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Aegyptio-Afroasiatica XIX**Abstract**

In this part of Aegyptio-Afroasiatica I am proposing new Egypto-Afro-Asiatic lexical correspondences in the field of anatomy and physiology¹. During my current work on the *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian* (EDE), it has become possible to identify a great number of new lexical correspondences. The series *Aegyptio-Afroasiatica* has been devoted to reporting these fresh results. The numbering of etymological entries is continuous beginning from my first report².

¹ This contribution to the lexical comparison of Egyptian and its Afro-Asiatic kindred has a very long story. Originally, I collected these etymologies in a special series: *Egyptian Anatomical Lexicon in an Afro-Asiatic Perspective: New Etymologies, Part I, II, III*. The first part of this series was originally written in spring 1995, the second part in September 1995, while the third one in March 1996. Up to now all three parts have remained unpublished except for some sample of these etymologies which were presented at the 7th Italian Meeting on Afro-Asiatic Linguistics in Napoli, January 1996. The proceedings of this conference, however, contain just a preliminary draft of this sample presented eight years ago, cf. G. Takács, *Selected New Egypto-Afrasian Correspondences from the Field of Anatomical Terminology*, in: A. Bausi, & M. Tosco, (eds.): *Afroasiatica Neapolitana. Contributi presentati all'8^o Incontro di Linguistica Afroasiatica (Camito-Semitica), Napoli, 25–26 Gennaio 1996. Papers from the 8th Italian Meeting on Afroasiatic (Hamito-Semitic) Linguistics, Naples, January 25–26, 1996*, Napoli 1997 Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, pp. 225–250. The original three parts have been made recently up-to-date a few times in January 1999 in Székesfehérvár (Hungary), and in December 1999 during my research stay in Frankfurt. The second part was again slightly refreshed in September 2002 in Székesfehérvár. Then, in June 2004, all three parts were united into one paper, which went into the series “Aegyptio-Afroasiatica”. I did my best to preserve the original ideas. I express my best thanks to the Prof. H. Jungraithmayr and to the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (Bonn) for facilitating my research at the Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften (Frankfurt a/M) in 1999–2000, 2002, as well as to the OTKA (Hungarian National Scientific Research Fund, project no. D 45976) for supporting me in 2004 when this paper was completed.

² A list of parts I–X with the place of publication can be found in Aegyptio-Afroasiatica XII, which was published in “Lingua Posnaniensis” 39 (1997), pp. 93–98. Part XI is not yet published. Part XIII appeared in “Lingua Posnaniensis” 45 (2003), pp. 121–127. Part XIV in “Lingua Posnaniensis” 42 (2000), pp. 151–160. Part XV in “Lingua Posnaniensis” 44 (2002), pp. 163–174. Part XVI in T. Bács, T. (ed.): *Studia Aegyptiaca XVII. A Tribute to Excellence. Studies Offered in Honor of Ernő Gaál, Ulrich Luft, László Török*, Budapest 2002, La

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• **322. Eg. 3s.w** [**rs-w*] ‘Vogelmist’ (MK, Wb I 20, 14) = ‘Vogelmist’ (GHWb 14): its rendering is still disputed³. If the sense suggested most recently by R. Hannig in GHWb proves correct, we may compare Sem. **rtt*: Ug. *rt* ‘Schmutz, Kot’ || Ar. *rtt* ‘abgetragener und schmutzig sein’ (Sem.: WUS #2556) ||| WCh.: Hausa *rááçì* ~ *rááçì* [-ts-] ‘human excrement’ [Abr. 1962, 712, 726]. The same root with an extension **-d* has been preserved in Sem. **rtd*: Ug. *rt[d]* (?) ‘Lehm, Schlamm’ || Ar. *raṭida* ‘schlammig, lehmig sein’ (Sem.: WUS #2559).

NB: This comparison is phonologically more convincing than that to ECu. **us-* ‘contents of stomach’ [Sasse 1982]. LECu.: Somali *ūs-ki*, pl. *ūsas* ‘der Kot in den Eingeweiden, Mageninhalt’ [Rn. 1902, 41], Oromo *ūs-ō* ‘feces, urine’ [Gragg 1982, 430] | HECu.: Burji *ūs-i* ‘intestines’ [Sasse] | Dullay **us-ko* ‘Panseninhalt’ [AMS 1980, 180, 227] (ECu.: Sasse 1982, 185) ||| PCh. **isi* ‘excrement’ [Nwm. 1977, 25] → WCh. **isV* ‘feces’ [Stl. 1987, 230] etc. For Ch.-Cu. cf. Skinner 1992, 348. The Chadic data have been linked to Eg. *ḥs* (see OS 1990, 90, #45.a; 1992, 185; HSED #1275), but this equation is equally problematic (note that ECu. **ʔ- ≠ Eg. ḥ-).*

• **323. Eg. *3t** ‘foot (or sim.)’ can be reconstructed from the foot hieroglyph occurring in the MEg. title (glossed in *Wörterbuch* as *wʳ.t.w*) ‘Vorsteher, Aufseher’ (MK, Wb I 288, 9-14), which is to be read correctly as *3t.w* (Posener, “Revue d’Égyptologie” 15, 1963, 127-128; Berlev, “Palestinskij Sbornik” 17, 1969, 6-20; GHWb 17; Satzinger, p.c. on 9 Febr. 1996). Cf. also OEG. *3t.w* ‘Art Beamter’ (OK, Wb I 23, 14). It is also suspicious that Eg. *3tj.t* ‘nurse’ (MK, Wb I 23, 10; FD 6) has once a foot determinative (Pap. Ram. III, B 27), which otherwise looks strange in this word. This assumption made on inner Egyptian grounds is fully supported by the external evidence: OEG. **3t < *lk*, cf. Agaw **lɔkw-* ‘foot, leg’ [Apl. 1984, 46, 49; 1989, 6; 1991, 20] || ECu. **luk-/ *lak-/ *luk-* ‘leg’ [Sasse 1979, 5, 12, 41; 1982, 136] → LECu.: PSam **luk-o* ‘Bein’ [Lmb. 1986, 444] | HECu. **lokk-a* ‘foot, leg’ [Hds. 1989, 417] (Cu.: Dlg. 1973, 272; Ehret 1987, #99).

NB1: A variant root (with AA **k-*) has been preserved in Brb. **i-leṭ* ‘leg’ [GT]: NBrb.: Zayan *i-leṭ* ‘mollet’ [Lst. 1920, 119] || Ahaggar *é-leṭ* ‘jambe’ [Fcd.], Taitoq *i-leṭ*, pl. *i-lṭ-an* ‘jambe de devant (d’un animal)’ [Masqueray] ||| ECu. **luḳḳ-* ‘leg’ [Sasse 1982, 136] ||| SCu.: Dahalo *luk-a* ‘thigh’ [EEN 1989, 42] = *lúk-a* ‘leg (from thigh to knee)’ [Tosco 1991, 141: < Somali?].

NB2: Sometimes the Brb.-Cu. forms were linked to Cpt.: (S) *aloč*, (B) *alož* ‘thigh, (pl.) knees, arms, shoulders’ (e.g. Chn. 1947, #419; Brunner 1969, 148, #834), whose older Eg. etymon, however, is still debated.

Lit. for the Brb.-Cu. etymology: Chn. 1947, #419; Dlg. 1973, 272; IS 1976, #255; OS 1992, 210; Mlt.-Sts. 1994 MS, 1; Blz. 1994 Bed. MS, 24; HSED #1696; Orel 1995, 107.

• **324. Eg. j3rt** (hair det.) ‘Haare (vom Tierfell), Seitenlocken (des Gottes)’ (LP, GHWb 25; cf. Wb I 32, 3), cf. 3r.t ‘Perücke’ (LP, Wb I 11, 17-18), hence *j3r.tj* ‘Perückenmacher (?)’ (only as personal name, GHWb 25) ||| ECh.: Mubi *álèè*, pl. *àlè* ‘Haar, Federn, Wolle’ [Lks. 1937, 180].

Chaire d’Égyptologie, pp. 455–471. Part XVII is not yet published. Part XVIII appeared in “Cahiers Caribéens d’Égyptologie” (Schoelcher, Martinique) 5 (2003), pp. 187–202.

³ Some Egyptologists suggest the sense ‘Geier’ and see in it a derivative of Eg. *j3s* ‘bald’, i.e. ‘Kahlkopf’ (Blackman, “Orientalia” 7, 1938, pp. 67f, Faulkner, JEA 42, 1956, pp. 27, 36).

• **325. Eg. jw3j.t** [reg. < *jwrj-t] ‘Kehle (?)’ (GR, Wb I 49, 19) ||| SBrb. (Tuareg) *w-R-y [Rsl.]: Ahaggar êri [reg. < *e-wri] ‘cou’ [Fcd. 1951-2, 1558], EWLm. & Ayr i-ri, pl. i-ra-wān ‘cou’ [PAM 265] ||| NOm. *wUl- ‘neck’ [GT]: She wul [CR] = ui [Bnd.], Zayse wo’lo [Bnd.], Zergula wo’lo [Bnd.] (NOm.: Bnd. 1971, #56; Blz. 1989 MS Om., l.c.) ||| Ch. *w-r- ‘neck’ [NM] = *wōra [Nwm.] = *wur- ~ *wir- [GT]: Hausa wūyà [-y- reg. < *-r-] [Abr. 1962, 937] | PRon *wVr [GT]: Fyer-Tambas wée [-VØ < *-Vr], Sha woh [-h < *-r], Kulere wur (Ron: Jng. 1970, 387) | NBAuchi *wir [Skn. 1977, 32] | SBAuchi *yar [GT] | Ngizim nvura [Meek] = wūrā [Schuh 1981, 173], Bade ?à-wr-áan [Lks. 1968, 222] = ùlúlā [Schuh 1978, 264] (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 239) || CCh. *wurya (?) [GT]: Kilba wulya [Meeks], Bura-Pela wulya [Meeks] | PHigi *wur- [GT] | Gude ōrá [Str.] = oṙā [IL] = wura [Meeks], Nzangi wura [Meeks] = hurá (gore) [Str.] = wūra [Mch.], Bata wūrē [Mch.], Bata-Garwa wūrē [Str.], Bata-Demsa ūré [Str.], Bachama wura [Meeks] = hūra [Skn.], Gudu wūfā [IL] | Lamang wulek ~ wurek [Meeks] = úléké [Lks.] | Musgoy wūlā [Mch.], Daba wilā [Lienhard], Kola wúlā [Schubert] | Gidar ulokó [Str.] = wul [Mch.] | Buduma wuy [Lks.] = wūi [-i < *-ri] [Cyffer] | Musgu úllā [Mch.] || ECh.: Migama ?ūrē [JA 1992, 132], Mokilko ?óre [Jng. 1990, 157] | Jegu were [Jng. 1961, 118], Mubi wūri [Lks. 1937, 186] (Ch.: NM 1966, 237; Nwm. 1977, 29; JI 1994 II, 252-253). Lit. for the AA etymology: Rsl. 1979, 22 (SBrb.-Ch.); Blz. 1989 MS, 23, #81 (NOm.-Ch.); Skn. 1992, 352 (PCh.-NOm.-Brb.).

NB1: Was Eg. jw3j.t extended by prothetic j-? Or, did Belova’s law work where, i.e. LEg. jw3j.t < PEG. (AA?) *wiry-at-?

NB2: V. É. Orel and O.V. Stolbova (1992, 186) combined Eg. jw3j.t with their WCh. *wuya ‘neck’ and CCh. *wūy- ‘throat’ (sic with *-y- in both cases!).

• **326. Eg. jf.t** [reg. < *lf-t] (bone det.) ‘Knochenmark’ (Med., Wb I 70, 12; Deines-Gradow 1959, 29) ||| ECu. *laf- ‘bone’ [Sasse 1979, 21; cf. Dlg. 1973, 167; Heine 1976, 212; 1978, 67] ||| SOm. (borrowed < ECu., cf. Ehret 1976, 93?) *lafi ‘bone’ [GT]: Ari (Ubamer) lēffi [Bnd./Dlg.] = lefi [Bnd.], Hamer lepi ~ lefi [Bnd.], Banna lēfa [Bnd.], Karo lefi [Bnd.] (SOm.: Dlg. 1973, 167; Bnd. 1994, 146). In his review on EDE (vol. I), L. Kogan (2002) has most recently suggested semantically even more attractive parallels, cf. Sem. *lipV?- ~ *lapV?- ‘fatty, fleshy tissue’ [SED]: Akk. (bab., nA) lipû ~ lēpu ‘Körperfett, Fett’ [AHW 555] = lipû (vars. lipiu, lipu, lēpu) ‘1. adipose tissue, fat, tallow, 2. marrow, pith’ [CAD I 202] || PBHbr. liplūp ‘glutinous substance, pus’ [Jastrow], Jaram. liplūpā ‘pulp, soft portion of cabbage’ [Jastrow] || Ar. lafi?-at- ‘morceau de viande sans os’, cf. laffā?- ‘cuisse grasse, charnue’ [BK II 1008-9] (Sem.: SED 163, #180). Should we assume the underlying common source of this Eg.-Cu.-Sem. isogloss as AA *l-f ‘bone-marrow’ [GT]?

• **327. Eg. jnb.w** ‘Schmutz (?)’ (GR, Wb I 95, 17) ||| Bed. ánba ~ amba ‘dung, excrement, Kot, Exkrement’ [Rn. 1895, 16] ||| SCu.: perhaps Ma’a ibúmbe ‘fresh cow dung’ [Ehret 1980, 140: < SCu. *huma ‘ground’] ||| WCh.: Hausa yinbu ~ yanbu ‘Ton, Lehm’ [Behnk] = iunḡu ‘Lehm’ [Vcl.] = yumbū ‘pottery clay’ [Abr. 1962, 957]. The Eg.-Hausa was first suggested by W. Vycichl (1934, 83). Areal parallel: PJukunoid *mbi ‘clay, mud’ [Smz. 1981, 20, #208].

NB1: M. Lamberti (1993, 110) reconstructed PCu.-Om. [“Old Cu.”] *ʔumb- ‘excrements of cattle’ on the basis of a number of dubious parallels: Bed. amba || HECu.: Hadiyya ubbaʔa, Sidamo obba ‘excrement of cattle’ | LECu.: Oromo albaʔ- ‘to have diarrhoea’ ||| NOM.: Kaffa ifo ‘excrements of livestock’. Highly uncertain.

NB2: Of interest may be still WCh.: Hausa-Sokoto ambō ‘anything stinking’ [Abr. 1962, 29]. F. Behnke (1923, 138) linked Hausa yinbu ‘clay’ mistakenly to Eg. jm ‘Ton, Lehm’ (MK, Wb I 78, 2). In my view, Eg. jm < *r = Sem. rmm: esp. Ar. rimm- ‘wet earth’ (as pointed out in MM 1983, 210; Orel 1995, 147, #2).

• 328. Eg. **jns.wj** (dual) ‘die Hoden’ (NK, Wb I 100, 15), cf. **js.wj** [assim. < *jnsʔ] dual ‘die Hoden’ (GR, Wb I 131, 12) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *hā₂s → *ā₂s ‘egg’ [GT] = *ā₂ [Stl.] = *hās ‘egg’ [Dig.]: Angas ess ‘egg’ [Ormsby 1914, 209] = es ‘egg’ [Flk. 1915, 175] = ʔēēs (kii) ‘Ei’ [Jng. 1962 MS] = ʔēs ‘egg’ [Hfm.] = es kī ‘egg’ [ALC 1978, 16] = è ‘egg’ [Krf.], Sura às ‘1. Ei’ [Jng. 1963, 57-58] = ʔaas ‘egg’ [Hfm.] = ʔaas ‘egg’ [Krf.], Mupun às ‘egg’ [Frj. 1991, 3], Kofyar aas ‘egg’ [Ntg. 1967, 1] = ʔaas [Hfm.], Chip à ‘egg’ [Krf.], Montol hās ‘Ei’ [Jng. 1965, 171], Mushere às ‘eggs’ [Jng. 1999 MS], Goema haas ‘egg, ball’ [Srl. 1937, 73] = haas kêe ‘(Hühner-)Ei’ [Jng. 1962 MS, 2] = haas ‘egg’ [Hfm.] = hās ‘egg’ [Krf.] = haas ‘egg’ [Hlw. 2000 MS, 13] (AS: Hfm. 1975, 25, #242; Stl. 1977, 152, #1) | Bole-Tangale *insa → *isa ‘egg, testicle’ [Schuh 1984, 208] || CCh. PKotoko *[i]nšV ‘egg’ [Prh. 1972, 13, #2.7; 65, #39.2]: with loss of *-n- in Ngala yeši | ECh.: Jegu dèesê ~ dèesê [prefix ðe-] ‘egg’ [Jng. 1961, 112].

Lit.: the Eg.-PCh. comparison was first suggested in Skn. 1992, 355; 1995, 31. I observed this independently.

NB: This comparison excludes the relationship of Eg. sw̥h.t ‘egg’ (PT, Wb IV 73) with the above cited Ch. (Angas-Sura & Bole-Tangale & Kotoko) forms (as suggested e.g. in Stl. 1987, 181-182; Skn. 1992, 355).

• 329. Eg. **jh.tj** ~ **3h.tj** [*r̥h-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 (zwischen denen das Kind zur Welt kommt)’ (GHWb 96) ||| Sem. *rāh-at- ‘innere Handfläche’ [GT]: Akk. rittu [from *rihtu] ‘Handfläche, Handtatte’ [Holma] vs. ‘hand’ [AHW 990] || Ug. r̥h-t ‘innere Handfläche’ [WUS], Hbr. raḥat ‘Wurfschaukel, Schwinge’ [GB 757] || Ar. rāh-at- ‘Handfläche, palm of the hand’, raḥrāh-at- ‘Inneres der Handfläche’, vulgar Ar. rāh-at- ‘Brotschaukel’ [WUS] || Sqt. riḥoh ‘(palm of) hand’ etc. [Lsl.] (Sem.: Holma 1911, 119; Lsl. 1938, 399; 1945, 236; 1987, 38; WUS #2495) ||| WCh.: PRon *ra ~ *ri ‘arm, hand’ [GT]: (?) Fyer-Tambas yá [if y- < *r-], Bokkos rā, Daffo-Butura rá, Kulere ři-yáw (Ron: Jng. 1970, 386) || CCh.: Sukur (xut) ri ‘hand’ [IL] = iri ‘arm’ [Mch.], Sakun ri ‘hand’ [Brt. MS n.d., 1, #11] | Matakam rây ‘hand’ [Schubert] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 178-179).

Lit. for Ron-Sem.: HSED #2091; Mlt. in Sts. etc. 1995, 15.

NB1: For the semantic change in PEg. *r̥h.tj ‘die Innenflächen der Oberschenkel’ < *‘Handfläche’, cf. esp. ECu.: Duilay: Gollango táfo ‘Oberschenkel’ [AMS 1980, 260] ||| PCh. *tafa ‘(palm of) hand, leaf’ → ‘5’ [Stl. 1996, 33]; e.g. WCh. *tafa ‘palm of hand (ладонь)’ [Stl. 1987, 162, #159]. As for the more general semantic shift ‘arm’ vs. ‘foot, leg’, noteworthy are also the following cases. 1. AA *kVk-: Bed. kákwi, káki ‘Hand, Arm, Unterarm’ [Rn. 1895, 139] ||| WCh.: Chip kwòk, kwòk ‘leg’ [Kraft 1981, 39, #55] || ECh.: Mubi kèèg-í ‘my arm’ [Lks. 1937, 183] (AA comparison: Mkr. 1989 MS; Blz. 1994 Bed. MS, 20). 2. AA *gVn-ḥ-: i.a. Eg. ḍnh ‘Bein oder Teil desselben’ (XVIII, WB V 578, 11-12) vs. ḍnh ‘wing’ (PT, Wb V 577-578).

NB2: A weaker possibility for Eg. *jh.tj* ~ *3h.tj* could be LECu.: Rendille *luḥ* 'foot' [Heine], which is, however, treated usually as a reflex of ECu. *IVk- 'leg' (e.g. by Dlg. 1973, 272; Heine 1976, 217). Although Rendille *ḥ* < ECu. *ḥ is fully possible in principle (Sasse 1979), we cannot afford here in this special case setting up a hypothetic LECu. *luḥ- purely on the basis of Rendille *luḥ* on the account of the well-founded and well-attested ECu. *IVk-.

NB3: C. Brockelmann's (1932, 100, #2) etymological suggestion for Eg. *jh.tj* (from *riḥ-, i.e. metathesis of *ḥir- = Sem.: Ar. ḥir- 'vulva') is less probable.

• **330. Eg. *jt.t*** [perhaps < *rz-t?] 'Lufttröhre (?)', Schlund (?)' (GR, Wb I 128, 1) ||| WCh.: Tāngale *rožò* 'neck' [Kraft 1981, #49] = *rožzo* 'neck', *kā-rožzo* 'throat' [Jng. 1991, 138; JI 1994 II, 252].

NB: V.É. Orel and O.V. Stolbova (1992, 186) have compared Eg. *jt.t* 'gullet' to their hypothetic WCh. *raz- 'neck', but from their article it is not clear before me which WCh. word (perhaps Tāngale?) is meant by this reconstruction.

• **331. Eg. *ʿc*** 'sweat, saliva' (GR, Wb I 169, 1-2) ||| ECu. *yaʿ-/yāʿ- 'to flow away' [Sasse 1982, 192] ||| Sem.: Sabaic *hyʿ* [secondary h-?] 'to flow, run (of water)' [SD 57] (for Sem.-ECu.: Dlg. 1988, 631, #17).

NB1: Cf. perhaps also OEg. *ʿʿj.w* [with efflux det.] 'etwas Schlechtes, das man fernhält' (PT, Wb I 169, 7), though for this hapax there are other interpretation possibilities too, cf. Wb I 169, 3, 5 and 171, 2.

NB2: For the semantic change in Eg. cp. esp. Eg. *ntt* 'efflux, saliva' (LP, Wb II 357, 6) vs. *ntnt* 'sweat' (BD, Wb II 356, 13) ||| perhaps HECu.: Burji *ant-ā* ~ *ānt-ā* 'saliva' [Sasse 1982, 27] (note that the underlying HECu. stem has been reconstructed as *anč-a [Hds. 1989, 127-128]). Or cp. Eg. *hmh* 'saliva' (NK, Wb II 490, 8) ||| SCu. *hVm- 'sweat' [GT]: Iraqw *hame* 'sweat' [Ehret] = *hamē* [Mgw. 1989, 102] | Dahalo *himma* 'dirt of the body' [Ehret] = *himā* 'sweat, dirt of body' [EEN 1989, 15] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 305).

• **332. Eg. *ʿnd*** 'Teil des Flügels', in the expression *ʿnd dnh* 'ʿnd of the wing' (PT, Wb I 207, 6; GHwB 148): cf. perhaps HECu. *ang-a 'hand, arm' [Hds. 1989, 75, 404; Sasse 1982, 26] | perhaps Yaaku (Mogogodo) *inžān* 'to take hold of' [Flm.] = *-inč-am-* 'to hold (tr.)' [Heine 1975, 127] (HECu.-Yaaku: Flm. 1969, 25) ||| WCh.: Sbauchi: Guruntum *aa(ng)* 'hand' [Gowers], Geji *ang* 'hand' [Gowers] = *ʿāṅ* 'hand' [IL] || CCh.: Gisiga-Dogba *haṅ* [if h- < *ʿ-] 'arm' [Lks.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 178-179).

NB1: In his Coptic etymological dictionary, Vycichl (1983, 9) derived Cpt.: (S) *aloč*, (B) *alož* '1. thigh, 2. (pl.) knees, arms, shoulders' from Eg. *ʿnd* [*ʿld], which is rather problematic. It can be safely excluded (as done already by Vycichl) that the Cpt. forms are related to Sem. *wVrVk- > Hbr. *yārēk* 'cuisse, hanche' etc. (as suggested by Dévaud in "Muséon" 14) because of the phonological difficulties (Eg. *-l- ≠ Sem. *-r-). It seems to me likely that the Cpt. word goes back to Dem. 3lg *n 3lg* 'cover of the thigh (made of silver)' (DG 8). Besides, Černý (CED 5) saw the Eg. etymon of Cpt.: (S) *aloč*, (B) *alož* and of Dem. 3lg in Eg. *ʿrq* 'joint of leg (?)' (NE, Wb I 211, 18). On the other hand, Westendorf (KHW 5) connected the Cpt. word to SBrb.: Ahaggar *č-lej* 'foot'. The latter two possibilities (Černý's and Westendorf's suggestions) seem to me more realistic than a derivation of the Cpt. word from OEg. *ʿnd*. I would, in addition, not exclude the derivation of Cpt.: (S) *aloč*, (B) *alož* from OEg. *ʿlg > ʿ3g.t 'Huf des Rindes' (PT, Wb I 168) = 'hoof' (FD 38).

NB2: It is not clear of the above described AA *ʿang- 'arm' was connected to Agaw *ʿəngw- 'breast' [Apl. 1984, 46] || LECu.: Saho-Afar *angū*, pl. *angug* 'female breast' [Dlg. 1973, 174]. For the semantic dispersion

[Krf.] = bəl [Jng. 1991, 73] = bəl ~ bəl [Mkr.] = bəl [Kidda 1985, 201, #48], Ngamo bəlú [Schuh] = bəlum [Nwm.-Smz.] = bəluhù [Krf.], Maha bəlem [Nwm.], Galambu bəlú [Stl.] = bəlì [Schuh], Kirfi balla [Gowers], Bele bəlem [CWC in Mkr.] (BT: Schuh 1984, 210; Nwm. 1965, 58; Zbr. 1984, 211, #36; Mkr. 1987, 213; 1989 MS, 4; WCh.: Stl. 1987, 158) || (?) CCh.: Bura-Margi *təm-bəl- (compound?) 'horn' [GT]: Bura timbìl [Krf.], Chibak təmbəlé [IL] = timbulé [Krf.], WMargi timbil ~ tumbil [Krf.], Ngwahyi timbìl [Krf.] (Ch.: Kraft 1981, #206; JI 1994 II, 192).

Lit.: Mkr. 1987, 213-214 (WCh.-SOM.); 1989, 4 (NOM.-SOM.-WCh.); Blz. 1989, 20, #67; 1994, 197 (WCh.-SOM.); HSED #192 (WCh.-SOM.).

NB1: The initial *b- could in theory derive alternatively from *ba-b- (cf. body parts prefix *ba- in WCh.) as suggested by V. Blažek (1989, 20, #67) and Takács (1997).

NB2: Reflexes of WCh. *b-l 'horn' exist perhaps also in CCh., cp. PMatakam (Mafa-Mada) *ma-bele 'elephant' [Rossing; GT: act. *'the tusked one?']: Zulgo mbele, Mada mbile, Hurzo mbelele, Mbreme mbelele, Gwendele mbelele, Uldeme mbele, Muyang mbele (Matakam: Rossing 1978, 244, #233) | ?Daba bilger 'hippopotamus' [< *'elephant?'] (see also Blz. 1990 MS, 2).

- **337. Eg. bj3.t** [reg. < *bjl-t] 'Höcker (des Rindes), Fetthöcker' (NE, GHwB 247): from AA *b-l 'hump (on the back)' [GT]: NAgaw: Qemant bül, pl. bül-ti 'bosse de boeuf' [CR 1912, 176] | SAgaw: Awngi (Awiya) bül-í 'gobba del bue' [CR 1905, 151] ||| WCh.: (?) Hausa bèèlì ~ bèèlú '3. any small excrescence' [Abr. 1962, 95] | Angas bəl (hill) 'the hump of catte' (≈ plain dungul) [Flk. 1915, 148]. This is an isolated – but hopeful – parallel, phonologically also possible (Eg. b- = Angas b- & p-, and Eg. -3 = Angas -l).
- **338. Eg. bn.w** 'waist or buttocks' (PT 547b, 1464, Faulkner 1969, 226, fn. 17) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *bʷoɣon → *bʷōn ~ *bʷīn 'hips, waist, buttocks' [GT] = *bʷīn 'back, thighs' [Stl. 1977] = *bʷīn 'back (спина)' [Stl. 1987]: Angas bween 'after', kabweena 'behind' [Ormsby 1914, 207-8] = bwiin '1. the small of the back, 2. the hips', ka bwiin 'after, behind' [Flk. 1915, 154] = bwin 'buttocks' [Krf.] = bwiin ~ bwin 'Taille, Leistenlinie, hintere Hüftgegend' [Jng. 1962 MS] = bwin 'back, behind', kaʔ-bwin 'behind, after' [ALC 1978, 8, 23, 41] = bwin (so, b-) 'buttocks' [Krf.] = (plain) bwin ~ (hill) bin '1. waist, 2. behind (prep.)', cf. mpo-bwin ~ nko-bwin 'traditional waist beads' [Gcl. 1994, 27, 34, 111, app.], Sura bʷōn '1. Rücken, 2. Außenseite' [Jng. 1963, 60], Mpn. bʷon 'back, waist' [Frj. 1991, 7], Kfy. bʷón 'hip, upper part of animal's hindquarter' [Ntg. 1967, 4], Gmy. buun 'the loins', cf. kang buun 'junction of loin bone with spine' [Srl. 1937, 20, 94] = buun 'waist' [Hlw. 2000 MS, 4], Msr. kə-bùkun 'back' [Jng. 1999 MS, 9] (AS: Stl. 1977, 153, #19; 1987, 240, #7) | Ngizim àbin vikši 'buttocks' [Krf.] = bəm-bəkši 'buttocks' [Schuh 1981, 16] ||| CCh.: Margi bwəŋ 'hip' [Hfm. in RK 1973, 107, #19], Ngwahyi bwəŋ 'buttock' [Krf.] | Fali-Kiria pūnu? 'hip' [Krf.], Lame-Peve fun zu 'buttock' [Krf.] (CCh.: Kraft 1981, #56 & #61).

NB: The origin of the OEg. hapax (PT 547b) wbn.w, translated by Faulkner (1969, 108, fn.3) as 'root of tail (?)' (with an unconvincing *Volksetymologie*) = *'Schwanzende, *Afterloch, *Steiß' (GHwB 188). If the suggested rendering is correct, this word may be cognate with PT bn.w.

- **339. Eg. bn.tj** (dual, two oval dets.) 'weiblicher Geschlechtsteil (?)' (Med., Wb I 458, 1) = 'partie du corps féminin (?)' (AL 78.1244) = 'lips (of vulva) (?)' (GT) ||| CCh.: PMasa

*fun 'round object' [GT]: *Lame fūn* 'boule de mil', *fūn* 'útú 'lèvres de la vulve' [Scn. 1982: 294], *Zime-Dari fūn* 'boule', *fūn* 'itī 'lèvres de la vulve' [Cooper 1984, 7].

NB: Masa *f- < *b- seems plausible.

• **340. Eg. br** (GW, hair det.), occurring in: *br n sd* 'touffe' (NE, *Andreu-Cauville* 1977, 7 after HPBM III Text, 5, n. 3) = 'touffe (de la queue d'animal)' (AL 77.1277) = 'tip (?)', tuft (?)' (DLE I 158) = '*Schwanzquaste' (GHWb 256) has more than one plausible etymologies. Semantically, the most attractive seem to be the data from NBrb.: *Figile bilu* 1 a-bilu 'ornament d'un tapis' [Ksm. in DRB], *Mzab i-bil* 'frange d'usure, bouts de fils de laine qui pendent aux extrémités d'un tissage', *i-bilbil-en* (pl.) 'franges, pendeloques', *bbelbel* 'pendiller', *Tuat & Gurara & Tidikelt bilu* 'frange d'un vêtement', cf. *Shawya ta-bilul-t* 'grappe' (NBrb.: DRB 1, 55-56) ||| LECu.: Somali *búl* 'tassel' [Abr. 1964, 35].

NB1: Any connection to AA *b-l 'tail' [GT]: *NOM.*: *Hozo ɔmbule* 'tail' [Bnd. 1994, 1159, #82] = *ɔmbulɪ* 'tail' [Sbr.-Wdk. 1994, 17] ||| *WCh.*: (?) *Hausa búúláálá* 'hippo-hide whip' [Abr. 1962, 117] | *Kulere byéèl*, pl. *byeéèl* & *bíbyél* 'tail' [Jng. 1968, 6; 1970, 351, 388] = *bel* 'tail' [IL in *JI* 1994 II, 316] || *ECh.*: *Nancere búl* 'Besen' [Lks. 1937, 89?]

NB2: *NEg.* *br* might be alternatively connected to NBrb.: *Tamazight i-biṛri* 'longue frange de vêtement', pl. *i-biṛr-an* 'franges de châle' [DRB] | *Shawya a-berbur* 'lambeau' [DRB 1, 95] | *Qabyle bberb-er* ~ *bberber* '1. former rideau, 2. former frange' [Dlt. 1982, 36].

cf. AA *b-r 'tail' [GT]: *NBrb.*: *Sus a-baṛra*, pl. *i-baṛṛā-t-en* 'queue' [Dst. 1938, 238] | *Ndir a-bəṛḍuḍ* 'tail' [Penchoen 1973, 105] | *Iznasen a-beḥrur* [infix -ḥ- of body parts?] 'queue' [Rns. 1932, 295] = *a-beḥrur* & *ta-bahrur-t* 'queue' [DRB] = *a-bəḥrur* & *ṭa-bahrur-t* 'tail' [Mlt.], *Rif ta-beḥrur-t* 'ourlet, repli de vêtement', *a-beḥrur* 'pan' [DRB] (NBrb.: DRB 1, 40, 43; HCVA 2, #120) ||| *SCu.*: *Ma'a mbúru* 'goat's tail' [Ehret 1980, 140]. Cf. perhaps also *WCh.*: *Angas bwaar* ~ (at times) *nbaaar* (Hs. *bulala*) 'sjambok or whip' [Flk. 1915, 154] = *mbwāar* 'Flußpferdpeitsche' [Jng. 1962 MS, 24] = *mbwar* 'whip' [ALC 1978, 38] || *ECh.*: *Somray bəṛāw* 'fouet' [Jng. 1993 MS, 5]? Note that *Iznasen a-bəḥrur* ~ *ṭa-bahrur-t* was perhaps extended by the infix -ḥ- (occurring in AA anatomical terms, cf. Takács 1997).

NB3: Or cf. AA *b-r 'hair (on the top)' [GT]: *Bed. bār* 'camel-hair' [Rpr. 1928, 162] (orig. '*hairy peak of camel's hump') [GT] || *LECu.*: Somali *bār* 'langes nicht geschnittenes Haar, behaarter Gipfel' [Rn. 1902, 85] = *bār* 'the tuft of hair on camel's hump' [Abr. 1964, 27] = *bār* 'hairs on the camel's hump' [Siya d 1984, 290], *Jabarti bār* 'der oberste Teil eines Gegenstandes', pl. *bārar* 'Haarhörner, aus Haaren geflochtene Hörner auf beiden Seiten des Frauenkopfes' [Rn. 1904, 54] || *SCu.*: *WRift *b[ō]r-* 'facial hair' [GT]: *Iraqw bor-i* 'body hair, facial hair', *Burunge bōr-a* 'goat's beard' (WRift: Ehret 1980, 140) ||| *NOM.*: *Haruro borro* 'cresta del gallo' [CR 1937, 641] ||| *CCh.*: perhaps *Bura pu-bal* [*< *r*] 'cock's comb' [BED 1953, 175] || *ECh.*: *Somray bārā* (f) 'tresse de femme, cheveux tressées' [Jng. 1993 MS, 4]? *Lit.*: *Blz. 1994 MS Bed.*, 9 (*Bed.-Som.-WRift*); Takács 2000, 72, #1.4 (*WRift-Som.-Eg.*).

• **341. Eg. bkn** 'Mist, Exkremente (von Ziegen)' (Med., *Wb I* 482, 6; GHWb 264), cf. perhaps also *Eg. bdn* ~ *bnḍ* [*< *bgn* ~ *bng?'] 'defäkieren' (GHWb 256, 267) ||| *SCu.*: *Alagwa buquma'i* 'excrement' [Ehret 1980, 138] ||| *WCh.*: cf. perhaps *Sha pyan* [*if < *b-n-g*] 'Exkremente' [Jng. 1970, 288].

NB1: The correspondence of *Eg.* -k/*-g- vs. *SCu.* *-ḳ- is irregular.

NB2: *Ch.* Ehret (l.c.) compares *Alagwa buquma'i* to *Iraqw bonqa* [metathesis of *boqn-?] and *Ma'a iubéyo* 'wet cow dung' from a *PSCu.* *boḳ-/beḳ- 'mud', which is highly uncertain. As for *Iraqw bonqa* < *boḳ- cf.

WCh.: Sura bōk ‘Schlamm’ [Jng. 1963, 59], Mupun bōk ‘mud’ [Frj. 1991, 7], Chip bōk ‘mud’ [Mkr.] | Dera lōbōk [prefixal lo-?] ‘mud’ [Nwm. 1974, 129] (SCu.-WCh.: Mkr. 1987, 266-267).

NB3: The reconstruction of *b- in Sha pyan – to the best of my knowledge – is not provable at the moment. Moreover, recently A. Dolgopolsky (1994 MS, 1) suggests that the Sha form is related to CCh.: Buduma pīn ‘Schmutz (der Haut)’ [Lks. 1939, 125].

• **342. Eg. p^cp^cj.t** ‘krankhafte Erscheinung an einer Geschwulst im Hals’ (Med., Wb I 504, 9) = ‘vesiculae (Blasen, kleine Bläschen)’ (Ebbell, cf. WMT 260) = ‘(Subst.)’ (GHWB 274) might be the cognate of NBrb.: Mzab ti-ffi-t, pl. ti-ffi-t-in ‘1. claque aux mains, ampoules, 2. excroissances de peau, filets de peau autour des ongles, envies’ [Dlh. 1984, 46], which apparently derives from AA *p-^c (var. *f-^c) ‘1. to rise, 2. swell’: SWSem. *yp^c [prefix *y-?]: OSA Sabaeen yf^c ‘to go up, approach (place/person), 2. rise up, oppose, 3. take a task in hand, 4. rise, spring (stream)’ [SD 168] = ‘erhaben sein’ [GB], Ar. yafa^ca ‘hoch sein’ [GB 310] = ‘heranwachsen’ [Voigt 1997, 174] ||| EBrb.: Ghadames i-ffu ‘il est enflé’ [Lst. 1931, 232-233] ||| LECu.: Arbore fo?- ‘to become full to overflowing (of a river)’ [Hyw. 1984, 358] || SCu. *pu^c/?- ‘to swell, rise’ [Ehret]: Qwadza pu^c-us- ‘to swell, rise’, pu^c-us-iko ‘cow’s hump’ [Ehret 1980 MS, 3] | Ma’a -pu^cú ‘to rise (of sun)’ (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 146) ||| WCh.: Gmy. fuu ‘to be swollen’ [Srl. 1937, 54] || CCh.: Margi fi ‘to swell’ [Sk. 1977, 43] | Bana pē ‘gonfler, enfler’ [Brt.-Jng. 1990, 86]. Note that Gmy. and Margi f- < AA *f-, which points to an AA var. root *f-^c.

NB1: This set of cognates has further var. roots, cf. ES: Chaha ambe ‘malignant neck tumor’ [Lsl. 1979, 42] (related to Sem. *b^cb^c below?) ||| CCh.: Mofu-Gudur -mb- ‘1. gonfler, 2. entasser, 3. se rassasier’ [Brt. 1988, 196; 1978, 139] || ECh.: Mobu bé & Ngam bēē ‘enlever’ [Jng. in Lns. 1984, 63]. Any connection to Sem. *byy: Hbr. b^cy qal ‘1. anschwellen (Feuer das Wasser)’, nifal ‘1. (intr.) anschwellen, sich vorschieben (von einem Mauerstück)’ [GB 106] || Ar. byy: bayā ~ bayīya ‘das Maß überschreiten’ [GB]?

NB2: Alternatively, Eg. p^cp^cj.t might represent a phonologically irregular parallel to Sem. *bV^c(bV^c)-at- ~ *V-bV^cbV^c-(at)- ‘blister, boil’ [SED]: Akk. (a/jB) bubu^ctu ~ bubu^ctu ~ bubutu ‘1. Eiter (i.a.: dessen Fließen nicht gut ist, neben Schweiß, vom Penis, roter, schwarzer, weißer Eiter, wenn die Leber bubu^ctum voll ist), 2. Eiterbläschen, Eitergeschwür (Leber, Galle, Lunge)’ [AHW 135] = ‘inflammation, boil, pustule’ [CAD b 300] || Hbr. ʔāba^cbū^cōt (pl., *hapax*) ‘Blattern, Geschwüre’ [GB 7] = ‘blisters, ulcers’ [KB 9], PBHbr. bi^cbū^c ‘protuberance, casting bubbles, bulging’ [Jastrow], NHbr. b^cb^c piel ‘gonfler, faire des bulles’ [DRS], JArām. bu^c ~ be^ci ‘enfler’, bū^cā ‘swelling, abscess (mostly applied to tubercles of the lungs)’, bu^cātā & bū^cā ‘abscess’ [Jastrow] = bu^cātā ‘bulle’, bū^cā ‘ulcère’ [DRS], Syr. ba^cbu^cyatā ‘bulles’, bū^cbā^cā ‘ébullition’ [DRS] = ‘Wasserblasen’ [GB] || ES: Gurage: Selti (h)umbobbo, Wolane əmb^cābbo, Chaha əmb^cāp^cwā, Ezha & Masqan & Gogot əmb^cāb^cwā, Endegeny əmb^cāppā, Muher əmb^cāb^cwā, Soddo əmbobbo ‘blister’ (Grg.: Lsl. 1979, 43; Sem.: DRS 52, 73; SED 1, 29-30, #30). The comparison of Eg. p^cp^cj.t with Hbr. ʔāba^cbū^cōt was first suggested by B. Ebbell (Altägyptische Bezeichnungen für Krankheiten und Symptome, Oslo, 1938, p. 20). Note that the relationship (if any) of the Gurage root to Geez ʔənpāp^cpe ~ ʔənpān^cpe ~ ʔənpān^cpe ~ ʔənpā^cān^cpe ~ ʔənpā^cənp^cpe ‘ulcers resulting from elephantiasis, pustules’ [Lsl. 1987, 30] is not yet clear. H. Grimme (1914, 261) linked it to Ar. ʔunbūb- ‘knot of a stem’ < nbb ‘to have a knotted stem’.

• **343. Eg. f3k** ‘der Kahle’ (MK, Wb I 575, 20), fk [< *f3k] ‘kahl sein’ (NK, Wb I 575, 19), cp.also fk [< *f3k] ‘wüst sein, brach liegen’ (MK, Wb I 579-580). The etymology of this root greatly depends on its medial -3-.

1. Several scholars transcribe the root as *fk* and identify it with Sem.: Ar. *fk* 'loslassen, zerbrechen, verrenken' [Clc.] ||| PCu. **f-k-k* 'to open' [GT] or Eth.-Sem.: Geez *bāk* 'vacuus, inanis' [Rsl.] (for this Eg.-AA etymology see Clc. 1936, #197; Rsl. 1971, 281; OS 1992, 176; Skn. 1996, 63; HCVA 1, #15). We may add to this comparison CCh.: Buduma *phukké* 'nackt' [Lks. 1939, 124].

2. Another alternative possibility would be accounting for the liquid value (AA *-l- or *-r-) of the eventual -3- in the OEg. root, which would lead to deriving OEg. **f3k* from AA **f-r-k* ~ **f-l-k*. C. T. Hodge (1966, 45, #30) has already suggested identifying Eg. *f3k* with WCh.: Hausa *fārkāá* 'to rip and remove (e.g. cloth-rags)', cf. *fārkā* ~ *fālkā* 'to rip' [Abr. 1962, 247, 255]. Now we can add further Chadic cognates, cf. Ch. **f-l-k* [GT]: Mada *fāllówák* 'complètement édenté' [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 105], Mafa *fālāka'a* ~ *fālāk-fālākka'a* 'édenté' [Brt.-Bléis 1990, 136] | Pus *fulki* 'éplucher, décortiquer ou égrainer à la main' [Trn. 1991, 88], Vulum (Mulwi) *fūlkí* 'éplucher, décortiquer' [Trn. 1978, 293] || ECh.: Bidiya *poròk* 'déplumer' [AJ 1989, 108]. From Ch. **f-r-k* (or **f-r-k?*) 'to pluck out'?

• 344. Eg. *bk3* 'to be(come) pregnant' (OK, Wb I 481): from **bkl*, presumably cognate to SCu. **bukul-* 'to fill up' [Ehret]: perhaps Ma'a -*būku* [regular loss of *-l] 'to draw water', i.e. *'to fill waterpot' (?) [Ehret] | Dahalo *ḥukul-* 'to fill in hole' [EEN 1989, 34] = *ḥūkul-* 'to fill a hole' [Tosco 1991, 130] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 141).

NB1: The semantic shift 'full' → 'pregnant' is evident, cf. Sem.: Soqotri *dīnih* 'to be pregnant' [Lsl.], Mehri *dny* 'to conceive', *dānyēt* 'pregnant' [Jns.], Jibbali *dny* 'to be pregnant' [Lsl.] || ES: cf. Gurage-Ennemor *dānʔa* [Lsl.] (MSA: Lsl. 1938, 130-131; Jns. 1987, 72) ||| Eg. *dnj* 'nachfüllen (mit Wasser zum Verdünnen des Bieres)' (Math., Wb V 464, 3; GHWb 981), cf. *jdn* 'erfüllen, ausfüllen' (GHWb 118) ||| WCh.: Sura *dūn* 'voll, nicht hohl (?)', cf. *dūn kà wur* 'jungfräuliche Brust, die noch nicht gesaugt worden ist' [Jng. 1963, 63]. For Sura-Sem.: Müller 1975, 68, #63.

NB2: The old comparison of Eg. *bk3* with Sem. **bkr* 'to be first-born' (Albright 1927, 205; Cohen 1947, #388; Hodge 1976, 11, 16; 1981, 406) is semantically less convincing. This etymology has been rightly abandoned already in HCVA 2, #89.

• 345. Eg. *m3.wtj* 'als Bezeichnung der Hoden' (GR, Wb II 28, 9). Origin disputable:
1. Either extended by the -*tj* nomen actoris suffix, act. *'producer or container of sperm (?)' (GT), cf. Eg. *m3j* 'die Samenflüssigkeit im Mutterleibe' (Amarna, Wb II 12, 10) = 'foetus' (FD 101) = 'Foetus' (GHWb 315), cf. also NEg. *m3j.t* 'semence' (KRI II 197, 11, AL 79.1103).

2. Or was -*tj* the fem. dual ending? In this case I would not exclude a relationship with NAgaw: Xamir *mīlā* 'testiculi' [Rn. 1884, 392] || LECu.: Saho *mīl-ā* 'Hoden, testiculi' [Rn. 1890, 265] ||| NOm. **mUl-* 'egg' [GT] = **mbul-* [Bnd. 1994, 1156, #24]: Ometo *mol-* & *mōl-* 'egg' [Bnd.] | Chara *molā* 'egg' [Crl.] = *mōla* [Bnd.] | Gimira **mul* [GT]: Benesho *mul* 'egg' [Wdk. 1990, 107], She *mul* 'testicolo' [CR 1925, 621] | Dizi (Maji) *mialgu* 'egg' [Bnd.-Flm.] = *mūlm* [Mkr.], Nao *mola* 'egg' [Bnd.-Flm.] = *mōla* [Mkr.] || SOM.: Dime *mōllo* 'egg' [Bnd. 1971, 263, #23] = *mōllo*, *móló* [Mkr.] = *məl(l)-o* [Bnd. 1994, 149] (Om.: Bnd.-Flm. 1976, 49; Bnd. 1988, 149; 1994, 1154-1156, #24; Mkr. 1987, 33) ||| CCh.: Hina *milti* 'Eier' [Str. 1922-1923, 134].

Lit.: Crl. 1938 III, 172 (NOm.-LECu.-Xmr.); Skn. 1995, 31 (NOm.-SBrb.).

NB1: Perhaps here belongs SBrb.: Ayr & ETāwillemmet muləy 'to be male, be sound (of male)' [Alj. 1980, 128], cf. Hgr. a-māli 'not castrated male animal (he-goat, camle etc.)' [Gouffé], from which C. Gouffé (1974, 371) derived Hausa amááli ~ amáálè 'chameau reproducteur et chef du troupeau' [Gouffé] = amáálè 'monstrous ram, horse, donkey, or camel' [Abr. 1962, 28].

NB2: Brb. *ta-məllal-t 'egg' is generally accepted in Berber studies to derive from common Brb. *mīl '(to be) white' (Bst. 1885, 180-181; Dst. 1925, 270-271, #1; Bynon 1984, 256-257; Mlt. 1991, 257, #24.1), cf. e.g. NBrb.: Iznasen ta-məllal-t 'oeuf', Iboqqoyen ta-mežžar-t 'oeuf', pl. i-mežžar-en 'testicules' (Rif: Rns. 1932, 387) | Qabyle ta-məllal-t, pl. ti-məllal-in '1. oeuf, 2. testicule' [Dlt. 1982, 497]. So it can hardly be compared with NOm. *mUl- 'egg' (unless there was a contamination between the PBrb. 'egg' word and PBrb. *mīl 'white').

3. WCh.: Bks. mǝyòl coll. 'Sperma' [Jng. 1970, 144] || CCh.: Mada ámal 'semer (arachides, coton, souchet)' [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 184] | Vulum (Mulwi) mīl 'semer' [Trn. 1978, 304; 1978, 93].

4. AA *m-r 'seed, sprout' [GT]: LECu.: Somali-Jäbärti mur 'Frucht, Same' | Afar mīro 'Frucht, Same' (LECu.: Rn. 1904, 78) | HECu.: (?) Sidamo mur? 'germogliare, spuntare', mur?-o 'germoglio' [Mrn. 1940, 231] = mu?r- 'to sprout', mur-a 'sprout', cf. mur-e 'child (under 6)' [Hds. 1989, 141, 387] || CCh.: Mofu-Gudur -mər- 'réensemencer' [Brt. 1988, 183].

NB: The etymology of the Sid. root is disputable. G. Hudson (l.c.) suggests mu?r- < *mut-i?r- = Oromo muṭṭ-ē & Kambatta mut-a 'sprout'. But the latter root has a clear reflex in Sidamo muḍ-ē.

• 346. Eg. m3^c 'Schläfe' (MK, Wb II 24) = 'temple of head' (FD 102) = '1. Schläfe (Mensch, Tier, Ort wo der Zopf sitzt), 2. (Fig.) Auferksamkeit' (GHWb 318) || SAGaw: Awngi ɲari [ɲ- < *m-, irreg. -r- < *-l-?] 'temple of head' [Lmb.] || LECu.: Oromo mall-a 'guancia, gota' [Da Thiene 1938, 234 apud Lmb.] || NOm.: Kaffa mallall-o/-ō 'temple, osso temporale' [Crl. 1951, 471], Shinasha (Bworo) mālal-á 'temple of head' [Lmb.], Mocha mǎll-o 'temple of head' [Lmb.] | Sheko mǎll-o 'temple of head' [Lmb.] (NOm.-Cu.: Lmb. 1987, 533, #6.b; 1993, 105; 1993, 353) || CCh.: Glavda úúmǝla 'cheek' [RB 1968] | Mada mlom 'tempe' [Brt.-Brunet 2000, 185] | Lame mbǝlǝn [mb- < *m- reg.] 'côté, profil' [Scn. 1982, 314].

NB1: M. Lamberti (1987, 533; 1993, 105) identifies the Cu.-NOm. forms with ECu. *mīn- 'forehead, eyebrow': i.a. Konso-Dullay *mīn-tV 'forehead', all derived from an OCu. *mīn- 'a certain part of the face around the forehead'. For me unacceptable both semantically ('forehead' ≠ 'temple') and phonologically (strong -n- ≠ -l- opposition in Cu.-Om., even if there are well known exceptions, cf. *lam- '2'). Moreover, most recently V. Blažek (2000, 182-183, #7) has suggested a convincing AA etymology for ECu. *mīn- in CCh.: Hina manǝnó 'Stirn' [Str. 1922-1923, 113]. He proposed also some extra-AA parallels: Drv. *mūn- 'front' [DED 5020a] ~ IE *mein- 'face' [Jucquois, Orbis 16, 1967, 177-179].

NB2: The position of ECh.: Bdy. mumūr 'milieu de la tête' [AJ 1989, 101] is disputable.

NB3: P. Lacau (1970, 53, #125) gives a far-fetching inner Eg. etymology for m3^c, which rendered as 'la plume de la tempe' and explained from the m3^c.t-feather, and related also to m3^c 'côté, bord'.

NB4: F. Hommel (1899, 347-348) identified Eg. m3^c with Sem.: Akk. maḥru 'Stirn' (sic, contra AHW 585: 'Vorderseite'). Untenable both semantically (the underlying Akk. root was maḥāru 'empfangen, gegenüberreten' [AHW 577]) and phonologically (only Eg. m- = Akk. m- correspond).

• 347. Eg. m3wd 'die Arme' (NE, Wb II 28, 16) = 'perche, palanche' (NE 1x, AL 77.1610) = 'carrying-pole' (NE 5x, DLE I 207). H. Grapow (1914, 22), ignoring the Old Kingdom

attestation of the word, read it as *m3w.t (fem!), which he considered as an m- prefix derivative of OEg. 3wj 'ausstrecken' (Wb). W.A. Ward (1989, 76), in turn, transcribed the word as mwd, translated as 'carrying-pole', regarding it to be of a foreign origin. I think NEg. m3wḏ can by no means be treated as a foreign loan. It occurs that a NEg. word written in a strange group-writing – contrary to the preconception usually maintained in Egyptology – turns out to be a 'native' Eg. root. The Old Egyptian etymon in question may be m3wḏ [< *mrwg?] 'transporter, porter à l'aide d'une palanche' (OK, AL 77.1509) = 'tragen, transportieren (mit einer Tragestange)' (GHWb 319), which might be a denominative verb. In addition, cf. perhaps also OEg. m3d.w [< *mrg-w] 'perche, palanche' (PT, AL 77.1610) = 'Brückenjoch (?), Stäbe (?)' (GHWb 322), which seems to be a hopeful genetic parallel of AA *m-r-g (or sim.) '1. shoulder, 2. neck, 3. (to put) burden on the shoulder of the neck, equip with', cf. EBrb.: Ghadames e-mrəḡ 'être armé (piège)' [Lanfry 1973, 216, #1023] ||| LECu. *marg- 'neck' [GT]: Baiso marg-i 'front neck' [Hyw. 1979, 127] ≈ marg-i 'neck' [LS], Somali merg-i ~ mirg-i (caus.) '(be)drängen, jemanden am Halse packen und würgen', mérg-i ~ mírg-i 'Hals- und Nackensehne' [Rn. 1902, 301] = mǎrég, pl. mǎrég- 'rope for neck of lamb or kid', merg-in-ayya 'to tangle (rope), stick (of meat in throat)' [Abr. 1964, 175, 178] = marg-at- 'to choke' [Lmb.], Jiddu merž-ə ~ merž-e [-ž- < *-g-] 'neck' [Lmb.], Dasenech morg-oč 'hump' [Lmb.] (LECu.: Lmb. 1988, 88, #130) | NECu. Sidamo morgogg-e 'hock' [Lsl.] (HECu.: Lsl. 1988, 195) ||| NOM. *mUrg- 'shoulder' [GT]: Ometo morg-e 'dorso, spalla' [Mrn. 1938, 153], Wolayta muorg-ē 'spalla, shoulder' [Cr. 1929, 33] = morgiy-a '1. shoulder, 2. hump' [Lmb.], Gamu morg-e 'hump' [Sottile 1999, 432], Gofa morg-e 'shoulder' [Lmb.] | Shinasha (Bworo) mangr-à [< *marg-] 'shoulder' [Lmb.] (NOM.-LECu.: Lmb. 1988, 54; 1993, 109; 1993, 354; Hbr.-Lmb. 1988, 129; LS 1997, 466) ||| ECh.: Kera amàrgá 'Rückentrage für Säuglinge' [Ebert 1976, 26].

• 348. Eg. **mnḥ.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; AMS 1980, 64; cf. Rn. 1886, 882; Lsl. 1988, 195; Hds 1989, 417; Ehret 1974, 87] || SCu.: Iraqw malḥari 'pus', malaḥ- 'to bring up phlegm, loosen phlegm' [Ehr.] | Dahalo malíḥa'a 'pus' [Nurse 1986, 30] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 154, 323; ECu.-SCu.: Ehret 1987, #422) ||| CCh.: perhaps Masa mīl 'abcès, plaie' [Cte. 1983, 106] = mila 'ulcer' [Krf.]. See also Takács 1996, 135-136, #29; 1997, 260-261, #72 (Eg.-Cu.-?Ar.).

NB1: A.B. Dolgopolsky (1987, 200, #37) equated the ECu.-SCu. root with Sem.: Ar. malaḥ- 'tumeur au jarret du cheval' [BK 1144] = 'tumor in suffragine equi' [Dlg.: orig. *'abscess?'].

NB2: The semantical connection of Eg. 'froth on lips' vs. Cu. 'pus' is justifiable, cf. NEg. rj.t [< *rl-t?] 'pus, Eiter' (Med., Wb II 399) = Sem.: Hbr. ryr qal 'to flow' → *rīr 'saliva (flowing out), froth, ausfließender Speichel, Geifer, Schleim', Ar. ryl 'to give off saliva, foam, froth, geifern', riyāl- 'saliva' (Sem.: GB 759).

NB3: The isogloss of SBrb.: Ahaggar tā-mellemel-t, pl. ti-mellemel-in 'humeur vitrée qui remplit le fond du globe de l'oeil (chez les personnes et animaux)' [Fed. 1951-2, 1194] ||| Bed. melo 'tears' [Rn. 1895, 168] ||| ECh.: Tumak mīlól 'tear' [Cpr. 1975, 85] seems to be distinct (met. of AA *lim- 'tears?'). Note that CCh.: Buduma himālo 'tears' [Lks. 1939, 104] has been explained by Lukas as a loanword from Kanuri śimalò, so it cannot be related.

• 349. Eg. **mnkr.t** 'der Schwanz am Königschurz' (MK, Wb II 91, 6): is supposedly a compound of *mn- (this elent can be found in a few similar quadriliteral Eg. words) and *kr.t. The hypothetic Eg. *k-r 'tail (or sim.)' may be identical with LECu.: Saho & Afar gārā [g- unexpected] 'tail, Schwanz, Schweif' [Rn.] ||| NOm.: Kaffa kerrò 'coda, tail' [Rn.; not in Crl. 1951] (LECu.-Kaffa: Rn. 1888, 304; Mkr. 1966, 16, #35) ||| PCh. *kir- 'tail' [GT]: WCh.: Pero kèrèt [Frj. 1985, 36] | SBAuchi *kir- 'tail' [GT]: Kir & Mangas kər [Smz.], Mbaaru & Guruntum kərau [Smz.] = kəru [Jaggar], Zaranda kil [Smz.], Tule kyeerə [Smz.], Dokshi kyeer [Smz.], Zaar kiir [IL] = kiir [Smz.], Boghom kʰəi [IL] = kay [Smz.], Geji čil [< *kil] [Smz.] = čil [IL] etc. (SBAuchi data: Smz. 1978, 32, #49) || CCh.: Glavda ɬəkilə [Mkr.], Guduf ɬikyela [Mkr.] (Ch. data: Mkr. 1987, 361; JI 1994 II, 316). Areal parallel: PWNigr. *-kila 'tail' ~ PBantu *-kila 'tail' (Ch.-AP: JI 1994 I, 163).

NB1: If the suggested NOm.-Ch.-Eg. comparison proves correct, the Chadic data listed above should modify the reconstruction of PCh. *k-t-r < *k-s-r 'tail' [JI 1994 I, 163].

NB2: It is questionable whether PCh. *k-r 'back' [JI 1994 I, 3] is also related. Cp. WCh.: NBAuchi *kyar- 'back' [Skn. 1977, 11] | Zaar ka:r [Smz.] || CCh.: Gudu ɬul [Meek] | Lamang ɬul [Meek] || ECh.: Kera kerkə [Ebert] | Mubi hār [Lks.] = hār [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 6-7). An alternative etymology for PCh. *k-r 'back' would be Sem. *ʔaḥ(a)r 'behind, after' [Sem.: DRS 15; GB 26]. Cf. also NOm.: Kaffa kərə 'back' [Rn. 1895, 203].

NB3: As for the Eg. *mn- in mnkr.t (which is seemingly semantically rather neutral), I observed further quadriconsonantal words which contain this (inety-mological?) first element mn-:

1. Eg. mnḏr 'ein Eingeweide des Menschen und der Säugetiere' (Med., Wb II 94, 1-2), cp. ḏrj.t 'Körperteil des Rindes: wohl am Bauch' (MK, Wb V 600, 14) ||| Sem.: Ar. ġiriyy-at- and ġiriʔ-at- 'stomach, triple stomach or crop of bird' [Dlg.] ||| Bed. gʷārār 'large intestine, colon' [Rpr. 1928, 189] || Agaw *gir- 'intestines, stomach' [GT] || ECU. *gar[ʕ]- 'Bauch' [Sasse 1973, 275] || SCU. *guraʔ- 'belly' [GT, cf. Ehret 1980, 239] (Cu.: Dlg. 1972, 202) ||| NOm.: Haruro (South Lake Margharita dial.) gara 'body' [Flm.] (Cu.-Om.: Flm. 1969, 23; Dlg. 1973, 205). For Cu.-Ar.: Chn. 1947, #211; Flm. 1969, 23; Dlg. 1972, 202; 1973, 205.

2. Eg. mnqb 'cool place' (MK, Wb II 90, 15-21; FD 110), derived from Eg. qbb 'to be cool, cold' (PT, Wb V 22-23; FD 277) ||| Agaw *kāmb- 'cold' [Apl. 1991, 19, 23; 1994, 4] || ECU. *ḳabb-/ḳab- 'cold' [Sasse 1979, 49; 1982, 112] → PSam *qab-ō 'cold' [Heine 1978, 71]. For Eg.-Cu.: Cohen 1947, #231; Dlg. 1983, 135.

3. Eg. mnṯ3.t 'pottery vessel' (MK, FD 110) = 'Schale für Wasser (?)' (Wb II 92, 7) < Eg. ṯ3.t [< *kl-t] 'Art Gefäß' (OK, Wb V 343, 3).

4. Eg. mnḫ.t '(NE) Brust, (GR) Euter der Kuh' (Wb II 79, 14-15), cf. Eg. ḫ 'udder' (GR, Wb I 533, 9), nḫ.wj 'Euter der Kuh' (GR, Wb II 249, 15-17) ||| SCU.: Ma'a ma-fwáha 'fresh milk' [Ehret 1980, 151] ||| WCh.: NBAuchi *a-piH- 'milk, breast' [GT]: Warji pī-na, Kariya, Miya api, Diri yapu, Mburku piühú, Tsagu ipən (NBAuchi: Stl. 1987, 248, #2) | Bade fufau 'breast' [IL] || CCh.: Tera ɬubu 'breast' [Nwm.] | Musgu fyáw 'sein', fyaw 'lait' [Mch.] = fiyaw 'sein', fiyaw 'milk' [Trn.] = fiaw 'milk' [Müller] (Musgu: Müller 1886, 395; Mch. 1950, 26/38; Trn. 1991, 88) | Zime-Batna pá 'breast' [Jng.] = pá [Scn.] || ECh.: Sokoro kù-pè 'breast' [Saxon] | Migama pú:pú 'breast' [Jng.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 46-47) ||| (?) Eth.-Sem.: Amh. fäyā 'to suck the breast, drink milk by suckling', Gurage: Muher fʷat, Soddo äfat, Goggot äfʷat 'milk' (ES: Lsl. 1979, 247: no Sem. etymology, GT: loan from Cu.?).

• **350. Eg. mnd** 'breast' (OK, Wb II 92-93): its traditional Sem. etymology has been adopted by most scholars (Ember 1911, 90; 1919, 32; 1930, #10.a.17, #11.b.6, #24.a5; Al 1918, 90, 92, #4; Clc. 1936, #201; Vrg. 1945, 135, #9.b.10; Chn. 1947, #483; Dlg. 1961, 102; 1970, 620, #11; Ward 1972, 20, #178; IS 1976, #291; Mlt.-Sts. 1994, 2; Orel 1995, 108, #120; HSED #1815), cp. Sem. *mlg: Ar. malaġa, impf. ya-mluġ-u (also met. va-lmġ) 'to suck (at) the breast, lutschen' [Brk. 1908, 268-269; Zbr. 1991, 1687] || Am mlg D: mälläġa 'to suck, suckle' [Kane 1990, 161] (Sem.: MM 1983, 247). P. Laca (1970, 71, #178) has, however, already ingeniously surmised – purely on the basis of the inner Eg. evidence – that Eg. mnd might be analyzed as a nomen loci (or instrument) with prefix m- derivation from an hypothetical (unattested) OEg. *wnd 'allaiter'. Now, this hypothetical OEg. *wnd can be confirmed by external parallels too. According to the law of Belova (on which see EDE 1, chapter VIII), Eg. *wnd reflects AA *nug-/*lug-. Such an AA root indeed exists, cp. Bed.: Bisharin nūg ~ nūgwe 'teat, nipple, female breast' [Almkvist], Ammar'ar nīg^w 'сосок груди' [Dlg. 1973, 174], Halenga nogwe [Rn.] || EC *nūg- 'to suck' [Sasse 1979, 24]: LECu. *nū2g- [Black]: PSam *nūūg 'to suck from breast' [Heine]: Boni nūg, Rendille nūg, Somali nūg (Sam gr.: Heine 1976, 221; 1977, 291; 1978, 70) | Arbore indiy-nug-e 'to suck' [Black], Elmolo i-nūk-a 'to suck' [Black] | POromo *lūg- [GT: *l- < *n-]: WOromo lūg- 'to squirt milk from cow's udder into mouth' [Black], Konso & Gidole lūk- [-k- reg. < *g-] 'to suck' [Black] | Yaaku -nūl [-k- < *g-] 'to suck' [Heine 1975, 135] (LECu.: Black 1974, 182, 222; Cu.: Dlg. 1973, 175-6).

NB1: This Cushitic root may be remotely related to Agaw *ʔangw-/*ʔangw- 'breast' [Apl.]: NAgaw: Bilin ʔingw [Apl.] = ʔingū [Rn.], Hamir ʔoq^w [Rn.] = əq^w [Apl.], Hamta eroq^w [-r- < *n-] [CR], Qwara ʔengwā [Rn.], Qemant angū [CR] = ɪngu [Bnd.] = əngw(ə) [Apl.] | SAgaw: Awngi angwī [CR] = angw(ī) [Apl.] = angw [Bnd.], Kunfāl angukh [Birru-Adal 1971, 101, #11] (Agaw: Dlg. 1973, 175; Apl. 1984, 46; 1989, 6; 1991, 21) | LECu.: Saho angu 'female breast' [Welmers] = angū 'teat, nipple' [Rn.], Afar angu 'teat, nipple' [Rn.] (Caus. data: Dlg. 1973, 175; Dj. etc. 1986, 65; Zbr. 1989, 579; Apl. 1989, 6-7; Sasse 1991, 272, #1.6.) || CCh: Kotoko *engwī/e 'breast' [GT]: Sao emgpie [-gp- < *g^w-] 'seins', Makeri énkūe 'female breasts', Gulfei emgwī 'seins', perhaps Kuseri embwi [-bw- perhaps from *ngw-?] 'seins' (Kotoko: Sölken 1967, 260).

NB2: The Cu. root *ngw ~ *ngw 'to suck breast' has been usually equated with Sem. *ynq 'saugen' || Eg. snq caus. 'säugen' (v. Müller 1903, 79; 1907, 303-304, fn. 3; Behnk 1928, 138; Dj. 1965, 43; 1967, 188; Dlg. 1973, 175-176; Dj. etc. 1986, 65; Zbr. 1989, 579). The irregular correspondence of Eg.-Sem. *q ≠ PCu. *g makes, however, this comparison unconvincing or, at least, phonologically irregular.

NB3: Indirectly, already W.M. Müller (1907, 303-304, fn. 3) referred to the eventual relationship of what he called 'Hamitic' [GT: i.e. Somali] nūg, ngw' and Eg. mnd, although he supposed Eg. mnd to be identical with Eg. mn^c.t from a root *n^c (!). Eg. mnd has etymologically nothing to do with Eg. mn^c 'to suckle' (contra Müller 1907, 303; Hommel 1915, 16, fn. 3).

NB4: A.B. Dolgopolsky (1987, 201, #46) treated LECu.: POromo *lūg- separately from ECU. *nūg-. He suggests that Poromo *lūg- is cognate with SCU. *šik- 'to sop up, slop, slurp' [Ehret 1980, 212] || Sem.: Soqotri n-šgg: pf. 3rd sg. masc. winšegig 'couler', cf. Ar. of Hadramaut saġa'a 'couler' (Sem.: Lsl. 1938, 425). It seems to me improbable because of the significant difference between SCU. *k ≠ POromo *g, and SCU. *i- ≠ POromo *ū-.

NB5: Note that Ar. malaġa cannot be compared to LECu.: PSam *māl- 'to milk' (as proposed in Dlg. 1968, 102; Blz. 1990, 208, #291).

• **351. Eg. mnd̥t** [< *mng-t] 'Teil des Gesichts: zwischen Nase und Jochbein längst dem Auge' (Med., Wb II 93, 10-12) = 'cheek' (FD 110; Walker 1996, 269) = 'Wange, Backe' (GHWb 343) = 'les joues' (AL 77.1756) ||| ECu. *mang- 'jaw, chin' [Lmb. 1987, 533; Rn. 1886, 882; Sasse 1982, 140].

• **352. Eg. mndr** 'an intestine (of men and mammals), ein Eingeweide des Menschen und der Säugetiere' (Med., Wb II 94, 1-2) = 'gall bladder (?)' (AEO I, 18; Grapow 1954, 79 after Dawson) = 'Magen (?)' (GHWb 344) – mentioned among viscera of man and animals, usually together with liver, heart, spleen, lung, intestines. To be analyzed as *mn-dr? For the element mn- cf. Eg. mnph̥t, mnqb, mnkr̥t, mnt̥3t. For the second component *-dr cf. perhaps Eg. dr̥jt 'Körperteil des Rindes: wohl am Bauch' (MK, Wb V 600, 14). This element *-dr is probably distinct from Eg. dr̥w.w 'side, flank (anat.)' (MK, AEO II 254*; FD 324). There exist a few etymological possibilities depending on the source of Eg. -d̥. Most probably, OEg. *dr̥ < *gr, cf. Sem.: Ar. ġirriyy-at- 'the stomach, or triple stomach, or the crop, or craw of a bird' [Lane 476] ||| Bed. ġwārār 'colon, large intestine' [Rpr. 1928, 189] || Agaw: perhaps Bilin gir (var. žir) 'Darm', pl. 'Gedärme, Eingeweide, Magen' [Rn. 1887, 158] || ECu. *gar̥]- 'belly, Bauch' [Sasse 1973, 275]: Oromo garā 'stomach, heart, mind' [Gragg 1982, 167], Oromo-Maccha garā 'желудок, живот (stomach, belly)' [Dlg.], Konso kari-ta 'belly' [Flm.], Dirayta gere 'belly' [Flm.] | Elmolo gere 'belly' [Heine 1973, 279], Geleba (Dasenech) gere 'belly' [Dlg.] = ġere 'belly' [Sasse], Arbore ġere 'belly' [Sasse-Dlg.] = geré? 'belly' [Zbr.], Gato kara 'belly' [Flm.] | Dullay *kar̥- 'belly, Bauch' [GT, cf. AMS 1980, 232] || SCu.: WRift *gura?- 'stomach, belly' [GT]: Iraqw ġūra, pl. ġūr'e, Gorowa ġūra, pl. ġūr'i, Alagwa gura'a, Burunge gura'a (SCu.: Wtl. 1958, 25; Dlg. 1972, 202; 1973, 205; Ehret 1980, 239) ||| NOm.: Haruro (South Lake Margharita dial.) gara 'body' (< *'belly?') [Flm.] = gārā [Dlg.] ||| ECh.: Lele gúrmú 'stomach' [WP 1982, 32] | Migama gúr-múḍú 'stomach' [Jng.-Adams 1992, 89]. Note that these parallels might be alternatively equated with Eg. ng3j (or ngj) [< *ngr, prefix n-?] 'ventre' (NE, AL 77.2237) = 'belly' (CED 119) = 'Bauch' (KHW 527) > (S) nēče, (B) neži 'Bauch' (KHW 136, 138).

Lit. for Cu.-Ar.: Chn. 1947, #211; Flm. 1969, 23; Dlg. 1972, 202; 1973, 205; Ehret 1980, 389; Zbr. 1989, 578; HSED #995.

NB1: H.-J. Sasse (1973, 275) set up ECu. *gar̥-, but the evidence for PECu. *-r̥ comes from Dullay only. Was it a secondary innovation? Moreover, WRift does not reflect this *-r̥ either. The underlying PAA stem has been most recently (Mlt.-Sts. 1994 MS, 2) reconstructed as *garyV 'belly' (on the basis of the Sem., CCh., Cu.-Om. data).

NB2: Was there a process g- < ž- and not *vice versa* in Bilin gir? Is Bilin gir distinct from Agaw *žir- 'intestines, guts' [Apl. 1991, 7]: Bilin žir, Hamta zila, Qwara žir, Qemant žor, žir, Awngi zir?

NB3: Less probably, OEg. *dr̥ < *gl̥, cf. WCh.: Dera gúl̥ḡi 'large intestines' [Nwm. 1974, 125]. Or, OEg. *dr̥ < AA *[c/ç/ċ]VrV? Cf. Sem.: Akk. šurru 'Inneres, Herz' [AHW 1114?]

• **353. Eg. mrt̥** 'Kehle eines Gottes' (GR, Wb II 107, 7) ||| ECu. *marmar- 'neck': Burji marmár-i 'neck, nape of neck' | Oromo morm-a 'neck', Somali marmar 'neck of camel'

[Lsl.], 'nape of neck' [Sasse] (ECu.: Sasse 1979, 24; 1982, 141). Noteworthy areal parallels: PNilo-Saharan *mor- (?) 'neck' [Bnd. 1994, 1161, #56]; PKuliak *morok 'throat' [Nhr 1981, 92], ENilotic *-murut- 'neck' [Vossen 1982, 455; cf. also Heine-Vossen 1976, 9 Grb. 1963, 103]. See also Takács 1996, 136, #30 (Eg.-ECu.-AP).

NB1: Sasse derives ECu. *mar-mar- 'neck' from ECu. *mar- 'round, to roll up' via the mediator meaning 'to turn around'. For this semantic shift cf. e.g. PIE *k^wel-so- 'Hals': Lat. collum 'Hals, Bergjoch', Germ. Hals – derived from PIE *k^wel- 'drehen' [IEW 639-640].

NB2: ECu. *marmar- was borrowed into Eth.-Sem.: Harari märmär 'shoulder', Gurage-Zway marmara 'hump of the neck' (Lsl. 1963, 111; 1979, 406; 1988, 195).

• **354. Eg. nph.w** 'Teil des menschlichen Unterleibes (in der Gegend der Genitalien) bei Mann und Frau: ob Leisteingegend (?)' (Med., Wb II 249, 13-16) = 'iliac region' (F 130) = '*Beckenraum' (GHWb 407) = 'groin' (PL 512) ||| Sem.: Ar. ?infah-at-, sometimes ?infihh-at-, ?infih-at-, m/binfah-at- 'the rennet or rennet-bag of a kid or lamb, the stomach of a lamb or a kid before it eats' [Lane 2821] = 'ventricule d'un agneau ou d'un chevreau' [BK 1306].

• **355. Eg. ntt** 'efflux, saliva' (LP, Wb II 357, 6) = 'spittle, outpouring' (GR, PL 557) = 'spittle' (Hibis, Cruz-Urbe 1988, 269), cf. also Eg. ntnt ~ ntñ.w ~ ntñ.t ~ ntñ.w 'secretion, saliva' (CT, DCT 256) and ntnt 'Schweiß' (BD, Wb II 356, 13): since there is no reliable OK attestation, the etymology of the underlying root (old *nt- or *nt?) is questionable. 1. If we are dealing with an original Eg. *-t (note that the phonemic distinction of OE t vs. ð had been lost by the time of the Coffin Texts so the writing with -t has no absolute testimony value), cf. Sem.: perhaps Ar. ndw [irreg. -nd- < *-nt-?] II '1. mouiller, humecter' [BK 1230] ||| ECu. *?ant- 'saliva' [GT]: Burji ánt-ā ~ ant-ā 'saliva' [Sasse 1982, 27] Yaaku end-o 'saliva' [Heine 1975, 132]. Cf. alternatively Ar. nataha [affix *-h- of body parts?] '1. sortir, suinter par les pores (se dit de la sueur), 2. se couvrir d'humidité, être moite (se dit d'une outre à la surface de laquelle sort l'eau contenue dedans)', nath 'sueur, moiteur' [BK 1192].

NB: It raises a difficult problem that the rest of the HECu. languages indicate a protoform *anṣ-a 'saliva' [GT] = *anč-a [Hds.]. Moreover, the LECu. forms have an additional *-f: Afar anduf-ē, Somali ʿandūf, Oromo hančufa (ECu.: Sasse 1982, 27; Lsl. 1988, 181; Hds. 1989, 127-128; Dlg. 1973, 232; Zbr. 1985, 86). W. Leslau (1988, 181) denies that the HECu. 'saliva' words would be related to the LECu. *Hančuf-. The phonological correspondences between the LECu. and HECu. data, as well as between Eg. -t- vs. HECu. *-ṣ-/*-č- are unclear. On the other hand, Burji -t- would agree well with Eg. -t-. Could this fact be a starting point for solving the problem of these irregular ECu. data? Should we postulate a secondary *-ṣ/-č- < *-t- process in HECu.? Is Somali ʿ- an innovation (influence of another root with initial ʿ-) in this case?

2. If, in turn, the CT forms display the original *-t in this root, it could – in principle – be compared with Sem.: NHbr. & Aram. liklêk '1. anfeuchten', liklūk 'Befeuchtung' [Dalman 1922, 218] = liklêk vs. laklêk '1. anfeuchten, benetzen', liklūk '1. Anfeuchtung, Feuchtigkeit' [Levy 1924 II 507-8].

• **356. Eg. rj.t** [< *rl-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): presumably cognate with Sem.: Hbr. ryr qal 'fließen' → *rîr 'ausfliessender Speichel, Geifer, Schleim'

[GB 759] || Ar. rayr- 'water that comes forth from the mouth of a child', rayr- also 'marrow in a melting or fluid state and corrupt by reason of emaciation' vs. ryl: rāla 'he (a child) slavered', riyāl- 'slaver' [Lane 1200, 1203] = rayr- 'bave qui coule de la bouche d'un enfant' [BK 961] = ryl I 'écumer', II 'baver', riyāl- 'écume', riyāl-at- ~ riwāl-at- 'bave' [Dozy I 576] = ryl 'geifern' [GB].

NB: For the semantic shift 'froth, saliva' vs. 'pus' cf. Eg. mnḥ.w above.

• **357. Eg. hmh** 'Speichel' (NK, Wb II 490, 8) ||| Sem.: cf. Ar. hmy: hamā (n.act. hamy- ~ hamiyy- ~ himyān-) '1. couler (de l'eau ou d'une larme qui s'échappe de l'oeil), 2. verser, répandre des larmes (des yeux)', also hmw: hamā (n.act. hamw-) 'couler (d'une larme)' [BK II 1450] ||| SCu. *hVm- 'sweat' [GT]: Iraqw hame 'sweat' [Ehret] = hamē [Mgw. 1989, 102] | Dahalo himma 'dirt of the body' [Ehret] = himā 'sweat, dirt of body' [EEN 1989, 15] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 305).

NB1: Elderkin (1973, 2, #54) gives only Dahalo fúntōno 'sweat', cf. fúntōno 'sweat, heat' [EEN 1989, 23]. NB2: Interesting are also PCh. *ham- 'water' [GT]: WCh. *hama 'water' [Stl. 1987, 229; 1977, 64]: PAngas-Sura *am [Stl. 1977, 152] | Ron *ham [GT, Ron data: Jng. 1970, 390] | Bole-Tangale *am [Schuh 1984, 214] || CCh.: Logone āmái [Lks.] = aamai [Cyffer] | Mofu āam [Str.] = yām [Brt.] etc. (CCh.: Str. 1922-1923, 127) || ECh.: Mubi ʔāamé 'water' [Jng.] etc. (Ch.: NM 1966, 240; Jng. 1970, 420; Prh. 1972, 15, #4.1.; Nwm. 1977, 34; JI 1994 II, 340-341) ||| perhaps Brb. *a-[H]am-an (if it is a pl. of the root *-Ham-, analysis debated) 'water' [GT]: cp. esp. i.a. Guanche: Gran Canaria a-hemon ~ a-hamen etc. 'water' (Brb.: Wlf. 1955, 87, #22; Guanche: Mlt. 1991, 165). For the AA etymology see also Mlt. 1991, 256, fn. 9; HSED #1156; Skn. 1995, 34.

NB3: For the semantic connection between 'saliva' and 'sweat' cp. esp. Eg. ʕʕ '1. Schweiß, 2. Speichel' (GR, Wb I 169, 1-2) ||| ECu. *yaʕ-/ʔyaʕ- 'to flow away' [Sasse 1982, 192] ||| Sem.: Sabaic hyʕ [secondary h-?] 'to flow, run (of water)' [SD 57] (for Sem.-ECu.: Dlg. 1988, 631, #17). Or cp. Eg. ntt 'Ausfluß, Speichel' (LP, Wb II 357, 6) vs. nntn 'Schweiß' (BD, Wb II 356, 13) ||| perhaps HECu.: Burji ant-ā ~ ānt-ā 'saliva' [Sasse 1982, 27] (note that the underlying HECu. stem has been reconstructed in Hds. 1989, 127-128 as *anč-a).

• **358. Eg. ḥtt.t** [reg. < *ḥkk-t] 'Achsel, Schulter' (MK, Wb III 204, 15-17) = 'armpit' (FD 181; Ward 1972, 22, #276), cf. šn n ḥtt.t 'Achselhaar' (GHWb 572) ||| WCh. *(ya)kVw 'armpit' [GT]: Kulere haw [Ron *h- < *k- regular] 'Achselhöhle' [Jng. 1970, 352] | Pero yyágèw [-VgV- < *-VkV-] 'armpit' [Frj. 1985, 55].

NB1: This seems to be by far the most hopeful Afro-Asiatic etymology of MEg. ḥtt.t [< *ḥkk-t] at the present. I have already carefully studied the Ron and Pero lexicons in an etymological perspective and I can claim that the phonological correspondence is possible in this case. The first root consonant *ḥ- was lost in Ron, but its syllable was preserved by Pero yya-. The medial *-k- in Pero might have been subject to a regular voicing into *-g- in intervocalic position. But we should wait until further Chadic data become available to be able to judge about Ron haw and Pero yyágèw.

NB2: In his most recent book, A.B. Dolgopolsky (1998, 83, #107) equated this Eg. term with Sem.: MSA *ʔatq-at [GT]: Jibbali ʔatqét 'back of the knee' [Jns. 1981, 90] = 'popliteal space' [Dlg.], Mehri ʔetqāyt 'hollow at the back of the knee' [Jns. 1987, 144], which can by no means be accepted. These roots are phonologically 'incomparable' (none of the underlying root consonants corresponds: Eg. ḥ- ≠ Sem. *ʕ-, Eg. ṭ ≠ Sem. *t, Eg. ṭ ≠ Sem. *q). Besides, MSA *ʔatq-at [assim. < *ʔatq-at?] might be eventually related to ECu.: Konso quḍittā 'armpit' [Lmb. 1987, 536, #28.a].

NB3: In the light of the above Eg.-WCh. etymology, it can be excluded that Eg. *h̥t̥t* would be deverbal noun from OEg. *h̥t̥t* 'hochheben, tragen unter dem Arm' (PT; Wb III 204, 14; GHWb 572). On the contrary: OEg. *h̥t̥t* seems to be denominative verb.

NB4: Interesting is the unusual lack of the first syllable in the supposed Cpt. reflexes of MEg. *h̥t̥t*: Cpt. (S) *žo, žō*, (B) *ačo* 'Achsel, Achselhöhle, Schulter' (KHW 18, 412; CED 309). P. Lacau (1970, 106) tries to explain these forms from **h̥t̥yōwēt* ~ **h̥t̥ōwēt* with a *-Vw- extension, which could fit WCh. **[y]akVw-*.

• **359. Eg. *h̥d̥.t*** [< **h̥ê-t*] 'Kinnbacken' (XVIII. old text, Wb III 210, 11; GHWb 574) ||| LECu. **Haḏ-* [GT]: Saho *ád-a* 'molar' [Welmers] | Konso *aḏ-a* 'cheek' [Flm.] || SCu. **ʕoç-* [GT: < earlier **ʕoç-*] 'cheekbone' [Ehret 1980, 278]. Here may belong the Om.-Ch. isogloss for 'tooth', cf. P.Om. **aç-* 'tooth' [Bnd. 1988, 145] || SOM.: Dime *äco*, Banna *aci* Ari & Ubamer & Bako dialects. *aci* ~ *açi* ~ *açi*, Hamar **ʔaçi* ~ *assi*, Karo *asi* 'tooth' (SOM. Flm. l.c.; Cu.-Om.: Flm. 1969, 26-27; 1974, 90; 1976, 320; Dlg. 1973, 307) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura **ha₃ʔa₃s* → **aʔas* 'tooth' [GT] = **agas* [Stl.] = **haʔas* 'tooth' [Dlg.]: Angas *as* [Ormsby 1914, 315] = *äs* [Flk. 1915, 144] = **ʔaas* [Jng. 1962 MS] = [**ʔa:s*] 'tooth' [Brq. 1971, 12] = **ʔaas* [Hfm.] = *às* [ALC 1978, 3] = *àas* [**ʔa:s*] [Krf.] = *as* [Gochal 1994, app.]. Sura *àgàs* ~ *àʔàs* [Jng. 1963, 58] = **aʔas* ~ **aʔas* [Hfm.] = **àʔàs* [Krf.], Mupun *òos* [Frj. 1991, 47], Kofyar *àgàs* [Ntg. 1967, 1] = **aʔas* [Hfm.], Chip *aʔàs* [Jng. 1965, 166] = *əgàs* [Krf.], Montol *ʔōs* [met. < **əʔəs*] [Jng. 1965, 171], Tal *hāss* [IL] = *haas* [Smz.], Gerka *ʔàs* [Jng. 1965, 174] = *ʔəs* [IL], Goemay *hāss* [Srl. 1937, 73] = *hoos* [Hfm.] = *hoos* [Jng. 1962 MS, 2] = *hoos* [Hlw. 2000 MS, 14], Mushere *àkàs* [-k- < *-ʔ-] [Jng. 1999 MS, 1] (AS: Hfm. 1975, 26, #246; Stl. 1977, 152, #4) | Kirfi *ìèçó* 'tooth' [Stl.] (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 226).

Lit. for the Cu.-Om.-Ch. comparison: Mkr. 1987, 378; Dlg. 1987, 209, #103; Blz. 1989 MS, 29, #101; OS 1992, 171.

NB: One wonders whether Eg. *h̥d̥.t* 'tooth' (OK, Wb II 304, 5-8) also derives from the same root as Eg. *h̥d̥.t* 'Kinnbacken'. Should we treat the initial n- as an n- prefix or perhaps as a nisba nj 'which belongs to'? In this latter case, we could render **nj-h̥d̥.t* as *'which belongs to the jaw'.

• **360. Eg. *h̥p3*** 'navel' (PT, Wb III 365, 14): several controversial etymological approaches have been proposed in the literature. Two of these etymologies (under #38.1 and #38.2) were especially wide-spread in the Egyptian etymological literature of the past decades: 1. Eth.-Sem.: Geez *hənbərt*, Amhara *əmbərt* 'navel' ||| Agaw: Qwara *gumbera*, Qemant *gämbära*, Hamir *herbir* 'navel' (Eth.-Sem.-Agaw: Lsl. 1987, 236).

Lit.: this etymology of Eg. *h̥p3* was proposed by Albright 1918, 90, 98; 1918, 242, #83; Trombetti 1923, 119, #79; Ember 1926, 304, #14; 1930, #3.b.39, #8.a.9; Cohen 1947, #123; Dolgopolsky 1964, 29; 1964, 262; Janssens 1967, 87; Ward 1968, 70; 1972, 21, #199.

NB1: Some of these scholars (Ember, Albright, Ward) derived Eth.-Sem. 'navel' from Sem. **h̥br* 'to tie, fasten'. This view is probably wrong, since Ethio-Semitic 'navel', as it has been pointed out by W. Leslau (1949, 315; 1979, 45; 1988, 86) and D. Appleyard (1977, 54), seems to be a borrowing from Cushitic (where we have an ultimate *g- in the Anlaut).

NB2: Any connection to CCh.: Chibak *žumbur* 'navel' [Hfm. 1955, 123]?

2. W. Vycichl (1958, 389; 1959, 39; 1963, 150; 1990, 52), in turn, identified Eg. *h̥p3* (as met. < **h̥3p* < AA **h̥-l-p*) with Sem. **h̥lp* 'verbinden', of which a noteworthy reflex is i.a. ES: Argobba *hulufo* 'navel'. This theory was accepted by V.M. Illič-Svityč (1971, 249). Phonologically plausible, and seems more attractive than the first proposal.

3. In an earlier stage of his research, A. Ember (1926, 304, fn. 7) was disposed to combine Eg. *ḥp3* with Sem. **ḥabl-* ‘rope, cord’. This etymology was adopted recently by H. Satzinger (1994, 199). Here, we are disturbed by the irregular correspondence of Eg. *-p-* vs. Sem. **-b-*.

4. F. Hommel (1907, 383) suggested an evidently false parallel: Ar. *ḡafr-* ~ *ḡār-at-* ‘belly’, which is unacceptable for phonological reasons (Eg. *ḥ-* ≠ Sem. **ḡ-*).

5. According to my own opinion, a possible etymology for Eg. *ḥp3* ‘navel’ could be – if we accept an etymon **Q-p-ʔ* (or **ḥ-*) [GT] – perhaps WCh.: Gera *kûfâ* ‘navel’ [Schuh, cf. also Zima 1990, 264] || CCh.: Masa *hîfâ* ‘navel’ [Mch.] = *hîf-dâ* [Jng.] = *hîf-na* ‘nombrii’ [Trn. 1990, 256], Zime-Batna *úfû* [Jng.] = *úfû* ‘navel’ [Scn.] (Ch. data: JI 1994 II, 251).

6. An alternative to the Chadic etymology proposed in #38.5 is – provided OEg. **ḥp3* derives from AA **ḥ-p-l* [GT] – SBrb.: Tamasheq *a-fulû* ~ *a-fəlû* ‘nombrii saillant de certaines femmes engraisées’ [Ncl. 1957, 573]. Loss of initial **ḥ-* in SBrb. (or was it a separable prefix of body parts?)?

• **361. Eg. *ḥr.wj*** (dual) ‘testicles’ (PT, Wb III 393, 5-7). According to the traditional Egyptological etymology, it is a nisba (**ḥr.j.wj*) of Eg. *ḥr* ‘under’ (see e.g. Lacau 1970, 88). I wonder if this is not just a *Volksetymologie*. I would like to call attention to a widespread Afro-Asiatic root, which, suspiciously enough, has the same meaning and consonantal structure as Eg. *ḥr.wj* [**ḥl-wj*] ‘testicles’, cp. NBrb.: Rif: Uriaghel *i-qellaw-en* pl. ‘testicles’ [Rns. 1932, 371] || Agaw: Bilin *qʷelâ* ‘testicle’ [Rn.] = *qʷelâ* ~ *qûlâ* [Crl.] || LECu.: Konso *kuluma* [AA suffix *-um of body parts?] ‘testicle’ [?] || NOm.: Kaffa *qürö* ‘testicle’ [Rn.] = *qürö* [Crl.] (Bilin-Kaffa: Rn. 1888, 310; Crl. 1951 IV, 488) || WCh.: Hausa *ḡwàlââtâi* ‘testicles’ [Abr. 1962, 579] || CCh.: Bachama *kwàley* ‘testicles’ [Skn.] | PKotoko **koli* [GT]: Logone *lî-kòlî* ‘testicles’ [Bouny], Sao *kolie* ‘testicle’ [Slk./Blz.] || ECh.: Miltu *kele* ‘egg’ [Skn.] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 323). From PAA **[q]ʷal-/[*q]ul-* [GT]? Hausa *ḡw-* points to a glottalized AA postvelar.

Lit. for the AA root: Chn. 1947, #243; IS 1964, 10, fn. 32; 1966, 335; Blz. 1989 MS, 27, #96; 1994 MS, 36; Skn. 1992, 355; 1995, 31.

NB1: Cf. also ECh.: Kera *kálónj* ‘testicles’, *kulúnú* ‘his testicles’ [Ebert 1976, 67]? From **ku-lum* as in Konso (unless it has to be analyzed as **kə-lənj*)?

NB2: In Sem. there are apparently no sure genetic reflexes, but cf. Maghrebi Ar. *qalwa*, pl. *qlāwi* ‘testicle’ [Apl.] = *qəlwa* [Chn.] (probably a Brb. loan) | MSA **qhl* ‘egg’: Soqotri *qehélihen* [Lsl.] = (Hadiboh-Suq dial.) *qəhlin* ~ *qəhəlhin* [Jns.], Jibbali *qahalit* [Lsl.] = EJibbali *qəhəl* coll. [Jns.], CJibbali *qahézín* of any bird & *qəhlot* of hen [Jns.], Mehri *qali* [Lsl.-Apl.] = *qáwhəl* (coll.) [Jns.] (MSA: Lsl. 1938, 369-370; Jns. 1981, 143; 1987, 227) | Geez **qʷəlḥ* ‘testicles’ [Lsl.], OAmh. *qʷəlḥa* ‘testicles’ [Apl.], Amh. *qula*, *qʷola* ‘testicles’ vs. *ənqʷolāl* ‘egg’ [Apl.] etc. (Sem.: Apl. 1977, 57; Eth.-Sem. borrowed probably from Agaw, cf. Lsl. 1988, 86) || WCh.: Hausa *ḡwái* [-i < **-l*] ‘egg’ [Abr. 1962, 576].

NB3: C.T. Hodge (1968, 25, #26) suggested a relationship between Eg. *ḥr.wj* and Sem.: Akk. (jB) *erūtu* ~ *urūtu* ‘Fischlaich’ [AHW 248] and PCh. *(*Ń*)g-(r) ‘egg, testicle’ [NM 1966, 234, #26]. These forms, however, represent three different roots. The *g- of PCh. *(*Ń*)g-(r) clearly contradicts to the ḡw- of Hausa *ḡwàlââtâi*. On the other hand, Akk. Ø- ≠ Eg. *ḥ-* or PCh. *g-. Moreover, Akk. *erūtu* ~ *urūtu* ‘Fischlaich’ finds hopeful equivalents in Sem.: Ug. yr ‘seed, spawn’ [Alb. 1937-1939, 71; BASOR 63, 29, #36 with a different interpretation

in Gordon 1955 and WUS] ||| Eg. j3r.t [< *yʔr?] 'Teil eines Fisches' (Med., Wb I 32, 10) = j3r.t 'Ausfluß Ausscheidung (Tier)' (GHWb 25). See also HSED #113 (Akk.-Eg.).

• **362. Eg. z3.wt** or **s3.wt** [*zr-wt/*sr-wt] 'ein Körperteil des Menschen: zwischen Rücken und Gesäß' (XVIII. Mag., Wb III 419, 18) = 'loins (?)' (FD 209; GHWb 656) ||| ECq. *ʔr 'backbone, hip' [Sasse 1982, 56] ||| CCh.: PBura-Margi *sar 'waist' [data: Hfm. 1984, 470, #22].

• **363. Eg. sw.t** 'leg of beef, tibia' (PT, Wb IV 60, 2), cf. also the hrgl. for jsw (~ sw) depicting a 'leg-bone with adjoining meat' (Gardiner 1927, 457: F44) ||| WCh. *sawy-/ *siyV [GT] = *siy/wV [Stl.] 'foot': Hausa sáú, pl. sááwààyéé 'foot, sole of foot, footprint' [Ab. 1962, 788] | Angas-Sura *ši 'foot, leg' [GT] = *ši 'foot (нога)' [Stl.]: Angas ši 'foot, leg (from knee down)' [Ormsby 1914, 207-209, 313] = ši 'a foot' [Flk. 1915, 280] = ši (K) 'leg' [Jng. 1962 MS, 38] = [ši:] 'foot', ʔt-ši 'anklet' [Brq. 1971, 23, 44] = ši 'foot, leg' [ALC 1978, 9, 23, 36, 48, 58] = ši 'leg' [Krf.] = ši 'leg, foot' [Gcl. 1994, app., 38, 111], Sura ši 'Bein Fuß' [Jng. 1963, 83] = ši 'foot' [Krf.], Mpn. ši ~ nsii 'leg' [Frj. 1991, 45, 55], Chip ši 'Fuß' [Jng. 1965, 167] = ši 'thigh' [Krf.], Mnt. ši 'foot' [Ftp. 1911, 214, 217], Tàl ši 'leg' [Smz. 1911, 215] = ši 'foot' [Ftp. 1911, 214, 217] = ši 'leg' [Gwr.] = ši 'šyè' '1. foot, 2. leg' [Srl. 1937, 215] = ši 'Fuß' [Jng. 1962 MS, 5-6] = ši (so, č! error) 'leg' [Krf.] = ši 'leg' [Hlw. 2000, MS, 14, 33] (AS: Stl. 1972, 182-3; 1977, 157, #209; 1987, 181, #331) | Ron *s-y(w) 'Bein Fuß' [GT]: Bokkos sáy, Kulere siyáw (Ron: Jng. 1970, 387) | Bole-Tàngale *siyo 'foot, leg thigh' [Schuh 1984, 209] = *ša'u 'leg' [Skn.] = *či 'thigh' [Stl. 1987, 242] (WCh.: Pls. 1958, 78; Stl. 1987, 181; Mkr. 1987, 179) || CCh.: Buduma ču, čü, če, či 'Bein, Fuß' [Lks. 1939, 95] = ču, čùù, cùù [ts-] [JI] (Ch.: NM 1966, 235; Nwm. 1977, 29; JI 1994 II, 220-221). Area parallel: PSaharan *[š]ai 'foot' (for Saharan-Ch. see Mkr. 1981, 201; Skinner 1992, 349-355).

NB: The West Chadic forms are hardly derivable from PCh. *sakur 'foot' (contra Jng. 1994, 231). Besides A. Dolgopolsky (1991, #1429) has set up PNst. *sáyV 'shin' (Ch. and Uralic).

• **364. Eg. sw.t ~ sj.t** 'Zopf (?)', Haaroche (?) (GHWb 664, 674) ||| EBrb. *zaw: Sokna záu, Sened záu, Ghadames a-zau (EBrb.: Laoust 1931, 214) || NBrb.: Nefusa záu 'capelli (coll.)' [Bgn. 1942, 222, 321] ||| WCh.: Ron *swV ~ *syV 'hair' [GT]: Fyer so, Bokkos syah [secondary -h?], Daffo-Butura swé (Ron: Jng. 1970, 387) | Gera šwešè 'hair' Bole sôwu 'hair' (BT: Kraft 1981, #36).

NB: Brb. *z- = Eg. s- < AA *c- is regular. On the other hand, one should keep in mind a development *zaw < *zagw too.

• **365. Eg. sn.w** 'tongue' (GR, Wb IV 155, 15) ||| SAgaw *[c]a/äŋ 'tongue' [GT]: Awngi caŋ [Ehret 1987, #449], Kurfäl šäŋ [Birru-Adal 1971, 102, #87] ||| WCh.: NBAuchi *s/šə/ɪŋk- 'tongue' [Skn. 1977] = *šin-d/ḱ- [Skn. 1987] = *sinaḱV [Stl. 1987, 253] || CCh.: PTera *šen- 'tongue' [GT]: Hwona šènè-wùra [Krf.], Ga'anda wòn-šenòtto 'tongue' [Krf.], Gabin sènutte [Krf.], Boka ḥan-šunda [Krf.] (Tera gr.: Krf. 1981, #47).

NB1: An alternative root is Ch. *s-l 'tongue' [GT]: CCh.: PMasa *sil- 'tongue' [GT] = *sil- ~ *šin- [Skn. 1987]: Masa sín-ná [assim. < *sil-na] [Jng.], Zime-Dari šilli [Str.], Zime-Batna silé [Jng.] = sili [Scn.] || ECh.: Kera Sokoro *s-l-n 'tongue' [Skn. 1987]: Kera kə-səl [Ebert 1976, 70] | Sokoro sólañd- [Nct.] = selindu [AF] = sélēn [Saxon] (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 328-329; Skn. 1977, 45; Skn. 1987, 81). I am not convinced if these forms

represent only a metathesis of AA *las- ~ *lis- 'tongue' [GT], esp. with respect to the SAgaw & Nbauchi isogloss with *-n-. Perhaps the (secondary?) *-l- of Zime and Sokoro was indeed influenced by the *-l- in the neighbouring languages where AA *IVs- was preserved.

NB2: Noteworthy is the isogloss of Bed. sil 'Speichel, Geifer' [Rn. 1895, 198] ||| CCh.: Buduma čilulū 'saliva' [Nct.] = čilulū [Cyffer] (Buduma: JI 1994 II, 279). From AA *[c]il- [GT]?

• **366. Eg. sr** 'tress, wig, hide of animal' (MK, FD 235) ||| Eth.-Sem. (Lsl.: < Cu.): Geez sāʾr ~ səʾr 'a leather bottle', Tigre səʾər 'skin bottle for water or milk' (ES: Lsl. l.c.) ||| Bed. sar 'skin in situ or after removal from animal' [Rpr.] = sār 'Wasserschlauch, Girbe, Ledersack' [Rn. 1895, 203] || Agaw: Bilin siʾír 'Schlauch zur Aufbewahrung für Wasser oder Milch' [Rn. 1887, 292] || LECu.: Afar sār 'Ledersack, Schlauch zur Aufbewahrung von Wasser, Milch, Schmalz, Honig usw.' [Rn. 1886, 902], Somali sāʾar 'goat-skin water-bag' [Lsl.] (Sem.-Cu.: Lsl. 1987, 480).

NB1: It is improbable that the Eth.-Sem. forms come from Sem. *tīr- 'carne' [Frz. 1964, 252]. Instead, Eth.-Sem. may have derived from some Cu. source. Cf. also Blz. 1994 MS, 32-33.

NB2: The translation of MEg. sr as 'Perücke, Haarzopf, Haar (eines Tieres)' (Wb IV 191; GHWb 728) with a slightly modified emphasis on 'hair' (instead of 'skin, hide') makes the (alternative?) comparison with Agaw: Awngi cori 'hair of tail' [Ehret 1987, #126] also plausible.

• **367. Eg. srj.t** 'Husten' (Med., Wb IV 192, 19) = 'cough' (FD 235): it occurs with the determinative referring to bodily efflux, sometimes in connection with the phlegm coughed up (WMT 774). Its popular etymology (a relationship to Eg. sr 'Pauke', suggested in WMT 775) is not too convincing. To the best of my knowledge, so far nobody has raised the question whether Eg. srj.t is akin to Common Sem. *šʕl (var. *sʕl?) 'to cough', cf. Akk. saʾālu → sālu, Hbr. šʕl hitpael, OSA sʕl, Ar. saʕala, Geez saʕala, Tigre sāʾlā, Amh. sālā 'to cough' (Sem.: Lsl. 1987, 481). If this parallelism is true, the second radical in Sem. might be a secondary infix *-ʕ- (not part of the AA root). Any connection to Bed. sil 'Speichel, Geifer' [Rn. 1895, 198] ||| CCh.: Buduma čilulū [Nct.] = čilulū 'saliva' [Cyffer in JI 1994 II, 279]?

NB: Note that V. Orel and O.V. Stolbova (HSED #2223) combined Eg. srj.t with CCh.: Daba šəri 'to cough' [Kraft 1981, #254] ||| Sem.: Ar. saʕr-at- 'toux' [BK 1092]. Ar. saʕr- is, however, merely a variant of saʕl-. Here might belong ECU. *sirn-, *surn- 'nasal mucus, Nasenschmutz, Rotz' [Sasse]: Saho sinrāʕ ~ sunrāʕ [suffix *-ʕ of anatomic terms?] | Konso sorn-ēta, Oromo furr-ī [f- < *s-] | Harso surun-hō (ECU.: Sasse 1976, 127; 1982, 32) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *sʷōr ~ *sʷōr (in partial reduplic.) 'mucus' [GT]: Sura ššwōr 'Rotz, dicker Schleim' [Jng. 1963, 83], Mushere ššiyor 'running nose', an ku ššiyor 'I have running nose' [Dkl. 1997 MS, 377].

• **368. Eg. nh3h3** [< *nhlhl] 'strotzen (von den Brüsten säugender Frauen)' (PT, Wb II 306, 10) ||| SCU. *hul- [*x-] 'to be sated, full' [GT]: Maʾa -hū [regular < *hul] 'to be sated (of food), full' | Dahalo kul- 'to gorge oneself' [Ehret & EEN 1989, 12] (Ehret 1980, 260) ||| NOM.: Gamu kall- 'to be satiated' [Sottile 1999, 440].

• **369. Eg. sh** 'Galle' (XIX. Med., Wb IV 228, 9-11) = sh.w 'Galle' (Deines-Grapow 1959, 460-461) = shwʾ 'bitter gall' (DLE III 84) ||| SCU. *saḥ- [Ehret]: Iraqw saḥi 'gall-bladder, gall, bile' [Ehret 1980, 179; 1974, 82] = sāḥi 'bile' [Mgw. 1989, 100] ||| CCh.: Logone cekī [ts- < *s-?] 'Galle' [Lks. 1936, 123] < AA *s[a]ḥ- 'gall'.

Lit.: The Eg-Iraqw-Logone etymology was first suggested (but left unpublished) by A.Ju. Militarev (1987, MS, #117), and it was first published in Orel 1995, 125; HSED #2171. It was observed independently from Militarev by me too (Takács 1996, 145, #49).

NB1: Logone cekí comes by partial assim. from *šɿV, being etymologically connected to PKotoko *šɿV 'bitter' (Kotoko šháne, Logone šha [Lks. 1936, 119], Buduma čay, čei [Lks. 1939, 93], Afade szásza [sasa] [Sòlke 1972, 62, #35.2; JI 1994 II, 27]).

NB2: SCu. *s-, the alternation of s- ~ č- in the CCh. reflexes, and esp. Buduma č-, all point to AA *s-.

• **370. Eg. *sqr:** this word is not attested in Eg. texts. The underlying hieroglyph with the phonetic value sqr depicts apparently a bent arm (Gardiner 1927, 524, Aa7: in Dyn VI 'it looks like an arm'). The existence of this highly hypothetic OEG. *sqr seems to be supported by ECu. *ḏiḏl- 'elbow' [Sasse 1979, 26, 30; 1982, 176, 105] (ECu.: cf. Black 1974, 51; Lmb. 1987, 536; Lsl. 1988, 200; Hds. 1989, 56) ||| CCh.: cf. Mofu méckülék [ts-] [prefix me- + *-čkül-?] 'elbow' [Rsg. 1978, 244, #232]. For the Mofu-ECu. comparison see Skn. 1992, 348.

NB: If this etymology is correct, Eg. *sqr should be explained from an incompatible PEg. *ḏql due to the obligatory loss of glottalization in the environment of a velar (i.e. AA glottalized affricate *čʕ/*čʕ + *k/*g/*k/*g → PEg. *sk/*sg/*sq/*sh). Note that Sasse's ECu. *ḏl- derives AA *č- (cf. Dlg. 1983).

• **371. Eg. š3.t** [< *šl-t] 'Vogelkralle' (GR, with XVIII. traces, Wb IV 402, 5) ||| LECu. Konso šololo-ya 'claw', šoloqloq-ya 'Kluckhohn' [Flm. 1969, 24] = šololoḥa 'nails' [Hohenberger 1975, 84] = šollo?-qolloqá pl. (?) šololoqi-ttá 'fingernail' [Lmb. 1987, 537] | Dullay: Harso šulšülle 'Kralle, Klaue' [AMS 1980, 252-253] | (?) Yaaku sgilli [Flm.: < *slli-gi via met.] 'claw' [Flm.] = ségíl [Lmb.: < *-k-; GT: epenthetic -g-?] 'claw, fingernail' [Heine 1975, 122, 125] ||| CCh.: Muturwa sëlëk 'fingernail' [Str. 1910, 453].

NB1: Noteworthy (but not necessarily related) are the following Cushitic forms, which, point to AA *č- (instead of AA *š/*č- = Eg. š-): LECu. *sül- 'fingernail' [GT]: Ba'iso sül 'fingernail, claw', Somali sül 'thumb, big toe', Somali-Jiddu sül 'fingernail', Somali-Jabarti sül 'big toe' (LECu.: Hhn. 1975, 84; Hbr.-Lmb. 1988, 138) || SCu.: Dahalo còlo [ts-] 'fingernail' [Ehret 1980, 327] = còlo 'fingernail' [EEN 1989, 9] (Cu.: Flm. 1969, 24; Ehret 1987, #611). E. Haberland and M. Lamberti (1988, 138) take the LECu. forms from a dubious 'Lowland Cushitic' [i.e. ECu. but HECu.] *šekul-. It is difficult to accept esp. Somali -Ø- < *-k-. Besides, A. Dolgopolsky (1987, 199, #29) identified Dahalo còlo and Somali sül with Eg. s3ḥ [< *slḥ] 'die Zehe des menschlichen Fußes' (PT, Wb IV 20, 1).

NB2: The numerous Brb. forms *i-ššVr (et sim.) 'nail' are irrelevant here, as they ultimately come from PBBrb. *skVr and not vice versa (Brb.: Bst. 1885, 181; 1887, 422).

• **372. Eg. *šp** 'hoof (?)', cf. the 'hoof' determinative of šp '?' (GR, Wb IV 444, 11), which occurs in the expression šp nb.tj 'the šp of the Two Ladies (i.e. Neith)'. Note that Neith was identified with the primaeval cow Mehet-Weret (mḥ.t-wr.t) as early as the Pyramid Texts (Kákosy 1993, 321). This supposed GR *šp 'hoof' may be an exceptionally well preserved archaism, cf. Sem. *šaHp-/šap- 'foot' [Dlg.] = *šVčp- [Djk.]: Akk. šepu (OBab. var. šipu) [hardly < *šačp- as in HCVA 5] 'foot' [AHW 1214] || Soqotri šab, dual šafi ~ šáfí [Lsl.: spirantization of *-VbV] 'foot' [Lsl. 1938, 424], Jibbali šef, pl. ešfóf 'trace, track, foot under the ankle' [Jns. 1981, 246] (Sem.: Lsl. 1938, 242; 1944, 58; 1945, 241) ||| Bed. šib 'shoe' [Flm., not in Rn. 1895], cf. perhaps also Bed. šebík 'Handgelenk' [Rn. 1895,

211) || Agaw *cāp- 'heel, sandals' [Dlg.] = *camb-/camf- 'sole of foot' [Apl.]: Bilin šanfi 'sole of foot' [Apl.] = šáfa ~ šánfi ~ žanfi 'sole of foot, slipper' [Flm.], Hamir caba 'sole of foot' [Apl. 1984] = šabb [Apl. 1991] = s'aba 'shoe' [Flm.], Dembea šafa [Flm.], Falasha šamb [Apl.], Qwara šanba ~ šanp'a 'shoe' [Flm.], Kemant šamba 'sole of foot' [Apl.] | Awngi čammi 'sole of foot' [Apl. 1984] = čam [Apl. 1991] = čammi 'shoe' [Flm.] (Agaw: Apl. 1984, 40; 1991, 18-19) ||| SCu.: Asa išiba 'sandal' [Flm.] ||| WCh.: Hausa sààfáá 'soft-soled riding boots reaching to knee', cf. šifáádù ~ sùfáádù '1. soft-soled riding boots reaching to knee; 2. type of slippers' [Abr. 1962, 759, 828].

Lit. for the Sem.-Cu.-Hausa comparison: Lsl. 1938, 424; Chn. 1947, #68; Flm. 1969, 9; Djk. 1975, 123; SISAJa III, 38, #72; Dlg. 1989, 95, #26; HSED #519; HCVA 5, 32, #396.

NB: Most recently, A. Dolgopolsky (1991, #301) mentions only the Sem.-?Cu. branches, where the AA reflexes of the supposed PNst. *čepV 'heel, foot, part of leg' are attested.

• **373. Eg. šn 'hair'** (PT, Wb IV 499-501) ||| NOM.: Basketo išinc, Zergula isin, Zayse isin 'hair' (NOM.: Mkr. l.c.) ||| CCh.: Bura-Pela šir [-r reg. < *-n] 'hair' [Meek] | Gude šinkin [IL] = šinkin [Meek] = cinkína [ts-] [Str.] | Musgoy səsəŋ tǎla [Mch.], Kola súsūŋ [Schubert] (CCh.: Str. 1922-1923, 113; JI 1994, 176-177). From the same root derives AA *š-n-T 'hair' [GT] (with a 3rd dental root radical extension), cf. Eg. šntj 'hair' (Med., Wb IV 518, 12-13) ||| NBrb.: Shilh-Sus a-šentūf 'hair' [Dst. 1938, 62] ||| Bed. šindāw 'fine head of hair, esp. on young girl' [Rpr. 1928, 238] ||| CCh.: PHigi *šinti 'hair' [GT]: Higi-Baza šinti [Krf.], Higi-Kamale činči [Meek] = šinti [Krf.], Fali-Kiria šinči [Krf.], Fali-Gili šiti [Krf.], Fali-Jilbu šimčin [Krf.], Higi-Ghye šinži [Krf.], Higi-Futu činši [Krf.], Higi-Nkafa šinti [Str.] = šinti [Meek] = šinteŋy ~ šinti [Krf.], Kapsiki šinti [Krf.] (CCh.: Krf. 1981, #36).

Lit. for the AA comparison: Wlf. 1955, 49 (Eg.-NBrb.); Mkr. 1989 MS, 3 (NOM.-CCh.); Blz. 1994 Bed. MS, 35 (Bed.-NOM.-Higi).

NB1: The *-f of the NBrb. root is unclear, perhaps motivated by Rif *-zVf 'hair' (as thought by Renisio l.c.). Besides, J.D. Wölfe l connected Eg. šn to NBrb.: (dialect unnamed) šentuf, a-šantuf 'chevelure'.

NB2: The traditional comparison of Eg. šn with Sem. *šV^cVr- 'hair' (v. Ember 1926, 301-302, fn. 10; Alb. 1927, 230; Chn. 1947, 138) is phonologically untenable (Eg. -Ø- ≠ Sem. *-č- and Eg. -n ≠ Sem. *-r).

NB3: An alternative etymology for Eg. šn – if it was originally *šl from AA *čVl- [GT] – could be SBrb. *-zVylVl 'longue crinière' [GT]: Ahaggar č-heyłł, Ghat i-žəylł (SBrb.: Prs. 1969, 74, #449) ||| WCh. *[č]ul- 'hair' [Stl.]: Hausa cóólóó [ts-] = túkkúú '1. plait of hair on crown of head; 2. bird's crest, cock's comb; 3. plume on helmet, tassel' [Abr. 1962, 889, 896] | PGoemay *šwūl 'hair, skin' [GT]: Goemay (Ankwe) šiul-ka 'hair' (ka 'head') [Gowers] = šuul 'husks, hair, shells' [Srl. 1937, 224] = šiwuul kaa '(Kopf)Haar' (kaa 'Kopf') [Jng. 1962 MS, 5] = šuwūl-ka 'hair' (ka 'head') [Kraft 1981, #36] = šūl-ka 'hair' (ka 'head') [IL in JI 1994 II, 176] = šul 'skin', šul-ka 'hair (lit. 'shell of head')' [Hlw. 2000 MS, 35] | Tangale sulduk 'hair' [Stl. contra Kraft 1981 & Jng. 1991, 190] (WCh.: Stl. 1987, 203).

• **374. Eg. šnbj 'hair' (?)** (MK, Wb IV 514, 5) ||| HECu. *šomba '(pubic) hair' [Hds. 1989, 421; cf. Lsl. 1988, 199] ||| CCh.: cf. Sukur šimbut 'hair' [Meek] = šumbùt [IL in JI 1994 II, 177].

NB: These external parallels seems to justify that Eg. šnbj is not merely a miswritten form of šn 'hair' (see #40 above).

• **375. Eg. qb3.t ~ q3b.t** [$< *qb^?-t \sim *q^?b-t?$] ‘crown of head’ (MK, FD 277) = ‘Scheitel’ (Wb V 11, 10) ||| CCh.: PHigi *kwaḃa? [$< *k^?waba?$] ‘brains’ [GT]: Higi-Nkafa kwāḃe, Higi-Baza kwāḃa, Higi Kamale ḡkwaḃe, Higi-Ghye kwāḃa, Higi-Futu kwōḃo?, Fali-Kiri kwāḃa, Fali-Gili gwōḃwu, Fali-Jilbu gwōḃākū, Fali-Muchella gwōḃà, Fali-Bwagira gwōḃḡḡ (CCh.: Kraft 1981, #37) ||| SCu.: perhaps Iraqw qubu ‘hair’ [Dempwolff] ||| presumably Sem. *quba^c- [Mlt.-Sts. 1984, 37]: Hbr. qōba^c ‘helmet’, Aram. qubbā^c ~ qub^cā ‘hood’ || Ar. qubba^c-at- ‘cap, hat’ || Geez qob^c ‘monk’s hood, headband, skullcap (under a turban etc.)’ (Sem.: GB 705; Lsl. 1987, 418).

NB1: The Sem. term is supposed to be a loan of Hitt. origin (for lit. see Lsl. 1987, 418). If, however, it comes from an AA heritage, we should assume that its *-^c was a secondary root complement.

NB2: Combining Eg. qb3.t with Sem.: Ar. qubl- ‘front, face’ (Hodge 1966, 46) is semantically less convincing.

• **376. Eg. *qf3** (horn or top of head?): this word is only reconstruable on the basis of the hrgl. depicting the head of a ram with horns, which occurs in words with the phonetic value qf3 since the XXII. (cf. Wb V 31). This hypothetical form has already been equated by C.T. Hodge (1966, 46) with Hausa kàfóó ‘horn’. This ingenious comparison should be extended to the following AA branches: Sem. *qapy- ‘occiput, back of the head’ [Mlt.]: Syr. qāp(ə)yā ~ qəpāyā ~ qappāyā ‘postica pars cervicis’ [Brk. 1928, 683] || Ar. qafā^c-, qafan ‘Hinterkopf, Nacken’ [Müller] = qafan ‘derrière du cou, nuque, derrière de la tête, occiput’ [BK 792] || Geez qāf ‘shoulder-blade’ [Lsl. 1987, 423] || Harsusi kəfə ‘back’ [Jns. 1977, 74], Jibbali kəfə ‘back’ [Jns. 1981, 142], Mehri kəfə ‘back’ [Jns. 1987, 226] (Sem.: Mlt. 1999 MS, 6, #165; SED 1, 148-9, #164) ||| Brb. *-γvf ‘head’ [GT] = *a-γf [IS] = *γpp [Rsl.] = *i-γef [Vcl.] = *e-γrif [Zhl. 1932-1933, 98] = *yV-γ[alf [Mlt. 1991] = *i-γaf [Mlt. 1999]: e.g. EBrb.: Siwa a-ḥfi [Laoust 1931, 301] || SBrb.: Hgr. é-γəf [Fcd. 1952 IV 1700], Ayr-EWlm. e-γāf [Alj. 1980, 65] (Brb. data: Bst. 1883, 313; 1885, 195; 1887, 463; Zhl. 1942-1943, 83; Vcl. 1933, 173, #2; 1955, 306; Mlt. 1991, 264) ||| NOm.: perhaps Wolamo huḃiya [h- < *k-?] ‘head’ [Bnd. 1975, 168] ||| WCh. *kafa → *kafu ‘horn’ [Stl. 1987, 211]: Hausa kàfóó [Abr. 1962, 448] | SBauchi *ka[f]-: Chaari kàpo, Zakshi kàpu, Boot kàpo, Zaari kafo (SBauchi: Smz. 1978, 25) || ECh.: Dangla kòpò ‘nuque’ [Fédry 1971, 295], Migama kúpó, pl. kòppippá ‘nuque’ [Jng.-Adams 1992, 102] | Jegu kofo, pl. kofe ‘Hinterkopf, Gehirn’ [Jng. 1961, 114]. Areal parallels: PKoman *kup ‘head’ [Bnd. 1983, 270, #38] ~ Ful kàfō-ru ‘Schröpfkopf, besonders aus Tierhorn’ [Mnh. 1912, 235; < Hausa].

For the Sem.-Brb.-Ch. comparison see Müller 1975, 64; Rsl. 1952, 139; IS 1971, #195; Mlt. 1991, 264; Blz. 1994, 428; HSED #1548; Mlt. 1999 MS, 6, #165.

NB1: The ultimate origin of AA *kafa^c- ~ *kafay- ‘head’ [GT] is to be sought perhaps in the AA root meaning *to turn round’ or *to be round’, cf. Sem. *kəp ‘to go round’ [Zbr. 1971, #183]. A similar semantical process can be seen in the case of PAA *gVI- ~ *gul-gul- ‘head, skull’ vs. PAA *g-w-I ‘to be round’, and Sem. *qad-qad- ‘head’ vs. PAA *kəd ‘to be round’ (cf. Takács 1994; 1998).

NB2: If the above Eg.-AA etymology is correct, we should modify the reconstruction of PAA *-p- in this root (Militarev’s 1999 MS, #165 AA *kəpay-) to PAA *-f-. Nevertheless, I admit that the Wolamo and some of the South Bauchi data might be contradictory.

NB3: Noteworthy is PAA *k[u]b^c-/*k[u]b^c- ‘top of head, brains etc.’ (data see under #20 of this paper).

NB4: It is possible, however, that the ram head det. of Eg. qf3.t 'Ansehn' was borrowed after the XXII. from the synonymous šfj.t (as suggested in Wb V 31). In this case that above etymology is to be given up. Besides, Eg. qf3.t [< *qfr-t?] is perhaps identical with WCh.: Hausa kárfíi 'strength', kárfáfá 'to strengthen, encourage, urge, force, emphasize; become strong' [Abr. 1962, 486-487].

• 377. Eg. **kft** 'klaffende Wunde' (Med., Wb V 120, 1) is perhaps identical with WCh.: Nbauchi *kaf- 'scar' [Skn. 1977, 88].

• 378. Eg. ***grh** [*glh?] 'forearm with palm of hand downwards' (Gardiner 1927, 447: D41; Wb V 182-183) ||| Bed. gúlhe 'Vorderarm bis zum Ellenbogen', gúlhān 'Vorderarm, Ellenbogen, Elle' [Rn. 1895, 95] = gilhān ~ galhān 'edge, side' [Rpr. 1928, 185] || Agaw: Bilin gállaw 'knuckle' [Ehret] || SCu. *gu[h]- [GT]: perhaps Iraqw gūhlai 'club' [Wtl. 1953] = guḥlay 'knobbed club' [Ehret] | Qwadza guhuluko 'ankle' [Ehret] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 365; Cu.: Ehret 1987, #534) ||| WCh.: Bole-Tangale *gungul- [perhaps < *gulgul-] 'elbow' [GT]: Kwami kùngilì, Kupto gùnkùllì, Kushi gùṇṇùl, Piya gùlì, Widala gùṇṇùl (Bole-Tangale: Jng.-Leger 1993, 167) < AA *gulh- 'elbow' [GT]?

NB1: The *h in these forms may eventually be identical with the common AA prefix (or infix or suffix) *h occurring in body parts names (see most recently Takács 1997).

NB2: The etymology of the quoted Iraqw word is highly dubious. Did it originally designate a club of the shape of the body part in question?

• 379. Eg. **tmmt** 'Haut (?)' (GHWb 953), cf. also the 'hair' determinative in Eg. tm3.wt (Med., Wb V 308, 4) ||| LECu.: PSam *tim 'hair' [Heine 1976, 216; Heine 1978, 74; cf. Hhn. 1975, 88] ||| WCh.: Pangas *tīm 'a piece of skin with long hair' [GT]: Angas tiim '1. long growth of hair (of beasts only, such as is on a goat's breast), 2. a skin with long hair, given to a new king to wear during the ceremony of investiture' [Flk. 1915, 293] = ntim 'a kind of 'tanned' leather worn by men and circumcized boys' [Gochal 1994, 27] || CCh.: (?) Banana tùmúsá 'hair' [? > Blz.]. See also Blz. 1991, 365 (ECu.-Banana).

NB: Any connection to LECu.: Dirayta tēm-á (pl.) 'eyebrow' [Lmb.] | HECu.: Hadiyya dēmm-a 'eyebrow, eyelash' [Lmb. & Hds.], Kambata dēmm-a 'eyebrow' [Hds. 1989, 60] | Harso tēm-iččē, pl. tēm-e 'Augenbraue, Wimper', Gollango tēm-e 'Augenbraue' (Dullay: AMS 1980, 188, 225) ||| NOm.: Zayse dēm-o 'eyebrow, eyelash' [Lmb.] (ECu.-NOM.: Lmb. 1987, 534, #14.b)?

• 380. Eg. **th** 'fett, gemästet (von Ochsen)' (GR, Wb V 325, 15) ||| Bed. ḏah 'to be fat, thick', ḏáha 'fat, thick' [Rn. 1895, 73; Rpr. 1928, 176] ||| LECu. *ḏuh-/*ḏūh- [*-h- irreg.] 'marrow' [Black 1974, 108] ||| WCh.: Buli ḏugi 'Fett' [Smz. in JI 1994 II, 132] || CCh. *nda/uQw- 'fatness' [GT]: Gabin ndòkùrì ~ ndokri, Ga'anda (n)dàkùràta | Mwulyen àndúkwó | Zeghwana (Dghwede) ndəyà, Glavda ndəyùgà, Gava ndəyà, Nakatsa indixaya | Matakam ndəḏa'a [partial redupl. *də-daH-] (CCh.: Kraft 1981, #300).

NB1: For the meaning of LECu. *ḏuh-/*ḏūh- 'marrow', cp. e.g. Sem. *muḥh- 'Mark, Hirn' vs. Punic mh 'Fett', Phn. mḥh 'fat, soft' [Harris 1936, 116] (Sem.: Holma 1911, 12; WUS #1542).

NB2: Noteworthy is Sem. *t[w/y]h 'to smear' [GT]: Ug. th 'to plaster', Hbr. ṭwh 'bestreichen', cf. ṭhh 'to besmeared (of eyes)' || Ar. ṭyh 'beschmutzen' (Sem.: WUS #1117; Zbr. 1971, #262). Note that W. Leslau (1945, 244) quoted a certain Akk. ṭuḥdu 'abundance, fat, grease' too, but it is absent in AHW. For the semantic connection of 'Fett' ~ 'dirt' ~ 'to smear', cp. e.g. PIE *leip- 'mit Fett beschmieren': OInd. lip- 'to smear', lepa- 'smearing, plastering, pollution, impurity', Alb. laparós 'Schmutz', Gk. λίπος 'Fett' (IEW 670).

NB3: An alternative etymology of Eg. *dḥ is theoretically possible, provided it represents a case of the shift from the incompatible PEg. *dʰ → OEg. *dḥ (hence LEg. ṭḥ), cp. LECu.: Somali ḍay 'Fett im Fettschmelzer der Schafe' [Rn.] || SCu. *deʿ- 'to be fat' [Ehret]; Iraqw deʿ-eta 'fat, lard' [Ehret] = diʿi ~ diʿiṭō 'oil, fat' [Wtl. 1953] = diʿi 'oil, fat' [Mgw. 1989, 112], Burunge doʿiḡ vs. dōgiʿa 'Fett' [Mnh. 1906, 331] | Asa da ara 'heavy' [Ehret: orig. *ʿfatʿ] | Dahalo deʿʿ-em- 'to be fat' [Ehret] = deʿʿem- [EEN 1989, 28] (SCu. Ehret 1980, 165). The Burunge-Somali comparison is due to Meinhof (l.c.).

• **381. Eg. d3f** (with 'hair' determinative) is attested as a personal name (MK, Wb V 527, 1). With regard to the hair determinative, we may account for the following parallels (the three possible alternatives are due to the dubious origin of OEg. ḍ, which may go back to AA *g & *ḡ/*ḡ/*ḡ as well as that of OEg. 3 < AA *r/*l & *ʿ):

1. PCu. *gʷafarV 'long hair' [GT]: SAgaw: Awngi gʷafer-e 'long hair' || LECu.: Arbore gōfar-e 'mane' (Cu.: Ehret 1987, #52).

2. AA *ḡ-[f]-r [GT]: Sem. *ḡpr 'to plait' [Dlg.]: NHbr. šəpīrā ~ šəpār 'Geflecht, Kranz' [GB 693] = šəpīrā ~ šəpīrā 'thread, wreath' [KB 1048] || Ar. ḡafara 'tresser (les cheveux en larges tresses (d'une femme), tresser une corde', ḡafra- '1. corde avec laquelle on attache un chameau, 2. tresse, large natte de cheveux' [BK II 31] || Geez ḡafara 'to braid, plait, drape, weave, intertwine etc.' [Lsl. 1987, 148] ||| ECu. *ḡiffr- 'to braid, plait (also hair)' [Sasse 1979, 27, 29].

Lit.: for Sem.-ECu. see Dlg. 1983, 141, #12.9; HSED #579.

3. AA *ḡ-f [GT]: Sem.: Ar. ḡafḡafa 'to braid hair' [Dlg.] ||| WCh. *ḡafa 'to comb hair' [Stl.].

Lit.: for WCh.-Ar. see Stl. 1987, 202; Dlg. 1989, 102; HSED #585.

• **382. Eg. d3d** (throat det.) [reg. < *grd] '(Schlachtopfer) abkehlen' (PT, Wb V 527, 10) ||| NBrb.: Ntifa & Demnat a-ḡruḡ [AA prefix *ḡ- of body parts?] 'gésier' [Hintz 1951, 79] ||| LECu. *gurd-um- [suffix *-um]: Afar gurdum-ē, Saho durgum-ā [met. c. *gurd-um-] 'Schlund, Rachen, Kehle' (LECu.: Chn. 1947, #206) ||| CCh.: Lamang-Turkurdin, Lamang-Hitkala ḡirdá 'Hals, Nacken' (Lamang: Wolff 1971, 65) | PMatakam (Mafa Mada) *ḡərḡa 'hard palate' [Skn. after Rsg. 1978] | Mbara ḡurḡòy, pl. ḡurḡòḡó 'gorge' [TSL 1986, 263] || ECh.: Sokoro kerred-um [irreg. k- < *g-] 'dein Gaumen' [Lks. 1937, 35] = kerred 'hard palate' [Skn.] (Ch.: Skn. 1992, 353).

Lit.: for the etymology of Eg. *d3d cf. also Takács 1997, 253-254, #4.1.

NB1: Cf. also SBrb. *a-gurəz [irregular *-z] 'larynx' [data: Prs. 1969, 42]?

NB2: It is difficult to judge whether WCh.: Bole-Tangale *ḡgiḡo [perhaps from *ḡird-?] 'neck' [Schuh 1984, 211] | Diri ḡḡadu [perhaps from *n-gʷard-?] 'neck' [Skn. 1977, 32] also belong to this AA root.

NB3: Since Eg. ḡ- does not regularly correspond to Sem. *z-, the traditional equation of Eg. d3d with Sem. *zrd: Syr. zrd 'erdrosseln' || Ar. zarada 'erdrosseln', zarida 'schlucken', ma-zrad- 'Kehle' (Eg.-Sem.: Embe 1913, 114, #37; 1930, #24.c.4, #3.b.43; Vrg. 1945, 130) has to be given up.

Abbreviations

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Semito-Hamitic), aAk (Oakk.): Old Akkadian, aA (OAss.): Old Assyrian, aB (OBab.): Old Babylonian, Akk.: Akkadian, Alg.: Alagwa, Amh.: Amhara/ic, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BA(ram.): Biblical Aramaic, Bch.: Bauchi, Bed.: Bed'awye (Beja), BM: Bura-Margi, BN: Bade-Ngizim, Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), Brg.: Burunge, BT: Bole-Tangale, C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, Dem.: Demotic, Dhl.: Dahalo, E: East, Ebl.: Eblaite, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, Gdm.: Ghadames, Gmy.: Goemay, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, Grg.: Gurage, Grw.: Gorowa, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi (in MSA), IE: Indo-European, Irq.: Iraqw, irreg.: irregular, JA(ram.): Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, jB (YBab.): jungbabylonisch, Jbl.: Jibbali, Kfy.: Kofyar, KK: Kera-Kwang group, L: Late, L: Low(land), lit.: literature, Lit.: literary texts, LL: lexical lists, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, mA (MAss.): Middle Assyrian, mB (MBab.): Middle Babylonian, Math.: mathematical papyri, Med.: medical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Mada group, Mnt.: Montol, Mpn.: Mupun, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Msr.: Mushere, Mzg.: Tamazight (Beraber), N: New, N: North, nA (NAss.): New Assyrian, nB (NBab.): New Babylonian, NC: Niger-Congo, NE(g.): New Egyptian, Nil.: Nilotic, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, Nslm.: Tanesemt, O: Old, OInd.: Old Indic (Sanskrit), OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, Qwd.: Qwadza, reg.: regular, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaeen, Sem.: Semitic, spB (LBab.): Late Babylonian, Sqt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram.): Aramaic of Talmud, Tna.: Tigrinya, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, Wlm.: Tawllemed.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AF: Adolf Friedrich, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Alb.: Albright, AMS: Amborn & Minker & Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, Ast.: Aistleitner, BA: Birru & Adal, Bgn.: Beguinot, BK: Bieberstein-Kazimirsky, Blv.: Belova, Blz.: Blažek, Bmh.: Bomhard, Bnd.: Bender, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brq.: Burquest, Brt.: Barreteau, Bst.: Basset, Chn.: Cohen, Clc.: Calice, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Djk.: D'jakonov (Diakonoff), Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij (Dolgopolsky), Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, Dst.: Destaign, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Frij.: Frajzyngier, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, Gcl.: Gochal, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takács, Gwr.: Gowers, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hhn.: Hohenberger, Hlw.: Hellwig, Hsk.: Hoskison, Hyw.: Hayward, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, Krf.: Kraft, Ksm.: Kossmann, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lns.: Lenssen, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, Mgw.: Maghway, MM: Majzel' & Militarev, Mkr.: Mukarovskij, Mlt.: Militarev, Mnh.: Meinhof, Mrn.: Moreno, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nct.: Nachtigal, NM: Newman & Ma, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, PH: Parker & Hayward, Pls.: Piłszczikowa, Pnc.: Penchoen, Phr.: Porhomovskij, Prs.: Prasse, RB: Papp & Benzing, RK: Reutt & Kogan, Rn.: Reinisch, Rns.: Renisio, Rsg.: Rossing, Rsl.: Rössler, Sbr.: Siebert, Scn.: Sachnine, Skn.: Skinner, Slk.: Sölken, Srl.: Sirlinger, Ss.: Sasse, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Sts.: Starostin, Tlb.: Trombetti, Tin.: Tourneux, TSL: Tourneux & Seignobos & Lafarge, Vrg.: Vergote, Vcl.: Vycichl, Wdk.: Wedekind, Wlf.: Wölfel, Wtl.: Whiteley, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhl.: Zylharz.

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