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## Angas-Sura etymologies XIII

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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 \*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). This series of papers represents the author's ongoing project for an etymological dictionary of the Angas-Sura languages comprising their entire Afro-Asiatic cognacy.<sup>1</sup>

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

### 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

<sup>1</sup> At this point, I specially express my cordial thanks to Prof. Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak (Department of Classical Philology, University of Łódź) for encouraging and supporting me to successfully apply for the ARR grant of his home university, in the frames of which this old project of mine (since 1998) is recently being carried out.

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 (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>2</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, Bəlnəng. 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>3</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>4</sup> before the first comparative lexicon of the Angas-Sura

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Blench & Bulkaam 2019a Bln., 3, Figure 1; 2019b Jkt., 3, Figure 1; 2019c Jbl., 3, Figure 1; 2019d Nteng, 4, Figure 1: "The Central West Chadic languages".

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Blench & Bulkaam 2019a Bln., 1: "The wordlist was collected as a 'one-shot' exercise and the transcription must therefore be regarded as preliminary."; Blench & Bulkaam 2019d Nteng, 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>4</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 (Jungraitmayr 1963) lexicons for the comparison adducing some additional data from Chip, Montol, Gerka (collected and published by Jungraitmayr 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-

group has been completed (Takács 2004)<sup>5</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>6</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).

### **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.

-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>5</sup> I express my best thanks for the constant and many-sided unselfish support yielded for my work by the great Chadistic, 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), may his memory be blessed, one of the greatest Afro-Asiatic or Semito-Hamitic comparativists of all times.

<sup>6</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 monoconsonantal roots) in the *Cahiers Caribéens d’Égyptologie* (Schœlcher, 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) in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 64/1 (2022), 73-96. The eleventh part (AS \*z- + nasals) in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 64/2 (2022), 49-76. The twelfth part (AS \*z- + liquids) in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 63/2 (2021), 56-75.

- 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/?/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- + liquids (continued)

- **417. AS \*zēl (> \*zel ~ var. \*zol?)** “saliva” [GT]: Bəlnəŋ nzeel [ʔzē:l] “saliva” [Blench & Bulkaam 2019a Bln., 10], Mupun zēel “saliva” [Frj. 1991: 69], Kofyar zel ~ zēl “saliva”, cf. ók zēl “to spit” (ók “1. to spit, 2. blow out”) [Netting 1967: 31, 46], Mushere nzol (sic: -o-) “1. mucus, 2. sticky slimy substance produced by mucous membrane, 3. to draw saliva like okro soup (sic!)” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 173], Jakato zeel [zē:l] “1. saliva; 2. spittle” [Blench & Bulkaam 2019b Jkt., 11], Chip zel (sic: short -e-) “saliva” [Kraft], Jibyal zeel [zē:l] “1. saliva; 2. spittle” [Blench & Bulkaam 2019c Jbl., 9], Goemay zēl (sic: short -e-) “saliva flowing from the mouth when one is asleep” [Sirlinger 1937: 284] (AS: Takacs 2004: 422). The AS stem appears perfectly isolated in Chadic.<sup>7</sup> Its cognacy (???) with CCh.: Gisiga tazlay (unless [tažay]?)<sup>8</sup> “saliva” [Gerstmann 1979 quoted in JI 1994 II 279] is highly doubtful. The closest AA cognate appears in an isogloss derivable from a NAA \*√ħzɪ “1. milk, 2. mucus”, primarily perhaps \*,secretion” (?)<sup>9</sup> [GT], cf. OEG. traces of \*ħz3 [regular < \*ħzl] attested in this semantic domain<sup>10</sup> > MEg. ħz3 “1. Schleim (des menschlichen und tierischen

<sup>7</sup> H. Jungraithmayr (either in JS 1981: 216 or in JI 1994 II 278-279) did not list such a root and its reflexes. O.V. Stolbova (CLD III 124-127) too missed any mention of this root.

<sup>8</sup> This word (and no other whatsoever) for “Speichel” was not listed in the Gisiga lexicon by J. Lukas (1970), which, however, appears to have a few cases of nouns with tV- prefix in Gisiga, cf. taps ~ tapas “1. Sonnenhitze, 2. Tageslicht”, teš (tetl) “Knochen”, teš (tetl) “Ei”, təlar “Termite(nhügel?)”, tipirek “Morgen”. Neither H. Jungraithmayr (JI 1994 II 278-279) has any acceptable Chadic cognate, albeit he ranked this very form “B” just like the forms displaying a root √šḅ in the Mafa-Mada group where I fail to see the phonological match.

<sup>9</sup> Eventually related to PAA \*√ħzɪ “to secrete” [GT]? Cf. Sem.: MSA \*√ħzl: Jibbali ħóžól “to separate from one’s parents and take one’s share of the family property”, ħézél “isolation” [Johnstone 1981: 122], Mehri ħəzūl “to put aside, seclude, isolate (as e.g., a leper, a mangy camel)” [Johnstone 1987: 198]. For the semantic shift cf. IE \*meuk- (var. \*meug-): Latin mucus “Schleim”, Greek μύξα “1. Schleim, 2. Nase” vs. OIndic muñc-āti ~ muc-āti “befreit, läßt los”, Avestan fra-muxti- “Losbinden” (IEW 744) or Hung. váladék “secretion” < válni “to get separated”.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. OEG. ħz (perhaps \*ħz3 with usual defectiveness of -3) “Teig (zum Brotbacken)” and ħz3.w (pond detetminative) “ein Gewässer (am Himmel)” (ÁWb I 886). Ch. Ehret (1995: 388, #798) miscompared this root

Körpers) (Med., NK Mag.), 2. Teig o.ä. (OK-): 2.1. eigtl. vom Teig beim Brotbacken, 2.2. in offizineller Verwendung, u.a. ḥz3 n ʿw3.jt gegorener Teig” (Wb III 160, 6-7) = “1. milk (CT I 168), 2. mucus (pap. Kahun, pap. Ebers), 3. dough” (MK, Med., FD 177) = “1. Pflanzenschleim, 2. Schleim (von Tieren)” (GHWb 560) = “milk, flood (?)” (CT, DCT 355-356)<sup>11</sup> > LEg. ḥz3 “1. bread dough, 2. efflux, 3. mucus” (PL 675) || Sem.: probably MSA \*√ḥzl: Jibbali ḥózá “to separate from one’s parents and take one’s share of the family property”, ḥézél “isolation” [Johnstone 1981: 122] = ḥózá “s’*établir* par ses propres moyens, ayant pris sa part du bien familial” [DRS], Mehri ḥəzūl “to put aside, seclude, isolate (as e.g., a leper, a mangy camel)” [Johnstone 1987: 198] = “mettre à part, à l’écart (du monde), isolater, mettre en quarantaine” [DRS] (MSA: DRS 855, ḤZL2). For AS-Eg.-MSA see Takács 2001: 79; 2011: 155.

A whole set of homorganic root varieties (several items with a root extension \*ḥ)<sup>12</sup> appears in such a disturbing abundance within the semantic domain of diverse bodily secreta that one must doubt in an eventual cognacy of all of them (at any rate, our root above is certainly related to the roots described under entries no. 417.1, 417.3, 417.6) and so they must be carefully distinguished for further research as follows:

**417.1. NAA \*√ḥlh** “milk” [GT] > SBrb.: EWImd. a-zla, pl. a-zla-t-ān & Ayr a-zla, pl. ə-zla-t-ān “premier lait après le colostrum (tout blanc, avec peu de crème, dure env. une semaine après la délivrance; chez la femme et l’animal; le premier lait ne se boit que il ne se met jamais dans la bouillie)” [PAM 2003: 886] || Sem. \*√dlh: Class. Ar. *dullāḥ*- “lac aqua mixtum” [Freytag 1837: 205a, not listed in Lane and BK] = *dullāḥ*- “lait mêlé d’eau” [GD 954] = *dullāḥ*- [DRS] of disputed verbal derivation (namely, Ar. *dalaḥa* (Lisan) and *ḍalaḥa* (Qamus) “mélanger le lait avec l’eau” [Rabin] = “to mix milk with water” [Leslau]),<sup>13</sup> cf. also varieties like *ḍaraḥ*- “délayé d’eau (lait)” [DRS 341] vs. *mu-dallaq*- “lait délayé de

with Sem.: Ar. *hazhāz*- “flowing abundantly”, Eg. ḥz.t “water-jar”, PCu. \*hāz- “flow of water”, C/ECh. \*-ḍk “saliva” < AA \*-hāz- “flow (n.)”.

<sup>11</sup> The sense “milk” was presumably the theonym ḥz3.t “a cow-goddess” (Urk. IV 238:14, FD 177) was derived from.

<sup>12</sup> Presumably identical to the CAA indicator of the nominal class of body parts (cf. Takács 1997).

<sup>13</sup> Le Comte de Landberg (GD 1031-1032) rendered this word ambiguously: “Ce thème ne se trouve que dans le *Qāmūs* ... C’est probablement une prononciation pour *ḍaraḥ*- “délayé d’eau (lait)” [DRS 341] (only attested in the *Qāmūs*) derived from a verbal root he regarded as “un élargissement de” biliteral \*√ḍr- whose “sens est proprement répandre, saupoudrer.” Eventually, he affiliated *dullāḥ*- with *mu-darraq*- “délayé dans d’eau (lait)” [DRS 342] which “est aussi une épithète du lait baptisé d’eau. Les deux finales ح et ق peuvent donc provenir de l’endurcissement de la troisième de مخرى, sans qu’il y ait besoin d’y voir une troisième lettre empruntée à une autre racine” where he joined “aussi le synonyme” *mu-dallaq*- “lait délayé de beaucoup d’eau” [BK I 780]: “ce n’est là qu’une permutation des sonores, et ne me paraît avoir rien à faire à faire à نلق ...” He must certainly be right in relating *dullāḥ*-, *ḍaraḥ*-, *mu-darraq*-, *mu-dallaq*- as stemming from some common source irrespective of the phonological alternations. Set in the context of a supposed match of Hbr. d- and Ar. ḍ-, Ch. Rabin (1970: 292, #11) attached Ar. *dalaḥa* (Lisan) and *ḍalaḥa* (Qamus) “mélanger le lait avec l’eau” [Rabin] = “to mix milk with water” [Leslau], even if with reservations (“on peut se douter s’il y a une connection avec ...”), to the reflexes of Sem. \*√zlh “1. to pour out” [GT] (on which cf. fn. 93 in this paper) as well as to those of Sem. \*√dlh [Ward 1962: 397-398, #1] = \*√dlh “to trouble water” [GT pace DRS 263-264] (on which as part of a large family of homorganic root cf. Takács 2021: 377, #538 and 2022: 187, #592.6). Such a hypothetical interrelationship of these three distinct Sem. roots would require to be more thoroughly demonstrated.

beaucoup d'eau" [BK 780] vs. mu-darraq- "délayé dans d'eau (lait)" [DRS 342], probably related to Dathina *dalah* "1. jeter, verser, (de là:) 2. vanner, 3. (fig.) déballer, déverser", *daliḥ* "se jeter, se verser, se couler" [GD 953] (Ar.: GD 953-954 and 1031-1032 adopted in DRS 333: isolated in Sem.).

**417.2. NAA** \*√*çlk* "scum (???)" [GT]: Eg.: unattested \**d3k*<sup>14</sup> < \*√*çlk* yielding Dem. *d3h* (sic: -h for *ḥ*) "Schaum" vs. *d3k* "Speichel" (DG 673:1-2, resp.) = *d3k* "spittle" vs. *d3ḥ* "foam" (CED 323) = *d3k* ~ *d3ḥ* "Schaum, Speichel" (KHW 440) > Coptic (S) **ⲬⲓⲨ** (m) "spittle" (CD 796b) = "Speichel, Geifer" (KHW 440) || Sem.: Ar. *ṣilak*- "matière liquide qui sort des pis des brebis avant le colostrum", *ṣallaka* II "serrer le pis d'une chamelle avec une ficelle, pour empêcher son petit de la têter" [BK I 1364].

**417.3. PAA** \*√*sl(h)*, presumably \**sil(h)*- "(to produce) (sour?) milk (?)" [GT], attested in CCh.: (???) *Lame sēlé* "sève épaisse sécrétées par un arbre, sp." [Sachnne 1982: 423] || ECu. \**sill*-V "first milk of cow" [GT]: LECu.: *Arbore sill*-a "first milk of cow" [Ehret 1987: 59, #228]<sup>15</sup> | HECu.: *Burji silli* and *Gedeo (Darasa) silla* "first milk" [Hudson 1989: 99] || SBrb. \*√*sly* (with \*-y < \*-ḥ)<sup>16</sup> "to curdle (of milk)" [GT]: *Ahaggar e-sli* "1. être caillé, être mêlé de caillots (le sujet étant du lait), se cailler, 2. (p.ext.) être épais (être consistant, peu liquide) (le sujet étant du miel)" [Foucauld 1951-2: 1827], *EWlmd. & Ayr ə-sləy* "1. être caillé, se cailler (lait), 2. (Ayr) fig.: être amer (par de, propos), 3. (Ayr) ne pas se maquiller (nouvelle veuve, en signe de deuil)", *Ayr ə-ssəlay* "1. lait caillé (lait laissé jusqu'à ce qu'il soit caillé), 2. babeurre (lait dont on a extrait le beurre)" [PAM 2003: 721] || Sem.: Ar. *ʿislīḥ*- "1. espèce de plante dont l'usage fait donner aux chamelles beaucoup de lait, 2. écume, 3. lait sans écume" [BK I 1120] = *ʿislīḥ*- "a certain plant, the pasturing upon which cause the milk of the camels to become abundant or a certain kind of tree or shrub that has this effect or a certain herb or leguminous plant, of those that are slender and soft, growing in the winter, that causes the camels to void *sulāḥ*- (or thin excrement) when they eat much of it or a certain herb, resembling the rochet, growing upon tracts of sand such as are termed *ḥuqqūf*- or a certain kind of plant, growing conspicuously in plain or soft tracts having a thin and delicate leaf and a pericarp stuffed with grains or seeds like those of the poppy, which is one of the plants of the rain of the spring and which causes the cattle to void *sulāḥ*-" [Lane 1402].

<sup>14</sup> This assumption on an ancient Egyptian etymon is in disagreement with the so far current theory on the etymology of our Demotic-Coptic word that J. Osing (NBĀ 194 and 723-724, n. 851) explained from a hypothetical LEg. \**ṣḥ*\*(j/y) "Schaum, Geifer, Speichel" he identified with a certain LEg. *ṣḥ* (syllabic writing: *ṣḥj*) "eine unbestimmte Substanz (neben Wachs und Material zur Herstellung von Farben)" (Macadam 1949 I, inscription VI 13) which he eventually derived from an unattested LEg. verbal root \**ṣḥ* > Coptic (S) **ⲬⲓⲨ** "schmierem, tünchen". The Late Egyptian root, in turn, was affiliated (in NBĀ 723-724, n. 851) with Hbr. *ṣḥ* "tünchen" as a NWSem. loanword by assuming a secondary evolution of -k < -ḥ. In addition, ignoring the LEg. data, W. Westendorf (KHW 440) sought a direct connection to Coptic (S) **ⲬⲓⲨ** "beschmierem", which certainly displays a distinct root.

<sup>15</sup> LECu.: *Arbore sill*-a "first milk of cow" was equated by Ch. Ehret (1987: 59, #228) with Bed. *sil* "spittle" [Ehret] < PCu. \**sil*- "to trickle" [Ehret] = to emit some phlegm" [GT], which was then combined by Ch. Ehret (1995: 159, #218) with his Sem. \*√*sly* "placenta, afterbirth" and even Eg. *snḥ.t* "phlegm" (in fact, just an s- caus. of *nḥ*) < AA \**sil*- "to run out (of fluid)".

<sup>16</sup> Where the Berber shift of \*-y < NAA \*-ḥ is regular as pointed out by W. Vycichl (1992).

**417.4. PAA \*√sl** “(fluid?) excreta” [GT] > CCh.: Mbara sàlày (m) “excrément” [TSL 1986: 276] ||l ECU. \*sāl- “Kuhfladen” [Sasse 1976: 126] = \*sāl- “cow dung” [Sasse 1979: 32; 1982: 164]: LECu. \*sāl- [Black]: Somali sāl-o “dung of small size” [Black, so also Dlg.] = sāl-o “dung” [Ehret], Oromo fāl-ti [Sasse: f regular < \*s], Konso sāl-l-ā “fresh cattle dung”, sāl- “to cover with dung” [Black: -l-l- < \*-l-t-] = sāl- “mit Kuhmist bestreichen” [Sasse] (LECu.: Black 1974: 100) | HECu. \*sall-o “dung of cow” [Leslau 1988: 199 with further data; Hudson 1989: 54, 420]<sup>17</sup> | Gollango sāl- “mit Dung bestreichen (z.B. Hauswand)”, sāl-té “Exkreme-mente des Rindes” [AMS 1980: 220, 240] || SCu. \*sālo+ “dung of large animals” [Ehret] = \*sālo [Dlg.]: Ma’a ki-sālo “1. mud, 2. dung of large animals” [Ehret 1980: 326, #59] (Somali-Ma’a: Ehret l.c.; Cu.: Blažek 1994 MS Bed., 32) || (?) Eg. sr [< \*sl?] “Schmutz” (GR, Wb IV 191, 14) || Sem.: Ar. √slḥ (root extension \*ḥ) > I salaḥa “he voided his excrement or ordure or thin excrement, said of a bird: it muted or dunged”, salḥ- and sulāḥ- “excrement, ordure or dung or such as is thin, of any dung, thin excrement”, sulāḥ- also “a looseness or flax of thin excrement from the bowels: diarrhoea”, salaḥ- “rain water in pools left by torrents” [Lane 1402] = I salaḥa “1. rendre les excréments, faire caca (se dit de l’homme)”, salḥ- “eau de pluie ramassée dans un réservoir et stagnante”, sulāḥ- “caca, excréments (humains) surtout liquids” [BK I 1120] = salḥ- “excréments”, salāḥ-at- “(désigne une roche sur laquelle urinent les boucs sauvages quand ils sont en rut et qui alors devient noire comme de la poix)” [Dozy I 671-672]. For Cu.-Eg.: Dlg. 1987: 200, #38.<sup>18</sup> Mbara-Ar.: CLD III 78, #237 (with further vague Ch. comparanda).<sup>19</sup>

**417.5. PAA \*√çl** “to excrete” [GT] > HECu. \*çil- “to defecate” > \*çil-o “excrement” [Hudson]<sup>20</sup> = PCu. (sic, in fact, just ECU.) \*çAl- “кал, навоз” [Dlg.]<sup>21</sup> = “feces” [Skinner]:<sup>22</sup> Sidamo çilō [Cerulli]<sup>23</sup> = çilo “excrement” [Moreno apud Dlg., so also Gasparini and Yri apud Hudson], Gedeo çilo “excrement” [Hudson], Hadiya çiro [PB apud Dlg.] = çiro “excrement” [Hudson],<sup>24</sup> Kambatta çinu “excrement” [Hudson], Burji çila [Sasse] = çila

<sup>17</sup> For the phonologically vague Burji reflex see the suggestion by H.-J. Sasse (1982: 164) from HECu. \*sāl- “cow dung”.

<sup>18</sup> The SCu.-LECu.-Eg. match was equated by A.B. Dolgopolsky (l.c.) directly with Sem. \*tall- “mud, dirt” with a question-mark, although the Southern Cushitic evidence (where the distinction of Cu./AA \*s vs. \*ç has been retained, cf. Takács 2001: 83-85; 2011: 124-125) clearly speaks for \*s- here.

<sup>19</sup> Compared O.V. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) to other supposed reflexes of her PCh. \*sVl- “1. (to render) excrements, 2. stink” [Stolbova] > ECh.: Mawa saalaṅ “puer, sentir” [Jng.] | Jegu šilw- “Notdurf verrichten (to render excrements)” [Jng.] and also with PCh. \*swVl- “to fall” (derivative?) [Stolbova] > WCh.: Mushere es-šwul “dysentery” (es “faeces”) [Diyakal quoted by Takács 2004: 328] || ECh.: WDangla sōllè “to fall (several obj.)” [Fédry].

<sup>20</sup> Combined by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 222, #2048) directly with Eg. sr “dirt” in spite of the irregular Eg. s- vs. HECu. \*ç-.

<sup>21</sup> Based by A.B. Dolgopolsky (l.c.) solely on the ill-founded comparison of the HECu. data with Somali reflex of ECU. \*sāl- “cow dung”, which represent tow distinct ECU. roots.

<sup>22</sup> Affiliated by N. Skinner (1992: 356) with ECU. \*sāl- “feces”, Ar. usar- (sic) “retention of urine”, Ch. reflexes of \*çUr- “urine” [GT].

<sup>23</sup> Even in spite of being puzzled about its ç- (as “неясно”) miscompared by V.M. Illič-Svityč (1971: #50) with NOM.: Wolamo šiyā, Badditu šišē baselessly derived from \*çir/l-t- as reflexes of his Nostratic \*çiru “гноя, жижка”.

<sup>24</sup> The Hadiya reflex (with its secondary -r- < \*-l-) was miscompared in the HSED #486 with Eg. sr, Mokilko siiri, Burji sera, which, as we can see below, display a distinct root.

“excrement” [Hudson] (HECu.: Dlg. 1973: 192; Hudson 1989: 48, 59) ||l NAA \*√č(h)l ~ \*√č(h)l “to urinate” [GT] > SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ā-zlu, Ayr ə-zlu “uriner debout”, EWlmd.-Ayr a-zāla, pl. i-zāla-t-ān “jet d’urine (des animaux, p.ex., du chien)” [PAM 2003: 916] ||l Sem.: MSA: Harsusi ɖeḥāl, Jibbali ɖaḥal, Mehri ɖəḥal “uriner (homme)” (MSA: Johnstone 1977: 30; 1981: 48; 1987: 83; DRS 1127-1128: isolated in Sem.).

**417.6. SAA \*√čl**, perhaps \*čil- “saliva”, perhaps < SAA \*\*√čl “to secrete (esp. phlegm, either milk or mucus?)” [GT], cf. WCh.: Dera yilek < \*sile-k (?) [y regular < \*s] “saliva” [Newman 1970: 48, fn. 27: “the final k is a non-productive ‘body part’ suffix”] || CCh.: Buduma čiluluu (-ū) “Speichel” (cf. Kanuri tēlelè) [Nachtigal apud Lukas 1939: 95] = čilúlu “saliva” [Cyffer] (isolated in Ch.: JI 1994 II 279) ||l Bed. sil “Speichel, Geifer” [Reinisch 1895: 198] = sīl “saliva” [Roper 1928: 232] = sil “spittle” [Ehret 1987: 59, #228].<sup>25</sup> The primary verbal root, sg. like PAA \*√čl,<sup>26</sup> may have been retained by ECh. \*čVI- “to separate” [GT]: WDangla tyólè “2. ‘désunir, disperser’” [Fédry 1971: 232], EDangla tyòliyē “décoller, dépecer, enlever la peau” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 321] | Masmaje čelli “éplucher” [Alio 2004: 281, #38] ||l (?) Eg. srj (if -r- < \*-l-) “(Köpfe) abtrennen” (PT: in an old ritual, Wb IV 192, 10) and/or snj (if -n- < \*-l-) “jem. vom (m<sup>o</sup>) Bösen erlösen” (PT, Wb IV 156, 5).

**417.7. PAA \*√čl** “to excrete” [GT] > PCh. \*√člw “to defecate” [GT] > CCh.: Buduma (Yedina) nžélaau “faeces” [Nachtigal apud JI] via secondary voicing effect of n- < \*nčelaw [GT] || ECh.: Jegu šilw- (šilwa, šilaw)<sup>27</sup> “Notdurf verrichten” [Jng. 1961: 117]<sup>28</sup> (Ch.: JI 1994 II 129: isolated in Ch.) ||l Sem.: Ar. biradical \*√tl “to excrete” [GT] > √tl I “8. rendre, jeter des excréments (se dit des bêtes à sabot non fendu)”,<sup>29</sup> √tlh > I ṭalaḥa “1. rendre des excréments liquides (se dit de l’espèce bovine au printemps)”, ṭalaḥa “être sali d’ordures”, ṭalada “1. rendre des excréments liquides (se dit de l’éléphant)”, √tlt > I ṭalata “1. rendre des excréments liquides (se dit de l’espèce

<sup>25</sup> Equated by Ch. Ehret (1987: 59, #228) with LECu.: Arbore sill-a “first milk of cow” < PCu. \*sil- “to trickle” [Ehret] = to emit some phlegm” [GT], which was then combined by Ch. Ehret (1995: 159, #218) with his Sem. \*√sly “placenta, afterbirth” and even Eg. snh.t “phlegm” (in fact, just an s- caus. of nh) < AA \*sil- “to run out (of fluid)”.

<sup>26</sup> For the semantic shift cf. IE \*meuk- (var. \*meug-): Lat. mūcus “Schleim”, Greek μύξα “1. Schleim, 2. Nase” vs. OIndic muñc-āti ~ muc-āti “befreit, läßt los”, Avestan fra-muxti- “Losbinden” (IEW 744) or Hungarian váladék “secretion” < válni “to get separated”.

<sup>27</sup> Jegu šE- may, of course be positionally palatalized < \*šE- in most of the instances, but, in some cases, it seems to reflect ancient Ch./AA \*č- too, cf. Jegu šee “zwei” [Jng.] < PCh./AA \*√čr “2” [GT] (discussed by G. Takács 2011: 183), which seems to be corroborated by the revealing circumstance that Buduma has a prenasalized palatal affricate nž- that is supposed to have been voiced from \*č- due to its direct contact in the cluster with n- (just as in ancient Eg.).

<sup>28</sup> The Jegu word was compared by O.V. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) to other supposed reflexes of her PCh. \*sVI- “1. (to render) excrements, 2. stink” [Stolbova] > ECh.: Mawa saalaḥ “puer, sentir” [Jng.] || CCh.: Mbara sālāy (m) “excrément” [TSL 1986: 276] and Ar. √slh “rendre les excréments” [BK I 1120], for which see entry no. 417.4 above.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Ar. ṭall-at- “mud that is taken out from the bottom of a well” derived by A.B. Dolgopolsky (l.c.) from his Sem. \*ṭall- “mud, dirt” [Dlg.] in comparison with Syr. talil “pollutus, contaminatus”, tallel “polluit” contaminated in his view with Syr. talil “humidus”, tallel “humefecit” < Sem. \*√tl “to flow”.



bovine, du chameau, des enfants), 2. jeter sur qqn. des excréments liquides, en salir qqn.”, *talt-* “excréments liquides” [BK I 231, 234, resp.], *Dathina*  $\sqrt{nt}$  “fienter (cheval)” [GD 2743].

A root variety with \*-r as C<sub>2</sub> and with the same vacillation of a voiced vs. voiceless PAA *Anlaut* (\*ʒ- vs. \*c-) is also known.

**417.8. NAA** \* $\sqrt{3r}$  “some phlegm” [GT] > SBrb.: Ahaggar *tə-hîr-ət*, pl. *ti-hîr-t-în* [GT: h regular < \*z] “mucosité de l’oeil” [Prasse 1969: 66, #366: < \* $\sqrt{?rh_1}$ ?]<sup>30</sup> || Sem.: MSA \* $\sqrt{zr}$  > Mehri *zərwōr*, Jibbali *zoror*, Harsusi *zeror* “bave, salive, crachat” (MSA: DRS 805: isolated in Sem.). Cf. NBrb.: Qabyle  $\sqrt{zr}$  > e-zzer “1. couler, 2. aller au fond”, me-zzer “1. dépôt, 2. fond d’un liquide”, u-zzur “être répandu, éparpillé”, a-zuzzer “sorte de soupe de semouler” [Dallet 1982: 952-953].

**417.9. PAA** \* $\sqrt{cr}$  “to excrete” [GT] > Sem.: Ar. (root ext. \*-ḥ) *saraḥa* I “3. rendre les excréments, 4. jaillir avec violence (se dit de l’urine)”, VII “3. couler librement et s’introduire en coulant (se dit, p.ex., de l’eau)” [BK I 1078-1079] || Eg. sr “Schmutz” (GR, Wb IV 191, 14) || SBrb.: Wlmd. *tə-ziri* (n-tə-dis-t) [Brb. \*z < \*c?] “dysenterie” [A. Basset apud Prasse] || Bed. *sār* (m) “contents of stomach of slaughtered animals” [Roper 1928] || HECu.: Burji *sîr-* “to have diarrhoea”, *sirr-a* “diarrhoea”<sup>31</sup> vs. *ser-a* and *sarr-a* (unless < \*sāl-)<sup>32</sup> “excrements of horned cattle” [Sasse 1982: 164-165] = *sarr-a*, *ser-a* “dung of cattle” [Hudson 1989: 54] (Cu.: Blažek 1994 MS Bed., 32; 2020: 89) || CCh.: *Makeri sero* “dirt” [Allison 2005 quoted in CLD] || ECh.: *Mokilko siirî* “excrement” [Jng. 1990: 174]. For Eg.-Burji-Mokilko: HSED #486 and Eg.-Ch. in CLD III 99-100, #333.<sup>33</sup>

**417.10. SBrb.** \* $\sqrt{srr}$  [PAM]:<sup>34</sup> Ayr *i-ṣrar* (≈ EWlmd. *i-ḳfay*) “être frais (lait)”, *a-ṣrir* (m) “sorte de gomme (d’un arbre du Niger méridional; sert de remède contre il rhume des enfants)” [PAM 2003: 737] may display an \*r variety to the match of CCh.: *Lame sēlé* “sève épaisse sécrétées par un arbre, sp.” [Sachnine 1982: 423] || ECU. \**sill-V* “first milk of cow” [GT] discussed above (entry no. 417.3).

<sup>30</sup> Puzzled about the etymology of the Ahaggar, K.-G. Prasse (l.c.) wondered if it is “peut-être id(entique). à” Wlmd. *tə-ziri* (n-tə-dis-t) “dysenterie” [A. Basset], which points towards a relationship with the root family of Eth.-Sem. \* $\sqrt{zry}$ : Tna. *zarāyā* “couler doucement (eau)”, *zara* “eau qui coule doucement, ruisseau”, Tigre *zara*, Argobba, Harari *zār* “rivière”, (?) Gafat *zārā’ā* “rosée” (ES: DRS 796, ZRY6) vs. Eth.-Sem. \* $\sqrt{zr}$ : Amharic *tä-žarrārā* “être dilué, mélangé à l’eau”, *žarrār alā* “sortir avec force (liquide)”, Tigrinya *zārār bālā* “couler, ruisseler, dégouliner”, Gurage *žāra amännā* “mélanger un peu de lait avec beaucoup d’eau (faire žāra)” (ES: DRS 805, ZRR11) || Ch. \*(n)-zVr- “to drip” [CLD III 140, #535].

<sup>31</sup> Derived by Ch. Ehret (2000 MS: 116-117, #1551) from his AA \**-sū/îr-* “to leak out”.

<sup>32</sup> Derived by H.-J. Sasse (1982: 164) from HECu. \**sāl-* “cow dung”. Semantically fully legitimate, albeit phonologically obscure.

<sup>33</sup> Most recently, O.V. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) left out Burji from her Eg.-Makeri-Mokilko comparison, which she extended onto some further semantically vague Chadic *comparanda* explained from her PCh. \**sVr-* “dirt, excrements” in her entry no. 333.

<sup>34</sup> The emphatization of s- in EWlmd.-Ayr appears to be non-phonemic (such words are listed in the PAM under s-). Thus, its semantically tempting comparison with, e.g., Sem.: Ar. *ṣāḥara* I “faire bouillir le lait jusqu’à ce qu’il devienne *ṣāḥîr-at-*”, *ṣāḥîr-at-* “lait chauffé par l’immersion d’une pierre rougeie au feu, que l’on boit en y ajoutant du beurre et de la farine”, *ṣuḥār-* “1. sueur (chez les cheveax), 2. fièvre” [BK I 1313-1314] *eo ipso* falls out (let alone for its entirely different root meaning having to do with the heat).

**417.11. SAA** \* $\sqrt{\text{sw/yr}}$  “nasal mucus” [GT]<sup>35</sup> > CCh.: Daba sèrì “rhume, morve, crachat (CLD: sniffles, spittle)” [Lienhard & Giger 1982 apud CLD, not found in Mouchet 1966] || WCh.: PSuroid \*si-s<sup>w</sup>ōr ~ \*si-s<sup>y</sup>ōr (in partial reduplication) “nasal mucus” [GT] = \*(cV)-cVw/yVr (sic: \*c-) “slime” [CLD]: Sura šišwóor “Rotz, dicker Schleim” [Jng. 1963: 83], Mushere šišiyor “running nose”, an ku šišiyor “I have running nose” [Diyakal 1997 MS: 377] (AS: Takacs 2004: 328-329; Daba-AS: CLD III 155, #630 with further, albeit semantically dubious, Ch. cognates)<sup>36</sup> || ECU. \*si/urn- (root ext. \*-n?) “Nasenschmutz, Rotz” [Sasse 1976: 127] = \*si/urn- “nasal mucus” [Sasse 1979: 32; Ehret 1991: 219] || Eg. srj.t<sup>37</sup> (spitting mouth determinative) “Krankheitserscheinung, ob: Husten?” (Med., Wb IV 192-193) = “cough” (FD 235) = “Husten (Verbindung mit Schleimstoffen)” (WMT 773-774) = “Husten” (Westcar, GHwB 728; ÄWb II 2281b).

**417.12. PAA** \* $\sqrt{\text{čr}}$  “to (e)je(c)t, pour out some bodily secretion (milk, urine, excreta etc.)” [GT], a root variety with a glottalized initial sibilant, attested in PCh. \*čVr- “to pour into” [CLD II 215, #990] > i.a., CCh.: Paduko čira [cira] “jaillir” [Jarvis-Lagona 2005 quoted in CLD], cf. also ECh.: EDangla dээрé [dээрé] “1. se gonfler (de lait), 2. se dresser” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 92], WDangla dààrè “se gonfler de lait (seins)” [Fédry 1971: 204] || NOm.: a semantically obscure, albeit phonologically perfect match (???)<sup>38</sup> || HECu. \*tūr- (tr. vb.) “to milk” [Hudson 1989: 99] || NBrb.: Qabyle  $\sqrt{\text{zr}}$ : i-zīr “jet de lait sortant de la mamelle”, ti-zīrī “gorge de lait prise au sein” [Dallet 1982: 955] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr te-zāre, Ayr te-zārāy “jet de liquide qq., p.ex. jet de lait sortant d’une mamelle” [PAM 2003: 923] vs. EWlmd.-Ayr zār-āt “1. jaillir (liquide qq.), 2. être lancé en jet (liquide / lumière / balles)”, Ayr zər-āt “1. jet d’urine, 2. diarrhée avec tranchées gastriques” [PAM 2003: 923] vs. EWlmd. zərəgg-ət [-VggV- < \*-VwwV-?]<sup>39</sup> “jaillir, sortir brusquement (pierre/balle)” [PAM 2003: 925] || Sem.: Ar. zārā “1. couler (eaux), 2. avoir la diarrhée” [BK I 1313; DRS col. 1133a: isolated in Sem.]. Ch.-Ar.: CLD II 215, #990.

**417.13. In PAA** \* $\sqrt{\text{čr}}$  “to flow (esp. of blood?)” [GT], we can see its root variety with a lateral sibilant *Anlaut* (Sem. \*č- < AA \*č-), cf. PCh. \*čVr- (\*č’-) “to suck” (any relation to #366, \*č’VrV “blood-sucker”?) [CLD II 117, #349], PCh. \*čVrV (\*č’-) “to spit, to expectorate” (derived < “to pour” or < “to suck”?) [CLD II 117, #349.a], PCh. \*čVrV (\*č’-) “liquid”, as

<sup>35</sup> One wonders if the underlying verbal root (sg. like PAA \* $\sqrt{\text{sw/yr}}$  “to secrete nasal mucus” [GT]?) has eventually an etymological connection to Sem.: Akk. wuššuru D (factive) stem “lâcher, laisser aller”, wuššurtu “affranchissement” [DRS 648, WŠR2].

<sup>36</sup> The semantically convincing Daba-Suroid match was equated by O.V. Stolbova (CLD III 155, #630) with cognates some other derived from her PCh. \*cVr- “to clean nose” [CLD]: WCh.: Bole siru “to inhale through the nose” [GAB in CLD] || ECh.: Lele sir “se moucher” [WP 1982 quoted in CLD] (Stolbova: “Lele rather belongs to this root, than to Ch \* $\sqrt{\text{Vr}}$ -, CLD II N 257”) | DM \*sĒr- “to blow one’s nose” [GT]: Migama séeró (séèré, séráa) “se moucher” [JA 1992: 123], Bidiya siir (siirí, siirèŋ) “se moucher” [AJ 1992: 114], WDangla siirè “se moucher” [Fédry 1971 quoted in CLD], EDangla síféré “sich die Nase putzen (clean one’s nose)” [Ebobisse 1979; 1987 quoted in CLD].

<sup>37</sup> Eg. IIIae inf. roots are supposed to regularly correspond to IIae w/y ones in Sem./Brb. (cf. Vycichl 1953).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. perhaps Dizi \*čūr- “to wash” [GT after Bender 2003: 219, #144]?

<sup>39</sup> The shift of \*ww > gg occurs also in southern Twareg according to Prof. M. Kossmann (kind p.c. on 10 March 2023).

vb. “to pour” [CLD II 120, #361], PCh. \*ĉVrV (\*ĉ’-) “pus” [CLD II 120, #365],<sup>40</sup> CCh.: PKotoko \*ĉVrV (\*ĉ’-) “blood-sucker, leech” [CLD II 121, #366] ||| Sem.: Ar. √ḍrw > ḍarā I “1. (said of a vein:) it shed blood, it quivered and gushed with blood or made a sound by reason of the blood coming forth, 2. (said of a wound:) it ceased not to flow (with blood)”, also √ḍry > ḍarā I “(said of a vein:) it flowed and ran (with blood)” [Lane 1789c] = √ḍrw > ḍarā I “1. saigner (se dit d’une plaie ou d’une artère coupée), 2. couler” [BK II 25] = √ḍry “fliessen” [Levy 1924 IV col. 218b]. Ch.-Ar.: CLD II 120, #361.

**417.14. NAA** \*√ĉ/ĉr(C<sub>3</sub>) (perhaps \*-w/g<sup>w</sup>?) “some resinuous fluid substance issuing from some kind of tree” [GT], perhaps deriving from either of the AA roots discussed in the preceding entries (nos. 417.13 and 417.13?), supposed to be retained by: SBrb. \*√zrg/w (???) > EWlmd.-Ayr ta-zārāgg-at [-VggV- < \*-VwwV-?]<sup>41</sup> (adj.vb.) “gomme d’adāras<sup>42</sup> liquide (durcie elle s’appelle taḡalbas)” [PAM 2003: 925] (isolated in Berber,<sup>43</sup> of an uncertain Berber etymological background)<sup>44</sup> ||| Sem. \*√ṭrw “sorte de baume” [DRS] = \*ṣ/ṭ/ḍVrw- (???)

<sup>40</sup> Hence, e.g., i.a. ECh.: DM \*ḍyir- “pus” [GT]; EDangla ḍyīrā (m.gen.) “le pus” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973: 99], WDangla ḍyīrā (pl.) “pus” [Fédry 1971: 250], Bidiya ḍyīrā (m) “pus” [AJ 1989: 73].

<sup>41</sup> The shift of \*ww > gg occurs also in southern Twareg, e.g., in the imperfective forms of √CwC verbs, according to Prof. M. Kossmann (kind p.c. on 10-11 March 2023).

<sup>42</sup> By having checked a bit further, Prof. M. Kossmann (kind p.c. on 11 March 2023) has stated: “The resin in question is a well-known fumigation (bdellium), and (at least traditionally) widely traded. Adaras trees are mainly found in the Sahel zone (where they originate), and not present in the mountains.”

<sup>43</sup> Seems isolated in Twareg (not found in Nehlil 1909; Foucauld 1951-2 or in WSKT I 797 and II 330-331): “Everything looks like the noun is a relatively recent derivation, unique to Niger. It is evidently not used in Ahaggar, which has different terms - and if it had existed, Foucauld would have known. Heath has different words for bdellium too, and the only noun derivation in Mali from z’rgg-t has a very different meaning.” Irrespective of such an assessment of his, even M. Kossmann (kind p.c. on 11 March 2023) was surprised by the lack of its mention in the WSKT: “I find it unexpected that Ritter doesn’t mention it, but this may be because he could not confirm its existence with his spokespeople (it could also just be a very rare omission).” M. Kossmann seems convinced by the inner Berber evidence that it can hardly be a primary noun: “I would say that the chances that the term is old in this meaning are extremely low. ... Interestingly, the terms for the resin (fluid and solidified) seem to be all different according to the dialects, while the name of the tree is found all over Tuareg. Not sure what to make of this – I would have expected a trade commodity to be more homogenous in its lexical expression than a tree (even though trees are very stable lexemes in Tuareg).”

<sup>44</sup> In the PAM, l.c., it is treated as a fem. verbal adjective of the homophonous verbal root which, if it was once applied also for the gum issuing from the stem, may/might be reasonable, although this is not the case, cf. EWlmd. zārāgg-ət “jaillir, sortir brusquement (pierre/balle)” [PAM 2003: 925]. Supporting this idea, M. Kossmann (kind p.c. on 11 March 2023) stated: “the ‘pop out’ verb from which it seems to be derived, ... is at least pan-Tuareg.” At any rate, our verbal root in question is indeed cognate to SBrb.: Ahaggar zeregg-et “1. percer, commencer à paraître, poindre, jaillir, paraître en partie, sortir en partie, paraître au dehors en sortant vivement (en partie ou en totalité) (se dit, p.ex., du soleil, de la lune, d’une étoile qui commencent à paraître à l’horizon, d’une montagne, d’un arbre, d’un homme, d’un animal, d’une chose qcq. qui commencent à poindre à l’horizon; d’un piquet qu’on enfonce dans un mur qui point de l’autre côté); d’un clou qu’on enfonce dans une planche qui point de l’autre côté; d’une pierre d’un mur qui dépasse l’alignement des autres et sort en partie du mur; de l’os d’un bras ou d’une jambe cassés qui sont en partie du bras ou de la jambe; du noyau d’un fruit mûr qui, par suite de pression, sort en partie du fruit; d’une épine entrée dans la main, du pus d’un abcès, qui, par suite d’une pression, paraissent au dehors en sortant vivement partiellement ou totalement; d’objets qui sont dans un sac et dont une extrémité en sort un peu, soit par un trou du sac, soit par sa bouche), 2. (p.ext.) ‘être perçant (le sujet étant la voix d’une personne ou d’un animal)” [Foucauld 1951-2: 1990] = zārāgg-ət [Delheure] || NBrb.: Qabyle zrireḡ (sic: plain z-) “couler, filer rapidement sur une surface lisse” [Dallet 1982: 957] | Mzab ə-zrāḡ (sic: plain z-) “poindre, paraître au dehors en sortant vivement, jaillir”, a-zrag, pl. i-zrag-ən “rejet, petite proéminence qui pousse au bout

[GT]: Macro-Canaanite \*š/zurw- “(storax, liquidambar, resin of) *Styrax officinalis* L.” [GT pace Löw et al.]<sup>45</sup> vs. Arabian \*ḡa/irw- “(mastix, resin of) *Pistacia lentiscus* L.” [GT],<sup>46</sup>

d’une tige, bouton, bourgeon” [Delheure 1984: 254], Wargla zəṛṛəḡ “1. jaillir, couler en jet fort, 2. (p.ext.) uriner avec force” [Delheure 1987: 397]. But cf. perhaps Ahaggar é-zereḡ (-ḡ) nom d’un arbrisseau” [Foucauld 1951-2: 1991]. Its resemblance to Ar. šārūḡ- “1. chaux vive, 2. mélange de chaux vive et d’arsenic” [BK I 1328] = “quick lime, and the mixtures thereof; with which ars plastered watering-troughs, or tanks, and baths etc.” [Lane 1675a] is illusory this latter term being a Persian loanword (arabized from čārū).

<sup>45</sup> Attested by Ug. zrw “(a commodity listed after ‘barley’ & ‘oil’, but in a new section after a scribal line beside nbt ‘honey’)” [Gordon 1965: 407, #1057] = (alphabetic) zrw vs. (in syllabic transcription, i.e., EA 48:8) /zurwu/ (?) or /šurwu/ (?) “(aromatic) resin” [Huehnergard 1987: 131] = zrw “bálsamo (¿resina de estoraque?)” [DLU 552-553] = zrw “(die botanische Identifikation ... ist nicht zu eruieren)” [Sima 2000: 270] = zrw “balsam, storax resin (?)” [DUL 1006], Amarna Akk. (occured so far solely in EA 48:8, on which Huehnergard 1987: 131: “the Ugaritic provenance of EA 48 is likely, but not certain”, DLU 552: “procedencia probable: Ugarit”; DUL 1006 also: “probl. from Ugarit”) šurwa “balm (probably storax)” [CAD š 261] = karpātu riqqu ZU-ur-wu “jar of aromatic substance: resin” (it is likely that ZU-ur-wu does not actually gloss Akk. riqqu, but rather qualifies it, specifying the precise substance) [Huehnergard 1987: 131] = šurwa “a herb” [KB 1055] = √šry<sub>2</sub> > šú/zu<sup>2</sup>-ur-wa “balm, balsam” [DNWSI 975 pace Nielsen, Knauf, Vitestam] = ZU-ur-wa “(die botanische Identifikation ... ist nicht zu eruieren)” [Sima 2000: 270], Hebrew šōrī “balsamisches Harz, eine Spezerei von Rauchwerk” [Levy 1924 IV col. 218b] = “1. (seit Luther durch Mastix unrichtig wiedergegeben, stattdem:) Storax, der heutige flüssige Liquidambar (*Styrax officinalis* L., aus diesem Baume, der vorzüglich in Syrien wächst, fließt ... ein sehr wohlriechendes, balsamisches Harz, das angezündet die würzigsten Düfte aushaucht; der wervolle Saft von šōrī ist grün wie Eselsmilch und wird von Betrügem mit dieser verfälscht, oder lieber mit Eselstalge), 2. wohlriechende Harzarten überhaupt, Balsam” [Löw FJ 1928 I 196, 1924 III 389-390] = “genus balsami” [CR 1931: 227b] = šōrī ~ šōrī (probably primary noun) “(not?) mastic (but balsam, since mastic from Chios was first known only in the Hellenistic Period)”, cf. šōrī (PN of a Levite from the clan of Jeduthun) “mastic balsam” [KB 1055] = šōrī (sic: -ō- for -ō-) “(Bedeutung nicht eindeutig geklärt:) entweder *Commiphora opobalsamum* (L.) Engl. (Stol 1970: 50ff.) oder *Liquidambar orientalis* L. (Zohary) (da ... στύραξ > latin storax, styrax den zuletzt genannten bezeichnet und aus einer nordwestsemitischen Sprache entlehnt wurde; ist die Bestimmung von Zohary vorzuziehen; die falsche Identifikation mit Mastix, dem Harz von *Pistacia lentiscus* L. ... beruht einzig auf dem Vergleich mit dem arab. *ḡirwun*)” [Sima 2000: 269-270, fn. 37] and MHebrew šōrī “ein wohlriechendes Harz” [Dalman 1922: col. 367b] = “Harz” [Levy 1924 IV col. 218b] = “resin, balsam” [Jastrow 1950: col. 1301a] = “a fragrant resin” [KB 1055] | Syriac šarwā “1. fructus pini, 2. cortex cedri, 3. μάκηρ / macir” [Brockelmann 1928: col. 637b] = “(die Bedeutung ist offenbar recht unklar) περί μάκερος” [Sima 2000: 270, fn. 38].

<sup>46</sup> Cf. OSA ḡrw “genus arboris odoriferae (a fragrant tree), *Pistacia lentiscus*” [CR 1931: 227b (as glossed in English by Biella)] = “mastic balsam” [as quoted in KB 1055b referring to Müller 1963: 314 without OSA rendering] = ḡrw “encens” [Avanzini 1980: col. 235b] = ḡrw (written on on incense burners) “1. an aromatic resin or fruit used as incense, 2. incense burner (specifically for ḡrw incense?)” [Biella 1982: 436] = (Sabaic) ḡrw “kind of aromatic (sorte d’aromate)” [SD 42] = (Qatabanian) ḡrw “balsam, aromatic resin or fruit used as incense” [Ricks 1989: 140] = “wahrscheinlich das Mastix genannte Harz von *Pistacia Lentiscus* L. [*Terebinthus Lentiscus* (L.) Moench] oder das Chios-Terpentin genannte Harz von *Terebinthus Lentiscus* L. (beide kämen für Südarabien nur als Importwaren in Frage), wenig wahrscheinlich ist *Salvia merjamie* [= *S. nudicaulis* Vahl var. *nubia*] (*Labiatae*)” [Sima 2000: 269 pace Hager quoted in fn. 31-32], Ar. ḡarw- and ḡirw- “fruit du lentisque, fruit de l’arbre kamkām-” [BK II 25] = ḡarw- and also ḡirw- “a species of tree of sweet odour, with the wood of which the teeth are rubbed and cleansed, and the leaves of which are put into perfume (the places of its growth are mostly in El-Yemen; some say that the ḡirw- is the buṭm- or terebinth-tree or the fruit thereof; when a girl rubs and cleanses her teeth with a stick of the tree called ḡirw-, the saliva with which the stick is moistened from her mouth is like honey)” [Lane col. 1790a] = ḡirw- “*Pistacia Lentiscus* L., Mastixstrauch (Lentiscusharz des Baumes ḡirw ... fließt elastisch aus, schwarz wie Pech)” [Löw FJ I 197] = ḡa/irw- “fruit of the gum tree (*Pistacia Lentiscus*)” [Müller 1962: 75 quoted by Biella l.c. and Ricks l.c.] = ḡirw- “lentisque” [Dozy II 9] = ḡarw- “a type of sweet-smelling tree” [KB 1055] = ḡirw- “(die Angaben der arabischen Lexikographen ... sind widersprüchlich, weisen aber doch eindeutig auf einen Baum oder Strauch hin, der wahrscheinlich als *Pistacia lentiscus* L. ... oder *Pistacia terebinthus* L. ... zu identifizieren ist (der vielzitierte Vers des Nābīga al-Ḡaʿdī X 5 ..., der von den ḡirw-Bäumen von Barāqīš und

perhaps both derivable < CSem. \*š/t/dVrw- “resinous matter issuing from some tree” [GT]<sup>47</sup> of disputed etymology<sup>48</sup> (Sem.: Huehnergard 1987: 131; KB 1055; DLU 552-553; Sima 2000: 269-270; DUL 1006; DRS 1132, ṭrw). The unity of the Canaanite (with \*z-?) vs. Arabian terms (with ḏ-), that has been accepted and maintained as granted by most of the authors dealing with this term (quoted partly herein), was firmly denied by A. Sima (2000: 269-270, also fn. 38) regarding the disagreement of Syriac š-<sup>49</sup> ≠ Ar. ḏ- as decisive (explained by some as the sign of being borrowed of the former),<sup>50</sup> let alone for the anomaly (?) of Ug. z-<sup>51</sup> (he

Haylān spricht, ist völlig fantastisch (keine der fraglichen Pistacia-Arten wächst in Südarabien!) und trägt zur Sache nichts bei, hatte aber zur Folge gehabt, dass *ḏirwun* in dieser Bedeutung von den arabischen Lexikographen fälschlich als im Jemen beheimatet angesehen wurde”) [Sima 2000: 269, fn. 34], Modern Yemeni Ar. ḏa/orw “aromatic shrub” [Rossi 1940: 311 quoted by Biella l.c., so also Nielsen 1986: 18, 61-62 and Crone 1987: 62-65 quoted by Ricks l.c.] = ḏarw (ein Baum) “ein einfacher wohlriechender Strauch, der kein Harz liefert, vielleicht ... eine Bezeichnung für den baṭam-Baum, der aber in der Qaṭābān-Gegend kein Harz liefert (wir hätten dann zwei verschiedene Pflanzen unter ḏarw zu verstehen)”, ḏirw “Pflanze, liefert Brennholz, ist *Salvia nudicaulis* Vahl” [Glaser apud Behnstedt 1993: 130-131] = ḏarw “*Salvia merjamae* Forssk.” [Al-Hubaiṣi & Müller-Hohenstein 1984: 202 apud Behnstedt] = ḏa/orw “aromatischer Strauch, als Medizin gegen Herzschmerzen benutzt (aromatic shrub used as a medicine against heart pains)” [Deboo 1989: 52] = ḏarū, ḏarw, ḏirw “die *Salvia nudicaulis* (sic: -cal-) (d.h. S. merjamie)” [Sima 2000: 269, fn. 34].

<sup>47</sup> Although he has named no reconstructed form for this Semitic term, in the testimony of his statements, J. Huehnergard (1987: 131-132) may have been bearing in mind apparently sg. like \*ḏurw- as the underlying etymon: on the basis of the OSA and Ar. data, on the one hand, he assumed that “the initial consonant was originally ḏ”, whereas in the light of the Ug.-Hbr. reflex, he supported “the *qutl* pattern” (as opposed to the \*ḏaṭl- one in Syr.-Ar.).

<sup>48</sup> There has been no agreement on the (common) origin of the Semitic term, where “la correspondance n’est pas régulière” (DRS col. 1132b), which would *eo ipso* suggest borrowing. Still, J. Levy (1924 IV col. 218b) linked the Hebrew reflex with Ar. ṽḏry “fliessen”. M. Jastrow (1950: col. 1301a), in turn, derived it from MHbr. ṽšry and PBaram. ṽšr? “to split, tear” which allowed him literally rendering the noun as “that which runs through cracks”. The ambiguous assumption of the CAD (ṣ 261), that the Amarna “Akkadian” “word may be Hurrian, as the letter EA 48 suggests, hence possibly *surwa*, but the WSem. etymology seems plausible”, which was not based on any direct etymological evidence, testifies to the perfect failure of the *communis opinio* in determining whether it was “WSem. or foreign word”. J.C. Biella (1982: 436) linked the OSA-Ar. term to Ar. ḏāra “to bleed”, which is incorrect as Ar. ṽḏwr I: ḏāra denotes “1. nuire, faire du mal à qqn.” etc. [BK II 45]. By the way, J. Huehnergard (1987: 131) listed the EA 48:8 form among syllabically written Ugaritic words. KB (l.c.) has yielded hardly anything on this puzzle of origins beside an uncritically adopted comparison to Ar. ḏaraʿa “to bleed”, which is unprecise as Ar. ḏaraʿa (in its stem VII) denotes “être tué, égorgé”, while only ṽḏrw > ḏarā I “1. saigner (se dit d’une plaie ou d’une artère coupée), 2. couler” [BK II 16 and 25, resp.]. Prof. J. Huehnergard (kind p.c. on the 15 March 2023) too, is reserved as to having two homophonous Semitic “resin” etyma: “It is an interesting idea to split the attested forms into two lemmata with different referents, but I cannot judge whether it is a correct idea (!).”

<sup>49</sup> A. Sima (2000: 270, fn. 38) categorically confirmed that, as is well-known, “Die syrische Form mit š kann nicht auf \*ḏirw zurückgehen, sondern ist wahrscheinlich über die hebräische Vorlage der Peschitta ... aus dem Hebräischen entlehnt”. He doubted R.C. Steiner’s (1977: 149-151) theory on that “in bestimmten phonetischen Umgebungen \*ḏ im Aramäischen zu š verschoben wurde. Seine Beispiele sind im einzelnen von sehr unterschiedlicher Evidenz, im Fall von syr. *šarwā* überzeugen sie mich nicht.” Prof. J. Huehnergard (kind p.c. on the 15 March 2023) too “would disagree with Sima ... concerning Steiner’s suggestion that Proto-Semitic \*ṣ (ḏ) > Aramaic š when the root contains r — there are many examples.”

<sup>50</sup> J. Huehnergard (1987: 131): the Syriac reflex “is presumably a loanword” since “cognates in Arabic (*ḏa/irw*) and Sabaean (*ḏrw*) indicate that the initial consonant was originally ḏ...”; following J. Blau (1970: 59-60), also A. Sima (2000: 270, fn. 38): the Syr. word was borrowed from Hbr.

<sup>51</sup> The Sem. etymon with the supposed \*ḏ, in the hypothesis of J. Huehnergard (1987: 131-131), “should yield Ugar. *ṣurwul*, an equally possible normalization of the syllabic writing. It is possible, if rather unlikely, that

left untouched), and the different botanical identification. Highly noteworthy is in this context Ar.  $\sqrt{\text{šrb}}$  I:  $\text{šariba}$  “1. boire du lait aigre, 2. manger de la gomme”, IV “donner du lait aigre à boire à qqn., VIII “préparer du lait aigre en mettant petit à petit du lait doux dans un autre lait aigre”,  $\text{šarib-}$  “1. lait doux auquel on a mêlé du lait aigre, 2. lait aigre, 3. espèce de gomme rouge qui coule de l’arbre  $\text{t}\text{ł}\text{h}$  (sorte d’acacia)”,  $\text{šarab-}$  “1. lait aigre, 2. espèce de résine rouge qui coule de l’arbre  $\text{t}\text{ł}\text{h}$ ” [BK I 1327].

**417.15. PAA**  $\ast\sqrt{\text{čr}}$  “to jet (of some fluid issuing from body)” [GT] > PCh.  $\ast\text{čUr-}$  “to urinate” [GT]<sup>52</sup> > WCh.: Daffo-Butura  $\text{s}\hat{\text{a}}\text{t}$  “urinieren”, Bokkos  $\text{s}\hat{\text{a}}\hat{\text{a}}$  (sic: no -r) “Urin, Blase”, Sha  $\text{z}\hat{\text{o}}\text{h}$  [-h/° regular  $\ast\text{-r}$ ]<sup>53</sup> “Urin” (Ron: Jng. 1970: 146, 220, 289) || CCh.: PMasa  $\ast\text{čor}$  “to urinate” [GT]:<sup>54</sup> Masa-Bongor  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{:r}\hat{\text{a}}$  (p. 125) =  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{:r}\hat{\text{a}}$  (p. 147) “uriner”,  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{r}\hat{\text{a}}$  (présent inaccompli),  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{r}\hat{\text{a}}$  (parfait, narrative),  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{r}\hat{\text{a}}\text{w}\hat{\text{a}}$  (passé simple) [Jng. 1971/2 MS: 125, 147], Gizey/Wina  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{r}$   $\text{z}\hat{\text{u}}\text{m}\hat{\text{u}}\text{r}$ , Masa  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{r}$   $\text{z}\hat{\text{u}}\text{m}\hat{\text{u}}\text{r}$ , Ham  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{r}$   $\text{s}\hat{\text{u}}\text{r}\hat{\text{u}}\text{m}$ , Musey  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\hat{\text{o}}$   $\text{s}\hat{\text{u}}\text{m}\hat{\text{u}}\hat{\text{u}}$ , Lew  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{r}$   $\text{s}\hat{\text{u}}\text{m}\hat{\text{u}}\text{r}$ , Marba  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{r}$   $\text{s}\hat{\text{u}}\text{m}\hat{\text{u}}\text{r}$  “uriner” [Ajello et al. 2001: 55] || ECh.: Kwang  $\text{k}\hat{\text{o}}\text{-č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{r}$  [Jng.], Kwang-Mobu  $\text{k}\hat{\text{o}}\text{-ž}\hat{\text{o}}\text{or}$  [Jng.] | Lele  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{r}\hat{\text{o}}$  [Garrigues in JI] | Sokoro  $\text{s}\hat{\text{o}}\text{r}\hat{\text{i}}$  [Lukas] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 334-335; Skinner 1992: 356) || NBrb.: Shilh  $\text{š}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}\hat{\text{s}}$  “to urinate”,  $\text{i-š}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}\hat{\text{s}}\text{-in}$  (pl.) “urine” [Skinner] || Sem.: Ar.  $\text{t}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}\hat{\text{a}}$  I “1. faire sourdre l’eau (se dit de la source), 2. avoir et donner beaucoup de lait (se dit des femelles), 3. faire jaillir abondamment un torrent d’eau, de sang, da paroles (se dit d’un nuage, d’un coup de lance, de la bouche)”,  $\text{t}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{-}$  “1. abondant en eau, qui en verse ou fait jaillir par torrents (nuage, source) ayant le canal du pis large (se dit des femelles) etc.” [BK I 220]. Shilh-Ch.: Skinner 1992: 356.<sup>55</sup>

\*

*/šurwul* is in fact the underlying Ugar. form, and that  $\text{z}$  in alphab.  $\text{zrw}$  is in both instances the result of intervocalic voicing (in sandhi ...).”

<sup>52</sup> The Chadic root has striking areal match in Niger-Kordofanian/Congo, cf. the parallels listed by J.H. Greenberg (1963: 159).

<sup>53</sup> As it has been abundantly demonstrated by H. Jungraithmayr (1966).

<sup>54</sup> That Masa  $\ast\text{č}$  is the regular match of Sem.  $\ast\text{t}$  < AA  $\ast\text{č}$  we can ascertain about it also from the isogloss of PMasa  $\ast\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}/\text{Ar}$  “1. to rise” [GT]: Musey  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{l}$ , Lew  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{l}$ , Marba  $\text{č}\hat{\text{o}}\text{l}$  “(se) lever” [Ajello et al. 2001: 33], Lame  $\text{č}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}$  (ts-) “1. se lever, 5. +  $\text{w}\hat{\text{a}}$  (?á sū) se révolter, s’énervier, se fâcher contre qqn.” [Sachnine 1982: 398], Zime-Dari  $\text{č}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}$  (ts-) “se lever”,  $\text{č}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}$   $\text{w}\hat{\text{a}}$  “s’énervier” (litt.: “lever + tête”) [Cooper 1984: 25] || Sem.: Ar.  $\sqrt{\text{t}\hat{\text{w}}\text{r}}$  I  $\text{t}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}\hat{\text{a}}$  “1. être soulevé et se répandre dans l’air (se dit de la poussière, des nuées de sauterelles), 2. s’élever (se dit du tumulte), 3. fondre sur qqn., assaillir avec colère et impétuosité, 4. se déclarer et paraître à la surface du corps (se dit des pustules, de la moiteur)”, II “1. soulever, exciter (la poussière), allumer la guerre, faire naître le tumulte, 2. faire lever les chameaux couchés à terre” etc. [BK I 241] || MSA (from Ar.): CJibbali  $\text{t}\hat{\text{o}}\text{r}\hat{\text{a}}\text{h}$  “revolution” [Johnstone 1981: 286], Mehri  $\text{t}\hat{\text{a}}\text{w}\text{r}\hat{\text{a}}\text{h}$  and EJibbali  $\text{t}\hat{\text{a}}\text{w}\text{r}\hat{\text{a}}\text{h}$  “rebellion” [Johnstone 1987: 419] etc. < PAA  $\ast\sqrt{\text{čw}}\text{r}$  “to (up)rise” [GT]. Or cf. CCh.: Lame  $\text{č}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}$  (ts-) “3. être abondant, bien donner, bien produire (pour une récolte), 7. +  $\text{ʔ}\hat{\text{r}}$  (oeil)  $\text{č}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}$  s’enrichir, prospérer, réussir dans la vie, b) ressusciter” [Sachnine 1982: 398] || WCh.: Hausa  $\text{č}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}$  “emphasizes fullness of vessel”,  $\text{č}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}\hat{\text{č}}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}$  “fullness of a vessel or bag with grain or with any solid sold by measure, 2. (adv.) in full” [Bargery 1934: 151] =  $\text{č}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}\hat{\text{č}}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}$  “brimful, in full, complete” [Abraham 1962: 133] | Suroid  $\ast\text{č}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}$  ~  $\ast\text{č}\hat{\text{e}}\text{r}$  “many, much” [GT]: Sura  $\text{č}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}$  “Kopflast vermehren” [Jng. 1963: 61], Kofyar  $\text{k}\hat{\text{o}}\text{e-č}\hat{\text{e}}\text{r}$  “many” [Netting 1967: 18] (Suroid: Takács 2004: 47) || Eg.  $\text{w}\hat{\text{s}}\text{r}$  “1. mächtig, stark (gegenüber Feinden), 3. reich (sein an) usw.” (OK-, Wb I 360-361) || Sem.: Ar.  $\sqrt{\text{t}\hat{\text{r}}\text{w}}$  I:  $\text{t}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}\hat{\text{a}}$  “1. être nombreux (se dit des hommes, des bestiaux, etc.), 2. être plus riche en troupeaux, 3. rendre nombreux”,  $\text{t}\hat{\text{a}}\text{r}\hat{\text{y}}\text{a}$  “être riche, posséder beaucoup de troupeaux ou d’autres biens” [BK I 222] < presumably PAA  $\ast\sqrt{\text{čr}}$  “to be numerous” [GT].

<sup>55</sup> Affiliated by N. Skinner (1992: 356) with ECu.  $\ast\text{s}\hat{\text{a}}\text{l-}$  “feces”, Ar.  $\text{u}\text{s}\text{ar-}$  (sic) “retention of urine”, Cu. (sic)  $\ast\sqrt{\text{čl}}$  “feces”.

## 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'awye (Beja), Bln.: Bəlnəŋ, 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) Tawlemmet, Y: Young(er).

## Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungraihtmayr, Alm.: Alemayehu, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Brt.: Barreteau, CR: Conti Rossini, Ctc.: Cañtucooli, Dbr.: Djibrine, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij, 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.: Ibriszimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraihtmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraihtmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraihtmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraihtmayr & 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: Weibugué & Palayer.

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