

Dravidian and Altaic parts of the body

J. Vacek, Charles
(University, Prague)

1. Breast

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The question of Dravidian and Altaic relationship has been the subject of my research for the last almost thirty years. Some aspects of interpretation of this 'long-range' relationship were also discussed by K. V. Zvelebil (1990, 1991, both with further references). The lexical parallels include most of the word classes (except pronouns and numerals). Very conspicuous are the parallels in verbs and nouns relating to the basic vocabulary, among them kinship terms (Vacek, Lubsangdorji 1994), animals (Vacek 2002c, 2004a), fire/heat etc. (Vacek 2001a,b), possibly some plants.

Some parts of the body were occasionally mentioned in my earlier work, e.g. Ta. *kāl* leg etc., Mo. *kōl* leg.¹ There are some more lexemes of this type and the 'breast' appears to be represented in several forms, while the meaning may oscillate from 'breast proper' to its 'product' (milk) or to a broader 'area' of the front of the body (touching also upon the 'neck' and 'shoulder'). Formally the 'sound correspondences' follow the scale of the 'models' defined in my earlier work, particularly the monograph on 'water' (Vacek 2002a). Some of the lexemes summed up below were referred to in my earlier papers.

1.

Ta. <i>koṛikai</i>	woman's breast, protuberance of a tree	
Ma. <i>koṛika</i>	woman's breast	
<i>koṛikacci, koṛikicci</i>	woman with full breasts	
Kui <i>kanguṛi</i>	nipple, teat	(DEDR 2038) ²
Te. <i>kaurigili</i>	breast, bosom	(s.v. Ta. <i>kamukkkatṭu</i> armpit, DEDR 1234)

¹ This word was already mentioned by R. Caldwell (Caldwell 1913(3), p. 617). Cf. also Vacek 2004c, p. 387, note 6. The 'body' was also a subject of an etymological study by T. Burrow (1943-6, repr. 1968) comparing Dravidian and Uralian.

² Cf. Vacek 2002a, 244, note 207.

Mo. *kökü(n)*, *köke(n)* 2. female breast, nipples; udder
kökü- to suck the breast
keküdeg, *keküreğ* chest, breast, thorax; front part or forequarter of a carcass

Kh. *xenxdeg* the front of the chest, the ventral side of the thorax
xenxreg skeletal ribs; thorax, chest
xenxerceğ thorax³

MT. *KEĐTIRE* breast (Evenk., Sol., Even., Ud., Nan.) (MTD I,451)
Ma. *kengeri* breastbone (of animals, birds)

škō(n-) breast (female), milk (from breast) (s.v. *UKU-* MTD II,254-5)

Besides Oroč. *oko(n-)* there are forms like:

Olcha *kue(n-)*, Orok. *škō(n-)*,
škū(n-), Ud. *koc'o*⁴ breast (female), milk (from breast)

OT. *KÖKŪS*, *KÖKŪZ* I breast (OTD š.vv.)
QON II, *QOJ* II, *QOJĪN* II bosom, lap; breast (OTD s.vv.)
kögüz (*gögöz*) chest, breast (Cl. 714)
?köñül heart (Cl. 731 also 'mind')
**ko:ñ* 2 'bosom' and the like (Cl. 631)

**kōñ* (*koj*, *kojun*, etc.) Busen (Räs. 280a)

Chuv. *KĀKĀR* breast, chest; bosom (Egorov 98, plus further Turkic languages)
kəəGəər Brust (Paas. 67)
χü, *χüm*, *χəv-*, *χüñ*, *χiv* bosom (Räs. 280a s.v. **kōñ*)⁵

For an almost exhaustive account of the Altaic words (not including the forms with medial -*ng-*) see V. D. Kolesnikova (1972, 'breast' on pp. 78–84).⁶

Further cf.

Alt. **kekŋV* breast, chest, ribs (Starostin et alia, 2003, 658)⁷
**kōök'e*⁸ breast, to suck; heart (Starostin et alia, 2003, 713)

³ G. Hangin etc., *A Modern Mongolian-English Dictionary*. Indiana 1986, s.vv.; similarly the words are found in Ja. Ceval, *Mongol helnij tovč tailbar tol'*. Ulaanbaatar 1966, s.vv.

⁴ These forms may seem to represent a loss of the initial vowel. Kolesnikova (1972, 81) reconstructs this form with an initial **k-* for MT. As for the Ud. form with a medial affricate, it may be connected with OT. medial -*y-* form mentioned below.

⁵ In fact here Chuvash seems to have preserved a medial labial, which should properly be expected for the Turkic form. Cf. also Middle Turkic *kömlürük* Brustriemen; etc. also borrowed into Mongolian (Räs.289b).

⁶ Kolesnikova connects Jap. *kōkōrō* 'heart' with this etymon (it is conspicuously similar to the Chuvash lexeme; cf. also Vacek 2002a, 244, note 207). Cincius (1984, p. 106-7) reconstructs **k'ōke-* to suck the breast (with examples from MT., Mongolian, Turkic and also Korean).

⁷ This etymon includes only the forms with front vowels in MT. (**keŋ-tire*), Mo. (**kengir*) and further PTurk. **gEgrek* lower soft ribs (but not the other Turkic forms). The other forms are included into the following etymon.

⁸ *ōō* represents one *o* with a combination of the two diacritics as spelled by Starostin et alia.

2.

Ta. <i>cēkku</i>	breast milk
<i>cēkkai</i>	woman's breast
Ka. <i>cēpu</i>	gush or spurt as of milk
Koḍ. <i>ce:pu</i>	(milk) to secrete
Te. <i>cēpu, cēpu</i>	the breasts to become full with milk, the milk to be secreted, flow, rush or spring forth; let the milk flow; the becoming full with milk (of breasts), the secretion or flowing forth of milk.
Ga. <i>sēmpap-</i>	to become ready to be milked (DEDR 2803)
? Ta. <i>cekil</i>	upper part of the shoulders
(Ka. <i>tegal</i>)	shoulder
Kui. <i>sukoḥi, sukoli</i>	shoulder-blade

(s.v. Ta. *cuval* nape of the neck, upper part of the neck, back, mane; DEDR 2696)⁹

The last item is semantically different, but we can observe some such variation of meaning 'around one particular area of the body' with some of the phonetically close lexemes. Therefore this item is question-marked here (similarly cf. below Mo. *seger; segūzi(n)* in this paragraph,¹⁰ and further also No. 3). This is an interesting a problem of semantic 'fuzziness', which will evidently have to be dealt with separately.

Nk. <i>ciparta dokka</i>	rib	
(Kui <i>ḍaki</i>)	breastbone, chest)	
Kuwi <i>hīpa-ḍaki, sīpa-ḍaki</i>	chest	(DEDR 2976, s.v. Ka. <i>ḍokke</i> the body) ¹¹
Nk. <i>ciparta ḍokka</i>	rib bone	
Go. <i>cipaṭa</i>	rib	(DEDR 2532)
Go. <i>sīpī</i>	the part over the liver	
<i>sīpi</i>	upper belly	
Kuwi <i>hīpa-ḍaki, sīpa-ḍaki</i>	chest	(DEDR 2620)
Kol. <i>sakkā</i>	breast	
<i>sakk</i>	chest	

(question-marked s.v. Go. *harva* udder; Kui *jrāmbu, srāṅgu* breast; DEDR 2364b; see No. 4 below)

⁹ Burrow (1968, p. 85-6, No. 24) refers Ta. *cekil*, Ka. *tegal* to Fi. *sākā* shoulder-blade. He (1968, p. 85, No. 23) further refers Ta. *cuval* to Fi. *sepale, sepalus* Halskragen, Vog. *sip, šip* Hals, *sipīli* umarmen, etc.

¹⁰ See note 13 below.

¹¹ For Kui *ḍaki*, cf. No. 3 below.

Further cf.

Ta. *cācci* mother's milk (nursery)
Ka. *cācci, tācci* a childish word for the female breast
Te. *cāci* woman's breast (DEDR 2436)

Mo. *cegezi(n), cigezi(n)* upper front part of body, chest, breast, bosom¹²
cige(n), cege(n) 2. mare's milk, kumiss
sögel Warze (Räs. 429ab s.v. *sögäl, söbäl*, see further below)
?seger a. spine, backbone, spinal column; a vertebra, nape of neck
?següzi(n) pelvic bone, pelvis; hip, upper part of the thigh bone; side of the body¹³
saya- to milk

MT. *HIKEN* breast (MTD II,323)
Evenk. *hiken, iken, hikēn* 1. breast (of man); 2. rib cage; 3. breastbone
Even. *hiken* 1. breast (of bird); 2. breastbone (of birds)

ČEŽEN breast (MTD II,419)¹⁴

Ma. id.
čekžexun, čekčexun broad-chested

ČAŠXAN kumiss (Ma. < Mo. *čige(n)*) (MTD II,378)

?SAGA collar, neckband (Evenk. < Yak. *saya*; MTD II,52)

OT. *sağ-/sav-* to milk (an animal) (Cl.804)
sögäl, söbäl Warze (Räs. 429ab)
?çigin the upper part of the shoulder between the neck and the shoulder-blade
(perhaps etymologically the same word [as *cigin/çikin* 'a knot'] in the
sense of 'the part which ties the neck to the shoulder-blade' (Cl.415)

Chuv. *šəBən* warze (Paas. 148)
ŠĚPĚN, ŠĚVĚN wart (Egorov 337-8)

Dolg. *čobču* Brustwarze (Stachowski 71)

¹² Cf. Kh. *ceež* id., which may be compared with Ta. *cācci*, Te. *cāci* above.

¹³ A similarly broad semantic variation may be observed in DEDR 2339 (while the formal variation of medial labial for the medial velar is an acceptable phonetic parallel as defined on several occasions, cf. e.g. Vacek 2002a, 158): Ta. *cappai* hips, haunch, shoulder blade; *ceppu* hip; *appu* thigh. Ka. *cappe* the hip bone; (UNR) *jabbe* the outer side of the thigh. Te. *jabba*-shoulder, outer side of the thigh. Pa. (S.) *jabba* shoulder. Go. (Ko.) *jaba*, in: *aḡa jaba* shoulder. Konča *zeba* id.; further cf. MT. *SAMAK* mons Veneris (Evenk. < Yak) etc. MTD II,59.

¹⁴ Could this particular form in Manchu be a borrowing from Mongolian? The MTD does not consider this possibility.

Cf. also

FU *čiklä* Warze (Rédei 36)

* The forms with an initial sibilant or palatal affricate are to be compared with the forms with initial dental (Ka. *tegale* chest, etc. No. 3 below). These two forms could probably go back to the same original form. We can hypothesize that the original form (could the original phonemes have been the dental?) split in an early development and then the two divergent forms were mixed in the same group of languages in the context of dialectal mixture.

Further cf.

Alt. *č'äčjžV¹⁵ breast (Starostin et alia, 2003, 409)¹⁶

3.

Ka. *tegale* chest
Tu. *tigalè* breast, chest (DEDR 3205)

Ka. *tegal* shoulder
(Kui *sukoŋi*, *sukoli* shoulder-blade)

(s.v. Ta. *cuval* nape of the neck, upper part of the neck, back, mane; DEDR 2696)¹⁷

But: Kui *čaki* breastbone, chest (DEDR 2976, s.v. Ka. *čokke* the body)¹⁸

MT. *TIDEN* breast (MTD II,184)

Evenk. *id.*, *tiyen*,
tiŋan, *tiŋon*, *tiŋesi*
tiŋeptun breast, breastbone (of an animal)
1. girth (of the deer's saddle)
Sol. *tiŋe*¹⁹ breast
Neg. *tiŋen* breast, breastbone (of man and animal)
Oroch. *tiŋe(n)* id.
Ud. *tiŋe(n)* breast, breastbone
Orok. *tiŋe(n)* 1. breast; 2. brisket; 3. breastbone
Nan. *tunŋe*, *tiŋe* breast; bosom
Ma. *tunŋen* breast, lower part of chest

¹⁵ *ää* represents one *a* with a combination of the two diacritics as spelled by Starostin et alia.

¹⁶ Including forms with initial dental and reduplicated first syllable in Turkic and Japanese. For a similar (Lallwort?) variation cf. above Ka. *vācci*, *tācci* (DEDR 2436).

¹⁷ A similar case of a formally related lexeme, though semantically referring to the 'broad area' of the upper body (cf. note 13 above) is DEDR 2979: Kol. (SR. Kin.) *čogor* (Kin. pl. *čogorčl*) back. Go. (Mu.) *čogor peŋeka* backbone. ? Kui *čōkoli* rear part of the cranium, base of the skull. The initial cerebral stop in Dravidian can be a case of spontaneous cerebralization as it is the case of the following Kui word (further cf. Vacek 2002a, 282).

¹⁸ See No. 2 above, note 11.

¹⁹ *e* represents a nasalized *e*.

For this etymon there does not seem to be any matching item to be found in Starostin et alia (2003). However, this etymon may be a close link of the preceding etymon with initial palatal affricate or sibilant (No. 2) and may in fact be a more archaic form of the same.

4.

Ta. *ceruttal* udder

Má. *cerumal, cerannal, curannal, corunnal*

(cf. 2883 Ta. *cōr-*) id.

Ko. *kecl* id.

To. *keṭs* id.

Tu. *keñjelu, kerndelu* id.

Kor. *kencili* id.

(DEDR 1962)²⁰

Go. *harva* udder

Kui *jrāmbu, srāṅgu, srāṅgu* breast

Kuwi *rāṅgu, rāṅgū, rāṅgu* id.

(DEDR 2364a; for the respective Kolami word cf. No. 2 above)

Mo. *kerseng* breast (of animal), brisket

MT. *KERSU* brisket (of sheep) (Ma. < Mo.) (MTD I,453)²¹

To conclude this short list, we can say that the 'models' of phonetic correspondences established in my earlier work²² were also found in the etyma listed above. There seems to be a continuum of vocalic representation from front to back vowels, though not represented equally in all the languages. As for consonants, there is a variation of the liquids and an alternative representation of intervocalic velars and labials in the individual language groups (including variation with the

²⁰ The South Dravidian (Tamil, Malayalam) forms have an initial *c-* which is a regular correspondence of *k-* before front vowels (cf. e.g. Zvelebil 1970, 117–118).

²¹ This group of lexemes does not seem to be represented in Starostin et alia (2003), unless there is some overlapping in one set of the meanings with the etymon Alt. **kéra* belly; body, ribs (ibid. p. 669). The meanings 'belly, body' of this latter etymon, however, could be possibly further connected with:

Mo. *xarbing* the fat on the abdomen of an animal; big belly

OT. *karin* belly, abdomen (Cl. 661; recorded in Starostin, ibid.); *kazi*: the fat on a horse's belly (Cl. 681);

and two different Dravidian etyma:

Ma. *karaḷ, karuḷ* lungs and heart, liver, bowels; heart, mind; *kariḷ*/heart (etc. Ko., To., Ka., Koḷ., Tu. in DEDR 1274)

and on the other hand

Ta. *koṟu* fat, flourishing, prosperous; n. fat; Ka. *korvu, korbu, kobbu* to grow fat, thick, stout; n. fat, fatness;

Kol. *koru* fat (n.), etc. (Ma., Ko., To., Tu., Te., etc. in DEDR 2146).

This step-by-step process of extension of the meanings and overlapping with formally close etyma is probably a typical feature of these relations and makes the work with such etyma rather complicated and the results may appear to be 'fuzzy'. More on this problem cf. Vacek 2002a (p. 158ff.).

²² See the list of the author's bibliography for the last four years with further references to be found there. A summary of the principle concepts and methods is to be found in Vacek 2004c.

homorganic nasal-stop combination or just the respective nasal). A special case may be the initial dental stops, which are probably related to the initial affricates/sibilants etc. (Nos. 2 and 3).

Like in the previously analyzed etyma, there is also semantic variation. Some semantic extensions are relatively close, e.g. breast – breast milk. But some of the ‘extensions’ concern a broader area of the upper body, e.g. shoulder, waist etc. We have also noted that the front and back part of the upper body may be designated by formally very close lexemes (e.g. in No. 3). This aspect will require a closer analysis in future. I can find no satisfactory explanation for this ‘fuzziness’, unless it is the general context of *an early linguistic area* in which an uncontrolled *contact of languages* and dialects took place. The same explanation could possibly account for the fact that the ‘breast area’ of the body is represented by a relatively great number of formally different lexemes.²³ We could propose a hypothesis that the lexicon of these languages (as documented e.g. by the above etyma) drew upon at least two different language groups (families?), which were not necessarily related (cf. e.g. the fact that Finno-Ugrian seems to have one of the forms represented in its lexicon, viz. No. 2). At the same time, however, there might have been a mixture of related dialects, which had previously undergone a divergent development (e.g. dentals and affricates/sibilants in Nos. 2 and 3). This is also the reason why it is very difficult if not impossible to reconstruct these etyma with any degree of reliability.

²³ Starostin et alia (2003) list some more lexemes referring to the ‘breast’ (pp. 513, 928, 1106, 1170, 1456).

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