

Aaron Ember and the Establishment of Egypto-Semitic Phonological and Lexical Comparison (Part II)

Gábor Takács

*Institute of Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Science,
Eötvös Loránd University*

The present paper represents the second half of the appraisal of Aaron Ember's contribution to Egypto-Semitic etymology. The first part was introduced by a sketchy biography of Ember and an overview of his conception of Egypto-Semitic sound correspondences, which was followed by the analysis and evaluation of those Egypto-Semitic etymologies proposed by Ember that have to be either abandoned or complemented in the testimony of current progress in Afro-Asiatic linguistic comparison. For technical reasons, this list was restricted to the Egyptian roots with 3- to p- in Anlaut. This is why the following etymological material encompasses Egyptian roots with m- to d-

Review of etymologies from m- through d-

Eg. mnd “breast” (OK, Wb II 92–3): after Ember, it has become traditional in Eg.-Sem. etymology to equate it with Sem. *mlg,¹ which has been adopted by most scholars in this field,² cp. Ar. malaġa, impf. ya-mluġ-u (also met. var. Imġ) “to suck (at)

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¹ Note that Ar. malaġa cannot be compared to LECu.: PSam *māl- “to milk” (as proposed in Dlg. 1968, 102; Blz. 1990, 208, #291).

² See Ember 1911, 90; 1919, 32; 1930, #10.a.17, #11.b.6, #24.a5; Alb. 1918, 90, 92, #4; Clc. 1936, #201; Vrg. 1945, 135, #9.b.10; Chn. 1947, #483; Dlg. 1968, 102; 1970, 620, #11; Ward 1972, 20, #178; IS 1976, #291; Mlt.-Sts. 1994, 2; Orel 1995, 108, #120; HSED #1815.

the breast, lutschen” [Brk. 1908, 268–9; Zbr. 1991, 1687] || Amh. mlg D: mällägä “to suck, suckle” [Kane 1990, 161] (Sem.: MM 1983, 247). P. Lacau (1970, 71, #178) has, however, already ingeniously surmised—purely on the basis of the inner Eg. evidence—that Eg. *mn̄d* might be analysed as a nomen loci (or instrumenti) prefix *m*-derivation from the hypothetical (unattested) OEg. **wnd̄* “allaiter.” Now, this hypothetical OEg. **wnd̄* can be confirmed by external parallels too. According to the law of Belova (on which see EDE 1, chapter VIII), Eg. **wnd̄* reflects AA **nug-/lug-* [GT]. Such an AA root must have indeed existed, cp. PCu. **nūg^w*- (var. **lūg⁻³*) “to suck the breast” [GT].⁴ Indirectly, already W. M. Müller (1907, 303–4, fn. 3) referred to the eventual relationship of what he called *Hamitic* (GT: i.e. Somali) “*nūg, nwg*” and Eg. *mn̄d*.⁵ This Cushitic root may be remotely related to the isogloss formed by Agaw and Saho-Afar **ʔang^w*—“breast” [GT] and CCh.: PKotoko **eng^wi/e* “breast” [GT].⁶ The reflexes of Cu. **nūg^w*—“to suck breast” [GT] have been usually⁷ equated with Sem. **yn̄k* “to suck” and Eg. *sn̄q* (caus.) “to suckle.” The irregular correspondence of Eg.-Sem. **-k̄* vs. PCu. **-g^w* makes, however, this comparison improbable.

Eg. *mrj* “lieben” (OK, Wb II 98–100): after Ember’s works, most authors⁸ have equated it with the reflexes of Sem. **rʔm* “to like” [GT],⁹ which already Calice (1936,

³ A. B. Dolgopolsky (1987, 201, #46) treated LECu.: POromo **lūg-* separately from his ECu. **nūg-*. Instead, he explained POromo **lūg-* from an earlier **šūg-* and affiliated it with SCU. **šik-* “to sop up, slop, slurp” [Ehret 1980, 212] || Sem.: Soqotri *n-šgg-* pf. 3rd sg. masc. *winšegig* “couler,” cf. Ar. of Hadramaut *saḡa^a* “couler” (Sem.: Lsl. 1938, 425), which seems for me to be out of question, since LECu. **l- < *š-* is anything but proven and also because of the significant difference between SCU. **-k̄* ≠ POromo **-g*, and SCU. **-i-* ≠ POromo **-ū-*.

⁴ Bed.: Bisharin *nūg ~ nūg^we* “teat, nipple, female breast” [Almkvist], Ammar’ar *nīg^w* “cocok груди” [Dlg. 1973, 174], Halenga *nog^we* [Rn.] || ECu. **nūg-* “to suck” [Sasse 1979, 24]; LECu. **nū₂g-* [Black]: PSam **nūūg* “to suck from breast” [Heine]: Boni *nūūg*, Rendille *nūūg*, Somali *nūūg* (Sam: Heine 1976, 221; 1977, 291; 1978, 70) | Arbore *indiy-nug-e* “to suck” [Black], Elmolo *i-nūk-a* “to suck” [Black] | POromo **lūg-* [GT: **l- < *n-*]: WOromo *lūg-* “to squirt milk from cow’s udder into mouth” [Black], Konso & Gidole *lūk-* [-k- reg. < *-g-] “to suck” [Black] | Yaaku *-nūk-* [-k- < *-g-] “to suck” [Heine 1975, 135] (LECu.: Black 1974, 182, 222; Cu.: Dlg. 1973, 175–6).

⁵ Although he supposed Eg. *mn̄d* to be identical with Eg. *mn̄t* from a root **n̄* (!), Eg. *mn̄d* has etymologically nothing to do with Eg. *mn̄t* “to suckle” (contra Müller 1907, 303; Hommel 1915, 16, fn. 3).

⁶ Cf. Agaw **ʔang^w-/*ʔang^w*—“breast” [Apl.]: NAgaw: Bilin *ʔing^wi* [Apl.] = *ʔingū* [Rn.], Hamir *ʔoq^w* [Rn.] = *əq^w* [Apl.], Hamta *eroq^w* [-r- < *-n-] [CR], Qwara *ʔeng^wā* [Rn.], Qemant *angū* [CR] = *ṁngu* [Bnd.] = *əng^w(ə)* [Apl.] | SAgaw: Awngi *ang^wī* [CR] = *ang^w(ī)* [Apl.] = *ang^w* [Bnd.], Kunfāl *anguk^h* [Birru-Adal 1971, 101, #11] (Agaw: Dlg. 1973, 175; Apl. 1984, 46; 1989, 6; 1991, 21) || LECu.: Saho *angu* “female breast” [Welmers] = *angū* “teat, nipple” [Rn.], Afar *angu* “teat, nipple” [Rn.] (Cu. data: Dlg. 1973, 175; Djk. etc. 1986, 65; Zbr. 1989, 579; Apl. 1989, 6–7; Sasse 1991, 272, #1.6) || CCh.: Kotoko **eng^wi/e* “breast” [GT]: Sao *emgpie* [-gp- < *-g^w-] “seins,” Makeri *énkue* “female breasts,” Gulfei *emgwe* “seins,” perhaps Kuseri *embwi* [-bw- perhaps from **-ng^w-?*] “seins” (Kotoko: Sölken 1967, 260).

⁷ See Müller 1903, 79; 1907, 303–4, fn. 3; Behnk 1928, 138; Djk. 1965, 43; 1967, 188; Dlg. 1973, 175–6; Djk. etc. 1986 MS, 65; Zbr. 1989, 579.

⁸ Lit. for Eg.-Sem.: Ember 1912, 89; 1930, #6.a.15, #10.a.19; Alb. 1918, 84; Holma 1919, 38; Chn.

#633) and Schneider (1993, 81) considered unsatisfactory. Cf. also Qabyle RM: ssirem “1. désirer, 2. se proposer, 3. préférer” [Dlt. 1982, 725]. Besides, Sem. *rʔm could (in theory) be compared with Eg. j3m (or jm3ʔ) [*ʔrm/*ʔmrʔ] “angenehm, freundlich sein zu” (PT, Wb I 79, 10–13).¹⁰ There are a few alternative etymologies for Eg. mrj:

(1) Zyhlarz (1932–3, 94; 1934, 109; 1936, 435–6, cf. KHW 86) combined it with NBrb.: Zayan meru “Wunsch,” merw-et “Phantasiebegehren,” e-meri “Freund, Liebhaber” || SBrb.: Tuareg me-rhí “wollen, lieben,”¹¹ which are in fact derived from the “*Sozialstamm*” (terminology of Zyhlarz and Rössler) = reciprocity stem (Feichtner) of the Brb. root *r-h (i.e., *me-rhi “einander begehren”), which has nothing to do with Eg. mrj. Surprisingly, similarly to Zyhlarz (1932–3, 94; 1934, 109), some further authorities (Feichtner 1932, 221; Vycichl 1933, 180; Rössler 1950, 488) also maintained this theory which fifty years later was rightly and firmly rejected by Vycichl (1983, 106) himself. This analysis is improbable even in itself, not to mention that the etymology of the common Brb. *r-h (not *r-h)¹² is fully different, cf. AA *r-b “to wish” [GT] preserved in Berber, Egyptian, and Cushitic.¹³ On the other hand, V. Blažek (1992, 136–8) combined PBrb. *r-h-h with Bed. aray “to love, want, desire, long for” [Rpr.].

(2) Most convincing seems the comparison of Eg. mrj with LECu.: Oromo marara “to be dear, be loved, pleasing” [Gragg 1982, 280] || WCh.: Hausa mármárí “desire,” mármártóó ~ mármártà “to long to get” [Abr. 1962, 659] = mármari “Wunsch” [Old. 1954, 145] = “desire” [Old. 1960] || CCh.: perhaps Daba may [if -y < *-r] “aimer, vouloir” [Mch. 1966, 135]. This Eg.-Hausa equation has long been known.¹⁴ As areal parallel cf. PNil. *mar “to desire” [Dimmendaal 1988, 38, #47]. Note that Ug. ámr

1947, #413; Vcl. 1953, 374, #6; 1958, 150; 1958, 393; 1959, 29; 1959, 69, #18; 1959, 73; 1983, 106; 1990, 222.

⁹ Akk. rāmu, raʔāmu, ramāmu “lieben” [AHW 951] | Ebl. ra-a-mu-um [*raʔām-um] “to love” [Frz. 1984, 148] || Ar. rʔm: raʔima “s’habituer à qqch., aimer qqch., et aimer avec une tendresse excessive (se dit d’une chamelle qui aime son petit, ou s’habitue à un petit étranger et le prend en affection)” [BK I 795] = “to love” [Ember]. Vycichl compares a var. root Ar. rwm: rāma “1. désirer ardemment, rechercher, 2. demander,” marām- “1. désir, 2. objet des désirs ou de la demande, 3. intention” [BK II 957] = rāma “(heftig) begehren, wünschen, lieben,” ma-rām- “Wunsch” [Vcl.].

¹⁰ Hence Eg. jm3.t “Freundlichkeit, Liebeswürdigkeit” (OK, Wb I 80, 1), jm3w.tj “der sehr Beliebte (als Bez. des Amun)” (XXI, Wb I 80, 12).

¹¹ In addition, Zyhlarz (1936 l.c.) compared also the first component of “Brb.” (sic, no proper language was given by Zyhlarz) merzīzwa “Melissenkraut,” lit. “geliebt von Bienen” (cf. zīzwa “Bienen”).

¹² For Brb. cf. Wlf. 1955, 116; Prasse 1969, 86, #588; Mlt. 1988, 200, #3.4.1. The PBrb. Etymon is disputed. Prasse (1969, 27) set up a root *r-h-h, while Rössler (1971, 316) reconstructed PBrb. *r-b-ʔ. Militarev (1988, 200), in turn, supposed PBrb. *i-h^war, met. *i-rah^w.

¹³ Cf. Eg. 3bj [if from *rbj] “wünschen” (MK, Wb I 6–7) || LECu.: Somali rab- “wünschen, wollen” [Rsl.] = rāb- [Dlg.]. Lit. For this AA root: Chn. 1947, #79 (Sem.-Somali); Rsl. 1964, 213 (Eg.-Brb.-Somali); 1966, 227 (Eg.-Somali); 1971, 316 (Eg.-Brb.-Somali); Hodge 1968, 23 (Eg.-Somali-Sura); Prasse 1969, 27 (SBrb.-Eg.-Somali); Dlg. 1973, 170 (Somali-Sem.).

¹⁴ See Ol’derogge 1960, 800; D’jakonov 1965, 50; Skinner 1996, 197, 199.

“Wunsch, Rede (?)” [WUS 1963, 25, #284, not so in DUL I 35] derives from Sem. *ʔmr “to say.”

(3) M. Cohen (1947, #413) equated Eg. mrj also with Eth.-Sem.: Harari mariñ “friend” [Chn.] = mārīñ “companion” [Lsl.], cf. also Gurage māri “friend (boy), companion,” Argobba meri “companion (boy), friend,” whose ultimate origin is not yet clearly determined. Leslau (1979, 417) explained these forms as loans from LECu.: Oromo māri “best man” extended by an “enigmatic suffix -īñ” (Lsl.). I would, however, not exclude here a heritage of common AA *m-r “friend” [GT],¹⁵ which might be remotely connected with AA *m-r “like” [GT] (discussed above).

(4) Although the Coptic evidence suggests an original *-r- in Eg. mrj, remarkable is AA *m-l “to like” [GT].¹⁶

(5) Th. Schneider (1993, 81; 1997, 198, #35) combines Eg. mrj with Sem.: Ar. myl: māla (-y-) “1. se pencher, s’incliner, être penché, incliné vers le bas, vers la terre, 6. aimer qqn.” [BK II 1142] = “être incliné vers, avoir de la sympathie pour, aimer bien” [Snd.] = “(zu)geneigt sein, Sympathie empfinden für, gern haben” [Wehr 1298] = myl IV “to favour” [KB 556], which is semantically less convincing. Instead, the Ar. root has a clear cognate in WCh.: Hausa mèèlú (Katsina dial. mèèlí) “to feel inclined” [Abr. 1962, 673].

Eg. mhj “vergesslich sein (vom Herzen), vergessen (∞r)” (MK, Wb II 113, 7–10) to be forgetful, neglectful of (∞r), (FD 112) = “Unachtsamkeit (gegen)” (Jansen-Winkel 1996, 520): combined by Ember (1913, 117, #65; ESS 62–3, #10.c.2 & 77, #13.c) and by Holma (1919, 39) with ESem. *mšy vs. WSem. *nšy “to forget” [GT].¹⁷ To be

¹⁵ Attested in LECu.: Saho mārēyā “Verwandter, Freund” [Rn. 1890, 273]. Afar mārēyā “Freund, Geliebter” [Rn. 1886, 884] = marēyta “close friend for whom one would die (made so at a big feast),” cf. mare “family relationship” [PH 1985, 164] | presumably Oromo māri “best man” [Lsl.] | Somaloid: Rendille mǧmǧr “Freund, Beischläfer, Konkubine” [Schlee 1978, 140, #759] ||| CCh.: Musgu marmay, pl. marmakaí “Freund” [Müller 1886, 400] = mármāi [Krause] vs. marmaya [Barth] = mirmé [Overweg] “Freund” [Lks. 1941, 66], Musgu-Girvidik marmay “Freund(schaft)” [MB 1972–3, 70], Musgu-Pus may “1. (m/f) ami, voisin, camarade, 2. (fem.) amitié,” marmay “ami, amitié” [Trn. 1991, 103–4], Vulum (Mogrum) marmāy “ami” [Trn. 1977, 17]. Cf. ES (borrowed < Oromo?): Gurage (Masqan, Goggot, Soddo, Selti, Wolane, Zway) “friend (boy), companion,” Argobba meri “companion (boy), friend,” Harari mārīñ “companion” (ES: Lsl. 1979 III 417). See also Skn. 1996, 9 (Eg.-Afar-ES). Reinisch (l.c.) derived these forms from LECu.: Saho-Afar mār “die Zeit zubringen, leben, bleiben, wohnen,” hence mārē-y-tā * “von der Verwandtschaft, vom gleichen Wohnort seiend” [Rn.].

¹⁶ Attested in Sem.: perhaps Ar. mala? “6. désir ardent, concupiscence” [BK II 1142] ||| SBrb.: Wlm. & Ayr mäll-ät “1. baiser, 2. choyer (enfant),” sə-məll-ət (caus.) “1. baiser, 2. aimer beaucoup, chérir,” Ayr a-sā-mmālla “grand amour, amour sincère/ tendre” [PAM 1998, 216] ||| ECu.: Yaaku -maal- “to like” [Heine 1975, 129] ||| ECh.: Tumak mālā “ami” [Cpr. 1975, 83: “empr. poss.”].

¹⁷ Attested in Akk. mašû (Ass. mašāʔu) “vergessen” [AHW 631] || NWSem. *nš/sī “to forget” [Lsl.]: Phn. nšy “to forget” [Harris 1936, 126], OArām. nšy (itpael) “to be forgotten” [DNWSI 764] || Ar. nasiya “oublier” [BK II 1254] | MSA *nhy (!): Hrs. anhō “to forget” [Jns. 1977, 95], Mehri nhy (inf. nehiyôn) “to forget” [Ember] = henhō [Jns.] || Geez nahsāyā (so, -hs-) “to forget” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1969, 20).

rejected, since Eg. h vs. Sem. *š are not in any correspondence. Similarly untenable is the suggestion by Feichtner (1932, 220) and Vycichl (1933, 179) that Eg. mhj “vergessen” was derived by the m- prefix “*der Reziprozität*” from Eg. whj “entgehen, verfehlen,” i.e. it primarily signified “der Gedanke und der Denkende verfehlen einander.” Instead of both of these untenable etymologies, we may now see in Eg. mhj a regular reflex to AA *m-h (var. *m-ḥ in Agaw?) “to forget” [GT],¹⁸ attested in Ar. ʔamiha “oublier,” ʔamuha avoir l’esprit troublé,” II “jeter qqn. dans le trouble, lui troubler l’esprit,” ʔamah- “oubli” [BK I 58], perhaps Yemeni Ar. mhh II “to be absent-minded, (min) hesitate, tarry” [Piamenta 1990, 474] ||| NAgaw *mi/əḥi-T- “to forget, be forgetful” [Apl.]¹⁹ ||| PCh. *mah^w- (?) “to forget” [GT].²⁰ WCh.: perhaps Daffo-Butura nyây ʔà-mâh “vergessen” (cf. nyây “verändern”) [Jng. 1970, 219] | Guruntum m^ya-wi ~ m^yau-mi “to forget” [Jgr. 1989, 184] = myoowì “to forget” [Csp. 1994, 18] || CCh.: Bura mwi “ignoramus” [BED 1953, 146] | Banana mawa “to forget” [Kraft 1981 III, 181]. Note that this root may be ultimately related with AA *m-H “to get lost” [GT].²¹

Eg. nhp “to care for” (sic) [Ember]: equated in ESS 76, #13.a.6 with Ar. lahifa “to regret.” Error. There was but Eg. nhp “beschützen, behüten” (since NK, Wb II 285), which represents in fact an extension of Eg. nh “to protect,” which is cognate to Ar. nhy I “défendre qqch. à qqn.,” II “défendre, prohiber” [BK II 1359]²² and nhnh “abwehren” [Brk. 1932, 107].²³

Eg. nhsj “Bez. für das südliche Nachbarvolk der Ägypter: Südländer, Neger” (OK, Wb II 303, 3–7): identified in ESS 86, #11.c.3 & #18.a.7 and Alb. 1918, 234, #56 with Hbr. šhr (!) “to be black, dark,” which is phonologically out of question. Instead, it may

¹⁸ Lit. for Eg.-AA: Rn. 1887, 264; Clc. 1936, #635; Chn. 1947, #468; OS 1992, 194; HSED #1711.

¹⁹ Cf. Bilin məḥi-r- [Apl.] = me/aḡī-r [Rn.], Hamir mi-r- ~ mi-t- [Apl.] = mi-t [Rn.], Qemant māy ~ miy “oublier, ne faire pas attention” [CR 1912, 234] = məy-y- ~ məy-äs- ~ miy-is- [Apl.], Qwara mey- [Rn.] = mi/ə-y- [Apl.], Dembea me-y- [Rn.] (Agaw: Rn. 1884, 390; 1885, 103; 1887, 264; Apl. 1984, 39; 1986, 11–12; 1991 MS, 6). The symbol *-T- stands for the pass./refl. root extension in Agaw. The correspondence of Agaw *-ḥ- ~ Eg. -h- = Banana -Ø- (or -w- < *-h^w-) is unexpected and irregular. This is why we have to assume also a PAA var. *m-ḥ. Note that Somali mōg “Trägheit, Faulheit, Nachlässigkeit” [Rn. 1902, 288] = mōg “ignoramus” [Abr. 1964, 181] can hardly be compared with Agaw (as suggested by Reinisch l.c. and Calice l.c.), since it was composed of Somali má (neg.) + og, cf. og-ān-ayya “to know” [Abr.].

²⁰ Note that Nbauchi *mam- “to forget” [Skn.] < Ch. *m-n “to forget” [NM 1966], cf. Siri & Jimbin mama, Miya man-, Mburku mamw-, Pa’a mbambur- (Nbauchi: Skn. 1977, 22).

²¹ Cf. ECu.: Yaaku -meʔe “to get lost (of animals)” [Heine 1975, 129] ||| Nbauchi *ma- “to get lost” [GT]: Jimbin, Miya, Kariya ma-, Tsagu mā-, Pa’a muma, Siri mama (Nbauchi: Skn. 1977, 30) | Guruntum mai “to become lost, lose” [Jgr. 1989, 184].

²² Combined by Gray (1933, 127, #36) mistakenly with Hbr. yny “opprimer, maltraiter.”

²³ This Eg.-Ar. parallel was suggested already by C. Brockelmann (1932, 107, #33). Cf. further Yemeni Ar. nhw, nhy IV “to warn, protect against” [Piamenta 1990, 499] | Jibbali nhy: néhé “to warn so. not to do sg.” [Jns. 1981, 186].

be perhaps akin to Samar. Aram. *lḥš* “dark colour,” *lḥwš* “darkness” [Tal 2000, 434], NHbr. *lḥōšā* “schwärzlich (?)” [Dalman 1922, 216].

Eg. *nḥj* “klagen” (MK, Wb II 305, 11): identified by Ember (ESS 65, #11.a.30), Albright (1918, 234, #57), and Castellino (1984, 16) with Akk. *anāḥu* “seufzen” [AHW 49] || Ug. *ānh* “groaning” [KB], Hbr. *ʔnh* niphāl “seufzen” [GB 53] = “to lament” [Alb.] = “to sigh, groan” [KB 70–1]. Semantically weak. Moreover, Ar. has *ʔanaḥa* “to pant,” cf. *nāḥa* “to wail” [KB]. Instead, I would identify Eg. *nḥj* with Akk. (M/YBab.) *naḥû* “seufzen” [AHW 717] = *naʔû* “1. to shout (with joy or pain),” *nuʔû* ~ *nuḥû* “2. to lament” [CAD n2, 134] || Mehri *nḥau* “er klagte,” *d-enôḥi* “indem ich klagte” [Bittner 1915, 39, #34–5: not in Jahn].²⁴ Note that Bittner (l.c.) compared Akk. *naḥû* and Ar. *nāḥa*, which cannot be accepted. W. Leslau (1962, 46, #15), in turn, combined Eg. *nḥj* with Geez *laḥawä* “to lament” [Lsl. 1962] = *laḥ/hawa* ~ *lāḥawa* “to mourn for, lament, bewail, weep, grieve, groan, sigh” [Lsl. 1987, 312], cf. Tigre *lāḥa* “to prattle” [Lsl.], which is for me equally out of question, since Eg. *ḥ* ≠ Sem. **ḥ*. If the Eg. *n-* in our root derived from **l-*, much more convincing cognates appear in Ar. *laḥḥa* “être rempli de larmes” [BK II 980] || NBrb.: Shawya *lay* “appeler, crier,” Zwawa *louâ* “crier, appeler” (NBrb.: Bst. 1890, 308).

Eg. *nḥt* “stark sein” (OK, Wb II 314–6): Ember (ESS 65, #11.a.31, #15.d.6, #25.b.6) and Albright (1918, 95; 1918, 235, #59) compared it with Ar. *naṣāta* “to fasten, make fast (cord), 2. be active, vigorous, fat (of cattle), i.e., stout, firm” [Alb.], although the alleged correspondence of Eg. *ḥ* vs. Sem. **ṣ* has not been convincingly demonstrated. The argumentation exploiting the pure similarity of Cpt. (SB) = NSOT, NAST⁺ “hart sein” (KHW 526) has to be refuted, since Cpt. (SB) *S* is secondary here stemming from OEg. *ḥ*, which is a well-proven rule of Coptic historical phonology. Rössler (1971, 299) suggested Ar. *naʕuta* “être bon et rapide à la course par sa nature même (se dit d’un cheval),” cf. *naʕita* “être rapide à la course (se dit d’un cheval)” [BK II 1292] = *naʕuta* “gute Eigenschaften haben” [Rsl.] = *naʕt-* “excellence” [Ricks] as cognate, for which cf. also Qtb. *t-nʕt-hw* “his excellence (?)” [Ricks 1982 MS, 156–7]. This is, however, semantically dubious. My own idea is that—despite the late evidence for Eg. *n-* [n-] in this root provided by Coptic (above), Phn. (5th cent. BC),²⁵ and a possible Hebrew borrowing²⁶—we should consider Ar. *laḥt-* “1. grand, énorme, corpulent, 2. violent, fort,” *laḥt-* “excessive (chaleur)” [BK II 980] = “great or big (in body), corpulent, vehement, intense (heart)” [Lane 2656] as a plausible cognate.

²⁴ Cf. also Sab. *nḥy* “to confess” [Biella 1982, 301] = *nḥy* “to confess, admit sin” [SD 95], Madhabi *nḥy* II: *nḥy* “confesser, reconnaître un péché” [Arbach 1993 MS, 76]?

²⁵ Cf. the Phn. PN *pnḥṭhr* < Eg. PN *nḥt-ḥr*.

²⁶ Hbr. **naḥat* (attested in cstr., Isa. 30:30), which was traditionally derived from Hbr. *nḥt* “to go down, descend,” was usually rendered as “das Herabkommen, sich Niederlassen” [GB 500] = “anger, wrath” ≈ θυμός [Septuaginta] = “terror” [Vulgate] = ≈ *tqwp* “strength, power” [Targum]. But Ellenbogen (1962, 112) assumed the latter sense (“force, strength, might”) to be the real meaning and treated the Hbr. form as an Eg. loanword.

Eg. nd “schützen” (OK, Wb II 374; FÄW 259) = “to guard against, save, protect” (FD 143): Hommel (ZDMG 53, 1899, 347) and Ember (1911, 93; 1913, 120–1, #96; 1919, 32; ESS 65, #11.a.38 & #24.b.4), followed by Lexa (1938, 225) and Hodge (1976, 14, #130; 1981, 407) identified it with Sem. *nṯr “to guard” [GT] = “пристально смотреть” [Мерариšvili 1987 MS, 9, #3], although Sem. *-r would evidently lack a correspondence in Eg. Besides, there is a significant nuance difference in the respective basic senses (Eg. “to protect” vs. Sem. “to watch while guarding”). The alternative etymology of the “old school” (proposed by Albright 1927, 223; and adopted in ESS 66, #11.a.40; Vergote 1945, 146, #24.a.9) is satisfactory in all respects, cf. Ar. nḡw “to save” and its kindred.²⁷ Note that Orel & Stolbova (1992, 174) equated Eg. nd with ECu. *nagay- “peace, health” [Sasse 1979, 43] = LECu. *nag- “peace” [OS], which may be perhaps indeed related to the Eg.-Ar. isogloss. Any other etymology for Eg. nd is less probable.²⁸

Eg. rmj “weinen” (PT, Wb II 416–7) = “to weep” (FD 149): Ember, followed by a few authors,²⁹ identified it with Ar. ramaʿa “to flow” [Ember] = “1. trembler (nez, tête), 2. laisser couler des larmes (yeux)” [Chn.], although the third Ar. root consonant has no match in Eg. Even more untenable is Behnk’s (1927, 82, #22) and Brockelmann’s (1932, 109, #41) equation of Eg. rmj with Sem. *dimʿ-(at)- “tear-(drop)” [SED I 49, #51]. Vycichl (1958, 397, #60), in turn, forced to see its possible Sem. equivalent in a mediae weak verb (for which he presented some further etymological evidence in Vcl. 1953, 373–5), which he surmised to have found (via met.) in Ar. mwr: māra, impf. yamūru “fließen (auf dem Boden, von Wasser oder Blut gesagt),” mawr- “Flut, Woge.”

²⁷ Ar. naḡā “2. être sauvé, délivré, échapper à qqch., 3. sauver qqn., le tirer d’un danger et le conduire dans un endroit sûr,” II “1. être sauvé, échapper à un danger, être délivré, 2. délivrer qqn., le sauver d’un danger,” naḡā-t- “1. délivrance, salut, 2. salut éternel, vie future dans le paradis,” naḡāʿ- “refuge, asil” [BK II 1209–10] = naḡā “sauver, porter en sûreté,” V “se sauver” [Dozy II 644] = naḡā “to save o’self, come out of danger” [Biella 292]. Cf. also OSA ngw “sauver” [Lsl.], Yemeni Ar. naḡnaḡ “to succeed, get away, escape from s.th.,” nḡw/y I “to escape, be saved,” V “to save, escape danger, take shelter,” VIII “to ask for help,” naḡāy “safety,” naḡiyy “Saviour,” ʿinḡāʿ “salvation” [Piamanta 1990, 479–80] = Yemeni Ar. naḡw “sie kehren unversehrt (aus dem Kriege) zurück,” neḡu “alles was vollkommen ist, unversehrt” [Behnstedt 1993, 201], Dathina nḡw “être sauvé,” naḡiya “se réfugier (en cherchant un protecteur), manḡiyy-at- “Leibwache” [GD 2749–50] | Sgt. ngy “1. délivrer” [Lsl. 1938, 256], CJbl. nígi & ṣəngé “to survive, come through (a pressing danger, a dangerous situation),” enúgi “to extricate so. from a difficulty,” engé “to rescue” [Jns. 1981, 184; 1987, 288].

²⁸ Cf. (1) Ar. laḡaʿa “se réfugier, chercher refuge chez qqn.,” IV “3. défendre, protéger qqn.” [BK II 968] = laḡiyy-at- “refuge” [Dozy II 517], Dathina laḡa/iʿa “se réfugier” [GD 2616], Yemeni laḡā “to conduce s’one” [Piamanta 1990, 445]. Or cf. (2) SBrb.: WY ə-nəḡ “sauver, épargner, mettre de côté, tenir en réserve, être sauvé” [PAM 2003, 590]?

²⁹ Ember 1911, 93; ESS 72, #4.d.3 & #12.a.21; Holma 1919, 39; Brk. 1932, 109, #41; Chn. 1947, #73.

Improbable. Note that a few authors³⁰ combined Eg. *rmj* (also) with Bed. *melo* (pl.) “die Träne,” *melō-t* (refl.) “tränen” [Rn. 1895, 168] = *milo* “tear,” *milo-t* ~ *melo-t* “to weep” [Rpr. 1928, 216], which cannot be accepted, since the Bed. form was not a metathesis, but a regular reflex of a distinct AA root.³¹ The clue is provided by the most widespread equation of Eg. *rmj* [**lmj*] with the reflexes of ECu. **ʔilm-* “tears” [Sasse],³² which has been known since Reinisch.³³ Its only weakness is that the Coptic evidence (RIME) speaks for an original **r-* (not **l-*) in Egyptian. This is why we should consider the var. root of AA **l-m* “tear” [GT], namely AA **r-m* “tear” [GT] preserved by NBrb.: Qabyle $\sqrt{m-r-m-y}$: *mmeṛmi* “1. être larmoyant (yeux), 2. être près de pleurer” [Dlt. 1982, 516] ||| Agaw **ʔirij^w* - [-*ij-* reg. < **-m-*] “tears” [Apl. 1991, 23] ||| SOM.: Ari *erma* “tears” [Lmb.: **l-*] (ECu.-Ari: Lmb. 1987, 534, #15).

Eg. **h* [act. **jh?*] “placenta (?)” (FD 182): Ember (ESS 81, #15.a.7) and Albright (1918, 234) explained Eg. *hj* placenta from Ar. *ḥwy*: *ḥawā* “être en ruines, s’écrouler (se dit d’une maison), 2. être vide, désert, inhabité (maison), 3. presser sans cesse, continuellement (se dit d’un faim violente qui se fait sentir à qqn. et tourmente les intestins vides)” [BK I 651] = “to deliver (i.e. ‘empty out,’ foetus)” (!) [Ember], which can semantically hardly convince us. Note that Posener (RdE 17, 1965, 193–5) and Staehelin (1974, 52) queried the meaning with regard to the usual green colour of the sign, which is, however, not generally accepted. On the contrary, most lexicographical works (including the most recent ones too) generally maintain the old rendering “placenta.”³⁴ The most recent attempts at reinterpreting Aa1 in Gardiner’s sign-list³⁵ are, in turn, even less successful, since these are not supported by any lexical evidence,

³⁰ Behnk 1928, 139; Lsl. 1945, 233; Chn. 1947, #73.

³¹ AA **m-l* “to weep” [GT]. Cf. also Ar. *hamala* [root ext. *h-*] “déborder, pleuvoir continuellement, être baigné de larmes (yeux)” [DRS 423] ||| ECh.: *Tumak mülöl* “larme” [Cpr. 1975, 85] | *Mokilko móló* “weinen” [Lks. 1975, 224]. Orel and Stolbova (HSED #1177) erroneously compared Ar. *hml* to *Buduma himālo*, which is a Kanuri loan. Cf. also Skn. 1977, 76 (Cu.-*Buduma-Tumak*).

³² See PSam **ilm* [Heine 1978, 65] = **illim-* [Lmb. 1986, 330, 442] | *Konso & Dirayta ilmāmá* (pl.) “tears” [Lmb.], *Mosiyaa ilmamó* (pl.) [Lmb.] | HECu.: *Burji ilim-* “to cry, weep,” *ilma* ~ *ilmā* “tear” [Ss.] (ECu.: Sasse 1982, 105; Lmb. 1987, 534, #15) || SCu. **ʔilfima* “tears” [Ehret]: *Asa ʔelelema* | *Ma’a iʔilfima* | *Dahalo ʔilfima* (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 291).

³³ Lit.: Rn. 1902, 26; Müller 1903, 76, fn. 2; Chn. 1947, #73; Castellino 1984, 12; Behrens 1987, 242, #5; Dlg. 1987, 199, #33; Rsl. 1987, 384; Voigt 1989, 88.

³⁴ Namely: “human placenta (?)” (Grd. EG 1927, 523, Aa1; Blackman 1916, 235, 243, corroborated recently by Fischer 1983, Aa1 on the basis of OK forms) = *Plazenta*” (Vcl. 1934, 85) = “placenta humain (?)” (de Buck 1952, 200) = “menschliche “Placenta (?)” (Brunner 1961, 71) = “probablement placenta” (DELC 259; Vcl. 1990, 67, #22) = “placenta” (PL 699, cf. Fairman 1943, 248, also BIFAO 43, 1945, 76) = “a cut navel-string (?)” (DCT 903).

³⁵ Hannig in GHWb 1101: “Korb von oben gesehen;” Schenkel 1997, 55: “Sonnenschirm;” Aufrère 2003 following Curto 1959: “crible en jonc, tamis à grain.” Aufrère tried, besides, to justify the etymological connection of **h* “sieve” to *hj* “child,” whereby the latter was allegedly a nisbe (act. “one belonging to sieve,” “celui du tamis *h*,” “celui du signe *h*”). This idea can, however, hardly accord with the sense of Cpt. (S) SAI (adj.) “nouveau” (DELC 258). My best thanks go to Prof. H. Satzinger (Kunsthistorisches Museum & Universität Wien) for sending me a copy of this inaccessible paper.

while the generally accepted old hypothetical definition is corroborated both by the inner evidence (let alone the usually neglected Cpt. reflex)³⁶ and the external etymology.³⁷

Eg. *ḥnt* “Gesicht, Vorderseite des Kopfes” (PT, Wb III 302): equated by Ember and both of his pupils³⁸ (using a false meaning “nose”!) with the reflexes of Sem. **ḥuṭm-* “nose, snout, muzzle, beak” [SED I 125, #139]. False (Eg. *n* ≠ Sem. **m*, let alone the metathesis and the semantic difficulties) just like the most widespread³⁹ etymology for Eg. *ḥnt*, namely the comparison with WCh.: Hausa *hánčí*, pl. *hántú-nà* “nose” [Abr. 1962, 369]. False, because, as pointed out in JI 1994 I, 129, the Hausa form can be divided into the *ha-* prefix of body parts + Ch. **-ntin/r* “nose.” Numerous authors⁴⁰ saw in Eg. *ḥnt* a remote (“Nostratic”) parallel to IE **Hanti* “in front.” There were also

³⁶ Both W. Westendorf and W. Vycichl assume in (B) SWI (f) “genital organs” (CD 550) = “Geschlechtsteile” (KHW 306) = “parties génitales” (DELIC 259) a continuation of OEg. **ḥ* “placenta (or sim.).”

³⁷ Eg. **ḥj* (met. < **jḥ*?) “placenta (?)” might be cognate with WCh.: Angas-Sura **hayak* > **he(y)ak* > **hā₂k* [GT: **ha-* < Ch. **ḥa-* prefix of body parts?] “1. belly, 2. womb, 3. pregnancy” [GT] = **hayak* “pregnancy” [Dlg.]: Gerka *ḡak^h* [γ- reg. < **h-*] “belly” [IL/JI 1994 II, 20] = *ḡak* “belly” [Smz./JI l.c.], Angas *eak* ~ *aak* [**heak* < **hayak*] “the womb, matrix” [Flk. 1915, 175] = **ʔek* “1. Mutterleib, 2. Gebärmutter, 3. Schwangerschaft” [Jng. 1962 MS] = **ʔek* [Hfm.: **ʔeak*] “pregnancy” [Hfm.] = *ek* “pregnancy” [ALC 1978, 16], Sura *aak* “Schwangerschaft” [Jng. 1963, 57] = **ʔaak* “pregnancy” [Hfm.], Mupun *āak* ~ *āak* “pregnancy” [Frj. 1991, 3, 35], Mushere *gam ak* “to impregnate” (lit. “to fill the womb,” cf. *gam* “to fill”) [Dkl. 1997 MS], Goemai *heak* “fetus” [Srl. 1937, 77] = *hayak* “pregnancy” [Hfm.] = *hayak* “pregnancy” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 13] (AS: Hfm. 1975 MS, 26, #247; GT 2004, 155–6) | Ngizim *wíyàk* “female genitalia, vulva, vagina” [Schuh 1981, 173] = *wiyùk* “vagina” [Kraft 1981, #64]. Perhaps Sem. **ʔafw-* “brother” [Hodge, Dlg.] also belongs here (as suggested by C.T. Hodge 1976, 11; 1987, 97; 1990, 646, #13.b). For the semantic development cf. Gk. *ʔadelphós* “brother” < IE **sṃ-g^welb^ho-s* “of the same womb” (Gk. *δελφός* “uterus”). Cf. also Eg. *ḥj* “boy” (PT 681c, AEPT 128) = “child” (CT III 127b, VI 197g, DCT 369) = “Kind” (PT 681c, ÄWb I 921) = “child” (GR Edfu, PL 706) = “l’enfant” (GR Dendera, Cauville 1997, 409) > Dem. *ḥ* ~ *ḥj* “Kind” (DG 345, 349:2) ||| WCh.: Boghom (Burrum) *kai* “child” [Jng. 1965, 177] || CCh.: Tera *ḥa* “to give birth, beget” [Nwm. 1964, 49], Boka (Boga) *ḥweyà* “boy” [Krf. 1981, #86] = *ḥwəyà* “son” [Blz.] = *ḥwəyà* [Blz. MS] | Musgu *aḥíí* [ḥ < AA **ḥ* reg.] “Sohn, männl. Kind” [Krause > Lks. 1941, 43] | PKotoko **γ^wV* “рождать (to give birth)” [Prh. 1972, 74, #46.2] (for Boka-Eg.-Sem. v. Blz. 1994 MS Elam, 5, #15; 1994, 432). Cf. also Eg. *ḥ* [act. **ḥj*] “jung sein” (Med. Mag., Wb III 217, 1) > Cpt. (S) *šai* “new” (CD 544b; KHW 306) ||| CCh.: Musgu *ḥéḥe*, fem. *ḥáḥai* [ḥ < AA **ḥ* reg. as above] “jung, klein, neu” [Krause > Lks. 1941, 59–60].

³⁸ See Ember 1918, 31; 1921, 177; 1926, 310, #6.2; ESS 71, #11.d.2; Albright 1918, 90; 1918, 239; Behnk 1928, 140, #38.

³⁹ Maintained by many authors: Behnk 1928, 140, #38; Vcl. 1934, 71; Old. 1952, 38; 1956, 12; 1960, 800; Pilszczikowa 1958, 99; IS 1966, 336, #8.4; Ivanov 1966, 106–7, fn. 9; Hodge 1968, 20; 1981, 373, #30; 1983, 37; 1985, 18; 1990, 646, #13A; 1991, 160, #18.

⁴⁰ Forrer in JA 207, 1930–1, 243; IS l.c.; Ivanov 1965, 15–6; 1966 l.c., Hodge l.c.; Bmh. 1988, 446; Shevoroshkin 1988, 541.

evidently wrong suggestions.⁴¹ All in all, the AA etymologies proposed so far do not satisfy the requirements either of semantics or comparative phonology. In my view, the correct cognate of our Eg. root can be found in MSA *ḥnt: “to be in front (?)” [GT]: Hrs. ḥentī “one of the fore-teats of a camel” [Jns. 1977, 141], Jbl. ḥantī “front, front part of anything” [Jns. 1981, 303], Mhr. ḥantáy “front udder of a camel” [Jns. 1987, 445].

Eg. ḥnd “Teil vom Vorderschenkel des Rindes als Speise” (PT, Wb III 314, 18) = “shin of beef (?)” (FD 195): identified by Ember and—probably independently—also by Militarev⁴² with Ar. ḥaṣr- “1. milieu du corps, ce qu’on appelle vulgairement la taille, 2. cette partie de la semelle (sou la plante du pied) qui étant échanquée ne touche pas le sol,” cf. ḥiṣār- “ceinture (qui serre le corps)” [BK I 581] = ḥaḍr- (so!) [ESS]. In an earlier work, Ember (1918, 31) affiliated Eg. ḥnd with Hbr. reflex of NSem. *ḥVlṣ- “Lende” [GT].⁴³ Elsewhere, Ember (1926, 7, #9) combined Eg. ḥnd and Ar. ḥaṣr- with the reflexes of Sem. *ḥamṣ-/ḥanṣ- “waist” [SED] = *ḥVmṣ- (?) [GT].⁴⁴ This confusion of the apparently distinct Sem. lexemes occurs not only in Ember’s work. For instance, a number of authors⁴⁵ derived Ar. ḥaṣr-, Hbr. *ḥeleṣ, Syr. ḥaṣṣā, and Akk. ḥiṣ- from one common etymon (cf. Brk. 1907, 126, 177, 246). Even the most recent edition of KB assumes a connection between Syr. ḥaṣṣā and Ar. ḥaṣr- < *ḥalṣ-! Kogan and Militarev (SED l.c.) cannot decide whether Syr. ḥaṣṣā “lumbus” [Brk. 1928, 250] and Mand. ḥaṣa “hip, back, middle” [DM 122] derive from Sem. *ḥalṣ- or from Sem. *ḥVrṣ- “hip, loin” [SED]. As rightly noted already by H. Holma (1913, 9–10),⁴⁶ Sem. *ḥamṣ-/ḥanṣ- “waist” [SED] should be carefully distinguished from Sem. *ḥamṣ-/ḥanṣ- “fatty tissue around intestines and stomach” [SED I 120–1, #133].⁴⁷ P. Lacau (1970, #361) suggested Ar. ḥidn- “bosom” as cognate, which was rejected by

⁴¹ Thus, f.i., (1) Holma 1911, X; 1918, 42: ~ Akk. naḥnaḥūti ša appi “die Nasenknorpel;” (2) Zyhlarz 1934–5, 253: Eg. ḥntj ~ ONub. KOANT(I) Vorfahr;” (3) Lacau 1970, 49: Eg. ḥnt < *ḥnr ~ *ḥnj (!) ~ Ar. naḥara “ronfler, renifler,” manḥar- “narine” mentioned as “*pure hypothèse*.”

⁴² Eg.-Sem.: Ember 1918, 31; 1926, 7, #9; ESS 70, #11.c.4, #15.b.3; MM 1983, 168; SED I 120, #132.

⁴³ Attested in Akk. (SynL) iṣu “Lende” [AHW 373] || Hbr. *ḥeleṣ, dual ḥālāṣayim “Lende, Hüfte” [GB] = “loins (the body between the ribs and the hip-bones)” [KB 322] | JAram. ḥulzā [AHW].

⁴⁴ Attested in Akk. ḥanṣātu “Hüften” [AHW 321] = “part of human body, possibly waist” [CAD ḥ 81], cf. also Akk. ḥiṣu ~ ḥimṣu “Hüfte, Lende” [Holma] = “reins, hip, kidney” [Lsl.] || Ar. ?aḥmaṣ- “(mince du) milieu du corps” [BK I 633] || Sqt. monḥeṣ [met. < *-ḥneṣ] “reins, hanche” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Holma 1911, 62; 1913, 9–10; GB 236; Lsl. 1938, 264; 1944, 56; 1945, 236; 1964, 116; SED I 119–20, #132).

⁴⁵ Holma 1911 l.c.; Ember 1926 l.c.; Lsl. 1944 l.c., 1945 l.c.

⁴⁶ Holma: Akk. ḥiṣu “Hüfte” to be separated from ḥin/mṣ/zu “etwa: Auswuchs, Warze (et sim.)” and NHbr. ḥimṣā “Fett auf den Därmen.”

⁴⁷ Attested in Akk. ḥimṣu ~ ḥiṣu “Fettgewebe” [AHW 346] = “fatty tissue around intestines” [CAD ḥ 192, cf. AHW 346] || JAram. ḥimṣā ~ ḥimṣā “the fat around the large stomach of ruminants” [Jastrow 1950, 347] = ḥimṣā “Fett auf den Därmen” [AHW], Mand. ḥimṣa “belly, entrails” [DM 146].

Ward (1972, 23). Although I have no serious objections against the etymology of Ember and Militarev other than what can be raised on semantical grounds (after all, Eg. *ḥnd* denoted not the “hip,” but rather the “thigh” of the animal or the parts even lower), I may suggest an alternative solution which satisfies the semantic aspect too. In a few Eg. anatomic terms, the third root consonants *-ḏ* seems to be an inetymological extension.⁴⁸ Was this also the case with Eg. *ḥnd* = < **ḥld* < **ḥl-* + **-g*? If this analysis is correct, the component **ḥl-* may be identified with AA **Q-1* “thigh” [GT]: Sem.: Akk. *ḥallu* (a/jB, nA) “Oberschenkel,” cf. (a/jB) *paḥallu* “Oberschenkel” [AHW 312, 810] ||| WCh.: Pero *kpél* [**k^we*l] “thigh” [Frj. 1985, 38].

Eg. *zhj* “taub sein” (MK, Wb III 473–4): Ember (1911, 90; ESS 29, #4.e.5) and Holma 1919, 43 (after Ember) assumed here a metathesis: Eg. **sh̄r* < **ḥrs* = Hbr. *ḥērēš* “taub, stumm” || Ar. *ʔaḥrasa* “stumm.” To be declined, since Eg. *z* ≠ Sem. **š*. Not more convincing is the proposal by W.F. Albright (1927, #71) and M. Cohen (1947, #298) who, in turn, identified it with Ar. *zaḥara* “to fill, swell (of river).” In my view, Eg. *zhj* may be cognate with NBrb.: Zwawa & Bugi *ā-zzug* “sour” [Bst. 1885, 195; 1890, 315] || WBrb.: Zenaga *so-zug* “sour” [Bst.] || SBrb.: Ahaggar *i-mzaḡ* “être sourd” [Fcd. 1951–2, 1273], EWlm. & Ayr *māzḡ* “être sourd” [PAM 1998, 232] < AA **z/c-g* “deaf” [GT]. A remote parallel (AA **c-k*) may be present in Akk. *sukkuku* “taub” and Ar. *ʔasakku* “mit engem Ohr, taub” (Sem.: Torczyner 1912, 770).

Eg. *sr* “giraffe” (selten, GHWb 727, cf. Wb IV 189): identified by Ember (ESS 73, #12.a.36) and Albright (1918, 243, #90) falsely with Sem. **ṭawr-* “bull” > Ar. *ṭawr-* “i.a. bubalus antelope.” Note that the common Sem. term for “bull” has a fully different Eg. reflex.⁴⁹ As far as Eg. *sr* is concerned, cf. perhaps CCh.: Muyang *žirwe*, Muktele *žiháftà* “giraffe” (CCh.: Rsg. 1978, 259, #306).

⁴⁸ I see only one way to interpret it, namely as a marker of certain body parts in Eg. The examples suggested for this postfix are very dubious (nearly all of them can be explained another way too).

(1) Eg. *psd* “Rücken, Rückgrat” (OK, Wb I 556) = “back, spine” (FD 95) < **ps-g*? EEWC: cp. AA **p-s* “back” [GT]: NOM.: Haruro *pes-o* ~ *pis-o* “deretano” [CR 1937, 657] ||| WCh.: Hausa *fáásà* “to postpone beginning sg.” [Abr. 1962, 257] || CCh.: Logone *pásē* “Gesäß, Hinterer” [Lks. 1936, 115] = *mpáse* “cul” [Mch. 1950, 32].

(2) Eg. *mnd* “Brust” (OK, Wb II 92–3): with respect to the etymology presented by Takács (1997, 232, #22), *-ḏ* must have belonged to the root. EEWC: probably unrelated to SCu.: Burunge *mūna*, pl. *mūnaʔi* “chest (physic.)” [Wtl. 1958, 22, #16] = *munaʔi* “chest” [Ehret 1980, 159] ||| CCh.: Tera *mémónà* “chest” [Nwm. 1964, 38, #67].

(3) Eg. *mnd.t* “Teil des Gesichts: zwischen Nase und Jochbein längs dem Auge” (OK, Med., Wb II 93, 10) = “cheek” (FD 110) = “Wange, Backe” (GHWb 343) < **mn-g*? EEWC: cp. perhaps ECu. **mīn-* “1. forehead, 2. face” [GT] (ECu.: Lmb. 1987, 533) ||| WCh.: Butura *maan* “forehead” [Magwa et. al. 1985, 15] || CCh.: Hina *maněno* “Stirn” [Str. 1922–3, 113]. For ECu.-Hina see Blz. 2000, 182–3, #7. Alternative etymology (**mng* with **-g* as part of the root) is possible.

(4) Eg. *nh̄.t* “Zahn” (OK, Wb II 304): perhaps < **nh̄-g*? Or infixed *-ḥ-*? Origin obscure.

⁴⁹ Cf. Common Sem. **ṭawr-* “bull” [Frz.] ||| OEg. *s3* [< **sr*] “taurillon (?)” (V., AL 77.3325) = “junger Stier” (GHWb 654) ||| SCu. **čur-* [GT]: Rift **čawar-* > **čawad-* “lesser kudu” [GT] | Ma’a *čurú* “bull” [Ehr. 1980, 227, #9 with false SCu. parallels]. From AA **čur-* “bull” [GT]. See Blz. 2003, 8–9 (Sem.-Eg.-SCu.).

Eg. sqr “schlagen” (PT, Wb IV 306) = “to strike (head, ball), strike down (foes), etc. (PT),” sqr “wound, injury (CT)” (FD 250): combined by Ember (1913, 116, #59; 1926, 301, #3; ESS 73, #12.a.38 rendering it as “to break”!) and Ward (1961, 35, n. 54) with Ar. kasara “to break” (in Tripolis kássara appears as qáṣṣar). Unconvincing just like the proposal by E. Zyhlarz (1934, 113): Tuareg s-eger (caus. s-!) “mit festem Körper bewerfen, schlagen.” In my view, the correct cognate can only be NBch. *cəḳər “to cut, slaughter” [GT]: Siri cəḳəru, Pa’a cəḳər (NBch.: Skn. 1977, 17) < AA *c-ḳ-r “to hit, strike” [GT]. In Sem., cf. perhaps Ar. saqara “causer du mal à qqn. (se dit du soleil, dont l’action ocasionne un coup de soleil),” saqr- “coup de soleil” [BK I 1105].

Eg. š3 “bestimmen” (MK, Wb IV 402–3) = “to ordain, order, predestine, assign, settle, decide” (MK, FD 260–1): combined by Ember (ESS 8 #3.a.18, #19.a.5),⁵⁰ hence by Albright (1927, #67) and M. Cohen (1947, #290) with Ar. šā’a “to want,” which is semantically very weak. Hodge (1966, 46), in turn, identified Eg. š3 with Hausa šíryà “to prepare, arrange” [Abr. 1962, 814], which is also not the best choice. In my view, our Eg. root is semantically especially close to Ar. šwr II “4. faire signe, 5. indiquer, montrer qqch. à qqn.,” IV 3. “faire signe, 4. montrer au doigt, signaler, indiquer qqch., 5. ordonner telle ou telle chose” [BK I 1285].

Eg. q3b.t “Brust” (MK, Wb V 11, 2–8) = “nipple” (Ember): Ember (followed by other scholars of the “old school”)⁵¹ treated it as a partial dissimilation of *q^ɸb < *k^ɸb (Alb.) to be compared with Ar. ku^ɸb- “nipple, breast” = “Brustwarze” [Vrg.], which was approved by Sethe and Littmann: “*sehr richtig; dazu Tigrinya ka^ɸbō ‘doppertes me^ɸrō’, ka^ɸbī ‘doppertes entalām’ (cf. ZA 18, 369), ferner Eg. q3b > KWB ‘verdoppeln’ = Tigre k^ɸb.*” In their view, the process of Eg. q3 < k^ɸ had undergone “*mit Wechsel der Emphase.*” This Eg.-Sem. equation was accepted by Ward (1972, 20–1) only with reservation. (2) Ember (1926 l.c.) also compared Hausa gaba “breast” [Mischlich] = gábá ~ gábáá “1. front of the body” [Abr. 1962, 277], which is phonologically even more dubious, since Eg. q- = Hausa ḳ-, while Sem. *k- = Hausa k-. (3) The Hausa cognate suggested by M. Cohen (1947, #230bis) and V. M. Illič-Svityč (1966, 28) is also dubious (for semantical reasons): Eg. q3b.t ~ Hausa kwífì “côté du corps (side)” [Chn.]. (4) Instead, cf. rather WCh.: Ngizim kûvá “chest” [Schuh 1978, 271], Bade kûv-àn “Brust” [Lks. 1968, 222] || ECh.: Kabalay kùbà “breast” [Cpr.] | Sokoro kùpé “breast” [Saxon] (ECh.: JI 1994 II 47), which might be explained from a PCh. etymon *kub- “breast.” Not *ku^ɸb-, however, since it would have yielded a PCh. *kuḅ- (note that AA *b + *H > Ch. *ḅ). The Eg.-ECh. etymology was first suggested in OS 1992, 185. All these proposals are based on the assumption that Eg. 3 < *ʔ. If, however, we account for the correspondence of Eg. 3 = Sem./AA *r or *l, we find the

⁵⁰ Ember quoted it as Eg. š3j (!) “to fix, determine, decree.”

⁵¹ See Ember 1917, 88, #140; 1918, 31; 1926, 303, #11; ESS 23, #20.b.2; Alb. 1918, 90; 1918, 220; Behnk 1927, 181, #4; Vrg. 1945, 128, #4.b.4.

following (semantically rather problematic) suggestions: (5) Leslau (1949, 314, #230bis): Eg. q3b.t breast = Sem. *qirb- “interior” (Leslau: “rather than Sem. (sic) qeḫā”). (6) Hodge (1976, 14, #107) compared, in turn, Sem. *ḳrb “to draw near,” to which he attached also Eg. q3b “interior.” Rightly rejected by Ward (1972, 20–1). (7) In Lacau’s (1970, #193–5) view, Eg. q3b.t denoted the whole chest and should be identified with Ar. qalb- “heart,” cf. Akk. qablu “midst” [Holma 1911, 61] (Sem.: Lsl. 1945, 239). Rejected by Ward 1972, 20–1. In my view, however, the most hopeful match of Eg. q3b.t [$< *ḳrb-t$] can be found in ECu.: Gawwada kerpe [-p- $< *b-$ reg.] “Brust” [AMS 1980, 236], which fits both phonologically and semantically.

Eg. q^h “(upper) arm, shoulder, elbow” (MK, FD 276; Wb V 19, 6–13): Ember (1930, #5.c) identified it with Ar. kū^c- “wrist, elbow.” That is, we should suppose a shift of Eg. q^h $< *q^h$ (dissimilative reduplication of pharyngeals) $< PEG. *k^h$ (incompatible in OEG.). This is again a debatable comparison, and we must take into account at least two promising alternative possibilities: (1) If Eg. q^h $< *k^h$ $< *khḫ$, cf. SCu.: WRift *k^wah- “shoulder” [GT]: Iraqw kwaḫa, Alagwa kwaḫu, Burunge kwaḫa as suggested in HSED #1622. (2) If Eg. q^h $< *q3ḫ$ $< *qrḫ$, cf. (with metathesis) AA *ḫarḳ “arm, shoulder” [GT]: Bed. herka “upper arm, shoulder” [Rpr. 1928] || ECu. *ḫar[ḳ]- “arm, hand” [GT] (ECu. data: Dlg. 1973, 159; Lmb. 1987, 536) || SCu.: Ma’a (Mbugu) mharéga, mharéya “arm” [Ehret] (Cu.: Ehret 1980, 335; 1987, #524). W. Leslau (1963, 86) intimated that the ECu. word passed into Eth.-Sem.: Gurage-Ennemor haräq, Harari ḫaräq “arm above elbow.”

Eg. qs “Knochen” (OK, Wb V 68): Ember (1926, 91; ESS 91, #18.d & 98, #20.a.21) explained it from a PEG. *qrs which he identified with Hbr. qaršöl “knuckle.” False. We can already certainly reconstruct the underlying PAA etymon as *ḳas- “bone” [GT], based on Eg. qs and its clear cognates such as Brb. *i-ḡəs “bone” [GT] || LECu.: SSomali dials.: Kilii qáásə, Baddey g’áásə “bone” (Somali: Tosco 1996, 12) || WCh.: Hausa ḳàšú “bone” [Abr. 1962, 499] | Ron *kyVs “bone” [GT]: Bokkos kyâs, Daffo-Butura kyâs, Sha gíš, Kulere gyiš-áw (Ron: Jng. 1970, 387) | NBch. *ḳas- “bone” [Skn.]: Warji ḳāsū-na, Pa’a ḳəší-ki, Jimbin ḳəḳasi, Miya kusi, Mburku ḳaḳasə, Kariya ḳāsu, Tsagu ḳeḳes-ən (NBch.: Skn. 1977, 13). In Sem., we do not have an evident reflex, the sense “bone” being signified by a different root, which must have replaced the old AA *ḳas- “bone” [GT] apparently surviving as a denominative (?) verb in Ar. qassa “3. ronger les os, enlever les chairs qui sont sur les os et la moelle qui est dedans” [BK II 735].

Eg. k3 “so, then” (MK, Wb V 84–5), introducing a subsequent action in the future, present also in the sḏm-k3-f form which expresses the same additional sense (EG 1957, 181, #242, 347, #435): Ember (1917, 90, #147; ESS 101, #21.a.11) rendered it “verily” and combined it mistakenly with Hbr. kī “verily” ~ kō “so.” Similarly, Bomhard (1988, 446) thought Ar. ka “as, like” etc. to be cognate with Eg. k3. This is false. In fact, Eg.

k3 [< *kr] as a particle finds its perfect match in SCu.: Iraqw *kara, kar* “conjunction of subsequent action: then” [Ehret 1980, 241].

Eg. *tzm* [< *kzm] “Windhund, Hund” (MK, Wb V 409, 13) = hound, (FD 308): equated in ESS 61, #10.b.10 with Ar. *kasāb* “wolf, hunting bitch,” which would be doubly irregular (Eg. *z* ≠ Ar. *s*, while Eg. *m* ≠ Ar. *b*). As pointed by several authors,⁵² phonologically more convincing cognates (albeit the correspondences are not perfect here, either) appear in Brb. **a-kzin* ~ **a-qzin* “young dog” [GT]⁵³ || Agaw **gəzəŋ* ~ **gizɨŋ* ~ **gizəŋ* [ŋ reg. < *m] “dog” [Apl.]⁵⁴ || SOM.: Ari *aksen, aksi* “dog” [Bnd. 1994, 1158, #19] || ECh.: Birgit *káʒàŋ* “dog” [Jng. in JI 1994 II, 107]. The correspondences of the initial radicals (Eg. *t-* < **k-* ≠ Brb. **q-* ≠ Agaw **g-*) are irregular. In any case, the sequence **g-z* ~ **q-z* was incompatible in OEG. On the other hand, Agaw **-ŋ* = Eg. *-m* < AA **-m* are regular. Brb. **-n* vs. AA **-m* is also unexpected.

Eg. *dw3.w* [< **dwr-w*] “Morgenfrühe, morgige Tag” (MK, Wb V 422–3) = “dawn, morning, the morrow, tomorrow” (FD 310): Ember (1930, 7, #3.a.9) took it from an older **dw3* (although OEG. *d-* can hardly derive from **d-*, the distinction of both phonemes having been strictly kept in the OK) and combined it with Ar. *ḏwʔ* (misquoted in ESS l.c. with *d-*) “to be bright, shine,” *ḏawʔ-* ~ *ḏūʔ-* “light.” Not better is the suggestion by Albright (1918, 220) and Holma (1919, 47), quoted also in ESS #26.a.35, on the equation of Eg. *dw3.w* with Ar. *γdw* “to depart in the morning,” *γad-* “the morrow.” Similarly, Eg. *dw3.w* has nothing to do with ECh. **daw-* “day, sun” either (contra HSED #664). As I have already demonstrated elsewhere (Takács 1996, 152, #63), the true cognates of Eg. *dw3.w* < **dwr-w* < AA **t-w-r* [GT] have been preserved until now in the Chadic languages, cf. PCh. **d-(r)*- “tomorrow” [NM 1966, 240]: WCh.: Angas-Sura **dā₂r*, var. **dā₂γa₂r* “1. morning star, 2. (to)morrow” [GT 2004, 85–6] = **dā₁r* (so, false **d-*!) “tomorrow” [Stl. 1977] = **ḏar* “(to)morrow (завтра)” [Stl. 1987]⁵⁵ | Tangale *dar* “time of late morning (8–10 o’clock)” [Jng. 1991,

⁵² Lit. For this Eg.-AA etymology: Zhl. 1934, 110; Wlf. 1955, 63; Rsl. 1964, 204, fn. 1; 1966, 227; 1971, 302; Bnd.-Flm. 1976, 49; Mlt.-Sts. 1984, 38; Mlt. 1987, 102–3, #5; 1991, 255, #18.2; Apl. 1989 MSA, 11.

⁵³ Attested in NBrb.: Izdeg *a-kzin* “chiot” [Mercier 1937, 291], Sus *i-kzin* [Dst. 1938, 63] | Seghrushen *i-kzin* ~ *i-qzin* “chiot, petit chien” [Tf. 1991, 357], Iznasen *a-qzin* [Rns.], Uriaghel *a-qzin* [Rns.], Tuzin *a-qzin* [Rns.], Iboqqoyen *a-qezzun* [Rns.], Halima *a-qzin* [Rns.], Harawa *a-qzin* [Rns.], Menaser *a-qzin* [Rns.], Shawya *a-qzin* [Rns.], Snus *a-qzin* [Rns.], Djerba *a-γzim* [Rns.], Nefusa *u-gzīn* [Bgn. 1942, 222] (Rif: Rns. 1932, 370) | Qabyle: Irzhen *a-qžun* “chien” [Picard 1958, 628] || EBrb.: Audjila *gzīn*, pl. *gzīn-en* “cane” [Prd. 1960, 161], Siwa *a-gurzəni* < **a-guzzəni* [Laoust 1931, 214] (Brb.: Mlt. 1987, 102–3, #5; 1991, 255, #18.2; Bst. 1883, 310; 1885, 157).

⁵⁴ Attested in Bilin *gidəŋ*, *gədəŋ*, pl. *gižɨŋ*, Hamir-Hamta *gižɨŋ*, Dembea *kizɨŋ*, Qemant *gižɨŋ*, *gəzəŋ* | Awngi *gséŋ*, *giséŋ*, Kunfal *kassaŋ* [Birru-Adal 1971, 102, #18] (Agaw: Apl. 1984, 43; 1989 MSA, 11; 1991 MS, 4).

⁵⁵ Attested in Angas *de-dir* (?) ~ *dare* “to-morrow” [Ormsby 1914, 315] = deer ~ di-deer “to-morrow, and so, the future” [Flk. 1915, 166] = *déér* (Satzanfang) vs. *də-déér* “morgen” [Jng. 1962 MS] = *də-dər* “tomorrow” [ALC 1978, 13] = *dī-dər* “tomorrow” [Krf.] = *ḏi-dər* “tomorrow” [Gcl.

78], Dera ɖe [loss of *-r] “tomorrow” [Nwm.] || CCh.: Jara ɖoi [< *ɖor] “tomorrow” [Nwm.] | Gudu ɖire “tomorrow” [Nwm.] || ECh.: WDangla ɖirá “tomorrow,” andira “yesterday” [Mkr.] (Ch.: NM 1966, 240; Mkr. 1987, 375). Less probable is the connection of Eg. dw3.w with AA *d-r “to be first, begin” [GT].⁵⁶

* * *

Abbreviations of languages and related terms

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Alg.: Alagwa, Amh.: Amhara, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, (B) Bohairic, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bch.: Bauchi, Bed.: Bed’awye (Beja), Brb.: Berber, Brg.: Burunge, BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, Dhl.: Dahalo, E: East, Ebl.: Eblaite, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, Gdm.: Ghadames, Gmc.: Germanic, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, Grg.: Gurage, Grw.: Gorowa, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi (in MSA), IE: Indo-European, Irq.: Iraqw, JAram.: Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, Jbl.: Jibbali, L: Late or Low(land), Lit.: literary texts, lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, Math.: mathematical papyri, mB: Middle Babylonian, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, N: New, N: North, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, Nil.: Nilotic, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, Qwd.: Qwadza, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaeen, Sem.: Semitic, Sgt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram): Aramaic of Talmud, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, Wlm.: Tawllemed.

1994, 107], Sura ɖaar “morgen,” ɖà-ɖáar “morgen” [Jng. 1963, 62] = ɖ̄-ɖar (so, ɖ̄-) [tù-] “tomorrow” [Krf.], Mupun ɖáar “tomorrow,” ɖáar n̄ “(adv.) morrow,” ɖ̄-ɖáar “tomorrow (adv.)” [Frj. 1991, 14, 11], Kofyar ɖàgar (so, with -g-) [< *ɖayar] “star” [Ntg. 1967, 8], Mushere ɖhar (so, ɖh-) “tomorrow” [Dkl. 1997 MS] = ɖàar “tomorrow” [Jng. 1999 MS, 4], Chip ɖi-ɖàr “tomorrow” [Krf.], Goemai da-g-da (sic, with -g- & -daØ) “tomorrow” [Ftp. 1911, 221] = ɖa-goe-ɖaar “1. the day of to morrow, 2. (adv.) tomorrow” [Srl. 1937, 24] = ɖaa-gɔ-ɖáar “morgen” [Jng. 1962 MS, 1] = ɖà-ḡi-ɖar “tomorrow” [Krf.] = gə-ɖaar “tomorrow” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 11] (AS: Stl. 1977, 153, #32; 1987, 241, #17). Note that the Suroid reflexes reveal two AS etymons: Sura & Mupun & Mushere & Chip clearly point to AS *ɖā₂r (without epenthetic *-ɣ-), while Kofyar -g- proves AS *ɖa₂ɣa₂r.

⁵⁶ Attested in ECu. *dur- “to be in front, first, precede” [Sasse 1982, 58] || WCh. *[n]dar- “начинать” [Stl. 1987, 172]: Nbauchi *(n)d-r “to begin” [Skn.]: Siri ndara[Skn.], Kariya dər [Skn.] || ECh.: WDangla dūrtye “inaugurer, commencer” [Fédry 1971, 199] = durttye “to begin” [Skn.] (Ch.: Skn. 1977, 12).

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungrathmayr, Ajh.: Ajhenval'd, Alb.: Albright, Alj.: Alojaly, Apl.: Appleyard, Aplg.: Applegate, Ast.: Aistleitner, BA: Birru & Adal, BG: Bechhaus-Gerst, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Blv.: Belova, Blz.: Blažek, Bmh.: Bomhard, Bnd.: Bender, Brg.: Bargery, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brq.: Burquest, Brt.: Barreateau, Bst.: Basset, Chn.: Cohen, Clc.: Calice, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cosper, Dbr.-Mnt.: Djibrine & Montgolfier, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Drower & Macuch, Dst.: Destaign, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Ehr.: Ehret, Fcd.: Foulkes, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, Grb.: Greenberg, Grd.: Gardiner, Gsp.: Gasparini, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hhn.: Hohenberger, Hlw.: Hellwig, Hmb.: Homburger, Hsk.: Hoskison, Hyw.: Hayward, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JFQ: Quack, Jgr.: Jaggar, JI: Jungrathmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungrathmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungrathmayr & Shimizu, JW: Jansen-Winkel, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kogan & Militarev or Kießling & Mous, Krf.: Kraft, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lns.: Lenssen, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, MB: Meyer-Bahlburg, Mch.: Mouchet, Mgw.: Maghway, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, MM: Majzel' & Militarev, Mrc.: Mercier, Msc.: Moscatti, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nct.: Nachtigal, Nhl.: Nehlil, NM: Newman & Ma, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, Old.: Ol'derogge, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, PH: Parker & Hayward, Pls.: Pilszczikowa, Prd.: Paradisi, Prh.: Porhomovsky, Prs.: Prasse, PW: Plazikovsky & Wagner, RB: Rapp & Benzing, Rn.: Reinisch, Rns.: Rensio, Rpr.: Roper, Rsg.: Rossing, Rsl.: Rössler, Scn.: Sachnine, Slk.: Sölken, Skn.: Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Snd.: Schneider, Snk.: Schenkel, Srl.: Sirlinger, Ss.: Sasse, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Sts.: Starostin, Svs.: Shevoroshkin, Tf.: Taifi, Trn.: Tourneux, TSL: Tourneux & Seignobos & Lafarge, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Wlf.: Wölfel, WP: Weibegué & Palayer, Wtl.: Whiteley, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhl.: Zyhlarz, Zvd.: Zavadovskij.

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Gábor TAKÁCS, Ph.D. (gabtak@datatrans.hu), Research Fellow, Institute of Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Science; Department of Egyptology, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
 ✉: Székesfehérvár 8000, Semmelweis u. 19.6/1, Hungary

