

# Notes on Poto-Semitic Anatomical and Physiological Terminology<sup>1</sup>

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## Introduction

The present paper is to provide additions as well as corrections to the etymological material analyzed in the first volume by L. Kogan and A. Militarev: “*Semitic Etymological Dictionary, Volume One: Anatomy of Man and Animals*” (Münster, 2000., Ugarit-Verlag). This is not a review paper *stricto sensu*. It has not been my task to evaluate the merits of this excellent lexicon in Semitic philology, but rather to focus on how the authors have used the precious external (Afro-Asiatic) evidence for verifying their reconstruction gained on the basis of the Semitic evidence, which, in any case, was also among the priorities of their project. I did my best to avoid overlappings with the review paper by V. Blažek (2001).

It is my impression that the authors have done a laudable job. The treatment of the Semitic lexical stock (Kogan) is masterful, while the Afro-Asiatic etymological evidence (Militarev) has been carefully exploited, even if not all possibilities have been considered. The critical remarks and additions below do not by any means diminish my admiration of this pioneer project.

## Disputable Semitic comparanda or reconstruction

**I, no. 2:** derivation of Daṭīna burrat “gland du pénis” [GD 146] directly from Sem. \*’ibr-(at)- “membrum virile” is not probable. Just as well dubious is Omani barbur “penis” [Reinhardt] & Daṭīna barbūr “penis” [GD 147]. In both cases we might surmise rather an areal word. On the other hand, a secondary (euphemistic) origin of the meaning „penis” from the original sense of PSem. \*’i(-)bVr-at- “limb” [SED I 5, no. 3] seems still evident.

**I, no. 3:** the same pertains to deriving Sqt. berbéroh “thigh” [Lsl.] | Gurage: Muher bärrä, Ggt. & Soddó bärrä etc. “thigh” [Lsl.] directly from PSem. \*’i(-)bVr-at- „limb” is rather improbable. Instead, these isolated Sem. terms may be equated (either as cognates or perhaps as loan-words) with the reflexes of AA \*b-r „thigh” [GT], which were not mentioned in SED I, cf. NOm.: Kaffa barbor-ō “coscia (thigh)” [Crl. 1951, 415] = bórbor-ō „Schinbein” [Rn. 1888, 273] || SOM.: Ari bar „thigh” [Bnd. 1994, 160] || WCh.: Ron \*f<sup>w</sup>ar [Ron fw- < \*bw- reg.] „thigh” [GT]: Sha fwòḥ- [\*-r], DB fùùr, Bks. ‘afòòr, Klr. faráw (Ron: Jng. 1970, 139, 214, 285, 352) || CCh.: Bata-Garwa bäreé „Unterschenkel” [Str. 1922-1923, 117]. For Sem.-Kaffa: Lsl. 1979 III, 149; Mlt. 1984, 19; Sem.-Cu.-Bata: Blz. 2001, 499.

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**I, no. 35:** the rendering of OSA bḥ-t “votive phallus” and its equation with Ar. būḥ- has been strongly doubted by A. Sima (2000, 289) as “*weder etymologisch noch realienkundlich gerechtfertigt*”, who maintains more carefully only the sense “*ein nicht näher bestimmbares Votivobjekt*”.

**I, no. 97:** with regard to PBHbr. geses & JA gīsāsā “side, arm” [Jstr.], Syr. gessā “coxa, latus” [Brk.], and Jbl. gōšēt “side” [Jns.], the primary sense of Sem. \*gišš- should be reconstructed as “side” (and not “torso, body”, which is, in fact, present solely in Mhr. gāššēt “body, corpse”). This is corroborated by Eg. gs “side” (PT, FD 291; Wb V 191-4) ||| LECu.: Somali ges [Rn.] = gēs “1. side, 2. direction” [Bell 1969, 168], Somali-Isaq & -Benadir gēs „side” [Dlg.] ||| perhaps NOm.: Kaffa gaš-ō “riverbank, edge, border, riva, sponda” [Crl. 1951, 448], Mocha gāš-o “border” [Lsl. 1959, 33] (ECu.-NOm.: Dlg. 1972, 212; 1973, 291; Sasse 1982, 110), which is widely accepted<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, Ar. ḡawš- “poitrine, milieu (du corps de l’homme)” & ḡūš- “poitrine” [BK] represents both in form and meaning a fully distinct etymon, cognate with WCh. \*(n)g<sup>w</sup>eš “breast” [GT] as pointed out by Blz. 2001, 502.

**I, no. 209:** the authors of SED are inclined to combine Sem. \*pagr- “corpse” with Ar. fḡr “se livrer à la fornication, à l’adultère” [BK II 544], leaving it unmentioned that several other authors (GB 633; A. Ember 1912, 87; 1930, #7.a.7, #23.a.11, F. von Calice 1936, #34, J. Vergote 1945, 129, #1.c.13, H. Brunner 1969, 34, #128) derive the PSem. noun from Sem. \*Pgr (\*bgr ~ \*pgr) “feeble” [GT]<sup>3</sup>. Perhaps the same AA root appears in Eg. b3gj [\*brgy] “1. müde sein, 2. bildlich: tot sein, 3. matt, schlaff, lässig sein, nachlässigen, 4. matt sein infolge einer Krankheit, 5. schläfrig sein” (OK, Wb I 431, 2-10) ||| CCh.: Gisiga gírú [met. < \*vigr- < \*Pigr-?] “tired out” [Rsg. 1978, 348, #748]. Noteworthy is that Eg. b3gj also carried the connotation linked to death and corpse. This Eg.-Sem. etymology has been maintained by several authors<sup>4</sup>.

**I, no. 210:** ad Sem. \*paḥ(a)l- “1. thigh, 2. penis” > MSA \*faḥ-l „penis” [GT] cf. ECh.: PDangla-Migama \*pēle “penis” [GT]: WDangla péélè “verge, pénis” [Fédry 1971, 59] = péélé (sic) [Mkr.], EDangla pèlè “verge, pénis” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 241], Korlongo (Karbo) péélé “verge, pénis” [Bouzy].

**I, no. 211:** Sem. \*paḥ(i)d- “hip, thigh”: Hbr. paḥad, Mehri-Qishn fhād, Sqt. fáḥid are treated in SED as Aramaisms vs. Arabisms, resp. Note that SED considers the -d of Mhr. əfhād [Jns.] as a misprint, although W. Leslau (1945, 234) equally recorded Mhr. faḥed with -d (not quoted in SED). Besides, Leslau (ibid.) has Sqt. faḥid (not with -ḥ- as in Lsl. 1938, which SED considered as an argument for seeing in it an Arabism). Moreover, the Sem. word has been generally<sup>5</sup> identified with Eg. ḥpd “Hinterteil” (PT, Wb III 270-1) = “buttocks” (FD 190) with metathesis, to which we can now add HECu. \*gubēda [\*g- < AA \*g-?] “thigh” [Hds. 1989, 152]. The rare (and probably irregular) correspondence of Sem. \*ḏ = Eg. d is attested, cf. Sem. \*udn- = Eg. (\*)jdn, Sem. \*ḏbḥ = Eg. dbḥ. These data speak in favour of a PSem. variant with \*-d.

**I, vb. no. 41:** Sem. \*mny “1. to have sexual desire, 2. discharge sperm, exude vaginal secretion” is hardly the right etymon of the Tigre mānna “to create”, tə-mānna “to be created” [LH], which is not necessarily to be identified with Tigre tə-mānna “to wish” [LH]. Similarly unconvincing is W. Leslau’s (1958, 31) attempt to combine it with Hbr. mny “to divide in parts, count”. The Tigre root is apparently

2. Lit.: Rn. 1902, 180 (contra Müller 1903, 76, fn. 2); Ember 1913, 115, #45; 1930, #18.a.40, #23.a.1; Dlg. 1972, 212; 1973, 291; Hodge 1984, 416; Behrens 1987, 243, #11; HSED #862.

3. See Hbr. pgr piel “schlaff, müde sein” [GB] = „(min) etwas aus Erschöpfung nicht können” [Rsl.], Aram. bgr “to be weak” [Ember] = „devenir débile” [DRS] = bāgrā ~ bagīrā “meagre, feeble” [DRS], JAram. pgr „1. untätig sein, 2. zerstören” [GB], Syr. pgr „kraftlos, hinfällig sein” [Nöldeke], NSyr. bagir “to be(come) meagre”, bagīrā „maigre, mince” [DRS] (Sem.: GB 633; DRS 43).

4. Ember 1912, 87; 1930, #7.a.7, #23.a.11; Clc. 1936, #34; Vrg. 1945, 129, #1.c.13; Takács 1999, 24.

5. Lit.: Ember 1917, 21; Albright 1918, 90; GÄSW #75; Hintze 1951, 83; IS 1966, 24, 26; 1976, #341; Dlg. 1966, 65; 1967, 304, #10; 1973, 240; HCVA I #23; HSED #1931.

isolated within Sem., but well-known in other AA branches, cf. AA \*m-n “to create, build” [GT]<sup>6</sup> > Eg. jmn “bilden, schaffen” (PT, XVIII., 2x, Wb I 83, 4) = „to create” (FD 21) ||| Bed. mine “(er)schaffen” [Rn. 1895, 170-1] || ECU.: Kambatta min- „to build” [Hds. 1989, 33], Sidamo min- “costruire (una capanna)” [Crl. 1938 II, 214] = min- „costruire” [Mrn. 1940, 230] = min- ~ mi’n- „to build (a house)” [Hds. 1989, 386] ||| WCh.: Tsagu mun- [unless m- < \*-w-, -u- < \*-i- influenced by m-?] „to build” [Skn. 1977, 14] ||| CCh.: Bura-Margi \*mra [reg. < \*\*mna] “to make” [GT, cf. Hfm. 1987, 471, #20] | Zime-Mesme min (pf.) „to mould (pots)” [Jng. 1978, 17].

### Additional AA cognates

**I, no. 4:** Sem. \*’udn- “ear” has long and commonly been identified with \*jdn preserved by the phon. value of the hrgl. depicting an ear (OK, Wb I 154)<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, according to M. Gilula (1975, 251), Eg. jdn „ear” occurs in CT VII 30k: (jnk) ... sdm ḥrw mj jdn ggwj “I am he who hears a sound (or voice) like an attentive ear”.

**I, no. 6:** SED has no AA matches for Sem. \*’amm-at- “elbow, forearm”, but cf. WCh.: Bade ’ám-én (fem.!) “Arm, Hand” [Lks. 1968, 222], Ngizim ám-âi “arm, hand” [Schuh 1981, 9].

**I, no. 8:** SED has no external cognates for Sem. \*’anp- “nose”, which is understandable, since I can also confirm the lack of comparable terms for this body part in AA, unless NBrb.: Izdeg nefnef “nasiller” [Mrc. 1937, 174]. Nevertheless, we should point out the *communis opinio* maintained by several linguists<sup>8</sup> on its derivation from the biconsonantal Common AA verbal root \*n-f “to breathe” [GT], cf. esp. HECu. \*imf- “to blow the nose” [GT] (HECu.: Hds. 1989, 29), perhaps influenced by ES: Amh. ən̄f alā, annäfä “to blow the nose” [Lsl. 1945, 144; 1982, 6].

**I, no. 17:** For Sem. \*’ap-(’ap)- “pupil of the eye” cp. perhaps Common Om. \*āf/\*āp “eye” [Flm. 1974, 88] = \*ap “eye” [Bnd. 1988, 145]. The Ug.-Om. etymology was mentioned already by H.C. Fleming (l.c.). Deverbal? Cf. HECu. \*af- [Hds. 1989, 69] > Sidamo af- “to see” [Flm.] = “to find, know” [Hds.]? For the Om.-Sem.-HECu. equation cf. also Blz. 2001, 499-500.

**I, no. 20:** no cognates for Sem. \*’a/irḳ- “tendon, muscle, nerve” in SED. Noteworthy is LLeg. ’rq “Gelenk des Füße (?)” (LP, Wb I 211, 19). Moreover, SED (pace Leslau 1945, 233 not cited therein) correctly combines the Sem. term with Aram. \*’rq “to tie” > JA ’arqā “strap, band” [Jastrow], Syr. ’arqetā “fascia, vinculum, frenum” [Brk.], Mnd. arqa “thong, tie” [DM], which perfectly corresponds to Eg. ’rq “umbinden” (XVIII., Wb I 211), cf. also ’rq.w “Striemen (d.h. Spuren von Schlängen)” (Med., Wb I 212, 1). Besides, the NWSem.-Eg. match was discovered already by F. von Calice (1901, 146).

**I, no. 30:** for Sem. \*bV<sup>c</sup>(bV<sup>c</sup>)-at- ~ \*’V-bV<sup>c</sup>bV<sup>c</sup>-(at)- „blister, boil” SED compares also ES: Chaha ambe „malignant neck tumor” [Lsl. 1979 III, 42], for which, in turn, cp. CCh.: Mofu-Gudur -mb- „1. gonfler, 2. entasser, 3. se rassasier” [Brt. 1988, 196; 1978, 139]. Cf. also Eg. p<sup>c</sup>p<sup>c</sup>.t „krankhafte Erscheinung an einer Geschwulst im Hals” (Med., Wb I 504, 9) with an irregular p-?

**I, no. 83:** ad Sem. \*gan(a)n- “viscera” cp. perhaps Eg. gnn “als Teil geschlachteter Tiere (neben Eingeweide: ob das Fett zwischen ihnen?)” (NK, Wb V 176, 8) = “suet (?)” (FD 290) = “(used in

6. A root variant (with met.) also exists, cf. AA \*n-m „to build” [GT]: Ar. nmw: namā „4. produire, créer” [BK II 1350] ||| WCh.: Ngizim nēmú „to construct using mud and/or mud bricks” [Schuh 1981, 119].

7. Lit.: Holma 1911, X; Ember 1911, 92; 1930, #4.a.2; Alb. 1927, 208, fn. 8; Vrg. 1945, 132, #2.b.9; Chn. 1947, #16; Vcl. 1953, 43; 1958, 391; 1985, 172, #1; 1990, 45; Dlg. 1973, 187-188, 301; Müller 1975, 64, #5; Djk. 1981, 27, fn. 9; 1984, 7; Djk. et al. 1986, 42; Hodge 1977, 933; 1983, 36; 1990, 647, #23.c; Mlt.-Stl. 1990, 66; OS 1992, 170; 1992, 185; HSED #126; Blz. 2001, 499.

8. See Möller 1911, 176; Hodge 1976, 12, #39, cf. p. 19, n. 39; Conti 1978, 96; SISAJa I; MM 1983, 217; Djk. etc. 1986 MS, 65; Ehret 1995, 316, #611; Vernus 2000, 179, fn. 81 (after Prasse 1991, 272); Stl. 2005, 113, #398.

connection with the intestines) perhaps the fat between and around them” (Ward) = “\*Nierenfett (von geschlachteten Tieren), Schmalz” (GHWb 902). The Ug.-Eg. comparison was noted first by W.A. Ward (1961, 33, #5 & fn. 20), who rendered Akk. *gannu* “part of the body of an animal” [CAD g 41] = “ein innerer Körperteil des Schafes” [AHW 280] as “the fat and meaty portions attached to the ribs”.

**I, no. 98:** Sem. \**gu/itt-* “body” has long been convincingly equated by W. F. Albright, W. Vycichl and others<sup>9</sup> with Eg. *ds* [reg. < \**gč*] “person, -self” (PT, Wb V 607-8).

**I, no. 103:** ad Sem. \**γib(b)-* “dung, faeces” cp. WCh.: Bade ’*áab-àn* “Exkremente” [Lks. 1968, 222] and perhaps Eg. *‘b.w* “Ausdruck für Schmutz” (CT, Wb I 174, 19) = “impurity” (PT, BD, FD 40). For this etymology see already Blz. 1994 MS Bed., 3; HSED #1116.

**I, no. 105:** Sem. \**γap(a)r-* “(stiff) hair” may be cognate with Eg. *f<sup>c</sup> ~ f<sup>j</sup>* (hair det.) [prob. \**f<sup>c</sup>3* < \**f<sup>r</sup>* via met.?] “lock of hair” (late NK, Pap. Turin 1983, vo. I 47-48, Černý 1958, 210, #6) ||| ECu.: Dullay: Gollango *ufur-kó* “Körperhaar” [AMS 1980, 246].

**I, no. 122:** Sem. \**ḥVmt-* “(lower) belly, uterus, womb” > Geez *ḥəms/š* “uterus, womb” [Lsl.] was combined by Leslau (1962, 46, #11) with Eg. *ḥms* “Phallus” (PT 632b, ÄWb I 837) = “Bez. für den Phallus” (Wb III 99, 8). For the semantic shift cf. Sem. \**ḥann-(at)-* “(feminine) genital organ, uterus” [SED] > Syr. *ḥannā* “penis, cunnus, vagina” [Brk.] ~ Eg. *ḥnn* “Phallus” (PT, Wb III 115).

**I, no. 124:** SED gives no AA parallels for Sem. \**ḥanak-/\*ḥink-* “palate”, but there are: Eg. *ḥngg* “Kehle, Schlund” (XVIII. Mag., Wb III 121, 10) = “fauces, palatum” (Rn.) = “palate (of the mouth)” (Lacau supported by Ward) ||| Brb. \**a-Hnəy* “palate” [GT] = \**H-n-γ* [Dlg.] ||| Agaw: e.g. *Kemant angi* “palais de la bouche” [CR 1912, 166] etc. ||| LECu.: Saho *nakak* “palate” [Vergari 2003, 140]. Does the latter form represent the primary biradical root without the prefix \**ḥ-* of anatomical terms? The Eg.-Sem. match was first proposed by L. Reinisch (1887, 332) and independently also by A. Ember (1926, 307, #14), maintained by P. Lacau (1970, #146-151) and W. A. Ward (1972, 19).

**I, no. 159:** ad Sem. \**ḳadḳad-/\*ḳudḳud-* “skull, head” (no AA cognates in SED) cp. probably Ch. \**ḳ-d* > \**k-ḳ* (?) “head” [GT]: CCh.: *Matakam géd* [Brt., via met. of glottalization < \**ḳed*?] ||| ECh.: (?) *Jegu kààtà* [Jng.], *Birgit kádyà* [Jng.], *Mubi kàč* [Jng., via \**kat<sup>y</sup>*?].

**I, no. 165:** as is long known<sup>10</sup>, Sem. \**ḳVrb-* “inner part” has a perfect match in Eg. *q3b* [\**qrb*] “intestine → interior, middle” (Med., Wb V 9, 17-19).

**I, no. 183:** for Sem. \**mV(‘)n-(at)-* “tendon, sinew, muscle” cp. perhaps NOm.: Haruro *mānān-o* „varietà di liana” [CR 1937, 654] ||| ECh.: EDangla *māyīnē* „ficelle autour des riens pour tenir le cache des filles” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 200].

**I, no. 187:** Sem. \**muḥḥ-* „midollo, cervello” [Frz. 1964, 267, #2.37] = „brain” [SED] may be cognate with Eg. *jm3ḥ* [< \**i-m’ḥ*] „marrow” (EG 1927, 456, F39) = „Stück der Wirbelsäule mit dem hervorquellenden Rückenmark” (Wb I 81, 11) = “spinal cord, spinal marrow” (CT, FD 20) ||| (?) Bed. *míkw’ál* ~ *mík’ál* (f) [LS 1997, 459: suffix -al] „Mark, Knochenmark” [Rn. 1895, 167] ||| CCh.: perhaps Mandara *mókhyèkhè* “brain” [Kraft 1981, #37]. See also HSED #1800 (Sem.-Mandara). The AA word for „head” (originally \*“brain” as in Sem.?) may also belong here, cf. AA \**muQ-* [GT]: ECu.: *Burji mug-a* „3. head” [Hds. 1989, 214] ||| SCu.: *Ma’a muhu* [-h- < \**-ḥ-*] ~ *muá*, pl. *mia* „Kopf” [Mnh. 1906, 314] |||

9. See Alb. 1919, 180, #14; 1927, 202; Chn. 1947, #201; Vcl. 1953, 41-44; 1953, 377; 1958, 385; 1959, 28; MM 1983, 217; Snk. 1993, 142.

10. Lit.: Holma 1911, X; Ember 1911, 88; 1918, 31; 1930, #20.a.2; Alb. 1918, 90; 1919, 176; Clc. 1936, #324; Vrg. 1945, 129; Chn. 1947, #238; Vcl. 1958, 371; 1990, 39; Djk. 1970, 472, fn. 87; Ward 1972, 20-21, ##193-195; MM 1983, 172; Lpr. 1994, 120.

CCh.: Musgu mok [Overweg] = mag (mage) [Rohlf] „Kopf” [Lks. 1941, 68], Pus mok „tête” [Trn. 1991, 106], Muskum māk „tête” [Trn. 1977, 29]. For ECu.-CCh.: Blz. 2000, 182, #4.

**I, no. 193:** Sem. \*naya<sup>c</sup>-(at)- “breast” (MSA “udder”) is related to Bed. nāy < ne’āy “melken” [Rn. 1895, 179, 187] = nāi(y) “to milk” [Rpr. 1928, 226] = naiy “to milk” [Hudson 1996, 101] || WCh.: SBch. \*nyī “breast” [GT, cf. Smz. 1978, 22, #8] | Ngz. ányì “breast” [Schuh] || ECh.: Somrai náē “Euter”, nae “Milch” [Lks. 1937, 80] = niī “Milch” [AF] = naj “lait” [Jng. 1993 MS, 47]. For Sem.-Somrai see Müller 1975, 68, #53; Bed.-Ch.: Skn. 1996, 209-210; Ch.-Sem.: Stl. 2005, 106, #365.

**I, no. 197:** Sem. \*naḥ- “mucus” (no AA cognates in SED) is cognate with Eg. nḥ “Speichel” (PT, Wb II 318, 14-15) || CCh.: Tera naḥa “saliva” [Nwm.] | Mandara neḥe [Mch.] etc. (Ch.: JI 1994 II 279). From AA \*n-ḥ [GT]. For Jbl. nḥḥ “phlegm” [Jns. 1981, 199] note also Mhr. nəḥyōḵ “phlegm” [Jns. 1987, 308], whose \*ḵ is not yet explained. Note that a var. root (with an original \*ḵ) has apparently been retained in WCh.: NBch. \*nəḵ- „saliva” [GT]: Wrj. nəníḵi-na ~ nənàḵí, Kry. nənəḵí, Miya nínəḵí, Siri níḵí, Mburku nənəḵə etc. (NBch.: Skn. in JI 1994 II 278) < AA \*n-ḵ “saliva” [GT].

**I, no. 201:** Sem. \*našy- ~ \*’a-nšVy- “sciatic tendon/nerve” (cf. esp. the derived Tgr. nās’a “to cut off the hind legs” [LH] with a developed meaning) has a good external match (with loss of the sense “tendon/nerve”) in Eg. jns.t [j- < \*’-] “unterer Teil des Beines (Unterschenkel samt Fuß?) des Menschen, der Vierfüßler, der Vögel” (OK, Wb I 99, 18-20) = “Wade” (Ebbell 1929, 118) = “calf of leg, shank (of man, animal)” (FD 24) || NBrb.: Tuat & Gurara ṭi-nsi-ṭ “mollet” [Bst. 1887, 420] || CCh.: Makeri ɛnsə, Afade ɛnsi “jambe” (Ktk.: Lbf. 1942, 167) | Sukur na:s “leg” [Meek] = nās [IL in JI 1994 II, 221], Sakun nās “pied” [Br. n.d. MS, 1, #13] < AA \*n-s ~ \*’-n-s “(part of) leg” [GT].

**I, no. 207:** Sem. \*pa<sup>c</sup>m- „gamba” [Frz.] = \*pa<sup>c</sup>m- ~ \*pa<sup>c</sup>n- „leg” [SED] has plausible cognates in HECu. \*fān-a [\*-ā- < \*-a<sup>c</sup>-?] „track of animal” [Hds. 1989, 409] || SCu. \*pa<sup>c</sup>am- „sole of foot” [Ehr.] = \*pa<sup>c</sup>[am- (?) [GT]: Qwd. pa’am-uko „1. foot, 2. sole” [Ehr. 1980, 2] | Ma’a lu-bamé „sole of foot” [Ehr.: b- < \*p-] (SCu.: Ehr. 1980, 147) < AA \*p<sup>c</sup>-m ~ \*p<sup>c</sup>-n (act. \*pa<sup>c</sup>am/n-) „(sole of) foot, trace” [GT]. The Sem.-Qwadza etymology was first suggested by V. É. Orel & O. V. Stolbova (in HSED #828).

**I, no. 213:** ad Sem. \*pVḵ- “neck” cp. AA \*b-ḵ “neck” [GT] > LECu.: Oromo boqq-ū „1. neck, 2. back of neck, 3. stubborn” [Gragg 1982, 59] || WCh.: Fyer ḥəgyi, pl. ḥəgyi „neck (Hals, Nacken)” [Jng. 1968, 7, #50; 1970, 84, cf. JI 1994 II, 252].

**I, no. 217:** I do not agree with Blz. 2001, 504 who adds Eg. wpr.t “Seitenlocke des Kindes” (GR, Wb I 305) to Sem. \*par- “skin, shell, husk” (SED gives no external etymology), which has semantically much more convincing cognates in NBrb.: Qabyle ti-firi “1. dartre, durillon” [Dlt. 1982, 218] || EBrb.: Ghadames ti-fra “écorce” [Lst. 1931, 228] || ECh.: EDangla péré “décortiquer, écosser, écorcer, enlever le peau, épeller” [Dbr.-Mnt. 1973, 242], Korlongo pééré “id.” [Bouzy], Migama piṛ- “to skin” [Wolff 1977, 175].

**I, no. 230:** Sem. \*rāḥ-at- “palm of hand” [SED] = „innere Handfläche” [GT] is cognate with Eg. jḥ.tj ~ 3ḥ.tj [< \*rḥ--tj] (dual) “die Innenflächen der Oberschenkel der Mutter, zwischen denen das Kind zur Welt kommt” → „die Schenkel” (OK, Wb I 120, 16-17) = „Innenseiten der Oberschenkel” (GHWb 96), which externally corroborates the basic sense „innere Handfläche”, for which cf. esp. Akk. rittu [< \*riḥ-tu] „Handfläche, Hand, Tatze” [Holma] || Ug. rḥ-t „innere Handfläche” [WUS] || Ar. rāḥ-at- „Handfläche”, raḥrāḥ-at- „Inneres der Handfläche” [WUS]. This special signification has then developed into the more general “hand” in WCh.: PRon \*ra ~ \*ri „arm, hand” [GT]: Bokkos rā, Daffo-Butura rā, Kulere ri-yāw, Fyer-Tambas yá [y- < \*r-?] (Ron: Jng. 1970, 386) || CCh.: Sukur (ḥut) ri „hand” [IL] = iri „arm” [Mch.], Sakun ri „hand” [Br. MS n.d., 1, #11] | Matakam rāy „hand” [Schubert] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 178-179). For Ron-Sem. v. HSED #2091; Mlt. in Sts. etc. 1995, 15. For the semantic change in PEg. \*rḥ.tj „die Innenflächen der Oberschenkel” < \*’Handfläche” cf. Dullay: Gollango táfo „Oberschenkel” [AMS 1980,

260] ||| PCh. \*tafa „(palm of) hand, leaf” → „5” [Stl. 1996, 33] > e.g. WCh. \*tafa „palm of hand” [Stl. 1987, 162, #159].

**I, no. 231:** ad Sem. \*raḥ(i)m- ~ \*riḥm- “womb” (extended by the infix \*-ḥ- of anatomical terms) cp. ECu. \*rim- “uterus” [Sasse 1982, 160] as suggested already by A.B. Dolgopolsky (1994, 10, #9).

**I, no. 234:** Sem. \*rayr- “saliva” (no external parallels in SED) is presumably cognate with Eg. rj.t [< \*(y)r-t?] “Eiter o.ä. als Inhalt der Geschwüre” (Med., Wb II 399, 13) = „Eiter” (WMT 521-2; HAM 840) = „1. Eiter, 2. Ausscheidung” (GHWb 459). For the semantic shift cf. Eg. mḥ.w [< \*mlḥ-w] “Schaum auf den Lippen (einer wütenden Göttin)” (XVIII., Wb II 84, 10; GHWb 340) = „froth on lips” (FD 109) ||| ECu. \*malḥ- “pus, Eiter” [Sasse 1979, 5, 21, 35-36; 1982, 139-140].

**I, no. 263:** Sem. \*ṣaḥm- “fat” is cognate with SCu.: Ma’a ma-ṣom-a „Fett” [Mnh. 1906, 313] = ma-ṣóm-a „fat”, -ṣóm-i „to smear with fat” [Ehr. 1980, 216, #22], which points to the common AA affix \*-ḥ- of body parts (Takács 1997) in Sem.

**I, no. 285:** ad Sem. \*ṭip(V)r- “nail” [SED] = \*ṭupr- ~ \*ṭipr- „fingernail, claw” [GT] cp. SCu.: Burunge čarafu „claw” [Flm. 1969, 24, #12] = Burunge & Alagwa čarafu „nail, claw” [Ehr. 1980, 329] ||| WCh.: NBch. \*čərf- [GT] = \*k-r-b (!) [Skn.]: Pa’a kərfən [velarization of \*č-] „fingernail” [Skn. 1977, 21] < AA \*č-r-f ~ \*č-f-r „fingernail” [GT]. For Sem.-SCu. see Dlg. 1966, 60, #2.10; Flm. 1969, 24, #12; Blz. 1989 MS Om., 12, #34; HSED #513.

**I, no. 297:** Sem. \*zabb-/zapp- “hair (on the head), bristle” is to be identified with Eg. zb.t “lock of hair” (NK, Wb III 432, 17) > GR zbj „hair” (Edfu 3x, PL 817) ||| WBrb.: Zenaga a-zbi „hair” [Zhl. 1942-3, 94] = â-zbi ~ a-zbi ~ ǝ-zbi, pl. u-zba-n “cheveu, poil” [Ncl. 1953, 398] ||| ECu. \*zab-/zāb- “to plait (hair)” [Sasse 1976, 139]: esp. Oromo dabb-ā<sup>w</sup>a [d- < \*z-] „to be(come) hairy”, dabb-as-ā „(esp. body) hair” [Gragg 1982, 94] = dab-ē “Haartracht” [Sasse]. A denom. verb is retained in Sem. \*zbb „to be hairy” [DRS 669]. These data speak for Sem. \*-bb.

**I, vb. no. 17:** Sem. \*g<sup>(w)</sup>ṣ<sup>c/</sup> “to belch, retch, vomit” has clear equivalents in WCh. \*gyāṣ- “to belch” [GT]: Hausa gyààtsáá „belching” [Abr. 1962, 357], Gwandara giža „to belch” [Mts. 1972, 44] | AS \*žāl ~ \*žā₂l [reg. shift < \*gyaṣ] „to belch” [GT 2004, 432-3] | NBch. \*gəṣ- ~/→ \*gəž- ~ \*gəç- [secondary glottalization] „to belch” [GT]: Warji γəç, Pa’a gišo (n.), Siri gəža (?), Diri gəça [irreg. -ç-], Jimbin ži-žašu (n.), Miya gəla-, Kariya γH [irreg. -ç-], Mburku vəç-, Tsagu gāž-an (n.) (NBch.: Skn. 1977, 12) | Bade gaaṣ- „to belch” [Nwm.], Ngizim gəḏžú [-ddl-] „to belch” [Schuh 1981, 66] < PCh. \*g<sup>y</sup>aṣə „to belch” [Nwm. 1977, 22, #5].

**I, vb. no. 34:** ad Sem. \*k’b “to suffer pain” > esp. Ar. k’b “être fort triste, se désoler” [BK II 849] cp. Eg. j3kb [< \*y’kb] “trauern, klagen” (OK, Wb I 34, 5-8) = “to mourn, complain” (FD 9) ||| PBed. \*ikub → Bed. ikuw ~ ikw [-w < \*-b] „jammern, klagen, schreien” [Rn. 1895, 13] = ikuw “Klageruf” [Zhl.] as suggested in Zhl. 1932-33, 165; Castellino 1984, 15; Blv. 1987, 278.

**I, vb. no. 41:** Sem. \*mny “1. to have sexual desire, 2. discharge sperm, exude vaginal secretion” (no AA cognates in SED) might be affiliated with Bed. menī-m (refl.) „sich wünschen, ein Verlangen tragen” [Rn. 1895, 170] = minni (m) „wish, desire”, minnī-m „to wish” [Rpr. 1928, 217] ||| WCh.: Ron \*mun- “to like” [GT]: Fyer munī „lieben”, mwán „friend”, Sha mun „1. lieben, 2. zustimmen, akzeptieren, 3. helfen”, Daffo mwí(n) „friend” (Ron: Jng. 1968, 10; 1970, 88, 219, 287, 392) | Pero ménò „to like” [Frj. 1985, 41] || CCh.: Bata mō [< \*mon] „vouloir” [Mch.] | Gisiga & Musey mín “désirer, vouloir, aimer” [Ajello] | Masa mìn „1. (tr.) désirer, vouloir, 2. (en particulier) désirer sexuellement, aimer” [Ctc. 1983, 106] = min „vouloir” [Mch.] = míṅ-nā “aimer” [Jng. 1973 MS], Lame mún „le/la plus aimé(e), préféré(e) (femme ou enfant)” [Scn. 1982, 317] (CCh.: Mch. 1950, 56; Ajello 2001, 20, 58) || ECh.: Bdy. moonòw „préférer”

[AJ 1989, 100]. Here may perhaps belong also Eg. mnw “Min” (OK, Wb II 72, 11), the name of the ityphallic deity of fertility and masculine sex as suggested long ago<sup>11</sup>.

**I, vb. no. 51:** for Sem. \*nšp “to blow” an irregular cognate appears (as suggested already by Farina 1926, 16, #21; 1927, 24; GÄSW #437; Vcl. 1958, 377; 1959, 39; Conti 1978, 28, fn. 2) in Eg. nšp “atmen” (MK, Wb II 339), which I.M. D’jakonov (1967, 205, fn. 72 pace Lauth 1871, 636, #150; Peust 2000, 251) regarded a Sem. loan (NB: Eg. š ≠ Sem. \*š).

**I, vb. no. 77:** ad Sem. \*tyn “to urinate” (no AA cognates in SED) cp. Eg. msjn.t “ein Körperteil (am Unterleib)” (Med., Wb II 143, 8) = “Harnblase oder die Gegend des Schließmuskels” (Vcl.) ||| ECu. \*sind- “urine” [Black 1974, 216; Sasse 1979, 24]. For Eg.-Sem.: Vcl. 1938, 157; Sem.-ECu.: Dlg. 1983, 136, #9.1.

### Disputable external cognates

**I, no. 2:** Sem. \*ibr-(at)- “membrum virile” has hardly anything to do with Eg. b33.wt [prob. < \*bll.wt] “Manneskraft” (Lit. MK, Wb I 417, 6) = “virile strength” (Gardiner 1916, 68) = “virility” (FD 77) = “seed, semen” or “erection” (Baines 1970, 403, fn. 7) = “sexual potency, ability to produce semen” (Ward 1978, 21) = “Manneskraft, Potenz, Virilität” (GHWb 240) = “fertilizing power or Zeugungskraft” (GT), which has semantically evident cognates in Brb. \*ḅ-r-r „to be fertile” [GT]: EBrb.: Gdm. e-ḅrēr „être fécondé (palmier)”, s-ḅ-ḅrēr „féconder”, a-s-ḅ-ḅrēr „fécondation”, a-ḅerīr “fleur mâle” [Lanfry 1973, 26, #99], Audjila š-e-ḅrēr „féconder un palmier” [Prd. 1960, 166], Siwa ss-urr, ss-irer „féconder un palmier” [Lst. 1931, 174, 163] || SBrb.: Hgr. a-rer [\*a-hrer < \*ḅ-r-r] „être fécondé (palmier)”, é-herer „fleur de dattier mâle” [Fcd. 1951-2, 662, 1660] = e-hərər, pl. i-hərār „fleur de dattier mâle” [Prs.] (Brb.: Prs. 1969, 68, #389; DRB I 91; Ksm. 1999, 118, #267). Cp. perhaps Ar. ’abara 2. féconder un palmier ou la fleur d’un arbre fruitier” [DRS 5: isolated in Sem.]. See also HCVA 2, #144 (Eg.-Brb. compared with AA \*b-r „penis”).

**I, no. 9:** Sem. \*ir-at “breast, chest” can hardly be compared with SBrb.: EWlm. a-hāror “poitrine” [Alj. 1980, 80] because of their clearly distinct patterns, and since SBrb. h- does not derive from \*r-, but is a regular reflex either of Brb. \*ḅ- or \*h- (AA \*h-, \*ḅ-). Thus, the Tuareg root corresponds rather to ECu. \*hor- “to be in front” [Sasse 1979, 40] > Boni hór “Vorderseite” [Sasse 1980, 98] or alternatively (assuming an interchange of \*h- ~ \*ḅ-) Eg. -3.t “Vorderseite” (PT, Wb III 19-22)<sup>12</sup>.

**I, no. 35:** Ar. būh- “organes de la génération (homme, femme)” [BK] cannot be compared with Eg. b3ḅ, since Sem. \*-ū-/\*-w- ≠ Eg. -3-, and also because the basic sense of the Eg. term was significantly different: “praeputium” (CT V 43f, Lacau 1970, 87-88) = “glans penis or phallus” (Ward 1978, 124) = „\*Eichel (des männlichen Gliedes)” (GHWb 241).

### Other observations

**I, no. 8:** the semantic shift in Sem. \*’anp- “nose” > Ug. ’ap “Zorn” [WUS #345] = ap “anger” [DUL 87], Moabite ’np “to be angry” [DNWSI 83], Hbr. ’np “id.” [KB 72] vs. Hbr. ’ap “1. Nase, 2. Zorn” [GB 58] || Ar. ’anifa “s’abstenir par pudeur, par honte” [Lacau] has a typologically parallel, as noted already by P. Lacau (1970, 50, #114), in Eg. fnd “zürnen (eigtl. ‘schnauben’)” (XXII., Wb I 578, 4) = „1.

11. For the Eg.-Sem. etymology see Alb. 1918, 90; 1918, 231; Ember 1917, 21; Clc. 1936, #200; IS 1976, #292; Bmh. 1986, 248; 1990, 407.

12. Note that C. Brockelmann (p.c. quoted by Holma 1919, 40, fn. 1) explained Akk. irtu “breast” < Sem. \*ḅir-t- in order to combine it directly with Eg. ḅ3.t (!), which has, of course, to be refuted.

mépriser (late NK), 2. être en colère (XXII.)” (AL 77.1553, 79.1079) = “verachten, missachten (‘schnauben’)” (GHWb 306) < fnd “Nase” (OK, Wb I 577).

*Abbreviations of languages and related terms*

AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Semito-Hamitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Alg.: Alagwa, Amh.: Amhara, AP: African areal parallel, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bch.: Bauchi, Bed.: Bed’awye (Beja), BM: Bura-Margi, BN: Bade-Ngizim, Brb.: Berber, Brg.: Burunge, BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, Dhl.: Dahalo, Dly.: Dullay, E: East, Ebl.: Eblaité, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, Gdm.: Ghadames, Gk.: Greek, Gmc.: Germanic, Gmy.: Goemai, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, Grg.: Gurage, Grw.: Gorowa, Gsg.: Gisiga, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi (in MSA), Hs.: Hausa, IE: Indo-European, Irq.: Iraqw, JAram.: Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, Jbl.: Jibbali, JPA(ram.): Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Kfy.: Kofyar, L: Late or Low(land), Lit.: literary texts, lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, MA: Middle Assyrian, Math.: mathematical papyri, MB/mB: Middle Babylonian, Med.: medical texts, Mhr.: Mehri, MK: Middle Kingdom, Mpn.: Mupun, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Msr.: Mushere, Mzg.: Tamazight, N: New, N: North, NA(ss.): Neo-Assyrian, NB(ab.): Neo-Babylonian, NBch.: North Bauchi, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, Nil.: Nilotic, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OA: Old Assyrian, OAkk.: Old Akkadian, OB: Old Babylonia, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PClass.: Post-Classical, PT: Pyramid Texts, Qbl.: Qabyle, Qwd.: Qwadza, S: South, (S): Sahidic, SA: Saho & Afar, Sab.: Sabaeen, SB: Standard Babylonian, SBch.: South Bauchi, Sem.: Semitic, Sgt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram.): Aramaic of Talmud, Tna.: Tigrinya, Trg.: Tuareg, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, Wlm.: Tawlemmed, Zng.: Zenaga.

*Abbreviations of author names*

Abr.: Abraham, AF: Adolf Friedrich, AJ: Alio & Jungrathmayr, Ajl.: Ajello, Alb.: Albright, Alj.: Alojaly, AMS: Amborn & Minker & Sasse, Ast.: Aistleitner, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Blv.: Belova, Blz.: Blažek, Bmh.: Bomhard, Bnd.: Bender, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brt.: Barreteau, Bst.: Basset, Chn.: Cohen, Clc.: Calice, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cosper, Ctc.: Cañtucoli, Dbr.-Mnt.: Djibrine & Montgolfier, Djk.: D’jakonov, Dlg.: Dolgopolsky, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Drower & Macuch, Dst.: Destaign, EEN. Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Ehr.: Ehret, Fcd.: Foucauld, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, Grb.: Greenberg, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takács, Gtr.: Guthrie, GW: Gamer-Wallert, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hlw.: Hellwig, Hyw.: Hayward, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JFQ: Quack, JI: Jungrathmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungrathmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, Jstr.: Jastrow, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kogan & Militarev, Krf.: Kraft, Ksm.: Kossmann, Lbf.: Lebeuf, LG: Lienhard & Giger, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lpr.: Loprieno, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, Mgd.: Migeod, Mgw.: Maghway, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, MM: Majzel’ & Militarev, Mnh.: Meinhof, Mrc.: Mercier, Mrn.: Moreno, Mts.: Matsushita, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nct.: Nachtigal, Nhl.: Nehlil, NM: Newman & Ma, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, NZ: Naït-Zerrad, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, Prd.: Paradisi, Prs.: Prasse, RB: Rapp & Benzing, RK: Reutt & Kogan, Rn.: Reinisch, Rpr.: Roper, Rsg.: Rossing, Rsl.: Rössler, Sbr.: Siebert, Scn.: Sachnine, Skn.: Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Snk.: Schenkel, Ss.: Sasse, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Sts.: Starostin, Stz.: Satzinger, Trb.: Trombetti, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.



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