

AEGYPTIO-AFROASIATICA VIII (First Version)

The present paper represents the eighth part of a series of contributions to comparative Afroasiatic lexicology primarily from the viewpoint of Egyptian. This series is the first fruit of the work on a newly begun greater project for the Comparative-Etymological Vocabulary of Egyptian pursued by the author at the Egyptological Department of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary.

The proposed new Egypto-Afroasiatic lexical correspondences continued from our previous communications "Aegyptio-Afroasiaticae I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII" (published and forthcoming in "Discussions in Egyptology", Oxford) are as follows.

53. Eg. k3-mnḥ "Schildkröte" (Gr., Wb V 96, 9) is a compound of probably *k3 "tortoise" + *mnḥ "lizard".

As for the first component cf. AA *kur- "tortoise" > *Berb.* Ghat, Nehlil kunkur "Schildkröte" (dissim. < *kurkur?) ~ *WCh.* *kurV "tortoise" (Stolbova 1987, 210; 1986, 90; 1977, 155: PAngas *k₁u₁r; Skinner 1977, 45; Jungraithmayr 1970, 389; Mukarovsky 1987, 64) ~ *CCh.* *kwara "lizard" (Mukarovsky 1987, 244) ~ (?) *ECh.* Toram kùngùrù "turtle" (Blench 1994, 8: *Wch.* + *CCh.* + *ECh.*). Cf. still Wölfel 1955, 142: *Berb.* + *WCh.* Hausa.

Extra-AA parallels in Niger-Kordofanian: Niger-Congo: (?) Boko (Soninke) kuṅ "tortoise", Susu kure "id.", Minianka korokoroṅo "id.", Twi akyekyere "id." ~ Kordofanian: Masakin kərə "id.", (?) koṅ "id." (Greenberg 1963, 159).

The element mnḥ can be identified as a hopeful reflex of AA *mul^c - or *mulḥ- "lizard", cf. *ECu.* Rendille mulúḥ "id.", Somali mula^c "id." (Heine 1978, 69: *PSam* *mul^c "id."), Afar mullu^cit "id." ~ *WCh.* Ron: Bokkos mulúsus "grey lizard" ~ *CCh.* Koboči malwā^c "chameleon", Nzangi mālawā "id.", Holma malwe "id." (Strümpell 1922-1923, 135) ~ *Berb.* Qabyle, Beni Menaçer mulab "id." (~ *ECu.* Sidamo bob - "to smell, stink" with a suffix of certain animal names, cf. Diakonoff 1970, 461, note 23; 1975, 140; 1967, 210; 1965, 28, note 40 and 52, note 2; 1988, 57; 1986, 47; Fronzaroli 1969, 307, note 113; Illič-Svityč 1971, 192-193, etc.).

Cf. Blažek 1992c, 137: AA *mul- (*ECu.*, *WCh.*, *Berb.*); 1992b, 158: AA *mul^(c) - > *ECu.* + *Berb.*; Orel 1993, 39 (*WCh.*, *ECu.*); HSED § 1792 (id.).

54. Eg. bḥ "in üblen Geruch gebracht (bildl. vom Namen)" (MK; Wb I 450, 6; FD 81: "to be detested") ~ *ECu.* Sidamo bob- "to smell, stink" ~ (?) *SCu.* *baa^c- "to defe-

cate" > Iraqw ba^a "mud", Dahalo ɓaa^c - "to defecate" (Ehret 1980, 135), Mbugu bo "to rot, go bad" (Fleming 1969, 26: ECu., SCu., NOm.) ~ NOm. Kafa ibo "mud, dung" ~ CCh. Buduma bōbi "Ton, Lehm" (Lukas 1939, 92; if < *"mud"). Cf. Orel 1994, 2: PRift *ba^c- "mud" + CCh. *ba- (!) "dirt".

55. Eg. nkt "etwas von, ein wenig..." (MK, Wb II 347, 10; FD 141: "some, a little, something") ~ NCu. Beɗawye nikwis "to be short (of), lacking" ~ SCu. Alagwa nukut- "to fall short" (Ehret 1987, 102.§: PCu. *ni/uk^w- "to fall short" > NCu., SCu.). Areal parallel in Chari-Nile: Shilluk nɔk "little" (Greenberg 1963, 93).

56. Eg. g3p (with knife-determinative) "Handlung an einem kranken Rind: to lance (?) an infection" (Med., Wb V 155, 2; FD 288) ~ PCu. *g^warp-/*gurp- "to cut off" > CCu. Bilin g^wārab "to rip off, cut off, tear off" ~ (?) ECu. Yaaku kruhnu "to stump" (Ehret maintains that Yaaku h can < PECu. *b, though Sasse 1979, 14: PECu. *b > Yaaku p, w, Ø) ~ SCu. Burunge gurupu "to stump" (Ehret 1987, 70.§: CCu., ECu., SCu.).

57. Eg. mtj "Vorsteher einer Priestergilde" (OK, Wb II 168, 10-14; FD 121). For a plausible semantic motivation *mt "head" > mtj "chief" cf. Eg. tp "head" → (OK) "head(man), chief" (FD 296) ~ ECu. Burji tiip-ōo "skull" (Sasse 1982, 177; Blažek 1994b, 5: Eg. + ECu.) ~ (?) WCh. *tap- "to begin" (Orel-Stolbova 1992, 192: Eg. + WCh.). Eg. mtj thus seems a nisba from AA *mat- "head" attested in ECu. *mat-ḥ- "head" (Sasse 1973, 275; 1979, 10; Heine 1978, 69: PSam *mataḥ) ~ NCu. Beɗawye mat "(top of) head" ~ Om. *mat- "head" (Blažek: probably borrowed < ECu.) ~ CCh. Paduko mudāra "id.", Musgu mada "id.", Vulum māt "id.", etc. ~ Sem. Akk. mutt- "front, forehead". Data from Dolgopol'skij 1973, 182; Mukarovskij 1989, 4; Zaborski 1989, 582-583; Blažek 1989, 16, 60.§.

58. Eg. *mt "sharp, pointed object" reconstructible on the basis of a few extended derivatives (+ C₃) as: mt3j.t, var. mt3.w (*mt-r) "Art Spiess" (BD, Wb II 170, 1-2), mt3 "mit dem mt3j.t-Spiess erstechen" (LP, Wb II 170, 3), mtpn.t "Dolchscheide" (CT, Wb II 170, 6), mtf.t "Art Dolch" (CT, Wb II 170, 7), (?) mtmj. t (if not < dn) "Art Beil → (LP) Messer" (CT, Wb II 171, 6-7).

Possible cognates in Cu. lgs: ECu. Elmolo midi "needle", Dullay mutu^{co}, mut^{co} "id.", Gedeo muta "id." (Blažek 1994, 10, 49.§), Somali mud- "to prick, stab", muda^c "fork" (orig. "bodkin"; Sasse 1979, 37: < ECu. *mud^c-) ~ SCu. *mut- "to pierce" (Ehret 1980, 158).

59. Eg. *df3 "kind of bird: fatted duck or widgeon (?)" (Gardiner 1927, 463: G42; Wb V 569-571) < AA *çVpVr- "a bird", cf. Sem. *šippar- "bird" (Diakonoff 1970, 476, n. 108), also Ar. šifrid- "nightingale"; Sem. *çVšpur- "bird" (Rabin 1975, 87) is extended by an ^c-prefix ~ WCh. *çap(ur)- "guinea-fowl": Warji çapur, Boghom šap, Kir šapin, Mburku çapur, Jimbin žābur, Gisiga cāvār "id." ~ CCh. *cipar-/*sapar- "guinea-fowl". Cf. Orel-Stolbova 1988, 78: Sem. + PCh. *çyap-ar- > WCh., CCh.; SISAJA III,

22, 37. §: Sem. + WCh.; Skinner 1977, 25: WCh; Orel 1993, 41: Sem. + WCh. + CCh. + ECh.

Abbreviations:

AA: Afroasiatic; BD: Book of Dead; Berb.: Berbero-Guanče; C: Central; Ch.: Chadic; CT: Coffin Texts; Cu.: Cushitic; E: East; Eg.: Egyptian; Gr.: Greco-Roman Period; LP: Late Period; Med.: Medical Texts; MK: Middle Kingdom; N: North; OK: Old Kingdom; Om.: Omotic; P: Proto-; S: South; Sem.: Semitic; W: West.

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Povzetek

AEGYPTIO-AFROASIATICA VIII

Sestavek je prispevek k primerjalnemu afroazijskemu (hamito-semitskemu) slovaroslovju. Predlaga nove etimologije za sedem staroegipčanskih besed, ki doslej niso imele prepoznavnih afroazijskih sorodnikov. To so: egipčansko *k3-mnh* 'želva', *b'h* 'zaničevan (pravzaprav 'smrdeč'), *nkt* 'neki, malo, nekaj', *g3p* 'sprožiti okužbo', *mtj* 'nadzornik, predelavec', **mt-* 'oster, zašiljen predmet', **df3-* 'pitana rasa'. Sestavek sodi v niz besedil o novih egipčansko-afroazijskih slovarskih ustreznostih, ki so bile ugotovljene med izdelovanjem načrtovanega Etimološkega slovarja egipčanskega jezika (prvi del z besedami na b, p, f, m izide v letu 1997).