/> *ʒʷan** “to comfort in order to influence” [GT]: Sura ʒʷaan (so, long -aa-) “in Versuchung führen, täuschen” [Jng. 1963: 68], Mupun ʒʷáŋ “1. to comfort, touch tenderly, 2. influence” [Frj. 1991: 24], Kofyar zuwan “to comfort” [Netting 1967: 46], Mushere ʒʷan ~ nʒʷan “to cool down, calm down somebody while crying or when in sorrow or a difficult situation” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 103] (Takacs 2004: 429: isolated in AS) ||| SBrb.: EWlmd. ə-zzən, Ayr. ə-žžən [regular < *ə-zwən] “1. jouer avec excès, avec une gaieté folle, 2. plaisanter, être gai, joyeux, 3. être railleur, taquin, railler, taquiner, insulter (qqn.)” > EWlmd. ä-mazzan, Ayr. ə-mužān “1. blagueur, homme qui plaisante toujours, 2. railleur, taquin” [PAM 1998: 376; 2003: 893-894] ||| Sem.: Gurage dialects √zwn “to be gay” [GT]: Ennemor, Gyeto (a)zwāñä, Endegeny azwāññä “to be beautiful, pretty”, Gyeto azwāñä, Endegeny azwāññä “to be glad, rejoice, be pleased, satisfied, like” [Leslau 1979 III:

¹⁷ Affiliated by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 486, #3259) with Sem.: Ar. dāmt- “to emaciate” < AA *-dz-m- “to weaken, wear out”.

¹⁸ Cf. AS *zuŋum “cold” [GT] (q.v. above in the entry no. 341 of part X of this series)?

¹⁹ Affiliated by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 2081, #1983) with Ar. dīmar- “right, law, good fortune”, dīmr- “brave, prudent”, LECu.: Oromo simb-ō “pleasing or imposing quality” < AA *-ʒ/ʒim- “right, correct, proper”, which is either semantically (Ar.) or phonologically (Oromo) unlikely.

717] = “être beau, joli, être content” [DRS 706: isolated in Sem.] < PAA * $\sqrt{3}wn$ “1. to be gay, 2. make/be pleasant” [GT].²⁰ AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 83; 2011: 157. Is LEg. zn [GT: * $\sqrt{z}nj$ < ** $\sqrt{3}wn$?]²¹ “tanzen vor (n) jem.” (GR, Wb IV 155, 2) eventually also related?²²

● **373. Goemai zwan** “to surpass” [Sirlinger 1937: 287] (Takacs 2004: 429: isolated in AS) || ECh.: Mokilko ? $\delta z z i n \grave{e}$ ~ ? $i z z i n \grave{e}$ [GT: < * $\sqrt{3}i/o-z^{in-e}$, i.e. -zz- < *-zw- as in Brb.?] “passer, rester une année quelque part” [Jng. 1990: 159] || Eg. znj “vorbeigehen (LP-GR: von der Zeit)” (PT, Wb III 454-456) = znj “to pass (by), surpass, transgress” (OK-, FD 229): regular < * $\sqrt{z}wn$ ²³ [GT] || Sem.: no evident cognates²⁴ < AA * $\sqrt{3}wn$ (var. * $\sqrt{3}yn$?) “to pass by” [GT]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 83; 2011: 157.

● **374. AS * $z^w\grave{a}n$** “hook” [GT]: Kofyar zuwan “hook” [Netting 1967: 46], Goemai zwaan “a fishing hook” [Sirlinger 1937: 286] = zwaan “hook” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (AS: Takacs 2004: 429) || NOM.: Dache zu'n- “hoe” [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 318, #44] || LEg. zn (determinative of metals) “Pflugschar” (GR, Wb III 458, 3)²⁵ > Coptic (SA) **CINE**, (B) **CHINI** “ploughshare” (CD 343b; CED 155 pace Dümichen (1866: 84) = “Pflugschar” (KHW 188).

● **375. PGoemai * $z^w\grave{a}n$** [GT]: Goemai zwaan “to take off a bit, snatch a bit (off the meat), cut off a bit (of meat), pinch some (of fufu)” [Sirlinger 1937: 286] (Takacs 2004: 429: isolated in AS) || SBrb.: EWImd.-Ayr zänn-et²⁶ (adv.) “1. (tout à fait) à part (une chose à part), (tout) différent, 2. d'autre part” [PAM 2003: 896] || Eg. zn (in fact, $\sqrt{z}nj$, Wb: “Inf. weiblich”)²⁷ “1. gewöhnlich: (Köpfe, auch die Nacken) abschneiden (PT-), 2. ungewöhnlich: (die Eingeweide) zerschneiden (NK royal tombs), 3. (die Feinde) töten (GR)” (PT-, Wb III 457, 17-21).²⁸

²⁰ Remotely related to AA * $\sqrt{3}yn$ “good” [GT] examined s.v. AS * $z\grave{e}zn$ “truth” [GT] (above)?

²¹ For the regular match of Egyptian IIIae inf. roots corresponding to Semitic/Berber hollow roots, cf. Vycichl 1953. Its comparison with CCh.: Gude $\acute{u}c\acute{e}n\grave{a}$ (-ts-), Nzangi ućené “to dance” [Strümpell] may be misleading, cf. Guduf $\sqrt{c}g^wn$ [IL], which forecasts a trilateral root in the Bata group (cf. JI 1994 II 101).

²² For the semantical connection, cf., e.g., Eg. $jb3$ “to dance” vs. Sem.: Macro-Canaanite * $\sqrt{y}bl$ “to jubilate”.

²³ For the regular concordance of Eg. IIIae inf. roots with Semitic hollow ones see Vycichl 1953.

²⁴ Cf. perhaps Ar. $z\acute{y}n$: $z\acute{a}n\grave{a}$ “pousser devant soi”, $z\acute{a}yana$ “chasser, éloigner qqn.” [DRS 726]?

²⁵ Based upon A. Ember's suggestion (quoted by W. Spiegelberg in his 1921 KHW and by W. Westendorf in his 1977 KHW 188), Eg. * sn (metal determinative) “Pflugschar” (GR, Wb III 458, 3) > Coptic (SA) **CINE**, (B) **CHINI** “Pflugschar” (CED 155; KHW 188), however, finds a perfect match in Sem.: Ar. sinn-at- “1. bec de la plume, du roseau à écrire, 2. soc de la charrue, 3. hache à deux tranchants” [BK I 1147] || CCh.: Mbara $s\grave{i}:n\grave{a}$ “iron” [TSL 1986: 289] || ECh.: perhaps Bidiya $s\acute{a}rn\grave{a}$ “iron” [AJ 1989: 113], cf. EDE II 125. G. Takács (1998: 157, #16), in turn, did not exclude a relationship between the Late Egyptian term and the Berber word for “iron”.

²⁶ For this adverbial ending one may compare the case of Eg. wr “great” > wrt “greatly”.

²⁷ Following the hypothesis elaborated by W. Vycichl (1953), may we see here the regular match of Eg. IIIae inf. $\sqrt{z}nj$ = Sem. *mediae inf.* (i.e., the “hollow”) roots?

²⁸ Affiliated by C.T. Hodge (1968: 25) with Sem.: Akk. $zen\acute{u}$ “wrath, hate” and Ar. $\sqrt{d}nb$ IV “to do wrong, commit a crime”, which are not even with one another related. Ch. Ehret (1995: 273, #502), in turn, derived it from his AA * $c\grave{a}n$ - “to split in two, one from the other”. Later, however, Ehret (2000 MS: 536, #196) changed his mind and affiliated it with PSem. * $\sqrt{z}l$ “to cut”, PCu. * $d/zal\acute{a}^c$ - “to gash, notch” etc. < AA * $z\acute{a}l$ - “to cut (into, off)”.

● **376. PGoemai zen** “to start together, do a thing together, at the same time” [Sirlinger 1937: 284] (Takacs 2004: 424: isolated in AS) || CCh.: Munjuk-Pouss zɪŋgi (zəŋga) (velar root extension?) “ressembler” [Tourneux 1991: 129] || Eg. zn “herankommen an, nacheifern (r)”,²⁹ more precisely: “1. (MK, XVIII.: den Vorfahren, dem was was ein anderer getan hat) herankommen an, nacheifern, 2. (GR) ähnlich sein, gleichen, ähneln, 3. (XVIII.: den Gesetzen) nachleben” (MK-, Wb III 456-457) > compound prep. m-zn.t-r “in der Art von, nach Art von, wie” (MK-, Wb III 457, 3-6) = znj (IIIae inf.) “gleichen, ähneln, ähnlich sein” (V-VI., ÄWb I 1149) = snj (sic, IIIae inf.) “to be like, resemble (r), copy, imitate (r), conform to (r) laws” > m-zn.t-r “in the likeness of, in accordance with” (EG §180 > FD 230).

● **377. Goemai zen** “wrongness, incorrectness” [Sirlinger 1937: 284] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 424) || Eg. jzn.w [regular < *zin-]³⁰ “etwas Böses was man tut” (PT, Wb I 129, 18; GHwB 103) < AA *zɪn- “wrong” [GT]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 79; 2011: 155.

● **378. AS *zēzn ~ *sēzn (?)** “1. truth, 2. truly” [GT]: Angas zin “true, certainly” [Ormsby 1914: 208, 315] = ziin “true, truth” [Foulkes 1915: 312] = zɪn (Kabwir dialect) “truth, true”, nzɪn “truth” [Jng. 1962a MS: 45-46] = nzin “truth”, cf. pən nzin “to believe” (pən “to give”) [ALC 1978: 49, 52] = nzin “truth” [Kraft], Sura a zéen-zéen “fürwahr” [Jng. 1963: 58] = sēen (so, s-) “truth” [Kraft], Mupun zēen “truth”, zèn-zèèn “very truly” [Frj. 1991: 69], Kofyar sèn sèn (so, s-) “truth” [Netting 1967: 35], Musherè zēen “truth” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 341] = zēn “truth”, cf. zèèn “lesson” [Jng. 1999 MS: 20], Chip zen “truth” [Kraft], Goemai sèn (adv.) “indeed” [Sirlinger 1937: 201] = nseen (adv.) “truly” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 26] (AS: Takacs 2004: 424) | Bole-Tangale *zina “good” [GT]: Maha zinaŋ [Newman], Ngamo zina [Newman] = zinâ [Kraft] (Bole-Tangale: Newman 1965: 58) || CCh.: perhaps Munjuk-Pouss zizini (zəzəna) “1. ranger, mettre en ordre, 2. réparer, entretenir” [Tourneux 1991: 129]³¹ < Ch. *zVn- “true, certain” [CLD III 139, #530] || NOm.: Mao-Bambeshi zɛɲá “straight” [Siebert & Wedekind] (isolated in Mao apud Bender 2003: 358, #94) || Eg. jzn.w [Belova: regular < *√zyn] “etwas Gutes oder Freundliches” (PT, Wb I 129, 17) || Sem. *√zyn “to be good” [GT]: East Ar. dials. zeyyin, Iraqi Ar. zayn “good, nice” [Durand 1995: 150] || MSA *√zyn [Johnstone]: Harsusi zēn “good”, en-zēn “good, all right” [Johnstone 1977: 150], Jibbali zēn “to become beautiful”, ztīn “to be in good health, improved health” [Johnstone 1981: 322] || ES: Amharic zäyyänä “to be beautiful” [Leslau] = tä-zayyänä “être beau, brave, fort” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 762) < PAA *√zyn “1. good, 2. correct, true” [GT].³² AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 79-80; 2011: 155.

²⁹ Wb l.c.: “identisch mit dem vorstehenden Wort”, i.e., Eg. znj “vorbeigehen”, which is certainly a popular etymology.

³⁰ PAA hollow roots regularly correspond to Egyptian Iae inf. according to Belova’s law (cf. EDE I 394-400).

³¹ But cf. also Munjuk-Pouss zire (m) “vérité” [Tourneux 1991: 129] and Munjuk-Pouss ziri (zara) “aligner” [Tourneux 1991: 129] where a shift of Musgu r < *n can be pointed out.

³² The Eg.-Ar. comparison was first suggested by A.G. Belova (1987: 279; 1989: 13; 1991: 85, #3; 1993: 50, #3).

● **379. Kofyar zené** (sic, GT: borrowed word?)³³ “story” [Netting 1967: 46] (Takacs 2004: 424: isolated in AS) | Hausa mún zàntáá dà šíí “we conversated with him”, zàncéé, pl. zántú(ttú)kà, Sokoto dialect: zántúkkà “1. conversation, 2. affair” [Abraham 1962: 966-967] | WBade zènu “to say, tell” [Dagona 2004: 84], Ngizim zónzèn “riddle, tale (a story teller or riddler says zónzèn ‘here’s a tale/riddle’, and the listeners answer ásásá ‘let’s hear it’; folk-tales are also sometimes introduced by the phrase ‘here’s a tale about X’)” [Schuh 1981: 181] < WCh. *zVn- “to tell” [CLD III 137, #517] || (?) Eg. znn “Aktenstück, Buch: 1. Aktenstück, Verzeichnis: a) (mit genitivischem Zusatz:) Bericht über ... (die Ernte, die Lieferungen u.ä.), b) (ohne solchen Zusatz, auch mit m davor:) als Aktenstück, aktenmässig (mit rdj, jrj), 2. auch von Büchern (selten)” (MK-, Wb III 460, 1)³⁴ || Ethio-Sem. *z-n- “story, news, fame” [Skinner] = *√znw “to announce one’s reputation” [GT]: Geez zenāwā “to announce”, zena “message, story”, Tigre, Tna., Amh. zena “reputation, story”, Gurage: Soddo dialect zena “(life) story, tale, reputation”, zənnā “reputation” (ES: Leslau 1979 III: 710: isolated in Sem./Ethiopian; DRS 754)³⁵ vs. Ethio-Sem. *√zn(z)n “to discuss” [GT]:³⁶ Tna. zanzan tābahalā “to argue, fight with one another (Leslau), discuter, se disputer (DRS)”, Gurage dialects: Selti, Wolane zännā “argument, animosity (Leslau), discussion, animosité (DRS)” (ES: Leslau 1979 III: 710: isolated in Sem./Ethiopian; DRS 754). Borrowing from ES unlikely. There must have been an ancestral root, sg. like PAA *√zn “to give an account” [GT]. For WCh. (Hausa, Kofyar, Ngizim)-ES see Skinner 1996: 296 with a couple of semantically unrelated parallels. The Kofyar-ES match was observed by the present author independently.

379.1. The same biradical root seems to be retained as extended by a velar C₃ in Ethiopian *√znng “to tell” [GT], cf. Ethio-Sem.: Gurage *√znngy (or *√znngl covering some of the derivatives) [Leslau] = *√znngʔ/c [DRS].³⁷ Tna. zənāggʔa “parler (DRS)”, Chaha, Ezha, Ennemor, Gyeto, Muher, Mäsqän, Goggot zānga, Endegeny zāngä “affair, matter, public discussion,

³³ The final -e attached to the CVC root (so typical of native ones) in the AS stem is unusual, which can suggest a loaning from some neighbouring West Chadic source language.

³⁴ Provided, of course, it is not derived from Eg. znj “herankommen an, nacheifern (mit r)” (MK-, Wb III 456-457).

³⁵ In the view of W. Leslau (l.c.), the derivation of the Geez word from *senāwā in comparison with Syr. tēnā and Ar. tannā “to tell” as suggested in Praetorius (1890: 33), “is unlikely”.

³⁶ The Ethio-Semitic *verba dicendi* were affiliated in the DRS l.c. with a S-Semitic onomatopoeic root expressing murmuring of the insects, which would need further justification: “... formes, pour la plupart sans parenté directe, qui semblent être fondées sur la valeur onomatopéique de ce radical”, which, still, its editors did not hesitate to combine with Berber: “cette racine onomatopéique se trouve aussi en berb(ère), sans qu’il soit possible d’affirmer autre chose qu’une rencontre”; cf. EBrb.: Ghadames zanzən “résonner” [Lanfry 1973: 428] || NBrb.: Mzab zzənzən “bourdonner, vibrer”, bu-zənzən “guêpe, frelon” [Delheure 1984: 252] | Qabyle zzənzən “bourdonner”, zzənzən “résonner, vrombir”, zuzən “bercer” [Dallet 1982: 949: printed -e- for the -ə-].

³⁷ W. Leslau (1979 III: 711) was somewhat puzzled on the ambiguous root behind the evident common Gurage derivatives: “the root seems to be zngy even though no comparison is available from the other Ethiopian languages. The nominal derivations, however, present problems.” Alternatively, Leslau pondered reconstructing *√znngl, which “could not easily explain” some other nominal reflexes (q.v.). W.W. Müller (1981: 403), followed by the DRS 757 (rejecting the “rapprochements phonétiquement très difficiles” in Dillmann 1865: 1055) with right doubts, in turn, treated the Gurage forms in the wider context of ES *√znngʔ/c “être fou”, which, even in spite of Müller’s semantical parallels like Ar. harāğa “parler de manière incohérente” and Mehri herūg “parler”.

argument”, Muher, Mäsqän, Goggot zənägg’ä, Endegeny zənekkä, Ezha zərägg’ä, Chaha, Gyeto zəräk’ä “to speak, talk”, Goggot tä-znagg’ä “to converse, chat” etc. (ES: Leslau 1979 III: 711: isolated in Ethiopian) || NAgaw *žij- (Apl.: *ž-) “to talk, tell, story” [Apl. 2006: 76, 158]: Bilin žija “conversation”, hence denom.: žij-əst- (Apl.: ž-) “to talk, converse” [Apl.], Hamta žiñ- “erzählen” [Reinisch], Hamta žiñä [Reinisch] = žija “gossip, story, news”, hence denom.: žij-z- “to tell, relate” [Apl.], Qwara žəŋa “story, tale” [Apl.] (NAgaw: Apl. 2006: 76, 132-133).

● **380. Goemai zun** “elephant tusk” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (Takacs 2004: 424: isolated in AS) || CCh.-ECh. *√ž(w)n “elephant” [GT]³⁸ > i.a., CCh. *žuHwan- [Orel 1993: 42]: PTERa *žuwan > *čuwan “elephant” [GT based on Kraft 1981; JI 1994 II 124 q.v.] | PBura-Margi *či/uwar (regular rhotacism of *n > r in Bura-Margi) “elephant” [GT based on Kraft 1981 q.v.; JI 1994 II 124-125] | PHigi *či/uwe (loss of *-n?) “elephant” [GT based on Kraft 1981 q.v.; JI 1994 II 125] || ECh.: PLay *ženU > *žUnU “elephant” [GT based on Lukas 1937: 87, 89, 92; JI 1994 II 125 q.v.] || NAgaw *žān-ā “elephant” [GT]³⁹ || HECu. *zān- [GT pace Leslau 1980: 120] = *žān-e (*dz-) “elephant” [Hudson 1989: 408] || Sem.: possible traces of *,trunk” (???) in Ethio-Semitic.⁴⁰ NAgaw-CCh.: Müller 1975: 67, #46. Agaw-Ch.: HSED 552, #2658 („Apparently, this is a cultural word with a complicated history of borrowings from one group to another”), but more notably: Blažek 1994: 199 with a thorough presentation of all the numerous further varieties (with a velar C₂) of this North African *Wanderwort*, whose Ethiopian reflexes were discussed as early as in Müller 1893: 316-317; 1896: 203-205.

● **381. AS *za(la???)ŋ → PAngas *zaŋ vs. Suroid *zəlaŋ ~ *zaləŋ** “1. youth, 2. young man” [GT]: PAngas *zaŋ [GT].⁴¹ Angas zang (so, without -l-) [erosion < *zalaŋ???) “1. a youth (male), 2. time of youth (it also corresponds to our ‘rashness of youth’)” [Foulkes 1915: 312] = zəŋ (Kabwir dialect) “1. rashness of youth, time of youth, 2. a young man (cp. female riip), 3. childish”, ’gyàm zəlŋ (so, with -l-) (Kabwir dialect) “young (handsome) man” (’gyàm “child”) [Jng. 1962a MS: 45] vs. PSuroid *zəlaŋ “youth” [GT]: Sura zələŋ “junger Mann” [Jng. 1963: 89], Mupun zləŋ “young man”, dyèp zləŋ “young man, fiancé” [Frj. 1991: 13, 69], Mushere zalang “youth” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 341] || SCu.: Qwadza cenegayo (ts-) “just-circumcized youths” [Ehret 1980: 355, #III.C.10]⁴² || perhaps SBrb.: EWImd. a-znəŋ, pl.

³⁸ The Proto-Chadic reconstruction is disputed: *g-w-n (NM 1966: #27). ECh.:

³⁹ The Proto-Agaw reconstruction is disputed with regard to Hamir zəhón [Reinisch 1884: 252] and Awngi ziyoni [Fleming], which suggest an internal extra back consonant: *žahna vs. *žahùn (Reinisch apud Müller 1893 and 1896 l.c.), *žak(V)n- (Appleyard 1984), *žəhñ- (Ehret 1987: 66), *žihun- (Orel 1993: 42).

⁴⁰ Cf. perhaps also: Amharic zänäzänä, Gurage dialects: Chaha, Ennemor, Gyeto zänzänä, Endegeny zänzänä, Ezha zärzänä “tube of the smoking pipe (Leslau), tuyau de pipe (DRS)” (ES: Leslau 1979 III: 712; DRS 761)? According to Dästa Täklä Wäld (1970: 501), followed by W. Leslau (l.c.) and the DRS (l.c.), this is to be explained “as coming from the tree called” zänäzänä.

⁴¹ Equated by N. Skinner with Nbauchi *zakwat- “youth” [Skinner 1977: 49]. The Chadic parallels listed there by N. Skinner (q.v. in l.c.) are phonologically untenable.

⁴² Ch. Ehret (l.c.) assumed in Qwadza a metathesis of an earlier *çigena (ts’-), stem plus *-ena plural, on the basis of its supposed derivation from his PRift *c/çig- (ts/ts’-) “offspring, young”, a possible ghost-root based on its comparison to Iraqw cigan (ts-) “young locusts” (Rift: Ehret 1980: 355, #III.C.10).

i-znəy-ǎn “nouveau-né, bébé” [PAM 1998: 377; 2003: 895] < CAA *√znk (or *-Q) “young” [GT]??? AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 79; 2011: 155. The emergence of the strange dichotomy of Angas *zaŋ vs. Suroid *zalaŋ “youth” [GT], both having sprung apparently from the very same AS root, is puzzling. Erosion of AS *zal(a)ŋ > in Angas? Or, *vice versa*, secondary *-l- extension in the Suroid reflexes? (q.v.)

● **382. AS *zaŋ** “barren, sterile” [GT]: Kofyar záng “sterile” [Netting 1967: 46], Goemai zang “sterility” [Sirlinger 1937: 284] = zaŋ (referring to humans, animals, land), mat gə zaŋ “barren woman” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (AS: Takacs 2004: 422) || Eth.-Sem.: Amharic zanga “châtré (boeuf, cheval)” [Guidi 1901: 623 quoted in DRS 757, ZNG6: isolated in Sem.]. The underlying PAA *√zng “sterile” [GT] may have been ultimately derived from a biradical root by addition of a velar C₃, cf. perhaps NBrb.: Ait Ammart zeyin “châtré” [Renisio 1932: 320].⁴³ This is a new etymology of the AS root.⁴⁴

● **383. PAngas *zaŋ** “(to) adorn(ament)” [GT]: Angas zang “an ornament”, riip po zang “a girl is adorning herself” [Foulkes 1915: 312] = zàŋ (Kabwir dialect) “to adorn” [Jng. 1962a MS: 45] = (???) mbi-zalŋ (so, with -l-!) “make-up in preparation for dance” (lit. “decoration”? cf. bi ~ mbi as prefix “thing”) [ALC 1978: 37]: perhaps lit. “thing of dance” or “of decoration”? (GT)⁴⁵ (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 422) | Hausa zǎánà “1. to draw (line, pattern, picture), ornamented (wall, gourd, etc.) with design, 2. mark, 3. cut tribal-marks, 4. counted-up (persons or things, not figures)” [Abraham 1962: 966] = zaana “to draw, outline, sketch, decorate” [Skinner] || Sem. *√zyn: Akk. (bab. lit.) zaʾānu → zānu “ausgestattet, geschmückt sein” [AHW 1499] || Ar. √zyn I: zāna “orner, embellir, parer, décorer”, zayn- “ornement”, zīn-at- “ornement, éclat, lustre” [BK I 1034] | MSA: Jibbali √zyn: zēn “to become beautiful”, šéžīn “to wear beautiful ornaments, clothes” [Johnstone 1981: 322], Soqotri √zyn > *zen “orner” [Leslau 1938: 152] || ES: Geez √zyn: zena “to decorate” [Leslau 1987: 646]. Hausa-Sem.: Skinner 1996: 296 (with false Eg. parallel); AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 78-79; 2011: 155. In this case, the historical reasons of the AS *-ŋ are perhaps less clear (than normally, when it derives from the junction of a nasal + back consonant) as AS *-ŋ < *-yn ~ *-ny has not been observed elsewhere.

⁴³ Unless it represents a semantical shift of the root attested in NBrb.: Senhazha e-zzin < *e-zyin “beauté”, Taghzut me-zian, fem. me-ziana “beau, belle” (as suggested by A. Renisio l.c.) borrowed from Arabic, cf. Egyptian and Sudanese dialects zayyan “raser, couper les cheveux”, Maghrei Ar. zyāna “circoncision”, Hassaniya zyāne “circon-/excision clitoridienne”, whose Semitic cognates display a similar semantical variation, cf. Geez zayyana “couper les cheveux” (Sem.: DRS 726, ZYN1).

⁴⁴ The AS root was first affiliated by G. Takács (2001: 79) with Sem. Ar. zummaḥ- ~ zawmaḥ- “faible, débile et méprisé à cause de sa faiblesse ou de sa petite taille” [BK I 1009, cf. DRS 746]. But, for this latter rare root, cf. perhaps better the entry no. 369 below for AS *zum ~ *zuŋ “lazy” [GT]. The Amharic parallel, even if isolated in Semitic, seems at the moment to offer a much better candidate for cognacy with the AS root. isolated Note that SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. a-zəm “castrer, châtré (par coupure)” [PAM 2003: 892] would be tempting to compare, but it apparently evolved secondary from a primary sense carried by EWlmd. √zmm > zämm-āt “donner un coup de pilon”, tā/tə-zamm-at, pl. ši-zamm-at-en “coup donné avec un pilon/objet lourd” [PAM 1998: 375; 2003: 892], whose cognates are discussed under AS *zʷaŋ ~/> *zUŋ “to pound, thresh” [GT] (item no. 367).

⁴⁵ Cf. alternatively Angas *zaŋ “to dance” [GT], where the same question of an inetymological parasitic -l- appears?

● **384. Angas zang** “ridicule” [Foulkes 1915: 312] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 422) III Sem. * \sqrt{zng} [DRS]: Geez zang^wang^wa “to mock, deride, ridicule, hold in scorn, jeer, make a laughing-stock of, taunt, reproach, criticize (Leslau), murmurer, moquer, ridiculiser (DRS)”, Amh. zəng^wag^we “mockery, veiled insult (Leslau), moquerie, insulte voilée (DRS)” (ES: Leslau 1987: 641; DRS 758: isolated in Sem.)⁴⁶ < PAA * \sqrt{zng} “to mock” [GT]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 79; 2011: 155.

● **385. Kofyar záng** “jar for separating itile oil (of paat tree)” [Netting 1967: 46] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 422), cf. variety with ž- in Kofyar žáng “calabash (drinking)” [Netting 1967: 16]: may be etymologically related to SAA * \sqrt{zung} -(Vr)- “sp. of gourd” [GT],⁴⁷ cf. SCu.: Ma’a i-zunge [-Ø < *-r# regular] “cucumber” [Ehret 1974 MS: 75] III WCh.: Hausa zùṅgùrúú “long gourd (worn on arm by women to protect newly-hennaed hands)” [Abraham 1962: 980] II CCh.: Higi-Kamale gwɪnzɪ [met. < *zing^wi, without suffix *-Vr] “melon” [Kraft 1981: #227]. **385.1.** Perhaps a biliteral root variety of the same root is preserved in PCh. * \sqrt{zVn} - “(gourd) laddle” [CLD III 138, #522] = * $\sqrt{žn}$ [GT], cf. esp. ECh.: Mubi-Toram *žēnV “calabash” [GT: < Ar.?): Mubi žēnī ~ žōnū (m), pl. žāwānū “cuillère (en calebasse)” [Jng. 1990 MS: 25], Birgit žēnō (m), pl. žēnāy “petite calebasse” [Jng. 2004: 354] III SBrb.: EWIm.-Ayr a-zənu, pl. i-zəna “1. calebassier (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), 2. courge d’azənu, courge bouteille (comestible), 3. calebasse à goulot, bouteille (comestible, faite de cette courge; sert à conserver le lait et à battre le beurre), 4. (EWImd.-Ayr) petit tambour (fait d’une calebasse, tapé à la main)” [PAM 1998: 376; 2003: 894] III Eg. zwn.w (usually written znw) “Art Gefäss (grosser Topf)” (OK, GR, Wb III 427, 16) = zn.w “ein Bottich (ohne Henkel, in verschiedenen Formen und Grössen)” (GHWb 716) < PAA * $\sqrt{z/žn}$ (C₃?) “sort of calabash (?)” [GT].

● **386. AS *zaṅ** “to dance” [GT]: Kofyar zang “wedding dance” [Netting 1967: 46] (Takacs 2004: 422: isolated in AS), cf. (???) Angas mbi-zalḡ (so, with -l-!) “make-up in preparation for dance” (cf. bi ~ mbi as prefix “thing”) [ALC 1978: 37]: perhaps lit. “thing of dance” or “of decoration”? (GT)⁴⁸ | Gera swam “to dance” [Gowers in JI 1994 II 100] III PAGaw *žəm- (Apl.: *ž-) “to sing, dance” [Apl. 2006: 158]: NAGaw: Hamta gim- (sic: g-)⁴⁹ “cantare” [CR] = žim- (Apl.: j-) “to dance (and sing)” [Apl.], Kaĩlĩnya žəm- (Apl.: j-) “to dance (and sing)” [Apl.] II SAGaw: Awngi (Awiya) ġəm- (Apl.: jem-) “cantare in danza” [CR] = žəm- (Apl.: j-) “to dance (and sing)” [Apl.] (Agaw: Apl. 2006: 51) III ES * \sqrt{zmw} [DRS]: Geez zemā “religious chant” [Apl.] = “mélodie, chant” [DRS], Tna., Amharic, Gurage zema “mélodie, chant” [DRS] (ES: DRS 745).⁵⁰

⁴⁶ The equation with AR. zaṣyaya “se moquer de” suggested in Dillmann (1865: 1058) was abandoned in DRS l.c.

⁴⁷ Cf. also WCh.: Bole-Tangale *sVng- “melon” [GT]: Ngamo šenžī, Pero čonžī, Tangale yəngu [y- regular < *s-] (BT: Kraft 1981: #227)?

⁴⁸ Cf. alternatively Angas *zaṅ “(to) adorn(ament)” [GT], where the same question of an inetymological parasitic -l- appears?

⁴⁹ D. Appleyard (l.c.): “with an apparently depalatalized initial.”

⁵⁰ D. Appleyard (l.c.): “which has cognates elsewhere in Semitic”, i.e., onomatopoeic words like Hbr. zāmam “to buzz, murmur”, Ar. zamzama “to hum” etc.

386.1. N/P^{???}AA *√zmr “1. to play music, 2. make happy noise” [Cohen] may be a C₃ root extension of the same onomatopoeic root, cf. SCu.: Ma’a izumarī “flute” [Ehret 1980: 201, #IV.F.6]⁵¹ || LEg. zm3 “Jubel, Freude” (GR, Wb III 452, 1) vs. zm3 “Lunge” (PT-, Wb III 445-446) || Sem. *√zmr “faire de la musique” [Cohen] = “to blow, make music” [Hodge]. Further details on this Eg.-Sem. match: Hodge 1990: 646, #15.B.

386.2. Alternatively, the AS root may perhaps be affiliated with LEg. zn (or sn) “tanzen (n: vor jem.) (GR, Wb IV 155, 2)⁵² || SBrb.: EWlmd. ə-zzən [*-zwVn- > regular -zzVn-] “1. jouer avec excès ou une gaieté folle, 2. plaisanter, être gai ou joyeux, 3. être railleur, taquin, 4. railler ...” [PAM 2003: 893] || Eth.-Sem.: Gurage dialects *√zwn “to be gay” [GT]: Ennemor, Gyeto (a)zwāñä, Endegeny azwāññä “to be beautiful, pretty”, Ennemor, Gyeto azwāñä-, Endegeny azwāññä- “to be glad, rejoice, pleased, satisfied, like” [Leslau 1979 III: 717: isolated in Sem.] = azwāñä “être beau, joli, content” [DRS 706, ZWN7: isolated in Sem.].⁵³

● **387. Goemai zaŋ** “stranger, alien” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 422) || perhaps SBrb. *a-zəngʷu “enemy” [GT]:⁵⁴ Ayr a-zəngu, pl. i-zənga “ennemi” [A. Basset apud Prasse], Wlmd. a-zəngu, pl. i-zənga “ennemi” [Nicolas apud Prasse], EWlmd.-Ayr a-zāngo, pl. i-zənga “ennemi” [PAM 2003: 895], Taneslemt a-šəŋgu, pl. i-šəŋga “ennemi” [Evangile selon Matthieu apud Prasse], Ghat zəngu, pl. i-zəŋga “ennemi” [Nehilil apud Prasse], Ahaggar ä-həŋgu, pl. i-həŋga “ennemi” [Prasse] (SBrb.: Prasse 1969: 60, #311).

● **388. PGoemai *zaŋ** (eroded from *zalaŋ?): Goemai zang-lip “rust” (cf. perhaps lip “red earth”) [Sirlinger 1937: 284], presumably cognate with Angas *zalaŋ (or *zʷalaŋ?), var. *zalaŋ (?) “rust” [GT] (AS: Takacs 2004: 433) || CCh.: Masa *zeŋ ~ *seŋ “rust” [GT]: Gizey/Wina séŋ, Masa sáŋ, Ham zèŋ “rouiller” (Masa: Ajello et al. 2001: 50) || Sem.: no certain cognates,⁵⁵ but cf. Ar. √znq > Maghrebi dialect tazannaq “s’érailleur (sac)”, mazannaq “éraillé, où il y a un défaut (tissu)”, (?) Maltese (i)zzenna? “rancir, perdre sa saveur” (Ar.: DRS 765, ZNQ2: isolated in Sem.).

⁵¹ Ehret l.c.: ~ Qwadza cemaliko “straw” < SCu. *ⁿcōmari+ “straw” derived SCu. *ⁿcāw- (*ⁿts-) “reeds” [Ehret] = *caw- [GT]: Iraqw tsaw-o “reeds” [Ehret 1980: 201, #IV.F.1] by addition of -Vm- and -Vr- suffixes.

⁵² For the semantical connection, cf., e.g., Eg. jb3 “to dance” vs. Sem.: Macro-Canaanite *√ybl “to jubilate”.

⁵³ W. Leslau (l.c.) supposed that this verb is “perhaps causative” of Ennemor, Gyeto zəwāñä, Endegeny zəwāññä “to covet, crave meat” with a primary meaning *,to make one covet sg., that is, *,sg. that is beautiful, pretty, and, as a result it makes one covet it”. Alternatively, he was pondering whether “would it be borrowed from Cushitic” referring to LECu.: Kambatta danna “to be beautiful”, which would then be “coming to mean” a mediatory sense *,to be pleased, like” as in the case of Amh. amarä “to be pretty”, used impersonally to mean “to be pleased, like”.

⁵⁴ The Twareg nominal stem was, however, treated by K.-G. Prasse (l.c.) as the source of an alleged denominative derivation in Ahaggar zung-ət “être très méchant, cruel” [Prasse], cf. EWlmd. zāŋ-ät “être très méchant envers” [PAM 2003: 895], which seem to represent a separate word.

⁵⁵ The striking match with Sem.: Syr., Mandaic zangārā “rouille” [Brk. 1928: 201] and Ar. zingār- “rouille, vert-degris” [BK I 1016] is illusory as these forms were eventually borrowed from Persian (Sem.: DRS 759, ZNGR1).

● **389. PGoemai **-zaŋ*** (compound with **man-*): Goemai *man-zang* “canine teeth in animals” [Sirlinger 1937: 135] = *man-zàŋ* “Augenzahn” [Jng. 1962b MS: 3] || SCu.: Alagwa *conki* “extreme tip or point” [Ehret 1980: 362, #V.B.6]⁵⁶ || Sem.: ES **zäng-(ät)* “long bâton pointu” [GT]: Tigre *zängät*, Tna. *zängi*, Amh. *zäng*, Gurage *zägäd* (ES: DRS 757). To be separated from Goemai *zun* “elephant tusk” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42]. Two ultimately related varieties (with C₃ **h-* and C1 **ž-*, resp.):

389.1. Eg. *znḥ.t* “Bohrer zum Ausbohren von Steingefässen” (OK, Wb III 461, 5).

389.2. WCh.: Hausa *žíngà* “to pierce (with dative)” [Abraham 1962: 429, 42].

● **390. AS **zʷaŋ* ~/*zUŋ*** “to pound, thresh” [GT]: Mupun *zún* ~ *pè-zún* “threshing place” [Frj. 1991: 51, 70], Goemai *zwang* “to ram down (e.g. the soil), stamp down, press down (e.g. salt in a bag)” [Sirlinger 1937: 287] (AS: Takacs 2004: 428-429) | Ngizim *zəmán* “1. to forge, 2. flatten” [Schuh 1981: 180] || SBrb.: EWImd. \sqrt{zmm} > *zämm-ät* “donner un coup de pilon”, *tã/tə-zamm-at*, pl. *ši-zamm-at-en* “coup donné avec un pilon/objet lourd”, *zəmməzəmm-ən* “1. fait de piler ensemble, 2. fait de frapper ensemble plusieurs fois”, *zəmmənzəmm-ət* “donner des coups de pilon répétés” [PAM 1998: 375; 2003: 892] || (?) MEg. *šm* (perhaps < OEg. **žm*?) “zerstossen, zerstampfen” (MK, Wb IV 215): but cf. 390.2 below || Sem.: Ar. (Eastern dials.) *nzaḥam* “être pressé, gêné”, (Marocco) *zḥam* “faire des efforts pour expulser (excréments, foetus)”, (Spain) *zahám* (so: -h-) “presser l’un contre l’autre”, *zihám* (so: -h-) “presse (de foule), hâte” [DRS 716] < CAA * $\sqrt{žhm}$ “1. to push, press, 2. pound (perhaps pulverize by pressing down?)” [GT]. Eg.-Ar.: CED 173. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 83; 2011: 158.

390.1. Whether the isogloss of WCh.: Angas *zong-gyer* “the lower part of a type of barn that is divided into two stairs” (*gyer* “barn”) [Gochal 1994: 27]⁵⁷ and CCh.: Munjuk-Puss *zoŋ* (m) “grenier en vannerie” [Tourneux 1991: 129] | Lame *zə̀nà* “grenier fait d’une natte recouverte d’un toit et posé sur un socle en bois” [Sachnne 1982: 435], Zime-Dari *sə̀nà* “grenier” [Cooper 1984: 23] also belongs here, has to be further researched.

390.2. Remote root variety with a voiceless *Anlaut*, viz. sg. like is attested by WCh.: AS **sum* < older **sūm* (?) “smithing” [GT]: Montol *soom* (so, -oo-) “blacksmith” [Ftp. 1911: 214], Goemai *ge-suum* “blacksmith” (*ge-* “person”?) [Ftp. 1911: 214] = *sum* “forging” [Sirlinger 1937: 227] = *šum* “smithing” [Kraft] = *sum* “smithing” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 31] (AS: Takacs 2004: 323) | Wangday *tsuŋ* “to pound (in mortar)” [IL/JI 1994 II 268] || MEg. *šm* (or perhaps < OEg. **žm*?) “1. zerstossen, zerstampfen, 2. (als medizinischer Fachausdruck) stauchen, quetschen usw.” (MK-, Wb IV 215) = “to pound, crush” (CED),⁵⁸ whence LEg. *šmj* “pestle” (ostr. Cairo 25362:3 etc., CED, not in Wb) > Dem. *šm* “pestle” (CED) > (S) **CA2MC** “Mörserkeule” (Wb) = “pestle” (CED 173) || Sem.: Ar. *suḥum-* (pl.) “marteaux de forgeron” [BK I 1063: isolated].

⁵⁶ Ehret l.c.: ~ Asa *šogulo* “thorn” < PRift * $\check{c}/\check{c}/\check{c}ok-$ ($\check{c}/\check{c}/ts^!-$) “extreme tip or point”. Asa: stem plus -Vr-noun suffix, Asa apparently regularly changed **r* to /*l*/, # $\check{š}Vgu_V$: see Chapter 8, IV.

⁵⁷ Unless it derives from Angas **zoŋ* “deep(est level)” (Takacs 2004, q.v.).

⁵⁸ Regarding the semantical shift in Coptic (S) **CA2M** “to cause to fall, overwhelm, press down”, already J. Černý (CED 173) regarded it as “ultimately related” to Ar. *zaḥama* “to press”. Miscompared (assuming an alleged **m* extendative-fortative root complement) by Ch. Ehret (1995: 292, #552) with LEg. *šhr* “to strike”, ECu. **çaḥ-* “to hit” and some ECh. **š-* “to kill” < AA **çaḥ-* “to beat”.

● **391. PGoemai *zʷaŋ** “to dart (fish)” [GT]:⁵⁹ Goemai zʷaŋ “to poke about (in water, in grass) with a spear” [Sirlinger 1937: 287] = zʷaŋ “to fish with spear” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] || perhaps Sem.: Syr. zənaq “lancer, (re)jeter” [DRS 765]?

● **392. AS *ziŋ** → *zəŋ (mostly prefixed *kə- ~/> *gə-) “nose” [GT] = *kA-zAn (sic, *-n) [Stolbova 1987]:⁶⁰ Gerka idung (so, -u-) [act. yidəŋ, -d- reg. < *-z-]⁶¹ “nose” [Ftp. 1911: 219] = yiddiŋ “Nase” [Jng. 1965: 174] = idəŋ “nose” [IL in JI 1994 II, 258], Angas guyong (so, -y-) [-y- < *-z-?] “nose” [Ormsby 1914: 313] = gəzəŋ (Kabwir dialect) “nose” [Jng. 1962a MS] = gəzəŋ “nose” [ALC 1978: 19] = pə-gùziŋ “nose” [Kraft] = gizing “nose” [Gochal 1994: app.] = guyong (so, -y-) [Stolbova < Ormsby], Sura pə-gəziŋ [Jng. 1963: 79] = gəziŋ “nose” [Kraft], Mupun pəzəŋ (so, without prefix *kə-) [Frj. 1991: 51], Kofyar goèzoeng [gəzəŋ] “nose” [Netting 1967: 15], Mushere ngizing [act. ngəzəŋ?] “nose” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 157] = gəziŋ “nose” [Jng. 1999 MS: 6], (?) Chip gəŋ “Nase” [Jng. 1965: 166], Montol kussung (so, -ss-) [Ftp. 1911: 219] = kəzəŋ [Jng. 1965: 171], Tal gúuzúuŋ [IL/JI], presumably Goemai *goŋ [from *goyəŋ < *gozəŋ?] “nose” [GT] (AS: Stolbova 1987: 185, #364; JI 1994 II, 258; Takacs 2004: 427) | Kirfi útiŋi [Gowers] = wùttíŋi [Schuh] | Pa’a ʔatəŋ [Jng.] = atəŋ [IL] = àtín [MSkinner], Mburku tùŋhúú [Skn.], Diri ʔátíŋ [IL] = átín [Skn.] | Boghom nyuŋsi [Jng.] = nuŋsuŋ [IL] = nyongsong [Gowers] = nyúŋsuŋ [Shimizu] || CCh.: Gisiga (Dogba) hətaŋ vs. (Midjivin) hutuŋ [Jng.] || ECh. *[e]tV(n)- “nose” [GT] > EDangla étíŋ, pl. étínáy “1. le nez, 2. pl.: les narines” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 105], WDangla ètè (m) (so, without -n) “nez, narine”, but cf. ètintìnààna ~ ètintinèènè “de façon nasillarde” [Fédry 1971: 28], Bidiya ʔètèna (f), pl. ʔetəŋ “nez” [AJ 1989: 75], Migama ʔítín (f), pl. ʔèttènná “nez” [JA 1992: 93] | Mubi-Toram *ʔVTVn/ŋ “nose” [GT]: Mubi ídáánù (m), pl. áttán “Nase” [Lukas 1937: 182] = *ídáánù “nose” [Doornbos-Bender] = ʔídáánō (m), pl. ʔáttán “nez” [Jng. 1990 MS: 24], Minjile *ídandò “nose” [Doornbos-Bender], Kajakse *atan “nose” [Doornbos-Bender] = ʔàtaan, pl. ʔátín “nez” [Alio 2004: 239, #34], Kujarke ka-ata [prefix ka-?] “nose” [Doornbos-Bender], Kofa ʔétəŋè (f), pl. ʔétəŋ “nose” [Jng. 1977 MS: 3, #6], Toram ʔetəŋ “nez” [Alio 2004: 255, #118], Masmaje ʔitaandò “nez” [Alio 2004: 282, #94], Jegu ʔètèntó, pl. ʔétəŋè “Nase” [Jng. 1961: 112], Birgit ʔétəŋ (m), pl. ʔétəŋà “nez” [Jng. 2004: 353] (Mubi: Doornbos-Bender 1983: 77, #59) || SCu. *di/ung- “nose” [GT] = *(i)điŋʷa “nose” [Ehret]: WRift *-dung- [GT]: Iraqw dunga, Burunge urunga, Alagwa urungi | ERift *-ding- [GT]: Qwadza ningwato, Asa iringa | Ma’a núŋa [GT: < *dungə] (SCu.: Ehret 1980: 192, #III.A.33).

392.1. Root variety in Sem. *√zwm: Aram. of Talmud zīmā “narine, naseau”, Syr. zūmā “bec, museau” (Sem.: DRS 705; Dalman 1922: 127 and Jastrow 1950: 394): cf. Sem. √zrz̄m.

⁵⁹ Earlier I was disposed to compare the Goemai root with SCu. *√zng [GT]: Ma’a ki-zíngí-tí [-ti suffix] “lintel” [Ehret 1974 MS: 74] || Sem.: ES *zāng-(ät) “long bâton pointu” [GT]: Tigre zāngät, Tna. zāngi, Amh. zāng, Gurage zāgäd (ES: DRS 757). AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 83; 2011: 158.

⁶⁰ The supposed loss of AS *-z- (via -y-?) in Angas [Ormsby], Chip [Jng.] and Goemai *goŋ [GT] is still to be investigated. Should one assume an AS *goŋ “nose” separately?

⁶¹ Gerka -d- derives regularly from *-z-. Thus, Gerka yiddiŋ “Nase” [Jng.] = idəŋ “nose” [IL] might be derived < *yiziŋ (or sim.), which proves the etymon *(yi)ziŋ without the prefix *k/gə-.

● **393. AS *-ziŋ ~ *-zəŋ** (orig. **-səŋ?* always prefixed: **k/gə-zəŋ*) “urine” [GT]: Angas gūzn (so) “urine” [Foulkes 1915: 191] = ḡəzəŋ “Urin” [Jng. 1962a MS] = ngəzəŋ “urination” [ALC 1978: 43] = ngəzəŋ “urine” [Kraft] = ngizing “urine” [Gochal 1994: app.], Sura kəziŋ ~ kəzəŋ “Urin” [Jng. 1963: 70] = kəziŋ “urine” [Kraft] = kəziŋ ~ kəzəŋ “Urin” [Jng. 1963: 70], Mupun kəzəŋ “urine” [Frj. 1991: 31], Kofyar kəzəŋ [kəzəŋ] “urine” [Netting 1967: 20], Mushere ngizing [act. ngəzəŋ] “to urinate”, an po ngizing “I am urinating”, gizing ndaas “sperm” (lit. “male urine”, cf. ndaas “man”), cf. ngu ɖəŋ gizing ndaas dom loo sorop mop “person without sperm loves to see women” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 85, 157], Chip kəziŋ “urine” [Kraft], Goemai goesoeng [gəzəŋ] “urine” [Sirlinger 1937: 66] = kəsəŋ “urine” [Shimizu in JI l.c.] = gəsin (so -n) “urine” [Kraft] = gəseŋ (so, -ə/-e-) “urine”, ɖi gəseŋ “urinate” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 11] (AS: Takacs 2004: 425) || SCu. *ʒ₂ung- [GT]: ERift: Qwadza dunga-yiko “urine” [Ehret 1980: 221, #V.D.17]⁶² || Sem. *√znkḥ: Libyan Ar. zanqaḥ “uriner, couler” [Frayha apud DRS 765: isolated in Sem.].

● **394. Sura zīŋ** “festgemacht, -gerichtet, fixiert (z.B. Augen auf etwas, auf etwas hin)” [Jng. 1963: 89] (Takacs 2004: 425: isolated in AS) || (?) Sem. *√znk “to bind” [GT]: Akk. zanāqu “to bind” [KB] || Syr. zanqā “clasp (agrafe)”, (denom.) znq peal & pael “to bind (enchaîner)” [KB, DRS] | Ar. zanaqa “to tie up” [KB] vs. zanaq-at- “rue étroite” [DRS] (Sem.: KB 276; DRS 764-765). AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 80; 2011: 156.

● **395. PAngas *zoŋ** “1. deep (e.g., pool), 2. deepest level” [GT]: Angas zong “a deep pool” [Foulkes 1915: 312] = nzəŋ (àm) “Teich” (so!) [Jng. 1962a MS: 46] = zoŋ “deep”, pi nzoŋ am “deepest part of a pool of water” (lit. “deep place of water”, cf. pi “place”, am “water”) [ALC 1978: 51, 70] = perhaps *zong “lower part (?)” occurring in: zong-gyer “the lower part of a type of barn that is divided into two stairs” (gyer “barn”) [Gochal 1994: 27] (AS: Takacs 2004: 426) || Sem. *√zmH (or *√zHm) [GT]: Amharic žäma “fleuve, eau courante” [DRS 743] || SBrb.: Ayr ti-zəm-t, pl. tyə-zm-en, EWlmd. ši-zəm-t, pl. ši-zəm-en “1. réservoir artificiel pour l’eau, 2. abreuvoir” [PAM 1998: 375; 2003: 892]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 80; 2011: 156.

● **396. AS *zuŋ** (from **zum?* mostly prefixed) “1. chest”, hence **pV-zuŋ* “2. heart” [GT] = **zum-k* (so!)⁶³ “breast, heart” [Stolbova 1987]: Mupun zūŋ (false long -uu-?) “chest” [Frj. 1991: 70], Kofyar fū-zūŋ [fu < *pu] “chest” [Netting 1967: 13], Chip zuŋ “chest” vs. bə-zūŋ “heart” [Kraft], Montol po-zum-den (so, with -m) “heart” [Ftp. 1911: 217] = po-sum-

⁶² Ehret l.c.: ~ WRift *ruʔ-um “to suck breast” [KM]: Iraqw duʔum- “to suck breast”, duʔum-is- “to suckle”, Alagwa ruʔum- “to suck breast”, Burunge ruʔ- “to suck breast” (WRift: KM 2004: 242; SCu.: Ehret 1980: 221, #V.D.17) < SCu. *ru/ūʔ- “to let leak, make ooze out (secretions only?)” [Ehret]. Ehret l.c.: This root must be reconstructed for proto-Southern Cushitic because the noun root of SCu. *ru/ūʔu “sweat” > Qwd. dulu-tuko “sweat”, Ma’a mu-rúʔu “1. sweat, 2. heat” derived from it. Ehret assumed a narrowing of the sense of the Qwadza verb to a particular form of releasing bodily fluid, i.e., “to urinate”, took place before the coinage of the noun from the verb, with regular Kw’adza morphological deletion of /ʔ/.

⁶³ O.V. Stolbova (1987: l.c.) considers the final *-k in her proto-AS reconstruction (derived from her WCh. *mbA-mAçîi ~ *mbA-çîami “breast, heart”) as an indicator of the nominal class of body parts.

den (so, mistakenly with s-) [Stolbova < Ftp.], Goemai pe-zzung (so, zz-) “heart” [Ftp. 1911: 217] = boe-zung [bə-] “chest, breast, bosom” [Sirlinger 1937: 18] = pò-zùŋ “Brust” [Jng. 1962b MS: 5] = pà-zuŋ “chest” [Kraft] = bə-zuŋ “chest” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 1] = pe-zung (so, with pe- & z-) [Stolbova < Ftp.] (AS: Stolbova 1987: 151, #68) | PRon *žin/ŋ [*ži- < *zi-?] “breast, chest” [GT]: Bokkos ʔà-žin, pl. à-žyàn⁶⁴ (so: -n) “Brustkorb”, Daffo-Butura žiŋ, pl. žiŋáš “Brust(korb)”, Fyer čén, pl. čèèni “Brust(korb)” (Ron data: Jng. 1970: 84, 139, 216) < WCh. *zi/uy (?) “chest” [GT]⁶⁵ || CCh.: PBata *-zum- “chest” [GT] > Gude ʔəžúma [ʔə- < AA *ḥa- body parts prefix?] “chest” [Kraft 1981 III 36, #50], Mwulyen n̄zúm-tíŋí (with suffix) “chest” [Kraft 1981 III 56, #50], Bachama n̄dùm-tò [-d- < *-z-?] “chest” [Kraft 1981 III 66, #50] || LECu.: PSomali *ḥazam- (prefix *ḥa- of anatomical terms) “Brust” [Lamberti 1986: 447, 198, 273].⁶⁶ There are a number of possible root varieties, cf.:

396.1. The same biliteral root was extended to triliteral, cf. **CAA** *√**zmr** “(to be in) front” [GT] > Sem. *√**zmr** [DRS]: Geez zammara “to begin, start” [Leslau 1987: 639] || (?) Eg.: no sure reflex⁶⁷ || SBrb.: (?) EWlmd. & Ayr e-zmār “garrot (partie du dos située en avant de la bosse dans/chez le chameau et où se place la selle), 2. avant-dos (du cheval et des autres grands quadrupèdes)” [Alojaly 1980: 214; PAM 2003: 893]⁶⁸ || Agaw “to begin” (borrowed from Amh. žämmär-): NAgaw: Hamta ġamr- [CR], Kemant žämär- [Apl.], Qwara žämär- [Apl.] | SAgaw: Awngi žemer- [Apl.] (Agaw: Apl. 2006: 31) || SCu.: Ma’a zemera “in front” [Ehret 1980: 197, #IV.A.3].⁶⁹

396.2. Another eventually related biliteral root variety with a voiced sibilant in the *Anlaut* may be seen in **SAA** *√**sm** “breast” [GT] > SCu. *sVm- “some front part of the body: perhaps breast” [GT]:⁷⁰ WRift *ʔisaʔamu (sg.), pl. *ʔisaʔami “nipple, teat” [KM] = *-saʔam-

⁶⁴ Ron ʔa- < AA *ḥa- body parts prefix (cf. Takacs 1997)?

⁶⁵ Earlier I was disposed to assume an irregular shift of WCh. *z- < AA *š-. Cf. Eg. šn^c “Brust, Oberkörper (des Menschen), Thorax” (CT-, Wb IV 506, 14; GHwB 828) = “breast” (FD 269; DCT 626), whose -n^c could explain WCh. *-ŋ, but the Central Chadic cognates listed here reveal instead an almost equally plausible procedure of WCh. *-ŋ evolving from original *-m#, which apparently excludes being a cognate to Eg. šn^c which perhaps shows some affinity with SBrb.: ETawllemmet ta-səŋi-t, pl. ši-səŋay “liste frontale (point blanc ou tache blanche au front d’un animal)” [PAM 2003: 728, 731-732], although K.-G. Prasse (PAM 2003: 634) suggested that this is an s- prefix *nomen instr.* derivation from SBrb.: ETawllemmet əŋəy “2. commander, présider sur, régner, dominer”.

⁶⁶ Attested in various stems, with variations via metathesis *ḥamaz- > *ḥabaz-, see Lamberti 1986: 198, 273. The PSomali form should be better understood as **ḥa-zam- [GT: *ḥa- prefix of body parts] “Brust” [Lamberti 1986: 198, 270, 273, 447], whose reconstruction is uncertain as all reflexes are supposed to have undergone a metathesis *ḥamaz- > *ḥabaz-.

⁶⁷ Not to be confused with LEg. zm3 (written with the misleading zm3 hieroglyph) “crown of the head (and sm3j seems to be anything, especially the head, with hair growing on it)” (PL 841), which was in the PT originally sm3.

⁶⁸ Its etymological position is vague. Cf. alternatively (?) PAngas *zim (?) → *zəm via *züm “1. back, 2. shoulder” [GT] below (entry no. 364.4.).

⁶⁹ Ch. Ehret (l.c.) segmented in the Ma’a form a suffix -Vm-, plus later -Vr- suffix attached to an alleged stem *z-, which he compared with Iraqw cewa (ts-) “early”, also ceʔa (ts-) “space (area outside)”, ceʔay “outside”.

⁷⁰ Interestingly, Ch. Ehret (1980: 183, #40) assumed a SCu. *süm- “nipple, teat” on the basis of fully different comparanda, viz. Iraqw suma “shoulder” (GT: semantically vague) and Ma’a ki-sú [-Ø < *-m# possible] “udder”, which are certainly unrelated, whereas at the same time, on the same page, Ehret (1980: 183, #41) forced the very much possible Dahalo cognate under SCu. *sumba “peak, top (esp. of head)”.

“breast” [GT] > Iraqw ʔisēmo (sg.), pl. ʔisēmaʔ “nipple, teat” [KM] = isēma (pl.: “breasts”) [Fleming], Gorowa ʔisāmó (sg.), pl. ʔisāmaʔ “nipple, teat” [KM], Alagwa ʔisaʔamu (sg.), pl. ʔisaʔamēri “breast, nipple” [KM] (WRift: KM 2004: 166) | Ma’a ma-sému “breasts” [Fleming] | Dahalo sùma “1. forehead, 2. in front” [Ehret] = suma “face, forehead” [EEN 1989: 25] (SCu.: Fleming 1969: 24) || CCh.: Bata-Garwa man-šumé (GT: compound?) vs. Bata ma:sùmčě (-ā-, -tsch-) “Brust” [Strümpell], Bata-Demsa šumšě “Brust” [Strümpell] | Gidar ssimiá “Brust” [Strümpell] (CCh.: Strümpell 1910: 452; 1922-3: 115, quoted also in JI 1994 II 46-47). Areal parallel: PKhoe *sam (f) “breast” [Voßen 1997: 438].

396.3. Egypto-Chadic (hardly PAA) *√Smb < *√Snb (?) “breast” [GT], solely reconstructible on the basis of the isolated isogloss of CCh.: Gude acembá (-ts-) [ʔa- < AA *ḥa-body parts prefix?] “Brust” [Strümpell] || Eg. šnb.t “1. (MK-) Brust des Menschen, 2. (LP) Kehle” (MK-, Wb IV 512-3), may retain the same (???) biliteral root whose final -b was originally an additional C₃ root extension. But whether precisely the same root hides in both distant languages, is highly dubious. Gude -c- (-ts-) was hardly a reflex of a lateral sibilant like š- in Egyptian. Henceforth, at the moment, one can only assume that Eg. šnb.t was perhaps only remotely akin to the Gude.⁷¹

● **397. PAngas *zuŋ > *zəŋ** “authority” [GT]: Angas zung-zung “authority” [Foulkes 1915: 313] = zəŋ-zəŋ (Kabwir dialect) “authority” [Jng. 1962a MS: 45] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 428) || Sem. *√z^om: OSA (Sabaic) z^om “declaration” [SD 170], Ar. za^oam-at- “dignité, pouvoir”, za^oim- “garant, chef, prince” [DRS 770] | MSA: Jibbali √z^om > əzte^oim “to take a decision as the most important person in the family, be the head of the family”, z^oim, pl. za^oyēh “the most important person in, head of the family” [Johnstone 1981: 314], Mehri zə^oim “head of the family” [Johnstone 1987: 463]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 82; 2011: 157.

● **398. PAngas *zuŋ > *zəŋ** “punishment” [GT]: Angas zung-zung “punishment” [Foulkes 1915: 313] = zəŋ-zəŋ (Kabwir dialect) “punishment” [Jng. 1962a MS: 45]⁷² (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 428) || Sem. *√zmy [DRS]: Syr. zymy? ~ zʔmy? “peine, amende”, JPSyr. ʔezdamī “être puni” (Sem.: DRS 747) || SCu.: Ma’a -zàrà < *zamay- (?) “to punish” [Ehret 1974 MS: 74] < PAA *√zmy “to punish” [GT]. AS-Sem.: Takács 2001: 82; 2011: 157. For another case of AS *-ŋ < AA *n + *y see entry no. 383 above.

● **399. PGoemai *zuŋ-** [GT]: Gmy. zung-pai “the brewing of a small quantity of beer” (-pai obscure) [Sirlinger 1937: 285] || Eth.-Sem. *√zngd: Tigre zəngada, Tna. zängäda,

⁷¹ Whether ES *sanbuʔ^o “lung” [GT] || ECh.: WDangla tyàmbìnà [regular < *čamb-] (pl.) “poumons” [Fédry 1971: 221] can be conceived as a valid isogloss *čVmb- (or *c-?), is an open question, which can only be decided in the light of further reflexes. Eg. šnb.t has been affiliated with the Ethio-Semitic (Ethiopian) term (OS 1992a: 171; Blažek 1994 MS Bed., 34-35), but the latter’s etymology is very much disputed (see Takacs 2016: 299-301). In any case, even if the cognacy of the striking ES-WDangla match turns out to be right, it is presumably not related with SAA *√sm “breast” [GT] at all.

⁷² In the light of the etymological data presented in this and the preceding entry, this 2nd meaning of Angas zuŋ-zuŋ may represent a distinct etymon, contrary to H. Jungraithmayr’s assumption (i.e., “authority” exercised on somebody?).

Amh. zāngada “sorte de céréale qui entre dans la préparation de la bière” (ES: DRS 758, ZNGD1).

● **400. AS *zar > *zər vs. Goemai var. *šar** “star” [GT] = *zar < *-sar [Stolbova 1977 & 1987]: Gerka dar-kir [d- seems regular < *z-] “star” [Ftp. 1911: 220], Angas zaar “star” [Stolbova < ?, not in Foulkes 1915], Sura zār “Stern” [Jng. 1963: 89] = sār (so, s-!) “star” [Kraft], Mupun zār “star” [Frj. 1991: 69], Mushere kop-zar “comet” (act. “spear-star”, cf. kop “spear”), puus zar “evening time when the sun is about to set, around 5 PM to 6 PM” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 250, 283], Chip zər “star” [Kraft], Montol zai [-i < *-r reg.] “star” [Ftp. 1911: 220] = zayí “Stern” [Jng. 1965: 172], Goemai sum-šar “star” [Ftp. 1911: 220] = soem-šaar “star”, sar-ḃit “the morning star” (ḃit “morning”) [Sirlinger 1937: 199, 225] = šum-šār “star” [Kraft] = sem-šaar “star” [Hellwig 2000: 32] (AS: Stolbova 1972: 182; 1977: 158, #254; 1987: 201, #519; Takacs 2004: 423) | Daffo-Butura ʔžórèt, Kulere sísírí, (???) Fyer wádèr [wa- and -ḃ- not clear] “star” (Ron: Jng. 1970: 390) | SBAuchi *ĉ/šŪr “star” [GT]: Sayanchi čar [Kraft 1981: #119], Mbaaru saarù, Zaranda tyaa-ĉ/šer (-tl-), Tule tyaa-ĉ/šûr (-tl-), Zakshi čààž/žur (-dl-), Boot ĉ/šàar, Zaar čàar (SBAuchi: Shimizu 1978: 31, #46) || CCh.:⁷³ Pidlimdi šir-àndì “star” [Kraft 1981: #119] || NOM.: (?) Zayse zír-o “dawn” [Ehret] | Malé zə’rĩtsi [Siebert] = zəlensì [Lewis apud Fleming] “lightning, thunder” (Male: Bender 2003: 328, #55) || NBrb.: Qabyle i-zrìr “être clair, dégagé (ciel)” [Dallet 1982: 954] || Sem.: Ar. zarra “briller” [DRS 805, ZRR3: isolated] = zarra “briller” [DRS 805, ZRR3: isolated].

400.1. The same root was triradicalized also by an epenthetic extension *-h-, cf. Sem. *√zhr [GT]:⁷⁴ Hbr. √zhr “glänzen, Glanz verbreiten”, Syr. √zhr “glänzen” || Ar. √zhr “1. glänzen, 2. blühen” (Sem.: GB 194). For WCh.-Sem. see Blazek 1992: 27, fn. 23.⁷⁵ Sem.-Zayse: Ehret 2000 MS: 106, #1495.

*

⁷³ To be distinguished from CCh.: Banana čûw-ra, Banana (Museye) čiw-čiw-ra (Masa: Kraft 1981: #119), which derive from common Masa *čiw “star” [GT]: Gizey/Wina čiw, Masa čiw, Ham čiw, Musey čiwčiw, Lew číčiw, Marba číčiw “étoile” [Ajello et al. 2001: 24], Zime-Dari čičiw “étoile” [Cooper 1984: 4].

⁷⁴ Derived by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 101, #1473) as a nominal root *√zhr “noon” (assuming an alleged noun suffix extension *r) from his alleged biradical Sem. *√zh “to shine” in comparison with LECu.: Afar dahan- “to suffer from heat” (Ehret: root extension *n “non-finitive”) and WCh.: Ngizim ðaáfau “heat (of environment), sweat” (Ehret: extension *f “iterative” and *w “deverbativ”) < AA *-zah- “to be hot, burn (intr.)”. Strangely, in the same work, Ehret (op. cit., p. 106, #1495) omitted Sem. *√zhr among the reflexes of Sem. biliteral *√zr “to be bright, glossy, yellow” < AA *-zir- “to shine, burn (intr.)”.

⁷⁵ V. Blazek (l.c.) included in this comparison also EBrb.: Nefusa žiri, Siwa ta-ziri, Ghadames ta-ziri “moon” || NBrb.: Wargla ta-ziri “moon”, Beni Snus ta-ziri “moon-light” etc. in a long-range comparison with Basque izarr “star” and Ncauc. *žwHar’i “star”. But the Berber *comparanda* are certainly misplaced here, cf. their usual (and correct) equation with Sem. *šahar- “moon”, which was, in turn, equated by O.V. Stolbova (1987: 201, #519; HSED 124, #531) with WCh. *čaHar- “star” (based upon some AS and SBAuchi reflexes). Eventually, of course, the respective PAA roots behind both Sem. *√zhr and *√šhr might be considered as rhyme-root varieties (cf. the supposal already in GB 780).

Abbreviations of languages and other terms

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, formerly: Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amhara, 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, CCh.: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, DB: Daffo-Butura, Dem.: Demotic, E: East, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, IE: Indo-European, irreg.: irregular, JARAM.: Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, 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, MSA: Modern South Arabian, 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, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram): Aramaic of Talmud, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, (E)Wlmd.: (East) Tawllemmet, Y: Young(er).

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungrauthmayr, Alm.: Alemayehu, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Brk.: Brockelmann, CR: Conti Rossini, Ctc.: Cañucoli, Dbr.: Djibrine, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Egc.: Eguchi, Ehr.: Ehret, Eld.: Elderkin, Fcd.: Foucauld, Fdr.: Fédry, FH: Farah & Heck, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, Grb.: Greenberg, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hlw.: Hellwig, Hsk.: Hoskison, Hyw.: Hayward, Ibr.: Ibriszimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungrauthmayr & Adams, JI: Jungrauthmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungrauthmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungrauthmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mnt.: Montgolfier, Mts.: Matsushita, Nct.: Nachtigal, NM: Newman & Ma, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, PH: Parker & Hayward, RB: Rapp & Benzig, Spg.: Spiegelberg, TG: Takács.

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