

1977 *Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīz*, extrait traduit et commenté par Éva de Vitray Meyerovitch dans *Rûmî et le soufisme*. Paris, Seuil.

Steigerwald, Diane

1997a «Jérusalem: ville de l'ascension de Prophète Muḥammad», *Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses*, 26, 1: 95-109.

1997b «La tolérance de l'islām face au polythéisme et aux autres religions monothéistes?» *Cahiers des Études anciennes*, 33: 23-30.

FOLIA ORIENTALIA
VOL. 35 1999
PL ISSN 0015-5675

GÁBOR TAKÁCS

HISTORY OF PERO K IN AFRO-ASIATIC PERSPECTIVE

Pero, a language of the Bole-Tangale group was chosen as subject to the present investigation. The Bole-Tangale languages represent a distinct group within West Chadic, a subbranch of Chadic, which belongs to the family of Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic) languages. This family falls into 5 or 6 branches: Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Omotic (treated sometimes as West Cushitic), and Chadic.

In her West Chadic comparative-historical phonology, Olga Stolbova (1987) has already placed Bole-Tangale phonological system in a West Chadic perspective – but without the evidence of Pero (whose dictionary was published in 1985 by Z. Frajzyngier). In the paper I offer a contribution to her results on the history of Pero k on the basis of the new Pero lexical material in a wider Afro-Asiatic perspective with special emphasis on the Afro-Asiatic branches of ancient attestation: Egyptian and Semitic where the consonant correspondences are best known.

The present contribution is a fruit and part of a greater project for a description of the Afro-Asiatic origin of the entire Pero vocabulary and consonantism. During the work on this project I could preliminarily elaborate the consonant correspondences between Pero ~ Egyptian ~ Semitic on the basis of a much larger material than that presented in this paper. For all these correspondences see the table following the etymological analysis.

Pero k = Eg. k ~ t < AA *k

Pero káaǰò ~ kǎǰá ~ kíǰà “to move” [Frj. 1985, 34] ||| Eg. kz “freier Lauf” (PT, Wb V 139, 2).

Pero kálù “to gather” [Frj. 1985, 35] | Sha hwalǝŋ [Sha h- < *k- regular “alle” [Jng. 1970, 285] ||| Eg. tñw ~ once trw [< *klw] “jeder ..., jedermal wenn ...” (PT, Wb V 377-379) ||| SCu.: Dahalo ʾákkale “all” [Ehret 1980,

288] || Om. *k^wull- “all”: NOm.: ?Kaffa bulli [b- < *kw-?] || SOm.: Dime koll, Hamer wull, Karo wull (Om.: Flm. 1974, 87; Bnd.-Flm. 1976, 48) || SBrb.: Ahaggar tu-klä-t “être réunis en masse” || Sem. *kull- “all” [data: Rabin 1975, 87, #1].

This Eg.-Sem. comparison is well known (see Alb. 1918, 245, #94; Ember 1930, #11.b.16; Clc. 1936, #359; Vrg. 1945, 136, #9.b.35 (Eg.-Sem.); Vcl. 1958, 372; Hodge 1976, 15, #146). For the AA comparison see Chn. 1947, #188 (SBrb.-Sem.-Eg.); Bnd. 1975, 150 and Bnd.-Flm. 1976, 48 (Sem.-Om.); Dlg. 1987, 198, #20 (Dahalo-Sem.).

Pero kálà “place for growing plants” [Frj. 1985, 35], Tangale kálaṣ “soil, earth, ground” [Jng. 1991, 95] | Mupun čál [< *kal] “field, grassy area” [Frj. 1991, 9] || ECh.: Tumak kələ “earth” [JI 1994 II, 117; not in Cpr. 1975] || ?Eg. 3kr [< *kl?] “der Erdgott” (OK, Wb I 22, 6) || LECu.: Oromo kalō “pasture land” [Gragg 1982, 452] || Brb. *a-kal “soil, earth” [Zvd. 1967, 21; Mlt. 1991, 257, #23.1] || Sem.: Ar. kala’- “pasture”. For the AA etymology cp. Mlt. 1991, 257 (Brb.-Ar.-Tumak); Blz. 1994 MSA, 8, #36 (Oromo-Brb.-Tangale).

Pero kémò “to fill” [Frj. 1985, 36] || Eg. km “vollständig machen, vollenden” (MK, Wb V 128-130) || Sem.: ?Ar. kml [complement -l?] “vollkommen sein”. For the Eg.-Ar. comparison see Ember 1911, 89; 1912, 88; 1930, 23; Holma 1919, 46; Vcl. 1990, 106.

Pero kéréṭ “tail” [Frj. 1985, 36]: derives from Ch. *k-r- “tail”: NBAuchi: Diri kīri, Warji kēr-áy [Jng. 1967, 200: “back”] | SBAuchi *k^y-r-: Kir kèr, Mangas kèr, Mbaaru kərau, Guruntum kərau ~ kèru, Zaranda kil, Tule kyēa?, Dokshi kyēr, Zaar kīr, Boghom k^həi, kay, Geji čīl [< *kil], Polchi čər etc. (SBAuchi: Smz. 1978, 32, #49) || CCh.: PMandara *xu-kila “tail”: Glavda xùkilà, Guduf xikyela (Ch. data: Mkr. 1987, 361; JI 1994 II, 316.) || LECu.: Afar gara [unclear and unexpected g-] “tail” || NOM.: Kaffa kerro “tail” || Eg. mnkr.t “der Schwanz am Königschurz” (MK, Wb II 91, 6). Areal parallels: PWNigritic *-kila “tail” ~ PBantu *-kila “tail” (see JI 1994 I, 163).

See also Mkr. 1966, 16, #35 (Afar-Kaffa). The Eg. form is to be analyzed as mn-kr.t (contra Grapow 1914, 25; Lacau 1970, 150, #406). If the suggested NOM.-Ch.-Eg. comparison proves correct, the reconstruction of PCh. *ktr < *kšr “tail” (proposed in JI 1994 I, 163) should be given up.

Pero kpákkò [*k^wakko] “to tie into a bundle” → kpákù “long rope for tying firewood” [Frj. 1985, 37] || Eg. tt.t [< *kk-t] fem. “Feßlerin” (PT, GHwB 967; cf. Wb V 414, 1), cf. also hm3-tt “Art Seil” (PT, Wb III 95, 6).

Pero kpállè [*k^walle] “penis” [Frj. 1985, 37] || CCh. *k^walV “penis”: Bura kwāl, Chibak kwalā, Ngwahyi kwəl, Margi kwal | Higi-Nkafa kwala, Higi-Fali kwəla, Fali-Jilbu kwəläku | Nzangi kwərə, Mwulyen kwəäló | Kotoko-Makeri kōlī (CCh. data: Mrk. 1987, 284) || Eg. mṭ3 [< *mkl ~ *mkr, prefix m-?] “männliches Glied, Penis” (NK, Wb II 175, 5; Grapow 1954, 57; GHwB 376).

Pero kúurì “farm” [Frj. 1985, 39] < Bole-Tangale *kōri “farm” [Schuh 1984, 208] | Hausa karkara “farms or cultivated land round a town or village” [Pls. 1960, 104] || SCu. *kur-/kūr- “to cultivate” [Ehret 1980, 247; 1974, 64] || Sem.: Ar. ʾakara “labourer le sol” (unless Sem. *ʾkr < Sum. engar, cf. Tyloch 1975, 56, #3). A “native” Semitic origin of Ar. ʾkr and its comparison with SCu. *kur- has been suggested in Mlt. 1989, 129; 1990, 34, #4; 1990, 75.

Pero kwáali “calabash” [Frj. 1985, 39], Dera kile “pot” [NM 1966, 242] = kēle [IS] | Angas čele [*k-] “pot”, cf. also čal “the largest sized water pot” [Flk. 1915] | Bade kula “calabash” [Schuh 1982, 16; Haruna 1995, 153] || CCh.: Musgu kele “pot” (Ch. data: IS) || Eg. t3.t [< *kl-t] “Art Gefäß” (OK, Wb V 343, 3) || LECu.: Rendille kúl “calabash (of wood)” [Heine 1976, 213] || NOM.: Shinasha-Gonga kōlō “vessel” [CR 1913, 409] || Sem.: ?Akk. kālītu “sort of vessel” [AHW 425: “ein Gerät”], Hbr. kēlī “vessel”.

For the AA comparison: IS 1971, #154 (Ch.-Sem.); Mlt. 1983, 231 and 1984, 15 (Eg.-Sem.); HSED #1473 and #1423 (Sem.-Eg.-Ch.).

Pero kwalba “bottle” [Frj. 1985, 39]: borrowed from Hausa? | Hausa kwálábáá “glass-bottle” [Abr. 1962, 579] || ?Eg. t3b [< *klb?] “Art Gefäß” (XVIII., Wb V 354). For Eg.-Hausa see HSED #1475.

NB: The Eg. form was traditionally equated with Sem.: Akk. karpatu “(Ton-)Gefäß” [AHW 449], Ug. krpn “ein Trinkgefäß” [WUS #1390]. See Alb. 1927, 202; Behnk 1927, 81, #9, 83, #35.

Pero kwánó “dish” [Frj. 1985, 39] | Sura čiin [*k-] “großer Biertopf” [Jng. 1963, 61], Mupun čīn “clay gourd for storing water, beer, gruel” [Frj. 1991, 9] || Eg. tnj [< *kny] “Art Napf oder Schale” (XVIII., Wb V 380, 5) = “flache Schüssel” (GHwB 934).

Pero čéko “to vanish” ~ “to lose” [Frj. 1985, 24; 1982, 39] | ?Angas-Sura *sok “to hide” [originally *to disappear?] : Angas sok “to hide” [Flk. 1915], Sura sɔk “verstecken, verbergen” [Jng. 1963, 82], Mupun sók “to hide” [Frj.

1991, 56] || Eg. skj “untergehen, vergehen” (PT, Wb IV 311-312) || Sem.: Hbr. škk qal “sich senken (Wasser), sich legen, nachlassen (Zorn), sich bücken, sich ducken (Vogelsteller)” [GB 826].

See also Ember 1912, 89, #2; 1930, #18.a.32 (Eg.-Hbr.); Mlt. in Sts. etc. 1995, 4 (Eg.-PWCh.).

Pero làkkóḍìw “some, a little” [Frj. 1985, 40], Tangale lakiyo [Stl.], lakéì ~ lakíḍaḍ “small, little” [Jng. 1991, 112] | Angas lok “small” [Flk. 1915], Ankwe tur-luk, Montol šwor-lok “small” | Fyer lóḍk “small” (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 237, #843) || CCh.: Bura rōka [*l-] “small” (Ch.: Mkr. 1987, 48) || Eg. nkt [frozen fem. *lk-t?] “ein wenig ..., etwas von” (MK, Wb II 347, 10).

Pero málàč [< *malak] “lightning” [Frj. 1985, 41] || NAgaw *märk- “to flash (of lightning); lightning” [Ehret 1987, #428; Agaw data: Rn. 1885, 100; Dlg. 1967, 5-6, #1].

Pero pákálàw [met. of *kapalaw?] “yellow, pale, blue” | Angas kafálak “a colour name” [Flk. 1915: ≈ Hausa gunya “cream-coloured”] || CCh.: Daba ma-pùlòx [met.?] “yellow” [Kraft 1981] || Eg. tḥr [< *kḥr] “blau sein” (GR, Wb V 300, 4; GHWb 953), with MK traces: tḥr.t “das Land, aus dem der Lapislasuli kommt” (MK, Wb V 300, 1).

Pero tókkò “to heat (about the sun)” [Frj. 1985, 50] || CCh.: Higi-Kamale tàke “to cook” || Bed. tekʷi ~ tikʷi “to cook” || Agaw *takʷas/z- “warm” || SCu.: Ma’a tukasa “warm” || Eg. tk3 [if < *tkʷ] “Flamme, Fackel” (PT, Wb V 331-332) ~ tk3 “verbrennen, brennend sein” (XVIII., Wb V 332-333).

See also Chn. 1947, #318 (Eg.-Bed.); Flm. 1969, 23 (Ma’a-Agaw); Blz. 1991, 365 (Bed.-Agaw-Eg.-Higi).

Pero yyágèw [*yyakew] “armpit” [Frj. 1985, 55] | Ron: ?Kulere haw [< *kaw] “Achselhöhle” [Jng. 1970, 352] || Eg. ḥtt.t [< *ḥkk.t] “Achsel (Mensch)”, cf. šnj n ḥtt.t “Achselhaar” (MK, Wb III 204, 15-17; GHWb 572).

NB: There is a regular voicing process in Pero in intervocalic position (*-VkV- → -VgV-). Lost first syllable in Kulere (i.e. *kaw < *Hakaw or sim.)?

Pero k = Eg. q < AA *k

Pero káččò “to divide into pieces” [Frj. 1985, 34] || CCh.: Tera má-kás [nomen instr.] “scissors” [Nwm. 1964, 44] || Eg. jq̄s “abschneiden” (NK,

Wb I 138, 19) || ECu. *kaḍ- [assim. < *kas-] “to cut” [Dlg.] || SCu. *kāś- “to divide” [Ehret 1980, 250] || Sem. *q̄s̄s̄ [assim. < *q̄ss̄] “(ab)schneiden” [Dlg., see also MacDonald 1963-1965, 67]. See also Clc. 1936, #10 (Eg.-Sem.); Dlg. 1983, 135, #8.4 (Sem.-ECu.).

Pero kéerò “to bind, tie firewood” [Frj. 1985, 35] || Eg. q3r “Bündel, Tasche” (OK, GHWb 849; Wb V 12, 1).

Pero kpákò [*kʷako] “to remove hair from the skin of an animal” [Frj. 1985, 37]: act. *ʷto bark”? | Angas kuk “to bark” [Flk. 1915], Tal k̄ə̀k̄ə̀? “Rinde” | Kulere àkʰúúkʰwèg “Rinde” (WCh.: JI 1994 II, 8) || Eg. qq “abschälen” (GR, Wb V 71, 12), qq.t “Rinde” (GR, Wb V 71, 13), hence Dem. qwq “Rinde” (DG 533), Cpt.: (SABF) kōk “abschaben, abschälen”, (S) kouke, (B) kouki “Rinde, Haut” (KHW 59) || SCu. *kaw- “rind” [Ehret 1980, 252]: Iraqw qaway “strip of hide” | Dahalo kawē “eggshell” || NOM.: Mao-Bambeshi keke “skin” [Bnd., pers. comm. on 11 Oct. 1999], Mao-Diddesa koḳa’e “bark”, Shinasha-Dangur gōḳa “bark (inner)” (NOM.: Flm. 1990, 27).

See also OS 1990, 89, #37 (Kulere-Eg.); OS 1992, 198 and HSED #1603 (WCh.-Eg.).

Pero bák “vagina” [Frj. 1985, 21]: derives from AA *b-k- “to split”, cf. Angas bak “to cut with a knife, make a slit, draw a line” [Flk. 1915], Sura bāk “teilen, trennen” [Jng. 1963, 59], Mupun bāk “to separate, divide, share, crack, cut into pieces, chop, split” [Frj. 1991, 6] | Fyer bāk “spalten, hacken (Holz etc.)” [Jng. 1970, 84] (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 157; 1986, 83) || Eg. bqj [GW] “öffnen” (NE, Clère 1968, 141; DLE I 164; GHWb 263): inherited or borrowed < WSem.? || ECu. *baḳ- “to split” [Sasse 1982, 32; 1979, 48-49] || Sem. *bqq: Hbr. bq̄q “spalten, ausbreiten”, Syr. ʔbq [paēl] “verzehren, zerstören”, Ar. bq̄q “fendre, disperser, piller, vider” (Sem.: Chn. 1970, 79; GB 111).

See also Müller 1975, 69, #78 (HECu.-Sura); HCVA 2, #94 adopted in HSED #200 (Sem.-WCh.-ECu.).

NB: The semantic development in Pero “vagina” is not unique, cf. e.g. Ar. farḡ- “split” → “vulva” (Alb. 1927, 205).

Pero p’ékúrò “husk” [Frj. 1985, 44: p’- is a palatalized consonant, GT: i.e. pʲ-?] | Angas pok “to peel, skin” [Flk. 1915] | ?Ron *fakut “skin” [data: Ing. 1970, 387] || CCh.: Mofa to-pokw “husk” || ECh.: Mokilko pákirtè “écorce” [Jng. 1990, 160] || SCu. *paḳ- “tree bark” [Ehret 1980, 143]:

Qwadza pa'uko | Dahalo páko [NB: Ehret-Elderkin-Nurse 1989, 7 quote Dahalo páko "tree bark, half beehive"] ||| NOm. *foq- "bark" [Bnd. 1995, 5]: Ometo foq "to tan leather", foqo "tree bark", Shinasha feqa "bark" [Elderkin 1982, 78] ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar e-feffey "covering membrane of palm trunk, paper" [Foucauld 1951 I, 308] ||| Sem.: Syr. p^q "to husk", Ar. faq^ʔ- "membrane qui enveloppe la tête du foetus et le nez" [Dlg.], Amh. faqä "to scrape off, prepare leather"

For the AA comparison see SISAJa I, #18 (Sem.-Eg.-Ometo-SBrb.-WCh.) which was adopted also in: DjK. etc. 1986, 20-21; Dlg. 1994 MS, 1; HSED #1935.

Pero k = Eg. *h* < AA **h* ~ **q* ~ **q̇*

Pero káarò "to winnow, to separate the grain from the shell" [Frj. 1985, 34] ||| Eg. *h*3*h*3 [< **h*r*h*r] "(Getreide) werfen" (OK, Wb III 233, 17) = "to winnow" (FD 185).

Pero káarò "to conduct a medical examination", cf. kéerò "to search, find" [Frj. 1985, 34-35] ||| SCu.: Iraqw qorqor- "to spy out, reconnaître" [Ehret 1980, 249] ||| Eg. *h*3 [< **h*r] "to examine (patient)" (Med., FD 183) = "untersuchen, in Behandlung nehmen (mit Objekt des Kranken)" (Wb III 223, 2-3).

Pero kápù "to tell" [Frj. 1985, 35] ||| ?Eg. *h*pp.w "Aussprüche" (GR, Wb III 260, 1) – unless it is a secondary derivation.

Pero kárù "to slaughter" [Frj. 1985, 35] ||| SCu. **k*er- "to cut (meat)": Iraqw qer- "to give animal for slaughter" | Dahalo kër- "to cut (meat?)" (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 252) ||| Eg. *h*rj.t "Schlachtvieh; Schlachtung" (OK, Wb III 322-323).

Pero kókólò [*-r-?] "shell" [Frj. 1985, 36] | Hausa *k*wáryár "shell (of tortoise)" [Abr. 1962, 594] ||| SCu.: Iraqw *h*ohorami "cowry shell" [Ehret 1980, 259] ||| Eg. **h*3 [< **h*r]: hieroglyph depicting a "bivalve shell" (Grd. 1927, 468, L6) = "Muschel" (Wb III 218, 17). See also HSED #2071 (Hausa-Iraqw). The Pero -l- is unexpected.

Pero kóopò "to go, pass" → kópò "departure" [Frj. 1985, 37] ||| Eg. *h*p "gehen, wandeln" (PT, Wb III 258) → *h*pj.w "das Dahingehen, das Abscheiden" (PT, Wb III 259, 6).

Pero kpábà [*k^waba] "bottle" [Frj. 1985, 37] | Ngizim gwàbò "large spherical gourd with hole in top for beer" [Schuh 1981, 77] ||| Eg. *h*bb.t "Gefäß für Mirrhe (Salben etc.)" (MK, Wb III 253, 15-16) ||| Sem.: ?Ar. *h*ābi^ʔ-at- "big jug, tub" [unless derived from Ar. *h*b^ʔ "to hide"]. For Eg.-Ar. see HSED #1313.

Pero kpándò [*k^wando] "to cross" [Frj. 1985, 38] ||| Eg. *h*nz "durchziehen, durchfahren" (PT, Wb III 299). NB: Pero d seems to correspond to Eg. d, while Eg. z is regularly reflected by Pero *ḡ*. Do we have here an example of the interchange of OEg. z ~ d (i.e. OEg. *h*nz ~ **h*nd)?

Pero kéén "first (adv.)" [Frj. 1985, 35] | Angas kīn "front" [Flk. 1915], Sura kyæen "Vorderseite, gerade Seite" [Jng. 1963, 71], Mupun kikiën "front part" [Frj. 1991, 26], cf. also Sura gën "Wange" [Jng. 1963, 66] ||| probably Eg. *h*nt [originally fem. **h*n-t?] "Gesicht, Vorderseite des Kopfes" (PT, Wb III 302) → *h*nt "vorn vor, and der Spitze von" (OK, Wb III 302-303).

NB1: We are challenged by the old etymology for Eg. *h*nt, i.e. Hausa hánči [*-ti], pl. hántú-nà "nose" [Abr. 1962, 369] and even IE *Hant- "Vorderseite", which was supported by many researchers (Behnk 1928, 140, #38; Forrer 1930, 243, #3; Vcl. 1934, 71; Old. 1952, 38; Ivanov 1965, 15-16; 1966, 106-107, fn. 9; IS 1966, 336, #8.4; Hodge 1981, 373, #30; 1983, 37; 1985, 18; 1990, 646, #13.a; Shevoroshkin 1988, 541; Bomhard 1988, 446 etc.). But as Nina Pilszczikowa (1958, 99) and recently Otto Rössler and Jungrathmayr (JI 1994 I, 129) have pointed out, the Hausa word for "nose" may go back to **ha*-ntin/r where **ha*- is a frequent prefix in Hausa (and elsewhere) while the proper root is **ntn* or similar. The final root consonant is lost in modern Hausa due to erosive processes but is attested in other Chadic parallels.

NB2: The other challenge is ECh.: Jegu ^ʔonto "Stirn" [Jng. 1961, 116], which was compared with Eg. *h*nt by Orel and Stolbova (OS 1992, 185; Orel 1995, 104, #66). But this form should be still studied in light of eventual further Chadic parallels. I am not able at the present to tell to which proto-consonant exactly Jegu ^ʔ- can go back in this case. Nevertheless, I already studied Jungrathmayr's (1961) Jegu wordlist from an etymological point of view. I can provisionally tell that I observed the following correspondences of Jegu ^ʔ-: AA (Eg.-Sem.) *^ʔ- ~ *^ʕ- ~ **h*-. At the same time, the regular reflex of Eg.-Sem. **h* (< AA voiced ~ voiceless uvular) seems to be Jegu g ~ k.

Pero kpárù [*k^waru] "to decrease" [Frj. 1985, 38]: act. *^ʔ"to fall"? ||| Eg. *h*r "fallen, fällen" (OK, Wb III 319-321) ||| Sem.: Ar. *h*rr "fallen". For Eg.-

Ar. see Ember 1911, 94; 1930, #12.a.33, #15.a.17; Hommel 1915, 17; Vcl. 1958, 375, 388.

Pero kpíłò [**k^wilo*] "to peel" [Frj. 1985, 38] III Eg. *h3.w* [*< *h1-w*] coll. pl. "Haut und sonstiger Abfall von Kleinvieh" (OK, Wb III 225, 8), also *h3.wt* coll. pl. "Wolfsfelle" (MK, Wb III 225, 9).

Pero *ḍákkúłò* "to destroy, spoil" [Frj. 1985, 28] III Eg. *thn* [*< *t^hl*] "verletzen, verwunden, schädigen" (MK, Wb V 327).

Pero *ḍàkláa-nì* "bad" [Frj. 1985, 28] III Eg. *th3th3* [*< *t^hl-t^hl*] "böse" (PT, Wb V 325, 21).

Pero *ḍékkúłò* [*< *Htekku-to?*] "to sift" [Frj. 1985, 28] I Bokkos *čičak* [*< *titak*] "seihen, sieben (Bier)" [Jng. 1970, 140] III Eg. *t^h* "durchseihen, eine teitige Maße durch ein Sieb (durch ein Tuch) preßen" (OK, Wb I 236-237) – *t^h* "der Brauer" (XVIII., Wb I 237, 4).

*

Reconstruction of velars and postvelars (uvulears) is one of the most exciting questions of Afro-Asiatic historical phonology. I basically agree with the results I. M. Diakonoff and his school (cf. Djk.-Prh. 1979; SISAJa I-III; Djk. 1984; 1988) in that Egyptian and Semitic **h* reflected more than one, probably four, different Proto-Afro-Asiatic velar and postvelar (uvular) phonemes. Contrary to Semitic and Egyptian, other branches of Afro-Asiatic seem to have preserved the archaic distinction between these proto-phonemes or, at least, some traces of this distinction. I observed the following regular correspondences:

PAA	Eg.	Sem.	Brb.	Bed.	ECu.	SCu.	NOM.	Angas	Ron
<i>*h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>h2</i>	<i>*h2</i>	<i>*h</i> (<i>*x</i>)	?	<i>*k2</i>	<i>*k2</i>
<i>*q</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>k2</i>	<i>*k2</i>	<i>*k2</i>	?	<i>*k2</i>	<i>*k2</i>
<i>*q'</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>*h?</i>	<i>k2</i>	<i>*k2</i>	<i>*k2</i>	<i>*q/*k</i>	<i>*k2</i>	<i>*g2</i>
(voiced)	<i>h</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>*g2</i>	<i>g2</i>	<i>*g2</i>	<i>*g2</i>	<i>*g?</i>	<i>*g2</i>	<i>*g2</i>

According to these principles and the rules that issue from the etymological material presented in this paper, I suppose the following tentative system of correspondences for Pero *k*:

Pero	South Cushitic	Egyptian	Semitic	Afro-Asiatic
<i>k</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>k ~ t</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>*k</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>*k1</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>*q</i>	<i>*k</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>*h</i> or <i>*q</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>*k2</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>*q</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>*g2</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>*h</i>	voiced uvular (?)

NB: In the Cushitic and West Chadic languages, **k1 ~ *k1 ~ *g1* represent reflexes of the PAA velar triad (PAA **k ~ *k ~ *g*, respectively). Similarly Brb. **g1 < PAA *g*, while ECu. **h1 < PAA *h*.

Needless to say that this table of correspondences is tentative with regard to the present level of the Afro-Asiatic comparative-historical linguistic research. We expect still several new data from further (sub)branches, groups and languages of the Afro-Asiatic family which may confirm or slightly modify this picture.

Finally, let me briefly summarize the regular Egyptian, Semitic reflexes of all Pero consonants and their Proto-Afro-Asiatic correspondences on the basis of my investigation in Pero etymology (part of which was presented in this paper):

Pero	Egyptian	Semitic	Afro-Asiatic
<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>*b</i>	<i>*b</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>*p</i>	<i>*p</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>*p</i>	<i>*f</i>
<i>ḅ</i> ('b)	<i>b + H</i>	<i>*b + *H</i>	<i>*b + *H</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*t</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>t ~ d</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*t</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>*d</i>	<i>*d</i>
<i>ḍ</i>	<i>d ~ t + H</i>	<i>*d ~ *t + *H</i>	<i>*d ~ *t + *H</i>
<i>ḍ</i>	<i>t ~ d</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*t</i>
<i>ḏ</i>	<i>z</i>	(<i>*z ~ *ḏ</i>)	<i>*ḏ ~ *ḏ</i>
<i>č</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>*s ~ *š ~ *t</i>	<i>*c ~ *s ~ *c</i>
<i>č</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*s ~ *c</i>
<i>č</i>	<i>ḏ</i>	<i>*s ~ *t ~ ?*ḏ</i>	<i>*c ~ *č ~ ?*č</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>*k</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>*q</i>	<i>*k</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>h ~ h</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>*h ~ *q ~ *q</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>g ~ ḏ</i>	<i>*g</i>	<i>*g</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>h ~ h</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>*voiced uvular?</i>
zero	<i>j ~ h ~ ' ~ h</i>	<i>*' ~ *h ~ *' ~ *h</i>	<i>*' ~ *h ~ *' ~ *h</i>

m	m	*m	*m
n	n	*n	*n
ŋ	n + H	*n + *H	*n + *H
r	3 ~ j ~ r	*r	*r
l	3 ~ j ~ n ~ r	*l	*l
w	w	*w	*w
y	j	*y	*y

NB: H stands for any of *ʔ ~ *h ~ *ʕ ~ *ħ.

Abbreviations of languages, language periods

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Hamito-Semitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic (Syr.: Syrian, Jud.: Judeo-, Bibl.: Biblical), Av.: Avestan, (B) Bohairic, Bed.: Bedawye, Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, E: East, Ebl.: Eblaite, Eg.: Egyptian, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, (F): Fayyumic, Gk.: Greek, Gmc.: Germanic, GR: Greek and Roman Period, H: High(land), Hbr.: Hebrew, IE: Indo-European, irreg.: irregular, Jew.: Jewish, Jib.: Jibbali, Jud.: Judeo-, L: Late or Low(land), Lib.: Libyan, Lith.: Lithuanian, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: Magical Texts, Med.: Medical Texts, Mer.: Meroitic, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, N: North, NC: Niger-Congo, NE: New Egyptian, Nil.: Nilotic, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OInd.: Old Indic = Sanskrit, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, P: Proto-, Pal.: Palestinian, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, reg.: regular, Russ.: Russian, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaeen, Sem.: Semitic, Soq./Sqt.: Soqotri, Sud.: Sudanic, Sum.: Sumerian, Syr.: Syriac, Talm.: Talmudic, Targ.: Targum, Trg.: Tuareg, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West.

Abbreviations of names of frequently quoted authors

Alb.: Albright, Blz.: Blazek, Bnd.: Bender, Bmh.: Bomhard, Clc.: Calice, Chn.: Cohen, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Djk.: D'jakonov = Diakonoff, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij = Dolgopolsky, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takács, IS: Illic-Svityc, JI: Jungraithmayr and Ibrizsimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, Nwm.: Newman, NM: Newman and Ma, Old.: Ol'derogge = Olderogge, OS:

Orel and Stolbova, Pls.: Pilszczikowa, Prh.: Porhomovskij, Rn.: Reinisch, Smz.: Shimizu, Skn.: Skinner, Stl.: Stolbova, Sts.: Starostin, Vrg.: Vergote, Vcl.: Vycichl, Zvd.: Zavadovskij.

Quoted literature

- Abraham, R. C.: Dictionary of the Hausa Language.² London, 1962., University of London Press.
- AHW = Soden, W. von: Akkadisches Handwörterbuch. I-III. Wiesbaden, 1965-1981., Otto Harrassowitz.
- Albright, W. F.: Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology. II.= American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures 34/4 (1918), 215-255.
- Albright, W. F.: Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology. III.= Journal of the American Oriental Society 47 (1927), 198-237.
- Behnk, F.: Lexikalische Beiträge zur ägyptisch-semitischen Sprachvergleichung.= Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache 62 (1927), 80-83.
- Behnk, F.: Über die Beziehungen des Ägyptischen zu den hamitischen Sprachen.= Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 82 (1928), 136-141.
- Bender, M. L.: Omotic: A New Afroasiatic Language Family. Carbondale, Illinois, 1975., Southern Illinois University.
- Bender, M. L.: Aroid (South Omotic) Lexicon.= Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere 38 (1994), 133-162.
- Bender, M. L.: Afrasian. MS. Course materials for students, spring semester 1995, Southern Illinois University of Carbondale. 8 p.
- Bender, M. L.; Fleming, H.: Non-Semitic Languages.= Bender, M. L.; Bowen, J. D.; Cooper, R. L.; Ferguson, C. A. (eds.): Language in Ethiopia. London, 1976., Oxford University Press. Pp. 34-58.
- Blažek, V.: Kartvelian Material in Nostratic Lexicon.= Archív Orientální 59 (1991), 360-369.
- Blažek, V.: Elam: A Bridge between Ancient Near East and Dravidian India? MS. Paper presented at the 3rd World Archaeological Congress, New Delhi, December 1994. 26 p. Kindly offered by the author.
- Bomhard, A. R.: Peresmotr indoevropsko-semitskoj gipotezy.= Novoe v zarubežnoj lingvistike. Vypusk XXI. Novoe v sovremennoj indoevropistike. Moskva, 1988., Progress. Pp. 433-450.
- Calice, F. von: Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung. Wien, 1936., Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Institutes der Universitäts Wien.
- Caprile, J.-P.: Lexique tumak-français (Tchad). Berlin, 1975., Verlag von Dietrich Reimer.

- CED = Cerný, J.: Coptic Etymological Dictionary. London, Cambridge, 1976., Cambridge University Press.
- Clère, J. J.: Deux statues "gardiennes de porte" d'époque ramesside.= *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 54 (1968), 135-148.
- Cohen, D.: Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques. Paris, La Haye, 1970., Mouton.
- Cohen, M.: Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique. Paris, 1947., Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion.
- Conti Rossini, C.: Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia.= *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 6 (1913), 365-426.
- Deines, H.; Grapow, H.: Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen. Berlin, 1959., Akademie-Verlag.
- DG = Erichsen, W.: Demotisches Glossar. Kopenhagen, 1954., Ejnar Munksgaard.
- D'jakonov, I. M. & Porhomovskij, V. Ja.: O principah afrazijskoj rekonstrukcii (v svjazi s rabotoj nad sravnitel'no-istoričeskim slovarom).= *Balkanica. Lingvističeskie issledovanija*. Moskva, 1979., Nauka. Pp. 72-84.
- Diakonoff, I. M.: Letter to the Conference.= Bynon, J. (ed.): *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics*. Amsterdam, 1984., John Benjamins. Pp. 1-10.
- Diakonoff, I. M. (with assistance by Militarev, A. Ju. & Stolbova, O. V.): Proto-Afrasian and Old Akkadian. MS. Leningrad, ab. 1986. Recently published in the *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* 4/1 (1992).
- Diakonoff, I. M.: *Afrasian Languages*. Moscow, 1988., Nauka.
- DLE = Lesko, L. H.: A Dictionary of Late Egyptian. Volume I, II, III, IV. Berkeley, 1982., 1984., 1987., 1989. B.C. Scribe Publications.
- Dolgopolski, A. B.: La permutation des *m et *b initiaux dans les racines couchitiques.= *Il Congrès International des Africanistes. Communications de la délégation de l'URSS*. Moscou, 1967., Nauka. Pp. 3-17.
- Dolgopolsky, A. B.: Semitic and East Cushitic. Sound Correspondences and Cognate Sets.= Segert, S.; Bodrogligeti, A. J. E. (eds.): *Ethiopian Studies Dedicated to Wolf Leslau*. Wiesbaden, 1983., Otto Harrassowitz. Pp. 123-142.
- Dolgopolsky, A. B.: South Cushitic Lateral Consonants as Compared to Semitic and East Cushitic.= Jungraithmayr, H.; Müller, W. W. (eds.): *Proceedings of the Fourth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*. Amsterdam, 1987., John Benjamins. Pp. 195-214.
- Dolgopolsky, A. B.: Hamito-Semitic Etymologies. MS. Paper presented at the 6th International Hamito-Semitic Congress, Moscow, April 1994. 1 p.
- Ehret, Ch.: Ethiopians and East Africans. The Problem of Contacts. Nairobi, 1974., East African Publishing House.
- Ehret, Ch.: The Historical Reconstruction of Southern Cushitic Phonology

- and Vocabulary. Berlin, 1980., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Ehret, Chr.: Proto-Cushitic Reconstruction.= *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 8 (1987).
- Ehret, Ch.; Elderkin, E. D.; Nurse, D.: Dahalo Lexis and Its Sources.= *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 18 (1989), 5-49.
- Elderkin, E. D.: On the Classification of Hadza.= *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 4 (1982), 67-82.
- Ember, A.: Semito-Egyptian Sound Changes.= *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 49 (1911), 87-92.
- Ember, A.: Kindred Semito-Egyptian Words.= *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 49 (1911), 93-94.
- Ember, A.: Notes on the Relation of Egyptian and Semitic.= *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 50 (1912), 86-90.
- Ember, A.: *Egypto-Semitic Studies*. Leipzig, 1930., The Alexander Cohut Memorial Foundation.
- FD = Faulkner, R. O.: A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian. Oxford, 1962., Clarendon Press.
- Fleming, H. C.: Asa and Aramanik: Cushitic Hunters in Masai-Land.= *Ethnology* 8/1 (1969), 1-36.
- Fleming, H. C.: Omotic as an Afroasiatic Family.= *Studies in African Linguistics. Supplement* 5 (1974), 81-94.
- Fleming, H. C.: Omotica, Afrasiana and More: Ethiopia as the Ever-Flowing Vase.= *Mother Tongue* 12 (1990), 22-30.
- Forrer, E.: Stratification des langues et des peuples dans le Proche-Orient préhistorique.= *Journal Asiatique* 217 (1930), 227-252.
- Foucauld, Ch. de: Dictionnaire touareg-français. Dialecte de l'ahaggar. Tome premier. Paris, 1951, Imprimerie Nationale de France.
- Foulkes, H. D.: *Angass Manual. Grammar, Vocabulary*. London, 1915., Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.
- Frajzyngier, Z.: Another Look at West Chadlic Verb Classes.= *Africana Marburgensia* 15/1 (1982), 25-42.
- Frajzyngier, Z.: A Pero-English and English-Pero Vocabulary. Berlin, 1985., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Frajzyngier, Z.: A Dictionary of Mupun. Berlin, 1991., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Gardiner, A. H.: *Egyptian Grammar*.¹ Oxford, 1927., Clarendon Press.
- GB = Gesenius, W.; Buhl, F.: Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament. Unveränderter Neudruck der 1915 erschienenen 17. Auflage. Berlin, Göttingen, Spiegelberg, 1962., Springer-Verlag.
- GHwB = Hannig, R.: *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*. Mainz, 1995., Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

- Gragg, G.: Oromo Dictionary. East Lansing, Michigan, 1982., Michigan State University.
- Grapow, H.: Über die Wortbildungen mit einem Präfix m- im Ägyptischen.= Abhandlungen der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (1914), 3-33.
- Grapow, H.: Anatomie und Physiologie (Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter I.). Berlin, 1954., Akademi-Verlag.
- Haruna, A.: On the Glottalic Consonants in Chadic.= Ibriszimow, D.; Leger, R. (eds.): *Studia Chadica et Hamitosemitica*. Köln, 1995., Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. Pp. 138-162.
- HCVA 1 = Diakonoff, I. M.; Belova, A. G.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Porhomovskij, V. Ja.; Stolbova, O. V.: *Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian*. Part 1.= *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 2 (1993), 5-28.
- HCVA 2 = Diakonoff, I. M.; Belova, A. G.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Porhomovskij, V. Ja.; Stolbova, O. V.: *Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian*. Part 1.= *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 3 (1994), 5-26.
- Heine, B.: Notes on the Rendille Language.= *Afrika und Übersee* 59 (1976), 176-223.
- Hodge, C. T.: An Egypto-Semitic Comparison.= *Folia Orientalia* 17 (1976), 5-28.
- Hodge, C. T.: Lislakh Labials.= *Anthropological Linguistics* 23/8 (1981), 368-382.
- Hodge, C. T.: Relating Afro-Asiatic to Indo-European.= Wolff, E.; Meyer-Bahlburg, H. (eds.): *Studies in Chadic and Afroasiatic Linguistics*. Hamburg, 1983., Buske Helmut Verlag. Pp. 33-50.
- Hodge, C. T.: Were the Rekhyt Indo-Europeans?= *Discussions in Egyptology* 2 (1985), 13-23.
- Hodge, C. T.: The Role of Egyptian within Afroasiatic.= Baldi, Ph. (ed.): *Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology*. Berlin, New York, 1990., Mouton de Gruyter. Pp. 639-659.
- Holma, H.: Zur semitisch-hamitischen Sprachwissenschaft.= *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 32 (1919), 34-47.
- Hommel, F.: *Miszellen*.= Weil, G. (ed.): *Festschrift Eduard Sachau zum siebzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*. Berlin, 1915., Verlag von Georg Reimer. Pp. 15-21.
- Hrozný, B./F.: Sur quelques rapports entre Sumer-Akkad et l'Égypte au IV^e millénaire avant J.-C.= *Archív Orientální* 10 (1938), 369-374.
- HSED = Orel, V. É.; Stolbova, O. V.: *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden, 1995., E. J. Brill.
- Illič-Svityč, V. M.: Sootvetstvija smyčnyh v nostratičeskich jazykah.= *Étimologija* (1966), 304-355.

- Illič-Svityč, V. M.: Opyt sravnenija nostratičeskich jazykov (semitohamitskij, kartvel'skij, indoevropskij, ural'skij, dravidijskij, altajskij). *Vvedenie. Sravnitel'nyj slovar' (b-Ķ)*. Moskva, 1971., Nauka.
- Ivanov, V. V.: Obščeeindoevropskaja, praslavjanskaja i anatolijskaja jazykovye sistemy. *Sravnitel'no-tipologičeskie ocerki*. Moskva, 1965., Nauka.
- Ivanov, V. V.: O vozmožnom otryženii odnogo migracionnogo termina v hausa (hausa birnī "gorod").= Uspenskij, B. A. (ed.): *Jazyki Afriki. Voprosy struktury, istorii i tipologii*. Moskva, 1966., Nauka. Pp. 105-110.
- Jungraithmayr, H.: Beobachtungen zur tschadohamitischen Sprache der Jegu (und Jonkor) von Abu Telfan (Republique du Tchad).= *Afrika und Übersee* 45 (1961), 95-123.
- Jungraithmayr, H.: Die Sprache des Sura (Maghavul) in Nordnigerien.= *Afrika und Übersee* 47 (1963), 8-89, 204-220.
- Jungraithmayr, H.: Materialien zur Kenntnis des Chip, Montol, Gerka und Burum (Südplateau, Nordnigerien).= *Afrika und Übersee* 48 (1965), 161-183.
- Jungraithmayr, H.: Specimens of the Pa'a ("Afa") and Warja Languages with Notes on the Tribes of Ningi Chiefdom (Bauchi Province, Northern Nigeria).= *Afrika und Übersee* 50/3 (1967), 194-205.
- Jungraithmayr, H.: Die Ron-Sprachen. Tschadohamitische Studien in Nordnigerien. Glückstadt, 1970., Verlag J. J. Augustin.
- Jungraithmayr, H.: *Lexique mokilko*. Berlin, 1990., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Jungraithmayr, H.: *A Dictionary of the Tangale Language*. Berlin, 1991., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Jungraithmayr, H.; Ibriszimow, D.: *Chadic Lexical Roots. Volume I. Tentative Reconstruction, Grading, Distribution and Comments*. Berlin, 1994., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Jungraithmayr, H.; Ibriszimow, D.: *Chadic Lexical Roots. Volume II. Documentation*. Berlin, 1994., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- KHW = Westendorf, W.: *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*. Heidelberg, 1977., Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Lacau, P.: *Les noms des parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique*. Paris, 1970., Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- MacDonald, J.: New Thoughts on the Biliteral Origin for the Semitic Verb.= *The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society* 5 (1963-1965), 63-85.
- Matsushita, Sh.: *An Outline of Gwandara Phonemics and Gwandara-English Vocabulary*. Tokyo, 1972., Tokyo Press.
- Militarev, A. Ju.: Ob odnom obščefrazijskom zemledel'českom termine. *Novye lingvističeskie dannye o proischoždenii zemledelija*.= *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 4 (1983), 97-106.

- Militarev, A. Ju.: Sovremennoe sravnitel'no-istoričeskoe afrazijskoe jazykoznanie: čto ono možet dat' istoričeskoj nauke? = Lingvističeskaja rekonstrukcija i drevnejšaja istorija Vostoka. Čast' 3. Moskva, 1984., Nauka. Pp. 3-26.
- Militarev, A. Ju.: Ešče raz o proišoždenii zemledelija po dannym praafrazijskoj (prasemitohamitskoj) lingvističeskoj rekonstrukcii. = Vestnik Drevnej Istorii 1 (1989), 128-131.
- Militarev, A. Ju.: Afrasian Cultural Terms (Preliminary Report). = Shevoroshkin, V. (ed.): Proto-Languages and Proto-Cultures. Bochum, 1990., Brockmeyer. Pp. 33-54.
- Militarev, A. Ju.: Evidence of Proto-Afrasian Cultural Lexicon (I. Cultivation of Land. II. Crops. III. Dwelling and Settlement). = Mukarovskij, H. G. (ed.): Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress. Band 1. Wien, 1990., Afro-Pub. Pp. 73-85.
- Militarev, A. Ju.: Istoričeskaja fonetika i leksika livijsko-guančskih jazykov. = Jazyki Azii i Afriki. IV, kniga 2. Moskva, 1991., Glavnaja Redakcija Vostočnoj Literatury. Pp. 238-267.
- Mukarovskij, H. G.: West African and Hamito-Semitic Languages. = Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen 13 (1966), 9-36.
- Mukarovskij, H. G.: Mande-Chadic Common Stock. A Study of Phonological and Lexical Evidence. Wien, 1987., Afro-Pub.
- Müller, W. W.: Beiträge zur hamito-semitischen Wortvergleichung. = Bynon, J.; Bynon, Th. (eds.): Hamito-Semitic. The Hague, 1975., Mouton de Gruyter. Pp. 63-74.
- Newman, P. & Ma, R.: Comparative Chadic: Phonology and Lexicon. = Journal of African Languages 5/3 (1966), 218-251.
- Ol'derogge, D. A.: Proišoždenie narodov Central'nogo Sudana (iz drevnejšej istorii jazykov gruppy hausa-kotoko). = Sovetskaja Étnografija 2 (1952), 23-38.
- Orel, V. É.: Semitohamitskij, sinokavkazskij, nostratičeskij. = Moskovskij Lingvističeskij Žurnal 1 (1995), 99-116.
- Orel, V. É.; Stolbova, O. V.: K rekonstrukcii praafrazijskogo vokalizma. 3-4. = Voprosy Jazykoznanija 2 (1990), 75-90.
- Orel, V. É.; Stolbova, O. V.: On Chadic-Egyptian Lexical Relations. = Shevoroshkin, V. (ed.): Nostratic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric and Amerind. Bochum, 1992., Brockmeyer. Pp. 181-203.
- Pilszczikowa, N.: Contribution à l'étude des rapports entre le haoussa et les autres langues du groupe nigéro-tchadien. = Rocznik Orientalistyczny 22/2 (1958), 75-99.

- Pilszczikowa, N.: Le haoussa et le chamito-sémitique à la lumière de l'Essai comparatif de Marcel Cohen. = Rocznik Orientalistyczny 24/1 (1960), 97-130.
- Porhomovskij, V. Ja.: Istoričeskij konsonantizm jazykov kotoko. Moskva, 1972., Institut Jazykoznanija Akademii Nauk SSSR.
- Rabin, Ch.: Lexicostatistics and the Internal Divisions of Semitic. = Bynon, J.; Bynon, Th. (eds.): Hamito-Semitic. The Hague, 1975., Mouton. Pp. 85-102.
- Reinisch, L.: Die Quarasprache in Abessinien. II. Quarisch-deutsches Wörterbuch. = Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Classe 109/1 (1885), 3-152.
- Sasse, H.-J.: The Consonant Phonemes of Proto-East-Cushitic (PEC). = Afroasiatic Linguistics 7/1 (1979), 1-67.
- Sasse, H.-J.: An Etymological Dictionary of Burji. Hamburg, 1982., Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Schuh, R. G.: Bade/Ngizim Vowels and Syllable Structure. = Studies in African Linguistics 9/3 (1978), 247-283.
- Schuh, R. G.: A Dictionary of Ngizim. Berkeley, California, 1981., University of California.
- Schuh, R. G.: The Hausa Language and Its Nearest Relatives. = Harsunan Nijeriya 12 (1982), 1-24.
- Schuh, R. G.: West Chadic Vowel Correspondences. = Bynon, J. (ed.): Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics. Amsterdam, 1984., John Benjamins. Pp. 167-223.
- Shevoroshkin, V. V.: On Laryngeals. = Bammesberger, A. (ed.): Die Laryngalthorie und die Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Laut- und Formensystems. Heidelberg, 1988., Carl Winter Universitätsverlag. Pp. 527-546.
- Shimizu, K.: The Southern Bauchi Group of Chadic Languages. A Survey Report. = Africana Marburgensia. Special Issue 2 (1978), 1-50.
- SISAJa I = D'jakonov, I. M.; Belova, A. G.; Četveruhin, A. S.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Porhomovskij, V. Ja.; Stolbova, O. V.: Sravnitel'no-istoričeskij slovar' afrazijskih jazykov. Vypusk 1. p-p-b-f. = Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XV godičnaja naučnaja sessija Leningradskogo Otdelenija Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Moskva, 1981., Nauka. Pp. 3-127.
- SISAJa II = D'jakonov, I. M.; Belova, A. G.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Porhomovskij, V. Ja.; Stolbova, O. V.: Sravnitel'no-istoričeskij slovar' afrazijskih jazykov. Vypusk 2. t-t-d. = Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XVI godičnaja naučnaja sessija Leningradskogo

- Otdelenija Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Moskva, 1982., Nauka. Pp. 3-93.
- SISAJa III = D'jakonov, I. M.; Belova, A. G.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Porhomovskij, V. Ja.; Stolbova, O. V.: Sravnitel'no-istoričeskij slovar' afrazijskich jazykov. Vypusk 3. s-c-ç-ž, č-č-ž, š-č-č s labialami. = Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XVI godičnaja naučnaja sessija Leningradskogo Otdelenija Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Moskva, 1986., Nauka. Pp. 3-46.
- Skinner, N.: North Bauchi Chadic Languages: Common Roots. = Afroasiatic Linguistics 4/1 (1977), 1-49.
- Starostin, S. A.; Dybo, V. A.; Dybo, A. V.; Helimsky, E. A.; Militarev, A. Ju.; Mudrak, O. A.; Starostin, G. S.: Basic Nostratic-Afrasian-Sino-Caucasian Lexical Correspondences. Preliminary working version. MS. Moscow, 1995.
- Stolbova, O. V.: Rekonstrukcija konsonantnoj sistemy zapadnočadskih jazykov. = Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XIX godičnaja naučnaja sessija Leningradskogo Otdelenija Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Moskva, 1986., Nauka. Pp. 80-115.
- Stolbova, O. V.: Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja fonetika i slovar' zapadnočadskih jazykov. = Porhomovskij, V. Ja. (ed.): Afrikanское istoričeskoe jazykoznanie. Problemy rekonstrukcii. Moskva, 1987., Nauka. Pp. 30-268.
- Tyloch, W.: The Evidence of Proto-Lexicon for the Cultural Background of the Semitic Peoples. = Bynon, J.; Bynon, Th. (eds.): Hamito-Semitic. The Hague, 1975., Mouton. Pp. 55-61.
- Vergote, J.: Phonétique historique de l'égyptien. Paris, 1945., Le Muséon.
- Vycichl, W.: Hausa und Ägyptisch. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Hamitistik. = Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin 37 (1934), 36-116.
- Vycichl, W.: Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo 16 (1958), 367-405.
- Vycichl, W.: La vocalisation de la langue égyptienne. Tome I^{er}. La phonétique. Le Caire, 1990., Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Wb = Erman, A.; Grapow, H.: Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache. I-V.² Berlin, 1957-1971., Akademie-Verlag.
- WUS = Aistleitner, J.: Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache. = Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Phil.-hist. Kl. 106/3 (1963).
- Zavadovskij, Ju. N.: Berberskij jazyk. Moskva, 1967., Nauka.

GÁBOR TAKÁCS

**MARGINAL REMARKS ON THE CLASSIFICATION
OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN WITHIN AFRO-ASIATIC
AND ITS POSITION AMONG AFRICAN LANGUAGES***

Introduction

The results of comparative Afro-Asiatic linguistics undoubtedly prove that most elements of the Egyptian vocabulary and morphology are of a common origin with the cognate Afro-Asiatic languages.

Therefore the classification of Egyptian within Afro-Asiatic may be regarded solid, no doubt. It is also generally accepted nowadays that the Egyptian phonology, vocabulary, and morphology seem to have many own characteristic features, enough to consider Egyptian a separate branch of Afro-Asiatic (as generally accepted in recent Afro-Asiatic studies). There are various theories on the relative classification of Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Omotic, and Chadic.

Nevertheless, the classification of Egyptian within Afro-Asiatic as well as the exciting question of Egyptian linguogenesis require still much patient work until we can convincingly draw some preliminary outlines of this complicated picture which is rather obscure at the present. Moreover, I feel that first we have to gather more data to rely upon in this respect, and should build theories only after careful analysis of and verifying hundreds of isoglosses. My current work on the forthcoming "Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian" (EDE) is intended to provide material for such purposes as well. Safe lexicostatistical and glottochronological calculations as for the proper position of Egyptian within Afro-Asiatic will be possible only after a most extensive etymological analysis of the entire Egyptian lexicon (this work is proceeding).

* A modified later version of this paper has been included in the forthcoming EDE I.