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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.

What I would like offer below in addition to these problems, may seem fragmentary. Some of these facts and thoughts, however, as far as I know, have not yet been considered in the context of Egyptian linguogenesis. These fragmentary ideas are to give some orientation for the future research to determine the actual position of Egyptian within Afro-Asiatic and among African languages:

Egyptian and Chadic

First, I can confirm I. M. Diakonoff's assumption (Djk. 1981; 1988, 22; 1996, 293-294) that Egyptian and Chadic may represent a special unity within the Afro-Asiatic family. This supposition is supported by the outstandingly high number of exclusively Egypto-Chadic lexical isoglosses. Many such exclusive Egypto-Chadic etymologies were suggested by O. V. Stolbova and V. É. Orel (OS 1988; 1989, 131-136; 1990, 75-90; 1992, 169-180; 1992, 181-203; HSED). In fact, a great mass of the entries in the HSED is limited just to Egyptian and Chadic (as rightly noted by Diakonoff 1996, 293, fn. 4). Some of these comparisons are to be treated with careful reservation because of the methods of comparison and reconstruction applied in the HSED (for more details about this problem see Takács 1997, 108-117 and Diakonoff & Kogan 1996). Since publication of vocabularies of several Chadic languages is still in proceeding, Egypto-Chadic etymological research may have promising prospects in the field of Afro-Asiatic comparative linguistics.

May I add that during my work on the "Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian" (EDE) I also observed a great deal of new Egypto-Chadic parallels. It is indeed astonishing to recognize in Chadic reflexes of those Egyptian words that are totally "absent" in other branches of Afro-Asiatic.

The definite explanation for the relatively high number of Egypto-Chadic isoglosses is still expected. We can just guess about it. As Diakonoff (1996, 294) suspects, a longer coexistence of Proto-Egyptian and Proto-Chadic populations before 6.000 B.C. may not be excluded at the present. Note that the split-up of the common Afro-Asiatic proto-language has been estimated by A. Ju. Militarev with the help of glottochronological methods to have undergone around the 11th or 10th millenia B.C. (see Mlt. 1983, 104-106; Mlt. 1984, 9-10; Mlt.-Snr. 1984, 35; Djk. 1988, 23-25, 33, fn. 15; Mlt.-Pejros-Snr. 1988; Mlt. 1989, 128). Of course, this tentative result should be verified by many new data as well.

Egyptian and Semitic

As mentioned above, the present etymological work cannot have the task to outline theories on Egyptian linguogenesis. Just some words about an old theory. As is well-known, Old Egyptian had lost some designations of body parts of clearly Semitic type, e.g. Eg. *jdn (hieroglyph of ear) = Sem. *ʾuḡn- "ear"; Eg. *(j)n (hieroglyph of eye) = Sem. *ʿayn- "eye"; Eg. *d (hieroglyph of hand) = Sem. *yad- "hand". These lost Old Egyptian (or Proto-Egyptian) terms were replaced in the written language by such Egyptian words which do not have any Semitic etymology and may be affiliated with either Cushitic-Omotiic or Chadic parallels, cf. OEg. msḏr (derived from sḏr "to lie, sleep" or cognate with Brb. *a-mezzug "ear"?), Eg. ʿnh (Cu. parallels), OEg. jr.t (Cu. and Chadic parallels), OEg. ḏ3.t ~ ḏr.t (Chadic parallels?) etc. Is it a pure chance?

In this context, let me call attention to the binary system of the terms "right-hand" and "left-hand" in Egyptian: one of the synonyms forms an exclusive Egypto-Semitic isogloss, while its synonym counterpart seems to be of Chadic or, at least, African "orientation":

1. Eg. jmn adj. "right-hand" (PT, Wb I 85, 11-14), jmn.t "right side", hence "west" (OK, Wb I 86) = Sem. *yamīn- "right-hand", hence "southern". This is a well known Eg.-Sem. etymology.

NB: Any connection with WCh.: Hausa yāmmá [assimilated < *yamna?] "west" [actually *"right-hand side" as in Eg. ?].

2. OEg. wnm.j "right-hand", hence "right side" (OK, Wb I 322): as pointed out by W. Vycichl (1959, 71; 1972, 178) it may have meant originally *"eating hand" (Vcl.: *"Ess-Hand"), derived from OEg. wnm "to eat". In the earliest orthography of the Old Kingdom, OEg. wnm.j "right side" is regularly written with same combination of hieroglyphic signs as wnm "essen" (Wb I 320-322).

This etymology of OEg. wnm.j has perfect typological parallels in Chadic, cp. e.g. WCh.: Mupun sè "right", saar se *"right hand" ? "right side" < sē "to eat" [Frj. 1991, 53] || CCh.: Logone zāmí "rechts" < zóm ~ züm ~ zum ~ zem "to eat" [Lks. 1936, 127]. All these parallels fit very well into the picture of African culture history. In several other African languages, "right hand" means actually "eating hand" just like in Chadic and Egyptian, cf. Peulh nyāmo "right-hand" from nyām- "to eat" & "meat"; Ewhe nu-ḏu-si "Ess-Hand" = "right-hand" (cf. Ewhe ḏu "to eat"); Swahili mkono wa kulia "Ess-Hand" = "right hand" (cf. Swahili kula "to eat") etc. (the examples are quoted after Vycichl 1959, 71; 1972, 178).

Perhaps needless to say that Eg. wnm.j has etymologically nothing to do with Eg. jmn (despite the speculations based on the similar sounding). Similarly, Eg. wnm.j has nothing to do with ECh.: Kabalay uolema "richtig" [adj.] (as proposed in HSED #2522).

3. Eg. smh.j "left-hand" (NE, Wb IV 140; DLE III 53): despite the phonological difficulties, it is certainly cognate with Sem. *šm'l ~ *š'ml "left-hand" (Sem. data: WUS #2622; Frz. 1965, 265, #4.27). This Eg.-Sem. etymology was maintained by Erman 1892, 119; Holma 1911, X; Ember 1926, 312, #7; Farina 1926, 20, #33; Mkr. 1994, 152, #4.2. Contra: Ward 1961, 38, #21.

4. OEg. j3b.j [< *l'b-y] "left-hand" (PT, Wb I 30; FD 8) = CCh. *laḅa, hence *ḷaḅa [*-ḷ- < *-ḷ-b-] "left (hand)" [Mkr.] → "north": Higi-Nkafa laḅa "north", Higi-Baza laḅa "north", Higi-Futu ḷaḅəw "north", Fali-Gili ḷaḅe "links" | Mandara nə-ḷəḅə "links", Dghwede ðivu ḷaḅa "links" (ðivu < Ch. *d-b- "hand"), Nakatsa ndivə ḷyebá "links" || WCh.: cf. Zaar naḷi [< *laḷi] "left". For this Eg.-Ch. etymology see Mkr. 1994, 148 (Eg.-CCh.); HSED #1821 (Eg.-Zaar).

All other etymologies for Eg. j3b.j are unconvincing:

1. Hodge (1966, 44, #9; 1968, 26, #50; 1981, 375) combined Eg. j3b.j [Hodge: from *rb] with WCh.: Hausa 'arèwáá "north". But Eg. -b- ≠ Hausa -w-.
2. Eg. j3b.j has nothing to do with Sum. gùb "left" (as suggested by Hommel 1894, 346; Castellino 1984, 17).
3. Vycichl (1990, 91) mistakenly equated Eg. j3b.j with Sem.: Ar. w'b, y'b "avoir honte, être en colère".

It would be premature to draw any definite conclusion from these data. But it will be interesting to examine in the future on further such examples how the exclusive Egypto-Semitic and Egypto-Chadic isoglosses "complement" each other.

Egyptian and the African language families

Though the overwhelming majority of the oldest Egyptian vocabulary (attested already in the Old Kingdom) is of Afro-Asiatic origin, a certain number of Egyptian words (mostly of the oldest attestation) cannot be satisfactorily etymologized on Afro-Asiatic grounds or, at least, has just some isolated parallels in Chadic or Cushitic-Omotc. Several of these lexical elements seem to be related with lexical roots of some other African languages and language families:

OEg. rn "Name" (OK, Wb II 425-428) ~ PNilotic *ka-Rin [prefix *ka-] "name" [Dimmendaal 1988, 49]: PENilotic *-k3a-rin- [Vossen 1982, 452] ~

PSNilotic *ka-Rin "name" ~ PWNilotic *rin "name" ~ Kordofanian: Mororirəj "name" ~ WNigritic: Mumuye rín "name" [Smz. 1981, 18, #154 mistakenly derives it from *ghína] ~ Kisiha irina "name" [Fokken 1905, 79]. See also Bnd. 1975, 177 (Eg.-Nilotic).

There are no acceptable Afro-Asiatic cognates. Comparing OEg. rn with Sem.: Ar. nyr "to mark cloth, call" (suggested by Militarev in Sts. etc. 1995, 20) is unconvincing. I myself found a promising data in the Ron group of West Chadic: Sha 'a-yin, pl. 'a-yin-án [prefix 'a-] "name" [Jng. 1970, 283]. I cannot prove at the moment that Sha y- derives from *r- because I would need more Sha words with initial y- to be able to judge (in Jng. 1970 one can find just 12 Sha forms with initial y- + 3 with a prefix 'a- before y-, and only 5 words beginning with yi-). Interesting may be still PBantu *-yina "name" [Gtr. 1971, 143, #2068] (NB: In PBantu one can find no *r- and *l-!).

OEg. dp "kosten, schmecken" (PT, Wb V 443-444) ~ Nilo-Saharan "to taste": Songhay: Gao taba ~ Saharan: Kanuri tambu ~ WNilotic: Dinka thyep (Nilo-Saharan data: Grb. 1963, 146).

No acceptable AA etymology. Equation of OEg. dp with Sem. *t'm "to taste, eat" etc. (suggested in Dlg. 1966, 86-87, #8.14) is evidently untenable for phonological reasons.

OEg. jn' "chin" (PT, Wb I 94, 12; FD 23) ||| LECu.: Somali 'an "chin" [Hodge 1968, 22; Eg.-LECu.] ||| WCh.: Boghom ṛa "chin" || CCh.: Ghvoko nien "Kinn" [Str. 1922-1923, 115] | Zime-Dari nyau "chin" (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 76-77) ~ PCKhoisan *!ani "chin" [Baucom 1972, 19].

LEg. ḥsr(?) [prefix ḥ- of body parts?] "Arm" (GR, Wb III 168, 10) = WCh.: PAngas-Sura *sar ~ *sār "arm, hand" [Stl. 1977, 157] | Bole-Tangale *sara "hand" [Schuh 1984, 209] (WCh.: Stl. 1977, 65; 1987, 181; JI 1994 II, 178) ~ Sudanic: PEJebel *čor- "hand" [Bnd. 1998, 57]. For the WCh.-Eg. see OS 1992, 186; HSED #1246.

OEg. (m)ph [udder determinative] "udder" (PT 1548, Faulkner 1969, 235, fn. 4), cf. also LEg. ph "Euter" (GR, Wb I 533, 9), nph.wj "Euter der Kuh" (GR, Wb II 249, 15-17), mnph.t "Brust, Euter der Kuh" (Wb II 79, 14-15) ||| SCu. *[p]wəḥ-: Ma'a ma-fwáha "fresh milk" [Ehret 1980, 151] ||| WCh.: Nbauchi *a-pih "milk, breast" (Nbauchi data: Stl. 1987, 248, #2) || CCh.: Musgu fyáw [Mch.-JI] = fiyaw [Trn.] "sein", cf. also fīau [Müller] = fiyaw [Mch.] = fiyaw [Trn.] "milk" (Musgu: Müller 1886, 395; Mch. 1950, 26/38; Trn. 1991, 88) | Zime-Batna pá', pá "breast" || ECh.: Sokoro paio "milk" (Ch.: IS 1966, 22, #2.14; JI 1994 II, 46-47) ~ PCKhoisan *pii "breast", *pii "milk", *pii "to suck" [Baucom 1972, 26] ~ Ubangi: PMundu-Ndogo *pī "to milk" [Saxon 1982, 77].

The Eth.-Sem. parallels should be loans (there is no Sem. etymology): Amh. fäyā "to suck the breast, drink milk by suckling", Gurage: Muher f^wat, Soddo äfat, Goggot äf^wat "milk" (Eth.-Sem.: Lsl. 1979, 247).

OEG. bn.tj dual "Brustwarzen (Mann/Frau), weibliche Brüste" (Med., Wb I 457, 11-13) || WCh.: Warji píñá, píyéná, Tsagu éépèn "breast" (NBauchi: JI 1994 II, 46) || CCh.: Gulfei feng, Makeri fné "poitrine" [Lks. 1937, 147] (Kotoko f- < PCh. *b-?) ~ PBenue-Congo *-bani "breast" [Gerhardt 1973, 90] ~ Songhay bina [Mkr. 1966, 686] = bìnè [Zima 1990, 264] "heart" ~ PJukunoid *byan "breast" [Smz. 1981, 10, #190] ~ PBantu *-béénè "breast" [Gtr. 1971, 119].

OEG. hp3 "Nabel" (PT, Wb III 365, 14) || WCh.: Gera kufà "navel" [Zima 1990, 264] || CCh.: Musgu hif-na "nombril" [Tourneux 1990, 256] | Masa hifa, hífdá, kúftíy, Zime-Batna úfú, úfū "navel" (Ch. data: JI 1994 II, 251) ~ PBenue-Congo *-kwop- "navel" [Gerhardt 1973, 90].

OEG. bn.w "waist or buttocks" (PT 1464, Faulkner 1969, 226, fn. 17), cf. also OEG. wbn.w "root of tail?" (PT 547b, Faulkner 1969, 108, fn.3) = "Schwanzende?, Afterloch?, Steiß?" (GHWb 188) || WCh.: Angas-Sura *p^wṽn "(small of the) back": Angas bwīn "small of the back, hips" [Foulkes 1915] = bwīn "buttocks" [Kraft 1981, 18, #61], Sura ḥwóon "Rücken, Außenseite" [Jng. 1963, 60], Mupun ḥūon "back, waist" [Frj. 1991, 7] (for Angas-Sura see also Stl. 1977, 153, #19; 1987, 240) ~ PEBantu *búnù/*búnù "waist" and PEBantu *-búnù "buttock" [Guthrie 1971, 120]. No AA parallels of OEG. bn.w other than Chadic.

MEg. tbn "Gehirn?" (Med., Wb V 262, 1), reinterpreted recently as "bone-marrow = Knochenmark" (FD 296; GHWb 922) = WCh.: Angas tabur [-r < *-n] "brains" [Flk. 1915], Sura tubùk ~ tábùk "Gehirn" [Jng. 1963, 85], Mupun ntúbùk ~ ntúbùr "pus, brain", ntúbùr káa "brains" [Frj. 1991, 45] || CCh.: Gabin tìbìn-de "brains" [Kraft 1981] | Banana towən-dà "brains" [Kraft 1981] (Mkr. 1987, 108: WCh.-Gabin) ~ PBantu *-dùbí "brain" [Guthrie 1971, 126, #682].

As we can see, the only AA parallels for Eg. tbn appear in Chadic. The Eg.-Gabin comparison was first suggested in OS 1992, 185; HSED #2393.

NB: The Chadic forms of the type *tubuk go back to a compound *tubun/r kā "marrow of head" (cf. Angas-Sura *kā "head"). Of the interchanging final -n ~ -r we have to consider the former as original. The Gabin word tìbìn-de and the cognate Banana towən-dà should be explained by haplology from *tibin-indV, cf. Gabin indè "head". Was the final *-n in this Eg.-Ch. root *t-b-n originally a complement?

MEg. qn "fett (sein)" (Med., Wb V 40, 8-14) ~ Agaw: Bilin gin-d-, g^wn-d- "essere grasso" [Trb. 1923, 122, #105: Eg.-Bilin] ~ PBantu *-gìn- "to

become fat" [Guthrie 1971, 127, #815] ~ PMande *kèn "Fett" [Vydrin-Pozdnjakov 1987, 328].

OEG. tr [< *kr] "das Rote, als Bezeichnung für Blut" (PT, Wb V 386, 13) ~ PCSudanica *kari "blood" [Bnd. 1992, 25] ~ PKordofanian *(k)Or-i "blood, red" [Bnd. 1997, 134, #323]. Note that ECh.: Kwang kòwa:r, kúwá:r, Kera kor "blood" (ECh.: JI 1994 II, 31) - according to H. Jungraithmayr - contain the prefix k- attached to the Ch. root *b-r- "blood" [JI] (personal communication on 22 March 1997).

?LEg. 3h3h.w [if < *^hh] pl. "Bez. der Knochen" (GR, Wb I 19, 3) ~ PKuliak *ok "Knochen" [Heine 1975, 294; 1975-1976, 49].

MEg. wdd "Gallenblase, Galle" (Med., Wb I 394, 2) = Ch. *d-t- "bitter": WCh.: Hausa dācī [čī < *ti] | Kofyar dēt || CCh.: Tera dyot | Lamang uy-ɗata [it means "gall"!] || ECh.: Dangla d̥yūtu (Ch. data: Nwm. 1977, 22, #9) ~ PBantu *-dùdù "bitterness" → (or <?) *-dúdú/*-dùdù/*-dúdù "gall-bladder" [Guthrie 1971, 126]. If the "law of Belova" worked in this Eg. root, we should derive Eg. wdd from *dud.

LEg. p'p' "gebären" (GR, Wb I 504, 3-5) ~ PBantu *-pàap- "to bear a child" [Guthrie 1971, 135, #1449].

?OEG. 'n "leben" (OK, Wb I 193-198) ~ PCKhoisan *'an "to live" [Baucom 1972, 23]? Or is the OEG. root cognate with WCh. *n-y-k "to breathe" [data: Mkr. 1987, 110]?

OEG. *mj "sehen" → m "siehe" (OK, Wb II 4-5; Grd. 1957, 178, #234) || WCh.: Bole-Tangale *mayu "to see" [Schuh 1984, 217] || CCh.: Buduma mo, mō "to see" [Lks. 1939, 119] ~ Nilo-Saharan *-mo "eye" [Bnd. 1994, 1160, #25] ~ PCKhoisan *mu "to see" [Baucom 1972, 26].

OEG. gmj "finden" (OK, Wb V 166-169) ~ PKoman *gam "to find" [Bnd. 1983, 280]. Cf. also PCh. *g-m- "to meet" [NM 1966, 237].

MEg. 'n "schön (sein)" (MK, Wb I 190) ~ PCKhoisan *!an "good" [Baucom 1972, 20]. Cf. also WCh.: Ngizim ányà "well, OK" [Schuh 1981, 11].

OEG. tm "negative verb: not to do (+ infinitive)" (OK, Wb V 302-303; FD 298) ~ PCKhoisan *tama "not" [Baucom 1972, 24]. No acceptable AA equivalents I would know of except for CCh. *tVm- "not" [OS 1992, 202: Eg.-CCh.].

OEG. w' "eins" (OK, Wb I 273-276) ~ PCKhoisan */ui "one", */ui "alone" [Baucom 1972, 18, 25].

No reliable AA etymology. Because of phonological problems, OEG. w' cannot be related either to Sem. *wḥd "1" or to PBrb. *i-wVn "1" (contra Rn. 1874, XII, fn. 3; Ember 1917, 87, #134; 1926, 305, #3.4; Behnk 1927, 81, #7; Behnk 1928, 139, #18; Zhl. 1931, 134; Dlg. 1967, 300, #5; Zvd. 1967, 43; 1974, 105; 1975, 45; Blz. 1990, 34 etc.). Besides, PBrb. *i-wVn

"1" (where *-n is part of the root) = OEg. jwn "vereinigen" (PT, Wb I 53, 3-6) ||| ECh.: Tumak yun "1" [Bnd. 1975, 179].

?MEg. 3.t [if < *-t] "Zeit" (MK, Wb I 1, 1-2) ||| Bed.: Hadendowa 'ā "Zeit, Periode" [Zhl. 1932-1933, 165: Bed.-Eg.] ~ PCKhoisan *'ae "time" [Baucom 1972, 27].

OEg. h.t "Sache" (OK, Wb I 124-125) ||| WCh.: Boghom kii "Sache, Ding" [Jng. 1965, 177] ~ PCKhoisan *xuu "thing" [Baucom 1972, 27].

OEg. znj "vorbeigehen (LP-GR: von der Zeit)" (PT, Wb III 454-456) ||| NOm. *zin- "yesterday" [NOm. data: Crl. 1938 III, 208] ||| WCh.: PAngas-Sura *dōn [irregular, one would expect *zōn] "yesterday": Angas dōn ~ dōñ [Flk. 1915], Sura dɔɔɔndɔɔn [epenthetic -ɔ-] [Jng. 1963, 63], Mupun doo dē dōn [Frj. 1991, 12], Montol dəɣən [Jng. 1965, 171], Chip dəɣən [Jng. 1965, 166] (Angas-Sura: Stil. 1977, 153, #42) | Bole-Tangale *zano "yesterday" [Schuh 1984, 214] ||| ECh.: cp. Mokilko 'dzzinē ~ 'izzinē "passer, rester une année quelque part" [Jng. 1990, 159] ~ PBantu *-žānā "yesterday" [Guthrie 1971, 129].

LEg. b "Böses" (LP, Wb I 410, 8) = WCh.: Pero hóu "devil" [Frj. 1985, 22] ||| CCh.: Fali-Kiria həy "bad, evil" | Nzangi bumbwuy "evil" | Gude bwoya- "evil" | Logone mbáwe, mbááwē "schlecht sein" [Lks. 1936, 108], Buduma bi "schlecht sein", ábi, abí "schlecht" [Lks. 1939, 92, 89] (Kotoko: Prh. 1972, 33, #15.1) ||| ECh.: Jegu báyôt "schlecht" [Jng. 1961, 110] ~ PWSudanic *-ibi- "evil, badness" [Armstrong 1978, 67] ~ PWNigritic *-bi- "bad" [Smz. 1981, 16, #76] ~ PBantu *-bí "bad(ness)", *-bíb- "to become bad" [Gtr. 1971, 119]. See also HSED #270; Skn. 1996, 30-31.

OEg. snđ [< *slg] "sich fürchten" (PT, Wb IV 182-183) ~ Nubian *[š]alg "fear": Nobiin žag [*č-?], Kunuzi-Dongola sarki, Birgid salge, Dilling šolk, Debri šilki (Nubian data: Bechhaus-Gerst 1989, 94-95).

There is no convincing AA etymology of OEg. snđ:

1. W. Schenkel (1993, 141 - after Th. Schneider) combined OEg. snđ with Sem.: Ar. šnq "vor Angst/Zorn zittern, beben". Dubious both semantically and phonologically (Eg. -đ ≠ Sem. *-q).

2. The comparison of OEg. snđ with Sem. *talg- "snow" is rather daring. The semantic development "to be cold" or sim. → "to fear" does not seem, however, excluded, cp. Sem. *gld: Akk.: OBab.-NBab. glt [*gld], NAss. gld "erschrecken, zittern" [AHW 274] ~ Ar. ġalida "to froze, to be iced up", ġalid- "froze, ice".

?MEg. h'm "im Kampf auf einander treffen" [basic meaning?] (MK, Wb III 364) ~ PKuliak *kyem "kämpfen" [Heine 1975, 294; Ehret 1981, 96].

OEg. h3j [< *hry] "messen" (OK, Wb III 223) = WCh.: Sura kár "Kräfte messen, in Wettstreit treten" [Jng. 1963, 69] | Bole kor- "abmessen" [Lks.

1971, 136] ~ PKuliak *kori "ringen" [Heine 1975, 296; Ehret 1981, 97].

MEg. jb.w [< *yb-w] "shelter, refuge = Zufluchtsstätte" (MK, FD 15; Wb I 62, 5) ~ PBantu *-yúb- "shelter (from rain or sun)" [Guthrie 1971, 144, #2146]. In AA of interest may be also SCu. *yab- "to protect" [Ehret 1980, 315] and esp. WCh.: Ngizim ábû "hiding, seeking refuge from sg. feared" [Schuh 1981, 4].

OEg. hmsj "sitzen" (PT, Wb III 96-97) ||| Bed. kemis "to sit" ||| LECu.: Saho kamas "to sit" [Trb. 1977, 346: Saho-Bed.] ~ PKuliak *kamac "sitzen" [Heine 1975, 297] > PWKuliak *gemec "to sit" [Ehret 1981, 280] = *'gemec [Ehret 1981, 96].

The development of OEg. h < *k is irregular but not unique, cf. PT hapax hmm (≈ smt "hören") = ECu.: Dullay *kam-te "ear" ||| SOM. *kam-i "ear" ||| PCh. *k-m- "(to h)ear" (for details see Takács 1999, 161, #3.1.).

MEg. dbb "verstopfen" (MK, Wb V 436, 3) ~ PBantu *-dīb-, *-dībik- "to stop up", *-dīb- "to shut, shut (eyes)" [Guthrie 1971, 125]. The supposed AA cognate comes from Chadic but it is semantically not as close to Eg. dbb as the Bantu example, cf. PCh. *ndp ~ *dp ~ *db "to cover" [JS 1981, 71].

OEg. km "vollständig machen, vollenden" (MK, Wb V 128-130) ||| WCh.: cp. Pero kémò "to fill" [Frj. 1985, 36] ~ PBantu *-kóm- "to become finished" [Guthrie 1971, 131].

OEg. 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) ||| WCh.: Pero kpákkò [*k'wakkò] "to tie into a bundle" → kpákkò "long rope for tying firewood" [Frj. 1985, 37] ~ PCBantu *-kàk- "to tie up" [Guthrie 1971, 129].

MEg. fnfn.w [< *pnfn.w?] "Lohn" (XVIII., Wb I 576, 13) = "recompense" (FD 98) ||| WCh.: Angas pān ~ piin "to give, hand to" [Flk. 1915], Tal pen ~ p'en "to give" | Miya pun-, Siri punu, Jimbin bən- "to pay, ransom" (Nbauchi: Skn. 1977, 34; WCh.: Stil. 1987, 148) ||| CCh.: ?Musgu fána "to put" (Ch.: IS 1966, 22, #2.13) ~ PBantu *-páán- "to give" [Guthrie 1971, 135; Gerhardt 1980, 212].

OEg. d.t [< *g-t] "Hörige = serf" (OK, Wb V 510, 10; FD 318), hence (with a prefix n-): nd.t [< *ng-t] "Hörige, Untertanen, bes. Von fremden Völkern" (OK, Wb II 369, 2-3) = ECh.: Lele gúyá, Kabalay gúya "slave" | Somray kwáya "slave" (ECh.: Mkr. 1987, 334) ~ PBantu *-gja "slave" [Guthrie 1971, 127, #821].

MEg. hp.t "Steuerruder" (MK, Wb III 68, 4) ~ Peripheral CSudanic *kepi "paddle" [Bnd. 1992, 27] ~ PEUbangi *kapi "paddle" [Saxon 1982, 76] ~ PBantu *-gapì "paddle" [Gtr. 1971, 127]. For the irregular Eg. h- < *k- cp. OEg. hmsj above.

OEG. *dnj.w* [< *gny] "ein Gerät neben Hacken" (CT, Wb V 575, 10) = "sort of hoe?" [GT] || cp. CCh.: Nakatsa magigàrà, Glavda magyiganà "hoe" (nomina instrumenti prefix *ma- or a compound *magi-gana?) | Masa guna "hoe, mattock" [Kraft > OS 1989, 135 – not in Caitucoli 1983!] (CCh.: Kraft 1981, #154) ~ PBantu *-gúnḡù "hoe" [Guthrie 1971, 128, #901].

OEG. *h̥b3* [*h̥bl] "hacken" (PT, Wb III 253, 2-7) ~ PWKuliak *kubal "hoe" [Ehret 1981, 97].

The suggested Chadic parallels do not contain *-l (= OEG. -3): WCh. *[h̥w]aḅa [< *h̥wabaʔ] "hoe, handle of hoe" [Stl.]: Hausa gwáḅà "to haft the blade on a hoe-handle" | Kirfi gùfè, Galambu gùḅà, Gera gùḅà "handle (of hoe etc.)" | Bokkos hùḅerj "hoe" (for Eg.-WCh. see: Mlt. 1984, 23; 1985, 3, #10; DjK. etc. 1986, 51; Stl. 1987, 223; OS 1989, 135; 1992, 190; HSED #1365).

OEG. *ḡ* [< *ḡ] "hacken" (OK, Wb I 238) ||| LECu.: ?Saho-Irob yaga "begraben" [Rn. 1878, 137] ||| WCh.: Angas ok [-k < *-g] "to dig" [Flk. 1915] || ECh. *yVgV "to hoe, plough": Lele yagi, Kabalay yuwege | Tumak yæg, Somray yīgə, Ndam yōgə ~ PKuliak *ʔug "to dig" [Ehret 1981, 98]. For Eg.-ECh. see OS 1989, 135; 1992, 194, 196.

MEG. jwrj.t "Bohne" (MK, Wb I 56, 14) ~ PUBangi *war(a) beans" [Saxon 1982, 75]. In Chadic cf. WCh. *wVrVm [suffix *-Vmʔ] "beans": Angas-Sura *γ[ʷ]ir(i)m: Angas yurm [Flk. 1915], Sura yirim [Jng. 1963, 67], Mupun hērēm ~ ērēm [Frj. 1991, 22, 70], Montol ʔíyīm [Jng. 1965, 171] | Dera wóròm | Tsagu wááràn || CCh.: Bachama wà:rè etc. (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 10-11, though JI 1994 I, 5 set up PCh. *k-ḡ-m).

Eg. bnb̥n ~ bnn [< *blʔ] "Balken (von Cedernholz)" (NE, Wb I 459, 16; 460, 18) = Bed. bilbil "Stock" || Agaw: Hamir bālbaláá "Ast, Zweig" [Rn. 1884, 347] ||| WCh.: Ankwe bal "stick" | Miya kwām-bál "stick" | Pero bálbál "bamboo" [Frj. 1985, 21] || CCh.: Logone ḅálá "stick" || ECh.: Migama gòm-bòl "stick" (Mkr. 1987, 354; Ch.-Bed.) ~ P(W)Kuliak *ḅel "Stock" [Heine 1975, 298; Ehret 1981, 92] ~ PCSudanic *mbel "stick, spear" [Bnd. 1992, 29].

OEG. *ḡ* "Horn" (OK, Wb I 173-174) ~ PKuliak *ḡb "horn" [Heine 1975, 293; 1975-1976, 48; Ehret 1981, 92]. OEG. *ḡ* has nothing to do with OEG. *db "horn".

OEG. db "Nilpferd" (OK, Wb V 433, 15) ~ PKuliak *ḡḡb "Nashorn" [Heine 1975-1976, 45]. The Eg.-PKuliak comparison was proposed by Blz. 1994, 200.

OEG. j̥n "Pavian" (OK, Wb I 41, 6) ~ PBantu *-yanj "kind of ape" [Guthrie 1971, 141, #1927]. In AA cp. HECu. *wēʔne "Colobus monkey" [Hds. 1989, 424].

OEG. *ḡ* "Name eines Wildhundes?" (OK, Wb I 176, 2) ~ PCKhoisan *aba "dog" [Baucom 1972, 177].

OEG. jnp.w "dog/jackal god Anubis" (OK, Wb I 96, 7; cf. Grd. 1927, 451, E15: "dog rather than a jackal") ~ PBantu *-mbúf/*-yimbúf "hyena" [Guthrie 1971, 120]. For the a promising and possible areal parallel may be found in HECu.: Sidamo amboma "hyaena" [Hudson 1989, 83]. Interestingly, A. Ju. Militarev (in Sts. etc. 1995, 5) reconstructs ECU. *ʔa[m]P- "hyaena" but I do not know which data served as basis for this proto-form. Similarly, A. B. Dolgopolsky (1991 MS, #24) seems to know of further (?) Cu. reflexes of his Nst. *ʔä/empV "hyena, dog".

?LEG. t̥3m [< *kʔmʔ] "Löwe" (GR, Wb V 355, 2) ||| WCh.: Ron *kukum "lion" [Ron: Jng. 1970, 389; Mkr. 1987, 241] ~ PCKhoisan *xam "lion" [Baucom 1972, 23].

OEG. *wn "desert hare" (Grd. 1927, 452: E34; the hieroglyph for wn depicts a hare): does it derive < *w3n ("hiding" -3-) = *wrn ~ Nilo-Saharan: PKoman *warVn (?) "hare" [Bnd. 1983, 281, #252]?

The AA (Chadic) etymology of Eg. *wn "desert hare" is problematic. There are two interesting Chadic roots which may be alternatively accounted for (though both are phonologically fully obscure):

1. CCh.: Matakam wándāw, Muktele mà-vīḡàù, Mofu hwòndáv "hare" (CCh.: JI 1994 II, 181). But the underlying PCh. form is *b-n-d "hare" [JS 1981, 131A], which is evidently incompatible with OEG. *wn.

2. WCh.: Sura-Angas *fʷan "hare" [Stl.]: Sura dā-fwan ~ fwan [Jng. 1963, 66] = ḡa-fwīn [Stl.], Angas nka-fwan, Montol fwēn, Ankwe fīwən ~ fuan, Chip dā-fwən (WCh. data: Jng. 1965, 171; Stl. 1987, 240; Stl. 1977, 153, #30; JI 1994 II, 180). But Eg. w- ≠ Sura-Angas *fʷ-.

MEG. *ḡnbh* "Frosch" (Med., Wb I 178, 16) = CCh.: Ngwahi bènḡà [*ḡbə nga] "frog" [Kraft 1981] ~ PKoman *ḡankə "frog" [Bnd. 1983, 281].

NEG. jn.w [< *yn-w] "etwas Süßes als Honig" (NE, Wb I 94, 2; GHWb 75) = "sugar?" (DLE I 37 – not accepted in GHWb), cf. also bj.t n jn "als Art Honig" (NE, Wb I 94, 1) ~ PKoman *yinV "honey" [Bnd. 1983, 277].

MEG. jtn [< *tyl] "Sonne" (MK, Wb I 145) = WCh.: Sbauchi *tāl- "sun" [data: Stl. 1987, 167; Mkr. 1987, 359; JI 1994 II, 312] ~ PMande *tile "sun" [Vydrin-Pozdnjakov 1987, 328]. For the WCh.-Mande comparison see Mkr. 1987, 359; 1995, 72.

OEG. ḡw.t "Regen" (PT, Wb III 49) ||| WCh.: Siri hwíí "rain" [Mlt., but Skn. 1977, 48 gives Siri ibi "rain"] || ECh.: Somray (Sibine) ʔwā "to rain" (Ch.-Eg.: Mlt. in Sts. etc. 1995, 33; HSED #1303) ~ PKoman *ho "rain" [Bnd. 1983, 272]. Note that Sem.: Ar. ḡayā-t- "rain" is isolated within Sem.,

it seems rather a secondary innovation in Ar. (contra Ember 1930, #14.a.15; Mlt. 1987, 105).

No doubt, non-Afro-Asiatic elements were also present in the oldest Egyptian vocabulary, though their number should not be overestimated in comparison with the Afro-Asiatic stock. It is noteworthy and very suspicious that wherever the above Egyptian ~ African (Nilo-Saharan, Bantu, Khoisan) parallels seem to have an acceptable equivalent within Afro-Asiatic, it always comes either from Chadic or (once) from Cushito-Omoti but never from Semitic or Berber. Whether these non-AA elements in Old Egyptian originate from a substratal heritage or from an ancient coexistence of Proto-Egypto-Chadic (and Cushtic?) for a longer period with the bearers of these non-Afro-Asiatic families – it is to be subject to further study.

Homeland question

The homeland of the Proto-Afro-Asiatic population is debated. As is well known, there exist two opposite theories. The traditional North African (Saharan) homeland is supported recently by Diakonoff (Djk. 1975; 1981; 1995, 37-39; 1996, 81-88). On the other hand, A. Ju. Militarev tries to identify the reconstructed Proto-Afro-Asiatic cultural lexicon with the archaeological evidence of the Natufian culture in Palestine (see Mlt. 1983; 1989; Mlt.-Snr. 1984; Mlt.-Pejros-Snr. 1988).

I do not wish to discuss all the problems of these theories in detail. What I can offer here now is just a call for joint investigation by both linguists and archaeologists about these questions. Some of my archaeological data are probably also not most up-to-date and therefore should be commented by specialists of neolithic Egypt. Certainly some of the chronological data are outdated by now, so they should be understood only as orientation. As a "conclusion" of this paper I put several questions to be answered by the linguoarchaeological research in the future.

The neolithic cultures appeared relatively at a late date in Egypt (around the 6th mill. B.C.) both on the North and South. Usage of copper (aeneolithic) was spreading apparently from the South (Upper Egypt) while the Lower Egyptian neolithic cultures known to me (Fayyum, Merimde Beni Salame, Omari) lacked it. Before the 6th mill. B.C. there was a mesolithic (epipaleolithic) "town" in El-Qab (Upper Egypt) with walls and a shrine, traces of which were found (roughly in the 10th-5th mill. B.C.).

There are a few elements of the earliest Egyptian iconography which show much in common with the ancient Saharan rock paintings (perhaps from the 7th to 5th mill. B.C.):

1. Tail of an animal (fox, wolf or jackal) as the ornament of the king of Upper Egypt (palette of Scorpion and Narmer) = Saharan hunter hero. The animal tail remained among the official royal ornaments of the Egyptian kings (its name is Eg. mnkr.t and has cognates in Chadic and Lowland East Cushitic).

2. Jackal mask on the hero of a predynastic Egyptian palette = animal mask on the Saharan hunter.

3. Horn combined with a sun disk on the head of divine figures in Egyptian iconography ~ horn and disk on the head of the Saharan hunter in one case. Etc.

The traces of a supposed cannibalism found on human corpses in Nagada I-II also seem to point in the direction of inner African cultures just like the designation of Egyptian "right hand" = "eating hand" (see above).

On the basis of all these theories and linguistic facts presented above, I have to make the following questions instead of a conclusion. Can we suppose that, after the split-up of the Afro-Asiatic unity, the Proto-Egyptian tribes had a longer coexistence with the ancestors of Chadic as well as of Nilo-Saharan somewhere in the Saharan macroarea? Can we identify the bearers of the paleolithic-neolithic Saharan culture with a wide conglomeration where Proto-Egypto-Chadic and other ancient African (Nilo-Saharan, Bantu etc.?) populations also took part? Can we suppose that the Proto-Egyptian tribes migrated from the south or south-west to Upper Egypt to gradually occupy the entire Nile Valley? Can we suppose a later (secondary) Egypto-Semitic coexistence already in the neolithic Nile Valley and place it after the split-up of the Chado-Egyptian union (which may have motivated Proto-Egyptians to migrate toward the Nile Valley from Sahara)?

*

Abbreviations

AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, Ass.: Assyrian, Bab.: Babylonian, BD: Book of the Dead, Bed.: Bedawye, Brb.: Berber, C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, E: East, Eg.: Egyptian, GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period, Hbr.: Hebrew, L: Late, LEg.: Late Egyptian, LP: Late Period, MK: Middle Kingdom, N: North, NE: New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, Nst.: Nostratic, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, P: Proto-, PT: Pyramid Texts, S: South, Sem.: Semitic, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West.

Abbreviated author names

BG: Bechhaus-Gerst, Blz.: Blažek, Bnd.: Bender, Crl.: Cerulli, Djk.: D'jakonov ~ Diakonoff, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij ~ Dolgopolsky, Flk.: Foulkes, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, Grb.: Greenberg, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takács, Gtr.: Guthrie, Hds.: Hudson, IS: Illič-Svityč, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, Lks.: Lukas, Mch.: Mouchet, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, NM: Newman & Ma, Nwm.: Newman, OS: Orel & Stolbova, Prh.: Porhomovskij, Rn.: Reinisch, Skn.: Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Snk.: Schenkel, Snr.: Šnirel'man, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Sts.: Starostin, Trb.: Trombetti, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, VP: Vydrin & Pozdnjakov, Zhl.: Zyhlarz, Zvd.: Zavadovskij.

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GÁBOR TAKÁCS

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE TO THE DISCUSSION ON THE OBSCURE WORDS OF PAPYRUS EBERS 99, 10-12

The medical-anatomical text of Papyrus Ebers contains a difficult passage in 99, 10-12: jw mt-w fd-w psšn-w n tp st-t-sn m mkh3 ntj m-ht qm3 htp b3 '3' qm3-t-sn pw n hrw.

Deines (1958, 1) offered the following translation: "Es sind 4 Gefäße, die sich zum Kopf hin verteilen, deren Verknüpfung am Hinterkopf ist und die es letzten Endes sind, die eine »kahle Stelle« schaffen. Das ist es was sie nach außen schaffen".

As is well known, Ward (1978, 105-108) declined this rendering and tried to demonstrate that Egyptian (henceforth Eg.) b3 in this passage meant something like "receptacle, reservoir of hair-oil".

I do not wish to analyze all the problems of this passage in detail here. It would require a great deal of work. Instead, I want to contribute to the research only with a small detail. I do not claim to have found the right solution to translate Eg. b3 and its entire context. But there is an interesting word in a cognate Afro-Asiatic language (Chadic branch), which I would like to share with the interested researchers of Papyrus Ebers who may some time perhaps take use of it. During my work on the historical phonology and lexicon of the West Chadic Angas-Sura group (Takács 1998), I found a seemingly perfect match of the supposed Eg. b3 [< *br ~ *bl] "kahle Stelle (am Haar)?" (see also GHWb 239). This is: Mupun (dialect of Sura) vwár "bald" [Frj. 1991, 64]. It is phonologically provable that Mupun vwar derives from an earlier *b^war.

I think this small detail should be perhaps accounted for at least as a possible factor which also speaks for the translation of Eg. b3 as "kahle Stelle" in Ebers 99, 10-12.