

Aegyptio-Afroasiatica XXVII*

The series of papers “Aegyptio-Afroasiatica” has been started in 1995 in order to report the results of the author’s ongoing research on the project of an etymological dictionary of the Egyptian language. The current part includes a set of 12 new etymologies for Egyptian roots that begin in *n*- and contain root-medial resonants *-n-* or *-r-*.

Keywords: Semito-Hamitic, Afro-Asiatic, Egyptian language, lexical etymology.

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 (Semito-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.

551. Eg. nn.t “eine Pflanze, aus der man Körbe macht: Binse (?)” (PT, GR, Wb II 274, 10) = “unbestimmbare Pflanze” (PT 557b, ÜKAPT III 51) = “eine Pflanze, aus der man Körbe macht: eher eine Rohr- oder Binsenart” (Keimer 1984, 29, 72.§ and p. 30, n. 6 with exx.) = “*Weide” (GHWb 416)² ||| NBrb.: Shenwa *i-lni* ~ *i-lenni* “roseau que l’on introduit dans l’onstou pour écarter les fils” [Laoust 1912, 146] || SBrb.: ETawllemmet *tē-lēn-t* “(ressemble à

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² This sense is corroborated by the fact that the compound hieroglyphic sign for *nn* represents “two rushes with shoots” (Gardiner 1927, 471; Fischer 1983, 34, M22) = “Binse” (Staehelin 1990, 114), which — for a reason unknown to Staehelin — was in the OK mostly coloured blue, but red (three times) or black (once) in the period of Dyn. 0 and I, cf. Kahl 1997, 51, M23. As was rightly noted by P. Kaplony (LÄ VI 1146), the *nn.t*-plant is “(fast) identisch” with the *sw.t*-plant and the circumstance that “*sw.t mit 5, nn.t (verdoppelt) mit 3 Stengeln schreibt, ist Konvention*”.

sensitive, graine dans gousse allongée, hauteur de la plante: 0 m. 50)" [Ncl. 1950, 41] = *tē-lən-t* "espèce de roseau, jonc des mares" [Ncl. 1957, 57] = *te-lən-t*, pl. *te-lən-en* (and so also in Ayr) "1. esp. de plante (ressemble à la sensitive ou mimosa française), Cassia negricans, 2. esp. de jonc (pousse dans les mares)" [PAM 2003, 492] ||| ECh.: Somray *nàlā* "bamboo" [Jng. 1993 MS, 47].

552. Eg. nn.t "Name eines Vogels" (MK, Wb II 272, 8) = "kind of goose" (Davies, JEA 35, 1949, 16, nr. 10, pl. ii) = "e. Gans" (GHWb 415); perhaps to be combined with WCh.: Goemay *lil* "a small wild duck" [Srl. 1937, 127]³ || CCh.: Musgu-Puss *liyliy* (m, f) "canard siffleur" [Trn. 1991, 101]. Not clear whether Brb. **a-ylal* "petit oiseau" [Ksm. 1999, 201, #600] > NBrb.: Shilh *a-ylal* "oiseau de petite taille", medieval *a-ylal-en* (pl.) "oiseaux" [Ksm.] || SBrb.: Ahaggar (so also in ETawllemmet and Ayr) *ă-ylal* "pintade" [Fcd. 1951–2, 698] || WBrb.: Zenaga *tē-ižel* ~ *tē-ižel* [ž/ž < *l] "corbeau" [Ncl. 1953, 271, 401, 475] ||| ECu.: Tsamay *läl-o* "bird sp." [Sava 2005 MS, 248] ||| WCh.: Hausa *láálò* "2. type of bird" [Abr. 1962, 612] are also related.

553. Eg. nn.(w)t (pl., rope or curl determinatives) "replis (?)" (CT VII 209g, AL 78.2131) = "coils (?)" (DCT 232):⁴ to be equated with NBrb.: Qabyle *√ln*: *e-łn-et* and *łlen-tet* "1. tendre les lissettes ou boucle de lissoe, 2. être passé, tendu (fil de lissoe, tissage sur métier de haute lissoe)", *i-łni*, pl. *i-łn-an* "1. lissoe (tissage), 2. ficelle" [Dlt. 1982, 457] ||| WCh.: Hausa *lányáá* "2. tying rope round and round sg.", *lányáčeé* "1. tied string round and round sg." [Abr. 1962, 614] < AA **√ln* "to tie around" [GT]? Alternatively, cp. Sem.: MAram. (Talmud, Midrash) *nīnyā?* ~ *nīnyā?* "ein Seil aus Hanf" [Levy 1924 III 388] | Yemeni Ar. *nūnah* "large plait bent backwards from the crown of the head forming a loop, thereby decorating a bride's hair" [Piamenta 1990, 501] ||| LECu.: Oromo-Borana *noni-ō* "a rope around the muzzle of a camel during a transport" [Stroomer 1995, 212] ||| CCh.: Hurzo *nān* "attacher" [Mch. 1953, 179] ||| ECh.: Sokoro *nínē* "binden" [Lukas 1937, 36]. Or, perhaps, a connection to Sem.: Hbr. *lelāʔōt* ~ *lālāʔōt* (pl.) "knots, loops" [KB 530]⁵

554. Eg. nn.wt "filet" (CT, AL 78.2132) = *nn.t* "fishing-net" (DCT 232) = "Netz" (GHWb 417):⁶ perhaps akin to CCh.: PMasa **lwan* "net" [GT]: Masa *lúwán* "1. le filet sp. dit 'épervier' (pêche), 2. le filet" [Ctc. 1983, 108] = "file de pêche" [Ajl.], Marba *lúwán* "filet de pêche" [Ajl. 2001, 26]

555. Eg. nn "eine Speise (unter Broten und dgl. genannt)" (NE, Wb II 275, 1) = "(among pastry)" (AEQ II 231*, #535) = "*e. Brot (in e. Verkaufsliste)" (Helck: MWNR 672, §28; GHWb 416) = "food" (GR, PL 523) ||| Sem.: Ar. *naʔnaʔa* "3. nourrir bien et entretenir avec soin" [BK II 1177], Yemeni *nāneh* "Brot" [Deboo 1989, 196] ||| LECu.: Oromo-Borana *nān-ā* and Wolane *ńāń-ā* "food, sweets" [Stroomer 1987, 372, 374; 1995, 211]. V. Orel and O. Stolbova (1989, 135; 1992,

³ Isolated in the Angas-Sura group (cf. Takács 2004, 230).

⁴ Only found in CT VII 209g. R. O. Faulkner (AECT III 103, n. 5) supposes that there is probably no connection with Eg. *nn* "a garment or material" (BD 340:2).

⁵ The Hebrew word is regarded in KB l.c. as a reduplication of Sem. **√lwy* "to turn, twist", on the one hand, and a cognate of Geez *lelit* and *malelit* "joint, limb, member of body etc." on the other — *at the same time*, which is impossible, since the latter form derives from Geez *lelaya* "to disjoint, separate, distinguish etc." [Lsl. 1987, 314].

⁶ Its internal Egyptian etymologizations have been unsuccessful. R. O. Faulkner (AECT II 119–120, spell 477, n. 3–4), for instance, rendered *nn.wt* in CT VI 34i as "dead-net", identifying it with *nn.wt* "dead" and considering the meaning "net" as the result of simplification of a compound attested in CT VI 34f as *ḥ̥m-nnnn.t* (corruption for *-nn.wt*) "the net for catching the dead". J. Osing (NBÄ 733, n. 885), in turn, derived Dem. *nnj.t* "Honigwabe" (DG 220), vocalized by him as **j̥né/ún.t* "mit ursprünglicher Bedeutung *Netz" and assuming an "Apokope der Vortonsilbe *j̥- > *?-", from Eg. *jnn* "1. jem. (etw.) umwenden, 2. mit hr: etw. von jem. abwenden, fortbringen" (PT-, Wb I 97, 7–8); its basic meaning was forcedly defined by him as "*umwinden", even though it is not attested anywhere and does not even follow naturally from the attested meanings.

190) combined Eg. *nn* with WCh.: Zaar *nīj* “food”, which, however, cannot be derived from an earlier **nin-* as they insisted.

556. Eg. nn.t (flame determinative) “Zubereitung der Milch” (XIX. Med., Wb II 272, 9) = *nn* (?) “Verbum zur Bez. eines Drogenzustands” (WMT 465) was correctly equated already by W. Vycichl (1934, 84) with WCh.: Hausa *nuna* “kochen” [Vcl.] = *nùùná* “1. to become ripe, 2. become fully cooked” [Abr. 1962, 708], which is in fact a reduplication of Ch. **nə* “to ripen” [Nwm. 1977, 30, #105] = **√ny(h)* “mûrir” [Brt.-Jng. 1990, 172] = **√ny/w* “reifen” [Jng. 1994, 446] = **nu/i-nah-* “to ripen” [Stl. 1996, 83] = **nV/V-* “to cook” vs. **nVh-* “to ripen”, **nV(nV)* “to be ripe” [Stl. 2005, 100, #339 vs. 118–9, #425] deriving from AA **√nw* “to cook, ripen” [GT], cf. Sem.: Ar. *√nwy* II “commencer à avoir son noyau formé (dattes quand elles mûrissent)” [BK II 1374] ||| Brb. **√nw* “to be(come) cooked, ripe” [Bynon] > e.g., NBrb.: Shilh *nua* “(faire) cuire, mûrir, préparer” [Jst. 1914, 145], Tazerwalt *nwu* “gar, reif werden” [Stumme 1899, 213], Sus *nwu* “être cuit, mûr” [Laoust 1921, 296] | Ntifa *nwo* “être cuit” [Laoust 1918, 13] | Tamazight *nū* “être cuit, mûr”, *ti-nw-it* “cuisson” [Abès 1916, 131, 182] = new “1. cuire, être cuit, 2. être à point, 3. mûrir, être mûr” [Taïfi 1991, 506] || WBrb.: Zenaga *√nw* “cuire, être cuit, être mûr” [Ncl. 1953, 222]. Cf. also Gouffé 1974, 368 (Hausa-Brb.) and Bynon 1984, 281, #52 (Brb.-Ch.).

557. Eg. nn or nnj “le schiste ou la pierre saponaire” (Daressy, RT 30, 2) = “material of a divine statue, twice gilded, maybe a specific variety of schist of a characteristic colour (not impossible)” (Harris 1961, 89) = “schiste (?)” (Andreu & Cauville 1977, 9; AL 77.2121): cp. perhaps CCh.: Holma *nwón ~ nwen* “Stein” [Str. 1922–23, 128 and fn. 6] | Masa *nón-ná* “silure” [Jng. 1973 MS].

558. Eg. nn.w “Liege, Bett, Bank” (KHW after Černý) = “lit, couche” (AL), act. **lāl.~w* [GT] > Cpt. (S) **λολ** “Bett” (KHW) = “lit, banc” (DELC): J. Osing (NBÄ 171, 682, n. 766), uncritically followed by W. Schenkel (1983, 226) and H. Satzinger (1994, 198, n. 40) erroneously assumed here — in spite of the Coptic evidence — an older **nān(j/w).~w* (sic, **n-*) and derived it from Eg. *nnj* “müde sein” (MK-, Wb), which is semantically very weak.⁷ Besides, Osing’s theory on the shift of Eg. *n...n > l...l* is ill-founded⁸ and the original *n* in Eg. *nnj* “tired” rests on transparent evidence, both internally⁹ and externally¹⁰. On top of all this, already W. Vycichl (DELC 97) reconstructed **lāl.~w* (with an original **l*), which he correctly equated with EBrb.: Siwa *e-llal-en* [*ə-llal-ən*] (pl.) “lit” [Lst.] = *e-llal-en* [Bricchetti-Robecchi] = *a-lal-en* [Cailliaud] = *lāl-in* [Stumme] = **i-lal-ēn* (pl.) [Vcl.]. Further cognates appear in SBrb.: ETawllemmet *ta-sə-ləl-t*, Ayr *te-sə-ləl-t* “natte de lit (en baguettes minces d’afāżo)” [PAM 2003, 478] ||| HEcu.: Sidamo *lal-o* (m) “wooden posts that are used transversally for the Sidamo bed” [Gsp.] < AA **lal-* “bed” [GT].

⁷ The arguments for an Eg. hapax *nnj* “ermattet daliegen” (once in a NK tomb inscription) are very weak, cf. *sw m nn r̥ nb* “(der des Nachts nicht schlief) er liegt alle Tage ermattet da” (Osing after Kees, ZÄS 62, 1926, 76), which can also be translated with the usual sense of *nnj*: “he is tired every day”.

⁸ His case for Cpt. (S) **ΜΑΝΙΝ, ΜΑΛΛΙΝ, ΜΑΛΙΑ** “band, cord” (CD) < Eg. *mñnn* “das aus zwei Stricken zusammengewundene Seil” (Pfortenbuch, Wb) = “das gewundene Seil” (Hornung) = “twisted rope” (CED) = “der Doppeltgewundene” (Zeidler) = “Schlangenseil, aus dessen Windungen die Stunden entstehen” (LÄ VI 1363) = “Seil (aus zwei Stricken zusammengewunden)” (GHWb), being an ex. of a nasal dissimilation (*m...n > m...l*), is hardly relevant in any way to (S) **λολ**.

⁹ Cf. Cpt. (O) **ΝΕΝΟΥ[Τ]** = “Ermatten, Mattigkeit” (1x: pap. BM 10808, l. 8, Osing 1976, 20, 66–67, NBÄ 85) < **n~nwāt=*.

¹⁰ Sem.: Ar. *naʔnaʔa I* “être très-faible de tête et incapable d’avis, de résolution” [BK] = “to be tired, weak” [Ember] ||| WCh.: PAngas **ny̥m* “tired” [GT]: Angas *nyin* “(to be) tired out, fatigued” [Flk.] = *nyiin* [Jng.] = *nyin* [*n̥yin*] [Brq.] = *nyiin* [Hfm.] = *nyin* [ALC] = *nyin* [Krf.] ||| ECh.: WDangla *núún* “sans force” [Fédry], Mokilkko *núuné* (m) “(un) mort, cadavre” [Jng.]. For the Eg.-Ar. comparison see Ember 1913, 118, #72; ESS §11.a.25. In the Mokilkko cognate we can see perfectly the same semantic shift as in Eg. *nnj.w* “die Müden als Bez. für gespenstische Tote” (ME, Wb).

559. Eg. nr “to charge after” (XVIII., FD 134) = “stürmen” (GHWb 417)¹¹ ||| NBrb.: Qabyle \sqrt{nyr} : *neyyer* (hardly Ar.)¹² “continuer, poursuivre” [Dallet 1982, 588–9] ||| HECu.: Sidamo *nara* “to have a desire for, long for (esp. coffee, salt-beasts)” [Gsp. 1983, 245] ||| Ch. **nVr-* “to hunt, search” [Stl. 2005, 144, #557] > WCh.: Saya *nar* “hunting” [Krf.] = *naar* “a hunt” [Csp.] ||| CCh.: Buduma *nera* “suchen” [Nachtigal apud Lukas 1939, 120].

560. Eg. nrj (IIIae inf.) “erschrecken, schaudern, schrecklich sein” (PT-, Wb II 277, 4–8) = “to be terrified, shudder” (Breasted 1930, 143–144), also intr. “to be afraid” (PT, Allen 1984, 570): its etymology, as is usual for Egyptian, has been surrounded by controversies. W. Westendorf (1962, 11, §22.c.5) treated this item as a mere root variety of Eg. *nwr* ~ $\hat{z}wr$ “zittern”, which is untenable from a semantic point of view. Not much better is the suggestion by E. Zyhlarz (1934, 119), who equated it with Tuareg *e-nrú* ~ *e-rnú* “obsiegen, übermächtig sein”, even though the actual SBrb. root was $*\sqrt{rn}C_3$ (C_3 = weak consonant?) with the basic meaning “to win, subdue” [GT]¹³, let alone A. R. Bomhard (1981, 450; 1984, 277, #295), who compared the Eg. root directly with IE **na/ar-* “to be strong, manly”. The true cognates of Eg. *nrj* appear in Sem.: Hbr. $\sqrt{n}r$ “to be abhorred, spurned” [Guillaume] = piel “to repudiate” [KB]¹⁴ | (?) Ar. \sqrt{nwr} II “10. effrayer, effaroucher”, X “3. mettre en fuite en effrayant qqn.” [BK II 1364–5] ||| Ch. * \sqrt{nr} “(to) fear” [JS 1981, 101, C₂]¹⁵ > CCh.: Masa *náárá* “craindre”, *náàrà* “peur”, *náár-dá* “le peur” [Jng. 1973 MS] = *nār* “1. la peur, 2. (adj.) qui a peur, 3. le pereux, le lâche” [Ctc. 1983, 121] ||| ECh.: Kwang-Mobu *nááré* “to fear” [Jng. 1972 MS, 22, #569] = -Mobu *naare* vs. -Ngam *naaré* “craindre, avoir peur” [Lns. 1982, 109; 1984, 69], Kwang-Gaya *tē-ñAr* and -Alowa *tē-ñar* and -Mindera *ti-nAr* “avoir peur” [Coates 1991 MS, 3]. Since Eg. *nr.w* “der Schrecken, Respekt” (PT-, Wb II 277–8), i.e. **nír. w* (Schenkel 1983, 226; Kahl 1994, 78)¹⁶, contained not just a transliterational, but a “real” [-r-]¹⁷, the alternative AA etymology (another AA root for “to fear” with *-l-)¹⁸ should be ruled out.

¹¹ Compared by Ch. Ehret (1995, 333, #651) with Ar. $\sqrt{nr}\check{s}$ “to reach for, take in one’s hand” and a certain ECu. **pawr-* “to arrive, come up to” (one of Ehret’s ECu. reconstructions that are much less reliable than those by H.-J. Sasse 1979) which do not fit semantically.

¹² There is no Arabic root by which it might be explained. BK II 1375 only has \sqrt{nyr} IV “2. appeler qqn. tout haut”.

¹³ Cf. Ahaggar *e-rnu* “vaincre” [Fcd. 1951–2, 1643], ETawllemmet and Ayr *a-rnu* “vaincre, subjuger etc.” [PAM 2003, 674].

¹⁴ The etymology of this Hebrew root, still rendered in GB 478 as “(ein Heiligtum) entweihen, (einen Bund) aufheben”, has always been heavily debated and has until now – in my opinion – remained unsettled. In KB 658, a number of false cognates are quoted, namely Ar. \sqrt{nwr} III “to insult” (after König), Hbr. $\sqrt{n}r$ “to roar” (after Driver), held to be a dialectal by-form of Hbr. \sqrt{rr} “to curse” (KB). A. Guillaume (1965 IV 9), in turn, equated it with Ar. *maʔira* “to be hated”. E. Klein (1987, 401) suggested a comparison with Akk. *nāru* ~ *nēru* G “(er)schlagen, töten” [AHW 780], which is certainly out of the question, since the underlying Semitic root is $*\sqrt{n}hr$ “durchstechen, durchbohren” [AHW].

¹⁵ The comparison of Eg. *nrj* with C/ECh. **nār* “to fear” (without mentioning reflexes in the Chadic daughter languages, just with a remark: “reconstruction error?” for an expected **nar*) was first put forward by Ch. Ehret (1995, 331, #646) along with two further uncertain parallels: Ar. \sqrt{nrz} “to hide oneself out of fear” and SCu.: Qwadza *nyele-siko* “thing of supernatural danger”.

¹⁶ Incidentally, M. Görg (VT 35, 1985, 363–368, cf. AEB 85.328) explained Hbr. *nir* “ein ‘Machtzeichen’ Davids” (in 1 Kings XI 36), which is traditionally rendered as “Licht, Leuchte, bildl. v. Fortbestehn eines Geschlechtes” [GB 503] = “light, lamp” [KB 697], from Akk. *nīru* “1. Joch, Querholz, 2. Joch der Herrschaft” [AHW 793–4] = “dominion” [Görg], as well as Eg. *nr.w* “terror”.

¹⁷ This [-r-] is reflected in the personal name transcribed as *Ávīqīṣ*, reflecting Eg. $\hat{z}-nr.w$, cf. NBÄ 85.

¹⁸ NBrb.: Tamazight *nnul* “1. craindre, 2. s’enfaire, s’inquiéter, se soucier” [Taïfi 1991, 490] ||| ECh. * $\sqrt{l}n-$ “peur” [JI]: Tumak *lāj* “craindre, avoir peur” [Caprile 1975, 79], Gadang *láámy* “avoir peur” [JI 1990 MS, 1, #17] | Somray *laiñe* “fürchten” [Lukas 1937, 80] = *lány* “avoir peur”, *lányá* (m) “peur” [Jng. 1993 MS, 41].

561. Eg. **nrj* > *nr.wt* “Art Bruch (der Rückenwirbel und der Rippen)” (Med., Wb II 279, 8–9) = “an injury producing a rending or strain of an articulation without a dislocation or a break: a sprain (in a vertebra of neck)” (Breasted 1930, 320–322) = “Zerrung (als Knochenge-lenkverletzung)” (GHWb 418; WMT 467) = “sprain or joint injury” (Nunn 1996, 223). Finding it “difficult to trace *nr.wt* to any known root”, J. H. Breasted (1930, 323), nevertheless, could not resist the temptation of speculating that “it has evidently (!) inclined in its semantic history in a different direction from *nr.t* ‘fright, terror’ ... or *nr.t* ‘neck’ (of collar bone) ...”, for either of which he, however, failed to present a convincing argument. Instead, there is no serious obstacle that would prevent us from comparing Eg. *nr.wt* with ECu.: Dullay: Harso and Dobase *nar-* “zusammenfallen einstürzen (altes Haus, Stuhl, Baum u.ä.)” [AMS 1980, 176]¹⁹ ||| ECh.: EDangla *nòriyē* “dissoudre, désintégrer, désagréger” [Djibrine & Montgolfier 1973, 220] | Mawa *nàr-áñ* (verbal noun suffix -*ñ*) “zerstören” [Jng. 1978, 38] = *nó nárê* “ich zerstöre” [Jng. 1981, 56].

562. Eg. *nrj* “bestimmter Zeitpunkt, bes. beim Ackerbau” (NK, Wb II 279, 11–13) = “specified time, term” (CED 105 pace Wb) = “time, the return of the year” (AEO I 12*, nr. 57; Caminos 1954 LEM, 380f.; 1956, 33–34; FD 135) = “das wiederkehrende Jahr (nicht einfach Zeit, wie noch Gardiner dachte)” (Guglielmi 1973, 155), *nr.t* “year”, (m) *nr.t-nr.t* “year after year” (Blackman & Fairman, JEA 29, 1943, 23f.) ||| HECu. **nir-* “year, last” [Hudson 1989, 419]. With regard to Cpt. (B) **N_EI**, **N_HI**, (L) **N_EE** (f) “Termin, Zeit(punkt)” (KHW 120; Vergote 1950, 293) = “délai, terme, instant” (DELC 141) < Dem. *n̥j* “Zeit” (DG 205:5) vs. *n̥j* “term, timespan” (Smith 1987, 171) < **n̥erj* (w/j) (NBÄ 432) = **nirj.at* → **niʒj.at* ~ **nijʒ.at* (DELC), where *-e/i-, moreover, corroborates the correctness of its equation with HECu. **nir-*, one can hardly agree with V. Orel and O. Stolbova (1992, 189; HSÉD #1665) to affiliate Eg. *nrj* with CCh.: Matakan *lər̥* and Banana *lor* “time”.

Language abbreviations

(A): Akhmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, (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, EWlmt.: East Tawllemmet, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period, GW: syllabic or group-writing, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, IMP: Intermediate Period, JArab.: Jewish Aramaic, (L): Lycopolitan (or Subakhmimic), LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, Lit.: literary texts, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, MK: Middle Kingdom, N: North, NBch.: North Bauchi, 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, SBrb.: South Berber, Sem.: Semitic, W: West(ern), WBrb.: West Berber, WCh.: West Chadic, WSem.: West Semitic.

Abbreviations of sources

Abr.: Abraham, Ajl.: Ajello, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky, Bmh.: Bomhard, Brt.: Barreteau, Cpr.: Caprile, Ctc.: Caïtucoli, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier, Fcd.: Foucauld, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Grd.: Gardiner, Gsp.: Gasparini, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, JI: Jungraithmayr and Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, JS: Jungraithmayr and Shimizu, Jst.: Justinard, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, Krf.: Kraft, Ksm.: Kossmann, Lks.: Lukas, Lns.: Lenssen, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nwm.: Newman, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, Snk.: Schenkel, Srl.: Sirlinger, Ss.: Sasse, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Strm.: Stroomer, Stz.: Satzinger, Tf.: Taïfi, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Wst.: Westendorf, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

¹⁹ Cognates for this word were identified by Ch. Ehret (1991, 268, #242) in LECu.: Arbore *jar-d-os* “to make thin, emaciate (tr.)” etc. < ECu. **ŋa/ir-* “to be weak, frail”, however, they are semantically unconvincing.

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Г. Такач. Aegyptio-Afroasiatica XXVII.

Серия статей “Aegyptio-Afroasiatica” была задумана в 1995 г. с целью последовательного изложения текущих результатов работы автора над проектом этимологического словаря древнеегипетского языка. В настоящей статье, представляющей собой 27-й выпуск в данной серии, автор представляет 12 новых этимологий для древнеегипетских корней, начинающихся с носового *n*- и имеющих внутри корня сонорные *-n-* или *-r-*.

Ключевые слова: семито-хамитские языки, афроазиатские языки, древнеегипетский язык, лексическая этимология.