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## Angas-Sura etymologies XII

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For Prof. H. Jungraithmayr<sup>1</sup>  
on his 90th anniversary and  
For Prof. K.T. Witczak<sup>2</sup>  
on the day of my promotion  
(both on the 7th of May 2021)

**Abstract:** Gábor Takács, *Angas-Sura etymologies XII*. The Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences, PL ISSN 0079-4740, pp. 55-75

The paper as part of a long-running series is devoted to the etymological analysis of a new segment (namely that with initial dental \*d-) of the Angas-Sura root stock, a small group of modern languages remotely and ultimately akin to pharaonic Egyptian and the well-known Semitic languages or Twareg in the Sahara etc. Doing so, I wish to continue the noble tradition initiated by J.H. Greenberg (1958), the founding father of modern Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics (along with I.M. Diakonoff), who was the first scholar ever to have established by Neo-Grammarians the methods regular consonantal correspondences between Angas-Sura (AS) 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, phonological reconstruction, consonantism, etymology, Afro-Asiatic, Chadic languages, African linguistics, ancient Egyptian, Semitic studies

<sup>1</sup> I had already detailed a few times elsewhere (e.g., EDE II xi; Takács 2004: xii; EDE III xi-xii etc.) how much he has influenced my research and orientations, thus, among others, also the choice of this Angas-Sura research project in Sept. 1998 when I first started its work by manually copying Foulkes' 1915 Angas lexicon from the stenographic notes (made back in his Muscovite career) of A.B. Dolgopolsky (1930-2012), the greatest genius of comparative Afro-Asiatic of all times, during my research fellowship spent with him at Haifa University.

<sup>2</sup> It was his unselfish efforts that I can thank the survival and continuous stability of my researcher status, esp. on this very day when the University of Lodz has formally elected among its professors me also as an ARR grantee.

## 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 (Semitic-Hamitic) language family (or phylum), which is divided into six equipotential cognate branches: Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Omotic, Chadic.

The best inner classification of the Angas-Sura group was suggested by C. Hoffmann (1971; 1975 MS: 2), who assumed Gerka to have been the first member split off from the group. The remaining group falls into three subgroups: (1) **Northern**: Angas, (2) **North-Eastern**: Sura (Mwaghavul), Mupun, Chakfem-Mushere Chip, Jorto, Kofyar, (3) **Southern**: Kanam (Koenom), Pyapun(g), Tal, Montol, Goemai (Ankwe). On the basis of my own research on comparative AS phonology, I (Takacs 2004: xxi-xxxix; 2005: 47-52, §IV) stated that the phonological isoglosses confirm the correctness of Hoffmann's inner classification. Henceforth, I use the following (slightly modified) inner grouping: (1) **Gerka**, (2) **Angas**, (3) **Suroid** languages (falling further on in two clusters: 3.1. Sura-Mupun vs. 3.2. Kofyar-Mushere-Chip according to the isoglosses of the complex AS \*g<sup>y</sup>-), (4) **Goemaioid** languages (Kanam/Koenom, Pyapun/Pyapung, Tal, Montol, Goemai). Most recently, on the basis of his own field research on several (hitherto unrecorded) AS languages starting from 2012, R.M. Blench<sup>3</sup> put forward an extended vision of an as full set of daughter languages as possible in a sketchy model, without anyhow demonstrating their peculiarities and the underlying lexicostatistical scores, along the following clusters: (1) Yiwom, Goemai, "Talic" (Pyapung, Tal, Koeneem), (2) Miship, (3) "Pan cluster": Jakato, Jibyal, Nteng, Bwol, Jipal, Kwalla, Doemak, Mernyang, (4) Mwaghavul, Mupun, Takas, (5) Mushere, Chakfem (?), (6) Ngas, Bəlɲəŋ. Many of these alleged languages are so far either unrecorded or their sporadic wordlists are insufficient. Since the British field researcher, working mostly with "one-shoot" sessions,<sup>4</sup> has so far failed in elaborating a new comprehensive comparative phonology and lexicon first according to the standards of scholarship and has apparently missed to present the linguistic evidence or even the argued outlines of his new vision are hidden to us, it is perhaps wiser to stick to the already firmly established frames of the 2004 grouping for the time being.

The phonological and lexical reconstruction of the Angas-Sura group had only been partly elaborated in minor segments<sup>5</sup> before the first comparative lexicon of the Angas-Sura

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Blench & Bulkaam 2019a: 3, Figure 1; 2019b: 3, Figure 1; 2019c: 3, Figure 1; 2019d: 4, Figure 1: "The Central West Chadic languages".

<sup>4</sup> E.g., Blench-Bulkaam 2019a: 1: "The wordlist was collected as a 'one-shot' exercise and the transcription must therefore be regarded as preliminary."; Blench-Bulkaam 2019d: 1: "The village of Nteng was visited by the first author and Raymond Dawum on the 9th of December, 2017, and a basic 500 word list was elicited."

<sup>5</sup> 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

group has been completed (Takács 2004)<sup>6</sup>. Now, on the basis of this synthesis (by far not yet complete, of course as most recently further AS languages have emerged from the obscurity of their unrecorded status), it has become fundamentally plausible to systematically deal with the external cognates of the Angas-Sura lexical stock also both inside its gigantic Chadic kindred and in the remote branches of the Afro-Asiatic macrofamily. The series “Angas-Sura Etymologies”<sup>7</sup> 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 correspondences of some of the Angas-Sura (AS) roots with initial \*-z- are discussed, collected mostly during the most recent of my research on the Afro-Asiatic root stock with initial dentals in my Afro-Asiatic root library (Ederics bay, Lake Balaton).

### 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

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, O.V. 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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), may his memory be blessed, one of the greatest Afro-Asiatic or Semito-Hamitic comparativists of all times.

<sup>7</sup> The first part (AS roots with initial \*b-) appeared in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 46 (2004), 131-144. The second one (AS \*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* 47/2 (2011), 273-289. The fifth part (AS \*m- in monococonsonantal roots) in the *Cahiers Caribéens d’Égyptologie* (Schoelcher, Martinique) 13-14 (2010), 137-142. The sixth part (rest of AS \*m-) was originally scheduled for *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 74/1 (2021), but this paper has so far not been completed and submitted, which I had earlier unfortunately overlooked, so the word on its appearance in that RO issue was misrecorded by my mistake in this footnote of my previous communications on AS, for which I must apologize here. I plan to fill up this gap later. The seventh one (AS \*d-) was published in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 62/3 (2020), 95-120. The eighth part (AS \*d-) in *Folia Orientalia* 57 (2020), 321-354. The ninth part (AS \*t-) in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 63/1 (2021), 53-72. The tenth part (AS \*z- + Ø, labials, dentals, velars) is published in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 64/1 (2022), 73-96. The eleventh part (AS \*z- + nasals) in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 64/2 (2022), 49-76.

\*-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 -C<sub>2</sub>- of AA \*√C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub> was either \*-h<sup>ʔ</sup>/h<sup>ʔ</sup>/ or \*-g/k/γ/h- 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- + liquids (continued)

As it has been demonstrated in my earlier works on AS historical phonology,<sup>8</sup> this phoneme in the *Anlaut* regularly corresponds to Eg.-Brb.-Sem. \*z- < NAA \*ʒ-.

- **401. Pangas \*zar** “1. clean, 2. holy, appreciated (person)”<sup>9</sup> [GT]: Angas zar “good, appreciated”, gurm-da zar “a good, popular man” [Foulkes 1915: 312] = (Kabwir dialect) zàr “good, appreciated” [Jng. 1962 MS: 45] = [zàr] “clean” [Burquest 1971: 31] = zar “to cleanse”, zar “1. clean, 2. holy”, go zar “holy person” (cf. go “person”) [ALC 1978: 20, 70], presumably also Mushere zàrí (sic: -i)<sup>10</sup> “popularity” [Jng. 1999 MS: 20] (AS: Takacs 2004: 423). Origin disputable as at least three diverse alternatives have emerged.

**401.1.** If an original sense “pure” underlies here, cp. NBrb.: Qabyle i-zrir “être clair, dégagé” [Dallet 1982: 954]. Cf. the probably ultimate PAA source (with a primary sense “bright”?) identical with that of the preceding entry in the preceding issue of this series (Takács 2022: 70, #400). A root variety with an initial PAA \*ʕ- is attested.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Takács 2001: 78-83; 2011: 154-158.

<sup>9</sup> Since this is here apparently a derived meaning, a comparison with CCh.: Mandara and Mafa-Mada \*žirw- “to respect, honour” [GT] < Ch. \*zVr- “to respect, honour” [CLD III 144, #557] ||| SBrb.: perhaps Ahaggar tí-hôrar [GT: h < \*z possible] “fait d’être très respecté” [Prasse 1969: 68, #390: isolated in Brb., < \*√ʔrr] seems to be out of the question. For the same reason may O.V. Stolbova (CLD III 142, #565) also err in deriving the Angas word from her PCh. \*zVr- “good, beautiful”.

<sup>10</sup> Unexpected open syllable in the Auslaut, which *eo ipso* would suggest a compound.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. NBrb.: Qabyle √zr (secondary z- < \*z-?): zzerzer “être pur, clair, sans nuage (ciel)” [Dallet 1982, 953] ||| HECu.: Burji čir- “to clear a forest, chop, gnaw” and Sidamo čir- “to gnaw, shave” etc. < HECu. \*čir- “to gnaw” [Hudson 1989: 41, 71].

**401.2.** On the other hand, its basic sense “clean” may well be etymologically associated with a primary meaning of clearing a surface from its hairy or sim. covering, cf. PCh. \*zVr- “to tear” [CLD] = “to tear out” [GT]:<sup>12</sup> Mofu-Gudur -zórt- “casser en tirant (cord, habit), déchirer” [Barreteau] = “to tear, tear by pulling (rope, cloth)” [CLD] || ECh.: Migama žirpò “arracher une branche (à la main)” [AJ 1989] = “tear off a branch (by hand)” [CLD] (Ch.: CLD III 138, 535.a) || PBrb. \*√h<sub>2</sub>zr [Prasse] = \*√Ĥ/h<sub>2</sub>zr < \*\*√wzr (???) “to flay, pluck” [GT]: EBrb.: Ghadames e-bzər [b regular < \*w?] “1. être épluché”, caus. zə-bzər “1 éplucher, écosser, écorcer, 2. plumer un oiseau” [Lanfry 1973: 35, #156] || NBrb.: Iznasen e-zzər (secondary zz < \*zz?) “épiler, arracher (poil, alfa etc.)” [Renisio 1932: 323] | Qabyle e-zzer “3. débarrasser une peau de ses poils, 4. gratter un os” [Dallet 1982: 952] | Tamazight zzer “1. épiler, 2. débarrasser une peau de sa laine, 3. déplumer, 4. brancher, arracher (herbe, cheveux, poils)” [Taïfi 1991: 811] || SBrb.: Ahaggar e-her “2. être dépouillé de ses poils (de ses cheveux, de sa laine, le sujet étant une partie du corps d’une personne ou d’un animal)” [Foucauld 1951-2: 633] = ə-hər [Prasse], Ghat zə-zər (caus.) “plumer” [Nehlil apud Prasse], Wlmd. zə-zər Ayr ə-zər [A. Basset apud Prasse] = EWlmd.-Ayr ə-zər “1. être dépouillé de ses cheveux / poils / sa laine (par maladie / grattage / arrachage), 4. (Ayr) être purifié (grain), débarassé de son son”, e-zer, pl. i-zer-ān “dépilation”, EWlmd. te-zer-t “1. dépouillage, arrachage, 2. maladie causant la chute des cheveux / poils (qcq., p.e.x., pellicule)” [PAM 2003: 987]<sup>13</sup> (Brb.: Prasse 1969: 65, #359) || Sem.: Arab √zrr I “5. arracher le poil en tirant poil par poil” [BK I 982]. Ar.-Ch.: CLD III 138, 535.a. A PAA root variety with an initial voiceless radical must have existed also, which, besides, seems to suggest an eventual cognacy with the AA root outlined in the next sub-entry (no. 401.3.) below.<sup>14</sup>

**401.3.** The notion of cleanness may have been associated in PAA with sweeping also, cf. NOm.: Chara zír- “to sweep” [Aklilu in Bender 2003: 336, #95] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr a-zor “balai” [PAM 2003: 898] < PAA \*√zr “to sweep” [GT]. A PAA root variety with an initial voiceless radical must have existed also.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Derived by O.V. Stolbova (CLD 1.c.) from her PCh. \*zVr- “to stretch, to pull” [CLD III 137, #535].

<sup>13</sup> Most likely, however, is that it is a denominative < \*hair”, cf. Takacs 2015: 86-88.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Sem.: Ar. ḥasara I “1. dépouiller d’écorce (une branche d’arbre), 2. mettre à nu qq. membre ou partie du corps, 3. ôter, enlever (le manche de dessus le bras)” which has at the same time the sense of “4. nettoyer, balayer (l’appartement)” also [BK I 425]. This latter one was combined by O.V. Stolbova (CLD III 97, #320.a) with her PCh. \*sVr-/\*sVw/yVr- “sweep, wipe, rub” [CLD] (see below). Her comment, that the “Arabic s- originates from HS lateral fricative” is incomprehensible.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. PCh. \*sVr-/\*sVw/yVr- “sweep, wipe, rub” [CLD]: WCh.: Hausa šáárà “he swept sg. on to”, šààráá “he swept (place), cleared (a road)”, šáárè “he swept” [Abraham 1962, 801-803] | perhaps Goemay sūr [sūr, irreg. < \*sar?] “to clean, gather any waste matter” [Sirlinger 1937: 228] | Boghom sáar “to rub” [Cosper 1994: 63], Buli sarəga “to wipe” [Cosper 1999: 149, #846], Dwot (Dott) sar “sweep, wipe” [Caron apud CLD], Guruntum siri “to sweep” [Cosper 1994: 35], Mangas saar “to sweep” vs. širk “to wipe” [Cosper 1994: 68 and 72, resp.], Zul sari “wipe, rub” [Cosper, 1999: 150, #846] || CCh.: Fali-Kiria sar “clean, wipe” [Blench and Ndamsai quoted in CLD] || ECh.: Kwang-Ngam saare, Kwang-Mobu sa:re “essuyer” [Lanssen] | Ndam sura “sweep” [Jng.]. Noun derivative: PCh. \*sVr-(K)- “broom” [CLD] > WCh.: Galambu sùrgú [Schuh apud CLD] with -rg- < \*-rk- [CLD] | Boghom swáayi “broom” [Cosper], Buli suur [Cosper], Dott sásaari [Cosper], Geji suuli [Cosper], Tala sur “broom” [Caron], Zul sùure “broom” [Cosper], Saya swarəyá “broom” [Cosper] (SBauchi: Cosper 1999: 31-32, #114) || CCh.: Mbuko səròk [Gravina-Nelezek-Tchalalao 2003 quoted in CLD] | Munjuk (Pouss) suruk (m) “balai”

● **402. PAngas \*za<sub>2</sub>r** “tree sp.” [GT]: Angas zar “name of a large tree” [Foulkes 1915: 312] = zèr (Kabwir dialect) “a large tree” [Jng. 1962 MS: 45] (Takacs 2004: 423: isolated in AS) | Karekare zàrìzàrì “kind of tree” [Gambo & Karofi 2004 quoted apud CLD] || CCh.: Logone záára “Sykomore” [Nachtigal apud Lukas 1936: 127] || ECh.: Mubi zárrà (m), pl. zírèèt “acacia sp.” [Jng. 1990b: 49; 2013: 203] < Ch. \*zVr- “big tree” [CLD III 143, #552] = \*zar- “tree sp.” [GT]<sup>16</sup> || Brb. \*a-zar “fig”, \*ta-zar-t “fig tree” [GT]:<sup>17</sup> EBrb.: Ghadames ta-zar-t, ta-zar-ín “figue sèche” [Lanfry 1973: 429, #1829] || NBrb.: Tuzin zāra, pl. i-zura “verger et jardin de figuiers” and ta-zā-t [eroded \*-r-] “figue”, Iznasen, Wariaghel, Ait Ammart, Senhazha ta-zār-t “figue” [Renisio 1932: 323] | Qabyle ta-zar-t (coll.) “figues sèches” [Dallet 1982: 954] | Tamazight ta-zar-t (sg. coll.) “1. figues, 2. figuiers” [Taïfi 1991: 842] | Sus, a-zar, ta-zar-t [Prasse] || SBrb. \*√h<sub>1</sub>zr [Prasse]: Ghat a-zar, pl. a-zar-ən, ta-zar-t, pl. ta-zar-in [Nehlil 1909], Ayr ta-har-t [Nicolas], Taneslemt a-har, ta-har-t [Evangile selon Saint Matthieu apud Prasse], Ahagggar â-hâr, pl. â-hâr-ən “figue”, tâ-hâr-t, pl. tâ-hâr-ín “figuier” [Foucauld 1951-2 II: 640] (Brb.: Prasse 1969: 64, #354).

● **403. Sura nzàr-goŋ** (uncertain compound)<sup>18</sup> “Frosch” [Jng. 1963: 77] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 423) || (???) NOm.<sup>19</sup> \*zar- “lizard” [Bender 2003: 168 and 213, #82].<sup>20</sup>

● **404. Mupun zàr** “bee-fly” [Frj. 1991: 69] (Takacs 2004: 423: isolated in AS) | Hausa zànzàróó [zànzàróó] “mason- or dauber-wasp” [Bargery 1934: 1131] = zànzàróó “dauber-wasp” [Abr. 1962: 968] = zànzàróó [Stolbova: < \*zar-zar-] | Ngamo nzàrèi “hornet” [Gashinge, Janga Dole, Goge 2004 apud CLD] (WCh.: CLD III 141-142, #559: isolated in Ch. and AA) || CCh.: Lamang zir ka mæk “bee” [Meek 1931 in JI 1994 II: 19] | Mada zúnzùùr “maison-wasp” [CLD: Hausa loan (?), not found in Barreteau & Brunet 2000: 279] < PCh. \*zVr- “bee, wasp” [CLD III 143, #552] || NBrb.: Tamazight √zrz > i-zrezz<sub>i</sub>, pl. i-zerzz-an “1. une guêpe, 2. frelon” [Taïfi 1991: 816].

Further root varieties of the underlying root are attested also:

[Tourneux 1991: 116] (Ch.: CLD III 97, #320.a) || Sem.: Ar. ḥsara I “4. nettoyer, balayer (l’appartement)”, mi-ḥsar-at “balai” [BK I 425-426]. Ch.-Ar.: CLD III 97, #320.a.

<sup>16</sup> Probably distinct from CCh.: Lame n̄zòr (ndz-) “plante sp. rampante et donnant de petits fruits comestibles” [Sachine 1982, 439].

<sup>17</sup> K.-G. Prasse (l.c., pace J. Nicolaisen): “Les formes N (Taneslemt), Y (Ayr) doivent être des emprunts à H (Ahagggar). En effet le figuier n’existerait pas dans la zone N et serait de moindre importance dans la zone Y.”

<sup>18</sup> For the Suroid component \*-goŋ “frog (?)”, occurring in various compounds, cf., beside Sura nzàr-goŋ “Frosch” [Jng.], also Mushere li-gong “frog”, li-gong am “water frog” (am “water”) [Diyakal 1997 MS: 149].

<sup>19</sup> Bender’s Ta-Ne or Macro-Ometo?-Gimirra-Yemsa.

<sup>20</sup> Attested in EWolayta Cluster + NWometo + Chara \*zar- “lizard” [Bender 2003: 168, #82] > extended Wolayta Cluster \*zar-e “lizard” [Bender 2003: 20, #82] + Basketo zarzará “gecko” [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 59, #82] | Chara zara, zəra “gecko” [Fleming apud Bender 2003: 90, #82] (Macro-Ometo: Bender 2003: 118, #82) | Gimirra-Benesho zarzar [Breeze], She zāyāy (?) [CR] “lizard” (Gimirra: Bender 2003: 168, #82) | Yemsa zaro “gecko” [Fleming] = zārò “lizard” [Lamberti] (Yemsa: Bender 2003: 168, #82) | Dizoid \*zay-zay “lizard” [Bender 2003: 213, #82]: attested purely by Nayi zāyāy [CR].

**404.1. WCh. \*žir-** [GT] > Hausa *z/žirnako* [z/žirnáákóó] “a black wasp or hornet, which suspends a white nest from rafters” [Bargery 1934: 1140] = *žirnààkóó* (m) “black hornet which builds white hanging nest” [Abr. 1962: 974]<sup>21</sup> | PGoemay \**nžir* (prefix \**n-*) “small bee” [GT]:<sup>22</sup> Goemay *nžir* “a small non-stinging bee” [Sirlinger 1937: 162] = *nžir* “small honeybee” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 25] (AS: Takacs 2004: 439).

**404.2. Ethiopian Wanderwort \*zal** [GT] (with an \**-l-*) attested in NOm.: (?) Dizi *zalu* [-*l-* < \**-r-*?] “wasp (s.v. bee)” [Allan in Bender 2003: 205, #8] || Eth.-Sem.: Tigre *zəlzale* “abeille” [WTS 494 > DRS 735, ZLZL5: isolated in Sem.].

● **405. Mushere nzar** “bird sp. that sucks animal blood (e.g. cow, horse, sheep, and donkey)” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 359] (Takacs 2004: 423: isolated in AS) || NOm.: Mocha (borrowed from Amh.) *nəširi(yé)* “to bleed” [Leslau 1959: 44] || NAgaw: Bilin *našar* “aus der Nase bluten”, *našarā* “Blutung, Blut aus der Nase” [Reinisch 1887: 286], Kemant *našir* “saignement du nez” [CR 1912: 238] || Brb. \**√nʒr* “saigner du nez” [NZ]: NBrb.: Shilh *wwunzer* “saigner du nez” [NZ] | Wariaghel, Iboqqoyen, Ait Ammart, Senhazha *funzār*, Tuzin *kunzā* (no *-r* due to erosion)” [Rensio 1932: 393], Mzab *ggunzer* “saigner du nez” [Delheure 1984: 61-62], Wargla *mmunzər* “saigner du nez” [Delheure 1987: 232] | Qabyle *funzr* ~ *wunzr* “saigner du nez” [Chaker 1972-3: 87: prefix *f-/w-*] | Tamazight \**√nʒr* (with diverse C<sub>1</sub> root extensions): *gunzer*, Zayan dialect *kunzer*, Izdeg *munzer* “saigner du nez” [Taïfi 1991: 514-515] || SBrb.: Ayr *e-nz/žər*, pl. *ə-nz/žər-ən* ~ *ə-nz/žir-ən* “saignement du nez” [PAM 2003: 638, 641] || EBrb.: Ghadames *fənzər* “saigner du nez” [Lanfry 1973: 90-91, #399] = *fenzr* [NZ] || WBrb.: Zenaga *√nʒr* > *ũžər* “saigner du nez” [Nicolas 1953: 239] || SBrb.: Ahaggar *ā-ñher* “sang s’écoulant par les narines dans un saignement de nez”, *fuñher* “avoir la narine coupée (par l’arrachement de l’anneau de nez)” [Foucauld 1951-2: 1355], Tadghaq and Tudalt *e-nžār*, pl. *e-nžār-ən* “nosebleed” [Sudlow 2001: 281] || SEth.-Sem., e.g., Amh. *nässärä(w)* “1. to have a nosebleed, 2. form (pools of melted butter on the surface of cooking sauce), 3. (fig.) predominate, preponderate, be more than”, *näsära* “having a nosebleed, bleeding from the nose”, cf. *nässärä* “to sweat, form on the body (perspiration)” [Kane 1990: 1023] and Tigre *√nsr* “to bleed” [Leslau 1979 III 462] (GT: borrowed from Cu. or vice versa?) < PAA \**√nʒr* ~ \**√ncr*<sup>23</sup> “to bleed (nose)” [GT]. Of biconsonantal origin, cf. its simplex reflexes:

**405.1. CCh.:** Mofu-Gudur *náz* “sangsue” [Brt. 1988: 201] || NBrb.: Izdeg *u-nzu* (sic: no *-r* hardly due to erosion???) “avoir une hémorragie nasale” [Mercier 1937: 137] (seems to be different from the reflex of *√nʒr* above) || (?) Eg. *nz* “Blutbad” (XXVI, Wb II 319, 5:

<sup>21</sup> Affiliated by N. Skinner (1996: 299) with phonologically dubious parallels.

<sup>22</sup> Goemay \**nžir* (prefix \**n-*) “small bee” [GT]: Goemay *nžir* “a small non-stinging bee” [Sirlinger 1937: 162] = *nžir* “small honeybee” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 25] could hardly be a direct cognate of the Mupun word as they seem to derive from two distinct AS etyma (\**zar* vs. \**žir*), which can only be altered if one demonstrates that an original \**z-* could become \**ž-* after a nasal prefix.

<sup>23</sup> Were we not aware of the biliteral simplex root with an originally voiced \**ʒ*, one would be disposed to assume

“*ob richtig?*”)<sup>24</sup> || Sem.: Ar. √*nzw* IV “2. faire saigner, faire perdre beaucoup de sang” [BK II 1243] = I *nazā* (à l’actif) “perdre son sang jusqu’à épuisement” [Fagnan 1923: 171] < PAA \*√*n3* “to bleed” [GT].

• **406. PGoemay \**(n)zār*** (?) [GT]: Goemay *kâân n’zûr* [-zûr] “of brown colour” (*kâân* obscure) [Sirlinger 1937: 87] (Takács 2004: 425: isolated in AS) || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur -*zawal-* [I < \*r] “tomber (nuit), obscurcir” [Barreteau 1988: 265] || Ethio-Sem.: Gurage dialects \*√*zwr* “greyish (cattle), dark-brown” [Leslau] = “brune sombre (bétail)” [DRS] > Ennemor, Endegeny, Gyeto *zäwre*, Chaha, Ezha *zore*, Muher *zorä* (ES: Leslau 1979 III 717; DRS 709: isolated in Sem.) < PAA \*√*3wr* “dark brown (?)” [GT].<sup>25</sup> Any connection to Ch. \*√*Vr-* “a horse (of specific colour)” [CLD III 143, #549]? As long as the rendering of Goemay *kâân* and the whole compound is not available, naturally, this proposal has to be regarded as tentative.

• **407. Suroid \**zor*** [GT]: Sura *zör* “Hirseart, am nächsten der *Ačča* verwandt” [Jng. 1963: 89] may well have eventually denoted \*, „seed, grain” and so be akin to Sem. \*√*zr*, the biliteral root simplex regarded the source for “plusieurs racines signifiant ‘dispenser, éparpiller’ contiennent cette séquence consonantique” [DRS 788, -ZR-] > i.a., Eth.-Sem.: Tna. *zäräwä* “disséminer, répandre, gaspiller” [DRS 793, ZRW3] vs. Sem. \*√*zr*<sup>c</sup> “semer etc.” [DRS 793, ZR<sup>c</sup>1] vs. Sem. \*√*zrk* “asperger etc.” [DRS 802, ZRQ1]. One wonders if NBrb. \*√*zr*: Iznasen, Tuzin, Wariaghel, Iboqqoyen *zuzer* “vanner, saupoudrer” [Renisio 1932: 322] might also be related.

• **408. Sura *zür*, in: *ḍaar zür*** “von Aufregung zittern” (cf. *ḍaar* “zittern”) [Jng. 1963: 63, 89] (Takács 2004: 428: isolated in AS) || ECh.: Mubi *žäržár* (*žëržîr*, *žîržáár*) “trembler, vibrer” [Jng. 1990 MS: 25] || CCh.: Munjuk-Puss *ziriya* (*zəriya*) “trembler” [Tourneux 1991: 129], cf. also Munjuk-Puss *zuwri* (*zuwra*) “osciller” [Tourneux 1991: 129] < Ch. \*√*3/žr* “to tremble” [GT] || Sem.: PAr. biconsonantal \*√*zr* “to tremble” [GT] > Ar. √*zr(z)*<sup>c</sup>: (forme isolée) ?*arza*<sup>c</sup> - “lâche, poltron”, Libyan Ar. *zarza*<sup>c</sup> “faire peur”, *t-zarza*<sup>c</sup> “avoir peur, frissonner”, cf. also Ar. √*zrzr* > *ta-zarzara* “se remuer”, *zarzār* - “esprit vif” [DRS 794] vs. √*zrzl*: Hispanian dialect *zarzāl* “tremblement de terre” [DRS 794]. Sura-Ar.: Takács 2001: 82; 2011: 157. Root variety present in:

**408.1. Sem. biconsonantal \*√*zl*** “to shake” [GT]: Syr. ?*zalanzal* “être secoué, trembler”, *zunzālā* “tremblement turpitude, honte” | Ar. *zaliza* “être inquiet, s’agiter continuellement”, *zalzala* “faire trembler, secouer, agiter”, *zalzāl-* “tremblement (des membres)”, *zalzal-at-*

<sup>24</sup> Affiliated by M. Alliot (RdÉ 10, 1955, 1-4, cf. also WD II 79) with Eg. ns “Verletzung (?)” (Wb II 321, 4) and nsns (knife determinative) “(Verbum: von den Fingern im Vergleich mit einem Opferstier)” (NE, Wb II 335, 1) = “(meaning uncertain) to prance (?) / show off (?) / be swift (?) / cut up (?)” (DLE II 34) = “zerschneiden (?)” (GHWb 432).

<sup>25</sup> This root should be carefully distinguished from the isogloss (?) of Eg. *z3.w* (unless it is to be read *wš3.w*) “Finsternis” (BD, Wb III 412, 15; GHWb 654) || WCh.: PAngas \**žil* “darkness” [GT]: Angas *džil* “darkness due to thick growth of trees, bushes, etc.” [Foulkes 1915: 169] = *žil-kük* (Kabwir dialect) “darkness in dense forest” [Jng. 1962 MS: 46] | Diri *žil* (*dzîr*) “black” [IL] = *žil* [Skinner] | Zaar *žil* (*dzi*) [GT: erosion < \**žil?*] “black” [IL] (WCh.: JI 1994 II: 28).



“tremblement de terre” || MSA: Harsusi *zəlzāl* “tremblement de terre” || Geez *zalala* “être secoué, agité”, Tigrinya *zəla* “sauter, bondir”, *zəlzāl bälä* “ballotter (chose accrochée)” (Sem.: DRS 735, ZLZ1 and ZLZL1; 738, ZLL1 with numerous semantically unrelated parallels).

● **409. Mushere zereng** (≈ Hausa *yanga* “1. boastfulness”) [Diyakal 1997 MS: 347] (isolated in AS: Takács 2004: 424) || Sem. \* $\sqrt{zrm}$ : Syr. *zarmā* “qui est à craindre, vénérable” | Ar. *ʔizraʔamma* “se resserrer, frissonner, être en colère”, Palestinian Ar. *zərem* “s’irriter, prendre parti”, Hassaniya *zerrem* “se gonfler en colère” || MSA: Jibbali *zorrūm* “être sombre, maussade”, Soqotri *əzrəm* “faire frissonner” (Sem.: DRS 798).

● **410. Goemay zal’ [zāl]** “to imitate, do” [Sirlinger 1937: 283] (Takacs 2004: 421: isolated in AS) || (?) Cu.: uncertain reflex<sup>26</sup> || (?) Eg.: uncertain reflex<sup>27</sup> || Sem. \* $\sqrt{zw/yl}$  [DRS]: Ar. *zawl-* “forme, figure qu’on voit à distance, qui apparaît et disparaît, personne, individu”, *zāl-at-* “mirage”, Palestinian Ar. *zōl* “chimière, fantôme”, *tzāwal* “avoir des chimières”, Sudanese Ar. *zāwal* “croire avoir vu des objets sans réalité, des fantômes” || ES: Tigre *zol* “(belle) figure” (Sem.: DRS 703) < PAA \* $\sqrt{zl}$  “to be similar (?)” [GT].

● **411. AS \*zal** “1. ridge (of farm), 2. wave (of water)” [GT]: Angas *zal* “1. a ridge of a field on which crops are grown, 2. also used of waves” [Foulkes 1915: 312] = *zāl* (Kabwir dialect) “ridge in the farm”, *zal* (Kabwir dialect) “1. ridge, 2. wave”, *zāl mār* “ridges of farm” (*mār* “farm”), *zāl ʔām* “waves of water” (*ʔām* “water”) [Jng. 1962 MS: 45] = *zal mar* “guineacorn hill” (*mar* “field”) [ALC 1978: 70] || SBrb.: Ayr *te-zle*, pl. *tyə-zla-wen* “1. signe (trait vertical) tracé dans le sol pour faire les *igāzan* (géomancie)” [PAM 2003: 885] < PAA \* $\sqrt{zl}$  “line (?)” [GT]. Perhaps originally AS \*\**zal* signified “straight line (?)” [GT], cf. perhaps Goemay *zāl [zāl]* “straightness” [Sirlinger 1937: 283],<sup>28</sup>

**411.1.** Root variety attested in ECh.: Mubi *zār* (*zēr, zīrrā*) “tracer une ligne”, *zīr* (m) “ligne, trace” [Jng. 1990b: 49], which – similarly to the variety with \*r – may well be

<sup>26</sup> Cf. HECu. \**žāla* “friend” [Hudson 1989: 414]? Semantically, a chain of shifts “a similar one” → “companion” → “friend” should not be excluded, cf. Eg. *snsn* “sich gesellen zu, sich (etwas) vereinen mit ...” (PT-, Wb IV 172-173), *snsn* (neben *ḥtp*) “(Friede und) freundschaftliche Verbindung (zwischen zwei Staaten)” (XIX., Wb IV 174, 1) < *sn.wj* “1. Zahlwort: zwei, 2. die Zwei, die Beiden im Sinne von: die beiden Streitenden, die beiden Parteien” (PT-, Wb IV 148).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Eg. *zn* “herankommen an, nacheifern (r): 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<sup>1</sup> 1927: §180 > FD 230), which, in the preceding part of this AS series (Takács 2022a: 59, #376), I equated with WCh.: PGoemay *zen* “to start together, do a thing together, at the same time” [Sirlinger 1937: 284] (Takacs 2004: 424: isolated in AS) || CCh.: Munjuk-Pouss *ziŋgi* (*zəŋga*) (velar root extension?) “ressembler” [Tourneux 1991: 129] < CAA \* $\sqrt{zn}$  “to be similar, identical (?)” [GT].

<sup>28</sup> Etymology disputable. Cf. Mupun *zāt* (adv.) “straight” [Frj. 1991: 69?]

affiliated with WCh.: PGoemaoid \*žar “straight” [GT]:<sup>29</sup> Goemay žar “straight, right” [Sirlinger 1937: 82] = žar (adv.) “straight, upright” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 14] vs. Tal zar [zár] (adv.) “straight” [Blench 2019: 173].

• **412. AS \*zāl** “sort of traditional belt for men” [GT]: Mupun zāl “burial cloth, sash wrapped around waist or mouth (a woven cloth used to wrap corpses before burial, also used as a belt, when tightly wrapped around the waist, believed to relieve symptoms of hunger)” [Frj. 1991: 69], Mushere zaal “traditional local belt worn by men” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 349], Goemay zaal “a strap of cloth about 5 inches wide (is made by the hill people)” [Sirlinger 1937: 282] = zaal “traditional woven belt”, zaal-šim “European type of belt” (šim “skin”) [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] < Ch. \*zV(wV)- “belt, rope”, \*zVI-(m) “kind of cloth” [CLD III 129-130, #473] || Eg. z3.w “Art Gewebe oder Kleid” (MK, Wb III 419, 13) || Sem. \*√zwl “to plait” [GT]: JPArAm. zūl “filer”, zōlālā “écheveau” | SAr. dialect zūliyya, zōlye “tapis” || Jibbali zolit, Mehri zəwōli, Soqotri zuwāli (pl.) “tapis” || Geez zawala “préparer le fil pour la nevette en l’enroulant sur une bobine, teindre” (Sem.: DRS 702) < PAA \*√z1 “to plait” [GT].

An ancient **NAA root variety** \*√zr “1. to tie, 2. bind the cloth” [GT] has been retained by a bunch of eventually related roots that may perhaps be grouped as follows:

**412.1. NAA \*√zr3** [GT] > Sem. \*√zrz: Akk. zurz- “sacoche faite de peau de chèvre” || NHbr. zərāz, JPArAm. zərāzā “ceinture, courroie” | Maghrebi Ar. zārəz “tresse en poil de chèvre”<sup>30</sup> (Sem.: DRS 793) || NBrb.: Tamazight a-zar “1. tendeur du métier à tisser: cordes attachées aux ensouples et fixées aux clous plantés dans le mur” [Taïfi 1991: 816].

**412.2. NAA \*√zr** “piece of cloth” [GT] > Sem. \*√zr: Akk. azāru “binden” [WUS contra AHW 92 and CAD 527 where rendered otherwise] || Ug. ?zr “(in ein Trauerkleid) hüllen”, mizrt “Überwurf” [WUS] = √zr G “to gird, bind (?)”, uzr “clothed, enrobed”, izr “investiture (?)” [DUL 137], OHbr. ?āzar “sich umgürten” [WUS] = qal “1. to put on the ?ēzōr, to gird (up one’s loins for battle), 3. tie up”, nifal “girded”, piel “to embrace closely, surround s’one with”, hitpael “to gird o’self with the ?ēzōr” (cf. ?ēzōr “the under garment which is taken off last, loincloth”) [KB] | Syr. mizrānā “Gurte” [WUS] | Ar. ?izār- “großer Überwurf, Schleier” [WUS] = ?izār- “1. pièce d’étoffe couvrante de la taille aux genoux (piece of cloth covering the body from the waist to the knees), 2. pagne (loin-cloth), 3. voile (en gén.) (veil in general), 4. manteau d’hiver (winter cloak), 5. drap (de lit), portière, rideau ((bed) sheet, door-curtain, curtain)”, mi?zar- “1. manteau (cloak), 2. pièce d’étoffe enveloppant le turban (piece of material wrapped around the turban)” [DAFA 95] = mi?zar-, ?iz(ā)r- “veil, loincloth” [KB] (Sem.: WUS 10-11, #130.a; KB 27-28) || EBrb.: Ghadames i-zar “grande pièce d’étoffe rectangular dans laquelle se drapent les femmes (izar n-elfradi “variété de ce manteau qui fait partie de la catégorie des «vêtements blancs» de rigueur aux jours de fêtes), 2. rideau pendant verticalement pour fermer, par devant, l’alcôve nuptiale, *elkubbet*” [Lanfry 1973: 429, #1830].

<sup>29</sup> PGoemay \*žar “straight” has been related to Goemay zal’ [zāl] “straightness” [Sirlinger 1937: 283] and Mupun zāt (adv.) “straight” [Frj. 1991: 69] already by G. Takács (2004: 435), but the phonological correspondences are not clear.

<sup>30</sup> The DRS (793-794) assumes that it “pourrait bien être un emprunt au berbère où azarəz semble relever de la racine RZ: arəz ‘lier, attacher’”.

**412.3. PAA \*√*zr*, NAA \*√*zrr*** “bound” [GT] > Eg. *z3r.w* “Fesseln, Bände” (PT, Wb III 422, 4), cf. also *z3* “He/ürde (?)” (OK, Wb III 413, 5) = “cattle-hobble” (FD 207), *z3*, in: *nwh n z3* (LP, Wb III 413, 4) || EBrb.: Ghadames *ta-zrira*, pl. *tə-zrira-w-īn* “1. branchette porte-fleurs (du palmier mâle), 2. branchette porte-dattes, 3. collier de perles d’or creuses et de perles de corail” [Lanfry 1973: 432, #1844]<sup>31</sup> || NBrb.: Qabyle *a-zrar* “collier”, *ta-zrar-t* “1. petit collier, 2. bande de tissu qui ferme la baratte”, *ta-zra* “collier ancien garni de clous girofle (appelé ailleurs *tazlayt*)” [Dallet 1982: 954-955] | Tamazight *ta-zra*, pl. *ti-zer-win* “collier”, *ta-zrur-t*, pl. *ti-zrur-in* “pendentif en perles ou en pièces de monnaie que l’on accroche aux mèches des enfants”, *a-zrur*, pl. *i-zrur-n* “grappe” [Taïfi 1991: 811-812] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr *ta/ši-zāra*, pl. *ti-zər-wen* “coulisse de taille du pantalon (dans laquelle passe le lacet qui se noue à la taille)”, *a-zər* “1. relever (son pantalon) en tirant intérieurement sous la coulisse de taille, de manière à en faire passer une partie au-dessus du lacet et à la rejeter en dehors, 2. enterrer maladroitement / sommairement / sans soins (cadavre), 2. être relevé (pantalon)” [PAM 2003: 897] || Ch. \**zVr*- “thread”, \**zVwVr*- “rope” [CLD] > WCh. \**za[w]ri* “верёвка” [Stolbova]: Hausa *zááráàrà* “long rope tied to animals’ neck” [Hodge] | Kulere *zàr*, pl. *zaàr* “Band, Strick” [Jng. 1970: 356] | Bole-Tangale \**zōri* “rope” [Schuh 1984: 212] (WCh.: Stolbova 1987: 190). Eg.-Hausa: Hodge 1966: 46. Eg.-Ch.-Hbr.: CLD III 143, #548 pace EDE I 178-179.

**412.4. NAA \*√*zr*** “woven object (mat, fence)” [GT] > NBrb. \*√*zr*: Iznasen, Wariaghel, Tuzin *ta-zra*, pl. *ti-zer-win* “1. corde petite de palmier nain”, Senhazha *a-mzur*, pl. *i-me-zr-ān* “tresse de cheveux”, Iznasen *i-muzar* (pl.) “cheveux en tresse”, Wariaghel *ta-mazur-t* “touffe de cheveux sur le haut crâne” (NBrb.: Renisio 1932: 323) || Eg. \**z3* “der Gegenstand, den das Schriftzeichen darstellt: Art Matte der Hirten (nur als Schriftzeichen belegt)” (Wb III 413, 3) = “herdsman’s shelter of papyrus matting” (EG<sup>1</sup> 1927: 508, D17-18) = “Hirtenmatte, zusammengerollt” (Brunner 1961: 68, V17) || Sem.: Akk. (lexicographical lists) *zirru* “reed fence” [CAD z 136, not in AHW] = *zirr*- “haie de roseaux” [DRS] || Aram. (Yaudi) *zrr* “clôture (?)” [DRS] | Minean *zyr* “clôture (?)” [DRS], cf. Sabaic *zrr* “to border on (être limitrophe de, jouxter)” [SD 171] (Sem.: DRS 804-805).

• **413. PGoemaiod \*z<sup>w</sup>al** “1. to replace, 2. restore” [GT]: Goemay *zwal* “to replace” [Sirlinger 1937: 286],<sup>32</sup> Tal *zweł* [z<sup>w</sup>ēł] “to fix; to mend; to repair” [Blench 2019: 175] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 428)<sup>33</sup> || Eg. \**zwn.w* (written *zn.w*), in: \**m-zwn.w=f* “an Stelle dessen Ersatzes” (early IV., cf. Urk. I 3:4, ÄWb I 1089: hapax). One wonders whether the same ultimate root, denoting basically some kind of compensation, represented by this

<sup>31</sup> Note that Ghadames *i-zar* “grande pièce d’étoffe rectangulaire dans laquelle se drapent les femmes” [Lanfry 1973: 429, #1830] is a late loanword borrowed < Ar. *ʔizār*.

<sup>32</sup> For a different etymology of the Goemay verb see Takács 2001: 83; 2011: 157.

<sup>33</sup> G. Takacs (l.c.) supposed a connection to Angas-Suroid \**ž<sup>w</sup>al* ~ \**ž<sup>w</sup>al* “to put in, on” [GT]: Angas *žwal* “to plant, put in the ground (of stakes)” [Foulkes 1915: 204] = *žwal* (Kabwir) “to put into the ground, or into bag” [Jng. 1962 MS: 46] = *zwal* [ž-] (pl.) “to put on” [ALC 1978: 70] = *žual* “to insert” [Gochal 1994: 73], Sura *žwal* *léε* (pl. of *ləp léε*) “sich anziehen” [Jng. 1963: 68, 73], Mupun *žūal* “to put on (cloth, shoes, hat), dress” [Frj. 1991: 24], Mushere *nžwal* “to transplant corn”, *nžuwaal* “the act of removing millet or corn from its seedbed and re-planting it on ridges of farm (act of transplanting)” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 171, 354] ≈ Hausa *dásà* “to transplant” [Abr. 1962, 196].

exclusive Chado-Egyptian isogloss, lives forth – on the analogy of some further parallels with the same semantic shift („to replace” > “to pay”)<sup>34</sup> – also in the reflexes of a semantically unexpectedly daring, albeit reconstructible, parental root for any trade activity that, in either way, is, in fact, exchanging sg. for sg., viz. PAA \*√3(w)l “1. to buy, 2. sell” [GT], attested in two varieties. The older *Ilae waw* variant has survived in both geographical extremities of AA, cf. WCh.: Bokkos žiwil [GT: ži- < \*zi-?] “handeln, kaufen” [Jng. 1970: 143] || Eg. sw n (or zwn?) “etwas zum Verkauf bringen” (alt, Wb IV 68, 1) = “to trade” (MK, FD 217) > sw n.t “Kaufpreis” (V. 2x, ÄWb I 1089) = s/zwn.t “Handel, Kaufpreis” (MK-, Wb IV 68, 4-13) = “price” (FD 214), znn “kaufen, an sich bringen” (XXII., Wb III 461, 4) || Sem.: Hbr.-Aram. \*√zwl “to buy, sell” [Rabin 1976: XXI].<sup>35</sup> The biliteral variant, often reduplicated, is solely spread in the Ethiopian area, cf. NOM.: Pometo \*zal- “to sell” [GT] > Kullo-Konta zal?- “to sell” [Alemayehu] (isolated in NWometo: Bender 2003: 320, #79) | SEometo \*zall- “to sell” [Bender 2003: 109, #79]: Koyra zal-ʔ/d- [Hayward], Ganjule zell- [Siebert & Hoeft], Kachama (Haruro) zall- [CR, Siebert & Hoeft] “to sell” (SEometo data: Bender 2003: 335, #79: isolated in Om.) || HECu. \*√zlz > \*zalzal- (with HECu. \*z) “to trade” [GT pace Leslau 1980: 121 and 128, fn. 23, cf. Leslau 1986: 378] = \*za3zal- “to trade, do business”, \*3al3al-o (\*dz-) “trade, business” [Hudson 1989: 408-409] || ES (borrowed from HECu.): Gurage dialects: Wolane zälzälä, Selti zilzälä “to practice small trade (Leslau), faire du petit commerce (DRS)” [DRS 735: isolated in Sem.]. Sem.-HECu.: Rabin 1976: XXI; Leslau 1979 III 707; DRS 735-736.

• **414. AS \*z<sup>w</sup>al > \*ž<sup>w</sup>al** “to husk from chaff” [GT]: Mushere nžwal [reg. < \*ž<sup>w</sup>al] “the white seed of acha after removing the chaff” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 171], Goemay zwal ~ zwaal

<sup>34</sup> Cf., e.g., Eg. r-d3.wt (regular < \*√cl) (prep.) “gemäß, entsprechend” (XVIII., Wb V 520, 3-6) = “in return for, because of” (FD 319) || SBrb.: Ahaggar e-žel “1. payer (réparer, en payant, le dommage matériel de) (un animal, une chose, volée / perdue / abîmée) (à leur propriétaire) etc. (q.v.)” [Foucauld 1951-2, 1956], EWlmd.-Ayr ə-žal “1. payer, 2. réparer en payant (le dommage matériel d’un animal, d’une chose volée / abîmée au propriétaire)” [PAM 2003: 215] || Sem.: perhaps Ar. √šry I “4. remplacer suffisamment qqn. dans une affaire, c.-à-d., donner en son absence à ses affaires les mêmes soins que la personne elle-même donnerait” [BK II 1336]. Or cf. WCh.: Dera gwure mi “pourquoi?” (cf. mi “what?”) [Pilszczikowa 1958: 83] || Sem. \*√gr “to pay” [WUS 6, #66; Zaborski 1971: #62]. Or cf. Eg. db3 “bezahlen, ersetzen, vergelten” (PT-, Wb V 555-556) = “to repay, replace, restore” (FD 321) > r-db3 (prep.) “1. anstatt einer Sache, 2. an Stelle einer Person, 3. zum Ersatz für, 4. (geben) als Bezahlung für (etwas), 5. (since NE) wegen” (Lit. MK-, Wb V 559-560) = “instead of, in return for” (FD 321) || Sem. \*√gbr > Ar. ġabara (kasra-hu) “rétablir une personne dans l’état où elle était auparavant, la dédommager des pertes qu’elle a faites” [Dozy I 170a] = ġabara ġabara “to set (a broken bone), restore any one’s business” [Ember] = ġabara “herstellen”, ġabr-īt- “Schadenersatz” [Calice, Vergote] = ġabara “se ressouder (os), se rétablir, se raffermir, aider” [DRS] || ES \*√gbr “to pay” [DRS]: e.g., Tigre gäbbärä “1. réparer, sauver, 2. payer le tribut”, gōbr “tribut” [DRS], Harari gēbāra “to pay an amount of money or cloth to the bride at the conclusion of the engagement” [Apl.], Amh. and Tna. gäbbärä “to pay tax, tribute” [Apl.] (ES: Apl. 1977: 49/91; Sem.: DRS 97, GBR1 with semantically dubious extra-ES parallels). Eg.-Ar.: Ember 1917: 84, #108 (contra ESS §7.b.3); Yeivin 1933: 108; GÄSW 89, #371; Vergote 1945: 130 and 146, §24.a.15.

<sup>35</sup> Treated in the traditional Semitic lexicography as derivatives of the Semitic root represented by OT Hbr. √zwl “to pour out, lavish (gold out of a purse)” > qal part. \*zāl (attested as hapax pl. zālīm in Is. 46:6) > MHbr.-JArām. √zwl “to be worthless, cheap”, afel “to sell at a low price” [KB 266-266 pace Torczyner, ZDMG 57, 557] = OHbr. \*zāl “gaspiller”, Arām. (Targum) zāl “être sans valeur, bon marché”, Imperial Arām. √zwl “vendre”, Yaʿudi zl-t “bon marché”, Eg. Arām. √zwl “acheter” (Sem.: DRS 703).

“to husk grains” [Sirlinger 1937: 286] (AS: Takacs 2004: 428) || Eg. zw3 [regular < \*√zw] “1. (Bäume) fällen, 2. (Körperteile) abhacken, 3. (Schiffsgerät) zerhacken, 4. auch bildlich gebraucht” (PT-, Wb III 427, 1-4).

**414.1.** The intransitive use of the same (?) root can be perhaps reconstructed from SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr ə-zzəl [regular < \*ə-zwəl] “être dépassé, démodé, abandonné” [PAM 1998: 372] || Sem.: Ar. √zw I: zāla “passer, quitter un endroit, s’en aller, se déplacer, disparaître, quitter” vs. √zyl I: zāla “mettre à part, de côté, éloigner”, zayyala “séparer”, Hispanian Ar. zawwal “effacer de son coeur, se déshabituer” [DRS 703] < NAA \*√zw “to leave, be separated from a place” [GT].

• **415. PGoemay \*zel** “mouse sp.” [GT]: Goemay zel “kind of rat” [Sirlinger 1937: 213] = zel “mouse” [Hellwig 2000 MS: 42] (isolated in AS: Takacs 2004: 423) || Sem.: Ar. zayla<sup>c</sup>- “sorte de mulot” [LA III 38; Qamus 652; not in BK I 1005 and Dozy I 599; DRS 740, zl<sup>c</sup>4: isolated in Sem.].<sup>36</sup> Cf. perhaps also Eth.-Sem.: Harari zulli “dull of appearance (either because of being covered with dust or because of insufficient acre)” [Leslau 1963: 165]<sup>37</sup> = “gris, terne” [DRS 738, ZLL6]?

• **416. AS \*zele ~ \*zere** (compound?) “an object with point, tip, prick” [GT]: Sura nzǝré [-ǝ- < \*-e-] “Sporn” [Jng. 1963: 77], Goemay zêlê “the very top of a thing” [Sirlinger 1937: 284] (AS: Takacs 2004: 423) || NOm.: Zayse zālê “tusk” [Ehret]<sup>38</sup> || SBrb. \*√zlh<sub>1</sub> [Prasse]: Ahaggar ā-həlu, pl. i-hla “extrémité aplatie et tranchante du javelot” [Prasse], Wlmd. a-z/ž/šəlu, pl. i-z/ž/šal-a(n) and Ayr a/e-zəlu “extrémité aplatie et tranchante du javelot” [Prasse] = EWlmd. a-zəlu, Ayr e-zəlu, pl. i-zāla “1. extrémité aplatie et tranchante de l’agdal (javelot) (opposée à la pointe; sert à creuser dans le sol), 2. creusoir (instrument avec manche en bois ou en métal muni d’un fer aplati pour creuser le sol) vs. SBrb. \*√zlh<sub>1</sub> [Prasse]: Ahaggar tā-hala-t, pl. t-halâ-tīn “dent canine” [Prasse], Wlmd.-Ayr ta-š/zala-t “dent canine” [Prasse], Ghat ta-zala-t, pl. či-zala-čin “dent canine” [Prasse] (SBrb.: Prasse 1969: 53, #225 and #226, resp.) || Eg. z3.t “ein Meißel” (GHWb 657) and z3r.t “ein Meißel” (GHWb 660).

\*

<sup>36</sup> Probably to be disconnected from Ar. zala<sup>a</sup> I “avalier” [Dozy I 599], Oriental dialect zala<sup>c</sup> “avalier sans mâcher” and Sudanese Ar. ?inzala<sup>c</sup> “avalier avec avidité” [DRS 740, zl<sup>c</sup>5: isolated in Sem.], whose influence on its C<sub>3</sub>, however, cannot be excluded.

<sup>37</sup> Derived by W. Leslau (l.c.) from LECu.: Oromo zulli (no meaning).

<sup>38</sup> Arguing that “tusk is used to pierce”, it was affiliated by Ch. Ehret (1995: 150, #196) with Sem. \*√zl “to cut”, PCu. \*z/dalā<sup>c</sup>- “to gash, notch”, WCh.: Ngizim ḏálm- “to pluck peanuts from dry vines” < AA \*-zāl- “to cut (into, off)”.

## Abbreviations of languages and other terms

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, formerly: Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, BD: Book of the Dead, Bed.: Bed'awyë (Beja), Bln.: Bəlnəng, BM: Bura-Margi, BN: Bade-Ngizim, Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, CAA: Common AA, Can.: Canaanite, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, DB: Daffo-Butura, Dem.: Demotic, DM: Dangla-Migama, E: East, EA: Amarna letters, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, IE: Indo-European, IL: Institute of Linguistics, irreg.: irregular, JAram.: Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, Jbl.: Jibyal, Jkt.: Jakato, JPArAm.: Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, KK: Kera-Kwang group, L: Late, L: Low(land), LP: Late Period, M: Middle or Medieval, Mag.: magical texts, Math.: mathematical papyri, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Mada group, MSA: Modern South Arabian, MT: Mubi-Toram, 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.: Sabaic, Sem.: Semitic, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram): Aramaic of Talmud, Tna.: Tigrinya, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, (E)Wlmd.: (East) Tawllemet, Y: Young(er).

## Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungrathmayr, Alm.: Alemayehu, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Brt.: Barreteau, CR: Conti Rossini, Ctc.: Cañucoli, Dbr.: Djibrine, Dlg.: Dolgopolskij, DM: Drower & Macuch, EEN: Ehret, Elderkin, Nurse, FH: Farah & Heck, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GAB: Gimba, Ali, Madu Bah, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, GT: Takács, Ibr.: Ibrizimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungrathmayr & Adams, JI: Jungrathmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungrathmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungrathmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Mnt.: Montgolfier, Nct.: Nachtigal, NM: Newman & Ma, NZ: Naït-Zerrad, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, PH: Parker & Hayward, RB: Rapp & Benzig, TG: Takács, TSL: Tourneux, Seignobos, Lafarge, WP: Weibegué & Palayer.

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