# Archaic Semitic in the Light of Hamito-Semitic

Andrzej Zaborski (Krakau)

In spite of the progress in the comparative Hamito-Semitic or Afroasiatic linguistics in the last quarter of the century Semitic linguistics is still largely confined to Semitic languages being separated from Berber, Cushitic, Chadic and even Egyptian studies. Since it is rather clear that the Semitic languages are the most archaic (though some Africanists have protested against an alleged semito-centrism), most probably we cannot expect radical or revolutionary changes in the realm of comparative Semitics on a big scale when a systematic comparison with other branches of Hamito-Semitic is done. Nevertheless comparative Semitics without a broader Hamito-Semitic comparison is methodologically as wrong as a study e.g. of Germanic, Slavic or even Romance languages without an Indo-european perspective would be. This not very splendid isolation of comparative Semitics is first of all due to the fact, that very few Semitists have a sufficient knowledge of other branches of Hamito-Semitic so that we still witness cases of a very naive approach of otherwise eminent scholars quoting little relevant languages of the innovative branches of Cushitic as representatives of Cushitic in general. There is still a widely spread use of not very archaic Hausa as an exclusive representative of the Chadic subfamily counting at least 130 other languages etc. On the other hand some Egyptologists also quote e.g. only very innovative Cushitic languges like Bilin or take Kabyle as a sole representative of Berber. Such procedures are as naive as quoting Neoaramaic Maʿlūla or Neoethiosemitic Harari as a kind of representative Semitic languages or taking English or Polish as representatives of Indoeuropean. Theoretically proto-languages should be taken as a basis of comparison but this is practically impossible since such reconstructions have not been done so far and it is also methodologically questionable. What we should do is a comparison of proto-languages where we already have some even preliminary reconstructions. Usually it is neglected that we have a number of serious proto-Berber reconstructions made by Prasse (1972-1974) on the basis of Tuareg which is the most archaic dialect of Berber. Then we should use the data of historically attested languages of which we can reasonably say that they are archaic. Apart from Tuareg and some other archaic dialects of Berber (Eastern dialects) we should use Beja and Afar-Saho, eventually plus Rendille for Cushitic. Other branches and particular languages of the Cushitic group are so innovative that for the time being they can be used only occasionally though certainly they cannot be neglected altogether. As far as Chadic languages are concerned, I am not in a position to explain which Chadic languages that we know so far are the most archaic since we have Prof. Jungraithmayr here but in general East Chadic languages seem to be more archaic. Of course Egyptian must be taken into consideration. Unfortunately there are still some philologists and linguists who should forget the old hypotheses which are preconceived and actually not based on facts, about an alleged semitisation of Egyptian, about an alleged African

substratum in Egyptian etc. As you certainly know, a part of specialists claim that the Egyptian verbal system is innovating in comparison with Semitic and Berber as well as archaic Cushitic since it has allegedly lost the so called prefix conjugation, while others claim that Egyptian is more archaic than Semito-Berber-Cushitic since it has not yet formed a prefix conjugation. Certainly these two hypotheses will be discussed for a long time (cf. Zeidler 1992) since naturally it is very difficult to find concrete and decisive proofs in such a complicated case. I think that it is more probable that Egyptian has already lost the prefix conjugation since the pseudo-participle which is rightly, in spite of some unclear questions, identified (cf. Schenkel 1990, 105-108) with the Semitic stative-perfect and with the Berber suffix conjugation of stative verbs ("verbes de qualités") is already limited in Egyptian to special secondary syntactic positions and this means, in comparison with Semitic, a step forward during a longer period of change i.e. an innovation. On the other hand, the Egyptian conjugations with suffixed possessive pronouns going back to nominal constructions have good typological parallels in Middle and Neoaramaic as well as in Neoethiosemitic. One, certainly not a decisive reason, for the spread of nominalization ousting verbal constructions was that the Old Egyptian texts that we know are official texts and we know that in the official style (called "Beamten-sprache" in German) the use of nominalizations is very frequent in all languages. Also in the pronominal system of Egyptian there are innovations showing that, in spite of the very old age of its written records Egyptian is not so archaic in its structure.

So far, following Marcel Cohen, it is taken for granted that all the main branches of Hamito-Semitic (i.e. Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic; forget Omotic which is only a subbranch of Cushitic, actually it is West Cushitic) and Chadic are somehow parallel so that no closer relation can be established between some of them. This hypothesis (called "Schwesterfamilen" hypothesis in German i.e. "sister families" hypothesis) is doubly wrong since at least Berber is closer to Semitic since other branches are obviously more distant and since Chadic languages, as far as we know them, are obviously the most distant from all other branches. I have already presented some time ago (Zaborski 1988) a hypothesis that Semitic and Berber being closely related have Proto-Cushitic as their next kin while all of them are related to Egyptian. Chadic, as far as we know it, is the most distant. In a graphic representation of a genealogical tree which is only a visual aid and otherwise a simplification of facts we can represent the relations in the following way:

*Proto-Hamito-Semitic

Semitic Berber Cushitic Egyptian Chadic
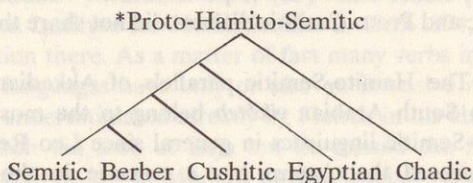
This idea about a closer relation of some branches has to be coordinated with an idea of dialect variation in the proto-languages i.e. in Proto-Semitic, Proto-Cushitic, Proto-Berber, Proto-Chadic and even Proto-Egyptian and finally in the Proto-

Hamito-Semitic stage itself. This means that we cannot reconstruct Proto-Semitic without dialects, i.e. we cannot reconstruct a dialectless Proto-Semitic. Proto-Semitic was rather a dialect continuum and the situation of dialect continuum survived in the historical period e.g. in Southern Arabia, in North West Arabia and in Syria-Palestine. The proto-Semitic dialect continuum was broken or discontinued in some areas due to long distance migration, to foreign invasion, geographic barriers etc. The working hypothesis about an original Semitic dialect continuum and some extra Semitic parallels may be useful for a better understanding of the relation between Akkadian and the West Semitic languages.

Since more than a quarter of century there has been a very strong tendency to consider not Classical Arabic but Akkadian as the most archaic Semitic language mainly on the basis of the Akkadian verbal system which has cognates in other peripheric Semitic languages i.e. in Ethiopic and in Modern South Arabian group on the one hand and in Berber on the other. West Semitic is usually considered as less archaic because of its alleged loss of the geminated present of the *iparras* type and because of the introduction of the suffix-conjugated perfect as the main form expressing anteriority and the past. The use of perfect might have been spread also in Eblaitic. This hypothesis has been questioned by some linguists who insist on the fact that the West Semitic Perfect is identified with the Egyptian Pseudo-Participle and therefore it goes back to Proto-Hamito-Semitic stage. This argument is quite relevant in itself. In my opinion the division of Semitic into a group of dialects with *iparras* (historically continued at least by Akkadian, Ethiopic and Modern South Arabian) and into a group of dialects without *iparras* goes back already to Proto-Hamito-Semitic stage and this means that West Semitic including Classical Arabic has never lost *iparras* since it never possessed it. This hypothesis is based on the fact that a division into two branches occurs in Cushitic where we have a similar division into North Cushitic (represented only by Beja and perhaps by Rendille) which has partially retained *iparras* type of the Present and all the rest of Cushitic (i.e. Central and Southern Cushitic, Eastern Cushitic minus Rendille) where there is no Present of the *iparras* type. Moreover in the non-*iparras* branch of Cushitic the basis of the verbal system is composed of prefix-conjugated Present with -*a*-, Past with -*i*- and Subjunctive/Jussive with -*u*/-*o* which resembles the system of West Semitic though it has to be very strongly emphasized that there is yet no proof that the particular "tenses" can be actually identical. All of this may mean that the Present of the *iparras* type was an innovation (going back to the intensive form) of Berber and a part of Semitic and Cushitic dialects in the proto-Hamito-Semitic stage but another part of Proto-Semitic and Proto-Cushitic dialects did not share this innovation.

The verbal system. The Hamito-Semitic parallels of Akkadian *iparras*, Ethiopic *yeqattel* and Modern South Arabian *yikóteb* belong to the most widely discussed problems of Hamito-Semitic linguistics in general since Leo Reinisch. So far it is usually taken for granted that *iparras* has a cognate in the Berber intensive Imperfect (called also intensive habitual) and in the Beja Present. The Beja Present has been the weakest element of the hypothesis so far since there is another hypothesis, going back to Reinisch as well, that this Present is an original periphrastic construction with a prefix-conjugated auxiliary *an-* "to be" (cf. Goetze

1942 for Akkadian and Dolgopolskiy forthcoming for the rest of Hamito-Semitic) and that the gemination of the first consonant in biconsonantal or the second consonant in triconsonantal roots is due to an assimilation of -n (* ʾa-n-katíb > ʾakantíb). The first hypothesis that connects the Beja Present with iparras interprets -n- that occurs in forms like Beja akantib "I am writing" as the result of a dissimilation of the geminate. But plural forms of the Beja Present have neither -n- nor gemination (i.e. ne-katíb "we are writing", te-katíbna, ekatíbna) and this situation in the plural has not been explained in a satisfactory way so far. The explanation is rather simple: plural forms of the Beja Present actually belong to another paradigm, namely to the intensive class. There is a rule in Beja, that when direct object and/or subject is in plural, the verbal predicate must be in the intensive class form. E.g. o-tak i-dír-na "they killed the man" and en-da i-dār-na "they killed the men". The intensive class in Beja is formed not with gemination but with the lengthening of the root vowel. Frequentative or durative forms, by the way, are formed by reduplication mostly partial e.g. lig "to stab", lalig "to prog repeatedly". As far as singular is concerned, I think that b o t h hypotheses about a dissimilation of geminates and of an prepositive auxiliary an- can be taken into consideration. Since in Beja weak verbs (i.e. verbs which are no longer conjugated with prefixes of Hamito-Semitic origin) make a new Present with the prefix-conjugated auxiliary an-, there had to be an ambiguity (actually a neutralization) of the strong conjugation Present which could be interpreted either as with the an-auxiliary or as with a dissimilated geminate. The gemination was also ambiguous – it could be interpreted either as original gemination or as a result of assimilation of -n. All of this means that the singular of the Beja Present is a hybrid form which at the same time retains archaic traits and shows innovations. The hypothesis posited already by Reinisch and recently backed by Dolgopolskiy that also Akkadian iparras goes back to *in-paras with a metathesis and an almost total assimilation of n of an auxiliary verb Vn "to be" is less probable. One argument against the hypothesis about an- i.e. "to be" auxiliary as a sole explanation is that plural forms in Beja go back to the intensive forms.

The qātala form in Semitic. This "conative" class (third class in the traditional Arabic grammar) of derived verbs in Semitic is usually considered as an innovation of South Semitic though there are also some traces in North West Semitic, namely in rare Hebrew poꜥel which is considered by many authorities to express a certain nuance of intensity (Joüon – Muraoka 1991, 168) while others (Sh. Morag in The Annual of the Shocken Institute for Jewish Studies 2, 1969-1974, 120-125) attempt to find conative function there. As a matter of fact many verbs in the third class in Arabic and in other languages have only or also an intensive meaning. This has been established but underestimated already by Fleisch in his classical monograph study of qātala. Fleisch did look at Beja but he missed the fact that the Beja "intensive" class forms have -ā-. In Modern South Arabian verbs with long vowel (e.g. Mehri Perfect a-rōkəb, Imperfect yarákb-ən, Subjunctive yarōkəb Johnstone 1987, xxxiii) have both intensive and conative meanings. Like in Beja there is no class with gemination. All of this indicates that originally there was an intensive class either with gemination or with long -ā- and with conative as a secondary

function since effort or attempt (Latin "conatio") implies repetition of efforts (Zaborski forthcoming b). In some languages, like Beja (e.g. *kitim* "to arrive", intensive : *kātim* "to arrive repeatedly", Past (Old Present) 1st sing. *akātím*, Roper 1928, 69) and Modern South Arabian languages, forms with *-ā-* became predominant. It is probable that there was also a phonological equivalence of long and closed (with a geminate) syllable. Medieval Arab philologists who established *qātala* as a separate derivational class were partially right in their purely synchronic approach since in Arabic there is already an opposition between *qātala* and *qattala* in a number of verbs but otherwise we have only variant forms or only one form.

Internal Plural. There is an opinion that "It is impossible to establish common patterns of the broken plural not only for Hamito-Semitic generally, but even for Proto-Semitic" (Diakonoff 1988, 66). As far as Semitic is concerned, we are in a rather good situation since we know that there is no special closer relationship between Arabic on the one and Ethiopic and Modern South Arabian on the other hand. This enables us to consider these internal plural forms which occur at the same time in Arabic, Ethiopic and Modern South Arabian (unfortunately we do not know the vowels of Epigraphic South Arabian which used internal plurals on a very large scale) as a heritage from Proto-Semitic. In North-West Semitic plural forms of nomina segolata are considered at least by many linguists as remnants of internal plurals (cf. H.B. Rosén, Orientalia Suecana 33-35, 1984-1986, 355-365) having correspondents also in other branches of Hamito-Semitic. Not all specialists on Hebrew and Semitic languages in general have shared this view. As a matter of fact, it is not correct to consider a l l plural forms of the nomina segolata as original internal plurals. Originally there had to be both internal plurals with *-a-* and regular plurals with purely phonologically conditioned vowel changes (like in Hebrew *dabar*, pl. *dbar-īm* or in Coptic *son/san* "brother", pl. *sn-ew*; cf. Beja *san* id., pl. *san-a*) due to the shift of the stress (in some cases this may be also due to some other reasons like vowel assimilation) so that the vowel change (ablaut in some forms but purely phonological alternations i.e. umlaut in other forms) became ambiguous and finally the system has been leveled in favour of the forms with the plural ending and ablaut reinterpreted as umlaut.

Coptic internal plurals which are quite differentiated and numerous are considered as secondary forms going back to late umlaut forms conditioned by the regular plural ending *-w* related to the abstract suffix *-w*. This regular plural ending is interpreted by some Egyptologists as **-wu* (Vergote) or **-aw* (e.g. Vycichl), **-aw*,**-iw*, **-uw* (Osing), *-w* and *-aw* (Schenkel 1989/90, 94-96) while actually all these forms plus *-ū* could coexist as variants since we have *-aw/iw* in Berber and *-ū* in Semitic (cf. Zaborski 1976). First of all it has to be emphasized that the ending *-w* is rarely written as a sole marker of plural in Old Egyptian, plural being either not indicated at all ("nicht selten" according to Edel, p.116; Schenkel 1989/90, 92, cf. 98-99, says "Die Mehrzahl der Wörter, besonders die Feminina, zeigt im Konsonantenstand keinen Unterschied zwischen Singular und Plural"; cf. Gardiner 1957, 60, Lefebvre 1955, 70-73) or indicated by double spelling, by an ideogram, by a determinative or a combination of these devices. It is remarkable that dual is usually written in one or another way though it is highly probable that dual began to

vanish at an early historical period. Beginning with the eighteenth dynasty the ending is not written at all (cf. Lefebvre 1955, 70 and Lacau 1972, 111 following him; cf. Callender 1975, 51) and the common explanation is that since that time plural was indicated only by the plural form of the prepositive article. There is, however, a chance, that some, though certainly not all forms in which no -w was written were actually internal plurals so that there were four groups of plurals, like in todays Berber and Semitic, namely 1. regular plurals with an ending, 2. regular plurals with an ending a n d a concommitant umlaut conditioned by the ending, 3. plurals with an ending a n d an ablaut, 4. purely internal plurals i.e. plurals only with ablaut. Cf. the coexistence in Arabic of forms (sometimes with a slight differentiation of meaning) like *ahl, ahl-ū-na, ahāl, ahl-āt, ahal-at, ahal-in; arḍ, arḍ-āt, araḍ-āt, araḍ-ū-na, ārāḍ, arāḍ-in, urūḍ*. Traditionally positivist Egyptologist explain all the different and numerous Coptic internal plurals as going back to external plural with the ending, e.g. Coptic *ḥime* < *ḥíjmt* "woman", pl. *hiome* < *ḥijámwt* (Edel 1955/1964, 115). The most rigid reconstruction explaining the Coptic ablaut as a secondary development has been proposed by Lacau (1972) who following Guyard (1870) in Semitic and Erman and Albright in Egyptian studies developed a detailed theory explaining the origin of Coptic internal plurals as going back to vowel changes allegedly caused by the plural ending. As a matter of fact there is a secondary ablaut e.g. in Germanic (apart from the primary ablaut going back to Indoeuropean!), cf. English men and German Männ-er, English feet and German Füss-e, English mice and German Mäus-e. Lacau's and later Vergot's reconstruction have its internal logic but at least many explanations are actually ad hoc, artificial and partially circular. Theoretically it would have been possible to explain Semitic *sūq* "market", pl. *aswāq* (cf. Arabic and Hebrew) as going back to **sūq-ā* > **su-ā-q* or Arabic pl. *kutub* "books" as going back to **kitāb-ū* > **kitaub* > **kitub* > *kutub* but this would be quite artificial. Not only some forms in Coptic remain unexplained but first of all it is rather improbable that as many as several tens (cf. Lacau 1972, Vergote 1969 and 1973-1983, vol. 3, 111-115, Schenkel 1983, 210ff.) of different types of internal plurals could be caused just by one ending either through metathesis (Vergote) or vowel assimilation (Lacau) allegedly conditioning tens of different umlauts even if this ending had some variants (which is not taken for granted by all Egyptologists) and even if the influence of this ending was conditioned also by the phonological shape of the particular roots and by the stress. It has to be emphasized also that there is at last some circularity in the hypotheses explaining different shapes of the plural ending depending on which of these shapes better suit the reconstruction of internal plurals as original external plurals with -w. Since -w was not written already in the New Egyptian period, this means that the change in the spoken language had taken place already before i.e. in the Middle period and there had to be at least some changes long before the first records of Coptic. Edel (1955/1964, 115-116) mentions also a prefix *j-* which occurs in some very rare cases but also in the plural of demonstrative pronouns (ibid., 83-84), e.g. *k3* "soul", pl. *k3w* and *jk3* though he says that perhaps the initial *j-* may be only "die Schreibung des Vokaleinsatzes". It is difficult to say whether this may be a sufficient basis for a hypothesis about internal plurals of *ʾafʿalu* type in Egyptian. In my opinion some Coptic internal plurals are secondary but some of them may be

quite archaic going back even to Proto-Hamito-Semitic. The problem should be seriously reconsidered by Egyptologists. Petráček appealed for such a reconsideration already in 1960 (p. 519) while, after a negative or rather silent response, he abandoned his earlier position in 1988, p. 41. As far as I know, only Schenkel (1989/1990, 95) considered a possibility of internal plurals in Egyptian basing his hypothesis on the fact that an alleged plural of *rmč* "man" (Latin "homo") is never written with -*w*. Schenkel himself, has reconstructed forms with the ending -*w*/-*aw* a n d umlaut for Middle Egyptian : **náčar* ."God", pl. **načúr-w* or *načŭr-aw* (1989/90, 94), so that he has posited at least one type of internal plural in Egyptian (cf. Zeidler 1992); cf. Lacau explaining Coptic *nute* id., pl. *nter < *ntērew*; Vergote *ntēr < *natíyru < *natíwru < *natírwu*; Vycichl in MDAIK 16, 394 *enter < *naṯīr-ew*, while it has to be emphasized that there are different forms of plural in different Coptic dialects: *enter, anṯir, ntere, enṯer, nter, ntere, enter, ntēr* (cf. Westendorf 1965/1977, 127). It has to be emphasized that in a future revision of the internal plurals in Coptic we have to take into consideration the coexistence of ablaut and umlaut like in Semitic, where some ablauts (e.g. *u : i* and *u : ū*) coexist together with purely phonologically conditioned alternations i.e. with umlaut. Also a relative chronology of ablaut and umlaut is crucial.

Why other Proto-Hamito Semitic internal plural forms have not been reconstructed so far? The most obvious answer is that no research has been done so far not only of the plural but first of all of the sound laws explaining vowel correspondences.

At least the following internal plural forms occur both in Semitic and in Berber (as indicated by Prasse 1972) so that there is a good chance that at least some of them are a common Proto-Hamito-Semitic heritage:

Tuareg	Arabic	
i-CCāC	*ʾa-CCāC*	
i-CiCāC	*CiCāC*	
ti-CuCāC	*CuCāC*	
i-CvCC-ān	*CuCC-ān, CiCC-ān*	
Beja	Afar-Saho	Arabic
CuCūC-a	*CuCūC-a*	*CuCūC(-a)*

Since there are many biconsonantal nominal roots in Cushitic and in Berber, their internal plurals have no correspondent in Semitic where the number of biconsonantal nominal roots is small and their plural forms have been usually restructured following the pattern of the triconsonantal root.

There is no *ʾa-* prefix in Berber in the historical stage since this has merged with the original definite article **ʾan* which has been reduced to a masculine and singular prefix *ʾa-*.

Why do we find only very faint traces of internal plurals in Akkadian (e.g. *bakru* "young of a camel or a donkey", pl. *bakkaru; alaktu* "way", pl. *alkakātu*)? In Northern Semitic (i.e. both Eastern and Western) dialects internal plurals disappeared very early and the system has not been renewed by secondary ablaut originating from umlaut as it happened e.g. in some Cushitic forms in which the secondary umlaut has been caused also by the singulative ending -*a*. This means that already in the Proto-Hamito-Semitic period there was a tendency in some

dialects to restructure the system abandoning lexical relations in favour of a grammatical system of regular plurals with *-Vw/-wa/-ū, -ān/-an, -āt* etc.

Numerals. There is an opinion that Hamito-Semitic plurals are so differentiated that they are much less important as a proof of the genetic unity of Afroasiatic than Indoeuropean numerals for the reconstruction of Proto-Indoeuropean and Diakonoff (1988, 67) said even that "A common Afrasian system of numerals cannot be reconstructed" and actually the authors of the latest account (Dombrowski and Dombrowski Junior, 1991, cf. F.A. Dombrowski 1992; I am listing in the References the important studies which have not been consulted by them) are rather sceptical. The best comparative study by Blažek (1990) has one minor deficiency, namely that secondary forms in non-archaic languages are not clearly separated from the archaic forms in the archaic languages so that the presentation of Proto-Hamito-Semitic stage is a bit blurred. The closest relation, as far as numerals are concerned, is between Semitic, Berber and Egyptian (on the last cf. Schenkel 1989/90, 112-113 as well as Loprieno). Cushitic and Chadic stand apart, the former having a system based on 1-5 in the prehistorical stage as shown by Beja, Afar Saho and Central Cushitic (including West Cushitic called also Omotic – cf. Zaborski 1983) where 6-9 are based on five plus X, so that five is six plus one, seven is five plus two etc. By the way I think that there is a chance that *asa-* in e.g. Beja *asa-rama* "seven" can go back to **ḥamsa > *ḥassa > *assa*, cf. Agaw *sa-* in 8 (5+3) and 9 (5+4). Reinisch hypothesis (1893, § 52 and 149, note 2; repeated by F.A. Dombrowski 1992) that this may be a participle of an unknown root meaning "making more" is only an ad hoc construction. This can be interpreted so that in the Proto-Hamito-Semitic period a part of dialects had a system based on five while another part had a basic system 1-9. It would be possible to claim that Semitic, Berber and Egyptian 6-9 are later innovations but it is less probable. Another possibility taking into account the fact that the nominal morphology of Semitic, Berber and Egyptian is more archaic than in Cushitic and in Chadic is that numbers 6 to 9 have been lost in Cushitic and in Chadic. In the following table Berber forms are Tuareg if not otherwise indicated (see Prasse 1974, 403-407 for Proto-Berber reconstructions).

Sem.	Eg.	Berb.	Cushitic	Chadic
1. **waḥid/aḥad = w ᶜ(j-w)*		= Ghad. *wayid*, Nef. *widi*, **yīw-an/t*, Guanche *b/veen* < **wayn*		
2. **ṭin-*	= *sn-wj*	= **sīn*	Bilin *säna* "like, same"?	**sry*
3. **t/ŝalāṭ-*	= *ḥmt-w;js-w(t)* "6" < **s(a)rsá-wt?*	**karāḏ*		=**knd`*

4. *arbaᶜ   jfd-w (cognate to   = *hakkūẓ   Beja fáḍig; Afar   = *pdʿw
              Beja and Chadic)   affara, ferey, Saho
                                                 ᶜafar

5. *ḥamiš   = (dj-w)   = *sammūs   Beja *asa in asa-gwír = *isam?
                                                  "6" (5+1), asa-rama
                                                  "7" (5+2) etc.

6. *šidš   = srs-w, sjs-w   = *saḍīs/sūḍus   = *sidu
             (> jsw?)

7. *sabᶜa   = sfḫ-w   = *sah

8. *šamānī   = ḥmn-w   = *tām

9. *tišᶜa   = (psḏ-w)   = *tiẕāh

10.* ᶜašara mḏw (Semitic   = marāw
             maʾd "many ")
             ᶜš̌ʒ "become   cf. Tuareg
             many"   te-meḍe "100"

I hope that this paper will be accepted by semitists as an invitation to the use of other Hamitosemitic languages.

References

Blažek V., 1990. A Comparative-Etymological Approach to Afrasian Numerals. In : ed. H. Mukarovsky, Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress, vol. 1, 29-44. Wien.

Callender J.B., 1975. Middle Egyptian. Malibu.

De Wolf P.P., 1989. Erläuterungen zu den Zählweisen im Osthamitischen: Eine Bestandsaufnahme für die Erforschung der Kardinalia von eins bis zehn im Kuschitischen. In: ed. E. von Schuler, XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag 16.-20.09.1985 in Würzburg (ZDMG Suppl. 7). Stuttgart.

Diakonoff I.M., 1988. Afrasian Languages. Leningrad.

Dolgopolskiy A., (forthcoming) Imperfective of Prefix-Conjugated Verbs in Cushitic, Semitic and Berber: Origin and Development. In : ed. G. Banti, Proceedings of the Second Conference on Cushitic and Omotic Linguistics, Torino.

Dombrowski F.A., 1992. Die Zahlen in kuschitischen Sprachen. System und Analyse. In: ed. E. Ebermann et al., Komparative Afrikanistik ... zu Ehren von H. G. Mukarovsky, 95-111. Wien.

Dombrowski F.A., Dombrowski B.W.W., 1991. Numerals and Numeral Systems in the Hamito-Semitic and Other Language Groups. In : ed. A. Kaye. Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau, vol. 1, 340-381. Wiesbaden.

Edel E., 1955-1964. Altägyptische Grammatik. Roma.

Gardiner A.H., 1957. Egyptian Grammar. London.

Goetze A., 1942. The So-Called Intensive of the Semitic Languages. Journal of the American Oriental Society 62, 1-8.

Guyard S., 1870. Nouvel essai sur la formation du pluriel brisé en arabe. Journal Asiatique.

Joüon P., Muraoka T., 1991. A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew, vol.1-2. Roma.

Johnstone T.M. 1987. Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri word-list. London.

Klingenheben A., 1926-1927. Zu den Zählmethoden in den Berbersprachen. Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen 17, 40-51.

Lacau P., 1972. Les pluriels du substantif en égyptien. In: Études d'égyptologie II. Morphologie. 111-173. Le Caire.

Lefebvre G., 1955. Grammaire de l'égyptien classique. Le Caire.

Loprieno A. 1984. Zahlwort. In: eds. W. Helck, W. Westendorf, Lexikon der Ägyptologie, vol. VI, 1306-1319.

Petráček K. 1960. Die innere Flexion in den semitischen Sprachen. Archiv Orientálni 28, 547-606.

– , 1988. Altägyptisch, hamitosemitisch und ihre Beziehungen zu einigen Sprachfamilien in Afrika und Asien. Praha.

Prasse K.-G., 1972-1974. Manuel de grammaire touaregue. vol.1-3. Copenhague.

Reinisch L., 1893. Die Bedauye-Sprache in Nord-Ost Afrika. Wien.

Roper E.M., 1928. Tu Beḍawie – an Elementary Handbook. Hertford.

Schenkel W., 1975. Die altägyptische Suffixkonjugation. Wiesbaden.

– , 1983. Aus der Arbeit an einer Konkordanz zu den altägyptischen Sargtexten, Teil II : Zur Pluralbildung des Ägyptischen, 171-230.

– , 1989/90. Einführung in die klassisch-ägyptische Sprache und Schrift. Tübingen.

Sethe K., 1910. Untersuchungen über die ägyptischen Zahlwörter. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache 47, 1-41.

– , 1916. Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern. Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Straßburg 25.

Vergote J., 1969. The Plural of Nouns in Egyptian and in Coptic. Orientalia 38, 77-96.

– , 1973-1983. Grammaire copte. vol.1-3. Louvain.

Vycichl W., 1983. Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte. Leuven.

Westendorf W., 1965-1977. Koptisches Handwörterbuch. Heidelberg.

Zaborski A., 1976. The Semitic External Plural in an Afroasiatic Perspective. Afroasiatic Linguistics 3/6, 111-119.

– , 1983. Basic Numerals in the Omotic Languages. In: eds. S. Segert, A.J.E. Bodrogligeti, Ethiopian Studies dedicated to Wolf Leslau, 375-390. Wiesbaden.

– , 1988. Zum hamitisemitischen Charakter des Berberischen. In: Progressive Traditions in African and Oriental Studies = Asia, Afrika, Lateinamerika 21, 180-184.

– , (forthcoming a). Problems of the Beja Present Reconsidered. In: ed. G. Banti, Proceedings of the Second Conference on Cushitic and Omotic Linguistics, Torino.

– , (forthcoming b). Qātala and qattala intensive in Semitic and Hamito-Semitic. Prof. Tadeusz Lewicki Memorial Volume.

Zavadovskij Ju. N., 1974. Les noms de nombre berbères à la lumière des études comparées chamito-sémitiques. In: eds. A. Caquot, D. Cohen, Actes du premier congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique, 102-112. The Hague - Paris.

Zeidler J., 1992. Altägyptisch und Hamitosemitisch. Bemerkungen zu den Vergleichenden Studien von Karel Petráček. Lingua Aegyptia 2, 189-222.

Zyhlarz E., 1931. Die ägyptisch-hamitische Dekade. Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache 67, 133-139.

Andrzej Zaborski

Zusammenfassung (abstract):

The article emphasizes the necessity of the use of Archaic Hamito-Semitic or Afroasiatic languages –mainly Tuareg, Berber, Beja, Afar-Saho and Egyptian – for the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages. The position of Beja within Cushitic can be compared with that of Akkadian within Semitic. E.g. Beja provides a proof that Arabic, Ethiopic etc. "third class" verbal form *qātala* is not a South Semitic innovation but goes back to Proto-Hamito-Semitic. Originally *qātala* was only a variant of *qattala*, its "conative" function being only a variant of the intensive/durative/habitual function. At least a part of Coptic internal plurals is of Proto-Egyptian and probably Hamito-Semitic origin. A common Hamito-Semitic system of numerals can be reconstructed.

Address of the author:
Prof. Dr. A. Zaborski, M. Zebrzydowskiego 1, PL-34130 Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Poland