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Layers of the oldest Egyptian lexicon VI

Abstract

The papers of this series examine various domains of the Egyptian core lexicon in order to evidence to what degree the basic vocabulary is of clearly Semitic vs. African cognacy. The fourth part focuses on the Ancient Egyptian anatomical terminology of the back parts from the head to the upper torso.

Key words

Egyptian lexicon, etymology, comparative Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) linguistics.

Introduction

The first paper of this series[1] was generated by the controversies of P. Lacau's (1970) old observation on a binary opposition of the Ancient Egyptian anatomical terminology, the much-quoted and thus examplified basic terms of which I re-examined from the head to the upper torso in the context of many new results issuing from current progress in Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic) comparative linguistics in order to see to what degree this segment of the lexicon is shared by lexemes of clearly Semitic cognacy vs. those evidently relating to African parallels. The etymological examination of the Ancient Egyptian anatomical terminology presented therein has corroborated a surprising distribution: one member of the synonymous pairs is usually a Semitic word, whereas the other one(s) have non-Semitic cognate(s) solely attested in some of the African branches of our language macrofamily. A relatively deeper presence of the extra-Semitic vocabulary in Egyptian has become apparent. As

[1] "Layers of the oldest Egyptian lexicon I" was published in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warszawa) 68/1 (2015), 85–139. It is with gratitude that I acknowledge the support of the Bolyai research fellowship (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, reg. no.: BO / 00360 / 12) facilitating my project on Egyptian linguogenesis.

the introductory part only contained the classical instances, the famous pairs like "eye", "ear", "hand", extended onto some further items where the binary opposition is also to observed like the basic terms "head", "hair", it was already then obvious that the rest of the anatomical terminology and other domains of the core vocabulary are also to be examined. This second part of the series "Layers of the oldest Egyptian lexicon" is devoted to an etymological research in the field of body parts on the head and the upper torso, i.e., the same area as what was targeted in the first part. The difference is that – leaving the well-known Semitic vs. African pairs for the basic terms behind – here, we study rather the origins of either the specific anatomical terms or those for body parts not yet set in this context the aim being the same: to clear if the binary opposition of Semitic vs. African cognates worked here too, or, if not, whether the Semitic or African component is overwhelming in this domain of the Egyptian core lexicon.

"Back of head"

Eg. mḥ3 "Hinterkopf" (PT, Wb II 128, 1; GHWb 356) = "nuque" (Massart 1959, 233, §34) = "back of the head" (FD 114). J. Breasted (1930, 113) still surmised in mḥ3 a scribal error for mkḥ3 (q.v.), although it occurs a few times. Instead, as pointed out by a number of authors of Egyptian philology,[2] it obviously derives (via prefix m-) from Eg. ḥ3 "Hinterkopf" (PT, Wb III 8, 5–11) and the same prefix mV-[3] may occur in Ar. ma-ḥāl-(at)- "milieu du dos, vertèbre" < ḥāl- "8. paquet, hardes qu'on porte sur son dos, 9. dos du cheval, surtout cette partie que l'on couvre d'un drap, sou la selle" [BK I 518, 520]. For the etymology of Eg. ḥ3 cf. below.

Eg. mkḥ3 "Hinterkopf, Genick" (MK-, Wb II 163, 6; GHWb 372) = "occiput" (Ceugney 1880, 9) = "Nacken" (Sethe 1923, 191) = "back of the head" (FD 119; DLE I 249; PL 472, but cf. Meeks 1999, 581) = "nuque" (Massart 1959, 234, §38; Vergote 1973 Ib, 161) = back of the head and neck (i.e. occiput and nape)" (Walker 1996, 270) ~ var. mqḥ3 (CT-)[4] > LEg. mqḥ.t (with masc. article p3, act. mqḥ) "Teil des Kopfes" (Lit. LP, Wb II 159, 8) > Dem. mqḥ "Nacken" (DG 183:2), vocalized as *mĕkḥeʔ (Sethe) = *mḯkḥ˘3 (Fecht) = *míkḥ˘3 (Vergote) = *mikḥi3/*mikḥu3 (Vycichl) > Cpt. (S) ⲙⲁⲕϩ, (A) ⲙⲉⲕϩ

[2] Lacau 1913, 219, §453; Grapow 1914, 26; 1954, 25, fn. 3 (where he was asking: "*es fragt sich, ob ḥ3 und mḥ3 zwei vrchiedene Wörter sind*"); NBÄ 321 & 866, n. 1378 (ad Grapow); Smith 1979, 161.

[3] For which cf. Militarev 2005, 87.

[4] The var. mqḥ3 is attested as early as CT VI 124e (M35C, M36C), cf. AECT II 154, spell 531, n. 8 (where it is treated as an "*abnormal spelling*"); DCT 187. So also in Pap. Boulaq 3, 4, 15 (Caminos 1954 LEM, 325).

(m) "neck (of man, beast)" (CD 162b; CED 80) = "Hals, Nacken" (Till 1955, 328, §26) = "nuque, cou" (DELC 110). Its origin is highly debated:
(1) C. Ceugney (1880, 9) erroneously saw in it the m- prefix form of LEg. qḥ (head det.), which is in fact a fully distinct lexeme (cf. Wb V 66, 12–13) whose head det. is due to a mere association to the phon. value ḥ3. H. Smith (1979, 161) explained both mkḥ3 and mḥ3 as m- prefix derivatives of Eg. ḥ3 "back of head" (Wb III 8, 5–11). Also W. Vycichl (DELC 110) assumed a prefix m- but left the simplex unmentioned.
(2) K. Sethe (followed by a number of authors)[5] analyzed it as a compound of Eg. mkj "to protect" + ḥ3 "occiput", literally "Schützer des Hinterkopfes" (Sethe) = "protecteur de l'occiput" (Vergote) = "protecteur de l'arrière (de la tête)" or "protection de l'occiput" (Vycichl). G. Fecht rendered the first part *mḱk- > (S) ⲙⲁⲕ- as a participle, which would, however, require an impf. *mkk in the MK.
(3) W. Westendorf (1962, 43, §68) surmised in it an extended variety of Eg. mḥ3 with "*Zusatz von* k (?)" (!) wondering "*ob es sich um einen Übergangslaut handelt, der nicht als* b *oder* p*, sondern wegen des folgenden ...* ḥ *als palataler Verschlußlaut realisiert wurde*", although he was only disturbed by the "*Schwierigkeit ..., daß die betr. Konsonanten nicht aneinander stoßen, sondern durch den Tonvokal getrennt sind*".
(4) Others assumed a compound of two juxtaposed synonymous terms. If so, the second component might be identical with Eg. ḥ3 "Hinterkopf" (PT, Wb III 8) = "occiput, back of ear" (FD 161) (cf. below) and the first one (an unattested *mk "neck" or sim.) might be compared – as suggested by a number of authors[6] – with EBrb.: Siwa ta-migâ "neck" [Quibell 1918, 103] = ta-məğa "cou" [Laoust 1931, 218] ||| Bed. mōk ~ mage (f) "Hals" [Almkvist 1885, 48 apud Reinisch] = mōk ~ máka, pl. mōka "Hals, Nacken" [Reinisch] = mok, pl. moka (f) "front external part of neck", m'áge (m) "neck, nape of neck" [Roper 1928, 214–5] = m'aggi (m) "neck", mōk (f) "front part of the neck" [Hudson 1996 MS, 90, 92], Bisharin mā̃k, pl. mage "neck" [Zaborski 1976, 20/130] (Bed.: Reinisch 1895, 164, 167; Zaborski 1978, 371). The Bed.-Siwa-Eg. (?) isogloss *√mk ~ *√mg "neck" [GT] is supposed to have further cognates, cf. AA *√mk^{w} "some back and/or lower part of the trunk of body" [GT].[7] Henceforth, the

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[5] See Sethe 1923, 191; Thausing 1941, 13; Fecht 1960, §261; Westendorf 1962, 43, fn. 2; Vergote 1973 Ib, 161; Vycichl 1990, 230, §11; 1990, 247, nr. (6).

[6] Cf. Reinisch 1895, 167 (Eg.-Bed.); Behnk 1928, 139, #32 (Eg.-Bed.); Zyhlarz 1932–33, 168 (Eg.-Bed.); Blažek 1987, 159 (Eg.-Bed.); 1994 MS Bed., 26; 2000, 185-6, §21; 2000 MS, 5, §21 (Bed.-Agaw-ECu.-Eg.). W. Vycichl (DELC 110) *ex cathedra* rejected the Eg.-Bed. comparison segmenting the Eg. word into a prefix m- + *√kḥ3, although he failed to adduce any evidence in favour of the unattested *√kḥ3, while he arbitrarily derived Bed. mōk from a triliteral *mākeC$_3$, pl. mak < *makC$_3$ew, although he failed to list parallels for this pattern. Therefore, the objection of Vycichl can hardly be accepted.

[7] Attested in Sem.: Ar. makw-at- "cul, derrière" [BK II 1140] ||| Bed. mīk^{w}a (m) "femur, humerus, tibia (anat.)" [Roper 1928, 216] || NAgaw: Bilin måk^{w}ā̃, pl. måku̲k "Steiß, Podex" [Reinisch 1887,

Eg. compound may have literally signified the *"hinder neck". If the Eg.-Cu. comparison is correct, and one may explain Eg. -ḥ3 an alternative way: if the final -ḥ in Afar makuḥ ~ mukoḥ ~ mukuḥ, probably the common AA nominal class marker of anatomical terms (cf. Takács 1997) is identical with the -ḥ- of Eg. mkḥ3, we would have to suppose an original Eg. *mkḥ, only later extended to mkḥ3 due to a popular etymology influenced by Eg. ḥ3 as supposed already by W. Westendorf (1962, 43, fn. 2).

Eg. ḥ3 "Hinterkopf" (PT, Wb III 8, 5–11) = "occiput, back of ear" (FD 161) is – as pointed out by a number of scholars in Egypto-Semitic philology[8] – most probably akin to Ar. ḥalāʔ-at- "milieu, surtout du derrière de la tête", cf. ʔaḥlā- & ḥalāwān, pl. ḥulāwin "milieu du derrière de la tête" [BK I 484] = ḥu/alāw-at-u 'l-qafā "the middle of the back of the neck" [Lane 634] = ḥalāʔ-at- "the middle part of the back of the head" [Ember] = ḥalʔ-at- "Hinterkopf" [Vergote] < Sem. *ḥa/ul(l)- "spinal column with thigh bones" [SED I #114].

"Back, Spine"

Eg. j3.t "1. Grundbedeutung: Rückgrat, Rücken, 2. bildlich: Mitte eines Gewässers" (OK, Wb I 26, 3–6; Grapow 1954, 56) = "1. back (of man or animal), 2. middle (of river, of lake)" (FD 7) = "1. colonne vertébrale, 2. la ligne de séparation entre deux nomes, le dos du fleuve, le milieu de son cours, le milieu du creux que forme son lit, donc l'inverse du dos" (Lacau 1970, 76, §§191–192) has been affiliated – and frequently confused – in the abundant etymological literature[9] with the reflexes of the following three sets of cognates

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267] = məkkʷa, pl. məkkʷəkʷ "buttocks" [Lamberti 1988, 93, §115; LT 1997, 510] = mäkʷa "backside, anus" [Apl.] || ECu.: Afar makuḥ ~ mukoḥ ~ mukuḥ "spine, spinal cord" [PH 1985, 162], Boni-Bireeri múkkə (f) "anus" [Heine], Boni-Badde mukkə "buttocks" [Heine], and Boni-Jara múkkə (f) "buttocks" [Heine 1982, 91], (?) Rendille mókkolo "1. (bones of) the lower spine, 2. small of the back" [PG 1999, 227] | Yaaku muk "lower side or part of body" [Ehret/Blz.] (Cu.: Appleyard 1995 MS, 7). The origin of SAgaw: Awngi māqī "spalla, schiena" [CR 1905, 168] = māck (so, -ck) "spalla" [Waldmyeer/CR] = maq "shoulder" [Hetzron 1978, 140] is not yet clear. V. Blažek (1987, 159; 2000, 185–6, §21; 2000 MS, 5, §21) affiliated the underlying AA *muk- "1. neck, 2. back" with remote parallels like Dravidian *mak(k)- "neck" [DED #4622], Uralic *muka "back" [Sammallahti], Korean mok "neck, throat", and Pamir Iranian: Shugni & Wakhi māk, Sarikoli mok & Ishkashim mak "back of the neck, nape" [Morgenstierne].

[8] For this Eg.-Sem. comparison see Ember 1917, 88, #138; ESS §3.c.6, §14.a.9; GÄSW 72, #253; Vergote 1945, 130, §1.d.16. The etymology of Eg. ḥ3 had formerly been disputed. **(1)** The equation with Sem. *√ʔḫr "dernier" (sic) suggested by P. Lacau (1970, 37–39) is false (Eg. ḥ ≠ Sem. ḫ). **(2)** Eg. ḥ3 can have nothing to do with WCh. *ḥama "head" either (as proposed in OS 1992, 186; HSED #1208).

[9] Behnk 1927, 80, #2; ESS §4.c.6; GÄSW #3; Vergote 1945, 128, §1.c.1 and 132, §2.d.1; Cohen 1947, 198, #509; Fleming 1969, 23; Dolgopolsky 1970, 623, #71; Blazek 1989, 213; 1989 MS Om.,

that are to be traced back, in fact, to three diverse *etyma*, of which the first one seems as the most likely source of our Egyptian term:
(1) AA *√ʔl [GT] = *ʔa/il- "back" [Blz.] > Bed. ʔala (f) "Nacken, Hals" [Rn.] = ála (f) "neck" [Roper] || LECu.: Afar alal (m), pl. alōl "back of the neck" [PH 1985, 37] || SCu.: PRift *ʔala "2. behind, afterwards" ← "1. back, nape of the neck" [Ehret][10] ||| NOm.: Kaffa il-ō "Rücken, Rückseite, hinten/r" [Reinisch 1888, 257] = "schiena, dorso" [Cerulli 1951, 398] ||| ECh.: Tumak ìl "revenir" [Caprile 1975, 70] = "to come back" [Blz.].
(2) AA *√ʔr and/or *√hr [GT] = *ʔiray/w- "back" [Mlt.] > Sem.: (?) Akk. (Younger Bab.) a/erûtu "Rücken" [AHW 248] = (OBab., Standard Bab.) "back" [CAD IV 327][11] ||| NBrb.: Qabyle iri, pl. ir-aw-ən "dos, cou, épaule" [Dallet 1982, 697] || SBrb.: Ahaggar éèri "neck" [Rössler][12] || LECu.: Saho-Afar iro "Rückseite, Rücken" [Reinisch 1886, 814] ||| WCh.: Tsagu aari "back" [Skinner 1977, 11] || ECh.: (?) Dangla-Migama and Mubi-Toram *hǎr- "back" [GT].[13]
(3) AA *√wr [GT] = *wa/ur- "back" [Blazek 1992, 154] > Sem. *√wrʔ:[14] Ar. warāʔ- "partie postérieure, (de/ce qui est) derrière", warāniy-at- "cul, derrière" [BK II 1525, 1527], hence Ar. min warāʔa/i "hinter, nach" [Behnk], Thamudic wrʔ "postérité" [Van den Branden quoted in DRS], Sabaic hwr-t "partie postérieure (?)" [CR quoted in DRS] || Mehri wurā "to return", həwrē "to turn, bring back,

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6 vs. 23, #81; 2001, 499, #10; Belova 1991, 89; 1993, 54; OS 1992, 169; Skinner 1992, 352; DRS 615; SED I 12, #10.

[10] Attested in WRift: Iraqw alu "after, behind, in the back of", cf. ala-qunqu "nape", lit. *"behind the throat" (cf. qunqu "throat"), aluwa "afterwards", al(e)- "verbal prefix indicating consequent action", Alagwa alu "behind", ali- "verbal prefix indicating consequent action", Burunge aluŋ "after, behind, in the back of", ila- "verbal prefix indicating consequent action" | ERift: Qwadza alale "afterwards" (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 315–316).

[11] The etymology of the Akkadian word has long been disputed. The Akkado-Chadic cognate was first suggested by O.V. Stolbova (1994 MS, 1; HSED #1159). In the latter work (co-authored with V. Orel), she explained this Akkado-Chadic parallel from an AA *har- "back". But L. Kogan (SED I 12, #10) derived the Akkadian term from Sem. *ʔarāw-, which he conceived as a variety of Sem. *warāʔ- "back" (below). Moreover, there are further alternatives, cf. Eg. ꜥr.t and Eg. mnkr.t below.

[12] O. Rössler (1979, 22) derived it from *√wRy and equated it directly with the reflexes of Ch. *√wr "neck" (above).

[13] Attested in Dangla-Migama: EDangla āarà (f), pl. àarār "le dos, le cadet (celui qui vient derrière), l'enveloppe, la cosse, l'écorce des végétaux", àar "(préposition) derrière (suivie du cas oblique)", àrè (adv.) "là bas" [Djibrine-Montgolfier 1973, 18], WDangla áàrò (f) "dos", àrè "rester en arrière" [Fédry 1971, 17] | Mubi-Toram *hāra > *ʔāra "back" [GT]: Mubi hàr "Hinterseite", hâr (f), pl. hòòrúr "Rücken" [Lukas 1937, 182] = hàr (m), pl. hòorúr "dos" [Jng. 1990 MS, 21], Kajakse ʔáàra, pl. ʔaarurom "dos" [Alio 2004, 239, #5], Birgit ʔárà (m), pl. ʔárnànàŋ "dos", ʔár-tù "mon dos" [Jng. 2004, 350]. Perhaps the East Chadic root (*√hr) should be distinguished from the Akk.-Brb.-LECu. match (*√ʔr)?

[14] V. Blažek (1989 MS Om., 23, #81) included among these *comparanda* listed under entry **(3)** here (above) also Ar. √wrʔ > I waraʔa "éloigner, écarter, repousser qqn., le mettre de côté, en arrière" [BK II 1516] = "to repel" [Blazek], in which the nuance "mettre en arrière" may be due to a contamination with a fully different root (far from the notion "behind"), cf. Eg. w3j "fern (sein)" (OK-, Wb I 245–246).

keep back, away" [Jns. 1987, 429], Harsusi ewrā "to back off, be brought back" [Jns. 1977, 136] || Geez ʔurāʔu "waist" [Leslau 1987, 36] (Sem.: DRS 614; SED I 12, #10) ||| NBrb.: CMarocco (Tamazight) a-wəru "derrière" [Cohen] = a-wɨru "hinder-part, back" [Blazek] | Sus a-wr "revenir" [Cohen] ||| LECu.: Oromo wirtu "milieu du dos, colonne vertébrale" [Cohen] = wīrtū "backbone, mid-back" [Gragg 1982, 428] | HECu. *waro "under" [Hudson][15] ||| CCh.: Musgu õõór "Rückgrat" [Krause in Müller 1886, 402; Lukas 1941, 71]. Further Chadic attestation is dubious.[16]

Eg. jw "der Bucklige (als Beischrift zu einem Verkrüppelten)" (MK, Wb I 43, 11) may be akin to NBrb.: Sus ta-yyu < *ta-wyu (?) [GT], pl. t-uha-w-in "bosse (du chameau)", Ntifa ta-yyu-t "bosse", Beni Snus ṯ-iwa "dos", Zemmur ṯ-uyå ~ ṯ-woyé "dos" (NBrb. data: Prasse l.c. infra; also Gouffé 1974, 367) || SBrb. *t(a-w)uhi < (???) **ta-wuyi[17] "bosse (du chameau)" [GT]: Ahaggar t-uhe, Tawllemmet t-uhi ~ t-uhəy, Ayr t-uhi ~ t-uhəy ~ t-u[y]i ~ t-u[w]a, Ghat t-uhi (SBrb. data: Prasse 1969, 43, #113) ||| Agaw *yäw "back (lower, lumbar area)" [Apl. 1994 MS, 1] ||| WCh.: Ron *wuy "Rücken" [GT]: Sha wuy, Kulere wûy (Ron: Jungraithmayr 1970, 387) | Bole waiyàà "tail" [Schuh], Dera yíwà "tail" [Jng.] || CCh.: (?) Margi yì "Rücken" [Hoffmann quoted in JI 1994 II, 6] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 316–317) < AA *√yw ~ *√wy "back" [GT]. The etymology of the Twareg root has been matter of dispute.[18]

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[15] Attested, e.g., in Sidamo worŏ (prep.) "sotto", worirri "discesa" [Cerulli 1938 II 224] = woro "sotto" [Moreno 1940, 243] = worò "1. (adv.) down(wards), 2. (subst.) lower, inside place", wororr-iččo "descent, downhill road, downwards, bottom" [Gasparini 1983, 350–351] = waro "under" [Hudson], Hadiyya wóro "1. hinter, unter, 2. in, drin", wóroni "in hinter, innen", cf. also wor- "zurückschicken, -weisen, -jagen" [PB 1961, 115; 1964, 181] = waro "interior" [Hudson], Kambatta waru-(ta) "under, below, down" [Hudson 1989, 343] (HECu.: Hudson 1989, 160).

[16] W.W. Müller (1975, 70, #90) and V. Blazek (1989 MS Om., 23, #81) equated Sem. *√wrʔ also with WCh. *V-wur(y)a "neck" [Blz.] = *[w]-yara [Stl. 1987, 239] and its further Chadic cognates reflecting *√wr "neck" [Newman-Ma 1966, #71] = *wəra "neck" [Newman 1977, 29].

[17] SBrb. *-h- seems to go back to AA *-y- in this case, i.e. we should suppose Prasse's (1969) PBrb. *-h_3- here.

[18] On the one hand, C. Gouffé (1974, 367) compared the Ahaggar and other Berber words for "hump" to WCh.: Hausa tóózóó, pl. tóózààyéé "hump (of camels, cattle etc.)" [Abraham 1962, 870] = "bosse de chameau ou de zébu" [Gouffé] suggesting a borrowing from Berber. Moreover, M. Kossmann (1999, 105, #224) equated his PBrb. *tuɦʋi/*tuɦʋa "bosse" with WBrb.: Zenaga √UŽ, √UZ, √WZ > tă-uǯǯən, tᵃ-uǯǯən, tă-uǯǯə, tă-uzzə "bosse (chameau, homme, bovins)" [Nicolas 1953, 470]. This suggests the hypothetic scenario of Hausa tóózóó having been borrowed from PAhaggar *tuze (or sum.) still before the change of Ahaggar h < *z. In this case, however, all other SBrb. and NBrb. parallels should be regarded as borrowings ultimately from Ahaggar (highly improbable, if not impossible), while the only genetic cognate for Ahaggar t-uhĕ would be Zenaga tă-uzzə etc. < PBrb. *√wz. This solution is all the more dubious, since Zenaga ǯ < *l is regular, and it may well be that Ahaggar t-uhĕ and Zenaga tă-uǯǯə have nothing in common at all. On the other hand, the Russian

Eg. bj3.t "ein Körperteil des Menschen (zwischen Kopf, Nacken und Bart, Brust, Rücken)" (NE, Wb I 442, 8) = "neck and shoulders (?)" (Četveruhin in SISAJa I, 103–104, #125) = "Höcker (des Rindes), Fetthöcker" (NE, GHWb 247): its etymology depends on whether its -3 stands for an old *-l or *-r.
(1) On the one hand, it may be a regular reflex < *bjl.t and thus be eventually derived from AA *√bl "hump (on the back)" [GT], cf. NAgaw: Kemant būl, pl. būl-ti "bosse de boeuf" [Conti Rossini 1912, 176] | SAgaw: Awngi (Awiya) bu̱l-ī́ "gobba del bue" [Conti Rossini 1905, 151] ||| WCh.: (?) Hausa bèèlíí ~ bèèlúú "3. any small excrescence" [Abraham 1962, 95] | Angas běl (hill) "the hump of catte" (≈ plain dungul) [Foulkes 1915, 148]. Phonologically plausible (Eg. b- = Angas b- & p-, and Eg. -3 = Angas -l). The origin of Ethio-Sem.: Harari fõll-a, Gurage: Wolane foll-ä, Selti fõll-ä "hump of animal" and LECu.: Oromo fõll-a "hump of animal" [Leslau, not found in Gragg 1982] combined by W. Leslau (1963, 62; 1979 III, 231) is obscure.[19]
The isogloss represented by this isolated – but hopeful – Agaw-West Chadic parallel may ultimately be akin to the reflexes of AA *√bl "back, hip, thigh" [GT] > NAgaw: Kemant käš bäl-ā "1. dos, 2. corps" (cf. käš "épaule") [Conti Rossini apud Blazek] ||| WCh.: Angas pyaal "the thigh (generally used of cattle)" [Foulkes 1915, 270] = (Kabwir dial.) pyáal [p- regular < *b-] "Arschbacke" (the meaning "thigh" was rejected) [Jng. 1962 MS, 34] | Kulere byéèl "tail" [Jng.] = bɛl [IL in JI 1994 II 316] || CCh.: Tera ḅuḅúl[20] "hip" [Newman 1964, 39, #95] | Higi-Kamale mbul "Rücken" [Meek], Higi-Nkafa mbul "Rücken" [Meek] | Gvoko bolle "Gesäß" [Strümpell 1922-3, 116] | Mafa mbolov "rectum humain" [Barreteau-Bléis 1990, 246] | PKotoko *billum [Blz.] = *[ḅ]illum [GT][21] | Musgu bul "Hüfte" [Barth in Lukas 1941, 48][22] (CCh.: JI 1994 II, 6–7) || ECh.: Bidiya búlàló "anus" [AJ 1989, 60], Migama bâllè, pl. bállée "1. anus, 2. fesses, 3. dessous" [JA 1992, 69] | Mubi mbúllí (m), pl. mbìllèt "anus" [Jng. 1990 MS, 6]. The Kemant-PKotoko parallel was first suggested by V. Blažek (1994 MS Bed., 8).

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linguists (SISAJa I, 103-104, #125; HSED #251) maintained that SBrb. *-h- derived here from PBrb. *-b̲- (SISAJa: from *wa-baw?), which would lead us to AA *√by "back" [GT] = *bi̯? [SISAJa].

[19] W. Leslau (1963, 62) explained the Oromo + Ethio-Sem. isogloss as a borrowing from HECu. *hull- "hump of animal" with a change f ~ h, but one is inclined to assume a connection (if any) here only the opposite way. Ultimately (irregularly?) related to the AA root with *b-?

[20] Is the ḅ- < *ḥb-, i.e., root initial *b- preceded by the Common Afro-Asiatic prefix of anatomic terms (Takács 1997)?

[21] Attested as "Kotoko" ḅə̀ləm "back" [Bouny], Afade billüm "Rücken" [Seetzen], Makeri bíllim "Rücken" [Barth], Gulfei bẹ̱lẹ̱m "Rücken" [Lukas 1937, 150] (Kotoko group data: Sölken 1967, 256-257, #301). In the PKotoko word I suppose the initial *ḅ- < **ḥa-b... with the Common Afro-Asiatic marker *ḥ of anatomic terms (Takács 1997) as well with as an old Afro-Asiatic suffix *-um occuring in Cushitic and Chadic terms of body parts (cf., e.g., Takács 1997, 253, §4.1. and 258, §6.6 and §6.7).

[22] J.H. Greenberg (1965, 90, #6) identified Musgu "hip" with Eg. mn.t "thigh", which seems improbable (discussion see apud Eg. mn.t in EDE III 232).

(2) On the other hand, if Eg. bj3.t < *bjr.t, cp. NBrb.: Central Maroccan (Tamazight) a-bˁur, pl. i-bˁur-n "1. dos voûté, 2. bosse de dos" [Taïfi 1991, 46; DRB 160: isolated in Brb.] ||| CCh.: Bura pabal [l < *r] "the hump on a cow's back" [BED 1953, 168]. Derived perhaps from AA *√br "back (or sim.)" [GT]?[23]

Eg. bqs.w "Rückenwirbel, Wirbelsäule(kanal), Rückenmark (?)" (PT, Wb I 480, 8–12; Grapow 1954, 57; GHWb 263) = "spine" (FD 85). Origin obscure. No reliable cognates have been suggested so far in the etymological literature.[24] No Afro-Asiatic word for this part of body with comparable consonant structure has been found during my research either so far except for two isolated roots:
(1) LECu.: Oromo buqus-ē "vagina" [Gragg 1982, 69] = buquš-ē "vagina" [Hudson 1989, 161] = buqqušā "vagina (usually polite and of female children)" [Bitima 2000, 68]. Seems to be isolated. In principle, a semantic development "vagina" < *"bottom" < *"back" should not be ruled out.
(2) Sem.: Akk. (SynL) baqašu "etwa: breit", (jB) baqāšu "etwa: breit sein (i.a. vom Rücken und Stirn)", (aAK/aB) buqqušum "sehr breit" [AHW 104, 139] = (SB) baqāšu "to become enlarged (?), protruding (?)", (OAkk., OB) buqqušum (adj. describing a characteristic trait, occuring only as a personal name), (OAkk.) buqāšum (subst., meaning unknown, occuring only as a personal name) [CAD II 99, 323, 325], which is equally isolated,[25] appears, with special regard to its connotation to spine, also noteworthy.
(3) In comparison with both *comparanda* quoted above, substantially less likely appears any connection to AA *√bK "back" [GT], albeit this root is known mostly from its reflexes with diverse C_3 root extensions, cf. Sem.: perhaps Ar. biḫāˁ- "veine qui traverse le long du dos et vas jusqu'aux os de la nuque" [BK I 91, so also DRS 58: isolated in Sem.] ||| SBrb.: probably EWlmd. & Ayr

[23] Cf. Sem.: (?) Akk. aburru "1. rear, back (of a house or field), 2. field or pasture by the city wall" [CAD a 90] ||| NBrb.: CMaroccan (Tamazight) a-bruru, pl. i-bruru-t-n "1. colonne vertébrale, 2. dos" [Taïfi 1991, 26], Wargla a-berriw pl. "fesses, fondement" [DRB 121], Iznasen a-ze-bbur, pl. i-ze-bbär "anus" [Renisio 1932, 292] ||| LECu.: PBoni *búùr (m) "back" [Heine]: Jara búrə, Baddey búrə, Kilii búùr (Boni: Heine 1982, 91) | Orm. bor-ō "back part of house, back yard" [Gragg 1982, 59] ||| SOm.: Ari bḥr-i "back, behind", cf. Dime bur-u "kidney" (SOm.: Bender 1994, 144, 153) ||| WCh.: (?) Gera bíirì [unless < *bīyi] "back" [Schuh 1978, 139; 1984, 206] || CCh.: Logone vru "Hinterer", cf. vúrunγe "After" [Nachtigal in Lukas 1936, 125] || ECh.: EDangla bērbīrā (f) "omoplate" [Djibrine-Montgolfier 1973, 42].

[24] C.T. Hodge (1989, 14; 1990, 653; 1992, 15; 1994, 532) segmented in Eg. bqs.w a certain *b- "place prefix" attached to Eg. qs "bone". Ch. Ehret (1997 MS, 8, #1052), in turn, compared it with LECu.: Oromo boqq-ō "neck, back of the neck", derived from his AA *-bûḳ- "to bend (body)", based on HECu. *bo/ōñ- "to bend" [Ehret] ||| POm. *boñ- "knee" [Ehret] ||| WCh.: Ngizim bə̂gbə́k "side just above hipbone and below ribs" [Schuh 1981, 15]. The Berber etymology (*-fus "hand") suggested in Gabelentz 1894, 160–161 for a certain Eg. "begsu" (sic, hard even to interpret) is false both phonologically and semantically.

[25] W.G.E. Watson (1993, 214) supposed the same root to occur in Ug. bqš too as a personal name (cf. DUL 235: "*etymology unclear*").

băgăw "être injecté par l'anus (liquide servant de clystère)", te-băgăw-t "tube servant à injecter un liquide par l'anus, clysoir" [PAM 1998, 6] ||| LECu.: Baiso bʃga "back" [Fleming 1964, 46] = bɛgɛt "back" [Siebert 1994, 11] ||| NOm.: Gimira bak [Moreno] = bəq̇ [Fleming] = baḳ "buttocks" [Bender 2003, 339, #10] ||| ECh.: Modgel bıgu-am "mein Arsch" [Lukas 1937, 96] ||| CCh.:[26] Tera bıgırsa "back" [Meek in JI l.c., otherwise in Newman 1964] | Bana bugulónga "(mein?) Rücken" [Lukas 1937, 130] | Masa būkol "1. dos, 2. l'arrière, 3. derrière" [Caïtucoli 1983, 39] = búgol "dos" [Mouchet] = búgóllá "Rücken" [Jng. in JI 1994 II, 7] || ECh.: Kwang-Modgel bıgu-am "mein Arsch" [Lukas 1937, 96]. The same root with varying 3rd consonants?

(4) One wonders also whether Eg. bgs.w "als Körperteil des Sternbildes 'Riese'" (NK, Wb I 483, 1), bgs.t "*Hüfte (Teil des Sternbilds 'Riese' in den ramessidischen Sternuhren, zwischen Oberschenkel und Brust)" (NK, GHWb 264), bgs "Kehle (?)" (GR, Wb I 483, 2) are also (inter)related and whether these represent in fact late forms of *bqs.t ~ bqs.w. If not, however, because of the substantial semantic anomalies, which are, however, in my impression, not to be definitely ruled out, it would be difficult to compare Eg. bgs with either NBrb. *√bgs "se ceindre, mettre un ceinture" [GT pace DRB 35–36] or CCh.: PMandara *bagaʒa "shoulder" [GT].[27]

Eg. ps<u>d</u> "Grundbedeutung: Rückgrat, Rücken, Rückenpartie" (OK, Wb I 556, 1–9; Grapow 1954, 56; GHWb 295) = "back, spine" (FD 95) = "épine dorsale, dos" (Lacau 1970, 75, §189) is one of the "hard" words, for which no fully satisfactory etymology has been found as yet.[28] As I have suggested fifteen years ago (EDE II 519), if we assume here the non-productive postfix -<u>d</u> occuring in some Old Egyptian words of body parts,[29] the hypothetic basic root *√ps could be identified with AA *√ps "back" [GT], cf. NOm.: Haruro pes-o ~ pis-o "deretano" [CR 1937, 657] ||| WCh.: Hausa fáásà "to postpone beginning sg., be postponed indefinitely" [Abraham 1962, 257] || CCh.: Logone páséé "Gesäß, Hinterer" [Lukas 1936, 115][30] = "Kotoko" mp<u>á</u>s<u>e</u> "cul" [Mouchet 1950, 32]. At the Proto-Afro-Asiatic level, there emerge a couple of remotely related root

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[26] H. Jungraithmayr and D. Ibriszimow (l.c.) derived the Tera and Masa data from their common Ch. *√kr "back", which seems to be challanged by phonological difficulties (e.g., Masa -l vs. PCh. *-r, Tera & Masa -g- vs. PCh. *k-) as well as the fact that the initial b- in Central Chadic belongs to the root being hardly a prefix. Moreover, parallels like LECu.: Baiso bʃga "back" [Fleming 1964, 46] = bɛgɛt "back" [Siebert 1994, 11] seem to speak for analyzing the third consonant in CCh. *√bgl ~ *√bgrs (???) "back" as root complement attached perhaps to the same biconsonantal root.

[27] Attested in Dghwde bagaʒa, Gvoko bəgaʒa, Kdupe bagaʒa, Paduko baʒaŋgara | Lamang (Hitkala) g^habaʒa-k [met. < *bag^haʒa] "shoulder" (CCh.: Wolff 1983, 224).

[28] As also P. Lacau (1970, 76, §190) had to state: "Rien de comparable en sémitique."

[29] Which I have discussed in the entry for Eg. fnd "nose" (EDE II 577).

[30] V.M. Illič-Svityč (1966, 25, #3.14) equated Logone páséé "podex" (sic) with ECh.: Sokoro wald-<u>u</u>m "dein Gesäß" [Lukas 1937, 40], which is phonologically untenable.

varieties, viz. SAA *√pS "tail" [GT],[31] AA *√bS "back" [GT],[32] NAA *bˤç "tail" [GT].[33]

Eg. s3 "Rücken" (PT-, Wb IV 8-10) ||| Sem. *š/sar- "vertebral column, backbone" [SED] > Ar. sarā-t- [Kogan: < *saraw/y-at-] "1. dos, 2. milieu" [BK I 1085][34] || MSA:[35] Harsusi sār ~ ser "behind, after" [Jns. 1977, 112], Jibbali sér "behind, back(wards)" [Jns. 1981, 231], Mehri sār "behind, back(wards)" [Jns. 1987, 351], Soqotri sar (seri) "derrière" [Leslau 1938, 290] || Amharic sarasar "colonne vertébrale" [Cohen] = säräsär "vertebra, spinal cord, sinew", sərasəra "vertebrae" [Kane 1990, 487], Gurage: Selti särsär and Endegeny sässär "rib of the animal" [Leslau 1979 I 233, 1017] (Sem.: SED I 223, #253) ||| PCu. *sar- "back of body" [Ehret] > Bed. sára (f) "Rücken" [Rn. 1895, 203] = sarāt (f) "back" [Roper 1928, 234] = sara "back" [Ehret] || NAgaw: Hamir serā́, pl. sir "1. Rücken, 2. nach (postpos. zeitlich)" [Reinisch 1884, 410] = səra [-ə- < Agaw *-ä-] "back" [Ehret] | SAgaw: Awngi sə́r "lower part" [Hetzron 1978, 138] || LECu.: Saho-Afar *sar- "back" [Ehret] > Saho sarā́ (f) "1. Schwanz, Schweif, Wedel der Tiere, 2. Hinter-, Rückteil" [Reinisch 1890, 331] = "tail, back, hind-parts" [Ember] = "partie arrière" [Cohen], Afar sàrra "back, rear, later time", sarra "sheep's tail" [Parker & Hayward 1985, 189] | HECu.: Burji saro "tail" [Blz., not in Sasse 1982] | Yaaku sɛ̄rɛy "below, down" [Ehret 1987, #172, not in Heine

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[31] Cf. Ethio-Sem. (borrow from HECu. listed below): Gurage: Selti fāččo, Zway əfwaččo etc. "tail, hair of tail" (ES: Leslau 1979 III 226) ||| HECu.: Burji fǎč-o "bushy end of animal's tail" [Sasse 1982, 68], cf. Darasa fāč-ò ~ fāččo „fly whisk" [Leslau] ||| NOm.: Zayse fīc-o [-ts-] "tail" [Bender] = fīš-o "tail" [Hayward 1988, 285] = fic-o [-ts-] "tail" [Siebert 1994, 20] ||| CCh.: Logone pisẖā "tail" [Mkr.]. For the AA comparison cf. also Mukarovsky 1981, 115, #24 (Mäsqän-Zayse); 1987, 360 (Logone-Burji-Zayse); Leslau 1979 III 226; 1988, 188 (HECu.-Gurage).

[32] Preserved in EBrb.: Audjila t-bessîk-t "1. deretano, 2. vulva" [Paradisi 1960, 164] ||| NOm.: Ganjule bıč "buttocks" [Siebert 1994, 12] ||| CCh.: Bata bisin "dos" [Mouchet 1950, 32], Bata-Garwa bicihě [-ts-] "Rücken" [Str.], Bata-Demsa bicḗ [-ts-] "Rücken" [Str.] (Bata: Strümpell 1922–23, 116) | Mbara vùŝó and Vulum bèẑé "dos" [TSL 1986, 198, 280].

[33] Represented by Sem.: Ar. baˤṣūṣ- "coccyx, queue", (Maghreb) baˤbūs ~ baˤbūṣ "queue", derived from baˤṣ- "1. minceur, 2. tortillement (d'un serpent)" [DRS 73] ||| NBrb.: Tamazight a-bassa ~ a-baṣṣa ~ ta-bzza-t "queue" [Taïfi 1991] || EBrb.: Ghadames ta-baḥṣuṣṣ "queue d'animal (cheval, chacal)" [Lanfry 1973, 7, #43] || SBrb.: Kel Ui ta-basus-t "queue" [DRB] (Brb.: DRB 130, 148).

[34] P. Behrens (1987, 241, §4) opposed the inclusion of Ar. sarā-t- in this comparison (e.g., with Eg. s3) quoting Wehr's lexicon of Modern Literary Arabic (1953, 372), where, indeed Ar. sarā-t- is described as "1. Hügel, 2. Oberhaupt, 3. Rücken" and thus Behrens could only assume the following semantic shifts as plausible: "1. Hügel" > "2. Oberhaupt" + "3. Berg-Rücken" concluding that the Arabic word has genetic connection with Eg. s3. R.M. Voigt (1989, 92, #4) too considered the Arabo-Egyptian parallel as "*not sure*" the basic meaning of the former being in his view "Hügel", and hence *"Bergrücken" was "*only plausible*". The authors of the SED (l.c.) seem, however, to have figured this otherwise and to have still maintained the cognacy of the Arabic parallel.

[35] W. Leslau (1938, 290) connected the MSA preposition with the reflexes of Sem. *√ʔṯr "trace", which L. Kogan (SED l.c.) rightly declined as "*not valid for phonetic reasons*".

1975, 121, 124][36] || SCu. *sar- "lower back" [Ehret]: Burunge sira "buttocks" [Ehret] | Dahalo sáre "back" [Ehret] (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 178; Cu.: Ehret 1987, 59, #226) ||| WCh.: Hausa SaRaa "milieu du dos" [Gouffé 1969–1970, 37] || CCh.: PBura-Margi *sar "waist" [GT based on data from Hoffmann 1987, 470, #22] < AA *√sr "back" [GT].[37]

Eg. ṯz "Wirbel(knochen) des Körpers (des Nackens, des Rückens)" (PT-, Wb V 400) = "backbone" (Albright), hence fem. ṯz.t "Wirbelknochen" (XVIII., Wb V 400, 10-13) = "vertebra" (CED) vs. ṯz.t "die Rücken" (NE, Wb V 400, 14), act. *ṯ˘3ī́z.˘t (Osing: not *ṯī́3z.˘t > *ṯī́z.˘t) > Dem. ṯsj "back, top" (Dem. Mag. Pap. III 96, no. 1018, CED) > Cpt. (SA) ϫⲓⲥⲉ, (B) ϭⲓⲥⲓ, (F) ϫⲓⲥⲓ (f) "back" (CD 790b; CED 320) = "Rücken, Rückgrat, Wirbelsäule" (KHW 434) carry a secondary sense ultimately deriving – as suggested, e.g., by W. F. Albright (1919, 175) or J. Osing (NBÄ 797, n. 1014) – from Eg. ṯz "knoten, knüpfen" (Wb) = ṯ3z (Osing).

"Buttock, Bottom"

Eg. ꜥr.t "der Hintere, der After" (PT-, Wb I 209, 4) = "anus" (Lacau 1970, 57): its origin is ambiguous. P. Lacau (1970, 58, §141) failed to find a reasonable etymology: "*je ne vois aucun radical, égyptien ou sémitique, qui nous donne une étymologie raisonnable*". There are at least three different plausible solutions:
(1) W. A. Ward (1972, 19) was of the opinion that it "*must surely be related to*" Eg. ꜥrr.wt "gateway" on the analogy of Akk. bābu "door, gate", used also as the name for "anus", or Modern Lit. Ar. bāb ʔal-badan "anus", lit. *"gate of the body". Unlikely as the root meaning of Semitic *γll was "to enter", i.e., quite the opposite as one might expect.
(2) V. É. Orel and O. V. Stolbova (1992, 185) combined it with their ill-founded WCh. *ʔar- based solely on Tsagu aari "back" [Skinner 1977, 11] and their better documentd ECh. *har- "back, bottom".[38] The Afro-Asiatic etymology

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[36] Ch. Ehret (l.c.) affiliated the Yaaku term with his SCu. *çer- "to decrease, become less", which is phonologically unlikely. Note that Yaaku s- < ECu. *s-/*š- (cf. Sasse 1979, 54, appendix A) ≠ SCu. *ç- = ECu. *ḍ- (cf. Takács 2009, 139–140).

[37] For this AA etymology see Ember 1913, 113, #31; Albright 1918, 90; 1927, 218; ESS §3.b.10; Vycichl 1934, 42; GÄSW 38, #80; Vergote 1945, 129, 141, §16.b.14; Cohen 1947, #269; Behrens 1987, 241, §4; Blažek 1994 MS Beja, 33; 1994 MS Elam, 4, #11.

[38] Attested in Dangla-Migama: EDangla āarà (f), pl. àarār "le dos, le cadet (celui qui vient derrière), l'enveloppe, la cosse, l'écorce des végétaux", àar "(préposition) derrière (suivie du cas oblique)", àrè (adv.) "là bas" [Djibrine-Montgolfier 1973, 18], WDangla áàrò (f) "dos", àrè "rester en arrière" [Fédry 1971, 17] | Mubi-Toram *hāra > *ʔāra "back" [GT]: Mubi hàr "Hinterseite", hâr (f), pl. hòòrúr "Rücken" [Lukas 1937, 182] = hàr (m), pl. hòorúr "dos" [Jng. 1990 MS, 21], Kajakse ʔáàra, pl. ʔaarurom "dos" [Alio 2004, 239, #5], Birgit ʔárà (m), pl. ʔárnànàŋ "dos", ʔár-tù "mon dos" [Jng. 2004, 350].

of these Chadic cognates is not yet evident, however, since two years later, O.V. Stolbova (1994 MS, 1) suggested their equation with Akk. (Younger Bab.) a/erûtu "Rücken" [AHW 248]. Another year later, in turn, in their HSED #1159 (co-authored by her with V. Orel), she explained this Akk.-Ch. parallel from an AA *har- "back", which is not compatible with either Akk. e- < Sem. *ʕ/γ/ḥa- or Eg. ʕ-. Most likely, nevertheless, seems a cognacy of the Chadic data with Eg. j3.t (above).

(3) Tempting is an equation with Sem. *ʕawr-/*ʕarw- "pudendum muliebre" [Blazek 1989 MS Om., 81, #108 pace Holma 1911, 100] = *ʕawr-(at)-/*ʕVrw-(at)- "pudenda" [SED I 26-27, #26] with special regard to Ar. *ʕawr-at- "3. toute la partie du corps entre le nombril et les genoux (chez l'homme)" vs. "4. crevasse", whereas Sem. *√ʕrw "nakedness, shame", as suggested by L. Kogan (SED l.c.), "*rather derived from ‚pudenda', and not vice versa as usually assumed*".

Eg. wbn.w "Bez. eines Körperteils des Stiers, ob: Schwanzende (?)" (PT 547b, Wb I 294, 14) = "root of tail" (Faulkner, AEPT 108, n. 3) = "*Schwanzende (des Stiers), *Afterloch, *Steiß" (GHWb 188)[39] seems to be an inner Egyptian innovation. Any etymological connection to Eg. bn.w (below)?

Eg. bn.w "ein Körperteil" (PT 1464b hapax,[40] Wb I 459, 1) = "waist or buttocks" (Faulkner 1969 = AEPT 226, fn. 17). Rendering debated,[41] but the meaning suggested by R. O. Faulkner on Eg. grounds is perfectly justified by the external parallels, cf. AA *√bn (vars. *√bnw ~ *√bwn?) "1. buttock, 2. waist" [GT] > NBrb.: Shilh a-banna "queue toffue du renard" | Tamazight a-banna "gros derrière" (NBrb.: DRB 73) ||| NOm.: Kaffa binn-ō "ano" [Cerulli 1951, 413], cf. Shinasha-Bworo bimb-á "Genick" [Lamberti 1993, 285] ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura *ḅ^{w}oγon (var. *ḅ^{w}ōn) ~ *ḅ^{w}e$_2$γe$_2$n (hence Angas *ḅ^{w}īn)[42] "hips, waist, buttocks" [GT 2004, 43] = *ḅ$^{w}{}_1$ō$_1$n "back, thighs" [Stolbova 1977] = *ḅ^{w}īn "back (спина)" [Stolbova 1987][43] | Bade maabən (prefix mV-) "Gesäß" [Lukas

[39] Unless it derives from Eg. wbn "to rise" (as supposed by R. O. Faulkner, l.c.), although I keep failing to see how this unconvincing *Volksetymologie* may be correct. It is here that I have to note that the Diakonoff team (SISAJa I #102) derived Eg. bnw from their AA *bn̰ "fingers, hand", which is at the moment unacceptable. Rejected already by G. Takács (1999, 26).

[40] PT 1464b: ḏḥʕ(-w) w3=f r bnw=f n jrj-tj nṯr.w jr ppj pn "he is firmly bound up (?) at the waist (?), and there is nothing which the gods can do to (this) Pepi" (after Faulkner).

[41] R. Hannig suggested the sense "ein Körperteil (*Skelett)" (GHWb 253).

[42] Here too, the ḅ- < *ḥb-, i.e., root initial *b- preceded by the Common Afro-Asiatic prefix of anatomic terms (Takács 1997). The Egyptian vs. Angas-Sura parallel was first suggested by G. Takács (1999, 26).

[43] Attested in Angas bween "after", ka-bweena "behind" [Ormsby 1914, 207–8] = bwiin "1. the small of the back, 2. the hips" [Foulkes 1915, 154] = bwin "buttocks" [Kraft] = ḅwíín ~ ḅwín "Taille, Leistenlinie, hintere Hüftgegend" [Jng. 1962 MS] = ḅwin "back, behind" [ALC 1978, 8, 23, 41] = bwin (so, b-) "buttocks" [Kraft] = (plain) ḅwín ~ (hill) ḅín "1. waist, 2. behind (prep.)" [Gochal 1994, 27,

1974–1975, 103], Ngizim àbɨn vɨ̀kši "buttocks" [Kraft 1981, #61] = bə̀m-bə̀kší "buttocks" (cf. və̀kší "anus, buttocks") [Schuh 1981, 16] || CCh.: Bura-Margi *bʷVŋ[44] "buttock, hip" [GT]: Bura bwong "buttock" [BED 1953, 32], Margi bwàŋ "hip" [Hoffmann in RK 1973, 107, #19], Ngwahyi bwə̀ŋ "buttocks" [Kraft 1981, #61]. An areal parallel also appears in PBantu *-búnò/*-búnù "waist", hence PEBantu *-búnù "buttock" [Guthrie 1971, 120].
A separate root, viz. AA *√pn "buttock" [GT], may be represented by LECu.: Somali fan "das Kreuz, der dicke Hinterteil des Pferdes" [Reinisch 1902, 150] = fán, pl. fánán "croup of saddle" [Abraham 1964, 76][45] ||| CCh.: Fali-Kiria pùnuʔ "hip" [Kraft] | Lame-Peve fun zu "buttock" [Kraft] (CCh.: Kraft 1981, #56 & #61).

Eg. *pḥ (phonetic value of the hieroglyph depicting the) "hind-quarters of a lion or leopard" (EG 1927, 455, F22), cf. pḥ.wj (dual) "1. der Hintere, 2. das Ende" (OK, Wb I 535–537) = "1. hinder parts, hind-quarters (MK, Med.), 2. back (of jaw) (Pap. Edwin Smith), 3. rear (guard of army) (MK, NK), 4. stern of ship (Lit. MK), 5. end (PT 318, Lit. MK)" (FD 92) vs. fem. pḥ.wj.t "der After" (Med., Wb I 537, 3) = "rectum" (FD 92) = "buttocks, rectum" (DLE I 179) – discarding a number of unacceptable etymologies[46] and confirming P. Lacau's (1970, 80, §206) statement that "*rien en sémitique*" corresponds – may be combined with ECu.: Yaaku -peʔa- "to finish (intr.)", -peʔ-s- "to finish (tr.)" [Heine 1975, 125] ||| WCh.: Daffo-Butura fí (f), pl. fiyáy ~ fiyaš ~ fìfíyay "back (Rücken)" [Jng. 1970, 214] | Tangale pii "back, rear, behind, last" [Jng. 1991, 131], cf. Gera fáayà "tail" [Schuh 1978, 115] || CCh.: Musgu pa "Hinterer" [Krause in Lukas 1941, 71] = pi "cul" [Mouchet 1950, 32] = pi ~ pa "outside" [Skinner], Pus piy (m) "cul, derrière", pi- "1. l'arrière de, le dessous de, 2. derrière, sous"

34, 111, app.], Sura ḅwɔ́ɔn "1. Rücken, 2. Außenseite" [Jng. 1963, 60], Mupun ḅūon "back, waist" [Frj. 1991, 7], Kofyar ḅwón "hip, upper part of animal's hindquarter" [Netting 1967, 4], Mushere ḅukun "1. back, rear, behind, 2. last" [Diyakal 1997 MS, 137] = kə-ḅùkun "back" [Jng. 1999 MS, 9], Goemay ḅuun "the loins", kang ḅuun "junction of loin bone with spine" [Sirlinger 1937, 20, 94] = ḅuun "waist" [Hellwig 2000 MS, 4] (Angas-Sura: Stolbova 1977, 153, #19; 1987, 240, #7; Takács 2004, 43).

[44] Is the final *-ŋ due to an original *-nḥ suffixed by the Common Afro-Asiatic prefix of anatomic terms (Takács 1997)?

[45] Note that Somali f- < ECu. *f- < AA *p- & *f- (Dolgopolsky 1983, 126–127, §2; EDE I 267).

[46] **(1)** L. Reinisch (1873, 221, 248–249) equated it with Teda fudi "Hinterteil", deken "Erde", duggu "nach, Hinterteil" (three etymologies in the same book!). **(2)** L. Homburger (1930, 293): ~ Ful ḅawo "le derrière". **(3)** Later the same authress (1931, 253) compared it with Nubian boki "fesse". **(4)** P. Lacau (1970, 80, §206) and W.A. Ward (1974, 345) derived it from OEg. pḥ "to reach", supposing an original meaning *"atteindre la fin de, arriver au bout de, parvenir à" (Lacau) = *"to reach the end" (Ward), which, even if true, could hardly been the source of our noun – on the contrary: it might have been a denominal verb. This doubt seems to have arosen also in P. Lacau's (l.c.) thoughts: "*Est-ce la verbe qui a donné le nom de cette partie du corps, ou la partie du corps qui a créé le verbe?*" **(5)** Ch. Ehret (1995, 115, #106) combined it with his PCu. *b/ṗĭḥ- "side" < AA *ṗĭḥ- "flank".

[Tourneux 1991, 110-111]. The Egypto-Chadic comparison is due to N. Skinner (1983, 84). The underlying root may have been AA *√pḫ "back, bottom" [GT] and should be distinguished from WBrb.: Zenaga tu-mbá ~ tu-mb^{w}öh "1. cul (dit par esclaves et mauvaises gens), 2. derrière de qqch., 3. (par) derrière (prép.)" [Nicolas 1953, 203] ||| PCh. *√by "back" [JI 1994 I, 3].

Eg. ḫpd (usually in dual) "Hinterteil" (PT-, Wb III 270-271) = "buttocks" (FD 190) = "les deux fesses, les côtés interieurs des cuisses" (Lacau 1970, 79, §202, doubted by Ward 1972, 21) > ḫfd "*als gelegentliche Schreibung für* ḫpd" (XIX., Wb III 277, 11, cf. Vycichl 1953, 386) is cognate – as is well-known from the old etymological literature[47] – via metathesis with Sem. *paḫ(i)ḏ- "hip, thigh" [SED I 186-187, #211]. There is, however, a so far unknown further match, viz. HECu. *gubēda "thigh" [Hudson 1989, 152], which shows the same sequence of root consonants with no metathesis as in Egyptian.

Eg. z3.wt (or s3.wt)[48] "ein Körperteil des Menschen: zwischen Rücken und Gesäss" (XVIII. Mag., Wb III 419, 18) = "loins (?)" (FD 209) = "*Lende" (GHWb 656) may reflect either *zr.wt or *sr.wt and be cognate to EBrb.: Audjila zerr ~ zzer, pl. zérr-en "dorso" [Paradisi 1960, 165] ||| ECu. *zir- "backbone, hip" [Sasse 1982, 56] ||| NOm. *zĕr- "back" [GT] = *ž[ya]r- [Blazek] > Malo yer "back" [Blazek < ?] | Gimira zēr [CR] = zer [Bender, Fleming], She zēr ~ yer "dorso" [CR 1925, 625] = ziɛr [Fleming], Bencho ièr [Montandon] (NOm.: Blazek 1989 MS Om., 6, #8; Bender 2003, 338, #4) < AA *√Zr "back" [GT].[49] Alternatively, Eg. s3.wt might be connected with Eg. s3 "back" (above) and be traced back directly to AA *√sr "back" [GT], whence Eg. s3 (below) also derives from.

Eg. kf3 "Hinterteil, Steiss (eines Vogels, auch übertragen: vom Boden eines Topfes, der durchbohrt ist, von einem Geschwür oder ähnl. im Gegs. zu dessen tp)" (Med., Wb V 120, 6) = "hinder-parts (of bird), bottom (of jar), base

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[47] Ember 1917, 21; 1918, 31; 1921, 177; 1926, 301, fn. 10; Albright 1918, 90; ESS §26.c.3; GÄSW #75; Vergote 1945, 139, §13.7; Cohen 1947, #361; Hintze 1951, 83; IS 1966, 24, 26; 1976, #341; Dolgopol'skij 1966, 65; 1967, 304, #10; 1973, 240; Lacau 1970, 79, §203, Ward 1972, 21, §§202-203; SISAJa I #42; HCVA I #23; HSED #1931; Orel 1995, 108. Note that the Eg.-Sem. parallel has frequently been combined in these works also with Cushitic and Chadic terms for "hip, thigh" reflecting in the place of C_2 a glottal stop (cf. also Dolgopol'skij 1973, 44; OS 1992, 170), which was rightly declined already by F. Hintze (1951, 83).

[48] Because we have no attested forms of this word prior to the New Kingdom, the initial z- (which may be just the matter of the orthography of the 18th Dynasty and not necessarily historic) may in principle stand for an Old Kingdom s- as well.

[49] V. Blažek (1989 MS Om., 6, #8), followed by A. Dolgopolsky (1994 MS, 11, #12), affiliated the North Omotic word with Sem. *ṯahr- "dorso" [Frz. 1964, 271] and SCu.: Dahalo ḍǎ$^{\varsigma}$ēro "neck" [EEN 1989, 35] as well as further apparently (either phonologically or semantically) unrelated words.

(of abscess)" (FD 285) = "arrière-train, fond (d'un vase)" (Lacau 1970, 80) = "ouverture" (Posener-Kriéger 1976, 189, C.5)[50] has been commonly known as a cognate identical with Sem.: Ar. kafal- "hinder part, posteriors, buttocks, rump" [Lane 3001c, so also apud Ember] = "2. croupe d'une monture (surtout quand elle est occupée par celui qui monte en croupe), derrière, 3. housse que l'on jette sur la croupe d'une bête" [BK II 916; Dozy II 486].[51] The apparently exclusively Egypto-Arabic isogloss is commonly accepted.[52] But the Egypo-Arabic comparison is in fact to be extended to Common Sem. *kap(a)l- "groin, buttocks, back" [SED II 332].[53] The ultimate etymology thereof is disputed. With regard to Ar. kifl- signifying both "1. le double, 2. part, portion, lot" and "3. derrière, fesse (surtout de la femme)" [BK] = "double portion" [Ward], W.A. Ward (1972, 21, ad §208) derived it from the root *√kpl "double, two-fold" attested in Ug. kpl [WUS 155, #1366] = "(signifies duality)" [Lsl. pace Gordon 1965, 422, #1287] and Hbr. √kpl qal "to fold, double-over", kepel "doubling", dual kiplayim "the double" [KB 493], while the basic sense of the same root appears, in his view, perhaps in Geez kafala "to distribute, divide, separate, distinguish, allot, assign, apportion, give a share, grant, bestow, impart, make s'one a participant", kəfl "part, portion, share, lot, division, fraction, category, chapter, section, verse" [Lsl. 1987, 276]. This ultimate root sense was defined in KB (l.c.) as "(equal) part". On the other hand, V. Blažek (1994 MS Bed., 21) affiliated Eg. kf3 as well as Ar. kafal- with Bed. kalíf (m), pl. kálfa "Nacken" [Rn.], which would imply an ultimate sense "1. back → 2. bottom" excluding any connection to Central Sem. *√kpl "to double" [GT] at all.

"Tail"

Eg. br (group-writing, hair det.), cf. 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 alternative etymology:

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[50] A metaphoric use of the same word may be Eg. kf3 (pl. tante) "e. Pflanzenteil" (Med., XVIII. Mag., Wb V 120, 9) = "(vielleicht) die Blattspitzen oder Blattsprossen" (WÄDN 528) = "le tronc (?) d'un arbre" (CT, AL 77.4540, 78.4380).

[51] P. Lacau (1970, 81, §208) assumed Ar. kafal- as the nominal source "*d'où*" we have the verbal use of Ar. √kfl: I "garantir, se rendre caution, garant de qqn." [BK II 915] < *"placer derrière".

[52] Ember 1911, 88; 1917, 88, fn. 2; ESS §3.c.1; Vycichl 1934, 63, 69; 1958, 371; 1990, 39; 1990, 110, §4.1; GÄSW 84, #334; Vergote 1945, appendix, §1.d.28; Loret 1945, 240; Cohen 1947, #178; Lacau 1970, 81, §208; Ward 1972, 21, ad §208; Blažek 1994 MS Bed., 21.

[53] Attested in Akk. kappaltu "area between thighs, groin" [CAD k 184] || JAram. kaplā "groin, loin" [Jastrow 1950, 660], Mandaic kapla ~ kupla "hindquarters, loins" [Drower & Macuch 1963, 200a, 209a] | Ar. kafal- "croupe d'une monture", kifl- "derrière, fesse, surtout de la femme" [BK II 916; Dozy II 486] etc. (Sem.: Torczyner 1912, 771; DRS II 332; SED l.c.).

(1) Semantically, the most attractive seem NBrb.: Figig bilu ~ a-bilu "ornament d'un tapis" [Kossmann 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 55–56) ||| LECu.: Somali búl "tassel" [Abraham 1964, 35].
(2) Any connection to SAA *√bl "tail" [GT] > NOm.: Hozo umbulle "coda" [Grottanelli] = ʊmbulɛ "tail" [Bender 1994, 1159, #82] = ɔmbulí "tail" [Siebert-Wedekind 1994, 17] = ʊʊmbıli "tail" [Bender 2003, 280, #131] ||| WCh.: (?) Hausa búúláálà "hippo-hide whip" [Abraham 1962, 117] | Kulere byéèl, pl. byelál & bíbyél "tail" [Jng. 1968, 6; 1970, 351, 388] = bɛl "tail" [IL in JI 1994 II, 316] || ECh.: Nancere būl "Besen" [Lukas 1937, 89]?
(3) Or NBrb.: Tamazight i-biṛṛi "longue frange de vêtement", pl. i-birr-an "franges de châle" [DRB] | Shawya a-berbur "lambeau" [DRB I 95] | Qabyle bberb·er ~ bberber "1. former rideau, 2. former frange" [Dallet 1982, 36]?
(4) Any connection to AA *√br "tail" [GT]: NBrb.: Sus a-baṛṛa, pl. i-baṛṛā-t-en "queue" [Destaing 1938, 238] | Ndir a-bərḍuḍ "tail" [Penchoen 1973, 105] | Iznasen a-beḥrur [infix -ḥ- of body parts?] "queue" [Renisio 1932, 295] = a-beḥrur & ta-bahrur-t "queue" [DRB] = a-bəḥərur & ta-bahrur-t "tail" [Mlt.], Rif ta-beḥrur-t "ourlet, repli de vêtement", a-beḥrur "pan" [DRB][54] (NBrb.: DRB 40, 43; HCVA II #120) ||| SCu.: Ma'a ^{m}búru "goat's tail" [Ehret 1980, 140].
(5) Perhaps WCh.: Angas bwaar ~ (at times) nbwaar "(Hs. bulala) sjambok or whip" [Foulkes 1915, 154] = m̥bwàar "Flußpferdpeitsche" [Jng. 1962 MS, 24] = mbwar "whip" [ALC 1978, 38] || ECh.: Somray bə̀ṛâw "fouet" [Jng. 1993 MS, 5]?
(6) Or perhaps cf. AA *√br "hair (on the top)" [GT]: Bed. băr "camel-hair" [Roper 1928, 162] (GT: originally *"hairy peak of camel's hump"?) || LECu.: Somali bār "langes nicht geschnittenes Haar, behaarter Gipfel" [Reinisch 1902, 85] = bā́r "the tuft of hair on camel's hump" [Abraham 1964, 27] = bār "hairs on the camel's hump" [Siyad 1984, 290], Jabarti bār "der oberste Teil eines Gegenstandes", pl. bā́rar "Haarhörner, aus Haaren geflochtene Hörner auf beiden Seiten des Frauenkopfes" [Reinisch 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) (Cu.: Blazek 1994 MS Bed., 9) ||| NOm.: Haruro borr-o "cresta del gallo" [CR 1937, 641] ||| CCh.: perhaps Bura pu-bal [l regular < *r] "cock's comb" [BED 1953, 175] || ECh.: Somray bàrà (f) "tresse de femme, cheveux tressées" [Jng. 1993 MS, 4]? The WRift-Somali-Eg. etymology is due to G. Takács (2000, 72, #1.4).

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[54] Iznasen a-bəḥərur ~ ta-bahrur-t was perhaps extended by the infix -ḥ- typically occuring in the Afro-Asiatic anatomical terms (cf. Takács 1997).

Eg. mnkr.t "der Schwanz am Königschurz" (MK, Wb II 91, 6) = "la queue postiche des Pharaons (en réalité, à l'origine, une queue de taureau)" (Jéquier 1921, 150) = "(ikonographisch) weibliche (sekundär: männliche) Gestalt, die auf ihrem Kopf eine (mitunter in Mumienbinden gehüllte) Königsgestalt trägt (belegt im Bestattungsritual der Könige der 18. und 19. Dynastie), Löwin, die dem toten König zur Auferstehung verhilft" (Westendorf 1985, 109–110) = "nom spécifique de la queue d'animal suspendue derrière le dos du roi" (Bardinet 1990, 4) = "bull's tail (worn by king)" (FD 110) = "ein Tierschwanz (am Königschurz)" (GHWb 343). The *Menkeret* was a ritual object: "*bisher nur aus dem Bereich der Jenseitsvorstellungen des Totenkultes bekannt; Funktion: im Bestattungsritual für den König die Auferstehung zu gewährleisten*" (Abitz, LÄ IV 54). It was also personfied as early as the Middle Kingdom[55] and is supposed to have survived also a hieroglyph.[56] Its origin has been disputed: in the *communis opinio*, it was extended by a prefix m- as pointed out by H. Grapow (1914, 25), P. Lacau (1970, 150, §406), and W. Schenkel (1999, 89), although the identification of the underlying root (*√nkr or *√kr) is debated.

(1) G. Jéquier (1921, 110; 1921, 150) rendered it lit. "*pour battre, pour frapper autour de soi*" (sic, translating m- falsely as "pour") and affiliated -kr with a certain Eg. krkr "battre, frapper autour de soi" (NK, Jéquier, not in Wb, DLE, GHWb) arguing that the bulls, "*quand ils sont en fureur, ils se battent les flancs de la queue, soit pour s'exciter eux-mêmes, soit pour terrifier leur adversaire*".

(2) W. Westendorf (1985, 13/109 & fn. 39) saw in it an older (Upper Egyptian?) "*Dialektform*" for an unattested *mnṯr.t and regarded both forms as m- prefix derivatives of the root *√nkr > *√nṯr, which he (Westendorf 1985, 12/108 and fn. 33) ultimately compared (pace Vycichl 1958, 394–395) with Sem. *√nkr > i.a. Ar. munkar- "11. Monkar, nom de l'un des deux anges qui font subir aux morts un interrogatoire dans le tombeau" [BK II 1341], whose basic sense Westendorf rendered as "unkenntlich machen, maskieren, verkleiden, sich zur unkenntlichkeit wandeln" arguing that Eg. mnkr.t should denote *"sg. divine" or *"sg. belonging to the dead king" in general. His hypothesis was followed by W. Helck (1992, 150, fn. 21): "*Dabei muß man sich daran erinnern, daß* nṯr *ursprünglich den*

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[55] Cf. mnkr.t "Name einer löwenköpfigen Göttin (neben Sachmet)" (MK, NK, GR, Wb II 91, 7) = eine löwenköpfige Göttin, ursprünglich wohl Personifikation des Löwenschwanzes am Königsschurz" (Amduat, Hornung 1963 II, 165, n. 702) = "Personifikation des Schwanzes des Königsschurzes" (CT VI 117, Schenkel 1999, 89 & fn. 16) = "a goddess" (DCT 170). Note that W. Schenkel (l.c.) erroneously gave CT VI 111a (sic).

[56] Old mnkr.t was identified by Th. Bardinet (1990, 4) with LEg. mkr "nom de signe, qui serait une désignation de la dent du crocodile" (Griffith 1889, 30 quoted after Bardinet) = "als Name eines Schriftzeichens" (LP: Tanis sign pap. 13, Wb II 163, 1) = "extrémité corporelle (ce signe est placé à la fin de la série des parties du corps, cité avec les ailes et autres extrémités corporelles; il ne s'agit probablement pas d'une dent)" (Bardinet 1990, 4).

toten König bezeichnet hat". Moreover, Westendorf (1966, 53–54, fn. 7) had earlier erroneously assumed even a "*wahrscheinlichen Zusammenhang zwischen*" Eg. nṯr "god" (regular reflex of *√nkr) and 3kr "der Erdgott" (OK-, Wb I 22, 6) and mnkr.t he explained as an "m-*Bildung*" from the primary sense *"die Verwandlerin, die Vergöttlicherin (?)".

(3) G. Takács (2004, 59, #349; EDE III 335–336) segmented Eg. mnkr.t as a compound of the element mn- (found in Eg. mnqb, mnṯ3.t, mnḏr too) + a hypothetic Eg. *kr "tail (or sim.)" < AA *√Kr "tail" [GT], cf. LECu. (unexpected g- < *k-): Saho gárā "Schwanz" [Reinisch] = gērä "tail (coda)" [Vergari 2003, 91], Afar gárā "1. Schweif, Schwanz, 2. Rück-, Hinterteil, 3. hinter/n, hernach", garī́ tā́gōr "Schwanzbüschel" [Reinisch 1886, 852; 1887, 116] = gȅra "tail (of animal)", gērale "base of the spine, coccyx, area near the tail" [Parker & Hayward 1985, 112] ||| NOm.: Kaffa kerr-ò "coda" [Cecchi apud Reinisch 1888, 304, not in Cerulli 1951] (Afar-Kaffa: Reinisch l.c.; Mukarovsky 1966, 16, #35) ||| PCh. *√kr (probably *kir-)[57] "tail" [GT]: WCh.: SBauchi *kʸir- "tail" [GT][58] || CCh.: Mandara *ḫV-kila "tail" [GT][59] (Ch.: Mukarovsky 1987, 361; Jng. 1988, 71; JI 1994 II 316–317).

It may be assumed that AA *√Kr "back" [GT] is eventually also related, cp. PAgaw *(ʔən)gər-a "back" [Apl. 2006, 27][60] ||| NOm.: Kafa kérā "Rücken" [Reinisch 1895, 203] ||| PCh. *√kr "back" [JI 1994 I 3] > WCh.: Goemay ṇââr [kɔɔr] "the last bone at the base of the spine" [Sirlinger 1937, 88] | NBauchi *kʸar- "back" [Skinner 1977, 11] | Zaar kaar "back" [Shimizu] || ECh.: Kera kɛrkə [Ebert] (Ch.: JI 1994 II 6–7).

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[57] If the NOm.-Ch.-Eg. comparison suggested above proves correct, the Chadic data listed under *√kr should be separated from PCh. *√ktr/n "tail" [JS 1981, 260A] = *√ktˢr [Jng. 1988, 71] = *√ktr < **√kṣr [JI 1994 I, 163] = *n-katuri > *kutari [Stolbova 1996, 64–65], whose reconstruction is, however, correct beyond doubt. It seems that there were rather two etymologically distinct PCh. roots (*√kr and *√ktr). Note that WCh.: Dera kərət [Stolbova, not so in Newman 1974, 137] and Pero kérèt "tail" [Frj. 1985, 36] derive from Bole-Tangale *katər "tail" [Schuh 1984, 213] with the shift of -r- < *-t- vs. -t < *-r (Stolbova l.c.).

[58] Attested in: Dwot čir [Smz.], Kir kàr [Smz.] = kir [Csp.], Mangas kàr [Smz.] = kir [Csp.], Grnt. kırau [Smz.] = kàru [Jaggar 1989, 188] = kàruu [Csp.], Zaranda kil [Smz.], Tule kyeerə [Smz.], Dokshi kyeer [Smz.], Zaar (Saya) kiir [IL, Smz., Csp.], Boghom kʰəi [IL] = kay [Smz.] = kái [Csp.], Geji číl [< *kil] [Smz.] = číl [IL], Polchi cər [Smz.], Wangday čir [IL] = čır [Smz.], Jum kir [Csp.] etc. (SBauchi: Shimizu 1978, 32, #49; Cosper 1994, 35, 68).

[59] Cf. Glavda ḫùkilà [Mkr.], Guduf ḫikyela [Mkr.]. Do PWNigritic *-kila "tail" and PBantu *-kila "tail" (cf. JI 1994 I 163) reflect an etymon borrowed from Central Chadic?

[60] Cf. Bilin inger-ā́ "Rücken, Rückteil" [Rn.], Hamir egrā [Rn.] = gra "behind" [Apl.], Qwara əngəy-ä "back" [Apl.] | Awngi (Awiya) enger-ā́ "part posteriore" [CR] = əngər [SLLE] (Agaw: Apl. l.c. supra).

It is highly dubious if there are any further cognates in Central[61] or East[62] Chadic – except for WCh.: Angas mùnkàar (K) "hip" [Jng. 1962 MS, 26], whose astonishing formal coincidence with Eg. mnkr.t (prefix mVn- + *√Kr) might not necessarily be due just to pure chance as I (Takács 2004, 202) have already demonstrated it to be akin to Goemay ḳââr quoted above under Angas-Sura *ḳār ~ *ḳā$_3$r "(part of) hip or waist" [GT].

Eg. ḫbz.t "der Schwanz (des Löwen, des Stiers, des Krokodils u.ä.), Tierschwanz am Königsschurz" (PT, CT, Wb III 255, 10; ÄWb I 933c) is etymologically identical with Eg. ḫbz.wt "Bart" (MK-, Wb III 255, 13–14). Until now it is not clear, which one is the original etymon and what the Afro-Asiatic background of this root is:

(1) V. Blažek (1989 MS Om., 6) put a right and due question-mark to his proposal on its equation with the SAA isogloss of Om. *būč- "beard" [Fleming 1976, 313] = *buč- [Bender 1988, 151] = *buC[C]- [Blažek] ||| WCh.: Galambu búúsá "beard" [Schuh] | Bauchi *√b(m)z "beard" [GT][63] || CCh. *√bzm "beard" [JS 1981, 35D], since there is no reflection whatsoever of Eg. ḫ- except for if we consider Mafa-Mada *haN-bic "beard" [Rossing 1978, 208, #51], which Blažek for some reason did not, although here too, *h- seems, at least at this moment, to hardy correspond to Eg. ḫ-, let alone that the Egyptian word cannot be analyzed as a compound.

(2) G. Takács: both semantically and phonologically, the older Egyptian word, ḫbz.t "tail (also as ornament on the royal apron)" finds almost perfect match in SBrb. *√gbs "mettre comme ceinture à la taille" [GT][64] > i.a. Ahaggar ă-se-g^{y}bes "jupon de dessous (femme)", i-se-g^{y}bās "reins (région lombaire)" [Foucauld], ETawllemmet ta-gbəs-t, Ayr te-gbəs-t "ceinture, baudrier (porté en biais sur une épaule)", ETawllemmet a-sə-gbəs, Ayr e-sə-gbəs "1. grande jupe (portée sur le pagne), 2. (Ayr sg.) croupe/arrière-train de couleur différente (du reste d'un animal), 3. (Ayr sg./pl.) reins", ETawllemmet ta-sə-gbəs-t, Ayr te-sə-gbəs-t "pagne servant de sous-vêtement, jupon de dessous (pour femmes)" [PAM 2003, 195] etc. (SBrb.: DRB 715). Note that Eg. ḫ- can also correspond to Brb. *g- < AA *ɡ-.

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[61] Note that CCh.: Gudu ḫul and Gudu-Waga uḫul "back" [Meek] | Lamang ḫul "back" [Meek] || SOm. *go/ul- "tail" [Bender 2003, 218 and 252, #131]: Dime gōlan and Ari goli "tail" [Bender-Fleming 1976, 49] may represent a distinct Afro-Asiatic root, while any comparison with ECh.: WDangla gɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ̀ "partie supérieure du dos" [Fédry 1971, 327] is out of the question the underlying basic word being góògò [o.c., p. 331].

[62] Whether ECh.: Dangla-Migama and Mubi-Toram *hǎr- "back" [GT] ||| Sem. *ʔaḫ(a)r "behind, after" [GT pace DRS 15; GB 26] are also related is more than uncertain. Alternative etymologies are discussed sub Eg. j3.t and ʿr.t in this paper above.

[63] Cf. NBauchi: Pa'a bìnza [MSkinner] | SBauchi: Boghom bwòpsiʔ [Shimizu], Zaar mbòpzɪŋ [Shimizu] (Bauchi: JI 1994 II 12).

[64] The North Berber cognates reflect a metathetic *√bgs (cf. DRB 35–36).

Eg. sd "Schwanz" (PT-, Wb IV 363-364) = "auch: Hinterer" (Calice), act. *sī́d > Cpt. (SB) ⲥⲁⲧ (m) etc. "Schwanz" vs. (SB) ⲥⲏⲧ, (S) ⲥⲉⲉⲧ "Penis" (KHW 198), is apparently an irregular reflex of AA *sit- vs. *sut- [Blažek] being − as it has been long suggested and widely accepted[65] − cognate, apparently, better with the first one of the following two ultimately related sets of cognates:
(1) AA *sit- > Sem. *šit- "buttock, seat (of body)" [Blažek] = *šVt- (var. to *ʔi-šVt-) "posterior, buttocks" [SED][66] ||| ECu.: Somali (Rahanwen) šitt-o "vulva" [Cerulli] | Dullay *sīt- "tail" [GT][67] ||| NOm.: Janjero sēt-ō "imene" [Cerulli 1938 III 84] | Kafa šī́t-ō "pudendum muliebre" [Rn. 1888, 334] = šitt-ō "vulva" [Cerulli 1951, 502].[68] The Semitic nominal stem may be akin to NWSem. *√šyt "to lay" < *"to set down" [GT],[69] although in the works on this Egypto-Semitic equation (quoted above) as well as Semitic comparative studies,[70] this stem has been usually combined rather with the reflexes of Sem. *ʔišd- "foundation, bottom, lower extremities" [Kogan].[71] According to C. Brockelmann (GVGSS

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[65] Holma 1919, 45; Albright 1923, 67; ESS §26.a.4; GÄSW 81, #314; Cohen 1947, #267; Vergote 1945, 142, §16.b.22; Belova 1989, 19, fn. 4; Blažek 1989 MS Om., 30–31, #107; OS 1990, 85, #2; 1992, 171; Militarev in Starostin et al. 1995 MS, 28.

[66] Attested in Ug. št (m) "base, pie" [Olmo Lete] = "base, foot" [DUL 851] | Hbr. šēt "Gesäß, Arsch, Fundament" [Holma] = "Gesäß (nicht Fundament)" [Torczyner 1912, 771] = "Hinterteil" [Calice] = "1. buttocks, 2. base, foundation" [KB 1666], PBHbr. šāt "foundation" [Jastrow 1950, 1636] | Imperial Aram. $št_2$ "buttocks, anus" [DNWSI 1198], JAram. šatyā "foundation" [Jastrow], Mandaic šata "buttocks, pubic regions" [Drower-Macuch 1963, 446] | Ar. √sth: sataha-hu "he struck his buttock, he followed him from behind not quitting him", ʔastiha "he (a man) was or became large in the buttocks" [Lane 1305] > sat(a)h-, sitah- "derrière, cul" [BK I 1051] vs. sat- (by-form of ʔist-) [Nöldeke] || MSA: Harsusi šīt "backside, posterior" [Jns. 1977, 125], Jibbali šît "posterior" [Leslau] = šit "behind" [Leslau 1964] = gét "privates (front or back, of a male or female)" [Jns. 1981, 267] = šét "privates" [Blažek], Mehri šît "penis" [Leslau] = šīt "1. backside, buttocks, 2. anus, root" [Jns. 1987, 396] = šīt "vulva, penis" [Blažek], Soqotri šéh "parties sexuelles de la femme" vs. šího "dos" [Leslau 1938, 413] = šɔh "vulva" [Blažek] || Chaha & Muher šät and Ezha šet "leveled ground before a house is built" [Leslau 1979 I 587]. The reconstruction of a PSem. *sayt- "tail" [OS] from these reflexes is unacceptable.

[67] Cf. Harso, Dobase, Gollango, Gawwada sī́t-ó "Schwanz" [AMS 1980, 267].

[68] Ignoring the rest of Cushito-Omotic cognates, L. Reinisch (l.c.) derived it from the verbal root šī "zeugen, gebären", but E. Cerulli (l.c.) rightly supposed an inherited nominal stem.

[69] Cf. Ug. št "etwas wohin tun, legen, anbringen" [WUS 318–319, #2702] | Phoenician št "legen, setzen" [WUS] = $√šyt_1$ qal "to place, put, establish" [DNWSI 1130], Hbr. √šyt qal 1. an einer Stelle anbringen, aufstellen, 2. legen, 3. bereiten, geben, 4. richten, 5. v. jem. (min-) ablssen, 6. zu etw. machen" [GB 824].

[70] Holma 1911, 128; Leslau 1945, 237; 1964, 117; AHW 393; Belova 1995, 43; SED I 225–226, #255.

[71] Akk. išdu (vars. ištu, ešdu, ušdu, ildu, irdu) "Bein (mit der Hinterbacke), Fundament, Wurzel" [Holma] = "Hinterteil" [Calice, Vergote] = "leg (with the posterior)" [Leslau 1945] = "damp course, base, foundation (of a building, reign), bottom, root, lower extremities" [CAD i 235] = "Fundament" [AHW 393] || Ug. išd "pierna" [DLU 56] | Phn. ʔšt "pillar" [Tomback 1978, 36] | Syr. ʔeštā, st. cstr. šet- "1. podex, nates, 2. fundus" [Brk. 1928, 810] = ʔištā [Belova], Mandaic ʕšta [Kogan < *ʔVšt-] "basis, bottom, posterior, anus, buttocks" [Drower-Macuch 1963, 358] | Ar. ʔist- "the podex, buttock(s), posteriors, rump or croup" [Lane 1305] = "derrière, fondement, cul" [BK I 31] = "posterior" [Leslau

I 154, §54.e.α), followed by W. F. Albright (1923, 67) and A. Ember (ESS §26.a.4), on the one hand, the *-t- was due here to partial assimilation of *-d- to the voiceless s-. Led by the same desire of combining Sem. *šit- vs. *ʔišd-, A. Militarev (l.c. infra), on the other hand, assumed a pre-PSem. **sid-t "arse, behind". L. Kogan (SED I 226), in turn, explained Sem. *ʔiš(V)t- as a *-t suffix form of Sem. *ʔVšš- "base, foundation", whereas *ʔišd- was probably – as implied by his suggestion – a later variety created by contamination with Sem. *ʔ/wisād-(at)- "base, foundation" [Kogan] < *√wsd "to found" [GT].[72]
(2) AA *sut- > WBrb.: apparently, no certain reflexes (the Zenaga one being illusory)[73] ||| HECu. *sūT- "lower part of back" [GT][74] ||| NOm.: Kachama (Haruro) sut-o "natica" [CR 1937, 661] = "buttocks" [Blažek] | Janjero (Yemsa) sūt-ā "collo" [Cerulli 1938 III 84] = sūt-a "Genick" [Lamberti] | Kefoid (Gonga) *šut- "back" [Bender 2003, 197, #4] > Kafa šū́t-ō "Rücken" [Reinisch 1888, 334] = šút- "back" [Bender], cf. also Kafa šott-ō "giaciglio di stuoie" [Cerulli 1951, 502], Shinasha šutts-á "1. Rücken, 2. Postpos.: hinter, nach" [Lamberti 1993, 382]. Note that Ethio-Sem.: Tigre sudot "nuque" [LH 1963, 197],[75] Gurage-Selti suto "flesh of back above the hip" [Leslau 1979 III 566][76] were presumably borrowed or influenced by the Highland East Cushitic reflex (above).

Summary

Below, I present a synopsis of how the semantically closest cognates (marked +) of the Egyptian anatomical terms vs. the parallels stemming ultimately presumably from the same Afro-Asiatic root, but only indirectly (indir.) comparable, with some shift of meaning or some phonological/morphological

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1945] = "Gesäß" [Leslau 1964] Yemeni ist "pudenda" [Leslau] || Gurage-Endegeny ušt "waist" [Leslau 1979 I 102]. Note that W.E. Lane (l.c.) derived Ar. ʔist- directly from √sth.

[72] Attested, e.g., in Hbr. √ysd "to found, establish" > yəsōd "foundation, well, base" [KB 417] | JAram. ʔīsādā "head-side, pillow" [Jastrow 1950, 53], Syr. ʔesādā "a/sub capite" [Brk. 1928, 32] | Ar. wi/asād-at- "1. coussin, oreille, 2. lit de repos" vs. ʔisād-at- "coussin" [BK I 31 vs. II 1533].

[73] Although A.Ju. Militarev (1991, 247) rendered WBrb.: Zenaga tə-ššuḍḍ-ah "1. queue, 2. grande branche coupée, 3. une branche sèche chargée d'épines" [Nicolas 1953, 138, 157] = tä-ššuḍḍ-ah "1. queue, 2. grande branche coupée, d'où: 3. fermeture de l'enclos à bestiaux, avec des grosses branches d'épineux" [CTC 2008, 131] as a loan borrowed from Eg. šd (sic: š-, correctly: sd) "tail", C. Taïne-Cheikh (l.c.) analyzed the Zenaga word as an š- prefix formation from *√ḍḍh.

[74] Attested in Hadiya sûṭ-o "der Teil des Rückgrates unterhalb des Kreuzes" [PB 1964, 173] = sut-o [Leslau 1979 III 566], Burji súd-i "backside" [Sasse 1982, 169: isolated] = sūt-ó, sūt-ō "buttocks" [Hudson 1989, 34].

[75] Deriving it directly from his Sem. *ʔ/wisād-(at)- "base, foundation", L. Kogan (SED I 226) attributed to it a primary sense *"base of the head" (?).

[76] W. Leslau (l.c.) explained these Gurage forms as borrowing from HECu. (Hadiyya suto), but in L. Kogan's (SED I 225) view, it was "*hardly so in view of the comparative data*".

difference (marked as (+) in brackets) vs. the uncertain (unc.) ones are distributed among the diverse branches of the Afro-Asiatic macrofamily and beyond.

The ⅔ of the Egyptian terms for the "back of head" are due to inner derivation. Semitic cognates are attested in two cases and an uncertain Cushitic one just once.

Eg.	inner Eg.	Sem.	Brb.	Cu.	Om.	Ch.
mḥ3	+	+				
mkḥ3	+			+?		
ḥ3		+				

In the semantic domain of "back, spine", most cognates appear from Chadic (2 plus 2 indir. and 2 unc.), but Semitic (1 certain, 1 indir., 3 unc.) and Cushitic (2 certain, 2 unc.) are also well represented, whereas the Berber (no sure parallels, 3 unc., 1 indir.) and especially Omotic (1 certain, 1 indir.) ties are much weaker.

Eg.	inner Eg.	Sem.	Brb.	Cu.	Om.	Ch.
j3.t		+?/(+)?	+?/(+)?	+	+	(+)?/+?
jw			+?			+
bj3.t		+?	+?	+?		+?
bqs.w		+?		+?		
psḏ	+				(+)	(+)
s3		+		+		+
ṯz	+					

The distribution of the cognates of the Egyptian terms for "buttock, bottom" are, untypically, quite balanced among the Afro-Asiatic branches: here, most parallels are from Berber (2), Cushitic (2 plus 1 indir.), and Chadic (2), while Semitic (1 plus 1 indir., 1 unc.), Omotic (1) are somewhat behind.

Eg.	inner Eg.	Sem.	Brb.	Cu.	Om.	Ch.	extra-AA
ꜥr.t		+?					
wbn.w	+?						
bn.w			+			+	+
*pḥ				(+)		+	
ḫpd		(+)		+			
z/s3.wt			+	+	+		
kf3		+					

As for "tail", we find twice inner Egyptian innovation. Equally outstanding is the score of Cushitic and Omotic cognates (1 plus 1 indir., 1 unc. in each), while those from Chadic (1 indir., 2 unc.), Berber (2 unc.), and especially Semitic (1 indir.) are underrepresented.

Eg.	inner Eg.	Sem.	Brb.	Cu.	Om.	Ch.	extra-AA
br			+?	+?	+?	+?	
mnkr.t	+?			(+)	(+)	(+), +?	
ḫbz.t	+?		+?				
sd		(+)		+	(+)		

Conclusion

In the first issue of the "Layers …" series, I have demonstrated the binary (and sometimes trinary) system of the two opposite/suppletive layers of Egyptian anatomical terminology (with Semitic cognacy vs. "African" origin as well as inner Egyptian innovation, respectively) in certain segments of the ancient Egyptian anatomical terminology ("head", "hair", "ear", "eye", hand", etc.).

In the second and third papers (Takács 2016[77] and 2016 forthcoming),[78] in turn, the majority of the Egyptian anatomical terms for the head and the upper torso, it is difficult to see any of such a binary distribution, suppletive dichotomy of the anatomical terms having either Semitic or "African" etymologies. Instead of a Semitic vs. "African" dichotomy, in most of the cases (beginning from the "face" and lower down the torso), we can observe a surprisingly overwhelming extra-Semitic affiliation, where the relative distribution of the Cushitic and Chadic matches is outstanding, whereas the Berber and Omotic element is – strangely – usually either lacking or poorly underrepresented and, sometimes, the only etymological solution for an Egyptian anatomical term is displayed by the extra-Afro-Asiatic parallels. The rare domain where the Semitic and Berber elements attain a relatively higher score of direct cognacy in comparison with the rest of the Egyptian anatomical terms is solely that of the head. Still, the number of indirect Semitic matches is strikingly higher than those in the African branches (Berber, Cushitic and Chadic), which may perhaps signify an innovative trait of the Semitic lexicon as compared with the common Egypto-Cushito-Chadic stock. As for "hair" and "neck, throat" and only, the Omotic scores are surprisingly

[77] Takács, G.: Layers of the Oldest Egyptian Lexicon II: Head and Neck.= Rocznik Orientalistyczny 69/1 (2016), 59–124.

[78] Takács, G.: Layers of the Oldest Egyptian Lexicon III: Upper Torso.= Folia Orientalia 53 (2016). Forthcoming.

as high as the dominant Cushitic and Chadic scores. Elsewhere, in many other items, the almost total lack of direct Omotic cognates was somewhat expectable. As outlined in my most recent study on Afro-Asiatic disintegration (Takács 2016 forthcoming),[79] Omotic shares the least amount of isomorphs as well as lexical isoglosses with the rest of the Afro-Asiatic branches, whence it is presumable to be the most distant one from all other branches and the earliest one to separate from the proto-language.

As we have seen throughout this fifth paper as well as from the synopses above and below, the absolute dominance of the Chadic and Cushitic (certain) direct cognates is here, in the semantic domain of "back part", strangely paralleled and even superseded by the Semitic ones! At the same time, Berber and Chadic are, as usually, poorly represented. In the table below, I list the total scores of the certain = + vs. indirect = (+) vs. uncertain = +? matches in the individual Afro-Asiatic branches according to semantic fields examined in both the second and this third paper.

item	Sem.	Brb.	Cu.	Om.	Ch.
"back of head"	2 +, 0 (+), 0 +?	0	0 +, 0 (+), 1 +?	0	0
"back, spine"	1 +, 2 (+), 3 +?	0 +, 1 (+), 3 +?	2 +, 0 (+), 2 +?	1 +, 1 (+), 0 +?	2 +, 2 (+), 2 +?
"buttock, bottom"	1 +, 1 (+), 1 +?	2 +, 0 (+), 0 +?	2 +, 1 (+), 0 +?	1 +, 0 (+), 0 +?	2 +, 0 (+), 0 +?
"tail"	0 +, 1 (+), 0 +?	0 +, 2 (+), 0 +?	1 +, 1 (+), 1 +?	0 +, 2 (+), 1 +?	0 +, 1 (+), 2 +?

The synopsis below lists the total sums of all the matches from the diverse Afro-Asiatic branches to the Egyptian anatomical terms examined in this paper (including the items for "hair" and "lung" published in the first part).

etymology	Sem.	Brb.	Cu.	Om.	Ch.
direct	5	2	5	2	4
indirect	4	3	2	3	3
uncertain	4	3	4	1	4
total	∑13	∑8	∑11	∑6	∑11

[79] Takács, G.: Archaeologia Afroasiatica I: Disintegration of the Parental Language.= Mother Tongue 20 (2016), 1–15.

Abbreviations of languages

(A): Akhmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, (B): Bohairic, BD: Book of the Dead, Bed.: Bed'awye, Brb.: Berber, Ch.: Chadic, CCh.: Central Chadic, CT: coffin texts, Cu.: Cushitic, ECh.: East Chadic, ECu.: East Cushitic, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, EWlmt.: East Tawllemmet, (F): Fayyumic, GR: Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman Period, GW: syllabic or group-writing, Hbr.: Hebrew, HECu.: Highland East Cushitic, IMP: Intermediate Period, JAram.: Jewish Aramaic, (L): Lycopolitan (or Subakhmimic), LECu.: Lowland East Cushitic, Lit.: literary texts, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, N: North, NBch.: North Bauchi, NBrb.: North Berber, NK: New Kingdom, NOm.: North Omotic, OEg.: Old Egyptian, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OT: Old Testament, PB: post-Biblical, PCh.: Proto-Chadic, PCu.: Proto-Cushitic, PT: pyramid texts, S: South(ern), (S): Sahidic, SBrb.: South Berber, Sem.: Semitic, W: West(ern), WBrb.: West Berber, WCh.: West Chadic, WSem.: West Semitic.

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungraithmayr, Alb.: Albright, AMS: Amborn, Minker, Sasse, Apl.: Appleyard, BK: Biberstein Kazimirsky, Blv.: Belova, Blz.: Blažek, Bnd.: Bender, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brt.: Barreteau, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cosper, Ctc.: Caïtucoli, Dbr.-Mnt.: Djibrine & Montgolfier, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Drower & Macuch, Dst.: Destaing, EEN: Ehret, Elderkin, Nurse, Fcd.: Foucauld, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, Grb.: Greenberg, Gsp.: Gasparini, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hlw.: Hellwig, Hyw.: Hayward, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungraithmayr & Adams, JI: Jungraithmayr and Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungraithmayr & Shimizu, KB: Köhler, Baumgartner, Krf.: Kraft, Ksm.: Kossmann, LH: Littmann & Höfner, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, LT: Lamberti & Tonelli, Mch.: Mouchet, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, Mrn.: Moreno, MSkn.: M. Skinner, NM: Newman and Ma, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nwm.: Newman, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse, Alojaly, Mohamed, PB: Plazikowsky-Brauner, PG: Pillinger and Galboran, PH: Parker and Hayward, Prd.: Paradisi, Prs.: Prasse, RK: Reutt & Kogan, Rn.: Reinisch, Rns.: Renisio, Rpr.: Roper, Rsl.: Rössler, Sbr.: Siebert, Skn.: Skinner, Slk.: Sölken, Smz.: Shimizu, Srl.: Sirlinger, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Tf.: Taïfi, Trn.: Tourneux, TSL: Tourneux, Seignobos, Lafarge, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

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