

JAMES E. HOCH

Semitic Words
in Egyptian
Texts of the New
Kingdom and Third
Intermediate Period



PRINCETON LEGACY LIBRARY

Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts
of the New Kingdom and
Third Intermediate Period

JAMES E. HOCH

*Semitic Words in
Egyptian Texts of the
New Kingdom and
Third Intermediate
Period*

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Copyright © 1994 by Princeton University Press
Published by Princeton University Press, 41 William Street,
Princeton, New Jersey 08540
In the United Kingdom: Princeton University Press,
Chichester, West Sussex

All Rights Reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hoch, James E., 1954—
Semitic words in Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom
and Third Intermediate Period / James E. Hoch.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-691-03761-2
1. Egyptian language—Foreign words and phrases—Semitic.
I. Title.
PJ1355.S4H63 1994
493'.1—dc20 94-9976
CIP

This book has been composed in Times Roman, with additional characters provided
by the author. MachIEROGLYPHICS and LaserARABIC, both
from Linguist's Software of Edmonds, WA, were also used. All other
fonts were created by the author

The publisher would like to acknowledge the author of this volume for providing
the camera-ready copy from which this book was printed

Princeton University Press books are printed on acid-free paper
and meet the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee
on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the
Council on Library Resources

Printed in the United States of America

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

To the memory of my father Paul A. Hoch

זכורו לברכה

Our memory of him will be a blessing

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>List of tables</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations and Sigla</i>	xiii
<i>Introduction</i>	3
PART I: <i>The Semitic Words</i>	15
PART II: <i>Analyses and Conclusions</i>	397
1. Phonology	399
2. Morphology	438
3. Domain of Use	460
4. The Genres of Texts	474
5. The Source Languages	479
6. The Development of Group Writing	487
<i>Appendix: Catalogue of Signs</i>	505
<i>Bibliography</i>	513
<i>Word Indexes</i>	533
<i>Name Indexes</i>	563

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

IT IS A PLEASURE to recognize and thank all of those who directly and indirectly contributed so much to this book, which derives from my doctoral dissertation. Professor Donald B. Redford not only suggested the topic to me (when I was yet an undergraduate student), but he also saw it through every stage of its development. I have incorporated many improvements that he suggested, and have pursued a number of interesting questions that he raised in the course of our discussions. I valued his advice and criticisms, and was at all times encouraged by his enthusiasm for my work.

I would also like to thank all of my teachers, but especially Professors Shlomo Morag, Ernest Clarke, Brian Peckham, and Ronald Leprohon. Particularly to be thanked are Professors John Wevers and Antonio Loprieno for their careful reading of my work and their helpful suggestions and corrections. To Professor Hans Quecke I would like to express my thanks for his corrections and comments, especially regarding matters of Coptic etymology and phonology. I regret that I did not present the final results of my study to the late Professor Ronald J. Williams, who first introduced me to Egyptian and served as my model as a scholar.

The research for this book was conducted with support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I would like to thank the Council for their past funding and for their continued interest in my research. For assistance in dealing with the technical problems with such a complicated work as this, a word of appreciation is extended to my editor Elizabeth Powers and the designer Jan Lilly. Troy Sagrillo kindly permitted me to use his hieroglyphic font for the section openings in Part I, but it was not possible to use it throughout as hoped.

To my parents I owe the deepest gratitude for their encouragement and support over the many years. My original fascination with languages and the ancient Near East springs from their many and varied interests.

Finally, I would like to thank Dr. David N.R. Grant, who gave me the emotional and material support I needed, especially in the difficult circumstances under which this work was first completed.

LIST OF TABLES

1. Semitic Phonemes and their Egyptian Graphemic Correlates	431
2. Semitic Reflexes of Proto-Semitic Sibilants	434
3. Egyptian Signs and their Semitic Phonemic Correlates	435
4. Distribution of Semitic Words by Narrower Categories	472
5. Distribution of Semitic Words by Broader Categories	473
6. Incidence of Semitic Words by Genre	478
7. Middle and Late Egyptian Syllabic Writing Systems	500
8. Middle Kingdom Group Writing: Statuettes	503

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

AEO	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> , 3 vols. (Oxford: 1947)
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
Ägypt. Inschr. Berlin	Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Vol. II
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> (Wiesbaden: 1959–81)
Aistleitner	J. Aistleitner, <i>Wörterbuch der Ugaritischen Sprache</i> (Berlin: 1974)
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
Amarna	N. de G. Davies, <i>Rock Tombs of Amarna</i> , 6 vols. (London: 1903–08)
Amenemope	H.O. Lange, <i>Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope</i> (Copenhagen: 1925)
Amenophis III List	E. Edel, <i>Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis' III</i> (Bonn: 1966)
An.	Anastasi Papyri: P. An. I: Gardiner, <i>EHT</i> ; P. An. II–VI: Gardiner, <i>LEM</i> , pp. 12–78; P. An. VIII–IX: Bakir, <i>Epistolography</i> , pls. 28–35
ANET	J.B. Pritchard, ed. <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> (Princeton: 1969)
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
Astarte	The Legend of Astarte: Gardiner, <i>LES</i> , pp. 76–81
B.	The catalogue of words in M. Burchardt, <i>Die Altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen</i> (Leipzig: 1909–10). ¹
BAR	J.H. Breasted, <i>Ancient Records of Egypt</i> , 5 vols. (Chicago: 1906)
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BD	Book of the Dead
BDB	F. Brown, S.R. Driver, & C.A. Briggs, <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon</i> (Lafayette, Indiana: 1978 reprint of the 1906 edition)
Beziehungen	W. Helck, <i>Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.</i> (Wiesbaden: 1962)

¹This abbreviation is used *only* in the reference list found at the end of word entries. Elsewhere, Burchardt's work is referred to as "Burchardt" in order to avoid confusion.

<i>BIFAO</i>	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. <i>Bulletin</i>
Blinding of Truth	The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood: Gardiner, <i>LEM</i> , pp. 30–36
Brockelmann	C. Brockelmann, <i>Lexicon Syriacum. Editio secunda aucta et emendata</i> (Halle: 1928)
<i>Bubastite Portal</i>	<i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak</i> , vol. 3 <i>The Bubastite Portal</i> (Chicago: 1954)
Burchardt	M. Burchardt, <i>Die Altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Agyptischen</i> (Leipzig: 1909–10)
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (Chicago: 1956–)
Caminos, <i>LEM</i>	R.A. Caminos, <i>Late-Egyptian Miscellanies</i> (Oxford: 1954)
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>CGC</i>	<i>Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire</i> (Cairo)
Crum, <i>Dictionary</i>	W.E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> (Oxford: 1939)
CT	A. de Buck, <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> , 3 vols. (Chicago: 1935–47)
Donner-Röllig	H. Donner, and W. Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> , 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: 1962–64)
Doomed Prince	P. Harris 500: Gardiner, <i>LES</i> , pp. 1–9
EA	El Amarna Tablets: J.A. Knudtzon, <i>Die El-Amarna-Tafeln</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig: 1915)
<i>EHT</i>	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Hieratic Texts</i> (Leipzig: 1911)
Erman, <i>NäG</i>	A. Erman, <i>Neu-ägyptische Grammatik</i> (2nd ed.; Leipzig: 1933)
<i>ETL</i>	J. Simons, <i>Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia</i> (Leiden: 1973)
<i>Ex Oriente Lux</i>	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, “ <i>Ex Oriente Lux</i> ”
Gardiner, <i>LEM</i>	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Late-Egyptian Miscellanies</i> (Brussels: 1937)
Gebel Barkal	Gebel Barkal Stela of Thutmose III: G.A. Reisner & M.B. Reisner, <i>ZÄS</i> 69 (1933), pp. 24–29, pls. 3–5
Gloss. Gol.	Golénischeff “Onomasticon of Amenope”: A.H. Gardiner, <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> , 3 vols. (Oxford: 1947)
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
Goyon, Hammamat	G. Goyon, <i>Nouvelles Inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat</i> (Paris: 1957)
Gordon	C.H. Gordon, <i>Ugaritic Textbook: Texts in Transliteration, Cuneiform Selections, Glossary, Grammar</i> 3rd. ed. (Rome: 1965)
H.	W. Helck's catalogue of Semitic words in <i>Beziehungen</i> . ²

²This abbreviation is used only in the reference list at the end of the word entries. Elsewhere this work is referred to as “*Beziehungen*.”

Hamm.	J. Couyat & P. Montet, <i>Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât</i> , MIFAO vol. 34 (Cairo: 1912)
<i>Hier. Pap.</i>	<i>Hieratische Papyri aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> , 5 vols. (Berlin, 1901–11)
H.O.	J. Černý & A.H. Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , Vol. I (Oxford: 1957)
<i>HOP</i>	S. Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Rames-sidenzeit</i> , 2 vols. (Tübingen: 1973)
Horus and Seth	Gardiner, <i>LEM</i> , pp. 37–50
<i>HPBM</i> 4th Ser.	I.E.S. Edwards, <i>Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum</i> , Fourth Series, <i>Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the late New Kingdom</i> , 2 vols. (London: 1960)
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>Inscr. hier. Char.</i>	<i>Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character from the Collections of the British Museum</i> (London: 1868)
Israel St.	“Israel Stele” of Merenptah: KRI IV, pp. 12–19
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
Jastrow	M.A. Jastrow, <i>Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature</i> (New York: 1903)
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
Joppa	The Taking of Joppa (P. Harris 500 vs.): Gardiner, <i>LES</i> , pp. 82–85
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
Kawa	M.F.L. Macadam, <i>The Temples of Kawa</i> (London: 1949)
<i>Kêmi</i>	<i>Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d’archéologie égyptiennes et coptes</i>
Koehler-Baumgartner	L. Koehler & W. Baumgartner, eds. <i>Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros</i> , 2nd ed. (Leiden: 1967)
<i>Kopt. HWb</i>	W. Westendorf, <i>Koptisches Handwörterbuch. Bearbeitet auf Grund des Koptischen Handwörterbuchs von Wilhelm Spiegelberg</i> (Heidelberg: 1965–77)
<i>KRI</i>	K.A. Kitchen, ed. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> , 7 vols. (Oxford: 1969–90)
<i>LÄ</i>	W. Helck & E. Otto, eds. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> (Wiesbaden: 1975–)
Lane	E.W. Lane, <i>An Arabic English Lexicon</i> (London: 1867)
<i>LD</i>	R. Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Nubien</i> , 6 vols. (Berlin: 1849–58)
<i>LES</i>	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Late-Egyptian Stories</i> (Brussels: 1932)

Lesko, <i>Dictionary</i>	L.H. Lesko, <i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian</i> , 4 vols. (Berkeley: 1982–89)
Letters to Dead	A.H. Gardiner & K. Sethe, <i>Egyptian Letters to the Dead</i> (London: 1928)
<i>LRL</i>	J. Černý, <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i> (Brussels: 1939)
<i>LXX</i>	Septuagint
<i>MÄS</i>	<i>Münchener Ägyptologische Studien</i>
<i>Materialien</i>	W. Spiegelberg, <i>Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches</i> (Hannover: 1892)
Maxims of Ani	E. Suys, <i>La sagesse d'Ani</i> (Analecta Orientalia, 2) (Rome: 1935)
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts Ab- teilung Kairo</i> (Mainz)
Med. Habu	University of Chicago Oriental Institute, <i>Ramses III Inscriptions at Medinet Habu</i> (Chicago: 1930–)
<i>MIFAO</i>	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. <i>Mémoires</i>
<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>
Naunakhte	J. Černý, "The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Docu- ments," <i>JEA</i> 31 (1945), pp. 29–53 and pls. 8–12
<i>NAWG</i>	<i>Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
O. Cairo	J. Černý, <i>Ostraca hiératiques</i> , <i>CGC</i> (Cairo: 1935)
O. DeM	J. Černý, <i>Catalogue des Ostraca hiératiques non- littéraires de Deir el-Medineh</i> , 8 vols. (Cairo: 1935–70)
O. Edinb. 916	O. Edinburgh 916: W.R. Dawson & T.E. Peet, <i>JEA</i> 19 (1932), pp. 167–74, pls. 25–29
O. Lit DeM	G. Posener & A. Gasse, <i>Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh</i> , 3 vols. (Cairo 1934–)
O. Michael.	H. Goedicke & E. Wente, <i>Ostraka Michaelides</i> (Wiesbaden: 1962)
O. Turin	J. López, ed., <i>Ostraca Ieratici. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino</i> , 2nd Series, 3 vols. (Milan: 1978–84)
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>OMRO</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i>
P. Abbott	<i>Tomb Robberies</i> , pls. 1–4
P. Amherst	<i>Tomb Robberies</i> , pl. 5
P. An.	Anastasi Papyri: P. An. I: Gardiner, <i>EHT</i> ; H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, <i>Die Satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I</i> (Wiesbaden: 1986); P. An. II–VI: Gardiner, <i>LEM</i> , pp. 12–78; P. An. VIII–IX: Bakir, <i>Epistolography</i> , pls. 28–35.
P. Berlin 10494	Černý <i>LRL</i> , pp. 24
P. BM 10052	<i>Tomb Robberies</i> , pls. 25–35

- P. BM 10053 *Tomb Robberies*, pls. 17–21
- P. BM 10054 *Tomb Robberies*, pls. 6–8
- P. BM 10056 Glanville, S.R.K. “Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Thutmose III: Papyrus British Museum 10056,” *ZÄS* 66 (1931), pp. 105–21 and p. 1* ff; 7–41; “Part II. Commentary,” *ZÄS* 68 (1932), pp. 7–41
- P. BM 10068 *Tomb Robberies*, pls. 9–16
- P. BM 10383 *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 22
- P. BM 10403 *Tomb Robberies*, pls. 36–37
- P. BM 10416 J.J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications (HPBM VI)*
- P. BM 10418 J.J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications (HPBM VI)*
- P. Boulaq Boulaq Papyri:
 P. Boulaq 6: Y. Koenig, *Le Papyrus Boulaq 6 Transcription, traduction et commentaire* (Cairo: 1981);
 P. Boulaq 10: (CGC 58092) Allam, *HOP*, pl. 91;
 P. Boulaq 12: W. Spiegelberg, “Varia,” *Rec. Trav.* 15 (1893), pp. 142–43;
 P. Boulaq 13: *BIFAO* 83 (1983), p. 213 ff.;
 P. Boulaq 19: *KRI VII* 102–3
- P. Cairo V. Golénishchev, *Papyrus Hiératiques (CGC, Vol. 83)* (Cairo: 1927)
- P. Ch. Beatty I A.H. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. 1* (The Library of Chester A. Beatty) (London: 1931)
- P. Ch. Beatty III
 (etc.) A.H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London: 1935)
- P. DeM J. Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Medineh*, 2 vols. (Cairo: 1978, 1986)
- P. d'Orb. Tale of Two Brothers from the d'Orbigny Papyrus: Gardiner, *LES*, pp. 9–30
- P. Ebers G. Ebers, *Papyrus Ebers*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: 1875)
- P. Edwin Smith J.H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, 2 vols. (Chicago: 1930)
- P. Geneva MAH
 15274 A. Massart, “The Egyptian Geneva papyrus MAH 15274,” *MDAIK* 15 (1957), pp. 172–85 and pls. 24–38
- P. Harris I W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I: Hieroglyphische Transkription* (Brussels: 1933)
- P. Harris 500 Doomed Prince: Gardiner, *LES*, pp. 1–9;
 The Taking of Joppa: Gardiner, *LES*, pp. 82–85
- P. Jud. Lee Lee Judicial Papyrus: T. Devéria, “Le Papyrus Judiciaire de Turin et les Papyrus Lee et Rollin,” *Journal Asiatique* 10 (1867), pls. following p. 408
- P. Jud. Turin T. Devéria, “Le Papyrus Judiciaire de Turin et les Papyrus Lee et Rollin,” *Journal Asiatique* 10 (1867), pls. following p. 408

- P. Kahun F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London: 1898)
- P. Koller Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 116–20
- P. Lansing Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 100–116
- P. Leiden I 343 + A. Massart, The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + I 345
I 345 (Leiden: 1954)
- P. Leiden I 348 vs. Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 132–37
- P. Leiden I 349 Bakir, *Epistolography*, pls. 17–18
- P. Leiden I 350 J. Zandee, “De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350,” *OMRO* 28 (1947), pls. 1–30
- P. Leiden I 350 vs. J.J. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs* (Leiden: 1961)
- P. Leiden I 352 J. Černý, “Restitution of, and penalty attaching to stolen property in Ramesside Times,” *JEA* 23 (1937), pp. 186–203
- P. Leiden I 366–367 KRI II 911
- P. Leiden I 368 J.J. Janssen, “Nine Letters from the time of Ramses II,” *OMRO* 41 (1960), p. 39
- P. Magic Harris H.O. Lange, “P. Magic Harris,” *Danske videnskabernes selskab Historisk-filosofiske meddelelser*, vol. 14, pt. 2 (Copenhagen: 1927), pp. 1–99
- P. Med. (Most of the medical papyri are published in H. Grapow, *Die Medizinischen Texte in Hieroglyphischer Umschreibung Autographiert. Grundriß der Medizin der Alten Ägypter*, Vol. V [Berlin: 1958])
- P. Med. London W. Wreszinski, *Der Londoner medizinische Papyrus und der Papyrus Hearst* (Leipzig, 1912)
- P. Pushkin 127 R.A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe from a hieratic papyrus in the A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow* (Oxford: 1977)
- P. Rainer 53 Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 137–38
- P. Sallier Sallier Papyri:
P. Sallier I: Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 79–88;
P. Sallier II: Helck, W. *Lehre des Dwȝ Htjj*, 2 parts (Wiesbaden: 1970)
P. Sallier IV: Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 88–99
- P. Salt 124 J. Černý, “Papyrus Salt 124 (British Museum 10053),” *JEA* 15 (1929), pp. 243–58.
- P. Turin 1882 A.H. Gardiner, “A Pharaonic Encomium,” *JEA* 41 (1955), p. 30 and pls. 7–11
- P. Turin 1887 *JEA* 27 (1941), pl. 8, 12
- P. Turin 2008 J.J. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs* (Leiden: 1961)
- P. Turin 2016 J.J. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs* (Leiden: 1961)

P. Turin (<i>LEM</i>)	Turin papyri published in Gardiner, <i>LEM</i> , p. 121 ff
P. Turin, P + R	W. Pleyte & F. Rossi, <i>Papyrus de Turin</i> (Wiesbaden: 1981, reprint of 1869–76 ed.)
P. Wilbour	A.H. Gardiner, <i>The Wilbour Papyrus</i> , 4 vols. (London: 1941–52)
Pi ^c ankhy	N.-C. Grimal, <i>La Stèle triomphale de Pi(^cankh)y au Musée du Caire JE 48862 et 47086–47089</i> (Études sur la propagande royale égyptienne) (Cairo: 1981)
PM	B. Porter, R.L.B. Moss, & E.W. Burney, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> , 7 vols. (Oxford: 1927–55; 2nd ed. 1960–)
PN	H. Ranke, <i>Die Ägyptische Personennamen</i> , 3 vols. (Glückstadt: 1935, 1952, 1977)
PRU	J. Nougayrole, ed., <i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit</i> (Paris: 1955–)
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie oriental</i>
RAD	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Ramesside Administrative Documents</i> (London: 1948)
RdE	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
Rechn.	W. Spiegelberg, <i>Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I. (circa 1350 v. Chr.) mit anderen Rechnungen des Neuen Reiches</i> (Strassburg: 1896)
Rec. Trav.	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i> (Paris: 1870–1923)
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
Shishak List	The toponym list of Shoshonq: <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak</i> , Vol. 3 (<i>The Bubastite Portal</i>) (Chicago: 1954), pl. 4
Syria	<i>Syria, Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie</i> .
Thutmose III List	Toponym lists of Thutmos III: List 1: Urk. IV pp. 781–86; Simons, <i>ETL</i> , pp. 27–28, 111–13 List 2: Simons <i>ETL</i> , pp. 38–39, 123–24
Tomb Robberies	T.E. Peet, <i>The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty</i> , 2 vols. (Oxford: 1930)
Totb. Nav.	E. Naville, <i>Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin: 1886, 1971 reprint Graz, Austria)
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
Urk.	K. Sethe, <i>Urkunden zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens</i> (Leipzig: 1904–35)
	Urk. IV K. Sethe, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> (Leipzig: 1905–09)
VESO	W.F. Albright, <i>The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography</i> (New Haven: 1934)
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>

<i>Wb.</i>	A. Erman & H. Grapow, eds. <i>Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache</i> , 5 vols. (+Belegstellen) (Leipzig, Berlin: 1926–53)
Wenamun	The Misfortunes of Wenamun: Gardiner, <i>LES</i> , pp. 61–76
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

II. MISCELLANEOUS ABBREVIATIONS

A	Achmîmic	Imp. Aram.	Imperial Aramaic
A-stem	² Aleph stem (Causative, etc. ³)	JPA	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic
Abs.	absolute	l.p.h.	“May he / she / it live long, prosper, and be healthy!” ⁴
Akk.	Akkadian	L-stem	Long-vowel stem (fā ^c ala)
Ar.	Arabic	L.E.	Late Egyptian
B	Bohairic	M.	masculine
BA	Biblical Aramaic	MH	Mishnaic Hebrew
BH	Biblical Hebrew	Moab.	Moabite
C	consonant (in syllable structure)	Mod. Heb.	Modern Hebrew
Coll.	collective	N.	noun (gender not certain unless specified)
Constr.	Construct	N. div.	name of deity
D.	Dynasty	N. loc.	place name
D-stem	Doubled middle stem (Pi ^c el<*Pa ^c ala) (factative, denomina- tive, etc.)	N-stem	<i>Nun</i> -stem (Niph ^c al) (passive, reflexive)
Eth.	Ethiopic (Ge ^c ez)	NWS	North-west Semitic
F	Fayyûmic	O.	ostracon
F.	feminine	Old Aram.	Old Aramaic
G-stem	Ground stem (Qal)	Old S. Ar.	Old South Arabic
GR	Greco-Roman	P.	papyrus
H-stem	<i>Heh</i> stem (Hiph ^c il) (Causative, etc.)	Part.	participle
HtD-stem	Infixed Doubled stem (*Hitpa ^c el) (Reflexive, reciprocal, etc.)	Perf.	perfect
		Ph.	Phœnician
		Pl.	plural
		PN	personal name
		Priv.	private

³The uses and functions of the various Semitic stems are complex, and here only some of the more important uses in the Canaanite dialects are mentioned.

⁴An exclamation regularly used after the mention of the king, members of the royal family, or the palace.

PS	Proto-Semitic	TA	Talmudic Aramaic
Reg.	register (of stele)	Targ. Aram.	Targum Aramaic
S	Sa ⁿ dic	Ug.	Ugaritic
Š-stem	Šin stem (Causative)	V	vowel (in syllable structure)
Sing.	singular	Vb.	verb
St.	stele	Warka	Aramaic in cuneiform script: <i>RA</i> 39, p. 35 ff.
Subj.	subject		
Syr.	Syriac		

III. SIGLA

[D. 20]	Attested in Twentieth Dynasty
[D. 20, 21]	Attested in both Twentieth and Twenty-first Dynasties
[D. 20–1]	Attested late Twentieth Dynasty through early Twenty-first Dynasty
[D. 20 or 21]	Attested in a text whose date is uncertain, but from either the Twentieth or Twenty-first Dynasty
[5]	Etymology certain
[4]	Etymology probable
[3]	Etymology questionable
[2]	Etymology dubious
[1]	Etymology wholly uncertain
[...]	Meaning or reading doubtful
(...)	Word supplied to translation for clarity or style
{ ... }	Superfluous word or sign
[ayyā]	Morpheme
/yā/	Phonemic transcription
[yā]	Phonetic transcription
ā	Long vowel
ē	Long vowel resulting from the contraction of a diphthong
=	Division between sign groups in transliteration
*	Reconstructed or hypothetical form (with BH, vocalization is based on that of other <i>attested</i> forms of the word)

Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts
of the New Kingdom and
Third Intermediate Period

INTRODUCTION

EGYPTIAN CONTACTS with Syria-Palestine occurred already in pre-dynastic times and are well documented from the Old and Middle Kingdom periods.¹ Copper mines in the Sinai were worked since predynastic times, and to judge from later periods, it is likely that some of the workers were Semitic speaking people. (Semitic dedicatory inscriptions in the “Proto-Sinaitic” alphabet dating to the early New Kingdom attest to this fact.²) For much of its history, the Phoenician port city Byblos was a virtual colony of Egypt, the source of valuable and essential lumber and other imported commodities. In the Middle Kingdom, a series of forts was established in the Suez region to restrict the influx of the “Asiatics,” and mining operations continued. Without pursuing the details, it can be said that in the Middle Kingdom, Egypt exercised hegemony over Syria-Palestine, but without direct control. One king, Senwosret III, even resorted to military force, probably to keep trade routes open. The so-called Execration Texts³ list, for magical purposes, the names of Syro-Palestinian towns, tribes, and their respective leaders. In spite of these contacts, few Semitic words entered the Egyptian language.

In the New Kingdom, however, when Egypt’s hegemony turned to outright imperialism, the contacts with Semitic speaking peoples were considerably intensified. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Egyptians established administrative headquarters in three provinces and built a number of garrisons throughout the region.⁴ Furthermore, large numbers of Semitic speakers were living in Egypt as slaves⁵ or as labourers; some were sent there for diplomatic reasons.⁶ Another form of contact was commercial, and now Syrian merchants, private and state envoys, brought in goods and slaves to sell in Egyptian market-places. Through

¹W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: 1962), pp. 13–90.

their intensified use of the overland trade routes, the Egyptians no doubt interacted with the peoples living in the region from the Sinai Peninsula to the Arabah. In the Amarna period, Akkadian was the main language of international diplomacy, and Akkadian documents were exchanged between the Egyptian royal Court and rulers abroad. And of course, Byblos remained a key port and Egyptian colony. Points of contact with speakers of Semitic languages were thus varied, numerous, and greatly intensified in the New Kingdom age. After the disintegration of the Egyptian Empire, with new states such as Israel, Moab, and Ammon emerging and flourishing, Egyptian presence was considerably reduced.

The Semitic languages that the Egyptians would have encountered can be classified as follows:⁷

- NORTH-WEST SEMITIC:
 - Canaanite (Ugaritic, Phoenician, Hebrew, Moabite, Ammonite, and Edomite)
 - Aramaic
- SOUTH-WEST SEMITIC:
 - Pre-Islamic North Arabic dialects
 - Old South Arabic dialects⁸
- NORTH-EAST SEMITIC: Assyrian, Babylonian

The so-called execration texts of the Middle Kingdom record quite a number of Amorite personal and place names,⁹ but examples of ordinary vocabulary are not numerous until the New Kingdom.¹⁰ Some of the examples that are usually cited, e.g. *k3mw* “vineyard,” may actually be ancient Afro-asiatic cognates, rather than loan words.

Late Egyptian was used in the Eighteenth to Twenty-fourth Dynasties (ca. 1570–715 B.C.E.), and the Semitic words dealt with in this study mostly come from this time period. The bulk of Eighteenth Dynasty

⁷The various languages/dialects listed here are not all clearly attested for the New Kingdom period. This is especially the case with the pre-Islamic North Arabic dialects, which are mentioned only to indicate further sources available as evidence.

⁸Sabean is the best documented. Texts appear at the beginning of the first millennium. It is interesting to note that there were apparently South Arabians living in Judah in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. (Cf. Y. Shiloh, “South Arabian Inscriptions from the City of David,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* [1987], pp. 9–18.)

⁹Posener, *Princes et pays*. There may also be Semitic names in the Old Kingdom execration texts, but in the material published to date only Nubian names occur, cf. Abubakr and Osing, “Ächtungstexte aus dem Alten Reich,” *MDAIK* 29 (1974), p. 97 ff.

¹⁰𢃠𢃠𢃠 ispt “quiver” (for arrows) is an example from the Middle Kingdom. Cf. Ugaritic 𐎂𐎑𐎓, Akkadian *išpatu*, and Hebrew נִשְׁפָת, Helck (*op. cit.*, p. 606, n. 4) cites several more.

material is in royal monumental inscriptions containing lists of toponyms and accounts of military operations. In the Ramesside period, Semitic words occur in a much wider range of texts: stories, accounts, administrative documents, royal inscriptions, legal texts, letters, love poems, religious, medical, and magical texts. But, as is well known, the primary source of Semitic words is the body of texts known as “miscellanies” or “school texts.” One lengthy school text, P. Anastasi I, is a literary letter that deals largely with the life of a military scribe in Syria-Palestine and is teeming with Semitic toponyms and vocabulary. After the Ramesside era the variety of texts is considerably diminished. For the early Twenty-first Dynasty we have the “Report of Wenamun,” several letters,¹¹ the lexical catalogues known as onomastica,¹² and amuletic oracular decrees that promise divine protection.¹³ From the Twenty-second Dynasty we have Shishak’s list of Israelite and Judean toponyms. Semitic words continue to occur sporadically in the texts of the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties, but are far less frequent. The number of Semitic words occurring in documents, thus corresponds very closely with the intensity of Egyptian contacts with Syria-Palestine. A knowledge of Semitic vocabulary and how to write foreign names was probably thought to be a necessary part of the scribal training in the New Kingdom. Later, the need was less pressing, and although school texts, such as the onomastica, continued to include Semitic vocabulary, it was now limited to true loan words and scribal trivia.

In the New Kingdom, Semitic (and other foreign) words and names are regularly written in a specialized writing system known as “group writing” that employs a relatively small number of sign groups in combinations that were not normally used for native words.¹⁴ The nature and function of group writing has been much debated, but consensus seems to be returning to the view that it represents an attempt to express the vocalic as well as consonantal sounds of foreign or obscure words and names.¹⁵

¹¹E.g. the letter from El Hibeh, P. Straßburg 51, 4. (W. Spiegelberg, “Briefe der 21. Dynastie aus El-Hibe,” ZÄS 53 [1917], pp. 1–30.)

¹²Gardiner, A.H. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 3 vols. (Oxford: 1947).

¹³J.E.S. Edwards, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Fourth Series, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the late New Kingdom*, 2 vols. (London: 1960).

¹⁴Native words generally were written with logographic or multiconsonantal signs, as in previous stages of the language, although inflected endings were frequently written in group writing. Sometimes even native words were written in group writing, so it would be mistaken to assume (as has happened) that everything written in this fashion is of foreign origin.

¹⁵Group writing is also used extensively for writing native Egyptian nicknames and

METHODOLGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Definition of Terms

Although the title of this study would seem to be transparent, a couple of terms require comment. By “Semitic” is meant not only words that are of original Semitic derivation, but also naturalized loanwords from non-Semitic languages, and words whose origins are obscure but are used over broad areas by different cultures, e.g. *Kulturwörter*. These were included because we are not always able to establish the origin of certain words, and even though they do not appear to have a good Semitic origin, they were nevertheless part of the Semitic lexicon.¹⁶

The general designation “Semitic words” is used precisely in order to avoid the term “loan word,” since most of the Semitic words found in Egyptian texts, not being naturalized, failed to achieve this status. The German “Fremdwort” is more accurate, but there is no good English equivalent.¹⁷

Also included as “Semitic words” are proper nouns and their component elements. Proper nouns, and toponyms in particular, pose a number of problems. They are not all of Semitic origin, and in some cases have undergone secondary transformations based on popular etymologies; they are often of uncertain etymology, and even when the root is well known, they are frequently of obscure word formation. On the other hand, much information concerning Semitic word forms, conjugations, etc. is to be found only in proper nouns, and it was therefore decided not to exclude them entirely. However, only proper nouns that meet the following criteria have been included: 1) They must be clearly Semitic; 2) They must be part of the general vocabulary; 3) They must be of certain word formation.¹⁸

diminutives, perhaps in order to distinguish between forms that would be written identically in the traditional orthography, or in any case, to indicate the pronunciation when the name was quite far removed from the original.

¹⁶Some probably entered Canaanite from Egyptian, and were later “borrowed” back into Egyptian with a different meaning (cf. *ka=—r-ḥa-ta* [no. 481] and *ka-ma-ḥa* [no. 464]). This phenomenon is also known with other languages whose contact spanned extended periods of time. For example, a number of Semitic loan words into Greek were later borrowed back by Talmudic Aramaic and Syriac.

¹⁷“Foreign word,” as a technical term, is a loan-translation from the German, so one might as well stick with the original.

¹⁸No attempt will be made to systematically locate or identify sites, as that lies far beyond the bounds of a lexical study.

Etymologies and Translations

In dealing with Semitic words scholars have tended to propose translations based primarily on etymology. Although this is generally possible with words that are obviously Semitic and have clear etymologies, the practice is much more unsound when dealing with words that are less certain. By way of example, the word *b=c-ra* (no. 114) designating a body of water had been derived from the Semitic root *b^r* “well.” One of the contexts, however, indicates that it was the habitat of salt water fish and is therefore much more likely to mean “sea,” for which a reasonably good etymology can be given. In all cases, the context must be given primary consideration, even if it turns out to be not very helpful. For this reason, some or all of the examples in a given entry are cited in context in order to better establish the meaning.¹⁹

The establishment of accurate etymologies is an important factor in determining the meaning of Semitic words in Egyptian. In some cases, as with proper nouns, it is the only way to establish the meaning. Although a correct etymology does not lead to an automatic translation, in some cases it can shed a great deal of light on the general sense. Other factors, however must also be considered. Often two or more possible etymologies can be suggested on phonological grounds, but other factors can be of aid in deciding the matter, most notably the use of determinatives.²⁰ To illustrate the latter, in the case of the name *Mi₃=t₂=ra-ša=m=c* (no. 400) the last two signs can also be read together as *ma₄*, and one might compare the name to *Šu₅=ma=b=c=r+u* (no. 399) which can be identified with the Ugaritic name *Šm-B^cl* “The name of Ba^cal” (and cf. similar names in other languages). The situation is clarified, however, by the occurrence of the ear determinative in this case, indicating that the word is to be read *ša=m=c* and derived from the common Semitic root *šm^c* “to hear”; the name can thus be interpreted as “Mitra has hearkened.”

¹⁹Except in a few cases where the information is more easily paraphrased or there is too little to merit mention.

²⁰Readers unfamiliar with the generic word determinatives used in the Egyptian writing system may profitably consult the list of common determinatives in A.H. Gardiner's, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford: 1957), pp. 31–33. The determinatives regularly indicate the general sense of the word, and sometimes allow extremely precise definitions. Less common determinatives are contained in Gardiner's more comprehensive sign list beginning on p. 442. There are, however, certain hazards with determinatives. Cf. the false etymology from *twb*, “to return” in some writings of the n. div. Teshub, as indicated by the “backwards walking legs” determinative (no. 364). The throw-stick determinative | is used to identify foreign words and names as is occasionally the case with the abstract determinative ﹏ (speech, thought, use of mouth). Both of these sporadically serve as word dividers.

The proposing of etymologies relies, to a certain extent, on critical judgements. In cases with more than one possible etymology, the preferred one is usually indicated. Sometimes, however, two or three alternate etymologies are equally attractive²¹ or equally unsatisfactory. In such cases no conclusion was proposed, and the question was left open.

It should be appreciated that the Semitic roots are not entirely rigid within any one language, let alone across boundaries of dialect and language. Such factors as metathesis, devoicing, dissimilation, and weak phonetic change lead to the emergence of apparently separate roots, which in fact share a common origin and often even retain their original meaning. Well known cases include Hebrew עֲזַבְתִּי (‘az̫ab̫ti) and עָזַבְתִּי (‘az̫ab̫ti) “cry, outcry.” An interesting (and complicated) example of major phonetic change between and within languages is the Hebrew word צְרַעַת (tsir̫’at) “hornet” and its Aramaic cognate (in various forms) טְרִקְמָא (ṭr̫iq̫mā), עֲרַעַת (‘ar̫’at), and אֲוֻרְעַת (‘ur̫’at), all “hornet.”²² Also, especially frequent in Semitic languages are families of roots containing similar consonants and conveying similar meanings.²³ This being the case, one cannot always make a categorical pronouncement on matters of etymology.

A methodological problem that has often surfaced—and not only in the study of Semitic words in Egyptian transcription—is the all too frequent comparison to obscure lexical items, especially from the Arabic dictionaries. Arabic is a language with a rich lexical heritage, but it is often subject to abuse.²⁴ In using Arabic, care has been taken to use genuine words with their basic meanings,²⁵ and to indicate when a particular word is semantically isolated or is unique to Arabic. Caution was also exercised in dealing with Ugaritic evidence, especially when in isolation. Biblical Hebrew is in many instances far better established, but even here rare words and unusual semantic developments warrant a judicious approach. Nothing precludes the borrowing of rare or otherwise unknown words, and such is often the case with chariot technology,

²¹This is often the case when there are minor mutations to a given root and even with semantic specialization they remain too close to distinguish.

²²The root was quite unstable in Aramaic, being subject to a number of phonetic mutations that would, on the surface, appear to exclude any connection between the Hebrew and Aramaic. Some of the problems with this word are dealt with under *di₄-r-“u* “hornets” no. 591).

²³For an example see the entry *ta-ha-sa* (no. 535).

²⁴Especially E.W. Lane’s enormous work (*An Arabic English Lexicon* [London: 1867]), which contains many words from lexicographical works that were never in common use.

²⁵I.e. not “dictionary words” or extended semantic derivations.

and the like. Nevertheless, many of the new etymologies proposed here derive from fairly basic vocabulary. Some of these etymologies have been obscured by phonetic mutations, others by the surprisingly high frequency of metathesis.²⁶

Exclusion of Non-Semitic Words

One of the flaws in previous studies of Semitic words in Egyptian transcription has been the inclusion of substantial numbers of non-Semitic words.²⁷ The inclusion of such material obviously would distort every aspect of the study. The following factors were therefore considered in the process of selection.

- 1) Words written in group writing that do not occur in earlier periods and have no good Egyptian etymology are considered apparent foreign words.
- 2) Words not written in group writing, but which do not occur in earlier periods and have no good Egyptian etymology may also be foreign words, especially if they occur in appropriate contexts.
- 3) Apparent foreign words reported in direct quotations of Semitic speakers have a high probability of being Semitic.
- 4) Apparent foreign words designating products said to come from areas in which Semitic languages were spoken have a high probability of being Semitic.
- 5) Apparent foreign words in Syro-Palestinian contexts are likewise probably Semitic. Nevertheless Hittite, Hurrian, and other languages may have been the source, especially in northern regions. Therefore words that do not conform to Semitic patterns (e.g. too many root letters,²⁸ incompatible consonants) should be excluded.
- 6) Apparent foreign words that occur in contexts without a direct Syro-Palestinian connection but which contain a high level of otherwise known Semitic vocabulary are assumed to be likely Semitic.²⁹
- 7) Apparent foreign words without Levantine or Mesopotamian connections are excluded, unless a reasonably good Semitic derivation is at hand.
- 8) Apparent foreign words designating products said to come from

²⁶This is dealt with in Part II, Chapter 1, I C, 5. The *certain* cases of metathesis occur in nearly five per cent of the total number of words studied.

²⁷Helck does point this out (*Beziehungen*, p. 551 and n. 2), but nevertheless includes a number of words that are almost certainly not Semitic (e.g. H. 26, 30) and some that are probably native Egyptian (e.g. H. 6 [in Middle Egyptian], 29, 52, 86, 107, 144).

²⁸Of course, not in cases where Semitic roots are known to be quadrilateral / reduplicating, or when roots are expanded with certain letters, such as infixes *r*.

²⁹E.g. lists of “asiatic” breads, texts dealing with chariots and their equipment.

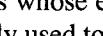
Cyprus, Crete, Hatti, etc. are assumed to be from the languages of those regions unless they have sound Semitic etymologies or are known in the Semitic languages.

- 9) Words whose meaning is thoroughly obscure, or whose context is entirely uncertain, should be excluded.

Some latitude has been left, particularly in categories 3 and 4, and it is possible that a few non-Semitic words have been included. However, other measures were taken to prevent, as much as possible, basing conclusions on questionable evidence.³⁰

Group Writing

There are still several aspects of group writing which are not entirely certain. The question of the origin and development of group writing over the long period of its use was briefly addressed by Albright,³¹ and a few valuable observations have been made by other scholars, but in the light of the evidence presented in Chapter 6, a new overall interpretation of the development of group writing has been proposed.

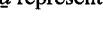
In addition to the problem of the general nature of the script, there are many particular sign groups whose exact value is unclear. For instance, the sign  (*t*)³² is regularly used to represent the Semitic phoneme that occurs in Hebrew as *samekh*. There are times when it must, however, represent *t*, such as in the word:  ³³ *ku=t=m=t* “gold,” which is related to Akkadian *kutimmu* “goldsmith,” and Hebrew  “gold.” Other cases also indicate that  represents *t* or *ta* when it is not used as part of a syllable group, and this occurs primarily in the monumental script. The Appendix lists the signs and the respective values assigned to them based on the reconstructions.

A basic problem in such a study is the method of transliterating group writing into the Roman alphabet. To be useful for quantitative analyses each group had to have only one transliteration. Thus in the initial stages, a group like  (*pw*) was not transliterated variously as “*pá*, *pí*, *pú*,”³⁴ depending on the value expected or required, but simply “*pa*” in all

³⁰Namely the “level of certainty” tag at the end of each entry. This is explained in the section on “Format of Part I,” below.

³¹VESO, pp. 12–15.

³²It should be noted that although this grapheme is transcribed by Egyptologists with *t*, it was probably an affricate [ts] or [tʃ]. Similarly, Egyptian *d* was probably [dz] or [dʒ]. These transcriptions thus in no way correspond to the conventions of Semitic and other systems in which *t* and *d* represent the inter-dentals [p] and [θ].

³³Also written   .

³⁴As Albright, VESO, VII B.

cases. When the reconstructions for all the words had been established, the most certain evidence was examined and the values required were then assigned. Not all values from the reconstructions were, however, assigned, as it is assumed that Egyptian scribes were not very meticulous, and that inaccurate transcriptions were not uncommon.³⁵ Helck's table³⁶ probably contains too many sign groups that are assumed to represent syllables with all three vowels.

Phonology

The Egyptian transcriptions provide valuable information about the phonology of West Semitic languages, since Egyptian is able to represent some distinctions better than the Phoenician alphabet and Akkadian cuneiform, e.g. *h / ḥ and c / q*.³⁷ Phonological features of interest include the presence or absence of diphthongs, evidence of merging of sibilants, inter-dental spirants, and emphatics, and the presence or absence of assimilation with *nun*. These matters form the first part of Chapter 1, Part II. Although the portion of the study devoted to the discussion of Semitic phonology lies in the domain of Semitic studies, the results also have implications for Egyptian phonology, as well. These implications are dealt with in the second part of Chapter 1.

Morphology

Scholars have paid rather little attention to the morphology of Semitic words occurring in Egyptian. Some forms are easily analysed as G-stem participles and common noun formations. Verbal forms, on the other hand, are often less clear. The material is dealt with in Chapter 2.

Identification of the Source Languages

So far no one has attempted to identify comprehensively the specific languages from which the Egyptians were taking the Semitic words. As an *a priori* guess, the likeliest place of entry would seem to be Byblos, where an intensive Egyptian presence is well known for a very long period of time. Nevertheless, there were several other points of contact, and in all likelihood, Semitic words entered the language from various

³⁵One could cite inconsistencies in the cuneiform materials, as well, e.g. the writings of the name "Arab": KUR A-ri-bi, LÚ Ari-bi; KUR A-ru-bu, LÚ A-ru-bu; KUR A-ra-bi, LÚ A-ra-bi; LÚ A-ra-bu; and the gentilics KUR Ar-ba-a-a, LÚ Ar-ba-a-a.

³⁶Beziehungen, pp. 601–2.

³⁷However, the Egyptian script is very poor for transcribing the "emphatics," Egyptian *q* being used to represent Semitic *s*, and **d*, as well as *z* and **d*.

sources. Certain results proved impossible to obtain, and as will be proposed in Chapter 5, the Egyptian transcriptions probably tell us more about old Phoenician and Hebrew than current hypothetical reconstructions of these languages can tell us about the origin of the words here studied. The generally accepted reconstructions rest on a very bold assumption—that the short Semitic alphabet contained a grapheme corresponding to each phoneme. It will be suggested that the assumption that the bulk of Semitic words are from older dialects of Phœnician and Hebrew is more likely than the assumption upon which Phœnician is reconstructed. The conclusion to be drawn is that our current reconstructions should be reconsidered.

Areas of Usage and Genres of Texts

In order to ascertain which areas of life and spheres of human endeavour were most open to the introduction of Semitic vocabulary, the material was divided into two sets of categories. The first set is rather closely linked to the specific nature of the vocabulary and affords a finer view. The second set, more abstract, reveals a broader view of the areas of life in which these words were used. This material is dealt with in Chapter 3. The genres of Egyptian texts in which Semitic words were most likely to appear forms the subject of Chapter 4.

PRESENTATION & DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCE: THE FORMAT OF PART I

Approximately 500 words are listed in Egyptian alphabetical order by the consonants only (i.e. the vowels are disregarded).³⁸ The signs  (ȝ³⁹) and  (y) are disregarded, as are vocalic  (w / u) and  (w / u). It should be noted that the group   is to be read *nu₂* and not *iniw* (or sim.). The sign  (i) occurs as an integral part of certain groups, such as  (ta), but preceding  (ȝ) it forms the group ^ȝa, and preceding w it

³⁸Readers not familiar with the Egyptian writing system may consult the list of Egyptian consonantal (alphabetic) signs in their conventional order at the beginning of the Appendix. These readers may also find the word indexes of some use, especially those of the Hebrew and Arabic words. A convenient chart of the Egyptian alphabet can be found in Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 27. Two corrections should, however, be noted: the vulture sign (ȝ, commonly called "aleph" by Egyptologists) is *not* the glottal stop in Egyptian. The reed-leaf sign (ȝ) serves as both [y] and [ȝ]. Also, Semitic scholars should particularly note that Egyptian ȝ and d are *not* inter-dentals, but rather they are probably affricates: [ts] and [dz] (or [dȝ]).

³⁹This sign, called "aleph" by Egyptologists, has nothing whatsoever to do with Semitic ^ȝaleph, the glottal stop. In Middle Egyptian it was used to represent Semitic // and /r/ and apparently had lost its consonantal value in Late Egyptian.

forms the group *ʔw*; standing alone, it represents Semitic *aleph*. “Double reed-leaf” ፩ (y) represents *ya* or *y*. For the readings of other sign groups reference may be made to the Appendix. Words occurring in two forms, e.g. with and without contraction of diphthongs, are listed separately, but are cross-referenced. Many words are written or miswritten with metathesis; these have been cross-referenced, but are listed with the main entries as variants. Proper nouns of more than one element are always given in their entirety, but only the transliteration of the relevant portion is provided.⁴⁰ A space has been inserted between the elements for convenience in reading.

The format of the entries is standardized as follows, with a few slight variations called for in particular cases:

- **ENTRY:** The entry and its variant writings are presented in hieroglyphic script. The transliterations are given in italic script, with a double hyphen separating each syllable. This is followed by references to the primary sources. (The list of references is intended to be comprehensive, but not exhaustive.⁴¹) At the end of each line, enclosed in square brackets, are the dynasties in which the writing is found. E.g. [D. 20].
- **RECONSTRUCTION:** The first word in the body of text, marked with an asterisk is a reconstruction of the Semitic word. The consonants of the reconstruction are mostly those of the Proto-Semitic forms,⁴² except in cases where there appear to have been phonemic mergers. The vocalic reconstruction is based on several factors: 1) the Egyptian transcriptions, 2) internal reconstruction from Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, and 3) internal reconstruction from Coptic. Accentuation and vowel length are not given, except in cases where these are quite certain.⁴³ However, when vowel length is indicated, non-marked vowels are assumed to be short. The reconstructions are transcribed according to the conventions of Semitists, with the exception of *samekh*, which is here indicated by š for added clarity. (Transcriptions from actual Semitic languages, however, follow the standard practice of employing unmarked s for *samekh*.)
- **PART OF SPEECH:** And other morphological information.
- **TRANSLATION:** In bold small capital letters.
- **DEMOTIC AND COPTIC:** The later forms of the word are listed, if they occur.
- **CONTEXT:** A passage of sufficient length is normally cited to help establish the meaning.

⁴⁰E.g. the toponym *ɛn Na-ɛw-ma₄* (“Pleasant Springs”) is listed under *n* as *na-ɛw-ma₄*.

⁴¹Indeed, in the case of some of the more common words, hundreds of additional examples might be collected, but with little or no added information. Nevertheless, as many examples as could be located have been included.

⁴²Many of which occur in Ugaritic, and survive in Arabic, and, as will be proposed in Part II, Chapter 1, were in common use in most Canaanite dialects.

⁴³Accent, in at least the Egyptian pronunciation, can often be ascertained in words that survived into Coptic.

- **ETYMOLOGY:** One or more etymology is proposed.
- **PHONOLOGY:** Phonological difficulties with the etymology, conditioned phonetic changes, etc. are discussed
- **MORPHOLOGY:** The Semitic morphological aspects are dealt with, or, in some cases, where the word appears to be treated as an Egyptian form, the Egyptian morphological details are presented.
- **SEMANTICS:** Only if the semantic development is particularly interesting or deviates from what is expected.
- **SYNTAX:** The use of the words in the Egyptian texts.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE:** References to some of the major reference works and secondary sources are listed in parentheses.
- **LEVEL OF CERTAINTY:** In bold square brackets. The reliability of the word as evidence, based primarily on etymology. The ratings are as follows:
 - [5] **ENTIRELY CERTAIN.** E.g. *ša=ra=ma₄* (no. 408) *šalāma “Peace!” (a greeting).
 - [4] **QUITE CERTAIN.** E.g. *ma₄=qa-ru₂* (no. 216) *maqlu “hearth.” There is some doubt about the word. Others have identified it differently, for instance. In some cases the identification seems certain, but the word in question is rather rare, e.g. *n=k=f-i=t-a={-r}* (no. 261) an oil from Babylonia. This level also includes cases where a Semitic word with the precise meaning required occurs in only one language, but the root is otherwise attested with approximate meanings (*na₂=wa=ti₂* [no. 248] “to tremble”).
 - [3] **QUESTIONABLE.** The word has a good etymology in one Semitic language, but is otherwise unattested (*ha₂=ya=d-b=a*, no. 307). Cases where two (or more) equally good etymologies are possible (*hi=ma₄=ti*, no. 335 “power”). Also where a broken context precludes certainty of the meaning, but the general sense is clear.
 - [2] **DUBIOUS.** The etymology is admittedly far-fetched or the etymology seems sound, but the context is too broken or obscure to ascertain even the general sense.
 - [1] **WHOLLY UNCERTAIN.** The word appears to be Semitic, or occurs in a context likely to include Semitic vocabulary, but no etymology can be proposed. This level also includes cases where the etymology is questionable and the context is broken.

The inclusion of these “reliability tags” was considered advisable for several reasons, in spite of the fact that they represent the subjective judgements of the author. First, since in the concluding chapters generally only evidence from level [5] is used (with occasional specified reference to level [4] data), the reader should be able to ascertain which specific set of words are involved. Second, although imperfect, the tags will serve as general guidelines of reliability. Third, if they do no more than sound an occasional note of caution, then their inclusion seems sufficiently warranted.

PART I

THE SEMITIC WORDS



1. ²*a-yu-*^{-r} Wenamun 2, 68. [D. 21]

Probably also the PN:

- ²*a₂-ya-ra* PN II 277, 27.

*²*ayyōla*, ²*ayyāla*. N. (m.?) ANIMAL USED FOR FOOD, PROBABLY “STAG,” POSSIBLY “RAM.”¹ Demotic *ȝywr*; Coptic ^{SAB}ειογλ “hart.” Cf. BH “stag” or “ram.”² Also cf. Ph. ; Ug. *āylm* (pl.) and the PN ^m*A-ia-lu*, ²*Ayl*;³ Amorite ²*ayyalum*; Imp. Aram. ; TA (²*ayy^əlā*); Ar. (²*ayyil*, ²*iyyal*, ²*uyyal*); Old S. Ar. (²*yl*); Eth. (*hayyal*); Akk. *ayyalu*, all “stag.” The *u* of the Egyptian writing probably represents *[ō]. If so, the word perhaps derives from a Phoenician original, since only in this language did original short accented *[á] (after being stress-lengthened to [ā]) undergo the *[á]-*[ō] shift.⁴ Hebrew nouns, according to the Masoretic tradition, exhibit stress-lengthening, but not a change in vowel quality. (H. 1; B. 12; *Wb.* I 38, 16.) [4]

2. ²*a₂-bi=ya* Amarna.⁵ [D. 18]

- ²*a₂-bi₂=ya* Amarna.⁶

- ²*a₂-bi-na* Urk. IV 4, 1, 16.⁷ [D. 18]

¹If the meaning is “ram,” the word is to be identified as a variant writing (with metathesis) of ²*i₂-r=ya*, no. 18, below.

²The possibility of a relation to “ram” is proposed by A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (*Wb.*), vol. 1, p. 38; J.A. Wilson, in J.B. Pritchard, ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament* (*ANET*) (3rd ed.; Princeton: 1969), p. 20.

³F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Rome: 1967), p. 94.

⁴W.R. Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000–586 B.C.E.* (Philadelphia: 1985), pp. 33–34. In Hebrew the shift basically involves only *[á].

⁵H. Hari, *Répertoire onomastique amarnien* (Geneva: 1976), no. 208.

⁶Hari, *Répertoire onomastique*, no. 208.

⁷The etymology is less certain than the other examples, but the names *ābn* and *ūbn*

²*a*₂=*bi*=—*n*=²*a* Louvre E14355.⁸ [D. 19]

²*ab*₂ KRII 7, 6. [D. 19]

²*i*=*bi* Shishak List, no. 72. [D. 22]

*²*abu*. N. only in PN, n. loc. “**FATHER**.” Cf. the common Semitic word for father: BH אָבִ; Ph. אָבִ, and PN’s, e.g. אָבָבָעֵל, אָבָבָעֵל; Ug. *āb*, and in Akk. transcription the names *Abi-rami*, *Abiya*; ¹⁰ Moabite אָבִ; Amorite ²*abum*; Ammonite PN’s Šm-²*b*, ²*b-gd*, etc.; Old Aram., Imp. Aram. אָבִ, TA אָבִ; Ar. أَبْ (²*ab*); Old S. Ar. 𐎢 (²*b*); Eth. አብ: (²*ab*); Akk. *abu*, all “father.” The lexeme is a common element in Semitic names. (PN I 20, 15; 21, 11; II 262, 20.) [5]

3. ²*a*₂=*bi*=*ra* Urk. IV 663, 10. [D. 18]

²*a*₂=*bi*=—*r*=*ya* An. IV 17, 9. [D. 19]

*²*abira*; ²*abirāya*. N. m. “**STALLION**.” The determinative of the Urk. IV example indicates that the word refers specifically to horses. The context, a list of booty from Megiddo, is likewise clear: *Ssmt* 2,041, *msyt nt ssmt* 191, ²*=bi=ra* 6, *rnp*¹¹ [...]. “Mares 2,041, fillies 191, stallions 6, colts [...].”¹² In An. IV the word occurs in the context of horses: *Htr ga=wa nfrw msw Sa=—n=ga=—r*, ²*a=bi=—r=ya tpty n Ht3w*. “Horses, fine *gw3*, the offspring of Babylon, and first-rate ²*bry* from *Hatti*.” Cf. BH אֲבִיר “mighty, valiant” (of stallions,

are attested in Ugaritic. MH has the names אָבִין and אָבִין, and TA אָבִין and אָבִין. The *nun*-ending could be the first person plural suffix.

⁸G. Posener, “Une liste de noms propres étrangers sur deux ostraca hiératiques du Nouvel Empire,” *Syria* 18 (1937), p. 193, and pl. 30.

⁹F.L. Benz, *Personal Names in Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions: A Catalog, Grammatical Study and Glossary of Elements* (Rome: 1972), p. 257.

¹⁰D.F. Kinlaw, *A Study of the Personal Names in the Akkadian Texts from Ugarit* (PhD Thesis, Brandeis University, 1967), p. 13.

¹¹With horse determinative.

¹²The horses are thus categorized by sex and maturity. The relative numbers indicate that the war horses were mares, and that stallions must have been used primarily for breeding purposes. (In the Ramesside reliefs, however, the horses depicted are almost always male.) The offspring were apparently allowed to run freely with the mares, as also noted with reference to Akkadian materials by A. Salonen, *Hippologica Accadica* (Helsinki: 1956), p. 26. Salonen suggests that this might have been part of their training.



Jer. 8:16, 47:3, 50:11; Judg. 5:22); Ug. *ibr* “bull.”¹³ The example from An. IV exhibits the plural morpheme [yā]. Albright¹⁴ assumed that this was the L.E. collective ending (Erman, *NäG* §157), but it could also be Semitic. The morpheme [-ayyā] forms the definite plural in Aramaic.¹⁵ The NW Semitic plural construct is formed with [-ay].¹⁶ A plural absolute ending in *yodh* very likely existed in BH, although it is not recognized by the grammars.¹⁷ (H. 2; B. 20; VESO VI B, 2; *Wb.* I 63, 15; Loret, *Rec. Trav.* 18, 201, n. 2.) [5]

4. P. Wilbour 16, 24; 19, 32. “STREAM.” See under .

5. ²*a₂=bi=š=tu* An. IV 14, 1. [D. 19]

RAD 17, 10. [D. 19]

²*a₂=bi=š=tu₂* P. Kahun 40, 23. [D. 19]

²*a₂=bi=ša=(ta)* P. Leiden I 350 vs. 6, 5. [D. 19]

²*i=bi=ša=ta* Gloss. Gol. 6, 11. [D. 20–1]

Also written with *y*:

²*ya=bi=ša=(ta)* P. Leiden I 350 vs. 2, 15. [D. 19]

²*ya=bi=š=ta* O. Gardiner 78.¹⁸ [D. 19 or 20]

*²*ābištu*, ²*ābeštu*; *yābišta*. N. f. (?) “**HARDTACK, BISCUIT (?)**” The word occurs in lists of foodstuffs, taxes, and rations. In An. IV 14, 1 it is in a list of “fine breads” (*t nfr*), and it must be a small item as ten thousand were to be prepared (of other types of baked goods one to two thousand were required). In P. Kahun 40 they are measured by the *oipe* (a measure of ca. 18.2 litres). The variant with initial /y/

¹³C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook: Texts in Transliteration, Cuneiform Selections, Glossary, Grammar* (3rd. ed.; Rome: 1965), no. 39, notes the L.E. borrowing.

¹⁴VESO, p. 33, 1.

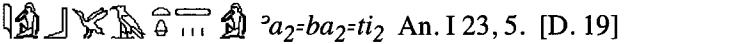
¹⁵The plural **מלךִיא** “kings” occurs in the inscription of ZKR, King of Ḥamat (Donner-Röllig no. 202, 9) which dates to around 800 B.C.E.

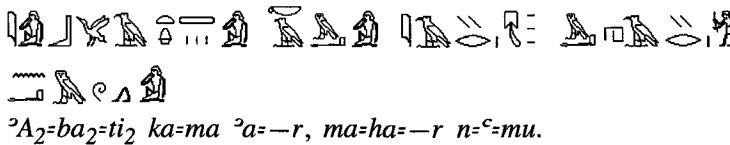
¹⁶Garr, *Dialect Geography*, pp. 91–93.

¹⁷A. Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Leiden: 1966), pp. 39–40 (§§ 34, 35).

¹⁸Unpublished, but cited by Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (AEO) (Oxford: 1947), vol. 2, p. 228*.

suggests a derivation from the root *ybš* as proposed by Gardiner (*AEO* II, 228*). Cf. BH בָשׁ “to be dry”;¹⁹ יְבָשָׂת, יְבָשָׂה “dry ground,” MH תְּבָשָׂת “dried fruits”; Amorite *yabišum* “dry”; TA נְבָשָׂת “dry ground,” and esp. אַבְשָׂנָא, אַבְשָׂנָא “parched ears of grain”; Syr. (yabbištā); Ar. (yabis) “dry”; Old S. Ar. 𠁩𠁩 (ybs₁); Eth. ይେୟୁସା: (yebūsa) “dry.” The morphology is unclear; it could be an adjectival form meaning “dry (bread),” or it could be a G-stem passive participle “that which has dried out,” or even an A-stem (causative) “that which is made to be dry.” The semantic development is likewise uncertain; rather than a dry or crispy bread or biscuit, it could have been a bread made from parched-grain flour, as suggested by the Aramaic אַבְשָׂנָא. (B. 30; *Wb.* I 64, 20; Jéquier *BIFAO* 19, 23 ff.) [4]

6.  ²*a*₂=*ba*₂=*ti*₂ An. I 23, 5. [D. 19]
^{*2}*abádtā*, ^{*2}*abbádtī?* Vb. “**TO PERISH; DESTROY; GO ASTRAY.**”
 Cf. BH אֶבְדֵּ “to perish, go astray,” D-stem “to destroy”; EA *a-ba-da-at*; Ph., Moab. תְּבָדֵד; Ug. ḥbd; OA, TA אֶבְדֵּ; Syr. ՚(⁹²*bad*) “perish, destroy”; Ar. ՚(⁹*abada*) “run wild, run away”; Akk. *abātu* “perish, destroy.” The word occurs in a complete utterance in Canaanite:



²*A*₂=*ba*₂=*ti*₂ *ka-ma-* ²*a*₋*r*, *ma-ha-*₋*r* *n=c-mu.*

This can be reconstructed in unvocalized transliteration as: *²*b*<*d*>*t* *km* ²*ry*/²*yl*, *mhr* *n^cm*. Although the etymology of the word in question seems quite certain, the Canaanite utterance in which the word occurs is open to various interpretations. The word is unclear both morphologically and semantically. Burchardt took it as a 2nd m. sing. perfect (D-stem): “Du mordest wie ein Löwe, o ... *maher!*” Albright construed it as a 1st sing. perf. G-stem and understood the phrase to mean: “I perish like a lamb, dear *maher!*” Helck followed Burchardt’s rendering. Fischer-Elfert has recently proposed the

¹⁹Said of stale bread in Josh. 9:5; 12.



translation: “Du irrst umher wie ein Schaf,”²⁰ which presupposes the 2nd m. sing. G-stem. His rendering is possible because of the ambiguity of ²*bd* which can mean both “to perish” and “to go astray.” The form could, however, simply be a 1st sing. D-stem perfect: “I have destroyed (you) like a lion.” The ending [ti] corresponds better to NW Semitic 1st person [tí] (attested in Ph. BH, and Moabite²¹) than to the 2nd person [tā]. If so, the direct object (“you”) was probably understood. Another possibility is that the Egyptian *ibt km* represents *²*בְּמִתְקַה אֶבְדֵּךְ*, in which the second *kaph* has fallen out through haplography.²² The context is difficult, but it seems that this utterance is an interjection made by the speaker, the scribe Hori.²³ Since Hori has just revealed how incompetent his cohort—the would-be *maher*—is, it seems plausible that he should now proclaim his “victory” over his rival (“I have destroyed you”), nevertheless, one cannot rule out the possibility that Hori is continuing the description of incompetence (“you are lost like a sheep”). (B. 32; H. p. 582; VESO p. 33, 2.) [5]

7. — ²*i-pa₂-ta* An. I 17, 6. [D. 19]

*²*ipta*; ²*apīta*? N. f. (?) CAKES, BISCUITS. The word occurs in a passage concerning supplies for a military expedition. The relative quantities of bread and pastry types is not very informative because the passage concerns a case of sloppy provisioning. Cf. BH *אָפָה* “to bake,”²⁴ *נַאֲפָה* “something baked”; Ph. *aq*; Ug. *apy*, in Akk. transcription *a¹-[p]i?-yu?* “baker”;²⁵ TA *אָפָה* “to bake,” *אָפִיָּה* “pastry,” *אָפָה* “bread”; Syr. *لَبَّا* (*epeā*); Old S. Ar. *فِيْهِ* (*fy-m*) “a

²⁰H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die Satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I* (Wiesbaden: 1986), pp. 198–99.

²¹Garr, *Dialect Geography*, p. 124.

²²It is also possible that the original was vocalized *²*abbēdīk kamā* (i.e. more along the lines of Aramaic than Massoretic Hebrew), and the two *kaph*'s falling together, were not indicated in the Egyptian transcription.

²³But cf. Fischer-Elfert, *Anastasi I*, who maintains that it is the speech of onlooking foreign princes. This is highly unlikely since the speech is not attributed to anyone. The logical speaker is therefore the writer, himself.

²⁴As noted by Gardiner, *EHT*, p. 19*.

²⁵Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (Atlanta: 1987), pp. 26–27, no. 32.4. The word corresponds to Akk. *nuhatimu* in a polyglot vocabulary list.

sort of food”; Eth. አፈያ: (*afaya*) “to bake,” አፈያ: (*afūy*) “baked”; Akk. *epū* “to bake.”²⁶ The word may be derived from an internal passive, as is the Talmudic Aramaic נִפְתַּח. If so, the Egyptian *ipata* would presumably be for */*upītu*/. It is perhaps simpler to take it as a *qitlu* formation, along the lines of TA נִפְתַּח “bread.” In this case, *pa₂* would be for /p/. The word is apparently a *hapax*. (B. 39; *Wb.* I 70, 1.) [5]

8. ²*u₂=fi-ta* P. Harris I 71b, 5. [D. 20]
Ibid. 16a, 5; 64c, 7.
^o *Ibid.* 53a, 9.
²⁷ *²*u₂=fi=(ta)* O. Cairo 25678 14. [D. 19]
 P. Turin Cat. 1907/8 II, 15.²⁸ [D. 20]
*²*ufīta*. N. f. (?) AN EDIBLE(?) PLANT. In P. Harris I, the word occurs in lists of edible plants and spices including cinnamon and grapes. *Wb.* suggests a type of fruit. It is not likely related to TA נִפְתַּח “large central branch; stalk” (Jastrow, 31b),²⁹ and the related ‘אָפֵת, אָפֵת³⁰ “branches; dry twigs.” Perhaps cf. the Akk. *apūtu*, which occurs once in a plant list. (B. 43; *Wb.* I 70, 15.) [2]
9. ²*u₂=ma* An. IV 16, 10. [D. 19]
 O. Edinb. 916 2–3. [D. 19]
*²*umma?* N. m. A CHARIOT PART, “FLOOR ASSEMBLY(?)” The little information that we have about the nature of this item is provided by the context of An. IV 16, 10, which describes high quality chariots: *nṣy·sn* ²*u₂=ma* *m sht* “whose ²*m* are woven.” From the determinatives it seems likely that it was made of leather and

²⁶CAD (E, p. 247b) makes reference to a derived noun *upītu*, but I have not been able to find the word elsewhere.

²⁷The writing with (²*a*) is probably a mistake for (*ta*). The “t” under the *f* likely represents the oblique strokes (*y*).

²⁸J.J. Janssen, “A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus (Pap. Turin no. Cat. 1907/8),” *JEA* 52 (1966), pl. 16.

²⁹M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: 1903).

³⁰These both exhibit the Eastern Aramaic plural ending [ē].



wood parts. Jéquier, and later Schulman, identified the word with the floor assembly of the chariot box, which consisted of a wooden frame and tightly woven mat of leather thongs. This identification seems fairly likely, but the etymology remains obscure. One could propose a derivation from the root ²*mm* “to be wide; to precede,” but this is extremely dubious on semantic grounds.³¹ BH נָמָן means “forearm; pivot (of door); cubit,” but any connection with these words is most doubtful. (H. 3; B. 47; *Wb.* I 78, 6; Jéquier, *BIFAO* 19, 153 ff.; Schulman, *JSSEA* 16, 40.) [1]

10. ²*u₃*=*mi*₃ Urk. IV 11, 11. [D. 18]

Perhaps also:

²*i₃*=*ma₄*{*ma₃*}³² KRI I 329, 4. [D. 19]

*²*ummi*, ²*imma*? N. in PN f. “**MOTHER**.” Cf. BH אֶמֶת; Ph. אֶמֶת, and PN’s, e.g. *Anati-ummi*;³³ Ug. *üm*, PN *Anati-ummi*, *ṭtrūm*;³⁴ Amorite ²*ummum*; TA אֶמְמָא; Syr. إِمَّا (*emma*); Ar. اُم (²*umm*); Eth. አም፡ (²*m*); Akk. *ummu*, all “mother.” The name of the individual in Urk. IV 11 is Akkadian: *Ištar-ummi*. The woman in KRI I 329 is the daughter or daughter-in-law of a couple with Semitic names.³⁵ (*PNI* 47, 1; *VESO* III E, 4.) [5]

11. ²*a-n=ru₂=na* An. I 19, 3. [D. 19]

²*a-n=ru₂=ya* O. Lit. DeM 1005 5.³⁶ D. 19 or 20]

*²*allōna*. N. pl. “**OAK TREE**.” The word occurs in the description of a heavily forested area in Syria-Palestine: *Sw rwd m* ²*wnt*, *hr* ²*a-n=ru₂=na*, ²*š ph hrt*. “It is overgrown with ‘cypress’ and *inr*-trees, and the pines reach to the heavens.” Cf. BH יַיִן; Ug. ልልን (in

³¹ Especially given the extremely small size of an Egyptian chariot box (ca. 1 m. x 50 cm.).

³²The *ma₃* sign is probably part of the writing of *ma₄*, but there is possibly an attempt to indicate a doubling of the *m*.

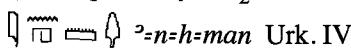
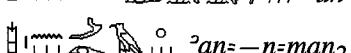
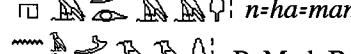
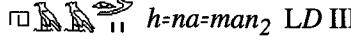
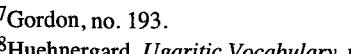
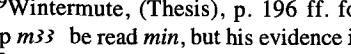
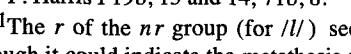
³³Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 269.

³⁴Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, pp. 99, 113.

³⁵*P̄l-B̄l* and ²*b-rkr*.

³⁶= An. I 19, 3.

n. loc.),³⁷ in Akk. transcription *al-la-ni*,³⁸ TA אַלְנָא “tree”; Syr. ﻋَلَنَّ (*ilānā*); Akk. *allānu*, all “oak” except TA, which has become semantically generalized to “tree.” Note the evidence of the Canaanite shift: Akkadian and Aramaic retained [ā], but the Egyptian word reflects [ō] in the source language, represented by *u*. The word is known in Egyptian texts only from this passage. (H. 4; B. 76; VESO X C, 1; *Wb.* I 98, 12.) [5]

12.  ²*an=—n=ra=ha=man*₂³⁹ P. Harris I 16a, 10, etc.⁴⁰ [D. 20]
 ²*an=—n=ha=man*₂ P. Harris I 56a, 5; 56b, 10.
 ²*an=—n=—r=h=man*₂ An. III 2, 5. [D. 19]
 ²*an=—n=ha=man*₂ KRI VII 103, 1; 103, 6; 103, 8. [D. 20]
 ²*an=—n=—r=h=man*₂ An. IV 14, 5. [D. 19]
 ²*an=h=ma=ni* P. Ebers 19, 19–20. [D. 18]
 ²*n=h=man* Urk. IV 73, 12. [D. 18]
 ²*an=—n=ha=—r=man*₂ An. IV 7, 5.⁴¹
 ²*an=—n=ra=man*₂ An. IV 17, 5.
 ²*an=—n=man*₂ KRI VII 103, 3.
 ²*n=hi=man*₂ P. Ebers 16, 16–17.
 ²*n=ha=man*₂ P. Med. Berlin 3038 1, 8. [D. 19]
 ²*n=hi=n=man*₂ P. Med. Berlin 3038 1, 4.
 ²*n=hi=n=man*₂ P. Boulaq 19.⁴² [D. 19]
 ²*h=na=man*₂ LD III 200d, 12. [D. 19]

³⁷Gordon, no. 193.

³⁸Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 107.

³⁹Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 196 ff. followed a suggestion of Albright's that the group *m33* be read *min*, but his evidence is extremely scanty.

⁴⁰P. Harris I 19b, 13 and 14; 71b, 8.

⁴¹The *r* of the *nr* group (for */l/*) seems to have been misplaced in the writing, although it could indicate the metathesis apparent in the Coptic ρερμαν, but since An. IV abounds in errors, perhaps not too much should be made of the writing.

⁴²Cited by Burchardt.

⁴³The pomegranate is known in New Kingdom texts and representations from the Eighteenth Dynasty on.

⁴⁴E.g. KRI VII 103, 1; 103, 3, where they are made of stone.

⁴⁵E.g. An. III 2, 5; An. IV 7, 5; 14, 5.

⁴⁶The pomegranate is believed to be indigenous to Persia. The Middle (and Modern) Persian word for pomegranate is انار (*'anār*) (written *'nāl* in Pahlavi). In the Zand texts (in Avestan, an Old Iranian language) the word رومنا (*rōmanā*) also occurs. The words نار (*nār*) and رانا (*rānā*) are also attested.

⁴⁷J.C.L. Gibson, *Caanaanite Myths and Legends* (2nd ed.; Edinburgh: 1977), p. 150. Gordon (no. 1397) and Aistleitner (no. 1483) compare with Akk. *lurimtu/lurindu*, which they consider to be “grapes.”

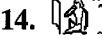
⁴⁸CAD L, 225b, from Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian on.

⁴⁹CAD N II, 345a. EA 25, II 4; 38: *nurmu*, EA 14, II, 47: *nurimtu* Gold and silver objects in the shape of pomegranates.

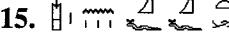
⁵⁰CAD A II, 291a cites it as a tree, "aromatic" substance (which is made into a juice), and a fruit referred to as an "apple." As CAD points out, the usual identification with "apricot" is extremely dubious, and the contexts well suggest the pomegranate.

⁵¹ So E. Laroche, *Ugaritica V* (Paris: 1968), p. 459.

13.  P. Rainer 53, 8. A SWEET MELON. See under  (²*idal=n=—r=ga*, no. 43).

14.  ²*a₂=na=q* Kawa pl. 6, 9. [D. 25]

anāk*. N. “ONYX; LEAD; TIN.**” The word occurs in a list of precious stones between lapis lazuli and turquoise. Macadam⁵² identified the word with the Semitic root ²*nk*, meaning “lead; tin.” Cf. MH  “onyx agate”; Syr.  (²*ān²kā*) “lead, tin”; Ar.  (²*ānuk*) “lead”; Eth.  (*nā²k*) “lead, tin; plumb line”; Akk. **anāku*⁵³ “lead.”⁵⁴ BH  “plumb line” is probably related, as suggested from Ethiopic, which has both meanings. Perhaps the meaning “plumb line” is a secondary development originating from a piece of lead or tin attached to a string. Curiously, the context of the Egyptian word seems to favour the meaning “onyx” attested only in Mishnaic Hebrew. The word is thought to be non-Semitic in origin. Brockelmann’s Lexicon cites Armenian *anag* and Sanskrit *nāga*. (Not in *Wb.*) [5]

15.  ²*an=—n=q=f=q=f=t* An. I 24, 7. [D. 19]

*²*anqafqafatu?* N. f. A WOODEN OBJECT CARRIED ON A CHARIOT. The context suggests that it is something rather heavy, since it is removed to lighten the load: *T3 2an=—n=q=f=q=f=t h3^c.ti m st·s p3 htr dns r 3tp·s.* “The ²*nqfqft* is cast away from its place, the team being too heavily burdened to carry it.” Helck proposed a connection with BH  “to go around,” but it might be related to II  “(D-stem) “to cut down (underbrush).” Schulman proposed that it was a compound of native Egyptian words referring to the large disk attached to the yokes of royal chariots, but his etymology and identification are questionable.⁵⁵ The reduplication favours a

⁵²M.F.L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa* (London: 1949), Text, p. 11, n. 27.

⁵³CAD (A II, 127a) lists it under *annaku*, based on the Sumerian writing AN.NA.

⁵⁴The metal is lead and not tin because the latter is rare in the Lake Urmia region, where it is said to originate, according to S.M. Kashkai, (“The Metal annaku[m]”), *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 1976/3, pp. 150–53.

⁵⁵Schulman interpreted the word as *iwn* (“pillar”) + *qfqf* (a cult vessel). A further problem is that the disk is not attested on non-royal chariots, as would have to be the case in An. I.

derivation from a D-stem formation. The word is apparently a hapax. (H. 5; *Wb.* I 101, 12; Schulman, *JSSEA* 16, 39–40.) [1]

16. $i_3=ri$ P. Jud. Lee 1, 4.⁵⁶ [D. 20]

i_2 PN II 343.

$i_2=ra$ Israel St. 27. [D. 19]

Amenophis III List Bn. no. 1 [D. 18]

Saqqara Tomb.⁵⁷ [D. 18]

Thutmose III List I, 102 a. [D. 18]

Thutmose III List I, 102 b.⁵⁸

Shishak List, no. 70. [D. 22]

Shishak List, no. 126.

$i_3=ru_2$ Name List.⁵⁹ [D. 18]

Shishak 96-97.

Shishak List, no. 53.

$i_2=-r$ An. I 21, 8. [D. 19]

An. I 22, 8.

An. I 27, 5.

$=ra$ Thutmose III List I, 78 a.

Thutmose III List I, 81 a.

Thutmose III List I, 81 c.

$=r$ KRI 37, 6. [D. 19]

Older (historical) writing of $\text{'}\text{El}$ with 3 for //:

$i=3$ Saqqara Tomb.⁶⁰ [D. 18]

Urk. IV 785, 97 c. [D. 18]

⁵⁶Journal Asiatique 10 (1867), pl. VI, 4 (after p. 408); KRI V 362, 6.

⁵⁷A.-P. Zivie, "Tombes rupestres de la falaise du Bubasteion à Saqqarah—campagne 1980-81," *ASAE* 68 (1982), p. 64.

⁵⁸The writing with *m* is certainly a mistake for *l*.

⁵⁹ G. Steindorff, "Eine ägyptische Liste syrischer Sklaven," ZÄS 38 (1900), p. 17.

⁶⁰Zivje, ASAЕ 68 (1982), p. 64.

Name List.⁶¹ [D. 18]

Name list.⁶² [D. 18]

With ²aleph elided:

ru₂ Ramses II, Karnak.⁶³ [D. 19]

Ramses II, Karnak.⁶⁴

*²ēl(u). N. in n. div., n. loc., and PN's. “**GODTHE GOD** ²EL. Cf. the NW Semitic word for god: BH לֵאָן “god; mighty man,” and the n. div. ²El; Ph. אלָן “god,” and in PN's, e.g. מְחֹנָאָלָן Ug. il “god,” n. div. ²El; Amorite ²ilum, ²elum; Ammonite ²l; Imp. Aram. אלָן “god”; Old S. Ar. ՚lh (²l) “god”; Akk. ilu “god.” (VESO III B, 2–9.) [5]

17. ²a=—r An. I 23, 5. [D. 19]

*²arē? N. “**LION (?)**” The word occurs in the Semitic utterance discussed under ²a₂=ba₂=ti₂ (no. 6). Burchardt and Gardiner⁶⁶ both identified the word with BH לִיאָן “lion,” but Albright⁶⁷ and Fischer-Elfert,⁶⁸ connected it with BH לִיאָן “ram.” In Albright’s rendering (“I perish like a lamb”), “lamb” is inaccurate and falsely conveys the image of a weak lamb that is easy prey.⁶⁹ Fischer-Elfert has suggested a more convincing interpretation of the phrase: “You go astray like a sheep.” Phonological grounds are not adequate to confirm or disprove either possibility. At first sight לִיאָן “ram” would seem to be preferable since an original *²aylu could have contracted to *²ēlu as in the Hebrew plural כָּלְבִּים. The lack of a final y, however, could have arisen from scribal error, phonetic misinterpretation, or a phonetic development in the original.⁷⁰ The context is

⁶¹Steindorff, “Liste syrischer Sklaven,” ZÄS 38 (1900), p. 17, vs. 2.

⁶²Steindorff, ZÄS 38, p. 17, vs. 1.

⁶³J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia (ETL)* (Leiden: 1937), XXIII, 9.

⁶⁴Simons, ETL XXVII, 104.

⁶⁵Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 266.

⁶⁶EHT, p. 25*.

⁶⁷VESO 33, 2.

⁶⁸Fischer-Elfert, *Anastasi I*, pp. 198–99.

⁶⁹The word לִיאָן is almost certainly derived from the root לִיאָן with the semantic field of “strength.”

⁷⁰In Aramaic, for instance, *qatl-* formations from final *yodh* roots either maintain

not of much help, since the lion as predator and the lost sheep are both common figures. If the word means lion, cf. also Ph. 𐎢ܵܶ; BA, TA ܹܵܶ; Syr. ܼܵܶ (*aryā*), all “lion”; Eth. ܻܵܶܶ: (*arwē*) “wild beast”; Akk. *arū* “eagle.” Koehler and Baumgartner’s *Lexicon* (I, 84b) suggests that the word was a loanword from Africa, but the fact that the root is widely attested in the Semitic family, yet designates a number of different animals suggests that the root is an old Semitic (or Afro-asiatic) root whose semantic field is “wild beast” and which has been particularised in various directions. (B. 88; *VESO* III B, 1; *Wb.* I 106, 4.) [3]

18. $\ddot{\imath} \mathfrak{z}$ $\mathfrak{z}-r=ya$ An. IV 14, 5. [D. 19]

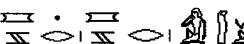
$\mathfrak{z}i_3=ra=ya$ ASAE 52 (1954), pl. III, 1. 5.⁷¹ [D. 19]

* $\ddot{\imath}elya?$ * $\ddot{\imath}ayla?$ N. pl. “RAM.” Coptic $\sigma\omega\imath\lambda\epsilon$, $\alpha\omega\imath\lambda\epsilon$, $\beta\omega\imath\lambda\iota$ “ram.” Both instances of the word occur in lists of domesticated and semi-domesticated animals. It therefore seems preferable to associate it with BH ՚ܶܶ “ram,” rather than to ՚ܶܶܶ “stag.” If so, the word either exhibits metathesis of the 2nd and 3rd radicals, or else *ya* is a plural ending, and the diphthong [ay] of *[$\ddot{\imath}ayla$] has contracted to [ê]. The Coptic derives from * $\ddot{\imath}ayla$, since it indicates the presence of the semivowel *i/y* in medial position, but it may be a later loan word or later came under the influence of another dialect.⁷² The word may well have been confused with $\mathfrak{z}a=yu=-r$ “stag” (no. 1). Cf. also, Ug. *il* (*[êlu]); TA ܵܶܶܶ, ܵܶܶܶ; Syr. ܼܵܶ (*aylā*), all “ram,” and Akk. *ālu* (*elu*), “a fine breed of sheep.” For a possible occurrence as a PN m., cf. (No. 1). (H. 8; B. 89; *VESO* III B, 1; *Wb.* I 106, 5.) [5]

the final root letter (as is the case with ՚ܶܶ “lion”) or contract to [ê] from [iy] (which resulted from a loss of the case ending and the introduction of an anaptyctic vowel). Evidence of these phonetic developments in Aramaic and Phoenician dates from the 8th–7th centuries B.C.E. (Garr, *Dialect Geography*, pp. 45–46).

⁷¹G. Roeder, “Zwei Hieroglyphische Inschriften aus Hermopolis (Ober-Ägypten),” after p. 442. Now also KRI IV 28, 10.

⁷²Cf. the similar case of *diʒ=tu* “olive” (no. 594), Coptic $\sigma\omega\imath\tau\tau$.

19.  ^{2i=—r=2i=ra} An. I 23, 9. [D. 19]

 ^{2i=—r=2i=—r} O. Lit. DeM 1073 1.⁷³ [D. 19 or 20]

*²ir²ira. N. m. “GUIDE; LEADER.” Following Bondi,⁷⁴ scholars have identified the word with אֲרָלִם “heroes (?)” of Isa. 33:7. This Hebrew word, however, appears corrupt and its meaning is uncertain. The word אֲרַאֵל of II Sam. 23:20 is no more certain. There is perhaps a Phoenician אֲרָלִם⁷⁵ meaning “hero,” but neither the reading nor the translation is certain. The context in An. I, however, suggests that the ²ir²ira was a guide rather than a warrior or hero:⁷⁶ *Bw gm·k p3 2i=—r=2i=ra iry·f n·k c n ss.* “You have not found the *irir* that he might make a route of passage for you.” The word may be related to the root אֹל “to lead; be foremost,” e.g. BH אֹלְןָן “notables of the land”; Ph. אָל “chief”; Ar. اَوْل (awl) “to lead,” (awwal) “first; chief”; Old S. Ar. ١٥٨ (wl) “to bring back.” The semantic development indicated by the Egyptian was presumably: “be in front” ⇒ “lead” ⇒ “guide.” (H. 7; B. 92; Wb. I 115, 1.) [2]

20.  O. Turin 57106 2. A PLANT. See under
.

21.  P. Sallier IV vs. 3, 1. A VESSEL. See under
.

22.  ^{2a2=—r=qab=bi=sa} P. Koller IV 2-3. [D. 19]
*²algabi²ta. N. A PRECIOUS STONE: “CRYSTAL(?)” The word occurs with minerals and precious stones in a list of luxury products from Nubia. Cf. BH אַלְגָבִת “hail, ice-crystals,” גַּבְיָשׁ; (a crystalline precious stone); Ug. ḫlgbt; Akk. algamešu.⁷⁷ The word is a *hapax*. (H. 10; B. 113; VESO III A, 11; Wb. I 116, 4.) [5]

⁷³= An. I 23, 9.

⁷⁴Bondi, *Lehnworte*, p. 28.

⁷⁵W.F. Albright, “New light on the early history of Phoenician colonization,” *BASOR* 83 (1941), p. 16, 5. B. Mazar “The Military élite of King David,” *VT* 13 (1963), p. 316, n. 2.

⁷⁶So Gardiner, *EHT*, p. 25,* n. 19.

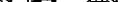
⁷⁷CAD A I, 337b suggests “steatite (?).”

23. JEA 49, pl. 9.⁷⁸ VASE. See under .

24.  *i=ha=-r* P. Harris I 76, 10. [D. 20]

²-hi=r Merneptah Libyan War, Karnak 7.⁷⁹ [D. 20]

And in the PN with m. sing. definite article:

 $a_2 = ha = ra = ya^{80}$ PN I 101, 22.

*²*ahila*. N. pl. “TENT.” In the P. Harris I example the king says about a *Shasu*-tribe that he has routed: *Hf-i nṣy-sn ²i-ha=—r m rm̄t·w, ht·w, nṣy-sn iṣwt m mitt*. “I plundered (from) their tents their people, their things, and their herds, as well.” The context of the Karnak inscription is broken, but the enemy is said to have set up camp (*ša-ku-na* [no. 414]: a watering place?) near the edge of a canal. Cf. BH אֲהַלְמָלֵךְ, אֲהַלְבָעֵל⁸¹; Ph. in the PN’s אֲהַל Ug. *ahl*; Amorite *²ahlum*; TA אֲהַלְתָּא, אֲהַלְיָא, all “tent.” Arabic أهل (*²ahl*) means “family, relatives,” and Akk. *ālu* is “city.” The word formation is very much like that found in Aramaic and perhaps Ugaritic. The Hebrew has been traditionally explained as derived from an earlier *²*uhl*, but the Palestinian vocalization indicates a possible derivation from *²*ahl*.⁸² (H. 11; B. 129; Wb. I 119, 5.) [5]

25.  $a_2 = h = n = nu$ O. Turin 57365 3.⁸³ [D. 19 or 20]

*²*ahalu* < *²*aharu?* N. “**TIP; BOTTOM END (OF STAFF).**” The word occurs in a play on words: ²*A₂=h-n-nu n t3y-k m3wd phty n t3 nb.* “The butt of your staff is (at) the extremities of all the lands.”⁸⁴

⁷⁸ And note k on p. 69.

79 KRI IV 3.5.

⁸⁰The *ya* may be a *nisbe* adjectival ending, i.e. "The Tent-dweller" or else the hypocoristic suffix for a shortened theophoric name.

⁸¹Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 262.

⁸²A. Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Leiden: 1966), p. 18. Sperber argues that the reading with the *o*-vowel is wrong and points out that the *a*-vowel brings it in line with Arabic. It should be noted that the Ugaritic, Amorite, and Aramaic also had *a*-vowels.

⁸³Formerly known as O. Turin 9588. Published with translation and commentary by W.R. Dawson and T.E. Peet, "The So-called Poem on the King's Chariot," *JEA* 19 (1932) pl. 29, 3.

⁸⁴The pun would not be homophonic, but rather homosemantic, the play being on the meaning "extremity," *phty* in Egyptian and *zhr* in Canaanite.

Cf. BH אַחֲר “hinder part,” and especially the phrase אַחֲר הַקֵּן “butt end of the spear”; Ug. *uḥry* “tip, end” (of walking stick),⁸⁵ *uḥryt* “latter end, final days,” and in Akk. transcription *uḥ-ra-a-yi* “end; destiny”,⁸⁶ Ar. آخر (*ʔaħir*) “end; foot, bottom”; Akk. *uḥhurtu* (a part at the rear of the chariot). Egyptian *n* for Semitic *r* is unusual, but given the frequent interchange of *r* and *l*, and the fact that *n* often represents Semitic (and Egyptian) *l*, it seems at least possible. The genitival *n* following could also have had an influence. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

26. ְ*a₂-hi-ta* Vienna St. 107.⁸⁷ [?]

*²*ahita?* *²*ahāti?* N. as PN f. “SISTER.” The woman’s husband bears the Semitic name Ba^{cl}-rumu. Her name is very likely to have contained the common Semitic word for “sister.” Cf. BH אַחֲתָה; Ph. אַחֲתָה, and in PN’s, e.g. חַחְמָלָךְ, חַחְמִילָךְ; Ug. *āħt*; Imp. Aram. אַחֲתָה, TA אַחֲתָה; Syr. اخت (*haħta*); Ar. اخت (²*uħt*); Old S. Ar. خَاتَهُ (²*ħat*); Eth. أَخْتَهُ: (²*ħt*); Akk. *ahātu*, all “sister.” Perhaps also cf. the Ugaritic personal name ²*Aħt* “Sister”(?).⁸⁸ The vocalization does not correspond to those of the known Semitic words. Is this a case of a displaced *i*-vowel, perhaps for *²*ahāti* (with a first sing. suffix)? [4]

27. ְ*as-wa-ta*⁸⁹ P. BM 10056⁹⁰ vs. 4, 12; 9, 13; and often.⁹¹ [D. 18-19]

ְ*as-wa-t* Rechn. pl. 10 V, 1; 10 V, 11 and 16. [D. 19]

ְ*as-wa-w=t* Rechn. pl. 9 II, 12.

ְ*as-wa-w=t* An. IV 8, 3; 8, 4; 8, 6. [D. 19]

⁸⁵ According to Dijkstra and de Moor, “Problematic passages,” *UF* 7 (1975), p. 209. Their interpretation has not gone unchallenged, but it makes good sense. The interpretation was also maintained by J.C. de Moor and K. Spronk, *A Cuneiform Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit* (Leiden: 1987), p. 128.

⁸⁶ Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 106.

⁸⁷ E. von Bergman, “Inscriptional Denkmäler der Sammlung ägyptischer Alterthumer des österreichischen Kaiserhauses,” *Rec. Trav.* 12 (1892), 17, XVIII.

⁸⁸ Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen*, p. 92.

⁸⁹ Or perhaps to be read as ²*as-wi₂-ta*.

⁹⁰ S.R.K. Glanville, “Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Thutmose III: Papyrus British Museum 10056,” *ZÄS* 66 (1931), p. 1* ff.

⁹¹ E.g. O. Cairo 25543 7; Rechn., pl. 10, IV, 14 and 16; 11a, 5; 11c 4; 13a, 4.

 ²as=w= ⁹² P. BM 10056 9, 12; vs. 1, 3 and 6. [D. 18]

 ²as=w=tu P. BM 10056 12, 5; 14, 2.

 ²as=w=t-t P. BM 10056 17, 1 and 2; vs. 6, 1.

 ²as=wi=tu P. BM 10056 vs. 5, 9, and elsewhere. ⁹³

 ²as=tu=t P. BM 10056 10, 6.

Miswritten:

 s=wa=ta H.O. 63 1, II, 3. [D. 20]

*²ašwata; ²ašwita. N. (f?). “**LONG PLANK**” (OF “**S**-WOOD). The word is found in the context of ships and ship-building⁹⁴ and designates a long, narrow piece of lumber. The average length is around 14 cubits (7.32 m.) and the width is between 2 palms to 1 cubit (15–52.5 cm.). The longest recorded is of 35 cubits (18.3 m.) in length.⁹⁵ Because of the length, and the fact that they were delivered to the shipyard in the late stages of the construction, L. Clowes made the likely proposal that they were used for the “outer skin planking of the vessel.”⁹⁶ Burchardt, and Helck identified this word with BH  “buttress,” “column.” TA has the word  (pl.  ) “frame wall,” and Syr.  (²ašītā) “column.” The Semitic words all have to do with long or sturdy architectural elements. There is no exact counterpart meaning “plank,” but Aramaic  is perhaps the closest. Janssen held that the word was native Egyptian from the root *sw3* “to fell trees; cut wood.”⁹⁷ In support of his argument, he cites O. DeM 319 4    (ht *sw3wt*) in which the man-with-stick determinative has been crossed out by the scribe. The word *sw3*, however, does not mean “to cut wood” in the ordinary sense, but rather “to fell trees.”⁹⁸ A better case could be made for a connection of ht *sw3wt* with the native root *wsi* “to saw” (Wb. I 358, 10–12): i.e. “cut lumber.” Nevertheless, it may simply be a

⁹²The transliteration of early writings is somewhat arbitrary, as it is just as likely that they are strictly consonantal and not group writings.

⁹³E.g. P. BM 10056 vs. 7, 2; vs. 8, 1 and 12; vs. 9, 1; vs. 10, 1 and 14.

⁹⁴E.g. An. IV 8, 3 ff.

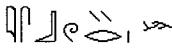
⁹⁵Rechn., p. 59.

⁹⁶L. Clowes, *apud* Glanville, ZÄS 68 (1932), p. 32.

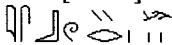
⁹⁷J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden: 1975), p. 375.

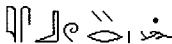
⁹⁸It also means “break,” and “cut off (limbs of the body).”

miswriting as presumed in H.O. 63. Against a connection of ²*as-wa-ta* to either *sw̄3* or *w̄si* is the fact that the final [t] is clearly indicated with great consistency, and at this date native Egyptian feminine words no longer retained the final [t]. (H. 12; B. 133; *Wb.* I 132, 1.) [2]

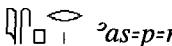
28.  ²*as=ba=-r* P. Koller 1, 5; An. I 26, 8; Turin Tax.⁹⁹

[D. 19]

 An. IV 17, 2; P. Turin B 2 vs. 1, 10.¹⁰⁰ [D. 19, 19 or 20]

 P. Ch. Beatty I G, 1 vs. 7. [D. 20]

Also written with *p*:

 ²*as-p=ra* Theban Tomb No. 93.¹⁰¹ [D. 18]

*²*ašpara?* N. m. “**WHIP.**” The meaning of the word is certain as in the Theban Tomb 93 the word accompanies an illustration of a whip. In the literature, it occurs in lists of chariot equipment (P. Koller 1, 5; An. IV 17, 2; P. Turin B), and in several passages more information is given: (O. Turin 57365 6–7) *Ir p3 2as=ba=-r [nty] m ḍrt·k, n3 “bwy n Hr s3 3st.* “As for the *isbr* [that] is in your hand, it is the horns of Horus son of Isis.”¹⁰² More enlightening is P. Ch. Beatty I G, 1 vs. 7: *Ir sdm·f hrw isbr, nn rḥ·f iñw.* “If it (a horse) hears the sound of an *isbr*, it knows no restraining.” Perhaps cf. Akk. *ušparu*, which von Soden translated “Herrsscherstab.”¹⁰³ The evidence for this connection is not very strong, since the Akkadian term is an isolated and rare word; it may, however, be a by-form of Sumerian *gišbar-uš* “staff,” dealt with below. Wintermute¹⁰⁴ suggested *tbr* “to break” as a possible root and cited Eth.  (*masber*) “bone breaker” (an instrument of torture). Although

⁹⁹Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford: 1959), rt. III, 27.

¹⁰⁰= Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 126, 2. And similarly in O. Turin 57365 6 (formerly known as O. Turin 9588) (*JEA* 19, pl. 29), where somewhat damaged.

¹⁰¹N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes* (New York: 1930), pl. 18. The word occurs as a caption to an illustration of whips and thus needed no determinative.

¹⁰²The reference to horns is curious. This is perhaps a word play assuming familiarity with the word שֶׁבֶר “horn” (and possibly שְׁפָרֶת; “antlers”) and the similar sounding ²*as=ba=-r*.

¹⁰³*AHw*, p. 1441b. The word is written *gišuš-bar*.

¹⁰⁴Wintermute, (*Thesis*), p. 137.



phonologically irreproachable, the connection to this root seems dubious on semantic grounds. There are several Akkadian words for whip, but the only one that bears any resemblance is *mašartu*, but the connection is unlikely for phonological¹⁰⁵ and morphological¹⁰⁶ reasons. The root *prš* or *prt*¹⁰⁷ meaning “pierce” or “sting” is attested—if rather poorly—in the Semitic languages. It is attested once in BH: וְכִצְפָּעַנִּי בְּרֶשׁ “and it stings/pierces like an adder.” (Prov. 23:32.) There are several words that may well be related to the Egyptian *³as=ba=-r*: TA אֲשֵׁר פָּרָשׁ “ox-goad”; Syr. ܩܻܻ (p̄rāšā) “ox-goad”; Akk. *paruššu* “staff” (*AHw*, 837b). Perhaps a derivation from Sumerian *gišbar-uš*¹⁰⁸ should not be ruled out. This Akkadian word is mentioned in conjunction with whips, but the wood determinative (*giš*) suggests the meaning “staff” rather than “whip.”¹⁰⁹ (H. 13; B. 134; *Wb.* I 132, 10; Jéquier, *BIFAO* 19, 220.) [3]

29. 𐎠 𐎤 𐎧 𐎣 𐎢 𐎪 𐎫 𐎦 | *³as=ba₂=-r* P. Sallier I 7, 5. [D. 19]

𐎠 𐎤 𐎥 𐎢 𐎣 𐎦 𐎫 𐎦 | *³as=ba=-r=ru₂* An. I 24, 2–3. [D. 19]

³atbara?* < **barata?* N. m. “JUNIPER BUSH/TREE(?)**” Both occurrences are in Syro-Palestinian contexts. P. Sallier I 7, 5 recounts the dangers faced by a soldier in Ḥaru: *iw p̄s dʒiwi kʒpw m p̄s ³as=ba₂=-r* “and the adversary is hidden in the *isbr*.” An. I 24, 2–3 deals with a road: *rwd·tw m ³as=ba=-r=ru₂, qa-da* … “that is overgrown with *isbr*, thorns, (and other plants).” The word is more likely to designate a type of bush since the plant and not the tree determinative is used. Perhaps cf. BH בָּרוֹשׁ “juniper (*Juniperus phœnicea*),”¹¹⁰ but traditionally “cypress” or “fir”; TA נְוָסָךְ (b̄rōšā), both traditionally “cypress,” but probably “juniper”; Akk. *burāšu* “juniper”; and as loanwords: Greek

105) Egyptian *p* for Akk. *m*; 2) metathesis; 3) initial *³aleph* in Egyptian.

106) The Egyptian word is masculine and the Akkadian feminine.

107) The root *prt* “to divide, crush, pierce, lacerate” is probably distinct from *prš*. For evidence of this root, see *pa=-r=ša* “to split open” (no. 153).

108) Salonen (*Hippologica Accadica*, pp. 160–1) read *bar.ús* and *parussu* and considered the item among whips and staves associated with chariots and horses.

109) Perhaps not too much emphasis should be placed on the wood determinative, as the Egyptian writing of *³sbr* is always with the wood determinative, referring to the handle.

110) Koehler-Baumgartner, vol. 1, p. 148b.

βράθυ, Latin *bratus* “juniper/savin bush.” If this identification is correct it involves metathesis and the introduction of prothetic *‘aleph*, but the word may have been influenced by the better known word for “whip” (no. 28). Alternatively, but much less likely, the word could be a secondary derivation from the word meaning whip. (H. 14; B. 135; *Wb.* I 132, 11.) [2]

30. ^{²=s=b=t}¹¹¹ H.O. 49 2, 5, and often.¹¹² [D. 18–20]

KRI IV 6, 9. [D. 19]

^{²as=ba=t} O. Wien 1 4, and elsewhere.¹¹³ [D. 19–20]

^{²=s=b=t} Med. Habu 75, 11. [D. 20]

KRI II 109, 1.

KRI II 109, 2.

KRI II 109, 3.

KRI II 109, 4.

Med. Habu 85, 12.

Med. Habu 96, 3 and 20.

KRI V 223, 5; 6. [D. 20]

Amarna III, 13. [D. 18]

KRI II 244, 7; Med. Habu 106, 33.

KRI II 244, 8.

^{²=s=bu=t} KRI II 244, 10.

^{²=s=ba} O. DeM 260 6. [D. 19]

H.O. 53 vs. 1, 2, and often.¹¹⁴ [D. 19–20]

P. Turin 1882 1, 1.¹¹⁵ [D. 20]

¹¹¹Or possibly to be read *²as=b=t*. The writing, however, is probably strictly consonantal, the word having entered the language at an earlier stage.

¹¹²E.g. O. DeM 553, 9; 1086 vs. 11; Amarna VI, 30; Astarte 3y; KRI II 272, 11. And sim. Med. Habu 46, 15; 46, 25, which differ only in their vertical disposition.

¹¹³E.g. P. Harris I 75, 9; P. Ch. Beatty I vs. B, 7; B, 23; O. Gardiner 166 6 (Allam, *HOP*, pl. 46); O. Turin 57366 5.

¹¹⁴E.g. H.O. 54, 1, 9; 2, 2; O. Cairo 25624 I, 16; O. Cairo 25670 5 and 9; O. Cairo 25800 II, 7; sim. P. Turin 1887 2, 6 (*RAD*, p. 76).

¹¹⁵Gardiner, *JEA* 41 (1955), pls. 7–11.



O. Cairo 25588 12. [D. 20]

²=*s=b* O. DeM 402 7. [D. 20]

Med. Habu 108, 3. [D. 20]

*i=s=b=y*¹¹⁶ KRI I 112, 1. [D. 19]

i=s=b KRI II 227, 10.

Also written with *p*:

²=*s=p=t* Urk. IV 1837, 14. [D. 18]

Israel St. 13.¹¹⁷ [D. 19]

Astarte 1x + 8; O. UCL 31922 II, 23.¹¹⁸ [D. 18, 19]

Miswritten:

²*as=ba=pa* O. DeM 239 II, 3. [D. 19]

s=b=²u H.O. 115 1, 10. [D. 19 or 20]

H.O. 65 2, vs. 5; 6. [D. 19]

*²*atba*. N. f. “**CHAIR; THRONE.**” J.J. Janssen¹¹⁹ maintained that this word meant “folding stool” because some texts refer to their having ducks feet, and in at least one depiction an object labelled *isbt* is in fact a folding stool.¹²⁰ The texts and the determinatives indicate, however, that the meaning was considerably wider than this. In royal inscriptions, kings occasionally make reference to sitting on a royal throne, e.g. *isbt n T3-mri* “the throne of Egypt,”¹²¹ *isbt p3-R^c* “the throne of Pa-Re^c, ”¹²² *ispt n Hq3, c.w.s.* “the throne of the Ruler, l.p.h., ”¹²³ and in P. Harris I 75, 9: *iw^cf sw^cb t3 ²as=ba=t c3t n Kmt* “and he purified the great throne of Egypt.”¹²⁴ In addition, the determinatives occasionally are those of armchairs or thrones,

¹¹⁶The oblique strokes are probably for \curvearrowleft (*t*) and not part of the sign group *bi*₄.

¹¹⁷KRI IV 16, 1.

¹¹⁸KRI VII 225, 6.

¹¹⁹Janssen, *Prices*, pp. 191–194. So too, L.M.J. Zonhoven, “The Inspection of a Tomb at Deir el-Medîna (O. Wien Aeg. 1),” JEA 65 (1979), p. 93, 1. 4.

¹²⁰Amarna VI, 30.

¹²¹Med. Habu 96, 20; 75, 11; sim. Med. Habu 96, 3.

¹²²P. Ch. Beatty I vs. B 7.

¹²³Astarte, 1x + 8.

¹²⁴Other examples of royal or divine thrones include Amarna III 13; Med. Habu 85, 12; 108, 3; KRI II 227, 10; Israel St. 13.

and not of folding stools.¹²⁵ It therefore seems that the word could be applied to any type of seat from a folding stool to royal and even divine thrones.

Cf. BH בָּשַׁבְתִּי; “to sit,” מָשַׁבֵּת “chair”; MH יֹשֵׁב, יֹשָׁבַת “sitting”; Ph. בָּשָׁבָת “chair”; Ug. *tbt* (*vytb*) “sitting”; BA תָּחַבְתִּי, TA אֲזַחְבָּוְתִּא “sitting”; Syr. طَلَّبَا (*yatbā*) “chair; dwelling”; Old S. Ar. פָּלַבְתִּי (*wlbt*) “to sit,” פָּלַבְתִּים (*mwltb*) “seat”; Akk. *ašābu*, *wašabu* “to sit down,” *šubtu* “seat,”¹²⁶ and especially *ašbatum* “cushion (felt-stuffing for a seat); seat.”¹²⁷ Ward has maintained that the word comes from the Akkadian *ušbu*, which he renders as “chair.”¹²⁸ The word *ušbu* is translated as “Versteck” by von Soden,¹²⁹ and does not seem to occur with the meaning “chair.” For phonological and morphological reasons, a derivation from Akkadian *ašbatu* “cushion” is almost certain.¹³⁰ The Akkadian word was apparently used as a loan-word in Sumerian texts with the extended meaning “(upholstered) chair.”¹³¹ In Egyptian the meaning was further generalized.

The phonological evidence, however, is somewhat ambiguous. First, it is not clear that the Egyptian word is ever fully written in group writing. Because it entered the language in the pre-Amarna period, it is possible that the writings are more historical alphabetic ones than phonetic. The earlier writings all have final *t*, suggesting that it was originally pronounced. By Ramesside times, when the word was fully naturalized, it had evidently been dropped, since the final syllable is often written [ba] with no attempt to indicate final pronounced [t]. At this stage, the written *t* was no doubt merely a

¹²⁵ Cf. K. Kuhlman, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten* (Glückstadt: 1977), pp. 13, 106 (10).

¹²⁶ A. Salonen, *Die Möbel des alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen* (Helsinki: 1963), p. 78.

¹²⁷ Salonen, *Möbel*, p. 89; CAD A II, p. 425.

¹²⁸ W.A. Ward, “Notes on Some Semitic Loan-Words and Personal Names in Late Egyptian,” *Orientalia* 32 (1968), p. 418.

¹²⁹ *AHw*, p. 1441a. Gilgamesh, I III 49.

¹³⁰ The early Eighteenth Dynasty date of entry into the language further supports a borrowing from Akkadian, since it was then the language of international correspondence.

¹³¹ Salonen, *Möbel*, p. 89: 1 *aš-ba-tum-sig₅* PN *tug₂-du₈ mu-tum₂* “one fine seat delivered by PN fuller,” and p. 275, where Salonen translates “Stuhl.”



survival of the earlier writings, but it might have also served as a graphic marker of the feminine gender. A further complication is the possibility that the original consonantal writing was subsequently misinterpreted as group writing. For instance, the purely consonantal transcription 𓀃 𓏏 𓏏 (isbt) of a word originally pronounced *[yasbuta] could later have been read *[^pasba] according to the conventions of the later system. In any case, evidence from a cuneiform glossary of Egyptian words dating to the reign of Akhenaten indicates that the contemporary pronunciation was *[^pasbu]. The entry reads: “da-as-pu | g̥šGU.[ZA]” (“throne”).¹³² Albright’s identification of *da-as-pu* with *t3 isbt* (“the throne”) is almost certainly correct.¹³³ This piece of evidence indicates that the final [t] had dropped already by the Amarna period. The frequent spellings with *p* rather than *b* are no doubt a result of devoicing arising from the juxtaposition of voiced [b] to the voiceless sibilant [s]. (*Wb.* I 132, 2–8.) [5]

31. 𓀃 𓏏 𓏏 ²as=ba O. Cairo 25556 4. [D. 19]
 𓀃 𓏏 𓏏 𓏏 P. Wilbour¹³⁴ A 81, 5; A 83, 14. [D. 20]
 𓀃 𓏏 𓏏 𓏏 P. Wilbour A 90, 16; A 92, 23.
 𓀃 𓏏 𓏏 ²s=b=t P. Boulaq 10 vs. 3.¹³⁵ [D. 20]

Miswritten:

𓀃 𓏏 𓏏 𓏏 ²s=²b=ya-ni Amenophis II stele.¹³⁶ [D. 18]

*²*atba*. N. f. “**SHELTER; HUT; RESIDENCE.**” The word clearly refers to a building or shelter in O. Cairo 25556, which reads: *twi sdr·kwi m t3y·i isbw*. “I was sleeping in my shelter.” P. Boulaq

¹³²S. Smith and C.J. Gadd, “A Cuneiform Vocabulary of Egyptian Words,” *JEA* 11 (1925), p. 237, 9.

¹³³W.F. Albright, “The new cuneiform vocabulary of Egyptian words,” *JEA* 12 (1926), p. 189. But cf. A. Loprieno, “A proposito delle consonanti dentali e velari in egiziano ed in semitico,” *Annali. Istituto orientale di Napoli* 37, p. 132, who maintains the original was *t3 spt* and translates “la sedia alta,” following Brugsch’s *Wörterbuch*, p. 1201. Lambdin, however, upheld Albright’s suggestion (*Egyptian Loanwords and Transcriptions in the Ancient Semitic Languages* [Baltimore: 1952], p. 86).

¹³⁴All the references from the Wilbour Papyrus are from the toponym(s) *T3 isbt (rsy) (n) S3k3* “The Residence to the south of Sako.”

¹³⁵Also known as CGC 58092. S. Allam, *HOP*, pl. 91.

¹³⁶A.M. Badawi, “Die neue historische Stele Amenophis’ II.,” *ASAE* 42 (1943), pl. 1, 14 (p. 24).

refers to a couple of structures: *t3 hbt nty r-gs t3 ²as-b-t n Qa-ḥa* “the *hbt*-building that is next to Qahā’s hut.” In the case of the Amenophis II stele, the word may refer to a military camp: *Pr Hm:f m s=²b=ya-ni hr ssmt r T3-mri*. “His Majesty set out from ‘camp’ by horse to Egypt.”¹³⁷ Cf. no. 30, and the derived nouns of the root שָׁבַח which means “to dwell,” as well as “to sit.” Cf. BH מִשְׁבָּח MH מִשְׁבָּח; Moab. שָׁבַח; Ph. שָׁבָע; TA צְוֹבָא; Syr. طَبَّا (*yatbā*); Old S. Ar. مَوْتَبْ (*mwtb*); Akk. *ušbu* “hide-out,” otherwise all “dwelling place; abode.” The house determinative which appears in several writings of *isbt* “chair” clearly stems from the ambiguity of the word. (Gardiner, Wilbour II, 35; Černý, ASAE 27, 202 [2].) [5]

32.  Theban grave No. 93. "WHIP." See under .

33.  Urk. IV 1837 14;  Israel St. 13;¹³⁸  Astarte 1x + 8. "CHAIR; THRONE." See under .

34.  ²*as-pu-ta* Urk. IV 670, 5. [D. 18]
 ²*s-p-t* Amenhotpe II Great Karnak Stele.¹³⁹ [D. 18]
 ²*as-pa₂-ta* or ²*as-pu₃-ta* P. Koller 1, 4. [D. 19]
 An. I 25, 8; An. IV 17, 1. [D. 19]
 KRI IV 6, 6. [D. 19]
 ²*s-p-t* Med. Habu 75, 28. [D. 20]

*²*atpāta; atpōta*. N. f. “**QUIVER (FOR ARROWS)**.” The context of P. Koller 1, 4 leaves no doubt about the meaning: *iw 80 n “h̄šw m t3 as=paz-ta* “and there are 80 arrows in the quiver.” Similarly the Amenhotpe stele: *ispt mh·ti* “a full quiver.” In other cases it is mentioned immediately after *pdt* “bow.”¹⁴⁰ The word is probably not Semitic in origin, but it is, however, quite well attested in Semitic languages: BH פָּוָרָן; Ug. *útp̄t*; Akk. *išpatu*, all “quiver.” The

¹³⁷The leather determinative indicates the material of which the tents were made.

138 KRI IV 16 1

¹³⁹G. Legrain, "La grande stèle d'Amenothès II à Karnak," *ASAE* 4 (1903), p. 130, 9.

140 Ap IV 17 1: KRII IV 6 6

vocalizations vary considerably between the different languages; the Egyptian seems closest to the Hebrew. Nevertheless, the fact that the word came into the language fairly early introduces some doubt concerning the vocalization.¹⁴¹ (B. 137; *VESO* p. 10; *Wb.* I 132, 14–16.) [5]

35. ²i-ša=f Med. Habu 23, 55. [D. 20]

²a₂=ša=fi An. III 5, 7; An. IV 9, 6. [D. 19]

Also miswritten:

²a₂=ša P. Ch. Beatty IV vs. 5, 10.¹⁴² [D. 19 or 20]

*²išafa? ²itafa? Vb., N. (?) “TO SCORCH (A TOWN); SEARING (OF BLOWS).” The Med. Habu passage reads: ²I=ša=f·n hh·i dmī·sn. “My fiery breath scorched their towns.” In An. III the word occurs in the phrase *sht n 2šf* “a searing blow,” and in the parallel passage of An. IV it is *sht 2šf*. The Med. Habu text contains many Semitic words in the general vicinity, but if this is another example, its derivation is not clear. It might be related to the root *t^{py}*, which yields a variety of words having to do with fire and the hearth. Cf. BH שָׁפַח “to put (a pot) on the fire,” תְּפִלֵּן “ash-pit”; TA פִּלֵּן; Syr. اَمَا (*r²pā*); Ar. (t^{fy}), all “to set (a pot) on the fire.” Aramaic also has a derived noun נְפִילָה “fire-jar.” Another possible connection is the root *šbb* which occurs in Hebrew once as שְׁבִיב (construct) “spark,” in TA as שְׁבִיבָה and in Syriac as (š²bibā) “flame,” in Arabic as شَبُوب (*šubūb*) “to blaze,” and in Akkadian as *šabābu* “to blaze.” H.-W. Fisher-Elfert’s suggestion that the word derives from Egyptian (šf) “to swell” is not very convincing, especially with regard to the Medinet Habu instance.¹⁴³ The Medinet Habu example is a *sdm·n·f* form. In the An. III example, the indirect genitive (*sht n 2šf*) indicates that the form is substantival and therefore either a derived noun or an infinitive. In the parallel passage of An. IV (*sht 2šf*), *2šf* could be a participle, if the construction is not the direct genitive with a following nominal form. (H. 15; B. 148; *Wb.* I 135, 2–3.) [2]

¹⁴¹Cf. the comments on *lsbt* “chair,” no. 30, above.

¹⁴²The text is parallel to An. III 5, 7 and An. IV 9, 6.

¹⁴³H.-W. Fisher-Elfert, “Textkritische und Lexikographische Notizen zu den Late Egyptian *Miscellanies*,” *SAK* 10 (1983), p. 147.

36. $\text{²}=ku=na$ Urk. IV 665, 16; 717, 16; 722, 3. [D. 18]

Urk. IV 731, 11.

$\text{²}=k-nu$ H.O. 8 7 vs., 5. [D. 19?]

aguna*, *aggana*. N. A **LARGE VESSEL. The item is listed among Syrian tribute in Urk. IV 665, 16: $\text{²}=ku=na \text{ ³ } m \text{ b } k n \text{ H } \text{³} rw$ “a large *ikn* of Syrian manufacture.” In Urk. IV 717, 16 it is listed as part of the tribute from *Rtnw* and is made of silver.¹⁴⁴ The determinatives depict a two-handled vessel, and the H.O. writing indicates that it was of metal. The word is possibly the origin of Coptic *sason* “a vessel or tank of metal ... or of wood.” Jéquier compared it with BH “(ritual- or banquet-) bowl”; Ph. “bowl”; Ug. *agn* “basin”;¹⁴⁵ Warka Aram.¹⁴⁶ *ag-gan-nu*, *ag-ga-nu* “basin or bowl,” JPA “basins of Qadesh”; Syr. (*aggānā*) “water pitcher”; Ar. (“vessel”); Akk. *agannu* “a large bowl (of copper or silver).” Perhaps also cf. the Eth. (*“aygan*) “basin; pitcher.” The word appears in cuneiform transcription as *a-ku-nu*, EA 14 iii, 36 (filled with fragrant oil); EA 148: 12 (filled with water to drink). Albright,¹⁴⁷ Lambdin,¹⁴⁸ and CAD (A I, 286a) maintain that the word is Egyptian, probably because it occurs in a list of items sent from Egypt.¹⁴⁹ Since in Egyptian the word occurs in lists of objects from Syria-Palestine, it appears that these items were imported and also sent out of the country. The fact that the word is quite widely attested in the Semitic languages, but is extremely rare in Egyptian argues against an Egyptian origin. The Middle Egyptian

¹⁴⁴So too, Urk. IV 722, 3 and Urk. IV 731, 11.

¹⁴⁵The context is somewhat obscure.

¹⁴⁶Aramaic texts in cuneiform script: A. Dupont-Sommer, “La tablette cunéiforme araméene de Warka,” RA 39, p. 35ff.

¹⁴⁷W.F. Albright, “The Egyptian correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre,” JEA 23 (1937), p. 196, n. 7.

¹⁴⁸T.O. Lambdin, “Egyptian words in Tell el Amarna Letter No. 14,” Orientalia 22 (1953), p. 363.

¹⁴⁹No evidence whatsoever has been produced to support the claim. Albright merely stated that the word was “not Canaanite and has nothing to do with Hebrew *aggān* ...; the Egyptians may have borrowed it from an African source.” Albright translated it as “amphora,” but only because the cuneiform text refers to its containing water. Other vessels, of course, could contain water, and the Egyptian evidence suggests that the vessel under discussion was of high quality since it was worthy of note in the lists of booty.



word of P. Prisse 1, 5 meaning “cup”¹⁵⁰ is not necessarily identical, as the New Kingdom *akuna* appears to have been a large vessel, and the *ikn* a small one. (B. 166; *VESO* XVII C, 1; *Wb.* I 140, 2; Jéquier, *BIAFO* 19, 251.) [3]

37. *a₂-tu=ru₂=ru₂* P. Harris 500 vs. 2, 7 (Joppa).
[D. 19]

*²*atululu?* N. MEANING UNKNOWN. The word occurs in the context of hiding soldiers in large baskets: *iw-tw hr dit n-sn n₃y-sn tbw hn^c n₃y-sn m₃wd* ²*a₂-tu=ru₂=ru₂*. “and they gave them their sandals along with their carrying poles and *itrr*.” The word may be related to BH נטָל “to lift; carry” (said of load, burden). If so, it might be a Semitic word for a different type of carrying pole. The form would, however, be difficult to explain. The root appears to have identical second and third radicals. One possibility is that it is a reduplicated form, cf. the Modern Hebrew טָלָל “drive shaft,” and the verb טָלַל “to carry.” Another possibility is a connection with the root חלה “to hang,” cf. MH חָלוֹי “hanger; handle.”¹⁵¹ There are phonological problems with this possibility as well, since final weak roots do not usually reduplicate the second radical. (B. 1249; not in *Wb.*) [2]

38. ²*i=t₂* An. I 11, 2, and elsewhere.¹⁵² [D. 19, D. 19 or 20]
 An. I 18, 8. [D. 19]
 Kuban St. 15.¹⁵³ [D. 19]
 P. BM 10052 7.¹⁵⁴ [D. 20]
 KRI VI 23, 3.¹⁵⁵ [D. 20]
 KRI II 329, 8.

¹⁵⁰The text reads: *ikn n mw ^chm ibi* “A cup of water quenches the thirst.”

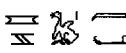
¹⁵¹H. Goedicke (“The Capture of Joppa,” *CdE* 43 [1968], p. 228) also noted this possibility and translated: “hangings,’ i.e. the ropes used in the carrying.”

¹⁵²An. I 21, 5; An. V 20, 4; P. DeM. I 3, 6.

¹⁵³KRI II 355, 16.

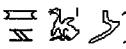
¹⁵⁴Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 33.

¹⁵⁵Great Abydos Stele of Ramses IV.

 *?i-ti₂* Amenemope 18, 2. [D. 21?]

 Amenemope 15, 3.

*²*ē-dē*. Interrogative Adj./Pron. “WHICH, WHAT; WHO.” Among examples that mean “which” / “what” are An. I 11, 2: *?I-ti₂ hwt r h̄t·f, n[ym hr-s̄·f]?*¹⁵⁶ “Which chapter comes before it, what one comes after it?”; An. I 18, 8: *P3 dmi n Hi-ra-[ba₂] hr t̄y·f ?i-ti₂ rwi3t?* “On which side of it is the town of Hirba?”; An. I 21, 5: *r r ?i-ti₂ dmi* “beside which town?”; An. V 20, 4: *M ?i-ti₂ sfly gm(w) ‘w?* “In which watch were their tracks found?”; P. BM 10052 7: *?I-ti₂ šmsw n Tw-f-n-Imn p3 iy n·k?* “Which retainer of Efnamūn was it who came to you?” The meaning, could, however be that of “who,” KRI VI 23, 3: *?I-ti₂ stn·f n Hm·k?* “Who is like Your Majesty?” Cf. BH  “where; which,”¹⁵⁷ Mod. Heb.  “which; what; who”; Ug. *iy* “where; who”; Amorite *?ayya* “where”; TA  MA, TA  “where; what; who; which”; Syr.  (“aynā) “what”; Ar.  (“ayy) “which, what; whoever”; Eth.  (“ay) “which; what”; Akk. *ayû* “who; which; what.” The original Semitic compound-word is composed of the interrogative  followed by the deictic morpheme [d]: Heb. , Ug. *d*. (Cf. the Arabic demonstrative pron. *is* (*da*) and the related *is* (*dū*) “owner.”) The closest in formation are the Hebrew and Aramaic. The phoneme /d/ is not very common, but it was represented in Egyptian transcriptions by both *d* and *t*.¹⁵⁸ All of the writings indicate the contraction of *[ay] to [ê], typical of the northern coastal dialects.¹⁵⁹ (H. 18; B. 189; VESO III C2; Wb. I 150, 10–11.) [5]

39.  *?i-ti₂=ma₂-ya* An. I 26, 8. [D. 19]

*²*išmaya*. N. METAL PART OF WHIP, PERHAPS “FERRULE.” The word occurs in the sentence: *Dl·w ?i-ti₂=ma₂-ya n p3y·k ?as=ba=—r. ts·w n·f ma-ta=da=?u.* “Your whip is fitted with an *itmy*; the lashes

¹⁵⁶ Restored from O. Lit. DeM 1108.

¹⁵⁷ In II Chron. 18:23  “which way.”

¹⁵⁸ See no. 556 *Tkr-B^cl* (*Dkr-B^cl*), and no. 108 *‘dr* (Ug. *‘dr*), below.

¹⁵⁹ The diphthong was retained in Old Aramaic, Southern Hebrew (south of Jerusalem), and Deir Alla. Various degrees of contraction are attested in Sam^alian and Moabite.



are tied to it (i.e. around the whip-stock)." There are few metal parts on the preserved whip-stocks.¹⁶⁰ The knobs are of glass, ivory, and ebony and these are fastened with a nail. Most of the whips had a hollow socket at the tip and a transverse hole. The whip lashes were inserted through the open end of the socket and passed through the transverse hole (the ends of the lashes were knotted to prevent them from passing through the hole). Then, or at a subsequent stage, the two leather lashes were wrapped once around the stock and tied or otherwise fastened. The open hole at the tip of the stock was capped with a pointed metal ferrule or according to some depictions multi-pronged ferrules. The instruments thus could be used as goads, as well as whips. Since we are here dealing with the re-lashing of a whip, it seems likely that the metal part referred to is the ferrule. The etymology is unknown. A derivation could be proposed from the root *dnb*: Cf. BH זָבֵב “tail, end”; Ug. *dnb*; TA דְּנַבֵּא, נְדַבֵּא; Syr. دَنْبَةٌ (*dunbā*); Akk. *zibbatu*, all “tail.” This involves some phonetic problems, such as the shift from [nb] to [m], which is not too hard to account for.¹⁶¹ The prothetic or prefixed *'aleph* and the *nisbe* (?) ending are more problematic. There is a remote possibility that the word is related to Akk. *asumata*, which according to *CAD* (A II, 348a) refers to a part of the plough, probably the piece into which the share was inserted. This assumes that **לִבְ** is for **לִבְ**. A connection with MH מְסֻמָּרָה; TA مَسْمُرَةٍ, both “pointed object, nail, pin” seems highly unlikely. The word is a *hapax*. (H. 19; B. 191; *VESO* III C, 2; *Wb.* I 151, 2.) [2]

40. *a₂=ti₂=ra* Med. Habu 86, 49. [D. 20]

*²*aśīra*. N. “**CAPTIVE**.” The context makes the meaning quite clear: *In·tw·w m ²a₂=ti₂=ra m h̄q̄w*. “They were taken as captives as booty.” Cf. BH יָסִיר “captive”; Ph. የሰኑ “to harness”; Ug. *āsr*; Warka Aram.¹⁶² *a-si-ir* (**āsir*, the active participle) “one who binds

¹⁶⁰For a discussion of the whips from the tomb of Tutankhamun, see Littauer and Crouwel, *Chariots and related equipment*, p. 89 ff.

¹⁶¹Either assimilation of *n* to *b*, and Egyptian *m* for *b* (an abnormal interchange that is sometimes also found within some languages), or a shift from [n] to [m] or nazalized *n* under the influence of the bilabial [b].

¹⁶²In cuneiform transcription.

up"; TA אָסִירָאָן; Ar. اسیر (²*asîr*); Old S. Ar. ׂשַׁר (²*s₃r*); Akk. *asîru* "prisoner; captive." The formation is either a m. sing. participle of the G-stem passive or a substantive derived from a passive stem. Hebrew has אָסֹרִים (G passive participle) "prisoners" in addition to אָסִיר. (H. 20; B. 193; VESO III A, 20; Wb. I 151, 5.) [5]

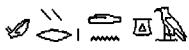
41. ^{*i=d=ma₂={m}=t*} Shishak
List, nos. 98-9. [D.22]

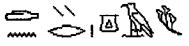
*^a*adāmat*. N. (f.) “LAND.” Cf. BH אָדָמָה (abs.), מִזְמָרָה (constr.) “ground, land, territory”; Punic אַדְמָה “land, country”; Targ. Aram., JPA אַדְמָה “earth.” The word is not well attested outside of Hebrew, but this is not a problem since the site was located in the Negeb. The Phoenician word is late, and the Targumic word may be a Hebraism. The similar appearing name without final *t* (Shishak List, no. 56) may be a related masculine form, or may be similar to the BH n. loc. מִזְמָרָה or מִזְמָרָה (the latter perhaps to do with the root meaning “red”). The writing of no. 98 probably reflects the feminine construct ending. (Not in *Wb.*) [5]

42. O. Turin 57157 4; ^{*Ibid.* 5.} A SWEET MELON. See under .

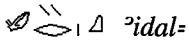
43. ^{*idal=n=—r=ga*} O. Cairo 25553 vs. 1 [D. 20]
 ^{*idal=—n=—r=ga*} O. DeM 37 9. [D. 20]
 ^{*idal=—n=r=ga*} An. III 2, 3; H.O. 85 1, 7. [D. 19]
 ^{*idal=n=ra=ga*} P. Harris I 37a, 11. [D. 20]
 ^{*idal=ra=ga*} O. DeM 331 7.
 ^{*idal=n=ga*} O. DeM 368 1.
 ^{*idal=nu=—r=g*} O. Cairo 25678 vs. 5. [D. 19]
 ^{*idal=nu=—r=g*} P. DeM II vs. 7 and 8. [D. 19]
 ^{*=d=n=—r=ga*} An. IV 9, 2. [D. 19]
 ^{*idal=—r={d=r=}ga*} P. Turin 2070/154 II, 13.¹⁶³ [D. 20]

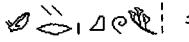
¹⁶³Allam, *HOP*, pl. 120; M. Muszynski, "P. Turin Cat. 2070/154," *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977), pls. 9–10.

 ²idal=—r=d=n=ga P. Turin Cat. 1884 2, 2.¹⁶⁴
[D. 20]

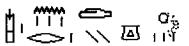
 d=n=—r=ga O. Michaelides 36 I, 5 (pl. 78). [D. 19]

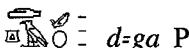
Also written with *q*:

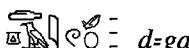
 ²idal=—r=q O. Turin 57157 4. [D. 20]

 ²idal=—r=qu O. Turin 57157 5.

Miswritten:

 ²an=—n=ra=di=g P. Rainer 53, 8.¹⁶⁵ [D. 21]

 d=ga P. Cairo 58033 63.¹⁶⁶ [D. 21]

 d=ga=^iu P. Cairo 58032 103. [D. 21]

*²idalga; ²id(a)laga. N. m. A SWEET MELON, PERHAPS “WATER-MELON.” The meaning of the word is fairly well established by the contexts. An. III: *P3* ²idal=—n=r=ga mi dp bit. “The melons are like the taste of honey.” These melons were grown with cucumbers: (An. IV 9, 1 ff.) *I*-ir-i n-k 5 *st3w m bi-du hr rsy p3y-k dmi*. “*s3 s3pw, ^i-d-n=—r=ga, <i3>ds mi sct*. “To the south of your town I will cultivate 5 *arouras* in cucumbers. The cucumbers, *idnrg*, and *ids*-melons will be as numerous as sand.”¹⁶⁷ Loret,¹⁶⁸ translated as “carob,” as did Caminos.¹⁶⁹ Černý identified the word with Coptic Σελαος, Βελωω, ψλωω “gourd.”¹⁷⁰ Janssen felt that the word was not Semitic and says it is the “well known” word for gourd.¹⁷¹ The word, however, does not appear before Late Egyptian. A Semitic word from the root *dlc* is well attested with precisely the meaning needed in the Egyptian texts, and it would appear that the words are connected. Cf. MH and Mod. Hebrew פַלְלָה “cucumber; pumpkin; etc.” Arabic (Maghreb) دَلَّا (dalla^c) “watermelon.” Egyptian *g* for

¹⁶⁴KRI VI 647, 4.

¹⁶⁵Parallel to An. III 2, 3.

¹⁶⁶Listed after milk and before wine in a list of offerings.

¹⁶⁷They are also mentioned with cucumbers in O. Cairo 25678 and P. Rainer 53.

¹⁶⁸V. Loret, “Recherches sur plusieurs plantes connues des anciens égyptiens,” *Rec. Trav.* 15 (1893), 119 ff.

¹⁶⁹Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 74, 76.

¹⁷⁰J. Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 330.

¹⁷¹J.J. Janssen, “Semitic words in Egyptian ostraca,” *Ex Oriente Lux Deel 6* (part 19) (1967), p. 445.

Semitic /^c/ (not /g/) is unexpected. Possibly the word was from an original root *dlg, but passed into Arabic via a language, such as Syriac, that no longer distinguished between /^c/ and /g/. There is some slight support for this supposition in that the Arabic word refers to melons called “Indian,” “Palestinian,” and “Syrian,” according to Dozy.¹⁷² The Egyptian perception of /^c/ as [g] could, however, have had a simple phonetic basis: the assimilation of voicing from /d/ and /l/. This could have been a phenomenon in the source language, or a misperception on the part of the Egyptians. (B. 1190; *Wb.* V 470, 4.) [3]

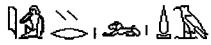
44.  ²u₂=da-mi₂=na P. Leiden I 343 rt. 8, 1.
[D. 19 or 20]

*²uzamīna, ²uzamilla? N. **SOMETHING IN THE INTESTINES?** The passage states that a *smn*-demon is submerged “in the ²dmn which are in the belly that is in good condition.” (*m* ²u₂=da-mi₂=na nty m-m ht f nty m³c.) Perhaps cf. the MH תְּנִשְׁמָרָה “knots, fringes.” This is supported somewhat by the “hair strands” determinative. If so, the word would be a plural (or dual) with nunation. Another possible connection could be made with Akk. *azamillu* “sack, with net-like reinforcement,”¹⁷³ and Ug. *izml* “sack, garment?”¹⁷⁴ The word *a-za-me-la-te*, occurring in Ugarit Akkadian, is probably related to these words.¹⁷⁵ (B. 206; *Wb.* I 155, 15.) [2]

45.  ²a₂=da=—r H.O. 31 5, 3. [D. 20]

Also written with metathesis:

 ²a₂=ru₂=da St. BM 588.¹⁷⁶ [D. 20]

 ²a₂=—r=ru₂=du₂ P. Sallier IV vs. 3, 1.¹⁷⁷

[D. 19]

¹⁷²Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* I, p. 457b.

¹⁷³CAD A II, 525b.

¹⁷⁴Aistleitner, no. 129, “Maas, o.e. Kleidungsstück.”

¹⁷⁵Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 282, n. 67.

¹⁷⁶J.J. Janssen, “An unusual donation stela of the Twentieth Dynasty,” *JEA* 49 (1963), pl. 9 and note *k* on p. 69.

¹⁷⁷It seems more likely that this word should be identified with ²dr or ²rd than with the *irrn*-vase, as proposed by Caminos, *LEM*, p. 345.



*²*aṣara*; ²*aruṣa*, ²*arruṣa*? N. A VESSEL. The contexts reveal little about the nature of this vessel. The determinatives do, however, indicate that it was made of metal. Perhaps cf. BH יָצַר “pot”; יָצַר “potter; founder (metal caster)”; Ph. צָר ‘potter’; Ug. yrsr “to fashion,” and in Akk. transcription ya-sí-ru-ma “potters”;¹⁷⁸ Akk. eṣēru “to draw.” (H. 22.) [3]

46. ²*a₂-da-—r=ta* Turin Legal text.¹⁷⁹

Also written without *r*:

²*a₂-da=t* O. Michaelides, pl. 62 no. 7, 8. [D. 20]

O. Cairo 25707 3. [D. 20]

O. Cairo 25693 3. [D. 20]

*²*asarta*. N. VESSEL. *Sqnn* oil was placed in such a vessel in the Turin text. Cf. the previous word. It is less likely that the word is related to BH אָצַר “to lay up; store” and אָצֵר “storehouse.” (H. 23; B. 210; *Wb.* I 155, 16.) [3]

47. O. Michaelides, pl. 62 no. 7, 8. VESSEL See under .

¹⁷⁸Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 134.

¹⁷⁹Vs. of the Turin Love poems, unpublished, to my knowledge. It is cited by *Wb.* I, *Belegstellen*.



48. *ya-^cq=b* Thutmose III List I, 102 a. [D. 18]
 Thutmose III List I, 102 b.
ya-^ca=qu₄=b Ramses II Karnak.¹ [D. 19]
ya-^ca=<q>u₄=bi Ramses II Karnak.²
ya^cqub.* Vb. in n. loc. “TO SUCCEED (SOMEONE) / BE NEAR / PROTECT.**” Cf. BH “to overreach, circumvent; deceive”; Ug. “*qb* D-stem “to hold back; hinder”; Amorite *Ya^cqub* “he has protected”;³ TA D-stem “to espy; trace”; Syr. (*“aqab*) “to follow,” D-stem “to investigate, search out”; Ar. (*“aqaba*) “to follow, succeed (someone)”; Eth. (*“aqaba*) “to keep; guard.” Cf. esp. the Ugaritic and Amorite names *Yaqub-ba^cal*⁴ and *Yahqub-él*.⁵ The semantic development is quite diverse in the various languages. The semantic field seems to be “being at the heel,” whence “following,” “succeeding,” and “tracking” on the one hand, and “keeping at one’s heels,” i.e. “restraining,” on the other. The semantic derivation of the name is problematic.⁶ Whatever the precise meaning, the form is certainly the 3rd. masc. sing. *yaqtul* with the n. div. *?El* as subject. [5]
49. *yu-bi-—r* Gloss. Gol. 1, 10. [D. 20–1]
yu-bi=ru₂ London Leather Roll rt. 10.⁷ [D. 21]

¹Simons, *ETL* XXIII, 9.

²Simons, *ETL* XXVII, 104.

³H.B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study* (Baltimore: 1965), p. 203, written ^mYa-*ab-qu-ub-él*.

⁴Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen*, pp. 111–12.

⁵Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names*, p. 203 ff.

⁶Cf. H.J. Zobel in Botterwick, ed. *Theological Dictionary*, vol. 6, pp. 188–90.

⁷Gardiner, *AEO*, III, pl. 16.

יְבָרָה  **yu=ba=ra** P. BM 10474 vs. 2, 3.⁸ [D. 22]

Also written with ²aleph in the n. loc.:

יְבָרָה  **u=ba=ra=ya** P. Wilbour 16, 42; 19, 32. [D. 20]

**yubila*; *ubalaya*. N. and as n. loc. “STREAM.” The examples from the onomastica occur among words for bodies of water. It is certainly connected to the Semitic root *ybl* “to flow.” Cf. BH יְבָרָה, TA يَبْلَأ; Syr. مَبْلَأ (*yablā*), all “stream.”⁹ The variant writing with ²aleph corresponds to BH אַיְבָל “stream.” (H. 24; B. 213; *Wb.* I 63, 16; *VESO VI B*, 1.¹⁰) [5]

50. **יְבָרָה**  **ya=ba=—r** P. Lansing 11, 6. [D. 20]

With metathesis (and ² for y):

 **—i=—r=ba** O. Turin 57106 2.¹¹ [D. 19 or 20]

**yabala*. N. A GRASS. The identification is uncertain. The word occurs in a list of fibrous plants, reeds, and grasses stored in a barn: *mht*, *w3d*, *nsw*, ¹šwy, *ya=ba=—r* “flax, greens, ‘reeds,’ ‘rushes,’ *ybr*.” Perhaps compare the TA يَبْلَأ; Syr. مَبْلَأ (*yablā*); Punic *ueβáλ*¹² “a species of grass, *Cynodon dactylon*.” An Aramaic proverb indicates that the root of the plant was eaten by peasants.¹³ Perhaps also cf. the Ugaritic plant name *yblt*,¹⁴ which occurs parallel to tamarisk, date panicles, and reeds. Less likely is a connection with the root *ybl* meaning “to bring forth,” e.g. BH יְבָרָה and Ug. *ybl* (*ārṣ*) “produce (of the earth),” since these are too generic. The word is found only in this passage (but omitted in the An. IV parallel). (Not in H.; B; *Wb.*) [3]

⁸= Gloss. Gol. 1, 10. F.-R. Herbin, “Une version inachevée de l’onomasticon d’Aménémopé,” *BIFAO* 86 (1986), p. 197.

⁹Helck’s contention that the word was a diminutive vocalized **yubail* should be dropped. There is no evidence of a diphthong in the Egyptian writing. The diminutive formation *qutayl* does occur in Arabic, but it is not well attested in the ancient Semitic languages.

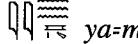
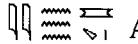
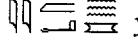
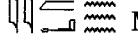
¹⁰And *VESO*, p. 19, where Albright maintained that the form was a participle.

¹¹= P. Lansing 11, 6.

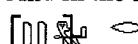
¹²I. Löw, *Aramaic Pflanzennamen* (Leipzig: 1881), pp. 183–88, no. 141.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹⁴Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín, “Bemerkungen zur Schlangenbeschwörung RS 24.244 = UG. 5, S. 564-ff Nr. 7,” *UF* 7 (1975), p. 122, ll. 66–67.

51.  P. Leiden I 350 vs. 2, 15. “BISCUIT.” See under .
52.  *ya=ma* An. III 3, 1; P. Leiden I 350 1, 11.¹⁵ [D. 19]
 Doomed Prince 8, 9. [D. 19]
 Ramses II Tanis Stele.¹⁶ [D. 19]
 Med. Habu 600, 5. [D. 20]
 *ya-mu₂* Astarte 2x + 11. [D. 18]
 *ya-mu₃* Gebel Barkal 17. [D. 18]
 Amarna VI 25, 18. [D. 18]
 *ya=ma₄* KRI V 91, 9. [D. 20]
 Med. Habu 600, 7.
 *ya=-n=ma₄* Hittite Treaty (KRI II 230, 10). [D. 19]
 *yu=ma* Gloss. Gol. 1, 8, and often.¹⁷ [D. 20–1]
 Astarte 1x + 6; 2x + 2.

In the n. loc.:
 *Pa=yu=mu₃* P. Wilbour B 16, 6. [D. 20]

And in the fortress name:
 KRI VII 422, 15. [D. 19]

**yamma*; *yomma*. N. m. “SEA.” Demotic *ym*, Coptic *Seiom*. The word is regularly used of the Mediterranean Sea, but it probably refers to the Fayyûm in the P. Wilbour example. In the KRI fortress name it is in a bound construction with a place name: Sea of *Ra-bi-ta*. Cf. the Semitic root *ymm*, and compare BH *ם*; Ph. *ם*; Ug. *ym*; Amorite *yammum*; TA *𠁻*; Ar. *يام* (*yamm*), all “sea.” Note that in some writings  does double duty as a phonetic group (*mu₃*) and as determinative. The peculiar writing from the Hittite Treaty seems

¹⁵Hymn to Amun: Zandee, *OMRO* 28 (1947), pl. 1.

¹⁶J. Yoyotte, “Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis,” *Kêmi* 10 (1949), pl. VI, 15.

¹⁷E.g. P. Hood I 7–8 (Gardiner, *AEO* III, pl. 14); London Leather Roll rt. 9 (Gardiner, *AEO* III, pl. 16); An. I 21, 1; Wenamun 1, 8; 1, 23; 1x + 13; 1x + 14.

to indicate a doubling of the *mem*. The use of *n* for this purpose is highly reminiscent of the use of *nun* in Aramaic. The writing *yu=ma* perhaps resulted from the [á] to [ó] shift in Egyptian, the word having been naturalised before the shift and thus subject to the same phonetic rules as native Egyptian words. Another possibility is that it represents a different pronunciation in the original. In Phoenician nominal formations, *[á] was stress-lengthened to [á] and resulted in [ó].¹⁸ (H. 25; B. 216; *VESO* IV 3; *Wb.* I 78, 11.) [5]

53.  *ya=ma₄=su3=ra* PN I 56, 6.

Yamšula*. Vb. in PN m. “TO RULE; REIGN.**” The name is perhaps from the Semitic root *mšl*: BH מְשַׁלֵּךְ; Ph. מְשַׁלָּךְ and in the PN’s מְשֻׁלָּךְ;¹⁹ Ug. *mšlt* “rulership”;²⁰ Old Aram. מְשֻׁלָּךְ, all “to rule, have dominion.” The form would be the third masc. sing. *yaqtulu/a*, and the name might be hypocoristic. [3]

54.  *ya=-n=ham* Name List.²¹ [D. 18]

-  *ya=n=ham* *Ibid.* vs. 16.

Yanham*. Vb. in PN m. “TO CONSOLE, COMFORT; HAVE COMPASSION.**” Cf. the Semitic root *nḥm*: BH נְחֹמָם N-stem “to be sorry,” D-stem “console,” and the names נְחֹמִים, נְחֹמָה, MH מְחֹמָה “to be at ease”; Ph. PN יְנָחָם;²² Amorite PN *Ynḥm*; TA مَنْحَمْ, نَحْمَى “to be at ease.” The name is also transcribed in the Amarna letters as *Yanhamu* (e.g. EA 271, 25; 106, 30), and at Ugarit as ^mYa-an-*ha-mu*, ^mYa-an-*ham-ma*, ^mYa-an-*ha-am-mu*.²³ The writing suggests that the form is a G-stem *yaqtul(u)*. This may be the jussive, since there is apparently no vocalic ending, although perhaps it is the indicative, as suggested by the evidence from Akkadian transcriptions with vocalic endings. Perhaps the name means “may he be comforted / at ease.” If the subject is, however, a deity, the name could mean “May He have compassion.” The man with stick

¹⁸E.g. *[yád] shifts to [yód].

¹⁹Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 355.

²⁰De Moor and Spronk, *Cuneiform Anthology*, p. 153.

²¹Steindorff, “Liste syrischer Sklaven,” *ZÄS* 38, p. 17, rt. 5.

²²Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 360.

²³Kinlaw, *Names in the Akkadian Texts*, p. 130.

determinative is by association with the Egyptian *nḥm* “to remove; rescue.” (*VESO* IV 5; *PN I*, 56, 8.) [5]

55. *ya-n-di₄-bu* ASAE 16, 162, 1. 7.²⁴ [D. 19]
 **Yanṣibu?* Vb. in PN m. “TO STAND FIRM.” Ranke suggested a link to the root *nṣb*. Cf. BH נִשְׁבָּה N-stem “to stand firm”; Punic נִשְׁבָּה “stele”; Ug. *nṣb* N-stem “to take one’s stand,” the PN *Yaṣ(s)ubu*, and the n. div. *Yṣb*²⁵ Amorite *nṣb* “to erect,” PN ^m*Ya-an-ṣi-bu-um*, ^m*Ya-an-ṣi-bu-dDa-gan*, ^m*Ya-ṣi-bu-um*; Old Aram. “stele,” TA “to put up”; Ar. نَصَبَ (*naṣaba*) “to set up, put up.” The form is probably the 3rd m. sing. imperfect (*yaqtulu*), as in the Ugaritic name(s). Or, as seems to be the case with the Amorite name, it may be an H-stem hypocoristicon (without assimilation of *nun*), perhaps meaning “He (a god) will establish (him).” (*PN I* 56, 10.) [4]
56. *yu₂=ra=ha=ma* Shishak List, no. 112. [D. 22]
yu₂=r=h=m Shishak List, no. 139.
 **Yuroḥam.* Vb. in PN m. “TO BE COMPASSIONATE.” In nos. 110–12, the name occurs in the Negeb n. loc. ^c*a=ru₂=di=?*^a *n bi₄={t}=ta₅* *yu₂=ra=ha=ma* “Arad of the House of Yeroḥam.” The name has long been identified with the BH name מִרְחָם “may he be compassionate.” The root is well attested in the Semitic languages: Ug. *rḥm* “to have mercy”; Amorite *rḥm* “to have mercy,” and PN ^m*Ya-ar-ha-mu*; Old Aram., Imp. Aram. “to love,” TA “to love”; Syr. مُرِحَّمٌ (*r̥aḥ̥m*) “to love; be merciful”; Ar. رَحِيمٌ (*rahīm*) “to have mercy”; Old S. Ar. (*rḥm*) “to be merciful”; Eth. (*mahara*) “to have mercy”; Akk. *rēmu* “to have mercy.” The *u*-vowel of the first syllable is possibly transposed, or the form might be the D-stem passive: **Yurūḥham.* (B. 228) [5]
57. *ya=h-mi₃* Urk. IV 784, 68 b. [D. 18]
 Urk. IV 784, 68 a, c.
ya=ha=ma₂=ya P. Wilbour A 36, 5. [D. 20]

²⁴G. Legrain “Un miracle d’Ahmès I à Abydos sous le règne de Ramsès II,” ASAE 16 (1916), pp. 161–70.

²⁵Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 169.

Yahmē, Yahmaya*. Vb. in n. loc. and PN m. “TO PROTECT.**” The name seems to be similar, if not identical, to the Semitic **מִחְמָה** of I Chron. 7:2; Ug. **ׁYa-ah-me-nu, Yhmn**;²⁶ and Old S. Ar. **תַּהֲמָן** (*Yhm²l*). Cf. also TA (Yerushalmi) **מִחְמָה** “to see”; Ar. حَمَّى (*hamā*) “to guard; protect.” In the Urk. IV examples the diphthong [ay] has probably been contracted to [ē], as in the Ugaritic. In P. Wilbour, the name ends with consonantal /y/, either as a root letter or as the ending often encountered in hypocoristic names. (*PN II* 268, 29.) [4]

58. ¶ = ׁya-**ha-****—n=ma**₂ *PN II* 268, 30. [D. 19]

yahanma? yanħama?* Vb. in PN m. “TO BE GRACIOUS**” OR “**TO CONSOLE.**” The name may be related to the root *hnn*, but with dissimilation, cf. **חָנָמָא** (Jer. 32:7), which may be a by-form of **חָנָן**. Cf. BH **עָנָה** “to be gracious”; Ph. **עָנָה** “favour,” PN **חָנָבָל**; Ug. *hnn* “to show favour,” PN *Hnn*; Amorite *hnn* “to be gracious,” and PN’s, e.g. *Ya-hu-un-il*; TA **עָנָה** “to show favour”; Ar. حَنَّ (*hanna*) “to long for; feel compassion.” The form would be the *yaqtulu*, but only the short form (without reduplication) is attested in names. Could the final *m* be that of the 3rd. plural suffix: “May he be gracious to them”? Another possibility is that there is metathesis of the first and second radicals. If so, the name would from the root *nhm* “to console,” and would be identical to ¶ = ׁya-**ba-**ha****₂ (no. 54). A third possibility is that there is metathesis of the second and third radicals, and that the name is identical to the Ug. PN *Yhmn*. In any case the form is the 3rd m. sing. *yaqtul(a)*. [3]

59. ¶ = ׁya-**sa-**ba-**ha****₂ Name List.²⁷ [D. 18]**

Yašbaha*. Vb. in PN m. “TO PRAISE.**” Cf. the Semitic root *šbh* “praise,” esp. the Biblical name **שָׁבֵח** ← **yašbaha*; Ug. PN **ׁAšbh**;²⁸ Ar. سُبْحَ (✓*sbh*) D-stem “to praise”; Eth. **ׁסַבְּהָ**: (*sabbeha*) “to praise.” The form is a G-stem *yaqtula* form. (B. 236; *VESO VI A*, 1; *PN I*, 56, 13.) [5]

²⁶Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 135.

²⁷Steindorff, “Liste syrischer Sklaven,” ZÄS 38, p. 17, no. 11.

²⁸Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 191.

60. *ya-ši₂-p* Thutmose III List I, 78 a. [D. 18]

ya-ši₂-pi Amenophis III List Bn. no. 1. [D. 18]

KRI I 37, 6. [D. 19]

**yatib?* **yatub?* Vb. in n. loc. “TO RETURN” OR “TO DWELL.”

The word is likely from either the root *ytb* or *twb*. Similar, but not identical, personal names are attested from both roots. From *ytb* cf. BH יְשַׁבֵּה (The LORD settles). From *twb* cf. BH שָׁבָעַ and שָׁבָעַ; Ph. יִשְׁבַּעַ²⁹ Ug. *Yašub-ilu*, *Tbil*³⁰ Old S. Ar. ܬ୍ୱବୁସ (Twb²). For certain examples of the root *ytb* in Egyptian, see *2as=b=t* (no. 30). For the root *twb*, cf. () *s=b=l* (no. 364). The occurrence of Egyptian *p* for Semitic /b/ is in either case the result of devoicing due to the sibilant /t/. (B. 239; VESO III B, 4; IV 10.) [3]

61. *ya=k-sa-mu₂* P. Cairo 58071³¹ 3–4. [D. 19]

**Yaqšamu*. N. in PN m. “FOWLER (?)” The name is possibly connected with the root *yqš*: cf. BH שֹׁקֵךְ, שֹׁקֵךְ “fowler,” and the PN שֹׁקְרֶךְ; the Ug. PN *Yqš[]*.³² The Hebrew name exhibits nunation, which may be equivalent to the apparent mimation in the Egyptian transcription. It is not clear whether the Ugaritic name ended with *nun*, *mem*, or is complete as it stands. The wood determinative is perhaps inspired by the association with bird traps. (PN I 56, 16.) [3]

62. *ya=qa=ma* P. DeM 26.³³ [D. 19]

**yaqama*, *qayama*? N. m. “PILLAR; STATUE (?)” The word occurs in the following sentence: *Tʒyf pʒ ya-qa=ma n Nfr-sst, pʒy-i it*. “He stole the *yqm* of Nefer-seset, my father.” Allam translated the word as “Schild,”³⁴ obviously identifying the word with *ikm* “shield.” This identification is not likely on phonological grounds. In any

²⁹With assimilation of *b* for **Ysb-B²*. Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 327. Benz also suggests a possible connection with *W*, but considers *šwb* “to return” the most likely root.

³⁰Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 200.

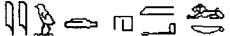
³¹P. Boulaq 12.

³²Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 145.

³³Allam, *HOP*, II, pl. 95.

³⁴*HOP*, I, p. 299.

case, the determinative indicates that the object was made of stone. The word is possibly related to the Semitic root *qwm* “to stand.” Cf. Targ. Aram. קָמַתְא “pillar, statue”;³⁵ Syr. مَعْلَة (qaymā) “column,” مَعْلَم (qāyemtā) “column, statue”; Ar. قَامَة (qāma), قِيَام (qiyām) “pillar; support.” The formation مَوْقِعٌ also occurs in BH, but it is an abstract word meaning “that which exists.” If the connection with \sqrt{qwm} is correct, then the Egyptian form is perhaps best explained as exhibiting metathesis of the first and second consonants. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

63.  $y_2=d$ Shishak List, no. 29. [D. 22]

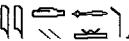
yōd*. N. in n. loc. “HAND; MONUMENT (E.G. STELE).**” The word occurs in the place name meaning “The King’s Monument,”³⁶ for which the Biblical name יְד אֲבָשְׁלִים (II Sam. 18:18) provides a close parallel. The word *yd* is well attested in other Semitic languages (including Amorite *yadum*) with the meaning “hand,” but the meaning “monument” is known only from BH and Mod. Hebrew. This identification was suggested by B. Mazar.³⁷ This particularized use of the word may have something to do with the depiction of a hand, fingers pointing upward, commonly found on Phoenician steles above or below the inscriptions. The Egyptian transcription with a *u*-vowel seems phonologically suspect, but it is probably justifiable. The word, pronounced in the Phoenician manner would have been **yōd*, whence the name of the letter תֵּו (which represents an arm/hand in the Phoenician script: ) and Greek *iωτα*. The only difficulty with this is that the word in this place name is in the construct state, and therefore the vowel should not have been stress-lengthened. It is doubtful, however, if Egyptians would have always been careful about the finer points of grammar and phonetics, and many would very likely have used the most familiar form, namely the status absolutus. The location of *Ydhmrk* is unknown, but it is

³⁵Used to translate Hebrew מִצְבָּה.

³⁶The name is also dealt with in entry no. 187.

³⁷כָּנָעַן וֵישָׁרָאֵל (*Canaan and Israel*) (Jerusalem: 1976), pp. 239, 256, n. 29.

believed to be near Megiddo.³⁸ The pronunciation of the name may, however, betray the scribe's Phoenician accent. (B. 244.³⁹) [4]

64.  *ya-di-ā* An. I 17, 7. [D. 19]

And probably in the PN:⁴⁰

 *ya-tu₂-ā* PN 416, 19.

 *ya-tu₂-u₂* PN 416, 19.

yōdi^ca*. Vb. m. sing. G-stem Part. "SKILLED; LEARNED." In An. I 17, 7, the word occurs in the Canaanite phrase *tu-pi₂=—r ya-di-ā* "learned scribe." Cf. the root *yd^c*: BH יְדָה; Ph. עַדָּה; Ug. *yd^c*; Amorite *yd^c*; BA, TA עַדָּה; Syr.  (*yida^c*), all "to know"; Eth. **አድራዎች: (²*ayda^ca*) "to inform"; Akk. *idū* "to know." For exact parallels of the form cf. BH יְדָעָה; Amorite *yādi^cum*; BA עַדָּה "knowing." For the PN cf. BH בֶּן־יְדָעָה, יְדָעָה־אֵל; Ph. בֶּן־יְדָעָה; Amorite *Ya-di-u₂*; Palm. יְדָעָל. The writing of *yd^c* in An. I provides no indication of the Canaanite [á]-[ó] shift, which might suggest a southern or northern interior (e.g. Aramaic) origin. This contradicts the evidence from the preceding *tu-pi₂=—r *sōpir(a)*, which provides clear evidence of the shift from *[á] to [ó] in the first vowel. Either the writer was mixing forms from two dialects, or more likely, was less accurate in the writing of *yd^c*, using the group *ya*, which occurs far more frequently than *yu* or *yu₂*. The participle follows the noun that it modifies, as is normal with Semitic syntax. (B. 241; 243; VESO IV 18; Wb. I 153, 1.) [5]

³⁸Mazar, *ibid.*

³⁹Burchardt's etymology from a hypothetical **דְּהַמְּלֵךְ* (II, p. 70) based on the obscure n. loc. *הַמְּלֵךְ* is not very convincing.

⁴⁰So Burchardt.

⁴¹Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 127.

65. *a-ya-na* Thutmose III List I, 46 a, b, c; 95 b. [D. 18]

Amenophis III List Cn 1. 11. [D. 18]

i-ya-na P. Harris I 77, 7. [D. 20]

ayna*. N. m. (?) in n. loc. “SPRING; WELL.**” Cf. BH עַיָּה; Ph. עַיָּה; Ug. *n* (**ēn*); TA עַיָּה, עַיָּה; Ar. عنْ (*ayn*); Old S. Ar. ՚yn (‘yn); Akk. ՚enu, all “spring; well.” The writing clearly indicates the presence of the diphthong [ay]. This is somewhat surprising since the examples from the Thutmose III list occur in a northern context (Plain of Acco). Perhaps the early date accounts for this, although the Execration Texts contain an example of the nisbe *ny*, in which the diphthong [ay] has resolved to [e] also occurs: (no. 79). The writing in Harris I perhaps resulted from a confusion of the two forms, or perhaps it represents an original *[eyna]. (B. 247.) [5]

66. *a-wi₂-ra* Name list.² [D. 18]

awwira?* Adj./N. in PN m. “BLIND.**” The name occurs in a list of people identified as Syrians. It is likely from the root *wr*:³ BH עִיר “blind”; Ug. *wr* “blind”; Old Aram. עִיר, TA עִיר “blind,” and עֵין as PN; Syr. ՚וּר (*’wir*) “blind”; Ar. عَوْر (*awira*) “to be one-eyed”; Eth. ՚אָר: (*’ār*) “blind.” If the identification is correct, the name would be semantically identical to the well known Egyptian PN *P3-K3mn*. [4]

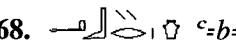
¹G. Posener, *Princes et Pays d'Asie et de Nubie* (Brussels: 1940), p. 70 E10. S. Ahituv (*Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* [Jerusalem: 1984], p. 56) maintains that a tomb inscription from the Fifth Dynasty contains a n. loc. beginning with *n* “well.” It is possible that contraction occurred in West Semitic that early—it did in East Semitic—but the word is damaged, and is therefore uncertain.

²Steindorff, ZAS 38 (1900), p. 17, 3.

³So too, Steindorff, *ibid.*

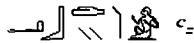
67.  *a-ba₂-ya* P. Wilbour 11, 39; 13, 40. [D. 20]

**abaya?* **abbata?* N. f. in n. loc. UNKNOWN. The place name is: *t3*
 **a-ba₂-ya m p3 ma-yu.*⁴ Helck identified the word with BH עַבְרָה “ford; crossing,” and explained the פּ as resulting from a softening of the final *r*. This may be possible, but since the word is feminine in gender, it seems more likely that here פּ is a mistake for מּ. Perhaps cf. Arabic عَبَّاب (‘*abba*) “to gulp”; عَابَاب (‘*ubāb*) “floods; waves”; يَعْبُوب (ya‘*būb*) “torrential river,” or Syr. طَبَّاب (‘*ubbā*) “gulf, bay; hollow, recess (of earth).” (H. 28.) [2]

68.  *=b=—r* O. Gardiner 264.⁵ [D. 20]

**abīr?* N. UNKNOWN. Lesko (*Dictionary*, I, 74) compares with *ibr*, a type of unguent, but the ‘ayin in place of the ‘aleph makes this association quite unlikely. The word occurs in the phrase: *i^c mh¹ m br⁶* “a basin filled with ‘br.” Perhaps cf. the Arabic عَبِير (‘*abīr*) “fragrance; perfume.” It could also be associated with the BH term for “liquid myrrh” (*Song of Songs* 5:5)⁷ מָוֶר עַבְרָה (Not in *Wb.*) [2]

69.  *a=b-di* Private Stele.⁸ [D. 18]

 *=b-di*⁹ PN II 269, 30.

 *-ba-di* KRI VII 93, 15.¹⁰ [D. 20]

As Late Hyksos name:

 *a=b-d* Cairo 28108.

**abdi.* N. as PN m. “SERVANT.” Cf. the Semitic word for “servant.” BH עֲבָד, עֲבָדָה, עֲבָדִי; Ph. عَبْد, عَبْدَة;¹¹ Ug.

⁴The last word is probably a miswriting of the n. loc. “Fayyum.”

⁵Unpublished, but cited by Janssen, *Prices*, p. 420.

⁶Janssen, *Prices*, p. 418, read *wnh m br*, but this would mean something like “adorned with ‘br.”

⁷Cf. M.V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison: 1985), p. 145.

⁸Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935–40)*, vol. 2 (Cairo: 1952), pl. 2, fig 103, 3–4.

⁹The last group was read *d-t* by Ranke, but as the name is apparently masculine, the oblique strokes were probably intended.

¹⁰The last sign group has been read *nr* with a meaningless oblique line. The reading adopted here was proposed by Kitchen.

¹¹Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 371.

^c*bd*, and in Akk. transcription *ab-du*,¹² and PN *Abdu*,¹³ *Abdiya* and ^c*bdy*;¹⁴ Amorite ^c*abдум*; Ammonite ^c*bd*, and PN ^c*bd*²; BA עֲבָדָךְ, TA עֲבָדָא; Syr. عبدا (‘^c*abdā*); Ar. عبد (‘^c*abd*), all servant. Cf. esp. the PN’s BH עֲבָדִיָּהוּ, עֲבָדִיָּל; Amorite ^m*Ha-ab-du-um*, ^m*Ha-ab-di-ya*; Amarna Canaanite *Abdi-Addi*, *Abdi-Aširta*, *Abdi-Hiba*, *Abdi-milki*, and an apparently shortened form *Abdi-ilu*. The Egyptian version is no doubt an apocopated hypocorism like the BH עֲבָדִי. The *i*-ending likely reflects the genitive case ending. The word ^c*bd* is very likely to be found in the compound names written with the Egyptian ^c*pr* sign (Egyptian    ), no. 71). (B. 251; *PNI*, 60, 10; II, 269, 30.) [5]

70.   ^c=*pi=ru*₂ KRII 16, 8.¹⁵ [D. 19]

  ^c=*pi*₃=-*r* P. Harris I 31, 8. [D. 20]

  P. Harris 500 vs. 1, 5 (Joppa).¹⁶ [D. 19]

  P. Turin 1940 1, 9.¹⁷ [D. 19]

  O. Strasbourg H 187 + 183 + 192.¹⁸ [D. 19]

  ^c=*pi*₃=-*r=yu* P. Leiden I 348 vs. 6, 6.¹⁹ [D. 19]

  ^c=*p=r* Hamm. No. 12, 17. [D. 20]

  ^c=*pu=ra* Amenophis II Prisoner List.²⁰ [D. 18]

  ^{sic} ^c=*p=ru*₃ P. Leiden I 349, b, 7.²¹ [D. 19]

Probably also:

 Tomb of Puyemrê, pl. 12.²² [D. 18]

¹²Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, pp. 40–1, no. 195.1.

¹³Kinlaw, *Names in the Akkadian Texts*, p. 12.

¹⁴Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, pp. 105–6.

¹⁵Smaller Beth She’ān Stele of Seti I, l. 10.

¹⁶LES 82, 7.

¹⁷G. Botti, “A Fragment of the Story of a Military Expedition of Thutmosis III to Syria (P. Turin 1940–1941),” *JEA* 41 (1955), pp. 64–71.

¹⁸H. Cazelles, “The Hebrews,” in D.J. Wiseman, ed. *Peoples of Old Testament Times* (Oxford: 1973), p. 15.

¹⁹Gardiner, *LEM* 134, 2.

²⁰Badawi, *ASAE* 42 (1943), pl. 1, 30.

²¹Bakir, *Epistolography*, pl. 18.

²²N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê* (New York: 1922).

 []  c=pi=r Theban Tomb 155.²³ [D. 18]

And in the PN's, with m. and f. sing. definite article:

 []  c=p=-r PN I 102, 22.

 []  P. BM 10054 vs. 3, 5.²⁴ [D. 20]

 []  c=a=pi3=-r P. BM 10403 vs. 3, 12.²⁵ [D. 20]

 []  P. BM 10403 vs. 3, 1.

**cāpirū*; *cāpūra*. N. “*cAPIRU*.”²⁶ The Egyptian contexts seem to indicate that the term designated a social and not ethnic classification. E.g. the Amenophis II list of prisoners, where *prw* are listed with *Asian princes* (*msw wrw*) and *bedouin* (*š3sw*), although a couple of ethnic groups are also mentioned. In P. Harris I they occur in a list after chariot archers (*snn*y²⁷), princes (*msw wrw*), and *maryannu*.²⁸ In P. Harris 500, *prw* are mentioned in conjunction with *maryannu*, the chariotry, and charioteers (*snn*y). In Hamm. no 12 we find the *‘Apiru* hauling large blocks of stone: *c=p=r n n3 pdtyw nw s 800* “*Apiru* of the *‘Anu* people, 800 persons.”²⁹ Egyptian texts also mention *‘Apiru* in Syro-Palestinian contexts as well (KRI I, 16, 8): *n3 n c=pi=ru2 n p3 dw Ya=ru2=mu=t* “the *‘Apiru* of the hill-country of Yarmuth.”³⁰ Although its etymology is uncertain, the word is known in Akkadian texts as *habiru*,³¹ and Ugaritic as

²³T. Säve-Söderbergh, “The *prw* as Vintagers in Egypt,” *Orientalia Suecana* 1 (1952), p. 6.

²⁴Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 8.

²⁵Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 37.

²⁶The evidence indicates that the *‘Apiru* were communities generally living outside of the established authorities of cities and kingdoms, whether by choice or through debt and desperation. They raided cities and towns, but on occasion also sold their services (esp. military) to the established powers, and took up residence in urban centres. The term has been the subject of extensive discussion. For a comprehensive summary of previous scholarship and a reappraisal, see O. Loretz, *Habiru-Hebräer. Eine soziolinguistische Studie über die Herkunft des Gentiliziums ‘ibrî vom Appellativum habiru* (Berlin: 1984).

²⁷For this word, see no. 371.

²⁸No. 175.

²⁹Here the ethnic designation is specifically given.

³⁰And also P. Turin 1940.

³¹Also written with the logogram  The *b/p* interchange is not an

^c *prm*.³² The word is also very likely related to the Biblical term/name עָבֵרִי “Hebrew,” but the nature of the relationship is not easily determined.³³ The use as a personal name is also attested in Cuneiform sources as ^m*Ha-pi-ri*,³⁴ ^m*Ha-pi-i-ri*,³⁵ and ^m*Ha-pi-rum*. The *[ü] of the last syllable may be the Semitic m. abs. pl. morpheme [ü] (without mimation or nunation), which occurs in Akkadian and Samalian. The ending [yu] of P. Leiden 348 may be the plural ending. (B. 252; H. p. 526 ff.; *VESO* VII B, 4; *Wb.* I 181, 17.) [5]

71. *pr* Name list.³⁶ [D. 18]

Saqqara Tomb.³⁷ [D. 18]

Saqqara Tomb.³⁸ [D. 18]

Tut^cankhamun docket C 413.³⁹ [D. 18]

impediment to the identification, as the *b* probably arises from intervocalic voicing. The interchange is in any case attested in Ugaritic words (e.g. *hpt* / *hbtl* “soldier”).

³²Several etymologies have been proposed, but none are very convincing. Cf. O. Loretz, *Habiru-Hebräer*, pp. 235–48, for a critical survey of proposed derivations.

³³Scholars have variously equated, loosely associated, or rejected any connection between the *Ibrîm* and the *‘Apiru*. Loretz, although admitting an etymological derivation from *prw*=*prm*=*habiru*, considers that all occurrences of the word in the Bible are as a gentilic, and not as a social term. This is certainly true of post-exilic usage, but it is possible that in I Sam. 4–29 the word is used in its original sense, although put in the mouths of the Philistines, perhaps with a certain degree of contempt. That *‘Apiru* groups were still active is shown by the narrative of I Sam. 22–30 where David leads a band of brigands that are all but called *‘Apiru*. The later usage as a gentilic, may have arisen as a re-interpretation of the term, whose original sense had been forgotten, such social groups having long since disappeared. The view that the I Sam. instances are genuine Biblical examples of *‘Apiru*, but that the other examples are the gentilic was also expressed by N.P. Lemche, “‘Hebrew’ as a National Name for Israel,” *Studia Theologica, Scandinavian Journal of Theology*, 33 (1979), pp. 1–23.

³⁴Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 111.

³⁵Cazelles, “The Hebrews,” p. 20.

³⁶Steindorff, *ZÄS* 38 (1900), p. 17, vs. 18.

³⁷Zivie, *ASAE* 68 (1982), p. 64.

³⁸Zivie, *ASAE* 68 (1982), p. 64.

³⁹J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamün* (Oxford: 1965), pl. 21, no. 1. There are apparently two other examples of the name, one on an unpublished ostracon in the Metropolitan Museum, and the other on a writing board in the British Museum (Cf. G. Posener, “Les asiatiques en Égypte sous les XII^e et XIII^e dynasties,” *Syria* 34 [1957], p. 148.)



And as n. loc.



abdi*. N. only in PN and as n. loc. “SERVANT**.” The group of names with the element *pr* occur as early as the Middle Kingdom, and in fact the New Kingdom writing (predominantly Eighteenth Dynasty) may be more of a historic than phonetic writing. The derivation from *Apiru*, the social class, is now generally abandoned.⁴³ Albright⁴⁴ suggested a connection with Akkadian *epēru* “to feed, nourish” and Arabic عَفَر (*affara*) “to feed,” but there are serious problems with this proposal, as O. Rössler has pointed out:⁴⁵

- 1) Akkadian *epēru*, as shown from the Ugaritic, is from the root *hpr*.⁴⁶
- 2) The Arabic word usually means “to cover with dust” and by extension “to glean” (i.e. one gets covered with dust in sifting through the harvest droppings) and on another tack developed to mean “wean,” said of animal young, who are forced to forage.
- 3) Names with *epēru* or anything like it are not attested outside of Akkadian.
- 4) Names with *abdi* + n. div. are extremely common throughout the Semitic world, and yet only the hypocoristic *a-b-di* is attested in

⁴⁰Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 9. The sign 𓋓 is for 𓋓, as noted by Gardiner.

⁴¹Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai* (2nd ed.; London: 1952), pl. 89.

⁴²Bakir, *Epistolography*, pl. 28.

⁴³See T. Schneider, “Die Semitischen und ägyptischen Namen der Syrischen Sklaven des Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 Verso,” *UF* 19 (1987), p. 257–58 for the secondary literature.

⁴⁴W.F. Albright, “Northwest-Semitic names in a list of Egyptian slaves from the Eighteenth Century B.C.,” *JAOS* 74 (1954), p. 225. Also Albright in W.C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446]* (Brooklyn: 1955), p. 94 ff.

⁴⁵O. Rössler, “Das ältere ägyptische Umschreibungssystem für Fremdnamen und seine sprachwissenschaftlichen Lehren,” in J. Lukas, ed. *Neue Afrikanische Studien* (Hamburg: 1966), p. 222. I had reached essentially the same conclusions concerning points 2, 3, 4, and 5 before seeing Rössler’s article, but will follow Rössler’s treatment for convenience.

⁴⁶Since in several New Kingdom loan words Semitic *h* is transcribed by Egyptian *ayin*, this does not rule out the connection entirely.

the Egyptian sources. (The hypocoristic name was not noted by Rössler.) Their absence would be very surprising.

- 5) Names corresponding exactly to the Egyptian *‘pr* names are actually well attested as Amorite names with *‘bd*. Rössler could have added Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew examples as well.

Cf. the following PN's: BH עֲבָדִיָּהוּ, עֲבָדִיָּאֵל; Ug. *‘bd-b^cl*, *‘bd-Ršp*, *‘bd-il* (and many similar names⁴⁷); Mari Amorite ^m*Ha-ab-du-ba-ah-la*,⁴⁸ ^m*Ha-ab-du-^dDa-gan*.⁴⁹ Amarna Canaanite has the following names of similar construction: *Abdi-Addi*, *Abdi-Aširta*, *Abdi-Hiba*, *Abdi-milki*, and an apparently shortened form *Abdi-ilu*. Ward⁵⁰ rejected Rössler's proposal because he felt that Egyptian *r* for Semitic *d* was "phonetically improbable," and supported Albright's derivation from *epēru*. More recently T. Schneider has reviewed the material and the arguments and has sided with Rössler.⁵¹ The phonological problem may not be nearly so serious as Ward and others have thought. Whether Rössler's contention that *r* was regularly used to represent Semitic */d/* in Middle Egyptian syllabic writing proves to be correct or not, we do have one certain example of the correspondence of Egyptian *r* for Semitic */d/* in the well known word *a=—r=ši₂=na* "lentils" (no. 84). As for the writing, it is possible that in this common name type, the Middle Kingdom orthography was maintained regardless of the contemporary pronunciation. It should be noted that phonetically the difference between the respective values of *r* and *d* may not have been great. Both were likely apical aveolars with phonation.⁵² For etymological details for the root *‘bd*, see no. 69 (PN I 60, 14-18.) [3]

⁴⁷Cf. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch*, nos. 1957a–1986.

⁴⁸Huffman, *Amorite Personal Names*, pp. 31, 174, 189.

⁴⁹Huffman, *Amorite Personal Names*, p. 31, 181, 189.

⁵⁰W.A. Ward, "Some personal names of the Hyksos Period Rulers and Notes on the Epigraphy of their Scarabs," *UF* 8 (1976), p. 359.

⁵¹Schneider, "Semitischen und ägyptischen Namen," p. 258; *Asiatische Personen-namen*, pp. 66–69.

⁵²Also possible, given the great diversity found in the later Coptic dialects, is that we are dealing with a regional influence that somehow became entrenched.

72. c=p-ši₂=ya=t BD Nu, pl. 16.⁵³ [D. 18]
 P. Med. London 4, 6. [D. 18]
 c=p-ši₂=ya Tob. Naville 36, 1 (Vol. 1, pl. 49). [D. 19]
 c=p-š=ni Ibid. (Vol. 2, pl. 102). [D. 22]
 c=p-š=w=t P. Med. Berlin 3038 5, 11. [D. 19]

hippusīta*?⁵⁴ N. f. “BEETLE; GRASSHOPPER.**” Coptic εηψή.⁵⁵ In some of the BD vignettes a scarab is shown being skewered by a man (B.a.), but in others it is a grasshopper-like insect (L.e.). The word was identified by Černý⁵⁶ with the TA and Ar. خنفس (hunfus) both “beetle; scarab.” Although the connection with the Aramaic and Arabic seems beyond doubt, the word bristles with difficulties. The etymology of the word is unclear, and it is not well attested outside of Aramaic and Arabic. The Arabic word has no solid etymology from within the language, nor can an appropriate root *hpš* be found in any other language. The likeliest derivation is from the root *hpš* cf. BH חפשׁ “to search out,” Ug. *hpš* “to seek, collect” and Targumic תְּחַפֵּס “to dig.” If so, the meaning is perhaps “scavenger, grubber.”⁵⁸ The form is apparently built on the D-stem, which is appropriate for the root *hpš*.⁵⁹ Several phonological problems also arise. First, there is a lack of direct correspondence between the final root consonants. The Egyptian transcription and the Aramaic are incompatible with the Arabic, since in cognate roots Aramaic שׁ /š/ corresponds to Arabic ش /š/ and not س /s/. One Possible explanation for the discrepancy is that the Arabic is a loanword from Aramaic and not cognate to it.⁶⁰ Another difficulty is

⁵³E.A.W. Budge, *Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerāsher and Netchemet with supplementary text from the papyrus of Nu* (London: 1899).

⁵⁴Is it possible that the in some of the writings represents an *i*-vowel?

⁵⁵Not in Crum. W.R. Dawson provided an etymology for the Coptic word from the earlier “*pšt*: “Studies in the Egyptian Medical Texts,” *JEA* 20 (1934), p. 187.

⁵⁶Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 37.

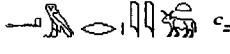
⁵⁷Černý’s work contains a typographical error with ש instead of שׁ.

⁵⁸The English word “grub” meaning “larva” has a similar etymology, deriving from the Middle English grubben “to dig.”

⁵⁹The Mishnaic Hebrew noun “search” is very similar in formation.

⁶⁰It is not very likely that the Aramaic has been pointed incorrectly and is derived from the root *hpł* “to be free” (e.g. BH חפָל “to be free,” Ug. *hpł* “peasant; soldier”).

the /n/ that occurs in the Arabic.⁶¹ If the word is, in fact, a loan from Aramaic, perhaps the /n/ results from a peculiar feature of some dialects of Aramaic: the dissimilation of doubled consonants by nasalization or the insertion of [n]. E.g. BA הַנְשָׁקָה for *הַנְשָׁקָה the H-stem infinitive of קָלֵס “to go up.” At first sight, the Egyptian /c/ for Semitic /ħ/ (or /h/) seems suspect, but phonologically, /c/ for /h/ is quite straightforward: both are pharyngealized laryngeals, very similar in articulation, and distinguished mainly by voicing. An interchange between /c/ and /ħ/, although unexpected,⁶² may, however, also occur.⁶³ The use of Egyptian c, however, tends to corroborate the contention that the original root began with /ħ/, and that the Arabic form is secondary, being borrowed from Aramaic. Or else, the Arabic word is simply an example of weak phonetic change. (*Wb.* I 181, 18; 19; 182, 1; Černý *Ety. Dict.* p. 37.) [5]

73.  c-a=ma-ra=ya=t H.O. 14 5, rt. 1. [D. 19 or 20]
 c=m=ra=ya=t P. Leiden 343 rt. 6, 11. [D. 19 or 20]
hallabata?* c-āwilata? N. f. “MILK COW,**” (AS EPITHET OF **ANAT**).⁶⁴ The context of H.O. 14 is rather broken: c=n=ta, t3
 c-a=ma-ra=ya=t “Anat, the c-mryt,” but in P. Leiden 343 we have the phrase: mndw n c=n=ta t3 c=m=ra=ya=t c3t nt Sti “the teats⁶⁵ of c-Anat, the great c-mrt of Seth.” Helck identified this word with BH עֲבָלָה “heifer.” This is impossible on phonological grounds: Ug. cgl, cglt; Ph. Pun. ḫnt عَنْتٌ all have g as the second radical. Helck is, however, correct in rejecting the connection to Sumerian AMAR “calf”

The Modern Hebrew word for beetle is חַפּוֹשִׁיָּה, but this is probably based on a false etymology.

⁶¹ Although other animal names in Arabic sometimes contain an infix *n*, e.g. خنزير (*hinzir*) “pig.”

⁶² Since /ħ/ is a palatal, and /c/ is a laryngeal.

⁶³ The evidence is inconclusive, but perhaps the Egyptian *hi-ma₄-ti₂* “power” (no. 335) is to be derived from the root *c^htm. Another possible example is Egyptian *na-ti₂-cā* (no. 265) “to desert” or “divorce” for *nasaha.

⁶⁴ Atirat and Anat are known as nurses in Ugaritic literature: *ynq hlb ȝtrt mss td btlt* [“nt] *m̄snq[t ilm]* “He (the future king) will suckle the milk of ‘Atirat, and drain the breasts of Maiden Anat, the nurses [of the gods].” (Keret 14, 26 ff.)

⁶⁵ Not dual, therefore more than two are meant.

proposed by Massart.⁶⁶ The word is possibly to be derived from the common Semitic root meaning “milk.” Cf. BH חָלֵב “milk”; Punic חַלְבָּ “milk”; Ug. ḥlb “milk”; Imp. Aram. חַלְבָּ TA חַלְבָּ “milk”; Syr. حَلْبَّا (halbā) “milk”; Ar. حَلَبَّ (halab) “milk,” حَلَبَّة (hallāba) “milk cow; milkmaid”; Eth. አላብ (alib) “milk”; Akk. alibu “milk.”⁶⁷ If this derivation is correct, the ‘ of the Egyptian represents Semitic /h/, as in the case of ‘=p-ši₂-ya=t, no. 72. Egyptian *m* for Semitic /b/ is not common, but it is otherwise attested. Finally, there would have to be metathesis of the second and third radicals. Perhaps a better derivation is from the root ‘wl:⁶⁸ “to give suck, provide nourishment.” Cf. BH פְּרוֹת עֲלֹת “milk cows” (or “cows that are nursing”),⁶⁹ עִוְלָ “nursing baby,” עִוְלָ “young boy”; Ug. ‘l N-stem “to be suckled,”⁷⁰ ‘l “young suckling calves”,⁷¹ Old Aram. עַלְ, TA עַלְנָ “foal,” עַלְנָ “nursing baby”; Syr. حَلَّا (‘ilā) “foal”; Ar. عَل (‘wl) “to provide sustenance; support.” The only phonological difficulty would be Egyptian *m* for Semitic /w/, but both are bilabials.⁷² A connection with the Ug. n. div. ‘nt hbl is probably out of the question, since the latter element would probably mean something like “destruction” or “chaos.” The *ya* group in the Egyptian writings could be a *nisbe* ending, but it could also be a mistake for the *ta* group. The word form is not certain. (H. 31; Wb. I 187, 4.) [3]

⁶⁶Massart, *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I* 343 + 345, p. 73.

⁶⁷The Neo-Assyrian verb *halāpu* “to milk” (said of infant king suckling cow-goddesses’ teats) seems somehow related. Cf. W.G.E Watson, “The PN *Yṣb* in the Keret Legend,” *UF* 11 (1979), p. 808.

⁶⁸BDB links the word to Arabic مُعْلِ (qwl), but that root means “to seize, grab,” and is not appropriate. BDB’s ‘wl I is almost certainly identical with ‘wl II “to feed, nourish,” as presented here.

⁶⁹And otherwise used only of animals, except in the derived nouns.

⁷⁰Cf. de Moor and Spronk, *Cuneiform Anthology*, p. 159. The G-stem would presumably be inherently causative “to give suck.”

⁷¹Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín, “Der Neujahrspsalms,” *UF* 7 (1975), p. 115, 1. 9. The word is used concerning suckling calves in a context dealing with “Anat.”

⁷²Among modern languages, cf. German *wir* and Yiddish *mir* (“we”). The interchange is regular in Akkadian, but the word is probably not from that language, as Akkadian presumably lacks ‘ayin.

74. ^c*a=m=qu*₂ St. Amenhotpe II,⁷³ and elsewhere. [D. 18]

^c*a=ma=q* Shishak List, 65.⁷⁴ [D. 22]

*^c*amqu*, ^c*amaq*. N. m. only as or in n. loc. “VALLEY.” Cf. BH קְנֵעַ; Ph. ܩܻܹܻ; Ug. ^c*mq*, and in Akk. transcription *a-mu-q[u]*;⁷⁵ TA ܻܻܻܻ; Ar. (sup>c) *amq*, all “valley”; Eth. የማቅ፡ (^c*maq*) “depth.” The n. loc. occurs in cuneiform transcription as ^{matu}*Am-ki*. The later writing in the Shishak List suggests that the case ending had dropped, and that an anaptytic vowel had been introduced. (*VESO* V A, 4; B. 261.) [5]

75. ^c*=m=q* P. Ch. Beatty VII vs. 1, 6 (twice).⁷⁶ [D. 19]

^c*=m=qu* P. Turin.⁷⁷ [D. 19]

^c*=m=qu*₃ O. Ramesseum.⁷⁸ [D. 19]

^c*=m=q* P. Turin.⁷⁹

habaqa?* Vb. **“To Have Sexual Intercourse.” The word is apparently attested only in this text, a magical spell that recounts a story of Seth and ^cAnath. The order of the clauses varies between the three versions, but a composite text (based on P. Ch. Beatty VII) can be pieced together from the three fragmentary copies as follows:⁸⁰

(CB) *Hr p3 ntr s3 prw r swtwt, iw f* (T) [...]. *M33 sw Sth, nfrrw s r p3 mrw n pht·s*, (CB) *iw·f hr p3y mi p3y rhnt, iw·f hr c=m=q·s mi c=m=q* (R) [^r*k3*]⁸¹] (animal determinative).

(CB) Then the great god (Seth) went for a stroll, he (T) [...]. Seth saw her—her beauty around her loin cloth—(CB) and he jumped her like a ram jumps, and he mounted her like a [bull] mounts.

⁷³Memphis stele: Badawi, *ASAE* 42 (1943), pl. 1, 13; somewhat damaged. Also Thutmose III List I, 107 a, b, c.

⁷⁴Bubastite Portal pl. 4, 65.

⁷⁵Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 160.

⁷⁶The second occurrence is somewhat damaged.

⁷⁷A. Roccati, “Une légende égyptienne d’Anat,” *RdE* 24 (1972), p. 155, l. 3. = P. Ch. Beatty VII vs. 1, 6 (first occurrence).

⁷⁸Roccati, *RdE* 24 (1972), p. 156. = P. Ch. Beatty VII vs. 1, 6.

⁷⁹Roccati, *RdE* 24 (1972), p. 155, l. 3 = P. Ch. Beatty VII vs. 1, 6 (second occurrence).

⁸⁰Fragments: CB = P. Ch. Beatty 7; T = Turin; R = Ramesseum.

⁸¹The reconstruction is based on R 1. 1.

The word may be connected to the root *hbq*: BH קְבַקֵּח D-stem “to embrace,” MH “to embrace,” HtD “to make love”; TA קְבַקָּה D-stem “to embrace.” If so, Egyptian *ayin* must represent Semitic /ħ/. The interchange between *m* and *b* is otherwise attested.⁸² If the identification is correct, then the Egyptian meaning is particularized and seems to have negative (or vulgar) implications not present in the Semitic languages.⁸³ The first Chester Beatty instance is clearly an infinitive in a Present I construction. The second occurrence is apparently the infinitive after the preposition *mi*. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

76.  ‘a=ma-di O. Turin 57365 4.⁸⁴ [D. 19 or 20]

amada*. Vb. “STAND FIRM; HOLD ONE’S GROUND.**” Context: *Iry·k ‘a=ma-di m p3 Nhrn hf·k n3y·sn dmy*. “You stand firm in Naharin; you destroy their towns.” Cf. BH תֹּמֶע “to stand; stand up (in opposition), make one’s stand, hold one’s ground,” Imp. Aram., TA עֲמֹד “to be standing,” תֹּמֶע “to dwell (G-stem); to place (D-stem)”; Ar. عمَد (*“amada”*) “to approach; support”; Akk. *emēdu* “to stand (near) by; lean on.” Although the word is common in Hebrew, it is not attested as a verb in Phoenician, Ugaritic, or Syriac and is barely known in Aramaic. The word is used as a verbal noun (infinitive) in the periphrastic construction with *iry* “to do.” The final *i*-vowel may be by confusion with the word for “supports” (no. 77). Semantically, the word is closest to Hebrew. (Not in *Wb.*) [5]

77.  ‘a=ma₂-di O. Turin 57365 4.⁸⁵ [D. 19 or 20]

 ‘a=ma-di-ya An. IV 16, 8. [D. 19]

amūdi?* N. m. pl. **CHARIOT PARTS: “SUPPORTS.” In An. IV these are said to be “worked with gold” (*iw n3y·sn ‘a=ma-di-ya b3kw m nbw*). The word has long been identified with BH עֲמֹוד “pillar; column; post.” Jéquier made the likely suggestion that the word refers to the vertical supports visible from the inside of the

⁸²Cf. *brk/mrk* “gift,” no. 129.

⁸³Cf. the Egyptian use of *di-di* (no. 568) to mean “lascivious” and sim., whereas the Semitic original (*dwd*) has nothing to do with obscenity.

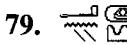
⁸⁴Formerly known as O. Turin 9588. Dawson and Peet, “King’s Chariot,” *JEA* 19, pl. 29, 4.

⁸⁵Formerly known as O. Turin 9588.

chariot.⁸⁶ Cf. also, Ph. ⲥ⠁⠉⠁⠉ “pillar”; Ar. عِمَاد (‘imād) “support, prop”; عمود (‘amūd) “shaft, column”; Old S. Ar. 𒂗臬 (‘md) “wine support?”;⁸⁷ Eth. ܧܻܰܶܶ: (‘amd) “column; balustrade”; Akk. *imdu* “stanchion, support.” But cf. Akkadian *amūdu*, an unknown wooden part of the harness.⁸⁸ The vocalization is quite uncertain, as the Egyptian writers seem to have been little concerned with distinguishing the vocalic patterns of the various words derived from this root. (H. 33; B. 264; *Wb.* I 187, 9; Jéquier, *BIFAO* 19, p. 16.) [4]

78.  c=ma-di Gloss. Gol. 6, 6. [D. 20–1]

*‘*amadi*. N. A **TYPE OF FIELD**. The word occurs in a list of types of land. Helck suggested a connection with the Akk. *amatu* found in Nuzi texts, perhaps a Hurrian word. Perhaps it is related to the Semitic ‘*md* “to stand,” and with the sense of “be inactive” could mean “fallow field.” Some scholars have interpreted the Old S. Ar. 𒂗臬 (‘md) as “irrigated field?”; others have translated “wine support?”⁸⁹ A *hapax*. (H. 32; B. 263; *Wb.* I 187, 8.) [2]

79.  c=ni Thutmose III List I, 86 c; 86 a.⁹⁰ [D. 18]

 Amenophis II (?).⁹¹ [D. 18]

 c=n Thutmose III List I, 5 a.

 Thutmose III List I, 5 b, c.

 Thutmose III List I, 113 a.

 Thutmose III List II, 7.⁹² [D. 18]

 Med. Habu 102.⁹³ [D. 20]

 KRI II 148, 10. [D. 19]

 KRI V 96, no. 110. [D. 20]

⁸⁶Ten such supports were found in the chariot of Yuya.

⁸⁷Some scholars have translated “irrigated field?”

⁸⁸CAD A II, 90.

⁸⁹See no. 77.

⁹⁰The latter lacks the foreign land determinative.

⁹¹A. Fakhry, “Blocs décorés provenant du Temple de Louxor,” *ASAE* 37 (1937), pp. 48, 50; figs. 6–8.

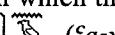
⁹²Simons, *ETL*, p. 123.

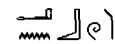
⁹³Under ܩ(ܷܵ), (ܹܸܷܵܵ), ܵ(ܷܷܵܵ) of line 28.

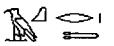
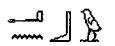
 An. I 19, 1. [D. 19]

 O. DeM 1005 4. [D. 19 or 20]

 Shishak List, no. 4 bis. [D. 22]

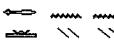
^cēna. N. only as or in n. loc. “WELL.” Cf. BH 𐎢ܵܶ; Ph. ܵܶ; Ug. ^cn (^cēn); TA ܵܶܶ, ܵܶܶ; Ar. عن (^cayn); Old S. Ar. ܵܶܶ (^cyn); Akk. ēnu, all “well.” The writings all indicate that the diphthong [ay] has been resolved to [ē], as in Ugaritic and other northern and coastal dialects. The writing ^c=ni of the Thutmose III List I, 86. may represent ^ci-n. A form of the word in which the diphthong [ay] has been preserved also occurs:  (^ca=ya-na, no. 65). The various eye determinatives do not necessarily indicate that the Egyptians associated the Semitic words meaning “spring” and “eye,” since they were likely borrowed from the Egyptian word  ^cn “beautiful.” (VESO V A, 6; B. 265.) [5]

80.   ^c=n-ba An. I 22, 4. [D. 19]

  ^c=n-bu KRII 32, A, 4. [D. 19]

  KRI II 163, 41. [D. 19]

*^cinaba? ^canaba? N. in n. loc. “GRAPES.” Cf. BH ܵܶܶ; Amarna a-na-bi (in n. loc. Ḫēni-anabi⁹⁴); Ug. ܵܶܶ “grapes”;⁹⁵ TA ܵܶܶ; Ar. عن (^cinab); Old S. Ar. ܵܶܶ (^cnb), all “grapes.” (B. 929.) [4]

81.   ^ca=ni=ni An. IV 12, 2. [D. 19]

*^canina? halila? N.? “SINGING”? “FLUTE PLAYING”? The context involves music: (12, 2 ff.) *Sb3·tw·k <r> hsy m-s3 w=d=n=i, r g3 m-s3 wa=—r, r dd m cnn m-s3 k=—n=nu2=ru2.* “You have been taught <to> sing to the accompaniment of the flute, to intone to the accompaniment of the lute, and to chant to the accompaniment of the lyre.” The context would seem to require a meaning denoting some type of singing, parallel to *hsy* and *g3*. The word has been identified with BH ܵܶܶ “to sing.”⁹⁶ There are two difficulties with this

⁹⁴EA 256, 26. Cf. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, p. 127.

⁹⁵The presence of *ghain* is most unexpected, and if the original root contained this phoneme, it must have been lost very early, as the Amarna example indicates that the contemporary Canaanite root contained ^cayin.

⁹⁶E.g. by Burchardt and Helck.

identification. First, Arabic has (غنى) “sing” with /g/ and not /c/. This would be the only case in which Egyptian c would correspond to Semitic /g/ except in the word $\ddot{s}a=^c a=ra$ “gate” (from */ $\ddot{g}r/$, no. 390). Second, the reduplication of the second radical in a final weak verb is unexpected. Two types of roots are possible: either a ע”ע root (identical second and third radicals) or a middle weak root (in the D-stem and derivates). Albright suggested a connection with the Ugaritic nn , a word found in the context of divinities.⁹⁷ The meaning of the Ugaritic word, however, is quite uncertain. Aistleitner translated it as “Bote.” The Egyptian word is possibly to be identified with BH חַלְיל “flute,” D-stem “to pipe”; TA חַלְלָא “flute”; Akk. *halālu* “to pipe, wheeze.” This connection is phonologically unlikely since the initial consonant is *h* and not *h*.⁹⁸ The verb *dd* “to speak,” can also have the meaning of “play (a wind instrument)” in the expression *dd m* (+ instrument), as indicated by the Ramesside title *dd m šnb* “trumpet player.”⁹⁹ This expression is perhaps an exact parallel to *dd m nn*. An Ugaritic text provides an example of playing the flute to the accompaniment of the lyre.¹⁰⁰ The determinatives are not very helpful. The plural strokes suggest that the word is a substantive. If the word meant “flute,” the wood determinative would likely have been used. It is possible that the word is a verbal noun meaning “flute playing.” The cow head determinative would indicate that the throat was involved. The flesh determinative is probably superfluous; it commonly occurs with the cow head/neck sign in the Egyptian word *htyt* “throat.” A *hapax*. (H. 34; B. 266; *Wb.* I 192, 13.) [3]

82.  $\text{c}=n=da=-r$ P. Wilbour B7, 20. [D. 20]

* $\text{c}anzara$; $\text{c}ansara$. N. only as n. loc. “ENCLOSURE?” “COURT”? Perhaps cf. the root עזֹר “to enclose,” e.g. BH עזרה; TA עזרתא, both “enclosure; court.” Or perhaps cf. BH נצער “to restrain;

⁹⁷Reported in Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 70 and n. 18.

⁹⁸For Egyptian c for Semitic /h/ cf. $\text{c}=p=\ddot{s}i\text{y}a=t$, no. 72.

⁹⁹*Wb.* IV 514, 7. *Dd* is the participle.

¹⁰⁰*Ugaritica* V no. 2, obv. 4. The passage reads: *wydmr bknr wṭlb, btp wmslṭm, bmrgdm dṣn, bḥbr kṭr zbm*. “And they played on the lyre and flute, on the drum and the cymbals, on castanets of ivory, on the ‘clappers’ of Kothar the Good.”

imprison.” One cannot rule out that the root in the source language may have been *ḥsr* e.g. BH פְּרָאֵס “enclosure, court.”¹⁰¹ In any case, the *n* would be intrusive. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

83. (C) ^o *a=ru₂=a* P. Wilbour 51, 1. [D. 20]

(C) ^o *Ibid.* 49, 6.

*^c*alu²a*. N. only as n. loc. “ASCENT?” Helck identified with root עַלְּ “to ascend.” This is likely correct. Cf. the Mod. Heb. עַלְּ “ascent;” Ph. עַלְּ “stair”; Ug. in Akk. transcription *eⁱ-la-yi* “upper part (of field);”¹⁰² Ar. عَلَّ (^c*lw*) “to ascend,” (علو) *lūw* “height”; Old S. Ar. ئِلَّ (^c*ly*) “to ascend.” (H. 35. Not in *Wb.*) [4]

84. (C) ^o *a=-r-ši₂=na* An. IV 15, 11, etc.¹⁰³

[D. 19, 19 or 20]

(C) ^o Wenamun 2, 41. [D. 21]

(C) ^o O. DeM 454 9. [D. 19 or 20]

Also written:

(C) ^o *a=-r-ši₂* O. Turin 57106 1.¹⁰⁴ [D. 19 or 20]

(C) ^o *a=-r-š=c*¹⁰⁵ An. IV 8, 11. [D. 19]

Miswritten:

(C) ^o *a=ši₂=na* P. Lansing 11, 5.¹⁰⁶ [D. 20]

*^c*adašina*. N. “LENTILS.” Demotic *ršn*, Coptic ΣΒαρψιη. The word occurs in lists of beans and seeds (An. IV 8, 11; 15, 11 and parallels) and with fish (Wenamun 2, 41), as well as in lists of household goods (e.g. O. DeM 454, 9). Cf. BH עַדְשִׁים; Ar. عَدْس (^c*adas*) “lentils.” Egyptian *r* for Semitic /d/ is an unusual correspondence and may occur only in this word.¹⁰⁷ The Egyptian writings may

¹⁰¹This root may, in fact, have as a by form the root *zr*.

¹⁰²Huenergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 160.

¹⁰³An. IIIA 1 (parallel to An. IV 15, 11); O. Turin 57383 vs. 4.

¹⁰⁴= An. IV 8, 11.

¹⁰⁵The writing is perhaps for *š-n*.

¹⁰⁶Parallel to An. IV 8, 11.

¹⁰⁷But cf. no. 71, where names beginning with *pr* may be derived from the Semitic root *bd* “servant.”

indicate a plural with nunation, as occurs in Aramaic. In Hebrew, the word is feminine, but has the plural in [īm]. The word, when used as the name of a skin disease, was certainly feminine, as it was preceded by the article *t3*. (See no. 85.) Arabic uses the singular as a collective. Note the group *s^c*, which seems to have the value [ša] or [ši] in An. IV 8, 11. (H. 36; B. 277; VESO X D, 4; Wb. I 211, 15; Keimer *BIAFO* 28, 81; *Anc. Egypt*, 1929, p. 48.) [5]

85. *a-ra-ša-na* HPBM 4th Ser. T₂ rt. 92–93.
[D. 21–22]
- Ibid.*, T₂ rt. 93–94.
- Ibid.*, C₁ 31–32; 32–33.
- Ibid.*, L₃ B33; B31–32.
- Ibid.*, L₄ 4.
- a-ra-ša-na-u* *Ibid.*, Ph. D 5–6.
- a-r-ša-na-u* *Ibid.*, L. 7 12–13.
- a-ra-ša-na* P. Cairo 58035 II, 8–9. [D. 21–22]

Written with Metathesis:

a-ša-ra-na HPBM₄ B. rt. 63–4; 64–5; 65–6.

Miswritten:

a-r-ša *Ibid.*, Ch. 78.

a-ša-na *Ibid.*, L₄ 5.

**harašana*. N. f. A SKIN CONDITION: “SCABIES?” “ITCH?” Coptic *Σαρψαν* “lentigo, a skin disease.” The word is attested only in the oracular amuletic decrees, and the context does not shed any light on the nature of the ailment. The texts are virtually identical, differing only on such points as direct versus indirect genitive. Typical is the text of T₂ 92–93, where the gods avow: *Yw-n šd-s r t3 a-ra-ša-na Ha-ru₂ r t3 a-ra-ša-na n Kši*. “We will protect her from the *ršn* of Haru and the *ršn* of Kush.” Although appearing to be identical or related to *ršn* “lentils,” the word may well have a different derivation. There is no solid evidence from Semitic in

favour of the identification with “lentils.” The Talmudic word נַחְלָעַ meaning “a passing eruption, rash, scurf” is not likely connected since it is apparently from the root *“dy,”*¹⁰⁸ as shown by the by-form נַחְלָעַ. Ar. does have the isolated word عَدْسَةٌ (*“adasa”*) “a small pustule resembling a lentil.”¹⁰⁹ Somewhat more likely is a connection with well known root *hrš*, which invariably designates a skin ailment. Cf. BH סְרֵךְ¹¹⁰ “an eruptive disease, itch”; TA سَرَقَ “an eruption of the skin”; Syr. حَرْسَاهُ (*hersā*) “scabies”; Ar. حرش (*haraša*) “to itch,” (*haraš*) “scabrousness.” If this etymology is correct, then we can assume the Egyptians confused the word with *“aršin* “lentils,” probably because they sounded similar in the Egyptian pronunciation. In Egyptian the word occurs as a feminine singular since it is always preceded by the article *t3*. The [t_n] may have its origin in the Semitic plural ending with nunation, appropriate for the word meaning lentils, but here it probably has no morphological significance. (Černý, *Coptic Studies in Honor of W.E. Crum*, pp. 35–36.) [3]

86. c_a-r_a-t_a An. III 7, 5. [D. 19]
 P. Leiden I 370 vs. 14–15.¹¹¹ [D. 20–1]
 c_a-—r-t_a P. Harris I 4, 2. [D. 20]
 P. Harris I 58, 10; 58, 5; 59, 2.
 P. Harris I 57, 13.
 Wenamun 1, x + 13. [D. 21]
 c_a=n=—r=t_a Karnak portal.¹¹² [D. 21]
 c_a=—n=—r=t_a Gloss. Gol. 5, 14–15. [D. 20–1]
- **c_alīta*. N. f. “UPPER CHAMBER.” The contexts in which the word

¹⁰⁸Even if a form with *t* (from **t_l*) did exist, the evidence from Arabic indicates that the word for lentil contained */š/ and not */t/.

¹⁰⁹Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1972b.

¹¹⁰The writing with *samekh* is probably inaccurate. The root is *hrš*, not *hrs*, as indicated by the Arabic.

¹¹¹*LRL* 11, 10.

¹¹²S. Sauneron, “La restauration d’un portique à Karnak par le grand-prêtre Amenhotep,” *BIFAO* 64 (1966). Cf. also p. 15, n. The double writing *ra=ra* is probably to be read as *ri₂*.

occurs are usually ambiguous and could refer to either a gate or an upper chamber, but three instances tend to support the meaning “upper chamber.” In Wenamun, the narrator describes his first official meeting with the Prince of Byblos: *iw·i gm·t:f hms (hr) t3y·f ‘rt, iw h3c 3t·f r w^c s̄sd. i-ir n h3nw n p3 yu-ma ‘3 n Ha-ru₂ hwi r mkh3·f...* “and I found him sitting in his *‘rt*, his back to a window, as the waves of the Great Sea of Ḥaru were breaking right behind his head ...” It seems more likely that an upper storey would have windows and chairs than would a gate, and it would serve as a much likelier venue for an official meeting than would a gate. The argument from perspective further suggests an upper storey, since for the waves to appear at the prince’s neck level when the beach was in the distance, the viewer must have been higher than ground level.¹¹³ A second instance is Harris I 57, 12, which deals with the construction of walls and related structures in a temple: *Inh·i pr ’Inhr m sbty d̄riw ... ly mh 30 hr ‘a=-r-ta, ti₂=ka=-r, tsmt hr w3t·f nb.* “I surrounded the Temple of Anhur with solid walls ... to a height of 30 cubits, with *‘rt*, fortified gate houses, and battlements on all sides.” After this the gates and doors are described, making it more likely that the *‘rt* was the upper chamber, perhaps something akin to the upper chambers in the high gate at Medinet Habu. Finally, the passage in *BIFAO* 64, which concerns building restorations at Karnak, reads: *iw·i iy r 3w d̄rt·i r sfh·s, iw t3<y>·s dbt h3y m ‘a=ri₂=ta₅.* “But when I came to stretch out my hand to open it (the door), its bricks fell down from the *‘rt*.” Here again “upper storey” suits the context much better than “gate.” Ward¹¹⁴ sees a reference to stone construction, unlikely for an upper chamber, in the P. Leiden passage (*mtw·k dit grh·tw m t3y ‘a=ra=ta, mki m b3k s3qtī*), which Wente translated:¹¹⁵ “And you shall have this *‘rt* finished off and protected with stone patchwork.” The evidence for stone construction is, however, extremely weak. The word *s3kti*, which is related to the word occurring in the onomastica that designates a

¹¹³Cf. H. Schäfer, “Bildhorizont in einem ägyptischen Literaturwerke um 1100 v. Chr.,” *OLZ* 32 (1929), p. 816.

¹¹⁴W.A. Ward, “Late Egyptian *‘r.t.*: The so-called upper room,” *JNES* 44 (1985), p. 329 ff.

¹¹⁵E.F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Chicago: 1966).

type of worker after (mud-)bricklayers,¹¹⁶ could well denote a type of plaster-work rather than stone-patchwork.

Cf. BH עַלְיתָה; Ph. עַלְתָּה “upper part (of sarcophagus); lid”; Amorite **aliyatum*, **alītum* “high”; TA عَلِيَّةٌ; Syr. عَلِيَّة (‘*alīya*); Ar. عَلِيَّة (‘*ullīya*); Akk. *elītu* (*alītu*, *ilītu*), all “upper chamber.” Ward argued that this word is a phonetic spelling of the old native Egyptian word **ryt* “gate” because there is no *y* indicated in the writings.¹¹⁷ The lack of *y* in the Egyptian writings does not prove that the word is not Semitic. In fact, the Phoenician, Amorite, Aramaic, and Akkadian forms all lack the consonant /y/: e.g. Aramaic [‘alīta], presumably from an original *[‘aliyta], in which *[iy], preceding a consonant, was resolved to [i]. This contraction is attested elsewhere in Semitic languages.¹¹⁸ The Egyptian writing may thus have reflected a phonological development in the original. Phonological evidence also tends to support the identification with the Semitic עַלְיתָה. The writing in Gloss. Gol. indicates that the second consonant was /l/ rather than /r/. The regular indication of pronounced final [t] further suggests that this is a Semitic loan-word and not a phonetic writing of a native Egyptian word, for the [t] of the Egyptian feminine words had long disappeared. (H. 37; B. 279; *Wb.* I 213, 12–13.) [4]

87. *u=—r=du₂={t}*¹¹⁹ O. Edinb. 916 5. [D. 19]
 ***ōritū*. Vb. Part. m. pl. “**THOSE WHO TERRIFY.**” The word occurs in a play on words: *Ir nʒ drw n tʒy:k mrkbt drwt hʒst nb*. “As for the ‘supports’ (‘*dr*) of your chariot, they are the ones that terrify (‘*rd*) all the foreign lands.” Cf. BH עַרְץ “to be terrified”; MH עַרְצָה “to terrify”; Ug. *r̥t* “terrible, awesome.” The form is most likely a G-stem participle exhibiting the Canaanite *[á]-[ó] shift. The determinatives suggest that the word is plural. The final phonetic signs, however, are difficult to analyse. The final *t* may be only a space filler, and in any case cannot be considered as evidence for a

¹¹⁶AEO I, 73*.

¹¹⁷Ward, “Late Egyptian *r.t.*,” p. 329 ff.

¹¹⁸Garr, *Dialect Geography*, p. 70, n. 136; G. Bergsträßer, *Hebräische Grammatik*, vol. 1 (Hildesheim: 1962 reprint of 1918 Leipzig edition), §17d.

¹¹⁹Or perhaps to be read *u=—r=da=w{t}*.

pronounced [t]. The *u* suggests that this might be the m. pl. abs. ending [ū], as occurs in Sam^calian.¹²⁰ The syntax requires a nominal form, and a participle fits in very nicely. Westendorf's link (*Kopt. HWb* 294) to the Coptic **ሰውድ** “to fortify” is to be ruled out on semantic grounds. (H. 38; B. 282; *Wb.* I 213, 14.) [5]

88. c=s=ba P. Wilbour B10, 12, etc.¹²¹ [D. 20]

P. Wilbour B10, 12.

*c(i?)šba. N. m. “GRASSY PATCH(?)” Helck associated the word with Hebrew בַּשְׂרָע “green plants.” Cf. also TA ئەشەر “herbs”; Ar. أَشْبَاب (ašiba) “to be grassy,” (ašib) “abundant in grass,” (ušb) “green vegetables.” The connection with this root, however, does not really clarify the meaning of the word as it occurs in this place name. Helck’s translation as “well watered vegetable garden” is merely a guess. (H. 39.) [4]

89. P. Lansing 11, 5. “LENTILS.” See under

90. HPBM 4th Ser. L₄ 5. “SCABIES?” See under

91. HPBM 4th Ser. B rt. 63–64. “SCABIES.” See under

92. a-ša-q P. Harris I 3, 9. [D. 20]

Med. Habu 108, 4. [D. 20]

Also written with *g*:

c=š=g P. BM 10100 rt. 12.¹²² [D. 20–1]

¹²⁰Less likely is the possibility that the word is a noun with a “feminine” type ending [ôt].

¹²¹P. Wilbour B10, 13.14.15; B11, 8.29; B22, 33; B25, 14.

¹²²LRL, p. 50, 15.

^{‘=š=ga=’u} Amenemope 6, 14. [D. 21?]

*^cašaqa. Vb. “**TO EXTORT, DEFRAUD; OPPRESS.**” The word usually has the meaning of extorting, misappropriating, etc. Med. Habu 108, 4: *Bw ‘a-ša-q-i; bw nhm-i.* “I did not extort; I did not rob.”¹²³ P. Harris I 3, 9: *Ntk smn-i hr st n it-i mi i-ir-k n Hr r st Wsir. Bw ‘a-ša-q-i; bw hwr-’i ky m st:f.* “You (Amun-Rē^c) are the one who established me upon the throne of my father just as you did for Horus with respect to the throne of Osiris. I did not defraud; I did not rob another from his (rightful) place.” Amenemope 6, 14: *M-ir ‘=š=qa dnit n hwt-ntr.* “Do not defraud the temple rations.” The example from P. BM 10100 is unclear. The writer states that he has given 5 slaves to the community and seems to admonish the townsfolk to share the labour of the slaves equally: *iw m dy ‘=š=g w^c p3y:f iry im-<t>n.* “And don’t let one of you cheat his mate.” Cf. BH פְּשַׁׁע; TA פְּשַׁׁע “oppress; extort;” Syr. (^cšaq) “to slander.”¹²⁴ Only in the Amenemope example is there an attempt to indicate a vocalic ending. Although the writing ^cš appears to be consonantal, the signs may, in fact comprise a group with the value ^caš, derived from the verb ^cš “to call out.” The form is probably a G-stem perfect *qatal(a)* in origin, but it is conjugated as an Egyptian verb in negations after *bw*,¹²⁵ as the infinitive after *m-ir* in negative commands,¹²⁶ and as the prospective *sdm:f* after *rdi*.¹²⁷ (H. 40; B. 287; Wb. I 230, 2.) [5]

93. ^{‘a-ša-qu}¹²⁸ P. Turin 1882 5, 5.¹²⁹ [D. 20]

*^cašaqū? ^cašūqū? N. pl. “**ACTS OF OPPRESSION.**” The word occurs in a king’s speech to the gods proclaiming that he has

¹²³In the Bible, the words פְּשַׁׁע “to extort” and לִגְנֹׁם “to rob” are frequently linked: e.g. Lev. 5:21, 23; 19:13; Ezek. 22:29; Mic. 2:2, etc.

¹²⁴Ar. *عَسْقَ does not exist. It is occasionally cited, but originates in BDB’s misreading of a word of similar appearance with the same meaning: عَسْف (^casafa).

¹²⁵Med. Habu 108, 4: *Bw ‘šq-i* “I did not extort.”

¹²⁶Amenemope 6, 14.

¹²⁷P. BM 10100 rt., 12.

¹²⁸Or ^ca-šu₅=qu

¹²⁹Gardiner, “Pharaonic Encomium,” JEA 41 (1955), pl. 11 V, rt. 5.

restored law, order, and justice to the land:¹³⁰ *Dī-i w̄šw-w r n̄sy-w* ‘*a-ša-qu qnw*. “I made them turn away¹³¹ from their many acts of oppression.” Cf. no. 92 and the BH nominal forms **קָשׁ**; TA **עֹשֶׂךְ** “oppression.” The vocalization is not identical to the Hebrew, which presupposes an original *[‘ušqu]. However, there were other formations, even in Hebrew: **עֲשָׂקִים**, **עַשְׂמָךְ**. The ending with the *u*-vowel may be a m. pl. abs. ending [ū]. (Not in Wb.) [5]

94. *LRL* 30 rt., 12; Amenemope 6, 14.
"TO OPPRESS." See under .

95. *a=qa-ra-bu-ti₃* Amenophis III List Bn 1, 1.
[D. 18]

aqrabōta*. N. as n. loc. “SCORPION.**” Edel¹³² identified the word with the Semitic *qrb*. Cf. BH עֲקָרֶב, MH n. loc. עֲקָרְבָּה; Old Aram., Imp. Aram. עֲקָרֶבָא, TA عَكْرَبٌ; Ar. عَرْبٌ (*“aqrab”*); Eth. אַקְרָבִי: (*“aqrab”*); Akk. *aqrabu*, all “scorpion.” Edel suggested that a suffix -āt>-ōt was attached to the common noun. The Mishnaic n. loc. seems to be an exact parallel. (Not in *Wb.*) [4]

96. *=k=b-ra* Stele London 290, upper 4.¹³³ [D. 19]

akbāra*. N. as PN “MOUSE.**” The name is almost certainly related to BH עֲכָבֵר “mouse,” and PN עֲכָבֵז; Ph. PN עֲכָבֵר,¹³⁴ Ammonite PN *kbr*; TA עֲכָבֵרָא “mouse”; Syr. حَمَصَّا (*“uqb̄rā*); Middle Assyrian PN *Akbiru*,¹³⁵ all “mouse.” The well attested use as a PN adds further support to this identification. (B. 289; *PN II* 272, 24.)

¹³⁰The context is broken, but it may make reference to the Ramses III harem conspiracy.

¹³¹Lit. "be distant."

¹³²Edel, *Ortsnamenlisten*, p. 22.

¹³³T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*. Pt. 9 (London: 1970), pl. 48, 1; KRIII 260, 9.

¹³⁴Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 377.

¹³⁵C. Saparetti, *Onomastica Medio-Assira*, vol. 1, *I Nomi di Persona* (Rome: 1970), p. 79.

97.  P. An. IV 13, 11. “RINGSTAND.” See under
.

98.  $\text{c}=g=n$ Ahmose stele 29; 29–30.¹³⁶ [D. 18]
  $\text{c}=a=g=n$ Kawa (pls.) 3, 6; 6, 4. [D. 25]
  $\text{c}=g=n$ Kawa 6, 6.
  c Kawa 6, 8.
  Kawa 12, 4.

Possibly also:

-  $\text{c}=ga=ya=na$ P. An. IV 13, 11. [D. 19]

-  $\text{c}=ga=na$ P. Lansing 4, 7. [D. 20]

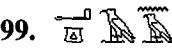
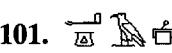
* $\text{c}agala?$ N. “RINGSTAND.” The most enlightening of the contexts is that of the Ahmose stele, which lists gifts to the temple of Amun-Rā: (29–30) *Tb-n-k3 m nbw, c=g=n:f m hd; tb-n-k3 n hd inhw m nbw, c=g=n:f m hd*. “A *zabnaku*-jug¹³⁷ of gold and its ringstand of silver; a *zabnaku*-jug of silver rimmed with gold and its ringstand of silver.” The word occurring in An. IV 13, 11 is less certainly a ringstand. It is mentioned after wickerwork containers:¹³⁸ $\text{c}=ga=ya=na n msy$ “ringstands” for bouquets.” In P. Lansing 4, 7 they seem to be made of wood and are perhaps “knobs” (cf. no. 99). The text makes some (disparaging?) remarks about the duties of a *Hr-wc'r* (unknown occupation): *P3 Hr-wc'r hr irt htpw, shd c=ga=na*. “The *Hr-wc'r* makes baskets and shines ‘ringstands’.” Cf. the Semitic root $\text{c}gl$ “to be round,” e.g. BH צְגַל “earring.”¹³⁹ Or perhaps cf. the similar root cql “to curve,” whence TA נִקְלָעַ “band, clasp.” (H. 41; B. 291; Wb. I 236, 4–6; Jéquier *BIFAO* 19, 64; Keimer *ASJL* 41, 158.) [4]

¹³⁶Lacau, *Sèles du Nouvel Empire* (CGC), vol. 1 (Cairo: 1957), p. 4. (Cairo Catalogue No. 34001.)

¹³⁷The determinative depicts a large (?), stout, jug with a rounded bottom.

¹³⁸For actual examples of wicker ringstands, see E. Schiaparelli, *Relazione sui lavori della missione archeologica italiana in Egitto (anni 1903–1920)*, vol. 2 (Turin: 1927), p. 143 and fig. 126.

¹³⁹Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 19 identified this with the Coptic $\alpha\sigma\sigma\tau$ which he claimed means “stand for jar.” Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 26b translates “a vessel or tank of metal ... or of wood,” and the contexts seem to support Crum’s rendering.

99.  ^c=ga-na P. Harris I 34b, 3. [D. 20]
 ^c=ga-na=ta=t₂ KRI II 672, 4. [D. 19]
- *^c*agala?* N. m. “**KNOB, HANDLE(?)**” The word that occurs in P. Harris refers to part of a staff: *ht drww* ^cgn n mqr “an ^cgn of painted wood belonging to a staff.” The rather strangely written example in *KRI* II, if indeed this is the same word, occurs in conjunction with *ma=ti=pa=r=ta* (no. 234), which perhaps means “chisel.” The word is probably related to the Semitic root ^cgl “to be round.” Cf. ^cgn “ringstand” (no. 98) and MH  “ball; lump.” Another possibility is a connection with the root ^cql, cf. Ar.  (“^cuqla) “knob of reed or cane.” (H. 41; B. 293; *Wb.* I 236, 6.) [3]
100.  ^ca=ga=ra=ta Hamm. 12, 19 (twice). [D. 20]
 ^ca=ga=—r=ta KRI VI 63, 16. [D. 20]
- *^c*agálta.* N. f. (?) “**WAGON (DRAWN BY OXEN).**” Demotic ^cklt,¹⁴⁰ Coptic   . The context of the Hammamat inscription establishes the meaning with certainty: *Hn·n·tw n·sn hrt hr Kmt m 10* ^ca=ga=ra=ta, *iw 6 htr n ihw hry* ^ca=ga=ra=ta. “The materials were transported to Egypt in 10 wagons, there being 6 yoke of oxen per wagon.” The wagons must have been quite large and heavily laden if it required 12 oxen to pull them.¹⁴¹ Cf. BH ; Ph. ; TA ; Syr.  (^cagaltā); Ar.  (“^cajala), all “wagon, cart.” (H. 42; B. 295; *VESO* V A, 10; *Wb.* I 236, 9.) [5]
101.  ^c=ga=sa P. An. IV 14, 3. [D. 19]
- *^c*agaša.* N. A **BAKED GOOD.** The word occurs following *ra=ha=su₂* (no. 282) in a list of baked goods being prepared for Pharaoh’s arrival. Helck suggested a connection with Hebrew  “to twist.” This word generally has the meaning of “twisted” in the sense of “perverted” or “devious,” but it can also refer to crooked roads. Arabic  (“^caqasa) “to braid, plait” is somewhat closer.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰Cited by Westendorf, *Kopt. HWb.*, p. 19.

¹⁴¹Cf. Ghoneim, *Die ökonomische Bedeutung des Rindes im Alten Ägypten* (Bonn: 1977), pp. 117–18.

¹⁴²The emphatic [ṣ] of the Arabic probably arose by assimilation under the influence of the preceding [q].

The exact nature of the bread is unknown, and the word is apparently a *hapax*. (H. 43; B. 296; *Wb.* I 236, 11.) [2]

102. ፩፻፭ ḋ=gu₃=su P. Sallier II 5, 8; An. VII 2.¹⁴³ [D. 19]

፩፻፭ P. Sallier II 6, 2.

፩፻፭... H.O. 13 1, 2.¹⁴⁴ [D. 19 or 20]

፩፻፭... O. Lit. DeM 1466 19.¹⁴⁵

፩፻፭... O. Lit. DeM 1023 3.¹⁴⁶

፩፻፭... O. Lit. DeM 1022 3.¹⁴⁷

፩፻፭ ḋ=g-su₃ Urk. IV 1122, 17. [D. 18]

agúsu*. N. “BELT**.” Copt. ΣΑΡΗ “belt.” In P. Sallier II 5, 8 it is said of the potter: *Hbs f nht m-^c dbn*, “*a=gu₃=sw·f m stpw*. “His clothes are stiff with potter’s clay, and his belt is (made) of rags.” In Sallier II 6, 2 the word more clearly refers to a belt: “*A=gu₃=su m sšny nʒyt, r wʒww n phwy·f*. “(His) belt is a thread from the weaver’s house, far removed from his buttocks.” Helck is probably correct in linking this word with the Hebrew שְׁבֵעַ “to twist.” There are no exact parallels, however. Helck cites P. Sallier I 6, 4 as another supposed instance of the word, but there “*gs*” is clearly a miswriting for “*gʒ*” in the expression “*ʒgʒ tw·f m hmw*” “hired animal.”¹⁴⁸ (H. 44; B. 297; *Wb.* I 236, 10.) [3]

103. ፩፻፭ ḋ=t_i₂=mu₂ O. Cairo 25759 1. [D. 19 or 20]

atmu?* N. (UNKNOWN**.) The word occurs in a text that is possibly written in Canaanite. The context is broken and extremely obscure.¹⁴⁹ A. Shisha-Halevy¹⁵⁰ suggested a connection with the

143= P. Sallier II 6, 2.

144= P. Sallier II 5, 8.

145= P. Sallier II 5, 8.

146= P. Sallier II 6, 2.

147= P. Sallier II 6, 2.

148 So too, An. V 16, 4, and several other instances.

149 The reading appears to be: *ta=n=t* “*a-t_i₂=ma=w* (+ animal hide determinative) *n* [...] *ba=-n=r* [...] . The word division is a mere guess.

150 A. Shisha-Halevy, “An Early North-West Semitic Text in the Egyptian Hieratic Script,” *Orientalia* 47 (1978), p. 151.

Hebrew בָּקָר “goats,” but the original /z/, which is a root letter in this Semitic word for “goat,” is never represented by Egyptian *t*.¹⁵¹ The word is possibly related to the root ‘*tm*: BH בָּשָׂר “bone”; Ph. בָּשָׂר “bone”; Ug. ‘*tm* “bone”; TA ئَمْبَعْ “flank”; Syr. ئَطْمَاء (*‘atmā*) “thigh”; Ar. عَظْمٌ (*‘azm*) “bone”; Eth. ውዕጣ፡ (“*adm*”) “bone.” The correspondence between Semitic original */t/ and Egyptian *t* probably also occurs in the name  (P3 *ra=wi₂=ti₂*, no. 271). (Not in *Wb.*) [1]

¹⁵¹ Hebrew *zain* arising from original /d/ can, however, be represented by Egyptian *t*. Shisha-Halevy's statement that Egyptian *t* + vowel "regularly renders Canaanite *z*," *op. cit.*, p. 149 (and p. 152), is not accurate.

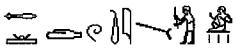
152 KRI VII 436 12

KRI VIII 153, 1.

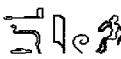
153 = Ap. IV 8. 11

¹⁵⁴ Louvre Leather Roll: *t3 sa-di-na*

¹⁵⁵Jéquier, Matériaux, BIFAO 19 (1922), p. 11. The reference to Maspero cited by Jéquier is *Du genre épistolaire chez les égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique* (1873), p. 13, n. 5. This early work was not available to me.

105.  *c=a-du=ta* P. Jud. Turin 4, 5. [D. 20]

**aduta*. N. “CONSPIRACY.” The word occurs in the context of the documents from the royal enquiry into the harem conspiracy against Ramses III: One of the crimes was to gather people together “to make conspiracy with them in order to commit treason against their lord” (*r irt c=a-du=ta irm-w r irt sbi hr nb-w*). Cf. the Semitic root *w^cd/y^cd*, e.g. BH מְלָאֵעַ; Ug. *“dt* “assembly;” Ar. مَوْعِد (maw^cid) “promise; rendezvous”; Old S. Ar. مُوَعِّد (mw^cd) “appointed time”; Akk. *adû* “a formal (written) agreement.” The word appears to have the abstract ending [ūt]. The semantic field of the Semitic root is “meeting by appointment.” Most of the words from this root are neutral in tone, but in Num. 16:5 the Hebrew word refers to a gang of rebels. Arabic وَعْد (wa^cada) can also have negative connotations: وَعِيد (wa^cid) “threats; promises.” The determinative (seated man with plural strokes) indicates that the Egyptians understood the word in the sense of “assembly” or sim., but the hieratic “dead man” determinative, as well as the context in general, conveys the sense of hostility or treachery. (H. 46; B. 300; Wb. I 237, 8.) [5]

106.  *c=di₃=²u* Wenamun 1, x+3. [D. 21]

 Wenamun 1, x+4.

**hōziⁱu*. N. m. “SEER.” The word was previously thought to be identical to Egyptian *“dd* “child.” It is modified by *“³* “great” or “old,” and refers to someone who, during an offering ceremony, falls into an ecstatic state:

Hr ir sw wdn <n> n³y·f ntrw, iw p³ ntr t³y w^c c=di₃=²u c³ <m> n³y·f c=di₃=²u c³yw, iw f dlt:f h³wt¹⁵⁶ iw f dd n:f. In p³ ntr r-hry.

While he (the prince of Byblos) was offering <to> his gods, the god took possession of a great *“dd* <from among> his great *“dd*’s, and he caused him to go into an ecstatic state, and he said to him: “Bring up the (Egyptian) god.”

Recently a number of scholars, have argued that the meaning “child” does not suit the context very well and have proposed an

156With a dancing man determinative.

etymology from Aramaic *‘ddn* (a *hapax* denoting a type of seer or prophet).¹⁵⁷ Although the meaning “seer” seems admirably suited to the context, the etymology is difficult to justify on phonological grounds.¹⁵⁸ If the word is Semitic, then it is far more likely to be derived from the well attested root *hzy*:¹⁵⁹ cf. BH הָזַח “to see; to see as a seer in the ecstatic state; to hear a divine message,” הָזִחּ “seer”; Ph. זֵחּ “to see,” Punic הָזֵחּ (a type of sacrifice apparently connected to the reception of visions); Ammonite PN *Hz-’l*; Ug. *hdy*¹⁶⁰ “to see,” and Ug. PN in Akk. transcription *mHa-zi-ya*;¹⁶¹ Old Aram., Imp. Aram. הָזֵחּ “to see,” (participle) “seer, prophet,” BA הָזֵחּ “to see (in a dream or vision),” TA זֵחּ “to see,” נָזֵחּ “seer,” JPA זֵחּ “to see in a vision” (but not of normal sight);¹⁶² Syr. ܚܹܻ (h̥zā) “to see.” If the etymology is correct, then this is another case where Egyptian *‘ayin* represents Semitic /h/. (*Wb.* I 242.) [3]

¹⁵⁷ Apparently H. Cazelles is the originator of the idea. J. Ebach and U. Rüterswörden, “Der byblische Ekstatiker im Bericht des *Wn-Inn* und die Seher in der Inschrift des *ZKR von Hamat*,” *GM* 20 (1976), pp. 17–22; A. Cody, “The Phoenician Ecstatic in Wenamün: a professional oracular medium,” *JEA* 65 (1979), pp. 99–106.

¹⁵⁸The argument that since Egyptian *d* can represent the Semitic phoneme /d/ because Egyptian *d* is often used to write words with original Egyptian /d/, ignores the fact that group writing consistently uses *d* to represent the phonemes /s/, /d/, /t/, /z/, and /d/ regardless of the pronunciation of *d* in native Egyptian words. To put the matter another way, Egyptian */d/ and */d/ were no longer phonemically distinct. This does not, however, exclude the possibility that two or more phones occurred in specific phonetic contexts (e.g. [da] vs. [dzi]). It should also be noted that *dd* is actually a sign group, probably with the value *de* or *di* (corresponding to Coptic *æ*, introducing direct discourse).

¹⁵⁹M. Görg (“Der Ekstatiker von Byblos,” *GM*, 23 [1977], pp. 31–33) also came to this conclusion.

¹⁶⁰This is an unexpected correspondence of Ug. *d* for *zayin*. That the Ug. word is not from the root *hdw* meaning “be joyful” is clear from Aqhat 19 124–25 (dealing with extipacy): *ibq^c kbd[h] wāhd hm l^t wmt hm l^t [f^{ym}]* “I will rip open [its] liver and see if there is fat (and) if there is bone.” From the Ugaritic *d*, one would expect the root to have contained */d/, but there is no evidence of this in Aramaic, where the usual correspondence is also *d*.

¹⁶¹Kinlaw, *Names in the Akkadian Texts*, p. 57.

¹⁶²The few examples in JPA referring to normal sight are considered intrusive; this dialect regularly uses זֵחּ for “to see.”

107. ← $\text{c}a\text{-}di_4\text{-}ya$ ¹⁶³ Shishak List 78.¹⁶⁴ [D. 22]

Uzziya*. N. in PN m. (in n. loc.) “STRENGTH; MIGHT.**” The name occurs in the Negeb place name *P3-hqr cA-di₄-ya* “The field(s) of ‘Uzziya.’” Cf. the root *zz*: BH “strength,” and the PN Ph. “strength,” PN Ug. *z* “strength,” and the PN *zn*; Amorite PN *mUz-zi-ya*;¹⁶⁵ TA PN Syr. (*cūzā*) “strength”; Ar. *ż* (“*izz*) “strength”; Old S. Ar. (*z̥t*) “strength”; Eth. (*cōzaz*) “strength”; Akk. *uzzu* “anger.” The *ya* ending is probably that commonly found in Semitic hypocoristica.¹⁶⁷ [4]

108. ← $\text{c}u\text{-}di_4\text{-}r$ An. I 16, 2; O. Lit. DeM 1006 4.¹⁶⁸ [D. 19, 19 or 20]

← An. I 5, 6. [D. 19]

← $\text{c}u_2\text{-}di_4\text{-}r$ O. Michaelides 96 vs., 5. [D. 19 or 20]

← $\text{c}di_4\text{-}r\text{-}ya$ H.O. 44, 1 vs. 4.¹⁶⁹ [D. 19 or 20]

← $\text{c}di_4\text{-}r$ H.O. 7, 3, 2. [D. 20]

← H.O. 7, 3, 3.

← $\text{c}di_4\text{-}n\text{-}r\text{-}ya$ O. Lit. DeM 1178, 4–5. [D. 19 or 20]

And as PN:

← $\text{c}u\text{-}di_4\text{-}r$ P. Berlin 10494 vs. 1–2.¹⁷⁰ [D. 20–1]

← P. BM 10416 vs. 2.¹⁷¹ [D. 20–1]

¹⁶³The sign after *ya* is probably a determinative rather than the phonetic group *ta*, which is written slightly differently in this inscription. The metal determinative would be quite appropriate semantically.

¹⁶⁴Bubastite Portal, pl. 4.

¹⁶⁵Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 374.

¹⁶⁶Huffman, *Amorite Personal Names*, p. 160.

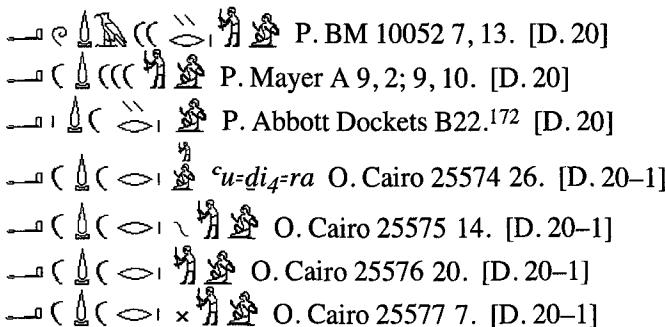
¹⁶⁷Cf. Huffman, *Amorite Personal Names*, pp. 134–35.

¹⁶⁸= An. I 16, 2.

¹⁶⁹= An. I 5, 6.

¹⁷⁰LRL pl. 24.

¹⁷¹J.J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications (HPBM VI)* (London: 1991). Also P. BM 10418 + 10287 vs. 1.



*^c*ōdir*, ^c*ōdirya*. N. m. “**HELPER.**” P.D. Miller, Jr.¹⁷³ wanted to connect the word with the Ugaritic *ǵzr* “hero, soldier,” but Egyptian ^c for Ug. /ǵ/ would not be very likely, and the various contexts of the Egyptian examples rule out this identification. E.g. H.O. 7 3, 3–4: *Imn p3 ^cdr n p3 s iwty rf* “O Amun, the Helper of the man without a voice.” In O. Michaelides 96, *n3y·w ^cu2-di4=r* “their ^cdr” stands parallel to *n3y·w nhw* “their protectors,” and in An. I 5, 6 (and parallel texts) the term occurs in conjunction with *m^cwnf* “protectors” who are helping Amenemope, the hapless scribe, write a letter. Later (16, 2) the same individual, who is having trouble solving a mathematical problem, is told: *M-ir rmt. P3y·k ^cu-di4=r h3·k.* “Don’t cry. Your helper is behind you.” Cf. BH עוזר “helper,” עזרה “his helpers” (in a military context: Ezek. 12:14); Amarna i-zi-ir-ta₅ “help” (EA 87:13),¹⁷⁴ ú-’zi⁻-ri (EA 250:47)¹⁷⁵ (m. pl. G-stem participle) “helpers”;¹⁷⁶ Ph. סדר “helpers” (in a military context); Ug. ^cdr “rescue, save,” in Akk. transcription *i-zi-ir[-tu4?]* “help”;¹⁷⁷ Amorite ^cādirum “helper”; Ammonite PN’s ^czr⁻*l*, *Trh-*^czr; Old S. Ar. 𐎢𐎧 (‘^cdr) “followers; adherents.” The form is a G-stem participle, which exhibits the Canaanite *[á]-[ó] shift in some of the writings. The writing of O. Lit. DeM 1178 indicates the presence of the phone [l], which is somewhat surprising. (H. 50; B. 303; VESO V C, 1; Wb. I 242, 5–7.¹⁷⁸) [5]

¹⁷²Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 24.

¹⁷³P.D. Miller, Jr., "Ugaritic *ȝzr* and Hebrew *‘ṣr* II," *UF*, 2 (1970), p. 161, n. 11.

F.D. Miller, Jr.

¹⁷⁵From northern coastal plain of Palestine, south of Carmel.

From Northern
176 ANET 1868

¹⁷⁷Huehnergard, Ugaritic Vocabulary, pp. 26-27, no. 33.

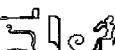
¹⁷⁷ Huenhnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, pp. 20-21.

109.  $\text{c}_u\text{-}\underline{di}_4\text{-}r$ O. Edinb. 916 4. [D. 19]

* $\text{c}_o\text{dir?}$ N. pl. **PARTS OF A CHARIOT.** The context does not elucidate the meaning, as a play on words is involved: $Ir\ n\text{ }3\ \text{c}_u\text{-}\underline{di}_4\text{-}r\ n\ t\text{3}y\text{-}k\ ma\text{-}r\text{-}ka\text{-}ba\text{-}ta$, $\text{c}_u\text{-}r\text{-}\underline{da}\text{-}w\{t\}\ h\text{3}st\ nb$. “As for the c_dr of your chariot, they are what terrifies (c_rd) all the foreign lands.” Perhaps cf. the Semitic root c_zr :   “assist,” which could mean “supports,” and cf. the Syriac technical term  ($\text{c}_az\bar{u}r\bar{a}$) “wooden bolt or pin to hold pieces of wood together.” Or perhaps cf. BH   “to restrain; shut up.” Yet another possibility is a connection with the root c_dr “to enclose,” e.g. BH   “enclosure,” Old S. Ar.  ($m^{\text{c}}dr$) “enclosure.” Schulman maintained that they were the yoke braces, but Littauer¹⁷⁹ maintain that these were made of leather. Perhaps the term designates the breastwork brace that secures the top front rail of the chariot box to the pole. It consists of either leather thongs or wooden pole(s). (H. 49; B. 302; Wb. I 242, 8; Schulman, JSSEA 16, p. 30.) [2]

110.  $\text{c}_zdu_3\text{-}ru_2\text{-}n$ P. Ebers 63, 9. [D. 18]

* $\text{c}_a\text{shurun.}$ N. **MEDICINAL INGREDIENT.**¹⁸⁰ Perhaps from the root c_sr , “to press, squeeze (grapes and olives),” e.g. TA  Syr.  ($\text{c}_s\bar{a}r\bar{a}$); Ar.  ($\text{c}_as\bar{ir}$) “juice, extract”; Eth.  ($\text{c}_as\bar{ir}$)¹⁸¹ “juice.” If so, the word formation would seem to be a passive, as the Arabic, meaning “that which is squeezed out.” (H. 51; B. 304; Wb. I 242, 9.) [3]

111.  Wenamun 1, x+3. “**SEER.**” See under $\text{c}_di_3\text{-}^2u$
(no. 106).

¹⁷⁹M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East* (Leiden: 1979), p. 85.

¹⁸⁰In a Byblian recipe for an eye ailment.

¹⁸¹Perhaps from Arabic, but the root  ($\text{c}_as\bar{a}ra$) is known in Ethiopic.



112. *bi*=²*ru*₂=*tu*₂ Thutmose III List I, 109 a, b, c. [D. 18]

bi=²*a*₂=*ru*₂=*tu*₂ Thutmose III List I, 19 a, b, c.

*ba*₂=²*ru*₂ Shishak List 123. [D. 22]

Also with elision of *'aleph*:

bi-*ra* Thutmose III List I, 50 a.

bi-*r* Thutmose III List I, 50 c.

bi-*ru*₂=*ta* An. I 20, 8. [D. 19]

**bi*²*ru*, *bi*²*rōtu*. *bērōtu*. N. sing. and pl. (?) in n. loc. “WELL.” Cf. the root *b²r*: BH בָּרָה (pl. constr. בָּרָהָרָה) “well,” n. loc. בָּרוֹתָה; Amarna [al]^u*Be-ru-ta* (EA 101, 25); Punic בְּהָרָה (pl.); Ug. *bir* (*PRU* III *bi-i-ri*); TA بَرْئَةٌ; Syr. ܒܲܪܲܳ (bērā), ܚܲܳ (bīrā); Ar. بَرْ (bi²r); Old S. Ar. ܓܲܳ (b²r), all “well, cistern.” The ending *[ōtu] is presumably the feminine plural ending. The examples from the reign of Thutmose III provide early evidence of the Canaanite *[á] to [ō] shift. The example from An. I indicates the elision of *'aleph*, which also occurred in Aramaic. (Cf. H. 55; B. 328, 366; VESO VI B, 5, 14; X C, 4, 5; *Wb.* I 447, 13.) [5]

113. *bi*=*ya*=*ta* KRI V, 95 no. 72.

[D. 20]

KRI II, 148, 10. [D. 19]

KRI I, 32, 12, 3. [D. 19]

Med. Habu 101.¹ [D. 20]

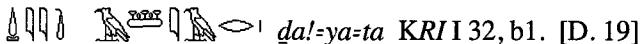
KRI II, 149, 4. [D. 19]

*ba*₂=*ya*=*ta* P.An.I22, 8.

[D. 19]

¹Below *ḥ̄swt nbt* of line 27.

Miswritten:



da!-ya-ta KRI I 32, b1. [D. 19]

**bayta* or *beyta*? N. m. only in n. loc. “HOUSE.” Cf. the common Semitic root *byt*, e.g. BH בֵּית, constr. בֵּיתָ; Ph. בְּתָה; Ug. *bt*; Amorite *bītu*; TA بَيْتٌ; Syr. صَلَّا (baytā); Ar. بَيْت (bayt); Old S. Ar. ܚܻܻܻ (byt); Eth. ܒܻܻܻ: (bēt), constr. ܒܻܻܻ: (bēta); Akk. *bītu* (*bētu*), constr. *bīt*, all “house.” The form is the singular construct. Note that the writings suggest the retention of the diphthong *[ay], unlike the more common writing ܒܻܻܻ (bi-ta, no. 144, below), which indicates contraction. Although it is possible that the group ܻܻ sometimes represented an *i*-type vowel, no unambiguous evidence of this is forthcoming. It is also possible that the writing with *ya* represents **beyta*, with the original diphthong more or less resolved, but retaining *y* as a glide. The lack of contraction in Beth-Dagôن and Beth-Shean is noteworthy, since they were in the north, where contraction seems to have already become standard. Perhaps individual scribes were influenced by southern or northern interior dialects with which they were familiar.² Three of the towns, בֵּית שָׁעַן, בֵּית עֲזֹת, בֵּית גָּנוֹן, are known from the Hebrew Bible and tradition. (B. 382; VESO VI B, 6–8.) [5]

114. *b=c=r* P. An. III 2, 8. [D. 19]

b=c=ra Wsr-Stt Stele.³ [D. 18]

**bahr(a)*. N. and in n. loc. “SEA.” In An. III 2, 8, the word occurs in a list of salt- and fresh-water fish and their habitats: “*dw n h[...]* *n b=c=r* “Striped mullet⁴ of the *h[...]*-waters of the *b=c=r*.” Helck attempted to identify the word with Hebrew מִזְבֵּחַ “well,” but this does not suit the context at all. Striped mullet are a salt-water fish, which can enter brackish, but not fresh water. Furthermore, the correspondence of Egyptian ‘ayin for Semitic ‘aleph is most uncommon. The word is probably to be identified with the root *bhr*,

²Cf. the problem of assimilation and non-assimilation of *nun* in the name of a single princess called Binti-‘Anata/Bitti-‘Anata (nos. 120, 146, below). Scribes may simply have used whichever form of the name they were most familiar.

³W. Helck, “Eine Stele des Vizekönigs Wṣr-Št.t,” *JNES* 14 (1955), p. 23, 14.

⁴*Mugil cephalus*, Caminos, *LEM*, p. 78, lists the pertinent references.

which is attested with certainty only in South Semitic, cf. Ar. بَحْر (*bahr*) “sea, large river”; Old S. Ar. ܒܼܼܼܼ (*bhr*) “sea; coast”; Eth. ܼܼܼܼ: (*bâhr*) “sea; lake; ocean; large river.” The Syriac word ܒܼܼܼܼ (*bahrā*) “sea,” given its isolation, is no doubt a loan from Arabic. If the identification is correct, this is a further example of Egyptian ‘ayin for Semitic /ħ/. (H. 55; B. 333; *Wb.* I 447, 13.) [4]

115.  b=č=ra *KRI I* 17, 14.⁵ [D. 19]

 Med. Habu 86, 25. [D. 20]

  P. Harris I A4, 18. [D. 20]

  P. BM 10053 4, 18. [D. 20]

  b=č=–r P. Ch. Beatty I vs. B9. [D. 20]

  P. Jud. Turin 2, 2; 5, 6; 6, 3. [D. 20]

  P. Wilbour A 66, 28. [D. 20]

  Ras Šamra stele.⁶ [D. 19]

  *PN II* 351.

  An. III vs. 6, 1.⁷ [D. 19]

  An. III vs. 6, 3.

  P. Mayer A 9, 9. [D. 20]

  Wenamun 1, 16–17. [D. 21]

 b=č=ra=ru₂ Med. Habu 604, 14.

  b=č=ru₂ Wenamun 3, 7.

 b=č=ru₃ *KRI I* 6, 15.

 b=č=r *KRI I* 21, 3.

 *KRI IV* 292, 14. [D. 19]

⁵The n. div. Bčl is widely used in personal names in Egyptian texts, and the list here presented is representative, but not exhaustive.

⁶F.-A. Schaeffer, “Les fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras Shamra,” *Syria* 12 (1931), pl. 6.

⁷The ya ending is probably that commonly found in Semitic (and Egyptian) hypocoristic names.

Name list.⁸ [D. 18]

P. Bologna 1094 10, 3.⁹ [D. 19]

KRI III 361, 11. [D. 19]

KRI I 329, 3. [D. 19]

KRI I 329, 4.

b=c=ri Stele Vienna 107.¹⁰

Stele Vienna 107.

b=c=a=ra¹¹ PN II 276, 20.

b=c=r=ya P. Sallier IV vs. 1, 6. [D. 19]

Miswritten:

b=n-ra ZÄS 66, 6* 4, 3. [D. 18]

b=n=ri ZÄS 66, 5* 16, 2.

Written as a logogram:

BA'LU P. Wilbour A 70, 51. [D. 20]

P. Wilbour A 47, 31.

*Ba^clu. Only as N. div. “**LORD, MASTER.**” Cf. BH בָּעֵל “owner, husband”; Ph. בָּעֵל “master”; Ug. b^cl “lord,” in Akk. transcription ba-a-lu-ma;¹² Amorite ba^clum, be^clum “lord”; Ammonite n. div. B^cl; Old Aram., Imp. Aram. בָּעֵל אֶתְּנָא, TA בָּעֵל לְ “husband; owner”; Ar. بَعْل (ba^cl) “lord; husband”; Akk. bēlu “lord.” The example in P. Sallier IV b=c=r=ya da-pu₂-na may be the plural construct: “The Lords of Zaphon.” (PN I 60, 15–16; 93, 23; 346, 19; 394, 23; II 276, 19, 20.) [5]

116. b=c=r=ta¹³ P. Sallier IV vs. 1, 6. [D. 19]

*Ba^clat. N. f. in n. div. “**LADY.**” Cf. the previous entry and BH

⁸Steindorff, ZÄS 38 (1900), p. 17, vs. 18.

⁹Gardiner, LEM, p. 9.

¹⁰von Bergman, Rec. Trav. 12, 17, XVIII.

¹¹The second element of this female name is unclear.

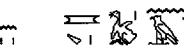
¹²Huehnergard, Ugaritic Vocabulary, pp. 26–27, no. 37.2; pp. 40–41, no. 188.2.

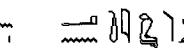
¹³The name is very damaged.

תְּבָעֵלָה “lady”; Ph. תְּבָעֵלָה “citizen”; Ug. *b^clt* “lady”; Ar. بَعْلَة (ba^cla) “wife.” (B. 337; VESO VII B 5–6.) [5]

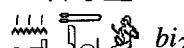
117.  *b=b-ra* Urk. IV 668, 13; 701, 3. [D. 18]

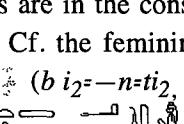
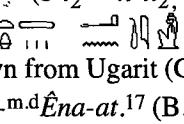
**Bābili*. N. loc. “GATE (OF THE GOD).” Babylon. Cf. BH בָּבֶל; BA, TA בָּבָל; Imp. Aram. בָּבָא, TA בָּבָל “gate, entrance”; Ar. بَاب (bāb) “gate, portal,” (Bābil); Akk. *bābu* “gate, door,” *Bābilum*. The Egyptian transcription of the name conforms with those of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, which all exhibit the elision of *aleph*. [5]

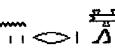
118.  *bi=—n* KRI IV 104, 14. [D. 19]

 KRI II 907, 11.¹⁴ [D. 19]

 *bi=n* P. Turin (P+R) 4, 3. [D. 19]

 *bi₂=—n* Cairo JdE no. 40031.¹⁵ [D. 20]

**bin*; *ben*. N. only in PN m. “SON.” Cf. the common West Semitic word for son: BH בֵּן, constr. בֶּן; Ph. بن; Ug. *bn*; Amorite *binum*, *bunum*; Ammonite *bn*; BA,¹⁶ TA בֵּר, pl. בִּנִּים; Ar. ابن ([?]*ibn*); Old S. Ar. بِن (bn-m) (sing. abs.), constr. بِن (bn); Akk. *binu*. Note that the forms are in the construct and exhibit no indication of case endings. Cf. the feminine forms occurring in the PN  (b *i₂=n=t₂*, no. 120) and with assimilation of *nun*,  (*bi₂=ti₂*, no. 146) below. The name *Bn-^cnt* is known from Ugarit (Gordon no. 1889) and is transcribed in Akk. as *mBin-m.dEna-at*.¹⁷ (B. 341; VESO VI B, 1–11; PN I 96, 17.) [5]

119.  *ba=—n=ra* P. An. IV 12, 11. [D. 19]

 *b=—n=ra* O. Lit. DeM 1067A, 4. [D. 19 or 20]

 *ba=—n=—r* P. Turin (522).¹⁸ [D. 20]

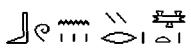
¹⁴O. Louvre 2226, 3.

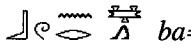
¹⁵G.A. Gaballa, “Three documents from the reign of Ramesses III,” *JEA* 59 (1973), p. 109, fig. 1.

¹⁶The plural absolute form does not occur, but the construct is *תְּבָעֵלָה*.

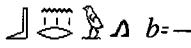
¹⁷Kinlaw, *Names in the Akkadian Texts*, p. 36.

¹⁸Cited in *Wb. Belegstellen*.

 Wenamun 2, 64–65. [D. 21]

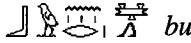
 ba=n=r P. Amherst 2, 6. [D. 20]

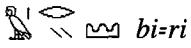
 ba=—n=ru P. Leiden I 343 2, 7; vs. 4, 2.
[D. 19 or 20]

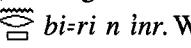
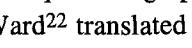
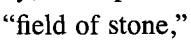
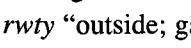
 b=—n=ru₃ KRI II 31, 8. [D. 19]

 b=n=ru₃ Urk. IV 661, 12. [D. 18]

 KRI II 31, 6. [D. 19]

 bu=—n=ra KRI I 12, 10; Mes, N6.¹⁹ [D. 19]

 bi=ri Boeser, Leiden IV, pl. XV.²⁰ [D. 19]

*ballu; balla; bal < *barra. N. “OUT; OUTSIDE; OUTDOORS; OPEN LAND.” Demotic *bnr*, Coptic ^{SB}ϐϐϐλ “outside.” In addition to its widespread adverbial use in the phrase *r-bnr* “out,” the word is attested as a noun in such phrases as *pʒ sbʒ n ba=—n=ra* “the outside door”²¹ and *pʒ hr n ba=—n=—r* “the outer necropolis” or perhaps “the necropolis of the open land.” The basic meaning is thus “outdoors” and not just “direction away from.” The word also appears to occur, although with a unique orthography, in the phrase     *bi=ri n inr*. Ward²² translated “field of stone,” and identified the word *br* with “the common Semitic term *bar*, ‘open country, field.’” The Coptic word has been traditionally derived from the verb ^{SB}ϐϐϐλ²³ “to loosen, untie; melt,” although the semantic development from the field of “loosening; dissolving” seems extremely unlikely. The word, which does not appear until the Eighteenth Dynasty, apparently replaced the old Egyptian word *rwty* “outside; gate.” The word  may, in fact, be a loan-word from the widely attested Semitic root *brr*, whose

¹⁹G.A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose* (Warminster: 1977).

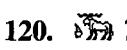
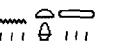
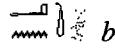
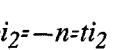
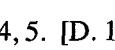
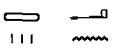
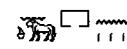
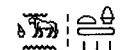
²⁰P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (Haag: 1905).

²¹P. Harris 500 (love poems) 5, 9.

²²Ward, “Lexicographical Miscellanies,” *SAK* 5 (1977), p. 279.

²³E.g. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 33b. A. Volten, (“L’étymologie de deux mots coptes,” *BIFAO* 58 (1959), p. 27) proposed a derivation from **r mrrt* “to the street.” There are two problems with this etymology: 1)**r mrrt* does not occur with this meaning, and 2)there would have to have been a change in gender, since the word is masculine in Demotic and Coptic.

semantic field is “wide open space,” and which commonly developed to mean “outside.”²⁴ Cf. BH בָּרֶגֶת “open country”; Mod. Heb. בָּרֶגֶת “outside”; BA, TA בָּרְגָּאֵת “outside; field”;²⁵ Palm. בָּרֶגֶת “outside”; Ar. بَرْ (barr) “open country,” بَرَانْ (baran) “outside”;²⁶ Old S. Ar. بَرْنَ (brn), بَرَرْ (brr) “open country”; Mehri (Mod. S. Ar.) bar “desert”; abarr “outside.” Akk. *barru* III, translated by von Soden (*AHw* 107b) as “unbebautes Land,” is probably from the same root.²⁷ If بَرْ is not a loan-word, then it is probably a native cognate that only became attested in the written language at a comparatively late date.²⁸ The main difficulty with the proposed connection is phonological. The Egyptian writings clearly indicate the phone [l] and not [r]. (B. 345; *VESO* VI A, 3; *Wb.* I 461, 10; 465, 12.) [3]

120.        *KRI II* 924, 5. [D. 19]
   *KRI II* 923, 10.
   *KRI II* 924, 8.²⁹
   *KRI II* 924, 6.

²⁴O. Rössler, “Das Ägyptische als semitische Sprache,” in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Christentum am Roten Meer* (Berlin and New York: 1971), Vol.1, p. 312, also maintained a derivation from this Semitic root, seeing the Egyptian as a loanword, and not as an original cognate, as maintained about other roots in that article.

²⁵The Aramaic נַּבְּרָאֵת “out” is very common, and for the most part is used exactly like Late Egyptian *r bnr* and Coptic *eboλ*.

²⁶Spanish *barrio* “quarter, district (of a city)” derives from the Arabic (probably from بَرْيَة barriya “open land”), as noted in the Spanish Academy’s *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*.

²⁷*CAD* (B, 113), however, takes a different view, and directs the reader to *birītu* “balk (between fields).”

²⁸Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 203, stated: “It may be assumed, with a degree of justification, that languages do not generally borrow the basic particles which are used to form their most important syntactical patterns.” This is true in general, but sometimes even the most basic elements of a language are comprised of loan words, e.g. English speakers freely fuse latinate prefixes such as pre-, post-, and especially re-to anglo-saxon roots as if they were native elements (e.g. “rethink”).

²⁹The house determinative indicates some confusion between the word *bt* “house,” and *bt* “daughter.” For another very likely case of confusion, see no. 144 (O. Deir el-Bahri).

bi=-*n*-*ti*₂ KRI II 922, 5.³⁰

*bi*₂=-*n*-*t*³¹ KRI II 924, 3.

bi=-*n*-*ta* KRI II 919, 9.

*bi*₂=-*n*-*ta* KRI II 854, 15.

*bi*₂=-*n*-*ta*₅ KRI IV 64, 3. [D. 19]

Miswritten:

KRI II 349, 1.

**binti*; *binta*. N. (f.) only in PN f. “DAUGHTER.” Cf. BH בָּתָה; Ph. בתָּה; Ug. *bt*; Amorite *bintum*, *bittum*; TA אֲבִרְתָּם (pl. אֲבִרְתָּם); Syr. بَرْتَاه (bārtāh); Ar. ابْنَة (ibnā), بَنْتَ (bint); Old S. Ar. خَبْتَ (bnt), خَبْتَ (bt).

The lack of assimilation of *nun* in these examples is surprising, since it was a feature of all NWS languages and was especially developed in Old Byblian, where it even extended across the boundary between words.³² The name is also attested with assimilation of *nun*: (bi₂=*ti*₂, no. 146). There seems to be an attempt to indicate case endings (unlike the masculine *bn*). The ending [ti] would be the genitive, and [ta] the accusative. Cf. the masculine form, (bi₂=-*n*, no. 118). (B. 346; VESO VI B, 12.) [5]

121. *bi*=*n*-*du* P. Ch. Beatty VII vs. 2, 1. [D. 19]

An. I 10, 3. [D. 19]

b=*n*-*du* P. Turin, P + R 137, 8. [D. 20]

b=*n*-*d* Med. Habu 94, 10. [D. 20]

With metathesis:

bi=*d*-*nu*₃ An. I 28, 3.

**banata*? Vb. “TO GIRD (CLOTHES).” In the Ch. Beatty passage, with reference to the goddess ‘Anat, the word seems to designate a very specific aspect of dressing, most likely “girding”: *st-hmt irt*

³⁰The second group is probably an abbreviation of *n* with plural strokes.

³¹Perhaps the group *ti*₂ was meant.

³²As evidenced by names of the pattern **Bin* + PN, e.g. בִּינָמֶל. (Garr, *Dialect Geography*, p. 40.)

ʒhʒwty, sd·ti m tʒy, bi=n=du·ti m hmt “the female warrior, clad as a male, girt as a female.”³³ The word may be related to the root *bnt*: BH, MH אַבְנֵת “belt, girdle.” The verbal use of the root is not attested in Hebrew. The exact connection is difficult to establish, since the word is fairly rare in both languages. It is possible that the Hebrew is, in fact, derived from the Egyptian, as proposed by Brugsch.³⁴ The word does not have a good etymology from an Egyptian root, appears first in Late Egyptian, and in contexts where Semitic vocabulary is used. The association of the word with Coptic Σβαλοτ “skin garment” is unfounded.³⁵ The Egyptian use is as the stative (old perfective). (*Wb.* I 465, 2–3.) [3]

122.        *bi=n=du* O. DeM 579 19. [D. 20]

       *O. Cairo 25596 2. [D. 19]*

**bintu?* N. A GARMENT, PROBABLY “BELT.” Cf. BH, MH אַבְנֵת “belt, girdle,” and no. 121. Janssen (*Prices*) indicates that the item was not very costly. The object from Deir el-Medineh may have been painted. (Janssen, *Prices*, pp. 288–89.) [3]

123.         **“FIELD.”** N. in place name (?). See under
     

124.          *bi₄=r=ya=t* An. II 8, 2. [D. 19]

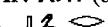
biryatu.* N. f. **“OBLIGATORY LABOUR DETAIL.” The An. II passage, on the “be a scribe” theme, describes the plight of the stable-

³³For the androgenous aspects of ‘Anat, see M. Dijkstra and J.C. de Moor, “Problematical passages in the Legend of Aghâtu,” *UF* 7 (1975), p. 193, and also J.C. de Moor, “Murices in Ugaritic Mythology,” *Orientalia* 37 (1968), p. 213, n. 1, where de Moor notes the Ch. Beatty passage, as well.

³⁴Cited by Erman, “Das Verhältniss des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen,” *ZDMG* 46 (1892), p. 110. So too, B.H. Stricker, “Trois études de phonétique et de morphologie coptes,” *Acta Orientalia* 15 (1936), p. 10 and *OMRO* 24 (1943), p. 30 n. 1; A. Loprieno, *Annali. Istituto orientale di Napoli* 37, p. 128; T.O. Lambdin, “Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament,” *JAOS* 73 (1953), p. 146.

³⁵Westendorf, *Kopt. HWb.*, p. 494.

³⁶The determinative is not clear. Černý read as the granule with plural strokes, but it could be the animal hide determinative. *KRI* VII 451, 11, following Janssen, now reads with string determinative, but no plural strokes.

master's family when he takes a break from work. The able-bodied members of the household all appear to be sent off to do hard labour: *iw h̥3c it n t̥3y·f h̥mt, t̥3y·f šrit m p̥3 dnit, iw t̥3y·f b̥3kt m t̥3 bi₄=—r=ya=t, p̥3y·f šms m Tr̥3w*. “and his wife gets ‘reject’ barley, his daughter is at the dyke, his maidservant is in the *bryt*, and his retainer is in Tura.”³⁷ The word is likely related to the root *bry* “to bind” whence BH בְּרִית “covenant”; Old S. Ar. **חַקָּת** (*brt*) “contract (?).” Cf. the other loan word from this root  (*bi-ra-*ta, no. 135) “obligatory service; treaty of submission.” Wintermute cited a fourteenth century Akkadian text from Qatna which begins TAR *be-ri-tu* and is followed by a list of names, no doubt of such labourers, and the amounts of rations to be paid.³⁸ Görg’s etymology from the older Egyptian word *mrt* “serf” is not very convincing.³⁹ It is possible that the group  here represents the *i* vowel, if it is not a mistake for , in which case it should be classified with no. 135. The formation is most likely a normal *qatlat(u)*. It has usually been understood as a feminine collective.⁴⁰ (H. 67; Wb. I 465, 15.) [4]

125.     $ba_2 = -r = ru_2 = ya$ An. IV 16,7; P.Koller 1,4.
[D. 19]

   $ba_2 = -r = ru_2$ H.O. 113 1,3. [D. 19]

    $bi = ra = ya = t$ Med. Habu 86, 31. [D. 20]

Also written with *m*:

     $ma = -r = ru_2 = a[t]$ An. IV 3, 5.⁴¹ [D. 19]

Also written with m :

⁴¹ *ma = -r = ru₂ = ²a{t}* An. IV 3, 5. [D. 19]

³⁷Tura is the site of a famous limestone quarry.

³⁸ Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 75. This and a similar text are published in J. Bottéro, "Autres textes de Qatna," *RA* 44 (1950), p. 112–16. Albright ("The Hebrew expression for 'making a covenant' in pre-Israelite documents," *BASOR* 121 [1951], pp. 21–22) pointed out that TAR *be-ri-tu* is an exact parallel to the Hebrew expression כרת ברית "to draw up (lit. "cut") a contract." TAR can be read as *parāsu* "divide, cut," although the reading here required is unclear.

³⁹“Zur Bezeichnung *brit* (pAnast. II 8. 2).” *GM* 27 (1978), pp. 23–24.

⁴⁰ See M. Görg, "Etymologisch-semantische Perspektiven zu חַדְרָה," in H.-J. Fabry, ed., *Bausteine Biblischer Theologie, Festgabe für G. Johannes Botterweck zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Schülern* (Cologne: 1977), p. 35.

⁴¹The passage is parallel to H.O. 113 1, 3, which reads $ba_2 = -r = ru_2$, thus proving that the two forms are indeed the same word. Wintermute (Thesis) wanted to link mrr^2

**burraruya / murraru²a < *burrana*. N. A TYPE OF WOOD USED IN CHARIOTS : ASH(?); “CHARIOT.” In the school texts, the word is used to indicate the material from which the chariot was constructed, e.g. An. IV 16, 7: *ma=—r-ka=ba=ta nfrw m ba₂=—r-ru₂=ya* “fine chariots of *brry*-wood.” In other places, however, the word seems to denote the chariot, itself. An. IV 3, 5: *Tsy-k n³ htri, twrit n nbw m d^rt·k, ma=—r-ru₂=²a m-d^ri·k m m³wt.* “You step up into the rig with a gold baton in your hand; the *mr²* you have is a new one.” In the Med. Habu passage it is said of the bound enemy leader: *p^hd hr bryt hr nm^tt Hm·f* “and he was made prostrate on the *bryt*, under the foot-step of His Majesty.” Perhaps cf. the Akk. *burrānu/murrānu* (a tree, perhaps “ash”); TA מַרְאָן “ash trees”; Ar. مَرْأَن (*murrān*) “beech tree.” Most of the writings seem to indicate the doubling of the *r*, but it is perhaps more likely that the second *r* derives from */n/* (i.e. it is assimilated to [r]). The [u] of the second syllable may have been transposed from the initial syllable. (H. 58; B. 350; *Wb.* I 465, 14.) [3]

126. 『 ba=—r=qa An. IV 1b, 5. [D. 19]

『 ba₂=—r=qa O. Hermitage 1125 5.⁴² [D. 20]

Also written with *g*:

『 ba₂=ra=ga P. Leiden I 350 2, 4.⁴³ [D. 19]

**baraqa*. Vb. “TO SPARKLE.” An. IV 1b, 5 refers to water: *p³ mw ba=—r=qa n ba=—n=ra* “the water sparkles out.” The text of P. Leiden I 350 reads: *Irty·fy brg, ^cn^hwy·fy wn.* “His eyes sparkle, and his ears are open.” In the Hermitage ostracon it is said of the king worshiping Rē^c: *Irty·ky ba₂=—r=qa m wn·f, ^cwy·ky h³b m i³w.* “Your eyes sparkle when he comes into being; your arms are bent in adoration.” Helck followed Burchardt in suggesting a connection with Hebrew בְּלִג “to gleam, smile” and Arabic بُلْج (balija) “to shine.” Simpler is a connection with the better known root *brq*, as

to the Egyptian word *wrryt* “chariot,” but this is no longer tenable in the light of the H.O. parallel.

⁴²E.S. Bogoslovsky (“Monuments and Documents from Dēr el-Medīna in Museums of the USSR”), *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1973/1 p. 83, and fig. 2.

⁴³Zandee, *OMRO* 28 (1947), pl. 2.

is certainly the case with the writings with *q* (as recognized also by Helck). Cf. BH קָרְקֵ “to flash (lightning)”; Ug. *brq* “lightning”; Amorite *brq* “to shine”; TA ܩܹܲܶ; Syr. ܒܻܲܶ (*b²raq*); Ar. برق (*baraqa*) “to shine, glitter, sparkle”; Old S. Ar. ܗܻܲܶ (*brq*) “lightning”; Eth. ܻܲܶܶܶ: (*baraqa*) “to sparkle”; Akk. *barāqu* “to flash.” The Coptic Σεϐρησε, βεϐρησε, Βεϐρηξ “lightning” is also attested. The sense is especially close to the Arabic expression برق عينيه, which specifically refers to the eyes. The form appears to be derived from the third masculine singular *qatala* form. In the An. IV text, the word appears to be used as the Egyptian infinitive in a Pres. I construction (with *hr* dropped). So too, in the other texts. (H. 59, 63; B. 357, 362; VESO VI A, 2; Wb. I 466, 7, 13.) [5]

127. *bi=ra=ku* Med. Habu 82, 38. [D. 20]

Med. Habu 92, 14.

bi₂=—r=ku Ramses IV, Karnak.⁴⁴ [D. 20]

Miswritten:

P. Turin 1882 1, 2.⁴⁵ [D. 20]

**barraka/bāraka* (?) Vb. “TO KNEEL BEFORE S’ONE; TO BOW; TO BLESS (IN HOMAGE).” At least in one case, the meaning of the Egyptian is clearly that of kneeling, as indicated by Med. Habu 82, 38: *r bi=ra=ku·n r dh·n n T3-mri* “that we might bow down, that we might prostrate ourselves to Egypt.” The text of Med. Habu 92, 14 reads: *bi=ra=ku·n n hwt-ntr·f* “that we might do homage to his temple.” P. Turin 1882 refers to the aftermath of the king’s coronation: *Hnmmt, p^ct, rhyw, tpw nb nw t3 bi-<ra>=ku, w^cf, nn k3y* [‘sbi’]. “(All) humanity, the nobility, the commoners, everyone in the land paid homage,⁴⁶ they being submissive, there being no

⁴⁴W. Helck, “Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak,” ZÄS 82 (1957), pl. 5, 7 (opposite p. 102).

⁴⁵Gardiner, “Pharaonic Encomium,” JEA 41 (1955), pl. 7, opposite p. 30. Gardiner’s transcription employs the loaf determinative, but in n. c (pl. 7), he notes that it could be the book roll.

⁴⁶Gardiner maintained the word was the nominal form meaning “gifts,” and advocated an emendation of the text. The text can be read as it stands if the word is analysed as a verb, probably in a Present I construction with *hr* omitted, or possibly as a stative (old perfective).

plotters [‘of treason’].” The determinatives, as in the example from ZÄS 82, derive from the nominal form meaning “gifts.” Cf. BH בְּרַךְ (G-stem) “to kneel,” בָּרַךְ (D-stem) “to bless”; Ph. בְּרַךְ (G-stem) “to bless”; Ug. *brk* (D-stem) “to bless,” (tD-stem) “to fall on one’s knees”; Ammonite *brk* “to bless,” PN *brk-²l*; BA בְּרַךְ, TA بְּرַךְ; Syr. ﺏَرِكَ (b²rēk) “to praise”; Ar. بَرَكَ (G-stem) (*baraka*) “to kneel,” (D- and L-stem) (*bāraka*) “to bless”; Old S. Ar. ﻫِلْلَ (brk) “bless”; Eth. ﻮَلَّ: (*baraka*) “to kneel,” ﻮَلَّ: (*bāraka*) “to bless.” The stem of the word is uncertain, but “kneeling” suggests the G-stem, rather than the D-stem. In Hebrew, however, the word in the D-stem can mean “to greet,” and is especially used in deference to kings and persons of high standing.⁴⁷ The *i*-vowel in the Egyptian transcription does not particularly favour the D-stem, since the Hebrew vocalization (*pi^cel*) is almost certainly a later development. In the Canaanite dialects of the 12th century, the forms were probably still **barrak(a)* or **bārak(a)*. The *i*-vowel, however, can be explained as arising from confusion with the nominal *qitla* form, which is attested in TA בְּרַכָּא “blessing,” and probably occurs in Egyptian transcription as 𓏏𓂋𗐚𗐚 𓏏𓂋𗐚 (bi-ra=ku₂, no. 128). Syntactically, the word occurs as a prospective *sdm·f* in the Med. Habu passages, and as an infinitive in a “pseudo-verbal” construction in the other texts. (H. 60; B. 359; Wb. I 466, 8.) [5]

128. 𓏏𓂋𗐚 𓏏𓂋𗐚 bi-ra=ku₂ Med. Habu 83, 44. [D. 20]

birkū*. N. pl. “GREETINGS; OBEISANCE.**” The text reads: *Iry·n bi=ra=ku₂ n hr f drt·n hr tp·n.* “We made greetings before him, with our hands on our heads.” Cf. the preceding entry and the nominal forms: BH בְּרַכָּה; Imp. Aram. [בְּרַכָּה], TA בְּרַכָּא; Syr. ﺏَرِقَةً (burk²ta); Ar. بَرَكَةً (*baraka*); Eth. ﻮَلَّاتٍ: (*barakat*), all “blessing.” The form of the word that occurs in Med. Habu 83, 44 must be nominal, as is apparent from both the syntax of the Egyptian and the presence of plural strokes. The word formation has an exact

⁴⁷E.g. Gen. 47:7 וַיַּעֲבֹךְ יַעֲקֹב אֶחָד־פְּרֹעָה “and Jacob greeted Pharaoh.” For a discussion of the stem, meaning, and use of the verb, see B. Couroyer, “*Brk et les formules égyptiennes de salutation*,” *Revue Biblique* 85, pp. 575–85. Couroyer, however, maintains that the Aramaic, Phoenician, and Hebrew greeting formulae of the 7th to 5th centuries B.C.E. were based on Egyptian models.

parallel in the Aramaic, which is masculine in gender and is built on the *qitla* pattern, as seems to be indicated by the Egyptian transcription. The ending appears to be the masculine plural [ū], as is found in Sam'alian and Akkadian. Cf. the feminine form *bi₂-r-ka-ta* (no. 130) as PN f. (H. 60; B. 359; *Wb.* I 466, 8.) [5]

129.  *bi-r-ku* P. Harris I 7, 3. [D. 20]

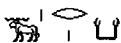
 An. I 5, 7. [D. 19]

 O. Lit. DeM 1178, 1.⁴⁸ [D. 19 or 20]

 *bi-ra-ku* KRI II 246, 14. [D. 19]

 (sic.) Med. Habu 27, 18.

 Med. Habu 317, 22.

 *bi₂=ra-ku* KRI II 246, 15.

 *bi=ra-k* Med. Habu 85, 8. [D. 20]

Also written with *m*:

 *ma=r-ku* Wenamun 2, 12. [D. 21]

 P. Ch. Beatty I vs. B 31. [D. 20]

 *m=r-ku={t}* KRI II 246, 13. [D. 19]

 *ma=ru₂-ku* P. Berlin 23252 vs. II, 8.⁴⁹ [D. 22]

**birkū*. N. pl. “GIFTS.” The word occurs in a number of contexts: Harris I 7, 3: *Ms·i n·k nʒ hʒq n tʒ pdt psdt, bi=r-ku tʒw, hʒswt n pʒy·k wbʒ*. “I have brought for you the plunder from the Nine-bows and the gifts of the foreign lands to your courtyard.” Med. Habu 85, 8 refers to foreigners *hr inw·sn hr bi=ra=k* “bearing their tribute and gifts.” In the Ramses II Hittite marriage inscription, the Hittite king is made to say: *Fʒy·n bi=ra=ku n ntr* “Let us take presents to the great god” (i.e. Ramses II, in return for peace and life). In An. I, a scribe is said to get people to help him by flattery and bribes: *Wʒh·k n·sn bi=r-ku hr tp s nb*. “You present them with gifts, each man individually.” For etymological considerations, cf.

⁴⁸= An. I 5, 7.

⁴⁹A. Gasse, *Données nouvelles administratives et sacerdotales sur l'organisation du Domaine d'Amon XX^e–XXI^e dynasties* (etc.) (Cairo: 1988), pl. 47.

no. 127–28, and esp. BH בָּרָקַת; Syr. ܒܻܰܩܻܴܬܻ (burk²tā); Eth. בָּרָקָת (barakat), all “gift.” The words written *ma=—r=ku* (and sim.) have been almost universally identified with the common Semitic root *mlk* “king” and have been translated as “tribute” or “gifts (to the king).”⁵⁰ The identification with *mlk* is rather weak on semantic grounds,⁵¹ and a word meaning “gift” from the root *mlk* is never attested in any Semitic language.⁵² The example of *mrk* from P. Berlin 23252 is significant because it concerns gifts to private individuals, and not to the king. It is probably for etymological considerations that Breasted suggested that the word was identical to *brk* “gifts.”⁵³ Although 〔 〔 〔〕 (m=—r=ku={t}) of KRI II 246, 13 stands parallel to 〔 〔 〔〕 (bi=ra=ku) and 〔 〔 〔〕 (bi₂=ra=ku), in this case 〔〕 (m) is probably a miswriting of 〔〕 (bi), since it is followed by a stroke, which is common with *bi* but not with *m*.⁵⁴ The three other examples of *ma=—r=ku*, however, are almost certainly variants of the word *bi=—r=ku*. Egyptian interchange of the bilabials [m] and [b] is attested elsewhere.⁵⁵ B. Couroyer also concluded that we are dealing with variant orthographies, and need not emend the texts, nor resort to an etymology from the root *mlk*.⁵⁶ The ending, if not an Egyptian plural ending,

⁵⁰E.g. Wilson, *ANET*, p. 27, n. 20. Many references to the secondary literature can be found in B. Couroyer's thorough examination "BRK-MRK," *Orientalia* 32 (1963), pp. 170-77.

⁵¹The closest in meaning would be Ar. *ملأ* (*malaka*) “to take possession of; to possess,” or Akk. *malkū* “royalty, dominion,” but even these are not really semantically appropriate.

⁵²Tunisian Arabic has *mlk* (*milāk*) “betrothal; engagement present (from groom to bride),” but the latter is surely a secondary development from the former, which refers to “taking possession (of the bride).” The Punic word *mlk* meaning “offering” is hardly related. G. Vittman (“Nochmals zur Etymologie von *mrk* [Wb. II, 113],” *GM* 15 [1975], pp. 45–46), although deriving it from the root *hlk*, also dismissed a derivation from Punic *mlk*.

⁵³BAR, IV, §577, p. 282, n. 7.

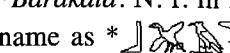
⁵⁴ As opposed to G. Vittman, *GM* 15, p. 45, who takes the writing with *m* seriously.

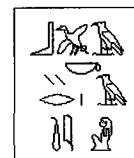
⁵⁵E.g. *bgrt* for Semitic /mḡrt/ "cave" (no. 228), *ma-—r-ru₂-?* for *ba₂-ru₂-ya* (type of wood; no. 125), and the writing *ba₂-—r-ka-ba-ta* for *ba₂-—r-ka-ta* "pool" (no. 131) resulting from a confusion with the word *ma-—r-ka-ba-ta* "chariot" (no. 189). G. Vittman (*GM* 15, p. 45) also noted the variation in the PN *Hbnrdt/Hmdrt* (see under *ha-bi-—r-da-ta*, no. 309).

⁵⁶Couroyer, "BRK-MRK," *Orientalia* 32 (1963), pp. 170-77. Probably more than orthography is involved, as there were probably variant pronunciations as well. The

might be akin to the masculine plural morpheme [ū] as is found in Sam'alian and Akkadian. (H. 61, 101; B. 360, 481; *Wb.* I 466, 10, II 113, 3.) [5]

130.  *ba₂=-r-ka-ta* Cairo 597 (statue).⁵⁷ [D. 19]

**Barakata*. N. f. in PN f. “BLESSING.” L. Borchardt read the name as *,⁵⁸ but the original is written vertically as shown at right and is susceptible to a superior reading that takes the usual sign groups into account. The oblique strokes certainly belong to the  group and the vulture together with *k* form the  group. The *k* thus intrudes above the *-r* group, but it does not precede it. Cf. BH. בָּרְכָה; Ug.



brkn; TA ; Syr. بُرْكَة; Ar. بَرَكَة (*burk̡atā*); Ar. بَرَكَة (*baraka*); Eth. בָּרָקַת: (*barakat*), all “blessing.” (PN I 98, 29.) [5]

131.  *bi₄=-r-ka-ta*⁵⁹ An. IV 1b, 1. [D. 19]

 Gloss. Gol. 1, 9; P. Wilbour A 40, 26. [D. 20; 20–1]

 *b=—r-ka-ta* KRI II 689, 3. [D. 19]

 ASAE 47, 19, 2.⁶⁰ [D. 21]

etymological question has been discussed more recently, but not as thoroughly, by M. Görg (“*mrk* [*Wb* II, 113] = kan. *mlg*,” *GM* 13 [1974], pp. 13–15), who maintained a link with Akk. *mulūgu* and Ug. *mlg* “bride's property” (usually mistranslated as “wedding gift”). G. Vittman's response (*GM* 15 [1975], p. 45) dismisses this far-fetched derivation.

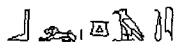
⁵⁷L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privateuten im Museum von Kairo* (CGC) (Cairo: 1911).

⁵⁸*Statuen und Statuetten*, p. 150.

⁵⁹Or perhaps to be read as *ba₂=—r-ka-ta*.

⁶⁰Private stele: A. Hamada, “Statue of the Fan-Bearer (Amen-Mose),” *ASAE* 47, pp. 15–21 and pls. 3–5. The text is problematic: *ink imy-r k3wt n3y lmn-R^c m ltrw Imnty, iw-f m b=—r-ka-ta, iw-i hr <...> i-ir f r-prw, k3yt hr spd-f n pr lmn*. “I was the overseer of works — for those (projects) of Amen-Re^c in Iotru-Amenty, while he/it (the speaker? Amen-Re^c? the town?) was in the pool (or “was a pool” — *m* of predication), and I ... (verb omitted!), it is on account of his keenness for the temple of Amun that he (to whom does this refer?) will make temples and shrines.”

Also written with *g*:

 b=ru₂=ga=ta P. BM 10474 vs. 2, 9.⁶¹ [D. 22]

Miswritten:

 ba₂=—r=ka=ba=ta An. VI 56;
P. Wilbour A 20, 31.⁶² [D. 19]

 ba₂=—r=ka=ba P. Wilbour A 16, 30.

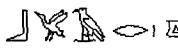
 ba₂=ka=ta P. Wilbour B 15, 12.

**birkáta*, *barkáta*. N. f. “POOL, POND.” Demotic *brkt* “pool,” and the Coptic n. loc. *შეპსიტ*, *Βιθερεσωτ*⁶³ The word occurs in the onomastica among terms for bodies of water, as a place name in P. Wilbour (*Tʒ Bi₄=—r=ka-ta*) and as part of a place name on a wine docket (*KRI II 689: Pr n Imn nty m b=—r=ka-ta*). The context of An. IV is obscure, but in An. VI the term is used of pools used by Edomite bedouin in the Wadi Tumilat. The border patrol reported:

Tw·n grh·n m rdít sš n3 mhwt ššsw n ³A-du=ma p3 htm n Mr-n-Pth-htp-hr-m³t c.w.s. nty <m> Tkw r n3 bi₄=—r=ka=ba=ta [n] Pr-Tm n Mr-n-Pth-htp-hr-m³t ... r s³nh n3y·w i3wt.

We are finished letting the tribe of Edomite bedouin pass by Fort Merneptah-hotpe-hi-ma^cat, l.p.h., which is in Tjeku, to the pools of Pi-Tum [of] Merneptah-hotpe-hi-ma^cat ... in order to keep their flocks alive.

Cf. BH בִּרְכָה; Ug. *brky*, *brkt*;⁶⁴ TA بِرِّيقَةٌ; Ar. بَرْكَة (birka); Old S. Ar. ՚�՚՚ (brkt), all “pond.” As Burchardt noted, the writing appears to indicate a *qatlata* or *qitlata* formation. The Coptic requires the accent to be on the open syllable *ká*, in which the vowel has shifted to [ō]. (H. 62; B. 361; Wb. I 466, 11.) [5]

132.  P. Leiden I 350 2, 4. “TO SPARKLE.” See under .

⁶¹= Gloss. Gol. 1, 9. Herbin, F.-R. “Aménémopé,” *BIFAO* 86 (1986), 197, II, 9.

⁶²The writing no doubt arises from confusion with *mrkbt* “chariot” (no. 189). Cf. the similarity of the two words in Coptic: *შეპსიტ*, *Βιθερεσωτ* “Pond” (a n. loc., with and without the definite article τ) and *შეპсоიტ* “chariot.”

⁶³So Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 343; Vycichl, *Dict. étym.*, 31a.

⁶⁴For the latter, see Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín, *UF* 7 (1975), p. 538.

133. *bi-ra=ga* Med. Habu (476).⁶⁵ [D. 20]

*bi₄-ra=ga*⁶⁶ P. Harris I 58, 8. [D. 20]

bilaga/balaga*. Vb. “TO BE HAPPY, CONTENT.**” In P. Harris I, the king says of an estate: *Grg·i sw m rm_t hr i3wt ṣṣt, wsr·ti, ba₂=-r=ga·ti m nty nb.* “I settled it with people of many professions, it being wealthy and contented with everything.” Cf. BH בְּלָגַה H-stem “to be happy”; Ar. بَلِجَ (*balija*) “to shine; be happy.” The form appears to be derived from the third masc. sing. G-stem *qatala*. The P. Harris example is used as the Egyptian stative (old perfective). (H. 64; B. 363; *Wb.* I 466, 14.) [4]

134. P. BM 10474, vs. 2, 9. “**POOL.**” See under .

135. *bi=ra-ta* Nauri 32.⁶⁷ [D. 19]

Nauri 43.

Nauri 46; 101.

Med. Habu 82, 38. [D. 20]

bi=ra-ta₅ Med. Habu 83, 52.

Possibly also in the PN's:

bi₄=ra-tu₃ Private tomb.⁶⁸ [D. 19]

bi-ru₂-ta O. DeM 155 vs. β, 1).

[D. 19 or 20]

birita*. N. f.(?) “OBLIGATORY SERVICE; TREATY OF SUBMISSION.**” The context of the Nauri Decree indicates that the term designated obligatory service, and not a mutually agreeable contract.⁶⁹ The decree forbids the requisitioning of temple personnel for other service: *m kf^cw m w n w, m brt, m bhw n sk₃, m bhw n*

⁶⁵According to *Wb. Belegstellen*.

⁶⁶Or *ba₂=-r=ga*.

⁶⁷F. Ll. Griffith, “Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri,” *JEA* 13 (1927), p. 193 ff.

⁶⁸F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos* (London: 1925), pl. 31: 2, lower register.

⁶⁹As discussed by M. Görg, “ברית,” pp. 25–36. Görg observed (p. 29) that the “active arm” determinative further supported the notion of obligation.

wȝy ... “through requisition from one district to another, namely through *brt*-service,⁷⁰ to whit, the forced labour of ploughing or the forced labour of harvesting.” In the Medinet Habu texts, the enemy leaders, clearly defeated, call out: *iry-n brt r-hn[“]* “Let us make a *brt* with each other!” (82, 38) Med. Habu 83, 52 recounts that the enemy were so overcome with weakness and cowardice, “that all of them made a *brt*, with [their] tribute [on their backs].” (*ir-w brt r-drw hr inw-[sn hr psd-sn]*.) In both of these cases an official treaty⁷¹ seems to be involved, but hardly one on mutually agreeable terms, as it is for all intents a declaration of defeat. Cf. BH בְּרִית “treaty; covenant”;⁷² Old S. Ar. ⬵ CONTRACT (brt) “contract (?); Akk. *biritu* “link; fetter,” Qatna: *be-ri-tu* “contract.”⁷³ The term that occurs in the Nauri Decree is probably the same word, although it is used in a different context. The word seems to be closely related, if not identical, to the term ⬵ ⬵ ⬵ ⬵ ⬵ (bi₄=r=ya=t, no. 124) “obligatory labour detail,” above. In any case, the two words are probably derived from the same root with the semantic field of “binding.” (B. 365; H. 66; VESO VI B, 13; Wb. I 467, 1.) [5]

136. ⬵ ⬵ ⬵ ⬵ An. I 20, 8. “WELL.” See under ⬵ ⬵ ⬵ ⬵.

137. ⬵ ⬵ ⬵ ⬵ ba=ḥa=-n=ra P. Harris 500 2, 11.⁷⁴ [D. 19]
**bahala*. N.? “SHAME.” The word occurs in the context of a love-sick man’s recovery at seeing his lover. The text reads: *iw-s r ir n̄ n swnw m r* (sic.) *bhnr, hr iw-s rh-ti p̄y-i mr.* “And she will put the physicians to shame, for she knows my sickness.” Helck, perhaps

⁷⁰Following the general schema proposed by Görg, *op. cit.*, p. 30. *Brt* is here used to render *kfw* more precise, and it, in turn, is specified by the term *bhw*.

⁷¹But cf. Görg, *op. cit.*, p. 36, who states: “jeder Anlaß fehlt, eines dieser Verhältnisse als ‘Bund’ oder ‘Vertrag’ zu qualifizieren.”

⁷²Discussed by D.J. McCarthy, S.J., *Treaty and Covenant* (Rome: 1963), p. 105, and n. 26. M. Weinfeld in G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (English, J.T. Willis, tr.) (Grand Rapids: 1975), vol I, pp. 253–79. The latter, deriving the word from a root meaning “to bind,” maintained that obligation and imposition—rather than mutual agreement—were involved.

⁷³Albright, “Making a covenant,” *BASOR* 121 (1951), p. 21ff. The texts are from about the 15th century.

⁷⁴Love poem.

correctly, connected the word with BH בְּחַל “to feel loathing”; Syr. ﻫَلَ (b²hil) “nauseated.” The form and part of speech are somewhat unclear. One possibility is that the *r* preceding the word is the variant of the prefix (*i-*) and that the form is the participle (“one who is ashamed”). It is more likely, however, that one of the prepositions (*m* or *r*) is superfluous. This would yield a simple phrase consisting of preposition plus substantive. (H. 69; B. 367; *Wb.* I 469, 2.) [3]

138. *bi-ša* P. Leiden I 343 vs. 2, 5. [D. 19 or 20]
b-šu₂ P. Leiden I 343, 1, 12.
bi-ša=²u P. Turin B vs. 3, 10.⁷⁵ [D. 19]
bi-ša P. Cairo 58059 4.⁷⁶ [D. 19]
 Gloss. Gol. 3, 4–5. [D. 20–1]
 Hamm. no. 12, 18. [D. 20]
 KRI VI 16, 16. [D. 20]
 Berlin 6764 3–4.⁷⁷ [D. 19]
 Berlin 6764.⁷⁸
 Berlin 6764.⁷⁹
 Berlin 6764.⁸⁰
 H.O. 17 1, II, 1. [D. 18]
bi-ša Hamm. no. 248. [Unknown]
bi-ša P. Turin (P + R) 138, 4.⁸¹ [D. 20]
 P. Leiden 348 vs. 10, 6–7. [D. 19]
**piša.* N. m. “AXE.” Perhaps cf. Coptic “chisel.”⁸² The term

⁷⁵Gardiner, *LEM* 127, 12.

⁷⁶Bakir, *Epistolography*, pl. 7.

⁷⁷Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Vol. 2, p. 306.

⁷⁸Ägypt. Inschr. Berlin, p. 307.

⁷⁹Ägypt. Inschr. Berlin, p. 307.

⁸⁰Ägypt. Inschr. Berlin, p. 307.

⁸¹Formerly P. Turin cat. 1995, and now known as CGC 54052.

⁸²Vycichl (*Dict. étym.*, 281a) connected the Coptic word with Arabic (fa²s)

usually designates a tool for stone working and very often designates the craftsman called *t3y bš* “wielder of the *bš*.” P. Turin B vs. 3, 9-10 reads: *mtw·k dīt ddy sgnn n t3y bi=ša=²u nty hr b3k m n3 bi=n-š=²u m hwt-ntr*. “And you are to have ointment given to the stone-worker(s) who are working on the door-jambs in the temple.” The word designates a weapon in P. Leiden I 343: (1, 12) *t3 Nbt n n3 b-šu₂* “The Lady of the Axes”; (vs 2, 5) *Shm p3y's bi=ša m [...]. Hw·s [...] m bi-[ša]*. “Her axe overpowers the [...]. She smites [...] with the ax[e].” The context of P. Turin (P+R) 138 (a magical text) is somewhat broken, but it clearly refers to a weapon: *[s]jt n bi₄=ša hr hr n s* “the blow of an axe upon the face of a man.” The writing with a stone determinative, however, indicates its alternative use as a stone cutting tool. The word is possibly connected to the rather poorly attested root **p²š*,⁸³ e.g. Ar. سُنْ (fa²s) “axe; hatchet; hoe”; Syr. ܐܸܻܸܻܲܰ (pwst²) “axe”,⁸⁴ Akk. *pāšu* “axe.” If so, the writings suggest that the ²*aleph* was no longer pronounced (as in Akkadian). The writing of P. Turin B could exhibit metathesis of ²*aleph* and ²*sin*, but the group ²*u* could be merely a plural ending.⁸⁵ The representation of Semitic /p/ by Egyptian *b* is not common. (Wb. I 478, 12–13.) [3]

139.  *bi=qa-ya* Doorman statue.⁸⁶ [D. 19]

**biqaya*. Vb. “TO OPEN(?); TO STAY(?)”. The word occurs in the phrase: *Imi mn·(i) hr šms nb·(i) bgy n3w·f c̄wy*. “May I remain in the service of my lord, opening/tending to his doors.” J.J. Clère suggested a connection with either *brg* (attested only in Demotic) or “sémitique *bkk* (בּקּ) ‘fendre, ouvrir’.”⁸⁷ A connection with

“axe”

⁸³ Aistleitner (No. 2288) attempted to associate Ug. *pš₂* with the Akkadian, but this is impossible, since the phoneme sometimes transcribed as *š₂* is, in fact, /d/.

⁸⁴ Possibly a loan from Babylonian. S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago: 1974), p. 82, notes that the relationship between the Semitic words is obscure, but suggests that Arabic and Akkadian are probably cognates.

⁸⁵ *U* instead of the normal *ya* is sporadically attested, cf. *mak=ru₂=²u*, and *n=ha=ru₂=²u* (below).

⁸⁶ J. Clère, “Deux statues ‘gardiennes de porte’ d’Époque Ramesside,” *JEA* 54 (1968), pl. 23, K 2.

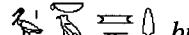
⁸⁷ Clère, “Deux statues,” *JEA* 54, p. 141.

the former is highly unlikely given the time difference and the phonological complications: [r] would have to have changed to [y] and metathesis would be involved. There can be no connection with the root *bqq*, since it never means “to open,” but rather “to be luxuriant,” “to be empty,” and “to gurgle.” If the word means “to open,” as the determinatives suggest, then perhaps the derivation is from the root *fgw*, cf. Ar. *(fajā)* “to open (a door).” Less likely, on account of the determinatives, is a connection with the root *bqy*, e.g. Ar. بقى (*baqiya*) “to remain; maintain.” The translation would then be: “May I remain in the service of my lord, staying (at) his doors,” or perhaps even “tending to his doors.” If correct, this would yield a homosemantic pun involving a pair of words meaning “to remain.” A *hapax*. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

140.  bi-qa-^ca P. DeM 43, 4.⁸⁸ [D. 20]

biqa^ca* or *biq^ca*. N. “GULLY, RAVINE.**” The context is badly broken, but the text is almost certainly a love poem. From the isolated words and phrases that survive, it can be surmized that the following are involved: ointment, flowers, and boating. The immediate context involves a verb of motion and a man is being addressed. In any case, the word seems to have been correctly identified by Y. Koenig⁸⁹ with the root *bq^c*, e.g. BH בְּקָעָה “valley; cleft,” BH בְּקִיעַת “fissures”; Ug. n. loc. *Bq^ct* (^{alū}*Ba-aq-at*⁹⁰); BA בְּקָעָת “plain”; TA بَكْعَاتَةٌ “valley.” Arabic dictionaries cite بَقْعَة (*baq^ca*) “a depression where stagnant water collects,” but the usual meaning (read *buq^ca*) is “blotch; place, site.” A *hapax*. (Not in *Wb.*) [5]

141.  bi-ka-²a P. Harris I 16a, 11. [D. 20]

 bi-ka-²i An. I 23, 7. [D. 19]

bika²a*. N. m. **A TREE AND ITS FRUIT, PERHAPS “PEAR.” In P. Harris I the word occurs along with pomegranates and grapes.

⁸⁸Y. Koenig, “Notes sur un papyrus littéraire fragmentaire P. Deir el-Médineh N° 43,” *Sociétés urbaines en Egypte et au Soudan* 7 (1985), p. 72.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁰C. Virolleaud, “Les villes et les corporations du royaume d’Ugarit,” *Syria* 21 (1940), p. 125, l. 12.

Burchardt, followed by Helck, identified the word with BH בָּקָר; which was formerly translated as “balsam tree.” The connection with the Hebrew word is probably correct, but the meaning remains uncertain. BDB, citing Dozy, identified the Hebrew with Arabic بَكْ (bak^o) “balsam tree,” but this rare Arabic word is not attested outside of lexical materials. Targum Onkelos translates only as נְאֵלָנָא “trees,” and the Vulgate has *pyrus* “pear tree.” Perhaps there is a connection with the Mishnaic Hebrew בָּקָר “a species of pear,” which may, in fact, be identical to BH בָּקָר. As for the Egyptian word, Burchardt and Wb. attempted to distinguish between the two instances, Wb. translating Harris I as “eine grösse Frucht,” and An. I as “Art Baum in Syrien.” The example in P. Harris almost certainly designates a fruit, since it is listed after various fruits and before meats, and the figure 1668 *oipe* seems to be a normal quantity for fruit. The example from An. I gives no indication of the nature of the tree, but it does place it in a Syro-Palestinian context. There does not appear to be any justification for a distinction between the two. (H. 72; B. 374; Wb. I 482, 4–5.) [3]

142. Cairo 597 (statue). PN f. “BLESSING.” See under .

143. Israel St. 11. “Cave.” See under .

144. Thutmose III List I, 97 c.⁹¹ [D. 18]

Thutmose III List I, 111 a. [D. 18]

Thutmose III List I, 111 b, c.

Thutmose III List I, 110 a.

KRI I 12, 9; 12, 12. [D. 19]

Shishak List, no. 16.⁹² [D. 22]

Shishak List, no. 24.

Shishak List, no. 36.

⁹¹ So too, 97a, but the second element is damaged.

⁹² *Bubastite Portal* pl. 4.

- Shishak List, no. 45.
- Shishak List, no. 39.
- bi₄-ta* An. I 22, 4–5.
[D. 19]
- bu-ta* KRI II 180, 2. [D. 19]
- bi-ta₅* KRI I 32, no. 59.
- KRI I 33, no. 23.
- KRI I 29, no. 64 a.
- KRI II 163, no. 39.
- KRI II, no. 28.
- KRI I 32, no. 51; 29 no. 53.
- Thutmose III List I, 110 b,⁹³ c.
- KRI II 177, no. 10.
- Shishak List, no. 124.
- KRI I 32, no. 51.
- KRI I 33, no. 16; 34, no. 16.
- b-{}ta₅* Shishak List nos. 110–12.

Possibly Miswritten in the name of a canal:

- b=n-ta* O. Deir el-Bahri.⁹⁴ [D. 18]

bēta*, *bēt*. N. m. only in n. loc. “HOUSE; CLAN, FAMILY.**”⁹⁵ Cf. the well known Semitic root *byt*, e.g. BH בֵּית, constr. בְּתֵה; Ph. בְּתֵה; Ug. *bt*; Amorite *bītum*; TA بَيْتٌ; Syr. بَيْتٌ (*baytā*); Ar. بَيْتٌ (*baytā*); Old S. Ar. ܚܴܻ (byt); Eth. ܴܻܻ: (*bēt*), constr. ܴܻܻ: (*bēta*); Akk. *bītu* (*bētu*), constr. *bīt*, all “house.” The form is the singular construct.

⁹³The second element is damaged.

⁹⁴W.C. Hayes, “A Selection of of Thutmoside Ostraca from Dêr el-Bahri,” JEA 46 (1960), pl. 9, 4. The writing would reflect a confusion of the words for “daughter” and “house.” Otherwise this n. loc. would have to be considered as containing the PN *Bnt-Šmš*, and should then be listed under no. 120. But note the confusion between “daughter” and “house” in no. 120 (KRI II 924, 8), where the word “daughter” occurs with the house determinative.

⁹⁵The latter meaning is attested in the Shishak List nos. 110–12: *‘a-rū₂=di-²a n bi₄-t-₁ Yu₂=ra-ha-ma* ‘Arad of the House of Jeroham.

Note that the writings clearly indicate that [ay] had contracted, but the uncontracted form, although less common, is also attested, cf. 𐎠 𐎧 𐎢 𐎤 (ba=ya=ta, no. 113). It is possible that the group 𐎧 (ya) sometimes represented an *i*-type vowel, but evidence from a root that does not contain /y/ would add credibility to this conjecture. The names that are known from the Hebrew Bible are: בֵּית שָׁאָן, בֵּית עֲצָת, בֵּית חֹרֶן,⁹⁶ and בֵּית־דְּאַל (B. 382; VESO VI B, 16–18.) [5]

145. 𐎠 𐎧 𐎢 𐎤 or perhaps 𐎠 𐎧 𐎢 𐎤 $ba_2=ta$ or $bi_4=ta$

O. Edinb. 916, 7; 8. [D. 19]

bata* or *bita*. N. pl. **CHARIOT PARTS OR EQUIPMENT. The context indicates that a chariot had or was equipped with more than one of these objects. Since the term occurs in a play on words nothing can be determined of its nature or function. Perhaps cf. the root *byt* “house,” with the specialised meanings of “receptacle” and “holder,” e.g. BH בְּחִים לְבָדִים “rings for poles”; Ar. *(bayt)* “case, box; covering”; Akk. *mašakbītu* “(leather) cases.”⁹⁷ (B. 381; Wb. I 483, 8; Schulman, JSSEA 16, p. 40.⁹⁸) [2]

146. 𐎠 𐎧 𐎤 𐎣 $\xrightarrow{=}$ 𐎠 𐎧 𐎤 𐎣 $bi_2=ti_2$ KRI II 923, 15. [D. 19]

𐎠 𐎧 𐎤 𐎣 $\xrightarrow{=}$ 𐎠 𐎧 𐎤 𐎣 KRI II 923, 13.

𐎠 𐎧 𐎤 𐎣 $\xrightarrow{=}$ 𐎧 𐎣 KRI II 923, 8.

𐎠 𐎧 𐎣 $\xrightarrow{=}$ 𐎧 𐎤 𐎣 $bi_2=ta$ KRI II 752, 8; 756, 11.

bitti*, *bitta*. N. (f.) (only in names) “DAUGHTER**.” Cf. BH בָּת; Ph. בָּתָה; Ug. *bt*; Amorite *bintum*, *bittum*; Ammonite *bt*; TA بَرْتَة (pl. بَرْتَات); Syr. بَرْتَه (barta); Ar. ابْنَة (ibna), بَنْتَ (bint); Old S. Ar. ܟܻܻܻ (bnt), ܟܻܻ (bt). Note that there is assimilation of the *nun* here, but the name of the same woman is attested without assimilation also: ܒܻܻ ܻܻ ܻܻ ܻܻ $\xrightarrow{=}$ ܻܻ ܻܻ ܻܻ ܻܻ (*bi_2=n=ti_2*, no. 120). In both cases, there seems to be an attempt to indicate case endings (unlike the

⁹⁶Thutmose III List I, 97 c, with ?El written in the older orthography.

⁹⁷EA 29, 184: 3 *mašakbītu šurru ḥurasu uḥḥuzu*. “Three (leather) cases that are *šurru* and inlaid with gold.”

⁹⁸Schulman rejects a connection with *byt* and suggests Akk. *putu* “front side,” but only as a “wild guess.”

masculine *bn*). The ending [ti] would be the genitive, and [ta] the accusative. Cf. also the masculine form,    (*bi*=*n*, no. 118). (B. 346.) [5]

147.   “ROD; CUDGEL.” See under   .

148.   “ROD; CUDGEL.” See under   .

149.          *bi*₄-*da*=-*r* P. BM 10403 3, 1; and often.⁹⁹ [D. 20]

         *bi*₄-*da*=-*r*-*ya* An. IV 17, 4. [D. 19]

        *bi*₄-*da*=*ra* P. Mayer A 5, 9.

         *bi*₄-*da*=*na* P. Mayer A 1, 17, etc.¹⁰⁰

         P. Amherst 3, 6.¹⁰¹ [D. 20]

         *bi*-*da*=-*r* P. Mayer A 3, 19

         *bi*-*da*=*na* P. BM 10052 1, 13,¹⁰² and often.¹⁰³ [D. 20]

         P. Mayer A vs. 8, 2.¹⁰⁴

         *b*-*d*-*nu* P. Lansing 7, 2. [D. 20]

         *bi*-*da*=*u* P. BM 10054 vs. 1, 4.¹⁰⁵ [D. 20]

**piṣara?* *pizara?* *piṣala?* N. “STICK; ROD; CUDGEL.” In the tomb robbery papyri, the word occurs in the phrase *smtr m bdr* “to interrogate (a criminal / witness) with a *bdr*.” P. Amherst employs the phrase: *Smty·w m qnqn m bi*₄-*da*=*na*. “They were interrogated by beating with a *bdn*.” In P. Lansing the context involves the beating of an over-taxed farmer by tax collectors: *iw iwyw m-s3·f hr*

⁹⁹E.g. P. Mayer A 2, 17; 3, 2; 3, 10; 3, 12; 3, 16; 4, 1; 4, 13; etc. and P. BM 10403 vs. 3, 1; vs. 3, 10; vs. 3, 15, etc.

¹⁰⁰P. Mayer A 1, 21; 2, 10; vs. 8, 7.

¹⁰¹Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 5.

¹⁰²Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 25.

¹⁰³E.g. P. BM 10052 1, 17; 3, 20; 4, 4; 4, 11; 4, 18; 5, 8.9.10.12, etc.; P. Mayer A 2, 1; 2, 15.

¹⁰⁴KRI VII 460, 3.

¹⁰⁵Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 7.

ša-b-d, *Nhsyw hr b=d-nu*. “And the attendants are after him with staves, and the Nubians with *bdn*.” If the word is of Semitic origin, perhaps cf. BH פְּצַר “to press, urge.” Also possible is a connection with TA פִּנְדָּא “whip or stick (to drive off intruders),” which probably derives from the meaning “disperser,” as Hebrew פֹּרֶר (and בָּזֵר) means “to scatter.” The occurrence of both *r* and *n* as the third consonant strongly suggest that the consonant in question was pronounced [l] regardless of its phonemic origin. A connection with the root *slp* “to whip” is possible, if there is metathesis. If so, cf. MH, Mod. Heb. הַפְלִיָּה H-stem “to whip,” Mod. Heb. פְלִקְעָה “fly swatter”; TA פְּלִיקָּא A-stem “to whip.” (B. 395; *Wb.* I 489, 1.) [2]

□

150. *pu₂-r* H.O. 29 2 vs. 3, etc.¹ [D. 19 or 20]

pu₂-r-ya H.O. 31 1, vs. II, 2; 5. [D. 20]

pu₂-r=²a An. IV 15, 11. [D. 19]

Probably also as PN:

*pu₂=rin*² P. Wilbour A 59, 5. [D. 20]

**pūla* N. pl. “BEANS.” Coptic *Bφeλ* “bean.”³ The word occurs in a list of grains and legumes (An. IV 15,11), and in more general lists including foodstuffs (O. Oxford QC; H.O. 85,1; O. Turin 57146). Cf. BH פּוֹל; Ph. כְּל; TA פּוֹלָא; Ar. فُول (*fūl*); Eth. ፊል: (*fūl*), all “beans.” The name in P. Wilbour is almost certainly related as it is written with the cereal determinative. The Queen’s College and An. IV examples have the plural ending [ya], but the P. Wilbour name is apparently a plural with nunation. (H. 74; B. 407; *Wb.* I 531, 12; *PN* II 286, 4.) [5]

151. *p=r-hu* P. Leiden I 350 2, 7.⁴ [D. 19]

p=r-ḥu P. Ch. Beatty V 6, 8. [D. 19]

p=r-ḥi An. V 7, 5.⁵ [D. 19]

Perhaps also:

O. Cairo 25218 (+ O. Lit. DeM 1266), 8.⁶

¹H.O. 85 1, rt. 11; O. Turin 57146 7.

²This is a women’s name, in spite of the seated man determinative. The second group derives from **rin* “name.”

³The Coptic can be reconstructed as [phel] ⇔*[pul] ⇔*[púla], as also noted (with some differences) by J. Osing (*Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* [Mainz: 1976], vol. 2, p. 380, n. 60). With the loss of the final vowel, the vowel in the resulting closed syllable was presumably shortened. The development from short [u] to short [e] was demonstrated by Albright *VESO*, p. 16.

⁴J. Zandee, *OMRO*, 28 (1947), pl. 2.

⁵= P. Ch. Beatty V 6, 8.

⁶The context is broken, and the word is possibly damaged.

**paraha?* Vb. “TO BLOSSOM; SPROUT; UNFURL.” The Leiden text, a hymn to Amun, states that at the sun’s appearance all trees sway, *gʒbw·sn prḥ*, “their leaves unfurled.” The Ch. Beatty V and An. V contexts leave little doubt about the meaning. It appears that the speaker is addressing the summer, playfully contrasting the pleasures of the country with the miseries of the soldier (An. V): *I3w·tw iw ssn prḥ, iw wrd dn<ḥ>, iw·tw hr hʒc pʒ mʒc r tʒ sht.* “You are praised when the lotus blossoms, when the *wrd*-bird⁷ is taken by the wing, and when the army is thrown into the fields.”⁸ Cf. BH פָרַח; TA فَرَّخ “to bud, sprout”; Ar. فُرْخ (*farraha*) “to hatch; sprout”; Eth. ፳.፻.፭: (*farha*) “to sprout.” Černý (*Ety. Dict.* 128) identified the very late word *prš* “to spread out” with **paraha*. *Prš*, however, is more likely related to the Semitic root *prš*, e.g. BH שְׁפָרֵשׁ “to spread out,” and resulted in Coptic Σιωρψ “to spread.”⁹ The use of group writing is minimal in all the examples. The vocalic endings [u] and [i] may reflect a vocalization based on that of the Semitic nominal forms, rather than a *qatala*. The word is probably used as the Egyptian stative (old perfective) in the P. Leiden, An. V, and P. Ch. Beatty texts. (H. 75; B. 410; *Wb.* I 532, 7–11.) [5]

152.  *p=r=ḥ* P. Turin Cat. 1966 1, 5.¹⁰ [D. 20]
 *p=r=ḥ* O. Cairo 25218 (+ O. Lit. DeM 1266), 23.
[D. 19 or 20]
 O. Univ. College 2 vs., 8.¹¹ [D. 19]

⁷The type of bird is unknown, but there may be a play on words with *wrd* “languid.” The description evokes the pleasant scenes of boating and fowling in the marshes frequently depicted in Egyptian tombs.

⁸The third modifying clause is intentionally jarring after the happy beginning. The rest of the short piece involves similar twists: the sun (usually divine) becomes the “abomination of people” and overwhelms the soldier in the way that the inundation (Haṣpy, also divine and usually connoting fertility and wealth) drowns mice. In the final twist that brings us full circle, the soldier is described as one of the birds caught by the wings.

⁹This was also noted by W.A. Ward, “Lexicographical Miscellanies II,” *SAK* 9 (1981), p. 362. Westendorf (*Kopt. HWb.*, 153), and Vycichl (*Dict. étym.*, 164) connected ΣΙΩΡΨ with *p-r-ḥ* and פָרַח.

¹⁰E. Scamuzzi, *Egyptian Art in the Egyptian Museum of Turin* (New York: 1964), pl. 89.

¹¹W. Spiegelberg, “Hieratic Ostraka from Thebes,” *Ancient Egypt* (1914), p. 110.

p=r-hu P. Turin Cat. 1966 1, 8.¹² [D. 20]

KRI IV 30, 6. [D. 19]

And with f. sing. definite article as PN f., with metathesis:

P=hi=r KRI VI 193, 14–15. [D. 20]

pirħa* ? N. “BLOSSOM; SPROUT.**” The context of P. Turin Cat. 1966, a love poem, is broken, but the phrase in 1, 5 reads: [...] *ħj*^c *prħ*. “the [...] sends forth a blossom.” The reading of 1, 8 is not certain, but seems to be: *N[ʒ]y·s 's[ʒ]bd* *m ssn prħw n* [...] J. “Her ‘staves’ are lotuses and the blossoms of [...].” The immediate context of O. Cairo 25218, which contains a love poem, is broken, but the word appears to be a plural noun. The text of KRI IV 30 refers to a temple and its grounds: *dgħ·tw*¹³ *m šnw nb bñr stħn m ha-ru₂-ru₂ nʒy·s ksmw hr ssny, prħw, iṣy* ... “it being planted with all sorts of fruit trees which are radiant with flowers, and its gardens having lotuses, blossoms, rushes ...” Cf. the previous entry, and esp. BH פָּרָח “bud, sprout”; Deir Ḥallā אַפְּרָח “offspring”; Ug. *prħ* “blossom,” ? *pr^c* “shoot”;¹⁴ TA פָּרָח “blossom, flower”; Ar. فَرْج (farħ) “sprout.” The *i*-vowel of the PN may be misplaced, or perhaps the signs are to be read out of order (graphic transposition) as *pi=r-ħ(a)*. (H. 75; B. 410; Wb. I 532, 7–11.) [5]

153. *pa=-r-ša* An. IV 9, 6. [D. 19]

p=r-šu P. Sallier I 6, 6.¹⁵ [D. 19]

P. Lansing 7, 3. [D. 20]

p=r-š-{t} An. V 16, 7. [D. 19]

parata?* Vb. “TO SPLIT OPEN; TEAR.**” The word occurs in the context of beatings, and the parallel text to An. IV has the variant (*ph3*) “to split open.” The word is attested in two basic expressions: (An. IV 9, 6) *sħt n pa=-r-ša dd <hr> inħwy·f(y)* “a splitting blow is dealt to his brow,” and (P. Sallier I 6, 6) *ħw·sn m*

¹²Scamuzzi, *Egyptian Art*, pl. 89.

¹³The stative (old perfective).

¹⁴Parallel to *śblt* “ear of grain.”

¹⁵Parallel to An. V 16, 7 and P. Lansing 7, 3.

prš “they strike, splitting (as they do so).”¹⁶ Several etymologies have been suggested. Helck wanted to see a connection with the root *plš*, e.g. Akk. *palāšu*¹⁷ “to dig, break through (a wall).” This root, however, does not seem likely on semantic grounds, as it is usually linked with earth and mud-brick. In MH, however, the verb is used in the D-stem to mean “perforate” in the context of wounds. Ward tried to identify the word with the Akkadian *parāsu* “to divide,” which is unlikely on phonological grounds, Semitic /s/ being represented by Egyptian *ȝ* and never by *š*. The word may, however, be related to the root(s) *prt* or *prs*¹⁸ with the basic meaning of “pierce.” This root may be attested once in BH: וְכִצְפָּנָן יִפְרַשׁ “and it pierces/stings like an adder.” (Prov. 23:32.) The root *prt* yields several words suited to the context of beatings: TA פְּרַשׁ “to divide, crush,” D-stem “to dismember”; لَفَّ (*p̥rat*) “to divide, pierce,” D-stem “to tear, lacerate.” It is possible that there is a connection with the Arabic فَرَسْ (*farasa*) “to tear (prey)” (said of predatory animals).¹⁹ The word appears to be a *qatala* form and is used as an infinitive. (H. 77; B. 413; *Wb.* I 533, 1.) [3]

154.  pa₂=ra-ku O. lit. DeM 1222 vs. 3. [D. 20]

**baqaru*. N. coll. “CATTLE.” The word occurs in a somewhat broken context, in an encomium of Ramses III. The immediate context (vs. 3–4) involves bringing tribute from a foreign land whose name ends with *-rw*,²⁰ very likely *H3rw* (Syria-Palestine): [...]rw, hr pa-ra-ku. In-f p3 hd wcb. [‘W3h’]f st r rwty m3t, p3 sb3 n ȝwnw šm. “[...from Sy]ria, with cattle. He will bring the pure silver, [and ...]; he will ['lay'] them down at the Portals of Truth, the Gate of Southern Heliopolis.”²¹ The word was identified

¹⁶P. Lansing reads *hw-tw-f m pršw* “He is beaten with splitting,” but the expression is identical.

¹⁷Which he did not cite.

¹⁸The root *prš* is probably distinct. Examples presumably from this root may be found in the entry for *³as-ba--r* “whip” (no. 28).

¹⁹The Arabic word, however, may be from an original *prs*. If so, it may be connected with the entry *pa₂=-r-ȝi* “laceration” (no. 155).

²⁰Followed by the throw stick and foreign land determinatives.

²¹Because of the lacunae, the rendering is tentative, and the relationship and nature of the clauses may be quite different. It is also possible that the tense was past, rather

with *brk* “gifts” by G. Posener,²² but the determinative indicates that oxen or cattle were meant. Furthermore, parallel to this passage we have in vs. 1–2: [...] *Ina=t* (with foreign land determinative) *iy·tw hr ng3·s, p3y·s nbw* [...], *w3h st r p3 hft-hr n W3st, Ipt-swt*. “[A foreign land, or someone therefrom] has come with her long-horn cattle, her gold (and) [her ...], and they are laid down before Karnak Temple, Thebes.” The word, *p3=ra-ku*, standing parallel to *ng3* (“long-horn cattle”),²³ is therefore much more likely to be associated with the root *bqr*:²⁴ BH בָּקָר “cattle, ox-herd”; Ph. בְּקָר “cattle”; TA بَقْرَاءُ “herd”; Syr. سَعْيَ (baqrā) “cattle”; Ar. بَقَرٌ (*baqar*) “cattle”; Old S. Ar. بَقَرٌ (*bqr*) “cattle.” If the identification is correct then there is metathesis of the second and third radicals, and the /b/ has been devoiced in the initial position. The *k/q* interchange is not common, but it seems to occur elsewhere. Since *ng3* designates a specific type of cattle, it is possible that *pa-ra-ku* was particularized by the Egyptians to refer to a specific breed of (foreign) cattle, although it would have been a generic term in the source language. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

paraši?*. N.? Vb.? “LACERATION (?)**” The word occurs in the following context: (“You take up your bow,”) *Iry·k prt hr smh·k* “you make a *prt* on your left hand.” There are several possible etymologies. Helck suggested a connection with the root *prs*, e.g. BH פְרַס “break (bones); divide”; Ug. in Akk. transcription *pu-ru-s[ā?-tu₄?]* “division?”;²⁵ Amorite *prs* “to break off”; TA פְרַס “split, break”; Ar. فَرَس (*farasa*) “to tear, break”; Akk. *parāsu* “to split, divide.” This etymology is phonologically unimpeachable, but semantically it is questionable. It almost certainly does not refer to a bone fracture. It could, however, refer to the main hazard to the bow hand, the painful slap of the string and thus perhaps

than prospective.

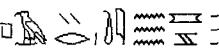
²²G. Posener, *apud* B. Couroyer, "Brk," *Revue Biblique* 85 (1987), p. 584, n. 54.

²³Before a precious metal and a missing commodity.

²⁴The root is apparently cognate with Indo-European *PAK-/PAG-*, cf. Latin *pecus*, *pecoris* “cattle.”

²⁵Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, pp. 28–29, no. 462.

meaning “split (the skin),” even if this is somewhat hyperbolic. A derivation from the root *pls*, e.g. BH פָלַ “to shudder” is semantically attractive. The sentence would then read, “you tremble in your left hand.” The main problem with this derivation is the correspondence between Egyptian *t* and Semitic /s/, which is not clearly attested. Fischer-Elfert²⁶ proposed the meaning “to draw (a bow),” but did not suggest an etymology. This meaning is almost impossible since, assuming right-handedness, the string is drawn with the right hand; the left holds the bow. The word formation is uncertain, the writing could be for **parasa*, a *qatala* form, but it could be a nominal formation. The syntax is equally unclear: it could be an infinitive in a periphrastic construction, or, more likely, it could simply be a noun. (H. 76; B. 418; *Wb.* I 533, 2.) [2]

156.  pa=ha=-r=ta An. III 2, 7. [D. 19]

baharta*; *bahalta*? N. **BODY OF WATER. The context does not aid very much. The text deals with fish in various bodies of waters, both fresh and presumably salt (cf. the entry *b=c=r*, no. 114). The text reads: *b3ry šbnw hr b3g3, [... Jn n pa=ha=-r=ta* “various *b3ry*-fish along with *b3g3*-fish and [... *Jn*-fish of the *phrt*.” None of the fish have been identified. Perhaps cf. the root *bhl*, e.g. BH בְּהַל (N-stem) “to hurry”; TA بَهَلْ “to be hasty”; Syr. ﺏِهَلْ (*b²hel*) “be quiet.”²⁷ Another possibility is the root *bhr*, e.g. BH בְּחִרְתָּה “bright spot (on skin)”; MH בְּהָרָה (H-stem) “to make clear,” (D-stem) “to shine brightly”; TA بَهَرْ (Š-stem) “to shine”; Ar. بَهَرَ (*bahara*) “to glitter.” A hapax. (H. 79; B. 420; Gardiner, *JEA* 5, 185, n. 14; *Wb.* I 533, 6.) [2]

157.  pa=ga An. IIIA 7; An. IV 16, 6. [D. 19]

qappa*? N. pl. **“CHEST, COFFER(?)” The word occurs in the following passage: *pa=ga nfrw n ³mr, iw n³y·sn m³wt n mry, iw·w mḥ m b3k Kdy, n³y·sn h³wty m ins* “fine *pa=ga* from Amurru, their carrying poles being of *mry*-wood, inlaid (in the manner of) Kedi

²⁶Fischer-Elfert, *Anastasi I*, pp. 196–98.

²⁷The Syriac indicates an interesting semantic development along very different lines.

handiwork, and with red linen ends.”²⁸ These objects are thus made of quality materials and are finely crafted in Syria using North Syrian techniques. Burchardt, followed by Helck, translated “Stock,” but this does not seem to fit the context.²⁹ The red linen at the front (ends) may refer to padding on the poles. The word is possibly related to Ug. *qpt* “basket(?)”; MH **הַקְפִּתָּה** “basket; large vessel”; Imp. Aram. **קְפָחָא** “basket”; TA **אֲפָחֵד** (n. m.) “tub; large vessel”; Syr. **ܩܻܹܻܻ** (*quppatā*) “bag”; Ar. **قَفْفَة** (*quffa*) “large basket”; Eth. **ቀፋ**: (*qafō*) “large basket”; Akk. *quppu* “a large wicker basket or wooden chest; a box for silver and precious objects; coffer, cash box.”³⁰ The word is, however, possibly closer in meaning to TA **אֲפָחֵד**, **קְפִּתָּה** “carrying pole”; Syr. **ܩܻܹܻܻ** (*quppā*) “carrying pole; palanquin,” which presumably derive from the same root. If this etymology is correct, the word exhibits metathesis. (H. 81; B. 427; *Wb.* I 563, 6.) [3]

158. ☰ ܐ ܐ ܐ *p=d=—r* P. D’Orbigny 4, 6.³¹ [D. 19]

patil* N. “BANDAGES.**” The text reads: *Wn·in·s hr in ‘dw pdr, iw·s hr hpr mi nty qnqn·ti n ‘dʒ*. “Then she got some grease and *p=d=—r* and pretended to be a battered woman.” The word has usually been identified with the Hebrew **פֶּדֶר** “suet,” but since we already have a word meaning “grease,” “suet” would be redundant. A stronger argument against “suet” is the string determinative, which suggests that the word designated an item of cloth or fibre. A possible etymology exists in the Semitic root *ptl*, cf. Hebrew **פְּתִיל** “cord”; TA **אֲפְלָעָה** “cord, wick”; Syr. **ܚܻܻܻ** (*petal*) “to twist,” **ܚܻܻܻܻܻ** (*petlūlā*) “string”; Ar. **فَتَلَّا** (*fatala*) “to wind, weave,” **فَتِيل** (*fatil*) “something wound; gauze tampon”; Eth. **ፈተል**: (*fatil*) “cord, string”; Akk. *patālu* “twist,” *pitiltu* “rope; material for making mattresses.” Two possible routes of development from the semantic field of “plying fibres” can be suggested:

²⁸Presumably it was the carrying poles which were inlaid and fitted with red linen, but perhaps it was the chest.

²⁹Černý’s etymology of *noṣe* (*Ety. Dict.*, p. 133) is extremely dubious, as *pa-ga* does not denote “pieces of wood.”

³⁰The word is widely attested from Old Babylonian on.

³¹The tale of the Two Brothers.

- Plying fibres ⇒ winding fibres ⇒ winding cloth ⇒ bandages.
- Plying fibres ⇒ weaving fibres ⇒ woven material ⇒ bandages.

(H. 84; B. 434; *Wb.* I 566, 10.) [4]

- 159.**   *p=d=r* P. Harris I 16a, 8, etc.³² [D. 20]
  P. Harris I 7, 5; 14, 5.

**paṭila?* N. A SACK, OR MEASURE. The container was used for grapes and pomegranates, and the determinative indicates that it was made of wicker or other fibre. Perhaps cf. the MH פְּטַלֵּה “a wicker bale for dates and figs.”³³ The word is not attested outside of Mishnaic Hebrew. (B. 435; *Wb.* I 566, 11.) [2]

³²P. Harris I 16a, 10; 19b, 14; 65b 8 and 10; 71b, 8.

³³This identification was also suggested by Wintermute (Thesis), p. 175. However, his attempt to connect both the Hebrew and Egyptian words to the root פְּתַל is not convincing.



160. *ma₅=²u=-r=ta* An. IV 15, 10. [D. 19]

**ma²urta*. N. (f.?) A FOOD. The word occurs in a list of foodstuffs after pigeons, honey, goose fat, cream and milk, and before ²*a₂=ku*, beans, lentils, and peas. It seems to belong to the latter group of grains and legumes. The word is not likely related to Ar. مِرَة (mīra) “provisions,” since this is a generic term and a particular item is expected from the context. TA מַלְמָה “acorns (used in tanning)” is also unlikely, since it is isolated and not very appropriate in a list of foodstuffs. Although no etymology can be suggested, the ending looks Semitic. (H. 85; B. 449; Wb. II 46, 11.) [1]

161. *mu₃=^cid* Wenamun 2, 71. [D. 21]

**mô^cid*. N. m. “ASSEMBLY.” The context provides little information about the function of the *m^cd*: *iw·f dit* ^cš *tw n p³y·f mu₃=^cid*, *iw·f* ^ch^c *m-hnw·w*, *iw·f dd* <*n3* *Ti-ka-ru₂*... “And he had his *m^cd* summoned, and he stood among them, and he said to the Tjeker people ...” The assembly was present during the prince’s deliberations, but their role is not specified. Cf. the root *w^cd/y^cd*, e.g. BH מֹעֵד “assembly”; Ug. *m^cd* “assembly, meeting”; Deir ^cAllâ¹ מֹעֵד “assembly (of the gods)”; TA מֹעֵד אֶתְנָה “appointment”; Ar. موعد (*maw^cid*) “appointment.” The second group, the word meaning “cultivation-desert edge,” is here vocalized [^cid] mainly because it would correspond to the Hebrew and Arabic forms, which have *i*-type vowels in the second syllable. Evidence from Coptic seems to support this reading: Βεατ, ιατ, Φαετ (“end, farthest part”) indicates the presence of an *i*-vowel.² The diphthong *[aw] of the first syllable has resolved to [ô], as also in Ugaritic. (H. 90. Not in B., Wb.) [5]

¹This dialect exhibits some features of Old Aramaic and others of Hebrew and Canaanite, according to Garr, *Dialect Geography*, p. 229.

²The word *qd* meaning “fat” descended into Coptic as SBωτ.



162.     *man-nu₂* H.O. 88, 7. [D. 19 or 20]

manū*. N. “MANEH, MINA**” (A WEIGHT). The context clearly requires a weight: *hd dbn 10, nbw man-nu₂ 2* “ten *deben* of silver, two *mina* of gold.” The word is used exactly as if it were an Egyptian measurement. It was identified by Burchardt with BH **מןָה**; BA **מיןָה**; Syr. **لِمَدْنَى** (*manyā*); Akk. *manū*, all “maneh.” (H. 87; *VESO IX C*, 2; B. 452) [5]

163.     *ma=-n=ªa=t_a* Doomed Prince 8, 7. [D. 19]

maªanta?* *manªata?* N. f. “PROPERTY, ESTATE**.” The word occurs in the following context: *Wn·in pʒ šri hr pr r swtwt [r] sdʒyt m tʒyf ma=-n=ªa=t_a*. “Then the young man went out for a walk [as] a diversion in/on his *mnªt*.” The word appears, at least from the ending, to be Semitic, but no etymology has been heretofore suggested. Perhaps cf. the root *‘wn* “to dwell,” e.g. BH **מַנְחָה** “dwelling place”; MH **רַעֲשָׁה** “residence”; Ph. **מַעֲלָה** “temple”; Old S. Ar. **هَوَاف** (*mªn*) “dwelling.” This assumes metathesis of *‘ayin* and *n*. Another possibility is that the word is related to the root *mn* “to hold back” and means “fortress.” Cf. the Ar. **مَنَاعَة** (*manāªa*) “to be strongly fortified, impregnable.”³ Less likely is a connection with the root *nwḥ* “to rest,” e.g. BH **מַנְחָה** “resting place”; Ar. **مَنْجَنَّة** (*munāªah*) “resting place.” Egyptian *‘ayin* for Semitic /h/ is not very likely. If, however, the root of the word for beetle *pšyt* (no. 72) is in fact *hnpś* (as in Arabic), then this becomes a very attractive etymology. (H. 88; *Wb.* II 79, 2.) [3]

164.       *ma=-n=--r=wa-su₂* H.O. 43 1, 10. [D. 20]

marwasu?* N. pl. “NEST**.” The word occurs in the phrase: *ma=-n=--r=wa-su₂ n ʒpdw m ht* “the nests of the birds are in the trees.” Helck translated “Nistplatz” (“breeding-place”), but this seems a little too broad. His suggested connection with **שִׁיר** is

³This meaning would not be inappropriate to the prince’s house, since he is virtually held captive in order to avoid his fates, but at this point in the story the prince goes outside. Furthermore, if this is the sense, one might have expected as determinative either the arm/man with stick or fortification wall.

impossible, as this root always means “to be poor.”⁴ The word might be related to the root *ryš*, e.g. Ar. راش (*rāša*) “to provide with feathers, to feather a nest.” The root is not well attested in other languages. The word, in any case, is a noun built with the *mem*-preformative. (H. 89.) [2]

165. man-*h*-{*t*}-*ta* P. Sallier I 4, 1; 4, 2. [D. 19]

man-*h*-*ta* RAD 31, 4.⁵ [D. 19]

manhata*. N. f. (?) “GIFT, TRIBUTE.**” The word occurs in the following contexts: (P. Sallier I 4, 1) *Y₃ iₗ p₃y·k tm dít in·tw man-ḥ-{t}-ta r msi n Pr-^c₃ c.w.s.* “Why is it that you have not had a *mnht* brought for presentation to Pharaoh, l.p.h.?” (4, 2) *Imi in·tw man-ḥ-{t}-ta wnn t₃y·i šct hr spr r·k, iw·k hr dít in·tw w^c n man-ḥ-{t}-ta nfrt sp sn m ib, ḥnw, shwt ʒpd hr symnty iw·sn r nʒ wsht pr nsw c.w.s.* “Have a *mnht* brought as soon as my letter reaches you, and you shall have a very fine *mnht* brought, consisting of kids, goats, birds’ eggs, and vegetables, which will be for the hall of the palace, l.p.h.” The context of the *RAD* example is less clear: *[r]dít m ʒtp r p₃ ka=—r n man-ḥ-ta* “placed as cargo on the *kṣr*-ship of *mnht*.” The word was associated by Burchardt with BH מַנְחָה; Ph. ΜΑΝΗ; Ug. *mnḥ*, *manahātu*;⁶ BA מַנְחָה; TA مَنْحَةٌ; Ar. منحة (*minha*); Eth. ማହାନ୍: (*mahanā*), all “gift,” “tribute,” or “offering.” Albright wanted to derive the word from the root *nhy* “to lead; head for (a destination),” but this is uncertain.⁷ The *a*-vowel in the first syllable is quite expected. The [a] ⇒ [i] shift, which regularly occurred in closed unaccented syllables (especially the first) was a later development. (H. 91; B. 455; *VESO* XII B, 2; *Wb.* II 84, 11.) [5]

166. man-*nu*-*sa* An. IV 13, 6. [D. 19]

manusa*. N. **TYPE OF SCRIBE. The word occurs in the phrase *sš man-*nu*-*sa**, in a text dealing with life in Syria-Palestine, but

⁴Perhaps Helck had שָׁרֵי “to take possession of” in mind, but the sense is still not very suitable.

⁵Gurob frag. L, 2, 11.

⁶Cuneiform text from Ugarit, W.F. Albright, (Review), *BASOR* 146 (1957), p. 35.

⁷*VESO*, p. 53.

nothing is said about the person or his occupation. The determinative suggests that the word referred to a particular type of document. Perhaps cf. the root *nš²/nšy*, e.g. BH נִשְׁׁמָה “claim on a debt,” חַנְׁשָׁמָה “secured loan”; Mod. Heb. חַנְׁשָׁמָה “loan”; Punic מְשָׁמָה “payment”; Ar. نَسِيْنَةٌ (*nasi²a*) “sale on credit.” If this derivation is correct, then the term perhaps designated scribes who were skilled in drawing up this type of document, or perhaps those who were authorized to do so. One could tentatively translate “loan clerk.” (*Wb.* II 88, 15.) [2]

167. = *man-nu₂-ta* Turin Necropolis Journal.⁸ [D. 20]

**manuta?* N. f. PART OF GRANITE SARCOPHAGUS OR PART OF TOMB. The word occurs in the context of an inspection of Queen Isit's tomb by the vizier and other officials: *iw·sn wn p³y·s hr, iw·sn gm p³ inr n m³tiw iw·sn iry-p³ 8 it³-wšwš·f m t³ man-nu₂-ta, iw iry·w 3q³ n bin m p³ nty nb im, iw iry·w wšwš p³ 3 imnty / ... J.* “And they opened her tomb and they found the (red) granite stone, they—the 8 thieves—having smashed it in the *mnt*, and they had badly damaged everything there, and they had smashed the western door.” Isit's tomb⁹ contained only one known item of granite, the red granite sarcophagus, which has been destroyed.¹⁰ The “western door” must be that of the side chamber opening off the burial chamber.¹¹ The phrase *m t³ ma-nu₂-ta* “in the *mnt*” could refer to either a part of the sarcophagus (perhaps lid) or a location within the tomb (the burial chamber).¹² Since the word is feminine and ends in *ta*, it may be Semitic. No convincing etymology can, however, be proposed. (*Wb.* II 82, 8.) [1]

⁸Year 17, B8, 9. G. Botti and T.E. Peet, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe* (Turin: 1928), pl. 1–7.

⁹PM I, pt. 2, p. 756, no. 51.

¹⁰J.-F. Champollion noted: “second corridor: il a servi de grande salle funéraire, on y trouve encore les débris du sarcophage en granite rose, grossièrement sculpté. (*Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, Notes descriptives* [Paris: 1864, Geneva reprint 1973], vol. I, p. 390.)

¹¹PM I, pt. 2, p. 750, no 51, room with scenes 10–12.

¹²Although unexpected, a royal burial chamber could bear a Semitic name, cf. *wsht ma=—r-ki(?)=ba=ta* “Chariot Hall” of P. Turin Cat. 1885 vs. 7.

168.            *ma=—n-ta-di* An. IV 17, 2–3. [D. 19]

*? N. pl. **CHARIOT EQUIPMENT, PERHAPS “WHIP LASHES.”** The word occurs in a list of goods associated with chariots including whips, staves, sticks, batons, etc. The *mntd* are said to be from Reḥob. Helck’s suggested etymology from  “to tear down” should probably be rejected on semantic grounds. F. Junge correctly noted¹³ that the phonemes are incompatible in native Egyptian roots, but states that in the Semitic, after /t/ only /s/ would be compatible, and therefore accepts Helck’s identification. The matter is not, however, so simple. Egyptian *t* can represent Semitic /d/ and /t/, and, in the Semitic languages, infixes *t* is compatible with almost all dentals and sibilants.¹⁴ The word is almost certainly identical to          *ma-ta-di₄=²u* “whip lashes” (no. 233). That word apparently exhibits assimilation of a presumed root letter *nun*. Although quite difficult, perhaps a link to the Aramaic word  “whip” should not be entirely ruled out. Phonologically, Egyptian *n* for Semitic /r/ is difficult, but cf. Egyptian ³*a₂-h-n=nu* (no. 25) perhaps for Semitic /²hr/. Aramaic uses *q* and later *ayin* to represent the reflex of original /²d/. The root has as its semantic field “stinging,” but its phonology, even within the Semitic family, is quite problematic. It seems to be related to BH צָרָעַ whence צָרָעָה “hornets,” the Aramaic counterpart being טְרִיקְיָא “hornets.”¹⁵ (H. 92; B. 458; *Wb.* II 91, 16.) [2]

169.            *ma=—n-tu=ha-ta* H.O. 86 1, vs. II, 4. [D. 20]

manus s̄ ahata*. Vb. in PN f. **“THE EXILE; ABANDONED WOMAN.” The name is almost certainly a D-stem feminine singular passive participle. The *u* of the group *tu*, although misplaced, is characteristic of the passive. The root, however, is less

¹³LÄ III, p. 323.

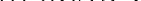
¹⁴Of course, in Hebrew it assimilates the emphatic articulation of [š] and results in [t].

¹⁵For this root see *da=—r=^cu*, no. 591. Aramaic *t* for Hebrew *s* is a regular correspondence of original */t/. The main phonological difficulty with the relationship between the Hebrew and Aramaic is that Hebrew *ayin* should not correspond to Aramaic *q*. Additionally, if one reconstructs from Hebrew and Aramaic, one is left with the impossible root ***trd*. The phonological relationship may be quite complex on both sides, involving mutation and dissimilation.

certain. Although a connection with the root *nsh* is tempting (cf. BH נָסַע “to uproot (people)”; Imp. Aram. נָסַע “to uproot (people),” TA نَسَعْ D-stem “to exile.”), evidence from Arabic (نَسَحَ *nasaha* “to replace”) and Akkadian (*nasāhu* “to expel, deport”) indicates that the final radical was /h/ and not /ħ/, and Egyptian *h* for Semitic /ħ/ is exceedingly rare (but cf. *hri*, no. 323). It is possible that the root involved is a by-form from the root *ns^c*. It could even be connected to Hebrew נָזַל “to abandon, reject,” if the root is */dnh/. The name may be related to the verb נָזַל בְּנֵי אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד “to desert” (na=tzⁱl=’a, no. 265). For a semantic parallel, cf. פָּנִיתָה עֲזֹבָה PN f. “she who is abandoned.” (B. 459; *PN* II 290, 14.) [3]

170.  ma₄=-n=da=ta KRI IV 6, 9. [D. 19]

mandatta*. N. (f.) “TAX, GIFTS, TRIBUTE?**” The word occurs in the following phrase: (long lacuna) *ht:f mn̄dt:f h̄d:f nbw:f hn̄w:f* “his things, his *mn̄dt*, his silver, his gold, his utensils ...” Helck’s association of this word with the Akk. *mandattu* “tribute, compensation,” is probably correct, but the exact meaning of the word is elusive. Cf. also the BA מִנְדָּה “tribute, tax.” There is also one attestation in BH: מַדֵּת הַמֶּלֶךְ “royal tribute” (Neh. 5:4). If this identification is correct, the determinative suggests that the tax or tribute must have consisted largely of objects made of precious metals. Perhaps the sense of the passage is that Pharaoh took not only his enemy’s personal possessions (*ht:f*), but also the tax or tribute (*mn̄dt:f*) that he was to receive. The word is East Semitic. Cf. the West Semitic equivalent under *mtn* (*ma₄-ta₅=n*, no. 235). (H. 93; B. 461; Wb. II 92, 10.) [4]

171.  *ma-n-d-q-ta* *RAD* 34, 13.¹⁶ [D. 19 or 20]

¹⁷ An. IV 12, 11; An. V 4, 1. [B. 19]

¹⁸**mansiata*, N. f. "LARGE VESSEL," Demotic *mda*. The *mdat*

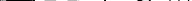
¹⁶Guroh Frag. Z. vs. 2.

17 = An. IV 12 11

¹⁸Janssen, *Prices*, p. 347: "a large and quite common container of roughly 50 hin" (ca. 25 litres).

often contained beer,¹⁹ but also honey²⁰ and cream or curds (*smi*).²¹ The word has long been connected to the root *ysq* “to pour out; cast.” It occurs in cuneiform transcription as *ma-zi-iq-da*.²² Cf. BH בָּשׂ “to pour, cast,” פְּרַזֵּב “castings (metal);” Ph. בָּשׂ “statue”; Ug. *ysq* “to pour out.” Albright was probably correct in positing a by-form of *ysq* with initial *nun*. Such a form is not attested, but the by-form בָּשָׂ is.²³ In any case, the writing without the *n*: מָאַתְּ-יָסָעַ *ma=d=q=ta* (no. 243) is far more common. (H. 135; B. 552; VESO VIII A, 9; Wb. II 94, 3; 191, 9–12.) [5]

172. An. IV 3, 5. TYPE OF WOOD USED IN
CHARIOTS. See under .

173.  *ma=ru₂=u* P. Koller 1, 2. [D. 19]

- P. Sallier I 4, 9. [D. 19]

-  Gloss. Gol. 3, 11. [D. 20-11]

-  P. Cairo 58054 vs. 8.²⁴ [D. 19]

-  *ma=ru₂=a* An. I 1, 8, and elsewhere.²⁵

- [D. 19, 21] *maz-ruru*, P. Mayer A vs. 11.8 [D. 20]

And as PN m

- P. BM 10052 2. 26²⁶ [D. 20]

¹⁹E.g., An. IV 12, 11; Q. BM 5637; P. Turin Cat. 1881.

²⁰Guroh Frag. Z. vs. 3.

Carlos Flagg. Z., vs. 3,

22EA 14 III 40

²³Variation between initial weak and initial *nun* by-forms is fairly well attested and examples include: *wdy/ndy* “to throw”; *yph/nph* “to breathe”; *wšb/nšb* “to take one’s stand”; *wqb/nqb* “to sink down; make a cavity”; *wqc/nqc* “to be alienated”; *yqš/nqš* “to snare (birds)”; *ytn/ntn* “to give.”

²⁴Bakir. *Epistolography*, pl. 3, 9.

²⁵Q. Bib. Nat., 4: 20, 3; P. Strassburg 51, 4 (a letter from El Hiba).

²⁶Peet. Tomb Robberies. pl. 26.



ma₄=ru₂ Karnak Priests' Annals.²⁷ [D. 23]

Miswritten:

ma={s^c}=ru₂=²u An. V 20, 1. [D. 19]

**maru²u*. N. m. A MILITARY POSITION INVOLVING HORSES: “GROOM?” “SQUIRE?” The contexts associate the occupation with the care of horses, and in a subordinate position: (Sallier I 4, 8-9) *N₃ htri n p₃y·i Nb m s₃r. Twi dit šbn·tw t₃y·sn ipt m b₃h·sn m mnt. Hr n₃y·sn ma=ru₂=²u hr in n·sn [‘tp’] symw m p₃ tu-fi.* “The horses of my Lord are fine. I have their measure mixed before them daily. Their *mri* bring them the [‘best’] grass from the papyrus marshes.” The context of Sallier I 7, 1 ff. is of subservience, but seems (probably jocularly) to rank the status of the *mri* even below that of farmer: *Pr p₃ rm₂ n mw₂t:f, iw₂f m pd n hry₂f... Wnn p₃ s diw sw r ihwty, p₃ nmhw r ma=ru₂=²u.* “A man comes forth from his mother and runs to his master ... The man (of some status) hands himself over to a farmer, the pauper to a *mri*.” In Koller 1, 1 ff. the *mr²* is subordinate to the stable master: *Ih di·k hr·k r grg p₃ rksw n htri nt₃y·f r Ha=ru₂ hn^c n₃y·sn hrw-ih, m mitt n₃y·sn ma=ru₂=²u.* “You should turn your attention to preparing the equipment of the teams that are going to Ḥaru, along with the stable masters and their *mr²*.” The school texts may, however, overemphasize the degree of subservience and lowness, as the word occurs as one of the titles of the scribe Ḥori in An. I: (1, 8) *Ma=ru₂=²a Hm:f c.w.s., šms n Nb c.w.s., shpr nfrw nw Ity. “Mr² of His Majesty, l.p.h., retainer of the Lord, l.p.h., breeder of the steeds²⁸ of the sovereign.”* In An. I 20, 3 the *mr²* is subordinate to the chariot warrior (*mahir*), but is probably more than a mere servant.²⁹ The duties of the *ma=ru₂=²a n Imn* “*mr²* of Amun” of P. Strassburg 51 is not certain. The word has been linked with the Semitic root *mr²* “to be fat,” e.g. BH מְרַעֵּת “fatlings,” and Akk. *marū* (Š-stem) “to fatten.” Wintermute cites a Mari letter

²⁷J.M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XX–XXIII^{mes} Dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon* (Louvain: 1989), p. 26, 1.

²⁸Literally, “fine ones.” The variant reads *htri* “horses.”

²⁹The word *ma₂=ru₂=²a* (no. 174) in An. I 25, 9 probably has a different meaning.

containing a nominal form from the root *mr²* used to describe the occupation of “one who feeds sheep or fowl.”³⁰ The association with the Hebrew root has thus led to the translation “groom.” Albright, probably correctly, related the word to Arabic امرؤ (*‘imru²u*) “man,” and Old Aramaic ܐܻܾܻܰ “lord.”³¹ One could further cite the Arabic مَوْرُّ (*murū²a*) “comprising all knightly virtues,” and especially the BA ܻܻܻܻ and TA ܻܻܻ “lord, sir”; Syr. ܻܻܻ (*mārā*) “lord”; Old S. Ar. ܻܻܻ (*mr²*) “man; lord.” The evidence from Ugaritic seems to clinch the connection, the verb *mr²* meaning “to command,” and the derived noun *mrū* being a military officer. Gordon (no. 1543) translated it as “members of the officers’ guild = ‘commanders’.” The Ugaritic word also occurs in Akkadian transcription as *lú.mes̃ mur-ú*, to be reconstructed as *[*mur²u*]. Ultimately, the Semitic words are probably all related to the same root *mr²* with the semantic field of “being healthy,” whence variously, “to be fat,” “to be strong,” “to be manly” or “to be masterly.”³² (H. 95; B. 466; VESO VIII A, 2; *Wb.* II 110, 5.) [4]

174.   ma₂=ru₂=²a An. I 25, 9. [D. 19]

môra²a?* N. “FRIGHT, FEAR**; OR “**(STRAIGHT) SHOT**.” The word occurs in the context of a runaway chariot (25, 8 ff.): *P3y·k htri n·c·f t3 ma₂=ru₂=²a hr t3 hi=ra=q-a=t_a, t3 mít dwn·t_i r-h̄st·f. Try·f wšwš t3y·k ma=—r=ka=ba=t_a.* “Your team goes off, taking *mr²* over the slippery ground. The road stretches out before it. It gives your chariot a battering.” It would seem that the horses are taking the most direct, if not the best, route to the main road. The word is usually identified with the word “squire/groom” (previous entry), but this does not suit the context.³³ Gardiner, for various reasons,

³⁰Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 88: 1 (*awil*) *ma-ri-e-e-em tak(!)-la-am ša imerātim u iṣṣurātim šu-ku-lam*. One would, however, expect a D- or S-stem participle, which would require the *mem* prefix.

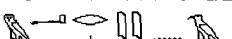
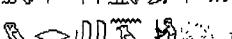
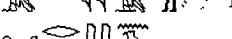
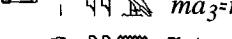
³¹VESO VIII A2.

³²But cf. J.L. Boyd, *A Collection and Examination of the Ugaritic Vocabulary Contained in the Akkadian Texts from Ras Shamra* (PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1975), pp. 129–33. Boyd, cited by Huehnergard (*ibid.*, p. 148), maintained that the word derived from the Akkadian root (*w*)*arū(m)* “to lead.”

³³One might translate “carrying off a ‘squire / groom,’” but the only groom mentioned in the passage has deserted and is now in hiding.



preferred to understand the phrase *tʒy mr²* as an expression meaning “to speed.”³⁴ The word might be a derivative, perhaps a *mem*-preformative noun, from the root *yrh* “to shoot.” E.g. BH פָּרַח “to shoot (arrows)”; Ug. *ryr* “to shoot; Eth. ወርዋ፡ (warawa) “to shoot.” If so, the meaning would be something like “they took off like a shot” (swift and direct). A nominal form with such a meaning does not, however, occur in any known language. Another possibility is that the word is a *mem*-preformative noun from the root *yr²* “to be afraid,” cf. BH מְרֻאָה “fear, terror”; Ug. *yrd* “to be afraid.” If so, the leg and walking legs determinatives perhaps indicate the result of the panic, but they could just as well derive from those of the word for “squire, groom” (previous entry). The periphrastic use in this text of *tʒy* + noun to express the idea of being overcome by various manifestations of fear³⁵ may add some support to the latter derivation. In any case, the word occurs as the direct object of the verb *tʒy* “to take, seize,” which is probably an infinitive in a pseudo-verbal modifying clause (with *hr* omitted).³⁶ (H. 95; B. 466; *Wb.* II 110, 5.) [3]

175.  *ma=ra=ya=na* Urk. IV 895, 4. [D. 18]
 Urk. IV 892, 10.
 *m=ra=ya=na* Urk. IV 665, 9.
 P. Hermitage 1116 A vs. 67.³⁷ [D. 18]
 *ma₃=ra=ya=na* Amenhotpe II Karnak stele.³⁸ [D. 18]
 KRI II 144, 11; 16. [D. 19]
 Amenhotpe II Stele, 15.³⁹ [D. 18]

³⁴EHT, p. 27 and n. 18.

³⁵E.g. (An. I 24, 1) *tʒy k pʒ da-ni-ni* “you take the bristling,” meaning “your hair bristles”; (An. I 24, 8) *tʒy k pʒ ya-sa-di-di* “you take the trembling.”

³⁶The form could, however, be the participle, “who take ...”

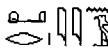
³⁷C. Epstein, “A new appraisal of some lines from a long-known papyrus,” JEA 49 (1963), pp. 49–56, pl. VIIIa.

³⁸G. Legrain, “Stèle d’Amenothès II,” ASAE 4 (1903), p. 132, 33.

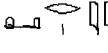
³⁹Badawi, ASAE 42 (1943), pl. 1 (opp. p. 24).



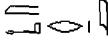
Amenhotpe II Stele, 7.⁴⁰



Amenhotpe II Stele, 26.⁴¹



ma₃=ra=ya=n KRI II 144, 9.



ma₄=ra=ya=na Med. Habu 46, 20. [D. 20]



ma=-r-ya=na An. I 23, 2–3; 28, 1. [D. 19]



P. Harris I 31, 8. [D. 20]

Possibly Also:



ma=-r-ya KRI VII 125, 6. [D. 19]

**maryana*. N. “KNIGHT.” In the Annals of Thutmose III (Urk. IV 665) the *maryanu* appear to be associated with specific individuals in a list of enemy captives who were in Yano^cam, Nu^gaše, and Ḥarinkuru: [...] *Hmwt hr pf hn^c wrw nty hn^cf*, [...] *mrym* *n·sn-imy* 38. *Msw hr pf hn^c wrw nty hn^cf* 87, *m=ra-ya=na n·sn-imy* 5. “[various princes and families] “Wives of that enemy, and princes who were with him [...]”; [*maryanu*] belonging to them: 38. Sons of that enemy and princes who were with him: 87; *maryanu* belonging to them: 5.” The *maryanu* typically appear high on the list of captured prisoners (e.g. Amenhotpe Stele, Med. Habu), and in the Qadesh reliefs they are the only captives taken by the Ramesside princes to be mentioned. In the An. I passages, the word stands parallel to *ma=ha=-r* (no. 190) and is closely associated, if not equated, with it. (23, 1 ff.): *Mntk ma=ha=-r sṣṣṣw m kṣt pr-^c-ib.... P3 ma=-r-ya=na, n hr·k r stt.* “You are a *mahir-warrior* skilled in the arts of the courageous ... O, *maryanu*, forward to shoot!” (27, 9 ff.): *Dd n·i smy, dd(·i) “ma=ha=-r” r·k, iry·i swḥ³ n kṣwy m rn·k ma=-r-ya=na.* “Tell me your report (concerning the distance to Gaza) that (I) might call you a *mahir-warrior*, that I might boast to others of your reputation as a *maryanu*.” The example in KRI VII is unique in that it refers to a single individual. The context involves the *ḥṣt Šṣw* (“foreign land of the bedouin”), and reference is made to *śṛit n p3y·sn ma=-r-ya* “the daughter of

⁴⁰ASAE 42 (1943), pl. 1 (opp. p. 24).

⁴¹ASAE 42 (1943), pl. 1 (opp. p. 24).

their *marya*." The word is probably of Indo-Aryan origin, e.g. Sanskrit *marya* "hero," although the word was in use in Semitic languages as well. Ugaritic has *mryn*, vocalized in cuneiform scripts as *lúmar-ya-nu*.⁴² The word occurs in Akkadian as *lúma-ri-a-ni*. (H. 96, p. 522 ff.; B. 470; Schulman *JSSEA* 10, 125–28; *VESO* IV 11; VIII A, 3; *Wb.* II 110, 6.) [5]

176. ma=ru₂=ya=ni=ta P. BM 10795 frg. C, II, 11.⁴³
[?]

**maluyanita*. N. A VESSEL.⁴⁴ Perhaps cf. the root *ml²* "to fill," e.g. BH מְלָא "to be full; to fill"; Ph. מְלָא "to fill"; Ug. *mlā* "to fill"; BA מְלָא, TA מְלִי "to fill," מְלִיָּה "place for drawing water"; Syr. مَلَّا (*malūā*) "pitcher",⁴⁵ Ar. مَلَا (*mala²a*) "to fill"; Eth. መልክ (mala²a) "to fill up"; Akk. *malū* "to be full," *malitu* "small bowl made of clay or metal." The word appears to be built on a passive base, indicated by the *u*-vowel. This would fit the etymology here proposed: "that which is filled." Another possibility is a *mem*-preformative noun derived from the root *rwy*, cf. BH רֹוח "to drink one's fill," D-stem "to water abundantly," H-stem "to cause to drink, to water"; TA رُونِي "to be saturated, drunk"; Syr. ܪܻܻܺ (r²wī) "to be saturated, irrigated"; Ar. رَوِي (rawiya) "to drink one's fill, to irrigate"; Old S. Ar. ՚ܻܻ (h-rwy) H-stem "to provide a water supply"; Eth. ܻܻܻ (rawaya) "drink one's fill, be watered." There are, however, no known *mem*-preformative nouns from this root. A *hapax*. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

177. ma₃=ra=ma₃ Thutmose III List I, 12 a. [D. 18]
 ma₄=ra=ma₄ Thutmose III List I, 12 b, c.
 ma₂=ra=ma₄ Ramesseum.⁴⁶ [D. 19]

⁴²*PRU* III, p. 250.

⁴³Cited by Černý, *Ety. Dict.* 88.

⁴⁴Černý (*Ety. Dict.*, p. 88) suggested a derivation of the Coptic Βαρέπαν "trough, tank" from this word, but the connection is rather dubious.

⁴⁵Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: 1901), vol. 2, p. 2127.

⁴⁶Simons, *ETL*, XIX, 12.

Perhaps plural in the n. loc.

ma₃=ra=mi₃=im(?) Thutmose III List I, 85 a.

ma₄=ra=ma₄=im(?) Thutmose III List I, 85 c.

m=ra=mi₃=im(?) Thutmose III List I, 85 b.

marôma/marêma?* N. as n. loc. “HEIGHT(S).**” The “tall man” determinative in the Ramesseum example clearly indicates that the word is related to the semitic root *rwm* “to be high,” cf. BH מָרוּם “height”; Ph. מָרָם “elevated”; Ug. *mrym* “heights”; TA מָרוֹמָא “height”; Syr. ܡܻܻܻܺ (m²rawmā) “height”; Old S. Ar. ܪܻܻܻ (rym-m) “height,” ܻܻܻܻ (mrym) “roof terrace?”; Eth. ܻܻܻܻ (rayama) “to be high.” It is unclear whether the form attested in hieroglyphic transcription came from a language like Ug., Old S. Ar., and Ethiopic which have middle *yodh* as opposed Hebrew and Aramaic with middle *waw*. The fact that the middle root consonant is not present suggests that the *[aw] diphthong of an original *[marawma] had resolved to [ô], or that the diphthong *[ay] had resolved to [ê]. There is, however, no attempt to indicate either vowel in the Egyptian script. If the middle consonant was *w*, perhaps the Egyptian hearers did not discern [w] in the *[wm] cluster, since they are both bilabials. (B. 471.) [5]

178. *ma=ru₂=ru₂* Gloss. Gol. 7, 1. [D. 20–1]

malulu?* N. A **BAKED GOOD. The word is known only from this list of breads and baked goods. Perhaps cf. BH מְלַל “to rub, scrape,” MH מְלִילָה “ear (of wheat)”; MH מְלִילָה “to rub, scrape (said of ears of grain)”; “to prepare a mush (of flour and vinegar)”; Ug. *mll* “to rub”; Eth. ܻܻܻܻ: (*malala*) “to scrape/plane (wood).” Any resemblance to Ar. مُلَّا (*mullā*) “bread baked in hot ashes” is gratuitous. The Arabic word is a *nisbe* derived from مَلَّ (*mallā*) “hot ashes.” (B. 475; Wb. II 110, 12.) [2]

179. *ma=—r=ha* P. Koller 1, 5. [D. 19]

An. IV 17, 1. [D. 19]

O. BM 50733 + O. Petrie 30 II, 7.⁴⁷ [D. 20]

⁴⁷KRI VII 333, 16.



 O. BM 50733 + O. Petrie 30 I, 2.⁴⁸

 *ma-ra-ha* Louvre Leath. roll.⁴⁹ [D. 19]

murha*. N. m. “SPEAR, LANCE.**” Coptic SBμερέξ “spear.” The meaning is certain, as the word occurs in lists of weapons, and, just like the Hebrew, occurs in conjunction with *hrp* (no. 324, = חֶרְבָּה) “sword.” In P. Koller, we have a list of items associated with the chariot, starting with the weapons: *iw-w mhw m ḥcw nw r-č-ht, iw 80 n ḥ3w m t3 ḡas-pa2=ta, t3 hmyt, p3 ma=-r=ha, p3 ha=-r=pa, t3 sfd, t3 qu3=ta*. “And they (the chariots) are full of weapons, there being 80 arrows in the quiver, the *hmyt*, the *mrh*, the dagger, the sword, the ‘spear’/‘shaft’.” The list in An. IV is similar: *ha=-r=pa, ma=-r=ha, sfd, ḥ3w nfr n Hm:f c.w.s.* “daggers, *mrh*, swords, and fine arrows of His Majesty’s, l.p.h.” In O. BM 50733 the word occurs in the phrase “š *ma=-r=ha* “spear (with) cedar (shaft).” This probably accounts for the wood determinative. Cf. BH מַרְבֵּן; Ug. *mrh*; TA רֹמְחָא; Syr. رَمْحَةٌ (*rumḥā*); Ar. رمح (*rumh*); Old S. Ar. رم (rm̫) “spear?”; Eth. ራም አ፡ (*ramh*), all “spear.” The Egyptian exhibits metathesis of the first and second consonants and finds an exact parallel in the Ugaritic *mrh*. The reconstruction is based on evidence from the Semitic languages, but also from the Coptic.⁵⁰ (H. 98; B. 477; VESO VIII A, 22; Wb. II 112, 4.) [5]

180.  *ma-ri-ha* Amenophis III List Bn 1., 13. [D. 18]

milha, malīha*. N. as n. loc. “SALT/SALTY (LAND).**” Coptic SBμελόξ “salt.”⁵¹ The derivation was proposed by Edel,⁵² and seems quite sound. Cf. BH מִלְחָה “salt”; Old Aram., Imp. Aram. מִלְחָה, TA מִלְחָה “salt,” and the place names נִגְדָּל מִלְחָה אֲשֶׁר, מִלְחָה Syr. مَلْحَة (milḥā) “salt”; Ar. ملح (milḥ) “salt.” The word form is uncertain. It could be an adjectival or nominal form (**malīha*, cf. esp. BH מִלְחָה אֲשֶׁר מִלְחָה “salty land”) or, if the *i*-vowel is misplaced, it

⁴⁸KRI VII 333, 11.

⁴⁹KRI II 789, 9.

⁵⁰As Albright, VESO, p. 44.

⁵¹The native Egyptian word for salt, *hm3t*, is probably an old cognate within the Afro-asiatic family to Semitic *mlh*, although obscured by metathesis.

⁵²Edel, *Ortsnamenlisten*, pp. 22–23.

could simply be the substantive **milha*. Cf.     (no. 181). (Not in *Wb.*) [4]

181.                *mu₂-ra-h-mu₄* H.O. 81 9. [D. 19]

mōlihimū?* N. pl. “SALT WORKERS.**” The connection with salt is secured by the context, *mlhm* occurring just before *hsmnw* “natron workers,” as noted by Helck. Cf. BH מלח “to salt,” מלח “salt”; Punic מלח “salt worker”; TA ملخ “to salt (meat, fish),” ملخ “salt”; Syr. ملخ (*m²lah*) “to salt down,” ملخ (*milhā*) “salt”; Ar. ملح D-stem (*mallaha*) “to preserve with salt,” (*milh*) “salt”; Eth. መልክ: (*malleha*) (D-stem) “to season with salt.” There are no exact morphological parallels in the Semitic languages, unless it is simply a participle. The vocalic pattern with *u*-vowel in the first syllable suggests a derivation from the G-stem participle with the vocalic shift from *ā. The morpheme [mū] would seem to be a m. pl. ending exhibiting mimation and indicating the nominative case. Cf.   (no. 180). (H. 99.) [5]

182.                H.O. 28 2, 10. “**BASKET; BOX.** See under   

183.                *mar-su₂* P. Harris I 64a, 6, etc.⁵³ [D. 19 or 20, 20, 21]

-                O. Lit. DeM 1079 5.⁵⁴ [D. 19 or 20]

merītu*. N. “NEW WINE, MUST.**” Coptic Σωπικ, Βεμβρικ “must.” In P. Harris the word occurs in the phrase: *irp mer-su₂ mnt* 2864. “mrs-wine, 2864 jars.” Albright⁵⁵ identified the word with Akk. *mi-ri-is* in the phrase *mi-ri-is* GIŠ.GEŠTIN “miris of wine.”⁵⁶ Even more certain is Luckenbill’s identification with *me-ri-iš-tum* in the

⁵³Gloss. Gol. 7, 5; Weight DeM 5135 4 (D. Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids à inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de Deir el-Médineh* [Paris: 1977], pl. 18).

⁵⁴Unless this belongs with the vessel, next entry. The context is broken, but the phrase *ndm tħ* “pleasure of being drunk” (or sim.) occurs in line 3. The word occurs after a lacuna and is preceded only by the preposition *m*.

⁵⁵W.F. Albright, “Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology II,” *AJSL* 34 (1918), p. 250.

⁵⁶CAD M II 109b: “residue? of wine.” The evidence from P. Harris renders the Akkadian phrase less obscure.



phrase *garšikar u mērištum* “wine and must.”⁵⁷ Ward⁵⁸ associated the Egyptian *mrs* with Ug. *mrt/trt* “new wine.”⁵⁹ Cf. also BH מִירֹשׁ “must, new wine”; Ph. תְּרֵשׁ “must”; TA מִירַח, מִירַחָ “must, juice”; Syr. مَرِيشَ (*merīšā*) “must.” Two nominal forms occur in the Semitic languages, built with the *taw* and *mem* preformatives. Ugaritic has both forms.⁶⁰ Arabic مَرِيسَةً (*marīsa*) “barley wine, a type of beer,” is not related, as maintained by Vycichl;⁶¹ the word for “barley wine” is almost certainly derived from the root مَرِسْ (*mrs*) “to steep.” M. Görg⁶² suggested a link between the Semitic words and Hieroglyphic Luwian *tuwarsa-* “grapevine” and Greek θύρος “wreathed staff of Bacchantes,” suggesting that it was a “Kulturwort,” although he did not make reference to the Egyptian *mrs*. The root is usually initially weak, but Aramaic and Syriac also have middle weak roots. The Egyptian seems to be derived from an original middle weak root, since the Coptic suggests a short vowel in the first syllable, and a long accented vowel in the second (presuming an original final vowel). Cf. سُلَيْمَان (no. 184). (*Wb.* II 112, 15.) [5]

184. mar-su₂ H.O. 26 4, 3. [D. 20]

**marītu*. N. A VESSEL. In H.O. 26 4, the word occurs in a list of metal vessels said to be in a certain individual’s possession. Cf. Coptic Βμαριс, Βμαγριс, Βμαγρηс “(water) jug.”⁶³ The name of this vessel is probably derived from سُلَيْمَان “new wine, must” (no. 183). (Janssen, *Prices*, 428; not in *Wb.*) [4]

⁵⁷*AJS* 23, p. 293.

⁵⁸Ward, “Egyptian and Ugaritic,” *JNES* 20 (1961), p. 40.

⁵⁹So rendered by Gibson, *Canaanite Myths*, p. 152a.

⁶⁰The evidence from Akkadian and Aramaic removes all doubt from the actual meaning of Ug. *mrt*.

⁶¹Vycichl, *Dict. étym.*, 120a.

⁶²M. Görg, “Ein semitisch-ostmediterranes Kulturwort im Alten Testament,” *Biblische Notizen* 8 (1979), pp. 7–10.

⁶³Vycichl (*Dict. étym.*, 120b) does not note a connection with the LE word. Černý (*Ety. Dict.*, 89) associates the Coptic word with Greek μάρις “a liquid measure containing 6 κοτύλαι.

185.  ma=ra=qi₂ha=ta KRI II 33, 6. [D. 19]

 ma=ra=qi=ha=ta KRI II 33, 8, 9.64

*marahhiqata? Vb.? N.? “TO FLEE; FLIGHT; RETREAT.”

Burchardt’s identification (followed by Helck and Albright) with Hebrew מְלֹכָה “booty” should be dismissed on semantic grounds.

The leg and walking leg determinatives indicate that the word involves motion, and the context⁶⁵ clearly requires a word meaning “to flee” or “retreat”: … *t³y·i nt-htr m mrqht hr-h³t·sn* … “(My infantry and) my chariots were fleeing before them; (not one remained to fight against them.)” The word is very likely related to the root *rhq*, cf. BH רַחֲקִ “to be far; be removed,” D-stem: מַרְחַקִ “distance”; Ug. *rhq* “to be distant; withdraw”; Amorite *rhq* “to be far”; Ammonite *rhq* “far off (in time)”; TA رَحْقِ “to be distant,” D-stem: “to refrain from, keep off,” נַרְחַקְתִּ מְרַחְקָה “abomination”; Syr. ܐܻܻܻ (r³hiq) “to depart”; Old S. Ar. ܪܻܻܻ (*rhq*) “to be distant”; Eth. ወܻܻܻ (r³hqa) “to be far off; depart, withdraw, recoil”; Akk. *rēqu* “to be distant; to distance oneself.” Less likely, for semantic reasons, is a connection with the Arabic لاحِق (lāhiqa) “to catch up; overtake,” مُلَاحَة (mulāhaqa) “pursuit, chase.” In either case, metathesis of the second and third radicals would be involved. The morphology is unclear. The word has the appearance of a feminine nominal form. Because of the *mem* prefix and the *i*-vowel of the second radical, it would appear to be a feminine D-stem participle, rather than a simple substantive of similar derivation. If so, the author reveals his command of Semitic grammar, having produced the feminine form to agree with the antecedent *nt-htr* (“chariots”).⁶⁶ It is also possible that the form is the HtD participle with *t* either assimilated or dropped in the Egyptian pronunciation.⁶⁷ Less likely is the possibility that it is the infinitive of a derived stem (D- or H-stem)

⁶⁴= KRI II 33, 6.

⁶⁵The Egyptian contains the phrase *hr-h³t·sn* “before them,” but English would probably use the phrase “away from them.” The fact that the next clause indicates that the troops all beat a hasty retreat—leaving Pharaoh alone—clinches the meaning.

⁶⁶Since the text is a royal monumental inscription, perhaps it should not be too surprising that the author was familiar with Canaanite or at least had access to someone who was.

⁶⁷The reflexive sense of this stem would make good sense here.



with *mem* prefix and *t* suffix. While both the *mem* prefix and *t* suffix do occur in infinitives,⁶⁸ they have only been attested together in Galilean Aramaic. The syntax is also unclear. At first sight, the word appears to be used as an Egyptian infinitive in a Pres. I construction with *m* (instead of *hr*, since it is a verb of motion). The clause could, however, be adverbial, with the predicate consisting of the *m* of predication plus participle: “my chariots were deserters.” If the word is an ordinary substantive, then perhaps it is simply the prepositional phrase: “in flight.” Cf. the related word *h=r=ti₄=qa=ha* “retreating” (no. 299). (H. 100; B 480; VESO VIII A, 4; Wb. II 113, 2.) [4]

186. *ma=—r=qi₂=di₄=na* O. DeM 434, II, 7.
[D. 20]

**margizina, malgizana?* N. METAL TOOL. The word occurs in a list of household objects listed with their values: *hdm, ma=—r=qi₂=di₄=na, wdhw, h^cq* “foot stool, *mrqdn, wdhw*-vessel, razor.” The *mrqdn* is listed with a value of 2 *deben*. Perhaps cf. the root *gazr*, e.g. BH *גַּזֵּר* “to cut (meat),” **מְגַנְּדָה* “axe”; Ug. *gazr* “cutter?”; TA *גַּזֵּר* “to cut,” *מְגַנְּדָא* “cutting tool, pruning knife,” and also with metathesis (*m. pl.*) *מְגַנְּזִיִּים* “meat choppers, mincing knives”; Ar. *jazara* “to slaughter, butcher”; Eth. *תְּלִקְתָּה*: (*gazara*) “to circumcise.” Another possibility is a connection to the root *zlg*, whence BH *מְלִילָה* “(three-pronged) meat-fork”; MH *מְלִילָה*, and with metathesis: *מְלִילָה* “fork (used in cooking);” Mod. Heb. *מְלִילָה* “fork,” *מְלִילָה* “pitch-fork”; Akk. *mazlagu* “fork (in list before spoon).” Either etymology supposes metathesis. From both roots exact parallels exhibiting metathesis can be found in MH and TA. There is no question that the word is a *mem*-preformative substantive. The final *nun* may mark the plural form (with nunation), but the lack of plural strokes suggests that it may be the nominal suffix [*ān*], although this usually occurs in abstract nouns.⁶⁹ Cf.

⁶⁸Many dialects of Aramaic have a “feminine” ending in *ن*, or *ن*. The G-stem infinitive in Aramaic is marked by a *mem* prefix, but only in the much later Galilean Aramaic does it come to be used in derived stems. The *mem* prefix is standard in the derived stem infinitives in Akkadian and Arabic, but they are not marked with “feminine” endings.

⁶⁹But occasionally on concrete nouns, e.g. *שְׁלֹחַ* “table.”

qa=-r=da-na “axe” (no. 438). (Janssen, Prices 325; not in *Wb.*) [3]

187. *ma=-r-ka=ya*⁷⁰ Wine docket.⁷¹ [D. 19]

ma-ra-ka Name List.⁷² [D. 18]
ma₃=ru₂-ku Thutmose III List I, 45 a.⁷³ [D. 18]
 Thutmose III List I, 45 b, c.

Probably also in the n. loc.:

ma=-r-ku-{k} P. Wilbour A 35, 23.
[D. 20]

ma=ru₂=ka=²u P. Louvre AF 6345 13, 13.⁷⁴
[D. 20]

ma₄=ru₂=k Shishak List, no. 29.⁷⁵
[D. 22]

**malku, milku*. N. in PN m. and n. loc. “KING.” Cf. BH מֶלֶךְ “king”; Amarna *milkī/u* (in names⁷⁶) and *ma-lik*;⁷⁷ Ph. מלָךְ; Ug. *mlk* “king,” in Akk. transcription *ma-al-ku*;⁷⁸ Amorite *malku* “king”; Ammonite *mlk*; BA, TA מֶלֶךְ; Syr. مَلِكًا (*malkā*); Ar. مَلِك (*malik*); Old S. Ar. မြက် (*mlk*), all “king”; Eth. አምላክ: (*amläk*) “Lord, God”; Akk. *malku* “prince.” There is nothing particularly remarkable about the earlier examples, but the form found in the Shishak list is interesting phonologically and morphologically. The *u*-type vowel would seem to be implausible. It is possible,

⁷⁰Perhaps cf. the Ug. PN *mlkyy*.

⁷¹W. Spiegelberg, “Bemerkungen zu den hieratischen Amphoreninschriften des Ramesseums,” ZÄS 58 (1923), p. 33.

⁷²Steindorff, ZÄS 38, p. 17. The first element is discussed above under ²*a₂-ri*, no. 16.

⁷³The first element is unknown. Görg (“Wohnsitz des Lot,” GM 19 [1976], pp. 31–32) suggested a connection with the BH PN טַלְיָה, but this is questionable.

⁷⁴A. Gasse, *Données nouvelles administratives*, pl. 17.

⁷⁵The first element is dealt with above under *yu₂-d*, no. 63.

⁷⁶E.g. *Abdimilki, Abimilki, Ililmilku, Milkili*.

⁷⁷EA 131, 23; 131, 21.

⁷⁸Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, pp. 26–27, no. 37.1; pp. 40–1, nos. 187.4 and 188.1. For a number of names with various vocalizations of the element *mlk* cf. Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, pp. 157–58.



however, that the *ru₂* group sometimes represents an *i*-vowel in the Shishak list, as apparently it does in much later examples of group writing. If so, perhaps the vocalization was something like **milik/melek*. Alternatively, one could argue that the writing is late, and not reliable group writing. The example is also of interest in that it is the earliest Egyptian evidence of the definite article: *h-ma₄=ru₂=k* [ha (+ gemination)], typical of Hebrew, Phoenician, and related dialects.⁷⁹ (B. 99.) [5]

188. Wenamun 2, 12. "GIFTS." See under

189. *ma=-r=ka=ba=ta* H.O. 75 vs. 6. [D. 19]

An. III 6, 8. [D. 19]

An. IV 16, 7; P. BM 10326 vs. 6–7.⁸⁰
[D. 19, 21]

Gloss. Gol. 3, 4 [D. 20–1]

HPBM 4th Ser. NY. rt. 54. [D. 21–22]

ma=-r=ka=ba=ta={t} An. I 26, 1, etc.⁸¹
[D. 19]

ma=-r=ka=ba=ta={t} P. Turin Cat 1923
vs. 5.⁸² [D. 20]

ma=-r=ki?=ba=ta P. Turin Cat 1885
vs. I, 7.⁸³ [D. 20]

ma₃=ra=k=b=tu₂ Amenhotpe II Karnak Stele, 8.⁸⁴
[D. 18]

ma₄=ra=k=b=ta Med. Habu 75, 27. [D. 20]

⁷⁹The definite article *h* appeared during the early first millennium B.C.E. according to Garr, *Dialect Geography*, p. 89.

⁸⁰LRL 19, 10.

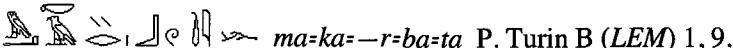
⁸¹An. I 26, 5; An. III 6, 7; O. Edinb. 916, 3; P. Salt 124 (KRI IV 409, 4).

⁸²KRI VI 367, 4.

⁸³KRI VI 224, 5.

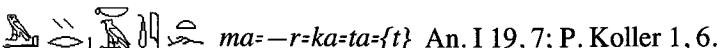
⁸⁴Legrain, "Stèle d'Amenothès II," ASAE 4 (1903), p. 130, 8.

Written with Metathesis:

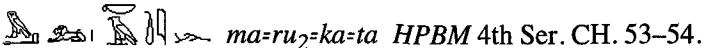


[D. 19]

Miswritten:

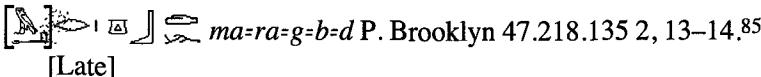


[D. 19]



[D. 21-22]

A late writing with *g*:



markábata* (sing.), *markabáta* (pl.). N. f. “CHARIOT.**”⁸⁶ Coptic
 ςϩρϭϭϬϬϬ, ϖϭϭϭϭϭϬϬϬ “chariot.” The meaning of the word is well established, but the following context leaves no doubt since the Egyptian and Semitic words for “chariot” are used for elegant variation: (An. I 19, 5): *Wrryt·k sht·ti m nwhw, ssmt·k m ith ...* (19, 7) *t3y·k ma=—r=ka=ta w3h·ti r [rmn]t·k.* “Your chariot (*wrryt*) is cobbled together⁸⁷ with lashings; your mares are drawing ... Your chariot (*mrkt*) is now borne on your shoulder.”⁸⁸ In P. Turin cat. 1885 and 1923, the the word occurs as a designation of the burial chamber of a royal tomb: (*t3 wsht*) *ma=—r=ki(?)=ba=ta* “The Hall of Chariots.” Cf. BH מִרְכָּבָה “chariot”; Ph. Ug. *mrkbt* “chariot,” in Akk. transcription *mar-kab-te*;⁸⁹ TA מִרְכָּבָת; Syr. مَرْكَبَة (*markabatā*), all “chariot”; Ar. مَرْكَبَة (*markaba*) “carriage”; Old S. Ar. ՚𠁻 (*rkb*) “to ride”; Akk. *narkabtu* “chariot.” Virtually all the writings indicate a pronunciation *[*markabata*], with the open syllable [ba]. The Coptic forms derive from forms with an open accented syllable **kā* rather than the closed syllable **kab*. The singular form is probably to be reconstructed as

⁸⁵R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text* (Chicago: 1992), fig. 5. Although from the late period, the language of the text is (or is close to) Late Egyptian.

⁸⁶Ghoneim, *Bedeutung des Rindes*, p. 117.

⁸⁷*Sht-ti* "woven; bound together; mended," and not "worn" or "beaten" as Gardiner (*EHT*, p. 21*) and note 15) understood.

⁸⁸I.e. the terrain is so rough that the chariots must be carried. Or possibly the vehicle was damaged beyond repair.

⁸⁹Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 179.



*[markábata], which would be indistinguishable in writing from the plural form *[markabáta]. (H. 102; B. 482; VESO VI A, 4; Wb. II 113, 4.) [S]

190. *ma-ha-—r* An. I 18, 4. [D. 19]
 An. I 18, 6; 19, 7; 20, 6; 23, 1; 25, 5.
 O. Lit. DeM 1629, x+4.⁹⁰ [D. 19 or 20]
 An. I 21, 3, and often.⁹¹
 An. I 21, 8;⁹² 23, 5–6.
ma₄-ha-—r KRI VI 466, 12. [D. 20]
ma₄-h-ri Med. Habu II 94, 9. [D. 20]
ma₄-h-ri Med. Habu I 46, 3.
ma₄-ha-rin Stele of Pentawer.⁹³ [D. 19]
- Also as/in PN's:
- Deir el-Bahri.⁹⁴ [D. 20]
 P. Harris I A4, 18. [D. 20]
 P. BM 10053 4, 18.⁹⁵ [D. 20]
 P. Jud. Turin 2, 2; 5, 6; 6, 3.
[D. 20]
ma-ha-—r-ya P. Wilbour A 54, 32.
[D. 20]
ma-ha-—r-ya-—{t} P. Wilbour A 68, 10.
ma-ha-—r-i-—{t} P. Wilbour A 89, 38.
ma-ha-—r-—{t} P. Wilbour A 68, 35.

**mahīra*. N. m. M ILITARY OFFICER COMMANDING TROOPS

⁹⁰= An. I 19, 7.

⁹¹An. I 21, 6; 23, 2; 23, 5; 26, 9–27, 1; 27, 7; 27, 9; 28, 7.

⁹²With plural strokes.

⁹³A.R. Schulman, "Two Egyptian Military Titles of Semitic Origin," ZÄS 93 (1966), pl. 8, opp. p. 130, upper register, 5.

⁹⁴M. Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I. Les inscriptions hiératiques du temple de Thoutmosis III* (Warsaw: 1974), p. 121, no. 71, 3.

⁹⁵Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 18.

AND HANDLING LOGISTICS. The most comprehensive source of information on the duties and qualities of the *mahir* is P. An. I. There, the *mahir* is a “scribe in command of the army” (6, 8; 13, 5), who is in charge of calculating and requesting provisions (6, 5; 13, 6; 17, 4), enregistering recruits (12, 1), planning and doing the calculations for various construction projects (excavating a lake: 13, 6; quarrying large blocks of stone: 14, 1,⁹⁶ building a ramp: 14, 2; transporting an obelisk: 15, 3), and leading military sorties (although when the texts are specific, he seems to be dealing with rations and logistics rather than commanding the troops⁹⁷) (17, 3; 27, 1), he is skilled at driving the chariot and has first-hand knowledge of a large geographical area (18, 5), and is expected to plan itineraries (21, 4) and to calculate distances (27, 8). He is sent on missions without escort, and must defend himself with the bow (21, 2 ff.). The dual nature—scribal and military—of the position is stressed in An. I 18, 4: *ink sš mhr* “I am a scribe, a *mahir*.” In short, the position seems to have been both administrative and military, dealing with logistics on the one hand, but also leading the troops on civil and military expeditions. Cf. BH פָּחִיר “skilled; experienced”; Punic PN מַהְרָבָעֵל “Ba^cal-is-a-warrior”; Ug. *mhr* “soldier,” and in PN ^ʔIlmhr,⁹⁸ possibly Amorite *mhr* in PN Ma-ah-rí-el;⁹⁹ Imp. Aram. מֹהִיר “capable, skillful”; Syr. مَهْرَبَةٌ (*m^əhirā*) “skilled, expert”; Ar. مَهْرَأ (*mahara*) “to be skilled”; Old S. Ar. ܟܻܻܻܻ (tmhrt) “elite troops”;¹⁰⁰ Eth. ܣܻܻܻܻ: (*mahara*) “to train, teach.” The name *Ba^clu-mahir* is also known from the Amarna tablets where it is written: ^mBa-lu-mé-er (EA 260:2). Almost all the writings indicate the presence of a vowel after [h]. The Akkadian transcription and the *ri* of Med. Habu 46, 3 suggest that the vowel was of the *i*-type. If so, the word is probably the adjectival form attested in the Hebrew phrase סֹפֶר מֹהִיר “skilled scribe”

⁹⁶And O. Turin variant.

⁹⁷E.g. 17, 3 ff. The *tst pdty* “commander of the bowmen” seems to be in charge.

⁹⁸Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 156.

⁹⁹Huffman, *Amorite Personal Names*, p. 230.

¹⁰⁰J.C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect* (Chico, Calif.: 1982), p. 268. Beeston, Ghul, Müller, and Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary* (Beirut: 1982), p. 84: “contingent (of bedouin mercenaries).” Biella’s interpretation seems quite likely.



(Ps. 45:2, Ezra 7:6).¹⁰¹ The similar appearing (Gloss. Gol. 2, 12) is a different word that means “milker/dairy worker”;¹⁰² it occurs in a list of occupations after “butcher.” The example from the Pentawer stele exhibits nunation, probably a suffix as often found in the word *ku=d-n / ku=ti₂=na* (no. 506) “charioteer.” The thumb-sucking child determinative in the military term is difficult to explain, but perhaps it arose from confusion with the Egyptian root *mhr* that involves milk. The semantic development seems to be along the lines of the Hebrew, Arabic and Ethiopic, i.e. “skilled, trained” personnel. (H. 103; B 486; *Wb.* II 116, 3; Rainey *JNES* 26, 58–60; Schulman *ZÄS* 93, 129. *PN I* 163, 12; II 292, 1.) [5]

191. *ma-ha-ri-na* O. DeM 429, 3. [D. 20]

**mahalāla*. N. pl. “PRAISE.” The word occurs in the complimentary preamble of a letter: *Shʒ·k ma-ha-ri-na n Nb-Tʒwy*. “May you remember the praises of the Lord of the Two-Lands.”¹⁰³ Helck read the word as , but this makes little sense. The word is probably connected to the BH root *hll* “to praise,” esp. *מְהֻלָּלָה* “praise (of a person), what others think (of a person).” (H. 158; not in *Wb.*) [4]

192. *ma-ha₂=n-ma₄* Shishak list, 22.¹⁰⁴ [D. 22]

**Mahanēma*. N. as n. loc. “ENCAMPMENT.” Cf. the place name , which is probably a dual of the word for encampment: BH , Epig. Heb. מַחֲנֵה; Ph. מַחֲנָה; Old Aram. מַחֲנָה, TA مَحَنَّا, all “encampment.” The lack of y in the Egyptian writing suggests that the diphthong *[ay] must have contracted to *[ê]. (B. 488.) [5]

¹⁰¹ However, perhaps the Hebrew phrase is an exact parallel to the Egyptian *sš mhr* of An. I 18, 4. Rainey maintained that the development was: **mahr* ⇒ **mahar*: “The Military Personnel of Ugarit,” *JNES* 24 (1965), pp. 58–60.

¹⁰² The word is related to *mhr* “milk jar.” The word *mhri* dealt with by B. Couroyer, “Trois épithètes de Ramsès II,” *Orientalia* 33 (1964), pp. 443–56, is likely related to this Egyptian root, and probably means “suckling.” It occurs in the epithet *mhri ‘Anat* parallel to *kʒ mi Stʒ* “Bull like Seth,” or *sʒ Stʒ* “Son of Seth.”

¹⁰³ The rest of the sentence is rather obscure: *iw·k m sšw Mʒ̄t n Hwt-hr*, perhaps “as you are among Hathor’s documents of truth.”

¹⁰⁴ *Bubastite Portal*, pl. 4.

193. *ma=ha=da=—r=ta* An. IV 15, 8. [D. 19]

An. III 2, 2. [D. 19]

mah=da=—r=ta P. Sallier IV vs., 2, 4.
[D. 19]

ma=ha=da=ru₂=ta P. Rainer 53, 5.¹⁰⁵
[D. 21]

mahṣarta?* (sing.), *mahṣarāta?* (pl.). N. (f.) “FISH POND.**” The An. III passage concerns the Delta residence: *Tȝy:f sht mh·t̄i m bw nb nfr. Sw m hw, kȝ r^c nb, nȝy:f ma=ha=da=—r=ta m rmw.* “Its fields are full of every fine thing, it is (full) of food and sustenance every day, and its *mh̄drt* are (full) of fish.” An. IV has, in a list of fish, *dpyw n ma=ha=da=—r=ta* “*dpy*-fish of the *mh̄drt*.” P. Sallier IV refers to life in Memphis: *iw tȝ ſ̄ri h̄dt mi msrt rnnt mi mah=da=—r=ta*. “And the White Girl¹⁰⁶ is like a *msrt*-bird raised in a *mh̄drt*.” Helck associated the word with Arabic حضرة (*hadira*) “to be green,” but this is virtually impossible because Egyptian *h* does not normally correspond to Semitic /h/, and the meaning is inappropriate. Several possible roots are at hand. The root *h̄dr* (BH حَدْرٌ “settlements”; Ar. حاضر *[haṣara]* “be present, to settle”) does not seem very likely on semantic grounds.¹⁰⁷ Another possibility is a connection with the root *h̄ṣr*, e.g. BH حَصْرٌ “court, enclosure”; Ar. حصار (*haṣara*) “to encircle, enclose,” L-stem “to shut off, block;” Old S. Ar. حَسْرٌ (*ḥṣwr*) “enclosed cultivated land,” حَسْرٌ (*ḥṣr*) “enclosing wall (of cistern).” If so, perhaps they were enclosures made with small dykes. Yet another possibility is a derivation from the root **h̄ṭr*, cf. Ar. حظيره (*haṭra*) “to fence in,” حظيرة (*haṭīra*) “enclosure; corral; pen.” (H. 106; B 489; Wb. II 129, 11.) [3]

194.  *ma-h̄=r* Gloss. Gol. 3, 12. [D. 20-1]
 māhir?* *mahār?* N. (or part.) “BUYER.**” The word has long been

105 = An. III 2, 2.

¹⁰⁶ Caminos (*LEM*, p. 343) suggested that this is an epithet of Memphis. This seems likely given its by-name: *Inbw Hd* “White Wall.”

¹⁰⁷Wintermute, (*Thesis*), p. 165, suggested a derivation from this root, and cited مهضور (*muhḍar*) as meaning "watering place," but that is a secondary meaning; the primary meaning is "to be populated, settled."



linked to the root *m̄hr*. Burchardt compared it to BH מִנְחָה “price” and Akk. *maḫīru* “price,” and translated “Kaufpreis.” The word occurs in a list of persons, following šwty “trader” and preceding *mak=ru₂=u* “seller,” which suggests that the word is another *nomen agentis* of trade and commerce, as interpreted by Gardiner.¹⁰⁸ Cf. also Akk. *māḥirānu* “buyer,” and Ug. *m̄hr* “price.” The form is uncertain. It could either be a G-stem participle, or it could be the “professional” nominal formation (as the Akk., with the East Semitic morpheme [ânu]). (H. 108; B. 493; *Wb.* II 132, 10.) [5]

195. *ma=hi=ru₂* H.O. 61, 3 vs. 2; 13. [D. 20]

H.O. 85, 1, vs. 6. [D. 20]

H.O. 63 1, vs. 2. [D. 20]

Also with metathesis:

ma=r=ḥ H.O. 28 2, 10. [D. 20]

maḥiru*. N. m. “BASKET; BOX.**”¹⁰⁹ The word occurs in lists of household items. Burchardt associated the word with Coptic Βασκετ “pot, box (for incense).” Helck compared it with Hebrew: “zu verbinden mit בַּקֵּשׁ ‘entgegennehmen’.” The root is not attested with this meaning in BH. Akkadian *maḥāru*, however, does provide the required sense: “to receive,” *namḥāru*¹¹⁰ “bowl, jug.” Cf. also Old S. Ar. (*m̄hr*) “to receive.” The semantic development is quite clear: “receiving ⇒ ‘receptacle.’” The form is possibly the G-participle (*/*maḥiru*/), “that which receives,” but it could be a *qatīlu* or *qatīlu* nominal formation. (H. 109; B. 492.) [4]

196. *ma₂=hi=ra=ta* O. Lit. DeM 1657, 2. [D. 19 or 20]

maḥirata*. N. f. “BAG.**”¹¹¹ In the particular context, the bag contained fish: *l̄b-i r wnm s3·kw̄i m rmw m t3y-i ma₂=hi=ra=ta*. “My

¹⁰⁸ AEO A 211.

¹⁰⁹ The item in H.O. 63, 1 was made of metal.

¹¹⁰ EA 19, 37; 25, IV, 57.

¹¹¹ Posener (O. Lit. DeM) queried the reading of the group *hi*, but there seems to be little doubt. The group cannot be *ka*, and the word a defective writing of *mkmrt* “fishnet,” which would actually seem more appropriate.

desire is to eat my fill of fish from my bag." Cf. Akk. *maḫāru* "to receive," and the previous entry. (Not in *Wb.*) [4]

197. *ma-hi-ta* An. I 26, 7. [D. 19]



An. IV 16, 12. [D. 19]

**mahitā*. N. pl. UNKNOWN PARTS OF CHARIOT. Schulman suggested that these may have been parts of the yoke or draught-pole assembly, perhaps pieces of metal plating, nails, or fittings to the knob of the yoke saddle. This suggestion seems quite plausible from the contexts, where these objects are said to be fitted to or along with the yoke-assembly (An. I 26, 6 ff.): *lry-w ḡr ḡr pṣy-k nḥb, wṣḥ-w pṣy-k dbw m t̄ bsnt, nʒ ma-hita* "They adjust your yoke, they attach your *dbw* with chisel engraving and your *mht*." In An. IV they are mentioned in conjunction with the draught pole: (An. IV 16, 11 ff.) *nṣy-sn ḡ n ³U-pa₂... iw nṣy-sn ma-hi-ta wṣḥ m sm̄w n 6*. "Their draught poles are from Upé ... and their *mht* are set in a six-fold alloy." No one has hazarded an etymology, but as a wild guess, one might think of a *mem*-preformative noun derived from the root *ḥwt*: cf. MH "sewing needle, pin; hair pin"; TA "needle, pin"; Ar. *مُحِيطَة* (*mihyat*) "needle." (H. 110; B. 495; *Wb.* II 132, 15; Schulman, JSSEA 16, 41.) [2]

198. *ma-sa-hi* P. Harris I 15a, 5, etc.¹¹² [D. 20, 21]



Wenamun 1, 9–10. [D. 21]



ma-sa-hi P. Turin Cat. 1881 4, 10.¹¹³ [D. 20]

**mašīha*. N. "AMPHORA, A LARGE VESSEL (FOR WINE AND SESAME OIL [*NHH*])." P. Turin 2008+2016 2, 10 allows an estimation of the volume: four *msh* and one *mdqt* (a vessel of about 50 *hin*) have a total volume of 262 *hin* (or probably 266 *hin*, as later in the text). The individual volume of the vessels was: 55, 55, 61, 41, 54 *hin*. If the 61-*hin* vessel is the *mdqt*, then 3 of the 4 *msh* contain 55 *hin* (27.67 litres). The average would be about 51.25 *hin* (25.78 litres) per *msh*. Helck's identification with BH "to anoint" is

¹¹²P. Turin 2008+2016 2, 10; I vs. 3; Wenamun 2, 68.

¹¹³KRI VI 609–19.



virtually impossible, since Egyptian *h* does not otherwise correspond to *h* (cf. Ug. *mšh*).¹¹⁴ In any case, the meaning is hardly appropriate. The word is without doubt derived from the root *mšh* “to measure.” Cf. Imp. Aram. מִשְׁמָר “measurement,” TA נִמְשָׁמֵר, נִמְשָׁמֵרָה “measure” (of length, volume, and weight); Syr. مَسْعَة (m²šūtā) “a measure”; Akk. *mašāhu* “to measure (area, volume),” *mašhu* “a vessel for beer,”¹¹⁵ and especially *mašīhu* (pl. *mašīhātu*) “a measure, container (of 30 to 54 *silas*)¹¹⁶.” The Egyptian writings indicate the presence of an *i*-vowel, which appears to be misplaced, as suggested by the Akkadian evidence. The semantic development from the field of “measuring” to “vessel” is not without parallel, cf. *ma-di-di* (no. 238), derived from *mdd* “to measure.” Cf. [5]

199. *ma-sa-hi-ta* P. Turin P+R 34, 3.¹¹⁷ [D. 20]
 mašīhāta?* N. (f.?) pl. “AMPHORA.**” Cf. the preceding entry. The word may be the plural form of the apparently masculine singular form, cf. Akk. *mašīhu* “a measure, container of 30 to 54 *silas*,” whose plural is *mašīhātu*. It might, however, be a feminine by-form. (B. 500.) [5]
200. P. Koller 1, 7. “**HAMMERED WORK(?)**” See under .
201. *mas-ta* An. IV 10, 4. [D. 19]
mas-ta-²u₃-t P. BM 10056 8, 13.¹¹⁸ [D. 18]
 mašōṭa*. N. f. “SMALL GALLEY PROPELLED BY OARS.**” This vessel must have had a fairly large bank of oars, for the An. IV

¹¹⁴Helck was following Burchardt, who apparently had the same root in mind. Burchardt cited מִשְׁמָר without translation or comment.

¹¹⁵The word occurs as an Akkadian loanword in an Ur III Sumerian text.

¹¹⁶I.e. about 27 to 48.5 litres. This was a large vessel, approximately the same size as the Egyptian *msh*. The two may be identical. For the size of the *sila*, see I.J. Gelb, “Measures of Dry and Liquid Capacity,” JAOS 102 (1982), pp. 585–90.

¹¹⁷Cf. KRI VI 657, 1. Kitchen read the third group as *ht* rather than *hi*.

¹¹⁸Glanville, “Royal Dockyard,” ZÄS 68, 3* (following p. 140).

passage compares a vulture's wing to such a ship: *Di:f hpr·i m dn̄h nrit mi mst* “*pr·tw.*” “May he make me a vulture's wing like a (fully)-manned *mst*.” Glanville maintained that these vessels were relatively small, and were dependent upon larger war ships.¹¹⁹ The word is quite possibly related to the Semitic root *šw̄t* “to beat, stir; row,” cf. BH 𐎣𐎱𐎩 “oar”; TA 𐎣𐎱𐎩 “oar; a light ship”; Ar. مسرط (*miswat*) “stirring stick.” The Egyptians must have mistaken *ta*, which here represents */*ta*/, for the feminine ending, as the word is modified by a feminine old perfective form in the An. IV passage. The ending of the example from P. BM 10056 is difficult: it could stand for [yōt], [ōt], or even [pōt]. The form is a *mem*-preformative substantive. The [ō] of the Hebrew and Aramaic suggest an original *[mašawṭa], in which the diphthong [aw] was contracted. That the same nominal formation could refer to both an oar and a vessel should not be surprising, for the *mem*-preformative nouns designate the place of activity as well as the instrument. The evidence from TA confirms the use of the word to designate a vessel. (Wb. II 151, 9.) [4]

202.  mas=ti₃=ra P. Leningrad 1116 Bv s. 60; 70; 75; 78.¹²⁰
[D. 18]

 mas=ti₃=ra P. BM 10056 10, 2.¹²¹ [D. 18]

maštira*. N. m. “OFFICE, CHANCELLERY.**” The reading of the signs is suggested by the fact that Eighteenth Dynasty group writing tends to use the oblique strokes for the *i*-vowel and the group  (−*r*) is otherwise not used until the Nineteenth Dynasty. The P. BM 10056 example occurs in the context of transfer of raw materials on a certain day (10, 1 ff.): *Šdyt m nʒ n šmmwt nty m pʒ mas=ta=ya=−r in Sʒ [nsw] Imnhtp: mr hst* 7. “Issued from the storage sheds which are in the *mstr* by Prince Amenhotpe: 7 *hst*-planks of *mr*-wood.” The example in P.

119 ZÄS 68, p. 16 (32).

120 A copy of V. Golénischeff's publication was not available to me, but l. 60 is cited with an improved reading by Glanville, “Royal Dockyard. II. Commentary,” ZÄS 68 (1932), p. 17, n. 36.

121 Glanville, “Royal Dockyard,” ZÄS 66 (1931), p. 4* (after p. 140). Cf. Glanville, ZÄS 68, p. 17, n. 36.



Leningrad 1116 B vs. 60 was qualified in l. 61 as a *ma=ha=ya=t*¹²² “magazine, depot?” Cf. the root *štr*, e.g. BH שָׁׂרֵר “official, officer,” *מִשְׁׁרָה מִשְׁׁרָה “authority”; Punic מִשְׁׁטָּר “official, officer,” משטרת “administration”; TA טַּרְפָּה טַּרְפָּה “executive office,” נְסֻּתָּה נְסֻּתָּה “document”; Syr. مَعْلَم (š̄tārā) “contract”; Ar. سُطْر (saṭara) “to put lines on a paper; to write”; Old S. Ar. ՚Ištr (sIṣtr) “to write”; Akk. šaṭāru “to write.” The semantic field of the root is apparently “to put/keep in order,” and there were two basic directions of development. In the NW Semitic languages, the tendency was to a social application “keeping people in order,” then “authority.” In other Semitic languages the root developed to “putting things in order” then “putting lines (of writing) on paper or clay,” i.e. “to write.” Aramaic has both.¹²³ The Egyptian word probably derives from the NW Semitic development, having to do with “officialdom,” although it is also possible that the word developed from the meaning of writing as “the place of writing” or “place where documents are kept.” (H. 113; not in *Wb.*) [4]

203. *ma₄-sa-ta-ḥa* Med. Habu 82, 13. [D. 20]

mašħīta*. N. “TRAP, SNARE.**” The word occurs in a lauditory passage about Pharaoh’s military prowess: “*nt-f sd{b}h mi msth ḥft iy-sn*. “His talon(s) brought (them) down like a trap when they arrived.” The image of a bird-trap snapping shut conveys the notions of sudden action and powerful tenacity.¹²⁴ Helck analysed the word as the tD-stem of חָשֶׁשׁ, (or rather, the Št-stem of חָוָה) “to bow.” The root is not widely used outside of this particular form, and it seems somewhat improbable semantically. Helck also cited

¹²² Apparently with scales determinative.

¹²³ No doubt there were influences in various directions, and Aramaic, through the ages, was a central conduit.

¹²⁴ For Biblical references to the sudden and powerful action of the bird-trap, cf. Eccles. 9:12 וְאָפָרִים הָאֲחֻזֹת בְּבָבָה כְּהָם יַקְשִׁים בְּנֵי הָאָדָם לְעֵת רְעוּה כְּשַׁתְּפָול עַל־צְדָם בְּחָרָם “and like birds which are caught in a snare, so too are people ensnared at a bad time that suddenly falls upon them.” And also Amos 3:5 חַנְפֵל אַפְוָר עַל־לְפָח מִן־הָאָדָם וְלֹכֶד לֹא יַלְכֹד “Does a bird drop to the ground in a trap when there is no bait for it? Does a trap spring up from the ground when it has not caught anything?” Ps. 124:6–7 deals with the powerful retention of the trap which is miraculously broken.

the noun **תְּבִשָּׁה** “pit.” The pit is used as a means of trapping animals in Jer. 18:22, Ps. 57:7, and Ps. 119:85. The connection is, however, virtually impossible, because the evidence from Arabic indicates that the root was *šwħ* (not *šwh*). Also attractive, but untenable, is a connection with BH **טַבֵּשׁ** “slaughter.” Ug. *mšht* “slaughtering knife/axe” indicates that the second consonant is /h/, not /ħ/. The word is almost certainly derived from the root *šht* “go to ruin,” whence BH **מֶשְׁחִיתָה** “(bird)-trap.”¹²⁵ There is metathesis of the second and third radicals. This is quite understandable since the text contains a word play between Semitic **msh̥t* “trap” and Egyptian *sdh* (erroneously written *sdbḥ*) “to bring down.” The two words were phonologically¹²⁶ similar enough for the pun to work, but the scribe seems to have inadvertently “improved” it by introducing metathesis. There are no morphological problems, the word being a nominal formation with the *mem*-preformative. (H. 114; B. 503; *Wb.* II 152, 4.) [5]

204. O. Gardiner 134 vs. 1. “TABLE(?)” See under

205. *ma-ša=²aba* Gloss. Gol. 1, 10. [D. 20–1]
ma-ša=²aba₃=ya Lond. Leath. Roll 12.¹²⁷ [D. 21]

maš²aba*. N. “WATERING PLACE.” The word occurs in the onomastica among bodies of water. Burchardt identified the word with the well known root *š²b* “to draw (water).” Cf. BH **מְשֹׁאָבִים “watering places”; Ug. *š²b* “to draw (water)”; TA **שָׁאָב** “to draw water”; Old S. Ar. **תְּהִנְתֵּה** (*s₁t²b*) “to draw water.” The *ya* of the London Leather Roll may be the plural morpheme [ya] which is noted in entry no. 3, above. (H. 117; B. 506.) [5]

¹²⁵The word usually has the abstract meaning “destruction,” and also designates a military “demolition detachment” (I Sam. 13:17). The meaning of “(bird)-trap,” however, is beyond question, and has been so translated since antiquity. Jer. 5:26 reads: “שׂוֹר כְּשָׁקֵק קַוְשִׁים הַצְּבוּ מְשֻׁחָרִים אֲנָשִׁים יְלִכְדוּ” “They (evil men) lurk like fowlers ‘lying in wait’, they set up a bird-trap; they snare men.”

¹²⁶The word play also works on the semantic level, since both words deal with the notion of “overthrowing.”

¹²⁷Parallel to Gloss. Gol. Gardiner, *AEO*, III, pl. 16.



206. *ma₂-ša-—r*¹²⁸ H.O. 33 3,2; 50 1,5. [D. 20]

H.O. 19 3,7. [D. 20]

ma-ša-—r O. Gardiner 158 vs. 1,¹²⁹ etc.¹³⁰ [D. 20]

*ma-š-—r*² O. DeM 105, 3. [D. 19 or 20]

ma₂-ša-—u O. Gardiner 134, vs. 1.¹³¹ [D. 20]

Probably also a feminine by-form with metathesis (?):

ma-ša-ta-—r KRI VII, 332, 16. [D. 20]

**mēšara?* <*paṭ(t)ūra?* N. A PIECE OF FURNITURE, PERHAPS “TABLE.” The word occurs at least twice in lists of household furniture,¹³² and is priced a little less than a bed or a chair.¹³³ Helck’s proposed connection to BH שֶׁר “to be strong; to be linked(?)” is unfounded.¹³⁴ Janssen suggested an etymology from the root *yšr/wtr* “be level.”¹³⁵ BH שָׁרֵת “be smooth, straight, just,” שָׁרוֹת “level place, plateau”; Ph. שְׁר “just”; Ug. *yšr* “rightness”; TA שְׁרִי “to be firm; straight,” נְשָׁרָה “plain”; Old S. Ar. ܢܻܻܻܻ (mwtr) “foundation.” If this etymology is correct, the word would be a noun built with the *mem*-preformative, and would mean “flat or level object,” cf. the Hebrew word for plateau (“flat or level place”).¹³⁶ Phonologically the etymology is sound, but there is no evidence that the root ever developed a word designating an item of furniture. Phonologically less straightforward, but much more likely is a connection to the Akkadian *paššuru* “table”,¹³⁷ Amarna

¹²⁸Or *ma₂-šu₅-—r*.

¹²⁹KRI VII 346, 3. Janssen, *Prices*, p. 195, mentions examples from the unpublished O. Černý 1, 5, and O. Gardiner 171, 6–7, but he does not indicate the orthography.

¹³⁰P. Turin Cat 1883 + 2095 vs. 2, 3 (KRI VI 432, 6).

¹³¹Unpublished, but cited by Janssen, *Prices*, p. 194.

¹³²O. DeM 105 (after *h̄t* “bed” and before *hdm* “footstool”), and O. Gardiner 134.

¹³³Janssen, *Prices*, p. 194.

¹³⁴His translation of the Hebrew as “winden” is untenable, as well. The root is not well developed, but has produced words meaning “hardness,” “navel-cord,” and “chain.”

¹³⁵Janssen, *Prices*, p. 194.

¹³⁶English “tableland” may be an interesting topographical parallel.

¹³⁷This is the commonest word for table in Akkadian, and is very widely attested.

*pa-aš-ru*¹³⁸ “table”; Imp. Aram. פָּתַרְאָה, Warka¹³⁹ *pa-tu-ú-ri*, *pa-tu-ú-ru*, Hatra¹⁴⁰ פָּתַרְאָה, TA פָּתַרְאָה, ¹⁴¹ Syr. نَوْلَه (pātū-rā); Ar. فَاتِر (fātūr),¹⁴² all “table.” The word is said to be from Sumerian¹⁴³ but the tri-literal root, the presence of the phone [t],¹⁴⁴ and the feminine by-form in TA suggest that the word derives from a Semitic root.¹⁴⁵ Egyptian *m* for Semitic /p/ is unusual, but not impossible, since both are bilabials. It is also possible that the Egyptians, by false etymology, connected *paššuru/pātūra* with the very common root *yšr/wtr*. (H. 118; not in *Wb.*) [3]

207. *ma=š=r=ru*₂ P. Wilbour A 59, 8; 72, 25. [D. 20]
*ma=š=r=ru*₂ P. Wilbour A 74, 22; 73, 41.
*ma=š=r=²u=ru*₂ P. Wilbour A 58, 27.
*ma=š=r=ru*₂ P. Wilbour B 17, 8.
ma=š=r=T=ru P. Wilbour B 17, 28; 20, 5.
ma=š=r=ru RAD 32, 14.¹⁴⁶ [D. 20]

**Mēšaru*. N. m. as/in n. loc. “PLAIN; WETLAND.” The word refers to a place with productive agricultural soil, as is indicated by the plant determinatives and its occurrence in administrative texts with reference to grain. Some of the writings seem to be influenced by the Egyptian word *mšrw* “evening,” especially the P. Wilbour examples, which contain the “night-sky” and “sun” (“time”) determinatives. The water determinative in the *RAD* example suggests that the soil was moist. The word is possibly derived from

See A. Salonen, *Möbel*, pp. 176–92.

138EA 22, III, 11:1.

139Aramaic texts written in cuneiform.

140Aramaic texts of the Neo-Assyrian period.

141Both are pointed, probably erroneously, with *holam* rather than *shurug*.

142As a loan word, probably from Aramaic or Syriac.

143Von Soden, *AHw* 2, p. 845b.

144It is not attested in Sumerian, and even if it were, Aramaic speakers would have received Sumerian words via Akkadian, which presumably did not have [t].

145Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, pp. 81–82, also argued against a Sumerian origin, and suggested, among other possibilites, that it might be a very old “culture word” borrowed by Sumerian and Akkadian, and later by Aramaic.

146Gurob frag. AA, 7.

the root *yšr/wtr* “to be level”: BH יְשַׁר “be level, straight, just,” מִשְׁרָה “level place, plateau,” MH מִישּׁוֹר “a common,” מִשְׁרָה “garden bed,”¹⁴⁷ Ph. יְשַׁר “just”; Ug. *yšr* “rightness”; TA יְשַׁר “to be firm; straight,” מִשְׁרָא “garden bed; plain”; Old S. Ar. ܓܻܻܾܗ (‘wtr) “plains, lowlands.” Another possibility is a connection with the root *trwy* “to be moist,” cf. BH מִשְׁרָה “juice”; MH מִשְׁרָה “pond”; TA قَرِي “to soak,” مَحْرُوقَة “juice”; Ar. (تَارَن) “moist earth; ground, soil.” The meaning of the Arabic word seems very appropriate, but since the NWS evidence all points to a meaning of extreme wetness, not appropriate for land producing cereal crops, the connection is somewhat questionable. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

208. ma-ša-ra=ra P. Koller 2, 1-2; An. IV
16, 12. [D. 19]

**mašarrira*. Vb. “TO ATTACH; TO AFFIX.” The word occurs in the following sentence in reference to the draught poles of chariots: *iw·w i^cw, grb, dby, tm, sgnn, ma-ša-ra-ra* “they have been washed, shaved, leather-fitted, finished off, oiled, and *mšrr*.¹⁴⁸ Since the pole is otherwise completed, only a few possible activities remain: either polishing it,¹⁴⁹ or attaching it to the chariot body.¹⁵⁰ The final activity in this account of chariot construction is the affixing of the yoke assembly. No root with the meaning “polish” is forthcoming, and it seems almost certain that there is a connection with the root *šrr*, whose basic meaning is “to be firm.”¹⁵¹ Cf. BH שְׁרִיר “muscle,” שְׁרִיזָה “hardness, stubbornness”; Ug. *šrr* “sure,” *mšrrm* “stabilizers”,¹⁵² TA שְׁרֵד D-stem “to fix firmly,” שְׁרֵיד “strong, fast”; Syr. ܫܺܪܺ (šar) “to be firm,” D-stem “to make firm”;

¹⁴⁷In Kilayim 2, 6ff. the word refers to long, straight beds for plants, as opposed to mounds for melons, and other arrangements.

¹⁴⁸An. IV 16, 11–12. The similar passage from P. Koller reads: *p³ t^c n tg gp, grb, tby, tm, sgnn, m^rrr.* “The *ti-ga*-wood draught pole is ‘cut’, shaved, leather-fitted, finished off, oiled, and *m^rrr*.

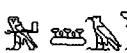
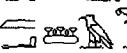
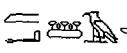
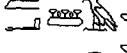
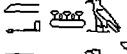
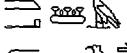
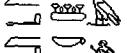
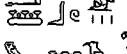
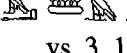
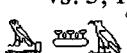
¹⁴⁹So Caminos, LEM, p. 215: "just a guess."

¹⁵⁰ Helck may have meant "attaching," but his translation as "herrichten" is quite vague.

¹⁵¹ Helck cites the root, but has apparently not understood the implication, for he translates the word as "winden."

¹⁵²Small weights used to balance the scales, according to Dijkstra and de Moor, "Problematic passages," *UF* 7 (1975), p. 207.

Eth.  (*šārara*, L-stem) “to establish, found.” The form is no doubt a D-stem participle. The D-stem makes excellent sense, since the G-stem means “to be firm,” and the D-stem “to make firm.” Syntactically, *mšrr* is used as an old perfective. (H. 119; B. 511; *Wb.* II 158, 4.) [4]

209.  *ma-ša-ka-ba* P. Boulaq 12, 6.¹⁵³ [D. 19]
 Med. Habu 16, 16. [D. 20]
 Gloss. Gol. 3, 10. [D. 20–1]
 Stela of Dehuty-hotpe.¹⁵⁴ [D. 19]
 *ma₄-ša-ka-ba* Černý, *Répertoire*, 63. [D. 19]
 Seti I, Abydos.¹⁵⁵ [D. 19]
 Stela of Dehuty-hotpe.¹⁵⁶
 Stela of Pentawer.¹⁵⁷ [D. 19]
 *ma₄-ša-ka-bu* Kaschau 342.¹⁵⁸
 Stela of Pentawer.¹⁵⁹
 St. BM 1183.¹⁶⁰
 KRI V 397, 2. [D. 20]
 *ma₄-ša-k-ba* Seti I Aswan Stele.¹⁶¹ [D. 19]
 *ma-ša-ka-ba-yu* P. Leiden I 350
 vs. 3, 15. [D. 19]
 P. Leiden I 350 vs. 3, 9.

¹⁵³ W. Spiegelberg, “Varia,” *Rec. Trav.* 15 (1893), p. 142.

¹⁵⁴ M.A. Murray, “Some fresh inscriptions,” *Ancient Egypt* (1917), p. 65, lower 3–4.

¹⁵⁵ H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (London: 1933), pls. 90, 1, 5; 92.

¹⁵⁶ Murray, *Ancient Egypt* (1917), p. 66, upper 3–5.

¹⁵⁷ Schulman, “Military Titles,” *ZÄS* 93 (1966), pl. 9, fig. 2 (following p. 130).

¹⁵⁸ *Wb. Belegstellen*, II 158, 7.

¹⁵⁹ Schulman, “Military Titles,” *ZÄS* 93 (1966), pl. 8, (opp. p. 130), middle register.

¹⁶⁰ M.L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, Part 10, (London: 1982), pl. 99, upper register.

¹⁶¹ L. Habachi, “The Two Rock-Stelae of Sethos I in the Cataract Area speaking of huge statues and obelisks,” *BIFAO* 73 (1973), p. 119, 10.



ma-ša-ka-ba-ya P. Harris I 48, 2.
[D. 20]

P. Harris I 28, 5.

St. BM 290, lower 1.¹⁶² [D. 19]

Budapest Stela.¹⁶³ [D. 19]

*ma₄-ša-ka-b=y*¹⁶⁴ St. DeM, KRI III 267, 4.
[D. 19]

**maškaba?* (sing.), *maškabaya/a?* N. (pl.) A STATE OFFICIAL, PROBABLY “TAX OFFICIAL,” OR “CUSTOMS OFFICER.” This officer is found in connection with ships, taxes, and the military (foreign campaigns). The term also occurs in the title *hry mškb* “Superintendent of the *mškb*.¹⁶⁵

The evidence for association with ships: (O. Seti I Cenotaph) *ᶜḥw nty r-h3t ma-ša-ka-ba Pn-Imn*. “The ships which are in the charge of Pen-Amun.” Also P. Leiden I 350 vs. 3, 9; 3, 15. P. Boulaq 12, 6: *ma-ša-ka-ba PN nty hr p3 q3r* “*Mškb* PN who is on the *q3r*-ship.” The Seti I Aswan stele describes the transport of an obelisk by ship: *iw wrw ma₄-ša-k=ba hr shsh*. “And the nobles and *mškb* were hastening.”

The evidence for both ships and tax collecting: (P. Harris I 28, 5) *Iry-i n·k hnyt ma-ša-ka-ba-ya m rm̄ shpr·n·i r šd b3kw T3wy*. “I made for you oarsmen and *mškb* of men whom I created to collect the taxes of the Two Lands.” (P. Harris 48, 2) *Ir-i n·k pdt, bity, f3y sntr. Sny-i n·w ma-ša-ka-ba-ya r st3·sn, r šd b3kw·sn*. “I made for you bowmen, beekeepers, and incense carriers.¹⁶⁶ I established for them the *mškb* to transport them¹⁶⁷ and to collect their taxes.”

¹⁶²James, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 9, pl. 48, 1.

¹⁶³Schulman, “Military Titles,” ZÄS 93 (1966), pl. 9, fig. 3.

¹⁶⁴Less likely to be read *bi₃*.

¹⁶⁵E.g. The stele of Dehetu-hotpe; Med. Habu 16, 16.

¹⁶⁶I.e. various royally sanctioned, if not controlled, crafts and occupations. Honey production and the import of incense were subject to taxation. Were bowmen taxed on booty taken on missions? If so, this might account for the presence of taxation officers on foreign campaigns.

¹⁶⁷I.e. to transport the bowmen to their destinations, and the honey and incense to storage depots.

Evidence for association with the military: Med. Habu 16, 16: *ku=d=n, hryw ma=ša-ka=ba, q=ri=ču n htry č3 n[ty] m šmsw n Hm·f* “the charioteers, superintendents of the *mškb*, the shield-bearers of the great (chariot) team, who are in the service of His Majesty.”¹⁶⁸ Gloss. Gol. lists the word between military officers and policemen/guards. It is possible that the military connection was primarily that of troop transport, but this is not explicitly stated. The *mškb* officers may have been collecting taxes outside of Egypt proper, but again the texts do not make this explicit.

Helck’s association with שְׁכַב should be dismissed, since the root means “to lie down.”¹⁶⁹ The term משכּבם of the Phoenician Kilamuwa inscription is apparently unrelated, since it designates the lower social class of Yaoudi.¹⁷⁰ If the word means “collector” i.e. tax-collector,¹⁷¹ the word may possibly be connected to the root *gby* or its by-form *gbb*, “to collect.” The root is not attested with this meaning in BH,¹⁷² but is very well attested in the languages in which it does occur: cf. Ug. *gbb* N-stem “to gather together, assemble (troops)”; MH גְּבָה “to collect taxes, collect debts,” H-stem “to cause taxes to be collected,” גְּבָב “tax collector; customs collector,” גְּבָרִיּוֹת “the office of (Roman) tax collector”; TA גְּבָב “to collect (taxes, debts); to tax,” A-stem “to make s’one pay,” גְּבָעִיא “(tax) collector; (customs) collector,” and the by-form גְּבָב “to collect; rake up,”¹⁷³ Palmyr. Aram. גְּבָב “to collect (tax, toll)”

¹⁶⁸Over a depiction of archers, shieldbearers, and men armoured with swords, spears, axes, and throwing sticks.

¹⁶⁹Helck is wrong in attributing to שְׁכַב the meaning “to put, place.” Even if it had this sense, the etymology would be anything but clear.

¹⁷⁰L1. 10, 13, 14, 15. M.J. Lagrange, “Eine Phönizische Inschrift aus Zendschirli,” in M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, vol. 3 (1915), p. 222, ff. Schulman (“Military Titles,” *ZÄS* 93 [1966], p. 132, n. 54) tentatively accepted the suggestion by S. Feigen that the term of the Kilamuwa stela could be analyzed as a D-stem participle meaning “one who fights with a *šikbu*,” but this is extremely dubious.

¹⁷¹If soldiers were not being taxed on booty taken, one might assume that military transport duties were assigned on occasion. Although it is possible that the word was sufficiently vague to cover collecting both taxes and people.

¹⁷²The root only occurs in the word for “locust” (i.e. “swarm,” as a *collection* of insects).

¹⁷³The meaning of the by-form is particularized to “raking”, while its counterpart has the specialized meaning of “(tax, debt) collection.”



(common); Syr. **جَبَّا** (*g^obā*) “to levy impost, collect tax,” **جَبَّا** (*gabbāyā*) “tax collector”; Ar. **جي** (*jabā*) “to collect (taxes, duties),” **جيابة** (*jibāya*) “tax, duty, impost,” **جاب** (*jābin*) “tax collector, revenue officer,” **مجبي** (*majban*) “tax, impost.” The form would be the Š-stem participle, with the /g/ being devoiced under the influence of the sibilant. An exact parallel is not found, however, as the words for tax/customs officials are either the G-stem participle or the “professional” *qattāla* form. Somewhat more complicated, and therefore less likely, is a derivation from the Akkadian isogloss (?)¹⁷⁴ for tax collecting, or a West Semitic version of it. Cf. Akkadian *miksum* “tax,” *mākisum* “tax collector,” and *rāb miksim* “chief tax officer.” The word is attested as a rare BH word for taxes due to the temple: **מִכְסָה**. In TA it is more common **מִכְסָה** “tax, toll”; and is even more common in Syriac **מַקֵּסָה** (*maksā*) “tribute, tax,” (*māk^osā*) “tax collector”; Ar. **مَكْسَه** (*makasa*) “to collect taxes,” **مَكَاسِ** (*makkās*) “tax collector.” The first complication is Egyptian š for Akkadian s (and Hebrew *samekh!*). It is not expected, but not impossible given the complexity of the interrelation of the sibilants (especially if loan words are involved). The second complication is metathesis of the second and third radical. The third complication is Egyptian *b* for Semitic *m* (of mimilation), an interchange that is, however, attested elsewhere. (H. 122; B. 513; *Wb.* II 158, 7–10; Schulman *MÄS* 6, §112.) [3]

210. **ماشـاتـة** **ma₄=ša=ka=ta** Med. Habu 101.¹⁷⁵

[D. 20]

maškatta*. N. in n. loc. “DWELLING PLACE.” The first element of the name is likely from the root *škn* “to dwell.” Cf. BH **מִשְׁכָּן “dwelling place” (with pl. constr. **מִשְׁכָּנֹת**); Ug. *mšknt* “dwelling place”; TA **مَشْكُنَة** “dwelling place; tent”; **مَشْكُونَة** (a type of loan); Ar. **مَسْكَن** (*maskan*) “dwelling, abode”; Akk. *maškanu* “building site; place,” *maškattu* “deposit.” The form is presumably the f. sing. construct. Feminine *mem*-preformative nouns from this root are not well attested, but the Ugaritic apparently has a f. sing.

¹⁷⁴It is attested in West Semitic, esp. Aramaic and Syriac, but presumably as loan-words.

¹⁷⁵Simons, *ETL*, p. 165, no. 76.

mšknt. If the identification is correct then there is assimilation of the *nun* to the feminine ending. [4]

211. KRI VII, 332, 16. “Table(?)” See under .

212. *ma-ša-di-di-t* O. Vienna Aeg. I, 9.¹⁷⁶ [D. 20]

Also written:

ma-ša-di Turin Necropolis Journal.¹⁷⁷ [D. 20]

**mušṭāta?* N. (f.?) “COMB.” The example from the necropolis journal occurs in a list of funerary equipment after *tṣy šnw* “hair tweezers.” The Vienna Ostracon example also occurs in a list of objects found in a tomb along with *tṣy irt* “eye tweezers.” Zonhoven¹⁷⁸ associated the word with the Coptic *መሸጥ* “(weaver’s) comb,” for which Černý (*Ety. Dict.*, 97) suggested an etymology from the Semitic root *mšṭ*, Ar. *مشط* (*mašaṭa*) “to comb (hair),” (*mušṭ*) “comb.” Further evidence is obtained from BH *תְּרַשׁ* “to harrow,” and especially Akkadian: *mašādu/mašātu* “to comb hair; card wool,” *mašdātu* “combed hair,” and, in particular, the feminine noun *mušdu* (sing.) *mušdātu* (pl.) “comb.”¹⁷⁹ The Akkadian word is usually transcribed with *d* as the medial consonant, but sometimes it is transcribed with *t*.¹⁸⁰ Either is possible, since the cuneiform script is ambiguous. The second *di* of *ma-ša-di-di* is problematic, but perhaps it represents the feminine ending [ta], since the word is known from Coptic to be feminine. If so, the word must have come from a Semitic language in which the singular was marked with the feminine ending, or else it stems from the Akkadian plural form. The Arabic would suggest that the root contained /š/ (Hebrew *שׁ*, Arabic *ش*), but the correspondence of

¹⁷⁶Zonhoven, “Inspection,” *JEA* 65 (1979), p. 90 and 96 (listed under “I.8”).

¹⁷⁷Year 17, vs. b8, 8; 10; 16: Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale*, pls. 1–7.

¹⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹⁷⁹The word is attested in Old Akkadian, Old Babylonian texts and also at Boghazköy, Alalakh, and Nuzi.

¹⁸⁰*CAD*, for instance, is not entirely consistent in its various entries.



Egyptian š to Semitic /š/ is otherwise unattested.¹⁸¹ It is also possible that the root actually contained */š/, and that the Arabic is a loan from a language such as Aramaic/Syriac in which original */š/ had the value [š].¹⁸² It is impossible to determine from Akkadian whether the original root contained */š/ or */š/, as in Akkadian they have merged as [š]. (Not in *Wb.*) [5]

213. P. Turin (P+R) 88, 2. “TO BAKE; ROAST.” See under .

214. *ma-qā-‘a-—r* P. Sallier I 7, 9. [D. 19]

Miswritten:

ma-ga An. II 8, 4. [D. 19]

**maq^cara*. N. “BOTTOM OF THE OVEN, FIREBOX.” The meaning is certain from the context. An. II 8, 3 ff. reads:¹⁸³

P₃ rthty ‘h^c hr qnf, hr h³^c ‘qw r t₃ ht, i_w d₃d₃·f m-hnw t₃ ta=ru₂=ru₂. M_h s³·f rdwy·fy. Sp n why m d_{rt} s³·f, h³y_f im m ma-ga.

The baker stands baking, tossing loaves into the fire with his head in the oven. His son holds his feet. In the event that he slips from his son’s hands, he falls in, into the *mg<‘r>*.

The word has long been identified with the Semitic root *q^cr* “to be deep/hollowed out”: BH קְרַעַת “dish,” Mod. Heb. קָרָעַ “bottom”; Ar. قَرْعَة (qa^cr) “bottom, depth.” A metathesised and semi-reduplicated form occurs in the BH קְרַעֲתָה “floor, bottom”; TA קְרַעֲתָה “floor, ground, bottom,” Epigr. Jewish Aram. קְרַעֲתָה “ground.” The word is built with the *mem*-preformative. No morphologically exact parallels are forthcoming. (H. 124; B. 517; *Wb.* II 158, 15.) [5]

215. O. BM 29550, 4. “STAFF, STICK, ROD.” See under .

¹⁸¹This would be the only certain example. One of the possible examples, *ka-wi-ša-na* “saddle pads(?)” (no. 453) is extremely dubious, and *‘a-ra-ša-na* “scabies” (no. 85) is also open to question since it is confused with the word for lentils *‘a-—r-ši₂-na* (no. 84), if not related to it.

¹⁸²If so, the route of transmission is unknown, as it is unattested outside of Akkadian and Coptic.

¹⁸³The text of P. Sallier I is identical but for a few divergences.

216. *ma₄=qa-ru₂* Med. Habu 83, 50. [D. 20]

maqlū*. N. “HEARTH, OVEN.**” The word occurs in a rather broken context, but the general idea is clearly that of dealing the enemy a searing blow (literally or figuratively): *t3 nb [...] h^c.sn mī ht [...] ma₄=qa=ru₂* “every heat ['burned'] their limbs like the fire [in] the *mqr*.” The word has been understood as a defective writing of *ma=qa=cā=r* “oven’s bottom” above,¹⁸⁴ but it may well be a *mem-* preformative noun from the well known root *qly* “to roast.” Cf. BH **מְקַלָּה** “to roast, parch,” MH **מְקַלָּה** “hearth,” Mod. Heb. **מְקַלָּה** “hearth”; TA **مَكْلَة** “hearth”; Syr. **مَكْلَة** (*q^olā*) “to roast”; Ar. **(qlw)** “to fry, bake, roast,” **مَقْلَى** (*miqlan*) “frying pan”; Eth. **ቀለዋ**: (*qalawa*) “to roast”; Akk. *maqlū* “oven, grate.” Cf. also the word *m=ga=-r* “to roast,” (no. 227). (H. 124; B. 517; *Wb.* II 158, 15.) [4]

217. *ma₂=qi₂=ra* P. Harris I 34b, 3. [D. 20]

Also written:

ma=qi₂=n=t O. BM 29550 4.¹⁸⁵ [D. 19 or 20]

ma=gi₂=w=t An. VII 3, 8.¹⁸⁶ [D. 19 end]

ma=gi₂=²t O. Ramesseum 94, 5.¹⁸⁷ [D. 19 or 20]

ma=gi₂=t P. Sallier II 8, 5.¹⁸⁸ [D. 19 end]

magqila*. N. “STAFF, STICK, ROD.**” The word occurs in the following phrase in P. Harris: *ht drww gn n mqr* “a knob¹⁸⁹ of painted wood for a staff.” The “Satire of the Trades” passage refers to the laundry worker: *rmy·i n·f wrš hr mqn{t}* “I weep for him as he spends the day with the (washer’s) stick.” The “Satire of the Trades” is written in Middle Egyptian, although the manuscripts are all Ramesside in date. The examples are included here for the

¹⁸⁴So Burchardt and Helck.

¹⁸⁵Satire of the Trades: W. Helck, *Die Lehre des Dw3-hmj* (Wiesbaden: 1970), pt. 2, p. 109 (XIXg).

¹⁸⁶= O. BM 29550 4.

¹⁸⁷= O. BM 29550 4.

¹⁸⁸= O. BM 29550 4.

¹⁸⁹For “=ga-na” “knob,” perhaps cf. Ar. **عَقْلَة** (*uqla*) “knob of reed or cane” or MH **עֲפִיל** “ball; lump.”



sake of comparison. The *n* of An. VII indicates that the original contained /l/. The variants without *r* or *n*, rather than miswritings, may preserve the authentic ME orthography, in which Semitic /l/ was represented by (ȝ). The *mqr* of P. Harris has long been identified with BH and MH מִקָּר “rod, staff, stick.” The root of the Hebrew word is uncertain, and the word is not found outside of Hebrew. The *t* of some writings may indicate the feminine gender, which is once attested in BH (Gen. 30:37), and whose plural, regardless of gender, is מִקְלָתִות. (H. 125; B. 518; VESO VIII B, 3; Wb. II 159, 3.) [5]

218. *ma-qu=ru₂=²u* Maxims of Ani B. 10, 4. [D. 21]

- ma-qu₄=ru₂* Maxims of Ani Gc 5.¹⁹⁰ [D. 20]

**maqûrû*. N. m. A VESSEL, “GOBLET”(?) The word occurs in the sentence: *T3 ka=²ir-yu f3i p3 mqr, iw bw f3y·s mwt·s.* “The baboon (learns to) carry the *mqr*, although she does not carry her mother.” The connection with the late ¹⁹¹ and Coptic Βμακρό “trough, mortar” is uncertain. The *mqr*-vessel, however, is probably related to the Ug. *mqrt* “an ornamental beverage vessel”;¹⁹² Ar. مقراة (*migrāt*) “a large bowl”; Akk. *maqartu* “a vessel.”¹⁹³ (Wb. II 159, 4.) [4]

219. *ma₄=q=r=pu=t* Thutmose III List I, 94 c. [D. 18]

**magrapōtu*. N. as n. loc. “SPADE; HOE (?)” The name may be related to the root *grp*. Cf. BH מַגְרָפָה “spades”; TA מַגְרָפֵת “spade; hoe”; Ar. مجرفة (*mijrafa*) “spade; mattock.” It is possible that the word exhibits graphic transposition and the final group should be read *tu₂*. [3]

220. Thutmose III List I, 106. “CAVE.” See under .

¹⁹⁰= B. 10, 4.

¹⁹¹Ritual of the Festival of the Valley 2, 12.

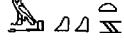
¹⁹²Gordon no. 1538; Aistleitner no. 2455.

¹⁹³The word is attested in the Neo-Babylonian period.

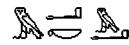
221.  *ma*-*qi*=*qu*₂ Urk. IV 1419, 18. [D. 18]

 *ma*₂-*qi*₂=*qa* An. III 2, 4. [D. 19]

 *ma*₂-*qi*₂=*qa*=*t* An. IV 2, 10; P. Koller 2, 8.¹⁹⁴
[D. 19]

 *ma*=*q*=*q*=*t* P. Rainer 53 9.¹⁹⁵ [D. 21]

maqīqu*. N. m. “SOFT, MOIST SOIL.**” The meaning is clear from the Urk. IV text. In the caption of a ploughing scene the farmer says to the oxen: *Iw-n hr irt p3 ma*-*qi*=*qu*₂. “Hurry up ... for we are working soft earth!” The association of the word to BH מְקַרֵּב “to rot, purify” is due to Chabas.¹⁹⁶ The meaning “to rot, purify” is not particularly applicable to moist soil. Far more likely is a connection with the root *mwg*. E.g. BH מְמַגֵּן G-stem “to melt,” D-stem “to soften,” MH מְמַגֵּן “to soften (by soaking)”; TA מְמַגֵּן A-stem “to cause to flow,” מְמַגָּן “to soften,” מְמַגָּן “solution”; Ar. مَوْجَ (mwg) “to swell, surge,” tL-stem (*tafā`ala*) “to flood, flow.” Wintermute¹⁹⁷ also associated the word with this root, or rather with the MH/TA by-form מְמַגֵּן. One need not resort to the later by-form, since it could be a D-stem form from a middle weak root (*polel*). BH provides an example of the D-stem meaning “to soften” in the context of soil: בְּרִכּוֹת חַמְנוּנָה “with showers you soften it (the earth)” (Ps. 65:11). The form appears to be a nominal, perhaps adjectival form, based on the D-stem. The use is as a substantive, but in the An. III/P. Rainer passage, where it occurs in the phrase ȝht *mqq(t)*, it may be an adjective. It could, however, simply be a bound construction “field of moist soil.” (H. 126; B. 521; Wb. II 159, 12.) [4]

222.  *mak*=*ma*=*ru*₂=*ta* Amenemope 7, 6. [D. 21?]

makmarōta*. N. (f.?) pl. “FISHNETS.**” The word occurs metaphorically of jackals and birds gorging on fish when the pools dry up: *n3 mak*=*ma*=*ru*₂=*ta* *h3w* “for the fishnets have been emptied

¹⁹⁴ An. IV 2, 10 = P. Koller 2, 8.

¹⁹⁵ = An. III 2, 4.

¹⁹⁶ Chabas, *Méл. Égyptol.*, II, 132, n. 2 (cited by Caminos, *LEM*, p. 76). Helck is wrong in attributing the meaning “to melt, dissolve” to this word.

¹⁹⁷ Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 94.

עֲבָמָר*, מַכְמָר “snare for (land) animals,” מַכְמָרָה “fishing-net.” The root is also attested in Akk. *kamāru* “net.” The gender of the Egyptian word seems to conform to the Hebrew pattern, in which the feminine form designates a fishing-net, and the masculine form a snare for land animals. The *-uta* at the end of the Egyptian word may well be the NW Semitic feminine plural ending [ōt]. If so, it provides further evidence of the Canaanite *[á] to *[ó] shift. (H. 127; *Wb.* II 162, 16.) [5]

223. *mak-ru₂=²u* Gloss. Gol. 3, 12. [D. 20–1]

mākiruyu*. N. pl. “MERCHANT.**” The word occurs after *šwty* “trader” and *ma-ḥ-r* “buyer.” The word has long been identified with the Semitic root *mkr* “to sell.” Cf. BH מַכְר “to sell,” מַכְר “vendor”; Punic *mcir* “to sell,” (part.) “merchant”; Ug. *mkrm* “merchants,” and in Akk. transcription *ma-ka-ri* “to sell; trade”;¹⁹⁹ Ar. مَكْر (*makara*) “to swindle”; Old S. Ar. (*mkrn*) “merchants”; Akk. *mākiru* “trader.”²⁰⁰ The form is probably the participle, but it could also be the professional form **makkāru*. The ending is probably for the plural [*yū*] or [*yā*] noted under ²*-bi-ra* (no. 3).²⁰¹ (H. 128; B. 525; *Wb.* II 163, 3.) [5]

224. *ma₃=k-ta=ra* Thutmose III List I, 71 c. [D. 18]

ma₃=k-ta=ra=ya=n={t} ASAE 42, pl. 1, 22.

[D. 18]

mak-ta=-r An. V 20, 2.²⁰² [D. 19]

ma₄=k-ta=ra KRII 10, 1. [D. 19]

ma₄=k-ta₅=-r Med. Habu 101.²⁰³ [D. 20]

mak-ti=ru₂={t} Gloss. Gol. 6, 1. [D. 20–1]

¹⁹⁸ Spiegelberg, (Review) *OLZ* 27 (1924), p. 185.

¹⁹⁹ Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 146.

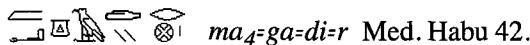
²⁰⁰ The word is attested in Old Akkadian.

²⁰¹ The writing ²*u* is attested elsewhere, cf. *bi-ša=²u* and *n-ha=ru₂=²u*.

²⁰² In the n. loc. P3 *mktr n Sty Mr-n-Pth*.

²⁰³ Upper register, below the word *r-drw* of line 27.

Also written:



ma₄=ga=di=r Med. Habu 42.



Shishak List, 58.²⁰⁴ [D. 22]

**magdāla*. N. m. sing. and dual as/in n. loc. “TOWER.” Coptic Σμεστωλ, Βμιστολ,²⁰⁵ Demotic *mktr* “tower.” In Medinet Habu 42 the word occurs in a caption over the depiction of a tower with high doors, upper-storey window, and crenellated parapet with narrow crenals and rounded merlons. The caption reads: *Mgdr n R^cmssw Hk3-Iwn* “Magdal of Ramses, Ruler of On.” Cf. BH מגדל “tower,” n. loc. מגדלה (pl. + 3rd f. sing. suffix); Ph. Ug. *mgdl*; TA מגדלא, מגדלא, all “tower.” There are also Akkadian transcriptions of a n. loc.: ^{a[lu]}[M]a-ag-d[a]-li^{ki}²⁰⁶ and with metathesis *uruMad-gal-te*.²⁰⁷ Most of the Egyptian writings indicate the devoicing of [g] and [d] to [k] and [t] respectively. The later writing of the Shishak list, as well as the Coptic, suggest that the Ramesside pronunciation had been forgotten or corrected. The ending found in the n. loc. is probably that of the dual: “Twin Towers.” In any case, it provides further evidence of nunation as opposed to mimation. (H. 129; B. 527, 528, 530, 538; VESO VIII A7, XIX A7, A8; Wb. II 164, 2–3.) [5]

225. An. II 8, 4. “BOTTOM OF THE OVEN.” See under .

226. (Satire of Trades)
“STAFF, STICK, ROD.” See under .

227. *m=ga=—r* An. IV 14, 5; P. Ch. Beatty IV vs. 9, 5.
[D. 19; 19 or 20]

²⁰⁴Bubastite Portal pl. 4, 58.

²⁰⁵Albright, *VESO*, p. 62, points out that the Coptic cannot be derived from the New Kingdom words, unless there was vocalic transposition. It is possible that the word was never lost to Egyptian, but that the pronunciation changed in accordance with the Semitic equivalent of the day.

²⁰⁶EA 185, 29, and in l. 34 *aluMa-ag-[da]-li*.

²⁰⁷K. Nashef, *Répertoire Géographique des textes cunéiformes*, vol. 5, (Wiesbaden: 1982), p. 181.



Also written:

   *ma₅=qu* P. Turin (P+R) 88, 2. [D. 20]

Perhaps also:

   *ma₂=qu* An. I 9, 5. [D. 19]

    *ma₅=qa* O. lit. DeM 1623 8.²⁰⁸

**maqala?* Vb. “TO BROIL, GRILL.”²⁰⁹ The word occurs in the phrase *trp mgr* “broiled goose” in An. IV. The P. Ch. Beatty IV passage reads: [...] (bird determinative, pl. strokes), *m dfdf*, *kt-ht* *mgr qnw ...* “[...] -fowl, namely *dfdf* and many other broiled things ...” The P. Turin instance occurs in a phrase referring to large fowl: *wnw tʒ-tw im-n*, *ma₅=qu* “which had been captured by us and broiled.” The word is probably related to the Semitic root *qlw/y*, e.g. BH קַלְנָה “to roast, parch”; Egy. Aram. מִקְלָן “burnt-sacrifice,” TA ئَلَّى “to burn, roast”; Syr. مَلَّا (*q̡lā*); Ar. قُلْوَة (*qlw*) “to fry, bake, roast”; Eth. ΦΛΩΦ: (*qalawa*) “to roast”; Akk. *maqlū* “to burn.” The word may possibly be related to Greek μαγευεῖν “to cook (meat)” and μάγειρος “a cook (of meat and fish)”; Latin *magirus* “cook.”²¹⁰ The initial *m* is somewhat problematic,²¹¹ since basically only the G-stem is used.²¹² It may have arisen from a confusion with (or as a back-formation from) the word     “hearth,” which is probably a *mem*-preformative noun from the same root. If so, the Egyptians must have assumed the root was **mql* and not *qlw*.²¹³ It is also possible that the word had initial *m* in the source language, as in Akkadian. The word

208= An. I 9, 5.

209A depiction of a goose being grilled over a brazier can be found in W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig: 1923), vol. 1, pl. 213, upper right.

210This connection was suggested to me by D.B. Redford. The word is a loan in Latin. The root is quite productive in Greek, but its etymology is unknown. It is interesting, although perhaps coincidental, that in both Egyptian and Greek the word refers to cooking meat specifically. The word may be a *Kulturwort*.

211The reading with initial *m* had been uncertain, but the P. Turin writing leaves no doubt. In both of the other instances the *m* is not written in group writing, and could be the preposition *m*. The word is listed in *Wb.* as *gr*.

212The N-stem does occur in BH, and the Gt-stem in MH and TA.

213Cf. *ma-ga-sa* “to emboss, hammer(?)” (no. 229), which also apparently resulted from mistaking the *mem*-preformative as the first root consonant.

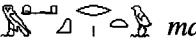
seems to be used as a verb in the Egyptian stative (old perfective) in all three passages.²¹⁴ The word occurring in An. I 9, 5 may well be related, but its exact significance is obscure. It is used as the nickname of a certain scribe. Does it mean “roaster,” or even “roast (meat)”? (B. 1057; *Wb.* V 181, 3.) [4]

228.  *ma=ga=ra=ta* *KRI* II 22, 5–6. [D. 19]

 *ma₄=ga=ra=ta* *KRI* II 158, 16. [D. 19]

Also written:

 *b=ga=ra=ta₅{it}* Israel St. 11.²¹⁵ [D. 19]

 *ma₃=q=ra=tu₂* Thutmose III List I, 106 a. [D. 18]

 *ma₄=q=ra=tu₂* Thutmose III List I, 106 b, c.

**maǵārata* (sing.), *maǵārāta* (pl.). N. f. and n. loc. “CAVE.” All the literary contexts specify the cave as a hiding place, and the *KRI* passages additionally refer to caves as the dens of jackals.²¹⁶ The text of *KRI* II 158 is typical: *Wrš·sn m nʒ n ma₄=ga=ra=ta, kʒpw mi wnšw*. “They passed the days in caves, hiding like jackals.” The Israel stele states that it is advantageous for the defeated enemy to hide: *iw tw wdʒ m tʒ b=ga=ra=ta₅{t}* “for one is safe in the cave.” Müller identified the word with Semitic *mǵrt* “cave.”²¹⁷ Cf. BH מִעְרָה (sing.), מִעְרֹות (pl.); Ug. *mǵrt*; Imp. Aram. מַעֲרָה, TA مَعْرَة (sing.), مَعْرَات (pl.); Palm. מַעֲרָה מִתְּבָא (pl.); Ar. مَغَارَة (sing.), (maǵārāt pl.), all “cave.” The interchange between *b* and *m* is not common, but not particularly surprising. (H. 130; B. 378, 535; *VESO* VIII A, 8; *Wb.* I 482, 15; II 164, 14.) [5]

229.  *ma=ga=sa* P. Turin (P + R) 32, 7.²¹⁸ [D. 20]

 P. Turin (P + R) 32, 5.²¹⁹

²¹⁴In P. Ch. Beatty *mgr* is probably the old perfective modifying *kt-hjt*, although it could conceivably be a substantive in apposition to *kt-hjt*.

²¹⁵*KRI* IV 15, 12.

²¹⁶This corresponds very well with references to caves in the Bible and Mishnaic literature.

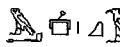
²¹⁷W.M. Müller, “Anmerkungen zum Siegeshymnus des Merneptah,” *Rec. trav.* 20 (1898), p. 31.

²¹⁸*KRI* VI 335, 12.

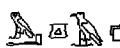
²¹⁹*KRI* VI 335, 9.



Also written with metathesis:

 *ma-sa-qā* P. Koller 1, 7. [D. 19]

maqaša*. Vb. A METALWORKING ACTIVITY, “TO EMBOSSED, HAMMER(?)” P. Turin 32, 5 states of a statue: *t3y:f šndt m nbw n qni mgs* “its kilt was of hammered yellow gold.” In P. Turin 32, 7, the *mgs*-work is said to be engraved (*hty*). In P. Koller, the word occurs in the phrase: *iw n3y·sn hrw hmt m sm3 n 6, t3i m t3 bsn, fdt, msq*. “And their copper ‘overlays’ are of a six-fold alloy, they having been engraved with the burin, (*fdt*)-ed, and (*msq*)-ed.” Both contexts seem to deal with metal coverings. Perhaps cf. BH מְקַשֵּׁה “hammered (or embossed) metal-work.” The word is listed as a derivation of the root **נִשְׁׁפָר in the lexicons, but it is known only as a *mem*-preformative noun. Both of the verbal uses in the Egyptian texts are as statives (old perfective forms). It is quite possible that the Egyptians assumed that the root was **mqš*.²²⁰ If this identification is correct, there is metathesis of the second and third consonants in the example from P. Koller. (H. 112;²²¹ B. 501,²²² 536;²²³ Wb. II 150, 1; 164, 15.) [3]

230.  *ma-ga-sa-pa* P. Ch. Beatty V vs. 11. [D. 19]

**magatapa?* N. pl. “CRATE, BASKET.” The text reads: *n3y·sn nb1 hn^c n3y·sn ma-ga-sa-pa nty iw·tw r f3y p3 ‘qw m-im·sn* “their carrying poles and their crates in which the food will be carried.” The word looks Semitic, but the origin is uncertain. Perhaps cf. MH בְּפִת “to twist, tie,” בְּפִתָּה “travelling implements tied up, bundle,” כּוֹפֶת שָׁה “basket (for olives),” כּוֹפֶת בָּקָ “a vessel with a bottom compartment”; BA, TA תְּפִת “to tie knots, bind.” The Ug. *túg.meku-up-šu* “headdress,” in Akk. transcription, is probably related to these words.²²⁴ This identification is possible only if the original root is *kpt*, which is, however, likely since the MH בְּפִתָּה is almost certainly derived from Aramaic, and there are apparently by-forms

²²⁰Cf. *ma-ga-*—*r* “to roast” (no. 227).

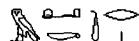
²²¹P. Koller 1, 7 only.

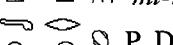
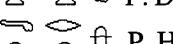
²²²P. Koller 1, 7.

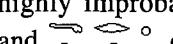
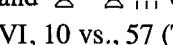
²²³P. Turin 32, 5; 7.

²²⁴Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 139.

with . Blackman's attempt²²⁵ to associate with Arabic قفص (*qafas*) "cage, basket" is doubtful for phonological reasons.²²⁶ In any case, the word appears to be a noun built with the *mēm*-preformative. (Not in *Wb.*) [2]

231.  Med. Habu 42. "TOWER." See under
.

232. 
mt=r=t P. Koller 2, 1. [D. 19]

P. DeM 3, 6. [D. 19]

P. Harris I 16b, 12; O. Gardiner 240.²²⁷ [D. 20]

**mētarā*. N. m. sing., pl. (?) "CORDAGE." In his commentary to P. Koller 2, 1 Caminos translated the word as "webbing," but the exact meaning is uncertain. The word occurs in the context of bows: (*n̄y·*)*sn ma-ša-ya m mt̄t w̄b* "(the)ir (leather) 'grips' being of spotless cordage."²²⁸ The context of P. DeM 3, a carpenter's letter, is more informative: *Twi hms-kwi hr irt p̄s h̄t iw·f nfr. Imy in·tw p̄s h̄bny tm·f wdf, m-mitt p̄s mt̄t.* "I am sitting here making the bed, and it's a beauty. Send the ebony without delay, and the *mt̄t*, too." Here *mt̄t* almost certainly refers to the cord used in the webbing of the bed. In O. Gardiner, the *mt̄t* is mentioned along with baskets, and the P. Harris example is listed among items made of flax and hemp, both of which are noted for their bast fibre used in cordage and matting. Černý's etymology from *mt̄t* "middle" is highly improbable.²²⁹ The connection, if any between this word and  of O. Cairo 25723 vs., 1 and  of P. Kahun VI, 10 vs., 57 (Twelfth Dynasty) is uncertain. The word is perhaps from the root *ytr*, whence BH פִּתְרָא "bow-string; tent cords," and פִּתְרָא "cord (for tying people), bowstring," MH פִּתְרָא "cord, rope," פִּתְרָא "cord, bowstring"; TA ئَتْرَى ئَتْرَى "strong cord, bowstring, rope";

225 A.M. Blackman, (Brief Notice), *JEA* 22, p. 104.

226 Egyptian *s* for Semitic /s/ is not attested.

227 Unpublished, but cited in Černý, *Papyrus Hiératiques de Deir el-Medineh* (Cairo: 1978), vol. I, p. 14, n.1.

228 The exact meaning of *w̄b* is uncertain in this context. The same phrase also occurs in P. Harris.

229 Černý, *ibid.*

Syr. **ܐܼܾܻ** (*yatrā*) “cord”; Ar. **ܾܻܲ**, (*watar*) “string (of musical instrument), bowstring”; Old S. Ar. **ܼܾܻܵ** (*wtr*) “cord, sinew, string.” (Wb. II 174, 10.²³⁰) [3]

233.  $\text{ma} = \text{ta} = \underline{\text{di}}_4 = ^3\text{u}$ An. I 26, 8. [D. 19]

? N. pl. “**WHIP LASHES**.” The context indicates that these leather items were fixed (*tsi*) to a whip: *Di·w²-i-ti=ma₂=ya n p3y·k²as=ba-*
-r; ts·w n/f ma=ta=di₄=²u. “They place a ‘ferrule’ on your whip; they tie the *mtd²* on it.” Helck attempted to identify the word as a HtD-stem participle from נצץ “to fall in ruins,” but the identification should be rejected on semantic and morphological²³¹ grounds. The word is likely a by-form of  ma-
-n=ta=di (no. 168), which also occurs in the context of chariot equipment in a list of whips and staves. The etymology is difficult, but may possibly be connected to the Aramaic word מְטֻרָפָה “whip.” In the Egyptian writing, there is no evidence of a sound corresponding to [r]. Quite unexpected would be Egyptian *d* for the phone represented by Aramaic *q*.²³² The root has as its semantic field “stinging,” but its phonology is somewhat problematic. It seems to be related to BH טַעַנָּה, whence פַּעֲנָה “hornets,” since the Aramaic counterpart is אַרְקָנָה “hornets.”²³³ (H. 131; B. 545; *Wb.* II 175, 3.) [2]

234. ma=tì=pa=-r=ta KRI II 672, 3. [D. 19]

**map̄siltā?* N. A TOOL(?)²³⁴, “CHISEL(?)” The context sheds little light on the exact nature of the object: *Sh̄s n dit iry-tw 10 n m̄prt hn^c p̄ṣy-sn 10 n =ga-na-ta-={ti₂}*. “Memo: Having 10 *m̄prt* made, along with their 10 ‘handles’.”²³⁴ Perhaps cf. BH פָּסַל “to hew,” MH מְפִסֵּלָה “plane; sculptor’s chisel,” פִּסְלָה “chisel,” Mod. Heb. חisel “chisel”; Ug. *psl* “stone worker, carver,” *pslt* “flint” (i.e. “a

²³⁰ Wb. lists with fish determinative and comments: "Etw. Pflanzliches?"

²³¹The root is not attested in this stem, and furthermore, one would expect the form to be **mitnassē*.

²³²For this problem, see no. 168.

²³³For this root see *da-i-ri-ču* (no. 591).

²³⁴The word may be the same as occurs in P. Harris I 34b, 3, which appears to mean "knob" of a staff. Cf. *εἴσαντα* (no. 99).

cut stone” used as a razor); TA פְּסָל “to cut, hew,” מְפִטְלֵתָה “engraving”; Nab. פְּסָלָא “sculptor.” If the identification is correct, then there is metathesis of the first and second radicals. D. Meeks’s attempt to associate the word with *tprt*, a term designating the Hittite chariot, is unfounded.²³⁵ (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

235.  - []   ma₄-ta₅=n Shishak List, no. 126. [D. 22]

**mattān*. N. (m.?) as n. loc. “GIFT.” From the NW Semitic root *ntn*, “to give.” Cf. BH מַתָּן “gifts”; Ph. מַחַת (f.) “gift”; Ug. PN *Mtnb'l*, ^m*Ba^cal-ma-te-ni*, ^m*Ba^cal-ma-tin*,²³⁶ Imp. Aram. מַתָּן (m.) “gift”; TA מְתָנֵתָה (f.) “gift.” The form is the less usual masculine form, and exhibits the expected assimilation of *nun*. The name is similar to BH מַתָּן. Cf. the East Semitic equivalent of this word:    ma₄=n=da=ta (no. 170). (B. 100) [5]

236.    ma=ti₂=ta-{}t} O. Turin 57365 1.²³⁷ [D. 19 or 20]

*? N. MEANING UNKNOWN. Certainly it is not a part of a chariot, as Helck maintained. It occurs in the obscure line: *Ir t₃ mgt nty m drt-k, ma=ti₂=ta n mnw*. “As for the bow in your hand, it is a *mgt* of *mnw*.” The *mgt* could be a staff or rod, but the meaning of *mnw* remains obscure, as it has no determinative. Perhaps it might be the word for “pain, affliction,” thus “a staff of affliction.” If *mgt* does, in fact mean staff, perhaps cf. the Ar. مِسْأَةً (*minsa^a*) “stick, staff.” (H. 132.) [1]

237.   ma-di H.O. 100 4, 5. [D. 19 or 20]

**maddi*? N.? “MEASURE(?)” The word occurs in the phrase ‘d *ma-di* referring to grease. The context is broken and the syntax is unclear. The determinative, however, suggests a meaning involving an activity. Perhaps cf. BH מְדֻהָה “measure”; Ph. מְדַח “measure”; Ug. in Akk. transcription *ma-ad-da-tú* “measurement”;²³⁸ Imp. Aram. מְדֻהָה, TA מְדֻהָה “measure”; Ar. مَدَّ (mudd) a dry measure.

235Cf. D. Meeks, *L'année Lexicographique* (Paris: 1982), vol. 3, 79.1420.

236Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 147.

237Formerly known as O. Turin 9588.

238Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 145.



The word may be related to the vessel (no 238).
(Not in *Wb.*) [2]

238. *ma₂=di=di* P. Harris I 64a, 5. [D. 20]

m=du=du Hayes, *Ostraka*, no. 92.²³⁹ [D. 18]

ma-di=d(i) Hayes, *Ostraka*, p. 36.²⁴⁰ [D. 18]

**madidi*. N. A VESSEL, CONTAINING WINE AND MILK. Burchardt suggested the possibility of a link to the Semitic root *mdd* “to measure.” The connection seems quite sound and has been followed by Helck and Černý.²⁴¹ Cf. BH מִדָּה “to measure,” BH, MH מִדָּה “measure”; Punic מְדַד “to measure”; Imp. Aram. מְדַדָּה “measure,” TA مَدَدْ “measure”; Ar. مَدْ (mudd) “a dry measure.” The semantic development from “measure” to “vessel” seems to have also occurred with *ma=sa=ḥi* and *ma=sa=ḥi=ta* (nos. 198, 199). (H. 133; B. 548; *Wb.* II 183, 18.) [4]

239. *ma=da=‘a* P. BM 10052 10, 15.²⁴² [D. 20]

**ṣamha?* *ṣamaha?* N. “PRODUCE, CROPS.” The word occurs in the context of a commodity transaction: *I-ir-(i) int·w r-db3 ma=da=‘a m p3y-i ḥspt*. “It was in exchange for ‘produce’ from my garden that I bought them.” The word is probably related to BH מִמְדָה “growth”; Ph. ημέτ “growth”; TA ئەمەت “growth”; Syr. سەمەت (*semħā*), all “growth.” If the association is correct, the word exhibits metathesis of the first two consonants, and this would be another instance of Semitic /h/ represented by Egyptian ‘ayin. The root is uncertain; it could be *ṣmḥ*, but the evidence from Ugaritic suggesting this is very weak.²⁴³ It is not clear that the word is related to the word (*md3*) “gain, profit” which occurs

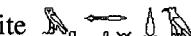
²³⁹W.C. Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen Mūt (No. 71) at Thebes* (New York: 1942), pp. 35–36.

²⁴⁰M.M.A. Eg. Exped. neg. no. 6A.182, 13–14.

²⁴¹Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 94.

²⁴²Peet, *Tomb Robberies*.

²⁴³The evidence consists of a single PN [...]ṣ(?)*mḥ* and one conjectural reconstruction: *ms[mb] // pr^f qz* “first fruits of summer.” Cf. M. Dijkstra and J.C. de Moor, “Problematical passages in the Legend of Aqhātu,” *UF* 7 (1975), p. 199.

in the Adoption Papyrus.²⁴⁴ Gardiner wanted to link these words together, along with the Saite  (*m^cdʒ*) “profit,” and the word  (*mdʒ*) of P. Harris I 37a, 5 which is a basket or a measure for dates. While “growth” and “gain” could be related, these words are almost certainly distinct from the word for basket. Cf. no. 240. (*Wb.* II 189, 3.) [3]

240.  *ma₄=da=^c a* *Inscr. hier. Char.* pl. 29, 6 and 13.

[D. 19]

samha?* *samaḥa?* Vb. “TO GROW, CULTIVATE.**” The word occurs in the context of agricultural production: *hmw hmwt nty (hr)* *ma₄=da=^c a r p̄y i m̄wd* “the male and female servants who do *md̄r* at my ‘estate’.” BH  “to sprout,” H-stem “to make grow”; TA  “to grow,” A-stem “to produce”; Syr.  (*semah*) “to spring forth.” Theoretically the verb should be a causative stem, but there is no indication of this. The word is used syntactically as an infinitive following the preposition *hr*. Cf. no. 239. [3]

241.  *m=da=ra-na₂* KRI IV 9, 9. [D. 19]

 *ma₄=da=—r[...]* KRI IV 22, 15.

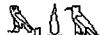
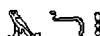
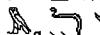
madarāna?* N. A **WEAPON(?) The word designates an object in a list of booty containing silver and metal vessels; the word  follows: “*mdrn* and blades.” The word is perhaps connected to the Ug. *mdrn* (sing.) “weapon.” The *mdrn* is associated with blades in an Ugaritic text: *arb^c mdrm̄m, mdrn wms̄ht* “four *mdrn*-weapons, each *mdrn* with its blade.”²⁴⁵ It also occurs in cuneiform transcription as *ma-za-r[u-nu]*.²⁴⁶ The word may not be Semitic. Gordon (no. 1435) maintained that the ending *gl* of *mdrgl* “a *mdr*-bearer (soldier)” was the Hurrian *nomen agentis* suffix. Aistleitner associated the Ugaritic word with the Arabic *js* (*darra*) “to scatter,” but this seems unlikely on semantic grounds. (Janssen *Prices*, 325, n. 72; not in *Wb.*) [4]

²⁴⁴ A.H. Gardiner, “Adoption Extraordinary,” *JEA* 26 (1940), pl. 5, and esp. p. 158.

²⁴⁵ Gordon no. 1435.

²⁴⁶ *CAD M* 1, 437b: “(an implement) WSem. word.”



242.  *ma-da-ha-t* Naunakhte, *passim*.²⁴⁷ [D. 20]
-  *ma-diʒ-ha-ta-t* O. Cairo 25670 II, 6. [D. 19 or 20]
-  *ma-di-ha-ta* P. BM 10401 I, 11.²⁴⁸ [D. 20]
- **mathatta?* N. f.(?) “MORTAR; QUERN.” Coptic ^SΜΑΧΑΓΤ “mortar.”²⁴⁹ The word occurs in lists of household objects, but the contexts do not shed any light on its nature or function. Ward maintained that the word was from the native Egyptian *mdh* “to hew.”²⁵⁰ The semantic development from “hewing” (stone and wood) to “grinding, crushing” is not very likely. Phonological evidence suggests that the word is a loan-word. The fact that the feminine ending [t] is pronounced [t] is evident from the writing of the Cairo ostraca, the London papyrus, and especially from the Coptic, which clearly has pronounced [t]. The word is very similar phonologically and semantically to the Semitic *ṭhn* “to grind.” Cf. BH מ�ת “to grind,” נַחַט “mill,” MH מְלִחָה “grinding mill,” Mod. Heb. מְלִחָה “grinder”; Ug. *ṭhn* “to grind”; Imp. Aram. מְלִח “to grind,” TA مَلِحَ “to grind”; Syr. مَلِحَ (ṭḷhēn) “to grind”; Ar. طحن (*ta-hana*) “to grind,” مطحنة (*mithana*) “mill, grinder;” (*mathana*) “mill, flour mill”; Eth. ተዢኑ፡ (*tehen*) “flour”; Akk. *tēnu* “to grind.” The final consonant *n* would have assimilated to the feminine ending [t]: */*anta*/ ⇒ *[attā]. This is a regular feature of Akkadian and all the NW Semitic dialects.²⁵¹ The only difficulty with the proposed identification is phonological. Egyptian *d* for Semitic /t/ is not expected. Perhaps the phonological context, and in particular the phone [h], exerted some influence.²⁵² (B. 553; *Wb.* II 193, 2.) [4]

²⁴⁷ *JEA* 31, pl. X: II, 7; 8; 9; 10; II vs. 11; pl. XI III 9; 10; 11; 13; III vs. 9.

²⁴⁸ J.J. Janssen, “Requisitions from Upper Egyptian Temples (P. BM 10401),” *JEA* 77 (1991), p. 80 and pl. 4, 2.

²⁴⁹ In the phrase τεμπαρτον μηκοτ it refers to a part of the mill associated with the millstone, perhaps a groove on the lower stone in which the upper stone travelled.

²⁵⁰ Ward, “Late Egyptian ‘r.t.’,” *JNES* 44 (1985), p. 333.

²⁵¹ Garr, *Dialect Geography*, pp. 40–4.

²⁵² Cf. the word *d-p-hu* “apple” (no. 563) from Semitic *tph*, which has the variant *d-p-hu*.

243. **מַתָּהֵן** *ma=d=q=ta* RAD 34, 14, and often.²⁵³ [D. 19, 20, 21]

מַתָּהֵן O. BM 5637 vs. 4;²⁵⁴ O. Cairo 25611 vs. 3. [D. 20]

מַתָּהֵן. RAD 67, 8.²⁵⁵ [D. 20, end]

מַתָּהֵן O. Cairo 25707 1. [D. 20]

מַתָּהֵן P. BM 29560 vs. 6; 9–10;²⁵⁶ O. DeM 643, 5. [D. 20]

Also written without final *t*:

מַתָּהֵן *ma=d=q* O. DeM 393 vs. 2. [D. 20]

מַתָּהֵן P. Turin Cat. 1881 2, 13; etc.²⁵⁷ [D. 20]

מַתָּהֵן P. DeM 2 vs. 6 and 7; P. DeM 19 5. [D. 19 or 20]

מַתָּהֵן O. Cairo 25692 4; P. DeM 2 vs. 5. [D. 19 or 20]

Miswritten:

מַתָּהֵן *ma=di₃=ta* O. DeM 69 5; *RL 52, 5.*²⁵⁸ [D. 20]

מַתָּהֵן *ma=d=b=ta* O. DeM 621 vs. 5; 6. [D. 19]

māsiqta, manṣiqta*. N. f. “LARGE VESSEL**.”²⁵⁹ Demotic *mdq*.

The *mdqt* often contained beer,²⁶⁰ but also honey²⁶¹ and cream or curds (*smi*).²⁶² The word has long been connected to the root *yṣq* “to pour out; cast.” It occurs in cuneiform transcription as *ma-ziq-da*.²⁶³ Cf. BH קצ “to pour, cast,” מצלות “castings (metal)”; Ph. קצ “statue”; Ug. *yṣq* “to pour out.” The writing with initial *n* is also attested: **מַתָּהֵן** *ma=—n=d=q=ta* (no. 171). (H. 135; B. 552; *VESO* VIII A, 9; *Wb.* II 94, 3; 191, 9–12.) [5]

²⁵³E.g. P. BM 10052 2a, 11; 2a, 12; P. BM 10326 11 (*RL 18, 1*); O. DeM 115 vs. 2–3; P. Turin Cat. 1891 vs. 6 (*KRI VI 637, 1*); 2063 1, 16 (*KRI VI 656, 7*); 2084 + 2091 (*KRI VI 605, 12*); O. Cairo 25279 2.

²⁵⁴A.M. Blackman, “Oracles in Ancient Egypt,” *JEA* 12 (1926), pl. 37.

²⁵⁵Necr. Journal 2, 10.

²⁵⁶H.O. 85.

²⁵⁷P. Turin Cat. 1881 3, 12 (*KRI VI 609–19*); P. Turin Cat. 1906 vs. 2, 10; 2, 23 (*KRI VI 628–29*).

²⁵⁸P. Bib. Nat'l. 196 III, 11.

²⁵⁹Janssen, *Prices*, p. 347: “a large and quite common container of roughly 50 *hin*” (ca. 25 litres).

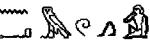
²⁶⁰E.g. An. IV 12, 11; O. BM 5637; P. Turin Cat. 1881.

²⁶¹Gurob Frag. Z, vs. 3.

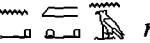
²⁶²Necr. Journal 2, 10.

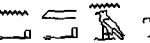
²⁶³EA 14 III, 40.



244.  *n=ma* An. I 23, 5. [D. 19]

 *na=ma* KRI II 148, 10. [D. 19]

 *n=ma=na* Thutmose III List I, 84, a. [D. 18]

 Thutmose III List I, 84, b, c; KRI I 37, 7. [D. 18, 19]

Also in PN:

 P. Wilbour A 70, 51.¹ [D. 20]

 P. Wilbour A 47, 31.²

na^cimu?* **na^cmu?* Adj. (and as or in n. loc.) “DEAR; CHARMING; PLEASANT.**” The word is used sarcastically in an utterance in Canaanite: *mhr n^cm* “(my) dear *mahir*.” Cf. BH מִיעֵד “pleasant, delightful”; Ph. מְעֵד “good”; Ug. *n^cm* “gracious, charming,” and the PN in Akk. transcription ^m*Na^camanu^{nu}*;³ Amorite *na^cimum*, *ni^cmum* “pleasant”; Ammonite PN *N^cm-²l*; TA מִיעֵד “pleasing, lovely”; Ar. نَعْمَ (na^cama) “to delight, take pleasure in”; Old S. Ar. مَوْلَ (n^cm) “to be agreeable.” The word has long been associated with this Semitic root, but Shisha-Halevy,⁴ because of the walking legs determinative of An. I, maintained that the word was a “*m*-suffix noun (adjective ...) from the root *n-^c/nw^c* ‘to move’,” and translated “speedy *Mahir-warrior*.” The meaning of מִיעֵד is “to waver, stagger, shake (of boughs),” and it is most unlikely that the root developed to mean “swift.” The walking legs determinative of An. I is not a serious problem, since it can be easily explained as having arisen from confusion with the common word מַלְאָקָה

¹Cf. the BH name מִיעֵד. It is unclear how the Seth animal is to be read. Since the name is Semitic, it likely stands for Ba^cal. Ranke read it as Sutekh.

²The writing with *m* is probably an error.

³Kinlaw, *Names in the Akkadian Texts*, p. 83.

⁴Shisha-Halevy, “Semitic Text,” *Orientalia* 47 (1980), 160 (5.3.2).

(*n^cy*) “to go.”⁵ The n. loc. in the Thutmose III list is probably to be reconstructed as **Na^cmâna*, cf. the BH PN **ນະມານາ**. (B. 557; *Wb.* II 208, 13; *PN* II 317, 13.) [5]

- 245.** *na=c a=ru₂=na* An. I 17, 3–4. [D. 19]
n=c a=ru₂=na An. I 27, 1.
n=c ru₂w=na₂ KRI II 131, 2. [D. 19]
 KRI II 131, 5.⁶
n=c ru₂=na₂ LD III 199 a, 2. [D. 19]
n=c ru₂=na KRI II 132, 8.
 KRI II 132, 6.⁷
*n=c ru₂=nu₄*⁸ [?]

na^carūna*. N. m. pl. “SOLDIERS; SPECIAL DETACHMENT.**” In An. I the term seems to be a generic word for “soldier.” An. I 17, 3–4: *r-h³t m^šc n^ht r ptpt nfy b^šd dd-tw na=c a=ru₂=na*, “at the head of the victorious army to trample those rebels that are called ‘*n^crn*.’” An. I 26–27: *P³ s^š stp, ma=ha=-r rh drt:f, h³wty n=c a=ru₂=na, tpty n da=bi=^oi*. “O distinguished scribe, *mahir* of ready hand, leader of the *n^crn*, head of the troops.” Although not mentioned in the Poem and Bulletin accounts of Ramses II’s battle of Qadesh, the reliefs depict a group of Egyptian soldiers who arrived just in time. The caption reads:

(KRI II 131, 2) *P³ lyt ir-n p³ na=c=ru₂w=na₂ n Pr-c³, c.w.s. m p³ t³ n²A=mu₆=ra. Gm-n-sn lh^h p³ hrw n n³ n hrw n Ht³ lhiy n Pr-c³ c.w.s., iw Hm:f hms w^c, n m^šc f hn^cf.*

The arrival of the *n^crn* of Pharaoh, l.p.h., from the land of Amurru. They found that the forces of those enemies of Hatti had surrounded the camp of Pharaoh, l.p.h., His Majesty being alone, without his army.

(KRI II 132, 6) *iw p³ n=c=ru₂=na₂ hr s^čf p³ hrw n hr hs n Ht³, iw sn hr c^q r ihy, iw n³ sdm-c^š n Pr-c³ c.w.s. hr hdb·sn.*

⁵Fischer-Elfert (*Anastasi I*, p. 199) also arrived at this conclusion.

⁶= KRI II 131, 2.

⁷= KRI II 132, 8.

⁸Cited by Burchardt, no. 559.

And the *n̄rn* were fighting the forces of the vile enemy of Hatti as they were entering into the camp (of Pharaoh), and the servants of Pharaoh, l.p.h., killed them.

These troops were not part of the four army divisions mentioned elsewhere and may have been a special detachment. Cf. BH יִעַרְמָה “boys; squires”; Ug. *n̄rm* “servants,” or “soldiers”; Ammonite *n̄r* “steward.” The term *nīru* attested in Akkadian lexical lists and glossed by ERÍN “troops, soldiers” is probably of the same derivation. J. Macdonald⁹ argued that the Hebrew term refers to young men of high social status who were in attendance to the military elite (“knights”). Schulman¹⁰ maintained that the term was the Semitic equivalent of the *mryn* warrior class, but the Hebrew evidence does not support this contention. It certainly is possible, however, that the Egyptian meaning was broader than the Semitic original and referred to the higher echelons of the military in general. A.F. Rainey has maintained that the term was used in Ugaritic to designate “first class experienced fighting men.”¹¹ The form is apparently the nominative plural, cf. Ugaritic *[ūma]. The presence of nunation (as opposed to mimation) is significant since it suggests a derivation from a dialect/language such as Moabite, or Aramaic.¹² (H. 136; B. 559; VESO X C, 6; Wb. II 209, 10.) [5]

246. *na=aša* Med. Habu 70, 2;¹³ 79, 18. [D. 20]
na=aša Med. Habu 182, 8–9 (d).
na=aša Med. Habu 86, 26.
n=č=ša KRI V 289, 14. [D. 20]
n=č=ša Med. Habu 28, 64.
n=č=š KRI II, 319, 1; 319, 2. [D. 19]
n=č=šu P. Berlin 3031 1, 4–5.¹⁴ [D. 21]
**na'aša*. Adj. “FIERCE; RAGING.” The word is used to describe

⁹J. Macdonald, "The Status and Role of the *Na'ar* in Israelite Society," *JNES* 35 (1976), pp. 147–70.

¹⁰A.R. Schulman, "The *N^crn* at the Battle of Kadesh," *JARCE* 1 (1962), pp. 51-52.

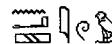
¹¹A.F. Rainey, "The Military Personnel of Ugarit." *JNES* 24 (1965), p. 21.

¹²The word is not, however, attested in any of the Aramaic dialects.

¹³The first sign group is damaged.

¹⁴BD chapter 162, *Hier. Pap.* II, p. 48.

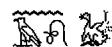
physical strength of various parts of the body. Med. Habu 28, 64: *n^cš bty* “fierce of horns”; Med. Habu 39, 3: *n^cš hpšy* “fierce of arm”; Med. Habu 86, 26: *hpš-f^cy na₂=a-ša mi it-f Imn* “his great fore-arm, fierce like that of his Father Amun.” It is also used in reference to the lion (metaphorically for gods and the king). Med. Habu 182, 8–9: *m^ciw na=a-ša* “a ferocious lion.” Said to a lion god in the Book of the Dead: *nik n^cš dyt* “You are the one whose roar is fierce.” The word has defied identification. Because of the *‘ayin* there can be no connection with the root *lyt*, “to be strong,” e.g. BH פָּלַג “lion”; TA פָּלָג “lion”; Ar. لَّا (l^ct) III, V “to be strong,” لَبْت (layt) “strength; lion”; Akk. nēšu “lion.” The word may be connected with the root *r^cš¹⁵* “to shake” (of earthquakes), “rage” (of sea). Cf. BH פְּעַל “to quake” (earth, heavens), H-stem “to cause to quake”; פְּעַלְעָה “roar; commotion”; TA רְעִישׁ “to quake”; Ar. رَعْش (ra^caša) “to shake,” A-stem “to make shake.” The main difficulty with this derivation is Egyptian *n* for Semitic /r/.¹⁶ (B. 561; Wb. II 209, 12–21.) [3]

247.  *n=c=š=²u* Amenemope 4, 5. [D. 22]

**na^caša?* Vb. “TO OVERPOWER.” The word occurs in the phrase: *r n^cš s^cw-* “to overpower the weak.” Cf. no. 246. The word is used as an infinitive after the preposition *r*. [3]

248.  *na₂=wa-ti₂* Med. Habu 28, 51. [D. 20]

 *na₂=wa-ti₂={n}* Med. Habu 82, 13.

 *na=wa-ti₂* Med. Habu 38, 9.

 *nu=ti₂* Med. Habu 46, 21.

**nawaša, nūša.* Vb. “TO TREMBLE.” All the attestations occur in the expression *nwt m h^cw·sn (nb)* “they tremble in (all) their limbs” in reference to humans and horses. Burchardt identified the word with BH סָוֵס “to flee.” Cf. also Ug. *ns* G-stem “to flee,” Gt “to move back and forth”;¹⁷ Old Aram. סָוֵס H-stem “to remove, steal”;

¹⁵The root may have a by-form in BH פְּעַל.

¹⁶There may be other examples of this, e.g. ²a₂-ḥ=n-nu, no. 25.

¹⁷Gibson, *Canaanite Myths*, p. 153.

Syr. **ܣܵܲ** (*nws*) “to tremble”;¹⁸ Ar. نُسْ (*nws*) “to swing back and forth.” The root *nss* is probably a by-form: Ar. نَسَّ (*nassa*) “to urge (cattle) vehemently”; Eth. **ନୀନା:** (*nasnasa*) “to scatter, spread”; Akk. *nasāsu* D-stem “to shake out (hair), wave (tail), flap (wings).” The connection between fleeing and shaking is not at first apparent, but both probably derive from the basic notion of “moving to and fro.”¹⁹ In any case, the Syriac provides evidence of the exact meaning required by the Egyptian contexts. (H. 137; B. 563, 600; *Wb.* II 225, 1.) [4]

249.  *nm=c* Amarna I, pl. 36, 2; Amarna III pl. 29, 3. [D. 18]
 P. DeM I vs. 5, 5; Doomed Prince 8, 2. [D. 19, 20]
 *nm=cu* O. Lit. DeM 1078 4. [D. 19 or 20]
 O. Cairo 25209 5. [D. 19 or 20]
  Horus and Seth 3, 11. [D. 20]
 *nm=c* CGC 42208.²⁰ [D. 22]
 *nm=(m)a₄* KRI II 326, 15; Med. Habu 82, 13–14. [D. 20]
 *nm* P. Boulaq 6 rt. II, 2; II, 3. [D. 21]
 *nm=m={t}* An. IV 5, 3. [D. 19]

nâma*. Vb. “TO SLEEP.**” The contexts and determinatives make the meaning certain. Amarna Solar hymn: *Nm=c sn h̄f<t> htp·k*. “They sleep when you set.” In Horus and Seth, Atum spends a day in his pavilion: *iw·f nm=cu hr psd·f* “sleeping on his back.” The word survives in the second element of the compound Coptic word **Βριμημ**, **Σριμημ**.²¹ In spite of the apparent presence of ‘ayin, the word is almost certainly related to the common Semitic root *nwm* “to be drowsy; to sleep”;²² BH **𠁥** “to slumber”; Ug. *nm* “to

¹⁸J.P. Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: 1903), p. 333a.

¹⁹As is also the case with BH **୪୩** “to shake” and also “to roam around.”

²⁰R. El-Sayed, “Nekhtefmout, supérieur des porte-encensoirs (II),” *ASAE* 70 (1984–85), p. 327, 16.

²¹Vycichl (*Dict. étym.* 139a) also maintained this etymology for both the LE and Coptic words.

²²Albright, *VESO* p. 18, connected the Coptic to this root, but he did not deal with the Late Egyptian examples of the word.

sleep,”²³ *nhmmt* “slumber”; TA 𠁥 “to sleep, take a nap”; Syr. ܒܻ (nâm) “sleep”; Ar. نوم (*nwm*) “to sleep”; Eth. ܻܻܻ: (*nōma*) “to sleep.” The vocalization of the first sign group is not certain. It could well be *num*, as Albright demonstrated that the Coptic derives from an older *nûma*. If so the word was derived either from a nominal form, the infinitive, or from the imperative (the *qatala* would have been **nâma*). The presence of ‘ayin may not pose a serious problem. The Medinet Habu example seems to contain ‘ayin only as a part of the group *ma₄*, and several other writings lack the ‘ayin altogether. The Coptic exhibits no evidence of ‘ayin, which usually resulted in broken vowels.²⁴ The ‘ayin probably was erroneously inserted by confusion with either *nm* “to be partial” or the verb “to cover; spread,” which is written 𠁩 𠁤 𠁧 𠁨 (O. Lit. DeM + CGC 25218, 17) and 𠁩 𠁤 𠁧 𠁨 ܸ (P. Ch. Beatty I 17A, 12). The somewhat strange writings of An. IV 5, 3 and P. DeM I vs. 2, 4 (no. 250) with the group 𠁩 arose from the hieratic writing of the group *nm*: ܸ (Wb. II 266, 7–10.) [4]

250. *nm=c* P. Lansing 12, 2. [D. 20]
 P. DeM I vs. 2, 4. [D. 19 or 20]

**nūma/ nōma*. N. “SLEEP.” Said of a pleasant villa: *nm^c n=ga=cu m sms h3nw*. “Sleep arrives²⁵ with the pounding of the waves.” P. DeM I vs.: *Wnn·f m nmt ‘3t mi s mwt·tw*. “He is in a deep sleep, like a man who is dead.” Cf. the previous entry and BH נָמָן “sleepiness”; TA نَمَّانِي “slumber”; Ar. نَوْمٌ (*nawm*) “sleep.” The word appears to be a noun, and if so, the Semitic was probably derived from an original **nuwma* or **nawma*. (Not listed in *Wb.* as a noun.) [4]

251. *n-ra=ha* H.O. 70 2. [D. 20]

**lahâ*. Vb. “TO REVILE; VERBALLY ABUSE.” The word occurs in

²³K. Aartun "Neue Beiträge zum ugaritischen Lexikon I." *UF* 16 (1984), p. 52.

²⁴This fact was also noted by Vycichl, *ibid.*

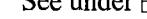
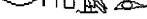
²⁵Caminos, *LEM*, p. 412, translated: "sleep is broken (only) by the splash of the wave." The idea is probably that the regular pounding of the surf lulls one to sleep. Rather than the verb *ngy* "to break" we may have here another Semiticism, i.e. *ng* "to touch (a person), reach, arrive." See *n-pa-a-^cu*, no. 262.

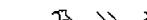
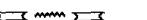
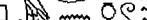
a letter from a girl to her brother about mistreatment by a male member of the household;

Twi hr tw̄w hn^c Mry-M̄s^ct. "H̄s^c-tw r bnr," b(r)f m̄l-n̄s, lwf hr tw(tw) m-d̄l t̄s̄y-i mw̄t hr nd-hrt it n t. "Hr bw ir t̄s̄y-t mw̄t irt n t nkt," b(r)f hr dd. "Hr wn m-d̄l snw-(i), hr bw ir-w nw r-t," b(r)f, lwf hr n-ra-ha m-d̄l-i m mnt.

I am quarrelling with Mery-Ma^cat. "(You) will be kicked out!" thus he says, and he quarrels about my mother when (I) enquire²⁶ about some flour for bread. "Now, your mother does not make any for you!" so he says to me. "Now, your brothers have some, but they don't take care of you!" so he says, as he does *nrh* with/at me daily.

Helck's derivation from רוח, to which he attributes the meaning "to breathe on," is quite impossible for semantic reasons. The word is likely from the root *lhy*, cf. BH *לִחְיָה (?) "curse";²⁷ Ug. *lht* "abuse, slander (?);"²⁸ Old Aram., Imp. Aram. *לְחִיה* "bad (person); calumnious (speech)"; Egy. Aram. *לְחַהָה* "to curse"; Syr. *لَحَّا* (*l̥ħā*) "to wipe out; expel"; Ar. *لَحِيٰ, لَحُو*, *(l̥ħw/l̥ħy)* "to revile, insult, abuse." A *hapax*. (H. 138.) [4]

252.  P. Med. Berlin 3038 1, 8. "POMEGRANATE."
See under  .

253.      *n=ha=-r* An. III 2, 7. [D. 19]
    *n=ha=r-(n)nu-{\{t\}}* P. Rainer 53, 13. [D. 21]
And in n. loc.:
     *n=ha=-r=ti_2=ya* P. Pushkin 127 3, 1.
[D. 21]
     *n=h-ri-na* Urk. IV 697, 3, and often.²⁹ [D. 18]
    Berlin Scarab 16781 9.³⁰ [D. 18]

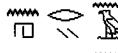
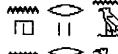
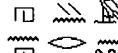
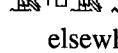
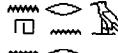
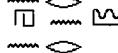
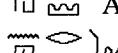
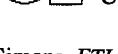
²⁶Lit., "on account of enquiring." The text is ambiguous and could be read: "he is quarreling with my mother when (she) enquires," but the context seems to indicate that the girl, not her mother, is being harassed.

²⁷L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (2nd ed.; Leiden 1967), p. 499b, emending the text from בְּלֹתִי, which makes no sense in the context.

²⁸De Moor and Spronk, *Cuneiform Anthology*, p. 148.

²⁹E.g. Urk. IV 697, 9; 702, 1; 730, 16.

³⁰Ägypt. Inschr. Berlin II, p. 261.

-  Ramses II Luxor.³¹ [D. 19]
-  Urk. IV 711, 5.
-  Urk. IV 698, 17.
-  Berlin Scarab 11002 8-9.³² [D. 18]
-  Amenhotpe II Stela, 33.³³ [D. 18]
-  *n=h=ri=n* Urk. IV 649, 9, etc.³⁴ [D. 18, 19]
-  Thutmose III.³⁵ [D. 18]
-  *n-ha-ri-na* Urk. IV 9, 10.
-  *na-ha-rin-na* An. IV 15, 4, and elsewhere.³⁶ [D. 19]
-  *na-h=ri-na* Urk. IV 36, 10.
-  *n-h=r-na* Urk. IV 710, 15; 710, 4.³⁷
-  Ramses II Karnak.³⁸
-  *n=h=r=n* Urk. IV 613, 9, etc.³⁹ [D. 18, 19, 20]
-  Seti I Karnak.⁴⁰
-  Amenhotpe II Stela, 14.⁴¹
-  Ramses II Abydos.⁴²
-  Urk. IV 587, 13; Amenhotpe II.⁴³ [D. 18]

³¹Simons, *ETL*, p. 155, XXII d7.

³²Ägypt. *Inschr. Berlin* II, p. 260-61.

³³Badawi, "Stele Amenophis' II," *ASAE* 42 (1943), pl. 1 (opp. p. 24).

³⁴Amenhotpe III Soleb (Simons *ETL*, p. 132, IX a7); Ramses II Luxor (Simons, *ETL*, p. 155 XXII g1).

³⁵R. Mond and O.H. Myers, *The Temples of Armant. A preliminary Survey*, (London: 1940), pl. 103, 7.

³⁶E.g. Doomed Prince 5, 3; 5, 4; 6, 1; 6, 4.

³⁷Somewhat damaged.

³⁸Simons, *ETL*, p. 160, XXIV 24.

³⁹E.g. Urk. IV 890, 16; 891, 11; Seti I Karnak (Simons, *ETL*, p. 137, XIII 23); Ramses III Med. Habu (Simons, *ETL*, p. 175, XXX 2).

⁴⁰Simons *ETL*, p. 141, XIV 21.

⁴¹Badawi, "Stele Amenophis' II," *ASAE* 42 (1943), pl. 1 (opp. p. 24).

⁴²Simons, *ETL*, p. 162, XXV 2, and sim. Amenophis III List, An r., 2 (Edel, *Ortsnamenlisten*).

⁴³ASAE 11, p. 258, 5.

- Seti I El Qurneh.⁴⁴ [D. 19]
- Ramses II Bubastis.⁴⁵
- n=h=ri Thutmose IV Chariot.⁴⁶ [D. 18]
- n=h=r-nu Shishak, El Hibeh.⁴⁷ [D. 22]
- n=ha-ru₂=yu=na Gloss. Gol. 4, 4.
[D. 20-1]

*nahara, Nah(a)rēna. N. m. (and as n. loc.) “STREAM; RIVER.”

The word that occurs in An. III and P. Rainer 53 has been previously read as *hr*, the initial *n* being taken as the indirect genitive. As there is no known word *hr* designating a body of water in Egyptian or in the Semitic languages, it seems likely that the word is the common Semitic word *nh̥r* “river,” the initial *n* having fallen together with the *n* of the indirect genitive.⁴⁸ In any case, the well known n. loc. *Nah(a)rēn* referring to the territory around the great bend of the Euphrates is clearly connected to this root. The n. loc. of P. Pushkin is almost certainly related, as well. Cf. BH נָהָר “river,” (n. loc.) אַרְם נָהָרִים; Amarna (n. loc.) mâtuNa-ri-ma,⁴⁹ mâtuNa-ah-ri-ma⁵⁰ mâtuNa-ah-ri-mi,⁵¹ mâtuNa-ah-ma;⁵² Ug. *nh̥r*; Amorite *nahrum*; BA נָהָרִין, Middle Aramaic בֵּין נָהָרִין; Syr. نَهْر (nahrā); Ar. نَهْر (nahr); Old S. Ar. ՞նհր ([?]nh̥r) “irrigation channels”; Eth. ՞նհր (nahār); Akk. nāru, all “river.” Most of the writings of Nah(a)rēn indicate that the [y] of the ending had resolved to *[ē], but the Gloss. Gol. writing, if not simply an error, suggests that it was occasionally pronounced with the diphthong. The nunation is typical of Aramaic.

⁴⁴Simons, *ETL*, p. 144, XV 11.

⁴⁵Simons, *ETL*, p. 163, XXVI d2.

⁴⁶Simons, *ETL*, p. 131, VIII 1.

⁴⁷Simons, *ETL* p. 187, XXXV, 4.

⁴⁸Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 167, also came to this conclusion and connected it with Semitic *nh̥r*.

⁴⁹EA 140, 32.

⁵⁰EA 288, 35.

⁵¹EA 194, 23.

⁵²EA 75, 39.

⁵³Y. Yadin and N. Avigad, eds. *A Genesis Apocryphon*, (Jerusalem: 1956), XXI, 23f. (From Qumran.)

Most scholars believe the [-ay(i)m] ending is a locative,⁵⁴ but there is not much solid evidence in favour of this contention.⁵⁵ A locative-type ending with this vocalization does not seem to be attested with certainty outside of a few nouns like פָּנָן צָהָן “noon.” C. Fontinoy more recently argued that not all place names ending in [-ay(i)m] should be categorically classified as locatives,⁵⁶ but supported Finkelstein’s contention that only the Euphrates, and not the Tigris, was involved.⁵⁷ Finkelstein’s argument holds that the dual is excluded since the word⁵⁸ refers to the land in the middle of the bend of the Euphrates. Nevertheless, if one regards the territory as a C-shaped piece of land defined by the two arms of the river (North and South), the logic for using a dual form becomes apparent.⁵⁹ As for seeing a single river as two parts, Finkelstein himself cites evidence that supports this.⁶⁰ The geographical area that the

⁵⁴E.g. J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig: 1889), p. 319, n. 5. Barth’s proposal was developed by H. Torczyner, *Die Entstehung des Semitischen Sprachtypus* (Vienna: 1916), pp. 69–71, and followed by W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford: 1910), § 88. However, H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (Halle an der Saale: 1922), § 63 allows for both a locative (as in פָּנָן צָהָן “noon”) and the dual in place names (as in אַרְם נַחֲרִים “Aram Naharaim”).

⁵⁵R.T. O’Callaghan (*Aram Naharaim* [Rome: 1948], p. 141) declared “there is no grammatical justification whatever.” Albright, *VESO*, p. 45: “Two Rivers.”

⁵⁶C. Fontinoy, “Les noms de lieux en -ayim dans la Bible,” *UF* 3 (1971), p. 39. He cogently argues that some names make more sense as duals, referring to sites that were built up in two areas, on two banks, etc. He cites possible numerical references in other Semitic place names. He also brings in several examples of French place names involving dualities, sometimes hidden as plurals. Dualities are not uncommon in modern place names, cf. English: Double Bay, The Two Rivers, Twin Bridges, Twin Falls, Twin Peaks, Two Butte Cr., Two Creeks, Two Harbors, Two Rivers. French: Deux-Rivières, Deux Montagnes. German: Zweibrücken, Zweisimmen. Spanish: Dos Bahias. Ancient Egyptian examples: *T3wy* “the Two Lands,” modern Egyptian ex. جبلين Gebelén.

⁵⁷J.J. Finkelstein, “Mesopotamia,” *JNES* 21 (1962), pp. 73–92. His evidence that the Tigris does not make up the other “half” of a duality seems quite convincing.

⁵⁸And the Akkadian *birit narim* “between the river.”

⁵⁹Just as in English objects made of two parts often occur only as plurals: trousers, tweezers, tongs, and scissors. In Semitic languages these are usually duals.

⁶⁰A map showing a river bend has Akkadian captions indicating that the river’s name changed at the bend. This is very likely related to the fact that the land “in the middle” was defined by the bend in the river’s course: *birit narim* (“between the river”).

Egyptians designated by this term is not entirely certain and may have included territory to the exterior of the great bend of the Euphrates. In some cases it seems to have referred to a political entity.⁶¹ The form in P. Pushkin 127 is probably a feminine dual form, as suggested by the determinatives, cf. the BH plural נָהָרֹת *nāharōt*. The exact vocalization of the ending is uncertain. One would expect *[tay(n)] or *[tē(n)]. (B. 578; VESO IX A, 3; *Wb.* II 501, 7.⁶²) [4, 5]

254.  na₂-h=ra Med. Habu 28, 41. [D. 20]

 n-ha=-r H.O. 78 6. [D. 20]

**nahara*. Vb.? N.? “FLOWING; FLEEING” OR “TO FLEE; TO SAIL.” The H.O. text is difficult and open to several interpretations. Foster read *Pn^c-(i) wi nhr-i p3 ym* ... “I am troubled (would turn myself?) so that I would travel the Sea. (Could I report of you that I had rescued [you]).”⁶³ One could also read the text as: *Pn^c wi nhr{-i} p3 ym* ... “Though the ocean’s flow capsized me, (yet) would I report of you that I had saved (you).” The context of the Medinet Habu is more certain: *P3 t3 Tmh pd; iry-w na₂-h=ra*. “The Land of Tjemeḥ ran away; they fled.” Helck associated the Medinet Habu example with the rare BH נַהֲרָה “to flow” or perhaps “to shine.” Arabic provides somewhat more solid evidence: نهار (*nahara*) “to stream forth; to chase away”; Eth. نهل (*nahara*) “to flow; go down; leap.” Foster took the form as a 1st person prospective *sdm:f*, but it would be the infinitive or a derived noun by the alternate analysis. The word occurs in a periphrastic construction with the auxiliary *iry* “to do” in the Medinet Habu passage and likely functions as the Egyptian infinitive. (H. 140; *Wb.* II 286, 9; Ward *Orientalia* 32, 420–23; Goedicke *RdE* 38, 69, n. 22.⁶⁴) [4]

⁶¹E.g., in the designation “Prince of Naharin,” listed with “Prince of Hati,” and “Prince of Shin^car (Babylonia)” (as in the Memphite stela of Amenhotpe II, Badawi, *ASAE* 42 [1943], pl. 1, 30ff.)

⁶²Listed as *hr*.

⁶³J.L. Foster, “Oriental Institute Ostracon no. 12074: ‘Menna’s Lament’ or ‘Letter to a Wayward Son,’” *JSSEA* 14 (1984), p. 95, 22.

⁶⁴“Menna’s Lament.” Goedicke’s interpretation as “pirate” is unlikely.

255. *n-ha=ru₂=u* An. I 20, 1-2. [D. 19]

naharū?* N. f. “FUGITIVES.**” The context is of a *mahir*-soldier waking up early in the morning: *T₃ n-ha=ru₂=u q r p₃ a₂=ha=ya; p₃ ssmt tt.* “The *nhr*² have entered into the camp, and the horses have been untied.” Cf. no. 254. The word appears to be a collective noun, since it is preceded by the f. sing. definite article *t₃* and has plural strokes. The word formation is unknown. It probably is not the participle, since the masculine (sing. or pl.) would be expected. The ending [²u] is perhaps for [ya].⁶⁵ (H. 141; *Wb.* II 286, 10.) [4]

256. *n=h=ri* *Wb. Belegstellen* II 286, 11. [D. 18]

nahîra?* N. m. **TITLE OF SYRIAN LEADER. The word occurs in the sentence: *n=h=ri·sn hr n šct:f.* “Their *nhry* is fallen through his (Pharaoh’s) slaughter.” Gardiner maintained that the title was connected with the n. loc. *Nahrêن*, i.e. “noble of *Nahrêن*,” but there is nothing to substantiate this conjecture.⁶⁶ The word is probably related to the root *nhr* meaning “to be bright.” Cf. BH נָהָר “to be radiant”; BA נְהַרְאָן (*Kt*) or נְהֹרָאֵן (*Qr*) “light,” TA نَهْرَانِيْ نَهْرَانِيْ name or title meaning “enlightener,”⁶⁷ (“Light”) an allegorical name of the Messiah; Palm. נְהִירָאֵן “The Illustrious One” (title of the Palmyrene king);⁶⁸ Syr. نَاهِرَة (*nahîrâ*) Ar. نَهَارٌ (*nahâr*) “daytime”; Akk. *namâru* “to shine brightly.” The Palmyrene use as a royal title adds further support to this connection. It is also possible that the Ugaritic epithet of the sea-god Yam, *Nhr*, is a title meaning “illustrious” rather than a by-name meaning “River.” The *i*-vowel indicated after *r* is perhaps misplaced. If so, it could be reconstructed as an exact parallel to the Aramaic /n²hirâ/. (H. 139; *Wb.* II 286, 11.) [4]

257. *na-ha-ša* P. Med. Berlin 3038 4, 6. [D. 19]

nahâša.* N. A **MEDICINE. It was apparently inhaled in the

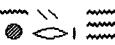
⁶⁵It is sporadically attested: cf. *bi-ša=2u* (no. 138) and *mak=ru₂=u* (no. 223).

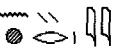
⁶⁶Gardiner, *AEO* I, p. 173*.

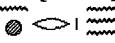
⁶⁷Nazir IX, 5: “*N²horay* was not his name, but he was called *N²horay* because he enlightened ...”

⁶⁸C.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, eds. *Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l’Ouest* (Leiden: 1965), p. 175.

treatment of coughs. Burchardt linked the word with פָּנָג and نَسْنَسْ, but it is not clear what he had in mind, since the roots have developed a large number of words with very different meanings. Helck did not suggest an etymology. A connection to BH פָּנָג and Ug. *n̥hš* “snake” is dubious, although not impossible. The Mishnaic פָּנָג “pungent (poisonous) fluid in the leaves or stems of buried onions”⁶⁹ is not very likely either. Since the medicine is inhaled, a link with the word כְּפָרָה “copper; bronze” is difficult to maintain, but perhaps the term designated a copper coloured substance. (H. 142; *Wb.* II 303, 13.) [2]

258.  *n-h-—r* An. IV 15, 7. [D. 19]

 *n-h-—r-ya-na* Ramesseum wine docket 267.⁷⁰ [D. 19]

 *n-h-ra* Theban Ostracon.⁷¹ [D. 18]

nahla*. N. m. And as n. loc. “WADY, SEASONAL RIVER BED.**” In the An. IV example, the word occurs in a list of fish from various locations and from specific types of water: *bry n n-h-—r Nhs* “The *bry*-fish of the *nhr*-waters of Nubiaville.”⁷² Burchardt identified the word with the Semitic *nhl* “wady.” Cf. BH לִפְנֵי; Ug. *nhl*, and in Akk. transcription *na-ha-li*;⁷³ Amorite *nahlum* “stream”; TA نَهْلَةً; Syr. نَاهْلَةً (*nahlā*); Akk. *nahallu* (*nahlu*), all “wady.” The ending *ya-na* of the wine docket example is probably the dual form. (H. 143; B. 580.) [5]

259.  *na₂-sa-k* Med. Habu 46, 20. [D. 20]

našaqa*. Vb. “TO PUT IN PROPER ARRAY.**” The word occurs in the context of naval warfare:

Di-i grg r h3tyw mi sbty nh̥t m qh̥w. qh̥3 mnšw b3yr(w) na₂-sa-k-w, iw-sn qpr tm m h3t r p̥hw y m qh̥3w qniw hr h̥w-sn.

I caused the mouth of the Nile to be prepared like a strong wall with warships. The galleys and barges were put in proper array, they

⁶⁹Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 896b.

⁷⁰Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 58 (1923), p. 32.

⁷¹W.C. Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, pl. 23, no. 129, 2.

⁷²For a Biblical example of fish from wadies, cf. Lev. 11:9, 10.

⁷³Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 152.

having been fully manned bow to stern with valiant warriors bearing their weapons.

Cf. BH  “to arrange oneself;”⁷⁴ Ar. نسق (*nasaqa*) “to put in proper order, array” (can be used of battle formations); Eth.  (*nasaqa*) “to arrange in order”; Akk. *nasāqu* “to choose,” Št-stem “to put in order; prepare.” Perhaps also cf. the Modern Hebrew  H-stem “to launch (a ship).”⁷⁵ The correspondence between Egyptian *k* and Semitic /q/ is not very common but several fairly certain examples can be cited.⁷⁶ (H. 144; *Wb.* II 337, 1.) [4]

260.     *n=k-pi₂-ta* P. Harris I 16 a, 4; 71 b, 4. [D. 20]

    P. Harris I 64 c, 8.

    P. Harris I 53 a, 8.

  P. Turin Cat. 1907/8 II, 15.⁷⁷ [D. 20]

**nikipta?* N. AN EDIBLE(?) PLANT. In P. Harris I 16a, the word occurs in a list, *n=k-pa₂-ta msti* 52, “52 baskets of *nkpt*.” The word occurs in conjunction with *tišps*, grapes (*irrt*), and especially with the ²*u₂=fi=ta* plant. The word has been listed with Semitic loan words, but no derivation has been suggested. It is very likely the Akkadian *nikiptu*, an edible plant used in salves and listed among aromatics. It is attested in texts from all over the ancient world, including the Amarna letters.⁷⁸ The Egyptian transcription is perhaps faulty, with the *i*-vowel transposed and not clearly indicated. Or perhaps the word was not borrowed directly from Akkadian, but through a Canaanite dialect, in which it may have been pronounced differently. In particular, cf. the next entry, an oil from Babylonia. The *i*-vowel is there rather better transcribed. For a probable late writing of the word, see P. Derchain *RdE* 28 (1976), p. 63. Fecht’s link to the Coptic Βηαξπ “seed, stone” (of fruit)⁷⁹ is

⁷⁴Gen. 41:40.

⁷⁵This is probably derived from the sense of “causing (the ship) to touch (the water).”

⁷⁶Cf. Part II, Chapter 1, A.6, below.

⁷⁷J.J. Janssen, “A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus,” *JEA* 52 (1966), pl. 16.

⁷⁸Attested in Old Akkadian, Old Babylonian, Standard Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian, Boghazköy, and EA 41, 43.

⁷⁹Fecht, *apud* Westendorf, *Kopt. HWb.*, p. 527.

most unlikely on phonological and semantic grounds. (B. 591; *Wb.* II 346, 3; Janssen *Prices* 366.) [4]

261.  *n=k=fi=ta{-r}* An. IV 15, 3. [D. 19]

nikipta*. N. “NIKIP TU OIL.**” The product is said to come from Sangar (Babylonia) and occurs in a list of oils that begins with *b3q ndm* “sweet moringa-oil” and concludes with the following: *b3q n na=ha=rin=na: m nh̄ qnw n t3 mniwt r sgnn m3c·f nt ti-nt-htri:f*. “...and moringa oil from Nahrēn, namely the many imported oils⁸⁰ in order to anoint his army and his cavalry.” Cf. the previous entry, and especially the specific reference to oil in Old Akkadian texts: *šamnu nikipti* “nikiptu oil.” The writing is superior to that of the previous entry in that the vowels are better represented, but apparently transposed. The *-r* group, however, is probably superfluous. (H. 145; B. 442; *Wb.* II 346, 5.) [4]

262.  *n=ga=cu* P. Lansing 12, 2. [D. 20]

naga'u*. Vb. “TO ARRIVE; TOUCH.**” The word occurs in the description of a pleasant villa. *Nm^c n=ga=cu m smsm h3nw*. “Sleep/Drowsiness arrives with the pounding of the waves.” Caminos, following the earlier translation of Blackman and Peet, translated the line as: “Sleep is broken (only) by the splash of the wave.”⁸¹ The addition of the qualifier “only” is fairly drastic, and even with it the statement seems quite jarring. The word is probably Semitic. Cf. BH  “to touch; reach; strike; arrive (time)”; TA  “to touch.”⁸² In the P. Lansing instance the idea is probably “sleep touches one” i.e. “arrives” by the lulling affect of the waves. (Not in *Wb.*) [4]

⁸⁰Lit., “oils of the port.”

⁸¹Caminos, *LEM*, p. 412. A. Blackman and T.E. Peet, “Papyrus Lansing: a translation with notes,” *JEA* 11 (1925), p. 294, and n. 5.

⁸²It may be more than coincidence that the Coptic expression meaning “to fall asleep” is *Bχimha Sχimha*, literally “to strike slumber,” which is possibly a loan translation in part. (The second element is the Semitic word for “sleep, slumber,” see *nm^c*, nos. 249–50.)

263.  *n=g-bu* Thutmose III List I, 57 b, c. [D. 18]

 Thutmose III List I, 57 a.

-  *n=g-bi* Urk. IV 890, 14.⁸³ [D. 18]

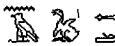
 *na=g-bu* Shishak List, nos. 84; 90; 92. [D. 22]

And possibly also:

-  *n=g-bi* Shishak List, no. 74.

nagbu*. N. m. as or in n. loc. “THE NEGEV**” (**DRY-COUNTRY**). In the Shishak list, the word occurs among several Negev towns, such as ‘Arad and Sharuhen. The name has long been identified with BH נֶגֶב “Negeb” The root *ngb* is “to dry out,” e.g. MH נָגַב “to be dry”; TA נָגַב “to be dry”; Syr.  (*n=geb*) “to be dry,”  (*negba*) “dryness”; Eth.  (*nagaba*) “to be dry.” The instances in the Shishak List, nos. 84; 90; 92 are preceded by the Egyptian m. sing. definite article (*p3*). *Ngb* of the n. loc. Šbṛt-*ngbry* (Shishak List, 74) is not entirely certain. The second element has otherwise been associated with the BH name .⁸⁴ but it could also be a compound name made up of *n=g-bi* and *ru₂-ya*. The latter would be from the root *rwy*, cf. BH תְּרִיר “drink one’s fill; to water abundantly.” If so, it yields the interesting place name “The-Negeb-is-Well-Watered Brook.” (B. 593, 594, 841.) [5]

264.  Med. Habu 46, 21. “**TO TREMBLE**.” See under .

265.  *na=ti₂=ca* H.O. 64 2 rt. 3–4; vs. 2. [D. 20]

naša^ca?* *danaha?* Vb. “TO DESERT; DIVORCE**.⁸⁵ The word occurs in an oath imposed on a man called Nekhu-Mut by his father-in-law, Tal-Montu:

⁸³Biography of Amen-em-heb.

⁸⁴B. 841; Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, (2nd ed.; Philadelphia: 1979) p. 328; K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, (Warminster: 1973), p. 439; S. Ahituv *Canaanite Toponyms*, p. 94.

⁸⁵A. Théodorides, *CdE* 52, p. 71 (review of Černý’s *A Community of Workmen at Thebes ...*) briefly discusses the meaning of the word, but does not deal with its derivation.

*Imi i ry Nhw-Mwt ^cn̄h n Nb ^{c.w.s.} r-dd "Bn i w-i r na-ti₂=c a m t3y-i
(sic) šri." ^cn̄h n Nb, ^{c.w.s.} ddt-n:f: "W3h Imn, w3h p3 Hq3, mtw-i
pn^c-i r na-ti₂=c a t3 šri n Tnr-Mntw m dw3 s3 dw3y, iw·f (sic) hr 100
sh, šw m shprw nb nty i w-i ir-w i rm:s."*

Have Nekhu-Mut make an oath to the Lord, l.p.h., saying "I will not desert his⁸⁶ daughter." The oath to the Lord, l.p.h., that he said: "By Amun and by the Ruler, l.p.h., if I should change my mind so as to desert the daughter of Tal-Montu tomorrow or after tomorrow, I will be liable to 100 lashes and will be deprived of all property that I shall acquire together with her."

Ward⁸⁷ proposed a derivation from the root *ns^c*: BH יָסַד “to pull up (stakes, poles), to depart”; Ug. *ns^c* “to pull out”; TA עֲסֹד “to march”; Akk. *nesû* “to withdraw, depart,” D-stem “to deport, drive away.” There are no phonological problems with this derivation, but semantically it is somewhat questionable. The basic meaning of *ns^c* involves pulling out objects from the ground, and from the notion of “pulling up stakes” (tent poles) it developed the secondary meaning “to depart.”⁸⁸ The root is attested with the meaning of removing persons only in the causative and D-stems, i.e. “to cause someone to depart.” It is, however, possible that the Egyptian speaker used the G-stem form in the sense “depart from.” Another possibility is a derivation from the root *nsh*⁸⁹ cf. BH נָסַד “to tear (people) away (from land, home),” MH פָּסַד “to remove”; TA פָּסַד “to remove,” D-stem “to exile”; Ar. نَسَخ (*nasaha*) “to abolish; withdraw”; Akk. *nasāhu* “to expel, deport; reject (a child)”;⁹⁰ and probably Eth. נְשָׁחָה: (*nasha*) “to revile, reject.” Yet another

⁸⁶The text has "my daughter." There is another similar mistake later in the document when the text reads "he" in place of the required "I". Of course Tal-Montu seems to have drawn up the document, so the errors are quite understandable.

⁸⁷W.A. Ward, "Egyptian and Ugaritic," *Orientalia* 32 (1961), p. 431. Ward is certainly correct in rejecting Černý's translation as "mistreat." The oath, and the document as a whole, are akin in wording and content to the later marriage agreements, which set out the terms of the divorce. Here the terms are most severe—Tal-Montu seems not to have held his son-in-law in much esteem.

⁸⁸A similar semantic development in the opposite direction is found in MH and TAN.

⁸⁹The root is probably a by-form of **ՅՈՒ**, although it has undergone a somewhat different semantic development.

⁹⁰The word also occurs in EA 250, 45.

possibility is a connection with BH פְּלַל “to reject, abandon,” which, although less straightforward phonologically, provides a good sense. For there to be any relation, the root of the Hebrew word would have to be *dnh* or *dnh*.⁹¹ If this identification is the correct one, then there is metathesis of the first and second consonants. The syntactical relationship between the verb (in both cases infinitives) and the object is unclear, the first construction seems to require the preposition *m*, but the second example seems to take a direct object. (B. 146; Ward *Orientalia* 32, 430; Černý *BIFAO* 37, 47.) [3]

266.  na-*ti₂*-*hi* An. IV 12, 3. [D. 19]

nasīhi?* N. A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT. The instrument was used to accompany singing: *r cnn m-s3 kan-nu₂=ru₂*, *r hst m-s3 na-*ti₂*-*hi “to chant to the accompaniment of the lyre, to sing to the accompaniment of the *nth*.” Helck’s identification with BH פְּלַל is wrong, since its root is *nsh* (with *h* and not *ḥ*) and never means “vorspielen” as Helck claims. The word, a *hapax*, continues to defy identification. It is possible that the word is to be read *našiši*, as the last group might be *sp-sn*,⁹² rather than *hi*. If so, there might be a connection to Akk. *lusānu* (a musical instrument), or *nasāsu* “to sing, wail.” The word is not likely related to Hittite *gišhunzinara-* (a musical instrument), although the connection should perhaps not be entirely ruled out. (H. 147; B. 602; *Wb.* II 366, 18.) [2]

267.  *n=ti₂-ku* H.O. 46 2 vs., 9. [D. 19]

**nasīku*. N. “CAST METAL OBJECT,” “INGOT(?)” The reading is somewhat uncertain, since it occurs in the phrase *w^c n_tk šri*, which could also be read *w^c n t_k šri*. In either case the translation is “one small *ntk*.” If the former reading is correct, then perhaps cf. the common Semitic root *nsk*: BH פְּלַל “to cast metal,” פְּלַל “molten image”; Ph. ΠΙΛ “to cast (gold, iron),” ΙΠΙΛ “cast metal”; Ug. *nsk* “metal caster”; TA נְסָקִי “piece of silver or gold; bar”; Syr. 

⁹¹The root does not seem to be attested in cognate languages.

⁹²“Twice,” i.e., the previous group is to be read twice. The signs *sp-sn* and *hi* are virtually identical in the hieratic script.

(*n^osak*) “to cast metal.” If the latter reading is correct, the word is probably a miswriting of the well attested *ku-ti₂* “cup” (no. 502) with metathesis. In support of the reading *n_gk* is the fact that the other instance of *w^c* “one” in this text is followed directly by the noun, without genitival *n*. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

268.  *nud-na* Thutmose III List I, 11a. [D. 18]

 *nud-na* Thutmose III List I, 11c.

And perhaps also:

  *ra-da* Shishak List, no. 123. [D. 22]

**luzina?* N. pl. only in n. loc. A TREE, PERHAPS “ALMOND.” Burchardt suggested a connection with  “blossom” or the hypothetical plural *  . The wood determinative, however, does not suit the meaning blossom. The word is perhaps to be identified with the Semitic word for almond tree: BH לְזָה; TA لَعْزَة; Syr. لَعْذ (lūzā); Ar. لوز (lawz) “almonds”; Eth. ልዕዝ (lawz) “almond.” *Luz* is attested as a n. loc. in the Bible, where it is said to be the former name of Bethel (Gen. 28:19) or a city in its vicinity (Josh. 16:2). It is also well attested in Arabic place names. If the association is correct, then the form is probably a plural with nunation. [3]



269. KRI II 160, c. no. 1. “HEAD, SUMMIT.”
See under

270. *ru₂-ya* Shishak List, no. 74. [D. 22]

**rôya?* *rûya?* Vb.? in n. loc. “TO BE WELL WATERED; TO BE BRIMMING WITH WATER.”(?) The second element of Šbṛt *Ngbry* (*Ngbry* Brook) has been associated with the BH name נֶגֶב,¹ but it could possibly be a compound name made up of *n-g=bi* and *ru₂-ya*. The former would be the term Negeb, referring to the dry south-country. The latter would be from the root *rwy*, cf. BH רָוַה “drink one’s fill,” D-stem “to water abundantly,” MH רָאֵר “to be moist, saturated”; TA رَأَى “to be saturated, drunk”; Syr. ܐܴܰܲ (r̥wī) “to be saturated, irrigated”; Ar. رَوِيْ (rawiya) “to drink one’s fill, to irrigate”; Old S. Ar. ܪܴܴܰ (h-rwy) H-stem “to provide a water supply”; Eth. ܴܴܴܰ (rawaya) “drink one’s fill, be watered.” The form would perhaps be an active participle, e.g. TA رَأَى. Since in some languages the G-stem is used transitively, a passive participle, perhaps vocalized **rûya*, might be preferable. If the writing with *ru₂* is not for a *u*-vowel, then the form could be adjectival, e.g. BH נֶגֶב “well watered” (said of land). If this identification is correct, the name must mean something like “The-Negeb-is-Well-Watered Brook.” (B. 841) [3]

271. *P₃ ra-wi₂-ti₂* P. Wilbour A 18, 26.
[D. 20]

**rāwīti*. N. m. as PN m.² “RUNNER.” Helck associated the word with BH רַנֵּן “to run,” because of the determinatives. This seems

¹Burchardt; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 328; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 439; S. Ahituv *Canaanite Toponyms*, p. 94.

²Helck lists it as a n. loc., but it is actually the name of a herdsman.

quite possible, the only problem being phonological: Egyptian *t* for Hebrew /s/ is not expected. Helck's explanation that in final position Semitic /s/ could be represented by Egyptian *t* does not really address the problem.³ The final root letter is not original */s/ but */t/, as is shown by the Ugaritic and Aramaic cognates, with their characteristic reflexes of */t/. Cf. Ug. *rt*; Old Aram. 𐎢𐎥, Imp. Aram., TA 𐎢𐎥; Syr. ܪܼܾ; (*r²het*), ܪܼܾ; (*rahhaṭā*); Eth. ܼܾ; (*rōṣa*),⁴ all "to run." That the Egyptian writing can indicate this consonant with *t*, used otherwise for /s/ (*samekh*) and /d/, suggests very strongly that the source dialect preserved */t/ as a distinct phoneme, for if it had merged with /s/, then no doubt it would have been transcribed by Egyptian *d*. The phone [t] shares several features with [d]: they are both interdental fricatives. Their chief distinction is that the former is "emphatic," and the latter voiced. Aramaic is known to have preserved /t/ (as well as /d/) as a distinct phoneme, but in Hebrew */t/ is thought to have merged with */s/ realized as [s].⁵ In the case of Hebrew, however, the evidence is inconclusive, since the grapheme ܼ could have represented both */t/ and */s/.⁶ There is no reason to think that in the source language */t/ had merged with /d/, since this did not happen in any of the known languages. The word form is probably the G-stem participle. The medial weak consonant is then treated like a strong consonant, as in Ugaritic, and probably Byblian. It is less likely a "professional" *qattāla* form. (H. 149; PN II 282, 11.) [4]

272. ◇, J, ܼ, ܼ, ܼ *ra-bi*₃ Name List.⁷ [D. 18]

**rabbi*. Adj. or n. in PN m. "GREAT; MASTER." The second element ܼ (*b*) is the older writing for the n. div. ?El, and the first

³Position may be a factor, but the significant positions would be initial, intervocalic, and syllable closing. Here we are presumably dealing with an intervocalic, and not a "final" (i.e. syllable closing) position.

⁴Ethiopic /s/ corresponds to both */s/ and */t/ of Proto-Semitic.

⁵Garr, *Dialect Geography*, pp. 27–28.

⁶This was certainly the case with the grapheme ܼ, which stood for both /s/ and /š/, and is almost certainly the case with the grapheme ܼ which seems to have represented both /b/ and /š/. See J.W. Wevers, "Heth in Classical Hebrew," in J.W. Wevers and D.B. Redford, eds. *Essays on the Ancient Semitic World*, (Toronto: 1970), pp. 101–12.

⁷Steindorff, ZÄS 38, p. 17, 2.

element is from either the root *rbw* or *rbb*: cf. BH בָּרָא adj. “great,” n. m. “chief”; Ph. בר “chief”; Ug. *rb* “great; chief”; Old Aram., Imp. Aram. בָּרָא “great; important person; noble,” BA בָּרָא “great; chief,” TA נְבָרֵא “great; master”; Ar. ربّ (*rabb*) “lord, master”; Akk. *rubû* “prince.” The name is attested in Ugaritic as *Rbil*.⁸ The morphology is uncertain, but it is likely the adjectival or substantival form. The *i*-vowel could indicate the first person singular suffix, i.e. “‘El is my Lord,” or it could reflect the *i*-vowel in ‘El/²Il. (PN I 221, 29.) [5]

273.  r=ba=ya Blinding of Truth 2, 6–7. [D. 19]

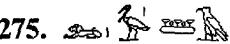
labáya*. N. (f.?) pl. “LIONESS.**” Demotic *lby*; Coptic ΣΒΛΑΦΟΙ “lioness.” The meaning is certain from the context: *lh iʒy·tn pʒy·tn nb, mtw·tn hʒc·f n w^c mʒiw bin, r=ba=ya əʃʒ* [...]. “You should take your master and throw him to a vicious lion, with many lionesses [as his mates].” Cf. BH לִבְנָה, לִבְנָה “lioness”; Ug. *lbù* “lion,” *lbit* “lioness”; Amorite *labwum, labūm* “lion”; Ar. لبؤة (*labwa*, pl. *labawāt*) “lioness”; Akk. *lābu, labbu* (m.) “lion,” *labbatu* (f.) “lioness.” The form appears to be singular, although it is used as a plural in Egyptian. The vocalization does not correspond exactly with that of any known Semitic language, however, it does seem to square with the Coptic, which probably derives from an earlier **la-báy* or **la-báy-(ya)*. (Černý *Ety. Dict.* 69; not in *Wb.*) [5]

274.  ra=bi=ša=ya P. Koller 1, 7. [D. 19]

labiša*. N. m. pl. “CUIRASS; LEATHER ARMOUR.**” Demotic *lybš* “coat of armour,” Coptic Α²ღალბჲ, Βჲελ(λ)მბჲ, აელებჲ “coat of mail.” The P. Koller example occurs in the context of chariots and their equipment: *iw nʒy·sn ra=bi=ša=ya wʒh r-gs·sn*. “And their suits of armour lie beside them.” The word has long been identified with the Semitic root *lbš*, e.g. BH לִבּוֹשׁ “garment, armour (II Sam. 20:8)”; Ug. *lbš, lpš* “garment”; Imp. Aram. לִבּוֹשׁ אַתְּ, TA لَبْوَشْ أَتْ, سِرْبَنْ (TA لَبْوَشْ أَتْ) “garment”; Syr. لَبَبَسْ (labbāšā) “wearing a cuirass,” تَلْبَسْتَا (talbešta) “clothing; armour”; Ar. لَبُوْسْ (labūs) “clothing,”

⁸Aistleitner, no. 2479.

(*lubūs*) “coat of mail,”⁹ لبس (*libs*) “clothing”; Old S. Ar. ՚𠁩՚𠁩 (‘*lbs*’) “garment”; Eth. ՚𠁩՚𠁩: (*l̥bs*) “clothing; tunic”; Akk. *lubūšu* “clothing.” Most of the Semitic languages have a *u*-vowel in the second syllable. Only TA seems to have the *i*-vowel, as suggested by the Egyptian writing, and demanded by the Coptic form with *i*-vowel, which must have derived from **lī-b(a)-š(a)*,¹⁰ which exhibits vocalic transposition. The word is usually a generic term for garments in the Semitic languages. It was no doubt also used in reference to the cuirass (as at least once in BH). The semantic particularization is probably due to the Egyptians in this case. (H. 150; B. 614; Černý *Ety. Dict.* 70;¹¹ *Wb.* II 414, 6.) [5]

275.  *ru₂-bi-ša* P. Mag. Brooklyn 5, 2.¹² [Late]

And in PN:

 -*r=bi-ša* P. Louvre 6347 A 14.¹³ [D. 20]

**labiša?* Vb. “TO WEAR A CUIRASS.” The P. Mag. Brooklyn text refers to a mythical composite creature: *iw-f ‘pr, ru₂-bi-ša* “and he is equipped and wearing a cuirasse.” The vignette¹⁴ depicts the creature wearing a leather garment with feline paws and covered with rows of studs. The P. Louvre PN would mean: *Hr--r=bi-ša* “Horus is cuirassed.” Cf. the previous word and BH, MH לְבִשׁ “to put on, wear” (clothes, armour); Ug. *lbš*; BA, TA ՚𠁩; Syr. ՚𠁩 (‘*lbēš*'); Ar. لبس (*labisa*); Eth. ՚𠁩՚𠁩: (*labsa*); Akk. *labāšu*, all “to put on, wear.” The meaning is again particularized with reference only to the cuirass. Both contexts require the Egyptian stative (old perfective), unless in the PN we actually have the noun “cuirass” i.e. “Horus is (my) armour” or sim. (Not in *Wb.*) [5]

⁹Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2648c.

¹⁰The by-forms with *e*, if not a secondary development, may, however, derive from an original *u*.

¹¹Černý’s identification with the Coptic λωβηγ “battlement” (of roof) is somewhat improbable from the semantic point of view, but it is not impossible.

¹²S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: 1970). Although the manuscript is from the late period, the text is Late Egyptian.

¹³A. Gasse, *Données nouvelles administratives*, pl. 40.

¹⁴Sauneron, *ibid.*, fig. 3.

276.  -r=bi=ka Gloss. Gol. 7, 2. [D. 20–1]

**rabika*. N. (m.?) A FINE BREAD OR PASTRY. The word is apparently a *hapax*. It occurs in a list of baked goods before *ti₂=ru₂=³a*: “bread of *solet* flour,” cf. no. 550. Although the meaning is not certain, the word is almost certainly related to the Semitic root *rbk*,¹⁵ e.g. BH רְבָק H-passive stem “be well mixed (only of *solet* flour dough containing oil),” MH רְבִקָּה; TA رَبِّكَة “*solet* flour dough”; Ar. رَبَّكَ (rabaka) “to muddle, confuse”;¹⁶ Akk. *rabiku*, *ribku* “decoction, extract (mostly of medicines).” (B. 615; Wb. II 414, 7.) [5]

277.  *ra=bi=tu₂* Thutmose III List I, 105 a, c. [D. 18]

 *r=bi=tu₂* Thutmose III List I, 105 b.

 *ru₂=bi=ta* Shishak List, no. 13.¹⁷ [D. 22]

 *ru₂=bi=ta₅* Shishak List, no. 109.¹⁸

And in the fortress name:

 *ra=bi=ta* KRI VII 422, 15. [D. 20]

**rabit(u)*. Adj. f. sing. as or in n. loc. “GREAT.” Cf. the common Semitic root *rbw/rbb*, BH רַבָּה “great” and as n. loc., aluRu-bu-te^{ki},¹⁹ aluRu-bu-[d]a^{ki},²⁰ Ph. *רְבָח*; Ug. *rbt*; Imp. Aram. *רְבָחָא*; TA رَبْخَة; Syr. ܪܲܒܲܚܲ (rab) all “great”; Ar. رَبَّ (rabba) “lady”; Akk. *rabitu* “great.” The fortress name is apparently a bound construction: Sea of *Ra-bi-ta*. (B. 616; VESO X A, 12.) [5]

278.  *ra=ma* O. Brussels E 301;²¹ Louvre Leather Roll II, 9.²² [D. 19, 20]

¹⁵M. Görg also linked the word with this root: “Zur Deutung von *rbk* (Wb. II, 414),” ZÄS 103 (1976), p. 147.

¹⁶The semantic development of the Arabic is quite different, but certain, and finds a parallel in English: “mix” ⇒ “mix up” ⇒ “confuse.”

¹⁷*Bubastite Portal*, pl. 4.

¹⁸In the name [‘]A=ru₂=d=³a *Ru₂=bi=ta₅*.

¹⁹EA 290, 11.

²⁰EA 289, 13.

²¹KRI VII 357, 11.

²²KRI VII 435, 9.

- P. Jud. Lee.²³ [D. 20]
- ra=ma₄ Shishak List, no. 72. [D. 22]
- PN II 343.
- BM 10466 (BD).²⁴
- ru₂=ma₆ Vienna Stele 107.²⁵ [?]
- ra=ma₃ Amenophis II Memphis stele.²⁶ [D. 18]
- ru₂=ma₄ Med. Habu 101.²⁷ [D. 20]
- Karnak.²⁸ [D. 19]

*râma, rômu. Vb. or adj. only in proper nouns. “TO BE HIGH; EXALTED.” Cf. the common Semitic root *rwm*: BH ; Ph. ; Ug. *rm*, and PN e.g. *Iirm, Ilu-ramu*;²⁹ Amorite *râmum*, PN *E-lu-ra-ma*; Ammonite PN *rl-rm*; Old Aram. , TA ; Syr. (*rām*), all “high, exalted”; Old S. Ar. (*rymm*) “heights”; Eth. (*rayyām*) “high.” The form is either the perfect *râma or the adjective *rôma. The name *Ba^aal-rom* appears to exhibit the Phœnician [â] to [ō] shift (from an original *[awa] to *[â], then to *[ō]). (B. 336.) [5]

279. r=h=d-*{t}* KRI IV 9, 9. [D. 20]
- Urk IV 666. [D. 18]
- P. Ebers 53, 17. [D. 18]
- P. Ebers 53, 16; P. Hearst 11, 15. [D. 18]
- P. Med. London 1, 7. [D. 18]
- r=h=da₂ H.O. 24 1, 2, etc.³⁰ [D. 20]

²³Journal Asiatique 10 (1867), pl. VI, 4 (after p. 408).

²⁴PN II 272, 9.

²⁵Bergman, Rec. trav. 12, 17, XVIII.

²⁶Badawi, “Stele Amenophis’ II.,” ASAE 42 (1943), pl. 1, 9.

²⁷Upper register, under *s3 R^c* of 1. 27.

²⁸Simons, ETL, p. 157, XXIII, 13.

²⁹Gröndahl, Personennamen, p. 182.

³⁰H.O. 67 3, 2; P. Turin (P+R) 102 2, 12.

 O. DeM 108 vs. 2. [D. 19]

**rah̥ta*. N. f. A VESSEL. Coptic *Spaqte* “cauldron.”³¹ The word occurs in a list of booty taken from Libya,³² and from Megiddo (Urk IV 666), and it is attested as a commodity in the ostraca and as a cooking vessel in the medical papyri. Perhaps cf. the Semitic root *r̥ht*, which yields several words for vessels and the like:³³ BH מְרַחֵת “watering troughs”; Amarna *ra-ah̥-ta* (EA 14, I, 46) “a (gold) vessel”; TA מְרַחֵת “gutter of the watering trough”; Syr. *رَاهِتَّا* (*rāh̥tā*) “conduit”; Ar. *رَاهِتَّا* (*rahaṭa*) “to gulp greedily”; and esp. Akk. *rātu* “a vessel for water (sometimes made of gold and silver).” A. Ember linked the word with this Semitic root, although as a cognate rather than as a loan.³⁴ That the word is not written in group writing may be due to its early entry into the language. The word is of feminine gender as indicated by H.O. 67 3, 2 and Ebers 53, 17. The Coptic seems to derive from **rāh̥-ta*, and it is very possible that the [ta] (final root letter + accusative case) of a m. sing. form in the source language was misinterpreted by the Egyptians as a f. sing. ending. (Wb. II, 441, 5–7; Janssen *Prices* 425.) [3]

280.  *ra-h̥-bu* Urk. IV 785, a, c. [D. 18]

 *ra-ha-bu* KRII 12, 10. [D. 19]

 *ra-ha-ba* An. I 22, 7–8; An. IV 17, 3. [D. 19]

 *ru₂-ha₂-bi=²a* Shishak List, no. 17.³⁵ [D. 22]

rah̥abu*. N. (f.?) as n. loc. “BROAD, OPEN SPACE.” Cf. BH רָחֹב (n. f.) “broad open space,” and the n. loc. בָּרֶךְ; Ph. בָּרֶךְ “to broaden”; Ug. *r̥hb* “to be wide,” and in Akk. transcription *ra-ah̥-ba-ni* “wide place”;³⁶ Amorite *rah̥abum*; Ar. *رَاحَبَّة* (*rah̥ba*) “public square,” *رَاحَبَّة* (*rah̥aba*) “vastness”; Old S. Ar. **חִפְרָה (*r̥hbti*) “open

³¹Westendorf, *Kopt. HWb.*, p. 172.

³²KRI IV 9, 9. The list includes several items with Semitic names.

³³Stricker, “Trois études,” *Acta Orientalia* 15 (1937), p. 16, n. 5, connected the Coptic with the Amarna Akkadian transcription and derived both from West Semitic **תָּרְחָתָה**.

³⁴A. Ember, “Kindred Semito-Egyptian Words,” *ZÄS* 49 (1911), p. 93.

³⁵Bubastite Portal, pl. 4.

³⁶Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 178.

space"; Eth. **ɬ̠b̠l̠**: (*raḥab*) (f.) "wide, spacious"; Akk. *rēbitu* "broad open space." None of the writings indicate any evidence of the Canaanite *[á] to [ō] shift, which is somewhat surprising given Reḥob's northern location.³⁷ It is possible that some place names preserved older pronunciations, or that the Egyptians based their pronunciation on the older, historical writings. (B. 628; *VESO XII D*, 1.) [5]

281.    *ra=ha₂=ba* P. Leiden I 370 5.³⁸ [D. 20]

   *ra=ha₂=ba* Karnak.³⁹ [D. 20]

   *ra=h₂=ba* O. Cairo 25594 6. [D. 19]

   *ra=ha₂=ba* P. Turin (P+R) 102 2, 10. [D. 20]

**raḥaba?* N. (m.?) A VESSEL. The Karnak example was said to be of silver. That of O. Cairo 25594 contained ochre (*sty*). Burchardt long ago made the connection with the Semitic root *rhb* "to be broad," cf. no. 280. Until Ugaritic, there was no solid evidence of a word from this root designating a vessel. Ugaritic has a feminine noun *rḥbt* referring to a large vessel for liquids and has usually been translated "amphora," or "basin."⁴⁰ The connection with the Ugaritic has also been noted by Ward.⁴¹ Ward maintained that because of the discrepancy in gender that the word was "borrowed via Akkadian," which has the masculine forms *ra²abu*, *rību*.⁴² The word could not have been borrowed from Akkadian, since that language had lost the phoneme /h/. The vessel may not, however, be identical to the Ugaritic, either, as the Egyptian vessel of this name is sometimes made of stone and precious metals.⁴³ (B. 627; *Wb.* II 442, 2.) [5]

³⁷ Albright assigned the value *hu* to the *ha* sign in this case (as in other words).

³⁸ *LRL* 9, 8.

³⁹ W. Helck, "Die Inschrift über die Belohnung des Hohenpriesters *Tmn-htp*," *MIO* 4 (1956), p. 167, Abb. B, 2.

⁴⁰ E.g. de Moor and Spronk, *Cuneiform Anthology*, p. 168.

⁴¹ Ward, "Egyptian and Ugaritic," *JNES* 20 (1961), p. 40, no. 30.

⁴² Ward, "Lexicographical Miscellanies," *SAK* 5 (1977), p. 289.

⁴³ Of course, these could be vessels of the same shape but smaller than the Ugaritic amphorae.

282. <ְרָהַסּוּ *ra=ha-su₂* P. Harris I 17b, 2, 3, and often.⁴⁴
 [D. 19, 20]

<ְרָהַסּוּ P. Sallier IV vs. 3, 2–3, etc.⁴⁵ [D. 19, 20]

<ְרָהַסּוּ H.O. 29 2, vs. 4. [D. 19 or 20]

<ְרָהַסּוּ *ra={h}=ha-su₂* O. DeM 29 6. [D. 19]

<ְרָהַסּוּ –*r=ha-su₂* Gloss. Gol. 2, 12. [D. 20–1]

Written with metathesis:

<ְרָהַסּוּ *ra-su₂=ha* O. Berlin P. 10631 9.⁴⁶ [D. 20]

Miswritten:

<ְרָהַסּוּ <ְרָהַסּוּ *ra=ha-su₂=ra* O. Cairo 25624 vs. 4. [D. 20]

<ְרָהַסּוּ *ra-su₂* H.O. 62 1, vs. 9. [D. 19]

rahašu*. N. (m.?) A **BREAD, CAKE, PROBABLY “PAN BAKED BREAD.” This item is often mentioned in conjunction with š̄y,⁴⁷ and in P. Sallier IV vs. 3, 2–3 it is served at a Syrian-style banquet in Memphis. It was clearly something baked, as indicated by Gloss. Gol.: *ps rhs* “cooker of *rhs*-cakes.” The text of O. Turin 57356 further specifies that the *rhs*-cake was cooked in a pan called  (qa=ha₂=na). The “particle” determinative could have arisen from association with one or more of the ingredients, or perhaps the *rhs* was broken or mixed with another food, perhaps š̄y.⁴⁸ In the BM ostracon it is associated with a bowl, which suggests that it was possibly served in a bowl. The word may be related to the Semitic root *rḥš* “to stir.” In BH the root occurs as a verb with the figurative meaning “to stir up” (emotions), and as a noun מְרֻחָשׁ designating a pan in which bread is cooked.⁴⁹ The root is also attested in Mishnaic (and Modern) Hebrew, where it

⁴⁴E.g. An. IV 14, 3; 15, 2; P. Harris 35b, 2; 72, 6; O. BM 5637 vs. 2–3 (Blackman, JEA 12, pl. 37); O. DeM 20, 5; 26, 5; 97 I, 8; 222 III, 15; O. Michael. 34.

⁴⁵E.g. O. Cairo 25624 II, 7; III, 4; O. Michael. 7 vs. 4; O. Turin 57356 5.

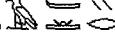
⁴⁶Hier. Pap., Vol. III, pl. 36.

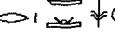
⁴⁷E.g. An. IV 14, 3; 15, 2; Harris I 17b, 2, 3; 35b, 2; Gloss. Gol. 2, 12, etc.

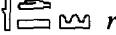
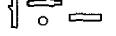
⁴⁸Š̄y seems to have been granular, or consisting of small chunks, as it is measured by the *oipe* rather than in baskets, as are *rhs*.

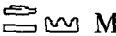
⁴⁹Lev. 7:9 ... וְכֹל־מִנְחָה אֲשֶׁר מִפְנֵי וְכֹל־נְעָשָׂה בְּמְרֻחָשׁ עַל־מְכֻבָּה “And any meal-offerings that are baked in an oven, and any that are prepared in a pan, or on a griddle ...”

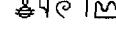
designates a deep, covered pan. In Mishnaic Hebrew the verb means “to move around, vibrate.” Talmudic sources indicate that this bread may have been spongy, i.e. “moves (to the touch),” as opposed to hard (כַּפֵּר) bread cooked on a griddle.⁵⁰ In Targum Aramaic שְׁמָנָה designates a type of pastry made of wheat. (B. 629; Wb. II 442, 5–6.) [3]

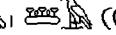
283. ◇ O. DeM 318 vs. 9. **A VESSEL, “DISH,” BOWL.** See under .

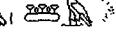
284. ◇ H.O. 62 1, vs. 9. **A BREAD, CAKE.** See under ◇.

285.   *ru₂=ša* Thutmose III List I, 48 b, c. [D. 18]
  Thutmose III List I, 48 a.

  Med. Habu 101.⁵¹ [D. 20]

  *ru₂=ša₂={t}* LD III 229 c, 4. [D. 20]

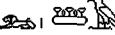
  P. Wilbour B 18, 27. [D. 20]

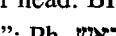
  P. Wilbour B 18, 22.

Also written:

  *ru₂=ša=³u₃=ša* KRI II 160, c. no. 1. [D. 19]

Written with Metathesis:

  *ru₂=ša=³u* An. I 21, 5. [D. 19]

rōša*. N. m. and in n. loc. **“PEAK, SUMMIT; HEAD.” The only attestation outside of the n. loc. is in An. I 21, 5: *Mtr my r dw n Wsr, p3y:f ru₂=ša=³u mi ih?* “Tell me, please, about Mount Wosra—what is its peak like?” The head determinative clearly indicates that the Egyptians were quite familiar with the basic meaning of the word. Cf. the common Semitic word for head: BH שֶׁמֶן “head; mountain peak”; Amarna *ru=šu=nu*⁵² “head”; Ph. 

⁵⁰Menahoth V, 8 (63a). This may, however, have been a later interpretation. The school of Hillel taught that the word designated a mould for bread shaped like fruit.

⁵¹Lower register, under the knees of the captive chiefs.

⁵²EA 264, 18.

“head”; Moabite 𐎢 “head”; Ug. *riš* “head; top”; Amorite *ra²sum?* “head”; Old Aram., Imp. Aram. 𐎣ܶ “head”; TA ܵܶ “head”; Syr. ܪܶܶ (*rēšā*) “head”; Ar. رأس (*ra²s*) “head; summit”; Old S. Ar. ܪܶܶ (*r²s_j*) “head”; Eth. ܵܶܶ: (*r²s*) “head; summit”; Akk. *rēšu* “head; summit.” The writing of KRI II 160 with medial ²aleph (and An. I 21, 5, with metathesis) is interesting. It almost certainly represents a pronunciation in which the ²aleph has been preserved. The vowels, however, appear to be those of Phoenician and Hebrew, in which the *[a²] of doubly closed monosyllabic words has shifted to [ō].⁵³ (H. 151; B. 636; VESO III E, 6; Wb. II 455, 16.) [5]

286.  ܪܶܶ r=k-su₂ P. Koller 1, 1. [D. 19]

**rakūšu*. N. m. “EQUIPMENT; GEAR.” The word occurs in the sentence: *Iḥ di·k ḥr·k r dit grg p³ rks n ḥtrw*. “You should turn your attention to getting the equipment of the teams in order.” A list of goods, supplies, and military hardware follows. Burchardt identified the word with the BH collective noun ܪܶܶ “steeds.” He maintained, however, that the word was of Egyptian origin and was adopted by Hebrew and Aramaic as loans. His reason for rejecting a Semitic origin is that he did not know of any instances where Egyptian *s* represented Semitic /š/ (Protosemitic */š/, and not [š] deriving from Protosemitic */t/). There are, however, a number of likely cases of this correspondence, and several certain (or almost certain) cases.⁵⁴ The determinatives are not at all appropriate to a word for “steeds” or “horses,” and the phrase “steeds of the harness teams” is not only redundant but also unsuitable as an introduction to the following list of goods and equipment. Wintermute⁵⁵ rejected a connection with the root *rkš* and suggested a connection with BH ܪܶܶ “to bind, tie.” The lack of correspondence between Egyptian *s* and Semitic *samekh*, however, virtually excludes

⁵³The phenomenon is somewhat wider in Phoenician, where it also occurs in other than doubly closed monosyllabic words, and as a result of the syncope of semivowels. Cf. Garr, *Dialect Geography*, p. 32.

⁵⁴E.g. no. 203 *ma₄-sa-ta-ha* “bird trap” (Aramaic dialects have the root *šht* and not **tht*); no. 198 *ma-sa-ḥi* “amphora” (Aramaic has ܵܶܶܶܶ); no. 202 *mas-ta-—r* “office” (Arabic has ݂݂݁݁ (satara)); and no. 373 *s=—r=hut-ta* “stalk” (Ugaritic has *šlh*).

⁵⁵Wintermute, (Thesis), pp. 97–98.

identification with this root.⁵⁶ This link is further unlikely for semantic reasons: one does not “prepare harnessing” or “get harnessing in order,” one simply does it. A better etymology is from the root *rks*, but with its meaning of “equipment” rather than “steed”: cf. BH שָׁבֵן “goods, outfit, equipment (of army),⁵⁷ supplies (of army)⁵⁸”, and MH שְׁבֵן “goods”; Akk. *ra-ki-su* “outfitted (with equipment)” said of chariots,⁵⁹ *raksu* a military position in the chariotry.⁶⁰ The meaning “equipment” or “supplies” suits the context extremely well. The exact word formation is uncertain, but the *u* of the final syllable could well have been misplaced from the second syllable. (B. 642; *Wb.* II 459, 7.) [4]

287. ◇ *ra=ga=ta-*t** An. I 14, 3; 14, 8. [D. 19]

◇ P. Turin.⁶¹ [D. 19 or 20]

◇ O. Lit. DeM 1012 1.⁶² [D. 19 or 20]

riqāta*. N. f.⁶³ pl. “COMPARTMENTS OR HOLLOW SPACES.**” These were components of a ramp: *Irw st̄3 n mh* 730, *wsht mh* 55, *n 120 n ra=ga=ta mh m ḡši hr s̄y*. “There is made a ramp of 730 cubits, 55 cubits wide, (consisting) of 120 *rgt* filled with reeds and beams.” Gardiner⁶⁴ proposed a connection with *ryq* “to be empty,” and suggested the translation “compartments.” The etymology seems quite straightforward. Cf. BH קֶם “empty”; TA רִקָּא “empty”; Syr. *لَمْ* (*rēqā*) “empty”; Ar. *رَوْقَ* (“to be clear,

⁵⁶Wintermute, *ibid.*, noted that Boghazköy texts sometimes have *rakašu*, but this is irrelevant because the writing conventions of the Hittite scribes was based on the Neo-Assyrian, in which normal Akkadian *s* and *š* are interchanged.

⁵⁷II Chron. 20:25, and not infrequently of the defeated troops’ equipment taken as booty.

⁵⁸Dan. 11: 13.

⁵⁹A. Salonen, *Hippologica Accadica*, pp. 97, 267 no. 3. Salonen maintained (p. 97) that the Akkadian word did not mean “team.”

⁶⁰Salonen, *Hippologica Accadica*, p. 230.

⁶¹= An. I 14, 3.

⁶²= An. I 14, 8.

⁶³The following stative (old perfective) *mh(w)* is certainly the plural form and not the masculine singular. The variant is clearly feminine because of the f. sing. stative form, which is not incorrect, since enumerated objects were probably grammatically singular.

⁶⁴EHT p. 16*.

pure”; Akk. *rīqūtu* “emptiness.” The word formation is not certain. (H. 153; B. 644; *Wb.* II 459, 10.) [5]

288.  *ru₂=d=n=nu* Kawa pl. 6, 6. [D. 25]

 *ra=d=n=ya* Kawa pl. 12, 13–14.

**lōdan*. N. (m.?) “LAUDANUM (THE AROMATIC RESIN OF THE SHRUB *CISTUS LADANIFERUS*).” The word occurs in a list of donations to the temple. It was identified by Macadam⁶⁵ with the Arabic لَادَن (*lādan, lādin*) “laudanum.” One could also add BH לָדָן; TA لَادَنْ ئَدَنْ; Syr. لَادَنَة (ladnā); Old S. Ar. لَدَن (ldn); Eth. لَادَنْ (lōzān); Akk. *ladinnu* (*ladunu, ladnu*),⁶⁶ all “laudanum.” The word appears also in Greek as a loan word λάδανον, λάδανον. (Not in *Wb.*) [4]

289.  Shishak List 123. A TREE,

“ALMOND(?)” See under   (*nd=na*, no. 268).

⁶⁵Kawa I, Text, p. 10, n. 21.

⁶⁶Among tribute from the West given to Tiglath Pileser III.



290. *hu₂-ya-ka-ra-ya-na* Amenophis III List
Bn 1, 10. [D. 18]

h=ya=k=ra=ya=m Thutmose List I 89 a. [D. 18]
 h=ya=k=ra=ya-m₂ *Ibid.*, no. 89 c.

haykalayn/m.* N. dual (?) in n. loc. “TEMPLE; PALACE**.” The word was identified with the Kulturwort *haykal/hēkal* by Max Müller.¹ Cf. BH “temple; palace”; Ug. *hkl* “palace”; Imp. Aram. “palace,” Palm. “temple,” BA “palace; temple,” TA “temple”; Syr. (*haykal*) “temple”; Ar. *haykal* “temple; large building”; Eth. (*haykal*) “temple”; Akk. *ekallu* (presumably from Sumerian É.GAL “great house”). The earlier forms exhibit mimation, and the later nunation. The Egyptian writing seems to indicate the presence of the diphthong [ay] as opposed to [ê]. (B. 651.) [5]

291. *(ha-b for ha-ru₂)* An. I 12, 6. “**MOUNTAIN**.” See under .

292. LD III 200d, 12. “**POMEGRANATE**.” See under .

293. “**STREAM; RIVER**.” An. III 2, 7. See under .

294. *ha-ra* Thutmose III List I, 77 a, c. [D. 18]
 KRI I 37, 5. [D. 19]
 Thutmose III List I, 77 b.

¹M. Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern* (Leipzig: 1893), p. 88.

 *h-r* Thutmose III List I, 81 a.

 *h=r=m* Thutmose III List I, 81 c.

 *ha=ru₂* P. Wilbour A 26, 8; 63, 17; 81, 39; B 12, 24.
[D. 20]

 P. Turin 62 1.² [D. 19]

 An. I 12, 6.³ [D. 19]

 *ha=b!* for *ha=ru₂*⁴ An. I 12, 6.

 *ha=ru₂=r* P. Turin.⁵

harra, harru*. N. m. and in n. loc. “MOUNTAIN**.” The word in An. I has usually been associated with the NW Semitic word for mountain, but Gardiner translated it as “...tree.”⁶ The context does not particularly favour the meaning of a tree. An. I 12, 6 ff.:

Whm·k dd r·i: “Ha-ru₂ q₃ r-h₃t·k, ‘q·tw m ha{b}·ru₂ kh, nn r₃k sw.”
“q·k im r-h₃t·i. Ty{t}·n·i hr-s₃·k. H₃n bw-pwy·k hny n·f, iw bw tkn·k
sw! Ir gm·k hnw·f, iw·i ht₃t·k. S₃w·tw r d₃t·i r šd·i r bnr.

Again you say about me: “A lofty mountain is before you, and you’ve set foot on⁷ the raging mountain (although) you are unfamiliar with it.” You set foot on it ahead of me; I arrived *after* you. If only you had never approached it! (If only) you had never come close to it! If you find its interior,⁸ I will get you back out. Just be sure you don’t give me a hand to get me out!

The word *kh₃*, here translated “raging” (i.e. “roaring,” “thundering”), is used of storms and therefore suits a mountain and not a

²In Gardiner *EHT*;= An. I 12, 6.

³The writing is due to a confusion of the similar hieratic forms of the plough and recumbent lion signs.

⁴This writing resulted from a secondary error, since the sign *h* followed by the plough sign can have the value *hb*.

⁵A correction above the line.

⁶*EHT*, p. 15*. So too, P. Vernus “Le mot št₃w, ‘branches, bosquets, bois,’ *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 187, n. 74.

⁷Literally, “entered into.” The Egyptian concept is of a place within which one goes, as opposed to the English concept of an elevation up which one goes. This is parallel to the Biblical Hebrew בְּהַר “in the mountain.”

⁸This would seem to mean either half-way up the mountain, or else in the midst of the forests. The expression is an exact parallel of the Ugaritic idiom: *btk ḡry il spn* “within my mountain El-Saphon.” (*Baal 3 Col. iii C, 26*).

tree.⁹ The tree determinative would have arisen from one of the more striking features of Levantine mountains, forests, which would have no doubt made an impression on Egyptians.¹⁰ The word can be compared with BH 𠁥; Amarna *ha-ar-ri*;¹¹ Ph. 𠁦; Ug. *hr*, all “mountain.” It should be noted that the word is common only in Hebrew. There are only one or two examples of the word in Ugaritic and Phoenician. The word for mountain has many isoglosses in the various Semitic languages: Ugaritic *gr* and Aramaic ܛܼܾܻ (both from **v̥t̥wr*); Arabic جَبَل (*jabal*); Akkadian *šadū*. With the writing with *ru*₂=—*r* in the Turin papyrus, perhaps the plough “phonetic” determinative followed by the group ܼܻ was intended,¹² or possibly the *ru*₂ sign is phonetic and represents an attempt to indicate a “double” *r*. (H. 156; B. 658–59; VESO XI A, 2; *Wb.* II 498, 4.) [5]

295.  *ha=—r=fi* H.O. 97 1, 1. [D. 20]

**harpē*. N. “REMEDY.” Helck analyzed the word as a verbal form and translated it as “heilen,” but the context requires a nominal form: *m dd·f b3wf m hrf n šw mnt* “by giving his power as a soothing remedy.”¹³ The word occurs after a preposition and is modified by the indirect genitive. This is syntactically possible with an infinitive, but rare. Helck’s association with the root *rp*² “to heal” is quite possible: cf. BH. ܪܼܹܸܰ “to heal,” MH. ܪܼܹܸܰ “healing, remedy”; Ph. ܪܼܸܰ “to heal”; Amorite *rp*² “to heal”; Imp. Aram. ܝܼܹܸܰ “they heal,” ܪܼܹܸܰ “remedy”; Eth. ܼܹܸܰ: (*raf'a*) “to heal; sew”; Akk. *rapā'u* “to heal.” The word formation may be a nominal form built on the H-stem. There is, however, little evidence that the causative stems were ever used with this root.¹⁴ (H. 157.) [3]

⁹The association of raging storms with mountains is well attested in the Hebrew scriptures, e.g. Exod. 19:16–18 (thunder and lightening at Mt. Sinai); I Kings 18:41 ff. (a storm on Mt. Carmel); Ps. 50: 2–3 (fire and storms on Mt. Zion). The connection is also encountered in Ugaritic literature, e.g. Baal 4 Col. Viii 29 ff. (Baal speaking in his mansion on the mountain).

¹⁰H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Anastasi I*, p. 111, also came to this conclusion.

¹¹EA 74, 20.

¹²So Fischer-Elfert, *ibid.*

¹³Lit. a “remedy of freedom from pain.”

¹⁴Only Ethiopic uses a causative stem (A-stem).

296. O. DeM 429 3. “**PRAISE.**” See under

297. ha=—r-na=ta Gloss. Gol. 6, 9. [D. 20-1]

harnata?* N. A **TYPE OF CEREAL. Demotic *hrnt*.¹⁵ The word occurs after *bdt* “emmer.” It is not likely connected to Akk. *arantu* “type of grass (used in medicines),” nor to *antu* “ear (of barley).” The word looks Semitic, but no satisfactory etymology is forthcoming. (H. 159; B. 663; *Wb.* II 501, 9.) [1]

298. h-ru₂=ru₂ Shishak List, no. 70. [D. 22]

hillēl*. Vb. in PN. “TO PRAISE.**” The second element of the name ‘El-hillel has long been identified with the root *hll*, e.g. BH הַלְלָה D-stem “to praise,” D-passive הַלְלִי “to be praised”; Amorite *hll* “to shout; praise”; Syr. ﺣَلَلَ (hallel) “to praise”; Ar. هَلَلَ D-stem (*hallala*) “to shout for joy; to applaud, acclaim”; Eth. ﺕَهَلَلَ (tahalala) “to jubilate.” The word is not very well attested outside of Hebrew. The verb would be in the D-stem, but it is not certain whether it is in the active or passive voice. In the later orthography *ru₂* seems to be used often to represent *e*- or *i*-type vowels, so this may support the active form. The meaning, if active, is probably “He praises ‘El.’” If the form is passive, then the name means “‘El is praised.’” For a *mem*-preformative noun from this root, see ma-ha-ri-na “praise” (no. 191). (B. 110.) [5]

299. h=r-*ti*₄=qa-ha Med. Habu 82, 33. [D. 20]

hatrahqa*. Vb. “FLEEING; RETREATING.**” The word occurs in the phrase: *w^cr m hr_{tq}h* “escaping (by/while) *hr_{tq}h-ing*.” Burchardt emended the word to read *h=r=²i=qa=ḥa*, but did not propose an etymology. Edgerton emended it to *h=r=²i=²i*, but this seems wholly uncalled for. Helck is no doubt correct in interpreting it as an HtD (*hithpa^{cce}el*) form,¹⁶ but his identification with נְקַב “to mix

¹⁵W. Erichsen (*Demotisches Glossar* [Copenhagen: 1954], p. 280) connected the word with *hrmn* “pomegranate,” but this is surely incorrect.

¹⁶The *t* sign in monumental inscriptions is sometimes used as an elegant variant of *t*.

300.  *ha=ra=t_i₂=t_i₂* An. I 16, 4. [D. 19]
 *ha=—r=t_i₂=t_i₂* O. Lit. DeM 1006 6-7.¹⁹ [D. 19]

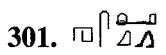
*ha<t>lāṣīṣa? ha<t>ṣṭattira? Vb. “**TO DO STEALTHILY?**” The word occurs in the context of a scribe’s promise to help an inferior rival in solving a difficult mathematical problem. The scribe suggests that his rival have a box made for letters and says that he will write *m hrt t*. Gardiner conjectured that the word meant “stealthily,” and referred to sending letters concealed in a box. If the meaning is “to do stealthily,” then perhaps cf. the Arabic لص G-stem (*lassa*) “to do stealthily,” tD-stem “to act stealthily,” but this is not likely as Egyptian *t* for original Semitic */s/ is otherwise

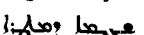
¹⁷The verbal use may be denominative from an original noun meaning "spice" or "perfume."

¹⁸The error may have originated in misreading hieratic *t* as *r* and vice versa, as these are very similar in that script.

19 = An I 16 4

unattested. The word is possibly to be derived from the root *str*: BH סחר G-stem “to be hidden,” יְהַסֵּחַר “to hide,” מִסְחָר HtD-stem part. “keeping oneself hidden”; Ug. *str* “to hide”; Imp. Aram. סחר “secret; hiding place,” TA سَحَرٌ “to hide,” אַסְחָרָה HtD-stem “to hide oneself”; Ar. سَرَّ (*satara*) “to cover, veil, hide.” If the word is from this root, then it is perhaps an HtD-stem form with metathesis. The pronunciation of the original might then be reconstructed as *[hatstattira].²⁰ The complicating factors are metathesis of *r* and assimilation of the second radical (/t/) to /s/ (*samekh*). Although problematic, this is probably the better etymology. (H. 160; B. 665; *Wb.* II 501, 12.) [3]

301.  *h=s=mi₃=q* Amenhotpe II Memphis Stele.²¹ [D. 18]
 *h=s=mi₃=qu₂* Amenhotpe II Karnak Stele.²²

hašgimu?* *hagšimu* / *hag^cišu?* *hašgi^cu?* Vb. “TO RAGE; ROAR (OF RIVER AND STORM GOD).**” The meaning of the word is fairly certain from the context: *D₃·n Hm·f I=r=—n=tu₂ hr mw m h=s=mi₃=q mi Ršp.* “His Majesty crossed the Orontes on water raging like Reshep.” The Karnak text reads: *D₃·n* [ca. 39 cm. lost] *n I=ra=ba=tu₂ m h=s=mi₃=qu₂ mi phty Mntw.* “[His Majesty] crossed the ['waters'] of the Orontes as it was raging like the might of Montu.” The reading of the word has been considered uncertain, as a reading of the *ma₃* sign with the value *t* has been proposed.²³ The sign is, however, fairly common in Eighteenth Dynasty inscriptions with the values *ma₃* and *mi₃*, but never *d* or *t*. In some inscriptions, however, **ma₃* is written with  (^), so there is the slim possibility that *ma₃* might here be a mistake for ^c. The best etymology may be from Akk. *šagāmu* “to roar, rage” (said of gods, especially Adad). The root (in this form) is known also from Syr.  (*šegmē d²metrē*) “rainstorm,” and perhaps .

²⁰ *Samekh*, being pronounced *[ts], but with metathesis of infix *t*, as in Hebrew and Aramaic.

²¹ Badawi, “Stele Amenophis’ II.,” *ASAE* 42 (1943), pl. 1, 5.

²² Legrain, “Stèle d’Amenothès II.,” *ASAE* 4 (1903), p. 129, 5.

²³ B. Grdseloff, “Sur deux passages de la nouvelle stèle d’Aménophis II trouvé à Memphis,” *ASAE* 45 (1947), p. 115 ff.

(š²gam) “to strike, inflict damage,” and Ar. سِجَمْ (*sajama*) “to flow, stream.” If this derivation is correct, there would be metathesis or graphic transposition for harmonious spacing. In any case, the form could not be borrowed from the Akkadian, since it has *h* as a prefix. The form is possibly an H-stem causative,²⁴ but a reflexive stem with infix *t* would seem preferable. Was the *t* dropped by mistake, or by assimilation? Or could this be an N-stem infinitive with *h*-prefix, as in Hebrew? If this derivation is correct, cf.  *gas-mu* “tempest” (no. 522). The etymological question is further complicated, since there are a number of by-forms or similar roots in various languages. The root šgm may well be connected with BH  “rainstorm,” but with metathesis. Hebrew does have an H-stem causative of this root meaning “to make it rain.” Other by-forms may include BH הַרְעֵא HtD-stem “to rush, rage (said of water),” (*hitpo^cel*) “to send up a roar (water),” MH “to rush forth (water),” H-stem “to cause (mountains) to quake,” HtD-stem “to be agitated.” This root would be particularly appropriate in meaning, but would require emending the text to read ^c in place of the *ma₃* sign. If the H-stem is correct, the meaning would perhaps be “to toss (the boats) about violently.” A by-form of this root with metathesis is also attested, but with semantic specialization: עָזָב D-stem “to be insane, rage”; Akk. šegū “to be fierce, furious, to rage (said of storm),” Ntn-stem “to rage (in opposition),” said of a goddess.²⁵ The word is employed as an Egyptian infinitive after the preposition *m* to indicate concomitant action (with a verb of motion), and if it is the H-stem, then perhaps we have here a Semitic infinitive. Driorton’s proposed link with the root *mwg*²⁶ is most unlikely because *s* must be a root letter, since a hybrid *HŠ-stem is impossible. (H. 161.) [3]

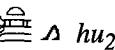
²⁴Extremely rare in the Semitic words in Egyptian transcription. The Š-stem, however, is fairly well attested.

²⁵For even more by-forms, see *gas-mu* “tempest,” (no. 522).

²⁶E. Driorton, “Notes diverses,” ASAE 45 (1947) p. 61. Driorton’s reading was followed by E. Edel, “Die Stelen Amenophis’ II. aus Karnak und Memphis,” ZDPV 69 (1953), pp. 127, 140–41.

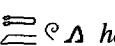
302.  *ha=s=t-ka-ta* An. I 24, 4. [D. 19]

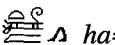
**haštaggata*. Vb. “TO SWERVE; CAREEN; ROCK.” The word occurs in the following phrase: *Šm·k m hstkt, wrryt·k hr gs·s.* “You go swerving along, your chariot (tilting) sideways.” Helck proposed a connection with BH שָׁכַח, but the root is extremely dubious,²⁷ and certainly has nothing to do with the word occurring in An. I. The word is very likely connected with the root šgy, cf. BH שָׁגַנָה “to swerve, meander, be unable to walk straight”; Imp. Aram.  H-stem “lead astray”; TA  “to reel, stagger”;  (*š̄gā*) “to go astray, err”; Eth.  (*sākʷaya*) “to go astray; rush about; be panic stricken.” The form appears to be an HtD-stem infinitive with the *t* ending characteristic of final weak verbs. Of particular interest is the metathesis of the sibilant and the infixated *t*, a regular phenomenon of the HtD-stem in Hebrew. The Egyptian use is as the infinitive in a “pseudo-verbal” construction after the preposition *m.* (H. 162; B. 667; *Wb.* II 503, 1.) [4]

303.  *hu₂=tm* Med. Habu 79, 4. [D. 20]

 *hu₂=tm* Med. Habu 94, 9.

 *hu=tm* Med. Habu 90, 2.

 *ha=t=mu₅* Med. Habu 28, 55.

 *ha-tm* Med. Habu 46, 30.

**hōdima*. Adj./ Vb.(participle)/ N. “RAVAGING, DESTROYING; RAVAGER, DESTROYER.” Demotic *htm* “to destroy.”²⁸ The term is used in reference to the king’s might on the battlefield, often in lion/bull metaphors. Med. Habu 28, 55: *Wn rw ha=t=mu₅, nh₃, shmyt, mh m nt:f.* “There is a lion, ravaging, wild, powerful, who seizes with its claws.” 46, 30: *Ink k₃ ha-tm.* “I am a ravaging bull.” 79, 4: *Hu₂=tm mh m thi:s* “Destroyer who seizes the trespasser.” 94, 9: *K₃ rnp ... hu₂=tm hr b₃wy* “Young bull ... who destroys on the battle field.” If the word is of Semitic origin, then it is possibly

²⁷The only word from this supposed root, traditionally rendered “lustful,” is related to the word  “testicle.”

²⁸Erichsen (*Glossar*, 282) suggested a connection with Egyptian *htm* “to destroy,” but the confusion of *h* and *h* is not at all likely in the Ramesside period.

related to the Semitic root *hdm* “to overthrow,” cf. Ar. هدم (*hadama*) “to destroy; demolish”; Eth. ደአምማ: (*dāhmama*) “to demolish, destroy.” The Aramaic words of similar appearance are usually explained as Persian loan-words, but they may be related, as well: BH לִמְדָה “limbs (of a dismembered body)”; TA לִמְדָה; Syr. ܚܳܲܵ (haddēm) D-stem, both “to dismember, tear to pieces.” The form is possibly a G-stem participle, and the Egyptian use seems to be as the participle since it functions as an adjective and as a noun, with verbal meaning. (*Wb.* II 479, 6–8.) [3]

304.  $\rightarrow h=d=mu_3$ Urk. IV 666, 17. [D. 18]
 $\rightarrow ha=d=mu$ O. DeM 107 6.²⁹ [D. 19]
 $\rightarrow ha=d=mu$ O. Vienna Aeg. I 4.³⁰ [D. 20]
 $\rightarrow h=d=m=\{t\}$ O. Gardiner 158 5;³¹ O. AG 8.³² [D. 20]
 $\rightarrow (ha=d=m=\{t\})$ H.O. 68 4, vs. 5. [D. 20]
 $\rightarrow ha=d=m=\{t=t^3\}$ O. DeM 592 3. [D. 20]
 $\rightarrow ha=d=m=\{t\}$ H.O. 23 1, etc.³⁴ [D. 19 or 20, 20]
 $\rightarrow ha=d=m=\{t\}$ P. Turin P+R 153, 12.³⁵ [D. 20]
 $\rightarrow had=mu_3$ O. UCL 31922 II, 22.³⁶ [D. 19]
Often as a compound with *rdwy*, “of the feet.”
 \rightarrow  $\rightarrow ha=d=mu$ Blinding of Truth 6, 3–4.³⁷
[D. 19, 20]
 \rightarrow  $\rightarrow ha=d=m=\{t\}$ Turin Necropolis Journal.³⁸ [D. 20]

²⁹ And also O. DeM 255 1; O. Cairo 25516 vs 26; O. Brussels E 6311 vs. 5 (Allam, *HOP*, pl. 27).

³⁰ Zonhoven, “Inspection,” *JEA* 65, p. 90.

³¹ *KRI* VII 346, 1.

³² *KRI* VII 356, 7.

³³ The second superfluous *t* results from the scribe’s having written the wood determinative as if it were the word *ht* “wood.”

³⁴ H.O. 23 5; 36 1, 7; Turin Necropolis Journal Year 13, vs. 1, 12 (Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale*, pls. 1–7).

³⁵ *KRI* VI 564, 9.

³⁶ *KRI* VII 225, 6.

³⁷ And sim. often: O. Cairo 25670 8; O. DeM 105 3; H.O. 115 1 rt., 10.

³⁸ Year 17, vs. B9, 16: Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale*, pls. 1–7.

  *h=d-mu* O. Cairo 25584 I, 3, etc.³⁹ [D. 20]

  *h=d=m-*{t}** O. Cairo 25800 II, 8. [D. 20]

  O. DeM 434 II, 6. [D. 20]

  H.O. 24 1, 4. [D. 20]

  O. Cairo 25677 24. [D. 19]

**hadōma*. N. m. “FOOTSTOOL.”⁴⁰ Demotic *htm* “throne; stool.”

The word is common in commodity lists. The meaning is clear from the use of the bound construction with *rdwy* “of the feet.” The context of O. Cairo 25612 3 is also very explicit: *P3 qniw hn^c p3y·f hdmw rdwy*. “The arm-chair along with its foot stool.” A connection with the Coptic *hapax* *Σοδάμε* “a vessel or measure” is most unlikely.⁴¹ The word is related to the NW Semitic word *hdm*, which has no solid Semitic etymology: BH *הַדָּם* *רַגְלִים*, MH *הַדָּם* *רַגְלִי* “footstool”; Ug. *hdm* “stool; footstool.” The Egyptian writings may have misplaced the *u*-vowel. The Hebrew is from a presumed original **hidām*.⁴² The common Egyptian use of *rdwy* (in bound construction) “of the feet” is probably a loan translation from Canaanite, as the use is very similar to the Hebrew, as opposed to the Ugaritic, where *hdm* is used independently. (H. 164; B. 669; VESO XI A, 3; Janssen *Prices*, 185–87; JEA 31, 39, n. 1; Wb. II 505, 17–19.) [5]

³⁹E.g. O. Berlin 14214 5 (Allam, *HOP*, pl. 17); O. Cairo 25612 3.

⁴⁰Cf. K. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten*, p. 14 (4).

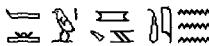
⁴¹Cf. Westendorf, *Kopt. HWb.*, p. 398.

⁴²Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, p. 473 h b.



305. *hu³-i-ta* KRII 8, 2. [D. 19]

Almost certainly to be restored:



**hu³ita / huwita*. N. loc. (of spring). “CAMP; TENT VILLAGE?”

The name is perhaps to be connected with the Semitic root *hwy*. Cf. BH תְּן “tent village”; Ug. *hwt* “land”;¹ Targum Aram. תְּנִיָּה “encampment, lodge”; Ar. حَوْي (*hwy*) “to gather, collect.” Medial ²*aleph* for Semitic *waw* is unexpected. Initial /*h*/ and ²*aleph* are incompatible in Semitic roots.² [3]

306. *ha₂-ya=ru₂-ya* O. Turin 57365 8.³

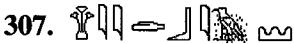
[D. 19 or 20]

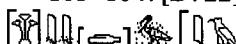
**hayaluya?* N. pl. PARTS OF A CHARIOT, “LASHINGS(?)” The context does not illuminate the nature of this *hapax*, but the determinatives suggest one of the many leather lashings of the chariot or harness. Although the word cannot be identified, several possible etymologies can be suggested. Perhaps cf. the root *hwl*: BH חַוֵּל “to whirl, dance; twist, writhe”; Ug. *hl* “circuit (that people travel)”; Ar. حَوْل (*hwl*) “to change; turn (away)”; (*hawla*) “around”; Eth. አውላ: (*hawala*) “to turn around.” Given the uncertainty of the meaning, one cannot rule out a connection with the BH חַל ‘ “ornament,” MH חַלְתָּה “link, strand (of plaited threads, necklaces, etc.)”; Ar. حلّ (*halā*) “to adorn,” (*haly*) “piece of jewelry.” (H. 165; Not in *Wb.*) [2]

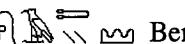
¹So Gibson, *Canaanite Myths*, p. 146.

²K. Petráček, “Nochmals über die Struktur der Wurzeln mit den Pharyngealen im Altägyptischen und Semitischen und ihre Kompatibilität,” in Y.L. Arbeitman, ed. *Fucus* (Amsterdam: 1988), pp. 371; K. Koskinen, “Kompatibilität in den dreikonsonantigen hebräischen Wurzeln,” *ZDMG* 114 (1964), p. 24.

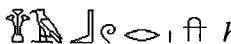
³Dawson and Peet, “the King’s Chariot,” *JEA* 19, pl. 29.

307.   ^{sic} *ha₂-ya=d-b=³a* Shishak
103–104. [D. 22]

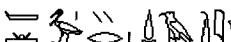
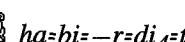
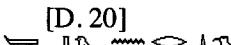
  *ha₂-ya=d-bi=³a*
Shishak 105–106.

  Berlin Frag. 2094.⁴ [D. 22]

hidab?* In n. loc. “HIGHLANDS?**” The word occurs in the Negeb list apparently parallel to place names consisting of a topographic term⁵ followed by a personal or clan name.⁶ The term may be related to the root *hdb*, whose semantic field is “being convex, dome-shaped, curved.” The root is not attested in Hebrew or Aramaic, but does occur in Arabic: حَدْبَ (hadiba) “to be convex; hunchbacked; dome-shaped,” and the noun حَدْبَ (hadab) “elevation of the ground.” The  group might be vocalic here, given the late date of the text. [3]

308.  *ha₂-ba-ra* O. DeM 589 4. [D. 20]

**habla*. N. MEANING UNCERTAIN, PERHAPS “ROPE.” The word occurs after *psšw* “matting.” The determinative suggests an item of basketry or other bast fibre manufacture. The word is possibly derived from the Semitic root *hbl*, cf. BH חַבְלָ “rope, snare; band, company”; Ug. *hbl* “band, company,” and in Akk. transcription **hablu, habalūma* (pl.) “rope = measured land”,⁷ Ammonite *hblm* “ropes”; Imp. Aram. חַבְלָ “rope”; TA حَبْلٌ “rope”; Syr. (*hablā*) “rope”; Ar. حَلْ (habl) “rope,” أَحْبُلَة (uhbūla) “snare”; Eth. አብላ፡ (habl) “string; rope”; Akk. *eblu* “rope; a surface measure.” (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

309.   *ha-bi=-r-di₄-ta* P. BM 10052 1, 15-16.⁸
[D. 20]
  *ha-bu=-n-ra-di₄-n-ta₅* JEA 44, p. 31.⁹

⁴*Ägypt. Inschr. Berlin II*, p. 207.

⁵The terms attested are *nagba* “dry land,” *šibboleth* “stream,” and *haqla* “field.”

⁶The second element of these names are obscure. The second might just possibly be akin to the Biblical Dothan.

⁷Cf. Akk. usage. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 123.

⁸Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 25.

⁹J. Černý, “Queen Ese of the Twentieth Dynasty and her Mother,” *JEA* 44 (1958),

JEA 44, p. 31.

ha=bu=-n=di₄=n=ta₅ JEA 44, p. 31.

Also written with *m* and without metathesis:

ha=ma₄=di₄=ra=ta JEA 44, p. 31.

ha=ma=<di₄>=ra=ta JEA 44, p. 31.¹⁰

*habaṣṣilata. N. (f.) as PN f. “MEADOW SAFFRON (AUTUMN CROCUS).” The name, that of a female relative of Ramses III, was identified by Dévaud as the Semitic word meaning “meadow saffron.”¹¹ Cf. BH חַבְצָלָה “meadow saffron”;¹² MH חַבְצָלָת “young lily”; Syr. حَمْسَلَات (hamṣalatā) “meadow saffron.” The Hebrew word has been compared with Akk. *habaṣillatu* “fresh shoot of a reed,”¹³ but since the WS word appears to have had /h/ and not /h/ as the initial consonant, the Akkadian word, if it is even related, must be a loan word with a different meaning. The Syriac, like some of the Egyptian writings has *m* in place of *b*. There is metathesis of /l/ and /s/ in most of the writings. (Not in *Wb.*) [5]

310. ha=fi=da An. I 19, 6. [D. 19]

h=f=da Med. Habu 88, 6–7. [D. 20]

P. Magic Harris 8, 3. [D. 19]

Med. Habu 28, 62.

h=f=d-nu KRI II 172, 3. [D. 19]

Probably also:

h=f=ni Med. Habu 86, 44.

*hafaza. Vb. “TO HURRY, RUSH; TO FLEE IN TERROR.” In

pp. 31–37.

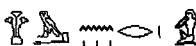
¹⁰The *s* is an error for *da*, as noted by Černý, *JEA* 44 (1958), p. 31.

¹¹E. Dévaud, “Etudes de lexicographie égyptienne et copte,” *Kêmi* 2 (1929), p. 7, n. 4.

¹²BDB, p. 287b, Koehler-Baumgartner, p. 275b, I. Löw, *Aramaic Pflanzennamen*, p. 174, no 128.

¹³E.g. CAD, *H*, p. 8a, which further maintains that the Biblical examples are better understood as “fresh reed shoots.” The Biblical word, however, clearly refers to flowers and not reed shoots. In Isa. 35:1, the word occurs with the verb פָּרַח “to blossom,” and in Song of Songs 2:1, the word stands parallel to שׁוֹשָׂנָה הַעֲמֵקִים “lily of the valley.”

Med. Habu 88, 6–7, the word is used of Pharaoh's military prowess: “*q^cq wmtw m h=f-da*” “who penetrates the thick throng in a rush.” In the passage of *KRI II* 172 the word is used of the king: *rw nšnty ḥḥf mī bik lft šm f h=f=d-nu dww n khb·n·w* “a raging lion who soars like a falcon when he goes rushing up mountains which have not (yet) been conquered.” In P. Magic Harris the word occurs in the imperative in an appeal to a god: *I-šm h=f-da*. “Go quickly!” In An. I 19, the would-be *mahir*-warrior apparently is frightened by the route to a place called *Bi=—r=ta: Iry·k ha-fi=da pṣy·s tsy*. “You flee in terror from its ascent.” The word has long been associated with the Semitic root *hpz*, cf. BH, MH חפץ “to be in trepidation, hurry,” حفزون “trepidation; hurried flight”; Ar. حفز (*hafaza*) “to urge, incite.” Černý¹⁴ proposed a link with the Coptic Σχοογῆ “road, highway,” but this identification should be ruled out for semantic and phonological reasons. The word formation is ambiguous. The form with final *n* is probably derived from an original nominal form, but it seems to be employed as a verb. In An. I the word is used in the periphrastic construction with *iry* “to do,” but in Med. Habu 88 and P. Magic Harris it seems to be used as the infinitive in a “pseudo-verbal construction” with the preposition *m*. In *KRI II* the word may be used as an infinitive, perhaps in a “pseudo-verbal” construction with the preposition *hr* dropped. The Egyptian word, like its Hebrew counterpart, was used both with and without the connotation of fear. (H. 166; B. 675; *Wb.* III 75, 14. 18.) [5]

311.  *ha₂=ma=—n=ra* Deir el-Bahri.¹⁵ [D. 20]

**hamala*. Vb.? “TO HAVE COMPASSION, SHOW MERCY.” The word, apparently a *hapax*, occurs in an exclamation: *nn dd ha₂=ma=—nra n·i* “without saying ‘Be merciful to me!’” If this is the correct meaning of the word, then cf. the root *hml*: BH, MH, Mod. Heb. לְמַלֵּה “to spare; have compassion”; Judean Aramaic חִמְלָה “mercy; desire”; Ar. حملة (*hamala*) “to bear, carry,” and many derived meanings, including “to show (a feeling) towards.” The use

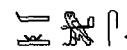
¹⁴Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 305.

¹⁵Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, p. 73, no. 13, 10.

in this case seems to be the imperative followed by the dative. (Not in *Wb.*) [4]

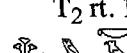
312.  ha₂=ma₂-r H.O. 3 3, 1; O. Lit. DeM 1254 1–2.¹⁶
[D. 19 or 20]

hamāra*. N. pl. “ASS.” The word occurs in the phrase *nṣy-k smdt mi hmr* “your juniors are like asses.” Helck hesitatingly associated the word with BH **הַמָּרָה “ass.” The identification seems likely. The text is an adulation of the teacher. A word *i₃rtt*, perhaps “fodder,” “milk,” or possibly even “switch, whip” follows, so perhaps the teacher is being praised as a provider (of knowledge, etc.) or as a guide. Cf. also Ug. *hmr*; Amorite *himārum*; TA, JPA **אַמְּרָה**; Syr. **سَعْدَةٌ** (*ḥ²mārā*); Ar. حمار (*himār*); Old S. Ar. **𒄑𒈪** (*hmr*); Akk. *imēru*, all “ass.” There is no indication of the [á] to [ó] shift. (H. 167; not in *Wb.*) [4]

313.  LD III 218 a, b. “MEADOW SAFFRON (AUTUMN CROCUS).” See under .

314.  ha₂=ma₂-ka₂-ta P. Ch. Beatty VII vs. 1, 5.
[D. 20]

hamakata?* N. m. (!) A BODY OF WATER. This obscure word is not attested elsewhere. It occurs in a text about “Anat and Seth: *St m p₃ ḥa-pa hr w^cb-s m p₃ ḥmkt*. “She was at the shore, bathing in the *ḥmkt*.” If the word is Semitic, it is possibly a *mem*-preformative noun (with metathesis). Since the word is masculine, the *ta* group is perhaps for a root consonant /d/, /tʃ/, or /t/. No appropriate root is forthcoming. The only remote possibility seems to be a connection with the root *mq*: cf. BH **מִקְמָצָע “deep (water),” **מִקְמָצָע** “deep things.” (H. 168. Not in *Wb.*) [2]

315.  ha₂=ma₂-ka₂-ta HPBM 4th ser. L₁ vs. 42–43;
T₂ rt. 106. [D. 21–22]
 HPBM 4th ser. T₁ vs. 30–31.

¹⁶= H.O. 3, 3, 1. The text is damaged and only the first group is preserved.

 $m = k = w = t$ P. Med. London 10, 6.¹⁷ [D. 18]

**hamakata*. N. (f.?) A DISEASE. The nature of the disease is unknown. In the London Medical Papyrus, it occurs in a formula that is said to be *m dd n h3styw* “in the language of the Foreigners.” Ebbell suggested a connection with the Arabic حماق (*humāq*) “smallpox (variola),” which is possible, but not provable. (Not in *Wb.*) [2]

316.  hu₄-ma-da Gloss. Gol. 7, 7. [D. 20-1]

 O. ROM 906.20.6¹⁸ 2; 3; 4; 5; 6. [D. 19]

**humda*. N. “VINEGAR; INFERIOR QUALITY WINE.” Coptic Σομξ, Βογεμξ “vinegar; cheap wine.”¹⁹ In the Gloss. Gol. the word occurs in a list of beverages after “wine of Amor” and before the second-rate *ipwr*-beverage, and in this instance should therefore be understood as a type of wine, as in Ugaritic. The use of the vinegar in the ROM ostraca, a delivery record, is not specified, but large quantities are involved.²⁰ The word has long been identified with the Semitic root *hmd*. Cf. BH יָמְדֵה “vinegar,” Epigraphic Hebrew יָמְדֵה “inferior wine”;²¹ Ug. *hmṣ* “sour wine”;²² TA ةَمْدَهْ “vinegar”; Ar. حَمْدَه (*hamada*) “to become sour”; Akkadian *emsu*

¹⁷B. Ebbell, "Die ägyptischen Krankheitsnamen," ZÄS 59 (1924), p. 149.

¹⁸This is an unpublished ostraca from Deir el-Medinah now in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Dr. N. Millet kindly showed me the ostraca and his copy of the text. The "bad" determinative is somewhat unexpected, but quite suitable.

¹⁹Several of the examples in Crum (*Dictionary*, p. 682b) seem to refer to an inferior sort of wine (esp. Mani 1 A², and Crum, p. 143a, where it occurs in a list of varieties of wines in PMich 4237), although this translation is not given there. Since ancient methods of vinegar production were less successful than modern methods and since the vinegar was less well aerated, the alcohol content would have been higher, and the level of acidity lower. Vinegar was diluted with water and drunk by the Roman army, and in Biblical and Talmudic texts sour wine was diluted with water presumably to render it palatable, cf. Jastrow, pp. 752b–753b (root יָמַד “to mix [wine]”). Of course, there were probably many grades of vinegar from sour wine to highly acidic vinegar used for seasoning and pickling.

20Dr. Millet has suggested that the vinegar was used for pickling since it arrived in large quantities at a time when produce was fresh.

²¹Cf. D. Pardee, "Letters from Tel Arad," *UF* 10 (1978), p. 299.

²²PRU 2, no. 99, 27: *kd yn IPN wkd hm̄s*. "A jug of wine for PN, and also a jug of sour wine."

“sour” (said of wine, beer, fruit, etc.). Albright cited this word as an example of the corruption of the syllabic orthography after the time of Ramses III.²³ (H. 169; B. 679; *Wb.* III 99, 13; *VESO* II B, 14.) [5]

317. JEA 44, p. 31. “**MEADOW SAFFRON (AUTUMN CROCUS).**” See under .

318. *han-ya-t* Urk. IV 719, 1. [D. 18]

h=n-ya-t Urk. IV 727, 1.

hanayta*. N. (f.?) pl. “SPEAR, JAVELIN.**” The word is listed with weapons in tribute from Palestine in Urk. IV 719: *hsmn han-ya-t*, *ikm, pdt, h̄w nb nw r-̄-ht* “bronze *hnyt*, shields, bows, and all types of weapons of war.” Burchardt identified the word with BH “spear,” but he maintained that the Hebrew was a borrowing from the Egyptian. His reason for rejecting a Semitic origin is unclear. The word does not have a good Egyptian etymology, and is likely derived from the Semitic root *hny*: BH “to verge toward, incline; settle down”; Syr. (*h̄nā*) “to aim (a javelin) at; incline towards; reach”; Ar. (*hnw*) “to incline.” The Ug. word in Akk. transcription *hi-nu-ta*²⁴ designating an implement made of or containing copper might be a cognate word for “spear.” An Egyptian origin is unlikely considering that the Hebrew Bible provides nearly 50 examples of the word, whereas in all of Egyptian literature there can be found only these two (closely related) occurrences, both in the context of tribute from Palestine (*Rtnw*). The group may possibly be used to represent [j].²⁵ (B. 680; *Wb.* III 110, 11.) [5]

²³*VESO*, p. 14.

²⁴Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, pp. 125–26. Huehnergard considered it most likely to be from the root *hny*, but did not suggest the meaning “spear.”

²⁵If so, the Eighteenth Dynasty monumental conventions must have been somewhat different from the later scribal norms.

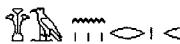
319.  ha₂=ni-ni=a Shishak List, no. 95. [D. 22]

 ha₂=na-ni=ya Shishak List, no. 99.

Hanānī, Hananyā*. Vb. in PN m. “TO BE GRACIOUS.**” The name is certainly related to the Semitic root *hnn* “to be gracious, show favour.” Cf. BH  “to be gracious, show favour,” and especially the PN’s  and ; Ph.  “to show favour”; Ug. *hnn*, and in Akk. transcription ^m*Ha-na-an-ni*, ^m*Ha-na-nu*;²⁶ Amorite *hnn*; Ammonite *Hnnyh, Hnn^l, lhnny, Hnn*; Murašu ^m*Ha-na-na²*, ^m*Ha-na-ni²*, ^m*Ha-na-ni-ya-a-ma* (for **Hananniyaw*), ^m*Ha-an-ni-ya*;²⁷ TA ; Syr.  (*han*), all “to show favour”; Ar. حنّ (*hanna*) “to long for; to have mercy on.” The writing in Shishak 99 may contain the divine name, and it may also have the first person singular suffix [-ni]. If so, the name would have an identical parallel in the name attested in the Murašu documents and would mean “THE LORD has been gracious to me.” (B. 681.) [5]

320.  ha₂=—n=ra An. IV 12, 7–8; Med. Habu 82, 27. [D. 19, 20]

 P. Sallier I 5, 9. [D. 19]

 ha₂=—n=ra=ra P. Leiden I 350 3, 15.²⁸ [D. 19]

 ha₂=ru P. Ebers 50, 19. [D. 18]

 ha₂=ra=ra P. Med. London 2, 8. [D. 18]

 ha₂=r=ru P. Med. London 11, 9.

halla? halila?* Vb. “TO SQUINT, HAVE STRABISMUS; TO LONG FOR, EYE WITH ENVY.**” The P. Leiden 350 text deals with the sun’s effect on humans: *Wb3 p3 ipty, dr ha₂=—n=ra=ra*. “The eyes are opened; the squinting is eliminated.” Med. Habu 82, 27 reads: *P3y sn dfd ha₂=—n=ra, nn gmh-[sn]*. “Their pupils were squinting and [they] could not see.” An. IV 12 employs the word in a different sense in the complaints of a soldier unhappily stationed at

²⁶Kinlaw, *Names in the Akkadian Texts*, p. 55.

²⁷M.D. Coogan, *West Semitic Personal Names*, (PhD thesis, Harvard: 1971), pp. 30–31.

²⁸Zandee, *OMRO* 28 (1947), pl. 3.

the fictional Levantine locale *Qnqn-tʒ* (“Blasted Land!”): *Irt-i ha₂=-n=ra mtnw r tsy r Da- <ha>*. “My eye looks with envy (or longing) at the road going up to Djahi.” The supposed connection with the Coptic Β̄λολ “darkness” is unlikely on semantic grounds.²⁹ The word is probably related to the Semitic root *hwl* “to turn,” cf. Syr. ﻫِلَّةٌ (*h̄wilūtā*) “strabismus”; Ar. حول (*hwl*) “to change,” IX (*?ihwalla*) “to squint, have strabismus,” احول (*ahwal*) (adj.) “squinting, strabismus.” Cf. also BH חוֹל “to twist, writhe; dance.” In the literary texts most of the forms appear to be infinitives in Pres. I constructions, but the example from P. Leiden may be a derived noun (if not simply the infinitive), as possibly in the medical texts. The doubled or geminated consonant in some of the examples suggest that the form (or at least one form) was from a derived stem.³⁰ Presumably the semantic development in the Syriac and Arabic is from “being twisted” to “having a ‘twisted’ eye,” i.e. having strabismus. The sense may, however, derive from the notion of “changing,” cf. Mishnaic Hebrew עיניה מחרחלפה “her eyes change,”³¹ meaning “she has strabismus.” The Egyptian meaning “to long for; eye with envy” no doubt stems from the notion of straining to see. (B. 683; *Wb.* III 115, 4–5.) [4]

321. *ha₂=-n=ra=ga* An. I 13, 8–14, 1. [D. 19]

*P. Turin 62*³²

*ha₂=-n=ra=?=ga*³³ O. DeM 1009 8.³⁴
[D. 19 or 20]

**haraga*. Vb. “TO QUAKE; TO BE EMBARRASSED.” AND POSSIBLY “TO POUND (OF HEART).” In the passage of An. I 13 (and parallels) the word occurs in the context of two rivals competing in mathematical challenges: *Mi, dd-i h̄3w hr i-ddt-k. Di-i wn-k*.

²⁹Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 279, Westendorf *Kopt. HWb.*, p. 366, 565. However, Vycichl (*Dict. Etym.*, p. 297b) also rejected this connection.

³⁰This is a regular feature of middle weak verbs in the D-stem, for example.

³¹Cf. Jastrow, p. 1150a, sub פָזֵל.

³²= An. I 13, 8 ff.

³³The *ti* is the 2nd m. pl. ending of the Egyptian stative (old perfective).

³⁴= An. I 13, 8 ff.

ha₂-n-ra=ga-tw. “Come, that I might tell of even more than what you have spoken of. I will make you quake.”³⁵ No etymologies have been suggested for this word. It is quite likely related to the Semitic root *hrg*, cf. BH חָרַג “to come out quaking (in fear)”; TA נִירָג “terror”;³⁶ Ar. حَرِيج (*hariga*) “be hard pressed,” A-stem “to embarrass (someone).” The forms are all the Egyptian stative (2nd m. sing. old perfective). (B. 685; *Wb.* III 115, 6.) [4]

322. *ha-—r* An. III 2, 9; 3, 4; ZÄS 58, 28, VI, 2. [D. 19]
 **haarra*. N. m. (Used as a proper noun). “CANAL.” In An. III 2, 9 the word occurs in a Delta context: *p3 Š-Hr hr hm3y*; *p3 ha-—r hr hsmn. N3y·f ḥw hr wd, mniw*. “The Waters of Horus³⁷ have salt; the *hr* has natron. Its³⁸ ships set out and dock.” The water is brackish and navigable by ship. In 3, 3 ff. the text reads: *m dbyt m w3dt n Pr-Hwt-hr, mht n p3 ha-—r* “with foliage and greens from Pi-Hathor and flax from the *hr*.” The example from ZÄS 58 is a place name on a wine docket. The word is possibly related to the Old S. Ar. (hrt) “irrigation canal.” Wintermute³⁹ cites Arabic حَارِير (*hāriy*) and حَرَان (*hayrān*), which he translates “a place where water collects.” This meaning does not exist; these words denote “being confused, helpless.” (*Wb.* III 149, 4.) [2]

323. *h=—r=ya* O. DeM 3 6, and often.⁴⁰ [D. 19]

ha-ra=ya O. DeM 42 vs. 11; 12.

ha=ri=ya O. DeM 148 3; 5; O. Prague H.14 vs. 5; vs. 9.⁴¹ [D. 20]

ha=ri O. DeM 131 3.

har=ya O. DeM 46 16; 17; 96 1.

har=² O. DeM 42 vs. 13; 14.

³⁵Or “I will put you to shame.”

³⁶The word is used to translate BH חָרַג “terror.”

³⁷Biblical חָרֵג a branch of the Nile.

³⁸The text reads “its,” but the referent could be both watercourses. The variant text has the impossible *n3y·f sn ḥw* “its their ships.”

³⁹Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 168.

⁴⁰E.g. O. DeM 10, 8; 12, 5; 14, 4; 15, 5; 16, 6; 17, 5; 22, 8.

⁴¹KRI VII 303, 7; 11.

har O. DeM 46 18.

har-^t O. OIC 17007 + O Černý 6 passim.⁴² [D. 19]

har-²-^t O. DeM 94 4; 5.

An. IV 8, 12. [D. 19]

harya*, *hariya*. N. “DUNG (PROBABLY USED AS FUEL); EXCREMENT.**” Demotic *hry*, Coptic *ϣϩo(ε)ipe* “dung (human or animal).” The word is a common commodity in the ostraca, but the contexts are not particularly helpful in establishing the meaning. An. IV is more instructive; the word occurs in a list of items that are stored in a barn: ‘*swt*’، *šwy*, *ištpn*, *hr²t n prt*, *nbw*... “reeds, rushes, *ištpn*, *hrit* of winter, alfa-grass...” The modifying phrase “of winter” suggests that the item was used as fuel.⁴³ Helck wanted to associate the word with the Semitic root חַרְה “to burn.” This is semantically most unlikely, especially since the Demotic and Coptic words do not refer to fuel. The word is certainly related to the root *hry*. Cf. BH חָרָה, חָרֵר; Ug. *hri*; TA חָרֵר; Syr. لَّس (heryā); Ar. خَرَّ (harā²), all “excrement”; Akk. *harāru*, *arāru* “to defecate (of birds).”⁴⁴ The correspondence of Egyptian *h* for Semitic /h/ is extremely rare.⁴⁵ Did the word come from a dialect in which [h] and [h̥] had already begun to coalesce or were not phonemically distinguished, or was this an error on the part of the Egyptians? (H. 171; not in *Wb.*) [5]

324. *ha-—r-pa* P. Koller 1, 5. [D. 19]

An. IV 17, 1. [D. 19]

*ha-—r-pa₂*⁴⁶ O. Edinb. 916 13. [D. 19]

Also probably as PN with m. sing. definite article:

ha-ra-pa P. Wilbour A 51, 48. [D. 20]

harba*. N. m. “DAGGER, SHORT SWORD.**” The word occurs

⁴²KRI VII 176, 15–16; 177, 1–2.

⁴³So Caminos, *LEM*, p. 167.

⁴⁴F. Renfroe, “Diagnosing Long-Dead Patients: The Equine Ailments in KTU 1.85,” *Orientalia* 57 (1988), pp. 184–85.

⁴⁵For another possible instance, see *ha-ti₂*, no. 328.

⁴⁶The “dual strokes” are probably superfluous.

twice in lists of weapons, P. Koller 1, 5: *pʒ ma=—r=ha, pʒ ha=—r=pa, tʒ sfd* “the lance, the *hrp*, the sword.”⁴⁷ An. IV 17, 1: *ha=—r=pa, ma=—r=ha, sfd* “*hrp*, lances, and swords.” The O. Edinb. example is in a play on words (*hrp* “dagger” // *hrf* “it terrifies”⁴⁸): *Pʒ ha=—r=pa₂ n tʒy·k ma=—r=ka=ba=ta, hr·f nʒ nty [...].* “The *hrp* of your chariot, it terrifies those who [...].” The term *hrp* probably referred to the straight sword/dagger common in Syria-Palestine, as opposed to the Egyptian *hpš*-scimitar, or the long sword used, for instance, by the Hittites. The word is certainly related to BH בְּרַב; Ug. *hrb*; Old Aram., Imp. Aram. בְּרַב; TA ئَبْرَاب; Syr. سَطَا (*harbā*); Samalian כְּרָב, all “sword, knife”; Ar. حَرْبَة (*harba*) “lance.” Wintermute rejected this well established etymology because of the Egyptian *p* for Semitic /b/ and preferred a link with the root *hrp*, which he maintained was a by-form of *hrb* resulting from dissimilation.⁴⁹ The two roots, however, appear to be different, *hrb* meaning “to attack; fight; slay” and *hrp* meaning “to sharpen.”⁵⁰ The latter also produced words referring to swords or knives: e.g. Syr. سَطَا (*harpā*) “sharp edge”; Ar. حَرْف (*harf*) “cutting edge.” There is little evidence, however, that this root actually produced a word designating a sword, and even if it did perhaps in Syriac,⁵¹ there is no reason to suppose that the Egyptians would have borrowed this obscure term, when בְּרַב was a common word in the dialects they were familiar with. A connection with Mishnaic חִלְלָה “slaughter-knife”⁵² must similarly be dismissed. The word may, however, be related to Greek ἄρπη

⁴⁷The Egyptian word *sft* / *sfd* (Coptic χῃቀ) “sword, knife” was loaned to Mishnaic Hebrew and Talmudic Aramaic as סְפִּירָה and סְפִּירָה, and to Arabic as سيف (*sayf*), all “sword.”

⁴⁸Note that Egyptian *p* and *f* were considered sufficiently similar for the pun to work.

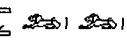
⁴⁹Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 99.

⁵⁰The root occurs in Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic.

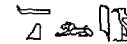
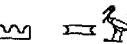
⁵¹Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, p. 159a “blade, sword.”

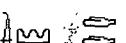
⁵²Presumably from the meaning “that which passes through” (the throat).

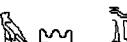
“sword,” which is possibly a loan from the Semitic.⁵³ (H. 172; B. 686; VESO X D10, XII A4; *Wb.* III 149, 6; *PN* II 282, 22.) [5]

325. * **ha=ru₂=ru₂* (H. 173) is a phantom. See

 *ha=ru₂=ru₂*, no. 349.

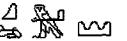
326.   *ha=q=ru₂=²a* Shishak 71–72. [D. 22]

   *ha₂=q=ru₂=²a* Shishak 77–78.

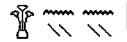
   *ha₂=qa=ru₂=²a* Shishak 68–69.

   *ha₂=qa=ru₂={t}* Shishak 87–88.

 *ha₂=q=ru₂=ma* Shishak 107.

 Berlin Fragment 2094.⁵⁴ [D. 22]

Also written with *g*:

  *ha₂=g=ru₂=ya* Shishak 94–95.

  *ha₂=g=ru₂=²a* Shishak 96–97.

**haql* or **halq* (sing. abs.), **haqlay* or *halqay* (pl. constr.), *haqlim* or *halqim* (pl.). N. m. in n. loc. “FIELD; TERRITORY.” Brugsch linked the word to Arabic *حاج* (*hajar*) “stone, rock.” Maspero associated the word with the name *חַלְקָה* of the Talmud, to which he ascribed the meaning “stone wall.” Spiegelberg then identified the word with the common Semitic root *hql*, meaning “field,” and his identification was widely accepted.⁵⁵ Burchardt⁵⁶ rejected this etymology, maintaining that Egyptian *g* (as in the variants) never

⁵³This is generally denied, since the word also means “sickle,” which seems to have a fairly solid Indo-European etymology. (E.g. H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, [Heidelberg: 1960], p. 150.) The word for “sword,” however, is fairly remote semantically from “sickle,” and occurs mostly in earlier texts in the foreign tales of Perseus. The two words may have different origins.

⁵⁴*Ägypt. Inschr. Berlin* II, p. 207.

⁵⁵For the early references, see H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* (Cairo: 1931), vol. 6, p. 13.

⁵⁶I, §156.2.

represented Semitic /q/. He therefore suggested a derivation from the root *hgr* *“to surround” and translated “fortress.” There are, however, clear-cut examples of the correspondence *g:q*, e.g. *כָּשַׁג* (no. 92) for *נְשַׁק* “to oppress.” Also, the root *hgr* does not have the meaning “to surround.” Hypothetically, the root could have yielded a word meaning “fort” or “fortification wall,”⁵⁷ but there is not a single certain attestation of such a word in any Semitic language.⁵⁸ M. Noth⁵⁹ rejected the association with *חַלְקָה* “field,” maintaining that an “Aramaicism” was out of place in the Hebrew heartland, but his only evidence in favour of *hagra* *“fort” comes from Targum Aramaic and Arabic!⁶⁰

The word is probably related to BH *חַלְקָה*, “portion; plot of land,”⁶¹ *חַלְקָה* “field (for agricultural production).”⁶² The root *hlq*

⁵⁷There are many claims to this effect, e.g. M. Noth, “Die Wege der Pharaonenheere in Palästina und Syrien,” *ZDPV* 61 (1938), pp. 277–304; B. Mazar, (“The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak to Palestine,” *VT* Supplement 4, p. 64; and B. Mazar, *עָרִים וְגַלְילֹות בָּאֲרִץ־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִחְקָרִים טוֹפָנוֹרָאִים־דִּינִיסּוֹרָיִם (Cities)* (Jerusalem: 1975), pp. 132–38).

⁵⁸G.W. Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Halis Saxonum: 1830), p. 345, is the only lexicon to list a word حِجْر (*hijr*) with the supposed meaning “wall,” but there is otherwise no evidence that the word actually existed. There certainly is no Arabic word **hijr* meaning “fort” (as claimed by Mazar, *Cities*, p. 133). In classical Arabic the root means “to hinder, to stop,” and not “to surround,” or “fortify” (as maintained by Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 289). The Arabic verb حِجْر can be used of building a corral, but the semantic development is from “hindering, restraining” to “confining,” and not of “surrounding.” In Hebrew חַגָּר is used exclusively of tying things around the body. Evidence from other Semitic languages is scant.

⁵⁹“Wege der Pharaonenheere,” *ZDPV* 61 (1938), pp. 277–304.

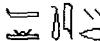
⁶⁰Noth (*ibid.*) proposed a link with Arabic حِجْر (*hjr*), and n. loc. (الحجـر) (*El-Hejr*) (another name of *Medā'īn Ṣalihī*) and the Targum Aramaic n. loc. חַלְקָה, attested in the Aramaic name for the Nabatean capital city, Petra. The meaning of the Arabic and Aramaic place names is uncertain, but it is very likely that they are connected to the Arabic word for “rock,” cf. Ar. حِجْر (*hajar*) “stone, rock.” Both Petra (cf. πέτρα = “rock, crag; stone”) and ⁷El-Hejr are notable for their rocky locations and monumental cliff-side façades, but the name “Rock” probably originally referred to their cliff top citadels and refuges. (So, with reference to Petra, N. Glueck, *Deities and Dolphins* [New York: 1965], p. 43.) Cf. also the BH n. loc. סַלְעָה “Crag” (II Kings 14:7), which was a place of refuge.

⁶¹In urban contexts it refers to the territory around a city (חַלְקָה יְרֵעָה).

⁶²The Even-Shoshan concordance (vol. II, p. 701b) lists 21 instances of חַלְקָה, that clearly refer to agricultural fields, and the other two instances almost certainly do as well.

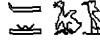
means “to divide, apportion” in Hebrew, but it is possible that the nominal forms specifically referring to land are metathesized cognates of the common Semitic original noun *hql* “field,” cf. TA نَقْلَةً, and with metathesis نَقْلَةً “field”; Syr. سَعَلَا (*haqlā*) “field”; Ar. حَفْل (*haql*) “field, region”; Old S. Ar. ՚هَفْل (*hql*) “fields, countryside”; Eth. ከቅል: (*haql*) “field; district”; Akk. *eqlu* “field, region.”⁶³

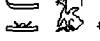
Almost all of the writings have what appears to be the gentilic or *nisbe* ending, but what that would mean is unclear. In spite of the m. sing. definite article, the form may possibly be the plural construct.⁶⁴ (B. 694–698; Hoch.⁶⁵) [4]

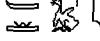
327.  *ha-ta-—r* O. Turin 9754 3.⁶⁶ [D. 20]

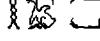
hatala?* N. **BASKETRY. The word occurs after *msti*-basket in a list of commodities. Perhaps cf. the Semitic root *htl*, e.g. BH חַתֵּל “to enwrap,” MH חַתְּל “bandage”; MH חַתְּלָל “wrapper of reed-matting for dates; bale”; Ug. *htl* “wrapper”; Imp. Aram. חַחִיל “rope(?)”, JPA חַחִיל “palm-leaf basket for dates.” (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

328.  *ha-ti₂* P. Harris I 6, 1; 8, 8; 26, 7, etc.⁶⁷ [D. 20]

 *ha-ti{3}₂* P. BM 10068 3, 6.⁶⁸ [D. 20]

 P. BM 10068 3, 12; 3, 13.

 *ha-ti₂=²a* P. Amherst 2, 6.⁶⁹ [D. 20]

 *h=ti₂* P. Ch. Beatty IV vs. 7, 12. [D 19.]

⁶³The connection between Hebrew נַחַל and *hql*, if there is one, may be fairly complex. It is possible that an unattested Hebrew word **heqel* underwent metathesis through a false etymology from נַחַל “to apportion.” The masculine noun נַחַל, which sometimes means “tract of land,” and sometimes means “portion,” might in fact be an amalgamation of two words deriving from two different roots.

⁶⁴The iʒ group seems to represent [e] or [i] in the Shishak list. If so, the Egyptians must have nevertheless construed it as a singular form.

⁶⁵J.E. Hoch, “The Supposed *Hgr* ‘Fort’ in Negeb Place Names of the Shishak Toponym List,” in *Proceedings of the 33rd International Congress of Asian and North African Studies*, vol. 1 (Queenston: 1992), pp. 262–66.

⁶⁶Allam, *HOP*, pl. 73.

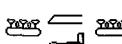
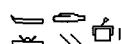
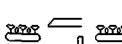
⁶⁷E.g. P. Harris I 47, 1; 57, 13; 58, 6; 59, 3.

⁶⁸Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 10.

⁶⁹*Tomb Robberies*, pl. 5.

 ha-*ti*₂-*ta*⁷⁰ H.O. 49 2, 5. [D. 19]

**hada*. Vb. “TO OVERLAY; INLAY; MOUNT.” Among examples clearly requiring the sense “overlay” is P. Harris I 57, 13: *ta*=—*r*=²*a* *m* ‘š *ha*=*ti*₂ *m* *hmt* “door leaves of pine overlaid with copper.” H.O. 49 2, 5 is an example requiring the meaning “inlay”: *tṣy*^f *isbt* *n* *hbny* *ha*=*ti*₂·*ti* […] “his chair of ebony inlaid [with ‘ivory’].” A case where “mount” is preferable can be found in Ch. B IV vs. 7, 12: *htm mnqw mnḥ*, *irw m ša=ba=ya h*=*ti*₂ *m i[nr]* “excellent ‘finished’ signet-rings made of šbw stone and mounted with a st[one].” The word is possibly related to the Semitic root ²*hd* “to seize, grasp, hold fast” cf. BH  G-stem “to seize,” G- and D-stems “to overlay”; Ug. ²*hd* “to seize”;⁷¹ Ar.  (²*ahada*) “to seize”; Akk. *uhhu* (D-stem) “to overlay (with metal)” and “to inlay (stones, ivory)”; *iħzū* “mounting (made of precious metal); (metal) overlay; (ivory) inlay.”⁷² Egyptian *h* for Semitic /*h*/ is most unusual.⁷³ The correspondence of Egyptian *t* for Semitic /*d*/ is attested elsewhere, e.g. ²*i*=*ti*₂ “which,” no. 38. The aphaeresis of the ²*aleph* is difficult to explain, but the phenomenon is well attested in various NWS dialects with the word,  “one” (from ²*hd*, which is phonetically similar).⁷⁴ Perhaps the Egyptians confused the two roots, which would account for Egyptian *h* in place of *h*. The semantic development is probably from the notion of “holding fast” to “fasten (around/within),” thus both “inlay” and “overlay.”⁷⁵ (H. 176; B. 705; *Wb.* III 204, 1–5.) [2]

329.  —  ha-*di*-*sa*-*ta* KRI II 161, nos. 22–23. [D. 19]
  ha-*da*-*sa*-*ta*₅ Med. Habu 101.⁷⁶ [D. 20]

⁷⁰The *ta* is the f. sing. Egyptian stative (old perfective) ending.

⁷¹RS 24.245, vs. 17. Pardee, *Les Textes para-mythologiques* (Paris: 1988), p. 121.

⁷²CAD I–J, p. 48c.

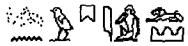
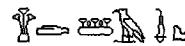
⁷³Another instance is found in *hry* “excrement,” no. 323.

⁷⁴This form occurs in Samalian, Old Aramaic, and Deir Alla. Cf. Garr, *Dialect Geography*, pp. 50–52.

⁷⁵Akkadian clearly has both meanings. See A. Salonen, *Möbel*, p. 287.

⁷⁶Near the left foot of Ramses III.

Also written with š:

  ha₂-d-ša=ta Shishak 53–54.

[D. 22]

**hadītata, hadatata*. Adj. f. sing. In and as n. loc. “NEW.” Cf. BH שְׁׁדִתָּה; Ug. *hdtt*; Imp. Aram. חֲדֵתָה (fem. sing.); TA, JPA حَدِّيْتَةٌ; Syr. ܚܳܕܹܶܬܳ (h²dattā); Ar. حَدِّيْتَةٌ (*hadīta*); Eth. ܚܳܕܹܶܬܳ: (*haddās*), all “new”; Akk. *edēšu* “to be new.” The pronounced [t] of this form is noteworthy, as it suggests that this Southern Hebrew dialect had not yet lost the feminine marker in the singular absolute.⁷⁷ (B. 707; VESO XII A, 6.) [5]

330.   See preceding entry.

⁷⁷The marker was also retained in Phoenician, Ammonite, and Moabite. It is possible that the scribes were influenced by their knowledge of Phoenician and “corrected” the Hebrew name. It is also possible that place names were somewhat more conservative than the everyday language.



331. Naunakhte 1, 5, 4; (and often). “**CHISEL, PICKAXE.**”

See under .

332. *hu₂-ba* O. Edinb. 916 vs. 6. [D. 19]

huppa*. N. f. “TIRE (OF CHARIOT WHEEL).**” The context involves a play on words and reveals no information concerning the object. Ward associated the word with Akkadian *huppu* “metal tire of a wheel.”¹ The identification seems sound, and the word occurs in Targum Aramaic as **אֲפָתָן** (perhaps for ***אֲפָתָן**) “(metal) tire.”² The unmarked feminine gender is unusual in Semitic loan words in Egyptian, but is not uncommon in Semitic languages. It is possible, however, that *t3* is a mistake for *n3*, the plural article. The rib determinative represents one section of the tire, otherwise the determinative may be an actual depiction of the tire piece. (B. 713; *Wb.* III 229, 13.) [4]

333. *h=bi₄=-r* Wenamun 1, x+24. [D. 21]

Wenamun 2, 1.

ha-bi-ra HPBM 4th Ser., L₆ vs., 16. [D. 21-2]

hābira*. N. (m.?) “BUSINESS, TRADING PARTNER; COLLEAGUE.**” Perhaps Demotic *hbr* “partner, friend,” Coptic **სუბრ**, **አግብር** “friend, comrade.” The text of Wenamun 1, x+23 ff. reads:

Nn mn 20 n mnšw d<y> n t3y-i mr, iw-w n h=bi₄=-r irm Ny-sw-B3-Nb-Dd? Tr p3y Di₃=d=n-na p3 ky i-sš-k rf, nn mn kt-ti 50 n ba₂=ra n-im, iw-w n h=bi₄=-r irm Wa=-r=ka-ta=ra?

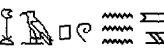
“Are there not twenty ships here in my harbour that are trading partners with Smendes? And as for that Sidon, the other (place) you

¹Ward, “Semitic Loan Words,” *Orientalia* 32 (1963), p. 429.

²Translating BH **אַפָּתָן** “tire.”

passed by, are there not another fifty freighters that are trading partners with Warkatara?"

The oracular text of *HPBM* L₆ reads: *Iw-i šd·f i³ sm3, i qa-ra-hu, i ha-bi-ra.* "I will protect him from a confederate, from a 'qrh,' and from a *hbr*." Burchardt linked the word with BH חֶבֶר "company, association." Albright rejected this etymology in favour of a derivation from BH חֶבֶל "pledge."⁴ Albright's derivation is not very likely as the Arabic root has /ħ/ and not /h/: حبل. The word is probably related to BH חֶבֶר, but the etymology is complicated, since the Hebrew words of this writing seem to stem from two different roots: 1) *hbr* meaning "peer; friend" (cf. Ug. *hbr*; Akk. *ibru* "member of the same profession, of the same status; friend"), and 2) *hbr* meaning "to join; associate; become allies" (from the semantic field of "binding, tying"). The Egyptian *hbr* must be related to the latter.⁵ Cf. BH חֶבֶר "to join, unite," חֶבֶר "association," חֶבֶר "company," חֶבֶר "associate";⁶ and some of the examples of BH חֶבֶר meaning "associate"; Ug. *bt hbr* "community house"; JPA חֶבֶר "to be an associate of," "gang up (against)"; Eth. ՚ብራ: (*habari*) "associate," and perhaps also Ar. خبر (*hbr*) L- and tG-stems "to negotiate, parley." The Coptic seems to derive from an original **ha-bí-ra* or **ha-bú-ra*. The form is likely the G-stem participle. (H. 178; B. 714; *Wb.* III 254, 9.) [4]

334.  *hu₂-pa* P. Ch. Beatty VII vs. 1, 5. [D. 19]

 *h-pa* P. Turin.⁷ [D. 19]

**huppa*. N. m. "SHORE." The word occurs in the context of Anat bathing: *St m p3 ha=pa hr w^cb·s m p3 ha=ma=ka=ta.* "She was on

³For the preposition *r*.

⁴VESO, p. 18, n. 77.

⁵The use of the cross-sticks and "action" determinatives would suggest a knowledge of the basic meaning "tie, bind." This combination frequently determines words involving mixing, attaching, striking, exerting oneself, achieving, splitting, and other physical activities. It also determines words expressing negative emotions and feelings.

⁶The Hebrew word meaning "members of the same trade" is probably from the root *hbr*, as Ug. *hbr* and Akk. *ibru*.

⁷Roccati, "Légende égyptienne d'Anat," *RdE* 24 (1972), p. 155, 1, 2. = P. Ch. Beatty VII vs. 1, 5.

the *hp* bathing herself in the *hmkt*.” Helck identified the word with BH פָּוֹת “shore.” Cf. also MH פָּתָה; Ug. *hp* “shore,” and perhaps in Akk. transcription *hu-up-pa-ti* “shore”?⁸ The NW Semitic word meaning “shore” is probably not cognate with Ar. حَفَّ (haffa) “to surround,” as once maintained.⁹ (H. 179.) [5]

335. ○॥= ְַיִַמַָּסַָּה *hi-ma₄-ti₂* Med. Habu 82, 39. [D. 20]

**himasa?* “*itama?* N. m. “POWER.” The word occurs in a rather broken context:

[...] *nht:t dr rk ntr, Kmt r nhh. P3y:s hi-ma₄=ti₂ p3 nty phr m h̄w-n.*
Nb:s p3 nty m hrt. qīṣ·f mi qd:f.

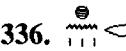
[...] has been victorious since the age of the god; Egypt will be forever. It is her (i.e. Egypt's) power which courses through our bodies. Her Lord is he who is on high. His (the king's) nature is like that of His (Rē's).

Burchardt associated the word with BH סָבָב “violence, wrong.” The identification is not without problems. The Hebrew word seems to be cognate to Arabic حُمْس (hms) “to be (over)zealous, fanatic.” If so, that identification must be ruled out, as Egyptian *ḥ* never represents Semitic /ḥ/.¹⁰ The meaning of the Hebrew word does not suit the context very well, but perhaps the Egyptians' idea of “power” and “might” were seen as “violence” and “oppression” towards the local populace. Still, it is unlikely that the Egyptians would have knowingly used a word meaning “oppression.” Although less straightforward phonologically, the word might be related to the root *ṭm*: BH מְצָפָע “mighty”; Ph. Ḥnm̄z̄ “mighty deeds”; Ug. *ṭm* “strength; might”; TA נְמָפָע “thigh”; Ar. عَزَّام (‘izam) “power; might.” If this etymology is correct, then there is metathesis. The “bad bird” determinative, however, perhaps favours the traditional derivation. (H. 180; B. 721; *Wb.* III 285, 13.) [3]

⁸Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 129.

⁹E.g. BDB 342a. The word פָּתָה “canopy,” however, is almost certainly related to the Arabic root حَفَّ (hff).

¹⁰There are one or two cases where Egyptian *ḥ* apparently represents Semitic /ḥ/.

336.  = *h=-n-ra* Med. Habu 86, 33. [D. 20]

Also written:

-  = *hi-ra* or *h=-r* Med. Habu 102, 23.

-  = Med. Habu 82, 31.

**hillā?* N. pl. “FANGS (OF LIONS), CANINE TEETH.” Demotic *ḥl*, *šl*, “canine tooth,” Coptic ^{SB}ϣϧ “tooth.” The meaning of the word can be fairly well established by the context of Med. Habu 102, 23: *Hm:f mī rw sqnd ḡfqw ḡn[t]f hi-ra:f šnbt ḡwt*. “His Majesty (is) like an enraged lion whose cla[w]s and teeth tear apart the breasts of the flocks.” The word is also associated with the claws (“nt) of a lion in the other two passages. Černý attempted to identify the word with Semitic *šn* “tooth,”¹¹ but the earlier Egyptian attestations all have *ḥ*, which never corresponds with Semitic /ʃ/.¹² The word is possibly related to the Semitic root *ḥll* “to pierce; bore.” Cf. BH ^{חַלֵּל} G-stem “to pierce,” D-stem “to pierce, wound”; Targ. Ar. ^{חַלְלִי} “to bore, chisel,” ^{חַזְלִיאָן} (m.) “axe”;¹³ Ar. *خَلَّا* “to pierce, transfix,” *خَلَالَة* (*hilāl*, pl. *‘ahilla*) “boring or drilling implement; pin; skewer; spit”; Akk. *halālu* “perforate.” Cf. the next entry. (B. 728; *Wb.* III 298, 7.) [3]

337.  *ha=-n-ra* P. Salt 124 2, 9;¹⁴ and often.¹⁵ [D. 20]

-  *O. DeM 625 2; and elsewhere.*¹⁶ [D. 20]

-  *O. Cairo 25581 vs. 3; and elsewhere.*¹⁷ [D. 19]

¹¹Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 239.

¹²This etymology was also rejected by J. Osing, (review of Černý’s *Ety. Dict.*), *JEA* 64 (1978), p. 188.

¹³The word translates BH ^{חֶרֶב} “axe,” although Jastrow, p. 434b translates “chisel.”

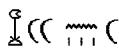
¹⁴Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), pp. 243–58.

¹⁵O. Cairo 25798 5; P. Turin Cat. 1884 1, 5 (*KRI VI* 644, 16); 1930/2050 +2013 vs. 1, 2 (*KRI VI* 602, 14; 15). The word is extremely common, and the examples cited are meant to be representative and do not constitute an exhaustive list.

¹⁶E.g. O. Michael. 19 3; P. Turin Cat 1879 2, 9 (*KRI VI* 338, 6); P. Cairo 52002 (P. Posener-Krieger, “Construire une tombe à l’ouest de Mn-nfr [P. Caire 52002],” *RdE* 33 [1981], p. 48, 13).

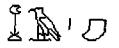
¹⁷E.g. O. Cairo 25803 3; O. Cairo J 72465 5, vs. 3 (Allam, *HOP*, pls. 32, 33); P. Turin Cat. 1905 8 (*KRI VI* 639, 4).

 P. Turin Cat. 2074 2, 10.¹⁸ [D. 20]

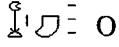
 *ha-n* P. Ch. Beatty III vs. 4, 9. [D. 19]

 *ha-ra* O. DeM 108 4. [D. 19]

Probably also written (in abbreviation):

 *ha* Naunakhte 1, 5, 4, and often.¹⁹ [D. 20]

 O. Cairo 25521 19; 21, and often.²⁰ [D. 19]

 O. Cairo 25509 16.

 O. Cairo 25285 3. [D. 20]

 O. Cairo 25588 2; 4. [D. 20]

 *ha-ya* O. Florence 2625 2.²¹ [D. 20]

ḥālila?* *ḥalla?* N. m. “CHISEL, PICKAXE.**”²² The word is very common in the ostraca from Deir el-Medinah, no doubt as the tool was constantly in use in the construction of the royal (and private) tombs. Perhaps the most useful text is that of P. Salt 124 2, 9: *mtw f it̄ n̄ ḥa-n=ra n Pr-^cw.s., p̄ q̄a-r=da-na r b̄k m t̄y·f ḥ̄t.* “And he stole the *ḥnr* of Pharaoh, l.p.h., and the axe for work in his tomb.” Cf. the Semitic root *ḥll* “to pierce, bore, chisel”: BH  G-stem “to pierce,” D-stem “to pierce, wound”; Targ. Ar.  “to bore, chisel,” (m.) “axe”,²³ Ar.  (*ḥalla*) “to pierce, transfix,”  (*ḥildāl*, pl. *ṭaḥilla*) “boring or drilling implement; pin; skewer; spit.” Ward also made this identification²⁴ and cited the Akkadian word *ḥālilu* “drill(?), axe(?)” which occurs in conjunction with spades and axes. The word formation is not clear, perhaps it is a participial form, as the TA word for “axe” appears to be. (*Wb.* III 298, 5–6.) [4]

¹⁸KRI VI 609, 7.

¹⁹E.g. O. Cairo 25798 3; 4; 5.

²⁰E.g. O. Cairo 25509 17, vs. I α 3; 25521 19; 21; O. Cairo J. 72465 vs. 6 (Allam, *HOP*, pl. 33); H.O. 46 2; 3, (etc.).

²¹Allam, *HOP*, pl. 34.

²²For a discussion of the term and further references, see D. Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids*, pp. 12–14; Janssen *Prices*, pp. 312–13.

²³The word translates BH  “axe,” although Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 434b, rendered it as “chisel.”

²⁴“Semitic Loan Words,” *Orientalia* 32 (1963), p. 434.

338. ha=-n=-r O. Lit. DeM 1079 6. [D. 19 or 20]

ha=-n=ra P. Turin CG 54031 9.²⁵ [D. 19–20]

An. IV 5, 5. [D. 19]

harra*. Vb. “TO BE HOARSE.**” The word has been identified as the Coptic $\sigma\omega\lambda$, $\beta\omega\lambda$ ²⁶ “to be hoarse.” The meaning is clear from O. Lit. DeM 1079, which reads *hrw hnr m dd* “the voice is hoarse from talking.” And especially P. Turin CG 54031: *Hrw·w ha=-n=ra m ṣw*. “Their voices are hoarse from calling out.” In An. IV 5, 5 the word occurs in the context of a man who is worn out through longing for Memphis:

t-i nb tṣy-w dwiʒ. Ir-i bšd m nw, tṣy-i ?t bw mh-<s>, hrw ha=-n=ra n mdt.

“All my limbs are overcome by illness. My eye is weary from looking; my ear does not hear; (my) voice is hoarse from speaking.”

Ward associated the word with the Akk. *halālu* “to wheeze”; BH נָלַל “to play the pipe.”²⁷ Much more likely, however, is a connection with the root *hrr*. Cf. BH נָחַר (N-stem) “to be hoarse”;²⁸ Ug. *hr* “to rasp?”;²⁹ Syr. حَرَّ (*hrr*) “to be rough, husky (throat/voice)”; Ar. حَرَّ (*harra*) “to produce a rustling sound; snore; purr”; Akk. *harāru* “to croak, rumble” (said of ravens and sick persons). The word is used as the Egyptian stative (old perfective) in every instance. (B. 724; Wb. III 298, 16.) [4]

²⁵Published in P+R 21, 9; V. Condon, Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period, MÄS 37 (1978), p. 10, 9.

²⁶Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 278.

²⁷Ward, “Semitic Loan-Words,” *Orientalia* 32 (1963), pp. 429–30.

²⁸Koehler-Baumgartner, p. 343a. The word occurs in Ps. 69:4 גֵּעֲנֵי בְּקָרָא בְּנֵרָעִי “I am weary from my crying out; my throat is hoarse.” The translation “parched” / “dried out” (e.g. BDB 359b) is based on an incorrect etymology from the root *hrr* (cf. Ar. حَرَّ [*harra*] “to be hot”). The ancient translations correctly render “hoarse,” e.g. the Vulgate’s *raucae factae sunt fauces meae*.

²⁹The word occurs in the context of sick horses parallel to *ḡr* “to roar” (cough?). It has been variously interpreted. The translation “discharge a putrid liquid” does not fit the context well (proposed by C. Cohen and D. Sivan, *The Hippiatric Texts* [New Haven: 1983], pp. 18–19). D. Pardee *Les textes hippiatriques* (Paris: 1985), p. 51 and n. 144 mentions the possible connection with *hrr*, but does not adopt this interpretation.

339. *ḥ=—n=ra=²a* P. Salt 124 vs. 1, 8.³⁰ [D. 20]
 ? N. pl. “**BLUSTERING.**” The word is used of a person accused of rape, assault, and murder concerning his threats and harassment: *Hr ptr bw ir:f wṣḥ nṣy:f ḥ=—n=ra=²a*. “Now look, he would not leave off from his blusterings.” The word is very likely related to the verb *ḥa=—n=—r* “to be hoarse,” with the sense of “gruff talk.” The ending ²*a* is the morpheme often encountered in the plurals of Semitic words. Cf. the previous entry. [4]

340. *ha=—n=ra=fi* An. I 11, 3–4. [D. 19]
ḥ=—n=ra=fi O. Lit. DeM 1108 6.³¹ [D. 19 or 20]
 ḥirpa?* N. “REPROACH; TAUNTS.**” Probably the origin of Coptic ΣΒψλοψ “shame, disgrace.”³² The context is somewhat obscure, but the text deals with sarcastic jabs exchanged between two rival scribes:

Pr w^c ḫs m r·k r 3 dbn. H^c·k n·i ḥa=—n=ra=fi r snd·i. Irt i diʒ=tu hr i-ir·k. Twi qa=fi·k<wi> m-dr dd·k.

“One choice saying from your mouth comes out at more than three *deben*-weight! You throw out *ḥnrf* at me to frighten me. My eyes are ‘dazzled’ with what you do! I am ‘put in my place’³³ when you speak!”

Helck’s proposed link to the Semitic root *ḥrp* seems sound. Cf. BH נְרַע G- and D-stems “to reproach; taunt,” נְרַפֵּה “taunt; reproach; shame; disgrace”; TA حَرَبٌ “to revile.”³⁴ The *i*-vowel may originate from the 3rd m. s. D-stem. (H. 181; B. 729; Wb. III 299, 2.) [4]

³⁰Černý, JEA 15 (1929), pp. 243–58.

³¹= An. I 11, 3–4.

³²Černý wanted to derive the Coptic from *ša=—n=ra=fi* “to be dishevelled,” but this is not very plausible. M. Müller’s identification (Cited by Westendorf, *Kopt. HWb.*, p. 312.) with BH חֲרַע “polluted, profane” must be dismissed since the root of that word is *ḥnf*; cf. Ar. حنف (*ḥnf*).

³³Perhaps the word *qf* is to be identified with *gfn* “to rebuff.” The writings are quite similar.

³⁴The word meaning “to sharpen” may be from a different root, cf. Ar. حرف (*harf*) “sharp edge.” However, both words could derive from the same root *ḥrp*, if the Arabic word with *ḥ* is a late loan from Aramaic/Syriac. If so, cf. also TA נְפִירָן (m.) “sharpness; acumen”; Syr حَرَبٌ (*harēb*) “to sharpen.”

341. ha=-n=ra=da An. I 22, 6. [D. 19]

halṣa*. N. (m.?) as n. loc. “FORTRESS.**” The word has long been identified with the Semitic root *ḥls*: BH צָלַע “prepared for war”; Targ. Ar. צָלַע n. loc. “fortress”;³⁵ Syr. سَلْعَة (*halışā*) “strong”; Ar. خَلْصَة (*halasa*) “to be saved, rescued,” مَخْلُصٌ (*mahlaṣ*) “safe place, refuge”; Akk. *halṣu* “fortification.” (H. 182; B. 730.) [5]

342. Med. Habu 102, 23. “**FANGS.**” See under .

343. *ha-ru₂* Rechn. pl. 13a, 6, etc.³⁶ [D. 19, 22]

- An. V 17, 5. [D. 19]

harru* or *hulu?* N. m. “STREET, ROAD.**” Coptic ⲥⲱⲦⲻⲪ “street; quarter.” Schäfer rejected the meaning of “street”³⁷ and suggested “tavern,” based on the P. Berlin passage:³⁸ M33 *Hwt-K3-Pth* “bt Rkh, iw ḥa-ru₂ s mhw m t hnkt. “See Memphis at the *Rkh*-festival, its streets full of bread and beer.” The argument that streets cannot be full of food and drink is untenable, since the statement is as much figurative as it is literal.³⁹ Two passages make little sense with any meaning but “street” (or sim.): An. V 17, 5 reads *Iw-i r dīt hty rdwy·k hr šm m nʒ ḥa-ru₂*. “I will make your feet desist from walking the streets.” The Rechn. text is identifying a certain location: *pʒ hnw n Qsdt, m pʒ ḥa-ru₂ n Qsdt* “the temple/abode of *Qsdt* in *Qsdt* Street.” Albright identified the word with Canaanite **hurru*, BH חֹר “hole”; Akk. *hurru* “hole, cave,” and *harrānu*, “street, road.”⁴⁰ The association with the words meaning “hole, cave” is somewhat dubious, but Akk. *harrānu* is almost certainly related. Cf. also the BH n. loc. נֶגֶן “The Road”

³⁵Targum Yerushalmi II Gen. 16: 7. The name “translates” the Hebrew n. loc. נֶגֶן “Wall.” The other targums have נֶגֶן, but it is doubtful if this is also a word meaning “fort.” See *ḥa₂-q-ru₂* (no. 326) for a discussion of this n. loc. which is otherwise used in the name for Petra.

³⁶An. IV 11, 9; P. Sallier I 9, 10 (= An. IV 11, 9); P. Berlin 3035 16, 2.

³⁷Originally proposed by Brugsch, according to Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 290.

³⁸H. Schäfer (Brief communication), ZÄS 37 (1899), p. 85.

³⁹And indeed it should be taken, at least in part, literally, for street vendors were no doubt everywhere hawking their holiday fare.

⁴⁰VEZO, p. 53.

(located along the main trading route through the Aramean heartland); Ug. *hrn* “caravan.” Wintermute⁴¹ cited the Assyrian *ḥulu*,⁴² which from Middle Assyrian on began to replace *ḥarrānu*. Osing derived the Coptic from a supposed **ḥūru*.⁴³ (H. 184; B. 731; VESO XIII A, 5; Wb. III, 232, 5–6.) [4]

344. *ha-ru₂-²u* HPBM 4th Ser. T₁ vs., 56. [D. 21–2]
 **ḥalū²u?* N. “AILMENT (OF THE EYES).” The word occurs in a declaration of divine protection: *Iw-n šd-s r ha-ru₂-²u nb n irt.* “We will protect her from any ailment of the eye.” The word is surely related to the Semitic root *ḥl²* “to be sick,” cf. BH נָלַג “to be sick,” תְּחִלָּאִים “diseases,” נָלֵי “sickness”; Ug. *ḥl* “sickness”;⁴⁴ TA נָלֵי “to be sick”; Mari Akk. (a WS loan word) *ḥalū* “sickness.” The Semitic word is always generic, as it appears to be in this case. The vocalization is very uncertain because of the late date of the text. The final group indicates that *²aleph* may be retained, but it is possible that the group is used phonetically to represent an *i*-vowel.⁴⁵ (Not in Wb.) [5]

345. *ha-ru₂-²u-t* HPBM 4th Ser. L₅ vs., 26.
 [D. 21–2]
 **billat*. N. “RAVINE, WADY, VALLEY.” GR (name of a watercourse), Demotic *ḥlt* “canal” (or sim.), Coptic Βωελλοτ “wady, valley.” The word occurs as the dwelling place of a demoness, parallel to *šd* “pool” and *ba-wa-ya* “swamp.” Černý proposed a derivation from the root *ḥll* and cited TA *נָחַלְתָּן “valley.” The lexicons, however, point the word נָחַלְתָּן, or sim.⁴⁶ Černý’s etymology from an isolated Talmudic Aramaic word seems less likely than Edwards’ link to *hrr*,⁴⁷ in spite of the

⁴¹Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 102. His evidence from Syriac is not convincing.

⁴²CAD H, p. 231b.

⁴³Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 2, p. 381 (2).

⁴⁴RS 24.272, 10. Pardee, *Textes para-mythologiques*, pp. 180, 188.

⁴⁵It seems to be so used in the gentilic (?) endings occurring in the Shishak list. The group *ru₂* may have the value of *rē* or *ri* in the late orthography, as it seems to sometimes have in the Shishak list.

⁴⁶Jastrow, p. 457b.

⁴⁷Edwards, HPBM 4th Ser. Text, p. 32. n. 16. Edwards unfortunately associates it

presence of *l* in the Demotic and Coptic. Cf. BH חָרֵה “hole, hollow”; Ug. *hrt*, perhaps in Akk. transcription *he-re-ti*⁴⁸ “hole; grave”; TA חָרֵה “hole”; Akk. *harru* “watercourse, channel.” Cf.  ha-ru₂-ru₂ (no. 350). (Not in *Wb.*) [4]

346.  ha-—r-ba⁴⁹ P. Leiden I 343 7, 8. [D. 19 or 20]
 **harba* or *hurba*. N. “DESERT.” The word occurs in the sentence: <*Swri tw> t3 3ht da=ma=t ha=—r-ba.* “The parched land of *hrb* <drinks you>.” Correctly connected by Burchardt with BH חָרֵב “dryness, drought.” Cf. also Ug. *hrb* “to be dry”; TA חָרְבָּא “dryness; waste”; Akk. *harbu*, *hurbū*, *huribtu* “desert, wasteland.” (B. 736.) [5]

347.  hu₂=ru₂=bi P. Mag. Brooklyn.⁵⁰ [Late]
 **hōribi?* N. div. “THE DESTROYER.” Sauneron noted that the word is otherwise unattested before the Demotic *hrb* “to destroy.” He did not, however, connect the word to the Semitic root *hrb*, cf. BH חָרַב “to be in ruins; devastated”; BA חָרַב H-passive “to be destroyed,” TA חָרַב “to be destroyed,” A-stem “to destroy,” Nab.  A-stem “to devastate”; Yaudi חָרַב “devastated”; Syr. خَرَب (h̥rab) “to be laid waste”; Ar. خَرَب (haraba) “to destroy,” part. خَارِب (h̥arib) “annihilator, destroyer.” The form is probably the G-stem participle. (Not in *Wb.*) [4]

348.  ha=ra=pa=ta P. Sallier IV vs. 3, 2. [D. 19]
 **hilbatta*. N. f. “WATER PERFUMED WITH GALBANUM.” The word occurs in a description of a Syrian-style banquet in Memphis: *T3 ha=ra=pa=ta wsh:tw hr* “wy:fy. “The *hrpt* is poured on his hands.” The word is very likely related to BH חָלְבָנָה; TA حَلْبَنَة; Akk. *hilabānu* “name of a plant,” *hilbanītu*; Greek χαλβάνη; Latin *galbanum*, all

with words from both *hwr*, e.g. Ar. خَوْر (*hawr*) “inlet, bay,” and *hrr*, e.g. BH חָרֵה. A connection with the former is highly improbable.

⁴⁸PRU III, p. 52, text no 15.85, 17.

⁴⁹Or *hu₂=—r-ba*.

⁵⁰S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique*, 3b, 5. Although the manuscript is late, the text is mostly written in Late Egyptian.

“galbanum.” Galbanum is an aromatic gum from a plant indigenous to Iran used in incense.⁵¹ The use in perfuming water is supported by an Akkadian text that lists *hilbanītu* among herbs for a ritual ablution. The standard etymology of this word from חלב “milk”⁵² is impossible, since, as the Greek transcription shows, the first consonant is /h/ and not /ḥ/,⁵³ as in חלב “milk.” The word formation seems closest to the TA variant, with assimilation of the *nun*. (Wb. III 329, 17.) [4]

349. ha-ru₂=ru₂ P. Ch. Beatty IV, vs. 11. [D. 19–20]

-  KRI VI 351, 15. [D. 20]

-  $h=\{r\}=ru_2=ra=\{ra\}$ Kemyet.⁵⁴ [D. 19 or 20]

**haruru*? N. A MINERAL. The word in P. Ch. Beatty IV occurs in a list of minerals. Kuentz conjectured that it might mean “ceruse, white lead,”⁵⁵ but that identification is based on a connection with the root *hwr* “to be white,” and is therefore untenable.⁵⁶ J.R. Harris suggested a connection with Amarna Akk. *hulalu*,⁵⁷ which is mentioned in EA 25 as a product sent to Egypt. This identification is possible, but uncertain. In any case, *hulalu* clearly refers to a precious stone, as it is frequently mounted in pieces of gold jewelry and occurs as a personal name. (H. 173.) [2]

350.  ha=rru₂=ru₂ P. Wilbour A 85, 41. [D. 20]

**harru?* N. as n. loc. “WATERCOURSE; CHANNEL.” Helck associated the word with חַרְרָה. This etymology seems very sound.

⁵¹ It is also used to treat wounds. Cf. M. Stol, *On Trees, Mountains, and Millstones in the Ancient Near East* (Leiden: 1979), pp. 66–68.

⁵²E.g. Kochler-Baumgartner p. 303a "milchiger Saft."

⁵³A. Guillaume (*Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography*, [Leiden: 1965], p. 8) wanted to connect the word with an Arabic word حلبنة (*halbāna*) “resin,” but the Arabic word, if related, is probably a loan from Aramaic/Syriac.

⁵⁴A. Hermann, "Das Buch 'Kmjt' und die Chimie," ZÄS 79 (1954), p. 105, vs. l. 4.

⁵⁵C. Kuentz, "Duplicata d'un vocabulaire," *BIFAO* 36 (1936–37), p. 182.

⁵⁶Helck's listing as **ha-ru₂-ru₂* is an error, but was followed by Lesko, *Dictionary* II, p. 135.

⁵⁷CAD H 226b. J.R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin: 1961), p. 178.

cf. BH חָרֵךְ “hole, hollow”; Ug. *hrt*, in Akk. transcription *he-re-ti*⁵⁸ “hole(?); cave(?); canal(?)”; TA נַחַרְךְ “hole”; Syr. ܐܴܻܲܳ (h²rūrā) “hole; cavern”; Akk. *harru* “watercourse, channel.” The use of two *ru₂* groups may possibly indicate a double *r* (as the Akkadian), but could simply reflect the reduplication (as the Syriac). Cf.  ha-*ru₂*-⁼*u-t* “ravine” (no 345). (H. 185.) [4]

351. 𠂔 hi=ra=qat=ta={ta=t} An. I 25, 9. [D. 19]

Perhaps also the n. loc.

   *ha-ra=qu₂=t* Thutmose III List I, 112 b. [D. 18]

 ha=ra=q=tu⁵⁹ Thutmose III List I, 112 a, c.

hilqata, halaqōtu?* N. f. “SLIPPERY GROUND.**” In An. I the word occurs in the context of a runaway chariot: *P̄y·k ḥtri n^c·f, t̄y ma₂=ru₂=²a hr t̄s hi=ra=qā=ta*. “Your team goes off, taking a fright⁶⁰ over the slippery ground.” The word has long been identified with the root *ḥlq*. Cf. BH **חַלְקֹות*, *חַלְקָה* (pl.) “slippery places,”⁶¹ MH *חַלֵּך* H-stem “to slip”; Ar. *خَلَقَ* (*halaq*) “threadbare, worn out” (i.e. the cloth has become “smooth”). The Hebrew provides certain evidence of the use in reference to the ground. In the n. loc. the form may be the feminine plural, meaning “slippery places.” (H. 186; B. 743; Wb. III 330, 15.) [5]

352.  ha-ra=t-i-ta Amenophis III List Bn l. 12 [D. 18]

**harṣita*. N. loc. “SUN.” The name was identified with the Biblical n. loc. חֶרְשָׁתָה by Edel,⁶² but because of the writing with *ti*, it is much more likely connected with the root *hrs*:⁶³ BH סִנְחֹר “sun,” and the n. loc. חֶרְשָׁתָה. The root is not well attested (if at all) outside of Hebrew. [4]

58 *PRIU* III, p. 52 (text no. 15.85.17)

⁵⁹It is, however, quite likely that the last sign groups be read as $qu_2=t$, with the t being placed before the w in graphic transposition.

⁶⁰Or, less likely, "a groom."

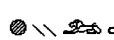
⁶¹Ps. 73: 18: “אֵךְ בָּקַרְבָּהּ חֲשִׁיךְ לְמַן הַפְּלִלּוֹת לְמַשְׁאָוֹת “Indeed you place them (the wicked) in slippery spots; you make them fall through deception.”

⁶²Edel, *Ortsnamenlisten*, p. 22.

⁶³See Abituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, p. 115, with some reservations.

353.  *hi=—r=di* Wenamun 2, 40; 42. [D. 21]

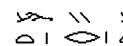
 *hi-ru₂=d* Kawa I, pl. 6, 2. [D. 25]

 Kawa I, pl. 6, 9; 12, 6.

And perhaps also:

 **hi-ra=ra* RAD 20, 8.⁶⁴ [D. 19]

**hariṭa*, *hariṭ*? N. A GARMENT? BAG / PURSE? In the tale of Wenamun the word occurs after precious metals in a list of goods sent from Egypt to Byblos (2, 40⁶⁵): *hbsw n s̄r-nsw* c 10, *šm^c nfr hi=—r=di* 10 “ten garments of royal linen, ten *ḥrd* of fine linen.” At Kawa the object occurs in donations to the temple: *p³q hi-ru₂=d* 60 “sixty *ḥrd* of quality linen.” The meaning of the word is uncertain, but it seems always to be made of fine linen. The possible example in *RAD* reads: *s̄r-nsw m ku-t=tu* **hi-ra=d* “royal-linen, namely a *ktt*-work garment/bag.” Perhaps cf. the BH מִרְטָה sometimes rendered “purses,” which occurs in a list of women’s garments (Isa. 3:22), but is used to wrap pieces of silver (II Kings 5:23). The Hebrew word is apparently related to Ar. خَرِيطَة (*hariṭa*) “bag,” Mod. Syrian Ar. خَرَاطَة (*harrāṭa*) “skirt.” The Akk. *hurdatu* (a garment or cover), although dubious, is another possibility. Černý (*Ety. Dict.* 252) identified the word with Coptic Σωρτ “awning, veil,” but the connection is not certain. (*Wb.* III 331, 2.) [3]

354.  *hit=—r (?)* An. IV 16, 8. [D. 19]

*? N. pl. A PART OF THE CHARIOT BOX, PERHAPS “UPPER RAIL.” The word is perhaps to be read *hi=—r* or *hi=—r=hi*. It occurs in the following context involving chariots: *iw n³y·sn* c*mdy b³kw m nbw, n³y·sn htr m nbw* “their uprights being wrought with gold, and their *htr* being wrought with gold.” The close association with the uprights and the wood construction with (visible) gold overlays, suggest that the word refers to the upper rail of the box assembly.⁶⁶ Perhaps cf. the Semitic root *htr*: BH רַטֵּה “rod;

⁶⁴The writing is very likely a corruption, since in hieratic the signs <> (*r*) and  (*d*) are very similar.

⁶⁵And sim. Wenamun 2, 42.

⁶⁶Schulman (“King’s Chariot,” *JSSEA* 16, p. 42–43) has come to the same conclusion. He further notes that whereas the term for the floor assembly is known, the

branch”; Ph. ስጥ; Imp. Aram. ስጥ, TA אַחֲרָתָה; Syr. ܚܻܻܻ (hutrā); Akk. *huṭāru*, *hutartu*, all “staff; stick.” The word is not likely related to Akk. *hurdatu* (wooden part of the chariot pole assembly). (Not in *Wb.*) [2]

355. hi-ti₂-na O. Cairo 25678 vs. 4, etc.⁶⁷ [D. 19, 20]

*ḥaṣṣin? N. pl. A VEGETABLE, PERHAPS “LETTUCE” OR “GARLIC.” Erichsen⁶⁸ compared the word with Demotic *hdn* “a vegetable (garlic)” and Old Coptic ዘረሰ, ማሃሳዬ “garlic.” The connection with the Demotic and Coptic words is not certain, since there are no clear examples of Egyptian *t* representing Semitic *samekh* written as *d* in Demotic or in Coptic as *x*. The word occurs in a list of vegetables in the Cairo ostraca: *hd w3d*, *hi-ti₂-na w3d*, *sšp*, *dng* “fresh onions, fresh *htn*, cucumbers, sweet-melons.” In P. Harris I it is listed along with coriander (*ššw*) and grapes (*irrt*). The word is possibly related to Ug. *hswn* a certain (vegetable?) foodstuff. The Egyptian and Ugaritic words may both be connected with the word for “lettuce” (and sometimes “leeks”⁶⁹) that is widely attested in Semitic and non-Semitic languages of the Near East: MH נִסְנָה “leek plants (including garlic and onion),” or TA እኩስ (sing.), እኩስ (pl.) “lettuce”; Syr. ܚܻܻܻ (hass²ṭā) (sing.), ܻܻܻ (hassē) (pl.) “lettuce”; Ar. حُسْ (hass) “lettuce”; Akk. *hassū*⁷⁰ (always pl.) “lettuce”; Hittite ḫa-az-zu-wa-ni-iš “lettuce”;⁷¹ Sumerian *hi-izsar* “lettuce.” If this identification is correct, then the form is a plural, with nunation. Stricker’s derivation⁷² from יִצְרָה “grass; leeks,” although possible, is not very convincing on phonological grounds: Egyptian *t* for Hebrew /s/ may be possible

word for “rail” is not. He suggests that the plural might be used because the framework enclosed more than one side. It may have also been constructed of more than one piece.

⁶⁷P. Harris I 19a, 13; 72, 10.

⁶⁸Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 373.

⁶⁹The connection between leek plants and lettuce is likely the notion of “being layered.”

⁷⁰Attested from Old Babylonian on.

⁷¹H.A. Hoffner, jr. “Hittite and Ugaritic words for Lettuce,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 25 (1973), p. 234.

⁷²Stricker, “Trois études,” *Acta Orientalia* 15 (1937), p. 5. And so too, Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, 263.

as the original root had */d/, but it is uncertain if this was a distinct phoneme in the source language, and there are no certain examples of this correspondence. Egyptian *n* for Semitic *r* is irregular, but cf. no. 25 *²a₂=ḥ-n-nu* “bottom end,” presumably from the root *²hr*. (H. p. 584; B. 757; *Wb.* III 354, 7.) [3]

356.  *hi-di₄=ru₂=ta* P. Mag. Brooklyn.⁷³ [Late]

 *Ibid.*, 5, 3; 5, 8.⁷⁴

 *ha-di₄=ru₂=ta* or *ḥu₂-di₄=ru₂=ta* *Ibid.*, 4, 1.

**ḥizirta* / *hazirta* / *ḥuzirta*. N. demon f. “THE SOW.” Sauneron identified the name with BH פִזְר “pig” and Ar. خنزير (*hinzir*). This identification seems certain because it stands parallel to the Egyptian word for “sow” (*t3 ššiw*) in a list of malevolent beings: *da*, *d3t*, *t3 ššiw*, *mm nt Imnt* ... *d3*, *d3t*, *ha=da=ru₂=ta*, *ša=ca=ru₂=ta*, *mm nt Imnt* “a male adversary, a female adversary, the Sow, and the Devouress of the West ... a male adversary, a female adversary, the Sow, the Vixen, and the Devouress of the West.” Cf. also the Punic PN פִזְר;⁷⁵ Ug. *hnzr* “wild boar,” in Akk. transcription *ḥu-zir-ru*,⁷⁶ and as PN *Hzr*, *Hnzs*;⁷⁷ Amorite *huzir(ān)um* “pig” and the PN *Huziratum*; TA, JPA حَزِيرٌ “sow”; Syr. لَسْلَس (*h̥z̥irā*) “pig”; Ar. خنزيرة (*hinzīra*) “sow.” Cf. also the name of the Hyksos king  *Hndr*.⁷⁸ The vowel patterns are quite different in the various languages, although they all have the vowel *i* in the second syllable. (Not in *Wb.*) [5]

⁷³S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique*, 4, 5. Although late, the text is Late Egyptian.

⁷⁴The writing with *t* is likely a simple error for (or misreading of) the *hi* group. The feminine definite article *t3* is used in 5, 8.

⁷⁵Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 381. Note the *ayin/heth* interchange in the Ugaritic.

⁷⁶Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, pp. 40–41, no. 186.1, and p. 128.

⁷⁷Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 140.

⁷⁸Identified by M. Burchardt, “Zur Rassenzugehörigkeit der Hyksos,” *ZÄS* 50 (1912), p. 7, and supported (among others) by W.A. Ward, “Egyptian and Ugaritic,” *JNES* 20 (1961), p. 34–35.

357. ASAE 42, pl. 1, 14 (p. 24). N. f. “**SHELTERS; HUTS; CAMP (?)**” See under II.

358. *sa=āru₂* An. III 6, 9. [D. 19]
 sa=ā=-r O. Lit. DeM 1675 vs., 10. [D. 19 or 20]
*šā'arū, šā'ara. N. m. “**BARLEY (FIELD) OR SCRUB COUNTRY.**” In An. III the word occurs in the phrase: *H̄ṣ·f sw m p̄ sa=āru₂.* “He throws himself into the *s̄r*,” said of an inexperienced charioteer. The Deir el-Medinah ostracon, a hymn to the Nile, has the couplet *K̄w hmhm, siš·sn sa=ā=-r.* “The bulls low; they know the *s̄r*.” Cf. the Semitic root *ś̄r*: BH שער “hair,” שערם “barley,” MH שער “hair; ramification of trees”; Ug. *ś̄r*, *ś̄rm*, and in Akk. transcription [*ś̄j*i?-i-ru/] ¹ “barley”; Imp. Aram. שָׂרָע “barley,” TA شَرْعَنْ “hair,” شَرْعَنْ “barley”; Syr. *مَدَّ* (*s̄ārā*) “barley”; Ar. شعر (*ś̄a'r*) “hair,” شعير (*ś̄a'ir*) “barley,” شعيرى (*ś̄a'rā*) “scrub country”; Old S. Ar. *š̄r* (*s̄r*) “barley”; Eth. “*լօլ:* (*ś̄ār*) “meadow, grassland, pasture”; Akk. *šārtu* “hair; pelt.” Although the connection with the Semitic root is almost certain, the meaning is unclear. Wintermute² suggested the word meant “barley.” In O. DeM 1675 the cattle were lowing because they were either entering familiar grazing land or passing by a barley field. Albright³ maintained the word meant “thicket,” and the root indeed did develop along such lines, as is clear from the Arabic word meaning “scrub country,” the Ethiopic “meadow,” and the later Hebrew word referring to the ramification of trees. The Anastasi III example may favour such a

¹Cf. Akk. usage. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 183. The meaning of the word in Akk. transcription is not entirely certain.

²Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 105.

³YESO, V A 11. So too, H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, “The Sufferings of an Army Officer,” *GM* 63 (1983), p. 44.

meaning, but the context reveals nothing of the nature of the *s^cr.* Cf. the following word. (H. 187; B. 765; VESO V A, 11; Wb. IV 48, 6.) [4]

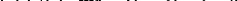
359.  - *sa=ca=ra=ta* An. VIII 1, 9.⁴ [D. 19]

— An. VIII 3, 12.

 An. VIII 3, 1.

— An. VIII 1, 3.

ša^c(^o)rata. N. (f.) pl. “WOOL.” Copt. SB_{copt} “wool.” The word occurs in a letter about the transportation and delivery of a number of goods and objects, but the context does not elucidate the sense. The hair determinative, however, clinches the identification. Burchardt identified the word with the Semitic root š^cr: BH שָׁעַרְה “hair,” נֶשֶׁר “animal hair; skin garment”; Ug. š^crt “wool; woollen garment” and in Akk. transcription tūgša-har-tu ([ša^cartu]) “woolen garment”;⁵ Ammonite š^crt “wool”?⁶ BA שָׁעַרְתִּי, TA אֲשָׁעַרְתִּי (m.) “hair”; Syr. ܐܳܪܾܳ (s^cārā) “hair; pelt”; Ar. شَعْرٌ (ša^cr) “hair; pelt,” شُرَقَة (ša^cra) “hair”; Eth. ܣܻܾܳܳ (s^cārī) “hair”; Akk. šārtu “hair; pelt; wool”⁷ Although the word usually means “hair” or “pelt,” evidence from Ugaritic and Akkadian indicates that it had the meaning “wool” in some languages. (H. 188; B. 767; VESO V A, 13; Wb. IV 49, 2.) [5]

360.  sa=wa=bi=bi An. I 23, 4. [D. 19]

tawbib*. Vb. “TO DRAW BACK.**” The context is rather obscure, but deals with an inexperienced mahir-warrior shooting an arrow: *Iry·k sa-wa-bi=bi, tʒ·k tʒ pdt, iry·k pa₂z-—r=tʃi₂ hr smhy.* “You do *swbb*, taking up your bow, and you ‘give yourself a laceration’ on (your) left hand.” Two etymologies have been suggested for this word, either from the root *sbb* “to go around,” or from *twb* “to go back.” The former is unlikely for phonological reasons, as there are

⁴Bakir, *Epistolography*, pls. 28–32.

⁵Cf. Akk. usage. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 183.

⁶Or perhaps “barley,” as suggested by W.E. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions* (Queenston: 1989), p. 336.

⁷A. Salonen, Möbel, p. 245.

no certain examples of Egyptian *s* for Semitic /s/ (*samekh*),⁸ and the Egyptian writing clearly indicates the presence of consonantal [w]. The second etymology seems sound, although, as Gardiner⁹ noted, the determinative is not particularly appropriate. The root *twb* was certainly known to the Egyptians. (See *s-b-i*, no. 364, for the various Semitic cognates.) The form is derived from the D-stem (polel) and could be the infinitive, although a nominal/adjectival form cannot be ruled out. The meaning of the word is somewhat problematic, BH בָּבָשׂ (inf. constr.) means “to bring back; lead astray; restore.” The nominal forms שׂוֹבֵב and שׂוֹבֵב “back-turning, apostate” are perhaps closer in meaning. The word is apparently used as an infinitive in a periphrastic construction with *iry* “to do.” (H. 189; B. 768; *Wb.* IV 67, 8.) [4]

361.  s=wa=-r An. IV 17, 1. [D. 19]

šawala?* N. pl. **CHARIOT EQUIPMENT, PROBABLY “TRAPPER” [THE HORSE’S SKIRT]. The word occurs in the context of chariots and their assembly. The *swr* is mentioned after the chariots have been assembled, and before a list of various equipment, mostly weapons, carried on the chariots. The *swr* is said to be *m b3kw ku=tì₂-ta* “of *kst*-garment manufacture.” The *kst* was apparently a costly garment, and the Ugaritic *kst* may have been a cloak or robe.¹⁰ Schulman’s conjecture that the word designates the lashings of the decorative appliqués of the chariot’s side panels is unfounded and does not suit the context.¹¹ The word is probably related to BH, MH *לִשׁ “flowing skirt; robe.” Wintermute also identified the word with BH *גַּלְשׁ but he translated “hangings.”¹² It is not clear exactly what he had in mind. The word formation is uncertain. (H. 190; B. 769; *Wb.* IV 71, 2.) [4]

⁸In the word *s-ga=-r* (“fort,” no. 385) this correspondence can be explained by the word’s Sumerian origin. The root occurs with *s* and *š* in the Semitic languages.

⁹*EHT* p. 25*, n. 7.

¹⁰The word is attested in the Egyptian texts. See *ku=tì₂-ta* “garment,” no. 505.

¹¹Schulman, “King’s Chariot,” *JSSEA* 16 (1986), p. 43.

¹²Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 139.

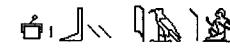
362.  H.O. 63 1, II, 3. “PLANK.” See under .

363.  H.O. 115, 1, 10. “CHAIR; THRONE.” See under .

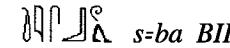
364.  s=bi₄ P. BM 10056¹³ vs. 4, 3. [D. 18]

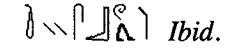
 s=b BM 10056 16, 2.

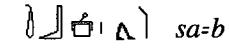
 sa=ba₂ An. I 27, 5. [D. 19]

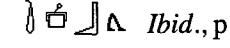
 sa=bi₃ Name list.¹⁴ [D. 18]

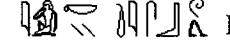
Also by false etymology in the Hittite n. div. Teshub:

 s=ba BIFAO 51.¹⁵ [D. 18]

 Ibid. [D. 19]

 sa=b Ibid. [D. 19]

 Ibid., p. 58. [D. 25]

 P. Louvre 3171 3, 3. [D. 20]

**tāba*, *tuba*. Vb. in PN, n. loc., and n. div. “TO RETURN.” Cf. the common Semitic root *twb*: BH בָּשׁ; Ug. *tb*; Amorite šwb “to return”; Ammonite PN Šb-*t*; Old Aram. בָּשׁ, Imp. Aram., BA, TA בְּשַׁׂבֵּב; Syr. ܬܲܶܶ (tāb); Ar. ܛܲܶܶ (tāb); Old S. Ar. ܳܶܶ (twb), all “to return.” The form in An. I may be the 3rd. m. sing. perfect G-stem *[tāba], but in the name Teshub, it is possibly based on the imperative. It is even conceivable that the Egyptians had the 2nd m. sing. *yaqtulu* in mind. The n. loc. of An. I is very close, if not identical, to the BH names שְׁׂבָּאֵל and שְׁׂבָּאֵל, Ug. *Tbil*,¹⁶ and Old S. Ar. ܳܶܶ (Twb-*l*). (B. 771; PN II 315, 2.) [5]

365.  sa=ba₂=r An. III 2, 12. [D. 19]

 P. Lansing 13a, 1. [D. 20]

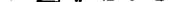
¹³Glanville, “Royal Dockyard,” ZÄS 66 (1931), p. 1* ff.

¹⁴Steindorff, ZÄS 38 (1900), p. 17, vs. 1.

¹⁵S. Sauneron, “La forme égyptienne du nom Tešub,” BIFAO 51 (1952), p. 57.

¹⁶Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 200.

                                *sa=ba₄=-r* P. Harris I 37a, 7; 40b, 4. [D. 20]

366.  sa=ba₂=-r An. IV 13, 1. [D. 19]

*šamra? *tapla?* N. f. “STRONG-SMELLING BEER (OR SOMETHING CONTAINED THEREIN).” Perhaps Coptic *scopm* “lees, dregs.”¹⁷ The word occurs in the following context:

*Ir sp wn ma=-n=d=q-ta iw·s mh·ti m hnqt Qdy, mtw rm̄t pr r irt p̄
ga=ya n ba=-n=ra, wnn 200 iw c̄3 m-d̄l 300 wnši dmd 500, iw·w c̄h̄c
grg·tw r̄c nb r r p̄3 pr r tnw pry m p̄3 hn̄m i-ir·w t̄3 sa=ba2=-r m-d̄r
wn p̄3 mnt.*

Whenever an amphora full of Kedy beer is opened, and people go out to get out the cups, there are 200 large dogs along with 300 jackals—a total of 500—every day standing ready at the door of the house every time I go out, because of their having smelled the *sbr* when the jar was opened.

¹⁷This Coptic word has usually been identified with ME *srmt*, a sweet beverage probably made from dates. The connection is, however, rather dubious on semantic grounds. B.H. Stricker proposed a connection with Hebrew שְׂמָר “dregs”: “Trois études,” *Acta Orientalia* 15 (1937), pp. 5, 16.

Perhaps cf. BH *מְשַׁפֵּעַ, MH מְשַׁפֵּעַ, TA מְשַׁפֵּעַ, all “dregs, lees.” Egyptian *b* for Semitic /m/ would be somewhat unusual, but there is some evidence of the interchange (e.g. no. 125 *ba₂=r=ru₂* / *ma=—r=ru₂=a{t}* [a type of wood] and no. 129 *brk* / *mrk* “gift.”) Wintermute’s proposed identification with BH בָּרֶשֶׁת “grain”¹⁸ is not very convincing. Less likely is a connection with the Arabic نُفْل (tufūl) “dregs, lees, sediment.” The unmarked feminine form is unusual. (B. 773; *Wb.* IV 90, 9.) [2]

367. P. Harris A 6, 17. “THE JUDGE.” See under .

368. su₂=ma₂=c*i*(?)=n Louvre E14354.¹⁹ [D. 19]
**Šim^cōn.* Vb. in PN m. “HEARING.” The name belongs to an Asiatic man. Ranke suggested that the name might be identical to the Biblical שִׁמְעוֹן. If so, perhaps the vowels have become displaced: *šom^cin for [šim^cōn]. The root is probably עָמָשׁ “to hear,” which is also attested in Egyptian transcription: ša=m=c (no. 400). (*PN* II 315, 10.) [4]

369. su₃=mi₃=n Amenophis II stele.²⁰ [D. 18]
 Urk. IV 782, 41, a, b. [D. 18]
 Urk. IV 782, 41, c.

*šumēlu or šamna. N./Adj. Only in n. loc. “NORTH; LEFT” OR “OIL.” Burchardt suggested a connection to BH נְזִבְעַת “eight,” which is not impossible, but not very likely. Ahituv²¹ sought a derivation from the common Semitic word for oil: e.g. BH שְׂמַלָּה; Ug. šmn; TA شَمْنَةٌ; Syr. شَمَنَة (šumnā), all “oil; fat”; Ar. سمن (samn) “butter”; Akk. šamnu “oil.” The name would mean “Hill of Oil.” Another possibility is a connection with the common Semitic root šml: cf. BH לְשָׂמֵל “left, north”; Ug. šmäl “left”; TA لَسْمَلَةٌ “left”; Syr. سَمَلَة (semälā) “left”; Ar. شمال (šamāl, šimāl) “north;

¹⁸Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 128–32.

¹⁹Posener, “Une liste de noms propres,” *Syria* 18 (1937), p. 191 and pl. 30.

²⁰Badawi, “Stele Amenophis’ II.”, *ASAE* 42 (1943), pl. 1, 28.

²¹Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, p. 100.

left"; Akk. *šumēlu* "left." In this case the name would be interpreted as "North Hill." (B. 969.) [3]

370.  *sa=mak=ta* Rechn. pl. 9 II 11; 14; pl. 11a, b, 5.
[D. 19]

 Rechn. pl. 10 V, 4.

 *sa=mak=tu* Rechn. pl. 10 IV, 19.

 Rechn. pl. 16b, a 3; 4; 5.

 *sa=mak=t* Rechn. pl. 9 II, 16; 18; 22; pl. 10 IV, 19.

 Rechn. pl. 10 IV 6; 12.

**šamakta?* N. (f.) "BEAM; GIRDER." The word occurs in records of lumber alongside *as-wa-ta*. The longest is of 17 cubits²² (8.89 meters) and the shortest is 8 cubits²³ (4.18 meters). The average length of the extant 12 lengths recorded is 11 cubits (5.75 meters). The word has been identified with the root *smk* "to support, lean on." Although semantically attractive, the connection must be ruled out on phonological grounds, as there are no certain examples of Egyptian *s* for Semitic /s/ (*samekh*).²⁴ The word, however, may be related to Ar. سماك (*samaka*) D-stem "to make thick," (*samk*) "roof, ceiling." Another possibility is a connection with Ar. سماقة (*samaqa*) "to be high; tall." If so, the word would denote a long piece of lumber. (H. 193; *Wb.* IV 144, 4.) [2]

371.  *s=n=ni* Doomed Prince 6, 9.²⁵ [D. 19]

 Doomed Prince 5, 11.

 An. I 23, 6; P. Harris I 31, 8. [D. 19]

 Med. Habu 46, 21. [D. 20]

 Gloss. Gol. 2, 2. [D. 20-1]

²²Rechn. pl. 10 IV 5.

²³E.g. Rechn. pl. 9 II 14; pl. 10 IV, 19.

²⁴In the word *s=ga=-r* ("fort," no. 385) this correspondence can be explained by the word's Sumerian origin. The root occurs with *s* and *š* in the Semitic languages.

²⁵The word occurs frequently. The examples cited are representative and do not constitute an exhaustive list.

- P. Sallier III 2, 2.²⁶ [D. 19]
- Letters to Dead VII, 15. [D. 19]
- P. An. III 6, 3-4. [D. 19]
- KRI II 64, 3. [D. 20]
- KRI II 81, 10.
- P. Sallier III 7, 2.²⁷
- KRI IV 6, 13. [D. 19]
- s=n=n=ni P. Hood 2, 2.²⁸ [D. 21]
- s=n=n Med. Habu 27, 25.
- sa-ni-ni KRI VI 466, 13. [D. 20]

tanānu*. N. “CHARIOT SOLDIER; ARCHER.**” The word is clearly associated with the chariotry. An. III 6, 3-4: *snny n ti-nt-htri* “a *snny* of the chariotry.” Gloss. Gol. 2, 2 *ku=ti₂=na*, *snny* “charioteer, *snny*.” In An. I 23, 5 ff. the *snny* is associated with the *mahir*-warrior: *Iry-k rn ma=ha=r nb*, *snny nw T₃ Mri*. “You establish the reputation²⁹ of all *mahir*-warriors, the *snny* of the Land of Egypt.” The arrow determinative that is frequently encountered with this word should probably be taken seriously. It is a phonetic sign for *swn* and not for *sn* or *snn*.³⁰ The word is attested in Ugaritic as *tnn* and in Akk. transcription *l^uša-na-nu-ma* (*[*tannānu*]).³¹ In Alalakh Akkadian it is written *šanannu* and clearly associated with chariots and charioteers.³² The ending is probably not the masculine plural with nunation. The form is probably the “professional” *qattālu* of the root *tnn*. The Ug. plural *tnnm* “chariot soldiers” supports this conjecture. The etymology of the word is uncertain. Albright’s³³

²⁶KRI II 33, 5.

²⁷KRI II 64, 4.

²⁸AEO, pl. 15.

²⁹Lit. “make the name.”

³⁰Words written *sn* or *snn* never have the arrow sign, whereas words written with *swn*, although having nothing to do with arrows (e.g. “trade,” “physician”), are regularly written with the arrow sign.

³¹Cf. Akk. usage. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 187.

³²D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London: 1953), p. 11.

³³Albright, apud D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London: 1953), p. 11, n. 4.

proposed connection to Akk. *šanānu* “to contest, strive” is probably incorrect, as that word is almost certainly from the root **šnn*, not **tnn*, cf. Arabic سَنَنْ (*sanna*) “to sharpen, hone” and Eth. ታሸኑና፡ (*tasannana*) “to contest, quarrel.” Albright’s suggestion that the š of the Proto-Sinaitic alphabet represents a composite bow from a root *tnn* is nevertheless possible. If so, the word for “archer” would be either a derived noun or a *nisbe* from the nominal form. The word in Egyptian has a fairly extensive bibliography.³⁴ (H. 195; *Wb.* III 459, 17–19.) [5]

372.  sa=ru₂=na Amenophis III List Bn r. 12. [D. 18]

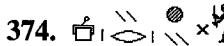
**šarōna*. N. in n. loc. “PLAIN.” Burchardt identified the word with the BH toponym שָׁרוֹן Sharon, which derives from the root *yšr* “to be level.” The identification seems sound. The word occurs as a bound form in a construct chain: “The Plain of ‘Raisins’.” As noted by Edel,³⁵ the name probably refers to local viticulture. (B. 794.) [4]

373.  s---r=hut=ta P. Harris I 16b, 6. [D. 20]

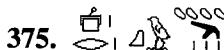
**šaluḥata*. N. (f.) “STALKS, BUNCHES.” The word is used as a measure for onions: *hd nwḥ* 180, *hd fṣy* 50, *hd s---r=hut=ta* 77 “180 strings of onions, 50 *fṣy* (“loads?”) of onions, 77 *srht* of onions.” Helck identified the word with BH שְׁלֻוּחָה “shoots, branches.” Cf. also Syr. مَلْعُسَة (ṣ^zlīḥūtā) “shoots; (palm) branches.” The root is quite well attested, but usually with the meaning of “send out,” cf. Ph. שַׁלֵּחַ; Ug. *ślh*; TA حَلَّشٌ. The word perhaps referred to the long stalks of the onion plants. Perhaps they were tied together in bunches, since the list indicates that there were only 77. It is less likely that the word meant “delivery” (but cf. *fṣy* “load”?). (H. 198; B. 799; *Wb.* IV 198, 23.) [3]

³⁴E.g. Caminos *LEM*, p. 96; Faulkner, “Egyptian Military Organization,” *JEA* 39 (1953), p. 43; Gardiner, *AOI* I, 28*ff.; Schulman, “The Egyptian chariotry: a reexamination,” *JARCE* 2 (1963), pp. 87–88; “Chariots, Chariotry, and the Hyksos,” *JSSEA* 10, 134; Ward, “Egyptian and Ugaritic,” *JNES* 20, p. 39 ff.

³⁵Edel, *Ortsnamenlisten*, p. 14, and also Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, p. 171.

374.  *sa=-r=hi* P. Cairo 58033 47. [D. 21]

*šalliha? Vb. “TO STRIP OFF.” The word occurs in the name of demons: *Iw-i šd:f r n3 nkt nty twtw dd n sa=-r=hi b3w, iw bn iw-i dit t3·w b3·f*. “I will protect him from the things that are called³⁶ ‘Those-who-Strip-Off-the-Soul,’ and I will not allow them to take away his soul.” The word is almost certainly related to the Semitic root šlh: TA, JPA  “to undress; flay,” D-stem “to strip hides”; Syr.  (*š̄lah*) “to undress; cast off skin (snakes)”; Ar. سلخ (*salaḥa*) “to strip off; flay”; Akk. *šalāhu* “to tear out.” The form is apparently the qatala or D-stem *qattil(a)*, as suggested by the *i*-type vowel of the group *hi*. The word appears to be used as the Egyptian participle. (*Wb.* IV 199, 15.) [4]

375.  *sa-ra=qu₂* KRI II 249, 7.³⁷ [D. 19]

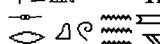
 KRI II 249, 9.

 KRI II 249, 13.

 KRI II 249, 15.

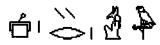
 *sa=ra=qa* or *sa=ra=qu₄* KRI II 249, 14.

 KRI II 249, 8.

 *s=r=qu* P. Hood 1, 7.³⁸ [D. 21]

Written defectively:

 *sa=qu* Gloss. Gol. 1, 7. [D. 21]

 *sa=-r* O. Cairo 67100.³⁹ [D. 21]

**talgū*. N. pl. (?) “SNOW.” The word occurs in the onomastica among meteorological terms and is otherwise only attested in the following passage concerning the mission to meet Ramses II’s Hittite bride when she arrived in Palestine:⁴⁰

³⁶Reading *n3*, the definite article, plural, rather than the first plural pronominal suffix, as in the text.

³⁷This is the only occurrence of the snow-flake determinative known to me.

³⁸AEO, pl. 14.

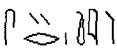
³⁹AEO, pl. 22.

⁴⁰In KRI II 249, 7 (and parallel texts).

*Nn h3b·n·i šmy m wp r D3h3 m n3 hrw n hwyt sa=ra=qu2 ḥprw m prt.
 ṣh^c·n sm3^c·n f ṣbt ṣt n it·f Swth. Spr·n·f hr·f, m dd: “Pt hr ḥwy·ky.
 T3 hr rdwy·ky. W3d n·k pw ḥprt nb, m i tm·k ir hwyt, qbw, sa=ra=qu2.”*

Those that I sent would have to go on the mission to Djahi in the days of rain and snow that occur in winter. Then he (the king) offered a great sacrifice to his father Sutekh. He approached his face,⁴¹ saying: “Heaven is in your arms. Earth is beneath your feet. All things are ordained for you, such as preventing rains, cold winds, and snows.”⁴²

The word is from the common Semitic root *tlg*: BH תַּלְגַּע; Ug. *glit*;⁴³ Amorite *šalgum*; TA ئَلْجَمْ; Syr. تَلْجَأْ (*talgā*); Ar. تَلْجَأْ (*talj*); Akk. *šalgu*, all “snow.” The Egyptians apparently thought of snow as a plurality rather than a collectivity. The [ū] ending, which elsewhere seems to be a plural ending, supports this. Or, perhaps the idea is of repeated occurrences, i.e. “snowfalls.” (H. 199; B. 801; VESO XIV A, 12; *Wb.* IV 204, 14.) [5]

376.  *s=—r=ta* P. Lansing 10, 5. [D. 20]

 P. DeM.⁴⁴ [D. 20]

tallatu*. N. f. “CAPTIVE.**” The word occurs in the context of conveying prisoners of war back to Egypt:

*Sw3d n Hm·f c.w.s. p3 h3qw, ma-ha r Kmt. T3 h3sti^w w3s·ti m m8c.
 Sw dd·ti <hr> nhbt p3 w^cw. P3yf h3rw h3c. It sw kt-hw. Sw 3tp m
 s=—r=ta.*

The captives going to Egypt are handed over to His Majesty. The foreign woman faints because of the marching. She is placed on the soldier’s shoulder. His haversack is cast aside; others take it—he is saddled with the *srt*.

⁴¹The wording of the clause *spr·n·f hr·f* sounds quite un-Egyptian and is possibly a loan translation of a phrase like BH הַקְרִיב לִפְנֵי literally “to cause to approach to the face of” used with the meaning “to present a sacrifice to.” Alternately, perhaps the original intention was to use the verb *spr* with the preposition *hr*: “he made supplication concerning it.” However, the writings of all the inscriptions clearly have the word “to approach” (with walking legs determinative).

⁴²Of course, as a result of Ramses’ intercession the mission encountered only summer-like weather in the middle of winter.

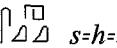
⁴³The Ugaritic exhibits metathesis.

⁴⁴S. Sauneron, “Les désillusions de la guerre asiatique (Pap. Deir el-Médinéh 35),” *Kêmi* 18 (1968), pls. I, II, 1. 6. This text is parallel to P. Lansing.

Grdseloff,⁴⁵ followed by Helck, proposed an identification from Akk. *esirtu* “prisoner.” This is virtually impossible because there is no known correspondence of Egyptian *s* to Semitic /s/ (*samekh*), and the loss of the ²*aleph* would be quite unusual. Blackman and Peet⁴⁶ suggested that the word meant “Syrian,” citing Amarna *Sûru*⁴⁷ (for *Subarû*), but there is no evidence to support this conjecture, and it is, again, phonologically unlikely. Erman and Lange, in their publication of P. Lansing,⁴⁸ suggested a connection with the Semitic root *tll* “to plunder.”⁴⁹ Cf. BH שָׁלַל “to capture; carry off,” שְׁלָל “booty (including women captives, Judg. 5:30)”; Amorite *šll* “to take booty?”; Ar. ئَلْ (talla) “to overthrow, subvert”; Old S. Ar. ١١٨ (*tll*) “to plunder”; Akk. *šallatu* “booty; prisoners of war.” The occurrence of the Egyptian word *h3q* “plunder” with the meaning “captives” in the immediate context further supports this derivation. (H. 200; *Wb.* IV 204, 16.) [4]

377.  *s=ha-q=q* H.O. 91 1, 1. [D. 19 or 20]

 H.O. 3 1, 1. [D. 19]

 *s=ha-q=q* Cairo Coffin.⁵⁰ [D. 25 or 26]

 *s=ha-q* H.O. 91 1, 7.

šahaqiqu?* N. div. m. “THE GROWLER(?)**” In the Cairo Coffin text, the name occurs as an epithet of Apophis. The name may be related to the root *hgg* and its more common by-form *hgw*: BH הַגִּיג “murmuring, whispering,” הַגְּגָה “to growl (animals)”; H-stem “to moan” (said of ghosts and familiar spirits, Isa. 8:19.), MH הַגְּגָה H-stem “to murmur charms”; TA حَنَّن A-stem “to reason, meditate”;

⁴⁵B. Grdseloff, “Un emprunt au sémitique pour désigner la femme captive de guerre,” *ASAE* 51 (1951), pp. 163–66.

⁴⁶“Papyrus Lansing,” *JEA* 11 (1925), p. 292, n. 16.

⁴⁷EA 108, 17.

⁴⁸According to Grdseloff, *ibid.*

⁴⁹Wintermute ([Thesis], p. 183) also came to this conclusion.

⁵⁰Gauthier, *CGC Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou* (Cairo: 1913), p. 135, 1. 26.

Ar. هجو (*hjw*) “to ridicule, disparage.” The semantic development in the various Semitic languages is quite varied, but all have to do with mental activities and the uttering of sounds. Hebrew seems to provide the most suitable meanings. The determinative of the second example seems to indicate verbal activity and possibly dancing. The form would be derived from the Š-stem causative. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

378. s-*hi-na-ša* Med. Habu 27, 25. [D. 20]

**šahinaša*. Vb. “TO BE STIRRED UP; PROVOKED.” The word occurs in the phrase: *ha=ru₂=ru₂ mī rw s-hi-na-ša qnd* “roaring like a lion, provoked and angry.” If the word is Semitic, it could be related to the root *nḥš*, cf. Ar. نحس (*nahasa*) “to goad, prod, urge on (animals).” If so, there is metathesis of the first two consonants. The form is probably the Š-stem perfect. (B. 807; *Wb.* IV 255, 5.) [2]

379. sa-*ha-ra=ča* Med. Habu 77, 3. [D. 20]

Med. Habu 79, 7.

s-*ha-ra=ča* An. III 6, 4. [D. 19]

**šahliča*? Vb. “TO SCORN; HOLD IN CONTEMPT.” The Medinet Habu instances occur in epithets lauding the king’s valour. (77, 2): *fit hh, sa-ha-ra=ča qnw* “scornful of a million, contemptuous of a multitude.” (79, 7): *fit hh, sa-ha-ra=ča hhwy* “scornful of a million, contemptuous of two million.” In An. III 6, 4 the word is used of slaves’ lack of respect for their new master (a young army officer): *Dd n·f pʒ s 2 im·sn. St s-ha-ra=ča r·f.* “Two of them are given to him. (But) they hold him in contempt.” The word may be related to the Arabic خلع (*hala'a*) “to dismiss; repudiate.”⁵¹ If the word is related, or is, in fact Semitic, the form must be the Š-stem. The causative stem is not used with this root in Arabic. (H. 203; B. 808; *Wb.* IV 261, 7.) [3]

⁵¹Wintermute ([Thesis], p. 183) also suggested a connection with this word.

380.
sa=qa=ba *PNI* 321, 1.52

sa=qa=bi *KRI I* 7, 6. [D. 19]

sa=q=ba *An. I* 27, 6. [D. 19]

sagaba*. Vb. in PN and n. loc. “TO BE EXALTED.**” The word is almost certainly related to the root *šgb*: BH בָּגַב G-stem “to be high,” N-stem “to be exalted,” and the Aramaic PN בָּגְבָּא;⁵³ Ammonite PN’s *ʔlšgb*, *hmšgb*; Old Aram. בָּגָב “big(?)”, Targ. Aram. בָּגָב “to be high.” The root is not very well attested outside of Hebrew and Aramaic. The name would translate “My Father is Exalted.” The writing in *An. I* 27, 6 possibly stems from a confusion with the root *špk*: BH שְׁפָקֵשׁ “to shed (blood)”; Ar. سَفَكَ “to shed (blood).” (*B. 28; PNI* 321, 1.) [4]

381.
sa=ka=?u *Gloss. Gol.* 3, 10. [D. 20–1]

sa=ku₃ *P. Lansing* 9, 5. [D. 20]

P. Bol. 1086 17.⁵⁴ [D. 19]

Flor. Ostr.⁵⁵ [D. 20]

Miswritten:

sa=ka=ta=? {t} *H.O.* 7, 3.⁵⁶ [D. 19 or 20]

Also as a PN:

sa=ku₃ *P. Wilbour A* 80, 30; 96, 17. [D. 20]

sa=ka=?a *KRI I* 246, 1; Amarna docket.⁵⁷ [D. 18, 19]

P. Bib. Nat. 206 2, 3.⁵⁸ [D. 19]

saki?u?* N. m. A **MILITARY OFFICER, “**SCOUT?**” “**GUARD?**”
The context of *P. Lansing* provides some information about the

⁵²Cairo *Wb.* 206.

⁵³E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* (Leuven: 1975), p. 107.

⁵⁴G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch*, vol. 3, p. 9. W. Wolf, “*Papyrus Bologna 1086*, ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Neuen Reiches,” *ZÄS* 65 (1930), p. 89.

⁵⁵A. Erman, “*Hieratische Ostraca*,” *ZÄS* 18 (1880), pp. 96–97. = *P. Lansing* 9, 5.

⁵⁶The *ta* group may be a copying error for the *ya* group.

⁵⁷Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, Part III, vol. 2., pl. 86, no. 35.

⁵⁸*KRI I* 246, 1.

role of the *sk{t}*: *p₃ imy-r mš^c, p₃ hry pdt, p₃ skt nty r-h₃t-w* “the general, the chief of the archers, and the *skt* that goes before them.” The word may be derived from the Semitic root *šky*: BH מְשֻׁכִּיה “image,” MH סָבָה “to look”; TA סָבָא “watchman,” סָבָא “to look out for; observe; observe,” סָבָא “outlook, watchpost”; Syr. سَعْدَ (sk²) D-stem “to look for; lie in wait.” The root is not well attested outside of Aramaic. The name פָּשָׁבֵן is, however, attested in BH. (H. 206; B. 812; *Wb.* IV 319, 16; 17; W. Wolf ZÄS 65, 94.) [3]

382.  sa=ga An. I 23, 2. [D. 19]

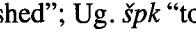
*šaqqa. Vb. **“TO OPEN THE WAY; BREAK THE TRAIL.”** The word occurs in the following context: *Gm·tw mhr mi-kd·k r sa=ga r h₃t mš^c.* “May a *maher*-soldier like you be found to open the way before the troops.” Helck’s suggested etymology from סָגַן “to move away; back-slide” is to be ruled out on phonological as well as semantic grounds. The word is possibly related to the Arabic شَقَّ (šaqqa) “to split; go, travel; to open up the way (for someone).” The root is not well attested outside of Arabic. A *hapax*. (H. 207; B. 818; *Wb.* IV 320, 3.) [3]

383.  sa=ga An. I 25, 6. [D. 19]

*šaqqa. N. **INFERIOR TYPE OF CLOTH, GARMENT OR BLANKET, PROBABLY “SACKCLOTH.”** Copt. ^SΒCOR, ^SCAR “sack, sackcloth.”⁵⁹ The word occurs in the context of a formerly wealthy person who has sold a *mss*-garment of fine linen: *Sdr·k... iw^c n sa=ga hr·k.* “You lie down to sleep ... with (only) a piece of *sg* on you.” The word may be related to the fairly widely attested word for sackcloth: BH קְשׁוֹ “sackcloth” (as garment, blanket); Imp. Aram. קְשׁוֹ “sackcloth” (as mourning clothes), TA אֲקָרֶב “sackcloth”; Syr. لَهْو (saqqā) “sackcloth”; Eth. ψΦ: (šaqq) “sackcloth”; Akk. šaqqu “sackcloth”; Greek σάκκος “sackcloth”; Latin *saccus* “sack”; English “sack.” (*Wb.* IV 320, 4.) [4]

⁵⁹I am indebted to H. Quecke for pointing out this Coptic word. Vycichl (*Dict. etym.*, p. 186) derived the Coptic word from the Semitic, but did not suggest a connection to the word in An. I 25. He rejected—and with good reason—Černý’s contention that the Hebrew was borrowed from a hypothetical derivate of the Egyptian *s3q* “to join together, collect” (*Ety. Dict.*, p. 149).

384.  sa=ga=ba₂=ya=na An. III 3, 7.
[D. 19]

*šapakayna? N. or N. loc. **BODY OF WATER**. The word occurs in the context of a description of the Delta residence: *sgnn ndm n sa=ga=ba₂=ya=na, m3hw n t3 dd* “sweet oil from the *sgbyn* and garlands from the grove.” The word is possibly related to the root špk: BH  “to pour out; shed”; Ug. špk “to pour out, spill”; TA  “to pour,”  “spout, gutter”; Syr.  (š̥pāk) “to pour out,”  (š̥pākā) “water pipe; pouring out”; Ar.  (safaka) “to shed (blood).” Cf. the writing of  *sa=qa=ba* “to be exalted” (no. 380), which seems to have been influenced by špk “to shed (blood).” If so, the word exhibits metathesis of the second and third radicals. The form may be a dual or locative. (B. 819; *Wb.* IV 321, 7.) [2]

385.  s=ga=—r An. V 19, 7. [D. 19]

*šigara? taǵāra? N. m. **SECURED BUILDING “FORT” OR “MAGAZINE”; “GATE (?)”** The word occurs in a model letter from a captain concerning runaway slaves. The captain says that he reached the *sgr n Tkw* “*sgr* of Tjeku,” presumably a military installation. The word has been identified with BH סגָּר “enclosure,” and usually translated “fortress,” or sim. Although there is otherwise no certain correspondence of Egyptian *s* for Hebrew *samekh*, it could be explained in this instance by the word’s non-Semitic origin. It is a Sumerian loan word (SI.GAR) and occurs in Semitic languages with both š and s. Cf. BH  “to shut,”  “neck-stocks,” סגָּר “enclosure,” סגָּר מִסְגָּר “prison”; Ug. *sgr* “to bar, close,” *sgrt* “closed room”; Yaudi טַגְגָּרָה “prison”; TA  “to fence in; bar,”  “lock,” מַסְגָּרָה “prison”; Syr.  (s̥g̥ar) “to close”; Ar. شِجَار (šijār) “wooden (door)-bolt,” Akk. šigaru, *sigaru* “locking bar” (of door lock assembly).⁶⁰ The word occurs in the context of military or other stations including a *migdal* and a *htm*. If the word is to be connected with *sgr*, semantically, it would be parallel to the Egyptian *htm* (from a root with the basic meaning “to seal”). Somewhat less likely is a

⁶⁰Cf. J.A. Scurlock, “How to Lock a Gate,” *Orientalia* 57 (1988), pp. 431–32.

connection with the root *tgr* “gate.” Cf. BH שַׁעַר “gate”; Amarna ša-ah-ri; Ph. שער “gate”; Moab. שער “gate”; Ug. *tgr* “gate”; Old Aram. חֲרֵצָה, Warka *ta-ra-ha*, BA תְּמַרְעָה “gate; palace,” TA תְּמַרְעָה “gate; market”; Syr. تَارَّة (*tarā*) “gate.” There are no phonological objections to this derivation, but the word is otherwise attested in the admittedly less expected writings  and  (no. 390). (H. 209; B. 821; Wb. IV 324, 6.) [3]

386. *sa=d=b=ta* Med. Habu 478.⁶¹ [D. 20]
s=da₂{t}=ba=ta P. Turin Cat. 1885.⁶² [D. 20]

*? N. f. “**HALL; COURT.**” The example from Medinet Habu concerns a building project at a temple: *Ir·n·f sa=d=b=ta n 'iwnw' m rwid n hm·f špsy*. “He made a *sdbt* of pillars for him at the steps to his august shrine.” P. Turin 1885 contains a plan and description of the tomb of Ramses IV: *Pr hd nty hr smh m t3 s=d={t}=ba=ta n { ... } J* “The treasury which is on the left in (or “namely”⁶³) the *sdbt* of [...].” The room referred to is apparently one of the innermost rooms, beyond the burial chamber, namely room H of the PM plan.⁶⁴ The word was earlier misread as *sdrt* and wrongly identified by Burchardt with BH שָׁדְרוֹת “row; (an unexplained architectural term)” and TA צָרְנָה “colonnade; hall of studies.” The word looks Semitic, but it defies identification. (H. 212; B. 827.) [1]

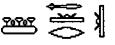
⁶¹Margin at bottom.

⁶²KRI VI 60, 8. H. Carter and A.H. Gardiner, "The Tomb of Ramesses IV and the Turin Plan of a Royal Tomb," *JEA* 4 (1917), pp. 130–58. The *d* was queried by Gardiner and Kitchen but, the writing is clearly that of *d*, as can be seen in the photo in E. Scamuzzi, *Egyptian Art in the Egyptian Museum of Turin* (New York: 1964), pl. 87.

⁶³I.e., the *m* of predication.

⁶⁴PM vol. I, pt. 2, plan opp. p. 499, tomb 2, room H.

387.  ša=‘ra KRI IV 7, 5–6. [D. 19]

 ša=‘a=r Stela of Sethnakhte.¹ [D. 20]

 ša=‘a=—r P. Mag. Harris 10, 7. [D. 19]

 P. Pushkin 127 4, 5. [D. 21]

 P. Turin 1882 3, 8.² [D. 20]

**ta‘ara*. N. “CALCULATION; SCHEME; OR THREAT / PROMISE.” The word occurs in a variety of contexts. Several texts concern “schemes” of the enemy. KRI IV: *N3 ša=‘ra i-dd·f, st wh3y. I-dd r·f nb w3dbw hr tp·f.* “The schemes that he uttered, they have come to naught. Everything his mouth has said has returned upon his (own) head.” Sethnakhte stele: *Sh·w wh3y, ša=‘a=r·w ws[f].* “Their schemes were destroyed, and their calculations came to naught.” The enemy is a personal one in P. Mag. Harris: *Wsf Hu-ru₂-na n3y·k ša=‘a=—r.* “Horon will bring your threats to naught.” In P. Turin 1882 3, 8, the sense of the word is positive: *wšb n smn·tw, ša=‘a=—r n nh̄h, twn dt* “a pronouncement of lastingness, a promise of eternity, a reward of perpetuity.” The context of P. Pushkin is difficult, but involves making a request. Seidl, citing Demotic legal texts, wanted to translate all instances of the word as “protest,”³ but this sense does not suit the contexts well. Albright⁴ wanted to associate the word with the root *tgr* “fangs,” but this does not seem likely on semantic grounds. Much more likely is Helck’s identification of the word with BH נִעְשֵׁה “to calculate, reckon.” The word is a *hapax* in Biblical Hebrew and

¹W. Kaiser, et. al., “Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine,” *MDAIK* 28 (1973), pl. 49, 12, and p. 198, n.z.

²Gardiner, *JEA* 41 (1955), pl. IX.

³E. Seidl, “Š̄r, der öffentliche Protest, im ägyptischen Recht,” *ZÄS* 94 (1967), p. 131 ff.

⁴*VESO*, p. 57.

occurs in the phrase שער בונפשׁו “to calculate (scheme) inwardly.” The derived noun שָׁעֵרֶת “measures” is also attested once. The root *tcr* is also attested in Ug. *tcr* “to measure”; MH שער (D-stem) “to estimate, calculate,” and TA שְׁעִיר D-stem “to measure, calculate.” For a similar example of ambiguous meaning, cf. Arabic وعید (*wa'id*) “threats; promises.” (H. 216; B. 832; VESO XV A, 5; Wb. IV 422, 1.) [4]

388. ša-^ca=ra P. Bologna 1094 2, 5.⁵ [D. 19]

ta^cara*. Vb. “TO SCHEME.**” It is said of Amun, “the vizier of the poor”: *Bn sw hr šsp {hr} fqw n c^d3w. Bn sw hr dd n in mtrt. Bn sw hr nw r ša-^ca=ra*. “He does not receive the gift of the guilty. He does not speak to the tattletale. He does not look at the schemer.” Cf. the previous entry. The word seems to occur as a participle “one who schemes” parallel to *in mtrt* “a bearer of reports.” It is, however, possible that the word is simply the noun meaning “scheme.” (H. 216; Wb. IV 422, 1.) [3]

389. ša-^ca=-r O. Cairo 25604 2. [D. 20]

ša^car(a)*. N. m. “MARKET PRICE.**” Demotic *šcr*, Coptic *šuadap* “price.”⁶ The word occurs in the sentence: *Dit t3 c³t n wn H^c-m-W3st r p3y·s ša-^ca=-r*. “Selling the she-donkey to the Door-keeper Ha^c-em-Wise at its market price.” Cf. the previous two entries, and especially MH שער “market price”;⁷ TA שְׁעִיר “market price”; Ar. سعر (*s^cr*) D-stem “to set a price,” (*si^cr*) “price.” (Not in Wb.) [5]

390. ša-^ca=ra P. Amherst 4, 3. [D. 20]

Also with metathesis:

- ša=-r=^ca P. BM 10053 4, 13;⁸ P. BM 10052 2, 27.⁹ [D. 20]

taǵra, tarǵa*. N. m. “GATE.**” The text of P. Amherst reads: *r dit*

⁵Gardiner, *LEM* 2, 14.

⁶The Semitic etymology of the Demotic and Coptic was discovered by Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 1018.

⁷Jastrow, 1612b, wrongly listed with “gate.”

⁸Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 18.

⁹*Ibid.*, pl. 26.

in·tw·w r rdit·w m rm̄t s3w m p3 ša=‐c‐a‐ra n Pr‐Imn Nsw Ntrw īrm n3y‐w iryw t3wt “to have them brought that they might be made prisoners in the šr of the temple of Amun-Rēc-King-of-the-Gods along with their accomplices in theft.” In P. BM 10053 4, 13 the šr is at the same temple, but there is no connection with prisoners: *Šn‐c Ru2‐ra‐ti Pr‐Imn hms‐f <m> p3 ša=‐r=‐c‐a n Pr‐Imn.* “Storehouse worker Rurati of the Temple of Amun, who lives <at> (or in) the šr of the Temple of Amun.” Similarly P. BM 10052 2, 27: *p3 nby wnw hms m p3 ša=‐r=‐c‐a* “the goldsmith who used to live at / in the šr.” The word has long been identified with the Semitic root *tgr*: BH תְּגַרְעֵשׂ; Amarna ša-ah-ri; Ph. תְּגַרְעֵשׂ; Ug. *tgr*, possibly in Akk. transcription as *gišša-[h]a!?-ru?‐ma (*taǵru)*;¹⁰ BA עֲרָקִים, Egy. Aram. וְרָקָע, Warka¹¹ *ta-ra-ha*, TA אֲרָקִים; Syr. طَرْقَان (tar̄ā), all “gate; door”; Ar. ثُغْرَة (tuǵra) “breach, opening.” Egyptian ‘ayin for Semitic /g/ is extremely rare, but the source language likely had undergone the merger of /g/ and /%. Note that the Egyptian š may also here reflect the /t/ and /š/ merger. Some writings exhibit metathesis, as in the Aramaic dialects, but the phenomenon may have been introduced by Egyptian speakers. (H. 215, 223; B. 831, 864; VESO V A, 14; Wb. IV 421, 15, 528, 2.) [5]

391.  šu₅=‐c‐a‐ru₂=‐ta P. Mag. Brooklyn.¹² [Late]
- **tu*^c*alta*. N. demon f. “THE VIXEN.” Sauneron connected the name with the word for gate (cf. ša=‐c‐a‐ra, no. 390). The name, however, occurs in conjunction with another demon called *hi‐da‐ru₂=‐ta* “the sow,” and is therefore more likely to be connected to the root *t^cl*. Cf. BH לְעֵזֶב “fox” (*Vulpus niloticus, flavescens*); Ug. PN *T^cl*, and in Akkadian transcription *mŠa-a-la-na* (*ša^calāna*);¹³ Amorite PN *mŠu-ḥa-la-nu* “Fox”; Ammonite PN *Š^cl*; Imp. Aram. לְעֵזֶב, TA ئَلْعَزَب; Syr. تَالَّا (ta^clā); Ar. شَاعَل (tu^cāla), all “fox; vixen.” (Not in Wb.) [4]

¹⁰Huchnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 188.

¹¹Aramaic in Akkadian transcription.

¹²S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn*, 4, 2; 4, 5; 4, 7; 5, 3, 5, 8. Although the manuscript is from the late period, the text is Late Egyptian.

¹³Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 198.

392. šu₅=wi₂=b=ti Urk. IV 733, 5. [D. 18]

Perhaps also:

- šu₅=ba O. Lit. DeM 1242 5. [D. 19 or 20]

*šō^{ib}ta? N. (f.) A VESSEL. The word occurs in a list of tribute from Syria: *hd šu₅=wi₂=b=ti m b3k n Kftiw* “a silver šwbt of Cretan manufacture.” In O. DeM 1242 5 the word occurs in a recipe: *mw n šu₅=ba* “water of the šb.” The word has long been identified with the Amarna šu-i-ib-da (EA 14, III, 61) (a stone vessel). It may be derived from the common Semitic root בָּאַשׁ “to draw water,” as proposed by Helck. If so, cf. BH, MH בָּאַשׁ “to draw water,” MH בָּאַשׁ “trough”; Ug. š^b “to draw water”; TA בָּאַשׁ “to draw water,” נְבָאַשׁ “ceremony of drawing water”; Old S. Ar. نَبَأْ (s¹ab) “to draw water.” The word seems to be built on the *qātilu* (participial) form. (H. 219; B. 836; VESO XV A, 16; Wb. IV 436, 1.) [3]

393. P. Leiden 352 vs. 1. “STAFF; ROD.” See under .

394. ša-wa-ša-ta Louvre Leath. Roll 4, 6.¹⁴ [D. 19]

*šawašata? N. f. sing. “ADMINISTRATION?” This *hapax* occurs in the phrase *t3 ša-wa-ša-ta n pr-hd* “the šwšt of the treasury,” and seems to be parallel to *n3 shn n p3 ihw* “the commanders of the stable.” If the word is from the Semitic, perhaps cf. Arabic سوس (sws) “to govern; administer, manage” and the derived noun سياسة (siyāsa) “administration, management.” Cf. also Syr. (šyš) “to repress, curb.” The word may be a feminine collective (or abstract), as it seems to designate the personnel. (Not in Wb.) [3]

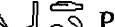
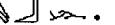
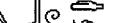
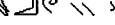
395. šu₅=ba=ya P. Ch. Beatty IV vs. 7, 12. [D. 19–20]

*šubaya? N. pl. (?) A PRECIOUS STONE, PERHAPS “AGATE.” The word occurs as the material of which certain costly signet rings were made: *htmw mnqw mnht irw m ša-ba-ya h=t_i m i[nr]* “excellent ‘finished’ signet-rings made of šby and mounted with a

¹⁴KRI II 794, 5.

¹⁵ st[one].” Harris¹⁵ identified the word with Akk. *šubū*. The BH שְׁבָע “agate” could also be cited. (H. 218; not in *Wb.*) [3]

396.  ši₂=ba₂=ru₂=ta₅ Shishak List,¹⁶ nos. 73 and 75.
[D. 22]
*šibbōlet. N. (f.) in n. loc. “FLOWING STREAM; TORRENT.” The word occurs in two Negeb toponyms and has been long identified with BH שְׁבָלָח “flowing stream; torrent”; TA שׁוֹבֵת “current.” The word is possibly a Š-stem derivative from the root *ybl* “to conduct, bear along” (i.e. “to flow”). The *u*-vowel of *ru₂* is perhaps misplaced from the second syllable. (B. 840, 841.) [5]

397.  $\ddot{s}i_2=b=da_2$ P. Turin B, vs. 1, 9.¹⁷ [D. 19]
 P. Lansing 7, 2.¹⁸ [D. 20]
 P. Ch. Beatty V 7, 2.¹⁹ [D. 19]
 P. Harris 500 2, 3. (Love Poem). [D. 19]
 $\ddot{s}i_2=b=d\{t\}$ An. V 16, 6;²⁰ P. Turin 39, 7. [D. 19]
 $\ddot{s}i_2=b=d$ P. Mallet I, 7.²¹ [D. 20]
 $\ddot{s}i_2=ba=d$ P. Sallier I 6, 6. [D. 19]
 P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 4, 19.²² [Late]
 $\ddot{s}i_2=ba=di$ O. Gardiner 296 2.²³ [D. 20]
 Amenemope 15, 1. [D. 21?] $\ddot{s}i_2=b=di=ya$ Maxims of Ani 8, 8. [D. 21 or 22]
 Also written:
 $\ddot{s}i_2=ba=ta$ O. Turin 57387 10, etc.²⁴ [D. 20]

15 Harris, *Minerals*, 183.

16 Bubastite Portal, pl. 4.

17 Gardiner LEM 126 2

¹⁸—An. V 16. 6 and Sallier J 6. 6

¹⁹The flesh/determinative arose by confusion with the word for “hand.”

20 P. Sallier J 6. 6

21 KRI VI 65 9

²²R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text*, fig. 9.

23 KRI VII 344 11

²⁴Q. Berlin 12398 8: vs. 5: vs. 6 (S. Allam, "Ostracon Berlin P. 12398," *MDAIK* 37,

O. Bembi
[1981] n. 10)

ši₂-ba-ta-{}t{ O. Gardiner 135 2–3.²⁵ [D. 20]

ši₂=wa=ba=ta P. Leiden 352 vs. 1.²⁶ [D. 19]

Written with metathesis:

ši₂=d=b O. Turin 57365 5.²⁷ [D. 19 or 20]

ši₂=ta=ba O. Varille 13 4.²⁸ [D. 19]

Miswritten:

ši₂=b H.O. 70 1, vs. 7. [D. 20]

Possibly also:²⁹

ši₂=ta O. Turin 57458 4, etc.³⁰ [D. 19 or 20]

š=ta₂={}ta{ O. DeM 133 6. [D. 20]

š=ta₂ P. DeM 27 9. [D. 20]

*šib̄ta. N. m.³¹ “STAFF; ROD.” Demotic šbt “stick”; Coptic ΣΒΦΥΦΩΤ “rod, staff.” The object is said to be held in the hand in O. Turin 57365. It is often found in the context of beating. E.g. An. V 16, 5 (concerning tax collection): *iw nʒ iwyw hr ša=b=d, nʒ nh̄syw hr b̄i, iw·sn: “imy it!” iw nn wn. Hw·sn m pr̄t.* “And the attendants have staves and the Nubians have palm rods. They: ‘Hand over the grain!’ But there isn’t any. They beat, splitting (the skin).” P. Berlin 12398 apparently refers to a beaten animal: *Tʒ ɔt mr·ti m-c pʒ ša=ba=ta.* “The she-donkey is injured from the šbt.”³² The masculine gender in spite of the apparent [-ta] ending suggests that the word is that for “rod.” The word has long been identified with

²⁵KRI VII 345, 2.

²⁶J. Černý, “Restitution of, and penalty attaching to stolen property in Ramesside Times,” JEA 23 (1937), p. 188.

²⁷Formerly known as O. Turin 9588.

²⁸KRI VII 238, 6.

²⁹The word ši₂-ta only occurs in the context of beatings.

³⁰P. Turin Cat 2070/154 vs. 2, 9 (Muszynski, “P. Turin Cat. 2070/154,” *Oriens Antiquus* 16 [1977], pl. 10); O. DeM 433 8; O. IFAO 1357 3 (Allam *HOP*, pl. 58); W. Helck, “Eine Briefsammlung aus der Verwaltung des Amuntempels,” *JARCE* 6 (1967), p. 150, Text D, 78.

³¹Once (P. Leiden 352) feminine.

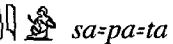
³²Allam wanted to identify the word to šwb “persea branches and fruits,” but this is quite unlikely.

the Semitic root *šbt*: BH שָׁבֵט “rod, staff”; TA شَبَطٌ “rod, staff”; Syr. شَبَطَ (šabṭā) “rod, staff”; Old S. Ar. سَبَطٌ (sabṭūm) “blows”; Eth. ሳብጥ፡ (səbṭ) “pointed rod”; Akk. šabātu “to beat.” The Egyptian *šbd*, exactly like the Hebrew שְׁבָד was often used to administer beatings. Coptic seems to assume a pronunciation with an accented syllable **bá*, but this does not correspond to the Semitic morphological evidence. (H. 220; B. 842; VESO VI A, 5; Wb. IV 442, 13–14.) [5]

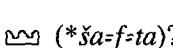
398.  ša=pa=ta El-Hibe.³³ [D. 21]

Also written:

  š=f=ta Name List.³⁴ [D. 18]

  sa=pa=ta P. BM 10053 6, 18, etc.³⁵ [D. 20]

And possibly:

  (*ša=f=ta)? Shishak List³⁶ no. 69. [D. 22]

tapata*. Vb. (and Participle?) only in PN. “TO JUDGE.**” Cf. BH טַפֵּת “to judge”; Ph. שְׁפֹט “judge; consul”; Ug. *tpt* “to judge”; Amorite *špt* “to judge”; Egy. Aram. שְׁפִיטִין “to judge,” BA שְׁפִיטִין “judges”; Akk. šapātu “to judge.” The word is well attested in names, e.g. BH טַפֵּת, חֹשֶׁפֶת, יְשֻׁפֵּת; Ph. שְׁפֹט, שְׁפֹטְבָעֵל,³⁷ *Si-pi-it-bi-²i-il*; EA 292, *Ba¹lu-šipti*; Ug. *Tpt-b¹l*, *Tbt*, *Šipat-ba¹al*, *Šiptu*,³⁸ *Ytp⁹t*, ^m*Bin-Ya-aš-pu-ti*, ^m*Ya-ašp[u]-tu*;³⁹ Amorite ^m*Ša-pa-ta-an*, ^m*Ši-ip-ta-²a-hu-um*, ^m*Ši-ip-ti-an-ta*. (PN I 31, 3; 117, 2; 327, 10.) [5]

³³Spiegelberg, “Briefe der 21. Dynastie,” ZÄS 53, 28, 45.

³⁴Steindorff, “Liste syrischer Sklaven,” ZÄS 38, p. 17, no. 6.

³⁵Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 19. Turin Necropolis Journal (Year 17, B6, 6: Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale*, pls. 1–7).

³⁶*Bubastite Portal*, pl. 4. The name may be reconstructed as **Yu-ša=f=ta=²a*, i.e. Yošapat. As it stands it reads *f-ta-yu-ša=²a*, but the grouping looks very awkward, so perhaps *f* and *ta* were corrections in a hieratic (?) copy that resulted in misplaced hieroglyphic groups.

³⁷Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 424.

³⁸Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 199.

³⁹Kinlaw, *Names in the Akkadian Texts*, pp. 44; 134.

399. šu₅-ma An. III vs. 6, 7. [D. 19]
 *šuma. N. in PN. “NAME.” The first element of the name was identified as the common Semitic word for “name” by Burchardt.⁴⁰ The name can be compared with the Ugaritic personal names Šm-B^cl, mŠu-um-A-na-ti;⁴¹ BH שְׁמוֹאֵל. Cf. BH שְׁמָה; Ph. ⲥⲡ; Ug. šm; Amorite šumum “name”; Ammonite PN Šm²b; Old Aram. ⲥ⠁⠃⠄, BA ⲥ⠁⠄, TA ⲥ⠁⠄; Syr. ﺵ ﻡ (š²mā); Ar. اسم (²ism); Old S. Ar. ⲥ⠁⠄ (s²m); Eth. ⲥ⠁⠄: (s²m); Akk. šumu, all “name.” The form is the sing. construct. The first element of the name has been connected with šm^c “to hear,”⁴² but this is less likely, given the actual occurrence of the name Šm-B^cl. However, cf. no. 400. (PN I 327, 17.) [4]

400. ša=m=č ZÄS 50, 122.⁴³ [D. 18]
 ša=m=č Sinai Stela.⁴⁴
 *šama^ca. Vb. in PN m. “TO HEAR.” The ear determinative of the first example makes the identification certain. Cf. the common Semitic root šm^c: BH עַמְּשָׁפֵךְ; Ph. שְׁמָעַ and the PN’s šm^c[?], šm^cy, šm^cn;⁴⁵ Amorite šm^c “to hear”; Ammonite PN’s ʔlšm^c (“Il/My God has heard”), šm^c (“He hears”); Old Aram., Imp. Aram. שְׁמָעַ, TA שְׁמָעַ; Syr. ﺵ ﻡ (š²ma^c); Ar. سَمِعَ (sami^ca); Old S. Ar. ⲥ⠁⠄ (s²m^c); Eth. ⲥ⠁⠄: (sam^ca); Akk. šemū, all “to hear.” The word is well attested in Semitic onomastica, e.g. BH שְׁמָעַן; Amorite Yísmā^cil, etc. The form is the 3rd m. sing. qatala. (PN I 167, 12.) [5]

401. ša=ma₄=ri=ya PN I 328, 3. [D. 20]
 ša=m=ra=ya Ibid.

⁴⁰ And more recently by Ward, “Semitic Loan Words,” *Orientalia* 32 (1963), pp. 424–25. Ward noted the divine name or epithets Ug. ⲥ⠁⠄ šm-B^cl; Ph. בָּעֵל.عشרת שם בָּעֵל.

⁴¹ Kinlaw, *Names in the Akkadian Texts*, p. 111.

⁴² E.g. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 112.

⁴³ M. Burchardt, “Ein arisch-ostsemitischer Name,” ZÄS 50 (1912), p. 122. The first element appears to be the Indo-Iranian n. div. Mithra. The name occurs, for instance, at Ugarit in the PN m²Mi-it-ra: Kinlaw, *Names in the Akkadian Texts*, p. 81.

⁴⁴ R. Giveon, “A New Kingdom Stela from Sinai,” IEJ 31 (1981), pp. 168–71. M. Görg, *Biblische Notizen* 20 (1983), pp. 19–21.

⁴⁵ Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 194.

 ša=ma=ra=³u₃, *Ibid.*

*šamriya. Vb.? in PN m. “PROTECTION.” Cf. the NWS root šmr:⁴⁶ BH שָׁמֵר “to keep watch; protect,” and the PN’s שָׁמַרְיָה, שָׁמַרְתָּה, etc.; Ph. שָׁמַר “to guard,” and the PN שָׁמַרְתָּה; Amorite šmr “to guard,” PN SA-MA-RA, SA-MA-RI-²il; Imp. Aram. שָׁמַר tD-stem “to take care of oneself.” Perhaps also the Ug. PN’s Tmr, Tmrn (Akk. transcription: ^mŠa-am-ra-na), and the n. loc. Tmry. [4]

402.  =  ša=m=ša Thutmose III List I, 51 b,⁴⁷ c. [D. 18]

 <img alt="Egyptian cartouche symbol" data-bbox="1

⁴⁸  š=m=šu₃, Amenhotpe II Stele.⁴⁸ [D. 18]

⁴⁹ - <img alt="Egypt

Miswritten:

 ša=š Amenhotpe II Stele.⁵⁰

⁴⁶The Eastern and Southern Semitic isogloss is **ntr*. Hebrew has both roots.

⁴⁷The second element is damaged.

⁴⁸Badawi, "Stele Amenophis' II..," *ASAE* 42 (1943), pl. 1, 3.

⁴⁹ Hayes, "Thutmoside Ostraca," *JEA* 46, pl. 9, 4 vs. 2.

⁵⁰Badawi *ASAE* 42 (1943), pl. 1, 9.

⁵¹Huebnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, pp. 32–33, no. 632.

⁵²Even if the word for "house" (*bt*) is mis-written as if it were the word for "daughter"! The name is almost certainly Beth-Shemesh. For an even more certain case of confusion between "daughter" and "house," see the PN *Bi2=—n=t_i2* "A=n=t_{as}" (no. 120, *KRI II* 924, 8).

403.  šu₅=n=b=³u P. Mayer A 3, 22, etc.⁵³ [D. 20]

 šu₅=n=b=i P. BM 10052 3, 3.⁵⁴ [D. 20]

 šn=b=³u P. Abbott 8 a, 21.⁵⁵ [D. 20]

 šu₅=n=b=t Taharqa Kawa Stele.⁵⁶ [D. 25]

 Taharqa Kawa Stele.

*šulbi? N. “TRUMPET; (KOHL) TUBE.” The word occurs most often in the title/occupation *dd m šnb* “one who ‘speaks’ into the *šnb*” in P. Mayer A 3, 22; P. Abbot, and P. BM 10052 3, 3.⁵⁷ In P. Ch. Beatty I vs. a reference is made to the ascension of Horus to the throne: *Twk mi ȝbw Hr s3 ȝst, iw·f hȝy hr tȝyt, mwt·f ȝst cȝ m šnb*. “You are like the happiness of Horus son of Isis when he appeared upon the dais, his mother Isis calling through the trumpet.” The examples from the Kawa stele have been thought to be trumpets as well, but J. Malek has identified the determinative as the kohl tube. In the case of the musical instrument, the determinatives indicate that it was made of metal. The only well known instrument made of metal (apart from percussion instruments) is the trumpet.⁵⁸ Gardiner commented that given the verbs *dd* “to speak” and *cȝ* “to shout,” the instrument was more likely a megaphone.⁵⁹ It is possible that the same term designated both instruments, but it seems more likely that the great goddess Isis was thought to have sounded the trumpet rather than to have shouted through a megaphone on such a grand occasion as her

⁵³P. Abbott 8a, 4; P. Ch. Beatty I vs. (sect. B), 27 (Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke*, vol. 3, p. 23).

⁵⁴Peet, *Tomb Robberies* pl. 26.

⁵⁵Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke*, vol. 3, p. 23.

⁵⁶J. Malek, “Trumpets and Kohl Tubes” (Brief Communication), *JEA* 77 (1991), pp. 185–86 and figs. 1–2.

⁵⁷Most of the references are to an individual named Per-pa-tjau, and once to his son Amen-kha^cu (Abbott 8a, 4).

⁵⁸This was the evidence used by Spiegelberg, “Varia,” *ZÄS* 53 (1917), p. 91, to make the identification. At least two trumpets are extant. See L. Manniche, “Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments,” *MÄS* 34 (1975), p. 31 ff. The bone determinative in the P. BM 10052 example suggests that instruments made from animal horns were also known.

⁵⁹The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. 1, p. 41, n. 21.

son's coronation. Secondly, there is, to my knowledge, no evidence for megaphones in ancient Egypt. The mouthpieces of the trumpets are clearly designed with embouchure in mind and would not have been suitable for speaking through. Since most of the pictorial evidence of the trumpet players is directly connected with the military, it seems reasonable to assume that the instrument was used to convey various commands to the troops (audible above the din of battle), in a manner well known in present-day military tradition—even if no longer used in actual combat. The word is possibly borrowed from the Semitic, but with a shift in meaning. Cf. Ug. *tlb* “flute,”⁶⁰ Akk. *šulpu* “flute.”⁶¹ The word is also probably related to Greek *σάλπιγξ* “trumpet.”⁶² The word seems to be derived from the name of a reed: cf. Akk. *šulpu* “reed,” which probably has an Egyptian cognate *šnp* “reed”; “reed matting” (attested from the Pyramid Texts on). Greek also has a word *σαλπίγγιον* “reed,”⁶³ that might be ultimately related. The basic meaning of the word seems to be “tube.” This would account for the divergent meanings of “flute” (in Akkadian), “trumpet” and “kohl tube” in Egyptian,⁶⁴ and “reed” in both languages. There is a remote possibility, involving mutation and metathesis, that the words are connected to BH **נֶפֶשׁ** “horn.”⁶⁵ (*Wb.* IV 514, 6–7.) [3]

⁶⁰ Played in an ensemble consisting of lyre (*knr*), *tlb*, tambourine (*tp*), cymbals (*mṣltm*), and ivory castanets (*mrqdm dṣn*). The identification of the Ug. with the Akk. is due to J.C. de Moor, “Studies in the new alphabetic texts from Ras Shamra I,” *UF* 1 (1969), p. 177.

⁶¹ Identified by B. Landsberger (“Jahreszeiten im Sumerisch-Akkadischen,” *JNES* 8 [1949], p. 280, n. 106) as a flute by the correspondence GI.KA.NUN.DI = *šul-pu* = *im-bu-bu*.

⁶² H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: 1960), p. 674, maintains that it is a Mediterranean cultural term without a convincing Indo-European derivation.

⁶³ Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, p. 674.

⁶⁴ This may be somewhat supported by the fact that Greek uses the root to designate a number of things involving tubes and tubularity. As a semantic parallel, one might cite Latin *tuba* “trumpet.”

⁶⁵ This is a curved (ram's) horn. The instrument corresponding most closely to the Egyptian trumpet is called the **נֶפֶשׁ**. It is quite possible that although the terminology and instruments crossed linguistic and cultural boundaries, there was not always a direct correspondence. In this context, it is of no little interest that some of the ancient Hebrew trumpet calls are known by name and the actual articulation has been preserved

404. ša=-n=ra=fi An. I 24, 1-2. [D. 19]

ša=-n=ra=fi O. Lit. DeM 1073 3.⁶⁶ [D. 19 or 20]

ša=-n=r=fi O. B. 8.⁶⁷ [D. 19]

Also written:

ša=-r=fi An. I 10, 3.

*šalapa. Vb. “**TO BE DISHEVELLED.**” The word is known from only two literary passages: An. I 24, 1 (of a frightened man): *T3y-{hr}k p3 da=-n-na, d3d3-k ša=-n-ra-fi.* “Your hair stands on end;⁶⁸ your head is *šnrf*.” The text of An. I 10, 3: *Sdm·k rn·n Ky-sp-sn t3 ša=h=qa={-r}. I-šm·f hr iwtn, nn s3w·tw·f, ša=-r=fi m hbsw, bi-n-du dri.* “You have heard the name of Kiki—the dust cloud—who goes over the ground unnoticed, dishevelled, in tightly girded clothes.” Helck suggested an etymology from BH שָׁלַפּ “to draw (sword); take off (sandal).” The root is attested with somewhat more appropriate meanings in Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic: MH שָׁלַפּ “to be loose, hang down, to unfasten”; TA שָׁלַפּ “to loosen, take off, untie”; Syr. شَلَفَ (š²lap̄) “to languish; pull out.” Akkadian *šalāpu* means “to draw out; tear out.” (H. 222; B. 865; Wb. IV 516, 2-3.) [3]

405. P. BM 10053 4, 13. “**GATE.**” See under

406. ša=-r=ma O. Turin 57365 6.⁶⁹ [D. 19 or 20]

ša=ra=ma₄ Med. Habu 28, 50; 46, 7. [D. 20]

Med. Habu 85, 9.

ša=ra=ma P. Harris I 42, 7. [D. 20]

through their prominent position in the High Holy Day services, although the possible original military significance of the particular calls has been lost.

⁶⁶= An. I 24, 1-2.

⁶⁷= An. I 24, 1-2.

⁶⁸Literally, “Bristling seizes you.”

⁶⁹Formerly known as O. Turin 9588.

ša=ra=ma₂ P. Boulaq 6, 4; 6, 5. [D. 21]

Miswritten:

ša=ma P. Boulaq 6, 5.

*šalama? šallema? Vb. “TO GREET; MAKE OBEISANCE; DO HOMAGE.” The contexts render the meaning certain: O. Turin 57365: *St iw hr pd, wn·w r ša=-r=ma n b3w k.* “They come upon their knees that they might do homage to your might.” Med. Habu 28, 50: *Hn·n n:f ša=ra=ma₄·n n:f.* “We have come to him that we might do homage to him.” Med. Habu 46, 7: *iry·n n:f iwy n sp, ša=ra=ma₄·n n:f* “so that we might render praise to him together, that we might greet him.” Med. Habu 85, 9: *‘t·sn nb hr 3s·w n·w ds·sn ... r ša=ra=ma₄ nsw-bity.* “All their limbs were hurrying of their own accord ... in order to greet the King of Upper and Lower Egypt.” P. Harris I *iw·w m ša=ra=ma n rn:f* “and they were doing homage to his name.” P. Boulaq 6, 5: *iw ifw nb ša=ra=ma₂ r-h3t mn s3 mn.* “And all (his) flesh makes greeting before So-and-so, son of So-and-so.” P. Boulaq 6, 4 describes the gesture accompanying the greeting: *iw p3 mn nty iw·f q3i drt·f <hr> ša=ra=ma₂.* “And So-and-so, who will raise his hand(s) in greeting.” The word was identified by Brugsch with the common Semitic root šlm: BH שְׁלָם “to be healthy,” D-stem “recompense”; Ug. šlm “to be healthy,” D-stem “to recompense”; Amorite šlm “to be well”; Ph. שְׁלָם D-stem “to recompense”; Old Aram., Imp. Aram., TA שְׁלָם D-stem “to recompense”; Syr. ﺵَلَمْ (šlm) D-stem “to hand over; to greet”; Ar. سلام (salima) “to be safe,” D-stem “to protect; greet”; Old S. Ar. ﴿šlm (s̄lm) “to sue for peace”; Eth. ሳላማ: (salama) “to greet”; Akk. šalāmu “be unharmed,” D-stem “to keep healthy.” The word occurs as an infinitive and also as a prospective *sdm·f*. The word formation is uncertain. The contexts require a verb meaning “to greet,” but only the Arabic verb (in the D-stem) is attested with this meaning. It is very possible that the Egyptians simply used the nominal form *šalāma “peace” (a greeting) as if it were a verb. Biblical Hebrew does, in fact, use the nominal form in the expression יַדְעַת לְשָׁלוּם (II Kings 10: 13) “to come down to pay respects to (royalty).” (H. 225; B. 867; Wb. IV 528, 7.) [5]

407. ša=ra=ma P. Harris I 78, 11. [D. 20]

Med. Habu 86, 27. [D. 20]

KRI IV 34, 13–35, 1.⁷⁰ [D. 19]

ša=ra=ma₂ P. Boulaq 6, 3. [D. 21]

ša=r=m Pi^cankhy 12. [D. 25]

*šalama? šallema? Vb. “TO LAY DOWN (ARMS); SEEK PEACE.”

The word is used of putting away weapons: P. Harris 78, 11: *Pdt·w h̄w·w ša=ra=ma m-hnw šn·w*. “Their bows and their weapons were laid to rest in their store-rooms.” P. Boulaq 6, 3: *iw nʒy·w h̄y ša=ra=ma₂*. “And their weapons were laid to rest.” Pi^cankhy 12: *Ša=r=m pdt, sfh snw*. “Put down (your) bows; lay down (your) arrows.” The word is also used more generally with the sense of “seeking peace.” Med. Habu 86, 27: *Ku=pa=ra iw r ša=ra=ma*. “Kupara came to seek peace.” KRI IV 1, 13: *Ša=r=ma₂·w r-qrw nʒ n tʒw psḥ·n Bʒw Hm:f*. “They sought peace (namely) all the lands that the might of His Majesty had routed.” Cf. no. 406, and especially BH מִשְׁלָמָה H-stem “to make peace”; TA מִשְׁלָמָה A-stem “to make peace; surrender”; Syr. مُسْلِم (šlm) D-stem “to surrender; make peace”; Ar. سَلَم (slm) D-stem “to lay down (arms); surrender”; Old S. Ar. سَلَم (s̄lm) “to sue for peace”; Eth. አስተሳላማ: (*astasālāma*) “to make peace.” The form is possibly the D-stem, as in Arabic, but the Egyptians may have simply used the nominal form meaning “peace” as if it were a verb. (B. 868, 869; Wb. IV 528, 8–9.) [5]

408. ša=ra=ma₄ Med. Habu 28, 56. [D. 20]

KRI IV 19, 4.⁷¹ [D. 20]

ša=r=ma₄ Israel St. 26. [D. 20]

And as n. loc.:

ša=ra=ma₄ Ramses II Ramesseum.⁷² [D. 19]

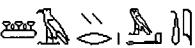
*šalāma. N. “PEACE; GREETINGS.” Med. Habu 28, 56: *Iw·n r*

⁷⁰ Amada Stele of Merneptah.

⁷¹ Parallel to Israel Stele.

⁷² Simons, ETL XIX, 15.

tnw ša=ra=ma₄. “We beseech peace.” The word is also used as a greeting: *Wrw pḥd hr dd ša=r=ma₄.* “The princes, having fallen prostrate, say: ‘Šalāma!’” Cf. nos. 406–7, and especially the nominal forms: BH שָׁלָמַה “peace” (a greeting); Amorite śulmum “peace”; Ammonite šlm “peace, health” (greeting at head of a letter), šlm wšlm “peace and peace” (as conclusion of inscription); TA שְׁלָמָה “peace; health”; Syr. سَلَامٌ (*š̄lāmā*) “peace” (a greeting); Ar. سلام (*salām*) “peace” (in greetings); Old S. Ar. سِلَم (*s̄lm*) “peace” (a greeting); Eth. ሳላም፡ (*salām*) “peace” (a greeting); Akk. šulmu “peace” (a greeting). Albright⁷³ maintained that the word was to be identified with BH שְׁלֵמָה (a type of sacrifice), but there seems no need to resort to this rare word (with a very different meaning) when there is so much evidence in favour of the simple nominal formation meaning “peace,” “health.” (B. 866; *Wb.* IV 528, 7.) [5]

409.  ša=—r=ma=ta An. I 17, 5. [D. 19]

 ša=—r=ma₂=ta P. BM 10068 1 vs., 1.⁷⁴ [D. 20]

*šalmata? N. f. sing. “DELIVERY” OR “PROVISIONS.” The word was translated as “complimentary gift” by Gardiner,⁷⁵ but the context indicates that it consisted of provisions for the troops.

I 17, 5: *Iny-t n-k ša=—r=ma=ta r-h3t-k: qw, l3wt, irp. T3 ipt rm̄t s̄š-ti r-k, h̄r p3 nkt šri r-r-sn: ka=ma=ha 300, 2i=pa2=ta 1800, n̄hw šbn 120, irp 300.*

A šrmt is brought before you: loaves, small cattle, and wine. The number of men is too great for you, but the provisions are too few for them: *kmh*-loaves 300, *p̄t*-loaves 1800, assorted goats 120, wine 300.⁷⁶

In P. BM 10068 the word also seems to be “delivery” rather than “gift”: *Šsp p3 h̄d, n3 h̄3 n3 hbsw n t3 ša=—r=ma₂=ta in s̄š PN.* “Receipt of the silver, the chisels, the clothing of the šrmt by scribe

⁷³VESO, p. 57.

⁷⁴Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 13.

⁷⁵EHT, p. 19*.

⁷⁶This is precisely what the šrmt is said to consist of: “loaves, small cattle, and wine.”

PN.” The word has been linked to the root šlm, and especially to the following nominal forms: BH שְׁלָמִים “gifts,” פְּשָׁלָם “fee; bribe,” פְּשָׁלָם “retribution”; Ph. מְשֻׁלָּם D-stem “retribution”; Ug. šlmm “peace gifts,” and as a verb in Akk. transcription *šallima “to deliver”;⁷⁷ Ar. تَسْلِيمٌ (*taslim*) “handing over, delivery”; Akk. šul-mānu “gift.” The word formation and vocalization are uncertain. (H. 226; B. 871; *Wb.* IV 528, 11.) [5]

410. ša-ra-ga-hi P. Ch. Beatty I 1, 16 rt., 11.
[D. 20]

*šaharaqī? N. pl. “PASSIONS; EXCITED FEELINGS.” The word occurs in a love song: *iry·k tħħħ nħy·s ša-ra-ga-hi* “that you might confound her passions.” Several etymologies have been proposed, but none is convincing. Zonhoven’s proposed link to the root *rqh* “to compound spices, perfumes”⁷⁸ is most unlikely. Görg’s suggested connection with the root *rgc*,⁷⁹ although not phonologically impossible, is unlikely semantically, as the root means “to come to rest” (BH in H-stem), and “to return” (Ar. G-stem). The word is perhaps related to the root *hrg*: BH קַרְבָּן “to grind the teeth”; Syr. مَسْ (hraq) D-stem “to gnash the teeth,” and esp. Ar. حَرَقَ (*haraqa*) “to burn,” tD-stem “to be consumed (by emotion),” تَحَرُّقَ (*taharrug*) “burning desire.” If the etymology is correct, the word exhibits metathesis. The form is apparently a derivation from the Š-causative stem. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

411. ša-ha-qā O. B. 11236.⁸⁰ [D. 19]
 ša-ha-qā P. Ch. Beatty IX vs. B 18, 10. [D. 19]
 ša-ha-qā O. Cairo 25553 7. [D. 20]
 ša-ha-{ħ}=q P. Turin.⁸¹ [D. 19]

⁷⁷Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 182.

⁷⁸L. Zonhoven, “A possible solution for the Word šrgħ (P. Ch. Beatty I 10, 11),” *GM* 38 (1980), pp. 85–87.

⁷⁹M. Görg, “Noch einmal zu šrgħ,” *GM* 47 (1981), pp. 21–22.

⁸⁰= An. I 10, 2.

⁸¹= An. I 10, 2.

 ša=ḥa-qa=-{ -r }⁸² An. I 10, 2. [D. 19]
*šahaqa. N. f. “DUST CLOUD;⁸³ PULVERIZED GRAIN”;⁸⁴ A TYPE OF BREAD.⁸⁵ Demotic *hkī* “dust, powder”; Coptic Σψοτσ, ΣΒψοτσ, Βψοτσ “dust.” In the example from An. I (and parallel texts), the word is used as an epithet of a slovenly person: *Sdm·k rn·n Ky-sp-sn t3 ša=h=qa-r. I-šm·f hr iwtn, nn s3w·tw·f, ša=-r-fi m hbsw, bi=n-du dri.* “You have heard the name of Kiki—the dust cloud—who goes over the ground unnoticed, dishevelled, in tightly girded clothes.” P. Ch. Beatty IX: *hn^c k3p·f m ša=ha-qa n it* “along with fumigating himself with the *shq* of barley.” The word derives from the Semitic root *šhq*: BH קַשְׁׁע “dust, dust cloud,” קַשׁׁׁ “to pulverize (stone),” MH קַשׁׁׁ “to rub, grind, pound (pepper, turnips, grain);” TA ئَكْسَّنْشَّ “clouds,” كَسَّنْشَّ “to grind, rub, pound”; Syr. سَحْق (š^ohaq) “pulverize”; Ar. سحق (sahaqa) “to crush, pulverize”; Akk. šēqu “to smooth; level off.” The word occurs in P. An. I as an epithet or nick-name of a sloppy individual. The root developed the meaning of “threadbare, worn” in several languages. This meaning would not be inappropriate to P. An. I context, but given the Demotic and Coptic survivals, the word much more likely refers to dust or dust clouds. The semantic development from “pulverize” to “crushed grain” to a type of bread is quite straightforward. The word form may be a *qatala* nominal formation. The Coptic would seem to derive from a form with accented second syllable, although with an *i*-vowel. The lack of a feminine marker is unusual. (H. 227; B. 877; Wb. IV 529, 10.) [5]

412. ša=qā Astarte 1, x+4. [D. 18]

*šāqa? Vb.? UNKNOWN, PERHAPS “TO BE IMPELLED, URGED.” The word occurs in the context of the sexual union of the Sky and Earth: *Wn-in-sn hr wcf mi ša-qa*. “Then they bent down as if šq.” Perhaps cf. BH שׁאָקָה “urge, craving, impulse,” MH קְרַבֵּת “to desire (of woman and man),” שׁוֹקֶת “desire, longing”; TA שׁוֹקָה.

⁸²The *-r* group presumably derives from the loaf determinative.

⁸³An LOR 11236 P Turin

84P Ch Beatty IX

T. Ch. Beatty IX
850 Cairo 25553

“eager desire”; Ar. سوق (*swq*) “to drive, urge on”; Eth. ስቁቁ: (*saqʷaqʷa*) “to covet.” (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

413. —   š-ka=ba ra-ka=ba O. Cairo 25759 4.
[D. 19 or 20]

*šakba-rakba. N. “UPPER AND LOWER MILLSTONES.” The word occurs in a difficult text, possibly written in Canaanite. A. Shisha-Halevy identified the word with Hebrew שְׂכָבַב “lower millstone” and בָּרְכָבַב “upper millstone.”⁸⁶ The latter is attested three times in the Bible; the former is attested in post-biblical Hebrew sources, where the words occur together.⁸⁷ Cf. also Ug. *rkb* “millstone”;⁸⁸ TA לִיְכָבָא “upper millstone.” The writing suggests that the Egyptians understood it as a compound word. The determinative indicates nothing other than the foreign origin of the words. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

414.  ša=ku-na KRI IV 3, 6. [D. 19]

*šaqôna / šakuna? N. “WATERING PLACE.” The word occurs in a rather broken context about the enemy encampment: [...] *ihrw mb̩sh Pr-Ba₂=-ra-st. I-ir-w ša-ku-na hr c̩d n 'mr.* “[They pitched their] tents in front of Pi-baraset. At the edge of the canal they made their škn.” Helck’s etymology from נִשְׁׁוֹ “to dwell” is not very convincing because of the water / canal determinatives and because the Semitic words derived from this root refer to more or less permanent settlements. Here the tents (i.e. the “settlement”) have already been mentioned, and the location of the škn, which involves water, is now noted. Helck rejected a connection with the common root šqy “to drink,” but it seems more likely semantically. Cf. BH נְקַשׁ “to water,” נְקַרְתַּשׁ “watering trough”; Ug. šqy “to drink”; TA شَكْنَى “pool; trough”; Σύρ. شَكْنَى “drink, liquid”; Syr. شَقْيَة (šiqyā) “irrigation, watercourse,” شَقْعَة (šaqūtā) “irrigation; channel”; Ar. سَقَى (*saqā*) “to water,” سَقَابَة (siqāya) “watering place”; Old S. Ar. سَقَى (*saqy*) “to irrigate; water (cattle)”; Eth. ስቁቁ:

⁸⁶Shisha-Halevy, “Semitic Text,” *Orientalia* 47 (1978), p. 157.

⁸⁷Baba Bathra II, 1; Tosefta Baba Bathra I, 3.

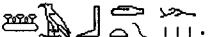
⁸⁸RS.26.135 (KTU 5.22): M. Dijkstra “Another Text in the Shorter Cuneiform Alphabet (KTU 5.22),” *UF* 18 (1986), p. 121.

(*saqaya*) “to irrigate; water”; Akk. *šaqû* “to give to drink,” *mašqītu* “watering place.” The word likely ends with the morpheme *[ānu], which is especially used in abstract nouns. The TA word for “drink” provides a morphologically close parallel. There is also the possibility that the word is not Semitic, but rather the Hittite *šakuni-* “spring, source.” (H. 228; B. 885; *Wb.* IV 550, 5.) [3]

415.  ša=ga=-r Gloss. Gol. 1, 10. [D. 20-1]

 London Leather Roll 12.⁸⁹ [D. 21]

šagara*. N. **BODY OF WATER, PERHAPS “DITCH, DYKE.” Helck’s etymology from Ar. *سَفَرْ (*sgr*) is impossible, as this root does not exist in Arabic. Perhaps cf. MH שָׁגַר “to run, flow”; TA שָׁגַר “to run, flow,” שָׁגַרְנִיָּה “slopes (i.e. land with rivulets)”; Syr. شَغَرَ (*šeğrā*) “a ditch, gutter”; Ar. سُجَرْ (*sjr*) D-stem “to cause to overflow (water).” The root *ngr* is probably a by-form. TA has נְגַר “to flow,” נְגַרָּה “gutter, dyke,” and נְגַרְתָּה “ditch, channel.” (H. 229; B. 889; *Wb.* IV 550, 9.) [4]

416.  O. Turin 57458 4. “**STAFF; ROD.**” See under .

417.  O. Varille 13 4;  O. Turin 57365 5. “**STAFF; ROD.**” See under .

418.  ša=da An. I 20, 5. [D. 19]

šadda*. Vb. **“TO ASSAIL, ASSAULT, BESET.” The word occurs in the context of pilfering from a *mahir*-warrior’s camp: *P3 hrwy iw rirt ša-da m t3wt*. “The enemy has come to despoil you by theft.”⁹⁰ The word was identified by Burchardt with the root *šdd*. Cf. BH טַדֵּשׁ G-stem “to destroy, assail,” D-stem “assault, maltreat,” MH טַדֵּשׁ “to plunder”; Ar. سَدَّ (*sadda*) “plug up; obstruct”; Eth. סָדַּדְךָ: (*sadada*) “to banish; drive out; repudiate.” (H. 231; B. 893; *Wb.* IV 560, 3.) [4]

⁸⁹= Gloss. Gol. 1, 10. *AEO*, pl. 16.

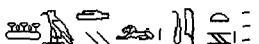
⁹⁰The translation is admittedly redundant, but the Semitic *šdd* was perhaps less precise than the Egyptian word *t3wt* “theft.”

419.  ša=di=ru₂=ta-{\{t\}} An. I 24, 3. [D. 19]

Miswritten:

-  ša=di=ta-{\{t\}} An. I 23, 3.

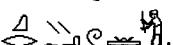
*šadilôta? N. (f.) pl. “RAVINE, CHASM.” The meaning of the word can be fairly well ascertained from the contexts: An. I 23, 3: *Mk* {*hr*} *t3 mwyt*⁹¹ *m ša-di=ta n mdwt mh* 2000. “Behold the descent is a ravine 2,000 cubits deep.” An. I 24, 3: *N3 ša-di=ru₂=ta hr t3y·k w̄c rwi3, p3 dw c̄h̄c hr t3y·k kti*. “The ravines are on one side of you, and the mountain rises on the other side of you.” The word has defied identification. Perhaps it is related to the Arabic *sadala* “to hang down; fall down; lower,” VIII (*?ifta^cala*) “to descend.” The root is not well attested in other languages. Akkadian *šadālu* means “to be wide.” Another possibility is a nominal form derived from the Š-stem of *š̄u* “to descend.” Cf. BH מָרַד “descent, slope,” MH הָרְדָה “descent.” If so, there is metathesis of the second and third consonants. In any case, the writing with the *u* indicates the *[á] of the feminine plural morpheme had shifted to [ô]. (H. 232; Wb. IV 568, 11.) [2]

420.  An. I 23, 3. “RAVINE.” See under
.

⁹¹Perhaps a miswriting of *mu₃-rid*, the second element being a corruption of *rd* “leg,” and the writing kit determinative being a corruption of the leg determinative plus stroke.

Δ

421.  Horus and Seth 7, 10. “**TO DWELL, TAKE UP TEMPORARY RESIDENCE.**” See under .

422.  Qadesh Poem §215. “**SHIELD BEARER.**” See under .

423.  $q=b=c u_2$ Thutmose III List I, 114 b. [D. 18]

 Thutmose III List I, 114 a, c; List II 8.¹

 $q=b=c a$ Amenhotpe II Stele.² [D. 18]

 $qi_2=bi=c a$ Ramses II Luxor.³ [D. 19]

Also written with *k*:

 $k=b=c$ Thutmose III List I, 41 a, b.

 Thutmose III List I, 41 c.

gib^ca*. N. only in n. loc. “HILL.**” Cf. BH **הַרְבָּה** and the n. loc. **הַרְבָּה**, “hill”; Ug. *gb^c* “hill”; TA **ଶୁଣ୍ଠାନ୍ତିକା** “hill.” There may be an attempt to indicate an *i*-vowel in the example from the Ramses II list. The word is masculine, like the Ugaritic word and the BH n. loc. (B. 897.) [5]

424.  $qab=c a$ P. Bib. Nat. 198 II, 13.⁴ [D. 20–1]

 P. Bib. Nat. 198 II, vs. 2.

qaba^ca*. Vb. “TO TEASE, MOCK.**” The text reads:

*Hr inn twk dd ^crw nʒ, iw·i m nmhw, iw Nsw-Imn qab=c a irm·i, iw·i
šsp·w ... I-ir·(i) šsp qab=c a n w^c nb.*

¹Simons, *ETL* p. 123.

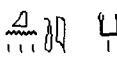
²Badawi, “Stele Amenophis’ II.,” *ASAE* 42 (1943), pl. 1, 28.

³Simons, *ETL* p. 152, XXI 23.

⁴*LRL* 68, 3.

Now, if you say “get out of here,” then I will be an orphan, and Nisu-Amun will tease me, and I will get it ... I get teased by absolutely everybody.

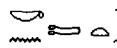
Helck associated the word with BH עֲבַדֵּת “to cheat, defraud.” The etymology may be correct, but the semantic development is not clear. Arabic قَبَعْ (qaba'a) means “to grunt (pig), trumpet (elephant).” The word may be connected with BH עָפֹעַ “to attack; take advantage of.” It is also possible that עֲבַדֵּת is a metathesized variant of עַבְדָּת. (H. 233; Wb. V 25, 9.) [3]

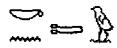
425.  ◦ *q= - n = ta* KRI II 217, no. 98. [D. 19]

Also written with *k*:

 *k = n = tu₂* Thutmose III List I, 63 a. [D. 18]

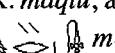
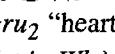
 Thutmose III List I, 44 a, b, c.

 *k = n = {t} = tu₂* Thutmose III List I, 63 c.

 *k = n = tu₄* Thutmose III List I, 63 b; 70 a,⁵ b, c.

ginta*. N. (f.) in n. loc. “WINE PRESS.**” Cf. BH פֶּתֶן; Amarna n. loc. *Gimtu-*, *Ginti-*, *Giti-*; Ug. *gt*, “wine press”; Syr.  (*gat*) “wine press.” The non-assimilation of *nun* is noteworthy. [5]

426.  ◦ *qa = ra* O. DeM 256 7. [D. 19 or 20]

qâlê?* N. m. “ROASTER.**” The word occurs in a list of recipients of bread, listed mostly by titles and professions. The word is likely related to the Semitic root *qly*: BH הַלְּקָה; TA ئَلَّقَ; Syr. لَّهُ (qâlâ); Ar. قَلْ (qlw); Eth. ΦΛΩΦ: (*qalawa*); Akk. *maqlû*, all “to roast, parch, fry (especially of grain).” Cf.  *m = ga = r* “to broil” (no. 227) and  *ma₄ = qa = ru₂* “hearth” (no. 216). The form is likely the G-stem participle. (Not in Wb.) [4]

427.  ◦ *qi₂ = r* An. I 7, 5. [D. 19]

 P. Turin 2624.⁶ [D. 19 or 20]

⁵Without determinative.

⁶= An. I 7, 5. Included in Fischer-Elfert, *Anastasi I*.

Also written with *g*:



428. *qa-ru₂-ya* (*qi₂-ru₂-ya?*) Tomb of Si-mut.⁸ [D. 19]

Also written without r :



gâra?* Vb. “TO DWELL, TAKE UP TEMPORARY RESIDENCE.**” Demotic *gyl* “to stay as an alien,” Coptic *σοείλε* “to dwell at, visit.” In the Tale of Horus and Seth, the word occurs in the second recounting of the “parable” that Isis tells to Seth: *iw w^c rm̄t dridri q̄ši r p̄sy-i lh̄y r-hn^c p̄sy-i šri, iw·i dit n:f^cqw*. “And a stranger has taken up residence in my barn with my son, and I am giving him provisions.” In the first recounting, the verb *hmsi* “to sit, dwell” is used. The example from the Tomb of Si-Mut occurs in a pious speech in praise of Mut: *Ink s̄s n dm̄i·s; šwšw q̄ry n niwt·s*. “I was a weakling of her town, a pauper who sojourned in her city.”⁹ Both cases clearly deal with dwelling and seem to involve the notion of

7=An. I 7, 5.

⁸Theban Tomb 409: KRI III 336, 13; M. A-Q. Muhammed, "Two Theban Tombs: Kyky and Bak-en-Amun," *ASAE* 59 (1966), pp. 157–84 and pls. 1–107; J.A. Wilson, "The Theban Tomb (No. 409) of Si-Mut, called Kiki," *INES* 29 (1970), pp. 187–92.

⁹But cf. Wilson, *JNES* 29 (1970), p. 190, who translated "a beggar."

hospitality to strangers, so prominent in the Hebrew scriptures, although this is not explicit in the Si-mut example. Černý identified the word with Semitic *gwr* “to sojourn.”¹⁰ Cf. BH יְגַר “to live as a resident alien,” Ph. מְגֻרָּה “dwellers”; Ug. *gr* “to sojourn”; Syr. ئَجْرَ (gwr) “to commit adultery”; Ar. جُرْ (gwr) III “to be neighbours,” IV “to grant asylum”; Old S. Ar. ܓ (gr) “to visit a sanctuary”; Eth. ታገዥር፡ (tagāwar) “to live as neighbours.” The root is probably also attested in the name *Ku-r B-e-r* (no. 473). The connection is semantically very attractive, but there are some phonological difficulties. The Egyptian writing indicates the presence of ²*aleph* and not *yodh* or *waw*. There may, however, have been confusion with the word *qri* meaning “to approach” (no. 430) and the derived preposition “to, towards; with” (no. 431). In the Horus and Seth passage the word occurs as the infinitive; the Tomb of Si-mut example is used as an Egyptian participle. (*Wb.* V 59, 8–9.) [4]

429. *qa=ru₂=²a* (*qi₂=ru₂=²a?*) Horus and Seth 7, 10.
[D. 20]
 qa=ru₂=²u Maxims of Ani 8, 6. [D. 21 or 22]
 qa=ru₂ O. Cairo 25766 3. [D. 19]

Also written without *r*:

qa=²u Horus and Seth 7, 6.

Also as PN with f. and m. sing. definite article:

qa=ru₂=²a P. Wilbour A 32, 18. [D. 20]
 q=r=² KRI III 676, 1; 686, 10. [D. 19]
 q=r=²t KRI III 681, 6.
 q=r=ya KRI III 689, 3.

qa=ru₂=²u P. Wilbour A 26, 39; 77, 5.

Also written with *k*:

ka=ru₂=²a P. Wilbour A 41, 44.

gēru?* N. m. “VISITOR; ALIEN; VAGABOND.**” In the Horus and Seth passage, the word refers to a “stranger” (*rmt dridri*) who has

¹⁰Černý, *Ety. Dict.* p. 326.

taken up temporary residence in a barn. In O. Cairo 25766, a prayer to Amun-Rē^c, the speaker is residing in the Delta, but longs to see Thebes: *Ink qa=ru₂ n Pr-T₃-mhy. Mi di·k ptr·i m niwt t₃ c[nt].*¹¹ “I am a visitor to Pi-Ta-mehī (“House-of-the-Northland”¹²). Come! Let me see something of the City, the Beau[tiful] One.” In the Maxims of Ani, the word is used of one who has lost his possessions: *Ir p₃ ws_r m tri snf, sw qa=ru₂=²u m t₃ rnpt.* “As for the one who was wealthy last year, he is a vagabond this year.” Cf. no. 428, and especially the nominal forms: BH 𢃠 “resident alien,” MH 𢃠 “dweller; stranger”; Ph. 𢃠 “dwellers”; Ug. gr “alien”,¹³ Syr. ܓܻܻܻ (giyurā) “alien; stranger.” M. Görg’s suggestion that the word is Egyptian and was taken into Hebrew as a loanword is unfounded, as is his alternative proposal that they are cognates deriving from a common substratum.¹⁴ The word has a sound Semitic etymology. In Egyptian the word appears only in Late Egyptian and is very likely a borrowing from West Semitic. (*Wb.* V 59, 8–9; *PN* II 283, 17; 327, 24; 328, 1.) [4]

430. *q=r=*² Horemheb.¹⁵ [D. 18]

Israel St. 16. [D. 19]

q=r=ru₂ KRI I 187, 14. [D. 19]

qa=ru₂ Louvre St.¹⁶ [?]

**qara^aa*. Vb. “TO APPROACH; TO BE AT HAND.” KRI I 187, 14: *Qri·f r st·k.* “He approaches your place.” The example from the Israel stele is a little less certain, but occurs in the context of the king’s reestablishing order: *di·f qri nmhw nṣy·sn niwt* “that he (the king) might cause the poor to approach their towns.” Horemheb

¹¹The eye determinative and spacing make the restoration certain.

¹²This place name is not in H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, nor is it listed in the Onomastica.

¹³RS26.135 M. Dijkstra, “Another Text in the Shorter Cuneiform Alphabet,” *UF* 16 (1986), p. 121. The word is contrasted with *yšb* “citizen.”

¹⁴“Der ‘Fremde’ (*gēr*): ein Fremdwort im Alten Testament?” *Biblische Notizen* 25 (1984), pp. 10–13.

¹⁵A.H. Gardiner, “The Coronation of King Haremhab,” *JEA* 39 (1953), pl. II, 3.

¹⁶*Wb. Belegstellen*, 58, 3(4).

inscription: *Qri·n sw k3w dfw, iw·f m hwn.* “Food and sustenance came to him when he was a child.” Cf. the Semitic root *qr²*: BH נָרַק “to happen, befall, meet”; Ug. *qry* “to meet, to stand opposite”; TA קָרֵךְ “to join, meet”; Ar. قَرَوْ (qrw) “to seek earnestly, follow.” The word is not attested with the meaning “to approach” in the Semitic languages, however the semantic field of the root, “meeting, joining together,” easily leads to such a meaning. It is also possible that the Egyptian verb is a back-formation from the compound preposition (*r*)-*qri* (next entry). Ward¹⁷ also connected the word with the Semitic root *qry*. He maintained, however, that the Egyptian was not borrowed from the Semitic, but that they were related cognate roots. The lack of evidence for the root in earlier stages of Egyptian tends to support the Semitic origin of the word. Černý’s suggested identification with Semitic *gll* “to roll” is quite farfetched.¹⁸ The word is used as a prospective *sdm·f* after *rdi*, and as a *sdm·n·f* preterite form. (Wb. V 59, 1–4, 6–7.) [4]

431.  *qa=ru₂* P. Berlin 8523 20,¹⁹ etc.²⁰ [D. 21?]

 P. BM 10375 16.²¹ [D. 20–1]

 P. BM 10302 vs. 4.²² [D. 20–1]

 *qa=ru₂=²a* P. Pushkin 127 2, 7. [D. 21]

[] *[q=r=]pu₃* KRI IV 5, 11. [D. 19]

 *qa=ru₂=²u* P. Turin 1973 7.²³ [D. 20–1]

Also written without *r*:

 *qa=²u* Wenamun 2, 45; 2, 47; 2, 77. [D. 21]

 *qa=²u* Wenamun 1, 21; 1, 22.

¹⁷Ward, *Orientalia* 31 (1962), p. 400. Ward also derived the word meaning “visitor,” “alien” from this root.

¹⁸Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 326.

¹⁹Spiegelberg, “Varia,” ZÄS 53 (1917), p. 108.

²⁰P. BM 10412 6–7 (*LRL*, p. 55); P. BM 10052 vs. 8, 12 (Peet, *Tomb Robberies*); P. BM 19412 6–7 (*LRL*, p. 55).

²¹*LRL*, p. 45, 9.

²²J.J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications*.

²³*LRL*, p. 3, 7.

P. Jur. Turin 4, 12. [D. 20]

qa=²u₃ Osorkon St.²⁴ [D. 22]

qara²a*. N. / Inf. used as a compound preposition (*r*)-*qri* (*n*). “TO, TOWARD; OPPOSITE; BEFORE (A PERSON), NEAR-BY, WITH (A PERSON).**” P. Berlin 8523: *iw·k šm r qa=ru₂ Wr-Dhwty, pʒy šs hsb it n pr Wsir, iw tʒyt·k tʒy šc₄t m drt·k.* “And you will go to Wer-Thoth, that grain account scribe of the temple of Osiris, taking this letter in your hand.” KRI IV 5, 11: *‘h̄c r [qr]²u₃ Pr-⁹* “to stand by Pharaoh.” P. Jur. Turin: PN *wn·f qa=²u n·f* “PN, with whom he had been together.” The phrase frequently occurs in Wenamun: (1, 21) *I-ir nhʒy hrw dy qa=²u n·i*. “Spend a few days here with me.” (2, 77) *iw·i dd <n> nʒ rm̄t nty ‘h̄c qa=²u n·s* “and I spoke with the people who were by her.” Cf. no. 430, and especially BH **תַּחֲנָן**? “towards, against.” [4]

432. *q=r=⁹u* Qadesh Poem §11,²⁵ (L₃₊). [D. 19]

q=r=⁹u₂ Qadesh Poem §11, (K₁).

qa=ra=⁹a Qadesh Poem §11, (B₁).

q=r=⁹ KRI IV 5, 9. [D. 19]

Also written:

q=c=—r=⁹a O. Turin 57365.²⁶ [D. 19]

qil̄c₄a*. N. m. “SHIELD.**” Demotic *gl̄c* “shield.”²⁷ The word is used metaphorically of the king as protector of the troops in battle: *Sbty dr m rk·f, pʒy·sn q=r=⁹u hrw n ‘hʒ.* “A strong wall in the nick of time,²⁸ their shield on the day of battle.” Similarly of Amun (KRI IV 5, 9): *Wd·sn, drt ntr hn̄c·w, Imn m-di·sn m q=r=⁹.* “They proceeded, the hand of god being with them, and Amun being with them as a shield.” Černý proposed an etymology from the Semitic

²⁴G. Legrain “Deux stèles trouvées à Karnak en février 1897,” ZÄS 35 (1897), p. 14, 1. 3.

²⁵KRI II 6, 6–10.

²⁶Formerly known as O. Turin 9588. Also JEA 19, pl. 29, 1.

²⁷Černý’s proposed link to Coptic *ςελ* “weapon” is not very convincing.

²⁸Literally, “in his time.”

root *ql^c*, cf. BH עַלְבָּק “slingshot,” מַלְעִימָן “curtains”; Ug. *ql^c* “shield”;²⁹ TA ئَلْعَنْ “curtains; sail; curtained enclosure”; Syr. ﻫَلَأْ (*qela^c*) “sling; sail”; Ar. قَلْعَة (*qil^c*) “sail.” The semantic development is not clear, but the notion of spreading material out (drawing curtains; wind filling sails) may be involved.³⁰ Ugaritic provides the strongest evidence, and perhaps the word was borrowed from this or a kindred dialect. (*Wb.* V 59, 11–14.) [4]

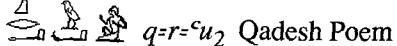
433. *q=ri=cu* P. Bol. 1094 9, 5;³¹ P. Leiden I 368 6.³²
[D. 19]



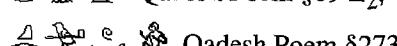
Med. Habu 16, 16. [D. 20]



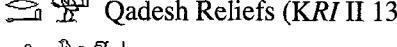
Med. Habu 9, 12.



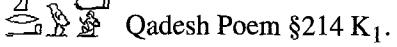
q=r=cu Qadesh Poem §205³³ A; L₂. [D. 19]



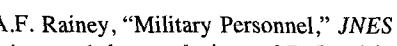
Qadesh Poem §89 L₂,³⁴ §205 R; §214³⁵ K₂.



Qadesh Poem §273 L₁, L₂.³⁶



Qadesh Reliefs (KRI II 137, 13).



Qadesh Poem §214 K₁.

²⁹A.F. Rainey, “Military Personnel,” *JNES* 24 (1965), p. 22, based on Akkadian translations and the conclusions of B. Landsberger, “Akkadisch *aspu* = ‘Schleuder’, *assuku* = ‘Schleuderstein’,” *AfO* 18 (1957–58), p. 379, n. 8.

³⁰But cf. G.L. Eichler, “On weaving etymological and semantic threads: The Semitic root *QL^c*,” in T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, and P. Steinkeller, eds., *Lingering Over Words. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran* (Atlanta: 1990), pp. 163–69. Eichler maintains that the Egyptian is a loan from the Semitic, but he sees the semantic development from “twisting around” to “hurling, sling” (whence “slingshot” in Hebrew) on the one hand, and to “plaiting” on the other, and he maintains that the type of shield in question was plaited.

³¹LEM 8, 16.

³²J.J. Janssen, *OMRO* 41, p. 39. KRI II 895, 5.

³³KRI 66, 1–6.

³⁴KRI II 33, 4.

³⁵KRI II 68, 13–15.

³⁶KRI II 83, 13; 83, 14.

qi-ra-^c Qadesh Reliefs (KRI II 138, 11).

Goyon, Hammamat 89, 10. [D. 20]

Goyon, Hammamat 89, 11.

q=r-^c KRI V 395, 5–6. [D. 20]

q=r-^c P. Leiden I 366–367 3.³⁷

Also written:

q=c-r=cu Qadesh Poem § 273³⁸ S.

Also written with metathesis:

q=c-r Qadesh Poem § 215³⁹ S.

Qadesh Poem § 205 S.

KRI V 91, 9.

q=c-ra St. London 166.⁴⁰ [D. 19]

q=c-r=yu Qadesh Poem § 214 S.

qilcā?* *qallācū?* N. m. (pl.) “SHIELD BEARER.**” The word is well established by the captions to the reliefs, e.g. Medinet Habu 9, 12, where the caption *ku=d-n n Hnw, q=r=cu n Pr-c3 c.w.s.* “charioteers of the Residence, *qr̄c* of His Majesty, l.p.h.” occurs over a scene of archers and shield-bearers on chariots.⁴¹ Some texts indicate the close relationship of charioteer and shield-bearer by use of the possessive article. Thus, Ramses II (Qadesh Poem § 205⁴²): *Hr ir dr ptr Mnn3, p3y-i q=r=cu, r dd inh wi r ht cš3t htrw, wn-in:f hr bdš ib·f.* “Now when Menena, my shield-bearer, saw that a large number of chariots had surrounded me, his heart grew weak.” (P. Bol. 1094 9, 5): *P3y:f q=ri=cu, wn t3y:f b3k m-d3:k <m> Mn-nfr, hr·f.* “(As for) his shield-bearer, whose servant was with you in

³⁷KRI II 911, 7.

³⁸KRI II, 83, 16.

³⁹KRI II 69, 1–5.

⁴⁰James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc.*, Pt. 9.

⁴¹Another Med. Habu relief depicts 11 persons, of whom about 5 bear shields. The caption reads: *ku=d-n, hryw ma-ša-ka-ba, q=ri=cu m p3 htr c3* “charioteers, overseers of the *mškb, qr̄c* of the great chariotry.” For a clear depiction of shield-bearers working closely with archers, see Med. Habu 72.

⁴²And again in § 273.

Memphis, take care of him.” The word is also well attested as a title.⁴³ Cf. no. 432. The word formation of the original is uncertain, but could possibly be the “professional” *qattāla* formation. Then again, this may be an Egyptian innovation, perhaps as a *nisbe* derivative from the word meaning “shield.” [4]

434. *q-ri-^cu* P. Bol. 1094 9, 5.⁴⁴ [D. 19]

**qala^ca?* Vb. “TO SERVE AS SHIELD-BEARER.” The word occurs in a model letter: *I-ir:f iy hr H3rw m t3 wnwt hr 5 rnpt r t3y, iw:f im hr q-ri-^cu n In-w3w.* “He is just now returning from Syria/Palestine after the past 5 years, where he has been serving as shield-bearer to Inwaw.” Cf. the previous two entries. The word seems to occur as an infinitive in a “pseudo-verbal” construction with the preposition *hr*. It is, however, possible that the text is faulty, and that the verb *iry* “to do,” “to serve as,” is wanting. [4]

435. *qu₄-r=ma₄-ta* KRI IV 9, 11. [D. 19]

**gumrāta?* N. (f. pl.) “ASHES; SMOULDERING EMBERS.” Demotic *krb* or *krm* (f.) “ashes,” and probably Coptic *S^Aκρμτc* (m. and f.) “smoke; fire,” *S^Aκρμec* (m. and f.) “ashes.”⁴⁵ The general meaning of the word can be ascertained from the context: *iw-tw hr dit ht m p3 3h3y; n3y.w hnw qa=-r=ma₄-ta.* “And fire was set to their camp; their tents were *qrmt*.” It is uncertain whether the word means specifically “ashes” (thus conveying the idea of total destruction) or “glowing embers” (which would convey a vivid picture of the scene). Perhaps cf. the root *gmr*: Ug. *gmr* “burning coal”; TA, JPA “burning coal”; Syr. (*g²murtā*) “live coals”; Ar. *(jamra)* “live coal; smouldering embers”; Akk. *gumāru* “charred wood; charcoal.” If the derivation is correct, then there is metathesis of the second two consonants. The Coptic words exhibit quite a wide range of meanings, all having to do with smoke, fire, and ashes. This may be a case of semantic generalization as opposed to particularization. A connection with the

⁴³E.g. P. Leiden I 368 6; P. Leiden I 366–367 3; P. Leiden I 368 6; KRI V 395 5–6.

⁴⁴LEM 8, 15.

⁴⁵So Burchardt and Černý, *Ety. Dict.* 62. Cf. Vycichl, *Dict. étym.*, 86b.

Akkadian *karmu* “ruins, rubble” is less likely. (H. 235; B. 919; *Wb.* V 60, 12.) [3]

436. $qu_4 = -r = na = ta$ KRI IV 8, 15. [D. 19]

- KRI IV 8, 4-5; 8, 7; 8, 9-10.⁴⁶

-  KRI IV 8, 12.

- au̯-ra-na̯-ta* KRI IV 7, 13.

-  Med. Habu 22 24 [D. 20]

- au-₁-r-nu-s-ta* KRI IV 8, 14

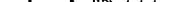
- au-e-ra-na-o-ta* Med. Habu 23, 18

- M-1 H-1 22 12 11 23 23

- su-ang-sa. Med. Habu 22.

- *éurlata, éurlēta, N. (f.) sing. / pl. "EOPESKIN: UNCIRCUMCISE"

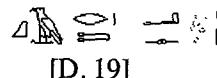
437.                                 

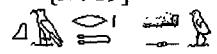
-  *a=r=ta*, Thutmoses III List I, 11 a. [D. 18]

⁴⁶The example in 8.9–10 is damaged.

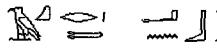
⁴⁷It is possible that in I Sam. 18:25 ff. that the word refers to the whole phallus rather than just the foreskin. This would correspond exactly to the Egyptian usage.

 *q=r=ta₅* Thutmose III List I, 11 c.

 *qa=ra=ta₅* KRI I 32, no. 63; II 177, no. 25.
[D. 19]

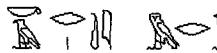
 *KRI II 176–77.*

 *KRI II 163, 41.*

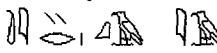
 *KRI I 32, A, 4.*

 *qu₃=ru₂=ta₅* Med. Habu 101.⁴⁸ [D. 20]

Also written with *k*:

 *ka=ra=ta* Thutmose III List I, 222.

Possibly also with metathesis:

 *ta=—r=qa* An. I 22, 8.⁴⁹

**qarta*. N. (f.) only in n. loc. “TOWN, CITY.” Cf. BH קְרָתָה constr. קְרַתָּה “town, city,” קְרַתָּה (pausal form) “town, city,” and the n. loc. קְרַתָּה; Ph. קְרַתָּה “city”; Moabite קְרַתָּה “city”; Ug. *qrt*, *qryt* “city,” written in Akk. transcription *qa-ri-t[u₄]*;⁵⁰ BA קְרִתָּה, TA קְרִתָּה “town, city”; Syr. مَرْتَة (q²ritā) “town, village”; Ar. قَرْيَة (*qarya*) “village.” None of the writings in Egyptian texts indicate the retention of the final *yodh*. Parallels are to be found in BH, Ph., Ug., and TA. There are numerous of by-forms of this word. A fairly extensive list of these can be found in J. Huehnergard’s work.⁵¹ (B. 929–32; 1023; VESO X D, 16.) [5]

438.  *qa=—r=di₄-na* P. Salt 124 2, 9.⁵² [D. 20]

 *q=r=di₄-na* O. Cairo 25285.⁵³ [D. 20]

⁴⁸ Under the name *R^cmssw* in l. 27.

⁴⁹ As suggested by Chabas, but not entirely endorsed by Gardiner, *EHT*, p. 24*, n. 15. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, pp. 189–90 associates the name with the Syrian n. loc. Terqa known from Mari. The occurrence of *Qiryat-^cIn(a)bu* a few lines earlier perhaps supports the reading assuming metathesis. A n. loc. **Qiryat-^cEl* is not attested, but one could compare קְרִתָּה-בָּעֵל.

⁵⁰ Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, pp. 26–27, no. 39.

⁵¹ Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 286, n. 86.

⁵² Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), p. 243 ff.

⁵³ KRI VII 453, 12.

qa=ra-di-na Urk. IV 669, 15. [D. 18]

Also written:

qa=ra-di₄ H.O. 88 rt. 5. [D. 19 or 20]

qa-di₄-na O. Cairo 25509 vs. a, 4.⁵⁴ [D. 19]

Written with metathesis:

qa-di₄-ra O. Cairo 25618 vs. 2. [D. 19]

garzina*. N. m. “AXE; PICK-AXE.” Urk. IV 669, 15 deals with a ceremonial object: *nbw qa=ra-di-na s̄m m hsbd* “a *qrdn* of gold inlaid with lapis lazuli.” Otherwise it occurs as a worker’s tool, listed, for instance with *ḥ₃(nr)* “chisel.”⁵⁵ The example from O. Cairo 25509 is said to be made of bronze. The link to the BH **גַּרְזִין “quarrying axe” has been long known.⁵⁶ The writings with metathesis may well reflect the Semitic original, for metathesized forms of the root are attested in Hebrew and Aramaic. It is also possible that they designate different tools. Cf. Epigr. Heb. “axe,” BH נֶרֶז “to cut” and נֶגֶז “to cut,” *מְגַנְּזָה “axe”; Ug. *g_{zr}* “cutter, cleaver?”; Old Aram., Imp. Aram. נֶגֶז “to cut,” TA נֶגֶז “to cut”; Syr. *g^zzar* (*g^zzar*) “to hew stone”; Ar. جَزَر (jazara) “to butcher”; Eth. **ገ܊ܲܳ**: (*gazara*) “to circumcise.” The word is probably related etymologically to *ma=—r=qa=da=na* (no. 186, a metal tool). Both these words may have a suffixed *n*.⁵⁷ (H. 237; B. 934; VESO X D, 17; Wb. V 66, 7.) [5]

439. *qu₃=ta={t}* P. Koller 1, 5. [D. 19]

quutta?* N. f. “SPEAR; SHAFT(?)” This *hapax* occurs in a list of chariot equipment: *p₃ ma=—r=ḥa*, *p₃ ḥa=—r=pa*, *t₃ sfd*, *t₃ qu₃=ta={t}*, *p₃ skhm*, *p₃ ²as=ba=r* “the lance, the ḥrp-sword, the sft-sword, the *qt*, the *skhm*, the whip.” The word may be related to the root *qnw*: Ar. قَنَّة (qanāh) “spear; shaft,” and possibly Eth. **ቀኬት:

⁵⁴Sim. O. Cairo 25803 vs., 1, with an uncertain sign following the *na* group.

⁵⁵E.g. P. Salt 124 2, 9; H.O. 88 4.

⁵⁶Koehler-Baumgartner’s suggested links (p. 195a) to the Ug. PN *ḥrṣn*, Ar. كَرْزَن (karzan), Akk. *ḥaṣ(s)innu*, and Sumerian *ḥaṣi(nna)* are not convincing. The word has a very good Semitic etymology from *grz/gzr*.

⁵⁷Cf. Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, p. 504, 1 t.

(*qannōt*) “goad.” The Arabic root may be a by-form of *qyn/qwn*: BH *גַּנְתָּא “spear,” MH פַּנְתָּא, פַּתָּא; TA ئَنْتَّا, ئَنْتَّا; Syr. ܩܾܹܻ (qattā), all “(spear) shaft; (knife) handle.” The wood determinative suits the meaning “shaft” somewhat better than “spear,” which would likely have had the metal determinative. Wintermute⁵⁸ suggested a connection with Arabic قِدَّ (qidd) “strip (of leather),” but that etymology is not very convincing. Lesko’s translation⁵⁹ as “knot” is without foundation. (B. 945; *Wb.* V 22, 1.) [4]

440.  qu₄=da=ru₂=ta P. Harris I 64c, 10. [D. 20]

 P. Harris I 70b, 11.

Miswritten:

 qu₄=ra=ru₂=ta⁶⁰ P. Harris I 33b, 10.

 p=3=di=[] London Stele 588 8.⁶¹ [D. 20]

**qutōrta* or *quṭarōta*. N. (f. pl.?) “INCENSE.” All examples read *sntr qdrt*, suggesting that *sntr* is here used as the generic, which is specified as *qdrt*. In P. Harris the word is listed along with *sntr* “incense.” The word has long been identified with the root *qtr*: BH נִתְרָה “incense; smoke”; Punic תְּרֵתָה “perfumes”; Ug. *qtr* “smoke; incense”; Amorite *qaṭarum* “smoke; incense”; TA ئَرَقَّ, ئَرَقَّ “incense”; Ar. قَارَّ (qutār) “aroma”; Old S. Ar. ܡܶܩܶܪ (mqtr) “incense altar”; Eth. ፩. ፩. (gettārē) “incense”; Akk. *qutrīnu* “incense.” The exact word formation of the original is uncertain, but the Hebrew is either a *qutult-*, or as taken by Bauer and Leander,⁶² a *quṭalt* form. In Aramaic, the *o*-vowel seems to have originated from *[á]. The *u*-vowel indicated in the Egyptian writing may represent the feminine plural ending *[ōt], but the word is probably singular, with the *u/o*-vowel misplaced in the Egyptian. (H. 239; B. 947; *Wb.* V 82, 3.) [5]

⁵⁸Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 140.

⁵⁹Lesko, *Dictionary IV*, p. 6.

⁶⁰The *ra* group very likely resulted from a misreading of a hieratic *d*, as the signs are extremely similar in appearance.

⁶¹J.J. Janssen, “An unusual donation stela,” *JEA* 49, pl. 9 and pp. 67, 8; 69, n.o.

⁶²Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, p. 469.

441. {} *qid-šu*₄ Urk. IV 649, 5; 730, 9, etc.⁶³ [D. 18, 19]
 {} Urk. IV 689, 7.
 {} Thutmose III List I, 1. [D. 18]
 {} *qid-šu* An. I 22, 4.
 {} *qid-š* Urk. IV 658, 11; KRI II 4, 8, and freq. [D. 18, 19]
 {} P. Sallier III passim; KRI I 24, 15. [D. 19]
 {} KRI I 24, 14. [D. 19]
 {} Gloss. Gol. 4, 3. [D. 20–1]
 {} *qid-ši* Thutmose IV, Chariot;⁶⁴ O. DeM 1005 3.
 [D. 18, 19]
 {} An. I 19, 1, etc.⁶⁵ [D. 18, 19]
 {} P. Ch. Beatty III vs. 2, 3. [D. 19]
- **qidšu*. N. as n. loc. “SANCTUARY.” The relation of the name to the Semitic root *qdš* is well known. Cf. BH (n. loc.) “sanctuary,” MH “sanctuary, sacred precinct”; Amarna *Qidši* (n. loc.);⁶⁶ Ph., Punic “sanctuary; sacred object”; Ug. *qdš* “sanctuary,” and in Akk. transcription **qidšu* “sanctuary”;⁶⁷ TA “sanctuary”; Ar. *قَدْس* (*quds*) “sanctuary, shrine,” (*al-Quds* Jerusalem); Old S. Ar. (*qds*) “holy”; Eth. (*qʷəds*) “sanctuary”; Akk. *quddušu* “to make ritually pure.” The vocalization may well correspond to that of the Amarna n. loc. transcriptions, and to the Akkadian transcription of the Ugaritic. Several of the writings seem to indicate the presence of an *i*-vowel, although displaced to the second syllable. (B. 953; Wb. V 82, 5.) [5]

⁶³Seti I Karnak (Simons *ETL* XIII 28); Amenhotpe II Karnak (Simons *ETL* VI, 12, without determinative); Seti I El Qurneh (Simons, *ETL* XV, 31); Seti I Wadi Abbâd (Simons, *ETL* XVII, 3).

⁶⁴Simons, *ETL* VIII, 5.

⁶⁵Amenhotpe III, Soleb 1 (Simons, *ETL* IX, 1); Horemheb Karnak (Simons, *ETL* XII, 10).

⁶⁶There are also the variants attested in letters from Qatna: *aluki-in-za* (EA 54 22. 27; 174 12) and *alugi-iz-za* (EA 197 27. 32). The same phonetic mutation is also attested in Hittite documents, e.g. the Šuppiluliumaš treaty with Mitanni (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy*, I [Leipzig: 1916], 2, 36).

⁶⁷Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 173.

442.   ^o *qa-da* or *qi₂-da* Amarna,⁶⁸ etc.⁶⁹ [D. 18, 19, 20]

  ^o Horus and Seth 13, 5–6, and often.⁷⁰ [D. 19, 20]

 *qa-du₃* Amarna Stele⁷¹ [D. 18]

 ^o  *qa-du₂* Hayes.⁷² [D. 18]

 ^o  *qa-da-²u* O. Brunner A 4.⁷³ [D. 19 or 20]

  ^o Necropolis Journal.⁷⁴ [D. 20]

  ^o *qa-da-ya* P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960 II, 7.⁷⁵ [D. 20]

  ^o Necropolis Journal.⁷⁶ [D. 20]

Also written:

  ^o *qa-da-da* O. Cairo 25521 *passim.* [D. 19]

Written with metathesis:

  ^o *da-qa* O. DeM 37, 7. [D. 20]

Miswritten:

  ^o *qa-ha* Necropolis Journal.⁷⁷ [D. 20]

  ^o *qa-ha-na* Necropolis Journal.⁷⁸

gaṣṣa* or *giṣṣa*. N. m. “GYPSUM; PLASTER.**” The identity of the

⁶⁸Gypsum samples: W. Spiegelberg, “Gypsproben aus Tell el Amarna mit hieratischen Aufschriften,” ZÄS 58 (1923), p. 51 a, b.

⁶⁹The word is very common, and the following list does not attempt to be exhaustive. Examples of this writing include: P. Ch. Beatty III vs. 4, 9; 4, 12; P. Amherst 2, 2; O. DeM 46 13.v. 7; 330 3; 330 7; 401 7; 588 3; O. Cairo 25605 5; 25615 1; 25616 1; 25618 1; 25793 5; 6; 25803 8; 25806 2; 4; O. Berlin 12635 9; H.O. 73 1, 16; O. Gardiner 230 2; 3; 4 (KRI VII 187, 14); O. OIC 17007 + O. Černý 6, *passim* (KRI VII 176).

⁷⁰H.O. 88, 6; O. DeM 216 2.4; P. Greg A, 1; A, 2 (KRI V 437, 15; 16.); O. Turin 57031 vs. 1; O. AG 32 4; 5 (KRI VII 255, 2; 3); O. Gardiner 230 2, 3, 4 (KRI VII 187, 13–15).

⁷¹Boundary Stele: Amarna V, 28, S, 24.

⁷²W.C. Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, pl. 13, 63 vs. 2–3.

⁷³W. Helck, “Eine Zahlungsquittung,” ZÄS 111 (1984), p. 7, l. 4.

⁷⁴Year 17, vs. B 3, 3: Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale*, pls. 1–7.

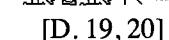
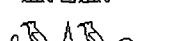
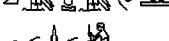
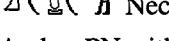
⁷⁵Allam, *HOP*, pl. 123.

⁷⁶RAD 65, 8; 65, 10; 66, 11.

⁷⁷RAD 64, 5; 66, 4; 66, 9, 66, 16.

⁷⁸RAD 65, 15.

substance is confirmed by the occurrence of the word on actual samples of gypsum plaster. The word occurs mostly in lists of supplies, but in the stone-boat race of the Horus and Seth story, Horus uses the substance to disguise his pine-wood vessel: *iw·f qṣḥ·f m qa-da*. “And he plastered it with gypsum.” The Amarna boundary stele prohibits the defacing of the inscription: *Bn i^{cc}·tw·f m qa-da*. “It shall not be covered over with plaster.” Cf. MH ȝȝ “chalk”; TA ȝȝȝ “gypsum”; Syr. ȝȝȝ (geṣā) “mortar, plaster”; Ar. جص (jiṣṣ) “gypsum”; Akk. gaṣṣu “gypsum”; Greek γύψος, whence Latin and English *gypsum*.⁷⁹ The writing *qa-da-da* of O. Cairo 25521 may be an attempt to indicate the “doubled” consonant. The *ya* of P. Turin 2071 is probably a plural ending. It is uncertain whether the word is vocalized like the Akkadian with an *a*-vowel or with an *i*-vowel as in other languages. (H. 240; *VESO XVI A*, 9; *Wb.* V 82, 7.) [5]

443.  *qa-da-ya* P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960 II, 7.⁸⁰ [D. 20]
 *qa-da-²u* O. Cairo 25605 5; P. Greg vs. B, 39.⁸¹ [D. 19, 20]
 Necropolis Journal.⁸² [D. 20]
 Necropolis Journal.⁸³
 *qa-du₂* O. DeM 330 1. [D. 20]
 P. Greg rt. B, 14.⁸⁴ [D. 20]
 Necropolis Journal.⁸⁵ [D. 20]
 And as PN with the m. sing. definite article:
 *qa-da* O. Michael. 33 4. [D. 20]
 O. DeM 655 10; O. Turin 57007 vs. 5; 6. [D. 20]

⁷⁹ And it was loaned back into at least one Semitic language: Jewish Palestinian Aramaic גַּבְּשׁ “gypsum.”

⁸⁰ Allam, *HOP*, pl. 123.

⁸¹ *KRI V* 445, 12.

⁸² Year 17, B3, 1: Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale*, pls. 1–7.

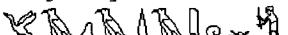
⁸³ Year 17, B3, 3: Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale*, pls. 1–7.

⁸⁴ *KRI V* 439, 11.

⁸⁵ *RAD* 67, 10.

 O. DeM 655 8.

 *qa-da⁻²u* P. Turin Cat 2044 vs. 1, 5.⁸⁶
[D 20]

 P. Turin Cat 2044 vs. 1, 6.

Also written with *-n* suffix:

 *qa-da-n* Rio de Janeiro Stele.⁸⁷ [D. 20]

**gassaya?* N. pl. “PLASTERER.” The word is used as a title or designation of occupation. Cf. the previous entry. The word formation is uncertain, but the word may possibly be a *nisbe* of the word for gypsum. This use is probably an Egyptian innovation. Kitchen⁸⁸ wanted to identify the Rio de Janeiro Stele example with *-n* suffix with the root *qṣn*, e.g. BH  “(military) leader,” but as he admitted, the bearer of the title does not wear military attire and is otherwise quite ordinary. The granule determinative does not suit meaning “leader” at all but is very much expected in association with plaster. Although none of the other examples of this word have the granule determinative, they all have the man with stick determinative, the hieratic equivalent to the “arm with stick.” (Not in *Wb.*) [5]

444.  *qa-da* P. Geneva MAH 15274 5, 8.⁸⁹ [D. 20]

**gāza?* Vb. “TO G O AROUND; RUN.” Černý identified the Demotic *ddi* “to run” and Coptic  “to run” with this LE *hapax*.⁹⁰ The word occurs in a magical text with reference to a poison: *pʒ nḥtiw tʒ iwty <?> pʒ qa-da iwty nhbt* “the one who wanders through the land without a <a word omitted>, the one who runs around without a neck.” The word is perhaps related to the Semitic root *gwz*: BH  “to pass by”; TA, JPA  “to cross, pass”; Syr.  (*gwz*) “to hasten away”; Ar. جر (jwz) “to pass,

⁸⁶KRI VI 342, 1–2.

⁸⁷KRI VII 411, 13; K.A. Kitchen, “A West Semitic Title on an Egyptian Stela in Rio de Janeiro” (Brief Communication), JEA 71 (1985), pp. 218–20 and fig. 1.

⁸⁸JEA 71, p. 220.

⁸⁹Massart, “Papyrus MAH 15274,” MDAIK 15, pl. 31, 8 and p. 179, n. 6.

⁹⁰Černý, *Ety. Dict.* p. 340.

travel” (*ifta^cala*) “to run, go”; Old S. Ar. **☒** (*gwz*) “to go, pass through.” The word is used as an Egyptian participle. If the word is Semitic, it is possibly the m. sing. participle. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

- 445.**  = *qu₄-da* An. I 24, 3. [D. 19]

qôṣa*. N. pl. “THORNBUSH.**” The word has long been identified with BH יַרְבֵּשׁ “thornbush.” The word occurs in a list of plants found on an overgrown path: *²as-ba-—r-ru₂, hr qu₄-da na-ḥa, tiwt-wnši⁹* “juniper bushes” along with *qd, nh*, and wolf-sandals.” Cf. also TA ḥṣṣ̄ “thorn.” If the root is middle weak, then one would expect either consonantal [w] or a resolution to [ô]. The latter reconstruction is presumed because of the lack of a *w* in the Egyptian writings. Albright⁹¹ derived the Hebrew from the root *qss* and reconstructed it as **quss*, but this disregards the evidence from the Masoretic tradition.⁹² (H. 241; B. 955; VESO XVI A, 21; *Wb.* V 82, 9.) [4]

446. *qu₄-da-ma₂* H.O. 35 1, II, 12. [D. 20]

qumṣa*. N. “HANDFUL (AS A MEASURE)**.” The *qu₄-da-ma₂* was used as a measure for gum (*qmī*). Černý⁹³ linked the word to Demotic *gdmʒ* “handful” and Coptic *Σαζαμη* “handful,” and suggested a derivation from the Semitic root *qms*: BH ՚םשׁ “handful (e.g. of meal offering)”; TA ՚אַמְזָק “handful (of flour).” Ug. *qms* “to curl up, crouch” is probably related, although the meaning results from a different semantic development: In BH/TA the notion involved is curling up or cupping the hand, whereas in Ug. it is the body or lower torso that is involved. Ar. قمز (*qamaza*) “to take by the finger tips,” may be possibly related in spite of the phonological difficulties.⁹⁴ There is metathesis of the second and third consonants. (H. 243; *Wb.* V 82, 12.) [4]

447.  HPBM 4th Ser. L₅ vs. 17-18. "DIVINATION, OMEN; DECISION." See under .

91 VESO, p. 59.

⁹²I.e. there is no “doubling” of the *sadeh* in the plural, for instance.

⁹³Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 340.

⁹⁴There may be dissimilation of “emphasis” following /ə/.

448.  Rio de Janeiro Stele. "PLASTERER." See under
.

449.  O. Cairo 25509 vs., a 4,  O. Cairo 25618 vs. 2. "AXE." See under , .

450.  *qu₄=da-ra* P. Mayer A vs. 13, c9. [D. 20]
 P. Abbott Dockets, B 20.⁹⁵ [D. 20]

Possibly also:

-  *ka-ra-ti₂* P. Harris 500 2, 1.⁹⁶ [D. 19]

**gôzala?* N. and as PN (m.). "FLEDGLING, YOUNG BIRD." In P. Harris 500, the word occurs in a love poem involving a trapping simile:⁹⁷ *Dh_nt:s⁹⁸ p₃ p₃ n mry. Twi m gb ka=ra=ti.* "Her forehead is the *mry*-wood trap; I am the young goose." The word may possibly be related to the BH word  "young of birds"; Ug. PN *mGu-ú-za-li*, *Bn Gzl*,⁹⁹ TA (Targums), JPA  "young bird; pigeon"; Syr. (with metathesis)  (*zûgal*) "young bird"; Ar. جوزل (*jawzal*) "young pigeon; fledgling."¹⁰⁰ The identification of the PN with this root presents no phonological problems, but this is not the case with the word occurring in P. Harris. Egyptian *t* for Hebrew *zayin* is normal only when the latter derives from original **d*, but Arabic has /z/ rather than /d/, fairly well ruling out original */d/. It is, however, possible that [g] and [dz] have simply undergone

⁹⁵Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 24.

⁹⁶The reading of the *k* in this word is not entirely certain.

⁹⁷Metaphors and similes involving fowling are well attested in Egyptian love poetry.

⁹⁸This reading seems preferable to that of M.V. Fox, *Song of Songs*, p. 370. Fox reads the eye determinative (which I read as *d*) followed by *hi* (an unknown word), *tp* "head" would then start the next line. I take the head sign as the normal determinative of *dhnt* "forehead."

⁹⁹Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 130.

¹⁰⁰For the latter meaning, cf. A. Neubauer, *The book of Hebrew Roots*, by Abu ՚l-Walīd marwān ibn Janāḥ otherwise called Rabbī Yōnāḥ (etc.), (Oxford: 1875), p. 131, 6–9: كَذَلِكَ تَسْعَ الْعَرَبُ أَيْضًا نَفْسَهُ [نَفْخَةً] كُلَّ طَائِرٍ جَوْزَلٌ "Thus the Arabs extended it (i.e. the meaning of the root) also, and so [the young] of all birds are called *gawzala*."

devoicing to [k] and [ts],¹⁰¹ hence the Egyptian writing with *k* and *t*. Another complication of the word in P. Harris would be metathesis of the second and third radicals. Nevertheless, somewhat in favour of the identification are the sense and use. The determinative indicates that birds are involved, and the type of bird (*gb*) has already been established. The word *krṭ* must therefore stand in apposition as a qualifier. Gen. 15:9 may provide an exact parallel: לְנָזֶר וּתְרֵד “and a turtle-dove, a young one.”¹⁰² (B. 1024; Not in *Wb.*) [3]

451.  *qa-da-ha* Med. Habu 86, 29. [D. 20]

**qaza^ca* (from **qata^ca*) / *qaṣa^ca*. Vb. “TO CUT OFF, BREAK” OR “TO GRIND.” Probably related to Coptic *ςωχω* “to cut off.”¹⁰³ The meaning of the word is quite clear from context: *Hm:f h̄w hr tp·sn mi dw n m3t qa-da-ha ta-ha-sa dmiw n s3tw*. “His Majesty fell on top of them like a granite mountain that breaks, crushes, and presses into the ground.” Černý attempted to derive the word from a supposed BH **תְּצַקֵּן*, but this is groundless, as the root is attested only as *תְּצַקֵּן* “black cumin.” Černý must have had in mind the word *תְּצַקֵּן* “to cut off,” a connection with which must be ruled out on phonological grounds. A derivation from either of two Semitic roots is possible.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps the more likely is a connection with the well attested root **qt^c*:¹⁰⁵ BH מִקְצָעֹת “(wood-)carving-knives”; TA عَطَّقَ “to cut off, break off”; Syr. ﻭَلَمْ (q^ota^c) “to hew (stones), cut off/out”; Ar. قَطَعَ (qata^ca) “to cut off; break off.”¹⁰⁶ The other possibility is the root *qs^c*: TA عَزَقَ “to cut, trim”; Syr. مُرَسِّ (q^osā^cā) “to rout,” tG-stem “to be shattered,” مُهَدَّ (q^osā^cā)

¹⁰¹I.e. corresponding to /k/ and /s/ (*samekh*).

¹⁰²Most modern translators have taken these as two birds, but the following verse uses the singular תְּצַקֵּן “the bird.” One would have expected the plural, as the word is not often used collectively. The Targums translate as a single bird: וְגַזְוֵל בֶּרְיֵן “and a young bird, offspring of a dove.”

¹⁰³The connection was proposed by Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 341.

¹⁰⁴They may, in fact, be by-forms of the same original root.

¹⁰⁵Helck actually suggests a connection with this root, but was puzzled by Egyptian *h* for Semitic *‘ayin*. He suggests the possibility of a scribal error.

¹⁰⁶The exact connection of the Arabic is uncertain, as one would expect the root to yield نَظَعَ (**qaza^ca*). Perhaps there was dissimilation of *z*.

“breaking into many pieces”; Ar. قص (*qasa'a*) “to gulp down; to grind, crush”; Eth. ቅሬጥ: (*qaṣ'a*) “to humiliate; overthrow; level the ground; trample on; crush.” Egyptian *ḥ* would be for Semitic ^c*ayin*. (H. 245; B. 961; *Wb.* V 82, 15.) [3]

452. qa=da=da¹⁰⁷ (*qa=da=m=da=m?*) Med. Habu 82, 16. [D. 20]

**gadada?* *gazamzam?* Vb. “TO GASH” (AS RELIGIOUS RITE). The word occurs in a passage that describes the enemy under attack: *Nw·sn r tʒ hrt r pʒ itn hr qa-da-da m drt:w hft hr f.* “They look upwards to the sun, doing *qdd* in/with their hands before Him.” Burchardt and Helck linked the word to BH 𠂔 “to cut off; cut in two,” but this is semantically inappropriate. Edgerton and Wilson translated “stretching out,” which suits the context quite well. No suitable Semitic roots with that meaning are forthcoming. The word may be connected with the root *gdd*: cf. BH 𠂔 Dt-stem “to gash oneself (as religious practice);”¹⁰⁸ TA 𠂔 Dt-stem “to make incisions in one’s body.” There are problems with this identification. The Egyptian group *da* is otherwise never used for Semitic /d/. One possible explanation is that the Egyptians, rendering Semitic [g] with Egyptian *q*, then heard the following /d/ as the phone [d], which is regularly rendered by Egyptian *d*. Another possibility is that the original author employed the recherché cultic term *gdd*, but this was subsequently hyper-corrected by false etymology from *gzz* “to cut; shear” or *qss* “to cut off.” Another possible derivation is from the root *gzm*, which would not require any emendation of the writing. Cf. MH 𠂔 “to cut, trim”; TA 𠂔 “to cut; threaten; exaggerate”; Ar. جزم (*jazama*) “to clip, cut.” There is however, no evidence of a reduplicating form in the Semitic languages. The Egyptian use of the word is as the infinitive after the preposition *hr* in a “pseudo-verbal” construction. (H. 246; B. 964; *Wb.* V 82, 14.) [3]

¹⁰⁷It has been assumed that *dʒm* stands for the *da* group.

¹⁰⁸The most notable example is the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Ba‘al (I Kings: 18:28), who increase the level of their supplication for Ba‘al to ignite the sacrifice: “They cried out with loud voice and gashed themselves—as is their custom—with swords and spears until the blood ran over them.”



453. *ka-wi-ša-na* An. I 24, 5. [D. 19]

Probably also:

[k]a-š-n P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 2, 14.¹ [Late]

**kušana?* N. f. or pl.² A PART OF THE CHARIOT HARNESS, POSSIBLY “SADDLE PADS” OR “REINS.” The word occurs in a difficult passage in An. I: *T3y·k drt h3c·ti kf3·ti t3y·k ka-wi-ša-na h3y.* “Your yoke saddle³ is thrown off and lies bare,⁴ and your *kwšn* have fallen down.” The word seems to designate a leather component that could fall off if the yoke saddle were displaced. It therefore very likely designates the saddle pads which were held in place only by the weight of the yoke saddle. The only other real possibility would be the neck strap which was fastened to both legs of the yoke saddle. It is not likely that the word referred to the backing strap, one end of which was attached to the outer leg of the yoke saddle and the other to the draught pole. The Brooklyn papyrus is not specific, but suggests that the object was an essential part of the chariot and harness: The soldier without his master is

¹R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text* (Chicago: 1992), fig. 5. Although from the late period, the language of the text is (or is close to) Late Egyptian.

²Gardiner’s transcription has the feminine singular article *t3*, but the text should possibly be emended to read *n3*, which would be consistent with the plural strokes. If the following verb is in the Egyptian stative (old perfective), as in the preceding clause, then it must be a plural form, since it lacks the *ti* ending of the feminine singular.

³The yoke saddle was a wooden attachment of the following appearance that adapted the yoke, originally designed for bovines, to the conformation of the horse. The weight of the draught pole assembly was borne by the yoke saddles.

⁴Presumably the idea is that the yoke saddle is no longer positioned over the protective padding. The oval-shaped saddle pads are virtually always depicted in Egyptian representations of harness teams. They are also represented in the tomb scenes showing leather work for chariots. E.g. Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, pl. 227, top right (to the left of shields and probably being bent on frames below); pl. 307; pl. 310 lower register (on carried table next to quiver).

compared to a chariot without the *kšn*, and a ship without a steering oar. Since the context (and the other metaphor) involve the notion of guidance, perhaps the word designates reins. If the word does refer to a strap, then perhaps cf. the isolated Arabic word قوش (*qūš*) “strap; girth; crupper (part of harness).” There do not, however, seem to be any words for “reins” from this root. If, as is more likely, the word designates “saddle pads,” then perhaps cf. the Akk. *kušānu* “a leather bag and cover.” In some cases the Akk. word clearly means “cushion.”⁵ The word is widely attested from Old Akk. on: O Akk. *gursānu*; OB *gursānu*, *kušānu*; MA *gusānu*; MB *kušānu*; Alalakh *kušānu*.⁶ If the identification is correct, the Egyptian seems to be derived from the variant form *kušānu* with š and unvoiced *k*. The group sequence *ka-wi* may actually be intended to render **ku*. (H. 247; B. 1029; *Wb.* V 117, 9.) [3]

454. Urk. IV 782, 41a. “HILL.” See under

455. ka=bi=ra=ta HPBM 4th Ser. L₆ rt. 104–5.
[D. 21–22]

**kabritā*. N. (f.) “SULPHUR; BRIMSTONE” (AS AN AILMENT). The passage deals with illnesses: *Iw i šd·f i⁷ mr nb, ‘b nb, i h̃m, i srfy, i ka=bi=ra=ta*. “I will protect him against all illnesses, against all disorders, against a ‘bend (in the back),’ against inflammation, against *kbrt*.” I.E.S. Edwards⁸ suggested a connection with BH סְפִירָה “sulphur; brimstone” and Arabic كبريت (*kibrīt*) “sulphur, matches” and suggested the meaning “jaundice.” The identification seems sound, but the meaning is by no means certain. Since, as the determinative indicates, one of the most notable features of sulphur is its combustibility,⁹ the term may refer to an inflammation, or

⁵A. Salonen, *Möbel*, p. 90.

⁶Although perhaps farfetched, the word might be somehow connected to the word for upholstered objects found in Modern European languages: e.g. English “cushion,” German “Kissen,” French “coussin.” The standard derivations from Latin *cūlcita* “mattress” or vulgar Latin *coinxus* “hips” are even more farfetched.

⁷For the preposition *r*.

⁸HPBM 4th Ser., p. 40, n. 72.

⁹The Biblical use almost invariably links it to fire.

perhaps to an ailment treated by burning sulphur. Targum Aramaic and JPA have נוֹפְרִיחָא, but much better attested are Imp. Aram. כְבָרִיחָא, Targum Aram., JPA and סְבָרִיחָא; Syr. Cabrītā; Eth. kabārit; Akk. kibrītu; Hittite *kibriti-*. Phonologically the difference between *gprt* and *krbt* involves the transposition of voicing. The *i*-vowel appears to have been misplaced. (Not in *Wb.*) [5]

456. ပါ၍^{၁၀} နီ *ku=ba=sa* P. Harris I 18b, 15, etc.¹⁰ [D. 19, 20]
 ပါ၍^{၁၁} O. OIC 12296 3.¹¹ [D. 19]
 ပါ၍^{၁၂} နီ O. Turin 57006 12.
 ပါ၍^{၁၃} နီ *ku=ba-su₂* O. DeM 233 5. [D. 19]
 ပါ၍^{၁၄} နီ *ku=b=sa* O. Turin 57006 8.
 ပါ၍^{၁၅} နီ *ku=b=s* O. DeM 299 6.¹² [D. 19 or 20]

Written with metathesis:

- ပါရာ၂၁၁၃** *ku=sə=ba* O. Cairo 25606 2; 3, etc.¹³ [D. 19–20]
ပါရာ၂၁၁၄ *O. Michael*, 8 2. [D. 20]

Miswritten:

- **kupta?* N. m. “**BASKET.**” The word is commonly attested in the commodity lists on ostraca. It is frequently described as *nbd* “plaited,”¹⁵ it contains grain¹⁶ and sometimes fruit.¹⁷ These baskets

¹⁰E.g. H.O. 20 2, 2; 24 4, 3; 28 4, 4; 32 1 vs., 2; 32 2, 2; 32 5, III, 1; 36 1, 10; 36 1 vs., 5; 53 1, II, 1; 54 2, 4; 62 3, 8; 65 4, 4; 72 1, 8; 87 (*passim*); O. Berlin 14214 vs. 8 (S. Allam, *HOP*, pl. 19); O. DeM 49; 50 3.5; 106 3.8; 195 vs., 2; 198 I, 5; 215 5; 260 4; 295 6; (probably also O. DeM 285 4); 558 8; 673 vs. 3; O. Michael. 14 5 (Allam, *HOP*, pl. 48); O. Gardiner 296 4–5 (*KRI* VII 344, 13); O. Turin 57006 5.9.22, etc.; O. Turin 57062 4.

¹¹KRI VII 188, 9.

¹²Sim. O. Varille 17, 3 (KRI VII 254, 11).

¹³E.g. O. DeM 121 6; 223 8; 355 1; H.O. 28 2, 8; 86 3, 3; O. Berlin P. 14365 2 (S. Allam, *Forschungen und Berichte* 22 [1982], p. 60); O. Brooklyn (KRI VII 310, 13); O. Brunner A 5 (Helck, ZÄS 111 [1984], p. 7, 1, 2); O. H. Abdel-Galil 2 (KRI VII 414, 12).

¹⁴E.g. H.O. 58 3; 7; 62 1, 9; O. Berlin P 14262 3; 4 (S. Allam, *Forschungen und Berichte* 22 [1982], p. 59); P 14357 4.

¹⁵E.g., O. DeM 299 6: H.Q. 28 2, 8.

¹⁶E.g., H₂O, 32.2, 2:36.1 vs. 5.

¹⁷E.g. P. Harris I 18b. 15: *dg̃ nb nfr* "all sorts of fine fruits."

were apparently made in different sizes, for we have the qualifications *šri* “small”¹⁸ and *‘3* “large.”¹⁹ The word may be related to the Semitic root *kpt*: MH כּוֹפֶת “basket (for olives),” בּוֹפְתָא “a basket / vessel (usually having two compartments with the bottom in the middle),” בּטַח “to twist, tie”;²⁰ TA בּטַח “basket,” בּוֹפֵה “a low seat (originally an inverted vessel),” בּטַח “to twist, tie”; Syr. ܟܼܾܻ (kappēt) “to form into a knot.” Ug. (in Akk. transcription) tūg.me_{ku-up-šu} (**kuptu*) “headdress”²¹ and Eth. ܾܻܻܻ: (*kabasa*) “to wrap (scarf around head), to tie up (hair)” are probably related. The *taw*-*šin* interchange indicates that the original final consonant must have been /t/. Ar. ݂ܾܻ (kift) “cooking pot” may also be related and is possibly a loan from Aramaic. The word formation seems to be a *qutla*, as in Hebrew, Aram., Akk., and Ugaritic. (H. 248; B. 973; *Wb.* V 118, 9–10.) [4]

457.  *ka-pa* KRI IV 8, 15. [D. 19]

 *ka-pa* HPBM 4th Ser. T₂ vs., 22. [D. 21–22]

 *ka-pa* KRI IV 7, 13.

 KRI IV 8, 13.

 KRI IV 22, 9.

 Med. Habu 75, 15. [D. 20]

 HPBM 4th Ser. T₂ vs., 23.

 HPBM 4th Ser. T₂ vs., 55.

 HPBM 4th Ser. T₂ vs., 56.

 *k-p* Med. Habu 23, 9; 23, 16; 23, 21.

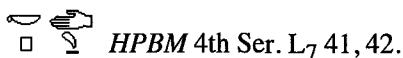
 Med. Habu 27, 36.

¹⁸E.g. O. DeM 233 5.

¹⁹E.g. H.O. 24 4, 3.

²⁰The *taw* indicates the Aramaic influence / origin of the word.

²¹Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 173.



Also written with final *t*:

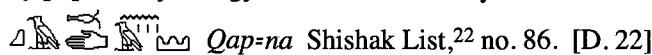


 - ٩٩٩ Med. Habu 22, 25; 27.

Miswritten:

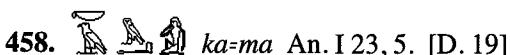


By popular etymology also in the n. loc. Byblos:



**kappa*. N. pl. "PALM OF THE HAND; SOLE OF THE FOOT."

Demotic *gp*, Coptic **SB**₅₀**ΩΩ** “sole.” The meaning is certain from the captions to the battle reliefs, e.g. Med. Habu pls. 22 and 75, in which scribes are depicted counting and recording severed hands. The phrases *kp drt* “palm of the hand” and *kp (n) rdwy* “sole of the foot” may be loan translations from Canaanite: cf. BH בְּפֹת הַזִּדִּים “palms of the hands” and קְרָבְלָכְם “the soles of your feet” (etc.). Cf. BH קְרָבָה; Ug. *kp*; Imp. Aram. קְרָבָה, TA קְרָבָה; Syr. (kappā); Ar. كَفْ (kaff); Eth. ካፋ፡ (kāf); Akk. *kappu*, all “palm; sole.” (H. 249; B. 974; VESO XVII A. 3; Wb. V 118, 11–12.) [5]



kamā*. Prep. “LIKE.” The word occurs in the Canaanite utterance discussed under the entry ²*a₂=ba₂=ti* (“perish; go astray,” no. 6). Cf. BH בָּמָה; Ph. 𐎠; Amorite *kama*; Ug. *km*; Ammonite in PN *M-km-*?; TA “كَمَّا**”; Syr. ئەھە (‘*akmā d-*); Ar. كَمَا (*kamā*); Old S. Ar. ڪمـ (kmw); Eth. ڪما: (*kama*); Akk. *kīma*, all “like,” except Arabic, where the word is a conjunction meaning “as.” The writing does not indicate the Canaanite **[á]* to *[ó]* shift. (B. 978; VESO XVII A, 4; Wb. V 122, 9.) [5]

²²*Bubastite Portal*, pl. 4.

459.  *ka=man* P. Leiden I 343 vs. 4, 3, and often.²³
[D. 19, 20, 21–22]

 P. Leiden I 343 2, 7.

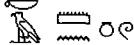
**kāman?* Vb. “TO BE BLIND; TO BLIND (S’ONE); TO BE DARK.” Demotic *gnm*, Old Coptic *εωημ* “to be blind.” The meaning of the word is well established from such contexts as “Blinding of Truth by Falsehood” 2, 2: *Imi in-tw Mʒ̩c t, mtwtw ka=man·f tʒy·f irt* 2. “Let Truth be brought and have both of his eyes blinded.” The meaning “to be dark” is also attested from P. Boulaq 6 5, 6: *iw tʒ pt d̩rw, iw pʒ tʒ ka=man*. “The sky was stormy, and the earth was dark.” The word is probably not related to the Semitic root *kmn* “to hide,” Ug. *kmn* “hidden corner, secret place”;²⁴ TA  “to be hidden”; Ar. *كم* (*kamana*) “to hide,” *كمنة* (*kumna*) “black cataract (of the eye).” Much more likely, although somewhat problematic, is a connection with the root *kmh*: BH  “to be faint, long for” and the PN’s  and ; Syr.  (*k̩mah*) “to be blind,” D-stem “to blind; obscure, dark”; Ar.  (*kamiha*) “to be dark (of sky),” (*kamah*) “congenital blindness,”  (*akmah*) “blind.” If from this root, perhaps [h] was assimilated to [m] ([*kamhan*] ⇒ *[*kamman*], or sim.).²⁵ The root *kmr* may be a by-form: BH  “darkening”; Syr.  (*k̩mar*) “to be dark, gloomy.” The final *n* of the Egyptian writing is difficult to account for. It is possibly the [-ān] ending of abstract nouns, and if so the original would have meant “blindness.” In any case, the word may have been of the same formation as the Biblical PN’s, which exhibit nunation / mimation. In any case the Egyptians seem to have used the word as a verb, adjective, or noun without morphological or phonological distinctions. The reconstruction is based on the Coptic. Cf. the next entry. (B. 981; Wb. V 107, 1–5.) [3]

²³E.g. Blinding of Truth 2, 2; 6, 6; 10, 7; P. DeM 39 1, 8 (Sauneron, *MIFAO* 104 [1980], pl. X [after p. 141]); P. Boulaq 6 5, 6 (Koenig, *Le Papyrus Boulaq* 6, p. 17); P. Cairo 58035 II, 4–5; P. Bib. Natl. 198 2, 7 (*LRL* 67, 13). The word may be an adjective in the last text, as the syntax is not clear; it is certainly not the Egyptian stative (old perfective).

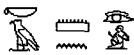
²⁴K. Aartun “Neue Beiträge,” *UF* 16 (1984), p. 89.

²⁵If so, *nun* was likely interpreted as the third root consonant rather than a suffix.

460.  *ka=man* Blinding of Truth 5, 8. [D. 19]

 *ka=man-nu* Amenemope 24, 9. [D. 21]

And also as PN with zero, m. and f. definite article:

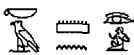
 Amarna.²⁶ [D. 18]

 P. Turin 1887,²⁷ and often. [D. 20]

 P. Wilbour A 30, 18; 35, 37; 82, 7. [D. 20]

 O. Cairo 25597 7. [D. 20]

kāman?* N. m. and as PN m. f. “A BLIND PERSON.**” The word is attested in such contexts as Amenemope 24, 9: *M ir sbiʒ n ka-man-nu*. “Do not laugh at a blind man.” Cf. the previous entry. The name is probably transcribed in Aramaic as ܟܼܾܻ²⁸ and Greek as Χομησις.²⁹ (B. 981; *Wb.* V 107, 1–5.) [3]

461.  *ka=man* HPBM 4th Ser. L₁ 10–11; L₂ 50; L₂ 76.³⁰ [D. 21–22]

kāman?* N. “BLINDNESS.**” The word occurs in a promise of divine protection: *Iw-{:t}n šd-s r sbḥ, r ka=man, r ir wdʒ m hʒw nb n ‘nh.* “We shall protect her from leprosy, from blindness, and from the ‘Udjat-eye’ throughout her entire lifetime. Cf. the previous two entries. [3]

462.  *ku=ma=ru₂* Gloss. Gol. 3, 13. [D. 20–1]

 *ka=ma=ru₂* AEO, pl. 20, 17.³¹ [D. 20–1]

kumaru?* N. “DANCER,**” OR SIM. The word occurs in a list of entertainers, and in particular in a list of dancers and acrobats (3, 12 ff.): *hsy, šm̄w, šm̄y(t), ḡwy, tmhw, ku=ma=ru₂, da=pa=qā.*

²⁶Hari, “Répertoire onomastique,” *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 4 (1976), no. 288.

²⁷JEA 27 (1941), pl. 8, 12.

²⁸B. Porten, “The Aramaic Boat Papyrus (P. Ber. 23000): A new Collation,” *Orientalia* 57 (1988), p. 80.

²⁹G. Vittmann, “Zu den ägyptischen Entsprechungen aramäisch überlieferten Personennamen,” *Orientalia* 58 (1989), p. 216.

³⁰L₂ 76 is somewhat damaged.

³¹Ramesseum Frags.

“singer, chanter, chantress, *wy*-dancer, Libyan dancer, *kmr*-dancer, *dpq*-dancer / acrobat.” Helck, following Albright³² hesitatingly identified the word with BH כְּמָר ***כְּמָרָה** “(pagan) priest,” but the connection is uncertain.³³ It is possibly related to the root *krr*: BH כְּרַפֵּן (D-stem part.) “dancing”; Ug. *krkr* “to dance”; TA מִכְרָבֶּר “dances.” If there is a connection, the form would have to be derived from a D-stem participle, exhibit metathesis and have lost the reduplication. (H. 250; B. 982; VESO XVII C, 5; Wb. V 131, 3.) [2]

463. ka=ma=-r KRI VI 517, 14. [D. 20]

- ka=ma=-r=a P. Turin 59 6.³⁴ [D. 20]

**garma* or *gilama*. N. “TUSKS,” “IVORY.” The meaning is certain from context in addition to the bone and tusk determinatives. In the Turin papyrus, the word occurs in the phrase: *ka=ma=-r=a n ȝbw*, “2 ‘two elephant tusks.’” In the KRI example (a letter from an administrator at the temple of Amun) the word occurs in a list of materials requested: *msdr [...] hn^c nhw ka=ma=-r, nh ku=t_i₂, šndt_i [...] “eye-paint [...] along with some kmr, some kt and accacia wood ...”* The word is almost certainly related to the Semitic word meaning “bone”: BH בָּשָׁר; Amarna and Nuzi *gi-la-mu, ki-la-mu* “ivory”; Imp. Aram. ܓܻܻܻ, BA ܓܻܻܻ, TA ܓܻܻܻܻ; Syr. ܓܻܻܻ (garmā), and esp. ܓܻܻܻ ܕܻܻܻ (garmā d²pīlā) “ivory” (garmē d²pīlā) “elephant’s tusks”; Ar. جرم (jarama) “to bone (meat).” The evidence from Amarna Canaanite³⁵ and Syriac clinches the identification. There is metathesis of the second and third consonants. The association of “bone” with “ivory” is readily understood. (B. 983; Wb. V 131, 5.) [5]

464. ka=ma=ha An. I 17, 6. [D. 19]

- An. IV 17, 6. [D. 19]

³²VESO, p. 60.

³³So too, M. Görg, *Biblische Notizen* 30 (1985), pp. 7–9.

³⁴RAD, 76, 10.

³⁵EA 22, I, 15; 22, I, 19.

 An. IV 14, 2.

**qamħa*. N. A TYPE OF BREAD. In An. I 17, the word occurs in a Syro-Palestinian context among the provisions of the troops: *ka-ma-ha* 300, *?i-pa₂-ta* 1,800, *“nh šbn* 120, *irp* 30 “*kmħ*-loaves: 300; biscuits: 1,800; assorted goats: 120; wine: 30.” In An. IV 14, the word occurs in a list of baked goods, most of which bear Semitic or otherwise apparently foreign names. The context of An. IV 17, 5 ff. associates the word with Asiatics and suggests that the bread was of second rate: *“qw “3y nfrw m ps n š3w mkw n wrw,* *ka-ma-ha, t3 šbn n “3mw, iww r mkw mšc* “large loaves, well baked and fit as food for princes, and *kmħ* and assorted bread of the Asiatics, which will be food for the army.” The word is probably derived from the Semitic root *qmħ*: BH פַלְקָה “flour, meal”; Ug. *qmħ* “flour”; Imp. Aram. חַמְקָה, TA حَمْكَة “flour”; Syr. مَعْصَمٌ (*qamħā*) “flour”; Ar. قَمْحٌ (*qamħ*) “wheat”; Eth. ቅምክ: (*qamħa*) “to eat grain,” and as a noun “produce”; Akk. *qēmu* “flour.” The word may, however, not be a loan word, but rather a phonetic spelling of the Egyptian cognate , which is attested from the time of the Pyramid Texts. Albright maintained that it was a loan-word distinct from the old cognate.³⁶ There is no way to prove or disprove this contention, but given the Syro-Palestinian contexts it seems more likely to be a borrowing from the Semitic. (B. 984; VESO XVII A, 5; Wb. V 131, 6.) [5]

465.    *ku=ma₄=sa* Med. Habu 83, 51-52. [D. 20]

**kumaša?* N. “COWARDICE,” OR SIM. The word occurs in the context of the enemy’s panic: *T³·sn ku=ma₄=sa*, *hsy, tnm.* “Cowardice, weakness, and confusion overcame them.” M. Görg³⁷ identified the word with Akkadian *kamāsu* “to kneel; bow down,” but the connection is weak on semantic grounds and is virtually impossible phonologically, as Egyptian *s* for Semitic *samekh*³⁸ is

³⁶ VESO, p. 59. This is likely the case with the word *ka-r-ha-ta* (a container, no. 481).

³⁷“Beobachtung zu einem semitischen Fremdwort im Ägyptischen,” SAK 2 (1975), pp. 75–77.

³⁸This root definitely contains *samekh*, as indicated by the Ugaritic *kms*

not attested with certainty. The word may, however, be related to the root *kmš*: MH קְמַשׁ “to wilt, fade (flowers); be wrinkled”; TA קְמַשׁ “to wilt, fade”; Syr. حَمَسَ (*k^omas*) “to fade, languish, wither (fruit, the soul)”; Ar. كَمْشَ (*kamaša*) G-stem “to seize,” *tafa^cala* and ²*infa^cala* stems “recoil within oneself, to cower, quail; to shrink; to wrinkle”; Old S. Ar. تَمَسَّ (*kms_f*³⁹) H-stem “to humiliate (the enemy).” (H. 252; B. 985; *Wb.* V 131, 8.) [4]

466.  ku=—n=²a₂ Bashan St.
1–2.⁴⁰ [D. 19]

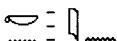
koli²a*. Vb. in n. div. “TO PROTECT, PRESERVE, GUARD.**” The first element of the name would seem to be the n. div. ²El, and the final element must be Zephon. The second element is possibly from the root *kl^o*, cf. BH כָּלָא “to detain, restrain”; JPA כָּלִי “to ward off”; Syr. طَلَّ (*k^olā*) “to ward off, guard; detain”; Arabic كَلَّ (*kala²a*) “to protect, guard, preserve, keep safe”; Akk. *kalū* “to detain.” If the derivation is correct, the meaning is closest to that of Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic, where it is used with reference to divine protection. If this derivation is correct, the word is then related to *ka=ru₂=²u={t}* and *ku=—r=²a=ta* (nos. 474, 475) that occur with the more usual meaning of “detain; restrain.” The word is perhaps the G-stem participle. R. Giveon wanted to derive the word from the root *kwn* with the meaning “to establish,” but the final ²aleph makes this phonologically problematic.⁴¹ The derivation is also unlikely on morphological grounds as well, as one expects either a causative (S-stem or H-stem) or else D-stem, which would be a *polel* form with reduplication of the third radical. Giveon, probably rightly, rejected a derivation from *qny* “to create,” because, although Semitic /q/ can be rendered by Egyptian *k*, the correspondence is quite rare. The semantic development of the Semitic root *kl^o* appears to be from the field of “watching, guarding” whence “keeping under guard” on the one hand, and “warding off”

³⁹One expects, however, *s₂*.

⁴⁰KRI II 223, 6.

⁴¹R. Giveon, “Two Egyptian documents concerning Bashan from the time of Ramses II,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 40 (1965), pp. 197–200.

on the other.⁴² If the derivation is correct, then perhaps this is a lexical isogloss from Aramaic, which would not be unlikely given the location of the stele in Bashan.⁴³ (B. 116) [3]

467.  $k=-n=nu_2=ru_2$ ⁴⁴ An. IV 12, 2. [D. 19]

**kinnōru*. N. “LYRE.” The word occurs in the context of singing (or playing) to the accompaniment of various (foreign) instruments: *r dd m ‘a-ni=ni m-s3 k=-n=nu_2=ru_2* “to ‘sing’ to the accompaniment of the *knr*.” Cf. BH בְּנָור; Ph. כְּנָר; Ug. *knr*; Old Aram. כְּנָר, TA כְּנָרָא; Syr. (kennārā); Ar. *kinār*, all “lyre.” In Ugaritic in Akk. transcription there is a n. div. ^{d.}giški-na-rū, which, because of the wood determinative (GIŠ), is almost certainly related. The word occurs as a loan in Akk. (Mari) *kinnāru* and Hellen. Gk / LXX κινύρα. The classical Greek κιθάρα “lyre” is almost certainly a loan word from the Semitic.⁴⁵ If so, the Latin *cithara* and the English words “guitar” and “zither,” and perhaps even “sitar,” are also ultimately related. (H. 253; B. 990; VESO IX C, 6; Wb. V 132, 4.) [5]

468.  $k=n=hu_2$ Totb. Nav. 172, 12 (Aa); 172, 25. [D. 18]

 Solar hymn.⁴⁶ [D. 20]

⁴²Coincidentally, English “guard” and “ward” are etymologically related, as well. Both of these roots are ambiguous in English, too, conveying the notion of detention or protection.

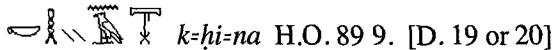
⁴³If so, then the writing with *u*-vowel in the first syllable must reflect a Phoenician / Northern Hebrew pronunciation on the part of the scribe (as a result of the Canaanite shift).

⁴⁴Perhaps the first two signs should be read as a group *kin*.

⁴⁵The derivation has, however, been rejected by most scholars, e.g. H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 851. Frisk, does, however maintain that the word is a loanword, but of an unknown source. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris: 1968–80), p. 530, states: “emprunt oriental probable.” The major objection to a derivation from Semitic is Greek *theta* for Semitic /nn/. The correspondence is unusual, but the dental / aviolar articulation is not dissimilar. Note that if it is from the Semitic, it must have entered the language before the *[ā] to [ō] shift took place. If it is not from Semitic, then perhaps it is an ancient cognate. The vocalic pattern, however, suggests that it is a loan since it corresponds exactly with that of the Semitic. As a matter of curiosity, the Greek word is loaned (back?) into Semitic as Biblical Aramaic סִנְרַיְק “lyre.”

⁴⁶J. Assman and S. Schoske, *Sonnenhymnen in Thebanischen Gräbern*, vol. I

Also written with metathesis:

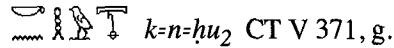


k=hi-na H.O. 89 9. [D. 19 or 20]

Earlier:



k=n-h CT IV 29, e. [Early MK]



k=n-hu₂ CT V 371, g.

ginha?* N. “DARKNESS; GLOOM OF NIGHT.**” The meaning is assured by the various contexts, e.g. the Book of the Dead (172, 12): *Nb r^c knh* “Lord of sun and darkness.” (BD 172, 25): *sr n·f šsp m knhw* “one who foretells the dawn for him in the gloom of night.” The text of the Solar hymn reads: *Htp·k m ‘nḥ m ḥtm, sm^cr{d}·n·k knh hr imntiw.* “You set in life as Atum, having cleared away (lit. “made fortunate”) the gloom over those in the West.” H.O. 89: *tʒ wbʒy pḥ·ti m k=hi-na, pʒ tʒ dr·f m šw* “the ‘opening’ that extends into the darkness when the whole earth is in the light.” Perhaps cf. the Ar. جنح (*junh, jinh*) “darkness; gloom of night.” The Arabic word is quite isolated, and no other evidence for the word can be found, unless the Syr. *g^onāh* (“to sigh; to be terrible, violent”) is related. Maspero⁴⁷ suggested that the word was a variant writing of the Egyptian *grḥ* “night,” but this has been refuted by E. Hornung.⁴⁸ The meaning, however, seems to be “darkness,” and not “night.” The connection with the Arabic, if any, is unclear, and the words may be ancient cognates rather than loan-words. (B. 1026; *Wb.* V 133, 14–15.) [3]

469. HPBM 4th Ser. Text 37, n. 24. “**KIDNEYS(?)**” See under .

470. Thutmose III List I, 44abc. “**WINE PRESS.**” See under .

(Mainz: 1983), pp. 194–98, no. 151, 2.

⁴⁷G. Maspero, “Introduction à l’étude de la phonétique égyptienne,” *Rec. trav.* 37 (1915), p. 178.

⁴⁸E. Hornung, “Lexikalische Studien I,” *ZÄS* 86 (1961), pp. 113–14.

471. օ· *ka-na-ta* P. Mayer A 4, 7. [D. 20]

օ· *ka=-r-ta* P. BM 10068 vs. 1, 4. [D. 20]

**gullata?* N. A GARMENT, PROBABLY “CLOAK.”⁴⁹ In both cases the word occurs among clothing stolen from royal tombs: šm^c *rwd* 18, n^{cc} d 2, *ka-na-ta* 8 “fine linen: 18 *rwd*-garments; smooth linen: 2 ‘kilts’, 8 *knt*-garments.” Similarly P. BM 10068: n^{cc} *ka=-r-ta* “smooth linen: 1 *krt*-garment.” The word is possibly related to the Semitic root *gll*: BH גָלַל “to roll up (scroll, garments)”; TA גָלַל “to roll,” TA, JPA גָלְלָה “long cloak of state, fine cloak (sometimes decorated with gold)”; Ar. جَلَلْ (jalla) D-stem “to envelop, wrap, clothe,” جَلَّ (julla) “clothing, (priestly) vestments.” The interchange between *n* and *r* suggests that [l] is involved. Egyptian *k* for Semitic [g] is not rare in initial position. Perhaps also related are Akk. tūggulenu, gulinu “cloak” and BH גָלִום “cloak”; TA גָלִים “cloak,” and even Greek χλαῖνα “mantle, cloak,” χλανῖς “state garment,” and χλαμύς “cloak.” The words are likely all ultimately related and constitute various reflexes of a common near-eastern *Kulturwort.* (Wb. V 134, 12.) [3]

472. օ· *ka=-r* Abydos III, pls. 54–5; O. Campbell 15 13.⁵⁰ [D. 19]

օ· *O. Brunner A 6.*⁵¹ [D. 19 or 20]

Possibly also:

օ· *ka-ra* O. Michael. 14.⁵² [D. 19]

kāra.* N. m. “(DONKEY**) SADDLE.” In the Abydos ostracon, the word occurs in a list of household goods including beds and

⁴⁹Peet (*Tomb Robberies I*, p. 101 n. 32) attempted to identify the word in P. BM 10068 with *ku=-r-ti₂* “whip lashes,” but this is impossible on phonological grounds. I had originally thought it might be a miswriting (or misreading) of *ku-ti₂-ta* (a fine garment), but gave this up when I linked the two examples as variants of the same word (*n* and *r* regularly interchanging when [l] is involved). The writing of P. Mayer A definitely has the group *na* according to Peet’s facsimile, and neither *-r* nor *na* could be confused with the *ti₂* sign as it is always made with a very long and bold cross-stroke in this papyrus.

⁵⁰KRI VII 241, 2.

⁵¹Helck, “Zahlungsquittung,” ZÄS 111 (1984), p. 7, l. 6.

⁵²Allam, HOP, pl. 48.

clothing chests. The item is there designated as *ka-—r n* ^{כָּר} “kr of / for a donkey.” The word is possibly connected to the BH בְּרִיחַגְמָל “basket camel-saddle,” MH בְּרִיחַ “bolster, mattress”; TA בְּרָא “bolster”; Ar. كُرْ (kūr) “camel-saddle”; Eth. ካር: (kōr) “saddle.” Helck’s link to BH בְּכָלי “vessel; gear” is not very convincing on semantic or phonological grounds, as it is too generic and the writing does not indicate a final weak consonant. (H. 254; B. 998; Wb. V 134, 16.) [4]

473. ku=—r P.BM 10052⁵³ 7,15; vs. 12,1; 12,6;
P. Mayer A vs. 12, 21. [D. 20]

P. Mayer A vs. 9, 9.
**gür.* Vb. (inf. constr.?) or N. in PN m. “DWELLING” OR “CLIENT.” The name is probably the same as that attested in BH as the n. loc. גּוֹרֶבֶל from the root *gwr* “to sojourn.” Cf. BH גּוֹר “to live as a resident alien,” Ph. גְּרָם “dwellers”; Ug. *gr* “to sojourn”; Syr. ܓܻܪ (gwr) “to commit adultery”; Ar. جَوَرْ (jwr) “to tarry”; Old S. Ar. ܓܻܪ (gr) “to visit a sanctuary”; Eth. ተܻܻܻܻ (tagāwar) “to live as neighbours.” The word formation appears to be identical to that attested in the BH n. loc.; it may be the infinitive construct: “Ba‘al’s dwelling.” There are similar names in Phoenician but the first element appears to be the common noun *gēr* perhaps “client of”: e.g. גּוֹמֶלְקָרָת, גּוֹמֶלְקָעֵל, and the name is also attested in Assyrian documents as *Gi-ri-ba-²-al* and *Gi-ri-milki*.⁵⁴ Albright identified the name with the Phoenician and Assyrian form and used it as evidence of the “corruption” of the syllabic orthography after the time of Ramses III.⁵⁵ The root *gwr* “to dwell” is more soundly attested as *qa=ru₂=ya*, *qa=ru₂=²a*, etc. (“to dwell,” “visitor” (nos. 428, 429). There are other possible derivations. In BH there is a nominal form גּוֹר meaning “young (of lions / jackals),” but this would not likely occur in a theophoric name. The root גּוֹר “to quarrel, attack” is fairly easily excluded on semantic grounds, but another root of the same appearance means “to be

⁵³Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pls. 30–32.

⁵⁴Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 298.

⁵⁵VESO, p. 14.

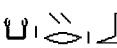
afraid of" and "to be in awe of (God)." Another remote possibility is a connection to *qwl*, e.g. BH קֹל "voice," and is attested in the name קָוְלוֹןָה "Voice of Y." (*PNI* 346, 19; *VESO* II B, 3a.) [3]

474.  *ka=ru₂=²u-{t}* Gloss. Gol. 6, 2. [D. 20-1]

kal²u*. N. "PRISON." The word occurs in a list of terms dealing with forts and fortification (5, 16 ff.): *sbty*, *tsm*, *inbw*, *mr(rt)*, *nh*, *wršt*, *mak-ti=ru₂*, *ka=ru₂=²u{t}* "circumvallation, ramparts, wall, 'street,' *nh*, guard-house, tower, *kr?*" It has long been identified with BH בֵּית כַּלְאָא "confinement, imprisonment," פְּרִזְבֶּת "prison"; Ug. *klā* "to shut"; Imp. Aram. **כְּלָאָא "restrain," TA (Eastern) **כְּלָאָא** (m. pl.) "guard houses (at the gate, where people were incarcerated)"; Syr. **كَلَّا** (*k²lā*) "restrain"; Ar. **كَلَّا** (*kala²a*) "to guard"; Eth. **ከልእ**: (*kal²a*) "to restrain"; Akk. *kalū* "to detain," *bīt kili* "prison." (H. 255; B. 1000; *Wb.* V 135, 3.) [5]

475.  *ku=-r=²a=ta* P. Wilbour B 17, 23. [D. 20]

**kalu²ata*. Vb. in n. loc. "TO BE RESTRAINED, CAGED." The word occurs in the n. loc. *P₃ ²a₂=ha=ya <n> t₃ m₃iw ku=-r=²a=ta* "The shed of the caged lioness." Helck identified the word with the Semitic root *kl²* (see the previous entry for the various cognates). The form is probably the Semitic feminine singular G-passive participle, cf. BH בְּלֹאָא "imprisoned," but it could also be an Egyptian stative (old perfective). The *u*-vowel, although misplaced, is significant and is probably that of the passive base found in Hebrew (as opposed to the *i*-vowel of Aramaic). (H. 256.) [5]

476.  *ku=-r=ba* P. Wilbour A 32, 35. [D. 20]

 *k=ra=bi₄* *PNI* 347, 4.

**kalba?* *kaluba?* N. only as PN m. "DOG." Perhaps cf. Coptic Σκαλωπογ, Βελλαπ "puppy."⁵⁶ The identification is almost certainly clinched by the individual mentioned in P. Wilbour, for his son was surely named after him—but in Egyptian translation:  *P₃-²u-²u* "The Dog." Ranke compared the

⁵⁶Vycichl, *Dict. étym.*, p. 79b. The Coptic may, however, have been a later loanword, unconnected with the earlier occurrence as a PN.

name to BH כָּלֵב, but there were other names derived from the root *klb*: Cf. also, Proto-Sinaitic  (Klb);⁵⁷ Epigr. Heb. Ph.; Ug. *klb*, and PN *Klb*, and in Akk. transcription ^m*Kál-bu*, ^m*Kal-bi*, ^m*Kál-bi-ya*, ^m*Kal-be-ya*;⁵⁸ Amorite *kalbum*; Imp. Aram. TA ; Syr. مَلْبَأ (kalbā); Ar. (kalb); Eth.  (kalb); Akk. *kalbu*, all “dog.” It is possible that the original was *[kalbu], but with metathesis of vowels in the Egyptian writing. (PN II 322, 30.) [4]

477.  *k=r=p* Amarna V, 28.⁵⁹ [D. 18]

**garapa*. Vb. “TO EFFACE; REMOVE (AN INSCRIPTION).” The word occurs in the phrase *Bn krp·tw:f*. “It shall not be effaced / scraped off.” Černý suggested a possible connection with Coptic SB_{κωρρό} “to bring to naught, cancel, destroy” and the Semitic root *grp*.⁶⁰ The connection with the Coptic is uncertain, but *krp* from the Amarna stele may well be related to the Semitic root *grp*. Cf. BH נְרַף “to sweep away (of wady’s current)”; TA نَرَفَ “to scrape; sweep; clear; remove”; Syr.  (*g^orap̄*) “to overflow; wipe clean”; Ar. جَرَف (jarafa) “to sweep away; wash away; remove.” Other possibilities are *qlp* and *glp*, both of which may be by-forms: MH קְלַפּ “to scrape, peel”; TA كَلَفَ “scrape, peel”; Syr. مَلَفَ (*q^olap̄*) “to peel, scrape off”; Ar. قَلَافَة (*qalafa*) “to strip the bark (from a tree)”; Akk. *qalāpu* “to peel; skin”; MH קְלַפּ “to dig out; engrave”; TA كَلَفَ “to dig out; engrave”; Syr.  (*g^olap̄*) “to engrave”; Ar. جَلَفَ (*jalafa*) “to cut off; destroy; scrape; peel”; Eth.  (*galafa*) “to engrave, carve.” Osing⁶¹ compared the word to Akkadian *karāpu* “to wipe off; to clip, strip,” but the meaning is less suitable. (Wb. V 135, 6.) [3]

478.  *ka-ra-pa* P. Wilbour B 10, 7. [D. 20]

**garpa?* N. f. as n. loc. “UNDERCUT BANK, ESCARPMENT;

⁵⁷On a dagger from Lachish, presumably the name of the owner.

⁵⁸Kinlaw, *Names in the Akkadian Texts*, p. 70.

⁵⁹Boundary stele S 24 and U 22. Both somewhat damaged.

⁶⁰Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 63. And so too, Vycichl (*Dict. étym.* 347a) for *σορός*.

⁶¹J. Osing (Review of Černý’s Coptic Etymological Dictionary) *JEA* 64 (1978), p. 188.

FLOOD?" The word was identified by Helck with the root *grp* (cf. preceding entry):⁶² BH בָּרַף "to sweep away (of wady's current)"; TA בָּרַף "to scrape; sweep; clear; remove," (*?itpalpel*) "to sweep (over the shore)" said of ocean; Syr. ܓܵܪܾܵ (garpā) "flood"; Ar. جرف (jarafa) "to sweep away; wash away; remove," (*jurf*) "undercut bank or shore, bluff"; Eth. ፋፃፃ: (*gwarif*) "flood." Helck's identification is probably correct, but his translation as "rapids" is not very compelling. (H. 257.) [4]

479. *ka=ra=ma₄=ya=ma* Med. Habu 101.⁶³ [D. 20]

ka=ra=ma₄=ya=na KRI II 156, 16. [D. 19]

ka=ra=ma=ya=na₂ KRI II 182, 6.

ku=ra=mi₃=n Thutmose III List I, 96 c. [D. 18]

k=ri=ya=m=na Thutmose III List I, 49 a.

Thutmose III List I, 49 b, c.

Perhaps also spelled with *q*:

qa=ra=m=m KRI VII 427, 4 [D. 19]

**karmayma*, *karmayna*; *karmēla*. Only as n. loc. "VINEYARD; ORCHARD." It is not certain that the names are identical, but all are certainly derived from the root *krm*. Cf. BH בְּרִמָּה "vineyard," בְּרֶמֶל "orchard"; Ug. *krm* "vineyard"; Imp. Aram כְּרָמָא, TA بِرَمْلَة "vineyard"; Syr. ܟܻܻܻ (karmā) "vineyard"; Ar. كرم (karm) "vineyard; orchard"; Eth. ካርም: (*kerm*) "vine"; Akk. *karānu* "wine." Ahituv⁶⁴ identified the name with Carmel and noted evidence of later writings with *nun* instead of *lamed*. The presence of the group ܻܵ (ya) and the mimation suggest that the Ramesside writings represent the dual ending (correctly or not) rather than the *lamed* suffix of the n. loc. Carmel. The Eighteenth Dynasty writings, however, likely correspond directly to בְּרֶמֶל the Egyptian *n* representing Semitic /l/. The group ܻܵ may be used in this case to represent the *i*-vowel,

⁶²A. Loprieno, *Annali. Istituto orientale di Napoli* 37 (1977), p. 133 also maintained this derivation.

⁶³= KRI V 95, 74.

⁶⁴*Canaanite Toponyms*, p. 124.

rather than [y]. The vocalic use may be limited to monumental or early group writing conventions. The Ramesside writings may be based on the historical orthography, or may be based on a misreading of the older writings as dual forms, or they may reflect a different toponym that was a dual form. (B. 1006, 1007; *VESO* VIII A, 16.) [5]

480. *HPBM* 4th Ser. L₅ 24–25. “**KIDNEYNS.**” See under .

481. *ka—r-ha-ta* An. IV 7, 5; 14, 6; and often.⁶⁵ [D. 19, 20]

P. Harris I 21a, 7. [D. 20]

An. IV 7, 5.

O. DeM 551 vs. 3. [D. 19 or 20]

O. Cairo 25602 5. [D. 20]

ka-ra-ha-ta O. Cairo 25677 26. [D. 19]

Written with metathesis:

ka-h—r-ta O. DeM 569 5. [D. 20]

Miswritten:

ka—r-ta H.O. 72 1, 15. [D. 19–20]

ka-h-ta H.O. 26 5, 5. [D. 19 or 20]

ka-ha-ta O. Cairo 25682 vs. 1; H.O. 50 1 I, 9. [D. 20]

qallahata*. N. f. A **TYPE OF BASKET. Coptic *σαλαχτ* “pot.”

The term designates a container for grapes (An. IV 7, 5), apples (Harris I 40a, 15), and flowers (Harris I 21a, 7). It is frequently mentioned as a commodity in the ostraca. The word is probably related to the Egyptian (a vessel),⁶⁶ which entered Hebrew

⁶⁵E.g. H.O. 53 1, 2; 1, 3; vs. 2; 72 2, II, 2; 115 4, B3; P. Harris I 40a, 15; O. DeM 580 2; O. Berlin 10665 vs. 8, 9 (*Hier. Pap.* vol. 3, pl. 38); O. Gardiner 151 5 (*KRI* VII 346, 9).

⁶⁶Attested from the Old Kingdom on.

as a loan פָּלַת “cauldron; large (cooking) pot,” MH *id.* and Ugaritic as *qljt*.⁶⁷ The Coptic has long been thought to have been subsequently loaned back, since the final [t] of the Egyptian would have dropped long before the New Kingdom.⁶⁸ The Ramesside word has not been cited in conjunction with the Coptic etymology, but the clear feminine ending shows that it, too, is a loan, and not the original Egyptian word. The initial *k* for /q/ is not too surprising, but the Coptic suggests that the consonant was in fact a velar. (B. 1013; Wb. V 135, 11–12; Janssen *Prices*, 143–45.) [4]

482.  *ka-ra-su₂* P. Lansing 12, 9. [D. 20]

**galašu*. Vb. / Adj. “TO FRISK; LEAP.” The word occurs in a description of a villa: *²A=ha=ya qnw m sw·s, w ihw n nʒ ihw, ⁹nhw ³ššw, ibw ka=ra=su₂*. “There are many stables in its vicinity, and grazing land for the cattle, the many goats and the frisky / frisking kids.” Erman⁶⁹ identified the word with BH שָׁלֵךְ “to frisk; leap” (said of goats), MH (H-stem) “to seethe” (boiling water); TA שָׁלֵךְ “seething” (water). The meaning of the Biblical Hebrew is not entirely certain, and the word has traditionally been translated as “to come down” or “to appear,” but the sense “to frisk, leap” suits the context well. This meaning would also clarify the semantic development to the meaning “to seethe” from a semantic field of “agitation, commotion.” The word may also be a by-form of BH שָׁרַגְנָה “to cast out,” N-stem “to be tossed” (sea); MH שָׁרַגְנָה “to set in commotion.” The form appears to be the G-stem *qatala*, but the syntax of the Egyptian is uncertain. It could be either the participle or an adjective, as in most of the parallel phrases in the passage. (H. 258; Wb. V 136, 1.) [4]

483.  *ku-ra-sa* P. Mayer B 14, 10. [D. 20]

 *ku-ru₂-sa* P. Turin (P+R) 102 1, 4. [D. 20]

⁶⁷KTU 5.22, 16 (*UF* 7 [1975], p. 166).

⁶⁸Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 329. Lacau, “Sur la chute du ⲛ final, marque du féminin,” *RdE* 9 (1952), p. 82, n. 1.

⁶⁹A. Erman, “Hebräische שָׁלֵךְ ‘springen,’” *OLZ* 28, p. 5.

Miswritten:

ku=sa P. Mayer B 10.

kurša?* N. m. “SACK.**” In P. Mayer, one of the sacks from a royal tomb contained metal vessels, and in the other were found some garments. The word is probably related to the Semitic root *krš*: BH כְּרִשׁ “belly, stomach,” MH כְּרִשׁ “belly, stomach”; Ug. *krs* “stomach,” *krsn* “skin, bag” (for oil and wine);⁷⁰ TA כְּרָסָה “stomach; womb,” כְּרִיסִיחַ “(leather) bag”; Syr. *(karsā)* “belly”; Ar. كَرْش (kirs) “stomach”; Eth. ካርሱስ: (*kars*) “belly; interior (of ship)”; Akk. *kursinnu* “leather sack.” The apparent occurrence of *samekh* in Ugaritic and Akkadian is difficult to account for. It is possible that the word occurs as a loan in Akkadian, and that the Ugaritic was borrowed from this language.⁷¹ (H. 259; B. 1014; *Wb.* V 135, 13.) [4]

484. O. Vienna H 1, 5. “**COUCH, DIVAN.**” See under .

485. ka=—r=ka=—r O. Edinb. 916 vs. 3–4. [D. 19]
 galgala*. N. “STONE HEAP.**” The word occurs in the following context: *Dww bsd; st h3w m ka=—r=ka=—r*. “The mountains topple; they come down in a rock heap.” The word has been identified with BH גָּלָגָל n. loc. “Stone Pile,” and the word גָּל “heap of stones,” MH “heap of stones; rubble”; TA جَلَّا “heap”; Syr. *gallā* “mound of stones”; Eth. Φርጥር: (*qarqar*) “heap of stones.” (H. 260; B. 1020; *VESO X D*, 18; *Wb.* V 136, 5.) [5]

486. ku=ra=ku=ra Urk. IV 667, 2. [D. 18]
 ka=ra=ka=ra O. Cairo 25679 12. [D. 19]
 ka=—r=ka=—r O. DeM 434 II, 4. [D. 19 or 20]
 k=r=k=r O. Campbell 3 vs. 9.⁷² [D. 20]

⁷⁰M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Die Welt des Orients* 3, 222, no. 64.

⁷¹Akkadian *s* for */š/ is not without parallel. One might cite the word for lamb, which occurs in Akk. as *kabsu*.

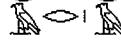
⁷²KRI VII 348, 11.

Also written:



ka—r=ka O. Vienna 1 4;⁷³ O. Gardiner 194

II, 18.⁷⁴ [D. 20]



ka-ra-ka O. Gardiner 158 6.⁷⁵ [D. 20]

**kalakka*. N. “COUCH, DIVAN.” The meaning of the word is rendered certain by the context of Urk. IV 667: *ssndm bɔk m nbw m ɔt nb, ht^c m shr n ku=ra=ku=ra n hrw pf.* “a bed of *ssndm*-wood worked with gold and all sorts of precious stones, in the manner of the *krkr* of that enemy.” O. Gardiner 158 reads: *krk n sdr* “a *krk* for sleeping.”⁷⁶ Černý linked the word to Demotic *glg* “bed, bier” and Coptic *ςελως* “bed; bier.”⁷⁷ Janssen,⁷⁸ without stating his reasons, rejected the connection, but it nevertheless seems highly likely. The Demotic and Coptic both suggest that the root was either *gll* or *qll*. The former is barely possible if we are dealing with a type of folding bed, cf. BH גָּלֵיל “turning, folding” (said of doors, perhaps with hinges). TA has the word נְלִילָה “folding couch; cot,” but the word is not otherwise attested. J. Osing’s⁷⁹ derivation from Akkadian *kalakku* would not seem very convincing, given the standard translations in the lexicons as “box; raft.” A. Salonen, however, has produced examples in which the object is listed with various types of chairs and is covered with 3 to 4 cow hides—obviously a large or long object. The use as a chair is furthermore established by its Sumerian writing, *gišGU.ZA.GÍD-DA*, which means “long chair.”⁸⁰ The Akkadian word thus probably designates a couch or divan, and a connection of Egyptian *ku=ra=ku=ra* /

⁷³Zonhoven, “Inspection,” *JEA* 65, p. 90.

⁷⁴KRI VII 312, 6.

⁷⁵KRI VII 346, 1.

⁷⁶The specification would be necessary only if the *krkr* served several purposes (i.e. as a couch), or if the word was unfamiliar, or if it were ambiguous. It is unclear which of the three motives prompted the writer to specify the function.

⁷⁷Cf. also M. Doresse, “Le dieu voilé dans sa châsse et la fête du début de la décade (suite),” *RdE* 25 (1973), p. 113, and n. 5.

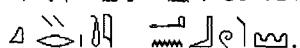
⁷⁸Janssen, *Prices*, p. 185.

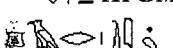
⁷⁹J. Osing, *JEA* 64 (1978), p. 188. Osing cites Syriac and Arabic cognates or loanwords that mean “raft.”

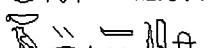
⁸⁰A. Salonen, *Möbel*, pp. 12; 104–5.

ka-ra-ka to this word seems very attractive.⁸¹ The reduplicating forms in Egyptian perhaps arose out of confusion with a fairly common Akkadian words for “table”: *kakarakku*, *kagiškarakku*, *kangiškarakku*, etc.⁸² or may be influenced by Egyptian morphological patterns involving reduplication. (H. 261; B. 1021; *Wb.* V 136, 6.) [4]

487.  ፩ P. Mayer A 4, 7. **A GARMENT, PROBABLY CLOAK.** See under  ፩ .

488.  ፩ Urk. IV 791, 222. **“CITY.”** See under  ፩ .

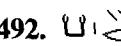
489.  ፩ HPBM 4th Ser. L₇ 36. **“KIDNEYS.”** See under  ፩ .

490.  ፩ H.O. 72 1, 15. **A TYPE OF BASKET.** See under  ፩ .

491.  ፩ *ku=ra=ta* HPBM 4th Ser. T₃ rt. 77. [D. 21–22]
 karata?* Vb? N? **“TO SLAUGHTER” OR “SWORD.” The word occurs in an amuletic formula: *Iw n šd:f r sm3 r ku=ra=ta*. “We will protect him from murder and from slaughter.” I.E.S. Edwards suggested a connection with BH כְּרֹת “to cut.” One could also compare Ph. כְּרֹת “to cut”; Moabite כְּרֹת “to cut”; TA כְּרֹת “divorce”; Akk. *karātu* “to cut off, break off.” The form appears to be based on the G-stem *qatala*. The verbal noun “slaughter” parallel to *sm3* seems somewhat preferable to a derived noun meaning “sword,” but the metal determinative may lend support to the latter meaning. There is also the possibility that it is intended as a participle, “the cutter.” (Not in *Wb.*) [4]

⁸¹Perhaps cf. the divan of Assurbanipal, J.B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: 1969), p. 155, no. 541 (Salonen’s pl. 48).

⁸²A. Salonen, *Möbel*, pp. 194–95.

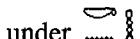
492.  *ku= - r = ti₂* An. IV 17, 2. [D. 19]

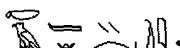
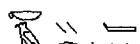
 *ka = ra = ti₂* O. Cairo 25678 vs. 15. [D. 19]

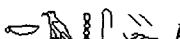
**kurušši?* N. pl. “WHIP CORDS” OR “CLOTH STRAPS.” The meaning is fairly well established by the context of An. IV 17, 2: *?as-ba= - r nfr n ti=ga, nṣy·sn ku= - r = ti₂ m ins* “fine *tg*-wood whips, whose *krt* are of red cloth.” The word occurs in a list of commodities in the Cairo ostracon: ^{“?”}⁸³ *hr ka=ra=ti₂ n ins*.⁸⁴ “A ‘whip’ with *krt* of red cloth.” The derivation of the word is unknown. It is not likely related to Arabic قلس (*qals*) “cable; rope.” Perhaps cf. Akk. *karāsu* “to tie, fasten,” whence *kurussu* “strap” (of leather or metal). The word *kirissu* “hair clasp” occurs in an Amarna text.⁸⁵ The word occurring in P. BM 10068 vs 1, 4  (*ka-na-ta*, no. 471) is surely a word for a garment (listed with gold and garments as a valuable item stolen from a tomb), and not whip-lashes as maintained by Peet.⁸⁶ (H. 262; B. 1025; Wb. V 136, 9.) [2]

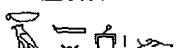
493.  P. Harris 500 2, 1. “FLEDGLING, YOUNG BIRD.”

See under .

494.  H.O. 89 9. “DARKNESS; GLOOM OF NIGHT.” See under .

495.  H.O. 89 9. A TYPE OF BASKET. See under .

496.  *ka = h = si* O. DeM 316 2. [D. 19]

 *ka = ha = sa* O. DeM 319 3. [D. 19 or 20]

⁸³One word whose reading is uncertain. The writing is rather cursive generally, but here the word is squeezed to fit the remaining space of line 14.

⁸⁴Cerný read *inh*, but given the determinative and the parallel in An. IV, there seems to be little doubt. The writing of *h* on this ostracon is usually as a straight vertical line, and *h* and *s* are sometimes indistinguishable, e.g. *hsmn* in vs. 29.

⁸⁵EA 25, II, 32 (2x).

⁸⁶Peet, *Tomb Robberies* I, p. 101, n. 32.

ka-ha-su₂ O. Berlin P 12636 7.⁸⁷ [D. 19 or 20]

kahtā*. N. m. “CHAIR.**” The context of O. DeM 316 is broken, but it is a letter or memo enquiring about the object in question. In the Berlin ostraca it is specified as a “woman’s chair”: *ka-ha-su₂ n st.* In O. Dem 319 the word occurs in a list of household goods: *htri, p̃y:f ka-ha-sa n sht, tm̃* “door posts, his⁸⁸ chair (with) woven (seat), mats” or perhaps “his chair (with) woven matting.”⁸⁹ Helck thought that the word *sht* referred to a bird trap, but the writing is ambiguous and could refer to either trapping or weaving. It is more likely to do with weaving, as a word written in exactly the same way occurs in O. DeM 183 3 after *d̃iw*-garment, and clearly refers to woven stuff.⁹⁰ The word in question is almost certainly related to Amarna *ka-ah-šu* “chair”,⁹¹ Ug. *kht* “chair.” The word occurring in W. Semitic languages is probably a loan (with metathesis) from the Hurrian *kišhi* “chair.”⁹² For references to earlier (MK) and later examples of the word, see D. Meeks, “Notes de lexicographie (§§5–8),” *BIFAO* 77 (1977), pp. 86–87. (H. 263.) [4]

497. H.O. 26 5, 5. A **TYPE OF BASKET.** See under .

498. H.O. 58 3, 7; 62 1, 9. “**BASKET.**” See under .

499. H.O. 28 2, 8. “**BASKET.**” See under .

500. ka-t-pa P. Leiden I 343 II, 3. [D. 19 or 20]

katpa*. N. m. “SWORD.**” The word occurs in a magical formula:

⁸⁷Allam, *Forschungen und Berichte* 22 (1982), p. 56.

⁸⁸This apparently refers to the writer’s father mentioned earlier in the text.

⁸⁹So too, D. Meeks, “Notes de lexicographie (§ 5–8),” *BIFAO* 77 (1977), pp. 86–87.

⁹⁰Sim. in O. DeM 49 3.

⁹¹EA 120, 18.

⁹²J. Friedrich, “Churritisch-Ugaritsches und Churritisch-Luwisches,” *AfO* 14 (1944), pp. 329–31; “Ein churritisches Wort,” *AfO* 16 (1952–53), p. 66.

P³ ḥpš <n> Sth r·k... p³ ka=t=pa n B^r m d₃d₃·k. “The scimitar of Seth is against you... the sword of Ba^cal is in your head.” The identification with the Semitic root *ktp* is due to R.T. O’Callaghan,⁹³ who noted especially the Ugaritic word designating a weapon. Cf. BH 𐎁𐎑𐎓 “shoulder-blade”; Ug. *ktp* “shoulder; broad-sword”; TA 𐎁𐎑𐎓 “shoulder”; Syr. ܟܼܾܻܰ (katpā) “shoulder-blade”; Ar. كَتْفٌ (*katif*) “shoulder-blade,” كَتِيفٌ (*katif*) “sword”; Eth. መተካፍ: (*matkaf*) “shoulder-blade.” (Wb. V 145, 5.) [5]

501. 𐎁 𐎑 𐎓 𐎓 𐎓 *ku=t=m₁{t}* P. Harris I 5, etc.⁹⁴ [D. 20]
 𐎁 𐎑 𐎓 𐎓 𐎓 *ku=ta=m₁{t}* P. Harris I 13a, 5; Amenemope 18, 12.

[D. 20, 21?]

𐎁 𐎑 𐎓 𐎓 𐎓 *ku=ta₅=m₂{t}* Med. Habu 107, 15. [D. 20]

**kutma?* N. “GOLD.” The meaning is assured by the context of P. Harris I 13a, 5 and 47, 5, where the word is preceded by *nbw nfr* “fine gold.” The word has long been identified with the BH 𐎁𐎑𐎓 “gold.” Cf. also the Ph. PN 𠁧𠁧; Old S. Arabic PN ݂݂݃ (ktm), all “gold”; Akk. *kutimnu* “goldsmith.”⁹⁵ The word form is not certain. The BH word, which is closest in meaning, could derive from **katm-* or **kitm-*. (H. 264; B. 1036; VESO XVII C, 10; Wb. V 145, 6–13.) [5]

502. 𐎁 𐎑 𐎓 𐎓 𐎓 *ku=ti₂* P. Sallier IV vs. 3, 3, and often.⁹⁶ [D. 19, 20]

𐎁 𐎑 𐎓 𐎓 𐎓 P. Leiden I 352 5⁹⁷ and fairly often.⁹⁸ [D. 19, 20]

𐎁 𐎑 𐎓 𐎓 𐎓 O. DeM 187 1–2. [D. 20]

𐎁 𐎑 𐎓 𐎓 𐎓 H.O. 86 1 vs. II, 5; 26 4, 4. [D. 19–20, 20]

⁹³R.T. O’Callaghan, “The Word *ktp* in Ugaritic and Egypto-Canaanite Mythology,” *Orientalia* 21 (1952), p. 37 ff.

⁹⁴P. Harris I 12; 6, 3; 6, 13; 7, 1; 26, 1; 45, 6; 47, 5.

⁹⁵The word is not necessarily related directly to the Akkadian word, as Helck suggests. The root is not, however, very well attested with the meaning “gold” in the West Semitic languages.

⁹⁶E.g. P. Leiden I 343 rt. 6, 12–13; H.O. 32 4, 3; 86 1, vs. 2; 6; Weight DeM 5135 5 (Valbelle, *Poids*, 19); KRI VI 522, 1; O. Gardiner 157 4 (KRI VII 369, 14–15).

⁹⁷Černý, “Stolen Property,” *JEA* 23 (1937), p. 186.

⁹⁸E.g. P. DeM 17 1; O. DeM 239 I 9; O. Cairo 25588 10; O. Berlin P 10643 2 (Allam, *Forschungen und Berichte* 22 [1982], p. 54).

 O. DeM 239 I, 9; P. Turin 1881 8, 8; 8, 9.⁹⁹ [D. 19, 20]

 KRI IV 9, 9. [D. 19]

 *ku=tu* P. Louvre 3170.¹⁰⁰ [D. 19]

kōṣa*. N. m. “CUP; GOBLET.**” In addition to its occurrence as a commodity in the ostraca, at least one of the contexts leaves no doubt concerning the meaning. P. Leiden I 343: *Swrn·i st m p3 ku=tì2*. “I drank it from the cup.” The word has been identified with the well known Hebrew word **כֶּסֶף** “cup.”¹⁰¹ Cf. also Ug. *ks*; Imp. Aram. **ܟܻܹܵ**, TA **ܟܻܹܵ**; Syr. **ܟܻܹܵ** (*kāsā*); Ar. **كأس** (*kaʔs*); Akk. *kāsu*, all “cup.” (H. 265; B. 1040; *Wb.* V 148, 9–10; Janssen *Prices* 408–412.) [5]

503.  *ka=tì2=ma4* Med. Habu 82, 16. [D. 20]

 *ka=tì2=mu* HPBM 4th Ser. L₁ 29–30. [D. 21–22]

 HPBM 4th Ser. T₂ vs. 90–91.

Also written with *q* and *d*:

 *qa=da=m* HPBM 4th Ser. L₅ vs. 17–18.

 HPBM 4th Ser. T₁ 92–93.

 HPBM 4th Ser. L₂ 82.

 HPBM 4th Ser. L₇ 12.

qišma*. N. “DIVINATION; OMEN; DECISION (BASED ON AUGURY).**” The word occurs once in the Medinet Habu passage in the context of the enemy in a war: *Hw·tw n3y·sn shy dw m* [‘ht’]·*sn*, *n3y·w ka=tì2=ma4 thw hr* [‘ib’] *n ntr*. “Smitten were their evil plans from their ‘bellies,’ for their decisions / forecasts transgressed the [‘will’] of god.” The translation of Edgerton and Wilson is quite different: “Their ‘threats’ were repelled by the

⁹⁹Allam, *HOP*, pl. 110; KRI VI 609–19.

¹⁰⁰Rechn. pl. 17 II, 9; III, 5.

¹⁰¹W.F. Albright and T.O. Lambdin, “Syllabic Orthography,” *JSS* 2 (1957), p. 123; Ward, “Egyptian and Ugaritic,” *JNES* 20 (1961), p. 39. Ward’s supposed identification with the Coptic **ܟܻܹܵ** “pitcher; bucket” is unfounded, although followed by Westendorf, *Kopt. HWb*, 513.

[...'] of the God." Their proposed connection with the root *gzm* "to cut off" is not at all convincing. The Bible contains several references to diviners putting a curse on the enemy,¹⁰² as well as to decisions concerning battle made by diviners.¹⁰³ Cf. also the inscription of Zakir of Hamat in which Ba^cal-Shamayn is said to speak to the ruler "through seers and 'diviners'" concerning the siege of Hamat.¹⁰⁴ In the amuletic texts the word occurs in several contexts. First it occurs after "every evil eye" in a list of undesirable or harmful things that are to be warded off: *ka=ti₂=mu nb bin* "every evil omen."¹⁰⁵ A similar context is *iw·i <r šd·s> r qa=da=mu·s*. "I <will protect> her from her omens."¹⁰⁶ Once it occurs parallel to "dreams."¹⁰⁷ The word is almost certainly related to the widespread Semitic root *qsm*: BH פָּרַשׁ "divination; oracle; decision"; TA אֲמֵשִׁקְ "divination; charm"; Palm. אֲמֵשָׁק "divination"; Syr. مُرْسَمٌ (*q̡asam*¹⁰⁸) "to divine," مُرْسَمَةً (*qesmā*) "divination, oracle, omen"; Ar. قَسَّامٌ (*qasama*) "to divine; decree; foreordain," A-stem "to swear, take an oath," قِسْمَةٌ (*qisma*) "destiny, fate"; Old S. Ar. مَقْسِمٌ (*mqsim*) "oracular decision?"; Eth. Φῆμος: (*qsm*) A-stem "to use divination," Φῆμος: (*qasm*) "divination, magic." The Egyptian *d* for *samekh* is no doubt due to the influence of the preceding [q]. It is more likely that the Egyptians mis-heard the *samekh* as an emphatic than that the source language had a by-form with [ṣ] through assimilation to [q], but this phonetic development is attested in Syriac. The visual nature of פָּרַשׁ is well documented in I Sam. 28:12 ff., where the necromancer of En-dor "sees" (תָּנָךְ) a divine being arising from the earth, and proceeds to describe what she sees. (H. 266; B. 1043; Wb. V 148, 11.) [4]

504.  An. III 5 vs., 8. "CHARIOTEER." See under .

102 E.g. Num. 22 (Balaam son of Beor).

103 E.g. I Sam. 28:8 (the necromancer of En-dor).

104 Pritchard, *ANET*, p. 655.

105 *HPBM* L₁, T₂, L₅, T₁.

106 *HPBM* L₂. The restoration is certain as it is a well-repeated formula in the texts.

107 *HPBM* L₇.

108 Syr. [ṣ] arises from assimilation to [q].

505. 𐎁 𐎃 𐎂 𐎄 𐎅 𐎈 ku-i₂-ta An. IV 17, 1. [D. 19]

𐎁 𐎃 𐎂 𐎄 𐎈 RAD 22, 6; 22, 7. [D. 20]

𐎁 𐎃 𐎂 𐎄 𐎅 𐎈 P. Harris I 14b, 4. [D. 20]

𐎁 𐎃 𐎂 𐎄 𐎅 𐎈 ku-t₁-tu RAD 20, 8. [D. 20]

Written with metathesis:

𐎁 𐎃 𐎂 𐎄 𐎅 𐎈 ti₂=ka=ta Gloss. Gol. 3, 6. [D. 20-1]

*kuśīta. N. (f.) “GARMENT; COVERING.” In the text of *RAD* 22, 6 the word occurs in a list of garments and one is listed as *ku=tī₂=ta* ḥbsi “a *kīt* garment.” In P. Harris I 14b, 4, the *kīt* is for a statue of Amun. In An. IV the word refers a certain part of the chariot equipment (possibly the trapper worn by the horses): *īw·w nṣy·sn s=wā=r m bṣkw ku=tī₂=ta* “and their *swr* are of *kīt* manufacture.” The word has long been identified with BH בְּסִיחָה “covering, clothing.” Cf. also Amarna *ku-zi-ti*,¹⁰⁹ *ku-ši-ti*¹¹⁰ “garment”; Ph. Κύπεως “to cover, clothe”; Ug. *kst* “garment”; Imp. Aram. כְּסֵת “covering”; TA נְסַתָּא “cover, clothing”; Syr. ܟୁସିତା (kusītā) “(head) covering”; Ar. كِسْوَة (kiswa) “garment, covering”; Old S. Ar. ܟୁସିତ (kusīt)¹¹¹ “garment”; Akk. *kusītu* (an elaborate) “garment.” The word formation is identical to that found in the Amarna texts and in Akkadian. (H. 268; B. 1046; *VESO* XVII C, 10; *Wb.* V 148, 19.)

[5]

506. 𐎁 𐎃 𐎂 𐎄 𐎅 𐎈 ku-d=n KRI II 32, 12.¹¹² [D. 19]

𐎁 𐎃 𐎂 𐎄 𐎅 𐎈 KRI III 246, 11; 274, 6; KRI IV 365, 10; Med. Habu

90, 9. [D. 19, 20]

𐎁 𐎃 𐎂 𐎄 𐎅 𐎈 Med. Habu 9, 12.

𐎁 𐎃 𐎂 𐎄 𐎅 𐎈 Med. Habu 42, 1.

¹⁰⁹EA 14, III 27.

¹¹⁰EA 34, 23.

¹¹¹One expects *s₃*.

¹¹²The word is very common, and the list (extensive as it is) is intended to be representative of the many writings, but not exhaustive. The two examples in the Nauri Decree II. 36, 45 (Griffith, “Abydos Decree,” *JEA* 13, p. 193 ff.), are damaged and the determinatives are uncertain, and they are not included.

- Med. Habu 68, 10.
- KRI II 32, 13; 64, 2; 64, 3. [D. 19]
- London 154 (3x),¹¹³ and often on stele.¹¹⁴ [D. 19, 20]
- KRI II 899, 13.
- KRI II 871, 4.
- KRI II 137, 6; 137, 7; KRI III 247, 16; 441, 10.
- Med. Habu 16, 16.
- KRI IV 91, 9.
- KRI II 138, 6, and elsewhere.¹¹⁵ [D. 19]
- KRI II 138, 5.
- KRI III 270, 9.
- KRI V 91, 9. [D. 20]
- KRI V 374, 13.
- ZÄS 96 (1969), fig. 3 (opp. p. 18), x+2. [D. 19]
- ku-d-n-na P. Bib. Nat. 211.¹¹⁶ [D. 19]
- ku-d=nu AEO L. rt.¹¹⁷ [D. 21]
- KRI VII 104, 16.
- KRI II 183, 1; 183, 2.
- ku-di₃=n KRI III 402, 8.
- KRI IV 375, 10. [D. 19]

¹¹³T.G.H. James, ed. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, vol. 9, pl. 27.

¹¹⁴E.g. KRI II 862, 6; 899, 9; KRI III 220, 7; 235, 12; 246, 5.6; 253, 10.12.14; 269, 5; 271, 14; 273, 13; 274, 16; KRI IV 365, 4; 375, 7; KRI V 368, 2.4–5.9; 374, 2.4; KRI VI 323, 1.2.3.4.

¹¹⁵KRI II 862, 2; KRI III 239, 15; 240, 4; 247, 9.13; 441, 7.13; KRI VII 104, 9.11.16.

¹¹⁶Rechn., pl. 13 II, 12; 14a, 19; 15b c, 7.

¹¹⁷Parallel to Gloss. Gol. 2, 2.

 *ku-di-n* KRI III 402, 9.

 *ku-d-ni* KRI III 407, 13.

 *ku-di₄-n-ya* Amarna V, pl. 22 (right). [D. 18]

Also without final *n*:

 *ku-d* Berlin 2089. [D. 19]

 KRI IV 362, 9. [D. 19]

 KRI II 138, 13.

 KRI II 899, 11.

 KRI III 444, 10.

Also written with *t*:

 *ku-ti₂-na* An. III 5 vs., 8, and often.¹¹⁸ [D. 19, 20]

 Gloss. Gol. 2, 2; P. Hood 2, 2. [D. 21]

 Paheri 3, 3rd. reg.¹¹⁹ [D. 18]

 P. Sallier III 2, 2.¹²⁰ [D. 19]

 P. Sallier III 7, 1; 8, 9.¹²¹

 Hamm. no. 12, 15. [D. 20]

 *ku-ti₂=n* St. Vienna 63 I, 1;¹²² KRI VI 557, 8. [D. 20]

 KRI III 245, 9; 245, 10. [D. 19]

 KRI IV 364, 13.

 *ku-ti-nu* P. Turin 2021 4, 8.¹²³ [D. 20]

Also without the final *n*:

 *ku-ti₂* KRI II 862, 4, and elsewhere.¹²⁴ [D. 19, 20]

¹¹⁸E.g. Joppa 2, 10; KRI I 304, 2; KRI III 250, 13; KRI VI 530, 14; RAD 62, 15; P. Leiden I 350 vs. 2, 9; 2, 30; 3, 22; O. Turin 57031 9b.

¹¹⁹J. J. Taylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab in E. Naville, Ahnas el Medineh* (London: 1894), pl. 3.

¹²⁰KRI II 32, 16.

¹²¹KRI II 64, 4; 83, 10.

¹²²KRI V 433, 3.

¹²³KRI VI 742, 7.

¹²⁴KRI II 862, 5; KRI III 248, 16; Hamm. no. 223, 1; P. BM 10068 vs. 3, 5 (Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 8).

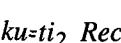
Also as PN, mostly with the m. sing. definite article:

  *ku=d=n* H.O. 68 2, 1. [D. 20]

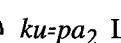
  *ku-ti₂-na* Deir el-Bahri.¹²⁵ [D. 20]

  *Deir el-Bahri.*¹²⁶

  *ka=tí₂-na* Deir el-Bahri.¹²⁷

  *ku=tí₂* *Rec. trav.* 39, 235.

Miswritten and without final *n*:

  *ku=pa₂* London 166 (6x).¹²⁸ [D. 19]

**kušina / kuzina*. N. m. “CHARIOTEER.” The connection of the *ktn* to the chariotry is well established by captions over depictions of charioteers.¹²⁹ The origin of the word is uncertain and is possibly Hurrian.¹³⁰ In any case, it is attested in several Semitic languages: Amarna *lúgu-zi*,¹³¹ *lúku-sí* “charioteer”,¹³² Ug. *kzy* (vocalized *ka-zí-e*)¹³³ “charioteer?”; Alalakh Akkadian (18th century B.C.E.): *lúku-zi*, and perhaps Akk. *kizû* “squire, groom.”¹³⁴ The evidence from the Alalakh (level VII) occurrence indicates that the *o* / *u*-vowel is original, and not deriving from *á, as this shift is not in evidence in these documents.¹³⁵ The interchange between Egyptian *t* and *d* is interesting. With West Semitic words, the only phoneme that is regularly transcribed by both Egyptian graphemes is [d]. Since the word is likely of non-Semitic origin, the various languages seem to have represented the original phone differently.

¹²⁵Marciak, *Deir el-Bahri I*, p. 61, no. 4, 5; 4, 6.

¹²⁶Marciak, *Deir el-Bahri I*, p. 86, no. 29, 5.

¹²⁷Marciak, *Deir el-Bahri I*, p. 101, no. 45, 3.

¹²⁸James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, vol 9., pl. 22.

¹²⁹E.g. the tomb of Paheri; Medinet Habu 9, 12; 68, 10; 90, 9.

¹³⁰So A. Goetze, “Remarks on the Ration Lists from Alalakh VII,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 13 (1959), p. 35.

¹³¹EA 299, 5 ff.; 303, 5; 304, 7; 306, 5; 316, 5.

¹³²EA 303, 6; 299, 6; etc. *lúku-sí ša sis̪* “*ku-si* of the horses.”

¹³³Gordon, no. 1215.

¹³⁴In Old Akk. and Old Bab. texts, the word seems to refer to a minor administrative official dealing with sheep, donkeys, and horses. In later texts from the West, the word is used of grooms or personal attendants of officers.

¹³⁵Goetze, “Ration Lists,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 13 (1959), p. 35.

In Ugaritic, as in Akkadian, *z* was used, but the Amarna orthography suggests a pronunciation with *samekh*. The Egyptians presumably learned both pronunciations. The interchange is attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty on, and although there is a tendency for the monumental orthography to prefer *d* and the papyri *t*, the interchange is attested in both the scribal cursive and the monumental hieroglyphic traditions.¹³⁶ The final *n* is presumably a Semitic suffix, as found in the Hebrew יָדָר “general,”¹³⁷ but it could also be the plural ending with nunation as in the word *na=‘a-ru₂-na* “soldiers” (no. 245). (H. 267; B. 1039, 1044, 1048; VESO XVII C8, C9; Wb. V 148, 12–17; PN I 349, 31; Salonen, *Hippologica Accadica*, 236; Faulkner, JEA 39, p. 43; Ward, JNES 20, 39; Schulman, JARCE 2, 88–90; JSSEA 10, 105–53.) [5]

¹³⁶For the rather rare use of *t* in the monumental orthography, cf. St. Vienna 63.

¹³⁷As maintained by Albright VESO XVII C9. The similarity of يَدَر to the word for “charioteer” is only coincidental. A.F. Rainey, “The Military Personnel of Ugarit,” JNES 24 (1965), p. 22, however, maintained that the Egyptian *ku-d-n* is derived from يَدَر, and likewise S. Israelit-Groll, “The Egyptian administrative system in Syria and Palestine in the 18th Dynasty,” *Fontes atque Pontes*, (Wiesbaden: 1983), p. 238. The second consonant of the former, represented by Egyptian *t* and *d*, does not correspond to Hebrew *s*.

507. ga=wi₂ An. III 6, 5; An. IV 17, 8. [D. 19]

ga=wi₂={wt} {wi} ?) P. Cairo 58054 12.¹ [D. 19]

ga=wi P. Ch. Beatty I vs. G1, 5–6. [D. 20]

*gāwē? N. pl. A DESIGNATION FOR HORSES. The most illuminating context is that of An. IV 17, 8: *htri ga=wi₂ nfrw, msw Sa=-n-ga=-r; ²a₂=bi=-r=ya tpty n Htšw, idr n ²A₂=-r=sa* “teams of fine *gw*, offspring of Sangar (Babylonia); stallions, the best of Hatti, and herds of Alasia (probably Cyprus).” Blackman² suggested a derivation from an Indo-european language and associated the word with Latin *equus*, and Sanskrit *haya-s*. The connection seems quite dubious. The word may, however, be connected to the n. loc. Que (Cilicia), noted in the Bible for its fine horses.³ The name Que occurs in BH as and ; Old Aram. ; ⁴ in cuneiform text from Ugarit *Quwe*;⁵ Akk. *Qa-a-ú-e* (i.e. *Qāwē*).⁶ Görg⁷ proposed the identification of (Thutmose III toponym list⁸) with Que. The writing of the toponym is very close to that of the word designating horses, although the former is written consonantly. The fact that the horses came from Babylonia might not argue too strongly against this derivation, since the term might designate the

¹Bakir, *Epistolography*, pl. 2.

²A.M. Blackman, (Review of Gardiner's *Ch. Beatty I*), *JEA* 19 (1933), p. 202.

³I Kings 10:28: “Solomon's horses were procured from Egypt and Que. The king's dealers would buy them from Que at a fixed price.”

⁴Inscription of ZKR 1, 6.

⁵Görg, “Hiwwiter im 13. Jahrhundert v. Chr.,” *UF* 8 (1976), pp. 53–55.

⁶W.F. Albright, “Cilicia and Babylonia under the Chaldean Kings,” *BASOR* 120 (1950), p. 23, n. 10.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Simons, *ETL*, p. 126, no. 1.

breed, rather than the actual place of birth.⁹ (H. 269; B. 1049; *Wb.* V 159, 9.) [3]

508.  *ga-wa-na* Israel St. 6.¹⁰ [D. 19]

**gawana*. N. pl. “HAVERSACK,” OR SIM. The word occurs in the context of the fleeing enemy: *Ntf-w n3y-sn hntn hwy r iwtn, n3y-w ga-wa-na it h3c r bwnr*. “They loosened their water-bags, which were cast to the ground, and their *ga-wa-na* were grabbed and thrown away.” Černý,¹¹ following Burchardt, wanted to identify the word with Coptic *σεούρνη* “hair-cloth; sack-cloth; sack,” but the connection is less than certain. Černý’s proposed link to the Arabic *جُنَاح (jūna)* “basket” is most unlikely. The etymology of the word, however, continues to defy identification. (H. 270; B. 1050; *VESO XVIII A*, 7; *Wb.* V 160, 10.) [1]

509.  *ga-wa-ša* An. IV 11, 10; P. Ch. Beatty IV vs. 1, 8–9. [D. 19]

 Med. Habu 27, 28. [D. 20]

 P. Cairo 58032 76–77.¹² [D. 21]

 *ga-wa-šu* H.O. 1 1, 4.¹³ [D. 19 or 20]

 *g=w=š-t(i)*¹⁴ P. Edwin Smith 4, 6. [D. 18]

**qawaša*. Vb. “TO BE CROOKED; TO TURN AWAY.” The meaning is established by the contexts. P. Ch. Beatty IV: *I-ir-k m sp n m3t. q3y. M-ir ga-wa-[ša].* “With just deeds shall you act. Be straight. Do not be crooked.” H.O. 1, 1: *Imi-k s^cq3 ga-wa-šu.* “You should not straighten out what is crooked.” An. IV *Tw-k mi*

⁹Cf. the use of the names “Arabian” or “Persian” with regard to modern breeds. There is no question that certain centres were well known for horse breeding (A. Salonen, *Hippologica Accadica*, pp. 36–37), and in particular, great attention was paid to ancestry, as horses were described by a feature (e.g. colour) and by the name of the sire (Salonen, *op. cit.*, p. 25).

¹⁰KRI IV 14, 8.

¹¹Černý, *Ety. Dict.* p. 339.

¹²B. Gunn, “The Decree of Amorasonthēr for Neskhons,” *JEA* 41 (1955), p. 91, 14; I.E.S. Edwards, “Appendix,” *JEA* 41 (1955), p. 102, 21, 22.

¹³The word appears to be a participle “that which is crooked.”

¹⁴The form is a f. sing. stative (old perfective), referring to a patient’s eye.

wsr ga=wa=ša m imw iw bw sdm:f hr rwi3 nb. “You are like a crooked steering oar in a boat that does not heed to either side.” P. Cairo 58032: *iw bn ir h3ty·s ga=wa=ša im:f* “her heart not turning away from him”; and similarly *iw bn iw·f ga=wa=ša m-^c Nsw-Hnsw n q3iw nb n ga=wa=ša nty hpr m-^c p3 rm̄t*. “And he will not turn away from Nisu-Khonsu in any manner of turning away that occurs with people.” The etymology from the Semitic root *qwš* is quite sound. Cf. MH 𢃠 “[a person with crooked legs]; Ar. (qawisa) “to be bent, crooked.” The common Semitic word for “(archery) bow” (e.g. BH 𢃠; Ar. قوس *qaws*) is probably also related. The semantic development from “bending” to “turning away (from a person)” is quite straightforward. (H. 271; B. 1051; Wb. V 160, 12–15.) [5]

510. *ga-wa-ša* P. Jud. Turin 2, 9.¹⁵ [D. 20]

P. Turin 1882 5, 3.¹⁶ [D. 20]

**qawaša*. N. “CROOKEDNESS.” In P. Jud. Turin the investigators are warned to establish the facts beyond doubt in order to protect the innocent: *S3w·tw·tn r dit ir·tw·f sb3yt r [... m] ga-wa-ša*. “Take caution lest you punish [a person] wrongfully.” The context of P. Turin 1882 is quite broken, but the text obviously deals with the actions of criminals, perhaps involved in the Ramses III harem conspiracy: [...] ·tw·w m n3y·sn ga-wa-ša. *Di·i mtr·w* [...] [‘I caused’] them to be [‘exposed’] in their crooked actions. I made them testify [...].” Cf. the previous entry. [5]

511. *ga-pa* P. Koller 2, 1; 2, 8; An. IV 2, 10.¹⁷ [D. 19]

**qabba?* *gāpa?* *gabba?* *qa<la>pa?* *ga<la>ba?* Vb. “TO PERFORATE, SKEWER(?)” “TO CUT OFF(?)” “TO STRIP OFF (BARK); PLUCK BIRDS(?)” In the text of P. Koller 2, 1, the verb is used in reference to the initial step in preparing the draught-pole of a chariot and precedes the shaving of the pole. In the text of P. Koller 2, 8 and An. IV 2, 10, however, the word designates an activity

¹⁵A. de Buck, “The Judicial Papyrus of Turin,” *JEA* 23 (1937), p. 152 ff.

¹⁶Gardiner, “Pharaonic Encomium,” *JEA* 41, pl. 11, V, 3.

¹⁷Restoration from P. Koller 2, 8.

directed at birds, perhaps “skewering” or “plucking.”¹⁸ The word might be related to Ar. قَبَ (qabba) “to cut off, chop off” or to Ar. جَوْبَ (jwb) “to pierce; cut through.” The roots are not well attested outside of Arabic. Less likely is a connection to the root *nqb*: BH נִקְבָּ “to pierce, bore”; TA نِقْبَةٌ “to bore”; Ar. نَقَبَ (naqaba) “to bore, drill”; Eth. נִקְבָּה: (naqaba) “to perforate.” It is also possible that the word is a miswriting for *ga-ra-pa (cf. nos. 477, 478) and to be linked to the root *glp*: MH גַּלְבָּ “to scrape, peel”; Syr. مَلَفَ (q^olap̄) “to scrape, peel”; Ar. قَلَافَة (qalafa) “to strip the bark off”; Akk. *qalāpu* “to peel, skin.”¹⁹ Finally, there is the possibility that in the example from P. Koller 2, 1, the word is a miswriting of *ga-ra-ba / ga-ra-pa* “to shave” (no. 516). If so, the scribe, realizing the spelling error, proceeded to write the word correctly. (*Wb.* V 166, 4.) [2]

512.  ga-ni-sa Amenemope 8, 20; 13, 11; 18, 17.
[D. 21?]
-  ga-na-sa HPBM 4th Ser. L₇ vs., 47. [D. 21–22]
-  P. Pushkin 127 3, 6. [D. 21]
**nagiša?* N. “VIOLENCE, INJUSTICE.” Demotic *kns* “violence, injustice,” Coptic ⲥⲱⲙ, ⲍⲱⲙ “might, violence.” The word recurs several times in Amenemope (8, 19): ՚ḥ ipt iw di·s n·k pʒ ntr r 5,000 m ga-ni-sa. “Better is one measure given to you by god than five thousand (obtained) through violence.” (13, 11): *M-ir šd tw m pʒy·k šmm m ga-ni-sa·k, mtw·k hd ib·k q̄s·k.* “Do not pull yourself out of your anger by forcing yourself or else you will injure your own heart.”²⁰ P. Pushkin reads: ՚tʒy ssmt, nhmw wrry(t), nʒy-i htri ikmw m qrt šspw nʒy·w ՚ ga-na-sa. “My mares were stolen, my chariot taken away, and my team and ‘tackle’ are in the hands of those whose great (acts of) injustice I suffered.” The amuletic text

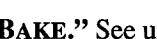
¹⁸The passage is difficult and apparently relates the much exaggerated results of an idle apprentice skipper’s reckless sailing. It is possible, but not very likely, that the reference is to his daydreams.

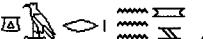
¹⁹Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 173.

²⁰Others have translated quite differently. Eg. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Berkeley: 1976), vol. 2, p. 154: “Don’t force yourself to greet the heated man, for then you injure your own heart.”

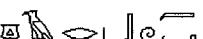
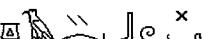
(*HPBM* 4th Ser.) uses the word in a broad and non-specific promise: *Iw·i šd·f i g=na=sa nb, nkt nb, wndw nb.* “I will protect him from any sort of injustice, any sort of thing, anything whatsoever.” The word is almost certainly related to the Semitic root *ngš*: BH שָׁגַן “to press, drive; oppress,” (as participle) “ruler; tyrant,” Mod. Heb. גְּנִיחָה “oppression”; Old S. Ar. ܢܵܲܶܳ (*ngs₂*) “to take control over (a town)”; Eth. ܵܲܶܳ (*nagša*) “to reign; wield power.” The word exhibits metathesis of the first two consonants. The hieratic writings suggest the *qatila* pattern, but the Coptic would seem to be derived from a hypothetical *[gánsa]. A link to the Akk. *kanāšu* “to be submissive,” D-stem “to subdue” is unlikely on semantic grounds. (*VESO* XVIII A, 9; *Wb.* V 177, 5–6.) [4]

513.  “END OF A PAPYRUS; BLANK MARGIN.” See under .

514.  An. IV 14, 5; P. Ch. Beatty IV vs. 9, 5. “TO ROAST, BAKE.” See under .

515.   *ga-ra-ya* P. Wilbour B 12, 16. [D. 20]
 *ga-ra* P. Wilbour B 13, 22.

**garaya*. N. in n. loc. “STREAM.” Helck’s proposed connection to the root *grr* is very dubious on semantic and phonological grounds: The root means “to drag away,” and the Egyptian writing suggests that the word was derived from a final weak root. Much more likely is a derivation from the root *gry*: BH גְּרָה D-stem “to excite, stir up”; Imp. Aram גְּרִי “to litigate,” TA גְּרִי D-stem “to incite”; Syr. لְרָא (g²rā) “to trickle, run down”; Ar. (jry) “to flow; stream,” جَرَانْ (jarayān) “stream; course,” مجرى (majran) “stream, rivulet, canal.” The semantic field of the root seems to be agitation and motion, but the development has been quite diverse in the various languages. Arabic, however, shows that the root did develop words designating water courses. (H. 273.) [4]

516.  *ga-ra-ba* P. Koller 2, 1. [D. 19]
 *ga=r-ba* An. IV 16, 11. [D. 19]

Also written with *p*:

ga=-r=pa An. I 26, 5. [D. 19]

**galaba?* Vb. “TO SHAVE, PLANE (WOOD).” The activity was undertaken at an early stage in the production of a chariot’s draught pole.²¹ An. IV 16, 11: *iw·w i^cw, ga=-r=ba, dby, tm, sgnn, ma-ša=ra=ra*. “And they are washed, shaved, leather-fitted, finished, oiled, and attached.” The activity was also undertaken for repair and maintenance. An. I 26, 5: *Ga=-r=pa·tw p^cy·k c m m^cwt*. “Your pole is shaved anew.” The word is probably related to the Semitic root *glb*:²² BH גָּלֵב “barber”; Ph. גָּלֵב “barber”; Ug. *glb* “shearer”; TA גָּלֵב “to scrape, shave,” קַנְּבָה “knife, razor,” גָּלֵב “barber”; Syr. *gallābā* (gallābā) “dagger; sword”; Akk. *gullubu* (D-stem) “to shave, cut,” *gallābu* “barber.”²³ The Coptic Βελωβι “scissors” is probably also related to this root.²⁴ Vychichl’s²⁵ attempted link to Coptic Σερηνιε “sceptre; diadem” is unfounded. A connection with the root *qlp* “to peel, strip the bark off”²⁶ must be ruled out, as the activity was undertaken after washing the pole, and furthermore the passage in An. I informs us that the activity was sometimes redone at a later date, when necessary. This could apply to re-shaving, but obviously not peeling off the bark. (H. 274; B. 1059, 1061; Wb. V 181, 10–11.) [4]

517. *ga-ra-bu* Kawa I, pl. 12, 13. [D. 25]

**gallāpa?* N. A GARMENT. The word occurs in a list of donations to the temple: *ga-ra-bu iw·w inḥ* “grb-garments that have been hemmed.” Černý²⁷ maintained that the Coptic word Σολβε “garment of wool” was derived from the Greek κολόβιον.

²¹A depiction of the shaving of a draught pole with an adze can be found in Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, pl. 307, lower register.

²²Gardiner (*EHT*, p. 28*, n. 7) and Wintermute (Thesis, p. 189) also came to this conclusion.

²³Also attested in Amarna Akkadian (EA 14, II, 61).

²⁴Dévaud’s etymology from Syr. *kalb^atā* (*kalb^atā*) “tongs”, cited by Crum and Černý (*Ety. Dict.*), is very dubious.

²⁵Vychichl, *Dict. étym.*, 346b.

²⁶For this root, see under *ga-pa*, no. 511.

²⁷Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 327.

The Greek word, however, is found mostly in Egyptian papyri²⁸ and, if related at all, is probably borrowed from the Egyptian vernacular. The Egyptian word itself is probably a loan-word from the Semitic root *glp*: BH עַלְיָה Dt-stem “to wrap oneself (in a garment),” MH עַלְפָה D-stem “to enclose, encase”; Ug. *glp* “shell, husk”; Ar. غَلْفَ (g̠lf) D-stem “to wrap, cover,” غَلَافَ (g̠ilāf) “cover, wrapper, envelope.” The Egyptian Arabic word جَلَبِيَّة (gallābiyya) “*gallabiya*” (a long shirt-like men’s garment) is possibly derived from the Coptic word, as it has no good Semitic etymology. Eth. ገልባብ፡ (*galbaba*) “to wrap in clothes,” and ገልባብ፡ (*g̠lbab*) “covering, vestment” seem to be connected, but the phonetic differences would suggest that the root is a loan from either Arabic or Coptic. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

518. An. I 26, 5. “TO SHAVE.” See under
.

519. *g=ru₂=n=a*²⁹ Shishak list, no. 127.³⁰ [D. 22]
g=ru₂=n Bubastite Portal, bis 4.

goren*. N. in and as n. loc. “THRESHING FLOOR**.” The word is the Hebrew תְּמִימָה “threshing floor.” It is related to Ug. *grn* “threshing floor”; TA ئَرْجُون “threshing floor; reservoir”; Ar. حَرْن (jurn) “mortar,” (Eg.) “threshing floor”; Old S. Ar. گَرْن (*grn*) “threshing floor”; Eth. ችርኑ፡ (*gōrn*) “threshing floor.” In the Egyptian writing, the *o*-vowel has perhaps been transposed to the second syllable. (B. 1063; not in *Wb.*) [5]

520. *ga=ra=ta* HPBM 4th Ser. B 86. [D. 21–22]
g=r=ta HPBM 4th Ser. L₅ vs., 43.
gar=yu Gloss. Gol. 7, 11. [D. 20–1]

²⁸E.g. Oxyrhynchos and Tebtunis Papyri. It is also attested in the works of Pseudo-Acro, Aeschines (Schola), and Servius.

²⁹The *a* ending probably represents a *nisbe* form.

³⁰Bubastite Portal, pl. 4.

Also written with *k*:

 k-ri₂-ta *HPBM* 4th Ser. L₅ 24–25.

 ka-ra-ta *HPBM* 4th Ser. L₇ 36; P₂ vs. 14–15.

Probably also written with *n*:

 ka-na-ta *HPBM* 4th Ser. Text, p. 37, n. 24.

And possibly:³¹

 ka-ri-ta O. Brussels E 6311 vs. 5.³² [D. 20]

kalyāta*. N. dual / pl. “KIDNEY**.” Coptic **ΣΒΛΩΤ** “kidney,” dual **ελοοσε**.³³ In the onomastica the word occurs before *mist* “liver.” In *HPBM* L₅, L₇, P₂ the word occurs in conjunction with the liver, intestines, spleen, and abdomen. They occur as a duality in *HPBM* 4th ser. B 86: [*n*]y's *ga=ra=t* 2 “her two kidneys.” The close association with internal organs and that they occur in pairs suggests that the word means kidneys rather than a similar looking word meaning “ribs.”³⁴ Cf. BH **כְּלֵי יָד**; Ug. *klyt*; TA **כְּלֵי לִבָּה** (*kulyātā*); Ar. **كَلْيَا** (*kulya*); Eth. **kalītu**; Akk. *kalītu*, all “kidneys.” Egyptian *g* for Semitic /*k*/ is not common, but most of the examples date from late or post-Ramesside times. It is also possible that the vocalic context, namely the back vowel [u], influenced the sound of [k] or its decoding by the Egyptian listener. The word is probably not related to the word meaning “ribs”  *gar-ya=t* that occurs in O. Gardiner 155, 5, 6³⁵ and the Tutankhamun container.³⁶ In the former they follow *hpš* “forleg” and precede *drww* “sides,” and in the latter were found the actual remains of ribs. (*Wb.* V 190, 11.) [4]

³¹The word occurs in a description of a barter agreement involving payment in yarn, among other things, in exchange for new garments.

³²Allam, *HOP*, pl. 27.

³³This etymology of the word is due to Rossi, cited by Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 329. Vycichl (*Dict. étym.*, 339) denied a connection between the LE and Semitic words, deriving only the Coptic from the Semitic.

³⁴This word is dealt with later in this entry.

³⁵Cited by Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 239*.

³⁶Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamün*, p. 17.

521. ga=-r=da O. Lit. DeM 1406 II, x+1. [D. 19 or 20]
 garza*. N. pl. “MORSELS (OF MEAT)?**” The word occurs in a hymn to Amun in the phrase: “*šš ga=-r=da hr-s* “the *grd* on it are abundant.” The context is broken and it is impossible to tell what “it” refers to. The word may be related to the Semitic root *gzc* and especially the metathesized by-form *grz*: BH “to cut; carve (meat),” פְּנִיר “pieces (of meat),” with metathesis N-stem “to be cut off,” פְּנִיר “pick-axe”; Ug. *gzc* “cutter?”; TA “to cut,” פְּנִיר “pieces,” and also with metathesis מְרַגֵּזִים (m. pl.) “meat choppers, mincing knives”; Syr. (*g²zar*) “to cut (stone)”; Ar. جَازِر (*jazara*) “to slaughter, butcher”; Eth. (*gazara*) “to circumcise.” (Not in *Wb.*) [3]
522. gas=mu An. IV 1b, 2. [D. 19]
 gašma*. N. m. “TEMPEST; RAINSTORM.**” In the An. IV passage, the word occurs in the following sentence: *P3 gas=mu, iry:f h3nw*. “The storm causes waves.” The word has been linked to the Coptic Σεοcem Βζοcem “darkness (caused by clouds); tempest.”³⁷ Černý, who also made this link,³⁸ further cited the Demotic *gsm* “tempest; anger.” However, his proposed link to Greek χάσμα “chasm” is unfounded. The Coptic word is used to translate Greek γνόφος “darkness” and ὄμβρος “rain,” and χειμών “storm, tempest.” The word is probably connected to the Semitic root *gšm*:³⁹ BH, MH “(heavy, continuous) rain;” Ug. *gšm* “rain storm”;⁴⁰ Syr. لَهْمَةٌ، سَاجِمَةٌ (*šegmē d²metrē*) “downpour; heavy rainstorm”; Ar. سَاجِمَة (*sajama*) “to flow, well forth.” MH and TA “to run; flow; shed (tears)” may also be ultimately related. The Hebrew word is used of the rain in the flood story of Gen. 7. (*Wb.* V 206, 12.) [4]

³⁷So *Wb.*

³⁸Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 337.

³⁹O. Rössler, “Das Ägyptische als semitische Sprache,” in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Christentum am Roten Meer*, vol. I, p. 295, also linked the Egyptian with this Semitic root, but as cognates, not considering the Egyptian a loanword from the Semitic. The late occurrence of the word in Egyptian and its phonetic spelling, however, strongly suggest that the word is a loan and not an original Afro-asiatic cognate.

⁴⁰De Moor and Spronk, *Cuneiform Anthology*, p. 133.

523. *ga=sa=ru₂* P. Harris I 13a, 6, etc.⁴¹ [D. 20] **qatāru*. N. “**FINGER RING.**” Demotic *kswr*, Coptic “finger-ring.” The word occurs as an object described as follows: (13a, 6) *nb nfr m s^ch^c ga=sa=ru₂* “gsr of fine gold with raised sculpturing.” (13b, 2) *nb nfr m mh ga=sa=ru₂* “gsr of fine gold with inlays.” Albright⁴² and Černý⁴³ identified the word with the Semitic root *qtr*: BH קְשַׁר D-stem “bind on ornaments,” קְשֹׁוּרִים “breast-bands?,” MH קְשָׁר “beads, ornaments,” קְשָׁר “knot, loop”; TA קְשָׁרֶת “knot, band,” נְטֻרָה “wreathing; plaiting”; מְלָאָה (*q^atārā*) “knot; band; head-band.” Aramaic [t̪] arose from assimilation of [t] (original */t/) to [q]. The root must therefore be *qtr*. The identification is less than certain since there is not a single attestation of a Semitic word from this root meaning “finger ring.” (H. 275; B. 1066; VESO XIV A, 16; Wb. V 206, 15–17.) [3]

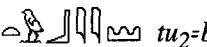
⁴¹ And 13b, 2; 64a, 15; 64b, 7; 64b, 10.

42 VESO, p. 55.

⁴³Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 64.

524.  $ta_4 = ^c a = m = tu_2$ Urk. IV 11, 9. [D. 18]

Tahmašu*. PN f. **TYPE OF BIRD(?). The name is that of a woman of probable Syrian origin. If the name is Semitic it may be connected with BH טָמֵשׁ a type of bird, perhaps a kind of owl or nighthawk. Otherwise, it may be derived from the root טָמַע “to carry as a load,” and cf. the BH PN’s עֲמֹשׁ and הַטְמֹשׁ as proposed by Burchardt, who suggested it was a f. sing. imperfect form. (B. 1078; *PN II* 239, 9.) [3]

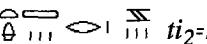
525.  $tu_2 = b = ya$ Thutmose III List I, 22 b, c. [D. 18]

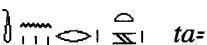
 Thutmose III List I, 22 a.

 $tu_2 = ^o u_3 = b$ Thutmose III List I, 205.

Tōbu*. Adj.? as n. loc. **“GOOD.” The name is almost certainly related to the common Semitic root *twb*: BH טוב “good” and n. loc.¹; Ug. *tb* “good, pleasant”; Ug. *tb*, and in Akk. transcription *ta-bu* “good”;² Amorite *tābum* “good”; Old Aram., Imp. Aram. ܬܼܒܼ; BA ܬܼܒܼ, TA ܬܼܒܼ “good”; Syr. ܛܼܒܼ (*tab*) “good”; Ar. طَيْبٌ (*tayyib*) “good”; Old S. Ar. ܬܼܒܼ (*tb*) “to be good”; Akk. *tābu* “good.” The *u*-vowel indicated in the Egyptian writing provides further evidence of the Canaanite *[á] to [ó] shift. (B. 1072; 1082.) [4]

526.  “APPLE.” See under .

527.  $ti_2 = ra$ An. III 2, 5. [D. 19]

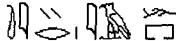
 $ta = -n = ra = \{t\}$ P. Sallier IV vs. 2, 6. [D. 19]

tilla*. N. pl. **“MOUNDS; HEAPS.” The word is used of places where vegetables are grown. An. III 2, 4: *hdw, i3qt n n3 ti2=ra*

¹Judg. 11:3, 5 (טוֹב טָוִב); II Sam. 10:6, 8.

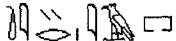
²Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 131.

"leeks and vegetables of the *tr.*" P. Sallier IV says of Memphis: *Nȝy·s ta=—n=ra hr sy(m)*. "Her *tell's* are full of greens." Coptic Στѧλ, τολ, Βεѧλ "heap, hillock?" Černý³ and Wintermute⁴ independently proposed a link to the Semitic root *ill*: Cf. BH הַל "mound; tel"; Ug. *tl* "hill"; TA ئەلەن; Syr. تل (tellā) "mound"; Ar. تل (tall) "hill"; Akk. *tīlu*, *tillu* "mound, ruins." (Wb. V 384, 6.) [4]

528.  *ta=—r=²a* P. Berlin 3047 3.⁵ [D. 19]

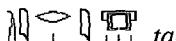
 P. Harris I 4, 1. [D. 20]

 P. Harris I 45, 5; 58, 6.⁶

 P. d'Orb. 16, 10; 17, 2; P. Harris I 5, 8. [D. 19, 20]

 P. Harris I 5, 5.

 *ta=—r* ASAE 47 (1947), p. 17, 5. [D. 20]

 *ta=ra=²* Med. Habu 107, 14–15. [D. 20]

 *ta=ri=³=ya* Private tomb.⁷ [D. 20]

 *ta=ri=ya* CGC 42186 4.⁸ [D. 19]

dala²a*. N. m. "DOOR; GATE.**" The word occurs several times in P. Harris I, but the context of 58, 6 is the clearest: *Nȝy·f htri wmt m inr n ȝyn hr ta=—r=²a m ȝs ha=ti₂ m hmt*. "Its thick door frames are of stone from 'Ayna with pine doors overlaid with copper.' In 45, 5, the word occurs in a description of a door frame: *Sbȝ hr hr·f m hmt m smȝ nt 6, ta=—r=²a ȝy m nbw m mh̄w m inr*. "A door was on it of a 6-fold alloy of copper, and the great door leaves were of gold and encrusted with (precious) stones." Other texts have similar contexts. Burchardt suggested a possible connection with the root *dl*: BH דָלָה "door; gate," (ל, once as m. sing. constr., metaphorically); Ph. דָלָה; Ug. *dl*; TA ئەلەن; Syr. مَدَلَّة (adlāṭā).

³Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 185.

⁴Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 158.

⁵KRI II 803, 7.

⁶And sim. 58, 10.

⁷K.A. Kitchen, "Nakht-Thuty-Servitor of sacred barques and golden portals," *JEA* 60 (1974), fig. 1, 4 (opp. p. 172).

⁸Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, vol. 2 (CGC vol. 49) (Cairo: 1909), pl. 48.

“doors”; Akk. *daltu*, all “door; gate.” The *’aleph* at the end of the word is difficult. It is possibly a plural form, but it could represent a final weak consonant. The masculine form, however, is attested in Phoenician. For a possible feminine form, see *ta-*—*r-ta* “door-leaf” (no. 533). (H. 276; B. 1101; *Wb.* V 318, 14–17.) [4]

529. *tu-ra-^ca* *LRL* 11, 8. [D. 20]

tola^ca*. PN m. “DRESSED IN CRIMSON; THE WORM.**” The name is possibly connected with the root *tl^c*. Cf. BH “worm; crimson cloth,”⁹ and the PN D-stem passive “to be clad in crimson”; Ug. *tl^c* “worm”; TA “worm.” The indication of the presence of [o] in the Egyptian writing, and the occurrence as a PN in the Bible lend some support to this identification. It is uncertain whether the name refers to crimson or the worms used for dyeing. The Egyptian vocalization corresponds well with the Biblical PN, which almost certainly means “Worm.” The Egyptian m. sing. definite article that forms part of this name is also well attested with animal name PN’s. (*PN II* 287, 5.) [4]

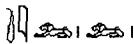
530. *tu₂-r-m-gu* *An. III* vs. 6, 3.¹⁰ [D. 20]

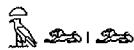
tarǵumu?* Vb. in PN m. “TO ROAR, THUNDER.**” The name is that of a prince of Tyre. It may be contain the root *rgm*, cf. Ug. *rgm* “to speak; declare”; Amorite *rgm* “to roar; speak”; Akk. *ragāmu* “to cry out,” *rīgmu* “noise, shouting.” Perhaps somewhat better is a derivation from the root *rǵm* “to roar,” which is better attested with this meaning in the West Semitic dialects. Cf. BH “to thunder,” “thunder”; TA “to thunder”; Syr. (*r^a^cēm*) “to thunder.” Especially close is the Ugaritic PN (or n. div.) *Yrǵm-B^cl* “Ba^cal thunders.” The form is uncertain. It could be a 2nd m. sing. imperfect. The meaning would then be “Ba^cal, may you roar,” but in such names one expects the third person. Perhaps the *wt* group is a corruption from a determinative (Seth animal?). Or perhaps the *w*

⁹I.e. dyed with the *Coccus ilicis*.

¹⁰Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 31.

is for the nominative case ending of *bcl* and *t* is superfluous. This identification assumes metathesis of *g* and *m*. (PN I 93, 27.) [3]

531.  *ta=ru₂=ru₂* An. II 8, 4. [D. 19]

-  *ta₃=ru₂=ru₂* O. Gardiner 166.¹¹ [D. 19]

Miswritten:

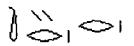
-  *ta=ha=ru₂* P. Sallier I 7, 8.¹² [D. 19]

**tannūra*. N. f. “OVEN.” Demotic *trry* “oven,” Coptic ^SΑΤΡΠΙΡ “oven.” The meaning is certain from the context. An. II 8, 3 ff. reads:¹³

P3 rthty ḥc hr qnf, hr ḫs^c qw r t3 ht, iw d3d3·f m-hnw t3 ta=ru₂=ru₂. Mḥ s3·f rdwy fy. Sp n why m dṛt s3·f, hṣy·f im m ma=ga=<^cr>.

The baker stands baking, tossing loaves into the fire with his head in the oven. His son holds his feet. In the event that he should slip from his son’s hands, he falls in, into the fire box.

The etymology of the Semitic word *tnr* “oven” is unclear,¹⁴ but the word is widely attested among the Semitic languages: BH פַּתְּנָר “fire-pot; oven”; Ug. *tñrr* “oven,”¹⁵ *tñr* L-stem (?) “to roast in an oven”;¹⁶ Syr. ئَنْنُر (tannūrā) “oven”; Ar. تَنْنُر (tannūr) “baking oven (a pit)”; Akk. *tinūru*. The word travelled a great deal and even ends up in Urdu, Hindi, and Punjabi as *tan(n)ūr*, *tandoor* “clay oven.” Egyptian *r* for Semitic */n/* is due to assimilation. (H. 277; B. 1109; Wb. V 318, 18; VESO X C, 18; Wintermute, 115–16.) [5]

532.  *ta=—r=ra* Horus and Seth 13, 4. [D. 20]

**darra?* *tallil?* *tarir?* Vb. “TO RACE” OR “TO GO FOR AN OUTING.” The term is used in reference to a boating in the context of a challenge to determine superiority by performing prodigious

¹¹Allam, *HOP*, pl. 46.

¹²= An. II 8, 4.

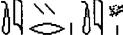
¹³The text of P. Sallier I is identical but for a few minor divergences.

¹⁴It has been claimed as Persian and native Akkadian (cf. BDB, p. 1072a). It is quite likely derived from the Semitic root *nwr*, which has yielded such words as “to burn,” “give off light,” “fire,” etc. The word formation would be the *taw*-prefix nominal form, but the doubling of the *nun* remains problematic.

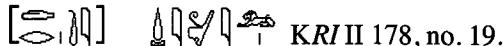
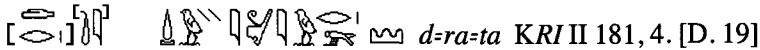
¹⁵J. Sanmartín, “Glossen zum Ugaritischen Lexikon III,” *UF* 11 (1979), p. 728.

¹⁶De Moor and Spronk, *Cuneiform Anthology*, p. 173.

feats: *mtw·{t}n mdhw n·n nh3 n3 c̄h̄wy n inr, mtw·{t}n ta=—r=ra m p3 s 2* “and we can hew ourselves some boats out of stone and we can *trr*, the two of us.” Gardiner translated the word as “sail around,”¹⁷ probably connecting it with BH תַוְר “to travel around; spy”; Akk. *tāru* “to go around.” This derivation is somewhat questionable on semantic grounds. Ward proposed a link with Akkadian *darāru* “emancipation,” but the derivation is semantically even more dubious.¹⁸ Other possibilities include MH טול “to walk about, to enjoy oneself”; Syr. ﻭ ﻢ (twl) D-stem “to walk to and fro, pace about for pleasure”; TA טָלֵל D-stem “to sport, play, have fun,” Syr. ﻭ (twr) “to fly”; Ar. طير (tyr) “to fly; hurry, rush”; Eth. መያራ: (tayyara) “to fly.” (H. 278; *Wb.* V 319, 2.) [2]

533.  ta=—r=ta An. III vs. 1, 8. [D. 19]

Also probably written with *d* in the n. loc.:



**dalta?* N. pl. and in n. loc. “DOOR-LEAVES?” In An. III, the word occurs in the phrase: *ta=—r=ta n p3 3 sb3w c̄yw* “the *tartu* of the three great portals.” Caminos¹⁹ wanted to associate it with the Egyptian word *trt* (Coptic Στρόπε) “willow,” but the meaning does not suit the context, and as even Caminos notes, willow was not used as a building material in Pharaonic times. It could also be noted that willow is not particularly well suited to the construction of doors.²⁰ The final *t* of *trt* would no longer have been pronounced, and the word would therefore not be written with the sign group *ta*.²¹ The word is much more likely a feminine form of the word for door (leaf): BH תַּדְקִחַת; Ph. דְל; Ug. *dlt*; TA אֲתַפְּלָת; Syr.

¹⁷Gardiner, *Chester Beatty I*, p. 23.

¹⁸Ward, “Semitic Loan Words,” *Orientalia* 32 (1963), pp. 432–33. This derivation was also maintained by Helck, who cites (and misspells) the BH cognate דְרֹר “emancipation” and Arabic در (darra) “to flow copiously.”

¹⁹Caminos, *LEM* pp. 106–7.

²⁰It is a light wood good for boxes and utensils, but not doors.

²¹None of the LE writings of *trt* “willow” indicate final *t* (cf. L. Keimer, “L’arbre *tr.t* est-il réellement le saule égyptien (*Salix safaf* Forsk.)?” *BIFAO* 31 (1931), p. 178 ff.).

 (²*adlātā*) “doors”; Akk. *daltu*, all “door; gate.” Cf.    *ta=—r=?*²*a* “door” (no. 528). (Not in *Wb.*) [4]

534.  P. Sallier I 7, 8. “OVEN.” See under .

535.  ^x *ta=ha=sa*²² Med. Habu 28, 64. [D. 20]

 ^x Med. Habu 86, 29.

Miswritten:

 ^x *ta-ta=h=s* P. Geneva MAH 15274 5, 4.²³ [D. 20]

**dahaša* / *da^caša*. Vb. “TO CRUSH, PULVERIZE.” The meaning of the word is quite clear from context: Med. Habu 86, 29: *Hm:f h̥w̥ hr tp·sn m̥i dw n m̥t qa=da=ha*, *ta=ha=sa*, *dmiw n s̥tw*. “His Majesty fell on top of them like a mountain of granite that breaks, pulverizes, and presses into the ground.” Med. Habu 28, 64: *ta=ha=sa mitt wg̥m* “pulverized like flour.” The root is probably *d̥h̥s*. Cf. MH , ; TA  “to press, stamp”; Ar. دَحْشَ (dah̥ša) “to shove in, thrust in”; Eth.  (*tādahasa*) tL-stem “to be trampled down”; Akk. *dâšu* “to trample upon; destroy; smash (a country); crush (haughty individuals).” However, the root *d̥š* also occurs with similar meanings, and the two may be by-forms: Syr.  (*d²as*) “to drive in, thrust in”;²⁴ Ar. دَعْسَ (da^casa) “to trample down; crush; knock down.” It should be noted that there are many Semitic roots containing *d* / *t* / *t* + *h* that designate violent movement, pressing, crushing, and squeezing: BH  “to push (down) violently;” N-stem “to be thrust down”; Syr.  (*d²hā*) “to strike (with battering rams)”; BH  N-stem “to be pushed”; Syr.  (*dhh*) tD-Stem “to become dust” (i.e. pulverized); MH  “to press, squeeze”; MH, TA  “to push, knock down”; BH  “to grind, mill, crush”; BH  “squeeze; wring”; MH  “crushed earth”; Ar. دَهَرَ (dah̥ra) “to drive away; rout (enemy);”

²²The reading of *ta* for the first group seems almost certain. The writing of Med. Habu 86, 29, however, is quite defective.

²³Massart, “Papyrus MAH 15274,” *MDAIK* 15, pl. 31, 4 and p. 178, 11.

²⁴The phone [s] probably under the influence of [t].

دھو (dhw) “to level, flatten”; طھطھ (taħtah) “break, shatter, smash”; طھن (taħana) “to grind, crush.” A connection to the Coptic Στωρξ “to anoint”²⁵ is not convincing on semantic grounds. (H. 281; B. 1125; Wb. V 323, 5–6.) [3]

536.  O. Turin 57365 2. PART OF THE CHARIOT, PERHAPS THE “LEATHER PANELS.” See under  .

537.  ta₃=ḥ=ba=s-a=t_a Joppa 2, 4. [D. 19]

 t=ḥ=ba=s-a=t_a Joppa 2, 12; O. Cairo 25678 vs., 2. [D. 19]

 t=ḥ=b=s-t_a O. Tutankhamun.²⁶ [D. 18]

 t=ḥ=b=s-t_a H.O. 47 2, 5–6, etc.²⁷ [D. 19 or 20]

Also (mis-?)written:

 t=ḥ=ba=s-a=? O. Cairo 25677 vs., 20. [D. 19]

*taħbašata. N. A TYPE OF BASKET. Apart from the occurrence as a commodity in the ostraca, the word occurs as a large container in a Palestinian context (Joppa 2, 12): pȝy 200 n t=ḥ=ba=s-a=t_a nty mḥ m rm̥ “these 200 ṭhbst-baskets full of men.”²⁸ The word is possibly derived from the root ḥbš²⁹ “to bind.” Cf. BH שְׁבַע “to bind on (headgear, saddles); to twist (rope),” Mod. Heb. טְבַעַת “bandage.” In any case, a word g̥iṭaħabaštu designating an object made of reeds is attested as early as Old Akkadian. It also occurs in Hittite as dugtaħakapiša, where it is clearly a container, and perhaps in Hurrian as taħapši, although the latter word has been understood as a type of belt. The Akk. word taħapšu “fabric; horse blanket” is possibly related but with a different semantic development. If Semitic, the word is built with the *taw*-prefix, and the

²⁵Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, 205; Vycichl, *Dict. étym.*, 226a.

²⁶J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamün*, p. 27, no. 59, 2. This is said to have been made of gold. Černý suggested that it might have been a small “basket” woven from gold wire.

²⁷O. DeM 102 4; 367 6; 446 15 (where the *t* is damaged).

²⁸In the story, Joppa was taken by hiding soldiers inside baskets supposedly containing tribute, not unlike the gift that was brought into Troy.

²⁹To be distinguished from the root ḥbš “to restrict, confine.”

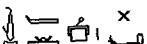
Mod. Heb. word for bandages would be morphologically, if not semantically, identical. In spite of the etymology proposed here, the word is quite possibly of non-Semitic origin. It occurs, for instance, in the Alalakh tablets of the 18th century B.C.E. as *tahapšena* in a list of objects with Hurrian names. (B. 1126; *Wb.* V 326, 14.) [5]

538.  *ta-hi-ra* An. IV 16, 9. [D. 19]

Possibly also:

-  *ta-hi* O. Turin 57365 2.³⁰ [D. 20]

tahira*. N. m. pl. **PART OF THE CHARIOT, PERHAPS THE “LEATHER PANELS” (OF THE CHARIOT BOX). The passage in An. IV states: *N̄y-sn ta-hi-ra mi inm n ins, iw-w t̄b hr dd, iw ph̄ b̄k m dsr.* “Their *t̄hr* are similar in colour to red-cloth, they being embossed with rosettes, the board being constructed of *dsr*-wood.” Schulman³¹ has convincingly argued that the word refers to the sides and paneling of the chariot. This suggestion is further corroborated by the context: the *t̄hr* is mentioned immediately after the “*a=ma-di=ya* “upright supports” of the chariot box, and the *htr* (frame pieces). Helck suggested a plausible derivation from BH  “leather cuirass.” (H. 282; B. 1127; *Wb.* V 328.) [4]

539.  P. Geneva MAH 15274 5, 4. “TO CRUSH, PULVERIZE.” See under .

³⁰Formerly O. Turin 9588. Published *JEA* 19, pl. 29.

³¹Schulman, “King’s Chariot,” *JSSEA* 16 (1986), pp. 43–44.



540. tu-pi₂=-r An. I 17, 7. [D. 19]

An. I 22, 5.

And as PN with m. sing. definite article:

tu-pi₃=ra P. Wilbour A 22, 42. [D. 20]

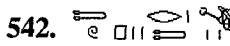
*šōpira. N. m. and in n. loc. “SCRIBE.” The use of the scribal equipment determinative leaves no uncertainty as to the identification of this word. In An. I 17 the word is used sarcastically in the phrase: tu=pi₂=-r ya=di=“a learned scribe.” Cf. BH. סֶפֶר; Ph. سَفَر; Ug. spr; Ammonite spr; Imp. Aram. סְפִירָא, BA סְפִירָא, TA סְפִירָא; Syr. لِكْفَم (sāp²rā), all “scribe.” The form is the G-stem participle, and the Egyptian writing indicates that *[á] had shifted to [ó]. (H. 283; B. 1147; VESO VII A, 14; Wb. V 364, 9; PN II 284, 2.) [5]

541. ti₂=pa=ra KRI IV 9, 9. [D. 19]

*šipla? N. “LARGE DRINKING BOWL, CRATER.” The word occurs in a list of booty from the Libyan war. Several words in the list are clearly Semitic, e.g. ku=ti₂ and mdrn. Cf. BH, MH סְפֵל “large drinking bowl”; Amarna saplu¹ “bowl”; Ug. spl “large bowl,” and in Akk. transcription sà-ap-lu “(bronze and copper) cauldron”;² Targ. Aram. סִפְלָא “bowl, basin”; Akk. saplu “bowl.” The Akkadian word occurs in the context of booty or tribute, like the Egyptian example. The word appears to be built on the qitlu pattern, as are the West Semitic words. The word may also perhaps occur with metathesis as ti₂=ra=ba (no. 547). (Not in Wb.) [5]

¹EA 22: IV, 21.

²Huchnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 157.

542.  *tu-pi-ra-ta₅* KRI II 140, 12. [D. 19]

 *t-pa=-r* An. III vs. 1, 3. [D. 19]

šaparra*, *šiparra*? N. m. (and f.?) “BRONZE COVERED CHARIOT.**” In the KRI example, the word occurs in the expression *twhr n tu-pi-ra-ta₅* “charioteer” in a passage concerning Hittite chariots. In An. III, in the context of royal chariots (*ma=-r=ka=ba=tan Pr-*³), this type of chariot is serviced by metalworkers: *N3 hmtyw hr b3k m p3 t-pa=-r, dd i-ir-s <m> m3wt*. “The coppersmiths are working on the *tpr* and say: ‘It will be (as good) as new!’” That this type of chariot was characterized by its bronze plating is also indicated by the metal determinative. The word is possibly to be connected with the Akkadian *saparru* “chariot, cart,” which may be a loan from a non-Semitic language.³ The word is also very likely connected with the word for “bronze” attested in several Semitic languages: Ug. *spr*, Akk. *siparru*, and possibly BH סְפִיר II ? “bronze tablet.”⁴ This word for bronze is probably not Semitic, but a wander-word of uncertain origin. The vocalic pattern indicated in the KRI II example is probably due to confusion with or false etymology from the Canaanite word for scribe (no. 540). (H. 284; B. 1148; *Wb.* V 364, 10.) [4]

543.  *ti₂-pa-ga* An. III 5, 7. [D. 19]

 P. Ch. Beatty IV vs. 5, 7.⁵ [D. 19–20]

Also written with metathesis:

 *ti₂-ga=pa* An. IV 9, 5.⁶ [D. 19]

šipaga*? N. pl. “BARRACKS.**” The word occurs in the following passage about the hardships of the soldier’s life: (An. III 5, 6 ff.) *In-tw-f m nhn n nbwiw ddh f m ti₂-pa-ga*. “He is taken away when

³The root is otherwise unattested with such a meaning in any other known Semitic language. The connection between the Egyptian and Akkadian words was also noted by E. Edel, “Kleinasiatische und Semitische Namen und Wörter aus den Texten der Qadešschlacht in hieroglyphischer Umschrift,” in *Fontes atque Pontes*, pp. 99–105.

⁴Dietrich and Loretz, “Akkadisch *siparru* ‘Bronze,’” *UF* 17 (1985), p. 401.

⁵= An. III 5, 7.

⁶= An. III 5, 7.

he is a child of two cubits and shut up⁷ in the *tpg.*" Helck's proposed etymology from קפּו must be rejected on semantic grounds as it means "to clap (hands); slap (the face)." The word might possibly be related to the root *sqp*, cf. TA קָפַקְתִּי "lintel, threshold"; Ar. سقْف (*saqafa*) "to provide with a roof," سقْفَة (*saqifa*) "roofed gallery; shelter"; Akk. *askuppu, askupatu* "lintel, threshold." The root šqp is probably also related: BH שָׁקֵפֶת "lintel"; TA אֲשָׁקֵפֶת "threshold." If this etymology is correct, the semantic development seems to be along the lines of the Arabic: from "roofed space" to "shelter." Alternately, it could be explained as metonymy: from "threshold" to "home" (just as in English "hearth" comes to mean "home"). It is also possible that there is a connection with Akk. *sakāpu* "to lie down, sleep." There is no known word from this root referring to a building, however. (H. 285; B. 1149; *Wb.* V 366, 8.) [2]

544. An. I 9, 7. "TO MOCK." See under .

545. Gloss. Gol. 7, 2. "FINELY GROUND WHEAT FLOUR." See under .

546. *ti₂=ra=ya-na* KRI II 28, 7; 28, 9; 28, 10; KRI II 789, 6. [D. 19]

KRI II 175, 4; 175, 12.

KRI II 119, 15.

KRI II 119, 12; 119, 13.

ti₂=—r=ya-na P. Sallier III 1, 6.⁸ [D. 19]

KRI II 175, 3; 175, 7; 175, 11.

ti₂=ru₂=yu-na Gloss. Gol. 3, 3. [D. 20–1]

⁷Or "imprisoned." The school texts are prone to exaggeration in such contexts.

⁸KRI II 28, 12.

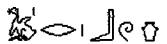
 tu=—r-na P. Mallet 1, 5.⁹ [D. 20]

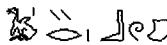
*širyāna. N. m. “**BODY ARMOUR.**” In the Qadesh inscriptions, the word occurs in the context of chariot warfare and refers clearly to an item of clothing. Perhaps the clearest example is KRI II 175, 3 ff.:

Iry Hm:f c.w.s. wnwt 2, iw:f h̄c hr h̄3 p3 dm̄ n n3 hrw n Ht3 r h̄3t p3y:f m̄sc, t3y:f nt-htr. [Bn p3y:f] ¹⁰ ti2=ra=ya=na hr:f. Ir-n Hm:f iyt r h̄3t p3y:f ti2=ra=ya=na c'n r dit:f hr:f.

His Majesty, l.p.h., spent two hours standing (firm), fighting the town of those enemies of Hatti at the head of his army and his chariots. [His] armour was [not] upon him. His Majesty came to take his armour again, in order to put it on him.

The determinative indicates that the item was made of leather, and this is confirmed by P. Mallet: *hn b3k m tu=—r-na ir m hmt dbn 5* “a piece of leather crafted into a suit of armour valued at 5 *deben* copper.” The word is well attested in the Semitic languages, although it apparently derives from Hurrian *šariyanni*.¹¹ Cf. BH שְׁרִין; Amarna za-ri-am, sa-ri-am; Ug. *tryn*; TA شَرِينْ; Syr. شَرِينْ (*šeryānā*); Akk. *siriyam* (MB, NA), *za-ri-am* (Nuzi), *šir-a-am* (NB), all “body armour.” The Egyptian writings with *t* are closer to the Hebrew *by-form* and the Akkadian with *samekh*, than the Ug. with *t*. A. Youssef’s attempt¹² to associate the word with Arabic جران (*jirān*) “front part of a camel’s neck” is wholly unfounded. (H. 288; B. 1162; VESO IV 15; Wb. V 386, 6–10.) [5]

547.  ti2=ra=ba H.O. 86 1, 8; O. Cairo 25695 3. [D. 20]

 ti2=—r=ba O. DeM 625 10. [D. 20]

*šipla? N. A **TYPE OF VESSEL, PERHAPS “LARGE DRINKING BOWL.”** The word occurs as a household commodity. In the text of H.O. 86 1, it is preceded by the *di-di*-vessel. The word may be related to  ti2=pa=ra (no. 541). If so, cf. BH, MH סְפַל

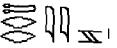
⁹KRI VI p. 65, 7.

¹⁰Restoring after KRI II 175, 11 and 12.

¹¹C.-G. von Brandenstein, “Zum Churrischen Lexicon,” ZA 46 (1940), p. 104 ff. Salonen, *Hippologica Accadica*, pp. 146–49.

¹²“A Nineteenth Dynasty new word for Blade and the Semitic origin of some Egyptian weapon-names and other related words,” MDAIK 39 (1983), p. 259.

"large drinking bowl"; Amarna *saplu*¹³ "bowl"; Ug. *spl* "large bowl," and in Akk. transcription *sà-ap-lu* "(bronze and copper) cauldron";¹⁴ Akk. *saplu* "bowl." If the identification is correct, then there is metathesis of the second and third consonants. (H. 289; B. 1163; *Wb.* V 387, 5.) [3]

548.  *t=r=r=ya* Pi^cankhy, 32. [D. 25]

 *t=r=r=t* Dream St., 27.¹⁵ [D. 25]

Also written:

 *t=r=t=r* Pi^cankhy, 91.

**šōl^ala*. N. (f.) "SIEGE-MOUND." The word occurs in the context of siege warfare (Pi^cankhy 31):

Irt f n:f im3 r imnti rsy Hmnw, gw3 r:s mì r^c nb. Irt trry r hbs sbty. Ts b3k r shy s3tt hr s3tt.

He pitched his tent to the southwest of Hermopolis, besieging it daily. A *trry* was made so as to cover (lit. "clothe") the wall, and a (wooden) platform was erected to elevate the archers as they shot.

The second example is in a difficult context in which the king's advisors are making their recommendations, but the building of a siege-mound is certainly involved:

Ir st3 r:s, shy:n s3tw r s3w:s, sṇh:n b3k, s^ch^c:n ht t3w, ir:n ht3w m drw r:s, p̣sn sw m nn r gs nb, m trtr hn^c [...] hr mht:s r ts s3tw s3w:s, gm:n w3t n rdw:n.

Make a ramp against it (Memphis), then we could elevate the ground up to its ramparts, and we could construct a platform, and we could erect the masts,¹⁶ and we could sail against it in the (far) end,¹⁷ and we could divide it with these, namely with the *trtr* and with the [...] on its north, and we could elevate the ground so we might find a path for our feet.

¹³EA 22: IV, 21.

¹⁴Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 157.

¹⁵Urk III, 70.

¹⁶Were the masts removed for the downstream journey?

¹⁷The word *ht3t* (for *ht3t?*) is a *hapax*, but perhaps it is just a miswriting of the word *ht3* "sail." I take the phrase *iry ht3* "to make sail" as an idiom for sailing. The idea of sailing might seem out of place, but the king's plan, which succeeds, was in fact a naval attack on the port without recourse to ramps and siege-equipment. The phrase *m drw r:s* is difficult. I interpret this to mean the end opposite the ramp. The plan seems to keep the enemy divided, attacking the port-side on the north, and overcoming the walls with a ramp on the south.

Cf. BH סַלְלָה “siege-mound,” MH סַלְמָם “ladder”; TA سَلْمَةٌ “ladder.” Burchardt maintained that the يَلَّا group (*ya*) in the first example was a mistake for تَلَّا (*ta*). This may be so, but only if the word is a plural form, since one does not expect the singular feminine *t* ending in eighth century Hebrew. (B. 1166; *Wb.* V 388, 3, 9.) [5]

549. P. Leiden I 371 vs. 19; 26. “TO MOCK.” See under .

550. *tu₂=ru₂=ta* An. IV 13, 12–14, 1. [D. 19]

tu₂=ru₂=ta An. IV 17, 4.

ti₂=r=ta P. Leiden I 350 vs. 2, 15.¹⁸ [D. 19]

Miswritten:

ti₂=ru₂=²a Gloss. Gol. 7, 2. [D. 20–1]

ti₂=r=ya H.O. 59 1, 1. [D. 19 or 20]

**sulta*. N. (f.) “FINELY GROUND WHEAT FLOUR.” In the Gloss. Gol. example, the word occurs along with *-r=bi=ka* (pastry). In An. IV 13, 12 the word occurs in a list of baked goods: *t nfr hrt n tu₂=ru₂=ta 1000* “fine bread: 1000 *hrt*-loaves of *srt*-flour.” In An. IV 17, 4 the word is associated with flour: *nd m ḥ^cw ḥ^cš, tu₂=ru₂=ta* “flour in abundant heaps, *srt*-flour” (after this are “grapes and figs from Syria, pomegranates, and apples”). P. Leiden I 350: *t nfr 'n' ti₂=r=ta* “fine bread of *srt*-flour.” Bondi identified the word with the root *slt*: BH סַלְתָּה “finely ground wheat flour”; TA سَلْتَةٌ “sifted fine flour”; Eth. סַלְתָּה (salata) “to sift”; Akk. *siltu* “flour.” The Egyptian writings indicate that the word was built on the *qutlu* pattern as found in Hebrew and Aramaic. In Hebrew the verb רְבַּע “mix (flour)” occurs only with חַלְבָּה. Ward¹⁹ connected the word in H.O. 59, 1 with Akk. *zēru* “seed.” The root in West Semitic, however, contains *ayin*, and it is extremely doubtful that the word is from the Akkadian. The root *drw*, “winnow, scatter,” although

¹⁸In Janssen’s *Ship’s Logs*.

¹⁹Ward, “Semitic Loan Words,” *Orientalia* 32, p. 435.

phonologically possible, is excluded on semantic grounds. The word in H.O. 59 is almost certainly identical to that of the Miscellanies. (H. 294; B. 1172 [left column!]; *VESO* XX B, 4; *Wb.* V 388, 7.) [5]

551. Pi^cankhy, 91. “**SIEGE-MOUND.**” See under .

552. *ti₂=ha₂=ba* An. IV 2, 5; P. Koller 2, 3. [D. 19]

*? N. m. **MEANING UNCERTAIN, PERHAPS “STALL; STABLE.”** The word occurs in the following passage about a rebellious pupil: *H̥3^c.k sšw; mh·k m rdwy·k m i htr n p̥i ti₂=ha₂=ba*. “You forsake writing and take to your legs like a (harness)-team of the *thb*.” Gardiner²⁰ hesitatingly translated “riding-school(??),” but there is nothing to support this conjecture. Burchardt and Helck have understood the term to be something like “stall.” The metaphor could well be of a horse’s eagerness to run free after having been confined. However, no suitable Semitic root is forthcoming. (H. 295; B. 1174; *Wb.* V 389, 8.) [1]

553. *ti₂=h=—r* P. Leiden I 371 vs. 19; 26.²¹ [D. 19]

And with metathesis:

tu=ra=ha H.O. 1 1, 2. [D. 20]

t=r=ha P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 4 11.²² [Late]

Also written:

ti₂=—n=ra=ha An. I 9, 7. [D. 19]

sahira?* Vb. **“TO MOCK, DERIDE; TO BE RUDE, OFFENSIVE; TO SPURN, REJECT.” H.O. 1 1 reads: *Imi·k tu=ra=ha m i3wy i3yt*. “You should not be rude to (or “mock”) an old man or an old woman.” P. Leiden I 371 (vs. 19), a man’s letter to his deceased wife, reads: *Bwpwy·i gm·tw hr irt ti₂=h=—r{·i} im·t m s̥hr n ̥hwty hr “q r ky pr*. “I was never found being offensive to you / spurning you, such as when a farmer enters another house.” An. I 9, 7 adds

²⁰*EHT*, p. 38*.

²¹Letters to Dead, pl. 8.

²²R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text*, fig. 9.

no further evidence: *iw dd·i n·k q3i·f tm·k ti₂-—n-ra-ha*. “And I will tell you what he is like so that you will not be offensive.” The Brooklyn papyrus refers to scorning god: *P nty di t=r=ha·w p3 ntr p nty di rh·w tfy šft n n3 s3t*. “He who causes the god to be disdained is one who causes his (the god’s) dread to be known to the multitudes.” The word may be related to Ar. سخرا (sahira) “to laugh at; mock; ridicule” in spite of the fact that the Egyptian has *h* for Arabic *h*. Could the word have come from a dialect that had lost the phonemic distinction between /h/ and /h/? This etymology also supposes metathesis of the second and third consonants. Stricker’s²³ proposed connection to Coptic ḥxolq (qual.) “to become smallest, least” is not convincing on semantic and phonological grounds.²⁴ Other possibilities include Ar. سرح (srh) D-stem “to dismiss (a wife through divorce)” and BH פִל “to reject, spurn.” The latter is possible only if it derives from the root *dn̪h. Helck’s proposed etymology from פַלְעָה “to forgive” in the case of the An. I example must be rejected on semantic grounds. The word occurs twice in the periphrastic construction *iry* “to do,” and once as an infinitive. (H. 287, 291, 296; B. 1155, 1167, 1175; *Wb.* V 384, 8; 395, 4.) [2]

554. H.O. 46 2 vs., 9. “CAST OBJECT.” See under

555. *ti₂=ka=—r* P. Harris I 4, 2. [D. 20]

P. Harris I 57, 13; 57, 58, 5.

P. Harris I 58, 10; 59, 3.

*sikara? N. pl. “TOWER GATE.” The text of P. Harris I 4, 2 reads: *Qd·i sbty m-qd·s smnh·t m ir hr cā=—r=ta, ti₂=ka=—r m inr n rwd*. “I built a temenos-wall around it, it having been improved with construction²⁵ with upper chambers and tower gates of sandstone.”

²³B.H. Stricker, “Het grafische system van de magische papyrus Londen & Leiden,” *OMRO* 45 (1964), p. 47.

²⁴The proposal was, however, followed by Černý, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 313, and maintained by Vycichl, *Dict. étym.*, 326a.

²⁵Lit. “doing,” “making.”

The word was identified by Bondi as a derivation from the root *skr*: BH סְכַר “to shut up, stop up”; Ug. *sgr*, *sk[r]*, and in Akk. transcription *sú-KU-ru* (**sukuru* or *suguru*) “bolt”,²⁶ Old Aram., Imp. Aram. סְכַר “to lock,” TA סְכָרָא “bolt, lock,” סִכְרָא “tomb”; Syr. سَكَر (s²*kar*) “to lock”; Ar. سَكَر (*sakara*) “to lock, bolt”; Akk. *sikkuru* “bolt.” The word could, however, also be from the similar root *sgr* (the two are no doubt by-forms).²⁷ Cf. BH סְגַר “to shut, close,” סְגֹּר “enclosure,” מִסְגָּר “prison”; Ug. *sgrt* “closed room”; TA סְגָר “to close, lock up,” סְגָרָא “lock”; Syr. سَغَار (s²*gar*) “to close”; Zinj. מסגרת “prison.” The exact derivation of the word is uncertain. Cf. פְּגָרָא, פְּגָרָה s=ga=-r “fort” (no. 385). (H. 297; B. 1172; VESO XX A, 15; Wb. V 411, 1.) [3]

556. **תֵּיקָרָא** **תֵּיקָרָה** *ti₂-ku-ra* Wenamun 3, 7. [D. 21]

תֵּיקָרָה **תֵּיקָרָה** *ti₂-ku-ru₂* Wenamun 1, 16–17.

תֵּיקָרָה **תֵּיקָרָה** An. III vs. 6, 6.²⁸ [D. 19]

dakuri?* Vb. in PN. “TO REMEMBER.**” The name is that of a Byblian ruler in Wenamun and of a resident of Gaza in An. III. It is very similar to the Biblical PN זֶכְרִיָּה, זֶכְרִיָּהוּ; the Punic name סְכַרְבָּעֵל the Ammonite PN *Zkr-²l*, and the Old S. Ar. PN ܝܻܟܻܪܻܹܻ (Ydkr²l). Cf. also BH זֶכְרָ “to remember”; Amarna ^mYa-az-ku-ur-mi; Ug. PN *Dkr*, *Dkry*, ^mZa-ki-ru;²⁹ Amorite **dkr* “to remember,” and PN’s e.g. Za-ku-ri-e-el; Old Aram. דְּכָר, זֶרֶכָּ “to remember”; TA זֶכְרָ “to remember”; Syr. ذَكَر (d²*kar*) “to remember”; Ar. ذَكَر (*dakara*) “to remember”; Old S. Ar. ذَكَر (d²*kr*) “to mention; record”; Eth. זָקָר: (*zakara*) “to remember”; Akk. zakāru “to declare, mention.” A. Rainey’s argument that Egyptian *t* here represents Phoenician *samekh* (resulting from devoicing through juxtaposition with [k]) is not very likely.³⁰ This root is attested with *samekh* only in Late Phoenician and mostly in Punic / Neo-

²⁶Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, p. 155.

²⁷Cf. Ugaritic, where the two forms may be the result of intervocalic voicing.

²⁸Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 31. The second element of the name is unknown.

²⁹Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 196.

³⁰A.F. Rainey, “Toponymic Problems (cont.),” *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982), pp. 133–34.

Punic,³¹ and the earliest example is from the 5th century B.C.E. Earlier examples of the name are written with *zayin*: e.g. the 11th–10th century Biqa arrowhead with the name *Zkr* or *Zkr-B[cl]*.³² Given the 11th century date of the text, the Egyptian writing is more simply explained as another instance of Egyptian *t* for /d/. In any case, it can be safely said that the name was not pronounced with [z], which would have been transcribed with Egyptian *d*. Although the texts written in the earliest Phoenician alphabet do not distinguish between /d/ and /z/, it is nevertheless likely that Phoenicians made the phonemic distinction in the 11th century B.C.E., if not later. The vocalic pattern is not the expected **dakara* (*qatala*). If not just a case of decadent orthography,³³ perhaps the writing indicates a nominal form such as **dikru* or the participles **dōkeru* (active), or, as suggested by the Amorite name, **dakūru* (passive). It is possible that the original was *dakuri* (*i*-vowel being the genitive case ending) “He who is remembered by Ba‘al,” but if so, the critical *i*- and *u*-vowels have become misplaced. (B. 1173; *PN I* 394, 23–24; *VESO II B*, 8.) [5]

557. Gloss. Gol. 3, 6. “GARMENT.” See under

558. *ti₂=ga* P. Koller 2, 1; An. IV 17, 2. [D. 19]
ti₂=gu₂ P. Lansing 13a, 4. [D. 20]
ti₂=gu₂ Urk IV 701, 14. [D. 18]
 Urk IV 732, 17.
 Urk IV 705, 10; 707, 6.

Miswritten:

- ti₂* P. Koller 1, 5. [D. 19]

³¹Z. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven: 1936), p. 29.

³²J.T. Milik, “An unpublished arrow-head with Phoenician inscription of the 11th–10th Century B.C.,” *BASOR* 143 (1956), 3–6. The latter reading was proposed by S. Yeivin, “Note sur une pointe de flèche inscrite provenant de la Beqaa (Liban),” *Revue Biblique* 65 (1958), pp. 585–86. Another example is the name *Zkr*: M.A. Levy, *Siegel und Gemmen* (Breslau: 1869), p. 28.

³³As maintained by Albright, *VESO*, p. 14.

Also as n. loc. with m. sing. definite article:

P. Wilbour B 12, 28. [D. 20]

*? N. m. **TYPE OF TREE AND ITS WOOD.** In Urk. IV 701, 14 the word occurs among tribute from Hatti, and in 705, 10 it occurs as a raw material taken as booty: *ht šš3 n ti₂=gu₂* “plentiful quantities of *tg*-wood.” In Urk. IV 707, 6 it is the material of unspecified parts of the chariot: *ti₂=gu₂ ht wr̩t* “chariots of *tg* wood.” In Urk. IV 732, 17 chariot spokes were made of it, and in An. IV 17, 2 and Koller 1, 5 whips were made from it. Helck’s suggested etymology of the P. Wilbour n. loc. from “to fence around” is untenable. The wood used to make the chariot pole is unknown, but spokes are known to be made of elm. The word is possibly related to Akk. *qazan* (perhaps a Hurrian word) designating an unknown type of wood. If so, there is metathesis. (H. 298; *Wb.* V 356, 8–11.) [2]

559. An. IV 9, 5. “**BARRACKS.**” See under .

560. ^[C. 1] *ti₂=du=³u₂* P. Sallier IV vs. 3, 2. [D. 19]

sēdu²u?* N. pl. (?) **MEANING UNKNOWN, POSSIBLY “VENISON.” The context is somewhat broken, but the word may well be Semitic, as it occurs in a description of a Syrian-style banquet held in Memphis. (vs. 3, 1 ff.) { ... *Jta w3h·tw r-gs·f, ti₂=du=³u₂ [...] m drt·f.* “A [...] fowl is placed beside him, and *td²* is [‘held’]³⁴ in his hand.” The diner’s hands are washed afterwards. The association with fowl makes some sort of meat a likely meaning. The word is possibly related to BH “game”;³⁵ Punic “game”; Ug. *ṣd* “game,” *mṣd* “game-offering”; Imp. Aram. “game,” TA “hunting”; Syr. *l-ṣd* (*saydā*) “venison, game”; Ar. *ṣayd* “venison, game”; Akk. *ṣādu* “to hunt.” The determinative is hidden behind a restorer’s mending slip and is not at all certain. It could be the flesh determinative. The greatest difficulty with the

³⁴Only one word is probably missing, and it is likely a verb in the stative (old perfective) parallel to the preceding line.

³⁵Esp. cf. Gen. 25:28 “וַיְאָהֶב יִצְחָק אֶת־עֵשָׂו כִּי־צִדְעָשׂוּ” Isaac favoured Esau because he had a taste for game.” (Lit. “game was in his mouth.”)

proposed etymology is the correspondence between Egyptian *t* and Semitic /s/³⁶, which is not otherwise attested. There may have been some confusion between this root and the one meaning “provisions,” cf. BH תְּשִׁים “provisions” (pausal form); Ug. *m̥gd* “provisions”; TA نَّسْمَة “provisions, travelling equipment”; Syr. ܠܻܻܻ (z²wādā) “provisions”; Ar. ݂ܻ݂ (zād) “provisions.” The evidence from Ugaritic suggests that some languages reflect an original **t* in the word for “provisions,” as Ug. *g* is an occasional, but well established, reflex of this phoneme. It is quite possible that Egyptian *t* was sometimes used to represent Semitic */*t*/ and its reflexes. (Not in *Wb.*) [2]

³⁶ Aramaic and Arabic *s* normally derive only from */*s*/, however, the occurrence of /d/ in the root may complicate matters.



561.  d=bi₄=-r AEO pl. 23, vs. 2. [D. 21]

**dabīra*. N. “NAOS, INNER SANCTUARY.” Coptic  “sanctuary.” The context clearly involves temple furniture (vs. 1 ff.): *Ir·f kṣri, wiʒ, fʒy ntrw, d=bi₄=-r*. “He makes shrines, divine barks, carrying stands for the gods, and *dbr*.” Gardiner¹ proposed a derivation from the root *dbr*. Cf. BH  “holy of holies”; Punic  “holy of holies (in a temple)?”; Ug. *dbr* “hinterland”;² Ar.  (*dubr*) “rear part, tail end, back.” (H. 301; *Wb.* V 439, 4.) [4]

562.  d=b=ḥu₃ Urk. IV 781, 6 a; c. [D. 18]

 *du=bi=ḥi* An. I 19, 1.³ [D. 19]

**Tubihi*. (*Tobihu*?) Vb.? N.? In n. loc. “SLAUGHTERING.” In An. I the word occurs in a clear Syrian context: *Bw ir·k wdty r Qdšy hn^c Du=bi=ḥi*. “You have not been on an expedition to Qadesh along with *Tubihi*.” In the Urk. IV (Thutmose III) list, the name comes after *Qidši*, Megiddo, and *En Šawi*, and before *Kumidi*. The name has long been identified with Biblical  of I Chron. 18:8 (a city of Hadadezer, king of Aram).⁴ The BH PN  is no doubt also related.⁵ The vocalization (and word formation) of the Biblical names is problematic, but the original form seems to be reflected in the Egyptian, whose vocalization is identical to that of the Amarna letters: *alTu-bi-ḥi* (EA 179, 15 and *passim*). The knife and action determinatives in the An. I example clearly shows that the Egyptians, like the Jewish tradition, linked the toponym with the

¹AEO I, pp. 66*-67*.

²K. Aartun “Neue Beiträge zum ugaritischen Lexikon I,” *UF* 16 (1984), pp. 11–12.

³A parallel text (DeM 1005), although damaged at the beginning, ends with *ḥi*, the knife (but no “active arm” determinative), etc.

⁴The text of II Sam. 8:8, however, has a metathesized form: .

⁵The Greek forms of the name in the LXX indicate that the root was with /b/ rather than /h/: *Taβex*, *Taβek*.

root *tbh*: Cf. BH פְּבַת “to slaughter”; Punic בְּבַת “butcher”; Ug. *tbh* “to slaughter; cook”; TA بَبَطِ “to cook”; Ar. طَبَحْ (*tabaha*) “to cook”; Akk. *tābihu* “butcher.” Perhaps the word form is the G-stem participle “The Butcher.”⁶ This would correspond to the vocalization of the Akkadian and Egyptian transcriptions. (B. 1185; *VESO* VI B, 19.) [4]

563. d=p=hu An. III 2, 5. [D. 19]

An. IV 17, 5. [D. 19]

P. Rainer 53 9. [D. 21]

d=p=h={t} P. Harris I 40a, 15. [D. 20]

Also written with *d*:

d=p-{t}=h P. Ch. Beatty V 8, 10. [D. 19]

And as PN with f. sing. definite article:

d=p=hu H.O. 85 1, 2. [D. 19 or 20]

Possibly also in the n. loc.

*ti*₂=*pu*= [...] Shishak List, no. 39. [D. 22]

**tappūha*. N. and as PN f. “APPLE.” Demotic *dmpḥ*, Coptic Σά(ε)μπηρος “apple.” The word occurs in lists of exotic or imported fruits: An. III 2, 5: *?an=-n=ha=man*₂, *dph*, *dbw* “pomegranates, apples, figs.” An. IV 17, 5: *dbw n ḥṣrw*, *?an=-n=ra=man*₂, *dphw* “figs from Syria, pomegranates, apples. They are listed with pomegranates in P. Harris 40a, 15. The word has long been identified with the Semitic root *nph*: Cf. BH פְּנַפֵּה “apple”; Ug. *tpḥ* “apple”; TA نَفَافَةٌ “apple”; Ar. تَفَّاح (*tuffāḥ*) “apples”; Eth. ՚ቻ՚ከ՚ (t²ffūh) “apple.” The writing with Egyptian *d* for Semitic /t/ is problematic. It is the only known case of that correspondence. It is possible that [h] had an influence on [t], causing some Egyptians to hear it as an emphatic or it may have been a phenomenon of the source language or dialect (i.e. assimilation of the emphatic feature). The *u*-vowel of *hu* may be transposed from the preceding syllable. (B. 1086; *Wb.* V 568, 10.) [5]

⁶Cf. A.F. Rainey, “Toponymic Problems (cont.),” *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), p. 159, who also considers the form to be the participle, but translates “The slaughterer” and maintains that it is an epithet of a storm god.

564. *d-nm* Amenemope 7, 16; 8, 15. [D. 21?]

**taláma*. N. “FURROW.” Coptic Στλομ, Στηομ, Βελομ “furrow.”⁷ The contexts fairly well establish the meaning. Amenemope 7, 16, an admonition against encroaching on another’s property, contains the phrase *dnm n h3bw hb3 n p3* “the furrow of the plough, worn down through time.” (8, 15): *M ir hbhb dnm n ky*. “Do not trample another’s furrow.” The word has long been associated with Semitic *tlm*: cf. BH מָלַח; Ug. *tlm*; TA ئَلَمْ; Ar. تَلَمْ (*talam*); Eth. תְּלָמָם: (*tlm*), all “furrow.” The word formation, as can be determined from the Coptic, seems to have been closest to Aramaic and Arabic. (*Wb.* V 312, 8.) [5]

565. O. Michaelides pl. 78 36 I, 5. A SWEET MELON.

See under (*idal=n=r=ga*, no. 43).

566. KRI II 178, no. 19. “DOOR-LEAF.” See under .

567. P. Cairo 58033 63. A MELON. See under (*idal=n=r=ga*, no. 43).

568. *di-di* O. Lit. DeM 1038 vs., 1. [D. 19 or 20]

O. Lit. DeM 1406 I, 3.

P. Lansing 14, 8. [D. 20]

Probably also the PN:

di-di O. DeM 111 6; O. Gardiner 199.⁸ [D. 19]

KRI I 402, 15; 402, 16; 403, 1; VII 38, 3. [D. 19]

KRI I 402, 11; III 713, 2; 713, 12; 714, 6. [D. 19]

KRI I 403, 2; III 713, 7.

**didi?* Adj. “AMOROUS; LUSTFUL, LASCIVIOUS.” Blackman and Peet suggested the translation “bawdy” with reference to P.

⁷Černý’s suggested connection to the word *tmm* “cauldron” is extremely dubious. He does, however, maintain the Semitic origin of the word.

⁸KRI VII 183, 14.

Lansing.⁹ The word occurs in the following contexts: O. Lit DeM 1038: *idnw Ḥ̄y, mn̄t p̄y wn̄š di-di i[...]* “Lieutenant Ḥaya,¹⁰ he is this amorous jackal, [...].” and O. Lit DeM 1406: *[...] wn̄š di-di. Mntk shpr [...]* “lustful jackal. You are the one who made [...]” Another ostraca (O. Lit. DeM 1598) makes reference to copulating jackals, indicating that the term “jackal” had some of the connotations of the English “wolf.”¹¹ In P. Lansing the word occurs in a schoolboy’s praise of his teacher: *Btw-k hn̄w di-di dr msyt-k{wi}*. “Lascivious talk has been abhorrent to you since your birth.” The word is very likely related to the Semitic root *dwd*:¹² cf. BH דָּד “lover,” פָּדָד “love-(making)”; Ug. *ddm* “love”; TA אָדָּד “lover”; Akk. *dādū* “love-making.” If the personal name is derived from the same root, then it is related to the Biblical names: דָּדָּן, יְדָּוָּה, and although probably a different word formation, תִּדְּעָּת. This name is also attested in the Amarna letters as *Dûdu*, where it is borne by a high Egyptian official: ^m*Du-ú-du* (EA 158, 1; 5; 12; 34), ^m*Du-u-du* (EA 164 1; 10; 16, etc. EA 167 28), ^m*Du-ud-du* (EA 169, 16).¹³ Also cf. the names attested at Ugarit: *Dada, Dadeya, Dadi, Dadiya, Dadinu, Dudaya*¹⁴ and Mari: *Dadanum, Dadim, Dadiya*. The *i*-vowel in the Egyptian examples could indicate a passive formation, as is apparently the case in the name David (“he who is beloved”). The negative connotation in some of the Egyptian uses is not found in the Semitic languages. The Semitic word meaning “love-making” occurs as a plural form, but the Egyptian writings are not very informative as to word formation. Cf. following entry. (*Wb.* V 419, 4–5.) [4]

⁹Blackman and Peet, “Papyrus Lansing,” *JEA* 11 (1925), p. 297.

¹⁰There is a rather well known individual from Deir el-Medinah who bears this name and title, cf. *KRI* V 628–39.

¹¹Perhaps also cf. O. Mond 173, 3–4. *KRI* VII 338, 7–8.

¹²As also maintained by M.V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs*, p. 11, n. d.

¹³The name has long been connected with תִּדְּעָּת.

¹⁴Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 122.

- 569.**  *di-di* BD 125, intro, 15;¹⁵ confession, 20.¹⁶ [D. 19 or 20]
 BD 125, intro, 15;¹⁷ confession, 20.¹⁸ [D. 18–20]
 *da-di* BD 125, intro. 15.¹⁹
 *da-da* P. Harris 500 (Love Song) 2, 2. [D. 19]
 *da-da* BD 125, confession 20.²⁰ [D. 19]
 *da=da=ya* BD 125, intro. 15.²¹
 *da=d* BD 125, confession 20.²²
 *d=d* BD 125, intro. 15.²³
 BD 125, confession 20.²⁴

didi?* Vb. “T O MAKE LOVE; T O HAVE SEXUAL INTERCOURSE.**” Cf. the previous entry. The example in P. Harris 500 is used as a nominal form and is very likely the infinitive: *P3y-i t3y n wnš, da=da p3y-k th.* “My little jackal, love-making is what makes you drunk.” It could, however, be a derived noun. In the Semitic languages, the root is not attested as a verb; this may be an Egyptian development. (*Wb.* V 419, 4–5.) [4]

¹⁵Naville, *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* (Berlin: 1886), Lb.

¹⁶Naville, Ba; Id; Ap.

¹⁷Naville, Lb.

¹⁸Naville, Ba; Id; Ap.

¹⁹Naville, Pa, Lc.

²⁰Naville, Aa.

²¹Naville, Aa.

²²Naville, La.

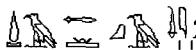
²³Naville, La.

²⁴Naville, Ab.



570.  *da=‘u=q* Med. Habu 86, 27. [D. 20]

ṣa^caqa / za^caqa*. Vb. “TO CRY OUT (FOR HELP).**” It is said of a defeated enemy leader: *Iry:f da=‘u=q r hrt r dbḥ s3f*. “He cried out to the heavens imploring for his son.”¹ The word is certainly to be connected to the Semitic root *ṣ^cq / z^cq*: cf. BH פֹּעַל “to cry out”; Ug. *ṣ^cq* “to cry out”;² Imp. Aram. פֹּעָל “to cry out,” TA پُلَّا “to cry out.” Cf. also the by-form: BH פֹּעֲלִי “to cry out”; BA پُلَّا “to cry out”; TA پُلَّا “cry out”; Syr. ܐܳܩܻܵ (z^caq) “to call, shout”; Ar. عَقَنْ (za^caqa) “to cry; shriek.” It is impossible to tell which root the Egyptians borrowed. The word occurs in the periphrastic construction with *iry* “to do,” and it is probably the infinitive. Or, it could be a noun, cf. the next entry. (H. 302; B. 1202; Wb. V 541, 2.) [5]

571.  *da=‘a=qa-ta* or *da=‘a=qu₄-ta* Med. Habu 88, 6. [D. 20]

ṣa^caqāta, za^caqāta or ṣa^caqōta, za^caqōta*. N. pl. “CRIES; CALLS.**” The text praises Pharaoh’s bravery in battle: *nh₃ hr hr gmh hfnw; hr [wn]f, sdm:f da=‘a=qa-ta* “fierce of face when sighting the swarms;³ happy and joyful when he hears the cries.” Cf. the preceding entry, and the nominal forms: BH נְקֻפָּא, נְקֻעִי; Old Aram. נְקֻעָא; Syr. ܐܳܩܻܵ (z^caq²tā); Ar. عَقَنْ (za^cqa), all “cry; shriek.” (H. 303; B. 1203; VESO V A, 16; Wb. V 541, 3.) [5]

572.  *da=wa-ta* An. IV 12, 9. [D. 19]

*? N. f. (collective) **A TYPE OF STINGING INSECT.** The context is of an Egyptian’s discomforts in Syria-Palestine: *Wnn p₃ hnms hr ‘q*

¹The father and son are shown as captives presented to Ramses III in Medinet Habu, pl. 75. The father, although bound, manages to raise one hand in supplication or submission.

²De Moor and Spronk, *Cuneiform Anthology*, p. 165.

³Literally “sighting a hundred thousand.” The line is highly alliterative.

n šw, tʒ da-wa-ta m mrt, tʒ hmy rdwy hr nhs, iħ-s mtt nb. “There is the mosquito at sunset, the *dwt* at noon, and the *hmy* of the leg bites and sucks on every (blood)-vessel.” The *ta* ending looks Semitic, but the word continues to defy identification. The only thing remotely possible seems to be the root *zbb*: BH זְבַב; TA אַבְבָּבָּאָ; Syr. دَبَّابَةً (*debbābiṭā*); Ar. بَبْ (dubāb); Akk. (including Amarna) *zubbu*, all “fly” (insect). Egyptian *w* for Semitic /b/ is not very likely, however. (H. 304; B. 1205; *Wb.* V 552, 7.) [1]

573. *da-bi⁻²i* An. I 23, 9. [D. 19]

An. I 27, 1.

da-bi₂⁻²u₃ Med. Habu 28, 68. [D. 20]

Probably also in the PN:

da-bi₂ *PNI*, 253, 14.4

**ṣābi²u*. N. (pl.?) “TROOPS; ARMY.” The meaning is certain from the contexts: Med. Habu 28: *Shpr·n·f da-bi₂⁻²u₃ m nṣy·f nht*. “He has educated his troops with his victories.” An. I 23, 9: *iw·k w^c·tw, Bn <^ca>-da- -r r-hn^c·k; bn da-bi⁻²i h^c·k.* “and you are alone. There is no <he>lper with you; there is no army behind you.” An. I 27, 1: *Pʒ sš stp, ma-ha- -r rh drt·f, h^cwty n=<^ca>-ru₂-na, tpty n da-bi⁻²i.* “O distinguished scribe, *mahir* of ready hand, leader of the *n^crn*, head of the troops.” Cf. BH סְבָבָּשׁ “troops”; אַבְבָּאָ “army”; Ug. *sbim* “troops,” *sbū* “army”; Old S. Ar. دَبَّ (db²) “to fight?”; Eth. ወብኑ: (*dab²a*) “to wage war,” ወብኑት: (*ṣabā²it*) “army, troops”; Akk. *sābu* “people; soldiers.” The form seems to be a participle, as noted by Helck. Both Hebrew and Ugaritic seem to have used the participle as well as a derived noun. There is no attempt to indicate an *o*-vowel deriving from an open accented *a*. (H. 305; B. 1207; *VESO VI* B, 20; *Wb.* V 562, 10.) [5]

574. *da-b-b* London Leather Roll.⁵ [D. 21]

Gloss. Gol. 1, 9. [D. 20-1]

⁴The first element of the name, *hry* “he who is on top of” (= “commander”), is common in Egyptian military titles.

⁵Gardiner, *AEO*, pl. 16, 11.

**dabib?* N. A TERM FOR A BODY OF WATER. The word occurs in a list of terms for bodies of water. It may be related to the Semitic root *dwb*: Cf. BH נָוַי “to flow; gush”; TA נְדַד “to flow, drip”; Syr. ܣܻܻ (dwb) “to flow out”; Ar. ذَوْب (dwb) “to melt”; Old S. Ar. ܻܻܻ (mdb) “canal?”; Akk. zābu “to dissolve, melt.” If the etymology is correct, the word must be built on the D-stem. No exact parallels can be found. (*Wb.* V 568, 1.) [3]

575.  da=b=q-b=q P. Lansing 7, 3–4. [D. 20]

 da=ba₂=ga=ya P. Sallier I 6, 7.⁶

[D. 19]

 da=b=ga=ba₃=qa An. V 16,
7–8.⁷ [D. 19]

**sabaǵbaǵa*. N. “DUNKING; SOAKING.” The meaning is fairly clear from the context about a farmer who cannot pay his taxes: (An. V 16, 7 ff.) *iw·f sn̪ h b̪c <r> t̪ šdt. T̪b̪·tw·f m da=b=ga=ba₃=qa*. “And he is bound and thrown into the well. He is drenched in a (headlong) dunking.” The word has long been associated with the Semitic root *sbǵ*: cf. BH צִבְע Dt-stem “to be dyed,”⁸ צִבְעָ “dyed fabric”; Imp. Aram. צִבְעָ “dye,” BA צִבְעָ D-stem “to wet,” tD-stem “to be wet,” TA צִבְעָ “to dip; dye,” D-stem to “dip; immerse; soak”; Syr. ܣܻܻ (s̪ba^c) “to dip; dye”; Ar. صَبَغ (sabaǵa) “to dip, immerse; dye,” VIII (iftaǵala) “to be baptized; dyed”; Eth. ܻܻܻ: (sab̪a) “to dip”; Akk. sabū “to soak, bathe.” Wintermute⁹ maintained that the form was an Egyptian reduplicating verb form, but Semitic languages developed intensive stems with reduplication of the second and third radicals.¹⁰ The phenomenon is better attested in nominal formations.¹¹ Syntactically, the word is

⁶= P. Lansing 7, 3–4.

⁷= P. Lansing 7, 3–4.

⁸Job 38:14.

⁹Wintermute, (Thesis), p. 120.

¹⁰Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, p. 282. The *p^cal^cal* stem is attested in two verbs in Hebrew: נִרְקַעַר “keep on moving back and forth; palpitate (heart)” and נִרְמַרְמַר “burn, rage.”

¹¹Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, pp. 482–83; e.g. *qataltal* הַקְתְּלַטְלַט “twisted, winding,” *qataltul* פַתְלַטְלַט “tortuous.”

probably used as a noun in a prepositional phrase with *m.* (H. 306; B. 1209; *Wb.* V 568, 5–7.) [5]

576. *da-pu₂=na* Ras Šamra stele, top.¹²

Ras Šamra stele, text, l. 1.

P. Sallier IV vs. 1, 6. [D. 19]

da-pu₃=-n Bashan Stele 1–2.¹³ [D. 19]

**Sapōna*. In n. div. “NORTH.” In P. Sallier, the name occurs in a list of Egyptian and Syrian deities. The Ras Šamra stele depicts a Syrian god with the name as a caption. The name there also occurs in the *htp di nsw* offering formula: [*Htp di nsw n B^cl*]-*Da-pu₂=na*, *ntr* ፩, *di f* … “[An offering that the king gives to Ba^cal] Sapōn, the great god, that he might give …” (various offerings follow). Cf. BH נָצְפָן “North”; Ph. צַפֵּל “North”; Ug. Ḫpn (the name of Ba^cal’s mountain); TA (mostly Targum) צִיפְנָן “North.” And also cf. the BH n. loc. צַפְנוֹן; Punic PN f. צַפְנוּבָעֵל, and in Akkadian transcription *Ba^cal-ṣapuna*, *Ba^cli-ṣa-pu-na*. The reconstruction presumes the Canaanite *[á] to [ó] shift from an original **qatāla* form. The *a*-ending (as commonly found in Amorite divine names) is confirmed by the Akkadian transcriptions. (B. 337; *VESO* VII B 5–6.) [5]

577. *di₄=pa=-r, di₄=pu₂=-r?* An. III vs. 6, 1. [D. 19]

sippār?* *sippōra?* PN m. **PERHAPS “BIRD.” The proposed identification was made by Burchardt. If correct, cf. BH צְפָר “bird,” also as PN; Punic צְפָר “bird”; Ug. spr “to whistle,” and as PN; Old Aram. BA צְפָרְיָא (pl.), TA צְפָרְיָא; Syr. سَفَرْ (separ) “bird”; Ar. صَفَر (*safara*) “to whistle; chirp.” (B. 1211; *PN* I 406, 14.) [4]

578. *da-pa₂=ha* P. Turin 2009 + 1999 2, 2.¹⁴ [D. 20]

sapaha*. N. **LUMBER, PERHAPS “PLANK” OR “PANEL.” The

¹²F.-A. Schaeffer, “Les fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras Shamra,” *Syria* (1931), pl. 6.

¹³KRI II 223, 6. The name is written over the representation of a deity, now defaced. The first element of the name is very likely the n. div. ²El.

¹⁴KRI VI 562, 1.

word occurs in the context of lumber used in the construction of boats, but no specifications are given about dimensions or use. The word may be derived from the root *sph* with the basic meaning of “broad,” cf. BH פָּתָח “(broad) jug,” פָּתָחַת “wafer”; Syr. عَسْلَةٌ (*s̥p̥iħtā*) “plating”; Ar. صَنْعٌ (*safaha*) “to broaden, widen,” صَفِحٌ (*safih*) “sheet, sheet metal,” صَفِحَةٌ (*safīha*) “sheet (of metal); (wood) panel”; Old S. Ar. خَلْفَهُ (*?sf̥t*) “platform”; Eth. ሳፍት፡ (*safha*) “to spread out, extend.” (Not in *Wb.*; Janssen, *Prices* 432.) [4]

579. ﴿ ﻙ ﻪ ﻊ ﻊ ﻊ P. Ch. Beatty V 8, 10. “APPLE.” See under ﴿ ﻙ ﻪ ﻊ ﻊ ﻊ .

580. ﴿ ﻙ ﻪ ﻊ ﻊ ﻊ *da-pa-qa* Gloss. Gol. 3, 13. [D. 20–1]

[﴿ ﻙ ﻪ ﻊ ﻊ ﻊ] *[da-p]u=qa* P. Sallier IV vs. 4, 2. [D. 19]

Also written with *g*:

﴿ ﻙ ﻪ ﻊ ﻊ ﻊ *da-pa-g[a]* AEO pl. 20, 18.¹⁵ [D. 20–1]

**qappaza?* N. “DANCER; ACROBAT.” The text of P. Sallier IV probably contains the same word. The context of P. Sallier concerns the entertainment at a feast held by Asiatics in Memphis:

(Sallier IV 4, 1) *iw sh3t m wpwt r-h3t-sn, d3mw hr nhmw m-s3-sn.*
[Da-p]u=qa n rsy [...]-ti. Qny-s t3 mht. Di-s rdwy-sy hr nhbt-s di-s
drt-s <hr> p3 iwtn.

And the drum was in the audience in front of them, and the youths were (happily) shouting behind them. The *{dp}q* of the South ['arrived']. She embraced her (counterpart) of the North. She placed her feet upon her shoulders, and she placed her hands on the ground.¹⁶

The word may be related to the Semitic root *qpz*: Cf. BH צְפֵץ (a snake), MH צְפֵץ “to leap; dance”; TA צְפֵץ “to leap, jump”; Syr. ܩܾܵܶܶ (*q̥waz*) “to leap,” ܩܾܵܶܶ (quyāzā) “dancing”; Ar. ܹܵܶܶ (*qafaza*) “jump, leap, spring.” BH also has the by-form צְפֵז D-stem “to leap.”¹⁷ If

¹⁵Ramesseum Frags. = Gloss. Gol. 3, 13.

¹⁶Because of the typical Egyptian use of pronouns, it is difficult to tell who is doing what. Perhaps South does a shoulder-stand on North's shoulders while North moves her torso down far enough to touch the ground. Or perhaps South jumps off North's shoulders, landing on her hands.

¹⁷Song of Songs 2:8.

the etymology is correct, there is metathesis of the first and last consonants. The word formation is uncertain, but could be either the “professional” *qattāla* or the G-stem participle. (H. 308; B. 1214; *Wb.* V 568, 11.) [4]

581.  *da-ma=t* P. Leiden I 343¹⁸ vs. Spell XII.
[D. 19 or 20]

 *da-ma-{'c}u* P. Leiden I 343 7, 7.

**tami²a*, *tamētu*. Vb. / Adj. “TO BE THIRSTY / PARCHED” OR “THIRSTY / PARCHED.” The word is used to describe land (7, 7): [...] *ib. Swr tw nʒ n hʒswt, iw·w da-ma-‘cū*. “[...] thirsty. The desert hills drink you, for they are parched.” The meaning is certain here, since it occurs parallel to the Egyptian word *ib* “to be thirsty,” which ends the previous sentence. Spell XII contains the following line: *Tʒ ʒht da-ma=t ha=—r=ba <swr tw>*. “The thirsty land of Harba (the Desert¹⁹) <drinks you>.” It is related to the Semitic root **tm²*: BH נָמַת “to be thirsty,” נָמֵת, הָמְתָה “thirst,” גָּמֵת “thirsty (parched) region,” הָמְתָה לְגָם “thirsty land”; Ug. *g̑mi*,²⁰ “to be thirsty,” *m̑tmā* “thirsty,” *tm[i!]* “keen desire”,²¹ Ar. طَمِيْنَ (zami²a) “to be thirsty”; Old S. Ar. ܗܻܻܻ (sm²) “drought”; Eth. የܻܻܻܻ: (sam²a) “to be thirsty,” የܻܻܻܻܻ: (*s²mū²*) “thirsty, parched (ground)”; Akk. *šamū* “thirsty.” The writing with ‘ayin for ‘aleph is unusual. *Da-ma-‘cū* in 7, 7 occurs as the Egyptian old perfective. The writing without ‘aleph and with final *t* represents a feminine adjective referring back to *tʒ ʒht* “the land.” (*Wb.* V 574, 10–11.) [5]

582.  *di-mi-ra* DeM.²² [D. 20]

 Shabti nos. 31, 33, 35.²³ [D. 18]

 Shabti no. 36.

¹⁸A. Massart, *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + I 345*.

¹⁹For this word, see *ha=—r=ba*, no. 346.

²⁰In Ugaritic, Proto-Semitic */t/ occasionally occurs as *g̑*.

²¹K. Aartun “Neue Beiträge zum ugaritischen Lexikon I,” *UF* 16 (1984), p. 32.

²²Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* (1935–40), vol. 2, p. 6, and fig. 72 on pl. i.

²³The numbers are those in G.T. Martin, “Shabtis of private persons in the Amarna Period,” *MDAIK* 42 (1986), pp. 109–29.

 Shabti no. 32.

 *di=m=ra* Shabti nos. 34, 36.

 *di=mi=ir* Shabti no. 33.

Also a by-form:

 *ti₂=di=mi* Shabti no. 33.

Dimri*. PN f. “PROTECTION.” The name is probably to be connected with the root *dmr*, which seems to have two distinct senses: 1) BH זִמְרָה “choice products,” (Gen. 43:11), 2) “strength; protection” (Exod. 15:2, etc.), and the PN’s זִמְרִי, זִמְרָה, זִמְרָן; the Amorite name *Zimri-Lim* “Lim is my protection”; Ug. *dmr* G-stem “guarded”, noun “guard,” *dmrn* (an epithet of Ba‘al), and the PN’s *Dmr-B^cl*, *Dmr-Hd*, *Dmry*;²⁴ Amorite PN *Zi-im-ri-ya*; TA דִּמְרָ “to be amazed”; Syr. لِمَرْ (d²mīrā) “marvelous”; Ar. ذَمَّارٌ (*dimār*) “cherished possessions”; Old S. Ar. **דָמֵר (*dmr*) “to protect.” The by-form with *ti₂=di* (possibly an attempt to accurately transcribe Semitic /d/) supports this derivation since only Semitic /d/ is regularly transcribed by both Egyptian *d* and *t*. If this is the correct derivation, the name is probably a shortened form of a theophoric name (cf. the Ugaritic and Amorite PN’s) in which the first element consists of the m. sing. noun. The reconstructed final *i*-vowel would represent the first singular suffix or less likely, the genitive case (in a bound construction). The semantic development of this root, if it is indeed a single root, is doubtful. Perhaps the semantic field is “protection” and from this a secondary extension to “things worth protecting” from which a further extension to “wondrous, amazing.” On account of the well attested use of the root meaning “protection” in Semitic names and the variant writing suggestive of /d/ it is less likely related to the Semitic word for song and music: BH זִמְרָ “song”; Ug. *dmr* D-stem “to make music”; TA زَمَرَ “singer,” زَمَرَةٌ “song,” زَمَرَةٌ “music”; Ar. زَمَرَ (zamara) “to play a wind instrument.” (PN II 333, 30.) [3]

²⁴Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 197.

583.  da=ma₃=qa Amenophis III List Bn r. 12.
[D. 18]

*ṣammūqa. In n. loc. “RAISIN.” Edel²⁵ proposed a connection with the root ṣmq. Cf. BH סְמִקָּם “cakes of raisins”; Ug. ṣmqm “raisins”; TA צַמְקָה “raisin.” M. Görg’s suggestion²⁶ that the word is a corruption from “mq “valley” is very dubious. [4]

584.  da=-n-na An. I 24, 1. [D. 19]

Also written with only one *n*:

-  d=-n O. lit. DeM 1073 3.²⁷ [D. 19 or 20]

ṣanna? N. m. “BRISTLING OF HAIR.” An. I 24, 1 (of a frightened man): T₃y-{hr}*k p₃ da=-n-na; d₃d₃-k ša=-n-ra-fi. “Your hair stands on end;²⁸ your head is dishevelled.” Helck associated the word with BH צְנִינִי מַ “thorns.” The root also occurs in TA צְנִינִי “prickly.” The etymology is probably correct. The root ṣll is much less likely. Cf. BH צְלַצֵּל “to tingle, quiver”; TA צְלַל “to vibrate”; Ar. صَلَّ (ṣalla) “to ring; rattle.” (H. 309; B. 1220; Wb. V 577.) [4]

585.  da-na-na An. II 7, 2; An. III 5, 6; 6, 10. [D. 19]

-  P. Ch. Beatty IV vs. 5, 8–9. [D. 19–20]

-  An. IV 9, 5.²⁹ [D. 19]

-  da-ni-ni An. VI 79; Mes 21, 3;³⁰ P. Turin 1882 IV, 6.³¹ [D. 20]

-  KRI VI 537, 15; 538, 1.³² [D. 20]

-  P. Lansing 10, 9. [D. 20]

²⁵Edel, *Ortsnamenlisten*, p. 14.

²⁶M. Görg, “Saron als politische Einheit,” *Biblische Zeitschrift* 19 (1975), pp. 98–99.

²⁷= An. I 24, 1.

²⁸Literally, “Bristling seizes you.”

²⁹= An. III 5, 6.

³⁰A.H. Gardiner, “The Inscription of Mes,” *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegypten* IV, (Leipzig: 1903-5, reprint 1964, Hildesheim), p. 89 ff.

³¹Gardiner, “Pharaonic Encomium,” *JEA* 41, pl. 10. The word has the rather positive meaning “arduous endeavours.”

³²The latter instance may be a verb.

P. Brooklyn 47.21.135 6 13.³³ [Late]

Also written:

da-na P. Ch. Beatty IV vs. 3, 13.³⁴

da-na=da-na P. Ch. Beatty V 6, 13.³⁵ [D. 19]

da=-n-ra H.O. 3 3 rt. 11. [D. 20?]

zalala / zalazala?* N. / Vb.³⁶ “TORMENTS; PAINS; ARDUOUS ENDEAVOURS / TO TORMENT.**” In the school miscellanies the word is used in the “Be a scribe!” texts: E.g. An. II 6, 7 ff.: *Ir ss̄ ... Rwi:f tw hr da-na-na*. “Be a scribe ... It will keep you away from torments.” An. III 5, 6 ff.: *Mi sdd-i n-k p3 shr n w̄w, p3 ‘s3 da-na-na*. “Come and let me tell you of the soldier’s lot, the (man) with many a pain.” It also occurs with a more abstract sense:

An. VI (63) *Tw̄ hr ir wpwt nbt rd̄i n p3y-i nb m hr-i m s̄sr d̄iw mi hm̄w ...* (79) *Hr p̄tr̄, tw̄ hr ir m n3 da-ni-ni l-ir-tw p3y-i nb d̄it rm̄t r mh̄w.*

“I am carrying out every task that my lord has commanded me, very well, and with the firmness of copper Now see, I am being active in the arduous duties to which my lord has appointed people to execute them.”

Similarly in P. Turin 1882 rt.: *Di-k h3m-i r n3y-i da-ni-ni*. “You caused me to apply myself to my arduous endeavours.” As suggested by the writing in H.O. 3 3, the word is possibly related to da=-n=da=n=r={t} “branch” (next entry), an instrument of torture in interrogations. An etymology is proposed there. (H. 310; B. 1221; Wb. V 577, 3.) [3]

586. da=-n=da=n=r={t} O. Turin 57469 4.
[D. 19 or 20]

da-na=da-na P. BM 10052 5, 16.³⁷ [D. 20]

da=-n=da=r O. DeM 108 4. [D. 19]

³³R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text*, fig. 13.

³⁴= An. II 7, 2.

³⁵= An. III 5, 6.

³⁶An. III 6, 10 is apparently the only example of the use as a verb.

³⁷Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 28. Also P. BM 10052 3, 17; 4, 12; 5, 16; 5, 23; 7, 16; 7, 17, etc.

 \rightsquigarrow *da*=-*n*=*da*=*r*={*t*} O. DeM 161 1, 9, etc.³⁸
[D. 19 or 20]

 \rightsquigarrow KRI VII 30, 4. [D. 19]

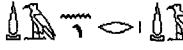
 O. DeM 1 3, and frequently.³⁹ [D. 19]

 \rightsquigarrow *da*=-*n*=*da*=-*r* O. Cairo 25256 vs. 1. [D. 20]

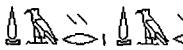
 P. Turin Cat 1884 2, 5.⁴⁰ [D. 20]

 \rightsquigarrow O. Campbell 11 + O. Gardiner 52.⁴¹ [D. 20]

Written with *n+r*:

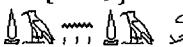
 \rightsquigarrow *da*=-*n*=*ra*=*da*=-*n*=-*r* O. DeM 46 2.
[D. 20]

Written with *r*:

 \rightsquigarrow *da*=-*r*=*da*=-*r* O. DeM 43 2. [D. 20]

Written with partial reduplication:

 \rightsquigarrow *da*=-*n*=*da*=*w*=*t* P. Ashmolean 1960.1283 9.⁴²
[D. 19]

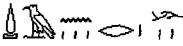
 \rightsquigarrow *da*=-*n*=*da*=*t* O. DeM 269 2, etc.⁴³ [D. 19, 20]

 \rightsquigarrow *da*=*da*=-*n*=-*r* O. DeM 45 vs., 11; 161, 9.
[D. 20]

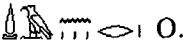
 \rightsquigarrow *da*=*da*=-*n*=*ra* O. DeM 45 vs., 11.

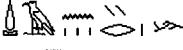
 \rightsquigarrow *da*-*da*=-*r* O. DeM 42 vs., 5. [D. 20]

Written without reduplication:

 \rightsquigarrow *da*=-*n*=*ra* An. IV 17, 4. [D. 19]

 \rightsquigarrow O. DeM 46 12. [D. 20]

 \rightsquigarrow O. DeM 46 12.

 \rightsquigarrow *da*=-*n*=-*r* P. Turin Cat 1898 3, 18; 19; 20.⁴⁴
[D. 20]

*zalzala? N. “SWITCH; STICK; BRANCH.” Coptic 

³⁸H.O. 26 2, 4; KRI VII 30, 4; 6-7; 11; 13.

³⁹O. DeM 2, 3; 3, 5; 4, 3; 5, 4; 7, 4; 8, 4; 9, 4; 10, 3; 11, 3; 12, 3; 13, 4; 14, 3, etc.

⁴⁰KRI VI 647, 10.

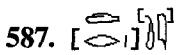
⁴¹KRI VII 294, 6.

⁴²C.J. Eyre, “An accounts papyrus from Thebes,” JEA 66 (1980), fig. 1, opp. p. 110.

⁴³O. Cairo 25603 2; 25804 2, 5; 2, 7.

⁴⁴Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale*, pl. 55.

“branch.” The item was used as an instrument of torture in interrogating witnesses and suspects in the tomb robbery papyri, and is used in the phrase *smtr m dnn*: “to interrogate with the *dnn*.” It was also a common household commodity in the Deir el-Medinah village. The word may be related to the Semitic root *zll*: BH זָלַל “to shake,” פְּלָלִים “twigs; branches or tendrils⁴⁵ of grape vine”; Syr. زَلَّ (zallā) “rush, reed”; Ar. زَلْزَالٌ (zalzala) “to shake, cause to tremble.” The semantic field of *zll* seems to be vibration. If the word meaning “twig” or “thin branch” derives from this root, then possibly the semantic development is from the notion of “shaking a (pliant) stick.” Almost all the writings attempt to indicate the reduplication, and the second consonant is probably /l/, because of the use of the *nr* groups and the interchange change between *n* and *r*.⁴⁶ (H. 310; B. 1222; *Wb.* V 577, 4; *VESO* XXII A15.) [3]

587.  di₂-nu₂=ra⁴⁷ KRI II 181, 4.⁴⁸
[D. 19]

 di₄-nu₂=ru₂ KRI II 178, no. 19. [D. 19]

*širrōra? šinnōra? In n. loc. “CRICKET(?)” The name was translated as “Door of the Locust” by Kitchen.⁴⁹ Kitchen cites BH אַלְעַל “cricket,” but there are difficulties with the reading and the derivation. There are no clear examples of *nu*₂ + *r* to indicate [l], and the reading is almost certainly to be understood as *nu*-*ra*, i.e. with two distinct syllables. The Semitic words meaning “cricket” are almost all reduplicating forms: e.g. TA أَرْضُرْسُرْ; Ar. صَرْصَار (*ṣursur*) “cricket.” But Arabic also has the by-form صَرَّار (*sarrār*) “cricket.” Egyptian *n* for Semitic *r* is not certain, but it may occur in a few isolated instances. It is also possible that with this word, there were by-forms in the source language with dissimilation of *r*

⁴⁵The context of Isa. 18:5 suggests the meaning “(secondary) branches,” rather than “tendrils” or “shoots.”

⁴⁶S. Sauneron also proposed an original “*djaldjal,” “Une forme de substantif à redoublement,” *RdE* 7 (1950), p. 183.

⁴⁷The group *di*₂: the writing *dwy* with quail chick is probably mistaken for *dʒy*.

⁴⁸And K.A. Kitchen, *JEA* 50 (1964), pp. 47–55.

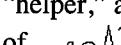
⁴⁹Kitchen, *JEA* 50 (1964), p. 54, and followed by Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, p. 86.

to *n.* The Akkadian lexical term *sinnarbu* “locust” appears similar, but it is probably not directly related. (Not in *Wb.*) [3]

588.  *da=-n=ra-ga-ta* O. Berlin 21447.⁵⁰ [D. 20]

salaqta?* PN (f.?). **MEANING UNKNOWN. The name may well be related to that of David’s Ammonite hero קָלָא (II Sam. 23:37). The meaning of the root is not known. The root occurs in TA and MH, but the meanings do not seem very appropriate for personal names: קָלָא “to split,” קָלָה “scab; scar”; צוֹלָקָה “scar.” (*PN I* 432, 6.) [2]

589.  *di₄=-r* An. I 23, 9. [D. 19]

<^ō>ziru.* N. “HELPER; ADJUTANT.**” Burchardt and Albright identified the word with BH יִרְאֵ “messenger.” The word occurs with reference to the ill prepared *maher* who is now surrounded by hostile bandits: *iw·k w̄c·ti.* *Bn da=-r r-hn̄c·k.* *Bn da=bi=²i h̄b·k.* “and you are alone. There are no *dr* with you; there are no troops behind you.” The context, however, seems to require a word meaning “helper,” and Gardiner⁵¹ suggested that the word was a miswriting of  *u=da=-r* (no. 108). The word *dr* occurs two times earlier in the text in very similar, although non-military, contexts:

(5, 5 ff.) *Ib·hr·i iw·k r hsf st w̄c·t(i) hr tp·k. Ist n̄y·k m̄wnf hr ^h̄c n-h̄b·k; nwy·k kpw ^s̄3 n <^u>=di=-r.*

Now, I thought that you would answer it alone, by yourself. But look, there are your protectors standing behind you; you have collected a numerous ‘gang’ of helpers.

The term occurs again, where the same individual, who is having trouble solving a mathematical problem, is told: (16, 2) *M-ir rmt. P̄sy·k ^u=da=-r h̄b·k.* “Don’t cry. Your helper is behind you.” Helck’s derivation from a supposed Akkadian **eziru* is unfounded. (H. 313; B. 1228; Not in *Wb.*; *VESO XXII A16.*) [3]

590.  *da-ra=ca* Med. Habu 27, 14.⁵² [D. 20]

⁵⁰KRI V 561, 7.

⁵¹EHT, p. 25,* n. 17.

⁵²And possibly in 86, 49, where badly damaged, but suiting the traces and the

sara^ca*. Vb. “TO LAY LOW; OVERTHROW.**” The word occurs in the context of the defeated enemy: *H̄q rmt·f nb*, *hnr(w)*, *da-ra-^ca(w)*. “All his people are captured, curbed, and ‘laid low.’” Černý wanted to associate the word with Coptic *σώωψε* “to scatter,” and suggested a derivation from either פָּנָא “to winnow; scatter” or עֲרָא “to sow.”⁵³ The former is unlikely on phonological grounds, and the latter on semantic grounds. Burchardt linked the word to the root *ṣr^c* “to overthrow,” which suits the context quite well. T. Bardinet recently maintained this connection, as well.⁵⁴ Cf. MH פְּגַע “to strike, smash; to strike with ‘leprosy’”; Ar. صَرَع (*sara^ca*) “to throw down, bring to the ground.” A link to the BH צָעַר “to become insignificant” can be ruled out since that root is *ṣgr*, cf. Ar. صَغِير (*sagūra*) “to be little; lowly, servile.” The form is the Egyptian old perfective. (H. 314; B. 1229; Wb. V 603, 4.) [4]

591.  | 𓏏 𓏏 𓏏 𓏏 | di₄=-r=^cw An. I 21, 3. [D. 19]

sir^cu*. N. in n. loc. “HORNETS.**” The word occurs in the place name Sš *Di₄=-r=^cw*. Burchardt read the word as *dr^cm*, but the water sign could simply be a determinative. The passage involves a play on words that fairly well establishes the etymology: *Qsn p₃ Sš Da=*-*r=^cu*. *Iw·k r dd: wbd sw r ddbw*. “Hornet’s Pass is painful. You will say: ‘It burns more than (insect) bites.’” The etymology was first proposed by de Rougé.⁵⁵ Cf. BH, MH צָרַעַת “hornets.” The origin of the Hebrew root is not clear. It is certainly akin to Aramaic *trq*, *‘r^c*, *r^c*: טְרִקָּה “to sting”; נִיְרִקָּה “hornets” (translation of BH צָרַעַת), צָרַעַת “wasp, hornet,” and אֹוְרִעִיךָאָה “wasp, hornet.”⁵⁶ (B. 1230.) [4]

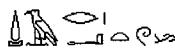
context.

⁵³Vycichl (*Dict. étym.*, 331a) maintained a derivation from the latter, and given the broken vowel of the Coptic word, this seems quite plausible as a derivation for the Coptic word.

⁵⁴T. Bardinet, “Remarques sur les maladies de la peau, la lèpre, et le châtiment divin dans l’Égypte ancienne,” *RdE* 39 (1988), pp. 8–11.

⁵⁵de Rougé, cited by Gardiner, *EHT*, p. 23*, nn. 5, 6.

⁵⁶There are, however, several phonological difficulties. Aramaic *t* for Hebrew *s* is the normal correspondence of original */ʃ/, but the relationship between Hebrew *‘ayin* and Aramaic *goph* is problematic. The various mutations of the root can perhaps be explained as the result of an original **tr^c* shifting to **tr^c*, which may not have been

592.  *di₄-ra-ᶜ-tu* Theban Necropolis Journal.⁵⁷ [D. 20]

 *di₄-r-ᶜ-u-(?)* P. BM 10056 3, 9.⁵⁸ [D. 18]

**dilaᶜatu*. N. (f.) “PLANK.” The word designates ḫ-wood planks of up to 18.38 meters in length. The word is derived from the Semitic root **dl*^c.⁵⁹ Cf. BH צַלְעָה (f.) “(cedar, fir) plank, board; rib,” pl. צַלְעֹת; Ug. *slc* “rib”; BA עַלְעָן “ribs;” TA עַלְעָת “beam, board; rib;” JPA אַלְעָן “rib;” Ar. ضَلْع (dil^c) “rib;” Akk. *sēlu* “rib.” (Janssen, *Prices*, pp. 380–81; *Wb.* V 603, 5.) [5]

593.  *da-ḥa-—r-ta* O. DeM 318 vs. 8. [D. 19 or 20]

Written with metathesis:

 *ra-ḥa-da-ta* O. DeM 318 vs. 9.

**sallahta*. N. f. (?) “JAR; BOWL.” Perhaps Coptic Φαλαστί (a large vessel). The determinative indicates that the word designates a vessel, and the context confirms it (vs. 8): *irt ds 1 ... irt hr bnri tbw n^{cc} 1, dhrt 1* “milk, 1 *ds*-jar ... ; milk with date syrup, 1 plain *tbw*-jar, 1 *dhrt*-jar.” Cf. BH כַּלְחָות “cooking pots,” צַלְחָה “dish,” צַלְחִית “jar”; Amarna⁶⁰ *sillahta* (a vessel); TA צַלְחוֹת אֲלֻחָה “flask with wide belly and narrow neck”; Syr. مَسْكَة (s^əluhītā) “water pot”; Eth. ዳሳል: (*sāhl*) “bowl; jar.” J.J. Janssen⁶¹ thought that the word was a miswriting of *dhty* “tin,” but the evidence almost certainly rules this out. If the derivation is correct, then both examples exhibit metathesis. The first example, however, is close to the Ethiopic. (Not in *Wb.*) [4]

and Aramaic *qoph* is problematic. The various mutations of the root can perhaps be explained as the result of an original **tr^c* shifting to **tr^c*, which may not have been possible, hence dissimilation to *trq* on the one hand and on the other to **r^c*, which by dissimilation resulted in **r^c*. This root, or one related to it, might possibly be involved in the words written in group writing as *ma-n-ta-di* and *ma-ta-da-²u* “whip lashes” (nos. 168, 233).

⁵⁷KRI VI 562, 13; 14.

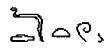
⁵⁸Glanville, “Royal Dockyard,” ZÄS, 66, p. 2* (following p. 140).

⁵⁹M. Görg (“Ein Fachausdruck israelitischer Architektur,” *Biblische Notizen* 3 [1977], pp. 14–16.) also proposed this derivation and suggested the semantic development in the Semitic was from “rib, side” to boards used on the sides of walls or ships, i.e. “siding.”

⁶⁰EA 14, II, 1; 14, III, 70.

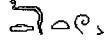
⁶¹Janssen, “Semitic words,” *Ex Oriente Lux* Deel 6 (part 19), p. 446.

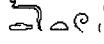
594.  *diʒ=tu* An. III 2, 5. [D. 19]

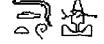
 P. Harris I 34b, 4; KRI VII 76–78.⁶² [D. 19, 20]

 P. Harris I 8, 5; 27, 10. [D. 20]

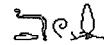
 P. Harris I 18b, 9; 19b, 15.

 P. Harris I 65b, 5.

 P. Rainer 53 10.⁶³ [D. 21]

 London 588, 9.⁶⁴ [D. 20]

 *d=t* P. Ch. Beatty V 8, 10. [D. 19]

 *d=du* (?) KRI VII 76–78. [D. 19]

 P. Turin 2008 + 2016 vs. 1, 5.⁶⁵ [D. 20]

 P. Turin 2008 + 2016 vs. 2, 11.

zētu*. N. “OLIVES; OLIVE TREES; OLIVE OIL.**” Coptic  “olive tree, olive.” Occurrences of olives as a fruit include P. Harris I 65b, 5 and An. III 2, 5: *?an=—n=ha=man₂, dphw, ddtw, db n c^t ht* “pomegranates, apples, olives, and figs of the orchard.” Examples designating the tree include P. Harris I 27, 10: *t^bw n ddt* “land of the olives,” and KRI VII 76–78 *k^bm c^b n ddw* “Great Orchard of Olives.” The writing of the KRI VII example with the vessel determinative  suggests that sometimes the word may have had the meaning “olive oil” or pickled olives. Cf. BH ; Ph. ; Ug. *zt*; Imp. Aram. , TA ; Syr.  (*zaytā*), all “olive; olive tree”; Ar.  (*zayt*) “olive oil”; Eth.  (*zayt*) “olive.” As none of the writings indicates the presence of consonantal [y] the diphthong [ay] must have been resolved to [ê], as in the northern dialects. The Coptic, however, is derived from a Semitic dialect which retained the uncontracted diphthong. (H. 316; B. 1243; *Wb.* V 618, 4–5.) [5]

⁶²DeM jar sealings.

⁶³= An. III 2, 5.

⁶⁴Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc.*, Pt. 10, pl. 57.

⁶⁵Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs*.

595.  *di-di* An. IV 16, 9. [D. 19]

 O. Univ. Coll. 2 vs., 8.⁶⁶ [19]

sīsi*. N. m. pl. “FLOWER; ROSETTE.**” In the An. IV passage, the *di-di* are decorations on a chariot: *N3y-sn ta=ḥi=ra mi inm n ins, iw-w t3 hr didi*. “Their leather panels are of the colour of red-cloth, they being embossed with rosettes.” The University College ostraca refers to real flowers: *P3 didi hr h3c prh*. “The flower sprouts a blossom.” The word has long been associated with BH ڙڙ “flower; flower ornament”; TA ՚՚ ՚՚ “blossom.” The Arabic **صيصة** (*sīsiya*) “spur” (on rooster’s leg) is probably also related. Although one would normally expect the Egyptian to have the accusative ending usual with common nouns, the final *i*-vowel is almost certainly due to vowel harmony. (H. 317; B. 1248; *VESO* XXII B, 5; *Wb.* V 636, 2.) [5]

⁶⁶Spiegelberg, “Hieratic Ostraka,” *Ancient Egypt* 1914, p. 110.

PART II

ANALYSES AND CONCLUSIONS

PHONOLOGY

I. THE PHONOLOGY & PHONETICS OF SEMITIC WORDS IN EGYPTIAN TRANSCRIPTION

THERE ALWAYS EXISTS a certain amount of uncertainty concerning the phonology and phonetics of ancient languages known to us only through writing. While we may have an excellent understanding of the graphic system, we reconstruct the sound system with difficulty because writing systems, as a rule, do not correspond perfectly with their phonemic system, let alone with the pronunciation of the language as actually spoken. There are several definitions of the term phoneme, but what is here intended is “the smallest meaningful unit of sound.” Speakers of a given language, quite unconsciously, of course, may be said to internalize the accepted organization of sound into meaningful units, and there may be great differences from one system to another. By way of example, in the Japanese language, the sounds¹ [t] and [ts] are not treated as distinct units of sound, but are variant sounds (“allophones”) whose use is conditioned by phonetic context.² There are ways to reconstruct the phonemic system, such as the test of “minimal pairs,” by which two words (for instance) contrast in only the smallest unit, but are otherwise identical: e.g. in English “ship” [ʃɪp] and “sip” [sɪp] are minimal pairs, and /s/ and /ʃ/ are thus shown to be distinct phonemes. In dealing with a relatively small body of evidence, it is not always possible to prove phonemic distinction by minimal pairs. This is especially the case with rarer phonemes (even in living languages).³ The Egyptian evidence often proves or suggests cases of phonemic distinction, and these are quite certain when we can establish parallels in known Semitic languages. As an obvious example, in Egyptian transcriptions, *h*

¹The terms “sounds” and “phones” are used interchangeably in this study. Phonetic transcriptions are enclosed in small square brackets [x]. Phonemic transcriptions are in

regularly corresponds to Semitic etymological /h/ and Egyptian *h* to Semitic etymological /ħ/.

The question of phonetics (how the phonemes were actually pronounced in a given context) is much more difficult to establish. We have several sources of knowledge: languages and dialects that have survived as spoken languages without interruption, languages with well established writing systems (e.g. Coptic), ancient languages with well established reading traditions (e.g. Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic), comparative analysis within the language group, and foreign transcriptions. We also must rely on comparative phonetic data from unrelated languages, in some cases.⁴ The certainty of results in the phonetics of ancient languages is quite uneven, and even if we can establish a few phones with a high degree of accuracy, the conclusions should always be treated as a hypothetical reconstructions and not as established truth. Most of the discussion will therefore focus on the phonemic system, but in certain cases, the question of phonetics is of no small interest.

The Egyptian evidence suggests the occurrence of 27–29 phonemes, although it cannot be demonstrated that all the dialects / source languages shared the same phonemic inventory. In fact, the transcriptions indicate that certain dialects had lost phonemic distinctions between some of the sibilants. In general, the Egyptian writing system is fairly successful in distinguishing the Semitic “gutturals,” namely /p/, /tˤ/, /gˤ/, /ħ/, /ħˤ/, and /ħˤ/, but is less suited to transcribing the “emphatics” and sibilants. Nevertheless, even here, distinctions seem to occur, as suggested by differences in the patterns of distribution. Fortunately, even though a number of Semitic phonemes may all be rendered by the same Egyptian grapheme, we may still identify distinct oppositions when the Semitic phonemes in question never merged in any known language.⁵ As expected, the Semitic sibilants pose particularly complex problems, aggravated by temporal and dialectal differences, but fortunately the Egyptian sibilants are established with a relatively high degree of certainty because of their later Coptic values.

The Semitic phonemes will be examined below, classified by presumed place of articulation (front to back), following the traditional reconstructions. It must be noted that there are a number of phonemes

⁴This is practical and fairly informative, since the phonetic behaviour of certain sounds can be quite similar, given the mechanics of sound production.

⁵E.g. the Egyptian grapheme *t* renders both /s/ (*samekh*) and /d/, two phonemes which never merged in any Semitic language. /D/ did, however, merge with /z/ in some languages, but since /z/ is always transcribed by Egyptian *d* and never by Egyptian *t*, we may therefore conclude that /z/ and /d/ remained in phonemic opposition.

whose actual phonetic values are unknown or questionable in any given language. Because the Egyptian evidence is of unequal reliability, in the main, only words whose etymologies are certain (i.e., my level [5] of certainty) will be considered. However, since etymologies and estimations of their certainty are subject to personal bias or unnecessary hesitancy, even with level [5] material there must be some element of doubt. Now, since, on the other hand, there are likely to be a fairly large number of correct etymologies among level [4] ("fairly certain") entries, and given the scarcity of evidence in some instances, it seems worthwhile to also make use of level [4] materials, from time to time. Although the use of level [4] evidence introduces some element of doubt, it has the advantage of broadening the base of data, which is particularly scarce with the rarer phonemes. Reference may be made to the tables at the end of this chapter. Table 1 lists the Semitic phonemes in Roman alphabetical order and indicates the frequency with which they are transcribed by the given Egyptian graphemes. Table 2 indicates the particular reflexes of the Proto-Semitic sibilants. Table 3 lists the Egyptian signs and indicates their correspondences with various Semitic phonemes. It must be stressed that the statistical reliability is quite uneven, given the great disparities in the evidence between common and rare phonemes. Asterisks have been used to mark cases of particular uncertainty.

A. The Semitic Consonants

1. Labials

/P/ is normally rendered by Egyptian *p* (unvoiced bilabial stop), but there are a few examples containing Egyptian *f*. Two certain examples are *ha-fi-da* (no. 310, D. 19, 20) and *š=f=ta* (no. 398, D. 18). Of the two other fairly certain examples, one is an Akkadian word: *n=k-fi=ta* (no. 261, D. 19), which is probably related to *n=k-pa₂=ta* (no. 260). Egyptian *f* may be the phonetic rendering of an allophone of /p/ in the source language, but the nature of its articulation cannot be determined. The Egyptian phoneme /f/ was pronounced [f] in Coptic. Was it the affricate [pf] in Late Egyptian, as will be suggested in section II, B? Or does its use reflect sporadic spirantization in the source language? Egyptian *b* for /p/ is not common, but in the two fairly certain examples, *ha-ba* (no. 332, D. 19) and *ku-ba-sa* (no. 456, D. 19, 20), it could result from intervocalic voicing.

/B/ is, of course, differentiated from /p/, and is normally transcribed by Egyptian *b* (probably the voiced bilabial stop [b]). In the case of

²-*s=p-t* (no. 30, D. 18, 19), a rather uncommon variant of ²-*s=b=t* “chair,” the *p* probably indicates devoicing from juxtaposition to the sibilant, and could have been a phenomenon of the source language, or have been a development in the Egyptian as a variant pronunciation. The other certain or nearly certain examples all follow *r*: *ha=—r=pa* (no. 324, D. 19), *ha=ra=pa=ta* (no. 348, D. 19), and *ga=—r=pa* (no. 516, D. 19), apparently a variant of *ga=ra=ba* “to shave.” It is possible that *p* following the liquids /r/ or /l/ were regularly pronounced as [b] by Egyptian speakers. Egyptian *m* for /b/ is sporadically attested in syllable opening and syllable closing position: *ma=—r=ku* for /brk/ (no. 129) and *ha=ma-da=ra=ta* for /hbṣlt/ (no. 309). In the latter example, however, the phonetic interchange is also attested in the Semitic languages.

/M/ is not particularly remarkable other than the certain example of Egyptian *b* for /m/ in the *mem*-preformative noun *ba=ga=ra=ta*₅ (D. 19, variant of *ma=ga=ra=ta*, no. 228). The interchange can be explained as both are voiced bilabials.

2. *Interdentals*

/T/ almost certainly maintained phonemic opposition to /š/, at least in most of the source languages, as /t/ is regularly rendered by Egyptian *s* ([s]), whereas /š/ is regularly transcribed by Egyptian š ([š]).⁶ Nevertheless, the evidence also suggests that /t/ had merged with /š/ (with the phonetic value of [š]) in a minority of the languages / dialects, as the correspondence of Egyptian š for /t/ obtains in about 30% of the cases, e.g. *ša=‘a=ra* (no. 390, D. 20) “gate”⁷ (which also reflects a merger of /g/ and /t/, from original *t̪gr).⁸ It is possible that not all examples of Egyptian š reflect the merger, since Egyptian, lacking [t], may have

⁶This was also noted by Z. Harris, *Canaanite Dialects*, pp. 62–63. Harris also cites evidence from Amarna materials.

⁷Also Ša=pa=ta [D. 21] / Š-f=ta [D. 18], ha₂=d-ša=ta [D. 22] (no. 329), šu₅=‘a=ru₂=ta [Late]. Level [4] evidence: ša=‘=ra “calculation, scheme” (no. 387) [D. 19–21], possibly also the name ša=ma₄=ri=ya [D. 20].

⁸W. Diem (“Das Problem von 𐎂 im Althebräischen und die kanaanäische Lautverschiebung,” *ZDMG* 124 [1974], p. 274 ff.) rejects a direct shift from /t/ to /š/, claiming it merged first with /š/ and subsequently these two had merged as [š] in Biblical Hebrew. Diem maintains that the Egyptian evidence supports his theory of a shift of /t/ to /š/, because of transcriptions with Egyptian *s*. There are several problems with this theory, as pointed out by J. Blau (“‘Weak’ Phonetic Change and the Hebrew Šin,” *Hebrew Annual Review* 1 (1977), pp. 105–6), most notably the fact that although the Egyptian transcriptions with *s* imply that /t/ was pronounced similarly to /š/ (also transcribed with both *s* and š) this does not prove that they had merged as /š/. Also Blau has provided an example of a shift from [t] to [š] (*ibid.*), p. 105.

occasionally used š to represent that sound. In any case, the merger is attested in Ugarit, where some abecedaries and texts are written with a short 21 (as opposed to a 29–30) letter alphabet in which /š/ and /t/ have merged.⁹ At Ugarit, the merger seems to be determined by dialectal or social differences, as the long and short alphabets are contemporary, the long alphabet being employed in official royal documents and literary texts and the short one for unofficial documents, business records, etc.¹⁰ The earliest Egyptian evidence of a merger of /t/ and /š/ dates from the Eighteenth Dynasty (š=f=ta, no. 398). These phonemes also seem to have merged in 10th century Central(?)¹¹ Hebrew, as indicated by the writing of the n. loc. <P>=nu₄=²I₃=ru₂ Ha₂=d-ša-ta (no. 329).¹² Given the situation at Ugarit and the time span involved, it would seem that the differences were mainly dialectal rather than temporal. Dietrich and Loretz posited a Canaanite / Phoenician central dialect connected with the short alphabet as opposed to dialects on the North / South extremities with the long alphabet,¹³ but the situation may be more complicated than this.

The phonetic value of /t/ is unknown in the ancient languages that maintained it as a distinct phoneme (e.g. Ugaritic, and perhaps Amorite and probably Aramaic), but it is realized as the unvoiced interdental spirant [t] in Arabic. Several scholars have suggested that Ugaritic /t/ was pronounced [š], largely based on Akkadian transcriptions with š.¹⁴ Other scholars have proposed that Ugaritic /t/ = [s], but their evidence is based principally on the Egyptian transcriptions with s.¹⁵ The importance of the Egyptian evidence should not be underestimated, for the values of the Egyptian sibilants are relatively certain, unlike the sounds transcribed by cuneiform š and s: hieroglyphic (and hieratic, demotic) s | descends into Coptic as c [s]; hieroglyphic š — becomes Coptic ϣ [š],

⁹For a recent discussion of the Ugaritic alphabets, see M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "The Cuneiform Alphabets of Ugarit," *UF* 21 (1989), pp. 101–12.

¹⁰Dietrich and Loretz, "Cuneiform Alphabets," *UF* 21, pp. 109–10.

¹¹The town is listed before Şemaraim and Tirzah. The town is not Pnu'el, but "New Pnu'el" and its location is unknown.

¹²Written ha-di-sa-ta in a different n. loc. of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

¹³Dietrich and Loretz, "Cuneiform Alphabets," *UF* 21, p. 109. They point out that most of the texts from outside of Ugarit use only the short alphabet, but that the alphabet from Beth Shemesh is the longer one.

¹⁴The main proponents are cited by R. Degen, "Zur Schreibung des Kaška-Namens in ägyptischen, ugaritischen, und altaramäischen Quellen," *Welt des Orients* 4 (1967–68), p. 52, and nn. 16–18.

¹⁵See Degen, "Kaška-Namen," for references.

and there is no confusion or conflation of the two.¹⁶ An obvious, but important, point that has been neglected is that there is no phone [t] in Egyptian, and the scribes had to make do with either s or š. The key fact is that the Egyptians generally perceived a difference between the Canaanite reflexes of original *t and *š, and that the sound of /t/ shared some affinities with or gave the impression of [s]. The Egyptian transcription with s would not be inconsistent with [t], and modern parallels can be adduced.¹⁷ The regular transcription of Ugaritic /t/ with Akkadian š complicates matters. It is, however, very likely that Akkadian š was articulated (at least some times and in some places) as a lateral fricative [t] ("hissed l"),¹⁸ which, although not articulated in the same place as [t], nevertheless gives a closer impression of [t] than does [š], as with [t] the air stream is restricted by the side of the tongue to approximately the same degree as with [t], whereas the air stream is considerably wider with [š]. The fact that for */t/, Old Aramaic uses the grapheme װ, Tell Fekherye Old Aramaic uses ׂ samekh,¹⁹ and later Aramaic uses the grapheme ׁ, further suggests that this language not only maintained *t as a distinct phoneme, but realized it as [t].²⁰ In the case of Tell Fekherye Aramaic, the phoneme in question was probably not pronounced [s] or [š], since the Akkadian transcription of the PN *Haddayitⁱ is with t: ^mU-it-’i, i.e. *Adad-it-?i*. This unusual use of Akkadian t may have been a local phenomenon or it may reflect an Aramaic writing tradition that employed t for /t/ (as in later Aramaic). In any case, it is not very likely that Egyptian s would ever correspond to [š].²¹ Therefore one can fairly well rule out the possibility that the phoneme /t/ in Ugaritic (and other languages) was realized as [š]. In short, the writings with Egyptian s probably represent [t], and the

¹⁶Other phonemes have merged into Coptic /š/, but that fact is irrelevant here.

¹⁷E.g. the use of [s] by native speakers of French (European), German, Japanese, etc. to render English [b]. One could also cite the shift in Ashkenazi Hebrew from [t] to [s]. Different communities, however, can use different conventions. For instance in Canadian French, English [b] is conventionally rendered as [t].

¹⁸Cf. R.C. Steiner, *The Case for Fricative-Laterals in Proto-Semitic* (New Haven: 1977). The well known shift of Akkadian -šd- (etc.) to -ld- can be neatly explained in this (and probably only this) way.

¹⁹*Samekh* probably did not have had the value [ts] in this dialect, but likely had shifted to [s].

²⁰R. Degen ("Kaška-namen," p. 59) concluded that in the Sefire inscriptions the grapheme װ represented [t]. Again modern parallels are at hand, e.g. the use of *th* in English to represent [t].

²¹As supposed G. Garbini, *Il Semitico di Nord-ovest* (Naples: 1960), p. 27. Garbini (*ibid.*) does not, however, reject the possibility of the retention of phonemic /t/ realized as [t]; he does not arrive at any firm conclusion.

writings with Egyptian *š* probably indicate that the source language had undergone the merger of /t/ and /š/.²²

/D/ is clearly distinguished phonemically from /d/ as the latter is never transcribed by Egyptian *t* or *d*, whereas /d/ is transcribed by both *t* and *d* in approximately equal distribution. /D/ is also clearly distinguished from /z/, at least in the cases where it is rendered by Egyptian *t*, since /z/ is never transcribed by *t*. The distinction seems to be made as late as (if not later than) the 11th century at Byblos in the personal name *Ti₂-ku-ru₂-B-č-r* (no. 556). The phonetic value of /d/ is not entirely certain, as it may have merged with /z/ in some of the source languages / dialects and would then be transcribed with Egyptian *d* for [z]. Reflexes of original */d/ written with Egyptian *d* do not provide sound evidence for a /d/ to /z/ merger, as it is likely that Egyptian *d* was also employed to represent the voiced interdental [d].

/T/ is quite possibly distinguished phonemically from /š/, but evidence for this rare phoneme is, of course very sparse. Evidence for /š/, however, is better, with nine certain and eight additional fairly certain cases, all of which are rendered by Egyptian *d*. Both of the certain examples containing original */t/ are transcribed by Egyptian *d*: *ču=—r=da=w{t}* “those who terrify” (no. 87), and *da=ma=t* “thirst” (no. 581), as is also one of the two fairly certain examples: *da=—r=ču* “hornets” (no. 591). The other fairly certain example, however, is written with *t*: *ra=wi₂-či₂* “runner” (no. 271). The transcription with *t* would be impossible if the phoneme had merged with /š/ and were pronounced [s], but quite possible if articulated as an interdental spirant. It is uncertain whether the “emphatics” were pharyngealized or glottalized,²³ and the Egyptian evidence sheds no light on this question.

*/D/ is a very rare phoneme, and its Canaanite reflex is attested only three times with certainty in Egyptian transcription. It corresponds to Egyptian *d* in all three cases: *ha=ma=da* (no. 316, D. 19, 20–21), *da=bi=či* (no. 573, D. 19, 20), and *di₄=ra=č-tu* (no. 592, D. 18, 20). It is impossible to determine whether there was phonemic opposition to /š/ or not, as both would likely be rendered by Egyptian *d* alone. The articulation of /d/ in any of the ancient languages that retained it as a distinct phoneme is uncertain. It is presumably phonemic in Aramaic, although written with the grapheme *q* in earlier, and with *čayin* in later stages of the

²²Although there may be exceptions, since Egyptian did not have [t], and it may—as with other phonemes—have been transcribed with more than one Egyptian grapheme.

²³The question was recently discussed by A.R. Bomhard, “The Proto-Semitic Consonant System,” *Fucus*, pp. 115–19.

language. The Aramaic texts written in Egyptian demotic script indicate that in that dialect the reflex was *ghain*, or something very close to it.²⁴ /D/ apparently merges with /s/ in Hebrew and Ugaritic (although there are sporadic mergers with /ʃ/ in Ugaritic). Its modern Arabic reflex is [d], but this is probably a secondary development. In South Arabian languages it is realized as a voiced fricative lateral [ɬ].²⁵ It has been proposed that the Proto-Semitic articulation was as an emphatic (glottalized) voiceless (af)fricative lateral, i.e., the emphatic counterpart of §.²⁶ The Egyptian evidence adds little information, but if /d/ was distinct from /s/, it was probably either voiced or emphatic since it is rendered by Egyptian *d*.

3. Dentals / Aveolars

/T/ regularly corresponds to Egyptian *t*. It is also transcribed in monumental inscriptions with ═ (t̥), but this is merely a graphic variant of *t* (here assigned the value of *ta₅*). Considering t̥ (*ta₅*) as a variant of *t*, the correspondence exceeds 96%, while the correspondence of Egyptian *d* for /t/ is less than 4%. The two certain examples with Egyptian *d* both occur in initial position: *d=p-hu* (no. 563), *d=n=m* (no. 564).

/D/ is normally represented by Egyptian *d*, but occasionally by Egyptian *t*, and very rarely by *r*. The only certain case of Egyptian *t* for /d/ occurs in the word *ma₇-k=ta-ra* (no. 224, D. 18—later writings may be historical), in which [gd] has been devoiced to [kt]. A Twentieth Dynasty variant has the voiced counterparts: *ma₄=ga-di-ra*. Of the two fairly certain examples, one is also from D. 18 (*ya-tu₂=cu*, no. 64) and the other is in word initial position (*ta=-r=ə* / *ta=-r=ta*, no. 533), and may have undergone devoicing in the source language(s). More surprising is the sporadic use of Egyptian *r*: *cā=-r-ši₂-na* (no. 84) for *[*adašīna*], and quite possibly also in *cpr B=c'r* (no. 71) for *[*Abdu-Ba*]lū. This may reflect an Egyptian realization of /r/ as a singly “tapped” *r*,²⁷ as opposed to “trilled” *r*.

²⁴R.C. Steiner and C.F. Nims, “Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin: A Tale of Two Brothers from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script,” (part 1) *Revue Biblique* 92 (1985), pp. 60–81 (with references to previous publications of this material). The demotic transcribes this reflex of */d/ (and *ghain*) with *b*.

²⁵I.e. a voiced spirant *l*, with the air-stream passing over the side of the tongue (cf. Welsh *ll*, but voiced).

²⁶A.R. Bomhard, “The Proto-Semitic Consonant System,” *Fucus*, pp. 128–30. R. Steiner, *Fricative-Laterals*, pp. 155–56.

²⁷The “tapped” *r* is articulated much like aveolar *d*, but with a slight retroflexion of the tip of the tongue.

/T/ is not very well attested in Egyptian transcription, but it seems to be represented almost equally by both *d*²⁸ and only somewhat less by *t*.²⁹ One fairly certain example, however, is rendered with Egyptian *d*: *ma-da-ha=t* (no. 242, D. 20). This unusual correspondence is perhaps due to the influence of /h/, cf. the word for “apple” **tappuḥu* ⇒ *d=p-ḥu* ⇒ *d=p-h* ⇒ *sχmneq* (no. 563). The phonetic value was either pharyngealized or glottalized *t*.

/N/ is almost always rendered by Egyptian *n*, although there is one certain instance of Egyptian *r* for *n*, but this may simply be due to assimilation: *ta=ru₂=ru₂* (no. 531) for Semitic **tannūru*. The articulation was no doubt the dental nasal [n].

/L/ is quite well attested, and is most often rendered by Egyptian *r*, and considerably less often by *n* or the combination *n+r*, which specifically represented [l]. Again the use of Egyptian *r* for // tends to suggest that the Egyptian articulation of *r* was “tapped” rather than “trilled.” The phoneme must have been realized as a dental or aveolar voiced lateral. There may have been one or more allophones, as in English, but there is no way to ascertain the details.

/R/ is the most frequent root phoneme in the body of evidence, and it virtually always corresponds to Egyptian *r*. There are, however, four fairly certain instances of *n+r* (otherwise used to represent /l/) used to transcribe /r/: *ha₂=-n=ra=ga* (no. 321, D. 19), *ha=-n=-r* “to be hoarse” (no. 338, D. 19, 20), *h=-n=ra=²a* “blusterings” (no. 339, D. 20), *ha=-n=ra-fi* (no. 340, D. 19).³⁰ This correspondence may involve local dialect interference, as we know from Coptic that the occurrence of /r/ and /l/ (and their respective pronunciations) varies a great deal by dialect. There is no way to determine the exact articulation(s) of the phoneme /r/ in the source languages; it might have been “trilled,” “rolled,” or “tapped.” The great confusion between the Egyptian groups *-r* (probably intended for syllable closing) and *ra* suggests that Semitic /r/ was articulated with a micro-vowel.³¹

4. Aveolar Affricates (Fricatives, Sibilants, [Laterals?])

/S/ (*samekh*) is not particularly common in the body of material, but the evidence is certain. It is rendered in all cases by Egyptian *t*, which

²⁸E.g. *ma-ša-di-di={t}* (no. 212), *ši₂=b=da₂* (no. 397), *qu₄=da=ru₂=ta* (no. 440).

²⁹E.g. *mas=ta=-r* (no. 202), *ši₂=ba=ta* (no. 397), *ša=pa=ta* (no. 398).

³⁰That all these examples contain either *h* or *ḥ* is probably entirely coincidental.

³¹Or, in the case of “trilled” or “rolled” *r*, a succession of stops followed by micro-vowels.

indicates that it is phonemically distinct from both /š/ and /ś/. The earliest certain attestation of Egyptian *t* for *samekh* dates to the end of the Middle Kingdom.³² The actual phonetic value(s) of *samekh* is still disputed. The traditional view is simple [s] or “sharp s” (whatever that is). The reflex of original *samekh* no doubt had this value in some dialects, such as Tell Fekherye (Old) Aramaic, where *samekh* is also used to write *[t] (and was therefore presumably pronounced *[s]). This was also the case in the Egyptian Aramaic which is transcribed in demotic³³ by *s* (whereas /ś/ is transcribed *ts*). A number of scholars have concluded for some time that the articulation of Hebrew and Akkadian *samekh* was the affricate [ts].³⁴ This would seem to be borne out by the use of Egyptian *t*, originally a palatalized *t* [t^y] deriving ultimately from **k* (+ *i*-vowel) and **t* (+ *i*-vowel). The New Kingdom articulation of *t* after an *i*- or *u*-vowel, however, was more likely the affricate [ts], as will be suggested, below, in section II B.

/Z/, like /s/, is not common, but nevertheless certain. All instances are transcribed by Egyptian *d*. Phonemic opposition was maintained between /z/ and /d/, at least in the cases where the latter is transcribed by Egyptian *t*.³⁵ The articulation was probably the voiced affricate [dz], parallel to *samekh* *[ts].³⁶

/Ś/ is always rendered by Egyptian *d*. The articulation was probably the emphatic (pharyngealized or glottalized) affricate [ts²].³⁷ The

³²Posener, *Princes et Pays*, E 7, in the PN *³A-*t*-p H-d-du*, which is from either the root *³sp* “to gather” (PN *תְּפִנָּה*) or the root *ysp* “to add, increase” (PN *תְּפִנָּה*).

³³Cf. Steiner and Nims, “Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin,” pp. 60–81. There are examples in this text as well as in the previous publications of this material whose references may be found on p. 60.

³⁴Bomhard (“The Proto-Semitic Consonant System,” pp. 123–25) cites the main arguments and sources. A. Murtonen, although not suggesting this value, does consider a co-articulation to have been present because the Greek alphabet uses it to represent the cluster [ks] (*Hebrew in its North West Semitic Setting*, Part 2, p. 56).

³⁵And perhaps in all the instances, since [d] is just as likely to have been rendered by Egyptian *d* as by *t*, especially since the former was probably voiced. Z. Harris (*Canaanite Dialects*, p. 36) states that there is no Egyptian evidence for the Semitic phoneme /d/, but Egyptian lacking an adequate corresponding phoneme / grapheme can not be expected to have regularly used a separate grapheme for /d/. What establishes a phonemic distinction is that the distribution patterns are quite different: Semitic /z/ is transcribed only by Egyptian *d*, whereas /d/ is transcribed by both *d* and *t*, in approximately equal proportion (although the evidence is too sparse to reach conclusions about the exact distribution ratio).

³⁶Cf. Bomhard, “The Proto-Semitic Consonant System,” who cites evidence from Old Akkadian suggesting that OA /z/ was articulated as an affricate.

³⁷Bomhard, “The Proto-Semitic Consonant System,” pp. 123–25.

evidence from Aramaic in demotic script almost certainly clinches this as /s/ is always rendered with the demotic grapheme cluster *ts*.³⁸ The use of Egyptian *d*, which otherwise corresponds to voiced consonants, probably results from the perceived vocalic aspects of pharyngealization or glottalization in addition to the (probably) shared feature of affrication.

/š/ (Hebrew **שׁ**) was phonemically distinct from /š/, at least in the majority of the source languages as shown by distribution patterns in the Egyptian transcriptions. The evidence is unfortunately not as abundant as one would desire. In any case, /š/ is more often rendered by Egyptian *s* than *š*, whereas /š/ is far more frequently rendered by Egyptian *š*. The evidence for the Canaanite reflex(es) of *š from Egyptian transcriptions is important in showing phonemic distinction, but it is ambiguous with regard to the phonetic value. On the one hand, the cases where /š/ corresponds to Egyptian *š* may be from languages or dialects in which /š/ has merged with /š/, as happened in Amorite, Old Akkadian, Ugaritic, and perhaps also Phoenician.³⁹ On the other hand, perhaps the sound of this phoneme was fairly standard in the source dialects, but the Egyptian had no exact counterpart, *s* perhaps giving a somewhat better general impression of the sound, but *š* indicating another feature of /š/ not conveyed by Egyptian *s*. The articulation of /š/ in the Semitic languages is not certain, and of course, it may well have had several realizations depending on dialect. Many scholars now maintain that Proto-Semitic *š was articulated as the unvoiced lateral fricative [ʃ].⁴⁰ This sound is articulated like [l], but without voicing and with a distinct “hissing” sound produced as the air stream passes over the side of the tongue, cf. Welsh *ll* in *Llewellyn*.⁴¹ It seems likely that Akkadian *š* was, at least in some dialects, realized in this manner as well.⁴² The correspondence Akk. *Kaldāy-* BH בָּלְדָּעַ is inconclusive in demonstrating such an articulation for Biblical Hebrew, as the Hebrew could be an etymological rather than a phonetic rendering of the name, and furthermore the shift to [ld] from

³⁸Vleeming and Wesselius, “An Aramaic religious text in Demotic Script,” *Biblioteca Orientalis* 39 (1982), pp. 501–9; Steiner and Nims, “Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin,” *passim*, but note especially the n. div. + epithet: *B^cr̥god mn-Tsp̥n*word, a clear reference to Ba‘al from Zephon (Nims and Steiner, “A Paganized Version of Psalm 20:2–6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script,” *JAOS* 103 (1983), p. 271b).

³⁹Harris, *Canaanite Dialects*, pp. 33–35.

⁴⁰Steiner, *Fricative-Laterals*, pp. 95–156.

⁴¹A similar sound occurs sporadically in English as a glide used by some speakers in conditioned contexts, e.g. in “slip” between [s] and [l]. It usually goes unnoticed or is perceived as a “lisp.”

⁴²Steiner, *Fricative-Laterals*, pp. 144–48.

[t̪d] may not have occurred in Western dialects. If /š/ was the unvoiced lateral, Egyptian *s* would better indicate the sharpness of the fricative, but Egyptian ḫ would more closely approximate the sound created by the broad lateral friction. In short, the Egyptian transcriptions suggest the realization of /š/ in the source languages as either [s] or [t̪] on the one hand, or on the other as [š] if from dialects in which *š/ merged with /š/.

5. Palato-aveolar

/š/ is well attested and is phonemically distinct from /š/ (at least in most of the source languages),⁴³ and always distinct from both /t̪/ and /s/ (*samekh*), as shown by its high rate of transcription with Egyptian ḫ.⁴⁴ Cases of Egyptian *s* for /š/⁴⁵ are perhaps from dialects in which /š/ had merged with /š/ and both were realized [s],⁴⁶ or, less likely, from dialects in which the articulation of *š and *š had completely interchanged (as *presumed* in Assyrian dialects of Akkadian).

6. Velars

/K/ is well attested and almost always rendered by Egyptian *k*. There is no reason to think it was realized in any other way than the unvoiced velar stop [k].

⁴³ ḥa=‐a=‐r “market price” (no. 389) and *sa=‐a=‐r* “barley field / scrub country” (no. 358) would seem to be minimal pairs.

⁴⁴ This was also noted by Harris, *Canaanite Dialects*, pp. 62–63. /T/ was usually transcribed with Egyptian *s*, whereas /s/ was transcribed with Egyptian *t̪*.

⁴⁵ *Ya=sa=ba=ḥa₂* (no. 59), *ma=sa=ḥi=ta* (no. 199), and *mas=ta=‐r* (no. 202).

Level [4] evidence: *mas=ta* (no. 201), *na=sa=k* (no. 259), *ha‐s=t‐ka=ta* (no. 302), *sa=ba₂=‐r* (no. 365), *su₃=mi₂‐in* (no. 369), *sa=‐r‐ḥi* (no. 374), *ka‐ra=su₂* (no. 482), and *gas‐mu* (no. 522).

⁴⁶ This would seem to be the assumption underlying the famous *shibboleth* incident in Judg. 12:6. The root contains original *š, but was pronounced by the Ephraimites as [sibbolet]. The writing with *samekh* (probably [ts]), would have been phonetically incorrect, but in a time before the ḫ̄ diacritic had been invented, it would certainly have distinguished the pronunciation from ḫ̄ (as both were written with ḫ), thus reminding the reader to pronounce, *à la Ephraimite*, [s]. But cf. E.A. Speiser, “The Shibboleth Incident (Judg. 12:6),” in J.J. Finkelstein and M. Greenberg, eds. *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia: 1967), pp. 143–50. There is little validity to Speiser’s contentions that the root was *tbl (from the extremely rare Aramaic doublet, which is probably a hypercorrection) and that the Ephraimites could have produced the sound [š] since their lives depended on it (even if the sound did not occur in their language) but that they could not have produced the sound [t̪]. In any case, once a phone is lost, it may be extremely difficult to reproduce. Cf. speakers of Modern Japanese who have difficulty distinguishing and reproducing English “sheep” / “seep,” both tending to be pronounced [ši:p], as [si] does not occur. Yet this language even has the phone [s] with all the other vowels ([sa], [su], [se], [so]).

/G/ is also quite well attested, but is transcribed by various Egyptian graphemes, of which *q* is the most common (ca. 40%), followed by *g* and *k* in almost equal distribution. This indicates that there was not a one to one phonetic correspondence between the source languages and Egyptian. The writings with *k* are somewhat unexpected, but almost all occur in initial position (e.g. *k=b=c* [no. 423, D. 18], *k=n=tu₃* [no. 425, D. 19], *ka=r=ka=r* “stone heap” [no. 485, D. 19]). The other one or two examples occur in the context of unvoiced consonants: *ma₃=k-ta=ra* (no. 224, D. 18, both [g] and [d] devoiced), and the fairly certain example *ha=s=t=ka=ta* (no. 302, D. 19). It is possible that the Egyptian transcriptions with *k* are phonetically accurate and reflect devoicing in the source language: i.e. in some dialects [k] was perhaps an allophone of /g/ in initial position and when juxtaposed with unvoiced consonants. The articulation of /g/ was almost certainly the voiced velar stop, but given the transcriptions, it is uncertain how closely Egyptian speakers were able to distinguish and reproduce this sound.

/Q/ is very well attested, and is usually represented by Egyptian *q* (ca. 70%), but is also written with *g* (ca. 20%), and *k* (ca. 10%). Almost all of the examples written with *k* have this in initial position (e.g. *ka=ma=ḥa* [no. 464, D. 19], *ka=ra=ta* [no. 437, D. 18]). The Canaanite articulation was perhaps as glottalized or uvular *k*.

7. Post Velar

/H/ maintained phonemic opposition to /ḥ/ in virtually all cases, and is consistently rendered by Egyptian *ḥ*.⁴⁷ The only certain exception is in the word *hr²* “excrement” (no. 323, D. 19, 20), which can be explained either as a deviant correspondence⁴⁸ or as a dialectal difference.⁴⁹ Murtonen dismissed the Egyptian transcriptions as meaningless perceptions as allophones by non-native speakers.⁵⁰ However, because of the absolutely consistent (and abundantly attested) use of Egyptian *ḥ* in roots

⁴⁷This was also noted by Harris, *Canaanite Dialects*, p. 63. Harris suggested that the merger of /ḥ/ and /ḥ/ might have taken place by the time of the Shishak list (10th century) because of the writing of the n. div. *ḥ-wa-ru₂-n* in the n. loc. Beth Ḥoron, but this is untenable in the light of Ug. *Hrn* and earlier Egyptian transcriptions with *ḥ*.

⁴⁸Such unusual correspondences also take place between the cognate Semitic languages. Their occurrence is sporadic and unpredictable, although sometimes explainable. J. Blau, terming them “weak phonetic changes” treats them in a well reasoned article “‘Weak’ Phonetic Change and the Hebrew Šīn,” *Hebrew Annual Review* 1 (1977), pp. 67–119.

⁴⁹The short Ugaritic alphabet, for instance, suggests that in some dialects /ḥ/ had merged with /ḥ/.

⁵⁰Murtonen, *Hebrew*, part 2, p. 140 and n. 29.

with PS **ḥ* and Egyptian *ḥ* in words with PS **ḥ*, there can be no doubt of phonemic distinction in the majority of the source languages. Contrary to Murtonen's contention,⁵¹ we may be able to apply the law of minimal pairs in the following cases: *ḥa=—n=ra* "to squint" (no. 320) // *ḥ=—n=ra* "chisel" (no. 337); *ḥa=—r=pa* (for */*harba*/) "sword" (no. 324) // *ḥa=—r=ba* "desert" (no. 346).⁵² The distinction appears to be maintained in post-Ramesside times and in the 7th century: *ḥi=ra=di* (no. 353, D. 21), *ḥi=ru₂=d* (no. 353, D. 25). Evidence from the Egyptian Aramaic in demotic script indicates that this dialect also distinguished /*ḥ*/ and /*ḥ*/ as late as the 4th (or 2nd) century B.C.E.⁵³ The articulation as the unvoiced post-velar fricative [x] seems certain.

/*ǵ*/ is a phoneme distinct from *‘ayin*, as it is consistently transcribed by Egyptian *q* and *g* in roots containing Proto-Semitic */*ǵ*/. The opposition is certainly maintained to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (ca. 1150–1070 B.C.E.), but is possibly attested in hieroglyphic transcription as late as the 7th century, if the derivation of *ga=ra=bu* (a garment) from the root *ǵlp* is correct.⁵⁴ The Egyptian Aramaic written in demotic script proves the phonemic distinction in that language down to the 4th / 2nd century B.C.E., as it is transcribed with Egyptian *ḥ*, whereas etymological *‘ayin* is transcribed with Egyptian *‘ayin*: e.g. *ḥṣr₃* for the root *ǵll* "to enter."⁵⁵ The words *ša=‘a-ra* "gate" (no. 390, late D. 20) and [3] *‘a-ni-ni* "to sing" (no. 81, D. 19), in which one expects /*ǵ*/, are written with Egyptian *‘ayin*, which suggests that these words were taken from a dialect in which the two had merged as *‘ayin*,⁵⁶ as in the dialect reflected by the short Ugaritic alphabet (contemporary with its long counterpart), which contains only *‘ayin* and not *ǵ*. The Egyptian transcriptions with *q*

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Perhaps also *ha=ba=ra* "rope" (no. 308) // *ḥ=ba₂=—r* "trading partner" (no. 333), but only from the Egyptian point of view, since the former contains /*ḥ*/ and the latter /*r*/.

⁵³P. Amherst 63 6,10 *tṣḥ₃t* for /*tht*/ "under" and 6,14 *ymḥ₃* for /*ymḥ*?/ "to smite." (Steiner and Nims, "A polemical poem," *JNES* 43 [1984], pp. 93–95.) The use of *ḥ* is very consistent in the transcriptions, cf. also Nims and Steiner, "Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin," *JAOS* 103 (1983), pp. 261–74, and other publications cited therein. The dating of the papyrus is disputed, but earlier demoticists almost unanimously ascribed it to the Persian period. Nims and Steiner, however, assume that it was among 19 demotic papyri found in a jar, some of which bear dates from 139–112 B.C.E.

⁵⁴Even if the etymology is correct, the word may have entered the language so early that it had no connection with contemporary Semitic languages.

⁵⁵Vleeming and Wesselius, "An Aramaic religious text in Demotic Script," *Biblioteca Orientalis* 39 (1982), pp. 501–9; Steiner and Nims, "Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin," (P. Amherst 63, 17, 8), p. 70.

⁵⁶Note that the former also exhibits the merger of /*t*/ into /*š*/.

and *g* confirm the post-velar realization, although the Egyptian pronunciation may well have been as a velar / uvular stop (cf. the English treatment of Arabic مغرب (*maǵrib*) as Maghreb [m̥grəb]).

8. Pharyngeals

/H/ maintains phonemic opposition to /h/ in all but one instance. It normally corresponds to Egyptian *h*, but there is one certain example of Egyptian ‘ayin for /h/, *ᶜ-p-ša-ya-t* (no. 72, D. 18, 19, 22), and two fairly certain examples: *ᵃ-di-na* “wheat” (no. 104, D. 19, 20), and *b=ᶜ-r* “sea” (no. 114, D. 18, 19).⁵⁷ There is no doubt that the Egyptian /h/ was an unvoiced consonant, and the articulation as the unvoiced pharyngeal [h] is thus quite certain.

/ᶜ/ (‘ayin) is well attested, and is transcribed only with Egyptian ‘ayin. The evidence clearly indicates that /ᶜ/ and /ѓ/ were phonemically opposed in most dialects, as the latter normally corresponds to Egyptian *q, g*.⁵⁸ The sporadic correspondence of Egyptian ‘ayin for /h/ confirms the pharyngeal articulation, and since /h/ (and Egyptian /h/) must have been unvoiced, /ᶜ/ was no doubt its voiced counterpart.

9. Laryngeals

/՚/ (^aleph) is well attested and is almost invariably rendered by sign groups representing Egyptian *i* ([՚]).⁵⁹ A rare and perhaps erroneous transcription with Egyptian ‘ayin is found in the word *da-ma-՚u* “to be thirsty” (no. 581). Equally unusual is the loss of ^aleph in the same root, in the feminine adjective (*da-ma-t*).

/՚/ occurs in seven certain and six fairly certain instances. There is absolute correspondence with Egyptian *h*, and otherwise nothing particularly worthy of note.

B. Phonemes & Graphemes

By far the most important factor that emerges from the Egyptian evidence is the size of the phonemic inventory, which numbers as high as 27–29 phonemes, even in the more recent material. This is far more than usually believed to be present in the contemporary Canaanite

⁵⁷Level [3] evidence: *ᵃ-a-ra-՚i₂-na* “skin disease” (no. 85, D. 21–22) and *ᶜ-di₃-՚u* “seer” (no. 106, D. 21).

⁵⁸See above (under /ѓ/) for two rare examples in which expected Semitic /ѓ/ is transcribed with Egyptian ‘ayin.

⁵⁹I.e. by the groups ^a, ^i, etc.

dialects. Although it cannot be demonstrated that any single dialect contained the full inventory, it would seem likely that at least some did (or nearly so) since the Egyptian evidence suggests that dialects with mergers were in the minority as source languages. In most cases we have hieroglyphic / hieratic evidence for the phonemic oppositions down to the end of the 11th century B.C.E., but clear evidence for a dialect that had lost a number of phonemic oppositions through mergers is found in the 21 letter Ugaritic (short) alphabet that appeared as early as the 14th century. Later “Proto-Canaanite” abecedaries dating from the 12th century are also limited to 22 graphemes,⁶⁰ but this does not prove that all the dialects spoken by their writers had only 22 phonemes.

The Egyptian evidence shows continued phonemic opposition of /h/ and /ħ/ (and perhaps of /g/ vs. /c/) down to the 7th century. J.W. Wevers, examining the Greek transcriptions in the LXX has demonstrated that in the case of /h/ vs. /ħ/ the distinction was actually made down to the 2nd century B.C.E.⁶¹ More recently J. Blau has further investigated the case for polyphony of śīn,⁶² ḥeth, and ‘ayin.⁶³ These conclusions have now been amazingly confirmed by 4th / 2nd century B.C.E. transcriptions of Egyptian Aramaic in the demotic script. These transcriptions show consistent opposition of /c/ and /g/, /h/ and /ħ/, /š/ and /ś/.⁶⁴ While the Egyptian evidence studied here does not reach beyond the 7th century, it, along with the Aramaic in demotic script, does suggest that other

⁶⁰Cf. the ‘Izbet Ṣartah abecedary, discussed by A. Demsky, “A Proto-Canaanite Abecedary dating from the Period of the Judges and its Implications for the History of the Alphabet,” *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977), pp. 14–27.

⁶¹J.W. Wevers, “*Heth* in Classical Hebrew,” in J.W. Wevers and D.B. Redford, eds. *Essays on the Ancient Semitic World* (Toronto: 1970), pp. 101–12.

⁶²Blau, “‘Weak’ Phonetic Change,” pp. 67–119.

⁶³J. Blau, *On Polyphony in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem: 1982).

⁶⁴Steiner and Nims, “Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin,” pp. 60–81, plus the additional publications cited there. My first exposure to these texts several years ago (Nims and Steiner “A paganized version of Psalm 20:2–6,” *JAOS*, 1983) left me impressed, but not entirely convinced. A re-examination of this text (with the greatly improved readings in *JNES* 43, pp. 113–14) and the subsequently published texts, has removed all doubt about the general phonemic (and even some phonetic) features of this dialect of Aramaic, even if a number of uncertain readings and interpretations still remain. The readings, considering the difficulty of the task, are surprisingly convincing, and the clear indicators of success in decoding these texts are the coherence of the narrative passages (without excessive *pilpul*), the occurrence of familiar deities (Ba‘al Zephon, Ba‘al Šamayin, ‘El of Beth-‘El, etc.), and Aramaic idioms (e.g. *ṣtbn̪ yṣkṣt* [‘tn̪ yqd] “a blazing furnace,” cf. **אַתְנָה אֶלְאָגָן** “a furnace of blazing fire” Dan. 3:6). If there is any doubt about the general success in reading the text, the passage in column 19, 8–11a (Nims and Steiner, “Ashurbanipal,” p. 74) should dispel all qualms.

phonemic oppositions were more widely retained than thought. In fact, the only really firm evidence for a merger from the hieroglyphic / hieratic material is the example of original /t/ written with Egyptian š in Shishak's 10th century list of Hebrew place names, and the variant renderings of the sibilants (especially /š/ and /š/), but as noted, such dialects seem to be in the minority.

A key and difficult question concerns the discrepancy between a system of 27–29 phonemes and a writing system containing only 22 signs. The question is intimately linked to the origin and dissemination of the alphabet, and lies beyond the scope of the present study, but since the “Proto-Sinaitic” script of the 15th or 16th century probably has a larger graphemic repertory, it is likely that the Canaanite 22 letter alphabet was created by trimming down a fuller precursor at some time prior to the 12th century, presumably by scribes whose dialect had lost the phonemic oppositions in question. It is difficult to specify which precursor this was. It was not the long Ugaritic alphabet (which has its own origins and traditions, not to mention its different set of graphemes), but it must have been one contemporary with it, perhaps the Proto-Sinaitic alphabet, or a more cursive, northern version of it.⁶⁵ The traditional view is that the 22 letter alphabet was a Phoenician innovation, and perhaps it was, but with Phoenician being a very likely source of many of the words in Egyptian, we are faced with the possibility that the truncation took place elsewhere. Or could there have been in the Phoenician domain a situation similar to that at Ugarit involving two contemporary dialects or socially determined speech patterns?⁶⁶ If so, the official script would have reflected the innovating speech of the royal elite and therefore contained only 22 letters, and would also be used for the speech of the common citizens, although it was more conservative with 28 or so phonemes.⁶⁷

⁶⁵Dietrich and Loretz argue against a truncation theory (“Cuneiform Alphabets,” *UF* 21 [1989], pp. 101–12), but they have in mind the truncation of the Ugaritic alphabet. B.E. Colless (“The Proto-Alphabetic Inscriptions of Sinai,” *Abr-Nahrain* 28 [1990], pp. 1–52; “Recent Discoveries illuminating the origin of the Alphabet,” *Abr-Nahrain* 26 [1988], pp. 30–67) has maintained that the number of graphemes in the Proto-Sinaitic script should be reduced to 23, but this has not yet been thoroughly demonstrated.

⁶⁶Foreign rulership or foreign elements in the local population need not be posited for this. One might even find parallels with the “innovating” dialect spoken by British gentry and the upper class, in which consonants are frequently weakened or dropped and vowels mutated accordingly (stereotyped as “Frahfly English” by such pronunciations as [fra:f³li] for “frightfully”).

⁶⁷If this conjecture is correct, then it would seem that the average Egyptian scribe or soldier stationed abroad picked up the vernacular on the streets and the barracks and not at the palace.

Regardless of the situation in Phoenician, it seems likely, but not yet fully demonstrable, that the short alphabet was subsequently adopted on a wide scale by speakers of more conservative languages throughout the Levant. As the older alphabets with a fuller graphemic inventory were no longer in use, contemporary speakers of conservative dialects probably just made do with the current alphabet, even if it was short a few letters. The problem was circumvented by using some signs for more than one phonemic value. The general principle of polyphony is well known from Biblical Hebrew *šīn* and *sīn*, but as the evidence indicates, it was likely in considerably broader use.⁶⁸

In the end, the most reasonable conclusion seems to be that most of the Canaanite dialects had a fairly extensive phonemic inventory and used a short alphabet, with polyvalence of several graphemes. This is supported by the Jewish reading traditions (in the case of *sīn*), phonological reconstructions and interrelationships, and by New Kingdom Egyptian, demotic, and Greek transcriptions. Most proponents of the hypothesis that Hebrew had a strictly phonemic alphabet, for instance, put undue emphasis upon a few cases of irregular (or even non-existent) phonemic correspondence among the Semitic languages, and ignore the bulk of simple and obvious evidence, such as the overwhelming correspondence of Hebrew /š/ to Arabic /š/. They then propose convoluted and unconvincing “solutions” in cases where there was hardly a problem to begin with.⁶⁹

⁶⁸There are, however, scholars who do not even accept the existence of *sīn* in Hebrew. This question will be dealt with in n. 69.

⁶⁹This is particularly evident in the debate over the supposed non-existence of *sīn* in Biblical Hebrew as proposed by Garbini (*Semitico di nord-ovest*, p. 45); Murtonen, *Hebrew*, part 2, pp. 60–61; Diem, “Das Problem von *וֹ*,” pp. 221–52. Although rarely stated (if ever), the arguments are usually based on the assumption that Hebrew, since it is akin to Phoenician—which has undergone a *presumed* phonemic reduction—has one grapheme per phoneme. Diem, although admitting a regular correspondence of Hebrew /š/ to Proto-Semitic /š/, sees a problem with the shift from **t* ([t]) to [š], and maintains that **t* had first merged with [š] and that this was then followed by a second merger with /š/, thus the BH reflexes of original **š*, **s*, and **t* were all pronounced [š]. Or, in other words, he holds that the BH grapheme š represents a single new phoneme /š/ (of various historical origins), pronounced [š]. But what then does one make of the regular correspondence BH /š/ for Proto-Semitic *š? According to Diem’s theory, later, after Hebrew was no longer a living language, Aramaic š (realized [s]) changed the reading tradition of the Jewish synagogue because of the prestige value (!) of Aramaic. (In that case one wonders why the tradition did not go on to reintroduce a phonemic distinction for original **t*, based on the Aramaic pronunciation [t] / [t]!) The criticism levelled against this hypothesis by Y. Kutscher (“Contemporary studies in North-Western Semitic,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 10 [1965], p. 40 ff.) can hardly be improved upon. His main point is that once phonemes are lost, they are not subsequently re-introduced

Perhaps crucial to identifying the source languages or dialects is the treatment of the sibilants, but this is one of the thorniest areas in comparative Semitics, as can be seen from Table 2, which lists the various reflexes of the Proto-Semitic sibilants and interdentals.⁷⁰ In general, from the bulk of the Egyptian material,⁷¹ there does not seem to be a merger of original *š and *š̄, as in Amorite, Official Ugaritic and Old Akkadian, nor the merger of *s and *š̄ of Arabic. One does not expect, nor does one find the reverse realization of /s/ and /š̄/ as presumed in Assyrian. In fact, the systems closest to that of the majority of Semitic words in Egyptian seem to be those of Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, with /š̄/ (realized [s] or [t]), /š̄/ (realized [š]), and just possibly a third phoneme */t̄/ also written with the Hebrew grapheme š̄.⁷² Perhaps the closest of all is Old South Arabic, which has a very similar distribution, and unlike Modern Arabic, the phonetic values may have also been quite similar to that of the source languages of the Egyptian transcriptions (cf. the modern Mahara Arabic group). Phoenician may have also been more conservative in its phonemic inventory than universally believed, as suggested by the 11th century B.C.E. writing of the name of the ruler of Byblos, Dakar-Ba^{cl} (*Ti₂=ku=ru₂*, no. 556) in which /d/ seems to have remained distinct from /z/. The reading tradition of Biblical Hebrew also

at a much later date under the influence of a foreign language, and that this is especially so since Aramaic does not have cognates to a number of common Hebrew words containing šīn. (And, miraculously, even these words lacking Aramaic cognates turn out to correspond in almost every instance with words in Arabic and Old South Arabic containing their respective reflexes of Proto-Semitic *š.) Harris (*Canaanite Dialects*, p. 34) points to the fact that in later Biblical Hebrew there is occasional confusion between šīn and samekh, but never between šīn and samekh. More recently, these arguments and others (e.g. that the shift [t] to [š] is, in fact, attested) were put forward by Blau in his works *On Polyphony* and “‘Weak’ Phonetic Change.” Blau’s argument in favour of the traditional view of a polyphonic grapheme šīn seems imminently reasonable, and is fully supported by the evidence from Egyptian transcriptions.

⁷⁰These are listed by grapheme, conventional transliteration, followed by possible pronunciations. The latter element is often sheer guesswork, but it is important, especially to those unfamiliar with the misleading inconsistencies in the various scholarly conventions of transliteration. In some cases the evidence is either so scant or so bewildering as to preclude even a wild guess (e.g. the phonetic value of Aramaic *q* deriving from *q̄). These cases are indicated by question marks.

⁷¹There are variant renderings, and these, as suggested above, probably stem from various mergers of sibilants / interdentals / laterals in the minority of source languages.

⁷²This value, if it existed, would be very difficult to establish for Hebrew because Greek renders all the sibilants with *sigma*, and the Aramaic in demotic script, besides being a different language, seems to have [t̄] as its reflex of original *t̄, and is so written with *t* in demotic.

suggests that Phoenician maintained the distinction between /š/ and /ś/, with the reflex of **t* being treated as /ś/: E.g. **תְּרַנְשׁוּ** the Sidonian deity (deriving from a root with **t*) and **יְרַנְשׁוּ** cited as the Sidonian name for Mt. Hermon (Deut. 3:9). In any case, since the evidence for the pronunciation of Phoenician is mainly from Latin and Greek transcriptions, which are particularly inadequate in transcribing sibilants, few conclusions can be reached about its phonemic system.

C. Treatment of Consonants

1. Assimilation

Assimilation of *nun* is fairly well attested. E.g. *ma₄-ta₅-n* (no. 235). It may also be present in *‘a-di-na* for *[hiṭṭīna] (no. 104), *ma-da-ha-t* (no. 242), *ha-ra-pa-ta* (no. 348), and *qu₃-ta-{t}* (no. 439). Non-assimilation of *nun* is also attested. E.g. *ma₄-—n-da-ta* (no. 170, from Akkadian?), *q-—n-ta* (no. 425), and probably in *ma-—n-ta-di* (no. 168).

Several words occur with both assimilation and non-assimilation, even in the same word or name: e.g. *bi₂-—n-ti₂* “daughter” (no. 120, 9 x) and *bi₂-ti₂* “daughter” (no. 146, 4x); *ma-—n-ta-di* (no. 168) and *ma-ta-di₄-²u* (no. 233); *ma-—n-d-q-ta* and *ma-d-q-ta* (no. 243).

In *prima-nun* verbs, there is no assimilation in the *yaqtul(u)* forms: *Ya-—n-ham* (no. 54), *Ya-—n-di₄-bu* (no. 55).⁷³

Other forms of assimilation also occur sporadically. There is one case of *n* assimilating to *r*, but without direct juxtaposition: *ta-ru₂-ru₂* (no. 531) from **tannūru*. In one instance *samekh* assimilates the “emphatic” feature of /q/ and becomes [ʂ]: *qa-da-m* (no. 503, variant of *k-ṭi₂-ma₄*). Devoicing by assimilation to unvoiced consonants (all sibilants) is quite well attested in the following words: ²*s=p=ra* for ²*as=ba=—r* “whip” (no. 28), ²*s=p=t* for ²*s=b=t* “chair” (no. 30), and *ya-ši₂-p* probably for */yatib/ (no. 60). The cause for apparent devoicing in the word *ma₃-k-ta-ra* “tower” (no. 224) is uncertain.

2. Dissimilation

The *mem*-preformative element may be dissimilated to *n* before a bilabial root letter, in accordance with Akkadian phonological rules (Barth’s law) in the words *n=k-pi₂-ta* (no. 260) and *n=k-fi-ta-{r}*

⁷³This is also the case with Amarna *Yanḥamu* and the Amorite *Ya-an-ṣi-bu*. Forms with assimilation are also attested (but not with /h/): Ug. *Yaṣ(s)ubu*, Amorite *Ya-(s)-ṣi-bu-um*.

(no. 261). Otherwise the only possible cases of dissimilation are *Ya=ha=-n=ma* (\sqrt{hnn}) (no. 58) and *di₂=nu₂=ra* (no. 587), which is probably from \sqrt{drr} or reduplicated *drdr*.

3. ²Aleph: Elision and Interchange with Y

Elision of ²aleph is, of course, well attested in the Semitic languages, and the Egyptian transcriptions provide evidence of this phenomenon in the n. loc. *Bi=ra* “Well” (no. 112, D. 18), *Bi=ru₂=ta* (D. 19). Non eliding forms include *Bi=²a₂=ru₂=tu₂* (D. 18) and *Ba₂=²ru₂* (D. 22). The phenomenon also occurs with the word for “head,” “peak” *ru₂=ša* (no. 285, D. 18, 20), which is also written *ru₂=²u₃=ša* (D. 19). Somewhat more surprising, however, is the elision of ²aleph in the n. loc. *Ya=^ca=<q>u₄=bi=ru₂* */*Ya^caqub-²El/* (no. 48, D. 19). Given the time span of the Egyptian transcriptions, the phenomenon appears to be mainly dialectal rather than temporal.

The interchange of initial ²aleph and *yodh* is quite well attested in Hebrew⁷⁴ and the phenomenon occurs in the following instances: *ya=bi=ša=ta* vs. *²a₂=bi=š=tu* (no. 5), *²u=ba=ra=ya* vs. *yu=bi=—r* (no. 49), and *ya=ba=—r* vs. *²i=—r=ba* (no. 50).

4. Doubled Consonants

Usually no attempt was made to indicate doubling (or more accurately, lengthening) of consonants in the group writing system, e.g. *h=ma₄=ru₂=k* “the king” (no. 63 / 187), which would require doubling after the definite article. There may be an attempt to indicate a doubled consonant in the following writings: *ba₂=—r=ru₂=ya* (no. 125, variant *bi=ra=ya{t}*), *ha=ru₂=—r* “mountain” (no. 294), *ha=—n=ra* “chisel” (no. 337), *ha=—n=—r* “to be hoarse” (no. 338), *qa=da=da* “gypsum” (no. 442), *k=n=nu₂=ru₂* “lyre” (no. 467). In the case of *ya=—n=ma* “sea” (no. 52), there may have been an attempt to indicate that *m* was doubled by the use of *n*, but this is an isolated case, and does not constitute a feature of the system.

5. Metathesis

A number of etymologies are rendered less than certain by the assumption of metathesis. One must, however, admit that definite examples of metathesis are surprisingly numerous. There are, in fact, 25

⁷⁴Murtonen, *Hebrew*, part 2, p. 20.

certain instances of metathesis⁷⁵ (listed below), constituting about five per cent of the total number of words here studied. All but three of the examples (viz. 7, 9, and 19) in the following list occur as variant writings to non-metathesized forms, and cannot be understood as distinct words. Given the relatively high frequency of metathesis in clear-cut cases, it seems likely that the phenomenon was equally common in the less certain cases as well, and metathesis should therefore be seen as a complication to a given etymology, but not as a reason to reject it. In some words the metathesis probably occurred in the source languages. Such is the case with *ma=—r=ha* “spear,” cf. Ug. *mrh*, and *qa=di₄=ra* for *qa=—r=di₄=na* (cf. TA נָגַרְתִּי vs. מָרְתִּי). Most, however, are probably Egyptian innovations (errors). Some instances may be due to spelling errors or are written with graphic transposition for aesthetic reasons (especially in monumental inscriptions). It is difficult to detect any definite phonological patterns among the words with metathesis, but it seems noteworthy that two-thirds of the examples contain *r*, and many contain *h, t, d, k, q*, and *g*.

Examples:⁷⁶

1. *²a₂=ru₂=da* for *²a₂=da=—r* (no. 45)
2. *²i=—r=ba* for *ya=ba=—r* (no. 50)
3. *‘a-ša-ra-na* for *‘a-ra-ša-na* (no. 85)
4. *bi=d=nu₃* for *bi=n=du* (no. 121)
5. *p=ḥi=r* for *p=r=ḥi* (no. 152)
6. *ma=ka=—r=ba=ta* for *ma=—r=ka=ba=ta* (no. 189)
7. *ma=—r=ḥa* for **rmḥ* (no. 179)
8. *ma=r=ḥ* for *ma=ḥi=ru₂* (no. 195)
9. *ma=sa=ta=ha* for **msḥt* (no. 203)
10. *ma=sa=qa* for *ma=ga=sa* (no. 229)
11. *ra=su₂=ḥa* for *ra=ḥa=su₂* (no. 282)
12. *Ha=bi=—r=di₄=ta* for *Ha=ma₄=di₄=ra=ta* (no. 309)
13. *ša=—r=‘a* for *ša=‘a=ra* (no. 390)
14. *ša=ta=ba* for *ša=b=d* (no. 397)
15. *q=‘=—r=yu* for *q=r=‘u* (no. 433)
16. *qa=di₄=ra* for *qa=—r=di₄=na* (no. 438)
17. *da=qa* for *qa=da* (no. 442)
18. *ku=sa=ba* for *ku=ba=sa* (no. 456)
19. *ka=ma=—r* for **grm* or *gilamu / kilamu* (no. 463)
20. *k=ḥi=na* for *k=n=hu₂* (no. 468)
21. *ka=ḥa=—r=ta* for *ka=—r=ḥa=ta* (no. 481)

⁷⁵Not to mention another six fairly certain cases.

⁷⁶The examples are listed in the (Egyptian) alphabetical order of the normal orthographies.

22. *ti₂-ka-ta* for *ku-ti₂-ta* (no. 505)
23. *ti₂-ga-pa* for *ti₂-pa-ga* (no. 543)
24. *tu-ra-ha* for *ti₂-h=-r* (no. 553)
25. *ra-ha-da-ta* for *da-ha--r-ta* (no. 593)

Of the various types of metathesis, that in which the second and third radicals are reversed is by far the most common, comprising 76 per cent of the total. In the following table, the numbers in parenthesis stand for the normal order of the root letters. Cases where weak consonants have dropped are indicated by 0.

(1-3-2)	18	76%
(2-1-3)	2	8%
(2-1-0)	1	4%
(3-2-1)	1	4%
(3-0-1)	1	4%
(1-2-4-3)	1	4%

D. Treatment of Semi-vowels

1. Initial Waw

There is no evidence of any Semitic words with initial *waw* in Egyptian sources. The few foreign words beginning with *w* do not appear to be Semitic, although some of them occur in Canaanite contexts (such as the name of the Sidonian ruler *Wa--r-ka-ta-ra*, Wenamun 2, 2). There is not much evidence, but it seems that original initial *w* has shifted to *y* or *‘aleph*. E.g. *yu-bi--r* // *‘u-ba-ra-ya* (no. 49), and apparently also in *‘=s-b=t* “chair; shelter” (no. 30).⁷⁷ In the noun derived from **w^cd* we have *‘a-du-ta* (no. 105) with elision of the initial consonant. *Mem-* preformatives nouns exhibit contraction: *mu₃=‘id* *[mô‘id] (no. 161).

2. Medial Waw

By contrast, medial *waw* is often retained, treated as a normal strong consonant, especially in verbal forms (between short unstressed vowels):⁷⁸ ([4]) *na-wa-ti₂* (no. 248, vb. *qatala*), *ra-wi₂-ti₂* (no. 271, G-stem participle); (level [5]) *ga-wa-ša* (no. 509, vb. *qatala*). In other cases, mostly nominal, *waw* is not treated consonantly: (level [5]) *s=b=* (no. 364, vb.); fairly certain examples include *qa-ru₂-ya* “to dwell”

⁷⁷But it is conceivable that when it first entered the language the writing was intended to render initial consonantal *y*.

⁷⁸Cf. Harris, *Canaanite Dialects*, pp. 56–57. Harris proposed that the syncope took place in the 10th century.

(no. 428),⁷⁹ *tu₂-b=ya* (no. 525, adj. / n.), *di-di* (nos. 568–69), *ma-qi-qu* (no. 221).

3. Final Waw (or Yodh)

There is not much evidence for the treatment of final *waw*, but level [4] examples show no consonantal values: *hi-ti₂=na* (no. 355, n. pl.), *man-nu₂* (no. 162, n.), *n-ra=ha* (no. 251, vb. *qatala?*), *ku-ti₂=ta* (no. 505, n.). It is impossible to tell whether the stems were considered final *waw* or final *yodh*—whether consonantal or vocalic.

4. Initial Yodh

All the initial weak forms are with *yodh* whether from originally initial *waw* or *yodh* roots. Certain examples include: *yu=bi=-r* (no. 49), *ya=ma* (no. 52), *yu₂=d* (no. 63), *ya-di=‘a* (no. 64). The last three are all from original initial *yodh* roots, but the first may be from a root like Akkadian *wabālu*, but that root has many by-forms.

5. Final Yodh

A few certain examples exhibit consonantal *yodh*: *ra=ba=ya* (no. 273), *han=ya=t* (no. 318), *ma=ra=ya=na* (no. 175), and *ti₂=ra=ya=n* (no. 546). The last two words are non-Semitic in origin. Fairly certain cases include: *bi₄=-r-ya=t* // *bi₄=ra=tu₃* (no. 124). There is usually no indication of final *y* in the nominal forms: *‘i-pa₂=ta* (no. 7), *Ma-ha₂=n=ma₄* (no. 192),⁸⁰ *qa=-r=ta* (no. 437), *‘a=ru₂=‘a* (no. 83, [4]).

6. Diphthongs with Semi-vowels

The original diphthong *ay is usually contracted in the Egyptian transcriptions. E.g. *‘i-ti₂* *[²ē] from *[²ay] “which” (no. 38), *Ma-ha₂=n=ma₄* (no. 192, dual ending), *N-h-ri-na* (no. 253, dual ending), *ra=ga=ta* (no. 287), *di₄=tu* (no. 594), and probably also in *‘i₂=-r=ya* “ram” (no. 18). Contraction may have occurred as early as the Twelfth Dynasty (19–18th centuries B.C.E.), cf. the n. loc. *‘ny* in the Execration Texts.⁸¹ Non-

⁷⁹The *ya* could be from metathesis, but the writing of the word is much confused with the nominal form and other similar sounding words.

⁸⁰Here the root consonant *y* has probably coalesced with the dual ending.

⁸¹Posener, *Princes et Pays*, p. 70, E10. It is also possible that the word is written with graphic transposition and should be reconstructed as *‘yn*. Ahituv (*Canaanite Toponyms*, p. 56) claims that a Fifth Dynasty tomb inscription contains a n. loc. beginning with *‘n* “well,” but the word is damaged, and therefore uncertain. Since the word would be in the construct, there may have been contraction.

contracted forms are also attested: *Hu₂-ya-ka-ra-ya-na* for *[hayka-layna] (no. 290).

A couple of words are attested with both contracted and non-contracted forms, sometimes in the same name or the same text. Usually the contracted forms predominate:

Exx. ^c*a-ya-na* for *^c[ayna] and ^c=*n(i)* for *^c[ēn] (nos. 65 & 79).

bi-ya-ta for *[bayta] and *bi-ta* for *[bēta] (nos. 113 & 144).

In the case of uncontracted *bayta, this occurs also where it should be a construct form, which even in Jerusalem Hebrew has monophthongization (i.e. unaccented). This is perhaps due to the Egyptians treating the words according to their isolate forms, rather than a phonetic rendering of current pronunciation. Of course, the non-contracted forms may reflect actual pronunciation in some dialects.

There is probably contraction of *aw to [ō] in the writing *mu₃-^cid* (no. 161).⁸² The contraction of original *aw is probably not always indicated in the writing—in *pu₂-r* (no. 150, n.), *Ma₃-ra-ma₃* (no. 177), and *qa-da* “thornbush” (no. 445). There is also perhaps an instance of the contraction of [iy(a)] to [ī] before a consonant in ^c*a-ra-ta* for *^c[alīta], probably from *^c[alīy(a)ta] (no. 86).

E. Treatment of Vowels

The Egyptian group writing system attempts to indicate general vowel quality with the three vowels available to it: *a*, *i*, and *u*. Vowel length (undoubtedly phonemic in the source languages), vowel reduction, and colouring from consonantal context are not indicated. As with Akkadian transcriptions of West Semitic words, some of the vowels serve double duty. Egyptian *u* was also used to represent West Semitic *o*, and Egyptian *i* could also represent *e*.

1. The Canaanite Shift

Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of the vowel system is the shift of accented long [ā] to [ō], which is attested from the time of Thutmose III (15th century B.C.E.).

Exx. ²*a-yu-—r* (no. 1), ²*a-n=ru₂-na* (no. 11), ^c*u-—r=du₂* (no. 87, G-stem part.), ^c*u-di₄-—r* (no. 108, G-stem part.), *bi₂-²a₂-ru₂-tu₂* (no. 112,

⁸²The group *mu₃* probably does not have the value *maw*, since that group could not be used in the words *h-d-mu₃* (no. 304), for instance. The sign group is also used in the MK group writing system with the value *[mu], especially in the onomastic element ^c*Ammu-*, in which there can be no consonantal *w*.

f. pl. ending), *ru₂=ša=²u* (no. 285), *qu₄=—r=nu₅=ta* (no. 436), *k=n=nu₂=ru₂* (no. 467), *tu₂=b=ya* (no. 525), *tu-pi₂=—r* (no. 540, G-stem part.).

The expected *o*-vowel is not always indicated, and in some cases, this may be an accurate transcription from a language in which the shift did not occur, but in other instances, such as in the phrase *tu=pa₂=—r ya=di=‐a* “learned scribe” (nos. 64 & 540) in which the first participle exhibits the shift, but the second does not, the shift must be presumed, and the writing considered defective.⁸³ There is also some evidence for the further shift of stress lengthened short *ā* to *ō* in closed syllables that is attested in Phoenician: *yu₂=d* for *[yōd] “hand, monument” (no. 63) and perhaps in the writing *yu=ma* (for *[yōmma]) “sea” (no. 52).

2. Vowel Harmony

This phenomenon occurs rather frequently, especially at the end of words to harmonize with a preceding thematic vowel. In some cases it may have been a feature of the source language, but it seems likely that the Egyptian speakers introduced most of the vowel harmonies. (This is not surprising with foreign vocabulary, cf. the English mutation of Japanese **harakiri*⁸⁴ to *harikari*.) With nominal forms, often little more is entailed than changing the case ending from the usual accusative to nominative or genitive.

Exx.⁸⁵ *²a₂=tu=ru₂=ru₂* (no. 37), *²a₂=—r=r=ru₂=du₂* (no. 45, var. of *²a₂=da=—r*),
Ya=tu₂=cu (no. 65 //*ya=di=c₄a*), *c₄a=n_i=n_i* (no. 81), *Bi=²a₂=ru₂=tu₂* (no. 112), *ma=ru₂=²u* (no. 173), *ma=ru₂=ru₂* (no. 178), *ma=ša=di=di* (no. 212), *ma=qu=ru₂=²u* (no. 218), *mak=ru₂=²u* (no. 223), *ma₂=di=di* (no. 238), *ra=wi₂=t₁₂?* (no. 271), *r u₂=ša=²u* (no. 285), *h=ru₂=ru₂* (no. 298), *ha=ra=t₁₂=t₁₂* (no. 300), *Ha=ni=ni=²a* (no. 319), *ḥa=ru₂=²u{t}* (nos. 344 & 345), *ḥa=ru₂=ru₂* (nos. 349 & 350), *sa=wa=bi=bi* (no. 360), *sa=ni=ni* (no. 371, var. of *s=n=ni*), *qa=ru₂=²u* (no. 429), *ku=ba=su₂* (no. 456), *k=n=nu₂=ru₂* (no. 467), *ka=ru₂=²u={t}* (no. 474), *ku=ru₂=sa* (no. 483, var. of *ku=ra=sa*), *ku=ra=ku=ra / ka=ra=ka=ra* (no. 486), *ku=tu* (no. 502), *ta=ru₂=ru₂* (no. 531), *t₁₂=ru₂=yu=na* (no. 546), *tu=ru₂=ta* (no. 550), *T₁₂=ku=ru₂* (no. 556), *t₁₂=du=²u₂* (no. 560), *Du=bi=ḥi* (no. 562), *di=di* (nos. 568 & 569), *da=bi=²i* (no. 573), *da=ni=ni* (no. 585), *da=nu₂=ru₂* (no. 587), *di=di* (no. 595).

⁸³Other examples are: *ra=h=bu* Reḥob (no. 280) and *ḥa=ma=—r* (no. 312), and probably also *ka=ma* (458).

⁸⁴This term, meaning “belly-cutting,” is apparently not used in Japanese, according to my informants.

⁸⁵Examples from all levels of certainty (except the lowest) have been included, since even if the etymology is unknown, they nevertheless exhibit this feature.

II. IMPLICATIONS FOR EGYPTIAN PHONOLOGY & PHONETICS

A number of questions remain concerning the articulation of Egyptian phonemes. There have been three main sources of information on the phonemes of Ancient Egyptian: comparisons with Coptic, transcriptions in other languages (e.g. Akkadian, Ugaritic, Biblical Hebrew), and the Egyptian transcriptions of foreign (Semitic) words. A full, detailed treatment of the linguistic arguments about the Egyptian phonemic and graphemic systems lies beyond the bounds of the present study, but insofar as the evidence dealt with here sheds light on Egyptian phonology and phonetics, some brief comments are in order. The organization is basically by manner of articulation, but some questions are treated thematically.

A. Stops: the Nature of Phonemic Opposition

One of the problems is the general pattern by which phonemes are distinguished. The traditional interpretation posited voiced / unvoiced oppositions as basic to the system, but since Sethe, most scholars have maintained that Egyptian /d/ and /g/ (and some include /b/) became devoiced in Old Egyptian, mainly by analogy with the merger of /z/ into /s/.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the fact that until the stage of demotic *d* is not confused with *t*, nor *d* with *t* indicates phonemic opposition. But what was the nature of the opposition? Czermak, noting the Semitic transcriptions of *d* and *d̪* as emphatics, maintained that it was something akin to the emphatic, but he did not elaborate.⁸⁷ Vergote held that the principle distinction was aspiration / non-aspiration until its final stages in Coptic.⁸⁸ This is the opposition found in Coptic, but whether it holds true for Middle and Late Egyptian is unproven. The opposition of aspiration / non-aspiration is a secondary development in Egyptian; the Afro-Asiatic system generally has the triad 1) unvoiced, 2) voiced, 3) emphatic (glottalized or pharyngealized and usually, if not always, unvoiced), e.g. /t/, /d/, /t̪/ = [t], [d], [t̪]. The evidence from the transcription of Semitic words tends not to support the contention of aspirated /

⁸⁶W. Czermak, *Die Laute der ägyptischen Sprache: Eine phonetische Untersuchung*, 2 parts (Vienna: 1931–34), pp. 60–62. J. Vergote, *Phonétique historique de l'Égyptien: Les consonnes* (Louvain: 1945), pp. 29–31.

⁸⁷Czermak, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–65.

⁸⁸However, Vergote did maintain that /b/ was realized as the voiced bilabial spirant [b] for its entire history. This does not seem to fit the evidence, and will be treated in n. 89.

non-aspirated opposition. For example, if the grapheme \square (*d*) represents unaspirated [t] and the grapheme \curvearrowright (*t*) represents aspirated [th], then one would hardly expect an Egyptian transcription of Semitic *[magdala] as *ma₃=k=ta=ra* (no. 224), transforming the unaspirated [gd] of the source language into aspirated **[k^hth]. The phenomenon is much more easily explained as devoicing, rather than the introduction of aspiration (but cf. the discussion of Egyptian *d*, below). Also, the writings of Egyptian *d* for Semitic /t/ in the words *d=p=ḥu* (no. 563) and *d=n=m* (no. 564) can more easily be explained as a result of Egyptian devoicing of *d* in initial position than as the lack of aspiration. The same case for voiced / voiceless opposition would seem to be true for *p* and *b*. As for *b*, since it can also stand for Semitic [m], it is likely voiced [b].⁸⁹ In the following cases, the occurrence of Egyptian *p* for Semitic /b/ is easily explained as devoicing by juxtaposition to sibilants (whether in the source language or introduced by Egyptian speakers): $^2=s=p=ra$ (for $^2as=ba=—r$ “whip,” no. 28), $^2=s=p=t$ (for $^2=s=b=t$ “chair,” no. 30), and *ya=ši₂=p* (no. 60, probably for **yatib*). The argument for rendering with aspiration is considerably more complicated: devoicing would have to have occurred in the source language and the Egyptian transcription would have to have rendered the unvoiced phone [p] with the Egyptian unvoiced phone *[p^h], thereby, accidentally introducing aspiration (which is a key marker, according to Vergote’s theory). However, since Egyptians would not, by this theory, be making phonemic distinction based on the voice / voiceless opposition in their native tongue, they might have had difficulty in detecting devoicing, and in any case one wonders why they would have desired to mark in their own writing system a phonetic feature that would be fairly meaningless to them. Finally, that a major phonemic opposition based solely on aspiration / non-aspiration remained stable for millennia seems fairly incredible. All in all, the simpler solution seems best: both Egyptian and the Semitic systems had voice / voiceless opposition. Voiceless stops were possibly articulated with aspiration, but this feature would not have been phonemically significant.

⁸⁹The contention by Vergote (*Phonétique Historique*, p. 15, *Grammaire Copte*, vol. 1b, § 24, p. 24) that *b* was a voiced bilabial spirant [b] throughout the history of the language would seem to be ruled out by the correspondence of Egyptian *b* for [m] in the word *b=g=ra=ta₅* for *ma=ga=ra=ta* “cave” (no. 228). [M] is articulated with no friction and approximates an unaspirated voiced stop, whereas the outstanding features of [b] are friction and spirantization. W. Vycichl, *Vocalisation*, p. 43, notes that since in Bohairic Coptic there is a shift to r̩, it is difficult to generalize about the vocalization of this phoneme.

1. Egyptian /d/

Voiced / voiceless opposition is probably not the only factor involved, however, and the case of Egyptian *d* must be examined more closely. Two significant and seemingly contradictory facts must be reconciled. First, the Egyptians usually transcribed Semitic /d/ with *d*, but sometimes also with *t*. The same holds true for Egyptian transcriptions of Semitic /t/. This suggests that the closest Egyptian approximation to Semitic /d/ (almost certainly [d]) was *d*, and the closest approximation of Semitic /t/ was also Egyptian *d*. Second, the Egyptian loan or foreign words containing Egyptian /d/ are always written with *teth*—and never, to my knowledge, with *daleth*—in the Semitic languages (in Akkadian, Hebrew, etc.).⁹⁰ This fact indicates that Egyptian *d* was perceived as an emphatic by Semitic speakers.⁹¹ If Vergote's contention that Egyptian /d/ represented unaspirated *[t], then it is far more likely that the Semitic scribes would have used *taw*.⁹² One solution to the problem is that in Egyptian, Afro-Asiatic **d* and **t* have merged as [t]. Pharyngealization or glottalization (the feature of emphasis) could well have been heard as something akin to voicing. Another solution to the problem would be that Afro-Asiatic **d* and **t* merged, but with neither the phonetic value [d] nor [t], but rather, a combination of both: *[d], i.e. a voiced emphatic. Thus, Egyptian, lacking [d], would transcribe Semitic /d/ with *[d] because it shares with it the feature of voicing. Semitic /t/ would also normally be rendered with Egyptian *d* because they are both emphatics, although since Semitic /t/ was unvoiced, occasionally this feature was indicated by transcriptions with Egyptian *t*. On the other hand, Semitic speakers, would hear Egyptian *[d] not as voiced, but as emphatic, voicing being phonemically irrelevant with Semitic emphatics.⁹³ Thus within the Egyptian system, *d* might have been doubly marked in opposition to *t*, being both voiced and emphatic. This would ensure a very stable opposition between Egyptian /t/ and /d/, which is the case from Old Egyptian down to demotic. If the opposition were based solely on aspiration / non-aspiration, the relationship would not likely exhibit this degree of stability.

⁹⁰Lambdin, *Egyptian Loanwords*, *ifdw* ⇒ MB *ipṭau* (p. 136), *idmi* ⇒ BH פִּמְלָא (p. 137), *diw* “five” ⇒ MB *tiu* (p. 149), etc. the MB transcription *pi-ši-id* (p. 82) could be read *pi-ši-it*, which would correspond to Egyptian *psd* “nine.”

⁹¹This was also noted by Czermak, *Laute der ägyptischen Sprache*, p. 211.

⁹²In some Semitic languages /t/ was perhaps articulated with aspiration, but as in English speakers' perceptions of French, lack of aspiration would have been irrelevant.

⁹³Only non-emphatics have voiced / non-voiced opposition.

2. Egyptian /k/, /g/, /q/

The Egyptian /k/, /g/, /q/ opposition is difficult, and their correspondences with the Semitic phonemes are likewise difficult. As with the Egyptian *t* / *d* opposition, voicing seems to be a factor, but not the only factor. Of the three, only *k* is straightforward, as it seems to have a one-to-one correspondence with Semitic /k/, and therefore Egyptian /k/ is quite certainly the unvoiced velar stop [k]. The fact that Semitic /q/ is usually rendered by Egyptian *q* suggests that these may have corresponded quite closely. Semitic speakers, on the other hand, perceived Egyptian /q/ both as an emphatic⁹⁴ and as voiced.⁹⁵ Perhaps, as suggested above for /d/, Egyptian /q/ may have been both voiced and emphatic.

Even less clear is the evidence for the relationship between Egyptian /g/ and Semitic /g/, which share many of the same correspondences with their respective *q*'s. Semitic /g/ is rendered by Egyptian *g* and *q* in almost equal proportion, but it should be noted that Egyptian *g* is not very common in transcriptions, and so its relatively frequent use to render Semitic *g* suggests that voicing was one of its features. As a further complication, the Egyptian grapheme *g* corresponds to both Semitic /g/ and /q/ in roughly equal proportion.⁹⁶ Semitic transcriptions of Egyptian *g* are rare, but the three known to me render it only with *q*.⁹⁷ Thus, there must have been phonetic similarities between Egyptian /g/ and both Semitic /g/ and /q/. To the Semitic ear, the significant feature of Egyptian *g* does not seem to have been voicing, but rather the quality of an emphatic. Although there are uncertainties on both sides of the equation,⁹⁸ it could be suggested, with considerable hesitation, that perhaps Egyptian /g/ was a post-velar (uvular) *g*. Being articulated in that position would perhaps give the impression of an emphatic (as would be the case with Arabic *q*). Some small support for this conjecture may be found in the relatively⁹⁹ frequent use of Egyptian *g* to render Semitic

⁹⁴E.g. Lambdin, *Egyptian Loanwords*, Ššq ⇒ BH שְׁשָׁק (p. 147), qrht ⇒ BH קְרַתְתָּה (p. 147), etc.

⁹⁵E.g. BH נְגַמֵּן “reeds” from Eg. *qm3*. T.O. Lambdin, *Egyptian Loanwords*, pp. 18–19.

⁹⁶Level 5 evidence: 40% to /g/, 50% to /q/, and 10% to /k/. The correspondences to /g/ have been ignored here, and the examples of Egyptian *g* for Semitic /k/ can be explained as the result of devoicing, as almost all examples are in initial position.

⁹⁷Cf. Lambdin, *Egyptian Loanwords*, p. 148: *gf* ⇒ BH גְּפָא; *grg* in the PN *P3-grg-Pth* in Aramaic transcription: פְּקֻדְתְּרִכְחָה; *gsti* ⇒ BH גְּשִׁטָּה.

⁹⁸E.g. how exactly was Canaanite /q/ articulated?

⁹⁹I.e. taking its general scarcity into consideration.

ghain, which is both post-velar and voiced. Czermak¹⁰⁰ suggested that Egyptian *g* might have been palatalized and thus heard as an emphatic. R. Jakobson has noted that there are a number of features besides glottalization / pharyngealization involved in the emphatics.¹⁰¹ In Arabic, the main feature is contraction of pharyngeal aperture by drawing the root of the tongue towards the back wall of the pharynx. A side effect is a distinct drop in pitch. Other features encountered include rounding of the lips and even labialization. The articulation of Egyptian *g* remains quite uncertain.

B. Conditioned (?) Affrication

The use of Egyptian *t* and *d* to represent Semitic fricatives (sibilants and interdentals) suggests that the Egyptian sounds were not articulated as stops, but rather as continuants. Yet the use of $\equiv t$ (*ta*₅) with the value [ta] and also the occurrence of *d* in *ma-da-ha-t* (no. 242) for /t/ and in *d-p-hu* (no. 563) for /d/ suggests that these Egyptian phonemes also exhibited or could exhibit some features of stops. Since Egyptian *t* and *d* exhibit features of both spirant / interdental continuants and dental / aveolar stops, they were very likely articulated as the affricates [ts] / [tš] and [dz] (or perhaps emphatic: [dʒ]) / [dž].¹⁰² The earliest certain attestation of Egyptian *t* for *samekh* dates to the end of the Middle Kingdom.¹⁰³ It is interesting that a group **ta* was never developed in group writing, and that the groups with *i*-vowels predominate, but that *u*-vowels also occur. This suggests that the phonetic value closest to Semitic *samekh* was a particular allophone of Egyptian original *t*, and likely was a particular feature with *i*- and *u*- vowels.¹⁰⁴

It is uncertain whether Egyptian *d* is an emphatic or not. The well known fact that Biblical Hebrew regularly transcribes Egyptian *d* with **ת**

¹⁰⁰Czermak, *Laute der ägyptischen Sprache*, p. 257.

¹⁰¹R. Jakobson, “Mufaxxama: The ‘emphatic’ phonemes in Arabic,” in S.H. Al-Ani, ed. *Readings in Arabic Linguistics* (Bloomington: 1978), pp. 269–83, esp. p. 270–71.

¹⁰²This proposal does not deny the origin of *t* as a palatalized *k* or *t*, but merely suggests the late Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom pronunciation in certain phonetic contexts.

¹⁰³Posener, *Princes et Pays*, E 7, in the PN *?a=t-p H-d-du*, which is from either the root *?sp* “to gather” (PN פְּסַחַר) or the root *ysp* “to add, increase” (PN יִזְבַּח).

¹⁰⁴Cf. the Modern Japanese allophones of /t/ and /d/: [ta], [tši], [tsu], [te], [to] and [da], [dži], [dzu], [de], [do], in which *i*- and *u*-vowels produce palatalization and affrication, respectively. The phenomenon is quite widely attested: Italian *ca* [ka] vs. *ci* [tši] and French-Canadian “tu” [tsü].

suggests that it was an emphatic or was similar to one. If Egyptian *d* represents the voiced emphatic [d], then perhaps *ḍ* represents the voiced emphatic affricate [dʒ]. Since *d* and *ḍ* interchange in the writing system from the Middle Kingdom on, they must have lost phonemic distinction and were now allophones, the latter involving affrication (perhaps particularly common after *i*-vowels, but not exclusively so, as a number of Coptic words would be derived from **da*, e.g. ⲫⲏⲩ Tanis. The use of Egyptian *ḍ* to transcribe Semitic /z/ (*[dʒ]) and possibly /d/ ([d]) may have occurred because it was a voiced affricate.

The use of Egyptian *f* also occurs predominantly with *i*-vowels, and since it occurs in the place where one expects a stop, rather than a spirant, it seems very likely that the Egyptian articulation was as an affricated stop, namely [pf]. Although by the end of the Old Kingdom /f/ was phonemically distinguished from /p/, it was probably an early allophone of /p/, and possibly developed under the influence of an *i*-vowel. This would also account for the sporadic interchange in early texts of *p* and *f* in the word **fizi* / *pizi* “to cook,” either writing being pronounced *[pfizi]. It is possible that Semitic /p/ was sporadically affricated or spirantized under certain phonetic conditions, but again, it is more likely that the Egyptians introduced affrication as a secondary development, perhaps stemming from the presence of *i*-vowels in the Semitic. Use of *f* to render Semitic /p/ can be traced at least as far back as the Middle Kingdom: cf. the PN *i-bi ȝ-f=əa* (²*Abi-rāpiəa*).¹⁰⁵

C. L laterals

The regular use of Egyptian *r* for Semitic /l/ suggests that the pronunciation of Egyptian /r/ was an apical singly “tapped” (or “flapped”) *r*, as opposed to vibrating “trilled” (“rolled”) *r*, for if Egyptian *r* were of the latter category, then one would expect a much greater—or exclusive—use of Egyptian *n* to render //l/. The sporadic use of Egyptian *r* for Semitic /d/, further supports this contention.¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, Greek transcriptions of Hebrew names occasionally render /r/ with δ.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Posener, *Princes et Pays*, E 5. The almost certain presence of the *i*-vowel might account for its use here.

¹⁰⁶ Lambdin’s suggested derivation (*Egyptian Loanwords*, p. 20) of Hebrew יִן “ink” from Egyptian *ry.t* may be somewhat supported by this correspondence.

¹⁰⁷ Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*, part 2, p. 78.

TABLE 1

**SEMITIC PHONEMES AND THEIR EGYPTIAN
GRAPHEMIC CORRELATES**

This table lists the various Semitic phonemes (in Roman alphabetical order) and indicates the various Egyptian graphemes with which they are transcribed. In the columns labelled “Level [5]” and “Level [5+4]” are the number of examples attested for each correspondence. Each distinctive writing of a word was counted as a single occurrence. (E.g. “*a-ša-q*” and “*a-š-š-g*” were considered as two separate transcriptions of Semitic /q/, but otherwise variant writings were ignored.) The column “Level [5+4]” contains the total number of examples from words from both levels of certainty. The mean per centage figures between the Level 5 examples alone and Levels 4 and 5 combined are found in the rightmost column.

Semitic Phoneme	Egyptian Sign	Level [5]	Levels [5+4]	Percentage Level [5]	Percentage Levels [5+4]	Mean
/p/	𓁑 (ꜥ)	24	(29)	92.3%	(93.5%)	92.9%
	𠁥 (‘)	1	(1)	3.8%	(3.2%)	3.5%
	Nil	1	(1)	3.8%	(3.2%)	3.5%
/c/	𠁦 (‘)	27	(50)	100.0%	(100.0%)	100.0%
/b/	𠁩 (b)	46	(67)	92.0%	(91.8%)	91.9%
	𠁪 (p)	2	(4)	4.0%	(5.5%)	4.8%
	𠁫 (m)	2	(2)	4.0%	(2.7%)	3.3%
/d/	𠁩 (d)	10	(15)	83.3%	(76.2%)	79.8%
	𠁩 (t)	1	(4)	8.3%	(19.0%)	13.7%
	𠁩 (r)	1	(1)	8.3%	(4.8%)	6.6%
/d̪/	𠁩 (t̪)	2	(2)	*66.7%	(*40.0%)	*53.3%
	𠁩 (d̪)	1	(3)	*33.3%	(*60.0%)	*46.7%
/d̪/	𠁩 (d̪)	3	(3)	*100.0%	(*100.0%)	*100.0%
/g/	𠁩 (q)	8	(12)	47.1%	(36.4%)	41.7%
	𠁩 (g)	4	(12)	23.5%	(36.4%)	30.0%
	𠁩 (k)	5	(9)	29.4%	(27.3%)	28.3%
/g̪/	𠁩 (q̪)	3	(3)	*50.0%	(*42.9%)	*46.4%
	𠁩 (g̪)	2	(2)	*33.3%	(*28.6%)	*31.0%
	𠁥 (‘)	1	(2)	*16.7%	(*28.6%)	*22.6%

Table 1 cont.

Semitic Phoneme	Egyptian Sign	Level [5]	Levels [5+4]	Percentage Level [5]	Percentage Levels [5+4]	Mean
/h/	□ (h)	7	(13)	100.0%	(100.0%)	100.0%
/ħ/	Ḫ (ħ)	20	(34)	95.2%	(87.2%)	91.2%
	—□ (č)	1	(3)	*4.8%	(*8.1%)	*6.5%
/ħ/	● (ħ)	13	(30)	92.9%	(96.8%)	94.8%
	Ḫ (ħ)	1	(1)	7.1%	(3.2%)	5.2%
/k/	□ (k)	23	(39)	95.8%	95.1%	95.5%
	△ (q)	1	(1)	4.2%	(2.4%)	3.3%
	□ (g)	--	(1)	--	(2.4%)	1.2%
/l/	□ (r)	36	(68)	75.0%	(78.2%)	76.6%
	—□ (nr)	5	(10)	10.4%	(11.5%)	11.0%
	— (n)	5	(7)	10.4%	(8.0%)	9.2%
	Ḫ (ȝ) ¹	2	(2)	4.2%	(2.3%)	3.3%
/m/	□ (m)	56	(81)	98.2%	(98.8%)	98.5%
	□ (b)	1	(1)	1.8%	(1.2%)	1.5%
/n/	— (n)	27	(46)	96.4%	(97.9%)	97.2%
	□ (r)	1	(1)	3.6%	(2.1%)	2.8%
/p/	□ (p)	14	(22)	87.5%	(78.6%)	83.0%
	— (f)	2	(4)	12.5%	(14.3%)	13.4%
	□ (b)	--	(2)	--	(7.1%)	3.6%
/q/	△ (q)	17	(33)	70.8%	(70.2%)	70.5%
	□ (g)	5	(9)	20.8%	(19.1%)	20.0%
	□ (k)	2	(5)	8.3%	(10.6%)	9.5%
/r/	□ (r)	59	(107)	100.0%	(96.4%)	98.2%
	—□ (nr)	--	(4)	--	(3.6%)	1.8%
/s/ (š)	— (t)	8	(12)	100.0%	(100.0%)	100.0%

¹This sign is used with this value only in Eighteenth Dynasty and earlier in archaic writings of the n. div. ²El. In the older system of vocalized writing, *i* represented *?aleph* and *ȝ* rendered Semitic /l/ and /r/. For examples, cf. nos. 16 and 272.

Table 1 cont.

Semitic Phoneme	Egyptian Sign	Level [5]	Levels [5+4]	Percentage Level [5]	Percentage Levels [5+4]	Mean
/š/ (ש)	׀ (s)	1	(8)	*50.0%	(*80.0%)	*65.0%
	׀ (š)	1	(2)	*50.0%	(*20.0%)	*35.0%
/š/ (ש)	׀ (š)	21	(28)	87.5%	(71.8%)	79.7%
	׀ (s)	3	(11)	12.5%	(28.2%)	20.4%
/š/ (ש)	ׁ (d)	9	(17)	100.0%	(100.0%)	100.0%
/t/	□ (t)	45	(69)	86.5%	(88.5%)	87.5%
	׀ (t)	5	(6)	9.6%	(7.7%)	8.7%
	׀ (d)	2	(3)	3.9%	(3.9%)	3.9%
/t/ (ש)	׀ (s)	10	(14)	76.9%	(66.7%)	71.8%
	׀ (š)	3	(7)	23.1%	(33.3%)	28.2%
/t/ (ד)	׀ (d)	3	(5)	*60.0%	(*50.0%)	*55.0%
	□ (t)	2	(4)	*40.0%	(*40.0%)	*40.0%
	ׁ (g)	--	(1)	--	(*10.0%)	*5.0%
/t/ (ד)	ׁ (d)	2	(3)	*100.0%	(*75.0%)	*87.5%
	׀ (t)	--	(1)	--	(*25.0%)	*12.5%
/w/	ׁ (w)	1	(5)	*100.0%	(*100.0%)	*100.0%
/y/	ׁ (y)	12	(17)	100.0%	(100.0%)	100.0%
/z/	ׁ (d)	5	(8)	*100.0%	(*100.0%)	*100.0%

TABLE 2

SEMITIC REFLEXES OF PROTO-SEMITIC SIBILANTS

In this table are listed the various Semitic reflexes of the Proto-Semitic sibilants. The phonetic reconstructions are in square brackets, but are often uncertain or unknown. The reconstructions in a number of cases bear little resemblance to their conventional scholarly transcriptions.

Proto-Semitic	Ugaritic	Hebrew	Aramaic	Akkadian	Old South Arabic	Classical Arabic	Mehri Arabic
* s [ts]?	š [ts]?	ד [ts]?	ד [ts]?	s [s]?	š [s]?	س [s]	س [s]
* ś [tʃ]	š [ʃ]	ב [s]/[tʃ]?	ב [s]?	* š [ʃ]/[tʃ]?	ג [s]?	ش [s]	ش [s]
* ṣ [ʂ]	š [ʂ]	ב [ʂ]	ב [ʂ]	* š [ʂ]/[tʃ]?	ח [s]?	س [s]	س [s]
* t [t]	ת	ת [s]/[t]?	ת , ר [t]	* š [ʂ]/[tʃ]?	غ [t]	ت [t]	ت [t]
* ṭ [tʃ]	ת [?]	ת [?]	ת [?]	š [s]?	خ [tʃ]?	خ [tʃ]	خ [tʃ]
* d [d]	ד [d]	ר [d]/[dʒ]?	ر [d]	z [z]?	ه [d]	د [d]	د [d]
* ḏ [dʒ]	ذ [s]	ذ [?]	ذ [?]	š [s]?	ه [d]	ج [d]	ج [d]

¹The voiced counterpart of [tʃ].

TABLE 3

EGYPTIAN SIGNS AND THEIR SEMITIC
PHONEMIC CORRELATES

This table lists the Egyptian signs in the Egyptian alphabetic order. The frequencies of correspondence are indicated in the same manner as in Table 1.

Egyptian Sign	Semitic Phoneme	Level [5]	Levels [5+4]	Percentage Level [5]	Percentage Levels [5+4]	Mean
𓁑 (ꜥ)	/ꜥ/	24	(29)	92.3%	(93.5%)	92.9%
	/ꜥl/	2	(2)	7.7%	(6.5%)	7.1%
𓁒 (y)	/y/	12	(17)	100.0%	(100.0%)	100.0%
𠁷 (ꜥ̄)	/ꜥ̄/	27	(50)	93.1%	(90.9%)	92.0%
	/h/	1	(3)	3.4%	(5.5%)	4.5%
	/ḡ/	1	(2)	3.4%	(3.6%)	3.5%
𓁓 (w)	/w/	1	(5)	*100.0%	(*100.0%)	*100.0%
𓁔 (b)	/b/	46	(67)	97.9%	(95.7%)	96.8%
	/m/	1	(1)	2.1%	(1.4%)	1.8%
	/p/	--	(2)	--	(2.9%)	1.5%
𠁹 (p)	/p/	14	(22)	87.5%	(84.6%)	86.0%
	/b/	2	(4)	12.5%	(15.4%)	14.0%
𠁻 (f)	/p/	2	(4)	100.0%	(100.0%)	100.0%
𓁕 (m)	/m/	56	(81)	96.6%	(97.6%)	97.1%
	/b/	2	(2)	3.4%	(2.4%)	2.9%
𠁻 (n)	/n/	27	(46)	84.4%	(86.8%)	85.6%
	/l/	5	(7)	15.6%	(13.2%)	14.4%
𠁻 𓁽 (nr)	/l/	5	(10)	100.0%	(71.4%)	85.7%
	/r/	--	(4)	--	(28.6%)	14.3%
𠁻 (r)	/r/	59	(107)	60.8%	(60.6%)	60.7%
	/l/	36	(68)	37.1%	(38.4%)	37.8%
	/n/	1	(1)	1.0%	(0.6%)	0.8%
	/d/	1	(1)	1.0%	(0.6%)	0.8%

Table 3 cont.

Egyptian Sign	Semitic Phoneme	Level [5]	Levels [5+4]	Percentage Level [5]	Percentage Levels [5+4]	Mean
□ (h)	/h/	7	(13)	100.0%	(100.0%)	100.0%
ḥ	/h/	20	(34)	95.2%	(97.1%)	96.1%
	/ḥ/	1	(1)	4.8%	(2.9%)	3.9%
⦿ (ḥ)	/ḥ/	13	(30)	100.0%	(100.0%)	100.0%
ʃ	/t/	10	(14)	71.4%	(42.4%)	56.9%
	/š/	3	(11)	21.4%	(33.3%)	27.4%
	/ś/	1	(8)	7.1%	(24.4%)	15.7%
— (š)	/š/	21	(28)	84.0%	(75.7%)	79.9%
	/t/	3	(7)	12.0%	(18.9%)	15.5%
	/ś/	1	(2)	4.0%	(5.4%)	4.7%
△ (q)	/q/	17	(33)	58.6%	(67.3%)	63.0%
	/g/	8	(12)	27.6%	(24.5%)	26.1%
	/ǵ/	3	(3)	10.3%	(6.1%)	8.2%
	/k/	1	(1)	3.4%	(2.0%)	2.7%
— (k)	/k/	24	(39)	77.4%	(73.6%)	75.5%
	/g/	5	(9)	16.1%	(17.0%)	16.6%
	/q/	2	(5)	6.5%	(9.4%)	7.9%
— (g)	/g/	4	(12)	33.3%	(50.0%)	41.7%
	/q/	5	(9)	41.7%	(37.5%)	39.6%
	/ǵ/	2	(2)	16.7%	(8.3%)	12.5%
	/k/	1	(1)	8.3%	(4.2%)	6.2%
△ (t)	/t/	45	(69)	91.8%	(88.5%)	90.2%
	/d/	2	(5)	4.1%	(6.4%)	5.3%
	/ṭ/	2	(4)	4.1%	(5.1%)	4.6%
— (ṭ)	/s/ (Ḏ)	8	(12)	72.2%	(80.0%)	76.4%
	/d/	2	(12)	18.2%	(13.3%)	15.8%
	/ṭ/	1	(1)	9.1%	(6.7%)	7.9%
— (ṭ)	/t/ (<i>ta₅</i>)	5	(6)	(Lapidary script for <i>t</i> .)		

Table 3 cont.

Egyptian Sign	Semitic Phoneme	Level [5]	Levels [5+4]	Percentage Level [5]	Percentage Levels [5+4]	Mean
□ (d)	/d/	10	(15)	66.7%	(65.2%)	65.9%
	/t/	3	(5)	20.0%	(21.7%)	20.9%
	/t/	2	(3)	13.3%	(13.0%)	13.2%
‘ (d)	/s/	9	(17)	50.0%	(54.8%)	52.4%
	/z/	5	(8)	27.8%	(25.6%)	26.8%
	/d̪/	3	(3)	16.7%	(9.7%)	13.2%
	/g/	1	(3)	5.6%	(9.7%)	7.7%

MORPHOLOGY

THE EGYPTIANS, consciously or not, recorded a variety of word formations built on the morphological patterns of the source languages. After noting the distribution of Semitic words by basic part of speech, the various forms attested in Egyptian transcription will be examined. The first part deals with noun formations and their features. Verb forms are treated in part two.

Without regard to particular use, words may be categorized by basic part of speech as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and, particles. The distribution of Semitic words by part of speech is as follows:¹

Nouns	307	77.5%
Verbs	82	20.7%
Adjectives	4	1.0%
Prepositions	2	0.5%
Particles	1	0.3%
Adverbs	0	--

The vast majority of words are basically nominal. While a sizable number are basically verbal, their particular forms are frequently nominal, e.g. participles, and perhaps infinitives. The lack of adjectives is somewhat compensated by the use of participial forms of the verb. Of course, the Egyptians used both participles and adjectives as nouns, and they may not have distinguished between such forms, e.g. they may well have completely disregarded the fact that *sópiru* “scribe” is actually a G-stem participle. When function is considered, nominal forms then predominate to an even greater extent. The adjectives attested are *n=c=mu* “pleasant” (no. 244), *na₂=a-ša* “fierce” (no. 246), *di=di* “amorous / lascivious” (no. 568), and *da=ma=t* “thirsty” (no. 581). The prepositions are (*r*)-*qa=ru₂* “to, towards” (no. 431) and *ka=ma* “like” (no. 458). The latter is attested but once, and strictly as a foreign word. Listed as a particle is the compound interrogative pronoun / adjective *?i=tì* “which, what, who” (no. 38).

¹A total of 396 words from all levels of certainty were used, but all proper nouns were excluded. Proper nouns were not, however, excluded from the remaining sections on morphology as they contain valuable information. For instance, reliable evidence for certain verb forms is found only in personal names.

I. NOMINAL FORMS

Nominal forms are here considered regardless of their basic part of speech, i.e. whether they are original nouns or are derived from verbal roots. Adjectives are here also classified as nominal forms. Participles, however, will be dealt with as verb forms.

A. Word Formation

While it is not always possible to identify the specific formation with certainty, the following forms are nearly certain. The words are listed, for the most part, according to presumed historical forms. In a few cases the words attested in Egyptian transcription do not agree with the particular word formation in Hebrew; these are listed under the most likely formation. Evidence from all words that are almost certainly Semitic have been used to examine the morphology, since even if the etymologies may be uncertain, their formations and additional morphemes provide fairly reliable information. In most cases only examples of level [5] and [4] degree of certainty have been cited, but occasionally level [3] material has also been included.

I. Simple Forms

a. Biconsonantal Roots

- **qal-* m. ${}^2a_2=bi$ “father” (no. 2), $yu_2=d$ “hand” (no. 63), $ta=-r={}^2a$ “door” (no. 528); f. (**qalt-*) ${}^2a_2=hi=ta$ “sister” (no. 26), $qa=-r=ta$ “city” (no. 437), $ta=-r=ta$ “door” (no. 533).
- **qil-* m. ${}^2i_3=ri$ “god” (no. 16), $bi=n$ “son” (no. 118); f. (**qilt-*) $bi_2=-nti$ (var. $bi_2=t_2i$) “daughter” (nos. 120, 146), $q=-n=ta$ “wine press” (no. 425).
- **qul* m. $\check{š}u_5=ma$ “name” (no. 399).

b. Roots with Long Medial Vowels

- **qāl-* m. $ka=-r$ “donkey saddle” (no. 472), $ku=\underline{ti}_2$ “cup” (no. 502), $Tu_2=b=ya$ “good” (a gentilic, no. 525).
- **qīl-* m. $\underline{di}=di$ “flower” (no. 595).
- **qūl-* m. perhaps $pu_2=-r$ “beans”² (no. 150).

c. Geminated Roots

- **qall-* m. $ya=ma$ “sea” (no. 52), $Ra=b_1i_3$ “great” (adj., no. 272), $ha=ra$ “mountain” (no. 294), $sa=ga$ “sackcloth” (no. 383), $ka=pa$ “palm of the

²As Arabic *فُل* (*fūl*) would suggest, but BH לִפְלֵי would seem to derive from **pawl-*.

hand" (no. 457); f. **gallat-* *s=—r=ta* *[tallata] "prisoner of war" (no. 376).

**qill-* m. *ti₂=ra* *[tilla] "mound" (no. 527), *qi₂=da* *[giṣṣa] "gypsum"³ (no. 442).

**quill-* m. *hu₂=pa* *[huppa] "shore" (no. 334); f. ?*U₃=mi₃* "mother" (no. 10).

d. Triconsonantal Roots

qatl-* m. *“A=b=di* "servant" (no. 69), *“A=m=qu₂* "valley" (no. 74), *“a=—r=ši₂=na* "lentils" (no. 84), *Bi=ya=ta* *[bayta] or *[beyta]? (no. 113), *Bi=ta* *[bēta] "house" (no. 144), *B=c=ra* "lord" (no. 115), *na=c=a=ru₂=na* "soldiers" (no. 245), *n=h=ra* "wady" (no. 258), *n=g=bu* "dry land (Negeb, no. 263)," *r=h=d{=t}* (vessel, no. 279), *ru=ša* "summit" (no. 285), *r=k=su₂* *[rakūsu] "equipment" (no. 286), *ha=—r=pa* "dagger" (no. 324), *Ha=—n=ra=da* "fortress" (no. 341), *sa=ra=qu* *[talgu] "snow" (no. 375), *ša=c=a=—r* *[ša^{c₂}ra] "market price" (no. 389), *ša=c=a=ra* *[ša^{c₂}ra] "gate" (no. 390), *Ša=m=ša* "sun" (no. 402), *ka=ma=ha* *[qamḥa] (bread, no. 464), *ka=ra=ma₄=ya=ma* "vineyards" (no. 479), *ka=t=pa* "sword (from 'shoulder-blade,' no. 500)," *ga=ra=ta* *[kalyāta] "kidneys" (no. 520), *gas=mu* "rainstorm" (no. 522), *di₃=tu* "olives" (no. 594); f. (qatlat-*) *?as=ba=(t)* "chair" (no. 30), *?as=pu=ta* "quivers" (no. 34), *?ba₂=—r=ya=t* "obligatory work detail" (no. 124), *man=h=ta* "gift" (no. 165), *sa=c=a=ra=ta* "wool" (no. 359).

qitl-* m. *Bi=ra*, *Bi=—ru₂=ta* "well(s)" (no. 112), *ši₂=b=da₂* "staff, rod" (no. 397), *Q=b=cu₂* "hill" (no. 423), *qa₂=—r=c* *[qil^ca] "shield" (no. 432), *ti₂=pa=ra* "drinking bowl" (no. 541), *?di=mi=ra* *[zimr-] "protection" (no. 582), *di₄=—r=cu* "hornets" (no. 591); f. (qitlat-*) *?b=—r=ka=ta* *[birka-ta], "pool" (no. 131).

qutl-* m. *ku=ba=sa* *[kupta] (a basket, no. 456), *ku=ra=sa* "sack" (no. 483), *G=ru₂=n* [*góren] "threshing floor" (no. 519), *tu=ru₂=ta* "fine wheat flour" (no. 550); f. (qutlat-*) *qu₄=—r=na=ta* *[ǵurlata] "foreskin" (no. 436).

qatal-* m. *?pa₂=ra=ku* "cattle" (no. 154), *na=ha=—r* "river" (no. 253), *ša=ha=qa* "dust cloud" (no. 411), *d=nm* *[talama]⁴ "furrow" (no. 564); f. (qáatalat-* / *qatál-*) *c=a=ga=ra=ta* (var. *c=a=ga=—r=ta*) "wagon" (no. 100), *Ba₂=—r=ka=ta* "blessing" (no. 130), *Ha=da=sat₅* "new" (adj., no. 329), *Ha=ra=qu₂=t* "slippery places" (no. 351), *da=c=a=qa=ta* "cries" (no. 571).

qatil-* m. *?hi=r* "tent" (no. 24); f. (qatilat-* / **qatilt-*) *?a=bi=š=tu* "hardtack" (no. 5), *ma₂=hi=ra=ta* "bag" (no. 196), *ma=s=hi=ta* (*[mašihāta]) "amphora" (no. 199).

**qatul-* m. *?c=a=gu₃=su₂* "belt" (no. 102), *ha=ru₂=?u* "disease" (no. 344).

**qital-* m. *c=n=b* *[c^cinaba] "grapes" (no. 80); f. *di₄=ra=c=tu* "plank" (no. 592).

³But this word may be transcribed *qa=da* and derive from **gaṣṣu*, as in Akkadian.

⁴BH is derived from a **qatl-* form, but cf. Arabic and Aramaic with *qatal-* forms.

⁵But also attested as a *qatil-* form.

- **q̄til-* f. *bi=ra=ta* *[bir̄ta] “obligatory service, treaty” (no. 135), *n=k=pi₂=ta* “*nikiptu*-plant” (no. 260).
- **qutul-* f. (**qutult-*) ? *qa=da=ru₂=ta* “incense”⁶ (no. 440).
- **qutil-* m. *ku=d=n* (var. *ku=t̄i₂=na*) “charioteer” (no. 506); f. *ku=t̄i₂=ta* “garment” (no. 505).
- **qatāl-* m. *ša=ra=ma₄* “peace” (no. 408).
- **qutāl-* f. (**qutult-*) ? *qa=da=ru₂=ta* “incense”⁷ (no. 440).
- **qatāl-* m. ²*a₂=t̄i₂=ra* “captive” (no. 40), ^c*=pi=ru₂* “*Apiru*” (no. 70), ^c*a=ra=ta* (var. ^c*a=ri₂=ta₅*) “upper storey” (no. 86), *ma=ha=—r* “skilled” (a military title, no. 190), ? *ma=sə=ḥi* “amphora” (no. 198), *ra=bi=ša=ya* “cuirass” (no. 274), *—r=bi=ka* (type of bread, no. 276), *ga=ni=sa* “injustice” (no. 512), *d=bi₄=—r* “naos” (no. 561); f. (**qatālat-*) *Ha=di=sa=ta* “new” (no. 329).
- **qitāl-* m. *h=d=mu₃* “footstool” (no. 304), *ha₂=ma=—r* “ass” (no. 312).
- **qāt̄l-* (= G-stem part.⁸) *ha=—n=ra* *[ḥālila] “chisel” (no. 337), *šu₅=wɪ₂=b=t̄i* (a vessel, no. 392).

2. Forms with Geminated Middle Radical

- **qattal-* m. ²*a=yu=—r* “stag” (no. 1).
- **qattalat-* f. *ka=—r=ha=ta* *[qallaḥata] (basket, no. 481), ? *da=ha=—r=ta* “jar” (no. 593).
- **qattil-* m. ^c*a=wi₂=ra* “blind” (no. 66).
- **qattāl-* m. ²*a=—n=ru₂=na* “oak” (no. 11), *ḥ=ba₂=—r* *[ḥabbāra] “trading partner” (no. 333), ? *ga=ra=ba* *[ǵallāpa] (garment, no. 517).
- **qittāl-*⁹ m. *k=—n=nu₂=ru₂* “lyre” (no. 467).
- **qatāl-* m. ²*=bi=ra* “stallion” (no. 3).
- **qattūl-* m. *ta=ru₂=ru₂* “oven” (no. 531), *Da=ma₃=qə* “raisins” (no. 583).

3. Forms with Reduplication

a. With Reduplication of Biconsonantal Roots:

- **qalqal-* m. ? ²*i=—r=²i=ra* “leader” (no. 19), *ka=—r=ka=—r* “stone heap” (no. 485), *da=—n=da=n=r* “switch, branch” (no. 586).

⁶But it may be a **qutāl-* form.

⁷But it may be a **qutul-* form, as usually claimed, e.g. Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, p. 469, d α.

⁸True participles are listed in the section on verbal forms.

⁹This nominal formation is not included in Bauer and Leander’s *Historische Grammatik*, but the early Akkadian transcriptions indicate that the first vowel is *i* (and the Egyptian sign group is possibly to be read *kin* rather than *k-n*), and that it does not derive from a **qattāl-* form.

b. With Reduplication of Second and Third Radicals:

**qataltala* m. *da-b=q=b-q*, *da-ba₂=ga=ya*, *da-b=ga=ba₃=qa* (*[şabağbağa]) “dunking, soaking” (no. 575).

4. Quadrilateral Roots

- a. **With two stem vowels:** m. *‘=k-b=ra* “mouse” (no. 96); f. *‘a=qa=ra=bu=t_i₃* “scorpion” (no. 95), *ha-ra-pa-ta* *[hilbatta] “galbanum”¹⁰ (no. 348), Perhaps also *qu₄=da=ra* *[gōzala] “young bird” (no. 450).
- b. **With three stem vowels:** f. *Ha-bi=—r=di₄=ta* *[habaşşilata] “meadow saf-fron” (no. 309).

5. Forms built with Prefixes

[H-] is an uncommon prefix, but is attested sporadically in Hebrew in derivates of the H-stem causative. This prefix is possibly attested in the word *ha=—r=fi* “remedy” (no. 295).

[Ş-] is another of the causative prefixes. It is somewhat better attested: *S=ha=q=q* *Şahaqiqu “The Growler” (no. 377); ? *şa-ra=ga=hi* “passions” (no. 410).

[Y-] is known as a prefix in Hebrew.¹¹ The only example is *yu-bi-ru₂* “stream” (no. 49).

[T-] prefix is possibly found in the word *ta₃=ḥ=ba=sa=ta* “basket” (no. 537), and perhaps also in the words (mostly animal names) *Tu=ra=‘a* “worm, crimson” (no. 529), *Ta₄=‘a=m=tu₂* *[taħma(t)su] (? a bird, no. 524), *ta=hi=ra* (chariot part, no. 538).

[M-] is the most productive of the prefixes, and there are quite a number of examples. Only the more certain ones are listed here:

maqtal-* m. *Ma₃=ra=ma₃* (from **marawma*) “heights” (no. 177); *Ma=ha-n=ma₄* “(two) camps” (no. 192), *mas=ta=—r* “office” (no. 202), *Ma=şa=’aba* “watering place” (no. 205), *ma=qa=‘a=—r* “bottom of the oven” (no. 214), *ma₄=qa=ru₂* *[maqlū] “hearth” (no. 216), *mak=ta=ra* “tower” (no. 224); f. (maqtalt-*, *maqtalat-*) *ma₄=—n=da=ta* *[mandatta] “tax, tribute” (no. 170), *ma=—r=ka=ba=ta* (*[markábata]) “chariot” (no. 189), *Ma=şa=ka=ta* *[maš-katta] “dwelling place” (no. 210), *mak=ma=ru₂=ta* “fishnets” (no. 222), *ma=ga=ra=ta* “caves” (no. 228), *ma=d=ha=t* “grind stone” (no. 242).

**maqtil-* m. *mu₃=‘id* “appointment” (no. 161), *mar=su₂* *[marīṭa] (from **mariyū?*) “new wine” (no. 183), ? *ma=—r=qi₂=di₄=na* “choppers” (no. 186);

¹⁰Unless this is to be reconstructed as *[hilabatta].

¹¹According to Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, p. 488.

f. (**maqtilt*) *ma*=—*n=d=q=ta* / *ma=d=q=ta* *[*ma(n)šiqta*] (large vessel, no. 243), ? *ma₄=sa=ta=ha* *[*mašhita*] “bird trap” (no. 203).

Of uncertain formation is *ma=ša=di=di=t* “comb” (no. 212).

6. Forms built with Suffixes

The rare suffix [-n]¹² apparently occurs in the words *ma=—r=qi₂=di₄=na* “chopper” (no. 186) and *qa=—r=di₄=na* “axe” (no. 438, cf. BH ॥^{۲۴}۲۳). Perhaps the same or a similar suffix occurs in the (Akkadian?) word *ka=wi=ša=na* “saddle pads” (no. 453). There is apparently a suffix in the word for charioteer *ku=d=n*, *ku=ti₂=na* (no. 506, both as singular and plural), but it is also attested without *n*. Presumably the same suffix is attested in the title *ma₄=ha=rin* (no. 190) and occupation *qa=da=n* (no. 309). This suffix may also be attested in the BH title ॥^{۲۵}۲۶ “general.”¹³

The abstract ending [-án(a)] is attested in the word *h=f=d=nu* “to hurry, flee in terror” (no. 310), which occurs as a variant of *ha=fi=da*. Although used as a verb, the form is no doubt that of the abstract noun meaning “trepidation.” This suffix probably also occurs in the word *ša=ku=na* “watering place” (no. 414) and the n. loc. / div. *Da-pu₂=na*.¹⁴ Another possible example is *ka=man* “blind” (no. 459).

The gentilic (*nisbe*) suffix [-iy(a)] or [-ay(a)] is probably found in the PN ^۲*A₂=ha=ra=ya* “tent dweller” (no. 24) and the n. loc. *Tu₂=b=ya* (no. 525). It may also occur in conjunction with personal names used as elements of place names in the Shishak list, e.g. *P₃ Ha₂=g=ru₂=ya Ha₂=ni=ni=a* “The Fields of the Hanani Clan” (no. 326). Another possible occurrence is in the word *ga=wi₂* (a designation for horses, no. 507), if it can be identified with the place name Que.

Hypocoristic forms of theophoric names often end in [-ya], as frequently in Hebrew, Amarna, Mari, Amorite, Ugaritic, etc. ^۲*A₂=bi=ya* (no. 2), ? *Ya=ha=ma₂=ya* (no. 57), ^۳*A=di₄=ya* (no. 107), *Ma=ha=—r=ya* (no. 190), *Ha₂=na=ni=ya* (no. 319), *Ša=ma₄=ri=ya* (no. 401).

The abstract suffix [-ut] occurs in the word *a=du=ta* “conspiracy” (no. 105), but is otherwise unattested.

B. Gender

Gender can be determined with certainty in cases where the singular definite or possessive articles are used: e.g. *p₃* and *p₃y·i* (etc.) for the

¹²Cf. Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, p. 504 l. i.

¹³As maintained by Albright, *VESO* XVII C9.

¹⁴For the use of the suffix [-án] in place names, etc. see Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, p. 500, no. 3.

masculine, and *tɔ* and *tɔy·i* for the feminine. Gender is not distinguished in the plural articles *nɔ* and *nɔy·i*. In the singular, the gender may also be ascertained by the subsequent use of suffix pronouns and by the occurrence of the distinctive feminine singular form of the Egyptian stative (old perfective). In the entries of the present study gender has not been indicated unless it is assured by such factors. The only exception is the indication of probable feminine forms as “n. (f.)” in cases where comparative data suggests a feminine form and the feminine marker *ta* is present.

As one expects, masculine nouns and adjectives are unmarked, and exhibit no peculiarities. Feminine nouns and adjectives are regularly marked with the ending [-at(u)], and there is no indication of its loss in singular forms, as occurred in Biblical Hebrew. Final [-at] was retained in most Phoenician dialects and in Moabite,¹⁵ and may have also been retained in some dialects of Hebrew as suggested by the f. sing. adjectives occurring in the place names of the Shishak list: */P}nu=²I₃=ru₂ Ha₂=d-ša=t₄a* “New Pnu^{el}” (no. 329) and *‘A=ru₂=d-²a=t₄ Ru₂=bi=t₅a* “Great ‘Arad”¹⁶ (no. 277). The one example from the 8th century B.C.E. that might be a feminine form is *t=r=r=ya* “siege mound” (no. 548), in which *ya* might possibly be a mistake for *ta*. Certain evidence is available from the 10th century writings of *b=ru₂=ga=t₄a* “pool” (no. 131), *ma=ru₂=ka=ba=t₄a* “chariot” (no. 189), and especially *ka=bi=ra=t₄a* “sulphur” (no. 455). In words such as *=s=b=t₄* “chair” (no. 30), that entered the language at an early date, the feminine ending is usually dropped but the feminine gender was retained (a *t* may be written as an unpronounced marker).

As in all Semitic languages some feminine nouns are unmarked, e.g. *²u₃=mi₃* “mother” (no. 10), *n=ha=ru₂=²u* (f. sing. collective) “fugitives” (no. 255), *ḥa=ba* “tire” (no. 332), *sa=ba₂=—r* “strong smelling beer(?)” (no. 366), *ša=ḥa=q₄a* “dust cloud”¹⁷ (no. 411), *ka=ra=pa* “escarpment” (no. 478), *ta=ru₂=ru₂* “oven”¹⁸ (no. 531). *R-ba=ya* “lioness” (no. 273) is also likely an unmarked feminine form, although it is no certain proof in the Egyptian text. Other instances may also be as yet undetected. In the feminine word *‘a-ba₂=ya*, the group *ya* is probably a writing error for *ta*. There may also be instances of nouns that occur in both genders (as happens not infrequently in the Semitic languages), but there is no

¹⁵Z. Harris, *Canaanite Dialects*, p. 68.

¹⁶So distinguished from “‘Arad of the House of Jeroḥam,” which follows.

¹⁷The corresponding word is masculine in Hebrew.

¹⁸The Hebrew and cognates are masculine, and the gender shift was likely by error, as suggested, below.

positive evidence forthcoming apart from personal names: *P3-^cp=r* (m.) and *T3-^ca=pi₃=r* (no. 70), presumably meaning “The ‘Apiru’” in both cases, and *P3-qa=ru₂=²u* and *T3-qa=ru₂=²a* “The Resident Alien” (no. 429). The only examples of a masculine word with apparent feminine form are *sa-ka-ta* (a sole variant writing of *sa-ka=²u*, no. 381), which is probably a writing error, and the obscure *ha-ma-ka-ta* (a body of water, no. 314). In the case of the latter, *t* possibly represents a root letter.

In general, the Egyptians maintained the gender of the source language quite carefully, but there are a few instances of gender changes, most of which were introduced by error. For instance, *ši=b=d* “staff, rod” (no. 397) is regularly masculine, as expected, but once the final radical /t/ is misinterpreted as the feminine marker and is written *ša-wa-ba-ta* and treated as a feminine singular noun.¹⁹ The same phenomenon seems to have occurred with the word *r=h=d=t* for **rahṭa* (a vessel, no. 279), the *t* was probably not pronounced, but used as a marker of the feminine gender, as frequently in native Egyptian words. In the case of *ta-ru₂=ru₂* “oven” (no. 531), which one would expect to be masculine, the initial *ta* may have suggested the Egyptian feminine definite article *t3*, and thus led to the misconception that the word was feminine.

C. Number

All three numbers are attested, singular, plural, and dual. The singular forms pose no problems. The masculine singular is without any morphological marking. Feminine singular nouns and adjectives are regularly (but not universally) marked with the ending [(a)tu], usually written with the group ՚ (ta). Plural forms present several complications. On the Semitic side, there appear to be several different masculine plural forms, perhaps reflecting different source languages.

1. Masculine Plural Forms

[‐ū] without nunation or mimation, 15 examples: *“u=—r=da=u={t}”* “those who terrify” (part., no. 87), *“di₃=²u”* “seers” (part., no. 106), *bi-ra-ku₂* “greetings” (no. 128), *bi=—r=ku* “gifts” (no. 129), *b=d=nu* “sticks” (no. 149), *p=r=ḥu* “blossoms” (no. 152), *ma=—n=—r=wa=su₂* “nests” (no. 164), *ma=ru₂=²u* “grooms, squires”²⁰ (no. 173), *ḥa=ru₂* “streets”²¹ (no. 343),

¹⁹JEA 23, p. 188.

²⁰This form is identical to the singular, which almost always is written *ma=ru₂=²u*. The final *u*-vowel in the singular is probably due to vowel harmony.

²¹Singular also written with *ru₂*.

sa=ra=qu₂ “snow” (no. 375), *q=ri=^cu* “shield bearers” (no. 433), *qa=du₂* “plasters” (no. 443), *da-bi₂=²u* “troops”²² (no. 573), *d-p-hu* “apples” (no. 563), *di₃=tu* “olives” (no. 594).

[**-in**] with nunation as in Amorite, Aramaic, Moabite, Deir Alla, and Arslan Tash Phoenician, 6 examples: *“a=—r=ši₂=na* “lentils” (no. 84), *“a=di=na* “wheat” (no. 104), *pu₂=rin* (as PN) “peas” (no. 150), *ma=ha=ri=na* “praises” (no. 191), *n=d=na* “almond trees(?)” (no. 268), *hi=t_i₂=na* “lettuce / garlic” (no. 355).

[**-im**] with mimation as in Hebrew, Phoenician (except Arslan Tash), and Ammonite, 2 examples: *mu₂=ra=h=mu₂* “salt workers” (no. 181) and the n. loc. *Ma₃=ra=m_i₃=im* “Heights” (no. 177).

[**-ün**] with nunation, 1 example: *na=“a=ru₂=na* “soldiers” (no. 245).

[**-i**] without nunation: 6 examples: *“a=ma=di* (chariot parts, no. 77), *ma=—n=ta=di* “whip lashes(?)” (no. 168), *ši₂=ba=di* “staves” (no. 397), *ša=ra=ga=hi* “passions” (no. 410), *ku=—r=t_i₂* “whip cords” (no. 492), *di=di* “flowers” (no. 595).

[**-ya**] 11 examples: *“a₂=bi=—r=ya* “stallions” (no. 3), *?i₂=—r=ya* “rams” (no. 18), *“a=ma=di=ya* (chariot parts, no. 77), *bi₄=da=—r=ya* “sticks” (no. 149), *pu₂=—r=ya* “beans” (no. 150), *ma=ša=ka=ba=ya* (officials, no. 209), *ra=bi=ša=ya* “suits of armour” (no. 274), *h=—r=ya* “dung” (no. 323), *ša=b=di=ya* “staves” (no. 397), *qa=da=ya* “plasterers” (no. 443), *ta=ri=ya* “doors” (no. 528).

[**-yu**] 2 examples: *ma=ša=ka=ba=yu* (officials, no. 209), *q=^c=—r=yu* “shield bearers” (no. 433).

[**-²u**] 4 examples: *bi=ša=²u* “axes” (no. 138), *maki=ru₂=²u* “merchants” (no. 223), *ma=ta=da=²u* “whip lashes(?)” (no. 233), *qa=da=²u* “plasterers” (no. 443).

[**-²a**] 3 examples: *pu₂=—r=²a* “beans” (no. 150), *h=—n=ra=²a* “blusterings” (no. 339), *ta=—r=²a* “doors” (no. 528).

[**Ø**] 26 examples: *“a—n=ru₂=na* “oak trees” (no. 11), *“a—n=ra=ha=man₂* “pomegranates” (no. 12), *?i=ha=—r* “tents” (no. 23), *?as=ba=—r* “whips” (no. 28), *=p=r* “Apiru people” (no. 70), *“u₂=di₄=—r* “helpers” (no. 108), *“u=di₄=—r* (chariot parts, no. 109), *pu₂=—r* “beans” (no. 150), *pa=ga* “chests” (no. 157), *ma=—r=ha* “spears” (no. 179), *ma=da=ra=na* (weapons, no. 241), *ha₂=ma=—r* “asses” (no. 312), *ha=bi₄=—r* “trading partners” (no. 333), *h=—n=ra* “fangs” (no. 336), *ha=—n=ra* “chisels” (no. 337), *sa=ba₂=—r* “shoots” (no. 365), *s=n=ni* “archers” (no. 371), *ša=^cra* “schemes” (no. 387), *ši₂=b=da₂* “staves” (no. 397), *k=t_i₂=ma₄* “acts of divination” (no. 503), *k=d=n / ku=t_i₂=na* “charioteers” (no. 506), *ga=—r=da*

²²The form in An. I is *da=bi=^ci*, with final *i*-vowel probably arising from vowel harmony.

“morsels” (no. 521), *ti₂=ra* “mounds” (no. 527), *ti₂=ka=—r* “tower gates” (no. 555), *da-na-na* / *da-ni-ni* “torments, pains” (no. 585), *da-na=da-na* (etc.) “switches, sticks” (no. 586).

The endings [-īn], [-īm], and [-ūn] are Semitic morphemes that have been borrowed with the words in question; i.e. they were borrowed in their Semitic plural forms. The endings [-ū] and [-ī] could very well be Semitic as well, as the former is attested in Sam'alian. The endings with *i*-vowel no doubt reflect an original oblique case ending, whether or not plural case endings were still operative in the source language. Endings with the *u*-vowel would reflect the nominative plural.

Plural forms are very frequently unmarked, but not all instances may be grammatically plural. Those occurring with numerals are probably always singular in number, but this “inventory style” may be used elsewhere; some words may have been considered as non-countable nouns;²³ and in other cases, the singular may be representative of the totality.²⁴ Nevertheless, a number of the unmarked plural forms are preceded by plural articles, or are otherwise clearly treated as plural forms. It is therefore likely that there were no distinct plural forms for a great number of Semitic words.

More difficult are the remaining endings: [-ya], [-yu], [-²u], [-²a]. The ending [-ya] is usually considered a native Late Egyptian morpheme.²⁵ It is unclear whether the other endings are distinct or are mere variants, orthographic or phonetic, of [-ya]. There also remains the possibility that [-ya] is itself a Semitic morpheme used in some dialects. Aramaic has the masculine plural definite morpheme [-ayyā], but the earliest example known is from around 800 B.C.E. The Northwest Semitic plural construct is formed with [-ay].²⁶ Biblical Hebrew possibly had a plural absolute ending in *yodh*, as maintained by Sperber.²⁷ It is possible that the morpheme was borrowed for use with Semitic words, just as the English use of Latin plurals, in some cases as everyday vocabulary (“antennae,” “media”), but other times rather pedantically (“football stadia”). If the other forms are variants, they may reflect some irregularity in pronunciation.²⁸

²³These are treated as singular, just as in English: “The barn is full of flax, barley, and hay.” The use of plural strokes is in these cases semantic and not grammatical.

²⁴E.g. An. III 2, 3 ff. *P₃ ?idal=—n=r=ga mi bit*. “The melons (lit. “the melon”) are as sweet as honey.”

²⁵E.g. Erman *NäG* § 156; Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 51.

²⁶Garr, *Dialect Geography*, pp. 91–3.

²⁷A. Sperber, *Historical Grammar*, pp. 29–40 (§§ 34, 35).

²⁸Perhaps analogous to the variant English pronunciations of “antennae” [anténay], [anténi:], not to mention the confusion between “alumni” and “alumnae.”

2. Feminine Plural Forms

Writing indistinguishable from singular forms 16 examples: *²=s=b=t* “chair” (no. 30), *³as=pa₂=ta* “quiver” (no. 34), *⁴a=ra=ta* “upper chambers” (no. 86), *bi₄=r=ka={ba}=ta* “pools” (no. 131), *ma=—r=ka=ba=ta* “chariots” (no. 189), *ma=ha=da=—r=ta* “fish ponds” (no. 193), *ma=sa=hi=ta* “amphoræ” (no. 199), *ma=ga=ra=ta* “caves” (no. 228), *ra=ga=ta* “compartments”²⁹ (no. 287), *han=ya=t* “spears” (no. 318), *sa=⁵a=ra=ta* “wool” (no. 359), *qu₄=—r=ma₄=ta* “embers” (no. 435), *qu₄=—r=na=ta* “foreskins”³⁰ (no. 436), *ga=ra=ta* “kidneys” (no. 520), *ta=—r=ta* “doors” (no. 528), *da=⁵a=q=ta* “cries”³¹ (no. 571).

[—ōta] 6 examples: *⁶a=qa=ra=bu=t₃*? “scorpions” (no. 95), *mas=ta=²u₃=t* “galleys” (no. 201), *mak=ma=ru₂=ta* “fishnets” (no. 222), *s=—r=hut=ta* “stalks” (no. 373), *ša-di=ru₂=ta* “ravines” (no. 419), *qu₄=—r=nu₅=ta* “foreskins” (no. 436).

The feminine plurals are generally indistinguishable in the writing. It is possible that some forms represent *[-āta], but it is more likely that, as with the masculine plural nouns, no formal distinctions were made between singular and plural. There is, however, evidence for the feminine plural morpheme [-ōta]. Also of interest is the word *ka=pa* “palm (of hand)” (no. 457), which although unmarked in the singular is probably feminine, as in the Semitic languages. It has a plural form *k=p=t*, just as in Hebrew, for example. The apparently plural form *r=ba=ya* “lionesses” (no. 273) is unique.

3. Dual Forms

Dual forms are known only from a few place names, most or all of which are masculine in gender. The examples are: *Ma=ha=n=ma₄* (no. 192), *Ma₃=k=ta=ra=ya=n={t}* (no. 224), *N=h=ri=na* (no. 253), *Hu₂=ya=—ka=ra=ya=na / H=ya=k=ra=ya=m* (no. 290), *Ka=ra=ma₄=ya=ma / Ka=ra=ma₄=ya=na / Ku=ra=mī₃=n* (no. 479). These names and their frequent variants indicate that the dual forms occurred with dialectal variation, sometimes with mimation, sometimes with nunation, and with or without resolution of the diphthong to [ē]. In a late text the word for kidney occurs as a duality in the phrase *['n¹]y·s ga=ra=ta* 2 “her two kidneys,” but the word is treated grammatically as a plural.

²⁹The parallel text uses the singular, however.

³⁰The form may, however, be singular, in the “inventory style” of numbering.

³¹The word may, however, be singular.

D. Mimation / Nunation

The place names in the execration texts of the Middle Kingdom frequently exhibit mimation in their singular forms (e.g. ²*a-p-qu-m*, Statuettes, E9³²). This is not the case in New Kingdom transcriptions of Semitic words or place names, except in a few masculine plural forms cited above. Z. Harris, using the Egyptian and Ugaritic evidence states: "It is therefore clear that mimation was dropped within the history of Canaanite, and that the time was after 1800 (Eg. transcriptions above) and before 1500 (Ugaritic texts)."³³

Mimation / nunation occurred in Canaanite plural and dual forms. G.R. Driver maintained that earlier Egyptian transcriptions show nunation, but later ones mimation.³⁴ This is not, however, the case. In early Eighteenth Dynasty (Thutmose III) place names mimation is the rule for plurals, but dual forms have nunation.³⁵ In plural forms dating from the Nineteenth Dynasty nunation occurs in both plural and dual forms,³⁶ but one plural common noun from the Nineteenth Dynasty has mimation.³⁷ Twentieth Dynasty evidence is scant, apart from words and names that were firmly entrenched in the language. There is evidence for dual forms with mimation: *Ka-ra-ma₄-ya-ma* (no. 479). In the Shishak list of Hebrew toponyms both plural and dual forms exhibit mimation only. The evidence is thus too scant to reach any firm conclusions. It is likely however, that dialectal differences are involved. The Eighteenth Dynasty toponyms seem to conform to the pattern in Amorite, with mimation of plural forms but nunation of dual forms. The Nineteenth Dynasty instances of nunated plurals would suggest an origin from an outlying dialect, since Ugaritic, Phoenician, Hebrew, and Ammonite all have mimation. Nunation of plural forms is, however, attested in Aramaic and Moabite.

³²G. Posener, *Princes et Pays*, p. 69.

³³Z. Harris, *Canaanite Dialects*, p. 33.

³⁴G.R. Driver, "Hebrew Language," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Chicago: 1965), vol. 11, p. 279.

³⁵E.g. plural: *Ma₃-r-mi₃-im* (no. 177); dual: *Ma₃-k-ta-ra-ya-n* (no. 224), *N-h-ri-na* (no. 253), *Ku-ra-mi₃-n* (no. 479). The form of *H-ya-k-ra-ya-m* (no. 290) is uncertain, but the presence of *y* suggests the dual. By the time of Amenophis III, the same name is written with nunation.

³⁶Plural: *"a-—r-ši₂-na* "lentils" (no. 84), *"a-di-na* "wheat" (no. 104); dual: *Na-ha-rin-na* (no. 253), *Ka-ra-ma₄-ya-na* (no. 479).

³⁷*Mu₂-ra-h-mu₄* "salt workers" (no. 181).

E. Case Endings

The Canaanite dialects, as shown by Ugaritic, had a case system consisting of nominative, genitive, and accusative in the singular, and in the plural nominative and oblique (i.e. one form serves as both genitive and accusative). Dual and construct forms also were in use, but only the basic system will be dealt with in this examination. The case endings can be reconstructed from Ugaritic (and from comparisons with Akkadian and Arabic) as follows:

Singular		<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
Nom.		- <i>u</i>	- <i>atu</i>
Gen.		- <i>i</i>	- <i>ati</i>
Acc.		- <i>a</i>	- <i>ata</i>
Plural			
Nom.		- <i>ūma</i>	- <i>ātu</i>
Oblique (Gen. + Acc.)		- <i>īma</i>	- <i>āti</i>

Albright maintained that the case system was still in use, at least in the earlier material, and that most of the place names in the Thutmose III toponym list end in -*u* and were thus in the nominative case, and that the names with suffixed *n* (as in Ȣidōn) were vocalized [-ūna], as also indicated by the Amarna tablets.³⁸ Albright went on to say: "By the Nineteenth Dynasty we find a considerable amount of irregularity in Egyptian transcriptions; the accusative ending prevails."³⁹ Helck held that although the case endings were maintained in many cases, one should *a priori* expect that words were borrowed in various forms, both with and without case endings, since in the course of the Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties the case endings were dropped.⁴⁰ Helck's contention that case endings were dropped in that period may hold true for some languages and dialects, but may be too broad a generalization. Also, since we are dealing largely with consonantal scripts, much is based on speculation. Akkadian and Egyptian transcriptions, in fact, provide the only contemporary evidence for vocalization, and the evidence must take precedence over *a priori* assumptions.

³⁸ *VESO*, pp. 18–19.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 603.

1. Case in Place Names

The evidence for early Eighteenth Dynasty place names in the data collected in this study⁴¹ suggests that a majority were in the nominative case, but a large number seem to be in the accusative, as well, whereas the evidence for borrowing place names in the genitive case is very slight. Albright's contention that the Thutmose III list mostly has nominative forms with *u*-vowels must be revised. In fact, a cursory examination of the Thutmose III Canaanite names⁴² resulted in 41 instances of toponyms ending in *a*-vowels (apart from those containing divine names) and only 33 ending in *u*-vowels. However, the matter is not as clear-cut as usually assumed. In the onomastica, divine names, as also attested in the Akkadian transcriptions, seem to be indeclinable and regularly end in *a*-vowels. Some of the suffixed forms may be built with *a*-vowels, but were not considered accusative. Egyptian writings of dual and plural forms are not as easy to interpret as the singular, and therefore have been separated in the following list. Also, as the Amarna evidence suggests, toponyms do not always follow the patterns expected on the basis of the forms of common nouns. Finally, and a major possibility, is that many of the names ending in *a*-vowels may be abbreviated names containing construct forms. E.g. *^cAyna from *^cAyna + n. div. / Gentilic. This is almost certainly the case with the four ²Abela names in the Thutmose list.

Nominative: 11 examples: ^cA=ya-na Ša=su₂ (Amenophis III, no. 65), ^cA=m=qu₂ (no. 74), Bi=²a₂=ru₂=tu₂ (no. 112), Ma₄=q=r=pu=t (no. 219, for *p(a)=tu?), N=g=bu (no. 263), Ra=bi=tu (no. 277), Ra=h=bu (no. 280), Q=b=^cu₂ (no. 423), Qid=šu₄ (no. 441), D=b=hu₂ (no. 562).

Accusative: 8 examples: ^cA=ya-na (no. 65), Bi-ra (no. 112), Ma₃=ra=ma₃ (no. 177), Ma=ri=ha (no. 180, Amen. III), Ha=ra⁴³ (no. 294), Ša=m=ša ²A=tu₃=ma₄ (no. 402), Ka=ra=ta M=ru₃=ta (no. 437), Da=ma₃=qa (no. 583).

Genitive: 3 examples: ^cni (no. 79, perhaps a mistake for *^ci=nu), ^cA=q=a=ra=bu=ti₃ (no. 95), N=g=bi (no. 263, private tomb).

Plural / dual / defective⁴⁴ / uncertain: 16 examples: Bi=ta ²=₃ (no. 144, defective), Bi=ta B=n=ta (no. 144), Bi=ta Ša=²=ra (no. 144, Beth + n. div.?), N=^cma₄=na (a suffixed form, no. 244), N=h=ri=na (no. 254, dual), Ru₂=ša Qid=š (no. 285, defective), H=ya=k=ra=ya=m (no. 290, dual), Ha=ra ²=ra

⁴¹To gain a complete picture, one would need to examine the entire corpus of place names, which is beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, by using the selected data, non-Semitic and uncertain place names are completely excluded.

⁴²As collected by S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*.

⁴³But it may be an abbreviated name, cf. Ha=ra ²=ra (no. 294).

⁴⁴“Defective” here means that the vowels were not fully written.

(no. 294, with n. div.), *Ha=ra=t_i=ta* (no. 352, with a suffix *[-ita?]), *Sa=ru₂=na* (no. 372), *Ša-š Ra=ma₃* (no. 278, an adj. or verb form), *Q=b=c^a* *Su₃=mi₃=n* (nos. 369, 423), *Q=r=ta Nd=na* (nos. 268, 437, plural), *Ku=ra=mi₃=n* (no. 479, dual), *Tu₂=b=ya* (no. 525, a *nisbe?*), *Ya-ši₂=pi r=ra* (no. 60, with n. div.).

2. Case in Common Nouns

The evidence for common nouns is more abundant and less complicated to assess. In order to keep the analysis as simple as possible, all clearly plural (and dual) forms were excluded for two reasons: 1) The Semitic plural forms are diptotic and therefore less well differentiated, whereas singular forms are triptotic; 2) Some of the plural forms may be built on Egyptian morphological patterns. The evidence for singular common nouns of both genders is as follows:

Ending with a-vowel 157 examples were identified.⁴⁵

Ending with -r 35 examples: *²a=yu=-r* “stag” (no. 1), *²a=-r* “lion” (no. 17), *²i=ha=-r* “tent” (no. 24), *²as=ba=-r* “whip” (no. 28), *²a=da=-r* (a vessel, no. 45), *ya=bi=-r* “stream” (no. 49), *c=pi₃=-r* “*Apiru*” (no. 70), *u=di₄=-r* “helper” (no. 108), *u=di₄=-r* (chariot parts, no. 109), *b=c=-r* “sea” (no. 114), *bi₄=da=-r* “stick” (no. 149), *pu₂=-r* “beans” (no. 150), *p=d=-r* “bandages” (no. 158), *p=d=-r* “sack” (no. 159), *ma=ha=-r* “officer” (no. 190), *m=hi=-r* “basket” (no. 195), *mas=ta=-r* “office” (no. 202), *ma=ša=-r* “table?” (no. 206), *ma=q=c^a=-r* “firebox” (no. 214), *n=ha=-r* “river” (no. 253), *n=h=-r* “wady” (no. 258), *ha=ta=-r* (basketry, no. 327), *sa=-a=-r* “barley? scrub country?” (no. 358), *sa=ba₂=-r* “strong beer” (no. 366), *s=ga=-r* “fort” (no. 385), *ša=c^a=-r* “scheme” (no. 387), *ša=c^a=-r* “market price” (no. 389), *qa=-r* “end margin” (no. 427), *ka=ma=-r* “tusk” (no. 463), *ka=-r* “saddle” (no. 472), *ka=-r=ka=-r* “stone heap” (no. 485), *tu=pi₂=-r* “scribe” (no. 540), *t=pi₃=-r* “chariot” (no. 542), *d=bi₄=-r* “naos” (no. 561), *da=-n=ra=da=-n=-r* “stick” (no. 586).

End in u-vowel 35 examples: *²a₂=bi=š=tu* (bread, no. 5),⁴⁶ *²a₂=h=n=nu* “tip” (no. 25), *²as=wi=tu* “plank” (no. 27),⁴⁷ *c=di₂=u* “seer” (no. 106, once plural), *bi=n=du* “belt?” (no. 122), *ba₂=-r=ru₂* (type of wood, no. 125), *pa₂=ra=ku* “cattle” (no. 154), *man=nu₂* “maneh” (no. 162, from Akkadian?), *mar=su₂* “new wine” (no. 183), *mar=su₂* (vessel, no. 184), *ma=hi=ru₂* “basket” (no. 195), *ma₄=qa=ru₂* “hearth” (no. 216, final weak), *n=t_i₂=ku* (cast or metal object? no. 267), *ra=ha=su₂* (bread, no. 282, plural?), *r=k=su₂* “equipment” (no. 286), *ru₂=d=n=nu* “laudanum” (no. 288, D. 25, and plural?), *ha=ru₂* “mountain” (no. 294), *h=d=mu₃* “footstool” (no. 304), *ha=ru₂*

⁴⁵The examples are too numerous for individual reference.

⁴⁶Variant with *ta*.

⁴⁷Variant with *ta*.

"street" (no. 343, perhaps vowel harmony if for *[ḥūlu]), *sa-^ca=ru₂* "barley? scrub country?" (no. 358, plural?), *sa=mak=tu* "beam" (no. 370), *sa=ku₃* (military officer, no. 381), *ša=n=b=²u* "trumpet" (no. 403), *q=r=^cu₂* "shield" (no. 432), *q=r=^cu₂* "shield-bearer" (no. 433), *qa=d़u₂* "gypsum" (no. 442, *u* is probably a space filler), *ku=ba=su₂* "basket" (no. 456), *ku=ma=ru₂* "dancer" (no. 462), *k=n=hu₂* "darkness" (no. 468), *ku=ti₂=nu* "charioteer" (no. 506), *ga=ra=bu* (a garment, no. 517, D. 25), *gas=mu* "rainstorm" (no. 522), *ga=sa=ru₂* "ring" (no. 523), *ti₂=gu₂* (wood, no. 558, D. 18), *da=ra=^ctu* "plank" (no. 592).

U- / I-vowel probably resulting from vowel harmony 16 examples: *²ku=nu* (vessel, no. 36), *a=gu₃=su* "belt" (no. 102), *ma=ru₂=²u* "groom, squire" (no. 173), *ma=ša=di=di={t}* "comb" (no. 212), *ma=qu=ru₂=²u / ma=qu₄=ru₂* (vessel, no. 218), *ma=di=di / ma=du=du* (a vessel, no. 238), *na=ti₂=hi* (musical instrument, no. 266), *ha=ru=²u* "ailment" (no. 344), *ha=ru₂=ru₂* (mineral, no. 349), *ha=ru₂=ru₂* "watercourse" (no. 350), *hi=—r=di* (garment, no. 353, D. 21), *qa=ru₂=²u* "visitor" (no. 429), *k=n=nu₂=ru₂* "lyre" (no. 467), *ka=ru₂=²u={t}* "prison" "prison" (no. 474), *ta=ru₂=ru₂* "oven" (no. 531), *ti₂=du=²u* "venison?" (no. 560).

Defective writings or not in group writing 14 examples: *²a—n=q=f=q=f=t* (chariot part, no. 15), *²s=b=t* "chair" (no. 30), *^cg=n* "ringstand" (no. 98), *p=r=h* "blossom" (no. 152), *ma=h=r* "buyer" (no. 194), *ma=r=h* "basket" (no. 195), *ma=da=ha=t* "grindstone" (no. 242), *r=h=d=t* (vessel, no. 279), *ha=ru₂=²t* "ravine" (no. 345), *sa=mak=t* "beam" (no. 370), *s=n=ni* "archer" (no. 371), *ku=d=n* "charioteer" (no. 506), *ta=hi* (chariot parts, no. 538), *da=b=b* (body of water, no. 574).

End in i-vowel 6 examples: *a=g=ni* "ringstand" (no. 98, D. 25), *bi=ka=²i* (fruit tree, no. 141), *ma₄=ša=ka=bi₃* (official, no. 209; the oblique strokes are probably space fillers), *hi=ma₄=ti₂* "power" (no. 335; no *ta* group), *ka=h=si* "chair" (no. 496; *i* may be a space filler), *ku=ti₂* "cup" (no. 502; no *ta* group).

Zero final vowel 4 examples: *²a₂=na=q* "onyx" (no. 14, D. 25), *mu₃=^cid* (no. 161, D. 21), *hi=ru₂=d* (no. 353, D. 25), *d=nm* "furrow" (no. 564, D. 21?).

Metathesis 2 examples: *ma=sa=hi* (for **ma=si=hā*) "amphora" (no. 198), *ru₂=ša=²u* (for **ru₂=²u=ša*) "summit" (no. 285).

In the following quantifications, every significantly different writing was counted once.⁴⁸ Also, since the writings with the sign group  (—r) are so numerous, and since cases of zero final vowel are so rare (and all late), this group must be a variant of Cv signs. Because it is impossible to determine whether final —r stands in place of *ru* or *ra*, all instances have been omitted as irrelevant as have the defective,

⁴⁸If anything, this puts proportionally more stress on the variant writings, since multiple occurrences of the normal orthography are ignored.

erroneous, and non-group writings.⁴⁹ The following results were obtained:

Final <i>A</i> -vowel	157	71.4%
Final <i>U</i> -vowel	35	15.9%
<i>U</i> / <i>I</i> -Vowel Harmony	16	7.3%
Final <i>I</i> -vowel	6	2.7%
Zero Vowel	4	1.8%
Metathesis	2	0.9%
ave.	36.7	16.7%

These results suggest very strongly that common nouns entered the Egyptian language primarily as accusative forms, but also a significant minority also were taken in the nominative case. As the phenomenon of vowel harmony seems to be quite widespread in the Egyptian transcriptions of loan words, it is a fairly safe assumption that in many cases the final *u*-vowel was attracted by harmony to a preceding one. These words could nevertheless be considered as nominative forms, although their occurrence was determined by phonetic factors. The evidence for borrowings in the genitive case is very slight in both volume and in degree of certainty.⁵⁰ That the predominant case is accusative should not be surprising, as there are well known parallels. The Hebrew plural and dual forms, for instance, derive from the oblique / accusative, and French nouns generally derive from Latin accusative forms.⁵¹

3. Loss of Case Endings

The evidence for the loss of case endings is unfortunately inconclusive. Perhaps the best source is the Shishak toponym list. The list, however, seems to contain innovations in the group writing system, and the details are not yet clear. One of the greatest complications is the use of the group *²a*, which seems to be used for the gentilic (and other) endings with the value *ê*. Quite a number of the names seem to lack final vowels (e.g. *Yu-d H=ma₄-ru₂=k* [no. 63], (*P₃-*)^c*A=ma-q* [no. 74]), but the

⁴⁹The group —*r* may indeed be primarily a syllable closing group, but the Egyptians seem to have had some difficulty in distinguishing Semitic *r* plus vowel from *r* without a vowel, especially if it was a trilled *r*. On the other hand, Egyptian *r* was probably a singly flapped or tapped (as proposed in Chapter 1, II, C, above). Such an articulation is difficult without a vowel. Perhaps it was Egyptian phonetics that was the source of confusion between *rV* and *Vr* syllables.

⁵⁰Two of the six are questionable because there was no *a*-vowel sign group available. In two other cases, the oblique strokes are very likely mere space fillers. This leaves only two fairly certain cases.

⁵¹Although there are some exceptions.

reconstructions are often difficult. On the other hand, feminine singular adjectives still seem to end in *-ta* (*Ha=d-ša=ta* [no. 329], *Ru₂=bi=ta*, *Ru₂=bi=ta₅* [no. 277]), which does not rule out the dropping of case endings but certainly implies a conservative tendency. It is hard to believe that the Hebrew names, some of them new to Egyptian toponym lists, were “corrected” to conform to earlier forms, but scribes might have been influenced by their knowledge of other dialects. Or could this be a transitional period, in which dialectal developments were uneven?

4. Case Endings in Bound Forms

Z. Harris, following Burchardt (§173), maintained that case endings were dropped in Nineteenth Dynasty transcriptions of Semitic bound forms, whereas case endings are often found with nouns in the absolute state.⁵² The evidence comes only from proper nouns.

M. sing. *ᶜA=ya-na Ša-su₃* (no. 65), *ᶜ=n Šu₃* (no. 79), *ᶜ=n Q=n=ᶜa=mu₃* (no. 79), *ᶜ=n Na=ᶜa=ma₄* (no. 79), *ᶜ=n Na=ga=ra* (no. 79), *ᶜ=n Ša-su₂* (no. 79), *ᶜ=n G=ru₂=n* (no. 79), *Ba₂=²ru₂ Ra=da* (no. 112), *Bi=ya=ta Da=qu₂=na₂* (no. 113), *Bi=ya=ta c=n=ta* (no. 113), *Bi=ya=ta Da=qu₂=na₃* (no. 113), *Bi=ya=ta Da* (no. 113), *B=c=r Da=pu₂=na* (no. 115), *Ku=r B=c=r* (no. 473), *Bi=n ²I=t_i₂=na* (no. 118), *Bi=n c=n=ta* (no. 118), *Bi=n c=n=ta* (no. 118), *Bi₂=n c=n=ta₅* (no. 118), *Bi=ta ²=₃* (no. 144), *Bi=ta B=n=ta* (no. 144), *Bi=ta N=ta* (no. 144), *Bi=ta H=wa=ru₂=n* (no. 144), *Bi=ta c=A=ru₂=ma₂=m* (no. 144), *Bi=ta Da=b=²* (no. 144), *Bi=ta Ti₂=pu[]* (no. 144), *Bi₄=ta Tu=pi₂=r* (no. 144), *Bu=ta Ra=ta* (no. 144), *Bi=ta₅ c=n=ta₅* (no. 144), *Bi=ta₅ Ya=ru₂=ha=ma* (no. 144), miswritten *B=n=ta Š=m=š* (no. 144), *Yu=d H=ma₄=ru₂=k* (no. 63), *P₃ Na=g=bu c=da^r...¹* (no. 263), *P₃ Na=g=bu Wa=h=t=ru₂=wa=k=[]* (no. 263), *P₃ Na=g=bu ²A₂=ša=ha=ta* (no. 263), *H=r ²=ra* (no. 294), *H=r=m ²=ra* (no. 294), *Ha=ya=d=b=²a Ša=ru₂=n=ru₂=²a* (no. 307), *Ha=ya=d=bi=²a Di=wa=t_i₃* (no. 307), *Šu₅=ma B=c=—fu* (no. 399), *Ša=m=ša Ta=ma₄* (no. 402), *Ša=ma₃=ša ²=tu₃=ma₄* (no. 402), *Š=m=šu ²=tu₂=ma₃* (no. 402), *Sa=ru₂=na Da=ma₃=qa* (no. 372).

F. sing. *²I=d=ma₂{t}=t Ha=na=ni=ya* (no. 41), *Bi₂=n=t_i₂ c=n=ta* (no. 120), *Bi₂=n=t_i₂ c=n=tu* (no. 120), *Bi₂=n=t_i₂ c=n=ta₅* (no. 120), *Bi=—n=ta c=n=ta* (no. 120), *Bi₂=n=ta c=n=ta₅* (no. 120), (and erroneously) *Bi=—n c=n=ta* (no. 120), *Bi₂=ti₂ c=n=ta* (no. 146), *Bi₂=ta c=n=ta* (no. 146), *Ma₄=ša=ka=ta Sa=n₂=ra* (no. 210), *Q=n=ta Ku=ma₄=r* (no. 425), *Q=r=ta c=n=ba* (no. 437), *Qa=ra=ta₅ c=n=bu* (no. 437), *Q=r=ta Nd=na* (no. 437), *Q=r=ta₅ Nd=na* (no. 437), *Qa=ra=ta₅ c=s=[]* (no. 437).

⁵²Harris, *Canaanite Dialects*, pp. 41–42.

M. pl. *B^{-c-}-r=ya Da-pu₂=na* (no. 115), *P₃⁵³ Ha=q=ru₂=²a I=bi=ra=ma₄* (no. 326), *P₃ Ha=q=ru₂=²a n⁵⁴ cA=da=ya* (no. 326), *P₃ Ha=qa=ru₂=²a *Yu=ša=f=ta=²a* (no. 326), *P₃ Ha=qa=ru₂={t} Ša-na=ya=²a* (no. 326), *P₃ Ha=g=ru₂=²a A₂=ru₂=qa=d* (no. 326), *P₃ Ha=g=ru₂=ya Ha=ni=ni=ya* (no. 326).

The quantity and variety of data is fairly limited. Although the figures are to be taken with no small degree of caution, the following results were tabulated for Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasty singular forms:

Final A-vowel	26	59.1%
Defective	6	13.6% ⁵⁵
Final I-vowel	4	9.1%
-N / N	4	9.1%
-R	2	4.5%
Final U-vowel	2	4.5%
ave.	7.3	13.7%

In general, with the exception of *bi=—n* (and variant writings),⁵⁶ bound forms have vocalic endings, mostly with *a*, but also with *i*. The endings in *i* are attested only with feminine singular forms. It is not clear whether these vowels were functioning case endings or were vestiges of an earlier system, such as that operative in Ugaritic.⁵⁷ The fact that in one name the vowel alternates between *i* and *a* suggests that the case system may have still been operative. In Hebrew, where only the slightest remains can be detected, only *i* occurs. In any case, it does not seem justified to say that the case endings of bound forms had been dropped by the Nineteenth Dynasty, even if they no longer indicate case.

II. VERBAL FORMS

A. Conjugations

1. Yaqtul(u): "Imperfect"

The evidence for the prefix conjugation is scarce and restricted to

⁵³In spite of the Egyptian m. sing.(!) definite article, the form is written as a genitilic(?), but is likely a m. pl. construct. "The Fields of the Abiramite Clan."

⁵⁴The use of the Egyptian "indirect genitive" is rare, as bound constructions are almost always reproduced.

⁵⁵Five of the six examples are the common word *c-n* "well."

⁵⁶The two examples ending with -r may or not be Cv syllables.

⁵⁷Cf. G.A. Tuttle, "Case Vowels on Masculine Singular Nouns in Construct in Ugaritic," in G.A. Tuttle, ed. *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor* (Grand Rapids: 1978), pp. 253–68.

personal names, which, in a few cases, are used as or in toponyms. The various vocalic endings may be arbitrary, or they may reflect different modalities of the *yaqtul(u) conjugation: *yaqtulu “indicative,” *yaqtula “subjunctive,” and *yaqtul “jussive.” The short imperfect seems to occur in the only New Kingdom example with a divine name as subject: *Ya^{=c}-q=b²I₃=ra*.

Yaqtul, Short Imperfect: 1) *Ya^{=c}-q=b²I₃=ra*, *Ya^{=c}a=qu₄=b=ru₂*, *Ya^{=c}a=<q>u₄=bi=ru₂*,⁵⁸ *Ya^caqub²Ilu (no. 48); 2) *Ya=-n=ham*, *Ya=n=ham*: *Yanham (no. 54); 3) *Yu=r=h=m*, *Yu-ra=ha=ma*: *Yuruhham? (no. 56).

Yaqtula: 1) *Ya=ma₄=su₃=ra*: *Yamšula (no. 53); 2) *Ya=ha=ma₂=ya*: *Yahmāya (no. 57); 3) *Ya=ha=-n=ma₂*: *? (no. 58); 4) *Ya=sə=ba=ha* *Yašbahā (no. 59).

Yaqtulu: 1) *Ya=-n=di₄=bu*: *Yansību (no. 55).

There is perhaps a second person singular imperfect form—by false or sportive etymology—in some writings of the n. div. Teshub: *Ta=s=ba*, *Ta=s=a=b* for */tašūba/ “(may) you return”⁵⁹ (no. 364).

2. Qatala: “Perfect”

There is only one certain example of a *qatala* verb form in a Canaanite sentence: ²q₂=ba₂=ti₂ *ka=ma²a=-r* */abbádti kamā²arē/ “I destroy you like a lion.” The form has been variously interpreted as a D-stem, G-stem, and as first or second person singular.⁶⁰ Many verb forms resembling **qatala* forms occur in Egyptian transcription. Most, however, are not demonstrably Semitic formations, and they occur as Egyptian infinitives and conjugated verb forms.⁶¹ Even if they are Semitic formations one cannot ascertain whether they are **qatala* forms or infinitives. The rest of the scant evidence is from proper nouns:

S=b=ł B=n(!)-ra *Šuba Ba^cla (no. 364); *Sa=ba₂²I₃=-r* *Šuba²El (no. 364); *Ab₂-sa=qa=bi*, *Ab₂-sa=q=ba* *²Abi šagaba (no. 380); *Mi₃=ta₅=ra-ša=m=c*, *[...]* *m-ša=m=c* *Mitra šama^ca (no. 400). Other possible examples include *Ša=pa=ta*, *²I=ma=na-š=f=ta* (no. 398) and *Ti₂=ku=ru₂-B=c=-r* (no. 556), but these may contain nominal forms.

⁵⁸With elision of ²aleph, as probably in the previous writing.

⁵⁹The false etymology is evident from the “backwards walking legs” determinative, which occurs with Egyptian words meaning “to turn back,” “return,” etc.

⁶⁰The references are noted in no. 6, where this difficult phrase is discussed.

⁶¹See paragraph “D” on Egyptian verb forms, below.

B. Verb Stems

The G-stem is no doubt encountered the most frequently, but a number of forms of the derived stems are also attested in the Egyptian transcriptions. The N-stem is nowhere evident. The evidence for the attested derived stems is as follows:

D-stem: *Ma-—n=tu=ḥa=ta* *Manussaḥata (no. 169); *ma=ra=qā=ḥa=ta, ma=ra=qī=ḥa=ta*: *marahḥiqata “to flee”⁶² (no. 185); *ma=šā=ra=ra* *mašarrera “to attach” (no. 208); *sa=wa=bi=bi* *ṭawbibī (*pole!*) “to draw back” (no. 360).

HtD-stem: *h=r=ṭi₄=qā=ḥa* *hatrahḥaqa “to flee” (no. 299); *ha=ra=ṭi₂=ṭi₂*, *ha=—r=ṭi₂=ṭi₂* *hastattira (i.e. *[hatstattira]) “to do stealthily” (no. 300); *ha=s=t=ka=ta* *hašttaggata (infin.) “to swerve” (no. 302). Possibly also *ma=ra=qī=ḥa=ta* *marahḥiqata “fleeing” (no. 185).⁶³

Š-stem: *S=ha=q=q* *Šahaqīqu “The Growler” (no. 377); *sa=ḥa=ra=‘a* *sahli‘a “to scorn.” (no. 379); ? *ša=ra=ga=ḥi* “passions” (no. 410).

H-stem: *ha=—r=fi* “remedy” (no. 295).

The causative stems are represented by *šafel* and, possibly by *śafel* forms. The *h*-prefix is barely attested, and only occurs once, and then in a derived noun. In the HtD-stem, there is metathesis of initial sibilants and the *t*-infix, as in Hebrew.

C. Nominal Forms of the Verb

1. Infinitives

It is impossible to determine the original forms of the G-stem verb forms, but in the derived stem, there appear to be several infinitives. As a possible *pol’el* infinitive is *sa=wa=bi=bi* “to draw back” (no. 360). For the HtD-stem, there is *ha=s=t=ka=ta* (no. 302, exhibiting final *t*, characteristic of final weak infinitives).

2. Participles

Quite a number of participles occur as nouns, attributes, and in names. The G-stem active forms hold no surprises. The G-stem passive forms probably are with *u*-vowel as in Hebrew, as opposed to the *i*-vowel found in Aramaic, Arabic, etc. The D-stem participles are formed with

⁶²Perhaps, however, it is to be reconstructed *matrahḥiqata, i.e. the HtD-stem with assimilation of *t* to *r*.

⁶³If so, there is possibly assimilation of *t* to *r* in the Egyptian pronunciation. This would not be problematic phonetically if Egyptian *r* were articulated as a “flapped” or “tapped” *r*.

prefixed *m*, but all the writings suggest an *a*-vowel rather than the *u*-vowel that is posited from Arabic and Akkadian.

G-stem: M. sing. active *ya-di^{=c}a *yōdi^ca* “learned” (no. 64); *‘a=di₃=²u *ḥāzi’u* “seer” (no. 106); *‘u=di₄=r* “helper” (no. 108); *maki=ru₂=²u* “merchant” (no. 223); (*P3*) *Ra-wi₂=ti₂* “The Runner” (no. 271); *hu-tm* **hōtima* “destroyer, ravaging” (no. 303); *qa-ra* **qälē?* “roaster” (no. 426); ? *qa=da* **gāza?* “one who goes around” (no. 444); *tu=pi₂=r* “scribe” (no. 540); *da-bi=²i* “troops” (no. 573).

M. sing. passive ? *‘a=du₃=ru₂=n?* (a juice “that which is squeezed out” [no. 110]).

F. sing. passive *ku=-r=²a=ta* **kalū²ata* “caged” (no. 475).

D-stem: M. sing. active *ma-ša-ra-ra* **mašarrera* “to attach” (no. 208).

F. sing. active *ma=ra=qī=ha=ta* **maraḥiqata* “fleeing”⁶⁴ (no. 185).

F. sing. passive *Ma=-n=tu-ha=ta* **Manussahata* “She who has been exiled” (no. 169).

D. Egyptian Verb Forms

The Egyptians apparently borrowed the verbal roots and then treated them as normal Egyptian forms, no doubt with Egyptian vocalizations. This is particularly clear with examples of the suffix conjugation that employ the Egyptian pronouns. The Egyptian infinitive is perhaps the most widely attested verb form, and is not particularly noteworthy, occurring after the preposition *hr* (or zero preposition) and *m* in First Present constructions, etc. Other forms attested include the prospective,⁶⁵ the stative (“old perfective”),⁶⁶ *sdm·n·f*,⁶⁷ and the negative aorist.⁶⁸ This incorporation into the Egyptian system probably did not happen with all verbs, however, as there is a tendency to use Semitic verbs nominally (as infinitives?) in the periphrastic construction with *iry* “to make, do.”⁶⁹

⁶⁴Or possibly an Htd-stem participle. There may have been assimilation of *t* to *r* in the Egyptian pronunciation.

⁶⁵E.g. (*r*) *bi=ra-ku·n* (no. 127); *ša=ra=ma₄·n* (no. 406); *qrī* “to approach” (after *rdī* “to cause,” no. 430); (*bn*) *krp·tw·f* (no. 477).

⁶⁶E.g. *bi=n=du·ti* (no. 121); *ba₂=r=ga·ti* (no. 133); *prḥ* (no. 151); *ru₂=bi=ša* (no. 275); *ha=-n=r* (no. 338); *ka=mn* (no. 459).

⁶⁷E.g. *?i=ša=f·n* (+ n. subj., no. 35); *qrī·n* (+ n. subj., no. 430).

⁶⁸E.g. *bw ‘a=ša=q·i* (no. 92).

⁶⁹E.g. *iry·k ‘a=ma=di* (no. 76); *iry·w na₂=h=ra* (no. 254); *iry·k sa=wa=bi=bi* (no. 360); *irt ša=da* (no. 418); *ir ... ga=wa=ša* (no. 509); *irt ti₂=h=-r* (no. 553); *iry·f da=‘u=q* (no. 570).

DOMAIN OF USE

DURING THE NEW KINGDOM, Semitic words were borrowed from a broad range of areas that can be classified as cultural, social, technical, ecological, etc. To date, little has been done to identify, let alone quantify the particular categories in which foreign vocabulary tends to occur. As an *a priori* assumption, we may surmise that the Egyptians borrowed technical vocabulary to describe new technologies and crafts learned abroad, along with the names of specific products, foods, etc., that were imported or reproduced in Egypt. The use of Semitic words, however, goes far beyond such direct borrowings. They occur, for instance, as local Egyptian descriptive place names (e.g. *Tʒ Ka-ra-pa* “The Escarpment,” no. 478). In some cases, Semitic loans may even have replaced native Egyptian basic vocabulary items.¹ Abstract words such as the interrogative *³i=t₁i₂* “which” (no. 38) may have been adopted to fill a real lexical gap,² but the compound preposition *r-qa=ru₂* “opposite” (no. 431), like the English use of French *vis-à-vis*, occurred alongside native equivalents. Semitic words also appear in the context of cult and religion, state administration, and even arise as symbols of royal authority. These examples represent just a few of the areas in which Semitic vocabulary occurs. In this chapter the material will be divided into two sets of categories. The first set is determined primarily by the material itself and indicates the wide range of occurrence. The second set places the material into a smaller framework of broader, more abstract, categories relating to the world and society, providing a general overview.

There are a number of methodological matters that require consideration. First, and most subjective, is the determination of categories. This cannot be other than an arbitrary decision, although controlled, to a certain extent by the nature of the material itself. A second problem is

¹E.g. perhaps Egyptian *rwry* “outside” was replaced with Semitic (*r*) *bnr* (*l-br*) “out/outside.”

²Words of this sort are not normally borrowed, but ancient Egyptian seems to have lacked a specific interrogative word meaning “which”; in Middle Egyptian, the closest is the rather rare word *sy* (Old Egyptian *zy*) “what . . . ?” / “who . . . ?,” which is possibly the Egyptian cognate of the Semitic deictic *d-*.

the fact that the words studied fit the selected categories with varying degrees of precision. Nouns often correspond to obvious categories with great precision, but not always, e.g. "glowing embers," "street," "gift," "blessing," are rather difficult to categorize. Verbs and adjectives are often even more difficult to categorize. For this reason, the categories labelled "miscellaneous nouns / adjectives" and "miscellaneous verbs" can hardly be avoided. Some words may fit two categories equally well, or were used by the Egyptians in two different categories.³ Nevertheless, in almost all cases it was possible to assign a word to a single category. Finally, all proper nouns were excluded from this study, as they provide little evidence of the areas in which Semitic words were actually used. The only exception to this are a few place names from the Wilbour Papyrus, but only those that seem to be used as descriptions of local topographical features were considered. Also excluded were words whose meanings were so uncertain as to preclude classification.

As there is no definitive system of categorization, the results of the analysis that follows should not be seen as a firm and absolute. Some words might perhaps be placed in different categories, and a new set of categories could be devised by addition, deletion, or amalgamation. The overall outcome, however, would probably not be greatly affected by such differences. The intention of the quantification is above all to indicate general tendencies and show the relative areas of frequency. In short, the figures cited should be taken as relative, and not as absolute values.

There are further limitations to such an analysis that must also be taken into consideration. Helck has maintained that a simple tabulation of categories leads to an incorrect view of the material because one must also consider the type of texts involved, the relative frequency of individual words, and which ones survived into Coptic.⁴ The points Helck raised are valid, especially if one is attempting to assess the impact of loan words (and not just foreign vocabulary) in standard Late Egyptian. Such an assessment is, however, virtually impossible, since we are limited to documents written by educated members of a privileged class and for specific purposes, e.g. to record business transactions, to add local colour to a narrative (Thutmose III Annals, Medinet Habu), or even to give apprentice scribes practice in group writing (the school texts). The purpose of this analysis is not, however, to determine the extent and nature of foreign vocabulary in common use in the Late

³E.g. *i-s=b=t* "chair" (no. 30) designates the royal throne but also a household stool.

⁴Helck, *Beziehungen*, pp. 587–88.

Egyptian vernacular, but rather to examine the areas of use in the documents that we do have, given all their limitations.⁵

The Specific Categories

The following specific categories were selected for comparison. The number of items in a category is first indicated, then the percentage of the 380 word total. Categories with sub-divisions are then broken down. There are 33 categories and the average expected frequency is $(100 \div 33)$ 3.03%. The information is also tabulated in Table 4. The content of the categories is usually clear from the key word, but further details are supplied along with the evidence where needed.

It is obvious from the following data that the military was the area most receptive to Semitic words. Also very frequent are Semitic terms for topographical features, food and beverages, household objects, and vessels. Among the categories least receptive to Semitic words are those of state administration and social groups. The category of abstract words such as prepositions and interrogatives—although extremely limited—is perhaps even larger than one might have expected.

Military Terms 51 (13.4%)

A) Chariot equipment: 14 (3.7%); B) Chariots and chariot parts: 11 (2.9%); C) Military occupations, troops: 11 (2.9%); D) Defence, technology, weapons, equipment: 10 (2.6%); E) Military actions and activities: 5 (1.3%).

A) *?as=ba=—r* “whip” (no. 28), *?i=ti₂=ma₂=ya* “whip handle” (no. 39), *ba₂=ta* (chariot accessory, no. 145), *ma=—n=ta=di* “whip lashes?” (no. 168), *ma=—r=ha* “spear” (no. 179), *ma=ta=di₄=?u* “whip lashes” (no. 233), *ma=ti₂=ta* (chariot accessory, no. 236), *ha=—r=pa* “sword” (no. 324), *s=wa=—r* “horse’s trapper?” (no. 361), *qa₂=—r=?a* “shield” (no. 432), *qu₂=ta{=t}* “spear shaft” (no. 439), *ka=wi=ša=na* “saddle pads” (no. 453), *ku=—r=ti₂* “whip cords” (no. 492), *ti₂=ra=ya=na* “body armour” (no. 546).

B) *?u₂=ma* “floor assembly?” (no. 9), *?an=—n=q=f=q=t* (unknown, no. 15), *?a=ma₂=di* “supports” (no. 77), *?u=di₄=—r* (unknown, no. 109), *ma=—r=ka=ba=ta* “chariot” (no. 189), *ma=hi=ta* (unknown, no. 197), *ha₂=ya=ru₂=ya* “lashings?” (no. 306), *ha=ba* “tire” (no. 332), *hit=—r* (unknown, no. 354), *ta=hi=ra* “leather panels?” (no. 538), *tu=pi=ra=ta₅* “bronze-plated chariot” (no. 542).

⁵As often in Egyptian philology, one can only examine things from the ancient scribe’s point of view, but this is far from meaningless, because for all the peculiarities they may have had, scribes were not writing in a vacuum, and the documents they wrote—including practice materials—reflect contemporary social, economic, and political realities as well as an interest in scribal trivia.

- C)** ${}^2i=—r=^2i=ra$ “guide” (no. 19), ${}^c u=d i_4=—r$ “helper / defender” (no. 108), $ma=ru_2={}^2u$ “groom / squire” (no. 173), $ma=ra=ya=na$ “knight” (no. 175), $ma=ha=—r$ (an officer, no. 190), $na={}^c a=ru_2=na$ “soldiers / special detachment” (no. 245), $s=n=ni$ “chariot archer” (no. 371), $sa=ka={}^2u$ “scout?” (no. 381), $q=ri={}^c u$ “shield bearer” (no. 433), $ku=d=n$ “charioteer” (no. 506), $da=bi={}^2i$ “troops” (no. 573).
- D)** ${}^2i=ha=—r$ “tent” (no. 24), ${}^2as=pu=ta$ “quiver (for arrows)” (no. 34), $m=da=ra-na_2$ (a weapon, no. 241), $ra=bi=ša=ya$ “cuirass” (no. 274), $r=k=su_2$ “gear; tackle” (no. 286), $han=ya=ta$ “javelin” (no. 318), $ka=t=pa$ “sword” (no. 500), $ga=wa=na$ “haversack” (no. 508), $ti_2=pa=ga$ “barracks” (no. 543), $t=r=r=ya$ “siege mound” (no. 548).
- E)** $na_2=sa=k$ “to deploy” (no. 259), $sa=ga$ “to open the way” (no. 382), $ša=da$ “to assail” (no. 418), $q=ri={}^c u$ “to serve as shield-bearer” (no. 434), $da=ra={}^2a$ “to overthrow” (no. 590).

Topography 31 (8.2%)

The category includes natural geological formations, types and qualities of soil, and bodies of water, both natural and constructed:

$yu=bi=—r$ “stream” (no. 49), $ya=ma$ “ocean” (no. 52), ${}^c a=ba_2=ya$ (body of water, no. 67), ${}^c a=ru_2={}^2a$ “ascent” (no. 83), $b={}^c=—r$ “sea” (no. 114), $ba_2=—r=ka=ta$ “pool” (no. 131), $bi=q= {}^c a$ “ravine?” (no. 140), $pa=ha=—r=ta$ (body of water, no. 156), $ma=ri=ha$ “salty land” (no. 180), $ma=ha=da=—r=ta$ “fish pond” (no. 193), $ma=š=r=ru_2$ “plain / wetland” (no. 207), $ma=q=qu_2$ “damp soil” (no. 221), $ma=ga=ra=ta$ “cave” (no. 228), $n=ha=—r$ “river” (no. 253), $n=ḥ=—r$ “wady” (no. 258), $ru_2=ša={}^2u$ “peak, summit” (no. 285), $ha=ra$ “mountain” (no. 294), $ha=ma=ka=ta$ “(body of water, no. 314), $ha=—r$ “canal” (no. 322), $ha=pa$ “shore” (no. 334), $ha=ru_2={}^2u=t$ “ravine” (no. 345), $ha=—r=ba$ “desert” (no. 346), $ha=ru_2=ru_2$ “channel” (no. 350), $hi=ra=q=ta=\{ta=t\}$ “slippery ground” (no. 351), $sa=ga=ba_2=ya=na$ (body of water, no. 384), $ša=ga=—r$ “ditch?” (no. 415), $ša=di=ru_2=ta$ “chasm” (no. 419), $ka=ra=pa$ “escarpment” (no. 478), $ka=—r=ka=—r$ “stone heap” (no. 485), $ga=ra=ya$ “stream” (no. 515), $da=b=b$ (body of water, no. 574).

Food & Beverages 28 (7.4%)

- A)** Baked Goods and Flour: 9 (2.4%); **B)** Fruits and Vegetables: 8 (2.1%);
C) Grains and Beans: 5 (1.3%); **D)** Meat: 3 (0.8%); **E)** Beverages: 3 (0.8%).

- A)** ${}^2a_2=bi=š=tu$ “hardtack” (no. 5), ${}^2i=pa_2=ta$ “biscuits” (no. 7), ${}^c ga=sa$ (baked good, no. 101), $ma=ru_2=ru_2$ “(baked good, no. 178), $—r=bi=ka$ (fine bread / pastry, no. 276), $ra=ha=su_2$ “pan bread?” (no. 282), $ša=ha=qa$ (type of bread, no. 411), $ka=ma=ha$ (type of bread, no. 464), $tu=ru_2=ta$ “fine wheat flour” (no. 550).

- B) $^2u_2=fi=ta$ (an edible plant, no. 8), $^2an=-n=ra=ha=man_2$ “pomegranate” (no. 12), $^2idal=n=-r=ga$ (a sweet melon, no. 43), $bi=ka=^2a$ “pear?” (no. 141), $n=k=pa_2=ta$ (an edible plant, no. 260), $hi=t_2=na$ “lettuce / garlic” (no. 355), $d=p=hu$ “apple” (no. 563), $di_3=tu$ “olives” (no. 594).
- C) $^2a=-r=\dot{si}_2=na$ “lentils” (no. 84), $^2a=di=na$ “wheat” (no. 104), $pu_2=-r$ “beans” (no. 150), $ma_5=^2u=-r=ta$ (unknown, no. 160), $ha=-r=na=ta$ (a cereal, no. 297).
- D) $^2a=yu=-r$ “stag” (no. 1), $ga=-r=da$ “morsels (of meat)?” (no. 521), $\dot{ti}_2=du=^2u$ “venison?” (no. 560).
- E) $mar=su_2$ “must (new wine)” (no. 183), $ha=ma=da$ “vinegar / low-grade wine” (no. 316), $sa=ba_2=-r$ (a beer or ingredient thereof, no. 366).

Household Objects 27 (7.1%)

Including commodities for use and barter. Vessels are not included, nor are tools and equipment used in crafts and trades.

- A) Clothing: 8 (2.1%),⁶ B) Furniture: 6 (1.6%); C) Miscellaneous items: 13 (3.4%).
- A) $^2a=ga=su$ “belt” (no. 102), $bi=n=du$ “belt?” (no. 122), $hi=-r=di$ (garment / purse, no. 353), $sa=ga$ “sackcloth” (no. 383), $ka=na=ta$ “cloak?” (no. 471), $ku_2=\dot{ti}_2=ta$ (fine garment, no. 505), $ga=ra=bu$ (a garment, no. 517), $ga=sa=ru_2$ “ring” (no. 523).
- B) $^2=s=b=t$ “chair” (no. 30), $pa=ga$ “chest” (no. 157), $ma_2=\dot{sa}=-r$ “table?” (no. 206), $h=d=mu_3$ “footstool” (no. 304), $ku=ra=ku=ra$ “couch, divan” (no. 486), $ka=h=st$ “chair” (no. 496).
- C) $^2g=n$ “ringstand” (no. 98), $^2=ga-na$ “handle, knob” (no. 99), $ma=-r=q=da=na$ “chopper” (no. 186), $ma-\dot{sa}=di=di=t$ “comb” (no. 212), $ma_4=q=ra=ru$ “hearth, oven” (no. 216), $ma_2=qi_2=ra$ “staff” (no. 217), $ma=da=ha=t$ “mortar, hand-mill” (no. 242), $\dot{ha}_2=ba=ra$ “rope?” (no. 308), $h=-r=ya$ “dung (as fuel)” (no. 323), $\dot{sa}=b=d\{=t\}$ “staff, rod” (no. 397), $\dot{sa}=ka=ba=ra=ka=ba$ “upper and lower millstones” (no. 413), $ka=-r$ “(donkey) saddle” (no. 472), $da=-n=da=n=r\{=t\}$ “stick” (no. 586).

Vessels 24 (6.3%)

A) Metal and Ceramic Containers: 15 (3.9%); B) Crates, Bundles, Bales, Sacks: 5 (1.3%); C) Baskets: 4 (1.1%).

- A) $^2=ku=na$ (large vessel, no. 36), $^2a_2=da=-r(\dot{ta})$ (vessel, no. 46), $ma=(n=)$ $\underline{d}=q=ta$ (large vessel, no. 243), $ma=ru_2=ya=ni=ta$ (a vessel, no. 176),

⁶Some of the clothing items may have been luxury goods, but given the wealth of goods found in some of the Deir el-Medina tombs (e.g. that of Kha^c [E. Schiaparelli, *Relazione sui lavori della missione archeologica italiana in Egitto (anni 1903–1920)*, vol. 2 (Turin: 1927 (?).)], perhaps these are not out of place in a list of household goods.

mar-su₂ (a vessel, no. 184), *ma=sa=hi(-ta)* “amphora” (nos. 198, 199), *ma=qu=ru₂=²u* “goblet?” (no. 218), *ma=di=di* (a vessel, no. 238), *r=h=d=t* (a vessel, no. 279), *ra=ha=ba* (a vessel, no. 281), *ša=wa=b=ti* (a vessel, no. 392), *ku=ti₂* “cup” (no. 502), *ti₂=pa=ra* “punch bowl” (no. 541), *ti₂=ra=ba* “punch bowl?” (no. 547), *da=ha=-r=ta* “jar, bowl” (no. 593).

- B) *p=d=-r* “sack, bale” (no. 159), *ma₂=hi=ra=ta* “sack” (no. 197), *ma=ga=sa=pa* “crate” (no. 230), *ha-ta=-r* “bale?” (no. 327), *ku=ra=sa* “(leather) sack” (no. 483).
- C) *ma=hi=ru₂* “basket” (no. 195), *ku=ba=sa* “basket” (no. 456), *ka=-r=ha=ta* (a basket, no. 481), *ta₃=h=ba=sa=ta* (a basket, no. 537).

The Body & Medicine 16 (4.2%)

A) Diseases, Injuries, Conditions / States of the Body: 8 (2.1%); B) Parts of the Human Body: 4 (1.1%); C) Medicinal Ingredients, Bandages, Healing: 4 (1.1%).

- A) *“a=ra=ši₂=na* “scabies?” (no. 85), *pa₂=-r=ti₂* “laceration?” (no. 155), *ha=ma=ka=ta* (a disease, no. 315), *ha₂=-n=ra* “to have strabismus” (no. 320), *ha=-n=-r* “to be hoarse” (no. 338), *ha=ru₂=²u* “ailment” (no. 344), *ka=man* “blindness” (nos. 459–461), *da-na=na* “bristling of the hair” (no. 584).
- B) *²u₂=da=mi₂=na* (something in the intestines, no. 44), *qu₄=-r=na=ta* “foreskin” (no. 436), *ka=pa* “palm, sole” (no. 457), *ga=ra=ta* “kidneys” (no. 520).
- C) *“du₃=ru₂=n* (an ingredient, perhaps “extract,” no. 110), *p=d=-r* “bandages” (no. 158), *na=ha=ša* (a medicine, no. 257), *ha=-r=fi* “remedy” (no. 295).

Motion 12–13 (3.2%–3.4%)

²a₂=ba₂=ti₂? “to go astray?” (no. 6), *ma=ra=q=ha=ta* “to flee” (no. 185), *na₂=h=ra* “to flow” (no. 254), *n=g=²u* “to arrive / touch” (no. 262), *h=r=ti=qa=ha* “fleeing” (no. 299), *h=s=ma₃=q* “to rage” (no. 301), *ha=s=t=ka=ta* “to swerve” (no. 302), *ha=fi=da* “to rush” (no. 310), *sa=wa=bi=bi* “to draw back” (no. 360), *q=r=²* “to approach” (no. 430), *qa=da* “to run around” (no. 444), *ka=ra=su₂* “to frisk, leap” (no. 482), *ta=-r=ra* “to race?” (no. 532).

Emotions 12 (3.2%)

Emotion, Passion, and related Actions:

c=m=q “to have sexual intercourse” (no. 75), *“u=-r=du₂={t}* “to terrify” (no. 87), *bi=ra=ga* “to be happy” (no. 133), *ba=ha=-n=ra* “to shame” (no. 137), *ma₂=ru₂=²a* “fright” (no. 174), *na₂=wa=ti₂* “to tremble” (no. 248), *ha₂=ma=-n=ra* “to have compassion” (no. 311), *ha₂=-n=ra=ga* “to be embarrassed” (no. 321), *ša=ra=ga=hi* “passions” (no. 410), *ša=qa* “to be impelled (sexually)” (no. 412), *ku=ma₄=sa* “cowardice” (no. 465), *di=di* “amorous, lustful” (no. 568).

Agriculture & Animal Husbandry 11–12 (2.9%–3.2%)

Including horse types:

$^2=bi=ra$ “stallion” (no. 3), $^2i_2=-r=ya$ “ram” (no. 18), $^c=ma=di$ (type or state of field, no. 78), $pa_2=ra=ku$ “cattle” (no. 154), $ma=da=^c a$ “produce” (no. 239), $ha_2=ma=-r$ “ass” (no. 312), $sa=^c a=ru_2?$ “barley (field)?” (no. 358), $sa=ba_2=-r$ “spikes (of the orchard)” (no. 365), $ga=wa$ (a type of horse, no. 507), $ti_2=ra$ “mound” (no. 527), $ti_2=ha_2=ba$ “stall?” (no. 552), $d=nm$ “furrow” (no. 564).

Architecture 10 (2.6%)

Including architectural features and specific types of buildings:

$^c=a=ra=ta$ “upper chamber” (no. 86), $man=nu_2=ta$ (part of sarcophagus or tomb, no. 167), $mak=ta=ra$ “tower” (no. 224), $ra=ga=ta$ “compartment (in a ramp)” (no. 287), $s=ga=-r$ (secured building, no. 385), $sa=d=b=ta$ “hall” (no. 386), $\check{š}a=^c a=ra$ “gate” (no. 390), $ka=ru_2=^2u\{=t\}$ “prison” (no. 474), $ta=-r=^2a$ “door, gate” (no. 528), $ti_2=ka=-r$ “tower gate” (no. 555).

Tools & Equipment 9 (2.4%)

Tools, equipment, and vehicles used in crafts, trades, and construction but not ordinary household implements:

$^c=a=ga=ra=ta$ “wagon” (no. 100), $bi=\check{š}a$ “axe” (no. 138), $ma=sa=ta=ha$ “(bird) trap” (no. 203), $ma=q=^c a=-r$ “fire box (of baker's oven)” (no. 214), $mak=ma=ru_2=ta$ “fishnets” (no. 222), $ma=ti=pa=-r=ta$ “chisel?” (no. 234), $ha=-n=ra$ “chisel, pickaxe” (no. 337), $qa=-r=da=na$ “axe” (no. 438), $ta=ru_2=ru_2$ “(baker's) oven.”

Raw Materials 9 (2.4%)

Includes raw materials and building supplies:

$^2as=wa=ta$ “plank” (no. 27), $ba_2=-r=ru_2=ya$ (wood used for chariot construction, no. 125), $sa=^c a=ra=ta$ “wool” (no. 359), $sa=mak=ta$ “beam” (no. 370), $qa=da$ “gypsum” (no. 442), $ka=ma=-r$ “ivory” (no. 463), $ti_2=ga$ (type of luxury wood, no. 558), $da=pa_2=ha$ (lumber, no. 578), $da=ra=^c tu$ “plank” (no. 592).

Civilian Occupations 9 (2.4%)

Includes all non-military occupations or professions, mostly private although some were employees of the state bureaucracy:

$man=nu=sa$ (type of scribe, no. 166), $mu_2=ra=h=mu_4$ “salt workers” (no. 181), $ma=h=r$ “buyer” (no. 194), $mak=ru_2=^2u$ “merchant” (no. 223), $qa=ra$ “roaster” (no. 426), $qa=da$ “plasterer” (no. 443), $ku=ma=ru_2$ “dancer” (no. 462), $tu=pi_2=-r$ “scribe” (no. 540), $da=pa=qa$ “dancer / acrobat” (no. 580).

Force 8–9 (2.1%–2.4%)

Force, violence, destruction:

${}^2a_2=ba_2=ti_2?$ “to destroy / go astray” (no. 6), ${}^2i=\check{š}a=f$ “to scorch (a town)” (no. 35), $na_2={}^c a-\check{š}a$ “raging (lions, kings)” (no. 246), $n={}^c=\check{š}={}^2u$ “to overpower” (no. 247), $hu_2=tm$ “ravaging” (no. 303), $\check{hi}=ma_4=ti_2$ “(violent) power” (no. 335), $qa=da=\check{ha}$ “to break off / grind” (no. 451), $ku=ra=ta$ “slaughter / sword” (no. 491), $ta=\check{ha}=sa$ “to pulverize” (no. 535).

Political Terms 8 (2.1%)

Including terms of foreign relations and diplomacy, titles, treaties, taxes, tribute:

${}^c a=du=ta$ “conspiracy” (No. 105), $bi=ra=ta$ “treaty of submission” (no. 135), $mu_3={}^c id$ “assembly / town council” (no. 161), $man=\check{h}=ta$ “gift, tribute” (no. 165), $ma_4=-n=da=ta$ “tax, tribute” (no. 170), $n=\check{h}=ri$ (title of Syrian leader, no. 256), $\check{h}=ba_2=-r$ “(international) trading partner” (no. 333), $\check{š}a=ra=ma$ “to seek peace” (no. 407).

Flora 7–8 (1.8%–2.1%)

Primarily wild plants and their parts:

${}^2an=-n=ru_2=na$ “oak tree” (no. 11), ${}^2as=ba_2=-r$ (bushes, no. 29), $ya=ba=-r$ (a type of grass or reed, no. 50), ${}^c s=ba$ “grassy patch?” (no. 88), $p=r=\check{h}$ “blosom” (no. 152), $sa={}^c a=ru_2?$ “scrub country” (no. 358), $qa=da$ “thornbush” (no. 445), $\check{di}=\underline{di}$ “flower” (no. 595).

Fauna 7 (1.8%)

Wild animals (including insects), their parts, and things associated with them:

${}^2a=-r$ “lion” (no. 17), ${}^c p=\check{š}a=ya=t$ “beetle” (no. 72), $ma=-n=-r =wa=su_2$ “bird nest” (no. 164), $r=ba=ya$ “lioness” (no. 273), $\check{h}=-n=ra$ “fangs (of lion)” (no. 336), $qa=da=ra$ “fledgeling, chick” (no. 450), $\underline{da}=wa=ta$ (stinging insect, no. 572).

Crafts 7 (1.8%)

The names of crafts and activities involved in them:

$ma=\check{š}a=ra=ra$ “to affix” (said of chariot manufacture, no. 208), $ma=ga=sa$ (metalworking activity, no. 229), $mt=r=t$ “cordage” (no. 232), $n=ti_2=ku$ “(metal) casting?” (no. 267), $\check{ha}=ti_2$ “to overlay, inlay, mount” (no. 328), $ga=pa$ (activity involved in chariot manufacture, no. 511), $ga=ra=ba$ “to shave, plane” (no. 516).

Minerals 6 (1.6%)

${}^2a_2=na=q$ “onyx / lead / tin” (no. 14), ${}^2a_2=-r=qa=bi=sa$ “crystal” (no. 22), $\check{ha}=ru_2=ru_2$ (unknown, no. 349), $\check{š}a=ba=ya$ “agate?” (no. 395), $ka=bi=ra=ta$

“sulphur” (no. 455), *ku=t=m{t}* “gold” (no. 501).

***Religion & Cult* 6 (1.6%)**

ya=qa=ma “pillar / statue?” (no. 62), *a=ma=ra=ya=t* “Milk Cow” (epithet of ^cAnat, no. 73), ^c*di_3=^2u* “Saviour (of the powerless)” (epithet of Amun, no. 108), *qa=da=da* “to gash?” (no. 452), *k=t_2=ma_4* “divination, omen, decision (based on augury)” (no. 503), *d=ba_2=r* “naos, inner sanctuary” (no. 561).

***Settlements & Habitation* 6 (1.6%)**

²*as=ba* “hut” (no. 31), *ma=-n=c=a=ta* “residence, estate” (no. 163), *ma=ša=^2aba* “watering place” (no. 205), *ha=ru_2* “street” (no. 343), *ša=ku=na* “watering place?” (no. 414), *qa=ru_2=ya* “to dwell” (no. 428).

***Ointments & Fragrance* 5 (1.3%)**

Includes ointments, unguents, incense, fragrances:

^c*=b=-r* (unknown, but possibly “liquid myrrh,” no. 68), *n=k=fi=ta{=r}* “*nikiptu* oil” (no. 261), *ru_2=d=nu* “laudanum” (no. 288), *ha=ra=pa=ta* “water perfumed with galbanum” (no. 348), *qa=da=ru_2=ta* “incense” (no. 440).

***Disparagement & Abuse* 5 (1.3%)**

ha=-n=ra=fi “reproach” (no. 340), *n=ra=ha* “to revile” (no. 251), *sa=ha=ra=c=a* “to scorn” (no. 379), *qab=c=a* “to tease” (no. 424), *t_2=h=-r* “to mock” (no. 553).

***Music* 4 (1.1%)**

^c*a=ni-ni* “to sing / pipe?” (no. 81), *na=t_2=ḥi* (musical instrument, no. 266), *ša=n=b=^2u* “trumpet” (no. 403), *k=n=nu_2=ru_2* “lyre” (no. 467).

***Abstract* 4 (1.1%)**

Including prepositions, interrogative words, adverbs:

²*i=t_2* “which, what, who” (no. 38), (r) *ba=-n=ra* “out” (no. 119), (r) *qa=ru_2* “to, towards” (no. 431), *ka=ma* “like” (no. 458).

***Justice & Oppression* 4 (1.1%)**

^c*=š=g(a)* “to extort, defraud” (no. 92), *a=ša=qu* “acts of oppression” (no. 93), *ga=wa=ša* “crooked actions” (no. 510), *ga=ni=sa* “violence, injustice” (no. 512).

***Weights & Measures* 4 (1.1%)**

man=nu_2 “maneh” (no. 162), *ma-di* “measure?” (no. 237), *s=-r=hut=ta* “stalks, bunches” (no. 37), *qa=da=ma_2* “handful” (no. 446).

Legal Terms 3 (1.1%)

Including crime, investigations, and punishment, contractual agreements:

‘a=du=tā “conspiracy” (no. 105), *bi=ra=tā* “obligatory labour” (no. 135), *ba₂=da₂=r* “rod” (an instrument of torture used in interrogations, no. 149).

Administration 3 (0.8%)

Terms dealing with state administration:

mas=ta=r “office, chancellery” (no. 202), *ma=ša=ka=ba* (tax or customs officer, no. 209), *ša=wa=ša=tā* “administration?” (no. 394).

Meteorological Terms 3 (0.8%)

sa=ra=qu₂ “snow” (no. 375), *k=n=ḥu₂* “dark of night” (no. 468), *gas=mu* “storm, tempest” (no. 522).

Social Terms 2 (0.5%)

Designations of social groups or status:

‘=pi=ru₂ “members of the social group called ‘Apiru’” (no. 70), *qa=ru₂=²a* “resident alien” (no. 429).

Miscellaneous Nouns & Adjectives 14 (3.7%)

bi=ra=ku₂ “greetings” (no. 128), *bi=–r=ku* “gifts” (no. 129), *ma=ha=ri=na* “praise” (no. 191), *mas=ta* “galley” (no. 201), *n=‘=mu* “pleasant” (no. 244), *n=ha=ru₂=²u* “fugitives” (no. 255), *ša=‘a=–r* “market price” (no. 389), *ša=ra=ma₄* “peace” (no. 408), *ša=ha=qa* “dust cloud” (no. 411), *qa=–r=* “end margin of papyrus” (no. 427), *qu₄=–r=ma₄=tā* “ashes, embers” (no. 435), *da=‘a=q=ta* “cries” (no. 571), *d=ma=t* “thirsty” (no. 581), *da=na=na* “torments / arduous endeavours” (no. 585).

Miscellaneous Verbs 19 (5.0%)

ya=di=‘a “to be knowledgeable” (no. 64), *‘a=ma₂=di* “to stand firm” (no. 76), *bi=n=du* “to gird (clothes)” (no. 121), *ba=–r=qa* “to sparkle” (no. 126), *bi=ra=ku* “to kneel, bow” (no. 127), *bi=qa=ya* “to open?” (no. 139), *pa=–r=ša* “to split open” (no. 153), *m=gā=–r* “to broil, grill” (no. 227), *nm* “to sleep” (no. 249), *na=ti₂=‘a* “to desert, divorce” (no. 265), *ha=ra=ti₂=ti₂* “to do stealthily” (no. 300), *sa=–r=hi* “to strip off” (no. 374), *s=hi=na=ša* “to be provoked” (no. 378), *ša=‘ra* “to scheme” (no. 388), *ša=–n=ra=fi* “to be dishevelled” (no. 404), *ša=–r=ma* “to greet” (no. 406), *k=r=p* “to efface” (no. 477), *da=‘a=q* “to cry out” (no. 570), *da=b=q=b=q* “to soak” (no. 575).

The Broader Picture

The previous division of categories was more or less determined by the material itself. One can, however, classify the same words by broader categories reflecting various aspects of human endeavour and world view. This provides a more general view of the areas of life in which foreign vocabulary was apt to be used. The results suggest that vocabulary connected with the environment was particularly common, as was—not surprisingly—the vocabulary of warfare. Other areas with a high rate of foreign words include home life, activities, and abstract notions. The area of leisure / luxury yields a surprisingly high level of foreign vocabulary. This no doubt reflects the nature of the texts (e.g. royal inscriptions with lists of luxury items taken as booty and received as tribute) as well as the relatively high standard of living of those who produced and read the texts. The categories of legal, political, religious, social, and royal life were clearly not key areas of borrowing. Social terms are few, but reflect foreign contacts with Egypt, namely the *'Apiru* social-group, and several words dealing with alien residency (e.g. *qa=ru₂=²a*, no. 429). In summary, the areas with heavier levels of borrowing reflect the expanded world of the Egyptian Empire, the introduction of new technologies in warfare and economic production, as well as a familiarity with quite a number of products employed in ordinary households and luxury goods enjoyed by the upper classes. In contrast, borrowing was very slight where long established institutions are concerned: e.g. law, politics, and the kingship. These are, of course, precisely the areas in which the Egyptians no doubt felt little need for innovation.

Fourteen general categories were selected, and the total number of examples is 391, slightly larger than previously, as a few words could be placed in the more general categories, but were too uncertain to fit the specific categories. The average expected frequency is (100 ÷ 14) 7.1%. The information is also tabulated in Table 5.

Ecology 63 (16.1%)

This includes flora, fauna, topographical formations, etc.

Warfare 59 (15.1%)

Military personnel, livestock, weapons, accoutrements, architecture, actions, and activities.

Household 50 (12.8%)

Household commodities for use and trade, basic foods, domestic animals, household implements.

Economic 43 (11.0%)

Agricultural and commodity production, labour, means of production (e.g. tools, equipment, raw materials).

Leisure & Luxury 43 (11.0%)

Art, music, entertainment, luxury foods, goods, and raw materials. Also royal luxury goods taken as booty in foreign wars.

Activities 42 (10.7%)

Nouns and verbs designating actions, activities, and movement.

Abstract 38 (9.7%)

Nouns and verbs designating abstract notions, mental states, conditions, and properties.

Health 17 (4.3%)

The parts of the human body, health, and medicine.

Architecture 12 (3.1%)

Buildings, their parts, and construction techniques.

Legal 7 (1.8%)

Crime, violence, investigation, interrogation, and punishment.

Political 7 (1.8%)

Domestic politics, conspiracies, foreign affairs, tribute, etc.

Religious 5 (1.3%)

Cult, magic, divine epithets.⁷

Society 4 (1.0%)

Social groups, formations, settlement patterns, institutions.

Royal 1 (0.3%)

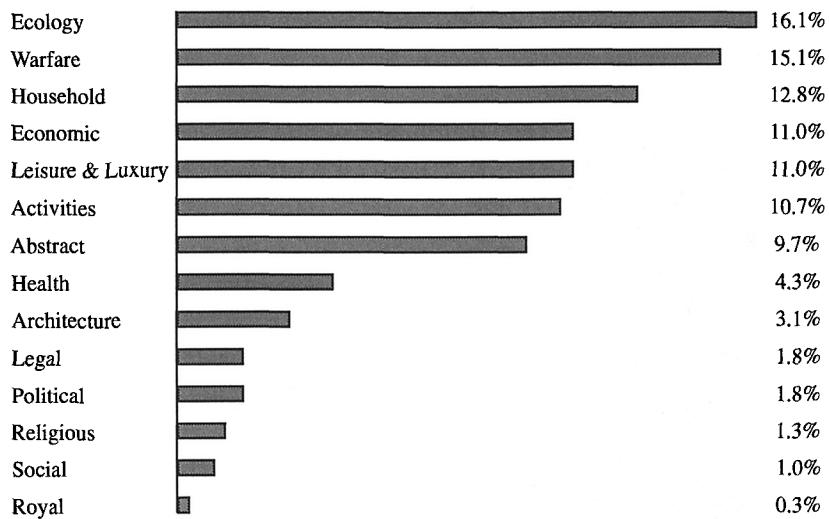
Royal propaganda, insignia, symbols.

⁷Obviously more borrowing from this sphere was involved than is reflected here because the gods and their sacred places were excluded from this examination. Also, the evidence for this category might be raised slightly by the inclusion of things such as incense, which were listed under luxury goods.

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF SEMITIC WORDS
BY NARROWER CATEGORIES

Military Terms	13.4%
Topography	8.2%
Food & Beverages	7.4%
Household Objects	7.1%
Vessels	6.3%
Body & Medicine	4.2%
Motion	3.2%-3.4%
Emotions	3.2%
Agriculture	2.9%-3.2%
Architecture	2.6%
Tools	2.4%
Raw Materials	2.4%
Civilian Occupations	2.4%
Force	2.1%-2.4%
Political Terms	2.1%
Flora	1.8%-2.1%
Fauna	1.8%
Crafts	1.8%
Minerals	1.6%
Religion & Cult	1.6%
Habitation	1.6%
Ointments & Scents	1.3%
Disparagement	1.3%
Music	1.1%
Abstract	1.1%
Justice & Oppression	1.1%
Weights & Measures	1.1%
Legal Terms	1.1%
Administration	0.8%
Meteorology	0.8%
Social Terms	0.5%
Misc. Nouns/Adj.	3.7%
Misc. Verbs	5.0%

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF SEMITIC WORDS
BY BROADER CATEGORIES

THE GENRES OF TEXTS

H. VON DEINES countered the common view that Late Egyptian is teeming with foreign words, maintaining that in only a small number of texts—which required the use of such vocabulary—were foreign words used in abundance:¹

Bei einer Ordnung und Untersuchung der im Neuen Reich in das Ägyptische eingedrungenen Fremdwörter ... auf ihr Vorkommen in den Texten hin und auf die Erfassung ihrer kulturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung, zeigte es sich, daß—abgesehen von den Hunderten von Namen fremder Völker, Orte und Personen—sich die fremden Appelativa und Verben gar nicht so massenhaft in den Texten finden, wie gewöhnlich angenommen wird. Die fremden Wörter treten im allgemeinen gehäuft nur in einer kleinen Zahl von Texten auf, in denen der Inhalt ihre Verwendung erfordert.

Although it can easily be demonstrated that certain texts contain an extraordinarily high ratio of foreign words, for example P. Anastasi I and some passages in the Medinet Habu inscriptions, it should not be inferred that Semitic words were not in current use in a fairly broad range of textual genres.² The more noteworthy genres of texts containing Semitic words are discussed in this chapter, and a fuller picture of the range of genres can be gained from the data in Table 6, which indicates the number of words found per genre and the proportion of *hapax legomena* within each genre. The latter set of figures may serve as a rough indicator of the degree of absorption into the language, as the mundane business texts, letters, etc. have a low proportion of *hapax legomena* (i.e. they use more basic vocabulary), in contrast to educational materials such as the school texts and the onomastic texts. The overall occurrence by genre indicates the relative importance of a particular genre for the transmission of foreign words, but gives no idea

¹H. von Deines, "Die Nachrichten über das Pferd und den Wagen in den ägyptischen Texten," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* vol. 1 (1953), p. 1. The position of von Deines was followed by W. Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 552.

²By way of a modern analogy, one expects to find more foreign vocabulary in a book on French cooking than in a computer manual.

of the proportion of foreign to native vocabulary in any given genre.³ The results do, however, indicate that Semitic words were in common use—even if not always teeming—in virtually every genre of Egyptian writing.

School Texts

The single largest source of Semitic words is the body of school texts (38.7%), which include the collection of short texts known as “miscellanies” and the thematic lexical lists known as the “onomastica.” The Miscellanies are collections of texts from a variety of genres: model letters, satires, moral entreaties, hymns, travelogues, and model administrative texts requisitioning food, chariot equipment, etc. The high incidence of foreign vocabulary is probably due to their instructional use, the goal being to teach a smattering of Canaanite vocabulary and especially to inculcate the group writing system. Nevertheless, the particular genres and topics also determine the frequency of foreign words. Pieces satirizing military life in the foreign service obviously contain a higher proportion of foreign words than do hymns to Amun, for example. Included in this category is also the long text of P. Anastasi I, which has as its central theme the description of the life of a charioteer / scribe in Canaan. The text also includes a math quiz and a test on Canaanite geography, and, in general, serves as a display case of scribal talents and trivia. Another text included here is the “Poem to the King’s Chariot”⁴ also abounds in exotica, employing not only terms designating chariot parts and equipment, but a wealth of rare Canaanite words. These texts are also listed separately in Table 6.⁵ The school texts contain a very high proportion of *hapax legomena* (30.8%). This is especially the case with the Chariot poem (56.3% of the Semitic words are *hapax legomena*).

Accounts, Administrative Texts

This genre includes documents that list commodities and record payments, distribution of goods, delivery of supplies, collection of taxes, etc. These texts are both of private individuals and of state (or local) administration. They range from royal documents, such as P. Harris I

³A study of this question, given its immense scope, will remain impossible until the whole of New Kingdom literature is available for computer analysis.

⁴O. Edinb. 916 and O. Turin 57365.

⁵Classification by genre is not a hard and fast matter. One might wish to categorize P. Anastasi I and the Chariot Poem differently, but since they are identified, one can adjust the figures accordingly.

(large portions), to commodity lists on ostraca. The vocabulary seems to consist mostly of foods, products, tools, and in P. Wilbour, titles and topographical features. Although it is impossible to establish the proportion of foreign to native vocabulary in any of the genres, Semitic words seem to be in quite common use in these “real” texts, providing 16.9% of the Semitic words in this study. The *hapax* rate in this genre is very low (9.3%), suggesting that the vocabulary was fairly basic.

Historical Narratives

Starting with the Annals of Thutmose III, the New Kingdom rulers left inscriptions celebrating their foreign exploits and unswerving courage in battle. These texts, of course, employ Semitic vocabulary to designate foreign products, military units and their equipment, and topographical features, but they also use Semitic words to add colour. Some of these words may not have been in common use, but the meanings would have been fairly easily surmised from the context.⁶ The texts also seem to contain words, such as *ša-ra-ma* “peace” (no. 408), that, although not part of the everyday vocabulary, were probably understood by everyone. Most of the texts in the genre are prose narratives, but one version of Ramses II’s Qadesh battle is in verse. Also included in this genre are quarry inscriptions that commemorate major expeditions. The texts contain a fairly high proportion of *hapax legomena* (19.5%).

Magical / Oracular Texts

Although not numerically a major source of Semitic words (5.5%), given that such texts are not overly abundant, the use of Semitic vocabulary seems to be fairly extensive. The contexts are frequently Canaanitish, with references to Ba’al, ‘Anat, and Horon.⁷ The oracular-amuletic decrees, however, make free use of Semitic words regardless of the context.

Religious Texts

Semitic words are found in hymns, prayers, and in the Book of the Dead. Some of the songs were part of the official cult⁸ and others are

⁶E.g. the Amenophis II stele: *D3-n Hm-f ²I-r-—n-tu₂ hr mw m h-s-ma₃-q mi Ršp.* “His Majesty crossed the Orontes over water that raged like Reshep.” And the phrase: *dw n m³t qa-da-ha, ta-ha-sa, dmiw n s³tw* “a mountain of granite that breaks, crushes, and presses into the ground.”

⁷Especially in P. Chester Beatty VII, P. Magic. Harris, and P. Leiden 343.

⁸E.g. P. Berlin 3035; KRI IV 30, 6.

personal psalms.⁹ Almost all deal with Egyptian deities.¹⁰ It is particularly surprising to find Semitic words in personal prayers,¹¹ the words occurring in these texts were presumably fully naturalized loans (and not used as foreign vocabulary).

Love Poetry

Loan words seem to be relatively frequent in love poems,¹² but these texts are few in number, and thus a relatively low source of Semitic words overall (1.9%). Again, the words were likely considered loan words for the most part.

Stories and Literary Tales

The Late Egyptian stories do not contain very many Semitic words. In fact, the only stories that contain many Semitic words are the “Taking of Joppa” and the “Tale of Wenamun.” The *hapax* rate is fairly low, suggesting that mostly well known foreign vocabulary and true loan words appear in these texts.

⁹E.g. O. lit. DeM 1406, H.O. 97.

¹⁰E.g. a prayer to Amun (H.O. 7 3); hymn to Amun (O. lit DeM 1406); hymn to *Wrt-Hk3w* (JEA 54, pl. 23).

¹¹E.g. *ha₂-ma₂-n-ra* (no. 311) in Deir el-Bahri graffiti.

¹²E.g. P. Harris 500; P. Chester Beatty I; P. DeM 43 (Koenig, *Sociétés urbaines en Egypte*, 7, p. 72.); P. Turin Cat. 1966 (Scamuzzi, *Egyptian Art*, pl. 89); O lit DeM 1079; H.O. 43 1.

TABLE 6
INCIDENCE OF SEMITIC WORDS
BY GENRE

Genre of Text	Number of Examples	Percentage	<i>Hapax Legomena</i>	Percentage
School Texts (total)	248	(38.8%)	76	(30.8%)
Miscellanies	[122]	([19.1%])	[24]	([19.7%])
Anastasi I	[75]	([11.7%])	[28]	([37.3%])
Chariot Poem	[16]	([2.5%])	[9]	([56.3%])
Onomastica	[35]	([5.5%])	[15]	([42.9%])
Business	108	(16.9%)	10	(9.3%)
Historical Narratives	82	(12.8%)	16	(19.5%)
Magic / Oracular	35	(5.5%)	8	(22.9%)
Legal	37	(5.8%)	5	(13.5%)
Letters	23	(3.6%)	2	(8.9%)
Tales, Misc.	21	(3.3%)	3	(14.3%)
Religious (total)	21	(3.3%)	3	(14.3%)
Hymns	[12]	([1.9%])	[1]	([8.3%])
Prayers	[5]	([0.8%])	[2]	([40.0%])
Book of Dead	[4]	([0.6%])	[0]	([-])
Royal Encomia	15	(2.3%)	0	(--)
Love Poems	12	(1.9%)	3	(25.0%)
Donation Inscriptions	10	(1.6%)	2	(20.0%)
Wisdom Literature	10	(1.6%)	1	(10.0%)
Private Monuments	10	(1.6%)	0	(--)
Medical Texts	8	(1.3%)	2	(25.0%)
Average	45.7	(7.1%)		

THE SOURCE LANGUAGES

ONLY RARELY do the Egyptian texts provide information on the specific origin of Semitic words. In the few cases that do indicate origins, the phonology and morphology generally conform to the language expected: e.g. *n-k-fi-ta-^{r} nikiptu*-(oil) said to come from Babylonia (Sangar). Toponyms can sometimes, but far from always, be located geographically. In any case, there are a number of complications with toponyms: they may be conservative or they may not even be Semitic (or were secondarily semiticized by folk etymologies). The toponym list with the most specific geographic definition is that of Shishak, which consists of Israelite and Judean toponyms. As for the Semitic vocabulary, the overwhelming majority of words can be classified as Northwest Semitic phonologically, morphologically, lexically, and culturally. Among phonological features regularly encountered are the Canaanite [á] to [ó] shift and the merger of initial *waw* to *yodh*, and as opposed to Eastern Semitic, the larger phonemic inventory, with distinctions between /h/ and /ħ/, /č/ and /ǵ/, etc. The personal names regularly contain Western deities: Ba^cal, ^cAnat, ^cEl, Šamaš, etc. and only rarely East Semitic / Persian: ²=s=ta₄=ra ²u₃=mi₃ (IStar, no. 10), and perhaps *Mi₃-t₂=ra ša-m-*^c (Mithra, no. 400).

The general Canaanite features of the bulk of the Semitic words has, of course, long been known. Trying to go beyond the general and to specify the particular languages and dialects is, however, a much more difficult task. The evidence is often ambiguous, and the investigation is complicated by such factors as the early date of much of the Egyptian material, the lack of data from the Canaanite dialects until considerably later periods, and the lack of sound phonological data, even for well known languages, such as Biblical Hebrew. In spite of the difficulties, the following paragraphs survey three approaches to identification, and

A. Phonology

The phonological aspects of the source languages are somewhat varied. The phonemic inventory is apparently large,¹ and fairly close in number to that of Ugaritic and Arabic,² but the distribution of the sibilants differs from that of either of these languages. The distribution of sibilants corresponds most closely to that of Old South Arabic and Aramaic, and to a certain degree with Biblical Hebrew, although there is no evidence in Hebrew of a distinct phoneme corresponding to original **t*.³ The only Canaanite language besides Ugaritic that is generally believed to have retained /t/ is Aramaic.⁴ The Egyptian transcriptions, however, also indicate the retention of /d/ and possibly /t/ in the majority of source languages. These phonemes were known in Aramaic, but there is no evidence for them in other Canaanite dialects. However, the retention of /d/ in an 11th century Byblian name (written in Egyptian with *t*: *Ti₂-ku-ru₂ B-č-r*, no. 556) suggests that even Phoenician had more phonemes than traditionally thought.

Assimilation of *nun* is well attested, but so are cases with no assimilation. In the name Binti-^cAnta (nos. 120, 146), non-assimilating forms predominate. The evidence suggests that in the 13th century assimilation was not as widespread as in later times. It does not, however, help in any way to identify the dialect.

Contraction and non-contraction of the diphthongs **aw* and **ay* is more useful in attempting to identify the sources. Contraction is known in Ugaritic, Phoenician and northern Hebrew, and in varying degrees in other dialects, but mostly as a later development.⁵ In the Canaanite family, it is possibly a northern / coastal innovation, as suggested by the distribution pattern.⁶ In Egyptian transcriptions, contracted forms predominate, but uncontracted forms are also well attested.

The Egyptian evidence of the Canaanite [á] to [ó] shift is sufficient to establish its occurrence, but the erratic indication of vowels in group

¹Except for innovative dialects indicated by only a couple of words: *h=—r=ya* “dung” (no. 323), *ša=ča-ra* “gate” (no. 390), and possibly *ča-ni=ni* “to sing” (no. 81).

²And also close to that of some reconstructions of Aramaic.

³There may or may not have been such a phoneme in earlier stages of the language. The evidence simply does not exist. The Egyptian transcription of *ha=d-ša=ta* (for **ħdtt*) suggests that /t/ had merged with /š/ by the 10th century, but even this is not absolutely certain.

⁴Garr, *Dialect Geography*, pp. 28–29.

⁵Cf. Garr, *Dialect Geography*, pp. 35–40.

⁶Garr, *Dialect Geography* p. 40.

writing does not allow more precision.⁷ There is perhaps one case of the shift of short accented [á] > *[á] > [ó] attested in Phoenician nominal forms: *yu=d *yód* “hand, monument” (no. 63). This occurs, however, as a Hebrew toponym, but may reflect the Phoenician pronunciation of this common word.

B. Morphology

The masculine plural endings [-im] and [-in] are both attested in the Egyptian transcriptions, although the forms with nunation are more numerous. Virtually all of the Canaanite dialects have either mimation or nunation in the masculine plural forms.⁸ After the 10th century, the dialects with nunation are Aramaic, Moabite, Deir Alla, and Phoenician of Arslan Tash (probably an Aramaic influence). Phoenician, Hebrew, and Ammonite all have mimation. It is not clear whether the Egyptian transcriptions were from conservative dialects like Aramaic or Moabite, or whether coastal dialects and old Hebrew also had nunation in earlier periods (perhaps as an allomorph in some stages). It is also possible that the Southern coastal dialect had nunation in the second millennium. There is no contemporary evidence for this, but in later times, the languages / dialects with nunation are on the outer extremities of the Phoenician / Hebrew / Ammonite dialect boundaries.⁹

The feminine singular ending [-ata] is not particularly informative, as all the Canaanite dialects must have had it in the time of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. The 10th century Shishak toponym list suggests that contemporary Hebrew still retained the ending: [*P*]nu-²*i*₃-*ru*₂ *Ha*₂=*d*-*ša*-*ta* “New Pnu’el” (no. 329). Phoenician, Moabite, Ammonite, and Deir Alla all retained the ending, as well.

The apparent Š-stem as opposed to H-stem causative forms do not assist in tracing the source language(s), but the specific examples probably do not come from Akkadian as they contain consonants apparently lacking in that language: /h/, /h/, and /c/.¹⁰ Of the Canaanite

⁷E.g. An. I 17, 7 contains two G-stem participles, the first one has the *o*-vowel indicated, but not the second one.

⁸Only in the dialect of Sam’al is it lacking.

⁹Cf. Garr, *Dialect Geography*, p. 92, map 6. Garr indicates nunation as an isogloss with penetration of mimation in the region of Ekron, but does not cite his evidence.

¹⁰As shown from Akkadian loan words in early Aramaic transcriptions (S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, p. 142), which consistently lack these consonants where etymologically expected. The same holds true for BH transcriptions of Akkadian names, which never indicate ‘ayin in names containing the n. div. Bēl.

dialects of the latter half of the second millennium, only Ugaritic is known to have employed the š- causative prefix. Its use may have been wider in this period.¹¹

C. Lexical Isoglosses

Lexical isoglosses are fairly difficult to establish given our uneven knowledge of the various languages and dialects. Nevertheless certain roots developed in particular semantic directions, and for some basic vocabulary items, different languages used quite different roots. The following words may be isoglosses:

Hebrew: $^2i=ti_2$ (no. 38) // **הַחֲדָשָׁה** “which, what”; $^2i=d=ma_2\{m\}=t$ (no. 41) // **הָרְכָבָה** “land”,¹² $a=ma-di$ (no. 76) // **מִצְדָּחָה** “to take a stand (against)”,¹³ $ma_2=qi_2=ra$ (no. 217) // **לְקָרֶב** “staff”; $ga=ni=sa$ (< *ngš*, no. 512) // **נְגַשָּׁה** “to oppress.”¹⁴

Ugaritic: $q=ri=cu$ (no. 432) // ql^c “shield.”

Hebrew, Ugaritic, Phoenician: $ha=ra$ (no. 294) // **הַרְאֵה**, *hr* “mountain.”

Hebrew, Ugaritic, Ammonite: $na^c=a=ru_2=na$ (no. 245) // **מַעֲרֵה**, *n̄rm*, $n^c r$ “soldiers, young men.”

Arabic: $b=c=-r$ (**bahra*, no. 114) // **بَحْر** (*bahr*) “sea; large body of water.”

Akkadian: $ma_4=-n=da=ta$ (no. 170) // **mandattu** “tribute.”

Based on lexical isoglosses, the closest affinity seems to be to Hebrew, followed by Ugaritic, but this may be due to a lack of knowledge of other languages, especially Phoenician, and to the relative wealth of Hebrew vocabulary. In any case, the number of possible isoglosses is too small to permit any conclusions.

General Conclusions

It is difficult to identify the source language(s) of the bulk of Semitic words in Egyptian transcription. Phonological evidence probably provides the firmest grounds, but based on standard reconstructions, the language would seem to be closest to Old Aramaic or Old South Arabic, two rather unlikely candidates. One possibility is that the transcriptions reflect a more conservative language, perhaps of the Southwest Semitic branch, spoken in the Delta by resident bedouin arriving via the Sinai. This is unlikely for a number of reasons. The majority of places referred

¹¹Or, again, was this an isogloss of the dialect spoken in the Southern coast?

¹²The Egyptian writing is of a Hebrew n. loc.

¹³In other languages the root means “support.”

¹⁴The root in other languages is “to rule, govern.”

to with any degree of knowledge in New Kingdom texts are in geographic regions in which earlier dialects of Hebrew and Phoenician must have been spoken: the Israelite heartland (Beth Shemesh, Gezer, Bethel, Shechem, Megiddo, Hazor, Hamath, Beth She'an, Kiryath 'Anab, Beth-Sepher, Rehob, Achshaph, etc.), the Southern (Philistine) coast (Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gath), and the Phoenician coast (Byblos, Sidon, Zarepta, Tyre, Acco).¹⁵ Also in the post-empire period, the regions of interest to Egypt are, as indicated by the texts, 1) the Phoenician coast (Wenamun), and 2) Israel and Judah (Shishak list). The bedouin people (*Ššsw*) of An. VI 54 ff. are said to be "tribes of Edom."¹⁶ Little serious attention is given to the bedouin, and none to any ethnic group south of Edom. The description of a banquet held by "asiatics" (*‘Smw*) in Memphis (P. Sallier IV vs. 2, 8 ff.) suggests a sophisticated urban populace, and not visiting bedouin shepherds. And, in any case, the Canaanite aspect of the majority of words is beyond dispute and rules out a Southwest Semitic origin.

The phonemic inventory, as noted above, compares quite closely with that of Aramaic, according to fairly widely accepted reconstructions. But a number of factors make Aramaic less likely to be the main source of vocabulary. First, the [á] to [ó] shift did not occur in contemporary Aramaic. Second, the lexical isoglosses tend to the Hebrew / Phoenician side rather than to the Aramaic. Third, contacts with Aramaic speakers were, for geographic reasons, less likely to occur on a large scale. Nevertheless, since Nahrén is frequently mentioned in the texts a number of words may have been borrowed from Aramaic.¹⁷ Unfortunately, none of the particular Aramaic lexical isoglosses has been found. The Aramaic masculine plural definite ending [-ayyā] may possibly be related to the -ya ending found in the Egyptian writings, but there are too many uncertainties involved to suggest a direct derivation. The -ya ending might be an Egyptian morpheme, and there is no evidence to establish the masculine plural definite ending in Aramaic at such an early

¹⁵E.g. An. I, which mentions towns in the northern and interior Levant (e.g. around Qadesh and Damascus), but shows particular interest in (and knowledge of) the cities of the Phenician coast and the cities and towns to the south. A place associated with Hamath is even called "the promenade of all the *mahirs*" (21, 8).

¹⁶This may be the only certain reference to Edom.

¹⁷Some caution, however, may be advisable in equating frequency of occurrence with degree of contact in this case. Nahrén occurs in the stories as a far-off land with princesses in towers, etc. And similarly even in the royal historical inscriptions Nahrén appears as a distant land on the outer limits of the world known to the Egyptians. Its prominence in toponym lists and the like no doubt derives from political considerations.

date.¹⁸ In short, some words were probably taken from Aramaic, but they cannot be identified. The n. loc. *N=h=ri=na* (no. 253) is probably the only certain example of an Aramaic word (with nunciation of the dual), but even here, the predominating forms with contracted diphthongs suggest a Phœnician (or sim.) pronunciation of the name.

Another factor that needs to be considered is that although the various dialects had particular isoglosses, they were undoubtedly mutually intelligible languages / dialects,¹⁹ probably differing no more (and often far less) than the range of speech patterns encountered between the English of Manchester, Dublin, Sydney, Jersey City, Atlanta, Port of Spain, and Vancouver, for instance. In later periods Aramaic was no longer mutually intelligible, but given the phonemic system observable in the Egyptian transcriptions, even Aramaic may have been close enough to have been intelligible, in spite of lexical isoglosses. In any case Edomite, Ammonite, Moabite, Hebrew, and Phœnician could probably all be classified as dialects rather than distinct languages.²⁰

Reversing the Question

The source languages are hard to identify mainly because the evidence of the Egyptian transcriptions does not correspond to assumptions that have generally been made about Hebrew and Phœnician. The reconstructions of these languages, however, may be in need of revision. Some scholars, taking the Egyptian evidence seriously, have actually maintained that Hebrew probably had a fairly large phonemic

¹⁸The ending may have existed as a plural morpheme before becoming specialized as a marker of definiteness, but there is simply no evidence to confirm or disprove this.

¹⁹As maintained by Garr, *Dialect Geography*, p. 231. His main evidence is on linguistic grounds, but he also cites Jer. 27:3, where the prophet sends a message in Hebrew to the kings of Edom, Ammon, Moab, and Sidon. One might also mention Elijah's trip to Zarepta (I Kings 17:9 ff.), where he encounters no trouble in communicating with ordinary townsfolk. David and Saul also seem to communicate quite easily with Edomites and Moabites (I Sam. 22). On the other hand, David seems to converse freely with Hittites (with Semitic names) and Philistines, as well, although these people may have adopted the local language. In other cases, such as Solomon's conversation with the Queen of Sheba, the presence of translators may well be taken for granted. But given the large phonemic inventory and conservative morphology attested in the Egyptian transcriptions, perhaps Solomon and the Sabean queen could converse far more easily than thought.

²⁰The question is complicated, as Northern Hebrew, for instance, is phonetically closer to Phœnician than it is to Southern Hebrew, yet the Hebrew dialects share lexical isoglosses not found in Phœnician, etc.

inventory.²¹ The Semitic words in the story of Wenamun indicate a continuing conservative phonemic system in Byblos in the 11th century—some two centuries after the mergers are supposed to have taken place. The *h / ḥ* opposition is clearly maintained: *ma-sa-ḥi* (no. 198), *ḥ=bi₄-r* (no. 333). As well, the phoneme /d/ is retained in the name *Ti₂-ku-ru₂ B=č-r* (no. 556), as mentioned above.

In the end, the Egyptian evidence probably provides us with more information about old Phoenician and Hebrew than the hypothetical reconstructions of these languages inform of us the origin of the words. This conclusion rests on an assumption, namely that the most likely places of origin are those most frequently mentioned in Egyptian texts as places visited or inhabited by Egyptians abroad or as the home towns of Canaanites entering or living in Egypt, i.e. the Hebrew heartland, the Phoenician coast, and the Southern (Philistine) coast.²² This assumption, fairly likely in itself, is supported by other factors:

- 1) These are geographically the most likely points of major contact since Egyptians had—via sea links—long established connections with the Phoenician coast, and indeed, an ongoing presence in Byblos, and since the overland routes passed through the Southern coastal plain and the Hebrew heartland.
- 2) These were the key political areas of interest to Egypt, and during the empire, were the location of administrative and military outposts.
- 3) In pre- and post-empire times, these were the Egyptian nexus points into the network of international trade routes.
- 4) Physical evidence of Egyptian presence is clear in these regions, as indicated by the erection of stelae with Egyptian inscriptions: e.g. Byblos, Beth She'an, Megiddo, etc.

The phonological and morphological reconstructions of Canaanite also rest on assumptions, the key one being that Phoenician had 22 phonemes because its alphabet had only 22 graphemes. Reconstructions of Hebrew assume either that Hebrew underwent the same phonemic mergers as presumed for Phoenician or that these mergers took place at a later time. Since on neither side of the question can one prove the underlying

²¹E.g. Z. Harris, *Canaanite Dialects*, pp. 62–63. Harris, however, claimed that a number of phonemic mergers took place in the 11th or 10th centuries B.C.E., but the one piece of evidence he cites is no longer tenable: the writing of Ḥoron with *ḥ* in the Shishak list (in the name Beth-Ḥoron (no. 144). No words or names containing etymological /ḥ/ occur in the Shishak list, so there is no evidence of its loss. The n. div. Ḥoron, cited by Harris, contains /ḥ/ as clearly shown by Ugaritic *ḥrn* and earlier Egyptian transcriptions of the name.

²²Thus, although, Egyptian toponym lists include distant towns and regions, they do not suggest much direct contact.

assumptions, one must judge which assumptions are most firmly based and best correspond to the facts. Given the various factors listed above, it seems easier to assume that the bulk of Semitic words came from older dialects of Phœnician and Hebrew than that these languages had perfect phonemic alphabets. The question should thus probably be reversed, and one should ask what the Egyptian evidence tells us about the likeliest source languages rather than what our reconstructions suggest about particular origins. The fact that 11th century Egyptian transcriptions of Phœnician names and vocabulary apparently contain the phonemes /h/ and /d/ suggests that assumptions about Phoenician, Hebrew, and other *Canaanite Dialects* that are based solely on the short alphabet need to be reconsidered.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GROUP WRITING

I. GROUP WRITING IN THE OLD KINGDOM

IT HAS BEEN CLAIMED by a number of scholars that group writing was already in use in the Old Kingdom.¹ These claims, although almost certainly correct, have not been based on sound evidence.² Edgerton maintained that the “syllabic” writing was merely treating bi-consonantal signs monoconsonantly, a phenomenon that he claims begins in the Sixth Dynasty.³ According to his theory, the “weak letters” *ȝ*, *i*, and *w* were ignored as inconsequential or else were simply no longer pronounced.⁴ The few examples in the Pyramid Texts show that in one or two cases the sign *ȝ* may have had the value *t* rather than *ti*. Other purported examples involve magical words, and one cannot rule out the possibility that these in fact contained multiple *‘alephs* or *l*’s (i.e. ululation).

More solid evidence, however, has come to light more recently in the Old Kingdom execration texts on clay slabs published by A.M. Abubakr and J. Osing.⁵ The less well preserved examples from Giza published by H. Junker⁶ are mostly duplicated in Abubakr and Osing’s list of Nubian (and several Egyptian) names. There are two more finds that have not been published: 1) that of the Harvard-Boston expedition of the early 1900’s said by Junker to be relatively large and well preserved,⁷ and 2) that of Reisner’s 1927 excavation.⁸ An examination of the material

¹Cf. W.M. Müller, “Die Spuren der babylonsichen Weltschrift in Ägypten,” *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 17 (1912), p. 3. W.F. Edgerton, “Egyptian Phonetic Writing,” *JAOS* 60 (1940), p. 486 ff. E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik (AäG)*, § 48.

²Albright (VESO, pp. 8–9) justly criticizes the foundations of these claims.

³*Ibid.*; Edel, *AäG* § 48 upholds Edgerton’s views.

published to date suggests that there is indeed an attempt to indicate vowels, but that the orthography is identical to that of the Middle Kingdom group writing system, which differs considerably from that of the New Kingdom. The nature of the Middle Kingdom syllabic script will be discussed below, but the conclusions would seem to apply to the Old Kingdom execration texts, as well. The names of the published Old Kingdom texts are Nubian, so there is less control over the material, but the orthography seems extremely close to that of the Middle Kingdom execration texts, where the argument for vocalic signs rests on surer footing. The same groups of signs, such as *ma*, *nu*, *su*, *y(a)*, ²*a*, ²*ab*, etc., occur alongside primarily alphabetic signs. If one assumes that all the signs are consonantal, and none—or only one—of the signs vocalic, the resulting vocables, with as many as three ²*alephs* ([²]) in a single name,⁹ are outlandish and most unlikely in any language, let alone an Afroasiatic tongue. This is also the case even if one assumes that *u*-vowels are indicated by  (*w*, and its cursive equivalent ). It should be noted that *ʒ* is used to represent the Semitic phonemes /l/ and /r/, and for this reason it will be here transcribed with “*l*” in Old and Middle Kingdom examples. A list of selected Old Kingdom names from Nubia will be presented along with very tentative vocalizations at the end of the section on the Middle Egyptian system (IIA).

II. MIDDLE EGYPTIAN GROUP WRITING

A great deal of information on the writing of foreign names in the Middle Kingdom can be gained from examining the execration texts,¹⁰ which probably date from the Twelfth Dynasty. The texts on statuettes are dated on paleographic and onomastic evidence to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, and those on bowls somewhat earlier.¹¹ Superficially the writing system appears similar to New Kingdom group writing, but there are, in fact, major differences. First, *ʒ* is far from superfluous, since it renders Semitic /l/ and /r/ and never *a*-vowels, and the bi-consonantal signs ending in *ʒ* (e.g.  *hʒ*) are all biconsonantal CvC signs that

⁹ And otherwise seems to be based on a typical three letter root (e.g. O.K. execration text no. 202 *Kʒibisi*).

¹⁰ K. Sethe, “Die Ächtung Feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des Mittleren Reiches,” *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Nr. 5 (Berlin: 1926). G. Posener, *Princes et pays d’Asie et de Nubie* (Brussels: 1940). Cf. also W. Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 49 ff.

¹¹ Posener, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–35. As noted by Posener, Sethe proposed an earlier date for the texts on bowls, but the names contained in the text (Twelfth Dynasty kings) and the paleography do not support this.

represent CvL or CvR syllables in this system.¹² Although these biconsonantal CvC signs do occur, the vast majority of signs are alphabetic or combinations of alphabetic signs, as can be seen in Table 8, which tabulates the frequency of signs and groups in the "Asiatic" section of the statuette texts. Given the prominence of alphabetic signs and the lack of bi-consonantal groups for Cv syllables, Albright concluded that the script was mainly consonantal. However, the high incidence of \textcircled{w} (*w*): 75 times (18.6%),¹³ usually occurring where one expects a *u*-vowel,¹⁴ and where one does not expect a consonantal *w*. This evidence led Albright to the conclusion that *w* was vocalic.¹⁵

The same argument, however, must be made for \textcircled{i} (*i*) and \textcircled{y} (*y*) which occur 52 times (13.1%,¹⁶ and not including the 30 times that *i* occurs in the groups $\textcircled{\text{I}}$, $\textcircled{\text{II}}$, $\textcircled{\text{III}}$, and $\textcircled{\text{IV}}$, where it must have the value [ɔ]). If every instance of *i* were to be considered consonantal, then there would be 82 examples (20.3%), a figure that is clearly impossible. The following frequency rates for signs representing common Semitic phonemes (many having morphological significance) afford a reasonably good basis for comparison:

\textcircled{r} (the commonest certain consonant in the corpus and representing two common phonemes /r/ and /l/) occurs 59 times (14.6%);¹⁷

\textcircled{M} (common as a root letter, but also as mimation) occurs 56 times (13.9%);¹⁸

¹²There may be one or two exceptions, as *t3* "land" may have the value *ta*; it is uncertain whether \textcircled{r} (*r* or *r3*) is biconsonantal in Middle Egyptian or not, but it seems to have the value *ra* rather than consonantal *r3* in these texts. Also it is unclear whether \textcircled{N} is consonantal *t1*, or if it is syllabic representing either *ta* or *ti*.

¹³See Table 8. Note that the frequency of the phoneme /w/ in Late Egyptian transcriptions is somewhere between 0.2% and 0.6% with the overall average rate of frequency for any given phoneme being 2.6%. Even allowing for major developments in the Semitic languages, the Middle Kingdom figure for *w* and *y*, if they are taken consonantly is inordinately high. It should be noted, however, that the figures in Table 8 are not absolute, as there are different ways of resolving various groupings, e.g. double reed leaf is usually consonantal *y*, but in several cases it appears to be *Ci* and especially *?i*.

¹⁴E.g. as m. sing. nominative case ending.

¹⁵VESO, p. 8: "Egyptian *w* is employed in numerous certain instances to denote Semitic *u*, evidently because the Egyptians themselves felt that the vowel *u* had consonantal affinities."

¹⁶Double reed-leaf occurs 5 times in place of single reed-leaf. In the LE texts, the Semitic phoneme /?/ occurs between 3.3% and 4.7%.

¹⁷Cf. LE // ca. 8% and /r/ ca 11%.

¹⁸In the LE texts the Semitic phoneme /m/ occurs between 8.6% and 10.7%.

Y(common verbal prefix) occurs 36 times (8.9%);¹⁹

‘(common in the onomastic *‘Ammu*) occurs 30 times (7.4%).²⁰

In addition to its high frequency—obviously too high to be the consonant *y*—**𢓁** occurs where one might expect an *i*-vowel: it interchanges with **𢓂** (*w*) in the n. div. *Had(a)du* and the word **ilu* (“god”), probably indicating the genitive rather than nominative case. After **‘ab-** and **‘amm-** it could well be the first singular suffix for **‘abi* “my father” and **‘ammî* “my uncle.”²¹ The use of **𢓁** and **𢓂** to indicate *i*- and *u*-vowels respectively has also been noted by W. Helck and O. Rössler, although they maintained that **𢓁** could also indicate the *a*-vowel.²² In the commonly occurring group **𢓁𢓂𢓃** the **𢓁** sign probably serves both as consonant and *i*-vowel: **‘i-lu* “god” (or the n. div. *‘El*). It should be noted that in the earlier texts on bowls, **𢓁** standing on its own seems to represent either *‘i* or *‘a*; in the later group of texts it represents only *‘i*, as *‘a* is there rendered by **𢓁𢓂**. This feature may be peculiar to the bowl texts, as the Old Kingdom execration texts seem to employ **𢓁𢓂** for *‘a*.

Middle Egyptian group writing²³ is not limited to the execration texts, and several examples can be cited at this point:²⁴

The name of a daughter of Amenemhet II: **𢓁𢓂𢓁** *I-ti*,²⁵ for which there is the variant **𢓁𢓂𢓁** *‘A-ti*.²⁶

¹⁹In LE texts, between 1.9% and 2.4%.

²⁰In LE texts, between 4.9% and 5.0%.

²¹As assumed in Akkadian transcriptions of Amorite names. Cf. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names*, pp. 104–17.

²²W. Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 88. O. Rössler, “Das ältere ägyptische Umschreibungs-system,” *Neue Afrikanische Studien*, p. 219. Both Helck and Rössler seem to take this extraordinary find for granted, as they do not state the grounds for their conclusion.

²³Perhaps the term “vocalic orthography” would be better, since *i* and *w* seem to be used vocally.

²⁴Middle Egyptian group writing merits a comprehensive study in its own right, but that is beyond the bounds of this work. Obviously, the few examples cited here could have been considerably multiplied. Another major source of Semitic names is to be found in W.C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446]* (Brooklyn: 1955); W.F. Albright, “Northwest-Semitic names in a list of Egyptian slaves from the Eighteenth Century B.C.,” *JAOS* 74 (1954), pp. 222–33; T. Schneider, “Die semitischen und ägyptischen Namen der Syrischen Sklaven des Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 Verso,” *UF* 19 (1987), pp. 255–82. The writing of these names generally conforms to that of the execration texts, but also uses the CvC groups *‘(v)q*, and *‘(v)l*. Still the writing is generally consonantal with vowel signs for *i*- and *u*-vowels.

²⁵In the pyramid of Amenemhet II at Dahshur. Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, I, p. 294. The name is cited by Albright, *VESO*, p. 10.

²⁶On a sphinx found at Qatna by du Mesnil (*Syria*, 1928, pl. 12). The name is cited by Albright, *VESO*, p. 10.

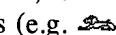
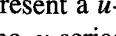
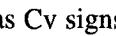
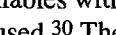
The name of a daughter of Senwosret II: 

²⁷A=ti₂=k(a)=l=y(a)=t(a).²⁷

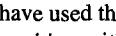
The name of a Syrian prince in Sinuhe (B. 30; 142):

 (A)=m=mi₃-N(?)n(a)=ši.²⁸

The name of a Syrian n. loc. in Sinuhe (B. 219):  Ma-ki.²⁹

The groups rendering syllables with *i*- and *u*-vowels thus use, for the most part, not the original bi-consonantal signs as Cv signs (e.g.  *rw*), but rather the alphabetic sign followed by  (*w*) to represent a *u*-vowel, or  (*i*) to represent an *i*-vowel. Although in the *u*-series syllables, original bi-consonantal signs are sometimes used as Cv signs (esp.  *mu*), even then they are often followed by  . For syllables with *i*-vowels, the original bi-consonantal signs are almost never used.³⁰ The use of apparent *matres lectionis* (*i* and *w*)³¹ was a new development in the Egyptian writing system, but as indicated above, it probably dates to the late Old Kingdom. There is no evidence whatever that the system originated by the suppression of the second consonant of bi-consonantal signs, nor by the phonetic loss of the “weak letters.”

²⁷Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, I, p. 301. The name is cited by Albright, *VESO*, p. 10, who states that it is written “in pure syllabic orthography,” i.e. of the New Kingdom type. The name, however, is probably to be read in accordance with the Middle Kingdom system. The language of the name and its meaning are uncertain. If Semitic, the first element, ²a-ti might stand for ²atti, the 2nd f. sing. personal pronoun, or it might be from the root ²ty/w “to come.” The latter is unlikely since the following word appears to be feminine, but ²att would have to be 3rd m. sing. The second element may be derived from the root kly “to be finished,” perhaps with the meaning of “to be perfect,” but the reconstruction is highly speculative.

²⁸K. Baer’s interpretation (*apud* M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1, p. 234, n. 4) as ²*“Ammu-la-naši (or better: ²*Ammi-la-naši) “My uncle will be prince” is quite likely, given the Amorite names *Ni-iq-mi-la-na-si* “My vengeance will be prince” and *Ši-id-qú-la-na-si* “Justice will be prince.” Note that the first element ends in *i* (first sing. suffix) and the second ends in *i* for the genitive case ending after the preposition *la*. Since in Middle Kingdom group writing, the writer would have used the sign  to render Semitic *la* (or perhaps, as a variant, ordinary *n*), was the writing with the “negative arms” *n* (the Egyptian negatival particle) an orthographic pun on the Semitic word *la* “no, not”?

²⁹Other examples from Sinuhe include *Qid-ma*, *T^cws*, *Man-nu-s* (B. 219–20).

³⁰Only *mi* and *iy* occur, and only one time each. And in the former *i* may have actually been used as a vowel letter.

³¹It is uncertain if the Egyptians thought of these as *matres lectionis*. Given the tendency of the Egyptian writing system to analyze by groups, it is possible that the resulting combinations were seen by most scribes as new groups rather than “consonants plus vowel letters.” However, the general simplicity of the system suggests that, at least at its inception, these signs were intended as true vowel letters.

A. Evidence for Middle Kingdom Group Writing

Below is a selection of names from the execration texts whose readings are fairly certain.³² Of particular interest are the words for “god” *’ilu* and “father” *’abu*, since we can be certain of their meaning, have general knowledge of their use in onomastica, and since the nominal syntactic patterns and vocalizations are easier to predict than verb forms or abstract derivatives.

1. Bowls: (Published by Sethe)

- E2              <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph for a person" data-bbox="2417 305 2423 32

- E23 *H(v)l-y(a)-ki-m* The first element may be **yāl(i)* “my (maternal) uncle” known from Amorite names.³⁷ The second element may be **yaqîm* (i.e. causative). Cf. the Amorite names *Am-mi-ta-kum* “My (paternal) uncle, you shall arise” and *Ha-am-mi-ta-ki-im* “My (paternal) uncle, you shall establish.”
- E23-24 *I-s-q-l-nw* = ³⁸**Asqalānu* or ³⁹**Isqalānu*.
- E26 *Mwt-i-l* was vocalized by Albright as **Mutî-ilu*. If so, the *i* could be doing double duty as a vocalic ending to the CvC group *mwt + i*. In any case the sequence **[ti²]lu* would be quite unstable and easily resolves to **[t²]lu* or **[t̄]lu*. The vocalization could, however, be **Mut²ila*, as 40% of the Amorite names with this element from Mari are written *Mu-ut-* followed by divine names, etc.³⁹ Cf. also the Amorite name *Mutum-AN* (*ilu*) and the Ug. PN *Mt-B²l*. The writing of *²il* lacks the nominative case ending, perhaps because it is used as a proper noun.⁴⁰
- E27-28 *²lw-w-šl-l-m-m* = ³⁹**Urušalimum*. If the reconstruction is correct, the writing is defective, indicating neither the *i*- nor all of the *u*-vowels.
- E27 *Y(a)-q-l-^c-mu* = **Yaqar-^cam(m)u*.
- E30 *Y(a)-ma-i-lw* = **Yamma-²ilu*, cf. Ug. PN *Ym-il*.
- F3 *Iw-l-^tl* = ³⁹**Ullazi*; Var. *Iw-l-^tt* = ³⁹**Ullaza*.
- F9 *Y(a)-l-mwt* = **Yarmuta*. Cf. BH יָרְמֹתָה; EA *Yarmuta*.

2. Statuettes (Published by Posener):

- E1 *²A-ta-m(?)l ²abi* The second element is ³⁹**²abi*. The first element may be related to the BH PN יָרְמֹתָה. A connection with BH יָרְמֹתָה “yesterday” seems dubious, but perhaps should not be ruled out, as actual Amorite names are full of semantic surprises, and the name could mean “The past is my father” or perhaps “My father is the past,” either with the meaning “my ancestry is well founded,” or sim.
- E4 *Y(a)-t(v)n-H-d-dw* = **Yattin-Haddu*. Cf. the Amorite name *Ya-an-ti-in-^dIM (Haddu)*.
- E5 *Ma-k-t-ra-y(a)* = **Magdālaya* (a *nisbe*?)
- E5 *²Abi-l-f-²a* = ³⁹**Abi-rapi²a*. Cf. Ug. PN *ābrpū*, and esp. Amorite *A-bi-ra-pf*.⁴¹ The *i*-vowel of *²abi* is probably for the first singular

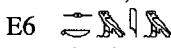
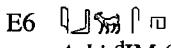
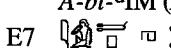
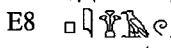
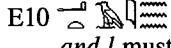
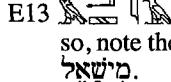
³⁷Huffman, *Amorite Personal Names*, p. 194. This assumes the writing is defective, but the difference between **Halyakim* and **Halyakim* is minimal.

³⁸Cf. Senaherib’s third campaign (II 61): *urūIs-qa-(al-)lu-na*.

³⁹Huffman, *Amorite Personal Names*, p. 119.

⁴⁰Cf. E12 and note 36, above.

⁴¹Huffman, *Amorite Personal Names*, p. 264.

- suffix, and the second element is probably the G participle: *rāpi^o* “a healer,” as commonly in Amorite names.⁴²
- E6  *S-k-m-i-m-i* = *Šakmimi. Cf. BH n. loc.  . Here there are clearly too many *i*'s to be consonantal. Also, cf. the variants: *S-k-m-im*, *S-k-m-m-i*, and the writing on the Stele of Sebek-khu, *Sk-m-m*.⁴³
- E6  ²*Ab-s!*⁴⁴ *H-d-dw* = ²*Abi-Haddu*. Cf. the Amorite name *A-bi-dIM (Haddu)*.
- E7  ²*A-t-p-H-d-dw* = ²**Asapa-Haddu*. The first element is either from the root ²*sp* “to collect” or *ysp* “to add, increase.” Cf. BH PN's  and .
- E8  *P-i-h(v)l-lw-m* There are too many “weak letters” for one root, and the combination */l/ + /h/* in positions II and III is most unlikely.⁴⁵ We may reconstruct something like **Pih(i)lum*, and cf. the name *Pihilim* from the Amarna letters.⁴⁶
- E9  ²*A-p-qw-m* = ²*Apqum*. From Hebrew  one would expect ²*Apqum*, but cf. the Akkadian *Apqu*.⁴⁷
- E9  *Y(a)-n-ki-i-lw* A derivation from **Yankē-²ilu* “God (²El) will smite” does not seem likely. It seems better to assume metathesis of *n* and *k* and to derive from **Yak(i)ni-²ilu* “God/²El will establish me.” Or perhaps without causative force: **Yakun-²ilu* “God/²El will endure.” This seems particularly close to the Ug. PN *Yknīl* and the (gentilic) n. loc. *Ykn̄m* vocalized in Akkadian script as *alūYa-ku-na^cama*.⁴⁸
- E10  *c-t-ll-mu* The name cannot be identified with certainty, but *c*, *t*, and *l* must be the three root consonants, leaving a consonantal *i* virtually out of the question. Perhaps cf. the Amorite name *Ha-ta-li-el*.⁴⁹
- E11  ²*A-k-sap-i* BH 
- E13  ? = *Ma-²ša-²ili*. “Who (what) belongs to God.” If so, note the genitive case ending of ²*ilu* after *ša* (as in Akkadian).⁵⁰ Cf. BH .

⁴²Huffman, *Amorite Personal Names*, p. 264.

⁴³Cited by Posener, *Princes et Pays*, p. 68, who also noted that *i* cannot be consonantal.

⁴⁴The *s* must be a mistake for *i*.

⁴⁵It is impossible in Hebrew. Cf. K. Koskinen, “Kompatibilität,” *ZDMG* 114 (1964), p. 28.

⁴⁶As noted by Posener, *Princes et Pays*, p. 69.

⁴⁷K. Nashef, *Répertoire Géographique des textes cunéiformes*, vol. 5 (Wiesbaden: 1982), p. 33.

⁴⁸The Akkadian writing seems to be based on a false etymology involving the root *n̄m* “to be pleasant.”

⁴⁹Huffman, *Amorite Personal Names*, p. 205.

⁵⁰This vocalization does not rule out a connection with the Biblical  as the vocalization may have changed. Cf. that of Beth-Shean, which likely was at one time **Bayta-ša-²El*.

- E15 **חָזָעִים** *H-dw-i-li*? = *Hazâ-²ili*. The form of the first element is uncertain, but likely a nominal form meaning “vision” or else a passive participle. Perhaps cf. the Amorite PN *Ya-ah-zu-^dRa-sa-ap*.⁵¹
- E18 **קְשֵׁיַּלְלָבִּי** *K-ši-²hl-l-²abi* The second element is ²abi, either with first singular suffix, or in the genitive.
- E26 **אֵין־הַמַּתְ** *^c-hw-mwt*. ‘Ayin and *ḥ* are incompatible, but perhaps an original ²aleph has been mutated under the influence of /h/ (the combination ^c-*ḥ* occurs in Egyptian). If so, then we may reconstruct ²**Aḥu-môta* “Mot is a brother,” or “Brother is dead” and cf. the BH PN **אֲחִימֹתָא**.
- E43 **שָׁמְשָׁוּרְעִירִי** *Š-m-šw i-p-l-irî-m*. The second element is uncertain, but there appears to be an excess of *i*'s if they are consonantal. Perhaps the name is ²**Šamšu-²ab(u)-²ilim* *Šamšu-is-father-of-the-gods*, but the other writings of ²abu are quite standardized with the ²ab group. Perhaps there is a connection with the root ²*pl*, cf. BH **נָשָׁךְ** “darkness”; Ar. (‘*afala*) “to set (of sun), disappear.” If so, then read ²*Šamšu-²apilim*: “sun of darkness,” perhaps referring to a solar eclipse or “sun of the setting” (i.e. “setting sun”)?
- E47 **אָבָרְמָם** *²Abw-l-m* = ²**Abu-ram*. Cf. BH **אָבָרְמָם** and Amorite *Ha-mu-ra-ma*.
- E52 **שָׁמְעָבָעָם** [] *Š-mu-²abu[]* = ²**Šumu-²abu[m]*. Cf. the Amorite name *Su-mu-a-bu-um*, which has the variant *Sa-mu-a-bi-im* (same person).⁵²
- E55 **אָבָרְהָנִי** *²Abw-ra-h-nî*? = ²**Abu-rahnî* or sim., perhaps meaning “Father is my pledge,” or perhaps better as a bound construction (with genitive case in second member) “Father of the pledge.”⁵³
- E58 **יָרְפָּאֵל** *Y(a)-l-p-llw* = ²**Yarpa²-²ilu*. Cf. BH n. loc. **רְפָאֵל**.
- E60 **בָּתְיָרְשָׁוּם** *Bw-ti⁵⁴-šmšw* = ²**Bitu-Šamšu*. The vocalization of the first element is quite unexpected. The second sign group may not have the value *ti*, but the *u*-vowel in the first group is odd. Is there metathesis of the vowels (**buti* for **bitu*)?
- E60 **יָרְתָּאֵל** *Y(a)-²t-p-i-lw*? = ²**Yîṭab-²ilu*.
- F2 **וְעַלְזִי** *Iw-l-tî* = ²**Ullazi*.

⁵¹But cf. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names*, p. 192, who suggests another possible etymology.

⁵²Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names*, p. 249.

⁵³One would not expect a prince to bear the name: “Father gave me as a pledge” (i.e. “pawned me”), so a *qatala* form seems out of the question. The root *rhn* is attested in Arabic, Imperial Aramaic, and Mishnaic Hebrew. Another possibility is that *r* is the preposition **la* followed by a suffix (3rd plural??) or a noun in the genitive case.

⁵⁴The sign is *ti₂* of the later syllabary: bread with loaves (+ plural strokes).

Although the evidence is not overly abundant, and almost never susceptible of verification,⁵⁵ there is little doubt that ME group writing comprises a comprehensive system. The functioning of the system is best revealed by the examination of one or two well known nouns. If the system works, then we should observe correct changes in the case endings and first person singular suffixes. For the word for “father” we find the form *?abu* (sometimes with mimation *?abum*) for the nominative and *?abi* for the genitive or suffixed form. For the word for “god” we find *?ilu* in the nominative, and *?ili* in the genitive or suffixed form. Since the vocalization of case endings seems to be consistent here, we may presume that the *i* and *w* signs are indeed vowel signs and are not used arbitrarily elsewhere.

The evidence from the Old Kingdom execration texts can now be examined. Just as in Middle Egyptian group writing, alphabetic signs predominate, and  (*i*) and  (*u*) seem to occur too frequently to be consonants. A selection of names and very tentative vocalizations (following conventional transliterations) is here presented for comparison.

4.      *hitni* **hi-t-ni* or **hi-t(a)-ni*.
7.      *nynw* **na-y(a)-nu*.
10.       *m3syi* **mal-s(a)-y(a)-hi*.
21.      *m3pis* **mal-pi-si*.
31.          *iišywi* *²*i?-š-yu-²a*.
33.           *hnt3hi* **h(a)n-t(a)l-hi*.
34.         *iy3ti* *²*a-y(a)-l-ti*.
56.          *imirhi* *²*(a)-ma-r-hi*.
113.       *ipwnwis* *²*a-pu-nu-²as*.
117.         *mwt swrši* **su-r-ši?*.
126.      *kryti* **k(a)-r-y(a)-ti*.
187.       *ihbisi* *²*a-h-bi-si*.
191.            *hmt hq3-h3st kbiti* **k(a)-bi-ti*.
200.       *bi3si* **bi-l(a)-li*.
202.          *k3ibisi* **k(a)-li-bi-si*.
203.        *iy3si* *²*a-y(a)-š-si*.

Old / Middle Egyptian group writing seems to be already fully developed at its first appearance, and one cannot, with the current evidence,

⁵⁵Reconstructions of the language(s) spoken in Canaan in 19th–18th centuries B.C.E. are, out of necessity, based on considerable guesswork. Reconstructions based on Arabic or misinterpretations of Amorite names from Akkadian transcriptions may lead us astray, and there is no mechanism by which we might falsify our guesses.

trace a gradual evolution from earlier scribal practices. Although nothing absolute can be said about the origins of group writing, its sudden appearance and especially its compact and systematic nature would suggest a deliberate invention at a specific time rather than a gradual evolution.

B. The Nature and Development of Old & Middle Egyptian Group Writing

The surprising thing about the ME group writing system is that, in contrast to that of Late Egyptian, it is simple, compact, and consistent.⁵⁶ Syllables with *i*-vowels are usually represented by the alphabetic sign followed by  (*i*). The only other sign groups that seem to be used to represent syllable with *i*-vowels are  (²*i*) and   (*ti*), and perhaps also   (*mi?*). Syllables with *u*-vowels are represented in like fashion with the sign  (*u*) or, to a lesser extent, with biconsonantal signs ending in *w*.⁵⁷ Unlike Late Egyptian group writing, there is no polyvalence of sign groups, at least not for syllables with *i*-and *u*-vowels. Significant variations in vocalization in parallel or similar texts are very rare. Particular care seems to be shown in indicating case endings.⁵⁸ There are instances of presumably “defective” writings, which do not indicate the *i*- or *u*-vowels. These are likely analogous to the phenomenon of “full” and “defective”⁵⁹ writings of Semitic languages in later times.

The Middle Egyptian system also contains some groups with CvC patterns, some of which survived into Late Egyptian group writing, but others, like  (*mut*), were later abandoned.⁶⁰ There may even be isolated cases of CvCv groups, e.g.   perhaps for *²*aru* / ²*alu* or *²*uru* / ²*ulu*. Other multiconsonantal signs were used sporadically, e.g.  (*sm³*) (as in the Egyptian word “to unite”), which is likely of a CvCvC pattern.

⁵⁶The simplicity and compactness of the system can be seen by comparing Table 8 with the Late Egyptian “Catalogue of Signs” (Appendix).

⁵⁷See table 8.

⁵⁸Albright held that the *u*-vowel was mostly that of the *-anu* ending, but the statuette texts show that the use is far more widespread. In contrast to the Semitic names that often exhibit the nominative *u* ending, the writings of Nubian place names in both the Old and Middle Egyptian texts tend to end with *i*.

⁵⁹Or to use the Hebrew terms נִלְנָה and חַסְרָה.

⁶⁰The group *mut* may have been deliberately abandoned for superstitious reasons, since it means “death.” On the other hand, it may have been specifically selected as appropriate in a list of enemies of the king, but otherwise not in general use.

Another surprising feature of OE / ME group writing is that there are so few signs for syllables with *a*-vowels. For the earlier texts on bowls one can cite  (ra)  (ta), and perhaps  (ya) and  (ta), in total a mere three or four groups, and these (with the exception of  [ya]—which is perhaps only [y]) are used quite sparingly.⁶¹ In the later Middle Kingdom texts, there may be a somewhat increased use of signs for syllables with *a*-vowels, but they are still greatly underrepresented. Since one expects that *a*-vowels were the basic vocalic elements, their lack in the writing system calls for an explanation. Two possibilities can be suggested. One is that the *a*-vowels, not being very significant from the morpho-syntactical point of view, were simply not indicated in the writing. This would correspond to the use of *matres lectionis* in the Semitic languages, which in the early stages generally indicate only *i*- and *u*-type vowels.⁶² The second possibility is that the simple “alphabetic” signs were used both as simple consonants and as syllables with *a*-vowels. Although this alternative would seem less likely, there are parallels for similar phenomena in known syllabaries. One can especially compare the Ethiopic syllabary, in which the old alphabetic signs have become the *a*-vowel series. Also a single series does double duty for the *shewa* series and to indicate syllable closure. Similarly, there is no way to distinguish between single and doubled consonants. There is thus considerable ambiguity in the Ethiopic syllabary, but it is nonetheless a complete and functional system.

The system used in the later execration texts on figurines exhibits a couple of apparent developments.⁶³ As mentioned above, there seems to be a somewhat broader use of signs for syllables with *a*-vowels, most notably  for ²*a* and  for *ra*. There seems to be a tendency to indicate *i*- and *u*-vowels more frequently, as well, but this may be due to scribal preference rather than to a change in the system.

III. THE DEVELOPMENT TO LATE EGYPTIAN GROUP WRITING

Late Egyptian group writing no doubt descended directly from the compact and simple system used in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. For a lack of evidence, the developments cannot be traced through all the stages, but the evidence from names in the Hyksos period indicates that

⁶¹In this group there are 14 signs for syllables with *u*-vowels and 9 signs for those with *i*-vowels.

⁶²In Hebrew later final long *a*-vowels are also marked, but few languages, e.g. Arabic and Mandaic, bother to mark all the long vowels.

⁶³It is impossible to be sure of the details, since we are dealing with two small and fairly closed groups of texts.

the system was then in transition, with some old features being retained and new ones being introduced.⁶⁴ From the names ²A=p(a)=pi or ²A=p(i)=pi, and ²U=qi it is seen that the MK group writing convention of alphabetic sign plus (i) or (w) to render i- or u-vowels was still employed. The name H=ya=n, (*Hayān), but it is likely that the MK conventions are still in force, and that the name is to be transliterated as *H(a)=y=l(a)=n(a)* and derived from the common Semitic root *hyl* “strength, power.” Cf. the BH PN Ḥaylānu, which appears to be phonologically identical (from an original **Haylānu*).⁶⁵ The MK conventions probably also apply in the names Hrr / Hll / Hrl, ²A=ya, Ti-ti?, and the name of the king H(a)-n-zir.⁶⁶ There do seem to be some innovations, at least later in the Hyksos period, as some of the biconsonantal signs with ȝ seem to be used as Cv syllables. E.g. ²A=b=d, ²A=mu, K=tu₃=na and Ha-ma-tu₃. Such transitional forms are quite rare, but provide clear evidence of change and development of the system.

The process of expanding the MK system to represent Cv syllables of the a-vowel series continued into the early Eighteenth Dynasty, but at least earlier on there is still a tendency to leave these unmarked.⁶⁷ The i-series is no longer represented primarily by alphabetic sign plus , but rather biconsonantal signs have been largely introduced to serve in this capacity (e.g. for bi). Still, there is a tendency to use the sign (ȝ) for the i-series.⁶⁸ In earlier New Kingdom texts (ȝ) sometimes still represents Semitic [l], at least in historic spellings of the n. div. ²El,⁶⁹ but by and large it has been replaced by *n* and *r* or a combination of both. Of

⁶⁴Most of the Hyksos names cited here are from Albright, *VESO*, p. 11. The names of royalty are found in Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, vol. I, pp. 135, 138, 139, 145, etc.

⁶⁵The Greek transliterations suggest that the name began with /h/ and not /h/. *Xaiλων*, *Xελων*. W.A. Ward, although he also came to the conclusion that the older group writing conventions were partially preserved here, preferred to connect the name to Ug. *Hyrn* and *Hiyarānu* and Nuzi *Hairānu* (Ward, “Some personal names of the Hyksos Period,” *UF* 8 [1976], p. 355).

⁶⁶This name, meaning “wild boar,” “pig,” is quite well attested as a PN in the various Semitic languages. Cf. *hi-di₄-ru₂-ta* “The Sow” (no. 356). It was identified by M. Burchardt, *ZÄS* 50 (1913), p. 7, and supported by W.A. Ward, *JNES* 20 (1961), pp. 34–35.

⁶⁷Cf. the conservative writings of isbt for *[*a*t_bata] “chair” (no. 30), and sim. frequently in the Thutmose III toponym lists.

⁶⁸E.g. (no. 272) for **Ra-bi* ²El, but fairly often with the groups *i*, *ni*, etc.

⁶⁹E.g. the writing of ²El in the previous footnote.

the CvC and CvCv signs, some survived and others were lost, but these did not play a major role in either system. In short, by the Eighteenth Dynasty, the older, simpler system had broken down and in most cases biconsonantal groups were being introduced to compensate. The number of variant writings of a given syllable was also increasing. These changes must have coincided with the devaluation of the grapheme ȝ.

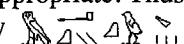
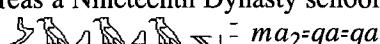
By the time of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the old system had been almost completely replaced, and biconsonantal signs were proliferating. As the system became more complex, the more difficult it must have become to master, and the potential for error no doubt increased. In particular, now that the *a*-series syllables were being regularly indicated, this series must have become the most familiar, and this may have resulted in a tendency to use the *a*-series, even when inappropriate. Thus the Eighteenth Dynasty royal scribe wrote carefully  "ma=qi=qu₂" "moist soil" (no. 221), whereas a Nineteenth Dynasty school boy made do with the *a*-vowel series  "ma₂=qa=qqa" (or ma₂=qi₂=qa).

TABLE 7

MIDDLE AND LATE EGYPTIAN SYLLABIC WRITING SYSTEMS

Middle Egyptian	Late Egyptian
1) Primarily Alphabetic: Uses monoconsonantal signs plus  (<i>i</i>) and  (<i>u</i>) (or ) for <i>i</i> - and <i>u</i> -vowels respectively. <i>A</i> -vowels are normally unmarked. Exx.  [qi],  [qu],  [q] or [qa].	1) Secondarily Alphabetic: This use is continued, but almost only in cases where new sign groups had not been devised (and rarely after <i>a</i> -series groups in order to convert them to <i>i</i> - or <i>u</i> -vowel syllables). The main innovation was the use of  (ȝ) to indicate <i>a</i> -vowels. After the early Eighteenth Dynasty  (<i>i</i>) was replaced with  (<i>y</i>). Exx.  [qa],  [qi],  [qu].
2) Secondary Use of CvC signs: Note that Cvȝ signs represent Cv[l] and Cv[r]. Exx.   [s(v)p],   [h(v)l].	2) Rare use of CvC signs: CvC signs for CvC syllables are only rarely encountered. Ex.  [mas].
3) Not Applicable	3) Primary use of Cvȝ signs: The consonantal value of  has been lost, and now it occurs in Cv

Middle Egyptian	Late Egyptian
<p>4) Occasional use of Short Cv Words: Exx.  [Pa] "Oh!";  [mu] "water."</p>	<p>syllables with various vowels. Exx.  <i>p^a</i> [pa],  <i>bⁱ</i> [bi],  <i>k^u</i> [ku].</p> <p>4) Regular use of Short Cv Words: Exx.  [?ⁱ] "island";  [^ea] "great."</p>

IV. THE FALL AND RISE OF VOCALIC WRITING

Albright believed that group writing reached its zenith in the Nineteenth Dynasty, and that it subsequently began to decline in the Twentieth Dynasty.⁷⁰ The evidence, however, shows that the decline, if it may be categorized as such, really began during the Hyksos period. However, the demise of ME group writing does not mean that it was replaced by an arbitrary and meaningless Late Egyptian system. Certainly in New Kingdom times the need to indicate vowels in unfamiliar or foreign words continued to be just as pressing as in earlier periods. It would be wrong to categorize the later system as a degeneration, for as old aspects were falling into disuse, elements of a new system were evolving. The attempt to regularly indicate the *a*-vowel series was a decided improvement over the earlier systems. New Kingdom group writing was not an inferior system, but rather a much more fluid and complex system, resulting from a long period of evolution.⁷¹ Compared to the earlier system, it was much more widely used (and therefore also misused) by scribes of varying degrees of skill and with differing appreciation for accuracy. The increasing complexity and widespread use inevitably led to further change, but not a breakdown. In the post-empire period, however, with no major presence abroad, the Egyptians' familiarity with foreign words began to fade, and foreign words and group writing virtually disappear from the inscriptions of the Twenty-first Dynasty on. In the monumental texts, Late Egyptian is replaced by the classical Middle Egyptian idiom, written in the traditional consonantal orthography.

The group writing system was, however, not abandoned. Even in monumental inscriptions the system is quite evident in the writing of the names of rulers and ancestors of the Libyan and Nubian dynasts. Hieratic retained group writing and the old groups are ubiquitous in demotic (usually with apparent disregard to vowel quality, but *y* and *w* are used

⁷⁰VESO, pp. 13–14.

⁷¹Unlike the Old / Middle Kingdom system that appears to have been devised rather systematically at a specific time.

as vowel letters in transcribing Aramaic⁷²). The system did not remain static, and changes took place as early as the time of Shishak. One of the most notable features is the use of the group  wa after an alphabetic sign (or *a*-series group) to represent an *o*- or *u*-vowel. The recumbent lion  (rw) seems to have the values *li* / *ri* and *le* / *re* (according to the *u* to *e* vowel shift of the New Kingdom).⁷³ Later, re-inventing the key features of Old / Middle Egyptian vocalic writing, Ptolemaic writers also employed  (*w*) and  (*i*) following alphabetic signs (and groups) to represent the vowels *o* / *u* and *i* / *e*, respectively, while leaving *a*-vowels mostly unmarked.⁷⁴

With the spread of Hellenistic culture, the advantages of the Greek alphabet were recognized and it was sporadically used in demotic texts to facilitate the pronunciation of technical, magical, or otherwise obscure words. In practical terms, the Greek alphabet could be mastered with a minimum of time and effort, and the forms of the letters were distinct, which was not always the case in the Egyptian cursive scripts.⁷⁵ Knowledge of the Greek alphabet had other advantages, too. For the scholar it—along with a knowledge of Greek—opened up a new world of literature, history, medicine, and philosophy. And, of course, Greek was the international language of diplomacy and trade, as Aramaic had been under the Persians. Although changing cultural values, religious sensibilities, and scholarly pragmatism were no doubt the decisive factors leading to the replacement of the traditional Egyptian scripts with the Greco-Egyptian writing system and language, it may well be that the desire to produce vocalized text was also a major impetus. Although marking the end of three millennia of literature in native Egyptian scripts, the Coptic language was to have, in its turn, a long life of some twelve centuries, passing on its ancient heritage even to the present.

⁷²Cf. Vleeming and Wesselius, “An Aramaic religious text in Demotic Script,” *Biblioteca Orientalis* 39 (1982), pp. 501–9; Steiner and Nims, “Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin,” *Revue Biblique* 92 (1985), pp. 60–81.

⁷³Albright, *VESO*, p. 16.

⁷⁴In the Ptolemaic system, the recumbent lion retains the value *li* / *le* and *ri* / *re* and the *wa* group still indicates *o*- and *u*-vowels. A thorough analysis of the Late and Greco-Roman vocalic writing is beyond the scope of this work, but the system seems to work quite well, especially with the cartouches of the Ptolemaic names. I have not been quite so successful in interpreting Roman names, but this may be from a lack of familiarity with the materials. The study of deliberate group writing (and not the remnants of LE group writing) in demotic texts would also be required to complete the picture.

⁷⁵This was hardly a problem for skilled scribes, but for the student it must have been extremely frustrating.

TABLE 8

MIDDLE KINGDOM GROUP WRITING: STATUETTES

C / C(a)	Ci	Cu	Ca	CvC
 <i>l</i> ¹ (25)	 <i>li</i> (8)	 <i>lu</i> (10)		
 <i>i</i> (5)	 <i>^i</i> (10)	 <i>u</i> (1)	 <i>a</i> (10)	 <i>ab</i> (10)  <i>an</i> (1)
 <i>y</i> (36)				
 <i>c</i> (27)	 <i>ci</i> (1)			 <i>cal</i> (2)
 <i>w</i> (0)				 <i>wal</i> (2)
 <i>b</i> (3)		 <i>bu</i> (4)		 <i>bal</i> (2)
 <i>p</i> (9)	 <i>pi</i> (5)	 <i>pu</i> (3)		 <i>pal</i> (1)
 <i>f</i> (2)				
 <i>m</i> (25)	 <i>mi</i> (2)	 <i>mu</i> (17)	 <i>ma?</i> ² (2)	 <i>mal</i> (1)  <i>mi?</i> (1)  <i>m(?)r</i> (2)
				 <i>m(?)k</i> (2)  <i>mut</i> (1)
 <i>n</i> (7)	 <i>ni</i> (4)	 <i>nu</i> (8)  <i>ni</i> (3)		
 <i>r</i> (0)	 <i>ri</i> (2)	 <i>ru</i> (6)	 <i>ra</i> (7)	 <i>r(?)s</i> (1)  <i>ri</i> (1)
 <i>h</i> (14)	 <i>hi</i> (1)			 <i>hal</i> (4)
 <i>h</i> (6)				 <i>hal</i> (1)
 <i>s</i> (7 ⁴)	 <i>si</i> (1)	 <i>su</i> (1)		 <i>sap</i> (1)

¹The sign is transliterated as *z*, but it usually represents Semitic */l/* or */r/*.²Or perhaps just *m*.³And several similar variations.⁴“Bolt *s*” just once. The sign  (*s*) occurs five out of six times in the group  (*s*). This *s* corresponds to Semitic *š* and *ś*.

Table 8 cont.

C / C(a)	Ci	Cu	Ca	CvC
— ſ (6)	— ſi (3)	— ⊗ ſu (4) ⊗ ſu (3)		— ſal (3)
▫ q (11)	▫ qi (2)	▫ ⊗ qu (1)		
— k (12)	— ki (3)	— ⊗ ku (2)		
— g (1)				
— t (4)	— ti? (1) — ti (1)	— ⊗ tu (2)	ta? ⁵ (4) — ta? ⁶ (1)	— t(?)m (3) — t(?)n (1)
— t (6)	— ti (1)			
— d (7)	— di (2)	— ⊗ du (5)		
— d (4)	— di (1)	— ⊗ du (2)		

⁵The value is possibly *ti*.⁶Or is its value *tal*?

APPENDIX: CATALOGUE OF SIGNS

I. ALPHABETIC SIGNS

Some signs are both alphabetic and syllabic. These signs are listed here and also in section II, below. The Egyptian alphabetic sign *h* is not listed since it is not used in transcribing Semitic sounds. The signs are listed by Egyptian sign, standard transcription, and presumed Egyptian phonetic value (in square brackets). The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of occurrences of level 5 certainty. “F” indicates that the sign occurred in FINAL position. The frequency of the vowel signs has not been indicated, as these are very numerous.

	<i>a</i>	usually [a] as part of group		<i>h</i>	[h] (5)
	<i>i</i>	[?](1); [^a](5); [^i] F(1)		<i>h</i>	[h(a)] (5)
	<i>y</i>	[y] (6); [ya] (14); [yu] (2)		<i>b</i>	[b] (1); [?] (1); F (1)
	<i>y</i>	[i]		<i>s</i>	[s]
	<i>e</i>	[^e](0) ¹ ; [^a] (7)		<i>š</i>	[š]; [?] (3); F (2)
	<i>w</i>	[u]		<i>q, k</i>	[g] ?(1); [?] (5); F (3)
	<i>w</i>	[u]		<i>k</i>	[k] (1); [ka] (2)
	<i>b</i>	[b] (3); [?] (2)		<i>g</i>	[?] (3)
	<i>p</i>	[p] (7)		<i>t</i>	[t] (1); [ta] (1); F (7)
	<i>f</i>	[pf] ?(2) ²		<i>tsi</i>	[tsi] ?(1) ³ ; [ta] (9)
	<i>m</i>	[m] (2); [m(a)] (2) ⁴		<i>d</i>	[d] ?(1) ⁵
	<i>n</i>	[n] (2)		<i>dza</i>	[dza] ?(1) ⁶ ; [dzi] (2) ⁷
	<i>r</i>	[r] (3); [r(a)] (2); F (2)			

¹There are five instances of the use of this sign in words not written in group writing, but purely consonantly.

²Nom. 310 202

II. SIGN GROUPS

The evidence used is of certainty level [5] unless otherwise indicated. "F" indicates the times that the sign is in FINAL position, i.e. it is likely to represent an *a*-vowel (of the accusative in nouns, final vowel of *qatala* form in verbs) or a *u*-vowel (nominative), etc. The values were assigned to the sign groups mostly from the reconstructions of the most reliable evidence. (In earlier stages of the study, each sign had only one transliteration.) In some cases secondary values were not proposed for a given group because the writings were presumed to be defective or erroneous. The entry number is given in curved braces { }. The citations are based on the vowels and not on the consonants. (E.g. *ra* is the form cited, even if in the particular instance it stands for Semitic [la].) Sign groups marked with a subscript *x* are considered possible values, but ones which were not adopted in this work. The dagger (†) indicates that all the evidence from various levels of certainty included in this study have been cited.

	† -im {177} [D. 18]		† ² an ₂ {[4]: 12} [D. 18]
	† -ir {[3]: 582} [D. 18]		See under <i>nu</i> ₂ , below.
	² i ₂ {16, 18} [D. 18, 19]		² is {[10)} [D. 18]
	F {[4]: 83, 173, 401, 429}		? {31}
	² El {16} [D. 18]		† ² idal {[3]: 43} [D. 19–20]
	² a ₂ {2, 3, 6, 22, 40} [D. 18–25]		ya {1, 48, 52, 54, 59, 64, 175, 273} [D. 18–21]
	² i ₃ {16, 18} [D. 18–22]		as a plural suffix: {3, 11, 18, 104, 108, 150, 205, 209, 274, 323, 397, 442, 528} [D. 19–21]
	? {24, 112}		as hypocoristic suffix: {2, 24, 107, 187, 190, 319, 401} [D. 18–22]
	² i {38, 573} [D. 18–22]		? as <i>nisbe</i> ending: {443}
	? {7, 24}		y {65, 113, 224, 258, 290, 479} [D. 18–20]
	² u {49, 285} [D. 19–20]		? {72, 98, 202, 253, 318, 337, 528, 575}
	F: plural ending {442, 443} [D. 19–20]		yu {49} [D. 21–22]
	† ² u ₂ {[1, 2]: 8, 9, 44, 560} [D. 19–20]		F: as plural ending {70} [D. 19]
	² u ₃ {10, 285, 573} [D. 18–20]		ya {52} [D. 18, 21]
	† ² ab ₂ {2} [D. 19]		† yu ₂ {56, 63} [D. 22]
	† ² aba {205} [D. 20–21]		
	† ² aba ₃ {205} [D. 21]		
	² an- {11} [D. 19–21]		

⁸Possibly a miswriting of $\text{c} = p = ru_2$. The group possibly occurs in 580. Also in [3]: 219. Most are from the Eighteenth Dynasty.

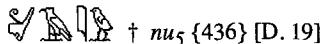
		<i>ma</i> {76, 175, 187, 189, 190, 192, 194, 198, 199, 205, 214, 217, 222, 228, 243, 278, 458, 479, 581} [D. 18–22] F {52, 56, 406, 407} <i>mu_x</i> ? {179, 212} [D. 19–20] <i>m</i> {316, 464} [D. 19, 21] ? {409, 463}
		<i>ma₂</i> {177, 217, 406, 407, 409} [D. 19–21]
		<i>ma₃</i> {175, 177, 189, 224, 228, 278} [D. 18–19] <i>mi₃</i> {10, 177, 479} [D. 18] <i>m</i> {402} ? {187}
		<i>ma₄</i> {52, 175, 189, 190, 192, 203, 224, 228, 278, 406, 408} [D. 18–22] ? {244}
		† <i>ma₅</i> {[4]: 227; [1]: 160} [D. 19–20]
		† <i>mi</i> {[4]: 582} [D. 18, 20]
		† <i>mi₂</i> {[1]: 44} [D. 19 or 20]
		† <i>mu</i> F: {244, 304; [4]: 503, 522} [D. 19–20]
		† <i>mu₂</i> {181} [D. 18–20] F: {52; [3]: 61; [1]: 103}
		† <i>mu₃</i> {52, 161, 304} [D. 18–21]
		† <i>mu₄</i> {181} [D. 19]
		† <i>mu₅</i> {[3]: 303} [D. 20]

⁹A less carefully written variant.
Cf. 187, 369.

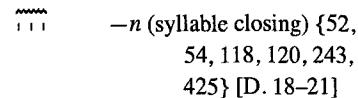
	† <i>mu₆</i> {278} [?]
	† <i>man</i> {162, 165; [4]: 12; [3]: 459, 460, 451; [2]: 166; [1]: 167} [D. 18–22]
	† <i>man₂</i> {[4]: 12} [D. 19–20]
	† <i>mar</i> or <i>mir?</i> {183; [4]: 184} [D. 19–21]
	† <i>mah</i> {[3]: 193} [D. 19]
	† <i>mas</i> {201, 202} [D. 18–19]
	† <i>mak</i> {222, 223, 224; [2]: 370} [D. 19–21]
	<i>na</i> {244, 245, 253, 436} [D. 18–22] F {11, 65, 84, 175, 253, 290, 438, 479, 546, 576}
	<i>na₂</i> {436; [4]: 248, 254, 259} [D. 19–20] F {245, 479} (Lapidary)
	<i>ni</i> {79, 371} [D. 18–25]
	<i>nu</i> {[4]: 248} [D. 19–25] F {506; [4]: 288, 310}
	<i>nu₂</i> {162, 467; [3]: 587} [D. 19–20]
	† <i>nu₃</i> {[3]: 121 ¹⁰ } [D. 19]
	† <i>nu₄</i> {245 ¹¹ } [?]

¹⁰The word is written with metathesis and the position of the vowel is therefore uncertain.

¹¹The writing is cited by Burchardt, no. 559, but I was unable to verify it.

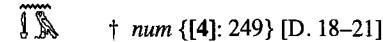


$\dagger nu_5$ {436} [D. 19]
This group is perhaps just a miswriting of nu_2 .



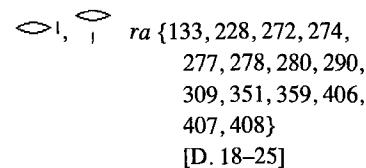
$-n$ (syllable closing) {52, 54, 118, 120, 243, 425} [D. 18–21]

There was only one example of this sign group in an Eighteenth Dynasty (hieratic) text (no. 54).



$\dagger num$ {[4]: 249} [D. 18–21]

$\ddagger nud$ {[3]: 268} [D. 18]



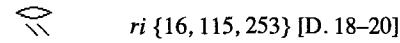
ra {133, 228, 272, 274, 277, 278, 280, 290, 309, 351, 359, 406, 407, 408} [D. 18–25]

F: {3, 16, 40, 70, 112, 115, 117, 217, 224, 258, 294, 390, 438, 540, 541, 542}

(V)r {175, 179, 187, 189, 375, 436, 437, 438, 479}

ri_x ? {135}

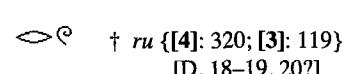
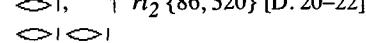
ru_x ? (for [ə]) {177} ? {18, 49, 127, 128, 129, 181, 287, 323, 546}



ri {16, 115, 253} [D. 18–20]

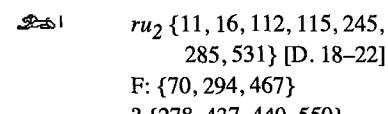
F: {190}

? {323, 479}



$\dagger ru$ {[4]: 320; [3]: 119}

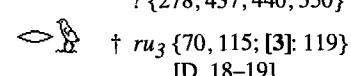
[D. 18–19, 20?]



ru_2 {11, 16, 112, 115, 245, 285, 531} [D. 18–22]

F: {70, 294, 467}

? {278, 437, 440, 550}



$\dagger ru_3$ {70, 115; [3]: 119} [D. 18–19]

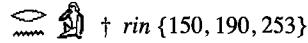


$-r$ (syllable closing) {22, 84, 100, 130, 131, 175, 179, 187, 189, 323, 324, 346, 390, 409, 436, 437, 438, 485, 546, 550} [D. 19–21]

ra_x ? ira ? {3, 126, 202, 275, 406} [D. 18, 19–20]

(initial syllable) {275, 276} F: {16, 24, 70, 108, 150, 190, 202, 224, 253, 258, 214, 389, 463, 485, 540} ? {87, 127, 309, 475}

In at least some cases perhaps the group $-r$ was intended as $-i-ra$, with the oblique strokes converting the previous sign group into one with the *i*-vowel and the normal ra group follows. This would seem to be the case in no. 202, since the $\dagger ra$ group does not otherwise occur in the Eighteenth Dynasty material included in this study. This is a very common group throughout the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, but it does not seem to be in use in the Shishak toponym list of the Twenty-second Dynasty.



This sign group derives from the Egyptian word *rn* “name.”



ha {253, 294, 304}

[D. 18–21]

hi_x ? {24, 190}



$\dagger hi$ {24} [D. 18–20]



$\dagger hu$ {[3]: 303} [D. 20]



$\dagger hu_2$ {290} [D. 18, 20]



$\dagger hu_3$ {[3]: 303} [D. 20]

	† <i>had</i> {304} [D. 19]		† <i>si</i> F: {[4]: 496} [D. 19]
This sign group derives from the Egyptian verb <i>hd</i> “to attack.”			
	† <i>su</i> F: {[3]: 102} [D. 19]		† <i>su</i> F: {[4]: 368} [D. 19–21]
This sign group derives from the Egyptian verb <i>hd</i> “to attack.”			F: {183; [4]: 184, 286, , 456, 482, 496}
	† <i>ha</i> {280, 309, 310, 323, 324, 329, 411} [D. 18–22]		† <i>su</i> F: {[3]: 53, 369} [D. 18]
F: {179, 203, 464} <i>hu</i> ₄ {316}			F: {[3]: 102}
	† <i>ha</i> ₂ {59; [4]: 311, 312, 320, 321} [D. 18–22]		
	† <i>hi</i> {[3]: 410, 468} [D. 19–20]		† <i>ša</i> {92, 275, 285, 389, 390, 400, 402, 406, 407, 408, 409, 411,} [D. 18–25]
	† <i>hu</i> {563} [D. 19]		F: {274?, 509, 510}
	† <i>hu</i> ₂ {[3]: 468} [D. 18]		† <i>ši</i> ₂ {84, 397} [D. 18–21]
	† <i>hu</i> ₃ {[3]: 305} [D. 19]		† <i>šu</i> ₅ {399; [4]: 391, 392, 399} [D. 18–25]
	† <i>ham</i> {54} [D. 18]		? {72, 93, 212}
	† <i>han</i> {318} [D. 18]		† <i>ša</i> ₂ {285} [D. 20]
	† <i>har</i> {323} [D. 19, 20]		† <i>ši</i> F: {441} [D. 18–19]
	† <i>hut</i> {[3]: 373} [D. 20]		† <i>šu</i> F: {441, 509; [3]: 153} [D. 19, 19 or 20]
	† <i>ha</i> {341; [4]: 332, 337, 338, 352} [D. 18–22]		† <i>šu</i> ₂ {[3]: 138} [D. 20]
<i>hu</i> ₂ {[4]: 332, 334} ? {346 ¹² }			† <i>šu</i> ₃ {402} [D. 18]
	† <i>hi</i> {[4]: 195} [D. 18–25] ? {151, 152, 198, 199, 351}		† <i>šu</i> ₄ {441} [D. 18]
	† <i>hu</i> {151, 152} [D. 19–20]		
	† <i>hu</i> ₃ F: {562} [D. 18]		† <i>qa</i> {22, 351, 437, 438} [D. 18–22]
	sa {59, 198, 329, 359, 364, 371, 375, 537} [D. 18–25]		F: {126, 375, 411}
F: {222}			† <i>qi</i> {[4]: 217; [4]: 185, 221; [3]: 427} [D. 19–20]
	† <i>qu</i> {48, 440, 436; [4]: 218} [D. 19–20]		? {140, 214, 423, 428, 429, 442, 443, 571}
	† <i>qi</i> {[4]: 185, 433} [D. 18–19]		? {[4]: 221}
	† <i>qu</i> F: {93; [4]: 227; [3]: 43, 75} [D. 19–20]		

¹²Either *ha* or *hu*₂ is possible.

 † *qu₂* F: {74, 375; [4]: 221} [D. 18–19]

 † *qu₃* *qa* expected: {437; [4]: 439} [D. 19–20] F: {[3]: {75}}

Perhaps the group *qu₃* is merely a variant of *qa*, with the *w* serving only as a “space filler.”

 † *qab* {424} [D. 20]

The determinative derives from the Egyptian *q**ʒ**b* “intestine; interior” and “to double.”

  † *qid* {441} [D. 18–21]

 *ka* {130, 131, 189, 290, 437, 457, 458, 464, 474, 479, 485, 500} [D. 18–22]

? {187, 463, 505}

 † *ki* ? {189} [D. 20]

  *ku* {187, 501, 502, 505, 506} [D. 18–22]

F: {127, 128}

? {475, 479}

 † *ku₂* {128} [D. 20]

  † *ku₃* {[3]: 381} [D. 19–20]

This sign group derives from the Egyptian word *ky, kt* “other, another.”

 Possibly to be read as the group *kin*: {467} [D. 19]

If this is a distinct sign group, perhaps it derives from the Canaanite 2nd f. pl. suffix pronoun **kina*.

 *ga* {100, 126, 214, 228, 509} [D. 19–25]
gi₂ {217; [3]: 427} [D. 19, 19 or 20]
gu₃ {[4]: 102} [D. 19]
? {287, 510, 575}

 † *gu* {[4]: 530} [D. 20]

 † *gu₂* {[2]: 558} [D. 18]

 † *gar* {[4]: 520} [D. 20–21]

The sign group is based on a normal writing of the word *grg* “to establish” (or “to hunt”). Coptic *swps*^S “to furnish; hunt” shows that the final *g* was retained, but presumably was not pronounced in this example.

 † *gas* {[4]: 522} [D. 19]

This sign group derives from the Egyptian *gs*, Coptic *soc*^S “side.”

  *ta* {202, 224, 398, 531} [D. 18–22]

F, as fem. ending: {7, 34, 100, 105, 112, 113, 116, 120, 130, 131, 135, 144, 146, 165, 189, 199, 203 (with metathesis), 222, 228, 243, 287, 309, 329, 351, 356, 359, 409, 425, 436, 437, 440, 455, 475, 505, 537, 550, 571}

F: {397}

? {501}

  † *ta₂* ? {397} [D. 20]

 † *ta₃* {531, 537} [D. 19]

 † *ta₄* {[3]: 524} [D. 18]

 *ta₅* {135, 144, 228, 309, 329, 437, 501, 542} (Lapidary) [D. 18–22]

 † *ti* F: {[3]: 392} [D. 18]

? as Egy. stative: {321}

F (superfluous): {[4]: 260}

			<i>ti₂</i> {[4]: 527} [D. 19–21] F: {6, 120, 146}
			<i>ti₃</i> {202} [D. 18]
			<i>tu</i> F: {505, 592} [D. 18–21]
			<i>tu₂</i> {64 ?, [4]: 525} [D. 18] F: {112, 189, 228, 277, 425}
			<i>tu₃</i> F: {[4]: 124} [D. 19]
<i>*Ta:</i> a sign group was never devised for this vocalization. <i>T</i> seems to correspond to Semitic <i>samekh</i> only when written with Egyptian <i>i-</i> and <i>u-</i> vowels. The <i>t</i> sign, with an <i>a</i> -vowel seems to always be <i>ta</i> . Cf. <i>ta₅</i> .			
For a brief discussion of the question, see Part II, Chapter 1, II B.			
			<i>ti</i> {[4]: 352; [3]: 234} (Hieratic, Lapidary) [D. 18–20]
			<i>ti₄</i> {[4]: 299} (Lapidary) [D. 20]
			<i>ti₂</i> {38, 40, 505, 506, 546} [D. 18–22]
			<i>*ta</i> expected: {502, 541} ? {550, 556}
			<i>tu</i> ? {[4]: 95} (Lapidary) [D. 18]
			<i>tu</i> {540, 550} (Hieratic, Lapidary) [D. 19–20] ? {502, 542, 546}
			<i>tu</i> {550; [3]: 524} (Hieratic, Lapidary) [D. 18–19]
			<i>tu₄</i> {425} (Lapidary) [D. 18]
			See under <i>ta₅</i> .

			<i>da</i> {329; [4]: 170, 418} [D. 19–20]
			? {440, 569}
			† <i>da₂</i> ? {[3]: 279; [1]: 386} [D. 19–20]
The sign group <i>da₂</i> derives from the Egyptian word <i>drr</i> “hand.” The value assigned is largely based on Coptic <i>taopeS</i> .			
			<i>di</i> {64, 69, 329} [D. 18–21]
			? {76, 212, 397, 440}
			<i>du</i> {105; [4]: 562} [D. 18–20]
			? {594}
			<i>da</i> {570, 571, 573, 575, 576, 581} [D. 18–22]
			F: {310, 341, 442}
			<i>di₄</i> {108, 438, 506, 592} [D. 18–22]
			? {309}
			<i>di</i> {438, 595; [3]: 582} [D. 18–20]
			† <i>di₂</i> {[3]: 587} [D. 19]
			† <i>di₃</i> {506, 594; [3]: 106} [D. 19–21]
			† <i>du₂</i> F: {87, 442, 443; [3]: 45} [D. 18–20]
			† <i>du₃</i> F: {442; [3]: 110} [D. 18]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aartun, K. "Neue Beiträge zum ugaritischen Lexikon I," *UF* 16 (1984), pp. 1–52.
- Abou-Assaf, A., P. Bordreuil, and A.R. Millard. *La statue de Tell Fakherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméene*. Paris: 1982. *Études Assyriologiques*, 7.
- Abubakr, A.M. and J. Osing. "Ächtungstexte aus dem Alten Reich," *MDAIK* 29 (1974), p. 97 ff.
- Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin. 2 vols. Leipzig: 1913–24.
- Aharoni, Y. *Land of the Bible*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: 1979.
- Ahituv, S. *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*. Jerusalem: 1984.
- Aistleitner, J. *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*. Berlin: 1974. *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Phil.-hist. Kl.* Band 103, Heft 3.
- Albright, W.F. "The Egyptian Empire in Asia in the Twenty-first Century B.C.," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 8, p. 223 ff.
- _____. "Cilicia and Babylonia under the Chaldean Kings," *BASOR* 120 (1950), pp. 23–25.
- _____. "The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre," *JEA* 23 (1937), pp. 190–203.
- _____. "The Hebrew Expression for 'Making a Covenant' in pre-Israelite Documents," *BASOR* 121 (1951), pp. 21–22.
- _____. "The New Cuneiform Vocabulary of Egyptian Words," *JEA* 12 (1926), pp. 186–90.
- _____. "New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," *BASOR* 83 (1941), pp. 14–22.
- _____. "Northwest-Semitic Names in a List of Egyptian Slaves from the Eighteenth Century B.C.," *JAOS* 74 (1954), pp. 222–33.
- _____. "Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology II," *AJS* 34 (1918), pp. 215–55.
- _____. *The Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and their Decipherment*. Cambridge: 1966.
- _____. *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*. New Haven: 1934.
- _____. (Review) *BASOR* 146 (1957), p. 35.
- Albright, W.F. and T.O. Lamdin. "New Material for the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography," *JSS* 2 (1957), p. 113–27.
- Allam, S. "Einige hieratische Ostraka der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin," *Forschungen und Berichte* 22 (1982), pp. 51–61.
- _____. *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*. 2 vols. Tübingen:

- Arbeitman, Y.L. ed. *Fucus. A Semitic/Afrasian Gathering in Remembrance of Albert Ehrman*. Amsterdam: 1988. *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science*, Series IV, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, no. 58.
- Assman, J. and S. Schoske. *Sonnenhymnen in Thebanischen Gräbern*. Mainz: 1983.
- The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: 1956 (still in progress).
- Aufrecht, W.E. *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions*. Queenston: 1989.
- Badawi, A.M. "Die neue historische Stele Amenophis' II.", *ASAE* 42 (1943), pp. 1–23, pl. 1.
- Bakir, A. *Egyptian Epistolography from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-first Dynasty*. Cairo: 1970.
- Bardinet, T. "Remarques sur les maladies de la peau, la lèpre, et le châtiment divin dans l'Égypte ancienne," *RdE* 39 (1988), pp. 3–36.
- Barguet, P. *La Stèle de la Famine à Sehel*. Cairo: 1953.
- Barth, J. *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*. Leipzig: 1889.
- Bauer, H. and P. Leander. *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments*. Halle an der Saale: 1922.
- Beeston, A.F.L. *A Descriptive Grammar of Epigraphic South Arabian*. London: 1962.
- . *Sabaic Grammar*. Manchester: 1984.
- Beeston, A.F.L., M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller, and J. Ryckmans. *Sabaic Dictionary*. Beirut: 1982.
- Bellion, M. *Egypte Ancienne: Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglypiques et hiératiques et des dessins, sur papyrus, cuir ou tissu publiés ou signalés*. Paris: 1987.
- Benz, F.L. *Personal Names in Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions: A Catalog, Grammatical Study and Glossary of Elements*. Rome: 1972. *Studia Pohl*, 8.
- Bergman, E. von. "Inscriptionliche Denkmäler der Sammlung ägyptischer Alterthumer des österreichischen Kaiserhauses," *Rec. Trav.* 12 (1892), pp. 1–23.
- Bergrässer, G. *Hebräische Grammatik*. 2 vols. Hildesheim: 1962 reprint of 1918 Leipzig edition.
- Biella, J.C. *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabean Dialect*. Chico, Calif.: 1982.
- Bierbrier, M.L. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*. Part 10. London: 1982.
- Blackman, A.M. "Oracles in Ancient Egypt," *JEA* 12 (1926), pp. 176–85 and pls. 34–42.
- . (Brief Notice), *JEA* 22 (1936), p. 104.
- . (Review of Gardiner's Ch. Beatty I), *JEA* 19 (1933), pp. 200–4.
- Blackman, A. and T.E. Peet. "Papyrus Lansing: a Translation with Notes," *JEA* 11 (1925), pp. 284–98.
- Blau, J. *On Polyphony in Biblical Hebrew*. Jerusalem: 1982. *The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Proceedings*. Vol. 6, no. 2.
- . "'Weak' Phonetic Change and the Hebrew Šin," *Hebrew Annual Review* 1 (1977), pp. 67–119.
- Boeser, P.A.A. *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*. Haag: 1905.
- Bogoslovski, E.S. ("Monuments and Documents from Dêr el-Medîna in Museums of the USSR"), *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, (1973), pp. 75–104 (Russian with English summary).

- Böhl, F.M. Th. *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kanaanismen*. Leipzig: 1909. *Leipziger Semitistische Studien*, V. Band Heft 2.
- Bomhard, A.R. "The Reconstruction of the Proto-Semitic Consonant System," in Y.L. Arbeitman, ed., *Fucus: A Semitic/Afrasian Gathering in Remembrance of Albert Ehrman*. Amsterdam: 1988, pp. 113–40.
- Borchardt, L. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo (CGC)*. 4 vols. Berlin: 1911–34.
- Bottéro, J. "Autres textes de Qatna," *RA* 44 (1950), p. 105–18.
- Botterwick, G.J. and H. Ringgren, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (English, J.T. Willis, tr.). Grand Rapids: 1975 ff.
- Botti, G. "A Fragment of the Story of a Military Expedition of Thutmosis III to Syria (P. Turin 1940–41)," *JEA* 41 (1955), pp. 64–71.
- Botti, G. and T.E. Peet. *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*. Turin: 1928.
- Brandenstein, C.-G. von. "Zum Churrischen Lexicon," *ZA* 46 (1940), pp. 83–115.
- Breasted, J.H. *Ancient Records of Egypt*. 5 vols. Chicago: 1906.
- Brockelmann, C. *Lexicon Syriacum*, 2nd ed. Halle: 1928.
- Brown, F., S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs. *The New Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius Hebrew and English Lexicon*. (BDB). Reprint, Lafayette, Indiana: 1979.
- Brugsch, H. *Hieroglyphisch-demotsisches Wörterbuch*. 7 vols. Leipzig: 1867–82.
- Bruyère, B. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935–40)*. 3 vols. Cairo: 1948, 1952.
- Budge, E.A.W. *Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerāsher and Netchemet with supplementary text from the papyrus of Nu*. London: 1899.
- Burchardt, M. *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen*. Leipzig: 1909–10.
- . "Ein arisch-ostsemitischer Name," *ZÄS* 50 (1912), p. 122.
- . "Zur Rassenzugehörigkeit der Hyksos," *ZÄS* 50 (1912), pp. 6–8.
- Caminos, R.A. *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. Oxford: 1954.
- . *A Tale of Woe from a hieratic papyrus in the A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow*. Oxford: 1977.
- Cantineau, J. *Études de linguistique Arabe*. Paris: 1960.
- Carter, H. and A.H. Gardiner. "The Tomb of Ramesses IV and the Turin Plan of a Royal Tomb," *JEA* 4 (1917), pp. 130–58.
- Cazelles, H. "The Hebrews," in D.J. Wiseman, ed. *Peoples of Old Testament Times*. Oxford: 1973, pp. 1–28.
- Černý, J. *Catalogue des Ostraca hiératiques non-littéraires de Deir el-Médineh*. 8 vols. Cairo: 1935–70.
- . *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. Cambridge: 1976.
- . *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamün*. Oxford: 1965.
- . *Late Ramesside Letters*. Brussels: 1939.
- . *Ostraca hiératiques. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Cairo: 1935.
- . *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*. 2 vols. Cairo: 1978, 1986.
- . "Papyrus Salt 124 (British Museum 10053)," *JEA* 15 (1929), pp. 243–58.
- . "Queen Èse of the Twentieth Dynasty and her Mother," *JEA* 44 (1958), pp. 31–37.

- Černý, J. "Restitution of, and Penalty attaching to Stolen Property in Ramesside Times," *JEA* 23 (1937), pp. 186–203.
- . "The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents," *JEA* 31 (1945), pp. 29–53 and pls. 8–12.
- Černý, J., B. Bruyère, and J.J. Clère. *Répertoire onomastique de Deir el Médineh (Répertoire)*. Cairo: 1949.
- Černý, J. and A.H. Gardiner. *Hieratic Ostraca*. Vol. I. Oxford: 1957.
- Chantraine, P. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grèque, histoire des mots*. Paris: 1968–80.
- Champollion, J.-F. *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives*. Paris: 1864, Geneva reprint 1973.
- Clère, J.J. "Deux statues 'gardiennes de porte' d'Époque Ramesside," *JEA* 54 (1968), pp. 135–48 and pls. 21–23.
- Cody, A. "The Phoenician Ecstatic in Wenamūn: a professional oracular medium," *JEA* 65 (1979), pp. 99–106.
- Cohen, Ch. and D. Sivan. *The Ugaritic Hippocratic Texts: A Critical Edition*. New Haven: 1983.
- Cohen, D. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*. La Haye: 1970–72.
- Colless, B.E. "The Proto-Alphabetic Inscriptions of Sinai," *Abr-Nahrain* 28 (1990), pp. 1–52.
- . "Recent Discoveries illuminating the Origin of the Alphabet," *Abr-Nahrain* 26 (1988), pp. 30–67.
- Condon, V. *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period*. Munich: 1978. MÄS, 37.
- Coogan, M.D. *West Semitic Personal Names in the Murašu Documents*. Thesis, Harvard: 1971.
- Cooke, G.A. *A Text-Book of North-semitic Inscriptions*. Oxford: 1903.
- Couroyer, B. "BRK-MRK," *Orientalia* 32, (1963), pp. 170–77.
- . "Brk et les formules égyptiennes de salutation," *Revue Biblique* 85 (1987), pp. 575–85.
- . "Trois épithètes de Ramsès II," *Orientalia* 33 (1964), pp. 443–60.
- Couyat, J. and P. Montet. *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouadi Hammâmat*. Cairo: 1912. MIFAO, 34.
- Cross, F.M. and D.N. Freedman. *Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence*. Baltimore: 1952.
- Czermak, W. *Die Laute der ägyptischen Sprache: Eine phonetische Untersuchung*. Vienna: 1931–34. *Schriften der Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Ägyptologen und Afrikanisten in Wien*, 2–3.
- Davies, N. de G. *Rock Tombs of Amarna*. 6 vols. London: 1903–8.
- . *The Tomb of Puyemrê*. New York: 1922.
- Dawson, W.R. "Studies in the Egyptian Medical Texts," *JEA* 20 (1934), pp. 185–88.
- Dawson, W.R. and T.E. Peet. "The So-called Poem on the King's Chariot," *JEA* 19 (1932), pp. 167–74, pls. 25–29.
- de Buck, A. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 3 vols. Chicago: 1935–47.
- . "The Judicial Papyrus of Turin," *JEA* 23 (1937), pp. 152–64.

- de Moor, J.C. "Contributions to the Ugaritic Lexikon," *UF* 11 (1979), pp. 639–53.
- . "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra I," *UF* (1969), pp. 167–88.
- de Moor, J.C. and K. Spronk. *A Cuneiform Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*. Leiden: 1987. *Semitic Studies Series*, 6.
- Degen, R. *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.–8. Jh. v. Chr.* Wiesbaden: 1969.
- . "Zur Schreibung des Kaška-Namens in ägyptischen, ugaritischen, und altaramäischen Quellen," *Welt des Orients* 4 (1967–68), pp. 48–60.
- Demsky, A. "A Proto-canaanite Abecedary dating from the Period of Judges and its implications for the History of the Alphabet," *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977), pp. 14–27.
- Dévaud, E. "Etudes de lexicographie égyptienne et copte," *Kêmi* 2 (1929), pp. 3–18.
- Dietrich, M., and O. Loretz. "Akkadisch *siparru* 'Bronze,'" *UF* 17 (1985), p. 401.
- . "The Cuneiform Alphabets of Ugarit," *UF* 21 (1989), pp. 101–12.
- . "Der Vertrag zwischen Šuppiluliuma und Niqmandu," *Die Welt des Orients* 3 (1964–66), pp. 206–45.
- Dietrich, M., O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Bemerkungen zur Schlangenbeschwörung RS 24.244 (= UG. 5, S. 564-ff Nr. 7)," *UF* 7 (1975), pp. 121–25.
- . "Der 'Neujahrspsalms' Rs 24.252 (= UG. 5, S. 551–557, Nr. 2)," *UF* 7 (1975), pp. 115–19.
- Dijkstra, M. "Another Text in the Shorter Cuneiform Alphabet (KTU 5.22)," *UF* 18 (1986), pp. 121–23.
- . "Murices in Ugaritic Mythology," *Orientalia* 37 (1968), p. 211 ff.
- Dijkstra, M. and J.C. de Moor. "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhâtu," *UF* 7 (1975), pp. 172–220.
- Dion, P.E. *La langue de Ya'udi. Description et classement de l'ancien parler de Zencirli dans le cadre des langues sémitiques du nord-ouest O.O.* 1974
- Donner, H. and W. Röllig. *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: 1962–64.
- Doresse, M. "Le dieu voilé dans sa châsse et la fête du début de la décade (suite)," *RdE* 25 (1973), pp. 92–135 and pls. 8–9.
- Dozy, R. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. 2 vols. Leiden: 1881.
- Driorton, É. "Notes diverses," *ASAE* 45 (1947), pp. 53–98.
- Driver, G.R. "Hebrew Language," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Chicago: 1965, vol. 11, pp. 279–84.
- . *Semitic Writing: From Pictograph to Alphabet*. (3rd ed.) London: 1970.
- Dupont-Sommer, A. "La tablette cunéiforme araméene de Warka," *Revue d'Assyriologie* 39, p. 35 ff.
- Ebach, J. and U. Rüterswörden, "Der bybitische Ekstatiker im Bericht des *Wn-Imn* und die Scher in der Inschrift des *ZKR* von Hamat," *GM* 20 (1976), pp. 17–22.
- Ebbel, B. "Die ägyptischen Krankheitsnamen," *ZÄS* 59 (1924), pp. 55–59 and 144–49.
- Ebers, G. *Papyrus Ebers*. 2 vols. Leipzig: 1875.
- Edel, E. "Kleinasiatische und Semitische Namen und Wörter aus den Texten der Qadeßschlacht in hieroglyphischer Umschrift," *Fontes atque Pontes* (Festschrift Brunner). Wiesbaden: 1983, pp. 90–105.
- . "Neues Material zur Beurteilung der syllabischen Orthographie des Ägyptischen," *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 44–47; 7, p. 11 ff.

- Edel, E. *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis' III.* Bonn: 1966. *Bonner Biblische Beiträge*, 25.
- . “Die Stelen Amenophis' II. aus Karnak und Memphis,” *ZDPV* 69 (1953), pp. 97–176.
- Edgerton, W.F. “Egyptian Phonetic Writing, from its Invention to the Close of the Nineteenth Dynasty,” *JAOS* 60 (1940), pp. 473–506.
- Edgerton, W.F. and J.A. Wilson. *Historical Records of Ramses III. The Texts in Medinet Habu volumes I and II.* Chicago: 1936. *University of Chicago Oriental Institute Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, 12.
- Edwards, I.E.S. “Appendix,” *JEA* 41 (1955), pp. 96–105 and pl. 20.
- . *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Fourth Series, Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the late New Kingdom.* 2 vols. London: 1960.
- Eichler, G.L. “On Weaving Etymological and Semantic Threads: The Semitic Root *QL'*,” in T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, and P. Steinkeller, eds., *Lingering Over Words. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*. Atlanta: 1990, pp. 163–69.
- Ember, A. “Kindred Semito-Egyptian Words,” *ZÄS* 49 (1911), pp. 93–94.
- Eph'el, I. *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th–5th Centuries B.C.* Jerusalem: 1982.
- Epstein, C. “A New Appraisal of some Lines from a Long-known Papyrus,” *JEA* 49 (1963), pp. 49–56, and pl. 8.
- Erichsen, W. *Demotisches Glossar.* Copenhagen: 1954.
- . *Papyrus Harris I: Hieroglyphische Transkription* Brussels: 1933. *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, 5.
- Erman, A. “Hebräische עַל ‘springen,’ ” *OLZ* 28 (1925), p. 5.
- . “Hieratische Ostraca,” *ZÄS* 18 (1880), pp. 93–99.
- . *Neu-ägyptische Grammatik.* 2nd. ed. Leipzig: 1933.
- . “Eine Reise nach Phönizien im 11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.,” *ZÄS* 38 (1900), pp. 1–14.
- . “Über den Wert der in den altägyptischen Texten vorkommenden semitischen Fremdwörter,” *ZÄS* 14 (1876), p. 38 ff.
- . “Das Verhältniss des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen,” *ZDMG* 46 (1892), pp. 93–129.
- Erman, A. and H. Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.* 5 vols. (+ Belegstellen). Berlin: 1926–53.
- Even-Shoshan, A. *קונקורנסיה חזדשה (Concordance).* Jerusalem: 1978.
- Eyre, C.J. “An accounts Papyrus from Thebes,” *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 108–119, figs. 1–2.
- Fakhry, A. “Bloks décorés provenant du Temple de Louxor,” *ASAE* 37 (1937), pp. 39–57.
- Faulkner, R.O. “Egyptian Military Organization,” *JEA* 39 (1953), pp. 32–47.
- Fecht, G. *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache.* Glückstadt: 1960. *Ägyptologische Forschungen*, 21.
- Finkelstein, J.J. “Mesopotamia,” *JNES* 21 (1962), pp. 73–92.
- Fischer-Elfert, H.-W. *Die Satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I.* Wiesbaden: 1986.
- . “The Sufferings of an Army Officer,” *GM* 63 (1983), pp. 43–45.
- . “Textkritische und Lexikographische Notizen zu den Late Egyptian Miscellanies,” *SAK* 10 (1983), pp. 141–49.

- Fontinoy, C. "Les noms de lieux en -ayim dans la Bible," *UF* 3 (1971), pp. 33–40.
- Foster, J.L. "Oriental Institute Ostracon no. 12074: 'Menna's Lament' or 'Letter to a Wayward Son,'" *JSSEA* 14 (1984), pp. 88–99.
- Fox, M.V. *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs*. Madison: 1985.
- Frankfort, H. *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*. 2 vols. London: 1933.
- Freytag, G.W. *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*. Beirut: 1975 reprint of the 1830 ed.
- Friedrich, J. "Ein churritisches Wort," *AfO* 16 (1952–53), p. 66.
- _____. "Churritisch-Ugaritsches und Churritisch-Luwisches," *AfO* 14 (1944), pp. 329–33.
- Friedrich, J. and W. Röllig. *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*. Rome: 1970.
- Frisk, H. *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: 1960.
- Gaballa, G.A. *The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose*. Warminster: 1977.
- _____. "Three Documents from the Reign of Ramesses III," *JEA* 59 (1973), pp. 109–13, pls. 37–38, and figs. 1–3.
- Garbini, G. *Il Semitico di Nord-ovest*. Naples: 1960.
- Gardiner, A.H. "Adoption Extraordinary," *JEA* 26 (1940), pp. 23–29 and pls. 5–7.
- _____. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. 3 vols. Oxford: 1947.
- _____. *The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. 1. The Library of Chester A. Beatty*. London: 1931.
- _____. "The Coronation of King Haremhab," *JEA* 39 (1953), pp. 31 and pl. 2.
- _____. *Egyptian Hieratic Texts, transcribed, translated and annotated. (EHT) Series I: Literary texts of the New Kingdom, part 1: The Papyrus Anastasi I and the Papyrus Koller, together with the parallel texts*. Leipzig: 1911.
- _____. *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series: Chester Beatty Gift*. 2 vols. London: 1935.
- _____. "The Inscription of Mes," *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegypten* IV. Leipzig: 1903–5, reprint Hildesheim: 1964, Hildesheim, p. 89 ff.
- _____. *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. Brussels: 1937.
- _____. *Late-Egyptian Stories*. Brussels: 1932.
- _____. "A Pharaonic Encomium," *JEA* 41 (1955), p. 30 and pls. 7–11.
- _____. "A Pharaonic Encomium. II," *JEA* 42 (1956), pp. 8–20.
- _____. *Ramesside Administrative Documents*. London: 1948.
- _____. *The Royal Canon of Turin*. Oxford: 1959.
- Gardiner, A.H., T.E. Peet, and J. Černý. *Inscriptions of Sinai*. 2nd ed. London: 1952. *Egyptian Exploration Society Memoir*, 45.
- Gardiner, A.H. and K. Sethe. *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*. London: 1928.
- Garr, W.R. *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000–586 B.C.E.* Philadelphia: 1985.
- Gasse, A. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir-el-Médina* Vol. 4. Cairo: 1990.
- _____. *Données nouvelles administratives et sacerdotales sur l'organisation du Domaine d'Amon XX^e–XXI^e dynasties (etc.)*. 2 vols. Cairo: 1988.
- Gauthier, H. *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou (CGC)*. Cairo: 1913.
- _____. *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*. 6 vols. Cairo: 1925–31.
- _____. *Livre des Rois d'Egypte*. Cairo: 1907, ff.
- Gelb, I.J. *Computer-aided Analysis of Amorite*. Chicago: 1980.

- Gelb, I.J. *A Study of Writing: The Foundations of Grammatology*. (rev. ed.) Chicago: 1963.
- Gesenius, W., E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley. *Hebrew Grammar*. Oxford: 1910.
- Ghoneim, W. *Die ökonomische Bedeutung des Rindes im Alten Ägypten*. Bonn: 1977.
- Gibson, J.C.L. *Canaanite Myths and Legends*. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: 1977.
- Giveon, R. "A New Kingdom Stela from Sinai," *IEJ* 31 (1981), pp. 168–71.
- . "Two Egyptian Documents concerning Bashan from the Time of Ramses II," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 40 (1965), pp. 197–200.
- Glanville, S.R.K. "Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Thutmoses III: Papyrus British Museum 10056," *ZÄS* 66 (1931), pp. 105–21 and p. 1* ff; 7–41; "Part II. Commentary," *ZÄS* 68 (1932), pp. 7–41.
- Glueck, N. *Deities and Dolphins*. New York: 1965.
- Goedicke, H. "The Capture of Joppa," *CdE* 43 (1968), pp. 219–33.
- . "Menna's Lament," *RdE* 38 (1987), pp. 63–80.
- Goedicke, H. and E. Wente. *Ostraka Michaelides*. Wiesbaden: 1962.
- Goetze, A. "Remarks on the Ration Lists from Alalakh VII," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 13 (1959), pp. 34–38.
- Golénishchev, V. *Papyrus Hiératiques*. (CGC, 83). Cairo: 1927.
- Gordon, C.H. *Ugaritic Textbook: Texts in Transliteration, Cuneiform Selections, Glossary, Grammar*. 3rd ed. Rome: 1965. *Analecta Orientalia*, 38.
- Görg, M. "Beobachtung zu einem semitischen Fremdwort im Ägyptischen," *SAK* 2 (1975), pp. 75–77.
- . "Bericht über die Arbeit an einem Wörterbuch der semitischen Fremdwörter im Ägyptischen," in W.F. Reineke, ed. *Acts First ICE*. Berlin: 1979.
- . "Der Ekstatiker von Byblos," *GM* 23 (1977), pp. 31–33.
- . "Etymologisch-semantische Perspektiven zu בָּרִית," in H.-J. Fabry, ed. *Bausteine Biblischer Theologie, Festgabe für G. Johannes Botterweck zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Schülern*. Cologne: 1977, pp. 25–36. *Bonner Biblische Beiträge*, 50.
- . "Ein Fachausdruck israelitischer Architektur," *Biblische Notizen* 3 (1977), pp. 14–16.
- . "Der 'Fremde' (*gēr*): ein Fremdwort im Alten Testament?" *Biblische Notizen* 25 (1984), pp. 10–13.
- . "Hiwiter im 13. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," *UF* 8 (1976), pp. 53–55.
- . "Mitanni in Gruppenschreibung," *GM* 32 (1979), pp. 17–19.
- . "Mrk (Wb II, 113) = kan. *mlg*," *GM* 13 (1974), pp. 13–15.
- . "Noch einmal zu šrgħ," *GM* 47 (1981), pp. 21–22.
- . "Saron als politische Einheit," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 19 (1975), pp. 98–99.
- . "Ein semitisch-ostmediterranes Kulturwort im Alten Testament," *Biblische Notizen* 8 (1979), pp. 7–10.
- . "*Tnr* ('stark'), ein semitisches Lehnwort?," *GM* 68 (1983), p. 53 ff.
- . *Untersuchungen zur hieroglyphischen Wiedergabe palästinischer Ortsnamen*. Bonn: 1974.
- . "Wohnsitz des Lot," *GM* 19 (1976), pp. 31–32.
- . "Zum Wechsel *k* / *q* in ägyptischen Transkriptionen," *JEA* 63, 1977, pp. 178–80.

- Görg, M. "Zur Bezeichnung *brjt* (pAnast. II 8,2)," *GM* 27 (1978), pp. 23–24.
- . "Zur Deutung von *rök* (Wb II, 414)," *ZÄS* 103 (1976), p. 147.
- . *Biblische Notizen*: 30 (1985) pp. 7–9; 25 (1984), pp. 10–13; 20 (1983), pp. 19–21.
- Goyon, G. *Nouvelles Inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat*. Paris: 1957.
- Grapow, H. *Die Medizinischen Texte in Hieroglyphischer Umschreibung Autographiert. (Grundriß der Medizin der Alten Ägypter*, Vol. V). Berlin: 1958.
- Grdseloff, B. "Sur deux passages de la nouvelle stèle d'Aménophis II trouvé à Memphis," *ASAE* 45 (1947), pp. 107–20.
- . "Un emprunt au sémitique pour désigner la femme captive de guerre," *ASAE* 51 (1951), pp. 163–66.
- Greenfield, J.C. and A. Schaffer. "Notes on the Curse Formulae of the Tell Fekherye Inscription," *Revue Biblique* 92 (1985), pp. 47–59.
- Griffith, F. Ll. "The Abydos Decree of Sety I at Nauri," *JEA* 13 (1927), pp. 193–208 and pls. 37–43.
- . *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob (Principally of the Middle Kingdom)*. London: 1898.
- Grimal, N.-C. *La Stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire JE 48862 et 47086-47089. Études sur la propagande royale égyptienne*. Cairo: 1981.
- Gröndahl, F. *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*. Rome: 1967. *Studia Pohl*, 1.
- Grumach, I. *Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenemope*. Munich: 1972. *MÄS*, 23.
- Guillaume, A. *Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography*. Leiden: 1965.
- Gunn, B. "The Decree of Amonrasonthē for Neskhons," *JEA* 41 (1955), pp. 83–95.
- Gutgesell, M. *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation*. 2 vols. Hildesheim: 1983. *Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge*, 18, 19.
- Habachi, L. "The Two Rock-Stelae of Sethos I in the Cataract Area speaking of Huge Statues and Obelisks," *BIFAO* 73 (1973), pp. 113–25, pls. 10–11, and figs. 1–2.
- Hamada, A. "Statue of the Fan-Bearer ⲥ ⲩ (Amen-Mose)," *ASAE* 47, pp. 15–21 and pls. 3–5.
- Hari, R. *Répertoire onomastique amarnien*. Geneva: 1976. *Aegyptiaca Helvetica*, 4.
- Harris, J.R. *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*. Berlin: 1961. *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung*, 54.
- Harris, Z.S. *Development of the Canaanite Dialects: An Investigation of Linguistic History*. New Haven: 1939. *American Oriental Series*, 16.
- . *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*. New Haven: 1936. *American Oriental Series*, 8.
- Hava, J.G., S.J. *Arabic English Dictionary*. Beirut: 1951.
- Hayes, W.C. *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen Müt (No. 71) at Thebes*. New York: 1942.
- . *A Papyrus of the late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446]*. Brooklyn: 1955.
- . "A Selection of of Thutmoside Ostraca from Dér el-Bahri," *JEA* 46 (1960), pp. 29–52 and pls. 9–13.
- Helck, W. *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Wiesbaden: 1962. *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*, 5.

- Helck, W. "Eine Briefsammlung aus der Verwaltung des Amuntempels," *JARCE* 6 (1967), pp. 135–51.
- . "Die Inschrift über die Belohnung des Hohenpriesters 'Imn-*htp*,'" *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 4 (1956), pp. 163–78.
- . *Die Lehre des Dws-*htjj**. 2 parts. Wiesbaden: 1970.
- . "Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak," *ZÄS* 82 (1957), pp. 98–140, pl. 5.
- . "Eine Stele des Vizekönigs *Wsr-Št.t*," *JNES* 14 (1955), pp. 22–31 pl. 2, and fig. 1.
- . "Eine Zahlungsquittung," *ZÄS* 111 (1984), pp. 6–10.
- . "Grundsätzliches zur sog. 'Syllabischen Schreibung,'" *SAK* 16 (1989), pp. 121–43.
- Herbin, F.-R. "Une version inachevée de l'onomasticon d'Aménémopé," *BIFAO* 86 (1986), pp. 187–98, pl. 15.
- Hermann, A. "Das Buch 'Kmj.t' und die Chimie," *ZÄS* 79 (1954), pp. 99–105.
- Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*. 5 vols. Berlin: 1905–11.
- Hoch, J.E. "The Supposed *hgr* 'Fort' in Negeb Place Names of the Shishak Toponym List," in *Proceedings of the 33rd International Congress of Asian and North African Studies*. Vol. 1. Queenston: 1992, pp. 262–66.
- Hoffner, H.A. jr. "Hittite and Ugaritic Words for Lettuce," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 25 (1973), p. 234.
- Hornung, E. "Lexikalische Studien I," *ZÄS* 86 (1961), pp. 106–14.
- Huehnergard, J. "Akkadian Evidence for Case-vowels on Ugaritic Bound Forms," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 33 (1981), pp. 199–205.
- . *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*. Atlanta: 1987.
- Huffman, H.B. *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study*. Baltimore: 1965.
- Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character from the Collections of the British Museum*. London: 1868.
- Israel, F. "Geographic Linguistics and Canaanite Dialects," in J. Bynon, ed. *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics*. Amsterdam: 1984, pp. 363–87.
- . "The Language of the Ammonites," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 10 (1979), pp. 143–59.
- Israelit-Groll, S. "The Egyptian Administrative System in Syria and Palestine in the 18th Dynasty," *Fontes atque Pontes (Festschrift Brunner)*. Wiesbaden: 1983, pp. 234–42.
- Jackson, K.P. *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age*. Chico, California: 1983.
- Jakobson, R. "Mufaxxama: The 'Emphatic' Phonemes in Arabic," in S.H. Al-Ani, ed. *Readings in Arabic Linguistics*. Bloomington: 1978, pp. 269–83.
- James, T.G.H. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*. Pt. 9. London: 1970.
- Jansen-Winkel, K. *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*. Wiesbaden: 1985.
- Janssen, J.J. *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*. Leiden: 1975.
- . *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications. (HPBM VI)* London: 1991.
- . "Nine Letters from the Time of Ramses II," *OMRO* 41 (1960), pp. 31–47, pls. 3–14, and figs. 7–11.
- . "Requisitions from Upper Egyptian Temples (P. BM 10401)," *JEA* 77 (1991), pp. 79–94, pl. 4, 2.

- Janssen, J.J. "Semitic Words in Egyptian Ostraca," *Ex Oriente Lux* Deel 6 (part 19) (1967), p. 443–48.
- . "A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus (Pap. Turin no. Cat. 1907/8)," *JEA* 52 (1966), pp. 81–94 and pls. 16–19.
- . *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs: Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008 + 2016*. Leiden: 1961.
- . "An unusual Donation Stela of the Twentieth Dynasty," *JEA* 49 (1963), pp. 64–70 and pl. 9.
- Jasnow, R. *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)*. Chicago: 1992. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, 52.
- Jastrow, M. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature*. 2 vols. New York: 1903.
- Jean, C.-F. and J. Hoftijzer, eds. *Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'Ouest*. Leiden: 1965.
- Jéquier, G. *Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'un dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne*. Cairo: 1922. *BIFAO*, 19.
- Johnstone, T.M. *Jibbāli Lexicon*. Oxford: 1981.
- Junge, F. "Fremdwörter," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Vol. 3. Wiesbaden: 1977, pp. 321–28.
- Junker, H. *Giza*. Vol. 8. Vienna: 1947.
- Kaiser, W., et. al. "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine," *MDAIK* 28 (1973), pp. 157–200 and pls. 40–49.
- Kashkai, S.M. "The Metal *annaku(m)*," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 1976/3 pp. 150–53. (Russian with English summary).
- Kaufman, S.A. *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. Chicago: 1974.
- Keimer, L. "L'arbre  tr.t est-il réelement le saule égyptien (*Salix safaf* Forsk.)?" *BIFAO* 31 (1931), pp. 177–234.
- Kinlaw, D.F. *A Study of the Personal Names in the Akkadian Texts from Ugarit*. Thesis, Brandeis: 1967.
- Kitchen, K.A. "Nakht-Thuty-Servitor of Sacred Barques and Golden Portals," *JEA* 60 (1974), pp. 168–74, and figs 1–2b.
- . *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. 7 vols. Oxford: 1969–90.
- . "Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II," *JEA* 50 (1964), pp. 47–70, pls. 3–7, and figs. 1–6.
- . *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*. Warminster: 1973.
- . "A West Semitic Title on an Egyptian Stela in Rio de Janeiro" (Brief Communication), *JEA* 71 (1985), pp. 218–20 and fig. 1.
- Knudtzon, J.A., O. Weber, and E. Ebeling. *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*. 2 vols. Leipzig: 1915. *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, 2.
- Koehler, L. and W. Baumgartner. *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*. (2nd ed.) Leiden: 1967.
- Koenig, Y. "Notes sur un papyrus littéraire fragmentaire P. Deir el-Médineh N° 43," *Sociétés urbaines en Egypte et au Soudan (Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille)* 7 (1985), p. 72 ff.
- . *Le Papyrus Boulaq 6. Transcription, traduction et commentaire*. Cairo: 1981.

- Koskinen, K. "Kompatibilität in den dreikonsonantigen hebräischen Wurzeln," *ZDMG* 114 (1964), pp. 16–58.
- Kuentz, C. "Duplicata d'un vocabulaire," *BIFAO* 36 (1936–37), pp. 181–82.
- Kuhlmann, K. *Der Thron im alten Ägypten. Untersuchungen zu Semantik, Ikonographie, und Symbolik eines Herrschaftszeichens*. Gluckstadt: 1977.
- Lacau, P. *Stèles du Nouvel Empire (CGC)*. Vol. I. Cairo: 1957.
- _____. "Sur la chute du ⲁ final, marque du féminin," *RdE* 9 (1952), pp. 81–90.
- Lagrange, M.J. "Eine Phönizische Inschrift aus Zendschirli," in M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, vol. 3 (1915), pp. 218–38.
- Lambdin, T.O. *Egyptian Loanwords and Transcriptions in the Ancient Semitic Languages*. Baltimore: 1952.
- _____. "Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament," *JAOS* 73 (1953), pp. 145–55.
- _____. "Egyptian Words in Tell el Amarna Letter No. 14," *Orientalia* 22 (1953), pp. 362–69.
- Landsberger, B. "Akkadisch *aspu* = 'Schleuder', *assuku* = 'Schleuderstein'," *AfO* 18 (1957–58), pp. 378–79.
- _____. "Jahreszeiten im Sumerisch-Akkadischen," *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 248–97.
- Lane, E.W. *An Arabic English Lexicon*. London: 1867.
- Lange, H.O. "P. Magic Harris," *Danske videnskabernes selskab. Historisk-filosofiske meddelelser*, vol. 14, pt. 2. Copenhagen: 1927, pp. 1–99.
- _____. *Das Weisheitsbuch Amenemope. Danske videnskabernes selskab, Historisk-filologiske meddelelser*, vol. 12, pt. 2. Copenhagen: 1925.
- Laroch, E. *Ugaritica*, vol. 5. Paris: 1968.
- Legrain, M.G. "Deux stèles trouvées à Karnak en février 1897," *ZÄS* 35 (1897), pp. 12–19.
- _____. "La grande stèle d'Amenothès II à Karnak," *ASAE* 4 (1903), pp. 126–32.
- _____. "Un miracle d'Ahmès I à Abydos sous le règne de Ramsès II," *ASAE* 16 (1916), pp. 161–70.
- _____. *Statues et Statuettes de rois et de particuliers*. Vol. 2. *CGC* vol. 49. Cairo: 1909.
- Lemche, N.P. "'Hebrew' as a National Name for Israel," *Studia Theologica, Scandinavian Journal of Theology* 33 (1979), pp. 1–23.
- Lepsius, R. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Nubien*. 6 vols. Berlin: 1849–58.
- Lesko, L.H. *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*. 4 vols. Berkeley: 1982–89.
- Leslau, W. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden: 1987.
- Levy, M.A. *Siegel und Gemmen*. Breslau: 1869.
- Lichtheim, M. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. 3 vols. Berkely: 1973–80.
- Liddell, H.G. and S. Scott. *A Greek English Lexicon*. 9th ed. Oxford: 1940.
- Lipiński, E. *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*. Leuven: 1975. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 1.
- Littauer, M.A. and J.H. Crouwel. *Chariots and related equipment from the tomb of Tutankhamun*. Oxford: 1985. *Tutankhamun's Tomb Series*, 8.
- _____. *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East*. Leiden: 1979.
- López, Jésus, ed. *Ostraca Ieratici*. Milan: 1978–84. *Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino*. 2nd Series, 3.

- Loprieno, A. "A proposito delle consonanti dentali e velari in egiziano ed in semitico," *Annali. Istituto orientale di Napoli* 37, pp. 125–42.
- Loret, V. "Recherches sur plusieurs plantes connues des anciens égyptiens," *Rec. Trav.* 15 (1893), pp. 105–30.
- Loretz, O. *Habiru-Hebräer: Eine sozio-linguistische Studie über die Herkunft des Gentiliziums "ibrî vom Appellativum habiru.* Berlin: 1984.
- Löw, J. *Aramaic Pflanzennamen.* Leipzig: 1881.
- Lundin, A.G. ("Decipherment of the Proto-Sinaitic Alphabet," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, (no. 1) 1983 (In Russian).
- Macadam, M.F.L. *The Temples of Kawa.* London: 1949.
- McCarthy, D.J., S.J. *Treaty and Covenant.* Rome: 1963. *Analecta Biblica*, 21.
- Macdonald, J. "The Status and Role of the *Na'ar* in Israelite Society," *JNES* 35 (1976), pp. 147–70.
- Malek, J. "Trumpets and Kohl Tubes" (Brief Communication), *JEA* 77 (1991), pp. 185–86, figs. 1–2.
- Manniche, L. "Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments," *MÄS* 34. Munich: 1975.
- Marciniak, M. *Deir el-Bahari I. Les inscriptions hiératiques du temple de Thoutmosis III.* Warsaw: 1974.
- Martin, G.T. "Shabtis of Private Persons in the Amarna Period," *MDAIK* 42 (1986), pp. 109–29.
- Maspero, G. "Introduction à l'étude de la phonétique égyptienne," *Rec. Trav.* 37 (1915), pp. 147–202.
- Massart, A. "The Egyptian Geneva Papyrus MAH 15274," *MDAIK* 15 (1957), pp. 172–85 and pls. 24–38.
- . *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + I 345.* Leiden: 1954.
- Mazar, B. "The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak to Palestine," *VT Supplement* 4, pp. 57–66.
- . "The Military Élite of King David," *VT* 13 (1963), pp. 310–20.
- . *כנען וישראל (Canaan and Israel).* Jerusalem: 1976.
- . *ערים וגלילות בארץ-ישראל מתקופת תופנהראפיהם היסטוריים.* (*Cities and Districts in Eretz-Yisrael: Topographical-historical Studies*). Jerusalem: 1975.
- Meeks, D. *Année Lexicographique.* 3 vols. Paris: 1980–82.
- . "Notes de lexicographie (§§ 5–8)," *BIFAO* 77 (1977), pp. 78–88.
- Megally, M. *Le Papyrus hiératique comptable E. 3226 du Louvre.* Cairo: 1971.
- Milik, J.T. "An unpublished Arrow-head with Phoenician Inscription of the 11th–10th Century B.C.," *BASOR* 143 (1956), 3–6.
- Miller, P.D. jr. "Ugaritic *g̜zr* and Hebrew *zr* II," *UF* 2 (1970), pp. 159–75.
- Möller, G. *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch.* 3 vols. Leipzig: 1935.
- Mond, R. and O.H. Myers. *The Temples of Armant. A preliminary Survey.* London: 1940.
- Moran, W.L. "The Hebrew Language in its Northwest Semitic Background," In G.E. Wright, ed. *The Bible and the Ancient Near East.* New York: 1961, pp. 54–72.
- Moscati, S. et al. *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages: Phonology and Morphology.* Wiesbaden: 1964. *Porta Linguarum Orientalium N.S.* 6.

- Muhammed, M. A.-Q. "Two Theban Tombs: Kyky and Bak-en-Amun," *ASAE* 59 (1966), pp. 157–84 and pls. 1–107.
- Müller, W.M. "Anmerkungen zum Siegeshymnus des Merneptah," *Rec. Trav.* 20 (1898), pp. 31–32.
 ———. *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*. Leipzig: 1893.
 ———. *Die Spuren der babylonschen Weltschrift in Ägypten*. Leipzig: 1912. *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 17, part 3.
- Müller, W.W. "Das Frühnordarabische," in W. Fischer, ed. *Grundriß der Arabische Philologie*. Bd. I. *Sprachwissenschaft*. Wiesbaden: 1982.
- Murray, M.A. "Some Fresh Inscriptions," *Ancient Egypt* (1917), pp. 62–68.
- Murtonen, A. *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting. A Comparative Survey of Non-masoretic Hebrew Dialects and Traditions*. Parts 1–3. Leiden: 1989–90.
 ———. *Materials for a Non-Masoretic Hebrew Grammar*. Vol. 2, *An Etymological Vocabulary of the Samaritan Pentateuch*. Helsinki: 1960. *Studia Orientalia*, 24.
- Muszynski, M. "P. Turin Cat. 2070/154," *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977), pp. 183–200, pls. 9–10.
- Nashef, K. *Répertoire Géographique des textes cunéiformes*. Vol. 5. *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit*. Wiesbaden: 1982.
- Naveh, J. *Early History of the Alphabet: An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography*. Leiden: 1982.
- Naville, E. *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*. Berlin: 1886, 1971 reprint Graz, Austria. 2 vols.
- Neubauer, A. *The book of Hebrew Roots, by Abu ʔl-Walīd marwān ibn Janāḥ otherwise called Rabbī Yōnāḥ* (etc.). Oxford: 1875.
- Nims, C.F. and R.C. Steiner. "A Paganized Version of Psalm 20:2–6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *JAOS* 103 (1983), pp. 261–74.
- Noth, M. "Die Wege der Pharaonenheere in Palästina und Syrien," *ZDPV* 61 (1938), pp. 277–304.
- Nougurole, J. ed. *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit*. Paris: 1955–70.
- O'Callaghan, R.T. *Aram Naharaim*. Rome: 1948.
 ———. "The Word *ktp* in Ugaritic and Egypto-Canaanite Mythology," *Orientalia* 21 (1952), pp. 37–46.
- O'Connor, M. "The Ammonite Onomasticon: Semantic Problems," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 25 (1987), pp. 51–64.
- Osing, J. *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*. 2 vols. Mainz: 1976.
 ———. (review of Černý's *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*), *JEA* 64 (1978), pp. 186–89.
- Pardee, D. "Letters from Tel Arad," *UF* 10 (1978), pp. 289–336.
 ———. *Les Textes Hippiaques*. Paris: 1985.
 ———. *Les Textes Para-mythologiques*. Paris: 1988.
- Peet, T.E. *The Great Tomb-roberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*. 2 vols. Oxford: 1930.
 ———. "A Historical Document of Ramesside age," *JEA* 10 (1924), pp. 116–27.
 ———. *The Mayer Papyri A and B*. London: 1920.
- Pendlebury, J.D.S. *The City of Akhenaten*, Part III. 2 vols. London: 1951. *Mémoire of the Egyptian Exploration Society*, 44.

- Petráček, K. "Nochmals über die Struktur der Wurzeln mit den Pharyngealen im Alt-ägyptischen und Semitischen und ihre Kompatibilität," in Y.L. Arbeitman, ed. *Fucus*. Amsterdam: 1988, pp. 371–77.
- Petrie, W.M.F. *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos. Publications of the Egyptian Research Account and British School of Archeology*, vol. 37.
- Pleyte, W. and F. Rossi. *Papyrus de Turin*. Wiesbaden: 1981, reprint of 1869–76 ed.
- Porten, B. "The Aramaic Boat Papyrus (P. Ber. 23000): A new Collation," *Orientalia* 57 (1988), pp. 76–81.
- Porter, B. and R.L.B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Vol. I, part 1, *The Theban Necropolis. Private Tombs*. 2nd ed. Oxford: 1960.
- _____. *Topographical Bibliography ... Vol. I, part 2, The Theban Necropolis. Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*. 2nd ed. Oxford: 1964.
- Posener, G. "Les asiatiques en Égypte sous les XII^e et XIII^e dynasties," *Syria* 34 (1957), pp. 145–63.
- _____. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh*. 3 vols. Cairo: 1934.
- _____. "Une liste de noms propres étrangers sur deux ostraca hiératiques du Nouvel Empire," *Syria* 18 (1937), pp. 183–97 and pl. 30.
- _____. *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*. Brussels: 1940.
- Posener-Krieger, P. "Construire une tombe à l'ouest de Mn-nfr (P. Caire 52002)," *RdE* 33 (1981), pp. 47–58.
- Pritchard, J.B. ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. 3rd ed. Princeton: 1969.
- _____. *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. Princeton: 1969.
- Rainey, A.F. "The Military Personnel of Ugarit," *JNES* 24 (1965), pp. 17–27.
- _____. "The Soldier-scribe in Papyrus Anastasi I," *JNES* 26 (1967), pp. 58–60.
- _____. "Toponymic Problems (cont.)," *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), pp. 158–62.
- _____. "Toponymic Problems (cont.)," *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982), pp. 130–36.
- Ranke, H. *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*. 2 vols. Glückstadt: 1935.
- Rendsburg, G.A. "The Ammonite Phoneme /t/," *BASOR* 269, pp. 73–79.
- Renfroe, F. "Diagnosing Long-Dead Patients: The Equine Ailments in *KTU* 1.85," *Orientalia* 57 (1988), pp. 181–91.
- Roccati, A. "Une légende égyptienne d'Anat," *RdE* 24 (1972), pp. 152–59, pl. 14.
- Roeder, G. *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Vol. 2. (Leipzig: 1924, reprinted 1969 by the Zentralantiquariat of the GDR.)
- _____. "Die Weihinschrift des Königs Mer-en-Ptah," *ASAE* 52 (1954), pp. 319–57, pls. I–VI.
- _____. "Zwei Hieroglyphische Inschriften aus Hermopolis (Ober-Ägypten)," *ASAE* 52 (1952), pp. 315–442 and pls. 1–13.
- Röllig, W., ed. *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes*. Wiesbaden: 1977–*Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Reihe B.*, 7.
- Rössler, O. "Das Ägyptische als semitische Sprache," in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, eds. *Christentum am Roten Meer*. 2 vols. Berlin and New York: 1971.

- Rössler, O. "Das ältere ägyptische Umschreibungssystem für Fremdnamen und seine sprachwissenschaftlichen Lehren," in J. Lukas, ed. *Neue Afrikanistische Studien*. Hamburg: 1966, pp. 218–29. *Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-Kunde*, 5.
- Salonen, A. *Hippologica Accadica (Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia Series B*, vol. 100) Helsinki: 1956.
- _____. *Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamien (Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia Series B*, vol. 72) Helsinki: 1951.
- _____. *Die Möbel des alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen. Eine lexikalische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung (Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia Series B*, vol. 127) Helsinki: 1963.
- Sanmartín, J. "Glossen zum Ugaritischen Lexikon III," *UF* 11 (1979), pp. 723–28.
- Saporetti, C. *Onomastica Medio-Assira*. 2 vols. Vol. 1: *I nomi di Persona*. Rome: 1970.
- Sauneron, S. "Les désillusions de la guerre asiatique (Pap. Deir el-Médineh 35)," *Kêmi* 18 (1968), pp. 17–27 and pl. 2.
- _____. "Deux pages d'un texte littéraire inédit, Papyrus Deir el-Médineh 39," *MIFAO* 104 (1980), pp. 135–41 and pls. 10–11.
- _____. "Une forme de substantif à redoublement," *RdE* 7 (1950), pp. 182–84.
- _____. "La forme égyptienne du nom Tešub," *BIFAO* 51 (1952), pp. 57–59.
- _____. *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn*. Brooklyn: 1970.
- _____. "La restauration d'un portique à Karnak par le grand-prêtre Amenhotpe," *BIFAO* 64 (1966), pp. 11–17 and pls. 1–2.
- Säve-Söderbergh, T. "The 'prw as Vintagers in Egypt," *Orientalia Suecana* 1 (1952), pp. 5–14.
- El-Sayed, R. "Nekhtefmout, supérieur des porte-encensoirs (II)," *ASAE* 70 (1984–85), pp. 323–49.
- Scamuzzi, E. *Egyptian Art in the Egyptian Museum of Turin*. New York: 1964.
- Schäfer, H. "Bildhorizont in einem ägyptischen Literaturwerke um 1100 v. Chr.," *OLZ* 32 (1929), pp. 812–19.
- _____. (Brief communication), *ZÄS* 37 (1899), p. 85.
- Schaeffer, F.-A. "Les fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras Shamra," *Syria* 12 (1931), pp. 1–14.
- Schiaparelli, E. *Relazione sui lavori della missione archeologica italiana in Egitto (anni 1903–1920)*. Vol. 2. Turin: 1927 (?).
- Schneider, T. *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*. Freiburg, Switzerland: 1992. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, 114.
- _____. "Die semitischen und ägyptischen Namen der Syrischen Sklaven des Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 Verso," *UF* 19 (1987), pp. 255–82.
- Schulman, A.R. "Chariots, Chariotry, and the Hyksos," *JSSEA* 10 (1980), pp. 105–53.
- _____. "The Egyptian Chariotry: a Reexamination," *JARCE* 2 (1963), pp. 75–98 and pls. 13–18.
- _____. "The N'rñ at the Battle of Kadesh," *JARCE* 1 (1962), pp. 47–53.
- _____. "The So-called Poem on the King's Chariot," *JSSEA* 16 (1986), pp. 1–19; Part II: pp. 39–49.
- _____. "Two Egyptian Military Titles of Semitic Origin," *ZÄS* 93 (1966), pp. 123–32.
- Scurlock, J.A. "How to Lock a Gate," *Orientalia* 57 (1988), pp. 421–33.
- Segert, S. *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language*. Berkeley: 1984.

- Segert, S. "Charakter des westsemitischen Alphabets," *Archív Orientální* 26 (1958), pp. 243–47, 657–59.
- _____. *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic*. Munich: 1976.
- _____. "Die Sprache der moabitischen Königsinschrift," *Archív Orientální* 29 (1961), pp. 197–267.
- Seidl, E. "Šcr, der öffentliche Protest, im ägyptischen Recht," *ZÄS* 94 (1967), pp. 131–34.
- Sethe, K. "Die Ächtung Feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßsscherben des Mittleren Reiches nach den Originalen im Berliner Museum herausgegeben und erklärt," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, Nr. 5. Berlin: 1926.
- _____. *Das ägyptische Verbum im Altägyptischen, Neuägyptischen und Koptischen*. Leipzig: 1899.
- _____. *Urkunden zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*. Leipzig: 1904–35.
- Shiloh, Y. "South Arabian Inscriptions from the City of David," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (1987), pp. 9–18.
- Shisha-Halevy, A. "An Early North-West Semitic Text in the Egyptian Hieratic Script," *Orientalia* 47 (1978), pp. 145–62.
- Simons, J. *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia*. Leiden: 1937.
- Smith, J.P. *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*. Oxford: 1903.
- Smith, Payne. *Thesaurus Syriacus*. Oxford: 1901.
- Smith, S. and C.J. Gadd. "A Cuneiform Vocabulary of Egyptian Words," *JEA* 11 (1925), pp. 230–39.
- Sokoloff, M. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. Ramat Gan: 1990.
- Speiser, E.A. "The Shibboleth Incident (Judges 12:6)," in J.J. Finkelstein and M. Greenberg, eds. *Oriental and Biblical Studies*. Philadelphia: 1967, pp. 143–50.
- Sperber, A. *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Leiden: 1966.
- Spiegelberg, W. "Bemerkungen zu den hieratischen Amphoreninschriften des Ramesseums," *ZÄS* 58 (1923), pp. 25–36.
- _____. "Briefe der 21. Dynastie aus El-Hibe," *ZÄS* 53 (1917), pp. 1–30.
- _____. "Gypsproben aus Tell el Amarna mit hieratischen Aufschriften," *ZÄS* 58 (1923), pp. 51–52.
- _____. "Hieratic Ostraka from Thebes," *Ancient Egypt* (1914), pp. 106–11.
- _____. *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I. (circa 1350 v. Chr.) mit anderen Rechnungen des Neuen Reiches*. Strassburg: 1896.
- _____. *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches (Materialien)*. Hannover: 1892.
- _____. "Varia," *Rec. Trav.* 15 (1893), pp. 141–45.
- _____. "Varia," *ZÄS* 53 (1917), pp. 91–115.
- _____. "Zu den semitischen Eigennamen in ägyptischer Umschrift aus der Zeit des 'neuen Reiches' (um 1500–1000)," *ZA* 13 (1898), pp. 47–56.
- _____. (Review) *OLZ* 27 (1924), pp. 182–91.
- Steindorff, G. "Eine ägyptische Liste syrischer Sklaven," *ZÄS* 38 (1900), pp. 15–18.

- Steindorff, G. "Das altägyptische Alphabet und seine Umschreibung," *ZDMG* 46 (1892), pp. 709–30.
- Steiner, R.C. *The Case for Fricative-Laterals in Proto-Semitic*. New Haven: 1977.
- Steiner, R.C. and C.F. Nims. "Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin: A Tale of Two Brothers from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *Revue Biblique* 92 (1985), pp. 60–81.
- . "You can't offer your sacrifice and eat it too: A Polemical Poem from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *JNES* 43 (1984), pp. 89–114.
- Stol, M. *On Trees, Mountains, and Millstones in the Ancient Near East*. Leiden: 1979. *Ex Oriente Lux, Mededelingen*, 21.
- Stricker, B.H. "Φριτοβαντης," *OMRO* 24 (1943), pp. 30–34.
- . "Het grafische system van de magische papyrus Londen & Leiden," *OMRO* 45 (1964), pp. 25–55.
- . "Trois études de phonétique et de morphologie coptes," *Acta Orientalia* 15 (1937), pp. 1–20.
- Suys, E. *La sagesse d'Ani*. Rome: 1935. *Analecta Orientalia*, 2.
- Taylor, J.J. and F. Ll. Griffith. *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*. In E. Naville. *Ahnas el Medineh*. London: 1894. *Egypt Exploration Society Memoire*, 11.
- Théodorides, A. (review of Allam, *HOP*) *CdE* 52 (1977), pp. 67–76.
- Tombak, R.S. *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages*. Missoula: 1978.
- Torczyner, H. *Die Entstehung des Semitischen Sprachtypus*. Vienna: 1916.
- Tuttle, G.A. "Case Vowels on Masculine Singular Nouns in Construct in Ugaritic," in G.A. Tuttle, ed. *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor*. Grand Rapids: 1978, pp. 253–68.
- University of Chicago Oriental Institute. *Medinet Habu*. Vol. I *Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III*. Vol. 2 *Later Historical Records of Ramses III*. Chicago: 1930, 1932. *The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications*, 8.
- . *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*. Vol. 3 *The Bubastite Portal*. Chicago: 1954. *The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications*, 74.
- van den Branden, A. *Les inscriptions thamoudéennes*. Louvain: 1950.
- Valbelle, D. *Catalogue des poids à inscriptions hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh, (Poids)*. Cairo: 1977.
- Vergote, J. *Grammaire Copte*. Vol. 1a–b. Louvain: 1973.
- . *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien: Les consonnes*. Louvain: 1945.
- Vernus, P. "Le mot štšw 'branches, bosquets, bois,'" *RdE* 29 (1977), pp. 179–93.
- Viroilleaud, C. "Les villes et les corporations du royaume d'Ugarit," *Syria* 21 (1940), pp. 125–51.
- Vittmann, G. "Nochmals zur Etymologie von *mrk* (*Wb* II, 113)," *GM* 15 (1975), pp. 45–46.
- . "Zu den ägyptischen Entsprechungen aramäisch überliefelter Personennamen," *Orientalia* 58 (1989), pp. 213–29.
- Vleeming, S.P. and J.W. Wesselius, "An Aramaic Religious Text in Demotic Script," *Biblioteca Orientalis* 39 (1982), pp. 501–9.
- Volten, A. "L'étymologie de deux mots coptes," *BIFAO* 58 (1959), pp. 21–28.

- von Deines, H. "Die Nachrichten über das Pferd und den Wagen in den ägyptischen Texten," *Mitteilungen des Institutes für Orientforschung der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* Bd. I Heft 1 (1953), pp. 1–15.
- von Soden, W. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: 1959–81.
- Vycichl, W. *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Copte (Dict. Etym.)*. Leuven: 1983.
- _____. "Les emprunts aux langues sémitiques," *Textes et langages de l'Egypte pharaonique ...: Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*, Vol. I. Cairo: 1974, pp. 219–30.
- _____. *La Vocalisation de la langue égyptienne*. Vol. 1. Cairo: 1990.
- Ward, W.A. "Comparative Studies in Egyptian and Ugaritic," *JNES* 20 (1961), pp. 31–40.
- _____. "Late Egyptian ՚r.t: The so-called Upper Room," *JNES* 44 (1985), pp. 329–35.
- _____. "Lexicographical Miscellanies," *SAK* 5 (1977), pp. 265–92.
- _____. "Lexicographical Miscellanies II," *SAK* 9 (1981), pp. 359–73.
- _____. "Notes on Egyptian Group-writing," *JNES* 16 (1957), pp. 198–203.
- _____. "Notes on Some Semitic Loan-Words and Personal Names in Late Egyptian," *Orientalia* 32 (1963), pp. 413–36.
- _____. "Some Egypto-Semitic Roots," *Orientalia* 31 (1962), pp. 397–412.
- _____. "Some Personal Names of the Hyksos Period Rulers and Notes on the Epigraphy of their Scarabs," *UF* 8 (1976), pp. 353–69.
- Watson, W.G.E. "The PN ՚yb in the Keret Legend," *UF* 11 (1979), pp. 807–9.
- Wehr, H. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J.M. Cowan. 3rd ed. Ithaca: 1976.
- Weinfeld, M. in G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (English, J.T. Willis, tr.). Grand Rapids: 1975. Vol 1, pp. 253–79.
- Wente, E.F. *Late Ramesside Letters*. Chicago: 1966. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, 33.
- Westendorf, W., ed. *Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter*. 9 vols. Berlin: 1954–
- _____. *Koptisches Handwörterbuch. Bearbeitet auf Grund des Koptischen Handwörterbuchs von Wilhelm Spiegelberg. (Kopt. HWb)*. Heidelberg 1965–77.
- Wevers, J.W. "Heth in Classical Hebrew," in J.W. Wevers and D.B. Redford, eds. *Essays on the Ancient Semitic World*. Toronto: 1970, pp. 101–12.
- Wilson, J.A. "The Theban Tomb (No. 409) of Si-Mut, called Kiki," *JNES* 29 (1970), pp. 187–92.
- Winnett, F.V. *A Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions*. Toronto: 1937.
- Winnett, F.V. and W.L. Reed, et al. *Ancient Records from North Arabia*. Toronto: 1970.
- Wintermute, O.S. *Semitic Loanwords appearing in Egyptian Texts from the New Kingdom*. (PhD thesis: Johns Hopkins University, 1959).
- Wiseman, D.J. *The Alalakh Tablets*. London: 1953. *Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*, 2.
- Wolf, W. "Papyrus Bologna 1086, ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Neuen Reiches," *ZÄS* 65 (1930), pp. 89–97.
- Worrell, W.H. *Coptic Sounds*. Ann Arbor: 1934. *University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, 26.
- Wreszinski, W. *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. 2 vols. Leipzig: 1923–35, Paris reprint 1988.

- Wreszinski, W. *Der Londoner medizinische Papyrus und der Papyrus Hearst*. Leipzig: 1912, Inter Documentation Company microfiche reproduction.
- Yadin, Y. and N. Avigad, eds. *A Genesis Apocryphon*. Jerusalem: 1956.
- Yeivin, S. "Note sur une pointe de flèche inscrite provenant de la Beqaa (Liban)," *Revue Biblique* 65 (1958), pp. 585–88.
- Youssef, A. "A Nineteenth Dynasty New Word for Blade and the Semitic Origin of some Egyptian Weapon-names and other Related Words," *MDAIK* 39 (1983), pp. 255–60.
- Yoyotte, J. "Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis," *Kêmi* 10 (1949), pp. 58–74, pls. 6–7.
- Zandee, J. "De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350," *OMRO* 28 (1947), pls. 1–30.
- Zivie, A.-P. "Tombes rupestres de la falaise du Bubasteion à Saqqarah—campagne 1980–81," *ASAE* 68 (1982), pp. 64–69.
- Zonhoven, L.M.J. "The Inspection of a Tomb at Deir el-Medîna (O. Wien Aeg. 1)," *JEA* 65 (1979), pp. 89–98, fig. 1.
- _____. "A Possible Solution for the Word šrgħ (P. Ch. Beatty I 10, 16,11)," *GM* 38 (1980), pp. 85–87.
- Zobel, H.J. "qb," in Botterwick, ed. *Theological Dictionary*, vol. 6, pp. 188–90.

INDEXES

WORD INDEXES

The words contained in this index are those mentioned in conjunction with etymologies only. The words are listed according to the alphabetic order of the respective writing systems unless otherwise noted. The reference is to the word entry number.

1. Hebrew			
אָבֶן	19	אַרְיאֵל	209
אָבֶן	17	אֲרִי	209
אָבֶן	180	אַרְצָן מְלֹחָה	גְּבִישׁ
אָבֶן	27	אַשְׁדָּה	גְּבֻעָה
אָבֶן	34	אַשְׁפָּה	גְּבֻעָה
אָבֶןְת	35	אַשְׁפָּתָה	גְּדֻדָּה
אָבֶן	444		גָּזָה
אָבֶןְתָּה	41	בְּאָרֶת	פְּזַלְלָה
אָדָּהָה	38	בְּהָלָה	גּוֹרָם
אָזָּלָה	24	בְּהָרָתָה	428, 429, 473
אָזָּלָה	49	בְּרוּתָה	452
אָזָּמְנָהָות	44	בְּחָלָה	גּוֹרָם
אָוָלָה	19	בְּחֵתָה	485
אָוָלָה	46	בֵּיתָה כְּלָא	גָּלְבָּלָה
אָוָלָה	46	כְּבָא	גָּלְבָּלָה
אָוָלָה	26	כְּבָכִי	גָּלְבָּלָה
אָוָלָה	328	כְּלָגָן	גָּלְבָּלָה
אָוָלָה	25	כְּלָגָן	גָּלְבָּלָה
אָוָלָה	1, 18	כְּנוּן	גָּלְבָּלָה
אָוָלָה	1, 18	כְּפָלָה	גָּלְבָּלָה
אָוָלָה	16	כְּפָלָה	גָּלְבָּלָה
אָוָלָה	22	כְּקָצָה	גָּלְבָּלָה
אָוָלָה	11	כְּקָרָר	גָּלְבָּלָה
אָוָלָה	10	כְּרָבָר	גָּלְבָּלָה
אָוָלָה	9	כְּרָוֵשׁ, בְּרָוֵת*	גָּלְבָּלָה
אָוָלָה	14	כְּרִירָה	גָּלְבָּלָה

נָרֶף	477, 478	חַבְקָן	75	חִזְוֹן	310
גָּרֶשׁ	482	חַבְרָה	333	חִפְשָׁה	72
גָּשָׂם	522	חַכְרָה	333	חִפְשָׁה	72
גָּתָה	425	חַכְרָה	333	חִצְרִים	193
דָּבֵר	561	חַכְרָה	333	חִרְבָּה	345, 350
דָּוד	568, 569	חַבְשָׁה	537	חִרְבָּה	347 (destruction)
דָּחָה	535	חַנְגָּר	326	חִרְבָּה	323
דָּחָה	535	חִדְשָׁה	329	חִרְבָּה	346 (drought)
דָּחָה	535	חוֹהָה	203	חִרְבָּה	חרב
דָּחָה	535	חוֹהָה	305	חִרְבָּה	324
דָּחָה	535	חוֹלָל	306, 320	חִרְבָּה	321
דָּחָה	535	חוֹלִילָה	306	חִרְבָּה	323
דָּחָה	535	חוֹרֶף	334	חִרְבָּה	323
דָּל	528	חוֹרֶד	343	חִרְבָּה	353
דָּלָה	528, 533	חוֹתָל	327	חִרְבָּה	85 (itch)
דָּלָעַת	43	חוֹתָה	106	חִרְבָּה	352 (sun)
דָּלָת	528, 533	חוֹזֵיר	356	חִרְבָּה	340
הַ-	187 (definite article)	חוֹפָה	104	חִרְבָּה	340
הַנֶּהָה	377	חוֹפּוֹשׁ	72	חִרְבָּה	410
הַגִּינָה	377	חוֹלָא	344	חִרְבָּה	(to be hoarse)
הַדָּם רְגִלִּים	304	חוֹלָב	73	חִרְבָּה	338, 339
הַרוֹדָה	419	חוֹלָבָה	348	חִרְבָּה	350 (hole)
הַיְכֵל	290	חוֹלָזָן	341	חִתּוֹאֵל	327
הַלְּל	191, 298	חוֹלָזִי	306	חִתּוֹל	327
הַר	294	חוֹלִי	344	טְבַח	562
זָבוֹב	572	חוֹלִיל	81	טוֹב	525
זָהָה	38	חוֹלָל	336, 337 (to bore)	טוֹל	532
זָוֵב	574	חוֹלָל	81, 338 (to pipe)	טוֹן	535
זָוֵית	594	חוֹלָק	326	טוֹפָה	242
זָכָר	556	חוֹקָה	326	טוֹחַשׁ	535
זָלְזָלִים	585, 586	חוֹלְקָות	351	טוֹלְטִיל	37
זָלֵל	585, 586	חוֹמָה	57	יְבוֹל	50
זָמִיר	582	חוֹמָר	312	יְבָשָׁה	5
זָמָרָה	582	חוֹמָל	311	יְדָ	63
זָנוֹח	265, 553	חוֹמָס	335	יְדָע	64
זָעֵק	570, 571	חוֹמָץ	316	יְזָבֵל	49
זָעַקָּה	571	חוֹנָה	318	יְזָרָה	45
זָרָה	590	חוֹנָה	318	יְמָ	52
זָרָע	590	חוֹטָה	58, 319	יְצָקָה	243
חַבְלָה	308, 333	חוֹטִית	355	יְאָרָה	45
חַבְאָלָת	309	חוֹרָה	334	יְקָוָם	62
		חוֹפּוֹז	310		

יְקֹנֶשׁ	61	לִישָׁ	246, 247	מַנְגָּה	165
יְקֹוֹשׁ	61	לִקְרָאָת	431	מִסְמָרוֹת	39
יְרָא	174	מַאֲפָה	7	מַעֲנָה	163
יְרָד	419	מַבְדֵּל	224	מַעֲרָה	228
יְרָה	174	מַגְרוֹה	186, 438	מִפְסָלָת	234
יְשָׁב	30, 60	מַגְרָפָת	219	מִצְקוֹת	243
יְשִׁיבָה	30, 31	מַדָּה	237, 238	מִקְלָל	217
יְשָׁר	206, 207, 372	מִדְחָה-הַמְּלָךְ	170	מִקְלָה	216
יְתָר	232	מַהְוִיר	190	מִקְנָעָות	451
כּוֹס	502	מַהְלָלוֹ	191	מִקְקָ	221
פּוֹפֶשׁ	230, 456	מוֹג	221	מִקְשָׁה	229
כְּלָא	466, 474, 475	מוֹעֵד	161	מִרְומָם	177
כְּלָא	474, 475	מוֹרֵד עַבְרָ	68	מִרְדָּק	185, 299
כְּלָב	476	מוֹרָא	174	מִרְקָשָׁה	282
כְּלִי	472	מוֹרֵד	419	מִרְיָא	173
כְּלִיוֹת	520	מוֹשֵׁב	30, 31	מִרְכָּבָה	189
כְּמָה	459, 460, 461	מוֹזֵלָג	186	מִשְׁכִּית	381
כְּמוֹ	458	מוֹחַט	197	מִשְׁאָה	166
כְּמַר	462	מוֹזְוִיר	194	מִשְׁאָבִים	205
כְּמַרְיִיר	459, 460, 461	מוֹתָנָה	192	מִשְׁאָה	166
כְּמַשׁ	465	מוֹחָר	195	מִשְׁטָ	201
כְּנוֹר	467	מוֹטָהָן	242	מִשְׁחָה	198
כְּסָות	505	מוֹטָהָנה	242	מִשְׁחִית	203
כְּף	457	מוֹשָׁרְד	206, 207	מִשְׁטָר	202
כְּפִישָׁה	230, 456	מוֹיָצָר	232	מִשְׁכָּן	210
כְּפִתָּה	230, 456	מוֹכָמָר	222	מִשְׁלָל	53
כְּפִתָּה	230	מוֹכָמָרָה	222	מִשְׁרָ	207
כְּרַתְּגָּמָל	472	מוֹכָס	209	מִשְׁרָה	207
כְּרַם	479	מוֹכָר	223	מִשְׁרָה	207
כְּרַמְלָ	479	מוֹכָר	223	מִשְׁׁן	235
כְּרָד	462	מוֹכָרְכָּר	462	גַּבְבָּ	263
כְּרָש	483	סְלִיאָ	176	גַּנְשָׁה	512
כְּרָה	491	סְלִינָ	186	גַּבְעָ	262
כְּפָחָם	501	סְלִיחָה	180, 181	גַּנְשָׁ	512
כְּפָנִי	500	סְלִילָה	180	גַּדְרָ	253, 254, 255
לְבוֹשָׁ	274	סְלִילָה	178	גַּדְרָ	256
לְבָאָ	273	סְלִיךָ	187	נוֹם	249, 250
לְבָאָ	273	סְלִיל	178	נוֹמָה	250
לוֹא	268	סְלִיקָוָח	185	נוֹס	248
לוֹחִי*	251	סְנָהָה	162	נוֹחָל	258
לוֹט	288	סְנוֹתָה	163	נוֹחָם	54

- עֲגָלָה 100
 עַדְהָה 105
 עַדְן 104
 עַדְשִׁים 84
 עַזְוֹר 108, 589
 עַזְיָה 73
 עַל 73
 עַרְעָר 66
 עַזְבָּה 169
 עַזְדִּים 103
 עַזְדָּר 107
 עַזְבָּה 169
 עַזְמִים 103
 עַזְמָה 108, 109, 589
 עַזְרָה 82, 109
 עַזְרָה 65, 79
 עַזְרָה 73
 עַלְיָה 83, 86
 עַלְפָה 517
 עַמְדָה 76, 77, 78
 עַמְדָה 77
 עַמְקָה 74
 עַמְקָה 314
 עַמְקָה 314
 עַנְבָּה 80
 עַנוֹה 81
 עַצְוָם 335
 עַצְמָה 103
 עַצְמָה 109
 עַקְבָּה 48, 424
 עַקְרָב 95
 עַקְשָׁה 101, 102
 עַרְלָה 436
 עַרְן 87
 עַשְׁבָּב 88
 עַשְׁוֹקִים 93
 עַשְׁקָה 92
 עַשְׁקָה 93
 עַשְׁקָה 93
 פֶּדֶר 158
 פֶּלֶל 150
 פּוֹד 149
 פֶּטְלִיה 159
 פֶּטְלִיה 159
 פֶּלֵץ 155
 פֶּסְלָה 234
 פֶּסְלָה 234
 פֶּצְאָר 149
 פֶּרֶח 151, 152
 פֶּרֶח 152
 פֶּרֶס 155
 פֶּנְשָׁה 151
 פֶּרֶש 28, 153
 פֶּחְיָל 158
 אָבָא 573
 צְבָאָם 573
 צְבָע 575
 צְבָע 575
 צְדָקָה 560
 צְדָקָה 560
 צְדָקָה 595
 צְדָקָה 589
 צְלָחוֹת 593
 צְלָחוֹת 593
 צְלָחוֹת 593
 צְלָל 584, 587
 צְלָע 592
 צְלָצָל 584
 צְלָצָל 587
 צְלָק 588
 צְלָקָה 588
 צְמָאָה 581
 צְמָאָה 581
 צְמָאוֹן 581
 צְמָוקִים 583
 צְמָח 240
 צְמָח 239
 צְנוּנִים 584
 צְעָק 570, 571
 צְעָקָה 571
 צְפּוֹן 576
 צְפּוֹר 577
 צְפּוֹר 578
- עַגְלָה 73
 עַבְדָּה 67
 עַבְדִּים 67
 עַבְרָה 68
 עַבְרָה 67
 עַבְרִי 70
 עַבְלָה 99
 עַגְלָה 98, 99
 עַגְלָה 73

שְׁפִיחָה	578	רָאשׁ	285	שְׁבָלַת	396 (stream)
שְׁגָעַ	590	רֵב	272	שְׁבָר	366
שְׁגָעָה	168, 233, 591	רֶבֶּה	277	שְׁבָה	30
קְבֻעַ	424	רֶבֶּיכָה	276	שְׁנָה	302
קְדֹשָׁה	441	רֶבֶּיךָ	276, 550	שְׁגַע	301
קְוּם	62	רֶהֶטִים	279	שְׁגַר	415, 522
קְפָה	157	רוּהָה	176, 263, 270	שְׁדָד	212 (to harrow)
קְזִיז	445	רוּחָה	251	שְׁדָד	418 (to assault)
קְטֻנה	440	רוּם	278	שְׁבוּב	60, 360, 364
קְוִן	439	רוֹזִין	271	שְׁחוֹה (חוֹה)	360
קְרִירָה	437	רְחֹבָה	280	שְׁוֹל	203
קְשֹׁוִרִים	523	רְחָם	56	שְׁוֹל	361
קְשִׁין	509, 510	רְמָקָה	185, 299	שְׁוֹעֵל	391
קְלָה	216, 227, 426	רְחָשָׁה	282	שְׁוֹפָר	403
קְלָחָת	481	רְכָבָה	413	שְׁוֹק	412
קְלָעַ	432, 433, 434	רְכִישָׁה	286	שְׁחַטָּה	203
קְלָעִים	432, 433, 434	רְכָס	286	שְׁחַק	411
קְלָרָה	477, 511	רְכַשָּׁה	286	שְׁחַתָּה	203
קְמָה	464	רְםָה	278	שְׁפִירָה	202
קְמָזָן	446	רְמָפֹן	12	שְׁיִחָה	203
קְמָעָה	439	רְמָחָה	179	שְׁכָבָה	209
קְסָם	503	רְעָם	530	שְׁפָכָבָה	413
קְעָרָה	214	רְעָשָׁה	246, 247	שְׁכָה	302
קְפֹהָ	580	רְפָאָה	295	שְׁכָן	414
קְפָה	580	רְפָאָה	295	שְׁלָגָן	375
קְפָז	580	רֵקָה	287	שְׁלָחוֹתָה	373
קְצָה	451	רֵקָחָה	299	שְׁלָוָם	408
קְצָח	451	שְׁבָבָה	380	שְׁלָוִים	409
קְצִין	443	שְׁדִידָרוֹתָה	386	שְׁלֵל	376
קְצָעָה	451	שְׁמָאֵלָה	369	שְׁלֵל	376
קְצָעָה	452	שְׁעָרָה	358, 359	שְׁלָם	406, 407, 408, 409
קְרָאָה	430, 431	שְׁעָרָה	359	שְׁלָם	408
לוּקְרָאתָה	431	שְׁעָרִים	358	שְׁלָמִים	409
קוּרִית	437	שְׁקָה	383	שְׁלָמָה	409
קוּרְקָעָה	214	שְׁאָבָה	205, 392	שְׁלָףָ	404
קוּרָה	437	שְׁאָבָבָה	392	שְׁמָ	399
קוּשָׁה	229	שְׁאָבָבָה	395	שְׁמָנוֹן	369
קוּשְׁוִרִים	523	שְׁבָוָה	59	שְׁמָנוֹהָ	369
קוּשָׁרָה	523	שְׁבָבָתָה	397	שְׁמַעַן	368, 400
קוּשָׁתָה	509, 510	שְׁבָבִיבָה	35	שְׁמַרְמָרָה	401
קוּתָּה	439	שְׁבָלַתָּה	365 (ear of grain)	שְׁמַרְמָרָה	366

שַׁעַר	385, 390 (gate)	אָם	10	מֵעָן	163
שְׁעָר	387, 388 (scheme)	אָסֶר	40	מִרְכָּבָת	189
שְׁעָר	389 (price)	אֵי	7	מְרֻם	177
שְׁעָרִים	(measures)	אֹוָאלָם	19	מְשָׁאת	166
שְׁעָרִים	387, 388	אֹוָו	17	מְשֻׁטָּר	202
שְׁפֵט	398	בָּהָר	112	מְשֻׁטָּרָה	202
שְׁפֵק	380, 384	בָּנָ	118	מְשֻׁכְּבָם	209
שְׁפֵחָה	35	בָּעֵל	115	מְשֻׁלָּ	53
שְׁקָה	414	בָּעֵלָה	116	מְחָה	235
שְׁקָף	543	בָּקָר	154	נְסָךְ	267
שְׁקָף	414	בָּרָךְ	127	נְסָכָה	267
שְׁקָף	372	בָּהָ	113, 144, (house)	נְעָם	244
שְׁרִין	546	בָּהָ	145	נְצָבָ	55
שְׁרִיר	208	בָּתָ	120, 146 (daughter)	סְפִּרְ	540
שְׁרִירָות	208	גָּלָב	516	עֲבָד	69, 71
שְׁרָר	206, 208	גָּרָ	428, 429, 473	עֲנָלָ	73
תּוֹלָע	529	דָּבָר	561 (sanctuary?)	עֲנָלָת	100
חוֹר	532	דָּל	528, 533	עַזְ	107
מְחֻבָּשָׂת	537	הָרָ	294	עַזְרָם	108, 589
פְּחוּחוֹת	535	זָה	594	עַכְבָּר	96
פְּחַלְאִים	344	חוֹ	106	עַלָּ	83 (stair)
פְּחַמְמָס	524	חָלָב	73	עַלְתָּ	86 (lid)
פְּחָרָא	538	חָנָ	58, 319 (<i>hnn</i>)	עַמְדָּ	77
פְּטוּרָשׁ	183	טְבַח	562	עַמְקָ	74
פְּלָ	527	יְדָעָ	64	עַן	65, 79 (spring)
חָלָה	37	יְמָ	52	עַצְמָ	103
פְּלָלוֹי	37	יְצָקָ	243	עַצְמָתָ	335
פְּלָלָם	564	יְצָרָ	45	פְּלָ	150
פְּנָור	531	יְשָׁבָ	30, 31	צָדָ	560
פְּפָחוֹת	563	יְשָׁרָ	206, 207	צָמָחָ	239
פְּשָׁוְקָה	412	כְּמָ	458	צָפָלָ	576
2. Phoenician & Punic		כְּנוֹ	467	צָפָרָ	577
אָב	2	כְּסִי	505	קְדוּשָׁ	441
אָבֵד	6	כְּרִתָּ	491	קְטוֹרָתָ	440
אָנָן	36	כְּתָם	501	קְרָתָה	437
אָדָמָה	41	מְגַדֵּל	224	רָאשָׁ	285
אָחָתָה	26	מְדַתָּ	237, 238 (<i>mdd</i>)	רָבָבָ	272
אָילָ	1	מְהֻנָּה	192	רְבָתָה	277
אָל	19 (<i>awl</i>)	מְכַרָּ	223	רוֹםָ	278
אָל	16 (god)	מְלָאָ	176	רְחָבָ	280
		מְלָחָ	181	רְפָאָ	295
		מְלָכָ	187	שְׁבָבָ	380
		מְנַחָת	165	שְׁלָחָ	373
				שְׁלָמָ	406, 409
				שְׁמָ	399

400 שְׁמָשׁ	<i>gl̥t</i> 375	<i>yd^c</i> 64
401 שְׁמַרְתּוּ	<i>gmr</i> 435	<i>ym</i> 52
402 שְׁמַנְתּוּ	<i>gr</i> 429	<i>ysq</i> 243
385, 390 שְׁעָרָתּוּ	<i>grn</i> 519	<i>ysr</i> 45
398 שְׁפָתּוּ	<i>gšm</i> 522	<i>yrā</i> 174
183 תְּרַשְׁתּוּ	<i>gt</i> 425	<i>yry</i> 174
3. Proto-Sinaitic		
<i>klb</i> 476	<i>d</i> 38	<i>yšr</i> 206, 207
4a. Ugaritic		
åb 2	<i>dbr</i> 561	<i>kzy</i> 506
åbd 6	<i>ddm</i> 568, 569	<i>kht</i> 496
ibr 3	<i>dlt</i> 528	<i>klâ</i> 474, 475
ågn 36	<i>dmrn</i> 582	<i>klb</i> 476
åhl 24	<i>dkr</i> 556	<i>klyt</i> 520
izml 44	<i>dmr</i> (guard) 582	<i>km</i> 458
²yđ 328	<i>dmr</i> (music) 582	<i>kmn</i> 459, 460, 461
úhry 25		<i>knr</i> 467
úhryt 25		
åht 26	<i>hdm</i> 304	<i>ks</i> 502
ty 38	<i>hkl</i> 290	<i>kst</i> 505
åylm 1	<i>hr</i> 294	<i>kp</i> 457
il (* ² ył) 18	<i>zt</i> 594	<i>krkr</i> 462
il 16	<i>hbl</i> 308	<i>krm</i> 479
ålgbt 22	<i>hdy</i> 106	<i>krs</i> 483
åln 11	<i>hdjt</i> 329	<i>krsn</i> 483
üm 10	<i>h(w)l</i> 306	<i>ktp</i> 500
åsr 40	<i>hwt</i> 305	<i>lbù</i> 274
åpy 7	<i>htt</i> 104	<i>lbit</i> 273
úpt 34	<i>hlb</i> 73	<i>lbš</i> 274
bir 112	<i>hms</i> 316	<i>lht</i> 251
bn 118	<i>hmr</i> 312	<i>lpš</i> 274
b ^c l 115	<i>hnn</i> 58, 319	<i>lrmn</i> 12
b ^c lt 116	<i>hp̥</i> 72	<i>mgdl</i> 224
bq ^c t 140	<i>hr</i> 324	<i>mdrn</i> 241
brk 127	<i>htl</i> 327	<i>mhr</i> 190
brky 131	<i>hbly</i> 73	<i>m̥br</i> 194
brkn 130	<i>hbr</i> 333	<i>m̥tmâ</i> 581
brkt 131	<i>hl</i> 344	<i>mkrm</i> 223
brq 126	<i>hnzr</i> 356	<i>mlâ</i> 176
bt (house) 113, 144, 145	<i>hp̥</i> 334	<i>mlk</i> 187
bt (daughter) 120, 146	<i>hp̥t</i> 72	<i>mll</i> 178
gb ^c 423	<i>hr</i> 338, 339	<i>mnh</i> 165
g(w)r 428, 429, 473	<i>hri</i> 323	<i>m̥d</i> 161
gzl 450	<i>hrb</i> 346	<i>mg̥d</i> 560
gxr 186, 438, 521	<i>hrn</i> 343	<i>m̥g̥rt</i> 228
glb 516	<i>hrt</i> 345, 350	<i>m̥sd</i> 560
	<i>tb</i> 525	<i>m̥qrt</i> 218
	<i>tb̥</i> 562	<i>mr²</i> 173
	<i>thn</i> 242	<i>mr̥u</i> 173
	<i>tm̥i</i> 581	<i>mr̥h</i> 179
	<i>ybl</i> 50	<i>m̥rym</i> 177
	<i>yblt</i> 50	<i>m̥ryn</i> 175

- mš̄h* 198
mš̄ht 203
mš̄knt 210
mš̄lt 53
mš̄rrm 208
n̄hmmi 249
n̄hr 253
n(w)m 249, 250
n(w)s 248
nsk 267
ns^c 265
n^cm 244
n^crm 245
n^csb 55
sgr 385, 555
sgrt 385, 555
sk[r] 555
spl 541, 546
spr 540
spr II 542
str 300
^c*bd* 69, 71
^c*gl*, ^c*glt* 73
^c*dt* 105
^c*dr* 108, 589
^c*(w)l* 73
^c*wr* 66
^c*z* 107
^c*tm* 103, 335
^c*mq* 74
^c*n* 65, 79
^c*prm* 70
^c*qb* 48
^c*rt* 87
glp 517
gm̄i 581
gnbm 80
psl 234
pslt 234
prh 152
sb̄u 573
sb̄im 573
sd 560
sl^c 592
smqm 583
sq^cq 570, 571
spn 576
spr 577
qdš 441
qtr 440
- qlbt* 481
ql^c 432, 433, 434
qm̄h 464
qm̄s 446
qpt 157
qry 430, 431
qryt 437
qrt 437
riš 285
rb 272
rbt 277
rgm 530
r(w)t 271
r(w)m 278
rhb 280
rhm 56
rhq 185, 299
rkb 413
r̄gm 530
š^cb 205, 392
šblt 365
šlh 373
šlm 406, 407
šlmm 409
šm 399
šmāl 369
šmn 369
šm^c 400
šc^cr 358
šc^crm 358
šc^crt 359
špk 384
špš 402
šqy 414
šrr 208
tl 527
tlm 564
tl^c 529
tnr 531
tnrr 531
tp̄h 563
tr^ct 183
tb̄t 30
t(w)b 60, 364
tb̄b 403
tmr 401
tnn 371
tl̄l 391
tr̄ 387, 388
tgr 385, 390
tp̄t 398
- tryn* 546
- 4b. Ugaritic in Akkadian transcription**
- 'a^c-[p]l?-[yu?]'*
^c*e^c-la-yi* 83
gu-ú-za-li 450
**hablūma* 308
he-re-ti 345, 350
hi-nu-ta 318
hu-up-pa-ti 334
hu-zi-rù 356
i-zi-ir[-tu₄] 108, 589
ka-zi-e 506
dgiški-na-rù 467
túg.meku-up-šu 230, 456
ma-ad-da-tú 237, 238
ma-ka-ri 223
ma-al-ku 187
manahātu 165
mar-kab-te 189
lúmar-ya-nu 175
ma-za-r[u-nu] 241
lú.mešmur-ú 173
na-ḥa-li 258
pu-ru-s[à?-tu₄] 155
qa-ri-t[u₄] 437
qidšu 441
ra-ah-ba-ni 280
sà-ap-lu 541, 547
sú-KU-ru 555
túgša-ḥar-tu 359
gišša-[ḥ]a!-ru^c-ma 390
ša-a-la-na 391
**šallima* 409
ša-am-ra-na 401
lúša-na-nu-ma 371
ša-ap-šu 402
[š]i?-i-ru-[] 358
ṭa-bu 525

5. Amorite	śumum 399 śmr 401 śamšum 402 śwb 364 śalgum 375 śll 376 śm ^c 400 śl ^c 391 śpt 398	ברחתא 29 גְּבָב 209 גְּבֹעִיא 209 גְּבֵרִי 209 גְּבֻעַתָּא 423 נדֵד 452 גּוֹז 444 גּוֹזֶלָא 450 גּוֹלְתָּא 471 גּוֹמְרָתָא 435 נוֹפְרִיחָא 455 נוֹרָתָא 519 גּוֹנָם 452 גּוֹזֵד 186, 438, 521 גּוֹלָא 485 גּוֹלָב 516 גּוֹלָבָא 516 גּוֹלִילָא 486 גּוֹלִימָא 471 גּוֹלִישׁ 482 גּוֹלָל 471 גּוֹלָה 477 גּוֹזָא 442, 443 גּוֹרִי 515 גּוֹרָמָא 463 גּוֹרָף 477, 478 דְּרָכָא 572 דְּזָא 574 דְּתָס 535 דְּכָר 556 דְּלָחָא 528 דְּמָר 582 הָגָא 377 הָגָם 303 הָקָם 303 הָיְכָלָא 290 וְזָרָא 560 וְיָקָא 594 זְכָר 556
6. Moabite	אב 2 אבד שב כרח מנדלָח קר רש שעד 385, 390	אָבָּא 2 אָבָד שָׁבָּע כְּרָחָּה מְנַדְּלָחָּה קָרָּה רָשָּׁׂעָד גְּלָבָּא
7. Ammonite	bn 118 B^cl 115 brk 127 ḥblm 308 km 458 mlk 187 n^cm 244 n^cr 245 spr 540 ‘bd 69, 71 ‘zr 108, 589 ‘kbr 96 r^chq 299 š(w)b 364 šlm 408 šm 399 šm^c 400 šmš 402 śl^c 391 śrt 359	גְּלִילָא גְּלִימָא גְּלִישׁ גְּלָל גְּלָה גְּזָא גְּרָמָא גְּרָף דְּרָכָא דְּזָא דְּתָס דְּכָר דְּלָחָא דְּמָר הָגָא הָגָם הָקָם הָיְכָלָא וְזָרָא וְיָקָא זְכָר
8a. Aramaic	אֲפָא 2 אֲבָד	אֲפָא 2 אֲבָד

- זָמָרָא 582
 זָמָרָא 582
 זָמָרָא 582
 זָעֵק 570, 571
 צְבָלָא 308
 חַבְקָק 75
 חַבְרָה 333
 חַנְרָא 326
 חַדְפָּא 329
 חַזְמָעָא 316
 חַזְפָּא 332
 חַזְוָא 345, 350
 חַיְרָא 346
 חַוְתָּל 327
 חַזְוָא 106
 חַזְוָא 106
 חַזְוָא 356
 חַזְוָא 104
 חַזְוָא 305
 חַזְוָא 345
 חַזְוָא 72
 חַזְפִּיְחָא 73
 חַלְבָּא 348
 חַלְבִּיְחָא 348
 חַלְבִּנָּא 341
 חַלְלִי 336, 337
 חַלְלִי 81
 חַלְלִיא 324
 חַלְקָא 326
 חַטְמָי 57
 חַמְלָה 311
 חַמְרָא 312
 חַנְיָא 192
 חַנְעָן 58, 319
 חַסָּא 355
 חַסִּין 355
 חַסִּין 72
 חַפְס 326
 חַקְלָא 347
 חַרְבָּא 324
 חַרְבָּא 321
 חַגְגִּי 323
 חַנְפָּה 340
 חַתְלָל 327
 טַבָּא 525
 טַבְחָ 562
 טַהָּן 242
 טַלְלָל 532
 טִירִקְיָא 168, 233,
 591
 טְרִקְ 168, 233, 591
 בְּבָלָא 49
 בְּבָלָא 50
 בְּבָשָׂתָא 5
 בְּדָעָ 64
 בְּפָא 52
 בְּשָׁר 206, 207
 בְּחָבָ 30
 בְּזָבָא 31
 בְּתָרָא 232
 בְּכִירָה 455
 בְּכוֹרִיהָ 455
 בְּכָוָה 520
 בְּכָלָ 474, 475
 בְּכָלָא 474, 475
 בְּכָלָא 476
 בְּכָלָי 466
 בְּכָמָא דָ"ה 458
 בְּכָפָן 459, 460, 461
 בְּכָמֶשׂ 465
 בְּכָרָא 467
 בְּכָסָ 502
 בְּכָסָתָא 505
 בְּכָפָא 457
 בְּכָפָת 230, 456
 בְּכָרָ 472
 בְּכָרִיסִית 483
 בְּכָרְכָרָן 462
 בְּכָרְמָא 479
 בְּכָרְסָא 483
 בְּכָרָה 491
 לְבֻשָׂא 274
 לְכִישָׂא 274
 לְזָדָןָא 288
 לוֹאָ 268
 לְזָהָה 251
 לְחִיה 251
 לְטוּם 288
 מְגַבָּ 221
 מְגַבָּא 221
 מְגַלָּא 224
 מְגַרָּא 186
 מְגַרְמָרִיא 219
 מְדַדָּה 237, 238
 מְדַהָּ (measure) 237, 238
 מְדַהָּ (tax) 170
 מְהִיר 190
 מְוִג 221
 מְזַקָּא 161
 מְזַרְעָן 125
 מְחַטָּא 197
 מְוַתָּה 192
 מְפַרְקָא 168, 233
 מְיִרְחָה 183
 מְיִשְׁרָא 206, 207
 מְמַסָּא 209
 מְלִיחָה 176
 מְלִיחָה 180, 181
 מְלִי 176
 מְלִכָּא 187
 מְלִיחָה 160
 מְלִיחָה 162
 מְנִיא 170
 מְנִיחָה 165
 מְנִיחָה 385
 מְסִמְרָא 39
 מְעַרְתָּא 228
 מְפִלְחָא 234
 מְקַבָּה 216
 מְקַלּוּ 227
 מְרִ 173

מְרָא	173	סִילְמָא	548	פֶּרֶס	155
מִרְגְּנִיָּה	186, 521	סִילְפָא	550	פֶּרֶשָׁא	153
מַרְמָא	177	סִיכָּרָא	555	פֶּרֶת	153
מְרַחְקָתָא	185, 299	סִיפָּלָא	541	פֶּחְזָרָא	206
מְרִיחָתָא	183	סִכְוָהָא	381	פֶּחְזָרָה	206
מְרַכְבָּתָא	189	סִכְוָהָא	381	פֶּתְלָא	158
מְשֻׁלָּטָא	201	סִיכִּי	381	צְבָע	575
מְשֻׁחָא	198, 199	סִכְרָא	555	צְוָלְקָהָא	588
מְשֻׁחָהָא	198, 199	סִפְרָא	540	צִידָא	560
מְשֻׁבָּנָא	210	סִקָּא	383	צִימָוָהָא	583
מְשֻׁבָּנוֹא	210	סִקְוָנָי	543	צִיפָּהָא	576
מְשֻׁלָּמָה	53	סִמְרָה	300	צִיזָא	595
מְתָנָה	235	עֲבָדָא	69, 71	צְלָחוֹהָא	593
מְתָנָהָא	235	עֲבָדָתָא	100	צְלָל	584
מְתָרוֹהָא	207	עֲדָיָא	85	צְלָק	588
גָּבָב	263	עֲדִיתָא	85	צְלָקָה	588
גָּבָע	262	עֲוֹרָה	66	צְמָה	240
גָּנָר	415	עֲוֹלָא	73	צְמָחָה	239
גָּנְרָא	415	עֲוֹרְלָתָא	436	צְנוּינָא	584
גָּהָוָא	256	עֲוָשָׂקָא	93	צְעָקָה	570, 571
גָּהָוָרִיא	256	עֲוָרָהָא	82	צְעָקָה	571
גָּהָוָרִיָּה	256	עֲטָבָא	103, 335	צְפָרָא	577
גָּהָוָרָא	256	עֲוָלָא	73	צְרָרָא	587
גָּהָרָא	253	עַיְנָא	65, 79	קְדוּשָׁא	441
נוֹם	249, 250	עַכְבָּרָא	96	קוֹמָצָא	446
נוֹמָהָא	250	עַלְיָהָא	86	קוֹפָא	157
נוֹס	248	עַלְעָזָא	592	קוֹפָא	157
נוֹתָלָא	258	עַמְדָה	76	קוֹצָא	445
נוֹתָם	54	עַמְקָא	74	קְטוּרָהָא	440
נוֹתָן	257	עַנוּכָא	80	קְטוּרָה	451
נוֹסָח	169, 265	עַזְרָא	110	קְטוּרָה	523
נוֹסָכָא	267	עַקְבָּב	48	קְטוּרָהָא	440
נוֹסָע	265	עַקְלָא	98, 99	קִיטְרָהָא	523
נוֹעִים	244	עַקְנָבָא	95	קִיסְמָה	503
נוֹצָב	55	עַרְעִיתָא	591	קִוְרִיָּהָא	437
נוֹצָבָא	55	עַשְׁבָּבָא	88	קִוְרִיָּהָא	437
נוֹקֵב	511	עַשְׁקָה	92	קְלָא	227, 426
סְנוּרָא	385, 555	פּוֹלָא	150	קְלָעָא	432, 433, 434
סְגָר	385, 555	פּוֹרָא	149	קְלָפָ	477
סְדִירִין	386	פּוֹסָל	234	קְמָחָא	464
סְוָרָא	555	פּוֹרָח	151, 152	קְמָחָה	62

- קְוֹתָא 439
 קְפָא 157
 קְפּוֹ 580
 קְפַתָּא 157
 קְצָעַ 451
 קְרִי 430, 431
 קְרֶקְעָא 214
 קְרֵפָא 437
 קְרִפָּא 439
 רָאשׁ 285
 רְבָא 272
 רְבִיכָא 276
 רְבִתָּא 277
 רְדֵת 271
 רְהַטָּא 279
 רְיוֹ 176, 270
 רְוֹם 278
 רְוֻמְתָּא 179
 רְוּמָא 12
 רְחוֹשׁ 282
 רְחִים 56
 רְתָק 185, 299
 רְיִכְבָּא 413
 רְיִקָּא 287
 רְישָׁא 285
 רְם 278
 רְמוֹנָא 12
 רְעִישׁ 246, 247
 רְעִם 530
 רְפָא 295
 שְׁבָב 380
 שְׁמָאָלָא 369
 שְׁנָרָא 358
 שְׁעָרִין 358
 שְׁקָ 383
 שְׁאָבָב 205, 392
 שְׁאָוְבָתָא 392
 שְׁבָטָא 397
 שְׁבִּי 302
 שְׁבָר 415, 522
- שְׁבָרְנוּנִיה 415
 שְׁבָל 365
 שְׁבָלָא 365
 שְׁבָלְתָּא 396
 שְׁבָם 399
 שְׁבָמָנָא 369
 שְׁוָקָא 412
 שְׁחַק 411
 שְׁחַקָּא 411
 שְׁחַטָּר 202
 שְׁחַטָּרָא 202
 שְׁלַחֲנָ (send) 373
 שְׁלַחְנָ (flay) 374
 שְׁלָמָם 406, 407
 שְׁלָמָםָא 408
 שְׁלָפָן 404
 שְׁמָם 399
 שְׁמָעָ 400
 שְׁמָר 401
 שְׁמָרָא 366
 שְׁמָשָׂא 402
 שְׁמַעַר 387, 388
 שְׁעַל 391
 שְׁעַרָּא 389
 שְׁפָט 398
 שְׁפָטִין 398
 שְׁפָפָךְ 384
 שְׁבָבָא 384
 שְׁבָבָיָא 414
 שְׁבָבִיָּא 414
 שְׁבָרִיר 208
 שְׁבָרִירָא 415
 חְוֹב 364
 חְוֹלְעַתָּא 529
 חְלָא 527
 חְלָאָ 375
 חְלָמָמָא 564
 חְלָלָא 391
- תְּפִוָּה 563
 תְּפִי 35
 תְּפִיא 35
 תְּרִי 207
 תְּרִיעָא 385, 390
- 8b. Warka Aramaic**
- ag-gan-nu* 36
pa-tu-ú-ri 206
ta-ra-ha 385, 390
- 9. Syriac**
- אַחַ 6
 אַלְמָ 36
 אַלְמָא 528, 533
 אַלְלָא 1, 18
 אַלְלָא 11
 אַלְלָא 38
 אַחְתָּ ? 458
 אַחְתָּא 14
 אַחְתָּא 7
 אַחְתָּא 10
 אַלְלָא 17
 אַלְלָא 27
 אַלְלָא 112
 אַלְלָא 156
 אַלְלָא / 128, 129, 130
 אַלְלָא 137
 אַלְלָא 114
 אַלְלָא 112
 אַלְלָא 113, 144, 145
 אַלְלָא 154
 אַלְלָא 127
 אַלְלָא 126
 אַלְלָא 120, 146
 אַלְלָא 209
 אַלְלָא 209
 אַלְלָא 444
 אַלְלָא 428, 429, 473
 אַלְלָא 438, 521
 אַלְלָא 429

485	ل	309	س	274	ح
516	ل	319	س	288	ج
427	ل	318	س	268	ه
427	ل	355	س	251	ك
477	ل	355	س	190	م
435	ل	326	س	209	م
468	ل	338	س	176	م
442, 443	ل	350	س	180, 181	ك
515	ل	347	س	187	ك
463	ل	324	س	162	ك
463	ل	323	س	173	م
477, 478	ل	85	س	177	م
478	ل	324, 340	س	183	م
425	ل	410	س	189	م
572	ل	26	س	198, 199	م
574	م	525	ل	263	ل
535	م	532	ل	263	ل
535	م	532	ل	256	م
556	م	242	ل	253	م
582	م	5	ح	248	م
535	م	49 (stream)	ح	258	س
303	م	50 (grass)	ح	249, 250	ب
290	م	64	ب	267	ب
298	م	30, 31	ل	385, 555	م
450	م	232	ل	381	م
560	م	455	ص	555	م
594	م	520	ص	369	ص
585, 586	م	505	ص	358, 359	م
570, 571	م	466, 474, 475	ح	540	م
571	م	476	ح	383	م
308	س	459, 460, 461	ص	69, 71	ج
329	س	465	ص	100	ج
320	س	459, 460, 461	ص	67	ص
106	س	467	ص	107	ص
356	س	502	ص	96	ص
104	س	457	ح	66	ح
73	س	456	ح	436	ح
348	س	479	ح	109	د
341	س	483	ح	103	ح
312	س	500	ح	73	ح

			10. Arabic
86 حـلـا	56 فـسـم		اب 2
110 حـنـزـا	185, 299 فـسـه		ابد 6
48 حـمـد	287 فـحـا		ابن 118
92 حـمـعـه	285 فـحـا		ابنة 120, 146
138 حـمـمـا	278 فـمـ		اجـانـة 36
28, 153 حـمـعـا	530 فـمـ		احـبـرـلـة 308
28, 153 حـمـعـا	397 حـمـلـا		احـوـلـ 320
206 حـمـيـا	35 حـمـصـا		اخـتـ 26
158 حـمـيـا	365 حـمـلـا		اخـذـ 328
158 حـمـدـا	302 حـمـا		آخـرـ 25
575 حـرـصـا	301, 522 حـمـلـهـا		اسـمـ 399
560 حـبـا	415 حـمـلـهـا		اسـبـرـ 40
593 حـمـسـا	369 حـمـصـا		اـكـمـهـ 459, 460, 461
240 حـمـسـهـا	411 حـمـدـ		اـمـ 10
239 حـمـسـا	202 حـلـهـا		اـمـرـةـ 173
578 حـمـسـا	394 حـمـهـ		آنـكـ 14
577 حـمـسـهـا	374 حـلـهـ		اـهـلـ 24
580 حـمـمـا	373 حـمـسـهـا		اـولـ 19
580 حـمـمـا	406, 407 حـلـمـ		اـيـ 38
157 حـمـمـا	408 حـلـمـ		اـيـلـ 1
157 حـمـمـا	404 حـلـمـ		بـابـ 117
451 حـمـهـ	399 حـمـا		بـثـرـ 112
523 حـلـهـا	400 حـمـهـ		بـحـرـ 114
62 حـمـصـا	402 حـمـصـا		بـرـ 119
62 حـمـصـا	384 حـمـرـ		بـرقـ 126
216, 227, 426 مـلا	384 حـمـصـا		بـرـكـ 127
432, 433, 434 مـلـهـ	414 حـمـمـا		بـرـكـةـ 128, 130 (blessing)
477, 511 مـلـهـ	414 حـصـا		بـرـكـةـ (pool) 131
464 مـعـسـا	208 حـنـهـ		بعـلـ 115
503 مـزـمـ	546 حـنـهـا		بـغـلـةـ 116
503 مـرـطـ	364 مـهـ		بـقـرـ 154
451 مـزـهـ	527 مـلـ		بـقـمـةـ 140
437 مـنـهـا	274 مـلـحـلـا		بـقـيـ 138
439 مـلـهـ	375 مـلـحـا		بـكـاـ 141
277 مـهـ	531 مـلـهـهـا		بـلـجـ 126, 133
271 مـهـلـهـ	391 مـلـحـلـا		بـنـتـ 120, 146
271, 279 مـهـلـهـ	35 مـلـحـا		بـهـرـ 156
176, 270 مـهـ	385, 390 مـلـحـا		بـيـتـ 113, 144, 145
179 مـهـسـا			تـحـرـقـ 410
12 فـهـ			

تسليم	324	حربة	351
تفاح	321	حج	356
تل	85	حرش	356
تلم	324, 340	حرف	72
تنور	410	حرق	
ثري	193	حصر	561
ثعالة	193	حضر	535
ثفل	193	حضر	535
ثفي	193	خطيرة	535
ثلل	334	حف	دعس
ثلج	310	حفز	دلاع
ثوب	326	حقل	ذا
جاب	73	حلب	ذرا
جبائية	348	حلابة	ذكر
جيبي	306	حلى	ذمار
جرف	312	حصار	ذوب
جرم	315	حماق	رأس
جن	335	حمس	راش
جري	316	حمض	رب
جريان	311	حمل	ربك
جزر	57	حبسي	رببة
جزم	58, 319	حن	رحابة
جص	104	حنطة	رحبة
جل	318	حنو	رحم
جلالية	306, 320	حول	رعش
جلة	305	حوى	رمان
جلف	322	حيران	12
جلو	347	حارب	رمح
جمرة	333	خبر	رهط
جنه	338	خر	روق
جوب	323	خراء	روي
جور	353	خراطة	زاد
جوز	347	خرب	زعق
جوزل	353	خريطة	571
جونة	355	خس	زعقة
حائز	193	حضر	585, 586
حبل	336, 337	خل	زلزل
حجر	336, 337	خلال	582
حدب	341	خلص	زمر
حديثة	379	خلع	زيت

سجم	301, 522	صفحة	578	غلف	517
سحق	411	صل	584	غنى	81
سخر	553	صيد	560	فاثور	206
سد	418	صيصة	595	فأس	138
سدل	419	ضلع	592	فل	158
سرح	553	طبغ	562	فنيل	158
سطر	202	طقطح	535	فجا	139
سرع	389	طحن	535	فرخ	151, 152
سفك	380, 384	طين	242, 535	فرس	153, 155
سقاية	414	طير	525	فول	150
سقف	543	طير	532	قامة	62
سقى	414	ظمئ	581	قب	511
سقيفة	543	عب	67	قبع	424
سكر	555	عباد	67	قتار	440
سلام	408	عبد	69, 71	قد	439
سلخ	374	عيبر	68	قدس	441
سلم	406, 407	عجلة	100	قرво	430
سمع	400	عدس	84	قرية	437
سمق	370	عدسدة	85	قسم	503
سمك	370	عز	107	قسمة	503
سمِن	369	عشب	88	قص	451
سن	371	عصير	110	قطع	451
سوس	394	عظم	103, 335	تعز	214
سوق	412	عقب	48	قفنز	580
سياسة	394	عرب	95	تفص	230
شبورب	35	عقض	101	قفنة	157
شجر	385	عقلة	99	قلس	492
شعر	358, 359	علا	83	قلع	432, 433, 434
شعرة	359	علو	83	قلف	511
شعرى	358	علبة	86	قلو	216, 227, 426
شعير	358	عماد	77	قمح	464
شق	382	عمد	77	قمز	446
شمال	369	عمق	74	قناة	439
شمس	402	عمود	77	قوس	509, 510
صبغ	575	عنب	80	قوش	453
صارار	587	عور	66	قيام	62
صرصر	587	عزل	73	كأس	502
صرع	590	عين	65, 79	كبريت	455
صفح	578	غرلة	436	كتف	500
صغر	577	غلاف	517	كتيف	500
صفح	578				

		11. Old South Arabic ¹
438 (footnote) كرزن	مكاس 209	مکر 2 پି
483 كرش	مکر 223	مکس 26 خ୍ୟା
479 كرم	مکس 209	مଳା 40 କ୍ଷା
505 كسوة	مଳା 176	ملاحقة 578 ଖ୍ୟାନ୍ତି
457 كف	ملاحقة 185	ملح 80 ପିହା
456 كفت	ملح 180, 181	ملك 7 ଶ୍ରୀହା
476 كلب	ملك 187	ملي 505 ଖ୍ୟାନ୍ତି
466, 474, 475 كلا	ملي 178	مناخ 16 ଫି
520 كلبة	مناخ 163	مناعة 274 ମାତ୍ରା
458 كما	مناعة 163	منحة 253 କ୍ଷାନ୍ତି
465 كش	منحة 165	منسأة 207 କ୍ଷାନ୍ତି
459, 460, 461 كمن	منسأة 236	مهر 19 ଫି
459, 460, 461 كمنة	مهر 190	موج 1 ଫି
459, 460, 461 كمه	موج 221	موعد 112 କାହି
467 كانار	موعد 105, 161	ميرة 120, 146 ଖି
472 كور	ميرة 160	ميرة 114 କ୍ଷିପ
288 لادن	نحس 257	نحس 124, 135 ଖିପ
274 ليس	نحس 378	نخس 119 କାପ
274 لبوس	نس 248	نس 126 ଫିପ
273 لبوا	نسخ 169, 265	نسخ 127 ମାତ୍ରା
185 لحق	نسق 259	نسق 131 ଖାହି
لحو / لحي 251	نسيئة 166	نسب 119 କାପ
300 لص	نصب 55	نصب 120, 146 ଖିପ
268 لوز	نعم 244	نعم 118 ଫିପ
209 مجى	نقب 511	نقب 113, 144, 145 ଖିପ
219 مجرفة	نهار 256	نهر 154 କାହି
515 مجرى	نهر 253, 254, 255	نهر 190 ଖ୍ୟାନ୍ତି
193 محضر	نوس 248	نوس 376 ୱିଲ୍ଲ
341 مخلص	نوم 249, 250	نوم 60, 364 ପୋ
197 مخيط	هجو 377	هجو 428, 429 କା
237, 238 مدد	هدم 303	هدم 519 କାହି
125 مرأآن	هلل 298	هلل 444 କାହି
189 مركبة	هېكىل 290	هېكىل 322 ଖିପ
173 مروءة	وتر 232	وتر 193 କାହି
183 مريسة	وعد 105	وعد 193 କାହି
201 مسوط	وعيد 105, 387	وعيد 512 ଖିପ
212 مشط	بيس 5	بيس 67
242 مطحنة	يعوب 52	يم 1
228 مغارة		
218 مقراة		
216 مقلع		

¹ Words are listed by Modern Arabic alphabetic order, except that **خ** (*s₃*) is listed after **ن** (*s₁*) and **ش** (*s₂*).

- 326 ተዢዣ
312 ኃይዣ
556 የዢዣ
582 የዢዣ
285 ተሰኔ¹
280 ፈጥሮ
185 ቅዱ
56 ቅዱ
189 ተና
179 ቅዱ
176, 270 የዱ
177, 278 የዱ
392 ተከና
397 ዘመኑ
365 ፈጠኑ
205 ተከና
202 ተከና
414 የዱ
406, 407, 408 የዱ
399 ዘዴ
400 የዱ
358 ጽዴ
402 ዘዴ
581 ክሳስ
573 ክበብ
525 ተወ
108, 589 የዱ
107 ፈቻዣ
83 የዱ
77, 78 የዱ
65, 79 የዱ
441 ተዋዣ
501 የዱ
465 ተዋዣ
458 የዱ
288 የዱ
195, 196 የዱ
574 ተወ
- 173 ክፋል
177 የዱ
109 የዱ
163 የዱ
503 የዱ
440 የዱ
223 የዱ
187 የዱ
30, 31 ተወ
206 ተወ
105 የዱ
512 የዱ
244 የዱ
232 የዱ
30 ተወ²
12. Ethiopic²
- አብ: (²*ab*) 2
አፍያ: (²*afaya*) 7
አፍይ: (²*efity*) 7
አገት: (²*ȝit*) 26
አም: (²*em*) 10
አምላክ: (²*amlāk*) 187
አርቃ: (²*arwē*) 17
አስተሳለማ:
 (²*astasālāma*) 407
አይ: (²*ay*) 38
አይዶ: (²*ayda^a*) 64
የዱም: (²*adm*) 103
የዱምድ: (²*amd*) 77
የዱማቅ: (²*maq*) 74
የዱቀብ: (²*aqaba*) 48
የዱቅብ: (²*aqrab*) 95
የዱር: (²*ār*) 66
የዱሪ: (²*asīr*) 110
የዱጥን: (²*aygan*) 36
የዱዝ: (²*zaz*) 107
በአብ: (²*bāḥr*) 114
በረካ: (²*baraka*) 127
በረካት: (²*barakat*) 128,
 129, 130
- በረቃ: (*barqa*) 126
በት: (*bēt*) 113, 144, 145
ደሬመሙ: (*dāhmama*)
 303
ተዳካሳ: (*tādaḥasa*) 535
ደባክ: (*dab^a*) 573
ፈል: (*ful*) 150
ፈርሐ: (*farha*) 151, 152
ፈተል: (*fatil*) 158
ገልበብ: (*galbaba*) 517
ገልበብ: (*għlbab*) 517
ገላፍ: (*galafa*) 477
ገልያት: (*għlyat*) 427
ገዢፍ: (*għarif*) 478
ገሮን: (*gōrn*) 519
ገዋራ: (*gawara*) 428, 429,
 473
ተጋዥር: (*tagāwar*) 428,
 473
ገዛራ: (*gazara*) 186, 438,
 521
ተሁላል: (*tahalala*) 298
ሀይካል: (*haykal*) 290
ሀያል: (*hayyal*) 1
አብል: (*habl*) 308
አዳስ: (*haddās*) 329
አሌብ: (*halib*) 73
አቆል: (*haql*) 326
አዘታት: (*hetṭat*) 104
አውላ: (*hawala*) 306
ነበር: (*habari*) 333
ነበሩት: (*kabārit*) 455
ነበሳ: (*kabasa*) 456
ነፍ: (*kāf*) 457
ነልክ: (*kal'a*) 474, 475
ነልብ: (*kalb*) 476
ነልያት: (*kʷajja*) 520
ነመ: (*kama*) 458
ነር: (*kōr*) 472
ነርም: (*kerm*) 479
ነርሥ: (*karš*) 483
ለብሳ: (*lbsa*) 275
ለብስ: (*ləbs*) 274
ለውዝ: (*lawz*) 268
- 2Listed in the alphabetic order of the consonants in transliteration.

ለዕን: (<i>lōzān</i>) 288	ሰላማ: (<i>salama</i>) 406, 407	<i>allānu</i> 11
መሸሪ: (<i>mahara</i>) 56, 190	አስተሳላማ: (<i>astasāla-</i> <i>ma</i>) 407	<i>ālu</i> (sheep) 18
መሐና: (<i>maḥanā</i>) 165		<i>ālu</i> (city) 24
መሐራ: (<i>maḥara</i>) 56	ሰላም: (<i>salām</i>) 408	<i>amatu</i> 78
መልክ: (<i>mal̥a</i>) 176	ሰላታ: (<i>salata</i>) 550	<i>amūdu</i> 77
መልከት: (<i>malleḥa</i>) 181	ሰም: (<i>sem</i>) 399	<i>anāku</i> 14
መላላ: (<i>malala</i>) 178	ሰምዎ: (<i>sam̥a</i>) 400	<i>antu</i> 297
መማር: (<i>masber</i>) 28	ሰን: (<i>sanana</i>) 371	<i>apūtu</i> 8
መተካፍ: (<i>matkaf</i>) 500	ተሰን: (<i>tasanana</i>) 371	<i>aqrabu</i> 95
ኋእኑ: (<i>nāk</i>) 14	ሰቀዋ: (<i>saqʷaqʷa</i>) 412	<i>arāru</i> 323
ኋቦ: (<i>nagaba</i>) 263	ሰቀያ: (<i>saqaya</i>) 414	<i>armannu</i> 12
ኋው: (<i>nagša</i>) 512	ጽብሐት: (<i>sabāḥit</i>) 573	<i>arū</i> 17
ኋር: (<i>nahār</i>) 253	ጽብሐ: (<i>sabḥa</i>) 575	<i>asīru</i> 40
ኋርደ: (<i>nahara</i>) 254, 255	ጽሐል: (<i>sāḥl</i>) 593	<i>askupatu</i> 543
ኋሙ: (<i>nōma</i>) 249, 250	ጽምሐ: (<i>sam̥a</i>) 581	<i>askuppu</i> 543
ኋቀበ: (<i>naqaba</i>) 511	ጽምሐ: (<i>s̥mit̥</i>) 581	<i>asumata</i> 39
ኋስሐ: (<i>nasha</i>) 265	ማድር: (<i>śār</i>) 358	<i>ašābu</i> 30
ኋስኋስ: (<i>nasnasa</i>) 248	ማድርቻ: (<i>śārərt</i>) 359	<i>ašbatum</i> 30
ኋስዋ: (<i>nasaqa</i>) 259	ማቃ: (<i>śaqq</i>) 383	<i>ayū</i> 38
ቀድሞ: (<i>qʷds</i>) 441	ማረጋሚ: (<i>śārara</i>) 208	<i>ayyalu</i> 1
ቀፍ: (<i>qafō</i>) 157	ታዳሳሳ: (<i>tādaḥasa</i>) 535	<i>azamillu</i> 44
ቀላው: (<i>galawa</i>) 216, 227, 426	ታችቃለ: (<i>tāffūḥ</i>) 563	<i>bābu</i> 117
ቀምሐ: (<i>qamḥa</i>) 464	ታጋው: (<i>tagāwar</i>) 428, 473	<i>barāqu</i> 126
ቀናት: (<i>qannōt</i>) 439	ታሁላለ: (<i>tahalala</i>) 298	<i>barru</i> III 119
ቀርቀል: (<i>qarqar</i>) 485	ታልም: (<i>ṭalm</i>) 564	<i>bēlu</i> 115
ቀስም: (<i>qasm</i>) 503	ተሰን: (<i>tasanana</i>) 371	<i>beritu</i> 124, 135
ቀጋዬ: (<i>qas̥a</i>) 451	ተከና: (<i>tehen</i>) 242	<i>bīt kili</i> 474, 475
ቀጊሩ: (<i>gettārē</i>) 440	ተያያዙ: (<i>tayyara</i>) 532	<i>bītu</i> 113, 144
ርለስ: (<i>rəs</i>) 285	ወረዋ: (<i>warawa</i>) 174	<i>burrānu</i> 125
ርቀሳ: (<i>raf̥a</i>) 295	ይብሏ: (<i>yebūṣa</i>) 5	<i>dādū</i> 568, 569
ርሳብ: (<i>raḥab</i>) 280	ዘካራ: (<i>zakara</i>) 556	<i>dalū</i> 528, 533
ርሳቅ: (<i>rəḥqa</i>) 185, 299	ዘይት: (<i>zayt</i>) 594	<i>darāru</i> 532
ርምሐ: (<i>ramḥ</i>) 179		<i>dāšu</i> 535
ርመጥ: (<i>rōmān</i>) 12	13. Akkadian	<i>eblu</i> 308
ርሻ: (<i>rōṣa</i>) 271	abātu 6	<i>edēšu</i> 329
ርወያ: (<i>rawaya</i>) 176, 270	abu 2	<i>ekallu</i> 290
ርያሙ: (<i>rayama</i>) 177	adū 105	<i>elītu</i> 86
ርያም: (<i>rayyām</i>) 278	agannu 36	<i>emēdu</i> 76
ሰበሐ: (<i>sabbeḥa</i>) 59	ahātu 26	<i>emṣu</i> 316
ሰብል: (<i>sabl</i>) 365	akbiru 96	<i>ēnu</i> 65, 79
ሰብጥ: (<i>səbt</i>) 397	algamešu 22	<i>epū</i> 7
ሰዳዳ: (<i>sadada</i>) 418	alibū 73	<i>eqlu</i> 326
ሰፈሐ: (<i>safḥa</i>) 578	alītu 86	<i>eṣēru</i> 45
ሰሳዋ: (<i>sākʷaya</i>) 302		<i>galābu</i> 516
		<i>gallābu</i> 516
		<i>gaṣṣu</i> 442, 443

- gilamu* 463
gulenu 471
gulīnu 471
gullubu 516
gumāru 435
gursānu 453
gusānu 453
gu-zi 506
ħabašillatu 309
ħabiru 70
ħalālu (pipe, wheeze) 81,
338, 339
ħalālu (bore) 336, 337
ħalāpu 73 (footnote)
ħalilu 337
ħalsu 341
ħalū 344
ħarāru (croak) 338
ħarāru (defecate) 323
ħarbu 346
ħarrānu 343
ħarru 345, 350
ħassū 355
ħaṣ(s)inну 438 (footnote)
ħilabānu 348
ħilbanītu 348
ħulalu 349
ħulu 343
ħuppu 332
ħurbū 346
ħurdatu 353, 354
ħuribtu 346
ħurru 343
ħuṭartu 354
ħuṭaru 354
ibru 333
iħżu 328
ilītu 86
ilu 16
imdu 77
imēru 312
išpatu 34
kagiškarakku 486
ka-ah-šu 496
kakarakku 486
kalakku 486
kalbu 476
kaħitu 520
kalū 466, 474, 475
kamāru 222
kangiškarakku 486
kappu 457
karānu 479
karāpu 477
karāsu 492
karātu 491
karmu 435
kāsu 502
kibrītu 455
kilamu 463
kīma 458
kinnāru 467
kirissu 492
kiżu 506
kursinnu 483
kurussu 492
ku-sí 506
kusītu 505
kušānu 453
ku-ší-ti 505
kutimmu 501
kuzi 506
ku-zí-ti 505
labāšu 275
labbatu 273
labbu 273
lābu 273
ladinnu 288
ladnu 288
ladunu 288
lubūšu 274
lurmū 12
lusānu 266
maħjāru 195, 196
māħiġirānu 194
maħjru 194
mākīru 223
mākisum 209
malītu 176
malku 187
malū 176
mandattu 170
manū 162
magartu 218
maqlū 216, 227, 426
marū 173
mašādu 212
mašāħbu 198, 199
mašartu 28
mašātu 212
mašdātu 212
mašħu 198, 199
mašħātu 198, 199
mašħbu 198, 199
maškanu 210
maškattu 210
mašqītu 414
mazlagu 186
mērištum 183
miksum 209
mirisu 183
murrānu 125
mušdātu 212
mušdu 212
namħāru 195, 196
narkabtu 189
nāru 253
nasāħbu 169, 265
nasāsus 248, 266
nesu 265
nikiptu 260, 261
nīru (troops) 245
nurmū 12
parāsu 155
parussu 28
paruššu 28, 153
pašru 206
paššuru 206
patālu 158
pitiltu 158
qadāšu 441
qalāpu 477, 511
qazan 558
qēmu 464
quddušu 441
quppu 157
qutrīnu 440
ra²abu 281
rabiku 276
rabītu 277
ragāmu 530
raħta 279

<i>rakisu</i>	286	<i>šigaru</i>	385	16. Demotic
<i>raksu</i>	286	<i>šir-a-am</i>	546	<i>ȝywr</i> 1
<i>rapā'u</i>	295	<i>šubtu</i>	30	<i>ym</i> 52
<i>râtu</i>	279	<i>šubū</i>	395	<i>‘ršn</i> 84
<i>rêbitu</i>	280	<i>šubultu</i>	365	<i>‘klt</i> 100
<i>rêmu</i>	56	<i>šu-i-ib-da</i>	392	
<i>rêqu</i>	185, 299	<i>šulmanu</i>	409	
<i>rêšu</i>	285	<i>šulmu</i>	408	<i>brkt</i> 131
<i>ribku</i>	276	<i>šulpu</i>	403	<i>mktr</i> 224
<i>rîbu</i>	281	<i>šumēlu</i>	369	<i>mdq</i> 243
<i>rigmu</i>	530	<i>šumu</i>	399	
<i>rîqûtu</i>	287	<i>tahabaštu</i>	537	<i>hrnt</i> 12, 297
<i>rubû</i>	272	<i>tahapšu</i>	537	<i>htm</i> (destroy) 303
<i>sakâpu</i>	543	<i>târu</i>	532	<i>htm</i> (stool) 304
<i>saparru</i>	542	<i>tillu</i>	527	<i>hry</i> 323
<i>saplu</i>	541, 547	<i>tîlu</i>	527	<i>ḥbr</i> 333
<i>sa-ri-am</i>	546	<i>tinâru</i>	531	<i>ḥrb</i> 347
<i>sigaru</i>	385	<i>ṭâbiḥu</i>	562	<i>ḥl</i> 336
<i>sikkûru</i>	555	<i>ṭâbu</i>	525	<i>ḥlt</i> 345
<i>siparru</i>	542	<i>ṭenu</i>	242	<i>ḥdn</i> 355
<i>siriyam</i>	546	<i>uḥḥurtu</i>	25	<i>hk̄i</i> 411
<i>ṣabû</i>	575	<i>uḥḥuzu</i>	328	<i>š̄r</i> 389
<i>ṣâbu</i>	573	<i>ummu</i>	10	<i>šbt</i> 397
<i>ṣâdu</i>	560	<i>ušbu</i>	30, 31	<i>šl</i> 336
<i>ṣamû</i>	581	<i>uzzu</i>	107	<i>krb</i> 435
<i>ṣelu</i>	592	<i>wašabu</i>	30	<i>krm</i> 435
<i>sillaḥtu</i>	593	<i>zâbu</i>	574	
<i>ṣabâbu</i>	35	<i>zakâru</i>	556	<i>gp</i> 457
<i>ṣabâtu</i>	397	<i>za-ri-am</i>	546	<i>gl^c</i> 432, 433, 434
<i>ṣagâmu</i>	301	<i>zêru</i>	550	<i>glg</i> 486
<i>ṣa-ab-ri</i>	385, 390	<i>zubbu</i>	572	<i>gnm</i> 459, 460, 461
<i>ṣalâḥu</i>	374			<i>gsm</i> 522
<i>ṣalâma</i>	406, 407			<i>gdm³</i> 446
<i>ṣalâpu</i>	404			
<i>ṣalgu</i>	375			<i>trry</i> 531
<i>ṣallatu</i>	376			
<i>ṣamnu</i>	369			<i>ḍmp̄</i> 563
<i>ṣamšu</i>	402			<i>ḍd̄i</i> 444
<i>ṣanannu</i>	371			
<i>ṣanânu</i>	371			
<i>ṣapâtu</i>	398			
<i>ṣaqqu</i>	383			
<i>ṣaqû</i>	414			
<i>ṣârtu</i>	358, 359			
<i>ṣegû</i>	301			
<i>ṣemû</i>	400			
<i>ṣêqu</i>	411			
				17. Coptic
				<i>ᾳκης^S</i> 102
				<i>ᾳλε^A</i> 18
				<i>ᾳρψατ^S</i> 85
				<i>ᾳρψι^{SB}</i> 84
				<i>ᾳσολ<small>+</small>^B</i> 100
				<i>ᾳσολτε^S</i> 100

- αεօն^S 36
 ներհշե^S 126
 թօլ^{SB} 119
 թօլ^S 119
 թալօտ^S 121
 ներօյր^S 131
 րիերշար^B 131
 նրաօյր^S 189
 ներեաօյր^S 189
 ներեաօյր^C 189
 ևերիք^B 126
 ևերիք^S 126
 եմերիք^B 183
 ըլոյե 72
 երման^B 12
 թալ^B 527
 թօլոմ^B 564
 էլօյլ^{SAB} 1
 էլօմ^S 52
 կալափոյ^S 476
 կրմէս^S 435
 կրմէս^A 435
 կարգ^{SB} 477
 շօյր^S 523
 կազի^B 502 (footnote)
 լախօ^{SB} 273
 լեզմեր^A 12
 մակրօ^B 218
 մելջ^{SB} 180, 181
 մերան^B 176 (footnote)
 մրիս^C 183
 մարիս^B 184
 մարիս^B, մարիս^B 184
 մերեց^{SB} 179
 լայր^B 195
 լայտառ^S 212
 մատօլ^B 224
 մաձօր^{SB} 242
 մեշտալ^S 224
 ոճչու^B 260
- օւլես^S 18
 ուրց^{SAF} 151, 152
 թացե^S 279
 սոկ^{SB} սար^S 383
 սօրմ^S 366
 սօրտ^{SB} 359
 թաթր^{SB} 561
 թալ^S տօլ^S 527
 թլօմ^S 564
 տիօմ^S 564
 տարե^S 533
 դրիպ^{SA} 531
 տաջօս^S 535
 ալի^B 18
 ցիկր^A 333
 ջանոլ^{OLD} 355
 պինք^S 333
 պիտու^{SBF} 397
 պջօլ^{SB} 336
 պլօզ^{SB} 340
 պաձր^S 389
 պօրտ^S 353
 պօրս^S 411
 պջնու^S 355
 գվօւր^B 138
 աալ^B 338
 աելենց^B 274
 աել(Ա)նց^B 274
 աելլօտ^B 345
 ար^B 343
 ջալ^S 338
 ջալիայ^{A2} 274
 ջօլոլ^B 320
 ջմէս^{SAA2F} 316
 ջումս^S 249, 262
 ջումս^B 249, 262
 ջր^S 343
 ջօ(է)լրե 323
 ջօ(է)րման^S 12
- ջաւառ^S 304
 ջօոյրու^S 310
 չօլիբ^B 517
 չօլօչ^S 553
 չ(է)մպէց^S 563
 չաղրե^S 590
 չօսում^B 522
 չաւր^A 594
 չօւր^S 594
 չաւր^B 594
 չլս^S 432, (footnote)
 չօւլես^S 428
 չօլիե^S 517
 չլաղի^B 516
 չալար^B 476
 չլաւր^{SB} 520
 չալար^{SA} 481
 չլօս^S 486
 շառնու^{OLD} 459, 460, 461
 շօն^{SB} 457
 ժրիու^S 516
 շօսմ^S 522
 շօոյրու^S 508
 շօչի^B 444
 շաաք^S (շօչօ=) 451
 շաճմի^S 446

18. Greek

- άρπη 324
 γνόφος 522
 γύψως 442, 443
 θύρσος 183
 ἵῶτα 63
 κιθάρα 467
 κινύρα 467
 κολόβιον 517
 λάδανον 288
 λήδανον 288
 μαγειρεύω 227
 μάγειρος 227
 μάρις 184 (footnote)

δῆμος 522

σάκκος 383

σαλπίγγιον 403

σάλπιγξ 403

χαλβάνη 348

χάσμα 522

χειμών 522

χλαίνα 471

χλαμύς 471

χλανίς 471

19. Latin

cithara 467

galbanum 348

gypsum 442, 443

magirus 227

saccus 383

tuba 403

20. Sanskrit

marya 175

nāga 14

21. Hittite

ha-az-zu-wa-ni-iš 355

giš-kuṇzinara- 266

kibrīti- 455

nurmū 12

šakuni- 414

dugtaḥakapiša 537

22. Luwian

tuwarsa- 183

23. Hurrian

kišhi 496

nuranti 12

šariyanni 546

taḥapšena 537

taḥapši 537

24. Armenian

anag 14

25. Spanish

barrio 119

26. Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi

tannūr, tandūr 531

27. English

cushion 453 (footnote)

guitar 467

gypsum 442

sack 383

zither 467

28. The Entries in Translation

Note that words in parentheses are ones whose exact meaning is unknown or are generic in meaning. E.g. “(Bird)” indicates that the entry is of a bird of unknown species, whereas “Bird” indicates that the meaning of the entry is “bird.” Nouns are listed first, and verbs are so noted only as necessary.

Abandoned, 169	Barley field, 358	Bowl, 593
Abuse (vb.), 251	Barracks, 543	crater 541, 547
Acrobat, 580	(Baskets & Basketry), 195, 230, 327, 456,	Box, 195
Administration, 394	481, 537	Branch, 586
Affix, 208	Beam, 370	Bread. <i>See</i> (Baked Goods).
Agate, 395	Beans, 150	Break, 451
(Ailment), 315 of the eye, 344	Beer, strong smelling, 366	Break the trail, 382
Alien, 429	Beetle, 72	Brimstone, 455
Amorous, 568	Before (a person), 431	Bristling of hair, 584
Amphora, 198, 199	Belt, 102, 122 to wear a, 123	Broad space, 280
‘Apíru people, 70	Beset, 418	Broil, 227
Apple, 563	Bird, 577	Brush country, 358
Approach, 430	(Bird), 524	Bunch (of onions), 373
Archer (chariot soldier), 371	Bird trap, 203	Bundle, 230
Armour body armour, 546 cuirass, 274 to wear, 275	Bird trapper, 61	Burn (vb.), 35
Army, 573	Bird, young, 450	Biscuit, 5, 7
Arrive, 262	Blank page, 427	Business partner, 333
Ascent, 83	Bless, 127	Buyer, 194
Ashes, 435	Blessing, 130	Caged, to be, 475
Ass, 312	Blind, 66, 460	Cakes, 7, 276, 282. <i>See</i> (Baked goods).
Assail, 418	Blind (vb.), 459	Calculation, 387
Assault, 418	Blindness, 461	Call(s), 571
Assembly, 161	Blossom, 152	Call out, 570
Attach, 208	Blossom (vb.), 151	Camp, 192, 305
Autumn crocus, 309	Blusterings, 339	Canal, 322, 350, 415
Axe, 138, 438	(Boat), 201	Canine teeth, 336
Bag, 196, 353	(Body of water), 156, 314, 322, 384, 415, 574	Captive, 40, 376
(Baked goods), 5, 7, 101, 178, 276, 282, 411, 464	(Body part, human), 44	Careen, 302
Bandages, 158	Booty, 376	Casting (metal), 267
	Bottom end (of staff), 25	Cattle, 154
	Bottom of the oven, 214	Cave, 228
	Bow (to s’one), 127	(Cereal), 297
		Chair, 30, 496
		Chancellery, 202

- Channel, 350
 Chariot, 125, 189
 bronze covered, 542
 (chariot equipment), 15, 145, 168, 361
 (chariot part), 9, 15, 109, 145, 197, 306, 354, 538
 chariot soldier, 173, 175, 190, 371, 506
 construction of, 208, 511, 516
 construction:
 materials, 125
 (harness part) 453
 Charioteer, 506
 Charming, 244
 Chasm, 419
 Chest, 157
 Chisel, 234, 337
 City, 437
 Client, 473
 Cloak, 471
 Cluster (of grapes), 365
 Coffer, 157
 Colleague, 333
 Comb, 212
 Comfort (vb.), 54
 Compartments, 287
 Compassion, to have, 54, 56, 311
 Console, 54, 58
 Conspiracy, 105
 Contempt, to hold in, 379
 Content, 133
 Cordage, 232
 Couch, 486
 Court(yard), 82, 386
 Covering, 505
 Cow, 73
 Cowardice, 465
 Crate, 230
 Crater (vessel), 541, 547
 Cricket, 587
 Cries, 571
 Crimson, 529
 Crooked, to be, 509
 Crookedness, 510
 Crops, 239
 Crush, 535
 Cry out, 570
 Crystal, 22
 Cudgel, 149
 Cuirass, 274
 to wear a, 275
 Cultivate, 240
 Cup, 502
 Cure, 295
 Customs officer, 209
 Cut off, 451
 Dagger, 324
 Dancer, 462, 580
 Dark, to be, 459
 Darkness, 468
 Daughter, 120, 146
 Dear, 244
 Decision based on omen, 503
 Defraud, 92
 Delivery, 409
 Deploy (ships) in proper array, 259
 Deride, 553
 Desert, 346
 Desert (vb.), 265
 Destroy, 6
 Destroyer, 303, 347
 Destroying, 303
 (Disease), 315
 of the eye, 344
 Disheveled, to be, 404
 Ditch, 415
 Divan, 486
 Divination, 503
 Divorce, 265
 Dog, 476
 Donkey, 312
 Donkey saddle, 472
 Door(-leaves), 528, 533
 Draw back, 360
 Dregs (of beer), 366
 Dry-country (*negeb*), 263
 Dung, 323
 Dunking, 575
 Dust cloud, 411
 Dwell, 60, 428
 Dwelling, 473
 Dwelling place, 210
 Ear (of grain), 365
 Ecstatic (seer), 106
 Efface, 477
 Embarrassed, to be, 321
 Embers, 435
 Emboss, 229
 Encampment, 192
 Enclosure, 82
 End
 of papyrus roll, 427
 of staff, 25
 of whip, 39
 Envy, to eye with, 320
 Equipment, 286
 Escarpment, 478
 Estate, 163
 Exalted, to be, 278, 380
 Excited feelings, 410
 Excrement, 323
 Exile, 169
 Extort, 92
 Eye, ailment of, 344
 Eye with envy, 320
 Fangs, 336
 Father, 2
 Favour, to show, 58, 319
 Fear, 174

- Ferrule (of whip), 39
 Field, 78, 326
 Fierce, 246
 Firebox (of oven), 214
 Fish pond, 193
 Fishnets, 222
 Flay, 374
 Fledgling, 450
 Flee, 185, 254, 255, 310
 Fleeing / flight, 185, 254,
 255, 299
 Flood, 478
 Flour, finely ground
 wheat, 550
 Flower, 152, 595
 Flowing, 254
 Flute playing, 81
 Footstool, 304
 Foreskin, 436
 Fort, 385
 Fortress, 341
 Fowler, 61
 Fox, 391
 Fright, 174
 Frisk, 482
 (Fruit), 141
 Fuel, 323
 Fugitives, 255
 (Furniture), 206
 Furrow, 564
 Galbanum water, 348
 Galley, 201
 Garlic, 355
 (Garment), 353, 471,
 505, 517
 Gash (vb.), 452
 Gate, 117, 385, 390, 528
 tower gate, 555
 Gear (equipment), 286
 Gift, 129, 165, 170, 235
 Gird on, 121
 Girder, 370
- Gloom of night, 468
 Go around, 444
 Go astray, 6
 Goblet, 218 502
 God, 16
 Gold, 501
 Good, 525
 Gracious, to be, 58, 319
 (Grain), 297
 Grapes, 80
 clusters of, 365
 raisins, 583
 (Grass), 50, 88
 Grasshopper, 72
 Grassy patch, 88
 Great, 272, 277
 Greet, 406
 Greetings, 128, 408
 Grill (vb.), 227
 Grind, 451
 Grindstone, 242, 413
 Groom (military officer),
 173
 Ground, 41
 Grow crops, 240
 Growler, 377
 Guard (military officer),
 381
 Guard (vb.), 466
 Guide, 19
 Gully, 140
 Gypsum, 442
 Hall, 386
 Hammer metal (vb.), 229
 Hand, 63
 Handful, 446
 Handle (of staff), 99
 Happy, 133
 Hardtack, 5
 Haversack, 508
 Head, 285
 Heap, 527
- Heap of stones, 485
 Hear, 400
 Hearing, 368
 Hearth, 216
 Heights, 177
 Helper, 108, 589
 High, to be, 278
 Highlands, 307
 Hill, 423
 Hoarse, 338
 Hoe, 219
 Hollow space, 287
 Holy of holies, 561
 Homage, to do, 406
 Hornets, 591
 Horse, 3, 507
 House, 113, 144
 Hurry (vb.), 310
 Hut, 31
 (Illness), 315
 Impelled, to be, 412
 Incense, 440
 Ingot, 267
 Injustice, 512
 Inlay (vb.), 328
 (Insect), 572, 587
 Insult (vb.), 251
 Itch (scabies), 85
 Ivory, 463
 Jar, 593
 Javelin, 179, 318
 Judge (vb.), 398
 Juniper bush/tree, 29
 Kidneys, 520
 King, 187
 Kneel, 127
 Knight, 175
 Knob, 99
 Know, 64
 Kohl tube, 403

- Labour detail, 124
 Laceration, 155
 Lady, 116
 Lance, 179, 318
 Land, 41
 Lascivious, 568
 Laudanum, 288
 Lay down arms, 407
 Lay low (the enemy), 590
 Lead (metal), 14
 Leader, 19
 Leap (vb.), 482
 Learned, 64
 Lees (of beer), 366
 Left, 369
 Lentils, 84
 Lettuce, 355
 Like (prep.), 458
 Lion, 17
 Lioness, 273
 Long for, 320
 Lord, 115
 Love, to make, 569
 Lustful, 568
 Lyre, 467
 Magazine, 385
Mahir (military officer), 190
Maneh (weight), 162
 Margin, 427
 Market price, 389
Maryanu (military officer), 175
 Master, 115, 272
 Meadow saffron, 309
 Measure (of volume), 159, 237
 (Medicinal ingredient), 110, 257
 Melon, sweet, 43
 Merchant, 223
- Mercy, to have, 56, 311
 (Metalworking activity), 229
 Might, 107
 (Military officer), 173, 175, 209, 381
 Milk cow, 73
 Mill(stone), 242, 413
Mina (weight), 162
 (Mineral), 349
 Mock, 424, 553
 Moist soil, 221
 Monument, 63
 Morsels (of meat), 521
 Mortar, 242
 Mother, 10
 Mound
 for vegetables, 527
 siege mound, 548
 Mount (vb., jewelry), 328
 Mountain, 294
 Mouse, 96
 (Musical instrument), 266
 Must (wine), 183
 Name, 399
 Naos, 561
 Near, to be, 48, 430
 Near-by, 431
Negeb, 263
 Nest, 164
 Nets, fish, 222
 New, 329
 New wine, 183
Nikiptu oil, 261
 North, 369, 576
 Oak tree, 11
 Obeisance, 128, 406
 Obligatory service, 135
 Obligatory work detail, 124
- Offensive, to be, 553
 Office (chancellery), 202
 (Officer), 173, 175, 209, 381
 Oil, 369
 (Oil), 261
 Olive (fruit, tree, oil), 594
 Omen, 503
 Onyx, 14
 Open (door), 139
 Open space, 119, 280
 Open the way, 382
 Opposite (prep.), 431
 Oppress, 92, 247
 Oppression, 93
 Orchard, 479
 Out, outdoors, outside, 119
 Oven, 216, 531
 bottom of, 214
 Overlay (vb. metalwork), 328
 Overpower, 247
 Overthrow, 590
 Pains, 585
 Palace, 290
 Palm, of hand, 457
 Panel, 578
 Parched (of land), 581
 Passions, 410
 Peace, 408
 Peak, 285
 Pear, 141
 Perforate, 511
 Perish, 6
 Phallus, uncircumcised, 436
 Pickaxe, 337, 438
 Pig, 356
 Pillar, 62

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| Plain | Raging, 246 | Saddle pads, 453 |
| (wet land for farming), 207 | Rainstorm, 522 | Salt worker, 181 |
| (region where grapes grown), 372 | Raisin, 583 | Salty land, 180 |
| Plane (vb.), 516 | Ram, 1, 18 | Sanctuary, 441
inner sanctuary, 561 |
| Plank, 27, 370, 578, 592 | Ravager, 303 | Scabies, 85 |
| (Plant), 8, 29, 50, 260 | Ravaging, 303 | Scheme, 387 |
| Plaster, 442 | Ravine, 140, 345, 419 | Scheme (vb.), 388 |
| Plasterer, 443 | Reign (vb.), 53 | Scorch, 35 |
| Pleasant, 244 | Reject, 553 | Scorn (vb.), 379 |
| Pluck (bird), 511 | Remedy, 295 | Scorpion, 95 |
| Plunder, 376 | Remember, 556 | Scout, 381 |
| Pomegranate, 12 | Remove, 477 | Scribe, 540 |
| Pond, 131, 193 | Reproach, 340 | (Scribe), 166 |
| Pool, 131, 193 | Resident alien, 429 | Scrub country, 358 |
| Pound, (heart), 321 | Restrained, to be, 475 | Sea, 52, 114 |
| Power, 335 | Retreat, 185, 360 | Searing, 35 |
| Praise, 191 | Retreating, 299 | Secrecy, to do in, 300 |
| Praise (vb.), 59, 298 | Return, 60, 360, 364 | Seek peace, 407 |
| (Precious stone), 22, 395 | Revile, 251, 340 | Seer, 106 |
| Preserve, 466 | Ring (for finger), 523 | Seller, 223 |
| Price, 389 | Ringstand (for vessels), 98 | Servant, 69, 71 |
| Prison, 474 | River, 253 | Sexual intercourse, to have, 75, 569 |
| Prisoner, 40, 376 | River, seasonal (<i>wady</i>), 258 | Shaft, of spear, 439 |
| Produce (crops), 239 | Road, 343 | Shame, 137 |
| Produce (vb.), 240 | Roar (vb.), 301, 530 | Shave (wood), 516 |
| Promise, 387 | Roaster, 426 | Shelter, 31 |
| Property (estate), 163) | Rock pile, 485 | Shield, 432 |
| Protect, 48, 57, 401, 466, 582 | Rod, 149, 217, 397 | Shield bearer, 433
to serve as, 434 |
| Provisions, 409 | Rope, 308 | (Ship), 201 |
| Provoked, 378 | Rosette, 595 | Shoot (of fruit tree), 365 |
| Pulverize, 535 | Rude, to be, 553 | Shore, 334 |
| Pulverized grain, 411 | Rule (vb.), 53 | Shot, 174 |
| Purse, 353 | Run around, 444 | Siege mound, 548 |
| Quake, 248, 321 | Runner, 271 | Singing, 81 |
| Quern, 242 | Rush (vb.), 310 | Sister, 26 |
| Quiver (for arrows), 34 | Sack, 159, 196, 353, 483, 508 | Skewer (vb.), 511 |
| Race (vb.), 532 | Sackcloth, 383 | Skilled, 64 |
| Rage (vb.), 301 | Saddle, donkey, 472 | (Skin disease), 85 |

Slaughtering, 562	Stream, 49, 253, 396,	(Tool), 186, 234
Sleep, 250	515	Torment (vb.), 585
Sleep (vb.), 249	Street, 343	Torments, 585
Slippery ground, 351	Strength, 107	Torrent, 396
Snare, 203	Strip off, 374, 511	Touch (vb.), 262
Snow, 375	Stud horse, 3	Toward, 431
Soaking, 575	Succeed (someone), 48	Tower, 224
Soil, soft / moist, 221	Sulphur, 455	Tower gate, 555
Sojourn, 428	Summit, 285	Town, 437
Soldiers, 245, 573	Sun, 352, 402	Trading partner, 333
Sole, of foot, 457	Supports (chariot parts),	Trap, 203
Son, 118	77	Treaty of submission,
Sow (female pig), 356	Swerve, 302	135
Spade, 219	Switch (for beatings),	(Tree), 141, 268, 558
Spear, 179, 318	586	Tremble, 248, 321
Spear shaft, 439	Sword, 324, 491, 500	Tribute, 165, 170
Spikes (of fruit trees),	Table, 206	Troops, 245, 573
365	Tack (equipment), 286	Trumpet, 403
Split open, 153	Taunts, 340	Tube, 403
Spring (well), 65, 79	Tax official, 209	Turn away, 509
Sprout, 152	Tear open, 153	Turn back, 360
Sprout (vb.), 151	Tease, 424	Tusks, elephant, 463
Spurn, 553	Tempest, 522	Undercut bank, 478
Squint (vb.), 320	Temple, 290	Upper chamber, 86
Squire, 173	Tent, 24	Urged, to be, 412
Stable (for horses), 552	Tent village, 305	Vagabond, 429
Staff (rod), 149, 217, 397	Terrify, 87	Valley, 74, 140, 345
Stag, 1, 18	Territory, 41, 236	Vase, 45
Stalks (of onions), 373	"The" (def. article), 187	(Vegetable), 355
Stall, 552	Thirsty, to be, 581	Venison, 560
Stallion, 3	Thornbush, 445	(Vessel), 36, 45, 46, 176,
Stand firm, 55, 76	Threat, 387	184, 198, 199, 218,
Statue, 62	Threshing floor, 519	238, 243, 279, 281,
Stay (remain), 139	Throne, 30	392, 547
Stealth, to act in, 300	Thunder (vb.), 530	Vinegar 316
Stele, 62, 63	Tin, 14	Vineyard, 479
Stick, 149, 217, 397, 586	Tip	Violence, 512
Stirred up, 378	of staff, 25	Visitor, 429
Stone heap, 485	of whip, 39	Vixen, 391
Stool, 30, 304	Tire, of chariot wheel,	<i>Wady</i> , 258, 345
Strabismus, to have, 320	332	Wagon, 100
Straight shot, 174	To, toward, 431	

- Watercourse, 350
Watered in abundance,
 270
Watering place, 205, 414
Watermelon, 43
(Weapon), 241
Well (spring), 65, 79,
 112
Wetland, 207
What, 38
- Wheat, 104
 wheat flour, finely
 ground, 550
Which, 38
Whip, 28
 whip ferrule, 39
 whip lashes, 168, 233,
 492
Who, 38
Wide space, 280
- Wine
 inferior quality, 316
must, 183
raisins, 583
vinegar, 316
vineyard, 479
wine press, 425
With (a person), 431
Wool, 359
Worm, 529
- Young bird, 450

NAME INDEXES

Variant forms of have not been listed in the index except when significantly different. Also, no attempt has been made to differentiate between different individuals and places, as that lies beyond the scope of the present work. The latest works that deal with proper nouns as proper nouns are S. Ahituv's *Canaanite Toponyms* and T. Schneider's *Asiatische Personen-namen*.

Names with the Egyptian definite article are listed together under the respective articles, taking the *ʒ* of *pʒ* and *tʒ* as a true letter (even if only historical) rather than forming the syllables *pa* and *ta*.

Personal Names

29. Personal Names in Egyptian Transcription

	<i>'Abiya</i>	2
	<i>'Abina</i>	2
	<i>'Abin'a</i>	2
	<i>'Amma</i>	10
	<i>'Imana-</i> <i>tapiṭa?</i>	398
	<i>'Elimalaka</i>	16, 187
	<i>'Elirama</i>	16, 278
	<i>'Ahita</i>	26
	<i>Ištar-²ummi</i>	10
	<i>Yamšula</i>	53
	<i>Yanhām</i>	54
	<i>Yanṣibū</i>	55
	<i>Yahmaya</i>	57
	<i>Yaḥanma</i>	58
	<i>Yašbaha</i>	59
	<i>Yaqšamu</i>	61
	<i>Yadu-uba</i>	64
	<i>Awwira</i>	66
	<i>Abdi</i>	69
	<i>Abdi'el</i>	16
	<i>Abdiba</i>	<i>lu</i> 71, 115
	<i>Abdirišpu</i>	71
	<i>Abdidagan</i>	71
	<i>Antarama</i>	278
	<i>Akbara</i>	96
	<i>Ozira</i>	108
	<i>Ba²lutargumu?</i>	115, 530
	<i>Ba²lu-Montu</i>	115
	<i>Ba²lumahira</i>	115, 190
	<i>Ba²lu-m-</i> <i>mu</i>	115, 244
	<i>Ba²luna²imu</i>	115, 244
	<i>Ba²la(e)l?</i>	115

- Ba^claraya 115
 Ba^clirumu 115, 278
 Ba^clu-*hr*-*hpš*^f 115
 Bin ²Isina 118
 Bin ^cAnta 118
 Binti ^cAnta 120
 Barkata 130
 Baratu 124
* Barkata 130
 Bitti ^cAnta 146

 P₃ ²Ayyula 1
 P₃ ^cAhalaya 24
 P₃ ^cApira 70
 P₃ Marū 173
 P₃ Rawiti 271
 P₃ Tapita 398
 P₃ Giru 429
 P₃ Gaṣṣa 443
 P₃ Kam(h)an 460
 P₃ Kusina 506
 P₃ Kuzina 506
 P₃ Tola^ca 529
 P₃ Sopira 540
 Pulin 150
 Passa?ba^cl 115

- Manussahata? 169
 Marū 173
 Milkaya 187
 Mahira 190
 Mahiraba^cla 115, 190
 Mitrašama^ca 400

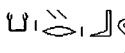
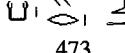
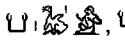
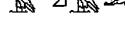
 Rabbi^cel 16, 272
 Rama 278
 Rt-malaku 187

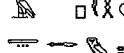
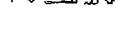
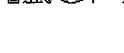
 Habašilata 309
 Hr-labiša 275
 Hry-šabi(²u) 573

 Hunziru 356

 Tabi^cel 16, 364
 Tabiba^cla 115, 364
 Šim^con 368
 Šagaba 380
 Šaki^ca 381

 Tapiṭa 398

-   
Sumaba^{lu} 399
-  
Samriya 401
-  
On-n³ (?)
- Biruta 124
-  
Gôzala 450
-  
Kam(h)an 460
-  
Kalba, Kaluba 476
-  
Giraba^{la} 115,
473
-  
Kusi 506
-  
Apira 70
-  
Pirha 152
-  
Giru 429

-   
Kam(h)an 460
-   
Giru 429
-   
Tappuhu 563
-   
Tahmasu? 524
-  
Dakuriba^{la} 115, 556
-  
Dadi 568
-  
Sippora 577
-  
Dimri 582
-  
Salaqta 588

Reading Uncertain:

- [  ...]    400

30. Hebrew Personal Names¹

- | | | | | |
|---|---------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 400 (² Elišāmā ³) | אַלְיָשָׁמָעּ | דָּוִי ⁴ | הַדָּוִי ⁵ | 398 (Y ² hôšāpāt) |
| 398 (² Elišāpāt) | אַלְיָשָׁפָטּ | דָּוִיד ⁴ | הַדָּוִיד ⁵ | 60 (Yôšibyāh) |
| 64 (B ² elyādā ³) | בְּעֵלֶדֶעּ | זָמְרָה ⁴ | הַזָּמְרָה ⁵ | 398 (Yôšāpāt) |
| 270 (Geber) | גָּבָר | זָמְרָה ⁴ | הַזָּמְרָה ⁵ | 57 (Yaħmay) |
| 568 (Dôdô) | דָּדוֹ | זָמְרָן ⁴ | הַזָּמְרָן ⁵ | 61 (Yoqšan) |
| | | זִמְרָן ⁴ | הַזִּמְרָן ⁵ | 56 (Y ² rōħām) |
| | | זִמְרָן ⁴ | הַזִּמְרָן ⁵ | 476 (Kâlēb) |
| | | זִמְרָן ⁴ | הַזִּמְרָן ⁵ | 476 (K ² alub) |
| | | זִמְרָן ⁴ | הַזִּמְרָן ⁵ | 476 (K ² lubāy) |
| | | זִמְרָן ⁴ | הַזִּמְרָן ⁵ | מִתְנַיָּה ⁴ |
| | | זִמְרָן ⁴ | הַזִּמְרָן ⁵ | 235 (Mattanyāh ²) |
| | | זִמְרָן ⁴ | הַזִּמְרָן ⁵ | 54 (Nahūm) |
| | | זִמְרָן ⁴ | הַזִּמְרָן ⁵ | 54 (N ² hemiyāh) |
| | | זִמְרָן ⁴ | הַזִּמְרָן ⁵ | עֲבָדָד ⁴ |
| | | זִמְרָן ⁴ | הַזִּמְרָן ⁵ | 69, 71 (² Ebed) |
| | | זִמְרָן ⁴ | הַזִּמְרָן ⁵ | 69, 71 (² Aħdī) |

¹Spirantization and non-spirantization of *g*, *t*, and *d* have not been indicated in the transliterations in order to provide forms more conventional in appearance.

- עֲבָדִיאֵל^ל 69, 71 (*ᶜAbdī'el*)
 עֲבָדִיָּהוּ 69, 71 (*ᶜObediyāhū*)
 עַזְוְבָה 169 (*ᶜAzubāh*)
 עַזְיָה 107 (*ᶜUzziyāh*)
 עַכְבָּרֶז 96 (*ᶜAkkōr*)
 אַלְקָן 588 (*Seleq*)
 שְׁכִיחָה 381 (*Šāk̄yāh*)
 שְׁבִיאָל 60, 364 (*Šəbā'el*)
 שְׁוֹבָאָל 60, 364 (*Šubā'el*)
 שְׁמוֹאָל 399 (*Šəmū'el*)
 שְׁמֻטָּן 368 (*Šim'on*)
 שְׁפָט 398 (*Šāpāt*)
 תּוֹלָעַ 529 (*Tōlā'*)
- 31. Phoenician Personal Names**
- אָבָא 2 (*ᵇb*)
 אָבְבָעֵל 2 (*ᵇb'el*)
 אָהָלָבָעֵל 24 (*ʳhlb'el*)
 אָהָלָמְלָךְ 24 (*ʳhlmk*)
 בָּעַלְמָהָר 190 (*B'lmhr*)
Ba'al-ṣapuna, Ba'li-ṣa-pu-na 576
 בָּעַלְשָׁמָע 400 (*B'lsm*)
 בָּעַלְשָׁפָט 398 (*B'lspt*)
 גַּרְמְלָקְרָת 473 (*Grmlqrṭ*)
 חַחְמָלְךְ 26 (*Htmlk*)
 חַחְמָלְקָרָת 26 (*Htmlqrṭ*)
 דְּעַמְלָךְ 64 (*Ydmlk*)
 יְהֻזְבָּעֵל 58 (*Yhb'el*)
 יְשָׁבָעֵל 60 (*Ysb[b]el*)
 כָּלֵב (Klb) 476
 כָּחֵם (Ktm) 501
- מְהֻרְבָּעֵל 190 (*Mhrb'el*)
 מְחֻזְנָאֵל 16 (*Mtn'el*)
 נְחַמִּי 54 (*Nḥmy*)
 סְכָרְבָּעֵל 556 (*Skrb'el*)
 עַבְדָּד 69, 71 (*ᶜbd*)
 עַבְדָּא 69, 71 (*ᶜbd'*)
 עַבְדָּי 69, 71 (*ᶜbdy*)
 עַזָּא 107 (*ᶜz'*)
 עַכְבָּרֶז 96 (*ᶜkbr*)
 עַנוֹּר 356 (*ᶜnzn*)
 צְפָנְבָּעֵל 576 (*Spnb'el*)
 שְׁפָטְבָּעֵל 398 (*Šptb'el*)
- 32. Amarna Personal Names**
- Abi-milki 187
Ili-milku 187
 mBa-lu-mé-er 190
Ba'lū-šipti 398
 Dádu 568
 mYa-az-ku-ur-mi 556
Yanhamu 54
 Milk-ili 187
 Abdi-ilu 69, 71
 Abdi-Adi 69, 71
 Abdi-Aširta 69, 71
 Abdi-Hiba 69, 71
 Abdi-milki 69, 71, 187
- 33. Ugaritic Personal Names**
- ²Ayl, mA-ia-lu 1
Abi-rami, Abiya 2
 ²Ajt 26
 ²Ilmhr 190
- ²Ilrm, Ilu-ramu 278
 ²Ašbh 59
 mBa'cal-ma-te-ni,
 mBa'cal-ma-tin 235
Bn Gzl 450
Bn-ᶜnt, mBin-ᵐ.dēna-at
 118
 mBin-ya-aš-pu-ti 398
 mGu-ú-za-li 450
Dada, Dadeya, Dadi,
Dadinu, Dadiya,
Dudaya 568
Dkr, mZa-ki-ru 556
Dkry 556
Dmr-B'el 582
Dmr-Hd 582
Dmry 582
 Ḥnn 58
 mHa-zi-ya 106
 mHa-na-an-ni, mHa-na-nu 319
 Ḥzr 356
 Ḥnzn 356
 Ḥymn 57, 58
 mYa-ab-me-nu 57
 mYa-an-ha-mu, mYa-an-ham-ma, mYa-an-ha-am-mu 54
Yrgm-B'el 530
Yaṣṣubu 55
Yqš/J 61
Yašub-ilu 60
 Yipt, mYa-aš-pu-ṭu 398
Klb, mKál-bu, mKal-bi,
mKál-bi-ya, mKal-be-ya 476
Ilmhr 190

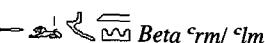
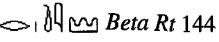
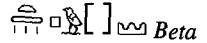
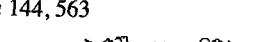
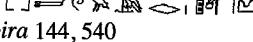
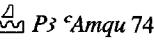
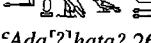
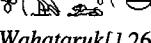
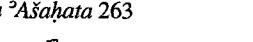
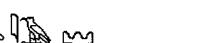
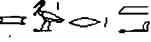
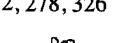
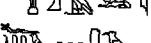
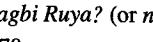
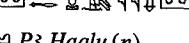
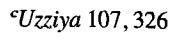
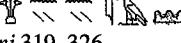
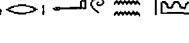
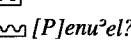
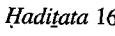
<i>Mlkyy</i> 187 (note)	<i>Ya-hu-un-²il</i> 58	<i>Hnn</i> 319
<i>Mtnb^cl</i> 235	<i>Yn̄hm</i> 54	<i>Hnn²l</i> 319
^m <i>Na^aamanu^{nu}</i> 244	<i>Ya^cqub</i> 48	<i>Hnnyh</i> 319
^c <i>bdy</i> 69	<i>Ya^cqub-²el</i> 48	^{N^cm-} ² <i>l</i> 244
<i>Abdiya</i> 69	^m <i>Ya-an-²si-bu-um</i> 55	^c <i>bd^c</i> 69
<i>Abdu</i> 69	^m <i>Ya-an-²si-bu-^dDa-gan</i> 55	^c <i>kbr</i> 96
^c <i>bd-</i> ² <i>l</i> 71	^m <i>Ya-²si-bu-um</i> 55	^{Šm-} ² <i>b</i> 2, 399
^c <i>bd-B^cl</i> 71	<i>Yaqub-ba^cal</i> 48	^{Šm^c 400}
^c <i>bd-Ršp</i> 71	^m <i>Ya-ar-²ha-mu</i> 56	^{Šc^l 391}
^c <i>zn</i> 107	<i>Yišma^cil</i> 400	
<i>Anati-ummi</i> 10	<i>Kalbūm</i> 476	36. Canaanite Personal Names from Murašu
^m <i>Ha-pi-ri</i> 70	<i>Ma-ah-²rī-²el</i> 190	^m <i>Ha-na-na^a, m</i> ^m <i>Ha-na-ni-</i> ² 319
^c <i>itrūm</i> 10	^m <i>Ha-ab-di-ya</i> (^c <i>bdy</i>) 69	^m <i>Ha-na-ni-ya-a-ma</i> 319
<i>Rbil</i> 272	^m <i>Ha-ab-du-um</i> 69	37. Akkadian Personal Names
<i>Šmb^cl</i> 399	^m <i>Ha-ab-du-Ba-ah-²la</i> 71	<i>Akbiru</i> 96
^m <i>Šu-um-A-na-ti</i> 399	^m <i>Ha-ab-du-^dDa-gan</i> 71	<i>Ištar-ummi</i> 10
^{Šm^c[}] 400	^m <i>Uz-zi-ya</i> 107	
^{Šm^cy} 400	<i>SA-MA-RA</i> 401	38. Aramaic Personal Names
^{Šm^cn} 400	<i>SA-MA-RA-²il</i> 401	^{380 (} <i>לְשׁוּב</i> ^{כָּא} ^{דִּיבָּל}
<i>Tbil</i> 60, 364	^m <i>Šu-²ha-la-nu</i> 391	64 (<i>Ydyb^cl</i>) ^{נַעֲמָן}
<i>T^cl, m</i> ^{Ša-a-la-na} 391	^m <i>Ša-pa-ta-an</i> 398	107 (^c <i>Uzzay</i>) ^{נַעֲמָן}
<i>Tp̄ib^cl, m</i> ^{Šipat-ba^cal 398}	^m <i>Ši-ip-²ta-a-²hu-um</i> 398	39. Old South Arabic Personal Names
<i>Tb^t, Šiptu</i> 398	^m <i>Ši-ip-ti-an-ta</i> 398	60, 364 (<i>Twb²l</i>) ^{أَهْلَمَّة}
<i>Tmr</i> 401		57 (<i>Yhm²l</i>) ^{أَهْلَمَّة}
<i>Tmrn, Ša-am-ra-na</i> 401		556 (<i>Ydkr²l</i>) ^{أَهْلَمَّة}
34. Amorite Personal Names	35. Ammonite Personal Names	
<i>E-lu-ra-ma</i> 278	² <i>b-gd</i> 2	
<i>Za-ku-ri-e-el</i> 556	² <i>l-hnn</i> 319	
<i>Zimri-Lim</i> 582	² <i>l-rm</i> 278	
<i>Zi-im-ri-ya</i> 582	² <i>l-šgb</i> 380	
<i>Huziratum</i> 356	² <i>l-šm^c</i> 400	
<i>Ya-di-u₂</i> 64	<i>Zkr-²l</i> 556	
	<i>Hz-²l</i> 106	
	<i>Hm-šgb</i> 380	

*Place Names***40. Place Names in Egyptian Transcription²**

- Abirama* 2
- Abišagaba* 2, 380
- Elmattan* 16, 235
- Admat Ḥananiya* 41, 319
- Ya'aqub'el* 16, 48
- Ya'aqiblu* 16, 48
- Yamma Rabita* 52, 277
- Yuroham* 56
- Yahma* 57
- Yahmaya* 57
- Yatib'el / Yaṭub'el* 16, 60
- Yad Hammelek* 63, 187
- Ayna* 65, 79
- Abaya* 67
- Abdi'el* 71
- Amqu* 74
- En Na'ama* 79, 244

²Reconstructions are given in italics. They are not marked with an asterisk, but are, of course, hypothetical.

- En Nagara* 79
- En Šiu?* 79
- En Š3sw* 79
- En Qin'amu?* 79
- En Goren* 79, 519
- Anzara, Anṣara?* 82
- Alu'a* 83
- Aradi (n p3) Bita* *Yurohama* 56, 144
- Aqrabota* 95
- Bi'ru Luza* 112, 268
- Bi'rutu* 112
- Bayta Anta* *El* 113
- Bayta Ša' El* (Beth Shean) 113
- Bayta Dagona* 113
- Bayta ?* 113
- Babilu* 117
- Beta Šamšu* 144, 402
- Biru* 112
- Biruta* 112
- Beta ?El* 16, 144

-    Beta 'Anta 144
-    Beta 'rm/ 'lm 144
-    Beta Bnt 144
-    Beta Rt 144
-    Beta Horon 144
-    Beta Ša 'El 144
-    Beta Tappuha 144, 563
-    Beta Sopira 144, 540
-    Beta Šabi(a)? 144
-    P3 Amqu 74
-    P3 Nagbu
-  Ada'hata? 263
-    Pa Nagbu
-  Wahataruk[] 263
-    P3 Nagbu 'Ašahata 263
-    P3 Rōša 285
-    P3 Haqlu
-  Abirama 2, 278, 326
-    P3 Haqlu
-  *Yošapata? 263
-    P3 Haqlu
-    Na'amina 244
-    Naharêna 253
-    Nagbu 263
-    Nagbi Ruya? (or n Gabriya?) 263, 270
-    P3 Haqlu (n)
-  Uzziya 107, 326
-    P3 Haqlu Šunaya 326
-    P3 Haqlu 'Eligad 326
-    P3 Haqlu Hanani 319, 326
-    P3 Sir'u 591
-    [P]enu'el?
-  Hadjata 16

- Rabitu 277

Rahabu 280

Rōša Mi'nu? 285

Rōša Qodšu 285

Haykalayma 290

Haykalayna 290

Har'el 16, 294

Hu'ita 305

sic Hidaba Šaroni? 307

Hidaba Dota(n)i? 307

Haqlema 326

Halşa 341

Harru? 350

Harsita 352

Tuba'el 16, 364

Šarona Sammuqa 372, 583

Šibboleth Warkaya 396

Šibboleth Nagbi-ruya (or n Gabriya) 396

Šamšuna Haditata 329

I-ib-ka-wa 330

Gib'a Šumelu? (or Šannu?) 369, 423

Gintu 3Ašna? 425

Gintu 425

Karmēna / Karmēla 479

Karamayma, Karamayna 479

Qarta Maluta? Marota? 437

Quwe 507	Dagan'el 16
Gurna, Goren 519	
T3 whyt Milkhu 187	Bayta(!) Sha 'El 113
Tobu 525	Ba'lū Sapona (in n. div.) 576
Qarta-'El 16, 437	
Tubihi 562	Reading uncertain:
Dalta Sirro? (or Sinnora?) 533, 587	[P]nu'el Haditata? 329

41. Hebrew Place Names

אָרֶם נְהָרִים 253

בֵּיאֹרוֹת 112

בְּכָל 117

בֵּית־אָל 144, 268

בֵּית דָנָן 113

בֵּית חֹדֶן 144

בֵּית־עֲנוֹת 113, 144

בֵּית שָׁעָן 113, 144

בָּעֵל אַפְּוִין 576

גְּבֻעָה 423

גְּלָלָל 485

גְּרָנְעָט 352

חַלְקָה יְזָרְעָאֵל 326

חַרְן 343

טְבַחַת 562

יְזָרְעָאֵל 326

כְּרִמְל 479

לוֹן 268

מְנִדְל 224

מְתְנִים 192

גְּגָב 263

סְלָע 326

קְרָה, קְרָה 507

רְחָב 280

שְׂרָוֵן 372

42 Amarna Place Names

[al]uBe-ru-ta 112

Gimtu- 425

Gintu- 425

Giti- 425

mâtuNa-ri-ma, mâtuNa-

ah-ri-ma ki, mâtuNa-

ah-ri-mi, mâtuNa-ah-

ma 253

Qidši 441

aluRu-bu-[d]a ki 277

aluRu-bu-te ki 277

aluTu-bi-hi 562

43. Ugaritic Place Names

Spn 576

Quwe 507

Tmry 401

44. Aramaic Place Names

חַנְרָא 326

קוֹה 507

45. Place Names in Akkadian transcription

a[ll]u_Ma-ag-d[a]-li^{ki},
uru_Mad=gal-te 224

Qa-a-ú-e 507

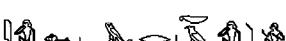
46. Arabic Place Names

326 (^o*El-Hejr*) الْحَجَر
441 (^o*Al-Quds*) الْقُدْس

47. Akkadian Place Names

Bābilum, 117

48. Names and Epithets of Gods and Demons in Egyptian Transcription



(in PN and n. loc.) ^o*El*, 16, 48, 113,
144, 187, 235, 272, 278, 294, 326,
466, 576



^o*El Guardian* (?) of Saphon, 466, 576

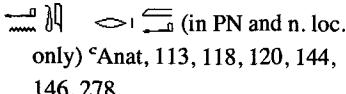


(in PN) Ishtar,
10

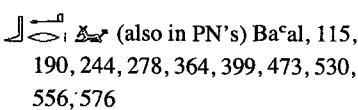


"Milk Cow"

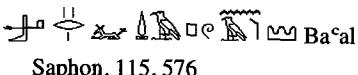
(^cAnat), 73



(in PN and n. loc.
only) ^cAnat, 113, 118, 120, 144,
146, 278



(also in PN's) Ba^cal, 115,
190, 244, 278, 364, 399, 473, 530,
556, 576



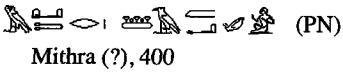
Ba^cal

Saphon, 115, 576



Ba^calta, "The Lady,"

116



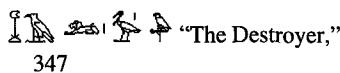
(PN)

Mithra (?), 400

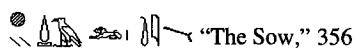


Horon, 144

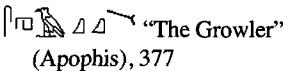
Divine Names



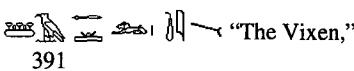
347



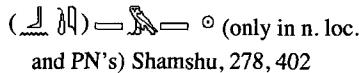
"The Sow," 356



(Apophis), 377

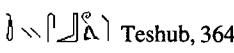


"The Vixen," 391

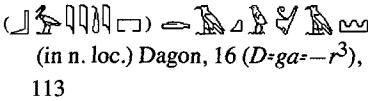


(^o*Shamshu*) (only in n. loc.

and PN's) Shamshu, 278, 402



Teshub, 364



(in n. loc.) Dagon, 16 (*D-ga=—r³*),

113

49. Ugaritic Divine Names

d.giš *Ki-na-rù* 467

Yṣb 55

³Cf. Ug. PN *ildgn*, Amorite ^d*Dagan-El*, and especially the PN

^c*Abdidagan*, no. 71.