

DOI: 10.2478/v10122-009-0008-8

MA'A LEXICON AND AFRO-ASIATIC IV: MA'A š-

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ABSTRACT. Gábor Takács. *Ma'a Lexicon and Afro-Asiatic IV: Ma'a š-*. *Lingua Posnaniensis*, vol. LI/2009. The Poznań Society for the Advancement of the Arts and Sciences. PL ISSN 0079-4740, ISBN 978-83-7654-080-1, pp. 125–131

The paper represents part of a longer series that examines the lexical stock of the Ma'a language, an exotic *Mischsprache* combining a Bantu grammar with a basically Cushitic (henceforth, Afro-Asiatic) lexicon, from the standpoint of etymology. This part contains (mostly new) etymologies of Ma'a words with the initial lateral sibilant.

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INTRODUCTION

Ma'a is a *Mischsprache* in the Usambara mountains, in the northeast of Tanzania. Its non-Cushitic/Afro-Asiatic grammar is basically Bantu. There are strong objections among some specialists against the South Cushitic character of the Ma'a lexicon maintained, e.g., by Ch. EHRET (1980). With respect to the grammatical system of Ma'a, there is a doubt whether Ma'a has ever been an Afro-Asiatic language at all. Nevertheless, the lexical stock clearly reveals not only the South Cushitic, but also a deeper Afro-Asiatic lexical heritage in Ma'a.

This series of papers is devoted to analyzing just this segment of the Ma'a lexicon through regular correspondences, an evidence demonstrating the inherited Afro-Asiatic nature of this (once?) South Cushitic language. The individual parts of the series are usually arranged according to anlaut consonants of Ma'a. The present part consists of the Ma'a lexicon with š-

1. Ma'a š (*hl*) < SCu. *š < AA *š

Contrary to Ma'a, most South Cushitic languages make a distinction between the voiceless lateral sibilant (*š) and the voiceless lateral affricate (*č), which have usually merged in most of the Afrasian daughter languages (in nearly all Semitic languages, Egyptian, Berber, Cushito-Omoti). The correspondence of SCu. *š = Sem. *š was examined by DOLGOPOLSKY (1987, 200–205, #39–79), who supposed also an additional correspondence of SCu. *š = Sem. **h-l* & **h-l*, which, however, needs further confirmation.

Cu.	Rift	Ma'a	Dhl.	Sem. ¹	Eg.	Ch.	AS	AA
*š	*š/*hl	š/hl	š/ł	*š ₂	š	*š	*l	*š

1.1. Ma'a -šá “to stab, pierce”, hence *m-ša'é* “thorn” [Ehr. 1974 MS, 41] | Dhl. *šwaḥ-* “to pinch” [EEN 1989, 26; Tosco 1991, 142] < SCu. *š^(w)ah- [GT].

1.2. Ma'a -šà (intr.) “to hurt”, -šaywa “to pain” vs. *šawa* “to be hurt”, *šá?-a* “sharp pain” | Irq. *šaʔh-es-* (tr.) “to hurt (so.)”, cf. *šahaḥ-* (intr.) “to hurt”, Alg. *šahaʔ-ame* “grief, sorrow” < SCu. *šahaʔ- “to pain, hurt” [Ehr.] (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 210, #20–21) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *lā₂ [reg. < *šah] “to feel pain” [GT 2004, 218] > i.a. Angas *léé* “1. schmerzen, krank sein, 2. Krankheit” [Jng. 1962 MS, 22] = *lεε* “to be sick, pain” [Hfm.], Sura *lāa* “schmerzen” [Jng. 1963, 72] = *laa* “to pain” [Hfm.], Goemay *laa* “to pain, give pain, feel pain” [Srl. 1937, 119] = *laa* “to pain” [Hfm.] (AS: Hfm. 1975, 21, #129) < AA *š-h-(?) “to feel pain” [GT].

1.3. Ma'a šahá “to burn”, -šahá'ižā “to burn (tr.)” [Ehr.] | Dhl. *šah-* “to burn (sg.)” [Ehr.] = “to burn up” [EEN 1989, 26] = “to put on fire” [Tosco 1991, 142] (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 210, #18).

1.4. Ma'a -šahaʔé “to scarify, tattoo” | Brg. *šaʔa-niya* “scar” < SCu. *šahaʔ- “to leave scar” [GT] (SCu.: EHRET 1980, 209, #22) ||| WCh. *šah^w- [GT]: Hausa *šáššááwá* “hereditary tribal marks cut or tattooed on face or body”, *šáššáútáá* “1. to cut šáššááwá on so., scarify so. in cupping, make small cuts in, 2. lance” [Abr. 1962, 804] | AS *lā ~ *lē [reg. < *šah] “ulcer, wound” [GT 2004, 217] > i.a. Sura *lāa* “Wunde” [Jng. 1963, 72] = *laa* “ulcer” [Krf.], Kofyar *léé* “scars for decoration of the face and body” [Ntg. 1967, 23] | NBch. *šaw- “tattoo” [Skn. 1977, 43] < AA *š-h-(?) “wound, scar” [GT].

1.5. Ma'a šámu “to be sweet” [Ehr.] | Dhl. *šáḥame* “sweet” [EEN 1989, 26; Tosco 1991, 142] (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 210, #19).

1.6. Ma'a *šah^wa [GT] > *ma-šahá* “anger”, -šawa “to be angry” [Ehr. 1974 MS, 41–42] | Brg. *šahaʔ-ame* “anger” [Ehr.] | (???) Dhl. *šūm-* [< *šaw^w-am- contracted < **šah^waʔ-am-?] “to be angry” [EEN 1989, 26] = “to get upset, angry” [Tosco 1991, 142] < SCu. *šah^waʔ- “to be angry” [GT]?

NB: Alternatively (albeit less probably), we may assume a hypothetic var. Ma'a *šak^w- (cf. the well-attested interchange of Ma'a -k- ~ -ḥ- ~ -h- < SCu. *-k-), cf. Irq. *šáq^w* “to fight, argue” [Mgw. 1989, 101] | Dhl. *šak-* “to quarrel, be angry”, *šák-a* “anger” [Ehr. 1980, 209].

1.7. Ma'a -šaka ~ -šaha “to bear (child, fruit, etc.)” | Irq. *šaq^w*- “to present, bring into view” (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 209, #14) < SCu. *šak^w- “to bring forth” [GT] ||| Sem.: MSA *šḥw: Jbl. *šḥé* “to pull out, extract (as e.g. a book from a case)” [Jns. 1981, 264] < AA *š-[q^w] “to bring forth” [GT].

1.8. Ma'a šakawe “to imitate” [Ehr. 1974 MS, 41] | WRift *šakm-/ *šamk- [GT]: Irq. *šaqm-im-is-* “to resemble”, Alg. *šanq-am-is-* “to resemble” (WRift: Ehr. 1980, 209, #14).

1.9. Ma'a -šama “to leave off, let go” | Asa *šam-* “to allow” < SCu. *šam- “to leave (off)” [Ehr.] (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 208, #5) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *lʔaj ~ *laj [reg. < *šam] “to lose” [GT 2004, 222] > i.a. Angas (hill) *lang* “to lose, be unable to find” [Flk. 1915, 233],

¹ Dubious correspondences, with rare documentation: Hbr. š-, -s ~ Aram. š ~ s ~ MSA*š.

Kofyar *lân* (sic, -n) “to lose” [Ntg. 1967, 23], Goemay *liang* “to undo, unmake” [Srl. 1937, 126] < AA *š-m “to leave, lose” [GT].

1.10. Ma'a i-šaré “cloud” [Ehr. 1980, 214, #6] || Bed. *šāy* [-y < *-r] “Wolke” [Rn. 1895, 219] || LECu.: Elmolo *sér* “1. cloud, 2. rain” [Heine] ||| NOM. *šār- “cloud” [GT]: Basketo & Wolamo *šara*, Kullo *šariya*, Male *šāri* | Gidicho *šāra* | Janjero *šāru* (NOM.: Bnd. 1971, #14). Areal parallel: PKoman *šali (?) “cloud” [Bnd. 1983, 268, #14]. Lit. for the AA etymology: Blz. 1992, 138.

1.11. Ma'a šāwi “to pray, beg, ask for” [Ehr. 1974 MS, 42] | WRift *ša?- “to like, want” [Eld.-Mgw. 1992, 63]: Irq. & Brg. & Grw. & Alg. *ša?*- | ERift *ša?- “to love, like” [GT]: Qwd. *ša?-as-*, Asa *ša?-at-* | Dhl. *šaw-* “to love, like” (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 208; Dlg. 1973, 115) < SCu. *ša?- ~ *šaw- “to love, like” [GT] ||| Sem. *š₂w? [GT] = *š₂wy → *š₂w? [Dlg.]: JArām. *sw?* “to wish” [Dlg.], Syr. *sawé* “cupidus, studiosus” [Brk.] || Ar. šy?: *šāʾa* “vouloir” [BK I 1293] = *šw?* [Dlg.] (Sem.: Dlg. 1987, 201; cf. Lsl. 1938, 423) ||| WCh.: Gwandara *só* “to want” ~ *šó* “1. to like, 2. wish” [Mts. 1972, 103, 109] < AA *š-(w)-? “to like” [GT]. Lit. for SCu.-Ar.: Dlg. 1987, 201, #48; HSED #2314.

NB: Cf. also Sem. *š₁hw [GT]: Ar. *šahā* “désirer ardemment” [BK I 1283] | MSA *šhy: Jbl. *šúthi* “to like (sg.)” [Jns. 1981, 250].

1.12. Ma'a šawé “to accept, receive” | Irq. & Brg. *šaw-* “to get”, Alg. *šōm-* [*šaw-am-] “to get” (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 211) < SCu. *šaw- “to get” [GT] || (?) Bed. *šīwi* ~ *šūwi* “to become pregnant” [Rpr. 1928, 240] ||| Eg. *šwj “to buy” [GT], preserved in the nomen agentis *šwj.tj* “Kaufmann” [GT: act. *”buyer”] (OK, Wb IV 434, 5–6; FD 263) ||| Ch. *šEw- “to accept” [GT] = *šəwə [Nwm.] → WCh.: Dera *ləwi* [l- < *š-] || CCh.: Tera *šə* | Musey *ši* | Gidar *ləwə* [l- < *š-] (Ch.: Nwm. 1977, 22, #1).

NB: For the semantic shift in Bed. cf. e.g. German *Empfängnis* “1. receipt, 2. conceiving”. Cf. also Bed. *šawwi* ~ *šawawi* ~ *šauwawi* “to get together, collect, assemble” [Rpr. 1928, 240].

1.13. Ma'a šē “to cease” [Ehr.] | Dhl. *šaʿa-a-š-* “to leave off, let go” [Ehr.] = *šaʿa-ay-* “to leave” [EEN 1989, 26] = *šaʿa-š-* “to leave off, abandon” [Tosco 1991, 142] (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 209, #15) ||| Sem.: cf. Ar. šyʿ II “5. reconduire qq. et lui faire ses adieux (p.ex., un homme qui part)” [BK I 1298].

1.14. Ma'a mšihe < SCu. *šēhe “moon” [Ehr.]: Irq. *šahanj*, Brg. *šehenj*, Alg. *šehē* | Qwd. *šaha-yiko*, Asa *lehe-k* (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 212, #30).

1.15. Ma'a ma-gom-a “Fett” [Mnh. 1906, 313] = *ma-šóm-a* “fat”, -*šóm-i* “to smear with fat” [Ehr. 1974, 216, #22] < SCu. *šóm- [GT] ||| Ar. *šahm-* “graisse”, cf. denom. *šahama* “1. faire manger à qq. de la graisse, 2. graisser, frotter de graisse” [BK I 1199].

NB: In Arabic we find the common Afrasian infix *-h- of body parts (TAKÁCS 1997).

2. Ma'a š (hl) < SCu. *č₁ < AA *č

In Ma'a, the distinction between SCu. *š and *č has not been preserved. Only the external evidence reveals that SCu. *č represents the merger of two distinct Afrasian proto-phonemes: SCu. *č₁ < AA *č, whereas SCu. *č₂ < PAA *č.

WRift	Qwd.	Asa	Ma'a	Dhl.	Sem.	Hbr.	Aram.	MSA	Eg.	Ch.	AA
*č ₁	č ₁ = tl	d	š = hl	č ₁ = tl	*š ₁	š	s	*š	š	*č	*č

2.1. Ma'a šá “to open” | Brg. *čá[?]-as-* “to uncover” (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 215, #12) ||| WCh.: for possible cognates see Ma'a *šoš-oši* “to begin” (below).

2.2. Ma'a -šê “to rise (of sun)” [Ehr. 1974 MS, 42] | (?) Brg. *čá[?]-as-* “to jump, fly” [Ehr.] | Dhl. *čá[?]-* “to put up high” [Ehr.] = *čá[?]-* [EEN 1989, 18] < SCu. **č_{1/2}a[?]-* “to r(a)ise” [GT].

2.3. Ma'a -šerú “to grow up” [Ehr.] | WRift **čē[r]-* “long, tall” [GT]: Irq. & Grw. *čēr* “long” [Wtl.] = Irq. *čer* “long, tall”, *čer-uw-* “to lengthen, become tall” [Ehr.], Brg. *čēdu* [*-d- < *-r-?*] “long” [Wtl.] = *čedi* [Ehr.], Alg. *čēr* “long” [Wtl.] = *čer* [Ehr.] (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 216, #17–18) < SCu. **č₁e[r]-* [GT] ||| Sem. **š_[1]rr* [GT]: Geez *šarara* “to be high, tall” [Lsl. 1987, 534] ||| Bed. *serār* “lang, hochragend sein” [Rn. 1895, 205] || NAgaw: Bilin *šūr* “to be long, tall, far” [Rn.] = *šūr* “to be long” [Bnd.], Qwara *čēr-* “to be far, distant” [Rn.] (NAgaw-SCu.: Dlg. 1973, 126) ||| WCh. **šVr-* “long” [GT]: Sha *šoho* [*h < *r*] “wachsen, groß werden” [Jng. 1970, 288] | Maha *soro* “big” [Stl.], Tangale *suri* “long” [Krf.] | Polchi *šari* “long” [Krf.], Guruntum *səri* “long” [Stl.], Buli *šiyər* “long” [Krf.], Dira *šiyəri* “long” [Krf.] (WCh.: Krf. 1981, #291; Stl. 1987, 203). From AA **č-r* “long” [GT].

NB: Or should we alternatively assume SCu. **č₁e[r]-* < PCu. **čē-?* Cf. LECu. **čēr-* “long, tall” [Black]: Somali *der-ād-* “to become long, tall”, *dérer* “length” | POromo **dēr-a* [Ehr.]: Oromo *dēr-a* “long, tall”, Konso *der-* “long, tall”, *dēr-a* “tall person” etc. (ECu.: BLACK 1974, 109, 114; Dlg. 1973, 126).

2.4. Ma'a šoš-oši “to begin” | Brg. *čáč-es-* “to begin” (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 214, #5) < SCu. **čáč-as-* “to begin” [GT] ||| WCh.: AS **šě* “to begin” [GT]: Sura *šee* “beginnen, zuerst tun” [Jng. 1963, 82], Mupun *siē* “to begin, start”, *sié* (adv.) “first of all” [Frj. 1991, 55], Kofyar *še* “to begin” [Ntg. 1967, 35] | Dera *ča* “to begin” [Krf. 1981, #416] || CCh.: Tera *sàsə* or *šàsə* “to begin” [Nwm. 1964, 49].

2.5. Ma'a -šú [*< *-šaw?*] “to grow” [Ehr. 1974 MS, 43] | Irq. & Brg. *čaw-* “to get up, awake” (WRift: Ehr. 1980, 216) < SCu. **č₁aw-* “to rise” [Ehr.] ||| Eg. *šwj* “sich erheben” (PT, Wb IV 431, 14–15) = *šw* “to ascend” (FD 263) ||| WCh. **š[a]w-* “to rise” [GT]: NBCh. **šaw-* [GT] = **š-* “to stand up, rise” [Skn. 1977, 42] | SBCh. **šV* “to rise” [GT] | Ngizim *čáu* “to stand up, set out”, *čáčáu* “to lift, raise, cause to rise, fly up” [SCHUH 1981, 162–163] (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 201) || CCh.: Logone *swo* “to rise” [Prh. 1972, 59] < AA **čaw-* “to rise” [GT].

2.6. Ma'a -šú [*< *-šuk*] “to fall”, **-šúku** “to drop” | Asa *du[?]-um-* “to fall” < SCu. **č_{1/2}uk-* “to fall” (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 217, #25).

3. Ma'a š < SCu. *č₂ < AA *č

No inner distinction is made between the derivatives of AA **č* vs. AA **č* in South Cushitic. This is only visible from the external cognates.

WRift	Qwd.	Asa	Ma'a	Dhl.	Sem.	Eg.	Bed.	ECu.	Ch.	AA
* <i>č₂</i>	<i>č₂ = tl</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>š = hl</i>	<i>č₂ = tl</i>	* <i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	* <i>č</i>	* <i>č</i>	* <i>č</i>

3.1. Ma'a eš-amúye “fat, healthy, mature” | Irq. *čáč-ar* “fett”, Brg. *čáč-ari* “fett”, Alg. *čáča* “mature” (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 275) < SCu. **čáč₂-* [**-tl-*] “fat (adj.)” [GT] ||| Sem.: perhaps Ar. *čād-* “fort, robuste, vigoureux, infatigable, dur” [BK I 276–277] ||| Eg. *č* “Fett” (OK, Wb I 239) < AA **čáč-* “1. fat, 2. strong” [GT].

3.2. Ma'a išé “1. fresh, unripe, raw, 2. wet” [Ehr. 1974 MS, 28] | Irq. & Alg. *ʿeĉ* “unripe, raw” (WRift: Ehr. 1980, 277, #23) < SCu. **ʿEĉ₂*- “unripe, raw” [GT] || LECu.: PSam **ʿaydi* “unripe” [Heine]: Somali *ʿaydin* ~ *ʿēdin*, Rendille *hēdi* [*h-* < **ʿ-*] (Sam: HEINE 1978, 77) || Ar. *yaḍiḍa* I “être plein de vigueur, de jeunesse (se dit d’un homme, d’une plante)”, II “être dans la bien-être, prospérer”, *yaḍḍ-* “frais, tendre, nouveau, plein de vigueur et de santé (homme), tout jeune, né récemment (veau, etc.)” [BK II 473–474] || Eg. *ʿā* “wohlbehalten, unversehrt, intakt sein” (MK, Wb I 237–238, so also GHWb 165), orig. **ʿ* “fresh” (?) [GT] < AA **ʿ[ay]ĉ-* “fresh” [GT]. Lit.: HODGE 1968, 27 (Eg.-LECu.-Ar.); Dlg. 1987, 209, #104 (LECu.-Ar.-SCu.).

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES AND RELATED TERMS

AA: Afrasian, Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Alg.: Alagwa, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, BA(ram.): Biblical Aramaic, Bch.: Bauchi, BD: Book of the Dead, Bed.: Bed’awye (Beja), BM: Bura-Margi, Brb.: Berber, Brg.: Burunge, BT: Bole-Tangale, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, Dhl.: Dahalo, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, Eth.: Ethiopian (dynasties), GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period, Grg.: Gurage, Grw.: Gorowa, H: Highland, Hbr.: Hebrew, Hrs.: Harsusi, IE: Indo-European, IAram.: Imperial Aramaic, Irq.: Iraqw, JAram.: Jewish Aramaic, Jbl.: Jibbali, L: Lowland, Lit.: literary texts, LE(g.): Late Egyptian, LP: Late Period, Mag.: magical texts, Med.: medical texts, ME(g.): Middle Egyptian, Mhr.: Mehri, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, N: North(ern) or New, NE(g.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, O: Old, OEg.: Old Egyptian, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old (Epigraphic) South Arabian, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, Phn.: Phoenician, PT: pyramid texts, Pun.: Punic, Qtb.: Qatabanian, Qwd.: Qwadza, rel.: religious, S: South(ern), Sab.: Sabeian, Sem.: Semitic, Sgt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, Tna.: Tigrinya, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West(ern).

ABBREVIATIONS OF AUTHOR NAMES

Abr.: ABRAHAM, BK: BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKY, Blz.: BLAŽEK, Bnd.: BENDER, Dlg.: DOLGOPOLSKY, EEN: EHRET & ELDERKIN & NURSE, Ehr.: EHRET, Eld.: ELDERKIN, Flk.: FOULKES, GT: TAKÁCS, Hfm.: HOFMANN, Jng.: JUNGRAITHMAYR, Jns.: JOHNSTONE, Krf.: KRAFT, Lks.: LUKAS, Lsl.: LESLAU, Mgw.: MAGHWAY, Mnh.: MEINHOF, Mts.: MATSUSHITA, Ntg.: NETTING, Nwm.: NEWMAN, Prh.: PORHOMOVSKIJ, Prs.: PRASSE, Rn.: REINISCH, Rpr.: ROPER, Skn.: SKINNER, Srl.: SIRLINGER, Stl.: STOLBOVA.

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Allatum die 19 mensis Januarii anno 2009