

# An Egyptologist's perusal of the *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary* of

Orel and Stolbova

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The book mentioned in the title is a pioneering work. It was deliberately published as a premature work, with the intention of smoothing the path for any further, more advanced attempt. One of the major obstacles was the lack of a reference work on the word-roots of Egyptian. The situation in this section is particularly tricky as Egyptian phonetics are both complex and controversial, with variant roots that display sound changes of the pre-Egyptian and historical Egyptian periods. Work on an Afroasiatic lexicon should therefore involve a specialist on Egyptian lexicography and phonetics. Lexicographical work should also be based on broad Egyptological (philological, historical, archaeological) knowledge. There is a blatant example for this in the material in question.

From the German standard *Wörterbuch*, the authors obviously took over a meaning “Kraut” for several items, and they rendered it in English as “cabbage”. However, an Egyptologist would (or should) know that this vegetable was introduced to Egypt in Graeco-Roman times only. In the Berlin *Wörterbuch*, “Kraut” is not used in this sense (which is South German), but rather for “herb”.

In the following, I give a list of those Egyptian lexemes which are either wrongly spelled (misprints, mistakes, outdated state of knowledge, *etc.*), or whose meaning is not — according to our present knowledge — what is given in the *Dictionary*.

Since the work in question was composed, work on Egyptian lexemes has been greatly facilitated by the appearance of the Berlin *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* in the internet.<sup>1</sup> This extremely useful website is the default source for the forms and meanings of lexemes given in the following. I am quoting Orel/Stolbova's root number for each item, usually also the meaning of the assumed root and, where desirable, also its form. Minor mistakes that have hardly any bearing on comparativistic work, like omission of the Egyptian feminine ending, will not be indicated.

It should be mentioned that the Afroasiatic roots elaborated for the *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary* are quite often extremely hypothetical, and the evidence of just one mistake may make them completely worthless. Just one example: root no. 1797, \*mun-/\*muyun- “ash, coal”. This is based on the evidence of one Egyptian and one Boghom (West-

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<sup>1</sup> <http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html>.

Chadic) word only, *mn.w* “ash, coal [*recte* fire]”, and *muyum* “ash”<sup>2</sup> respectively. The mistake in the Egyptian meaning leaves only one testimony, which is by definition not enough for establishing or maintaining a root. There are many comparable cases. This remark is meant as a warning not to take the given roots as *a priori* features; they are mere abstractions of the data on which they are based, and have no more value than these.

Insofar as comparative arguments are here brought, they are of course based on Rössler’s system of phoneme correspondances, although the traditional views cannot be fully discarded.

#### General remark

Bohairic aspirates are transcribed in the book as ejectives, e.g., *p’* instead of *p<sup>h</sup>* or *p’*.

#### Remarks on some of the Egyptian lexemes

##### 1 “walk, go”

Eg *ṣ* “walk”] *Recte* “tread, step”.

##### 47 \*ṣap-/ṣap- “yawn, open mouth”; 2553 \*wüp- “open”

Eg *wṣ*, *wṣy* “open (mouth)”] *Recte* *wṣi* “divide”, secondarily also “separate; open; decide”, etc. Little semantic correspondance.

##### 48 “field”

Eg *ṣḥ.t* “meadow”] *Recte*, in the contrary, “field; arable land”; basic meaning, “useful”. Cf. no. 1633.

##### 76 “woman”

Eg *ir.wt* “women”] *Recte* “workfolk (*lit.* ones who do something)”; from *iri* “do”. No semantic correspondance.

##### 89 \*ṣiben- “sleep”

Eg *ibṣn* “sleep”] The verb is *bṣni* (often with *i-* prefix), *vd.* Allen *Inflection* 581.

##### 95 “snake”

Eg *ir.t* “snake”] It is the “uprising” cobra; internal Egyptian derivation from *ir* “mount up”. Basically no semantic correspondance.

##### 104 “(be) good”

Eg *imṣ* “good”] *Recte* “pleasant, friendly”; probably connected with *imṣ* “date-palm”.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Not contained in Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow *Lexical Roots*.

<sup>3</sup> *Vd.* Satzinger *LingAeg* 6, 1999, 144—145 no. 4.

**105** “sun, day”

Eg *imny* “Sun-god”] Neither a noun “sun-god”, nor a proper name, but rather an epithet, “he who hides himself” (*Thesaurus*; *imn* “hide, be hidden”). No semantic correspondance.

**123** “river, tide”

Eg *w<sup>3</sup>w* “tide”] “wave (of the sea); flood water”. Little semantic correspondance.

**143** \**ün-* “cut”

Eg *in<sup>in</sup>* “cut”] There is also the simplex stem, *in* “cut” (Meeks *AL* 78.0352).

**153:** Misprint *isk* for *isk*.

**175** “be angry”

Eg *nbd* “angry”] *Recte* “evil; destructive”. Little semantic correspondance.

**180** “pour”

Eg *b<sup>h</sup>hy* “pour”] *Recte* “flood (v.); inundate; be flooded” (*Thesaurus*). Little semantic correspondance.

**201** Eg *b<sup>3</sup>k* “see, notice”] Basically, *bk* (spelling variant *b<sup>3</sup>k*) “catch sight of”; different from *b<sup>3</sup>k* “become bright”.

**202** Eg *bk* “run”] *Recte bt*.

**219** “fly”

Eg *bh<sup>3</sup>* “fly”] *Recte* “flee; turn back(wards)”. Little semantic correspondance.

**236** Eg *bs<sup>3</sup>w*] Not a “kilt”, but rather the “*besau* sporran (protective, of beads)” (*Thesaurus*).

**251** “back, hump”

Eg *by<sup>3</sup>.t* “head, occiput, beard, breast, back”] Attested once in Late Egyptian in an enumeration of “flesh, head, nape, *b.*, beard/chin, nipple, spine, spinal ridge, back, rib, knees, *etc.*”, hence the meaning may be “neck” or *sim.*, but hardly what was suggested, nor anything matching that of the assumed Afroasiatic root.

**264** “building”

Eg *bnbn* “stela”] The basic meaning is “erect”; *cf.* the following meanings of *bnbn* lexemes: (*nouns*) Benben (sacred stone); obelisk; [a conical loaf of bread]; (*verbs*) point upwards; be erect; beget; ejaculate. Hardly any semantic correspondance.

**293** Eg *b<sup>3</sup>*] The “kind of bird” is obviously a stork, a *jabiru* (*Ephippiorhynchus asiaticus*); not a good match for the Berber and West-Chadic “quail”.

**326** “rain, sky”

Eg *b<sup>ˆ</sup>n*] Not so much “sky water”, but rather “a body of water in the heavens” (*Thesaurus*). Little semantic correspondance.

**347, 395, 722**

Eg *wbs, sm* and *dy*, “cabbage”] *Recte* “herb”. “Cabbage” translates *Kraut* of the Berlin *Wörterbuch*. But *kraut* is “cabbage” in Southern German only; its general meaning is “herb”. *Brassica oleracea* is the product of Mediterranean gardening. It was probably only in the Ptolemaic period that it was introduced to Egypt. The Egyptian Arabic word for it, *kurumb*, preserves Greek *krambē*.

**367** “be pregnant”

Eg *bnd*] Basically no connection with pregnancy, rather “fare badly”; it may, of course, also refer to delivery.

**396** “leg”

Eg *ins* “leg”] *ins.t* “calf, shin”.

**404** “pot, vessel”

Eg *st.t* “baking mold”] There is also *st.t*, a jug, for beer; a jug, as a measure of capacity (*Wörterbuch* 4, 346.12).

**405** Eg *s<sup>ˆ</sup>ry*, a kind of plant] Late Egyptian; probably identical with Middle Egyptian *z<sup>ˆ</sup>r.t/s<sup>ˆ</sup>r.t*, the assumed Afroasiatic root being no. 2600, \**ʒa<sup>ˆ</sup>ar* “plant”.

**409** “cover”

Eg *skm* “wrap”] Clearly “cover” – a better semantic match with the assumed Afroasiatic root.

**417** Misprint *q<sup>ˆ</sup>k* for *q<sup>ˆ</sup>k*; a Semitic loan.

**516** Eg *zšy* “lift”] It is *sšwi*, in some forms with assimilation of *w* to *i*, *sšy*; a causative stem of *šwi* “soar up, rise”. Hence, it does not support the strange digraph hypothesis<sup>4</sup>, which assumes in this case that *zš* reflects Afroasiatic \**ĉ*. No formal resemblance.

**521** “pit, well”

Eg *šd.t* “well”] Internal Egyptian derivation from *šdi* “dig” (v.).

**553** Eg *šdi* “vessel”] “Mortar”, also used as container; according to the writing (determinative), it is made of wood.

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. Peust *LingAeg* 5, 1997, 259f.

**562** \*ĉohVr- “fall” (v.)

Eg *šhr* “throw down”] An Egyptian root of this form is not possible, as *š* and *h* are not compatible with each other. The reason for this lies in the origin of *š*: it is a palatalized velar sound, and does not, therefore, tolerate any laryngeal consonant in the same root. Obviously, †*šhr* is a misspelling of *shr* “overthrow, cast down”, which is, however, *hr* “fall” (v.) with causative *s*- prefix (so already Peust *LingAeg* 5, 1997, 267).

**563** Eg *wšm* “pot”] More precisely, a metal vessel, a measure for beer.

**575** \*ĉVmVm- “be ill”

Eg *šmm*, *šm* “be feverous” (med.)] It is the standard word for “be hot”, on which see below, on nos. 1285 (\*ḥum-) and 2328 (\*šam-); basically, it has no medical connotation.

**583** \*ĉar- “enemy”, 587 \*ĉur- “be hostile”

Eg *ḍ̣ḍ̣* “enemy”, *ḍ̣y* “be hostile”] *ḍ̣ḍ̣* is also an adjective, “hostile”. Stem doublets of this type are very frequent in Egyptian. Reduplicated ABAB stems are attested of numerous verbs of types AB and ABi/w.<sup>5</sup> This is a strong argument for assuming here Egyptian stem doublets, rather than different Afroasiatic stems.

**591** \*daʾ- “urinate, ejaculate, perspire”

Eg *ḍ̣* “ejaculate”] The verb is not †*ḍ̣*, but rather *ḍ̣ḍ̣*, “copulate”; it is thought to be a root doublet of *ʿ̣̣*, “ejaculate; spew; beget”; as noun, “semen; poison”.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, *ḍ̣ḍ̣*, var. *ḍ̣ḍ̣i*, is thought to be a group writing (for *dVdV*) of Semitic \**dwd* “love” (cf. *Dāwīd* “he who is beloved”), *vd.* Hoch *Semitic Words* no. 568.

**688** “take”

Eg *dbdb* “graps, take back”] The meaning is “cut up”, “strike (?)”, “pound” (of the heart). No semantic correspondance.

**707** “go, run”

Eg *dmy* “move”] The meaning is “touch; be joined to; cleave to”. No semantic correspondance.

**747** “flow”

Eg *dr* “prevent water from flowing down”] This is a special use (*vd.* *Wörterbuch V* 474.12) of *dr* “drive away; repel; remove”, whose basic meaning has nothing to do with flowing water, *etc.*

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<sup>5</sup> *Vd.* Satzinger *WZKM* (print in preparation).

<sup>6</sup> *Vd.* Satzinger *LingAeg* 6, 1999, 144 no. 3.

- 757** Eg *dg̃* “see”] The correct form is *dgi*.
- 772** Eg *fk̃, fkw̃* “of a lion tearing its prey”] What is meant is presumably *fk̃*, “ziehen” according to Hannig *Handwörterbuch*, but “zerreißen” according to Quack *BiOr* 54, 1997, 330.
- 774** “magic word, omen”  
Eg *fun.wy* “magic words”] Regarded as a proper name by translators of *Pyr.* 666.
- 822** Eg *ftt* “erase (inscriptions)”] Amarna and Dyn. 21 spelling of *fd* “wipe away”; Coptic (*S*) *fōte*, from which Egyptian Arabic *fūta* (f.) “towel”.
- 850** “dwelling”  
Eg *gb̃* “side of a room”] The basic meaning is “arm”, from which: “side”. No connection with dwelling. *Vd.* also Peust *LingAeg* 5, 1997, 269, no. 996.
- 862** “bank, side”  
Eg *gs* “side”] The basic meaning is “rib”, from which: “side” (like *costa, côtéé*). Hardly any connection with the only other source for the assumed root, *viz.* Hausa *gacī*, “bank” (*scil.* of a stream). Also *cf.* *gb̃* “arm”; (2) “side of a room” (*cf.* root no. 996, and Peust *LingAeg* 5, 1997, 269).
- 871** “fertile soil”  
Eg *dd̃* “fertilize (field)” (gr)] Originally, of intransitive meaning: “become ripe”. Probably derived from *dd̃* “grow fat”, *vd.* *Wörterbuch* V 631. Little semantic correspondance.
- 889** “wait”  
Eg *gmḥ* “wait”] *Recte* “catch sight of, look”. No semantic correspondance.
- 937** “carry”  
Eg *d̃y* “bring” (gr)] Idiomatic use of *d̃i* “cross over, ferry”: *d̃y s.t.sn r ...* “their position is transferred to ...”. No semantic correspondance.
- 1023** “clothes”  
Eg *pr* “clothes”] Undoubtedly derived from the important root *\*pr* “equip”. No semantic correspondance.
- 1044** *\*adaw-* “fish”  
Eg *dw̃, ʕdw̃* “kind of fish” (XVIII)] The lexeme in question is *ʕdw̃* “mullet” (*mugil*)

*cephalus*), attested since the Old Kingdom<sup>7</sup>. In hieroglyphic, its effigy  (K 3) serves as phonetic sign for consonants  $\text{ʕ} + \text{d}$ . Later spellings are  $\text{ʕd}(w)$ ,  $\text{ʕnd}(w)$ . The latter form points to  $*\text{ʕld}$  which should go back to  $*\text{Dlk}$  ( $*D$  standing for Afroasiatic  $*d$ ,  $*\text{ð}$  (i.e.  $\text{d}\bar{\text{d}}$ ),  $*z$  (i.e.  $\text{d}\bar{z}$ ) or  $*d$ ). It may be “the pale one” ( $\text{ʕ}\bar{\text{d}}$  “to become pale”; cf. Arabic *ʿazraq* “pale, blue”). Obviously, it does not originally mean “fish”.

**1086**  $*\text{ʕa}\bar{\text{z}}$  “sun”

Eg  $\text{ʕ}\bar{\text{d}}$  “sun” (gr)] *Recte*  $\text{ʕndw}$  “light of the sun; dawn”, used as an epithet of the sun-god.

**1142** “near”

Eg  $\text{ʕrw}$  “closeness”] *Vd.* Gardiner *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* 12-13 for the occasional meaning “approach” (v.) of  $\text{ʕri}$  “ascend”, of which  $\text{ʕr.w}$  is a verbal noun. “near, close” is probably not the basic meaning of the root.

**1147** “take”

Eg  $h\bar{\text{z}}y$  “capture”] *Recte* “attack”, a special transitive use of  $h\bar{\text{z}}i$  “go down”. “Capture”, or anything similar to “take”, is certainly not the basic meaning.

**1160** “river”

Eg  $hnm.t$  “spring, source”] *Recte*  $hnm.t$  — no formal correspondance with the other reference for this root, *viz.* *Kulere haram* “river”.

**1168** “give birth”

Eg  $h\bar{\text{z}}y$  “be born”]  $h\bar{\text{z}}i m h.t$  “come down from the womb”, an idiomatic use of  $h\bar{\text{z}}i$  “go down”. No basic semantic connection with giving birth.

**1169** “speak”

Eg  $i\bar{h}y$  “shout”] *Recte* “joy, jubilation”. Hardly any semantic correspondance.

**1175** “excrement”

Eg  $h\bar{\text{c}}y.t$  “excrement”] Does not seem to exist. Note that  $h$  and  $\text{ʕ}$  (originally alveolar:  $*d$ ) are incompatible, as are also  $h$  and  $s$ , though not  $h$  and  $t$ .

**1220** “stone”

Eg  $h\bar{t}$  “stone”] Rather, a block of stone of a particular shape or size (facing block?) (*Thesaurus*).

**1228** “go”

Eg  $hn$  “go”] *Recte* “go speedily; journey” (v.).

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<sup>7</sup> Edel *Jahreszeitenreliefs* II 155; cf. *Wörterbuch* I 168.14; Gamer-Wallert *Fische* 39 ff.; *LÄ* II 224.

**1237** “close, cover”

Eg *hṣp* “cover”] *Recte* “hide”. Akin to Semitic \**yrb* “go away; set (sun)” (Schneider *LingAeg* 5, 1997, 202 no. 62).

**1238** “arm, wing”

Eg *hpt* “arm, wing”] *recte* “embrace”.

**1241** “sky”

Eg *hr.t* “sky”] Literally, “the upper (realm)”. No basic semantic correspondance.

**1250** “return, go”

Eg *hwy* “go”] “strike; drive; tread” (v.); “strike” is the basic meaning. No basic semantic correspondance.

**1260** “fly” (v.)

Eg *hdy* “fly” (v.)] *Recte* (1) “spread out”; (2) “become limp”. No semantic correspondance.

**1264** “star”

Eg *hry.w* “stars”] Literally, “the upper ones”. No basic semantic correspondance.

**1277** “medicin, poison”

Eg *wh.t* “poison”] Basic meaning, “scorpion”. Hardly any basic semantic correspondance.

**1285** \**ḥum-* “be hot”

Eg *hm* “be inflamed”] *Recte* *hmm*, var. *šmm*, “be hot” (no “secondary modification of the laryngeal” !), on which see also above, no. 575 (\**ḥVmVm-*), and below, no. 2328 (\**šam-*).

**1286** “drive, move”

Eg *hmy* “move away”] More precisely, “elude”; cf. *hm*, *hmty* “coward”.

**1293** Misprint *hsk.t* for *hsk.t*.

**1302** Eg *htr* “pay” (n.)] *Recte* “revenue, wages”; the basic meaning of the root is “bind”.

**1310** \**ḥa²-/\*ḥu²-* “fire”

“Cf. *hṣ* ‘roast’”: *recte* *hṣ*.

**1313** *hbb* (for *hbb.t*): cf. no. 1366.

**1331** “rebellion”

Eg *iḥm.w* “enemies”] Basic meaning “those to be extinguished”, prospective passive participle of *iḥm/ḥm* “extinguish, annul”. No basic semantic relation.

**1336** “defecate”

Eg *wh³* “defecate”] “Empty” (v.); in medical texts: *wh³ h.t* “empty the body”, said of a purgative. No basic semantic connection with “defecate”.

**1348** Misprint *hnp.t* for *hnp.t*.

**1353** “be sick, be ill”

Eg *hm* “illness (of stomach)”] “be dry”; in medical texts, *iw r³-ib.f hm.f* “his stomach gets dry” (meaning ?). No basic semantic relation.

**1355** Eg *hn* “do, make” (n)] Does not seem to exist.

**1366** \*hubVs- “vessel”

Eg *hbs* “vessel for myrrha” (gr)] *Recte hbb.t*. Cf. no. 133.

**1371** “tomb, grave”

Eg *hnw* “tomb, burial place”] *Recte* “abode (*lit.* resting place); storehouse”; basically no semantic resemblance.

**1372** Eg *hnd* “kind of cereals”] Does not seem to exist.

**1414** \*kahVp- “hole”; 1430 \*kap- “house”

Eg *k³p* “house”] *Recte* “shelter”. Coptic *B k³ēpi*, *S kēpe* “vault, cave” is closely related to Egyptian *k³pw* and *k³p.t*, “roof”, Demotic *kp(e)* “vault, roof”. The Egyptian root is \**k³p* “cover”, which can be compared with Arabic *kafara*, *id.* No semantic connection with “hole”.

**1444** “know, learn”

Eg *tni* “learn”] *Recte* “distinguish”.

**1451** “put on (clothes)”

Eg *t³y* “put on (clothes)”] Basic meaning, “take”.

**1461** “genitals” (Akk *kirimu*); **1518** “bind” (Akk *kamû*)

Eg *t³m* “foreskin”; *t³m* “binding”] Both are based on the root \**t³m* “cloake, envelope”; hence no semantic connection with “genitals”, nor with “bind”.

**1522** “see”

Eg *k³k³* “look”] A hapax: *n³y.s-bhn.w m inr hr k³k³ r hr.t* “its pylons of stone are towering to the sky” P. Harris I 4, 1. It was also translated, “... are looking up to the sky”; but cf. *k³* “high”. Hence, *k³k³* “rise up high”.

**1524** \*ka³-/kay- “spit” (Hebrew *qī³* “vomit” (n.); Dangla [East Chadic] *kaake* “spit”); **1625** \*kVIVc-, *id.* (Arabic *qls* “spit, vomit”):

Eg *k³c* “spit out”] *Recte* “vomit; pour out”; *k³s* “spit”] More exactly, *k³s*, *k³is* “vomit;

spew out”. Other root doublets with <sup>◌</sup> and *s*, respectively, are represented by *p<sup>◌</sup>g* and *psg*, “vomit”, *b<sup>◌</sup>i* “inundation” and *bsi* “flood out, emerge”.

Variation of <sup>◌</sup> and *s* (as reflexes of Afroasiatic \*d) has also been noted.<sup>8</sup>

**1549** \**kar-* “horn”

Eg *kr.ty* “horns”] *Recte kr.ty*.

**1573** “knee”

Eg *k<sup>◌</sup>b.t* “knee”] Internal derivation. The Egyptian root is \**k<sup>◌</sup>b*/*\*k<sup>◌</sup>rf* “bend” (*k<sup>◌</sup>b* “double; multiply; fold over; wind” (v.); *k<sup>◌</sup>b* “intestines”; *k<sup>◌</sup>rf* “bend, contract”; *k<sup>◌</sup>rf.t* “contractions (med.)”; *k<sup>◌</sup>rf.w* “(facial) wrinkles”; *k<sup>◌</sup>rf, k<sup>◌</sup>rf.t* “bag”).

**1578** “cloud, sky”

Eg *k<sup>◌</sup>b<sup>◌</sup>h.w* “sky”] Rather, “watery region (in the sky)”. The Egyptian root is \**k<sup>◌</sup>b<sup>◌</sup>h* “cool; wet” (*k<sup>◌</sup>b<sup>◌</sup>h* “be cool; cool; pour a libation; present libations” (v.); *k<sup>◌</sup>b<sup>◌</sup>h.w* “coolness”; “libation water; water”; “libation vase”; “watery region (habitat of birds); watery region (mythological); “water fowl”). No semantic correspondance.

**1612** “rope” (Akk *kurussu*)

Eg *k<sup>◌</sup>s* “rope”] Basic meaning, “bind”.

**1622** Eg *k<sup>◌</sup>h* “shoulder, arm”] The Egyptian root is \**k<sup>◌</sup>h* “bend”.

**1623** “eat, bite”

Eg *kk* “eat”] As the *Wörterbuch* (V 71.10) says, „Aus der alten Schreibung von *wnm* abgeleitetes Synonym dazu“. An artificial creation, based on the old spelling of the verb for “eat” with two half cakes which resemble the sign for *k*. Cannot be adduced for etymological purposes.

**1633** “field”

Eg *i<sup>◌</sup>d.t* “field”] In the contrary: “pasture”. Cf. no. 48!

**1634** “cereal”

Eg *nb* “cereal”] The spelling (determinative!) indicates a meaning “golden (cereal)”; from *n<sup>◌</sup>w* “gold”. No basic semantic relation.

**1635** “cow, bull”

Eg *nb.t* “cow”] *Recte n<sup>◌</sup>w.t* “the golden cow of heaven”; from *n<sup>◌</sup>w* “gold”. No basic semantic relation.

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<sup>8</sup> Satzinger *Textcorpus und Wörterbuch* 381-382 nos. 131-134.

**1653** \*lap-/\*lawap- “be wet”

Eg *np̄* “wet”] -̄ is consonantic (\*l), cf. *n̄p̄* “water”.

**1656** \*lat- “man”

Eg *nty.w* “people, men”] The meaning is “those that exist”. No basic semantic relation.

**1663** Eg *nšmw.t* “fish”] Basically, the “scales”; metonymically, “fish”.

**1690** “cloud, fog”

Eg *nfy* “fog” (gr)] “breath”.

**1713** (Akkadic *mah̄halu* “box, basket”)

Eg *mhn* “box” (n.)] With prefix *m-*; cf. *hnw* “box” (from which MBabyl. *hanūnu* “chest”, according to Cochavi-Rainey *Ugarit-Forschungen* 29, 1997, 97<sup>9</sup>, who quotes Lambdin, who quotes Albright).

**1714** “wind”

Eg *im̄ḥ* “turbulence”] Obviously, translated from the German *Wirbel*, which is, however, ambigüe: *im̄ḥ* does not mean “whirl”, or “turbulence”, but rather “vertebra”.

**1723** “house”

Eg *mn* “room”] Does not seem to exist; perhaps mistaken for *mn̄k*, a room in the palace (*Wörterbuch* 2, 90.5). Coptic *monē* is Greek, not Egyptian.

**1726** “pour”

Eg *m̄hy* “pour”] *Recte* “fill”.

**1743** “stair, staircase”

Eg *m̄ḥk* “staircase”] From the root \**iḥk* “climb up”, with prefix *m-*. Cf. Arabic *raqiya* “climb up”, and *markā-*, *markāt-/mirkāt-* “ladder, staircase” (as was already seen by Ember *Egypto-Semitic Studies*, vd. Calice *Grundlagen* no. 114).

**1762** \*met-met- “speak, shout”

Eg *mtmt* “speak”] *Recte* “discuss” (two attestations, dyn. 18; probably for \**mdmd*: reduplicated stem (pluralic/intensive meaning) of root \**md(w)* “speak” (*mdw* “word, speech”, *mdw.t* “word, speech, matter”, *mdwi* “speak”; cf. root no. 1788).

**1768** “arrow, spear”

Eg *m̄b̄* “harpoon”] A really tricky matter. *m̄b̄* may be derived, by means of an *m-* prefix, from the root \**b̄* “direct” (v.; “command a ship”; “aba-sceptre”; “provide (someone with something)”; > “offering table, altar”): “harpoon”, something that is

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<sup>9</sup> Cochavi-Rainey *Ugarit-Forschungen* 29, 1997, 97.

directed or launched. It is obviously related to Geez *mā<sup>c</sup>bal-* “telum, jaculum”<sup>10</sup>, and Arabic *mi<sup>c</sup>balat-* “long, broad arrowhead; an arrow with such a head”. But Semitic has no root that corresponds to Egyptian \**b<sup>3</sup>* “to direct” (not \**bl*, nor the Rösslerian pendant \**d/ð/z/dbl*, for that). Rather, the Semitic reflex of the root in question is \**dbr* “guide” (Hebrew,<sup>11</sup> Syriac, Arabic; *vd.* Rössler “Das Ägyptische” 286 §6). Hence \**m-<sup>c</sup>bl* cannot be derived within Semitic. Is it an Egyptian loan in Semitic? As the *l* sound is preserved in Semitic, it could not have been taken over from Egyptian *m<sup>c</sup>b<sup>3</sup>* later than the III<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C.: how did it reach South Semitic without leaving traces in Northwest Semitic?

Apart from the Semitic root mentioned, *viz.* \**dbr* “guide”, there is an Arabic root \**bl* that seems to match an Egyptian \**b<sup>3</sup>* root in respect to semantics: Arabic *ʔa<sup>c</sup>bal-* “strong rope”, Egyptian *ḃy.t/ḃw.t*, *ḃy.t* “rope, fetter” (Coptic *abê* < \**ḃî/ûyḃ* < \**ḃî/ûḃyat*). However, the basic semantic idea is quite different. The Arabic word is derived from *ḃabala* “twist (a rope)”, and means therefore “twisted thing”, whereas the Egyptian word means “rein” as it is derived from *ḃ<sup>3</sup>* “direct” (v.).<sup>12</sup>

**1773** “cow”

Eg *mn<sup>c</sup>.t* “cow”] “milk cow”; internal Egyptian derivation from the root \**mn<sup>c</sup>* “nurse, suckle”. No basic semantic connection.

**1781** “bury”

Eg *m<sup>c</sup>ḥ<sup>c</sup>.t* “tomb”] Internal Egyptian derivation from *ḥ<sup>c</sup>* “stand (up)” (v.). *Vd.* Peust *LingAeg* 5, 1997, 296. No basic semantic connection.

**1782** Eg *mnmn* “move (away)”] Pluralic/intensive stem: “move to and fro”.

**1783** “slave”

Eg *mnḥ* “slave”] “youth; stripling”.

**1784** “fat, oil”

Eg *mrḥ.t* “fat, grease”] “fat, unguent”; internal Egyptian derivation from *wrḥ* “annoint”, with prefix *m-*.

**1797** “ash, coal”

Eg *mn.w* “ash, coal”] *mnwî* “fire”, in *mnwî n db<sup>c</sup>.t* “coal-firing”.

<sup>10</sup> Ember *Egypto-Semitic Studies* § 3 c. 3; Vycichl *MDIK* 16, 1958, 372.

<sup>11</sup> Bibl. Hebrew *dābar* “drift” (v.); *dóber* “drift, trailing”; post-biblical *dabbār* “leader” seems to be Aramaic.

<sup>12</sup> *Vd.* Osing *Nominalbildung* II 726 n. 862 (“Lenkstrick”).

**1809** “cattle”

Eg *md.t* “cattle”] *Recte* “byre”.

**1824** “(be) sharp”

Eg *nšny* “sharp”] *Recte* “rage, be furious”.

**1833** “snake, worm”

Eg *n<sup>c</sup>w* “kind of snake”] Internal Egyptian derivation from *n<sup>c</sup>i* “twist” (*cf.* root no. 1908): “squirring one”.

**1855** “spit”

Eg *nh* “spit”] Root doublet with *š* as palatalized *h*: *nš, nšš* “spittle”.

**1875** “vessel”

Eg *nm* “vessel”] *Recte* “wine-press”.

**1878** \*ninay- “man”

Eg *wnny.w* “people, men”] Properly, “the existing ones”; no semantic remembrance.

**1881** “water”

Eg *nk<sup>w</sup>.t* “liquid”] *Recte* “moisture”.

**1883** “cry”

Eg *ngg* “cry (of a goose)”] Root variants (*n*)*g<sup>3</sup>g<sup>3</sup>*, *gn<sup>n</sup>*; onomatopoetic, specific for geese.

**1894** “go”

Eg *n<sup>f</sup>* “go (from)”] *Recte* “disperse” (always transitive), though with reflexive pronoun, “make off”. Little semantic resemblance.

**1950** “cattle”

Eg *pry* “bull-fight”] *Recte* “Kampfstier”, “ferocious bull”.

**1965** “go”

Eg *<sup>c</sup>py* “go”] *Recte* “stride (through, by)”.

**1973** “rain”

Eg *p<sup>3</sup><sup>c</sup>.t* “sky waters”] *Recte* *p<sup>3</sup><sup>c</sup>.t*, “Gewässer am Himmel”, “a region in the sky”.

**2010** “container”

Eg *pr* “box”] A very specific metaphoric meaning of *pr* “house”: *pr n st<sup>3</sup>* “a house for dragging”, an equipment for the royal burial of the New Kingdom (*Wörterbuch* I 516.1).

**2033** “possess”

Eg *h<sup>3</sup>m* “possess”] *Recte* “bend (the arm); bow down”.

**2039** “tear”

Eg *htt* “tear off”] *Recte htt* or *htht* “traverse”.

**2041** “mix”

Eg *h<sup>3</sup>w* “mix”] *Recte* “break up, pound, batter”.

**2046** “elbow”

Eg *ht* “elbow”] Does not seem to exist.

**2047** “knife, sickle”

Eg *h<sup>3</sup>b* “chisel”] *Recte h<sup>3</sup>b* “sickle”!

**2052** “be angry”

Eg *hzy* “angry”] Note that *h* and *z* are incompatible in Egyptian. *Recte hzi* “weak, vile, cowardish”.

**2059** Misprint *hn* for *hn*.

**2061** Misprint *h<sup>3</sup>.t* for *h<sup>3</sup>.t*.

**2065** “go, walk”

Eg *hny* “walk”] *Recte hni* “approach”.

**2068** Misprint *hnw* for *hnw*.

**2110** *rb.t* (for *rb*): *r* and *b* are incompatible, the copper-pot may be a loan. Cf. Hebrew

*lābab* “make a cake”, *lābībāh* “cake” ?

**2128** Misprint *hyppopotamos* for *hippopotamos*.

**2134** “lion”

Eg *ḥm* “lion” (g)] Internal derivation, “the seizer”. No basic semantic relation.

**2145** \*rVsV<sup>c</sup>- “evil; be evil”

Eg *ṛš* “evil”] *Recte ṛš*, or perhaps *ṛš<sup>13</sup>*, “sneeze”. May belong to root no. 1115, \*<sup>c</sup>otis “sneeze”. Of course, onomatopoeic.

**2166** \*sag- “bring”

Eg *sd<sup>3</sup>* “bring”] The root is \**wd<sup>3</sup>*, with prefix *s-*. Vd. Peust *LingAeg* 5, 1997, 270.

**2176** “pour, flow”

Eg *st<sup>3</sup>* “flow”] Basically, “pull, drag”.

**2177** Eg *sk<sup>3</sup>* “hoe”] *Recte* “plough”.

**2180** Eg *skk* “cut”] *Recte sk*; meaning uncertain.

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<sup>13</sup> The hieratic text may be read either way; cf. Satzinger *Textcorpus und Wörterbuch* 380 with notes 25 and 26.

**2183** Eg *srp.t* “plant”] *Recte srpt* “lotus leaf”.

**2227** “worm”

Eg *sṣb.t* “motley snake”] *Recte sṣb*; internal derivation from *sṣb* “many-coloured”, no semantic connection with “worm”.

**2235** “cereal”

Eg *šm<sup>c</sup>y* “barley”] Internal derivation vom *šm<sup>c</sup>* “slender, narrow”.

**2238** Eg *šh.w* “milk”] Should be spelled \**šhr* (only attested as “milk; stroke” (v.)).

**2280** “hair”

Eg *smṣ* “hair”] *Recte* “scalp; temple (of the head)”.

**2296:** Misprint *sbn.t* for *snb.t*

**2313** Eg *stp* “slaughter”] *Recte* “cut up”.

**2328** \**šam-* “burn; lightning”

Eg *šm, šmm* “be hot ...”] Cannot be adduced for a root with \**š-* as it is the palatized variant of the original *hmm*. On this, *vd. supra*, on roots nos. 575 (\**čVmVm-*) and 1285 (\**ḥum-*).

**2329** “sun”

Eg *sšm.t* “moon-disc”] *Recte* “(lunar?) eye”. No semantic relation.

**2344** “ash”

Eg *tṣ.w* “ash”] *Recte* “hot”. No semantic relation.

**2351** “go”

Eg *tfy* “move away”] *Recte* “remove forcefully; repulse” (transitive !).

**2352** “henna”

Eg *tftf* “henna”] “a useful plant”.

**2388** \**tek-* “take”; **2434** \**tVk-tVk-* “trample”

Eg *tkk* “take”] *Recte* “attack” (v.).

Eg *tktk* “trample (enemies)”] *Recte* “attack” (v.; pluralic/intensive stem).

**2395** “strike”

Eg *thm* “push, pierce”] Only “pierce” !

**2425** “lift”

Eg *twṣ* “lift”] *Recte* “support”.

**2437** “flow”

Eg *twr* “waters”] *Recte*, a body of water in the hereafter; properly “the Pure One”. No semantic relation.

**2446** “cut, tear”; **2447** “catch, seize”

Eg *dbdb* “pierce, tear”; “catch, seize”] *Recte* “attack”. No semantic relation.

**2448** \**tab*- “container”

Eg *tb.t* “box” (gr)] Late writing of *db.t* < *db<sup>3</sup>.t*.

**2466** “roof”

Eg *tw<sup>3</sup>.t* “temple roof”] Internal derivation from *tw<sup>3</sup>* “support” (*cf.* root no. 2425).

**2468** “kill, destroy”

Eg *t<sup>3</sup>h* “kill”] *Recte* “sink (dagger, *etc.*, into body)”; hence “stab”.

**2479** “container”

Eg *dšr.t* “vessel”] Properly, “red (pot)”. No semantic relation.

**2491** “be happy”

Eg *w<sup>3</sup>š* “be happy”] *Recte* “powerful, respected”. Hardly any semantic relation.

**2493** “man”

Eg *w<sup>3</sup>š.t* “description of men”] *Recte* “the respected ones”. No semantic relation.

**2494** “hen”

Eg *wš<sup>3</sup>.t* “poultry”] Internal derivation from *wš<sup>3</sup>* “fatten”. No semantic relation.

**2501** “beast of prey”

Eg *w<sup>c</sup>.ty* “lion”] Properly, “the unique one”. No semantic relation.

**2502** “wash”

Eg *w<sup>c</sup>b* “wash”] *Recte* “clean, purify”.

**2510** “die; death”

Eg *wh<sup>3</sup>* “deadly illness”] *Recte* “skin disease, rash”. No semantic relation.

**2528** “burn; flame”

Eg *wr.t* “definition of the flame” (gr)] Properly, “the great one”. No semantic relation.

**2552** “send, order”

Eg *w<sup>d</sup>y* “send”] Properly, two verbs: *w<sup>d</sup>* “assign; order”; *w<sup>d</sup>i* “travel; send”.

**2571** “dog”

Eg *iš* pl. “dogs pulling the ship of the Sun-God”] Properly, *iš.w* “the pulling ones”. No semantic relation.

**2580** “cereal”

Eg *iry.t* “corn (as donation)”] *Recte* “duty (*lit.* what is to be done)”. No semantic relation. *Vd.* Peust *LingAeg* 5, 1997, 271.

**2584** Eg *iwy* “pour out”] *Recte* “irrigate”; for *iwh*, *id.* ?

**2651** “ask”

Eg *sdm* “interrogate”] The basic meaning is “hear”; no semantic connection with “ask”.

#### L o a n s f r o m S e m i t i c

**66** Yes, *iyr* “stag” is borrowed from Semitic; *vd.* Hoch *Semitic Words* nos. 1 and 18.

**115** *iswt* “long plank (of coniferous wood)” (regarded as masculine); *vd.* Hoch *Semitic Words* no. 27.

**371** *isbr* “whip”; *vd.* Hoch *Semitic Words* no. 29.

**417** *d̄k*, *recte* *d̄k̄*; Semitic \*z̄q / \*š̄q, *vd.* Hoch *Semitic Words* no. 571.

**577** *db̄* “army”; *vd.* Hoch *Semitic Words* no. 573.

**591** For *dd* (*d̄d̄*) as a Semitic loan (Hoch *Semitic Words* no. 568), *vd. supra.*

**1428** *kp* “enemy’s hand ..., cut off ...”; *vd.* Hoch *Semitic Words* no. 457.

**1984** *prh* “flower”; *vd.* Hoch *Semitic Words* no. 152.

**2629** *idr.t* “kind of vessel”; *vd.* Hoch *Semitic Words* no. 46.

#### L o a n f r o m E g y p t i a n ?

**1367:** Akk *husīgu* “stone”, Eg *hsg*, stone as material for unguent vessels (“Amazonite (?)”, according to Hannig *Handwörterbuch*; 1 occurrence, dyn. 18). The pharyngeals would point to an Egyptian word loaned by Akkadian.

#### E t y m o l o g i c a l s u g g e s t i o n s

**4** ʔabol- “genitals” (Ethio-Semitic [“genitals”], West and Central Chadic [“penis”]): *cf.* Eg *b̄*-*h̄* “penis” and the root \**bl* “engender” (*bn*, *bnn*, *b̄̄̄w.t*, *bnbn*).

**19** \*ʔader- “master, lord”: *cf.* Eg ʕ̄ “great; large; rich; senior”; as noun, “great one; elder; leader”.

**25** \*ʔahuž- “take” (Semitic \*ʔahuḏ-, Agaw \*ʔaž-, HEC \*ʔad-)

*Cf.* Eg *h̄* “drain, exhaust; empty (v.); debauch, violate (a woman)”

**1017** \*ǧufir- “antelope”

Cf. Eg *ḏbn* “hartebeest”.

**1018** \*ǧulum- “young man” (Sem. \**ǧulām-*, Kera (ECh) *hulum*)

Cf. Eg *d̄m* “offspring; youths; generation”.

**1115** \*ʕoṭis “sneeze”

Cf. Eg. ʕrš (which is perhaps rather ʕrš<sup>14</sup>) “sneeze”; onomatopoeic.

**1545** \*k̄amVḥ- “flour”

Cf. Eg *k̄mhw*, a type of bread; if related, a *Wanderwort*.

**1636** \*labiʔ-/ \*libaʔ- “lion”

Cf. *rbw(y)* (dyn. 20; Meeks *AL* 78.2390), Coptic (*S*) *laboj*, “lioness”. But note that Egyptian *r* and *b* are not compatible in inherited words.

#### V a r i a

**366:** Arabic *btq*, misprint for *btk*.

**1425** \*kan- “dog”; 1498 \*kun, *id.*; 1511 \*kühVn-, *id.*

A truly global etymology: Indoeuropean \*k’uwen-, \*k’un- (*canis*, *kyōn*, *hound*, ...); Altaic; Uralic; Eskimo-Alëut; Sino-Caucasian; *etc.*<sup>15</sup>

**2431** \*tüm- “crocodile, snake”

Arabic *timsāḥ*- is a loan from Coptic, *te-msah*, Eg *msh* “crocodile” with feminine article (cf. Peust *LingAeg* 5, 1997, 270). Mubi *etc. tumsa* is from Arabic: obviously, *i* has become *u* before a labial.

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<sup>14</sup> See the note to root no. 2145.

<sup>15</sup> According to Starostin’s *The Tower of Babel* web database.

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*hḏi* (1) “spread out”; (2) “become limp” 1260  
*h<sup>ṣ</sup>w* “break up, pound, batter” 2041

*h<sup>ṣ</sup>m* “bend (the arm); bow down” 2033  
*ḥbb.t*, a vessel for myrrh; for wine 1313, 1366  
*ḥnw* “abod; storehouse” 1371  
*ḥr* “fall” (v.) 562  
*ḥ<sup>ṣ</sup>.t*, kind of fish 2061  
*ḥ<sup>ṣ</sup>b* “sickle” 2047  
*ḥ<sup>c</sup>* “drain, exhaust; empty (v.); debauch, violate (a woman)” 25  
*ḥm* “be dry”; in medical texts, *iw r<sup>ṣ</sup>-ib.f ḥm.f* “his stomach gets dry” 1353  
*ḥmm* “be hot” 1285  
*ḥn* “tent” 2059  
*ḥni* “approach” 2065  
*ḥnm.t* “spring, source” 1160  
*ḥnw* “rivulet” 2068  
*ḥzi* “weak, vile, cowardish” 2052  
*z<sup>ṣ</sup>r.t*, a garden plant 405, 2600  
*s<sup>ṣ</sup>b* “many-coloured” 2227  
*s<sup>ṣ</sup>b* “motley snake” 2227  
*s<sup>ṣ</sup>b.t*, a kind of plant 2318  
*s<sup>ṣ</sup>r.t*, a garden plant 405, 2600  
*s<sup>ṣ</sup>ri*, a kind of plant 405  
*sby* “rebel” 2155  
*sbḥ*, a kind of fowl 2157  
*sm* “herb” 395  
*sm<sup>ṣ</sup>* “scalp; temple (of the head)” 2280  
*snb.t* “sky” 2296  
*srpt* “lotus leaf” 2183  
*sh.w* “milk” 2238  
*shr* “overthrow, cast down” 562  
*shr* “milk; stroke” (v.) 2238  
*sšwi* “lift” 516  
*sšm.t* “(lunar?) eye” 2329  
*sk* “cut (?)” 2180  
*sk<sup>ṣ</sup>* “plough” 2177  
*skm* “cover” 409  
*stp* “cut up” 2313  
*st.t* “baking mold” 404  
*st.t*, a jug, for beer; a jug, as a measure of capacity 404  
*st<sup>ṣ</sup>* “pull, drag” 2176  
*sd<sup>ṣ</sup>* “bring” 2166  
*sdm* “hear” 2651  
*šd.t* “well” 521  
*šdi* “mortar”, also used as container 553  
*šm<sup>c</sup>* “slender, narrow” 2235  
*šm<sup>y</sup>* “barley” 2235  
*šmm* “be hot” 575, 1285, 2328  
*šwi* “soar up, rise” 516  
*k<sup>ṣ</sup>* “high” 1522  
*k<sup>ṣ</sup>c* “vomit; pour out” 1524  
*k<sup>ṣ</sup>b* “intestines” 1573  
*k<sup>ṣ</sup>b.t* “knee” 1573  
*k<sup>c</sup>ḥ* “shoulder, arm” 1622  
*k<sup>ṣ</sup>k<sup>ṣ</sup>* “loom, tower” (v.) 1522  
*k<sup>ṣ</sup>s* “rope”] Basic meaning, “bind” 1612

<i>k̄s</i> , <i>k̄is</i> “vomit; spew out” 1625	<i>t̄fi</i> “remove forcefully; repulse” 2351
<i>kbh</i> “be cool; cool; pour a libation; present libations” (v.) 1578	<i>t̄fif</i> , a useful plant 2352
<i>kbh.w</i> “coolness” 1578	<i>thm</i> “pierce” 2395
<i>kbh.w</i> “libation vase” 1578	<i>tkk</i> “attack” (v.) 2388,
<i>kbh.w</i> “libation water; water” 1578	<i>tktk</i> “attack” (v.) 2434
<i>kbh.w</i> “water fowl” 1578	<i>t̄ṣi</i> “take”; “put on (clothes)” 1451
<i>kbh.w</i> “watery region (habitat of birds); watery region (mythological) 1578	<i>t̄ṣm</i> “binding” 1518
<i>kbh.w</i> “watery region (in the sky)” 1578	<i>t̄ṣm</i> “foreskin” 1461
<i>kmhw</i> , a type of bread 1545	<i>tni</i> “distinguish” 1444
<i>kk</i> “eat” 1623	<i>d̄ṣd̄ṣ</i> ( <i>dd</i> ) “copulate” 591 ( <i>sub</i> “Loans from Semitic”)
<i>krf</i> “bend, contract” 1573	<i>di</i> “herb” 722
<i>krf</i> , <i>krf.t</i> “bag” 1573	<i>dbdb</i> “attack” 2446, 2447
<i>krf.t</i> “contractions (med.)” 1573	<i>dbdb</i> “cut up”, “strike (?)”, “pound” (of the heart) 688
<i>krf.w</i> “(facial) wrinkles” 1573	<i>dmi</i> “touch; be joined to; cleave to” 707
<i>k̄ṣp</i> “shelter” 1414	<i>dr</i> “drive away; repel; remove” 747
<i>k̄ṣpw</i> and <i>k̄ṣp.t</i> , “roof”, Demotic <i>kp(e)</i> “vault, roof”, Coptic <i>B k̄h̄ēpi</i> , <i>S k̄ēpe</i> “vault, cave” 1414	<i>d̄ṣr.t</i> “vessel” 2479
<i>kp</i> “enemy’s hand ..., cut off ...” 1428 ( <i>sub</i> “Loans from Semitic”)	<i>dgi</i> “see” 757
<i>kr.ty</i> “horns” 1549	<i>dd</i> ( <i>d̄ṣd̄ṣ</i> ) “love” 591
<i>gb̄ṣ</i> “arm; side” 850, 862	<i>d̄ṣd̄ṣ</i> “enemy”, “hostile” 583
<i>gmh̄</i> “catch sight of, look” 889	<i>d̄ṣi</i> “be hostile” 583
<i>gs</i> “rib; side” 862	<i>d̄ṣi</i> “cross over, ferry” 937
<i>t̄ṣ.w</i> “hot” 2344	<i>d̄ṣm</i> “offspring; youths; generation” 1018
<i>t̄ṣh̄</i> “kill” 2468	<i>d̄ṣk̄</i> “cry out” 417 (also <i>sub</i> “Loans from Semitic”)
<i>tw̄ṣ</i> “support” 2425, 2466	<i>db̄ṣ</i> “army” 577 ( <i>sub</i> “Loans from Semitic”)
<i>tw̄ṣ.t</i> “temple roof” 2466	<i>dbn</i> “hartebeest” 1017
<i>twr</i> , a body of water in the hereafter 2437	<i>dd̄ṣ</i> “become ripe”; “fertilize (field)” (gr) 871
<i>tb.t</i> “box” (gr); late writing of <i>db.t</i> < <i>db̄ṣ.t</i> 2448	<i>dd̄ṣ</i> “grow fat” 871

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