Trustees of Indiana University
Anthropological Linguistics

Hausa-Egyptian Establishment
Author(s): Carleton T. Hodge
Source: *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Jan., 1966), pp. 40-57
Published by: The Trustees of Indiana University on behalf of Anthropological Linguistics
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/30029140
Accessed: 03/09/2013 13:47

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at
http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Trustees of Indiana University and *Anthropological Linguistics* are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Anthropological Linguistics.*

http://www.jstor.org

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

HAUSA-EGYPTIAN ESTABLISHMENT[1]

Carleton T. Hodge

Indiana University

"C'est l'Afrique qui est la patrie des Egyptiens, de leur civilisation et de leur langue." Edouard Naville[2]

Sufficient facts have been readily available for many years to prove the relationship of Hausa to Egyptian and to the Semitic languages. The word 'prove' is here used with reference to Hymes' three stages in genetic classification — hypothesis, proof and establishment. Hymes says of the second, "When no inference other than that of genetic connection is possible, a relationship is proven".[3] As an example of the ample proof of the Hausa connection with other Afro-Asiatic languages, one need only cite such data as are contained in the tables appended to G. A. Barton, Semitic and Hamitic Origins (Philadelphia, 1934).

The fact of this connection is not in serious dispute, but the third stage, establishment, is something yet to be achieved. It is disappointing that after one hundred years the comparison of the Afro-Asiatic languages is still in its infancy.[4] Valid sound correspondences for the group as a whole have not been set up. The greatest, and to date the most successful, efforts have been in the comparison of Egyptian and Semitic. Even here the results have been meager considering the amount of work which has been done.[5]

Werner Vycichl has given us a recent (1958) considered statement on the status of Egypto-Semitic comparisons.[6] His is also the most comprehensive published statement on the relationship between Hausa and Egyptian.[7] While old (1934), this latter article is the only one having come to my attention which treats this relationship in extenso and endeavors to move on to its 'establishment'. Some '200-300' comparisons are mentioned as having been assembled, although only a fraction of these is actually utilized in the article. While valuable and an excellent piece of work for the time, Vycichl's study does not bring sufficient evidence to bear on the sound correspondences set up. While many of the latter are valid, the list needs confirmation, correction and amplification. The present paper deals with only a few correspondences, but the effort has been made to 'establish' them, to leave no doubt but that these are firm pegs on which to hang further research.

This study is based primarily upon the direct comparison of Egyptian and Hausa.[8] The work on Egypto-Semitic is fundamental to it and forms the point of departure (as it did for Vycichl's article thirty years ago). Three correspondences have been singled out for special attention, two having been previously proposed but insufficiently attested, the third being an Egypto-Semitic correspondence applied (as far as I know for the first time) to the comparison of Egyptian and Hausa.

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Objection may justifiably be made to such a limited treatment, using only these two languages. Greenberg warns specifically against the procedure adopted here, arguing that the other Chad languages must be taken into account.[9] On the other hand, the data for both Hausa and Egyptian are quite good, and if valid correspondences can be shown to exist, this will add considerably in the comparison with other Chad languages and with other branches of the proposed family (Berber, Cushitic, Semitic). The data from these other languages may invalidate individual comparisons, but will not affect the sound correspondence itself.

A purely contrastive listing of Hausa, Egyptian and Proto-Semitic phonemes is very suggestive:[10]

Hausa	f	p	b	b'	t		d	d'		c	k	g	k'					s'	j		s	z
Eg	f	p	b		t		d			č	k	g	q						ǧ		s	z
pSem		p	b		t	ṯ	d				k	g	q	θ	ð	ṯ	ḏ	ṣ		ś	s	z

Hausa	š					h		ɬ	r	l	m	n	w	y	'	
Eg	š	x	x̌		ḥ	ʿ	h	3		r		m	n	w	y	'
pSem	š	x		γ	ḥ	ʿ	h			r	l	m	n	w	y	ʾ

The values of / 3/ and / ǧ/ will be discussed below. The Egyptian language had / l/ in some dialects but not in that for which the script was devised. / y/ does not occur initially in Old Egyptian, apparently being replaced by / '/ [ʔ]. The pSem / q/ was probably [kʔ]; see below. / q/ is used as traditional and convenient, as are / ṣ ṯ/ , etc. / '/ is [ʔ].

One area in which relationship would seem to be discoverable is that of the glottalized series. Both Semitic and Hausa have glottalized stops and spirants, while some apparently corresponding sounds are found in Egyptian. Present day Semitic languages of Ethiopia have actual glottalized sounds. In Arabic the corresponding phonemes are 'emphatic' or 'velarized'. It has been assumed by many scholars (and this view is adopted here) that the emphatics were a later development, the proto-sounds being glottalized.[11] Both glottalized and emphatic sounds are found elsewhere in Afro-Asiatic. Somali / d'/ is glottalized according to Abraham, while the Shilh sounds are described by Applegate as 'domal' or 'emphatic'.[12]

Recently a number of scholars have considered the analysis of sounds of this type into two phonemes. For example, Applegate analyzes the emphatic quality or component as a separate phoneme in Shilha, as does Lehn for Cairene Arabic.[13] When the distribution of this component in the various Afro-Asiatic languages is considered, it seems highly probable that it has operated as an independent element to a great extent. The general pattern postulated for Semitic has been a series of glottalized consonants in the proto-language having rigidly prescribed resultant phonemes in the daughter languages. These statements take care of the classical languages fairly well, though they do not account for the presence of emphatic / ḷ/ in Arabic or of glottalized / p'/ in Ethiopic.[14] When it comes to the modern languages, the failure is even more apparent. For example, emphatic / r̤/ , / m̤/ and others occur in some

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Arabic dialects.[15] One may note here the glottalized /b'/ of Hausa (see the contrastive list above). It would in fact seem that the distribution of this feature was much greater in proto-Semitic than in the other language groups. The occurrence of the recently developed emphatics in Arabic is alone evidence of the combinatory nature of the glottal or emphatic component. (This implies nothing as to the phonemic status of glottalized or emphatic consonants in individual languages or at different stages of the same language. This must be determined descriptively for each language or stage of a language.) The present paper deals with members of this series as units, though this raises a problem when it comes to Hausa /b'/. It is probable that in proto-Afro-Asiatic these sounds were clusters and that the reconstruction of the proto-language will show a simpler phonemic system than that of proto-Semitic. The problem is only broached here, but it is hoped that the anticipated separation of this component will provide a firmer base for comparing hitherto disparate elements.

One of the glottalized series which occurs in all branches of the Afro-Asiatic phylum is that represented by /q/ (usually transcribed /ḳ/ in Egyptian) and /k'/ in Hausa. Since /q/ : /q/ is an accepted sound correspondence for Egyptian and Semitic, it was to be expected that Hausa /k'/ would also correspond. Vycichl gives Hausa /k'/ as equating with Egyptian /q/ but furnishes only two examples.[16] One of these is good: Eg /q r s/ [better /q s/] bone, Ha /k'ãšii/. The other, Eg /q m 3/ rush Ha /kyamroo/ [usually /kyawroo/] does not have /k'/ in Hausa, though Vycichl gives /kʸ'/. Both of these he lists elsewhere in his article as 'urverwandt'. One good etymology is not enough. An examination of other possibilities by the present writer has lead to a considerable list, which is included in that given below. While a number of these items will undoubtedly be dismissed on further evidence, it would seem safe to say that not all will be, and the equation is, in my opinion, 'established'.

Among other Egypto-Semitic sound correspondences involving the glottalized series is Eg /ǧ/ : Sem /ṣ/. This is an accepted equation but the interpretation of it varies. Vergote holds that the proto value was /g/, Eg /ǧ/ and Sem /ṣ ḍ/being secondary developments.[17] This would seem quite possible in view of the above held view of the independent nature of the glottal component. However, if comparison of Eg /ǧ/ with Ha /s'/ proves productive, then Vergote's view would assume independent development of glottalized /s'/ in the same etyma in different language groups. This is highly unlikely, so that if Ha /s'/ is shown to correspond to Eg /ǧ/, then Ha /s'/, Eg /ǧ/ and Sem /ṣ/ would necessarily reflect either a glottalized consonant or a cluster of which one member was /ʔ/ in the proto-language.[18]

To the best of my knowledge there has been no previous comparison of Eg /ǧ/ and Ha /s'/. In his article on Hausa and Egyptian Vycichl gives only Ha /g/ as the equivalent of Eg /ǧ/.[19] In his survey of Egypto-Semitic he inadvertently omits Eg /ǧ/ : Sem /ṣ/ in his list of equivalences, but the correspondence is assumed in some of his examples.[20]

Of considerable importance is the slight evidence with regard to the phonetic nature of Eg /ǧ/ which is afforded by its use in transcribing Semitic

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

loanwords. Execration texts of the Thirteenth Dynasty use /ǧ/ to represent Canaanite / ṣ/ . In the New Kingdom / ǧ/ most frequently represents / ṣ/ in such loans, though it is also believed to be used for Canaanite / z/ at that time.[21] Vergote's reconstructed history of / ǧ/ is highly unlikely, in view of the probable phonetic value of / ǧ/ even as late as the Middle kingdom. While its use for Sem / ṣ/ implies only that it was the closest Egyptian sound phonetically, it would seem most likely that Eg / ǧ/ at this period was a sound containing a glottal or emphatic component (a velarized affricate?).

The relation of Eg / ǧ/ with Sem / ṣ/ both etymologically and phonetically provides a firm basis for investigating the possible connection of Eg / ǧ/ with Ha / s'/ . The latter should also stand in etymological relationship with several of the Semitic glottalized series, including / ṣ/ , though this is not investigated here. Comparison of Egyptian with Hausa has yielded a large number of possible equations, which are presented below. A few words were found in which Eg / ǧ/ may correspond to Ha / g/ , but the number of / ǧ/ : / s'/ correspondences is much greater.

The third correspondence dealt with in this paper involves the sound represented by the hieroglyph depicting the Egyptian vulture, G 1 in Gardiner's sign list. For convenience it will here be transcribed by the numeral 3, as being the symbol closest in shape to that used by Egyptologists (ꜣ). Happily the numeral 3 does not have any linear phonetic connotations.

In the late nineteenth century the phonetic quality of / 3/ was noted as a problem.[22] In the 90's it was settled, to the eventual but by no means immediate satisfaction of the Egyptological world, that it was a glottal stop. Two articles appearing in 1892 were major factors in this decision.[23] One of these, by Erman, treated the relationship of Egyptian to Semitic. The other, by Steindorff, was on the transcription of Egyptian. Erman pointed out what he felt were valid comparisons of / 3/ with Sem / ʾ r ṣ y/ as well as zero. He felt that / 3/ and the arm hieroglyph (D 36), transcribed as / ʿ/ , were the 'final, unrecognizable remains of older full consonants'; this he did not elaborate. Steindorff, on the other hand, discussed / 3/ at some length, particularly in relation to reedleaf (M 17). He felt that comparative evidence was not decisive in determining their value and concluded, with some hesitation, that reedleaf was / y/ and, since Egyptian would otherwise be without a representation of the glottal stop, that / 3/ was the latter sound. He gave an alphabet, with transcription, virtually identical with that used by Gardiner in the latest edition of his grammar (1957). After the futile efforts of the opposition to maintain that / 3/ was a vowel, we find it everywhere described as a glottal stop, omitting the question mark which Steindorff used after his / 3/ - [ʾ] equation.[24]

Both the etymological and other evidence point to a quite different conclusion. Examination of the Egypto-Semitic equivalences proposed shows clearly that / 3/ corresponds best to / r/ , occasionally to / l/ and sometimes to / ʿ/ or / ʾ/ . In early (Middle Egyptian) transcriptions of Semitic loanwords / 3/ is used to render / r/ and / l/ , never / ʾ/ . The / r l/ value of / 3/ is noted by Helck to hold good also for the writing of Nubian names. Even in the

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

New Kingdom, when / 3/ had, in some positions at least, been replaced by glottal stop, it never represents Canaanite / ʔ/. On the other hand, / '/ (reedleaf, M 17) is regularly used in both Middle and Late Egyptian texts to render Semitic / ʔ/ .[25] The conclusion must be drawn that in both Old and Middle Egyptian / 3/ was not a glottal stop but a trill, flap or lateral of some kind.[26] The comparisons with Semitic / ʔ/ which are valid must be loans.

Hausa has / r ɾ l/ . Possible comparisons of / 3/ with each were investigated. The overwhelming number of likely pairs showed / 3/ : / r/ or / ɾ/ . (No effort was made to distinguish / r/ and / ɾ/ .) A few instances of / 3/ : / n/ , as well as / 3/ : / l/ have been noted, but the effort to equate / 3/ with / '/ was abandoned. This is in contrast to Vycichl, who restricts the correspondence of / 3/ to / r/ and / l/ to syllable final position, and also maintains the / 3/ : / '/ equation.[27] Only one of Cohen's examples assumes / 3/ : / r/ : Eg / b ' 3/ follow, Ha / bari/ leave [404].[28] Greenberg has no / 3/ : Ha / r/ equivalences but lists / 3/ as corresponding to / r/ elsewhere ([32] — Chad, Cushitic, Berber, Semitic, but no Hausa.)[29] In my opinion, the examples included in the list below leave no doubt but that / 3/ most frequently corresponds to Hausa / r ɾ/ (in all positions), occasionally to / l/ and possibly to / n/ . To add / '/ makes an unreasonable picture and one not supported by the vocabularies compared. The alternation of / r ɾ l n/ is quite feasible.

Following is a list of Eqyptian words, with suggested Hausa cognates.

	Eqyptian		Hausa	
1.	3 w r	tremble	ɾawaa	dancing
			ɾawar jìkii	trembling
			ɾàwsayàà	swaying (of body)
2.	3 b	cease, tarry	ɾabàà	divide, separate
3.	3 b y	panther, leopard	ɾabbii[30]	cheetah
4.	3 m	burn	ramaw	(dry out) completely
				(be roasted) thoroughly
5.	3 m m	sieze, grasp	ɾaamàà	retaliate
	3 m s	club, mace		
6.	3 q	perish	lak'èè	overcome, knock down
7.	3 č p	carry	rakàà	escort a person on a journey
8.	3 ǧ t	cobra	raas'èè	swerve
9.	' 3 b t t	east	'arèèwaa	north
10.	(3	donkey	'agùrù	a gelded donkey
11.	(w 3 '	rob, steal	'àmoorèè	highway robbery
12.	(ǧ	edge, margin	gùùs'uu	bottom, base
13.	(ǧ	hack up, destroy	gàà s'aa	bite off
			gus'ùɾee	break piece off
			gus'às'arii	bits and pieces
14.	(ǧ t	offense (?)	gàs'ee	sarcasm

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

15.	w ḡ 3	whole, sound	wars'akee	be all right (e.g. be wide awake, be well after sickness)
16.	w ḡ '	send away	waas'àà	scatter, disperse
17.	w ḡ ʃ	cut, be parted	s'aagàà	(to) lance
18.	w ḡ ʃ	gray crane	s'agagii	ibis
19.	w ḡ b	turn around	s'aabàà	threshed grain
20.	w ḡ ḥ	wean	s'oofoo	old (person)
21.	b 3	soul	bòòrii	cult of spirit possession
22.	b 3	hack up, hoe, destroy	b'aarèè	shell, peel
	w b 3	to bore		
23.	b 3 b 3 t	(a kind of grain or fruit)	burburwàà	a fodder grass (Sk)
24.	b 3 ḥ	phallus	bùùraa	phallus
	b 3 ḥ w t	virility		
25.	b k 3	become pregnant	bàkàraaraa	sterile female
26.	b ḡ n	rod for punishment	bus'àaree	behave rebelliously
27.	p 3 w t	primeval time	faaràà	begin
28.	p 3 q	(a kind of cake)	fuɾaa	balls of cooked flour
29.	p ḡ '	sharpen (a knife)	fas'a'	fishing, fishhook
	p ḡ t	bow		
30.	f 3 k	be shorn	fàrkaa	tear, rip and remove
31.	m 3 ʃ	true	ɾay	life
	m 3 ʃ t	established order	ɾaayàà	give life to, revive
			maɾaayaa	place of safety or well being
32.	m ḡ 3 t	papyrus roll	s'aaràà	arrange, compose, edit
33.	m ḡ 3 t	chisel	s'aràà	lance, cut
34.	m ḡ t	oil	maas'àa	squeeze out
	m ḡ w t	bonds	maas'èè	firmly wind on (turban)
	m ḡ t	stalled cattle		
	m ḡ ḥ	fillet	mas'àà	pinch together
	m ḡ ḥ	hewer	mas'ii	being crowded
	m ḡ ḍ	press hard on		
	d m ḡ	assemble, unite		
35.	m ḡ f t	chisel (ceremonial)	màs'eefatàà	(implement for removing thorns, etc.)
36.	n q r	sift; sieve	nik'àà	grind
37.	n ḡ	grind	laas'àà	squeeze
38.	n ḡ	ask	nìs'u	come to one's senses
	n ḡ n ḡ	take counsel	nìs'as's'ee	person of reflection
39.	n ḡ r w	grasp, arrest	s'aɾèè	guarded
40.	r 3	mouth, speech	ruurii	cry, roar, shout
41.	r w ḡ	hard	roos'àà	break (head)
42.	r q	incline, turn aside	ròòk'aa	beg, beseech

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

43.	h 3 '	come down, go down	haw-àà	climb over
44.	ḥ 3 p	secret	rufèè	cover
45.	ḥ 3 m	catch (fish, etc.)	hàrbaa	shoot
46.	ḥ 3 g	be pleasant, glad	hàrgoowàà	uproar
	ḥ 3 g 3 g	exult	hàrgààgii	uproar, angry speech
47.	ḥ ǧ	white	fas'ii	light red-skinned person
48.	ḥ ǧ '	injure, disobey, upset	huus'uu	cantankerous
49.	z 3	maggot	zartàà	bore into (of worm)
50.	z 3	cattle hobble	zaaraaràà	long rope tied to animals neck
51.	z 3 '	linger, wait	jiraà	wait for; keep watch over
	z 3 w	guard		
52.	z 3 t	pintail duck	zààraa	red-bellied tree starling
53.	z 3 w	wooden beam	'azààraa / zàraa	wooden beam
54.	s 3	knife	sàà-aa	slash
55.	s 3 w	satiety	sur	chock full
56.	s 3 q	pull together	sark'èè	become interlaced
			ruk'uk'ii	dense thicket
			/ sark'ak'k'iyaa	
			rùk'umàà	come to grips with
57.	s ʃ q	cause to enter	šààk'aa	inhale
58.	s r ǧ	working with the chisel or adze	sars'èè	splinter
59.	š 3	determine, appoint	širyàà	prepare, arrange
60.	š 3 b w	meals	šàrb'aa	noisily drink soup
61.	š 3 z	travel; step on (enemy)	šuu-èè	kick
62.	q 3 3	grains (?)	k'iiliilii	any tiny object
63.	q 3 '	tall, exalted	k'aaràà	increase
64.	q 3 ʃ	spew out	k'waarèè	choke while swallowing
			maak'uree	strangle
65.	q 3 b	intestine	k'wa-yaa	any circular gourd
	q 3 b t	breast	k'wa-yar kay	cranium
	q 3 b t	crown of head	k'wààru	become replete
	cf. q 3 b	fold over		
66.	q 3 s	string (bow), bind	k'ii-ìì	hide rope
	q 3 s	rope-ladder		
67.	q ' s	vomit	k'oosàà	eat to satiety
68.	q ʃ h	bend (the arm)	k'afàà	foot
	q ʃ ḥ	elbow, arm, shoulder	k'àafad'àà	shoulder
69.	q w r	(gold) miner	k'eeràà	forge
70.	q b	humble oneself (before a deity)	k'oobooboo	being bent, bowed down
71.	q f 3 f	fame	k'àfoo	horn
72.	q f n	cook	k'uunàà	burning heat
73.	q m 3	throw	k'umèè	hit hard
	q m 3	hammer	k'wamàà	hit

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

74.	q n	evil	k'ànkaanàà	revile
75.	q n '	embrace	k'àmnaa	love, liking
76.	q r f	contract	k'urèè	be constricted
77.	q r s	bury	k'àrs̆ee	end
			k'aarèè	finish
78.	q ḥ ḥ w t	(animals offered instead of cattle)	k'ihiihiyàà	turtle
79.	q q	hoopoe	k'ook'uwaa	apex, top
80.	q d t	(a weight)	k'idàà yaa	count
81.	k 3	bull	kooràà	drive (animal)
82.	k 3	ka, soul	kùrwaa	soul, ghost
83.	k 3 r	temple	kàà raa	regard, deference
84.	g 3 w	be narrow, lack	gargaràà	worn out at end
			gurgùù	lame
85.	t w 3	support, sustain	taw≠ii	hardness
86.	č 3 m	cloak	kàrbuu	selvedge, seam
	č 3 m	veil	yaa d'aw kàrbuu	he pulled up chin-piece of turban over mouth and nose
	č 3 m	foreskin		
87.	d 3	copulate	duu≠ìì	vagina
88.	d 3 b w	figs	du≠ùmii	a variety of fig tree
89.	d q r	fruit	dàà k'iiràà	devour much of
90.	d ǧ w	(a kind of grain)	daas'ìì	(a type of grass)
			daas'àà	chop up (grass for fodder; chop into small pieces
91.	ǧ 3 '	extend (arm); pierce	s'artuwaa	spitting (in a stream)
	ǧ 3 '	cross (water, etc.)		
92.	ǧ 3 t	crane	s'iryaa	parakeet, lovebird
93.	ǧ w	mountain	s'awoo	length, height
			s'awnìì	mountain
94.	ǧ w '	call	s'aawaa	thunder; a rebuke
95.	ǧ b 3	stop up, block	s'umbùraa	hinder growth
96.	ǧ n d	(among beverages)	s'indùmaa	add too much water
9 .	ǧ n ǧ n	(among birds)	s'uns'uu	bird
98.	ǧ n ǧ n	be angry	s'ànaa	carp at
	ǧ n d	be wrathful	s'ananii	persecution, severity
			s'anàntaa	(to) torment
99.	ǧ r w	boundary, end	s'àrnuu	fencing post
	'ǧ r	boundary	s'araa	middle of back
	ǧ r w w	flank, side		
100.	ǧ d b	sting, incite	s'aadàà	tree with fruit having acid taste
101.	ǧ ǧ	flowers or the like as ornament	s'àà s'ee	new grass

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Many correspondences show additional consonants either in the Egyptian or the Hausa. These may represent something in the original pAA which has been lost in one of the two being compared or they may be afformatives in the language in which they occur. It is obviously not possible to make a firm statement in each instance. Some general observations follow.

Many Hausa words have two consonants where the Egyptian has three (or four). The non-corresponding consonant may be initial, medial or final.

'-	' ǧ r	s'araa	(99)	n-	n ǧ r w	s'arèè	(39)
w-	w ǧ ʿ	s'aagàà	(17)	ḥ-	ḥ 3 p	rufèè	(44)
m-	m ǧ 3 t	s'aràà	(33)	ḏ-	ḏ m ǧ	mas'àà	(34)

Prothetic /'/ is a familiar phenomenon in Egyptian. /m-/, /n-/ and /ḥ-/ are all known formative elements.[31] /w-/ is probably also a formative. Nothing may be said of /d/ at present (see also below). /-t/ and /-w/ are formatives (see below).

-'-	q' s	k'oosàà	(67)	-ʿ-	q ʿ ḥ	k'afàà	(68)
-w-	r w ǧ	roos'àà	(41)	-f-	q f n	k'uunàà	(72)

These consonants are presumably original. The loss of /w/ and /f/ in Hausa may be related to the long /oo/ and /uu/ of the above examples; cf. /dookìì/ horse pl. /dawaakii/, but see also number 69.

-w	z 3 w	'azàaraa	(53)	-f	q r f	k'urèè	(76)
-t(t)	' 3 b t t	'arèèwaa	(9)	-ḥ	b 3 ḥ	bùùraa	(24)
- w t	p 3 w t	faaràà	(27)	-n	ǧ n ǧ n	s'uns'uu	(97)
-'	w ǧ '	waas'àà	(16)	-r	3 w r	ɨawaa	(1)
-3	q m 3	k'umèè	(73)	-b	ǧ d b	s'aadàà	(100)
-ʿ	q 3 ʿ	k'waarèè	(64)	-s	3 m s	ɨaamàà	(5)
-d	m ǧ d	mas'àà	(34)	-z	š 3 z	šuuɨèè	(61)
-q	p 3 q	fuɨaa	(27)				

Some of the above are clearly formatives: /-w/, /-t/, /-w t/, /-s/. In many cases it appears likely that the root was originally tri-consonantal and that the third consonant was frequently lost in Hausa. It is improbable that most roots were tri-consonantal. Reduplication occurs in both languages.

Some of the same consonants occur in Hausa as against Egyptian:

'-	ʿ 3	'agùru	(10)	-t	ǧ n ǧ n	s'anàntaa	(98)
m-	q 3	maak'ùree	(64	-w	q q	k'ook'uwaa	(79)
-w-	ḥ 3 '	hawràà	(43)	-t-w	ǧ 3 '	s'artuwaa	(88)
-n	ǧ w	s'awnìì	(93)	-y	š 3	širyàà	(59)
	ǧ r w	s'àrnuu	(99)				

All of these are formatives. An apparent nasal infix appears in the Hausa in 95. The /m/ in 75 alternates with /w/ in Hausa (as is normal for this position); it may reflect an original consonant. Note also the /-k-ee/ in 15 (and the metathesis assumed)[32] and the /-d'-aa/ in 68. A /-k-/ formative is found elsewhere in Hausa, e.g. /sarkii/ emir /sàrawtàà/ being the ruler.

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

It should also be observed that while the above list amply illustrates the three correspondences chosen, there is by no means consistency with regard to the relationship of other sounds. It is hoped that these may be dealt with in future articles.

In addition to the above general statements, the following notes may help to clarify some of the equations proposed.

Notes to Correspondences

3. This is an excellent example of the equation of initial / 3/ with / r/ . A number of others are given, but this seems particularly convincing.

7. This would make the usual comparison of Semitic / ʔ k p/ untenable.[33] The latter is a very good equation semantically, the only drawback being the / 3/ : / ʔ/ . It is here assumed that the relationship of / ʔ k p/ and / 3 č p/ is either accidental or due to borrowing (from Egyptian, after / 3/ had become / ʔ/). The latter is a difficult hypothesis to defend, as the root / ʔ k p/ is found in Akkadian, Hebrew and Syriac and so is presumably proto-Semitic. Nevertheless, I feel it should be explained in some way other than the assumption that / 3/ and / ʔ/ correspond etymologically. I believe Sem / r k b/ corresponds to / 3 č p/ .

8. No attempt is made here to connect / w 3 ǧ/ green and / 3 ǧ t/ cobra, as is usually done.[34]

9. The comparison of the points of the compass has somehow missed this very obvious pair. The equivalence of Eg / ' m n t/ west and Ha / yammaa/ is well known.[35]

10. Egyptian /ʿ/ has at least two Semitic equivalents: /ʿ/ and / ɣ/ . It is assumed here that pAA /ʿ/ will be represented in Hausa by / '/ , nothing at all, or in some manner not yet determined. In this example /ʿ/ is assumed to represent pAA / ɣ/ , the latter presumably represented in Hausa by / g/ . Vycichl equated /ʿ/ with Hausa / g/ only.[36] Against the equation proposed here is the fact that the presumed Semitic equivalents have /ʿ/ , which would go back to /ʿ/ , not / ɣ/ .[37] Compare numbers 12-14. In 11 /ʿ/ equates with / '/ .

12. It is possible that 12, 13 and 14 are all related.

14. The Eqyptian word occurs in the proverbs of Ptahhotep in an unclear context but apparently one indicating that a person should not give /ʿ ǧ t/ .[38] 'Offence' is a meaning guessed from the context. It could easily be 'sarcasm', as in Hausa, and the passage read 'do not be sarcastic'. While the hazards of reading Hausa meanings into Egyptian texts is obvious, the procedure may offer some valuable leads. See notes on 19, 76, 78, 99.

16. As this is a good equation with initial / w/ in both languages, it supports the opinion that / w-/ elsewhere may be a prefix. Cf. 17-20.

19. It is not hard to see a connection between 'turning' and 'threshing', considering the custom of driving cattle over the grain. There is also an Egyptian title / ḥ r y w ǧ b/ which Gardiner interprets as 'he who is over the reversion' = the 'royal meals', meaning that the food is 'turned over' to someone

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

else after having been assigned as an offering.[39] While this appears to be an established meaning for / w ǧ b/ , might it not be possible that / w ǧ b/ sometimes refers to grain in Egyptian, through the threshing association?

20. I take 'wean' here to refer to the reaching of a certain age. On / ḥ/ : / f/ it is assumed that Egyptian / p f h ḥ/ may all correspond to Hausa / p f h/ , due to the alternation of the latter. See / f/ : / f/ 30, 35, 71; / h/ : / h/ 43; / ḥ/ : / h/ 45, 46, 48, 78 (/ f/ also used in the Hausa word); / ḥ/ : / f/ 47; / p/ : / f/ 27, 28, 29, 44.

22. Note / b/ : / b'/ . No explanation is here offered. Among the sound correspondences assumed in these pairs, the labials present a particularly haphazard picture. This is in part due to the morphonemic alternation of / m f b w/ before another consonant in Hausa. This aside, there still appear to be no clear patterns emerging. Compare: / w/ : / w/ 1, / m/ 11; / b/ : / b/ 2, / b'/ 60, / w/ 9, / m/ 88; / m/ : / m/ 4, / b/ 45; for / p f/ see above.

26. There are two / b ǧ n/ 's given by the Wb. One is a rod for punishment , the other a verb indicating a situation into which one does not willingly go. The first is sometimes written as if it were a loan. There is also a / b ǧ n ǧ n/ , not translated by the Wb but referred to the other mysterious verb. / b ǧ n ǧ n/ is found in Urk. 4.1076.5: / r r m r m n t y ḥ r b ǧ n ǧ n w/ to chastise the one who was behaving like a mule (rebelliously). This translation of / b ǧ n ǧ n/ is made on the basis of the Hausa but fits the context very well.

27. There are several other possible but mutually exclusive Egyptian equivalents for / faaràà/ : / ḥ 3 t/ beginning (properly, front so not preferred), / p r '/ go out. The latter is better equated, as has been done, with / fùree/ blossom.[40]

29. This is the only example in which the final glottal stop of Hausa has been marked. The example was checked with a speaker at the University of Ibadan, the glottal stop noted, and it is included merely to call attention to its existence. A great many Egyptian words end in / '/ (reed leaf, M 1). This is usually assumed to be / y/ , though the Egyptian is known to have written / y/ with two reedleafs. I believe the final / '/ of Egyptian to be akin to the final / '/ of Hausa.[41]

31. Egyptian / m 3 ʿ t/ is, according to Frankfort, the divine order of nature as established at the time of creation.[42] Faulkner translates / m 3 ʿ/ as true, real, just, righteous, rightly belong, pleasing, be in order, / m 3 ʿ t/ as truth, rightness, orderly management. The Wb gives for / m 3 ʿ/ , among other meanings, 1. richtig sein, in Ordnung sein 2. etw. geben, schenken 3. einen Weg weisen, jem. führen, jem. aussenden. It would appear that the classical Egyptian meaning of / m 3 ʿ t/ , stated above by Frankfort, is a derived one. The more original is represented by be in order, orderly management. The base of this would in turn be einen Weg weisen, jem. führen. The root is, then, the one yielding Heb. / rāʿa/ pasture, tend; govern, rule, Eth. / réʿya/ pasture, lead to pasture, Aram. / rəʿā/ pasture; take pleasure in, Ar. / raʿaa/ pasture, rule, Akk. / re'ū/ pasture,

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

rule. In this connection we may note a rare Egyptian verb / ' 3ʿ/ used in connection with the handling of calves and Montet's effort to connect this with /ʿ w t/ flock (for */ 3 ʿw t/ ?).[43] The pastoral background of ancient Egyptian culture also supports the hypothesis that the order of the universe is that imposed by the divine cattle tender.[44]

32. and 33. possibly belong together. An obscure Egyptian word / ǧ 3 t y/ which Gardiner gives as 'probably the name of a craft' may be connected.[45]

34. This group is put together on the assumption there was an underlying root meaning 'press' from which they are all derived.

35. The Hausa is connected with / s'eef-/ comb.

39. Possibly connected with 99, the root being / ǧ r/ : / s' r/. Compare Akkadian / nasāru/ protect (often equated with Eg / n ǧ/ protect).

40. Compare / rùùrùùmaa/ clamor and / ruuràà/ blow up (fire).

41. The assumption here is that the underlying meaning is hard, hence brittle. Hausa has specialized in the breaking of the hard and brittle (especially the head). Egyptian has stressed the firmness of the hard. Cf. also / r w ǧ t/ (a disease of the eye) Wb 2.413.4.

46. Also / hàrgòòtay/ uproar (Sk). The root / harg-/ is used for devour. The connection might be in festive feasting.

51. The equation of / z/ : / j/ is sound, as / z/ and / j/ alternate morphophonemically in Hausa.

56. Compare also / rik'èè/ hold. It is likely that there is a prefix / s/ here, which is generally causative or factitive.

58. / roos'àà/ break may belong here rather than with / r w ǧ/ (41). Causative / s/ would again be involved.

62. The plural of the Hausa is / k'ilik'ili/ , showing that the root is / k'il-/ .

68. The basic meaning is apparently angle.

71. The Egyptian is recorded only since the Eighteenth Dynasty, so the / 3/ may have little significance. The semantic connection is better than appears on the surface, due to the significance of horns religiously. It may be noted that the ram's head hieroglyph (F 8 in Gardiner's sign list) is occasionally used as a determinative of / q f 3 f/ in the Twenty-second Dynasty and later (Wb), as it is of the near synonym / š f y t/ dignity in Middle Egyptian. Compare the semantic range of / š f š f t/ ram s head; awe.

73. There is a Hausa / kawràà/ slap hard, collide hard, which has the / r/ to correspond to / 3/ , but the / k/ is not glottalized.

74. Compare the Hausa root / k'an-/ small, which occurs in many words.

78. This is rather vague semantically, but it was felt to be worth noting. The Egyptian reference is to the Book of the Dead.

79. The characteristic feature of the hoopoe is its crest.

82. Ranke has shown that / k 3/ was pronounced / ku/ in Late Egyptian (by which time / 3/ would be / ʔ/ or lost).[46]

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

99. There is also an obscure Egyptian word / ' ǧ r t/ , occurring in Urk. 4.1174.17 with reference to a tomb. It is determined by the house sign. The basic meaning is probable enclosed space; Faulkner gives hall in tomb.

Of the 101 equations given above, 53 show the / 3/ : / r/ correspondence, 25 / q/ : / k'/ and 35 / ǧ/ : / s'/ . It would appear that these three correspondences are firmly established. While comparative Chad will undoubtedly change our view of many of the details, similar equations are to be expected in the other Chad languages. For example, Eg / z3/ son may be paired with Margi / bzə́r/ (Kilba / zər/) and Eg / b k 3/ morning with Margi / kùlàkùlà/ .[47] Comparisons may even shed light on the hieroglyphs. For example, we find in Gardiner's sign list that a basket is 'for unknown reasons phonetic k' and that a hare is for the same reasons / w n/ . In Sura, a Chad language of Nigeria, there is a prefix / kà-/ used with items woven or reeds or the like, such as baskets, and / fwan/ is rabbit .[48] These in all likelihood reflect pAA morphemes or words, which are in turn reflected in the Egyptian hieroglyphs, though lost in the Egyptian language as we now know it.

As noted above, the approach using Hausa alone was not ideal. Nevertheless, I feel that the results have justified the effort and that the comparison of the other Chad languages will be aided by even so small a part of the foundation of our establishment.

NOTES

1. My great appreciation is expressed to: Brandeis University for the visiting professorship which made this work possible; the Department of State for granting me leave of absence to accept this professorship; the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for the use of their Egyptological library; the National Science Foundation for the travel grant enabling me to present this paper at the Fourth West African Languages Congress in Ibadan, 1964. The present version has been revised from that presented at the Congress.

2. Edouard Naville, L'évolution de la langue égyptienne et les langues sémitique, Paris, 1920, p. 4.

3. Dell H. Hymes, Genetic Classification: Retrospect and Prospect, AL 1:2.52 (1959).

4. 'One hundred years' refers to the publication of the second edition of R. Lepsius, Standard Alphabet, 1863, in which he set up a Hamitic group which included Egyptian and Coptic, Hausa and others (see J. H. Greenberg, The Languages of Africa, Bloomington, 1963, p.45, hereinafter Greenberg LA). For a survey of comparative Afro-Asiatic studies see M. Cohen, Essai Comparatif sur le Vocabulaire et la Phonétique du Chamito-

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Sémitique, Paris, 1947, pp.3-27 (hereinafter Cohen EC).

5. In 1867 Heinrich Brugsch wrote, "Im voraus kann ich es weissagen, dass die Sprachforschung eines Tages erstaunt sein wird über das enge Band der Verwandtschaft, welches die ägyptische Sprache mit ihren semitischen Schwestern zusammenknüpft, und über die mir jetzt schon feststehende Thatsache, dass alle eine gemeinsame Mutter haben, deren Ursitze an den Ufern des Euphrat und Tigris zu suchen sind." (Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch, Vol. 1, Leipzig, 1867, p.9). Despite this optimistic prophecy, Werner Vycichl could say ninety years later, with reference to the major collection of Egypto-Semitic etymologies, "Man weisst nicht einmal, wieviele det 948 Etymologien in Calices Grundlagen zu Recht bestehen. Pessimisten werden ihre Zahl mit etwa 100 annehmen, das sind ca. 10 Prozent, und viel über 200 werden auch die extremsten Optimisten nicht aufrechterhalten wollen." Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung, MDAI 16.367 (1958), hereinafter Vycichl GAW.

6. Vycichl GAW. For a recent brief survey of the relation of Egyptian to other languages, as well as a useful bibliography, see M. A. Korostovcev, Vvedenie v egipetskuju filologiju, Moscow, 1963 (Korostovcev VEF).

7. Werner Vycichl, Hausa und Ägyptisch, MSOS 37.3.36ff. (1934) (Vycichl HA).

8. The main sources of the forms and meanings quoted are:

R. C. Abraham, Dictionary of the Hausa Language, (London), 1949

G. P. Bargery, A. Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary, London, 1934.

A. Erman and H. Grapow, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, 6 vols., Leipzig 1926-1931, 1950 (reprinted 1957) (Wb).

R. O. Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, Oxford, 1962.

A. H. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, Third Edition, Oxford, 1957 (Gardiner EG; also references to Gardiner sign list).

A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, Oxford, 1947 (Gardiner AEO).

9. Greenberg LA p.45. Compare Vycichl's statement, "Dass auf das Hamitische fast kein Bezug genommen wurde, ist Absicht. Es sollen drei weitere Arbeiten erscheinen, in denen die Beziehungen des Ägyptischen zum Berberischen, zum Kuschitischen und zum Sudanhamitischen (Haussa, Mubi, etc.) behandelt werden. Die Studien sollen unabhängig eine von der anderen durchgeführt werden und erst am Ende sollen die Resultate der Betrachtungen des Ägyptischen aus vier Gesichtswinkeln konfrontiert werden. Voraussetzung fur diese Studien ist die Ausarbeitung einer sprachliche Chronologie fur jedes

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Gebiet, den es geht nicht an, moderne Wortformen ohne weiteres mit altägyptischen zu vergleichen." (Vycichl GAW p.404). Cf. Hall, "It would be unjustified, for instance, to start off by comparing less closely related dialects in preference to more closely related ones, whenever the latter were available; although the picture of the ultimate ancestral language would perforce be the same, the intermediate stages of development would be seriously misrepresented by such a procedure." (R. A. Hall, Jr., The Reconstruction of Proto-Romance, Lg 26.9 (1950); see also Hall's quote from Trager on p.6.) It is encouraging to note the study of the Chad languages has begun in earnest, including comparative work. For example, at the December, 1964 meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Paul Newman presented a paper on 'The common origin of the Hausa-Ngizim-Bolewa and Bata-Tera language groups'. See also the references to the work of Hoffman and Jungraithmayr below.

10. Proto-Semitic phonemes based on G. Bergsträsser, Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen, Munich, 1928, p.4.

11. W. F. Albright attributes this idea to Paul Haupt: "Worrell agrees with Haupt, to whom this theory is due, that the Abbysinian pressure articulation of the so-called emphatics is older than the Arabic velarizing pronunciation" (W. F. Albright, review of Worrell, Coptic Sounds, Lg 10.221, 1934). See the discussion in Edward Ullendorff, The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia, London, 1955, especially pp.151-157 (also references in index under 'glottalized ejectives').

12. Solomon Warsama and Major R. C. Abraham, The Principles of Somali, second edition, 1951, p.1. Joseph R. Applegate, An Outline of the Structure of Shilḥa, New York, 1958, pp.2, 5.

13. Applegate, op. cit., p.5. Walter Lehn, Emphasis in Cairo Arabic, Lg 39.29-39 (1963).

14. Ethiopic /p'/ is generally considered to be a secondary development; see Ullendorff, op. cit., pp.89, 105-109, Cohen EC p.166. For /p'/ in 'genuine Ethiopic words and roots' see A. Dillmann, Ethiopic Grammar, London, 1907, p.57.

15. See, for example, Haim Blanc, Style Variations in Spoken Arabic in C. A. Ferguson, Contributions to Arabic Linguistics, Cambridge, 1960, p. 89. See also, with regard to the spread of 'emphasis', the discussion of emphatic /ṭ/ in Arabic numerals in C. A. Ferguson, The Arabic Koine, Lg 35.625-6 (1959).

16. Vycichl HA pp. 72, 74.

17. Josef Vergote, Phonétique Historique de l'Égyptien, Louvain, 1945, pp. 52-54, cf. p.147 (Vergote PH).

18. Compare Albright, "It is, e.g., quite certain, from many precise equivalences that Eg d̲ goes back to Sem. g̲ on the one hand and s̲, ḏ̲, ẓ̲ on the other", Lg 10.221. (d̲ = /ǧ/)

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

19. Vycichl HA p.86. He gives Eg /ḥ/ : Ha /s'/, p.64.

20. Vycichl GAW pp.371-379. For /ǧ/ : /ṣ/ see pp.380-381.

21. Wolfgang Helck, Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien in 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr., Wiebaden, 1962, pp. 590-591 (Middle Kingdom examples pp.55-58, 62) (Helck BA). Some idea of the variant concepts of the phonetic value of /ǧ/ may be gotten from the plates accompanying F. Legge, The history of the transliteration of Egyptian, PSBA 24.273-282 (1902). Even Gardiner has a rather vague 'originally dj and also a dull emphatic s' (Gardiner EG p.27). For Vergote's reconstruction of the history of /ǧ/ see his 'tableau synoptique' opposite p.122 (Vergote PH).

22. "Wie bereits bemerkt ward, lässt sich über das einzige Vokalzeichen [G 1 hieroglyph] ꜣ, welches schon die älteste Schrift aufweist, bis jetzt nichts Festes behaupten und es muss von den weiteren Untersuchungen der Nachweis erwartet werden, in welcher Weise dasselbe phonetisch verwendet ward.' Heinrich Brugsch, Die Aegyptologie, Leipzig, 1891, p.94.

23. A. Erman, Das Verhältnis des Ägyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen, ZDMG 46.93-129 (1892). G. Steindorff, Das altägyptische Alphabet und seine Umschreibung, ZDMG 46.709-730 (1892).

24. See, for example, J. Farina, Grammaire de l'ancien égyptien, Paris, 1927, pp. 17, 39, M. Chaine, Notions de langue égyptienne, I Langue du moyen empire, Paris, 1938, p. 36, A. de Buck, Egyptische Grammatica, Leiden, 1944, pp. 23, 24, Gardiner EG p. 27, N. S. Petrovskij, Egipetskij Jazyk, Leningrad, 1958, p. 43. For the history of transcription see Legge, op. cit. The latest discussion to come to my attention is that in Korostovcev VEF (pp. 89-93). He describes G 1 as glottal stop and M 17 as /y/. Edel retains Steindorff's caution: 'ꜣ entspricht wahrscheinlich dem festen Stimmeinsatz' (Elmar Edel, Altägyptische Grammatik I, Rome, 1955, p.58). (Edel AG).

25. Helck BA pp. 88-89 (also for Nubian r/l represented by /ꜣ/), Albright, op. cit., p. 224. The occasional alternation of /ꜣ/ and /r/ in Egyptian spellings of the Old Kingdom are also noteworthy; see Edel AG p. 5 and Korostovcev VEF p.90.

26. This revised estimate of /ꜣ/ may shed light on the anomalous spelling /m ꜣ n/ for /m ꜣ/, the perfective non-geminating form of the verb 'see'. /m ꜣ n may represent /m n/, reflecting a dialect pronunciation spelled with /n/ either because /ꜣ/ varied/ with /n/ in this dialect or (more likely) because the sound was neither /ꜣ/ nor /n/ but was felt to be better indicated by the /n/ symbol. See Gardiner EG pp. 352.4, 364.4 for the form.

27. Vycichl HA p. 83. Cf. Vergote PH p. 76.

28. Cohen EC p. 175.

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

29. Greenberg LA p. 57.

30. is used to indicate the falling tone on a short vowel, as does not strike well over /b/.

31. Edel AG /m-/ p. 109, /n-/ pp. 186-187, /ḥ-/ pp. 110, 189; for prothetic /'-/ cf. pp. 199ff.

32. Cognates which involve metathesis have not been sought for, although there are Egypto-Semitic examples which seem quite convincing. A possible correspondence which would involve it is Eg /s n ǧ/ Ha /s'ððroo/ fear, the Eg /s/ being a prefix, and /n/ : /r/. This was not felt good enough to include in the list.

33. Vergote PH p. 128.

34. Gardiner EG p. 476 (I 10.3), Edel AG p. 17.

35. Cohen EC p. 195 [495].

36. Vycichl HA p. 83. He assumes Sem /ʿ y n/ eye to equate with Ha /gani/ see (p. 46).

37. A Ember, Semito-Egyptian Sound Changes, ZÄS 49.88 (1911).

38. Faulkner, op. cit., p. 51 sub voce.

39. Alan Gardiner, Egypt under the Pharoahs, Oxford, 1961, p. 105 (with reference to JEA 24.83ff; cf. Wb 1.409).

40. Greenberg AL p. 57 [31].

41. E.g. the alternation of /t'/ and /t/ for the second person singular suffix of the Old Perfective would reflect pronunciations both with and without final glottal stop. Contrast Thacker, who finds the existence of such a glottal stop hard to believe (T. W. Thacker, The Relationship of the Semitic and Egyptian Verbal Systems, Oxford, 1954, p. 23). Hausa has it.

42. H. Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, New York, 1948, p. 54. See also Rudolf Anthes, 'The Original Meaning of m3ʿ ḫrw' JNES 13.21-51 (1954), especially pp. 23-24 and footnotes 19 and 21. The last quotes Wilson's translation of Ptahhotep's saying '(Maat) is the path before him who knows nothing', in which we may see the basic principle of guidance.

43. Pierre Montet, Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire, Paris, 1925, p. 107. See also Gardiner, Sign List S 38, S 39.

44. H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, Chicago, 1948, pp. 162ff.

45. Gardiner AEO index.

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

46. H. Ranke, Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation, Abh. d. kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss, Berlin, 1910, p.10. The Akkadian spelling of /ḥ w t k 3 p t ḥ/ (a name for Memphis - house of the ka of Ptah) is /xikuptax/ .

47. Examples from Carl Hoffmann, A Grammar of the Margi Language, London, 1963.

48. Herrmann Jungraithmayr, Die Sprache der Sura (Maghavul) in Nordnigerien, Afrika and Übersee 47.23, 66 (1963).

This content downloaded from 194.214.27.178 on Tue, 3 Sep 2013 13:47:28 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions