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SOME EGYPTIAN ETYMOLOGIES III: THE NEW GENERATION

This paper collects a bunch of new etymological proposals resulting from an MA course held at the Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE, Hungary) in the fall semester of 2011 on the questions of Egyptian etymology with the participation of Gyula Priskin BA, Nóra Seres BA, Réka Tóth BA (henceforth, GyP, NS, and RT, respectively) under my guidance. Trying to apply the methods of comparative linguistics for the Egyptian lexicon, the MA students were assigned the task of identifying possible cognates in Akkadian, Hebrew, and West Chadic predominantly with initial sibilants, especially with *samekh*. Doing so, they have managed to come up with a few attractive suggestions, which I have checked in my Afro-Asiatic apparatus and from which I decided to publish those ideas that indeed proved to be convincing and did not yet appear (to the best of my knowledge) in the literature of Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) linguistics.

The ideas underlying etymologies no. 1, 2, 3, and 6 stem from N. Seres. The Akk.-Eg. comparison serving as *à propos* to no. 4 is due to R. Tóth observing it independently a century after A. Ember. We owe thanks for six successful Eg.-WCh. equations (nos. 5, 8-12) to Gy. Priskin, whereas no. 7 represents an etymology observed by myself added here since it poses phonological problems (rare correspondence of Eg. š- = Sem. *s- vs. irregular nasals) suspiciously appearing in some other cases also discussed here. Otherwise, my part in this paper has been to edit the ideas of my students with the necessary context of lexical data and etymological literature.

After the three „last Mohicans” (W. Vycichl, W.A. Ward, C.T. Hodge) of the so-called old school of Egyptian etymology (cf. EDE I 2-4) passed away (in 1999, 1996, and 1998, respectively) and unfortunately no young generation appeared to take their place, this domain was nearly doomed to extinction, whereas just the 1990s witnessed a strange revival of the alternative trend, the so-called *neuere Komparatistik* (cf. EDE I 333-393; Takács 2011, 34-82). These are the circumstances under which I began working on an etymological dictionary

of Egyptian (summer 1994). The first two parts of this series were published back in those years.¹ Luckily, the past decade has brought me the acquaintance of two young scholars actively working in Egypto-Semitic etymology, thus representing new hopes for our discipline: Massimiliano Franci PhD (Firenze)² and David Calabro MA (Chicago)³, with whom I have most recently established an informal circle of Egyptian and Afro-Asiatic comparison (June 2011, Turin). May this paper also gain new friends for this neglected research field.

1. Eg. sbj [reg. < *sbr] „sich auflehnen gegen, sich versündigen gegen, freveln gegen” (PT-, Wb IV 87) = „to rebel against” (FD 220) ||| NWSem. *√srb „to oppose, contradict” [GT]: OHbr. *√srb „streiten gegen (‘im) jem.”, *sārāb, pl. sārābīm „widerspenstig” [GB 552] = *sārāb „obstinate” [KB 768], MHbr. √srb piel „sich weigern, ablehnen” [Dalman 1922, 300] = √srb piel „1. to assume importance, allow one’s self to be coaxed, decline an office, 2. be imperious, press, urge, rebel” [Jastrow 1950, 1021], JAram. √srb „1. sich weigern, 2. widerspenstig sein” [Dalman] = √srb pael „1. to decline, refuse, 2. rebel” [Jastrow], Samar. Aram. srb „1. insolence, 2. refusal”, √srb „to dare” [Tal 2000, 609], NHbr. (Ivrit) √srb „1. противиться, упорно отказываться, 3. упорствовать, настаивать” [Šapiro 1963, 443]. Metathesis either in Eg. or Can. The Eg.-Hbr. comparison is due to NS.

2. Eg. smn.w (pl.) „als Teile der Leiter: ob deren Sprossen (?)” (PT 2080d, Wb IV 135, 4) = „*Teile der Leiter: *Sprossen, Stufen” (ÄWb I 1127)⁴ ||| Sem. **√sml (unattested as verbal root?) [GT]: Akk. simmiltu(m) „Treppe, Stiege: 1. (OAkk.) Palasttreppe (?), 2. (NBab.) (Mauer)Leiter, 3. (übertr.) Bergtreppe” [AHW 1045] = simmiltu „1. ladder, stair, stairs of a house, stepladder, stairway of a temple, stairway leading up a city wall, in figurative use, referring to a vista of receding ranges of mountains and to mountain ledges, 2. siege ladder, 3. rack”, bīt simmilti „staircase” [CAD s 273-5] || Can. (probably mostly borrowed from Akk.): Syr. sebbeltā „ladder” [KB], NSyr. simmiltā „ladder” [KB], Mandaic

¹ GT: Some Egyptian Etymologies I.= *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 37 (1995), 105-108. GT: Some Egyptian Etymologies. II.= *Živa Antika* (Skopje) 48/1-2 (1998), 125-132.

² First met him at the 11th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic Linguistics (in Bergamo, June 2003), where he presented a paper on the inherited common Egypto-Semitic anatomical terminology.

³ We first encountered at the 13th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic Linguistics (in Udine, May 2007), where he was talking about the Semitic and other Mediterranean reflexes of Eg. sd3.t „seal”.

⁴ Is there any etymological connection to Eg. smn „die Stützen des Himmels” (XVIII., Wb IV 135, 5), smn.tj „die beiden Himmelsstützen” (PT, Wb IV 135, 6)? If so, however, the ultimate root should be Eg. smnj (IVae inf.) „1. (tr.) bleiben lassen, feststellen, 2. (intr.) stehen bleiben” (PT, Wb IV 131-4) excluding the suggested Semitic etymology.

sumbilita ~ sumbulta ~ sumblta „ladder” [DM 1962, 322] = sumbilitā [AHW]⁵. I owe this equation to NS who actually combined Eg. smn.w with OHbr. sullām „series of rising rows of stones, stepped ramp, flight of steps” [KB 757-8] = „entrance way” [Houtmann, VT 27, 1977, 337-351] = „tower with steps” [Jaroš, OBO 4, 1974, 191], which has been usually affiliated with Akk. simmiltu etc. (lit. quoted e.g. in AHW and DM l.c.) on the basis of a metathesis. The origin of these terms for „ladder” is obscure as no comparable verbal root is known. Some derive the OHbr. term from OHbr. √sll qal „to pile up in the street, leave around, 2. pile up sheaves, 3. exalt, praise” [KB 757] + suffix *-ām (cf., e.g., KB l.c.), which would, however, rule out its connection to Akk.-Can. *simmilt- „ladder”.

3. Eg. smn „1. Bild eines Gottes (als Statue oder Relief) im Kultus auf dem der Gott sich niederläßt, 2. auch: Aussehn, Abbild” (GR, Wb IV 135, 9-13) = „image” (PL 846)⁶ ||| Sem.: OHbr. semel ~ sēmel ~ sāmel [sāmel] „divine image, large scale sculpture of figure at an entrance gate, image, sculpture” [KB 760 pace Rose, BWANT 108, 1975, 200-3] = „(Götzen)Bild” [GB 547]⁷, MHbr. semel „carved image” [Jastrow 1950, 1002].

4. Eg. šhm „die göttliche Macht, herrliches Machtwesen” (OK-, Wb IV 243-5) vs. **šhm** „(Eigenschaftswort: Verbum und Adjektiv) mächtig (sein), Macht gewinnen über ...” (PT-, Wb IV 245-8): its etymology has been strongly disputed. Already W.F. Albright (1918, 246, #96) – giving up his own suggestion⁸ – sided with its equation with OHbr. √ms qal „gewalttätig behandeln, bedrücken” [GB 241] via metathesis originating from his master A. Ember. Elsewhere, in his very same paper, Albright (1918, 231) affiliated the Hbr. root with Akk. √šhm G: saḫāmu „to be under pressure, miserable (?)”, D: suḫḫumu „to pressure (?), make miserable (?), make life impossible” [CAD s 30] = √šhm D „bedrängen”, N „bekümmert werden”, saḫmu „eingedrückt: 1. (v. Frucht), 2.

⁵ To be distinguished from Vernacular Syr. (Kurdistan, NWPersia, Plain of Mosul) simbūltā (sg., rare) „a half moustache”, usually pl. simbūl(āl)ī „the whole moustache” [MacLean 1910, 225].

⁶ Its origin has been debated: P. Wilson (PL 847) pondered whether it was „perhaps meaning *‘that which is established’*, or else” it should be regarded „as a mistake for **smn**”. Hardly may either of these explanantions be correct. Firstly, she failed to clear the reason why the sense „image” just primarily meant „established”. Secondly, there can be evidently no talk of any orthographical mistake for Eg. znn „1. Statue, Bildwerk, 2. Ebenbild, Abbild” (Lit. MK-, Wb III 460), the latter having been written fully differently.

⁷ Combined in GB l.c. with Akk. lamassu „Stierkoloß”, whereas KB l.c. put just a question-mark to its etymology (no verbal root is indicated to underlie it). Naturally, the derivation < *s- + *mūl mentioned by Jastrow l.c. is out of question.

⁸ Namely, the comparison with Akk. ḫamāmu „to guide, direct” [Jensen] = „to decide, cut, reap” [Alb.].

eine Geländevertiefung (?)” [AHW 1003, 1010] = $\sqrt{\text{shm}}$ D „to maltreat” [Alb.] || Syr. $\sqrt{\text{shm}}$ „to oppress” [Alb.] = „zusammendrücken” [AHW] | Ar. $\sqrt{\text{shm}}$ V: *tasahhama* (ʿalayhi) „haïr” [BK I 1066] = „he became affected with rancour, malevolence, malice or spite against him, he became angered against him” [Lane 1326]. Later, Sh. Yeivin (1930, 111) proposed an entirely different match with Ar. $\sqrt{\text{shm}}$ I „être gâté” [BK I 1203], which can by no means fit semantically. V.É. Orel and O.V. Stolbova (1992, 200), in turn, combined the Eg. root with their CCh. * $\sqrt{\text{Vm}}$ - „can”, which is doubtful as there is no reflection of Eg. -h- in it. My pupil, RT has now suggested (not knowing of Albright’s paper) again an equation with Akk. $\sqrt{\text{shm}}$ (above), which (including OHbr. $\sqrt{\text{hsm}}$ and Syr. $\sqrt{\text{sm}}$) seems indeed promising (Ar. $\sqrt{\text{shm}}$ is semantically doubtful). Might I add here Sem. * $\sqrt{\text{z[h]m}}$ [DRS], which may represent an ultimately related root, cf. Aram. of Turoyo $\sqrt{\text{zhm}}$ > *zahomm* „fort, capable”, cf. $\sqrt{\text{shm}}$: *ʿasham* „vaillant, capable” [Ritter], NSyr. *zahmā* „fort, vigoureux” [Macuch-Panoussi] (Sem.: DRS 719).

5. Eg. st3 „spinnen” (PT-, Wb IV 355, 4-5)⁹ was combined by GyP (independently from HSED #467) with WCh. **čakw*- „плести” [Stl. 1987, 191, #427]: *Karekare čaakū*- „to weave” [Schuh]¹⁰ | *Ngizim čaakaú* „to weave cloth” [Schuh 1981, 30] = *čakədū* „to weave” [Krf.], *Bade čakān* „to weave” [Krf.], which, besides, is also reflected in CCh.: *Tera čaka* „to weave” [Nwm. 1964, 49] || ECh.: *Dangla-Migama čāk-a* „métier à tisser” [GT]: *WDangla tyàākà* (f) „(peigne du) métier à tisser” [Fdr. 1971, 221], *EDangla tyàākā* (f) „1. le métier à tisser (ou seulement le peigne), 2. le gabak (par opposition à sòtor ‘tissu étranger’)” [DM 1973, 315], *Migama čàākà* (f) „métier à tisser” [JA 1992, 74]. Another set of AA root varieties also existed, cf. AA * $\sqrt{\text{ck}}$ ~ * $\sqrt{\text{sk}}$ ~ * $\sqrt{\text{čk}}$ ~ * $\sqrt{\text{šk}}$ „to weave” [GT]¹¹. This idea might only be approved provided we assume that

⁹ Note that O. Rössler (1987, 384, n. 2) strangely equated it with Ar. $\sqrt{\text{šzr}}$, but failed to demonstrate Eg. -t- = Sem. *-z-.

¹⁰ Derived by R.G. Schuh (1984, 219) from his Bole-Tangale **sāku* „to weave”.

¹¹ Attested in CSem. * $\sqrt{\text{skk}}$ „плести, ткать” [Dlg.] vs. **cakk-* „(мелкое) плетение” [Mlt.]: OHbr. $\sqrt{\text{skk}}$ *qal* „flechten, weben” [GB 543] = „to weave, shape”, *poal* „to interweave, interwine” [KB 754], JAram. *skk* *peal* „to interlace, entangle, weave, esp. hedge in”, *paal* „to weave, fence in” [Jastrow 1950, 990] (Sem.: Mlt. 1983, 103, fn. 27) || NAgaw **saq-/saq-* „to sew, weave” [Apl. 1984, 37; 1991, 18] || SCU.: *Dahalo sōk-* „to twist” [EEN 1989, 24] || WCh.: Hausa *sáākà* „to weave” [Abr. 1962, 766] = *sākāà* [Krf.] | Angas-Sura **sak* (**saq?*) „to weave” [GT 2004, 317]: (?) Gerka *suk-ta-ni* (so, su-) [but s- reg. < AS *č-/š-!] „to spin” [Ftp. 1911, 220], Angas *sak* „to weave” [Flk. 1915, 275] = *saḳ* (so, -ḳ!) „to weave” [Jng. 1962 MS, 35] = *sak* *nfutak* (so, -k) „to weave” [ALC 1978, 56] = *sak* „to weave, weaving” [Krf.], *Kofyar sāk* „to weave” [Ntg. 1967, 35] | Bole-Tangale **sāku* „to weave” [Schuh 1984, 219] = **sāk-* (?) [GT]: e.g., Bole *sākowoʿi* „to weave” [Krf.] | Polchi *cōyon* (ts-) „to weave” [Krf.] | Buli *sōgu*, Burma *sakè* „to weave” [Krf.] || CCh.: Hildi *cagū* (ts-) „to weave” [Krf.] | Daba *siikà* „плести” [OS 1989, 89] | Afade *wan-szaká* [< *u-w/han-saka] „ich webe”, *szakká* [sakka] „Webstuhl” [Seetzen in Sölken 1967, 162 and 341, #691, #693-4] | Musgu *sasáka* „Weber” [Krause apud Lks. 1941, 119] (Ch.: Krf. 1981, #429).

Eg. -3 (unreflected in any of these forms) was an additional root extension. But if not, Eg. *st̥3* (either < *skʔ or *skl) might directly be equated on a triconsonantal basis with SCu.: Dahalo *sakaʔ*- „to plait, twist”, *sakaʔ*-um- „to weave” [EEN 1989, 23] or WCh.: Daffo-Butura *sakāl* „aufwickeln (Schnur)” (≈ Hausa *sàkálà*) [Jng. 1970, 220], respectively, either of which apparently displays the same C₃ extension as Eg. *st̥3* does. Note that either Dahalo *s*- or Ron **s*- can hardly be traced back to AA *č-.

6. Eg. *štm* „1. heftig werden (beim Sprachen), 2. verleumden (den Diener bei seinem Herrn)” (Lit. MK, Wb IV 557, 13-14) = „to be quarrelsome” (FD 273) = „1. heftig werden (beim Sprachen), 2. streiten” (ÄWb II 2492c), cf. *štm* „Verrat” (OK hapax, ÄWb I 1321c), *štm* „hostility” (XII., FD 273) = „Feindseligkeit” (ÄWb II 2492c), *štm* „unzulässige, strafbare Handlung” (Lit. NE, Wb IV 558, 1). The Eg. root was identified by W. Vycichl (1958, 400; 1990, 63) with Ar. *√štm* I „to revile, vilify, upbraid, reproach, defame s’one, give a bad name to s’one”, *šatm*- „foul speech”, *šatīm*- „1. displeasing, hateful of countenance (applied to a man or lion), 2. foul or ugly (ass), 3. grim-faced (lion), stern, austere, morose, in countenance” [Lane 1503] = *√štm* I *šatama* „insulter, injurier qqn.”, *šatima* „se réjouir d’un malheur qui arrive à l’ennemi”, *šatuma* „avoir un visage laid et sinistre” [BK I 1190] = *√štm* „(be)schimpfen” [Vcl.]¹², which seems to be correct.

Nevertheless, the recent (and *prima vista* more problematic than Vycichl’s) proposal by NS to combine Eg. *štm* directly with OHbr. *√štn qal* „1. anfeinden, befehden, 2. durch Anklagen anfeinden, anklagen”, part. pl. cstr. *šətnē*- „Widersacher, Verfolger”, *šātān* „1. Widersacher, Gegner im Kriege, 2. ein übermenschliches Wesen, das die Menschen schonungslos bei Gott anklagt, sie zur Sünde reizt”, *šitnā* „Anklage” [GB 782] made me rethink some questions surrounding this Eg.-Sem. root.

Firstly, should we follow the tradition (e.g., pace Bauer and Leander quoted in KB 1317) in explaining Ar. *√štn* I „1. s’opposer à qqn. pour le détourner de son projet”, II „1. être turbulent, inquiet, être diable, 2. être méchant et se plaire à semer des inimitiés”, *šatan*- „2. criminel, impie”, *šatīn*- „vil(ain), affreux”, *šaytān*- „1. Satan, diable, 2. (fig.) séducteur, 3. orgueilleux et impie, 4. méchant,

The Hbr. root was usually affiliated with Ar. *√škk* „to cover” (e.g., Grb. I.c.), which fits neither phonologically (Hbr. *s*- ≠ Ar. *š*-) nor semantically. Cf. also Cohen 1947, #283 (NAgaw-Hausa); Grb. 1963, 63 (WCh.-Musgu-Hbr.); Dlg. 1973, 101 (Agaw-Hausa) vs. 265 (Agaw-Sem.); Stl. 1987, 177, #298 (WCh.-NAgaw); Blz. 1991, 364 (Eg.-Cu-CCh. vs. Sem. separated from the rest because of **s*- < AA **c*-).

¹² The Ar. root stands apparently isolated, since OHbr. *√štm qal* „(vielleicht: das Gebet) verstummen lassen” [GB 795] = *qal* „1. to close the way to prayer, shut out one’s prayer, reject one’s prayer, 2. suffocate, extinguish” [KB 1363], Syr. *√štm* „verstummen” [Jacob, ZAW 22, 105] represent apparently a semantically distinct root.

rebelle, intractable, indocile, 5. qui n'est jamais tranquille, qui n'obéit pas et joue des mauvais tours" [BK I 1231-2] as a denominative root based on *šawṭ-/šayṭ- + -an eventually originating in root **√swṭ or **√syṭ?

Secondly, already Perles (quoted in GB 795) combined Hbr. √šṭn with Ar. √štm, which might represent old root varieties just like the *Nebenform* in OHbr. √štm qal „anfeinden, beföhden, verfolgen”, maštēmā „Anfeindung” [GB 465] = √štm qal „to be at enmity with, be hostile towards”, maštēmā „persecution” [KB 640-1, 1316] = maštēmā „animosity” [Lsl.], hence also Geez mastemā ~ masteme „name of Satan” [Lsl. 1987, 367]¹³.

Thirdly, was Hbr. √šṭn the primary one of these varieties (as usually suggested by the standard lexicons)? Hardly so in the light of OHbr. √štm, Ar. √štm, and Eg. štm.

7. Eg. šdn „(von den Augen) geschlossen sein” (BD, Wb IV 568,10) || Sem. *√stm ~ *√štm ~ *√sdm „to close” [GT] > OHbr. √stm qal „1. verstopfen, 2. verschließen, geheim halten”, nifal „geschlossen werden (von Rissen in der Mauer)” [GB 553] = qal „1. to stop up the springs of water, disguise, 2. shut up words, be aloof, keep secret”, nifal „to be blocked, be shut chinks (in a wall)”, piel „to block, obstruct (wells)” [KB 771] | Ar. √štm I: saṭama „fermer (la porte)” vs. √sdm I: sadama „fermer, barricader (la porte)”, VI „être empêché par le vent de couler (se dit de l'eau)”, VII „se fermer (se dit d'une plaie)” [BK I 1089, 1072] = √štm vs. √sdm „die Türe verschließen” [GB]. This etymology was inspired by the equally anomalous match of OHbr. √šṭn and Eg. štm (no. 5 above) as well as by the well-known¹⁴ and most convincing lexical match for the anomalous correspondence of Eg. š- and Sem. *s-, namely Eg. šṭ3 [< *šṭr] „geheim” (PT, Wb IV 551-3) = „mysterious, secret, hidden” (FD 272) || Sem. *√s/štr „прикрывать (одеждой), защищать” [IS] = *√str „скрывать, прятать” [Meparišvili] = *√štr (var. *√str?) „to cover, hide” [Dlg.]¹⁵.

¹³ For deriving the Geez/ES word from Hbr. cf. Worrel, ZA 29 (1914-5), 139; Euringer, ZS 7 (1929), 74; Dobberahn's ph.d. dissertation „Fünf äthiopische Zauberrohlen” (Bonn, 1976, p. 107, 177, fn. 83) quoted in Lsl. 1987, 367.

¹⁴ Maintained by H. Holma (1919, 45); O. Rössler (1971, 304); Castellino (1984, 16); A. Dolgopolsky (1987, 203, #62).

¹⁵ Attested in OAkk. šitru(m) „ein netzartiger Überwurf, Schleier” [AHW 1252] = „(a textile, possibly an undergarment)” [CAD š II 134] = „veil (?)” [Römer in KB 772] || Ug. √štr „bedecken” [WUS #320, not so in DUL!], OHbr. √str nifal „1. sich verbergen, 2. verborgen sein”, sēter „1. Versteck (bassēter: im Verborgenen, heimlich), 2. Hülle, 3. Schirm, Schutz”, mistār, pl. mistārīm „verborgener Ort, wo man etwas versteckt oder sich versteckt (bes. um auf andere zu lauern)” [GB 442, 554] = √str nifal „1. to hide o'self, 2. be hidden, remain undiscovered (part. fem. pl.: the secret things)”, pual „to keep secret” > sāter [šā-] „1. hiding place, 2. covering (of darkness, in a thundercloud, veil of the face or a garment hitched up), 4. secrecy”, mistār (pl. tante: mistārīm) „secret places” [KB 771-2, 608], MHbr. √str piel „to conceal”, hifil „to hide”, hitpacl „to be hidden, protected, esp. retire under suspicious circumstances”, nistārōt (fem.pl.) „secret things,

8. Eg. gmj „finden” (OK-, Wb V 166-9) ||| WCh. *g^(w)am- „встретиться” [Stl. 1987, 217, #675]: i.a. Hausa gà mú „1. to be joined, 2. be collected, 3. meet, 4. be finished” [Abr. 1962, 294] | Angas-Sura *g^wa₃m (or *-o-?) „to meet” [GT 2004, 137]¹⁶ | Bole gom- „zusammentreffen” [Lks. 1971, 135] | NBauchī *g-m- „to gather, join, meet” [Skn. 1977, 23] < PCh. *g-m- „to meet” [NM 1966, 237] = *g-mə „to meet” [Nwm. 1977, 29] ||| Sem.: Ar. bicons. *√gm „to gather together” [MacDonald 1963-5, 75] = „to gather” [Vcl. 1987, 114]. The Eg.-Ar. equation was first suggested by A. Ember (ESS §4.d.4, §10.a.45, §23.a.15, quoted also by Albright 1918, 93) and hence by F. von Calice (GÄSW #98). The Eg.-Hausa match was first described by W. Vycichl (1934, 85-86). The Eg.-PCh.-Sem. comparison was observed by C.T. Hodge (1968, 26; 1981, 372, #18), while O.V. Stolbova (l.c.) repeated the WCh.-Ar. etymology (so also OS 1990, 79, #21). Now, GyP has arrived perfectly independently at the same Eg.-PWCh. comparison. Areal parallel: PKoman *gam „to find” [Bnd. 1983, 280, #243].

9. Eg. dr.w „1. Ende, 2. Grenze” (PT-, Wb V 585-9): a number of etymological solutions have been offered so far, but none fully satisfactory¹⁷. A great difficulty is posed by the fact that both radicals are etymologically multivalent (Eg. d < AA *g, but also *ç, *č, *ĉ, while Eg. r < both *r or *l). Now, GyP has proposed a new comparison with WCh. *čalaw/y „tail (хвост)” [Stl. 1987, 194, #453], which would suggest a primary common sense “back, end”. The only serious (albeit not an absolutely invincible¹⁸) drawback would be the anomalous 2nd radical of the Cpt. reflex, cf. (SB) **таp** „Spitze, Ecke, Zacke, Haken, Zweig” (KHW 241) projecting Pharaonic *đir.ăw.

10. Eg. dr „1. fernhalten von jem. (r), 2. e. Zustand (Hunger o.ä.) beseitigen, 3. Fuß (Schreiten u.ä.) aufhalten” (PT-, Wb V 595, 5-9) = „fern-/

mysteries” [Jastrow 1950, 1032-3], JAram. √str G „bedecken, verhüllen”, pael „verheimlichen, verbergen” [Levy 1924 III, 601-2] | Ar. √str I: satara „1. (re)couvrir (avec un voile, etc.), cacher, 2. protéger, couvrir de son égide”, II „tenir caché derrière les rideaux, les portières, dérober aux regards (surtout sa fille ou sa femme)”, III „cacher”, V and VIII „se cacher, se couvrir” [BK I 1049] (Sem.: Meparišvili 1987, 11; Dlg. 1987, 203, #62). Note that Geez, Tigre, Tigrinya, and Amharic məstīr „secret” derives as late loanword from Greek μυστήριον (cf. Lsl. 1982, 54), which, in turn, was borrowed from OHbr. mistār.

¹⁶ Attested in Gerka kwam (sic, kw-) „to join” [Ftp. 1911, 217], Angas gwōm „to meet (Hs. gammu)” [Flk. 1915, 195] = gwōm „to meet” [Jng. 1962 MS] (AS: Stl. 1987, 217, #675).

¹⁷ E.g., (1) E. Zyhlarz (1932-3, 173) followed by J. Vergote (1971, 44): ~ Bed. gil „Grenze, Ziel” declined by Vycichl (1960, 262; 1978, 75) in the light of Cpt. (S) **тHP** = < Eg. r-dr.w =. (2) J. Vergote (1945, 147, §24.c.10; 1973 Ib, 22, §22) followed by W.A. Ward (1962, 403-5, §5): ~ Sem. *√srr „lier ensemble, enfermer” [Vrg.] = *√sr „to enclose, be in distress” [Ward]. (3) C.T. Hodge (1966, 47, #99): ~ WCh.: Hausa càrnúú (ts-) „fencing post” and cáraá „middle of back”.

¹⁸ For attested etymological instances of anomalous fluida in Coptic cf. Takács 2005, 77-83, §vii.

aufhalten” (Osing): GyP is disposed to affiliate it with WCh. *qar- „выгонять” [Stl. 1987, 220, #702], whose reflexes have also g- in the *Anlaut*, although the Cpt. reflexes suggest an *-l- in the Eg. root, cf. (L) $\chi\omega\lambda\epsilon$ (instead of an expected * $\chi\lambda\lambda\epsilon$) „aufhören, zum Aufhören bringen”, $\chi\lambda\epsilon$ „Hindernis” (NBÄ 38, 203, 738: n. 896, 891).

11. Eg. *dr* „1. (das Opfertier) durchstossen (mit dem Speer), 2. die Trommel schlagen” (GR: 2x, Wb V 595, 11-12) = „1. to pierce, stab, 2. beat (the drum)” (PL 1241 equally with just 2 exx.): GyP’s original suggestion to equate it with WCh. *čAl „сверлить, протыкать” [Stl. 1987, 194, #452] is very attractive even despite Stolbova’s (l.c.) uncertain WCh. reconstruction based solely on Hausa *cífrè* (ts-) „1. to pierce and remain in, execute by impaling on a stake, 2. spit (meat to make tsìirée ’bits of meat spitted on stick and toasted)” [Abr. 1962, 887] | Chip səl „durchbohren, erstechen” [Jng. 1965, 167] | Sha čul „durchbohren, erstechen” [Jng. 1970, 284]. The latter two forms certainly belong to a distinct AA root (without glottalization in the *Anlaut*)¹⁹, whereas the Hausa and the Eg. verbs could be indeed taken from a common root (AA *√cr)²⁰.

12. Eg. *drj* „1. fest, stark, 2. vorzüglich, schwierig” (XVIII., Wb V 599) = „1. strong (of staff), 2. be hard (?), stolid (?)” (FD 328) ||| Sem.: OSA (Sab.) šrr „to stay, stand (demeurer, rester debout)” [SD 147], Ar. √šrr I: šarra „dresser les oreilles et les serrer contre la tête (cheval)” [BK I 1325] = „1. to contract one’s ears to one’s head (of a horse), point and raise the ears (which a horse does only when he exerts himself and hastens in his pace), straighten and erect one’s ears to listen (of an ass), 2. to become smitten by (intense) cold (a plant or herbage)” [Lane 1671c], cf. also Ar. √šry I: šarā „5. retenir (l’urine), retenir le sperme dans ses reins, de là: s’abstenir du commerce sexuel, 10. rester en arrière, 11. rester au pouvoir de qqn. comme otage (se dit des prisonniers de guerre”, šariya „1. être retenu dans le canal (se dit de l’urine ou du sperme), 2. croupir, être à l’état de stagnation au point de se gâter (se dit de l’eau)”, hence: šarā-t- „tout ce qui reste à l’état de stagnation et croupit, p.ex., eau stagnante, sperme arrêté dans le canal” [BK I 1336] = šariya „1. (said of water) it remained or stagnated long,

¹⁹ Presumably from AA *√cl „to pierce” [GT] > SCu. *cal-/cil- (?), „to poke” [GT]: Iraqw tsil- „to sting” | Qwadza tsal- „to stab”, tsel-et- „to drill”, Asa žal-as- „to bite, sting” (Rift: Ehret 1980, 193) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *sul ~ *s^wul „to make a hole, bore” [GT 2004, 323]: Sura sül „graben” [Jng. 1963, 82] = sül „to pierce” [Krf.], Mupun sül „to pierce, make a hole” [Frj. 1991, 57], Kofyar sül „to make a hole” [Ntg. 1967, 37], Chip səl [-ə- < *-u-] „durchbohren, erstechen” [Jng. 1965, 167] = sıl gwe [sül] „to pierce” [Krf.], Mushere šwul ~ šuwul [š- < *s^w-] „to dig, excavate” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 197].

²⁰ From this standpoint highly noteworthy is AA *√cwr [GT]: WCh.: Wangday cwari (ts-) „to kill” [Smz.] (not to be derived from Ch. *√dwk as suggested in JI 1994 II, 212) ||| Sem.: Ar. šwr I „4. rompre, fendre, 5. couper, trancher” [BK I 1383]

it remained long and became altered (for the worse), 2. it remained undrawn from the udder so that its flavour became bad or corrupt (said of milk), 3. (the tears) collected (in the eye) and did not run, 4. he (a man) remained in his hand as a pledge held in custody” [Lane 1685b-c] ||| WCh. *ça/irw- „стоять, останавливаться” [Stl. 1987, 185, #363] > Hausa cáyà [ts-, change of -y- < *-r-reg.] „to stand” [Abr. 1962, 881] | Angas-Sura *ḏār ~ *ḏer (?) „1. to stand (up), 2. stay, 3. stop” [GT 2004, 85]²¹ | Fyer ḏar „to stand” [Jng.] | Tangale seṛi „to stand (up), halt, stop, pause” [Jng. 1991, 143], Maha ḏeri „to stand” [Nwm.] | NBAuchi *ḥurw- → *ḥərw- „1. to stand, 2. stop, wait” [Skn.] = *ḥArw [Stl.]: Warji ḥərw-, Miya, Mburku, Kariya, Tsagu ṣər-, Pa’a ḥura, Siri ḥuru, Diri šala (NBch.: Skn. 1977, 42) || CCh.: Zime-Batna càr [ts-] á sém „to stand” [Scn.] || ECh.: Kwang ḏyèrè „to stand” [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 304-5) < AA *√cr „1. to stand firmly, 2. remain in place” [GT]. The primary sense of this AA root has been especially neatly retained by the Ar. root. The ingenious Eg.-PWCh. comparison is due to GyP, which convinced me and made me consider the fairly similar semantical spectrum of the closely related AA *√mn „1. firm, 2. strong” [GT] ~ AA *√mn „to join, attach firmly” [GT] ~ AA *√mn „to remain in a place (or sim., act.: to be stuck to a place), hence: 1. sit, 2. wait” [GT]²² or the abundant semantical parallels provided by the well-known reflexes of IE *stā- „stehen, stellen” > *st-eu(ə)- „massiv, fest, dick, breit”, act. „standsicher, feststehend” > *stəu-ro- ~ *stū-ro- „fest(stehend), stark, Ständer” (IEW 1004-1010).

Abbreviations of languages

AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, (B): Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, Beh.: Bauchi, BD: Book of the Dead, Bed.: Bedawye, Brb.: Berber, Can.: Canaanite, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, GR: Greek and Roman Period, H: Highland, Hbr.: Hebrew, J: Jewish,

²¹ Attested, e.g., in Angas daar „to stop, stay” [Flk. 1915, 164] = daar „stehen bleiben” [Jng. 1962 MS] = ḏar „to stand, stop”, cf. ḏar tur „to resist” [ALC 1978, 13] = ḏar [ḏār] „to stand up” [Krf.], Sura ḏār „stehenbleiben, bleiben” [Jng. 1963, 63], Mupun ḏār „to stand (about living things, including trees), step, stand up, wait” [Frj. 1991, 14], Kofyar ḏār (sg.), ḏyaram (pl.) „to stay, stand” [Ntg. 1967, 9], Mushere ḏar ~ ḏer ~ deer (sg.), ḏirang (pl.) „1. to stop, end (verb or noun?), 2. stand, wait”, ḏar aku „to wait before”, ḏe(e)r-tiktik „(to stand) without movement, motionless, inactive” [Dkl. 1997 MS] = ḏer „stand(ing)” [Jng. 1999 MS, 4], Tal ḏái [-i < *-r#] „to stand” [IL], Montol dai [-i < *-r#] „to await”, yal-dai [-i < *-r#] „to stand” (cf. AS *ya₃ya₃l „to rise”) [Ftp. 1911, 214, 216, 220], perhaps Goemay *ḏay „to rest passively (or sim.)” [GT] (Angas-Sura data: Stl. 1972, 180; 1977, 153, #47; 1987, 174, #269; GT 2004, 85).

²² Reflexes discussed in EDE III 225-7 s.v. Eg. mn „bleiben, fest an einer Stelle sein” (OK, Wb II 60-62) = „to remain, be firm, established, enduring, fixed, stick fast in (m), attached to (m)” (FD 106) > Cpt. (SALBF) **MOYN**, (OS) **MOYNE**, (B) **MOYNI** „bleiben, warten, beharren” (KHW 95).

L: Lowland, (L): Lycopolitan, Lit.: Literary, M: Middle, MK: Middle Kingdom, N: North(ern) or Neo-, NE: New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, O: Old, (O) Old Coptic, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, P: proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabea, Samar.: Samaritan, Sem.: Semitic, Syr.: Syriac, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West(ern), XVIII.: 18th Dynasty.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, Alb.: Albright, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky, Blz.: Blažek, Bnd.: Bender, Chn.: Cohen, Cst.: Castellino, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij, DM: Djibrine and Montgolfier, EEN: Ehert, Elderkin, Maghway, Flk.: Foulkes, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius and Buhl, Grb.: Greenberg, GT: Takács, IL: Summer Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungrauthmayr and Adams, JI: Jungrauthmayr and Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungrauthmayr, KB: Koehler and Baumgartner, Krf.: Kraft, Lks.: Lukas, Lsl.: Leslau, Mlt.: Militarev, NM: Newman and Ma, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, OS: Orel and Stolbova, Rsl.: Rössler, Skn.: Skinner, Slk.: Sölken, Stl.: Stolbova, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

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