

GÁBOR TAKÁCS  
(Hungary)

## A New Idea on the Origin of πῦραμις

### Abstract

The paper first gives a survey of all the etymologies proposed so far for the Greek term for „pyramid” within the Greek language and the Oriental languages. Then the elaboration of a wholly new suggestion is ventured on the basis of phonological criteria in the context of the supposed Late Egyptian source language.

**Keywords:** Greek, Semitic, Arabic, Coptic, Late Egyptian, Afro-Asiatic, etymology, historical phonology

The etymology of Greek πῦραμις „pyramid” (since Herodot) has long been a matter of controversies.<sup>1</sup> One is inclined to agree with G. Maspero (1895 I, 358) even today: „*Aucune des étymologies proposées pour le mot pyramide est satisfaisante*”. The same view was shared by W. Helck and E. Otto (1956, 278): „*Der griech[ische] Name [der] P[yr]amiden ist nicht befriedigend erklärt*”. More than this can hardly be stated for sure even today, I am afraid, as the theories on its origin suggested so far are all problematic. In this brief communication, I give an overview of all the existing hypotheses, however weak they may be, and then venture deducing a *lautgeschichtlich* much better fitting, albeit, at least for the time being, merely theoretical new scenario.

---

<sup>1</sup> My cordial thanks go to Marina Sokolova (Wiesbaden) for her kind communications on the Coffin Text matters (Jan. 2018). My warm thanks go to Dr. Stefano Vittori (Pisa University) for his valuable consultation and insights (Oct.–Nov. 2017) about the numerous details of the Greek etymology. Naturally, any error that might occur in this text is my responsibility.

My study has originally<sup>2</sup> been prepared and is dedicated in honour of the 65th birthday of Dr. Mária Négyesi (Dept. of Indo-European Linguistics, ELTE, Hungary), who first introduced me to Greek in autumn 1990.

### The suggestions on its Greek derivation

In Platon's *De animae procreatione in Timaeo* (Tim. 56b, 5) and in *De caelo* by Aristoteles (304a, 11), the geometrical figure of the pyramid is compared with the physical shape of the fire, possibly, due to a popular etymology.<sup>3</sup> In fact, however, the stem vowel of Greek πῦρ „fire” is brief (is long solely in the nominative), while the -υ- of πυραμίδς is long. The affiliation of both of these terms was repeated by some later authors also. Ammianus Marcellinus (liv, XXII, §15): „*Pyramides ... Quae figura apud geometras ideò sic adpellatur, quod ad ignis speciem τοῦς πῦρòς, ut nos dicimus, extenuatur in conum*”, which was declined already by J.G.Ch. Adler (1783, 192): „*Pyramide læsst sich nicht aus dem griechischen πῦρ feuer erklären, wenn man nicht ins læcherliche fallen will.*” It was critically received also by S. de Sacy (1801, 5): „*Cette dérivation ... n'a rien de choquant, et il semble qu'on pourroit aisément l'admettre. Il est bon d'observer néanmoins qu'elle n'offre que la première partie du mot ΠΥΡΑΜΙΣ, et qu'elle ne rend point raison du surplus de ce mot, ou du moins des lettres AM ...*” In the *Lexicon* by Patriarch Photius I (1823, 410) we find: „Πυραμειδής: πυροειδής”, i.e., „pyramid-shaped = fire-shaped”. Cf. also Lang (1923–1924, 551 and fn. 1).

Stephanus Byzantinus (6th century AD), in his geographical dictionary (entitled *Ethnica*), explained the name of the Egyptian pyramids from πυρός „wheat”, as if these were „granaries (of wheat)”, leaving -αμ-ιδ- unexplained: „ωνομάσθησαν δε πυραμίδες από των πυρών ους εκεί συναγαγών ο βασιλεύς ένδειαν εποίησε σίτου κατά την Αίγυπτον” (Meineke 1849, 540: 14–18), which seems as false as the other popular etymology based on πῦρ „fire”, although it was adopted by a number of authors dealt with by S. de Sacy (1801, 6–7), e.g., also by the unknown lexicographer of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (Ετυμολογικόν Μέγα, around 1150 AD), the largest Byzantine lexicon. Cf. also Hager 1801, 335; Kretschmer 1920, 243; Wiedemann 1921–1922, 658.

The authorities of recent Greek philology, understandably, also have usually been disposed to render πῦραμίδς „pyramid” from Greek itself, i.e., πυρός „wheat”. E.R. Wharton (1890, 108) suggestively classified the senses of πῦραμίδς as „1. wheaten cake, 2. pyramid (from its shape)” referring to πυρός as the ultimate origin. H. Diels (1919, 193–199) too, supposed the pyramid to have been named after the form of the cake (not *vice versa*), whose name, however, was generally πῦραμοῦς „Weizenkuchen”, which, along with πῦραμη „Sichel zum Einernten des Weizens”, πῦράμινος „Weizenähren”, were

<sup>2</sup> Out of space and language limitations of her *Festschrift*, where only very short studies in Hungarian fit in, however, I soon decided to publish the original and detailed English version of my paper elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Arist., *Plant.*, 2: ΠΥΡΑΜΙΔΟΥΤΑΙ Ο ΠΥΡ, *ibidem* ad ΠΥΡΑΜΙΔΟΥ, „shaped as a pyramid”.

derived by him from an etymon \*πύραμος (cf. also Hesychius' πύραμος ≈ χόρτος), a compound of πυρός „wheat” and a „suffix” (better: suffixed) \*-αμος < ἀμάω „to reap”, whose literal sense P. Kretschmer (1920, 243) formulated – instead of Diels' \*„abgeschnittener, abgernteter Weizen” – rather as \*„Weizenschnitt, Weizenernte”, which then „durch Übergang vom Abstraktum zum Konkretum den Sinn von 'geschnittenem Weizen' erhielt”. Egyptologist I.E.S. Edwards (1947, 284–285), discarding the attempts at finding an Egyptian derivation as „vain”, maintained the view that „in the absence of any more convincing explanation, it seems better to regard pyramis as a purely Greek word which had no etymological connection with the Egyptian language. An exactly similar word exists with the meaning 'wheaten cake', and the suggestion has been made that the early Greeks used this word humorously as a name for the Egyptian monuments, possibly because, when seen from a distance, they resembled large cakes.” He also quoted the Greek etymology of obelisk „which ... also means a 'little spit' or 'skewer', furnishes another example of the same kind of process of thought whereby the Greeks, instead of borrowing a foreign word, jocularly adopted a descriptive word of their own to name an object which had no exact parallel in their own country”. But this is not really comparable with the case of pyramid as the shape of the allegedly underlying cake is unknown. J.B. Hofmann (1950, 351) too, assumed our word, „if it was of Greek origin”, to be a derivative of πυραμοῦς „kind of cake made of wheat and honey”, which, in his view, derived perhaps from πυρός and ἀμάω, whence it might have literally meant \*ὁ θερισμός των πυρών (του σίτου)”, i.e., \*„harvest of wheat”. J. Bergman (1969, 209, fn. 2) also assumed that the word „πυραμίς ... hört doch wahrscheinlich mit dem griechischen πυραμοῦς, der Bezeichnung eines Weizenkuchens, einer „Semmel”, zusammen ...” K. Lang (1923–1924, 553) remained reluctant as to this analysis: „Hieraus ersieht man, wie schwerfällig und herbeigezogen die Erklärung des μ, bzw. die von αμος ist. W. SCHULZE hat gleichfalls Bedenken gegen die Zusammenstellung mit ἀμῶν”. Lang, preferring a parallelism with Oriental loans like κάλαμος or σησαμαί and σησαμίς, put the question: „Warum ist also DIELS so krampfhaft bestrebt, gerade πυραμίς als Griechisch erklären zu wollen, wo doch nachgewiesenermaßen so viele Wortgleichheiten zwischen dem Griechischen und anderen Orientsprachen ... vorliegen?” Already P. Kretschmer (1920, 243) pointed to the weaknesses of Diels' analyses: „fraglich erscheint ..., ob die πυραμίς ihren Namen davon hatte, daß sie aus Weizen gebacken war: man würde in diesem Fall eine Ableitung von πυρός selbst erwarten wie πύρινος, πυρίτης. Denn πύραμος 'geschnittener Weizen' bedeutete doch die ganzen Halme, nicht die Weizenkörner, und Hesychs χόρτος 'Gras, Heu, Futter' paßt zwar überhaupt nicht recht her, läßt sich aber auch eher auf das Weizenstroh als die Körner beziehen”. Moreover, there is some evidence of πυραμοῦς made of sesame also (Athenaeus III 114b). Finally, he was pondering „ob der Kuchen nicht nach der Gestalt des πύραμος, des aufgehäuften Weizens, hieß, der, wie dies in manchen Gegenden z.B. Böhmen üblich ist, in Kegelform aufgerichtet wird”, arguing that „Gebäcknamen nach der Form sind bekanntlich sehr häufig”. But the proper form of the cake is actually unknown as critically stated by H. Frisk (1960 II, 629), dissatisfied with Diels' „unrichtiger formaler Analyse” with a right doubt, shared by P. Chantraine





*nombre de mots tirés des anciennes langues, qui ont dévié de leur signification primitive, et qui aujourd'hui en ont une bien différente*", but he eventually also objected because of πi- vs. πv- (o.c., p. 337).

D. Wilkins (1715, 108), in his own theory, derived it from a hypothetic and erroneous Coptic (B) \*ΠΟΥΡΟ ΜΙCΙ signifying, according to him, „regum prosapia” pyramids being edifices designated for the persons of the royal family: „*Ex hac autem origine (ΠΙΡΩΜΙ) numquam deducenda est πυραμῖς ... sed iuxta intentionem institutumtque primum à ΠΟΥΡΟ rex, et ΜΙCΙ generatio, derivatur. Fuisse olim pyramides regibus Ægyptiorum eorumque familiis erectas nullus autorum nos dubitare sinit*”. But as rightly stated by S. de Sacy (1801, 23), „*Cette étymologie est très-forcée, et d'ailleurs elle est proscrite par une inversion contraire au génie de la langue égyptienne*.” Cf. also Hager 1801, 337–338.

P.E. Jablonski (1750–1753, lxxxii), in the misbelief (pace La Croze) about the term πυραμῖς referring in fact to the obelisk as its original Egyptian name, „surmised in our word a compound of Coptic (B) ΠΙΠΗ „the sun” and ΜΟΥΕ „splendour” because of Pliny: „*Trabes ex Syenite lapide fecere reges quodum certamine, obeliscos vocantes, solis numini sacratos. Radiorum eius argumentum in effigie est, et ità significatur nomine aegyptio*” (Hist. nat. liv. xxxvi, c. viii.). Rejected by S. de Sacy (1801, 22–23) arguing that, beside the confusion of pyramids vs. obelisks, „*Cette étymologie ... transpose l'ordre des mots, en plaçant le conséquent solis avant l'antécédent splendor; cette construction ... est contraire à l'usage invariable de la langue égyptienne, dans laquelle il faudroit dire ΠΙΜΟΥΕ ΜΦΡΗ*.” Cf. also Hager 1801, 337.

J.G.Ch. Adler (1783, 192) „*Es ist das koptische oder ägyptische Wort ραμα, ραμυ rami, das hæhe bedeutet, und mit dem hebræischen Rom, Rama überein srimt. Pi ist der Artikel des mænlichen Geschlechts bey den Egyptern, also pirami*.” S. de Sacy (1801, 24), albeit in principle he voiced his reservations („*On pouiroit objecter que le mot PAMA hauteur ne se trouve point dans ce que nous connoissons de la langue égyptienne*”), he nevertheless liked this etymology not excluding that the Hebrew word has a cognate in Egyptian, namely Coptic (B) ΠΑΜΑΟ „rich”, which is evidently out of the question, since it derives from pharaonic adjectival compound rmt ʿ3 „great person” (KHW 164). But eventually de Sacy too (o.c., p. 25) ended up admitting that „*celte étymologie a un défaut plus essentiel...: c'est qu'elle ne rend raison que du nom que les Grecs donnent aux pyramides*”. Cf. also Hager 1801, 338.

S.F.G. Wahl (1790, 159), following La Croze and Jablonski, derived πῦραμῖς alternatively from an alleged Coptic ΠΙΠΕΜΣΙCΙ (sic), i.e., a certain (B?) \*ΠΙΠΕΜCΙCΙ, where the alleged \*CΙCΙ (sic) would in his theory signify „elevation” (hard to identify in the presently known Coptic lexical stock).<sup>7</sup> Thus, attached to ΠΕΜ- „inhabitant or possessor”, ΠΙΠΕΜΣΙCΙ (sic) would signify „inhabitant or possessor of an elevation”. Declined by S. de Sacy (1801, 20–21) rightly arguing that „*Cette étymologie seroit*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. perhaps (B) COCΙ „(Segel) aufziehen” (KHW 197) < Dem. sʿsʿ „aufheben, aufsetzen” (DG 411)? Or is (B) ωΙωΙ „Macht, Autorität, Amtsgewalt, Herrschaft” (KHW 336) meant here? Puzzling.

*assez heureuse, si le mot principal ΣΙΣΙ (schici) élévation, se trouvoit effectivement dans πυραμῖς; mais il ne s'y trouve point; ις n'est qu'une terminaison grecque*".

L. Langlès (in Norden 1795–1798, 335) surmised that πυραμῖς contained Coptic (B) ΠΙ-ΧΡΟΜ „the fire” (with the definite article), which is, of course, an anachronism, where, in addition, the guttural -x- was, in his view, „suppressed” by the Greek language, which is, by the way, does not seem to be corroborated by the reflexes of Egyptian velars in Greek (cf. Peust 1999, 115ff.).

J. Zoega (1797–1800, section 3, chapter 2) saw in the Greek word a combination of the Coptic (B) definite article ΠΙ- and Hebrew armon (sic) „castle”, which is certainly not convincing given the differing syllabic structures of the second components.

S. de Sacy (1801, 25–27) reconstructed a hypothetic „Egyptian” (i.e., Coptic) \*ΠΙ'HPAM (sic), i.e., \*ΠΙΖΡΑΜ, and equated πν- with the Coptic (B) definite masculine article ΠΙ-, whereas the element -ραμ- with some reflex of Semitic \*√hrm, which, in his words, „signifie incontestablement, dans son sens primitif, séparer du commerce et de l'usage des hommes”, and the derivatives thereof he listed quite abundantly, i.a., Canaanite „consacrer à Dieu, dévouer, anathématiser, excommunier”, Ar. ḥarama „to be sacred”. He attached here even „Hermès et tous ses dérivés ... les colonnes d'Hermès, ... les Ἐρμῆα de Strabon sont ... colonnes sacrées, haram, ... lieux dévoués à la divinité ... Arment, autrefois Ἐρμώνθις, ... et le nom propre du prêtre Chérémon”. This list is full of grave errors.<sup>8</sup> Cf. also Fodor and Fóti 1976, 158. There is but one remarkable match among these: Arabic haram-, pl. ʾahrām- ~ hirām- „pyramide de l'Égypte” [BK II 1415], the origin of which is even today uncertain and highly debated:<sup>9</sup> „le mot grec πυραμῖς

<sup>8</sup> E.g., the spiritus asper of Hermes' name derives from an earlier \*s- (e.g., Boisacq 1916, 282, fn. 3). Or the name of the settlement presently called Arment, Coptic (S)  $\overline{\text{PMONT}}$ , (B)  $\overline{\text{PFMO}}/\overline{\text{WNT}}$  is ultimately identical with the Egyptian toponym jwn.w-mnt.w (CED 351).

<sup>9</sup> First of all, it had been explained in the traditional popular etymology from Arabic harim- „1. très-vieux, décrépît” [BK] since the middle ages, cf. also Arabic harima I „être sénile, décrépît”, II „1. rendre sénile, 2. tomber en ruines, 3. honorer, révéler” [DRS] = harima „he became extremely aged, old and infirm, decrepit or a weak old man” [Lane 3043b] = √hrm VII „vieillir”, X „tenir qqn. pour vieux et débile” [Dozy II 755]. The Arabic writers (v.s.) figured this sometimes even in the reverse way, viz. harim- „old” was derived from haram-/pl. gahrām- „pyramid” (regarded as the source, albeit it is not an ancient word, first attested from the 9th century AD), which was falsely attributed to Galenos (from 129/130 to 199/201/210/217 AD), cf. Graefe 1911, 12 and also Fodor and Fóti 1976, 159 with the right criticism: „Of course, Galenos in the 2nd century A.D. could not have stated anything like this, but surely the word harim 'old,' could be more logically traced from the conception 'antiquity' associated with the pyramids than to assume that the pyramid received its name after the word harim”). Cf., e.g., i.a., the Arabic translator of Galenos' (2nd century AD) Treatise on Hygiene in the middle ages: „on nomme celui qui est dans les années de cette troisième époque de la vieillesse, haram: et ceux qui aiment à rechercher les étymologies, disent que ce nom ... est dérivé de celui des pyramides (ahram) dans lesquelles ils doivent bientôt aller prendre place”. Or cf. al-Maqrizi (1363/4–1442): „On nomme ceux qui sont parvenus à cet âge, HARAM, mot dérivé d'AHRAM (les pyramides), dans lesquels doivent bientôt aller prendre place”. Cf. Yusuf bin Abdallatif (1162–1231): „Galien parle en un endroit des pyramides, et il dérive leur nom du mot qui signifie l'âge décrépît de la vieillesse”; Herbelot (1625–1695): „Ehram, ou Eheram, pluriel arabe de Herem, qui signifie une vieillesse décrépité. ... alehram ... signifie en particulier les pyramides d'Égypte, à cause de leur grande antiquité”; Michaelis (end of the 18th century) said about the pyramids in his notes on the description of Egypt by Aboulfeda: „Peut-être les ont-ils nommées haram, à cause de leur grande antiquité, et ... de leur vieillesse; car le mot arabe signifie être

*et le mot arabe haram, ou avec l'article alharam, ne sont primitivement qu'un seul et même mot.*" He correctly stated further „1. que la finale ις du mot πυραμῖς n'est qu'une terminaison grecque dont on ne doit tenir aucun compte; 2. que la syllabe πν, ou du moins la lettre π, est étrangère à la racine. C'est un article égyptien auquel les Arabes substituent leur article al". Arabic haram- „pyramid" plays an organic rôle also in the hypothetic derivation of πῦραμις from Late Egyptian p(3)-mr „the pyramid" (discussed in detail below). De Sacy (o.c., pp. 29–31) enumerated some possible objections against his own theory and immediately tried to disprove these himself:

• 1. The Semitic root is not attested in „Egyptian" (i.e., Coptic), although „*Nous ne connaissons que très imparfaitement la langue copte, et surtout le dialecte du Saïd. Si nous en avons une connoissance plus étendue, nous pourrions y retrouver bien des racines des autres langues orientales.*" Nevertheless, Semitic \* $\sqrt{\text{hrm}}$  is still unattested in Coptic (cf. CED 375 and 377–378). J. Hager (1801, 339) was also sceptical: „*il me semble d'abord nécessaire de prouver que les Égyptiens se servoient de cette expression; car les mots Hermes, ou Hermon, ou Cheremon, ne sont pas une preuve suffisante que les Égyptiens se servoient du mot haram ..., et quand même ces mots seroient dérivés de haram, il ne s'ensuivroit pas que le nom des pyramides fût aussi descendu de la racine arabe haram. Si les Arabes eussent eu des pyramides, et que les Égyptiens les eussent introduites d'après le modèle de ce peuple-là, il y auroit une bonne preuve pour supposer égyptien, pour désigner une pyramide, fut tiré de l'arabe. Mais aucun historien n'a jamais fait mention des pyramides en Arabie*"

---

*très-vieux*" (all the preceding works are quoted as translated by de Sacy l.c.). The proposals by these Arabic and European authors are quoted here as translated by S. de Sacy (1801, 9–13) describing the Arabic source root as „HRM ... une racine de la langue arabe, qui signifie le dernier période de la vieillesse, l'âge de la décrépitude". So also J. Hager (1801, 338): „Haram descend d'une racine qui signifie être très-ancien, ou décrépité. Ce mot-là devoit donc dénoter que les pyramides sont des monuments très-anciens". Instead, D.H. Müller (1876, 704, fn. 1) supposed haram- to have derived from Semitic \* $\sqrt{\text{hrwm}}$  and to have thus originally denoted a \*"tall building" in both Himyarite and Arabic, cf. the town Haram in Yemen (famous for the building erected by the Himyarite kings, compared by Nishwan al-Áimyari, an author describing the ancient southern Arabia, to the Egyptian pyramids), on which further literature was quoted in Fodor & Fóti (1976, 165, n. 10), who (o.c., p. 159) labelled Müller's solution as „the most probable origin of haram". In the Enzyklopaedie des Islam (Edi II 278f.), haram- is regarded a „koptisches Fremdwort zweifelhafter Herkunft", but its modern edition (EoI III 173) labelled it more cautiously „a word of doubtful origin". Its connection to Hermes was maintained by S. Fodor and L. Fóti (1976, 161–164) too (pace de Sacy, cf. also Fodor 1971, 53–89 passim on Hermes vs. the secret of pyramid building in general), but they proposed a borrowing the other way around, namely „the fact that the pyramids were also connected with the name of Hermes could have contributed to the emergence of the southern Arabic word haram meaning pyramid" (o.c., p. 164), which agrees well „with the close relationship between the (sic) Egypt of the Islamic period and southern Arabia" as demonstrated by J.-C. Vadet: „the southern Arabs, in the wake of the Arabian conquest, soon established contact with Egypt and played a significant role in the process of acculturation" (o.c., p. 160). Their theory was declined by J.F. Quack (2003, 114, fn. 6): „weder lautlich noch sachlich überzeugt", although his direct derivation from Eg. mr, read by him as mr (via a nowhere attested metathesis, o.c., pp. 113–114, §1) is not better either. Most recently, rightly accepting Graefe's (EoI III 177) rating, the authors of DRS 455 (D. Cohen, A. Lonnet, J. Lentin) left the label „origine douteuse" on Arabic haram- „pyramide d'Égypte" [DRS] they listed separately from Semitic \* $\sqrt{\text{hrm}}$  1 („old" etc.) *sub radice* \* $\sqrt{\text{hrm}}$  4.



• 2. The first radical (\*ḥ-) of the Semitic root is distinct from the h- of Arabic haram-: „*Cette objection ne me paroit point encore décisive, car la même racine pouvoit être aspirée plus faiblement en Egypte qu’en Phénicie et en Arabie. C’est ainsi que le heth des Hebreux répond tantôt au ha et tantôt au kha des Arabes.*” Hardly so, since, as a rule, Hebrew ḥ- can only correspond to Arabic ḥ- and ḥ-, but not h- (cf. Moscati et al. 1964, 44, §8.59).

• 3. The anomaly „*que les Grecs auroient dû écrire πυραμῖς et non πυραμῖς*” was not a problem for him: „*Tout le monde sait combien on doit tenir peu de compte des voyelles, en fait d’étymologie. D’ailleurs, je répondrai, avec Jablonski, que les Grecs ont écrit πυραμῖς, parce qu’ils s’imagineoient que ce mot dériveroit de πῦρ, feu*”.

J. Hager (1801, 345–346) identified the components of πυραμῖς with the Coptic (B) definite article ΠΙ- (also used as a demonstrative pronoun) + „Chaldean” ur (sic) „fire”<sup>10</sup> + „Chaldean” amud (sic) or Hebrew ʿammūd „colonne, pilier”,<sup>11</sup> which he eventually rendered as „the fire-column” arguing that „*On sait que c’est la Chaldée, où il y’a eu les premiers adorateurs du feu ... On sait aussi que le feu a été représenté, depuis un temps immémorial, par une pyramide Δ. En supposant que les Babyloniens appelaient une pyramide ur-amud, car il y a plusieurs exemples que les mots en hébreu se transposent les Égyptiens en préposant leur article p, n’en pouvoient pas faire naître le mot pyramide?*” This Oriental loanword was then, in his theory, transformed by the Greek „*en préposant le mot de πῦρ feu, au mot chaldaïque amud ils eussent appelé πῦρ-αμῖς d’après un dialecte plus doux, une colonne ou une tour pyramidale imitant la figure du feu*” (o.c., pp. 345–346). Either way, the combination with any of the words for „fire” is equally improbable. Cf. also Fodor and Fóti 1976, 158.

C.M. Volney (1807, vol. I, chapter 19) derived the Greek term „pyramid” from a Hebrew compound bour-ha-mit (sic) „caveau du mort”, i.e., a construction of bour (sic) „citerne, sépulcre”<sup>12</sup> and mut or mit „mort”.<sup>13</sup> But why would have Herodot apply a Hebrew term for an Egyptian pyramid? Why would have Hebrew b- been reflected by Greek π- remains also uncertain.

H. Brugsch (1874, 58), A. Eisenlohr (1877, 260), and F.Ll. Griffith (1894, 237–238) explained the Greek word from the Egyptian mathematical term pr-m-ws (occurring in the 59th exercise of papyrus Rhind), whose much disputed rendering ended up as follows: „die Seite der Kante” (Brugsch) = „entweder die Kante an der Pyramide oder die Gerade, welche von der Spitze der Pyramide auf die Mitte der Grundlinie gezogen wird (wörtlich: aufsteigen im ws, weil die Kante am Ausgangspunkt des diagonalen Durchschnitte liegt)”

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Hebrew ʿūr „Feuer” [GB 18], to which no „Chaldean” cognate like ur „fire” appears, but just Akkadian urru „(heller) Tag” [AHW 1433].

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Hebrew ʿammūd „1. Säule eines Gebäudes, 2. die Säulen des Himmels, der Erde, 3. Rauchsäule, Wolkensäule” [GB 599]. Here too, no similar „Chaldean” cognate word is to be found except for Akkadian imdu „Stütze, Auflage” [AHW 375].

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Hebrew bōr „1. Cisterne, in den Fels gehauen, 2. Gefängnis, 3. Grab” [GB 89].

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Hebrew māwet „1. Tod, 2. Totenreich, Unterwelt, 3. tödliche Krankheit, Pest” vs. mēt „Toter, Leichnam” [GB 410 and 474].

(Eisenlohr 1877, 260) = „Seitenkante” (Borchardt 1893, 13) = „lateral edge” (Eisenlohr as quoted in Chase et al. 1927, 37) = „eigentlich: die aus dem ws (der breite große Teil des Gebäudes, Masse der Pyramide, aus welcher die Kanten hervorstehen) hervortretende (Linie)” (Lepsius 1884, 9) = „un valeur d’hauteur, non necessairement vertical” (Peet 1923, 97) = „what goes (straight) up from the sarcophagus-chamber (which normally lies under the apex, though below ground-level and thus not a satisfactory starting-point for the height-line); or: height as a vertical line rising from the edge of the pyramid (ws to be sought near the lowest casing-stones)” (Gunn 1926, 134) = „altitude” (Chase et al. 1927, 37 pace E. and V. Revillout 1881 and Borchardt 1893) = „als Bezeichnung des mathematischen Begriffs der Höhe (einer Pyramide)” (Wb I 359:1) = „literally ‘what what goes [straight] up from the us’ (a word of uncertain meaning), ... used to indicate the vertical height of a Pyramid (sic: P-) in an Egyptian mathematical treatise” (Edwards 1947, 284) = „hauteur” (Chantraine) = „height (of a pyramid)” (Griffith l.c.; Imhausen 2003, 164; Miatello 2009, 155 and fn. 5 with further lit.). For I.E.S. Edwards (1947, 284), „to suppose, however, that pyramis was derived from per-em-us (sic) would imply that the Greeks either mistook the meaning of the Egyptian term or, for reasons unknown, deliberately named the whole structure after a part, by the linguistic process known as *synecdoche*.” But even if we generously admitted the latter scenario, there would be no egyptological evidence whatsoever for the use of this *ad hoc* term, attested solely in papyrus Rhind in the middle of the 2nd mill. BC, more than one whole millennium later in the days of Herodot. P. Chantraine (1968, 958), who was equally dissatisfied with „*L’hypothèse d’un emprunt à l’égyptien pr-m-us, ‘hauteur’, qui remonte à*” Brugsch (1874), simply discarded it as being „*sans valeur*” without any further argument. J. Bergman (1969, 209, fn. 2), in turn, tried to combine both hypotheses with a Greek and an Egyptian etymology, resp., assuming a contamination: „*πυραμίς ist zwar mit mehreren ägyptischen Wendungen zusammengestellt worden (z. B. mit dem Namen einer Dreiecksseite, pr-m-ws, der doch nur einmal, in Pap. Rhind, belegt ist), hört doch wahrscheinlich mit dem griechischen πυραμοῦς, der Bezeichnung eines Weizenkuchens, einer „Semmel”, zusammen ... Dass in der griechischen Benennung auch eine ägyptische Wendung nachklingt, ist gut möglich. Von einem derartigen Wechselspiel zwischen Griechischem und Ägyptischem gibt es ... manche Beispiele.*”

Baron Carra de Vaux (1905, 57–58) saw in πῦραμίς „*un de ces mots de la période pré-hellénique ou proto-hellénique*” and postulated a borrowing from Proto-Altaic (!) into Proto-Aryan (!), cf. Turkish bouroune „*pointe, nez, cap*” (Vaux) = burun „*Vorgebirg*” (Diels), which he affiliated with some „*autres formes soit sans p initial, soit n final au lieu de m*”, viz. Greek ὄρος „*mountain*” and Oromedon „*l’un des Titans qui voulurent escalader le ciel*”, Arabic herem (sic) „*pyramid*”, Irem „*nom de la ville fantastique aux colonnes, symbole des grandes ruines et des grands monuments d’Égypte*”,<sup>14</sup> Pyrénée „*1. nom qui désigne dans la fable un roi de Thrace, 2. dans Hérodote désigne une ville aux sources de l’Ister*” etc. All these he traced back to an alleged „Altaic” proto-root

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Arabic ʔiram- ~ ʔarim- „1. grosse pierre, 2. sommet de la tête, 3. crêtes ou pics des montagnes” [BK I 26].

\*√or „avec l'idée de l'hauteur”, which was rightly rejected by H. Diels (1919, 194, fn.) as „ganz unvernünftig”.

Similarly, Anton von Velics (1909, 55) derived the stem πυραμ- from a hypothetical \*√vrm (of an unnamed language!) based on an incomprehensible and anachronistic comparison with Hungarian (!) verem „tumulus” (!), which was rightly declined by K. Lang (1923–1924, 551, fn. 1) as „etwas völlig Unrichtiges”, let alone that verem simply and precisely denotes but „pit”, no more.

K. Lang (1923–1924, 551–553; 1965, 844), followed by K. Lokotsch (1927, 116), and then by many others<sup>15</sup> like, e.g., W. Schenkel (1997, 328, fn. 8) recently, assumed the Greek word to reflect (via metathesis) a hypothetical Egyptian etymon \*\*pi-ram < \*pi-mar (Lange, Lokotsch) = \*p-3-már (Schenkel), a compound reflecting Coptic ΠΙ- („strong” form of the definite article Π-, i.e., old p3) plus Egyptian mr „Pyramide” (OK, Wb II 94, 14–16),<sup>16</sup> which has become perhaps the most popular foreign etymology of our Greek term in spite of a few fundamental doubts that can be grouped as follows:

- As for the anomalous Greek πν- < \*πν-, K. Lang (1923–1924, 553) found it „leicht zu erklären”, as it may have been influenced by the Greek *Volksetymologie* (i.e., a derivation from either πῦρ or πυρός), but later he (Lang 1965, 844, fn. 1) declared the change of -v- and -t- as „völlig bedeutungslos” (!), since it can also be found among the instances of Greek iotacism. Remarkably, albeit not knowing the Egyptian etymon mr, already S. de Sacy (1801, 30–31) assumed the presence of the „Egyptian” (i.e., Coptic) definite article ΠΙ- with the same explanation for the anomaly of πν- < \*πν-, i.e., by the influence of πῦρ.

- As for the metathesis of Egyptian mr „pyramid” < \*rm (nowhere attested in the Egyptian texts), K. Lang (1923–1924, 552) listed several instances of consonantal metathesis in Egypto-Coptic, a.o. also 2 cognate pairs where Egyptian √mr- corresponds to Semitic √rm-,<sup>17</sup> but he failed to present one single case, where Old Egyptian √mr-shifted to Late Egyptian √rm- and was reflected as such in a foreign borrowing. The same is the case with the worthless reference by K. Lokotsch (1927, 116) to A. Erman's (1892, 112ff.) list of Egypto-Semitic parallels, which prove nothing about the metathesis in question here. The pure fact that several authors<sup>18</sup> equated Egyptian mr, i.e., its alleged supposed metathetic protoform \*rm (unattested in Egyptian texts) with Arabic raym-, 1. Überfluß, Aufhäufung, Zugabe, Draufgabe, Hinzufügung, was man über den Rücken eines Lasttieres über zwei seitlich verteilte Lastkörbe oder Ballen aufhäuft, 2. Hügel,

<sup>15</sup> The works (Webster's 1938; Helck 1962; Wasserzieher 1962; Duden 1963) where his theory had gained acceptance were listed by K. Lang (1965, 844, fn. 2). Cf. also Schirmer 1912, 57; Littmann 1924, 13; Basler 1942, 744–748; Lokotsch 1927, 116; Struve 1930, 136; Kluge 1999, 656–657.

<sup>16</sup> To be regarded as „a name which has not been suspected of concealing any descriptive significance” (sic) according to I.E.S. Edwards (1947, 284). For a detailed discussion of its etymology see EDE III 367–369.

<sup>17</sup> Even these genetic pairs are, however, disputable, since Egyptian mrj „lieben” have also cognates without the metathesis (cf. EDE III 407–408), and Egyptian mrh „Lanze” was a Semitic loanword without the metathesis in Egyptian from a source like Ugaritic mrh „Lanze” [Aistleitner] etc. (cf. EDE III 437–438).

<sup>18</sup> K. Lang (1923–24, 553 after Christian), A. Ember (1930, 39, #6.a.15), W. Vycichl (1958, 149–152; 1958, 393; 1959, 29; 1959, 69–70, #19; 1959, 73; 1990, 222), and G. Conti (1976, 268).

Anhöhe, 3. Grab, Grabhügel, 4. Stufe, Treppenstufe”, rīm- „Grabhügel, Grab (tombeau, sépulcre)” [Vycichl]<sup>19</sup> does not change a bit about the lack of any metathetic etymon \*rm in Late Egyptian Herodot could have possibly heard with a masculine article, let alone that, on the one hand, Egyptian mr finds its perfect match without any metathesis in Semitic and Berber as it has long been demonstrated by other authors,<sup>20</sup> whereas Semitic \*√rm also has a regular, albeit quite different Egyptian cognate, namely √wrm, not at all unknown in this context in the literature,<sup>21</sup> which will be dealt with in detail in the following section (entitled „*The new suggestion*”).

• In the supposed derivation from Late Egyptian mr, some authors argued also with Arabic hāram- (pl. ʔahrām-) „pyramid”, with which the Greek name was first affiliated by S. de Sacy (1801, 25) along with a number of unrelated forms ultimately deduced from Semitic \*√hrm „séparer du commerce et de l’usage des hommes” (above). Later the Arabic word was regarded by K. Lokotsch (1927, 116) as an Egyptian loan being „aus dem Semitischen allein nicht erklärbar”, from which, in his view, the proof of the alleged metathesis of Late Egyptian \*rm < older mr could be gained. As assumed by K. Lang (1923–1924, 553), „Ganz rätselhaft wäre, wenn die einwandernden Araber schon ein Wort für Pyramide gehabt hätten, da sie doch vor ihrer Einwanderung keine derartigen Bauwerke kannten. ... Außerdem läßt sich هرم auf ein lautlich gleiches Äquivalent mit einer gleichartigen Bedeutung, etwa ‘Spitzes u. dgl.’ in keiner anderen

<sup>19</sup> Arabic raym- „1. surplus, surcroît, addition, supplément, p.ex., ce qu’on ajoute au haut du dos d’une bête de somme, par-dessus la charge partagée en deux sacoches ou paquets pendants de chaque côté, 4. colline, tertre, 5. tombeau, sépulcre, 8. degré, marche (d’un escalier)” < √ym II: rayyama „3. être superflu, redondant, être en surplus” [BK I 964-965]. W. Vycichl (mis?) quoted this Classical Arabic noun as mayr- (sic) „heap, hill, tomb” [Vycichl 1959, 29] = mayr- „Haufen, Hügel, Grab, Grabhügel” [Vycichl 1959, 73] = mayr- > mēr „1. surplus, surcroît, addition, supplément, 2. colline, tertre, 3. tombeau, sépulcre, 4. degré, marche (d’un escalier)” [Vycichl 1959, 69–70], which is not listed in BK and Lane and may only be due to a misspelling of raym- > rēm. This was confirmed for me by A.G. Belova (kind p.c., 5 Jan. 2018) too: „Форма таур- в араб[ском] не отмечена. Есть глагольный корень другого значения.” In her view, besides, Arabic raum- „в значениях ‘высоких сооружений’ заимствовано из сабейского или других языков южноаравийской цивилизации. В арабском этот корень совпал с собственно арабским термином „груз вьючного животного” и относится к арабской скотоводческой лексике.”

<sup>20</sup> W.F. Albright (1919, 189; 1927, 218) and F. von Calice (1936 GÄSW #631) identified it with Arabic ʔamar-at- (pl. ʔamar-) „1. petite pierre qui indique la route, 2. tertre” [BK I 54] = ʔamar-at- „холм” [Kokovcov] = ʔamar-at- & ʔamār-at- „pyramidal heap of stones” [Albright] = „Steinsäule, Denkmal” [Calice] = ʔamār-at- „signe, indice, repère” [DRS], which has further cognates in Semitic: Akkadian (Babylonian) amartu (also amaru) „Seitenwand”, amaru „Ziegelhaufen” [AHW 40] = amartu „1. dividing wall, party wall, 2. sideboard” vs. amaru „pile of bricks (often of standard dimensions)” [CAD a2, 3-4] || Hebrew ʔāmīr „Wipfel des Baumes, 2. Gipfel des Berges” [GB 48] = „sommets d’arbre ou montagne” [DRS] = „top of a tree” [Guillaume] || East Berber: (???) Sokna a-mērru, pl. i-mērr-ân „montagna” [Sarnelli 1924–1925, 21] || North Berber: Shilh i-miri „tas de pierre et muraille en pierres sèches”, tizi n miri „col du tas de pierres”, a-mra „contrefort en pierres des champs cultivés en terrasse” [Laouat 1942, 40, §77, §79] | Tamazight i-mr-an (pl.) „grosses pierres enfoncées à moitié dans la terre, qui servent de bornes délimitant une propriété” [Taïfi 1991, 428] || CCh.: (?) Mofu-Gudur mémeré „murette en pierres des terrasses” [Barreteau 1988, 176] < AA \*√mr „orig. heap of stones erected as a sign (?), hence: 1. heap of stones, 2. wall, limit” [GT].

<sup>21</sup> As it had already long been put forward by W.F. Albright (1927, 209).

*semitischen Sprache zurückführen*". Both Lang and Lokotsch saw in Arabic haram- a rather anachronistic compound of the Hebrew definite article ha- (also attested in Phoenician and Samaritanian) + Egyptian mr, in favour of which Lang (l.c.) was arguing that „*die später gekommenen Araber aus dem Semitischem (sic) هـرم mit dem Artikel entlehnten. ... Die semitischen (sic) Einwanderer kamen viel früher als die Griechen nach Ägypten, und zwar zu einer Zeit, als in der ägyptischen Sprache noch kein präfigierter Artikel bestand ... Sie haben deshalb ihren eigenen Artikel vorgesetzt*". W. Schenkel (1997, 328, fn. 8) explained the Greek form through Arabic háram- eventually from an unattested Coptic (B) \*ΦΙ-ΡΑΜ (\*p<sup>hi</sup>-rám) reinterpreted as non-Bohairic \*Π-ΖΙΡΑΜ with an „epenthesis” of \*-h- of the (B) article in the word stem, i.e., a re-segmentation of the folk etymology. Such a far-fetched sceanrio was rejected *a priori* already by H. Diels (1919, 194 and fn. 1). Schenkel’s (B) \*p<sup>hi</sup>-rám, let alone non-(B) \*p-hirám, is not corroborated by any Coptic evidence. Leaving aside the Coptic argument for the enigmatic h- in Arabaic, J.F. Quack (2003, 114, fn. 6), in turn, derived both Greek πυραμίς and Arabic haram- via \*p3-hrm (unattested) < \*p3-mhr directly (!) from his hypothetic Egyptian \*mhr (!), i.e., the supposed triconsonantal emendation of the the Egyptian term for „pyramid”, albeit he failed to adduce for it any other direct inner evidence.<sup>22</sup>

Now, discussing the problem of πυραμίς, S. Vittori (University of Pisa, p.c., Dec. 2017) put forward another daring hypothesis of deriving this term from \*pr-n-ḥd „maison d’argent (pour le couleur blanc des parois)” or „maison de l’argent”, „trésorerie”, pronounced, in his view, as \*por-n-ḥid (sic). For Egyptian \*/o/ (sic) > Greek /y/ he was quoting Coptic (B) ΕΝΘΩΡΙ „déesse” > (τ)ενθυρα, whereas for the pronunciation of ḥd „argent” as \*ḥid, cf. NBÄ 127. Albeit he admitted that „*Le passage /n/ > /m/ devant emphatique /h/ n’est pas attesté d’ailleurs, mais il pourrait être assimilé au passage /n/ > /m/ devant /q/ in ḥnq.t > ΖΕΜΚΙ, même place d’articulation. Malheureusement, cette hypothèse est rendue faible par le fait qu’il n’y a aucune attestation d’un syntagme pr-n-ḥd au côté de pr-ḥd, ‘trésor’.*”

## The new suggestion

The above enumerated derivations all suffer from some phonological or other defect, which make us doubt whether the correct etymon has already been found Herodot’s πῦραμίς might be explained from. My starting point has been the so far overlooked fact that the insufficiently explained Greek -v- may reflect also<sup>23</sup> an Egyptian -w- (or its

<sup>22</sup> J.F. Quack (2003, 113–4, §1) reconstructed the phonetic value of the hieroglyph U23 (depicting a chisel, cf. EG 1927, 503) partly on the basis of mr „pyramid”, which he erroneously read as mhr purely because of its supposed, albeit disputable, connection with Arabic haram- (above). Unconvincing, since there is no inner Egyptian evidence for -h- in *this* lexeme.

<sup>23</sup> Of course, beside cases of v ~ ου ~ ω, which may reflect other Egyptian vowels also, e.g., \*á, at least, in J. Osing’s (NBÄ) patterns. Cf. -ατομ- ~ -αθυμ- ~ -ατουμ- ~ -ατωμ- reflecting Egyptian \*j’tám’w „Atum” (NBÄ

zero grade \*-u- under certain syllabic circumstances),<sup>24</sup> which would pretty logically imply – of course, assuming an Egyptian masculine article p(̃3)- here as before – that the only underlying and logically deducible Late Egyptian etymon could solely be \*w̃/ǎrám → \*wǎrám ~ \*u/ūrám (or sim.), which, at least in its vocalized shape, strikingly resembles Late Egyptian wrm „nom de l'inondation” (Loret 1889, 121) = „Bez. der Überschwemmung” (GR, Wb I 332, 19) = „inondation” (Jéquier 1921, 128, fn. 2; Albright 1927, 209) = „Hochwasser” (GÄSW 26–27, #19) = „la crue étale, à son niveau le plus élevé, haute crue” (Meeks 1977, 85, n. 2; AL 77.0975) = „high point of inundation, the highest point of the flood” (twice in Edfu, PL 244), vocalized by J. Osing precisely as \*w̃ rām in the light of Coptic (L/A<sub>2</sub>) ΟΥΡΑΜ „Flut” (NBÄ 44, 508, n. 228; KHW 552).<sup>25</sup> The direct etymon of πῦραμις may thus have been a hypothetic Late Egyptian \*p(̃)-w̃/ǎrám → \*\*p-u/ūrám (perhaps a Delta variety?)<sup>26</sup> signifying „the gigantic elevation” or „the culminating mass” or the „outstanding peak, height” (or sim.), which fits perfectly into the semantic spectrum of Egyptian \*√wrm.

From the same Egyptian verbal root may stem a number of further derivatives, most of which had already been collected by F. von Calice (1936 GÄSW 26-27, #19), J. Osing (NBÄ 44, 508, n. 228), and D. Meeks (1977, 85, n. 2) suggesting their ultimate cognacy, however diversified semantical shifts they display:

- wrm.w „(concernant un coffret de vases cette remarque concerne sans doute) le bois, la surface inégale du coffret (?)” (V., Posener-Kriéger 1976, 206, #D 20) = „(sorte de) dommage” (o.c., index on p. 670) = „rugosité, aspérité” (AL 77.0979) =

701–703, n. 807); Πκωλις ~ Πκωλις ~ Πκοιλίς (PN) < Egyptian p3-q(3)rj (PN) „der Fremde”, vocalized \*p̃3-qá(3) r̃j > \*p̃3-qá r̃j (NBÄ 593, n. 535); χφουρις < Egyptian ḥ̃pár̃r „Mistkäfer” (NBÄ 296).

<sup>24</sup> Cf., e.g., Βαβυς (var. Βεβων) „Name des Typhon (Seth)” < Late Egyptian \*be/abó(j) < older b3b(3)w.j vocalized as \*ba3b(e/u)3áw.ĵ „Pavian, ein Dämon, Bezeichnung des Seth”, lit. \*Höhlenbewohner” (NBÄ 854, n. 1304); Θυτσοτομ (PN) < Demotic thwtj stm „Thot entend”, cf. Neo-Babylonian toneless ti-ḥu-ut- reflecting Late Egyptian status cstr. diḥut- (or sim.) „Thot” (DG 652; DELC 58); Συήνη (TN) „Syene”, which, along with Hebrew sōwan and sōwēnē(h), Aramaic swn, Arabic ʔaswān „Assuan”, Nubian S(u)wān dīb, derives < Egyptian swn, hence Coptic (SB) COΥΑΝ, (S) COΥΗΝ and COΥΑΑΝ (AEO II 5\*; KHW 480; DELC 200-201); Τεβτωνίς (TN) < Demotic tp-tn, which can only be derived via \*tp-twn < Egyptian tp-dbn (NBÄ 713, n. 829); Ὑσιρις (Plutarch) beside the more widespread Ὀσιρις, which, along with Aramaic ʔwsry, can only be traced back < Egyptian wsjr „Osiris” (DELC 238) or better to a \*wsjr.t with regard to Coptic (O) ΟΥ̅CΙΡΕ/Ι „Osiris” with its ending -ε/Ι typically reflecting a fem. \*-āt (KHW 277).

<sup>25</sup> Which was first mistakenly linked by W. Westendorf (KHW 100, fn. 1 s.v. ΜΡΩΜ and 275, fn. 3 s.v. ΟΥΡΩΜ) to Coptic (S) ΟΥΡΩΜ „Kissen, Polster”, which is, however, ironically, ultimately related (cf. below). Only attested in Mani Ps. 200, 11: ΝΤΑΥΤΝΝΑΥΤ ΕΡΕΠΙΑΜ ΖΑΡΚ ΕΡΕΠΟΥΡΑΜ ΝΤ... CHK „Ich wurde geschickt, als das Meer ruhig war, als die ... Flut dahinflöß” (NBÄ 508, n. 228).

<sup>26</sup> Under the assumption that Coptic rules governing the forms of the definite articles before consonantal clusters (cf. Till 1961, 13–14, §63) had worked by that times at all, because – a.o. – it was precisely the northernmost (B) dialect, where a hypothetic \*Π-ΟΥΡΟΜ < Late Egyptian zero-grade \*\*p-u/ūrám is conceivable in opposition to the dialects south of it, also the central and southern ones, viz. (SF), rarely (L), and occasionally (A), where the word initial cluster like ΟΥΡ- [wr-] may have only been preceded by the full form of the definite articles (ΠΕ-, ΤΕ-, ΝΕ-), e.g., (S) ΠΕΥΖΟΡ „the dog” (cf. Till 1955, 59–60, §88 and §90), rarely (A) ΠΕΥΤΕΚΟ beside ΠΩΥΤΕΚΟ „the prison” (Till 1928, 65–66, §51.B.2), and so, south of the Delta, one would have to assume better an etymon like Late Egyptian \*\*pā-w(̃)rám > (FLA) \*ΠΕ-ΥΡΑΜ, (S) \*ΠΕ-ΥΡΟΜ, which hardly agrees with the Greek form.

„Windungen (von faltiger, welliger od. schrumpeliger Oberfläche, auch als Sachschaden), \*harte Bläschen” (ÄWb I 364a pace), which, in P. Posener-Kriéger’s (l.c.), D. Meeks’ (AL: l.c.) and R. Hannig’s (ÄWb, GHWb) view, was continued by wrm.w „1. ? (nw. rj.t, des Eiters), 2. etwas das beim Schmelzen des Kupfers entsteht (womit das blossgelegte Gehirn verglichen wird)” (Med., Wb I 333, 5–6) = „corrugations, ripples (this term, drawn from the craft of the coppersmith, is employed to describe the convolutions of the brain, which are compared to the rippled surface of metallic slag forming on the top of molten metal)” (Breasted<sup>27</sup> 1930, 167) = „1. die Schlacken, die oben auf geschmolzenem Kupfer schwimmen, 2. (wrm.w nw rj.t) wohl: Schorf, der sich bildet, wenn Eiter auf einer eiternden Wunde antrocknet” (Ebbell 1938, 14) = „Windungen (von faltiger Oberfläche), die Furchen und Windungen des Gehirns (1. das durch einen Schädelbruch freigelegte Gehirn wird mit der Oberfläche geschmolzenen Metalls verglichen, 2. in der Verbindung wrm.w nw rj.t zur Beschreibung einer unregelmäßig gestalteten Eiter-Masse)” (WMT 197).

• wrm.t (PT pl. wrm.wt) „Laube, Dach(bekrönung eines Gebäudes)” (PT, Wb I 333, 2–3) = „parapet, créneau” (Jéquier 1921, 128, fn. 2) = „(von Bauwerken gebraucht) die Zinnen einer Befestigung (Urk. IV 389, 506), bzw. von Zelten (?) (PT 2100)” (Sethe 1922, 32)<sup>28</sup> = „1. (in architecture, Urk. IV 389) the crenellations along the top of a battlemented wall, 2. (in the PT used of) the ribs of a booth, which of course produce a rippling along the top of the roof” (Breasted 1930, 167) = „1. (originally) awnings (PT 2100), 2. roofings (Urk. IV 389:11, 506:17)” (FD 64) = „voûte, toit voûté” (AL 77.0978) = „pavillon, toit, balustrade du toit” (DELIC 232) = „roof (Edfu IV 14:6, originally wrm.t were tent awnings and the word came to mean ‘roof’ of a building, including temples; in Edfu IV 16:6, after the unrolling of the cord, the corners of the temple were laid out to found its roof, posts were put in the corners to give the roof corners)” (PL 244) = „1. Plane, Laube, 2. Gewölbe, gewölbtes Dach (e. Hauses)” (ÄWb I 364a). One can perhaps agree with P. Wilson (PL l.c.) that GR wrm „high point of inundation” etc. (above) „*may be connected with wrm.t ‘roof’, for it is the highest point of the flood*”, although the underlying basic sense seems disputed, let alone the uncertain Coptic reflex.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Misquoted apud Posener-Kriéger (l.c.) as Reisner.

<sup>28</sup> K. Sethe (1922, 32) conceived it as the same word as wrm.t (CT II 302a and CT II 303a) „anscheinend ein paarweise vorkommender Körperteil, die Hoden (?)” (so also Wb I 333, 4), which R. O. Faulkner adopted as „testicles (?)” (AECT I 133; DCT 98), but D. van der Plas and J. F. Borghouts (1998, 173) as „nail (?)” with regard to its alternative finger determinative (in CT II 302a, B2B0, B2P in dual and CT II 303a, B17C, B1C in pl.). M. Sokolova (p.c., Jan. 2018) assumes a connection: „Там другой детерминатив, но ... различие детерминативов может быть несущественно. Кроме того, если исходным значением слова было „край, кромка”, то оно вполне могло обозначать и край ногтя и край борта, и его могли писать в разных контекстах с разными детерминативами.” Whether the Middle Egyptian term has any relevance here, whether it was indeed an anatomical term or just an ad hoc epithet \*”both swollen ones” invented for this CT spell, is difficult to decide.

<sup>29</sup> (S) ΟΥΛΑ/ΟΛΜΕ „(meaning unknown, sg. for which rent or hire is paid)” (CD 477b) = „e. Objekt, das vererbt und vermietet wird, ob: Laube, Dachgarten (?) o.ä.” (KHW 270) = „qqch. qu’on loue” (DELIC 232) is to be explained from wrm.t as suggested by W. Westendorf (KHW l.c.) and W. Yvichl (DELIC l.c.) is obscure.

• wrm (hapax, attested in dual wrm.wj in CT V 128b, var. G1T)<sup>30</sup> „partie du navire” (AL 78.1033) = „Bordränder (der Barke, mit den ‘Lippen’, sp.tj, gleichgesetzt, die bereits als Bordränder identifiziert wurden)” (Düring 1995, 63) = „wooden part of ship” (Borghouts & Plas 1998, 73) = „e. hölzerner Teil des Schiffes (\*Bordränder)” (ÄWb II 710).<sup>31</sup> Its reading and existence has been disputed by H. Willems (1996 II, 431, n. r) simply because „the southern Egyptian versions provide different readings (A1C: mrm; GIT: wrm), neither of which seems to be a known word, one might consider whether these texts are corrupt”, which was enough for him to emend both (!) cases as md3,<sup>32</sup> but such an argument can hardly be sufficient against a number of circumstances. The other variant form from the South (A1C)<sup>33</sup> has here equally an -r- (and not -d-), although formerly it had also been misread,<sup>34</sup> a.o., by G. Jéquier (1911, 52, §8 & fn. 4), who, however, was at least able to conceive its true sense: „une partie du bordage: deux pièces de bois recourbées qui ont la forme d’accoudoirs de fauteuils (justifiant ainsi ... l’épithète de «lèvres»), sortes de bras qui servent en même temps de support aux bancs des rameurs et de barrière (pour empêcher le bétail de tomber à l’eau; cette partie de la barque solaire était l’armature de grandes tentures retombantes)”,<sup>35</sup> which H. Willems (1996 II, 431, fn. 261) strangely refrained to comment,<sup>36</sup> although G. Jéquier also regarded it as a variant of md3 (occurring in the versions from Meir etc.), whose rope or leather determinative<sup>37</sup> and substantially different signification<sup>38</sup> are in clear contrast with the

<sup>30</sup> I.e., the coffin of jqr from Gebelein, now in Turin. CT V 128b, G1T runs as follows: wrm.w(j)=s(j) sp.tj nb dp.w „ihre (der Barke) wrm sind die Lippen der Herrn von Dpw” (Düring 1995, 63).

<sup>31</sup> R.O. Faulkner (AECT II 34), P. Barguet (1986, 352, spell 398), and C. Carrier (2004 II, 959) left wrm here untranslated. The rendering, pertains to md3(m) of the varieties M3C, M13C from the Meir coffins.

<sup>32</sup> H. Willems (1996 II, 431, n. r) treated both wrm (G1T) and mrm (A1C) as an error resulting from a misspelling of md3 ~ md3m „oar thongs (?)”, which occurs here in this place in the variants on the Meir coffins (M3C, M13C): „It is, in fact, easy to see how the form on A1C could have occurred; in hieratic, d and r easily lead to confusion, so that md<3>m could have been understood as mrm. This not being a known root, the scribe of (the Vorlage of) G1T, thinking of the closest alternative to hand, may have recalled the root wrm, although no nautical term based on it seems to exist. ... Whether or not this explanation hits the mark, our further enquiry will be based primarily on the sources from Meir”.

<sup>33</sup> Coffin of ḥq3-t from Aswan, now in the Cairo museum (nr. 28127).

<sup>34</sup> P. Lacau (1908, 6, col. 8), G. Jéquier (1911, l.c.), and H. Grapow (1915 in the Urk. V 185:4) all suggested mdw in G1T (Cairo coffin 28127), albeit a question-mark was put by Jéquier to -d- and -w, while by Grapow to -w.

<sup>35</sup> His full description: „à l’avant, donc à l’endroit où nous amène la nomenclature, on voit se détacher de la proue surélevée et se diriger vers la partie centrale du bateau en suivant les côtés de la coque deux pièces de bois recourbées qui ont la forme d’accoudoirs de fauteuils, justifiant ainsi ... l’épithète de «lèvres»; certains bateaux servant à transporter le bétail et les marchandises, sortes de bacs pour petits trajets, ont également à l’avant ces sortes de bras qui servent en même temps de support aux bancs des rameurs et de barrière pour empêcher le bétail de tomber à l’eau; cette partie de la barque solaire était l’armature de grandes tentures retombantes”.

<sup>36</sup> „I will refrain from a closer analysis of Jéquier’s interpretation (BIFAO 9 [1911], 52 ...) of the object as part of a solar bark”, i.e., where Jéquier examined just the same A1C version.

<sup>37</sup> CT V 74s: leather det., CT V 129a: rope det., CT VI 39o: both leather and rope det. are attested.

<sup>38</sup> Attested also in CT V 74s, VI 39o (along with this CT place): „(leather) lacing (?) for the hull, gunwale lashings (?)” (CT, AECT II 22, 24, spell 396, n. 20 & II 37, spell 398, n. 18 & II 124, spell 479, n. 18 and 24 &



wood determinative of both wrm (G1T) and mrm (A1C), whose reading in CT V 128b was confirmed by A. de Buck (l.c.) and their being correctly conceived as wooden part of a ship is corroborated also by the fact that in other Meir versions of this CT spell,<sup>39</sup> they are paralleled by s<sup>c</sup>3 with a wood determinative and a similar semantical spectrum<sup>40</sup> (equally differing from that of md3). Not accidentally, this nautical term was derived from  $\sqrt{s^c3j}$  „to make great (of size, rank or position), magnify (god, truth), increase (benefits), glorify (life on earth)” (FD 213, DCT 454, a.o. in CT VII 517f) just as its synonymous parallels, wrm ~ mrm originate from  $\sqrt{wrm}$  with a similar semantics. H. Willems’ (1996 II, 431, n. r) ill-founded theory on mrm (A1C) as the primary step on the way of the distortion of md3(m), where wrm (G1T) was only secondary,<sup>41</sup> as well as his arbitrary denial of wrm as a separate lexeme by considering md3(m) of the Meir versions as an ultimate source,<sup>42</sup> fails due to a number of facts. Firstly, Egyptian had a root  $\sqrt{wrm}$  „high” (or sim.) which is being examined in this section. Secondly, there must have nevertheless existed a nautical term like wrm > mrm (and so also the rare interchange of w ~ m in Pharaonic Egyptian),<sup>43</sup> which might have eventually resulted,

III 203 index, adopted in Jones 1988, 169, §78) = „lanière (?)” (AL 78.1924) = „(wohl) die lederne Einfassung der Bordkanten (wie sie in vielen Bildbelegen zu erkennen ist)” (Düring 1995, 77 & fn. 192) = „\*schmalere Riemen (\*lederne Einfassung der Bordkante)” (GHWb 377; ÄWb II 1159c) = „oar thongs (?)” (Willems 1996 II, 427) = „lacings (?)” (DCT 190). The alleged instances of md3(m) in CT V 128b (cf. Urk. V 185:2 and 4) were rendered by G. Jéquier (1911, 52, §8 & fn. 4) as „une partie du bordage: deux pièces de bois recourbées qui ont la forme d’accoudoirs de fauteuils, sortes de bras qui servent de support aux bancs de rameurs et de barrière pour empêcher le bétail de tomber à l’eau (cette partie de la barque solaire était l’armature de grandes tentures retombantes)”, since at that time he did not compare the rest of its occurrences. M. Sokolova (p.c., Jan. 2018) supposes in this term a prefix m- +  $\sqrt{dm3}$ : „mdAm – это 3-согласный корень с приставкой, поскольку 1) в CT нет НИ ОДНОГО 4-согласного корня с первым m, 2) md3m – это, по-видимому, образование от корня dm3 „bind together” or the like, с метатезой.” For a different etymology of md3 cf. EDE III 771.

<sup>39</sup> CT V 128a–b, M21C, M2N4, M4C, M5C (Urk. V 185:2), cf. also CT V 128a (Urk. V 184:13).

<sup>40</sup> Attested in the OK (Ti’s tomb), CT V 128a, V 232g (Urk. V 184:14 and 185:2, resp.), also in the GR: „1. (CT) les deux agrandisseurs: deux gros socles (sur la barque solaire) qui se trouvent au milieu du pont et qui précisément rehaussent et supportent les deux oudjou, 2. (GR: avec une légère différence d’orthographe, comme si l’on avait oublié sa signification primitive, pour désigner) des pièces de bois sur lesquelles venaient se fixer les cordes ḥs3.w, sans doutes des bittes” (Jéquier 1911, 51, #7) = „Bordbrett des Schiffes” (OK-, Wb IV 43, 1) = „le bastingage (à cause de sa forme incurvée assimilé à un gigantesque boumerang)” (Montet 1925, 341) = „thole-board (of acacia wood), gunwale” (pap. Anastasi IV 7:11, Caminos 1954 LEM, 161; FD 213) = „bulwark (?)” (AECT II 34, 37 with n. 15, 62; DCT 455) = „plats-bords, bastingages (de la barque)” (Barguet 1986, 372 and 352, resp.) = „thole boards (these are the crescent-shaped logs lining the top rim of the vessel’s hull)” (Willems 1996 II, 431, n. r) = „part of a ship” (Edfou VI 80:5, PL 802) = „\*e. Rumpfbett (des Holzboots), \*Reling, \*Schanzkleid” (ÄWb I 1076a and II 2106b).

<sup>41</sup> „... mrm ... being a known root, the scribe of (the Vorlage of) G1T, thinking of the closest alternative to hand, may have recalled the root wrm, although no nautical term based on it seems to exist. Because of this, and because md3m also occurs in other lists of ship’s parts ..., wrm must be the end than the beginning of the development, even though G1T is one of the earliest of the remaining sources.”

<sup>42</sup> „Whether or not this explanation hits the mark, our further enquiry will be based primarily on the sources from Meir”.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Egyptian  $\sqrt{w3}$  „verderben, faulen, gären (vom sauer gewordenen Bier, von Brot, von faulendem Holz)” (PT-, Wb I 172, 3–5; ÄWb I 263) = „to go bad, go sour (of beer)” (DCT 68) ~  $\sqrt{m3}$  „(vom sauer werden des

via a hypothetic (S) \***ΟΥΡΟΜ** and a semantical development *pars pro toto*,<sup>44</sup> in Coptic (B) **MPOM** „bundle, raft” (CD 183a) = „radeau, bateaux constitués de faisceaux de tiges de papyrus” (Pezin 1988, 341) by the analogy of wrm „hochragende Figur” (GR, Wb I 333, 1) > (S) **ΟΥΡΩΜ** vs. (SB) **MPΩΜ**, (B) **ΕΜΡΩΜ** (below), in the gloss of which (B) **MPOM** was also discussed CD 183a and DELC 120 pretending as if it were the same gloss. But as to its vocalism, a perfectly identical match of (B) **MPOM** appears in wrm „Bez. der Überschwemmung” (GR, Wb I 332, 19) = „la crue étale” (Meeks 1977, 85, n. 2; AL 77.0975) > (L/A<sub>2</sub>) **ΟΥΡΑΜ** (KHW 552) reflecting an old \*w<sub>3</sub>rām (NBÄ 44). Therefore, a direct lexicographical equation of (B) **MPOM** with (SB) **MPΩΜ** is highly doubtful regarding both the phonological (-O- vs. -Ω-) and the semantical differences. The latter aspect of the anomaly, in addition, is corroborated by the fact that (B) **ΠΙΜΡΟΜ** was identified by A. Kircher (1643, 134) with a certain Arabic ramrūm- „navis alta”, which W. Vycichl (DELC 120) mentioned as „*mot inconnu de mes informateurs*”.<sup>45</sup> On the (B) scala (168) of the Medical Faculty of the Montpellier University, in turn, **ΟΥΜΡΟΜ**

Biers, des Brotes)” (PT-, Wb I 185, 1; ÄWb I 270–271). The variation of ʿm3 (N) ~ ʿw3 (P) occurs in the very same PT 859b (AÄG 55, §124).

<sup>44</sup> E.g., cf. (S) **ΜΑΕΙΝ** „sign, mark” < Demotic mn „(divine) statue” < Egyptian mn.w „monument” (CED 83), (S) **ΠΑΤ** „knee” < MK p3d „1. la rotule, 2. puis le genou” (Meeks) < OK (Wb) p3d „Kugel, runder Kuchen” (EDE II 407 and 409, #2), (S) **ΖΟΟΥΤ** „1. to be putrid, 2. bad, wicked” < h̄w3 „to be(come) putrid” (CED 304), (S) **ΖΟΟΥΤ** „male (of men, gods), husband” < ʿh3.wtj „fighter” (CED 305), (S) **ΖΩΡΜ** „to make sign” < ʿrm „to twinkle, blink” (CED 319).

<sup>45</sup> Indeed, ramrūm- is not to be found in Lane, BK, Dozy, let alone Blachère, WKAS. There is but Arabic ʾrmmr „caréner, radouber, réparer la carène d’un bâtiment”, and hence ramram-at- „réparation (i.e., de la carène d’un bâtiment)” [Dozy I 557b], which are related and strikingly fitting, besides, the sense of CT wrm.wj. In her „exposé sur les isoglosses sud-arabiques” (to be presented at a conference on lexicology in the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, on the 4 April 2018, kindly submitted at my disposal in Jan. 2018), A.G. Belova assumes a family of South Arabian roots that may eventually be interrelated in the „*domain maritime*”:

(1) Arabic of Yemen rōm, pl. ruwām ~ rawmah, pl. ruwam “rowing pole (oar)” [Piamenta 1990–1991, 193], Hodayda dialect rōm ~ rawma “Stake, espèce d’une rame” [Belova]. “*Les auteurs arabes mettent sous la racine RWM des formes suivantes*” also (source not indicated): rūmiyya (pl. rawāmiyyu) “(qui est expliqué comme) poutrelle”, rowmīy “(qui est expliqué comme) voile du navire vide (?)” [Belova] < Classical Arabic rūmiyy- “voile (d’un navire)” [BK I 957] = “the sail of an empty ship” [Lane 1193c].

(2) MSA \*ramram “sea” [GT]: Harsusi r̄w̄r̄w̄ ~ r̄w̄r̄w̄, EJibbali rémr̄m̄, Höbyot (Oman) rawr̄m̄, Mehri r̄aw̄r̄m̄ ~ r̄aw̄r̄m̄, pl. r̄aw̄r̄m̄ etc. (MSA: Johnstone 1981, 214; 7), which may be akin to Late Egyptian rmmr (water determinative), in: šʿj m rmmr “Sand aus dem ... (Gewässers)” (GR Dendera 2x, Wb II 421, 8) = “une pièce d’eau” (Cauville 1997, 319), for which remarkable is also the isogloss of Late Egyptian rmmr.t “Art Ackerbezeichnung” (GR, WB II 421, 7) = “type of land or field (for growing crops)” (PL 583) ||| Sem.: Egyptian Arabic ramrūm “Nilschlamm” [Behnstedt-Woidich 1994, 171].

(3) Belova thinks to have found “*une trace possible du terme maritime archaïque dans le lexique arabe classique*”: ramaṭ- “navire, radeau en bois” [Belova pace BK I 921a] = “a raft, constructed of pieces of wood or timber put together and bound upon which one embarks on the sea or a great river” [Lane 1152c] = “bateau, radeau, Holzfloß, Boot” [Vycichl], which has again an exclusive Egyptian match, cf. rms “kind of boat” (ostr. DeM, Jones 1988, 29, #49) > Demotic rms “Art Schiff (neben d̄3j-Schiff genannt)”, hence: ρομσις and ρωψ (DG 247) = “Boot” (Vycichl) > (S) \***ΡΟΜΣ**, (L) **ΡΑΜΣ** “Schiff (?)” (KHW 165) = “bateau” (DELC). For the comparison cf. Farina 1924, 324; Vycichl 1953, 43; 1958, 378; 1990, 58; Röbller 1966, 227; DELC 175b. As noted by Belova, “ce terme est aussi tout à fait isolé dans la famille de derivations du RMT. *Mais ici il nous faut expliquer le 3-e radical T.*”

corresponds in Arabic, beside ramrūm-, also to rūmis- „radeau” (cf. also rāmūs- „bac”) [Dozy I 558] and ṭunn- „1. a bundle of reeds or canes or firewood, 2. the stature, the body (of a man or any animal)” [Lane 1883b] = „1. corps (de l’homme), 3. faisceau de roseaux ou de bois à brûler” [BK II 110b] = „fagot” [Dozy II 62] (cf. CD 183a). On the top of it, W. E. Crum (CD l.c.) conceived (B) **MPOM** as „probably” synonymous with (B) **σωλαπ** „faggot, used as raft”, which, in A. Kircher’s (l.c.) list of the ship’s appurtenances, is equated with Arabic ṭunnu ‘l-rūmisi, šadd-at- „espèce de navire de guerre”, cf. šadd-at- „ballot” [BK I 1204], and šarš- „poignée, botte” [BK II 110b] (CD 812b).<sup>46</sup> In the light of these parallels, M. Pezin (1988, 341) found it easy to render (B) **MPOM**, which, in his theory, might be eventually cognate to (SB) **MPOM** (examined below s.v. wrm): „Je proposerais ... de restituer comme origine égyptienne du copte **EMPOM** et du grec ἐμβρίμιον le mot \*mr (n) m3t, ‘faisceau de tiges’. Cette étymologie permettrait aussi d’expliquer la traduction «radeau» donnée à **MPOM** ...: il s’agit de bateaux constitués de faisceaux de tiges de papyrus ...” Although one can only agree with distinguishing (B) **MPOM** vs. (B) **MPOM**, \*mr (n) m3t can hardly be accepted as an underlying etymon, the expected Auslaut being \*-ME in either case. More appropriate appears a derivation of both from √wrm as two distinct, albeit ultimately related Coptic lexemes, viz. (S) \***OYPOM** vs. **OYPOM** < \*wǝrām vs. \*wǝrām, resp. (cf. NBÄ 44). Whether CT wrm.wj, attested from about two and a half millennia before (B) **MPOM**, can indeed be the right etymon, has to be subject to further careful lexicographical research.

• wrm.jt<sup>47</sup> „etwas Krankhaftes im Leibe, das ausgeharnt wird” (Med., Wb I 333, 7) = „maladie du ventre” (Jéquier 1921, 128, fn. 2) = „Schlacken, Schorfe, Abfallstoffe o.ä. (?) in der Abführung (es ist schwer, irgend eine Vermutungdarüber zu äußern, welcher Natur diese faecalen Bestandteile sein können)” (Ebbell 1938, 14: solely about Pap. Ebers 6: 10–16) = „swelling” (Albright 1927, 209) = „Geschwulst” (GÄSW 26–27, #19) = „calculs dans la vessie ou les reins” (Lefèbvre 1956, 145) = „eine Krankheitserscheinung wahrscheinlich nach ihrer äußeren Gestalt (vielleicht ist ist ein Knäuel der Eingeweide-Würmern gemeint beim ‘Ausscheiden’ von Gewürm)” (WMT 197–198) = „Schlacke (von schädlichen Stoffen)” (HAM 195, 453, 836) = „eine Krankheitserscheinung (im Harn)” (MK Med., ÄWb II 710b). It was combined with GR wrm „high point of inundation” etc. (PL, above), on the one hand, already by V. Loret (1889, 121) and W.F. Albright (1927, 209). In the view of others,<sup>48</sup> on the other hand, both wrmj.t and wrm.w (attested from the Medical texts) are also interrelated. Semantically, the shared common sense of these interrelated lexemes can only be \*, „elevation”.

• wrm „hochragende Figur” (GR, Wb I 333, 1) = „statue, image dressée” (KHW 100, AL 77.0977) = „statue, momie dressée” (Meeks 1977, 85, n. 2), which – in the view of

<sup>46</sup> Remarkable is (B) **σωλαπ** „projecting roof, veranda” (CD 812b), which is in a striking semantical parallelism with Egyptian wrm.t „Laube, Dach(bekrönung eines Gebäudes)” (PT, Wb, above).

<sup>47</sup> Its collective ending -jt < -wt is typical, a.o., in „noms de maladies et de médicaments” (Lacau 1970, 89, §78).

<sup>48</sup> B. Ebbell (1938, 14): „Möglicherweise kann sie [i.e., wrmj.t] mit wrm.w ... zusammenhängen”, and almost the same view was repeated by W. Westendorf (WMT 198) six decades later: „möglicherweise hängt wrmj.t mit wrm.w ... zusammen und bezeichnet ebenfalls eine wellige, faltige oder schrumpelige Oberfläche”.

W. Westendorf (KHW 100) – was reflected by Coptic (S) **ΟΥΡΩΜ**<sup>49</sup> ~ **ΟΥΛΩΜ** > (SB) **ΜΡΩΜ**, (B) **ΕΜΡΩΜ** (m) „pulvinar capiti suppositum, pulvillus ad sedendum” (Peyron 1835, 104) = „zweifellos Flechtwerk von Stroh: 1. Matte, Kissen, Polster, pulvillus (Zoëga), plumatium de scirpo: sedile de scirpo, quod in modum fascis erat ligatum (Pelagius), 2. dann schließlich auch: Strohmänn, Puppe” (Lemm 1897, 39–40) = „1. pillow, 2. dummy” (CD 183a) = „1. Kissen, Polster, 2. Stoffpuppe, Strohmänn” (KHW 100, 275) = „(vêtements mis sur un) mannequin” (DELC 120) = „siège bas, appui-tête” (Husson 1988, 335 discarding the sense „dummy”),<sup>50</sup> although both J. Osing (NBÄ) and J. Černý (CED 362) failed to explain it etymologically, while earlier I (EDE III 423) was still disposed to derive it from a different, albeit ultimately related pharaonic etymon, namely mrm (group writing) „heights” (Thotmes III, Hoch 1994, 138).<sup>51</sup> Probably O. von Lemm (1897, 40) was the first to establish **ΟΥΡΩΜ**<sup>52</sup> and to realize this and **ΜΡΩΜ** as the varieties of the same lexeme, although he figured their interrelationship in the reverse way: „*Sah. \*ΟΥΡΩΜ* verhält sich zu *boh. ΜΡΩΜ* wie *ΚΟΥΚΜ̄* zu *ΚΕΜΚΕΜ*”,<sup>53</sup> i.e., implying as if we had here a change of **ΟΥ** < **Μ** as M. Pezin (1988, 343) may have thought in the light of misleading etymology (Egyptian  $\sqrt{mr}$ ), but this is certainly not the case here the original **ΟΥ**- having suffered the rare shift into **Μ**- under the influence of another **Μ**- in the root, for which another sure instance is attested.<sup>54</sup> The Coptic term, more precisely, its third, albeit unattested (B) variety \*(**Ε**)**ΜΒΡΩΜ**<sup>55</sup> with a quite regular epenthetic **-B-** in between

<sup>49</sup> Note that (L) **ΟΥΡΑΜ** (Mani, Ps. 200:11) does not belong here as surmised by W. Westendorf (KHW 100, fn. 1 s.v. **ΜΡΩΜ** and 275, fn. 3 s.v. **ΟΥΡΩΜ**).

<sup>50</sup> „*Le ΜΡΩΜ qui se trouve dans la cellule d'Abba Antoine et sur lequel il place ses vêtements, tunique, scapulaire et cuculle pour servir de cible aux démons n'est pas, à mon avis, un «mannequin» (!), mais le siège bas/appui-tête qu'il avait sous la main dans son modeste logis. Le texte précise que, lorsque Antoine eut revêtu l'objet de ses vêtements, il le «mit debout», ce qui revient à dresser verticalement le ΜΡΩΜ dont la position normale est horizontale. En fait ce n'est pas un «mannequin», mais il sert de mannequin dans le récit copte, et il n'y a aucune raison de donner au mot un sens différent, sans autre exemple.*”

<sup>51</sup> A Canaanite borrowing. J. Hoch (1994, 137–9, §177) assumed a Neo-Egyptian \*marô/éma loan reflecting Ugaritic mrym „heights”, Hebrew mārôm „height”, Phoenician mrm „elevated”, etc. < Sem. \* $\sqrt{rwm}$  „to be high”, which, in turn, is ultimately akin to Eg. \* $\sqrt{wrm}$ . Nearly the same view has been expressed for me by S. Vittori (p.c., autumn 2017) searching the etymon of (B) **ΜΡΩΜ** directly in Jewish Aramaic mārōmā „uplifted”, mārāmam „uplifted, high” [Jastrow 1950, 839a and 844b], which, in his view, may have come to mean in Coptic lit. \*“(head-) lifter”, hence „headrest”.

<sup>52</sup> Originally, in fact, O. von Lemm (1897, 40) isolated a (S) form **ΡΩΜ** along with (B) **ΜΡΩΜ** „Puppe, Strohmänn” (Vita S. Antonii), but he was right reconstructing \***ΟΥΡΩΜ**, which „lässt sich durch Abfall des **ΟΥ** erklären, das als unbestimmter Artikel aufgefasset worden ist”.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. (SL) **ΚΜΚΜ**, (B) **ΚΕΜΚΕΜ** vs. (S) **ΚΟΥΚΜ**, (L) **ΚΟΥΚΟΥ**, (F) **ΚΟΥΚΕΜ** „1. (m) Handpauke, 2. als Verbum: (ein Musikinstrument) spielen bzw. Schlagen, pauken, gurren (von Tauben)” < old qmqm (KHW 64).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. (B) **ΟΥΛΑΜΕ†** ~/> **ΜΑΜΕ†** (f) „Wundfraß, Wundbrand, Krebsgeschwür” ≈ (S) **ΟΥΛΑΜΟΜΕ** „Lehmfresser”, common as to their 1st component < old wnm „to eat” (KHW 272 and fn. 1).

<sup>55</sup> Whose existence has already been surmised by O. von Lemm (1897, 39) concluding that „neben **ΜΡΩΜ** sehr gut noch eine Form \***ΜΒΡΩΜ** bestanden haben kann, wenn eine solche auch bisher nicht zu belegen ist”, although he did not precisely recognize the Coptic phonological rule behind this (only approximately: „Die Ableitung des griech. ἐμβρίμιον von **ΜΡΩΜ** gewinnt Wahrscheinlichkeit noch dadurch, dass im Koptischen zwischen **Μ** und **Ρ** häufig



most detailed description of this object. The derivation of the Coptic and Greek terms in the senses listed above ultimately from Egyptian \* $\sqrt{\text{wrm}}$  „to rise (or sim.)” has semantical parallels from other languages.<sup>59</sup> The etymology of the Greek term had been obscure for a long time.<sup>60</sup> Its foreign origin had obscurely been surmised already well before the 20th century,<sup>61</sup> and its derivation from Coptic (B) **MPΩM** has been reaffirmed over the past two centuries by a few authors,<sup>62</sup> although alternative etymologies (Greek vs. Egyptian and Arabic ones) have also been proposed by Casaubonus,<sup>63</sup> D. Magri (1659, 210b–211a),<sup>64</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Egyptian  $\text{bd}3$  „Polster (aus Leinen zum Verbinden)” (Med., Wb I 488, 13) = „stiff (linen) rolls” (Lambdin 1953, 148) = „stiff roll of linen” (FD 86) = „tampon de tissu” (AL 77.1348) = „Polster, Kissen”,  $\text{bd}3.w$  n  $\text{hbs.w}$  „Stoffpolster (dient als Schiene bei Brücken)” (GHWb 267) || Sem. \* $\sqrt{\text{bgr}}$  „to grow up (?)” [GT]: Medieval Hebrew  $\sqrt{\text{bgr}}$  „to become of age (at twelve years and a half”, beger „age of majority (of females)” [Jastrow 1950, 137–138] || Geez bagara „to grow, become physically developed” [Leslau 1987, 89] || WCh.: Mangas bagóra, Kir pəgóre „big” (South Bauchi: Cospser 1994, 42) | Bade əvgar „lang” [Lukas 1974–5, 101] || ECh.: Bidiya begèr „dépasser, surpasser” [Alío & Jungrathmayr 1989, 58], West Dangla bègèr & East Dangla bègìrè ~ bègrè „dépasser, être supérieur (en nombre et en taille ou en qualité), commander, dominer, présider, diriger” [Djibrine & Montgolfier 1973, 41] = bègìrè „übertreffen” [Ebobisse 1979, 139; 1987, 96], Mokilko búgràn „large” [Jungrathmayr 1990, 69] < AA \* $\sqrt{\text{bgr}}$  „to grow high” [GT]. Or cf. Indo-European \* $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{ereǵ}^{\text{h}}$ - „hoch, erhaben” [IEW 140] → Avestan  $\text{barəzīš}$ - stuffed seat, cushion” vs.  $\text{barəz-}$  ~  $\text{barəz-}$  „high, exalted, loud (sound)” [Reichert 1911, 243]. For further details see EDE II 369.

<sup>60</sup> Thus, ἐμβρίμιον is not cited in Boisacq 1916, Hofmann 1950, Frisk 1954–1972, and Beekes 2010. The Latin lexeme *embrimium* does not appear in Valpy 1828, Walde 1910, Walde & Hofmann 1938, Vaan 2008. It appears solely in Ernout & Meillet 1959, 194b as „*bas latin*”, without an etymology. Neither of the two lexemes is cited in Pokorny 1959 and 2007.

<sup>61</sup> E.g., by J.-B. Cotelier (1677 I, 806 ad p. 422), who only suspected it to be a „*vox obscuræ originis, orientalis fortè*”, but he did not exclude its Greek derivation either: „*Si est Græca est, quemadmodum videtur, deduci potest ab ἐμβρίθω & ἐμβρώω plenus sum. Erant quippe embrimia seu embrymia fasciculi colligati, variis virgultis pleni.*” For V.A. Peyron (1835, 104, s.v. **MPΩM**), in turn, it was already clear that the Greek term „*nihil est, nisi coptica vox corrupta, et saepe occurrit in vitis monachorum Ægypti ad designandos Pulvillos, seu Mattas scirpo aut papyro contextus, quibus ascetae ad sedendum, sive ad somnum capiendum utebantur.*”. A. Bsciai (1886, 101) too, was speaking about a „*graeco-coptica vox* Ἐμβρίμιον, *quasi corrupta a pr. MPΩM*”. Cf. also Lemm 1897, 39, and fnn. 3–5.

<sup>62</sup> Already I. Rossi (1808, 344a–b) had arrived at this conclusion about ἐμβρίμιον: „*Non id e graeca lingua (...), sed ex aegyptia deflexum: nempe ab emrom sive embrom pulvinus. Itaque pro emrom in Copticis, embrimium legimus in graecis.*”. For V.A. Peyron (1835, 104, s.v. **MPΩM**) too, it was clear that the Greek term „*nihil est, nisi coptica vox corrupta, et saepe occurrit in vitis monachorum Ægypti ad designandos Pulvillos, seu Mattas scirpo aut papyro contextus, quibus ascetae ad sedendum, sive ad somnum capiendum utebantur.*”. A. Bsciai (1886, 101), in turn, was already speaking about a „*graeco-coptica vox* Ἐμβρίμιον, *quasi corrupta a pr. MPΩM*”. Cf. also Lemm 1897, 39 and fnn. 4–5. In F. Daumas’ view, with Latin *embrimium*, Cassianus (c. 360–435 AD) „*a emprunté un mot égyptien qui se trouve en copte sous la forme enrôm*” (Daumas & Miquel 1963, 131). A. Guillaumont (1977, 191 and 1979, 155): „... *embrimia*, ce qui n’est autre que le mot copte *emrôm*”. Cf. also Tovar 2004, 169, fn. 27.

<sup>63</sup> Quoted by J.-B. Cotelier (1677 I, 806 ad p. 422): „*Derivat Casaubonus ex Græco βρίζεω. Alij ex Celtica lingua vel Germanica: minus probabiliter.*” Ch. Du Cange (1678 III, 254a) and Rossi (1808, 344a–b) refuted Casaubon’s hypothesis on a derivation from βρίζεω „dormitare”.

<sup>64</sup> „*Forse si deriva dal greco ἐμβρέμω, che significa render strepito, perché questi gionchi secchi sottoposti al capo sogliono strepitare. Altri meglio riconoscono la sua etimologia dal verbo βρίζεω, che significa sonnacchiare, cioè dormire interrottamente, come facevano quei santi monaci per la durezza, & incommodo, di quei gionchi.*”

G. Husson (1988, 339–340)<sup>65</sup> vs. M. Pezin (1988, 341),<sup>66</sup> and S. Vittori (p.c., autumn 2017),<sup>67</sup> resp.

All this leads us to an Egyptian common verbal root (\*) $\sqrt{\text{wr}}\text{m}$  (of disputed textual attestation) carrying the original signification of being elevated and outstanding, which has already been identified by J. Osing (NBÄ 44, 508, n. 228) with  $\text{wr}\text{m}$  (in PT 524c)<sup>68</sup> rendered as „eine Tätigkeit, die mit (m) den Zehen ausgeübt wird $\sqrt{\text{}}$ ” (PT, Wb I 332, 18) = „sich losmachen von (m) oder sich wiederaufrichten (von der niedergetretenen Blume)” (ÜKAPT II 407) = „to spring up (again)” (AEPT 103) = „1. sich aufrichten, hochsteigen (von einer niedergetretenen Pflanze, die sich wieder aufrichtet),

<sup>65</sup> Leaving the question of its native or Oriental source open, G. Husson (1988, 339) hypothetically assumed „un radical verbal  $\beta\text{r}\text{-}$  normalement préfixé, ici en  $\epsilon\text{m-}$ , un suffixe  $-\mu$  et une finale  $-\text{io}\text{v}$ , qui sert à caractériser l'objet ... Le radical  $\beta\text{r}\text{-}$  donne un sens plausible: on le trouve ... dans  $\beta\text{r}\text{io}\theta\zeta$ , «pesant», l'embrimion étant alors ce sur quoi l'on pèse, ce sur quoi l'on s'appuie”. At the same time, G. Husson (1988, 340) self-critically listed herself also the obstacles of her theory: (1) „les mots grecs calqués sur l'égyptien sont très rares et souvent terminés en  $-\text{t}\zeta$ ”; (2) „lorsque le copte emprunte un mot grec, il le transcrit souvent à peu près tel quel”; (3) „les attestations les plus anciennes aient toutes la graphie  $-\text{v}$ ”; (4) „Dans le grec d'Égypte, les mots formés sur le radical  $\beta\text{r}\text{-}$  sont très rares. ... La dérivation de  $\epsilon\text{m}\beta\text{r}\text{io}\mu\text{io}\text{v}$  à partir d'un radical  $\beta\text{r}\text{-}$  serait alors une création savante, donnant naissance à un néologisme dont la majorité des usagers ne saisissait pas la signification première.” S. Vittori (p.c., autumn 2017) was pondering also that „Se la parola è greca, essa è composta dal preverbio  $\epsilon\text{v-}$  e dal lemma  $-\beta\text{r}\text{io}\text{-}$ , „ruggire”, „muggire”, „brontolare (per ira)” ..., seguito dal morfo diminutivo  $-\text{io}\text{v}$ . Altri derivati:  $\epsilon\text{m}\beta\text{r}\text{io}\mu\text{io}\mu\text{a}$ , „fremere, sbuffare, essere turbato, agitato, rimproverare duramente, infuriarsi con”,  $\epsilon\text{m}\beta\text{r}\text{io}\mu\text{a}$ ,  $\epsilon\text{m}\beta\text{r}\text{io}\mu\text{e}\text{t}\text{e}\text{t}$ , „furore, fremito” ... la corrispondenza semantica è debole, a meno che non si voglia intendere  $\epsilon\text{m}\beta\text{r}\text{io}\mu\text{io}\mu\text{a}$  come \* $\text{russare}$ ” (?), sicché  $\epsilon\text{m}\beta\text{r}\text{io}\mu\text{io}\text{v}$  = „dove si russa”. Per me, non convincente.”

<sup>66</sup> Surprisingly, M. Pezin (1988, 341) was pretending as if no Egyptian etymology had been offered by that time: „On est cependant surpris de ne reconnaître aucun terme égyptien qui aurait pu donner, au cours de son évolution, le copte  $\epsilon\text{m}\beta\text{r}\text{io}\mu\text{io}\text{v}$  et le grec  $\epsilon\text{m}\beta\text{r}\text{io}\mu\text{io}\text{v}$ , aux consonances si voisines.” Identifying (B)  $\text{m}\beta\text{r}\text{io}\text{-}$  with (S)  $\text{m}\lambda(\alpha)\beta$ ,  $\text{m}\beta\text{r}$ ,  $\text{m}\epsilon\beta$  (m) or (S)  $\text{m}\beta\text{r}\epsilon$ ,  $\text{m}\epsilon\beta\epsilon$ ,  $\text{m}\lambda(\epsilon)\beta\epsilon$ ,  $\text{m}\lambda\lambda\beta\epsilon$  (f) < Egyptian  $\text{mr.w}$  or  $\text{mr.t}$ , resp., both meaning „Bündel” (KHW 99) = „botte, poignée, gerbe, faisceau, ballot, selon la nature de la matière liée” (Pezin), he (o.c., p. 343) explained (B)  $\text{m}\beta\text{r}\text{io}\mu\text{io}\text{v}$  from an unattested compound \* $\text{mr n m3.wt}$  „faisceau de tiges” ignoring certain morphological rules in Coptic, viz.  $-\omega\text{-}$  (carrying the tone) is not at all typical in the 1st member (usually reduced to a constructus state) of such constructions, which used to have the tone on the 2nd part, let alone that  $\text{m3.wt}$  could hardly have been reflected purely as \* $-\text{m}$  with no reflection of any of its syllables, for which cf., e.g., (B)  $\text{m}\text{oy}\epsilon$ ,  $\text{m}\omega\text{oy}\text{y}\text{i}$  „Glanz” <  $\text{m3.wt}$  or (SL)  $\text{m}\text{oy}\epsilon$ , (S)  $\text{m}\text{oy}\epsilon\text{i}$ ,  $\text{m}\text{oy}\text{y}\epsilon$ ,  $\text{m}\text{oy}$ , (B)  $\text{m}\text{oy}\text{y}\text{i}$  „Insel, Neuland” <  $\text{m3.wt}$  (KHW 87). Even his daring allegation of its sg.  $\text{m3.t}$  is ill-founded (Pezin 1988, 343): „Tout comme  $\text{M3}^{\text{t}}$ , il devait se prononcer  $\text{m}\epsilon$ ”, which is in fact not attested and our Coptic term should have sounded (S) \* $\text{oy}\beta\text{r}\omega\text{m}\epsilon$  and (B) \* $\epsilon\text{m}\beta\text{r}\omega\text{m}\epsilon$  as it is clearly demonstrated by (S)  $\text{m}\beta\text{r}\omega\text{z}\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\text{m}\beta\text{r}\omega\text{z}\epsilon$  (not B as Pezin mislabelled) „ein Gefäß” <  $\text{mr}\beta\text{.t}$  (KHW 101) Pezin himself adduced as an evidence for Egyptian  $\text{mr-}$  > (B)  $\text{m}\beta\text{r}\omega\text{-}$ .

<sup>67</sup> He did not exclude an ancient Arabic etymon: „... se il copto  $\text{mro}(\text{:})\text{m}$  e il greco  $\epsilon\text{m}\beta\text{r}\text{io}\mu\text{io}\text{v}$  sono correlati, allora la vocale /i/ nella parola greca non è chiara, a meno che non si debba confrontare il termine con ar.  $\text{ramru:m}$ , „bundle, raft” ...: in tal caso,  $\epsilon\text{m}\beta\text{r}\text{io}\mu\text{io}\text{v}$  < \* $\epsilon\text{m}\beta\text{r}\text{io}\mu\text{io}\text{v}$  < \*( $\text{r(a)}$ ) $\text{mry:m}+\text{ion}$ , con passaggio /y/ > /i/ attestato a partire dal III sec. d. C. (cf. M. Guarducci 1995, Epigrafia Greca, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato). Forse questo è il parallelo più convincente, compatibile con il cotesto dello pseudo-Macario ...”

<sup>68</sup> PT 524b-c was rendered by K. Sethe (ÜKAPT II 396) as „du bist jene seine  $\text{m}^{\text{c}}$ -Pflanze, die sein Fuß niedertritt (?), die sich nicht aufrichten (?) kann von seinen Zehen”, whereas by R. O. Faulkner (AEPT l.c.) as follows: „for you are that  $\text{m}^{\text{c}}$ -plant of mine which my foot [treads down (?)], which cannot spring up again (?) at my toes”.

2. \*anschwellen” (NBÄ l.c.) = „être droit, se dresser” (Meeks l.c.), which is perhaps a hapax for the time being.<sup>69</sup>

We are dealing here with a biconsonantal Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic) root \*√*wrm* „high” widespread in the kindred, whence the following triconsonantal varieties had derived by the addition of diverse root extensions possibly still in the Common Afro-Asiatic parental language:<sup>70</sup>

• Afro-Asiatic \*√*wrm* > Sem. \*√*wrm* „1. to rise, 2. swell” [Takács]: (?) Akkadian: no certain reflex<sup>71</sup> || Syriac ʔawrēm „élever, exalter” [DRS pace Brockelmann 1928, 309] = ʔawrem „fare alto, esaltare” [Conti], Mandaic iurama „highland (of wind), high, boisterous” [Drover & Macuch 1963, 191] = ʔiwrama „haute terre” [DRS]<sup>72</sup> | Ar. warima I „1. être enflé (se dit de la peau, d’un membre, d’une plaie), 2. être grand, avoir une belle croissance et s’élever au-dessus du sol (se dit d’une plante)”, waram- „tumeur, enflure”, muwarram- „1. enflé, 2. gros, corpulent (homme)” [BK I 1525] = warima „essere alto, crescere” [Conti] = warima „geschwollen sein, anschwellen”, II „schwellen lassen, Geschwulst verursachen, aufblähen” [Wehr 1952, 944] || (?) Soqotri ʔəyrəm „emporter” [Leslau 1938, 149]<sup>73</sup> || Tigrinya wāram „ballon” [DRS], Amharic wārāmo „boeuf châtré et engraisé” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 630) || SBrb.: perhaps Ayr tā-wrem-t, pl. tyə-wrem-en „bande de suspension de bouclier (bande de coton/cuir en haut du bouclier, pour le suspendre à la selle)”, Ayr and ETawllemmet tā-wrem-t, pl. tā-wrem-en „sorte d’ornement du bouclier (placé près du centre du bord supérieur)” [Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed 2003, 833] || WCh.: Angas-Sura \*waraŋ > \*wuraŋ (\*-a- > \*-u- influenced by \*w-, \*-ŋ < \*-m regular) “1. big, 2. fat” [Takács 2004, 401]: Angas wuring “large”, go-wuring “great” [Ormsby 1914, 209, 313] = warn (sic: -n) “big, large” [Foulkes 1915, 301] = wārāŋ ~ wārāŋ “big, great” [Jungrauthmayr 1962 MS, 43] = wārŋ [wārŋ] “big, bigness” [Burquest 1971, 10, 49] = warŋ “to grow”, warŋ (sg.) “large”, go warŋ “important person” (cf. go “person”) [ALC 1978, 20, 67] = waran (sic: -n) “fatness” [Kraft] = warang ~ warnŋ “1. big, large, 2. to be big, grow big” [Gochal 1994, app., 41, 61], Sura wūrāŋ “groß

<sup>69</sup> R. Hannig rendered the PT 524 occurrence as „\*winden (mit Zehen)” (ÄWb I 364a), since another verb *wrm* occurs in PT 2037a, although apparently with a quite different sense: „to grasp (?)” (AEPT 292) = „\*winden” (ÄWb I 364a). The context (pace R. O. Faulkner, AEPT l.c.) is: „Horus grasps (?) Nūt by the top-knot”. At the moment, it seems highly uncertain if One wonders if it has any connection with *wrm.j.t* „Tasche für einen Rasierapparat” (JEA 63, 1977, 109f; WD I 55) = „\*ein Halter, Behälter, Etui (für Rasiergeräte)” (XII, ÄWb II 710), although G. Jéquier (1921, 128) had doubts about it „comme nom ... de l’étui”, because „quant à celui d’ourmit ..., aucun indice ne nous permet d’en entrevoir la signification”. He was also convinced about all other terms deriving from √*wrm* (above), „avec lesquels ce mot ne peut avoir aucun rapport” (l.c., fn. 2). In this context, noteworthy is NBrb.: Qabyle √*wrm* „1. pincer en tournant, 2. arracher en pinçant, 3. reprendre vivement” [Dallet 1982, 874a].

<sup>70</sup> The Semitic root varieties were collected by A. Zaborski (1971, 84, #202), who reconstructed an ultimate biconsonantal Semitic \*√*wrm* „to be tall, get up” (with further literature). Cf. also Hurwitz 1913, 80.

<sup>71</sup> Whether Akkadian *erim(m)u* „Beule, Aussatz” [Torczyner 1912, 769] = „ein Hautmal” [AHW 241] = „mole, mark” [CAD e 294–295] can be akin to Arabic √*wrm* as suggested by H. Torczyner (l.c.) is highly doubtful both semantically and regarding its *Anlaut* *e*- better explainable from a Semitic \*\*√*wrm* or \*\*√*c/h/ǧrm*.

<sup>72</sup> The underlying root is debated. DM l.c.: √*wrm* or √*wrm*? DRS l.c.: listed under √*wrm*.

<sup>73</sup> Primarily “to lift up”? Combined by W. Leslau (l.c.) with Arabic ʔarama „dévorer tout ce qui se trouve dans la table”.



(hoch)” [Jungrauthmayr 1963, 87] = wuraj “long” [Kraft], Mupun wūrāṅ “to grow” [Frajzyngier 1991, 65], (?) Kofyar woèyún (so: -y-, -n) [wəyún, irregular -y- < \*-r- and -n < \*-ŋ] “large” [Netting 1967, 42], (?) Montol weng [\*wēŋ < \*wayaŋ/\*werŋ with \*-y- < \*-r-?] “to grow” [Fitzpatrick 1911, 216] = wéεŋ “Fett” [Jungrauthmayr 1965, 172] || CCCh.: (?) Musgoy urúm „Berg” [Strümpell 1910, 462].

• Afro-Asiatic \*√rwm [Takács] > Hebrew √rwm qal „sich erheben, erhaben sein, hoch werden oder sein (im räumlichen Sinne), sich überlegen zeigen”, rōm ~ rūm ~ rum „Höhe”, rōmā(h) „1. Erhebung, 2. (adv. stolz”, rāmā(h) „Anhöhe (als Kultusort)”, \*rāmūt „etwa: hoher Haufe v. Leichnamen” [GB 750, 761–762] = √rwm qal „1. to be high, above, reach high, 2. be exalted, 3. rise, go up, 4. exempt oneself, be arrogant, haughty with”, rāmā(h) „1. eminence, 2. high place, where women gave themselves over to cultic prostitution according to foreign practice)” [KB 1203, 1240] = rāmā „Höhe, erhöhter Ort” [Lang], Post-Biblical Aramaic √rwm „hoch sein, werden, sich erheben”, rōm ~ rōmā „Höhe, Anhöhe” [Levy 1924 III 433–434], Syriac √rwm „altus fuit”, rāmā „1. altus, 2. superbus, 4. rivulus”, rāmā „collis”, rawmā „1. altitudo, 2. collis, 3. coelum, 4. fastus, superbia, 5. turgor, 7. exaltatio”, rəyāmā „1. altitudo, 2. exaltatio, 3. sublatio, 4. erectio (crucis)” [Brockelmann 1928, 720], Mandaic √rum „to be high”, rama „high, haughty” [Drower & Macuch 1963, 430a, 421a] | Arabic (Oman, Zanzibar) √rwm „pouvoir (en fait: être à la hauteur de)” < \* „être haut” [Landberg GD 1607] || SCu. \*rūm- [Ehret] > Dahalo rūmate „long, tall” [Ehret 1980, 222].<sup>74</sup>

• Afro-Asiatic \*√rym [Takács] > Sem. \*√rym „essere alto” [Conti] = „to be high” [Takács], attested in Ugaritic rm „hoch, oben sein”, rm „hoch, erhaben”, mrym „die Höhen” [WUS #2514] = mrym „height, top, summit (of a mountain)”, mrm „1. height, 2. excellency” [DUL 576, 579], Punic mrm „height or elevated part, story, floor” [DNWSI 694] || OSA: Sabaic rym „erhöhen”, mrym „höchster Teil” [GB] = rym „(?) to be over, overlook, (?) heighten a wall”, rym-m „(in) height, upwards”, rm-t „upper end of cistern”, mrym „(?) roof-terrace” [SD 120] = rym „essere alto, altezza” [Conti] = rymm „1. (adj.) high, 2. (subst.) foundation (in the sense of podium or platform” [KB], Arabic rym II „3. être superflu, redondant, être en surplus” raym- „1. surplus, surcroît, addition, supplément, p.ex., ce qu’on ajoute au haut du dos d’une bête de somme, par-dessus la charge partagée en deux sacs ou paquets pendants de chaque côté, 4. colline, tertre, 5. (also rīm-) tombeau, sépulcre, 8. degré, marche (d’un escalier)” [BK I 964–965] = rayyama „to exceed”, raym- „superiority, surplus” [Leslau], North Yemenite Arabic raym-in (dialect of Ġurāz) and rēm (dialect of im-Maṭṭah) „Dach” [Behnstedt 1987, 260] || Jibbali (Shahri) √rmm (sic): rimm „long, haut” [Leslau] = √rym > rihm „tall, long” [Johnstone 1981, 219], Soqotri rym „être long”, ríhom „long, profond”, rímoh „longueur” [Leslau 1938, 399] = √rym „essere lungo” [Conti] = ríyom „to be long”, ríhom „tall, long”, rímoh „length” [Johnstone] || Geez rayama „to be high, long, raised” [Leslau] > ?aryām

<sup>74</sup> Ch. Ehret (l.c.) equated this word with SCu.: Iraqw dim- „to grow old”, which can hardly fit both semantically and phonologically, cf. NWRift \*dīm- „to grow old” [Kießling & Mous 2004, 194] with an original \*d- with no rhotacism.

„an exalted place, heaven” [KB] = *rāmā* „regno dei cieli” [Conti], Tigre *rēma* „be wide, far, long” [Littmann & Höfner 1956, 161a] = *rēma* „essere ampio, lungo” [Conti] (Sem.: Zaborski 1971, #202; Conti 1976, 265–266, fn. 5; Leslau 1938, 399; 1987, 478; KB 1202) ||| WCh.: perhaps Hausa *ríimíí* „2. (b) to stand on hind legs, (c) rise to one’s feet in one’s anger, (d) stand on the hands” [Bargery 1934, 857] = „1. to rise to one’s feet in anger or excitement, 2. stand on one’s hands, 3. rear up (horse)” [Abraham 1962, 736].

• Afro-Asiatic \* $\sqrt{r}m$  [Takács] > Sem. \* $\sqrt{r}m$ : Hebrew  $\sqrt{r}m$  „altus fuit” [Loret 1889, 121, fn. 4, not in GB and KB] vs. Hebrew  $\sqrt{r}m$  (metathesis?) *qal* „to tower” [KB 1163]<sup>75</sup> | Arabic  $\sqrt{r}m$  ~  $\sqrt{ar}m$  „1. grosse pierre, borne destinée à indiquer le chemin dans le désert, 2. sommet de la tête, 3. crêtes ou pics des montagnes”, pl.  $\sqrt{ur}m$  „2. pierres sépulcrales des Adites (Arabes de la tribu de  $\sqrt{ad}$ ), 3. hauteur, pics, sommets”,  $\sqrt{ur(r)}m$  „2. extrémités des doigts, 3. cailloux” [BK I 26] =  $\sqrt{ar}m$  ~  $\sqrt{ar}m$  „pierre dressée au bord d’une piste, repère” [DRS 33] ||| ECu.: Tsamay  $\sqrt{orma}$  „long” [Ehret]<sup>76</sup> ||| ECh. \* $\sqrt{arm}$  „1. to rise (early), 2. surpass” [GT]: Migama  $\sqrt{arm}$  „se lever dès l’aube” [Jungrauthmayr & Adams 1992, 66], Bidiya  $\sqrt{ar}m$ , pl.  $\sqrt{ar}m$  „mater, venir à bout de ses ennemis” [Alio & Jungrauthmayr 1989, 54] | Mubi  $\sqrt{ar}m$  „se lever de bonne heure” [Jungrauthmayr 1990 MS, 3], cf. also Mubi  $\sqrt{ir}m$  „morgen” [Lukas 1937, 182].

• Semitic: perhaps Arabian \* $\sqrt{rmy}$  „to exceed” [GT] > OSA: Sabaic  $\sqrt{rmy}$  „to exceed, lie beyond” [Biella 1982, 489] = „(?) to run towards, aller ~ tendre vers (limite)” [SD 117], Arabic  $\sqrt{rmy}$  IV „to exceed (another thing, in age)”, VI „to become drawn or joined together and heaped or piled up (the clouds)” [Lane 1162c] = IV „5. dépasser, excéder (un chiffre)”, *rimāʔ* „accroissement”, *mirmā-t* „excroissance entre les deux parties du pied fendu” [BK I 930–931] = VI „to be vast, extend into the distance” [Boneschi 1959, 30, fn. 4]. Whether the Arabian forms are eventually to be derived from Semitic \* $\sqrt{rmy}$  „to throw, shoot” [GT] and are thus irrelevant here, has to be researched further.

• Afro-Asiatic \* $\sqrt{r}m$  [Takács], i.e., the original biconsonantal root has been apparently retained unextended in Sem.: Hebrew  $\sqrt{rmm}$ <sup>77</sup> *qal* „emporkommen”, *nifal* „sich erheben” [GB 762] = *qal* „to exalt oneself”, *nifal* „1. to exalt oneself, 2. lift oneself out of, get away from” [KB 1244–1245] ||| LECu.: probably no reflex<sup>78</sup> ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura \* $\sqrt{r}m$  > (?) \* $\sqrt{r}m$  „elevation” [Takács 2004, 305]: perhaps Mushere *tirim* [tərəm?] (prefix *ti-/tə-?*) “heap”, *tirim yokom mop kun* “there are three heaps of the firewood” [Diyakal 1997 MS, 226], Goemay *roeng-get* “an elevation of any size” (cf. perhaps get “to deviate”), *doeng-roeng* “an elevation, an elevated place” [Sirlinger 1937, 39, 192] |

<sup>75</sup> Regarded with doubts in GB 736 as the „*angebliche N[eben]form*”. zu  $\sqrt{r}m$ , while in KB 1163, mentioned either as an Aramaic back-formation in Hebrew or as a dialectal variety of  $\sqrt{r}m$  with  $\sqrt{r}$ .

<sup>76</sup> Ch. Ehret (1987, 86, #368) equated it directly with SCu. \* $\sqrt{r}m$  „to grow” (only attested in Dahalo) and segmented the underlying PCu. \* $\sqrt{r}m$  as biconsonantal \* $\sqrt{r}w$  (present, in his view, in Bedawye *rew* „to ascend, mount” and Awngi *ṣu* „to stand up”) + root extension \* $\sqrt{m}$  (unexplained).

<sup>77</sup> Although it is considered merely a secondary by-form of Hebrew  $\sqrt{r}m$  (KB l.c.).

<sup>78</sup> Saho  $\sqrt{ramay}$  > *armiyó* „Beule, Geschwür” [Reinisch 1890, 305] is out of the question as it comes eventually from Geez  $\sqrt{ramaya}$  „(make) scar(red)” < *ramaya* „to throw, pierce, strike by throwing, strike with a spear” [Leslau 1987, 472].

(?) Daffo-Butura řam „Berg”<sup>79</sup> [Jungrauthmayr 1970, 220] | Ngizim rəmáu „1. to outstrip, surpass, 2. precede, go ahead, 3. be greater than, stronger than” > màarəm „big, large” [Schuh 1981, 111, 134].

The derivatives of the Egyptian verbal root (\*)√wrm examined above have already been affiliated with some of these Semitic forms over the past century.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, some authors have recently surmised also the relationship of the sporadic African cognates to Semitic \*√rym.<sup>81</sup> The Muscovite members of the Diakonoff team were inclined to keep Eg. wrm.wt „1. (originally) awnings (PT 2100), 2. roofings (Urk. IV 389: 11, 506: 17)” (FD 64) etymologically distinct from the root family described above by equating it either with the reflexes of WCh.: Ron \*mawar- „roof” [GT]<sup>82</sup> (via metathesis) or with WCh.: Tangale wurme „to cover, thatch (plate, house, barn, pot)” [Jungrauthmayr 1991, 164],<sup>83</sup> which seems to fail either way,<sup>84</sup> and so the derivation from Egyptian (\*)√wrm „be high” has to remain in place.

Having surveyed all possible phonological and etymological aspects of the problem, I venture assuming that Herodot’s πῦραμίς may reflect a Late Egyptian \*p-u/ūrám (or sim.), possibly a Delta zone variety represented by the zero-grade of \*\*p̄3-w̄rám, where the

<sup>79</sup> Primary meaning uncertain, since it can also denote „Land, Gebiet, Ort”.

<sup>80</sup> The kinship of (B) **MPOM** „Kissen” and Sem. \*√wrm ~ \*√rym and Arabic √wrm was suggested as early as GB 750. Basically, V. Loret (1889, 121, fn. 4), W. F. Albright (1927, 209), A. Ember (1930 ESS, 13, §3.b.29 and p. 39, §6.a.15), and F. von Calice (1936 GÄSW 26–27, #19) have established the equation of this extensive Semito-Egyptian root attaching a great deal of derivatives of Egyptian √wrm (viz. wrm „inundation”, wrm.t „roofing”, wrmj.t „swelling”) to some of the Semitic reflexes (Albright and Ember to Hebrew √wrm, Arabic warima „to be swollen, grow” > waram- „tumor”, rāma „stretch”, whereas Loret and von Calice merely to Hebrew ʾrm and Arabic √wrm). V. Loret (l.c.) and W. F. Albright (l.c.), in addition, extended this comparison also to Coptic (S) **ωλμ** „elevare” (Loret) = „swell, rise” (Albright), which is out of the question, since, firstly, Egyptian \*-l agrees not to much with Semitic \*-r-, secondly, (SL) **ωλμ** etc. has been rendered quite differently: „1. umfassen, umarmen, umwinden, 2. flechten, falten” (KHW 291) = „1. entouner, embrasser, 2. tresser” (DELIC 249), which, thirdly, derives in fact from Pharaonic ʿnb „etwas umschlossen halten in der Krallen” (Wb I 192, 3–4). A. Ember (1930 ESS 13, §3.b.29; 38, §6.a.15), in turn, linked here even Eg. mr „pyramid” as cognate via metathesis, but its etymology may probably lead us elsewhere (cf. EDE III 367–369). G. Conti (1976, 265–266, fn. 5) combined solely Eg. wrm.t „tetto” with Sem. \*√wrm ~ \*√rym and Syriac-Arabic √wrm. Ignoring all the preceding etymological literature, J. Osing (NBÄ 44, 508, n. 228) boldly claimed Eg. √wrm to be „sicher unverwandt” with Arabic wrm, although, semantically, Sem. \*√wrm looks to fit better, let alone the regular correspondence of Eg. √wC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> roots to Sem. \*√C<sub>1</sub>wC<sub>2</sub> according to the Law of Belova (EDE I 393–399).

<sup>81</sup> For the biconsonantal etymology of common Afro-Asiatic \*√rm „high (or sim.)” [GT], cf. Rabin 1982, 27, §23 (Daffo-Sem.); HSED #2120 (Sem.-Hausa). Most recently, O.V. Stolbova separated the Chadic and Semitic reflexes of this root for some reason into two groups. On the one hand, she (CLD I 212, #902) equated PCh. \*rVm- „to rise, jump” (> Hausa √rym Migama √ʾrm) with Sabaic √rym and Hebrew √rʾm, whereas she (CLD I 212, #904a) isolated PCh. \*rVm- „to surpass” (Ngizim √rm and Bidiya √ʾrm) and connected separately to OSA-Arabic √rmy.

<sup>82</sup> Daffo-Butura mawár and Sha mawár „Dach” [Jungrauthmayr 1970, 218, 287], cf. Militarev, Orel, Stolbova 1989, 154. For this Egypto-Ron comparison see Orel & Stolbova 1992, 191.

<sup>83</sup> Misquoted by O.V. Stolbova as wurum (sic). For the Egypto-Tangale etymology see Orel & Stolbova 1989, 133; Militarev, Orel, Stolbova 1989, 158; HSED #2550. Uncertain, since Tangale w- < \*s- is equally plausible.

<sup>84</sup> The Ron parallel with metathesis is unlikely also because the ultimate verbal root in Ron is obscure. The second etymology is uncertain, since Tangale w- < \*s- is equally plausible.

definite article was attached to a masc. word (presumably not fortuitously) coinciding in form with Coptic (L/A<sub>2</sub>) ΟΥΡΑΜ < Ptolemaic \*w<sup>h</sup>rām „high point of inundation, the highest point of the flood” (Wilson), whose presumable metaphoric sense \*, „peak (of a gigantic mass)”, albeit it is so far unattested in the contemporary hieroglyphic sources, evidently stems from Egyptian \*√wrm „to be elevated, outstanding” deduced from a number of cognate nouns. The underlying biconsonantal Afro-Asiatic root \*√rm, in addition, yielded a quite similar sense in a few instances among the daughter languages discussed above.<sup>85</sup>

### Abbreviations of languages

(A): Akhmimic, (A<sub>2</sub>): Subakhmimic (or Lycopolitan), AA: Afro-Asiatic, (B): Bohairic, BD: Book of the Dead, Bed.: Bed’awye, Brb.: Berber, Ch.: Chadic, CCh.: Central Chadic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, ECh.: East Chadic, ECu.: East Cushitic, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period, GW: syllabic or group-writing, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, IMP: Intermediate Period, (L): Lycopolitan (or Subakhmimic), LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, Lit.: literary texts, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, N: North, NBrb.: North Berber, NK: New Kingdom, NOm.: North Omotic, (O): Old Coptic, OEg.: Old Egyptian, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, PB: post-Biblical, PCh.: Proto-Chadic, PCu.: Proto-Cushitic, PT: pyramid texts, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, SBrb.: South Berber, Sem.: Semitic, W: West(ern), WBrb.: West Berber, WCh.: West Chadic, WSem.: West Semitic.

### Quoted works

- AÄG = Edel, Elmar: *Altägyptische Grammatik*. Roma, 1955., Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.  
 Abraham, R.C.: *Dictionary of the Hausa Language*.<sup>2</sup> London, 1962., University of London Press.  
 Abraham, R.C.: *Somali-English Dictionary*.<sup>2</sup> London, 1964., University of London Press Ltd.  
 Adler, Jakob Georg Christian: *Biblisches Schiitische Reise nach Rom*. Altona, 1783.  
 AECT = Faulkner, R.O.: *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. I–III. Warminster, 1973–8., Aris & Phillips Ltd.  
 AEO = Gardiner, Alan Henderson: *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. I–II. Oxford, 1947., Clarendon Press.  
 AEPT = Faulkner, R. O.: *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. I. Oxford, 1969., Clarendon Press.  
 AHW = Soden, Wolfram von: *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. I–III. Wiesbaden, 1965–1981., Otto Harrassowitz.  
 AL I–III = Meeks, Dimitri: *Année lexicographique. Égypte ancienne*. Tome 1–3 (1977–1979). 2<sup>ème</sup> édition. Paris, 1998., Cybele.  
 Albright, William Foxwell: *Notes on Assyrian Lexicography and Etymology*. = *Revue d’Assyriologie* 16/4 (1919), 173–194.  
 Albright, William Foxwell: *Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology*. III. = *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 47 (1927), 198–237.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. especially Hebrew rāmā(h) „Anhöhe (als Kultusort)”, \*rāmūt „etwa: hoher Haufe v. Leichnamen” [GB], Arabic ʔiram- ~ ʔarim- „3. crêtes ou pics des montagnes”, pl. ʔurūm- „2. pierres sépulcrales des Adites (Arabes de la tribu de ʕād), 3. hauteur, pics, sommets” [BK], Arabic raym- „4. colline, tertre, 5. (also rīm-) tombeau, sépulture” [BK], Musgoy urūm „Berg” [Strümpell].

- ALC 1978 = Angas Language Committee (in Cooperation with Nigeria Bible Translation Trust): Shòk nkarŋ kè shòktok mwa ndòn Ngas. Ngas–Hausa–English Dictionary with Appendix Showing Some Features of Ngas Grammar. Jos, Nigeria, 1978., Nigeria Bible Translation Trust.
- Alio, Khalil & Jungraithmayr, Herrmann: Lexique bidiya. Frankfurt am Main, 1989., Vittorio Klostermann.
- ÄWb I = Hannig, Rainer: Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I. Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit. Hannig-Lexica 4. Mainz am Rhein, 2003., Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- ÄWb II = Hannig, Rainer: Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II. Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit. I–II. Hannig-Lexica 5. Mainz am Rhein, 2006., Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Bargery, G. P.: A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary Compiled for the Government of Nigeria. London, 1934., Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford.
- Barguet, P.: Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire. Paris, 1986., Les Éditions du Cerf.
- Barreteau, Daniel: Description du mofu-gudur. Langue de la famille tchadique parlée au Cameroun. Livre II. Lexique. Paris, 1988., Éditions de l'ORSTOM.
- Basler, Otto (Hrsg.): Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch. Band 2. Berlin, 1942., De Gruyter.
- Beekes, Robert: Etymological Dictionary of Greek. 2 vols. Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series, Vol. 10. Leiden, 2010., Brill.
- Behnstedt, Peter: Die Dialekte der Gegend von S'a'adah (Nord-Jemen). Wiesbaden, 1987., Harrassowitz.
- Behnstedt, Peter & Woidich, M.: Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte. Band 4: Glossar. Arabisch-Deutsch. Wiesbaden, 1994., Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Bergman, Jan: Beitrag zur Interpretatio Graeca: Ägyptische Götter in griechischer Übertragung.= Hartman, Sven S. (ed.): Syncretism. Stockholm, 1969., Almqvist & Wiksell. Pp. 207–227.
- Biella, J.C.: Dictionary of Old South Arabic. Chico, 1982., Scholars Press at Harvard.
- BK = Biberstein Kazimirski, A. de: Dictionnaire arabe-français. Paris, 1860., Maisonneuve & Co. Editeurs.
- BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Le Caire).
- Blachère, R. & Chouémi, M. & Denizeau, C. & Pellat, Ch.: Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais (Langue classique et moderne). Tome I-III. Paris, 1967–1976., Maisonneuve et Larose.
- Blaise, Albert: Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens. Paris, 1954., Librairie des Méridiens.
- Boisacq, Émil: Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes. Heidelberg, Paris, 1916., Carl Winter, Klincksieck.
- Boneschi, Paulo: Tres tituli sabaei iterum interpretati.= Rivista degli Studi Orientali 34 (1959), 27–32.
- Borchardt, Ludwig: Wie wurden die Böschungen der Pyramiden bestimmt?= Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache 31 (1893), 9–17.
- Borghouts, Jan F.: Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts. Leiden, 1978., Brill.
- Borghouts, Jan F. & Plas, Dirk van der: Coffin Texts Word Index. Utrecht and Paris, 1998., Université de Paris IV: Paris-Sorbonne. Centre de recherches égyptologiques and U-CCER, Utrecht University.
- Breasted, J.H.: The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus. Vol. I. Chicago, 1930., The University of Chicago Press.
- Brockelmann, Carl: Lexicon syriacum<sup>2</sup>. Halle, 1928., Max Niemeyer.
- Brugsch, H.: Über den mathematischen Papyrus im britischen Museum zu London.= Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 12 (1874), 147–149.
- Bsciai, Agapio: Novum auctarium lexicì sahidico-coptici.= Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 24 (1886), 88–102.
- Burquest, D.A.: A Preliminary Study of Angas Phonology.= Studies in Nigerian Languages 1 (1971).
- CAD = The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Vol. 1–21. Glückstadt & Chicago, Since 1956, J.J. Augustin, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Calice, Franz von: Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung. Wien, 1936., Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Institutes der Universität Wien.
- Caminos, Richard: Late-Egyptian Miscellanies. London, 1954., Oxford University Press.
- Cange, Charles Du Fresne Du (Carol. du Fresne, Dom. du): Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis, vol. 1. Lutetiae Paris. 1678., Édité par Gabrielis Martini.

- Cange, Charles Du Fresne Du (Carol. du Fresne, Dom. du): *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*. Leiden, 1688., J. Posuel et C. Rigaud.
- Carra de Vaux, le baron: *Étymologie du mot pyramide*. = Congrès international des Orientalistes XIV. Vol. II, section 4. Alger, 1905., Algiers. Reprint: Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1968., Kraus.
- Carrier, Claude: *Textes des sarcophages du Moyen Empire Égyptien*. I–III. Monte Carlo, 2004., Editions du Rocher.
- Cauville, Sylvie: *Le temple de Dendara. Les chapelles osiriennes*. Index. Le Caire, 1997., IFAO.
- CD = Crum, Walter Ewing: *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford, 1939., Oxford, 1939., Oxford University Press.
- CED = Černý, Jaroslav: *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. London, Cambridge, 1976., Cambridge University Press.
- Chantraine, Pierre: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots*. Paris, 1968., Éditions Klincksieck.
- Chase, Arnold Buffum; Bull, L.S.; Manning, Henry Parker; Archibald, Raymond Clare: *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*. I–II. Oberlin, Ohio, 1927., Mathematical Association of America.
- CLD I = Stolbova, Olga V.: *Chadic Lexical Database*. Issue I. L, N, NY, R. Kaluga, 2005., Poligrafiya.
- Conti, Giovanni: *Rapporti tra egiziano e semitico nelle denominazioni egiziane del tetto*. = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 50/3–4 (1976), 265–273.
- Cosper, Ronald: *South Bauchi Lexicon. A Wordlist of Nine South Bauchi (Chadic) Languages and Dialects*. Halifax, 1994., The Author (Saint Mary's University).
- Cotelerius (Cotelier), Johannes Baptista (Jean-Baptiste): *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta*. Tomus primus. Luteciae Parisiorum (Paris), 1677., Apud Franciscum Muguet Regis & Illustrissimi Archiepiscopi Parisiensis Typographum.
- CT = Buck, Adrian de: *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. I–VII. Chicago, 1935–1961., The University of Chicago Press.
- Dallet, J.-M.: *Dictionnaire qabyle-français. Parler des At Mangellat (Algerie)*. Paris, 1982., SELAF (Société d'études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France).
- Daumas, F. & Miquel, P. (éds.): *Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie: De vita contemplativa* Vol. 29. Paris, 1963., Éditions du Cerf.
- DCT = Molen, Rami van der: *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Leiden, 2000., E.J. Brill.
- DELCO = Vycichl, Werner: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*. Leuven, 1983., Peeters.
- DG = Erichsen, Wolja: *Demotisches Glossar*. Kopenhagen, 1954., Ejnar Munksgaard.
- Diels, H.: *Etymologica*. = *Historische Sprachforschung* 47 (1919), 193–210.
- Diyakal, Philibus: *Mushere-English Dictionary*. Collection of words carried out by Mr. Ph. I. D. started on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1997 under the supervision of Herrmann Jungraithmayr (Univ. of Frankfurt). MS. 390 p.
- Djibrine, B.A.Z. & Montgolfier, P. de (etc.): *Vocabulaire dangaléat*. Kawo danja. Place not indicated, around 1973. (deduced by G. Takács), publisher not indicated.
- DNWSI = Hoftijzer, J. & Jongeling, K.: *Dictionary of North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. Part 1–2. Leiden, 1995., E.J. Brill.
- Dozy, R.: *Suppléments aux dictionnaires arabes*. Tome I–II. Leiden, Paris, 1881., E.J. Brill, Maisonneuve.
- DRS = Cohen, David: *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*. Fascicules 1–2. Paris & La Haye, 1970–1976., Mouton. Fascicule 3-. Leuven, 1993-, Peeters. With continuous pagination.
- DUL = Olmo Lete, Gregorio del & Sanmartín, Joaquín: *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Part One [ʔ(a/i/u)-k]. Part Two [l-z]. Leiden, 2003., E.J. Brill.
- Düring, Norbert: *Materialien zum Schiffbau im alten Ägypten*. Berlin, 1995., Achet Verlag N. Düring.
- Ebbell, B.: *Alt-ägyptische Bezeichnungen für Krankheiten und Symptome*. Oslo, 1938., Dybwad.
- Ebobbisse, C.: *Die Morphologie des Verbs im Ost-Dangaleat (Guera, Tschad)*. Berlin, 1979., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Ebobbisse, C.: *Les verbaux du dangaléat de l'est (Guera, Tchad)*. *Lexiques français-dangaléat et allemand-dangaléat*. Berlin, 1987., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

- EDE II = Takács, Gábor: *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian. Volume Two: b-, p-, f.* Leiden, 2001., E.J. Brill.
- EDE III = Takács, Gábor: *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian. Volume Three: m-*. Leiden, 2008., E.J. Brill.
- Edfu (Edfou) II–XIV = Chassinat, E.: *Le temple d'Edfou. Tome II–XIV.* Le Caire, 1918., 1928–1934., Leroux.
- EdI = Houtsma, M. Th.; Arnold, T.W.; Basset, R.; Hartmann, R. u.a. (Hrsg.): *Enzyklopaedie des Islam. Band I–IV + Ergänzungsband, Geographisches, ethnographisches und biographisches Wörterbuch der muhammedanischen Völker. Mit Bildtafeln und einem Beitrag von M. Gaster (Die samartinische Litteratur).* Leiden/Leipzig, 1913–1938., Brill/Harrassowitz.
- Edwards, Iorwerth Eiddon Stephen: *The Pyramids of Egypt.* Penguin Archaeology. West Drayton, 1947., Penguin.
- EG 1927 = Gardiner, A.H.: *Egyptian Grammar.*<sup>1</sup> Oxford, 1927., Clarendon Press.
- Ehret, Christopher: *The Historical Reconstruction of Southern Cushitic Phonology and Vocabulary.* Berlin, 1980., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Ehret, Christopher: *Proto-Cushitic Reconstruction.* = *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 8 (1987).
- Eisenlohr, August: *Ein mathematisches Handbuch der alten Aegypter (Papyrus Rhind des British Museum).* Erster Band: *Commentar.* Leipzig, 1877., J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. London, British Museum, Dept. of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities.
- Ember, Aaron: *Egypto-Semitic Studies.* Leipzig, 1930., The Alexander Cohut Memorial Foundation.
- EoI = Bearman, P.J.; Bianquis, Th.; Bosworth, C.E.; Donzel, E. van; Heinrichs, W.P. et al. (eds.): *The Encyclopaedia of Islam.* 2nd edition. 12 vols. with indexes, etc. Leiden, 1960–2005., E.J. Brill.
- Erman, Adolf: *Das Verhältnis des Ägyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen.* = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 46 (1892), 93–129.
- Ernout, A. & Meillet, A.: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots.* Quatrième édition revue, corrigée et augmentée d'un index. Paris, 1959., Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Ernstedt, Petr Viktorovič: *Egipetskie zaimstvovanija v grečeskom jazyke.* Moskva, Leningrad, 1953., Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk.
- ESS = Ember, Aaron: *Egypto-Semitic Studies.* Leipzig, 1930., The Alexander Cohut Memorial Foundation.
- EWDS 1999 = Kluge, Friedrich: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.* 23., erweiterte Auflage (Jubiläums-Sonderausg.). Bearbeitet von Elmar Seebold. Berlin & New York, 1999., Walter de Gruyter.
- Farina, Giulio: *Le vocali dell'antico egiziano.* = *Aegyptus* 5/4 (1924), 313–325.
- FD = Faulkner, Raymond O.: *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian.* Oxford, 1962., Clarendon Press.
- Fitzpatrick, J.F.J.: *Some Notes on the Kwolla District and Its Tribes.* = *Journal of the Royal African Society* 10 (1910–1911), 16–52, 213–222.
- Fodor, Sándor: *Arab legendák a piramisokról.* Budapest, 1971., Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Fodor, Alexander & Fóti, László: *Haram and Hermes: Origin of the Arabic Word Haram Meaning Pyramid.* = *Studia Aegyptiaca* 2 (1976), 157–167.
- Foulkes, H.D.: *Angass Manual. Grammar, Vocabulary.* London, 1915., Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt: *A Dictionary of Mupun.* Berlin, 1991., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Frisk, Hjalmar: *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Band I–III.* Heidelberg, 1954–1972., C. Winter.
- GÄSW = Calice, Franz von: *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung.* Wien, 1936., Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Institutes der Universität Wien.
- GB = Gesenius, W. (bearbeitet von Buhl, F.): *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament.* Unveränderter Neudruck der 1915 erschienenen 17. Auflage. Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg, 1962., Springer-Verlag.
- GD = Landberg, Le Comte de: *Glossaire daïnois. Vol. I–III.* Leiden, 1920., 1923., 1942., E.J. Brill.
- GHWb = Hannig, Rainer: *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr.).* Mainz, 1995., Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Gochal, Golar: *A Look at Shik Ngas.* Jos, 1994., Jos University Press.
- Grapow, Hermann: *Religiöse Urkunden. Ausgewählte Texte des Totenbuches. Heft 1–3.* Leipzig, 1915–1916., J.C. Hinrichs. (= Urk. V.)

- Graefe, Erich: Das Pyramidenkapitel in al-Makrīzi's „Ḥiṭaṭ". Leipzig, 1911., J.C. Hinrichs.
- Griffith, Francis Llewelyn: The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus.= Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 16 (1894), 230–248.
- Guillaumont, Antoine: Histoire des moines aux Kellia Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 8 (1977), 187–203.
- Guillaumont, Antoine: Aux origines du monachisme chrétien. Spiritualité Orientale 30. Mauges, 1979., Abbaye de Bellefontaine.
- Gunn, Battiscomb: Notices of Recent Publications.= Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 12 (1926), 123–137.
- Hager, Joseph: Observations sur le nom et sur l'origine des Pyramides d'Égypte; traduit du Monthly Magazine. Octobre 1801.= Magasin Encyclopédique 7/5 (1801), 334–347.
- HAM = Westendorf, Wolfhart: Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin. Leiden, 1999., Brill.
- Helck, Wolfgang and Otto, Eberhard: Kleines Wörterbuch der Aegyptologie. Wiesbaden, 1956., Otto Harrassowitz.
- Hintze, Fritz: Konsonantische Übergangslaute im Koptischen.= Zeitschrift für Phonetik 3/1–2 (1949), 46–53.
- Hoch, James Edward: Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period. Princeton, 1994., Princeton University Press.
- Hofmann, J.B.: Ετυμολογικόν Λεξικόν της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής – Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen. München, 1950., Verlag von R. Oldenbourg.
- HSED = Orel, Vladimir É. & Stolbova, Olga V.: Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Leiden, 1995., E.J. Brill.
- Hurwitz, Solomon Theodore Halévy: Root-Determinatives in Semitic Speech. A Contributio to Semitic Philology. New York, 1913., Columbia University Press. Reprint: New York, 1966., AMS Press Inc.
- Husson, Geneviève: Ἐμβρύμιον/ἔμβριμιον: à propos d'un objet mobilier égyptien.= Chronique d'Égypte 68 (1988), 331–340.
- IEW = Pokorny, J.: Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Band I. Bern-München, 1959., Francke Verlag.
- Imhausen, A.: Ägyptische Algorithmen: eine Untersuchung zu den mittelägyptischen mathematischen Aufgabentexten. Harrassowitz, 2003., Harrassowitz.
- Imhausen, A.: Mathematics in Ancient Egypt. A Contextual History, Princeton and Oxford 2016., Princeton University Press.
- Jablonski, Paul Ernst: Pantheon Aegyptiorvm, sive de Diis eorvm Commentariivs, cum Prolegomenis de Religione et Theologia Aegyptiorvm. 3 Teile. Frankfurt (Oder), 1750–1753, Kleyb.
- Jastrow, M.: A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. Volume I: ?–k, Volume II: l–t. New York, 1950., Pardes Publishing House Inc.
- JEA = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London).
- Jéquier, Gustav: Essai sur la nomenclature des parties de bateaux.= Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 9 (1911), 37–82.
- Jéquier, Gustav: Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire. Le Caire, 1921., IFAO.
- Johnstone, T.M.: Jibbāli Lexicon. London, 1981., Oxford University Press.
- Jomard, Edme-François: Sur les pyramides d'Égypte.= Panckoucke, C.L.F. (éd.): Description de l'Égypte ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'Armée Française. Seconde édition. Tome neuvième: Antiquités – mémoires et descriptions. Paris, 1829., Imprimerie de C.L.F. Panckoucke. Pp. 419–567.
- Jones, D.: A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms. London, New York, 1988., Kegan Paul.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann: Wörterbuch der Angas-Sprache. MS. 1962.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann: Die Sprache des Sura (Maghavul) in Nordnigerien.= Afrika und Übersee 47 (1963), 8–89, 204–220.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann: Materialien zur Kenntnis des Chip, Montol, Gerka und Burrum (Südplateau, Nordnigerien).= Afrika und Übersee 48 (1965), 161–183.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann: Die Ron-Sprachen. Tschadohamitische Studien in Nordnigerien. Glückstadt, 1970., Verlag J.J. Augustin.



- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann: *Lexique mokilko*. Berlin, 1990., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann: *Lexique mubi-français (Tchad oriental)*. MS. Frankfurt a/M, 1990. 50 p.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann (in collaboration with N. A. Galadima and U. Kleinewillinghöfer): *A Dictionary of the Tangale Language (Kaltungo, Northern Nigeria) with a Grammatical Introduction*. Berlin, 1991., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann & Adams, A.: *Lexique migama*. Berlin, 1992., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- KB = Koehler, L. & Baumgartner, W.: *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. I–V. Leiden, 1994–2000, E.J. Brill.
- KHW = Westendorf, Wolfhart: *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*. Heidelberg, 1977., Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Kießling, Roland; Mous, Maarten: *The Lexical Reconstruction of West-Rift Southern Cushitic*. *Kuschitische Sprachstudien*, Band 21. Köln, 2004., Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Kircher, Athanasius: *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta, Opus Tripartitum*. Roma, 1643.
- Kluge, F.: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. 23., erweiterte Auflage (Jubiläums-Sonderausg.). Bearbeitet von Elmar Seebold. Berlin & New York, 1999., Walter de Gruyter.
- Kretschmer, P.: *Literaturbericht fuer das Jahre 1916*. = *Glotta* 10 (1920), 213–245.
- Lacau, Pierre & Quibell, James Edward: *Excavations at Saqqara: 1906–1907*. Le Caire, 1908., Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Lacau, Pierre: *Textes religieux. XXVII–XXXI*. = *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes* 30 (1908), 65–73.
- Lacau, Pierre: *Les noms des parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique*. Paris, 1970., Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Lacau, Pierre: *Études d'Égyptologie. I. Phonétique égyptienne ancienne*. Le Caire, 1970., IFAO.
- Lambdin, Theodore O.: *Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament*. = *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 73 (1953), 145–155.
- Lampe, Geoffrey William Hugo: *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford, 1961., Clarendon Press.
- Landberg GD (pp. 1–1814) = Landberg, Le Comte de: *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*. Premier volume: *Ḥaḍramoût*. Leiden, 1901., Brill.
- Landberg GD (pp. 1815–2976) = Landberg, Le Comte de: *Glossaire dañinois*. Troisième volume (z-y). Publié par K.V. Zetterstéen. Leiden, 1942., E.J. Brill.
- Landström, B.: *Die Schiffe der Pharaonen. Altägyptische Schiffsbaukunst von 4000 bis 600 v. Chr.* München & Wien, 1974., C. Bertelsmann Verlag & Gütersloh.
- Lane, E.W.: *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. I–VIII. London & Edinburgh, 1863–1893., Williams and Norgate.
- Lang, Karl: *Die Etymologie des Wortes „Pyramide“*. = *Anthropos* 18–19 (1923–4), 551–553.
- Lang, Karl: *Ägyptologische Berichtigungen*. = *Anthropos* 60 (1965), 844–848.
- Langlès, L.: *notes and additions to Norden, Frederic Louis: Voyage d'Égypte et de Nubie*. Nouvelle édition. Paris, 1795–1798., Pierre Didot l'ainé.
- Laoust, E.: *Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut Atlas*. Paris, 1942., Paul Geuthner.
- Lefèbvre, Gustave: *Essai sur la Médecine Égyptienne de l'Époque Pharaonique*. Paris, 1956, Presses Universitaires de France.
- LEM = Caminos, Richard: *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. London, 1954., Oxford University Press.
- Lemm, Oscar von: *Miscellanea Coptica*. = *Aegyptiaca*. Festschrift für Georg Ebers zum 1. März 1897. Leipzig, 1897., Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann. Pp. 37–40.
- Lepsius, Richard: *Über die 6 palmige große Elle von 7 kleinen Palmen Länge in dem „Mathematischen Handbuche“ von Eisenlohr*. = *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 22 (1884), 6–11.
- Leslau, Wolf: *Lexique soqotri (sudarabique moderne), avec comparaisons et explications étymologiques*. Paris, 1938., Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Leslau, Wolf: *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden, 1987., Otto Harrassowitz.
- Levy, J.: *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim nebst Beiträgen von Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer*. Zweite Auflage mit Nachträgen und Berichtigungen von Lazarus Goldschmidt. I–IV. Berlin & Wien, 1924., Benjamin Harz Verlag.

- Liddell, Henry; Scott, Robert; Jones, Henry Stuart: *A Greek–English Lexicon. Supplément: addenda et corrigenda*. Oxford, 1968., Oxford University Press.
- Littmann, Enno: *Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen. Nebst einem Anhang über die amerikanischen Wörter. Mit Vorworten*. 2. Auflage Tübingen, 1924., Verlag J.C.B. Mohr.
- Littmann, Enno & Höfner, Maria: *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache. Tigre-Deutsch-Englisch*. Wiesbaden, 1956., Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Lokotsch, Karl Josef: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen (germanischen, romanischen und slavischen) Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs*. Heidelberg, 1927., Carl Winter. Reprinted as: 2., unveränderte Auflage. Heidelberg, 1975., Carl Winter.
- Loret, Victor: *Le verbe [šd] et ses dérivés.= Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes* 11/3-4 (1889), 117–131.
- Lukas, Johannes: *Zentralsudanische Studien.= Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde*. Hansische Universität, Reihe B, Band 45/24 (1937).
- Lukas, Johannes: *Studien zur Bade-Sprache (Nigeria)= Afrika und Übersee* 58 /2 (1974–1975), 82–105.
- Magri, Domenico: *Notizia de' vocaboli ecclesiastici, con la dichiarazione delle cerimonie, & origine delli riti sacri, voci barbare, e frasi usate da' santi padri, concilij, e scrittori ecclesiastici*. Roma, 1659., Casoni.
- Maspero, Gaston: *Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient classique. Vol. I: Les origines, Égypte & Chaldée*. Paris, 1895., Librairie Hachette et C<sup>ie</sup>.
- Meeks, Dimitri: *Notes de lexicographie (§5–8)= Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 77 (1977), 79–88.
- Meineke, August: *Stephani Byzantii Ethnicorum quae supersunt*. Berolini, 1849., impensis Reimeri.
- Menochio, Giovanni Stefano: *Delle stuore*. In Venetia, 1662., Presso Paolo Baglioni.
- Miatello, Luca: *Problem 60 of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: Glaring Errors or Correct Method?*= *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 45 (2009), 153–158.
- Migne, Jacques-Paul: *Patrologiae cursus completus: sive bibliotheca universalis, integra uniformis, commoda, oeconomica omnium ss. patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum qui ab aëvo apostolico ad usque Innocentii III tempora floruerunt. Tomus XLIX*. Paris, 1874., apud editorem.
- Militarev, Aleksandr Ju.; Orel, Vladimir É.; Stolbova, Olga V.: *Hamito-Semitic Word-Stock: 1. Dwelling.= Lingvističeskaja rekonstrukcija i drevnejšaja istorija Vostoka. Materialy k diskussijam na konferencii (Moskva, 29 maja–2 ijunja 1989 g.)*. Čast' 1. Moskva, 1989., Nauka. Pp. 137–158.
- Montanari, F.: *Vocabolario della lingua greca*, Torino, 2000, Loescher.
- Montet, P.: *Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire*. Strasbourg, 1925., Istra.
- Moscatti, Sabatino; Spitaler, Anton; Ullendorf, Edward; Soden, Wolfram von: *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. Phonology and Morphology*.<sup>2</sup> Wiesbaden, 1964., Otto Harrassowitz.
- Müller, D.H.: *Himjarische Studien.= Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 30 (1876), 671–708.
- NBÄ = Osing, Jürgen: *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen. I–II*. Maiz/Rhein, 1976., Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Netting, R.M.: *Kofyar Vocabulary*. MS. 1967.
- Norden, Frederic Louis: *Voyage d'Égypte et de Nubie. Nouvelle édition*. Paris, 1795–1798., Pierre Didot l'ainé.
- Orel, Vladimir É. & Stolbova, Olga V.: *Čadsko-egipetskie izoglossy v oblasti kul'turnoj leksiki.= Lingvističeskaja rekonstrukcija i drevnejšaja istorija Vostoka. Čast' 1*. Moskva, 1989., Nauka. Pp. 131–136.
- Orel, Vladimir É. & Stolbova, Olga V.: *On Chadic-Egyptian Lexical Relations.= Shevoroshkin, V. (ed.): Nostratic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric and Amerind*. Bochum, 1992., Brockmeyer. Pp. 181–203.
- Ormsby, G.: *Notes on the Angass Language.= Journal of the Royal African Society* 12 (1912–1913), 421–424 & 13 (1913–1914), 54–61, 204–210, 313–315.
- Pape, Wilhelm: *Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache. Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch. Band 2*. Braunschweig, 1849., Vieweg und Sohn.

- Peet, Thomas Eric: *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*. British Museum 10057 and 10058. London, 1923., Hodder and Stoughton.
- Peust, Carsten: *Egyptian Phonology. An Introduction to the Phonology of a Dead Language*. Göttingen, 1999., Peust & Gutschmidt Verlag GbR.
- Peyron, Vittorio Amedeo: *Lexicon linguae Copticae Taurini*, 1835., ex Regio Typographeo.
- Pezin, M.: Pour une étymologie égyptienne de εμβριμιον.= *Chronique d'Égypte* 68 (1988), 341–343.
- Photius I the Saint, Patriarch: *Photii Lexicon e codice Galeano descriptis Ricardus Porsonus*, Lipsiae, 1823., Sumptibus C.H.F. Hartmanni.
- Piamenta, M.: *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. I–II. Leiden, 1990–1991., Brill.
- PL = Wilson, Penelope: *A Ptolemaic Lexikon. A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. Leuven, 1997., Peeters.
- Pokorny, Julius: *Proto-Indo-European etymological dictionary. A Revised Edition of Julius Pokorny's Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Online (<http://dnghu.org>), 2007., Indo-European Language Revival Association.
- Posener-Kriéger, P.: *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (Les papyrus d'Abousir)*. I–II: Traductions et commentaire. Le Caire, 1976., IFAO.
- Prasse, K.-G.; Alojaly, Gh.; Mohamed, Gh.: *Dictionnaire touareg-français (Niger)*. Copenhagen, 2003., Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen.
- PT = Sethe, Kurt: *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*. I–II. Leipzig, 1908., 1910., J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Quack, Joachim Friedrich: *Zum Lautwert von Gardiner Sign-List U23*.= *Lingua Aegyptia* 11 (2003), 113–116.
- Rabin, Chaim: *Ron-Semitic Etymologies*.= Jungraitmayr, H. (ed.): *The Chad Languages in the Hamitosemitic-Nigrific Border Area*. Berlin, 1982., Dietrich Reimer Verlag. Pp. 24–31.
- Reichelt, H.: *Avesta Reader. Texts, Notes, Glossary and Index*. Strassburg, 1911., Verlag von Karl J. Trübner.
- Reinisch, Leo: *Wörterbuch der Saho-Sprache*. Wien, 1890., Alfred Hölder.
- Revillout, V.: *Sur l'équerre égyptienne et son emploi d'après le papyrus mathématique*.= *Revue Égyptologique* 2 (1881), 304–314.
- Rossi, Ignazio: *Etymologiae Aegyptiacae*. Roma, 1808., NP.
- Rössler, Otto: *Das ältere ägyptische Umschreibungssystem für Fremdnamen und seine sprachwissenschaftliche Lernen*.= Lukas, J. (ed.): *Neue afrikanistische Studien*. Hamburg, 1966., Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung. Pp. 218–229.
- Sacy, Sylvestre de: *Observations sur l'origine du nom donné par les Grecs et les Arabes aux Pyramides d'Égypte, et sur quelques autres objets relatifs aux Antiquités égyptiennes*.= *Magasin Encyclopédique* 6/6 (1801), 3–64.<sup>86</sup>
- Sarnelli, T.: *Il dialetto berbero di Sokna*.= *L'Africa Italiana (Napoli)*, supplement (1924–1925).
- Schenkel, Wolfgang: *Tübinger Einführung in die klassisch-ägyptische Sprache und Schrift*. Tübingen, 1997., Universität Tübingen.
- Schenkl, K., Ambrosoli, F.: *Vocabolario greco-italiano: per uso dei ginnasi – dal vocabolario greco-tedesco*, 18a edizione, Vienna, 1921, Gerold.
- Schirmer, Alfred: *Der Wortschatz der Mathematik nach Alter und Herkunft untersucht*. (= *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, Beiheft, Band 14.) Straßburg, 1912., Verlag: Trübner.
- Schmidt, Max Carl Paul: *Kulturhistorische Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Griechischen und römischen Altertums*.<sup>1</sup> Band I. Leipzig, 1906., Dürr'sche Buchhandlung.
- Schmidt, Max Carl Paul: *Kulturhistorische Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Griechischen und römischen Altertums*.<sup>2</sup> Band I. Leipzig, 1914., Dürr'sche Buchhandlung.
- Schuh, Russell G.: *A Dictionary of Ngizim*. Berkeley, California, 1981., University of California.

<sup>86</sup> Reported – after the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* III 173 – by Fodor & Fóti (1976, 165) to have been published on pp. 456–503 and prior to vol. 6. But almost the same text was published on pp. 446–503 of the *Revue encyclopédique: ou Analyse raisonnée des productions les plus remarquables dans la littérature, les sciences et les arts*.

- SD = Beeston, A.F.L.; Ghul, M.A.; Müller, W.W.; Ryckmans, J.: *Sabaic Dictionary (English-French-Arabic). Dictionnaire sabéen (anglais-français-arabe)*. Louvain-la-Neuve, Beyrouth, 1982., Peeters, Librairie du Liban.
- Sethe, Kurt: *Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte*. (Totb. Kap. 107–109. 111–116.) *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien von 1919.= Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 57 (1922), 1–50.
- Sirlinger, E.: *Dictionary of the Goemay Language*. Jos, Nigeria, 1937., Prefecture Apostolic of Jos.
- Stadelmann, R.: *Pyramiden, AR.= Helck, W. & Westendorf, W: (Hrsg.): Lexikon der Ägyptologie. Band IV*. Wiesbaden, 1982., Otto Harrassowitz. Col. 1205–1263.
- Struve, Wasili W.: *Mathematischer Papyrus des staatlichen Museums der schönen Künste in Moskau, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik. Abteilung A: Quellen. Band. 1*. Berlin, 1930., Springer Verlag.
- Strümpell, F.: *Vergleichendes Wörterverzeichnis der Heidensprachen Adamauas.= Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 42 (1910), 444–488.
- Taïfi, Miloud: *Dictionnaire tamazight-français (parlers du Maroc central)*. Paris, 1991., L'Harmattan-Awal.
- Takács, Gábor: *Comparative Dictionary of the Angas-Sura Languages*. Berlin, 2004., Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Till, Walter C.: *Achmîmisch-Koptische Grammatik mit Chrestomathie und Wörterbuch*. Leipzig, 1928., J.C. Hinrichs.
- Till, Walter C.: *Koptische Grammatik. Saïdischer Dialekt*. Leipzig, 1955., Otto Harrassowitz.
- Till, Walter C.: *Koptische Dialektgrammatik mit Lesestücken und Wörterbuch. Zweite, neugestaltete Auflage*. München, 1961., C.H. Beck.
- Torczyner, H.: *Besprechung von Holma, H.: Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen.= Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 66 (1912), 767–771.
- Tovar, Sofia Torallas: *Egyptian Lexical Interference in the Greek of Byzantine and Early Islamic Egypt.= Sijpesteijn, Petra A. and Sundelin, Lennart (eds.): Papyrology and the History of Early Islamic Egypt*. Leiden, Boston, 2004., Brill. Pp. 163–177.
- Tovar, Sofia Torallas: *Egyptian Lexical Interferences in the Greek of Byzantine and Early Islamic Egypt.= Sijpesteijn, Petra A. & Sundelin, Lennart (eds.): Papyrology and the History of Early Islamic Egypt*. Leiden, Boston, 2004., E.J. Brill. Pp. 163–177.
- Urk. IV = Sethe, Kurt & Helck, Wolfgang: *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Berlin, Heft 1–16: 1927–1930., Heft 17–22: 1955–1958., Akademie-Verlag.
- Urk. V = Grapow, Hermann: *Religiöse Urkunden. Ausgewählte Texte des Totenbuches*. Heft 1–3. Leipzig, 1915–1916., J.C. Hinrichs.
- ÜKAPT I–VI = Sethe, Kurt: *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten. I–VI*. Glückstadt, Hamburg, 1935–62., J.J. Augustin.
- Vaan, Michiel de: *An etymological dictionary of Latin and other Italic languages*. Leiden, Boston, 2008., Brill.
- Valpy, Francis Edward Jackson: *An etymological dictionary of the Latin language*. London, 1828, Baldwin and Company.
- Velics, Anton von: *Onomatopöie und Algebra. Eine etymologische und sprachphilosophische Studie*. Budapest, 1909., Selbstverlag.
- Volney, Constantin-François: *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte, pendant les années 1783, 1784, & 1785*. Paris, 1807., Chez Courcier, imprimeur-libraire; Volland, libraire; Chez Desenne, libraire.
- Vycichl, Werner: *Die ägyptischen Ausdrücke für „Selbst“.= Muséon* 66 (1953), 41–44.
- Vycichl, Werner: *Ägyptisch mr „Pyramide“ und seine arabische Etymologie.= Muséon* 71 (1958), 149–152.
- Vycichl, Werner: *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung.= Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 16 (1958), 367–405.
- Vycichl, Werner: *Is Egyptian a Semitic Language? = Kush* 7 (1959), 27–44.
- Vycichl, Werner: *Nouveaux aspects de la langue égyptienne.= Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 58 (1959), 49–72.

- Vycichl, Werner: Studien der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung. Die Klassifikation der Etymologien. Zwölf neue Etymologien.= *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 84 (1959), 70–74.
- Vycichl, Werner: *La vocalisation de la langue égyptienne. Tome I<sup>er</sup>. La phonétique.* Le Caire, 1990., Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Vycichl, Werner: *L'origine des verbes monoradicaux en haoussa.*= Jungraithmayr, H. (éd.): *Verbes monoradicaux.* Paris, 1990., Paul Geuthner. Pp. 221–227.
- Wahl, Samuel Friedrich Günther (Übersetzer): *Abdallatif's, eines arabischen Arztes, Denkwürdigkeiten Ägyptens in Hinsicht auf Naturreich und physische Beschaffenheit des Landes und der Einwohner, Alterthumskunde, Baukunst, Ökonomie usw. mit medicinischen Bemerkungen und Beobachtungen, topographischen und anderen Nachrichten aus dem Arabischen übersetzt und erläutert.* Halle, 1790., Verlag des Waisenhauses.
- Walde, Alois: *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Heidelberg, 1910., C. Winter.
- Walde, Alois: *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* 3., neu bearbeitete Auflage von J.B. Hofmann. Erster Band: A–L. Heidelberg, 1938., C. Winter.
- Ward, Benedicta: *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers.* Cistercian Studies Series 59. Oxford, 1975., rev. ed. 1981., Mowbray.
- Ward, William A.: *The Biconsonantal Root \*b3 and Remarks on Bilabial Interchange in Egyptian.*= *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 102 (1975), 60–67.
- Ward, William A.: *Lexicographical Miscellanies II.*= *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 9 (1981), 359–373.
- Wb = Erman, Adolf & Grapow, Hermann: *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.* I–V.<sup>2</sup> Berlin, 1957–1971., Akademie-Verlag.
- WD = Lapp, G. & Lüscher, B.: *Wortdiskussionen. Provisorische Ausgabe.* Band I–III. (Place not indicated), 2002–2003., (no publisher).
- Wehr, H.: *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart.* Leipzig, 1952., Otto Harrassowitz.
- Wharton, Edward Ross *Etyma Graeca An Etymological Lexicon of Classical Greek* Percival and Co. King Street, Covent Garden, London 1890.
- Wilkins, David: *Dissert. de ling. copt.*= *Oratio dominica in diversas omnium ferè gentium linguas versa.* Amstelæd, 1715., ed. J. Chamberlaynio.
- Willems, Harco: *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418). A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom.* *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 70. Louvain, 1996., Peeters Publishers.
- Witte, Samuel Simon: *Vertheidigung des Versuchs über den Ursprung der Pyramiden in Ägypten und der Ruinen von Persepolis und Palmyra.* Leipzig, 1792., J.G. Müllerische Buchhandlung.
- WKAS I = Kraemer, J. & Gätje, H. & Spitaler, A. & Ullmann, M.: *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache.* Band I: k. Wiesbaden, 1970., Otto Harrassowitz.
- WKAS II = Kraemer, J.; Gätje, H.; Spitaler, A.; Ullmann, M.: *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache.* Band II, Teil 1–4: l–lyf. Wiesbaden, 1983–2001., Otto Harrassowitz.
- WMT = Deines, H. von & Westendorf, W.: *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte.* I–II. Berlin, 1961–1962., Akademie-Verlag.
- WUS = Aistleitner, Josef: *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache.*= *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Phil.-hist. Klasse* 106/3 (1963).
- Zaborski, Andrzej: *Biconsonantal Verbal Roots in Semitic.*= *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, prace językoznawcze* 5 (1971), 51–98.
- Zoega, Jörgen: *De usu et origine obeliscorum.* Rome, 1797–1800.