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From Hair to Heel: Ugaritic Terms for Parts of the Body

*“Les noms des parties du corps comptent parmi les éléments
les plus anciens de toutes les langues”*
(Vycichl 1972: 173).

Abstract

After an introduction on previous work on this topic (§1), a survey is provided of all the Ugaritic terms in the alphabetic texts relating to parts of the body, of both humans (§2) and animals (§3). Cognates in various Semitic languages are given as well as equivalents in Afro-Asiatic and Indo-European, with several new proposals. A separate section is on composite expressions, which form an unusual set within Semitic (§4). A table of the results is included (§5), followed by comments on distribution (§6) and some conclusions (§7).

Keywords

Afro-Asiatic, anatomical terms, Aramaic, Comparative Semitics, Indo-European, Ugaritic.

1. Introduction

There has been a range of studies on Semitic anatomical terms, the earliest of significance being by Harri Holma (1911), followed many years later by Pelio Fronzaroli's study of anatomical and physiological terms in Common Semitic (1964). The most recent works are SED I, by Leonid Kogan and Alexander Militarev (2000) and a lengthy article by Nassim Obeid (2009), both on the Semitic anatomical lexicon. Specifically on Ugaritic terms and their equivalents in Hebrew are the studies by Marjo Korpel (1990, 88–129) and in more detail

by Manfred Dietrich and Oswald Loretz (2003 and 2009). The brief paper by Umberto Rapallo (2003) is also relevant as is the review article of SED 1 by Gábor Takács (2008), which provides a range of AA cognates, including Egyptian¹. Gregorio del Olmo Lete (1989) has written on anatomical terms used in the cultic texts.

The present survey continues a sequence of studies on semantic fields in Ugaritic², supplementing work by other scholars. Several Ugaritic words discussed here were not included in SED I, presumably because they are not Common Semitic, e.g. *úšr*, *útl*, *átrt*, *šq*, *bír*, *brlt*, *drš*, *gpr*, *ğšb*, *lšb*, *mhr*, *mhlpt*, *msrr*, *nšb*, *pnt*, *pslt*, *qq*, *qmm*, *rqt*, *tmn*, *tmnt*, *tm̄t*.

Here the focus is on comparing Ugaritic terms in the alphabetic texts related to parts of the body³ – both human (§2) and animal (§3) – with cognate Semitic languages and with Afro-Asiatic and Indo-European. A separate section is on composite expressions, which form an unusual group (§4) within Semitic. To round off the study, the results are tabulated (§5) followed by comments on distribution (§6) and concluding remarks (§7)⁴.

2. Names for Parts of the Human Body in the Alphabetic Texts

Top down sequences are the norm in Hebrew, Ugaritic⁵ and Hittite⁶. The sequence adopted here, broadly speaking, is also from the top downwards for §§2.1–2.7.

2.1. Head and neck, including hair

Ug. *mhlpt* [f.], “plait, ringlet”⁷.

- CS: Heb. *maḥ^alāpāh*, “plait” (HALOT, 569); Ph. *mhlph*, “lock of hair” (DNWSI, 613); see, more obliquely, Akk. *ḫalāpu* (Gt), “are tangled” (CDA, 101). A Semitic word.

¹ See also Leslau 1945; Garbini 1971; Franci 2014. For Egyptian I have consulted the online *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*.

² See Watson 2013a, with further references.

³ Two syllabic words not found in the alphabetic texts are: *ḫé-qu*, “lap” (UVST, 124; cf. SED I No. 113) and *[ri-ig]lu*, “foot” (UVST, 176; cf. SED I No. 228) and note the PN *rgln*, “With unusual feet” (KTU 4.619:7).

⁴ References are to CDA as it updates AHW, to CSL as it includes Semitic cognates and to DUL³ as the most recent Ugaritic dictionary. These can be consulted for additional cognates. My thanks go to Gábor Takács, Romina Vergari, Jordi Vidal, Helen and Claire Watson, and Nick Wyatt for their help in preparing this paper.

⁵ Watson 1984: 353–356, with examples.

⁶ Hoffner 1996. For Hurrian see Wegner 1995.

⁷ KTU 1.19 ii 33; 1.107:20; translated “tresses” by Gordon UT §19.968.

Ug. *pd* [m.], “lock (of hair)” (KTU 1.19 ii 31–32).

– CS: Arab. *fawd*, “temple, hair around the temples” (DMWA, 731)⁸. Also Semitic.

Ug. *pslt* [f.], “plait, tress” (KTU 1.5 vi 18; 1.6 i 2)⁹.

– CS: Akk. *pasālu*, “sich um-, abdrehen” (AHw, 838); “to turn around” (CAD P, 216–217)¹⁰; Syr. *pšyl*, “twisted” (LS, 1260); Aram. *pšl*, “to twist, spin” (DJBA, 944).

Ug. *qdqd* [m.], “skull, crown”¹¹.

– CS: Heb. *qōdqdōd*, “skull” (HALOT, 1071); Akk. *qaqqadu*, *kaqqaddu*, “head” (CDA, 284); Aram. *qwdqd²*, “skull” (DJBA, 989)¹².

– AA: Chad. *k-d > *k-d̄, “head” as Central Chad. (Matakam) *géd*, “head” (Takács 2008: 184)¹³.

Ug. *ršš* [m.], “head”¹⁴.

– CS: Heb. *rošš*, “head” (HALOT, 1164-67); Ph., Pun. “head” (CSL, 297); Aram. *rēšā²*, *ršš²*, “head, top part” (DJBA, 1078-79); Syr. *rššā²*, “head” (SL, 1462); Akk. *rēšu(m)*, *rāšu(m)*, “head” (CDA, 302); OSA *ršš*, “head” (DOSA, 474); Arab. *rašs*, “head” (AEL, 995); Eth. *rəš(ə)š*, “head” (CDG, 458)¹⁵.

– AA: Eg. *zjs*, “brain” < *rjs, “viscera (of the skull)” = “brain” (EDE I, 50, 81, 187); also borrowed from Semitic as Eg. /rôša/, “Peak, Summit, Head” (SWET §285)¹⁶.

– IE: borrowed as the Gk letter ρω (LXX: ρεσ; Willi 2008: 414, 423; Rosól 2013: 127).

Ug. *lšb* [m.], “brow”¹⁷. The derivation of this word is uncertain, but it seems to be Semitic:

– CS: Syr. *blt*, “bulge on the face” and *mbltwt²šynyn*, “prominence of the eyes” (LS, 705); “to have a bulging eye”; Akk. *balāšu*, “to stare, with wide open eyes” (CAD B, 44-45); Akk. *b/palša ini(m)*, “staring” (CDA, 37)¹⁸.

⁸ Dijkstra – De Moor 1975: 206; SED I No. 222.

⁹ Translated “double tresse” in TOu 1 251 n. i, following Aistleitner (WUS §2241: “Seitenlocken”).

¹⁰ Note *šumma ... šār[at lēti] paslat*, “if ... the ha[ir on (his) cheek] is twisted” (as cited in CAD P, 217).

¹¹ KTU 1.2 iv 21–22, 24; 1.3 v 24; 1.4 vii 4; 1.5 vi 16; 1.16 vi 57; 1.17 vi 37; 1.18 i 11; 1.18 iv 11, 22, [33]; 1.19 ii 30.

¹² SED I No. 159; as noted there, it is a reduplicated form; see also Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 172 §21.

¹³ It is not equivalent to Eg. *d3d3*; see EDE I, 322, 345; Vycichl 1972: 174–175.

¹⁴ KTU 1.2 i 6, 8, 23–25, 29; 1.2 iv 38; 1.3 ii 9, 12; 1.3 iii 42; 1.3 vi 2; 1.5 i 3; 1.5 vi 15; 1.6 i 60; 1.7:2, 8; 1.13:7; 1.16 i 27; 1.16 iii 12; 1.16 vi 9, 56; 1.17 vi 37; 1.19 ii 31, 38; 1.19 iii 54; 1.23:5, 31, 36; 1.82:7; 1.101:5, 7; 1.103+1.145:43; 1.114:30; 1.164:17; 1.169:19; 2.2:1; 2.5:1; 2.71:31; 3.2:7; 4.491:3. Note the also Ug. PN *rššn*, “Large-headed” (KTU 4.50:9).

¹⁵ Holma 1911: 10; Fronzaroli 1964: 43; SED I No. 225.

¹⁶ See also Peust 2012: 233.

¹⁷ KTU 1.4 iv 28; 1.6 iii 16; 1.17 ii 10; 1.103+1.145:49, 57; 1.114:29.

¹⁸ For other proposals see DUL, 500; on Arab. *lašiba* as irrelevant see Renfroe 1992: 126.

Ug. *rqt* [f.], “temple”, once only (KTU 1.19 ii 38).

– CS: Heb. *raqqāh*, “temple” (HALOT, 1288) and Akk. *raqqatu*, “a part of the head (?)” (CAD R, 170–171)¹⁹. Clearly a Semitic word.

Ug. *pīt*, “temple”²⁰; syll. *pí-i[?]-tu₄* (UVST, 165).

– CS: Akk. *pūtu*, OB *pātum*, MA/MB *pūtātu*, “forehead, brow (CDA, 280); Syr. *’pwt*”, “forehead”²¹; Aram. *’pūtā[?]*, “forehead” (DJBA, 154); MSA *f[?]*, “forehead” (Leslau 1945: 234)²².

Ug. *ātrt* [f.], “back part (of the head), nape”, once only (KTU 1.103+1.145:49).

– CS: from Ug. *√₂tr*, translated “Hinterteil, Rückseite” by Dietrich – Loretz²³.

– AA: cf. perhaps Eg. *s3*, “Rücken, Rückseite” (Wb 4, 8.14-10.3)²⁴.

Ug. *ʕn* [f.], “eye”²⁵; syll. *e-nu* (UVST, 159).

– CS: Heb. *ʕayin*, “eye” (HALOT, 817–818); Ph. *ʕn*, “sight” (CSL, 252); Akk. *īnu(m)*, *ēnu(m)* “eye” (CDA, 130); Arab. *ʕayn*, “eye, spring” (AEL, 2214); Eth. *ʕayn*, “eye, spring” (CDG, 79)²⁶.

– AA: Omot. **ʕan-*, “eye” (HSED §1084)²⁷.

– IE: borrowed as the Gk letter οϜ (Willi 2008: 423; Rosół 2013: 125).

Ug. *ʕq* [m.], “pupil”²⁸.

– CS: cf. Akk. *unqu*, *uqqu*, “ring” (CDA, 423)²⁹. The meaning is uncertain and based on context³⁰.

¹⁹ See Watson 2000; Dijkstra – de Moor 1975: 207 (“a new addition to the known Ugaritic lexical stock”).

²⁰ KTU 1.17 ii 9; 1.103+1.145:11, 54; 1.107:3.

²¹ For this word see Kaufman 1974: 85 and n. 273.

²² Cf. Heb. *pēʕāh*, “side, edge, corners, region” (HALOT, 907). For a possible connection with Eth. (*la*)*ʕe*, “to this side, that way” (CDG, 154) see SED I No. 204.

²³ “In der Protasis [*w bh*] *latrt* ‘*nh*’ “[und wenn bei ihm] an der Rückseite eines seiner Augen ist” (Dietrich – Loretz 1984: 60).

²⁴ Tentatively suggested by Takács (p.c. 24.03.2015). Less probably, cf. Eg. *wsr.t*, “neck” (Wb 1, 360.1-2; GHWb, 215) and perhaps African *wšr-t* (Kunama *sera*) “cou”, i.e. “neck” (Homburger 1928: 374).

²⁵ KTU 1.4 ii 12; 1.2 iv 40; 1.4 vii 40; 1.10 ii 13, 33; 1.12 ii 31; 1.14 iii 45; 1.16 i 27; 1.96:5-8; 1.119:27; 1.103+1.145:49, 57.

²⁶ SED I No. 28; Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 171 §17.

²⁷ See Rapallo 2003: 569–570 [11]).

²⁸ KTU 1.14 iii 43; 1.14 vi 29.

²⁹ Pentiuć (2001: 90) suggests that the single Common Semitic root **nq* has “two slightly different meanings, (a) “precious stone, ring, seal” (Akk., Eth.) and (b) “neck; necklace” (Central Semitic)” (cf. SED I No. 15). A less probable cognate is Arab. *ʕaqīq*, “carnelian” (DMWA, 626).

³⁰ Text: *d ʕqh ib iqni*, “whose pupils are gems of lapis lazuli”; for surveys see Renfroe 1992: 88–89; RTU, 196 n. 99.

Ug. ʕpʕp [m.], “eyelid”³¹.

- CS: Heb. *ʕapʕapîm*, “eye-lashes, eyes” (HALOT, 861); Arab. *ʕafāʔ*, “tache blanche dans la prunelle de l’oeil”³².
- AA: Common Om. *āf/*āp, “eye” (Takács 2008: 183).

Ug. pnm [m.], “face”³³.

- CS: Heb. *pānîm*, “front, face” (HALOT, 938–944); Ph., Pun. *pnm*, “face” (CSL, 265–266); cf. Akk. *pānû(m)*, “first, front (of part of body)” (CDA, 263–264)³⁴; Arab. *fināʔ*, “a wide space in front” (AEL, 2451–52).
- AA: *pVn-, “face; nose”; NBrb. *bnid*, “devant, en face”; SAgaw *fān*, “face”³⁵.

Ug. ūdn [m.], “ear”³⁶.

- CS: Heb. *ʔozen*, “ear” (HALOT, 27–28); Aram. *ʔūdnāʔ*, “ear” (DJPA, 36a; DJBA, 85); Akk. *uznu*, “ear” (CDA, 431); Arab. *ʔudn*, *ʔudun*, “ear” (DMWA, 11); Eth. *ʔezn*, “ear” (CDG, 52)³⁷.
- AA: Eg. *jinn, “ear”³⁸; EChad. *ʔudun-H-, “ear” (HSED §126)³⁹.

Ug. āp, “nose, nostril(s)”⁴⁰; syll. *ap-pu* (UVST 108, 208).

- CS: Heb. *ʔap*, “nose” (HALOT, 76–77); Aram. *ʔ(n)p*, “front” (DNWSI, 83–84); Akk. *appu(m)*, “nose” (CDA, 20–21); Arab. *ʔanf*, “nose” (AEL, 116); Eth. *ʔanf*, “nose, nostril” (CDG, 28).
- AA: derived from the common AA root *n-f, “to breathe”, e.g. Cu. *imf-, “to blow the nose”⁴¹.

³¹ KTU 1.14 iii 43; 1.14 vi 30; 1.179:5. Other meanings proposed are “pupils”, “eyeballs”, “eyelashes”, “eyes” and “corneas”; for a survey see Wyatt RTU, 197 n. 100.

³² As cited in SED I No. 17.

³³ KTU 1.2 iii 4; 1.3 iii 34, 37; 1.3 iv 42; 1.3 v 5; 1.3 vi 13; 1.4 iv 17, 20; 1.4 v 22, 46; 1.4 viii 1, 11; 1.5 i 10; 1.6 i 32, 52; 1.6 iv 7; 1.9:13; 1.10 ii 8; 1.12 i 33; 1.12 ii 4; 1.14 v 30; 1.14 vi 36; 1.16 i 52; 1.16 vi 5; 1.17 ii 9 1.17 vi 47; 1.25:6; 1.82:38; 1.86:29; 1.92:30; 1.100:61, 63; 1.103+1.145:33; 1.116:9; 1.152:5; 1.161:15; 2.13:17; 2.16:9; 6.62:2. Many of these texts include the formula *št pnm*, “to set one’s face”, i.e. to head towards.

³⁴ Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 171 §18; Rapallo 2003: 563–564 [2].

³⁵ EDE II, 438–439 NB2; see SED I No. 215; HSED §1943.

³⁶ KTU 1.3 iv 2; 1.6 vi 3–4; 1.13:23; 1.16 vi 42; 1.18 iv 23, 34; 1.19 ii 30; 1.103+1.145:35, 37; 2.84:20.

³⁷ SED I p. LXXVII and No. 4; see Fronzaroli 1964: 225.

³⁸ Gilula 1975; EDE I, 83–84, 248; Takács 2008: 183. However, Peust (2012: 235) objects that this word does not exist in Egyptian.

³⁹ Possibly IE *ǵ-d*, “ear”: according to Rapallo 2003: 568–569 [10], IE **ōus*, “mouth” and **ōus*, “ear” are homonyms. On Gk οὔς, “ear” (< IE **h₂eus-*, **h₂e/ous-*, “ear”) see EDG 2, 1130–31.

⁴⁰ KTU 1.18 iv 26; 1.103+1.145:6, 41; 1.126:2. Also perhaps KTU 1.16 i 41 (unless *āp* is to be emended to *ip*, “tambourine”).

⁴¹ As proposed by Takács 2008: 183; see also HSED §802 (with references to Berber). See Franci 2014: 193–194; Rapallo 2003: 563–564 ([2]).

Ug. p [m.], “mouth”⁴².

- CS: Heb. *peh*, “mouth” (HALOT, 914–916); Ph., Pun. *py*, “mouth” (CSL, 261–262); Aram. *pûmā*², “mouth” (DJBA, 889–890); Akk. *pû(m)*, *pā’um*, *pīum*, “mouth” (CDA, 277); OSA *f*, “voice” (DOSA, 399–400); Arab. *fam* (cstr. *fū*), “mouth” (DMWA, 728); Eth. *ʔaf*, “mouth” (CDG, 8–9)⁴³.
- IE: borrowed as the Gk letter πει (Willi 2008: 414, 423; Rosół 2013: 126).

Ug. qmm, “maw” (KTU 1.19 i 9)⁴⁴.

- CS: Arab. *qamma*, “devour” and *qummatu/qumamatu*, “a lion’s mouthful; that which a lion devours”⁴⁵; see also Arab. *taqamqamtuhu*, “I devoured it altogether” (AEL, 2993: √*qm*).

Ug. lh [f.], “cheek” (KTU 1.5 vi 19; 1.6 i 3); “jaw” (KTU 1.17 i 28; 1.17 ii 3, 18).

- CS: Heb. *l’hî*, “chin, jaw bone” (HALOT, 525); Arab. *lahy*, “jaw-bone” (DMWA, 862); Akk. *lahû*, “jaw(s)” (CDA, 176)⁴⁶; Aram. *lhy*, “cheek” (DJPA, 280)⁴⁷; *lehî*, “jaw” (DTT 702).

Ug. lšn [f.], “tongue”⁴⁸; syll. *la-ša-nu* (UVST, 143).

- CS: Heb. *lašôn*, “tongue” (HALOT, 536); Ph., Pun. *λασουν, αλασουν*, “tongue” (DNWSI, 584); Aram. *liššānā*², “tongue” (DJBA, 627–628); Akk. *lišānu*, “tongue” (CDA, 183); OSA *lsn*, “tongue” (DOSA, 261); Arab. *lisān*, “tongue” (DMWA, 866); Eth. *lassān*, “tongue” (CDG, 318).
- AA: WCh. **ha-lis-um-*, “tongue”, CCh. **’V-lyas-*, “tongue”, ECh. **lyas-*, “tongue” (HSED §1666)⁴⁹; Eg. *ns*, “tongue” (EDE I, 133–134, 187–188); Copt. **les-*, “tongue”⁵⁰.

Ug. šn, “tooth”⁵¹.

- CS: Heb. *šēn*, “tooth” (HALOT, 1593–95); Aram. *šinnā*², “tooth” (DJBA, 1136); Akk. *šinnu(m)*, “tooth” (CDA, 375); Arab. *sinn*, “tooth” (AEL, 1437); Eth. *sənn*, “tooth” (CDG, 504)⁵².

⁴² KTU 1.4 viii 18; 1.5 ii 4; 1.6 ii 22 1.15 iii 28; 1.19 i 9; 1.19 ii 26; 1.19 iii 7, 35; 1.107:5, 35, 45; 1.23:62, 64; 1.24:45 1.45:3; 1.62:3; 1.93:2; 1.101:8; 1.103+1.145:51.

⁴³ HSED §817 (confusion with *p*ʔ), see SED I No. 223.

⁴⁴ For the rdgs and opinions see Wyatt RTU, 290 n. 181.

⁴⁵ Cited without references by Cooper (1988: 21), who translated “maw”; see now DUL, 693.

⁴⁶ Not Akk. *lētu*, *lītu* as in SED I No. 178; cf. AHW, 528–529.

⁴⁷ SED I No. 178; Marcus 1977: 57.

⁴⁸ KTU 1.2 i 33; 1.5 ii 3; 1.83:5; 1.93:2; 1.103+1.145:31, 53; 1.169:12; 1.174:8; 1.175:5; 1.176:4.

⁴⁹ For Chadic see also Peust 2012: 234.

⁵⁰ Vycichl 1972: 177–178. “Judging from Afras. data ... the original form should be **lis-*, with suffixed **-ān*” (SED I No. 181), confirmed by Afras. *lis-*, “tongue” (HSED §2248). See also Peust 2012: 233–234.

⁵¹ KTU 1.12 ii 41; 1.19 i 9; 1.82:4.

⁵² SED I No. 249.

- AA: Berb. (Tuareg) *e.sin*, “tooth”⁵³; Ch. *sin-*, “tooth” (HSED §2250); Eg. *šn.wt*, “jaw(?)”⁵⁴.
- IE: borrowed as the Gk letter σίγμα (LXX: σεν). It is also a loanword in Hurr. as *šini*, “tooth”⁵⁵.

Ug. *špt* [f.], “lip”⁵⁶.

- CS: Heb. *šāpāh*, “lip” (HALOT, 1346); Aram. *šiptāʾ*, “lip” (DJBA, 1188); Syr. *septāʾ*, “lip” (SL, 1036); Akk. *šaptu(m)*, *šapdu*, “lip” (CDA, 358); Arab. *šafat*, “lip” (AEL, 1574)⁵⁷.
- AA: Eg. *šp.t*, “Lippe” (Wb 4, 99–100); “lip” (FCD, 222)⁵⁸; Cush. (Rift) **šuf-*, “lip” (HSED §572)⁵⁹.

Ug. *brlt* [f.], “throat”⁶⁰. The etymology is unknown but the following suggestions have been made:

- CS: Akk. *mērilu*, *mēreštu*, “wish, need” (CDA, 207)⁶¹ or Arab. *buraʿil*, *burʿulat* (Pope 1981) or Jibb. *šabrét*, “lump in the throat, desire to weep” (JL, 6)⁶² or prep. *b* + CS √*WRR*, “cavità addominale” (Criscuolo 2007).
- Hurr.: /wurr= (2), “vouloir”, “désirer”⁶³.
- AA: Eg. *b3*, “soul” (see EDE II, 7-8 4).

Ug. *npš* [f.], “throat”⁶⁴.

- CS: Hb *nepeš*, “throat etc.” (HALOT, 711–713); Ph., Pun. *npš*, *nbš*, “desire etc.” (CSL, 218–219); Akk. *napištu(m)*, *napšatu(m)*, *nai ʾštum*, “throat, life” (CDA, 239); *napaštum*, *napaltu*, “life, throat” (CDA, 238), *napuštu*, *napultu*, “life, throat” (CDA, 240) and Akk. *napīšu(m)*, “breath(ing)” (CDA, 239); OSA *nfs*, “soul, person, self, life” (DOSA, 309–310); Arab. *nafs*, “soul, spirit, vital principle” (AEL, 2827); Eth. *nfs*, “soul, spirit, breath etc.” (CDG, 389)⁶⁵.

⁵³ Cited by Vycichl 1972: 182.

⁵⁴ Andreu – Cauville 1978: 19; Meeks 1978: 78.4157.

⁵⁵ Fournet – Bomhard 2011: 141.

⁵⁶ KTU 1.2 iv 6; 1.4 vii 30, 32; 1.5 ii 2; 1.19 ii 26; 1.19 iii 7, 21–22; 36; 1.22 i 4; 1.23:49–50; 55, 55,61–62; 1.24:8, 46; 1.82:5; 1.103+1.145:32; 1.178:11; 1.179:3, 32.

⁵⁷ SED I No. 265; Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 171 §23.

⁵⁸ EDE I, 199–200.

⁵⁹ Rapallo 2003: 566 [5]. SED I p. 237 also mentions Eg. *išf*, “spittle” (although it is probably a form of *jšš*) as well as other AA equivalents and reconstructs an AA root **čVʃ(-at)-*, “lip”.

⁶⁰ KTU 1.5 i 15; 1.16 i 42; 1.16 vi 12; 1.17 i 37; 1.17 v 18, 24; 1.18 iv 25, 37; 1.19 ii 39, 44.

⁶¹ First proposed by Cutler – Macdonald 1973; but cf. Dijkstra – De Moor 1975: 196 n. 218.

⁶² Harsūsi *ʿāberét*, “desire to weep”, proposed by Rendsburg (1987: 626–627): “we posit an original noun *brt* which has been expanded by augmentative *l* in Ugaritic and by preformative *ʿ* (or *ʾ[<ʿ]*) in MSA”.

⁶³ Laroche GLH, 298; Richter BGH, 300b, 522a.

⁶⁴ KTU 1.5 i 7, 18; 1.4 vii 48; 1.16 i 35; 1.88:2; it also means “appetite, desire, life, soul”.

⁶⁵ Del Olmo Lete 1989: 123; SED I No. 200.

- AA: Berb. **nVfas-*, “breath”; Chad. **nufas-*, “breath” (HSED §1830; cf. §1882)⁶⁶.
- Ug. *qq*** [m.], “throat”, only once (KTU 1.114:30)⁶⁷.
- CS: Aram. *qāqā²*, “throat, neck” (DJBA, 1035)⁶⁸.
- AA: Cush.-Om. **k’ok’-* “neck”⁶⁹; Eg. *ḥḥ*, “Hals, Kehle” (Wb 3, 331.3-10)⁷⁰.
- Ug. *dqn*** [m.], “beard”⁷¹, “chin”⁷².
- CS: Heb. *zāqān*, “side whiskers and (pointed) beard” (HALOT, 278); Ph. *zqn*, “beard” (DNWSI, 339); Aram. *dīqnā²*, *d^eqan*, “beard” (DJBA, 335–336); Akk. *ziqnu*, “beard” (CDA, 448); Akk. *suqtu(m)*, *zuqtu*, “chin” (CDA, 329); Arab. *ḍaqan*, *dīqan*, “beard, whiskers (DMWA, 309–310)⁷³.
- AA: **ǰVḵ-an/m-*, “chin, jaw, cheek; beard” (SED I p. 60); Chadic *ǰakun-/ǰikun-*, “beard, chin” (HSED §2650; cf. §2664).

2.2. Upper limbs

Ug. *ḍrḥ* [f.], “arm, side”⁷⁴.

- CS: Heb. *z^erō^aḥ*, “arm, forearm” (HALOT, 280–281); Aram. *d^erāḥā²*, “arm” (DJBA, 353); Arab. *ḍirāḥ*, “arm” (DMWA, 309). NA *durā’u*, “arm, foreleg” (CDA, 62) and EA *zuruh*, “arm” (CDA, 450) are loans from Aramaic⁷⁵.

Ug. *āmt* [f.], “elbow, forearm”⁷⁶.

- CS: Heb. *ʔammāh*, “forearm” (HALOT, 61–62); Aram. *ʔamm^etā²*, “cubit” (DJBA, 142–143); Akk. *ammatu*, “forearm, cubit” (CDA, 15); OSA *ʔmm*, “cubit” (DOSA, 19–20); Eth. *ʔamat*, “cubit, forearm” (CDG, 26); cf. SED I No. 6.
- AA: WChad. as Bade *’ám-án* [f.], “arm, hand”, Bgizim *ám-âi*, “arm, hand” (Takács 2008: 183)⁷⁷.

⁶⁶ The similarity with Hurr. *pušši*, “throat, person, life, soul spirit” (Dijkstra 2012: 167–169) is probably coincidental. See BGH, 332a.

⁶⁷ Text: *riš p qq w šrh*, “on (his) head, mouth, throat and navel”.

⁶⁸ As proposed by Watson 1990: 266; 2007: 133; LSU, 23–24, n. 179.

⁶⁹ P.c. Gábor Takács 04.12.2014.

⁷⁰ With irregular ḥ < *k’ (cf. HSED §2069). Cf. also Altaic **kek’V*, “palate, throat” (Kassian 2009, 178).

⁷¹ KTU 1.3 v 2, 25; 1.4 v 4; 1.18 i 12.

⁷² KTU 1.5 vi 19; 1.6 i 3. See Marcus 1977 (not listed in SED I).

⁷³ SED I No. 63; Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 144 §4; Note also the Ug. PN *trn*, “Bearded” (KTU 4.55:11; 4.103:10), syll. *tu-ra-ni* (PRU 6, 38:17) corresponding to Akk. *turānu*, “bearded man” (CDA, 410).

⁷⁴ KTU 1.5 vi 20; 1.6 i 4; 1.13:8.

⁷⁵ However, note Arab. *ḍurḥān*, “arm, forearm” (DMWA, 309); cf. SED I No. 65.

⁷⁶ KTU 1.5 i 6; 1.12 i 23; 1.14 ii 10; 1.14 iii 53.

⁷⁷ HSED §33 also cites WChad. **am-*, “arm”.

Ug. *yd* [f.], “hand”⁷⁸.

- CS: Heb. *yād*, “forearm, hand” (HALOT, 386–388); Ph. *yd*, “hand” (CSL, 123–124); Akk. *idu(m)*, “arm; side; strength” (CDA, 125); OSA *yd*, “hand” (DOSA, 229); Arab. *yad*, “arm” (AEL, 3063).⁷⁹
- AA: a loan in Eg. *yu*₂=*d* (**yōd*), “hand, etc.” (SWET §63, with doubts).
- IE: borrowed as the Gk letter *ϊōτα* (Rosól 2013: 120).

Ug. *kp* [f.], “palm”⁸⁰.

- CS: Heb. *kap*, “the hollow, flat of the hand” (HALOT, 491–492); Aram. *kp*, “hand, palm” (DNWSI, 528); Syr. *kappā*², “palm, hollow of the hand” (SL, 641–642); Akk. *kappu*, “hand, palm of hand” (CDA, 147); Arab. *kiffa*, *kaffa*, “palm of the hand” (DMWA, 831); Eth. *kāf*, “heel, palm” (CDG, 276)⁸¹.
- AA: borrowed as Eg. *ka-pu*, “hand” (SWET §457)⁸².
- IE: borrowed as the Gk letter *κάππα* (Rosól 2013: 121).

Ug. *hpn* [m.], “hollow hand”, once only (KTU 4.811:12).

- CS: Heb. *hopen*, “the hollow of both hands” (HALOT, 339); Aram. *hūpnā*², “handful” (DJBA, 442); Akk. *upnu*, “(cupped) hand, handful” (CDA, 424)⁸³.
- AA: Eg. *hḫ*, “fist”⁸⁴.

Ug. *šmāl* [m.], “left (side)”⁸⁵; “left (hand)”⁸⁶; *yd šmāl*, “left hand”⁸⁷.

- CS: Heb. *šēmʾol*, “left side” (HALOT, 1332); Palm. *s/šml*^(?), “left” (DNWSI, 1162); Syr. *sēmālā*², “left side” (SL, 1020); Arab. *šimāl*, “left hand” (DMWA, 487); Akk. *šumēlu*, *šumīlu*, “the left” (CDA, 383–384)⁸⁸.
- AA: Eg. *smḥ*, “left” (EDE I, 200); Chad. *[š]Vm-(IV), “right”⁸⁹.

⁷⁸ KTU 1.1 iii 5; 1.1 iv 10, 19; 1.2 i 39; 1.3 i 11; 1.3 ii 32, 34, 52; 1.3 v 18; 1.4 ii 32, 34; 1.4 vii 4, 40; 1.4 viii 5, 23, 45; 1.5 i 20; 1.5 v 13; 1.6 ii 25, 56; 1.7:20; 1.10 ii 6; 1.13:33; 1.14 ii 22; 1.14 iii 13, 53, 56; 1.14 iv 5; 1.15 i 1, 2; 1.15 ii 17; 1.15 iv 24; 1.15 v 7; 1.16 i 41, 47; 1.16 vi 32, 45; 1.17 i 30; 1.17 v 19, 25; 1.18 i 14; 1.19 i 7; 1.19 ii 17, 24, 35; 1.19 iii 49, 56; 1.19 iv 7, 25, 26, 58; 1.22 i 4; 1.41:55; 1.73:9; 1.75:1, 2; 1.86:22; 1.101:16; 1.103+1.145:46, 48, 59; 1.115:6; 1.137:6; 1.172:21; 1.176:23; 1.179:6; 2.10:11; 2.86:23; 3.4:14; 3.12:14.

⁷⁹ Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 154–157 §11; SED I No. 144, 291; Leslau 1945: 233.

⁸⁰ KTU 1.3 ii 10, 11, 13; 1.13:6.

⁸¹ SED I p. LXIV, No. 148; HSED §1428.

⁸² Franci 2010: 91; Schneider 2008: 198 [105].

⁸³ SED I No. 125; Gk *κόφινος* is not a loan from Heb. *hopen* (Rosól 2013: 53).

⁸⁴ “Faust, Griff” (Wb 3, 272.16–273.6); cf. Franci 2010: 91.

⁸⁵ KTU 1.92:9; 1.103+1.145:9, 10, 11, 15, 37; 1.172:12; 7.137:9.

⁸⁶ KTU 1.2 i 40; 1.23:63–64.

⁸⁷ KTU 1.103+1.145:59. Note also the PNN *tbḡl*, “Left(-handed)” (KTU 4.110:9), syll. *š[a]p-ḥa-la-na* (PRU 3, 90 [RS 16.147]:6), corresponding to Hurr. *šaphali*, “left” (BGH, 352–353), although other derivations are possible. This meaning has already been accepted for *ṭḥln*, “Left(-handed)” (KTU 4.356:9) corresponding to the Akk. PN *šumēlū(m)*, “Left(-handed)” (CDA, 384). See Wegner 1995: 124 (§12).

⁸⁸ SED I No. 264; cf. Berb. *a-zəlmaḍ*, cited ibi. p. 255, with discussion.

⁸⁹ Possibly a loan in Egyptian; cf. SWET §369.

Ug. *ymn* [m.], “right (side/hand)”⁹⁰.

- CS: Heb. *yāmīn*, “right side” (HALOT, 415); Aram. *yammīnāʾ*, “right side, right hand, right foot” (DJBA, 536–537); Akk. *imnu*, “right (side, hand)” (CDA, 129); OSA *ymn*, “right hand” (DOSA, 232); Arab. *yamīn*, “location on the right” (AEL, 3064); Eth. *yamān*, “right” (CDG, 627)⁹¹.
- AA: Eg. *jmn*, “right(-hand), dexter” (adj.) and “right side, the West” (noun) (EDE I, 79–80)⁹².

Ug. *rht* [f.], “palm of the hand”⁹³.

- CS: Arab. *rāḥat*, “the hand” (AEL, 1181); Akk. *rittu*, “hand, wrist” (CDA, 306); cf. SED I No. 230.
- AA: Eg. *jh.tj* ~ *zjh.tj* [< **rḥ-tj*], “die Innenflächen der Oberschenkel der Mutter...” (Wb 1, 120,16–17), “Innenseiten der Oberschenkel” (GHWb, 96); WChad. as PRon. **ra~*ri*, “arm, hand”⁹⁴.

Ug. *ūšbʿ* [f.], “finger”⁹⁵.

- CS: Heb. *ʔešbaʿ*, “finger” (HALOT, 81); Aram. *ʔašbaʿtāʾ*, “finger” (DJBA, 159); *šibʿāʾ*, “finger, toe” (DTT, 1259); Arab. *ʔišbaʿ*, *ʔušbūʿ*, “finger” (AEL, 1646); Eth. *ʔašbāʿ(ə)t*, “finger, toe” (CDG, 45); Akk. *i-iš-bit-tú*, “finger”⁹⁶.
- AA: Eg. *dbʿ*, “finger” (EDE I, 98)⁹⁷; NOm.: Hozo *zāb-a*, *zab-a*, Sezo *zāb-i*, “finger”; Berb. *zemmur*, “finger” etc.⁹⁸.

2.3. Torso

Ug. *ktp* [f.], “shoulder (blade)”⁹⁹.

- CS: Heb. *kātēp*, “shoulder, upper arm” (HALOT, 505–506); Aram. *katpāʾ*, “shoulder” (DJPA, 272; DJBA, 610); Arab. *katif*, *katf*, *kitf*, “shoulder, shoulder blade” (DMWA, 814); Akk. *katappātu*, “(part of animal’s breast)” (CDA, 153)¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁰ KTU 1.2 i 39; 1.3 v 22; 1.4 ii 4; 1.4 v 47; 1.4 vii 41; 1.5 v 3, 25; 1.10 ii 7; 1.14 ii 14; 1.15 ii 18; 1.16 i 42, 48; 1.19 iv 54, 56; 1.23:63-64; 1.92:13; 1.103+1.145:28, 35; 6.67:1.

⁹¹ SED I No. 292.

⁹² Eg. *wmm.j*, “eating hand”, derives from *wmm*, “to eat” (Vycichl 1972:178; see Takács 1997a: 114).

⁹³ KTU 1.4 viii 6; 1.5 v 14; 1.16 v 28.

⁹⁴ Takács 2008: 185–186, with other cognates and discussion; see also HSED §2091.

⁹⁵ KTU 1.2 iv 14, 16, 21, 24; 1.3 ii 33, 35; 1.4 iv 30; 1.10 iii 8; 1.14 ii 11; 1.14 iii 54; 1.15 v 16; 1.19 i 8; 1.101:15; 7.33:3.

⁹⁶ See SED II p. 343 and SED I No. 256.

⁹⁷ “Concerning the notorious Eg. *dbʿ* and Sem. **šbʿ*-, both “finger”, the Semitic word is certainly borrowed from Egyptian” because the word pattern is Egyptian (Jarúnek 2001: 104); “Ce mot appartient au fond commun égypto-sémitique” (Vycichl 1972: 179).

⁹⁸ Takács 1997a: 109–110; cf. HSED §434.

⁹⁹ KTU 1.2 iv 14, 16, 42; 1.6 i 14; 1.6 v 2; 1.114:11, 13. In KTU 1.6 v 2 *ktp* may denote a weapon; cf. Vita – Watson 2002, 2014.

¹⁰⁰ Bojowald 2011: 22 n. 4; SED I No. 154.

Ug. *tkm* [m.], “shoulder”¹⁰¹.

– CS: Heb. *š^ekem*, “shoulder” (HALOT, 1494–95); Aram. *tkmh*, “back” (DNWSI, 1266)¹⁰².

– AA: *čakam as Chad. **sagam*, “nape” (HSED §468).

Ug. *bmt* [f.], “back”¹⁰³.

– CS: Heb. *bāmāh*, “back” (HALOT, 136–137); Akk. *bāmtu*, *bāntu*, *pāndu*, *pāntu*, “ribcage, chest; thorax” (CDA, 37)¹⁰⁴.

– IE: it is not equivalent to Gk βωμός “step, stand, altar” (Rosół 2013: 167).

Ug. *tlf* [m.], “thorax” (KTU 1.2 iv 4; 1.24:14–15).

– CS: Akk. *tulû*, *telû*, *tilû*, “breast” (CDA, 409)¹⁰⁵; Eth. *tallāf*, “breast” (CDG, 574)¹⁰⁶; cf. Arab. *talaša*, “to stretch one’s neck”; *talša*, “hill” (DMWA, 96).

Ug. *irt* [f.], “breast”¹⁰⁷; syll. *i-r[a²-tu₄²]* (UVST, 109).

– CS: Akk. *irtu*, *iratu*, *ertum*, “chest, breast” (CDA, 131); Syr. *rā?tā²*, “lung” (SL, 1425); Emar *ri-i-ú*, “lung”¹⁰⁸.

– AA: Berb. **rV-*, “lungs” (HSED §2137); Cush. as Beja *arór*, “bosom”; Chad. *arwa*, “chest”¹⁰⁹.

Ug. *dd* [m.], “breast, bosom” (KTU 1.23:59, 61).

– CS: Heb. *zīz*, “nipple; full breast” (HALOT, 268); NA *zīzu*, “teat” (CDA, 449)¹¹⁰.

– Hurr.: perhaps borrowed from Sem. as Hurr. *zeze*, *zizzi*, “breast”¹¹¹.

Ug. *td* [m.], “breast, bosom, chest”¹¹².

– CS: Heb. *šad*, “breast” (HALOT, 1416–17); Syr. *šdā²*, “breast” (SL, 1624); Arab. *tdy*, *tdan*, “female breast, udder” (DMWA, 102)¹¹³.

– AA: Chadic **čid-*, “breast” (HSED §462).

Ug. *zd* [m.], “breast, chest” (KTU 1.23:24, 59); see on *dd* and *td*.

¹⁰¹ KTU 1.14 ii 11; 1.14 iii 54; 1.14 iv 4; 1.16 iv 13; 1.22 i 5.

¹⁰² Cited in SED I No. 281; cf. also De Moor – Spronk 1982: 161–162.

¹⁰³ KTU 1.3 ii 12; 1.5 vi 22; 1.6 i 5.

¹⁰⁴ De Moor 1971b: 91; SED I No. 216; Kogan – Tischenko 2002; Hardy – Thomas 2012.

¹⁰⁵ As noted in Watson 1986.

¹⁰⁶ Del Olmo IMC, 56; Watson 1980: 9; SED I No. 276, with a note on Arabic.

¹⁰⁷ KTU 1.2 iv 3; 1.3 iii 5; 1.4 v 5; 1.5 v 25; 1.6 iii 19; 1.17 ii 13; 1.18 i 19; 1.22 i 25; 1.101:17.

¹⁰⁸ For Emar see Cohen 2002; for MSA see Leslau 1945: 236. Cf. SED I Nos. 9, 10, 224 and p. 198.

¹⁰⁹ Cited, with several other AA equivalents, in SED I p. 11; see also Vycichl 1972: 182 and Takács 2008: 187.

¹¹⁰ SED I No. 295; Kogan 2000: 722; Watson 2010: 833–834.

¹¹¹ Dijkstra 2014: 74: “breast, nipple, teat”; see also BGH, 397–398. For possible IE (Luwian, Hitt., Greek) equivalents see Watson 2010: 833–834.

¹¹² KTU 1.12 i 11; 1.13:19, 31; 1.15 ii 27; 1.23:22.

¹¹³ SED I Nos. 280, 295. Del Olmo Lete 1989: 123; Kogan 2000: 722.

Ug. *bṭn*, “belly” (KTU 1.15 vi 1; [1.17 ii 47]).

- CS: Heb. *beṭen*, “belly, internal organs” (HALOT, 121); Aram. *bṭn*², “womb” (DJBA, 198)¹¹⁴; Arab. *baṭn*, “stomach, abdomen; womb” (DMWA, 64).
- AA: Berb. *buṭ-*, “navel, belly”; WChad. *but-* < *buṭ-* “belly, stomach” (HSED §350, cf. §352).

Ug. *ḥmt* [m.], “belly, abdomen” (KTU 1.82:7; 1.172:28).

- CS: Heb. *ḥomeš*, “belly” (HALOT, 331); Akk. *emšu(m)*, *enšu*, *imšu*, *inšu*, “lower body, abdomen” (CDA, 72–73); Syr. *ḥūmšā*², “abdomen” (SL, 427); Eth. *ḥəməs*, “uterus, womb” (CDG, 234–235)¹¹⁵.
- AA: Eg. *ḥms*, “phallus”¹¹⁶.

Ug. *zr* [m.], “back”¹¹⁷.

- CS: Akk. *šēru*, “back” (CDA, 336–337)¹¹⁸; Arab. *zahr*, “back” (AEL, 1927); cf. Heb. *šohar*, “roof” (HALOT, 1008)¹¹⁹.
- AA: Eg. *ḏrww*, “back” (DLE II, 273); Eg. *ḏrw*, “Seite, Rippengegend” (Wb 5, 602.1–20)¹²⁰.

Ug. *šr* [m.], “navel”¹²¹.

- CS: Heb. *šor*, “navel cord, navel” (HALOT, 1650–51); Aram. *šūrrā*², “umbilical cord” (DJBA, 1124); Arab. *surr*, “navel”; *surr*, “umbilical cord” (DMWA, 405); MSA *šr?*, “navel”¹²².

2.4. Internal organs

Ug. *ggn* [m.], “insides” (KTU 1.16 vi 26; 1.92:16); its relationship to Ug. *gngn* is uncertain.

- AA: Eg. *ggt*, “kidneys” (FCD, 292; DLE II, 195; cf. Wb 5, 208.7)¹²³.

Ug. *gngn* [m.], “innards, heart”, only once (KTU 1.4 vii 49); see on *ggn*.

- CS: Akk. *gannu*, “(part of insides of a sheep)” (CDA, 90)¹²⁴.
- AA: Eg. *ggn*, “Fett zwischen Eingeweiden” (Wb 5, 176.8)¹²⁵.

¹¹⁴ SED I No. 42, with discussion.

¹¹⁵ See De Moor – Spronk 1984: 240; SED I No. 122; Del Olmo Lete 2011: 253 n. 26.

¹¹⁶ Leslau 1962: 46 §11, cited by Takács 2008: 184.

¹¹⁷ KTU 1.3 iii 35; 1.5 v 14; 1.12 ii 32; 7.137:7.

¹¹⁸ EA Akk. *šu²ru*, *šūru*, “back” (CDA, 342b < WSem.).

¹¹⁹ SED I No. 284 with discussion; Dietrich Loretz 2009: 151–152 §10.

¹²⁰ See also Takács 1997b: 228 §7; Kassian 2009: 169 §27.

¹²¹ KTU 1.10 iii 2; 1.103+1.145:58; 1.114:30.

¹²² Leslau 1945: 236. Cf. Margalit 1976: 137; Cooper 1988: 22; Dietrich – Loretz 1998: 192: “Nabel, Unterleib”. No cognates in Akkadian; see SED I No. 254, with discussion.

¹²³ First proposed by Watson 2008: 550.

¹²⁴ “While there is little doubt about the meaning of the Ugaritic term *gngn*, it is improbable that it is an Arabic-Ugaritic isogloss” – so Renfroe (1992: 105) on the mooted equivalence with Arab. *ḡanḡan*, *ḡinḡin*, “bones of the breast and ribs” (AEL, 402); but cf. SED I No. 83.

¹²⁵ First proposed by Ward 1961: 33 5 and n. 20; see Takács 2008: 183–184.

Ug. *lb* [m.], “heart”¹²⁶.

– CS: Heb. *lēb*, “heart” (HALOT, 513); Ph., Pun. *lb*, “heart” (DNWSI, 561); Akk. *libbu*, “inner body, heart, internal organs” (CDA, 181); Arab. *lubb*, “heart” (AEL, 2643); OSA *lbb*, “heart” (DOSA, 256); Eth. *labb*, “heart” (CDG, 304)¹²⁷.

– AA: Eg. *jb* < **lb*, “heart” (FCD, 14–15)¹²⁸; E.Chad. **lub-*, “heart”¹²⁹.

Ug. *pīd* [m.], “heart” (KTU 1.4 ii 10; 1.24:45).

– CS: Arab. *fuḷād*, “heart” (DMWA, 692).

– AA: **puwad-*, “heart”, WChad. **pūd-*, “heart” (HSED §2016)¹³⁰.

Ug. *ḥr* [m.], “intestines”¹³¹.

– CS: Akk. *erru(m)*, “intestine(s)” (CDA, 79)¹³². Syr. *ḥrw*, *ḥrwt*², “buttocks” (Payne Smith 1903: 1359) may simply be a late form of *ḥr*¹³³.

– AA: CChad. **ḫar(wa)-*, “intestines”, e.g. Gisiga *hor* (HSED §1243).

Ug. *kbm* [m.], “intestines, guts”, once (KTU 1.103+1.145:55).

– CS: Akk. *kippum*, “«loops» of intestines of sacrificial sheep” (CDA, 159)¹³⁴ and perhaps Akk. *kukkubātu*, “pig’s stomach” (CDA, 165a, lex.)¹³⁵.

Ug. *lb*, “entrails” (KTU 1.103+1.145:51, cf. ln. 45). See above on *lb*.

Ug. *kbd* [m./f.], “liver, innards, entrails”¹³⁶; syll. *ka-bi-[du²]* (UVST, 135).

– CS: Heb. *kābēd*, “liver” (HALOT, 456); Syr. *kabā²*, “liver” (SL, 595); Emar Akk. /*kabidu/*, “liver” (Pentiuć 2001: 93); Akk. *kabattu*, *kabtatu(m)*, *kabittu*, “liver”, “innards”, “stomach” (CDA, 139); *gabīdu*, *kabīdu*, “liver” (CDA, 87); Arab. *kabid*, “liver” (AEL, 2584); Eth. *kabd*, “liver, stomach, belly” (CDG, 273)¹³⁷.

Ug. *klyt* [f.], “kidneys” (KTU 1.82:3).

– CS: Heb. *kelāyōt*, “kidneys” (HALOT, 479); Syr. *kūlūtā²*, “kidney” (SL, 607); Akk. *kalītu(m)*, “kidney” (CDA, 142); Arab. *kulya*, *kulwa*, “kidney” (DMWA, 839); Eth. *k^wəlīt*, “kidney” (CDG 284); cf. SED I No. 156.

¹²⁶ KTU 1.3 ii 26; 1.5 vi 21; 1.6 i 5; 1.6 ii 6, 7, 8, 28, 28, 29; 1.7:7; 1.12 i 13; 1.15 v 15; 1.17 vi 41; 1.18 i 17; 1.19 i 3, 34; 1.19 iv 61; 1.39:8; 1.18 i 17, 1.41:52; 1.82:3; 1.101:9; 2.8:4; 2.25:3; 2.30:23; 2.38:27; 2.71:15; 2.72:16; 2.82:6; 2.87:7, 14, 26, 34; 2.85:14; 2.87:7, 26; 2.103:11, 28; 2.103:8; 2.107:11; 3.11:8; 3.32:19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 28; 5.11:11, 21; 6.83:2; 7.63:8.

¹²⁷ SED I No. 174.

¹²⁸ EDE I, 87–88; Vycichl 1972: 175–176.

¹²⁹ HSED §1668, with other AA cognates (Omotic, Saho-Ahar, Rift etc.).

¹³⁰ See also SED I No. 205.

¹³¹ KTU 1.82:13; 1.103+1.145:54; 1.174:7.

¹³² SED I No. 22: they note the Akk. variant *wirru* with *W* but see now SED II, 337.

¹³³ “Scarcely but reliably attested. Phonetic reconstruction highly tentative” (SED I p. 24).

¹³⁴ Dietrich – Loretz MU, 152–155; but see Watson LSU, 88.

¹³⁵ As noted in SED I No. 158.

¹³⁶ KTU 1.3 ii 25–26; 1.3 iv 9–10; 1.5 ii 4; 1.12 i 10, 13; 1.6 ii 16–17; 1.17 i 35; 1.18 i 18; 1.19 i 35.

¹³⁷ Cf. Del Olmo Lete 1989: 123–124; Loretz 2005; SED I No. 141.

- AA: Chadic **kul-kul-*, “kidney” (HSED §1493); borrowed as Eg. **kālyāta*, “kidneys”¹³⁸.

Ug. *ṭhl* [m.], “spleen” (KTU1.103+1.145:12).

- CS: Heb. *ṭhōl*, *ṭhōlā*², “spleen, milt” (DTT, 528); Aram. *ṭhālā*², “spleen” (DJBA, 499); Akk. *ṭulīmu*, *tulīmu*, “spleen” (CDA, 415); Arab. *ṭihāl*, “spleen” (DMWA, 554); Syr. *ṭhālā*², “milt, spleen” (SL, 523)¹³⁹.
- AA: EChad. **tyaHal*, “liver” (HSED §2387).

Ug. *msrr* [m.], “entrails, viscera” (KTU 1.14 ii 17; 1.14 iii 59)¹⁴⁰.

- CS: Arab. *sirr*, *masarrat*, “the interior of anything, the marrow of anything” (AEL, 1338)¹⁴¹. An additional previously unnoticed cognate may be Akk. *šurru(m)*, *surru*, “interior, heart” (Bab. and NA as part of the human body; CDA, 341b; cf. AHw, 1114)¹⁴².

2.5. Uro-genital tract

Ug. *ušr* [m.], “penis” (KTU 1.103+1.145:47).

- CS: Akk. *išaru*, (*m*)*ušāru*, “penis” (CDA, 133)¹⁴³.

Ug. *bšr* [m.], “penis” (KTU 1.24:9)¹⁴⁴; see above on *bšr*.

- CS: Cf. Arab. *bašara*, “to have sexual intercourse” (DMWA, 59)¹⁴⁵.

Ug. *yd*, “penis”¹⁴⁶; see above on *yd*, “hand”.

Ug. *ušk* [m.], “testicle” (KTU 1.11:2; 1.103+1.145:14).

- CS: Heb. *pešek*, “testicle” (HALOT, 95); Syr. *peškētā*², “testicle” (SL, 107); Akk. *išku(m)*, “testicle” (CDA, 134); Eth. *peskit*, “testicle” (CDG, 43); SED I No. 11.

- IE: it does not correspond to Gk ὄσχη “scrotum” (Rosół 2013: 199).

Ug. *p*, “vulva”¹⁴⁷; see above on *p*, “mouth”.

¹³⁸ See SWET §520 and DLE II, 175.

¹³⁹ SED I No. 278.

¹⁴⁰ See discussion Wyatt RTU, 187 n. 47, who opts for “dreg-[free] wine”.

¹⁴¹ Proposed by Del Olmo Lete MLC, 581; see also Cooper 1988: 22 (Arab. *sirru*, middle, base, heart, most intimate part of a thing”). For other possible cognates see SED I Nos. 237 and 253 (but with no mention of Ug. *msrr*).

¹⁴² But cf. Akk. *šurru*, “insides (of the human body), heart” (CAD S, 259–260) and Aram. *šrwwt*², “kidneys” (DJBA, 971, etym. unkn.).

¹⁴³ Possibly from *yšr*, cf. AHw, 392; HSED §2582.

¹⁴⁴ Dietrich – Loretz 2003: 154; 2009: 144 §3.

¹⁴⁵ This is a previously unnoticed cognate. Note also the use of Eg. *iwf*, “flesh” to mean “vagina” (Nunn 1996: 221); see Wb 1, 51.14–52.5.

¹⁴⁶ KTU 1.4 iv 38 (see RTU, 100 n. 130); 1.10 iii 7; 1.23:33, 34, 34, 35, 40, 44, 47. See Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 154–157 §11.

¹⁴⁷ KTU 1.10 iii 9–10; 1.178:11; 2.88:39, see ln. 21; see De Moor ARTU, 113 n. 28.

Ug. *qrb* [m.], “vulva” (KTU 1.11:1).

– CS: Akk. *qerbu*, *qarbu*, “centre, interior; intestine, womb” (CDA, 288)¹⁴⁸.

– AA: Eg. *q3b*, “intestine; interior, middle”¹⁴⁹.

Ug. *kbd*, “womb” (KTU 1.13:31); see above.

Ug. *rḥm* [m.], “womb” (KTU 1.13:2, 34, 36)¹⁵⁰.

– CS: Heb. *reḥem*, “womb” (HALOT, 1217–18; Syr. *raḥmāʾ*, “womb, internal organs” (SL, 1457–58); Akk. *rēmu*, *rīmu*, “womb” (CDA, 301–302), also *rēmtu*, “womb” (CDA, 301); Arab. *raḥim*, *riḥm*, “uterus, womb” (DMWA, 332); cf. SED I No. 231.

– AA: EChad. *riHim-, “pregnant” (as Or. *riimaa*) (HSED §2118); ECush. *rim-, “uterus”¹⁵¹.

Ug. *špt*, “labia” (KTU 1.24:8–9)¹⁵²; see above on *špt*, “lip”.

2.6. Lower limbs

Ug. *šq* [m.], “thigh, leg”¹⁵³.

– CS: Heb. *šōq*, “thigh, fibula” (HALOT, 1448–49); Syr. *šaqāʾ*, “thigh” (SL, 1592); Akk. *sāqu*, *sīqu*, “thigh” (CDA, 317b, 325); Arab. *sāq*, “thigh” (AEL, 1471)¹⁵⁴.

– AA: Eg. *sbq* [< *swq(?)], “calf of leg” (EDE I, 284); WChad. **saku*-, “leg” (HSED §2179) or WChad. **sag*-, “leg” as Miya *šagu-hu*, CChad. **sig*-, “bone” as Logone *šigo* (HSED §470).

– IE: Any connection with Hitt. *šakuttai*-, “thigh” (EDHIL, 703–704) or Gk ἰσχίον, “hip-joint, haunches” (EDG I, 602) is no more than uncertain¹⁵⁵.

Ug. *brk* [f.] “knee”¹⁵⁶; syll. [*biʾ*]-*ir*²-*ku* (UVST, 115).

– CS: Heb. *berek*, “knee” (HALOT, 160–161); Emar. /*barku*/ “knee” (Pentiuć, 37); Akk. *birku*, “knee” (CDA, 45) and *burku*/*purku(m)*, “knee” (CDA, 49); Eth. *bārk*, “knee” (CDG, 105); cf. Arab. *baraka*, “he kneeled” (AEL, 193)¹⁵⁷.

– AA: possibly cf. Eg. *p3g*, “knien” (GHWb, 273; cf. FCD, 88)¹⁵⁸.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Heb. *qereb*, *b qrb*, prep. use, “inward parts” (HALOT, 1135–36). See SED I No. 165.

¹⁴⁹ EDE I, 59, 212; Takács 2008: 184; see HSED §1577.

¹⁵⁰ Dietrich 2014: 59, 108–109.

¹⁵¹ “Extended by the infix *-ḥ- of anatomical terms” (Takács 2008: 186).

¹⁵² “Aus dem Nebeneinander der Parallelismen *ʿn* || *špt* und *yd* || *bšr* folgert Man zu Recht, daß Metaphern für die weiblichen und männlichen Geschlechtsteile aufeinander abgestimmt und sowohl *ʿn* als auch *špt* auf die Vulva zu beziehen sind” (Dietrich – Loretz 2009:173). See also De Moor ARTU, 143; Korpel 1990: 123 and n. 246.

¹⁵³ KTU 1.86:24–25; 1.103+1.145+:9, 26.

¹⁵⁴ Dietrich – Loretz MU, 112; Watson 2008: 560. SED I p. CXLIV and No. 241.

¹⁵⁵ The original Indo-Hittite root is *soK^u- (Kassian 2009: 156–157).

¹⁵⁶ KTU 1.2 i 23, 25, 27, 29; 1.3 ii 13, 27; 1.7:9; 1.17 v 27; 1.18 iv 24; 1.172:25.

¹⁵⁷ SED I No. 39 (where Arab. *bārikat* is cited), differentiates CS *bi/ark- from *rVk(u)b(-at)-, “knee” from *bi/ark-, “knee” (SED I No. 232). See also Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 143 §2.

¹⁵⁸ Very uncertain; see Takács EDE II, 404–406 for discussion.

Ug. *išd* [m.], “leg”¹⁵⁹; syll. *iš-du*₄ (UVST, 111).

– CS: Akk. *išdu*, “base” of part of body¹⁶⁰; dual: “legs” of person (CDA, 133)¹⁶¹.

Ug. *št* [m.], “foot” (KTU 1.3 ii 5)¹⁶².

– CS: Akk. *išdu(m)*, *ešdu(m)*, *ušdu(m)*, etc., “base” of part of body; du. “legs” (CDA, 133); Heb. *šēt*, “base, foundation” (HALOT, 1666); Ph. *ʔšt*, “pillar” (DNWSI, 130); Syr. *ʔeštāʔ*, “bottom” (SL, 108); Arab. *ʔist*, *satat*, “podex, buttock” (AEL, 1305)¹⁶³.

– AA: it does not correspond to Eg. *sd*, “tail” (EDE I, 194) but may have been borrowed as Eg. *š3-d-i2-ti-t*, “feet (of the mountain)”, as proposed by Schneider¹⁶⁴.

Ug. *pʃn* [f.], “foot”¹⁶⁵.

– CS: Heb. *paʕam*, “foot” (HALOT, 952–953); Ph., Pun. *pʃm*, “foot” (CSL, 269); Akk. *pēm/nu*, “(upper) thigh” (CDA, 272)¹⁶⁶.

– AA: *p-ʕ-m ~ *p-ʕ-n, “(sole of) foot, trace”, as Cu. *fān-a, “track of animal”; SCu. *paʕam-, “sole of foot”¹⁶⁷.

Ug. *qʃr* [m.] “anklebone” (KTU 1.103+1.145:10).

– CS: Akk. *kišallu(m)*, *kisillu*, *kišillu*, *kisallu*, “ankle” (CDA, 161); Tigr. *ḳarso*, “ankle-bone, fetlock”; Mehri *ḳaršā*, “knee-cap”¹⁶⁸.

Ug. *ħrʃp/ħrʒp* [m.], “ankle” (KTU 1.12 i 41; 1.103+1.145:27).

– CS: cf. Heb. *ḥaršubôt*, “bonds” (HALOT, 356)¹⁶⁹.

¹⁵⁹ KTU 1.1 ii 2, 23; 1.1 iii 11; 1.3 iii 20; 1.3 iv 12; 1.45:9; 1.101:6.

¹⁶⁰ Also as *ešdu*, *ušdu*, *ištum*, *ildu*, *irdu* and *issu* (CDA, 133).

¹⁶¹ SED I p. CXLIII and No. 255.

¹⁶² The CS root can be reconstructed as *šVt-, *i-šVt- alternating with *sVt-, *i-sVt-, “posterior, buttocks”, where *i- is a prefix and already at the Proto-Semitic level both *išd* and *št* meant “foundation”, as explained in more detail in SED I, p. 226.

¹⁶³ Del Olmo Lete MLC, 633; Dietrich – Loretz 1986: 119 n. 40; SED I No. 255.

¹⁶⁴ Schneider 2008: 199, 200 n. d; see also Franci 2014: 195.

¹⁶⁵ KTU 1.1 ii 1, 15, 22; 1.2 i 30; 1.3 iii 19, 32; 1.3 iv 11; 1.3 v 4, 15; 1.3 vi 18; 1.4 ii 16; 1.4 iv 25, 29; 1.4 v 21; 1.4 viii 26; 1.6 i 36, 59; 1.6 iii 15; 1.10 ii 18; 1.12 i 40; 1.12 ii 33; 1.17 ii 11; 1.17 vi 46; 1.19 iii 3, 10, 18, 24, 32; 1.43:24, 25; 1.107:18; 1.161:14; 1.166:26; 1.174:2; 1.179:6; 6.84:2. Plus the high number of occurrences, due to the letter formula (*l pʃn* PN *qlt* etc.) used in KTU 2.11:5; 2.12:6; 2.13:5; 2.24:5; 2.30:4; 2.40:5; 2.42:4; 2.45:11; 2.51:2; 2.64:6, 13; 2.68:4; 2.70:8; 2.72:4; 2.81:5; 2.82:2.

¹⁶⁶ Leslau 1945: 240; SED I No. 207; Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 172 §20.

¹⁶⁷ Takács 2008:185. Reconstructed as *fuʕun-, “thigh, leg”: Qwadza *paʕam-uko*, “foot; sole”; WCh. *fun-H-, “knee”; CCh. *pun-, “thigh” (HSED §828).

¹⁶⁸ As cited in SED I No. 169; see there for discussion.

¹⁶⁹ For surveys of opinions see Wyatt RTU, 164 n. 13; Dietrich – Loretz 2000: 55;

2.7. Excretions, secretions etc. (also of animals)

Ug. *ītl* [m.], “saliva, phlegm, spittle”¹⁷⁰.

– IE: Hitt. *iššalli*, “Speichel” (HEG, 371)¹⁷¹.

Ug. *dšt* [f.], “sweat”¹⁷².

– CS: Heb. *dašat* “sweat” (HALOT, 229)¹⁷³; Aram. *dyšt*², “sweat” (DTT, 303); Akk. *zūtu*, *zū²tu*, *izūtu*, “sweat; exudation” (CDA, 450)¹⁷⁴.

Ug. *dm* [m.], “blood”¹⁷⁵; syll. *da-mu*, “blood” (UVST, 119).

– CS: Heb. *dām*, “blood” (HALOT, 224–225); Ph. *dm*, “blood” (DNWSI, 251); Aram. *d^emā²*, “blood, hemorrhage” (DJBA, 340–341); Akk. *dāmu*, “blood” (CDA, 55)¹⁷⁶; *adamatu*, *adanatu*, “(red blood), (a dark-coloured bodily discharge)” (CDA, 4); Arab. *dam*, “blood” (DMWA, 291); Eth. *dam*, “blood, sap” (CDG, 133)¹⁷⁷.

– AA: Berb. **dam(m)-*, “blood”¹⁷⁸; Chad. **dam-*, “blood”; Om. **dam-*, “blood” (HSED §639).

Ug. *dmšt* [f.], “tear(s)”¹⁷⁹.

– CS: Heb. *dimšāh*, “tears” (HALOT, 227); Aram. *dim^atā²*, “tear” (DJBA, 343); *dmšh*, “tear” (DJPA, 153); Akk. *dintu(m)*, *dintu*, *dindu* (du. *dimā-*; NA pl. *di’āte*), “tear” (CDA, 60); Arab. *damš*, *damšat*, “tears” (AEL, 913)¹⁸⁰.

Ug. *drš/drš* [m.], “seed” (KTU 2.39:9; cf. 1.103+1.145:14).

– CS: Heb. *zeraš*, “seed” (HALOT, 282–283); Ph. *zrš*, “offspring” (CSL, 96; DNWSI, 341–342); Emar *zi-ir-a-ti*, “seedling, offspring” (Pentiuč 2000: 195); Akk. *zēru(m)*, *zīru*, OA *zar’um*, “seed(s), offspring” (CDA, 446); Arab. *zarš*, “seed-produce” (AEL, 1226); Eth. *zar?*, “seed” (CDG, 642).

¹⁷⁰ KTU 1.1 ii 9; 1.18 iv 25; 1.19 ii 39, 44.

¹⁷¹ First identified by De Moor 1965: 363–364; cf. Dijkstra – De Moor 1975: 196; Watson 1987a; 1987b; 2010: 833; 1987a. See also, perhaps, Gk *σίαλον* “spittle, slobber” var. *σιέλον*: “probably an onomatopoeic word” (EDG 2, 1326–27); “crachat, salive”; belongs to a “Groupe populaire de sonorité expressive qui doit être apparenté à πτώω sans qu’on puisse rien préciser” (DELG, 1000).

¹⁷² KTU 1.13:15; 1.16 vi 10; 1.179:14.

¹⁷³ Also Hb. **zšh*, “sweat” (HALOT, 276).

¹⁷⁴ SED I LXXVII and No. 61.

¹⁷⁵ KTU 1.3 ii 14, 27, 31, 34; 1.7:9; 1.12 ii 46-47; 1.96:4.

¹⁷⁶ See also Akk. *damtum*, *tamtum*, “blood, lineage” (CDA, 55).

¹⁷⁷ SED I No. 50; Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 144 §5.

¹⁷⁸ And Berb. *i-damm-ēn* (pl.), cited by Vycichl 1972: 192.

¹⁷⁹ KTU 1. 6 i 10; 1.19 ii 33; 1.16 i 10, 28; 1.45:11; 1.161:16; pl. *ūdmšt* (1.14 i 28), cf. Del Olmo Lete 2014b: 62.

¹⁸⁰ SED I No. 51 with additional cognates. For MSA see Leslau 1945: 233.

Ug. *ḥmt* [f.], “poison”¹⁸¹.

- CS: Heb. *ḥēmāh*, “poison, venom” (HALOT, 326); Akk. *imtu(m)*, “poison, venom” (CDA, 129); Aram. *ḥmh*, “anger, venom” (DJPA, 204); Arab. *ḥumat-*, “scorpion venom”¹⁸².

Ug. *ḥrū* [m.], “faeces, excrement” (KTU 1.114:21).

- CS: Heb. *ḥʾrāʾīm*, “excrement” (HALOT, 348–349); Syr. *ḥeryāʾ*, “excrement” (SL, 490); Arab. *ḥarāʾ*, *ḥurʾ*, “excrement” (DMWA, 231)¹⁸³.
- AA: borrowed as Eg. *hrit*, “dung” (GHWb, 556), i.e. *ḥar(i)ya*, “dung, excrement” (SWET §323)¹⁸⁴.

Ug. *mmṣ* [m.], “gore”¹⁸⁵.

- CS: Heb. *mēʿeh*, “entrails, intestines” (HALOT, 609–610); Aram. *mṣyyʾ*, plur. *mṣyyynʾ*, “intestines” (DJBA, 694); Arab. *ʾamṣāʾ*, “the guts” (AEL, 3022).
- AA: **myṣ*, “(to emit bodily) fluid”; cf. Eg. *mṣṣ*, “bodily efflux” (EDE III, 171–172).

Ug. *mrrt* [f.], “bile” (of an ox) (KTU 1.175:2).

- CS: Heb. **mʿrērāh*, **mʿrorāh*, “gall-bladder, liquid within” (HALOT, 639); Syr. *mertāʾ*, “gall, bile” (SL, 839); Arab. *mirrat*, *marārat*, “gall, bile” (AEL, 2701); Akk. *martu*, Bog. *mertu*, “gall bladder, bile” (CDA, 198)¹⁸⁶.

Ug. *tmṭ* [m.], “(menstrual) blood, menses” (KTU 1.82:7).

- CS: Arab. *ṭamt*, “menstruation; menses, menstrual discharge” (DMWA, 568)¹⁸⁷.

Ug. *tnt* [f.], “urine” (KTU 1.114:21).

- CS: Heb. *šayin*, “urine” (HALOT, 1479); Syr. *tīnāʾ*, *tyānāʾ*, *tyāntāʾ*, “urine” (SL, 1642); Akk. *šīnātu*, “urine” (CDA, 374); Arab. *maṭana*, “(urinary) bladder” (DMWA, 893); Eth. *šənt*, “urine” (CDG, 540)¹⁸⁸.
- AA: Eg. *msjn.t*, “Harnblase oder Schließenmuskel”¹⁸⁹ and ECush. **siṇḍ-*, “urine”¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸¹ KTU 1.100 *passim*; 1.107 *passim*, all referring to snake venom.

¹⁸² Cited in SED I No. 120, with further cognates and discussion.

¹⁸³ SED I No. 136.

¹⁸⁴ Takács 1997a: 112; HSED §1334.

¹⁸⁵ KTU 1.3 ii 14, 28, 35; 1.3 v 25; 1.18 i 12. Translated “Eingeweide, geronnenes Blut” by Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 164–168 §15. Instead, Kogan (2004) argues for the meaning “brain” (MSA **maṣ*, Soq. *mīmāṣ*); similarly SED I No. 184, with the additional cognates Arab. *naṣāmat*, “cerveau” and Jibb. *maṣ*, “brain”.

¹⁸⁶ See SED I No. 188, arguing that this word is probably not derived from the verb “to be bitter”.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. more remotely, Aram. *ṭmš*, “to dip, immerse, soak” (DJBA, 507–508); Syr. *ṭmš*, “to dip, immerse”, *ṭmāšāʾ*, “dipping, immersion” (SL, 538); Del Olmo Lete 2011: 247, 253 n. 26.

¹⁸⁸ For the verb see SED I No. 77.

¹⁸⁹ Vycichl 1938, from undocumented **√syn* (“to urinate”); “[Körperteil am Unterleib], Bauchfell (?)” (Wb 2, 143.8); see EDE III, 558.

¹⁹⁰ See Takács 2008: 187; EDE III, 557–558; HSED §§2627, 2543. Franci (2014: 194, 197) cites SCush. **sintyʾa*, “urine”.

Ug. zū [m.], “ooze, excrement”¹⁹¹.

- CS: Hb *šoʔāh*, “excrement” and **šēʔāh*, “dung, excrement” (HALOT, 992); Akk. *zū*, “excrement, faeces, dung” (CDA, 449); Geez *šiʔat*, “rot, filth, excrement etc.” (CDG, 567)¹⁹².

2.8. Various

Ug. ānš [m.], “buttocks”¹⁹³.

- CS: Heb. *nāšeh*, “sciatic nerve” (HALOT, 729); Syr. *genešyā* < Aram. *gīd našyā*², “ischial tendon” (SL, 150).
- IE: Hitt. *anašša-*, “(ein Körperteil) ohne Etymologie” (Tischler HEG I, 28)¹⁹⁴, more specifically, “lower part of the back” (EDHIL, 178)¹⁹⁵.
- AA: *jns.t* (< **ns.t*), “calf of leg, shank (of man, animal)” (FCD, 24); NBerb. *tī-nsi-t*, “calf” – originally < AA **-n-s*, “(part of) leg” (Takács 2008: 185).

Ug. ʕzm [f.], “bone”¹⁹⁶.

- CS: Heb. *ʕešem*, “bone, skeleton” (HALOT, 869); Ph./Pun. *ʕsm*, “bone” (CSL, 255); Aram. *ʕaṣmā*², *ʔaṣmā*², “thigh” (DJBA, 107); *tm*, “bone” (DJPA, 226); Arab. *ʕaṣam*, “bone” (AEL, 2087); Eth. *ʕaḍm*, *ʕašm*, “bone” (CDG, 58); Akk. *ešetu(m)*, *ešentu*, *ešettu*, *ešmetu*, “bone” (CDA, 81)¹⁹⁷.
- AA: WChad **čyam-*, “bone, shin-bone”, as Barawa *cem* (HSED §1036)¹⁹⁸.

Ug. dn [m.], “potency” (KTU 1.16 i 30; DUL, 273).

- CS: Akk. *dunnu(m)*, “power, strength” (CDA, 62).

Ug. ǵr [m.], “skin”¹⁹⁹; syll. *ma-aš-ku* = [*ú*]²-*ru*(UVST, 159).

- CS: Heb. *ʕôr*, “skin of a person” (HALOT, 803); Pun. *ʕrt*, “hide” (CSL, 256–257); Akk. *aru*, “hide (of ox)” (CDA, 25a; cf. CAD A/2, 318)²⁰⁰.
- AA: ECh **gar-*, “skin”; CCh **gar-*, “skin” (HSED §1007).

¹⁹¹ KTU 1.3 iii 2; 1.3 iv 46; 1.19 iv 43.

¹⁹² SED I no. 286: C.Sem. **ʕayVʔ-*, “excrement, excreta”, with discussion.

¹⁹³ KTU 1.3 iii 35; 1.4 ii 20; 1.19 ii 47. “Probably *nš* / *nšh* is the small of the back, the region of the *Glutaeus medius*” (De Moor 1980b: 425–426); but cf. Kogan 2000: 726–727; Dietrich – Loretz 2005: 153–154; SED I p. CXLIII and No. 201.

¹⁹⁴ “The strict context seems to place *anassa-* in the rear of the lower torso, between the (small of the) back (*iskis-*) and the anal genital area, thus perhaps ‘hips, buttocks’” (Puhvel, HED 1/1, 63) cited by Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 142 n. 3)

¹⁹⁵ Kloekhorst mentions that it only occurs once – between “shoulders (and) back” and “buttocks”; cf. Rapallo 2003, 562–563 [1]. Dietrich – Loretz (2009: 142–143 §1) reject the meaning “sciatic nerve, tendon” as given in SED I No. 201.

¹⁹⁶ KTU 1.3 i 12; 1.12 i 24; 1.19 iii 5, 11, 25, 34, 39.

¹⁹⁷ SED I p. LXXVIII and No. 25. They note (p. 26): “The P[roto] S[emitic] meaning should probably be reconstructed as ‘backbone’”.

¹⁹⁸ For Eg. *ʕt*, “limb” see Franci 2014: 198.

¹⁹⁹ KTU 1.5 vi 17; 1.6 i 2; 1.19 iv 11, 22.

²⁰⁰ SED I No. 106 with many more cognates.

Ug. *krʕ*, “knuckle, clavicle” (KTU 1.103+1.145:15, 27, 28).

- CS: Heb. *kʿraʕ*, “lower leg, fibula” (HALOT, 500); Aram. *kʿrāʕāʕ*², “leg, foot” (DJBA, 604); Syr. *krāʕāʕ*², “shin, leg” (SL, 656); Akk. *kurītu*, “shin, tibia” (CDA, 168); OSA *krʕ*, “leg (of a camel)” (SD, 78); Arab. *kurāʕ*, “foot, trotter (esp. of sheep, oxen), leg” (DMWA, 821); *kāriʕ*, “foot, trotter; ankle, anklebone” (DMWA, 821); Eth. *kʷərnāʕ*, “elbow, forearm” (CDG, 293); SED I No. 157.

Ug. *ḥlq* [m.], “smooth (buttocks), thigh”²⁰¹.

- CS: Heb. *ḥālāq*, “smooth” (HALOT, 323) or *ḥlq*, “to divide”²⁰² or a dialect form of a word represented by Heb. *ḥalāṣayim*, “loins” (HALOT, 322) and Akk. *iṣṣu*, “loins” (CDA, 127)²⁰³.

Ug. *ksl* [f.], “back, shoulder”²⁰⁴; “tendon” (KTU 1.3 ii 16; 4.182:9).

- CS: Heb. *kesel*, “loin” (HALOT, 489); Akk. *kislu*, *kaslu*, “(part of body)” (CDA, 161); Aram. *kslyn*, “loins” (DJPA, 265); Aram. *kesel*, “groin, loin” and *kislāʕ*, “loin” (DTT, 654)²⁰⁵.

Ug. *mtn* [m.], “tendon, loin” (KTU 1.12 ii 38; 1.17 vi 22).

- CS: Heb. *motnayim*, “hips and loins” (HALOT, 655); Akk. *matnu(m)*, “sinew, tendon” (CDA, 204); Arab. *matn*, “back” (DMWA, 890); Eth. *matn*, “sinew, muscle” (CDG, 372)²⁰⁶.
- AA: NOM. (Haruro) *mānān*, “type of wool”; ECush. (EDangla) *māyīnē*, “string around the kidneys”²⁰⁷.

Ug. *pnt* [f.], “joint, knuckle”²⁰⁸.

- CS: Heb. *pnh*, “corner” (HALOT, 944–945); cf. Syr. *pannā*, “back of hand, instep” (SL, 1207)²⁰⁹.

Ug. *tmn* [m.], “frame, form” (KTU 1.2 iv 18, 26).

- CS: Heb. *tʿmūnāh*, “form, manifestation” (HALOT, 1746–47); Akk. *temmēnu(m)*, *timmēnu(m)*, *te/i(m)mennu*, “foundation” (CDA, 404)²¹⁰.

²⁰¹ KTU 1.3 ii 14, 28, in parallel with *brkm*, “knees”.

²⁰² As proposed by Parker 2006: 35; cf. HALOT, 323.

²⁰³ Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 146–151 §9. Akk. *ilku*, “hip area” (CDA, 127), cited by de Moor (1971: 92) is unrelated and can be explained by AA **IVk-IVk-*, “leg” (HSED §1696; cf. Takács 1997b: 240 §40). The meaning “throat”, based on MSA, first proposed by Rendsburg 1987: 628b and accepted in SED I No. 117 (cf. also Kogan 2004: 201–202) seems implausible in the Ug. context.

²⁰⁴ KTU 1.3 iii 33, 35; 1.4 ii 17, 19; 1.19 ii 46, 56; 1.16 vi 50; 1.17 vi 11.

²⁰⁵ SED I No. 153, with discussion, and Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 157–159 §12.

²⁰⁶ SED I No. 183 (confusion with *mnt* ?) Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 169 §16. SED I No. 192.

²⁰⁷ “ficelle autour des reins pour tenir le cache des filles” (Takács 2008: 184).

²⁰⁸ KTU 1.2 iv 17, 26; 1.3 iii 34; 1.4 ii 19.

²⁰⁹ Dietrich – Loretz 2003: 173: “Glieder”; Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 171–172 §19; SED I No. 216 with discussion (but with no reference to Ug. *pnt*).

²¹⁰ Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 173–174 §24. See, perhaps, Arab. *munna*, “strength, vigor, stamina” (DMWA, 925).

- Ug. *tmnt*** [m.], “frame, form” (KTU 1.169:6; 1.178:15); see previous entry²¹¹.
- Ug. *bšr*** [m.], “flesh, body”²¹².
- CS: Heb. *bāšār*, “flesh” (HALOT, 164); Pun. *bšr*, “flesh” (CSL, 57–58); Syr. *besrā*², “flesh” (SL, 167); OSA *bšr*, “flesh” (DOSA, 61–62); Arab. *bašara*, “outer skin, epidermis” (DMWA, 60)²¹³.
- Ug. *šīr*** [m.], “flesh”²¹⁴; syll. *ši-i-ru* (UVST, 180).
- CS: Heb. *šēṭār*, “body, flesh” (HALOT, 1378–79); Pun. *šṛr*, “flesh” (DNWSI, 1099); Akk. *šīru*, *šēru*, OB *širrum*, “flesh; body, entrails” (CDA, 377); Syr. *tṛrh*, *tṛrt*, “innards” (LS, 813)²¹⁵.
- Ug. *pgr*** [m.], “corpse”²¹⁶.
- CS: Palm. *pgr*, “body”, “mortal remains” (DNWSI, 901); Aram. *pgr*, “body” (DJPA, 424); *pagrā*², “body” (DJBA, 887); Akk. *pagru(m)*, *paggar*, “body” (CDA, 260)²¹⁷.
 - AA: Eg. **bʒgy* < **brgy*, “müde sein”, bildlich “tot sein” etc. (Wb 1, 431.2–10); Chad. (Gisiga) *gírúvú* < **vigr-* < **Pigr-*[?], “tired out” (with metathesis; cf. Takács 2008: 182).
- Ug. *šmt*** [f.], “fat” (KTU 1.19 iii 4, 11, 19, 25, 3, 39).
- CS: Akk. *šēmu*, *šēmētu*, “fat, grease” (CDA, 366); Arab. *siman*, “fatness” (AEL, 1432); Heb. *šmn*, “cream” (DTT, 1597); cf. Heb. *mišmān*, “fatness, corpulence” (HALOT, 649); Ph. *mšmn*, “oil” (CSL, 323).
 - AA: Eg. *smj*, “fat” (EDE I, 192–193)²¹⁸.
- Ug. *rḥ*** [f.], “breath”²¹⁹.
- CS: Heb. *rū^aḥ*, “breeze, breath, wind, mind” (HALOT, 1197–1201); Pun. *rḥ*, “spirit” (CSL, 303); Aram. *rūḥā*², “wind, breath, spirit etc.” (DJBA, 1064); Syr. *rūḥā*², “wind, breath, spirit” (SL, 1445); Arab. *rawḥ*, *rūḥ*, *rīḥ*, “wind, soul, spirit, vital principle” (AEL, 1180–81)²²⁰.

²¹¹ Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 173–174 §25.

²¹² KTU 1.4 ii 5; 1.63:6; 1.92:34; 1.179:7; 7.163:5.

²¹³ SED I No. 41; Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 144 §3; it is not equivalent to Eg. *bʒ* (see EDE II, 309).

²¹⁴ KTU 1.6 ii 35, 37; 1.6 vi 43; 1.10 i 18; 1.96:3; 1.103+1.145:11, 25.

²¹⁵ De Moor 1971b: 211; Watson LSU, 107; SED I No. 238.

²¹⁶ KTU 1.39:12; 1.39:17; 1.102:12; 6.13:2; 6.14:1.

²¹⁷ See also Emar Akk. /*pugarātu*/, “funerary rites” (Pentiuć 2001 141) and Heb. *pgr*, “monument, stela”, “offering for the dead” (HALOT, 911); De Moor 1995: 5–7; Dietrich – Loretz 2005: 236; SED I No. 209.

²¹⁸ Unless the root is *šhm*; cf. SED I No. 248; Takács 1997a: 111; HSED §2247.

²¹⁹ KTU 1.18 iv 25, 36; 1.19 ii 38, 43.

²²⁰ A possible IE etymology was proposed by Vennemann (2012).

2.9. Uncertain

The following have been proposed with varying degrees of certainty²²¹:

Ug. *ādn*, “penis” (KTU 1.24:13)²²².

Ug. *ūrt* [f.], “vulva” (KTU 1.23:32)²²³.

– CS: Akk. *ūru*, “pudenda” (CDA, 427).

Ug. *fn*, “vulva” (lit. “well”; KTU 1.24:8)²²⁴.

Ug. *bir*, “vulva” (lit. “well”; KTU 1.13:25)²²⁵.

– CS: Akk. *būrtu*, “cistern, well, hole” (CDA, 49)²²⁶; Heb. *bēʔēr*, “well” (HALOT, 106).

Ug. *dtn* [m.] “fat” (KTU 1.65:15)²²⁷.

– CS: Heb. *dešen*, “fatness” (HALOT, 234); Aram. *došnāʔ*, *dīšnāʔ*, “fat piece” (DTT, 326)²²⁸.

– AA: Berb. **-dis-*, as Semlal *adīs*, “belly, stomach”²²⁹.

Ug. *gb* [m.], “spine, back, body”²³⁰.

– CS: Heb. *gab*, “back” (HALOT, 170); Syr. *gbībāʔ*, “curved, humped” (SL, 200); Aram. *gb*, “back” (DNWSI, 207).

– AA: **gab-*, “side” as in Cush. *gaba*, “side” (HSED §856); Eg. *gb*, “arm” (DLE II, 187).

Ug. *gpr*, “carcass” (KTU 1.19 i 11, 11).

– CS: Arab. *ḡafīr*, “carcass”²³¹.

²²¹ Note also two hidden terms: (1) Ug. **tpr*, “vagina”, if reflected in *tprt*, a garment (KTU 4.146:4; 4.341:10) proposed by Watson 2006b; cf. CS *tapr-*, “perineum” (SED I No. 282, but with no reference to Ugaritic); (2) Ug. *tk*, “middle” in the phrase *btk* (KTU 1.1 ii 23; 1.2 i 20; 1.2 iii 9; 1.3 iii 29; 1.3 iv 41; 1.3 vi 13; 1.4 iii 13; 1.4 v 55; 1.4 vii 3; 1.4 viii 11; 1.5 ii 15; 1.5 v 12; 1.10 ii 9, 12; 1.12 i 21; 1.12 ii 55; 1.14 v 17; 1.15 iii 4; 1.23:65; 1.100:63; 1.101:2; 1.108:25; 1.179:28, 37; 4.195:8; 6.45:1); CS: Heb. *tōk*, “inside, inner part” (HALOT, 1697); IE: Hitt. *tuekka*, *tukka-*, *tuikamm-*, “body” (cf. Rabin 1963: 136–137; EDHIL, 885–886).

²²² Metaphorically in KTU 1.24:13, like *ād* (KTU 1.23:32, 43), lit. “lord” (Dietrich – Loretz 2000: 176).

²²³ As proposed by Dietrich (2014: 100, 113) as a loanword directly from Akkadian. For CS see SED I No. 26.

²²⁴ De Moor ARTU, 143; accepted by Dietrich – Loretz 2003: 172; 2009: 171 §17.

²²⁵ De Moor 1980a: 306, 309–310; Dietrich 2014: 89–91.

²²⁶ Note Bab. *siništu būrtu...*, “a woman is a hole...” (cf. BWL, 146:51).

²²⁷ Others translate “weapon”; cf. Del Olmo Lete 2014a: 285 n. 26; Wyatt RTU, 364 n. 12.

²²⁸ As noted in SED I p. 56, there is an unrelated Iranian homonym meaning “honorary gift”.

²²⁹ Cited in SED I No. 60; see there for additional AA cognates.

²³⁰ KTU 1.1 v 28; 1.24:43; 1.114:5; 1.169:5; 1.172:23; 1.175:13, 17; 1.178:14. Cf. Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 144–145 §6 (“Körper, Figur, Gestalt”), §7 (“Rücken”); SED I No. 85 (“side and back of torso”).

²³¹ Cooper 1988: 21. For a survey of opinions: Wyatt RTU, 291 n. 184.

Ug. grgr, “throat” (KTU 1.16 i 48)²³².

– CS: Heb. *gargērôt*, “pharynx” (HALOT, 201–202); Aram. *gargartā*², “throat” (DJBA, 299)²³³.

– AA: **gur-*, “throat, neck” and Eg. **d3d*, “throat” (Takács 1997b: 231–232 §21).

– IE: It does not correspond to Gk *γαργαρέων* “uvula” (Rosół 2013: 167).

Ug. ḥt, “penis” (KTU 1.169:14)²³⁴.

Ug. mhr, “body” (KTU 1.13:7)²³⁵.

– CS: Akk. *mīru/mūru*, “(part of the intestines)” (CDA, 211; cf. SED I p. 171).

Ug. mh [m.], “marrow”, “brains” (KTU 1.16 i 27)²³⁶.

– CS: Heb. *mo^ah*, “bone-marrow” (HALOT, 567); Ph. *mḥ*, “fat” (DNWSI, 610); Arab. *muḥḥ*, “brain; marrow, medulla” (DMWA, 896); Akk. *muḥḥu*, “skull, brains, marrow” (CDA, 215)²³⁷.

– AA: Eg. *jm3ḥ* (< *i-m³ḥ), “marrow”²³⁸.

Ug. nšb [m.], “haunch”²³⁹.

– CS: cf. Pun. *šlb*, part of a sacrificial animal (DNWSI, 1136), as proposed by Cathcart (1987).

– AA: It is uncertain whether it corresponds to Eg. *šb.tj*, “zwei Rippenstücke (als Speise)” (Wb 4, 438.10), Eg. *šb.t*, “Fleischstück” (Wb 4, 437.5) or to AA **šab-*, “rib” (HSED §2316).

Ug. [š]br [m.], “buttocks” (KTU 1.103+1.145:45).

– CS: Akk. *šuburru*, “rump, bottom” (CDA, 379–380)²⁴⁰; Arab. *šabr-*, *šibr-*, “waist”; Tigr. *šəbər*, “hind-quarter and tail-piece of a slaughtered animal”²⁴¹.

Ug. šbt, “grey hair”²⁴².

– CS: Heb. *šēbāh*, “gray hair, advanced age” (HALOT, 1318–19); Akk. *šibtu*, “greyness, grey hair” (CDA, 370); Arab. *šaybat*, “a white, hoary beard” (AEL, 1627); Eth. *šibat*, “grey hair” (CDG, 539)²⁴³.

²³² Unless it means “javelin”; cf. Sanmartín 1980: 336: “eine Art Wurfwanne”.

²³³ Del Olmo Lete IMC, 172, n. 439, who cites Arab. *gargāra*; cf. SED I Nos. 102, 93 and 95.

²³⁴ Loretz – Xella 1982: 38: “die ‘Liebe’ seines Penis”; for other opinions cf. TOu 2, 58 n. 151.

²³⁵ Proposed by Dietrich 2014: 63, 112.

²³⁶ Unless to be emended to *my*, “waters” – cf. Wyatt RTU, 222 n. 207.

²³⁷ Dijkstra – De Moor 1975: 179; Xella 1984: 27–28, 31; SED I No. 187; Dietrich – Loretz 2009: 159–160 §13.

²³⁸ See EDE I, 170 NB2; Takács 2008: 184–185; Rapallo 2003: 567 [8]; HSED §1800. “The AA word for “head” (originally “brain as in Sem.?) may also belong here” (Takács 2008: 184) and he mentions AA **muQ-* as ECush (Burji) *mug-a*, “head”.

²³⁹ KTU 1.1 v 6; 1.114:10, 13; 4.247:18.

²⁴⁰ Cited by Dietrich – Loretz 1990: 138: “After”.

²⁴¹ For the Arab. and Tigr. cognates, previously unnoticed, see SED I No. 262.

²⁴² KTU 1.3 v 2, 2, 24, 25; 1.4 v 4; 1.18 i 12.

²⁴³ See SED I No. 66 (verb).

Ug. yrk [m.], “flank, side”²⁴⁴.

- CS: Heb. *yārēk*, “upper thigh, side” (HALOT, 439); Arab. *wark*, *wirk*, *warik*, “hip, haunch; thigh” (DMWA, 1062); Akk. *warkatu*, *urkatu*, “rear, backside, buttocks” (CDA, 434)²⁴⁵.

3. Names for Parts of Animals in the Alphabetic Texts

Ug. ĩbr [m.], “wing”²⁴⁶.

- CS: Heb. *ṣēber*, *ṣebrāh*, “wing, pinion” (HALOT, 9); Aram. *ṣēbārāʾ*, “wing, pinion” (DTT, 44); Syr. *ṣebrāʾ*, “feather” (SL, 5); Akk. *abru(m)*, *apru*, “wing” (CDA, 3).
- AA: Cush. (Beja) *an/mbūr*, “Flügel”; *ambir*, *anbir*, “wing, feathers”²⁴⁷.

Ug. āp, “nostril, muzzle, beak”²⁴⁸; see above.

Ug. ũšbš [f.], “claw”²⁴⁹; see above.

Ug. šqb, “hock, heel” (KTU 1.17 vi 23).

- CS: Heb. *šāqēb*, “heel” (HALOT, 872–873); “heel”, DNWSI, 881; Aram. *šiqbāʾ*, “heel” (DJBA, 858); Akk. *eqbu* (NA *igbu* ?) “heel” (CDA, 76); Arab. *šaqib/šaqb*, “heel” (AEL, 2100)²⁵⁰.

Ug. bmt, “back” of animal²⁵¹.

Ug. bz [m.], “udder” (of a goat) (KTU 1.80:4).

- CS: OAram. *bz/bš*, “breast” (DNWSI, 149–150); Aram. *bz*, “breast” (DJPA, 89); Syr. *bezzāʾ*, “breast, teat” (SL, 132); Arab. *bi/uzz*, “nipple, mammilla” (DMWA, 70)²⁵².
- AA: Eg. *bz3*, “milk” and *bz3.t*, “milk provider” (EDE II, 300–302); also Berb. **bu3-*, “large breasts”, as Ahaggar *būhū-tən* (HSED §360).

²⁴⁴ KTU 1.82:10, 38; 1.143:3; cf. DUL, 965, 968.

²⁴⁵ De Moor 1971a: 350; SED I No. 288; Leslau 1945: 237.

²⁴⁶ KTU 1.4 vii 56; 1.8:9; 1.9:11, 16.

²⁴⁷ As in SED I No. 1, where CS **a/ibr-*, “pinion, wing” is differentiated from CS **ibr-(at)-*, “membrum virile” (SED I No. 2).

²⁴⁸ KTU 1.43:12; 1.71:4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 26; 1.72:26, 40; 1.85:4, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, 19, 29; 1.97:1, 5, 7; 1.103+1.145:41, 41; 1.126:2; 1.164:4; 1.168:2, 9; 1.173:8. Minunno (2014) argues that both *āp* and *npš* refer to a zoomorphic vessel and concludes: “Perhaps the expression *āp w npš* indicated the two features of the animal (rather than of the vessel) through which the liquid flowed” (p. 231).

²⁴⁹ KTU 1.2 iv 14, 16, 21, 24; 1.3 ii 33, 35; 1.4 iv 30; 1.10 iii 8; 1.14 ii 11; 1.14 iii 54; 1.15 v 16; 1.19 i 8; 1.101:15; 7.33:3.

²⁵⁰ SED I, p. LXVI and No. 14.

²⁵¹ KTU 1.4 iv 14, 15; 1.19 ii 10, 11; 4.247:17.

²⁵² Sanmartín 1979: 723; SED I No. 44.

Ug. *dīy* [m.], “wing”²⁵³.

– CS: Arab. *daʕy*, “vertebrae, ribs of the breast” (AEL, 840); cf. Aram. *dʕy*, “to fly” (DJBA, 310)²⁵⁴.

– AA: cf. WChad **diyāH-* “to fly” (Karekare *diyau*) (HSED §685, cf. §687).

Ug. *ḏnb(t)*, “tail” (KTU 1.83:7; 1.114:20).

– CS: Heb. *zānāb*, “tail” (HALOT, 274); Aram. *danbāʕ*, “tail” (DJBA, 344); Arab. *ḏanab*, “tail” (DMWA, 312); Akk. *zibbatu*, *sibbatu(m)*, *z/simbatu*, *du. zibbā*, “tail” (CDA, 447)²⁵⁵.

– AA: **žinab-*, “tail” as Om. *žiban-/žuban* (HSED §2665).

Ug. *gbtt* [f.], “hump” (KTU 1.12 i 31).

– CS: Aram. *gbš*, “to be high, piled up” (DTT, 209); Akk. *gipšu*, “thickening” on liver, lung (CDA, 93); *gapšu*, “swollen” (of animal) (CDA, 90); Tigr. *gābəs*, “crook-backed” (WTS, 584)²⁵⁶.

Ug. *gd* [m.], “sinew, tendon” (KTU 1.17 vi 21).

– CS: Heb. *gīd*, “tendon” (HALOT, 189); Syr. *gyadāʕ*, “sinew” (SL, 228); Akk. *gīdu(m)*, “sinew, gristle” (CDA, 92); Arab. *gīd*, “a slender and long neck” (AEL, 493)²⁵⁷.

– AA: **giHad-/giyad-* “neck”: ECh **giHad-*, “neck” (HSED §924).

Ug. *gšb* [m.], “groin” (of a bull’s body) (KTU 1.109:26; 1.167:3).

– CS: Arab. *ʿal-aḡšab*, “the part between the penis and the thigh” (AEL, 2266)²⁵⁸.

Ug. *knp* [f.], “wing”²⁵⁹; syll. [*ka-n*]a-puʕ (UVST, 138).

– CS: Heb. *kānāp*, “wing” (HALOT, 486); Syr. *kenfāʕ*, “wing” (SL, 636); Eth. *kənf*, “wing” (CDG, 287); Akk. *kappu(m)*, “wing” (CDA, 147)²⁶⁰.

– AA: Agaw **kan(V)p-/kin(V)p-*, “wing” (HSED §1426).

Ug. *kbd*, “liver”²⁶¹; see above.

²⁵³ KTU 1.18 iv 18, 20-21, 28, 31; 1.19 iii 9, 13, 17, 23, 27, 31, 33, 37, 43.

²⁵⁴ Cf. SED II No. 64.

²⁵⁵ SED I p. CXXXIV and No. 64.

²⁵⁶ SED I No. 82, with further cognates and discussion.

²⁵⁷ Another cognate is SEth. **ga(n)dīy-*, “tendon of leg”, possibly with secondary *-n-* (SED I No. 72).

²⁵⁸ A previously unnoticed cognate. Alternatively, it means “fold”; cf. Arab. *ḡadf*, *ʕḡdaf*, “abundance of the fur, folding of the skin” (AEL, 2267) or, with metathesis, cf. Akk. *ḡabāsu*, “to be distended” and Akk. *ḡibšu*, “swelling; bump, lump”.

²⁵⁹ KTU 1.10 ii 10, 11; 1.19 iii 1, 8, 12, 16, 22, 26, 30, 36, 42; 1.46:6.

²⁶⁰ For additional cognates see SED I No. 145 and pp. LXIV–LXV.

²⁶¹ KTU 1.19 iii 10, 18, 24; 1.27:10; 1.39:2; 1.41:39; 1.46:1, 13, 16; 1.109:8, 12; 1.119:21; 1.130:20; 1.143:1; 1.155:10.

Ug. msg [m.], “skin” (KTU 4.52:1–19; 4.53:2).

- CS: Akk. *mašku*, “skin” of human, “hide” (of animal) (CDA, 202); Heb. *mešek*, “leather pouch” (HALOT, 646); Aram. *mšk*, “skin, hide” (DNWSI, 700)²⁶².
- AA: Eg. *msq*, *msk3*, “skin, leather” (FCD, 118); “(Tier)Haut, Leder” (Wb 2, 150.3–5; 149.10–14)²⁶³.

Ug. mnt [f.], “member” (KTU 1.6 ii 36).

- CS: Akk. *minītu*, *miniātu*, *maniātu*, “limbs, physique” (CDA, 211, mng 3, plur.)²⁶⁴.
- AA: Eg. *mn.t* = “hind-leg” (EDE III, 231–233; Takács 2008: 182–183, 184).

Ug. mtnt [f.], “loin”²⁶⁵.

- CS: Syr. *matnatā*², “loins” (SL, 410). See on *mtn*.

Ug. npš, “(piece of) offal”²⁶⁶.

Ug. pfn, “(hind) hoof” (KTU 1.103+1.145:39, 52). See above.

Ug. qrn [f.], “horn”²⁶⁷.

- CS: Hb *qeren*, “horn” (HALOT, 1144–46); Pun. *qrn*, “horn” (CSL, 294); Syr. *qarnā*², “horn” (SL, 1412); Akk. *qarnu*, “horn (of animal)” (CDA, 285); Arab. *qarn*, “horn” (DMWA, 760).
- AA: Eg. *kr.tj*, “Hörner (an der Krone des Amun)” (Wb. 5, 134.13; cf. HSED §1549).
- IE: Gk κέρας “horn for blowing and drinking” from IE **kerh₂-s-*, “horn, head” (EDG 1, 676)²⁶⁸; Hitt. *karāwar/karaun*, “horn(s), antler(s)” (EDHIL, 446–447).

Ug. rīš, “head” of snake (KTU 1.175:11); see above.

Ug. šl [f.], “rib” of a bull (KTU 4.247:16).

- CS: Heb. *šēlaš*, “rib, side” (HALOT, 1030); Aram. *šl/šlš*, “rib” (DJPA, 60); Akk. *šēlu(m)*, *šīlu(m)*, *šellu(m)*, *šillu(m)*, “rib (of human/animal)” (CDA, 336); Arab. *ḏilš*, *dalš*, “rib, cutlet, chop” (DMWA, 544)²⁶⁹.
- AA: Eg. /ḏilašatu/, “Plank” (SWET §592), a loan from Semitic.
- IE: Gk σελίς, “crossbeam” (LSJ, 1590)²⁷⁰, is also a loan from Semitic²⁷¹.

²⁶² EA Akk. [KU]š: *ma-aš-ka* (EA 86:19); cf. SED I No. 190.

²⁶³ See EDE III, 584–586; HSED §1744.

²⁶⁴ “Should these Akk. and Ugr. words be united into a separate Sem. root **mVnIšy-at-* ‘limb, body part’ or be regarded as part of the present root [**mV(?)n-at-* ‘tendon, sinew, muscle’] with a semantic shift ‘muscle’ > ‘limb’?” (SED I No. 183 comment pp. 166–167).

²⁶⁵ KTU 1.39:2; 1.41:21; 1.87:23; 1.109:7; 1.130:19.

²⁶⁶ KTU 1.27:9; 1.46:1; 9; 1.90:3; 1.105:25; 1.106:5; 1.109:12; 1.119:14. See above on *npš*.

²⁶⁷ KTU 1.10 ii 21–22; 1.12 i 30; 1.17 vi 22; 1.101:6; 1.114:20; 5.23:2. See SED I No. 168.

²⁶⁸ See Nussbaum 1986; but Kloekhorst (EDHIL, 447) prefers to reconstruct PIE **ker-*, “horn”. “Das Verhältnis zwischen den indogermanischen und semitischen Wörtern ist unklar” (Rosól 2013: 153).

²⁶⁹ See SED I, p. LXXVIII and No. 272; MSA *dlš*, “rib” (Leslau 1945: 234).

²⁷⁰ “Traverse de pierre dans la construction d’un plafond; banc transversal dans un bateau” and “Pas d’étymologie établie” (DELG, 996).

²⁷¹ See Watson 2013b: 170.

Ug. šŕ [m.], “hair(s), fleece” (KTU 1.19 ii 2, 6; 1.19 iv 37).

– CS: Heb. *śŕ*, “hairiness, body hair” (HALOT, 1344); Syr. *saŕā*²⁷², “hair” (SL, 1028); Arab. *šaŕ*, *šaŕar*, “hair” (AEL, 1560); cf. Akk. *šu*’*ru(m)*, *šuhhurum*, “hairy” (CDA, 391).

– AA: WChad. *ĉaHar-*, “hair on the chest of a ram” (HSED §528).

Ug. šŕt [f.], “wool, hair”²⁷²; syll. ^{túg}*šá-ĥar-tu* (UVST, 183).

– CS: Heb. *śŕh*, “individual hair” (HALOT, 1344–45); Aram. *śŕh*, “hair” (DJPA, 572); Akk. *šārtu*, Bog. *šahratu*, “hair, pelt” (CDA, 361); cf. SED I No. 260.

– AA: borrowed as Eg.* *śa*^(°)*rata*, “wool” (SWET §359).

Ug. špr [m.], “horn” (KTU 1.108:10).

– CS: Heb. *šōpār*, “horn” (HALOT, 1447–48)²⁷³; Aram. *šīpōrā*, “horn, trumpet” (DTT, 1566).

Ug. ššrt, “gizzard” (KTU 1.119:21).

– CS: Akk. *šisurru* or *šerše(r)u*, *širširum*, “(a feature on spleen, kidney etc.)” (CDA, 368)²⁷⁴.

Ug. td, “udder, teat”²⁷⁵; see above.

Ug. yd, “paw”²⁷⁶; see above.

4. Compound expressions

There are thirteen compound expressions and possibly one composite noun relating to parts of the body in the Ugaritic texts:

Ug. ābn p-, “teeth”, lit. “stones of the mouth” (KTU 1.19 i 9)²⁷⁷.

Ug. ānpnm, “muzzle(s)” = *ānp* + *pnm*, “snout” + “face” (KTU 1.12 ii 37)²⁷⁸.

Ug. āp lb, “chest” (KTU 1.5 vi 21; 1.6 i 5).

– CS: Tigrinya *ʔaf ləbbi*, “breast”²⁷⁹.

Ug. āp dd, āp zd, “nipple” (KTU 1.23:24, 59, 61).

– CS: Akk. *appi tulī*, “nipple” (CDA, 409).

²⁷² KTU 1.49:10; 1.50:9; 4.46:4-14; 4.131:1; 4.144:6; 4.158:17; 4.168:3; 4.182:2, 14, 19, 28, 30; 4.188:5, 8, 11, 14; 4.225:13; 4.270:5; 4.341:14; 4.378:2; 4.395:3; 4.630:3, 7, 10, 13, 15; 4.705:1, 6; 4.707:16, 18; 4.709:1; 4.721:9.

²⁷³ Akk. *s/šappāru*, “wild ram” (CDA, 317b, from Sum.) is rejected as a cognate in SED II No. 208.

²⁷⁴ See Watson 2006a; unless the reading is *š šrp*, “one ram as a burnt offering” (Del Olmo Lete 2014a: 253–254 and n. 29).

²⁷⁵ KTU 1.3 i 6; 1.4 vi 56; 1.10 iii 24.

²⁷⁶ KTU 1.103+1.145:15, 28, 59.

²⁷⁷ TOu 1, 441, but see Wyatt RTU, 290 and n. 178.

²⁷⁸ See DUL, 84–85; SED I No. 8; but cf. Tropper UG, 744 §81.22c.

²⁷⁹ Kogan 2006: 139; SED I p. 197.

- Ug. *ʕzm yd***, “forearm”, lit. “bone of the arm” (KTU 1.12 i 24)²⁸⁰.
- Ug. *bn ʕn-***, “on the forehead”, lit. “between the eyes”²⁸¹.
- CS: Aram. *byt ʕyn*, “forehead” (DTT, 1071); Heb. *bên ʕênayim*.
- Ug. *bn ktpm***, “on the shoulder or back” (KTU 1.2 i 42).
- CS: Heb. *bên kēṭpayim*, “on the shoulders” (HALOT, 506).
- Ug. *bn ydm***, “on the chest”, lit. “between the arms” (KTU 1.2 iv 14; 1.14 v 20).
- CS: Heb. *bên yādayim*, “on your shoulders / back / chest” (HALOT, 387).
- Ug. *ḥr ʔpm***, “nasal cavity” (KTU 1.103+1.145:6, 30).
- Ug. *qn ʔrʕh***, “humerus”, lit. “the cane of his arm” (KTU 1.5 vi 20; 1.6 i 4).
- CS: Heb. *qāneh*, “bone of the upper arm, humerus” (HALOT, 1113); Syr. *qanyāʔ*, “forearm, wingbone, elbow, cubit” (SL, 1383–84)²⁸².
- AA: cf. Eg. *qni*, “embrace” (FCD, 280); “Umarmung; Schoß; Brust” (Wb 5, 50.13-51.7)²⁸³.
- Ug. *qrn šir***, “excrescence” (KTU 1103+1.145:11, [25]).
- CS: cf. Arab. *qarn*, “the temporal ridge of the head” (AEL, 2987–88)²⁸⁴.
- Ug. *tbr ʔp-***, “flared nostril(s)” (KTU 1.2 i 20)²⁸⁵.
- Ug. *tbrn qn*** [m.], “aperture of windpipe” (KTU 1.4 viii 20; 1.6 ii 23)²⁸⁶.
- CS: cf. Aram. *qanyāʔ*, “trachea, windpipe, anatomical <tube>” (DJBA, 1029).

As Tropper correctly notes (UG, 277 §51.7): “Alle sogenannten Komposita lassen sich auf Konstruktusverbindungen zweier Substantive zurückführen”. The only candidate is the textually uncertain noun *ʔnpnm*.

²⁸⁰ Translated “Kraft der Hand” > “mit kräftiger Hand” (Dietrich – Loretz 2000: 26, 42) but “teniendo en cuenta el contexto de los esfuerzos del parto aquí supuestos, me parece preferible retener el par *ʔmt* // *ʕzm yd*, los valores ‘codo’ // ‘antebrazo’, junto al otro par ‘polvo’ // ‘tierra’, como descripción de la postura que debe adoptar la parturienta para llevar a cabo el esfuerzo requerido” (Del Olmo Lete 2007: 157). Alternatively it means “fingernails”, lit.: “bones of the hand” (Wyatt RTU, 163 n. 8).

²⁸¹ KTU 1.2 iv 22; 1.3 vi 3; 1.103+1.145:49, 57; 1.179:35.

²⁸² Akk. *qanū*, “Hölzer” (AHw, 898); “reed, arrow” (CAD Q, 85); Arab. *qanāt*, “spear, bamboo lance, tube” (DMWA, 929); Rosół 2013: 44–45 as “reed”; Dietrich – Loretz 1986: 109.

²⁸³ De Moor (1971b: 194) translates “collar bone, clavicle”, citing Eg. *qni* and Syr. *qanyā*.

²⁸⁴ As cited in DUL, 700.

²⁸⁵ See Wyatt RTU, 57 and n. 98. Similar is Aram. *sbr ʔpym*, “countenance” (cf. DJPA, 366).

²⁸⁶ Translated “the breach of his windpipe” by Driver CML, 102–134 (and n. 7), 152. Dietrich – Loretz (2002: 112) reject this meaning (“Zum Erstaunen stellt man fest, daß *tbrn* die Bedeutung ‘Öffnung, Spalt’ zumeist mit *tbr* ‘(zer)brechen’ begründet wird”), preferring “Brecher (Backenzähne) der Speiseröhre”.

5. Table

The information collected above can be set out in simplified form as a table²⁸⁷:

Ug.	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans				non-Semitic equivalent		
		(RS) Akk.	Emar	Arabic	Other	Egypt.	IE	AA
<i>ibr</i>	wing	<i>abru</i> <i>apru</i>	–	–	H <i>ʔbr(h)</i>	–	–	Cu <i>anbūr</i> <i>ambir</i>
<i>ūdn</i>	ear	<i>uznu</i>	–	<i>ʔudn</i> <i>ʔudn</i>	H <i>ʔzn</i> A <i>ʔdn</i>	<i>jdñ</i>	<i>ə-d</i>	Ch <i>'udunH</i>
<i>āmt</i>	elbow forearm	<i>ammatu</i>	–	OSA <i>ʔmt</i>	<i>ʔmh</i>	–	–	Ch <i>'ām-</i>
<i>ānš</i>	muscle	–	–	–	–	<i>jns.t</i>	Ht <i>anašša</i>	'-n-s
<i>āp</i>	nose muzzle beak	RS <i>appu</i> <i>appu</i>	–	<i>ʔanf</i>	<i>ʔ(n)p</i>	–	–	√*n-f
<i>ūrt</i>	vulva	<i>ūru</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–
<i>irt</i>	breast	RS <i>ir[atu]</i> <i>irtu iratu</i>	<i>ri-i-ú</i>	–	S <i>rʔʔ</i>	<i>-3.t</i>	–	Cu <i>arór</i> Ch <i>arwa</i> B *rV-
<i>ušbʕ</i>	finger claw	<i>išbittu</i>	–	<i>ʔišbaʕ</i> <i>ʔušbūʕ</i>	<i>ʔšbʕ</i> <i>šbʕʔ</i>	<i>dbʕ</i>	–	Om <i>zāb-a</i>
<i>išd</i>	leg	RS <i>iš-du₄</i> <i>išdu</i>	–	–	–	–	[ιστός]	–
<i>ušk</i>	testicle	<i>išku</i>	–	–	H <i>ʔšk</i> S <i>ʔškāʔ</i>	–	–	–
<i>ušr</i>	penis	<i>išaru</i> <i>(m)ušāru</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–

²⁸⁷ Abbreviations for table: A = Aramaic; AA = Afro-Asiatic; B = Berber; E = Ethiopic; EA = El Amarna Akkadian; (E)Cu = (East) Cushitic; G = Ge'ez; H = Hebrew; Ht = Hittite; IE = Indo-European; Lw = Luwian; M = Mehri; MSA = Modern South Arabian; Om = Omotic; Or = Oromo; OSA = Old South Arabic; P = Phoenician/Punic; Pm = Palmyrene; RS = Ras Shamra; S = Syriac; T = Tigrinya; (W)Ch = (West) Chadic. The composite terms (§4) have not been included in this table.

Ug.	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans				non-Semitic equivalent		
		(RS) Akk.	Emar	Arabic	Other	Egypt.	IE	AA
<i>ītl</i>	saliva	–	–	–	–	<i>jšš</i>	Ht <i>iššalli</i> σίαλον	–
<i>ātrt</i>	nape	–	–	–	–	<i>s3</i>		Kunama <i>sera</i>
<i>ʕn</i>	eye vulva	RS <i>enu</i> <i>īnu</i>	–	<i>ʕayn</i>	<i>ʕ(y)n</i>	–	[oʔ]	Om <i>'an</i>
<i>ʕpʕp</i>	eyelid	–	–	<i>ʕafā'</i>	<i>ʕpʕpym</i>	–	–	Om <i>āf/*āp</i>
<i>ʕq</i>	pupil	<i>uqqu</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–
<i>ʕqb</i>	heel	<i>eqbu</i>	–	<i>ʕaqib</i>	<i>ʕqb</i>	–	–	–
<i>ʕzm</i>	bone	<i>eʕemtu</i>	–	<i>ʕazam</i>	HP <i>ʕʕm</i>	–	–	WCh <i>*ʕyam</i>
<i>bmt</i>	back	<i>bām/ntu</i> <i>pānd/tu</i>	–	–	H <i>bmh</i>	–	–	–
<i>brk</i>	knee	<i>bi/urku</i> <i>purku</i> RS <i>birku</i>	<i>barku</i>	<i>baraka</i> <i>bārikat</i>	E <i>bærk</i> H <i>brk</i>	<i>p3g[?]</i>	–	–
<i>brlt</i>	throat	<i>mēriltu</i> <i>mēreštu</i>	–	<i>buraʔil</i> MSA <i>ʔāberét</i>	–	[<i>b3</i>]	–	–
<i>bšr</i>	flesh penis	–	–	<i>bašara</i> OSA <i>bšr</i>	H <i>bšr</i> P <i>bšr</i>	–	–	–
<i>bʕn</i>	belly	–	–	<i>baʕn</i>	H <i>bʕn</i>	–	–	B <i>buʕ-</i>
<i>bz</i>	udder	–	–	<i>bi/uzz</i>	Abz/ <i>bʕ</i>	<i>bz3</i> <i>bz3.t</i>	–	B <i>*bu3-</i>
<i>dīy</i>	wing	–	–	√ <i>daʔy</i>	S <i>dʔy</i>	–	–	WCh √ <i>*diyaH</i>
<i>dʕt</i>	sweat	(<i>i</i>) <i>zū(?)tu</i>	–	–	H <i>dʕt</i>	–	–	–

Ug.	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans				non-Semitic equivalent		
		(RS) Akk.	Emar	Arabic	Other	Egypt.	IE	AA
<i>dm</i>	blood	RS <i>damu</i> <i>dāmu</i> <i>adamatu</i>	–	<i>dam</i>	<i>dm</i>	–	–	<i>dam(m)</i>
<i>dmṣt</i>	tear	<i>dimtu</i>	–	<i>damṣ</i> <i>damṣat</i>	HA <i>dmṣh</i>	–	–	–
<i>dn</i>	potency	<i>dunnu</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–
<i>dqn</i>	beard	<i>ziqnu</i>	–	<i>daqan</i>	<i>zqn</i> <i>dqn?</i>	–	–	
	chin	<i>s/zuqtu</i>			S <i>znq</i>			Ch <i>ṣkn</i>
<i>drṣ</i> <i>ḍrṣ</i>	seed	<i>zēru</i>	<i>zirati</i>	–	<i>zrṣ</i> E <i>zar?</i>	–	–	–
<i>dtn</i>	fat	–	–	–	H <i>dšn</i> A <i>dšn?</i>	–	–	B <i>-dis-</i>
<i>ḍd</i> <i>ṭd</i> <i>zd</i>	breast teat	<i>zīzu</i>	<i>ṭady</i>	<i>ṭady</i> <i>ṭadan</i>	S <i>tdā?</i> H <i>šd</i> H <i>zīz</i>	–	[Lw <i>tūtan</i> Ht <i>tūta</i> τῆθός]	Ch <i>čid-</i>
<i>ḍnb(t)</i>	tail	<i>z/sibbatu</i> <i>z/simbatu</i>	–	<i>danab</i>	H <i>znb</i> A <i>ḍnb?</i>	<i>ḍb3</i>	–	Om <i>ṣi/uban-</i>
<i>ḍrṣ</i>	arm	EA <i>zuruḥ</i> NA <i>durā'u</i>	–	<i>dirāṣ</i>	H <i>zrṣ</i> A <i>ḍrṣ?</i>	–	–	–
<i>gb</i>	spine	–	–	–	HA <i>gb</i> S <i>gbb?</i>	–	–	<i>gab-</i> Cu <i>gaba</i>
<i>gbtt</i>	hump	<i>gapṣu</i> <i>gipṣu</i>	–	–	A <i>gbš</i> T <i>gābəs</i>	–	–	–
<i>gd</i>	sinew	<i>gīdu</i>	–	<i>ḡid</i>	H <i>gyd</i> S <i>gyd?</i>	–	–	<i>giHad-</i> <i>giyad-</i>
<i>ggn</i>	insides	–	–	–	–	<i>ggt</i>	–	–
<i>gngn</i>	innards	<i>gannu</i>	–	–	–	<i>ggn</i>	–	–
<i>gpr</i>	carcass	–	–	<i>ḡafīr</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>grgr</i>	throat	–	–	<i>ḡarḡara</i>	H <i>grgrt</i>	<i>*ḡḡd</i>	–	<i>*gur</i>
<i>ḡr</i>	skin hide	RS [<i>ū</i>] <i>ru</i> <i>aru</i>	–	–	H <i>ṣwr</i> P <i>ṣrt</i>	–	–	Ch <i>gar</i>

Ug.	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans				non-Semitic equivalent		
		(RS) Akk.	Emar	Arabic	Other	Egypt.	IE	AA
<i>ğšb</i>	fold swelling	<i>hibšu</i>	–	([?] a) <i>ğadf</i> <i>ğadbat</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>hlq</i>	thigh	<i>ilšu</i>	–	–	<i>hlq</i> <i>hlšym</i>	–	–	–
<i>hmt</i>	poison	<i>imtu</i>	–	<i>humat</i>	HA <i>h̄mh</i>	–	–	–
<i>hmt̄</i>	belly	<i>e/imšu</i> <i>e/inšu</i>	–	–	H <i>h̄mš</i> S <i>h̄mš</i> ²	<i>hms</i>	–	–
<i>hpn</i>	handful	<i>upnu</i>	–	–	<i>hpn</i>	<i>ḥfṣ</i>	<i>kófino</i>	–
<i>hr</i>	entrails	<i>erru</i>	–	–	[S <i>hrw</i>]	–	–	Ch <i>*χαr(wa)-</i>
<i>hrū</i>	faeces	–	–	<i>hur?</i>	H <i>hr?m</i> S <i>hry?</i>	<i>hrit</i>	–	–
<i>hrs/</i> <i>z̄p</i>	ankle	–	–	–	H <i>hrsbt</i>	–	–	–
<i>kbm</i>	entrails	<i>kippu</i> <i>kukkubātu</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–
<i>kbd</i>	liver innards entrails mind womb	RS <i>kabi[du]</i> <i>kaba/ittu</i> <i>kabtatu(m)</i> <i>g/kabīdu</i>	<i>kabidu</i>	<i>kabid</i>	H <i>kbd</i> S <i>kbd</i> ²	–	–	–
<i>klyt</i>	kidneys	<i>kalītu</i>	–	<i>kulyat</i>	H <i>klywt</i> S <i>kl̄t</i> ²	–	–	Ch <i>kulkul-</i>
<i>knp</i>	wing	RS <i>[kan]apu</i> <i>kappu</i>	–	<i>kanaf</i>	H <i>knp</i> S <i>knp</i> ²	–	–	Agaw <i>*kan(V)p-</i>
<i>kp</i>	palm	<i>kappu</i>	–	<i>kiffa</i> <i>kaffa</i>	HA <i>kp</i> S <i>kp</i> ²	<i>kp</i> <i>ka-pu</i>	[κάππα]	–
<i>krṣ</i>	knuckle	<i>kurītu</i>	–	<i>kurāṣ</i> <i>kāriṣ</i> OSA <i>krṣ</i>	HA <i>krṣ</i> S <i>krṣ</i> ²	–	–	–

Ug.	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans				non-Semitic equivalent		
		(RS) Akk.	Emar	Arabic	Other	Egypt.	IE	AA
<i>ksl</i>	back shoulder tendon	<i>ka/islū</i>	–	<i>kisl-</i>	H <i>ksl</i> A <i>kslyn</i> <i>ksl²</i>	–	–	–
<i>ktp</i>	shoulder (-blade)	<i>katappātu</i>	–	<i>kat(i)f</i> <i>kitf</i>	HA <i>ktp</i>	–	–	–
<i>lb</i>	heart entrails	<i>libbu</i>	–	<i>lubb</i> OSA <i>lbb</i>	<i>lb</i>	<i>jb < lb</i>	–	–
<i>lh</i>	cheek jaw	<i>lahū</i> RS <i>laham[u]</i>	–	<i>lahy</i>	<i>lhy</i>	–	–	–
<i>lšb</i>	brow	<i>balāšu</i>	–	–	SA <i>blt</i>	–	–	–
<i>lšn</i>	tongue	RS <i>lašanu</i> <i>lišānu</i>	–	<i>lisān</i>	H <i>lšwn</i> A <i>lšn</i>	<i>ns</i> Copt <i>les</i>	–	<i>lis-</i>
<i>mḥ</i>	marrow brains	<i>muḥḥu</i>	–	<i>muḥḥ</i>	HP <i>mḥ</i>	<i>jmzḥ</i>	–	*muQ- Cu <i>muga</i>
<i>mḥlpt</i>	plait	√ <i>ḥalāpu</i>	–	–	P <i>mḥlph</i>	–	–	–
<i>mmś</i>	gore	–	–	² <i>amśā²</i>	H <i>mśh</i>	<i>mśś</i>	–	–
<i>mnt</i>	member	<i>minītu</i>	–	–	–	<i>mn.t</i>	–	–
<i>mrrt</i>	bile gall	<i>martu</i> <i>mertu</i>	–	<i>mirrat</i> <i>marārat</i>	H <i>mrrh</i> S <i>mrt²</i>	–	–	–
<i>msg</i>	skin	<i>mašku</i> EA <i>maška</i>	–	–	<i>mšk</i>	<i>msq</i> <i>mskz</i>	–	–
<i>msrr</i>	entrails	<i>surru</i>	–	<i>masarrat</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>mtn</i>	tendon loin	<i>matnu</i>	–	<i>matn</i>	H <i>mtnym</i>	–	–	–
<i>mnt</i>	loin	<i>matnu</i>	–	<i>matn</i>	S <i>mnt²</i>	–	–	–
<i>npš</i>	throat offal	RS <i>napultu</i> <i>napiš(t)u</i>	–	<i>nafs</i>	<i>npš</i> <i>nbš</i>	–	–	B <i>nVfas</i> Ch <i>nufas</i>

Ug.	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans				non-Semitic equivalent		
		(RS) Akk.	Emar	Arabic	Other	Egypt.	IE	AA
<i>nšb</i>	haunch	–	–	–	P <i>šlb</i>	<i>šb</i>	–	* <i>šab</i>
<i>p</i>	mouth vulva	<i>pū(m)</i> <i>pā'um</i> <i>pūum</i>	–	<i>fam</i> (cstr <i>fu</i>)	H <i>ph</i> P <i>py</i> A <i>pm</i>	–	[<i>πει</i>]	–
<i>pid</i>	heart	–	–	<i>fuḏād</i>	–	–	–	<i>puḏad</i>
<i>pīt</i>	temple	RS <i>pī-itu₄</i> <i>pūtu</i> <i>pūtātu</i>	–	–	H <i>pḏh</i> S ' <i>pwt</i> '	–	–	–
<i>pšn</i>	foot	<i>pēm/nu</i>	–	–	<i>pšm</i>	–	–	* <i>p-š-m/n</i>
<i>pd</i>	lock	–	–	<i>fawd</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>pgr</i>	corpse	<i>pagru</i> <i>paggār</i>	<i>pugarātu</i>	–	<i>pgr</i>	* <i>bḏgy</i> [<i>*brgy</i>]	–	Ch <i>gírúvú</i>
<i>pnm</i>	face	<i>pānu</i>	–	–	H <i>pnym</i> P <i>pnm</i>	–	–	<i>pVn-</i>
<i>pnt</i>	joint	–	–	–	H <i>pnh</i> S <i>pannā</i>	–	–	–
<i>pslt</i>	plait	(<i>pasālu</i>)	–	–	S <i>pšyl</i> <i>ptl</i>	–	–	–
<i>qdqd</i>	skull	<i>qaqqadu</i> <i>kaqqaddu</i>	–	<i>muqadd</i>	H <i>qdqd</i> A <i>qwqad²</i>	–	–	Ch * <i>k-d</i> <i>géd</i>
<i>qmm</i>	maw	–	–	<i>qummat</i>	–	–	–	–
<i>qq</i>	throat	–	–	–	A <i>qq²</i>	[<i>ḥḥ</i> ?]	–	CuOm * <i>k'ok'</i>
<i>qrb</i>	vulva	<i>qerbu</i>	–	–	<i>qrb</i>	<i>q3b</i>	–	–
<i>qrn</i>	horn	<i>qarnu</i>	–	<i>qarn</i>	S <i>qrn²</i> HP <i>qrn</i>	<i>kr.tj</i>	κέρας Ht <i>karāwar</i>	–
<i>qšr</i>	anklebone	<i>kišallu</i>	–	–	T <i>karso</i> M <i>ḫəršá</i>	–	–	–
<i>rīš</i>	head	<i>rēšu</i> <i>rāšu</i>	–	<i>raḏs</i>	<i>rḏš</i>	<i>ḏjs</i> < * <i>rjs</i>	[<i>ῥω</i>]	–

Ug.	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans				non-Semitic equivalent		
		(RS) Akk.	Emar	Arabic	Other	Egypt.	IE	AA
<i>rḥ</i>	breath	–	–	<i>rūḥrīḥ</i>	<i>rḥ</i>	–	–	–
<i>rḥm</i>	womb	<i>rēmu</i> <i>rīmu</i> <i>rēmtu</i>	–	<i>raḥim</i> <i>riḥm</i>	H <i>rḥm</i> S <i>rḥm</i> ²	–	–	Ch *riHim Or <i>riimaa</i> Cu *rim
<i>rḥt</i>	palm	<i>rittu</i>	–	<i>rāḥat</i>	–	<i>jḥ.tj</i> <i>ḫḥ.tj</i>	–	Ch <i>ra/ri</i>
<i>rqt</i>	temple	<i>raqqatu</i>	–	–	H <i>rqh</i>	–	–	–
<i>ṣlṣ</i>	rib	<i>ṣē/īlu</i> <i>še/illu</i>	–	<i>ḍilṣ</i> <i>ḍalṣ</i>	H <i>ṣlṣ</i> A <i>ṣ/ṣlṣ</i>	<i>ḍilaṣatu</i>	σελίς	–
<i>šir</i>	flesh	<i>šī/ēru</i> RS <i>šīru</i>	–	–	<i>šṛr</i> S <i>tṛrh</i>	–	–	–
<i>šsr</i>	hair fleece	<i>šu''ru</i> <i>šuhḥurum</i>	–	<i>šašr</i> <i>šašar</i>	H <i>šsr</i> S <i>sšr</i> ²	–	–	Ch <i>čaHar</i>
<i>ššrt</i>	wool hair	RS <i>šāḥartu</i> <i>šārtu</i> <i>šāḥratu</i>	–	–	A <i>ššrh</i>	<i>ša^crata</i>	–	–
<i>šbr</i>	buttocks	<i>šuburru</i>	–	<i>šabr-</i> <i>šibr-</i>	T <i>šəbər</i>	–	–	–
<i>šbt</i>	grey hair	<i>šibtu</i>	–	<i>šaybat</i>	H <i>šbh</i> E <i>šibat</i>	–	–	–
<i>šmāl</i>	left hand/side	<i>šumē/īlu</i>	<i>šamāl</i> <i>šimāl</i>	<i>šimāl</i>	H <i>šmḏwl</i> Pm <i>šml</i> ²	<i>smḥ</i> <i>šumēlu</i>	–	B <i>azəlmaḍ</i>
<i>šmt</i>	fat	<i>šēmētu</i>	–	<i>siman</i>	–	<i>smj</i>	–	–
<i>šn</i>	tooth	<i>šinnu</i>	–	<i>sinn</i>	H <i>šn</i> A <i>šn</i> ²	<i>šn.wt</i>	[σίγμα]	B <i>e.sin</i>
<i>špr</i>	horn	[<i>s/šappāru</i>]	–	–	H <i>špr</i>	–	–	–
<i>špt</i>	lip labia	<i>šaptu</i>	–	<i>šafat</i>	H <i>šph</i> S <i>spt</i> ²	<i>sp.t</i> <i>šp.t</i>	–	Cu <i>šuf-</i>
<i>šq</i>	thigh	<i>sāqu</i> <i>sīqu</i>	–	<i>sāq</i>	H <i>šwq</i> S <i>šq</i> ²	<i>sbq</i>	–	Ch <i>saḫu</i>

Ug.	meaning	Semitic cognates/loans				non-Semitic equivalent		
		(RS) Akk.	Emar	Arabic	Other	Egypt.	IE	AA
<i>šr</i>	navel	–	–	<i>surr</i> <i>surrat</i>	H <i>šr</i> A <i>šwr</i>	–	–	*sur-
<i>ššrt</i>	gizzard	<i>šisurru</i> <i>šerše(r)u</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–
<i>št</i>	foot	<i>išdu</i>	–	–	H <i>št</i> Ph <i>ʔšt</i>	–	–	–
<i>tlʕ</i>	thorax	<i>tulû</i>	–	<i>talīʕ</i>	E <i>tallāʕ</i>	–	–	–
<i>tmn</i>	frame	<i>temmēnu</i>	–	–	H <i>tmnh</i>	–	–	–
<i>tmnt</i>	frame	<i>temmēnu</i>	–	<i>munna</i>	H <i>tmnh</i>	–	–	–
<i>ṭhl</i>	spleen	<i>ṭulīmu</i>	–	<i>ṭihāl</i>	S <i>ṭhlʔ</i> <i>ṭḥwl</i>	–	–	Ch <i>tyaHal</i>
<i>ṭmṭ</i>	menses	–	–	<i>ṭamṭ</i>	[<i>ṭmš</i>]	–	–	–
<i>ṭkm</i>	shoulder	–	–	–	H <i>škm</i> A <i>tkmh</i>	–	–	*čakam
<i>ṭnt</i>	urine	<i>šīnātu</i>	–	<i>maṭana</i>	S <i>tynʔ</i> H <i>šyn</i>	<i>msjn.t</i>	–	ECu *sind
<i>yd</i>	hand paw penis	<i>idu</i>	–	<i>yad</i> OSA <i>yd</i>	HP <i>yd</i>	<i>yōd</i>	[iō̄ta]	–
<i>ymn</i>	right penis	<i>imnu</i>	–	<i>yamīn</i>	<i>ym(y)n</i>	<i>jmn</i> <i>wmm.j</i>	–	–
<i>yrk</i>	flank	<i>warkatu</i> <i>urkatu</i>	–	<i>warik</i> <i>wa/irk</i>	H <i>yrk</i>	–	–	–
<i>zû</i>	ooze	<i>zû</i>	–	–	H <i>šʔh</i> G <i>šiʔat</i>	–	–	–
<i>zr</i>	back	<i>šēru</i> EA <i>šuʔru</i>	–	<i>zahr</i>	(H <i>šhr</i>)	<i>ḏrw(w)</i>	–	–

6. Distribution

Most of the occurrences are in the literary, mythological and religious texts. Not unexpectedly, besides KTU 1.13, an incantation against infertility, there is a concentration of terms for parts of the body in the šumma izbu text KTU 1.103+1.145²⁸⁸: *údn, úškm, úšr, áp, átrt, řn, dr̄, hr, hr ápm, kbm, krř, lb, lřb, lřn, p, [p]ít, přn, pn, qrb, qrn řir, qřr [řmál], [ř]br, řpth thyt, řq, řr, řhl* and *yd*, twenty-seven in all. Otherwise, the distribution is as follows: only in the economic texts: *hpn, msg, řlř*; in the literary and economic texts: *bmt, nřb, řřrt*; in the literary texts and the letters: *údn, dr̄, dr̄, p*; in the religious texts and on labels: *pgr, ymn*, and in all genres: *lb, přn, pnm* and *yd*.

7. Conclusions

Names for parts of the body are not usually loanwords. In fact, the general direction of borrowing is *from* Semitic. For example, both *yd* and *kp* are well-established Semitic terms borrowed by Egyptian and, indirectly, by Greek. Exceptions may be as follows: *úrt, dn, mhr* and *řřrt* from Akkadian, *ánř* and *ítl* from Hittite and *úřbř, ggn, hms* and *ymn* from Egyptian. In other words, most of the anatomical terms in Ugaritic are inherited.

Although there is considerable variation in spellings in many of the Akkadian equivalents²⁸⁹, this is generally not the case in Ugaritic. There are three forms of the word for “breast” (*đđ, td, zd*) and two for both “seed” (*drř* and *đrř*) and “ankle” (*hrřp* and *hrzp*), while four words have an optional final *-t*: “tail” (*đnb* and *đnbt*), “loin” (*mtn* and *mtnt*), “hair” (*řřr* and *řřrt*) and “bodily frame” (*tmnandtmnt*).

Besides those listed in §2.1, several words are of uncertain etymology, including *átrt, řq, brlt, řlq, hrřp, hrzp, lřb, msrr, nřb, qmm* and *rqt*.

Most surprisingly, and unusually for Semitic, there are over a dozen composite terms in Ugaritic (§4)²⁹⁰, one of which (*ánpnm*) may even be a composite noun²⁹¹, and they merit further study.

²⁸⁸ See Del Olmo Lete 2014a: 299–303.

²⁸⁹ What appear to be variant roots are probably due to compatibility rules; see SED I p. 127.

²⁹⁰ Examples in Akkadian are *appi išari*, “glans penis” (CDA, 133); *erru gamertum*, “rectum” (CDA, 301) and *iřid kappi*, “base of hand” (CDA, 147), in Aramaic *bēhadyā*², “bosom, chest” (DJBA, 212), *bny gww*, “intestines” (DJPA, 98) and *bny mřyn*, “intestines” (DJPA, 99), and one example in Egyptian is *wy-n irt*, “eyelids” (Andreu – Cauville 1977: 6; DLE I, 57).

²⁹¹ Other examples in Semitic: Akk. *eřemřēru(m), eřenřēru(m)*, “backbone” < **eřmu*, “bone” + *řēru*, “back” (cf. SED I p. 254); Aram. *kprgl*, “sole of the foot” (TAD B8.4 R.5, B8.6 R.10).

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Abbreviations

- AEL E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vols 1–8 (London 1863–1893).
- AHw W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, vols I–III (Wiesbaden 1965–1981).
- ARTU J.C. de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit* (Nisaba; Leiden 1987).
- BGH T. Richter, *Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen* (Wiesbaden 2012).
- BWL W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford 1960).
- CAD I.J. Gelb *et al.*, eds, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, vols 1–21 (Chicago 1956–2010).
- CDA J. Black – A. George – N. Postgate, eds., *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (SANTAG Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde 5; Wiesbaden 2000²).
- CDG W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Wiesbaden 1987).
- CML G.R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Old Testament Studies 3; Edinburgh 1956).
- CSL R.S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages* (Missoula 1978).
- DELG P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots* (Paris 1968).
- DJBA M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic* (Ramat Gan–Baltimore 2002).
- DJPA M. Sokoloff, *Dictionary of the Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan – Baltimore 1990).
- DLE L.H. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 2 vols (Providence 2002).
- DMWA H. Wehr – A. Cowan, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Wiesbaden 1971).
- DNWSI J. Hoftijzer – K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, 2 vols (HdO I/21; Leiden 1995).
- DOSA J.C. Biella, *A Dictionary of Old South Arabic. Sabaean Dialect* (HSS 25; Chico 1982).
- DTT M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli*, vols I–II (New York 1950).
- DUL G. del Olmo Lete – J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (English Version Edited and Translated by W.G.E. Watson), 2 vols (Leiden 2015³).
- EDE G. Takács, *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, vols I–III (Leiden 1999, 2001, 2008).
- EDG R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 2 vols (Leiden 2010).
- EDHIL A. Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Inherited Hittite Lexicon* (Leiden 2008).
- FCD R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford 1962).
- GLH E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (Paris 1980).
- GHWb R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch: die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800–950 v.Chr.)* (Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 64; Mainz 1995).

- HALOT L. Koehler – W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (translated and edited under the supervision of M.E.J. Richardson), vols I–V (Leiden 1994–2000).
- HEG J. Tischler, *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar* (Innsbruck 1984–).
- HL T.M. Johnstone, *Harsūsi Lexicon* (London 1977).
- HSED V.E. Orel – O.V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Materials for a Reconstruction* (HdO I/18; Leiden 1995).
- GHwb R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch: die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800–950 v.Chr.)* (Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 64; Mainz 1995).
- IMC G. del Olmo Lete, *Interpretación de la mitología cananea. Estudios de semántica ugarítica* (Fuentes de la Ciencia bíblica 2; Valencia 1984).
- JL T.M. Johnstone, *Jibbāli Lexicon* (London 1981).
- KTU M. Dietrich – O. Loretz – J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places* (AOAT 360/1; Münster 2013³).
- LS C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Edinburgh–Berlin 1895).
- LSU W.G.E. Watson, *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic* (AuOrSupplementa 19; Sabadell 2007).
- LSJ H.G. Liddell – R. Scott – H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford 1996).
- MLC G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaán según la tradición de Ugarit* (Valencia–Madrid 1981).
- MU M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, *Mantik in Ugarit. Keilalphabetische Texte der Opferschau – Omensammlungen – Nekromantie* (ALASP 3; Münster 1990).
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- RTU N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*. (London 2002²).
- SED I A. Militarev – L. Kogan, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Vol. I. Anatomy of Man and Animals* (AOAT 278/1; Münster 2000).
- SED II Militarev – L. Kogan, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Vol. II. Animal Names* (AOAT 278/2; Münster 2005).
- SL C. Brockelmann – M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon* (Winona Lake–Piscataway 2009).
- SWET J. E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton 1994).
- TAD B. Porten – A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (Winona Lake 1986–).
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- TOu 2 A. Caquot – J.-M. de Tarragon – J.-L. Cunchillos, *Textes ougaritiques Tome II: Textes religieux et rituels; Correspondance* (LAPO 14; Paris 1989).
- UG J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik: Zweite, stark überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage* (AOAT 273; Münster 2012).
- UT C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (AnOr 38, Rome 1965; revised reprint 1998).
- UVST J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (HSS 32; Atlanta 1987).
- Wb A. Erman – H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, vols 1–13 (Berlin–Leipzig 1926–1963).
- WUS J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (Berlin 1974⁴).