

GÁBOR TAKÁCS

Otto Rössler's New System of Egypto-Semitic Consonant Correspondences (Part II)*

Abstract

Semitist Otto Rössler – beside Igor' M. D'jakonov (1915–1999) and Werner Vyčichl (1909–1999) – was one of the most outstanding minds of Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) comparative linguistics in the 20th century. His activity has produced outstanding and the genuine results in the fields of historical consonantism and verbal morphology. This article is to evaluate in detail only one segment of his work, namely his theory on the historical consonantism of Egyptian and Egypto-Semitic comparative phonology, which is still a matter of great controversies and heavy debate.

XVI. The examples for Rössler's Eg. z (Edel) = s (Rsl.) vs. Sem. *s ~ *š (i.e., AA *c ~ *s, resp.)

Eg. j.zj (imper.) “go!” (OK, Wb I 126, 8): combined by Schneider (1997, 195, #12) with Brb. *as “(an)kommen” [Snd.] and WCh.: Hausa ìsá “to reach” [Abr. 1962, 405-6]. False. Eg. j.zj consists of prothetic j- (of the imper.) + *zj “to go” (Wb III 424, 13; Grapow 1914, 28), which can be identified with NBrb. *z-w “to march, go”

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[GT] (NBrb.: Bst. 1887, 419; Mlt. 1991, 262) || PCh. *ž- “to go” [GT]⁹⁸. The Eg.-PCh. etymology was suggested already by C.T. Hodge (1968, 25, #17).

Eg. mz ~ mz3 “1. herbeibringen, -tragen, herbeiführen, 2. die Hand hinstrecken (jmdm mit e. Gabe)” (OK, Wb II 135, also 136, 3) = “1. (Lit. MK, XVIII.) to bring, present to (n), 2. (XVIII.) bring away booty, 3. (MK) extend hand etc.” (FD 116) = “herbeibringen, -tragen, herbeischaffen, entgegenstrecken und rasseln, hinstrecken ...” (GHWb 360): equated by Schneider (1993, 168; 1997, 198, #37) with Sem. *msr [GT]: Mand. msr “to deliver, yield, give up, surrender, give order etc.” [DM 276] = “übergeben, überliefern” [Snd.] || OSA: Sab. ms₃r “to remove (inscription, monument)” [SD 88]⁹⁹. Convincing and possible, just like the occasional correspondence of Eg. z vs. Sem. *s (samek). I know of only one competing alternative, cf. Sem. *mzr “to stretch out” [GT]¹⁰⁰.

Eg. hz3 (eye det.) “grimmig, wild (i.a. vom Auge)” (PT, Wb III 161), cf. NK hz3-dfd (Name eines Gottes im Totenreich, Wb I.c.) = “fierce” (DCT 356) = hz3-ħr “fierce of face”, hz3-šn^c “strong, powerful (?)” (PL 675-6): identified by Schneider (1993, 168; 1997, 203, #71) with Ar. ʿasura ~ ʿasira “schwer, schwierig, misslich sein”. Unacceptable. Besides, the comparison of Eg. hz3 with its correct cognate, Ar. ħzr III “wild blicken”, ħāzīr- “wild blickend, grimmig (Gesicht)” [Brk.]¹⁰¹ has been maintained by a number of authors¹⁰². Note that traditional Ar. lexicography (Lane 560, Blachère 2572)

⁹⁸ Attested in WCh.: Hausa žéé “to go” vs. zóó “to come” [Abr.] | Angas-Sura *ži > *ža “to come” [GT 2004, 436] = *ži [Stl.] = *ži “to come” [Dlg.]: Angas žee “to come” [Ormsby 1914, 208] = ži ~ žii (so, ž-) “to come” [Flk. 1915, 201] = ži ~ žè (K), redupl. žə-žə “to come” [Jng. 1962 MS] = žl, pl. žaa “to come” [Brq. 1971, 13] = ži “to come” [Hfm.] = žə “to come” [ALC 1978, 22, 31] = ži “to come” [Krf.] = ži “to come” [Gcl. 1994, 61, 71], Sura ži “kommen” [Jng. 1963, 67] = ži “to come” [Hfm.] = či “to come” [Krf.], Mpn. ži “to come” [Frj. 1991, 23], Kfy. ži “to come” [Ntg. 1967, 16] = ži “to come” [Hfm.], Msr. nži-wul “to arrive, come” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 161], Chip ži “kommen” [Jng. 1965, 167] (AS: Hfm. 1975, 22, #161; Stl. 1972, 182; 1977, 154, #78; JI 1994 II, 82) | Bole-Tangale *ži “to go” [Schuh 1984, 216] | Diri žàwà “to go” [Skn.] | Ngizim ži (imper.) “go!”, žú (pf.) “went” [Schuh 1981, 84-86], Bade-Gashua žú “to go” [Frj.], Duwai žùwó “to go” [Frj.] (Bade-Ngizim: Frj. 1982, 32) || CCh.: Dghwede žwá “to go” [Frick] | Daba žaha ~ ža “to come” [Pascal] || ECh.: Lele èžè “to come” [Garrigues] | Mubi nžaa ~ nžau “to go” [Lks.] | Jegu žawo “to go” [Jng. 1961, 113] (Ch.: Nwm. 1977, 27; JI 1994 II, 162-163). See also Mlt. 1991, 262, #34.11 (NBrb.-WCh.).

⁹⁹ Further Sem. cognates appear in NWSem. *msr “to remove, deliver, hand over” [Hnrg. 2000, 2065] > Hbr. msr nifal “to be selected, picked out” [KB 608] = “to deliver up, offer” [Guillaume with false Ar. cognate], MHbr. msr qal “1. einen Ggst. übergeben, aushändigen, 2. übertr.: Worte überliefern, etwas mündlich mitteilen, 3. ausliefern, preisgeben, freigeben” [Levy 1924 III 176] = “1. to seize, 2. hand over, deliver, transmit” [Jastrow 1950, 810] | Syr. msr “überliefern” [Voigt], Samar. Aram. msr qal “1. to hand over, 2. appoint, 3. recall” [Tal 2000, 480], JPArām. msr “to hand over, deliver, transmit” [Sokloff 1990, 321] || OSA (Madhabi) ms₃r “enlever une inscription, un monument” [Arbach 1993, 93] = “to clear away” [Conti > KB] = (Minaic) ms₃r “etw. entfernen, wegnehmen” [Sima 2001, 253, #4] (Sem.: Voigt 1998, 174; KB 608).

¹⁰⁰ Hbr. mzt “to spread (a net)” [KB 566], MHbr. māzōr “Ausgebreitetes (daher: Teppich, Bettunterlage)” [Levy 1924 III 67] | JArām. mzt “to stretch o’self out” [KB], Syr. mžīrā “extended” [KB] || Ar. mzt “ausdehnen, ausbreiten” [Levy] = “to stretch out” [KB].

¹⁰¹ Recorded as ħazara “avoir un air sévère, austère”, ħāzīr- “sévère, austère (air, visage)”, muħazwir- “irrité” [BK 419] = ħazara “(a man’s face) to be(come) frowning, contracted, stern, austere or morose”, ħāzīr- “frowning, contracted, stern, austere or morose”, maħzūr- (in some vars. muħazwar-) “angered and having a frowning, contracted, stern, austere or morose” [Lane 560] = ħāzīr- “2. bourru, revêche, renfrogné” [Blachère 2572].

¹⁰² Lit. for Eg.-Sem.: Brk. 1932, 110, #46; Clc. 1936, #71; Vrg. 1945, 140, #15.a.2.

derives it from Ar. ḥazara I “2. to become sour, acid” [Lane 560], which, however, does not necessarily eliminate its equation with Eg. ḥz3. First, the derivation from “sour” is not as certain. Already C. Brockelmann has referred in this Ar.-Eg. equation to Ar. ḥazwar- ~ ḥazawwar- “der kräftige, junge Mann” [Brk.] = “a strong boy (one that has attained to youthful vigour or the prime of manhood)” [Lane 560]. Note also that the Ar. lexicon of BK I 419 already carefully abandoned explaining “angry (face)” from “sour”. Secondly, even if we stay with explaining “angry (look)” from “sour”, the Sem. root is possibly still present in Eg. ḥz3¹⁰³.

Eg. ḥzj “weak, feeble, humble, mean” (MK, FD 204; Wb III 398-9): compared by Schneider (1997, 204, #82) with Ar. ḥss “to be small, base, vile”, ḥasīs- “base, vile, wretched”. Hardly possible since the OK form was not *ḥsj but ḥzj “schwach sein, versagen mit (Kräften)” (ÄWb I 1023), which corresponds well with Ar. ḥaziya “to be abased, contemptible”, cf. ḥazy-at- “disgrace, misfortune” [Ember] = ḥaziya “être humilié, tomber dans le malheur, dans l’abaissement, dans l’avilissement” [Vcl.]¹⁰⁴. Hommel’s (1907, 383) comparison of Eg. ḥzj with Ar. ḡuss- “elend, schwach, verächtlich” is less probable.

Eg. z3 “to betake oneself to (r)” (PT, FD 207) = “sich begeben nach (r)” (Wb III 413, 1-2) has nothing to do with Hbr. swr “weichen, einkehren” as suggested by Rössler (1971, 288). Eg. z3 [< *zl] is probably cognate with Sem. *ʔzl “to go (away)” [GT]¹⁰⁵. Note that Vergote (1945, 129, 140, #15.a.5) and Hodge (1978 MS, 2, #58) combined Eg. z3 with Hbr. zwr “sich entfernen”, Ar. zwr “besuchen” (Sem.: GB 196).

Eg. z3b “jackal” (OK, Wb III 420, 5-13): equated by Schneider (1993, 169; 1997, 205, #85) with Ar. sabr- “lion”! Surprising and unacceptable. In order to prove the correspondence of Eg. z = Sem. *s, Schneider gave up (without any commentary) even the doubtless etymology of Eg. z3b [*zʔb], namely Sem. *ḏiʔb- “jackal, wolf”, which is generally accepted¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰³ Enough to refer to the curious parallelism of Ar. ḥazara “to become sour or acid (milk and beverage of the kind called nabīḏ-), ḥazrāʔu “sour (milk such as is termed)”, ḥāzīr- “sour or acid or, applied to milk, it means more than ḥamīḏ- or ḥamīz-” [Lane 560] = ḥazara “2. s’agrir (se dit du lait, du vin)”, ḥāzīr- “2. aigri, qui a contracté un goût aigre (vin, lait)” [BK 419] = ḥazara “to become sour, bitter (gen. milk or wine)”, ḥāzīr- adj./noun “1. sour, tart, bitter (gen. milk or wine), 2. (sour-smelling) barley flour” [Blachère 2572] with Eg. ḥz3 [< *ḥzr/l] “1. Schleim (menschlich und tierisch), 2. Teig” (OK, Wb V 160) = “mucilage” (Lefebvre & Jonckheere) = “viscous fluid” (Ebbe11) = “Pflanzenschleim, hergestellt durch Quellen von Körnerfrüchten oder Brotstückchen in Wasser”, ḥz3 n ʿw3jt ist ein Gärungsprodukt davon (WÄDN 368) = “(1) milk, (2) mucus, (3) dough” (MK, FD 177) = “milk” (CT, DCT 355-6).

¹⁰⁴ Eg.-Ar.: Ember 1913, 111, #10; Alb. 1918, 95; Vrg. 1945, 140, #14.a.4; Vcl. 1990, 53-54.

¹⁰⁵ Hbr. ʔzl qal “to go away, disappear” [KB 27] | Syr. ʔzl “to walk, go (down)” [Zbr.], Mand. ʔzl “to go, move on, set, leave, depart” [DM 12] || Ar. ʔazala “4. lâcher un cheval et le laisser aller, en raccourcissant la corde, afin qu’elle ne l’embarrasse pas” [BK I 29], cf. also Ar. ʔizāliyy- “die längst vergangene Zeit” [GB] = ʔazaliyy- “long since past” [KB] (Sem.: GB 20; Zbr. 1971, #276; Rabin 1975, 89, #93; cf. Gray 1933, 125, #5).

¹⁰⁶ Eg.-Sem. suggested in Hommel 1883, 440, #30; Erman 1892, 117; Ember 1911, 92; 1926, 305, fn. 1; 1930, #3.a.1, #7.a.13, #17.a.13; Clc. 1936, #290; Lexa 1938, 223; Chn. 1947, #348; Vrg. 1945, 128; Vcl. 1958, 371, 383; 1959, 28; 1985, 172, #2; Ward 1961, 37, fn. 83; Hodge 1977, 933; 1983, 36; Dj. 1965, 55, fn. 3; 1981, 61; Dlg. 1983, 139; Dj. etc. 1986, 42; OS 1988, 79; 1992, 168; Blv. 1989, 13; Mlt.-Stl. 1990, 58; Orel 1993, 43; HSED #2660.

Eg. z3b “to flow” (PT, Wb III 420, 3-4): compared by Schneider (1993, 169; 1997, 205, #86) with Ar. sariba “to flow (out), rush out”. But the traditional sound laws (Eg. z = Sem. *z and *ḏ) allow a semantically equally possible etymology: Eg. z3b [< *zrb] = Sem. *zrb: Akk. zarbābu “Giesskanne” [Holma] = “ein Bierkrug” [AHW 1515] || MHbr. (Talmud) zarbūbīt “Kanal, Schnauze eines Trinkgefäßes” [Holma] || Ar. zariba “couler (se dit de l’eau)”, zarb- ~ zirb- “canal, égout, ruiseau” [BK I 985] (Sem.: Holma 1921, 17). For Eg.-Sem.: Vcl. 1990, 71; Orel 1995, 148, #5; HSED #2640. Note that the rather popular equation of Eg. z3b with Sem. *ḏwb “to flow” [GT]¹⁰⁷ || WCh. *ḏub- ~ *zub- “to pour” [GT] can hardly be accepted because Eg. -3- vs. Sem. *-w- do not correspond¹⁰⁸.

Eg. zb3 “die Flöte blasen” (OK, Wb III 433, 3-6): identified Rössler (1964, 213; 1971, 288), Behrens (1987, 244, #12), and Schneider (1993, 169) with Agaw: Bilin sabārā “Flöte” [Rn. 1887, 294] || NOm.: Mocha šūmbiro “flute of shepherd” [Lsl. 1959, 51]. According to the conventional consonant correspondences, these Cu.-Om. data correspond to MEg. sb.t [< OEg. *sb3.t = *sbr.t?] “Schilfrohr” (Med., Wb IV 82). Besides, Eg. zb3 has been frequently¹⁰⁹ equated also with Sem. *zmr: Hbr. zmr “musizieren”, Ar. zamr- “Flöte” (Sem.: Vrg. l.c.).

Eg. zbḵ (intr.) “to go, travel”, (tr.) “to send, conduct” (PT, FD 219) = “1. gehen (nach), vergehen, dahinschwinden, 2. führen, geleiten, vertreiben, herbeibringen usw.” (Wb III 429-431): compared by Schneider (1997, 205, #87) with Hbr. sbb “umhergehen, sich wohin wenden, durchstreifen”. Semantically weaker than the etymology adhering to the traditional sound correspondences (Eg. z = Sem. *z ~ *ḏ, cf. Ar. zbw “to drive” [Tritton 1933-35, 596; Zbr. 1991, 1677] || CCh.: Bura zuba-ta “schicken, senden”, Chibak zəbā-číní “senden” (CCh.: Hfm. 1955, 134). Other proposals are much weaker.¹¹⁰

Eg. zm3 “vereinigen” (PT, Wb III 446-7): compared by Rössler (1964, 213; 1971, 288) and Schneider (1993, 169) with Agaw: Bilin sammār “sich anschliessen an jemanden, mit ihm zusammenstehen, -halten” < sämar “verwahrt, geschlossen sein” [Rn. 1887, 305]. But Eg. zm3 [*zml?] finds a semantically equally plausible parallel in Ar. zamala “3. s’adjoindre qqn. pour faire l’ouvrage, 4. suivre qqn.” [BK I 1013] = zamala “sich anschliessen an jemanden, vereinigen etc.”, zamīl- “Kamerade” [Brk.]¹¹¹.

Eg. zhḵ (partial redupl. of *zh) “to run” (PT, FD 243; Wb III 472-3), zhḵḵ “to run” (MK, FD 253; Wb III 473, 12): equated by Schneider (1993, 168; 1997, 205, #88) with Sem. *sʿy “anstürmen” [GT]: Hbr. sʿy “reissend sein (v. Sturme)” | Syr. sʿy “anfallen, angreifen” || Ar. sʿy “eilen” (Sem.: GB 548). Semantically weak. The traditional system

¹⁰⁷ Sem. data: Gordon 1955, 286, #1065, #1427; WUS #720; Frz. 1971, 634, #7.49; Zbr. 1971, #41.

¹⁰⁸ Lit. for this Eg.-Sem./WCh. etymology: Ember 1913, 112, #15; 1930, #7.a.12; Vcl. 1934, 79; Vrg. 1945, 141, #15.b; Ward 1961, 33, fn. 26; OS 1990, 80, #42; 1992, 197; HSED #2669; Stl. 1995, 152-153.

¹⁰⁹ See Ember 1911, 111, #9; 1930, #7.b.8, #17.a.14; Farina 1924, 324; Vrg. 1945, 134, #5.b.1; Vcl. 1990, 43.

¹¹⁰ Hodge (1978 MS, 2, #58; 1986, 337, #58): Eg. zbḵ = Ar. ḏhb “1. to go (away); 2. to to carry/take away (bi-)”, but the medial -h- has no match in Eg.

¹¹¹ Eg.-Ar. suggested by Brockelmann 1932, 113, #56; Calice 1936, #779; Vycichl 1958, 379, 401; 1990, 71.

offers a semantically much better etymology, cf. SBrb. *zik “vite” [GT]¹¹². Eg. ḥ = SBrb. *k < AA *q are regular.

Eg. zhj “schlagen” (PT, Wb III 466-7) = “to hit, smite, beat” (FD 239): compared by Schneider (1997, 205, #84) equally with Sem. *sʿy “anstürmen” [GT]: Akk. seʾû “nieder-, unterdrücken” [AHW 1038] || Syr. səʿā “anfallen, angreifen” [GB 548]. False. In fact, Eg. zhj derives from AA *z-Q “to push, thrust” [GT]¹¹³, whose Ar. reflex has been affiliated with Eg. already by W.F. Albright (1927, #71) and J. Vergote (1945, 140, #15.a.14).

Eg. zhm “Verbum heftiger Bewegung: schroff vorgehen, losfahren, losgehen” (MK, Wb IV 269, 13; GHWb 753) = “to be hasty, impetuous” (FD 244) has nothing in common with Syr. shm “constrinxit, compressit” [Brk.] as suggested by Rössler (1971, 289). In fact, Eg. zhm = Ar. zhm “repousser qqn. par un coup violent” [BK I 982] = “heftig sein” [Clc./Vrg.] as long ago suggested by Calice (1936, #297) and Vergote (1945, 149, #14.a.5). All other suggestions¹¹⁴ are to be abandoned.

Eg. šzp “to take, accept, receive, catch” (PT, FD 271; Wb IV 530-533): compared by Schneider (1997, 207, #101) via metathesis (i.e., Eg. šzp < *zšp < *shp) with Sem. *shp: NHbr. shp “fortschwemmen”, Ar. shf “carry away”. But the traditional and generally accepted¹¹⁵ comparison of Eg. šzp with Ar. šadafa “atteindre, obtenir” [BK I 1208] = “to obtain, get” [Ember] is even semantically by far more convincing.

Eg. tz [< *k(j)z] “1. to tie a knot (of rope), 2. (re)join, knit together, put together, gather, join with, associate” (PT, FD 307; DCT 768-770) = “1. knoten, verknüpfen, 2. an-, zusammenfügen, 3. zusammensetzen” (Wb V 396-399): combined by Rössler (1971, 289) with Brb. *k-r-s “to bind”. False. The reading of the underlying Eg. root as t3z (Edel 1955, #29; KHW 435; O sing 1976, 232, 797; GHWb 962), used by Rössler as an argument against the widely supported¹¹⁶ equation with Ar. kwz: kāza “ramasser, réunir sur un seul point”, V “être réuni, rassemblé sur un point” [BK II 943] is not accepted in a number of other standard works (ÜKAPT VI 203; FD l.c.; AL passim; DCT l.c.). The root tz “to tie” was written as t3z once in Urk. I 142, 8, which may point to an occasional *tʿz, perhaps var. of *tjz [< *kjjz ~ *kwz]. Moreover, the Cpt. reflex, (S) xwɔc, (B) ɔwɔc “1. zusammenfügen, 2. zusammengefügt, fest, hart, stark sein” (KHW

¹¹² Attested in Ahaggar hik, Taneslemt & Tawllemt & Tadghaq šik, Ayr & Ghat zik (SBrb.: Prs. 1969, 50, #197).

¹¹³ Attested in Ar. zahḥa “to thrust, throw, drive, push, eject (semen, urine)” [Alb.] = “1. pousser, 2. jeter dans un précipice, 3. sauter, 4. lâcher un liquide (urine, etc.), 5. cohabiter avec une femme” [DRS 718] || SBrb.: EWlm. & Ayr ə-zəg “1. suivre rapidement, 2. poursuivre, 3. chasser, 4. s’accoupler (chèvres, moutons), 5. (Ayr) accomplir l’acte sexuel (homme et femme, terme grossier)” [PAM 368] || WCh.: AS *zʷak ~/< *zuk “to push” [GT 2004, 428]: perhaps Angas žək [ž- < *zʷ-?] (K) “to shake f.i. a pole, tree” [Jng. 1962 MS, 45], Mpn. zək “to move a bit, toss (e.g. about a baby)” [Frj. 1991, 70], Gmy. zwak “to push with the hands” [Srl. 1937, 286] | Karekare nzükʷa “to push” [Krf.] | Warji nzaḳʷ- “to poke” [Skn./Stl.], Miya a zükù-tisəy “to push” [Krf.] | Geji žekkà “to push” [Krf.] | Ngizim žəg-žəžəru “to repeatedly jostle or touch” [Schuh 1981, 82] (WCh.: Krf. 1981, #357; Stl. 1987, 189, #399; 1995, 151). See also Alb. 1927, #71; Vrg. 1945, 140, #15.a.14 (Ar.-Eg.).

¹¹⁴ Thus, Farina 1926, 16, #20: ~ Sem. *zʷm; Calice 1931, 37: ~ Ar. zahāma “drängen”.

¹¹⁵ See Albright 1927, #84; Ember 1930, #8.a.8; Chn. 1947, #285; Vcl. 1958, 377; 1990, 57; Ehret 1995, 527, #1024.

¹¹⁶ See Albright 1927, #92; Ember 1930, #22.a.10; Vrg. 1945, 140, #15.a.16; Blv. 1989, 13.

435) displays perfectly the same semantic development as Ar. *kazza* “se contracter, serrer, rétrécir, être desséché”, *kazz-* ~ *ʔakazz-* “desséché, contracté, dur, roide”, *kazaz-* “dureté, roideur” [BK II 893] = *kazza* “to press together, fasten”, *kazz-* “stiff, hard, rigid, dried up, contracted” [WKAS I 165]. This is how we can understand also the sense of OEg. *tz* [< *kz] “trockne Stelle, Sandbank” (OK, Wb V 401-402; GHWb 963)¹¹⁷. Rössler (1971, 289, 302), combining OEg. *tʒz* with Brb. *k-r-s, falsely render the latter as “knoten” (the correct meaning being only “to tie”, cf. Prasse 1975, 227). This etymology, which was queried already by W. Vyčichl (DELC 332), is disproved also by the long well-known equation of Brb. *k-r-s with Eg. *qʒs* [act. *qrs] “binden” (PT, Wb V 13)¹¹⁸.

XVII. The examples for Rössler’s Eg. *z* (Edel) = *s* (Rsl.) vs. Sem. **t*

Eg. *wzf* “to be slack, sluggish, foul” (MK, FD 68) = “träge sein, säumen, zögern” (Wb I 357, 2-4): for details see the chapter for Eg. *f* vs. Sem. **b*.

Eg. *wzš* “to urinate” (PT, FD 69) = “harnen” (Wb I 357, 16-20): compared by Rössler (1971, 287, 303) with Ar. *waṭaḥ-at-* “Feuchtigkeit” [Rsl.] = “moiteur, humidité, un peu de liquide dans un vase” [BK II 1483]. Semantically weak. Moreover, Eg. *wzš*, whose double sibilant is a reflex of the PAA lateral affricate (as pointed out by O.V. Stolzova 1994) is a clear reflex of AA *w-š “to urinate” [GT]: Bed. *ōša* ~ *ūša* ~ *ūšay* “Urin, Harn”, *ōš* “pissen, harnen” [Rn. 1895, 33] = *ōš* “to urinate, defecate” [Rpr. 1928, 156] || CCh.: Tera *wuṣiṣin* “urine” [Nwm.] || ECh.: Kwang *wičē* “to urinate” [Jng.] | PSomray **wuṣ*- [GT]: Somray *ʔūṣṣə* “to urinate” [Jng.], Ndam *wūṣō* “urine” [Jng.], Tumak *wūṣ* “uriner” [Cpr.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 334-5). This Eg.-Bed.-Ch. isogloss is well-known¹¹⁹. Other suggestions cannot be considered¹²⁰.

Eg. *z3* [*zr] “son” (OK, Wb III 408-409): identified by Schneider (1997, 205, #89) with Akk. *šerru* “little, offspring”, Ug. *ṭrr* “little” (Sem.: Gordon 1955, 339, #2080; AHW 1217; WUS #2692). False. Schneider misquoted Eg. *š3* (sic, with *š-* = Edel’s 1955 voiceless *ʃ*’), which is a grave error, since the OEg. word is clearly written as *z3* (Schneider’s *ʃ*’). We are dealing with two distinct roots: (1) Akk. *šerru* has long been identified with Eg. *šrr* “little, small” (PT, Wb IV 524-526) → *šr* “child” (PT, Wb IV 526, 9), which is widely accepted¹²¹. (2) Eg. *z3* is a clear cognate of Sem. **dr-* “to

¹¹⁷ And also this is how Rössler failed to see the common basic sense of all these comparanda, while the correct attitude would be perhaps a pragmatic and careful judgement of each case individually, avoiding any *a priori* prejudice without the knowledge of the relevant AA material.

¹¹⁸ For Eg.-Brb. see Ember 1926, 302, n. 10; 1930, #3.b.7; Behnk 1928, 140, #53; Zhl. 1934, 115; Vrg. 1945, 129, 142.

¹¹⁹ For Eg.-AA see Rn. 1895, 33 (Eg.-Bed.); Zhl. 1932-1933, 166 (Eg.-Bed.); Stl. 1991, 9 (Eg.-Ch.); HSED #2543 (Eg.-Ch.).

¹²⁰ A.G. Belova (1991, 90, #5; 1993, 54) suggests that Eg. *wzš* developed from **wzḥ* ~ **wzḥ* (interchange of Eg. *ḥ* ~ *ḥ* ~ *š*, cf. Edel 1955, #118-#121; Westendorf 1962, 37, #56.b.2-4) = Ar. *zḥḥ* “to urinate”.

¹²¹ For Eg.-Sem. see Holma 1919, 45; Alb. 1927, #64; Ember 1930, #12.a.40; Chn. 1947, #293; Gordon 1955, 339, #2080; MM 1983, 230.

produce offspring" [GT]¹²². Cf. perhaps also CCh.: PMandara-Lamang *(-)z(a)ra "child" [Wolff 1983, 222] unless it comes from *P-z-r.

Eg. zr "sheep, ram" (PT, FD 235) = "Schafbock, Widder" (Wb III 462, 7-13): identified by Rössler (1971, 287) with Sem. *tʷw: Akk. šuʷu "Schaf" [AHW 1255] || Ug. tã-t "Mutterschaf" [WUS #2821] || Ar. taʷw-at- "brebis maigre ou vieille" [BK I 215]. False. Rössler derived OEg. zr from zj (and not vice versa). Grave mistake, which is all the more evident, since Eg. zr = NOm. *dur- ~ *dor- "ram, sheep" [GT] || WCh. *dVr- (gaši) "wether, ram" [Stl. 1987, 172, #251] || CCh.: Fali-Kiria žūrā "ram" [Krafft 1981 II, 183]. Lit. for Eg.-AA: Blz. 1991, 361; OS 1992, 183; HSED #2634.

Eg. znb.w (pl.) "battlements" (PT, FD 231) = "Mauerzinne" (Wb III 458, 6) may be the source rather than a cognate of Hbr. (Vulgata) ʔešnab "cancelli" as admitted by Rössler (1971, 287) himself too. Thus, it is irrelevant. Besides, the etymology of Eg. znb.w is still obscure¹²³.

Eg. znf "blood" (PT, Wb III 459) has nothing to do with Syr. trb "viscus", Ar. trb "viscus" (sic) as proposed by Rössler (1971, 287), which, besides, derive from Sem. *tarb- "(animal) fat" [SED I 253, #283]¹²⁴ This is one of the most evident example of Rössler's artificial Eg.-Sem. comparisons, which was given up later by Rössler himself (Rsl. 1979, 22; cf. JI 1994 I, 14), when he also acknowledged the widely accepted¹²⁵ equation of Eg. znf with SBrb. *a-zni "blood" [GT] (SBrb.: Prs. 1969, 59, #295) || SOm. *zunp-/ *zumb- "blood (of animal)" [GT] (SOm.: Bnd. 1994, 145; Flm. 1974, 87) || WCh.: Hausa žíní "blood" [Abr. 1962, 430] || CCh.: PBata *žVn-b- "blood" [GT]. A plausible solution for the third -f might be (1) either an additional extension to a biradical AA root *ž-n (just as in SOm.), or less probably (2) an affix attached to the root *zn in Eg. (cf. O sing 1976, 326-9).

XVIII. The examples for Rössler's Eg. š = Sem. *h

Possible in principle according to the old school too, provided we assume a shift of Eg. š < *h < *h.

¹²² Cf. Syr. dar [d < *d] "enfant" [Brk.] || Ar. duriyy-at- "enfants, postérité" [BK I 767] = "progéniture" [DRS] = duriyy-at- (coll.) "offspring" [Hodge], Maghrebi Ar. dərri "enfant" [DRS] || MSA *drr: Jibbali dərri "progeny, offspring" [Jns. 1981, 47], Mehri dərāyyət ~ dərēyyət "offspring" [Jns. 1987, 81], Harsusi drʔ (?): dərō "to proliferate", dərək hebūn "I have had numerous offsprings" [Jns. 1977, 29] || Tigre zəryāt "descendance" [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 342). For Eg.-Ar. see: Hodge 1976, 16, fn. 7; 1977, 933; 1981, 408; 1983, 36; 1990, 646, #15.a; Ibr. 1991, 52-53.

¹²³ Only weak suggestions have been made. (1) Brk. 1932, 113, #57; Vrg. 1945, 137, #9.c.9: Eg. znb.w = Ar. zarb- "Hürde, Einzäunung". Phonologically problematic (Eg. -n- < *-l- vs. Ar. -r-?). (2) Hodge's (1993, 49) idea about Eg. znb.w vs. Sem. *danab- "tail" is a pure guess.

¹²⁴ See Akk. sarbu (irreg. s-) "tallow, fat" [CAD s 175] || JAram. tərā/ēb "(abdominal) fat" [Jastrow 1950, 1694], Syr. tarbā "pinguedo, caro (fructus)" [Brk. 1928, 833], Mand. tirba "fat" [DM 486] || Ar. tarb- "saindoux, axonge" [BK I 221].

¹²⁵ Lit. for Eg.-AA: Trb. 1923, 121, #97; Wlf. 1955, 40-41; Flm. 1974, 87; Rsl. 1979, 22; Bynon 1984, 276, #40; Blz. 1989 MS, 8, #17; OS 1992, 185; Mlt. 1991, 253, #9.2; JI 1994 I, 14; HSED #2626.

Eg. nš “to expel” (OK, FD 140) = “vertreiben, verdrängen” (Wb II 337-338): compared by Schneider (1997, 199, #47) with Sem. *nḥw: Ug. nḥ [*nḥw] “sich wohin begeben”, Hbr. nḥw/y “nach einer Seite gehen, leiten”, Ar. nḥw “seinen Weg richten, sich wenden nach”. Semantically evidently untenable. Moreover, its traditional etymology, Ar. lašša “to push, repulse” [Alb.] = “stossen” [Vrg.] = “to remove, push away” [Ricks]¹²⁶, proposed by W.F. Albright (1927, 222) and J. Vergote (1945, 136, #9.b.24), which is challenged now by Ar. nšš “faire marcher doucement une bête de somme devant soi” [BK II 1254] = “émoucher, chasser les mouches avec un évantail” [Dozy II 669] = “to drive or whisk away the flies” [Lane 2790], Yemeni Ar. niš “a cry to drive away flies” [Pimenta 1990, 484], by far better satisfies the semantical requirements.

Eg. š3d “to dig” (OK, FD 262) = “graben” (Wb IV 414-5): connected by Rössler (1971, 290) and Schneider (1997, 206, #96) with Sem. *ḥrṣ “to cut in” [GT]: Akk. ḥrṣ (note irreg. ḥ < *ḥ-!) “ab-, einschneiden” [AHW 323] || Hbr. ḥrṣ “(Zunge) spitz machen, beschliessen” [GB 262] || Ar. ḥarṣ-at- “Hautritzung” [Snd.]. False. In fact, OEg. š3d [< *šʔd] seems to be connected with OEg. šdj “graben” (OK, Wb IV 563, 1) = WCh. *žVt- “to dig” [GT]¹²⁷.

Eg. šʕ “to cut” (PT, Wb IV 415-416): equated by Schneider (1997, 206, #97) with Sem. *ḥdd “to be sharp, pungent”, *ḥadd- “pungent, sharp” [GT]¹²⁸. Semantic very weak and evidently disprovable. (1) Sem. *ḥdd has fully different cognates¹²⁹. (2) The same is valid for Eg. šʕ, which has been convincingly identified with the Ar. and Ch. reflexes of AA *š-ʕ “to cut” [GT]¹³⁰ (Eg.-Ar.: Alb. 1927, #79; Clc. 1936, #842; Conti 1978, 87; Eg.-Ch.: Stl. 1996, 53).

¹²⁶ For which cf. now also OSA (Qatabanian) lš(š) “to remove” [Ricks 1982, 136-7] || NBrb.: Tamazight (Zayan) uls “être écarté de la succession du grand-père par ses oncles paternels, par suite de la mort de son père” [Taifi 1991, 384].

¹²⁷ WCh.: Jimbin žāt- (dl-) [-t- < *t-?] “to dig” [Skn.] | Bade žəḏū (jl-) “to dig” [Schuh 1978, 260], Ngizim zəḏū [-z- < *ž- reg.] “to dig” [Schuh 1981, 179] (WCh.: Schuh 1978, 260; JI 1994 II, 104). Cf. also NBCh. *caḏ- “to hoe, cultivate” [Skn. 1977, 26]. For an alternative Eg.-Hausa etymology see OS 1990, 89, #29; 1992, 187; HSED #521.

¹²⁸ Sem. *ḥdd “to be pungent, sharp”, *ḥadd- “pungent, sharp” [GT]: Akk. eddu [< *ḥadd-] “spitzig” [AHW 185] || Hbr. *ḥad, pl. ḥaddīm “sharp (sword)”, ḥdd hif. “to sharpen” [KB 291] || Ar. ḥadda “to edge, sharpen (a knife, a blade, a sword, or anything blunt), point, make sharp-pointed (an arrow-head or the like, with a stone or file)”, ḥadd- “(extremity of the) edge, point (of sword, knife, spear-head, arrow)” [Lane 524-5] = ḥadda “1. aiguiser, rendre plus tranchant etc.”, II “1. aiguiser, affiler, repasser (une lame)”, IV “2. aiguiser, affiler (un couteau etc.)”, ḥadd- “18. le tranchant, l’aigu du fer, ce qui fait qu’il pénètre” [BK I 387-8] = ḥadd- “pungent” [Dlg.] || Tigre ḥdd “to cut up” [KB].

¹²⁹ Cf. Eg. ḥdd.t “Göttin in Gestalt eines Skorpions” (BD, Wb III 206, 6) || SBrb.: Ahaggar eded “1. mordre, 2. piquer (un animal ayant un aiguillon)” [Fcd. 1951-2, 163], Ay & EWlm. eded [< *e-ḥded?] “mordre, piquer (scorpion)” [Alj. 1980, 18; cf. Zhl. 1934, 111 with false Eg. cognate] = əḏəd “1. mordre, piquer (scorpion, serpent)”, tā-ddod “morsure, coup de dent (plaie laissée par une morsure), piqure (faite par un animal ayant un aiguillon)” [PAM 2003, 78] || presumably LECu. *ḥadd- [Dlg.: < *ḥadd- under the influence of *ḥ-] “bitter” [Sasse]: esp. Konso ḥadd-ā “snake venom” [Black] (LECu.: Dlg. 1973, 249; Black 1974, 196; Sasse 1979, 54). Sem.-ECu.: Dlg. 1983, 128; 1988, 631, #21.

¹³⁰ Attested in Ar. šʕy I “être arraché et dispersé (se dit des cheveux)” vs. šʕʕ “répandre ça et là” [BK I 1234, 1242] = “to separate, scatter, spread” [Alb.] || HECu.: Burji šoʔ- “to separate” [Lsl. 1988, 199] || SCu. *šeʕ- “to

Eg. šʿ “sand” (PT, Wb IV 419-420): compared by Rössler (1971, 313) with Hbr. ḥōl, Syr. ḥāl “sand”. Evidently mistaken: Eg. šʿ has been identified¹³¹ as a cognate of NOM. *šaʔ- ~ *šiʔ- “sand” [Mkr. 1987, 307; Lmb. 1993, 94] || SOM.: Dime šayi, šāyo, sayy- “sand” [Bnd. 1994, 157] || WCh.: Boghom šey [Smz.] = šē:ⁱ [IL], Zeem aši “sand” [Smz.] etc. (SBauchi: Smz. 1978, 30) | Ngizim áisāw “sand” [Schuh 1981, 7] || CCh.: Kotoko *sV “sand” [Prh. 1972, 53, #29.7] < AA *š-ʿ “sand” [GT]. There is an areal parallel in PNile-Nubian *siu “sand” [BG 1984-5, 77].

Eg. šfj.t (MK) ~ **ššf.t** (PT) “majesty, respect” (Wb IV 457-461; FD 265): compared by Schneider (1997, 206, #98) with Sem. *ḥbb “to love, like”. Even semantically very weak. The conventional etymology seems semantically more plausible, cf. Sem.: Ar. šff “to grow, increase” and šwf IV “to be high”, V “to look down from above” [Alb./Dlg.] || SCu. *šaf- “to grow” [Ehret 1980, 208] (for Eg.-Ar.: Alb. 1918, 249; for Ar.-SCu.: Dlg. 1987, 200, #41). Cp. still WCh.: Ron *saf “king, chief”: Daffo-Butura sàf, Sha sàf, Kulere saf (Ron: Jng. 1970, 388; JI 1994 II, 72).

Eg. šnb.t “breast” (MK, Wb IV 512-513): identified by Schneider (1997, 207, #100) with Sem. *ḥlb “milk”. Elegant, but probably incorrect. We have to account for an alternative etymology Eg. šnb.t “breast” (MK), “throat” (LP) leading to AA *š/cVnb- “lung” [GT] as suggested by the Russian linguists¹³² (not mentioned by Schneider).

Eg. šzp “to take, accept, receive, catch” (PT, FD 271; Wb IV 530-3): see the section for Eg. z vs. Sem. *s.

Eg. t3š “boundary” (PT, FD 294) = “Grenze” (Wb V 234-236) </> t3š “abgrenzen, teilen” (PT, Wb V 236-237): identified by Schneider (1997, 207, #106) with JArām. & Syr. tlh “to tear into pieces, split, separate”. Possible provided Eg. t3š < *t3h < *tlh. No other convincing etymology for Eg. t3š has been proposed so far.

XIX. The examples for Rössler's Eg. š = Sem. *ḥ

Possible in principle (only in cases when Eg. š < *ḥ = Sem. *ḥ).

Eg. wzš “to urinate” (PT, FD 69) = “harnen” (Wb I 357, 16-20): see the chapter for Eg. z vs. Sem. *t.

Eg. bdš “ermatten, schlaff werden” (MK, Wb I 487, 15-23) = “to become faint, weak, exhausted” (FD 86): compared by Rössler (1971, 303) with Ar. faṣīḥ- “schwachmütig”

slice, slit” [Ehret 1980, 211] || WCh.: Angas-Sura *lē₂ [l- < *š- reg.] “to cut grass” [GT 2004, 226-7] | Tangale seḡ “to cut, chop, slay (with sword), hew, fell” [Jng. 1991, 142] | Zaar (Saya) ša “to cut” [Smz.] || CCh.: Bura ča [thl-] “to cut” [Hfm. 1955, 134-135] | Lamang ž- (dl-) “to cut, chop” [Lks.] | Mafa-Mada *šay (*tlay) “to cut” [Rsg. 1978, 233, #175], cf. Matakam žiʔa “to cut” [Stl.] | Daba žù “to cut” (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 96-99; Stl. 1991 MS, 2, 4; 1995, 59; 1996, 50, 52-53).

¹³¹ Lit. for Eg.-AA: Mkr. 1987, 307; OS 1992, 173; 1992, 188; HSED #547.

¹³² Sem. *si/anp- “lung” [SED I 207-8, #235] || PCu.-Om. *šVnb- “breast, lung” [Dlg.]: Agaw *sāmb- “lung” [Apl. 1984, 39; 1989, 6; 1991, 23] || ECu. *šāmb- “lung” [Sasse 1982, 174] || NOM.: Omoto-Dawaro šenfo “heart” [CR], Male šempi “soul” [Flm.], Kaffa šombō “lung” [Crl.] (Cu.-Om.: Flm. 1969, 24; Dlg. 1973, 94). For Eg.-Cu.-Om. see OS 1992, 171; SED I 208-9.

[Rsl.] = “homme d’un esprit très-faible” [BK II 600], which is semantically weaker than the traditional etymology of Eg. *bdš*¹³³ maintained by a number of specialists (Alb. 1927, 215; Zhl. 1932-1933, 90; 1934, 111; Clc. 1936, #35; Vrg. 1945, 134, #5.b.4).

Eg. psš “to divide” (OK, FD 94) = “teilen” (Wb I 553-4): identified by Rössler (1971, 303) with Sem. *pšh “to disjoint, separate” [GT]¹³⁴. Possible, provided Eg. psš < *psh. Alternatively, however, following O.V. Stolbova (1994, 87-92), the OEg. cluster -sš may be regarded as a reflex of an older affricate (e.g. AA *-č or *-ĉ), which leads to a number of variant roots consisting of AA *p- + diverse sibilant affricates with the basic sense “to separate” (discussed in detail in EDE II 512-3). A dissimilation is also not excluded (e.g. from *pšš).

Eg. nšbšb “sich laben” (PT 64b; Wb II 338, 20) = “to refresh oneself” (AEPT 22): compared by Rössler (1971, 303) with Ar. nḥb “beißen, das Beste nehmen” [Rsl.], which is not the fully correct rendering of Ar. naḥaba “1. tirer, extraire en arrachant, 2. mordre à qqch. (se dit d’une fourmi)” [BK II 1219]. Semantically rather weak. It is a pity that Rössler overlook in Eg. the popular root pattern n1212 of biconsonantal origin. W.A. Ward (1972, 156) and G. Conti (1980, 59) correctly explained PT nšbšb from an Eg. *šb, cp. OEg. wšb “sich nähren” (PT, Wb I 371) ~ šb.w “Nahrung” (PT, Wb IV 437, 6), which in fact may be related perhaps with WCh.: PAngas *lēp > *lep [- < *š- reg.] “to herd cattle and pasture for feeding” [GT 2004, 228]¹³⁵.

Eg. nšp “atmen” (MK, Wb II 339) = “to pant” (FD 140): equated by Rössler (1971, 303) with Ar. nḥf “schnüffeln”. Rössler declined the comparison of Eg. nšp with Sem. *nšp “to blow” (Sem.: GB 527; Zbr. 1971, 91, #253; Blv. 1993, 45, #260), which is generally accepted¹³⁶ (and I also support it). Was MEg. nšp an early loan from NWSem. (as supposed already by F. von Calice and I.M. D’jakonov l.c.)?

Eg. nšm “to cut off” (PT, Wb II 339, 13): identified by Rössler (1971, 303) with Ar. lḥm “schneiden” [Rsl.] = “1. couper, 2. frapper en qqn. sur le visage” [BK II 981].

¹³³ Brb. *b-d-z “to be exhausted (?)” [GT]: EBrb.: Ghadames e-bdēz “être paresseux”, a-beddez “paresse” [Lanfry 1973, 5, #28] = a-bdēz [Ksm.] || SBrb.: Ahaggar e-bdeh “1. être à bout de souffle (pour avoir couru ou marché, ne pouvoir plus, momentanément, ni courir ni marcher, pour avoir donné tout ce qui ou a pu comme course ou marche), 2. se dit d’une personne ou d’un animal qui ont couru ou marché au point d’être obligés de s’arrêter sans pouvoir continuer, mais qui ne sont pas affaiblis et qui pourront, après un court repos, reprendre la course ou la marche” [Fcd. 1951-2, 22] = e-bdēh “das Nicht-mehr-mit-können, das Schlappwerden eines Herden- oder Karawanentieres oder eines Menschen, schwach sein (Hirtenterminus)” [Zhl. 1932-33] = e-bdeh “schlapp werden” [Zhl. 1934], cf. ETawillemet & Ayr bādłāz [epenthetic -l-?] “1. être affaibli, 2. ressentir une fatigue générale”, bādłāz, pl. bādłāz-ān “faiblesse générale du corps entier” [PAM 1998, 4]. Here might belong Sem.: Ar. madaša “to be faint, weak (of sight, from hunger or heat)” [Alb.] = “to be slacked, relaxed, languid” [Ember]. See Alb. 1927, 215 (Eg.-Ar.); Zhl. 1932-33, 90; 1934, 111 (Eg.-Hgr.); Clc. 1936, #35 (Eg.-Ar.-Hgr.); Vrg. 1945, 134, #5.b.4 (Eg.-Ar.-Hgr.). Irregular Ar. m- vs. Eg.-Brb. *b-. Note that Ahaggar -h < SBrb. *-z = Eg. š.

¹³⁴ Attested in Hbr. pšh “zerreißen, zerfleischen” [GB 664] | Aram. pšh “abreissen” [GB] || Ar. fšh “disjoindre, séparer, défaire (ce qui était cousu, broché ou réuni par une charnière)” [BK II 592] (Sem.: MM 1983, 247; HCVA 1, #8).

¹³⁵ Angas leep “to feed” [Flk. 1915, 237] = pī-lēep (K) “pasture (Hs. maīyaya)” (pī- “place”) [Jng. 1962 MS, 32] = [lēp] “to herd” [Brq. 1971, 32] = lep “to shepherd”, ngo lep “shepherd” [ALC 1978, 32, 44].

¹³⁶ See Farina 1926, 16, #21; Clc. 1936, #427; Vcl. 1958, 377; 1959, 39; Dj. 1967, 205, fn. 72; Conti 1978, 28, fn. 2.

Questionable. Ar. *lhm* seems quite isolated in Sem. (its modern literary meaning is “to slap”, A. Kaye, p.c.). Moreover, LEg. *wšm* “schlachten” & “Gemetzel” (LP, Wb I 373, 13-14) points to a biconsonantal *šm + prefixes n- ~ w- (while the l- of Ar. *lhm* was hardly a prefixed root complement).

Eg. šw “(to be) empty, lacking” (PT, FD 263; Wb IV 426-7): it has been compared with Ar. *ḥawiya* “to be empty” both by the “old school” (Albright 1918, 248, #102; Ember 1930, #6.a.23, #19.c.1; Calice 1936, #844) and Rössler (1971, 303). Correct, provided Eg. *šw* < **ḥw* ~ **ḥw*. The alternative etymology is much weaker.¹³⁷

Eg. šps “noble (noun and adj.)” (PT, Wb IV 445-449): compared both by the “old school” (Albright 1918, 249; Ember 1930, #18.a.38, #19.c.3) and Schneider (1997, 206, #99) with Sem. **ḥupt-* “free” [GT]¹³⁸. Possible. But are these roots distinct from Ug. *ḥpt-t* “Unreinheit, Verwesung” [WUS #1071] || Ar. *ḥabuṭa* “schlecht, unrein sein” [WUS]?

XX. The examples for Schenkel's Eg. q = Sem. *g

Eg. qm3 “Wurfholz” (NK, Wb V 33, 7): equated by Schenkel (1993, 141) with Akk. *gamlu* “Krummholz, Bumerang” [AHW 279]. Possible. For Akk. *bēl gamli* (divine epithet) cf. Ug. *gml* “sickle”, b⁹¹ *gml* [WUS #661; Gordon 1955, 251, #415], which points to Sem. **gml* “to be curved”. We have to account also for two alternative etymologies¹³⁹.

Eg. qm3 “schaffen” (PT, Wb V 34-36): equated by Schenkel (1993, 142) with Akk. *gmr* “vollenden”. Mistaken. The basic sense of Eg. *qm3* was not “to finish” or sim. as Schenkel insisted. The origin of OEg. *qm3* “to create” is obscure¹⁴⁰. Cp. perhaps SBrb.: Ghat a-γma “to do, faire” [Bst. 1883, 323] < AA **k-m-ʔʔ*

Eg. qrr.t “Höhlung, Loch” (MK, Wb V 62, 1) = “cavern” (FD 281): combined by Schenkel (1993, 142) with Akk. *gll* “rollen, wälzen”. Unacceptable. These are two evidently distinct roots. (1) Eg. *qrr.t* = Sem. **qwr* ~ **wqr* ~ **nqr* “to make a hole, dig” [GT] (Sem.: GB 709; Zbr. 1971, #186; Blv. 1993, 33, #3), for Eg.-Sem. see Ember 1913, 112, #17; 1930, #12.a.43; Clc. 1936, #91; Chn. 1947, #251 etc. No connection with Sem.: Gafat quddā “hole, Loch” either (contra Rsl. 1966, 46, #69). (2) Akk. *gll* < AA **g-l* “to be round” = Eg. **d3* “to be round” (cf. Takács 1994; 1998).

¹³⁷ Cf. Hbr. *šāwəʔ* “das Gehaltlose, Eitle, ein Nichts” [GB]. For Eg.-Hbr.: GB 809; Castellino 1984, 16. Improbable (Eg. *š* ≠ Hbr. *š*).

¹³⁸ Akk. *ḥupšu* “Angehöriger einer niederen Klasse” [AHW 357] || Ug. *ḥpt* ~ *ḥbt* “gemeiner Soldat, Söldner” [WUS #1071], Hbr. *ḥpš pual* “to become free, be released”, *ḥopši* “frei (v. Angaben und Lasten), im Ggst. zu Sklaven und Gefangenen” [GB 251].

¹³⁹ (1) Eg. *qm3* “throw-stick” deverbal noun < OEg. *qm3* “to throw” (OK, FD 278) = “werfen” (Wb V 33) ~ Ar. *qamara* “mit einem Würfel spielen” (Eg.-Ar.: Holma 1919, 46). (2) GT: or ~ WCh.: Bokkos *kamlon* “Jagdwurfstock” [Jng. 1970, 143]. Bokkos *k-* = OEg. *k-* ~ *q-*.

¹⁴⁰ The etymologies offered by Erman 1892, 120; Ember 1926, 310, #3; 1930, #10.b.3, #3.c.31; Albright 1931, 150 are unconvincing.

XXI. The examples for Rössler's Eg. d = Sem. *š

Eg. jfd “to flee” (XVIII., FD 17; Wb I 72, 1-2): see the chapter for Eg. f vs. Sem. *b.
Eg. jd3 “Ausdruck bei der Töpferei: vom Glattstreichen, Ausschmieren eines Kruges” (OK, Wb I 152, 16) = “to smooth (a new-made pot)” (FD 35): compared by Rössler (1971, 289) with Sem. *yšr “bilden, formen (Töpfer)”. Obscure Eg. root¹⁴¹. On the other hand, there may be a quite different Eg. cognate for Sem. *yšr, which may be related to Sem. *šwr¹⁴².

Eg. wdj “to lay, set, throw” (OK, FD 72; Wb I 384-387) has nothing to do with Ar. wšy I “hinzufügen”, II “testamentarisch vermachen” as suggested by Rössler (1971, 289). We are dealing again with two distinct roots: (1) Eg. wdj = Sem. *wdy “to cast, put” [GT]¹⁴³, which is a widely accepted Eg.-Sem. isogloss¹⁴⁴. On the other hand, Eg. wd “befehlen” (OK, Wb I 394-5) has long been successfully identified with Hbr. šwy piel “anordnen, befehlen” [GB 676] || ESA: Sab. wšt “to decree, ordain” [SD 164], Ar. wšy II & IV “Aufträge geben, testamentieren” [GB] | MSA *wšy “to give dying instructions” [GT]: Jibbali ōši, Mehri awōši (MSA: Jns. 1981, 293; 1987, 432; Sem.: Zbr. 1971, #246). This Eg.-Sem. isogloss is also well known¹⁴⁵.

Eg. wdp.w “Aufwärter, Diener im Hause” (PT, Wb I 388): compared by Rössler (1971, 280, 289) and Loprieno (1994, 120) with Syr. yāšōp “Diener” [Rsl.] || Ar. wašif- “serviteur, servante, domestique (homme, femme, fille)” [BK II 1548]. False. Both the Eg. and Sem. words have different histories. (1) OEg. wdp.w was, however, not a “servant” in general (which was signified by OEg. b3k), but rather a person dealing mostly with the food as W.A. Ward (1978, 92, #178) noted the sometimes overlapping duties of Eg. wdp.w and Eg. wb3.w “butler” in the MK. Eg. wdp.w is recently rendered as “butler, cook” (FD 73) = “Aufwärter, Dapifer, Kellermeister, Koch, Truchsess, Mundschenk” (GHWb 227), which I am inclined to derive Eg. wdp.w from Eg. dp “to taste, kosten, schmecken” (PT, FD 312; Wb V 443-4). (2) The basic meaning of the Sem. root *wšp lies very far from that of Eg. wdp.w, cf. Ar. wašafa “décrire (une chose)” [BK II 1547].

Eg. wdn “to offer (offering)” (OK, FD 73; Wb I 391): compared by Rössler (1971, 289) with Ar. wšl II “to give”. False. Rössler neglected again the underlying basic

¹⁴¹ Note that Dlg. 1967, 298 combin'd Eg. jd3 [*jd] ~ 3d [*ld] “ausschmieren (Topf mit Lehm, Ton), glattstreichen” (Med., GHWb 18; cf. Wb I 25, 1) with Ar. laṭaʿa “to be wide, flat, plain, level, to stretch out” [Dlg.]. Dubious.

¹⁴² Cf. Hbr. šwr “to design, shape, build”, ESA šwr “picture, figure”, Ar. šwr II “to shape, build” (Sem. comparison: Gray 1933, 127, #41; Ward 1962, 404; Zbr. 1971, #243; Mlt. 1986, 68) || Eg. d3d3 < *črčrʿ? “(einen Tempelteil) erbauen, (ein Götterbild) herstellen” (GR, Wb V 532, 9-10).

¹⁴³ Cf. esp. Hbr. ydy qal “1. to cast (lots), 2. shoot (arrows)”, piel “to cast (stones), 2. (?) cast down” [KB 389] = qal “(Pfeilen) beschießen”, piel “(Steine) auf jmdn. werfen” [GB 286] || Geez wadaya “to put (in, on, under), add, lay, place, set, throw; cast” [Lsl. 1987, 605] = “indidit, injecit, immisit, imposuit” [Dillmann]. Outside Sem., cp. perhaps WCh.: Kulere wotó “to give” [Jng. 1970, 355] || ECh.: Ndam wúda: “to give” [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 158-9).

¹⁴⁴ Lit. for Eg.-Sem.: GB 285; Sethe 1912, 94; Vrg. 1945, 144, #23.a.6; Vcl. 1958, 373; 1985, 171, #9; Djk. 1967, 196-197, fn. 57; Zbr. 1971, 58, #31; Bmh. 1986, 236.

¹⁴⁵ Lit. for Eg.-Sem.: Ember 1911, 92; 1912, 89, fn. 3; 1914, 6, fn. 3; 1926, 302, fn. 10; 1930, #6.a.4; Farina 1926, 16, #22; Alb. 1927, 233, #92; Mlt. 1984, 15; Vcl. 1958, 384; 1990, 47.

senses on both sides. The basic meaning of the underlying Ar. root was fully different from that of Eg. wdn. Ar. waṣṣala-hu II signifies “he made it to reach it/hm” [L a n e], cf. Ar. waṣala (1) I “to arrive at, come, reach, attain” vs. waṣala (2) I “to conjoin, connect” [L a n e]. Moreover, Ar. wṣl (1) < SWSem. *wṣl “to proceed to, arrive” [GT]¹⁴⁶ is probably a regular match of Eg. wḏ3 [< *wḏl] “sich begeben, gehen” (MK, Wb I 403) = “to go, proceed to (r), attain to (r)” (FD 75). This cognate set, besides, well explains the derived sense of Eg. wḏ3 “unversehrt, heil sein” (OK, Wb I 399-401) too. Secondly, Eg. wdn has long been identified with Sem. *ndn [prefix n-] “to give” [GT] = bicons.*dn “to give” [Zbr. 1971, #39]: Akk. ndn “to give” || Hbr. nādān “gift” etc. (Sem.: Conti 1984, 165)¹⁴⁷.

Eg. bdš “to become faint, weak, exhausted” (MK, FD 86): see the chapter for Eg. š vs. Sem. *ḫ.

Eg. nwd “sich bewegen, weichen, wanken (von Mauern)” (Med., Wb II 225, 2-6): compared by Rössler (1971, 290) with Ar. nws “sich erheben, fliehen”¹⁴⁸. Semantically very weak. Besides, this etymology is not new (originates from W.M. Müller 1907, 304, fn. 1). Moreover, Eg. nwd has a semantically perfectly satisfactory cognate in Sem. *nwd “to move (to and fro) etc.” [GT]¹⁴⁹, which was comment on by Rössler (1971, 290) in his typical formula: “naive Dalet-Vergleichungen bei Cal[ice]. No. 56.” (sic!). This Eg.-Sem. etymology has been suggested by the numerous authors representing the generation of the “old school”¹⁵⁰.

Eg. ndj “niederwerfen” (PT, Wb II 367, 12): equated by Rössler (1971, 290) with Hbr. nšy nifal “streiten, sich raufen, miteinander hadern” [GB 516] | Syr. nšy “rixatus est” [Brk.] || Ar. nšw “an der Stirnlocke packen” [Rsl.] || Geez našaya “vellit” [Dillmann] = “das Haar zausen” [GB]. Mistaken. Eg. ndj has been long successfully identified with

¹⁴⁶ OSA (Sab.) h-wṣl “to proceed to (l-), arrive at a place (‘dy)” [SD 164] = “se rendre (à), arriver (à) tel endroit” [DRS], Min. wṣl “se rendre à, arriver à” [DRS], Ar. waṣala “arrive at, come to, reach, attain” [L a n e 3054] = “4. arriver, se rendre chez qqn.”, VIII “arriver, parvenir à ...” [BK II 1549] = “rallonger, rendre plus long en ajoutant, Post-Class. Yemeni Ar. wuṣul “to go, arrive”, IV “to arrive, come” [P i a m e n t a 1991, 525] | Hrs. wēṣel “to arrive” [Jns. 1977, 137], Mhr. wuṣául “anlangen” [Jahn] = wiṣəl “to arrive, reach” [Jns. 1987, 431] = “arriver, atteindre, parvenir” [DRS], which ultimately derive from Sem. *wṣl “to join” [DRS 593].

¹⁴⁷ For Eg.-Sem. see: Alb. 1927, 208, fn. 8; Emb er 1930, #26.a.10; Clc. 1936, #580; Conti 1984, 165.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. also Hbr. nšy & nš “to fly”, nōṣā “Schwungfeder” [GB 494, 515-6].

¹⁴⁹ Hbr. nwd “sich hin und her bewegen (v. wankenden Rohre usw.), Kopf schütteln” [GB 490], MHbr. nwd “sich bewegen” [D a l m a n 1922, 265] | BAram. & Syr. nwd “erregt werden, schwanken, umherwanken” [GB], Aram. nūd “1. sich bewegen, schwanken, 2. bedauern (Kopf schütteln)” [D a l m a n] = nūd “sich bewegen, fortbewegen”, af. “schütteln, stark bewegen” [L e v y 1924 III 353] = nūd “to move, be unsteady”, af. “shake (the head)” [J a s t r o w 1950, 883], Samar. Aram. nwd “movement, fear, trembling”, qal “to move” [T a l 2000, 507], Mand. NUD “to shake, quake, tremble” [DM 293] || Ar. nwd “1. faire aller la tête çà et là comme un homme sommeille, 2. agiter la tête de haut en bas”, V “s’agiter, être agité par le vent (se dit d’un tendre rameau)” [BK II 1364] = “sich schwankend hin- und herbewegen” [GB] = “schwanken” [Clc./Vrg.], Dathina nwd “se mouvoir, osciller, vaciller, pendiller”, nawwada “mouvoir doucement” [GD 2832], Yemeni Ar. nwd I “to wander, shake (intr.), move, undulate, oscillate, dangle” [P i a m e n t a 1990, 499] etc.

¹⁵⁰ GB 490; Müller 1907, 304, fn. 1; Brk. 1932, 106, #30; Ye i v i n 1933, 109; 1936, 72; Clc. 1936, #56; Vrg. 1945, 145, #23.a.11; IS 1976, #327.

Sem. *ndy (var. *ndʔ)] “1. to throw down, 2. cast away” [GT]¹⁵¹, which is maintained by a number authors¹⁵².

Eg. ndb.wt “die Fundamente (eines Bauwerks, der Erde)” (MK, Wb II 368, 7-8) = ndb.wt “area, extent” (FD 143): identified by Rössler (1971, 290) with Sem. *nšb: Syr. nšb “plantavit, condidit, posuit” [Brk.] and Ar. nšb “aufstellen, aufschlagen” [Rsl.]. Possible if MEg. ndb.wt < OEg. *ndb < AA *n-ç-b. But if the OK etymon was *ndb-, cf. Eg. dbj.t “Untersatz, Basis (einer Statue, eines Obeliskens)” (NE, Wb V 434, 13; GHWb 974) = “base, pedestal” (DLE IV 128) || ECu. *dib- ~ *dub- “behind → tail” [Sasse 1979, 16; 1982, 57] || CCh. *d-b ~ *d-b “back” [JI 1994 I, 3E] (Ch. data: JI 1994 II, 6-7).

Eg. ḥdb “niederwerfen, zu Boden werfen” (MK, Wb III 205, 8-17; GHWb 572) = “to overthrow, prostrate” (FD 181): Rössler (1971, 293) equated it with Ar. ʿḏb “niederschlagen” (possible provided MEg. ḥdb < OEg. *ḥdb with irreg. Eg. ḥ- vs. Sem. *ʿ-), while Schneider (1997, 203, #74) combined it with Ar. ʿšb “schlagen, stossen, bewegungslos machen” (semantically weak, the basic sense of Ar. ʿšb being quite different, BK II 266).

Eg. ḥdb “to kill” (MK, Wb III 403; FD 205): compared by Schneider (1997, 205, #83) with Sem. *ḥšb: Akk. ḥšb “abbrechen” [AHW 331] || Ug. ḥšb Qt “metzeln” [WUS #1073] = Dt “to fight, slay” [Gordon 1955, 268, #734], Hbr. ḥšb “to split (wood), hew, kill” [GB 251] | Jaram. ḥšb “aushauen” [GB]. Possible only if MEg. ḥdb < OEg. *ḥdb < AA *ḥ-ç-b. If, in turn, MEg. ḥdb < OEg. *ḥdb, it is most probably cognate with Ar. ḥadaba “to smite so. with a sword, cut so./flesh without cutting the bone, smite so. on the head withj a sword”, ḥadb- also: “rending or cutting open the skin and the flesh with the canine tooth, 2. act of biting, of serpent” [Lane 706] = ḥadaba “1. porter à qqn. un coup de sabre (en blesser, mais sans causer de lésion aux os), 2. blesser (la tête), 3. piquer (se dit du serpent)” [BK II 544] = “to strike, wound” [Alb.] = “slay” [Ember 1917] = “to wound (with sword), bite (snake)” [Ember 1926] = (quoted as ḥadaba) “to strike, wound, bite” [Ember 1930]¹⁵³ as suggested by a number of authors¹⁵⁴. A few less convincing alternative etymologies have been also proposed¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵¹ Attested in Akk. ndy: nadû “werfen, hin-, niederlegen” [AHW 705] = nadaum “to throw” [Gelb 1973, 196] || Ug. ndy “ausstossen (Stimme), vertreiben, entfernen” [WUS #1756] = “to drive out (?)” [Gordon 1955, 294, #1213] = “to drive away” [KB] = “to throw, emit, 2. take off, remove” [DUL 621-2], Hbr. ndy piel “1. entfernen, 2. ausstossen” [GB 487] = “to push away, out” [KB 672-3], MHbr. ndy “to eject, ban from the group” [KB] | Mand. NDA “to shake (off), get rid of, banish, toss (off)” [DM 289b], JNaram. ndy ~ nyd IV “to throw away, cast, miscarry” [Sabar 2002, 230] || ESA ndy “vertreiben (to drive away)” [Müller, ZAW 75, 1963, 311] = (Sab.) ndy “to drive out (?)” [SD 91] = (Sab.) ndy “1. to pursue, harrass, 2. drive out” [Bella 1984, 294], Ar. nadaʔa “jeter qqn. avec force par terre” [BK II 1224] || Geez nadʔa “to drive (away), lead (off) etc.” [Lsl. 1987, 385], Tigre nädʔa “to send, expel” [Lsl.] = “to send off” [LH 339b]

¹⁵² Lit. for Eg.-Sem.: Sethe 1912, 94; Ember 1913, 115, #48; 1930, #11.a.37; Zhl. 1934, 119; Vrg. 1945, 144, #23.a.6; Djk. 1965, 49; 1967, 196-197, fn. 57.

¹⁵³ Cf. also Akk. ḥuppudum D “1. (OBab.) (Auge) zerstören, 2. (Oakk.) tilgen (?)” [AHW 357] = “to strike out (an eye), destroy” [Alb.]

¹⁵⁴ Eg.-Ar.: Ember 1917, 21; 1926, 307, #13; 1930, #7.a.19; Alb. 1918, 95; Chn. 1947, #135.

¹⁵⁵ Thus, Cohen 1947, #135; Loprieno 1977, 130: Eg. ḥdb ~ Sem. *ḥtb: (?) Akk. ḥtp (irreg. -t-p) “schlachten” [AHW 336] || Hbr.-Aram. ḥtb “hauen” [GB 224] || Ar. ḥtb “to cut wood (for fire)” [Lsl.] || Geez

Eg. š3d “to dig, graben” (OK, FD 262; Wb IV 414-5): see the section for Eg. š vs. Sem. *ḥ.

Eg. dbḥ “to ask for, require, beg” (PT, Wb V 439-440; FD 311): compared by Rössler (1971, 299) with Akk. šb[ʔ]:šabû ~ šebû G “to wish, long for” [AHW 1073]. Impressive, but certainly incorrect, since Akk. šabû ~ šebû < Sem. *šbw (with final *-w ≠ Eg. -ḥ!), cf. Aram. & Syr. šbʔ “wünschen, wollen” || Ar. šbw: šabā “verliebt sein” (Sem.: GB 672) || ECu. *dēb- “to be thirsty” [Sasse 1982, 62]¹⁵⁶.

Eg. dnj “to dam, hold back, restrain” (MK, FD 314): compared by Schneider (1997, 207, #107) with Hbr. šinnā “shield (covering the entire body)”, Ar. šwn “to preserve, protect”, Geez šawwana ~ ḏawwana “to protect, defend, preserve, shelter” (Sem.: Lsl. 1987, 566-7; GB 687). Possible, because in this case MEg. d- < OEg. ḏ- (which Schneider failed to mention), cf. OEg. dnj “to dam” (PT, Wb V 575, 9) > dnj.t “dam” (CT II 7, FD 314). There may be a further cognate to it (if its ḏ- < AA *ḏ/ḑ/ḥ-) in WCh.: Angas-Sura *den (var. *denʔ) “to prevent, keep back” [GT 2004, 89]¹⁵⁷. On the other hand (if its ḏ- < AA *g-), it might be derived alternatively from AA *g-n “to cover, hinder” [GT]¹⁵⁸.

Eg. dnj.t “basket” (MK, Wb V 467, 2): identified by Schneider (1997, 207, #108) with JAr. šinnā “basket”, Ar. šinn- ~ šann- “basket”. Fully possible, since MEg. dnj.t < OEg. dnj.t “e. Korb” (V., occurs 2x, ÄWb I 1503-4), which Schneider again failed to mention for some unknown reason. Besides, this Eg.-Sem. comparison goes back to Ember 1930, #26.b.3.

Eg. dhḏḥ “to hang down (of breasts)” (PT, Wb V 483, 12), dh ~ dhj “to hang down, low, humiliated” (MK, FD 315; Wb V 480): compared by Schneider (1997, 208, #112) with Sem. *šyw ~ *šyy: Hbr. šʕw ~ šʕy “1. gekrümmt sein, 2. sich hinlegen, 3. mit zurückgebogenen Halse einhergehen” || Ar. šyw ~ šyy “sich zuwenden, neigen” (Sem.: GB 689). The basic meanings of the Eg. and Sem. *comparanda* are different. Besides,

ḥṭb “to cut, split (wood)” [Lsl. 1987, 248]. (2) On the other hand, Ember 1911, 92; 1926, 302, n. 10 & 307, #13; Hodge 1976, 13, #96; Loprieno 1977, 130: Eg. ḥdb ~ Sem. *ṭḥ “to slaughter”. Less convincing. C. Brockelmann 1950, 60 rightly stated that Sem. *ḥṭb “couper” ≠ *ḥṭm “casser” vs. Sem. *ḥdb “frapper” ≠ *ṭḥ (sic) ≠ *dbḥ “égorgier”.

¹⁵⁶ Note that A. Dolgopolsky (1966, 87, #8.16; 1973, 230; 1983, 131; cf. also Blz. 1989, 210) combined Eg. dbḥ with ECu. *dēb-, but Eg. -ḥ = ECu. *-ḥ (not zero). Besides, ECu. *ḏ- = Sem. *š-.

¹⁵⁷ Attested in Gerka dun-dang (so, -u-) “to prevent” (dang obscure) [Ftp. 1911, 219], Angas den “to hinder” [Ormsby 1914, 209] = den “to prevent, stop (someone)” [Flk. 1915, 166] = dēn “ablehnen, zurückweisen” [Jng. 1962 MS] = den (so d-) “to deny (someone, something)” [ALC 1978, 11] = den “to keep” [Gcl. 1994, 72], Mupun dēn “to refuse, prevent, deny (the person to whom sg. is denied is the direct object)” [Frj. 1991, 15], Mushere den “to keep” [Dkl. 1997 MS] = den “to keep” vs. den (so, d-) “keeping” [Jng. 1999 MS, 3-4], Goemai den (so, plain d-) “to refuse, hinder, forbid” [Srl. 1937, 32] = den [den] (so, d-) “to prevent, forbid” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 5].

¹⁵⁸ Sem. *gnn “to enclose” [GT]: Akk. gnn “einsperren” [AHW 280] = “to confine (a person)” [CAD g 40] || Hbr. gnn “to enclose, fence” [KB 199] = “bedecken” [GB 145] || Ar. ḡanna “1. être enveloppé et couvert, 2. couvrir, envelopper” [BK I 331] (Sem.: GB 145; Zbr. 1971, #59; Blv. 1993, 37, #64) || WCh.: Angas-Sura *gʷaŋ > *goŋ “to hinder” [GT 2004, 137]: Angas gʷaŋ “to prevent, forbid (of law), ward off, hinder” [Flk. 1915, 193] = gwaŋ “hindern, versperren” [Jng. 1962 MS] = gwaŋ “to hinder” [ALC 1978, 21], Mushere goong an (so, long -oo-, error) (~ Hs. tare ni) “to intercept, fend off, ward off, stop” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 85], Goemai gong “to cover, protect” [Srl. 1937, 67] = goŋ “to block from view, close a door, cover oneself” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 12] || CCh.: Buduma gen “verweigern, zurückhalten” [Lks. 1939, 100].

Eg. *dḥ < *tḥ is probably an equivalent of Ar. tḥ I “tomber”, II “4. jeter qqn. çà et là, faire error dans le monde” [BK II 117] = “hingeworfen werden” [GB 275].

Eg. dšr “red” (PT, Wb V 488-490) → dšr.t “desert (red land)” (OK, Wb V 494): identified by Schneider (1997, 208, #113) with Sem. *šḥr: Syr. šḥr “erröten”, Ar. šḥr XI “weissrötlich, gelblich sein”, šaḥrāʾ- “Wüste, Sahara”. Impressive. We can hardly postulate a pre-OEg. *dšr ~ *dḥr (both incompatible, cf. Wb V 607 and 618) < AA *ç-ḥ-r. The alternatives offered for Eg. dšr by the “old school”¹⁵⁹ raise more doubts than Schneider’s etymology. But this pure fact cannot be a reason to accept this development.

XXII. The examples for Rössler’s Eg. d = Sem. *ṭ < AA *č

Eg. wdf “to delay, be sluggish” (OK, FD 73; Wb I 388-9): see the section for Eg. f vs. Sem. *b. Noteworthy is MEG. wzf “to be slack, sluggish” (MK, Wb I 357, 2-4) = Ar. wdf.

Eg. dnw “ein Verbum des Hörens” (sic): quoted by Rössler (1971, 290) in comparison with Agaw: Bilin čänū || LECu.: Saho čin. The Eg. verb is not listed in the standard dictionaries. Rössler may have referred to the ear determinative of NEg. dnj (not dnw!) “austeilen, zuteilen” (NE, Wb V 466, 5; GHWb 981), which, however, may be due to the influence of PEG. *jdn “ear” (a cognate of Sem. *ʔudn- “ear”) in the Eg. orthography.

Eg. dd3 “fett” (MK, Wb V 631, 3-9): compared by Rössler (1971, 288) with Akk. kšr “fest fügen” and PCh. *k-z-r “Fett” [Rsl.] = PCh. *k-dʸ-r [JI 1994 I, 63A]. Unacceptable. The quoted Eg., Akk., PCh. forms represent three totally different roots: Besides, Rössler’s Eg.-Ch. comparison does not fit even his own phonetic rules (not allowing the equation of Eg. č vs. Ch.-Sem. *k. First, Akk. kšr “to knot, join, gather” [AHW 456] < PSEM. *kšr “to bind, gather”, probably cognate to Eg. q3s [qrs] “to bind, string, tie” (PT, FD 276; Wb V 13) via met. < *qs3, deglottalization of *-š- > OEG. -s due to OEG. *qd being incompatible. (2) Rössler’s (1971, 288) AA *comparanda* display a semantic history¹⁶⁰ perfectly different from that of Eg. dd3. (3) If we take a closer

¹⁵⁹ (1) Albright 1918, 234; Ember 1930, #19.a.9 suggest Eg. dšr be equated with Sem. *šrk “to be red”. Unacceptable. Eg. d- has nothing to do with Sem. *k-, unless both Eg. d- and Sem. *k- were additional root complements, cf. WCh.: Daffo-Butura šaar “red” [Jng. 1970, 221]. (2) Bender 1975, 181 equated Eg. dšr with CCh.: Margi dīzū “red” || NOM.: Dizi čuz [tsʰuz] “red”. The Margi word has further cognates in CCh. *dVz- “red” [GT]: Wamdiu dīzu, H(y)ildi dīzu, Kilba dūzū || Higi-Baza dūzu, Fali-Mucella dīz, Fali-Jilbu dūz, Fali-Kiria dīzū || Gude dīz (CCh.: Kraft 1981, #274). But how to explain the absence of any trace of final *-r in these reflexes? Nevertheless, the correspondence of CCh. *-z- vs. Eg. -š- is possible, cf. Eg. mnš.t “yellow (?) ochre” (Med., FD 110) = “(perhaps red) ochre” (GHWb 342) || CCh. Bura-Margi *mV[ŋ]za “red” [GT]: WMargi muŋzà, Cibak mægzà, Bura mamzà, Ngwahyi mēmzà (CCh.: Kraft 1981, #274).

¹⁶⁰ Rössler compared Eg. čt3 (sic) with Ch. *k-z-r (sic) “fat” (JI 1994 I 63A: *k-dʸ-r) > Hausa kítsè [loss of *-r# regular] “suet” [Abr. 1962, 527], which Rössler, probably correctly, explained from the basic sense “to plait, bind”, cf. Hausa kítsà “1. to plait hair” [Brq. 1934, 615]. The Sem. cognate of the Hausa root had undergone

look at the inner Eg. history of our root, we find that the sense “fat” is here associated primarily with the idea “to grow (as in ripening)”, cf. LEg. *dd3* “reif sein, reifen lassen” (GR, Wb V 631-2) = “1. to swell, grow fat, 2. ripen” (PL 1252) → Cpt. (S) *χατε* ~ (3x) *χαατε* “to advance in age, be(come) ripe”, *χται* “ripen (grain)” (CD 791-2; CED 321). (4) The correct Sem. cognates of Eg. *dd3* [< *gdl]¹⁶¹, in fact, display the same basic idea, i.e. “to grow strong, to full size”, cf. e.g. Hbr. *gdl qal* “to grow up”, pual part. *māguddālīm* (pl.) “full grown (plants)” [KB 179] || Ar. *ḡadala* I “1. rendre fort, 3. grandir et acquérir de la force, grossir (d’un jeune homme, des grains dans les épis)” [BK I 265] = “to take shape, become hard (fruit-stone, grain), become vigorous, robust (young camel, lad)” [Blachère I 1368] = “groß werden, Fett anlassen” [Clc.]. This is whence the association to “fat” (both noun and adj.) has also developed (secondarily) in a few daughter languages, cf. Ar. *ḡadala* “2. liquéfier, faire fondre du beurre, de la graisse” [BK] = “to melt fat” [Ember] | Jibbali *gdl: egdél* “to be made fat and healthy (animals)”, *gədlún* “plump and healthy” [Jns. 1981, 70-71]. All this leads us to assuming an Eg.-Sem. *g-d-l “1. to grow thick and strong, 2. to attain full maturity or size” [GT]. Besides, the semantic shift “large” ~ “fat” is a common place in AA¹⁶².

XXIII. The examples for Rössler’s Eg. d = Sem. *ḏ (*š)

Eg. hdm “Verbum: abreiben (Topf) (?)” (Med., Wb II 505, 16; GHWb 499): Rössler (1971, 293, 308) quoted a certain Eg. *hdm* “zerbrechen” (after Brugsch), combined with Ar. *hšm* and *hdm* “zerbrechen”. Even if Brugsch’s interpretation were correct, the traditional correspondence of Eg. d = Ar. d would provide a semantically equally plausible etymology, cf. Ar. *hadama* “démolir, abattre, faire crouler (un édifice)” [BK II 1402].

Eg. ḥdb “niederwerfen, zu Boden werfen” (MK, Wb III 205, 8-17; GHWb 572) = “to overthrow, prostrate” (FD 181): for details see the chapter for Eg. d vs. Sem. *š.

Eg. dbn “ring, circle” (PT, Wb V 436, 6-9), *dbn* “to be round” (PT, Wb V 436-437): connected by Rössler (1966, 228; 1971, 293) with Eth. (sic) *ḏbn* (sic) “Ring” [Rsl.] = Geez *ḏəbn* “ānsa, ānulus” [Dillmann] = *ḏəbn* ~ *ṣəbn* “handle, ring attached to a box or to another utensil” [Lsl. 1987, 146]. According to Leslau, the Geez word is without any Sem. or Cu. etymology. The sense “ring” here is isolated within Sem. It is clearly

(independently) the same semantic development shift, cf. Ar. *kur-* “1. graisse des reins, 2. bord du vagin, 3. coche, 4. creux au haut de la poitrine, entre les deux clavicules” [BK II 905] = “1. Fettpolster (von einem Teil der Vulva), vom Nierenfett, 2. Kerbe im Bogen für die Sehne” [WKAS I 224], which, alongside with Sem. *ki/ut- “joint (of the ribs, fingers, etc.)” [SED I 139-140], A. Militarev and L. Kogan derived from Sem. *kṭr “to bind, knot, fix” [SED]. Besides, Rössler’s Eg.-Ch. comparison does not fit even his own phonetic rules (not allowing the equation of Eg. ḥ vs. Ch.-Sem. *k). For Ch.-Ar. Stl. 1987, 208, #591; 1996, 117-118.

¹⁶¹ For Eg.-Sem.: Ember 1917, 84, #109; 1919, 32; 1930, #24.a.3; Alb. 1918, 235; Clc. 1936, #111; Vrg. 1945, #1.d.31.

¹⁶² Cf. e.g. Sem. *ʿby ~ *ḡby > Hbr. ʿby “to become thick, fat” [KB 777], PSinaitic ḡb-t “fatling” < *ḡby “to be fat, thick” [Alb. 1966, 43] || Geez ʿabya “1. to be great, big, large, powerful, increase (intr.), 2. become fat, inflated, swell” [Lsl. 1987, 55] etc.

a secondary development as revealed by its cognate, Ar. *ḏabana* I & VIII “prendre, mettre et tenir qqch. sous les aisselles”, *ḏabn-* ~ *ḏibn-* “aisselle, partie du corps entre l’aisselle et les fausses côtes” [BK II 8] = *ḏabana* I “to put s’one above his *ḏibn-*”, VIII “to take s’one with his hand and raise a little above one’s navel”, *ḏibn-* “the part between the armpit and the flank, armpit itself” [Lane 1767]. In the light of this parallel, Geez “handle” might have originally been conceived as the “arm (or armpit) of a vessel”. I dare to ask: how can one compare Eg. “round” with Sem. “armpit”? On the other hand, the widely accepted¹⁶³ equation of Eg. *ḏbn* [**ḏbn*] with Sem. **ḏbl* “to be round” [GT]¹⁶⁴, which satisfies both the phonological and semantical requirements, certainly excludes Rössler’s mistaken etymology.

XXIV. Summary of the analysis over the “*neuere Komparatistik*”

In general, one can say that Rössler and his followers created a neat artificial system which works brilliantly on the basis of some selected examples. But if we “throw” more and more linguistic data into this system, we find unfortunately that it fails, since its authors ignored masses of lexical evidence and did not examine all alternatives etymologies when trying to set up their new Egypto-Semitic consonant correspondences. Taking a closer look at each individual etymology proposed by the Rösslerians, we find that a considerable part of them is vulnerable and one-sided serving as a basis for misleading conclusions. It is regrettable that the supporters of this theory do not mention masses of linguistic data which would disturb the picture they drew about Old Egyptian historical phonology. New phonological correspondences should be based on much more extensive and semantically much less disputable etymological material than what has been presented in the Rösslerian studies. All possibilities should be checked before we declare a phonological correspondence to be regular. I am afraid it has not yet happened in the “*neuere Komparatistik*”.

It goes without saying that even the “traditional” conception of Egyptian historical phonology and Egypto-Semitic consonant correspondences does not explain all problems of Egyptian etymology at the moment. But I tried to elucidate these problems by presenting all possible and alternative linguistic data that may be in any way significant with all their details and many-sided alternatives. At the present stage of Egyptian and Afro-Asiatic linguistics, we cannot afford to choose *a priori* an orthodox path and believe that it is the only and absolute way to the right solution, forgetting or ignoring all facts which may be contradictory. Therefore, an uncritical adoption of several of Rössler’s

¹⁶³ See Ember 1917, 86, #117; 1930, #7.a.14, #11.a.28, #26.a.38; Lsl. 1962, 46, #17; SISAJa II, #116; OS 1992, 174.

¹⁶⁴ See Ar. *dubl-at-* “boulette, tout ce qui est formé en boule” [BK I 668] = *dibl-at-* “1. anneau, bague sans chaton, 2. virole, petit cercle de métal autour du manche” [Dozy I 424] = *dabl-at-* (so) “ring (without a stone)” [Ember] || ES **ḏblbl* “to be round” [GT]: Amharic *ḏbulbul* “round, spherical”, (täänd)*däbällälä* “to be round”, Tigrinya *dämbälbäl bälä* & Gurage (Endegeny) *dubulbul* “to be round” (ES: DRS 209).

radically new assumptions (esp. OEg. ʕ = Sem. *d) concerning Egyptian historical and Egypto-Semitic comparative phonology cannot be recommended.

The most fundamental question is: why has the post-Rösslerian “*neuere Komparatistik*” been unable to present any new external parallels opposing the “traditional” ones other than Schneider 1997 and the stereotyped references to the old corpus produced by Rössler? The Rösslerists should have build up their own corpus more carefully on the widest basis of Eg.-AA lexical matches (not just a few selected Eg.-Sem. roots). Is the “*neuere Komparatistik*” also able to make it? It is no wonder that my lengthy critical analysis of the Rösslerian system in EDE I 333-393 was shared unanimously by a number of reviewers, who equally pointed to the impossibility of this hypothesis¹⁶⁵. For the time being, therefore, there can be hardly any talk about the Rösslerian system as an equivalent alternative paradigm of our well-tested “traditional” understanding of Eg.-AA consonantal rules.

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, Gmy.: Goemay, 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, Kfy.: Kofyar, 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, Mpn.: Mupun, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Msr.: Mushere, N: New, N: North, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian,

¹⁶⁵ For instance, **Bender 2002**: “Perhaps one example will suffice to illustrate T[akács]’s devastating criticism of the Rösslerian methodology. T[akács] considers the ... comparison of [Eg.] ʕpy ‘to fly’ with Arabic dff ‘mit den Flügeln schlagen’. This breaks down on several bases ... Thus, it strikes me as perverse to look for a connection of [Eg.] ʕpy and [Ar.] dff. All-in-all, taking a broader view than that of Egyptian, I find the Rösslerian approach to be striving for an implausible novelty. It would take strong evidence indeed to establish correspondences such as that of ʕ and d, whereas the kind of the evidence presented by the Rösslerians is weak indeed.”. **Kitchen 2001, 55**: “... the claims of O. Rössler ... cannot be justified in the light of the full evidence assembled in Takács’s book, by contrast with the rather selective data chosen by Rössler, and not seriously enlarged-upon by his successors. Thus, where Rössler’s results coincide with mainstream results, they may stand; but the rest of his results must be dismissed as aberrant. This coincides with the same result in the different field of Semitic loanwords in Egyptian, as this reviewer can testify at first hand; in essence, Rössler’s attempts were a brave and ingenious initiative, but essentially they fail where they depart from already solidly-assured results”. **Prasse 2002, 258**: “As for the author’s critique of the Rössler school I quite agree. Their methods are questionable. I have already mentioned their ill-founded discarding of the correspondences between Eg. /3/ and Sem. /glottal stop/. I will just add here that I agree that it is unlikely that Egyptian had a special series of emphatic stops (f (< p), d = t, q, or an emphatic ǧ)”. **Zaborski 2000, 152**: “I agree with Takács’ criticism of the sometimes quite artificial consonant correspondences proposed by Rössler and his followers as well as their ideas on the consonant system of Proto-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, Sqt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram): Aramaic of Talmud, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, Wlm.: Tawlemmed.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Ajh.: Ajhenval'd, Alb.: Albright, Apl.: Appleyard, Ast.: Aistleitner, BA: Birru & Adal, BG: Bechhaus-Gerst, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirski, Blv.: Belova, Blz.: Blažek, Bmh.: Bomhard, Bnd.: Bender, Brg.: Bargery, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brq.: Burquest, Brt.: Barreteau, Bst.: Basset, Chn.: Cohen, Clc.: Calice, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, CrI.: Cerulli, DjK.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, Dlt.: Dallet, Dst.: Destaign, EEN. Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Ehr.: Ehret, Fed.: Foucauld, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, Grb.: Greenberg, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hlw.: Hellwig, Ibr.: Ibrizimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kiebling & Mous, Kmr.: Kammerzell, Krf.: Kraft, Ksm.: Kossmann, Lbg.: Loubignac, LG: Lienhard & Giger, LH: Littman & Höfner, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lns.: Lenssen, Lpr.: Loprieno, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Lsl.: Leslau, Mch.: Mouchet, Mgd.: Migeod, Mgw.: Maghway, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, MM: Majzel' & Militarev, Mnh.: Meinhof, Mrc.: Mercier, Msc.: Moscati, MW: Monier & Williams, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nct.: Nachtigal, Nhl.: Nehlil, NM: Newman & Ma, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, PG: Pillinger & Galboran, Phr.: Porhomovsky, Prs.: Prasse, Rn.: Reinisch, Rns.: Renisio, Rpr.: Roper, Rsg.: Rossing, Rsl.: Rössler, Skn.: Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Snd.: Schneider, Snk.: Schenkel, Srl.: Sirlinger, Ss.: Sasse, StI.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Stz.: Satzinger, Tm.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Wlf.: Wölfel, Wtl.: Whiteley, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zdl.: Zeidler, ZhI.: Zyhlarz, Zvd.: Zavadovskij.

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