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The Law of Belova in Work

Working on Egyptian etymologies in the future, we will have to account for the “Law of Belova”, which is undoubtedly one of the most significant observations on Egyptian historical phonology of the latest time. This law has been published only recently (Belova 1987, 278–282; 1991; 1993, 51–55; Diakonoff 1988, 55, note 10). The name of the law was given by I. M. Diakonoff after the name of its observer.

According to this rule, the first *w*- and *j*- in Eg. triconsonantal roots cannot be always treated as morphological prefixes, but in many cases rather reflect the original PAA internal root vocalism **-u-*, **-i-* (i.e. Eg. wC_1C_2 and $jC_1C_2 < AA$ $*C_1uC_2-$ and $*C_1iC_2-$ respectively). As for PAA (C_1aC_2- , it may eventually yield Eg. jC_1C_2 , but $3C_1C_2$ as well though the examples for it are of very limited number.

Working on the planned *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian* in the recent years (its first volume: *b*-, *p*-, *f*-, *m*- forthcoming), I can claim that since then Belova’s law has proven valid in a great number of new cases of its occurrence. Though Belova’s well founded and firm arguments based on reliable Semitic and Afroasiatic correspondences need in fact no further justification, I would like to offer here a considerable amount of new *addenda*, a further confirmation of her brilliant idea:

I. New Examples of the Law of Belova

1. **Eg.** *jb3* ‘tanzen’ (OK, Wb I 62, 8) $< *bi3 = *bi1-$ preserved also in **HECu.**: Burji *beléel-* ‘dance’ (noun) [Sasse 1982, 35] ||| **WCh.**: Sura *ḃél* ‘Tanz’ [Jungrathmayr 1963, 60] || **?ECh.**: cf. Kwang *bór kón* ‘tanzen’, Mokilko *béré* ‘Tanz’ [Mukarovsky 1987, 138].

NB: **Eg.** has been mistakenly equated with **Sem.** **lʿb*: Hb. *lʿb* ‘spotten’, Aram. *lʿb* ‘Lust an etwas haben’, Ar. *laʿiba* ‘spielen, scherzen’ (cf. Behnke 1927, 81, #4;

Calice 1936, #7; Vergote 1945, 128, #1.b.1), what cannot be justified either in the phonology and the semantics.

2. **Eg.** *jmn* 'bilden, schaffen' (Pyr., Wb I 83, 4) < **min* = **min*- preserved in **Bed.** *mine* 'to create' || **Agaw** **ḡñ* 'house' < **min* [Bender-Fleming 1976, 41; Appleyard 1984, 45; 1989, 6; 1991, 20, 23] || **ECu.**: Sidamo *min*- 'costruire (una capanna)' [Cerulli] and PECu. **min*- 'house' [Sasse 1979, 24; 1982, 145]: PSam **min* 'house' [Heine 1976, 216; 1977, 288; 1978, 91] and HECu. **mine* 'house' [ContiRossini 1913, 420; Moreno 1937, 238; Leslau 1988, 195; Hudson 1989, 418] || **SCu.** **min*- 'house' [Ehret 1980, 158] ||| **WCh.**: Bole-Tangale gr. **mina* 'hut' [Stolbova 1987, 247].

See also Cerulli 1938 II, 214; Greenberg 1955, 59; 1963, 58; Dolgopolsky 1967, 10, #8; Ehret 1987, 104, (PCu. **min*-); Orel-Stolbova 1989, 88; Militarev-Orel-Stolbova 1989, 153.

3. **Eg.** *jnr* 'Stein' (OK, Wb I 97-98) < **nir*/**nar* = **Berb.**: Ahaggar *a-nanar* 'enclos maïonné' ||| **NOm.**: Dime *lālo*, Maji *ñal-u*, Nao *niol-u*, Benesho *ñel* 'stone' [Bender-Fleming 1976, 49], Jeba of Dizi *lyal-u* 'stone' [Fleming 1990, 29] ||| **WCh.**: PAngas **lar* 'stone': Sura *lar*, Angas *ler* [Stolbova 1987, 243]. See Orel-Stolbova 1992, 172 (Cu.-NOm.-Eg.-WCh.); Starostin etc. 1995, 25 (Eg.-Berb.-NOm.-WCh.).

NB: the comparison of **Eg.** with **Sem.** **'abn*- 'stone' has no real bases (cf. Bender 1975, 188; Vycichl 1975, 203).

4. **Eg.** *jns* 'das Rote (Blut?)' (neben *dšr* 'Blut', Pyr., Wb I 100, 4), *jns.j* 'hellroter Leinenstoff' (OK, Wb I 100, 6) < **nis* = **CCh.**: Hwona *nyis* 'red' [Kraft 1981 II, 17]. For the Eg.-Hwona comparison see Orel-Stolbova 1992, 201; HSED # 1859.

5. **Eg.** *jšf* 'etwas verbrennen' (XX., Wb I 135, 2) < **šif* = **CCh.**: Bachama *šifa* 'to boil' [Skinner 1977, 13] ||| **Berb.**: Shilh *a-séfu* 'Brennscheit' [Behnk 1928, 140, #47: Eg.-Shilh].

6. **Eg.** *jtn* 'Sonne' (MK, Wb I 145, 1-8) < **tan* = **WCh.** **talV* 'sun': Hausa *tàll̄* 'блеск', *tal* 'ярко', 'блестяще' | Galambu *tóryí* | PSBauchi **tali*: Boghom *tàál*, Kir *tààl*, Lar, Mangas *taal*, Tule *čàlí*, Chari *čàli*, Lushi *čal*, Dwot *čerá* ('light'), Zakshi *čàlě* [Mukarovsky 1987, 359; 1995, 72; Stolbova 1987, 167] ||| **Sem.**: cf. Ar. *taliy*- 'блестки' [SISAJa II, 25, #48].

7. **Eg.** *jtr.t* '(ursprünglich wohl Palast des Königs) Götterwohnung, Tempel' (OK, Wb I 147-148) < **tir* = **ECh.** **tir*- 'house': Kwang *těr* | Somrai *číré* [Orel-Stolbova 1989, 133]. For the Eg.-ECh. comparison see Militarev-Orel-Stolbova 1989, 157; HSED #2404.

8. **Eg.** *jth* 'ziehen' (Pyr., Wb I 148, 12-23) < **tah* = **CCh.**: Lame-Peve *ta*', Musgum *ta* 'to pull' ||| cp. also **PSem.** **th* 'to stretch, spread': esp. Ar. *thy* 'to stretch out, throw' [the PSem. biconsonantal root was reconstructed by Zaborski 1971, #263]. As for the equation of Eg. with CCh. see Orel-Stolbova 1992, 197; HSED #116. As for Eg.-Sem. see Albright 1918, 95; 1918, 220, #15; Ward 1962, 407.

9. **Eg.** *jdb* 'Ufer (land)' (OK, Wb I 153, 2–10) < **dib* = **Bed.** *dibba* 'mound of earth (soil, sand), bank, moving sandhill' [Roper 1928, 168; Reinisch 1895, 59: 'Hügel'; Dolgopol'skij 1973, 50: 'plateau'] || **Agaw:** Bilin *dibba* Qwara *deba* etc. 'Wald, Berg' [Zaborski 1989, 585, #53]. See also Orel-Stolbova 1992, 172 (Eg.-Cu.).

10. **Eg.** *jdm.j* 'Leinenstoff von roter Farbe' (OK, Wb I 153, 14) < **dam* = **Sem.** **dam-* 'blood' ||| **Berb.** **i-damm-en* 'blood' (pl.) [Basset 1887, 426; Militarev 1991, 253, #9.1] III **WCh.** **damV* 'blood' (whence **dumV* influenced by *-*m-*) [Newman Ma 1966, 232; Newman 1977, 22; Stolbova 1987, 171] etc.; unless **Eg.** has the same prothetic *- as the **Sem.** root *'*dm* 'rot sein' [WUS #84]. See Zaborski 1971, #36; Vycichl 1974, 62; 1978, 64; Müller 1975, 65, #17; Rössler 1979, 21; Dolgopolsky 1982, 32; Orel-Stolbova 1988, 74; Mukarovsky 1989, 1 etc.

Still another possibility is that also here we are dealing with the development *jdm-* < **dim*, cf. **HECu.** **dim-* 'red' [Sasse 1982, 59] || **SCu.** */*d/ima* 'red' [Ehret 1980, 325; 1987, 18].

11. **Eg.** *w3h* 'dauern: to live long, endure' (MK, Wb I 255; FD 54) < **3uh* = **Sem.** **rwh* 'to be wide, spacious, distant': Hb.-Ar. *rwh* [Reinisch 1890, 34; reconstruction see in Illič-Svityč 1965, 373; Dolgopolsky 1970, 621, #30].

12. **Eg.** *w3sj* 'verfallen sein: to be ruined, decayed' (OK, Wb I 260–261) < **3us* = **WCh.** **rus-/raws-* 'to destroy': Hausa *rūsà*, *ruše* | Bolewa *ruš* | Kulere *ryaas ti* ('zerbrechen') | Ngizim *ràasú* [Illič-Svityč 1965, 358; Stolbova 1987, 236, #830; Orel-Stolbova 1988, 72, #51].

13. **Eg.** *wbs* 'die Garben zu Kornmieten zusammenhäufen' (OK, Wb I 296, 13) < **bus* = **ECu.** **buus-*: Oromo *buus-* 'to throw down', *buusa* 'to fill up', Gidole *puus-* 'to place down money in a bet', cf. Burji *buus-* 'to thresh' [Sasse 1982, 44–45; Starostin etc. 1995, 13].

14. **Eg.** *wbg* 'leuchten, scheinen (von der Sonne)' (NK, Wb I 296, 14–15) < **bug* = **Sem.:** Ar. *bwǵ* > *tabawwaǵa* 'glänzen' [Albright 1927, 210 and Calice 1936, #18: Eg.-Ar.].

15. **Eg.** *wp.t* (for **wpw.t?*) 'Gehörn, Scheitel' (OK, Wb I 297–298) < **puw* = **Sem.:** Akk. *pû-t-* 'Stirn(seite)' [AHW 884] (for its supposed Sem. etymology see Leslau 1945, 234; Appleyard 1977, 13/55) ||| **WCh.:** Bade *fùw-áan* 'Horn' [Lukas 1968, 223]. For the Akk.-Eg. equation see also HCVA 1, #42.

16. **Eg.** *wpš* 'erleuchten' (Pyr., Wb I 305, 11–19), *wpš* 'Licht' (Pyr., Wb I 306, 1) < **puš* = **WCh.:** Sura-Angas gr. 'sun': Angas, Sura, Kofyar *puus*, Montol *pəγəš* (-*γ*- secondary [cf. Dolgopolsky 1982], while Montol *puus* 'sun' must have been borrowed: [Jungraithmayr 1963, 79; 1965, 160; Stolbova 1977, 156; Mukarovsky 1987, 359–360]. The inner Chadic affiliation of the Sura-Angas stem offered by Stolbova (1977, 65; 1987, 145; SISAJa I, 15, #10) and Mukarovsky (1987, 359–360) is unconvincing.

17. **Eg.** *wf3* 'Lunge' (BD, Wb I 306, 3) < **fu3* = **WCh.**: Mupun *fùl-fúk* 'lung' [Frajzyngier 1991, 18]. Cf. PWNigritic **phul-*/**phulphul-* 'lungs' [Shimizu 1981, 16, #70].

18. **Eg.** *wf3* 'to talk about, discuss' (MK, FD 60; Wb I 306, 4) < **fu3* = **WCh.** **pur-* 'to speak': Hausa *fúrtà* | Bolewa *por, poru*, Maha *pori* [Stolbova 1987, 147; Mukarovsky 1987, 346]. For the identification of **Eg.** *wf3* with Chadic see already Hodge 1981, 373, #26.

19. **Eg.** *wft* 'durchbohren' (Med., Wb I 306, 7) < **fut* = **Sem.**: Hb. *pot* 'vulva' and also 'Türangelloch', Ar. *fawt-* 'Zwischenraum' ||| **ECu.**: Somali-Isaq *fút-o* 'anus', Oromo *fut-ē* 'anus', *fuč-i* 'vulva' ||| **NOm.**: Ganjule *pote* 'vagina' ||| **WCh.**: Angas *fut* 'deep hole'. See Cohen 1947, 171, #381; Illič-Svityč 1966, 24, #2.26; 1966, 319; Dolgopolskij 1966, 61; 1973, 247; 1983, 126; 1994; Müller 1975, 64–65; SISAJa I, #136; Blažek 1989, 30, #105; Takács 1996, 130, #14; 1996a, 123, #20.

20. **Eg.** *wh3.t* 'Kessel zum Kochen' (OK, Wb I 347, 12) < **hu3* = **Sem.**: Ar. *hull-at-* 'Kessel (zum Kochen)'. See Ember 1930, #3.c.21; Vergote 1945, 130, #1.d.8 (Eg.-Ar.).

21. **Eg.** *whj.t* 'Familie, Sippe' (MK, Wb I 346, 9) < **huj* = **Sem.** *ithwy*: Hb. *hayyā* 'village, crowd', *hāwā* 'population of village', Ar. *hwy* 'to collect, assemble', *hiwā'* 'collection of houses', *hayy-* (**hawy-*) 'tribe'. For Eg.-Sem. see Ember 1911, 93; Vergote 1945, 138, #12.a.1; Militarev 1984, 16.

22. **Eg.** *wsr* 'mächtig, stark' (OK, Wb I 360–362), *wsr* 'Macht, Reichtum' (OK, Wb I 365–363) < **sur* = **ECu.** *šor-* 'rich' [Sasse 1979, 33], cf. PSam **suur-* 'good' [Heine 1978, 110] ||| **WCh.**: ?Gwandara *čori* 'strength' ||| ?**Sem.** **tawr-* 'bull, ox' (act. *'strong'?). See Orel-Stolbova 1992, 201; HSED #489 (Eg.-Dwandara); Blažek 1994, 14, #73 (ECu.-Eg.).

23. **Eg.** *wgj.t* 'Unterkiefer, Kinnlade' (OK, Wb I 376, 3–5) < **guj* = **CCh.**: Lamang (Hitkala) *góyó* 'chin' [Lukas 1964, 107] | Zeghwana *gwiye*, Glavda, Gvoko, Bokwa *gwiya*, Gava *guya*, Alataghwa *gwuya*, Nakaci *gwiya*, Dghwede *gwiye* 'beard' [Büchner 1964, 43–44]. Cf. with a different vocalism: **LECu.** **gaw-* 'jaw': Konso *kawkawá* (pl.), Gawwada *kawkawe* [Lamberti 1987, 533] ||| **Berb.** **a-ggay* 'mâchoire' [Wölfel 1955, 43: Berb.-Eg.]. See Orel-Stolbova 1992, 185; HSED #990 (Eg.-CCh.).

24. **Eg.** *wtu* 'durchbohren' (NE, Wb I 380, 10–11) < **tun* = **CCh.**: Fali-Jilbu *tula-*, Mwulyen *utulo* 'to pierce' ||| cf. **SCu.**: Qwadza *tul-as-* 'to split into two'. See Orel-Stolbova 1992, 197; HSED #2419.

25. **Eg.** *wdb* 'Ufer (land)' (Pyr., Wb I 409, 2–7) < **dub* (from **gub*) = **ECu.** **gub-* 'mountain' [Sasse 1979, 15; 1982, 85]: Burji *gúbba* 'highland', Darasa *koba* 'Hügel' | Afar *gubbi* 'Hügel', Oromo *gubbaa* 'über, auf' and Gipfel', Dullay *g'upo* 'Berg' [Zaborski 1989, 585, #53] ||| **CCh.**: cp. Guduf *γubà, γùba* 'Berg' [Mukarovsky 1987, 40]. For the rather late semantic shift 'hill' > '(Nile) bank' in Eg. cp. Eg. *jdb* above.

II. Comments on some of Belova's examples

After the new evidence supporting Belova's law, I would like to use the opportunity to return to five examples of Belova's original material, which need some further addition or which are not fully evident.

1. **Eg.** *w3d* 'grün sein, gedeihen' (OK, Wb I 264–266), whence *w3d.t* 'Gemüse, Grünzeug' (NE, Wb I 266, 13) < **3ud* = **Sem.**: Ar. *rawd-at-* 'Grünfleck, Garten' is correct (see Cohen 1947, #431; Belova 1989, 19, note 9; 1991, 87, #8; 1993, 52).

Add perhaps Syr. *rū'ānā* (Sem. **rawd-*) 'Malve' [Brockelmann 1932, 103, #18: Eg.-Sem.], and ESA *rd* (pl.?) 'Weide' [Belova 1994, 73, #1.2.4].

Belova mentioned also the old idea of combining Eg. *w3d* with Sem. **wrq* 'to be green/yellow', which, however, can be no means have anything in common as traditionally held [Ember 1912, 87; Vycichl 1957, 72; Knudsen 1962, 34; Rössler 1966, 227; 1983, 333], since the third consonants do not correspond (Eg. *d* = Sem. **g* or **s*, **t*, **d*). It is very unfortunate that this old mistake has some recent proponents as well [Loprieno 1994, 120; Orel 1994, 9; HSED #2560]. The correct cognate for **Sem.** **wrq* is **Eg.** *j3q.t* 'Grünzeug, Gemüse' [MK, Wh I 34, 1–2], as noted already by Ember 1911, 88; Vergote 1945, 128, #1.c.4; Diakonoff 1970, 472, note 85; Hodge 1976, 15, #155; Diakonoff etc. 1986, 47; Militarev 1991, 73; 1991, 263, #37.3; Belova 1991, 88, #3; 1993, 53].

2. **Eg.** *wnm* 'essen' (OK, Wb I 320–321), *wnm.t* 'Nahrung des Menschen' (MK, Wb I 321, 15) < **num* = **Sem.**: Ar. *nīm-at-* (**niwm-at-*) 'nourriture' [Belova 1991, 87, #9; 1993, 52: Eg.-Ar.] is perhaps correct.

Belova's logical reconstruction of underlying root as **num* can be supported, cf. **ECu.**: Elmolo *nūm* 'Speise', *nūmān* 'essen' [Heine 1973, 280, 282].

Note, however, that the etymology of **Eg.** *wnm* is not completely settled yet, as there arise further data to be considered.

2.1. The reason is that Eg. *wnm* can reflect **wlm*/**lwm* as well. Thus we have to pay attention to possible alternative cognates as **Sem.**: Ar. *walima* 'speisen' (tr.), (IV) 'to banquet', *walīm-at-* 'Festmahl', Harsusi *awlōm*, Mehri *awōlem*, Shahri *ulm* 'to prepare a meal'. From the same biconsonantal root **lm* are: Ar. *lmw* 'to devour, verzehren', Akk. *lamû* (*lmy/w*) 'to eat and drink', *lamāmu* 'to chew' ||| **Bed.** *lam* 'to taste' ||| **Agaw** **lan-z-* 'to lick' (with the caus. suffix **-s-*voiced) || **SCu.**: PDahalo **šaam-* 'to feed' (from **laam-?*) ||| **CCh.**: Mbara *lum*, Musgum *lāma* '(feste Speise) essen' [Lukas 1941, 84] || **ECh.**: Somray *lāma* 'schmecken, kosten', Kabalay *wālmǎ* 'food' [Orel-Stolbova] and *liyóm* 'to eat (soft things)' [Jungraithmayr-Ibriszimow 1994 II, 121].

For the Afroasiatic (incl. Egyptian) comparison see Calice 1901, 146; Albright 1927, 220 and Vergote 1945, 135, #9.b.5 (all: Eg.-Ar.); Müller 1975, 69, #66 (sem.-Ch.); Majzel'-Militarev 1983, 181 (Sem.-Eg.); HSED ##1687, 2559 (Sem.-Eg.-CCh.-ECh.).

There is an opinion (Müller 1975, 69, #66; Hodge 1992, 216, #2; HSED #1687) that the Chadic data cited reflect an archetype cognate with the **Sem.** root **lhm* cf. Akk. *lêmu* 'essen (und trinken), zu sich nehmen' [AHW 543], Hebr. *lhm* '(Brot) essen', *lehem* 'Brot', Ar. *lahm-* 'Fleisch' [Leslau 1969, 19. He suggested that the primary meaning of the root was 'food', which was later specialized]. One, however, wonders whether the Sem. root is a secondary extension of **lm* with an infix **-h-*, and thus also belongs to the biconsonantal root. Another extension (with *-h-*) in Ar. *lhm*: *talahhama* 'to devour' speaks in favour of this possibility.

2.2. Speaking of the etymology of **Eg.** *wnm* we must mention still a third cognate group: **ECu.**: Geleba *wom* 'Essen' [Haberer 1966, 97] ||| **ECh.**: Somray (Sibine) *wīm*, *wāmā*, Tumak *wóm*, *wēm* 'essen' [Jungrathmayr 1980, 75]. From this Cushito-Chadic isogloss a root **wm* seems to emerge. We must bear in mind Cpt. (SABF) *wōm* 'to eat', which is derived in Egyptology from **Eg.** *wnm* (see CED 212; KHW 271). Is the similarity between Coptic and the Cushito-Chadic isogloss a pure chance? Or do we have the traces of the same historical process in Cushitic and Chadic as in Coptic (i.e. assimilation of nasals: *wm* < **wmm* < **wnm*)? Its clarification needs more data.

3. The etymological interpretation of **Eg.** *j'f* 'Feuchtes auspressen' (MK, Wb I 41, 3–4) is again disputed.

Anna Belova (1991, 88, #2; 1993, 52) sees in **Eg.** a reflection of a former **'if* comparable to **Sem.**: Ar. *'ff* (impf. *-'fif-*) 's'amasser, affluer abondamment dans les pis de la femelle (du lait)', (TA-stem) 'traire une seconde fois'.

But the traditional etymology for **Eg.** *j'f* offered by Albright (1918, 221, #18); Vergote (1945, 132, #2.c) and Hodge (1991, 104) is different and just as well plausible. They consider **Eg.** *j'f* a result from **r'f*, which they compared with the nose)', (IV) ('to press out', whence *ru'ūf-* 'fine rains').

Here we must note that one cannot agree with Dolgopolsky's (1973, 173; 1983, 127) equation of **Sem.** **r'p* 'tröpfeln' with **ECu.** **roob-* 'rain' [see Sasse 1979, 22; Heine 1978, 72; PSam **roob*], because of the irregular sound correspondence of Sem. **-p-* ~ **ECu.** **-b* and the absence of the **'* on the **PECu.** level. What's more, the correct Afroasiatic cognates of **ECu.** **roob-* are well known: **Sem.**: Hb. *rəbīb-īm* (pl.) 'rain', Ug. *rbb* 'rain', Amh. *rābārrābā* 'leicht regnen' [Müller 1975, 67, #39: Sem.-ECu.] ||| **WCh.** **rubA* 'wet' [Stolbova 1987, 236], add Hausa *rābā* 'dew' [Newman 1970, 41; HSED #2079: Hausa-ECu.-Hb.] ||| ?**Eg.**: was there a word **jrb3* connected with humidity/water? Cf. the suspicious and unexplainable water determinative in *jrb3* 'Nashorn?' (OK wb I 115, 4).

4. **Eg.** *wzš* 'harnen' (OK, Wb I 357, 16–20) < **zuš* < **zuh* (interchange of **Eg.** *š:h* common in **Eg.**) = **Sem.**: Ar. *zhḥ* (impf. *-zhuh-*) 'uriner' suggested by Belova (1991, 90, #5; 1993, 54) seems correct. The **Eg.**-Ar. isogloss from an original root **zuh* may now be strengthened by **WCh.**: Ron gr.: Sha *zòh* [unless < **zor*] 'urine; to urinate' [Jungrathmayr-Ibriszimow 1994 II, 334].

4.1. But, as it can already be expected, the situation around Eg. *wzš* is again disputed. Stolbova (1991; 1994; 1995) has argued for that the Eg. consonantal groups *zš*, *šz*, *šs*, *sš* may represent the reflexes of an Afroasiatic unglottalized affricate, as it can reflect AA **wuč-* ‘to urinate’ as well, cf. **Berb.**: Tamasheq *ā-was* ‘urine’ [Nicolas 1957, 574] (if not < **bš*) ||| **Bed.** *ūša* ‘Harn’ (Zyhlarz 1932–1933, 166: Eg.-Bed.) ||| **CCh.**: Tera *wužinggin* ‘(to) urin(at)e’ || **ECh.** **wu[č]-* ‘to urinate’: Kwang *wičē*, later **wuž-* in all other attested data [Jungraithmayr-Ibriszimow 1994 II, 334–335: C-ECh.]. For the comparison of Eg. with ECh. see also Stolbova 1991, 9 and HSED #2543. As areal parallel cp. PWKuliak **wac* ‘urine’ [Ehret 1981, 92].

5. **Eg.** *wdn* ‘schwer sein, lasten’ (OK, Wb I 390, 1–15) is even a more difficult question.

5.1. Belova (1991, 90; 1993, 54) suggests that **Eg.** *wdn* < **dun* = **Sem.**: Ar. *ṭunn-* ‘charge d’une bête de somme’ ||| **WCh.**: Angas *toon* ‘poids’ (**dōn*), cf. Sura *ṭóγón* ‘heaviness, weight’ (-γ- is innovation). For the Eg.-Angas comparison see already Greenberg 1963, 58, #38.

Note that Dolgopolsky (1982, 34) prefers to combine the Sura-Angas word not with Eg. but Sem. **t’n* ‘to load’.

5.2. Belova expanded her comparison to **SSem.**: Soqotri *dnw* ‘to conceive, become pregnant’. For phonological reasons, however, the **SSem.** root **dnw* ‘to conceive, become pregnant’ should be treated separately and be equated with **WCh.**: PNBauchi **n-dan-dan* ‘heaviness’ [Skinner 1977, 25].

5.3. Orel and Stolbova (1992, 201; HSED #729) combine **Eg.** *wdn* with **CCh.**: Chibak *děna*, Wamdiu *duno-ma*, Ngwahyi *dina*, Margi *děna-ma*, Mbara *dono*, Logone *doγon*, Buduma *dunoa*, Gulfei, Kuseri *dunu* ‘strong/strength’ [cf. also Porhomovskij 1972, 43, #22.5] || **ECh.** Somray *dwana*, Sokoro *duno* ‘strong’. Similarly, Diakonoff and his team (SISAJa II, #163) identify **Eg.** with **Sem.** **dnn* ‘mächtig sein’.

The semantic connection of ‘heavy’ and ‘strong’ is plausible, so we can speak about the cognateship of the roots described under #4.2 and #4.3 here. It is another question whether Eg. *wdn* is at all related to them!

5.4. As is well known, the traditionally accepted etymology connects **eg.** with **Sem.** **wzn* ‘to weigh’, see Ember 1911, 92; Erman and Grapow (Wb I 390); Albright 1927, 208, note 8; Cohen 1947, #508; Bobrova-Militzarev 1993, 319.

The big problem is that Sem. **z* corresponds regularly *only* to Eg. *z*. Thus we would wait Eg. **wzn* and not *wdn*. But even so this one seems the most probable etymology.

5.5. The problem of Eg. *wdn* cannot be definitely solved at present. Because of the peculiarities of Eg. hist. phonology, the number of eventual cognate candidates can still be increased. Thus **Eg.** *wdn* can reflect **wdl/*dul* as well, which would be supported by **Sem.**: Tigre, Amhara *wdl* ‘gross und dick’ [Rössler 1966,

228] ||| **SCu.** **d/ḏ*VI- 'to be heavy' [Ehret 1987, #199] ||| **ECh.**: Sokoro *dol* 'heavy' [Greenberg 1963, 58, #38: Eg.-Sokoro]. For Eg. *wdn* both **wdl* (cp. Ethio-Sem.) and **dul* (cf. Sokoro) can be a possible reconstruction.

Abbreviations and special signs

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afroasiatic (Hamito-Semitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amhara, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic (Syr.: Syrian, Jud.: Judeo-, Bibl.: Biblical), Ass.: Assyrian, (B): Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BD: Book of the Dead, Bed.: Bedawye, Berb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, E: East, Eg.: Egyptian, Eth.: Ethiopian, (F): Fayyumic, Gr.: Greek and Roman Period, H: Highland, Hb.: Hebrew, Hung.: Hungarian, IE: Indo-European, L: Late or Lowland, Lat.: Latin, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: Magical Texts, Med.: Medical Texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, N: North or New, NE: New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OInd.: Old Indic (Sanskrit), OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, P: Proto-, Ptol.: Ptolemaic period, Pyr.: Pyramid Texts, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, Sid.: Sidamo, Som.: Somali, Soq.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, Ug.: Ugaritic, Ur.: Uralic, W: West.

The vertical signs indicate the closeness of relationship between the various Afrasian forms under discussion. Thus ||| separates two different branches (e.g. Cushitic and Charic); || stands between sub-branches within the same branch (e.g. West Chadic and East Chadic); | marks the limit between groups within the same sub-branch (e.g. Kotoko group and Tera group in Central Chadic).

[] brackets indicate uncertain reconstruction, while () mark a proto-phoneme omittable in the proto-form in question.

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