Papers on Semitic and Afroasiatic Linguistics in Honor of Gene B. Gragg

Edited by CYNTHIA L. MILLER

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION • No. 60 CHICAGO • ILLINOIS

11. AKKADIAN-EGYPTIAN LEXICAL MATCHES¹

Alexander Militarev

11.1. Introduction

There are a number of lexical matches between Akkadian and Egyptian, at least some of which the present author regards as loanwords. Most of the examples analyzed below have been adduced in previous studies (especially in *HSED*), but almost none of them was treated as borrowing. Some of the examples were postulated as probable loans in Militarev 1984, but the publication was in Russian and remains unnoticed.

The examples discussed below can be conventionally divided into two broad groups — isolated matches in Akkadian and Egyptian and matches in Akkadian and Egyptian with Afrasian parallels. The former group can be subdivided according to the direction of influence — presumed Akkadian loans into Egyptian, presumed Egyptian loans into Akkadian, instances of borrowing with unclear direction, and uncertain cases.

11.2. Isolated Matches in Akkadian and Egyptian

11.2.1. Presumed Akkadian Loans into Egyptian

11.2.1.1. Akkadian [Old Babylonian] *nemsētu* "washbowl" (*CAD* N/2 165), *namsû* "washbowl" (*CAD* N/2 245) < *mesû* "to wash, to clean" [Old Babylonian] (*CAD* M/2 30) < Semitic **msw* "melt, dissolve, flood" (*HALOT* 604; Leslau 1987: 368).

Egyptian [Pyramid text] nms.t "Art Krug" (Wb. 2.269); compared to "babylon. namša" (Wb. 2.269).

A deverbal origin of the Akkadian term implies an Akkadian loan into early Egyptian.

11.2.1.2. Akkadian [Old Babylonian on] *šappu* "(a container)"; Sumerian loan word written syllabically and as (DUG.)ŠAB (*CAD* Š/1 479); otherwise related to Semitic **šap*- "basket" (< **špy* "weave, sew"?): Arabic *saff-at*- "panier, corbeille, etc., fait de feuilles de palmier" (Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 1.1096); Tigrinya *safi* "flat basket" (Kane 2000: 792), *säf?i* "kind of sieve" (ibid. 798), Tigrinya *säfə?*, Amharic *səfe-t*, Gurage *säf* "wicker basket" (Leslau 1979: 537); Soqoṭri *m-séfi* "panier" (Leslau 1938: 289).

Egyptian [Eighteenth Dynasty] sp.t "ein Gerät aus Gold" (Wb. 4.97).

There are no visible parallels for the Egyptian term besides the Akkadian one, and the former's relatively late attestation speaks against its genuine origin. The Akkadian term, on the contrary, is attested in the early period of Akkadian and is either a Sumerian loan or an inherited Semitic word; in any case, it is etymologically motivated. Unless a chance look-alike, the present example represents an Akkadian loan into Egyptian.

11.2.1.3. Akkadian [Old Akkadian] *hubšašû* "(a bottle or cup)" (CAD H 215).

Egyptian [Greek period] *hbs* "Art Krüge für Myrrhe" (*Wb.* 3.257).

Compare as cognates Afrasian *hubVs- "vessel" (HSED no. 1366).

The precise correspondence of the triadical roots in both languages makes the possibility of a chance look-alike very low. In addition, the lack of parallels in other Afrasian languages and the late attestation of the Egyptian term as opposed to the early attestation of the Akkadian term suggest an Akkadian loan into Egyptian.

11.2.1.4. Akkadian [Old Babylonian] makurru (makkūru, magurru) "deep-going boat"; Sumerian loan word; written syllabically and as (GIŠ)MÁ.GUR₈ (CAD M/1 141). An alternative interpretation of the Akkadian noun is its secondary formation with ma- prefixed, compare kāru "embankment, quay-wall, mooring place, harbor" [Old Akkadian on] (CAD K 231); cf. also Gesez kawra "steer a ship" (Leslau 1987: 300) and Arabic (South Arabia) kawwara "place a boat in the water" (ibid.; regrettably, Leslau does not specify the dialect and source).

Egyptian [Twenty-second Dynasty] mkr "Art Schiff" (Wb. 2.163).

This is a very likely Akkadian loan (of Sumerian or Semitic origin?) into Egyptian.

¹ This study was carried out within the framework of projects supported by the Russian Foundation for the Sciences ("Biblical Etymologies"), the Russian Foundation for the Humanities ("Semitic Etymological Dictionary"), The Santa Fe Institute ("Evolution of

Human Languages"), and the Russian Jewish Congress ("Tower of Babel"). I also express my gratitude to the Oriental Institute for the opportunity to participate in the symposium in honor of my good friend, Gene Gragg.

11.2.1.5. Akkadian [Old Akkadian on] *kirû (kiriu)* "garden, orchard, palm grove" (*CAD* K 411); < Sumerian KIRI₆ (*AHw* 485).

Egyptian [Middle Kingdom; Late Egyptian] k3ry "Gärtner" (Wb. 5.108).

Is this an Akkadian term of Sumerian origin borrowed into Egyptian? Otherwise both derived from Afrasian *kwr ~ * ?kr "to cultivate" *kiry- ~ *kVw/?Vr- "garden, cultivated field" (Militarev 2002).

11.2.1.6. Akkadian [Old Babylonian on] umāmu, auch emammu, emāmu "Tiere, Getier" (AHw 1412).

Egyptian [Medical texts] SmSm.w "ein vierfüssiges Tier" (Wb. 1.186).

This is a special case, which does not entirely fit into this section. The Akkadian forms, compared to the Egyptian word in *HSED* no. 1122 as cognate < Afrasian *Sum-Sam-* "animal," are more likely to continue Semitic *hVm/wām* "large wild feline" (cf. also *ūmu* "ein Mytischer Löwe" [*AHw* 1420]), see Militarev and Kogan 2005: Arabic *hawwām* "lion" (Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 2.1460), Tigrinya *həmmäm* "leopard" (Littmann and Höfner 1956: 7); compare also North Cushitic: Beja *hiam* "cheetah" (Hudson 1996), *yīham* "leopard" (ibid. 1996). In this case only the Egyptian term is to be treated as an isolated form. A semantic and structural affinity between Akkadian and Egyptian is too strong to be accidental. Is this an Akkadian loan in Egyptian with Akkadian **h-> 0* rendered as *S-* in Egyptian?

11.2.2. Presumed Egyptian Loans in Akkadian

11.2.2.1. Akkadian [lexical lists] dišarru "(a wild growing cereals)" (CAD D 160).

Egyptian [Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom] dšr "Körner (roter Farbe?)" (Wb. 5.491; likely < dšr "red").

These words are compared in *HSED* no. 720 with a note that it may be "a cultural loanword?" Unless a chance coincidence, the Akkadian term is a loan word from Egyptian.

11.2.2.2. Akkadian [Old Babylonian, Mari, Standard Babylonian] *ašaḥhu* "storehouse" (*CAD* A/2 411]; "eine Art Speicher in *bīt a*." (*AHw* 78).

Egyptian *wsh.t* (1)"Transportschiff für Lasten" [Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom] (*Wb.* 1.366); (2) "Halle, Hof (Raum im Palast, Tempel)" [Pyramid text] (ibid.); probably < *wsh* "weit sein, weit" (*Wb.* 1.364).

Akkadian ašahhu and Egyptian wsh.t "hall," sh.w "wide space, yard" are compared, together with West Chadic Kirfi šoko "house," as cognates forms < Afrasian *saq- "house" in *HSED* no. 2200 (note that the very reconstruction of the Afrasian affricate *q and its reflexes in various Afrasian languages are so highly hypothetic that the Kirfi example may be disregarded). The Egyptian nouns are likely of deverbal origin from wsh "(to be) wide" with the meaning "spacious (ship, premises)," in which case the Akkadian term is a tenable loan from Egyptian.

11.2.2.3. Akkadian [Ur III, Standard Babylonian] $haw\hat{u}$ ($hab\hat{u}$, $ha\hat{2}\hat{u}$; a kind of cloth); Akkadian loan word into Sumerian; the *h*.-cloth is used as a seat cover for thrones (*CAD* \oplus 162–63).

Egyptian [Pyramid text] *h3w.t* "Platte mit Undersatz, Opferplatte; Altar" (*Wb.* 3.226); *h3y.t* "Art Altar" [Middle Kingdom; Eighteenth Dynasty] (*Wb.* 3.224).

Akkadian ha 2u is compared to Egyptian $h_3w.t$ in HSED no. 1308 as cognates < Afrasian ha^2/haw - "altar, throne"; however, such a meaning (and the corresponding object) could hardly exist in tenth millennium, to which I date the common Afrasian language. Unless a chance look-alike, perhaps a somewhat earlier Egyptian term with a broader meaning was borrowed into Akkadian.

11.2.3. Tenable Borrowings with Unclear Direction

11.2.3.1. Akkadian [Old Babylonian, Mari] šurāmu "(a container)" (CAD Š/3 339).

Egyptian [Old Kingdom] $\check{s}m.w$ "Art grosser Krug" (*Wb*. 4.411), possibly $\langle \hat{c}VrVm$ -.

HSED no. 574: "Probably, a Wanderwort."

The lack of other Afrasian parallels makes a common Afrasian origin unlikely, while the correspondence of the triconsonantal root skeletons speaks against a chance look-alike. Hence, a loan hypothesis is more tenable, though an early attestation in both languages gives no hint as to the direction of borrowing.

11.2.3.2. Akkadian [Neo-Assyrian] pagalu "a libation vessel" (AHw 808).

Egyptian [Middle Kingdom] pg³ "Schale, Napf" (Wb. 1.563), possibly <*pVgVl-.

These words were compared in *HSED* no. 1922 as cognates < Afrasian SIC! *pagal- "vessel."

This example is similar to the previous one, the only difference being an earlier attestation of the Egyptian term as an indirect argument for borrowing from Egyptian into Akkadian.

2.3.3. Akkadian [Neo-Babylonian] *šiddatu* "(a stand for a large vat)" (*CAD* Š/2 402); "ein Behälter," Late Babylonian "ein Holzgefäss" (*AHw* 1230); compared ibid. to Mishnaic Hebrew *šiddā*, Jewish Aramaic *šiddətā*- "Kiste," Syriac *šeddət* "Kruguntersatz" (West Semitic forms are likely Akkadisms).

Egyptian [Medical texts, Middle Kingdom] šdy "Art Behälter" (Wb. 4.568).

These words are compared in *HSED* no. 553 as cognates < Afrasian \hat{cid} - "vessel." However, the lack of available parallels in other Afrasian languages speaks against the common Afrasian status of the Akkadian-Egyptian terms.

11.2.4. Less Certain Cases (loans or look-alikes equally possible)

11.2.4.1. Akkadian *inimmû* "a cup" (synonym list: *i-nim-mu-u* = *ka-a-su*; *CAD* I 148).

Egyptian [New Kingdom] nm "Grosses Gefäss (Wb. 2.264).

These words are compared in *HSED* no. 1875 as cognates < Afrasian **nim*- "vessel." No other Afrasian parallels are adduced. However, there is only a partial coincidence in the root composition (note that Egyptian *n*- may reflect **n*- or **l*-) and meaning; the Akkadian term attested in a synonym list alone is not quite reliable.

11.2.4.2. Akkadian [Old Babylonian] suādu, su?ādu, sumādu, sumādu, sumādu (an aromatic plant, probably Cyperus esculentus; CAD S 338).

Egyptian [Book of the Dead, Middle Kingdom] *išd.t* "Art heiliger Baum in Heliopolis" (*Wb.* 1.136).

A partial coincidence in the root composition if $su \partial a du$ is the main Akkadian protoform (note also that Akkadian *s* continues Semitic **s* <Afrasian **c* while Egyptian *š* reflects Afrasian lateral **č*-). The fact that the meanings are not well specified does not completely rule out a possibility of a common areal term, but rather speaks for a chance look-alike.

11.2.4.3. Akkadian [Middle Babylonian, Standard Babylonian, Middle Assyrian] *lammu* "almond tree; sapling"; Sumerian loanword GIŠ.LAM (*CAD* L 67).

Egyptian [Pyramid text] im: "ein Fruchtbaum: die männliche Dattelpalme?" (Wb. 1.79).

Unless a chance look-alike, the Egyptian word can be an Akkadian loan, if the underlying form in Egyptian is **lVm*-(which is only one of several opportunities) and the Akkadian term is indeed a Sumerism.

11.2.4.4. Akkadian [Standard Babylonian] šallapānu (šallabānu) "(a plant)" (CAD Š/1 247); [Middle/Young Babylonian lexical list] "ein Sumpfgrass?" (AHw 1148).

Egyptian [Middle Kingdom] *s*3*p.t* "Lotusblatt" (*Wb.* 4.18), [New Kingdom] *srp.t* (*Wb.* 4.195); can go back to **sVlVp*- or **sVrVp*-.

These words are compared as cognates < Afrasian **salap*- "plant" in *HSED* no. 2183. This comparison is questionable because of more than one possibility for reconstructing the underlying form of both terms, as well as the fact that the meaning in Akkadian is not well defined. Compare Arabic *salab*- "écorce de l'arbre ou du roseau; fibres d'un arbre particulier à l'Yémen dont on tresse des cordes" (Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 1.1118), which, if related to the Akkadian term, points to *šallabānu* hardly being comparable with the Egyptian example. If, however, the correct reading in Akkadian is *šallapānu* and -*3*- in the Egyptian form reflects -*l*-, then it is more likely an areal term, with the direction of borrowing unclear.

11.2.4.5. Akkadian [Old Akkadian on] nāhu "lard" (CAD N 142).

Egyptian [New Kingdom] nhh "öl" (Wb. 2.302).

These words are compared in *HSED* no. 1836 with the note "a cultural word?" As for consonantal correspondences, note that Egyptian h reflects Afrasian *h, which is considered to regularly yield 0 in Akkadian but in quite a few cases also yields h. On the other hand, the two terms may have a different origin. To Akkadian $n\bar{a}hu$, nuhhu compare Arabic nuhh-, $nah\bar{a}hat$ - "moelle" (Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 2.1219), and to Egyptian nhh compare Arabic nhy "agiter le lait dans un vase pour en faire du beurre" (Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 2.1218). Anyway, the possibility of an Akkadian loan into later Egyptian cannot be ruled out completely.

11.3. Matches in Akkadian and Egyptian having Afrasian Parallels

There are cases of Akkadian-Egyptian matches having parallels in other Afrasian languages which are likely to be treated as cognates going back to a common Afrasian protoform. However, in view of a series of obvious Akkadian-Egyptian cultural isoglosses (above), inter-borrowing even in such cases is possible. A few examples follow.

11.3.1. Akkadian [Old Akkadian, Standard Babylonian] *bu?du* (*būdu*, or *pu?du*, *pūdu*; an implement; *CAD* B 303: "If the OIP 14 52 ref. is to be connected with the lexical and bilingual evidence, the meaning may be narrowed down to a spatula or a spoon"); *būdu*, *bu?du* "ein Gerät aus Holz u Metall" (*AHw* 135).

Egyptian [Medical Texts] *b*3*d.t* "Schopflöffel (zum Schöpfen von öl)" (*Wb.* 1.432). Among other possibilities, the word may reflect **b*2*d.*

These words are compared as cognates in *HSED* no. 299 under the reconstructed protoform **bo?Vd*-, together with East Chadic: Mokilko *boode*, Bidiya *booda* "gourd." Compare also Berber: Qabyle *a-buyeddu* "pot spécial pour servir le bouillon de couscous (et le beurre fondu)" (Takács 1999: 106 after Dallet 1982).

The connection of the Akkadian and Egyptian terms as cognates in *HSED* was criticized in Takács 1999: 105 ("The common origin...is more than dubious. The meaning of the Akkadian word is obscure"). However, the comparison seems to me not unlikely.

Though both Akkadian and Egyptian terms may, together with Mokilko *boode*, Bidiya *booda* and Qabyle *a-buyeddu*, continue Afrasian **bu?d-*, a specific meaning"spoon/dipper" of the Egyptian and probably of the Akkadian term is better explained as borrowing of one of the forms from the other, any of which may well be inherited from the Afrasian protoform. The direction of borrowing is a tangled issue: on the one hand, the Akkadian term is isolated in Semitic, which makes its priority problematic; on the other hand, it is attested since a much earlier period than the Egyptian one.

11.3.2. Akkadian [Old Babylonian, Ras Shamra, El Amarna, Nuzi, Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian] *dūd-* "kettle" (*CAD* D 170); Ugaritic *dd* "medida de capacidad; recipiente" (*DLU* 129); Hebrew *dūd* "cooking pot; basket" (*HALOT* 215); Syriac *dūdā* "olla" (Brockelmann 1928: 144), Jewish Aramaic *dūdā* "boiler, caldron, pot" (Jastrow 1950: 283), Mandaic *duda* "cauldron" (Drower and Macuch 1963: 104); Goggot *duddiyä* "kind of jar" (according to Leslau 1979: 199, < Somali *diddo*; rather an inherited Semitic word).

Egyptian [Old Kingdom] dd.t "Schale; Topf für Bier, Salbe" (Wb. 5.502).

West Chadic: Angas dadūt "a small bottle-shaped calabash" (Foulkes 1915).

These words are compared as related forms in HCVA 5: 13. Either the words are common Afrasian or the Akkadian word was borrowed into Egyptian.

11.3.3. Akkadian [Middle Babylonian] rību "(a vessel)" (CAD R 323).

Egyptian [late] rb "Art Topf (aus Kupfer)" (Wb. 2.414) <*rVb- or *lVb-.

Central Chadic: Zime-Batna *ruḥu* (Sachnine 1982), Mada *érḥe-š* (Barreteau and Brunet 2000), Mofu *rəḥa-ŝ* (Barreteau and Bléis 1990) "pottery clay" (*-ŝ-* suffixed in Mada and Mofu?).

In *HSED* no. 2110, Akkadian, Egyptian and Central Chadic Margi *řřba* are compared as cognates < Afrasian **rib*-"vessel." One wonders whether the Akkadian and Egyptian words are Common Afrasian or a chance look-alike, or the late Egyptian is an Akkadian loan.

11.3.4. Akkadian [Standard Babylonian, lexical list] ubbuntu, uppuntu "a vessel" (AHw 1400).

Egyptian [Old Kingdom] hbn.t "Art grosser Krug" (Wb. 2.487).

West Chadic *HVbyan-/*bVHyan-: Mupun béén "bottle gourd," Sura béen "gourd" (HSED no. 1205).

East Chadic *bVn- "pumpkin": Gabri ti-bini, Kabalai tə-bəni, Kwang bone < Afrasian *hVben- (ibid.).

In *HSED* no. 1121, the Akkadian form *uppunu* is compared to Egyptian [Greek period] *Sfn* "ein Gefäss" (*Wb*. 1.183) and West Chadic: Ngizim *fànà* "calabash," Central Chadic: Tera *fènan* "calabash," Mbara *fánáy* "pot." All are treated as cognates < Afrasian **Sufan*- "vessel." This comparison is problematic not only because in the Akkadian term, **S*- in the Anlaut and *-pp*- in the Inlaut, corresponding to *S*- and *-f*- in the Egyptian match, represent only one of the possibilities (my comparison faces the same difficulty), but also because the Chadic forms hardly go back to **Sufan*- as they are expected to preserve some traces, at least vocalic, of the initial **S*-. At the same time, Egyptian *hbn.t* is compared (in *HSED* no. 1205) with Akkadian *habannatu* "(a container)" [occurring in Mari, El Amarna, Standard Babylonian, and as an Akkadian loan word in Hittite] (*CAD* <u>H</u> 7), West Chadic **HVbyan-*/**bVHyan*-: Mupun *béén* "bottle gourd," Sura *béɛn* "gourd" and East Chadic **bVn*- "pumpkin": Gabri *ti-bini*, Kabalai *ta-bani*, Kwang *bone* < Afrasian **hVben*-. However, it is Akkadian *habannatu* (but not *uppuntu*) which exactly corresponds to Egyptian *hbn.t* and the latter Chadic forms, unlike Akkadian *habannatu* with *h*- reflecting **h*- or even **h*- but not **h*-.

If reading of the Akkadian word as *ubbuntu* is the correct one, a common origin of the quoted Akkadian, Egyptian, and Chadic forms from Afrasian **hVbVn*- is quite tenable, though a borrowing of the later Akkadian term (isolated in Semitic, at that) from Egyptian cannot be ruled out.

11.3.5. Akkadian [Babylonian lexical lists] tannu "wooden bowl" (AHw 1391).

Egyptian [Greek period] *tn.w* "Korb (aus Binsen)" (*Wb.* 5.310).

West Chadic: Polchi táŋ "water pot."

These words are compared in *HSED* no. 2368 as cognates < Afrasian **tan*- "container." An isolated Chadic form does not seem sufficient to grade this root as Common Afrasian. It may well be an Akkadian loan into late Egyptian.

11.3.6. Akkadian šaduppu (a basket) < Sum DUB + tuppu; lex. $sa-du-ub = GA \times DUB sa-du-up-pu$ Ea IV 286. Variant of *pisanduppu (CAD* Š/1 61).

Egyptian [New Kingdom] sdf "Art Mass für Feigen" (Wb. 4.370).

Central Chadic: Mofu šidef "pot" (HSED no. 2161).

These words are compared as cognates < Afrasian **saduf-*/**siduf-* "container" in *HSED* no. 2161. It appears to be an Akkadian loan (< Sumerian) in late Egyptian (then borrowed into Mofu?).

11.3.7. Akkadian [Old Babylonian on] *šaššūgu* (*šuššūgu*, *šuššūqu*) "(a tree)" (as wood used for frames, doors, wheel rims, etc.; *CAD* Š/2 176).

Egyptian [Pyramid text] ssd "Art kostbares Holz (aus Syrien), als Material für Geräte (Möbel u.ä.)" (Wb. 4.279).

These words are compared in *HSED* no. 2204 as cognates < Afras. **sasog*- "tree," redupl. < **sog*- "tree, wood" (*HSED* no. 2269): Central Chadic: Mafa *soegwe* "firewood"; East Cushitic: Somali *sogsog* "kind of acacia" ("Acacia Etbaica" Abraham 1962: 226).

The Akkadian, Mafa, and Somali forms are likely $\langle sag^{w}(sag^{w})$ -, while the Egyptian term (costly wood from Syria!) looks like a loan from Akkadian.

11.3.8. Akkadian [Neo-Babylonian] hallimu "a k. of raft" (only plural hallimānu; CAD H 45).

Egyptian [Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty] *hmn.ty* "Art Schiff" (*Wb.* 3.283), metathesis < **hVmVl-*?

Central Chadic **h*/*hulum-* "boat": Mbara *hùlùm* (Tourneux et al., 1986), Musgu *hɔlúm, hullum* (Lukas 1941). Is this a common Afrasian or an areal term?

11.3.9. Akkadian $kukk\hat{u}$ "darkness (as a name for the netherworld)" lex. < Sumerian (prob. KU₁₀.KU₁₀; *CAD* K 498).

Egyptian [Pyramid text] kk "dunkel sein," kkw "Finsternis, Dunkel; von der Dunkelheit der Unterwelt" (Wb. 5.142–43). West Chadic *kuwi-: Mupun kūo kūo (Frajzyngier 1991), Sura kòo (Jungraithmayr 1963–64), Ankwe kwo "darkness" (Kraft 1981), Angas kukwi "absolutely dark" (Foulkes 1915), Bokkos kikyaw "became black" (Jungraithmayr 1970).

This is a most entangled case. There is an obvious cultural influence reflected in a specific meaning related to the netherworld. One wonders whether it can be an inherited Egyptian term (cognate to Chadic) borrowed into Akkadian (whence into Sumerian)?

11.4. Conclusions

A relevantly large number of specific Akkadian-Egyptian lexical isoglosses listed and discussed above can hardly be a result of chance coincidence. Since most of them can neither be well explained as Afrasian terms of common origin, interborrowing is the most plausible explanation. In most cases, the direction of borrowing seems to be from Akkadian into Egyptian, though there are several cases of presumably the reverse direction. The above presumptions, if true, testify to cultural contacts between the Akkadian-speaking area and Egypt starting from the earliest written period, and not only in the first millennium before the common era. In terms of semantics it is worth mentioning that out of twenty-six presumed Akkadian-Egyptian contact terms, thirteen (50%) refer to vessel names, and five (almost 25%), to plant names.

It would not be prudent for a linguist to speculate about extra-linguistic issues such as the significance of this or that semantic class of linguistic borrowing for elucidating cultural influences or about historical periods, concrete events, and locations which may have served as the historical background for the assemblage of data adduced in the present study, especially when the history of both parties of the claimed contacts has already been studied adequately. In presenting instances of possible cultural contact between ancient cultures, my goal is to direct the attention of the historians of the ancient Near East to this linguistic phenomenon.

As for comparative Afrasian linguistics, distinguishing between inherited and borrowed lexical items is one of the most sophisticated and delicate problems. It is sufficient to mention cases of generally accepted Sumerian loanwords in Akkadian whence they are thought to spread in other Semitic, some of which, on closer analysis, turn out to be Akkadisms in Sumerian, supported by reliable Semitic and even Afrasian cognates. There are other cases of seemingly well established Cushitic loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic, to which reliable Arabic and other Semitic parallels happen to be found thus posing the question: are they, on the contrary, Semitisms in Cushitic or should they be treated as common Afrasian lexemes? The established Egyptian-Semitic inter-borrowings, besides several isolated Egyptian loans in Ugaritic, Aramaic, Arabic, Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian, are mostly limited to a three dozens well-adapted Egyptian loans in Biblical Hebrew pointing to rather early close contacts between Egypt and the Canaanite populations and several hundreds lexical items of

presumably West Semitic origin attested in Egyptian literature of the New Kingdom, with a small group of still earlier loans from what seems to be the West Semitic language area. If the data adduced in the present contribution (dedicated to my good old friend Professor Gene Gragg, with his unusually wide scope of linguistic interests), and their interpretations by the author hold water, the long-lasting Akkadian-Egyptian lexical contacts will add new dabs to that picture.

Bibliographic Abbreviations

- *AHw* Soden, W. von., 1965–1981. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- CAD Oppenheim, Leo; Erica Reiner; and Martha T. Roth, editors, 1956–. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- *DLU* Del Olmo Lete, G., and J. Sanmartín, 1996–2000. *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica* 1–2. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA.
- HALOT Koehler, L., and W. Baumgartner, 1994–1996, 1999–2000. The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament 1–3, 5–6. Leiden: Brill.
- HCVA Diakonoff, I. A.; A. Belova; A. Militarev; and V. Porkhomovsky, 1995. "Historical Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian." *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 3: 5–26; 5: 4–32.
- HSED Orel, V. E., and O. V. Stolbova, 1995. Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary: Materials for a Reconstruction. Leiden, New York and Cologne: Brill.
- Wb. Erman, A., and H. Grapow, 1957–71. Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache 1–7. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Bibliography

Abraham, Roy Clive

- 1962 Somali-English Dictionary. London: University of London Press LTD.
- Barreteau, Daniel, and Yves Le Bléis
- 1990 *Lexique mafa: langue de la famille tchadique parlée au Cameroun.* Paris: ORSTOM, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Barreteau, Daniel, and André Brunet

2000 Dictionnaire Mada. Berlin: Dietrich Riemer.

Biberstein-Kazimirski, Albert de

1860 Dictionnaire arabe-français. Paris: Théophile Barrois.

Brockelmann, Carl

1928 *Lexicon Syriacum*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Dallet, Jean-Marie

1982 *Dictionnaire kabyle-français.* Parler des At Mangellat (Algérie). Paris: Société d'études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France.

Drower, Ethel Stefana, and R. Macuch

1963 A Mandaic Dictionary. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Faulkner, Raymond Oliver

1962 A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Foulkes, H. D.

1915 Angass Manual: Grammar and Vocabulary. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt

1985 A Pero-English and English-Pero Vocabulary. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

1991 A Dictionary of Mupun. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Hudson, R. A.

1996 A Dictionary of Beja. [Draft printout].

Jastrow, Marcus

1950 *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature.* New York: Pardes.

Jungraithmayr, Herrmann

- 1963-64 "Die Sprache der Sura (Maghavul) in Nord-Nigerien." Afrika und übersee 47: 8-59, 204-20.
- 1970 Die Ron-Sprachen. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.

Kane, Thomas Leiper

2000 Tigrinya-English Dictionary, Two Volumes. Springfield: Dunwoody Press.

Kraft, Charles H.

1981 Chadic Wordlists, Three Volumes. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Leslau, Wolf

- 1938 *Lexique Soqoțri (Sudarabique moderne) avec comparaisons et explications étymologiques.* Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- 1979 Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic), Volume 3. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1987 Comparative Dictionary of GeSez (Classical Ethiopic). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Littmann, Enno, and Maria Höfner

1956 Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache. Tigre-Deutsch-Englisch. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Lukas, Johannes

1941 Deutsche Quellen zur Sprache der Musgu in Kamerun. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Militarev, Alexander

- 1984 "What Contribution to Historical Science can be Made by the Comparative and Historical Afrasian Linguistics of Today?" *Linguistic Reconstruction and Prehistory of the East*, Part 3: *Summaries and Papers for the Conference*, pp. 14–17. Moscow: Nauka Publishing House. [in Russian]
- 2002 "The Prehistory of a Dispersal: The Proto-Afrasian (Afroasiatic) Farming Lexicon." In *Examining the Farming/ Language Dispersal Hypothesis*, edited by Peter Bellwood and Colin Renfrew, pp. 135–50. McDonald Institute Monographs 1363–49. Cambridge: The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Militarev, Alexander, and Leonid Kogan

2005 Semitic Etymological Dictionary, Volume 2: Animal Names. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Orel, Vladimir E., and Olga V. Stolbova

1995 Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary: Materials for a Reconstruction. Leiden: Brill.

Sachnine, Michka

1982 *Le Lamé (Nord-Cameroun)*, Volume 2: *Dictionnaire lamé-français, Lexique français-lamé*. Paris: Société d'études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France.

Stolbova, O.

1996 Studies in Chadic Comparative Phonology. Moscow: Diaphragma Publishers.

Takács, Gábor

1999 *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, Volume 1: *A Phonological Introduction*. Leiden: Brill.

Tourneux, H.; C. Seignobos; and F. Lafarge

1986 *Les Mbara et leur langue*. Langues et cultures africaines 6. Paris: Société d'études linguistiques et anthropologies de France.