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SOME EGYPTIAN ETYMOLOGIES II

Abstract: The present contribution to comparative Afrasian lexicology offers new etymology for five selected Ancient Egyptian words: dw3 „to praise“, ʔ3tj „vizier“, p'n „clever“, j3k „old, aged“, m-mn.t „every day, daily“. These new observations can be regarded as fruit of the current work on a long-range project for the first Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian (Székesfehérvár, Hungary).

The present contribution to the comparative study of the Egyptian and Afrasian (Semitic-Hamitic) lexicon pursues the aim to discuss the etymological problems of some selected, miscellaneous Egyptian words. I am concentrating on all possible solutions and try to summarize at the same time also the critical history of previous results on the Egyptian etymologies in question. An earlier study of a similar kind has been published recently („Some Egyptian Etymologies I“ in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 37 [1995], 105–108). The present paper, however, is fully independent from the first one and does not represent an organic continuation of the first study in a narrow sense.

1. There have been proposed various Semitic etymologies for Eg. dw3 „preisen“ (OK, Wb IV 426–428).

1.1. Albright (1918, 220) quoted Ember's comparison with the Ar. root d'w, which has the basic sense „to call (for)“, but means also „to bless“. Albright explains Eg. with dissimilation from *dw'. I don't see why such a process was necessary. That is true that the sequence d-ʔ seems originally incompatible in Egyptian, but this is not the case here.

1.2. Brockelmann (1932, 116, #72) has suggested a relationship of Eg. dw3 with Sem. *ʔwd, attested in Hebr. hōdā, Aram. ʔawdī „preisen“, Ar. ʔistawdā „bekennen“. This could be valid if Eg. dw3 would have suffered a metathesis from *ʔ3wd, what cannot be fully excluded.

1.3. Both the above suggestions are weak as for the phonology and word shape. From the viewpoint of the sound correspondences one could consider the Common Afrasian root *d[u]r, which was preserved in ECu. PSam *dûr/*dûrà „to play, sing“: Rendille dur,

dûr, dúra, Boni tûr, túra (Heine 1978, 56) ~ WCh. Bokkos, Daffo dóòr, Pa'a n-dèr tàma „singen, tanzen“ ~ ECh. Ndam dèr, Somray derii „song“, Tumak kù dèr „singen, tanzen“ (dër „song“), see Mukarovsky 1987, 326.

This cognate set, however, cannot be related with Eg. because of the significant difference in the semantics.

1.4. My own theory on our Eg. word supports the fully possible phonetic development $dw3 < *dul$. In my mind, the most promising equivalents can be found in Sem. $*dl$ „to praise“ (Zaborski 1971, 58, #33): Akk. *dalālu* „to praise“, Hebr. *dll* „to praise“, cf. Ar. *dalla* „to coquet“. The Sem. root is probably identical with WCh.: PBole-Tangale $*n-dāl$ „to love, like“ (Stolbova 1987, 248, #19): Bolewa *dal*, Karekare *n-dal*.

As for the semantic dispersion „to like ~ to praise“ cp. e. g. Eg. *snsj* „preisen, verehren“ (XVIII., Wb IV 171, 5–10), *snsn* „id.“ (NK, Wb IV 171, 15–16), which Leslau (1962, 46, #9) has already compared to Ar. *ṭannā* (*ṭny*) „to praise“. Now we can add to this comparison WCh. $*čan-$ „to like, wish“ (Stolbova 1986, 87; 1987, 192), which, phonologically, is an exact correspondence of Ar. (Sem. $*ṭ < PAA *č$). Note that WCh. is not to be compared with PCu. $*šVn'$ - „to love, like“ (Dolgopol'skij 1973, 115; Majzel'-Militarev 1983, 170) because of the phonology.

2. As of many other important Egyptian terms, the etymology of *ṭ3tj* „vizier“ (OK, Wb V 343–344) is still unsolved.

2.1. Harri Holma (1919, 47), though even himself with hesitation, mentioned that eventually the Akkadian title *tu/art-ān-u* „Generalissimus“ (> Hebr. *tartān*) might be the Semitic cognate. Since Eg. *ṭ* does not correspond to Sem. $*t$, this proposal should be out of consideration. Besides, the Akk. word (attested as *ta/urtānu*, var. *ta/urtannu*; AHW: „einer der höchsten Beamten: Feldmarschall?“; Laroche: „commandant en second, lieutenant“) is said to be of Hurrian origin (AHW 1332), cf. Hurrian [*tard-e/an-š*] „второй по старшинству (сын)“ (Hačikjan 1985, 66). The Akk. title was glossed with the Hurrian translation *šinaḫili* „second“ (Laroche 1980, 233).

2.2. Then Aaron Ember (1930, #22.a.12), an outstanding pioneer of the Egypto-Semitic linguistic comparison, has touched upon the problem of Eg. *ṭ3tj*, which he analyzed as a nomen actoris derivation by the ending *.tj* (that is *ṭ3.tj*). He considered the root $*ṭ3$ identical with Sem. $*\sqrt{wkl}$ preserved in Akk. *wakālum* (in G stative) „geniesst Vertrauen?“, *waklum* „Beauftragter, Aufseher, Inspektor“ (a var. $*ukl-um$ may have been borrowed into Sumerian *ugula*), Ar. *wakala* „vertrauen“, *wakīl-* „Bevollmächtigter“ (Ember: *wakil-* „representative“), Geez *tawakkala* „vertrauen“ (AHW 1456; Kovalev-Mili-

tarev 1994, 3, #3.5). In theory Eg. *t3 can indeed come from an earlier form *kul. If the hypothetical root *kul „to entrust with a duty“ based on the eventual Semito-Egyptian isogloss is really correct, then an extra-Afrasian areal parallel may also be taken into consideration from Nilo-Saharan: PKoman *kuil (?) „chief“ (Bender 1983, 280, #226).

2.3. My idea on the Eg. title accounts for the possibility that the word was not a derivation by the ending .tj (i.e. t3.tj) but was derived rather from the same root as Eg. t33 „Eigenschaft, von der Macht des Königs (a synonym of šps, w3š)“ (OK, Wb V 411, 11) and perhaps also it „ein Begleiter des Königs“ (I., Wb V 411, 4). These words are probably equivalent with Berb. *k^watV-n „man, male, hero“ (Militarev-Starostin 1984, 39), cf. Ahaggar kâtu, pl. kâtu-t-en „brave man, hero“ (treated by Gouffé 1974, 376 as borrowing from Hausa k'aatò „de grand taille, costand“ though a reverse direction should not be excluded) and Guanche: Tenerife catana „brave men, heroes“ (pl. *kat-an-? Militarev 1991, 168: Ahaggar-Tenerife) || ?NOM.: Wolamo katē „king“, Koyra (Badditu) katē „king“ (Cerulli 1929, 62; 1938 III, 203–204) || WCh.: Bade mà-kwàt-âan junger Mann“ (Lukas 1968, 223) || CCh.: PTERa *kut/di-rV „chief, king“: Tera kudi, Tera-Pidlimdi kudîri, Ga'anda kutira, Gabin kudira, Boka kutîre | cf. Bura kuçi (from *kuti?) „chief, king“ (Mukarovsky 1987, 123).

Any areal connection with PKoman? *guat „vir“ (Bender 1983, 277, #148)?

Note that the NOM. forms are hard to separate from NOM. *kaw- „king“: Zaisse, Zala kaō, Wolamo kaō, kawō, Gofa kawā. This stem was compared by Cerulli (1938 III, 203–204) with NOM.: Kaffa qaw „essere il primo, essere primogenito“ || Agaw: Qwara kaū, qaū, qaw „essere il primo, essere innanzi“, Qemant kâw „guidare“. These are evidently connected with ECu. *kaww- „one, alone“ (Sasse 1979, 44; also Plazikowsky-Brauner 1963, 469; Zaborski 1987, 335–337): i.a. PSam *kow „1“ (Heine 1976, 219; 1978, 66) and NOM. Dizi qòy, Sheko koy (Conti Rossini), k^woy (Bender), see Zaborski 1983, 384.

2.4. A second alternative possibility for Eg. t3tj to be taken into consideration, follows Ember's analysis as t3.tj with the nomen actoris ending. In this case I would not exclude that this nomen actoris formation t3.tj meant simply „he who is second“ (what would fit better than Ember's etymology, which does not explain the meaning of .tj sufficiently), just like in the case of Hurrian [tard-e/an-ě] „второй по старшинству (сын)“ > Akk. ta/urtānu, ta/urtannu ≈ Hurrian šinaḥili „second“ (above). This translation could be the implication of an eventual etymological correspondence between the hypothetical Eg. root *t3 „to be the second?“ and Common Sem.

*kil'- „both, two“: Akk. kilallān, kilallū(n) „beide“, Ug. kl'at „beide“, Hebr. kil'-ayim „zweierlei, of two kinds“, Ar. kil-āni (fem. kil-t-āni) „beide“, Geez kel'ē, käl'e „2“, kāle' „second“, Amhara hulät (*k^wäl-ät) „2“, Soqotri ke'ala „both“ (AHW 475; Militarev 1984, 160, #26; Rabin 1975, 89, #92), cf. still Gurage „2“: Wolane, Zway hoy-t (*k^woy-t), Gyeto k^yoy-t, Chaha, Ezha, Muher, Masqan k^we-t, Gogot k^we-t, Aymellel ki-t (*k^wäl-ät)? Endegen wurä'-ät (< *kur'-et? Leslau 1956–1957, 283, #34). Note that the Sem. word is traditionally equated with Eg. kj „anderer“ (Pyr.), see Albright 1927, 202 (after Ember); Behnk 1927, 83, #34; Bender 1975, 180.

3. Eg. p'n „klug“ (Pyr., Wb I 504, 10–12) can be hopefully analysed as *p' „Herz, Verstand“ + -n nominal suffix, justified by Bed. fi' „stomach, interior“ || LECu.: Somali fi' „Bauch, Herz, Verstand, Laune“, fi'an „good, clever“ (the exact equivalent of our Egyptian word!), Somali-Isaq fii' „Verstand“ (Dolgopol'skij 1966, 59, #2.6.; 1973, 317: Bed.-Somali).

Blažek (1994, 12) is probably wrong in comparing the Bed.-ECu. isogloss with Berb. *ta-fiy-t „flesh“ because it is clearly belongs to Eg. jf „Fleisch“ (OK, Wb I 51–52) || SCu.: PWRift *fu'- „meat“ (Ehret 1987, #186). The Eg.-Berb. comparison is well known, cf. Zyhlarz 1932–1933, 87; Behnk 1928, 138; Cohen 1947, #496.

4.1. Eg. j3k (BD) „alt, bejahrt“ (BD, Wb I 34, 4), var. *jk (MK, Wb I 39, attested only as a determinative of an „old man“ in the word jk „Art Steinmetz“ etc.) was long ago equated by Müller (1961, 200) with the Sem. root *lhq „to be old“, attested in Geez lăhăqä „alt werden/sein“, lăhig „alt“ (for *lăhiq) and Hebr. l^haqat hannăbî'im „die Ältesten“ (hapax), also lah^aqā „senior ones“ (acc. to Ullendorff quoted by Appleyard), cf. still Ar. lahaqa „schneeweiss sein“ (< *^a“to have gray hair“ < *^a“to be old“). Müller' comparison is to be rejected, because, with the exception of Eg. j- ~ Sem. *l-, there is no phonological correspondence between the two forms.

4.2. It is to be noted that in an older paper Appleyard (1977, 48) wondered whether the Eth.-Sem. and Hebrew lhq is connected with Eth.-Sem. *h₁lq „chief“: Tigrinya ḥaläxa, Old Amharic haläqa > Amhara aläqa „head, superior“. The latter root is very probably identical with Eg. ḥq3 (*ḥql) „herrschen“ (OK, Wb III 170), which proves the reconstruction of the Eth.-Sem. root in question with *h-. That is why I doubt in an identification of the two different Eth.-Sem. root because of the difference between the well attested *ḥ- vs. *h- in either cases.

4.3. In my opinion, the perfect correspondence of the Eg. word can be found in Cushitic in this case, cp. ECU. *'akaak- „old man (→ ancestor, grandfather)“ and *'aakk- „grandfather, grandmother“

(Sasse 1982, 21, 24; Leslau 1988, 180; Hudson 1989, 404) || SCu. *'ako „old man“: Iraqw ako „old man“, Asa 'ago-k (*'akok-k) „mother's brother“ (Ehret 1980, 377), cf. still aku-ya/ago-ya „grandparent (in address)“ (Fleming 1969, 11: Asa-ECu.) || Agaw *'äg- (Appleyard 1989, 6) or *'ag- (Appleyard 1994, 3) „uncle“ (with a secondary *-g-, Appleyard: Agaw-ECu.-SCu.), hence borrowed Amhara aggot „uncle“ (Appleyard 1977, 8).

5. Eg. *mn.t „every day“ in: m-mn.t „täglich“ (Amarna, Wb II 65, 9-10), cf. also mjn „heute“ (Pyr., Wb II 43, 1-9): firm cognates appear in ECu.: PSam *máán-tà „today = this day“ (Heine 1976, 222; 1977, 288; 1978, 90), cf. Somali mān (fem.) and Somali Jabarti (Digil) mān „Tag, Zeit“ (Reinisch 1904, 78) || WCh.: Montol mene „day“ || CCh.: Tera mení „today“ (Newman 1964, 46, #392) || ECh.: Tumak mán „endroit, lien, temps, moment, durée“ (Caprile 1975, 82), Dangla mena, Migama mēne „day“ (HSED #105: Montol-ECh.).

On the other hand, an eventual correspondence between Eg. and ECu. PSam *maalim „Tag“ (Heine 1976, 214; 1977, 293; 1978, 90), esp. Boni máali (Sasse 1980, 99) should not be ruled out, though rather improbable in this case with respect to the convincing parallels with *-n.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA: Afrasian (Afroasiatic, Hamito-Semitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amharic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic (Syr.: Syrian, Jud.: Judeo-, Bibl.: Biblical), Bed.: Bedawye (Beja), Berb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Co.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, E: East, Eg.: Egyptian, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Gr.: Greek and Roman Period, He.: Hebrew, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: Magical Texts, Med.: Medical Texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, N: North, NE: New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, Nostr.: Nostratic, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OInd.: Old Indic (Sanskrit), OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, P: Proto-, Pyr.: Pyramid Texts, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sem.: Semitic, Som.: Somali, Soq.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West.

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