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Szekesfehervar

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 (Semito-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 (ʕim) 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

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[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.

sumbilta ~ sumbulta ~ sumblta „ladder" [DM 1962, 322] = sumbiltā [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 [såmel] „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. sẖm „die göttliche Macht, herrliches Machtwesen" (OK-, Wb IV 243-5) vs. **sẖm** „(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 suggestion[8] – 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. √sẖm G: saẖāmu „to be under pressure, miserable (?)", D: suẖẖumu „to pressure (?), make miserable (?), make life impossible" [CAD s 30] = √sẖm D „bedrängen", N „bekümmert werden", saẖmu „eingedrückt: 1. (v. Frucht), 2.

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[5] To be distinguished from Vernacular Syr. (Kurdistan, NWPersia, Plain of Mosul) simbültā (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 snn*". 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. ẖamâmu „to guide, direct" [Jensen] = „to decide, cut, reap" [Alb.].

eine Geländevertiefung (?)" [AHW 1003, 1010] = √sḫm D „to maltreat" [Alb.]
|| Syr. √sḥm „to oppress" [Alb.] = „zusammendrücken" [AHW] | Ar. √sḫm V:
tasaḫḫama (ˁalayhi) „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. √šḫm 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. *ẑVm- „can", which is doubtful as there is no reflection of Eg. -ḫ- in
it. My pupil, RT has now suggested (not knowing of Albright's paper) again an
equation with Akk. √sḫm (above), which (including OHbr. √ḥsm and Syr. √sm)
seems indeed promising (Ar. √sḥm is semantically doubtful). Might I add here
Sem. *√z[ḫ]m [DRS], which may represent an ultimately related root, cf. Aram.
of Turoyo √zḫm > zaḫomm „fort, capable", cf. √sḥm: ˀasham „vaillant, capable"
[Ritter], NSyr. zaḫmā „fort, vigoureux" [Macuch-Panoussi] (Sem.: DRS 719).

5. Eg. sṯ3 „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 čàakú- „to weave" [Schuh][10] | Ngizim čàakaú „to weave cloth"
[Schuh 1981, 30] = čakədù „to weave" [Krf.], Bade čakân „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 tyààkà (f)
„(peigne du) métier à tisser" [Fdr. 1971, 221], EDangla tyāakā (f) „1. le métier
à tisser (ou seulement le peigne), 2. le gabak (par opposition à sótòr 'tissu
étranger')" [DM 1973, 315], Migama čáàkà (f) „métier à tisser" [JA 1992, 74].
Another set of AA root varieties also existed, cf. AA *√ck ~ *√sk ~ *√cḳ ~ *√sḳ
„to weave" [GT][11]. This idea might only be approved provided we assume that

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[9] Note that O. Rössler (1987, 384, n. 2) strangely equated it with Ar. √šzr, but failed to
demonstrate Eg. -ṯ- = Sem. *-z-.

[10] Derived by R.G. Schuh (1984, 219) from his Bole-Tangale *sâku „to weave".

[11] Attested in CSem. *√skk „плести, ткать" [Dlg.] vs. *cakk- „(мелкое) плетение" [Mlt.]:
OHbr. √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", pael „to weave, fence
in" [Jastrow 1950, 990] (Sem.: Mlt. 1983, 103, fn. 27) ||| NAgaw *saq-/*saγ- „to sew, weave"
[Apl. 1984, 37; 1991, 18] || SCu.: Dahalo sôḳ- „to twist" [EEN 1989, 24] ||| WCh.: Hausa sáákà
„to weave" [Abr. 1962, 766] = sáḳàà [Krf.] | Angas-Sura *sak (*saḳ?) „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 sák „to weave" [Ntg. 1967,
35] | Bole-Tangale *sāku „to weave" [Schuh 1984, 219] = *sāḳ- (?) [GT]: e.g., Bole sàkowoˀi „to
weave" [Krf.] | Polchi còγon (ts-) „to weave" [Krf.] | Buli sə̀gu, Burma sakè „to weave" [Krf.] ||
CCh.: Hildi càgù (ts-) „to weave" [Krf.] | Daba sììkà „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. sṯ3 (either < *skʕ or *skl) might directly be equated on a triconsonantal basis with SCu.: Dahalo sakaʕ- „to plait, twist", sakaʕ-um- „to weave" [EEN 1989, 23] or WCh.: Daffo-Butura sàkàl „aufwickeln (Schnur)" (≈ Hausa sàkálà) [Jng. 1970, 220], respectively, either of which apparently displays the same C_3 extension as Eg. sṯ3 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. √ŝṭn qal „1. anfeinden, befehden, 2. durch Anklagen anfeinden, anklagen", part. pl. cstr. ŝǝṭnē- „Widersacher, Verfolger", ŝāṭān „1. Widersacher, Gegner im Kriege, 2. ein übermenschliches Wesen, das die Menschen schonungslos bei Gott anklagt, sie zur Sünde reizt", ŝiṭnā „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. √šṭn 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", šaṭan- „2. criminel, impie", šāṭin- „vil(ain), affreux", šayṭān- „1. Satan, diable, 2. (fig.) séducteur, 3. orgueilleux et impie, 4. méchant,

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The Hbr. root was usually affiliated with Ar. √škk „to cover" (e.g., Grb. l.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. √ŝtm 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. √stm „verstummen" [Jacob, ZAW 22, 105] represent apparently a semantically distinct root.

rebelle, intraitable, 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 *ŝawṭ-/*ŝayṭ- + -an eventually originating in root **√ŝwṭ or **√ŝyṭ?

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

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

7. Eg. šdn „(von den Augen) geschloßen sein" (BD, Wb IV 568,10) ||| Sem. *√stm ~ *√ṣṭm ~ *√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. √sṭm 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] = √sṭm vs. √sdm „die Türe verschließen" [GB]. This etymology was inspired by the equally anomalous match of OHbr. √ŝṭn and Eg. štm (no. 5 above) as well as by the well-known[14] and most convincing lexical match for the anomalous correspondence of Eg. š- and Sem. *s-, namely Eg. št3 [< *štr] „geheim" (PT, Wb IV 551-3) = „mysterious, secret, hidden" (FD 272) ||| Sem. *√s/štr „прикрывать (одеждой), защищать" [IS] = *√str „скрывать, прятать" [Meparišvili] = *√ŝtr (var. *√str?) „to cover, hide" [Dlg.][15].

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[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 Zauberrollen*" (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 (basṣēter: im Verborgenen, heimlich), 2. Hülle, 3. Schirm, Schutz", mistār, pl. mistārîm „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.: <u>the secret things</u>)", pual „to keep secret" > sāter [sǎ-] „1. hiding place, 2. covering (of darkness, in a thundercloud, veil of the face or a garment hitched up), 4. secrecy", mistâr (pl. tante: mistârîm) „secret places" [KB 771-2, 608], MHbr. √str piel „to conceal", hifil „to hide", hitpael „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- „встретитсья" [Stl. 1987, 217, #675]: i.a. Hausa gàmú „1. to be joined, 2. be collected, 3. meet, 4. be finished" [Abr. 1962, 294] | Angas-Sura *gʷa₃m (or *-o-?) „to meet" [GT 2004, 137][16] | Bole gom- „zusammentreffen" [Lks. 1971, 135] | NBauchi *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. d̠r.w „1. Ende, 2. Grenze" (PT-, Wb V 585-9): a number of etymological solutions have been offered so far, but none fully satisfactory[17]. A great difficulty is posed by the fact that both radicals are etymologically multivalent (Eg. d̠ < 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 invincible[18]) drawback would be the anomalous 2ⁿᵈ radical of the Cpt. reflex, cf. (SB) ⲧⲁⲡ „Spitze, Ecke, Zacke, Haken, Zweig" (KHW 241) projecting Pharaonic *d̠ı̆r.ăw.

10. Eg. d̠r „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-/

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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 məsṭir „secret" derives as late loanword from Greek μυστήριον (cf. Lsl. 1982, 54), which, in turn, was borrowed from OHbr. mistâr.

[16] Attested in Gerka kwam (sic, kw-) „to join" [Ftp. 1911, 217], Angas gwŏm „to meet (Hs. gammu)" [Flk. 1915, 195] = gwɔm „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) ⲧⲏⲣ= < Eg. r-d̠r.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 cáráá „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) **ⲭⲱⲗⲉ** (instead of an expected *ⲭⲗⲗⲉ) „aufhören, zum Aufhören bringen", **ⲭⲗⲉ** „Hindernis" (NBÄ 38, 203, 738: n. 896, 891).

11. Eg. ḏr „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 cíírè (ts-) „1. to pierce and remain in, execute by impaling on a stake, 2. spit (meat to make tsììréé '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 *√çr)[20].

12. Eg. ḏrj „1. fest, stark, 2. vorzüglich, schwierig" (XVIII., Wb V 599) = „1. strong (of staff), 2. be hard (?), stolid (?)" (FD 328) ||| Sem.: OSA (Sab.) ṣrr „to stay, stand (demeurer, rester debout)" [SD 147], Ar. √ṣrr I: ṣarra „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. √ṣry I: ṣarā „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", ṣariya „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: ṣarā-t- „tout ce qui reste à l'état de stagnation et croupit, p.ex., eau stagnante, sperme arrêté dans le canal" [BK I 1336] = ṣariya „1. (said of water) it remained or stagnated long,

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[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 ǯal-as- „to bite, sting" (Rift: Ehret 1980, 193) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *sul ~ *sʷul „to make a hole, bore" [GT 2004, 323]: Sura sùl „graben" [Jng. 1963, 82] = sūl „to pierce" [Krf.], Mupun sūl „to pierce, make a hole" [Frj. 1991, 57], Kofyar súl „to make a hole" [Ntg. 1967, 37], Chip səl [-ə- < *-u-] „durchbohren, erstechen" [Jng. 1965, 167] = sɨl gwe [sül] „to pierce" [Krf.], Mushere šwul ~ šuwul [š- < *sʷ-] „to dig, excavate" [Dkl. 1997 MS, 197].

[20] From this standpoint highly noteworthy is AA *√çwr [GT]: WCh.: Wangday cwarì (ts-) „to kill" [Smz.] (not to be derived from Ch. *√dwk as suggested in JI 1994 II, 212) ||| Sem.: Ar. ṣwr 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, останавливатсья" [Stl. 1987, 185, #363] > Hausa cáyà [ts-, change of -y- < *-r-reg.] „to stand" [Abr. 1962, 881] | Angas-Sura *ɖăr ~ *ɖer (?) „1. to stand (up), 2. stay, 3. stop" [GT 2004, 85][21] | Fyer ɖar „to stand" [Jng.] | Tangale sẹrị „to stand (up), halt, stop, pause" [Jng. 1991, 143], Maha ḍeri „to stand" [Nwm.] | NBauchi *çurw- → *çərw- „1. to stand, 2. stop, wait" [Skn.] = *çArw [Stl.]: Warji çərw-, Miya, Mburku, Kariya, Tsagu ṣər-, Pa'a çụra, Siri çuru, Diri ṣala (NBch.: Skn. 1977, 42) || CCh.: Zime-Batna càr [ts-] á sém „to stand" [Scn.] || ECh.: Kwang ḍyèrē „to stand" [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 304-5) < AA *√çr „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-eu̯(ə)- „massiv, fest, dick, breit", act. „standsicher, feststehend" > *stəu̯-ro- ~ *stŭ-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, Bch.: 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,

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[21] Attested, e.g., in Angas daar „to stop, stay" [Flk. 1915, 164] = ɖaar „stehen bleiben" [Jng. 1962 MS] = ɖar „to stand, stop", cf. ɖar tur „to resist" [ALC 1978, 13] = ɖar [ɖar̃] „to stand up" [Krf.], Sura ɖár „stehenbleiben, bleiben" [Jng. 1963, 63], Mupun ɖár „to stand (about living things, including trees), step, stand up, wait" [Frj. 1991, 14], Kofyar ɖár (sg.), ɖyaram (pl.) „to stay, stand" [Ntg. 1967, 9], Mushere ɖar ~ ɖer ~ ɖeer (sg.), ɖirang (pl.) „1. to stop, end (verb or noun?), 2. stand, wait", ɖar aku „to wait before", ɖe(e)r-tiktik „(to stand) without movement, motionless, inactive" [Dkl. 1997 MS] = ɖer „stand(ing)" [Jng. 1999 MS, 4], Tal ɖái [-i̯ < *-r#] „to stand" [IL], Montol dai [-i̯ < *-r#] „to await", yal-dai [-i̯ < *-r#] „to stand" (cf. AS *ya₃γa₃l „to rise") [Ftp. 1911, 214, 216, 220], perhaps Goemay *ɖay „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) ⲙⲟⲩⲛ, (OS) ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲉ, (B) ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲓ „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.: Sabean, 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: Jungraithmayr and Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr and Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, 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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