

EGYPTIAN PROPER NAMES AND LOANWORDS

IN NORTH-WEST SEMITIC

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the
requirements of the University of Liverpool**

for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

by

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March 1990

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very happy to record my deep indebtedness to my two supervisors, Prof. K. A. Kitchen and Mr. A. R. Millard for their generous counsel and guidance. Without working so closely with them, I would never have accomplished this work. I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Prof. A. F. Shore for his helpful advice on the matter of Demotic.

The research has been supported by generous grants from Tyndale House, Cambridge, and the First Congregational Church in Revere (USA).

My sincere thanks go to my wife, Sachi, and our two sons, Tomo and March, who so long shared the burden and assisted me.

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ABSTRACT

Egyptian Proper Names and Loanwords

in North-West Semitic

Yoshiyuki Muchiki

The aim of this thesis is to establish, from the North-West Semitic side, the consonantal correspondences between Egyptian and North-West Semitic (Phoenician, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Ugaritic). Akkadian in El-Amarna tablets is also treated in order to look into the chronological differences.

In order to accomplish this purpose, all Egyptian elements found in North-West Semitic, *i.e.*, Egyptian personal names, Egyptian divine names, Egyptian geographical names, and Egyptian loanwords are collected and their identifications are carefully worked out. Then the following correspondences are established:

Eg	Phoenician	Aramaic	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Akkadian
ʒ	'	'	'	A	by vowel ø
ʃ	' Y	' Y	' Y	A I	by vowel Y ø
'	'	'	'	-	by vowel Y H ø
y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y I
w	W	W	W	-	W U
b	B	B	B	B	B
p	P	P	P	P	P
f	P	P	P	P	P
m	M	M	M	M	M
n	N	N	N	N	N
r	R	R L	R L	R L	R L S
s	S	S	S	S	S S
š	Š	Š	Š	-	Š S
h	H	H	H	H	H
ḥ	H	H	H	H	H
ḫ	H K	H	H	H	H
ḫ	K	H	-	-	-
k	-	Q	Q	Q	Q
k	K	K Q	K	-	K
g	-	-	G	-	-
t	T	T	T	T	T
t	S	S	-	-	Z
d	T	T	T	-	D T
d	S	S	S	-	-

We conclude that the correspondences were remarkably stable. Eg consonants correspond to individual NW Sem consonants. Only NW Sem Z cannot represent Eg consonants, and Eg *t* does not have the exact counterpart in NW Sem, being represented by Ph S, Aram S and EA Akk *z* (not attested in Hebrew).

ABBREVIATIONS

a	Achmimic
AAG	R.Degen, <i>Altaramäische Grammatik</i>
Abel	F.M.Abel, <i>Géographie de la Palestine</i>
AD	G.R.Driver, <i>Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.</i>
AE	<i>Ancient Egypt</i>
AEO	A.H.Gardiner, <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i>
Afo	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i>
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i>
Aist	J.Aistleitner, <i>Wörterbuch der Ugaritischen Sprache</i>
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
Akk	Akkadian
Albright	"Cuneiform Material for Egyptian Prosopography 1500-1200 BC" <i>JNES</i> 5 (1946) pp.7-25
ANG	J.J.Stamm, <i>Akkadische Namengebung</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
AÖAW	<i>Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
AP	A.Cowley, <i>Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.</i>
APN	K.L.Tallqvist, <i>Assyrian Personal Names</i>
APNMT	H.B.Huffman, <i>Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts</i>
APO	E.Sachau, <i>Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine</i>
Aram	Aramaic
Aram Texts	B. Porten, <i>Jews of Elephantine and Arameans of Syene (Fifth century B.C.E.): Fifty Aramaic Texts with Hebrew and English Translations</i>
ÄRAT	W.Spiegelberg, <i>Aegyptologische Randglossen zum Alten Testament</i>
ARES	<i>Archivi Reali di Ebla Studi</i>
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
Ass	Assyrian
Assurb	Assurbanipal
b	Bohairic
BA	Biblical Aramaic
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeology</i>
Baby	Babylonian
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BDB	F.Brown-S.R.Driver-C.A.Briggs, <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
BE	<i>The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania</i>
Beeston	A.F.L.Beeston-M.A.Ghul-W.W.Müller-J.Ryckmans, <i>Dictionnaire Sabéen</i>
Benz	F.Benz, <i>Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions</i>
Bergsträsser,	<i>Introduction</i> G.Bergsträßer, <i>Introduction to the Semitic Languages</i>
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
Bibl. Or	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
Biella	J.C.Biella, <i>Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean Dialect</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
BMB	<i>Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth</i>
BMQ	<i>British Museum Quarterly</i>

BP	E.G.Kraeling, <i>The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri. New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine</i>
Brugsch, Wb "Brief"	H.Brugsch, <i>Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch</i> E.Edel, "Der Brief des ägyptischen Wesirs Pasijara an den Hethiterkönig Hattusili und verwandte keilschrift-briefe"
Beziehungen ²	W.Helch, <i>Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jt.v.Chr</i>
Bulletin Burchardt	J.Teixidor, <i>Bulletin d'Epigraphie Semitique</i> M.Burchardt, <i>Die Altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen</i>
c	century
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
Calice	F.Calice, <i>Grundlagen der Ägyptisch-Semitische Wortvergleichung</i>
Camino	R.Camino, <i>Late-Egyptian Miscellanies</i>
Cd'E	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CDME	R.O.Faulkner, <i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i>
Cerny	J.Cerny, <i>Coptic Etymological Dictionary</i>
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum semiticarum</i>
Clay	<i>Business Documents of Murashû son of Nippur</i>
Copt	Coptic
Crum	W.E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i>
Demot	Demotic
DemNB	E.Lüddeckens, <i>Demotisches Namenbuch</i>
DG	H.Gauthier, <i>Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques</i>
"Difficult Words"	G.R.Driver, "Difficult Words in the Hebrew Prophets," in <i>Studies in Old Testament Prophecy</i> ed. by H.H.Rowley
DISO	Ch.F.Jean-J.Hoftijzer, <i>Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'Ouest</i>
DN	Divine Name(s)
Dyn	Dynasty
EA	El-Amarna tablets
Eg	Egypt(ian)
EG ³	A.Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar³</i>
El-Hoffra	A.Berthier-R.Charlier, <i>Le sanctuaire punique d'El-Hofra à Constantine</i>
Eleph	Elephantine
Ellenbogen	M.Ellenbogen, <i>Foreign Words in the Old Testament</i>
Eph	M.Lidzbarski, <i>Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik</i>
Erichsen	W.Erichsen, <i>Demotisches Glossar</i>
f	female
f	Fayyumic
fem	feminine
frag	fragment
G	P.Grelot, <i>Documents araméens d'Égypte</i>
GAG	W.von Soden, <i>Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik</i>
Géographie	P.Montet, <i>Géographie de l'Égypte Ancienne</i>
Gesenius	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i>
Gk	Greek / the Greek Period
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
GN	Geographical Name(s)
GNNLB	R.Zadok, <i>Geographical Names according to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts</i>
Grammaire	A.de Buck, <i>Grammaire Élémentaire du Moyen Égyptien</i>

Gröndahl	F.Gröndahl, <i>Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit</i>
GVG	C.Brockelman, <i>Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen</i>
Handbuch	M.Lidzbarski, <i>Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik</i>
Harding	G.L.Harding, <i>An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscription</i>
Harris, (Grammar)	Z.S.Harris, <i>A Grammar of the Phoenician Language</i>
Harris, Development	Z.S.Harris, <i>Development of the Canaanite Dialects</i>
Harris, Lex.Stud	J.R.Harris, <i>Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals</i>
Heb	Hebrew
Herr, Seals	L.G.Herr, <i>The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals</i>
Heuser	G.Heuser, <i>Die Personennamen der Kopten</i>
HG	Bergsträsser, <i>Hebräische Grammatik</i>
HG ²	G.Beer-R.Meyer, <i>Hebräische Grammatik</i>
Hist. Gram	H.Bauer-P.Leander, <i>Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IAM	<i>Inscriptions Antiques du Maroc</i>
IDB	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IFP	M.G.Amadasi, <i>Le Iscrizioni Fenicie e Puniche delle Colonie in Occidente</i>
IFO	P.Magnanini, <i>Le Iscrizioni Fenicie dell'Oriente</i>
Moscatti	S.Moscatti, <i>An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages</i>
IPN	M.Noth, <i>Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
Jackson, "Ammonite PNs"	K.P.Jackson, "Ammonite Personal Names in the Context of the West Semitic Onomasticon"
Jackson, Ammonite Lang.	K.P.Jackson, <i>Ammonite Language of the iron Age</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JB	<i>Jerusalem Bible</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux</i>
JFK	<i>Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
Johns	C.H.W.Johns, <i>Assyrian Deeds and Documents</i>
Jones, Glossary	D.Jones, <i>A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms</i>
JPOS	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
K	W. Kornfeld, <i>Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten</i>
KAI	H. Donner-W. Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i>
KAT ³	H.Zimmermann, <i>Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament</i> ³
KB ³	L.Köhler-W.Baumgartner, <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i>
KHw	W.Spiegelberg, <i>Koptisches Handwörterbuch</i>

KM	H.Ranke, <i>Keilschriftliches Material zur Altägyptischen Vocalisation</i>
Knudtzon	J.A.Knudtzon, <i>Die El-Amarna-Tafeln</i>
KRI	K.A.Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i>
Krug	M.Lidzbarski, <i>Phönizische und aramäische Krugaufschriften aus Elephantine</i>
KTU	M.Dietrich-O.Loretz-J.Sanmartin, <i>Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i>
L	T.O.Lambdin, <i>Egyptian Loanwords and transcriptions in the Ancient semitic Languages</i>
LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
Lambdin	T.O.Lambdin, "Egyptian Loanwords in the Old Testament," <i>JAOS</i> 73 (1952) pp.145-155
Laroche	E.Laroche, <i>Les Nomes des Hittites</i>
Late	the Late Period
Leander	P.Leander, <i>Laut- und Formenlehre des Ägyptisch-aramäischen</i>
LEG	J.Gerny, <i>A Late Egyptian Grammar</i>
LH	E.Bresciani-M.Kamil, <i>Le lettere aramaiche di Hermopoli</i>
Liddell & Scott	H.G.Liddell-R.Scott, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i>
LR	M.H.Gauthier, <i>Livre des Bois d'Égypte</i>
Lw	Loanword(s)
LXX	Septuagint
m	male
masc	masculine
MB	Middle Babylonian
MDIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ableitung Kairo</i>
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutsche Orientgesellschaft</i>
Moran	W.L.Moran, <i>Les Lettres d'El-Amarna</i>
MK	Middle Kingdom
N(aveh)	J.Naveh, <i>The Development of the Aramaic Scripts</i>
NA	Neo-Assyrian
NAT	Parpola, <i>Neo-Assyrian Toponyms</i>
NB	Neo-Babylonian
NB	F. Preisigke, <i>Namenbuch</i>
NBD	J.D.Douglas (ed), <i>The New Bible Dictionary</i>
n.d.	no date
NEB	<i>New English Bible</i>
NEph	R.Degen-W.W.Müller-W.Röllig, <i>Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik</i>
"Neue Deutungen"	E.Edel, "Neue Deutungen Keilschriftlicher Umschreibungen Agyptischer Wörter und Personennamen"
NK	New Kingdom
n.p.	no provenence
NPN	I.J.Gelb-P.M.Purves-A.A.Mcrae, <i>Muzi Personal Names</i>
NSI	G.A.Cooke, <i>A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions</i>
NW	North-West
OA	Old Aramaic
OAP	D.Foraboschi, <i>Onomasticum Alterum Papyrologicum</i>
OB	Old Babylonian
OK	Old Kingdom
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
OPP	M.Mayrhofer, <i>Onomastica Persepolitana. Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen</i>
Or An	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
Or NS	<i>Orientalia Nova Series</i>

Peckham	B.Peckham, <i>The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts</i>
Ph	Phoenician
Phonétique	J.Vergote, <i>Phonétique Historique de l'Égyptien</i>
PN	Personal Name(s)
PNCP (Clay)	A.T.Clay, <i>Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period</i>
PPG	Friedrich-Röllig, <i>Phonizisch-Punische Grammatik</i>
PRU	C.Virolleaud, <i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit</i>
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
Pu	Punic
Pyr	Pyramid (Period)
Ranke	Ranke, <i>Die ägyptischen Personennamen</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RdE	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
Rec. de Trav.	<i>Recueil de Travaux Relatives à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes</i>
Reisner, HES	G.A.Reisner-F.C.Stanely-L.D.Gordon, <i>Harvard Excavation at Samaria</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des Études Juives</i>
RES	<i>Repertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique</i>
RESem	<i>Revue des études Semitiques</i>
Revue d'Assy	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
rev	reverse
RS	Ras Shamra
RSO	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
RSV	<i>The Revised Standard Version</i>
s	Sahidic
S I	W.Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptisches Sprachgut in den aus Ägypten stammenden aramäischen Urkunden der Perserzeit</i>
S II	W.Spiegelberg, "Die ägyptischen Personennamen in den kürzlich veröffentlichten Urkunden von Elephantine," <i>OLZ</i> 15 (1912) pp.1-10
S III	W. Spiegelberg, "Zu den ägyptischen Personennamen der Urkunden von Elephantine," <i>OLZ</i> 16 (1913) pp.346-347
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
Saqq(ara)	J.Segal, <i>The Aramaic Texts from Norht Saqqara</i>
SB	Standard Babilonian
SBPA	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
SE I	F.Vattioni, "I Sigilli ebraici," <i>Biblica</i> 50 (1969) pp.357-388
SE II	F.Vattioni, "I Sigilli ebraici II," <i>Augustinianum</i> 11 (1971) pp.447-454
SE III	F.Vattione, "I Sigilli ebraici III," <i>AION</i> 38(1978) pp.227-253
Sem	Semitic
SF	F.Vattioni, "I Sigilli fenici" <i>AION</i> 41 (1981) pp.177-193
SG	M. A. Levy, <i>Siegel und Gemmen</i>
SSEA	<i>Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto</i>
Stark	J.K.Stark, <i>Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions</i>
TAE	N.Aimé-Giron, <i>Textes araméens d'Égypte</i>
TIP ²	K.A.Kitchen, <i>The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt</i>
Tomback	R.S.Tomback, <i>A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Ph & Pu Languages</i>
Ug	Ugaritic
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>

UHP	M.Dahood, <i>Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology</i>
UMBS	<i>The University Museum, Publication of the Babylonian Section</i>
Urk	<i>Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums</i>
UT	C.H.Gordon, <i>Ugaritic Textbook</i>
VESO	W.F.Albright, <i>The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography</i>
V I	G. Vittmann, "Zu den in den phönitischen Inschriften enthaltene ägyptischen Personennamen" <i>GM</i> 113 (1989) pp.91-96
V II	G. Vittmann, "Zu den ägyptischen Entsprechung aramäisch überlieferter Personennamen" <i>Or</i> NS 58 (1989) pp.213-229
VA	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>
Verbum	K.Sethe, <i>Das Ägyptische Verbum im Altägyptischen, Neuägyptischen und Koptischen</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTS	<i>Supplement to Vetus Testamentum</i>
Vycichl	W.Vycichl, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Copte</i>
Wb	A.Erman-H.Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i>
"Weitere Beiträge"	E.Edel, "Weitere Briefe aus der Heiratskorrespondenz Ramses' II: KUB III 37+KB I 17 und KUB 57"
Weld Or	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
Worrell	W. Worell, <i>Coptic Sounds</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
Yahuda, Language	A.S.Yahuda, <i>The Language of the Pentateuch in its Relation to Egyptian.</i>
ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>
ZAS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZVS	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiet der indogermanischen Sprachen.</i>

SYMBOLS

[]	restored letter(s)
]	end missing
[beginning missing
-	unidentifiable letter
°	major damage
.	minor damage
**	certainly Egyptian
*	probably Egyptian

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to establish, from the North-West Semitic side, the phonetic correspondences between North-West Semitic (Phoenician, Aramaic, Hebrew and Ugaritic) and ancient Egyptian chronologically. In other words, the present study deals with how North-West Semitic scribes wrote Egyptian in their Semitic writing systems, with concentration on consonantal correspondences.

Between Semitic and Egyptian there are three different directions in relationship: (1) cognate¹, (2) Semitic loan words in Egyptian², and (3) Egyptian loan words in Semitic. However there have been considerable confusions over phonetic correspondences between the two languages, because most scholars disregarded or ignored the fact that Semitic and Egyptian scribes transliterated each others' languages

¹The studies on Semito-Hamitic cognates are A. Erman, "Das Verhältniss des Ägyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen" *ZDMG* 46 (1892) pp.93-129. A. Ember, "Kindred Semito-Egyptian Words" *ZÄS* 51 (1912) pp.110-121; *ZÄS* 53 (1917) pp.83-90; *Egypto-Semitic-Studies* (Leipzig, 1930). W. F. Albright, "Note on Egypto-Semitic Etymology I" *AJSL* 34 (1918) pp.81-98; "Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology II" *AJSL* 34 (1918) pp 215-255; "Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology III" *JAOS* 47 (1927) pp.198-237; F. Calice, *Grundlagen der Ägyptisch-Semitische Wortvergleichung*, (Wien, 1936); M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-Semitique*, (Paris, 1947). For a bibliography since 1844, see A. Ember, *Egypto-Semitic-Studies* pp. IX-XIV.

²There has been no recent systematic study on this area: most notable are M. Burchardt, *Die Altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen* (Leiptig, 1910); W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (NY, 1934).

differently. An example is the correspondence between Eg *t* and Sem *S*. Egyptian scribes used *t* for Semitic *S*. Therefore it was naturally assumed that Semitic scribes also used Sem *S* for Eg *t*³. However the fact is quite contrary to this general assumption. Therefore there is a need to establish the correspondences in terms of the Semitic side, and the present thesis is devoted to this.

This comparative study between Semitic and Egyptian should bring at least four more results of interest to the philologist. First of all, it could enable us to see the historical changes and real sound values of Egyptian consonants. It is well known that the Egyptians were extremely conservative in their writing system. Therefore it is very difficult to discuss their sound values on the basis of the hieroglyphs. However, when Semitic scribes wrote Egyptian they tried to transcribe it as they heard it. Therefore their records are contemporary witnesses to the real sound values of Egyptian⁴. Secondly, the study could also reveal some of the phonetic values of Semitic, because the number of consonants is different, e.g., Egyptian has three strong *hs* (*ḥ*, *ḥ*, *ḥ*), while Ugarit has two and the rest of North-West Semitic has only one *H* (*Ḥ*). When we observe how Semitic scribes deal with the three Egyptian *hs*, it should tell us about some

³The most notable case of this correspondence is Heb GN SKT which has been identified with Eg *tkw*. This is a Semitic place name transcribed into Egyptian, not vice versa. Another type of confusion should be noted here, i.e., the correspondence between Eg ' and Sem *Ḥ*. Eg ' is represented by Akk *ḫ*, because Akk does not have '. Yet this fact is extensively used for the correspondence between Eg and North West Sem which has ', e.g., Ph P'R is identified with *p3-ḫr.y* "the Syrian" (Benz, *PN* p.193).

⁴With this idea A. Millard worked on Assyrian royal names in Semitic (Aramaic and Hebrew), "Assyrian Royal Names in Biblical Hebrew" *JSS* 21 (1976) pp.1-14, which shows that the method is sound and the result is fruitful.

differences in sound values of Semitic consonants. At the same time, the study could show differences, if any, in sound values of consonants among North-West Semitic which have been virtually regarded as the same, when we look into the way the same Egyptian consonant was differently represented by four North-West Semitic languages.

Thirdly, it could improve our knowledge of the meaning of Semitic, when an Egyptian etymology has been established, especially in cases of loan words. Finally, Aramaic and Hebrew might shed light on Egyptian vocalization, because of *matres lectionis* which frequently helped to indicate pronunciation of foreign names and words.

Method

Appropriate materials for this purpose are (1) Egyptian Personal names, (2) Egyptian Divine names, (3) Egyptian Geographical names, and (4) Egyptian loan words transcribed into Semitic. First, therefore, I collect these Egyptian elements from each North-West Semitic document and work on their identifications. Then I analyse the consonantal correspondences by using the collected materials of which identifications are sure. Because of the goal of the study, when we work on identification we should start with well established correspondences, and pursue the explanation within the correspondences as far as possible. We only accept another correspondence when the evidence clearly requires it. For example, we start with the correspondence between Ph K and Eg *k*. However, when a certainly Egyptian name *p3-di'-ḥns.w* is found under PTKNS, we accept the correspondence between Ph K and Eg *ḥ*. On the other hand, in the case of MḤPR', we do not identify it with *w3ḥ-ib-r'* as Kornfeld did, because the correspondence between Aram M and Eg *w* is not certain, and

the name could be explained as **mnḥ-ib-r*' or *mn-ḥpr-r*'. The acceptance of the representation of Eg *w* by Aram *M* is rejected in this case. To accept a new correspondence, at least two certain examples are required unless the identification is perfectly clear, because scribal mistake or dialectal variants are always possible.

Identification

It is obvious, therefore, that the identification plays a key role in the study. As the consonantal correspondences are on a strict base, the identification also should be investigated until beyond doubt. The following are our criteria for identification;

(1) First of all, negatively, the name does not have any possible Semitic explanations. Not only is it not attested as a Semitic name, but also the name or its element is not attested as a Semitic root (including Akkadian). If the identification is open to both Egyptian and Semitic, the name cannot be used for the analysis.

(2) Positively, the name has good Egyptian explanations; that is, (i) the name is attested as Egyptian with proper phonetic correspondences in the appropriate period. (ii) the name has the same pattern as Egyptian names, *i.e.*, PṚ (*p3-di-*) + DN; 'S (*ns*) + DN etc. which are attested in the appropriate period. (iii) the name has a typical Egyptian name element, *e.g.*, 'NḤ ('*nḥ* "life"), Egyptian divine names, *e.g.*, 'S "Isis"; 'SR "Osiris" etc.. (iv) the name itself, its element, and/or the name type is attested in the appropriate period; *e.g.*, all Ph and Aram names should be attested after the New Kingdom.

(3) Additional pieces of information on each name are also helpful; (i) the context where the name or word occurs, the affiliation which the name bears, and the provenance where the documents containing

Egyptian names and words were found, (ii) the frequency of attestation which offers an aid to determine the identification, e.g., *amanmaššu* (Ug Akk) seems to be identified with *imn-m-š*, because of the corespondence between š and š. However, *imn-ms* is so common in the New Kingdom period that we could safely choose *imn-ms* for its identification. (ii) For investigation of the later pronunciation of Eg words, Coptic should bring considerable information. Especially when we check the vocalization of Eg words, which often appears through *matres lectionis* in Aram, since the Coptic forms reflect the later condition of Eg pronunciation, their information on vocal aspects is quite useful. (iv) Finally other forms of Egyptian names, such as Greek, Coptic, Akkadian, enable us to see the historical stages of Egyptian names and consonants, though each language has its own weakness in transcribing Egyptian, e.g., the Greek forms cannot reflect *aleph*, *'ayn*, h-sounds, etc..

(4) As for loanwords, further considerations seem to be required; (i) The word should show proper consonantal correspondences, (ii) It must also correspond well to Egyptian in meaning, and the meaning should fit the context of the Semitic text. (iii) The possibility of it being a Hamito-Semitic cognate must be carefully examined. (iv) The Egyptian word should be attested since the Middle Kingdom. If the word is attested in Eg since the Old Kingdom, because of the great time span in which the word could be borrowed, it is most likely an Egyptian loan word. (v) If the word is commonly attested in Semitic documents, and has been given a Semitic form, it would be more difficult to distinguish a loan word from a cognate. However, if the word singly occurs in the context of Egyptian contact, the possibility of an Egyptian loan is high.

After all these examinations, these Eg names and words are classified in three categories;

1. Names or words which, though possibly Egyptian, cannot be identified with certainty (no mark).

2. Names or words which are probably Egyptian, but not confirmed (marked with *).

3. Names or words which are certainly Egyptian (marked with **).

If those which others have thought to be Egyptian but which are not or are at best very doubtful are marked with ?. Only those which have two asterisks will be used for the final analysis.

Problems

The fundamental hindrance is, needless to say by now, in the conservative Egyptian writing system itself, which hardly reflects the phonetic changes⁵, because our goal is to establish phonetic correspondences on the basis of the correspondences of letters. The reconstruction of the phonetic value of the Egyptian consonants, in the case of the present study, is made possible, to some extent, through the following;

1) The knowledge of the historical course of the changes of Egyptian consonants and morphemes⁶; e.g., final *r* and fem. *t* dropped in the Late Egyptian.

⁵The reconstruction of Eg phonology can be made possible through (1) Coptic and transcription of Greek, Aramaic, Hebrew, Akkadian etc.; (2) foreign or loan words in Egyptian; (3) sound-shift in Egyptian. Osing *LÄ* III p.944.

⁶Historical study of Egyptian consonants has been done by J. Vergote, *Phonétique Historique de l'Égyptien* (Louvain, 1945); *Grammaire Copte* (Louvain, 1973); W. Worrel, *Coptic Sounds* (Ann Arbor, 1934); J. Osing, "Lautsystem" *LÄ* III pp.944-947.

2) The check of progressive spellings; e.g., *db3.t* "box" has been also spelled as *tbi'* (𓄏𓄁𓄃𓄀) / *tb.t* (𓄏𓄁𓄃𓄀) in the Middle Kingdom; *db.t* (𓄏𓄁𓄃𓄀) in the New Kingdom. The collected spellings seem to indicate that its pronunciation changed from something like *db3.t* to *tb.t/tbi'* to *db.t*. However the knowledge of the historical changes of Egyptian consonants tells that the course of the change of the consonant *d* is *d* > *d* > *t*. Therefore, the real change is *db3.t* > *db.t* > *tb.t / tbi'*, through which we know that the New Kingdom spelling *db.t* is a historical spelling, the pronunciation had already become [tbi] in the Middle Kingdom.

3) Investigation of Coptic, e.g., the Coptic form of *db3.t* is THHBE, TAIBE.

4) Comparison with transcriptions into cuneiform⁷, Greek can also provide us with the historical stages of Egyptian consonantal values.

5) Vowel shifts which took place in Egyptian between Ramesses II and the Assyrian period are known to us;

/u/ > /e/, /u/ > /e/, /a/ > /o/ (after nasal > /u/)⁸

The second hindrance is dialectal differences in Egyptian, about which we know very little. All what we can do to resolve this problem is to look into the dialectal differences in Coptic forms.

The problems are not only on the side of Egyptian, the Semitic languages also could not escape phonetic changes in the course of the history. In this study we assume that Semitic phonemes did not change

⁷H. Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material zur Ägyptischen Vokalisation* (Berlin, 1910).

⁸J. Osing, *LÄ III*, pp.947-8; For other references, see Heb GN PTRWS.

in sound values (e.g., /d/ is always [d]). It is possible that Egyptian words and names underwent a secondary change or were Semiticized in pronunciation, after being transcribed into Semitic. It is also possible that the divine names and words which were borrowed and found a permanent place in Semitic remained as historical spellings even after the pronunciation changed in Egyptian⁹. In this case the first contact in which word or names are transcribed is more important.

Previous Works

There are two previous studies devoted entirely or partially to Egyptian proper names and words in North-West Semitic languages. In 1906 W. Spiegelberg published "Ägyptisches Sprachgut in der aus Ägypten stammenden aramäischen Urkunden der Perserzeit" (in *Orientalisches Studien Theodore Noeldeke zum 70 Geburtstag*, pp.1093-1115, Giessen), in which he collected 56 PNs, 30 DNS, 4 GNs, 5 month names, and 5 loan words (total 99) from the Aramaic documents¹⁰ and put forward the following correspondences between Aramaic and Egyptian consonants;

Aram	Eg	Aram	Eg
'	i	M	m
	prothetic aleph	N	n
B	b m	S	s / ś

⁹For this case, see Ph 'SR "Osiris."

¹⁰Six years later, he again studied Egyptian personal names in Aramaic documents from Elephantine, and added 24 PNs in "Die ägyptische Personennamen in den kürzlich veröffentlichten Urkunden von Elephantine" *OLZ* 15 (1912) pp.1-10. In an additional work, "Zu den ägyptischen Personennamen der Urkunden von Elephantine" *OLZ* 16 (1913) pp.346-347, he made two corrections. These works are not included in the analysis of the correspondences between Egyptian and Aramaic given below.

G	<i>g</i> (?)	‘	‘
H	(vowel letter)	P	<i>p f</i>
W	<i>w</i> or (vowel letter [u/o])	Ş	<i>d</i> (x)
Ḥ	<i>ḥ ḥ ḥ</i>	Q	<i>g k</i>
Ṭ	<i>ḍ ḍ ṭ</i>	R	<i>r</i>
Y	3 (Copt. /ε in initial or final)	Š	<i>š</i>
K	<i>k</i>	?	<i>ṭ</i>
L	<i>l</i>	T	<i>t</i> (< <i>t, ṭ, d, d</i>)

Though many identifications and discussions in his study are still valuable, because the number of Egyptian elements is limited and misunderstandings are included, the phonetic correspondences are still incomplete and wrong correspondences crept into the table. Furthermore, the correspondences are only between Egyptian and Aramaic, leaving other North-West Semitic languages untouched.

The second major attempt was made by T. Lambdin, *Egyptian Loanwords and transcriptions in the Ancient Semitic Languages* (unpublished Ph.D dissertation submitted to the Johns Hopkins University, 1952). However, this work was a little unfortunate from the viewpoint of our goals, because of its uneven achievement. First of all, his main concern was, as the title suggests, with Egyptian loan words in Old Testament and El-Amarna tablets¹¹. As a result Egyptian proper names in the Old Testament and Egyptian in other North-West Semitic

¹¹Both were later published as independent articles; "Egyptian loan words in the Old Testament," *JAOS* 73 (1952) pp.145-155; "Egyptian Words in Tell-El Amarna Letter No.14" *Or.* NS 22 (1953) pp.362-369.

documents were largely neglected. He devoted 59 pages (out of which 38 pages are assigned for loanwords) to Hebrew, 55 pages to Akkadian. However, to Aramaic and Phoenician are devoted only 20 pages, in which he simply collected Egyptian elements from previous works without careful examination. Then, the same names are cited with different references three times (e.g., PMS' AP 73.13; PMSP CIS 147.B.13; yet AP 73.13 = CIS 147.B.13 etc.). Therefore, there is little progress in his study concerning Egyptian in Aramaic and Phoenician. Furthermore his main interest is in identifications, not in the phonetic relationship between two languages.

Finally perhaps it is legitimate to mention in this section Kornfeld's *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten*, pp.77-97, because of the bulky collection of Egyptian PNs in Aramaic, in which he studied 229 Egyptian PNs. However his work suffers from its failure to check the original publications and the Coptic forms, and from the acceptance of the wider correspondence between Egyptian and Aramaic. Yet G. Vittmann has much remedied his weakness, "Zu den ägyptischen Entsprechung aramäisch überlieferter Personennamen" *Or. NS* 58 (1989) pp. 213-229.

The present study differs from those of Spiegelberg and Lambdin in bringing all Egyptian elements in all North-West Semitic documents and analysing them historically and geographically with concentration on phonetic aspects. It affords a more consistent comparison between Egyptian and North-West Semitic, even some comparison among North-West Semitic languages. The continuing discoveries of ancient texts in Egypt and the Near East enable the present work to take much more material into account than the earlier studies.

CHAPTER I:

EGYPTIAN PROPER NAMES AND WORDS

IN PHOENICIAN AND PUNIC

The personal names in Phoenician and Punic documents have been collected and analysed by F. Benz, who published his dissertation *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* in Rome 1972. I am indebted to his work for my collection of Egyptian personal names and for checking the possibility of Semitic explanations of the names. After his work (virtually ended in 1970), Semitic proper names are found every year in the index of "Bulletin d'Epigraphie Sémitique" by J. Teixidor in *Syria* 44 (1967)-56 (1979)¹. These two works are the main sources of my collection of Egyptian names, though I have checked each publication of new Phoenician and Punic inscriptions wherever possible.

As for Egyptian names in Phoenician texts, T. Lambdin first collected 4 Egyptian DNs and 15 Egyptian PNs in his dissertation.² All these possibilities except one were followed by Benz (p.192f) and

¹This was republished as a single volume: Javier Teixidor, *Bulletin d'Epigraphie Sémitique (1964-1980)*, (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1986).

²Thomas O. Lambdin, *Egyptian Loanwords and Transcriptions in the Ancient Semitic Languages* (unpublished dissertation submitted to the Johns Hopkins University) Baltimore 1952. For the previous studies of Egyptian names in Phoenician, see p. 116 and 131, among which the most important is W. Spiegelberg, "Die ägyptischen Personennamen in den kurzlich veröffentlichten Urkunden von Elephantine," *OLZ* 15 (1912) pp. 1-11.

he added six names, yet most of his identifications are not certain. Recently G. Vittmann re-examined these Egyptian names and added seven more Eg names³. Here 53 personal names, 11 divine names, 3 geographical names, and 2 loanwords are collected. Only those which have two asterisks will be used for the final analysis.

A. THE DOCUMENTS: DATES AND PROVENANCES

It is not only impossible but also unnecessary to enter into an exhaustive discussion on the dating of Phoenician inscriptions, because it is not our main purpose. It is important, however, to give a date for each document in which the Egyptian names occur for the purpose of the chronological correspondences of Egyptian and Phoenician forms. Therefore, in the following list I followed the widely accepted dates, while trying to accept recent discussions on the dates as much as possible.

The dates of the documents are determined by two different criteria: (1) Historical information mentioned in documents (e.g. Pumiyaon 362/1-312 BC; the Nubian campaign of Psammeticus 593 BC) and (2) palaeography. Since dated inscriptions are quite limited, the majority of the inscriptions is dated on the basis of the paleography. The accuracy of the paleographical determination is enhanced to a considerable extent by B. Peckham, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 1968. When he discussed the dates of the documents, I have mostly followed him. The grounds of each date are found in footnotes. If there is no footnote the dates of the

³G. Vittmann, "Zu den in den phönikischen Inschriften enthaltenen ägyptischen Personennamen," *GM* 113 (1989) pp.91-96.

documents are those given by the scholars who published the document I quoted. The dates of a few documents in *CIS* are based upon Harris' *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* p.157. The dates are given only for the documents which have Egyptian names used for the later analysis.

[1] *CIS*. I.

9	2nd c.BC	Umm el-Awamid
11 (<i>KAI</i> 33)	325 BC ⁴	Cition
12	4th (-3th) c.BC	Cition
13	ca.300 BC ⁵	Cition
46 (<i>KAI</i> 35)	end of 4th c.BC	Cition
53	early 3rd c.BC ⁶	Cition
58	4th-3rd c.BC	Cition
86 (<i>KAI</i> 35)	450-400 BC ⁷	Cition
88	386 BC ⁸	Idalion
93 (<i>KAI</i> 40)	255/4 BC ⁹	Idalion
102a (<i>KAI</i> 49.34)	5th-3rd c.BC ¹⁰	Abydos
102c (<i>KAI</i> 49.36)	5th-3rd c.BC	Abydos
111	592 BC ¹¹	Abu Simbel
112	592 BC	Abu Simbel
118 (<i>KAI</i> 58)	3rd c.BC ¹²	Piräus (Greece)

⁴Peckham, pp. 18, n. 27; 21. *KAI* 33.

⁵*Ibid.*, p.7 and 24.

⁶*Ibid.*, p.37.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 7. Cf. J. P. Healey's date: ca.550 BC in "The Kition Tariffs and the Phoenician Cursive Series," *BASOR*, 216 (1974) PP.53-60.

⁸*Ibid.*, p.9 and 24.

⁹*Ibid.*, p.23f.

¹⁰*KAI* 49

¹¹Peckham, p.106 and 161.

¹²*KAI* 58

122 (KAI 47)	2nd c. BC ¹³	Malta
144 (KAI 46)	mid-9th c. BC ¹⁴	Nora
154	5th-4th c. BC ¹⁵	Itharros
197-375	400-146 BC ¹⁶	Carthage
617	3rd c. BC ¹⁷	Carthage
670-3557	400-146 BC	Carthage
3778 (KAI 78)	3rd c. BC	Carthage
3919-5522	400-146 BC	Carthage
5523 (KAI 96)	2nd half of 3rd c. BC	Carthage
5852-5991 (KAI 91)	400-146 BC	Carthage
[2] <i>Krug.</i>	mid-5th c. BC	Elephantine
[3] <i>RES</i>		
1 (KAI 48.2)	2nd-1st c. BC ¹⁸	Memphis
235 (KAI 48.3)	same as above	
297		
298	mid-5th c. BC ¹⁹	Sidon
307	2nd half of 2nd c. BC ²⁰	Umm el-'Awamid
662 (KAI 118)	15-17 AD ²¹	Ras el-Haddagia

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.69. F. Cross dated it late 2nd cent. BC (*IEJ*, 14, 1964, p.186, n.9).

¹⁴ W. Röllig, "Paläographische Beobachtungen zum ersten Auftreten der Phonizier in Sardinien" in *Antitiron Jürgen Thimme* p.128.

¹⁵ G. Amadasi, *IFP*, p.94.

¹⁶ Peckham, p.195ff. Note the fall of Carthage in 146 BC.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.182.

¹⁸ KAI 48

¹⁹ A. Vonel, "Six Ostraca phéniciens trouvés au temple d'Echmoun près de Saïde," *BMB*, 20 (1965) pp. 45-95 esp. p.58f.

²⁰ M.G. Amadasi, *IFP*, p.18.

²¹ KAI 118

800 (<i>KAI</i> 17)	2nd c.BC ²²	Tyre
928	n.d.	n.p.
1216 (<i>KAI</i> 68)	3rd c.BC ²³	Terranova-Pausania
1332 (<i>KAI</i> 49.37)	5th-3rd c.BC ²⁴	Abydos
1340	5th-3rd c.BC ²⁵	Abydos
1507 (<i>KAI</i> 52)	4th-2nd c.BC ²⁶	unknown (Egypt)

[4] *KAI*

12	3rd-2nd c.BC ²⁷	Byblos
29	mid-7th c.BC ²⁸	Ur
50	6th c.BC ²⁹	Saqqara
51	4th-3rd c.BC	n.p.
100	n.d.	Dougga
124	53 AD	Leptis Magna

[5] Journals

N. Aimé-Giron, *BIFAO*, 23 (1924) p.3: end of 5th c.BC, Egypt

M. Chéhab, *BMB*, 13 (1956) p.43-52, No. 4.1, 2: end of 3rd-end of 2nd c.BC, Umm el-'Awamid.

A. Dupont-Sommer, *JKF*, 1 (1950) p.44.1: 9th-8th c. BC, Cilicia

M. Dunand, *BMB*, 18 (1965) P.106: 2nd half of 5th c. BC³⁰, Sidon.

R. Barnett, *BMQ*, 27 (1963-1964) p.85: 5th c.BC³¹, Egypt.

²²Peckham, p.77; also *KAI* 17.

²³*KAI* 68.

²⁴*KAI* 49; G. Amadasi, *IFP* p.66.

²⁵M. Lidzbarski, *Eph.* III, p.96.

²⁶Peckham, p.128, n.69.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p.45 and 54; cf. *KAI* and Dussaud (*Syria*, 6 p.269) dated it as 1 c.AD.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p.105 and 127.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p.128 and *KAI*.

³⁰Teixidor, *Bulletin*, p.210.

³¹*Ibid.*, p.126 and 334; Röllig, *Welt Or.*, 5 (1968) p.118-120.

A. Honeymann, *JRAS*, (1960) p.111.1: 327 BC³², Cyprus.

M. Lidzbarski, *OLZ*, 30 (1927) p.458: n.d., Byblos

W. Kornfeld, *AÖAW*, 115 (1978) p.203: Abydos.

F. Vattioni, *SF*, p.180, No.4 and 5: n.d., n.p.

[6] Other Works

M. Amadasi, *IFP*, p.39: 5th-4th c.BC, Malta.

-----, *IFP*, p.93: 5th-begin. of 4th c.BC³³, Tharros

E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies*, p.758f.: 361-312 BC.

A. Berthier-R. Charlier, *El-Hofra*, p.256.1

-----, *El-Hofra*, p.138.3

G. Cooke, *NSI*, 149, B6: 361-312 BC, Cition.

M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, vol.1 no.1111a: Byblos

G. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus*, p.21-22: 361-312
BC, Cition.

J. Fevrier, *IAM*, p.116: 3rd c.BC, Maroc.

M. A. Levy, *SG*, p.24: n.d./n.p.

-----, *SG*, p.25: n.d./n.p.

P. Magnanini, *IFO*, p.63: n.d., Abu Simbel.

p.122: 3rd c.BC, Idalion.

p.21: 2nd c.BC, Umm el-Awamid.

p.77: 5th c.BC, Elephantine.

J. Segal, *Saqqara*.: 5th c.BC, Saqqara.

³²Peckham, p.18, n.27.

³³M. L. Uberti, "Scarabeo Punic del Museo Archeologico Nazionale de Cagliari," *Atti del 1° Convegno Italiano Vicino Oriente Antico*, (1978) p.160

B. INVENTORY OF EGYPTIAN PROPER NAMES AND LOANWORDS

[1] Personal Names

'B'Y

--- *ibi* 4~~8~~4~~8~~4~~8~~. 4J4

[Ph] papyrus: *KAI* 51.Rs.3 son of PṬBNTṬ

[Eg] Ranke 1,20.9 m.Late; 1.20.10 m./f.OK-Dyn 26;

DemNB I,61(*iby*) [Gk] cf. Ἴβoῖs , εἰβoῖs , Ἴβωῖs , Ἴβόειs
(*NB* p.146)

Cf. Aram 'B'

The reading 'B'Y is not sure. Yet the Egyptian origin of this name is also suggested by *KAI* (III, p.69). Both affiliation and provenance support 'B'Y as an Egyptian. What is more, there seems to be no Semitic explanation. Eg common name *ibi* is the nearest equation, though it does not exactly correspond to 'B'Y.

** 'BD'BST (hybrid)

--- 'BD-*b(3)s.t(.t)* "Servant of Bast"

[Ph] *CIS* I,86b.6; *Krug* 12, 15b.2, 39, 46 [']BD'BST; *RES* 800.2, 1332. [Pu] *CIS* I,3267.5 ['BD]'BST.

[Eg] see DN 'BST [Gk] Ἀβδουβαστῖος.

** 'BDBST (hybrid)

--- Var. of 'BD'BST

[Pu] *CIS* I,2082.4

[Eg] see DN 'BST

** 'BR'S (hybrid)

--- 'BR-3s(.t) "Isis is strong"

[Pu] Berthier-Chaarlier, *El-Hophra* p.155 no.256.1

[Eg] see DN 'S

** 'HMN (hybrid)

--- 'H-mn(.w) "Brother of Min"

V I p.93

[Ph] *Krug* 150

[Eg] for *mn.w* see *Wb* II,72.11.

Vittmann explained it as a pure Eg name *i(')h-mn* "Min is born" (*DemNB* I,58), which is equally possible.

** 'HMS


--- *i(')h-ms* (Ⲉ), ⲓⲃⲗ "The moon is born"

V I p.93

[Ph] *CIS* I,111.1

[Eg] Ranke I,12.19 m.MK-Gk; *DemNB* I,58 [Aram] 'HMS [Gk]

Ἀχμοσις , *Ἀμοσις* , *Ἀμοσις* , *Ἀμωσις* (*NB* 69, 22, 27, 29)

As for the reading of the final letter ('HM), see Peckham, p.106, no.7, and p.161. Also his discussion about the date of this inscription p.127f. The loss of Eg 'ayn appears from NK  *i(')h* (*Wb* I.42) and Copt. ⲃⲓⲟⲓ , ⲓⲟⲟⲓ , ⲓⲁⲁⲓ. cf. Heb YRH, Akk *warhu*; they perhaps share a common ancestor (Spiegelberg, II. p.8).

** 'L'MN (hybrid)

--- 'L-*imn* "Amon is god"


[Ph/Pu] seal: Levy, *SG* p.24 no.5; *CIS* I,1331.3/4]'MN

[Eg] see Heb DN 'MWN

* 'MHPY

--- **im(y.t)-hpy*

[Ph] ostracon: *Saqqara*, IV (corrected to 'MHPY by J. Naveh, *IEJ* 35 p.211)

[Eg] cf. *im.y-ptḥ*  (Ranke I,25.24 f.NK); *imy.t-p.t* (Ranke, I.25.23)


Likewise possible is a hybrid name 'M-*hpy* "Mother of Apis."

** 'MNNK

--- *imn-nḥ(w)*  "Amun is a protector"

[Ph] seal: Vattioni, *SF* no.5 LPTH BN 'MNNK.

[Eg] Ranke I,29.20 m.NK.

The reading of  is not *nḥ* (Ranke I,29, n.2), but *nḥw* "protector" (*Wb* II,304.14f).

** 'MT'SR (hybrid)

--- 'MT-*3s(ws)-ir* "Servant of Osiris"

[Ph] *CIS* I,93.2

[Eg] see DN 'SR

** 'SBRK (hybrid)

--- *3s(.t)-BRK* "Isis has blessed"

[Ph] Amadasi, *IFP* p.21, 12.2

[Eg] see DN 'S

** 'S''

--- **3s(.t)-'3(.t)* "Isis is great"

[Ph] *KAI* 12.3

[Eg] cf. *imn-ʿ3* (Ranke I, 26.26), *pth-ʿ3* (138.18), *hr-ʿ3* (246.9),
mw.t-ʿ3.t (147.12)

Cf. Aram 'SYT'' (*3s.t-t3-ʿ3.t* "Isis the great"); Ph 'HR (*ʿ3-hr*
"Horus is great").

Donner-Röllig (*KAI* 12) considered that 'S' is a hypocoristicon
of *'S'MS, which does not exist. The *aleph* of *ʿ3.t* was possibly
preserved by the feminine ending -t.

[']SR'DR (hybrid)

---*3s(ws)-(i)r-DR* "Osiris is mighty"

[Ph] Amadasi, *IFO* p.122, 12.1

[Eg] see DN 'SR

** 'SRGN (hybrid)

--- *3s(ws)-(i)r-GN* "Osiris is a protector"

[Pu] *CIS* 1,821.4

[Eg] see DN 'SR

** 'SRŠMR (hybrid)

--- *3s(ws)-(i)r-ŠMR* "Osiris is a keeper"

[Ph] *CIS* 1,122.2, 3

[Eg] see DN 'SR

** 'SRTNY (hybrid)

--- *3s(ws)-(i)r-TNY* "Osiris, give him" (Benz p.217)

[Ph] *Krug* 1

[Eg] see DN 'SR

For the interpretation of this name, see Benz p.217.


'STKŶÑ (hybrid)

--- 3s(.t)-TKNY "Isis establishes" (Benz p.209)

[Pu] CIS I,1159.2

[Eg] see DN 'S

'PN

--- *ipn*  (meaning unknown)

[Pu] J.-B. Chabot "Punica" *JA*, Series II, vol 10
(1917) pp.53-71.

[Eg] Ranke I,24.10 m.Late/f.MK.

Benz did not explain the name, yet he suggested
the possible connection with the Ug. name *apn* (*UT*
19.307).

** 'T

--- *it(f)*  "Father"

[Ph] CIS I,6059; seal: Vattioni, *SF* no.44.

[Eg] Ranke I,50.13 m.Dyn 6-Late/f.MK

* 'TM




--- **itm* "Atum"

[Pu] CIS I,5548

[Eg] cf. *Wb* I,144.5.

The Eg. god *itm* is not attested as a PN. However, it is quite
possible that *itm* was used as a PN, because many other DNs, such as
hr, *pth*, *imn* etc., were frequently used alone as PNs.

BB', BBY

--- *bb.i*, *bb.i(w)*, *b(3)b3*   

[Pu] CIS I,3025.2 BB'; 3108.3 BBY; AA/ 100.7 BBY

[Eg] Ranke I,95.16, 19; 96.3-9 m./f.OK-Late. [Aram] BB'

Semitic possibilities are Akk *babu* (APN p.49); Ug *bn hb*(*UT* 19.440); Heb בָּבָא (Neh 10:16, Ezr 2:11); Talmudic *bābā'*, *bēbay* (see Benz p.282), though the Egyptian name is equally possible.

* BDSY (hybrid)

--- BD-3s(.t) "By the hand of Isis"

[Pu] CIS I,5684.2

[Eg] see DN 'S

It is most likely that SY is a deity (Benz p.364). That SY is 3s.t is perhaps supported, to some extent, by Aramaic form NPSY (*nfr-3s.t*), P $\overline{\text{T}}$ SY (*p3-d $\overline{\text{I}}$ -3s.t*). Yet this is the sole case where Isis occurs as SY in Pu texts.

** BK'

--- b(3)k.i'

[Ph] seal: Levy, SG p.25 (no.6)

[Eg] Ranke I,90.13; cf. Ranke I,93.19 and 20; 98.25 and 26 m.MK-Late/f.NK. The entry of Ranke I,90.13 should be divided into *b3k*

and *b3k.i'*. [Gk] [B?] $\alpha\kappa\kappa\iota\varsigma$, $\beta\alpha\chi\eta$, $\beta\alpha\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\beta\tau\kappa\iota\varsigma$, $\beta\eta\kappa\iota\varsigma$, $\beta\omicron\chi\omega\varsigma$, $\beta\upsilon\kappa\eta\sigma\iota$

(NB p.70ff) [NA] *bak-ki-e* (Postgate, *Fifty NA Legal Docum.*,

no.18.36; see Zadok, GM 26 p.64).

* BL'

--- br 𐤁𐤋𐤀

[Pu] CIS I,132.7

[Eg] see Aram BL'

** BN'S (hybrid)

--- BN-3s(.t) "Son of Isis"

[Ph] Amadasi, *IFO* p.77,39

[Eg] see DN 'S

BNHP (hybrid)

--- BN-*hp* "Son of Apis"

[Ph] *Krug* 34b

[Eg] for *hp* see *Wb* III,70.

Cf. Gk *Ἄπις*; Copt ^sⲠⲏⲧⲉ, ^bⲠⲏⲧⲓ; Aram *ḤPY*.

** B'LHNT (hybrid)

--- B'L-*hnt(y)* "(a crocodile god) Hnty is lord"

[Ph] *CIS* I,52.2

[Eg] For *hnty* , see *Wb* III,308.6f

BŠ'

--- *bš3(w)* 

[Ph] *KAI* 50.2

[Eg] *Ranke* 98.22 m.NK(?) [Aram] cf. BŠ'H [Akk] cf. *ba-ša-a* (*APN* p.53a)

Eg *bš3w* corresponds to BŠ'. Though BŠ' is feminine in the Ph text, while Eg *bš3w* is masculine, it is to be remembered many Eg names are used without distinction of sex. Akk *ba-ša-a* leaves the identification uncertain.

* HR

--- *hr(.t)*  "Peace"

[Pu] *CIS* I,2511.5

[Eg] Ranke I,230.21 f.Late

There is a Semitic root *hr* "mountain", which once occurs in HRB'L. Yet there seems to be no example of Semitic HK alone as PN.

** HRB

--- *hr-(i)b*  "The contented"

[Pu] CIS I,375.5; 1386.2

[Eg] Ranke I,230.5-7 m.OK-Gk/f.Late-Gk [Gk] cf. *Ἐπιεῦς* (NB p.103).

** HRB'L (hybrid)


--- *hr-B'L* "Ba'al is contented"

[Ph] Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, no.1111a

[Eg] cf. *hr* + DN type names, such as *hr-b3st.t* (Ranke I,230.20f Late).

Cf. HRB, HR

W'

--- *wi'(3)*  "Boat"

Benz p.192; K p.121; V I p.91

[Ph] Krug 11b LW' BR SHPMW

[Eg] Ranke I,75.24 m./f.MK-NK. [Gk] cf. *Ὠῖος* (NB p.248)

Benz considered the name to be Eg *w3r* (Ranke I,72.14), which is attested once in the Late period. Since Eg final *r* dropped in NK, it is possible, yet we have to admit that the final ' functions as a vowel letter indicating [i], which is unlikely. In terms of its affiliation, an Eg name is preferable, though it does not offer a strong support. If this is an Eg name *wi'(3)* is more likely. The preservation of Eg *i* of *wi'3* at the end is demonstrated in such names in Aram as PTHW' (*pth-m-wi'3*), PW' (*p3-n-wi'3*). Lidzbarski

suggested that the name is a short form of a Semitic name such as 'B' (so attested in Talmud; *Krug* p.7). Yet as Vittmann pointed out, it is more likely that the name is a LW' (L is not a preposition). For this name attested in Ph, see Teixidor, *Bulletin*, p.489.

** WḤPR'

--- w(3)ḥ-(i')b-r' 𐤨𐤃𐤓𐤓 "Re' is kindly"

Benz p.192

[Ph] Noël Aimé-Giron, *BIFAO* 23 p.5.

[Eg] Ranke I,72.28 m.Late-Gk; II p.348; *DemNB* I, 113 [Gk] *Ουαπρη* (LXX), *Ούαπρις* (Manetho), *Ἀπρις* (Herodotus and Diodorus)

ῶαπρη̣ς, *Ουαπρη̣ς* (*NB* p.239, 246), *Ἀπρι̣ας* (Ctesias, Athenaeum 13);

[Heb] ḤPR' (Eg king Dyn 26, Jer 44:30); [Akk] cf. *uḥ-pa-ra-sa-a*,

'u-uḥ-pa-ra-sa-a (E. Weidner, in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à R.*

Dussaud, II, pp.931f; for Eg *w3ḥ-íb-r'-s* Ranke II,348); [Aram]


WḤPR'; [Copt] cf. *ΟΥΗΒΦΡΗ* (*w3ḥ-íb-p3-r'* *DemNB* I,132).

It is noteworthy that Heb HPR' does not have an initial weak consonant w. The Heb initial W might not be supported by a full vowel, then dropped like *da'* for *w^eda'* (*Gesenius* section/19h).

Perhaps the change is *w(3)ḥ-(íb)-r' * [wăḥpara'] > * [uḥpara']* (cf. Akk. *Uḥ-pa-ra*) > ** [ḥopara']* (Anaptyxis) > *[ḥopra']* (vowel syncope).

It is interesting enough that Eg *b* corresponds to P in Ph, Heb, Aram, and even Akk. Notice that Akk forms *'uḥ-*, *'u-uḥ* do not indicate an initial consonant; if there was the initial consonant, it should have been written as *mu-uḥ*.

Ḥ'R

--- ḥr  "Horus" (?)

Teixidor, *Bulletin* p.129 (no.72)

[Ph] Masson, *BCH* 93 pp.694-700

Teixidor considered that the name is Horus. Yet the identification is open to question, because of the middle *aleph*.

** ḤB


--- ḥb(.y)    "He of festival" (?)

[Ph] seal: Vattioni, *SF* no.8.

[Eg] Ranke I,236.15 m.NK.

This root is not attested in Ph and Pu. Harris suggested it an abbreviation of a name (Harris, *Grammar*, p.99). There is a Heb PN *ḥôbab* which is not quite comparable, because of the gemination of B, though BDB suggest their possible connection. An Eg name, therefore, is most likely because *ḥb* is common as a word (*Wb* III,57.5) and a PN since OK.

In terms of name-giving, Eg PN ḤB perhaps shows the same practice as Heb *haggîyah* and Ebla *du-bu-ḥi-DN*, *Ard-nubatti*, *Ardrššesu* indicate. They were most likely born in a day of festival (A. Millard, *ARES*, I, p.164).

--- ḥrbs  "The face of Bes"

[Ph] *Krug* 10.2 ḤLPS (Reading quite uncertain. The following discussions are based on an assumption that the reading ḤLBS is correct)

[Eg] *Ranke* I,253.27 m.Late; *DemNB* I,205 (*p3-ḥr-bs/ ḥrbs*) [Gk]

χαλβης, Ἀλαβῆσις (*NB* p.17. see also A. Leahy, *Cd'E* 55 p.57-58; Fraser, *JEA* 40 p.135)

[NA/NB] ḥa-la-bé-e-su (*Wiseman, Iraq*,28 p.156); ḥal-la-bi-še, ḥa-la-bi-e-si, ḥa-la-bi-e-še. See also R. Zadok, *GM* 64 P.73 for these cuneiform correspondences.


** ḤMB'L (hybrid)

--- ḥm-B'L "The servant of Ba'al"

[Pu] *CIS* I,4734.3

[Eg] cf. ḥm + DN type name, *Ranke* I,239.17ff. ḥm-ptḥ "the servant

³⁴Since *Ranke* cited this name wrongly (*Ranke* I,253.27), it has been always spelled ḤLBS, rather than ḤLPS (*Lidzbarski*) by most scholars (*J. Griffith*, *D. Wiseman*, *A. Leahy*, *R. Zadok*). Although *Lidzbarski* stated that the reading of this name is sure (*Krug*. p.6), we can be sure, from the photograph, of only two letters, namely, the first letter Ḥ and the last letter S. The second letter which most scholars have considered L, is not likely to be L, in comparison with another L which occurs in the previous line in *BDB* L. It could be a trace of an erased letter. The third letter cannot be B, because we have in this inscription three other Bs which show a consistent form of B. The B of ḤLBS does not look like the other three Bs,. P is more likely, as *Lidzbarski* read.

For the discussions on this name, see *J. Gwyn Griffiths* "Is Cholbe a Greek name?" *ASAE* 51 (1951) pp.219f., and *A. Leahy*, "<<HARWA>> and <<ḤARBES>>" *Cd'E* 55 (1980) pp.43-63, esp. 56-62. He observed that Eg. ḥr "Horus" is always written as ḤR in Semitic, while the other ḥr () could be rendered by ḤL in Semitic (The Phonetic change of Eg. r to Semitic L was discussed by *W. A. Ward* (*Or* NS 32, p.419 n.1). *Benz* (p.109 and 311) observed a Semitic root ḤLP "to change", "to substitute" in ḤLBS, which he explained as ḤLP(')S. Yet we should remember that ḤLP is not found in Ph but in Aram, Heb, and Arab (*Lidzbarski, Krug.*, p.6).




of Ptah" (m.Late), *hm-mn.w* "the servant of Min" (m.OK), *hm-htḥr* (m.OK).

* HMY

--- *hm(.t)*  "Maid-servant"

[Pu] CIS I, 3179.5; 3709.5; 4924.4/5; 5730.3; 5951.2;

[Eg] Ranke I, 240.3 f.NK-Dyn.22

Equally possible is *hm.i* ,  (Ranke I, 269.14 m./f.MK); *hm.y*  (Ranke I, 259.15 f.NK).

** HMNKT

--- **hm-nḥt* "Servant of (god) the Mighty"

[Pu] CIS I, 336.3

[Eg] For *hm* as a PN element, see Ranke I, 239.16, also *hm* + DN type names: *hm-pth*, *hm-mn.w*, *hm-r'* etc. For *nḥt* as an epithet for a deity, see *p3-n-nḥt* "He who belongs to the Mighty" (Ranke I, 109.6 and 7 m.Dyn20-Gk).

HNTS

--- *hnt(3)s(w)* "Lizard"

Benz p.192; V I p.91

[Ph] statue: RES 1507.2 (KAI 52)

[Eg] Wb III, 122 [Demot] *hnt̓s* (Erichsen p.315) [Copt] ΔΝΘΟΥC, as a PN 2ANTOYC (Crum p.11b)

Benz suggested the Eg origin of this name and identified it with *hnw.t-š3* (Ranke I, 244.4). However Eg *š* usually does not correspond to Ph S. While *hnw.t.š* (quoted by KAI 52) is attested only in OK, *hnt̓s.w* (Ranke I, 245.13) is attested in MK. Vittmann compared it with Demot *hnt̓s* "lizard." If the name is Eg, Vittmann's solution

is most likely

**** ḤP**

--- ḥp ḥ ḥ

[Ph] ostracon: *Saqqara*, XX

[Eg] Ranke I,237.1 m.MK-NK/f.OK-MK.

Cf. Aram DN HP.

**** ḤPYW**

--- ḥp-iw ḥ ḥ , ḥ ḥ ḥ ḥ "the Apis has come"

L p.131; Benz p.192

[Ph] *krug* 47.2, 54.1.

[Eg] Ranke I,237.5 m.NK(?) -Late. [Gk] Ἀπιεῦς , Ἐπεῦς (NB

p.39,100) Ἀπιος , Ἀππιος , Ἀπιοῦς , Ἀπεως , Ἀπιων [Aram] ḤPYW,

ḤPY'W

Phonetic correspondence is a little difficult. The following other forms give us some clues for the phonetic reconstruction; Aramaic form fully written ḤP'YW (cf. ḤPYW); [Copt] ὩἈΠΕ , ὩἈΠΙ (Apis); Copt εἰ[ι]"to come"; Akk ᵀNa-ah-tu-ḥa-ap-pi-i (Ranke *KM*, p.39), ᵀUk-ḥa-ap-pi-i (*Ibid.*, p.41); [Gk] Ἀπιεῦς; therefore, [*Ḥapi'i/ew] < [*Ḥapi-i(a).w(u)], then intervocalic *aleph* dropped or merged [Ḥapīw] > Ph ḤPYW, Aram ḤPYW, Gk Ἐπεῦς , Ἀπιος , Ἀπιοῦς . The final W is an element of *sdm.w* form (old perfective).

ḤPT

--- ḥpt ḥ ḥ ḥ "Embrace"

[Ph] seal: Clermont-Ganneau, *JA* Series 8 vol.1

[Eg] Ranke I,239.1 m./f.MK-Late.

** HR

--- hr  "Horus"

V I p.93

[Ph] CIS I,46.1; RES 1340 [Pu] 4319.5, 4945.3/4

[Eg] Ranke I,245.18 m.OK-Gk/f.Mk-Nk. [Gk] Ὡρος, Ὡρ, Ὡρο, Ὡρρος, Ὡρως, Ὠρος, Ὠρ, Ἀουρος, (NB p.52, 242f, 497,) [Copt]

Ⲓⲱⲣ, Ⲓⲁⲣ [Aram] HR, HWR [Heb] HWR [Ug] HR (Gröndahl p.136)

[NA] mHu-u-ru (APN p.90a; Ranke, KM p.29; Zadok, GM 26, p.64; cf. CAD H p.256 huru "son").

** HRWS

--- hr-wd(3)  "Horus is prosperous"

L p.131f; Benz p.192

[Ph] Krug 40

[Eg] Ranke I,246.23; p.378; 251.24 m.Late-Gk [Gk] Ἀρουῶθις, Ἀρουῶθης, Ἀρουῶτης (NB p.52,57) [Aram] HRW], HRWS [Copt] Ⲓⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁ

[NB] Har-ma-ṣu, Ha-ar-ma-ṣu (Wiseman, Iraq 28 p.155).

* HRKP

--- *hr-k(3)p "Horus is Bird catcher"

[Ph] Krug 54.2.

[Eg] cf. p3-k3p.w "The bird catcher" (Ranke I,120.5 m.Late-Gk).

cf. p3-ir-k3p (Ranke I,101.15 m.Late).

Another possibility is *hr-kf3 "Horus is trust-worthy" (cf. kf3 "the Trustworthy" Ranke I,334.15).

** HRMS

--- hr-ms(.w)  "Horus is born"

[Pu] Berthier-Charlier, El-Hofra 138.3

[Eg] Ranke I,249.1 m.MK-Gk/f.MK-NK [Gk] Ἐρμᾶς (NB p.104).


** YMHT

--- $\dot{i}(i')-m-ht(p)$  "Coming in peace"


V I p.93

[Ph] Krug 14a.

[Eg] Ranke I,9.2 m.OK-Gk; DemNB I,55. [Gk] Ἰμούθης, Εἰμούθης, Ἰμουτ, Ἰμουτης, Ἰεμούθης (NB p.149) [Aram] YMHT, 'MHWT

With respect to the dropping of the final p of htp , we could compare it with its late form  (Wb III,188). Gk forms also support that the final p dropped. Yet it should be remembered that Coptic still preserved the final p as $\zeta\omega\tau\bar{\pi}$, $\zeta\omega\pi\bar{\tau}$. The root MHṬ is not attested in Semitic, so the interpretation as an imperfect form, which Benz offered, is impossible.

YPT'

--- $\dot{i}pt.y$ 

[Pu] Berthier-Charlier, *El-Hofra* 161.2, 3.

[Eg] Ranke I,24.19 m.NK-Late.

Considering that laryngals and pharyngals were merged in the Late Punic, a Semitic explanation: YPTH > YPT' is not impossible. However, the *aleph* for *het* seems to be restricted in the initial position (Benz p.204; cf. Friedrich-Röllig, *PPG*² p.14f.).

** YTNHP (hybrid)

--- YTN- $\dot{h}py$ "Apis has given"

[Ph] Krug 2, 5, 16

[Eg] see Wb III,70.1ff.

KNMY

--- **kn-m(3)ḥ* "The lion is strong"

[Pu] *CIS* I,3785.3


[Eg] cf. *kn* + DN type names (Ranke I,334.18ff): *kn-ḥmn* (m.NK-Dyn.21). For MY (*m3ḥ*) see Ph. PMY.

The equation of Ph K for Eg *k* is a little questionable.


KNPWN

--- **k(3.ḥ)-nfr(w)-wn* "My beautiful ka exists"

[Pu] *CIS* I,4531.4/5.

[Eg] cf. *k3(ḥ)-nfr*  (Ranke I,340.10 m.OK-Late) and *nfr.w-wn* (Ranke I,203.23).

** KNPY

--- *k(3.ḥ)-nfr*  "(My) ka is good" or "(My) beautiful ka"

L p.132; Benz p.192.


[Ph] *Krug* 24.

[Eg] Ranke I,340.10 m.OK-Late. [Gk] *κοινούφης* , *χονούφης*

(*NB* p.181, 478). [Aram] *KNWPY*.

Loss of the final *r* of Eg *nfr* is common enough (MNP--*mn-nfr*, Copt. *NOY4E*, *NOY4I* Černý, *LEG* section 1.9). Yet the plural form or old perfective form *nfr.w* preserved the *r* with the protection of the final *-w* (cf. Copt *NOY4P*). Hence the Eg correspondence of *KNPY* is not *k3-nfr.w* as Benz suggested (Ranke I,338.6, 340.10). The final *Y* is most likely to be a vowel letter (see the later discussion "The Possible *matres lectionis* in Ph and Pu" p.76).

** KŠY

--- (i)kš  + gentilic Y "The Nubian"

L p.132; Benz p.192; V 1 p.92

[Ph] graffito: CIS 1,112 c.1 KŠ[Y], c.2 KŠY; graffito:

Magnanini, *IFO* p.63.4; Lidzbarski *OLZ*, 30 p.458³⁵


[Eg] Ranke 1,48.23; *DemNB* 1,80; cf. Ranke 1,102.4 m.Dyn 22 [Copt]

εθωϣ, εθωϣ "Nubian" [Gk] Ἐκουσις, Ἐκουσιος, κούσις, χούσις (*NB*

pp.97, 185, 478) cf πεκουσις, πεχυσλος, πεχύσις (*NB* p.259). [Heb]

KWŠ, KWŠY [Aram] KŠY [NA] *Ku-ú/u-si* (*Assurb.* I,53,78 as GN).

cf. *ku-sa-a-a-*, *ku-sa-ia-a* (*APN* p.119a) [MB] *kōšī* [NB] *kūšu*.

 (i) of *iks* is a prothetic *aleph* which is not reflected in Ph. texts. The loss of the *aleph* could be explained: (1) the prothetic *aleph* simply dropped; (2) Eg word for "the Nubian" has two forms, namely *ikš* and *kšy* (see Ranke 1,348.26 *kšw*), which is supported by Gk forms *Ἐκουσις* and *κούσις*. The final Y of KŠY is probably a gentilic. Lipinski pointed out the possibility that KŠY is an Semitic name³⁶ attested in the cuneiform texts (*APN* p.119a). Yet there is no difficulty to think that the same name occurs in the cuneiform texts.

** MY

---m(3)i  "Lion"

[Pu] CIS 5852.1

[Eg] Ranke 1,144.1 m.OK-NK.

Cf. Ph PMY

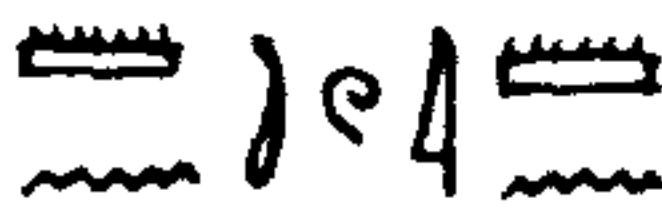
³⁵Dussud's reading BNPMY (*Syria*, 6, 1925, p.270f.) was corrected by Lidzbarski. For the text from Abu Simbel, see also J. Friedrich, *ZDMG* 114, 1964, p.226.

³⁶Lipinski, review of *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*, by F. Benz, in *Bibl.Or* 32 (1975) p.79; cf. *IPN* p.232, no.803.

MNTHR

--- **mnt(.w)-hr* "Horus is Mont"

[Ph] seal: Bordreuil, *Catalogue des sceaux*, p.26 (no.12)

[Eg] cf. *mnt.w* + DN type: *mnt.w-ʿmn*  "Amun is Mont"

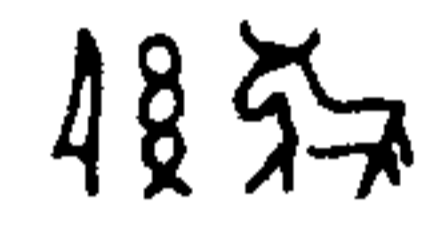
(Ranke I,153.25 m.Dyn 20); *mnt.w-mn.w* "Min is Mont" (Ranke I,154.15. m.NK).

* MRYHY

--- **mr-ʿhy* "The beloved of the Cow"

[Ph] CIS I,60.3; I,93.3, 4, 5

[Eg] cf. *mr* + DN type names (Ranke I,155.15ff.): *mr-ʿp.t*

m.NK), *mr-ʿmn*, *mr-b3st.t* etc.. Eg god *ʿh*  (Copt. ^{sb}εϷε , ^tΔϷΗ) (*Wb* I,119,15f.) who is attested in PNs well, such as *p3-ʿh*, *p3-ʿh.y*, *p3-n-ʿh.w* (Ranke I,101.24-26; 106.16).

* NBSK

--- **nb(.ʿ)-s(b)k* "My lord is Sobek"

[Pu] CIS I,531.3

[Eg] cf. *nb.ʿ* + DN type names: *nb.ʿ-r* (Ranke I,186.1), *nb.ʿ-ʿmn* (Ranke I,183.10). For the dropping of *b*, see Aram PṬSBK.

NPR

--- *nfr(.w)*  "Beauty"

Teixidor, *Bulletin*, p.126; Aimé-Giron, *JA*, 17 p.57f.;

V I p.93

[Ph] *Krug* 50; Kornfeld, *AÖAW* 115 p.203 (no. 20).

[Eg] Ranke I,203.16-18 m./f.Ok-NK [Gk] *ΝΕΦΕΡΩΣ* , *ΝΕΦΕΡ* , *ΝΕΦΕΡᾶς* , *ΝΕΦΕΡᾶūs* , *ΝΕΦΕΡΟΣ* (*NB* p.230) [Aram] NPR

This name is not listed in Benz, although it occurs in

Lidzbarski *Krug* no.50 (p.17), where he suggests a possibility of an Eg name. The name is not *nfr* (Ranke I,194.1), because of the preservation of *r* of *nfr* (Gk *νουφισ* ; see the discussion in KNPY). For the possibility of the name as Eg loan in Canaanite, see Ug *nfr* (UT 1680).

* SKR


--- *skr*  "Sokar"

[Pu] CIS I,3751.4

[Eg] Ranke I,298.8 m./f.MK (Notice that *skr* is used as theophoric element until the Late Period (e.g. Ranke I,298.11; I,200.17; II, p.370).

There is a Ph root SKR "to remember" (Heb ZKR), which can be a PN, cf. *zāker* (1Chr 8:31), *zakkūr* (Num 13:4), Ph ZKR.

** SNR

--- *s(3)-nr(.t)*  "Son of Vulture goddess"

[Ph] RES 297.1

[Eg] Ranke II,312.13 m.Late

Notice that *snr* is attested as a GN, and PN (UT 19.1776). Yet a Semitic etymology is uncertain; so an Eg solution is more probable.

** SSR


--- *s(3)-sr*  "Son of the ram"

[Pu] CIS I,2882.3; 3351.7/8

[Eg] Ranke I,284.10 m.Gk.

** SPTH

--- *s(3)-pth*  "Son of Ptah"

---s(3.t)-pth  "Daughter of Ptah"

L p.132; Benz p.192; V I p.92

[Ph] *Krug* 9.1.

[Eg] Ranke I,282.1 m.NK-Late; Ranke I,288.22 f.Mk [NB] ¹si-ip-ta-hu (Vittmann, *GM* 70 p.65)

** SR'SR (hybrid)

--- *sr-3s(ws)-ir "Osiris is noble"

[Ph] seal: Vattioni, *SF* no.4

[Eg] cf. the sr + DN type names (Ranke I,316.26-317.3 m.NK-Late):

sr(?)-imn, sr(?)-pth, sr(?)-mnt.w, sr-dhwtj.

** 'BD'MN (hybrid)

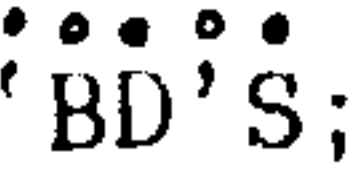
--- 'BD-imn "Servant of Amon"

[Ph] *Krug* 8.1; M. Dunand, *BMB*, 18 (1965) p.106

[Eg] see DN 'MN [Gk] Ἀβημονος (Josephus) Ἀβδημων (Diodorus of Sicile), Ἀβυμων (F. Jacoby)

F. Cross and P. McCarter compared the name with Ug. *guru* 'amma, Hittite KUR Am-ma-na, a mountain in Syria, perhaps the Anti-Cassios (*Rivista di Studi Fenici* 1 p.4 n.7), because the 'BD'MN occurs as the name of a king of Sidon. However, it is conceivable that a Phoenician king features an Eg deity (cf. PMY) and it is usual that the 'BD is composed with a deity. At least, therefore, there is no difficulty to think that the name on a jar from Elephantine contain a Eg deity (*Krug* 8.1).

** 'BD'S (hybrid)

[Ph/Pu] *CIS* I,3523.2 ; *RES* 298.1

[Eg] see DN 'S

** 'BDḤR (hybrid)

--- 'BD-ḥr "Servant of Horus"

[Ph] *RES* 307.1/2; *CIS* I,53.

[Eg] see PN ḤR.

* 'BDKRR (hybrid)

--- 'BD-ḳrr "Servant of the Frog"

[Pu] *CIS* I,2630.3

[Eg] for ḳrr see *Wb* V,61.5f. Copt = κροϋρ , βχροϋρ

"the frog". cf. NA *pa-aḳ-ru-ru* for Eg *p3-ḳrr* (Ranke, *KM*, p.31).


The correspondence between Ph K and Eg ḳ is not certain.

Notice that Eg ḳ is represented by NA ḳ.

'BDMT̄ (hybrid)

--- 'BD-*mw(.t)* "The servant of Mut"

[Pu] *CIS* I,2098.3

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,90.18f. *b3k-mw.t*  "the servant of the Mut".

Mut (*mw.t*) is one of the most common theophoric elements in Eg PNs.

'BDS (hybrid)

--- Var. of 'BD'S

[Pu] *CIS* I,308.4

'BD'S̄ (hybrid)

--- Var. of 'BD'S

[Pu] *CIS* I,4948.3

[Eg] see DN 'S

Notice the confusion of ' and ' in Punic. Cf. 'BDS

'BD^oPMY (hybrid)

--- 'BD-*p(3)-m(3)i'* "The servant of PMY"

[Ph] CIS I, 88.6

[Eg] see PN PMY

** 'BDPTH (hybrid)

--- 'BD-*pth* "The servant of Ptah"

[Ph] CIS I, 111.1; *Krug* 27, 30 'BDPTH

[Eg] for *pth*, see *Wb* I, 565; Copt ^s ΠΤΑϚ Gk φθα

** 'BDR' (hybrid)

--- 'BD-*r'* "The Servant of Re'"

[Pu] CIS I, 3778.10

[Eg] for *r'* see *Wb* II, 401; Baby. *rī'a*; Heb R'; Gk -ρι

Copt ^{s, b} ρΗ, ^a ρι.

** 'HR

--- * '(3)-*hr*

Teixidor, *Bulletin*, p.431; G p.465; K p.85; V I p.93

[Pu] seal: Amadasi, *IFP* p.93 No.10³⁷.

[Eg] cf. *hr*-'³  "Horus is great" (Ranke I, 246.9;

II, 377)

Notice an honorific transposition of *hr*. See also the composition of '³ + DN: '³-*pth* (Ranke I, 57.17), '³-*3h.ty* (Ranke I, 57.5),

'³-*imn* (Ranke I, 57.7). cf. *imn*-'³ (Ranke I, 26.26), *pth*-'³ (Ranke


³⁷For the photo, see M. L. Uberti, "Scarabéo punic del Museo Archeologic Nazionale di Cagliari," *Atti del 1° Convegno Italiano sul Vicino Oriente Antico: Orientis Antiqui Collectio XIII* (Rome, 1978) pp.157-162, pl. XIII.

I,138.18). m.MK-NK (PN with *hr* is common enough throughout the history of Egypt, e.g. Ranke I,245.18ff. It seems there is no necessity to limit the composition '3 + DN to only MK; against Lambdin, Kornfelt p.85, see Grelot p.465). Vittmann explained it as 'nh-*hr*, citing Aram 'HRNPY. However, the merging of two different, strong Eg *hs* is unconceivable, and 'HRNPY does not exist (see Arm 'HMNPY).

* 'MSKR (hybrid)

--- 'M-*skr* "(My) kinsman is Sokar"

[Pu] CIS I,3303.4


[Eg] for *skr*  see *Wb* III,487.13. In PNs see Ranke I,200.17; II,370 *nfr-k3-skr* "fine is the ka of the god Sokar" (m.Late); Ranke I,298.8-11.

Two explanations proposed by Benz are (1) abbreviation for 'BD + DN, (2) 'MS "to carry" + DN. Yet he did not identify the deity (cf. 'MSMLK, B'L'MS, MLQT'MS Benz p.379). When we compare it with Heb names 'MY'L "My kinsman is god", 'MYNDB "My kinsman is noble", 'MYŠDY "My kinsman is Shaddai", although there is Ph word SKR (Heb ZKR) "to remember", it is most likely that SKR is a theophoric element.

'NB'L (hybrid)

--- 'n-B'L "Fine is Ba'al"

[Pu] CIS I,5844.4

[Eg] see 'n + DN type names: 'n-b3s.t.t  "Fine is Bastet (Ranke I,61.11 f.Late); 'n-mw.t "Fine is Mut" (Ranke I,61.18)

Notice Ph roots 'N I "to see", II "spring", III "sight", IV "now" (Tomback p.251-2), which seem not to be used in PN (Benz

p.38f.), while 'n + DN is a common Eg feminine name in the Late Period. Considering that 'NB'L is a feminine name, the Eg possibility is likely (see the discussion of Heb PN 'NYHW).

'NBTB'L (hybrid)

--- 'n-BT-B'L "The daughter of Ba'al is beautiful"

[Pu] CIS I,5893.4

[Eg] see 'NB'L

** 'NH₁PMS

--- *'nh₁-p(3)-ms "The child lives"

L p.132; Benz p.192; V I p.92

[Ph] Krug 14b.

[Eg] cf. 'nh₁-p3-hrd "The son lives" (Ranke I,63.17 m.Late-Gk; DemNB I,99; p3-ms "The child" (Ranke I,105.11 m.Nh)

The Eg form *'nh₁-p3-ms does not occur in Eg documents. Yet both elements 'nh₁ and p3-ms are well attested in Eg PN. There is no difficulty to conclude that the Ph may have preserved a good Eg PN. Another possibility is *'nh₁-p3-ms(s) where ms(s) is the Libyan word for "chief". This word entered Egyptian in Dyn 22/23.

** 'PT₁H

--- '(3)-pt₁h  "Ptah is great"

[Ph] Krug 42 and 59.

[Eg] Ranke I,57.17; 138,18; DemNB I,95. m.MK-Late

See 'HR for the discussion of this type of name. PT₁H as a theophoric element is very common throughout Egypt.

PDS (hybrid)

--- PD-(3)s(.t) "Isis has ransomed"

[Pu] CIS 1,3896.2; 3916.7

[Eg] see DN 'S

Halff (*Karthage* 12 p.139) suggested that PDS is PD'S (*p3-di-3s.t*). However Eg *d* is exclusively equated with Ph and Pu Ṭ. If we accept the elision of the *aleph* of *3s.t* ('S > S), as suggested in BDSY, Aram NPSY etc., a hybrid name PD-3s.t is most likely, cf. PDYH "YH has ransomed" (Benz p.389).

* PWSK

--- *p(3)-(n-)wsh(.t) "He who belongs to a wide hall"

[NPu] seal: Vattioni, SF no.46

[Eg] cf. *p3-n-t3-wsh.t* "He who belongs to the wide hall" (Ranke II,281.13).

** PṬ'S

--- p(3)-d(i)-3s(.t)  "He whom Isis has given"

L p.132. Benz p.193; V I p.92

[Ph] *Krug* 39 BN'S (corrected to PṬ'S by Vittmann; yet the Ṭ is uncertain), 48; a little box: *KAI* 29.1

[Eg] Ranke I,121.18 m.Dyn.22ff.-Gk; II p.355; *DemNB* I,290 (*p3-ti-is.t*) [Copt] ΠΑΔΗΣΕ, ΠΑΤΕΣΕ, ΠΑΤΗΣΕ (*DemNB* I,290) [Gk]

ΠΑΤΕῆΣΙΣ, (ΠΑΤῆΣΙΣ), ΠΕΤΕῆΣΙΣ, (ΠΕΤῆΣΙΣ), (ΠΑΤΙΣΙΣ), ΠΑΤΕῆΣΕ, ΠΕΤΕῆΣΕ, ΠΕΤΕΙΣΙΣ, (ΠΕΤῆΣΙΟΣ) (*NB* pp. 286f, 312, 318). [Aram]

PṬSY, PṬ'SY [NB] *pa-ti-e-sù* (Zadok, *GM* 26 p.65) [Persia] *pa-ta-e-si-i'* (Ranke, *KM* p.40).

** PṬ'SY

--- p(3)-d(i)-3s(.t)

L p.132; Benz p.193; V I p.92

[Ph] *Krug* 57.

[Eg] see PṬ'S

Cf. Aram PṬ'SY

Possible explanations of the final Y are: (1) a *mater lectionis* (see "The possible *Mater Lectionis*" p.76). (2) a caritative ending or feminine ending Y; cf. *śāray* (Gen 11:30), *na'āmî* (Ruth 1:2). F. Gröndahl observed a caritative ending -y [-iya] in Ug PN: *il(i)piya, kalbeya, gb'ly, krny* etc. (Gröndahl p.25), and Akk caritative endings are also -(i)ya and -(y)atum. Yet this element seems non-existent in the Ph names (Benz p.242). (3) Eg bi-form of this name. First this possibility of a bi-form is suggested by Eg documents: (i) p3-dî-3s.t and (ii) p3-dî-3s.t.î (Ranke I, 121, 18 and 19). Yet the final î (𐤀) could be a man determinative (𐤁). Secondary cuneiform writings show the possibility: R. Zadok (*GM* 64, 1983, p.74) points out that the theophoric element Isis is spelled in two ways, i.e., (1) (d)e-si-' (fA/Am-mat-de-si-' 423/2 BC; Ab-di-de-si' 217/6 BC) and (2) e-su (Ra-hi-(i-)me/mé-(e)-su 2nd c.BC). Yet the Ph variations PṬ'S and PṬ'SY occur at the same time and place, so I am inclined to consider it as *mater lectionis*.

** PṬBNTṬ

---* p(3)-d(i)-b(3)-n(b)-dd(w.t) "He whom the ram, the lord of Mendes, has given"

L p.131f; Benz p.192f; V I p.91

[Ph] statue: *RES* 1507

[Eg] Ranke II, 284.20; see Aimé-Giron, *BIFAO* 38, p.29 [Gk]

ΠΕΤΕΜΕΝΔΗΣ (NB p.313).

Harris (*Grammar* p.137), followed by Lambdin, Benz, and KAI, divided this name into two names; "PṬ son of ṬṬ." However, KAI also quotes Aimé-Giron (*BIFAO* 38 p.29) who first proposed the Eg equation of PṬBNTṬ. A single name is more likely because we have Gk correspondence ΠΕΤΕΜΕΝΔΗΣ. The lack of *b* can be justified by $(n)s-b3-n(b)-dd(.t) = \sigma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\delta\eta\varsigma$ (Ranke I,174.17). Cuneiform material *uruBi-in-di-di* (*b3-nb-dd*) (Assurb. I,99) also proves that *b* of *nb* has been lost.

Eg. *dd.w* (𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 "Mendes") and *dd* (𐎠𐎡 "to say") took different phonetic changes. The *dd* (𐎠𐎡) became *d* (probably *dd* > *dt* > *d*) from MK (*Wb*, V,618), and took no further change until Copt Δ . cf. $\$H'$ (*dd-hr*). Contrarily the *dd.w* (𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣) in question changed into *dd* (probably *dd.w* > *dd.w* > *dd*) from MK (*Wb*, V,630). This was rendered as ṬṬ in Ph. (cf. Ranke *KM* p.93: $\tau\epsilon\tau\iota=dd(.t)$). What is more, Eg. *dd* (Ph ṬṬ) is not attested as a single name after Dyn. 18 (Ranke I,401.3, 4, 7: notice I,401.5 has a foreign sign), though PṬ (*p3-di'*) is attested well until Gk period. Therefore PṬBNTṬ is most likely to be one name.

** PṬKNŠ[

--- *p(3)-d(i')-hns(.w)* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥 "He whom Khons has given"

L p.132; Benz p.193

[Ph] *Krug* 49.1.

[Eg] Ranke I,125.21 m.NK-Gk; *DemNB* I,336 (*p3-ti'-hns(w)*) [Gk]

ΠΕΤΕΧΩΝΟΙΣ, ΠΑΤΕΧΩΝ, ΠΕΤΑΘΟΥΣ, ΠΕΤΕΩΩΝ, ΠΕΤΕΧΩΝ(Σ) (NB p.318). [Aram] PṬHNS. [NB] *pa-at-ha-an-si* (Zadok, *GM* 64 1983 p.73). [Copt] cf. $\sigma\pi\alpha-\psi\theta\omicron\varsigma$, $\beta\pi\alpha-\chi\omega\nu$.

** PLSHR (hybrid)

--- PLS-ḥr "Horus has watched"

[Pu] CIS I,4853.4

[Eg] see PN ḤR.

** PMY

---p(3)-m(3)ḏ  "The lion"

[Ph] CIS I,144.8 (Nora inscription)

CIS I,4777.6

[Eg] Ranke I,105.5; *DemNB* I,186 m.Late. [Gk] ΠΜΟΙΣ , ΦΜΟΙΣ

[Copt] ΠΑΜΩΕΙ (Heuser p.23)

Cf. Aram PŠNPMWY

PMY has been known as an unidentified god in Ph texts. Yet this deity is to be identified with Eg lion god p3-m3ḏ. For a full discussion on this identification, see Y. Muchiki, "The unidentified god PMY in Phoenician texts" *JSS* 35 (1990) (forthcoming).

** PMYTN (hybrid)

--- p(3)-m(3)ḏ-(Y)TN "PMY has given"

[Ph/Pu] CIS I,617.4, 5; 670.2/3 P[•]MYTN; 2106.3 P^{••}MYTN; 5690.4/5;

Babelon, *Traité des monnaies*, pp.758-59 no.709-724; Cooke *NSI*,

149.b.6 (coin) PM{YTN}; Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of*

Cyprus, p.21-22

[Eg] see PN PMY.

PMYŠMR (hybrid)

---p(3)-m(3)ḏ-ŠMR "PNY has kept"

[Pu] CIS I,2379.6

[Eg] see PN PMY.

** PMYŠM| ' (hybrid)

--- $p(3)-m(3)l'-\dot{\text{S}}M'$ "PMY has heard"

[Ph] *CIS* 1,197.3

[Eg] see PMY.

PMYŠRK' (hybrid)

--- $p(3)-m(3)l'-\dot{\text{S}}RK'$ "PMY is the Lord"

[Pu] *CIS* 1,5981.1

[Eg] see PN PMY

For the interpretation see Benz p.403 (ŠRK' = 'DN').

** PMYYTN (hybrid)

--- $p(3)-m(3)l'-YTN$ "PMY has given"

[Ph] *CIS* 1,11; *CIS* 1,12; Honeyman, *JRAS* 1960 p.111.1

[Eg] see PN PMY.

PMYHŴY' (hybrid)

--- $p(3)-m(3)l'-H\dot{W}Y'$ "PMY has preserved him"

[Pu] *CIS* 1,5981.1

[Eg] see PN PMY.

** PMT

---* $p(3)-(n-)m(w).t$ "He who belongs to Mut"

L p.132

[Ph] *Krug* 56


[Eg] Ranke II,280.13 (cf. S I p.1105 No.40). [Gk] *παμοῦθις* ,
παμοῦτις , *παμύθης* , *παμύτης* , (NB p.263f.) [Aram] PMT.

* PNP'

--- $p(3)-nf(r)$  "The beautiful one"

[Pu] CIS 1,908.4; 2035.4/5; 2487.4; 3557.4; 3919.4; 5963.2 [P]NP';
CIS 1,3778.8; CIS 1,5523.4

[Eg] Ranke I,113.1 m.NK-Dyn.26; DemNB 1,3 and 192 [Gk] ΠΑΝΟΥΦΙΣ ,
ΠΑΑΝΟΥΦΙΣ, ΠΑΝΟΥΦΙΟΣ, ΠΑΝΟΥΦ , ΠΑΑΝΟΥΦΙΣ , ΠΑΝΟΥΠΙΣ , ΠΕΝΟΥΠΙΣ ,
ΦΑΝΟΥΦΙΣ, ΠΑΝΟΥΠ (NB p.270f.) [Aram] PNPH

Another possibility is $p3-nfr-li$  "The beautiful one
came" (Ranke I,113.2 m.Late), which explains the final ' as Eg. *i*.

PSMSNYT

--- $psmtk-s3-ny.t$

S II p.9

[Ph] Krug 8.2

[Eg] see Aram PSMSNYT.

* PSR

--- (1) $p(3)-sr$  "The prince"

(2) $p(3)-(n-)3s(ws)-(i)r$  "He who belongs to Osiris"

L p.132; Benz p.193; V I p.92

[Ph] graffito: RES 1322

[Eg] (1) Ranke II,189 m.NK. [Gk] ΠΕΣΟΡΙΣ , ΠΕΣΟΥΡΙΣ , ΠΕΣΥΡΙΣ

(NB p.308). (2) Ranke I,107.5 m.Dyn 21-Gk; DemNB 1,360 [Gk]

ΠΑΥΣΙΡΙΣ , ΠΑΥΣΕΙΡΙΣ , ΠΑΥΣΙΡΙΟΣ (NB p.308) [Aram] PSRY

Benz (p.193) suggests two possibilities of Eg names $p3-šr$ and
 $p3-šrī$. $p3-šrī$ is attested well from Dyn 19 to Gk, yet the
correspondence between Eg š and Ph s is hardly justified. $p3-šrī$
should be compared with Ph PŠR. $p3-sr$ is more likely to be equated
with PSR. The second possibility is $p3-n-3s(ws)-īr$, if we admit

that *aleph* of 'SR (*3s-îr*) has been lost as in Aram -SRY (T̄SRY, PSRY).


** P'L'BST (hybrid)

--- P'L-*b(3)s.t(.t)* "Bast has made"

[Ph] *CIS* I,102a; *Krug* 11a

[Eg] see 'BST

P'R

--- *p(3)-'r* □  "He who ascends"

Benz p.193; V p.92 (with negation)

[Ph] scarab: *RES* 903 (now lost). P. Bordreuil,

Catalogue des Sceaux, p.21 no.4 P'RHMN

[Eg] Ranke I,103.8 m.Late.

Benz compared it with *p3-hr.y* "The Syrian" (Ranke I,116.17). However, the correspondence between Eg *h* and Ph ' is hardly accepted. E. Ledrain suggested the mountain Pe'or in Moab as the origin of this name (*Revue d'Assy*, 2, p.93) Cf. Pu P'R "marbles?" (*DISO* p.233), Heb P'RY (2 Sam. 23:35), Ug PN P'R (*UT* 2078). Therefore an Eg origin is questionable.

** PPY

--- *ppy* 

[Pu] *KAI* 100.7


[Eg] Ranke I,131.18 (perhaps 130.3, 5, 6; 131.12) m./f.MK-NK. [Gk]

πάπος , πάππος , παπούς , πεπούς , πιπούς , πεπής , πιπης ,
(*NB* p.277 and 305).

There is no root PPY, no explanation from the Semitic side. Though *ppy* is a famous Eg name in Dyn 6, Ranke I,131.18 gives

evidence that this name was still common in Nk and used even in the Late period as a component of names (Ranke I,132.4) and Gk forms show it was common.

** PPN

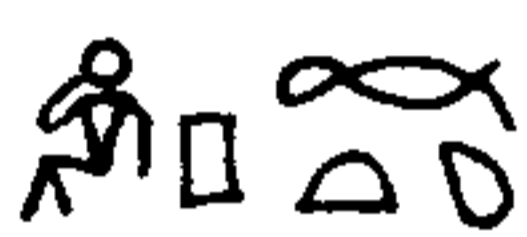
--- $p(3)-(n-)pn(w)$  "He who belongs to the Mouse"

[Ph] CIS I,1435.4; 2946.4 PP[N]; 3140.3 [PPN]

[Eg] Ranke I,108.1 m.Dyn 26. [Gk] cf. $\pi\alpha\pi\nu\omicron\hat{\upsilon}$ (NB p.276)

There is no satisfactory Semitic explanation of this name. Ug ppn (UT 2084 bn ppn ; UT 85.6 $^m pa-pa-na$), which is probably from Eg.


** PŠMHY

--- $p(3)-š(r\acute{i})-(n-)mhy(.t)$  "The son of Mht"

V I p.93

[Ph] statue: RES 1507.2

[Eg] Ranke I,118.24 m.Gk; II p.355; DemNB I,250 (see Ranke I,118.7-119.11 for $p3-šri'-n-$ type name which are very common during the Late and Gk. period). [Gk] $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon(\mu)\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\mu\chi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (NB p.485).

KAI presents a broken name PŠM_Y³⁵. Teixidor, however, reads it PŠMHY with the comment that this reading is sure (Bulletin, p.213, No.124). With respect to the final Y in Ph, it should be remembered that the goddess Mehet is written as  $mhy.t$ (Wb II,127). It indicates that the final y was still pronounced in Eg in a final syllable, where final -t had been lost (Copt M₂H⁴). For other cases in which the final y is recorded in the Late and Gk

³⁵See also Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, Vol. II. Plate X.5; for the photo J. Ferron "La inscripción cartaginesa en el Arpocrates madrileño," *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, N.S. 28 (1971) plates I-IV.

and Gk period, see Ranke I,108.15, 325.24, 387.21, 394.1, 411.5.

* PŠR

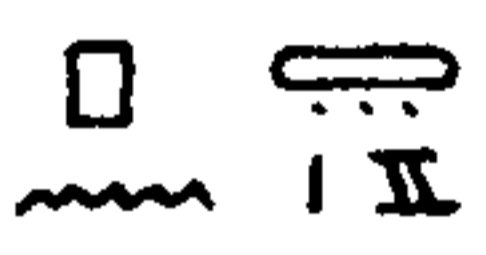
--- p(3)-šr(i)  "The lad"

[Pu] CIS 1,5724.4.

[Eg] Ranke I,118.5 m.Dyn 19-Gk [Gk] πασι̂ρις , πεσι̂ρις ,
πεσε̂ρις , πασι̂ρε , πισ̂ρις (NB p.282).

There is a Semitic root PŠR in Akk. pašāru "loose, untie" in PN pá-še-er; pa/išīru "secret" in PN Itti-GN-pa-šir/šī-ru/ri; pāšīru(m) in PN ¹upa-šī-ri, GN pa-šer/še-er (AHw II,844-845). Yet the meaning of the North West Semitic root PŠR is obscure (DISO, P.238, see AP, p.168). Benz suggests the possible connection of PŠR with NPu name YPŠR (Benz p.396). Yet note the feminine form TŠRY (t3-šri.t) in Aram. (Saqqara 95a.1).

PT'

--- p(3)-(n-)t(3)  "He who belongs to the land"

[Pu] RES 1216.4

[Eg] Ranke I,112.3 m.NK-Late; 120.17; DemNB 1,6.420

[Gk] πάτος, πατῶς, πετῶς (NB p.289 and 292). [Aram] PT'

Copt forms of t3 "land" are ^sτo , ^bθo , which are reflected in Gk forms. Note other possible explanations; (1) Donner-Röllig's suggestion (KAI 68): PTH' > PT'; see also DISO p.232. (2) Iranian name element pata "protect", pati- "lord" (Mayrhofer, OPP pp.134, 350).


** PTH

--- pth  "Ptah"

[Ph] seal: Vattioni, SF no.5.

[Eg] Ranke I,138,9 m.MK-Late [Gk] ΠΤαῦās , Πτάϊs (NB p.348).

** PTH'

--- pth 

[Pu] CIS I,154.2

[Eg] Ranke I,138.9 m.MK-Late [Gk] ΠΤαῦās , Πτάϊs (NB p.348).

[Copt] cf. ΦΘΑΜΟΝΤ(Heuser p.61).

The final *aleph* of PTH' is a feature of Punic PN, such as KNŠ/KNŠ', Y'R/Y'R', 'RŠ/'RŠ' etc. as a hypocoristic (Benz p.233).

** PTHY

--- pth(.y)  44 "He of Ptah" (?)

[Ph] graffito: CIS I,111

[Eg] Ranke I,142.4 m.Late.

•••
PTYHW

--- *p(3)-(n-)t(3)-(n.t-)'ihw(.t) "He who belongs to the Cow"

[Ph] CIS I,112a

[Eg] For this type of PN see p3-šri'-n-t3-'ih.t (Gk ΨΙΝΤΑΗΣ , Ranke I,119.9 and 10). TYHW is comparable with t3-'ihw.t (Ranke II,278.8) and p3-'ihw.t (Ranke I,106.16). Singular article t3/p3 with plural form must indicate t3-n.t-'ihw.t or p3-n-'ihw. The final W is a reflection of the plural ending; cf. p3-'ih (Ranke I, 101.24). [Gk] ΠΕΤΑΟΥs , ΠΕΤΑÜs , ΠΑΤΑÜs , ΠΕΤΑÛs , ΠΕΤΕÛs , ΠΕΤΕÛs , ΠΕΤΕÛs , ΠΕΘΕUs , ΠΕΤΕΗΟΥs , ΠΑΤΕÛs , ΠΕΤΕÛs , ΠΕΤΕÛs , ΠΕΤΕÛs , ΠΕΤΕÛs , ΠΕΤΕÛs (NB p.310).

Cf. Copt. sbeze , Δζη for ih.t.

** ṢḤ'

--- d(d)-ḥ(r)  "The face speaks"

L p.132; Benz p.193.

[Ph] *Krug* 34c; *Fevrier, IAM.* p.116 no.75

[Eg] *Ranke* I,411.12 m.Late-Gk/f.Gk [Gk] ταχως, τεως (*NB* p.424 and 433). [Aram] ṢḤ' [NA] Ṣi-ḥa-a, Ṣi-ḥu-u (*APN* p.205b; *Ranke, KM*, p.34, 38). Cf. Copt ⲁⲱ, ⲁⲉ' (constr.form). [Heb] cf. Ⲡⲓⲛⲓⲛ (Neh 11:21, Ezr 2:43, Neh 7:46)

Ph ṢḤ' (*Benz* p.193, *Estañol, Vocabulario Fenicio*, p.216) does not exist (print mistake?). *IAM*, p.116 no.75 is not ṢḤ' but ṢḤ'. see plate VII. Since MK (c.1800 BC) Eg dd became d (see *PṬBNTṬ*; *Wb* V,618).

** ṢḤPMW

--- t(3y)-ḥp-(i)m.w  "Apis can seize them"

L p.132; Benz p.193

[Ph] *krug* 11b; 21.1, 26, 34c.

[Eg] *Ranke* I,388.2 m.Late-Gk/f.Late [Aram] ṢḤPMW, ṢḤPYMW

[Akk] *Saḥ-pi-ma-a-ú* (*APN* p.190a).

The final consonant W is a suffix pronoun (3.m.pl).

** ṢKNSMW

--- t(3y)-ḥns(.w)-(i)m.w  "Khons can seize them"

L p.132; Benz p.193

[Ph] *Krug* 48.

[Eg] *Ranke* I,388.6 m.Late.

* ŠMW

--- $\underline{t}(3y)-(i)m.w$  "(DN) can seize them"

[Pu] CIS I,2760.3 ŠMW, 5255.1

[Eg] Ranke I,387.13; II,399 m.Late (a short form of $\underline{t}3y + DN + i m.w$) [Gk] $\Sigma\alpha\mu\omega\upsilon\varsigma$ (bilingual), $\Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$, $\theta\alpha\mu\omega\upsilon\varsigma$, $\theta\alpha\mu\omega\varsigma$.

[Aram] ŠMW [Akk] $\check{s}\acute{a}-mu-\acute{u}$ (Zadok, *The Jews in Baby.*, p.33).

Benz left it unexplained. The possibility of the equation of Ph Š with Eg \underline{t} is suggested by the dialectical varieties in Copt Ⲫⲗⲓ , ⲃⲗ . Since Aram ŠMW is attested, Ph ŠMW = $\underline{t}3y-i m.w$ is possible. Yet this is the only case of the representation of Eg \underline{t} by Ph Š. (see the later discussion p.76). Cf. also Aram PSMŠK. As for the name Harris suggested that it is an error (Harris p.151). Therefore, the identification remains uncertain.

* THW'

--- $t(3)-h(3)w(.ti)$ 

[Pu] CIS I,320.3

[Eg] Ranke I,366.13 and 24

Feminine name beginning with T indicates the possibility of an Eg name. If ⲗ is t , not ti , it can be understood as omitted like most feminine endings $-t$ Yet if it is protected by a dropped vowel i , this equation is not probable.

* TPT

--- $*t(3)-(n.t-)p(3)-d(i)$ "Daughter of $p3-di$ "

[Pu] CIS I,2683.3

[Eg] cf. $t3-n.t-p3-di-sbk$ (Ranke I,360.2 m.Gk); $p3-di$ (Ranke I,121.17 m.Dyn 22-Gk)

Benz, following CIS, considered TPT is a misspelling of ŠPT

(Benz p.186). Yet PT̄ (*p3-dí*) is a common Eg name in the Late period, which is attested in Aramaic as PȚY. Therefore "Daughter of PT" is likewise possible.

[2] Divine Names

** 'BST

--- *b(3)s.t(.t)*  "Bast" (a goddess of Bubastis)


[Pu] Amadasi, *IFP* p.39, 31.2

[Eg] *Wb* I,423 [Aram] 'BST [Akk] *ubešti* cf. *pa-aṭ-u-as-tú, pu-ṭu-biš-ti* (Assurb.I,96)

Ph initial *aleph* is a prothetic *aleph* (Cooke, *NSI* p.69).

Akk forms indicate that Eg *b3st.t* starts with a /u/, Ph initial *aleph* is used to protect the initial vowel.

** 'MN

--- *imn*  "Amon" (a god of Thebes)

[Pu] *RES* 662.1

[Eg] *Wb* I,84.16f. [Gk] ἀμῶν [Copt] ⲃΔΜΟΥΝ [Baby] *amâna, amûnu*

[Heb] |ΔX [Ug] *amn*

Estañol (*Vocabulario fenicio* p.68) suggests that 'MN is an error for ḤMN, because of the development Pu Ḥ > ' (Friedrich-Röllig *PPG*, section 35; see a discussion of *KAI*, III p.123). Therefore the combination Baal-Ammon is reasonably deleted from this catalogue.

** 'S

--- *3s(.t)*  "Isis" (wife of Osiris)

[Ph] *RES* 1.2

[Eg] *Wb* IV,8 [Gk] Ἴσις (Πετ)ησις . [Copt] ^aHCE, ^bHCL [Aram] 'SY [NA] -ešu/-eš- [NB] -ēsi' (Ranke, *KM* p.43).


'SR

--- 3s(ws)-*ir*  "Osiris" (god of the netherworld)

[Ph] *RES* 504.B.1 'S[R]

[Eg] *Wb* I,359 [Aram] 'WSR, 'SR [Copt] CYCIP, OYCIP, OYCEP-

[Gk] Ὀσιρις [NA] cf. PN *pu-ṭi-še-ri* (Zadok, *GM* 26 p.65); GN *pu-ši-ru* (*pr-ws-ir* "Busiris" Assurb. I,100)

It is to be noted that the correspondence between Ph ' and Eg *w* occurs only in the case of *ws-ir* "Osiris." We have certain inscriptional indications that Osiris was *ws(i)r* in the Gk period:  (*Wb* I,359). Before that period, however, there is no inscriptional evidence with respect to the reading of Osiris. It was Erman who first advocated the reading of Osiris as *ws-ir* (*ZÄS*, 46, pp.92-95). It was unfortunate that his wrong treatment of the Aramaic equation 'WSR/'SR led him to the wrong conclusion. There seems to be no difficulty acknowledging that the initial *aleph* retains its consonantal value, and the following *waw* is a mater lectionis *u*. This fact is confirmed by our Ph equation 'SR (5th-1st c.BC, 28 times), because of its rigorous consonantal system. Therefore, we can safely conclude that Eg reading of Osiris is not *ws-ir*, but *3s-ir* before the Gk period. After that period Ph ' is preserved as a historical writing (for the full discussion, see Y. Muchiki, "On the transliteration of Osiris," *JEA* 47 (1990) (forthcoming)).

** HRPKRT

--- *hr-p(3)-hrd*  "Harpokrates (Horus the child)"

[Ph] statue: *RES* 1507; Barnett, *BMQ* 27 p.85.

[Eg] *Wb* III,123.6 [Gk] Ἄρποκράτης, Ἄρποχράτης, Ἄρποκρατίων,
Ἄρποχρατίων (*NB* p.53f)


Cf. Aram PṬḤRPḤRT (For some differences between Ph and Aram
transcription, see Degen, "Der Name Harpokrates in Phönizischer und
aramäischer Umschreibung" *Weld Or.* 5 pp.218-221).

* * * * *

The following DNS are attested as theophoric elements in hybrid
names: ḤP (*ḥp* "Apis"), ḤR (*ḥr* "Horus"), MN (*mn.w* "Min"), PMY (*p3-
m3i* "The lion"), SKR (*skr* "Sokar"), R' (*r'* "Re'").

[3] Geographical Names

** 'N

--- *i(w)n(w)*  "Heliopolis"

[Ph] *CIS* 1,102a

[Eg] see Heb 'N.

** MNP

--- *m(n)-nf(r)*  "Memphis"

[Ph] *CIS* 1,102c

[Eg] see Heb NP and MP

From the context it is likewise possible that MNP is M[N]NP
"from Memphis." Yet notice Aramaic form MNP.

** ṬḤPNḤŠ

---* *t(3)-ḥ(.t)-p(3)-nḥs(y)* "The mansion of the Nubian"

[Ph] *KAI* 50.3

[Eg] see Heb THPNHS.

[4] Loan Words

'Y "coastal land"

--- iw  "island"

[Ph/Pu] CIS I,139 'YNŞM; KAI 99.5; CIS I,266.3/4; CIS I,268.3/4;

Cooke 56.4

[Eg] see Heb Lw 'Y.

** HTM "seal"

--- htm  "seal"

[Ph] CIS I,5522.5; KAI 51.Vs.9 H(T)M; 51.Vs.9/10; KAI 124.4;

Dupont-Sommer, JKF 1 p.44.1; CIS I,118; scarab: RES 928.

[Eg] see Heb Lw HTM.

C. ANALYSIS OF PHONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCES

[1] Ph : Eg Phonetic Correspondences

Ph ' : Eg *ʒ* (mid. 7th -1st c.BC)

PN='S'', SP'SR, PT'(?), PṬ'S, PṬ'SY; DN='S, 'SR

Ph ' : Eg *ī* (593 BC-15/17 AD)

PN='ḤMS, 'MNNK, 'T, BK'; DN='MN; GN='N

Ph ' : Eg final *r*³⁹ (5th-3rd c.BC)

PN=ṢḤ'⁴⁰

Ph prothetic ' : Eg *ø* (5th-2nd c.BC)

DN='BST

Ph B : Eg *b* (5th-2nd c.BC)

PN=BK', HRB, PṬBNTṬ; DN='BST

Ph H : Eg *h* (4th c.-146 BC)

PN=HRB

Ph W : Eg *w* (5th c.-146 BC)

PN=WHPR', ḤPYW, ḤRMS, ṢḤPMW, ṢKNWS,

³⁹For the final Eg. *r* > *ī*, see Cerny, *LEG*, section 1. 9.

⁴⁰In the final position, Eg *r* is represented by Ph *aleph* like English [fa:ʔər] > [fa:ʔə']: ṢḤ'. Since Eg *hr* (𐤒) already changed into [ḥo] at the final position (cf. Copt *ꜥꜣ*, yet *ꜥꜣꜥ**), the final *aleph* seems to function as a vowel letter: *aleph* = /o/. The *aleph* of PNP' (*p3-nfr*) could be explained in the same way (*aleph* = /e/). However it might be the feature of Punic personal names, to which the final *aleph* is sometimes added, like PTH' (see the later discussion on *Matres Lectionis* p.76).

Ph Ḥ : Eg ḥ (6th-2nd c.BC)

PN='ḤMS, WHPR', ḤMNKT, ḤPYW, ḤR, ḤRWS, ḤRMS, YMḤT, ṢḤ', ṢḤPMW, 'ḤR,
'PTH, PŠMHY, PTH, PTH', PTHY; DN=ḤP, ḤR, ḤRPKRT, PTH; GN=THPNḤS

Ph Ḥ : Eg ḥ (9/8th c.BC-53AD)

PN='NHPMŠ; Lw=ḤTM

Ph Ṭ : Eg ḏ (7th-2nd c.BC)

PN=PT'S, PT'SY, PTBNṬṬ, PTKNS; DN=ḤRPKRT

Ph Ṭ : Eg ḏ > ḏ (4th c.-146 BC)

PN=PTBNṬṬ⁴¹

Ph Y : Eg y (593-146 BC)

PN=MY, PŠMHY, PPY, PTHY

Ph Y : Eg ĩ (mid-9th-2nd c.BC)

PN=ḤPYW, YMḤT, PMY; DN=PMY

Ph Y : Eg ø (593 BC)

PN=KŠY⁴²

Ph *mater lectionis* Y : Eg ø (5th c.BC)

PN=KNPY, PT'SY⁴³

Ph K : Eg k (593-5th c.BC)

PN=KNPY, KŠY

Ph K : Eg ḥ (mid. 5th-2th c.BC)

PN='MNNK, ḤMNKT, ṢKNŠMW, PTKNS

⁴¹For the phonetic change Eg ḏḏ > ḏḏ (ṬṬ), see the entry of PTBNṬṬ.

⁴²The final *yodh* could be resolved as Ph gentilic.

⁴³The final *yodh* seems to be a *mater lectionis*. See the later discussion on the possible *matres lectionis* p.75.

Ph K : Eg *h* (5th-2nd c.BC)

DN=HRPKRT̄ (cf. Aram HRPHT̄)

Ph M : Eg *m* (mid-9th c.BC-53 AD)

PN='HMS, 'MNNK, HRMS, HMNKT, YMHT, MY, ŞHPMW, ŞKNSMW, 'NH̄PMS, PMY, PMT, PŠMHY; DN='MN, MN, PMY; GN=MNP; Lw=HTM

Ph N : Eg *n* (6th c.BC-15/17 AD)

PN='MNNK, HMNKT, KNPY, NPR, SNR, 'NH̄PMS, PPN, PTKNS, PT̄BNT̄T̄, ŞKNSMW; DN='MN; GN='N, MNP, TH̄PNHS

Ph S : Eg *s* (7th-1st c.BC)

PN='HMS, 'S'', HRMS, SNR, SSR, SPTH, SR'SR, 'NH̄PMS, PT̄'S, PT̄'SY, PTKNS, ŞKNSMW; DN='BST, 'S; GN=TH̄PNHS

Ph ' : Eg ' (5th-1st c.BC)

PN='S'', WH̄PR', 'HR, 'NH̄PMS, 'PTH; DN=R'

Ph P : Eg *p* (mid-9th-2nd c.BC)

PN=HPYW, SPTH, 'NH̄PMS, 'PTH, PT̄'S, PT̄'SY, PTKNS, PT̄BNT̄T̄, PMY, PMT, PŠMHY, PPY, PPN, PT', PTH, PTH', PTHY, ŞHPMW; DN=HP, HRPKRT̄, PTH, PMY; GN=TH̄PNHS

Ph P : Eg *f* (5th c.-146 BC)

PN=KNPY, NPR; GN=MNP

Notice that this correspondence is restricted to Eg *nfr*.

Ph P : Eg *b* (mid. 5th c.BC)

PN=WH̄PR' (after laryngal /b/ > /p/)

Ph Ṣ : Eg d (mid. 5th c.BC)

PN=HRWṢ, ṢḤ'

Ph Ṣ : Eg t (mid. 5th-3rd c.BC)

PN=ṢḤPMW, ṢKN^hSMW

Ph R : Eg r (5th-1st c.BC)

PN=HRB, WḤPR', ḤR, ḤRWṢ, ḤRMS, NPR, SNR, SSR, SR'SR, 'ḤR; DN=ḤR,

ḤR^hPKRT', R'

Ph Š : Eg š (591-2nd c.BC)

PN=KŠY, PŠMHY

Ph T : Eg t (9/8th c.BC-53AD)

PN='T, YMḤT. ḤMNKT, SPTH, 'PTH, PMT, PT', PTH, PTH', PTHY;

DN='BST, PTH; GN=THPNḤS; Lw=ḤTM

[2] Eg : Ph Phonetic Correspondences

Eg 3 : Ph ø (mid-9th-2nd c.BC)

PN=BK', WḤPR', ḤRWṢ, KNPY, SPTH, 'ḤR, 'PTH, PMY, PṬBNTṬ, ṢKN^hSMW;

DN='BST, PMY (articles *p3* and *t3* excluded).

Eg 3 : Ph ' (7th-1st c.BC)

Eg *i* : Ph ø (7th-1st c.BC)

PN=HRB, WḤPR', KŠY, SR'SR, PṬ'S, PṬ'SY, PṬBNTṬ, PṬKNS, PŠMHY,

ṢḤPMW, ṢKN^hSMW; GN='N

Eg *i* : Ph ' (591-3th c.BC)

: Ph Y (mid-9th c.-146 BC)

Eg *y* : Ph ø (6th-5th c.BC)

PN=ŞKNSMW, ŞHPMW; DN=THPNŞS

The reasons for the lack of Ph equivalents are : (1) the reduction of *t3y*. cf. Copt ^aⲗⲓ, ^bⲃⲓ (Ph Ş); (2) the loss of the final *y*. *nḥsy* ⲛⲥⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲱⲥⲓ > *nḥs* ⲛⲥⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲱⲥⲓⲛⲥⲱⲥⲓ (Wb II, 303)

Eg *y* : Ph Y (6th-3rd c.BC)

Eg ' : Ph ø (591 BC)

PN='ḤMS (see the entry 'ḤMS)

Eg ' : Ph ' (5th-3rd c.BC)

PN=WḤPR', 'NḤPMS, 'PṬḤ, 'ḤR, 'S''; DN=R'

Eg *w* : Ph ø (5th-2nd c.BC)

PN=PṬKNS, PMT, ŞKNSMW; DN=MN; GN='N

The lack of correspondence is due to loss in the Eg words, e.g.,
ḥns.w > *ḥns*; Copt ⲛⲁ-ϣⲟⲛⲥ (Ph KNS)

Eg *w* : Ph W (5th c.-146 BC)

Eg *b* : Ph ø (4th c.-146 BC)

PN=PṬBNTṬ (Bi-labial following *n* dropped)

Eg *b* : Ph B (5th-2nd c.BC)

Eg *b* : Ph P (end of 5th-end of 4th c.BC)

Eg *p* : Ph ø (mid of 5th c.BC)

PN=YMḤT (final Eg *p* dropped)

Eg *p* : Ph P (mid-9th c.-146BC)

Eg *f* : Ph P (5th c.BC)

Eg *m* : Ph M (mid-9th c.BC-53 AD)

Eg *n* : Ph ø (4th-2nd c.BC)

PN=PPN, PŠMHY, PT'

The losses of Eg *n* are due to assimilation.

Eg *n* : Ph N (6th c.-2nd c.BC)

Eg *r* : Ph ø (5th-2nd c.BC)

PN=KNPY, PŠMHY; GN=MNP

Eg *r* : Ph ' (5th c.-146 BC)

In the final position Eg *r* lost its consonantal value and functioned as a vowel letter (see each entry ŠH', KNPY).

Eg *r* : Ph R (6th c.BC-146 BC)

Eg *h* : Ph H (4th c.-146 BC)

Eg *h* : Ph Ḥ (6th-2nd c.BC)

Eg *h* : Ph Ḥ (9/8th c.BC-53 AD)

: Ph K (mid 5th c.-146 BC)

Eg *h* : Ph K (5th-2nd c.BC)

Eg *s/s'* : PH S (7th-2nd c.BC)

Eg *š* : Ph Š (6th-2nd c.BC)

Eg *k* : Ph K (591-mid 5th c.BC)

Eg *t* : Ph ø (7th-2nd c.BC)

PN, DN, GN=passim

Eg fem. ending *-t* lost its consonantal value since NK, except
PMT (*p3-mw.t*).

Eg *t* : Ph T (6th-2nd c.BC)

Eg *t* : Ph Ş (mid 5th c.BC)

Eg *d* : Ph Ṭ (7th-2nd c.BC)

Eg *d* : Ph Ş (mid 5th-3rd c.BC)

Eg *d* > /d/ : Ph Ṭ (4th-2nd c.BC)

[3] Table of Correspondences

* Ph in capital, Eg in lower case

	Ph				Eg				
	primary	secondary			primary	secondary			
	'	ʒ	ʔ	r	w	ʒ	'	ø	
glottal-stops						ʔ	'	Y	ø
	ʔ	ʔ				ʔ	ʔ		
semi-vowels	Y	y	ʔ	?	y	Y		ø	
	W	w			w	W		'	ø
labials	B	b			b	B		P	ø
	P	p	f	b	p	P		ø	
					f	P		ø	
nasals	M	■			■	M			
	N	n			n	N		ø	
lateral	L	-							
trill	R	r			r	R			
sibilants	S	s			s	S			
	Š	š			š	Š			
pharyngals & laryngals	H	h			h	H			
	Ḥ	ḥ	ḥ		ḥ	Ḥ			
					ḥ	Ḥ	K		
					ḥ	K			
velars	Q	-			k	-			
	K	k	ḡ	ḥ	k	K			
	G	-			g	-			
alveolars	T	t			t	T		ø	
	D	-			ṭ	Ṣ			
	Ṭ	d		ḍ	d	Ṭ			
	Ṣ	ḍ	ṭ		ḍ	Ṣ		T	
	Z	-							

a) Glottal Stops

It has been generally acknowledged that Eg 3 lost its consonantal value from NK except initial 3.⁴⁴ This fact is observable among the Ph forms of Egyptian names. No Eg *alephs* are reflected in Ph forms, except in the initial position of 'S (3s.t) and 'SR (3s-*îr*) and possibly in the final position.

As 'S and 'SR are DNs (Isis and Osiris), it is possible to assume that the initial *aleph* remains as an historical spelling in Ph in the Late period. However, it is not necessary to think that Eg 3 does not correspond to Ph *aleph* at the initial position. We have inscriptional evidence that the *aleph* of 3s.t was pronounced even in the late period; 𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒 (Wb V, 8.11). Therefore, when 3s.t and 3s-*îr* entered the Ph world, both were rendered as 'S and 'SR, because of the existence of the Eg *aleph*. Some centuries later, Eg *aleph* was lost even in the initial position. Yet the *aleph* continued in Ph to protect the following vowels [e] and [o].

Probably 'S'' (3s.t-'3.t) is the best example to indicate the possibility that Ph ' corresponds to Eg 3 in the final position. Eg *aleph* could be protected by the feminine ending. Another example in which Eg 3 seems to be described by Pu *aleph* is that of PT' (p3-n-t3). Yet the fact that Coptic rendering of Eg t3 is ^sTO, ^bΘO leads us to be inclined to consider it as a vowel letter. Yet Copt does not have an *aleph*-sign, so if the final *aleph* was pronounced, they could not write it.

⁴⁴For examples, Osing, "Lautsystem," *LÄ*, III, p.947; J. Vergote, *Phonétique*, p.96; see the synoptic table after p.122).

The assumption that Eg *i* possesses two sound values in Egyptian⁴⁵: (1) semi-vowel *i* and (2) *aleph* seems to be confirmed by Ph equations Y and '. The correspondence of Eg *i* to Ph ' is clearly attested at the initial position (e.g. 'ḤMS, 'MN, 'N) and at the final position (e.g. BK'; notice that the final *aleph* could be a vowel letter). Eg *i* and Ph Y correspond well. Yet ḤPYW (*hp-iw*) is not a case of the correspondence between Eg *i* and Ph Y, because here Eg *i* was an *aleph* which was dropped in Ph by merging with preceding *i/y*.

b) Labials

Due to the absence of a sign for the *f* consonant in Ph, Eg *f* is represented by Ph P. It is natural that Eg voiceless *f* corresponds to Ph voiceless P, rather than voiced B. Eg *b* once corresponds to Ph P (WḤPR': *w3ḥ-ib-r'*). Since this Eg *b* is consistently represented by P among all Semitic forms, it is probable that the internal change of sound value /b/ > /p/ took place in Eg, before this name was recorded by Semitic scribes. According to all Greek forms and the Hebrew forms, the *b* of *w3ḥ-ib-r'* closes the syllable. Therefore it is possible that this *b* became a voiceless aspirate which the scribes heard as P (notice the Akk form *uḥ-pa-ra*).

c) Sibilants

Two sibilants S and Š well correspond between Ph and Eg without confusion. There are two names, however, which slightly indicate that

⁴⁵Gardiner, *EG*³, section 20. cf. A. de Buck, *Grammaire*, section 13, he said the second value is any vowel with soft attack of progressive relaxation

Eg *s* was recorded by Ph Š: 'ŠRŠLḤ (= 'SRŠLḤ? CIS I,65.1/2) and 'BDŠR (= 'BD'SR? CIS I,4229.4)⁴⁶. Though the Assyrian deity "Assur" is not attested as a theophoric element in Ph and Pu inscriptions, 'ŠR is more likely Assur in terms of phonology. If 'ŠR is 'SR (Osiris), then the following two explanations are possible; (1) Ph *S* became Š under the influence of another Š of ŠLḤ. (2) Dialectic variation in Cyprus⁴⁷

The correspondence between Ph Š and Eg *t* is only suggested by Ph ŠMW (*t3y-im.w*). However, since ŠMW is unique this correspondence cannot be certain. Benz suggested it is a misspelling of ŠM' (p.420; cf. Harris, *Grammar*, p.151).

d) Pharyngals and Laryngals (Eg *hs*)

The different number of *h*-consonants between Eg (*h*, *ḥ*, *ḥ̣* and *ḥ̣̣*) and Ph (*H* and *Ḥ*) compelled ancient scribes to conflate them. Yet the correspondences are very characteristic;

Eg *h* = Ph *H* (1x)

Eg *ḥ* = always Ph *Ḥ* (42x)

Eg *ḥ̣* = Ph *Ḥ* (2x); Ph *K* (4x)

Eg *ḥ̣̣* = Ph *K* (2x).

Notice that only Eg *ḥ̣* has more than one Ph equivalent. These correspondences will be fully discussed in the next chapter, [6] Spirantization.

⁴⁶Tsevat, *VT*, 4(1954) p.4, said "an example of a syncretism of Osiris and the Ph deity, Salah." Yet more likely to be SLH "to send."

⁴⁷Friedrich and Röllig, *PPG*, section 47.

e) Alveolar

Ph Ṣ seems to represent Eg two different consonants; t and d :

$$\text{Ṣ} \begin{cases} t \text{ (Eg } t3y- & 2x \text{ Eleph)} \\ d \text{ (Eg } -wd3, dd- & 2x \text{ Eleph).} \end{cases}$$

It is generally assumed that Eg t and d run parallel in the course of their phonetic history, yet kept the distinction until Coptic as follows:

$$t \text{ [tšh]/[tš]} = \text{Copt } \text{Ϫ}$$

$$d \text{ [tš]/[dž]} = \text{Copt } \text{ϫ}^{45}$$

Yet as far as Eg $t3y$ is concerned, there are dialectical variations; $^s\text{ϫ}l$, and $^b\text{Ϫ}l$. Since both names (ṢḤPMW , ṢKNSMW) came from Elephantine, the sound of Sahidic is most likely. We may perhaps safely conclude that Ph Ṣ corresponds to Eg t , when t became $/d/$ (Copt ϫ). Therefore, Ph Ṣ basically corresponds to Eg d^{49} .

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Ph } \text{Ṣ} \\ \text{Eg } t > /d/ (= \text{Copt } \text{ϫ}) \\ \text{Eg } d (= \text{Copt } \text{ϫ}) \end{array}$$

Finally it is noteworthy that Ph consonants D and Z were never used to represent Eg consonants, though a full range of dentals (or alveolars) is attested in Eg.

⁴⁸J. Vergote, *Phonétique*, p.38ff; Osing, "Lautesystem," p.947; de Buck, *Grammaire*, p.26.

⁴⁹There is a unconfirmed PN ṢMW ($t3y-im.w$), which seems to indicate the correspondence between Ph Ṣ and Eg t . Considering that the provenance of SMW is Carthage, we also could assume that Eg $t3y$ was pronounced like Bohairic $\text{Ϫ}l$, not Sahidic $\text{ϫ}l$, which is used in the Delta. The Greek form of this name, $\Sigma\alpha\mu\omega\upsilon\varsigma$, points that Eg $t3y$ was heard as a kind of sibilant. Cf. Aram representation of Eg t is Ṣ , not Ṣ .

[5] The Possible Mater Lectionis in Ph

It has been said that Ph writing was rigidly consonantal. Vowel letters are not used at all in Ph inscriptions, except a very few foreign names found from Cyprus⁵⁰. However, a few Eg names from Elephantine indicate possibilities of *matres lectionis*; ŠḤ', KNPY, PṬ'SY.

(1) ŠḤ' (*ḏd-hr* **[diho]*): 5th-3rd c.BC

It is well known that the final *r* dropped in Late Egyptian. Eg *hr* became 𐤇𐤋 in Coptic. Therefore, the final *aleph* of ŠḤ' probably indicates an /o/ vowel.

(2) KNPY (*k3.i'-nfr*): 5th c.BC

Eg sg. *nfr*, after losing the final *r*, is represented by either NP (MNP) or NPY. Even in Aram *nfr* is written without the final Y (cf. NPSY -- *nfr-3s.t*; WRSNP -- *wrs-nfr* etc.). This strongly suggests Y is a vowel-letter. The Greek forms *ΚΟΝΟΥΦΙΣ*, *ΧΟΝΟΥΦΙΣ*, and Copt *NOY4E*, *NOY4I* point an /i/ or /e/ vowel in this final syllable like the Ph Y.

(3) PṬ'SY (*p3-di'-3s.t*): 5th c.BC

The fact that the name is also realized as PṬ'S strongly supports that the final Y is a *mater lectionis*. For the detail see the entry PṬ'SY.

As far as the KNPY and PṬ'SY is concerned, there are no alternative explanation. The use of *aleph* and *yodh* in these names from the 5th century onwards indicates that the Phoenician scribes were aware of the function of *matres lectionis* although they saw no need to use them in writing their own languages.

⁵⁰Z. Harris, p.17f

CHAPTER II

EGYPTIAN PROPER NAMES AND WORDS IN ARAMAIC

Egyptian proper names and loan words in Aramaic documents were first collected to any extent by W. Spiegelberg in "Ägyptisches Sprachgut in den aus Ägypten stammenden aramäischen Urkunden der Perserzeit." (C. Bezold, ed., *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag*, 1906, pp. 1093-1115; Abbr. S I). He also worked on Eg PN in the documents from Elephantine in "Die ägyptischen Personennamen in den kürzlich veröffentlichten Urkunden von Elephantine," (*OLZ* 15, 1912, pp. 1-10; Abbr. S II). Every study on Eg names in Aram, written later, owes much to him.

When M. Noël Aimé-Giron published *Textes Araméens d'Égypte* in 1931, he added a number of identifications of Eg PNs. Then these three collections were combined by T. Lambdin in the third chapter of his unpublished Ph. D. thesis; *Egyptian Loanwords in the Ancient Semitic Languages* (1952; Abbr. L). In 1970s there were published two more, important works with respect to foreign names in Aramaic texts; (1) P. Grelot, *Documents Araméens d'Égypte* (1972), in which, pp. 460-502, he identified and discussed a considerable number of Eg names, as well as others (Abbr. G). (2) W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten* (1978) in which the number of Eg names reached 229 (Abbr. K).

In the present work are discussed about 400 PNs, 9 DNS, 19 GNs and 51 LWs including 12 month names. Only those which have two asterisks will be used for the final analysis.

A. ARAMAIC DOCUMENTS: DATES AND PROVENANCES

The paleography and the dates of Aram documents were fully studied by J. Naveh, *The Development of the Aramaic Script* (1966). In the following list I have accepted his dates, whenever he discussed the dates of the texts (Abbr. N). The grounds for each date are found in footnotes. If nothing is mentioned in footnotes the dates of the documents are those given in the publication quoted. The dates are given only for the documents which contain Egyptian names used for the final analysis.

[1] *AP* (Cowley): Papyrus, from Elephantine¹

1	495
2	484
3	408
4	ca. 475 ²
5	471
6	465
7	late 5th c.BC (461 or 401) ³
8	460
9	460
10	456

¹The following dates are mostly based on Naveh p.31-36, unless there is no indication.

²No 4 is not a dated document. Cowley suggests the possible relation with No. 2 and 3.

³Cowley 461 BC (Artaxerxes I), Yaron 401 BC (Artaxerxes II), *JSS*, 2 (1957) p. 34.

11	2nd quarter of 5th c.BC ⁴
12	last quarter of 5th c.BC ⁵
13	447
15	441 or 435
16	2nd half of 5th c.BC
17	428
18	434-420
20	420
21	419 (N. p.33)
22	400 (N. p.43) ⁶
23	end of 5th c.BC.
24	same as above
25	416
26	412
27	late 5th c.BC
28	411
29	ca. 409
30	408
31	408
32	probably 408 or little later
33	ca. 408
34	last decade of 5th c.BC
35	400
37	late 5th c.BC
38	same as above
39	last quarter of 5th c.BC

⁴Cowley's date ca.455; Yaron's date ca.479 (*JSS*, 2, p.42f).

⁵Cf. Cowley's date: 450-440 BC.

⁶Cf. Cowley 419 BC.

40	same as above
41	2nd half of 5th c.BC
42	last quarter of 5th c.BC
43	late 5th c.BC
44	same as above
45	2nd half of 5th c.BC
50	5th c.BC ⁷
51	end of 5th c.BC
53	same as above
56	last decade of 5th c.BC
63	5th c.BC ⁸
66 - 68	same as above ⁹
69 (CIS II 149)	late 5th c.BC
70 (CIS II 144)	same as above
71 (CIS II 145)	3rd quarter of 5th c.BC
72 (CIS II 146)	ca. 375 (N. p.43f)
73 (CIS II 147)	late 5th c.BC
74 (CIS II 148)	late 5th or early 4th c.BC
75 (CIS II 150)	late 5th c.BC
76 (CIS II 151)	late 5th c.BC
81	beginning of 3rd c.BC (N p.43), Edfu
83 recto	before 400
83 verso	ca. 300
p.317A	5th c.BC, Saqqara

⁷"Year 13" is mentioned in line 3. Yet there is nothing to identify the date.

⁸"Year 13" and "year 6" are mentioned. Yet no clue for the date.

⁹No. 66-68: fragmentary inscriptions do not show any indication for dating.

[2] *APO* (Sachau): ostraca

75.1	early 3rd c.BC (N. p.44)
75.2	end of 4th c.BC(N. p.37)
76.1-3, 5	ca. 475 BC (N. p.44)
76.4	5th c.BC (N. p.39)
76.5	same as above
77.1-2	ca. 475 BC (N. p.37)
77.3	4th c.BC (N. p.45)
78	ca. 475 (N. p.37)
82	n.d.
83	n.d.
87	n.d.

[3] *AD* (Driver): 410 (N. fig 6)¹⁰, provenance unknown

1-13

Frag 1A, 1B, 3, 7, 10.

[4] *BP* (Kraeling)¹¹: from Elephantine

1	451 BC (N. p.36)
2	449 BC (N. fig.5)
3	449 BC
4	434 BC
5	427 BC
6	420 BC (N. p.36)
7	420 BC

¹⁰None of the letters is dated. Driver's dates 411/10-408 BC (cf. Naveh's fig. 6 for *AD* 3,4,5,7).

¹¹All documents are dated, except No.16, which is a collection of fragments.

8	416 BC (N. p.36)
9	404 BC (N. fig.5)
10	402 BC
11	402/1 BC (N. p.36)
12	402/1 BC
13	399 BC (N. p.36)
14	449 BC
16	

[5] *CIS II*

8	722-705 BC (N. p.11), Nineveh
113	end of 5th/begin. of 4th c.BC (N. p.56), Teima Oasis
116	n.d.
122	482 BC (N. p.52), Saqqara
123	5th c.BC (N. p.22) ¹² , Memphis
125	5th c.BC (N. p.22), Abydos
126	same as above
127	same as above
128	same as above
130	same as above
132	same as above
134	5th c.BC (N. p.22), Akhmim
135	5th c.BC (N. p.22), Wadi es-Saba Rigaleh
136	same as above
138	ca. 475 (N. p.37), Eleph.
140	Egypt
141	5th c.BC (N. p.42) ¹³ , Egypt

¹²Cf. *KAI* 268 5th-4th c.BC.

¹³Cf. Gibson's date: early 4th c.BC (p.120). *KAI* 269: 5th-4th c.BC

142 early 5th c.BC (N. p.42), Egypt
 154 2nd half of th c.BC, Eleph.
 155 same as above

[6] *LH* (Bresciani and Kamil): from Hermopolis

Late 6th or early 5th c.BC (N. p.16)¹⁴.

[7] *Krug* (Lidzbarski): 5th c.BC, Elephantine

[8] *RES*

438 485 BC (N. p.42) Syene
 492 n.d.
 961 Wadi es-Saba Rigaleh
 1296 Eleph
 1372 5th-3rd c.BC¹⁵ Abydos
 1373 same as above
 1376 same as above
 1787 Egypt
 1788 Memphis
 1789 Memphis
 1791 Saqqara
 1793 Eleph
 1810 436 BC Saqqara.
 1818 Memphis (?)
 1819 Ma'sra (Eg)

¹⁴J. Naveh, "The Palaeography of the Hermopolis Papyri," in *Israel Oriental Studies*, pp.120ff; N. fig.3. cf. the date of Bresciani and Kamil: middle of 5th c.BC (*LH* p.361)

¹⁵Lidzbarski, *Eph*, III, p.96

[9] *Saqqara* (Segal): 5th c.BC¹⁶

[10] *TAE* (Aimé-Giron): from Saqqara

2	7th c.BC (N. p.15)
5-86	middle or 3rd quarter of 5th c.BC (N. p.36)
86bis	1st half of 4th c.BC (N. p.43)
87	same as above
93-110	5th c.BC (N. p.22 n.69)

[11] Other Works

E. Bresciani, *Aegyptus*, 39 p.4: n.d., El-Hibeh

-----, *Frammenti di un Testo Aramaico*: 5th c.BC, Saqqara

Degen-Müller-Röllig, *NEphe*, II,

p.10 (Papyrus Berol 23000): end of 5th or 4th c.BC¹⁷, Eleph. or
Hermopolis

p.67 (papyrus): 7th c.BC

p.75 (papyrus): late 6th or beginning of 5th c.BC, Eleph.

Herr, *Seals* p.30 (seal): 6th c.BC

Lizbarski, *Eph*, III

p.20 (ostrakon): ca. 475 (N. p.38), Eleph.

p.107 (graffito): 5th c.BC (N. p.22), Abydos

p.109 (graffito): 5th c.BC (N. p.22), Abydos

p.112 (graffito): 5th c.BC (N. p.22), Abydos

p.114 (graffito): 5th c.BC (N. p.22), Abysos

p.122 (ostrakon): n.d., Egypt

¹⁶Naveh concluded that most of them belong to 5th c.BC due to palaeographical criteria (*IEJ*, 35, 1985, p.212). Cf. Segal's date: 5th-4th c.BC (*Saqqara*, p.4). No 30 is dated "year 34th" (according to Segal's reading). However, the text is so damaged that the date cannot be sure.

¹⁷Naveh, *JAOS*, 91, p.379.

Sefire I (*KAI* 222): 8th c.BC

Szzyrmer, in *Homage à A. Dupont-Sommer* p.186: 5th c.BC, Hermopolis¹⁸

[12] Journal

Aimé-Giron, *JA*, 18 (1921) p.61 (papyrus): 5th c.BC, Saqq.

----- . *AE* 23 (1923) p.42 (on wall): 450-475 BC (N. p.40f)¹⁹,

Sheikh Fadl

----- . *ASAE*, 26 (1926) p.25 (ostracon): ca. 475

(N. p.38), Eleph.

----- . *ASAE*, 39 (1939) p.352 (graffito): 5th-4th c.BC, Wadi-el-

Hûdi

----- . *BIFAO*, 38 (1939) p. 38 (ostracon): late 4th-early 3rd

c.BC (N. p.44), Edfu.

p.42 (stela): 5th c.BC, Saqq.

p.58 (ostracon): mid 2nd c.BC, Edfu

Bauer-Meissner, *SBPA*, 1936 (papyrus): 515 BC (N. p.16), Eleph.

Bresciani, *RSO*, 35 (1960) p.22 (papyrus): 2nd quarter of 5th c.BC

(N. p.21), Padua

Cowley, *PSBA*, 25 (1903) p.264 (ostr^acon): ca. 450, Eleph.

----- . *PSBA*, 37 (1915) p.218 (papyrus): beginning of 3rd c.BC

(N. p.44), Edfu

----- . *JRAS*, (1929) p.109 (ostr^acon): ca. 475 (N. p.38), Syene

A. Dupont-Sommer, *RES*, 1941-45 p.67 (ostrcon): ca. 475 BC (N.

p.38), Eleph.

----- . *Semitica*, 1 (1946) p.44 (papyrus): 600 BC (N. p.16),

Saqq.

¹⁸Porten, *Semitica* 33 p.92.

¹⁹Cf. Giron's date: mid 7th and 6th c.BC.


- . *ASAE*, 48 (1948) p.112A (ostr^acon): ca. 475 (N. p.38),
Eleph.
- . *RSO*, 32 (1957) p.3 (ostr^acon): ca. 475 (N. p.38), Eleph.
Kornfeld, *WZKM*, 61 (1967) p.11 (graffito): n.d., Syene
- . *AÖAW*, 110 (1973) p.133 (graffito): 330-300²⁰, Edfu
Marakten, *MDIK*, 43 (1987) p.170-172 (ostraca): 5th c.BC, Eleph
Porten, *Or NS* 57 (1989) p.26 (papyrus): 5th c.BC, Eleph
Rabinowitz, *JNES*, 15 (1956) p.2 (metal bowl): 5th c.BC (N. p.22),
Tell el-Maskhûta
- . *JNES*, 18 (1959) p.154f (metal bowl): 5th c.BC (N. p.22),
Tell el-Maskhûta
- Sayce, *PSBA*, 26 (1904) p.208 (graffito): Memphis
- . *PSBA*, 30 (1908) p.28f (graffito): Heshân
- . *PSBA*, 33 (1911) p.183 (ostr^acon): ca.475 BC (N. p.37),
Eleph.
- Teixidor, *Syria*, 41 (1964) p.286 (papyrus): 417, Abydos
- Torrey, *Numismatic Note*, (graffito): 318 BC (N. p.52), Damanhur

²⁰Lipinski, *OLP*, 6/7, p.388.

B. INVENTORY OF EGYPTIAN PROPER NAMES AND WORDS

[1] Personal Names

? 'GN

--- *ikn(.i)* 4  4

G p.462; K p.121

[Aram] *APD* 75,2.15 (pl.62)


[Eg] Ranke I,48.17 m.NK. cf. also 16 (m.MK)

The correspondence between Aram G and Eg k needs further evidence (cf. *PQRQPTH* -- *p3-n-grg-ptḥ*) (see Chapter VI: alveolars). Though not attested as a PN, there is a Aram root 'GN "bowl" (*DISO* p.3) and Heb כֶּלֶח (KB p.11). Akk *akūnu* (*CAD* A 286; *AHW* I 30) "a kind of jar" is generally regarded as an Eg loanword (*ikn* *Wb* I,140; cf. Lambdin *Or* NS 22,1953, p.363). Yet Burchardt considers that the word has a Semitic origin (Burchardt, II, p.10). Ass PN *a-gi-nu* also occurs (*APN* p.136). The identification is far from certain.

** 'WPTŠTW

--- **ip(.t)-t(3)-šd(.t)* "Opet, the saviour"

[Aram] *Saqq.* 1.3, 8

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,148.17 *m.w.t-šd.t*  ; 370.13 *t3-šd.t-m.w.t*
f.Dyn 21f.

Ip.t, Goddess of Luxor, was pronounced [ope] in the Late Period. The final W seems to contradict the Eg fem. ending -t which is normally realized as Aram Y, though not necessarily so. The masc.

form of the saviour is *p3-šd.w* (*Wb* IV, 563.10f), so the fem. form is **t3-šd.w.t*. The final *w*, therefore, may be a counterpart of the Eg consonant *w*, protected by the fem. ending *-t*, or it may be a dialectal variant. Cf. Segal's **wpwty-št3* which is not attested.

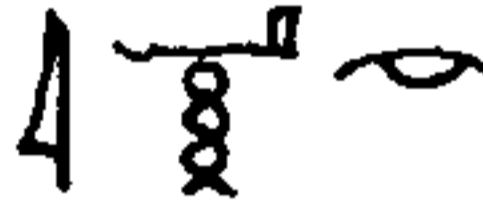
'H'

--- *iḥ3* (< 'ḥ3)  "Warrior"

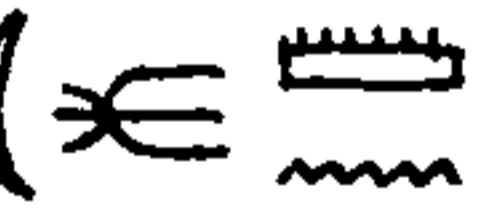
K p.119; V II p.224

[Aram] Bauer-Meissner, *SBPA*, 1936, 415.2; 16 [']H'; 19 'H[']

[Eg] Ranke I,44.7 m.NK or a short form of *iḥ3*-type (Ranke I,44.8-16).

Equally possible is *i(')ḥ*  "moon" (Ranke I,12.13) and its hypocoristicon (Ranke I,12.14-13,10). However the Semitic root 'H "brother" prevents us from confirming that this is Eg. The name can also be a hypocoristicon with the Semitic 'H.

* 'HMN

--- **i(')ḥ-mn*  "The Moon is enduring"

V II p.225


[Aram] *Saqq.* 105.5

[Eg] cf. DN + *mn.w* type of PN. e.g., *ḥp-mn(w)* (Ranke I,237.15); *ḥr-mn(w)* (I,252.3); *ḥns.w-mn(w)* (I,271.5); *i'ḥ-ms-mn(w)* (I,13.2).

Those names are all attested between NK and Gk.

A hybrid interpretation is not entirely excluded such as **'H-mn(w)* "Min is a brother," though less likely.

** 'HTP

--- *i(i)-ḥtp*  "Coming in peace"

[Aram] ostracon: Sayce, *PSBA*, 33 P.183.2

[Eg] Ranke I, 10.16 m.OK-Late

Cf. 'MHWT (*i'i-m-htp*), YMHWT

There is a Semitic root HTP "do hurriedly" in Aram, "catch" in Heb and Arab. Yet from the context, it is much more likely that 'HTP is a PN, rather than a verb (Aphel impv). For the change T > Ṭ between H and a labial, see the later discussion [3] Notes on the Correspondences e) alveolars.

** 'HMS

--- *i(')h-ms*  "The moon is born"

K p.77; V p.214

[Aram] ostrakon: APO 76.4.6 (pl.63)


[Eg] see Ph 'HMS.

'HPPY

--- **i'h(3)-pp.y* "Pepi is a warrior"

G p.463; K p.77; V II p.214

[Aram] AD 4.4

[Eg] cf. *i'h3*  (Ranke I, 44.7 m.NK); *pp.y* (Ranke I, 131.12 m/f.OK-NK) [Gk] cf. Ἀπίπας, Ἀπιπῆς .

3h-pp.y "Pepi is beneficial" (for *3h* see Ranke I, 2.21) is another possible reconstruction. The first element *3h* is used from OK to the Late Period: *3h.t-i'mn-'r.w* "Amun is effective against them" (Ranke I, 3.10 m.Late) and *3h-i'h* (Ranke I, 2.22 m.Dyn19). A hybrid explanation is also possible *'H-pp.y "Pepi is a brother." Note that Vittmann suggests the alternative reading, i.e., 'HRPY, yet he gives no solution of it. To change the reading to 'HRPY (Vittmann) is unnecessary.

'HRHYB

--- *i(')h-(ii)r-hb "It is the Moon who makes festival"


L p.117; K p.77; V II p.214

[Aram] AP 73.16 (corrected to 'HRTYS by Vittmann p.214)

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,12.14, 15, 17 i(')h-ii-r-di-s(w) "It is the Moon who gives him," i(')h-m-hb "the Moon is in the festival."

It seems that Copt $\zeta\omicron\pi$ "festival" for Eg hb contradicts the Aram form HYB. Dismissing the first *aleph*, Kornfeld identified the name with hr-m-hb (Ranke I,248.7 m/f.NK-Gk), which is unlikely. The reading is difficult. The fourth letter could be Ṭ . Therefore, Vittmann corrected it to 'HRTYS which is more likely. (for this name see 'HRTYS).

** 'HRTYS

--- i(')h-(ii)r-di-s(w)  "It is the Moon who has given him/her"

S II p.3; L p.117; K p.77

[Aram] AP 63.2, 73.16 'HRHYB (corrected to 'HRTYS by Vittman p.214); Saqq. 28a.7; 41.9 'HRTYS; 43a.3 'HRTYS

[Eg] Ranke I,12.14 and 15 m/f.Late; DemNB I,57 (i'h-i.ir-ti-s)

[Gk] Ἀρταῖς, Ἀρταῖς (NB p.56)

'HTBSTY

--- 'HT-b3st(.t) "The sister of Bast"

G p.460; K p.40; Lipiński, *Bibl. Or.* 31 p. 121; Teixidor, *Bulletin* p.355 (no.41)

[Aram] AD 11.1 'HTBSTY; 4 'HTBSTY

[Eg] see Ph 'BST

Cf. HTWBSTY

The name has been explained as Semitic: Ass **aḥatu-bâstī* "The (divine) sister is my gurdian angel" (cf. masc. *aḥu-bâs/šti* APN p.15; Driver AD p.32, G., K. and Teixidor). However, E. Lipiński (*Bibl.Or.* 31, p.121) points out the Eg theophoric element Bast, which is found in Ph PNs 'BDBST, 'BD'BST, P'L'BST. The identification is open to choice.

'TY

--- *idi* 𐤀𐤃𐤁

G p.494; K p.119

[Aram] LH 4.3 and 6

[Eg] Ranke I,53.22 m.OK-MK, f.MK. For the similar names, see Ranke I,53.23ff, *id.i*, *id.y* etc. Yet these names are only attested until MK.

A short form of the name composed with the element *it(f)* such as *itf-wr*, *itf-ws-ir*, *itf-m3* etc. (Ranke I,50.18ff) is a possible explanation, yet Eg *t* is usually not represented by Aram 𐤀.

'KY

--- *iky* 𐤀𐤎𐤃

K p.119

[Aram] graffito: TAE 93

[Eg] Ranke I,48.5 cf. Ranke I,47.26-48.12 m.Late

Aimé-Giron suggests 'KY is Ass *ak-ki* (APN p.266). Lycian *Akkα*. Yet his affiliation HRZBD "Horus has bestowed" points out the possibility of an Eg name. Cf. Ug *aky* (Gröndahl p.216), 'ky (Harding p.63).

* 'MWN


--- *imn*  "Amun"

[Aram] AD 5.3

[Eg] Ranke I,26.18 m.MK-Late cf. DemNB I,83 [Gk] Ἄμων, Ἀμμων, Ἀμωνιος, Ἀμῶνις (NB p.29)

Equally possible is a Semitic explanation 'āmōn (2K 21 a king of Judah, IPN 228-9), which is derived from 'MWN "master workman" (?).

** 'MWRṬYS

--- *im(n-i)r-di-s(w)*  "It is Amun who has given him"

S II p.3; L p.117; K p.77

[Aram] AP 35.1; 6 'MW[RṬ]YS; BP 13.3 'MWRṬY[S]

[Eg] Ranke I,26.24; II p.243 m.Late-Gk; DemNB I,84 (*imn-i.ir-[ti-s?]*) [Gk] Ἀμορταῖος, Ἀμυρταῖος, Ἀμεναρτεῖς, Ἀμονορταῖσις, Ἀμορταῖς (NB p.27) [NA] a-murṭi-še (APN p.23; Ranke KM p.27)

As is shown in Gk forms, *n* of *imn* is assimilated into the following *r* (*nr* > *n*), likewise in Akk form.

** 'MḤWT

--- *i(i)-m-ḥt(p)*  "Coming in peace"

K p.77

[Aram] AP 69A.11]'MḤWT; 69D [']MḤW[T]


[Eg] Ranke I,9.2 m.OK-Gk; DemNB I,55 [Gk] Ἰμουθου, Ἰμουθης, Ἰμουτης, Ἰμουθης, Ἀμούτης, Ἀμουθις, (NB p.27, 149)

Cf. YMḤWT, Ph YMḤT

The loss of the final *p* of *ḥtp* is evident in Gk forms Ἀμενωθης, Ἀμενουθης (< *imn-ḥtp*; Ranke I,30.12; DemNB I,85; NB p.24) and the month name *p3-n-imn-ḥtp*, which is represented by either ἠπαρμζατῆρ or ἠφαμενωθ (Gk φαμενωθ). They show that the final *p* has been lost

when the long [u]-vowel came in between *h* and *p*, like our examples 'MHWT, YMHWT. The name might be compared with *imn-htp* on the assumption that Eg *n* of *imn* is assimilated, yet the Gk forms preclude it.

* 'SWTYS

--- 3s(.t)-(iir)-di-s(.t)  "It is Isis who has given them"

S II p.4; L p.117

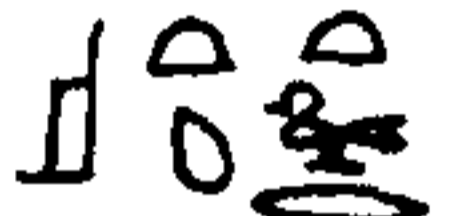
[Aram] AP 66,12.2

[Eg] Ranke I,3.19 f.Late-Gk [Gk] Ἐσορταῖς, Ἐσερταῖς (NB p.108f)

Cf. 'STYS

With respect to the loss of Eg *iir* which is usually represented by Aram R, the following two explanations can be offered; (1) the misspelling of W for R (S, L and K, see 'SRTYS); (2) the progressive assimilation of *r* into [o]: -sor- > -so- .

** 'SWRY

--- 3s(.t)-wr(.t)  "Isis is great"

S III p.347; L p.117; G p.475; K p.77; V II p.214

[Aram] LH 7.2; AP 43.2 and [13]

[Eg] Ranke I,4.1 f.NK-Gk; DemNB I,76 [Copt] ECOYEPPE [Gk]

Ἐσοῆρις, Ἐσουῆρις, Ἐσουῆρις (NB p.108f)

Equally possible is *ns-wr.t* "He/she who belongs to the great" (Ranke I,174.11 m.Gk/f.Late-Gk [Gk] εσοῆρις [Copt] ECOYEPPE). The final Y is a *mater lectionis*, representing the Eg fem. ending.

** 'SHWR

--- (n)s-hr(w)  "He belongs to Horus"

S I p.1111; L p.117; G p.470; K p.77

[Aram] AP 15.2, 17, 19, 21, 23, 24 ['S]HWR, 26, 30, 37; 20.3, 6, 8, 20

[Eg] Ranke I,178.7; II p.365 m/f.Late-Gk

Eg *ns* is always rendered as 'S because of the assimilation of *n* to *s* (S I p.1111).

**** 'SHNWM**

--- (n)s-hnm(.m)  "He belongs to Khnum"

S I p.1099; L p.117; K p.77

[Aram] ostracon: CIS II,155A.2, 155B.5 'SRWNPR (the latter was read as 'SHNWM by Vittmann, yet remains uncertain)

[Eg] Ranke I,179.1 m.Late

Notice Eg *h* corresponds to Aram *Ḥ*, not K like Ph (see the later discussion [6] Spirantization).

'SṬWM

--- (n)s-(i)tm  "He belongs to Atum"

K p.77

[Aram] CIS II,155A.3

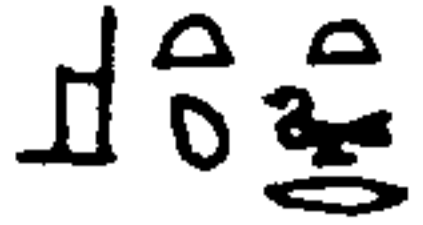
[Eg] Ranke I,174.4 m.Late

The unusual correspondence between Eg *t* and Aram *Ṭ* could be explained by the influence of the following labial, as T becomes Ṭ under the influence of the preceding labial in 'SPTḤ, PṬḤRTYS. Though the reading is uncertain, one more letter seems to be visible after the final M.

**** 'SYT'**

--- *3s(.t)-t(3)-'3(.t) "Isis the great"

[Aram] Saqq 56.1 'SYṬ[, 2 'SYṬ', 3

[Eg] cf. 3s.t-wr.t  "Isis is great" (Ranke I,4.1 f.NK-Gk).
 for the second element, cf. t3-'3.t (Ranke I,354.13ff f.NK-Late)
 Cf. Ph 'S''

* 'SKYŠW

--- short form of 'SKŠYT (*ns-k3y-šw.ty*)

L p.117; G p.470; K p.77

[Aram] AP 2.19

[Eg] see 'SKŠYT

The short form 'SKŠ+a *mater lectionis* W as a caritative ending.

* 'SKŠYT

--- (*n*)s-k(*3y*)-š(*w.*)t(*y*)  "He belongs to k3y-šw.ty"

L p.117; G p.501; K p.78

[Aram] AP 53.7

[Eg] Ranke I,179.8 m.Late-Gk/f.Late cf. *ns-p3-k3y-sw.ty* (Ranke I,175.18)

The correspondence between Aram K and Eg k is unusual.

** 'SMN

--- (*n*)s-mn(*.w*)  "He belongs to Min"

S I p.1099; L p.117; K p.78

[Aram] ostracon: CIS II,138A.1

[Eg] Ranke I,176.12 m.Late-Gk [Gk] Ἐσμῆνις , Ἐσμινίς ,

Ζμῆνις , Ζμιν , Ζμινίς , Σμιν , Σμίνις (NB p.108,118,388)

** 'SMT

--- (*n*)s-mw.t  "She belongs to Mut"

S I p.1099; L p.117; K p.78; V II p.215

[Aram] CIS II,155A.1

[Eg] Ranke I,176.10 f.NK-Late

As for CIS II,155B.1, there is enough space for two letters between S and T. Three down strokes suggest PM between S and T. Vittmann considers it to be *ns-mtr* "He belongs to the witness." Though phonetically possible, *ns-mw.t* is much more common.

'SPTŠNY

--- * (n)s-p(3)-d(š)-n(.š)-sn(.t) "He belongs to him whom the sister has given"

[Aram] CIS II,155B.6 'SPTH_NY (corrected here)

[Eg] For the type of *ns-p3-* see Ranke I,174.19-175.21. For the structure of the second half, see Ranke I,124.5 *p3-dš-n.š-3s.t* "He whom Isis has given to me." Since *ns-* can be attached to any name in order to produce another name, this combination is possible.

'SPTH_NY

--- see 'SPTŠNY

K p.78; V II p.215

** 'SPMT

--- Var. of 'SPMT (*ns-p3-mdw*)

S I, p.111; G p.471; K p.78

[Aram] AP 2.2 'ŠPMT, 22 'SP[MT]; 3.3 'SP[MT]; 4.7

[Eg] see 'SPMT

** 'SPMT

--- (n)s-p(3)-md(w)  "He belongs to the (sacred) staff"

S I p.1111; L p.118; K p.78

[Aram] AP 6.10; 8.7; graffito: TAE 98; ostracon: CIS
 II,155B.1 'SPMT; Porten, Or.NS, 57 p.26; NEph II,p.75 [Eg] Ranke
 I,175.1; II p.365 [Gk] Ἐσπμη̄τις , Ἐσπμη̄θις (NB p.108f) [Akk]
iš-pi-ma-a-ṭu (APN p.105a)

Cf. 'SPMT

As the Gk form shows, Eg *d* of *md.w* changed into [mēt-], which is realized as MT in Aram. The Eg *d* also corresponds to Aram T in 'SPMT under the influence of a preceding labial. There is no necessity to deal with 'SPMT and 'SPMT differently, as Lambdin proposes. Akk *ṭ* of *iš-pi-ma-a-ṭu* should be remembered here.

* 'SPŠN

--- *(n)s-p(3)-šn "He belongs to the (sacred?) tree"

[Aram] Saqq 1.5

[Eg] for the element of *šn.w* see Ranke I,211.5 *nḥt-ḥr(.w)-n3-šn.w*
 "Strong is Horus of the trees" (m.Dyn 25); Ranke I,244.8 *ḥnw.t-šn.w*
 "Mistress of trees" (f. Dyn 20); Ranke I,422.13. Yet the element
šn.w is always used in plural in these attested forms.


ṢRWNPR

--- *3s(ws)-(i)r-wn(n)-nfr(w) "Osiris, Onnophoris"

S I p.1099; L p.118; K p.78; V II p.215

[Aram] CIS II,155B.5

[Eg] Ranke II,275; Wb I,311.1 [Copt] cf. ΟΥCEΡΟΒΕΝΔΡΡΕ (Spielgerg).

Cf. Ranke I,246.17 *ḥr-wn-nfr*  (m.Late-Gk), see Ranke I,79.19
wn-nfr.w (Copt ΟΥΕΝΟΒΡ , Gk Ουβωφρις "Onnophris" which is a surname
 of Osiris (CDME p.62), meaning something like "the perfect" lit.
 "being-beauty." The text is so faded as to not be read with
 certainty. The final letter seems to be M (cf. Vittmann's reading


'SHNWM for the meaning see above).

* 'SRṬYS

--- see 'SWṬYS

S II p.3; L p.118; K p.78; V II p.215

** 'SRŠWT

--- *3s(.t)-ršw.t(y)*  "Isis is rejoicing"

S II p.3; L p.118; G p.475; K p.78

[Aram] *AP* 34.3

[Eg] Ranke I,4.10 f.Late-Gk; II,p.336; *DemNB* I,79 [Gk] Ἐσερούθις ,
Ἐσερούς , Ἐσορούς (*NB* p.108f)

Cf. 'SRŠT.

** 'SRŠT

--- Var. of 'SRŠWT

G p.475; K p.78

[Aram] *LH* 1.3

[Eg] see 'SRŠWT

* 'STḤ

--- * *(n)s-th* "He belongs to (Thoth's) plummet"

G p.470; K p.78

[Aram] *AP* 22.81

[Eg] cf. *Wb* V,325.17

Kornfeld prefers *ns-(p)th* (Ranke I,176.5). Although it is well attested in El-Amarna tablets that the *p* of *pth* drops (see Chapter IV: *Tahmassi, Tahmaya, Hikv(p)taḥ*) it is not usual in NW Semitic. I follow Grelot who points out Eg *th* , a synonym for

Thoth. Many other possibilities should be remembered: **ns-t3-ḥy.t* (cf. Ranke I,366.21); **ns-t3-ḥwt* "He belongs the temple" (cf. Ranke I,110,1 *p3-n-ḥwt* "He who belongs to the the temple" m.NK); **ns-tḥw* (cf. *Wb* V,325.5).

'PW

--- see 'P'

K p.79; V p.215

'PH

--- *ipw, ipi* etc.

cf. K p.501; K p.79 'PW, 'P'

[Aram] AP 24.37 'WH (corrected into 'PH here, cf. APO 'ZH)

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,22.15 *ipi* m/f.OK-Late; Ranke I,22.22ff *ipy* etc. m/f.MK-Late.

** 'P'

--- *i(w).f-'(3)*  "He is great"

G p.501; K p.79; V II p.215

[Aram] AP 53.6; 24.4 [']P[']

[Eg] Ranke I,14.2 m.Late; *DemNB* I,59 [Gk] cf. ἄππου, ἄππων, ἔπιως (*NB* p.42f,102)

'*tb(.y)-i'(.w)* (Ranke I,19.4), suggested by Kornfeld, is only attested until MK, and we must assume that Eg *i'* has been lost. The composition of an element *ip* and '3 (Grelot) is possible, though it is purely theoretical. As for AP 53.6, the reading is sure. Kornfeld's comment "Lesung unsicher, vielleicht--'PW" is unnecessary (Vittmann also questioned his reading). Grelot and Kornfeld read 'PW in AP 24.4, yet no support is gained from the text itself.

** 'PRY

--- *i(w.)f-r(r)* (< **iw.f-r.i*) 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 "He is against me"

[Aram] Jar: APO 82,15.1 (pl.69)

[Eg] Ranke I,14.21; 17.10 m.Late [Gk] cf. ἄπριος, ἑποῦρις

(NB p.42,101)

-RY corresponds to Copt εροι "for me", which is represented as an emphatic form of Eg preposition *r* (cf. *hr* > *hrr* Wb III,131).

'ŠPMD

--- Var. of 'SPMṬ (?)

[Aram] APO 69.11

[Eg] see 'SPMT

The correspondence between Aram D and Eg *d* could be justified by 'BWD/'BWT (*3bdw*) "Elephantine." However the second letter Š, corresponding to Eg *s* is troublesome.

BB'

--- *bb.i* 𐤁𐤁𐤓

G p.467; K p.119

[Aram] APO 75,2.15

[Eg] Ranke I,95.16-96.12 *bb.i*, *bb.i*, *bb.y*, *bby* etc.(m/f.OK-Late)

[Ph] BB' [Gk] βᾶβει (NB p.70) [Akk] *Ba-ba-a-a* (APN p.49a), ^ε*Be-be-e*

(ANG p.242) [Ug] *ba-ba*, *ba-bi-ia-nu* (Gröndahl p.117) [Heb] cf. בַּבְי

BHY

--- **bh* "Buchis bull"

K p.79

[Aram] Weil, *REJ* 65 p.18.5

[Eg] cf. *DemNB* I,184 p3-b_h; 364 pa-b_h; *Wb* I,472.14 b_h "Buchis"


[Gk] βούχης (*NB* p.78)

MB Ba-ḥu-ú, Ba-ḥe-e, NA Ba-ḥi-i (*Ahw* I,96b; cf. *APN* p.50, derived from *bahu* "meager, thin") suggest that BḥY could be an Akk name.

BYKN'

--- *b_{ik}.n "Our falcon"

[Aram] *Saqq* 40.1

[Eg] For *b_{ik}*, see Ranke I,93.18 and 19  . *p3-b_{ik} and t3-b_{ik}.t are preserved in Gk forms πβηχίς , τβηχίς (Ranke II,279.8; II,324.23).

BYQN'

---bw-*kn* 

[Aram] *Saqq* 21.5

[Eg] Ranke I,94.17 m.NK

Cf. *b3-*kn*, suggested by Segal, which is not attested.

BKRNP

---b(3)k-(n-)rn.f  "The servant of his name"

K p.79

[Aram] *RES* 1788

[Eg] Ranke I,91.11 and 17 (b3k-rn.f) m.Late; *DemNB* I,147 (bk-rn.f)

[Gk] Βοχονίης (*NB* p.78) [NA] Bu-kur-ni-ip "a king of Pahnuti"

(Assurb. I,105; Ranke, *KM* p.27).

* BL'

--- br  "The blind"

G p.468; K p.79; V II p.215

[Aram] AP 28.5

[Eg] Ranke I,97.27 m.Gk; DemNB I,143ff (*br, bl, bl.t, bl3, bli'*)

[Gk] βελλῆς, βελῆς, βελᾶς, βέλλιος (NB p.73) [Copt] βλλε (Crum

p.38a) cf. πβλλε [Akk] *bēlā, bēl-a-a, Be-la-a* (ANG p.113) [Pu]

BL' (Benz, p.89,287, left unexplained)

The Eg name *br/bl* is attested well in Demotic documents. His mother TB' and his brother PTWSYRY are Egyptians in AP 28. So BL', a slave, is likely to be from an Eg family. Yet the Semitic derivation is still conceivable due to the Akk form, *bēlā* (hypocoristicon with "Baal").

BS'

--- bs.y 

L p.118; G p.468; K p.79

[Aram] TAÉ 100a, b; 112a, b; BP 11.2, 15

[Eg] Ranke I,98.18f m.Late/f.NK [Gk] βεσᾶς, βησᾶς, βῆσα, βησαῖς

(NB p.74f. OAP p.79f)

Probably a shortened form of the name of which theophoric element is Bes. Equally possible is Semitic explanation: *ba-sa-a* (APN p.53a), cf. Heb *bēsāy*, Amorite BS' (APNMT p.177).

BSH

--- Var. of BS'(?)

K p.79

[Aram] LH 8.11

ḂŠ'Ḥ

--- bš3w 

[Aram] *Saqq* 8.4

[Eg] Ranke I, 98.22-24; see Ph BŠ'

ḠLḤḂ

--- grhb  "Sacred Ibis bird"

G p.471; K p.79; V II p.215

[Aram] *APO* 75, 2.15 (pl.62)

[Eg] Ranke I, 352.12 f.(?)Gk; Erichsen p.587 *gl-hb*, *p3-gl-hb* [Gk]

Καλιβις (NB p.160)

The final letter B is uncertain. Grelot prefers N rather than B. Sachau read it as W. Because of the attested Eg name, b is preferable.

ḤPR'

--- *h(3)b-r.i "One sent to me"

K p.79; V II p.215

[Aram] *CIS* II, 130 (cf. the reading of *RES* 1368 'BM')

[Eg] cf. *h3b* "to send" (Ranke I, 229.4 m.OK); *h3b-sw* (Ranke I, 229.5 m.Dyn12)

Even if the reading should be correct, the identification is still difficult. Kornfeld, following *CIS*, considered it *ḥpry* (=Gk Ἄπριος NB p.42; Erichsen p.356) which is well attested (Ranke I, 268.21ff). Yet the equation of Aram H with Eg ḥ is hardly acceptable. A reconstruction above is possible with a slight change *b* > /p/, because both elements, *h3b* and *r* + suffix pronoun are attested in PNs. However, the reading is quite uncertain, making the identification impossible.

**** HRYW**

--- *hr-ib*  "Contented"

L p.119; V II p.223

[Aram] AP 74.5 HDYW (corrected to HRYW by Lambdin and Vittmann)

[Eg] Ranke I,230.5 m.OK-Gk/f.Late-Gk [Gk] *Ἐριεὺς* [Ph] HRB

[Aram] cf. HRYWT'

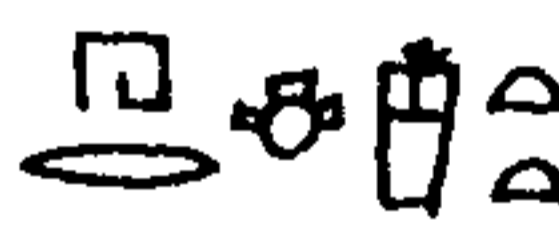
The final *b* of *hr-ib* was assimilated into the previous /w/ sound: *ib* **[iūb]* > *[iūw]* > *[iw]*. For the discussions on vocalization of *ib*, see W. Albright (*JEA* 23 p.203), and his review article on *Phonétique historique de l'Égyptien* (*JAOS* 66 p.317). for the examples of the loss of *b*, see K. Sethe, *ZÄS* 50 p.80-83, e.g., *skb*, *sgb* > *skr*, *skí*; *msb* > *ms*. Cf. *Ἐριανούπις hr-ib-ínpw* with loss of *b*.

**** HRYWT'**

--- **hr-w(3)d.(t)* "Uto is contented"

G p.472; K p.80; V II p.215

[Aram] LH 7.4

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,230,12 *hr-b3st.t*  (m.Late); for *w3d.t* "Uto (cobra-goddess)" see *Wb*,I268.17; cf. Gk *βουτω*, Copt *ΠΟΥΤΟ/ΒΟΥΤΟ pr-w3d.t*; Aram HRYW

Ranke's reading *hr-ib* is more likely to be *hr*, for the *ib* is a determinative since NK, see *Wb* II,496.

*** WHPY**

--- **w(3)h-(í)b* "(DN) is kindly"

[Aram] AP 74.1 PHPY (corrected here to WHPRY); *Saqq* 53.13 WHPY{

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,72.28ff


Probably a short form of *w3h-ib-r'*; the final Y is a hypoc-

ristic ending.

**** WHPR'**


--- *w(3)ḥ-(i)b-r'*  "Re' is kindly"

L p.119; G p.496; K p.80

[Aram] ostrakon: *CIS* II,154.3  *WHPR'*, 7 *WHPR'* (cf. Aimé-Giron, *BIFAO* 38 P.36); *AP* p.317A.3 (Aimé-Giron, *JA* 18 p.61); *TAÉ* 26.2 [WH]PR', 29.2 [W]HPR', 30.1; *LH* 2.14, 3.5, 4.14; ostrakon: Dupont-Sommer, *RSO*, 32 P.403.3; *Saqq* 10.10

[Eg] see Ph *WHPR'*.

**** WHPR'MHY**

--- *w(3)ḥ-(i)b-r'-m-(3)ḥ.(t)*  "(King) *w3ḥ-ib-r'* is on the Horizon"

S II p.5; L p.119; G p.496; K p.80

[Aram] *AP* 26.1, 24 *WHPR'MHY* (cf. *AP* Z, *AP* Y for '); *AD* 3.4

[Eg] Ranke I,73.3; *DemNB* I,112.

*** [W]HPR'NH[T]**

--- **w(3)ḥ-(i)b-r'-nḥt* "(King) *w3ḥ-ib-r'* is strong"

L p.119; K p.80

[Aram] *TAÉ* 69

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,209.22-212.19 for the compounds with *nḥt* as the first element, Ranke I,29.21 for *nḥt* as the second element: *imn-nḥt*, *3s(ws)ir-nḥt* etc.

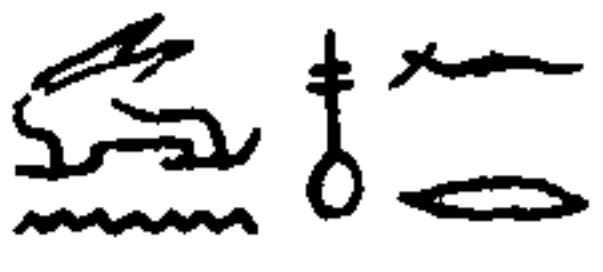
*** WHTRW**

--- **w(3)ḥ-t(3)-(n-)rw* "May she who belongs to the lion endure"

[Aram] Bordreuil, *Catalogue des sceaux*, p.103 no.135

[Eg] For the first element, see Ranke I,72.26ff. For the second part, see TRW. *W3h-tri "May the willow tree endure" may be another possibility (cf. Ranke I,158.2 *mr-tri.t*; CDME p.306 *trt > tr(t)*).

** WNPR

--- *wn(n)-(n)fr(.w)*  "(The) good exists"

S I p.1108; L p.119; G p.483; K p.80

[Aram] AP 24.36 WNPR, 66.10 WNPR[

[Eg] Ranke I,79.19; I,xxi; II p.349; DemNB I,118 [Gk] ὀννώφριος , Ἐννόφρι , ὀννόφριος , ὀννόφρις , ὀννώφρεις , ὀννώφρις , ὀνώφριος , ὀνωφρις , ὀνοφρι , ὀνόφρις , ὀνοβερ (NB p.241f) [Copt] ΟΥΔΑΝΟΥΡΕ , ΟΥΕΝΟΒΡ For some discussion on this name, see Gardiner, JAOS 56 p.190.

** WRŠNP

--- *wrš-nf(r)*  "Good watcher"

S II p.5; L p.119; G p.487; K p.92

[Aram] APO 75,2.3 PRŠNP (corrected to WRŠNP by Lidzbarski)

[Eg] Ranke I,83.7; DemNB I,120 [Gk] ὀρσενουφίς , ὀρσενούφιος , ὀρσενουπίς , ὀρσενούφεις , Ἄρσενούπι , Ἄρσενούφίς , Ὠρσενούφίς , Οὐερσενουφίος, Οὐερσενούφίς , Οὐερσινουφίος , Οὐρσενούφίς , Ἐρσενούφίς (NB p.244), Βαρσανουφίος (Crum p.491a)

[Copt] ΟΥΕΡΨΕΝΟΥΒΕ , ΒΕΡΨΕΝΟΥΨΙ (Crum p.491a)


Grelot and Kornfeld, following the original publication PRŠNP, reconstructed **pry-šri'-(n-)inp.w* "Son of Anubis came out" (cf. Ranke I,133.18f). Other possibilities are; (1) a metathesis PRŠNP > PŠRNP (*p3-šri'-(n-)inp.w* Ranke I,118.9 m.Gk); (2) **p3-rš(w)-nfr* (Ranke I,115.1). Yet the reading WRŠNP is epigraphically more

likely and this name is attested very well.

* ZBKBRK (hybrid)

--- *sbk*-BRK "Sobek has blessed"

[Aram] APO 84.8 reverse

[Eg] Wb IV,95  "Sobek" [Gk] Σουχος, Σοκ-, Σεκ-

Eg god *sbk* is naturally expected to be SBK in Aram and perhaps SBQ (in PTSBQ). We need further evidence to justify this equation. The change S > Z in the initial position may be comparable with ZWYT derived from Akk *samītu*.

ZBKPR/DYM (hybrid?)

--- *sbk*-PRYM "Sobek "

[Aram] APO 84.8 left (pl.71)

[Eg] see ZBKBRK.


** HWNY

--- *hwn*  "The youth"

K p.50; V II p.223

[Aram] APO 76.2.2

[Eg] Ranke I,236.5 m.Late-Gk [Akk] *hu-ni-i* (APN p.90a)

Notice the Demot spelling has *i* () , which is represented by the final Aram Y.

** HWR


--- *hr(.w)*  "Horus"

S I p.1109; L p.119; G p.475; K p.80; Teixidor, *Bulletin*, p.357

[Aram] AP 23.3, 24.8 HWR[, 13 H[WR], 16 HW[R], 38.4, 6, 8a, 8b, 53.7; AD 3.4 HWR; BP 6.8, 9.10, 10.6; Saqq 69b.3 HWR; stele: CIS

II,122.1 (KAI 267); Porten, *Or NS* 57 p.37 no.10 col.2.8, col.3.4;
Bauer-Meissner, *SBPA* 1936 p.415.16; Bresciani, "Frammenti di un
Testo Aramaico" B x+2; graffito: Kornfeld, *WZKM* 61 p.11 no.2606
[Eg] see Ph HR

**** HWRY**

--- *hr.y*  "He of Horus" (?)

G p.475; K 81; V II p.215

[Aram] *AP* 22.40, 79 H^W[RY], 85, 23.9, 37.13, 15; *TAÉ* 25.6 HWR[Y];

ostrakon: *CIS* II,125; *NEph* I p.10 (Pap.Berol 2300).1, 9

[Eg] Ranke I,251.17 m.NK-Late [Gk] Ὠρῖς (NB p.497)

Grelot and Kornfeld proposed *hr-ii'* "Horus has come" (Ranke I,245.21; Gk Ὠρεῖς). However, as Vittmann observed, HR "Horus" in construct state is not realized as HWR, but as HR (the later discussion [3] *Matres Lectionis* e) Notes on the Use of *matres lectionis*"). Moreover, *hr.y* is a simpler solution and much more common in the period. The final *y* is an ending of a shortened form (Ranke II p.146) or an adjectival form. A Semitic explanation is not impossible: *hōrî* (Gen 36:22). Yet this well-attested Eg name is more probable. Twice HWRY is a father of an Egyptian (*AP* 23.9, *TAÉ* 25.6; probably *NEph* I p.10.9).

HYH

--- *h(3)y-h(r)*  (meaning unknown)

L p.119; G p.474; K p.114

[Aram] *BP* 3.23b

[Eg] Ranke I,262.8 m.Late

The identification was first made by Albright (*BP* p.164). Yet Grelot objected to it because the final 'aleph is usually expected

for Eg *hr*, as *H'* (see *SH'*). Grelot prefers Iranian to Eg, because of its affiliation (son of 'TRLY, a Caspian). He also suggests the possibility of a Hurrian name: *hax+ha* (*NPN* p.212b); cf. Akk *hi-hi-e* (*APN* p.88a) from Asia minor. Also Eg *hh* (Ranke I,254.8 cf. Copt 2Δ2). Therefore, the identification is open to choice.

ĤKWN^oYT

--- **hk(3)-m-ny.t* "The (god of) magic is Neith"

[Aram] *Saqq* 45a.3

[Eg] cf. Ranke II,296.9 *hk3.i'-ny.t* "Neith is my magic" (f.Dyn1-2);

see also *hk3-m*-type: *hk3-m-s3.f* "the magic is his protection," *hk3-m-h3.t* "the magic is on the top" (both m.Late). Also *ny.t-hk3*

(Ranke II,296.9 f.Dyn1-2) and *m3i'-m-hk3* (Ranke I,144.5 m.NK). Aram

W to represent of Eg *m* is possible (see TWT for TMT). Though the

first part of the name is partially damaged, the second part NYT

"Neith" is clear. So the name must be Eg.

ĤKN'

--- *hkn(.t)*  "Praised one"

[Aram] *CIS* II,122B

[Eg] Ranke II,308.17 f.Late

S I p.1100; K p.81; V II p.215

There are lots of similar names attested in Ranke I,257.1 *hkn.i'*; 257.2 *hkn.y.t*; 257.3 *hkn.w*; II,308.16 *hkn* (all until MK). The exact identification is difficult.

** ĤKRṬYSW

--- **hk(3)-(i')r-di'-sw* "It is the (god) Magic who has given him"

S I p.1100; L p.119; K p.81

[Aram] ostracon: *CIS* II,138B.1 ḤBRṬYSÑ, 3 ḤBRṬY[S]N (corrected to ḤKRṬYSW by Spiegelberg and confirmed by Degen, *NEph* I, p.27)

[Eg] Ranke II,308.13 (reconstruction based on Aram)

Although the name is a reconstruction, it is certainly Eg. For the element ḥk3, see Ranke I,256.2ff. The type of this name, DN + *ir-di* + suffix, is very common.

** ḤNM

--- *hnm(.w)*  "Khnum"

[Aram] ostracon: Aimé-Giron, *ASAE*, 26 p.25 (1.B.3)

[Eg] Ranke I,275.5 m/f.OK-MK

The name, attested until MK in Ranke, was preserved in Aram texts. As a theophoric element, *hnm.w* is still common in the Late period (see Ranke I,275.19; 276,1, 14, 15, 16 etc).

* ḤNMW

--- **hnm(.w)-i'w* "Khnum came"

S II p.5; L p.120; G p.457; K p.81

[Aram] *AP* 53.5

[Eg] see DN + *i'w* type, such as *i'mn-i'w* (Ranke I,26.21; Gk *Ἄμμεις*), *ḥp-i'w* (Ranke I,237.5; Aram ḤPYW), *ḥns.w-i'w* (Ranke I,270,17)

If the final W is a vowel letter, *hnm.w* (Ranke I,275.5 m/f.OK-MK) may stand for ḤNMW. Yet it is known that the final consonant w has been lost in Eg, thus Gk *χνουβις* , *χνουμ* . Therefore, it is more likely that the final W stands for the Eg *i'w* . Spiegelberg, followed by Lambdin, interpreted it as *hnm-'3* , which is impossible, because Eg 'ayn does not lose its consonantal value. For Eg *i'w* = Aram W, see Ph ḤPYW.

** ḤNMNTN (hybrid)

--- *hnm(.w)*-NTN "Khnum has given"

K p.50

[Aram] graffito: Sayce, *PSBA*, 30 p.28f no.4

[Eg] see ḤNWM.

* ḤNS

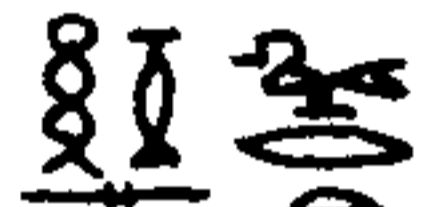
--- *hns(.w)*  "Khons"

S I p.1109; L p.120; K p.81; V II p.215

[Aram] *AP* 74.6 ḤNS̄ (= *CIS* II,148.6); *CIS* II,132.1 ḤWNT (corrected to ḤNS_ by Lidzbarski *Eph* III, p.109)

[Eg] Ranke I,270.16 m/f.MK-Late [Gk] *χῶνσις* (NB p.48)

ḤSWR


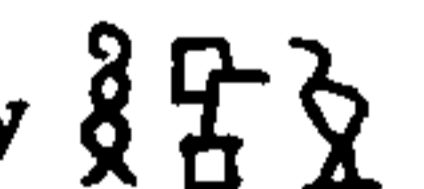
--- *hs-wr(.t)*  "The great one is praised"

[Aram] *Saqq* 28a.8

[Eg] Ranke I,254.15 f.OK

Phonetically the identification is most probable, though it is attested only in OK. Both elements were used in the Late Period (Ranke I,254.13; 355.13).

** ḤPY

--- *hp.y*  , *hp.w*  "Apis"

[Aram] *AP* 24.3 (according to Sachau's reading); *Saqq* 8.14 ḤPY;

graffito: Torrey, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no.77 p.9 (no.6)

[Eg] Ranke I,238,6 m.MK-NK; 16 *hp.w* m/f.OK-Dyn18 [Gk] Ἄπιος ,

Ἄπιος . For Eg *w*, see Ranke II p.154b.

**** ḤPY'W**

--- Var. of ḤPYW

[Aram] *Saqq* 139.2]ḤPY'W

[Eg] see Ph ḤPYW

**** ḤPYW**

--- ḥp-*i*w "The Apis has come"

G p.474; K p.81

[Aram] Bauer and Meissner, *SBPA*, 1936, 4/5.2 ḤPYW

[Eg] see Ph ḤPYW.

ḤPYMW


--- misreading of ḤPYMN

L p.120; K p.81

[Aram] *AP* 73.16

[Eg] see ḤPYMN (the final letter is fairly long, making it impossible for the letter to be W).

**** ḤPYMN**

--- ḥp-*mn*  "Apis is enduring"

S I p.1100; L p.120; K p.81

[Aram] *TAÉ* 25.6; *AP* 73.16 ḤPYMW (corrected to ḤPYMN by Spiegelberg); *Saqq* 28b.5, 69b.6 ḤPYMN

[Eg] Ranke I, 237.13 ■.Late-Gk [Pers] *ḥa-pi-me-en-na*. (*KM*, p.38)

Cf. ḤPMN, ḤPMW

ḤP[Y']NH

--- ḥp-*'nh*(.w)  "May Apis live" or "Apis is alive"

L p.120; K p.81; V II p.216

[Aram] *TAÉ* 87a.10

[Eg] Ranke I,237.10 m.Late [Gk] cf. Ἀπέγχεις , Ἀπύγχις ,
Ἀπιγχις , Ἀπῶνεχ , Ἀφύγχις , Ἀφύγκις , Ἀφύγγιος , Ἀφφύγχιος,
Ἀφύγγιος, Ἀφύνχις , Ἀπίγχις , Ἀπυνχις (NB p.43)

**** ḤPMN**

--- Var. of ḤPYMN

[Aram] ostracon: *Saqq* VII.1

[Eg] see ḤPYMN.

**** ḤR**

--- Var. of ḤWR

K p.122

[Aram] *TAÉ* 79.2; *Saqq* 50.6 ḤR[, 61b.2 ḤR_]

[Eg] see ḤWR.

**** ḤRBK**

--- *ḥr-b(i)k "Horus, (the) Falcon"

[Aram] metal bowl: Rabinowitz, *JNES* 18 p.154f

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,247.6 ḥr-p3-bik  m.Gk

[Gk] (with the article p3) Ἀρφεβῆχις , Ἀρπβῆκις , Ἀρπβῆχις ,
Ἀρπεβηκις, Ἀρφεβεῖχις, Ἐρφβηκις; (without p3 =*ḥr-bik) Ἀρβῆκις ,
Ἀρβῆχις , Ἀρβῖχις , Ἐρβηκις , Ὀρβῆκ (NB p.45)

The name ḤRBK cannot be "the servant of Horus" (Rabinowitz). If
it were "the servant of Horus", the word order would be reversed:
BKḤR (*bik-ḥr*).

ḤRWṢ

--- Var. of ḤRWṢ (?)

S I p.1100; L p.120; K p.81; V II p.216

[Aram] AP 73.10 ŠNWT (according to CIS II,147B.10, the reading is HRWT); APO 75,1,col.i.12 ḤRWT

[Eg] see HRWS

The reading of AP 73.10 is uncertain: the first letter is impossible to read with certainty; the second letter could be either N and R; the final two letter are clear; after T is broken.

**** HRWS**

--- ḥr-wd(3)  "Horus is prosperous"

K p.51; V II p.223

[Aram] AP 17.6, 24.5 (Sachau's reading ZPRWT); TAÉ 87a.13 ḤRWS; LH 1.3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 3.3, 5.5

[Eg] see Ph HRWS

Considering the name to be Semitic, Kornfeld connected it with Akk ḥurāṣu "gold" (AHW 358a; CAD Ḥ 245b), which occurs in PN ḥu-ra-ṣi (CAD Ḥ 247a). However, Ph HRWS and NA ḥar-ma-ṣu, ḥa-ar-ma-ṣu clearly indicate that the third letter W should not be dismissed as a vowel letter, The names derived from Semitic root HRS and this Eg name should be dealt with separately. For another example of conflation, J. Stark, p.90a, Harris, p.104 regarded Ph HRWS as an error, resulting from the use of Aram spelling. Examples of Semitic names are IPN no.523, APN p.86b ḥar-ru-ṣu.

**** HRWN**

--- ḥr-wn  "Horus exists"

[Aram] Saqq 190

[Eg] Ranke I,246.15 [Gk] cf. Ἄρων , Ἄαρων (NB p.59)

HRWT

--- Var. of HRWT, HRWS (?)

[Aram] *Saqq* 53.15 (The final T is uncertain. It cannot be Š, yet could be T)

**** HRZBD (hybrid)**

--- hr-ZBD "Horus has bestowed"


[Aram] graffito: *TAÉ* 93

[Eg] see HR

**** HRHBY**

--- hr-(m-)(3)h-bí(.t)  "Horus is in Chemmis"

S I p.1101; L p.120; K p.81

[Aram] *AP* p.317A.1; *TAÉ* 87b.6 ; seal: *CIS* II,140

(cf. Herr's reading: HWHBY)

[Eg] Ranke I,247.15f; II p.378 m.NK-Gk [Gk] Ἀρχήρις , Ἀρχίβις ,
Ἀρχίβιος , Ἀρχίβειος , Ἀρχήμις (NB p.58f)

cf. Chemmis = χέμμις.

**** HRHT**

--- hr-ht(p)  "Horus is contented"

V II p.225

[Aram] *Saqq* 11.5

[Eg] Ranke I,250.7,8 m.OK-Late [Gk] Ἀρηότης , Ἀρνώθης (NB p.46)

Segal's suggestions: hr-m-h3.t, hr-r-h3.t, hr-hw.t cannot explain the final T, as he admitted. When the final p of htp dropped, which is possible as with YMHWT, W would normally be expected between H and T. However the smaller development of *martres lectionis* in Saqqara could justify the identification.

See the later discussion: [5] Matres Lectionis, e) Notes on the use of *matres lectionis*.


** HRY

--- Var. of HWRY


K p.81

[Aram] graffito: *TAÉ* 109; graffito: *CIS* II,130 HRY

[Eg] see HWRY

Another possible explanation is *hr.y*  (Ranke I,252.26 m.Late), which is much less common.

]HRYN

--- *hr-ín(y)*  "It is Horus who brings" (?)

[Aram] *Saqq* 159.1


[Eg] Ranke I,246.2 m.MK

Notice that there is no support from the context that it is a PN, and besides, the beginning is broken and *hr-íny* is not attested in the Late period.

HRKN

--- **hr-ḳn* "Strong Horus"

[Aram] *Saqq* 9.1

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,334.21 *ḳn-hr*  "Horus is strong" m.NK-Late. For the possibility of the reverse order *hr-ḳn*, cf. *ímḳn-ḳn* and *ḳn-ímḳn* (Ranke I,31.4 and 344.18). [Gk] cf. *Ἀρκίvis* , *Ἀρκίvis* (NB p.50)

Segal observed the interchange between K and Q in Saqqara (p.11, e.g., KNWPY and QNPY; notice the reading of the latter is not sufficiently clear). This may be the solution of the correspon-

dence between Aram K and Eg k here.

** HRMHY

--- hr-m-(3)h(.t)  "Horus is in the horizon"

L p.120; K p.81

[Aram] TAÉ 26.4, 11.1 HRMHY, 25.5 HRMH[Y]

[Eg] Ranke I,247.17 m.Late-Gk [Gk] Ἀρμάχης (NB p.50; OAP p.50a).

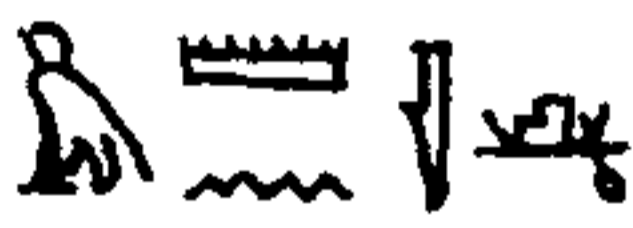

** HRMN

--- hr-mn(w)  "Horus is Min?"

G p.474; K p.51; V II p.223

[Aram] AP 12.2; 22.4

[Eg] Ranke I,248.19 m.OK-NK (often) [Gk] Ἀρμενος, Ἀρμηνίς, Ἀρμίνις (NB p.51) cf. Ἑρμηῆνος, Ἑρμίνος, Ἑρμίνις, Ἑρμιόνη (NB p.105)

Vittmann reconstructed *hr-mn.w "Horus is enduring," which is also possible, because DN + mn.w is a common type of name, e.g., imn-mn (Ranke I,29.6 m.NK), dhwtj-mn(.w) (Ranke I,408.4 m.Gk) etc.. Though hr-mn.w is most common, other possibilities should be noted: (1) hr-mn(i.w)  (Ranke I,248.21 m/f.NK); (2) hr(i)-mn(w)  (Ranke I,251.11 m.NK). Grelot and Kornfeld regard it as a Semitic name: deity HRM to which N is added. They suggested the N represents the first letter of verb NTN. Though a Semitic explanation is supported by the affiliation, the abbreviation is not likely. Therefore, the Eg explanation is more satisfactory.

HRMS

--- hr-ms  "Horus is born"

K p.51

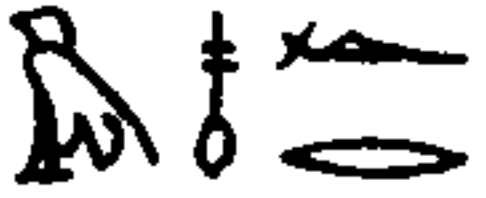
[Aram] Sayce, *PSBA* 26 p.208 (2x)

[Eg] see Pu HRMS [MB] ḥa-a-ra-ma-áš-ši, ḥa-a-maš-ši (EA 20.33, 36)

Cf. HWRMŠ

Eg s is usually not represented by Aram Š. A possible solution without resorting to an unusual equation is *hr-m-š "Horus is on the Lake" on the basis of the same name type ímn-m-š (Ranke I,29.2 m.NK). Kornfeld explained HRMŠ as a short form of HRMŠZB, which is a Semitic name, but he offers no other examples of ŠZB reduced to Š, and so this seems unlikely.

** HRNWPY

--- ḥr-nf(r)  "Beautiful Horus" or "Horus is beautiful"


S II p.6; L p.120; G p.474; K p.81

[Aram] AP 38.5; 24.6 ŠPR (corrected by Grelot to HRNŴP[Y])

[Eg] Ranke I,249.9 m.NK-Late [Gk] Ἀρνοῦφης (NB p.52; OAP p.506)

Cf. Heb HRNPR (ḥr-nfr.w 1Chr 7:36).

HRNPT

--- ḥr-(m-)nb-t(3.w)  "Horus is the lord of the lands"

[Aram] Saqq 28b.1 HRNPT, 10 HRNPT

[Eg] Ranke I,248.2 m.MK

The Eg name is attested only in MK. The reconstruction ḥr-n-p3-t3 "Horus of the land" may be possible; cf. t3y-ḥr-p3-t3 "Horus has seized the land" (Ranke I,388.5 m.Late-Gk), p3-t3 (Ranke I,120.17 m.Late). See also Segal's reconstruction *hr-m-pd.ty "Horus is bowman." The uncertain Aramaic text makes it impossible to identify the name with certainty.


ḤRSYS

--- *ḥr-s(3)-3s(.t)*  "Horus, son of Isis"

[Aram] *Saqq* 6.2 ḤRSYŠ, 3 ḤRSYŠ

[Eg] Ranke I, 250.13 m.NK-GK [Gk] Ἀρσιῆσις, Ἀρσησις, Ἀρσιέσις, Ἀρσιῖσις, Ὀρσιῆσις, Ὀρσιήσιος (NB p.244,498).

** ḤRPBK

--- *ḥr-p(3)-b(i)k*  "Horus, the Falcon"

L p.120; K p.82

[Aram] *TAÉ* 87b.14

[Eg] Ranke I, 247.6 m.GK [Gk] Ἀρφεβῆκλις, Ἀρπ βηκλις, Ἀρπβῆχλις, Ἀρπεβηκλις, Ἀρφεβεῖχλις, Ἐρφβηχλις (NB p.53,58,107)


Cf. ḤRBK.

ḤRPNḤS


--- **ḥr-p(3)-nḥs(y)* "Horus, the Nubian" (?)

K p.82; V II p.216

[Aram] *TAÉ* 32.3

[Eg] cf. Ranke I, 113.13 *p3-nḥsy*  "The Nubian" (m.NK-Late); Heb PYNḤS


If the second letter is Y, which is possible, the name must be

ḥy-p3-nḥsy  "ḥy the Nubian" (Ranke II, 304.20 m.NK).

ḤRPŠT

--- **ḥr-p(3)-šd* "Horus, the deliverer"

[Aram] *Saqq* 61a.2

[Eg] cf. *p3-šd-ḥr* (?)  "He whom Horus has delivered" (Ranke I, 119.17 m.Dyn 20); see also *šd-ḥr* (Ranke

I,331.1), cf. Ἀρψατος (NB p.59).

* ḤRTB̄²

--- ḥr-(n-)t(3)-b(w)ī(3)  "Horus of the bush"

S I p.1101; L p.121; K p.82; V p.216

[Aram] ostracon: CIS II,138B.3

[Eg] Spiegelberg, *Rec.de Trav.* 25, 19 p.194 Late [Gk] Ἀρτβῶς

(cf. Copt βω "bush") [Akk] cf. ḥar-ti-bu-u

Kornfeld prefers ḥr-tb/tp (Erichsen p.321. cf. Heb ḤRTM). Yet this is an Eg title (AEO I,55*), not a PN. Vittmann, though he offered no identification, preferred to read it as ḤRM'. Yet the third letter is likely to be Ṭ, rather than M.

ḤŠP

--- ḥ(3y)-šb  "Measuring value" (?)

G p.501; K p.122

[Aram] APO 75,29 (pl.62)

[Eg] Ranke I,427.1 f.NK

It is perhaps possible to consider it as a short form of 'LḤŠPW (Sachau). Kornfeld compares the name with Nuzi name ḥašipa, ḥašipaya, ḥašipu etc (NPN p.57a-58b,214f). Yet it may there be an anachronism.

ḤTWBSTY

--- Var. of 'ḤTBSTY

G p.460; K p.51 and 40

[Aram] AD 10.3* ḤṬWḤŠṬY, 3 ḤTWBSTY, 4

[Eg] Ranke I,258.4 f.MK-Late

Cf. 'ḤTBSTY.

** ṬṢṬȲ

--- $d(i.t)-st\dot{i}(t)$  "Satis has given"

S I p.1109; G p.361f; K p.82

[Aram] AP 22.83 ṬṢṬZ (corrected by Spiegelberg and Porten, *Aram Texts*, p.142)


[Eg] Ranke I,397.14 f.Gk; cf. Gk Σατις for "Satis"

** ṲḤṲṬ

--- * $\dot{i}h(.t)-w(3)\underline{d}(.t)$ "Ih.t (Hathor-cow) is prosperous"

L p.121; K p.82

[Aram] TAÉ 103

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,44.3-5 $\dot{i}h.t-wr.t$ "Ih.t is great" etc. For the second element, see Ranke I,22.7 $\dot{i}p.t-w3\underline{d}.t$  "Ip.t is prosperous" (f.MK), Ranke I,5.8 $\dot{i}-w3\underline{d}$ (m.Late), Ranke I,49.6 $\dot{i}t-w3\underline{d}.t$ (f.Dyn12) etc.. Eg $w3\underline{d}$ became wt in Demotic (Erichsen p.104), $\sigma\upsilon\omega\tau$ in Copt (Černey p.217). Less probable is $\dot{i}\dot{i}-\underline{h}t(p)$ (Ranke I,10.16), cf. Gk Ἀούτις, Ἀουτις (NB p.37f), because of a change of T > Ṭ after Ḥ.

** ṲḤḤṲṬ

--- $\dot{i}(\dot{i})-m-\underline{h}t(p)$  "He came in peace"


[Aram] Saqq 10.4 ṲḤḤṲṬ, 156.1 ṲḤḤṲṬ; TAÉ 8recto.3 ṲḤḤZṬ (corrected by Segal to ṲḤḤṲṬ)

[Eg] see Ph ṲḤḤṲṬ, Aram ḤḤṲṬ, ṲḤṲṬ [Gk] Ἀμούθις, Ἀμούτης (NB p.27)

This common Eg name is represented by two Aram forms: ṲḤḤṲṬ and ḤḤṲṬ, to which the variation of Gk forms, Ἰμούτης and Ἀμούτης seems to correspond perfectly. We could say that Eg $\dot{i}\dot{i}$ is pronounced either ['a] or ['i]. For the loss of the final p of

htp, see 'MHWT.

* YNHRW̄

--- *ir(.t)-n(.t)-hr-(i)r.w*  "The eye of Horus is set against them"

K p.92; V II p.216, 223

[Aram] AD 5.7 'NDRW (corrected to YN[H]RW by Vittmann); Frag.

III,11.2 YNHR/DW

[Eg] Ranke I,42.11 m.Late-Gk; DemNB I,72f [Gk] *ivapws* , 'Ivapwotos, 'Ivapwotos.

Kornfeld considered it as *in-hr.t* (Onuris). However the first Y and final W contradict Onuris, though the W is uncertain. Contrarily, the identification of Vittmann is strongly supported by the Gk forms.

K'

--- *k3*  "Soul"

G p.476; K p.115

[Aram] AD 5.4; Saqq K'

[Eg] Ranke I,338.15 m/f.MK-Late

The name is found in a list of Cilician slaves, making the Eg possibility doubtful. Grelot and Kornfeld compared it with *ka-a-a* (NPN p.77b, 222a). Yet the Eg possibility is still open, if a Cilician slave could have an Eg PN.

KWMN

--- see PWMN

K p.82; V II p.216.

KY'

--- $k(3).i'(3)$ 

L p.121; G p.476; K p.120


[Aram] AP 2.19

[Eg] Ranke I,341.17-18 m/f NK [Gk] $\kappa\alpha\tilde{i}\hat{\eta}s$ (NB p.157)

Cf. Aram K'

Other possible identifications (1) *kaia* (APN p.289a), *kaia* (NPN p.77b, 222a), *ky* (Gröndahl p.277), make the exact identification impossible. Therefore Kornfeld considered that this is a lallname.

KKY

--- $kk'i$ 

G p.476; K p.120

[Aram] LH 7.2

[Eg] Ranke I,348.31-349.14 (esp. 4-6) [Gk] cf. $\kappa\alpha\kappa\hat{\eta}s$, $\kappa\alpha\kappa\hat{i}s$ (NB p.157)

Again other possible solutions, Hittite *kikki* (NH p.569f), Nuzi *kak(k)* (NPN p.222a), Ug *kky* (Gröndahl p.395), make the identification difficult. Kornfeld classified it as a lallname.

KMN

--- $k(3)mn$  "Blind"

V II p.216

[Aram] NEph I p.11 recto 9 KH/M (according to Porten, Or NS 57 p.78)

[Eg] Ranke I,342.11 m.MK

Other possibilities, $km(.w).n.i'$ "I finished" (Ranke I,345.10 m.MK) and $k3(.i')-mn.i'$ "My ka is enduring" (Ranke I,340.2 m.OK), are less likely, because they are only attested until MK.

KNWP'

--- Var. of KNWPY

[Aram] *Saqq* 10.9

[Eg] see KNWPY.

**** KNWPY**

--- *k(3.i')-nf(r)*  "(My) ka is good"

S II p.6; L p.121; G p.476; K p.82

[Aram] *AP* 26.9, 21, 50.7; *Saqq* 50.12 $\dot{K}\dot{N}\dot{P}$ ['


[Eg] see Ph KNPY.

KSNW

--- see NSNW

K p.83; V II p.216

*** KP'**

--- *kf3*  "The trustworthy"

L p.121; K p.56


[Aram] *BP* 8.10

[Eg] Ranke I,344.15; for the meaning see *CDME* p.285

Cf. KP

There is a Semitic root KP' as well as KP (*DISO* p.125, *BDB* p.495) קפ "rock," *Kεφâs* (NT, *NB* p.173). So the identification is open to choice.

**** KŠY**

--- (*i'*)*kš*  "The Nubian (the man from Kush)"

L p.121; G p.477; K p.56

[Aram] *AP* 53.4 KŠY, 23.8

[Eg] see Ph KŠY

Kornfeld preferred to regard the name as Semitic. Yet the Greek forms, Ἐκουσις and κοῦσις, seem to match the Eg bi-form, *ikš* and *kšy*

**** LYLW**

--- *ll* "Child"

S I p.1112; L p.121; G p.477; K p.83; V II p.216

[Aram] AP 28.13

[Eg] Erichsen p.262; Crum p.141b PN λελοϋ, λιλοϋ [Gk] λιλοῦς, λολοῦς, λιλωῦς, λελοῦς (NB p.196) Cf. Ranke I,224.23ff *rr*.

**** MḤPR'**

--- *m(n)-ḥp(r)-r'*  "Ḥpr-r' is effective"

K p.83; V II p.216

[Aram] graffito: Aimé-Giron, ASAE, 39 p.352

[Eg] Ranke I,150.14 *m.NK* [Gk]

The loss of Eg *n* would be supported by MḤNYT (*mḥ-ny.t*). Though not attested, **mḥ-ib-r'* is another good solution because the *mḥ-ib*-type is common in the Late Period (see Ranke I,153.5-8 *mḥ-ib-w3ḥ-ib-psmṯk* etc.), or, as Vittmann proposed, *mḥ-p3-r'* could be reconstructed on the basis of the *mḥ-DN* type, such as *mḥ-r'*, *mḥ-3s.t* etc. (Ranke I,153.11,4,9,12). Therefore it is not necessary to regard it as a variant of WḤPR', as Kornfeld proposed.

***]MḤNYT**

--- **m(n)ḥ-ny.t* "Neith is efficient"

[Aram] APO 83,15.1

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,153.9-11 *mḥ* + DN type: *mḥ-mw.t*, *mḥ-ian*, *mḥ-r'*

For MH = *mnḥ* see MHPR' (*mn-ḥpr-r'* or *mnḥ-p3-r'*) and 'ḤḤPY (for *'nh-ḥpy* = 'NḤḤPY). These three examples indicate that N could be elided before H.

MMH

---**mm**  etc.

G p.478; K p.120

[Aram] LH 3.2, 10, 4.14

[Eg] Ranke I,149.13ff **m.MK/f.Late**; Ranke II,184a [Gk] cf. *Μαμα* , *Μαμα̂s* , *Μαμμαs* , *Μι̂μαs* (NB p.204,217) [Ph] cf. MMH [Ug] cf. MMY (Gröndahl p.285)

Various forms suggest that the name is either Semitic or Eg, possibly originating from lallname (Kornfeld). Considering it to be Eg, Grelot suggested its connection with Eg word **m3m3** "dom-palm" (CDME p.103) which is possible (cf. other Eg names which are names of fruit, e.g., *p3-ḡp[h?]*, *t3-ḡpḥ* "the apple" Ranke I,420.3; 363.13, *pṛt* "the fruit" Ranke I,134.20, cf. Ranke II,180f).

* MN'S

--- ***mn-3s(t)**"Isis is established"

K p.83; V II p.217

[Aram] Weill, REJ, 65 p.18.2

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,150.2ff **mn** + DN type: *mn-i̇mn*, *mn-i̇mn-r'*

Vittmann compared it with *mn3s*, var. *mní3s*, which is attested in Demotic (*DemNB* I,590 [Gk] *ΜεVέas* , *ΜεVεIos* , *ΜεVεas*). The identification is not impossible though it does not sound like an Eg name. It more likely to be a Gk name. If so, since the Gk ending *s* usually drops, MN'S is not to be identified with *mní3s*.

MNḤHNWM

--- **mnḥ-hnmw* "Khnum is excellent"

S II p.6; L p.121; G p.464; K p.83

[Aram] AP 53.5 *_NḤHNWM* (Sachau and Spiegelberg *MNḤHNWM*; Grelot *'WHḤHNWM*)

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,153.10; II,289.29: *mnḥ* + DN type, such as *mnḥ-ḥmn*, *mnḥ-r*'

Grelot put forward an explanation **ḥwh.y-hnm.w* (cf. Ranke I,18.14 *ḥwh.y*) on the basis of his reading (above), which is possible. Yet *ḥwh.y* is only attested until MK. It seems impossible to restore M in the initial position because, first, M is too big for that space, secondly, an upward head of a curved stroke is not observable on the assumed part of M, which is clearly shown by the following three *mems*, thirdly, we cannot explain why the rest of M is not shown on the papyrus which is preserved in good condition. I would read the first letter as the right stroke of H (so the reading *HḤHNWM*) or *aleph* with Grelot. If the *aleph* is correct, an Egyptian name can be reconstructed, that is, **nḥh-n-hnmw* "the eternity of Khum" (cf. Ranke I,209.1-2 *nḥh-n-it.f*, Notice *nḥh* is ^{a,b} $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\zeta$ in Copt). Whatever the first letter is, we could use the only second part *HNWM* for the analysis.

**** MNḤMN**

--- **mnḥ-mn* "Min is effective"

K p.83

[Aram] CIS II,138A.2

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,153.10ff *mnḥ* + DN type: *mnḥ-ḥmn* etc..


MSHNH

--- **msh-nh(.t)* "(The) Crocodile is protection"

[Aram] Porten, *Or* NS 57 p.41.3

[Eg] for the first element *msh*, see Ranke I,164.14ff. However the second component *nh.t* is not attested in PN. If the final H is a *mater lectionis*, **msh-n.i'* "the Crocodile belongs to me" is possible.

MSTY

--- *ms(w).t(i')*  etc.

K p.83; V p.217

[Aram] *AP* p.318C.3

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,165.24 *msti'*, 25 *mstw*; or *ms*-type names (Ranke I,164.19-165.4, 15).

Kornfeld compared the name with the element *msdy* (Ranke II,293.20, Ranke I,165.28), yet the identification remains quite uncertain. The context does not support this as a PN, it could be a unit of measure, cf. *msti'* "basket (used as a measure)" (*Wb* II,151.6-7), which became *msd.t* (*Wb* II,152.14), phonetically corresponding to MSTY well. Vittmann, regarding it as a place name, suggested *msd* (Gauthier, *DG* III, 62). However a unit of measure is more probable in the context.

* MPTH

--- Var. of MPTH

G p.480; K p.59

[Aram] *BP* 5.17

[Eg] see MPTH

The second element PTH is already known as a variant of PTH in PTHRTYS. However, Grelot, followed by Kornfeld, regarding it as

Semitic, explained the name as a short form of MPT̄HYH (passim in AP 13, 15), derived from a root BṬ̄H (cf. AP 8.2 MBṬ̄HYH, short form MBṬ̄H AP 8.36, see the discussion in BP p.187). Therefore the identification is open to question.

* MPT̄H

--- *mr-pt̄h*  "May Ptah love"


K p.59

[Aram] AP 22.83, 88, 106

[Eg] Ranke I,156.9 m/f.NK-Late


The Semitic root PTH prevents us from confirming the Eg possibility. In Copt Eg *mr* is represented by ^a Mε , ^b Mεl , yet ^a Mεpε-, ^b Mεnpε- in combination, making the dropping of *r* less likely. However already in the 13th cent. BC *mry-ḥmn* occurs as *ma-a-i-ḥlḥ A-ma-na* without *r* (Ranke, KM p.12). Hence MPT̄H could stand for *mr-pt̄h*.

** NBS

--- *nbs*  "The *nbs*-tree"

G p.483; K p.83; V II p.217

[Aram] AP 81.74

[Eg] Ranke I,193.1; II, p.181a m.OK-MK. The element *nbs* occurs in NK (*Wb* II,245) in Copt NOYBC (Crum p.222b) and is used in PNs, such as *t3-šri'.t-(n.t-)p3-nbs*  (Ranke I,368.18 f.Gk), Demot *Dhwtj-(m-)p3-nbs* (Erichsen p.215) [Gk] *Nouψ* (NB p.235) cf. πνουψ for *pr- nbs* (*Wb* II,246.1).

°NWPR

--- *nfr(.w)* "Beauty"

[Aram] *Saqq* 97b.2

[Eg] see Ph NPR.

**** NHMS'H**

--- **nhm-s(w)-i(')h* "The Moon has saved him"

L p.121; K p.83

[Aram] *AP* p.317A.1

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,208,10, 12-17 m/f.Late-Gk: *nhm* + obj.pron + DN
type: *nhm-s(.t)-3s.t*; *nhm-s(w)-mw.t*; *nhm-s(w)-mṯ.w* etc. For 'H =
i'h see Ph 'HMS. [Gk] cf. *Νουμισσιος*, *Νουμισσις* (NB p.237).

**** NHTHWR**

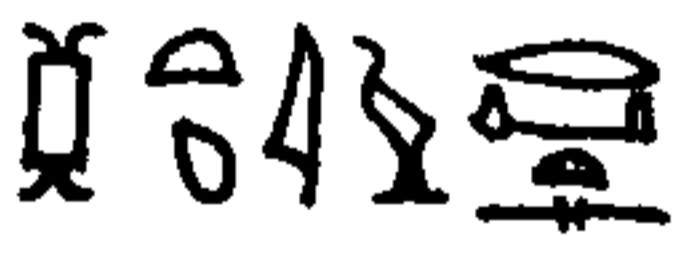
--- *nh̄t-hr(w)*  "Horus is strong"

G p.482; K p.83

[Aram] *AD* 6.2 NHTHWR, 7.1* NHTHWR, 1, 8.1*, 1, 9.1* NHTHWR, 1,
10.1*, 1, 2 NHTHWR, 4 NHTHWR, 11.1* NHTHWR, 1, 12.1* NHTHWR, 1, 3
[NH]T̄HWR, 6 NHTHWR, 13.1*, 1; *AD Frag II A*, 1-2 NHTHWR, III 3.2
NHTHWR, 4 NHT[HWR]

[Eg] Ranke I,211.3 m.MK-Gk [NA] cf. *Na-ah̄-ti-hu-ru-an-si-ni* (*nh̄t-*
hr-n3-šnw Ranke I,211.5; *KM* p.30).

*** NYTRTYŠ**


--- *ny.t-i(i)r-di(.t)-s(.t)*  "It is Neith who has given
her"

L p.121; K p.83

[Aram] *AP* p.317A.3

[Eg] Ranke I,181.26 f.Late

NKY

--- nky 

G p.501; K p.123

[Aram] LH 4.3

[Eg] Ranke I,213.19 f.Dyn18 [Gk] cf. *NÓχis* , *Nókis* , *NOKIOS* ,
Noûχis , *Nôχis* (NB p.236f,238)

Grelot prefers the identification as Eg, while Kornfeld doubts it. There is a Semitic root NKY "strike" (*DISO* p.178; Heb NKH), as well as an Eg root *nk3* "to think about" (*CDME* p.141). Neither are used in PN. The identification remains uncertain.

** NKW

--- *nk(3).w* () (meaning unknown)

[Aram] N. Giron, *AE* 23 p.42

[Eg] Ranke I,213.16 m.Late [Gk] cf. *Nεχω* , *Nεχως* , *Nεχους* ,
Nεχûs (NB p.232) [Heb] *n^ekô* , *n^ekôh* [LXX] *Nεχaw*

[NA] *ni-ik-ku-u/ ni-ku-u* (Assurb. I 90, II 8; Ranke *KM* p.31; *APN* p.173b).

ÑKRSÑ

--- **n(y.t)-k3-ir-sn* "Ir-sn possessed a ka"

G p.482; K p.84; V II p.217

[Aram] *AP* 81.37 ÑKRS (restored by Harmatta in *DAÉ* p.106)

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,180.10-28; II,296.1f *ny(.t)-k3-DN* type

Not only is the text reading uncertain, but the identification is doubtful, because this type of name is restricted to OK. The first two letters might be explained in connection with *nk3w-* which is common in the Late (cf. Ranke I,213.17-18; II,301.22-23). Yet it is more likely that it is not an Eg name.

* NSNW

--- *n(3)-snw "The brothers"

S II p.6; L p.121; K p.83

[Aram] APO 87.4 (cf. Kornfeld's reading KSNW)

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,311.5 sn.w  (m/f.MK-NK) [Copt] CNHY (pl) >

*NECNHY

Spiegelberg offered another proposal *wn.s-n-*i*w "she is come."
Eg wn.s became Nε.C in Copt (Spiegelberg, *KHw* p.73 NΔ/Nε+ pers.sf. 3 m sg), n-*i*w is a late form of Eg *i*w, Copt NHY, \bar{N} NHY (Spiegelberg, *KHw* p.72). However a wn.s-construction is not attested in Ranke. So *n3-snw is a little more possible. It seems to be unnecessary to change the reading to KSNW, as Kornfeld proposed.

* NP'


--- nf(r) "Good one"

K p.84

[Aram] RES 1789

[Eg] Ranke I,194.1 m/f.OK-Gk [Gk] *Noûφis* , *Noûφios* , *Noûπis*

(NB p.237) [Cop] ^aNOY4E, ^bNOY4I

Kornfeld compared the name with nf  (Ranke I,193.6), whose etymology is obscure. If this is nf "wind" (as he translated), its Coptic form is NI4I or NI4E . If this identification is correct, we must admit the final aleph indicates an /e/ or /i/ sound.


NPW

--- nf(w-*i*)w  "The wind is come"

K p.84; V II p.217

[Aram] AP p.317A.2

[Eg] Ranke I,193.11 m.Dyn22 [Gk] cf. *Νεφως* (NB p.231)

Likewise possible is *nf.w*, *nfw.i'* (Ranke I,193.7-8). However the Eg sign  has an alternative reading *t3.w* (Ranke I,193 n.1). As Vittmann commented, Kornfeld's identification *nf* cannot explain the final W.

NPN'

--- **nf(r)-(n-)n(.t)* "Good one belonging to Thebes"

G p.482; K p.84

[Aram] Cowley, *JRAS* (1929) p.109

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,197.3 *nfr-n* (?) and Ranke I,202.11 *nfr.t-n-n.t* (fem)

**Nfr-n.i'* is possibly to be reconstructed. However notice that the Eg name *nfr-n3* (Ranke I,193.23), proposed by Grelot and Kornfeld, has an alternative reading *t3.w-n3*, so it is better avoided.

** NPSY

--- *nf(r)-(3)s(.t)*  "Isis is beautiful"

L p.121; K p.84

[Aram] *TAÉ* 25.5 *NPSY*; 26.4

[Eg] Ranke I,194.3 f.Late [Gk] cf. *Νοῦψ* (?)

** NP'WRT

--- *n(3).f-'(3)-rd*  "His greatness is strength"

L p.121; G p.482; K p.84

[Aram] *BP* 13.3, 4 NP'W[RT]

[Eg] Ranke I,170.18 m.Late [Gk] *Νεφορείτης*, *Νεφορίτης* (NB p.230)

The Copt form *ⲛⲟϥⲣⲟⲧ* for *rd* strongly supports the identification

of the last element WRT.


ṢṢṢ

--- *nfr(.w)* "Beauty"

[Aram] *Saqq* 82a.4

[Eg] see Ph NPR.

**** NPR'YT**

--- *nfr(.t)-i'i.t(i)*  "The beautiful one is come"

[Aram] *Saqq* 7.2

[Eg] Ranke I, 201.12 f.NK [Gk] cf. *ΝΟΦΕΡΕΤ* (NB p.237)

Nfr.t (Copt *NOYPE*) - *i'i* (Copt *ει*) - *ti*; the final T reflects the old perfective ending.

NPRḤWNT

--- misreading of BRK ḤNS_

K p.84; V II p.217

[Aram] *CIS* II, 132.1

NPRPḠ

--- **nf(r)-rpw* "An image is good"

[Aram] *Saqq* 176

[Eg] cf. Ranke I, 364.22 *t3-rpw*

The reading NPRNP (*nfr-rnp.t* Ranke I, 197.18 OK-Late) is possible.

*** NT**

--- *n.t*  "Neith"

[Aram] Bordreuil, *Catalogue*, no.139

[Eg] *Wb* II,198 [Gk] *Nh̄is* .

ṢTR

--- *ntr(.w)* 𐤎𐤕𐤕

S I p.1109; K p.84; V II p.217

[Aram] *NEph* II p.67.1

[Eg] Ranke I,214.24 ■.NK f.MK

The vertical arrangement of the initial letters of each line does allow for the presence of a narrow letter at the start of line 1; P would be there, yielding the form PNTR.

SGRY

--- *sgry* 𐤑𐤒𐤕 "Silence"

G p.490; K p.123

[Aram] *AP* 22.61, 69

[Eg] Ranke I,321.12 ■.NK [Gk] *Σγῆσις* , *Σιγῆσις* (*NB* p.366,383)

Eg name is derived from *sgr* "silence" (*CDME* p.252), which is commonly used in PN; *i'i-■-sgr* (Ranke I,9.7 ■.MK), *■r-sw-sgr.t* (Ranke I,157.21 f.NK), *mrr-sgr* (Ranke I,162.19 f.MK). However the root SGR is equally common in Semitic; Aram SGR "to deliver", Heb, Ph, Ug SGR "to shut" (cf Aram SKR; BDB p.688b, Harris p.126, *UT* 1738, cf. *DISO* p.193), which are used in PN: Ug SGR (Gröndahl p.256), *su-gu-ra* (*PNCP* p.127), Therefore the identification is open to choice.

* SWMṢ

--- *sw-mn(.w)* 𐤑𐤕𐤎 "He belongs to Min"

S I p.1102; L p.122; K p.84; V II p.217

[Aram] *CIS* II,154.5

[Eg] Ranke I,302.14 (see n.2 *ns-mn.w*) [Gk] Σουμηνις , Σουμμήνιος
(OAP p.297a)

Eg *ns* is usually represented by Aram 'S, the *aleph* of which could be elided, see SP'MR'.

**** SWNKN**

--- *swn(.t)*-KN "Syenians"

[Aram] AP 24.33, 33.6, 67 no.3

[Eg] see GN SWN; KN is a Persian suffix for gentilic (Sachau).

*** SHMRY**

--- **shm-r(3).í* "My speech is powerful"

G p.489; K p.84; V II p.217

[Aram] Cowley, JRAS 1929 p.108.3

[Eg] cf. *shm-k3(.í)* "my ka is powerful" (Ranke I,319.18 m.OK). The *shm* is a common element in Eg PNs, which is used from OK to the Late Period. The second element RY can be interpreted as *írí* "the belonging" (Wb I,105; Kornfeld); *írí* "the companion" (CDME p.25; Grelot); *r3.í* "my speefch" (CDME p.145) ect..


SYKN

--- **s(3)-kn* "The strong son"

[Aram] Saqq 9.4

[Eg] Both elements are commonly used in Eg PNs, though the name is not attested. Semitic root SKN is also attested in Akk, Ug, and Heb, yet the *yodh* cannot be explained.

ŠYNRH

--- *s(3)-nr(.t)*  "Son of the Vulture goddess"

G p. 490; K p.84; V II p.217

[Aram] AP 81.12 S_GRH (Harmatta's reading SYNRH in G p.107)

[Eg] Ranke II,312.13 m.Late; cf. Ranke I,283.1 s3-nr

That Eg s3 "son" is represented by SY is reasonable, because its Gk form is σι (Wb III,408). Copt ^aNOYPE , ^bNOYPI stand for nr.t "Vulture." Therefore a phonetic reconstruction is *[si-nūre(t)]. cf. Gk ΣΙΥΠΙΣ , ΣΕΥΥΠΙΣ (NB p.385). The final H is a *mater lectionis*.

SYP'

--- s(3)-ipí 𐤒𐤓𐤓 "Son of 'Ipi"

[Aram] Lidzbarski, Eph, III p.25.6

[Eg] Ranke I,280.18 m.MK, see also 280.17, 19, 20 s3-ip, s3-ipy, s3-ip.w [Gk] cf. Σεπι(ος), Σεππιος (NB p.379)

The identification is uncertain, for the attestation of this kind of name is restricted to periods before NK.

* SMŠK

--- *s-n-mšk "Man of mixed drink"

K p.84

[Aram] AD 7.1

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,136.8; II p.358 (p3-s-n-nmšk 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓). See also s-n-type; s-n-pth, s-n-mnt.w etc.(Ranke I,279.10-15), which occurs only in MK. The dropping of p3 results from simple omission of the article rather than survival of an old form.

** SMTW

--- sm(3)-t(3).w(y) 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 "He who united the two lands"

S I p.1102; K p.85

[Aram] AP 74.4

[Eg] Ranke I,296.10 m.Dyn19-Gk [Gk] cf. *Σεμβεῦς* , *Σεμβῶς* , *Σεμβῶς*
(NB p.368f).

** SNBNT

--- * *snb-n(y.)t* "May Neith be well"

[Aram] Saqq 28a.1

[Eg] cf. *snb-DN* type: *snb-ímn* (Ranke I,312.18 f.Late); *snb-mn.w*
(Ranke I,313.3 m.Dyn18)

Segal proposed an Akk name "Sin, you have created" on the analogy of *sin-ibni* "Sin has created," without explaining the final T (Akk would be *sin-tabni*). Eg *snb* is one of the most common elements of Eg PN and the goddess Neith occurs as either NYT or NT. Therefore, Eg name is most likely.

SPMT

--- see SWMN


K p.85; V II p.217

* SP'MR'

--- * *(n)s-p(3)-'(3)-mr(w.t)* "He who belongs to the great one of love"

L p.122; G p.501f; K p.124

[Aram] AP 43.12

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,174.19 *ns-p3-'3-tr*  "He who belongs to the great one of *Tr*." For the second element, cf. Ranke I,57.21 *'3-mrw.t* "Love is great" or "greatness of love" m.MK-Dyn20

For S representing Eg *ns*, see SPMT/'SPMT (*ns-p3-md.w*). The final *aleph* could be a *mater lectionis* reflecting an abstract noun

ending. Kornfeld proposed two explanations: (1) Semitic SP' (*DISO* p.196 "feed") + 'MR' (which is compared with a deity 'MRW). (2) Eg *s3-*ip*-*'mr* "Son of Buto, the priest" or s3-*p3*-*'mr.y* "Son of priest 'mr." However none of these are well grounded, as he admitted.

** ŠŠN

--- sšn  "Lotus"

[Aram] *Saqq* 10.8

[Eg] Ranke I, 297.29ff m.MK [Copt] *ϣωϣεν* [Heb] ŠŠN

For a further discussion, see Heb ŠŠN.

** 'BD'MN (hybrid)

--- 'BD-*imn* "The servant of Amun"

[Aram] *APO* 82.8

[Eg] see Ph DN 'MN

* [']BDHP (hybrid)

--- 'BD-*hp* "The servant of Apis"

K p.65

[Aram] *AD Frag.* VII 3.2

[Eg] for Apis see *Wb* III, 70 Copt *ⲁⲗⲡⲉ*, *ⲃⲗⲡⲓ* Gk *Ἄπις*

°BDSY[(hybrid)

--- 'BD-*3s(.t)* "The servant of Isis"

[Aram] *Saqq* 4.11

[Eg] see Ph DN 'S.

** 'HHPY

--- Var. of 'NHHPY

G p.465; K p.85

[Aram] AD 2.2* 'ĤĤĤPY, 1, 2, 4, 3.1 'ĤĤP[Y], 2, 3, 7, 12.2; AD Frag. IIA.8 'Ĥ[ĤPY], IXB.18 ['ĥ]ĥpy, XI.5 ['Ĥ]ĤPY, 12 ['']ĤĤ[PY], XII.16 ['']ĤĤPY; Saqq 189

[Eg] see 'NHHPY [Gk] Ἀχοαπῖς (NB p.69), Ἀχοαπίος (DemNB I,103), cf. Ἀγχαφῖς (OAP 18b)

For the elision of the N of 'NH, see Gk variants of the name. Another example is Ἀγχιρίμφῖς and Ἀχορίμφῖς 'nh-rn.f "May his name live" (DemNB I,102 cf. Ranke I,65.21; NB p.69). For the elision of N before Ĥ, see MHNYT and MHPR'.

'ĤMNPY

--- * '(n)ĥ- m-nf(r) "The life is good"

S I p.1102; L p.122; K p.83; V II p.217

[Aram] TAÉ 12 recto.2; AP 72.23 'ĤRNPY (corrected to 'ĤMNPY by Aîmé-Giron TAÉ p.28)

[Eg] cf. 'nh-m-type "The life is ---" (Ranke I,64.6-10 m.OK,Late).

On the assumption of n-assimilation nn > n, * 'nh-mn.w-nfr "May good Min live" could be reconstructed, cf. 'nh-mn.w (Ranke I,64.15; II,270.29f m.OK,Late), 'nh-mw.t-nfr.t "May Mut, the beautiful one, live" (Ranke I,64.14 m.Late). Vittmann suggested another reading 'ĤMNWY of which interpretation is 'nh-mr-wr "May Mnevis live" (Ranke I,64.16; DemNB I,101). Yet the W is epigraphically less likely.

* 'ĤR

--- '(3)-ĥr "Horus is great"

L p.122; G p.465; K p.85; V II p.217

[Aram] AP 72.6 (CIS II,136 'ĤR > ĤR by Sayce and Clermont-Ganneau,

see RES 960)

[Eg] see Ph PN 'HR

Vittmann suggested the name is 'nh-ḥr "May Horus live" (Ranke I,66.1; DemNB I,104). However it is assumed that in Eg two differently strong *hs* are merged and Eg *n* assimilation all at once. So, this is phonetically less likely.

'HRNPY

--- see 'HMNPY

K p.85; V II p.218

'NHHBS

--- * 'nh-ḥ(3)bs "May the starry sky live"

S I p.1102; L p.122; K p.85

[Aram] AP 73.9

[Eg] Ranke II,272.4 (The name is reconstructed through the Aram form). Cf. Ranke I,366.14 *t3-ḥ3bs* "She who belongs to the stars" (THBS).

The first letter is not sure. The final S is unusual. It is more likely that the fifth letter is P. Hence I would suggest the reading 'NHHPY, which already occurs in line 4. The fact that the father is PT'SY in each case strengthens my reading.

** 'NHHPY

--- 'nh-ḥp  "May Apis live"

S I p.1102; L p.122; K p.85

[Aram] AP 73.4, probably 9; CIS II,142

[Eg] Ranke I,65.25; II p.347; DemNB I,103 [Gk] Ἀρχαφίς (OAP p.18b) cf. Ἀχοανίς , Ἀχοανίς .

'NHMT

--- 'nh-m(w.)t  "May Mut live"

S I p.1102; L p.122; K p.85; V II p.218

[Aram] AP 74.4

[Eg] Ranke I,64.13; II p.346 m.NK-Late.

** 'NHPM'Y

--- * 'nh-p(3)-(n-)m(3)'(.t) "May p3-m3'.t live"

K p.85; V II p.218

[Aram] ostrakon: Eph III, p.20.1

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,64.12 'nh-m3'.t-r' "May the truth of Re' live"

(m.Late). For p3-n-m3'.t  "He who belongs to the Truth"

(Ranke I,108.3 m.Late-Gk), see Ranke I,108.3.

Vittmann's solution * 'nh.f-n-m3'.t "He lives for the Truth" (cf. ns-'nh.f-n-m3'.t Ranke I,174.5) is equally possible. However his alternative interpretation 'nh-p3-m3y is impossible, because p3-m3i is PMY in Ph and PMWY in Aram (see PMY).

[']NHPRMNYT

--- * 'nh-p(3)-rm(t)-(n-)ny.t "May the man of Neith live"

[Aram] AD Frag VI,5.2]NHPRMNYT (there is no space between NH and PRMNYT, though the name has been dealt with separately from NH)


[Eg] cf. rmt-n-b3st.t (Ranke I,222,19 f.Late). Notice Eg rmt has lost the final t, as shown in Copt ^a ρωμε and ^b ρωμι (Wb II,421).

Though it is less likely, the name could be compared with p3-rmwti'

"The shoulder" (Ranke II,282.13 m.Dyn20) and I,222,13ff esp. 16

rmn.y-'nh(.w) "Rmn.y lives" (m.MK). (for rmn see CDME P.149).


'ŠH

--- 'š  "The one who call" (?)

G p.466; K p.85

[Aram] LH 4.3

[Eg] Ranke I,71.8 f.MK-Late [Gk] cf. Ἀσῶς (NB p.60)



It can be a shortened form of the names whose first element is 'š3  (Ranke I,71.11-19). At the same time, however, 'ŠH is comparable with Aram root 'ŠY "to do" (in PN 'ŠY'L IPN no.1119), cf. 'ŠH (in PN 'ŠH'L 2Sam 2:18 etc.). Therefore the explanation is open to choice.

** 'ŠHR

--- * 'š(3)-hr(w) "Horus is rich"

L p.122




[Aram] Krug 65

[Eg] cf. Ranke II,306.10 hr(.w)-'š3  , which could be read 'š3-hr.w because of graphic transposition with honorific intention (Gardiner, EG³, section 57). See also Ranke I,71.11-19 where nine names whose first element is 'š3 are attested, two in the Late, four in NK.

P³NY

--- (1) p(3)-(n)-i(w)n(w)   "He who belongs to Heliopolis"

(2) p(3)-i(w)n.y    "The pillar"

(3) p(3)-(n)-i(w)ny    "He who belongs to Hermonthis"

[Aram] Saqq 67b.7

[Eg] (1) Ranke II,279.24/25 (m.NK)

(2) Ranke I,100.12 (m.Dyn18)

(3) Ranke I,106.3 (m.NK)

P'W'


--- Var. of PW'

[Aram] *Saqq* 89.1

[Eg] see PW'

It seems that the first *aleph* functions as a *mater lectionis* as [a] vowel.

** P'H

--- $p(3)-(n-)i(')h$  "He who belongs to the Moon"

[Aram] *Saqq* 53.15

[Eg] Ranke II, 279.23 m.NK [Gk] Πάχισ, Παχίος, Παχοῦς, Παχῶς, (NB p.294, 296f). Cf. $p3-i'hy$ "The Hathor child" (*DemNB* I, 158).

* PB'

--- $p(3)-(n-)b3(.w)$  "He who belongs to souls" or "to might"

K p.85

[Aram] Weill, *REJ* 65 p.18.3

[Eg] Ranke I, 107.7 m.Dyn25; cf. *DemNB* I, 363 (*pa-by*)

[Gk] cf. Πεβᾶς (NB p.299) [Aram] cf. TB'.

ḐBK


--- $p(3)-(n-)b(i)k$  "He who belongs to the Falcon"

L p.122; K p.86

[Aram] *TAÉ* 87b.18

[Eg] Ranke I, 107.8; II, 279.8; *DemNB* I, 138 [Gk] Πβηκίς, Πβηκίος, Παβῆκίς, Πιβῆκίς, Πιβίχίς, Πιβείχίς, Παβίκ, Φιβῆκίς, Φιβειχίς, Φιβίχίς (NB p.252).

** PBN

--- $p(3)-(n-)bn(r)$  "He who belongs to the date-palm"

K p.86

[Aram] ostrakon: Aimé-Giron, *BIFAO* 38 p.38 no.113.2

[Eg] Ranke I,104.24 m.NK [Gk] Παβάνη (NB p.252) cf. Copt βNNE

"date-palm" (Crum p.40a).

PBS'

--- $p(3)-(n-)bs$  "He who belongs to Bes"

L p.122; K p.86

[Aram] TAÉ 87a.7

[Eg] Ranke I,107,10f m.NK-Late, cf. DemNB I,437 $p3y-bs$ "He belongs to Bes" Gk Πιβης , Πιβησιος , Πιβησις [Gk] Παβησιος , Παβης , Πεβης (NB p.252) [Copt] ΠΕΝΒHC (Heuser p.60). Cf. Aram BS'.


Eg god Bes is represented by Copt BHC and Gk βησας (Wb I,476.8), which do not suggest any vowel after the S (The *i* of $p3-n-bs.i$ Ranke I,107.11 is probably a determinative). Another phonetic spelling indicates $p3y-n-bs$, which corresponds Demotic $p3y-bs$. The identification remains questionable.

PGRBY

--- * $p(3)-gr(y)-(m)-p(.t)$ "The pigeon in the sky"

[Aram] Saqq 60.7

[Eg] cf. $p3-gr$  (Ranke I,120.15 m.Late) and $gry-m-p.t$

 (Wb V,181.2) cf. Copt Ⲅϣⲟⲙⲙⲉ, Ⲅϣⲟⲙⲙⲓ "pigeon"

Besides the uncertain reading, the correspondence between Aram B and Eg p is questionable. Possible explanation is that voiceless p > voiced b after a labial m .

PW'

--- $p(3)-(n-)wí(3)$  "He who belongs to the ship"

[Aram] *Saqq* 61b.1

[Eg] Ranke I, 103.20 m/f.NK-Late [Gk] cf. Παύαύς , Παύης , Πεύης (?)
(NB p.292).

*** PWHRB**

--- $*p(3y).w-ḥr(y)-(í)b$ "Their mediator"

K p.86; V II p.218

[Aram] *CIS* II, 138B.4 PWḤDK (corrected to PWHRB by Degen *NEph* I, p.27)

[Eg] cf. $p3-ḥr-íb$  "The mediator" (Ranke I, 115.26 m.NK).

The initial PW may stand for the Eg article $p3$ because of Heb PWTYPR with W as *mater lectionis*. Another possible reconstruction is $*p3y-ḥr.t-íb$ "Their desire" (for *hr.t ib* see *CDME* p.195). $*P3y-ʿ3-ḥrd$ which Kornfeld proposed is much less likely because '3 is assumed to correspond to Aram W.

]P̄M̄WN[

--- $p(3)-w(í3)-mn(í.w)$  "The ship is landed"

[Aram] *Saqq* 162

[Eg] Ranke I, 103.21 m.Late

It is not probable that PWMWN is a variant of PMWN (Segal), because of the second W. While Eg $mní$ "to moor" fits the MWN because of Copt bMOONE , bMONI . Cf. PWMN

*** P̄M̄Y**

--- $*p(3y).w-m(3)í$ "Their lion"

[Aram] *APO* 85.4 (pl.72)

[Eg] cf. PMY

If PW stands for Eg article p3 (see PWMWN), p3-~~m~~3i "the lion"
(Ranke I,105.5 ■.Late) is possible.

**** PWMN**

--- p(3)-w(i3)-mn(i.w)  "The ship has moored"

K p.86; V II p.218

[Aram] ostrakon: CIS II,138A.8 KWMN (corrected to PWMN by Degen
NEph I,27)

[Eg] Ranke I,103.21. Cf.]PWMWN{

PWMṢ

--- see PSMŠK

K p.86; V II p.218

**** PWNŠ**

--- p(3)-wnš  "The wolf"

S I p.1103; L p.123; G p.488; K p.86

[Aram] AP 71.11, 12

[Eg] Ranke I,104.3; II p.352; DemNB I,176 ■.NK-Late

[Gk] Πουνοισ , Πουῶνς , φουνοισ , φουνοισις , Πονοισ , Πουονς , Πουῶνοισ ,

φουνοισ (NB p.342, 338, 468) [Copt] ΠΟΥΩΝΩ

Cf. PMNŠ (?)

**** PWSY**

--- p(3)-(n-)ws(r) "He who belongs to the powerful one"

G p.485; K p.86; V II p.218


[Aram] AP 12.7, 22.78, 79 PWSY

[Eg] DemNB I,361; cf. Ranke I,104.14 p3-ws(r)-i~~m~~n

(m.Dyn21) [Gk] Παῦσις , Πιῦσις , φαῦσις (NB p.293)

That the final *r* has been lost is indicated in the Gk forms, a variant of Demotic form (*pa-wsy DemNB I,361*) and the PN *p3-ws(r)-imn* (see Černý, *LEG* section 1.9 the final *r* became *i*). **P3-w3s.t* (reconstructed by Grelot and Kornfeld) phonetically corresponds to PWSY, yet it is not attested.

** PH'

--- *p(3)-(n-)ḥ(r)*  "He who belongs to the face"

K p.86

[Aram] *BP* 8.12; Kornfeld, *AÖAW* 110 p.133 no.6 PNHŠ (corrected to PH' by Lipinski, *OLP*, 6/7 p.382)

[Eg] Ranke I,110.6; *DemNB* I,401 (*pa-ḥr*) [Gk] Παως , Παῶς , Παους , Πεως , φαως , φεως (NB p.297, 274, 251, 323, 458f.) [Heb] PH'

For the discussion on the identification of the name, see PHW.

** PHH

--- *p(3)-(n-)ḥ(3.t)*  "He who belongs to the front"

S I p.1103; L p.123

[Aram] *AP* 72.11; 40.2; *TAÉ* 11.2; *Saqq* 192.1 PHH

[Eg] Ranke I,109.25 *p3-n-ḥ3.t*; I,115.11 *p3-ḥ3.t*; *DemNB* I,397 [Gk] Παῆς , Πεῆς , Πιῆς , φαῆς (NB p.255)

Cf. PH', PHY; Akk *pa-ḥi-i* (*APN* p.179a)



The interpretation depends upon which vowel is indicated by the final H. Judging from the general assumption that H indicates [ā/ē] vowels, I prefer to identify it with *p3-n-ḥ3.t* (cf. Copt γ_H for *ḥ3.t*). For further discussion see PHW.

** PHW

--- p(3)-(n-)h(w.t)  "He who belongs to the temple"

[Aram] AP 81.111 PHY (corrected to PHW here)

[Eg] Ranke I,110.3 ■.NK

Various similar names are attested: PH', PHH, PHW, PHY, PHWY, TH', THH, THW', THY. These identifications depend upon the interpretation of the final letter which is either a vowel letter or a consonant. When we consider them to be *matres lectionis*, the following identification would be possible on the basis of the corresponding Copt forms; (1) PH' (fem TH') --- p(3-n)-h(r) (cf. Copt ζo for hr ζ "face") Gk $\pi\alpha\omega\varsigma$, $\pi\alpha\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. Another name SH' ($qd-hr$) confirms that the Eg hr is H' in Aram. (2) PHH (fem THH): If the final H is a *mater lectionis* [ā/ē], as generally accepted, p(3-n)-h(3.t) (cf. Copt $\zeta\mu$ for h3.t ζ "front") is most probable; cf. Gk $\pi\alpha\eta\varsigma$. If the H indicates [o], as TBH, PR'H, PHH is identical with PHW (p3-n-hw.t). (3) PHW: If the final W is a vowel letter for [o], PHW could be the same as PH'. If a long vowel [ō] is indicated, p3-n-hw.t (cf. Copt - $\theta\omega$ in NEB $\theta\omega$  for hw.t  "temple") is more likely. (4) PHY (fem THY): If the final Y is used as a *mater lectionis* [ī/ē], the name is a variant of PHH. If the Y is a consonant, this name can be a variant of PHWY.

** PHWY

--- p(3)-hy  "He who belongs to the height"

G p.484; K p.86; V II p.218

[Aram] APO 75,2.15

[Eg] Ranke I,116.10; DemNB I,404 ■.NK-Late [Gk] $\Pi\alpha\chi\omicron\iota\varsigma$

$\Pi\alpha\chi\hat{\omega}\iota\varsigma$ (NB p.295) cf. Copt $\gamma\omega\iota$ for hy "height" (Wb III,237;


Erichsen p.349)

An identification $p\beta-n-h(w).t$ (Grelot, Kornfeld) cannot explain the final letter, because the Copt form of $h(w).t$ is $\theta\omega$. While Copt $\psi\omega$ (for hy) indicates that there is a long [ɔ] vowel between the two consonants h and y , which is represented by the Aram W and Gk $\acute{o}/\acute{\omega}$.

**** PHWN**

--- $*p(3)-hwn$ "The youth"

[Aram] Saqq 53.17

[Eg] cf. Ranke I, 236.5 hwn  "the youth" [Gk] $\pi\alpha\omega\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\pi\alpha\omega\nu\tau\iota\varsigma$ (NB p.297).

PHWRH

--- $p(3)-hr$  "The Syrian"

K p.86

[Aram] Aimé-Giron, BIFAO 38 p.58 no.120.2

[Eg] Ranke I, 116.17; DemNB I, 210 m.NK-Dyn22ff [MB] cf. $pa-hu-ra$, $pi-hu-ra$, $pu-hu-ur$, $pu-hu-ra$, $pu-hu-ri$, $pu-hu-ru$ (Ranke, KM p.15, 17) [Gk] cf. $\Pi\chi\omicron\rho\iota\varsigma$, $\Pi\alpha\chi\omicron\rho\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$

Some uncertainty still remains in this identification in view of the fact that the value of the final H is unknown.

**** PHTB**

--- $p(3)-htp$  "The peace"

[Aram] ostracon: Aimé-Giron, BIFAO, 38 p.58 no.120.5

[Eg] Ranke I, 116.6 m.MK

The identification is based on two established phonetic changes: (1) $t > \text{ṯ}$ between a labial and a /h/ (see the later discussion: [4] Notes on the Correspondences, e) Alveolars) and (2) $p > b$ at the

end. Eg *hry-tp* "chief" (CDME p.175) became *ḥar/mur-d/ṭi-bi* (Ranke, KM p.37), giving a good parallel of $t > ṭ$ and $p > b$, also Heb HRTMY (*hry-tp*) has a double change of $t > ṭ$ and $p > m$.

* PHY

--- Var. of PHWY

S I p.112; L p.123; G p.484; K p.86; V II p.218

[Aram] AP 14.2,12, 51.4 P̄HY; APO 75,2.2, 13; BP 12.20; TAÉ 105a

[Eg] see PHWY, cf. PHH, THY

If we consider the final Y is a vowel letter, a different identification is required, such as $p3-n-ḥ3.t$ (see PHH). However we are not informed enough to distinguish consonants from vowel letters. Yet as for this identification, scholars unanimously agree that PHY is $p3-n-ḥy$, which is very common in Demotic texts, so is it in Aram. For further discussion see PHW.

** PHYM

--- $p(3)-ḥm$  "The ignorant"

S I p.1103; L p.123; K p.87 V II p.218

[Aram] AP 70.1

[Eg] Ranke I,419.17 m.NK [Gk] Παχῆμις (NB p.294)

Due to the unknown value of the vowel between $ḥ$ and m , identification still has some room for doubt. In terms of the value of the vowel, $p3-ḥm$ "the youth" (Erichsen p.359) gives a more satisfactory correspondence to PHYM (Spiegelberg), because Copt form of $ḥm$ is $ϣHM$ (Crum p.563a). $P3-ḥm$, however, is not attested as a PN, though the element $ḥm$ occurs in the PN $ḥr-p3-ḥm$ (Gk Ἀρχιμις Erichsen p.360). Kornfeld's suggestion $p3-ḥ3-ḥm$ (Ranke I,115.15) is not likely; No evidence of YM for $ḥm$ is known.

Another suggestion **p3-hy-ym* (CDME p.18; Erichsen p.58) is not impossible, though not attested. Whichever is the true correspondent of PHYM, the consonantal values are comparable.

PHYQSS

--- **p(3)-hy-(r-)k(3y)-d(3)d(3)* "He who ascends to the high head"

[Aram] Kornfeld, *AÖAW* 110 p.134 no.8

[Eg] For the first part, cf. *p3-hy-(r-)h3.t*

"He who high of front" (Ranke I,116.11); for QSS, see *k3y-d3d3*

(Ranke -I,429.21 m.NK).

It seems to be too long as a PN. Another reconstruction is **p3-hr-k3y-d3d3* "He who possesses the high head" (for the first element *p3-hr* see Ranke I, 115.21-23). Yet the identification cannot be made sure.

** PHNWM

--- *p(3)-(n-)hnm(.w)*  "He who belongs to Khnum"

K p.87

[Aram] *BP* 11.2, 10, 15; *AP* 34.2 PHNWM (corrected to PHNWM by Porten, *Aram Texts* p.84); Bresciani, *RSO* 35 p.22 I, verso.3; Porten, *Or NS* 57 p.38 no.23129.1

[Eg] Ranke I,110.17; II p.353; *DemNB* I,408f m.NK-Gk [Gk] Παχουβις, Παχνουμις, Παχνουμιος (NB p.295)

Cf. PHNM.

** PHNM


--- Var. of PHNWM

S II p.7; L p.123; G p.484; K p.87

[Aram] *AP* 23.5

[Eg] see PHNWM.

PHNS

--- $p(3)-(n-)\dot{h}ns(.w)$  "He who belongs to Khons"

K p.87

[Aram] Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 39 p.357 no.124,7.8

[Eg] Ranke I,110.13; *DemNB* I,406 m.Dyn19-Late [Gk] Παχωνς ,

Παχωνσις (*NB* p.424) [Copt] ΠΑΨΔΝC

Cf. month name PHNS


Aimé-Giron gave an alternative reading PHNM, which is $p3-n-$
 $\dot{h}nm.w$.

* PHNT'

--- * $p(3)-\dot{h}nt(i-\dot{h}ty)$ "He who belongs to (god) $\dot{h}nti'-\dot{h}ty$ "

[Aram] Maraqten, *MDIK* 43 p.170 no.3.2

[Eg] Ranke I,115.16 m.NK-Late

Maraqten's identification $p3-\dot{h}(m)-ntr$ "The servant of god" is based on the assumption of $m+n > n$. This could be justified by two MB forms: $pa-\dot{h}a-am-na-ta$, $pa-\dot{h}a-na-te$. Since the Copt forms for ntr are $NOYTE$, $NOYT$, its Aram form is expected to be NTY, as attested in PTNTY ($p3-di'-ntr$). The aleph instead of yodh at the end, however, is not conceivable because the value of aleph as *mater lectionis* seems not to be fixed (see the later discussion: [5] *Matres Lectionis*). However, since the final aleph is more naturally explained as a hypocoristic ending. I would like to identify it with a short form of * $p3-\dot{h}nt.t-\dot{h}ty$ (for $\dot{h}nti'-\dot{h}ty$ see Ranke I,32.29, 81.17, 151.10, 171.20 etc.). Another possibility is * $p3-n-\dot{h}nty$ (cf. $p3-n-p3-\dot{h}nty$  Ranke I,107.22 m.Dyn20).

* PĤŠ

--- $p(3)-hs(y)$  "The favoured"

[Aram] AP 81.43

[Eg] Ranke I,116.2; II,354; DemNB I,205 ($p3-hsy$) [Gk] Πιεσιης ,
φεσιης .

** PĤPY

--- $p(3)-(n-)hp$  "He who belongs to Apis"

S I p.1103; L p.123; K p.87

[Aram] TAÉ 87b.22 PĤPY; Saqq 14.1 PĤP[Y]; Porten, Or NS 57 p.35
no.23128.3

[Eg] Ranke II,280.23; DemNB I,400 m.Late [Gk] Παάπηης , Παάπεις ,
Παάπις , Παάφίς , Παάπις , Παάφίς (NB p.251).

PĤRW


--- Var. of PĤRY (?)

[Aram] Saqq 64b.11

[Eg] Ranke I,115.24 m.NK-Late

Perhaps $p3-hry$ (Ranke I,115.25 m.NK) is equally possible. Yet it is impossible to identify the name with certainty, until the final value, represented by W, is revealed. $P3-n-hr$ (Ranke I,110.7), suggested by Segal, is less likely, because after the R no vowel is required.

** PĤRY

--- $p(3)-hry$  "The overseers" or "He who belongs to the overseers"

G p.486; K p.87; V II p.218

[Aram] AP 24.18

[Eg] Ranke I, 115.24f m.NK-Late [Gk] Πάρις , Παρις (NB p.280),
ϕρι- (Griffith, ZAS 46 p.132-4) [Gk] cf. ρι- for hry (Wb III,
141) [Copt] ρε "over" (Spiegelberg, KHW p.242).

* PT'

--- Var. of PTY

[Aram] Saqq 41.9 PT'; 47.6 PT[; 53.9]PT[, 14 PT'[; 61b.3 PT'[

[Eg] see PTY (a short form of p3-di-DN).

PT',

---Var. of PT', PTY (?)

[Aram] Saqq 11.4

[Eg] see PTY.

** PT'S

--- Var. of PT'SY

[Aram] Vattioni, SE no.134 (cf. Herr, Seals p.30 no.48)

[Eg] see Ph PT'S.

** PT'SY

--- p(3)-d(i)-3s(.t)  "He whom Isis has given"

S I p.1103; L p.123; G p.486; K p.87

[Aram] BP 9.10, 10.6; AP 14.11, 73.4, 9, 74.5 PT'SY, 6 PT'SY, 83.3

PT'S[Y]; TAE 27.1, 87b.5 PT'SY, 96a, b; Saqq 6.6, 19,4 PT'S[Y],

35.3 PT'SY, 38.9 PT'SY, 61a.4 PT'SY; stela: Aimé-Giron, BIFAO 38

p.42 no.114 PT'S[Y]; ostracon: Maraqtan, MDIK 43 p.170

[Eg] see Ph PT'SY and PT'S; cf. also Aram PTYSY. This is a very
common Eg name.

PT'SR

--- Var. of PTWSYRY

[Aram] *Saqq* 68.6

[Eg] see PTWSYRY

The letters are too faded to be read except the first two. The *aleph* of 'SR (Osiris) is always elided when it is the second component of PN. Therefore, the reconstruction is also not likely.

PTW'SY

--- see PTN'SY

K p.87; V II p.218

[Aram] *CIS* II,155B.4

PTWBST

--- *p(3)-d(i)-b(3)st(.t)*  "He whom Bast has given"

[Aram] *Saqq* 61a.3

[Eg] *Ranke* I,123.5f; *DemNB* I,303 m.Late-Gk [Gk] ΠΕΤΟΥΒΑΣΤΟΣ , ΠΕΤΟΥΒΑΣΤΙΣ , ΠΕΤΟΒΑΣΤΙΣ , ΠΕΤΟΥΒΕΣΤ(ΙΣ), ΠΕΤΟΒΑΣΘΙΣ , (NB p.319f), ΠΕΤΘΥΒΕΣΤΙΣ (*DemNB* I,303).

** PTWSYRY

--- *p(3)-d(i)-(3)s(ws)ir*  "He whom Osiris has given"

S I p.1103; L p.123; G p.486; K p.87

[Aram] *AP* 28.4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 17

[Eg] *Ranke* I,123.1; II 356; *DemNB* I,298 m.Late-Gk [Gk] ΠΕΤΟΣΙΡΙΣ , ΠΕΤΟΣΕΙΡΙΣ , ΠΑΤΟΥΣΙΡΙΣ , ΠΕΤΩΣΙΡΙΣ , ΠΕΤΥΣΙΡΙΟΣ , ΠΕΤΟΣΕΙΡΙΣ , ΠΕΤΣΙΡΙΣ (NB p.319) [Copt] ΠΑΤΟΥΣΙΡΕ , ΠΕΤΣΙΡΕ , ΠΕΤΣΙΡΙ [Aram] PTWSRY, PṬSRY, PṬSWRY, PṬSRY.

**** PṬWSRY**

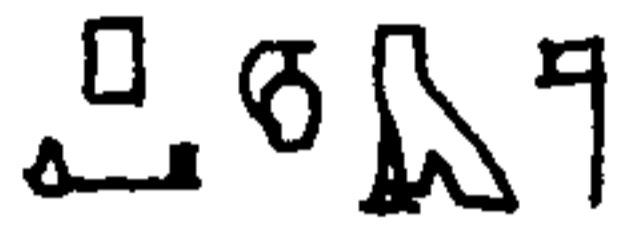
--- Var. of PṬWSYRY

S I p.1103; L p.123; G p.486; K p.87

[Aram] *CIS* II,138A.4; *AD* 8.1; *TAÉ* 25.3 PṬWSR̄Ȳ; *Saqq* 19.7, 41.7
PṬWSR̄Ȳ, 92.1, 2 PQḤSTY (corrected to PṬWSR̄Ȳ here), 138.2]ṬWSRY;
ostracon: Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 26 p.25; Porten, *Or.NS* 57p p.35
no.23128.7

[Eg] see PṬWSYRY.

**** PṬHNWM**

--- *p(3)-d(i)-hnm(.w)*  "He whom Khnum has given"

S I p.1103; L p.123; G p.486; K p.87

[Aram] *CIS* II 155A.4 PṬHNWM̄; *AP* 6.17

[Eg] *Ranke* I,126.4; II p.356; *DemNB* I,33.9 [Gk] Πετεχνούμις ,
Πετεχνόμις , Πατεχνούμιος , Πετεχνούφις , Πετεχνουβίς , Πατεχνούμιος,
Πατεχνούβις , Πατουχνάμ , Πετεχνόμις (NB p.287, 317, 320)

[Aram] PṬHNM.

**** PṬHNM**

--- Var. of PṬHNWM

S II p.7; L p.123; G p.486; K p.87

[Aram] *AP* 23.9; *LH* 4.12, 15, 5.10; ostracon: Maraqten, *MDIK* 43
p.170

[Eg] see PṬHNWM

**** PṬHRTYS**

--- *pth-(i)r-di'-s(w)*  "It is Ptah who has given"


G p.48; K p.88

[Aram] *LH* 4.11

[Eg] Ranke I,138.16 m.Late [NA] *ip-ti-ḥar-ṭi-e-šu* (Assurb. I,103;
Ranke, *KM* p.29)

Notice, again, Aram T > Ṭ between a labial and H (see PḤṬB).

**** PṬHRPḤRT**

--- *p(3)-d(i)-ḥr-p(3)-ḥrd*  "He whom Harpokrates has given"
S I p.1104; L p.123; K p.88

[Aram] *CIS* II 138A.7; *AP* 73.11; *Sagq* 142.1 [PṬ]ḤRPḤ[RṬ]; Bresciani,
"Frammenti di un Testo Aramaico" B x+3 PṬHRPḤRT

[Eg] Ranke I,124.24; II p.356; *DemNB* I,328 m.Late-Gk [Gk]

Πετσαρποκράτης, Πετσαρποχρατης, Πεταρποχράτης (*NB* p.311)

Cf. Ph ḤRPKRṬ.

**** PṬY**

--- *p(3)-d(i)*  "He whom (DN) has given"

S I p.1104; L p.128; K p.88; V II p.219

[Aram] *AP* 74.1; *TAÉ* 87b.10 PṬY; Sayce, *PSBA* 26 p.207; ostracon:
Maraqten, *MDIK* 43 p.170

[Eg] Ranke I,121.17 Dyn22-Gk [Gk] Πετῆς , Πατῆς , Πατῆ ,
Πετέ , Πατε , Πιτῆς (*NB* p.286f, 310, 318)

Cf. PṬ'

Perhaps the name is a shortened form of *p3-d(i)-DN*.

PṬYṾ

--- *p(3)-d(i).w* "He whom they (gods) have given"

K p.88; V II p.218

[Aram] *CIS* II,154.6

[Eg] *DemNB* I,296 (*p3-t(i).w*) m.Late-Gk [Gk] Πεθευς , Πεταους ,

Πεταῦ , Πεταῦος , Πεταῦς , Πετεεϋς , Πετεηοῦς (*NB* p.300, 310, 312)

Kornfeld considered the names to be a variant of PṬY. However, much more likely is that either Y or W is a consonant. Since the Y of PṬY was regarded as a vowel in the identification of PṬY (*p3-di*), the final W is to be considered as a consonant. The W is a reflection of Eg suffix pronoun 3 pl. However, the reading is uncertain, I would read it as PṬSỴ (*p3-di-3s.t*).


PṬYĤ

--- **p(3)-d(i)-ih(y)* "He whom the Hathor-child has given"

[Aram] *Saqq* 52a.6

[Eg] cf. *p3-ti'-ihy* (*DemNB* I,290) 'Ihy "Hathor-child" occurs as *ihy* in Demotic (Erichsen p.40).

PṬYĤR

--- *p(3)-di'-hr*  "He whom Horus has given"

[Aram] *Saqq* 77a.1

[Eg] *Ranke* I,124.19; *DemNB* I,322f. m.Late-Gk [Gk] Πετεῦρις, Πατεῦρις, Παταῦρις, Πατῶρ, Πετώριος (*NB* p.317, 292, 322).

**** PṬYSY**

--- Var. of PṬ'SY

K p.88

[Aram] *AP* 53.2

[Eg] see PṬ'SY

The intervocalic *aleph* was elided *p3-di-3s.t* > [patī/ēsi] (cf. Gk forms showing the elision of *aleph*: πετεῆσις: πετηῆσις, πατεησις: πατηῆσις, Πατεισις: Πατισις).

* PTMH \dot{W}


--- $p(3)-d(i')-mh(.t)$  "He whom (goddess) *Mh.t* has given"

[Aram] *NEph* I p.10 no.2300.1, 7, 9 PTMH[W] (Naveh, *JAOS* 91 p.379-382)

[Eg] Ranke I,123.20 m.Gk; *DemNB* I,315 m.Late [Gk] cf. ΠΕΤΕΜΗΧΙΣ (*NB* p.313)

The final W is troublesome, because the reflection of Eg fem. ending is Y (cf. Copt *MZH*, Ph *MHY* in PŠMHY). However it is interesting that *mh.t* is written *mh.w.t* (cf. *Pamahū* EA 7.76). Yet the identification remains uncertain.

** PTMYHWS

--- $p(3)-d(i')-m(3)i'-hs(3)$  "He whom (the goddess) *Mihos* has given"

[Aram] *Saqq* 28b.5 PTMYHR/DS (corrected to PTMYHWS here)

[Eg] Ranke I,123.15 [NA] cf. *pu-ṭu-um-ḥe-e-šū*.

For the MY [moui] "lion", see Y. Muchiki, *JSS* 35 (forthcoming).
For $m3i'-hs3$ "lion god", see *Wb* II,12.2-5.


PTM \dot{W}

---* $p(3)-d(i')-mw(-3s.t)$

K p.88; V II p.218

[Aram] *CIS* II,155B.2

[Eg] cf. $mw-3s.t$  (Ranke II,288.17 f.Laate) [Gk] cf.

Πατεμούς (*NB* p.286), ΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΣ (*OAP* p.252b). The *mw* is independently attested in Ranke II,280.8 $p3-n-mw$ . Probably *mw* is a short form of $mw-3s.t$ (Kornfeld). Notice the final W, which is indistinct, is probably followed by one more letter: PTM \dot{W} [N] ($p3-d(i')-imn$). Also assuming the assimilation of the final *n* into the

preceeding *m*, PTMW(N), the identification *p3-di'-imn*, is possible (see PTMWN). Cf. the reading suggested by Vittmann: PTMN (the final N instead of W: *p3-di'-mn.w*).

**** PTMWN**

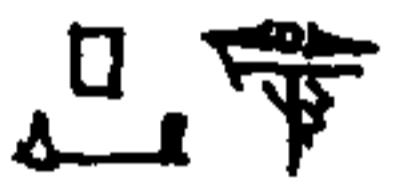
---*p(3)-d(i)-(i)mn*  "He whom Amun has given"

S II p.1104; L p.124; K p.88

[Aram] CIS II,126; LH 7.3

[Eg] Ranke I,121.23; DemNB I,281 m.Dyn21-Gk [Gk] ΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΝΙΟΣ, ΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΝΙΣ, ΠΕΤΑΜΟΥΝΙΣ, ΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΝ, ΠΕΤΕΜΩΝ, ΠΕΤΑΜΩΝ (NB p.314, 309) [NA] cf. *pu-ti-ma-a-ni*[(?) (Ranke, KM p.37).

**** PTMN**

--- *p(3)-d(i)-mn*  "He whom Min has given"

G p.486; K p.89

[Aram] Bauer-Meissner, SBPA (1936) p.415.17

[Eg] Ranke I,123.18; II p.356; DemNB I,310 [Gk] ΠΕΤΕΜΕΙΝΙΣ, ΠΑΤΕΜΕΙΝΙΣ, ΠΕΤΕΜΗΝΙΣ, ΠΕΤΕΜΙΝ, ΠΕΤΕΜΙΝΙΣ, ΠΑΤΕΜΕΙΝΙΣ, ΠΑΤΕΜΙΝΙΣ (NB p.286,313).

P[T]M[T]

--- *p(3)-d(i)-m(w).t*  "He whom Mut has given"

G p.486; K p.89; V II p.218

[Aram] AP 24.1

[Eg] Ranke I,123.17 m.Dyn22-Late [Gk] ,

(NB p.314)

Not only T̄ and T are reconstructed but also the first letter is not likely to be P.

**** PṬN'SY**

--- p(3)-d(i̇)-n(i̇)-3s(.t) 𐤓𐤍𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤍 "He whom Isis has given"

S I p.1104; L p.124; K p.89

[Aram] *Eph* III p.114; *CIS* II,155B.4 PṬW'SY (corrected to PṬN'SY by Spiegelberg)

[Eg] Ranke I,124.5; II p.356; *DemNB* I,315 [Gk] ΠΕΤΕΝΙῆσις (*NB* p.314)

[NB] *pa-ṭa-ni-i^ue-si-*' (Ranke, *KM* p.40).

ṬNĪ

--- p(3)-d(i̇)-n.i̇ 𐤓𐤍𐤏𐤓 "He whom (god) has given to me"

[Aram] *Saqq* 91.4

[Eg] Ranke I,124.4 m.Late [Gk] cf. ΠΑΤΕΝΙΟΣ, ΠΕΤΕΝΕῦς (*NB* p.286, 314)

This is an apocopated form, such as PṬN'SY (*p3-dí-n.i̇*-Isis).

**** PṬNPHṬP[**

--- p(3)-d(i̇)-nṫ(r)-ḥtp 𐤓𐤍𐤏𐤓𐤍𐤏𐤓 "He whom *nfr-ḥtp* has given"

S I p.1104; L p.124; K p.89

[Aram] *AP* 69.2

[Eg] Ranke I,124.12; II p.356; *DemNB* I,318 m.Late-Gk. [Gk]

ΠΕΤΕΝΕΦῶτης, ΠΕΤΕΝΗΦῶτης (*NB* p.314). For *nfr-ḥtp* (*νεφερῶτης*) see Ranke I,198.14.

**** PṬNTY**

--- p(3)-d(i̇)-nṫ(r) 𐤓𐤍𐤏𐤓𐤍 "He whom the god has given"

G p.486; K p.89; V II p.218

[Aram] *AP* 24.25 PṬNTN (corrected to PṬNTY by Grelot, p.273)


[Eg] Ranke I,124.14f [Copt] ΠΕΤΕΝΟΥΤΕ (Heuser p.27) cf. Copt ^ⲙΝΟΥΤΕ,

^ⲙΝΟΥ† for *nṫr* "god" (the final *r* has been lost in the singular

form)

Two more explanations were proposed by Kornfeld; (1) **p3-di-nwmt* (cf. *t3-di.t-nwmt* Ranke I,373.16), which could not explain the final TY, because Eg fem ending *-t* was dropped. (2) *p3-di-ny.t* (Ranke I,124.6; *DemNB* I,316), which could not explain the final Y, because the Aram form of Neith (*ny.t*) is either NT or NYT. Gk and Copt forms also do not show any vowel after *-t*; *NIO* , *NEO* , *NHO* ; cf. Heb 'SNT. Therefore we agree with Grelot's explanation *p3-di-ntr* which is phonetically most reasonable, see above for Copt forms for *ntr*.

** PṬNTR

--- *p(3)-d(i)-ntr(.w)*  "He whom gods have given"

S I p.1104; L I p.124; K p.89

[Aram] AP 66 no.1; 83.23; CIS II,138B.8 [P]ṬNTR

[Eg] Ranke I,124.15; II, p.356 m.Gk. For the uncertain reading of the Eg name, see Ranke I,124.22; 185.27. cf also Ranke I,124.2 *p3-*

di-n3-ntr.w  Gk ΠΕΤΕΒΕΒΤΗΡΙΣ (Eg article *n3* + *ntr.w*);

DemNB I,320 (*p3-ti'-ntr.wy* dual form of *ntr*).

The fact that the *r* of *ntr.w* is protected by the plural ending *w* is clearly indicated in the Copt forms; sg. ^hNOYTE, ^hNOYT (Aram NTY in PṬNTY), pl. ENTHP (Aram NTR) (Crum p.230b).

** PṬSBQ

--- *p(3)-d(i)-sbk*  "He whom Sobek has given"

S I p.1105; L p.93; K p.89

[Aram] AP 73.12; Porten, Or NS 57 p.41.4

[Eg] Ranke I,126.8; II p.356 m.Gk; *DemNB* I,340 [Gk] ΠΕΤΑΣΟΥΧΟΣ , ΠΕΤΕΣΟΒΧΙΣ , ΠΕΤΕΣΟΥΒΚΙΣ , ΠΕΤΕΣΟΥΧΙΣ , ΠΕΤΕΣΟΥΧΟΣ , ΠΕΤΕΣΩΧΙΣ ,

Πετοσοῦχος , Πετοσοῦκος, Πετωούκλις (NB p.310, 316f, 320f)

Eg *sbk* is expected to appear in Aram as SBK. The correspondence between Eg *k* and Aram Q is, however, conceivable, for the preceding bilabial may influence the change /k/ > /q/. It is noteworthy that the intervocalic Eg *b* is eventually weakened in some Gk forms. (For the loss of Eg *b*, see K. Sethe "Der Name des Gottes Suchos" ZAS 50 pp.80-83.)

PTSWRY

--- Error for PT̄SYRY

[Aram] AD 8.5

[Eg] see PT̄WSYRY

** PT̄SY

--- Var. of PT̄'SY

L p.124; G p.486; K p.89

[Aram] CIS II, 154.6 (BIFAO 38 P.37); AP 24.5; TAÉ 96c, 97a,b; Saqq 192.3 PT̄SY[

[Eg] see PT̄'SY.

** PT̄SRY

--- Var. of PT̄WSYRY

S I p.1103 PT̄'SRY (PT̄SRY!); followed by L p.124; K p.89

[Aram] AD 8.3; CIS II 113.9 P̄T̄SR̄Y, 11, 21 PT̄SR̄Y; Eph III p.114

[Eg] see PT̄WSYRY.


* P[̄T̄]PTH

--- p(3)-d(i)-pth ~~𐤏𐤍𐤏~~  "He whom Ptah has given"

[Aram] CIS II p.134

[Eg] Ranke I,123.13, II p.356 m.Late-Gk; *DemNB* I,309.

** PTTWM

-- $p(3)-d(i)-(i)tm$  "He whom Atum has given"

S I p.1105; L p.124; K p.89

[Aram] AD 73.15 PTHNM (according to the reading of *CIS* II,147.15)

[Eg] Ranke I,122.15, II p.355 m.Gk; *DemNB* I,294 [Gk] ΠΕΤΕΤΟΥΜΙΣ ,

Πετεθουμης (NB p.317).

PTTWS[

--- $*p(3)-d(i)-t(3)-wsr(.t)$ "He whom the Powerful goddess has given"

[Aram] *Saqq* 105.7

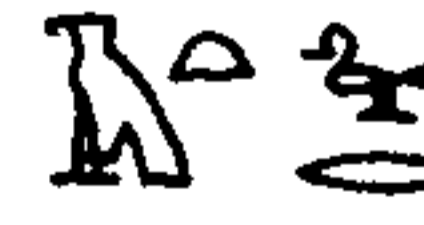
[Eg] cf. Ranke I,355.22 $t3-wsr.t$ "the powerful goddess" as an epithet (*Wb* I,363.11f)

The final *r* of *wsr* should be protected by the feminine ending -*t*, but the text is broken. Another possibility is *w3s* "scepter" (*Wb* I,259) or *w3s.t* a name of Theban nome (cf. PWSY). As for the Aram text, I would suggest PTTWM ($p3-di-itm$), because the left downstroke of *mem* seems to be traceable.

** PTTWRY




--- $*p(3)-d(i)-t(3)-wr(.t)$ "He whom the great lady has given"

[Aram] *Saqq* 47.5

[Eg] cf. $t3-wr.t$  "the great lady" (Ranke I,355.13 f.MK-Late) and $p3-wr$ (Ranke I,104.4; MB *pa-wi/e/a-ra* Ranke, *KM* p.16)

Note Segal's reconstruction: $*p3-di-t3-wry$ "He whom Thoueris has given". Yet $*t3-wry$ is not attested in Ranke.

PY

--- (1) $p\dot{i}(3)$  (2) py  (3) $p(3)y$ 

K p.89; V II p.218


[Aram] (1) Ranke I, 129.23 m/f.NK

(2) Ranke I, 29.26ff m.Dyn22(?)

(3) Ranke I, 129.4 m.MK-NK

Cf. PY' cf. Gk $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$, $\Pi\iota\varsigma$, $\varphi\alpha\hat{\eta}\varsigma$ (NB p.257, 327, 452)

* PY'

--- $p\dot{i}3$ 

L p.124; G p.485; K p.89; V II p.219

[Aram] AP 14.1, 9, 12, 14

[Eg] Ranke I, 129.23ff m.NK [Gk] cf. $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\hat{\eta}\varsigma$, $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\iota\hat{\eta}\varsigma$, $\Pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\hat{\eta}\varsigma$

(NB p.257, 453, 300)

The name is difficult to explain with certainty, because both Y and ' could be either a consonant or a vowel though it is surely Egyptian.

PYŠKN

--- * $p(3)\dot{i}-(n-)skn$ "He who belongs to the Greedy one"

[Aram] Saqq 28b.1

[Eg] No attestation of this name is found in Ranke, and the term skn is not used, making the Eg reconstruction very doubtful.

* PYSN

--- $p(3)-sn$  "The brother"

G p.485; K p.110

[Aram] AP 40.2; 37.9 (see AP p.134)

[Eg] Ranke I, 117.6 m.Dyn20; cf. $t3-sn.t$ (Ranke I, 367.16 f.Gk) [Gk]

cf. Πισων (NB p.328)

For the Y of PYSN see Chapter IV: [5] Notes on the Hebrew Vocalizations, a) Eg article p3). Phonetically *p3y.i-sn "my brother" would be a better equation of PYSN (cf. Gk Πεισων NB p.300), though not attested. The element p3y.i- occurs after NK (Ranke I,126.24-127.7, such as p3y.i-nfr.w "My beautiful one," p3y.i-nht "My strong one"). The second element sn is common in Eg PN (see Ranke I,117.6 p3-sn m.Dyn20 etc.). It is conceivable that the names p3y.i-sn has been preserved in Gk form Πεισων. However an Iranian explanation (*paesāna/ān) seems to be possible (Grelot, Kornfeld). The identification remains questionable.

P'/YTRŠT

--- *p(3)-(n-)i(r).t-rš(i).t(i) "He who belongs to the rejoicing Eye"

[Aram] Saqq 122.2

[Eg] For the first part cf. p3-n-ir.t (Ranke I,106.13 m.Gk), and for the second cf. 3s.t-ršwty "Isis rejoiced" (Ranke I,4.10). Copt ελα, ελατ "eye", derived from ir.t (Cerny p.44), shows that the r of ir.t was reduced. Since the Aram reading is not sure, it is impossible to identify it with certainty. Segal suggests that it is compounded with Luwian piya "give by".

PK/N'

--- *p(3)-(n-)k(3) / p(3)-(n-)ni(w.t) "He who belongs to ka / He who belongs to the city"

[Aram] Porten, Or NS 57 p.26.9

[Eg] cf. p3-n-k3-n-ḥ.t-ntr (Ranke I,111.11 m.Late).

For p3-n-niw.t \square \otimes , see Ranke I,108.20 m.NK-Gk.

* PKYP

--- $p(3)-k(3)p(.w)$  "The bird catcher"

S II p.7; L p.124; K p.90

[Aram] APO 75,2.1, 10 (pl.62)

[Eg] Ranke I,120.5; II p.190 m.Late-Gk; DemNB I,278

[Gk] $\varphi\chi\omega\iota\varphi\iota\varsigma$, $\Pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\varphi\iota\varsigma$, $\Pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\iota\beta\iota\varsigma$ (NB p.258)


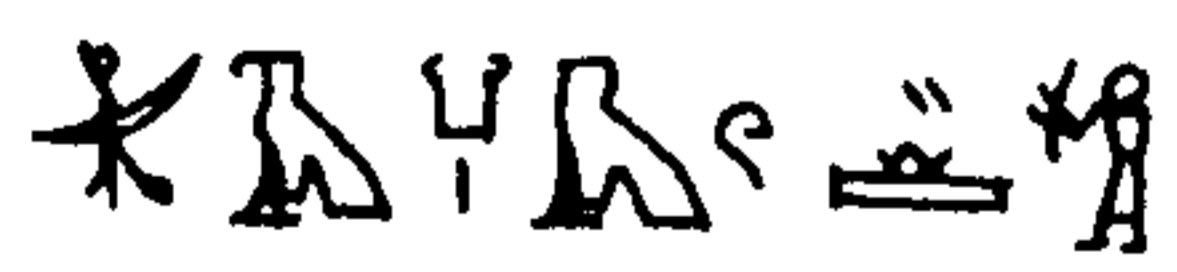
Spiegelberg mentioned that the *yodh* of PKYP is shown in the Gk form $\varphi\chi\omega\iota\varphi\iota\varsigma$. Yet the Copt form $\beta\omega\pi\epsilon$ (noun; Crum p.825), if $\beta\omega\pi\epsilon$ is derived from $k3p$ (Černý p.334, cf. Spiegelberg, *KHw* p.291), does not support the *yodh*. As the two Gk forms $\varphi\chi\omega\iota\varphi\iota\varsigma$, $\Pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\varphi\iota\varsigma$ suggest, the $k3p$ may have bi-form [keif] and [koif]. The identification is still open to question.

PKMY

--- $p(3)-kmy$  "The bull" (?)

[Aram] Saqq 28a.3

[Eg] Ranke I,120.8 m.Gk; cf. DemNB I,279 ($p3-gm$) [Gk] $\Pi\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\mu\iota\varsigma$, $\Pi\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\mu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (DemNB I,279)

There are two alternatives: $*p3-n-km.t$ (!) "He who belongs to Egypt" is proposed by Segal. The feminine form $t3-(n.t-)km.t$ (?) "The Egyptian" (?) is attested (Ranke I,363.7). When we consider Copt $\cdot\cdot\cdot\cdot$ KHME, $\cdot\cdot$ $\chi\eta\mu\iota$ for Eg $km.t$, it is possible (cf. Gk $\Pi\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\mu\iota\varsigma$, $\Pi\alpha\kappa\eta\mu\iota\varsigma$ NB p.257f). Yet the masc. form which he quoted as evidence, $p3-(n-)km$  is perhaps "He who belongs to the bull" or "The bull." Demotic name $p3-gm$ should be compared with this Eg name. Demotic gm (Copt $\beta\Delta M$) is a kind of bull. Equally possible is $p3-k3my$  "the Gardener" (Ranke I,120.6 Dyn22). Notice the reading is uncertain.

* PK'S

--- *p(3)-(n-)k(3)-'s(.t) "He who belongs to the ka of Astarte"

[Aram] *Saqq* 38.7


[Eg] For 'S see p3-dī-'s.t (?) (Ranke II,284.15 m.Late) and k3-'stī.t (Ranke I,338.27 m.Late). Since k3-'stī.t is attested, *p3-n-k3-'s.t is no problem in the Late Period, if 's.t is a short form of 'stī.t (= 'atrt, Ashtarte, see *KRI* I,73.1), though there is no evidence (see Ranke II,284b n.1.)

PLWŠ

--- *p(3)-rwd "The strong"

G p.487; K p.90; V II p .219

[Aram] *APO* 75,2.16

[Eg] cf. rwd  (Ranke I,221.12 m/f. OK-Gk) and t3-rwd.t

(?) (Ranke I,364.19 f.NK). Also cf. Ranke I,361.14; 365.9; cf.

Demotic rd = lwd, Copt ^a ογροτ, ^b ερογοτ for rd. [Copt] ΠΛΟΥΧ

[Gk] cf. Πλοῦτ (*NB* p.333)

The above information indicates not PLWŠ but PLWT, because the normal equation of Aram S is Copt Χ and Eg d which did not change into d, as Vittmann shows that the name was preserved in Copt ΠΛΟΥΧ. Therefore, the interpretation is still questionable, but no other explanation is at hand. So the Eg name may be preserved in Aram as PLWŠ (cf. Copt ΠΛΟΥΧ A. Schiller, *Ten Coptic Legal Texts* no.1 l.4).

PM;

--- p(3)-mī(w)  "The cat"

L p.124; K p.90

[Aram] *TAÉ* 86^{bis}

[Eg] Ranke I,105.7; II p.353 m.Dyn18-Late; *DemNB* I,187
 (p3-mi) [Gk] Πεμαυς, Πεμαυτος (NB p.303) [Copt] ΠΜΑΙ
 (Heuser, p.23)

Kornfeld identified it with p3-m3y "The lion" (Ranke I,105.5).
 Yet we usually expect PM(W)Y for p3-m3y (see Muchiki, *JSS* 35 1990
 (forthcoming); cf. Ranke II,283.7). Therefore, p3-m'w is perhaps
 more likely. Spiegelberg preferred to read it as PMY, and identi-
 fied it with p3-m3y of *TAE* p.68. However, the text is damaged, it
 is impossible to determine the reading with certainty.

PMHN

--- p(3)-(n-)mn (.w)  "He who belongs to Min"

K p.124

[Aram] *APO* 77.2,Innen 2

[Eg] see PMN

The identification is based upon the assumption that the H of
 PMHN is a *mater lectionis* for [i] in the middle position, which is
 unique. Or *p3-mhn "the milk jar" might be an other solution (see
 mhn < mhr "milk jar" *Wb* II,115.5-8.)

** PMWN

--- p(3)-(n-i)mn  "He who belongs to Amun"

G p.495; K p.90

[Aram] *AD* 8.1-6; *Saqq* 43a.1 P̄M̄W̄N̄, 53.14, 47.3 P̄M̄W̄N̄


[Eg] Ranke I,106.8 m.NK-Gk; *DemNB* I,350 (pa-i'mn) [Gk] Παμμωνις,
 Παμουνις, Παμουνιος, Παμμωνις, φαμουνις, φαμων (NB p.39) [NA] pa-
 mu-nu (Ranke, *KM* p.39). [Copt] ΠΑΜΟΥΝ

**** PMT**

--- **p(3)-md(.w)* "The Staff" or *p(3)-(n-)md(.w)* "He who belongs to the Staff" (the staff is a symbol of ruler)

G p.486; K p.90; V II p.219

[Aram] *BP* 12.20; *AP* 44.5 ['SP]MT (corrected by Porten, *Aram Texts* p.122)

[Eg] cf. *ns-p3-md.w*  (Ranke I,175.1; II p.365 m.Late-Gk; Gk Aram 'SPMT); *p3-mdw-nht* "The Staff is strong" (Ranke I,105.16 m.NK)

[Gk] Παμηθις, Παμιτης, Παμμιτος, φαμειθης (NB p.262f, 454) Πεμητος (OAP p.247b).

**** PMN**

--- *p(3)-(n-)mn(.w)*  "He who belongs to Min"

S I p.1105; L p.124; g p.485; K p.90

[Aram] *CIS* II,122.4; *AP* 74.3; Herr, *Seals* p.30 no.49 (Avigad, *IEJ* 4 p.238)

[Eg] Ranke I,108.8 m.Gk; *DemNB* I,369 [Gk] Πεμήνις, Παμηήνις, Πεμηήν, φαμηνις, Παμῖν, Παμῖνις, Παμιν, Παμείν, Παμίνιος, φαμίνιος, φαμῖνις, φεμῖνις, Πιμῖνις, Παμῖνος, φαμῖνος, φανηνις (NB p.262f) [Copt] ΠΔΜΙ (cf. Copt = ΜΔΕΙΝ, ὀΜΗΙΝΙ for Eg *mn.w*) [Ug]

PMN

Cf. PMHN.

PMS

--- see PMSH

**** PMSY**

--- *p(3)-ms*  "The child"

L p.124; G p.485; K p.90


[Aram] AP 44.5 P[MSY], 44.7

[Eg] Ranke I,105.11 m.NK. As an element of PN *p3-ms* is attested until the Late Period (Ranke I,105.12-14; II,279.17 etc.) [Gk]

Πμᾶσε (NB p.334) cf. Copt ^aMICE, ^bMICI for Eg *ms*

Copt MICE seems to justify the final *yodh*. **P3-n-ms.t*, proposed by Grelot, is not attested, and even the element *ms.t* "mother" is quite rare (cf. Ranke I,29.11; 249.2 meaning is obscure.)

** PMSĤ

--- *p(3)-msh*  "The crocodile" or *p(3)-(n)-msh* "He who belongs to the crocodile"

S I p.1105; L p.124; K p.90

[Aram] AP 73.13 PMS' (cf. CIS II,147.13 PMSĤ)

[Eg] Ranke II,279.17 (cf. I,164.14) m.Late; DemNB I,191

[Gk] Πεμψᾶς, Πεμψαῖς, Πεμσαῖς, Πεμσαῖεις, Πεμσαῶς, Πομσαῖς, Πομσαῖς (NB p.304).

** PMT

--- **p(3)-(n)-m(w).t* "He who belongs to Mut"


S I p.1105; L p.124; G p.485; K p.91; V p.219

[Aram] AP 22.69 ^hPMT, 72.4, 74.2 P[M]T; Porten, Or NS 57 p.47 no.18.2

[Eg] see Ph PMT

As Vittmann pointed out, if we accept that 'SPMT is a variant of 'SPMT, there is no reason to refuse PMT as a variant of PMT. Therefore, *p3-mdw* is also possible. However, since both are attested, we should seek the consistence of phonetic correspondence in our study.

**** PN'**

--- $p(3)-(n-)ni'(w.t)$  "He who belongs to Thebes" (for the reading of $ni'w.t$, see GN N')

G p.485; K p.91

[Aram] Bauer-Meissner, *SBPA* 1936, 415.16; *Saqq* 9.3

[Eg] Ranke I,108.20 m.NK-Gk; II,108.20; *DemNB* I,376 ($pa-n3$)

[Gk] Πανᾶς , Πινᾶς (NB p.265) [Copt] ΠΑΝΑ

Cf. PNY; cf. Heb GN N', Aram GN N' "Thebes."

PÑĤ

--- see PH'

K p.91; V II p.220

PÑY

--- Var. of PN' (?)

[Aram] *Saqq* 110.1


[Eg] see PN'

**** PNPTM**

--- * $p(3)-(n-)nfr(tm)$ "He who belongs to Nefertem"

L p.124f; K p.91

[Aram] *TAÉ* 11.recto 5

[Eg] cf. the fem. form $t3-n.t-nfr-tm$  (Ranke I,361.4

f.Late). DN $nfr-tm$ occurs in Late Eg male names (Ranke I,200.25-201.2).

**** PS'**

--- $p(3)-(n-)s3(w)$  "He who belongs to Sais"

L p.125; K p.91

[Aram] *TAÉ* 87b.11

[Eg] Ranke I,110.20 m.Dyn26; *DemNB* I,413 (*pa-si*) [Gk] Πασᾶς ,
Πσᾶς , Πισᾶς , Πεσαῖς , Πισαῖς , φασαῖς (NB p.285, 307, 327,
457); cf. Πεσαῦς , Πεσωῦ ; cf. other forms of Sais (GN) NA *sa-a-a*
(Assurb I,90; II ,16), Copt ⲠϢⲀⲓ , ⲠϢⲀ

Cf. PSW, PSY

Three similar names are attested, to which the above Gk forms correspond well; (1) Πασᾶς, Πεσαῖς, Πισᾶς : PS' (the *aleph* is *mater lectionis* /a/); (2) Πεσαῦς, Πεσωῦ: either PS' (the *aleph* is a consonant) or PSW (the *aleph* elided and the W is *mater lectionis*); (3) Πεσαῖς, Πισαῖς : either PS' (the *aleph* is a consonant) or PSY (the *aleph* elided).

PSW

--- Var. of PS' (?)

L p.125; G p.486; K p.124; V II p.224; Zauzich, *Enchoria* 13 p.117

[Aram] *AP* 37.11, 83.24

[Eg] see PS' [Gk] Πεσου , Πεσοῦ , Πεσαῦς, Πεσωῦ (NB p.307f)

Cf. TSW

It is difficult to identify with certainty these short names. Only Gk forms gives us a little indication. If PSW is Πεσου, Πεσοῦ in Gk, it cannot be identical with PS'. Demotic names *pa-si'w3*, *pa-sw3* **pa-swr* might be more comparable (*DemNB* I,413). Grelot proposed **p3-sw.t* "the wheat." However, wheat has never been attested as an element of PN, though the names of plants are common in Eg PNs (Ranke II, p.180ff).

** PSHMY

--- *p(3)-(n-)sh̄m(.t)*  "He who belongs to Sakhmet"

[Aram] *Saqq* 28b.3

[Eg] Ranke I,111.4 m.Late; cf. Copt *CAxMI* for *sḥm.t*

Cf. Gk *Πετεσαχμυς* (*p3-dí-sḥm.t*).

* PSY

--- *p(3)-(n-3)s(.t)* ~~𐤐𐤌𐤍~~ *𐤐𐤌𐤍* "He who belongs to Isis"

L p.125; K p.91; V II p.220

[Aram] *LH* 4.10, 11; *TAÉ* 28.2; 87b.10; 86 bis, 108; *Saqq* 47.4

[Eg] Ranke I,105.21 m.Late [Gk] *Παῆσις*, *Παῆσιος*, *Παῆσε*, *Πεῆσις*,

Πιῆσιος, *Πιῆσις*, *φαῆσιος*, *φαῆσις* (NB p.255) [Copt] *ΠΑΗΣΕ*

Kornfeld considered PSY as a variation of PS' which is not impossible, if the final ' and Y are vowel letters indicating the same value. However, judging from the fact that Isis sometimes appears as SY in composite names, like NPSY (*nfr-3s.t*), PṬSY (*p3-dí-3s.t*), *p3-n-3s.t* is more likely. Also it could be the short form of *p3-n-3s(ws)ír* (Ranke I,107.5 m.Dyn21-Gk), *pa-sí* (*DemNB* I,412). For *pa-sí* as a variant of *p3-dí-3s(ws)-ír* or *p3-n-3s(ws)-ír*, see de Meulenaere, *CdE* 38 p.215. See also the discussion of PS'.

* PSMY

--- Short form of PSMŠK

L p.125; G p.487; K p.91

[Aram] *LH* 1.14, 2.4, 18, 3.1, 14, 4.13; *BP* 1.13; *NEph* II,75,

recto.5; Porten, *Or NS* 57 p.26 [Eg] see PSMŠK [Gk] *ψαμυς*, *ψαμυες*,

ψαμμυς (NB p.481; *OAP* p.343b)

That PSM is a short form of PSMŠK is supported by the following PN PSMSNYT (PSM(ŠK)-*s3-ny.t*). The addition of the hypocoristic morpheme Y is common (e.g., WHPY, PWSY) see *LH* p.381. Spiegelberg

(S II p.7) said that the kings name has been shortened to *Psam-*, which is attested in Gk form, though not attested in Eg.

**** PSMSNYT**

--- *psm(tk)-s(3)-n.t*  "Psammetich, son of Neith"

S II p.7; L p.125; G p.487; K p.91; V II p.220


[Aram] *AP* 26.1 [PSMSNYT], 7

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,136.21; II p.136; *DemNB* I,214 (*p3-s-n-mtk-s3-ny.t*). [Ph] PSMSNYT

Cf. PSMY (short form of *psmtk*)

Grelot, followed by Kornfeld, prefers **p3-s3-n-s-ny.t* "the son of man of Neith." Yet the reduction *n > m* is left unexplained. Though there are certain cases where *n* became *m* in Copt, this adjectival *n* has been elided, showing no reflection in Aram, while the short form of PSMTK is preserved in Gk forms (see PSMY). Therefore, *psmtk-s3-n.t* is more probable.

**** PSMŠK**

--- *psmtk*  (Libyan)

S I p.1106; L p.125; G p.487; K p.91

[Aram] *CIS* II,154.8 PWMS (corrected to PSMŠK by Aimé-Giron, *BIFAO* 38 p.37); *AP* p.317A.4 PSMŠK, 74.2; *TAE* 2.1; *AD* 1.2 [P]ŠMŠK, 2.2

[PS]MŠK, 4 PSMŠK, 3.2* PŠMŠ[K], 1 [PS]MŠK, 3 PŠ[MŠK], 4, 7, 4.2*

PŠMŠ[K], 1, 2, 3 PSMŠ[K], 12.2 PŠ[MŠ]K, 4; *AD* Fragment 1A.6, 3.6,

10.9; *Saqq* 28b.9, 45a.2, 53.11; graffito:N.Aimé-Giron, *AE* 23 p.41

[Eg] Ranke I,136.8 m.Late-Gk; *DemNB* I,212 [Gk] ψαμματηχος,

ψαμματιχος (*NB* p.481) [Akk] *pi-ša-me-el-ki*, *pu-sa-mis-ki*, *pi-ša-mi-iš-ši-k!*, *pi-sa-mi-is-ki* (see E. Edel, "Neue Deutungen" p.36f)

The meaning of the name is *p3-s-(n-)mtk* "the man of mixed

drink." The *mtk* stands for Copt MOYⲗ6 "be mixed." Cf. Heb 𐤓𐤕𐤂
"mix", 𐤓𐤕𐤂 "mixture" (Černý p.101).

**** PSMŠKMR**

--- *psmtk-mr(y)* 𐤐𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 "Psammetich, the beloved (of X)"

[Aram] Saqq 21.1 PSMŠNMR (corrected here), 2 PSMŠKMR

[Eg] cf. *psmtk-mry-ptḥ*, *psmtk-mry-nt* (Ranke I,136.17-18 m.Late).

Hence PSMŠKMR is a short form of *psmtk-mry-DN*.

**** PSMŠKHŠY**

--- **psmtk-ḥsy* "Psammetich is favoured"

G p.487, K p.92

[Aram] AD 3.3, 6 [P]ŠM[ŠKHŠY]

[Eg] For *ḥsy*, cf. *r'-ms-sw-ḥst* "Rameses is favoured," (Ranke I,219.5) and *p3-ḥsy* (Ranke I,116.2).

PSMŠKM[HY]

--- *psmtk-m-(3)ḥ(.t)* 𐤐𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 "Psammetich is on the horizon"

L p.125; K p.92

[Aram] TAÉ 34.4

[Eg] Ranke I,136.11 m.Late; II p.358; DeNB I,213

It was N. Aimé-Giron who reconstructed the final element HY
(*3ḥ.t*). Yet PSMŠKM[R] is equally possible. Only the first element
PSMŠK can be used for the later analysis.

**** PSRY**

--- *p(3)-(n-3)s(ws)(i)r* 𐤐𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 "He who belongs to Osiris"

[Aram] Metal bowl: Rabinowitz, JNES 18 p.154f

[Eg] Ranke I,107.5 m.Dyn21-Gk; *DemNB* I,360 (*pa-wsír*) [Gk]
Παῦσείρις , *Παῦσιρεις* , *Παῦσίριος* , *Παῦσίρις* (*NB* p.293, *DemNB* I,360).

PSTWQNS

--- **p(3)-st(3)w-ḵns* "He who averts violence"

[Aram] *Saqq* 157.1

[Eg] cf. *st3-ír.t-bn.t* "Averts the Evil eye" (Ranke I,323.1), *st3-t3-wt.t* "Averts the Thunderbolt" (Ranke I,323.5)

Segal noted that this reconstructed name is possibly a mythological reference to Thoth or Horus. Yet the element *ḵns* (*gns* ! in *Wb* IV,177.5-6) is never attested in PNs. *Gns* became ^a60Ñc, ^bḪ0Ñc in Copt (Černý p.332), which is always represented by ṬNS or ṢNS in Aram. Therefore the correspondence is also dubious.

P'ÑÑ

--- **p(3)-'n-n(.í)* "The beautiful one belongs to me"

[Aram] *Saqq* 69b.4

[Eg] cf. *p3-'n* "the beautiful one" (Ranke I,102.23 m.NK).

Notice the reading is quite uncertain.

P'S[B]

--- *p(3)-'(3)-tb*  "The great of sandal"


K p.92; V II p.220

[Aram] *Saqq* 38.19 P'S[

[Eg] Ranke I,102.18 m.Late; cf. *p3-'db* (Ranke I,102.19)

Kornfeld corrected N'SB (*AP* 74.2) to P'SB, yet N is much more likely. It is more probable that the second letter is Ṭ rather than ' (cf. *CIS* II,148.2 NṬSB).

** PPT'WNYT

--- p(3).f-t(3w)-(m-)' .w(y)-(n-)ny.t  "His breath is in the hand of Neith"


S I p.1112; L p.125; K p.92

[Aram] AP 2.2 [PPT'WNYT], 5.13, 6.10; 8.7

[Eg] Ranke I,128.2

The unique correspondence between Aram T and Eg t could be resolved through the Copt forms of t3w, sTHY, b0HOY, because Aram T is always equated with Eg d > Copt T. The change T > T takes place between a labial and laryngeal, see the later discussion: [4] Notes on the Correspondences e) alveolars.

PPNY

--- p-(n-)pn(w)  "He who belongs to the mouse"

[Aram] Saqq 64b.13

[Eg] Ranke I,108.1 m.Dyn26; cf. I,133.6 [Gk] ΠΠΙΥ (NB p.343) [Ph]

PPN

The reading, though the text is clear, is doubtful. It seems that the first and the second letters are not identical. I would rather read it as PHY, representing p3-n-h(w).t (Ranke I,110.3 m.NK) see Aram PHY.

* PQTNTY

--- *p(3)-kd-nt(r) "The builder of god"

Zauzich, *Enchoria* 13 p.117

[Aram] Saqq 11.3

[Eg] cf. p3-kd(w)  "The builder" (Ranke I,120.2

m.NK), pth-p3-kd (II,287.13), imn-qt (I,31.6; II,341).

P3-k3-tn-(n)wt(.t) "the high and exalted of birth" was proposed

by Segal. Yet the representation of *t* by *Ṭ* is questionable.

ṖṖNWTY

--- **p(3)-(n-)-k(3)-nt(r)* "He who belongs to the ka of god"

[Aram] *Saqq* 94.1

[Eg] cf. *p3-n-k3-ḥ.t-ntr* (Ranke I,111.11 m.Late)

Another reconstruction **p3-ḵn-wd3* is proposed by Segal. Yet Eg *wḏ3* occurs as *WṬ* or *WṢ* in Aram. The reading *ṖṖNWTY* is not likely. More likely is *PYNWTY* (*p3-n-ntr* "the servant of god" or **p3.í-ntr* "my god" cf. Ranke I,126.24ff).

**** ṖṖRQPTH**

--- **p(3)-(n-)grg-ptḥ* "He who belongs to *Grg-ptḥ*"

S I p.1106; L p.125; K p.92

[Aram] *AP* 75.4

[Eg] Ranke II,281.11; cf. **p3-n-grg-3s.t* "He who belongs to *Grg-3s.t*" (reconstructed from Gk Πακερκεῆσις (NB p.258; Ranke II,281.10)

This identification is very likely. Notice that the correspondence between Aram *Q* and Eg *g*. Gk Πακερκεῆσις (**p3-n-grg-3s.t*) and Copt ΚΕΡΚΕΟΥΧΟΣ (**grg.t-sbk*), Gk Κερκεσουχος Vycichl, p.86) indicate the phonetic change [*g*] > [*k*] in Eg.

ṖṖW

--- *p(3)-(n-)rw* ~~ṖṖ~~ ^{ṖṖ} "He who belongs to the lion"

[Aram] *Saqq* 57.7

[Eg] Ranke I,109.14 m.NK. [Gk] Παρου, Παρουα, Παρουσ (NB p.280)

The inscriptions on the papyrus are too faded to read with certainty. What is more, there is no indication from the context that this is a PN.

PRMTY

--- see month name PRMTY

K p.92; V II p.220

** PRNHM

--- **p(3)-(i)r-nhm* "He whom the strong one has made"

[Aram] AP 63.10 *nhm* (corrected here; Sachau read it as PRNHM in the index, though he put MNHM in the text itself APO p.206)

[Eg] For this type of PN, cf. Ranke I,101.11ff: *p3-ir-shr*, *p3-ir-k3p* etc.. For the element *nhm*, cf. Ranke I,113.11f: *p3-nhm* (■.NK); *p3-nhm-3s.t* (■.Gk). Even though there is no attestation, the form and the elements used seem to confirm this identification.

PRŠNP

--- see WRŠNP

K p.92; V II p.220

** PŠWBSTY

--- **p(s)š-b(3)st(.t)* "Bastet divided"

G p.485; K p.92

[Aram] AD 3.4

[Eg] Ranke I,137.5, 6; II,,208.2


Equally possible is *p3-srī-n-B3st.t* "the son of Bastet" (Ranke I,118.15 ■.Dyn22-Gk; II,282.12 (see de Meulenaere, *RdE* 11 p.79f), if the *n* between *srī* and *B3st.t* was assimilated into a semi-vowel *W*. However, the Gk forms *ψενοβαστις*, *ψανουβαστις*, *ψενοβασθις*, *ψενουβαστεις* (NB p.481, 487f) do not lose the *n*. Therefore it seems more likely PŠWBSTY is identical with *psš-B3st.t*, because Eg Aram does not have *n* assimilation (see Leander p.13).

[P]Ṣ̌MWN


--- *p(s)š-(í)mn "Amun divided"

[Aram] Saqq 129.1

[Eg] see PŠWBSTY

Again p3-srī-n-ímn  "the son of Amun" (Ranke I, 118.8 m.Gk) is equally possible; cf. Gk ψευδαμουνις.

** PŠNPWR

--- p(3)-š(rí)-n-p(3)-wr  "The son of the great man"

G p.487; K p.92; cf. Spiegelberg, followed by Lambdin, put

PŠNP (S II p.7; L p.125)

[Aram] APO 75.2, 7

[Eg] Ranke I, 118.16 m.Gk; II p.355; DemNB I, 234 [Gk] ψενποῦρις, Πενπουῦρις, ψενπουῦρ (NB p.488)

Notice Eg *n* which is reflected in the Aram form, as well as the Gk form, while the Ph has never shown it. This phenomenon may be connected with the fact that the assimilation in Eg Aram is uncommon (Leander section 3 m). For the loss of the Eg genitive *n*, see Černý, LEG. p.5. The *n* may be protected by a labial *p*. Notice that p3-srī-n-type is represented by (1) PŠ-, (2) PŠR-, (3) PŠN-, yet is never fully written like PŠRN-.

** PŠNPMWY

--- p(3)-š(rí)-n-p(3)-m(3)í "The son of the Lion"

S II p.8; L p.125; G p.487; K p.93

[Aram] APO 75, 2.8

[Eg] DemNB I, 235 (p3-srī-p3-m3y); Ranke II, 283.7 m.Late [Gk] ψεντιμουις.

** PŠNPTH

--- $p(3)-š(rí)-n-ptḥ$  "The son of Ptah"

K p.93

[Aram] Sznycer, in *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer*, p.186.6

[Eg] Ranke I,118.18 ■.Late; *DeNB* I,244 ($p3-šr-ptḥ$) [Gk] $\psi\epsilon\nu\varphi\theta\alpha$,
 $\psi\epsilon\nu\pi\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (NB p.485, 488).

PŠNTS[P]

--- * $p(3)-š(rí)-n-t(3)-sp(.t)$ "The child of the nome"

V II p.225

[Aram] *Saqq* 8.15

[Eg] cf. Ranke I,117.2 ($p3-sp.t$)


The first P may not be the first letter, the last P is not visible. Vittmann reconstructed it as PSNTS[W], which he interpreted as $p3-šrí-(n-)-t3-ísw$ (*DeNB* I,263). Yet it remains questionable due to the uncertain text.

** PŠTWT

--- * $p(3)-s(rí)-(n-)t(3)-w.t$ "The son of $t3-w.t$ "

Zauzich, *Enchoria* 13 p.117


[Aram] *Saqq* 54.5

[Eg] cf. $t3-srí-n.t-t3-w.t$  (Ranke I,370.5 f.Gk)

Cf. TWT ($t3-n-w.t$)

Though it is a reconstruction, so the feminine form is attested in the appropriate period, there would be no difficulty. Eg goddess $w.t$ occurs as WT in Aram (see TWT = TMT $t3-w.t$). Cf. Segal $p3-šd-wd3$ which is usually written PŠTWT.

PT

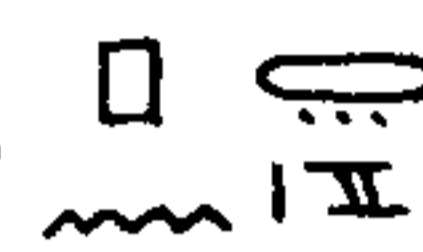
--- p(3)-(n-)t(3)  "He who belongs to the land"

[Aram] Bordreuil, *Catalogue des Sceaux*, p.105 no.137

[Eg] Ranke I,112.3 [Ph] cf. PT' [Aram] PT'

Bordreuil considers the name to be Iranian, composed of PT "protected" (see Ph PT'). Yet an Eg name is equally possible.


PT'

--- p(3)-(n-)t3  "He who belongs to the land"

[Aram] *Saqq* 6.1 PT', 54.14 PT'

[Eg] see Ph PT' and Aram PT.

** PTW

--- p(3)-(n-)t(3)w(y)  "He who belongs to the two lands"

S II p.8; L p.125; G p.485; K p.93; V II p.220

[Aram] *APO* 75,2.1, 4, 5, 7, 10; *AP* 81.103 PTW, 106, 113, 114; *BP* 12.3, 33; *Saqq* 105.3

[Eg] Ranke I,112.4; II p.354; Ranke I,253,13; *DemNB* I,420 [Gk] Πατούς; Πετούς, Πτούς (*NB* p.290,320,350) [NA] cf. *pat-tu-ú* (*Zadok, GM* 26 p.64).

P3-t3w "the wind" (Spiegelberg) is less likely because Copt "wind" is ⲠⲦⲏⲩ, ⲃⲐⲎⲐⲩ.

** PTWM

--- p(3)-(n-)(i)t  "He who belongs to Atum"

L p.126

[Aram] *AP* 68 no 3.5

[Eg] *DemNB* I,355; cf. feminine form *t3-(n.t-)it* (Ranke I,358.19

f.Late) [Gk] παθυμῖς, Πατουμῖς, Πατυμῖς, Πατωμῖς (*DemNB*

I,355, NB p.289, 292) [Copt] ΠΑΘΑΜ

Copt form of Eg god *ít* is ΘΩΜ, ΤΩΜ, rather than ΘΑΜ, e.g.,
◦ ΠΕΘΩΜ, ◦ ΠΕΙΘΩΜ (*pr-ít* "Pithom"), ΨΕΝΕΤΩΜ. The W of PTWM is
a *mater lectionis*.

PTWP'ST

--- *p(3)-t(3).w(y)-p(3)-'(3)-st(y)

K p.93; V II p.220

[Aram] APO 75,2.2

[Eg] see PTW. For P'ST cf. '3-sty "Seth is great" (Ranke I,416.22
m.NK)

Perhaps two names are combined. Identification is very difficult. Kornfeld considers P'ST as a dialectic form of *B3st.t*, which Vittmann supports by considering it as a wayward spelling. Yet there is no certain evidence. an other possibility is *p3-(n-)t3.wy-p3-n-'st(rt)*, for Astart as 'st, see Ranke II,284.15f..

Vittmann accepted the correspondence between Eg *d* and Aram T, saying that it is an old prejudice that Eg *d* only correspond to Aram Ṭ. Then he not only identified PTWP'ST with *p3-dí-b3st.t*, but also identified the PT + DN type name as a *p3-dí* type name, such as PTHWNS (*p3-dí-hnsw*), PTHWR (*p3-dí-hr*) etc.. However, as shown later, it is not necessary to accept this correspondence (see also the discussion in PTHWNS, for the case T > Ṭ between a labial and H).

** PTHW'

--- *pth-(m-)wí(3)*  "Ptah is in the bark"

K p.93; V II p.221

[Aram] Sznycer, in *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer* p.186 PTHR'

(corrected to PTHW' by Porten, *Semitica* 33 p.94f)

[Eg] Ranke I,139.18 m.NK (many); Ranke noted that the name was also written without *m*.

Vittmann suggested a reading PTHP' and identified it as *p3-dí-hp*. However, the fourth letter is most likely to be W, as Porten noted. Phonetically T = *di* is not acceptable (see above), also Eg *hp* "Apis" is always realized as HPY in Aram, not HP'.

** PTHWNS

--- **p(3)-(n-)t(3)-(n.t-)hns(.w)* "He who belongs to her who belongs to Chons"

K p.93; V p.220

[Aram] AD Frag IB.1

[Eg] cf. *t3-n.t-hns.w* "She who belongs to Chons" (Ranke I,362.15 f.Dyn21-Gk [Gk] Παχωνσις). For this type of name which is common in the Late period, see Ranke I,111.14ff.

Another possible reconstruction is **p3-t3-n-hns.w* "The land of Chons," cf. Ranke I,120.20 *p3-t3-n-ímn-htp.(w)*. While *pth-hns.w*, proposed by Kornfeld, is attested only in MK (Ranke I,141.10), and based on the assumption that in Eg two different *hs* (*ḥ* & *ḥ*) were merged. Hence it is much less likely. Likewise, *p3-dí-hns.w*, supported by Vittmann, is impossible, because of the representation of *d* by T. However, this identification might be justified, when T is caught between a labial and strong H, by a phonetic change T > T between a labial and a strong *h*, which is perhaps supported to some extent by a change T > T between strong *h* and a labial (see the later discussion: [4] Notes on the Phonetic Correspondences e) alveolars.)

** PTHWR

--- *pth-wr*  "Ptah is great"

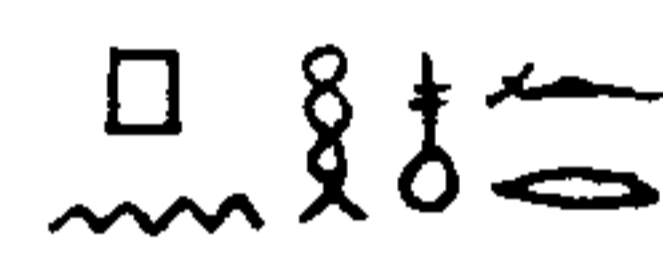
S III p.347; L p.126; G p.488; K p.93; V II p.220

[Aram] APO 75,2.11

[Eg] Ranke I,139.6 ■.OK-Late

Vittmann preferred *p3-dí-hr*, because the Eg name frequently occurs and is much more common in the Late Period. However, since the correspondence between Eg *d* and Aram T has not been confirmed and the name *pth-wr* is attested, there would be no need to suppose a new correspondence here (see the entry of PTHWNS for the possibility of a change T > T).

** PTHNWPY

--- *pth-nf(r)*  "Ptah is good"

[Aram] Saqq 4.2, 3 PTHNWPY

[Eg] Ranke I,140.14 ■/f.MK-Late

[PT]HNS

--- Var. of PTHWNS

[Aram] AD Frag III,15

[Eg] see PTHWNS

V II p.221

PTHQY

--- **pth-k(3)í* "Ptah is exalted"

[Aram] Saqq 87.4

[Eg] cf. DN + *k3í* type name: *k3í-ptḥ* (Ranke II,319.28 ■.OK), *k3í-ímn* (Ranke I,332.6 ■.Dyn22), *k3í-ín-hr.t* (Ranke I,332.7 ■.Late)

The reading is quite uncertain. Especially the final Y is

hopelessly faded.

PTHĀ'

--- see PTHW'

K p.93; V II p.221

PTHRWT

--- see PTYRWT

K p.93; V II p.221

PTẎ

--- $p(3)-t(3w)$  "The wind"

--- $p(3)-(n-)t(3w)$ "He who belongs to the wind"

K p.93; V. II p.221

[Aram] CIS II,116.1

[Eg] Ranke I,121.7 m.NK; cf. $p3-t3w$ (Ranke I,419.29 m.Late)

Cf. PTW ($p3-n-t3.wy$)

The identification $p3-t3w$ is much likely than $p3-t3y$ (Kornfeld) on the basis of Copt forms of $t3y$ and $t3w$: *THY, b̄θHOY for $t3w$. The former is rendered in Aram ṬW/TW. Notice the Semitic root PTY adj. "simple", PTH verb "be simple."

**** PTYRWT**

--- * $p(3)-t(3w)-rwd(.w)$ "The strong wind"

K p.93; V II p.221


[Aram] AP 69.10; Saqq 74.4 PTẎR[

[Eg] see PTY; cf. $p3-t3w-nht.w$ "The wind is strong" (Ranke I,420.1).

**** PTM'Y**

--- *p(3)-(n-)t(3)-m(3)'(.t) "He who belongs to the Truth"


[Aram] Saqq 38.8

[Eg] cf. p3-n-m3'.t  "He who belongs to Truth" (Ranke I,108.3 ■.Late-Gk). M3'.t is used with the feminine article in Ranke II,325.27 t3-(n.t-)m3'.t.

**** PTMRW**

--- *p(3)-n(-)t(3)-mrw(.t) "He who belongs to the beloved"


[Aram] Saqq 63.2

[Eg] cf. p3-n-mrw  (Ranke I,108.13 ■.NK). The feminine occurs in Ranke II,28.16 p3-n-mrw.t (■.NK).

*** PTNWT'**

--- *p(3)-(n-)tn(i)-wd3(.w) "The Thinite is prosperous"

[Aram] Saqq 111.2

[Eg] cf. p3-n-tni  "The Thinite" Gk ΠΑΤΙΛΙΣ Copt ΠΑΤΙΝΕ (Ranke I,112.8).

PTNQ

--- *p(3)-tn(i)-k(3) "The exalted of ka"

[Aram] Saqq 8.1

[Eg] cf. wsr-tni (Ranke I,86.19), dd.t-tni (Ranke I,403.20)

Segal's p3-tnr-k3 "The strong of ka" is theoretically possible, yet note that tnr is probably a foreign word, being read as tl (Ranke I,120.26 p3-tnr/ p3-tl). The Aram text is quite uncertain.

**** PT'NH**

--- *p(3)-(n-)t(3)-'nh(.i) "He who belongs to my life"

G p.488; K p.93; V II p.221

[Aram] APO 75,2.12

[Eg] cf. *t3-‘nh.i* (Ranke I,354.24)

Eg *t* which became Δ in Copt ($\ast\epsilon\lambda\omega$, $\beta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\gamma$ for *t3y*) does not correspond to Aram T. Therefore $\ast p3-t3y-‘nh.w$ "The child lives" (Grelot, Kornfeld) is unlikely. However, $\ast p3-t3w-‘nh$ "The breath of life" is not impossible, because *t3w* is THY in Copt, though the additional letter is usually expected to occur in Aram spellings, like TY (cf. Ranke I,121.7-10; see PTY). If we assume the contraction between Eg *h* and \prime , $p\acute{t}h-‘nh.w$ is possible (Ranke I,138.20 m.OK-NK many).

PTY

$\ast p(3)-(n-)t(3)-(i)p(w)$ "He who belongs to *t3-ipw*"

G p.488; K p.93

[Aram] AP 81.102

[Eg] cf. *t3-(n.t-)ipw* \Rightarrow 4 □ λ "She who belongs to Ekhmin" (Ranke I,358.3 f.NK)

Cf. Grelot's $p3-tpy$ "The headman." The *tpy*, however, is not used in PNs.

* P \acute{T} R

--- $p(3)-tr(i)$ * λ ω ϵ λ ω "The respected"

[Aram] Saqq 64b.14

[Eg] Ranke II,283.25 m.Dyn20

The letters of the Aram text are unusual.

PT \acute{S} T

--- $\ast p(3)-(n-)t(3)-\acute{s}d(.t)$ "He who belongs to *t3- $\acute{s}d.t$* "


[Aram] *Saqq* 66a.5, 3

[Eg] cf. *t3-šd.t-'nk.t*, *t3-šd.t-~~m~~w.t*, *t3-šd.t-hns.w*

(Ranke I,370.12-14 f.Late)

Text no.66 of *Saqq* is too faded to allow a reliable reading.


PTT

--- *p(3)-t(w)t*  "The agreeable"

G p.486; K p.94

[Aram] *APD* 75,2.5

[Eg] Ranke I,121.11 ■.Late [Gk] *πατοτη* (*NB* p.289)

Two identifications have been proposed; (1) **p3-tt* (reconstructed through Copt *πxλx* "The sparrow" Ranke II,184), (2) *p3-d3-d3* "The head" (Ranke I,126.22; Copt *πxωx*). However, Copt corresponds to Aram *š*, not *T*. Instead Eg *twt* became *twt*  from MK (*Wb*,V.360); cf. Ranke I,120.24 *p3-twtw* and *DeNB* I,344. The meaning of Eg *twt* is not clear. It seems that two words *twt* were not distinguishable in appearance. Yet in Copt two different readings testify that there were differences in reading (1) *στwt*, *θwt* "be agreeable" (2) *τωywτ*, *θoywτ* "statue" (both are mixed in *CDME* p.295). As the latter shows a consonant in the middle, we prefer the former.

** *šĥ'*

--- *d(d)-h(r)*  "The face speaks"

G p.490f, K p.94

[Aram] *AP* 15.2 [*šĥ'*], 18.4, 20.3, 20, 24.6, 32, 37.14 *šĥ'*], 38.4 *šĥ'*, 6 *šĥ'*, 41.1 *šĥ'*], 9 [*šĥ'*], 67.no. 17, 72.4,76.1 *šĥ'*, 2, 3, 83.2, 22, 25, 30 *šĥ'*; *TAÉ* 5.8, 34.3 *šĥ'*, 35.1 *šĥ'*; *CIS* II,138B.1; *Saqq* 6.6, 8.2, 28a.5, 53.18 *šĥ'*], 52b.13 *šĥ'*], 132.3 *šĥ'*; Metal

vessel: Rabinowitz, *JNES* 15 p.2.B

[Eg] see Ph ṢḤ'

This frequently occurring name is to be identified with the well-attested Eg name *dd-hr*, rather than Semitic ṢḤ' which is rarely attested.

ṢḤ

--- Var. of ṢḤ'

[Aram] *Saqq* 53.19

[Eg] see ṢḤ'

This could be a scribal error, ṢḤ' occurs in the previous line.

ṢḤPMW

--- see Ph ṢḤPMW (letters are Ph, language is Aram)

K p.94

* ṢḤḤḤ

--- **dd-mḥ(y.t)* "The North speaks"

V II p.225

[Aram] *Saqq* 8.2

[Eg] cf. *dd-mḥ.y-íw.s-'nh* (Ranke I,411.5), *dd-mḥy.t-íw.f-'nh* (Ranke II,334.16 m.Late); Since this long form is attested, the existence of *dd-mḥy.t* is beyond doubt; cf. *dd-3s.t: dd-3s.t-íw.s-'nh*; *dd-b3st.t: dd-b3st.t-íw.s-'nh*; *dd-mw.t: dd-mw.t-íw.s-'nh* etc. (Ranke I,409.15-412.9). For MḤW = *mḥy.t*, see PTMḤW and cf. EA *Pamaḥu* (p3-n-mḥy.t) see Chapter V.

Another possible identification is *t3y-mḥ.t-ímw*. Eg -*ímw* is usually transcribed as MW in Aram. Yet a contraction MW > W is reasonably assumed, because M and W are interchangeable (cf. TMT >


TWT). Yet the Aram text is not clear enough to give a definite identification.

ŠN'

--- *tn, tni, tn3* 

[Aram] *Saqq* 47.2

[Eg] Ranke I,391.13-18 until NK

Segal compares the name with Eg *tnr / tnr* (Ranke I,381.18). However the *t*, which became *t* (cf. ) is not comparable with Aram Š.

* QNHNTY

--- **kn-hnty* "The *hnty* is strong"

L p.126; K p.94; V II p.221

[Aram] *BP* 9.9; 10.5 'LY' LH BYT QNHNTY "above it the house of QNHNTY"

[Eg] cf. *kn* + DN type: *kn-ímn; kn-hnm.w* (Ranke I,334.18-335.10 m.NK-Late). For DN *hnty* see Ranke I,272.3-9, *CDME* 194, *Wb* III,308.4

Vittmann and Porten (*Aramaic Texts*, II p.89) denied that this is a PN. They interpreted it as a building, Eg *qnḥ.t-nṯr* "the chapel of god" (cf. Demot *knḥ* "shrine" Erichsen p.541). Though phonetically it corresponds to QNHNTY well, it is not strongly supported by the context. If this is "the chapel of the god" *knḥt-p3-nṯr* is expected. The possibility of PN is not deniable in this context.

QNPY

--- Var. of KNWPY

[Aram] *Saqq* 17.1

[Eg] see KNWPY

Segal considered QNPY as a variant of KNWPY on the basis of an assumption that Q is interchangeable with K (*Saqq* p.12). As for the examples of PN, which are quoted as evidence, their readings are not clear enough to prove it: QNPÝ and QNP[. Aram QN can stand for a very common element of Eg PN, *kn*. Therefore, the other possibilities **kn-p.t* "The sky is strong", **kn-íp.t* "*íp.t* is strong" etc. may not be excluded (cf. Ranke I,334.17ff).

** RHMR'

--- *rh-m(i')-r'*  "Wise like Re'" (?)

[Aram] *AP* 5.19 RHMR' (cf. *CIS* II,154.7)

[Eg] Ranke I,226.9 m.Dyn18

Grelot and Kornfeld explain the name as Semitic, consisting of two Semitic roots RHM "have compassion" and R' "friend." Noth considered it a hybrid name, i.e., Semitic root RHM and Eg god Re' (*IPN* no.1256). Yet the above names are not attested, so a wholly Eg name is at least as good an explanation.

* RT

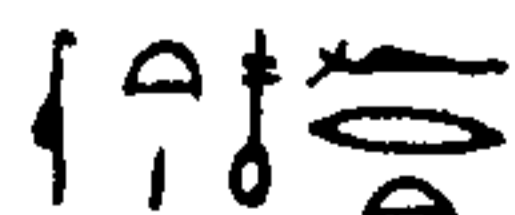
--- *r(w)d*  "Strong one"

[Aram] *Saqq* 28a.6, 9 RT

[Eg] Ranke I,221.12 m.OK-NK/f.MK-Gk [Copt] ⲠⲮⲮⲠⲮⲠⲮ , ⲃⲉⲣⲠⲮⲮⲠⲮ .

Cf. PTYRWT (*p3-t3w-rwd.w*); Ug RT

** RNPNPBY

--- *rnp(.t)-nfr(.t)*  "Beautiful year"

K p.94; V II p.221

[Aram] BP 1.12 DNWNWRY (corrected by Porten, *Aram. Texts* p.36)

[Eg] Ranke I,224.11 m.OK/f.OK-Gk esp. common in Late

Kornfeld's interpretation *rn.f-nfr* "His name is beautiful" (Ranke I,223.15) does not explain the final -RY, because the masculine singular form of Eg *nfr* always occurs without the final *r* in Aram, e.g. NP/NPY, Copt ^aNOY9E, ^bNOY9I. Yet the feminine form preserves the final *r* with the protection of feminine ending *t*.

* R'Y'

--- r'.i3 

[Aram] AP 22.86

[Eg] Ranke I,220.7 m/f.NK [EA] cf. *Peya, Pieya*

Cf. R'YH (possibly a variant)

Kornfeld considered it as a Semitic name, arguing there is a Semitic root R'Y (*DISO* p.201), to which the Aram determinative was added, meaning "The companion." However, this name is not attested. In Palmyrene inscriptions occurs R'', which Stark regards as a hypocoristicon without DN. Hence this could be a hypocoristicon R'(W)YH.

R'WYH

--- r'-(m-)wi(3)  "Re'is in the sacred bark"

K p.71

[Aram] AP 8.33, 9.21, 22.118, 23.10

[Eg] Ranke I,217.15 m.NK

Equally possible is a Semitic solution. The final YH can be a theophoric element. cf. *re'û'êl* (Ex 2:18 etc.), likewise R'WYH "Yh is friend."

R'YH

--- r'.i(y)

K p.71

[Aram] *LH* 1.1, 2.16, 3.3; *AP* 34.3 R'YH (corrected here)

[Eg] Ranke I, 220.8, 9 m/f.NK (the name occurred in the Late Period, K. A. Kitchen, *TIP* Section 126) [Akk] *rē'û* (Borger, *JNES* 19 p.53)

[Gk] cf. $\rho\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ Cf. R'Y' A Semitic explanation, which we considered in the entry of R'WYH, should be remembered.

ŠD/RNHYB

--- see ŠRNHYB

** ŠHPYMW

--- *t(3y)-hp-ím.w*  "Apis can seize them"

S I p.1106; S II p.9; L p.126; K p.94

[Aram] *AP* 73.10, 13

[Eg] see Ph ŠHPMW

It is remarkable that the spelling of this name differs between Aram and Ph. The possible explanations are (1) dialectical ($\text{š} \chi$; $\text{b} \text{ } \delta$ for Eg *t3y*) or (2) the different phonetic value between Ph Š and Aram Š. As for the former, we should remember that both ŠHPYMW and ŠHPMW occur in Elephantine in the fifth century. We also have Ph ŠKNSMW (*t3y-hns.w-ím.w*). Therefore, the latter explanation is more acceptable.

** ŠHPMW

--- Var. of ŠHPYMW

k P.94

[Aram] *CIS* II 138A.5 ŠHWMW (corrected to ŠHPMW by Degen, *NEph*)

I, p. 27)

[Eg] see ŠHPYMW

ŠYHWR

--- *š(rí)-íh(.t)-wr(.t)

[Aram] Saqq 28b.1

[Eg] cf. t3-srí.t-(n.t-)t3-íh.t (Ranke II, 327.18 f. Late), p3-dí-íh.t (Ranke I, 122.14 m. Late). For this type of PN, cf. šrí.t-r' (Ranke I, 329.15 f. NK).

** ŠMW

--- t(3y)-(í)m.w

S II p. 9; G p. 492; K p. 94

[Aram] AP 26.8, 21; Saqq 28a.1, 61b.3 ŠMW

[Eg] see Pu ŠMW.

** ŠMHR (hybrid)

--- ŠM-ḥr "The name of Horus"

[Aram] Sayce, PSBA 30 p. 28f no. 5

[Eg] see HR.

ŠNWT[

--- *š(rí)-n-w(3)d(.t) "Son of Uto"

K p. 94

[Aram] AP 73.10 (cf. CIS II, 147B.10 ḤRWṬ)


[Eg] cf. t3-(n.t-)w3dy.t 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 "She of Uto junior" (Ranke I, 359.4 f. Late). WT perhaps corresponds to w3dy.t "Uto", so *šrí-n-w3dy.t "Son of Uto" is theoretically possible.

**** ŠPNYT**

--- *šp-(n-)ny.t "Gift of Neith"

G p.493; K p.95; V II p.221

[Aram] LH 7.3

[Eg] cf. the sp-n-DN type of PNs: šp-n-3s.t , šp-n-b3st.t etc. (Ranke I,325.17ff f.Late-Gk); t3-n.t-šp-n-nt (Ranke I,363.4 f.Late).

ŠPTM

--- *šp-(n-í)tm "The gift of Atum"

[Aram] Saqq 29.4


[Eg] cf. šp-n-DN type (see ŠPNYT) [Gk] cf. Σεπτουμῖς (NB p.379).

For TM for ítm, see PTTWM, PTWM. Yet the reading is uncertain.

**** ŠRNHYB**

--- *šr(í.t)-(n-)n(3-)hb(.w) "The daughter of the Ibises"

[Aram] Saqq 6.4 S/DNHYB

[Eg] cf. t3-šr(í.t)-(n.t-n3?-)hb(.w) : "The daughter of the Ibises" (Ranke I,369.5 f.Late), t3-n.t-n3-hb.w (Ranke I,360.20 f.Late).

(P3)-šr(í)-n-type is represented either by (P)Š or (P)ŠN, yet never been fully transliterated as (P)ŠRN. Though the R could be protected by the feminine ending, it seems that both R and N were not retained at the same time. Therefore, *šr(í)-n-hb.w is impossible. However the N can be explained differently, i.e., Ibis is often written with the Eg n3, like p3-dí-n3-hb.w (Ranke I,124.3), t3-(n.t-)n3-hb.w (Ranke I,360.20), t3-n-n3-hb.w (Ranke I,386.30). So the N of NHYB is not Eg genitive but the plural article. Notice that the reading SDNHYB (*šd-n3-hb.w "The Ibises rescue" cf. šd-ptḥ

Ranke I,330.22 m.OK-NK; šd-ḥr Ranke I,331.1 m.Dyn21 etc.) is also possible. However the equation of Eg d with Aram D is not usual. Therefore, I prefer to read it as ŠRNHYB.

Ṭ'YŠ

--- $t(3)-(n.t-)(3)s(.t)$  "She who belongs to Isis"

[Aram] Saqq 54.13

[Eg] Ranke I,357.20 f.NK-Gk [Gk] ταγσις (NB p.405) cf. Copt 3s.t is ^aHCE , ^bHCl .

Only if the reading is sure, is it certainly an Eg name.

* TB'

--- * $t(3)-(n.t-)b3(.w)$ "She who belongs to the souls / might (?)"

S I p.1107; L p.127; G p.493; K p.95; V II p.221

[Aram] APO 75,col.ii.3; AP 28.4, 5, 12, 73.8, 81.11 TB'; TAÉ 78.3; CIS II,141.1; Saqq 3.6 TB', 61b.1 TB'

[Eg] cf. $p3-(n-)b3.w$  (Ranke I,107.7 m.Dyn25)

[Gk] Ταβâs , Τεβâs (NB p.425, OAP p.304b)

A few other possibilities, though less likely, are $t3-bí$ (Ranke I,356.9, Lambdin and Vittmann) and $t3-bí3$ (Ranke I,356.11, Spiegelberg), * $t3-(n.t-)b3$ (cf. $t3-n.t-b3-'nh(.t)$ Ranke II,325.17, Grelot and Kornfeld).


TBH

--- Var. of TB'

[Aram] Saqq 43b,ii.3

[Eg] see TB'

TBY

--- *t(3)-bī* 


L p.127; G p.493; K p.95; V II p.222

[Aram] *TAÉ* 87a.11; *LH* 2.5, 7, 5.1, 6.1

[Eg] Ranke I,356.9 f.Gk [Gk] *Ταβῆς* , *θαβῆς* , *Τεβῆς* , *Ταβι* ,
Ταβει (NB p.404).

The meaning of *bī* is uncertain; it may represent *b3* "soul": *b3*
"soul" > Demot *by* > Copt *βαι* (Černý p.20).

** THRQ'

--- *thrḳ* ()

[Aram] N. Aimé-Giron, *AE* 23 p.38-43 (Sheikh Fadl 5.5, 6a, 6b, 8.6,
11.11

[Eg] Gauthier, *LR* IV, 23f. (Eg king Dyn 25) [Heb] TRHQH (notice a
metathesis of H and R; see K. A. Kitchen, *TIP* Section 421 n.136)


[NA] *Tarqû* [Gk] *θαρακα* (LXX).

TW'

--- **t(3)-(n.t-)wī(3)* "She who belongs to the boat"

S II p.10; L p.127; K p.125; V II p.224

[Aram] *APO* 75,2.4

[Eg] cf. *p3-wī3*  "(He who belongs to) the boat" (Ranke
I,103.20) f/m NK-Late

Cf. TWY'

Equally possible is **t3-w3.t* "The way" (Ranke I,355.5 f.NK-Gk).

If TW' is the same as TWY', as Spiegelberg considered, **t3-wī3* is
perhaps a better identification. Yet as Eg *wī3* is usually realized
as Aram W', *t3-n.t-wī3* is most likely (see PTHW' etc.).

* TWB'

--- *t(3)-(n.t-)wb3* "She who belongs to the open court"

L p.127; K p.95

[Aram] *TAÉ* 87a.12

[Eg] cf. *t3-n.t-p3-wb3* "She who belongs to the open court" (Ranke I,359.18 f.Dyn20)

Another possible solution is **t3w.b3* "their ba," *t3-bí* and *twbí* (m.MK) are not closely comparable.

TWY

--- Var. of TW' or TWY'

K p.125; V II p.224

[Aram] *TAÉ* 92

TWY'

--- **twí3*

S II,10; L p.127; G p.494; K p.125

[Aram] *AP* 63.2; *BP* 12.20

[Eg] Ranke I,379.6 m/f.NK (esp. feminine form is common)

[Gk] cf. *θαῦῆς* , *θαῦῆς* , *Ταῦῆς* , *Τεῦῆς* , *θαῦῆς* (NB p.129f)

Cf. TW'.

** TWT

---Var. of TMT

K p.95

[Aram] *BP* 4.25

[Eg] see TMT

From the context, the identification of TWT with TMT is certain.
Each is a wife of Ananiah.

** TH'

--- $t(3)-h(r)$  "The face"


L p.127; K p.95; V II p.222

[Aram] *TAÉ* 87a.8; *BP* 8.3; *Saqq* 61b.2

[Eg] Ranke I,366.1 f.Gk [Gk] $T\alpha\hat{w}s$, $\theta\alpha\hat{w}s$, $T\epsilon\hat{w}s$, $\theta\epsilon\hat{w}\nu$ (NB p.424, 433); cf. Copt γo for Eg hr

Another possibility is $t3-n.t-h(w.t)$ "She who belongs to the temple" (Ranke I,361.22 f.Gk); cf. Copt $\gamma\omega$ for Eg $hw.t$ (Crum 651b). See the discussion in PHW.

** THBS

--- $t(3)-h(3)bs$  "The starry sky" or "She who belongs to the star"

S I p.1107; L p.127; K p.95

[Aram] *CIS* II 142; *Saqq* 28a.4

[Eg] Ranke I,366.14 f.Late.

THH

--- * $t(3)-(n.t-)h(3.t)$ "She whom belongs to one who is in front"

[Aram] *Saqq* 4.3

[Eg] cf. $p(3)-(n-)h(3.t)$ (Ranke I,109.25); see the discussion in PHW).

THH' TS

--- $t(3)-(n.t-)h(r)-it.s$ "She who belongs to the face of her father"

[Aram] *Saqq* 28a.4

[Eg] For THH, see THH / TH'. For the second component $it(f).s$ is used commonly in PN in the Late period (Ranke I,157.1 $mr-nb-itf.s$, Ranke I,157.10m 156.27, 156.11, 155.22); cf. Copt $\alpha,\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$, $\beta,\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$

(Wb I,141) for *it(f)*.

While it is noteworthy that there is space between the elements THH and 'TS, the context indicates that only one person is mentioned.

THW'

--- (1) *t(3)-h(3)w* (2) a short form of *t3-n.t-hw.t-*


L p.127; G p.493; K p.95; V II p.222

[Aram] BP 8.3

[Eg] (1) see Ph THW' (2) see Aram TH' and PHW

The alternative of TH' or THW' depends upon the understanding of W between H and '. If we admit that the W is a consonant, this name is the same as Ph THW', of which the identification is not clear. If we understand, however, the W as a *mater lectionis*, firstly, the name is a variant of TH' (*t3-hr*), and in that case we must admit that the final *aleph* functions as a consonant to close the final syllable, or, secondly, a shortened form of which the first element is *t3-n-hw.t*, such as *t3-n.t-hw.t-'3.t* etc. See the discussion in PHW.

** THWTM'W


--- *dhwt(y)-m(3)'w*  "Thoth is true / the guide or navigator"

[Aram] Saqq 28a.6 THWTM'W, 53.10 THWTM[, 10

[Eg] Ranke I,408.3 ■.Gk [Gk] *θοτομοῦς*, *θοτομμοῦς* (NB p.142).

Notice that the morpheme of the Eg old perfective is retained as W.

* THY

--- *t(3)-(n.t-)hy* 

[Aram] Porten, *Or NS* 57 p.38.5

[Eg] Ranke I,366.17 f.NK-Late [Gk] *Ταχοῖ* , *Ταχοῖς* , *Ταχοῖ* .

Cf. P_{HY}, P_{HWY}. See the discussion of P_{HW}.

T_HMPT

--- **t(3)-h_m(.t)-p(3)-t(3)* "The servant of the land"

Zauzich, *Enchoria* 13 p.115f

[Aram] *Saqq* 5.2

[Eg] cf. *t3-h_m.t* "The maidservant" (Ranke I,365.17 f.NK); *p3-t3*

"The land" (Ranke I,120.17 m.Late)

Zauzich compared it with **t3-'h_m-p3-t3* , fem. form of *p3-'h_m-p3-t3* "The falcon of the land" (*DemNB* I,170). However, he failed to explain why Eg 'ayn was not transcribed into Aram. Segal's solution, though it is a reconstruction, seems to be better at the moment.

**** T_HNWM**

--- *t(3)-(n.t-)h_{nm}(.w)*  "She who belongs to Khnum"

L p.127; G p.493; K p.95

[Aram] *AP* 39.2, 65.7 T_HNW^ḿ

[Eg] Ranke II,326.5 f.Late [Gk] *Ταχνούμ* , *Ταχνούβις* , *Ταχνουμῖς*

(*NB* p.423)

Cf. P_{HNWM}.

**** T_HPY**

--- *t(3)-(n.t-)h_p*  "She who belongs to Apis"

S I p.1107; L p.127; G p.493; K p.95

[Aram] *CIS* II,141.1; *Saqq* 54.6 T_HP^ḿ

[Eg] Ranke I,362.6 f.Late [Gk] *Τάπις* , *Τάπιεις* (*NB* p.402).

**** THPRY**

--- *t(3)-(n.t-)hpry "She who belongs to Khepre"

L p.127; G p.493; K p.95

[Aram] APO 75,2.9

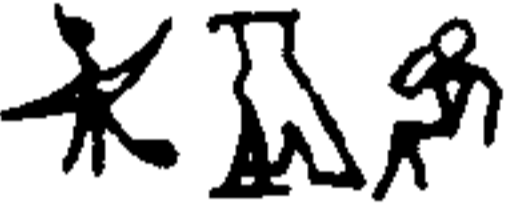
[Eg] cf. š3'-hpry (Ranke I,324.21 f.Late cf. Gk σαχπήρις), t3-š3'-n-hpr (Ranke I,367.20).

**** THRT**

--- *t(3)-hrd(.t) "The child (female)"

V II p.225

[Aram] Saqq 66a.12 THRT, 66b.1 THRT, 7 THRT

[Eg] cf. p3-hrd  (Ranke I,116.24 ■.Dyn18-Late; DeNB I,211; cf.Gk Ταχράτις NB p.423)

Cf. HRT in HRPHT.

**** TTWSRY**

--- t(3)-d(i.t)-(3)s(ws).(i)r  "She whom Osiris has given"

[Aram] Cowley, PSBA 25 P.264B.3; Saqq 8.1; 28b.6, 68.2 TTWS[, 138.2

[P/T]TWSRY

[Eg] Ranke I,373.1 f.Late-Gk [Gk] Τετοσίρις , Τατουσίρις (NB p.416, 431)

Cf. TTSRY, PTWSYR etc..

**** TTHRWR**

--- *t(3)-d(i.t)-hr-wr(.t) "She whom Horus, the elder, has given"

[Aram] Porten, Or NS 57 p.38.2

[Eg] DeNB I,324; Ranke I,124.21 [Gk] Πεταροήρις , Πεταρουήρις , Πεταροήρης , Πεταρουήριος, Πεταροήρις , Πεταρουήρις (NB p.311); cf. t3-di.t-hr.w-p3-wr "She whom Horus, the elder, has given" (Ranke

II,328.17 f.Late).

** TḤRPⁱ

--- *t(3)-d(i.t)-ḥr-p(3)-'(3) "She whom Horus, the great, has given"

L p.127; K p.96; V II p.222

[Aram] AP p.317 A.2

[Eg] cf. t3-dí.t-ḥr-p3-r' "She whom Horus, the Re', has given"

(Ranke I,374.6 f.Late); t3-dí.t-ḥr.w-p3-wr (Ranke II,328.17 f.Late).

Vittmann's correction TḤRP seems to be unnecessary. The final 'ain is tracable and the meaning is good.

** TṢRY

--- Var. of TTWSRY

K p.96

[Aram] LH 2.17

[Eg] see TTWSRY.

** TM'

--- t(3)-(n.t-)mí(w)  "She who belongs to the cat"

S I p.1107; K p.96

[Aram] RES 1788, 1300.4 TM[']

[Eg] Ranke I,360.8 (for the reading see n.2) [Gk] Τεμάς

Cf. Aram PM', Ph PMY

For the identification see Muchiki, JSS 35 (1990) (forthcoming). TM'Y (Spiegelberg, Kornfeld), which may not be a PN, could not be a lion; cf. PMT.

**** TMYN**

--- *t(3)-(n.t-)mn(.w)*  "She who belongs to Min"

L p.143; K p.96

[Aram] *TAÉ* 103

[Eg] Ranke I,360.13 f.NK-Gk [Gk] *θαμῆνις* , *θαμίνις* , *θαμίνις* ,
θαμείνις , *θαμῆνις* , *Ταμίνις* , *Ταμίνε* , *Ταμίν* , *Ταμείν* , *Ταμνις* ,
(NB p.127)

Cf. PMN.

TMS

--- *t(3)-ms*  "The girl"

[Aram] *Saqq* 9.10

[Eg] Ranke I,357.15 f.Dyn18 [Gk] *θαμησιῶν* , *θμεσιῶς* , *θμισιῶς* ,
θμωσιῶς , *Τμεσιῶς* , *θεμεσιῶς* , *Τμοσιῶς* , *Τμοσειος* ,
(NB p.146, 441).

]TMSY

--- *t(3)-ms*  "The girl"

[Aram] *Saqq* 56.1

[Eg] see TMS.

**** TMT**

--- *t(3)-(n.t-)m(w.)t*  "She who belongs to Mut"

L p.127; G p.493; K p.96; V II p.222

[Aram] *BP* 2.3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 4.2, 6, 6.3 *TMT*[T]

[Eg] Ranke I,360.10 f.NK-Late [Gk] *Ταμούθης* , *Ταμούθις* , *Ταμούτις* ,
Ταμύθης , *Ταμύτις* (NB p.409f).

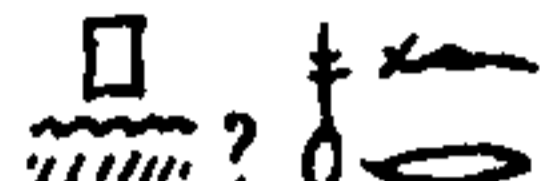
As Vittmann proposed, *t3-mtr* "She who belongs to the staff" is possible. For the discussion on this problem, see PMT.

**** TNWPY**

--- **t(3)-(n.t-)nf(r)* "She who belongs to the good one"

G p.493; K p.96

[Aram] *TAÉ* 64

[Eg] cf. *p3-n-nfr* (?)  (Ranke I,109.4); *t3-n.t nfr.w* (?) (Ranke I,361.5). Also *t3-n.t*-masc. noun type, such as *t3-n.t-nht* "She who belongs to the strong one." [Gk] *Ταυοῦφίς* (NB p.412).

Perhaps it is better to avoid *t3-nfr.t* "the Beauty" (Ranke I,364.1), because the final *r* of *nfr* is usually protected.

**** TNYT**

--- **t(3)-(n.t-)ny.t* "She who belongs to Neith"

[Aram] *Saqq* 30b.3

[Eg] cf. *p3-n-ny.t* "He who belongs to Neith" (Ranke I,108.21 m.NK-Late) [Copt] *ΤΑΝΗΘ* (Heuser p.61).

TNPY

--- Var. of TNWPY

G p.494; K p.96

[Aram] *APO* 75,1.9

[Eg] see TNWPY

Kornfeld tried to distinguish TNPY from TNWPY on the basis of two Gk forms as follows; TNPY --- *t3-nfr* (Ranke I,387.9) Gk *φαινοῦφίς*; TNWPY --- *t3-nfr* Gk *Ταυοῦφίς*. However, Eg *t* which became ^aχ, ^bϸ in Copt normally corresponds to § or Š. Besides Gk τ and θ often occur in parallel (see TMS, TNWPY).

TNR

--- **t(3)-nr(.t)* "The vulture"

[Aram] Saqq 52b,i.7

[Eg] cf. s3-nr.t "Son of Vulture" (Ranke II,312.13)

The reading is not certain. Segal's reading:]YLD/R TNR/D, yet more probably LPTNR.

TSW

--- t(3)-(n-)s3(w) (?)

[Aram] Saqq 9.8

[Eg] see PS' and PSW.

* TPGY

--- *t(3)-(n.t-)pk(r) "She who belongs to Pkr"

[Aram] APO 84,9.1

[Eg] CDME p.95 pkr "the precinct of Osiris at Abydos"

The equation between Aram G and Eg k is doubtful. Another solution might be t3-n.t-pg3 "She who belongs to the entrance" (cf. Copt *πω6ε, *φωχλ for pg3).

TPHY

--- *t(3)-(n.t-)p(3)-hy "She who belongs to p3-hy"

S I p.1112; K p.96; V II p.222

[Aram] N. Aimé-Giron, BIFAO 38 p.38 no.113.2

[Eg] cf. p3-hy  (Ranke I,116.10 m.NK), t3-hy

(Ranke I,366.17 f.NK-Late)


Cf. PHY, Gk Παταχόις (p3-n-t3-hy).

** TPNWM

--- *t(3)-(n.t-)p(3)-(n-)hnm(.w) "She who belongs to p3-n-hnm.w"

K p.96

[Aram] APO 87.4

[Eg] cf. $p3-n-hnm.w$  "He who belongs to Khnum" (Ranke I, 110.17 m.NK-Gk Gk Παχνοῦμῖς); see PHNWM. For the name formation $t3-n.t-p3-$, see Ranke I, 359.16-360.3.

TPMNT

--- Dittography for TPMT.

K p.96

[Aram] BP 12.33

[Eg] see TPMT. From the context there is no doubt that TPMNT is a dittographic spelling for TPMT.

** TPMT

--- $*t(3)-(n.t-)p(3)-(n-)m(w).t$ "She who belongs to $p3-n-mw.t$ "

L p.127; G p.494; K p.96; V II p.222

[Aram] LH 1.5, 10; BP 5.2, 11, 18, 12.1, 3, 11, 24, 35

[Eg] cf. $*p3-(n-)mw.t$ (Ranke II, 280.13), $t3-(n.t)mw.t$ (Ranke I, 360.10); see also PMT

Albright, followed by Grelot, explained as $*t3-n.t-pr-mw.t$ "She who belongs to the temple of Mut" (BP p.180). As the second element is attested in Ranke II, 295.14 $ns-n-pr-mw.t$ (Dyn 26), it is not impossible. However, the type of $p3-n-DN$ is much more common in the Late period. Therefore, it is more likely PMT is $*p3-n-mw.t$ (see PMT). Then $*t3-n.t-p3-mw.t$ is more acceptable. Erichsen's explanation $*t3-p3-mty$ is not supported by attestation of its element.

* TRW

--- $trw (t3-n.t-rw)$  "She who belongs to the lion"

G p.494; K p.97; V II p.222

[Aram] LH 5.1, 10, 6.8 TRW[

[Eg] Ranke I,382.12 f.NK [Gk] cf. *ταλέ*, *ταλείς*, *ταλής*, *θαλής*, *ταλίς* (NB p.407). Eg *rw* is *λε* in Copt (?) (Nb II,403).

If the value of the *rw* is /l/ as in Gk and Copt, the identification is only acceptable with an assumption that the *-rw* is a dialectal form. Vittmann's solution **ta-rr.=w* (cf. *pa-rr=w* "He who belongs to the pig" DeNB I,389) is less likely, because the second *r* is not lost (Copt *ρ'ρ* Crum 299a).

** TRWH

--- *t(3)-rh(t)*  "The knowledge"

G p.494; K p.97; V II p.222


[Aram] AP 16.3 TR[WH], 5, 9

[Eg] Ranke I,365.5 f.NK; II 396 [Gk] *ταρούου*, *ταρωούς*;

Cf. Copt *ⲃⲣⲱϣ*, *ⲃⲣⲱϣ-* for Eg *rh* (Černý p.142). Cf. *p3-n-rh.t* (Ranke I,109.20), *t3-rh.t-'n* (Ranke I,430.25), *p3-rh-nw* (Ranke I,419.11)

Grelot and Kornfeld explained it as **tnr-wh*, **tr-wh*, which are not attested, although their elements occur. Vittmann denied their explanations and doubts that this is an Eg name. Yet *t3-rh.t* is unquestionably comparable, the W of RWH is supported by the Copt word (see above).

** TRT

--- *t(3)-r(w)d*  or *t(3)-(n.t-)r(w)d* "The strong"

L p.127; K p.97; V II p.222

[Aram] TAÉ 87b.4 TRT, 15, 19

[Eg] Ranke I,364.19 f.NK or Ranke I,361.14 f.Late-Gk; *t3-rd* (Ranke I,365.9 f.Late-Gk) is the same as above [Gk] *ταρούουτ* (NB p.417);

cf. Copt σ OYPOY , β EPOYOT , dual σ POOYT , β PWOYT.



* TSW

--- $t(3)-s(3)w(.t)$  "The guardian"

[Aram] *Saqq* 9.8

[Eg] Ranke I,367.10

Cf. PSW, PS'

One may think that $*t3-n.t-s3w$ (cf. $p3-n-s3w$  "He who belongs to Sais" Ranke I,110.20) is a good identification. However, the final w was lost in the NK ( \textcircled{w} *Wb* III 420; cf. *uruSa-a-a*; Copt $\text{C}\Delta\text{C}$; Gk $\text{S}\alpha\text{i}\text{s}$). Therefore, $*t3-n.t-s3w$ cannot stand for TSW, though it is a common type of Eg name. Segal's suggestion $t3-(n.t-)s.t$ "She of the shrine" also cannot explain the final w .

TŠY

--- $t(3)-(n.t-)\check{s}(3)$  "She who belongs to Destiny"

G p.494; K p.97; V II p.223

[Aram] *LH* 1.11, 2.1, 18, 3.9, 4.3

[Eg] Ranke I,367.19 ($t3-s3$) [Gk] cf. $\text{T}\alpha\sigma\alpha\text{i}\text{s}$, $\text{T}\alpha\sigma\alpha\text{i}\text{s}$ (*NB* p.417, 419); cf. Demot $\check{s}y$ "Destiny" (Erichsen p.485).


TŠPW'

--- $*t(3)-\check{s}(r\acute{i}.t)-(n.t-)p(3)-w\acute{i}(3)$ "The daughter of $p3-w\acute{i}3$ "

[Aram] *APO* 75,1,ii.6 (Pl.62)

[Eg] cf. $t3-\check{s}r\acute{i}.t-n.t-p3-wr$  (Ranke I,368.16 f.Late-Gk); for $p3-w\acute{i}3$ see Ranke I,103.20 m.MK-Late).

TT

--- t(w)t  "Statue" (?)

K p.120

[Aram] BP 4.24

[Eg] Ranke I, 379.15 and 16; 383.23 ■.Gk/f.NK [Gk] τῶτοῦς ,
τῶτοῦς (NB p.442).

This could be a shortened form of Babylonian names like *Bel-tat-tan-nu-bul-lit-su* "Bel keep alive him whom you gave" (BP p.175).
see Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen* p.35, 121. Other possibilities
are *Ta-ti-i* (APN p.231b), TT (Gröndahl p.421). It could also be a
lallname as Kornfeld pointed out.

** TTP

*t(3)-(n.t-)t(3)-p(.t) "She who belongs to the heaven"

[Aram] Porten, *Or NS* 57 p.38 l.3

[Eg] cf. *iy-■-t3-p.t*  "She comes from the heaven"

(Ranke I, 9.8 f. Dyn19).

[2] Divine Names

** 'WSRY

--- Var. of 'SRY

S I p.1108; L p.117

[Aram] stele: *CIS* II,122.2; 141.1, 3; 142; graffito: 130;

Eph III p.104 '[W]SR[Y], p.113, p.114

[Eg] see 'SRY.

* 'WSY[RY]

--- Var. of 'SRY

[Aram] Teixidor, *Syria* 41 p.286

[Eg] see 'SRY, Ph 'SR.

** 'WSRYHPY

--- *3s(ws)-(i)r-ḥp* 𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 "The dead Apis"

S I p.1108; L p.118

[Aram] stele: *CIS* II,123.1/2, 3/4 'WSḤ!RYHPY (The Ḥ is a scribal error, *KAI* 268)

[Eg] *Wb* III,70.3; for the dead Apis see *LÄ*, V.870b [Gk] 'Oσορᾶπις , 'Oσερᾶπις , Σεραπις , Σαραπις [Copt] σεραπις in ϕΜΑ ΜΠΙΣΕΡΑΠΙΣ.

* 'PTW

--- * *i*p-t(3)w(y) "Judge of the two land"

[Aram] *AP* 72.15 LNQYH QDM 'PTW 'LH' RB' QLBY

LNQYH QDM 'SY 'LḤT' QLBY

[Eg] cf. a title of Osiris *w*p-š'.t-t3.wy (*Wb* I,299.8). Notice *w*p

𐤏𐤕 can be read as *i*p (see *CDME* p.17)

Another solution, which is less likely because of the final W,

is *ipw.ty* (*Wb* I,304.10). Cf. Spiegelberg 'fd "four" (symbol of four principal gods) and Maspero *Wp(ip)-w3(w).t* (*Gk 'Opwis Wb* I,304.16) which cannot explain Aram 'PTw.

** 'SY

--- *3s(.t)*  "Isis"


S I p.1108; L p.117

[Aram] *AP* 72.16 'šy; *CIS* II,135

[Eg] see Ph 'S

In Aram the divine name is never written as 'S without the final Y, except PT'S in late 8th-early 7th cent. BC..

** 'SRY

--- *3s(ws)-(i)r*  "Osiris"

S I p.1108; L p.117

[Aram] *Eph* III, p.107 no.38, p.112 no.55, p.109 no.46; *CIS* II,127

(corrected to 'SRY in *RES* 608)

[Eg] see Ph 'SR, Aram 'WSRY, WSRY, 'WSY[RY].

** WSRY

--- Var. of 'WSRY

[Aram] stele: *RES* 1788

[Eg] see 'SRY

The initial *aleph* is elided (cf. 'WSRY), as happens in composite names (such as PTWSRY). However notice that WSRY is preceded by a preposition L. Cf. LHMLK for L'HMLK (Herr, *Seals* no.146), LHTWBSTY for 'HTBSTY.

**** HNWB**


--- Var. of HNWM

S I p.1109; L p.119

[Aram] AP 27.3, 8; 30.5

[Eg] see HNWM [Gk] cf. *χvouβis* (NB p.477).

**** HNWM**

--- *hnm(.w)*  "Khnum"

S I p.1109; L p.119

[Aram] AP 38.7; BP 3.8, 4.10, 6.8 Ḥ[NWM], 9.10, 10.6, 16.H HNWM

[Eg] Wb III,381 [Gk] *χvouμis*, *χvouβis* [Copt] *χνοϣχ*

**** HR**

--- *hr*  "Horus"

S I p.1109; L p.119

[Aram] graffito: CIS II,136 'HR (corrected to ḤR by Sayce, *Rec.de Trav.* 17 p.164, and Clermont-Ganneau RES 960); graffito: RES 961

[Eg] Wb III,122 [Copt] *ζωρ*, *ζαρ* - [Gk] *Ἦρος*, *Ἄρ* -.

**** PTH**

--- *pth*  "Ptah"

S I p.1109; L p.126

[Aram] AP 11.2; LH 1.2, 2.2, 3.2, 4.2

[Eg] see Ph PTH.

**** STY**

--- *stí(.t)*  "Satis"

S I p.1109

[Aram] AP 14.5; Saqq 35.5 ŠTY, 181.3 ŠTY

[Eg] *Wb* IV,348.7 (Satis is a goddess of the 1st Cataract) [Gk]

Σάτις .

** THWT[

--- *dhwty*  "Thoth"

S I p.1109

[Aram] *AP* 69.10

[Eg] *Wb* V,606 [Gk] *θωθ*, *θωυθ* [Copt] cf. month names **θουϣτ*, **θουϣϣτ*

From the context THWT could be a PN (see Ranke I,407.13 n.MK-Gk).

[3] Geographical Names

** 'BWT

--- *3bd(w)*  "Abydos"

[Aram] *AP* 38.3, 64.26 'BWT

[Eg] Montet, *Géographie* II,102; *Wb* I,9 [Copt] *Δβωτ*, *εβωτ* .

** 'BWD

--- Var. of 'BWT

[Aram] Teixidor, *Syria* 41 p.286

[Eg] see 'BWT.

** 'PY

--- *ip(.t)*  "Luxor"

[Aram] *LH* 5.10, 6.11, 7.5

[Eg] *Wb* I,67 [Copt] **Δπε*.

BMRŠRY

--- unknown GN

[Aram] *LH* 5.6.

ḤTHRB'

--- **ḥ(.t)-t(3-)hr(.t)-(i)b*

Zauzich, *Enchoria* 13 p.117

[Aram] *Saqq* 103.2

Zauzich changed Segal's original interpretation ḤTH RB' "great ḤTH" to ḤTHRB', which he interpreted as *ḥ.t-t3-ḥr-ib* "Athribis." However Eg ḥ represented by Aram H is not likely. Though it is a reconstruction **ḥ.t-t3-hr.t-ib* is more likely, if this is a place name.

** TBH

--- *db(3)*  "Edfu"

[Aram] *AP* 81.45 TBH; Cowley, *PSBA* 37 P.218

[Eg] *Wb* V, 562.1; Montet, *Géographie* II, p.31 [Copt] TBω, θBω


Notice that the final H indicates the /o/ vowel.

TM'ŠW

--- **dmi'-s(3)w(ty)* "The region of Assiout"

L p.128

[Aram] *AP* 81.40

[Eg] for *dmi'*  "town, quarter, vicinity" see *CDME* p.313; Copt
ⲉⲧⲙⲉ, ⲉⲧⲙⲓ.

Asyut (*S3wty*) is expected to be SWT, because the Copt form shows that the final T is retained, ⲉⲘⲓⲟⲟⲩⲧ. The identification is doubtful, unless SW is a shortened form of Asyut.

** YB

--- 3b(w)  "Elephantine"

S I p.1109; L p.128

[Aram] AP 6.3, 3, 4, 7.1 [Y]B, 2, 8.2, 10.2, 3, 20.1, 2, 25.1, 2, 27.3, 5 YB, 5, 11, 28.1, 15, 29.1, 30.1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 22, 25, 31.7, 12, 22, 24, 32.4, 33.6, 9, 34.6, 35.2, 43.1 [YB], 2, 65 no.6 Y[B], 66 no.6 Y[B], 68 no.2 [YB], no.4; BP 1.2, 2.2, 3.4, 25, 4.2, 4, 5.2, 16, 6.2 [YB], 7.2, 9.2, 23, 10.17, 11.10b, 12.2, 3, 4, 32, 14.2; Bresciani, RSO 35 p.18 (I:Verso.1); ostracon: Dupont-Sommer, RES 1941-45 p.67

[Eg] Nb I,7; Montet, Géographie II p.15 [Copt] IHB, IEB [Demo] yb (Erichsen p.49) [Gk] Ἰηβ .

Demot, Gk and Copt forms indicate that the internal change 3 > y took place at the initial position.

Ḥ'Ḥ/D

--- m(r)-(w)r  "The Great Channel"

[Aram] Saqq 4.8

[Eg] Montet, Géographie II p.214

Segal compared the name with mr-wr Fayoum with an assumption that the final r of mr had been lost. However, the w of wr cannot be lost (cf. PN PTHWR etc). The identification is unlikely.

** MNPY

--- m(n)-nf(r)  "Memphis"

L p.128

[Aram] AP 37.11, 42.7, 11 ḤNPȲ, 13 [MNPY], 83.2; TAB 10 verso.3 ḤNPȲ; Saqq 24.7 ḤNPȲ, 30a.1, 73.1; Bresciani, RSO 35 p.18 (I recto:x+3)

[Eg] see Ph MNP.

**** MPY**

--- Var. of MNPY

[Aram] *LH* 2.3; *Saqq* 63.5 $\dot{M}\dot{P}\dot{Y}$, 136.2 $\dot{M}\dot{P}\dot{Y}$ (GN?)

[Eg] see MNPY, Ph MNP.

**** N'**

--- $n\acute{i}(w.t)$  "Thebes"

[Aram] *AP* 24.18, 36, 34.3 [N'], 4, 37.6, 68.11, rev

[Eg] *Wb* II, 210.6 [Heb] N' [NA] *Ni-'i* (Assurb I, 88.109 etc) [Gk]

$\nu\alpha\upsilon(\chi\rho\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma)$, $(\psi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu)\nu\hat{\eta}(s)$, $(\pi\alpha)\nu\alpha(s)$ [Copt] ${}^{\alpha}N\epsilon$, ${}^{\alpha}NH$

Edel, in "Nuew Deutungen Keilschriftlicher Umschreibungen ägyptischer Wörter", pp.18-20, transliterates Thebes as $n'.t$, whose *aleph* can be any weak consonant: 3 , i' and w , and he discussed each case. Our study reveals that Thebes is most likely to be $n\acute{i}.t$ because of common equation between Aram ' and Eg i' , also $n3.t$ is not impossible, yet $nw.t$ is impossible (see the discussion in Ug PNI).

NP'

--- $nb.y.t$  "Kom Ombo"

L p.128


[Aram] *AP* 7.4 NP', 20.4 (GN?)

[Eg] *Wb* II, 242.4f; Montet, *Géographie*, II p.25 [Copt] ${}^{\alpha}, {}^{\delta}MBW$,

${}^{\alpha}ONBW, NBOY$ [Gk] $\acute{\omicron}\mu\beta\omicron\varsigma$ [Lat] *Ombos*

In neither attestation (*AP* 7.4, 20.4) does the context guarantee that NP' is a GN. Various other forms point out the second radical is B, rather than P. So the identification is unlikely.

** SWN

--- *swn(.t)* |  "Syene (Aswan)"

S I p.1110; L p.128

[Aram] *TAÉ* 99.2; *BP* 2.2, 3.2, 7.2, 8.1, 2, 3, 11.1, 2, 3, 10b, 12;

AP 3.9, 5.2, 2, 6.17, 8.28, 9.16, 13.2, 3, 14.2, 3, 3, 12, 15.2,

16.6, 7, 25.3, 4, 28.2, 29.2, 2, 30.7, 41.5, 45.1 Š[WN], 2, 9

[SW]Ñ, 56.2; *LH* 1.9, 14, 2.1, 18, 3.1, 14, 4.6, 15, 5.3; *RES* 438.2;

Cowley, *PSBA* 25 p.264 (A.4); *CIS* II,138B.7; *APÖ* 77,2 innen.2, 78,2


innen.3

[Eg] *Wb* IV 68.3ff; Gauthier, *DG*, VII,17-18 [Copt] ⲙⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛ,

ⲙⲥⲟⲩⲏⲛ, ⲙⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛ (Griffith-Crowfoot, *JEA* 20 p.8) [Gk] Συήνη [Heb]

SWN, SWNH [Arab] أسوان .

PYLH

--- *p(3)-i(w)-r(k)* |  "Philae"

[Aram] *Saqq* 43a.4

[Eg] *Wb* I,47.9; Montet, *Géographie*, II, p.21 [Gk] Πιλακ, φιλή

φιλαί [Copt] ⲙⲠⲒⲗⲁⲕ, ΠΙΛΑΚⲒ (Černý p.348)

It seems that the lack of the final *k* is justified by Gk forms, yet the other forms keep the final consonant. If we assume that there were bi-forms in its pronunciation shown as the Gk forms, the identification could be acceptable, yet at the moment it is very doubtful.

* PPRM

--- **p(3)-(n-)p(3)-rm(t)* "Papremis"

[Aram] *AD* 12.6

[Eg] Bresciani, *Studi e Orientali*, 21 p.299-303. The Eg form is reconstructed through Gk form (Herodotus,II,59.63).


For the lack of the final \underline{t} , see the late spelling $\underline{\text{r}}\underline{\text{m}}$, and Copt $\text{a}^{\text{a}}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$, $\text{b}\rho\omega\mu\iota$ etc. ($\text{rmt} > \text{rmt} > \text{rm}$). Two other etymological identifications have been proposed (see *LÄ* IV p.666): (1) Černý, (*Archiv Orientalni* 20 p.86-89) reconstruced $*p3-(n-)p3-\text{rmt}-\text{mhyt}$ on the basis of the same type of PN: $p3-\text{rmt}$ + a geographical indication, such as $*p3-\text{rmt}-\dot{\text{i}}3\text{bty}$ (Πρεμειβτε), $*p3-\text{rmt}-\text{rsy}$ (Προυρησις)(?), $*p3-\text{rmt}-3\text{bdw}$ (Πρεμ-εβηθας). Yet $*p3-\text{rmt}-\text{mhyt}$ is too long for Παπρημης , even if we assume the merge of double m . (2) Altenmüller (*JEOL* 18 p.271-279) put forward $*p3-(n-)p3-\text{rmwy}$. Yet the dual ending $-\text{wy}$, which is transcribed as W in Aram, is not represented by Gk form.

THMWSN

--- $t(3)-\underline{h}(w.t)-\underline{wd}-n('.t)$ (?) "The house of the settle^{ment} of the ~~town~~"
 [Aram] *Saqq* 27.1, 4

THMWSN is used with prep. B, showing good possibility of being GN. The first two letters TH probably represent a common Eg GN form $t3-\underline{hw}.t-$. The remaining element is difficult to explain .

* TMNHWR

--- $(p3)-\underline{dm}\dot{\text{i}}(.t)-n-\underline{hr}$  "The city of Horus"

[Aram] *Saqq* 33b



[Eg] Montet, *Géographie* I p.53; Garthier, *DG* VI,94.1; Gardiner, *AEO* II 160.

* TŠTRS

--- $*t(3)-\underline{\check{s}}d(y.t)-\underline{rs}(.t)$ "The southern province"

S p.1110; L p.128

[Aram] *AP* 24.39 [T]ŠTRS, 43 TŠ[TRS], 27.9

[Eg] CDME p.274 šdy.t  "plot"; p.153 rsv  "southern"
CF. PTRWS "The southern land."

[4] Loan Words

** 'HW "plant, vegetable"

--- 3h(.y)

[Aram] Sefire I.A.29,32


[Eg] see Heb Lw 'HW.

* 'YŤŠRY

--- **íd-šri* "small garment"

[Aram] Saqq 19.5 'YŤŠRY ZY BKŠT ŠNT \\\ \\\ "small garment that is for the portion of the year 6"

[Eg] cf. Wb V,475.9-13

The identification is based on the assumption of **idr* < *dr* "dress, garment" (Wb V,475.9-13), in which the *aleph* is for a prothetic vowel. For *šri* "small" see Wb IV,524; cf. Copt ⲃⲱⲓⲠⲓ , ⲃⲱⲓⲠⲉ . Segal identified 'YTSRY as Eg red barley *it-dšr* (Wb I,142.15) on the assumption that the final *t* was assimilated into the *d* of *dšr*. However, the second letter *Y* (*mater lectionis*?) of 'YŤŠRY seems to contradict Copt forms ⲉⲓⲱⲧ , ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲧ , ⲓⲱⲧ (Crum p.87a), indicating [δ/ū]. The second component ŠRY is also comparable with Eg šr.t  "a kind of grain" (Wb IV,524). Therefore the identification be cannot confirmed, and the reading remains uncertain.

* 'PSY

--- *ips* 𐤀𐤍𐤑𐤓 "a part of a ship"

[Aram] AP 26.12

[Eg] Wb I, 69.15; see Glanville, ZAS 68 p.15f.

* 'R

--- *ir(w.t)* 𐤀𐤓𐤗𐤓𐤕 "a kind of tree"

[Aram] AP 26.10 The context 'RZ W'R HDTN "new cedar and 'r" shows it is probably a name of a tree"

[Eg] Wb I, 114

The word *irw.t* 𐤀𐤓𐤗𐤓𐤕 "a part of ship", which is only different in determinative from the above *irw.t*, suggests that the word in question was used for shipbuilding. There is an Akk word *e'ru*, which is a native hardwood used primarily for making sticks (CAD E 318ff). But there is no indication that *e'ru* was used for shipbuilding.

HYR'

--- *hr* < *hyr* + Aram '

L p.129

[Aram] BP 1.3, 5, 9; AP 68.6 YHYB' (corrected to HYR' by Kraeling p.135). The context refers to a building or an object of some sort: KSP ŠQLW BDMY HYR' ZY LK ZY "5 shekels as the price of HYR of yours"

[Eg] Erichsen, p.388, 377 "street" "house" [Copt] 𐩨𐩢𐩨 (Crum p.696b)

Aram H does not represent Eg *h*. There is an Eg word *hr* 𐩨𐩢𐩨 "a kind of furniture" (Wb II, 498.5), which is phonologically much more likely.

** HN "a liquid measure"

--- *hn(w)* "hin"

[Aram] *RES* 1791. [1], 2, 3, 4, 5

[Eg] see Heb Lw HYN.

ZRT "a span"

--- *dr.t* "hand, span"

[Aram] *AP* 36.3

[Eg] see Heb Lw ZRT.


** HWTM

--- Var. of HTM

[Aram] *AP* 76.1

[Heb] see HTM, Heb Lw HTM.

* HL'

--- *hr(y.t)*  "a part of a boat" + Aram '

[Aram] *AP* 26.12, 12, [15], 20. The context refers to a part of boat: 'QY HL' 'MN ŠTN "the wood of HL', 60 cubits"

[Eg] *Wb* III,148.20; Glanville (*ZAS* 68 p.35) suggests "gunwale", see also D. Jones, *Glossary*, p.177 no.110.

** HSY

--- *hsy*  "favourite one"

S I p.1110; L p.130

[Aram] Stele: *CIS* II,141.4

[Eg] *Wb* III,156 "an epithet of the blessed dead"

[Copt] ρACIE , ECIE [Gk] ἀσιης , εσιης .

**** HSTMH**

--- *hs(y.)t(y)-(i)m(3)h(w)* "favoured and revered"

[Aram] *CIS* II,122A.1 KL[Z_Y] HSTMH "both of whom were favoured, revered"

[Eg] For HST see *Wb* III,158.15 *hsy.ty* (a secondary form of *hsi'*, *Wb* III,156) "really favoured." For the second component MH, see *Wb* I,82 *im3hw* "the revered one." The loss of the initial *i* of *im3hw* can be supported by PN PṬTWM (*p3-di'-itm*) which shows the *i* could be elided in the medial position.

**** HTM "seal"**


--- *htm* "seal"

[Aram] *AP* 21.9 (as a verb), 76.1 HWTM; *AD* p.2 n.2

[Eg] see Heb Lw HTM;

Cf. HWTM.

**** HTPY**

--- *htp(.t)*  "offering"

S I p.1111; *L* p.130

[Aram] stone vessel: *CIS* II,123.1 HTPY LQRBT BNT L'WSRY HPY 'BD 'BYṬB BR BNT "offering for the approach of BNT to Osiris-Apis has 'BYṬB, son of BNT, made"

[Eg] *Wb* III,183 [Ug] HTP (RS 24:266.V° 15).

ṬP


--- *dp(.w)*  "a part of mast"

[Aram] *AP* 26.10 'RZ W'R HDTN ṬP 'MN 'ŠRH "New cedar and 'R; ṬP 10 cubits"

[Eg] *Wb* V,447; Jones, *Glossary* p.194, 185

An alternative solution suggested by Cowley is Baby. *adappu* "(wooden) board" (*CAD D* p.106; *adappu AHW I* p.106). However Copt $\tau\omicron\pi$ "keel" (*Crum* p.422) which is attested once may be comparable. The identification is open to choice.

**** MNHH**

--- *mnḥ(.t)*  "(The) excellent one"


S I p.1111; L p.130

[Aram] stele: *CIS* II,142 'NHHPY BR THBS MNHH ZY 'WSRY 'LH' "'*nḥ-ḥpy*, son of *t3-ḥ3bs*, the excellent one of Osiris the god"

[Eg] *Wb* II,86.18 or 84ff. [Gk] *Μερχῆς* .

From the context *PMNH (cf. TMNH') is normally expected, if this is a masc. form, qualifying 'NHHPY. Yet the final H is not easy to explain. Possibly it is the final vowel of masc. ~~from~~.

*** MSTY**

--- *msd(.t)* 

[Aram] *AP* p.318 c.3

[Eg] *Wb* II,152.14 probably from *mstf* "basket (used as a measure)" (*Wb* II,151.6-7).

*** NM'TY**

--- *n(b)-m(3)'ty* "The lord of two justices" (title)

[Aram] *CIS* II,141.4

[Eg] *Wb* II,21 *m3.ty* (Copt *MHT*)

KAI (III p.319) suggests that NM'TY is a misspelling of N'MTY "my lovely one." Grelot (*Semitica* 17 p.73-75) considered that the first N is Eg preposition *n*, to which is added Eg *m3'.t* "sun bark" (*Wb* II,25.11f). Yet Couroyer (*Semitica* 20 p.17-20) criticized

Grelot's explanations on two grounds; the use of Eg prep *n* which is hardly used in Aram text, and the doubtful explanation of the ending *-t*. His explanation is *nb-m3'ty > nm-m3'ty > NM'TY*, which is much more likely. The assimilation of *b* of *nb* before *m* is evident in the El-Amarna tablets (see Chapter V: *Nimmhuppreya* etc.). The loss of *b* of *nb* is also attested in Ph PN PṬBNTṬ (*p3-di-b3-nb-dd.t*), and Akk GN *binṭēṭi (b3-nb-ḡd)* (Ranke, *KM* p.46). The likelihood that this is an Eg title is strong.

NPRT

--- *nfr.t* (?)

[Aram] *AP* 14.3; Joüon, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, XVIII, 62 (Beyrouth) SWN NPRT "Syene, the beauty" or a name of a quarter of Syene.

[Eg] for *nfr.t*, see *Wb* III,


The final T cannot be explained, because the fem. ending dropped in Eg.

S'BL


--- **s'(3)-bl* "outer plank"

[Aram] *AP* 26.11, 26

[Eg] *s'3*  "board-plank of ship" (*Wb* IV, 43.1 OK-Gk);

bnr(bl)  "outside" (*Wb* I, 461.1ff. since Dyn18) Copt βολ (Černý p.22).

** PṬMWNȚ


--- **p(3)-ḥt-mni(.t)*  "The mooring post (port stake of mooring)"

[Aram] *ḥt* "wood, log" (*Wb* III, 389.10ff. s. bṣe, fṣf, aḡe); *mni.t*


"mooring post" (*Wb* II,72.12 cf. ^sMOONE, ΔMONI (Černý p.84).

Two things should be noted; (1) the equation between Eg *t* and Aram *ṭ* can be justified, because Aram *ṭ* is caught by a labial and a laryngeal (see [4] Notes on the Correspondences e) alveolars). (2)

The *t* of *ht* was eventually elided as shown in Copt forms (see above). However the *t* is not a fem. ending, so it can be retained.

Another Eg word *hd(r)*  "a part of boat" (?) (Jones, *Glossary*, p.183 no.129; Glanville, *ZAS* 68 p.35) might be comparable, though its meaning is obscure. The second part MWNY corresponds well to *mní.t* "mooring post" whose Copt form is MOONE.

* PLŠNY

--- *p(3)-(i)m(y)-(r-)šn* 

[Aram] *Saqq* 70.3 PLŠNY[

[Eg] *Wb* IV,496.13 cf. Copt ΛΔΨΔΝΕ (Černý p.75), Gk λεσώνις or λασάνι.

If this is a title, the equation is very good. Yet it is impossible to be sure from the context.

ṖŠHNS

--- *p(3)-sh-ns(w)* "The royal scribe"

[Aram] *Saqq* 52b.9 (the whole text is very uncertain)


[Eg] For *sh* "scribe" see *Wb* III,474.

According to Segal the word PSHNS is a place name because the word is affixed by a preposition Ḗ, and followed by QRT' "the city." However both elements are quite doubtful. Only the final element HNS "Khons" suggests that PSHNS, if reading is correct, is an Eg.

**** PSHMSNWTY**

--- *p(3)-sh-md(3.t)-nt(r)* "The scribe of the god's book(s)"

[Aram] *Saqq* 6.4

[Eg] cf. *sš md3.t ntr*  (Wb II,188.3) "the scribe of the god's book(s)"

The word, followed by PN ŠRNHYB, seems to be a title, as Segal points out. The first three letters fit Eg *p3-sh* "the scribe" (Copt *CA2* Wb III,474). The final NWTY can stand for Eg *ntr* "god". This leaves MS, with *md* as the simplest Eg equivalent, perhaps a residual form from *md(3.t)* "book(s)."

*** P'R'R**

--- *p(3)-'r'r*  → "prow" (?)

[Aram] *AP* 26.12 PHTMWN Y LP'R'R HD L'MN TRYN "the mooring post for P'R'R, one of 20 cubits"

[Eg] *Wb* I,210.5

It is suggested that the word 'r'r is a part of ship in *Wb* I,210.5: 'r'r "substantive (in Zusammenhang mit der Erneuerung der Götterbarken genannt)", because of the position of the mooring post, "prow" (Porten, *Text Book of Aram. Documents from Ancient Eg* I p.99) is a reasonable guess.

**** PR'H**

--- *pr-'(3)*  "Pharaoh"

[Aram] N. Aimé-Giron, *AE* 23 p.42 no.5, 8, 9); A. Dupont-Sommer, *Semitica* 1 p.44 (3x).

[Eg] *Wb* I,513 *pr-'3* "great house" [Copt] *np̄ro, poūro* [Gk] *φαραώ*

[Heb] PR'H [Akk] *pir'u*.

**** QB**

--- *kb(.y)* 𐤀𐤊𐤍𐤏 "a kind of jar (as a measure of capacity)"

[Aram] *AP* 45.8; ostracon: *Eph* III p.122; Cowley, *PSBA* 37 p.222;

ostracon: Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 26 p.29 (IIIA.2); ostracon: Dupont-

Sommer, *ASAE* 48 p.112A.2

[Eg] *Wb* V,25 (*kby* is used as a measure of beer) since MK. [Copt]

ⲕⲬⲬⲓ, ⲕⲬⲬⲓ (Černý p.52; Vycichl p.71) [Gk] *καβος* [Heb] see QB

(about 1.3 litre in Heb).

**** QLBY**

--- *qlby* "a kind of wine"

[Aram] *AP* 72.2, 3, 8, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19; in pl. *QLBYN AP* 72.3,

4, 5, 14

[Eg] Demot *qlby* (as *qlby kmy* a kind of Eg wine) (Erichsen p.546)

[Copt] cf. ⲉⲗⲙⲁⲓ, ⲉⲗⲙⲁ etc. "jar, vase" [Gk] *καλπη*.

**** QLWL**

--- *krr* 𐤀𐤊𐤍𐤏 "vessel"

[Aram] *AP* 72.3 𐤀𐤊𐤍𐤏, 5, 6 𐤀𐤊𐤍𐤏, 7, 9, 10 [QL]WL, 11 𐤀𐤊𐤍𐤏, 12 [QLW]L

[Eg] *Wb* V,135.8 [Copt] *κελωλ* "pitcher, jar" (Crum p.104)

Černý (p.56) suggests a Semitic origin quoting Arab قُلَّة

"earthenware pot, Aram QLL. However, the vowels of the Arab form

clearly differ from Copt *κελωλ*, which perfectly corresponds

to Aram QLWL. A little difficult is the correspondence between

Aram Q and Eg k (cf. PṬSBQ, for interchange of Eg k and *ḳ*, see W.

Ward, *JNES* 16 p.200f.).

QP'

--- *g(i)f* "ape"

[Aram] Ahikar 117

[Eg] see Heb QWP.

**** RSY**

--- rsy 𐤓𐤕𐤔 "southern"

Couroyer, *RB* 61 p.252; Kutscher, *JAOS* 74 p.237; Porten, *Aram Texts* p.62

[Aram] *BP* 10.3 DSY (corrected to RSY by Couroyer and Kutscher) HW TRY RSY "That is the southern side"

[Eg] *Wb* II,452; Erichsen p.254 [Copt] ϣHC (Crum p.299b, Černý p.193).

**** ŠWŠN "lily"**

--- sš(s)n "lily"

[Aram] Bresciani, *Aegyptus* 39 p.4 l.3 ŠWŠNN (pl.)

[Eg] see Heb Lw ŠWŠN, and Heb PN ŠŠN.

**** ŠYM**

--- šm(y.t) 𐤔𐤎𐤕𐤌𐤕 "pole"

[Aram] *AP* 26.10, 19

[Eg] *Wb* IV,467.11 [Copt] ϣMOY (Černý p.244; Vychl p.262).

**** ŠNT'**

--- šnd(y.t) 𐤔𐤎𐤕𐤌𐤕 "kilt, apron" + Aram '

Couroyer, *RB* 61 p.559

[Aram] *BP* 7.11

[Eg] *Wb* IV,522 [Copt] ϣNTW, ϣENTW (Černý p.247) [Demo] šnt (Erichsen p.516) [Gk] cf. σινδων

Kraeling (*BP* p.211) compared Baby. šintu, described in a word

list as *šipatu* "wool" (see *AHW* 123.9b). Yet Eg etymology (Couroyer) *šndy.t* is much more likely and the context supports it. The final *aleph* is either Aram determinative or a vowel letter for /o/.

** ŠP

--- š(s)p  "palm (= four fingers)"

[Aram] *BP* 17.3, 4, 5 ŠP 1 S 3 "1 palm, 3 s(eah)"

[Eg] *Wb* IV,535.3ff since OK [Copt] *ϣon* (Černý p.248).

** ŠŠ "alabaster"

--- šš "alabaster"

Ginsberg, *JAOS* 74 p.159; Kutcher, *JAOS* 74 p.236

[Aram] *BP* 7.18

[Eg] see Heb ŠYŠ.

** ŠŠ

--- šš "linen"

[Aram] Bresciani, *Aegyptus* 39 p.4 l.3

[Eg] see Heb Lw ŠŠ.

** THYT

--- t(3)-ḥ(3)t(y)  "the courtyard"

Couroyer *RB* 61 p.252; Kutscher, *JAOS* 74.237

[Aram] *BP* 6.13, 9.4, 13, 15


[Eg] *Wb* III,222.5 [Demot] *hy.t* (Erichsen p.377) [Copt] *ⲉⲗⲏⲧ*

(Cerny p.298 )

The context indicates that this is an Eg word: WPLG TRBS' HW PLG THYT MŠD(R!)YT "and half the court, that is the Eg THYT." Notice

Gardiner's suggestion *h3y.t* (AEO II p.210*) does not correspond to THYT phonetically.

**** TM'**

--- *dmí*  "precinct"

[Aram] BP 4.10 MW'H ŠMŠ LH TM' ZY HNWM 'LH' --- "East of it (temple) is the TM' of Khnum the god ---"

[Eg] Wb V,455 [Copt] ^s†ME, ^b†MI.

Erichsen and Polotsky (BP p.160), followed by Ginsberg (JAOS 74 p.154) connected it with Demot *tmí* "town" (Erichsen p.632, used as "*tmí* of god"). The meaning is not "town", rather than "precinct, quarter" (CDME p.313). B. Couroyer (RB 61 p.253) points out that the TMY/' stands for a construction, judging from the context, and puts forward a solution: feminine article *t3* + *m3y.t* (Wb II,12). Yet this Eg word is poorly attested, only once at the Saite period. The context shows that TM' is not necessarily a construction.

*** TMW'NTY**

--- *t(3)-mí(.t)-nt(r)* "the way of god"

[Aram] BP 9.9 'GR' ZY HNPN' ZY BNHW MŠRY' HW TMW'NTY "the wall of the HNPN', which the Egyptian built, that is TMW'NTY"

[Eg] Erichsen p.152.3; for *mí.t* see also Wb II,41.13-15

Couroyer explained TMW'NTY as *dmí-ntr* (RB 61 p.557f). But this cannot resolve the W of TMW'NTY, because the Copt form of *dmí* is ^s†ME, ^b†MI, pl *dmí.w* TME (Wb V,455).

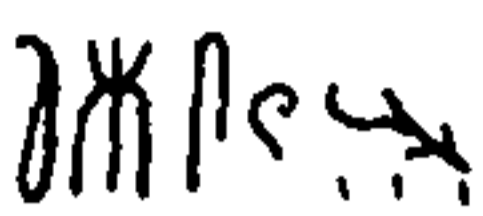
**** TMY**

--- Var. of TM'

[Aram] BP 3.8

[Eg] see TM' (it is evident from the context that TMY is a variant of TM').

**** TMYS**

--- *tms(w)*  "panelling of fore- and aft- lookouts"
"deck-planking (?)"

[Aram] *AP* 26.13, 20

[Eg] Jones, *Glossary* p.194 no. 181; Glanville, *ZÄS* 68, p.36.

**** TMNH'**

--- *t(3)-mnh(.t)*  "the excellent one"

[Aram] *CIS* II,141.1

[Eg] *Wb* II,86.18; Eg fem. article *t3 + mnh.t* "excellent." The final *aleph* is Aram determinative, rather than vowel sign.

**** TRY**

--- *t(3)-ri(.t)*  "the side"

Couroyer, *RB* 61 p.252; Kutscher, *JAOS* 74 p.235; Ginsberg, *JAOS* 74 p.158


[Aram] *BP* 4.3, 4.6, 9.4; 9.11, 10.3, 10.6, 12.13, 21.

[Eg] *Wb* II,400; Erichsen p.241 *ri.t* "side, room." Cf. Copt ρι (Černý, p.134, compared with *rryt* (*rwy.t*) "official room" *Wb* II,407,13-14; *ry.t* "room" *Wb* II,400.2 is another possible etymology of Copt ρι, see Vycichl p.171a).

The meaning "the side" is more suitable in the contexts in which the word TRY occurs.

[5] Month Names

** THWT

--- *dhwt(y)*  "the 1st month of 3 $\dot{h}t$ -season"




S I p.1110; L p.128

[Aram] *AP* 6.1, 10.1, 11.8, 25.1, 81.122; *BP* 11.1, 12.1, 10; Cowley, *PSBA* 25 p.205; *Saqq* 24.3, 5 THWT, 128.2; Teixidor, *Syria* 41 p.285.

[Eg] *Wb* V,606 [Copt] ⲑⲟⲟϣⲧ , ⲑⲟⲱⲟϣⲧ (Černý p.206, Crum p.462a)

[Gk] $\theta\omega\acute{\upsilon}\theta$ [Arab] توت .

** P'PY

--- *p(3)-(n-)ip(.t)*    "the 2nd month of 3 $\dot{h}t$ -season"


S I p.1110; L p.128

[Aram] *AP* 2.1, 7.1 P'PY, 37.15, 43.1 P'[PY], 72.1, 2

[Eg] *Wb* I,68.6 [Copt] ⲡⲔⲔⲡⲉ , ⲡⲟⲟⲡⲉ , ⲑⲡⲔⲟⲡⲓ (Černý p.126; Crum

p.266bf) [Gk] $\varphi\alpha\omega\varphi$ [Arab] بابه .

** HTHWR

--- *h.t-hr*  "the 3rd month of 3 $\dot{h}t$ -season"




S I p.1110; L p.128

[Aram] *AP* 8.1; *TAÉ* 5.1 HTHWR; *Saqq* 30a.1 HTHWR, 117b.1 HTH[

[Eg] *Wb* III,5.12 [Copt] ⲒⲔⲟⲱⲣ , ⲑⲔⲟⲱⲣ (Černý p.303, Crum 728a)

[Gk] Ἄθουρ , Ἀθῆρ [Arab] هاتور .

** KYHK

--- *k(3)-h(r)-k(3)*    "the 4th month of 3 $\dot{h}t$ -season"

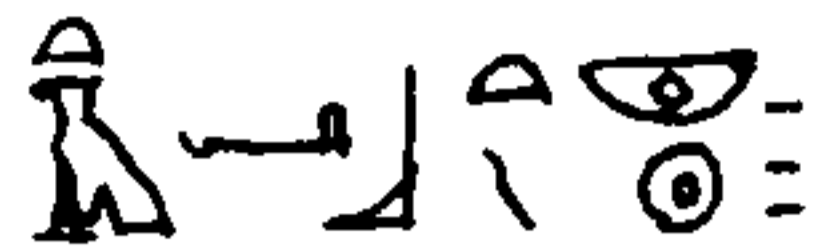
S I p.1110; L p.129

[Aram] *AP* 72.18 KYHK; *TAÉ* 10a.3 KŸHK, 7 K]YHK, 11 recto.3, 13

recto.5 KYHK, 14 verso.2 KY]HK; *BP* 10.1

[Eg] *Wb* V, 93.2 [Copt] ^aKOIAZK, ^bΧΟΙΑΖΚ, ΚΙΑΖΚ, ^bΧΟΙΑΚ [Gk] χοιάκ
[Arab] كيهك.

**** T'WBY**

--- *t(3)-'(3)b(.t)*  "the 1st month of *prt*-season"


[Aram] *AP* 42.14 T'WBY, 67 no.1, 68 no.11, 83.1 T'BY; *BP* 14.1 T'WBY;

TAÉ 12a.1 [T'W]BY; *Saqq* 22.3

[Eg] Černý p.181; cf. *Wb* I, 167.10 '3bt "offering" [Copt] ^aTWBE,

^bTWBI (Crum p.397b) [Gk] τῦβι [Arab] طربة

**** MHYR**

--- *mhyr*  "the 2nd month of *prt*-season"

S I p.1110; L p.129

[Aram] *AP* 24.34 [M]HYR, 35 M[HYR], 44 MHYR; votive stele: *RES*

438.3; *Saqq* 6.2 MHYR

[Eg] *Wb* II, 131, 14; Lesko I, 237 [Copt] ^aΜΨΥΡ, ΜΕΧΥΡ (Crum 206a;

Černý p.96) [Gk] Μεχειρ [Arab] امشير .


**** MHR**

--- Var. of MHYR

[Aram] Bauer-Meissner, *SBPA* 1936 p.415

[Eg] see MHYR.

**** PMNHTP**

--- *p(3)-(n-)(i)mn-htp*  "the 3rd month of *prt*-
season"


L p.129

[Aram] *AP* 22.1, 121, 35.1 [PMN]HTP, 50.3 [P]MNHTP; *BP* 1.1 PMN[H]TP,

5.1 PMNHTP

[Eg] *Wb* I,493; Černý p.128 [Copt] ^aΠΑΡΜΖΑΤΠ, ^bΦΑΜΕΝΩΘ (Crum 269a)
 [Gk] φαμενωθ [Arab] برمهاث.

**** PRMWTY**

--- *p(3)-(n-)rnnwt(.t)*  "the 4th month of *prt*-season"

L p.129

[Aram] *AP* 35.6 [⋅]PRMTY; *BP* 2.1, 6.1; *TAÉ* 87a.3 [⋅]PRM[TY]

[Eg] Černý p.128, *Wb* II,437 [Copt] ^aΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ, ^bΦΑΡΜΟΥΘΙ (Crum 269a) [Gk] φαρμοουθ [Arab] برمودة. Cf. Demo *rmwt.t* (Erichsen p.247), *rn.t*, *rnn.t* (Erichsen p.250).

Notice the change *nn* > **■** which is evident in the Copt, Gk, Demot, and Arab.

**** PHNS**

--- *p(3)-(n-)hns(.w)*  "the 1st month of *smw*-season"

S I p.1110; L p.129

[Aram] *AP* 5.1, 14.1, 29.5, 35.8 [P]HNS, 50.2 [P]HNS (? HTY?)

[Eg] *Wb* III,300.15 [Copt] ^aΠΑΨΟΝC, ^bΠΑΧΩΝ (Černý p.131, Crum p.279a) [Gk] παχων [Arab] بيشنس.

**** P'WNY**


--- *p(3)-(n-)in(.t)*  "the 2nd month of *smw*-season"

S I p.1110; L p.129

[Aram] *AP* 20.1 P'[WNY], 76.3 [P]'WNY; *BP* 3.1, 8.1

[Eg] Lesko I,172; Černý p.126; cf. *Wb* I,93 [Copt] ΠΑΩΝΕ, ΠΑΩΝΙ (Crum p.263) [Gk] Παῶνι [Arab] بوونج.

**** 'PP**

--- *ip(i)p*  "the 3rd month of *smw*-season"

S I p.1110; L p.129

[Aram] AP 1.1, 15.1, 63.15; BP 4.1, 7.1, 13.3 [']PP, 8; APO 67,2.13

[']P̄P̄; TAÉ 8 recto.1, 8 verso.1

[Eg] Wb I,69.4; Černý p.37 [Copt] ⲉⲡⲉⲡ, ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲫ, ⲉⲡⲏⲫ, ⲃⲉⲡⲏⲡ (Crum

p.57b) [Gk] Ἐπίφ, Ἐπίφαι [Arab] إيب .

**** MSWR'**

--- msw(.t)-r' 𐤎𐤍𐤅𐤌𐤏𐤃𐤏𐤃 "the 4th month of *msw*-season"

S I p.1110; L p.129

[Aram] AP 8.1, 9.1 [MSWR]', 13.1, 29.1, 63.16 M̄S̄W̄R̄'; BP 9.1

[Eg] Wb II,141.13 [Copt] ΜΕΣΟΡΗ (Černý p.91; Crum p.186b) [Gk] ΜΕΣΟΡΗ

[Arab] مسرى .

C. ANALYSIS OF PHONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCES

[1] Aram : Eg Phonetic Correspondences

Aram ' : Eg 3 (late 8th - ca. mid.4th c.BC)

PN='SYT'', 'SWRY, 'SRSWT, 'SRST, Pṭ'S, Pṭ'SY, PṭN'SY, PS';

DN='WSRYHPY, 'WSRY, 'SY, 'SRY; GN='BWD, 'BWT; Lw='HW

Aram ' : Eg í (late 6th - ca.375)

PN='WPTŠTW, 'HMS, ~~'WPTYS~~, 'MWRṬYS, 'MḤWT, 'P', 'PRY, ḤPY'W,

NḤMS'Ḥ, NPR'YT, P'Ḥ, PN', PṬHW', TM'; DN='BD'MN; GN='PY, N';

Lw='PP, P'WNY, P'PY, TM'

Aram ' : Eg lost r (5th - 4th c.BC)¹

PN=PH', ŠH', TH'

Aram ' : Eg lost n (515 - ca.400)²

PN='SHWR, 'SHNWM, 'SMN, 'SMT, 'SPMṬ, 'SMT

Aram ' : Eg ø (5th - early 4th c.BC)³

PN=THRQ', HRYWT'; Lw=TMNḤ', ŠNT'

¹This correspondence is restricted to Eg ḥr "face" whose r is lost. The final ' functions either as a syllable-closing *aleph* or as a *mater lectionis* indicating [o].

²This correspondence results from the loss of the initial n of ns: "nach dem abfall des n übrig bleibende s sich mit dem folgenden consonanten zu einer Doppel-konsonanz verbindet, vor der ein ' prostheticum trill" (Spiegelberg I, p.1096).

³The *aleph* in THRQ' and HRYWT' is possibly a *mater lectionis*. The *aleph* of TMNḤ' and ŠNT' is most likely to be the Aram determinative (see the later discussion [5] Matres Lectionis).

Aram B : Eg *b* (5th - early 3rd c.BC)

PN=BKRNP, ḤRBK, ḤRHBY, ḤRPBK, SNBNT, PBN, PṬSBQ, PŠWBSTY,
ŠRNHYB, TḤBS; GN='BWD, 'BWT, ṬBH, YB; Lw=QB, T'WBY, QLBY

Aram B : Eg *m* (late 5th c.BC)

DN=ḤNWB⁴

Aram B : Eg *p* (mid-2nd c.BC)

PN=PḤṬB

Aram D : Eg *d* (>/d/) (417 BC)

GN='BWD (from Abydos; cf. 'BWT)

Aram H : Eg *h* (late 6th - 5th c.BC)

PN=HRYW, HRYWT', ŠRNHYB, THRQ'; Lw=HN

Aram H : Eg *ø* (6th - beg. of 3th c.BC; PN from early 5th)

(1) *mater lectionis* final (see below [5] Matres lectionis)

(2) unknown: Lw=MNHH

Aram W : Eg *w* (515 - early 3rd c.BC)

PN='SWRY, 'SRŠWT, WḤPR', WḤPR'MḤY, WNPR, WRŠNP, ḤKRTYSW, ḤWNY,
ḤPY'W, ḤPYW, HRYWT', ḤRWN, ḤRWS, YḤWT, NKW, SMTW, PWMN, PWNŠ, PWSY,
PḤWN, PṬWSYTY, PṬWSRY, PṬTWRY, PṬ'WNYT, PWNPWR, PTW, PṬHW', PṬHR,
PTYRWT, PTMRW, ŠḤPYMW, ŠḤPMW, ŠMW, TWT, TḤWTM'W, TṬWSRY, TṬHRWR;
DN='WSRY, 'WSRYḤPY, WSRY, TḤWT; GN=SWN; Lw=MSWR', PRMWTY, TḤWT⁵

⁴ḤNWB, a variant of Ḥnwm (*hnm.w*), results from a dissimilation of /m/ after the long vowel [u]; cf. Gk *χvouμῖς*, *χvouβῖς* (Moscati, section 8.8 *m > b*).

⁵Some of them are *matres lectionis*, such as 'SRŠWT, NKW, SWN (see below [5] *Matres Lectionis*).

Aram W : Eg *b* (5th - early 4th c.BC)

PN=HRYW⁶

Aram W : Eg *m* (5th c.BC)

PN=PŠTWT, TWT (see below [4] Notes on Correspondences b) semi-vowels)

Aram W : Eg *ø* (5th - end of 4th c.BC)

(1) *matre lectionis* (see below [5] Matres Lectionis)

PN='WPTŠTW, 'MWRṬYS, 'MḤWT, 'ŠḤWR, ḤWR, ḤWRY, ḤRNWPY, YMḤWT, KNWPY, LYLW, NḤTHWR, NP'WRT, PḤWY, PḤNWM, PṬḤNWM, PṬMWN, PṬMYḤWS, PṬTWM, PMWN, PŠWBSTY, PŠNPMWY, PṬḤWNS, PṬḤNWPY, PTWM, TḤNWM, TNWPY, TRWḤ; DN=ḤNWB, ḤNWM; GN='BWD, 'BWT; Lw=ḤTHWR, P'WNY, PḤṬMWN, QLWL, T'WBY, PSHMSNWTY

(2) unknown

PN='WPTŠTW; Lw='ḤW

Aram Ḥ : Eg *h* (late 6th - mid-2nd c.BC)

PN='ḤMS, 'ḤRTYS, 'MḤWT, 'ŠḤWR, WḤPR', WḤPR'MḤY, ḤWNY, ḤWR, ḤWRY, ḤKRTYSW, ḤPY, ḤP'YW, ḤPYW, ḤPYMN, ḤPMN, ḤR, ḤRBK, ḤRWN, ḤRWŠ, ḤRHBY, ḤRHṬ, ḤRY, ḤRMḤY, ḤRMN, ḤRNWPY, ḤRPBK, YḤWT, YMḤWT, NḤMS'Ḥ, NḤTHWR, 'ḤḤPY, 'NḤḤPY, 'ŠḤR, P'Ḥ, PḤ', PḤWN, PḤṬB, PḤPY, PṬḤRPHṬ, PṬḤRTYS, PṬMYḤWS, PṬNPḤTP, PMSḤ, PSMŠKḤSY, PQRQPṬḤ, PRNḤM, PŠNPṬḤ, PṬḤWR, PṬḤNWPY, PT'NḤ, ŠḤ', ŠḤPYMW, ŠḤPMW, TḤ', TḤWTM'W, TḤPY, TṬḤRP', TṬḤRWR; DN='WSRYḤPY, ḤNMNTN, ḤR, ḤRZBD, PṬḤ, ŠMḤR, TḤWT; Lw=ḤSY, ḤSTMḤ, ḤTHWR, ḤTPY, KYḤK, MḤYR, PMNḤTP, TḤWT

Aram Ḥ : Eg *h* (8th - 4th c.BC)

PN=WḤPR'MḤY, ḤRHBY, ḤRMḤY, MḤPR', MNḤMN, NḤTHWR, 'ḤḤPY, 'NḤḤPY, 'NḤPM'Y, PḤWY, PḤYM, PḤMR', PSHMY, PṬḤWNS, TḤBS, TḤPRY, TRWḤ;

⁶Assimilation of *b* to the previous vowel [*u*] (see below [4] Notes on the Correspondences, b) Semivowels.)

Lw='HW, HSTMH, HTM, MNHH, PHTMWN, PHNS, THYT, TMHH'

Aram H : Eg h (late 6th - 5th c.BC)

PN='SHNWM, HNM, PHNWM, PHNM, PTHNWM, PTHNM, PTHRPHRT, PTHNWM,
THNWM, THRT; DN=HNWB, HMWM, HNMNTN; Lw=PSHMŠNWTY

Aram T : Eg d (late 8th - 4th c.BC)

PN='HRTYS, 'MWRYS, 'SPMT, HKRTYSW, TSTY, YHWT, PT'S, PT'SY,
PTWSYRY, PTWSRY, PTHNWM, PTHNM, PTHNMW, PTHRYS, PTHRPHRT, PTY,
PTYSY, PTMYHWS, PTMWN, PTMN, PTN'SY, PTNPHTP, PTNTR, PTSBQ, PTSY,
PTSRY, PTTWM, PTTWRY, PMT, TTWSRY, TTHRWR, TTHRP', TTSRY

Aram T : Eg d (>/d/) (late 6th - beg. of 3rd c. BC)

PN=HRYWT', TRT; GN='BWT, TBH; Lw=PHTMWN

Aram T : Eg t (471 - 460 BC)

PN=PPT'WNYT

Aram Y : Eg f (late 6th - 4th)

PN='HRTYS, 'MWRYS, HWNY, HRYW, HKRTYSW, HRHBY, TSTY, YHWT, YMHWT,
PTWSYRY, PTHRYS, PTY, PTSY, PŠNPMWY; DN=STY; Lw=PHTMWN, TMY,
TRY⁷

Aram Y : Eg y (late 6th - 4th c.BC)

PN=HWRY, HPY, HRY, PHWY, PPT'WNYT, PSMŠKHSY, ŠPNYT, THPRY, TNYT;
Lw=HSY, MHYR, RSY, QLBY

It is most likely the Y is a vowel letter (see [5] *Matres
Lectionis*).

Aram Y : Eg lost fem. t (late 6th - ca.375)

PN='SWRY, 'SYT'', WHPR'MHY, HRMHY, 'NHPM'Y, NPSY, PT'SY, PTWSRY,
PTYSY, PTN'SY, PTSY, PTTWRY, PSHMY, PŠWBSTY, PTM'Y, RNPNPY, TTSRY;

⁷The Y functions as a vowel letter (only YMHWT suggests the possibility of Y being a consonant).

DN='SY; GN='PY; Lw=ḤTPY, P'WNY, P'PY, PRMWTY, T'WBY

The Y is a reflection of Eg fem. ending -t, which became [i].

Therefore the Y is a *mater lectionis*.

Aram Y : Eg lost r (late 6th - 399)⁸

PN='PRY, ḤRNWPY, KNWPY, PWSY, PTNTY, PṬḤNWPY, TNWPY; GN=MNPY, MPY;

Lw=PSḤMṢNWTY

Aram Y : Eg 3 (5th c.BC)

PN=PTYRWT; GN=YB⁹

Aram Y : Eg ø

(1) *mater lectionis* (see also Y:í, Y:y, Y:lost fem. t, Y:lost r)

PN=ḤPY'W, ḤPYW, ḤPYMN, LYLW, 'ḤḤPY, 'NḤḤPY, NRP'YT, PḤYM PḤPY,

PṬWSYRY, PṬWSRY, PṬSRY, PMSY, PSMSNYT, PSRY, PTYRWT, ŠRNHYB,

TḤPY, TṬWSRY, TMYN, ŠḤPYMW; DN='WSRY, 'WSRYḤPY, 'SRY, WSRY;

Lw=KYḤK, ŠYM, TḤYT, TMYS

(2) Gentilic

PN=KŠY

Aram K : Eg k (6th - mid 4th c.BC)

PN=BKRNP, ḤKRTYSW, ḤRBK, ḤRPBK, KNWPY, KŠY, NKW, PSMŠK, PSMŠKMR;

Lw=KYḤK

Aram L : Eg l (5th - 375 BC)

PN=LYLW; Lw=QLBY

Aram L : Eg r (ca. 375)

⁸The Y represents Eg final r, which changed into [i]. Therefore, the Y is a *mater lectionis*.

⁹As a result of Eg change 3 > y : ṭ3w > (Copt ṣTHY) > Aram TY; 3bw > Demot yb > (Copt IHḥ , Gk 'lḡβ) > Aram YB.

Aram M : Eg *m* (6th - 4th c.BC)

PN='ḤMS, 'MWRṬYS, 'MḤWT, 'ŠḤNWM, 'SMN, 'SMT, 'SPMṬ, 'SPMT,
WḤPR'MḤY, ḤNM, ḤPYMN, ḤPMN, ḤRMḤY, ḤRMN, YMḤWT, MḤPR', MNḤMN,
NḤMS'Ḥ, SMTW, 'NḤPM'Y, PQMN, PḤYM, PḤNWM, PḤNM, PṬḤNWM, PṬḤNM,
PṬMYḤWS, PṬMN, PṬMWN, PṬTWM, PMWN, PMṬ, PMN, PMSY, PMSḤ, PMT, PNPTM,
PSḤMY, PSMSNYT, PSMŠK, PSMŠKMR, PSMŠKḤSY, PRNḤM, PŠNPMWY, PTWM,
PTM'Y, PTMRW, RḤMR', ŠḤPYMW, ŠḤPMW, ŠMW, TḤWTM'W, TḤNWM, TM', TMYN,
TMY, TPḤNWM, TPMT; DN='BD'MN, ḤNWM, ḤNMNTN; GN=MNPY, MPY;
Lw=ḤSTMḤ, ḤTM, MḤYR, MNḤḤ, MSWR', PḤṬMWNY, PMNḤTP, PSḤMŠNWTY, ŠYM,
TM', TMY, TMYS, TMNḤ'

Aram M : Eg *n* (2nd half of 5th c.BC)

Lw=PRMWTY¹⁰

Aram N : Eg *n* (6th - 4th c.BC)

PN='ŠḤNWM, 'SMN, BKRNP, WNPR, WRŠNP, ḤWNY, ḤNM, ḤPYMN, ḤPMN, ḤRWN,
ḤRMN, ḤRNPR, KNWPY, MNḤMN, NḤMS'Ḥ, NḤTḤWR, NKW, NPSY, NP'WRT,
NPR'YT, SNBNT, SŠN, 'NḤḤPY, 'NḤPM'Y, PBN, PWMN, PWNS, PḤWN, PḤNWM,
PḤNM, PṬḤNWM, PṬḤNM, PṬMWN, PṬMN, PṬN'SY, PṬNPḤTP, PṬNTY, PṬNTR,
PMWN, PMN, PN', PNPTM, PSMNYT, PPT'WNYT, PRNḤM, PŠNPWR, PŠNPMWY,
PŠNPṬH, PṬḤWNS, PṬḤNWPY, PT'NḤ, RNPNPY, ŠPNYT, ŠRNHYB, TḤNWM,
TMYN, TNWPY, TNYT; DN='BD'MN, ḤNWB, ḤNWM, ḤNMNTN; GN=MNPY, N',
SWN; Lw=HN, MNḤḤ, P'WNY, PḤṬMWNY, PḤNS, PMNḤTP, PSḤMŠNWTY, ŠNT',
TMNḤ'

Aram S : Eg *s* (late 8th - middle 4th c.BC)

PN='ḤMS, 'ḤRTYS, 'MWRṬYS, 'SWRY, 'ŠḤWR, 'ŠḤNWM, 'SYT'', 'SMT,

¹⁰The change *nn* > *m* took place in Eg, being demonstrated in Copt
ΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ, Gk φαρμούθ. The change occurs in Demot *rn(n).t* >
rmw.t "the harvest goddess" (Erichsen p.250, 247).

'SPMṬ, 'SPMT, 'SRŠṬ, 'SRŠWT, ḤKRṬYSW, ṬSTY, NḤMS'Ḥ, NPSY, SMTW, SNBNT, SŠN, PWSY, PṬ'S, PṬ'SY, PṬWSYRY, PṬWSRY, PṬḤRTYS, PṬYSY, PṬMYḤWS, PṬN'SY, PṬSBQ, PṬSY, PṬSRY, PMSY, PMSḤ, PS', PSMḤY, PSMSNYT, PSMŠK, PSMŠKḤSY, PSMŠKMR, PSRY, PŠWBSTY, PṬḤWNS, ṬḤBS, ṬṬWSRY, ṬṬSRY; DN='WSRY, 'WSRYḤPY, 'SY, 'SRY, WSRY, STY; GN=SWN; Lw=ḤSY, ḤSTMḤ, MSWR', PḤNS, RSY, TMYS, PŠMŠNWTY

Arm ' : Eg ' (6th - 4th c.BC)

PN='SYT'', 'P', WḤPR', WḤPR'MḤY, MḤPR', NP'WRT, 'ḤḤPY, 'NḤḤPY, 'NḤPM'Y, PTM'Y, 'ŠḤR, PPT'WNYT, PT'NḤ, RḤMR', ṬḤWTM'W, ṬṬḤRP'; Lw=MSWR', PR'H, T'WBY

Aram P : Eg p (late 8th - mid-2nd c.BC)

PN='WPTŠṬW, 'SPMṬ, 'SPMT, ḤPY, ḤPY'W, ḤPYW, ḤPYMN, ḤPMN, ḤRPBK, MḤPR', 'ḤḤPY, 'NḤḤPY, 'NḤPM'Y, P'Ḥ, PBN, PWMN, PWNŠ, PWSY, PḤ', PḤH, PḤWY, PḤWN, PḤṬB, PḤYM, PḤNWM, PḤNM, PḤPY, PṬ'S, PṬ'SY, PṬWSYRY, PṬWSRY, PṬḤNWM, PṬḤNM, PṬḤRTYS, PṬḤRPḤRT, PṬY, PṬYSY, PṬMYḤWS, PṬMWN, PṬMN, PṬN'SY, PṬNPḤTP, PṬNTY, PṬNTR, PṬSBQ, PṬSY, PṬSRY, PṬTWM, PṬTWRY, PMWN, PMṬ, PMN, PMSY, PMSḤ, PMT, PN', PNPTM, PS', PSMḤY, PSMSNYT, PSMŠK, PSMŠKḤSY, PSMŠKMR, PSRY, PPT'WNYT, PQRQPTH, PRNHM, PŠWBSTY, PŠNPWR, PŠNPMWY, PŠNPTH, PŠTWT, PTW, PTWM, PṬḤW', PṬḤWNS, PṬḤWPY, PṬḤWR, PṬḤNWPY, PṬYRWT, PT'NḤ, PTMWN, PTM'Y, PTMRW, RNPNPRT, ŠḤPYMW, ŠḤPMW, ŠPNYT, ṬḤPY, ṬḤPRY, ṬṬḤRP', ṬPḤNWM, ṬPMT, ṬTP; DN='WSRYḤPY, PṬḤ; GN='PY; Lw='PP, ḤTPY, P'WNY, P'PY, PḤTMWNY, PḤNS, PMNḤTP, PRMWTY, PR'H, ŠP, PŠMŠNWTY

Aram P : Eg f (late 6th - 4th c.BC)

PN='P', 'PRY, BKRNP, WNPR, WRŠNP, ḤRMWPY, KNWPY, NPSY, NP'WRT, NPR'YT, PṬNPḤTP, PNPTM, PPT'WNYT, PṬḤNWPY, RNPNPY, TNWPY; GN=MNPY, MPY

Aram P : Eg *b* (late 6th - 5th c.BC)

PN=WḤPR', WḤPR'MḤY

Aram Ṣ : Eg *d* (late 6th - early 4th c.BC)

PN=ḤRWSṢ, ṢḤ'; Lw=PṢHMSṢNWTY

Aram Q : Eg *k* (5th - beg. of 3rd c.BC)

PN=THRQ'; Lw=QB, QLBY

Aram Q : Eg *k* (late 5th - early 4th c.BC)

PN=PTṢBQ; Lw=QLWL

Aram Q : Eg *g* (> /k/) (late 5th c.BC)

PN=PQRQPTH

Aram R : Eg *r* (6th - 5th c.BC)

PN='ḤRTYS, 'MWRṢYS, 'SWRY, 'SHWR, 'SRṢWT, 'PRY, BKRNP, HRYW, HRYWT', WḤPR', WḤPR'MḤY, WNPR, WRṢNP, ḤWR, ḤWRY, ḤKRTYS, ḤR, ḤRBK, ḤRWN, ḤRWSṢ, ḤRHBY, ḤRHṢT, ḤRY, ḤRMḤY, ḤRMN, ḤRNWPY, ḤRPBK, MḤPR', NḤTHWR, NP'WRT, NPR'YT, 'ṢḤR, PTṢSYRY, PTṢSRY, PTṢRY, PTḤRTYS, PTḤRPHRT, PTNTR, PTṢWRY, PSMṢKMR, PSRY, PQRQPTH, PRNḤM, PṢNPWR, PTHWR, PTYRWT, PTMRW, RHMR', RNPNPY, ṢRNHYB, THRQ', THPRY, THRT, TTṢSRY, TTḤRWR, TTḤRP', TTṢRY, TRWH, TRṢ; DN='WSRY, 'WSRYḤPY, 'SRY, WSRY, ḤR, ḤRZBD, ṢMḤR; Lw=ḤTHWR, MḤYR, MSWR', PR'H, PRMWTY, RSY, TRY

Aram Ṣ : Eg *š* (late 6th - 4th c.BC)

PN='WPTṢTW, 'SRṢWT, 'SRṢT, WRṢNP, KṢY, ṢṢN, 'ṢḤR, PWNṢ, PṢWBSTY, PṢNPWR, PṢNPMWY, PṢNPTH, PṢTWT, ṢPNYT, ṢRNHYB; Lw=ṢYM, ṢNT', ṢP, ṢṢ

Aram Š : Eg s > /š/ (420 BC)

Lw=ŠŠ

Aram Š : Eg t (6th - 5th c.BC)

PN=PSMŠK, PSMŠKHSY, PSMŠKMR, ŠHPYMW, ŠMW

Aram T : Eg t (late 6th - early 3rd c.BC)

PN='WPTŠTW, 'MHWT, 'SMT, 'SPMT, 'SRŠWT, 'SRŠT, HRHT, YMHWT, NHTHW, NR'YT, SNBNT, PTPNHTP, PTTWRY, PTTWM, PNPTM, PMT, PSMSNYT, PPT'WNYT, PQRQPTH, PŠWBSTY, PŠNPTH, PŠTWT, PTW, PTWM, PTHW', PTHWNS, PTHWR, PTHNWPY, PTM'Y, PTMRW, PT'NH, ŠPNYT, THRQ', TWT, TH', THBS, THNWM, THPY, THPRY, THRT, TTWSRY, TTHR', TT'SRY, THHRWR, TM', TMYN, TMT, TNWPY, TNYT, TPHNWM, TPMT, TRWH, TRT, TTP;
DN=PTH, THWT; Lw=HTMH, HTHWR, HTM, HTPY, PMNHTP, PSHMŠNWTY, PRMWTY, THWT, THYT, TMYS, T'WBY, TRY

Aram T : Eg t (> /t/) (449 - ca.400)

PN=TTSTY, PTNTY, PTNTR, PTYRWT; DN=STY

Aram T : Eg d (> /t/) (late 6th - 399)

PN='WPTŠTW, 'SPMT, NP'WRT, THRT; Lw=TM', TMY

Aram T : Eg d (> /d/ > /t/) (5th c.BC)

PN=PTYRWT, THWTM'W; DN=THWT; Lw=THWT

[2] Eg : Aram Phonological Correspondences

Eg 3 : Aram ' (late 8th - ca.mid-4th c.BC)

: Aram Y (5th c.BC)

: Aram ø (passim)

Eg i : Aram ' (late 6th - ca.375 BC)

Eg *i* : Aram Y (late 6th - 4th c.BC)

: Aram ø (late 6th - beg. of 4th c.BC)

(1) Fall of Eg *i* ;

PN='HRTYS, 'MVRTYS, WHPR'MHY, HKRTYSW, HPYW, HRBK, HRPBK,
TSTY, KNWPY, KŠY, NPR'YT, PWMN, PT'S, PT'SY, PTWSYRY,
PTWSRY, PTHNWM, PTHNM, PTHRPHRT, PTHRYS, PTMWN, PTMYHWS,
PTMN, PTNPHTP, PTN'SY, PTNTY, PTNTR, PTSBK, PTSY, PTSRY,
PT'NH, PTTWM, PTTWRY, PMWN, PSRY, PRNHM, PŠWBSTY, PŠNPWR,
PŠNPMWY, PŠTWT, PTWM, RHMR', ŠMW, ŠRNHYB, TTWSR, TTHRWR;
DN='WSRY, 'WSRYHPY, 'SRY, WSRY; Lw='PP, HSTMH, PMNHTP

(2) Eg prothetic *aleph*

PN=KŠY

Eg *y* : Aram Y (late 6th - 4th c.BC)

: Aram ø (8th - 4th c.BC)

PN='SRŠWT, 'SRŠT, SMTW, PPT'WNYT, PTW, ŠHPYMW, ŠHPYMW, ŠHPMW,
ŠMW; DN=THWT; GN='BWT, MNPY, N', SWN; Lw='HW, HSTMH, QB,
ŠYM, ŠNT', THYT, THWT

Eg ' : Aram ' (late 6th - ca.300)

: Aram ø (5th c.BC)

PN='HMS, 'HRTYS¹¹

Eg *w* : Aram W (515 - early 3rd c.BC)

: Aram ø (passim)

PN='HRTYS, 'MVRTYS, 'SHWR, 'SMT, 'SPMT, 'SRY, 'SRŠT, 'P',
WNPR, PTSRY, PMT, PN', PS', PSRY, PPT'WNYT, PŠTWT, ŠRNHYB,
TTSRY, TM', TMYN, TRT etc.; DN='WSRY, HNWM etc.; GN='BWT

¹¹The 'ayn of *i*'h has been lost (see Ph 'HMS).

etc.; Lw=HN, ḤSTMḤ etc.¹²

Eg *b* : Aram B (5th - mid 4th c.BC)
: Aram P (late 6th - 5th c.BC)
: Aram W (5th - early 4th c.BC)

Eg *p* : Aram P (late 8th - mid-2nd c.BC)
: Aram B (mid-2nd c.BC) PN=PḤṬB
: Aram ∅ (5th c.BC)¹³
PN='MḤWT, ḤRḤT, YMḤWT

Eg *f* : Aram P (late 7th - 4th c.BC)

Eg *m* : Aram M (6th - 4th c.BC)
: Aram B (late 5th c.BC)
: Aram ∅ (471 - 460 BC)
PN=ḤRHBY, PḤṬ'WNYT; Lw=PTHW'¹⁴

Eg *n* : Aram N (6th - 4th c.BC)
: Aram ' (515 - ca.400 BC)
: Aram ∅

¹²The Eg *w*, mostly at the final position, was reduced to a vowel, already in NK. The loss of Eg *w* occurs in the following cases; (1) proper names (e.g., Ḥr.w, mw.t, nīw.t, 3bdw); (2) words (e.g., mdw, iw, t3w); (3) pronominal suffix *sw*, *sw.t* > Aram S, however, sometimes SW); (4) Eg old perfective ending (e.g., nfr.w: the ending is sometimes realized as W, 'SRŠWT; cf.'SRŠT).

¹³The example is restricted to Eg ḥtp > ḥt in Aram ḤT or ḤWT, see Ph YMḤT, Aram 'MḤWT, YMḤWT.

¹⁴Here the Eg preposition *m* has been lost.

(1) Assimilation of Eg genitive *n* or *n.t* (psssim)¹⁵

PN=BKRNP, 'NH₁PM'Y, P'Ḥ, PBN, PWSY, PH', etc.

Lw=P'PY, PHNS, PMNḤTP

(2) Other assimilation in Eg

PN='MWRṬYS (*imn-ir-di-sw*), WNPR (*wnn-nfr*);

GN=MNPY (*mn-nfr*)

(3) Assimilation in Aram

PN='ḤḤPY, MḤPR' (see below [7] N-Assimilation)

GN=MPY

Eg *r* : Aram R (late 6th - 4th c.BC)

: Aram Y (late 6th - 399 BC)

: Aram ' (5th - 4th c.BC)

: Aram ø (5th - end of 4th c.BC)

(1) The Eg final *r*, which is usually represented by Aram Y;

PN=WRŠNP, NPSY, PṬNPḤTP, PNPTM

(2) The Eg final *r*, which is usually represented by Aram ',

restricted to *ḥr* Ḷ .

Lw=KYḤK (*k3-ḥr-k3*)

(3) Eg word *šrī* > Š

PN=PŠNPWR, PŠNPMWY, PŠTWT

Eg *l* : Aram L (5th - 375 BC)

Eg *h* : Aram H (late 6th - early 4th c.BC)

¹⁵The *n* rarely remains before a bilabial P, e.g., PŠNPWR, PŠNPMWY, PŠNPTH.

Eg *h* : Aram Ḥ (late 6th - mid-2nd c.BC)

Eg *ḥ* : Aram Ḥ (515 - 4th c.BC)

Eg *h* : Aram Ḥ (late 6th - 5th c.BC)

Eg *s* : Aram S (late 8th - mid-4th c.BC)

Eg *s* > /š/ : Aram Š (420 BC)

Eg *š* : Aram Š (late 6th - 4th c.BC)

Eg *k* : Aram Q (5th - beg. of 3rd c.BC)

Eg *k* : Aram K (6th - mid-4th c.BC)

: Aram Q (late 5th - ca.375)

Eg *g* : Aram Q (late 5th c.BC)

Eg *t* : Aram T (late 6th - early 3rd c.BC)

: Aram Ṭ (late 6th - mid-2nd c.BC)

: Aram Y (late 6th - ca.375)

: Aram ø (passim)¹⁶

Eg *t* : Aram T (5th - 4th c.BC)

: Aram Ṭ (471 BC)

: Aram Š (6th - early 4th c.BC)

¹⁶Because Eg fem. ending *t* has been lost.

Eg *d* : Aram Ṭ (late 8th - 4th c.BC)

: Aram T (525-399 BC)

: Aram ø (5th - ca.375BC)¹⁷

Eg *d* : Aram Ṣ (late 6th - ca.375)

: Aram T (5th c.BC)

: Aram Ṭ (late 6th - beg. of 3rd c.BC)

: Aram D (417 BC)

¹⁷Note the change *d* > *t* > ø (*dd* > *d* : Ṣ)

[3] Table of Correspondences

* Aram in capitals; Eg in lower case

	Aram	primary			Secondary			Eg	primary		Secondary	
glottal	'	ʒ	i	r ¹	n ²	ø ³	ʒ	'	Y	ø		
							i	'	Y	ø		
stops	'	'					'	'		ø		
semi-vowels	Y	y	i	t ⁴	r ⁵	ʒ ⁶	ø	y	Y		ø	
	W	w	m	b	ø			w	W			
labials	B	b		m ⁶	p ¹³			b	B		P W	
	P	p	f	b ⁶				p	P		B ø	
								f	P			
nasals	M	m		n(n)				m	M	W	B ø	
	N	n						n				
latrals	L	l	r									
trill	R	r					r	R		Y ¹	ø	
sibilants	S	s						s	S		š	
	š	š	t	s				š	š			
	ṣ	ḍ										
pharyn. & laryn.	H	h						h	H			
	Ḥ	ḥ						ḥ	Ḥ			
								ḥ	Ḥ			
								ḥ	Ḥ			
velars	Q	ḳ	k	g ⁶				ḳ	Q			
	K	k						k	K	Q		
	G	-						g			Q	
alveolars	T	t		t ⁷	d ⁸	ḏ ⁹		t	T		Ṭ ¹¹ Y ø	
	D	-		ḏ ¹⁰				t	š		T ⁷ Ṭ ¹¹	
								d	Ṭ		T ⁸	
	Ṭ	d		t ¹¹	t ¹¹	ḏ ¹²		d	ṣ		Ṭ ¹² T ⁹ D ¹⁰	

Notes ¹ In the case of *hr* "face".

² In the case of *ns*.

³ *Mater lectionis*, Aram determinative or a syllable closing aleph.

⁴ Eg fem. ending *t*.

⁵ Eg final *r* > [i].

⁶ The secondary change.

⁷ When *ṭ* is caught between a labial and a laryngal.

⁸ When Eg *d* is located at the initial or final position.

⁹ When Eg *d* which became /d/ comes at the initial or final position.

¹⁰ Dialectal in Abydos.

¹¹ When *ṭ* is caught between a bilabial and a laryngal.

¹² When Eg *d* became /d/.

¹³ Once at the final position

[4] Notes on the Correspondences

a) Glottal Stops

No Eg 3 is represented by Aram ' except in DNs Isis and Osiris, and GN 'BWT "Abydos". The survival of Eg 3 in the medial position can only be observed in the PNs composed of Isis, e.g., Pṭ'SY, PṭN'SY etc. The Gk forms of Pṭ'SY indicate that there were two different readings of the name; Πετρεῆσις (Pṭ'SY) with the *aleph* and Πετῆσις (PṭYSY) with elision of the *aleph*.

Eg 3 well corresponds to Aram ' in the initial position: 'SY, 'WSRY, 'BWT. Osiris is rendered as 'SRY, 'WSRY, 'WSY[RY], (once WSR)

preceded by a preposition L), and 'SR in DN ('SRWNPR, 'SRTYS). Though the *aleph* of 'SRY is elided in the medial position (such as P̄TSRY), it seems that the *aleph* of 'SRY is still functioning at least at the initial position, as a consonant of which the Eg counterpart has been long dismissed. Osiris should be transliterated as 3s-ír (see the discussion in Ph).

The correspondence between Eg 3 and Aram ' in the final position is suggested by two PNs 'SYT'' (*3s.t-t3-'3.t) and PS' (p3-n-s3w). However the possibility that they are *matres lectionis* is more likely.

For the correspondence between Eg 3 and Aram Y, see above [1] Aram : Eg Correspondences.

Eg í is realized in Aram as (1) *aleph* (2) *yodh*, and (3) *aleph* + a vowel letter. The nature of the double pronunciations of the Eg í is revealed as follows;

- (1) Eg í : Aram ' or Y, e.g., í(i)-m-ḥt(p) --- 'MHWT, YMHWT (cf. Ph YMHT)
- (2) Eg í : Aram ' or Y, e.g., dmi --- TMY, TM'
- (3) Eg í : Aram 'W, e.g., íp.t-t3-šd.t --- 'WPTŠTW
- (4) Eg í : Aram 'Y, e.g., nfr.t-í(i).tí --- NPR'YT
- (5) Eg í : Aram 'W, e.g., p3-n -ín.t --- P'WNY

As shown above, the pronunciation of Eg í is either ['i] or ['o/u].

The majority of Eg í have no correspondence, because Eg í was reduced to a vowel which is represented by either Y or ø in Aram.

However the *aleph*-pronunciation of Eg í is well preserved in any position. The correspondence between Eg í and Aram ' is more normal than that between Eg 3 : Aram ' which is restricted to Isis, Osiris and Abydos.

E.g., at the initial: 'HMS, 'P' etc.

at the medial: HPY'W, NHMS'H etc.

at the final: TM', PN'

Eg *í* at the beginning of words is commonly preserved as a consonantal *aleph*, e.g., *í*p,t > 'W, *í*'h > 'H, *í*mn > 'MW, 'MN (cf. MWN), *í*í > ' (also Y) (however, *í*b > YW, *í*tm > TWM, *í*r > R, *í*m > M, *í*m3hw > MH, *í*p > P).

At the middle position the *í* is either preserved or elided, e.g., *ní*w.t > N', *mí*w > M' (however, *bík* > BK).

At the end Eg *í* is realized as either Y (*mater lectionis*) or \emptyset , e.g., *dí* > T or TY, *bí*.t > BY, *m3í* > MWY, *šrí* > Š etc.

As for the final *aleph*, there are certain difficulties, see below
[5] Matres Lectionis.

b) Semi-Vowels

Eg *y* and *w* correspond to Aram Y and W respectively. It is difficult to say that Eg *y* and Aram Y correspond to each other as a consonant, because this correspondence is restricted to the final position, except DN NYT (which is realized as NT) and Lw MHYT (which occurs as MHR). While there are many examples where Aram W represents a consonantal value of Eg *w*;

E.g., At the initial: WHPR', WNPR, WRŠNP, etc.

At the medial: 'SWRY, HRWŠ, PWNŠ, etc.

At the final: HNMW, SMTW, PTW, etc.

Aram W also stands for Eg *m* and *b* (for this *b*, see HRYW). The correspondence between Aram W and Eg *m*, occurring twice in Elephantine and Saqqara, is restricted to intervocalic *m* of Eg DN *mw.t* (TWT, PŠTWT -t3-n.t-mw.t). That is to say either that Eg intervocalic *m* is the allophone of Aram W or that Eg *m* assimilated into the following /ū/ vowel; cf. the Gk forms: Ταμούθης, Ταμούθις, Ταμούτις etc.

c) Laryngals and Pharyngals (Eg *hs*)

In contrast to the varied correspondences in Ph, it is striking that Eg three hard *hs* are represented by Ḥ in Aram without exception (see below [6] Spirantization)

d) Velars

Among velars the correspondences seem to be inconsistent. The real problem is that Aram Q represents three E velars: *ḳ*, *k*, *g*. The correspondence between Eg *ḳ* and Aram Q is naturally supported. Yet Eg *g* also corresponds to Aram Q in PQRQPTH (*p3-n-grg-ptḥ*). Eg *g* was usually prepalatalized¹⁸. Yet there are some Eg *g*, which remain as velar without being prepalatalized, so being realized as Copt K (e.g., *g3g3 :KAK ; g3š :KAY* etc.)¹⁹. The fact that Eg *grg* took the same course of phonetic change is demonstrated in the Gk form Πακερκεησις (**p3-n-grg-3s.t*) and the Copt form Κερκεκοϋχος (*grg.t-sbk*; Gk Κερκεσουχος). Therefore, it is not surprising that there is no correspondence with Aram G.

The majority of Eg *k* is represented by Aram K. However there are two cases in which Eg *k* is represented by Aram Q: PṬSBQ and QLWL. Eg *k* can be rarely represented by Aram Q at the final and initial position.²⁰

¹⁸Vergote, *Phonétique*, p.40; W.H. Worrell, p.27f.

¹⁹*Ibid*, p.41.

²⁰For interchange of Eg *k* and *ḳ*, see W. Ward, *JNES*, 16(1957), p.200f.

e) Alveolars

Eg *t* corresponds to Aram T. When it is the fem ending, the *t* is realized either as Y (as a vowel letter) or ø. There are four instances in which Eg *t* corresponds to Aram Ṭ instead of T;

e.g., 'ḤṬP (*ii-ḥtp*) PḤṬB (*p3-ḥtp*)
PḤṬMWNȚ (*p3-ḥt-mni.t*) PṬḤRṬYS (*ptḥ-ir-di-sw*)

Characteristically, the Ṭs are caught between a labial and a laryngal(H). Therefore, the secondary change in Aram T > Ṭ has taken place in this particular phonetic condition. The variation of MPTḤ and MPTḤ should be remembered here, whatever the identification is. This change is an Aram feature.

Eg *t* is realized as Aram T, Ṭ and Š. Eg *t* corresponds to Aram T, because many Eg *ts* became /t/ in the course of phonetic history. However, there is an exception in which Eg *t* > *t* is represented by Aram Ṭ, e.i., PṬṬ'WNYT. Again the /t/ is caught between a labial and a laryngal (') and became /ṭ/. Therefore, we can suppose the secondary change Aram T > Ṭ. The primary correspondence of Eg *t* (as

/t/, not /t/) is, therefore, Aram Š²¹.

Eg *d* corresponds mostly to Aram Ṭ and rarely to Aram T. The fact that Eg *d* usually does not correspond to Aram T exhibits the existence of a phonetic difference between Eg *d* and *t*, though they are not distinguishable in Copt (both became T²². Scribes prefer Aram Ṭ to T and D for Eg *d*. The correspondence of Eg *d* to Aram T is due to a secondary change, because they are restricted to the initial and final position;

e.g., at the initial: TM', TMY

at the end: 'SPMT, NP'WRT, 'WPTŠTW, THRT

Eg *d* corresponds to either Š or Ṭ (therefore, to T, see above), exceptionally to D. Eg *d* has a double realization in Copt, namely, T and ʒ²³. Some of the Eg *ds* remain unchanged, realized as Copt ʒ, Aram Š; some of the Eg *ds*, changed into Eg *d*, are represented by Copt T, Aram Ṭ (see above). It is shown again that Aram Ṭ can be replaced by Aram T at the initial and final positions (see above);

²¹S. Serert observes that the emphatic Ṭ is dissimilated to T before Q in 'TYQ (< 'ṬYQ) and considers Heb 'attīq as a loanword from Aram (*Altaramäische Grammatik* section 3.7.2.2.1; cf. BDB p.801b). However, 'ṬQ is only attested in Eg Aramaic, the root 'TQ "to pass" occurs in Ug (*UT* 19.1938), Akk *etēqu* "to pass" and Arab 'atīq "old, ancient" (Aram 'TYQ is a passive form), making it impossible that 'ṬYQ is original. Also there is no reason to suppose Heb 'attīq is an Aram loanword. It is more likely that T is dissimilated to Ṭ after a laryngal ('TYQ > 'ṬYQ), as our observation shows the change of T > Ṭ.

Another example of the change T > Ṭ has been observed in ŠḤṬ (< ŠḤT), since Dupont-Sommer (*Les Inscriptions Araméennes de Sefiré*, p.47), followed by Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, p.50, saying that ŠḤṬ for ŠḤT is due to the partial assimilation of Ṭ to Ḥ. Phonetically the change could be supported by our observation. Notice Degen's objection that ŠḤṬ and ŠḤT are independent words (*AAG* section 20, p.41, Ann II and n.39).

Cf. Gesenius, section 54b.

For Ug *d* > ṭ under the influence of the emphatics, see *UT* 5.24.

²²J. Vergote, *op.cit.* p.28.

²³J. Vergote, *Ibid.*, p.28

e.g., at the end: PTYRWT --- p3-t3w-rwd(w)

at the initial: THWTM'W --- dhwtym3'.w;

THWT --- dhwtym

f) Labials

Eg *b* is almost always represented by Aram B. Yet once by P, once by W. The correspondence Eg *b* and Aram P is only realized in the name WHPR', WHPR'MHY. All other forms of this name indicate the change *b* > *p* before R, which took place in Eg before the name was recorded by Aram scribes.

For the correspondence between Eg *b* and Aram W, see the discussion in HPYW.

Eg *p* is realized as Aram P, once as B at the final position, once dropped in htp (see Eg *p* : Aram ø).

Eg *f*, for which Aram had no symbols, is realized by Aram P, rather than voiced B. Only if Aram B had been aspirated [b] > [v], the B might have stood for Eg *f*.

g) Nasals

Aram M and N stand for Eg *m* and *n* respectively. Only one exception is PRMWTY in which Aram M represents Eg *n* as a result of Eg change *nn* > *m* (see PRMWTY).

DN hnm.w is realized by either HNWM or HNWB. The Gk variant χνουμῖς and χνουβῖς indicate that this is not a question of Aram : Eg correspondence, but Eg double values of hnm.w. Probably Eg *m* was dissimilated into *b* before [ū].

h) Sibilants

The correspondence of Aram Š to both Eg š and *t* is in accord with the fact that PS interdental **t* is written with Š in OA (cf. with S in the Fakhariya inscription), with T in BA²⁴, assuming Eg *t* was interdental at this period.

In the Ph section, we have observed that Eg *t* corresponds to Ph Š, when Eg *t* became Copt Δ. However, it is clear enough that Eg *t* (Copt Δ) which is represented by Š in Ph., was never realized as Š in Aram. Aram Š is the usual counterpart of Eg *t* (Copt Δ).

e.g., Ph Š : Eg *t* ŠHPMW (*t3y-hp-ímw*),

ŠKNSMW (*t3y-ḥns.w-ímw*)

Aram Š : Eg *t* ŠHPYMW (*t3y-ḥp-ím.w*)

ŠHPMW (*t3y-ḥp-ím.w*)

Therefore, we could conclude that there is a certain difference in phonetic value between Ph Š and Aram Š. Ph Š corresponds to Eg *t*, to which Aram Š corresponds.²⁵

[5] Matres Lectionis

The *mater lectionis* is fully developed to designate Eg vowels as follows;

²⁴Degen, *AAG* p.33; Segert, *op. cit.* section 3.2.6.1.).

²⁵Ph ŠMW could be Eg *t3y-ím.w* (cf. Aram ŠMW). Then it could be said that Ph Š corresponds to Eg *t*. Yet the identification cannot be confirmed.

a) *Yodh*

(1) medial [i]

PN=ḤPYMN, PHYM, NPR'YT, ŠRNHYB etc. DN='WSRYHPY etc. Lw=KYḤK, ŠYM, THYT etc.

(2) final [i]

PN='PRY, ḤRNWPY, PTWSRY etc. DN='WSRYHPY, 'SY, 'SRY, etc. GN=MNPY, 'PY; Lw=TMY, TRY, PHṬMWN Y etc.

b) *Waw*

(1) medial [o/u]

PN='WPTŠTW, 'MḤWṬ, ḤRNWPY, PŠNPMWY etc. DN=ḤNWB; GN='BWT, 'BWD; Lw=ḤTHWR, PHṬMWN Y T, T'WBY etc.

(2) final [o/u]?

In contrast to the frequent occurrence of W as medial *mater lectionis*, the W hardly appears as *mater lectionis* at the final position. The possibility of the W as final *mater lectionis* is poorly suggested by PN NKW and LYLW. The W of NKW, however, more likely to be a consonant due to the Eg spelling *nk3.w* (and Heb variant NKW and NKH). The W of LYLW may also have a consonant value due to Copt $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma$, $\lambda\iota\lambda\omicron\gamma$. The absence of *waw* as a *mater lectionis* at the end of words could be connected with *he* used as a *mater lectionis* indicating [o].

c) *He*

(1) final [o/o]

GN=TBH (Copt $\tau\beta\omega$); Lw=PR'H

PN PHH and Lw MNHH suggest that the *he* is used as a *mater lectionis* though their phonetic value are not determinable.

d) *Aleph*

The *aleph* as *mater lectionis* is uncommon and its phonetic value is not stabilized. Though it is difficult to distinguish *aleph*-consonant from *aleph-mater lectionis*, the following reveals that *aleph* is used as *mater lectionis* at the final position.

(1) final [i/i]

Lw=TM'

The double realizations of Eg word *dmí* as Aram TMY and TM' present evidence to indicate that the *aleph* is used as *mater lectionis*, because, as we have observed, Eg *í* at the final position no longer preserved the *aleph* pronunciation. Therefore, the final Y and ' here are interchangeable, functioning as *mater lectionis*.

(2) final [o/o]

PN=HRYWT'

(3) final [a/a]

PN=THRQ' (cf. Heb *tirhaqāh*)

However, it is doubtful that Aram ' is used as *mater lectionis* in the following; (1) PN 'SYT'' and PS': Though ' could be interpreted as *mater lectionis*, the final *aleph* could also correspond to Eg 3, preserved by Eg *t* and *w* (*3s.t-t3-'3.t, p3-s3w). The Ph 'S'' (3s.t-'3.t) indicates that the final *aleph* could be a consonant. (2) PN PN', TM'; GN N': Their final *alephs* could be either *matres lectionis* or realization of Eg *í* (p3-n-níw.t, t3-n.t-míw, níw.t). (3) PN PH', ŞH' and TH': The final *alephs* indicate a final short vowel [o], if they are used as *matres lectionis*.

However, Ph form SH' also has the final $'$, making as syllable-closing consonants. (4) Lw TMNH' and $\text{ŠNT}'$: Both *alephs* are most likely to be the Aram determinative.

In sum, medial and final [i/i] are indicated by *yodh*, medial [o/u] by *waw*, final [o/o] by *he*, any final vowel by *aleph*. *Yodh* and *waw* are predominantly used as *mater lectionis*.²⁶

e) Notes on the use of *matres lectionis*

(1) *matres lectionis* in words or divine names which occupy the final position in Pns, never occur when such words or divine names occur in initial position. This seem to indicate that *matres lectionis* are used in connection with the position of accent.

(a) *nfr*: NP in initial / NWPY in final

At the initial: NPSY, PN'WRT, NPR'YT, PṬNPḤTP, PNPTM

At the final: ḤRNWPY, KNWPY, PṬHNWPY, TNWPY

(b) *ḥr*: ḤR in initial / ḤWR in final

At the initial: ḤRBK, ḤRWŠ, ḤRWN, ḤRHBY, ḤRMḤY, ḤRMN, ḤRNWPY

At the final: 'SHWR, NḤTHWR, PṬHWR

(c) *ḥmn*: MN in initial / MWN in final

At the initial: PMNḤTP²⁷

At the final: PṬMWN, PMWN

(d) *m3i*: MY in initial / MWY in final

²⁶Cf. In BA [ī] and [ê] are indicated by *yodh*, medial [ū] or [ô] by *waw*, final [ā][ê] or [ē] by *he*, final [ā] or [ê] and [ô] by *aleph* (Rosenthal, BA, section 5). In OA [ū] by *waw*, [ī] by *yodh*, [ā][ê] by *he* (Degen, AAG section 6).

²⁷Cf. 'MWRṬYS; *ḥmn* occurs in the initial position, a *mater lectionis* is used, instead the consonant *n* dropped.

At the initial: PṬMYḤWS

At the final: PŠNPMWY

(e) *dī*: Ṭ in initial / ṬY in final

At the initial: PṬ'SY, PṬWSYRY, PTMN etc.

At the final: 'ḤRTYS, 'MWRṬYS, ḤKRTYSW, PṬY, PṬḤRTYS

The fact is that NP, ḤR, ḤT, MN, MY and Ṭ can be the second elements, because scribes were not forced to use *matres lectionis*, though they are customary. Yet the fact that NWPY, ḤWR, ḤWT, MWN, MWY, ṬY can not be the first component indicates that scribes were forced to write them without *matres lectionis*. Hence it is most likely that *matres lectionis* are used in the accented syllable. This means that Eg had an accent at the final position in the Late Period.

(2) In Saqqara there are some indications that *matres lectionis* were less developed;

e.g. ḤWR --- ḤR in Saqqara

ḤRHWT --- ḤRHṬ in Saqqara

NYT --- NT in Saqqara

Cf. 'SRŠWT --- 'SRŠṬ in Hermopolis

However, unique in Saqqara is that the use of *matres lectionis* with *aleph* as 'W, 'Y;

e.g. 'WPTŠTW (cf. 'PY), NPR'YT, 'WSRY, T'YS

(3) Date of *matres lectionis*

We are not in a position to determine the date of origin of *matres lectionis*. However, there are slight indications that uses of *matres lectionis* developed between 7th and 6th cent. BC in Aramaic. There is a seal containing the Eg name PṬ'S. In Aram, however, the theophoric

element (Isis) is never written as 'S without the final *mater lectionis* Y, when Isis is the last component of personal names, or used independently. However this seal (late 8th - early 7th cent. BC) bears -'S, which occurs in Phoenician twice. The names in *LH*, belonging to the end of 6th or early 5th cent. BC, tend to show that *matres lectionis* were less developed in Hermopolis (see above). In this connection, we may infer that the Saqqara documents show an earlier form of writing in terms of *matres lectionis*.

[6] Spirantization

The problems of the double pronunciation of the */bgdkpt/* have been extensively discussed for more than half a century, especially since P. Kahle, on the lines of the tradition of German scholarship, ascribed it to the innovations of the Masoretes between the 8th and 9th century, as a result of the influence of Syriac. The range of the question is threefold;

- 1) The date of the origin: from 10th cent. BC to 8th cent. AD.
- 2) The direction of influence: (i) from Akk to Aram, (ii) from Hurrian to Semitic²⁸, (iii) from Aram to Heb.
- 3) The character of the pronunciation: phonemic or allophonic.

In the following, only evidence which others have proposed will be discussed. Convenient summaries and bibliographies are found in E. E. Knudsen's "Spirantization of Velars in Akkadian" (*Lišān mithurti*, pp.150f).

²⁸E. A. Speiser, "Progress in the Study of the Hurrian Language," *BASOR* 74 (1939) pp.4-7.

a) Phoenician Evidence²⁹

(1) Latin transliteration of Punic: *Poenulus* of Plautus³⁰ ca.200 BC.

(a) Latin *th* corresponds to Pu T in both initial and postvocalic; e.g., *thuulech* (=THLK) 934, *ysthyaalm* ('ŠT'LM) 931, *yth* ('T) 930, 935, *alonuth* ('LWNWT) 930

(b) Latin *ch* corresponds to Pu K in both initial and postvocalic; e.g., *chy* (KY) 931, *chil* (KL) 935, *chon* (KN) 935; *aelichot* (H-HLYKWT?) 937, *anechi* ('NKY) 995.

(c) Latin *ph* corresponds to Pu P in initial; e.g., *pho* (PH) 932.

(d) Latin *f* corresponds to Pu P in initial; e.g., *liful* (LP'L) 935, *rufe* (RP') 1006.

The above evidence does not prove non-existence of the spirantization in Punic. The inconsistent correspondences of Latin *th* and *ch* simply indicate the inadequate nature of Latin consonants to reflect the spirantization, as is now commonly recognized by many scholars (see below). We should pay more attention to the fact that Latin *ph* is used for an initial P and Latin *f* for postvocalic P.

(2) NPu B represents /w/ in NPu transliteration of Numidian proper names (section 38);

(a) YWBZ'L'N (Latin *iuzale*) KAI 117.2 (NPu-Latin bilingual text 1st cent.AD; cf. T'NBR' (Latin *thanubra*)

(b) TBGG (Numidian TBGG *[Tuwga(g)] modern Thugga) KAI 101.1 (Numidic-Punic bilingual text, 139/8 BC)

²⁹Spirantization took place in Ph according to Harris, *Development*, section 42. Yet Friedrich and Röllig are more cautious, *PPG*² section 38.

³⁰H. Szymer, *Les Passages Puniques*, p.108, 114, 147f (cf. Section 38).

(c) ZBG (*CIS* I,499.4, 676.3), ZYBQ (*CIS* I,569.4), ZYWG (*CIS* I,341.4; 460.4) for [zīwag] 4th - 2nd cent BC

The above examples are in favour of the spirantization of Punic B after a vowel. However, it is not legitimate to ascribe Pu B representing [w] only to the spirantization, because interchanges among the bilabial consonants including w are fairly common in Semitic³¹.

(3) Pu B for M (section 55) 4th - 2nd cent.BC;

(a) intervocalic: ŠM' > ŠB', ḤMN > MBN

(b) non-intervocalic: 'BD'ŠMN > 'BD'ŠBN

(c) initial: MGN > BGN

It is self-evident that the change of M > B is not necessarily due to postvocalic spirantization³², because it took place even in the initial position.

Therefore, though there are some indications that the spirantization was operative in Punic (ca.200 BC), none of them is conclusive.

³¹Moscatti, section 8.8; for Eg example see Ph HRB, Aram PṬSBQ, HRYW, also Sethe, *ZAS* 50 p.80-83.

³²Cf. *UT* 5.33

b) Hebrew Evidence³³

(1) B for P: ca.598 or 587³⁴

(a) NBṢ for NPṢ

(b) WHBQDM for WHPQYDM

It is more likely that aspirated [b] corresponds to labial [w] rather than voiced labial [p]. The interchange of B for P is not necessarily due to the spirantization of B, which already occurred in the second millennium³⁵.

(2) Late Babylonian transliteration of West Semitic DN MLK in mid-5th cent. BC³⁶.

(a) ^dMil-ḥi-ta-ri-bi (BE IX 42.3)

(b) Nu-ú-ḥi-^dMil-ḥi (BE 47.19)

(c) ^dMil-ḥi-AD.ŠEŠ (BE X 75.5)

(d) Ab-di-^dMil-ḥi (UMBS II,1.226.19)

The validity of the evidence, NW Sem K[k]: LB ḥ, was negated by Knudsen³⁷, because of a conditioned spirantization of Akkadian velar stops.

³³The spirantization in Hebrew has been in doubt because of Greek and Latin transliteration. The double realization is due to Syriac influence; Bergsträsser, *HG* section 6 m; H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Hist. Gram*, section 19 c; Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, p.103-106; G. Beer - R. Meyer, *HG²*, section 8.2, 13.2; G. Garbini, *Il semitica di nord-ovest*, pp.26, 39. For inadequacies of Greek and Latin transliteration, see E. Y. Kutscher, *JSS* 10 (1965) pp.24ff; J. Barr, *JSS* 12 (1967) pp.9ff; E. Brønno, *JSS* 13 (1968) pp.195ff; G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (1960) p.65. Also see Harris. *Development*, section 42.

³⁴Aharoni, *BASOR*, 197 (1970) p.20 n.13.

³⁵Moscatti, section 8.8; *UT* 5.28. For an oscillation of b and p, see M. Weippert, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine*, p.74ff.

³⁶A. Goetze, *JAOS* 59 (1939) p.452 and n.74; H. Zimmern, *KAT⁶* p.471.

³⁷*Lišān mithurti*, p.151

(3) B for W in the Biblical Hebrew;

(a) *parbar* (1Chr 26:18) for **parwār* in pl. *parwārîm* (2K 23:11).

Notice that the *b* is preceded not by a vowel, but a resonant.

Though spirantization is a possible explanation, again a bilabial example much reduces the value of the evidence. The accent shift *parbār* > *parwārîm* may have effect upon the change of consonantal value /b/ > /w/.

(4) The Yemenite, a modern tradition, has preserved the double pronunciation of post vocalic BGDKPT³⁸.

There is not sufficient evidence that spirantization took place in Hebrew except for the reading of the Masoretic *dagesh forte* and the Yemenite pronunciation.

c) Aramaic Evidence³⁹

(1) The merging of the Proto-Semitic *d*, *t* and *ṭ* with their spirantized counterparts *d̥*, *t̥*, and *ṭ̥*⁴⁰.

S. Kaufman says "once one accepts the inescapable conclusion that OA --- used the graphemes for the sibilants to represent the Proto-Semitic spirants for which the Canaanite alphabet had no symbols, it is obvious that a spirantized pronunciation of the stops could not have occurred in OA, for if spirantization had occurred, *d*, *t*, and *ṭ*

³⁸Kutscher, "Yemenite Hebrew and Ancient Pronunciation," *JSS* 11 (1966) pp.220ff.

³⁹Spirantization was not operative in OA; H. Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge*, I p.44; S. Kaufman, *The Akk Influences on Aram*, p.117. Spirantization already existed in OA; Segert, *Altaramäisch Grammatik*, section 3.7.7.6.2 (?); Brockelman, *GVG* section 78. Spirantization was operative in Imperial Aramaic; Leander, section 1; Kutscher, "Aramaic" p.374 (in *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies*, p.117).

⁴⁰Bergsträsser, *Introduction*, section 4/1.11 and n. c.

would have been confused with the corresponding spirants, still separate graphemes, in the orthography." However, this confusion took place in the period 700 - 400 BC. Therefore, in Imperial Aram spirantization systematically developed. Though this observation is certainly possible, it is not legitimate to ascribe this confusion only to spirantization in this lack of external evidence. The merging of consonantal value is always possible in the course of the history of any language. The relation between spirantization and the merging cannot be sufficient evidence of the existence of spirantization in Imperial Aramaic.

(2) Akk transliteration of Persian PNs by Aram speakers.⁴¹

(a) *U-ak-sa-tar* for *Uvakhšatra* Gk *κυαξάτης* (APN 238a).

(b) *U-ma-ku-iš-tar* for *Uvakhšatara* Gk *κυάξαρης* (APN 240a)

Here Persian postvocalic [h] was transliterated as Akk *k* [*k*].

Kutscher, following Eilers, assumes that as Akkadian by then was a dead language, the inscriptions were written by Aramaic-speaking scribes who "superimposed on the Akkadian their Aramaic pronunciation." Though Aramaic-speaking scribes are probable, the fact remains that we do not know about the scribes. Moreover, we are now well informed on the alternation of Akk *h* and *k*. Therefore, the above argument is not sufficient.

(3) Arabic transliteration of GNs.⁴²

(a) Arab *h* : Sem *K* [*k*] (*ميكماس* for *mikmās*)

(b) Aram *h* : Sem *K* [*k*] (*سلك* for *salkah*)

(c) Arab *d* : Sem *D* [*d*] (*ادرع , درع* for 'ēdr'ī)

(d) Arab *s* : Sem *T* [*t*] (*عطاروس* for 'atārôt)

⁴¹Kutscher, "Aramaic" p.374; W. Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, p.70;

⁴²Kutscher, *JSS* 10 (1965) p. 27f.

It is evident that spirantization existed at the time of the Arab Conquest.

(4) It is well known that the Late Aramaic spirantization was operative.

The existence of spirantization in Aram, esp. since Imperial Aramaic, has never been doubted. However, external evidence has never proved it until the Arabic transliterations reflect it, and the Late Aramaic demonstrates it. As for the Biblical Aramaic, if we accept the Masoretic points, spirantization was operative on the same principle as Biblical Hebrew. Therefore, we could assume that spirantized reading in BA was introduced under the influence of Biblical Hebrew. Therefore, we conclude, with Moscati⁴³, that "there is no certain proof that it pre-dates the Christian era", except perhaps in Punic.

d) New Evidence

With this lack of evidence for spirantization, our consonantal correspondences of Eg to Ph and Aram seem to afford evidence that spirantizations of Eg laryngals (*ḥ*, *ḥ̣* and *ḥ̣̣*) between Ph and Aram are significant. Their correspondences are as follows;

Eg	<i>h</i>	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>ḥ̣</i>	<i>ḥ̣̣</i>
Ph	H	Ḥ	Ḥ/K	K
Aram	H	Ḥ	Ḥ	Ḥ

There was a clear distinction in phonetic value between Eg *h/ḥ* and

⁴³Moscati, section 8.10.

\dot{h}/\underline{h} , which was preserved until Coptic ⁴⁴. Eg h and \dot{h} , which are always realized in Copt as either ζ or σ , were much weaker than Eg \dot{h} and \underline{h} . For example, the Greek forms of Eg names containing Eg h and \dot{h} often have no phonetic counterpart. On the contrary, Eg \dot{h} and \underline{h} are usually realized in Gk as either k or χ , though the normal realization of Eg \dot{h} and \underline{h} in Semitic is still \dot{H} (Arab \dot{C}), not K ⁴⁵. Therefore, it is normal for Eg \dot{h} to correspond to Ph and Aram \dot{H} , and Eg \dot{h} and \underline{h} to Aram \dot{H} as above.

However, it is characteristic that Eg \dot{h} corresponds to Ph \dot{H} twice, at the same time to Ph K four times, and Eg \underline{h} to Ph K twice. These peculiar correspondences could only be explained either by the Eg velarization of \dot{h} and \underline{h} or by the spirantization of Ph K . The former is not only not known to us, but also contradicts the fact Eg \dot{h} , \dot{h} and \underline{h} are all represented by Aram \dot{H} . Therefore, the spirantization of Ph K seems to be most probable explanation of this correspondence. Furthermore, when we examine the condition of the spirantization, *i.e.*, postvocalic or not, it becomes more probable;

(1) Eg \dot{h} in initial corresponds to Ph \dot{H} :

e.g., $\dot{H}TM$ ($\dot{h}tm$) 9/8th cent. BC-53 AD

(2) Eg \dot{h} after a consonant corresponds to Ph \dot{H} :

e.g., $'NH\dot{P}MS$ ($'nh-p3-ms$) 5th cent. BC

The non-existence of a vowel before Eg h is indicated by Gk $'A\gamma\chi\alpha$ - and $'A\chi\theta$ - for Eg $'nh-$ and the fact that N of $'NH$ is assimilated as $'\dot{H}$ (see $'NH\dot{H}PY$, $'H\dot{H}Y$).

(3) Postvocalic Eg \dot{h} and \underline{h} correspond to Ph K :

(a) $P\dot{T}KNS$ ($p3-d\dot{1}-\dot{h}ns.w$) 5th cent. BC

The existence of a vowel before Eg \dot{h} (Ph K) is shown in Gk

⁴⁴J. Vergote, *Phonétique*, pp.64-67.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p.65.

ΠΕΤΕΧΩΝΣ (cf. NB *pa-aṭ-ḥa-an-si* showing vowel syncope, cf. *paṭa'ēsi'*: *paṭ'ēsi'*)

(b) ṢKNSMW (*t3y-ḥns.w-ḥm.w*) 5th cent. BC

The vowel before Eg *ḥ* (Ph K) is disclosed in Copt ⲁⲓ and Ⲃⲓ for Eg *t3y*.

(c) 'MNNK (*ḥmn-nḥ*)

We can safely assume that there is a vowel before K, because the the second N opens a syllable.

(d) ḤRPKRT (*ḥr-p3-ḥrd*) 5th/4th cent. BC and 4th/2nd cent. BC

The vowel preceding K (Eg *ḥ*) is evident in Gk Ἀρποκράτης Ἀρποχράτης. cf. Aram PṢHRPḤRT (*p3-dī-ḥr-p3-ḥrd*).

(e) PWSK (*p3-wsh*)

For Eg *wsh*, cf. Copt ⲟϣⲱϣ̄ (metathesis, cf. Arab وَسِعَ).

Notice the reading is difficult.

The above PNs consistently indicate that Eg *ḥ* and *ḥ* correspond to Ph K when the condition of the spirantization, *i.e.*, postvocalic, is satisfied. Since Ph K was spirantized after vowel: /k/ > /ḳ/, Ph K was able to represent Eg *ḥ* and *ḥ*. On the other hand, Eg *ḥ* which is not preceded by a vowel or in the initial position is represented by Ph Ḥ. Therefore, we can conclude that the spirantization was operative in 5th cent. BC in Phoenician.

On the contrary, when we turn to the Aram documents and examine the thirty-seven Eg proper names and loan words (attestation 81 times) containing Eg *ḥ* and *ḥ*, we are led to an opposite conclusion, because every Eg *ḥ* and *ḥ*, whether preceded by a vowel or not, is exclusively represented by Aram Ḥ;

(1) Eg *ḥ* after a consonant (= Aram Ḥ):

e.g., 'NHḤPY (*'nḥ-ḥpy*) cf. Ph 'NHḤPMS

(2) Eg *ḥ* and *h* after a vowel (= Aram Ḥ):

e.g., PḤNS (*p3-ḥns*) cf. Ph PṬKNS (see above)

PṬHRPHRT (*p3-dī-ḥr-p3-hrd*) cf. Ph ḤRPKRT

This striking fact displayed in 81 examples seems to be sufficient evidence to indicate that the spirantization was not operative in Aram. If the spirantization was operative, we could expect the correspondence between Eg *ḥ* /*h* and Aram K, as shown in Ph as well as the late Aram and Arab: *ḥlts* for MKMS, *ḥlks* for SLKH (see above). With respect to the date, the 81 examples cover a considerable length of time as follows;

(1) PṬḤNM (*p3-dī-ḥnm.w*) late 6th cent. BC, Hermopolis

(2) NḤṬḤWR (*nḥt-ḥr*) 5th cent. BC, outside Eg

(3) PḤWY (*p3-ḥy*) end of 4th cent. BC, Elephantine

These examples tell us that the spirantization did not take place during the currency of Imperial Aramaic.

Once we accept the inescapable conclusions that the spirantization was operative in Ph, but not in Imperial Aramaic⁴⁶, it seems more reasonable to assume that the spirantization first took place in Ph and was introduced to Heb under the influence of Ph. Yet in Aram it did not become operative until Middle Aram (300 BC - 200 AD). As for the Biblical Aram, we could assume the influence of the Heb pronuncia-

⁴⁶Maybe we can add one more observation as an evidence of spirantization in Ph; the different realization of Eg PN *hr-ḥb* between Ph and Aram i.e., Ph HRB and Aram HRYW. As I have discussed in the entry HRYW, the final Eg *b* of *hr-ḥb* was partially assimilated into the previous vowel: **[iub] > *[iuw] > YW*. However, in Ph the B still stands for Eg *b* which was assimilated as [w]. This is possible only when Ph B is spirantized. While in Aram the B, plosive, did not bear that sound value, hence, the Arama rendering of Eg *hr-ḥb* is HRYW. Therefore, we could conclude that Ph HRB suggests the spirantization of B in Ph (Eg *b* [b] = Ph B [b], Aram W).

tion upon it.

[7] N-Assimilation

As Leander justly observed that "die Assimilation des n an einen folgenden kons. ist nur selten durchgeführt worden," Aram scribes seem to be sensitive to *n*-sound.

a) Eg 'nh- > 'Ḥ in AD (9 times) and Saqq ('ḤHPY)

However Eg 'nh > 'NH in Elephantine ('NHHPY, 'NHPM'Y, 'NHMT).

b) PN *mn-nfr* > MPY in Hermopolis

However MNPY in Elephantine, Saqqara and Padua

c) Eg *mn* > M in Wâdi el-Hûdi (MHPR')

However the usual realization is *mn* (see above)

d) DN *imn-* > 'MW in Elephantine ('MWRṬYS)

This assimilation may not result from the treatment of an Aram scribe, because some Gk forms and the Akk form lack the *n* (see 'MWRṬYS). Probably the intervocalic *n* was merged with vowels

*['amu/onortise] > *['amu/ortise]

The sensitivity to the *n*-sound in Eg Aram may be best expressed in the PNs of *p3-šri-n*-type. The *n* (Eg genitive) occurs before P three times: PŠNPWR (Eleph.), PŠNPMWY (Eleph.), PŠNPTH (Saqq.). Cf. PŠWBSTY (AD), PŠTWT (Saqq.), also Ph PŠMHY.

CHAPTER III:

EGYPTIAN PROPER NAMES AND WORDS IN HEBREW

Various attempts at the identification of Eg elements in the Old Testament have been made since the last century. The first organized study appeared when W. Spiegelberg collected his independent essays and published a monograph *Aegyptologische Randglossen zum Alten Testament* (1904; see a review by J. H. Breasted, *AJSL* 21 1905 pp.247-250). Most of his discussions are still valuable. A half century later (1952) T. Lambdin thoroughly dealt with Eg elements in the Old Testament in the first chapter of his Ph.D. dissertation. It is obvious that his main concerns were with Eg loan words. His extensive discussion of 46 possible Eg loan words was, with one elimination, published in *JAOS* 73 (1952) pp.145-155. This remains as a standard work on Eg loan words in the Old Testament until today. Eg loan words were re-examined by M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the Old Testament: Their origin and Etymology* (1962). Mostly following Lambdin, he added 6 more possibilities to Lambdin's list following identifications included in *KB*¹ and eliminated 20 loan words from it. As far as Eg loan words are concerned there was little progress in his re-examination. Therefore there is room for further advances in identification of Eg loan words. Even though Eg proper names are always discussed in commentaries, Bible dictionaries and independent articles, there is no systematic treatment of their identifications. In the following will be treated all Eg proper names found not only

in the Old Testament, but also in all Hebrew documents including seals.

References are cited in each inventory; for the references concerning Eg elements in the Joseph story, see the inventory of 'BRK.

A. HEBREW DOCUMENTS: DATES AND PROVENANCES

Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, no.54, 72 (ostrakon):

end of 8th c.BC¹, Arad

N. Avigad, *Michmanim*, 4 no.6 (seal): 8th c.BC, n.p.

-----, *Hebrew Bullae*, pp.68, 69: 7th-6th c.BC, Burnt Archive

A. Lemaire, *Semitica*, 30 (1980) p.19-20 (ostrakon):

late 8th-7th c.BC, Aroer (Negev)

Anonymous, *IEJ*, 12 (1972) p.146 (amphora): n.d., En-Gedi

F. Vattioni, *SE I (Biblica 50)* no.148: n.d., near Jerusalem

-----, *SE II (Augustinianum 11)* no.267: n.d., Judea.

¹A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions Hébraïques*, vol. 1, p.201.

B. INVENTORY OF EGYPTIAN PROPER NAMES AND LOAN WORDS

[1] Personal Names

'W'

--- *iwi* 𓂏𓂏𓂏

[Heb] Yadin, *Hazor*, II p.70]'W'; [Ammonite] Vattioni, *SE* I no.194

[Eg] Ranke I,16.10 m.MK-NK. There are many similar names attested (see Ranke I,16.9-23, e.g., *iwi*, *iwy*)

The name is more likely to be Semitic as Hammond (*BASOR* 160 p.39) compared it with the Midianite King 'Ewî (Num 31:8), to which the hypocoristic termination *aleph*, which is relatively common in Ammonite (Jackson, *Ammonite Lang* p.89), was attached.

* 'HYMWT (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) (hybrid)

--- 'HY-*mw.t* "Brother of Mut"

[Heb] 1Chr 6:10 (25)

[Eg] *mw.t* (*Wb* II,54) is one of the commonest elements in Eg PNs.

The name could be interpreted as a pure Eg name: *3h-mw.t*

𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏

(Ranke I,2.24) "Mut is glorious." The name also could be interpreted as a pure Semitic "Brother of Death." Yet the fact that 'HYMWT was born in Egypt leads us to be inclined to think it Eg. For MWT see 'NMWT.

'HYR' (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) (hybrid)

--- 'HY-*r'* "Brother of Re"

[Heb] Num 1:15. 2:29, 7:78, 83, 10:27

[Eg] for Eg god *r'* see *Wb* II,401

There is a Heb noun *ra'* "evil" (from root R''). Yet a divine name is more probable. While a Semitic explanation is possible, the root R' "evil" is not used in PNs (cf. *IPN* p.236). Heb *rē'a*, though its vocalization differs from 'HYR', could be an alternative.

* 'SYR ($\gamma \text{ } \text{ר} \text{ } \text{ס} \text{ } \text{ך}$)

--- *3s(ws)ir(.w)* $\text{I} \text{ } \text{S}$ "Osiris"

IPN p.63 n.2; Avigad, *IEJ* 4 p.238

[Heb] Ex 6:24, 1Chr 6:7(22), 8(23), 22(37)

[Eg] Ranke I,85.5 m.Dyn18.

The bearers of this name were probably born in Egypt. Therefore an Eg name is likely. Another Eg explanation is *isr*, *isr.w* $\text{I} \text{ } \text{S} \text{ } \text{R}$ "Tamarisk" (Ranke I,46.22-25; II,246.14 m.OK-MK), which is more common (cf. Copt *oci*, Demot *isr*). However 'SR is also a common Semitic root meaning "bind", of which derivations are 'āsîr and 'assîr "prisoner." Therefore, the identification is open to choice, although the root 'SR is not otherwise found in Heb PNs.

* 'SNH ($\text{נ} \text{ } \text{ח} \text{ } \text{ש}$)

--- *(*n*)s-n(*w.t*) "He who belongs to Nut"

IPN p.63

[Heb] Ezr 2:50

[Eg] For a goddess Nut as a theophoric element, cf. *inb-m-nw.t* (Ranke I,191.2 f.Dyn18), *t3-di'.t-nw.t* (Ranke I,373.16 f.Late), 'nh-nw.t (Ranke II,271.10 m.Late).

Noth admitted that the name is Eg, probably because of the absence of a proper Semitic etymology. If 'SNH is an Eg name, it

is most likely to be identified with **ns-nw.t*.

** 'SNT ($\text{𐤏} \text{𐤓} \text{𐤏} \text{𐤏}$)

--- **(n)s-n(y).t* "She who belongs to Neith"

L p.56; For other references see Lw 'BRK

[Heb] Gen 41:45, 50, 46:20 (wife of Joseph)

[Eg] cf. *ns* + DN type names (Ranke I,173.17ff m/f.OK-Gk; cf. Aram 'SHWR, 'SHNWM, 'SMN, 'SMT, 'SPMT, 'SPMT etc.). Though *n(y)-s(w/y)-DN* is one of the most common type of Eg PNs after NK, this type of name occurs even in OK and MK (Ranke I,174.13, 15, 16, 173.3, 13, 176.5, 14, 15, 177.16, 23 etc.) [LXX] Ἀσευθεθ , Ἀσεβεθ .

Possible is K. Kitchen's reconstruction, based on an attested form, **iw.s-n.t* "She belongs to you" (cf. *iw.f-n.t* "He belongs to you (?)") Ranke I,14.12; *iw.f-n.i* "He belongs to me") which often occur in MK (Kitchen, *NBD* p.94). However genitival adjective *n* plus the suffix of 2nd masc. sg hardly appears in Eg PNs. The above *iw.f-n.t*, which is only example that the 2nd masc sg suffix is used, can be interpreted as "He shall belong to Neith" (Ranke did not give the meaning to the name), whose identification with this name has been suggested by Vergote, following Spiegelberg (*Joseph en Égypte* p.148f). *iw.f-(n-)-DN* type is a common type of name in NK-Late (Ranke I,13-18). Therefore, this explanation is equally possible.

'SR'L ($\text{𐤏} \text{𐤓} \text{𐤏} \text{𐤏}$) (hybrid)

--- *3s(ws)-ir-'L* "Osiris is god"

[Heb] IChr 4:16

[Eg] see Ph 'SR

The fragmentary genealogy in which the name appears makes it

impossible to date it. Phonetically the Eg identification is possible (cf. ŠKYWT = *sk.tw*). The absence of a Heb root 'SR perhaps indicates a foreign name, unless a misspelling took place as follows: 'SR'L > 'ŠR'L (root 'SR "to bind", yet could still be *3s-ír-'L*). If Heb 'SYR is Eg name *3s(ws)-ír.w*, as I discussed before, 'ŠR'L is less likely to be identified with Osiris.

'ŠR'LY (שֶׁרַיִל) (hybrid)

--- Var. of 'ŠRY'L (?)

[Heb] Num 26:31b

[Eg] see 'SR'L, 'SYR

'ŠR'LH (שֶׁרַיִלָּה) (hybrid)

--- Var. of 'ŠR'LH (?)

[Heb] 1Chr 25:2, 14

[Eg] see above

'ŠRY'L (שֶׁרַיִל) (hybrid)

--- Var. of 'ŠR'L

[Heb] Num 26:31a, Josh 17:2, 1Chr 7:14 (son of Manash)

[Eg] see above and Ph 'SR

That the bearer of this name was born in Eg strengthens the Eg explanation (for the root 'ŠR, see 'ŠR'L). The Y of 'ŠRY- corresponds to the Aram form 'SRY "Osiris." Therefore, the Eg theophoric element is most likely.

BNHWR (בְּנֵי הַוַּיִר) (hybrid)

--- BN-*hr(.w)* "Son of Horus"

[Heb] 1Kings 4:8

[Eg] see HWR [LXX] βεέν υίος Ωρ

BSY (בַּסְי)

--- *bs.y* 𐤁𐤑𐤏, 𐤁𐤑𐤏

[Heb] Neh 7:52 (=Ezr 2:49); seal: Vattioni, *SE* I no.245

[Eg] Ranke I,98.18f m.Late [Akk] cf. *bi-i-sa-a* (*ANP* 64b; Tallqvist considers that the name is Aram). Cf. Aram BS'

The meaning of Aram BSY is unknown, "negligent" (?) (*DISO* p.39). Noth considered it the short form of *bêsôreyâh* (*IPN* p.152). In the absence of proper Sem etymology, Eg possibility is likewise possible.

BTYH (בַּתְיָה)

--- *b(i).ty(.t)* 𐤁𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤏 "Queen"

KB³ p.160

[Heb] 1Chr 4:18 (daughter of Pharaoh, Bithia)

[Eg] *Wb* I,435.16-18 Gk (cf. *by.ty* "King" since Pyr.)

Other similar names are also attested: *bity* (f.Dyn 12), *bity.i* (?) (f.MK), *btí* (f.MK-Dyn18) Ranke I,93.21, 22, 99.5, 7. However, phonetically *bí.ty.t* best fits Heb BTYH. Therefore, if the Heb PR'H in 1Chr 4:18 really designates an Eg King, the identification is most probable.

HR'L (חַרְל) (hybrid)

--- *hr~'L* "'L is pleasing"

[Heb] Ezr 43:15 (*Qere* 'ăřî'ēl)

[Eg] cf. *hr* + DN type names (Ranke I,230.20f Late)

Cf. Ph HRB'L, Heb HRYHW

Semitic interpretation "Mountain of El" is not impossible. See

HRYHW.

HRYHW (hybrid)

--- *hr*-YHW "YHW is pleasing"

[Heb] seal: Vattioni, *SE* III p.238 no.273

[Eg] cf. *hr-b3st.t* (Ranke I,230.20f); *Wb* II,496.6ff *hr* "pleasing"

Copt ^sϣρρϵ, ^bϣερϱ.

Both father HRYHW and son 'NYHW have possible Eg element *hr* "please" and 'n "beautiful" both of which are common in Eg PNs, to which the same theophoric element YHW is attached. However Semitic explanations are also possible; see HR'L and 'NYHW.

* HWR ()



--- *hr(.w)*  "Horus"

[Heb] Ex 17:10, 12, 24:14, 31:2 (=35:30), 38:22, 1Chr 2:19, 20, 50, 4:1, 4; 2Chr 1:5; Num 31:8, Josh 13:21; Neh 3:9

[Eg] see Aram HWR, Ph HR [LXX] "Ωρ

Though admitting the possibility of the Eg name *hr.w*, Noth identified HWR and HWRY with Akk *hūru* "child" (*IPN* p.220 no.1). However the origin of these names is Egypt.


** HWRY ()

--- *hr.y*   "He of Horus" (?)

[Heb] Num 13:5

[Eg] see Aram HWRY and above [LXX] Σουρι

* HPNY ()

--- *hfn(r)*  "Tadpole"

IPN p.63

[Heb] 1Sam 1:3, 2:34, 4:4, 11, 17

[Eg] Ranke I,239.13 m.MK [LXX]

Though the occurrence of the name is restricted to the first four chapters of 1Sam, that his brother has Eg name PYNHS strengthens the Eg explanation. However the root ḤPN "hollow of hand" (Aram ḤPNY), which is not used in PNs, leaves the identification open to choice.

** ḤPR' ($\text{חֲפַרְעַ$)

--- (w3)ḥ-(i)b-r'

[Heb] Jer 44:30 (Eg king of 26 Dyn, Apries 589-570)

[Eg] see Ph WḤPR' [LXX] Ουαφρη

ḤRḤWR (חֲרַחֲוֹר)

--- ḥr(y)-ḥr  "Horus who is higher"

[Heb] Ezr 2:51; Neh 7:53


[Eg] Ranke I,253,10 m.Dyn20 f.NK

BDB considered that the name was a reduplicated noun deriving from a root ḤRR "to be free." However, the Eg explanation is equally possible (cf. Copt ϣρε for ḥry Černý p.292).

ḤRḤS ($\text{חֲרַחֲסֵ$)

--- *ḥr-ḥs(.w) "Horus is praised"

[Heb] 2Kings 22:14 (=2Chr 34:22 ḤSRH); many MSS ḤRḤS

[Eg] cf. ḥs + DN type names: ḥs-b3st.t  "Bastet is praised", ḥs-ptḥ, ḥs-r' (Ranke I,254.16, 18, 20)

Though DN + ḥs.w (old perfective) is not common (cf. *imn-nb-ḥs.w* Ranke I,29.16), the possibility of an Eg interpretation should be noted, because of the lack of a Semitic explanation. However the

text is uncertain. No Eg interpretation of the alternative reading HRHS appears possible.

** HRNPR (חֲרַנְפֵּר)

--- **hr-nfr(.w)* "Horus is good"

IPN p.64

[Heb] 1Chr 7:36

[Eg] cf. *hr-nfr* (Ranke I, 249.9 m.MK-Gk) and DN-*nfr*

[LXX] *Αναρραρ* .


Note the Copt verb form, ^aNOYYP , NEYP -, ^bNOYEP , "be good."

Vocalization of *nefer* took analogy from *qatl*: *[nafr-] > *[nefr] > [nefer].

YRH' (עֵינַיִר)

--- **ir(t)-h'(i)* "Eye of rejoicing"

[Heb] 1Chr 2:34

[Eg] cf. *ir(.t?)-hr*  "Eye of Horus" (Ranke I, 42.13; cf. Copt εΙΕΡ- for eye)

The context indicates that YRH' is an Eg servant, and as RH' has no cognate in Semitic, the possibility of an Eg name is most likely. However we must acknowledge that the identification is hypothetical as the name is not found in Egyptian.

* YRYMWT (יְרִימֹוֹת) (hybrid)

--- YRY-*mw.t* "Mut has thrown"

[Heb] 1Chr 7:7, 8 *y^erēmôt*, 12;6(5), 24:30, 25:4, 27:19; 2Chr 11:18, 31:13; seal: Vattioni, SE III p.245 no.361.

[Eg] For MWT for *mw.t*, see 'NMWT

Cf. YRMWT

This name belongs to the group of YR(Y) + DN type names, e.g.,
 יִרְיָהוּ , יִרְיָאֵל . YR(Y) is derived from the root YRH (Ug *yrw*) "to
 throw, shoot," and MWT is Eg goddess Mut (see the discussion in
 'NMWT). If the root derived from a root *YRM, the second Y of
 YRYMWT cannot be explained (KB³ p.419). The fact that Jeremoth in
 1Chr 7:7 was born in Egypt makes it likely that Eg element entered
 this name.

* YRMWT (יִרְמֹוֹת)


--- Var. of YRYMWT

[Heb] 1Chr 8:14 (brother of SSQ), 23:23, 25:22, Ezr 10:26, 27

[Eg] see YRYMWT

Notice that Jeremoth in 1Chr 7:8, who is different from another
 Jeremoth in the previous verse, was also born in Egypt. Both are
 grandsons of Benjamin. (see Albright, *BASOR* 125 p.25ff. and *JAOS*
 42 p.320f.).

** KWŠ (כִּשׁ)

---kš  "The Nubian"

[Heb] Gen 10:6,7; 2K 19:9; 1Chr 1:8, 9; Est 1:1, 8:9; Job 28;19, Ps
 68:32, 87:4; Is 11:11, 18:1, 20:3, 4, 5, 37:9, 43:3, 45:14; Jer
 46:9; Ezek 29:10, 30:4, 5, 9, 38:5, Nah 3:9; Zeph 3:10

[Eg] see Ph KSY.

** KWŠY (כִּשׁי)

--- gentilic of KWŠ

[Heb] Num 12:1; 2Sam 18:21, 22, 23, 31, 32; 2Chr 12:3, 14:8, 14:11,
 12, 16:8, 21:16; Jer 13:23, 38:7, 10, 12, 39:16; Dan 11:43; Amos
 9:7; Zeph 2:12

[Eg] see KWŠ, Ph KŠY.

**** MY'MN**

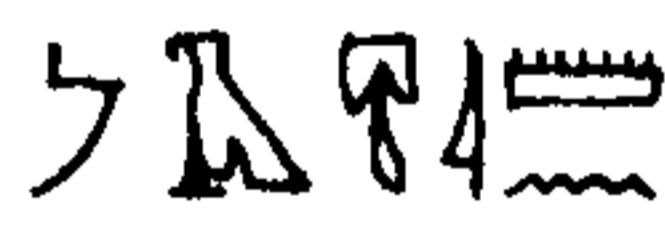
--- *m(r)y-ḥmn*  "The beloved of Amun"

[Heb] seal: Vattioni, *SE* III no.437; Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae* no.87,
89 [M]Y'MN

[Eg] Ranke I,160.6 m.NK [Gk] *μιαμμουν* [MB] *ma-a-i-ḥu-a-ma-na*
(Ranke, *KM* p.12)

The MB form indicates that the Eg *r* has been lost (perhaps assimilated to *y*). Therefore, the name perfectly fits a common Eg name *mry-ḥmn*. The names of the *mry* + DN type are among the most common from OK to Late (Ranke I,160.1-162.1). Avigad's interpretation: MY "who" + 'MN "faithful" > "Who is of truth" is not impossible. However, Micaiah which he quoted is not really comparable: MY "who", K "like", YH "divine name". The Eg explanation seems much more likely.

Another Eg identification is noteworthy, *i.e.*, *m3y-ḥmn*

 "Amun is a lion" (Ranke I,144.2 m.NK), which is less common.


MR'L

--- *mr(y)-'L* "The beloved of 'L"


[Ammonite] seal: Vattioni, *SE* I no.194 'W' BN MR'L (Jackson, "Ammonite PNs" no.66)

[Eg] cf. *mry* + DN type names (*mry-ḥmn*, *mry-b3st.t*, *mry-ptḥ*, *mry-r'* Ranke I,160.1ff m/f.OK-NK).

As previously discussed in MY'MN, Eg *mry* became /*my*/. Therefore, it seem to be unlikely that Heb MR stands for Eg *mry*. However, there is some reason to assume that the *r* might be still

preserved as a bi-form. K. Kitchen drew my attention to the peculiar writing of the word *mry* in the inscriptions of Ramesses IX and XI, that is, *mrr* (*KRI* V,481.14; VI,456.4; 706.3, 4; 734.9 etc.). K. Kitchen suggested that the extra *r* may be added to indicate the pronunciation [r], which is not indicated in the normal writing  *mr(r)*. If this is the case, MR'L and others (MRB'L, MRMWT, MRYMWT) could be Eg names or Sem names containing Eg element. Semitic explanations, however, should not be excluded; (1) Aram MR "lord" (2) Ug *mr* "to strengthen, bless" (common element of Ug PNs, see Gröndahl, p.159f) (3) Ug *mr* "to drive away", Hebrew *m^erāyāh* is undoubtedly comparable, whatever its interpretation is. Hence the identification is open to choice.

MRB'L

--- *mr(y)-b'r*  "The beloved of Ba'al"
 [Heb] Samaria Ostrakon 2:7 (Reisner, *HES* p.233 no.2)
 [Eg] Ranke I,160.12 m.Dyn19; for MR, see MR'L.

MRYM (מִרְיָם)

---*mry(.t)* + M "The beloved"
 Gardiner, *JAOS* 56 p.195
 [Heb] Ex 15:20, 21; Deut 12:1, 4, 5, 10, 15, 20:1, 24:9, 26:59; Mic 6:4; 1Chr 5:29 (a sister of Aaron). 1Chr 4:17 (a Judahite)
 [Eg] Ranke I,161.14 [Gk] *Μαριαμ*, *Μαριω* (1Chr 4:17)(LXX)

For the discussion on the Eg *mry/mry.t* and Semitic MR, see the entry MR'L. Gardiner made a comment: "Nevertheless there is one way in which the old pronunciation *Marye* can be saved for an etymology of Mary, Mariam, Miriam." He supposed a possible connection of Miriam with the Egyptian goddess and priestesses who

were called *Mrt.* However he left unexplained the affirmative M, which is usually added to masculine names, such as GRSM, MLKM, 'MLM (Gesenius, section 85t). Another Eg explanation is *mr-ib* "Heart desires" (Ranke I,155.17 m./f(?)OK-Late) with a slight phonetic change *b > /m/* (cf. Lw HRTM). Thus Eg identifications are still open to question. If we admit a pagan element in the name, the interpretation "Yamm is the lord" might be possible."

MRYMWT

--- *mr(.t)-mw.t*  "The beloved of Mut"

[Heb] Bordreuil-Lemaire, *Semitica* 32 p.29f.; Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* p.85 (ostrakon no.50)

[Eg] Ranke I,158.24 f.Dyn18; cf. *mrí-mw.t* (Ranke I,159.26 m.Late)

Again both MRY and MWT can be Semitic. Then four interpretations are possible as follows; (1) Eg *mr.t-mw.t* (above), (2) hybrid MRY-*mw.t* (for MRY see MR'L), (3) hybrid *mry-MWT* (for MWT see 'NMWT), (4) Semitic MRY-MWT. In the inventory of 'NMWT, I concluded that the Semitic god Mawet "Death" is unlikely, therefore, the first two explanations are more probable.

MRMWT(מרמוט)

--- Var. of MRYMWT

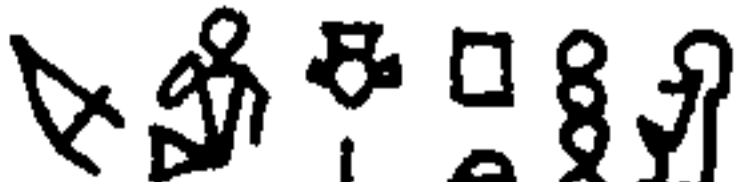
[Heb] Neh 3:4, 21, 10:6, 12:3; Ezr 8:33, 10:36

[Eg] see MRYMWT.

MRYB B'L (מריב בעל)

--- *mr-ib-B'L* "The beloved of the heart of Ba'al"

[Heb] 1Chr 8:34, 9:40a

[Eg] cf. *mr-ib-ptḥ*  (Ranke I,155.18; II,361 m.Dyn26);

mr-ib (Ranke I,155,17 m.OK/f.Late)

As there seems to be no satisfactory explanation of this name, this Eg solution is a good possibility. For MR, see MR'L.

MRYB'L (מְרִיבֵּל)

--- Var. of MRYBB'L

[Heb] 1Chr 9:40b

[Eg] see MRYBB'L.

MRRY (מְרָרִי)

--- *mrr.y*  , *mrr.i*  "The beloved" (?)

L p.55

[Heb] Gen 46:11; Ex 6:19; Num 3:20 etc.(39x)


[Eg] *mrr.y* (Ranke I,162.24 m/f.MK, I,162.22 m/f.OK-MK) [LXX]

Μεραρ(ε)ι, Μεραρει.

The fact that Merari was born in Egypt strengthens the possibility that the name is Eg. The Eg name *mrr.i/y* is common until MK. It is conceivable that a good Eg name has been preserved in Hebrew.

A Semitic explanation is likewise possible; Pu PNs MRR, MRRB'L, YMRR (Benz p.354) indicate that the root MRR is used in PNs, whatever their etymology is. Benz, followed by KB³, compared MRR with Ug *mrr* (UT 19.1556 "strengthen"), cf. Noth compared it with Arab *mirratum* (IPN p.225 n.9).

? MŠH (מֶשֶׁח)

--- *ms*  "(The) child"

Gardiner, JAOS 56 p.192ff (with doubt); Griffith, JNES 12 p.225ff.

[Heb] passim

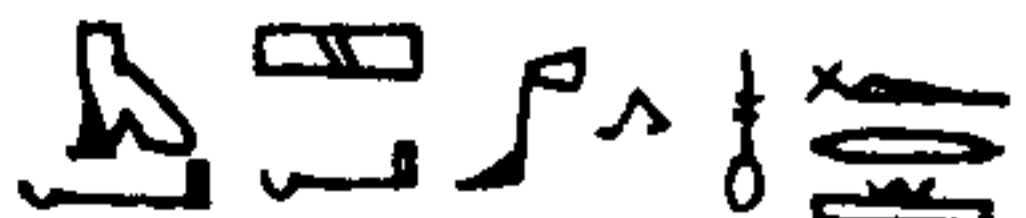
[Eg] Ranke I,164.18

A considerable number of discussions have been made on the etymology of Moses. The decisive point is on the correspondence between Eg *ś* and Heb *š*. As has been shown, there is no conclusive evidence of the representation of Eg *ś* by NW Semitic *š*, when Eg names or words were borrowed and transliterated by NW Semitic (see below [4] Notes on the Correspondences e) sibilants). Even the same Eg word *ms* in GN R'MSS (*r'-ms-s*) is transliterated as MS in the same period. Furthermore, the Heb root MŠH "to draw" is to be preferred and the meaning of the root best fits the context with a word-play. Therefore, an Eg origin for the name is very doubtful. J. Griffiths, in his lengthy article devoted to this name, found support for the correspondence between Eg *ś* and Heb *š* only in the cases of Egypto-Semitic cognates. Then he strangely made a distinction between "names which are transliterated from Eg into Heb or vice versa for a temporal purpose and those which find a permanent place in the second language and hence get a chance to develop." Then he said that the case of Moses should be compared with those of Egypto-Semitic cognates which show the equation of Eg *s* to Heb *š*. However, there is no evidence of the "development" of *MSH > MŠH. It is normal that, once borrowed, the consonants of the word do not undergo secondary change, cf. PNḤS (borrowed for a permanent purpose!), Lw QST etc. Therefore, at the moment, in the absence of clear evidence of the correspondence between Eg *ś* and Heb *š*, the name is most likely to be of Semitic origin.

MŠ''

--- **mš'* "March"

[Ammonite] seal: Vattioni, SE I no.114

[Eg] cf. *mš'-nfr* (?)  "Good march," *mš'-sbk* (?)

"Splendid march" (Ranke I,166.2 f.Dyn20; I,166.3 m.Dyn21)

The name could be a hypocoristicon of the above Eg names. Likewise possible is a derivation from Semitic root YŠ' "to deliver", cf. Heb *mēša'* "deliverance" (king of Moab)", *mēsā'* son of Caleb. The final *aleph* is a hypocoristic ending.

* NBY

--- *nb.y*  "He who belongs to the lords" (?)

[Heb] seal: Vattioni, *SE* III no.343 and 433

[Eg] Ranke I,187.5 m.Dyn6 and NK. Cf. other similar names *nb* (Ranke I,183.1 m/f.OK,NK), *nb.i'*, *nb.w*, *nb.t* (Ranke I,187.4, 6, 7, 17).

Eg *nb* with its fem. form *nb.t* is one of the most common elements of Eg PNs used from OK to Gk.

** NKH (נְכַח)

--- Var. of NKW

[Heb] 2K 23:29, 33, 34, 35

[Eg] see Aram NKW.


** NKW (נְכַו)

--- *nk(3).w*  (Necho II, Eg king of Dyn26)

[Heb] Jer 46:2; 2Chr 35:20, 22, 36:4

[Eg] see Aram NKW.

SW' (שׁוּׁ)

--- Abbr. of *w(3)s(3)rkn(i)*  (?)

Kitchen, *TIP*² pp.372-4, 551, 582-3

[Heb] 2K 17:4 *Ketib* SY'

[Eg] Gauthier, *LR* III p.399f Osorkon, Eg king of Dyn 22

[Gk] $\sigma\omega\alpha$, $\Sigma\eta\gamma\omega\rho$, $\Sigma\omega\beta\alpha$ (LXX)

As Ramesses was abbreviated as *sese*, it is possible that Osorkon was shortened as SW' representing *-s(3)r-*. Osorkon is perhaps the only Eg king who supported Israel at that time. For the impossibilities of other identifications: *sib'e turtan*, *shabako*, Eg *t3* (vizier), and Tefnakht, see K. Kitchen, *TIP²* pp.372-374. 551, 582-3

'MYHWR (𐤎𐤏𐤅𐤃𐤏) (hybrid)

--- 'MY-*hr* "My kinsman is Horus"

[Heb] 2Sam 13:37 (Qr. 'ammîhūd "My kinsman is majesty") (a Geshurite)

[Eg] see Ph HR

With a slight change of the reading of the Masora Text [hūr] > [hōr] (cf. ŠPHWR, BN-HWR), the hybrid name is likely. However, HWR could be explained as a word derived from a root HRR "be free," such as HR "noble." As for the name formation, cf. 'MY'L, 'MYHWD, 'MYNDB.

'NYHW

--- 'n-YHW "YHW is beautiful"

[Heb] seal: Vattioni, *SE* III no.273

[Eg] for 'n + DN type names, see Ranke I,61.11ff: 'n-b3st.t, 'n-mw.t etc.

Eg 'n is one of the most common elements of Eg PNs used from OK to Gk. Therefore, the hybrid name is possible. However, Heb root 'NH, though used in only one PN 'anāyāh, leaves the identification open to choice. On Ug 'nil (*UT* 1066.3) Gordon commented that 'n may be the masculine counterpart of goddess 'nt, without citing

evidence. It should be kept in mind that 'N often occurs with Semitic theophoric elements; Heb 'NYHW, Ph 'NB'L, 'NBTB'L, Ammonite 'N'L, making it more likely to be Semitic (cf. 'NMWT).

'NMWT

--- 'n-mw.t  "Mut is beautiful"

[Ammonite] seal: Vattioni, *SE* I no.116 (maidservant of DBLKS)

[Eg] Ranke I,61.18 f.NK. For 'n + DN type name, see 'NYHW.

Albright, "Notes on Ammonite History" *Miscellanea Biblica B. Ubach* p.4, followed by G. Landes, *BA* 24 p.82f., and Jackson, *Ammonite Lang* p.81f., considered that 'NMWT was related to the Thamudic, Safaitic, and Arabic name group, *Ghânim* or *Ghânimat* or *Ghanîmat*. There are ancient Arabic names 'NM, 'NMT, ĠNM, GNMT (Harding, p.445, 458), deriving from *ġnm* "booty" "to take as booty" (Biella p.396; Beeston p.54), and a Palmyrene name 'NMW "successful, noble", derived from Arab *ġānim* (Stark p.106). However all these similar names cannot explain the W of 'NMWT. Jackson thinks that it is possibly a *mater lectionis* indicating [ū] of a fem. ending [-ūt]. Yet it is very unlikely. As J. Tigay discussed in *You shall Have no Other Gods*, p.66 n.12, judging from the fact that each of the -MWT names can be paralleled by others in which a theophoric element appears in place of -MWT, e.g., 'HYH(W), YRY'L, MRY(B)B'L, 'ZGD, it seems to be more likely that the MWT is a deity. Hence he identified the MWT with Semitic god Mawet "Death." The possibility that MWT is a deity is strengthened by another fact that initial element 'N- is often followed by a theophoric element, e.g., Ph 'NB'L, 'NBTB'L, Heb 'NYHW (for the discussion on 'N, see 'NYHW). However, as far as the identification of the MWT is concerned a god Mawet is not likely, because its existence is not

certain outside Ug literature, and its occurrence in PNs is doubtful. While the Eg goddess Mut is one of the most common theophoric elements. I am inclined to think that 'NMWT is an Eg name. However, as 'N could be a Semitic root, the identification is open to choice as follows;


(1) pure Eg: 'n-mw.t (see above)

(2) hybrid with Eg goddess: 'N-mw.t "Mut has answered" or "Mut has returned"

(3) hybrid with Sem goddess: 'n-MWT "Mot is beautiful"

(4) pure Semitic: 'N-MWT "Môt has answered."

* 'NMṢ

--- 'n-m-ṣ̌  "The beautiful one is on the lake"

Lemaire, *Inscriptions Heb.*, p.54

[Heb] Samaria Ostrakon no.24 (Reisner, *HES*, I p.235)

[Eg] Ranke I,61.15 f.NK

Reisner noted that 'NMS is apparently Eg (p.235). Albright, "The Evolution of the West-Semitic Divinity 'AN- 'ANAT- 'ATTÂ" *AJSL*, 41 p.83f, half admitted Reisner's note and identified it as 'Anemô(s)e for 'Anat-mâsey "born of 'Anat" on the assumption that the fem. ending -t of 'Anat dropped. However, there is no evidence that the Semitic ending -t dropped as the Eg ending did. What is more, the equation of Semitic Ṣ̌ with Eg s is questionable. Lemaire's interpretation 'n-m-ṣ̌ is much more likely.

** PWTY'L ()

--- p(3)-dî-'L "He whom 'L has given"

[Heb] Ex 6:25

[Eg] cf. p3-dî-DN type names (Ranke I,121.18ff ■.NK-Gk)

[LXX] φουτιηλ .

PWṬYPR (𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤙𐤐𐤓)


--- *p(3)-dī-p(3)-(i)r(y) "He whom the companion has given"

L p.56

[Heb] Gen 37:36, 39.1

[Eg] For p3-iry  see Ranke I,101.17f

(m.NK often); see also Ranke I,354.3, *DemNB* I,352 pa-iry, Copt ΠΑΗΡ (βΗΡ "companion, love" for iry Černý, p.42). Also p3-dī-iry is attested in Demotic (*DemNB* I,287) [Gk] ΠΕΤΕΦΡΗΣ (LXX).

The name has been considered to be identical with PWṬYPR'. However, it is not likely that the strong consonant 'ayn dropped. If this is the case, p3-dī-p3-iry is most probable. However, it is fair to note that this type of name usually takes a theophoric element after p3-dī-, though not exclusively; see Ranke II,328.20 t3-dī-ry (?)  and *DemNB* I,287 p3-tī-iry. Unfortunately meanings of Eg ry (a sort of plant ?) and iry (short form of iry-hms-nfr ?) are not certain. Other names which have non-theophoric elements are *DemNB* I,295 p3-tī-'š3-ihy "He whom the Kingdom has given", 309 p3-tī-pp "He whom (PN) pp has given", 342 p3-tī-sn-snw "He whom two brothers have given."

** PWṬYPR' (𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤙𐤐𐤓)

--- p(3)-dī-p(3)-r'  "He who belongs to Re'"

L p.56

[Heb] Gen 41:45, 50, 46:20

[Eg] Ranke II,356 m.Dyn22(?) -Late (cf. I,123.11); *DemNB* I,529

[Gk] ΠΕΤΕΦΡΗΣ (LXX), ΠΕΤΕΠΡΗΣ .

PW'H ($\eta\psi\iota\theta$)

--- p(3)-'(3)  "The great"

[Heb] Ex 1:15

[Eg] Ranke I,102.11 m./f.NK [LXX] $\varphi\omicron\upsilon\alpha$

PW'H is a Heb midwife, Eg p3-'3, though being a male form, was used as a female name as well. PW'H, however, can be explained by Ug PN $p\acute{g}t$ "girl" (< $p\acute{g}y$ "a boy" UT 2083, 2081). The identification is open to choice.

** PH'

--- p(3)-(n-)h(r)  "He who belongs to the face"

[Heb] seal: Avigad, *Michmanim* 4 p.10 (no.6)

[Eg] see Aram PH'.

** PT

--- p(3)-d(i)

[Moabite] seal: Vattioni, *SE* II no.267

[Eg] see Aram PTY.

** PTYHW (hybrid)

--- p(3)-d \acute{i} -YHW "He whom YHW has given"

[Heb] amphora: *IEJ* 12 p.146

[Eg] cf. p3-d \acute{i} -DN type names (Ranke I,121,18ff).

** PYNHS ($\sigma\pi\eta\iota\theta$)

--- p(3)-nhs(y)  "The Nubian"

Gardiner, *JAOS* 56 p.191f; L p.54


[Heb] Ex 6:25; Num 25:7 (17x); 1Sam 1:3 PNHS, 2:34, 4:4, 11, 17, 19, 14:3; Ezr 8:33

[Eg] Ranke I,113.13 m.NK-Late; II p.354; *DemNB* I,194 (*p3-nhs*)
[Gk] φ(ε)ινεεσ (LXX) [Copt] πΔνεϛαϛ (Heuser p.16) [Aram] cf.
ḤRPNHŠ

P3-nhsy as a PN is common in Egypt. One who is called "The Nubian" is not necessarily a Nubian. The word Nubian signifies something like "blacky", perhaps because his skin is a little darker. The use of KŠ "Kushu (Nubian)" as Heb PN can be comparable.

PKMT

--- **p(3)-(n-)k(3)-(n-)m(w.)t* "He who belongs to the ka of Mut"
[Heb] Jar: *Lachish Inscription* 29 (Ussishkin, *Tel Aviv* 5 pp.85-88)
[Eg] cf. *p3-n-k3-n-ḥ.t* "He who belongs to the ka of temple" (Ranke I,111.11 m.Late)


Another suggestion is **p3-kmt(.y)*; cf. *kmt.y* , *kmt.w*, *kmt.t* etc. (Ranke I,345.22ff m./f.MK). Though all belong to MK, it is conceivable that the names occur with the article in NK.

* PSMY



--- short form of *psm(tk)*
[Ammonite] ostracon: Heshbon 5.4 (Jackson, *Ammonite Lang* p.55 no.5.4)
[Eg] see Aram PSMY [Gk] ψαμις , ψαμεσ , ψαμμις

For the Ammonite hypocoristic ending -y, see Jackson, "Ammonite PNs" p.518 (e.g., ḤGY, PLṬY etc.).

** PPY

--- *pp* 
[Heb] ostracon: Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* p.96 no.72

[Eg] Ranke I,131.8 m.MK/Late

In the first two positions identical consonants are excluded in Semitic. Therefore, a Semitic explanation is impossible. On the other hand, Eg does not have such a restriction and there are Eg names which commonly have P in the first two positions, e.g., *pp* (above), *ppi'* (Ranke I,131.12 m.OK-NK/f.OK-MK), *ppy* (131.18 m./f.MK-NK). Other possible explanations which are less likely, are *p3-n-p* , *p3-n-py*  (Ranke I,107.12 m.Dyn22f; 107.24, 25 m.Late).

* PR'

--- *p(3)-(n-)r'*  "He who belongs to Re'"

[Heb] seal: Vattioni, SE I no.126

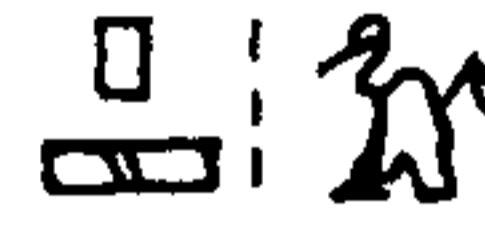
[Eg] Ranke I,109.13 m.NK

There is a Heb root PR' "let someone loose" (cf. Ug *pr'*), which is not used in PN. Therefore PR' is likely to be an Eg name.

** PŠHR ()

--- **p(s)š-ḥr* "Horus shares" or "Share of Horus"

[Heb] Jer 20:1, 2, 3a, 3b, 6, 21:1, 38:1a, 1b; Ezr 2:38, 10:22; Neh 10:4, 10:22, 11:12, 7:41

[Eg] cf. *psš-mw.t*  (Ranke I,137.5 m.Late), *psš-mn.w* (Ranke I,137.6 m.MK).

Another possibility is *p3-šr'-(n-)ḥr* (Ranke I,119.3 *ΨΕΥΡΠΙΣ*) "The son of Horus." This type of name is much more common than the *psš* + DN type in the Late period. However, the Gk form indicates that Eg *n* is retained though the N-assimilation is quite possible in Hebrew. Therefore, *psš* + DN is a little more probable. Cf. Ph PŠ- type and Aram PŠ- and PŠN- type. Cf. PŠHR.

**** PŠHR**

--- Var. of PŠHWR

[Heb] ostracon: Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* p.86 no.54; ostracon: Lemaire, *Semitica* 30 p.20 no.2; seal: Vattioni, *SE I* no.148 and 152; Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae* p.97 no.151, p.98 no.152, p.107 no.183
[Eg] see PŠHWR.

**** ŠH' (X Ḥ Ṣ)**

--- d(d)-ḥ(r)  "Face speaks"

IPN P.63

[Heb] Neh 7:46

[Eg] see Ph ŠH' [Gk] Σγά (LXX)

KB³, comparing it with Aram ŠH', accept that Heb ŠH' is also an Eg name. However, its meaning cannot be "Horus/face speaks" as KB³ say, but only "Face speaks," because the Eg r of Horus was never lost. ŠH' can hardly be derived from any Heb root. So it is most likely that the name is Eg.

**** ŠYH' (X Ḥ Ṣ)**

--- Var. of ŠH'

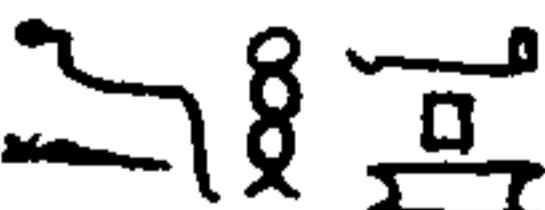
[Heb] Ezr 2:43

[Eg] see ŠH' [Gk] Σουθια (LXX).

ŠPNTP'NH (Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ Ḥ)

--- *df(3.ḥ)-nt(r), p(3)-'nh "My provision is god, the living one"

[Heb] Gen 41:45

[Eg] cf. df3(.ḥ)-h'py  "My provision is the Nile" (Ranke

I,406.16 m./f.MK), df3(.ḥ?)-k3(.ḥ?) "My provision is my ka" (?)

(Ranke I,406.18 f.OK)

Steindorff's interpretation (ZÄS 30 p.50-52) has been widely accepted (e.g., D. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical story of Joseph* p.230; A. Schulman, *SAK* 2 p.235-243), that is, **dd-p3-ntr-ıw.f-‘nh* "The god said, let him live" (cf. *dd-ımn-ıw.f-‘nh* "Amun said, let him live" Ranke I,409.23 m.Late). However, (1) phonetically, an *aleph* is normally required between T and P, because *ıw.f* is normally represented by 'P' (see Aram PN 'P' --- *ıw.f-‘3*, 'PRY --- *ıw.f-rr*), though it is conceivable that the *aleph* is elided; (2) semantically, the meaning of the name is inappropriate in the context.

K. Kitchen has proposed (*NBD*²p.1273) another solution with consonantal metathesis: **ŞTNP-* > *ŞPNT-*, because the sequence of *ŞT* is alien to Heb speakers. His interpretation is (Joseph) *dd-n.f-‘Ip-‘nh* "Joseph is called 'Ip'nh," which is a common name in the MK and Hyksos periods (cf. Ranke I,22.16). However, (1) phonetically, the *aleph* of 'Ip'nh is not reflected in the name; (2) the interpretation is based upon a metathesis for euphony in Hebrew.

A large number of suggestions has been produced as follows². Yet each one is either (1) semantically inappropriate, (2) phonetically incorrect (3) or not attested;

(1) A. Harkavy (1870): *df3-nd-p3-‘nh* "Food, protection of the life." The name form is not attested; NT cannot stand for Eg *nd*.

(2) A. Wiedemann: *p3-snt-n-p3-‘nh* "The foundation of the life." The name form and the element *snt* are not attested; a metathesis (*ŞP* > *PŞ*) is assumed; *Ş* can hardly represent Eg *s*.

²See Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte* p.151f. There are nine interpretations listed, and Vergote's interpretation p.145. (cf. Kitchen's review *JEA* 47 p.161). For two more interpretations, see Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph* p.230 n.2, and A. R. Schulman, *SAK* 2 pp.235-243.

(3) J. Krall (1888): $\underline{d}(d)-mnt.w-iw.f-'nh$ "Mont said may he live." Though the form of name is attested well, a shift of a consonantal value ($/m/ > /p/$) is presupposed; the *aleph* of *iw.f* dropped.

(4) J. Lieblein (1898): $\underline{df}3-nty-p3-'nh$ "He who gives the provision of the life." Though phonetically the name corresponds to the Heb form, the type of name is not attested.

(5) É. Naville (1903): $\underline{ts}-n.t-p(r)-'nh$ "The head of the school of learning, of the sacred college." Eg *ts* cannot be represented by Heb $\$P$, neither *n.t* by Heb NT. The form is also unknown.

(6) E. Mahler (1907): $\underline{df}3-n-t3, p3-di-'nh$ "Provision of the land, Life-giver." The name type of $\underline{df}3-n-t3$ is not attested, *di* has no correspondence in $\$PNTP'NH$.

(7) W. F. Albright (1918): $p3-snt-(n-)p3-'nh$ "The sustainer of Life." A metathesis is assumed, *i.e.*, $\$P- > P\$$ (cf. the Gk form); Heb $\$$ does not represent Eg S; no parallel is found.

(8) R. Engelbach (1924): $\underline{dd}.w-n.f-p3-'nh$ "One called him, (Joseph is) 'the living one'." The interpretation is assumed with a metathesis, *i.e.*, $*\$TNP- > \$PNT-$ (cf. K. Kitchen's $\underline{dd}-n.f-i'p-'nh$).


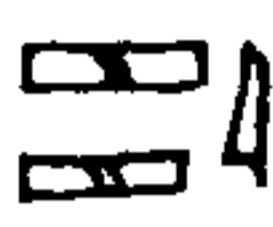
(9) H. Lutz (1945): $d(i.t)-(h)p(r)-n-t(3-h.t-n)-p3-'nh$ "To procure the way of life" has no phonetic correspondence at all.

(10) J. Vergote (1959): $p3-s-nty-'m.f-n3-i'h(.t)$ "The man who knows the matter." The whole interpretation depends upon the Gk form $\psi\omicron\nu\theta\omicron\mu\iota\varphi\alpha\nu\eta\chi$. No parallel form of the name is found in attested Eg PNs.

(11) Leibovitch (1964): $\underline{df}3-n-t3wy, p3-'nh$ "Sustainer of the two lands, the living one." The form $\underline{df}3-n-$ is not attested. Eg dual ending *-wy* cannot be elided, cf. Aram PN SMTW ($sm3-t3.wy$), PTW ($p3-n-t3.wy$).

The solution proposed here *df(3.i)-nt(r)*, *p(3)-'nh* is phonetically perfect, the name form is attested, and the meaning fits the context.

ŠWŠ' (XΨ|Ψ)

--- šš  , *ss.i*  (untranslatable)

[Heb] 1Chr 18:16

[Eg] Ranke I, 330.2 m.Dyn26 [Gk] Σουσα (LXX)

Cf. other forms ŠY', ŠYŠ'

ŠWŠ', ŠY' (2Sam 20:25), ŠYŠ' (1K 4:3) and ŚRYH (2Sam 8:17) designate the same person, *i.e.*, the scribe of King David. ŚRYH is most likely to be the adopted Hebrew name of a foreign official. Therefore, several attempts have been made to identify it as a foreign name; (1) a Babylonian name: *šamšu* (B. Stab, J. Marquart, etc. see *RB* 72 p.384). (2) a Hurrian name: a hypocoristicon of *šewi-šarri* (B. Maisler, *RB* 72 p.384); *šešwe*, *šešwiya* > **šewše*, **šeyša* (K. Kitchen, *VTS* 40 p.114). (3) an Eg name: *šš*, *šš.i*, *šš.y*, *šš.w* (de Vaux, *RB* 48 p.398f); **s3wy-s3i* "His is satisfaction" (K.Kitchen see above); *s(h)š('t)* "secretary" (A. Cody, *RB* 72 p.387ff; supported by T. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials*, pp.25-34). If the final *aleph* is a *mater lectionis*, *šamšu* for ŠWŠ' is possible, though ŠYŠ' cannot be explained. If the hypocoristicon of *šewi-šarri* is attested as *šewiša*, Maisler's solution is acceptable. If a metathesis took place, a Hurrian *šešwe*, *šešwiya* is probable. If both the W/Y and the *aleph* of ŠW/YŠ' are vowel letters, Eg *šš*, *šš.i*, *šš.y*, *šš.w* is likely. However, Eg *s3wy-s3i* requires an unusual correspondence between Eg *s* and Heb Š, and Eg *sh* š't has the inconceivable assumption that the Eg *h* dropped, and the Eg ' was reduced to *aleph*. Therefore, both are unlikely.

Considering that Heb W and Y, when they are vowel letters, appear alternatively, esp. between Š and Š, e.g., ŠWŠQ, ŠYŠQ, ŠWŠN, ŠYŠN, we could assume the W and Y of ŠYŠ' and ŠWŠ' are also vowel letters. It is true that the MT dealt with the W as a consonant (note the Y as a vowel letter), yet the Massoretes rarely failed to recognize a vowel letter and vocalized it as consonant (e.g., 'āwen = 'ōn! "On"), when they did not know the etymology. Therefore, the Eg solution of de Vaux is certainly possible. This type of name occurs from OK to Dyn 26 (see Ranke I, 330.1-5).

** ŠWŠQ ($\rho\psi\iota\psi$)

--- Var. of ŠYŠQ

[Heb] 1K 14:25 (Qere ŠYŠQ)

[Eg] see ŠYŠQ, cf. ŠŠQ [Gk] Σουσακιμ (LXX)

** ŠYŠQ ($\rho\psi\iota\psi$)

--- šš(n)k ($\text{III III } \overline{\text{A}}$) Shoshenq I (ca. 945-924)

[Heb] 1K 11:40; 2Chr 12:2, 5, 7, 9

[Eg] Gauthier, LR III, pt.2 p.307 (Eg king of Dyn 22)

[Gk] Σεσωγχις, Σεσωγχωσις; Σουσακιμ (LXX)

Cf. ŠWŠQ, ŠŠQ

The NA form *su-si-in-ku* suggests that ŠWŠQ reflects the original vocalization. K. Kitchen notes that Manetho's Σεσωγχωσις probably shows metathesis and that the omission of *n* of ŠYŠQ reflects its common omission in Eg throughout the Libyan period (*TIP²* p.73 n.356).

Š'NP

--- *š(3)'-nf(r) "Beautiful beginning"

[Heb]seal: Vattioni, SE III no.343 and 433

[Eg] cf. š3' (Ranke I,324.20 f.Dyn18), š3'-ḥp̄ry (Ranke I,324.21 f.Late)

In the absence of a Semitic explanation, an Eg identification deserves to be considered.

** ŠŠN (|ψψ)

--- sšn  "Lily"

Gardiner, JAOS 56 p.189f

[Heb] 1Chr 2:31, 34, 35 (cf. Apocrypha, Book of Daniel v. 2 etc.

ŠWŠNH)

[Eg] Ranke I,297.29 m.MK [Copt] ψωψεν [Gk] Σωσαν (LXX) [Aram] SŠN

Cf. Heb Lw ŠWŠN "lily"

The original spelling of Eg lily was sššn (wb III 487 OK-MK), it then took a bi-form sšn (Wb III 485 since MK) and ššn (cf. Copt ψεψεν), which is now inscriptionally confirmed (K. Kitchen, VA 3 p.29-31). Therefore Heb ŠŠN corresponds to Eg ššn, not sšn. Note that Heb loan word ŠWŠN (šûšan) shows different vocalization of PN ŠŠN (šēšan), behind which a change of vocalization [ū] > [ē] took place (see below [5] Notes on the Hebrew Vocalizations c) Other Vowel Changes).

* ŠŠQ (pψψ)

--- šš(n)k 

IPN p.64

[Heb] 1Chr 8:14, 25 brother of YRMWT

[Eg] Ranke I,330.6 m.Late-Gk

Cf. ŠWŠQ

ŠŠQ , relating to the fall of Gath (1Chr 8:13), most likely


belongs to David's time. Since the Libyans had already settled in the Delta in Dyn 21 (1069-945 BC; K. Kitchen, *TIP* p.244f), it is conceivable that the Libyan name *ššnḳ* entered Heb at that period. In the absence of a Heb cognate, an Eg name is more than likely.

THPNYS (תַּפְנִיִּס)

--- **t(3)-(n.t-)ḥ(.t)-p(3)-ns(w)* "She who belongs to the house of the king"


Stricker, *AO* 15 pp.11-12; Grdseloff, *Revue de l'Histoire Juive en Egypte* 1 pp.69-99; Albright, *BASOR* 140 p.32

[Heb] 1K 11:19, 20, 20 THPNYS

[Eg] cf. *t3-n.t-ḥ(w).t* "She who belongs to the temple", *t3-(n.t?-)ḥ(w).t-'3.t* "She who belongs to the great house" (Ranke I, 361.22f). For a *mater lectionis* Y, cf. Copt *ḡNHc* (*Ḥ.t-nn-nsw*  "Henes").

Two more interpretations have been put forward; (1) Gredseloff: **t3-ḥm.t-p3-ns(w)* "Royal wife." The title rather than PN is preferable to the context where THPNYS is followed by a title "queen." Since we know that there is a vowel after the *m* (cf. Copt *ḡMHε* for *ḥm.t*), the assimilation is rather unusual. (2) Albright: **t3-ḥn.t-p3/pr-nsw* "She whom the king/palace protects." Although an assimilation of *n* to *p* is assumed, it is more likely, because of Copt *ḡωN, ḡoN* - for *ḥn.t* "to protect."

**** TRHQH (תַּרְחֻחַ)**

--- *thrḳ* ()

[Heb] 2K 19:9 (= Is 37:9) Eg king (690-664 BC) of Dyn 25

[Eg] see Aram THRQ' (Notice a metathesis of H and R).

[2] Divine Names

** 'MWN (|iΔχ)

--- *imn* "Amun"

[Heb] Nah 3:8, Jer 46:25

[Eg] see Ph 'MN.

HP (ḥp)

--- ḥp  "Apis"

[Heb] Jer 46:15 reading MDW' NS HP // 'DYRYK L' 'MD "Why did Apis

flee ? // Your bull did not stand ?" Cf. LXX *Διὰ τι ἔφυγεν ἀπὸ σου ὁ Ἄπις*

[Eg] *Wb* III 70; Ph and Aram HPY

Interpretation of HP as "Apis" in this context, following LXX, (accepted by modern translations *NEB*, *JB*, see J. Bright, *Jeremiah* p.303) is preferable, though it is impossible to make a final judgment, because Heb root SHP "prostrate" exists and so MT NSHP could be correct.

[3] Geographical Names

** 'WN (|ix)

--- *awn(w)*  "Heliopolis"

[Heb] Gen 41:50; Ezek 30:17 'āwen

[Eg] *Wb* I 54; Montet, *Géographie* I p.156; Gauthier, *DG* I p.54;

Gardiner, *AEO* II 145* [Ph] 'N [Copt] ωN [Gk] Ων [NA] *uz-nu*

(Parpola, *NAT* p.368) [Baby] *āna* (del Monte-Tischler, *Die Orts- und*

Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte p.15) [Arab] عين

** 'N (|X)

--- Var. of 'WN

[Heb] Gen 41:45, 46:20

[Eg] see 'WN.

'TM (ΔΤΧ)

--- *itm* (?)

[Heb] Ex 13:20; Num 33:6, 7, 8 [Gk] *οθουμ*, *οθωμ* (LXX)


Phonetically the most natural correspondence is *itm* "Atum." K. Kitchen orally suggested **i^w-(i)tm* "the island of Atum" which is also possible, though both are pure reconstructions. Though often proposed, *htm* is impossible phonetically.

** HNS (𐎠𐎢𐎡)

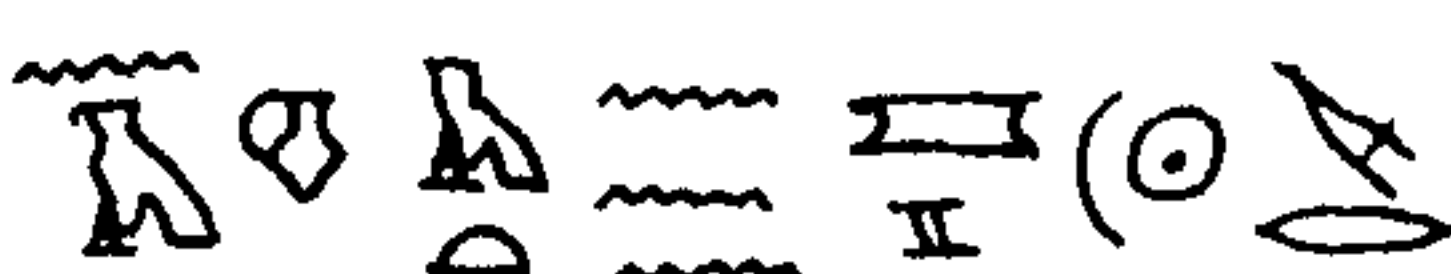
--- **h(w.t-nni)-ns(w)* "Heracleopolis parva"

Spiegelberg, *ARAT* p.36-38

[Heb] Is 30:4

Although HNS is commonly identified with Eg *h(w.t-nn)-nsw*  "Heracleopolis" (Gauthier, *DG* IV p.86; Montet, *Géographie* II p.187; *AEO* II p.113f), Heracleopolis in UE seems to be a strange parallel with Tanis in the context Is 30:4. Therefore, Spiegelberg proposed **H(w.t-nni)-nsw* "Heracleopolis parva" in the Delta (cf. *hi-ni-in-ši* Assurb. I 95; *Avuouis* Herodotus II 166). K. Kitchen also furnished a simple solution *h(w.t)-nsw* "The palace," because there was a palace in Tanis (*NBD*¹ p.504).

* MYNPTWH (in 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎢𐎡)

--- cf. *mr(y)-n-pth* (in *n3-hnm.t-mr.n-pth*  "The wells of Merneptah")

Calice, *OLZ* 6 p.224; Stricker, *AO* 15 p.14; Vycich, *ZAS* 76 p.88;
Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* p.172f.

[Heb] Josh 15:9; 18:15

[Eg] Anastasi III, vs.6.4; Wolf, *ZAS* 65 p.41f; Caminos, p.111,
says "name of watering station in Palestine" (p.554).

Cf. Hittite PN Mar-ni-ip-tah (Laroche no.765)

It seems to be identical with modern Lifta (Abel, II p.398;
Aharoni p.111 and 382), about 5km, west of Jerusalem.

** MP (𐤎𐤓)

--- Var. of NP

[Heb] Hos 9:6

[Eg] see Heb NP

Probably the middle N (cf. Aram MNPY) was assimilated into the
following a labial P (cf. Aram MPY); see the later discussion p.359.


** N' (𐤎')

--- $n'(w.t)$  "Thebes"

[Heb] Jer 46:25; Ezek 30:14, 15, 16; Nah 3:8

[Eg] see Aram N'.

** NP (𐤎𐤓)

--- $m(n-n)f(r)$ "Memphis" 

[Heb] Is 19:13, Jer 2:16, 44:1, 46:14, 19; Ezek 30:13, 16

[Eg] *Wb* II 63.6-7 Montet, *Géographie* I p.29; Gauthier, *DG* III

p.38f; Gardiner, *AEO* II p.122* [Ph] MNP [Aram] MPY, MNPY [Heb]

MP [Copt] $\text{M}\tilde{\text{N}}\eta\epsilon, \text{MN}\beta\epsilon, \text{M}\epsilon\text{M}\eta\iota$ etc. [Gk] $\text{M}\epsilon\mu\phi\iota\varsigma$ [Akk] me-em-pi

(S. Parpola, *NAT* p.246) [Baby] memp i (Zadok, *GNNLB* p.228)

The change M > N is not usual though conceivable (see the

later discussion [4] Notes on the Correspondences d) Nasals).

* NPTH (in $\Delta\text{NPT}\text{H}$)

--- *n(3)-p(3)-(i)dh(w) "Those of the Delta"

Spiegelberg, *OLZ* 9 pp.276-9; Kitchen, *NBD*¹ p.865

[Heb] Gen 10:13 = 1Chr 1:11

[Eg] cf. *Wb* I,155.8 n3-ídhw $\overline{\text{N}} \text{A} \text{B} \text{C} \text{D} \text{E}$ "those of the delta land"

From the context, the designation of Lower Egypt by NPTH, being followed by PTRWS (Upper Egypt), is more than a likelihood. Therefore, Brugsch (*Wb* VI p.633) and Erman emend the text to (N)PTMHY to fit Eg p3-t3-mhw "Lower Egypt." However Spiegelberg, without resorting to an emendation, proposed another possibility *n3-p3-ídh(w), which is more likely. Spiegelberg, followed by Ranke, *KM* p.31, also compared it with NA *nathu* (Assurb. I 92 and 97) and Gk $\nu\alpha\theta\omega$ (Herodotus II 165). However these designate a city n3y-t3-hwt (Montet, *Géographie* I p.169) in the Delta.

** SWNH ($\text{N} \text{W} \text{N} \text{H}$)

--- *swn.t* $\overline{\text{N}} \text{W} \text{N} \text{H}$ "Syene" modern Aswan

[Heb] Ezek 29:10, 30:6

[Eg] see Aram GN SWN.

** SYN ($\text{S} \text{Y} \text{N}$)

--- *sín* $\overline{\text{S}} \text{Y} \text{N}$ "Pelusium" (modern Tell el-Farama)

Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 49 p.81ff; Kitchen, *TIP* p.377 n.877

[Heb] Ezek 30:15, 16

[Eg] Gauthier, *DG* V p.14f.; Montet, *Géographie* I p.199

[Gk] $\Sigma\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu$ (LXX) [NA] *ṣi-'i-nu* (Assurb.I.91, 134; cf. Ranke, *KM* p.34)

Streck (Assurb. p.10 n.3) suggests that *ṣi-'i-nu* is identical with *ṣa-'a-nu* "Tanis." However the context indicates that these cities are different from each other. Despite the variation in sibilant *ṣi-'i-nu* is most likely to be Pelusium (see Kitchen above).

** SYNYM (סִינַי)

--- Var. of SWNYM "Syenites"

[Heb] Is 49:12 .

[Eg] see SWNH; also the later discussion in [5] Notes on Hebrew Vocalization c) Other Vowel Changes.

? SKT (סֶכֶת)

--- *tkw*  (modern Tell el-Maskuta)

Brugsch, *ZAS* 13 p.8; Naville, *The Store-city of Pithom* p.23;

Redford, *VT* 13 p.404f.; Helck, *VT* 15 p.35f.; Aharoni, p.179

[Heb] Ex 12:37 (with locative *he*), 13:20; Num 33:5, 6

[Eg] Gauthier, *DG* VI p.83; Montet, *Géographie* I p.213

Since Brugsch identified SKT with *tkw*, the identification has been generally accepted by scholars, except Gardiner "The Geography of the Exodus" p.213) and his followers (Peet, *Eg and the OT* p.139; Caminos, p.256). The reason why Gardiner denied it is that he mistakenly identified Raamsses with Pelusium (Gardiner, *JEA* 5 p.270). The location of *tkw* and the identification of *tkw* with SKT is almost certain by now. However, a philological question still remains, that is, the representation of Eg *t* by Heb S. No scholar has ever doubted since Brugsch that Heb borrowed *tkw* as SK, to which a Heb ending T was added. Yet the facts that Eg *t* is not represented by Heb S, and Heb S is normally represented by Eg *t*

when Eg borrows from Semitic (Burchardt, p.147; Albright, *VESO* p.65) lead us to conclude that Eg *tkw* was derived from Semitic SKT. This conclusion more easily explains the loss of the final *t* in Eg, because Eg *t* ending was lost in NK. What is more, Heb SKT occurs as another GN, and the root SKH "booth", derived from SKK "cover, isolate," is well attested, and designates a military camp in 2 Sam 11:11. Contrarily Eg *tkw* is meaningless in Eg. Therefore, it is conceivable that Semitic people named this place SKT as a temporary shelter or a camp site, when they arrived in Egypt, then the name entered Eg as **tkwt* > *tkw* (cf. $\Delta\lambda$ /*tu*/ as the regular ending of the Canaanite feminine ending in Eg transcription in Dyn 18, Burchardt, section 133).

** PYBST (פִּיבִּסְת)

--- *p(r)-b(3)st(.t)* "Bubastis" (modern Tell Basta)

[Heb] Ezek 30:17

[Heb] Gauthier, *DG* II p.75; Montet, *Géographie* I p.173 [Gk]

βουβαστις, βουβαστος [Copt] *ΠΟΥΒΑΣΤΕ, ΠΟΥΒΑΣΤ*.

Notice the vowel change Heb [pî-] > [p/bū-] (see the later discussion [5] Notes on the Hebrew Vocalizations c) Other Vowel Changes).

? PYHHYRT (פִּיחִירָת)

[Heb] Ex 14:2, 9; Dt 33:7

Several attempts have been made to identify the name with Eg names: *i.e.*, *pr-ḥwt-ḥr* (Gardiner, "The Geography of the Exodus" p.213; Albright, *BASOR* 109 p.16)), *p3-ḥrw(m)* (Saft El Henne; Cazelles, *RB* 62 p.350ff.). However none of these corresponds phonetically to (PY)HHYRT. A Semitic explanation is perhaps more

persuasive. Since PYHHYRT occurs without PY in Num 33:8, it is acceptable that PY means "mouth" and the real place name is HHYRT. The first H could be an article with which HYRT, derived from root HRR "hole", was combined, meaning "the mouth of the canal." If this Heb form entered Egypt, perhaps it was spelt as *p3-*hrt* > p3-*hr*, which might be comparable with Eg p3-*hr* in Anastasi III,2.9 (Caminos p.74, 78f).

** P^TM

--- p(r)-(i)tm  (probably modern Tell el-Rataba)

Bietak, "Comment on the Exodus"; Kitchen, "Raamses, Succoth and Pithom" (forthcoming)

[Heb] Ex 1:11

[Eg] Gauthier, *DG* II p.59; Montet, *Géographie* I p.215 [Gk] Πειθω (LXX), Πάτουμου (Herodotus II 158) [Copt] ΠΕΘΩΜ

Philologically no doubt has ever been cast upon the identification: the *r* of *pr* lost its consonantal value, becoming [i], with which the *i*' of *itm* was merged. However, the actual location has been long discussed. Though the localization is beyond the range of the scope of the present study, it is much more likely that Pithom is to be located in Tell el-Rataba (M. Bietak, above p.168f.) than being identical with *tkw* which is located in Tell el-Maskuta by most scholars, because Tell el-Rataba is a city of Raamses II, in which a temple of Atum existed (*PM* IV p.55; Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* p.30f and pl.30). This identification (*i.e.*, separation of Pithom from Succoth of *tkw*) makes it easy to explain why Pithom was never mentioned, while *tkw* (SKT) is always mentioned in the route of the Exodus in the OT. Succoth was on the route, while Pithom was too far West to be the route taken.

** PTRWS (פְּתֹרִס)

--- *p(3)-t(3)-rs(y) "The southern land" (i.e., Upper Egypt)

[Heb] Is 11:11, Jer 44:1, 15; Ezek 29:14, 30:14

[Eg] Inscripturally this name is not attested, yet it occurs as *pa-tu-ri-si* in a NA inscription of Esarhaddon (Ranke, *KM* p.31; Parpola, *NAT* p.276) in the context "king of Egypt, *paturesi* and Cush." Therefore, the identification is beyond doubt. The *mater lectionis* W of -RWS suggests a different vocalization from the NA form *-risi*, and Copt *-ρHC*. Therefore, it is most probable that Eg *p3-t3-rsy* entered Hebrew before Eg [ǔ] in a closed accented syllable became [ě] (e.g., *pūya* > ΠΗΙ Albright *Rec. de Trav.* 40 p.66f; Sethe, *ZDMG* 77 p.207; Osing "Lautsystem" *LÄ* III p.948).

** PTRSYM (פְּתֹרִסִּים)

--- gent. of PTRWS

[Heb] Gen 10:14; 1Chr 1:12

[Eg] see PTRWS.

** S'N (שֵׁן)

--- *d'n(.t)*  "Tanis" (modern Şan el-Hagar)

[Heb] Num 13:22; Is 19:11, 13, 30:4; Ps 78:12, 43; Ezek 30:14

[Eg] Gauthier, *DG* VI p.111; Montet, *Géographie* I p.192ff. [Gk]

Tāvis [Copt] ⲤⲗⲁⲖⲀⲚⲈ, ⲔⲗⲁⲛⲞ, ⲗⲁⲛⲞ [Demot] *d'ny* [NA] *ša-'a-nu*

(Assurb I 96, 134; Ranke, *KM* p.34) [Arab] *صان*.

** R'MSS (רַמְסֵס)

--- (pr-)r'mss  (area of Avaris, modern Tell el-Dab'a)

Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a II; Avaris and Piramesse*

[Heb] Gen 47:11; Ex 1:11 *ra'amsēs*, Ex 12:37; Num 33:3, 5

[Eg] Gauthier, *DG* III p.129; Montet, *Géographie* I p.194

[Gk] ῥαμεσση̃ (LXX)

The identification of Rameses is firmly established by Bietak (see above), about 20 km south of Tanis.

** ŠYHWR (שִׁיחֹר)

--- š-hr  "The lake of Horus"

Gardiner, *JEA* 5 p.251f.

[Heb] Is 23:3; Jer 2:18; 1Chr 13:5; Josh 13:3 HŠYHWR

[Eg] *Wb* IV,397.4; Gauthier, *DG* V p.124f.; Montet, *Géographie* I p.200

Shihor is a branch of the Nile in NE of the Delta, between Tell el-Dab'a and Pelusium.

** THPNḤS (תַּחְפַּנְחֶס)

--- *t(3)-ḥ(.t)-p(3)-nḥs(y) "The mansion of the Nubian"

(modern Tell Defneh)

Cledat, *BIFAO* 23 p.40ff.

[Heb] Jer 2:16 *Kt. tahpansē*, 43:7, 8, 9, 44:1, 46:14; Eze 30:18

bithapnhēs

[Eg] This GN is not attested inscriptionally. [Gk] Δαφνη (Herodotus

II 30) Ταφναι, Ταφνη (LXX) [Ph] THPNḤS

Cf. PN PNḤS (p3-nḥsy "the Nubian").

[4] Loan Words

'BRK (אֲבִיבֵךְ)

--- ḥb-r.k "attention!"

Spiegelberg, *OLZ* 15 pp.317-321 (cf. review by Breasted, *AJSL* 21 p.24); Ungnad, *ZAW* 41 p.206; Lambdin, p.146; Vergote, *Joseph en Egypte* p.135-141 (cf. review by Kitchen, *JEA* 47 p.162; Couroyer, *RB* 66 p.591f); Croatto, *VT* 16 p.113-115, Redford, *Joseph* p.226ff (cf. review by Kitchen, *Or.An.* 12 pp.233-242); Lipinski, *ZAH* 1 p.61f; Ellenbogen p.3ff.

[Heb] Gen 41:43

[Eg] Spiegelberg's solution seems to be fit the context, if the word is an exclamation. Breasted questioned it because the pl. *tn* instead of the sg. *k* would be expected. However, it is not a problem if we think that the exclamation was made as if to an individual. Another possibility, proposed by Brugsch (?), Vergote, followed by Redford, is Eg imperative prothetic *aleph i' + Sem Lw brk* "to pay homage." However, if the word is a designation of a title, Sum Lw provides *abarakku* "steward, minister" (*AHW* 3b, *CAD* A1 32), proposed by Ungnad, Croatto, and Lipinski. However, judging from the context, an Eg solution is more probable. Ellenbogen tried to compare the word Eg *b3k*, however, there is no phonological basis. The first two Eg solutions seem to remain most likely.

? 'BYWN ($\text{b}^{\text{y}}\text{w}^{\text{n}}$) "poor"

--- *b'in* $\text{b}^{\text{y}}\text{w}^{\text{n}}$ "evil"

Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.109; Calice no.590; Lambdin p.145f.; Ellenbogen p.1

[Heb] Deut 15:4 (total 61x)

[Eg] *Wb* I,442f. [Copt] $\text{b}^{\text{y}}\text{w}^{\text{n}}$, $\text{b}^{\text{y}}\text{w}^{\text{w}}\text{n}$ "bad"; cf. $\text{e}\beta\text{i}\text{h}\text{n}$ "poor"

[Demot] *b'in* "bad"; cf. *3byn* "poor" [Ug] *abyn* (*Aist* p. 18; *UT* 19.24) "poor"

There has been a general agreement that Heb 'BYWN is an Eg loan

word. However, Eg *bín* does not mean "poor" which Heb 'BYWN always designates. Therefore, we cannot confirm that 'BYWN is an Eg loanword unless we assume that the meaning was changed when the word *bín* was borrowed. When we consider the other related words, the following is drawn;

	Eg	Ug	Heb	Demot	Copt
"poor"	-	<i>abyn</i>	' <i>byn</i>	<i>3byn</i>	ⲉⲃⲓⲏⲏ
"bad"	<i>bín</i>	-	-	<i>bín</i>	ⲃⲱⲱⲏ

Therefore, it is more reasonable to assume either that the Eg and Sem words were cognates which developed differently from each other (*i.e.*, **bín* > *abyn*; **bín* > *bin*) or that there were no connections at all. In the latter case, the word 'BYWN was derived from a root *'BY, as BDB classified it under the entry 'BH, followed by Ward (see Ug Lw ABYN), to which is added the affirmative -*ôn* (Gesenius section 85u). Then in the Late Period the Sem word was borrowed by Eg as Demotic *3by*, Copt ⲉⲃⲓⲏⲏ. Erman supposed that the Heb 'BYWN was derived from ⲉⲃⲓⲏⲏ. However, the occurrence of Ug *abyn* in the late second millennium BC makes it unlikely.

* 'BNT̄ (ⲟⲓⲓⲗ̄) "girdle, sash"

--- *bnd*  "wrap up"

Stricker, *AO* 15 p.10; Calice no.594; Lambdin p.146; Ellenbogen p.2

[Heb] Ex 28:4, 39, 40, 29:9; Lev 8:7, 13, 16:4, Is 22:21

[Eg] *wbl*, 465 NK-Gk [Gk] cf. *αβανηθ* (Josephus, *Anti.* III vii 2),

βυνητος "an Eg garment" (Liddell & Scott p.333b)

If 'BNT̄ is an Eg loan word, 'BNT̄ is probably derived from a passive participle of Eg *bnd*. The Gk form *βυνητος* (see above), if

derived from Eg *bnd*, indicates that a noun form of *bnd* existed.

* 'Ḥ (ḤḤ) "brazier for heating a room"

--- 'ḥ  "brazier as an instrument for burning offering"

Müller, *OLZ* 3 p.51; Calice no.401; Lambdin p.146; Ellenbogen p.21

[Heb] Jer 36:22, 23

[Eg] *Wb* I,223.13-16 Saite-Gk [Copt] αϣ "furnace, oven" [Demot] 'ḥ

There is no indication that Eg 'ḥ became 'ḥ in the historical course of the Eg language (cf. Demot 'ḥ; against Ellenbogen). However, it is possible that Eg 'ayn became *aleph* before ḥ (J. Osing, *SAK* 8 pp.217-221). Also it is possible to assume the dissimilation 'ayn > *aleph* when the word was borrowed by Heb, because 'ayn and *aleph* are incompatible in the first two consonant in Hebrew (cf. J. Greenberg, "The Patterning of root morphemes in Semitic" *Word* 6 p.164, 169, for the case of verb root).

** 'ḤW (ḤḤW) "grass, reed"

--- 3ḥ(y)  "plant"

Spiegelberg, *Rec. de Trav* 24 p.180-182; Lambdin p.146

[Heb] Gen 41:2, 18; Job 8:11; Hos 13:15

[Eg] *Wb* I,18.8 NK; cf. 3ḥ3ḥ "green" (I,18.16ff since NK); *i*3ḥ.y

"belome flooded" (I,33.2 Pry); *w*3ḥy (*w* dropped in early period)

"become flooded, be green" (I,258.13ff. Pyr-Gk); Demot 3ḥ.t "flood

season"; Copt ^bΔϣⲓ, Δϣⲓ derived from Gk ἄχελ LXX (Černý p.17). It

is not surprising in Egypt that the word 3ḥ.y "plant, green grass"

originated from the word *w*3ḥy "become flooded," because the green

pasture land was the result of the annual inundation. [Ug] 'Aḥ

"meadow" [Aram] 'ḤWH.

Lambdin notes that the final W of 'ḤW points to a very early

borrowing, when the final *-w* of the Eg word was still pronounced.
The Ug form indicates later borrowing because of the absence of the
Eg *w*.

** 'HLMH ($\eta\Delta\lambda\pi\chi$) (the name of a precious stone)

--- $hnm(.t)$  "reddish jasper"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.1100; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.116; Lambdin p.147; Ellenbogen
p.22

[Heb] Ex 28:19, 39:12

[Eg] *Wb* III,294.4-8 Dyn18: Harris, *Lex.Stud.* p.123f

As far as the equation between Eg *n* and Heb *l* is concerned, it
has been known that some Eg *ns* were actually pronounced as [*l*],
e.g., Eg *nšm.t* (LŠM); *ns* (=Copt $\sigma, \beta\lambda\Delta\epsilon$, $\alpha, \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\epsilon$, Demot *ls*).
Especially interesting is that the change */n/ > /l/* is often
observed between *h/h* and *m*, *e.g.*, *hnm* "smell" = Copt $\psi\omega\lambda\mu$ (Černý
p.241), *hnmhn* "become entangled" = $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\lambda\upsilon$, *hnmt* "spring" = $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\mu\epsilon$,
 $\sigma\epsilon\omicron\mu\beta\epsilon$ (Černý p.280). The above examples are strong enough to
justify the case of *hnm.t*.

As for the identification of this precious stone, Harris says
"it is quite apparent that *hnmt* is to be interpreted as red jasper
and the glass and faience imitations frequently substituted for it"
(p.124). The traditional translation "amethyst" should be correc-
ted.

** 'TWN ($\mu\theta\lambda$)

--- *ídm(i)*  "red linen"

Spiegelberg, *ZVS* 41 p.130; Lambdin p.147

[Heb] Prov 7:16 'TWN MSRYM "Egyptian linen"

[Eg] *Wb* I,153.15-16 since OK [Demot] *ítm.t/ítmí* [Gk] *οθονη* ,

οθονιον "fine linen" (Liddell and Scott 1200b)

A dissimilation $m > n$ could be supported by the Gk form
cf. prep $m > n$ (Copt N-).

'Y (יַ) "coast, region"

--- iw  "island"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.29; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.107; Calice no.481; Lambdin
p.147

[Heb] Gen 10:5; mostly in Is, Jer and Eze (36x)

[Eg] *Wb* I,47.4ff. since MK [Copt] - b_1 - in $\pi\iota\lambda\alpha\kappa\zeta$ "Philae" [Ph/Pu]

'Y (*DISO* p.12)

It is possible that 'Y is an early borrowing from Eg iw .
However, the correspondence between Y and w prevents us from
determining whether it is an Eg-Sem cognate or an Eg loanword.
That Eg iw became i is supported by Copt i in $\pi\iota\lambda\alpha\kappa\zeta$, and ' I -*sa-hy-*
ra (=Ishara) (*VESO* p.35).

** 'YPH (יֶפֶח) "ephah"


--- $ip(.t)$  "measure for corn and fruit"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.49; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.107; Sethe *ZAS* 62 p.61; Lambdin
p.147; Ellenbogen p.26.

[Heb] *Wb* I,67 since Dyn 18 [Copt] $\sigma\omicron\pi\epsilon$, $\beta\omega\pi\iota$, $\epsilon\Delta\pi\iota$ (Černý
p.121) [Gk] $\sigma\acute{\iota}\phi\acute{\iota}$ (LXX)

There has been no doubt that 'YPH is an Eg word. The vocalic
change of $ip.t$ is **apyat* (James, *Hekanakhte* p.65f) > *aypat* (= Heb
'YPH) > Copt $\sigma\omicron\pi\epsilon$.

? BWS (יָבֵשׁ) "byssus"

--- $w(3)d(.t)$  "a green coloured material for clothing"

Spiegelberg, *ZVS* 41 p.128f.; Lambdin p.147f.(with doubt)

[Heb] Est 1:6, 8:15, Eze 27:16, 1Chr 4:21, 15:27, 2Chr 2:13, 3:14, 5:12

[Eg] *Wb* I,268.10-12 since Pyr [Ph] B(W)Ṣ [Syria] BWS' [Old S. Arab] *bazz* [Eth] *bīsōs* [Gk] *βύστος* [NA/NB] *būṣu* (earliest occurrence in a text of Shalmaneser III ca. 850 BC)

We have to note the fact that BWS only occurs in 6th cent. BC and later documents, in which period Eg *d* became *d* which does not correspond to Heb Ṣ. The correspondence between Eg *w* and Heb B is also unlikely. So the borrowing from Eg is very doubtful. A. Hurvitz, after observing the usage of ŠŠ and BWS in the Bible, and their distribution in non-Hebrew sources, concluded that BWS is of northern origin, entered biblical Hebrew not before the 6th cent. BC ("The Usage of ŠŠ and BWS in the Bible and its implication for the date of P" *HTR* 60 pp.117-21). Then BWS replaced ŠŠ due to the increased post-exilic contact with the Northeast. He points out (pp.119f) that Ezekiel distinguishes explicitly between the BWS imported to Tyre from Aram or Edom (Ez 27:7). Cf. also Est 8:15, Gen 41:42.

BHT (𐤁𐤏𐤕) "a costly stone"

--- (*i*)*bht(y)* 𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤍 "a type of stone from Nubia"

Lambdin p.147 (with doubt)


[Heb] Est 1:6

[Eg] *Wb* I,64.1; Harris, *Lex. Stud* p.96f.

Harris notes that *ibhty* is undoubtedly identical with Eg *bht* (not in *Wb*) which has the same meaning. So the absence of Eg *i* in the Hebrew form is not a problem. However the correspondence between Eg *t* and Heb Ṭ makes the identification very doubtful.

Furthermore, the meaning of *ibhty* is uncertain.

BHN (בִּחַן) "tested"

--- *bhn(.w)*  "dark hard stone for monuments"

Lambdin p.148; Ellenbogen p.48

[Heb] Is 28:16 cf. Eze 21:18(13) BHN (?)

[Eg] *Wb* I,471.1-5 since MK; Harris, *Lex. Stud.* p.78

According to Lambdin, Sethe, assuming the *bhn.w* is used as a touchstone, points out the Eg origin of Heb BHN. He asserts that the meaning "touchstone" fits well in the context (Is 28:16). However, the Heb root BHN "to test" is well attested (cf. Aram BHN) and BHN is a *qutl*-form with the second laryngal. There seems to be no necessity to change the meaning of the word in the context. Therefore, it is unnecessary to suppose that BHN is an Eg loanword.

* BHN (בִּחַן) "watch-tower"

--- *bhn(.t)*  "gate building, pylon tower"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.414; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.110; Lambdin p.148f.

[Heb] Is 32:14 cf.*BHYN (Is 23:13)

[Eg] *Wb* I,471.9-11 since NK

Because of the lack of any Heb etymological explanation, it is possible that the word BHN was borrowed from Eg *bhn.t*.


* BHYN (בִּחַן) "siege tower (?)"

--- Var. of BHN

[Heb] Is 23:13 *Qere* BHWNW

[Eg] see BHN.

** GM' ($\times \Delta \lambda$) "rush"

--- *gmy*  "rush, material for mat and basket"

Loret, *Rec.de Trav.* 13 p.201; Keimer, *OLZ* 30 p.145-154; Lambdin p.194; Ellenbogen p.56; Spiegelberg, *KHW* p.40; Černý p.57

[Heb] Ex 2:3, Is 18:2, 35:7, Job 8:11


[Eg] *Wb* V,170.5 since NK [Copt] ⲉ.ⲃⲚⲀⲘ (Černý p.57) [Demot] *km*

(Erichsen p.537.3) [Aram] GM'

It has been acknowledged since V. Loret that Heb and Aram GM' is an Eg loanword. The word is hardly derived from Heb root GM' "to swallow." Lambdin casts a serious doubt as to whether the word is an Eg loanword; because he identified GM' with Eg *km3* (*Wb* V.37.14-16; since Dyn 21), the phonetic problem (Eg *k* = Heb G) arose.

However *km3* is identical with *gmy* (Keimer, above; accepted by Černý p.57), because *km3* occurs in perfect parallel with *gmy*. There may be bi-forms, one of which was borrowed by Semitic, and survived until the Late period (Is 18:2). On the contrary, the form *gmy* fell out of use in Eg (no Demot equivalent), only *km3* survived as Copt *KAM*.

? DYW (דַּיִו) "ink"

--- *ry(.t)*  "colour of the writing and drawing"

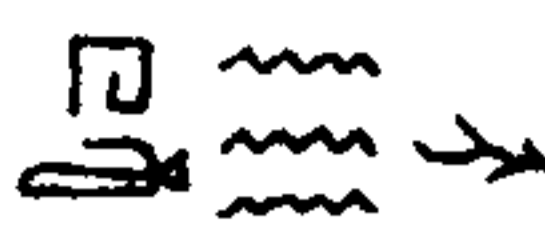
Lambdin p.149

[Heb] Jer 36:18

[Eg] *Wb* II,399 since MK [Aram] DYWT' [Arab] دَوِي

Lambdin assumes that Heb DYW is a graphic error of RYW. The identification is possible simply because there are no other explanations furnished. However, we also have to assume that the Aram, Syria and Arab forms originated from a manuscript of Jeremiah, in which the graphic error occurred.

? HDM ($\Delta\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$) "footstool"

--- *hdm(.w)*  → "footstool"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.912; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.114; Burchardt no.669;

Albright, *VESO* p.52; Ellenbogen p.66

[Heb] Is 66:1; Ps 99:5, 110:1, 132:7; Lam 2:1; 1Chr 28:2

[Eg] *Wb* II,505.17-19 since Dyn 18 [Ug] *hdm*

Ellenbogen suggests that the word HDM is derived from Eg *hdm.w*. However, the Eg syllabic writing indicates that the word was borrowed in Eg as **hadmu* (*Wb* II,505; Albright, "The Furniture of El in Canaanite Mythology" *BASOR* 91 p.42; K. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im Alten Ägypten* p.14f). C. Gordon has a further comment on this word, "the fact that Heb HDWM has no Semitic etymology, while Eg *hdm.w* is not attested before the 18th Dyn, suggests that the word is East Mediterranean" without any specification (*UT* 19.751).

** HWBN ($\Delta\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$, Qere $\Delta\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$) "ebony"

--- *hbn(y)*  → "ebony"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.896; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.114; Lambdin p.149; Ellenbogen p.63

[Heb] Ezek 27:15

[Eg] *Wb* II,487.7-12 since Pyr [Gk] ἔβενος (LXX εἰσαγόμενοι)

[Latin] *ebenus* [Ug] *hbn*.

** HYN ($\eta\bar{\eta}$) "hin"

--- *hn(w)*  → "a vessel, liquid measure"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.901; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.114; Lambdin p.149; Ellenbogen p.68

[Heb] Ex 29:40, Lev 23:13; Num 15:4 (total 22 x)

[Eg] *Wb* II,493.2f since Pyr [Copt] $\eta\bar{\eta}$ (Černý p.285) [Demot] *hn*

[Gk] $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ (LXX) [EA] *hi-na* (14.III.62) [Aram] HN [Ug] *hn* (UT 19.785)

This Eg loan word is identical in function with, but different in value from Eg *hnw*. Eg *hnw* is about 0.5 litre (Gardiner, *EG*³ p.199), while Heb HYN about 4 litres.

ZRT (זֵרַת) "a span (as a measure)"

--- *dr.t* דֵרַת "hand"

Bondi, *ZÄS* 32 p.132; Sethe, *Verbum* p.183; Calice no.946;

Lambdin p.149f

[Heb] Ex 28:16, 39:9; 1Sam 16:4, Is 40:12, Eze 43:3

[Eg] *Wb* V 580.3ff. [Copt] ⲃⲧⲱⲣⲉ , ⲃⲧⲱⲣⲓ , ⲉⲧⲱⲗⲓ , ⲃⲧⲟⲟⲧ= , ⲃⲧⲟⲧ=

[Aram] ZRT (*DISO* p.80) [Syria] ZRT' [Ug] *drt* (UT 710)

If this is an Eg loanword, as Lambdin pointed out, the borrowing must have taken place in a very early period (end of 3rd millennium to early 2nd millennium), because *d* of *dr.t* became *d* which cannot be represented by Heb Z, and the *t* of *dr.t*, which is represented by Heb T, was lost quite early. Ug *drt* reflects the period after Eg *d* became *d*, before the final *t* was lost. The fact that the root ZRT has no Semitic etymology favours the Eg origin, though we cannot be sure.

? HNYK (in חֲנֻכָּיִם) "the trained, retainers"

--- *hnk* חֲנֻכָּיִם "the trustful"

Yahuda, *Language* p.291; Albright, *AfO* 6 p.221; *BASOR* 94 p.24 n.87;

Lambdin p.150

[Heb] Gen 14:14

[Eg] *Wb* III,118; cf. *mhnk* (II,129.7-8 since OK) [Aram] HNK (vb),

H NKH (noun) (*DISO* p.92)

It was Albright, opposing Yahuda, who regarded Heb ḤNYK as an Eg loanword. He advocated that ḤNYK, as well as *ḥa-na-ku-u-ka* (*Taanach letters* no.6.8, *CAD H 76b*) is unquestionably connected with Eg *ḥnk/mḥnk* (*AfO 6 p.221*). However, later he changed his view, and doubted the identification, because he admitted the reading of Eg *ḥnk*, quoted by Albright, is doubtful (*G. Posener, Princes et Pays d'Asie et Nubie pp.26-28*, where he read the word as *sqryw*). There is no difficulty in thinking that ḤNYK is a *qatil* type noun deriving from the root ḤNK "train, dedicate." Therefore, Yahuda's original proposal is still valuable. It seems more likely that the word was borrowed by Egyptian.

? ḤNYT ($\aleph \eta \nu \tau$) "spear"

--- *ḥny.t*  "spear"

Erman, *ZDMG 46 p.115*; Calice no.718; Ellenbogen p.73

[Heb] 1Sam 17:7, 13:22 (47x)

[Eg] *Wb III,110.11 NK*

The Eg word *ḥny.t* only occurs in NK, in which the Eg fem. ending *t* was lost. Therefore, it is impossible for Heb ḤNYT to be an Eg loanword, unless we assume that the word was borrowed in a very early stage. The Eg *ḥny.t* occurs twice in the list of tribute from *Rtnw* in Syria (*Urk IV,719.727*) and once in a magical text (*A. Massart, Leiden I 343,recto V.2*) as a weapon of Ba'al, suggesting that *ḥny.t* is Semitic loanword in Eg.

* ḤRY ($\aleph \rho \eta$) "white cake?"

--- *ḥr(.t)*  "a kind of cake"

[Heb] Gen 40:16

[Eg] *Wb III,148.16 end of MK-NK*

That the word appears once in an Eg context is in favour of an Eg loanword. BDB, however, classified it under a root HWR "be white", from which the meaning "white cake" was inferred. Though Eg origin is probable, it cannot be certain.

* HRTM (in $\square\prime\Delta\theta\gamma\square$) "magician"



--- *hry-tp*  "who is upon, chief"



Stricker, *AO* 15 p.164; Gardiner, *AEO* I p.129*; Lambdin p.151; Quaegebeur, in *Pharaonic Eg* pp.162-172 (in which the more detailed bibliography and previous discussions are found, pp.162-167); *SAK* 12 p.368-389.

[Heb] Gen 41:8, 24; Ex 7:11, 22, 8:3, 14, 15, 19:11a, 11b; Dan 1:20, 2:2 [Aram] Dan 2:10, 27, 4:4, 6, 5:11

[Eg] *Wb* III,140.6ff since Pyr [Demot] *hr-tb* (Erichsen p.321, 325)

[NA] *har-d/ti-bi* (*KM* p.37) [Gk] $\varphi\rho\iota\tau\omicron\beta$, $\varphi\rho\iota\tau\omicron\beta(\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma)$, $\varphi\rho\iota\tau\omega\beta$, $\varphi\rho\iota\tau\langle\omicron\rangle\beta$, $\varphi\rho\iota\tau\omicron\beta$ (see Quaegebeur p.167)

The equation of HRTM with *hr-tp* has been long suspended because of phonetic problems: the representation of Eg *t* by Heb \daleth , and Eg *p* > *b* by Heb *M*. However, the latter is certainly conceivable, because /*b*/ can become /*m*/ after [u] vowel (cf. $\chi\nu\upsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$ // $\chi\nu\upsilon\beta\iota\varsigma$: HNWM // HNWB /*m*/ > /*b*/ after [u]). As for the former which is more difficult, Quaegebeur presents inscriptional evidence that *hr-tb* and *hr-ídb* ( // ) are written in parallel designating the same person. He thinks that "this can only be a sportive writing of *hry-tp*, i.e., a kind of progressive spelling adapted more to the actual pronunciation than to the etymology." If this is true, then all phonetic problems are resolved, because Eg *d* > *d* is always represented by Heb \daleth . Especially the second evidence he presents seems to suggest strongly that *hr-tb* is written as *hr-*

(i)db. However, the  which is considered as a progressive spelling of *hr-tp* and read as *hr-ídb* is attested as a different title *hr-wdb* (Wb III,1-5), as Quaegebeur admits. It is not strange in Egypt that one person bears more than one title. Therefore, the question is how we can confirm that  is a phonetic writing of *hr-tp* of a different title which was possessed by the same person. Further, it seems odd to write a title with another title for phonetic purposes. The phonetic change could be explained differently; /t/ > /t̥/ before M and after H, though /r/ a resonant intervened between H and T (see the previous discussion p.259). Therefore the identification is almost certain.

? ḤŠML () "some shining substance"

--- ḥsmn  "bronze"

Brugsch, *Wb* VI p.853; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.115; Calice no.432

[Heb] Ezek 1:4, 27, 8:2

[Eg] see ḤŠMN [NA/NB] cf. *ešmarû* (hardly to be connected with Heb *hasmal*, *CAD* E p.366f.) [OB] cf. *elmešu* (*CAD* E p.107f. "a precious stone of characteristic sparkle and brilliancy. In this peculiar quality, *elmešu* may well be connected with Heb *ḥašmal*"). (For the meaning of *elmešu*, see Landsberger, *VTS* 16 pp.190-198).

Cf. ḤŠMN

The representation of Eg *n* by Heb *L* at the end is conceivable in particular after or before a labial: e.g., Eg *sbn* > *CBΛ (imperative CβΛTE Černý p.147), *tnm* > ^sτωλM (Černý p.186), *mnnn* > ^bΜΙΟΛΩN (Černý p.81), *knm* > *knmm > βΛΟΜΛM (Černý p.328). However the word is more likely to be a cognate, because of Akk words above.

ḤSMN (in חֲסִמָּן) "meaning unknown"

--- ḥsmn חֲסִמָּן "bronze"

Spiegelberg, *ARAT*

[Heb] Ps 68:32 Y'TYW ḤSMNYM MNY MSRYM "Bronze/Envoys (?) will come out of Egypt"

[Eg] *Wb* III,163.14-24 since OK [Ug] ḥus/ḥasmannu (*Syria* 28 p.55f.) meaning unknown [Akk] cf. ḥašmānu "a blue-green (wool)" (*CAD* H p.142a); ḥušmānu "a blue(?) shade (of wool)" (*CAD* H p.257b)

Because of being only a single occurrence the meaning of the word is unknown, though the context is in favour of the Eg loan word. If it is of Eg origin, it is most likely to be derived from Eg ḥsmn "bronze", though the correspondence between Heb S and Eg s is a little troublesome.

** ḤTM (חֲטָם) "seal"

--- ḥtm חֲטָם "seal"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.1145; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.117; Lambdin p.151; Ellenbogen p.74

[Heb] ḤTM (verb) Lev 15:3; Is 8:16 (16x). ḤWTM/ḤTM (masc.noun) Gen 38:18; Ex 28:11 (14x). ḤWTMT (fem.noun) Gen 38:25 (1x). [Aram]

ḤTM Dan 5:18 [Ph] ḤTM

[Eg] *Wb* III,350.3ff. since OK [Copt] ḥwtm , ḥtam , ḥṯam [Demot] ḥtm (Erichsen p.372.2) [Ph/Pu] ḤTM [Aram] ḤTM (*DISO* p.98) [Arab]

حاتم [Syr] ḥātāmā [Eth] māḥtam

The long vowel /o/ of ḥōtem is a result of the Canaanite shift, because most Semitic nominal forms indicate a prototype *ḥātām (Lambdin p.151). The fact that ḥtm does not occur in Akk (cf. Akk *kanaku* "seal") leads us to incline to think ḥtm is not a cognate but a borrowed word. The widespread occurrence of this word

indicates that it was borrowed very early (Lambdin).

** ṬB'T (ṬḄṬ) "signet-ring"

--- db'.t "seal"

Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.123; Lambdin p.151; Ellenbogen p.75

[Heb] Gen 41:42; 43 times in Ex; Num 31:50; Esth 3:10, 8:2, 8a, 8b, 10; Is 3:21

[Eg] *Wb* V, 566.5ff. since OK [Copt] ⲥṬⲃⲉ (Černý p.181), ⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ "to seal" [Demot] *tb'* (Erichsen p.623)

The word db'.t was borrowed in the early stage, perhaps in the third millennium, when Eg /d/ had already become /d/, and Eg fem. ending was retained. The absence of a proper Heb etymology (cf. ṬB' "to sink") makes the Eg origin of this word most likely. It is conceivable that Semites borrowed ṬB'T "signet-ring" as well as ḤTM "seal."

** ṬN' (ḤṆ) "basket"

--- *dní(.t)*  "basket"

Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.122; Yahuda, *Language* p.97; Lambdin p.151; Ellenbogen p.77

[Heb] Deut 26:2, 4, 28:5, 17

[Eg] *Wb* V, 467.2-8 since MK

Due to isolated occurrences and the lack of Sem etymology, it is most likely that the word is an Eg loanword.

** Y'WR (ḲḲ) "the Nile, river"

--- *i(t)r(w)* 

Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.108; Lambdin p.151

[Heb] Gen 4:1, 2, 3; Ex 2:3, 5, 4:9 etc (total 65x) cf. Amos 8:8

kā-'ôr "like the Nile"

[Eg] *Eb* I,146.10ff. since NK [Copt] ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲣ , ⲃⲓⲟⲣ , ⲉⲓⲁⲗⲣ (Černý p.48) [Demot] *yr* (Erichsen p.50) [NA] ⲙⲁⲣⲩⲥⲁ-ⲣⲩ-ⲓⲩⲩ (itrw-'3 Ranke, *KM* p.29; cf. Copt ⲉⲓⲉⲣ Černý p.48).

From Dyn18 onward the spelling without *t* occurs. The change *t* > *aleph* can be observed in the Coptic form but not in the NA form.

** LWB (in ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲗ) "Libyans"

--- *rb(w)* ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲗ "Libyans"

[Heb] Dan 11:43; Nahu 3:9; 2Chr 12:3, 16:3

[Eg] *Wb* II,414.2-3

In the biblical contexts which refer to Egypt, the word is most likely an Eg loanword.

** LŠM (ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲗ) "a precious stone"

--- *nšm(.t)* ⲛⲩⲙⲟⲩ "green felspar"

Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.113; Calice no.227; Lambdin p.152; Ellenbogen p.97

[Heb] Ex 28:19, 39:12

[Eg] *Wb* II,339.19ff. since NK; Harris, *Lex. Stud.* p.115, 231.

The Heb LŠM has no cognate in Semitic, making an Eg loan most likely. As far as the representation of Eg *n* by Heb *L* is concerned, there is no difficulty, because Eg /*n*/ often became /*l*/ at the initial position; see Eg *n(y)* > Copt ⲗⲁ; *nwh* > ⲗⲟⲩⲱⲩ; *nn* > ⲗⲉⲗⲟⲩ; *nsb* > ⲗⲁⲛⲓⲥⲓ; *ns* > ⲗⲁⲥ; *nss* > ⲗⲟⲩⲱⲥ; *nfnf* > ⲗⲟⲩⲗⲗ; *nhw* > ⲗⲉⲗ; *nhm* > ⲗⲟⲩⲙⲙ (Černý pp.69-76).

As for the identification, Harris comments "there is nothing to suggest that *nšmt* was other than green in colour, and its use for the green felspar. That it covered bluish varieties of the same stone seems likely, and it is also possible that other green stones

were on occasion confused with it" (p.115), and " *nšmt* is the material not for a scarab, but (with *mfk3t* = NPK) for two uraei (p.231)".

? MZH (𐤌𐤆𐤇) "girdle"

--- *mdh* 𐤌𐤆𐤇𐤏 "fillet"

Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.112; Calice no.643; Lambdin p.152

[Heb] Ps 109:19

[Eg] *Wb* II,189.11 since OK [Copt] ^aMOXZ , ^aMAAZ , ^bMOXZ (Černý, p.101, says the word is probably a loanword from Sem MZH) [NB/SB] *mēzeḥu* "a scarf or belt" (*CAD* M 2 46) [SB/LB] *mēzeḥu* (relates to Heb *mēzah*, Eg *mdh* *AHW* 650a)

B Gunn, "A Note on Brit. Mus. 828 (stela of Simontu)" *JEA* 25 p.218f., opposed the identification on the following two grounds; (1) Eg *mdh* is often wrongly translated "girdle" (*Wb* II,189), yet *mdh* means "fillet" (Gardiner, *GE*³ p.505 s.10; *CDME* p.123). Hence the meaning is not comparable. (2) Eg *d* became *d*, which cannot be represented by Heb Z. Therefore, Heb MZH is not a loanword from Eg. Gunn assumed with G. R. Driver that there was perhaps a general Semitic root MZH/HZM "girdle" because of Arab *ḥazama*, Minaean *ḥzm* "strapped" and other Semitic forms. Copt *MOXZ* , then, is a Semitic loanword in Copt as Černý notes (p.101).

? MTH (𐤌𐤆𐤇) "staff"

--- *mdw* 𐤌𐤆𐤗 , Late 𐤌𐤆𐤗 "staff"

Janssen, *ATO* p.40 (IN *KM*³)

[Heb] Gen 38:18, 25 onwards (250x)

[Eg] *Wb* II,178 since OK [Ug] *mṭ* "staff" (*UT* 1642)

[Gk] (Ἐσθημῆτις = (ns-p3)mdw

If this is a borrowed word, it must have entered Canaanite in the second millennium, because the *d* of *mdw* changed to *t*, at latest, in the Late period (see above), which does not correspond to Heb T. However, Heb fem ending *-eh* has no correspondence in Eg *mdw*, unless we consider that it is a vowel letter, and the *w* of *mdw* dropped. As C. Gordon pointed out, it is much more likely that Ug *mṭ* was derived from **nṭy* = Heb NṬH "to extend", which is very productive. In Ezek 19:11, 12, 14 the word designates a branch of a vine. Therefore, it is no difficult to think that the meaning "staff" comes from the root NṬH.

MRḤ (מרַח) "rub"

--- *mrḥ(.t)*  "rub"


Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.112 (with Ar. *mrh*); Calice no.566; Lambdin p.151
[Heb] Is 38:21

Eg] *Wb* II,111.1-10 since OK (< *wrḥ* "to anoint" *Wb*

I,334.8ff since OK) [Arab] *mrḥ* [OB/SB] *marāḥu* (?) [Aram] MRḤY'
(*DISO* p.168 meaning unknown)

It is difficult to discriminate between cognate and a loanword in this case. Von Soden (*AHW* 608b) compares Akk *marāḥu* with Heb MRḤ and Arab *mrḥ*. If this is so, since Akk *marāḥu* is attested in OB texts, *mrḥ/h* is a Semito-Eg cognate. If this is not the case, Heb MRḤ is likely to be an Eg loanword. Notice *CAD* does not have *marāḥu* as "to rub" but "to spoil."

MŠY (מִשְׁי) "a costly material for garments"

--- *mš.y*  "a kind of garment"


Ellenbogen p.109

[Heb] Ezek 16:10, 13 (used with ŠŠ (Eg šš) "linen")

[Eg] *Wb* II,143.4-5 NK-Gk [Arab] cf. *wašy* [Hittite] *mašši(ya)*

Though that the etymology of MŠY is unknown favours an Eg loanword, the identification is hindered by two difficulties; (1) different meaning: Heb MŠY indicates a material, while Eg *msy* "a kind of garment." (2) unusual correspondence between Eg *s* and Heb Š (see below [4] Notes on the Correspondences e) Sibilants). C. Rabin, "Hittite Words in Hebrew" *Or NS* 32 pp.113-139, put forward the Hittite loanword: *mašši(ya)* "shawl". Therefore, the identification is open to choice: (1) Eg loanword, (2) Hittite loanword, and (3) cognate.

NHT (נַחַת) "descent"

--- *nḥt*  "strength, power"

Ellenbogen p.112

[Heb] Is 30:30 *nḥt zrw'w* "strength of his arm"

[Eg] *Wb* II,316.7ff. since Pyr [Copt] *NAϣTE* (Černý p.115) [Demot] *nḥtt*

As Ellenbogen points out, the expression *nḥt ḥpš* "strength of arm" is common and the meaning seems to fit the context (Is 30:30) well. However, the traditional interpretation is still possible, and Heb root NHT is attested well. Further NHT is used with ZR' and YD in similar expressions; e.g., *wnḥt 'ly ydk* "your hand will descend upon me" (Ps 38:3); *qšt-nḥwšh zr'ty wnḥth* "my arms can bend a bow of bronze" (Ps 18:35, 2Chr 22:35). Therefore, an Eg explanation is unnecessary.

** NPK (נֶפֶק) "a precious stone"

--- *mfk(3.t)*  "(green/blue) turquoise"

Lambdin p.152

[Heb] Ex 28:18, 39:11; Ezek 28:13, 27:16

[Eg] *Wb* II,56 since Pyr; Harris, *Lex. Stud.* p.106-110, 231 (Note Eg *fk3.t* in *Wb* I,580 is a misspelling of *mfk3.t*)

The representation of Eg *m* by Heb N at initial position is not a problem because NA *āluPi-ḥa-at-ti-ḥu-ru-un-pi-ki* (*pr-ḥthr-(nb.t)-mfk3.t*) shows that the initial Eg *m* became /n/ (Ranke, *KM* p.32, his identification is *pr-ḥthr-nb.t-pr-k3.t*, yet see P. Montet, *Géographie* I p.63). Supplementary evidence comes from the fact that some Eg *ms* became /n/ at the initial position; Eg preposition *m* > Copt N; *mny.t* > NHNI ; *mny.t* > NOYNE ; *m-dr* > NTερε - ; *m dwn* > NTOOYN ; *m ki* > N6I (Černý pp.102, 109, 112, 113, 119). Therefore there is little doubt that NPK originated from Eg *mfk3.t*.

** NTR (נַטְרוֹן) "natron"

--- *ntr(i)* ⲛⲓⲣⲓ "natron"

Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.113; Lambdin p.152f; Ellenbogen p.117

[Heb] Jer 2:22; Prov 25:20

[Eg] *Wb* II,366.8 since Pyr. [Gk] νιτρον , λιτρον [Akk] *nit(i)ru* (*AHW* 798a) [Nab] cf. NTR (?) (*DISO* p.189) [Arab] *naṭūr, naṭrūn*

[Hittite] *nitri*; [Copt and Demot] not attested

The Eg word *ntrí* was borrowed in Heb after Eg *t* > *t* (NK onwards). The Heb, Gk, Akk forms indicate the original vocalization as *[nitr-], from which the Heb form took the usual shift of *qitl-* type: [nitr-] > [neter-]. The Arab form may be a later borrowing after Eg vowel shift [i] > [a] in closed accented syllables (1100-925 BC) (cf. Lambdin p.145).

? SWP (שׁוֹפָר) "reed"

--- *twf(y)* ⲧⲱⲩⲏⲓ "papyrus"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.1580; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.122; Calice no.455; Albright, *VESO* p.65 (he said "not syllabic"); Lambdin p.153

[Heb] Ex 2:3, 5; Is 19:6; Jonah 2:6 "sea weed"; mostly in the combination YM-SWP Ex 10:19 etc.(many)

[Eg] *Wb* V,359.6-10 NK-Gk [Copt] ⲭⲟⲟϣϣ (Černý p.322) [Demot] *dwf*
[Arab] *ṣūf*

It seems likely that the word designating Eg papyrus is Eg. However there are other Eg words for Eg papyrus, such as *d.t* (*Wb* V,511 OK-MK), *mnḥ* (*Wb* II,83 since MK) etc. Considering that the *twfy* is a new word in the NK period, and written in syllabic spelling (against Albright), the possibility that *twfy* is a loanword in Eg is undeniable. Besides, there is a phonetic problem, that is, the correspondence between Eg *t* and Heb S. The phonetic value of Eg *t* seems to remain unchanged in this word until Copt ⲭⲟⲟϣϣ, from which Arab probably borrowed the word *ṣuf*. W. Ward, for the same reason, opposes a borrowing in either direction, he supposes a proto-Canaanite word **sp* "reach", from which Eg *twf*, Heb SWP developed ("The Semitic biconsonantal root *SP* and the common origin of Egyptian *ḤWF* and Hebrew *SŪP*: "Marsh(-plant)" *VT* 24 p.339-349).

SL'M (ⲁϣⲗⲟ) "locust"

--- *snḥm*  "locust"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.1253; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.117; Calice no.782 (admits as Lw); Vycichl, *ZAS* 84 p.147

[Heb] Lev 11:22

[Eg] *Wb* III,461.6-7 since Pyr [Copt] ⲘⲀⲚⲚⲈⲚ

SL'M occurs once in Leviticus, and Eg *snḥm* is attested since the Pyr Period, making an Eg loanword likely. However, the correspon-

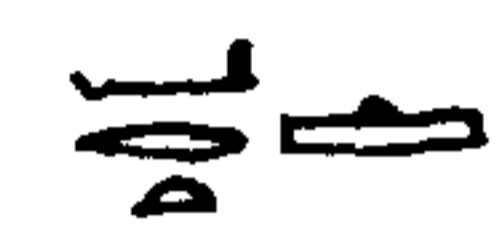
dence between Eg *h* and Heb ' is questionable at the present. A Sem explanation is not impossible, as BDB suggest, i.e., a root SL' "split" to which an affirmative M is added.

** 'RH (in עֵרֶוּ) "rush"

--- 'r  "rush"

Thacker, *JTS* 34 p.163f

[Heb] Is 19:7 'rwt 'l-y'wr "plants along the Nile"

[Eg] *Wb* I,208.4-7 since OK; 'r.t *Wb* I,208.8-9 Gk; cf. 'r.t 
"papyrus book roll"

That the word has no cognate in Sem, and that it occurs once in an Eg context (above) strongly suggest Eg etymology. BDB, considering the word 'RH to be derived from 'RH "be naked", translated it as "bare place." However, it is evident from the context that 'RH designates a kind of plant, growing on the bank of the Nile. Therefore, this 'RH is a separate word from the root 'RH "be naked."

As for Eg equivalents, masc. form 'r is attested since OK, while fem. form, which would better fit Heb 'RH, only occurs in the Gk period. So, we could assume either that Eg fem. form is accidentally not attested in the earlier period in Eg documents, or that Eg 'r became a fem. noun when entering Hebrew.

** PH (𐎢𐎥) "thin plate of metal"

--- *ph*(3)  "stone plate"

Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.110; Calice no.605; Lambdin p.153; Ellenbogen p.130

[Heb] Ex 39:3; Num 17:3 (16:38)

[Eg] *Wb* I,543.12 Dyn 18

The word has no Sem cognate, so it is likely this is an Eg

loanword.

** PḤ (פֶּחַ) "bird-trap"

--- *ph*(3)  "bird-trap"

Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.110; Calice no.605; Lambdin p.153

[Heb] Josh 23:3; Ps 119:10; Job 18:9, 22:10; Is 24:17 etc. (total 25x)

[Eg] *Wb* I p.543.15 [Copt] ⲡⲏⲁⲩ, ⲃⲡⲁⲩ [Arab] *paḥḥ*

That PḤ has no cognate in Sem suggests the word is borrowed from the Eg common word *ph*3 which is attested since NK. Heb verb form*PḤḤ which once occurs in Is 42:22 is a denominative from PḤ.

** PṚ'H (פַּרְעֹה) "Pharaoh"

--- *pr*-'(3)  "great house"

Lambdin p.153; Ellenbogen p.139

[Heb] Gen 41:14 (274x)

[Eg] see Aram PṚ'H.

** SY (שֵׁיפ) "ship"

--- *d*(3)*y*  "river ship"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.1691; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.123; Lambdin p.153; Ellenbogen p.145

[Heb] Num 24:24; Is 33:21; Ezek 30:9; Dan 11:30

[Eg] *Wb* V,515.6 since NK [Copt] ⲭⲟⲓ (Černý p.310) [Demot] *dy* (Erichsen p.674)

Notice the word has no cognate in Semitic.

** QB (קַב) "kab (a measure of capacity)"

--- *kby* 

Brugsch, *Wb* p.1241; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 P.120; Ellenbogen p.147

[Heb] 2K 6:25

[Eg] see Aram Lw QB.

**** QWP (𐤒𐤓𐤐) "ape"**

--- *g(i)f* 𐤒𐤓𐤐, MK 𐤒𐤓𐤐 𐤒𐤓𐤐 "ape"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.1511; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.121; Calice no.451; Albright, *VESO* p.61; Lambdin p.154

[Heb] 1K 10:22; 2Chr 9:21

[Eg] *Wb* V,158.12-16 since OK; cf. *gwf* (*Wb* V,16.9) [Dempt] *kf*, *kf*

(Erichsen p.562, 536) [SB/LB] *uqūpu* (*AHW* 1427b) [Gk] *κῆπος* , *κηπος*

[Aram] cf. QP' (*Ahikar* 117).

QWP has no cognate in Heb while Eg *gif* is attested since OK, making it very likely that QWP is an Eg loanword. The phonetic correspondence between Heb Q and Eg *g* is no problem, and Eg *gif* became *k/kf* in Demotic (cf. Heb QST: *gsti*).

**** QLHT (𐤒𐤕𐤗𐤐) "pot, cauldron"**

--- *krh.t* 𐤒𐤕𐤗𐤐 "vessel"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.1469; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.121; Bruchard, no.258; Lambdin p.154; Ellenbogen p.149; Cerny p.329

[Heb] 1Sam 2:14; Mic 3:3

[Eg] *Wb* V,62.12ff since OK [Copt] cf. 𐩪𐩠𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩠𐩨𐩠 (Crum p.813) [Ug]

qlht (*KTU* 5.22.16; Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartin identified it with Heb QLHT, *UF* 7 p.166)

That QLHT has no cognate strengthens the possibility of a loanword. Since Heb QLHT preserves the Eg fem. ending *-t*, which had been lost by NK, the word was probably borrowed by Canaanite in the early second millennium. This early borrowing is also indi-

cated by Ug *qlḥt*. After Eg *krḥt* was borrowed, the final *t* was lost in Eg, on the other hand the *t* was kept in Canaanite until the first millennium. Therefore, Copt Ⲅⲗⲗⲁⲓⲧ cannot be a direct descendant of Eg *krḥ.t*. Lacau, "Sur la chute du ⲁ (-t) final, marque de féminin" *Rd'E* 9 p.83, considers that Ⲅⲗⲗⲁⲓⲧ is a foreign word because of the final *t*. Therefore, we can safely assume that the QLHT re-entered Eg (Černý p.329).

** QST (ⲚⲟⲢⲉ) "scribe's palette"

--- *gst(i)* ⲚⲟⲢⲉ "scribe's palette"


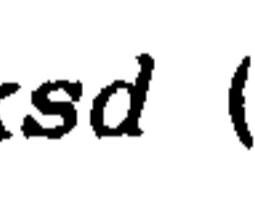
Müller, *OLZ* 3 pp.49-51; Eisler, *OLZ* 33 p.585f; Lambdin p.154;

Ellenbogen p.150

[Heb] Ezek 9:2, 3, 11

[Eg] *Wb* V,207.11ff. since OK [Demot] *gst* [Copt] Ⲅⲗⲗⲁⲓⲧ , ⲄⲟⲘⲧ ,

Ⲅⲗⲗⲁⲓⲧ (Černý p.337; Crum p.832) [Gk] Ⲅⲗⲗⲁⲓⲧ (Eisler, see above)

Lambdin notes that the only consonantal difficulty is the representation of Eg *ś* by Heb *S*. However, this equation is normal (cf. PYNḤS: *p3-nḥśy*, R'MSS: *r'-mś-sw*). Also the problem of the correspondence between Eg *g* and Heb *Q* can be resolved by the Eg phonetic change *g* > /k/, which is inscriptionally demonstrated  *ksd* (Gk),  *kst* (Gk), and Copt dialect Ⲅⲗⲗⲁⲓⲧ (see Aram Q: Eg *g* in the previous chapter p.247). The vocalization of *qeset* perfectly fits Copt and Gk forms [kast].

* ŠKYWT (ⲚⲟⲢⲉ) "ship"

--- *śk.t(w)* ⲚⲟⲢⲉ "ships"

Driver, "Difficult words" p.52; Albright "Baal-Zephon" p.4 n.3; Alt,

AfO 15 p.70; Lambdin p.155; Barr, *Comparative Philology* p.280;

Ellenbogen p.154

[Heb] Is 2:16 // 'NYWT "ship"

[Eg] *Wb* IV,315.9f. *skty* (NK), *sk.tw* (pl. Dyn 18) [Ug] *tkt* (*UT* 2680)

Eg pl. form *skty* phonetically and semantically fits the context well. Therefore the emendation: ŠKYWT > ŠKTY (Driver, and *BHS*), being based upon the singular form *skty* is unnecessary. As for the correspondence between Eg *ś* and Heb *š*, it is normal, if the word entered Hebrew directly. (Canaanite cf. Ug *tkt*: Ug *t* = Heb *š*). The Heb vocalization might be influenced by the parallel word 'NYWT. The word cannot be confirmed because this is a single correspondence between Eg *s* and Heb *š*, though it is quite conceivable.

** ŠWŠN (*𐤔𐤍𐤏* , *𐤔𐤍𐤏*) "lily"

--- *sš(š)n*

Brugsch, *Wb* p.1314; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.117; Lambdin p.154; Ellenbogen p.159

[Heb] ŠWŠN: 1K 7:22, 26; Song of Solomon (6x); Ps 45:1, 69:1, 80:1 (total 11x); ŠWŠNH: 2Chr 4:5 etc. (4x)

[Eg] *sššn* *Wb* III,487.9 OK-MK; *sšn* *Wb* III,485.11 MK; *ššn* (K.

Kitchen, *VA* 3 p.29ff. for the discussion, see Heb PN ŠŠN) [Copt]

ⲥⲱⲥⲏ [Aram] ŠŠN (*DISO* p.322) [Gk] *σουσαυ* [Arab] *سوسن*

** ŠṬH (*𐤔𐤕*) "acacia"



--- *šnd(.t)* *𐤔𐤏𐤁* "acacia"

Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.120; Calice no.859; Lambdin p.154; Ellenbogen p.160

[Heb] Ex 25:5, 10 etc. (26x); Deut 10:3; Is 41:19

[Eg] *Wb* IV,521.1ff. MK; cf. masc. form *šnd* (*Wb* IV,520.9-13 Pyr and

OK) [Copt] Ⲛⲟⲛⲧⲉ, ⲛⲟⲛⲧ (Černý p.247) [Demot] šntt (Erichsen p.516) [Arab] شنت [Akk] cf. *samtū*³

Notice n-assimilation only in Hebrew. Inscriptional spellings clearly show the following phonetic changes: šnd.t > šnd.t  (MK) > šnt.t  (NK). Because of the representation of Heb ט which only corresponds to Eg d, it is evident that Eg šnd.t entered Canaanite in the Middle Kingdom period, after Eg fem. ending dropped yet before the d became t.

** ŠYŠ (שׁוּשׁוּ) "alabaster"

--- šś  "alabaster"

Stricker, AO 15 p.12; Lambdin p.155

[Heb] 1Chr 29:2

[Eg] Wb IV,540.10ff. since Pyr [Aram] ŠŠ (DISO p.321)

In the course of the phonetic change of Eg šś, there is no inscriptional evidence for šś > šš. Therefore, it may be reasonable to assume that Heb Š corresponds to Eg ś due to phonetic dissimilation of Heb S > Š under the influence of the first Š. The parallel change is observed in ŠŠ "linen."

? (ŠN)HBYM (שׁוּשׁוּבַיִם)

--- (ŠN)-3b(w)  "Ivory of Elephants"

[Heb] 1K 10:22; 2Chr 9:21

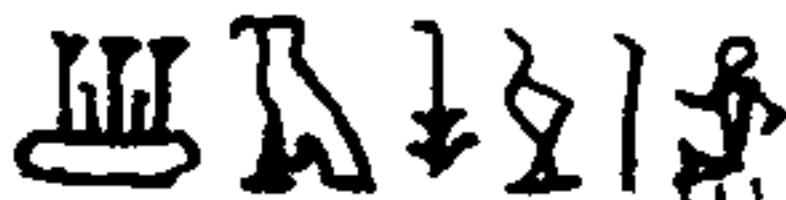
[Eg] Wb I,7.16 since MK

Phonetically Eg 3 can hardly be represented by Heb H. If Heb HB

³ Akk *samtū* is a foreign name of the acacia, see *šamtū* (CAD S 125a). *šsa-am-tu* is a name of *Ú.GIŠ.Ú.GÍR* in Meluḥḥa according to lexical series Uruanna I,182; *Ú.GIŠ.Ú.GÍR* is *ašāgu* a kind of acacia. Since Meluḥḥa stood for Nubia in NA texts, this could well be the Eg word (CAD A2 409a).

means "elephant", Heb and Eg 3b could be cognate, both borrowed from a third language.

ŠSH (שׁוֹשׁ) "to spoil"

--- š(3)ś(w)  "Bedouin"

Albright, *BASOR* 89 p.32 n.7; Lambdin p.155

[Heb] Judges 2:14, 16; 1Sam 14:48, 23:1, 2K17:20; Ps 44:11 etc.

(12x)

[Eg] *Wb* IV,412.10-11 Dyn 18 [Copt] ^aϣωϥ, ^aϣΔϥ

Albright's identification seems to be groundless. If ŠSH is an Eg loanword, we must assume very early borrowing, because ŠSH is so hebraized that the secondary root ŠSS "to plunder" is produced. More likely, however, both words are independent.

Š'TNZ (שׁוֹתְנֵז) "mixed stuff" (?)

--- *š'd-nd "cutting of thread" (?)

Lambdin p.155 (following Albright's oral suggestion)

[Heb] Lev 19:19, Deut 22:11

[Eg] š'd (*Wb* IV,422 since NK, ^a.fϣωωτ, ^bϣωτ) "to cut" and nd (*Wb* II,376 NAT) "thread"

BDB's explanation using Copt *NOYΔ* "false" is impossible because Eg of *NOYΔ* is n'wd, and the 'ayn cannot be explained. Albright's theoretical reconstruction *š'd-nd is not impossible, though we cannot cite any evidence and the meaning does not really fit the context.

** ŠŠ (שׁוֹשׁ) "byssus"

--- šś š  "linen"

Stricker, *AO* 15 p.6; Lambdin p.155; Ellenbogen p.164

[Heb] Gen 41:42; Ex 25:4, 26.1 etc (32x); Eze 16:10, 13, 27:7; Prov 31:22 (total 38x)

[Eg] *Wb* IV,539.12ff. since MK [Aram] ŠŠ (*DISO* P.321) [Copt] cf. ^sϣNC, ^bϣENC for š(s)-ns(w)

That ŠŠ has no cognate in Heb, while šś is attested since MK in Eg make it very likely that the word is an Eg loanword. As for the phonetic problem of Heb Š and Eg ś, see the discussion in ŠYŠ. For the biblical evidence, see BWS.

** TBH (תַּבַּח) "ark, box"

--- *db(3.t)*  , ^{NK} , ^{MK} ,  etc.

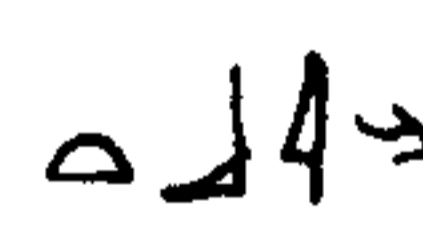
"shrine, coffin, chest, box"

Brugsch, *Wb* p.1628; Erman, *ZDMG* 46 p.126; Cerny p.180

[Heb] Gen 6:14-9:18 (26x)"ark"; Ex 2:3, 5 "basket" made of papyrus GM' (see GM').

[Eg] *Wb* V,561.8-12, 434.10, 261.11 [Gk] *θιβίς* (LXX) [Copt]

THHBE, TAIBE

The Eg words *db3.t* "shrine" (since OK), *db3.t* "box" share a common origin. The progressive spelling  *tbí* indicates that the initial *d* already became /t/ in MK. Therefore, phonetically TBH corresponds well. The word has no cognate in Semitic, strengthening the Eg etymology. It is interesting that an Eg loanword is found in the flood story in Genesis.

? THR' (חָרָף) "collar" (?)

--- *dhr*  "the hide of an animal"

Lambdin p.155 (with doubt)

[Heb] Ex 28:32, 39:23

[Eg] *Wb* V,481,13ff since MK

As Lambdin comments, there is a phonetic problem in this identification: Heb T = Eg *d*, because it seems that the initial *d* of *dhr* did not change into /t/ (Wb V,481). Also the meaning is not suitable in the context. More likely is the connection of THR' with Eg *thr* 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎢𐎡 "leather part of carriage" (Wb V,328.2; see Caminos p.201), yet as shown by the syllabic writing, the word is a foreign word, which might be borrowed from Semitic.

C. ANALYSIS OF PHONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCES

[1] Heb: Eg Phonetic Correspondences

Heb ' : Eg ʒ

Lw='ḤW

Heb ' : Eg ĩ

PN=MY'MN; DN='MWN; GN='WN, 'N, N'; Lw='ṬWN, 'YPH, ṬN'

Heb ' : Eg lost r in final position

PN=ṢḤ', ṢYḤ' PH'

Heb ' : Eg probably lost n in initial position

PN='SNT

Heb ' : Eg lost t in middle position

Lw=Y'WR

Heb ' : Eg ø or y

Lw=GM'

Heb ' : Eg ø (prothetic *aleph*)

Lw='ḤLMH

Heb B : Eg b

GN=PYBST; Lw=HWBN, ṬB'T, LWB, QB, TBH

Heb G : Eg g

Lw=GM'

Heb D : Eg not attested

Heb H : Eg h

PN=TRHQH; Lw=HWBN, HYN

Heb H : Eg ø

(1) lost fem. ending -t [āh]

GN=SWNH; Lw='ḤLMH, 'YPH, 'RH, ŠṬH, TBH

(2) *mater lectionis*

PN=NKH, TRHQH; Lw=PR'H

Heb W : Eg w

PN=NKW (?)⁴; GN=SWNH

Heb W : Eg ø

(1) *mater lectionis*

PN=ḤWR, ḤWRY, KWŠ, KWSY, PWṬY'L, PWṬYPR', PŠḤWR, ŠWŠQ; DN='MWN;

GN='WN; Lw='ṬWN, HWBN, Y'WR, LWB, QWP, ŠWŠH

(2) unknown (case ending ?)

Lw='ḤW

Heb Z : Eg not attested

Heb Ḥ : Eg ḥ

PN=ḤWR, ḤWRY, ḤPR', ḤRNPR, PH', PYNḤS, PŠḤWR, ŠḤ', SYḤ'; GN=ḤNS,

ŠYḤWR, THPNḤS; Lw=QLḤT

Heb Ḥ : Eg ḥ

Lw='ḤW, 'ḤLMH, ḤTM, PH, PH

Heb Ṭ : Eg d

PN=PWṬY'L, PWṬYPR', PṬYH, PṬ; Lw='ṬWN, ṬN'

⁴Or *mater lectionis* ? which is interchangeable with H. cf. NKH.

Heb T : Eg *d* (> *d*)

Lw=ṬB'T, ŠṬH

Heb Y : Eg *i*

Lw=Y'WR

Heb Y : Eg *y*

PN=HWṚY, MY'MN (or Y could be a *mater lectionis*); Lw=ŠY

Heb Y : Eg lost *r*

GN=PYBST (the Y is a vowel letter)

Heb Y : Eg *w*

GN=SYNYN (probably confusion between SYN and SWN)

Heb Y : Eg *ø*

(1) *mater lectionis* (see Y : lost *r*)

PN=PWṬY'L, PWṬYPR', PYNḤS, PPY, ŠYḤ', ŠYŠQ; GN=SYN,
ŠYḤWR; Lw='YPH, HYN, ŠYŠ

(2) gentilic

PN=KWŠY

Heb K : Eg *k*

PN=KWŠ, KWŠY, NKW, NKH; Lw=NPK

Heb L : Eg *r*

Lw=LWB, QLḤT

Heb L : Eg *n* (> /l/)

Lw='ḤLMH, LŠM

Heb M : Eg *m*

PN=MY'MN; DN='MWN; GN=MP, PTM, R'MSS; Lw='ḤLMH, GM',
ḤTM, LŠM

Heb N : Eg n

PN='SNT, ḤRNPR, MY'MN, NKH, NKW, PYNḤS, ŠŠN; DN='MWN;

GN='WN, 'N, ḤNS, N', SWNH, SYN, SYNYM, Š'N, TḤPNḤS;

Lw=HWBN, HYN, ṬN', NTR, ŠWŠN

Heb N : Eg m (> /n/)

GN=NP (change of the initial m > n in Hebrew ?); Lw='ṬWN (the final m > n after [u] vowel), NPK (the initial m > /n/ before a labial)

Heb S : Eg s

PN='SNT, PYNḤS; GN=ḤNS, SWNH, SYN, SYNYM, PYBST, PTRWS, PTRSYM,

R'MSS, TḤPNḤS; Lw=QST

Heb ' : Eg '

PN=ḤPR', PWTYPR'; GN=Š'N, R'MSS, Lw=ṬB'T, 'RH, PR'H

Heb P : Eg p

PN=PWTY'L, PWTYPR', PYNḤS, PŠḤWR, PŠḤR, PPY, PH', PTYH, PT;

GN=PYBST, PTM, PTRWS, PTRSYM, TḤPNḤS; Lw='YPH, PH, PH, PR'H, QWP

Heb p : Eg f

PN=ḤRNPR; GN=MP, NP; Lw=NPK

Heb P : Eg b

PN=ḤPR'

Heb S : Eg d

PN=ŠḤ', ŠYḤ'; GN=Š'N, ŠY

Heb Q : Eg k

PN=ŠWŠQ, ŠYŠQ, TRHQH; Lw=QB, QLHT

Heb Q : Eg g (> /k/ or /k/))

Lw=QWP, QST

Heb R : Eg r

PN=ḤWR, ḤWRY, ḤPR', ḤRNPR, PWTYPR', PŠḤWR, PŠḤR, TRHQH; GN=PTRWS, PTRSYM, R'MSS, ŠYḤWR; Lw=Y'WR, NTR, 'RH, PR'H

Heb Š : Eg š

PN=KWŠ, KWŠY, PŠḤWR, PŠḤR, ŠWŠQ, ŠYŠQ, ŠŠN; Lw=LŠM, ŠWŠN, ŠYŠ, ŠṬH, ŠŠ

Heb Š : Eg s (> /š/)

Lw=ŠWŠN, ŠYŠ, ŠŠ

Heb T : Eg t

PN='SNT, TRHQH; GN=PYBST, PTM, PTRWS, PTRSYM, ṬPNḤS; LW=ḤTM, ṬB'T, QLḤT, QST

Heb T : Eg t (> /t/)

Lw=NTR

Heb T : Eg d (> /d/ > /t/)

Lw=TBH

[2] Eg : Heb Phonetic Correspondences

Eg 3 : Heb ')

: Heb ø (excluding Eg article)

PN=ḤPR', NKW, NKH; GN=PYBST; Lw=NPK, PH, PH, PR'H, ŠY, TBH

Eg *i* : Heb '

: Heb Y

: Heb ø

PN=ḤPR', PWTY'L, PWTYPR', PT, PTYHW; GN=PTM; Lw='ṬWN, NTR, QWP, QST

Eg *y* : Heb Y

: Heb ø (final Eg *y* > ø)

PN=PYNḤS; GN=PTRWS, PTRSYM, ṬPNḤS; Lw='ḤW (?), GM' (or Eg *y* : Heb ' ?), HWBN, QB

Eg ' : Heb '

Eg *w* : Heb W

: Heb Y

: Heb ø (Eg *w* dropped)

PN=ḤWR, ḤPR', NKH; GN='WN, 'N, SYN; Lw=HYN, Y'WR

Eg *b* : Heb B

: Heb P

Eg *p* : Heb P

Eg *f* : Heb P

Eg *m* : Heb M

Eg *m* (> /n/) : Heb N

Eg *n* : Heb N

Eg *n* (> /l/) : Heb L

Eg *n* (> /'/) : Heb '

Eg *n* : Heb ø (n-assimilation)

PN=ŠWŠQ, ŠYŠQ; GN=MP, NP; Lw=ŠṬH

Eg *r* : Heb R

: Heb L

Eg *r* (> ø) : Heb ' (see *matres lectionis*)

Eg *r* (> ø) : Heb ø

PN=MY'MN; GN=MP, NP, PYBST, PTM

Eg *h* : Heb H

Eg *ḥ* : Heb Ḥ

Eg *ḥ* : Heb Ḥ

Eg *s* : Heb S

Eg *s* (> /š/) : Heb Š

Eg *s* : Heb ø (Eg *s* assimilated into the following *s*)

Eg *š* : Heb Š

Eg *k* : Heb Q

Eg *k* : Heb K

Eg *g* : Heb G

: Heb Q

Eg *t* : Heb T

: Heb ø

(1) Eg fem. ending *-t* lost (see the discussion p.364)

PN=N'; GN=SWNH, PYBST, Š'N, TĦPNĦS; Lw='ĦMNH, 'YPH, ṬN', LŠM,

NPK, 'RH, ŠṬH, TBH

(2) Eg *t* (> /' /)

Lw=Y'WR

Eg *t* : Heb T

Eg *d* : Heb Ṭ

Eg *d* : Heb ø (Eg *d* dropped: *dd* > *d*)

Eg *d* : Heb Š

: Heb Ṭ

: Heb T

[3] Table of Correspondences

* Heb in capital, Eg in lower case

	Heb			secondary				Eg			secondary	
	primary							primary				
glottal-stops	'	ʒ	i	r ¹	n ²	t ³	ø ⁴	ʒ	'		ø	
								i	'	Y	ø	
semi-voewls	Y	i	y	r ⁵	w ⁶		ø	y	Y		ø	
	W	w			ø ⁷			w	W		Y ⁶	ø
labials	B	b						b	B		P	
	P	p	f	b ⁸				p	P			
nasals								f	P			
	M	m						m	M		N	
lateral	N	n		m				n	N		L ⁹	' ² ø ¹⁰
	L	r		n ⁹								
trill	R	r						r	R	L	' ¹	ø
	S	s						s	S		š ¹¹	ø ¹²
sibi-lants	š	š		s ¹¹				š	š			
	ṣ	<u>d</u>										
phary & laryn	H	h		ø ¹³				h	H			
	Ḥ	ḥ	ḥ					ḥ	Ḥ			
velars								ḥ	Ḥ			
	Q	ḳ		g ¹⁴				ḳ	Q			
alve-olars	K	k						k	K			
	G	g						g	G		Q ¹⁴	
alve-olars	T	t		<u>t</u> ¹⁵	<u>d</u> ¹⁶			t	T		ø ¹⁸	
	D	-						<u>t</u>			T ¹⁵	
alve-olars								d	T		ø	
	Ṭ	d		<u>d</u> ¹⁷				<u>d</u>	Ṣ		Ṭ ¹⁷	T ¹⁸

- Notes ¹ in the case of *ḥr* "face"
- ² in the case of *ns* "He/She belongs to"
- ³ in the case of *itrw* "the Nile"
- ⁴ prothetic *aleph* and the case of GM'
- ⁵ lost *r*
- ⁶ misspelling
- ⁷ *mater lectionis*
- ⁸ the secondary change *p > b*
- ⁹ the change *l > /n/*
- ¹⁰ n-assimilation
- ¹¹ the secondary change *s > /š/*
- ¹² s-assimilation to */š/*
- ¹³ fem. ending or *mater lectionis*
- ¹⁴ the change *g > /k/* or */ḳ/*
- ¹⁵ the change *ṭ > t*
- ¹⁶ the change *ḍ > d > t*
- ¹⁷ the change *ḍ > d*
- ¹⁸ fem. ending *-t*

[4] Notes on the Correspondences

a) Glottal Stops

Eg 3 once corresponds to Heb ' at the initial position ('ḤW). The remaining examples of Eg 3 have no correspondences. Eg *í* is always realized by either ' or Y in the initial position ('MWN, 'WN, 'N, 'ṬWN, 'YPH, Y'WR). In the final position, Eg *í* remains as ' protected by the following elements (N': *ní.t*, ṬN': *dní.t*), yet it is elided

when there is no protective element after it ('ṬWN: *idmí*, NTR: *ntrí*, QST: *gstí*). In the medial position, Eg *í* is elided except in 'MN (MY'MN).

Heb ' represents lost *r* in the final, lost *n* in the initial and lost *t* in the middle position. It also occurs as a prothetic *aleph* ('ḤLMH). The ' of GM' seems to be a *mater lectionis*.

b) Semi-vowels

Eg *y* probably corresponds to Heb Y (ḤWRY, MY'MN, ṢY), yet it is impossible to make a distinction between a consonant Y and a vowel letter Y except in the case of MY'MN. Eg *w* certainly corresponds to Heb W as a consonant in SWNH and most likely in NKW. However the majority of Eg *y* and *w* dropped.

Heb Y and W are frequently used as *matres lectionis*. The W of 'ḤW is difficult. It could be an old Eg case ending reflected in Heb.

c) Labials

Labials have nothing peculiar in correspondences between Eg and Heb. As in Aram and Ph, the P of ḤPR' is the only case where Eg *b* is realized by Heb P, probably because the following R influenced the articulation of P.

d) Nasals

Eg *m* and *n* are primarily represented by Heb M and N respectively. Eg initial *m* sometimes became /*n*/, corresponding to Heb N (NPK), and Eg *n* in the initial position and between a labial and *ḥ* became /*l*/,

being realized as Heb L.

Eg *mn-nfr* "Memphis" is realized as either MP or NP in Heb. The change M > N is not usual, yet the /m/ > /n/ before a labial is conceivable⁵.

N-assimilation more frequently took place in Heb;

(1) GN MP/NP (*mn-nfr*) --- cf. Aram MNP, Ph MNP

(2) Lw ŠṬH (*šnd.t*) --- cf. ᵐONTE

(3) PN ŠWŠQ (*ššnk*) --- cf. Gk ΣΕΩΥΧΙΣ

e) Sibilants

It seems that there is no confusion in correspondences between sibilants, i.e., S : s, Š : š and Ṣ : ḏ. Eg /ṭ/, which corresponds to Ph Ṣ, and Aram Š is not attested in Heb. The representation of Eg Ṣ by Heb Š has been long discussed. Only in the following cases does Heb Š represent Eg ṣ;

(1) PN ŠŠN --- *sšn* > /ššn/ (cf. Copt ᵐEᵐEN)

(2) Lw ŠWŠN --- *sšn* > /ššn/ (cf. Aram ŠŠN)

(3) Lw ŠYŠ --- *šš*

(4) Lw ŠŠ --- *šš* > /ss/ (cf. Aram ŠŠ).

Therefore, these indicate that Heb Š does not really correspond to Eg ṣ. It was Albright who advocated that PN 'NMS finally settles the problem whether a Heb Š may represent an Eg ṣ, because he interpreted it as 'Anat-*mâsey* "Born of Anat." However, Lemaire identified it with Eg 'n-m-š, which is much more likely (see entry 'NMS). A loanword MŠY (Eg *mšy*) also suggested this possibility. Yet not only phonetically,

⁵Cf. in the case of Akk, von-Soden, *GAG* section 31b; Millard, *MAARAV* 4 p.90; cf. *m* > *n* (*GVG* section 84.), *mt*, *mṭ* > *nt*, *nṭ* (*GVG* section 58).

but also semantically the identification cannot be confirmed (see also the discussion of Ph sibilants for 'ŠRŠLH, 'BDŠR). After examining all possibilities of the correspondence between Heb Š and Eg ś, no certain evidence appears for it.

The equation of Heb Š and Eg s is suggested by two unconfirmed examples: 'ŠR'L (3s-ír-'L) and ŠKYWT (sk.tw). The latter is more than likely though we cannot confirm it.

f) Pharyngals and Laryngals

Eg ḥ and ḥ (h is not attested) are represented by Heb Ḥ. As in Aram transliterations Heb does not reveal any possibility of spirantization of K > /k/, since Eg postvocalic ḥ consistently corresponds to Heb Ḥ. This indicates that all Eg elements entered Heb before spirantization became operative.

g) Velars and Alveolars

The correspondences between Eg and Heb velars show consistency without any double realization.

Alveolars also show consistent correspondences with each other; *i.e.*, Eg t : Heb T, Eg d : Heb Ṭ, and Eg ḏ : Heb Ṣ (Eg ṭ is not attested).

[5] Notes on the Hebrew Vocalizations

a) Eg article p3

In Heb transliteration of Eg names and words, Eg *p3* is realized as follows;

(1) Eg *p3* : PY [pî]

e.g., PYNĤS

(2) Eg *p3* : PW [pô]

e.g., PWṬY'L (LXX φουτιηλ), PWṬYPR (LXX πετεφρησ),

PWṬYPR' (LXX πετεφρησ)⁶

(3) Eg *p3* : P [pa]

e.g., PTRWS (LXX βαβυλωνια), PŠĤWR (LXX πασχωρ etc.)

(4) Eg *t3* : T [ta]

e.g., THPNĤS

Corresponding to the divergences of vowel reflected in Heb forms of Eg *p3*, the cuneiform materials also show the variety of vocalization as follows (all examples are from Ranke, *KM* pp.7-42);

(1) Eg *p3* : *pi-*

e.g., MB *pi-wi/e/a-ri* (*p3-wr*) (EA)

NA *pi-ša-an-ḥu-ru* (*p3-šri'-n-ḥr*) (Assurb.)

NB *pi-sa-mi-is-ki* (*psmtk*)

(2) Eg *p3* : *pu-*

e.g., MB *pu-ḥu-ur* (*p3-ḥr*) (EA)

NA *pu-ṭu-beš-ti* (*p3-di'-b3st.t*) (Assurb.)

NB not attested

(3) Eg *p3* : *pa-*

e.g., MB *pa-ḥa-am-na-ta* (*p3-ḥm-ntr*) (EA)

NA *pa-aḥ-ru-ru* (*p3-krr*)

NB *pa-aṭ-e-si-i'*

⁶These Gk forms indicate that the translators of the LXX transcribed PWṬY'L into Gk alphabets, yet they found the Gk form for the common Eg name, *p3-di'-p3-r'*.

Judging from the cuneiform materials, we conclude that there is no consistent vocalization of the Eg article *p3*. The vowel value of Eg *p3* could be any short vowel [a/i/u]. It is most likely that Eg *p3* had a murmuring vowel, like Heb *shewa*. The phonetic context, dialectical variations, and chronological changes of sound value all affected the determination of the vowel value.

However, two Heb forms, PW and PY, seem to demand an explanation, because they indicate long vowel [û] and [î].

(1) Heb PY: probably due to a dialectal form: In Bohairic, a dialect of the Eastern delta where the Semites settled in the 2nd millennium B.C. the definite article has two forms, weak and strong;

	weak	strong
masc.	π -, φ -	πι
fem.	τ -, θ -	†

This strong article $\pi\iota$ is used to indicate an individual, e.g., $\varphi\text{-N}\text{OY}\dagger$ "God", $\pi\iota\text{-N}\text{OY}\dagger$ "the god" ⁷. This usage of the strong article $\pi\iota$ would explain the vocalization of [pî] of PYNHS "The Nubian," because in this case PYNHS represents an individual, not the Nubian in general. We do not know whether [i] of $\pi\iota$ is long or short. Yet the [i] vowel is explicitly articulated, no longer being a murmuring sound.

(2) Heb PW: probably due to an older form: In the midst of the considerable divergences of the cuneiform realization of Eg *p3*, it seems that the following chronological development of vowel sound is observable among the Eg names of *p3-dí*-type (Sem PT-); (all examples from Ranke, *KM* 33-42)

⁷A. Mallon, *Grammaire Copte*, p.26f.

(a) *p3-di-* : *Put-* in NA (8-7th c. BC)

<i>pu-ṭi-ḥu-u-ru-u</i> (<i>p3-di-ḥr</i>)	Johns 763
<i>pu-ṭu-beš-ti</i> (<i>p3-di-b3st.t</i>)	Assurb.
<i>pu-ṭu-um-ḥe-e-šu</i> (<i>p3-di-m3-ḥs3</i>)	Johns 307
<i>pu-ṭu-pa-i-ti</i> (<i>p3-di-p3-?</i>)	Johns 307
<i>pu-du-pi-ya-ti</i> (?)	Johns 99
<i>pu-ṭi-ma-a-ni[</i> (<i>p3-di-?</i>)	Johns 763
<i>pu-ṭi-še-ri[</i> (<i>p3-di-?</i>)	Johns 851

(b) *p3-di-* : *Pat-* in NB (6-5th c. BC)

<i>pa-ṭa-de-si-i'</i> (<i>p3-di-3s.t</i>)	Clay X 39
<i>pa-ṭa-ni-e-si-i'</i> (<i>p3-di-n.i'-3s.t</i>)	Clay X 15
<i>pa-aṭ-e-si-i'</i> (<i>p3-di-3s.t</i>)	Clay X
<i>pa-aṭ-mi-us-tu-u</i> (<i>p3-di-i^{nb}mn-_^nswt-t3wy</i>)	Darius 301
<i>pa-aṭ-ni-ip-te-e-mu</i> (<i>p3-di-nfr-tm</i>)	Darius 301
<i>pa-aṭ-u-as-tù</i> (<i>p3-di-b3st.t</i>)	Cambyes 85
<i>pa-ṭi(?) -e-su</i> (<i>p3-di-3s.t</i>)	

Since the phonetic context is fixed as *p3-di-*, and the vowel change [u] > [a] is consistent, we may assume that the vocalization of *p3-di* changed from [puṭ-] to [paṭ-] between the 7th and 6th centuries BC.

The Heb form of this type PWTY- may be a reflection of the older pronunciation. Even though the Akk forms do not show a long [u] vowel as Heb forms do, if the [u] vowel is explicitly articulated, it would be no longer strange to use a *mater lectionis* W for Eg *p3*. Likewise an alternative explanation may be possible, i.e., the difference between [puṭ-] and [paṭ-] is a result of a different scribal convention between Assyrian and Babylonian.

b) Eg feminine ending -t

Eg fem. ending -t is realized in the following three ways;

(1) Eg fem. ending has no reflection:

e.g., GN=N', PYBST, Š'N, THPNḤS; Lw=ṬN', LŠM, NPK

(2) Eg fem. ending is realized as Heb H:

e.g., GN=SWNH; Lw='ḤLMH, 'YPH, 'RH, ŠTH, TBH

(3) Eg fem. ending is represented by Heb T:

e.g., Lw=ṬB'T, QLHT

When the Eg fem. ending is indicated in Aram texts, the Y is almost always used (see Chapter II: Eg : Aram Phonetic Correspondences p.243), indicating normal fem. sound value [i] or [e] in the late period. However, it is characteristic that Heb reflection of the fem. ending is H, with vocalization [-āh] except GN SWNH [ēh]. Though the H is a Heb fem. ending, it is less likely that Heb scribes, recognizing these fem nouns, changed the vowel value of fem. ending [i/e] > [ā], and added the H. Neither is it likely that the words were first borrowed as *'ḤLMY like Aram forms, then underwent the secondary change 'ḤLMH, attached with the sound change [ē] > [ā]. Apart from all these speculations, there are some indications that Eg fem. ending changed from [*at] > [a] > [e/i];

(1) The Eg fem. ending is realized as [a] in the following cuneiform writings in the 2nd millennium:

- (a) *A-ma-an-ap-pa (i^hmn-m-i^hp.t)* (EA KM p.7)
(b) *na-am-ša (nms.t)* (EA KM p.15)
(c) *ra-aḥ-ta (rhd.t)* (EA KM p.24)
(d) *Mi-in!-mu-a-ri-a (mn-m3'.t-r')* (Bogasköi KM p.12)

Yet notice, if the ending is placed in medial position, the value [a] is often reduced to [i].

- (a) $\bar{a}^{1u}Hi-ku-up-ta-ah$ ($h.t-k3-pt\check{h}$) (EA KM p.10)
 (b) ${}^fNa-ap-te-ra$ ($nrf.t-\acute{I}ry$) (Bogasköi KM p.14)

(2) However, Eg fem. ending is realized as [i] in NA and NB (6th-7th c. BC) even at the end position;

- (a) $\bar{a}^{1u}bi-in-ṭi-ti$ ($pr-b3-nb-dd.t$) (Assurb KM p.27)
 (b) ${}^m ma-an-ti-me-an(!)-ḥi-e$ ($mnt.w-m-ḥ3.t$) (Assurb KM p.30)
 (c) ${}^m pu-ṭu-beš-ti$ ($p3-dí-3s.t$) (Assurb KM p.34)
 (d) ${}^m pa-ṭa-e-si-i'$ ($p3-dí-3s.t$) (Clay X KM p.39)

Therefore, we could conclude that Heb forms of Eg loanwords reflect the older form of the Eg fem. ending. If the older form is [a], it is not difficult to infer that the original form was *[at], which is preserved in two Eg loanwords in Heb, i.e., ṬB'T ($\check{t}abba'at$) and QLḤT ($qallahat$). Since these two preserved the fem. ending, they will have entered Canaanite in the Middle Kingdom before the /t/ was lost in Eg.

c) Other Vowel Changes

(1) PYBST ($p\acute{i}best$): Eg $pr-b3st.t$

Through comparison with Gk $\beta\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\beta\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and Copt $\pi\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$, it seems that the vowel change / $p\acute{i}$ / > / $p\bar{u}$ / took place. It is well known that Eg pr became [pi] in NK, and $b3st.t$ has a [u]-vowel at the initial as follows;

$pr = /pi/$ NA $\bar{a}^{1u}pi-šap-tu$ ($pr-sp\check{d}w$) Assurb.

NA $\bar{a}^{1u}pi-in-ṭi-ṭi$ ($pr-b3-nb.dd.t$) Assurb

$b3st.t = /ubaste/$ PH 'BST

Aram -WBST

NA $ubešti$

Hence, the vocalization of $pr-b3st.t$ was *[piubasti], which became [p/bubasti] (Copt $\pi\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$), then the [pi] for pr is usually reduced

to [p] when it was followed by a [u]-vowel and even a nasal consonant;

e.g., *[pi-ušīru] > *a^lūpu-šī-ru (pr-šs-īr)*

*[pi-nubu] > *a^lū pu-nu-bu (pr-nb)*

Yet if the [pi] is followed by a consonant, *pr* remains as [pi] as above. Therefore, we may infer from the Heb form PYBST that the initial vowel [u] of *b3st.t*, which is never inscriptionally confirmed, was the secondary development in the first millennium. The Heb form might preserve the original form [pi-basti]. Yet apart from the Biblical form, we have no evidence.

The Heb form may be explained by an alternative vowel change [piubasti] > [pibasti] ([u] dropped rather than becoming [i]). The remainder of the Heb form took the analogy of *gatl*-form [basti] > [bast] > [beset]/

(2) The vowel change [u/o] > [i/e]

(a) PTRWS (*patrô*s): Eg *p3-t3-rsy*

The NA from *pa-tu-ri-si*, Copt - $\rho\eta\epsilon$ "north" indicates the vowel change [ô] > [ē/ī], which took place between Ramesses II and Ass. period (see entry PTRWS).

(b) Lw ŠWŠN (*šûšan*) and PN ŠŠN (*šēšan*)

Though one is a common noun and the other a proper noun, both originated from the same Eg root *sš(š)n* > *ššn* "lily", and show the vowel change [û] > [ē]. Down to Copt $\Psi\omega\Psi\epsilon\eta\eta$ (even today Susan), the [û] vowel between the two Šs never changed. The change is more likely to be internal in Heb, as being suggested by LXX $\sigma\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$ for *šēšān*.

(c) PN ŠWŠQ (LXX $\Sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\chi\iota\mu$) and ŠYŠQ (LXX $\Sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\kappa\iota\mu$) (cf. ŠŠQ *šāšāq*)

The phonetic change [û] > [ê/î] is suggested in the Gk forms

Σεσωγχις, and Σεσωγχιωσις (Manetho). If this the case, we can apply the same Eg phonetic change [u] > [e] to this PN. However K. A. Kitchen suggested that Manetho's forms are due to metathesis. LXX Σουσακιμ for ŠWŠQ as well as ŠYŠQ may indicate that there were no phonetic changes, and ŠYŠQ is an internal change [u] > [i] in Heb, whether phonetic or merely script (w/y).

(d) ŠWŠ' (šawšā' LXX Σουσα) and ŠYŠ' (šīša' LXX Σηβα)

Since both names indicate the same person, it is impossible to assume the phonetic change. Confusion in spelling is more probable, or even confusion of W and Y in the square script. it is noteworthy that the vowel variation of W and Y took place between two Šs three times. This phonetic circumstance may cause the vacillation of vowels in the names and word ŠWŠ':ŠYŠ', ŠWŠQ:ŠYŠQ, ŠWŠN:ŠŠN.

(5) SWNH (*sesēnēh*) and SYNYM (*sînîm*)

From the context it is most likely that SYN(YM) is identical with SWNH, rather than SYN. This may be the result of misspelling.

CHAPTER IV:

EGYPTIAN PROPER NAMES AND WORDS IN UGARITIC

Ug PNs were studied by Gröndahl, *Die Personnamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Roma 1967), in which he listed two Eg PNs, *ammaššu* and PMN (p.300). Though he did not explain them, there occur two more Eg names written in Akk, whose Eg identification is confirmed by the context, *pa'ahi* and *hehea*. The other Eg names discussed below were taken from the list of PNs which were left unexplained by Gröndahl (pp.304-314).

We owe the comparative studies in Eg and Ug to W. Ward ("Comparative Studies in Egyptian and Ugaritic" *JNES* 20, 1961, pp.31-40) and C. Gordon (chapter 19 of *UT* 1965). However their main concern seems to be with cognate words. Because of the lack of the context in which the names and words occur (mainly attested in name or material lists), the identifications of Eg names and loanwords are more difficult. Thirty-nine possibilities are discussed below, of which only the fifteen are used to establish phonetic correspondences.

A. INVENTORY OF EGYPTIAN PROPER NAMES AND WORDS

[1] Personal Names

** ABDHR

--- 'BD-*hr* "The servant of Horus"

Gröndahl p.136

[Ug] *KTU* 4.33.36; 4.40.11 ABDH[R] (*UT* 19.16; Aist 14)

[Eg] see Ph 'BDHR

For A instead of ' in ABDHR, cf. ABDHR: 'BDHR, ABD'N: 'BD'N (Gröndahl p.136, 110); cf. also Ph 'BD'BST.


** *Amanmaš(š)u*

--- *imn-ms*  "Amun is born"

Gröndahl p.300

[Ug] *PRU* IV 17.28.0 *ʿa-ma-an-ma-š**i*; *PRU* IV 17.28.16, 27 *ʿa-ma-an-aš-š**u*

[Eg] Ranke I,29.8 m.NK-Late [EA] *ʿa-ma-an-ma-ša*

Notice that *imn-m-š*  "Amun is on the lake" (Ranke I,29.3 m.NK) is not impossible. However *imn-ms* is much more common in NK, making *imn-m-š* less likely.

* HR

--- *hr(w)*  "Horus"

Gröndahl p.136

[Ug] *KTU* 1.82.13; 4.46.13; 4.110.8 (*UT* 19.892; Aist 961f)

[Eg] see Ph HR.

[Eg] Gauthier, *LR* II p.306ff [EA] *Nibmuare(y)a, Nimm(')wareya. Mimmure(y)a, Mimmureya, Immure(y)a* [Gk] *Ἀμεινωφίς*

The Ug form of Amenophis III's name is evidently based on the Akk transcription *Nimmureya*, which does not mark the 's of the Eg, whereas the Ug script could mark them easily. This suggests the letter *KTU* 2.42 was translated from Akk into Ug.

**** SNB**

--- *snb*  "Being well"

[Ug] *KTU* 4.311.3 (*UT* 19.1772; Aist 1924)

[Eg] Ranke I,312.15 m.OK-Late/f.MK

This is one of the most common Eg names, which Gröndahl left unexplained (p.313).

*** SNT**

--- *s(3.t)-n.t*  "Daughter of Neith"

[Ug] *KTU* 3.4.10 SNT BT UGRT (*UT* 19.1777; Aist 1930)

[Eg] Ranke I,289.22 f.MK; cf. male name *s3-n.t* "Son of Neith" (Ranke I,282.15 m.MK-Late)

Gröndahl left the name unexplained (p.313). Ug SNT is a female, to which Eg *s3.t-n.t* corresponds well. Note that the male name *s3-n.t* was used until the Late Period. However, the bearer of this name is explained as "a daughter (citizen) of Ugarit," making Eg identification uncertain.


**** 'BDHR (hybrid)**

--- 'BD-*hr* "The servant of Horus"

[Ug] *KTU* 4.611.7 (*UT* 19.1801)

[Eg] see ABDHR

**** Pa'ahi**

--- $p(3)-(n?-)i(')h$  "He who belongs to the Moon"


[Ug] PRU III 16.136.9 *pa-a-hiamil matmi-is-ri*

[Eg] Ranke II, 279.23 m.NK(?); For the loss of 'ayn, see 'HMS.

Pa-pa-na

--- see PPN.

PWN


--- $p(3)-(n-)wn$  "He who belongs to existing one" (?)

[Ug] KTU 4.70.8 (UT 19.2028)

[Eg] Ranke I, 106.26 m.Gk [Gk] cf. *παρωvis*, *παραvis*


Gordon suggested that PWN derived from *pw (cf. *pwt* "red, purple"), yet the final *n* cannot be resolved. The Eg explanation is just possible in the absence of other identification.

**** PNI**

--- $p(3)-(n-)ni(.t)$  "He who belongs to the town"

[Ug] KTU 4.350.8 (UT 19.2060) BN PNI 4 // [A]BMN BN QSY 4

[Eg] see Aram PN'

Gröndahl left the name unexplained. The name occurs in the text in which many foreign names appear such as MN (perhaps Eg), DRSY, PRY, QSY, AGMZ, IBM, TRN, GMZ etc. The Eg name *P3-n-ni.t* best fits the Ug PNI. The questionable reading of the Eg word (*n.t* / *nw.t* / *niw.t* / *ni.t*) is virtually confirmed by the Ug PNI: the reading of  is *ni.t* (see the discussion of Aram GN N').

PNMN

--- $p(3)-(n-)mn$

[Ug] *KTU* 4.131 (*UT* 19.2066; Aist 2236)

[Eg] see PMN

Gröndahl left it unexplained. If the Eg preposition *n* is not assimilated, the Eg identification is likely.

** PMN

--- *p(3)-(n-)mn(.w)*  "He who belongs to Min"

Gröndahl p.300

[Ug] *KTU* 4.63; 4.232 (*UT* 19.2058; Aist 2229)

[Eg] see Aram PMN.

PPN


---*p(3)-(n-)pn(w)* "He who belongs to the Mouse"

[Ug] *KTU* 4.39.6 (*UT* 19.2084; Aist 2252)

[Eg] see Ph PPN.

Cf. **pa-pa-na* (Virolleard, *Syria* 28 p.50 line 34).

PRH

--- *p(3)-(n-)rḥ(.t)*  "He who belongs to the knowledge" or "Knowledgeable one"

[Ug] *KTU* 4.134 a list of merchants (*UT* 19.2102; Aist 2267)

[Eg] Ranke I, 109.20 m.Dyn19

Gröndahl give no explanation for the name. There is a Semito-Hamitic cognate **prḥ*: Heb *pārah*, Arab *parḥa* "bud, sprout", Akk *pirḥu* "sprout" (*AHW* 856a), cf. Eg *prḥ* "bloom" (*Wb* I, 532.7-11), Ug *prḥ* which is used as a PN in Akk. Therefore, Sem explanation is equally possible.

* PTM

--- **p(3)-(n-í)tm* "He who belongs to Atum"

[Ug] *KTU* 4.153.6 (*UT* 19.2131; Aist 2291)


[Eg] cf. *p3-n-DN* type: *p3-n-3s.t* etc. (Ranke I,105.21ff. mainly NK and Late). **p3-n-ítm* is accidentally not attested.

Gröndahl left it unexplained. The elision of *aleph* of *ítm* can be compared with Heb GN PTM (*pr-ítm*). Eg possibility is likely in the absence of Sem explanation.

* RWY

--- *rw.y*  , *rw.í*  etc. "He of the lion" (?)

[Ug] *KTU* 4.103.9; 4.69.III.4 (*UT* 19.2310; Aist 2493)

[Eg] Ranke I,220.14-22.5 m./f.NK; cf. many similar names such as *rw.3*, *rw.í*, *rw.y*, *rw.í*, *rw.y*, *rwíw* (except *rw.y*  which may be group writing)

Gröndahl left it unexplained. As this type of name is common in NK, the Eg identification is very likely, though there is a Heb root RWY "be saturated" which is not attested in Ug as a word and not used as a PN.

** RT

--- *r(w)d* ^{MK}  "Strong one"

[Ug] *KTU* 4.69.III.19 (*UT* 19.2357; Aist 2551)

[Eg] Ranke I,221.12 m.OK-NK/f.MK-Gk [Copt] *ρρooyt* , *βρwoyt* for *rwđ* (*Wb* II,410)

Gröndahl could not explain the name. Since Eg *rwđ* already became *rwđ* in MK, it is most probable that *rwđ* became /*rwt*/ in NK. Then it fits well Ug RT.

[2] Divine Names

** AMN

--- *imn*  "Amun"

[Ug] *KTU* 2.23.21 (*UT* 19.227; Aist 281) L. PN. AMN // W. L. PN. IL.

MSRM

[Eg] see Ph 'MN.

[3] Loanwords

? ABYN

--- *bin*  "evil"

Ward, *JNES* 20 p.31f (denied)

[Ug] *KTU* 1.17:I:16 (*UT* 19.24; Aist 18)

[Eg] Heb 'BYWN.

** AH "meadow"

--- *3h(.y)*  "plant"

[Ug] *KTU* 1.10:II.9 (*UT* 19.129; Aist 134)

[Eg] see Heb 'HW.

** AP "chamber/court"

--- *ip(.t)*  "harem, secret chamber"

Ward, *JNES* 20 p.32

[Ug] *KTU* 1.3:V:[11], 27

[Eg] *Wb* I,67.13-15 since OK

No cognate of AP is found in Semitic. The meaning and phonetic form properly correspond to Eg *ip.t* "chamber."

* ARY "kinsman"

--- *iry* 𐤀𐤓𐤕 "companion"

Albright, *JPOS* 12 p.197 n.47; Ward, *JNES* 20 p.32

[Ug] *KTU* 1.4:V:29; VI:44; 1.5:I:23, 25; 1.7:I.19, 20 (always parallel with "brother")

[Eg] *Wb* I,105.5-6 [Copt] $\epsilon\rho\mu\gamma$.

IRP

--- *irp* 𐤀𐤓𐤕 "wine"

[Ug] *KTU* 4.123.20 (*UT* 19.371; Aist 417)

[Eg] *Wb* I,115.5-8 since OK [Copt] $\epsilon, \text{b}\eta\rho\pi, \text{b}\eta\lambda\pi$

Gordon suggested an Eg origin of Ug *irp*; however, Aistleitner rendered it "vessel", as the context requires a kind of vessel. Therefore, the equation is doubtful.

DD "pot, measure"

--- *dd(.t)* 𐤃𐤃𐤕 "bowl, pot, measure"

Ward, *JNES* 20 p.40

[Ug] *KTU* 4.55.1-4, 6, 7, 31, 33, 34; 6.21.1; 1.41.44; 4.14.7; 4.128.1

[Eg] *Wb* V,501.14-18 since OK [Heb] DWD [Aram] DWD'

[Akk] *dudu* (since OB, *CAD* D 170)

The word is so common in Semitic that it is impossible to deal with it as a loanword. Most likely it is a cognate.

** HBN

--- *hbn* 𐤁𐤁𐤏 "ebony"

[Ug] *KTU* 4.402.6 (*UT* 19.743; Dahood, *UHP* p.56)

[Eg] see Heb HWBN

The text is a list of various items including lumber, tree (*tišr*). Therefore the equation of HBN with *hbn* is likely.

? HDM

--- see Heb Lw HDM.

HN

--- *hn(w)*  "a vessel"

[Ug] *KTU* 1.23.75

[Eg] see Heb HYN

Due to the uncertain context, the identification remains doubtful.

** HTP

--- *htp(.t)*  "offering"

Spalinger, *SSEA* 8 p.55

[Ug] *RS* 24:266.V° 15 (*Ugaritica* VII p.35) [B]KR B[']L. NŠ[Q]DŠ /
HTP B'[L. N]ML'U "The first born for Baal we will consecrate / HTP
for Baal we will fulfill" (by J. de Moor, *Supp. of IDB* p.930)

[Eg] *Wb* III,183

Cf. Aram Lw HTPY

It seems that the word HTP is best explained by Eg *htp*. The meaning is fully supported by the context, while no Sem explanation can be offered.

* MK "lo!"

--- *mk*  "lo!"

[Ug] *KTU* 1.14.III.3; V.5; VI.31; VII.12 (parallel with *hn*) (*UT*
19.1472; *Aist* 1472)

[Eg] *Wb* II.5

Gordon commented that the word may have been borrowed into Ug during the period of Eg influence before the victories of Suppiluliuma. In the absence of proper Sem etymology, an Eg explanation is conceivable. Aistleitner gave the rendering "then, there," comparing with Akk *ammaka*, *maka* "there." However, since MK is used parallel with HN, MK is more likely to be a climactic word "lo!."

**** QLHT**

--- *krh.t*  "vessel"

Dietrich-Loretz-Sanmartin, *UF* 7 p.166

[Ug] *KTU* 5.22.16

[Eg] see Heb QLHT

The text is a list of items, in which *ḥ* is often replaced by *ḥ*, such as *mpḥ* for *mpḥ*, *qmḥ* for *qmḥ* etc. (see *UF* 7 p.166), Therefore, the representation of *ḥ* by *ḥ* is not a problem.

TKT "a kind of ship"

--- *sk.t(y)*  "sacred boat"

Alt, *AfO* 15 p.70

[Ug] *KTU* 1.4:V:7; 4.81:4, 5, 8, 9

[Eg] see Heb *ŠKYWT*.

B. ANALYSIS OF PHONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCES

[1] Ug : Eg Phonetic Correspondences

Ug A	: Eg ʒ	Lw=AH
	: Eg i	DN=AMN; Lw=AP
Ug I	: Eg i	PN=PNI
Ug B	: Eg b	PN=SNB; Lw=HBN
Ug H	: Eg h	Lw=HBN
Ug Ḥ	: Eg h	PN=ABDHR, 'BDHR; Lw=HTP
Ug Ḥ	: Eg ɸ	Lw=AH
	: Eg ḥ	Lw=QLHT (in the text Ḥ is replaced by Ḥ)
Ug L	: Eg r	Lw=QLHT
Ug M	: Eg m	PN=PMN; DN=AMN
Ug N	: Eg n	PN=SNB, PNI, PMN; DN=AMN; Lw=HBN
Ug S	: Eg s	PN=SNB
Ug P	: Eg p	PN=PMN; Lw=AP, HTP

Ug Q : Eg *k* Lw=QLḤT

Ug R : Eg *r* PN=ABDḤR, 'BDḤR, RT

Ug T : Eg *d* (> /d/ > /t/) PN=RT

: Eg *t* Lw=ḤTP, QLḤT

[2] Ug Akk : Eg Phonetic Correspondences

Ug Akk *a* : Eg *i* PN=*amanmaššu*, *pa'aḥi*

: Eg *ø* PN=*ḥeḥea* (the *a* is a hypocoristic ending)

Ug Akk *h* : Eg *h* PN=*ḥeḥea*, *pa'aḥi*

Ug Akk *m* : Eg *m* PN=*amanmaššu*

Ug Akk *n* : Eg *n* PN=*amanmaššu*

Ug Akk *p* : Eg *p* PN=*pa'aḥi*

Ug Akk *š* : Eg *s* PN=*amanmaššu*

[3] Eg : Ug Phonetic Correspondences

Eg *ʒ* : Ug *A*

: Ug *ø* DN=PNI, PMN

Eg *í* : Ug A
 : Ug I
 Eg *y* : Ug \emptyset
 Eg *w* : Ug \emptyset PN=PMN (final *w*), RT (middle *w*)
 Eg *b* : Ug B
 Eg *p* : Ug P
 Eg *m* : Ug M
 Eg *n* : Ug N
 : Ug \emptyset PN=PNI, PMN (Eg genitive *n* dropped)
 Eg *r* : Ug R
 : Ug L
 Eg *h* : Ug H
 Eg *ḥ* : Ug Ḥ
 : Ug Ḥ
 Eg *ḥ* : Ug Ḥ
 Eg *s* : Ug S PN=SNB
 Eg *k* : Ug Q
 Eg *t* : Ug T
 : Ug \emptyset PN=PNI; Lw=AP, HTP (Eg fem. ending *t* > \emptyset)
 Eg *d* : Ug T

[4] Eg : Ug Akk Phonetic Correspondences

Eg *ʕ* : Ug Akk \emptyset PN=*pa'aḥi*
 Eg *í* : Ug Akk a vowel at the beginning of syllable
 PN=*amanmaššu*, *pa'aḥi*
 Eg *p* : Ug Akk *p*
 Eg *m* : Ug Akk *m*

Eg *n* : Ug Akk *n*

: Ug Akk \emptyset PN=*pa'ahī* (genitive *n*)

Eg *h* : Ug Akk *ḥ*

Eg *s* : Ug Akk *š*

[5] Table of Correspondences

* Ug in capitals, Eg in lower case

	Ug	primary	secondary	Eg	primary	secondary
	A	ʒ	ʔ	ʒ	A	\emptyset
glottal	I	ʔ		ʔ	A I	
stops	U	-				
	ʿ	-		ʿ	-	
semi-vowels	Y	-		y	-	\emptyset
	W	-		w	-	\emptyset
labials	B	b		b	B	
	P	p		p	P	
				f	P	
nasals	M	m		m	M	
	N	n		n	N	\emptyset
lateral	L	r				
trill	R	r		r	R L	
sibilants	S	s		s	S	
	š	-		š	-	
sibilants	š	-				
	š	-				

	H	<i>h</i>		<i>h</i>	H
pharyngals & laryngals	Ḥ	<i>ḥ</i>		<i>ḥ</i>	Ḥ
	Ḥ	<i>ḥ</i>		<i>ḥ</i>	Ḥ
				<i>ḥ</i>	-
	Q	<i>ḳ</i>		<i>ḳ</i>	Q
velars	K	-		<i>k</i>	-
	G			<i>g</i>	-
	T	<i>t</i>		<i>t</i>	T
alveolars	D	-		<i>t</i>	-
				<i>d</i>	-
	Ṭ	-		<i>d</i>	-
					T

Ug	Akk	Eg	Ug	Akk	Eg
<i>a</i>		<i>i</i> <i>ø</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>n</i>
<i>h</i>		<i>h</i>	<i>p</i>		<i>p</i>
<i>m</i>		<i>m</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>s</i>

[6] Notes on the Correspondences

Since the number of Eg names and words in Ug is limited, there is not much to demand comment. However, two things should be noticed: (1) Eg *i* is represented by either Ug A or Ug I, so we may infer that, after Eg 3 was lost, Eg *i* stood for both ['a] and ['i]. (2) It is most likely that the distinction between *ḥ* and *ḥ* was kept in Ug, as well as Eg, both corresponding to each other. In terms of Ug phonology, the interchange of 'ayn and aleph is noteworthy.

CHAPTER V:

EGYPTIAN PROPER NAMES AND WORDS IN EL-AMARNA TABLETS

In 1910 H. Ranke thoroughly studied Egyptian elements in EA tablets and published a monograph, *Keilschriftliches Material zur Altägyptischen Vokalisation* (Berlin). Then about forty years later two works followed: first, W. F. Albright studied Eg personal names in cuneiform texts "Cuneiform Material for Egyptian Prosopography 1500-1200 BC," *JNES* 5, 1946, pp. 7-25 (this work is cited here with a number, e.g., Albright no. 5). Secondly, T. Lambdin studied Eg words in EA 14 and 368¹ in his PhD dissertation (see Introduction p. 16f). Since then there have been no systematic attempts made to analyze the Eg elements in the tablets. Those studies still remain as standard works, though each Eg element has been re-examined and newly identified in small articles.

In this chapter, our aim is not to meet this need of systematic study of Eg elements in the tablets, partly because of constraints on time and partly because the language used in these tablets is not NW Semitic on which our studies concentrate, although it is generally

¹Prior to him, Egyptian in EA 368 was studied by T. E. Peet, "Additional Note," *JEA* 11 (1925) pp. 239-240; W. F. Albright, "The New Cuneiform Vocabulary of Egyptian Words" *JEA* 12 (1926) pp. 189-190; Then most recently by J. Vergote, "La Chancellerie Royale d'Akhetaton" pp. 580-584. "Egyptological Studies" *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 27 (1982) pp. 105-116. M. Görg, "Anmerkungen zu EA 368" *UF* 7 (1975) p. 356f. E. Edel, "Zur Deutung des Keilschriftvokabulars EA 368 mit ägyptischen Wörtern" *GM* 15 (1975) pp. 11-16.

acknowledged that the language is heavily influenced by NW Semitic. Our aim is restricted to looking into some phonetic features in the second millennium B.C., which are revealed in the light of Egyptian.

In the following inventory, therefore, without much discussion, are listed only Eg names and words whose identifications are unquestionable (hence, without the mark **) and their phonetic correspondences are analysed.

A. INVENTORY OF EGYPTIAN PROPER NAMES AND WORDS

[1] Personal Names

Amanap(p)a

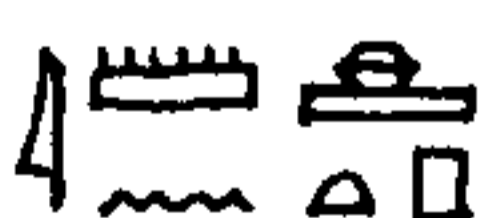
--- *imn-(m-)ip(.t)*  "Amun is in Luxor"

KM p.7; Albright no.1

[EA] 73.1, 74.51, 77.1 (?), 79.9, 82.1, 109.62, 117.23 *ʾa-ma-an-ap-pa*; 87.1 *a-ma-an-ap-pi*

[Eg] Ranke I, 27.18 m.NK-Late/f.NK; DemNB I, 64 (*imn-m-ipy*), I, 84 (*imn-ipy*) [Gk] *Ἀμενώφης* (NB p.24).

Amanhatpe

--- *imn-htp(.w)*  "Amun is gracious"

KM p.8; Albright no.2a

[EA] 185-186 (passim) *ʾa-ma-an-ha-at-bi*

[Eg] Ranke I, 30.12 m.NK-Gk/f.MK-NK; DemNB I, 67 [Gk] *Ἀμενωθης*, *Ἀμενούθης*, *Ἀμενωθευς*, *Ἀμμενωθης* (NB p.24), *Ἀμενωθου* (DemNB I, 67).

Ananmaša

--- *imn-ms* 4  "Amun is born"

KM p.8; Albright no.3

[EA] 113.36, 43, 114.51 *Ia-ma-an-ma-sa*

[Eg] Ranke I,29.8 m.NK-Late/f.NK; *DemNB* I,65.

Cf. *imn-m-š* "Amun is on the lake" (Ranke I,29.2 m.NK; much less common).

Api

--- *ipy* 4 

KM p.21; Edel, *JNES* 7 p.23

[EA] 138.8 *Ia-p[i]*, 107 *I[a]-b[i]*, 107 *I[a]-b[i]*, 145.12 (?)

[Eg] Ranke I,22.22 m.MK-Late/f.MK-NK; *DemNB* I,62 (*ipe/ipy*). Cf.

Ranke I,21.26-23.4.

Ap(p)ihā

--- **ip(.t)-(m-)ḥ(3.t)* "(Goddess) 'Ip.t is in front"

Moran p.567

[EA] 69.25, 29 *Iap-pi-ḥa*

[Eg] For the name type of: DN + *m-ḥ3.t*, see Ranke I,4.4; 28.8;

151.19 etc. m.MK-Late, *3s.t-m-ḥ3.t*, *imn-m-ḥ3.t*, *mn.w-m-ḥ3.t*; for *ip.t* see *Nb* I,68.7.

Moran's interpretation "Api brille" by which he perhaps intends *ip.t-ḥ'í.tí* is impossible, because the final *tí* is retained.

Atahmaya

--- see *Tahmaya*

Haapi or Haip

--- h'p(y)  "The Nile"

KM p.21; Albright no.4

[EA] 107.16, 132.40, 42, 133.9 ⁱha-ip; 149.37 ⁱha-a-pi

[Eg] Ranke I,234.7 m.NK (probably hypocoristicon).

Haramas(s)a/-š(š)i


--- hr-ms  "Horus is born"

KM p.10; Albright no.11

[EA] 20.33 ⁱha-a-ra-ma-aš-š[i], 36 [ⁱha-a-ra-]ma-aš-š*i*, 49.25 [a]-ra-ma(!)-sa

[Eg] Ranke I,249.1 m.MK-Gk/f.MK-NK.

Hatip

--- htp  "The gracious one"

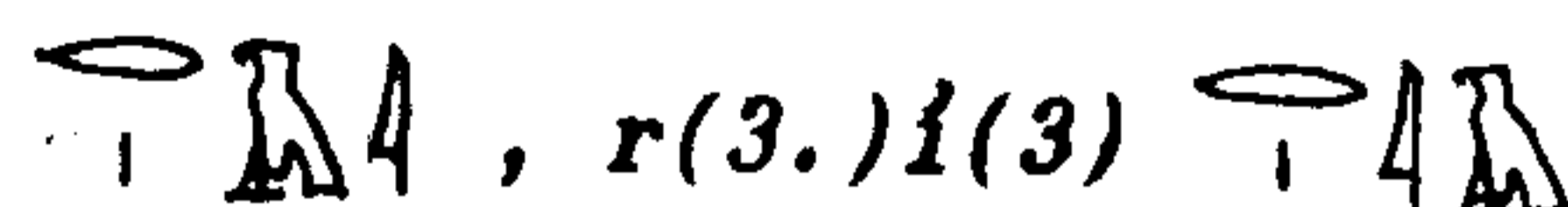
KM p.10; Albright no.12

[EA] 161.38, 43, 164.4, 18, 26, 42, 165.15, 26, 166.12, 32,

167.14(?) ⁱha-ti-ib

[Eg] Ranke I,257.22 m.OK-Gk/f.MK-NK [Gk] cf. Ἄτπευς, Ἄτπῆς, Ἄτπηεις (NB p.64, 65).

Leya

--- r(3:3)l  etc.

KM p.23; Albright no.20

[EA] 162.70 ⁱle-e-ia

[Eg] Ranke I,216.22, 23; 28 (ri3.y), 29 (ry), 217.1 (ry3).

Manahpi(r)ya

--- mn-ḥp(r)-r'  "May Existence of Re' be enduring"



(Thutmosis III)

KM p.12; Albright no.22

[EA] 51.4 *ma-na-ah-bi-ia*; 59.8 *ma-na-ah-bi-ir-ia*

[Eg] Gauthier, LR II 253-270.

Manē

--- mn(.i)  , mn(.y) 

KM p.12; Albright no.23

[EA] 19.17, 21, 20.8, 14, 18, 19, 23, 43, 64, 66, 69, 21.24, 24, I.53, 59, 71, 114, II.7, 13, 16, 19, 57, 86, 91, 95, 100, 102, 107, 111, 116, IV.20, 21, 26, 27, 35, 52, 54, 55, 57, 26.15, 27.7, 70, 83, 96, 97, 28.17, 37, 29.70, 78, 89, 90, 151, 167, 174, 176

ma-ni-e

[Eg] Ranke I, 151.2 m.OK-NK/f.MK; I, 151.4 m.MK-NK/f.MK.

Maya


--- my 

KM p.12; Albright no.26

[EA] 62.26, 292.33, 337.26, 29 *ma-a-ia*; 216, 13, 217.16 (?), 218.14, 300.26, 328.24 *ma-ia*

[Eg] Ranke I, 146.10 m.NK/f.NK.

Mayati, Mayatu

--- m(r)y(.t)-it(n)  "Beloved of Aton" (Meritaton, daughter of Amenophis IV)

Albright no.27

[EA] 10.44 *ma-i-ia-a-tim*; 11.vs.26 *ma-ia-tu-ma*; 155.8, 26, 29, 62 *ma-ia-a-ti*; 155.15, 22, 42, 50 *ma-ia-a-ti*

[Eg] Ranke I, 161.18 f.Dyn18.

Maireya

--- m(r)y-r'  "Beloved of Re"

Albright no.21

[EA] 367.7 *ma-i-ri-ia*

[Eg] Ranke I,160.23 m.MK-NK

Cf. *Miyare* (mry-r' ?) 289.31.

Nahramaš(š)i

--- *n'r-ms(.w) "N'r-tree is born"

KM p.13; Albright no.33

[EA] 21.33 *na-ah-ra-ma-as-[s]i*

[Eg] cf. t3-n.t-n'r  (Ranke II,369.7 f.Late); cf. *Wb*

II,208.14-16 for n'r.

The name has been identified with *in-hr.t-ms(.w)* "Onuris is born" (Ranke I,35.14; II,342 m.NK; cf. Copt ΔΝ2ΟΥΡΕ, Gk *Ὀνούρις* for Onuris). However, as shown in Copt and Gk forms, the initial vowel (perhaps preceded by *aleph*: Eg *i*) is preserved and there is a vowel between *h* and *r*, neither of which are not reflected in this Akk form. Therefore, the identification is not likely. Although the sacred tree n'r (*Wb* II,208.14-16) occurs so far only in the late PNs, the identification is much more likely.

Naphuru/areya or Naphu'/rreya

--- nf(r)-ḥ(p)r(.w)-r'  "Good is the Being of Re"

(Amenophis IV)

KM p.14; Albright no.34

[EA] 7.1, 11.1 *na-ap-ḥu-ru-ri-ia*; 8.1 *na-ap-ḥu-'-ru-ri-[-ia]*; 10.1 *[na-ap-ḥu]-ra-r[i-i]a*; 14.1 *[na-ap-ḥu-ru-]ri-a*; 26.27, 32, 40, 46, 50, 54, 59, 27.1, 39 *na-ap-ḥur-ri-[i]a*; 29.61, 63, 65, 67, 76

¹nap-ḥur-u-ri-ia; 53.1, 55.1 *¹n[am]-h[ur-i]a*

[Eg] Gauthier, *LR II* p.343ff.

Nibhur(r)ereya

--- *nb-ḥpr(.w)-r'*  "Re' is the lord of Being" (Tutankhamun)

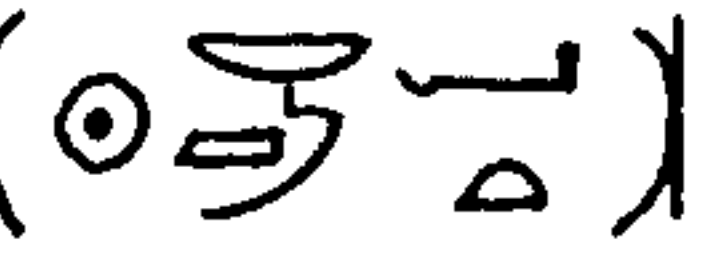
KM p.14; Edel, *JNES* 7 p.14

[EA] 9.1 *ni-ib-ḥu-ur-ri-ri-ia*

[Eg] Gauthier, *LR II* pp.365ff.

Eg *nb* is always transcribed as *nib*, never being written as *nap*.
Therefore the name is the designation of Tutanankhamun.

Nibmuare(y)a, Nimmu(')wareya, Minmure(y)a, Minmureya, Immure(y)a

--- *nb-m(3)'(.t)-r'*  "Re' is the lord of truth"

(Amenophis III)

KM p.14; Albright no.36

[EA] 1.2 *¹ni-ib-mu-a-ri-a*; 2.1 *¹ni-mu-wa-ri-ia*; 3.1 [*¹ni-ib-m*]u-'-
wa-ri-ia; 5.1, 17.1 *¹ni-ib-mu-a-ri-ia*; 19.1, 21.1, 22.IV.45, 47,

23.1 *¹ni-im-mu-ri-ia*; 20.1 [*¹ni-im-*]mu-ú-a-ri-ia; 24.I.1, 29.6

passim *¹ni-im-mu-u-ri-ia*; 24.I.84, III.106 *¹ni-im-mu-u/ú-ri-i-aš*;

24.III.104 *¹im-mu-u-ri-ia*; 24.III.106 *¹im-mu-u-ri-aš*; 24.IV.128

¹im-mu-u-ri-i-an; 26.8-35 passim, 27.9 *¹mi-im-mu-ri-ia*; 27.14, 20

¹mi-im-mu-ú-ri-ia; 27.38 *¹mi-mu-ri-ia*

[Eg] Gauthier, *LR II*, p.306ff.

Nimmaḥe

--- *nb-mḥ(y.t)*  "The North is the lord"

KM p.24; Albright no.37

[EA] 162.77 *¹ni-im-ma-ḥe-e*

[Eg] Ranke I, 185.7 m.NK.

Paapu

--- p(3)-(n-)ip(.t)  "He who belongs to Luxor"

Albright no.39

[EA] 333.[2], 22 [I]pa-a-bu

[Eg] Ranke I,106.7 m.Dyn18; DemNB I,349 [Gk] παωπισ (NB p.297);

for apu for Luxor, see a-ma-an-ap-pa (imn-ip.t).

Paḥa(m)nata/e

--- p(3)-ḥm-nt(r)  "Servant of god"

KM p.15; Albright no.40

[EA] 60.8, 20, 30, 62.1 Ipa-ḥa-na-te; 68.22, 131.35 Ipa-ḥa-am-na-ta

[Eg] Ranke I,115.16 m.NK-Late; II,354; DemNB I,204.

Puḥuru/i, Paḥura, Piḥura

--- p(3)-ḥr(.y)  "The Syrian"

KM p.15; Albright no.41

[EA] 57.6, 10, 189.18, 208.11 Ipu-ḥu-ru; 117.61, 123.13, 34, 132.47

Ipi-ḥu-ra; 122.31 Ipa-ḥu-ra; 189.17, 190.2 Ipu-ḥu-ri; 207.17 Ipu-

ḥu-ur

[Eg] Ranke I,116.17 m.NK-Dyn22ff.; DemNB I 210 (p3-ḥr)

[Gk] Πχοίρης , Πχοίρις (NB p.352).

Pamaḥu

--- p(3)-(n-)mḥ(y.t)  "He who belongs to (goddess)

Mḥy.t"


KM p.15; Albright no.42

[EA] 7.76 Ipa-ma-ḥu[-]

[Eg] Ranke I,108.15 m.NK-Gk; DemNB I,375 (pa-mḥy) [Ph] PMḥW. Cf.

Nimmaḥe (nb-mḥy.t).

Pawara, Pa/uuru, Piwa/uri

--- p(3)-wr  "The great"

KM p.16, 17, 24; Albright no.45


[EA] 117.47, 124.44, 132.38, 171.15 (?), 263.21 [ⁱpa]-wa-ra; 131.22

ⁱpi-wa-ri; 287.45 ⁱpa-ú-ru; 289.38 ⁱpu-ú-ru; 362.69 ⁱpi-wu-[ri]

[Eg] Ranke I,104.4 m.NK; DemNB I,176 [Gk] ποῦρις , ποῦερ ,

Ποῦρις , Ποῆρις (NB p.335, 341, 342).

Peya, Pieya

--- pi(3)y 

Albright no.46

[EA] 292.42, 51 ⁱpi-e-ia; 294.16, 24, 30 ⁱpi-i-ia

[Eg] Ranke I,129.25 m.NK.

Pišyari

--- p(3)-sr  "The prince"

Edel, SAK 1 p.131ff.; "Brief" p.120f.


[EA] 162.71 ⁱpi-iš-ia-ri

[Eg] Ranke 117.12 m.NK [Copt] CIOYP "eunuch" (Crum p.371a) [Gk]

ψιούρις ; for the extra y, see also the late spellings  sir,

 syr (Wb IV,188). EA has the oldest attestation.

Reanap(a)

--- r'-nf(r)  "Re' is good"

KM p.18; Albright no.49

[EA] 292.36 ⁱri-a-na-ap; 315.13, 326.17 ⁱ[r]i-a-na-pa

[Eg] Ranke I,219.10 m.OK.

Reyamanū

--- r'-m-ni(w.t) "Re' is in the town"

KM p.24; Edel, "Neue Deutungen" p.15

[EA] 347.3 *Iri-ia-ma-nu-[---]*

[Eg] cf. p3-r'-m-ni(w.t) (Ranke II, 282.8 m.Late).

Šar(r)u

--- sr |  "The prince"

Albright no.54

[EA] 162.68 *Iša-ar-ru*

[Eg] Ranke I, 316.25 m.OK-NK.

Šuta


--- st(i)  "Seth" or "Sute(kh)"

KM p.25; Albright no.56; Edel, *JNES* 7 p.19

[EA] 234.14, 23 *Išu-ta*; 5.19 *Išu-ut-ti*; 288.19, 22 *Išu-ú-ta*

[Eg] Ranke I, 321.17 m.NK.

Tahmaya, Atahmaya

--- (p)th-my  (a short form of pth-ms)

KM p.18; Albright no.59

[EA] 265.9 *Ita-ah-ma-ia(!)*; 316.15 [*Ita*]h-m[*a-i*]a; 364.13 *Ia-tah-ma-ia*.

[Eg] Ranke I, 140.6 m.NK; see *tahmašši*.

Tahmaš(š)i

--- (p)th-ms(w)  "Ptah is born"

KM p.18; Albright no.60

[EA] 303.20 *Itaḥ-[m]a-aš-ši*

[Eg] Ranke I, 140.9 m.NK.

Teye

--- ty 𐎢𐎡𐎢 , 𐎢𐎡𐎢 etc.

KM p.18; Albright no.61

[EA] 26.1, 27.4, 112, 28.43, 45, passim in 29 *altute-i-e*

[Eg] Ranke I, 377.22 m./f.MK-NK.

Tuya

--- t(w)y 𐎢𐎡𐎢

KM p.25; Albright no.63; Edel JNES 7 p.20; SAK 1 p.16ff.

[EA] 162.69 *Itu-u-ia*

[Eg] Ranke I, 379.8 m./f.NK.

[2] Divine Names

Aman(u)

--- imn 𐎢𐎡𐎢 "Amun"


KM p.7

[EA] 1.46, 19.15, 24, 76 *iluam[an]u-um*; 20.26, 27.87 *iluama-anu*; 20.74, 369.29 *iluama-nu*; 24.I.76, 101, 24.II.65, 77, 24.IV.118 *iluama-anu-ú*; 71.4, 86.3, 87.5, 95.3, 164.40(?) *iluama-na*

[Eg] see Ph 'MN.

[3] Geographical Names

Hikuptah, Hikutah

--- *h(.t)-k(3)-pth*  "The House of the ka of Ptah" (By-form of Memphis)

KM p.10

[EA] 84.37 *aluh_i-ku-up-ta-ah(!)*; 139.8 *hi(!)-ku-ta-ah(!)*

[Eg] *Wb* III,5.20; Gauthier, *DG* IV p.137f.; Montet, *Géographie* I p.32.

[4] Loan Words

anahū

--- 'nh  (name of vessel in 'nh form)

Lambdin, *Or* NS 22 p.363

[EA] 14.I.36 *a-na-hu-u/na-hu-u* (Moran read as *anahu*)

[Eg] *Wb* I,204.15.

daši

--- *ds*  "jar"

KM p.26; Lambdin, *Or* NS 22 p.364

[EA] 14.I.48 *da-ši*

[Eg] *Wb* V,485.3ff. since Pyr.

hapši


--- *hpš*  "arm"

Knudtson p.1549

[EA] 147.12 *ha-ab-ši*

[Eg] *Wb* III,268 early MK (cf. *hpš* "thigh, leg" since Pyr) [Copt] ^aϣωπ̄ϣ (Černý p.250).

haman

--- *ham*  "eight"

For bibli., see p.384

[EA] 368.13 *ha-ma-an*

[Eg] *Wb* III,282.10-11 [Copt] ^aϣMOYN , ^bϣMHN .

hamtu

--- *hmt*  "three"

For bibli., see p.384

[EA] 386.8 *ha-am-tu*

[Eg] *Wb* III,283 [Copt] ^aϣOMNT , ^bϣOMT , ^aϣAMT .

hanūnu šahū

--- *hnn s'h'* "an upright box or chest"

Lambdin, *Or* NS 22 p.365; Edel, "Weitere Beiträge" p.112f

[EA] 14.II.52 *ha-nu-u-nu sa-hu-u*

[Eg] *hn*  "box, chest" (*Wb* II,491.9ff since OK); *s'h'*

"rise up" (*Wb* IV,53-4 since Pyr) Copt ^aCOOZE , ^bCOZI .

hatupu

--- *htp*  "table"

For bibli., see p.384

[EA] 368.rev.11 *ha-tū?-pu*

[Eg] *Wb* III,183.6 since Pry.

Notice that all Eg words (except numbers) in EA 368 end with *u*, which may be Eg case ending.

hina

--- hn(w)  "a liquid measure"

Lambdin, *Or* NS 22 p.365; Edel, "weiter Beiträge" p.105

[EA] 14.III.62 hi-na

[Eg] see Heb HYN.

hubunu

--- hbn(.t)  "a large jar for votive offering"

Morgan, *JA* 203 p.152f.; Lambdin, *Or* NS 22 p.365

[EA] 14.I.58, 60, II.51 hu-bu-un-nu

[Eg] *Wb* II,487.13-19 since OK.

kuihku

--- k(3)-h(r)-k(3)  (name of temple vessel)

Erman, *ZÄS* 34 p.165f; *KM* p.11; Lambdin, *Or* NS p.366


[EA] 14.III.43, 55 ku-i-ih-ku

[Eg] *Wb* V,93.4-5 since Dyn20 (name of temple vessel).

Cf. Aram month name KYHK

The first attestation of this Eg word is found in EA, belonging to Dyn18.

miši

--- mš'  "soldiers, army"

Lambdin, *JCS* 7 pp.75-77

[EA] 101.4, 33, 105.27, 110.48 (?), 52, 111.21 (?), 126.63 knudtzon

read mi-lim, yet Ebeling's suggestion is miši (p.1550)

[Eg] *Wb* II,155.2-19 since OK [Copt] ⲙⲙⲙⲙⲉ , ⲙⲙⲙ .

muṭu

--- *md* ∩ "ten"

For Bibli. see p.384

[EA] 368.15 *mu-ṭu*

[Eg] *Wb* II,184.1-2 since OK [Copt] MHT .

nabnasu


--- *n(3)-bnš* "the door posts"

For bibli. p.384

[EA] 368.rev.8 *na-ab-na-su*

[Eg] *bns*  "door post" *Wb* I,464.3 since MK.

namša

--- *nms(.t)*  "a kind of jar"

KM p.13; *Lambdin Or NS* 22 p.367

[EA] 14.I.32, 67, II.50, III.37, 67 *na-am-ša*

[Eg] *Wb* II,269.7-8 since Pyr.

naš(š)a


--- *nš(w)*  "a kind of pot or a measure"

KM p.14; *Lambdin, Or NS* 22 p.367

[EA] 14.III.48, II.80 *na-aš-ša*

[Eg] *Wb* II,338.14-15 since MK.

paḥatu

--- *p(3)-ḥ't*  "the bed"

For bibli., see p.384

[EA] 368.rev.10 *pa-ḥa-tu*

[Eg] *Wb* III,43.15 NK.

pawira/i

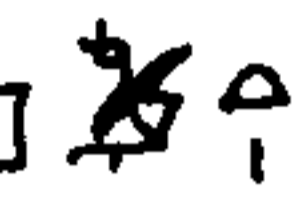
--- *p(3)-wr* "the great"

KM p.16 and 24

[EA] 117.47 (?), 149.30 *pa-wi-ra*; 151.59 *pa-wi-ri*

[Eg] *Wb* I,328.14ff since OK.

pazite

--- *p(3)-t(3)t(y)*  "vizier"

Albright, 13a; Moran, p.246 n.1

[EA] 71.1 *pa-zi-t[e?]*

[Eg] *Wb* V,343.8ff since OK.

piparu

--- *p(3)-pr(y.t)*  "the houses"

For bibli., see p.384

[EA] 368.rev.5 *pi-pa-ru*

[Eg] for *pry.t*, see *Wb* I.518.12-13 MK-NK (for the final *r* pronounced, see Edel, *GM* 15 p.15).

pisit


--- *psd*  "nine"

For bibli., see p.384

[EA] 368.14 *pi-si-it*

[Eg] *Wb* I,558.10 [Copt] = ψIT(ψIC), °ψLT .


piṭāti/u/a/e(u)

--- *pd.t(y)*  "bowmen, foreigner"

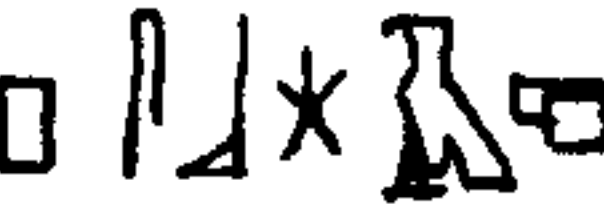
KM p.16

[EA] 287.17 *pi-ta-ti-ú*; 286.53 etc. *pi-ṭa-ti*; 285.16 *pi-ṭa-tu*;

287.21 etc. *pi-ta-tù*; 269.12 etc. *pi-ta-ta*; 174.21, 176.16 *pi-ta-a-*
te; 166.4 etc. *pi-ta-te*

[Eg] *Wb* I,570.4 MK (for *d* > *d*, see *pd.t* )

pusbiú

--- *p(3)-sb3*  "the door"

For bibli., see p.384

[EA] 368.rev.6 *pu-us-bi-ú*

[Eg] *Wb* IV,83.9-17 since Pyr [Copt] ^aCBE , ^bEBH .

qapqapu

--- *kfkf*  (a cult utensil)

Edel, "weitere Beiträge" p.101ff.

[EA] 14.I.67 *qap-qá-pu*

[Eg] *Wb* V,33.5 Dyn18.

rahta

--- *rhd(.t)*  "vessel"

KM p.24; Lambdin, *Or* NS 22 p.367

[EA] 14.I.46 *ra-ah-ta*

[Eg] *Wb* II,441.5-7 NK [Copt] ραϱτε , ροϱτε .

ruhi

--- *rh(-nsw.t)*  "(king's) acquaintance"

KM p.25

[EA] 288.11 *amâluuru-ḥi* (*šarriri*)

[Eg] *Wb* II,446.9-447.3 since Pyr.

šahšiḥa

--- sš.š'(.t)  "letter scribe"

Albright, no.53; Helck, *Beziehungen*² p.435 n.6; Schulman,

JARCE 3 p.60 n.73; Moran p.540 n.4

[EA] 316.16 *ša-ah-ši-ḥa-ši-ḥa* (the final *-ši-ḥa* is a dittography)

[Eg] *Wb* III,480.9 since end of Dyn18; cf. *ss* "scribe" attested since OK. (Note Eg *sš* > /šs/ > /šh/ cf. Copt ^a Ⲙⲁⲓ , ^b Ⲙⲁⲓ , ^a Ⲙⲁⲓ).

šapha

--- *sfḥ*  "seven"

For bibli. see p.384

[EA] 368.12 *šap-ḥa*

[Eg] *Wb* IV.115.15 [Copt] ^a Ⲙⲁⲩⲩ , ^b ⲩⲁⲩⲩ .

šau

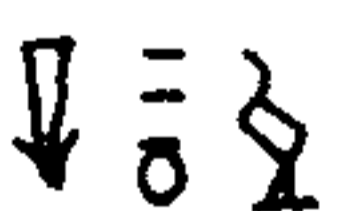
--- *sí(s)*  "six"

For bibli. see p.384

[EA] 368.11 *ša-ú*

[Eg] *Wb* IV,40.7 [Copt] ⲘⲠⲩ .

šina

--- *sn(w)*  "two"

For bibli., see p.384

[EA] 368.7 *ši-na*

[Eg] *Wb* IV,148.6 [Copt] ^{a,b} ⲘⲎⲁⲩ , ^a ⲘⲎⲁⲩ , ⲘⲎⲠ .

šunuti

--- *šn(w)ty*  (dual) "granary"

Helck, *MDOG* 92 p.11; Moran p.524 n.2

[EA] 294.22 *šu-nu-ti*

[Eg] *Wb* IV,510.1 since Pyr [Copt] sg. forms ⲠⲚⲈⲚⲈ, ⲛⲚⲈⲚⲚⲚ.

tasbu, taasbu

--- *t(3)-ísb(.t)*  "the stool"

For bibli., see p.384

[EA] 368.rev.9 *ta-as-bu* "the stool"

[Eg] *Wb* I,132.2-8 NK.

ṭiban


--- *dbn*  "Eg measure of weight"

For bibli. see p.384

[EA] 368.12 *ṭi-ba-an*

[Eg] *Wb* V.438.2-10 since OK.

ṭiu

--- *dí(w)*  "five"

For bibli., see p.384

[EA] 368.10 *ti-u*

[Eg] *Wb* V,420.9-12 [Copt] ⲧⲟⲤ.

uruš(š)a


--- *wrs*  "head support"

KM p.19

[EA] 5.22 *iṣuú-ru-[u]š-ša ša iṣuúšf*

[Eg] *Wb* I,335.9 OK-NK.

weḥu, ueḥ, wea/u, ue, ui/eu

--- *w'(w)*  "a low officer"


KM p.19

[EA] 129.12 *wi-ḥi*; 230.11 *w[i]-ḥu*; 287.69 *ú-e-eḥ*; 109.39 *wi-a*;

150.9 *wi-ú*; 287.47 *ú-e-e*; 288.10 *ú-e-ú*; 285.6 *ú-i-ú*;

[Eg] *Wb* I, 280.3-8 Dyn18-end of NK.

zabnakū

--- *t(3)b-n-k(3)*  "ka-vessel"

KM p.20; Lambdin, *Or* NS 22 p.369

[EA] 14.III.54 *za-ab-na-ku-u*

[Eg] *Wb* V, 354.8-9 since Dyn19.

C. ANALYSIS OF PHONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCES

[1] Akk : Eg Phonetic Correspondences

Akk <i>b</i> : Eg <i>b</i>	Akk <i>q</i> : Eg <i>k</i>
Akk <i>d</i> : Eg <i>d</i>	Akk <i>r</i> : Eg <i>r</i>
Akk <i>g</i> : Eg -	Akk <i>s</i> : Eg <i>s</i>
Akk <i>h</i> : Eg <i>h</i>	: Eg <i>š</i>
: Eg <i>h</i>	Akk <i>š</i> : Eg -
: Eg <i>h</i>	Akk <i>š</i> : Eg <i>s</i>
: Eg <i>š</i> (<i>s</i> > /š/ > /h/)	: Eg <i>š</i>
Akk <i>y</i> : Eg <i>y</i>	Akk <i>t</i> : Eg <i>t</i>
: Eg <i>i</i>	: Eg <i>t</i> (> /t/)
: Eg '	: Eg <i>d</i> (> /t/)
Akk <i>k</i> : Eg <i>k</i>	: Eg <i>d</i> (> /d/ > /t/)
Akk <i>l</i> : Eg <i>r</i>	Akk <i>ṭ</i> : Eg <i>d</i>
Akk <i>m</i> : Eg <i>m</i>	: Eg <i>d</i> (> /d/)
: Eg <i>b</i>	Akk <i>s</i> : Eg <i>t</i>
Akk <i>n</i> : Eg <i>n</i>	
Akk <i>p</i> : Eg <i>p</i>	
: Eg <i>f</i>	

[2] Eg : Akk Phonetic Correspondences

Eg 3 : Akk ø (mostly)

: Akk /'/ between two vowels

Lw=*pusbiu* (*pu-us-bi-ú*) /*pusbi'u*/

Eg i' : Akk vowel in the beginning

PN=*Amanap(p)a* (*a-ma-an-ap-pa*) /'aman'apa/, *Amanḥatpe*,

Amanmašša, *api*, *ap(p)iḥa*, *Mayati* (*ma-ia-tu-ma*)

: Akk /'/ between a consonant and a vowel in the middle

PN=*Amanap(p)a*, *Mayati* /*may'ati*/

: Akk /'/ between two vowels in the middle

PN=*Paapu* (*pa-a-pu*) /*pa'apu*/; Lw=*šau*, *taasbu*, *ṭiu*

: Akk y

PN=*Leya*, *peya*

: Akk ø at the end

Lw=*šūta* (*šu-ta*)

Eg ' : Akk vowel at the beginning

Lw=*ahaḥu* (*a-na-ḥu-u*)

: Akk /'/ between a vowel and a consonant in the middle

Lw=*paḥatu* (*pa-ḥa-tu*) /*paḥa'tu*/

: Akk /'/ between two vowels at the middle

PN=*Ḥaapi* (*ḥa-a-pi*) /*ha'api*/, *Nibmuare(y)a*, *Reanap*; Lw=*sahu*

wea/u

: Akk ø at the end

Lw=*miši* (*mi-ši*) /*miši'*/, *šaḥū* (*ša-ḥu-ū*) /*šaḥū'*/ or /*šaḥu'u*/?

: Akk y (*ia*-sign; restricted to the spelling of Re')

PN=*Manahpi(r)ya*, *Maireya*, *Napḥu/areya*, *Nibḥur(r)eya*,

Nibmuare(y)a, *Reyamanū*

: Akk ḥ

PN= *Naḥramas(s)i*; Lw=*saḥsiḥa, wueḥ/ueḥ*

Eg *y* : Akk *y*

PN=*Maya, Mayati, Peya, Taḥmaya, Teye, Tuya*

: Akk *i*

PN=*Maireya*

: Akk \emptyset at the end

PN=*Api, Ḥaap, Puhura, Paḥḥu*; Lw=*piparu, piṭātu, ṣunuti*

Eg *w* : Akk *w*

PN=*Pawara*

: Akk *u* (restricted *u*-sign)

PN=*Pa/uuru*; Lw=*uruš(š)a, ueḥ*

: Akk \emptyset

(1) Eg final *w* dropped: PN=*Amanḥatpe, Naḥramašši,*

Nibḥur(r)ereya, Taḥmašši; Lw=*ḥina, našša, šina, ṣunuti, ṭiu,*
we'ḥu

(2) Eg middle *w* dropped: Lw=*ṣunuti* (Eg *šnwty*)

Eg *b* : Akk *b*

PN=*Nibḥur(r)ereya, Nibmuare(y)a*; Lw=*ḥubunu, nabnasu, pusbiu,*
taasbu, ṭiban, zabnakū

: Akk \blacksquare (/b/ > / \blacksquare / before \blacksquare)

PN=*Nimmu(')wareya, Mimmur(y)a*

: Akk \emptyset

PN=*Immure(y)a*

Eg *p* : Akk *p*

PN=*Amanap(p)a, Amanḥatpe, Api* etc. GN=*Ḥikuptaḥ*; Lw=*ḥatupu,*
ḥapši, paḥatu, etc.

: Akk ' (Eg *p* > /'/)

PN=*Napḥu'rureya*

: Akk \emptyset (Eg *p* is not supported by a vowel)

(1) Eg *ḥpr* > *ḥr* : PN=*Napḥuru/areya, Nibḥur(r)ereya*

(2) Eg *pth* > *th* : PN=*Taḥmaya, Taḥmaš(š)i*; Lw=*Ḥikkutaḥ*

Eg *f* : Akk *p*

PN=*Napḥuru/areya, Reanap(a)*; Lw=*qapqapu, šapḥa*

Eg *m* : Akk *m*

PN=*Amanap(p)a* etc.; DN=*Aman* etc.; Lw=*ḥaman* etc.

: Akk \emptyset

(1) Eg prep. *m* > / \emptyset /: PN=*Appiḥ*

(2) *m* > / \emptyset / before *n*: PN=*Paḥa(m)natate*

Eg *n* : Akk *n*

: Akk \emptyset

(1) Eg prep. *n* dropped: PN=*Paapu, Paḥaḥu*

(2) the final *n* dropped: PN=*Mayati*

(3) the initial *n* dropped: PN=*Immure(y)a*

Eg *r* : Akk *r*

PN=*Manahpi(r)ya, Naḥramašši* etc.; Lw=*pawira/i* etc.

: Akk *l* (Eg *r* > /*l*/ at the initial)

PN=*Leya*.

: Akk \emptyset

PN=*Manahpi(r)ya (mn-ḥpr-r')*, *Mayati, Maireya*; Lw=*kuiḥku*

Eg *h* : Akk *ḥ*

Lw=*ḥanūnu šaḥū, ḥina, ḥubunu, raḥta*

Eg *ḥ* : Akk *ḥ*

PN=*Amanḥatpe, Appiḥa*, etc.; GN=*Ḥikuptaḥ*, etc.; Lw=*ḥatupu* etc.

Eg *ḥ* : Akk *ḥ*

PN=*Manahpi(r)ya, Paḥura*, etc.; Lw=*anaḥu, ḥapši*, etc.

Eg *š* : Akk *š*

PN=*Amanmaš(š)a*, etc.; Lw=*daši*, etc.

: Akk *s*

- PN=*Ḥaramas(s)a* (cf. *Ḥaramašši*); Lw=*pusbiu, taasbu*
- Eg *s* : Akk *∅* (Eg final *s* dropped)
- Lw=*šau* (Eg *sís* > *sí*)
- Eg *š* : Akk *š*
- Lw=*ḥapši, miši, nšw, šaḥšiḥa, šunuti*
- : Akk *s*
- Lw=*nabnasu*
- : Akk *ḥ* (Eg *š* > /*h*/)
- Lw=*šaḥšiḥa*
- Eg *k* : Akk *q*
- Lw=*qapqap*
- Eg *k* : Akk *k*
- GN=*Ḥikuptaḥ*; Lw=*kuiḥku, zabnakū*
- Eg *t* : Akk *t*
- PN=*Amanḥatpe*, etc.; GN=*Ḥikuptaḥ*; Lw=*ḥamtu* etc.
- : Akk *∅* (Eg fem. ending *t* dropped)
- PN=*Amanappa*, etc; GN=*Ḥikuptaḥ*; Lw=*ḥamtu, ḥatupu*, etc.
- Eg *t* : Akk *z*
- Lw=*zabnakū, pazite* (?)
- : Akk *t* (Eg *t* > /*t*/)
- PN=*Paḥa(m)nate*
- Eg *d* : Akk *d/ṭ*
- Lw=*daši, ṭiban, ṭiu*
- : Akk *t* (Eg *d* > /*t*/)
- Lw=*raḥta*
- Eg *d* > /*d*/ : Akk *ṭ/d*
- Lw=*muṭu, piṭatu*
- : Akk *d/ṭ/t*
- Lw=*pišit*

[3] Table of Phonetic Correspondences

* Akk in capitals, Eg in lower case

	Akk	primary	secondary	Eg	primary	secondary
glottal	'		p	ʒ	ø (vowel)	
stops				i	vowel Y ø	
				'	vowel Y H ø	
semi-vowels	Y	i ' y		y	Y I	ø
	W			w	W U	ø
labials	B	b		b	B	M
	P	p f		p	P	' ø
				f	P	
nasals	M	m		m	M	ø
	N	n		n	N	ø
lateral	L	r				
trill	R	r		r	R L	ø
	S	s š		s	š S	ø
sibilants	š	s š		š	š S	H
	š	-				
	Z	t				
pharyn. & laryn.	H	h h h š		h	H	
				h	H	
				h	H	
				h	-	
velars	Q	k		k	Q	
	K	k		k	K	
	G	-		g	-	

	T	t	<u>t</u> d	t	T		ø
alveo-	D	d	<u>d</u>	<u>t</u>	Z		T
lars	Ṭ	d	<u>d</u>	d	D Ṭ		T
				<u>d</u>	-		D Ṭ

[4] Note on the Correspondences

a) Glottal Stops

All Eg ʒ were elided except one: *pusbiu* (*pʒ-sbʒ*) in which the final ʒ of *sbʒ* is realized as /ʔ/ between two vowels, *i* and *u*. This indicates that Eg ʒ is still preserved at the final position (there is no example of the initial ʒ).

Eg *ʔ* is preserved well. Eg *ʔ* is realized (1) by a vowel at the initial, (2) between two vowels in the middle, (3) between a consonant and a vowel, (4) with no reflection. The suggestion that Eg *ʔ* corresponds to Akk *y* in the two names, *i.e.*, *Leya*, *Peya* (*q.v.*), in which the spelling of Eg *y* and *ʔ* is interchangeable is weak.

The Akk treatment of Eg *ʔ* is very similar to that of Eg *ʔ*. The above four reflections are also used for Eg *ʔ*. However, unique is the representation of Eg *ʔ* by Akk *y* (in the case of *Reʔ*, with *ia*-sign) and *h*.

b) Semi-Vowels

Eg *y*, which was lost at the end, is represented by Akk *y* and *i*. Eg *w*, which was lost at the end, is represented by Akk *w* and *u* (always *ú*-

sign), both of which seem to be interchangeable.

c) Labials & Nasals

Eg *b* normally corresponds to Akk *b* and to Akk *m* before *m*. Eg *p* is elided, becoming ' or \emptyset before a consonant.

Eg *m* and *n* correspond to Akk *m* and *n* respectively. Yet Eg prep. *m* was elided once, and Eg *m* assimilated to the following *n* (notice that *pa-ha-na-te* could be normalized as *Pahannate*, cf. *Pahamnate*). Eg prep. *n* in the name of type *p3-n-* "He who belongs to" is already elided and *p3-n-* became [pa] (e.g., *Paapu*, *Pamahū* etc.). In two cases (*Immure(y)a*, *Mayati*) the initial and final Eg *n* is not realized by Akk.

d) Pharyngal and Laryngals (Eg *h*-consonants)

Akk *ḥ* stands for all Eg *h* sounds. If we could apply the correspondence between Eg *ḥ* and NW Sem spirantized /*k*/, the result suggests that there was no spirantization in EA Akk, because the postvocalic Eg *ḥ* is represented by Akk *ḥ*, not *k*.

e.g., (1) *Manahpi(r)ya* (Eg *mn-ḥpr-r'*):

(2) *Paḥura* (Eg *p3-ḥr.y*)

(3) *anaḥu* (Eg 'nḥ)

(4) *ruḥi* (Eg *rḥ*)

e) Sibilants

It seems that there are no fixed correspondences between Eg and Akk sibilants. Eg *s* is normally represented by Akk *š*; however there are three cases in which Eg *s* is realized as Akk *s*. The fact that

Haramassa is replaced by *Haramašši* indicates that they are interchangeable. Eg š is usually equated with Akk š. However, once Eg š is represented by Akk s.

Due to the secondary change in Eg, Eg š is represented by Akk ḥ or lost. As for Akk z, see below.

f) Velars and Alveolars

There are no confusion among velars; Eg ḳ : Akk q, Eg k : Akk k.

Due to the Akk writing system which is incapable of showing the exact phonetic value among voiced, voiceless and emphatic consonants, the determination of the correspondence is more difficult. However, Eg d corresponds to not only Akk ṭ, but also Akk d. The correspondence between Eg d and NW Sem D is exceptional. Yet in EA the correspondence seems to be usual.

Unique is the correspondence between Eg ṭ and Akk z, which has never occurred before.

[5] Phonetic Changes between EA and the Late Period

Within the considerable time span between EA and the Late Period there are some phonetic changes observable.

a) Consonants

As shown above, Eg ṭ corresponds to Akk z. However, Eg ṭ is represented by Ph š (mid 5th cent. BC) and Aram š (6th cent BC) (not attested in Heb). This correspondence suggests that the consonantal value of Eg ṭ has been changed. However as this is the case of a

sibilant, the conclusion cannot be conclusive.

b) Vowels

There is the following agreement about the Eg vowel changes, which is generally accepted by Egyptologists since Albright and Sethe (see PTRWS);

accented CvC : a > o i > a u > e

accented Cv : a > o i = i u > e

(1) /a/ > /o/ in open and closed syllable

(a) Eg *imn*: EA ['aman] > Aram, Heb [(')ano/un]

EA: *Aman*, (unaccented: *Amanap(p)a*, *Amanhatpe*, *Amanmaš(š)a*). Yet
Aram: PṬMWN, PMWN, 'MWN; Heb: 'MWN

(b) Eg *ip.t*: EA ['apu/a/i] > Aram ['ope]

EA: *Paapu*, *Amanap(p)a* (unaccented: *Ap(p)iha*). Yet Aram: 'WPTŠTW.

(c) Eg *htp*: EA [hat(i/u)pe/u] > Aram [hotpi]

EA: *Amanhatpe*, *Hatip*, *hatupu*. Yet Aram: YṂHWT, 'MHWT

(cf. Ug: HTP, Ph: YMHT, Aram: 'HTP)

(d) Eg *nf(r)*: EA [nap] > Aram [nope]

EA: *Naphuru/areya*, *Reanap*. Yet Aram: HṚNWPY, KNWPY, PTḤNWPY.

(cf. Heb HṚNPR (*harneper*) perhaps derived from *harnapr*,
indicating [nap]).

(e) Eg *nt(r)*: EA [nata/e] > Aram [note]

EA: *Paha(m)nata/e*. Yet Aram: PQ̣NWTY, PSḤMṢNWTY

(2) /i/ = /i/ in closed syllable

(a) Eg *hn(w)*: EA [hina] = Heb [hin]

EA: *hina*. Heb HYN.

(3) /o/ > /e/ (see Heb GN PTRWS)

(4) /e/ > /a/ or /a/ > /e/ (?)

(a) Eg 'nh: EA [anaḥ] cf. Heb ['neʰ]

EA: anaḥu. Heb ṢPNTPT'NH (-pa'neʰ)

Most of them are in accordance with the above rules of vowel changes. However, as far as Eg *hn(w)* is concerned we could expect [han] because *hn(w)* consists of a single syllable (Copt 21N). Yet the example tells that vowel [i] can remain as [i] even in the closed syllable.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSIONS

[1] Consonantal Correspondences

The historical correspondences between Eg and North-West Semitic are as follows (the table below contains only the primary correspondences);

* Semitic in capitals, Eg in lower case

	Eg	Ph	Aram	Heb	Ug	Akk
glottal	ʒ	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	A	by vowel ø
stops	j	ʾ Y	ʾ Y	ʾ Y	A I	by vowel ø Y
	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	-	by vowel ø Y ʰ
semi-vowels	y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y I
	w	W	W	W	-	W U
labials	b	B	B	B	B	B
	p	P	P	P	P	P
	f	P	P	P	-	P
nasals	m	M	M	M	M	M
	n	N	N	N	N	N
trill	r	R	R L	R L	R L	R L
lateral	l ^h		L			
sibi-	s	S	S	S	S	S Š
lants	š	Š	Š	Š	-	S Š

	<i>h</i>	H	H	H	H	H	H
pharyn. & laryn.	<i>ḥ</i>	Ḥ	Ḥ	Ḥ	Ḥ	Ḥ	Ḥ
	<i>ḥ</i>	Ḥ K	Ḥ	Ḥ	Ḥ	Ḥ	Ḥ
	<i>ḥ</i>	K	Ḥ	-	-	-	-
	<i>k</i>	-	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q
velars	<i>k</i>	K	K Q	K	-	K	K
	<i>g</i>	-	-	G	-	-	-
	<i>t</i>	T	T	T	T	T	T
	<i>t</i>	Ṣ ⁴	Ṣ	-	-	Z	Z
alveo- lars	<i>d</i>	Ṭ	Ṭ (D ²)	Ṭ	-	Ṭ	D ³
	<i>d</i>	Ṣ	Ṣ	Ṣ	-	-	-

¹ Demotic

² Once attested in GN 'BWD (*3bdw*), could be dialectal.

³ Due to the inadequacy of Akk writing system.

⁴ Perhaps dialectal

[2] Notes on the Correspondences

As the above table shows, the consonantal correspondences between Eg and NW Semitic are remarkably stable in the course of history of two languages. We can conclude that the phonetic values of each consonant did not change much. Semitic scribes seem to have had no difficulty in transcribing the Eg language. They carefully transcribed Eg and their results show great consistency. Semi-vowels, labials, nasals, trill, lateral, and sibilants have no double realization.

a) Glottal Stops etc.

Two of three Eg glottal stops have no double realizations.

The fact that Eg *i* is realized by NW Semitic both ' and Y simply indicates that Eg *i* has an *aleph* + /i/ sound value. When the *aleph* value was elided Eg *i* is represented by Sem Y.

However, Akk scribes obviously had a great problem to transcribe Eg glottal stops, resulting in various realizations of Eg glottal stops. While they often disregarded the existence of Eg two *alephs*, there is a clear tendency for Akk scribes to try to represent the value of 'ayn as a consonant: Akk *y* and *h*. Since these were caused by the lack of glottal stops in Akk, we should not extend this correspondence to the relations between NW Sem and Eg, such as P'R = Eg *p3-hr.y* (Benz p.394).

The *aleph*-value of Eg *3* was evidently preserved at the initial position until the Late Period. The fact is demonstrated in Heb Lw 'HW, Ph DNs 'SR "Osiris" and 'S "Isis", Aram GN 'BWT "Abydos." Akk *pusbi'u* (*p3-sb3*) also exhibits the *aleph* pronounced at the end in the New Kingdom. However, the majority of Eg *3* was completely elided, esp. in the middle position.

b) Sibilants

Against the general assumption of the confusion of sibilants, the NW Semitic transcriptions do not provide any evidence of confusion. The difference in the phonetic value /s/ and /š/ was undoubtedly recognized by NW Semitic scribes who represented Eg *s* by Sem S, Eg *š* by Sem Š. While in Akk confusion of /s/ and /š/ is evident. There seems to be no fixed rule to represent the difference between Eg *s* and

š. However, again, this confusion should not be extended to the correspondences between Eg and NW Sem (e.g. Ph PSR = Eg p3-šri Benz p.193).

It was unfortunate that we could not confirm the equation of Heb Š. There is one Eg loanword in Heb, i.e., ŠKYWT (*sk.tw*) which suggests, though the word is not confirmed, that Heb Š represents Eg *s*. Eg scribes represented NW Sem Š by both Eg *s* and š. Yet from the NW Sem side the equation is open to further investigation.

c) Pharyngals and Laryngals (Eg *h* consonants)

The realizations of Eg strong *h* consonants are most interesting. Due to the different number of pharyngals and laryngals between NW Sem and Eg, NW Sem scribes were compelled to transcribe them differently. This different realization of the three strong Eg *hs* in NW Semitic sheds new light upon the existence of spirantization, which has been long discussed. Although there is general agreement, except in German scholarship, concerning the existence of spirantization in NW Semitic, the double realization has never been confirmed. What was observed here in the light of Egyptian transcribed into NW Semitic is revolutionary:

(1) In Ph, spirantization was completed in the fifth century B.C., because all postvocalic Eg *ḥ* and *ḥ* consistently correspond to Ph K.

(2) In Imperial Aram, spirantization was not operative, because the evidence expected in Aram transcriptions is not found. All postvocalic Eg *ḥ* and *ḥ* are spelled by Aram H.

(3) In Heb, our evidence is not appropriate, because postvocalic Eg *ḥ* is attested in only two loanwords ('HLMH, PH) and we do not know when these loanwords entered into Hebrew. It is most likely that the

loanwords containing Eg *h* were transcribed into Heb before spirantization began to be operative.

Therefore, the general view that Heb spirantization was a result of the influence of the Aram spirantization needs to be changed.

Spirantization started in either Ph or Heb and Aram spirantization was caused by Ph or Heb spirantization.

As for Ug, since Ug has two strong *hs*, our method is inapplicable. In EA Akk, we may say that there is no evidence of spirantization, because EA Akk *k* does not correspond to postvocalic Eg *h*. However, it should be kept in mind that the phonetic value of EA Akk *h* seems to be very broad, because all Eg *h*-consonants (including soft Eg *h*) are represented by EA Akk *h*.

We can reconstruct Eg laryngals and pharyngals in terms of NW Sem as follows:

Eg :	NW Sem
<i>h</i> =	H
<i>ḥ</i> =	Ḥ
<i>ḥ̣</i> =	Ḥ̣
postvocalic <i>ḥ̣</i> = spirantized K / <i>k</i> / in Ph and Heb	
<i>ḥ̣̣</i> =	Ḥ̣̣
postvocalic <i>ḥ̣̣</i> = spirantized K / <i>k</i> / in Ph and Heb	

d) Alveolars

Among alveolars, Eg *t*, *d*, *ḡ* consistently correspond to Sem T, Ṭ, Ṣ. However, the representation of Eg *ṭ* shows a great variety. It seems that Eg *ṭ* is the only consonant with which NW Semitic scribes had trouble. Eg *ṭ* is represented by Ph Ṣ, Aram Ṣ̣ and EA Akk *z* (not

attested in Heb). In terms of the realizations in NW Semitic, we can conclude that Eg t is not an alveolar, rather a sibilant or the like. It is not impossible to say that the variant realizations of Eg t are a simple result of the inability of the NW Semitic consonantal system to transcribe Eg t. However since the correspondence is consistent within each NW Semitic language, e.g., in Aram, Eg t is always represented by Š; it is more likely that there was some phonetic difference between Ph Š/Ṣ̌ and Aram Š/Ṣ̌. Likewise, this problem representing Eg t by Ph Š and by Aram Ṣ̌ was partly caused by dialectical differences. It is known that some Eg t became /d/ (Copt X) in Sahidic (see Chapter I, p.75). Ph realization Š may be this case, because the names containing Eg d came from Elephantine. Since NW Sem Š always represents Eg d (Copt X) and Aram Ṣ̌ represents Eg t, we can conclude that NW Sem Š represents Eg t which became /d/. We can reconstruct, therefore, the Eg alveolars in terms of NW Sem as follows;

Eg	:	NW Sem
<u>t</u>	=	T /t/
<u>t</u> > /d/ (Copt X)	=	Š /s/ (could be Ṣ̌ in Aram)
<u>t</u> > /t/ (Copt 6)	=	Ṣ̌ /š/
<u>d</u>	=	Ṭ /ṭ/
<u>d</u> (Copt X)	=	Š /s/

The historical change of the phonetic value of Eg t is suggested by the correspondence between EA Akk s and Eg t. This is the only indication which allows us to infer the historical change of an Eg consonantal value. However the limited attestation of the correspondence (twice in Akk) prevents us from confirming this historical

change. Moreover, as this is the case of a sibilant, the value of its evidence is reduced.

The correspondence between Eg t and NW Sem seems not to be so big a problem to Eg scribes as NW Sem scribes, because Eg scribes mostly used the t for NW Sem S, rarely for Z (Burchardt I section 143). However, this difference itself between the correspondence from the Eg side and that from the NW Sem side indicates that Eg t could not find an exact phonetic counterpart in NW Semitic.

NW Semitic G, D hardly appear to represent Eg consonants. Aram D once represents Eg *d* (Aram GN 'BWD as a variant of 'BWT), Heb G once represents Eg *g* (Heb Lw GM'). This is because Eg lost these two phonetic values (/g/ and /d/) by the New Kingdom (perhaps much earlier), reflected in the fact that Coptic does not normally use Δ and Γ, which is a positional variant of Copt k in a very small set of forms (Lambdin, *Introduction to Sahidic* p.x). Eg *g*, being prepalatalized, became /k/ or /k̄/ (cf. Vergote, *Phonétique* p.40), Eg *d* became /t/ or /t̄/. However rare examples of NW Sem transcriptions prove that Eg *g* and *d* originally corresponded to NW Sem G and D. In the Late Period, therefore, Eg *g* is represented by NW Sem Q (Aram PN PQRQPTH = *p3-n-grg-pth*; Heb Lw QWP = *gif*; QST = *gstí*).

NW Sem Z is the only consonant which represents no Eg consonant. NW Sem Z could not find any phonetic counterpart in Eg in the Late Period, as Eg t could not in NW Semitic. This is reflected in the fact that Copt does not use Z, which may occur for Copt C in a few words. Eg scribes evidently had trouble in representing NW Sem Z, which was represented by Eg t and d (Burchardt I section 138 and 153).

[3] Phonetic Changes

It is almost impossible to list all Eg internal phonetic changes, such as *mry.t* > *m(y)t*. These Eg cases were discussed in each entry. Here listed are only phonetic changes which are somehow or another related to NW Sem phonology and which are noteworthy, and which are noteworthy. There are some cases, however, for which we cannot discern whether the change took place in Eg or in NW Sem.

a) Changes of Consonants¹

(1) ' > ' --- in Ug hybrid names ' is replaced by ' at the initial, as Ph and Pu hybrid: e.g. ABDHR (= 'BDHR); cf. Ph 'BD'S='BD'S).

(2) *b* > *p* --- *b* became *p* before *r*. The example is restricted to Eg *w3h-ib-r'*: e.g. Ph WHPR', Aram WHPR', WHPR'MHY, Heb HPR'. Cf. Akk *Uh-pa-ra*.

(3) *b* > *w* --- *b* became *w* at the final due to assimilation to the previous [u] vowel: e.g. Aram HRYW (*hr-ib*).

(4) *b* > *m* --- *b* was partially or entirely assimilated to the following *m*: e.g. Akk *Nimm(')wareya* (*nb-m3'.t-r'*); cf. Aram Lw NM'TY (probably *nb-m3'.ty*).

(5) *p* > *b* --- *p* became *b* at the final position: e.g. Aram PHTB (*p3-htp*).

(6) *k* > *k* --- *k* became emphatic *k* at the initial and final position: e.g. Aram PTSBQ, QLBY

(7) *m* > *b* --- *m* was dissimilated to *m* at the end due to the previous [ū] vowel: e.g. Aram HNWB (*hnm.w*). cf. HNWM.

¹Vowel changes were discussed on p.360ff. and 413

(8) *m* > *w* --- *m* became *w* as an allophone in the case of Eg goddess Mut: e.g. PSTWT, TWT (-*mw.t*).

(9) *m* > *n* --- in Heb *m* became *n* before a labial: e.g. Heb GN NP (cf. Ph and Aram forms MNP, MNPY: *mn-nfr*); The change is *mn-nfr* > MNP > MP > NP. Another example is NPK (*mfk3.t*), whose change maybe occurred in Eg. Akk *paḥannata/e* and *paḥanata/e* also shows the assimilation of *m* to *n*.

(10) *n* > *m* --- *n* became *m* before a labial (cf. above): e.g. Akk *Mimmure(y)a*, *Mimmureya* (*nb-m3'.t-r'*).

(11) *n* > *l* --- in Eg. it is commonly observed that the initial *n* became *l*: e.g. Heb Lw LŠM. However, the same change also occurs between Ḥ and a labial: e.g. Heb Lw 'ḤLMH (*hnm.t*), for other Copt example, see the entry of 'ḤLMH.

(12) *s* > š --- *s* is assimilated into š under the influence of another š placed near: e.g. Aram ŠŠ (*šs*), Heb ŠWŠN (*sšn*), ŠYŠ (*ss*), ŠŠ (*šs*). Cf. Ph PN 'ŠRŠLH, 'BDŠR discussed on p.74.

(13) *t* > ṭ --- *t* became ṭ between a labial and *h*: e.g. Aram PḤṬMWNȚ (*p3-h.t-mni.t*), PḤṬRTȚYS (*pth-ir-di-sw*), 'ḤṬP (*ii-ḥtp*), PḤṬB (*p3-ḥtp*). The same change occurs between a labial and 'ayn: e.g. Aram: PṬṬ'WNȚYT (*p3.f-ṭ3w-m-'wy-n-nyt*). The change, voiceless *t* > emphatic ṭ, took place under the influence of pharyngals or laryngal maybe in Aram (cf. the change *n* > *l* between *h* and a labial).

(14) *nn* > *m* --- in Eg *nn* became *m* (probably *nn* > *n* > *m*): e.g. Aram month name, PRMWTȚ (*p3-n-rnnwt.t*). The *n* became *m* due to phonetic assimilation to the following long vowel [ū].

b) Dropping of Consonants

In many cases Eg consonants disappeared in words. Here common

cases, such as Eg preposition *n*, *nry.t* > *ny*, are excluded.

(1) *b* > \emptyset at the medial position: e.g. Ph PTBNTT (-*nb-* > -*n-*).

(2) *p* > \emptyset at the end: e.g. 'MHWT, YMHWT (*htp* > *ht* with long vowel [ū]). However there are some cases that the *ht* realized without *mater lectionis*, e.g. Aram HRHT from Saqqara where *matres lectionis* were less developed, Ph YMHT.

(3) *p* > \emptyset at the initial in Akk: e.g. *Tahmaya* (*pth-my*), *Tahmaš(š)i* (*pth-ms*), note that the *p* is followed by a consonant. Yet in NW Sem the initial *p* was always retained.

(4) *n* > \emptyset before *h* in Aram: e.g. MHNYT, MHPR', 'NHRY (cf. 'HHPY). Perhaps *n* is assimilated into the following strong *h*.

(5) *n* > \emptyset before *r* in Aram: e.g. 'MWTYS (*inn-ir-di-sw*).

(6) *n* > \emptyset at the end in Akk: e.g. *Mayati*, *Mayatu* (*nry-itn*).

(7) *n* > \emptyset at the initial in Akk: e.g. *Immure(y)a* (*nb-m3'.t-r'*).

(8) *w* > \emptyset at the initial in Heb: e.g. HPR' (*w3h-ib-r'*), cf. Aram WHPR'.

c) N-assimilation:

N-assimilation is hardly observable in the documents from Elephantine. However in other places n-assimilation is observable: e.g. Eg 'nh > 'NH in Eleph, yet 'nh > 'H in Saqqara and AD, Eg *mn-nfr* > MNPY in Eleph, Saqq and Padua, yet *mn-nfr* > MPY in Hermopolis. Although generally n-assimilation is not common in Eg Aram, its occurrence is geographically differentiated. In Hebrew n-assimilation most frequently occurs: e.g. before a labial *mn-nfr* > MP or NP; before emphatic *šnd.t* > ŠTH (cf. Aram ŠNT'), *ššnk* > ŠWŠQ.

d) Prothetic Aleph

In the transcription of Eg words, NW Sem recorded the initial vowel of Eg words, which is not reflected in the Eg writings;

(1) Heb Lw 'HLMH (*hnm.t*): [a] vowel was protected by '.

(2) Ph DN 'BST (*b3st.t*): [u] vowel was protected by '.

[4] Matres Lectionis

The frequent use of *matres lectionis* is prominent in NW Sem transcriptions of Eg PN, as well as Lws. Although the Ph language is famous for its rigid consonantal system, the *matres lectionis* are observable at the final position in Ph, i.e., KNPY, PT'SY, possibly SH'. We can confirm that Ph scribes were conscious that consonant Y can stand for a vowel [i], and probably ' for a vowel [o].

In Aram the use of *matres lectionis* is fully developed and strongly suggests that they were used on an accented syllable, i.e., the final syllable. The accented syllable usually has the *matres lectionis*, yet it seems that the non-accented syllable is not capable of bearing the *matres lectionis*. This fact means that Eg had an accent at the final syllable. The sound values of *matres lectionis* are mostly in accordance with BA, except the final H, indicating [o].

Naturally the *matres lectionis* developed most in Heb, and the use of *matres lectionis* extended to unaccented syllables. Peculiar is that even Eg article p3 is vocalized by the *matres lectionis*.

The *matres lectionis* are used not only in proper nouns, but also commonly used in loanwords. The *matres lectionis* occur in more than

half of Eg loanwords in both Aram and Heb.

[5] Quantitative Analysis of the Eg Loanwords

When Eg loanwords are categorized by semantic groups, that reveals which areas of the NW Sem worlds were most influenced by the Eg culture.

	Heb	Aram
Natural products	Mineral terminology 8 (26%) ¹	1 (4%) ²
	Botanic terminology 6 (19%) ³	4 (15%) ⁴
Domestic materials	Tools and Utensils 6 (19%) ⁵	2 (7%) ⁶
	Measures 3 (10%) ⁷	3 (11%) ⁸
	Textils and Clothes 2 (6%) ⁹	2 (7%) ¹⁰
Officials or Titles	0	5 (19%) ¹¹
Buildings	Architecture 2 (6%) ¹²	2 (7%) ¹³
	Nautical terminology 1 (3%) ¹⁴	2 (7%) ¹⁵
Scribal terminology	1 (3%) ¹⁶	0
Others	3 ¹⁷	5 ¹⁸
Total	31	26

1 'MLMH, NTR, PH, LŠM, NPK, NTR, PH, ŠYŠ; 2 ŠŠ
3 'HW, GM', HWBN, 'RH, ŠWŠN, ŠTH; 4 'HW, ŠNT', ŠŠN, ŠYŠ
5 TH', TB'T, HTM, QLHT, PH, TBH 6 QLWL, HTM
7 'YPH, HYN, QB 8 HN, QB, SP
9 'TWN, ŠŠ 10 ŠŠ, ŠNT'
11 HSY, HSYTMH, MNHH, TMNH', PSHMSNWTY 12 PR'H, TBH
13 PR'H, THYT 14 ŠY
15 PHTMWNY, TMYS 16 QST
17 QWP, Y'WR, LWB 18 QLBY, TM', RSY, TRY, HTPY,

The above table shows that the largest percentage (45% in Heb; 19% in Aram) of Eg loanwords are from terms for natural products in Eg, such as HBWN "ebony", which were pure foreign words to the Heb and Aram worlds. The second largest category (35% in Heb; 25% in Aram) is the daily domestic material culture. Contrarily Eg loans of administrative and political terminology are completely lacking in Heb and quite rare in Aram. When we compare it with Akk loanwords in Aram, an entirely opposite result is seen. According to S. A. Kaufman (*The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* p.166ff), the largest percentage of Akk loanwords comes from the realm of politics and law. Another absence from the realm of Eg loanwords in NW Sem is religion. Eg religious terms are not found in Heb, and only one (HTPY "offering") in Aram. Here the fact is not so comparable with Akk loanwords in Aram as politics and law, because, although some religious terms were attested, the percentage is relatively low (3-4%). We may say that only in the realm of material culture Eg had a heavy impact on the Heb and Aram worlds. In this connection, we should take it into account that terms for natural products and buildings are by and large belong to the realm of material culture. Only Aram has a significant percentage (15%) of Eg loanwords relating to a kind of title, in spite of the fact that they are not found in Heb at all. Though in most cases they are qualifications of certain persons, not the official title, one Eg official title is attested (PSHMSNWTY). Here some administrative influence may be observable. However, since Arameans lived in the land, it may not be right to ascribe it to Eg influence. For the same reason, it is not legitimate to discuss the different percentage between Heb and Aram in the table. Twelve Eg month names found in Aram documents are not included in the table, because they are most likely to be the case of foreign words written by Aram in the

land of Egypt.

[6] Light on the Age and Character of Egyptian Terms

in the Old Testament

With the long time span of the Old Testament, we might expect divergent consonantal correspondences between Eg and Heb to be attributable to different periods which might help in dating sources or sections of the Hebrew texts. However, there is no unique correspondence attested so far. The consonantal correspondences are the same as those found in Ph and Aram documents. The only correspondence newly attested in Heb is the representation of Eg *g* by Heb *G*, which would be expected. However, since Eg *g* became /k/ or /k/ (see above), it indicates the borrowing was early, yet it can not be dated exactly. Heb Lw ŠTH (*šnd.t*) is another indication that the borrowing was in MK, because *šnd.t* became *šnt.t* [šnti] in NK.

Though the consonantal correspondences are stable, some vocalizations and words reveal evidence that the time of their borrowing was early. Notable are two Lws TB'T (*db'.t*) and QLHT (*krh.t*) which preserve the Eg fem. ending *-t*. Since the Eg ending was lost in NK, these words will have been borrowed into Canaanite in the early second millennium.

The vocalization of PTRWS and PTRSYM (*paṭrusîm*) indicates that the entry of the Eg word *p3-t3-rs(y)* "Upper Egypt" probably occurred in the second millennium, because, if the word was borrowed in the first millennium, it would have been vocalized as PTRYS (cf. NA *pa-tu-ri-si*; see Heb GN PTRWS). The vocalization of Heb PN HRNPR (*ḥarneper*; Eg *hr-nfr.w*) also indicates that the name was borrowed in the second

millennium, because the vocalization of Eg *nfr(.w)* was [nap(r)] in EA (cf. *Renap* etc.), which changed to [nūf(r)] in the Late Period (cf. Copt *NOYHI*). We can safely assume that Heb *harneper* derived from the earlier vocalization [harnapr].

Heb vocalization of PWTYPR' and other names of the same type suggest that they reached their Heb forms no later than the seventh century B.C. And the same criteria can be applied to Eg *lws* which have [ah] (Heb H) vowel for the Eg fem. ending. The vocalization of PYNHS could be traced back to the second millennium.

Since we are not informed when these vowel changes took place in Eg (roughly between Ramesses II and the NA period) and internal vowel changes are always conceivable, these can not give strong evidence for the purpose of dating. These observations, however, do indicate that there were close relationships between Egypt and Canaan even in the early second millennium.

[7] Hybrid Names (Eg religious Influences)

The spread of hybrid names is also noticeable. The following table eloquently tells us how the influence of Eg religion spread over the NW Sem world:

		Ph	Aram	Heb	Ug
	Number of Eg gods	12	4	1	1
Eg gods in hybrid	Number of hybrid names	28	5	1	2
	Number of attestations	52	5	1	2

Eg gods as DN	5	8	1	1
Eg religious terms	0	1	0	1

Striking evidence of the influence of Eg religion is observed in the Ph world. When we consider that the quantity of Ph documents is relatively small in comparison with that of Aram, the percentage of the occurrence of Eg gods is much higher. The most popular Eg god is "The lion" (*p3-m3i*), which has been long unidentified. They are also fond of "Bastet" (lioness goddess) and "Isis." Contrarily Eg theophoric elements are hardly found in Aram PNs, though Arameans actually lived in the land of Egypt. This result is in accordance with the quantitative analysis of Eg loanwords in Aram (above). Eg gods were most welcomed by Ph, but were not acceptable to Aram people. In the Heb world only one hybrid name are confirmed (HRNPR). However, several other possibilities are to be mentioned here; 'HYR', 'SR'L, 'HYMWT, BNHWR. Although these cannot be confirmed as hybrid names, Eg theophoric elements are suggested. Whatever the identifications of these names are, Eg religion was not acceptable to the Heb world, as with the Arameans.

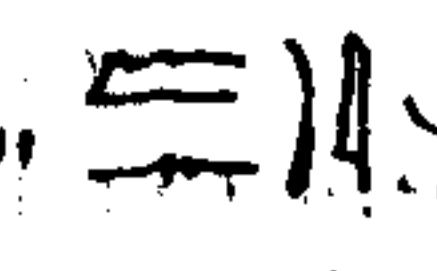
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