

Aegyptio-Afroasiatica XXVI

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[The paper offers new Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) etymologies of Egyptian lexical roots with initial n-.]

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1. Introduction

During my current work on the Egyptian Etymological Word Catalogue (EEWC, ongoing since summer 1994), it has become possible to identify a great number of new lexical correspondences between Egyptian and its vast Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) kindred. The series of papers „Aegyptio-Afroasiatica” has been started in 1995 for reporting these results¹. The numbering of etymological entries is continuous beginning from my very first report.

2. Addenda

538. Eg. nm “sich an jem./etw. vergreifen? (MK, Wb II 264, 11-12) = nm “to go wrong (of plans)? (FD 133) = nmjw “to go wrong? (DCT 226) = nm “schief gehen (Pläne), sich vergreifen an? (GHWb 412) || Sem.: Ar. √nmm I “1. rapporter dans l'intention de nuire à qqn. ou de brouiller les gens, 2. calomnier, 3.

1. A list of parts I-X with the places of publication can be found in „Aegyptio-Afroasiatica XII”, in: *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 39 (1997), 93-98. Part XI was published in *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hung.* (Budapest) 58/4 (2005), 409-420. Part XIII appeared in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 45 (2003), 121-127. Part XIV in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 42 (2000), 151-160. Part XV in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 44 (2002), 163-174. Part XVI in Bács, T. (ed.): *Studia Aegyptiaca XVII: A Tribute to Excellence, Studies Offered in Honor of Ernő Gaál, Ulrich Luft, László Török*, Budapest, 2002., La Chaire d'Égyptologie, pp. 455-471. Part XVII was published in *Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie* (Schoelcher, Martinique) 7-8 (2005), 207-235. Part XVIII appeared in *Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie* (Schoelcher, Martinique) 5 (2003), 187-202. Part XIX was published in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warszawa) 57/2 (2004), 47-89. Part XX is forthcoming. Part XXI appeared in Borbone, P.G.; Tosco, M.; Mengozzi, A. (eds.): *Loquentes linguis: Studi linguistici e orientali in onore di Fabrizio A. Pennacchiotti*, Wiesbaden, 2006., Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 675-683. Part XXII has come out in *Aula Orientalis* (Barcelona) 27/2 (2009), 219-270. Part XXIII was published in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scient. Hung.* (Budapest) 63/2 (2010), 223-230. Part XXIV in Bechtold, E.; Gulyás, A.; Hasznos, A. (eds.): *From Illahun to Djeme: Studies Presented in Honour of Ulrich Luft*, Oxford, 2011., Archaeopress, pp. 287-292. Part XXV appeared in *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hung.* (Budapest) 65/3 (2012), 359-372.

remplir son discours de mensonges?, nummiyy- “3. vice, défaut qui détruit la pureté d'une chose? [BK II 1346].

539. Eg. nm “to rob, steal? (MK, FD 133) = “to seize s'one? (NK Med., Leitz 1999, 100) ||| SOm.: Ari-Banna num- “to hold, keep? [Bnd. 1994, 152] ||| Ch. *nVm- “to hold, take, get? [Stl. 2005, 139, #532] vs. *na/im- “to hold, touch? [Stl. 2005, 50, #3]: WCh.: Ngamo nāmî “to take (prendre), carry (load)? [Alio 1988 MS] = nam- “to take? [Ibr. 2003 MS, 7] | Diri nama “to touch? [Skn.] | Guruntum nāmî “to get, accept, find? [Jaggar 1989, 183] = nāmî “to receive? [Haruna 1992 MS, 27], Saya nīm “to hold? [Krf.], Zaar nām “to hold (in hand)? [Smz. 1975 MS, 36], Boghom nāmu “to hold? [Krf.] = nām “to take? [Smz. 1975 MS, 38], Jimi nimii “to hold, take?, namii “to obtain?, nimto “to seize? [Csp.], Zul nāmî “to hold, take? [Csp.]. Areal parallel in Nilo-Saharan *nè/ēm “to grasp, grip? [Ehret 2001, 315, #260].

540. Eg. nm “grosses Gefäß zum Aufbewahren von Gerste und von Getränk? (Westcar 11:8, Wb II 264, 14-15) = “Behälter? (von Bissing 1904, 90) < (?) nm(t) “part of the vessel: base? (V.: Abusir, Silverman 1975, 249, n. 4, 5) = “Boden eines Gefäßes? (WD I 109) ||| Sem.: Akk. namaum (old) “(a container)? [Gelb 1973, 202] = namaʔu (sic, old) > namû (Nuzi) “(a kettle)? [CAD n 252] = namāʔum (old) > namû (Nuzi) “ein Kupfergegenstand? [AHW 729]. From the same (?) root: Eg. nm.w (pl.) “Kelter für Wein, Brauerei für Bier? (XVIII.: Urk. IV 687:12, Wb II 265, 1-2; Meyer in LÄ VI 1178, n. 27 with further ex. from the MK) = “vats? (FD 133).

541. Eg. nm (coll.) “Ertrag des Ackers? (GR, Wb II 265, 3), perhaps < nmj “food (?)? (CT, DCT 227) ||| Sem.: OSA: Sabaic nmw “to increase?, mntm (adj.) “fat, rich (said of curds)? (?) ≈ Ar. muntamin “fat, satiated? [Biella 1984, 306], Madhabi nmy “augmenter? [Arbach 1993, 78], Ar. √nmw/y: namā I “1. croître, grandir, prendre de la croissance (se dit des végétaux, des hommes, etc.)?, nāmiy-at- “2. végétation, croissance, faculté de grandir, développement?, II “5. alimenter, nourrir le feu en y ajoutant du combustible?, namiyy-at- “végétation etc.?, namāʔ- “1. végétation, croissance? [BK II 1350-1] ||| NBrb.: Shilh nem “être entassé? [Jordan 1934, 96] ||| ECh.: Kajakse námâm “gros (big)? [Alio]. For Ar.-Kajakse see Stl. 2005, 232.

542. Eg. nmʕ “to hide o'self? (CT IV 99c, DCT 227) ||| Sem.: Hbr. √ʕlm qal pass. part. “what is hidden, i.e. hidden sin?, niʕʕal “to be concealed?, hiʕʕil “1. to conceal, secrete, 2. shut (eyes)? [KB 834-5]² | Ar. lamaʕa I and VIII “4. mentir, 5. tergiverser? [BK II 1027] || Harari lämaʔa [ḡ < *ʕ] “to be extinguished (light)? [Lsl. 1963, 100] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *layam with var. *la₃ya₃m (in Mpn. and Hill Angas) > *ləγəm [regular < *√ʕm] „1. to hide, disappear, 2. get lost? [GT 2004, 219]. Of biconsonantal origin, cf. Sem.: Ar. √lmy V “cacher, recouvrir? [BK II 1029] ||| WCh.: Hausa lúm(è) (no trace of *-ʔ) “to vanish (into the water, dense bush etc.)? [Abr. 1962, 623]. For WCh.-Hbr. see Stl. 2005, 85, #269.

543. Eg. nmʕ “bekleiden: 1. ein Bett mit Leinen beziehen, 2. Mauern mit feinem Stein bekleiden? (NE, Wb II 266, 11-13) = “1. to cover, 2. set out, laydown walls? (DLE II 19) = “1. to cover a bed with sheets, 2. line with stone, build? (Badawy 1956-7, 71) ||| WCh.: Guruntum lín [-ŋ < *-mʕ] “to close, shut, cover (a pot)? [Haruna 1992 MS, 21] ||| ECh.: Tumak lùŋ “clôturer? [Cpr. 1975, 81]. From a biconsonantal root, cf. Agaw: Bilin lām “eindecken, eindecken (das Haus mit Gras)? [Rn. 1887, 256], Qwara lām “eindecken, -flechten das Haus mit Gras, einschließen? [Rn. 1885, 94], Kemant lim “couvrir, fermer? [CR

2. The derivation from Sem. *√ʕlm “to know? usually favoured in the lit. (cf. KB l.c.) cannot be accepted for the semantics.

1912, 224] | Awiya lem “chiudere, coprire? [CR 1905, 167] = læm-əŋ “to shut?, lóm-tí “closed?, læm-čí “door, lid? [Hetzron 1969, 101; 1978, 137] ||| ECh.: WDangla lámè “fermer les yeux à-demi (soit somnolence, soit modestie pour les filles)? [Fédry 1971, 352].

544. Eg. nmś “rising one? (GR: Hibis, Cruz-Urbe 1988, 269) ||| Sem.: Ar. lamaśa I “7. enlever, chipper? [BK II 1027] || Tigre lāśama ~ lāmśa “to have profit? [Lsl. 1982, 47] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *laŋ [-ŋ regular < *-mś] “1. to mount? [GT 2004, 220-1]. From AA *√lmś “to rise? [GT].

545. Eg. nmśmś “jauchzen? (GR, Wb II 267, 3) ||| Sem.: Ar. lamaśa “briller de loin légèrement et d’un mouvement oscillatoire (se dit des éclairs, des étoiles, de l’eau quand on la regarde sous le jour)?, ʔalmaśiyy-at- “esprit vif et pénétrant? [BK II 1027-8] || Jibbali √lmś: ylūś “it shines? [SS 1997, 386] || Geez lamś/ʔa “to be resplendent, scintillate, shine?, Tigre lāmśa “to blossom?, Tigrinya lāmśe ~ lāmməśe “to prosper, flourish, be flowering, green, tender?, Amharic lāmma “to prosper, be fertile (land), shine? etc. (ES: Lsl. 1956, 211; 1979 III 379; 1982, 48; 1987, 315) ||| CCh.: Mada lələŋ ~ èlələŋá [-ŋ < “vert, verdoyant? [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 161]. The semantic shift “to shine? > “to rejoice? is attested in Eg.

546. Eg. nmw ~ nmjw ~ nmwj ~ nmj “Zwerg, der Verwachsene? (MK-, Wb II 267, 4) = “a person who is undersized because of his abnormally short legs (not a person of unusually small proportions)? (Gunn 1920-1, 102, fn. 2) = “the achondroplastic dwarf (the commonest type in Egypt), characterized by a big size of the head, a normal size of the trunk and by short extremities? (El-Aguizy 1987, 53 and fn. 2): explained already by J. Osing (NBÄ 831, n. 1115) from a hypothetic *nm “mindern, kürzen? (although his further comparanda are not to be accepted) ||| Sem.: Yemeni Ar. namīm “fine, minute, small?, ʔanammm “smaller?, cf. nāmī, fem. nāmiyāh “baby? [Piamenta 1990-1, 498] ||| ECu. *ʔin(a)m- “1. son, boy, 2. daughter, girl? [Sasse 1979, 24].

547. Eg. *nm.w (?) > Cpt. (B) nemwou “having broken eggs? (CD 226) = “Windei (?)? (KHW 123) ||| ECh. *nVm- “to break (pot)? [Stl. 2005, 141, #542]: WDangla nómé “laisser se fendre (poterie)? [Fédry 1971], Birgit nèemí (néemà ~ nīmà, néemò ~ ġàr nīmà) “casser (bâton)? [Jng. 2004, 357].

548. Eg. nms “in Binden verhüllen (insbesonders die Götterbilder)? (Ritualtexte, Wb II 269, 5) > nms “Leinenbinde für Götterbilder, Kopftuch des Königs? (MK, Wb II 269, 1-4) = “Verhüllung? (GHWb 415) > Dem. nms “to cover?, nms.w “kind of mummy cloths? (Vos 1993, 361, #305): although usually³ combined with Sem. *√lbs “to put on clothes? [Hodge], there is no need of assuming a chain of as/dissimilations (*lbs → *nbs → nms), cf. Sem.: Ar. namasa I “1. cacher?, V “être couvert, caché par qqch., se dérober aux regards? [BK II 1347]. Var. root with *l- in SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr √lms: læmuməs “envelopper, submerger, recouvrir, mouler? [PAM 2003, 487] ||| WCh.: Hausa lúmšè “overcast (sky), heavy with sleep (eyes), close (eyes) in drowsiness?, cf. also láámùšéé “2. to fold (garment)? [Abr. 1962, 623, 613] ||| CCh.: Mada élməs “nuit noire, ténèbres? [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 160] (Ch.: Stl. 2005, 85-86, #272).

549. Eg. nms.w (coll.) “Krankheitserscheinung an der Vulva? (Med., Wb II 270, 2) = “Erguß (?)? (GHWb 415) = “Ergüße? (HAM 840) ||| Sem.: Akk. lamaštu (NAss. also lamassu) “Dämonin des

3. See Reinisch 1890, 244; Ember 1926, 311, #1; GÄSW 101, #421; Vergote 1945, 135, §8.b.2; Cohen 1947, 183, #438; Hodge 1976, 22, #118; Faber 1984, 201, §10; Vycichl 1990, 110, §5.3; Vernus 2000, 189.

Kindbettfiebers und der Säuglingskrankheiten? [AHW 533] = “1. a feminine demon, 2. a disease? [CAD 1 66-67] ||| NAgaw: Bilin lēmsō “eine bestimmte ansteckende Krankheit bei den Ziegen? [Rn. 1887, 257]: its Eg. verbal root (*√lms) is only attested in late times, cf. LEg. inf. *lām’s “1. faulig, 2. Art Wein? (NBÄ 128) > Dem. lms “sour wine (?)? (Parker 1940, 111) > Cpt. (SL) lwmc, (S) lamec “verderben, faulen, stinken, sauer werden, verschmutzen?, also “Faulnis? (KHW 79) = “1. to be foul, foulness, putrescence, 2. a kind of sour wine? (CED 73) ||| Sem.: (?) Ar. namisa I “être gâté, rance (beurre)? [BK II 1347] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr luməs “être remouillé et abimé (paille sèche qui est mouillée de nouveau et devenue inutilisable comme fourrage)? [PAM 2003, 488].

550. Eg. *nmd.t (or *nbd.t?)⁴ > Dem. nmṭ.(t) “Kraft, Stärke? (DG 220) > Cpt. (S) nomte, (B) nom] etc. “strength, power? (CD 226b) = “Stärke, Kraft? (KHW 77) ||| Sem.: Ar. nabaṭa IV “2. produire sur qqn. une impression, exercer une influence sur qqn., influencer sur qqn.? [BK II 1185] ||| NBrb.: Tamazight nbeḍ “commander, avoir l'autorité (sur), décider, avoir le pouvoir de, avoir le commandement sur?, ta-nbaṭ-ṭ “1. pouvoir, 2. commandement, 3. autorité, 4. décision, résolution? [Taïfi 1991, 459], Zayan & Sgugu nbeḍ “avoir l'autorité, le commandement sur?, ta-nbaṭ “1. commandement, autorité? [Lbg. 1924, 571] | Qabyle nbeḍ “commander, ordonner?, ta-nbaṭ “ordre, sentence, arrêt, décision, commandement, pouvoir? [NZ] || SBrb.: Ahaggar neheḍ [h < *b] “décider? [Fcd. 1951-2, 1301] (Brb.: NZ 1998, 151, #158).

3. Abbreviations of languages

(A): Akhmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, (B): Bohairic, Bed.: Bed'awye, Brb.: Berber, Ch.: Chadic, CCh.: Central Chadic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, ECh.: East Chadic, ECu.: East Cushitic, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, EWlmd.: East Tawllemmet, GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period, GW: syllabic or group-writing, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, Hgr.: Ahaggar, (L): Lycopolitan (or Subakhmimic), LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, Lit.: literary texts, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Med.: Eg. medical textst, MK: Middle Kingdom, N: North, NBrb.: North Berber, NK: New Kingdom, NOm.: North Omotic, OEg.: Old Egyptian, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, PCh.: Proto-Chadic, PCu.: Proto-Cushitic, PT: pyramid texts, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, Samar.: Samaritan, SBrb.: South Berber, Sem.: Semitic, W: West(ern), WBrb.: West Berber, WCh.: West Chadic, WSem.: West Semitic.

4. Abbreviated author names

Abr.: Abraham, BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky, Bnd.: Bender, Brt.: Barreteau, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Csp.: Cospes, Fcd.: Foucauld, GT: Takács, Ibr.: Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, Krf.: Kraft, Lbg.: Loubignac, Lsl.: Leslau, NZ: Naït-Zerrad, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, Rn.: Reinisch, Skn.: Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Stl.: Stolbova, Tf.: Taïfi, Vcl.: Vycichl.

4. The Eg. etymon of the Dem.-Cpt. isogloss has been usually identified with Eg. nmt.t “step? (cf., e.g., CED 108; NBÄ 67; KHW 123; DELC 143; Peust 1999, 165) – “despite the difference in meaning? (as J. Černý in CED 108 addressed the fundamental semantical problem that no one has managed to solve) and also in spite of Dem. -ṭ- pointing rather to Eg. *-d- (and not -t-).

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