

## Some Hamito-Semitic Names of Body Parts

By A. Dolgopolsky

In this paper an attempt is made to research some Afroasiatic (Hamito-Semitic) names of body parts both by means of internal Hamito-Semitic comparative evidence and by external comparison.

**1. 'liver'.** The stem which may be reconstructed on the Proto-Hamito-Semitic level is that represented by Egyptian  $m\bar{y}z.t$  'liver' and by the North Omotic word reconstructed by Václav Blažek as *\*mayz-* 'liver' > Male *māyzi*, Basketo *māyaz*, Doka *mayz*, She *may*, Chara *mayya* 'liver' (cf. Bl. OLBP 21). This HS word ( $\approx$  *\*mayz-*) is probably very ancient: it has plausible cognates in other languages of the Nostratic macro-family suggesting a PN (Proto-Nostratic) reconstruction  $\approx$  *\*magiza* 'liver'<sup>1</sup>, whence the phonetically regular reflex in Proto-Uralic *\*maksā* 'liver' (> Finnish and Moksha-Morvinian *maksa*, Southern Lappish *muok'se*, Cheremis *mokš*, Zyriene *mus*, *musk-*, Proto-Ostyak *\*muṽaš̂* [> Vakh Ostyak *muṽaḷ*, Demyanka Ostyak *muxat* ], Hungarian *māj*, Nenets *mūd*, Nganasan *mita*, Taz Selqup *mīte* 'liver', as well as possibly the Proto-Turkic *\*baγɪ-r* 'pluck, liver' (with phonetically regular denasalization PN *\*m-* > *\*b-* and with loss of *\*y* [< PN *\*ɜ*] before the suffix *\*-r*). Cf. Collinder FUV 33, Collinder CG 407, Rédei UEW 264, Janhunen SW 94.

In Semitic there is another stem for 'liver': *\*ka'bid-*. The stem has been preserved by most Semitic languages: Hb. *kā'ḇēd*, Ugar.  $k\bar{b}d = kabid-u$  (the vocalization reconstructed on the evidence of cuneiform syllabic transcription, cf. Jewish Aram., Syr. *kab'd-ā*, Arab. *kabid-*, Eth. *kabd*. In the Mahra-Dofar (New South Arabian) languages the stem is used with the suffix *\*-at-*, whence Mehri *šabdīt*, Harsusi *šabdēt*, East Jibbali *šubdēt*, Central Jibbali *šubdēt*, Soqotri (Johnstone) *šabdah*. The attested Akkadian reflexes are *kabīdu* ~ *gabīdu*, *kabattū*, *kabtātu* and *kabittū* (CAD V 6, VIII 11-14, Soden AHW 272, 416). The last variant is a regular phonetic development of PS [Proto-Semitic] *\*ka'bid-at-V* (posttonic syncope, see Dolgopolsky PhSS 1-12), with *-tt-* < *\*-dt-*. The variant *kabtātu* may be explained as going back to *\*'kabidatu* (a prosodic variant of the regular *\*ka'bidatu*, caused possibly by syntactic phonetics, i.e. by some special accentological conditions within certain phrases), with *-bt-* for the

expected *\*-bd-* due to the influence of *kabittu*. The variants *kabīdu* ~ *gabīdu* (with irregular lengthening of *\*i*) and *kabattu* (with irregular second *a*) still defy explanation. This Semitic stem for 'liver' is obviously homophonous with the adjective *\*ka'bid-* 'heavy' (> Hb. *kā'ḇēḏ* 'is heavy', Arabic *kabida* 'was heavy', Akkadian *kabtu* 'heavy' - with *t* for the expected *\*d* possibly due to influence of the fem. form *kabittu* < *\*kabidtu* < PS *\*ka'bid-at-u*). This phonetic coincidence obviously suggests that the noun *\*ka'bid-* 'liver' goes back to this adjective. The semantic background for this change is the opposition of 'liver' as 'heavy pluck' to 'lung' as 'light pluck', cf. typologically similar opposition in Old Irish between *tromchride* (lit. 'heavy heart', i.e. 'heavy pluck': *trom* is 'heavy', *-chride* = *cride* 'is heart') and *scam* 'lung' (from a Celtic adjective for 'light', cf. the Welsh cognate *ysgafn* 'light', see Vendryes DEIA S-31 and T-149). A similar opposition of 'liver' and 'lung' is found in some Turkic languages, e. g. in Turkish: *kara bağır* 'liver' (the literal translation is approximately 'black pluck') vs. *ak bağır* 'lung' (≈ 'white pluck'). The use of the adjectives 'black' and 'white' is accounted for by the wide semantic associations of color terms in Turkish, where *kara* 'black' is used as a designation of something strong, large, hard, while 'white' is associated with weak, tender, soft, small. The same opposition of 'liver' and 'lung' exists in Persian: *žegār siyah* (literally 'black pluck') means 'liver', while *žegār sāfid* ('white pluck') is 'lung', and in Bulgarian: чер(ен) дроб 'liver' (lit. 'black pluck') vs. бял дроб 'lung' (lit. 'white pluck').<sup>2</sup>

**2. 'tongue'.** The HS stem (tentatively reconstructible as *\*lis-*) is represented in Semitic, Egyptian, Berber and Chadic: (1) Sem. *\*lišān-* 'tongue' > Hb. st. constr. *lā'šōn*, st. abs. *lā'šōn*, Ph. *λασουν*, Ug. *lšn*, Ug. (in Akk. syllabic transcription, according to Huehnergard UV) *la-ša-nu*, OAram. *lšn*, Imp. Aram. *lšn*, (in Akk. transcription) *li-iš-ša-an*, BA *liš'šān*, WSyr. *leš,š,š'c'n-c*, Arab *lišān-*, Sabaic *lšn*, Ge'ez *lašān*, Mehri *ṣwšēn*, pl. *lššōn*, Harsusi *lēššn*, pl. *lššōnət*, East Jibbali *lšín*, Central Jibbali *elšén*, pl. *elšín*, Soqotri [Leslau] *léšín*, pl. *líšhen*, Akk. *lišān-* 'tongue'; the replacement of *\*i* by *a*, *ā* in the Can. languages (Hb., Ph., Ug.) is due to some phonetic and analogical process(es); e.g., in Hb. and Ph. it may be explained as a back formation from st. constr. based on the analogy with the by far more numerous nouns of the *Cā'CōC-* pattern: st. c. *lā'šōn* - st. abs. *lā'šōn* like st. c. *šā'lōm* - st. abs. *šā'lōm*).

(2) Eg. *nc* (= [Vycichl] *\*[lisy-]* id., cf. Vycichl GÄSW 395-6, Vycichl DELC 99) > Copt. *ΛΑϸ*, *ΛΕϸ* id.

*Some Hamito-Semitic Names of Body Parts*

(3) Berber *\*-lis* in the morphological form *\*ʔi-lis* 'tongue', pl. *ʔi-lis-āwan* (= Prasse's *\*hilis*, pl. *\*hilisāwan*) > Ahaggar Twareg *īlās*, pl. *ilsawān*, East Tawellemmet *ilās*, pl. *ilāsawān*, Tayert *ilās*, pl. *alsawān*, Ghadames *ēlās*, pl. *elsawān*, Tashelhit *īls*, Siwa *īlās* id. The prefix *\*ʔi-* (< sg. *\*ʔa-*, pl. *\*i-*) is a nominal marker of masculin and st. abs. (Cf. Foucauld DTF III 1124, Lanfry G II #0922, Ghoubeïd LTF 118)

(4) Chad. *\*lis* (= *\*√ls<sub>3</sub>* in Jungrauthmayr-Shimizu's reconstruction, *\*aləsi* in Newman's reconstruction) > WCh. [Stolbova] *\*hā-lisi-(um)* 'tongue' (probably, lit. 'head-tongue', since the prefix *\*hā-* of body parts is likely to go back to WCh. *\*hama-* 'head') > Hausa *hāršè* id. | pSura *\*lis* > Sura, Montol, Kofyar *līs*, Angas [Hofmann] *līs* | Ron: Fyer *lés*, Daffo-Butura *līs*, Bokkos *alis*, Kulere *alúš* | pBole [Stolbova] *\*lisim* > Bole *lisim*, Karekare *lusu* id., etc. | SBc.: Zar (Shimizu) *rìsín*, Boghom [Jungrauthmayr] *nelēs* || CCh.: *√nš* (dissimilation from *√lš* ?) in Kotoko: Logone *nšì*, pl. *šàšàn* (< *\*√lšVn* ?) and in Mbara [Tourneux] *nášây*, as well as *√ls* (dissimilation from *\*√lš* ?) in Musgu [Tourneux] *àlés* and in Musgu-Ngilenong [Meyer-Bahlburg] *eləsi* || ECh. *\*lʔiʔs-* 'tongue' > Mubi [Lukas] *lísí*, Birgit [Jungrauthmayr] *līsì*, Jegu [Jungrauthmayr] *lèsó*, Mokilko [Jungrauthmayr] *ʔìlzé*, EDangla [Fédry] *lèsé*, Barein [Lukas] *lisingo*, Sumray [Jungrauthmayr] *dì-lèsé*. Kwan *kí-lisí* id. For more details cf. Jungr. ChLR I s.v. 'tongue', Dolg. ChCS #22.

This HS noun seems connected with the Sem. verbal root *\*√lšš*, represented in the Arabic verb *√lss* (imperf. *ya-luss-u*) 'to eat, to lick (an animal)' (Freitag LAL IV 102, KB HAL II 509), in the Sem. verbal base *\*-lūš-*, represented by the Arabic verb *\*√lws* (imperfect *ya-lūs-u*, perfect *lāsa*) 'gustavit (rem), in ore (aliquid) linguā convertit' (Freitag LAL135), and in Chadic: Hausa *lāšā* 'to lick'. This HS root has cognates in Kartvelian and Indo-European. The Kartvelian cognate stem is *\*lš-*, *\*lš-wn-* 'to lick' (> Old Georgian *lošn-*, *lišn-* 'to lick', Megrelian *raskon-*, *riskon-* 'fressen, nagen'; the variant *\*lš-* is represented by the Old Georgian *ay-luš-os* 'will lick up', Numeri 22:4) (cf. Klimov ETKJ 122, Vogt SVG 68). The IE stem *\*les-* (or *\*res-*) is represented in the Old Indian verb *ras-* (present *rasati*, *ra'sayati*, *rasyati*) 'to taste, to relish' and in Old Indian and Pali *rasa-s* 'taste, juice'. The most interesting noun with this stem is Old Indian *ras-anā* 'tongue' (attested in the Upanishada and in Epical Sanskrit), which is an exact cognate of Sem. *\*lišān-*). According to what we know from the Nostratic comparative phonology, the etymon may be reconstructed as *\*LEšV* (where *L* is a symbol for unspecified lateral sonorant [plain *\*l*, post-alveolar *\*l̥*] or palatal *\*l̥*], and *E* stands for *\*e* or *\*ä*, and *V* is an unspecified vowel). As

to the historical relations between the meanings 'to lick' and 'tongue', two possibilities may be envisaged: (1) the original meaning is 'to lick', and the words for 'tongue' in the Hamito-Semitic languages (Sem. \**lišān-*, Eg. \**liśy-*, Berber \**-lis* and Chadic \**lis* ) are deverbal nouns ('tongue' interpreted as 'what licks', 'licker'). (2) the verbal meaning is secondary ('to lick' as 'to act with the tongue'). The first hypothesis is more plausible: it is suggested (1) by the presence of an additional element (suffix?) \**-ān-* in the Semitic noun, while in the cognate verb \**lišš ~ \*liš-* this element is absent, (2) by a similar correlation in Old Indian: *ras-anā* 'tongue' : *ras-* 'to taste', (3) by the meaning of the Kartvelian cognate: \**liš-/liš-wn-* 'to lick'. But why there is no derivative suffix \**-Vn-* in the Eg., Berber and Chadic word for 'tongue'? Here we may assume that either the suffix was phonetically reduced in these languages, or the noun was formed there by some other derivative means (suffix \**-y-*, a tone, syntactical conversion without affixes?). Another open question is that of the derivative noun \**liš-ān-* : is this noun created separately in the prehistory of Semitic, or is it a Nostratic heritage (which is suggested by the Old Indian parallel *ras-anā*)? Cf. a similar situation with the word for 'horn' (our #3).

**3. 'horn'.** HS \**kar-* 'horn' is represented in Semitic, Egyptian and Omotic:

(1) Sem. \**kar-* (or \**karan-* ?) 'horn' > Hb. *keren* 'horn', du. *kar'hayim*, pl. (usually in derived meanings) *karā'nōt*, Ug. *krn* 'horn', Biblical Aramaic *keren*, st. emph. *kar'n-ā*, Syriac *kar'n-ā*, st. constr. *ka'ren*, Arab. *qarn-*, Ge'ez *qarn*, Mehri [Johnstone] *kōn* (pl. *kerūn* ), Harsusi [Johnstone] *kōn* (pl. *kerōn* ), Jibbali [Johnstone] *kun* (pl. *kerūn* ), Soqotri [Johnstone] *kan* (pl. *karhon* ), Akkad. *kar-n-u(m)* 'horn'.

(2) Omotic: Kaffa [Leslau] *karō* 'horn', Mocha [Leslau] *karō* id. and possibly Janjero [Cerulli] *kaḷā* id.

(3) ? Eg. *kr-ty* '(two) horns' (with deglottalization \**k > k*);

This HS stem has cognates in Indo-European and perhaps in Kartvelian:

(1) IE \**keru-* (\**kerw-* ), \**ker-n-* 'horn'. The variant \**keru-* (\**kerw-* ) is represented in Avestan *srū-*, *srvā* 'horn', Hittite *kar(a)war* id. and in Old Prussian *sirwis* 'chamois' (< \*'horned one'); the Proto-Aryan (Indo-Iranian) \**śrwa-* is the source of the Proto-Finno-Ugrian loanword \**šorwa* 'horn' (cf. Collinder FUV 136, Rédei UEW 486). The variant \**ker-n-* is represented in Latin *cornu*, Welsh *carn*, Gothic *haúrri*, Old Norse and Old High German *horn*, Old Indian *śrṅga-* 'horn', Greek *képas* (< \**kernt-s* ) 'horn';

(2) ? Kartv. \**kr-* 'horn' > Laz *kra, kir*. Megrelian *ka, -kra* id., *n-kir-* 'to butt', Svan *käräχs* 'horn'. Ther deglottalization \**ḳ* > \**k* is probably due to some factors which are not yet discovered.

The Nostratic etymon can be reconstructed as \**ḳerV* or \**ḳärV*. In both HS and IE we find the same variation: in both families there is a variant stem with \*-*n-* (Sem. \**ḳarn-*, IE \**kern-*) and another one without \*-*n-* (Eg. *kr.ṭy*, IE \**keru-*). The element \*-*n-* may back to some Nostratic morpheme (or even word?). Cf. a similar situation with the item 'tongue' (#2). Of course, one cannot rule out an alternative hypothesis ascribing the suffixation of \*-*n-* to the individual history of the two families.

4. 'ear'. There are several roots used to denote 'ear':

(A). Sem. \**ʔuḏn-* (or \**ʔuḏṽn-*) 'ear' > Hb. *ʔozen*, Ug. *ʔuḏn*, Imp. Aram. du. st. abs. *ʔḏnṭn*, JAram. *ʔuḏʔn-ḳ*, WSyr. *ʔeḏʔn-ḳ*, Arabic *ʔuḏn-*, Sabaic *ʔḏn*, Ge'ez *ʔəzn*, Jibbali *ʔiḏén*, Soqotri *ʔəḏ(ə)han*, Mehri, Haarsusi *ḥəyḏēn*, dimin. Mehri *ʔiḏēnōt*, Akk. *uznu(m)*. The initial *ḥ-* in Mehri and Haarsusi goes back to a prenominal particle (a kind of article?). This stem has cognates in Egyptian, Cushitic and Omotic: (1) Egyptian *ḏn* (attested in Coffin Texts VII 30k, cf. Gilula IE 251 and Vychičl VLE 45; W. Vychičl kindly referred me to Gilula's paper in a per. letter); in addition, *ḏn* is the reading of a hieroglyphic character representing an ear) (Erman-Gradow WÄS I 154); (2) Central Cushitic (Proto-Agaw) \**was-* 'to hear' (> Bilin *was-*, Khamtanga *wäš-*, Kemant *was-* id.; cp. Appleyard AVCN 22), (?) South Cushitic: Kwadza *wata* 'ear', (3) Omotic [Bl.] \*\**wayz-* (= [Dolgopolsky] \**wayž-*) 'ear, to hear' > Male *wayz-*, Kaffa *wāy-*, Janjero *wēs-* 'to hear', Mocha *wāžžī* 'ears' (?), Zay *waye* 'ear', Basketo *wəyci*. Doka *wəyci*. Koyra *uwāšē* id., Shinasha *wāza* 'ear' (Appleyard AVCN 22, Bl. OLBP 11).

In the light of what is known from HS comparative phonology, the HS root in question may be reconstructed as \**ʔuž-*. In Semitic and in Egyptian the stem includes an element (nominal suffix?) \*-*n-* or \*-*ṽn-*.

The HS root \**ʔuž-* has cognates in Indo-European and possibly in Altaic: IE \**ous-*/\**ōus-*/\**us-* [/? \*\**əu̯s-*] 'ear' > Av. *ušī*, OPers. *ušī* nom. du. 'both ears', Gr. Att. *oūs*, Dor. *ōūs* 'ear', Arm. *unkn* 'ear' (-*kn-* by analogy with *akn* 'eye?'), Alb. *vesh*, Goth. *ausō*, ON *eyra*, OE *eare*, OHG, OSx. *ōra*, Lith. *ausis*, Latv. *āuss*, pSl. \**uxo* > OChS *uxo*, R *uxo*, as well as L *auris* 'ear' and Old Irish *áu*; in L and Irish *au-* is either a special development of \**ou-* with a non-apophonic \**o* [cp. Hirt IGG II 30, Brugmann VLSFIGS I 153, 193 (\**āus-* = \**ous* with non-apophonic \**o*)], or some kind of delabializing dissimilation (cf. Martinet EChPh 229), or reflex of \**əu-* (probably, in a zero-

grade *\*əys-* ?) • Pokorny IEW 785, Mann IECED 43, Schmitt-Brandt EIGVS 37 || Altaic: (1) Mongolian *\*uʒid* 'sensuality, lust' > ScM *uʒid*, HIM *uʒid* id. || T *\*üδ-* 'to feel lust', *\*üδ-ig* 'lust' • Here the underlying semantic history is likely to be: 'to hear' > 'to feel, feeling' > 'sensuality' > 'lust' or (2) *\*UyE* 'understanding, intellect' (← ≈ 'knowledge' ← 'hearing') > M *\*oyi(n)* ~ *\*oyun* 'mind, intellect' > Middle Mongolian *oyi(n)* 'Sinn, Gefühl', Classical Mongolian *oi*, Halha-Mongolian *oy* 'mind, intellect, memory', Classical Mongolian *oyun*, HIM *oyūn* 'intellect, mind, intelligence, wisdom', Kalmuck *ō* 'Verstand, Gedächtniss'; cf. Haensch WMNT 130, Lessing MED 604, 606, Ramstedt KW 303, SSTMJ I 428-9 || ? Tg.: Orok *uydonʒi-* 'to understand', ?? Ewenki *uy* 'mind, intelligence'; both the Ewk. and the Orok words may go back to borrowings (Ewenki from Yakut or M, Orok from M) • SSTMJ II 250 || T *\*ō-* 'to think' > OT *ō-* 'to think', → 'to remember' • Clauson ED 2-3, 99, DTS, Pekarskij SJJ 1915-6 • The comparison with the Altaic words is valid only if A *\*-y-* is cognate to S *\*δ* and IE *\*-s-* (< N *\*-š-*). Cp. Illich-Svitych MS 370 (IE - Cush./Om.).

The Nostratic etymon is reconstructible as *\*ʔuʒV* 'ear'. In the light of these data we may assume that the original meaning of the root in PHS (as in Proto-Nostratic) was 'ear', while the verbal meaning 'to hear' results from a secondary semantic development in Cushitic and Omotic.

(B). Berber *\*sVm* 'ear' > Ghadamsi (Lanfry) *ē-səm* (pl. *sem-en*) 'ear', Aujila (Paradisi) *i-sem* (pl. *smīwen*) 'ear'; derived noun *\*ta-sūm(m)-VtV* 'oreiller, pillow' > Tahaggart *tsummat*, Nefusi *tsūmtā*, Sokna *tsūmti*, Aujila *tašūmt* id. (Foucauld DTF II 204, Lanfry G II #1465, Paradisi BA 164, 170, Beguinot BNF 316) = Chadic *\*√s<sub>2</sub>m* (Newman's *\*ṣimi*) 'ear' > Central Chadic *\*šim-* 'ear' (> Tera *šim*, Bura *šūm*, Margi *šumì*, Higi *š+me*, Gude *šim*, Khde *šimà*, Glavda *šimà*, Gava *šimà*, Dghwada *šme~š+me*, Sukur *šamay*, Proto-Mafa-Mada *šimay*, Giziga, Daba *šimi* 'ear'), East Chadic: Mubi *súmāmò* 'ear' (cf. Jungraithmayr ChLR II s.v. 'ear', Kraft ChWL, Rossing MM s.v.). The same root is also used in the verbal meaning 'to hear': Semitic *\*√šmʕ* (> Hebrew, Phoenician, Ugaritic, Aramaic *√šmʕ*, Arabic, Ge'ez *√smʕ*, Sabaic *√s<sub>1</sub>mʕ*, Akkadian *šemû* 'to hear'), Egyptian *smʕ* 'to hear, to spy (out)' (= Erman-Grapow's *šmʕ*, see Erman-Grapow WÄS IV 144), Chadic *\*s<sub>2</sub>im-* 'to hear' > Central Chadic: Sukur *šamni*, Musgoy, Daba *šim* 'to hear'.

Which of the two meanings ('ear' or 'hear') is primary, and which is secondary? The answer cannot be given without broadening the framework of comparison. The HS root in question has cognates in Kartvelian and in Uralic: Kartvelian *\*sem-/sm-* 'to hear' (> Old Georgian *sm-/sem-*, Georgian *sm-* 'to hear, be

heard', Megrelian *sim-~sam-*, Laz *sim-*, Svan *səm-/sim-/sm-* id., cf. Klimov ESKJ 164-5, Fähnrich-Sarjveladze KEEL 267-8) ||| Uralic *\*śim-* (+ suffixes) > Ostyak: Kazim Ostyak *sīmāš-*, Sinya Ostyak *sīmā]]ə-* 'zu hören sein' (Steinitz DEWOS 1342). The Proto-N etymon is reconstructed as *\*śimɿV*. Since the verbal meaning ('to hear, be heard') is present both in HS and in other Nostratic languages (Kartvelian and Uralic), while the meaning 'ear' is found in HS only, it would be logical to assume that the primary meaning is 'to hear', while the meaning 'ear' is a specific HS development (a result of deverbal derivation or conversion), which reminds us of Spanish *oído* 'ear' < Latin *audītus* 'hearing, the sense of hearing', nomen actionis of *audio*.

(C) Cush. *\*m̥k̥wVl-/mVk̥wVl-* 'ear, to hear' > (1) Bisharin Beja [Almkvist] *ʔan̥k̥w̥il* 'ear', Beja [Reinisch] *ʔangw̥il*, [Roper] *angw̥il*, pl. *angw̥il̥*, Ammar'ar Beja (Dolg.) *ʔan̥g̥w̥il* 'ear', pl. *ʔangw̥il*. (2) East Cushitic *\*maḳl-* > Somali *maql-* 'to hear', Dasenech *māl-* 'to hear' and possibly Highland East Cushitic *\*maččə-* or [Hudson] *\*mančə* 'ear' > Sidamo, Kambatta *maččə*, Hadiya *maččə*, Gedeo *manšə* 'ear', as well as possibly (3) Proto-Agaw [Appleyard] *\*ʔan̥k̥w̥V* 'ear' > Bilin *ʔan̥k̥w̥á*, Kemant *an̥w̥ə* 'ear', Awngi *an̥koʔi* 'ear', *an̥koʔ-/an̥kóq* 'to hear' (Dolg. SF 183, Ehret PCR #410, Hudson HECD 55, Appleyard AVCN 4). Alternatively, Agaw *\*ʔan̥k̥w̥V* was compared (Appleyard l.c.) with Eg. *ʕn̥ḫ-w̥p̥* '(two) ears'. In my opinion, this Cush. stem is connected with Sem. *\*k̥ūl-* (> Akkad. *k̥ūl-*: pret. *i-k̥ūl*, inf. *k̥ālu* 'to heed, to listen', cf. Soden AHw 895-6, CAD XIII 72-5) and with Chad. *\*✓k̥w̥l* 'to hear' (deglossalization *\*k̥w̥-* > *\*k̥w̥-*) (> West Chadic *\*✓k̥w̥l* 'to hear' > Tal *k̥w̥ɛl*, Sura *k̥ɛlɪŋ*, Angas [Foulkes] *kaɫüŋ*, Chip *k̥ɪɪŋ*, Montol *k̥jɛl*, Ankwe *k̥ɛɪɪŋ*, Kirifi *k̥w̥áɫ-w̥ò*, Ngamo *k̥w̥ɛɪ*, Gerum impf. *k̥ùɫ̥*, Karekare *kaɫ*; Central Chadic: Bachama *k̥ýɫ̥*, Bata-Garua [Mouchet] *kɫɔ* id.), which means that Cush. *\*m̥k̥w̥Vl-/mVk̥w̥Vl-* was derived from HS *\*k̥ūl-* 'to listen'. In other words, this Cushitic name for 'ear' is a deverbal derivative.

This etymology is confirmed by further ties: HS *\*k̥ūl-* obviously goes back to N *\*k̥uyɪV* or *\*k̥ewɪV* 'to hear, listen' preserved in Indo-European, Uralic, Altaic and Dravidian: IE *\*k̥leu-/k̥lu-* 'to hear' (> Old Indian *śṛṇōti* 'he hears', IE imperative *\*k̥lu-dhí* > Old Indian *śṛudhi*, Greek *κλύθι* 'hear!', IE passive participle *\*k̥lu-tó-* 'heard' > Old Indian *śṛu'ta*, Greek *κλυτός*, Latin *inclutus*, Old Irish *cloth*; other derived words: Avest. *surunaōiti* 'hears', Slav. *\*slu-xŭ* 'auditus', *\*slyšə-* 'to hear'; cf. Pokorny IEW 605-7) ||| Uralic *\*k̥ūle-* 'to hear' > Finnish *kuule-* id., Norw. Lappish *gullâ-* id., Mordvinian *kuíe*, Cheremis *koɫə-*, Old Permian and Votyak *k̥ɪ*, Ziryene *k̥ɪv*

id., Proto-Ostyak \*kɔɭ, Proto-Vogul \*kʷāɭ-, Hungarian hall- 'to hear', Proto-Samoyed [Janhunen] \*kãw 'ear' [derived from the Uralic verb \*kūle- ?], cf. Rédei UEW 197-8, Honti GOUV #246, Janhunen SW 62 || Altaic (according to Starostin) \*k'ūɭu ~ \*k'ūɭju 'to hear, ear' > [1] Proto-Tungusian \*kūɭ- 'to be heard' > Gold xol-ʒɭ-, Ewenki ūɭ-ta-, etc., [2] Proto-Turkic \*kul-kak 'ear' > Old Turkic qulqaq, Turkish kulak, etc., [3] Proto-Mongolian derived words: \*kul(a)-kV 'earwax, middle ear' > Classical Mongolian qulki, qulaquu, Halha-Mongolian xulix id., as well Kalm. xulχāχā 'die Ohren auf den Kopf legen', xuluγār 'der kleine oder abgeschnittene Ohren hat', as well as, according to Starostin, [4] Proto-Korean \*kúi > Modern Korean kwí 'ear' and [5] Proto-Japanese \*ki-k- 'to hear' > Old Japanese kik-, Tokyo Japanese kiku 'to hear', cf. Starostin AP 52-3, 177, 219, 240, 252, 266, 276) || Dravidian \*kēɭ- 'to hear' > Tamil kēɭ- 'to hear, listen', Malayalam kēɭkka 'to hear', Kota, Kannada kēɭ- 'to hear', etc. (cf. Burrow-Emeneau DEDR #2017). Cf. Illich-Svitych MS 366.

As we can see, in the light of both internal (Hamito-Semitic) and external (Nostratic) comparison we have to draw the conclusion that among the three HS denominations of 'ear' one is originally nominal (\*ɣuʒ- 'ear' > Sem. \*ɣuδ(V)n-), while the two others (\*✓smɿ and \*✓kʷɭ) are of verbal origin and originally meant 'to hear'.

**5. 'eye'. (A).** The HS stem (tentatively reconstructible as \*ɣayn- / ?\*ɣin- 'eye', → 'spring of water') is represented in Semitic, Egyptian, Cushitic and Chadic as a noun ('eye, spring' and in Berber and Chadic as a verb ('to see')): Sem. \*ɣayn- 'eye' > Akk. ʾn-, Arab. ɣayn-, Hb. ʿayin, Ph., Ug. ɿn, Old Aram., Imperial Aram., Nab., Palm. ɿpn, Bibl. Aram. st.constr. ɿēn, pl. ɣay'n-ṯn. Jewish Aram. (Targum), Jewish East Aram. ʿayin (rare), st. emph. ɿē'n-ā ~ ɿay'n-ā. Syr. [Payne-Smith] ɿṯn, st. emph. (WSyr.) ɿayn-ɔ, (ESyr.) ɿayn-ā, st.c. (ESyr.) ɿēn, Sab. ɿpn, Ge'ez ɣayn; the same word means 'spring' in Hb., Ug., Arab., Nab., Palm., JAram., Sab., Eth., Akk., etc. (KB HAL III 773-5, KB LVTL 1107, Jean-Hoftijzer DISO 207, Aistleitner WUS ##2055-2056, Levy WT II 212-3, Brockelmann LS 522, Payne-Smith TS II 2867, BGMR DS 23, Leslau CDG 79-80) • der.: WSem. \*✓ɣyn (D-stem) 'to look, contemplate' and the like > Hb., Ug., Syr., Eth. ✓ɿyn (D-stem) id. || Eg. ɿn, ɿpn 'eye' (preserved as a graphic sign: figure of an eye read as ɿn, ɿpn); [Erman-Grapow] ɿny 'Name von Gewässern' (interpreted by Budge as 'well, fountain') (Erman-Grapow WÄS I 189, Budge EHD I123) || ? Berber [Prasse] \*✓nh<sub>3</sub>y ~ \*✓h<sub>3</sub>ny 'to see, look' > Taneslemt anhi = anhy, impf. int. i-hannay, verb. n. a-hanay, Tahaggart ani (Prasse's phonemic transcription: anɿ), impf. intens. i-hānnay.



*Some Hamito-Semitic Names of Body Parts*

verb. noun *ā-hanay*. Ghat *ani* = *any*. impf. intens. *i-hannay*. East Tawllemet, Tayert *anay*. impf. intens. *i-hannay*. Tadghaq *anhy* 'to see', North Berber: Tashelhit [Destaing] *annäy*. pres. *y-ännäy* 'apercevoir qch. qui tombe sous les yeux', Ait-Izdeg [Mercier] *inni*, *iannay* 'to look at' (Foucauld DTF III 1357, Prasse H #563, Ghoubeid LTF152, Mercier VTB 218, Destaing VFB 296); in Prasse's opinion, the variant  $\sqrt{nh_3y}$  is original, while  $\sqrt{h_3ny}$  goes back to a metathesis (Prasse H 15-6), but in the light of external HS comparison the opposite seems to be the case || Cush.: ECush.  $*intV \sim *indV$  'eyes' (<  $**\zeta in-tV \sim **\zeta in-dV$  with loss of  $*\zeta-$  due to the influence of the sing.  $*il$  'eye?') > Afar [Parker-Hayward] *intīta*, Saho [Welmers] *intit*, [Reinisch] *intīt*  $\sim \zeta intīt$  'eyes' (whence by back formation sg. Afar [Parker-Hayward], Saho [Welmers] *inti* 'eye') | Som. Isaq *īndó* 'eyes', Boni *innə*, Rendille *indo*, Gidole *īndā*. Dasenech *ṛinni*, Elmolo *īnnaṛ*, Arbore *ṛindā* 'eyes' (in all these languages there is a suppletivism sg.  $*il$  - pl.  $*indV$ ); this word is likely to go back to  $**\zeta in-$  'eye' with the plural marker  $**tV$ ; the glottalization  $*t > *d'$  has not yet been explained || ? Omotic: Kaffa [Cerulli] *īrō* 'salt water spring', *urnō* 'spring', Anfilla {Grotanelli} *iro* id., Gimirra [Bulatovich] *ан* 'eye' (Black LEC 196, Dolg. SF 149-50, Hayward AL 340-1, Parker-Hayward AEFD 137, Lamberti SD 315) || Ch.: 1) WCh. [Stolbova]  $\sqrt{\zeta'ayan-}$  'to see' > Bolewa [Lukas] *ṛinn-*, Nbauchi: Pa'a [M. Skinner] *han*, [SIL in ChWC] *hani*, Sbauchi: Geji [Shimizu] *yenī*. [St. Lucas in ChWL] *yēni*. Pelchi [St. Lucas] *yenu* 'to see', 2) Ch.  $**HindV$  'eye(s)' ( $\approx$  [Newman]  $*idə$  [i.e.  $*idi/u$ ]) > WCh.  $*ṛinda$  > Hs. *ídò* 'eye', pl. *ídànú*. Gwandara *ḡdàni* 'eye(s)' | Proto-Sura-Goemay [Hoffmann]  $*yit$ . [Stolbova]  $*yid$  'eye(s)' > Sura, Gerka, Montole, Goemay, Chip *yit*. Kofyar *yit* | Bole-Tangale  $*ṛi_n_dV$  ([Stolbova]  $*ṛidV$ ) > Bolewa *ìdó*. Dera [Jungrathmayr] *yékrò*. Karekare *ṛìdó*. Gera [Schuh] *ì:dí*. Geruma [Schuh] *ìdá*. Bele [Schuh] *ìdó*. Kirfi [Schuh] *ìró*. Tangale *ído*. dial. [Lukas] *idu*. ? Pero [Frajzyngier] *ándò* | Nbauchi: Jimbin [Skinner] *ṛìdá*. pl. *ṛìdì*. Siri *ítà*. Miya *ajti*  $\sim$  *eti* | Ngizim [Schuh], Bade [Schuh] *dà* 'eye' || CCh.: Tera [Newman] *yiti* | Dghwede [Frick in ChWC, Kraft ChWL] *ḡdè* || ECh.: Sokoro *íd*. ? Dangla [Fédry] *ódò*. Migama [Jungrathmayr] *ṛídè*. Jegu [Jungrathmayr] *ṛúdè*. Birgit [Jungrathmayr] *ṛúdì* 'eye'; Newman's pCh.  $*idə$ , JS's pCh.  $\sqrt{yd}$  and Stolbova's WCh.  $*ṛida$  do not take into account the evidence for  $*-nd-$  provided by Gwandara, Pero and Dghwede (Jungrathmayr ChLR I s.v. 'eye', Jungrathmayr-Shimizu ChLR II 96, ChWC, Kraft ChWL, Matsushita CVGD 29, Stolbova ZCh #784, Hoffmann AGG #182, Schuh BTL 144). Witnin Hamito-Semitic we have no means to

elucidate the semantic history of the root, no means to decide whether the verbal meaning ('see') goes back to the nominal ('eye') or viceversa. Here external (Nostratic) may be helpful. The HS root has cognates in IE, Uralic and Altaic: IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ēn* (or *\*ǵēn*) 'siehe da!' > Gk. ἦν, ἦν, L ēn id. (Pokorny IEW 314) (the IE word is doubtful, since it may well be of symbolic origin) ||| Uralic: FU (in OUG. only) *\*eŋʷ*- or *\*eŋkʷ*- > Proto-Ob-Ugrian *\*ōŋk*- 'to look' ('blicken') > 1) Proto-Vogul *\*āŋʷkʷā̄t*- *\*āŋʷkʷar*- : Proto-Vogul *\*āŋʷkʷā̄t*- > Vogul: Lower Konda *āŋkʷt*-. Middle Konda *āŋkʷt*-. Pelim *aŋkt*-. Lower Lozva *āŋkʷt*-. Upper Lozva, Sosva *āŋʷkʷat*- id.; Proto-Vogul *\*āŋʷkʷar*- > Lower Lozva *aŋkʷarmāt*- id., 2) Proto-Ostyak *\*ōŋkar*- id. > Ostyak: Vakh, Vasyugan *ōŋkar*-. Nizyam, Kazim *āŋkar*-. Salehard *āŋkar*- ; Vakh *ēŋram*-, Vasyugan *ōŋram*-, Teryugan *āŋʷram*-, Yugan *āŋʷkʷram*-, Demyanka *ēŋkarmā*-, *āŋkarmā*-, Konda, Salehard *āŋkarmā*-. Nizyam, Kazim *āŋkarmā*- (Honti GOUV 127) ||| Altaic: Mongolic *\*aŋqar*- > Script Mong. *aŋqar*(a)-, Halha-Mong. *aŋqara*- 'to look attentively, observe; to give attention to', Kalmuck *aŋxp*- *aŋxbr*- 'to look attentively, to give attention to, to peer (into)' (Lessing MED 46, Muniev KRS 46, Ramstedt KW 12) • The vowel *\*a* instead of the expected *\*e* is probably accounted for by regressive assimilative depalatalization; (?)Turkic *\*āŋ* 'understanding, intelligence' (< *\*eŋʷ* by regressive assimilation leading to vowel harmony?) > Old Turkic *aŋ* id., Türkmen *āŋ* 'mind, intelligence, thought', Turkish *an*, Qazaq, Nogay *aŋ*. Chuvash *ăн ъn* 'mind, intelligence', Kazan Tatar, Bashkir, Crimea Tatar, East Turkic *aŋ* 'mind'; ⇔ (or ⇐ ?) T *\*āŋ*- 'to remember, understand' > Old Turkic [Clauson] *aŋ*- 'to remember, call to mind', Turkish *an*-, dial. *aŋ*-, Crimea Tatar *aŋ*- id., Türkmen *āŋ*- 'to understand, realize'; ⇔ T *\*āŋ-lā*,- 'to understand' > Old Turkic [Clauson] *aŋlā*-, Türkmen *āŋla*-, Qazaq, Qaraqalpaq, Qumïq, Kazan Tatar, Bashkir, Özbek, Lobnor *aŋla*- id. , etc. (Clauson ED 165, 168, 186, ESTJ I 153-4, Räsänen VEW 20). The N etymon may be reconstructed as *\*ɛE(y)ŋV* and had obviously a verbal meaning ('to see'). Hence the semantic change to the nominal meaning 'eye' is a HS innovation.

(B). Another HS root for 'eye' is *\*ǵil*-. It is represented in Cushitic, Chadic, Berber, as well as probably in Egyptian: Cush. *\*ǵil*- 'one eye' > Agaw *\*ǵil*- 'eye' > Hamir, Kemant *ǵl*. Awngi *ǵll*. Bilin *ɛǵl* (the unexpected *ɛ* is possibly due to the influence of Tigre *ɛin* 'eye' or to an ancient morphological influence of the old Cushitic pl. form *\*ɛinTV* 'eyes') ||| ECush. *\*ǵil*- 'one eye' > Somali *íl*, Borana Oromo *íl-a*, Konso, Gidole *íl*-, Baiso, Elmolo *il*. Dasenech, Arbore *ǵil*. Sidamo, Darasa, Kambatta *il-l-e*. Hadiya

*Some Hamito-Semitic Names of Body Parts*

*il-l-i*. Burji *'il-a*. Yako *il* (cf. Black LEC 105, Sasse CEC 5, 22, Sasse EDB 104-5, Hudson HECD 60, Hayward AL 340-1) • cf. Dolg. SF 144-5, Ehret PCR #326; in ECush. the word refers to one eye, while the correspondent plural *\*ɣinT-* is based on another root (cf. above # 5 (A) || Central Chad.: Lamang [Lukas] *ííí* 'eye', Buduma [Lukas] *yîl*. [Cyffer] *yîl* 'eye', Gulfei [Lukas] *ɛl* 'eye' (Jungr. ChLR I s.v.) || Berber [Prasse] *\*√Hll* (< *\*√ʔhll*) 'eyes' > Kabyle *allan*, Srair Senhazha (Ait-Ahmed dial.), Ait-Izdeg *allan*. Sus Tashelhit [Destaing] *ällan* 'eyes', as well as Tahaggart *ihāll* (imparfait intensif) 'pleurer bruyamment', verbal noun *tāhala*. Taneslemt, Tayert *əlh* id. (Prasse's root *\*√h<sub>2</sub>lh<sub>1</sub>*); forms like Ghadamsi *awall* 'eye', pl. *wallan*. Srair Senhazha *iwažan* 'eyes' might appear at first glance as suggesting that the form *allan* ~ *wallan* belongs to the root *\*√wl* 'to see' (> Tahaggartaul 'avoir l'œil sur', Ait-Iznasen *wala* 'voir, apercevoir'), but in my opinion the form of pl. st. abs. *wallan* ~ *iwažan* (like in Ghadamsi and Senhazha) goes back to a generalization of the status annexus *w-allan* 'eyes' (cf. in Ait-Azdeg: st. abs. *allan*, st. annexus *w-allan*, or in Sus Tashelhit: st. abs. *ällan*, st. ann. *ūw-ällan*, e.g. *snät ūwällan* 'two eyes'), and Ghadamsi *awall* 'eye' is a back formation from pl. *wallan* • Prasse H #487, Foucauld DTF III 1493, Dallet DKF 440, Renisio EDB 286, Destaing VFB 203, Mercier VTB 180, 292, A. Basset EDLK 29-31 || (?) Eg. *ṛ.t* 'eye' (= *ṛt* in Greek transcription), *ṛ* 'das Sehen' (personification), *ṛy* 'to see' (attested in the imperative form in the set phrase *ṛ tṛw* 'pay attention!' (see EG WÄS I 106-8, Vycichl DELC 60); the comparison with Eg. is questionable, because it presupposes that the Eg. character *r* represents [l], which is at variance both with the Greek transcription *ijri* and with the Coptic reflex (*ρ* rather than *λ*): *nomen actionis* **ⲓⲉⲣⲉ** in the compound noun **ⲄⲀⲛⲓⲉⲣⲉ** 'qui a le mauvais œil' (Vycichl DELC 60). The root is used not only in nouns, but in verbs as well: Cush. *\*iṛl-* 'to look' > ECush *\*iṛl-* 'to look, watch' > Saho [Reinisch] *ilal-* 'to look, wait for', Oromo *ilāla-* 'to watch', Konso *ilāl-* 'to follow with the eyes' (said of an infant or a person with impaired vision) (Black LEC 104), CCush.: Bilin [Reinisch] *ṣaləl-~aləl-* 'to look'. It is obvious that this verb is derived from the Cush. noun *\*ill-* '(one) eye'. Consequently, the HS root is probably nominal.

This HS root has external cognates in Elamite and Altaic, as well as possibly in Uralic: Elamite *el* 'eye', *el-ti* 'eyes' (Hinz-Koch EW 393, 396) || Altaic *\*ile-* or *\*ilä-* 'seen, visible' > Tung. *\*ile-* id. > Oroch *ilz-mu-* 'to show', *ilz-kcz-* 'to appear, to become visible', Gold *ilz* 'явь' ('something visible'), 'видное место' ('place easy to see'), Solon *ilzχz̃* 'apparent, visible', Lamut *il'la* 'in (people's) sight', Manchu *ilətu* 'sichtbar' (SSTMJ I 311-2, Hauer HWM II

492-3) || Mong.: Classical Mong. *i le*, Halha-Mong. *il* 'clear, visible' (Lessing MED 404-5) || Turkic: Old Turkic (Mahmud al-Qashghari) *ilär-* 'to be visible, to strike one's eye' (DTS 207, Clauson ED 150) || (?) Uralic *\*äʎwä-* (< *\*äʎü-* ?): Finno-Permian *\*älwä-* 'to notice, to catch sight of' > Finnish *äly* 'intelligence, understanding', *älyä-*, *älytä-* 'to understand', Lule Lappish *ieíve~äíve-* 'merken, bemerken, gewahr werden', Ziryene (Pechora dial.) *aʎ* 'Verstand, Vernunft' (Rédei UEW 609-610, Wiedemann SDW 2, SSKZD 11, Lytkin-Guljaev KES 30, SKES VI 1872). The Uralic cognate is doubtful both for semantic and phonetic reasons: the meaning is rather far from 'eye', and the vowel *\*ä* does not correspond etymologically to the Altaic *\*i*. The N etymon (reconstructed on the evidence of the Altaic and the HS reflexes) is *\*ʎhiʎV*.

**6. 'tooth'.** The most conspicuous root for 'tooth' is *\*s<sub>2</sub>in-*. It is represented in Semitic, Berber, Egyptian, Chadic, as well as probably in South Cushitic: Sem. *\*šinn-* 'tooth' > Akkadian *širru-ū(m)*, Hb *šēn* (stem *šinn-* : *šin'n-ayim* 'teeth', *šin'nō* 'his tooth', etc.), Phoen. *šn* 'tooth', Ugar. *šn* (*šnt-k* 'thy teeth'), Bibl. Aramaic *šēn / šinn-* 'tooth', Jewish East Aram. (st. emph.) *šin'n-ā*, Arab. *sinn-*, Ge'ez *san*, Eastern Jibbali *šín*, Central Jibbali *šin*, pl. *šnun* (KB HAL IV 1472-4, Johnstone JL 262, Johnstone ML 609, Leslau CDG 504) || Berber *\*-sīn-* > Tahaggart *i-sīn-an* 'teeth', *e-sīn* 'incisive tooth', Ghat *i-sin* 'tooth', pl. *i-sin-an*, Ghadamsi *a-sēn*, pl. *sēn-ān*, Siwa *a-sāin*, pl. *i-sīn-an* (*āi* < *i* regularly in final closed syllables, cf. Laoust S 4), Sokna, Sened *i-sīn*, pl. *i-sīn-an*; the homogeneous and consistent (throughout the whole Berber family) phonetically regular structure of the word, allowing the reconstruction of Proto-Berber *\*-sīn-*, rules out its explanation as loan from North African Arabic *sann* 'tooth' (Foucauld DTF IV 1840, Lanfry G II 345 [#1481], Laoust S 224, Nehlil G 149, Sarnelli DBS 16) || Chadic *\*s<sub>2</sub>in* 'tooth', pl. *\*s<sub>2</sub>an* 'teeth' [where *\*s<sub>2</sub>* (= Newman's *\*ɛ*) stands for the phoneme which yields West and East Chadic *\*s* and Central Chadic lateral *\*š*] > West Chadic: Zar *šin* 'tooth' | Central Chadic *\*šin* 'tooth', pl. *\*šan* > Kotoko subgroup: Logone [Lukas] *šini*, pl. *šan*, Buduma [Lukas] *h+nay* 'tooth', Gulfei *šir*, Kotoko *šan*; Margi subgroup (where *-r* < Chadic *-n*): Margi, Kilba *šir*, Padokwo *šira*; Tera subgr. (where CCh. *\*š-* yields *ž-*): Tera *žin*; Matakam subgr.: Giziga *šəŋ~ših*, Matakam *že'en*, Hurza, Vame *šahán*, Mofu *šér*, Zugo *žír*; Mandara subgr. (with *\*-n-* > *-r-*): Wandala *šaré*, Glavda *šár-da*; Musgu subgr.: Muskum *šyŋ*, Mogrum *šŋšŋ*; Masa subgr. (with CChad. *\*š* > *s*): Masas *ta* | East Chadic: Mubi [Lukas] *sìŋàŋù*, pl. *sáŋì*, Jegu [Jungraitmayr] *sàŋò*, Birgits *sàŋó*, Mokilko *séŋo*, pl. *senèŋ*, Bidiyas *intá*, pl. *síná*, Kerak *s-sŋ*, Tumakhin 'tooth' (Jungraitmayr

*Some Hamito-Semitic Names of Body Parts*

ChLR I s.v. 'tooth', Jungrraithmayr LMok. 175, Khalil-Jungrraithmayr B 113, Tourneux LTD 20, Rossing MM 349 #753, Kraft ChWL); the forms of the Kotoko languages suggest that \*s<sub>2</sub>an was originally the plural of \*s<sub>2</sub>in (according the Afroasiatic pattern of \*a -apophony as marker of collective nouns → plural forms, cf. Greenberg IP) || Eg. sn (= sn of Erman-Grapow's transcription), which is the phonetic reading of the character which resembles a fish-spear, or, according to Gardiner, a 'two-barbed arrow-head' (EG WÄS IV 148, Gardiner EG 514) || South Cushitic: Iraqw [Whiteley IP] *sihîno* 'tooth', pl. *sihîni*, [Whiteley SI] *sêhno* ~ *sîhno* 'tooth', Alagwa *sihîno*, pl. *sihîni*, Burunge *sihina*, pl. *siheri* (Whiteley IC 26). The origin of the medial -h- is obscure (epenthesis based on prosody?).

This root has external cognates in Finno-Ugric, Dravidian and probably Altaic. In most cases these cognates do not mean 'tooth', but rather 'pin, peg', 'hook' and the like: Finno-Ugric \**sälünV* or \**šälünV* > Norw. Lappish *sag'ge* 'wooden pin, peg, knitting needle' (Nielsen LO II 367), Kola Lappish *sar'ge* id., Proto-Ob-Ugrian (Honti) \**θūŋk* 'peg' > Proto-Ostyak \**šōŋk* 'peg' (> Ostyak dialects: Teryugan *šōŋk*, Vakh *lōŋk*, Vasyugan *yōŋk*, Kazim *šūŋk*, Salehard *luŋk*), Proto-Vogul \**tūŋk-aí* (> Tavga Vogul *tūŋkaí* 'Stöpsel, Propfen') (cf. Honti GOUV 138 #147, Steinitz WV 280) || (?) Altaic: Proto-Tungusian \**seŋ-e<sub>1</sub>nVy*, 'hedgehog' (< 'thorny, with pins') > Orochi *səŋəŋæ* ~ *səŋəni*, Udehes *səŋəni*, Gold *səŋgə*, Manchu *seŋge* (SSTMJ II 143) || Drav.: (1) \**cāñ<sub>1</sub>a*, 'chisel, awl' > Kannada *cāñā* ~ *cāñā* 'a small chisel', Tulu *cēñū* ~ *cēñū* 'awl, chisel', Telugu *sēnamu* id.; (2) \**caŋkVr*... 'to be on the edge (of the teeth), to have the teeth set on edge': Kurukh *caŋgrnā* 'to be set on edge' (of teeth), *caŋgrta'ānā* 'to set (the teeth), Malto *carge* 'to have the teeth set on edge' (Burrow-Emenaue DEDR #2289).

It is rather obvious that on the Proto-HS level the word meant 'tooth', while the Eg. meaning ('fish-spear, arrow-head') is a later metaphore. The question of the original meaning on the N level is still open: the direction of semantic change may have been from 'tooth' to 'pin, peg' (as in Egyptian or as in English *saw-tooth*) or from 'pin, peg' to 'tooth'. But to my mind the first hypothesis is preferable, especially in view of Drav. \**caŋkVr*... 'to have the teeth set on edge'. The phonetic reconstruction is \**šāŋV* (or \**sāŋV*) (for sound correspondences see IS OS I, Dolg. PNPh and Dolg. ChCS).

<sup>1</sup> Here and henceforth Nostratic roots are reconstructed and cognates are established in accordance with sound correspondences and phonological rules elaborated by V. Illich-Svitych, myself and other scholars in a series of publications

(Illich-Svitych MS, OS I, Dolgopolsky PNPh, PVD, ESZU, EUG, Kaiser-Shevoroshkin IELV).

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Dimitr Ibrizimov for drawing my attention to this Bulgarian typological parallel.

<sup>3</sup> Unlike Illich-Svitych (1967:366), I do not adduce here Kartv. \**gūr-* 'ear' (> Georgian *gur-i*, Megrelian *ɥuž-*, Laz (*g*)*už-* 'ear', Svan *gōr* 'door, yard'), since this Kartv. stem belongs to another N root (\**gūrV* or \**gūrʷV* 'ear' > Kartv. \**gūr-* id., Tungusian \**xurum* 'earwax', Dravidian \**kuṛ-* 'ear-ring, ear' and possibly Uralic \**korwV* 'ear'). Therefore in the N root \**ḲewV* or \**ḲüyV* 'to hear, listen' I do not reconstruct initial \**g-* (like Illich-Svitych), but admit that the initial consonant may be both \**Ḳ-* and \**g-* (not distinguishable without Kartvelian evidence), which is denoted by the symbol \**Ḳ-*.

## **SYMBOLS**

In this paper I distinguish between transcription (rendering the phonemes and allophons of the language in question) and transliteration (rendering the characters of the original script). For transcription (as well as for reconstructions) a unified transcription script is used: *a, b, c, d, e,* etc., while for transliteration (as well as for rendering the original Roman spelling of the language in question and for literal quoting of other scholars) a special transliteration/quotation script is used: **a, b, c, d, e,** etc.

### **Consonants:**

- ʔ - glottal stop
- ʕ - epiglottal voiced approximant (Arabic ع)
- c - voiceless hissing affricate (=  $\widehat{ts}$  ), like German z
- ç - glottalized (ejective) c
- č - voiceless hushing affricate (like English ch)
- č̣ - ejective č
- ḍ - injective d
- ð (=  $\underline{d}$  ) - voiced fricative dental (like English th in this)
- ɣ - voiced uvular fricative (like Arabic غ)
- ħ - voiceless epiglottal fricative (like Arabic ح = ħ )
- ḳ - ejective k
- ʎ - palatal (or palatalized l ), like Italian gli in voglio
- ʟ - postalveolar (cacuminal, cerebral, retroflex) l
- ɲ - postalveolar (cacuminal, cerebral, retroflex) n
- q - voiceless uvular stop (like Arabic ق)
- ɾ - cerebral flap or tap (like Spanish r in cara, or like Hausa r in sarki)
- ɽ - postalveolar (cacuminal, cerebral, retroflex) r (= ɽ of the Dravidological Transcription)
- ś - palatal (or palatalized) s (e.g. like Polish ś)
- š - voiceless lateral consonant (=  $\phi$  )
- χ - voiceless uvular fricative (like Spanish j and Arabic ح ) = ħ of the Orientalistic Transcription
- ž - voiced lateral fricative
- ẓ (=  $\underline{\underline{z}}$  ) - uvularized ("emphatic") ž (or  $\underline{\underline{z}}$  ), like 8th cent. Arabic ض
- ʒ - voiced hissing affricate (=  $\widehat{dz}$  )

- ǰ - voiced hushing affricate (like English j)  
ǰ̣ - voiced palatal (or palatalized) affricate (like Polish *cz*).

**Vowels:**

- â - vowel intermediate between ä and a  
ɐ (= ə) - high a  
ʌ - central low-mid vowel  
ɜ - central mid vowel (= ə of the Africanistic transcription)  
ə - ultra-bref (reduced) central vowel, or ultra-bref vowel without phonologic distinction of quality  
ɪ - low i (like i in English *bit*)  
ɨ - high mid vowel (like russian *и*)  
ɯ - high back vowel  
ɥ - labialized front low-mid vowel (labialized *ɛ*)  
ø - vowel intermediate between ö and o  
ɸ - ultra-short (reduced) back vowel (= ̆ of the Finno-Ugric Transcription)  
ɸ̣ - ultra-short (reduced) front vowel.

**Diacritical signs**

**(1) with consonant letters:**

- ( ȝ, ȥ, ȥ̣ ) - glottalization (as in Proto-Semitic, Ethiopian, Cushitic, etc.), as well as uvularization ("emphasis", as in Arabic and Berber)  
' (to the right of the letter: t', k', p') - fortis  
^ (š̂, ž̂, č̂, ȝ̂, ȥ̂) - lateral obstruents  
, and ` (ȝ̣, ȥ̣, ȥ̣̣) - postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) consonants

**(2) with vowel letters:**

~ denotes nasality: ã = nasal a ; in Slavic languages nasality is denoted by a cedille: ǣ = ã.

**Tones and stress**

<sup>1</sup> (before the syllable) - full stress.

The tones are denoted by supralineal signs over vowels, e.g. by signs of the second supralineal level (higher than regular supralineal signs):



### Some Hamito-Semitic Names of Body Parts

ˊ - high tone; ˋ - low tone; ˆ - falling high-to-low tone; ˊ - rising low-to-high tone

#### Uncertainty signs

/ "or" (*a/e* means "a or e").

Capital letters denote classes of phonemes: *T* is unspecified dental consonant, *L* - unspecified lateral consonant, *K* = *k/g*, *E* = unspecified front vowel.

*V* is an unspecified vowel.

*C* is an unspecified consonant

*X* is an unspecified back vowel (or unspecified non-front vowel).

ˆ - uncertainty brackets:  $\hat{a}$  = *a* or similar.

ˆ - uncertainty brackets:  $\hat{a}$  = *a* or nothing.

\* - sign of reconstruction.

\*\* - sign of questionable reconstruction.

← = "derived from" (e.g. English *duckling* ← *duck*); ↔ = "and its derivative" (e.g. *duck* ↔ *duckling*).

#### REFERENCES

- Aistleitner WUS = J. Aistleitner. *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*. Berlin, 1963.
- Appleyard AVCN = D. L. Appleyard. *Agaw Vocabulary Comparative Notes*. 1991. Manuscript.
- Beguino BNF = F. Beguino. *Il berbero Nefûsi di Fassâto*. 2a ed. Roma, 1942.
- BGMR DS = A. F. L. Beeston, M. A. Ghul, W. W. Müller, J. Ryckmans. *Dictionnaire sabéen (anglais-français-arabe)*. Louvain-la-Neuve / Beirut, 1982.
- Bl. OLBP = V. Blažek. Omotic lexicon in Afrosiatic perspective: body parts cognates." Paper presented at the 2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages (Turin, 1989). Ms.
- Black LEC = P. D. Black. *Lowland East Cushitic. Subgrouping and reconstruction*. Ph. D. dissertation, Yale Univ., 1974.
- Brockelmann LS = C. Brockelmann. *Lexicon Syriacum*. Halle, 1928.
- Brugmann VLSFIS = K. Brugmann. *Vergleichende Laut-, Stammbildungs- und Flexionslehre der indogermanischen Sprachen*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. (in 5 books). Berlin-Leipzig, 1930 and Strassburg, 1906-1916.
- Budge EHD = Sir Wallis Budge. *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*. 2 vols. London, 1920 (reprint: New York, 1978).
- Burrow-Emeneau DEDR = T. Burrow, M. B. Emeneau. *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. 2nd. ed. Oxford, 1984.
- CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Vol. I-... Chicago-Glückstadt, 1956-...

Aron Dolgopolsky

- ChWC = *Chadic Word Catalogue*, compiled by H. Jungrathmayer a. o. Frankfurt am Main. Unpublished file.
- Clauson ED = Sir Gerard Clauson. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford, 1972.
- Collinder CG = B. Collinder. *Comparative Grammar of the Uralic Languages*. Stockholm, 1960.
- Collinder FUV = B. Collinder. *Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary. An Etymological Dictionary of the Uralic Languages*. Uppsala, 1955.
- Destaing VFB = E. Destaing. *Étude sur la Tachelhit de Sous. I. Vocabulaire français-berbère*. Paris, 1920.
- Dolg. ChCS = A. Dolgopolsky. "On Chadic correspondences of Sem. \*š" In: H. Mukarovskij (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress, 1987*, 2 vols. Vienna, 1990: 213-226. Dolg. PhSS = A. Dolgopolsky. "On phonemic stress in Proto-Semitic." *Israel Oriental Studies* VIII, Tel-Aviv 1978: 1-12.
- Dolg. PNPh = A. Dolgopolsky. "Problems of Nostratic comparative phonology." In *Reconstructing Languages*, ed. V. Shevoroshkin, Bochum, 1989: 90-98.
- Dolg. PVD = A. B. Dolgopol'skij. "Proisxozhdenie altajskix vosxodjashchix diftongov." *Voprosy jazykoznanija*. Forthcoming.
- Dolg. SF = A. B. Dolgopol'skij. *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja fonetika kushitskix jazykov*. Moscow, 1973.
- DTS = V. M. Nadeljaev, D. M. Nasilov a. o. (eds.), *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*. Leningrad, 1969.
- Ehret PCR = Chr. Ehret. "Proto-Cushitic reconstruction." *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika*, Köln, 1988.
- Erman-Grapow WÄS = A. Erman, H. Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 6 vols. Leipzig, 1926-1930 (reprint: Berlin, 1957).
- ESTJ = E. V. Sevortjan (gen. ed.), *Étimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov*. [Compiled by E. Sevortjan, L. Levitskaja, L. Ofrosimov-Serova a. o.]. 6 vols.: vol. I-III, Moscow, 1974-1980; vol. IV-VI, forthcoming.
- Fähnrich-Sarjveladze KEEL = H. Penrxi [= H. Fähnrich], Z. Sarjveladze. *Kartulur enata et'imologiuri leksik'oni*. Tbilisi, 1990.
- Foucauld DTF = Père Ch. de Foucauld. *Dictionnaire touareg-français*. 4 vols. Paris, 1951-2.
- Freytag LAL = G. W. Freytag. *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*. 4 vols. Halle, 1830.
- Gardiner EG = Sir Alan Gardiner. *Egyptian Grammar*. 3rd ed. Oxford, 1957.
- Ghoubeïd LTF = Ghoubeïd Alojaly. *Lexicon touareg-français*. Copenhagen, 1980.
- Gilula IE = Mordechai Gilula. "ʾdn = 'an ear.'" *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* LXI (1975): 251.
- Greenberg IP = J. Greenberg. "Internal a -plurals in Afroasiatic (Hamito-Semitic)." In *Afrikanistische Studien*, ed. J. Lukas, Berlin, 1955: 198-204.
- Haenisch WMNT = E. Haenisch. *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi)*. *Geheime Geschichte von Mongolen*. Leipzig, 1939.

*Some Hamito-Semitic Names of Body Parts*

- Hayward LA = Dick Hayward (= R. J. Hayward). *The Arbore Language*. Hamburg, 1984.
- Hinz-Koch EW = W. Hinz, H. Koch. *Elamisches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1987.
- Hirt IGG = H. Hirt. *Indogermanische Grammatik*. 7 vols. Heidelberg, 1927-37.
- Hoffmann AGG = C. Hoffmann. *Towards a Comparative Phonology of the Languages of the Angas-Goemai Group*. (Uviv. of Ibadan - Jos Campus. Faculty Seminar). Ibadan (Nigeria), 1975. Mimeographed.
- Honti GOUV = L. Honti. *Geschichte des obugrischen Vokalismus der ersten Silbe*. Budapest, 1982.
- Hudson HECD = G. Hudson. *Highland East Cushitic Dictionary*. Hamburg, 1989.
- Huehnergard UV = J. Huenergard. *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*. Atlanta, Georgia, 1987.
- Illich-Svitych MS = V. M. Illich-Svitych. "Materialy k sravnitel'nomu slovarju nostraticheskix jazykov." In: *Etimologija 1965*, Moscow, 1967: 321-373.
- Illich Svitych OS I = V. M. Illich-Svitych. *Opyt sravnenija nostraticheskix jazykov. Vvedenie. Sravnitel'nyj slovar' (b - K)* Moscow, 1971.
- Jean-Hoftijzer DISO = Ch.-F. Jean, J. Hoftijzer. *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'Ouest*. Leiden, 1965.
- Janhunen SW = J. Janhunen. *Samojedischer Wortschatz. Gemeinsamojedische Etymologien*. Helsinki, 1977.
- Johnstone JL = T. M. Johnstone. *Jibbali Lexicon*. Oxford, 1981.
- Johnstone ML = T. M. Johnstone. *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word-List*. London, 1987.
- Jungraithmayr ChLR I = H. Jungraithmayr. *Chadic Lexical Roots*. I. Forthcoming.
- Jungraithmayr LMok. = H. Jungraithmayr. *Lexique mokilko*. Berlin, 1990.
- Jungraithmayr-Shimizu ChLR II = H. Jungraithmayr, K. Shimizu. *Chadic Lexical Roots*. II. Berlin, 1981.
- Kaiser-Shevoroshkin IELV = M. Kaiser, V. Shevoroshkin. "On Indo-European laryngeals and vowels." *Journal of Indo-European Studies* XIII (1985): 377-413.
- KB HAL = L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*. 3rd ed. 5 vols.: Lief. I-IV, Leiden, 1967-90; Lief. V, Leiden, forthcoming.
- KB LVTL = L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner. *Lexicon in Veteri Testamentis libros*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Leiden, 1953-8.
- Khalil-Jungraithmayr B = Khalil Alio, H. Jungraithmayr. *Lexique bidiya*. Frankfurt am Main, 1989.
- Klimov ESKJ = G. A. Klimov. *Etimologicheskij slovar' kartvel'skix jazykov*. Moscow, 1964.
- Kraft ChWL = *Chadic Word-Lists*. Collected and edited by Ch. H. Kraft. 3 vols. Berlin, 1981.
- Lamberti SD = M. Lamberti. *Die Somali-Dialekte*. Hamburg, 1986.

Aron Dolgopolsky

- Lanfry G = J. Lanfry. *Ghadamès. Étude linguistique et ethnographique*. 2 vols. Fort-National (Algérie), 1968-73.
- Laoust S = E. Laoust. *Siwa. I. Son parler*. Paris, 1932.
- Leslau CDG = W. Leslau. *Comparative Dictionary of Geez*. Wiesbaden, 1987.
- Leslau LS = W. Leslau. *Lexique soqotri*. Paris, 1938.
- Lessing MED = F. D. Lessing (general editor). *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. Compiled by M. Haltod, J. Gombojab Hangin, S. Kassatkin, and F. D. Lessing. Bloomington, 1982.
- Levy WT = J. Levy. *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Teil des rabbinischen Schrifttums*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1867-8.
- Lytkin-Guljaev KES = V. I. Lytkin, E. I. Guljaev. *Kratkij ètimologičeskij slovar' komi jazyka*. Moscow, 1970.
- Mann IECD = Stuart E. Mann. *An Indo-European Comparative Dictionary*. Hamburg, 1984-7.
- Martinet EChPh = A. Martinet. *Économie des changements phonétiques*. 3rd ed. Berne, 1970.
- Matsushita CVGD = Shuji Matsushita. *A Comparative Vocabulary of Gwandara Dialects*. Tokyo, 1974.
- Mercier VTB = H. Mercier. *Vocabulaires et textes berbères dans le dialecte des Aït Izdeg*. Rabat, 1937.
- Muniev KRS = B. D. Muniev (ed.). *Kalmycko-russkij slovar'*. Moscow, 1977.
- Nehlil G = Nehlil. *Étude sur le dialecte de Ghat*. Paris, 1909.
- Nielsen LO = K. Nielsen. *Lappisk ordbok. Lapp Dictionary*. 5 vols. Oslo, 1932-62.
- Paradisi BA = U. Paradisi. "Il berbero di Augila. Materiale lessicale." *Rivista degli studi orientali* XXXV (1960): 157-177.
- Parker-Hayward AEFD = E. M. Parker, R. J. Hayward. *An Afar-English-French Dictionary*. London, 1985.
- Payne-Smith TS = R. Paayne-Smith. *Thesaurus Syriacus*. 2 vols. 1879-1897.
- Pekarskij SJJ = E. K. Pekarskij (= Edward Piekarski). *Slovar' jakutskogo jazyka*. 2nd ed. 3 vols. Moscow, 1959.
- Pokorny IEW = J. Pokorny. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. I. Bern - München, 1959.
- Ramstedt KW = G. Ramstedt. *Kalmuckisches Wörterbuch*. Helsinki, 1935.
- Räsänen VEW = M. Räsänen. *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksparchen*. Helsinki, 1969.
- Rédei UEW = K. Rédei. *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. Wiesbaden, 1986-68.
- Rossing MM = M. O. Rossing. *Mafa-Mada: A Comparative Study of Chadic Languages of Northern Cameroun*. Ph. D. dissertation. Madison, 1978.
- Sarnelli DBS = T. Sarnelli. *Il dialetto berbero di Sokna*. Napoli, 1924-5.
- Sasse CEC = H.-J. Sasse. "The consonant phonemes of Proto-East-Cushitic (PEC): a first approximation." *Afroasiatic Linguistics* (Udenna) VII (1979): 1-67.
- Sasse EDB = H.-J. Sasse. *Etymological Dictionary of Burji*. Hamburg, 1982.

*Some Hamito-Semitic Names of Body Parts*

- Schmitt-Brandt EIGVS = R. Schmitt-Brandt. *Die Entwicklung des indogermanischen Vokalsystems*. Heidelebrg, 1967.
- Schuh BTL = R. Schuh. *Bole-Tangale Languages of the Bauchi Area (Northern Nigeria)*. Berlin, 1978.
- Soden AHw = W. von Soden. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965-81.
- SKES = *Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja*. 7 vols. Helsinki, 1955-1981.
- SSKZD = *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' komi-zyrjanskix dialektov*. Siktivkar, 1961.
- SSTMJ = V. I. Cincius (gen. ed.). *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'chzhurskix jazykov*. 2 vols. Leningrad, 1975-7.
- Starostin AP = S. A. Starostin. *Altajskaja problema i proisxozhdenie japonskogo jazyka*. Moscow, 1991.
- Steinitz DEWOS = W. Steinitz. *Dialektologisches und etymologisches Wörterbuch der ostjakischen Sprache*. Lief. 1-13. Berlin, 1966-1991.
- Steinitz WV = W. Steinitz. *Geschichte des wogulischen Vokalismus*. Berlin, 1955.
- Stolbova ZCh = O. V. Stolbova. "Sravnitel'no-istoricheskaja fonetika i slovar' zapadnochadskix jazykov." In: V. Ja. Porxomovskij (ed.), *Afrikanskoe istoricheskoe jazykoznanie*, Moscow, 1972: 30-268.
- Tourneux LTD = H. Tourneux. "Une langage tchadique disparue: le muskum." *Africana Marburgensia* XI/2 (1978): 13-33.
- Vogt SVG = Hans Vogt. "Suffixes verbaux en géorgien ancien." *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* (Oslo) XIV (1947): 38-82.
- Vycichl GÄSW = W. Vycichl. "Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleihung." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* XVI (1958) (= *Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Prof. Dr. H. Junker*, 2. Teil): 67-405.
- Vycichl DELC = W. Vycichl. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*. Leuven, 1983.
- Vycichl VLE = W. Vycichl. *La vocalisation de la langue égyptienne*. Vol. I. *La phonétique*. Cairo, 1990.
- Whiteley IC = W. H. Whiteley. *A Short Description of Item Categories in Iraqw*. Kampala, 1958.
- Whiteley SI = W. H. Whiteley. *Studies in Iraqw. Practical Introduction*. Kampala, 1953.
- Wiedemann SDW = F. J. Wiedemann. *Syrjänisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*. St.-Petersburg, 1880 (reprint: The Hague, 1964).