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GÁBOR TAKÁCS

MATERIALS FOR THE SEMANTIC OPPOSITION IN EGYPTIAN AND AFRASIAN

The present paper pursues the aim to discuss in detail a dozen of reliable cases for the phenomenon of semantic opposition within the same root, the same cognate set in Afrasian. This phenomenon is challenging for a comparativist because these examples from various Afrasian languages show absolutely no trace of any kind of morphological distinction between the poles of semantics. Therefore, the purpose of my approach can be only to describe and not to explain the reasons of what we can clearly see in the following. The explanation should remain for those dealing with theoretic and general linguistic problems. A special attention should be paid to the opposite pairs expressing or connected with activities of the body parts, esp. the senses (seeing, hearing), see #7-14.

I. Some common examples

1. Sem. Hebr. √'by „wünschen“ and √y'b „to long for sg.“, Syr. yi'eb „to wish, want, desire“, Aram. (Imperial) √y'b „to wish, want“, Ar. √'bb „to long for sg.“ ~ ?Eg. 3bj „to wish, desire“ (MK, Wb I 6-7).

This isogloss is to be opposed to that represented by Sem. Ug. 'ub „wieder (?)“, He. 'ōb „revenant“, Ar. √'by and Geez 'abāya „nicht wollen, to refuse“, Ar. 'āba „wiederkehren“, Soqotri 'yb „to delay, be slow, hesitate“ (Aistleitner 1963, #9) ~ ?Eg. 3b „to avoid, cease“ (CT, FD 2; Wb I 6, 2: „aufhören, eine Pause machen“) ~ Berb. Ahaggar iba (√HbH) „cesser“.

See Erman 1892, 107; Ember 1930, #3.a.2; Cohen 1947, #6; Vycichl 1958, 371 (Sem.-Eg.); Prasse 1969, 27 (Eg.-Sem.-Tuar.); Zaborski 1971, 53, #1; Majzel'-Militarev 1983, 244 (Sem.-Eg.).

1.1. It must be added in both cases of the Eg. attestation, that 3b- may also belong to other cognate groups (from *r-b):
 1.1.1. As for 3bj „to desire, wish for” cp. still AA *√rb: Berb. *√rh (*-h < *-b, Prasse quoted by Militarev: P Berb. *irHīH, perf. *yūrHāh) „wünschen, wollen, lieben”: Ahaggar ər, ər (Tuareg ər), Ayr ər, WTawlemmet iru (perf. yəra, yara), Adghaq, Taneslemt ər, Shilh iri (verbal noun t-ayri „to love”), STuareg irh; cf. also (with grammatical prefix m-) N Berb. m-əri and Tuareg m-ərhi „wollen, lieben” (Zyhlarz 1934, 109) ~ ECu. Somali raab-, Isaq of Somali rab- „wünschen, wollen, nécessaire” ~ WCh. Sura rəbət „to love, wish” ~ ?Sem. *√rəb (only if *-ə- is secondary) „to want, wish (to eat), be hungry”.

See Cohen 1947, #79 (Sem.-Somali); Rössler 1964, 213 (Eg., Berb., Somali); 1966, 227 (Eg.-Som.); 1971, 316 (Eg., Berb. *rb', Somali); Hodge 1968, 23 (Eg.-Somali-Sura); Prasse 1969, 27 (Berb. *√rhh, Eg.-Somali); Dolgopol'skij 1973, 170 (ECu., Sem.) Militarev 1988, 200, #3.4.1. (Berb.).

1.1.2. And as for Eg. 3b „to avoid, cease” cp. still ECu. Saho-Afar ra(a)b- „to die”, Oromo raw-at- (if -w- < *-b/b-), Sidamo raap- „(Dolgopol'skij 1973, 236), add Boni reeb- „stoppen” (Sasse 1980, 100) ~ Sem. ?Akk. rabū „to disappear” (Hodge 1968, 23: Eg.-Sem.).

2. Eg. prj „Binde” (BD, Wb I 531, 13-15), pr.wt (pl.) „Fesseln” (Pyr., Wb I 531, 10) ~ Sem. Hebr. pə'ēr „Kopfputz, Kopftuch” (Erman 1892, 110; Calice 1936, #406: Eg.-Hebr.), also 'apēr „покрывало, плат (для глаз)” (Majzel'-Militarev 1983, 234: both Hebr.) ~ Berb. *-ffar „fettters” (Orel 1994, 4; HCVA 1, #37; HSED #1948: Eg.-Berb.) ~ ?SCu. *[p]aa[r]- „to make string, rope etc.” (Ehret 1980, 147).

This firm Eg.-Sem.-Berb. isogloss is opposed to that of Berb. Qabyale ərfru „to untie, separate” ~ ECu. Oromo furra „to untie, loosen fetters”, cf. Somali fur-ayya „to liberate, open, weaken” ~ CCh. Tera pərī „to untie” (Newman 1964, 49, #537), ?Kotoko fal (if < *par) „to untie” ~ Ech. Dangla ipire, Nancere pure „to untie” (Newman 1977, 33: PCh. *pəřē). Lit.: SISAJa I, #33 (LECu., Berb., Eg., Tera, Ech.).

3. Eg. tt (< *ku/it) „auflösen” (NE, Wb V 411, 6) ~ ECu.: Yaaku -koot- „to untie (e.g. rope)” (Heine 1975, 136) ~ Ech. Mokilko kette (also gitte) „to tie” (Orel-Stolbova 1992, 199; HSED #1447: Mokilko-Eg.).

4. AA *tūr- „dirty” attested in ECu. *dūr- „dirty” (Sasse 1979, 28-29; 1982, 49; data also in Hohenberger 1975, 85; Leslau 1988, 185) > LECu. *dūr- „dirty”, HEcu. *tūr- „dirty” (Hudson 1989, 423), Yaaku -tər „bad” (Heine 1975,

120) ~ Eg. tw3.w (*tūr-) „Böses” (cp. the semantics in Yaaku, NK, Wb V 248, 9), trj.t „Schlechtes, Unreines” (NK, V 317, 12) and tr „id.” (LP, Wb V 317, 10).

To be opposed to Eg. twr „reinigen; rein sein” (MK, Wb V 253, 254) ~ ?CCh. Masa tor-amo, Misme tor „to sweep” (Orel-Stolbova 1992a, 193; HSED #2411: Eg.-CCh.). Interesting eventual areal parallel (borrowing from Eg.?) is Nubian *tow[r]- „fegen”: Mahassi tōw, Fiadikka tōy (Abel 1933-1934, 305: Eg. + Nubian).

5. Eg. sijn „eilen” (Pyr., Wb IV 38-39) ~ WCh. ?Bolewa čīna „to go” (HSED #485: Eg.-Bolewa).

To be opposed to Eg. sijn „warten” (MK, Wb IV 38, 4-8) ~ Bed. seni „warten” (prob. not a borrowing from Eg.; Behn 1928, 140, #42: Eg.-Bed.).

5.1. The Egyptologists (e.g. Erman, Grapow, also Ember and Albright [below]) always preferred to treat Eg. sijn as causative and to derive it from Eg. jn „verweilen, langsam gehen, zögern etw. zu tun” (CT, Wb I 92, 18-19), which is comparable with Sem. Ar. 'aniya „zögern (II: to procrastinate, delay; III: to hinder)”, ista'nā (X) „warten” (Ember 1913, 117, #66; Ar. + Eg. sijn; Brockelmann 1932, 101, #9: Eg.-Ar.), Hebr. hit'annē(h) (hitp.) „to look for an opportunity” (Albright 1918, 226: Ar. + Hebr. + Eg. sijn). Though this causative derivation seems convincing, one cannot feel the causative meaning in Eg. sijn. The Bedawye cognate also speaks for that s- was the part of the original root in this case.

6. Eg. bz „Geheimnis” (MK, Wb I 473-474) ~ WCh. Nbauchi *baz- „to envelop”: Warji baz-, Dirī baza, Kariya bazə, Cagu bəza (Skinner 1977, 20).

This Eg.-Nbauchi isogloss is opposed to that represented by Agaw *bəz- „to open (tr.); öffnen, aufdecken”: Bilin bəd-, Hamir, Qemant bəz-, Awngi bəs- (Appleyard 1984, 43; 1991, 20; also Reinisch 1884, 350) ~ ECu. Saho-Afar bod (< *boz?) „to open (tr.)” ~ ?SCu. *beed- „to appear, emerge” (Ehret 1987, #207: PCu. *beez- „to be uncovered” > Agaw + SCu.) ~ ?NOM. *bič- (if < *biz-š-): Kaffa bič/š- „to untie, release, open”, Mocha bičči-, Shinasha bīs, biš „to release, untie, unload”. See Reinisch 1888, 274 (Kaffa-Agaw); Dolgopol'skij 1966, 49, #1.2 (Agaw, ECu., NOM.).

II. Examples relating to abilities, senses of the human body

7. Eg. j3r(r) (with eye det.) „to be dim (of eye)” (Med., FD 9; Wb I 32, 1) related to Common AA *'il- „eye”: Eg. jr.t „eye” (OK, Wb I 106-107) ~ Berb. *t-iṭ(ṭ) (from *ta-il-t) „eye” (data in Basset 1883, 303, 326, 339-340; 1885, 180;

1887, 422, 458), cf. the pl. in Shilh (Tazerwalt) all-en, al-n, Tamazight all-in, Izayan, Semlal all-ən „eyes”; also Shawya t-ala „spring (of water), eye” ~ Agaw *['ə]l „eye” (cf. Appleyard 1984, 57; 1991, 20: *['ə]l-), cf. Bilin (')alal „regardre” ~ ECU. *'il- „eye” (Sasse 1979, 5, 22; 1982, 104; Lamberti 1987, 532-533) > PSam *'il „eye” (Heine 1978, 65), HECU. *ille „eye” (Hudson 1989, 413); cf. ECU. *'ilaal- „to look” (Sasse 1982, 105) ~ SCU. *ilá „eye” (Ehret 1974, 85), cf. *'iley- „to know” (Ehret 1980, 292) ~ WCh. Dera (Kanakuru) àlì „to see” (Schuh 1984, 217); Sbauchi gr. *yel „to see” (Zaar yel, Dwot yeliy, Wangday yele) ~ CCh. *'ilV „eye” Hitkala (Lamang) ilí, Alataghwa iltia, Vizik iri/ili „eye”; Kotoko gr. *yel „to see” (Militarev), also „eye” (Buduma yil, Gulfei il, el, el), Mandagne 'àl (pl.), Moloko ele „eye” ~ ECh. Migama 'ello „to look”.

NB: AA *liy- (met. for *'il-?): Bed. lili „eye” ~ ECU. Sidamo là' „sehen”, Hadiya, Kambatta là' „wissen” (Müller 1975, 70: ECU., PCh.) ~ WCh. Dera li, Sura liy-ap „to see” ~ CCh. Margi, Kilba li „eye”, Kilba la, Musgoy li-m, Gidar n-la „to see” (Neman-Ma 1966, 239: W-CCh. < PCh. *1- „to see”).

Lit.: Müller 1896, 210 (Berb., ECU., Agaw, Bed.); Meinhof 1912, 232 (Shilh, Bed., ECU., Agaw, Eg.); Conti Rossini 1913, 422 (Agaw, ECU.); Zyhlarz 1932-1933, 88 (Eg., Berb.); Cohen 1947, #63 (Eg., Berb., Bed., Agaw, ECU.); Wölfel 1955, 42 (Berb., Eg.); Greenberg 1963, 56, #29 (Buduma, Bed., Agaw, ECU., Eg.); Dolgopol'skij 1964, 59 (Eg., C-E-SCU., Gulfei); 1987, 199, #32 (SCU., ECU., PAGaw *'əll-, Bed., Eg.); D'jakonov 1965, 41 (Eg., ECU., CCh. *yil); 1974, 742 (Eg., PCu. *yil, PCh. *yil); Fleming 1969, 24 (SCU., ECU., Agaw, Bed., Eg., Ch.); Panova-Dolgopol'skij-Porhomovskij 1972, 65 (CCh., Eg., PCu.); Panova 1977, 60 (PMargi *[']VlV „eye, to see”, PCu.); Bender 1975, 162 (Margi, Bed., Agaw, ECU.); Lamberti 1987, 534, #13 (ECU., Agaw, SCU.); Skinner 1987, 75-76 (Agaw, ECU., Bed., CCh., Berb.); Mukarovsky 1989, 2 (E-C-SCU., Kotoko, Margi, Eg.); 1995, 71 (Buduma, ECU.); Belova 1991, 89; 1993, 54 (Eg., Agaw, ECU.); Militarev 1991, 258, #25.2 (Shawya, PCu., Eg., CCh.); Militarev in Starostin et al. 1995, 8 (PBerb. *t-il-t, Bed., Agaw, ECU., SCU., Kotoko gr., ECh.); Orel-Stolbova 1992, 170; 1992b, 217 (Cu., Eg., Ch.); Blažek 1994, 24 (Bed., Agaw, ECU., SCU., CCh., Berb., Eg.); HSED #1089-1090 (Sbauchi, C-E-SCU.).

Areal parallels (< AA?): PBaz *(i)laal „to look” ~ PKalenjin *(i)la:l „to look” (Heine-Rottland-Vossen 1979, 77).

7.1. Note that Eg. can alternatively be compared with AA *yar/*'ar attested in Bed. iray- „to see” ~ Agaw Bilin ar'-

„to know” ~ LECu. *ar- „to know” ~ SCU. *'ar- „to see, foresee, know” (Ehret 1980, 286) ~ NOM. *a/er- „to know” (Bender 1988, 147: *ar), but Gimirra er- „to see” ~ WCh. *yir- „eye”: Zaar yir, yèr, Polchi yir, Sayanchi, Kir yir, Tala yir, ge-ir (pref. ge-), Fyer yèèr, Guruntum yerr, Kirfi ìró, Galambu ìiryá, Dera (Kanakuru) yérò (Schuh 1984, 208) ~ CCh. *'ir- „eye”: Masa (Banana) ir-nu, irà, Lame irí, Mesme ir, Matakam ere, Musgum aray, Bana ir-angu („my eye”), Lamang (Hitkala) iri, Gidar árá, ?Daba ra ~ ECh. Somray yéro, „to see”, cf. Mubi ir-in, var. 'iríi-nì, Mokilko 'èr-sá „eye” ~ ?Sem. *'r'y „to see” (met. of **'y'r or sim.?).

Lit.: Ember 1912, 89, note 1, and 92 (Eg., Sem.); Greenberg 1963, 56, #29 (Eg., CCh.); Hodge 1968, 26 (Sem., Eg.); 1990, 646, #10.b (Eg., Sem., Mao); Fleming 1969, 22 (SCU., ECU., NOM.); Dolgopol'skij 1973, 170-171 (ECU., NOM., SCU., Sem.); Newman 1977, 26 (Zaar-Masa); Bomhard 1986, 249 (Sem., Eg.); Mukarovsky 1987, 158 (W-C-ECh.); Zaborski 1989, 587-588 (SCU., Bed., NOM.); Tourneaux 1990, 253 (W-C-ECh.); Orel-Stolbova 1990, 90, #47; 1992a, 185 (W-C-ECh., Eg.); Orel 1995, 119 (AA *'a/ir- „to see, know”: ECh., Bed., Bilin, ECU., Om., SCU.); HSED #75, 112 (Eg., W-C-ECh., Bed., Bilin, LECu., NOM., SCU.); Militarev in Starostin et al. 1995, 8 (Sem., Eg., Bed., Bilin, ECU., SCU., NOM., W-C-ECh.).

8. Eg. jnb3 „stumm sein” (Med., Wb I 96, 2) ~ ECU. *nab-ħ- „ear” (Sasse 1973, 270; 1979, 24) ~ CCh. ?Fali-Kiria búbùnù (if metathesis from *nub-) „deaf” (Mukarovsky 1987, 267).

Note that the suffixal element *-ħ- in ECU. is the Common Afrasian marker in body part names, for which see Leslau 1962; Pilszczikowa 1958, 99; Blažek 1989, 213; Dolgopolsky 1994, 14, #18; and now for more details also Takács 1997.

9. Eg. jdj „to be deaf” (OK, Wb I 151, 13) as opposed to the unattested verb *jd(j) „to hear” (besides *jd-n with a nom. instr. suff.), which continues Common Afrasian *'uǝ-, var. *waǝ- „to hear”. This root is found in many AA language groups, cf. Sem. *'uǝ-n- „ear” (Fronzaroli 1964, 255; Aistleitner 1963, #89; Leslau 1945, 233; Diakonoff 1970, 468; Rabin 1975, 87, #21; cf. Dolgopolsky 1982, 36, #1: *'úǝ[ǝ]n) ~ Eg. *jd-n „ear” (OK, Wb I 154) ~ Bed. wās „to listen, hear” ~ Agaw *was- „to hear” (Appleyard 1984, 44; 1994, 4, but Orel 1989, 3: *wāǝ[ǝ]-): i.a. Hamir waz/ǝ- „to hear” ~ ?ECU. Afar ayddā, ayti, Saho ayti „ear”, cf. ?Sidamo wēs- „to hear” (loan < Agaw?) ~ SCU. Qwadza wato, Asa-Aramanik wata-ta „ear”, cf. ?Asa yatara „ear”, 'eetiṭ- „to hear” (but Ehret 1980, 289 sets up PSCu. *'ee „ear”) ~ NOM. (Bender 1988, 146: POM. *way

„ear”): Yamma wēs „to hear”, wayā „ear”, Mocha wāmo (pl. wāḷḷi) „ear” (waḷḷi kākko „ear ring”), Shinasha wāza, wāḷo, Anfillo wāyo, Chara wāy, Koyra uwāše, waše(y), Kachama (Haruro) waye, Gidicho wāš-, Ganjule wašino, Zergula-Zayse waye, Male wōyzi (wayz- „to hear”), Basketo wōyzi, Doka wayci, Kaffa wāḷā, Dangur waaza „ear”; cf. also Janjero od- „to hear”, odō „ear” ~ ECh. ?Jegu 'ūdūṅē (pl. 'ūdāṅ), ?Birgit 'ūdūṅl „ear” (if not < *dung-, which is a different root).

See Ember 1911, 92; Albright 1927, 208, note 8; Cohen 1947, #16; Vycichl 1953, 43; 1958, 391 (Sem. + Eg.); Hintze 1951, 77 (Sidamo, Gimirra < „Cu.” *was); Fleming 1969, 24 (Asa-Aramanik, Agaw, NOM.); 1990, 27 (NOM.); Dolgopol'skij 1973, 187-188, 301 (PCu. *wAḷ[ḷ]- „to hear”: Agaw, Bed., NOM.; Sem., Eg.); 1994, 5-6 (Sem., Eg., Agaw, Qwadza, NOM. *waz/ḷ-); Müller 1975, 64, #5 (PSem., Jegu); Diakonoff 1981, 27, note 9 (Agaw, NOM., PSem., Eg.); 1984, 7 (Sem., PCu. *waḷ[i]-); D'jakonov et al. 1986, 42 (AA *H*ēḷ-: Sem., Eg., Agaw, NOM., Jegu); Hodge 1983, 36 (Eg., PSem., PCu. *waḷ-, also PCh. *d'g „ear” [but this cannot belong here]); 1990, 647, #23.c (Eg., Sem., PCu.); Blažek 1989, 11, #28 (AA *uḷ-: NOM. *w/H*ayz-, PAgaw, SCu., ECU., Eg., Sem.); Militarev-Stolbova 1990, 66 (AA *Vḷ- „hearing”: Sem., Agaw, NOM., Jegu, Eg.); Orel-Stolbova 1992, 170 (Cu.-Om. *wāḷ-, Eg., ECh. *ud-un-); 1992a, 185 (Eg., ECh.); Jungraithmayr-Ibrisimow 1994 II, 115 (ECh.); HSED #126 (Sem., Eg., ECh.); Militarev in Starostin et al. 1995, 6 (Sem., Eg., Agaw, Qwadza, PNOM. *wayz-).

9.1. The extension in *-n in PSem. has been analyzed as an archaic Common Afrasian suffix of nomina instrumenti and loci by Diakonoff (1986, 47; 1988, 57).

9.2. Cohen compares Eg. to onomatopoeitic words from the languages of Ethiopia: Agaw *dēda „немой, глухой, глухонемой”, hence Eth.-Sem. (Tigre, Amhara, Harari) *dēdā „deaf” (Harari [„sourd, muet”]) ~ ECU. *duud- „dumb” (Sasse 1982, 58-59; Leslau 1988, 186) > HECU. *duud- „to be mute” (Hudson 1989, 408) ~ NOM. Wolamo dedo „немой”, Kaffa dudō, Shinasha dudo „немой, deaf, дурачок”.

See also Cohen 1947, #329 (Eth.-Sem., Eg., Agaw, ECU.); Dolgopol'skij 1966, 70, #5.7 (Agaw, ECU., NOM., Eth.-Sem.). The comparison of Eg. jḍj to the Cu.-Om. isogloss proposed by M. Cohen was called „not convincing” by A. Dolgopolsky and we share just his opinion. Eg. jḍj and Cu.-Om. *dVd- could be a cognate only if Eg. is a partial reduplication *j-dj instead of *dj-dj.

10. Eg. 'md „matt sein (vom Herzen, von den Gliedern)” (Med., Wb I 187, 6-7) ~ Sem. Hebr. m'd (met. < *'md?) „to

totter, stagger (шататься), to stand on the feet not firmly” vs. PSem. *v'md: Hebr. 'md „to stand, stand firmly, resist (устоять)”, Akk. emēdu „to support”, Ar. 'amada „to lean upon”, Geez 'amada „to support with a pillar” (Leslau 1945, 241; Majzel'-Militarev 1983, 247). Cp. the same shift in Russian уставать „to become tired” ~ устоять „to resist, hold one's ground/balance” < IE *steH- „to stand”.

11. Eg. br „blind” (as pers. name) > Dem. bl „blind” > Cop. (S) bēlle „blind” (Černý 1976, 23) ~ ECU. *bal[']-/ *balla[']- „blind, one-eyed” (Sasse 1982, 33) > HECU. *ball- „to be blind” (Hudson 1989, 405) ~ SCU. Qwadza balangayo „blind person” (Ehret 1980, 320: SCU. *bala'-!) ~ Sem. ?Hebr. bāla' „to be confused”.

See Leslau 1962, 47; Dolgopol'skij 1966, 57, #1.70; 1973, 195 (ECU.-Eg.); 1987, 199, #31 (E-SCU.-Eg.); Illič-Svityč 1971, 175 (ECU.-Eg.); Bomhard 1986, 236 (Hebr.-Cop.-ECU.); Orel-Stolbova 1992, 178 (ECU.-Eg.).

The Eg.-ECU.-SCU. isogloss *bal- „blind” is etymologically related to Common Afrasian *bal- „eye; to see”, attested in Eg. bnr (*bl) „ball of eye” (NE, Černý 1976, 22) > br.wj (dual.) „eyes” (Gr., Wb I 465, 5) > Dem. bl > Cop. (S) bal „eye”; br „sehen, erblicken” (Gr., Wb I 465, 6) ~ ECU. Saho, Afar bal- (-bl-) „sehen, erblicken, unterscheiden”, bal-ā „Spion” (Reinisch 1886, 828; 1885, 98; Rössler 1971, 312: ECU.-Eg.), Irob of Saho bala „sehen” (Reinisch 1878, 137) ~ Berb. Seghrushen a-blu „eyelash”, Mzab a-bil, Snus a-bēl, Senhazha, Iznasen a-bel (pl. a-bli-w-en) „eyelid” (Renisio 1932, 294; HSED #204: Eg.-Berb.).

11.1. Note that Vycichl (1951, 71; 1955, 314, note 12; 1959, 40; 1983, 27) and Wölfel (1955, 41) connect Eg. with Berb. *v'wly: Qabyle wali, aor. yēwala (*wly), Zwawa wali „sehen”, Ahaggar aul „avoir l'oeil sur, veiller”; and Berb. *a-wel „eye”: Ghadames a-wēl, a-wall, pl. wāll-en, wēll-ēn, Audjila wel; also Shilh (diminutive) ti-wall-in „petits yeux”.

Our comparative data, however, seem not to confirm the hypothetical development of PBerb. *w- < *b- in this case (as suggested by Vycichl), cp. Eg. wnw „das Sehen” (Gr., Wb I 315, 14), cf. wnw (with eye determ.) wnw „die Sterne beobachten” (XIX., Wb I 318, 11) > wnw.w „der Sternbeobachter, Astronom” (Ptol., Wb I 318, 12). Such further close cognates, exist also in Bed. wāli- „finden” (Rössler 1964, 207: Qabyle, Bed.) ~ CCh. Chibak wulē, Gidar ūlā, ?Matakam war „to see” ~ ECh. Mokilko wōllē „to see” (Jungraithmayr-Ibrisimow 1994 II, 284-285) This comparison, however, at the present can already be queried.

Using the reflexes of Berb. **vwly* „to see” and *-*wel* „eye”, Vycichl did not account for Eg. **wn* (**wl*) and the NCu., CCh., ECh. data quoted above, which reflect AA **wVl-* „eye, to see”. It seems more probable that both in Berb. and Eg. there existed two distinct roots with similar meaning: **wl* and **bl*. It is confirmed also in a wider (Nostr.) perspective: recently, A. B. Dolgopolsky (1991, #1663; 1992, 21) reconstructs PNostr. **wol[y]V* „to look, see” on the basis of AA (Berb.), Ur., IE, Alt., Drav. data. The Eg. and Bed. addition to this Nostr. reconstruction was proposed by Takács (1995, #1663).

12. Eg. *hhj* „ungehört (von Worten)” (NE, Wb II 502, 10), *hhj.t* (with ear det.) „eine Krankheit des Gehörsinnes oder des Ohres)” (Med., Wb II 502, 11) ~ ?ECu. cf. Saho-Afar *aiti* (above, if **ai-ti*) ~ SCu. PERift **e'a* „ear”: Iraqw, Alagwa, Gorowa, Burunge *e'a* (Fleming 1969, 24, #16; Ehret 1980, 289 sets up PSCu. **'ee* „ear”) ~ ?NOM. **hay-* „ear” (no connection to **wayz-!*): Dizi (Maji) *āi*, She *ai*, Shako (h)ay(in), Gimirra *hayu*, *ai*, *hai*, Nao *hai(s)*, Oyda *hāye* (Dolgopol'skij 1973, 301; Bender 1988, 146; Blažek 1989, 11, #28).

See also Fleming 1969, 24, #16 (SCu., NOM., ?Afar). NB: Fleming (loci cit.); Diakonoff et al. (1986, 42); Dolgopolsky (1994, 4-6) already carefully avoid the identification of NOM. forms from **hay-* with those from **wayz-*.

13. Eg. *gbgb* „lahm sein (als Krankheit der Beine)” (Med., Wb V 165, 9), cf. also *gnb* (**gunVb*) „Zwerg mit verkümmerten Beinen” (MK, Wb V 576, 3) ~ Bed. *gumba*, *ginba*, *g'ēnbā* „knee, elbow” ~ ECu. Burji *gub-ēedi* „thigh”, Arbore *giṇṇa*, Yaaku *kimba* (**g-*) „heel” ~ SCu. **gVmp-* „heel” ~ NOM. **gu[m]b-* (Bender 1988, 147: Om. **guβ*) „knee”: Nao *guntu* (**gumb-tu*), Sezo *gubbi*, Shinasha (Bworo) *gūbra*, *gubta*, Amuru *gubto*, Nao *gumta*, Benesho *gummētū* (**gumb-*), cf. Male *gum'-at-* (**gumb-*) „to kneel” ~ SOM. Ari (Galila) *gump-ēr-* „to kneel” (both Male and Galila with the pass.-refl. affix *-at) ~ ?WCh. Hausa *gwiwā* (Meinhof: *gūiwa*, pl. *gūwawū*), Bade *adā-kfā-àn*, Ngizim *kūfū* „knee”, Buli *gāfēn* „to kneel” ~ CCh. Masa (Banana) *gigif-fa*, *gìglfá*, *gìgífā*, Zime *guf* „knee” ~ ECh. Tumak *gùb*, Somray *gùbē*, *gub'am*, Kwang *kēbgi*, *kēbgí*, Ndam-Dik *gab*, *gùb*, Migama *gíppí*, Birgit *gífl*, Mubi *gìp* (pl. *gābāb*), Jegu *giṇṇa*, WDangla *gìpl*, EDangla *gípó* „knee”.

Lit.: Meinhof 1912, 235 (Bed., Hausa); Illič-Svityč 1966, 16, 18 (PCh. **gVbV* „knee”: Hausa, Masa, ECh.); Fleming 1974, 89, #14; 1976, 319 (Om., Bed.); Newman 1977, 28 (PCh. **gēfu*: W-C-ECh.); Dolgopolsky 1983, #36; 1987, 199, #35 (Bed., ECh.);

Mukarovsky 1987, 34, 68, 228-229; 1989, 4 (Bed., Om., W-C-ECh.); Ehret 1987, #112 (PCu. **ginp-* „heel”: E-SCu.); Blažek 1989, 21, #71 (Bed., NOM., Ch.); 1994, 15 (Bed., NOM., ?Eg. šnb); Orel-Stolbova 1992, 170 (Bed., Om., Eg. *gbgb*, ECh.); HSED #983 (AA **gu[m]p-* [!]: ECh., Bed., Om., Burji).

14. Eg. *dnrg* (**dl/rg*) „eine schlechte Eigenschaft des Ohrs: to be deaf” (NE, Wb V 470, 2; DLE IV 136; Zyhlarz 1934-1935, 166: *dr̥g* „schwerhörig sein”). A Late Eg. form **dVrVg* must have been borrowed into Nubian: Kunuzi, Dongolawi *terig* „deaf” (Zyhlarz). The word must be older than the period of New (or Late) Egyptian, because it occurs already in the MK personal names written as *dg*, *d3g*, *dng* (Wb V 470, 3). We may still refer to the ear det. already in the Old Kingdom word *dng* (vars. *d3g*, *d3ng*) „dwarf” (Wb V 470, 5-6). The form **dl/rg* „deaf” seems a secondary extension by the medial fluida, cp. the parallel development in:

14.1. Eg. *hp3* „Nabel” (Pyr., Wb III 365, 14) > Cop. (S) *hēlpe* (**hlpe*) „id.”, from AA **ḥa/ip-*: Sem. Akk. *ipu* „Häutchen, Nachgeburt, lap” (AHW 385), Soqotri *ḥafen* (-en is an ending) „lap” (Leslau 1945, 241: Soq.-Akk.) ~ Bed. *hāf* (m) „diaphragm, midriff, belly, guts, pluck” (Blažek 1994, 18: Sem., Bed.) ~ CCh. Musgu *hif-na* „nombril” (Tourneaux 1990, 256), Masa *hifa*, *hífdá*, Zime-Batna *úfú*, *úfū* „navel” (Jungraithmayr-Ibriszimow 1994 II, 251).

14.2. Eg. *mdw* „sprechen, reden” (OK, Wb II 179, 2-28), hence *md.t* „Rede, Sache, Angelegenheit” (OK, Wb II 181-182) > Cop. (S) *mēnt-* (**mnt*) „id.” ~ Sem. Aram. *'md* „to appraise”, Soqotri *'md* „to understand, appraise”, Harari *emädā* „to speak” ~ Berb. Tazerwalt, Tawlemmet *mud* „to ask, pray” ~ Bed. *mīda* „tongue” (Zyhlarz 1932-1933, 168: Eg.-Bed.) ~ LECu. Somali *mōd-* „to think” ~ WCh. ?Tangale *maade* „to count, respect, read” or ?Hausa *muḍa* „to answer” ~ CCh. Margi *ndú* (< *mdú*), Musgum *múda*, *mḍa* (*mḍa*), *mda*, ?Masa (Banana) *da*, *di* (**mdV?*) „to speak” ~ ECh. **mad-* Jegu *maad-* „to ask” (Jungraithmayr 1961, 114), Ndam *madidī* „to call”.

See Illič-Svityč 1965, 353; 1976, #311; Orel-Stolbova 1992, 179; 1992a, 197; HSED #1788; Starostin et al. 1995, 17).

14.3. Eg. (MK) *h3g* „froh sein, sich freuen” > (XIX.) *hnrg* (act. **hlg*) and (Gr.) *hrg* (Wb III 34, 18-20) > Cop. (S) *hloč* „sweet”. Eg. *h3g* has a firm cognate in Sem. Hebr. *ḥgg* „tripudiare, saltare”, *ḥag* „festa” (Castellino 1984, 16: Eg.-Hebr.).

Note that Hodge's (1966, 46) equation of Eg. with WCh. Hausa *hàrgoowàà* „uproar”, *hàrgààgii* „angry speech, uproar” is less successful because of the semantics.

14.4. The proposed development of *dlg < dg (var. dng) „to be deaf” is now confirmed by the evident cognates in Agaw Bilin digg y- „to (be) listened to, to take into consideration” (Agaw > Tigre [dǎg bala] „id.”) ~ ECu. *de/og- (as prefix verb *-de/og-) „to hear, also: recognize, perceive, know” (Sasse 1979, 17; 1982, 61; Lamberti 1984, 721; data also in Conti Rossini 1913, 422; Ehret 1974, 87) > PSam *deg, pl. *deg-o „ear” (Heine 1976, 214; 1977, 291; 1978, 57) ~ WCh. Bade-Ngizim gr. Bade dǎkwān, dǎkwā-àn, elsewhere dǎgwà „to hear”; PWarji *n-duk-w/y- „to hear” (Stolbova 1987, 252), also Cagu dǎdǎkǎrá „ear” ~ CCh. Tera tǎk-ǎ „to hear” (Newman 1964, 46), Masa (Banana) togor „ear” ~ ECh. EDangla (Karbo) dǎngei, dǎngé, dǎngínko „ear”, Kwang (Modgel) túgū „ear”, tugu-m „my ear”, Kabalai tiyǎgǎ, Lele dǎnglí, Mubi ǎlgè, ǎgégw (where ǎ- < *di/e-), ?Jegu dǎy-, Somray dǎy (< *dog?) „to hear”. Common AA *tVg- „(to h)ear” (for the reconstruction cf. Militarev-Starostin 1994, 2). See Dolgopol’skij 1973, 55, 275 (Bilin > Tigre, ECu., C-ECh.); Mukarovskij 1989, 2 (ECu., W-ECh.); Jungtraithmayr-Ibriszimow 1994 II, 114-115, 184-185 (W-C-ECh.); Starostin et al. 1995, 6 (Bilin, ECu., Nbauchi, Tera).

Abbreviations

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afrasian (Hamito-Semitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, BD: Book of the Dead, Bed.: Bedawye, Berb.: Berber, C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Co.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, E: East, Eg.: Egyptian, (F): Fayyumic, Gr.: Greek and Roman Period or Greek (language), H: Highland, Hebr.: Hebrew, IE: Indo-European, L: Lowland, LP: Late Period, Mag.: Magical Texts, Mand.: Mandaic, Med.: Medical Texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, N: New, NE: New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, OI: Old Indic, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, P: Proto-, Pyr.: pyramid texts, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, Soq.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, W: West.

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BRUNO W. W. DOMBROWSKI

NOTES ON THE MEMORIAL VOLUME FOR JAN SAFAREWICZ*

A collection of articles having originated mainly in papers offered by scholars of Polish, Lithuanian and West European Universities, and some having come from overseas for the occasion of a symposium held in Cracow one year after the decease of **Jan Safarewicz** (1904-1992) to pay tribute to this eminent man of learning was edited by Wojciech Smoczyński (as assisted by Wanda Lohman and Anna Wyrstek) in October 1994, and published in 1995 by the Jagiellonian University.* [Hence it will be called *Safarewicz Memorial Volume* and abbreviated *SMV*].

Having been funded by a grant of the latter (through its Philological Faculty) and the Ministry of National Education this book is, indeed, an impressive work of homage to a man who has given to colleagues and students of his university and in the world of learning much more than might be expected from any scholar and who has helped to preserve learning in Poland's years of darkness and to rebuild it during the post-war period. Surely, by honouring one of her great educators in various fields of Indo-European studies with emphasis on the Classical, Baltic and Polish languages, the learned community of the Universitas Iagellonica has lived up, once more, to its traditional stature and renown.

1. The *Safarewicz Memorial Volume* is arranged in four parts: (1) the editor's preface [pp. 9 f.], (2) a set of papers on Safarewicz, his fields of interest, and his work [pp. 11-45],¹ (3) 50 papers and articles by 51 contributors, offered in alphabetical order [with one exception],² and

* **Wojciech Smoczyński** (ed.), *Analecta Indoeuropaea Cracoviensia Ioannis Safarewicz memoriae dicata*, Universitas Iagellonica - Facultas Philologica, Pb. of 583 pp., 1 photograph; Cracow 1995 [ISBN 83-7052-231-9]

¹ I.e., **M. Plezia**: De Ioannis Safarewicz studiis Graecis atque Latinis [pp. 11-14], **F. Sławski**: On two unwritten books of Jan Safarewicz [pp. 15-18], **S. Urbańczyk**: Professor Jan Safarewicz - Polish Scholar [pp. 19-25], **A. Sabaliauskas**: Jan Safarewicz's contribution to Lithuanian studies [pp. 27-34], **H. Popowska-Taborska**: Problems of ethnic history in the works of Jan Safarewicz [pp. 35-40], and **M. Karpluk**: Professor Safarewicz's research on onomastics [pp. 41-45].

² (1) **S. Ambrazas**: On the origin of nomina feminina with the ending *-(i)e in the Baltic languages [pp. 47-50], (2) **V. Ambrazas**: Der baltische Infinitiv aus der Sicht der