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MAPPING INDO- EUROPEAN ANATOMICAL TERMINOLOGY II: LATVIAN *GAĻA* ‘MEAT’

Indoeuropiečių anatomijos terminijos
kartografavimas II: latvių *gaļa* ‘mėsa’

ANNOTATION

The present contribution analyzes Latvian *gaļa* ‘meat, flesh’ from the point of view of the Indo-European anatomical terminology and identifies its cognates in Old Irish *gaile* ‘stomach’, ‘Para- Phrygian’ γάλλια ‘intestines’ with the same suffixal derivation in **-iō-*/**-iēH₂-*, and further with Ancient Macedonian γόλα ‘intestines’, Greek χολάδες ‘entrails, guts’, and Slavic **želǫdъkъ* / **želǫdъ(cb)* ‘stomach’, all derivable from the *aniŭ*-root **g^hel-* or its apophonic variants. Insular Celtic **eχs-glasso-/ā-* ‘stomach’, if derivable from **eǵ^hs-(ǵ^h)l̥(H)-stH₂o-* ‘standing out of **(ǵ^h)l̥(H)-*’, implies that **(ǵ^h)l̥(H)-* should belong to a different internal organ, probably ‘gall, bile’, whose designation derivable from the root **ǵ^helH₃-* ‘green, yellow’ is attested in several Indo-European branches. The alternative, if γάλλια ‘intestines’ is of Greek origin, is also discussed.

KEYWORDS: Latvian, Indo-European, anatomical terminology, word formation, etymology.

ANOTACIJA

Straipsnyje indoeuropiečių anatomijos terminijos požiūriu analizuojama latvių *gaļa* ‘mėsa’ ir nustatomi giminiški atitikmenys kitose kalbose: sen. airių *gaile* ‘skrandis’, ‘parafrigų’ γάλλια ‘žarnos’ su priesaga **-iō-/***-iēH₂-*, toliau siejama su sen. makedonų γόλα ‘žarnynas’,

graikų *χολάδες* ‘viduriai, žarnos’ ir slavų **želǫdbkvb / *želǫdb(cb)* ‘skrandis’ – visi atitikmenys kildinami iš *aniť-* šaknies **g^hel-* arba jos apofoninių variantų. Salų keltų **eχs-glasso-/ā-* ‘skrandis’, jei kildinamas iš **eǵ^hs-(ǵ^(h))l(H)-stH₂o-* ‘išsiskiriantis iš **(ǵ^(h))l(H)-*’, implikuoja, kad **(ǵ^(h))l(H)-* turėtų priklausyti kitam vidaus organui, galbūt ‘tulžiai’, kurios pavadinimas kildinamas iš šaknies **ǵ^helH₃-* ‘žalia, geltona’ ir yra paliudytas keliose indoeuropiečių kalbų grupėse. Aptariama ir alternatyva, jei *γάλλια* ‘žarnos’ laikomas graikiškos kilmės.

ESMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: latvių, indoeuropiečių, anatomijos terminija, žodžių daryba, etimologija.

1. ATTESTATION

Latvian *gaļa* f. ‘Fleisch (zum Essen bestimmt)’, i.e. ‘meat, flesh (for food)’, with such derivatives as the diminutive *gaļīte*, adjectives *gaļaiņš*, *gaļīgs* ‘fleischig’, *gaļuots* ‘fleischig, mollig, fett’, and the compound *gaļēdis* ‘Fleischfresser’ (ME I 598; EH I 381–82), stand isolated within Baltic, perhaps with exception of ‘Narewian’ *fala*, glossed by Polish *mięso* ‘meat, flesh’, if the emendation **gaļa* is adequate (cf. Zinkevičius 1984: 12).

2. EXISTING ETYMOLOGIES

To date, the following etymological attempts have been formulated (in chronological order):

2.1. Sommer (apud ME I 598) thought (with a question mark) about some connection with Slavic **golb* ‘bare’, proposing the metaphor ‘naked (meat)’ = ‘raw (meat)’. In Baltic, forms related to Slavic **golb* ‘bare’ can be identified in Lithuanian *gáldyti, gáldau, gáldžiau* dial. ‘to wipe, rub, scrub’, *nugáldyti* ‘wipe down, clean’, Latvian *galdīt* ‘to peel’, representing an intensive verb in *-dyti* from the lost verb **galyti* ‘to skin, peel’ (Smoczyński 2018: 307). On the other hand, as a nominal cognate to Slavic **golb* ‘bare’ Latvian *gāle* ‘eine dünne Eisdecke, Glatteis’ should be mentioned; cf. Russian *gólot* ‘Eisdecke’ (ME I 617; Pokorny 1959: 349).

2.2. Stuart E. Mann (1984–1987: 312) connected Latvian *gaļa* with the formally corresponding Lithuanian *galià* f. ‘power, strength, importance; health’, which is a transparent deverbal abstract noun in *-iā-* from the verb *galėti, galiù* ‘to be able, manage to’; cf. Latvian *galēt, -ēju* ‘to finish, overcome difficulties, manage, endure’ (Smoczyński 2018: 307–308; IE **gelH-* ‘to gain power, authority’ – see LIV² 185–186). Following Holger Pedersen (1909: 51), Mann tried to find support for this semantic difference, comparing Greek

κῆρυξ f. ‘strength, power’ with Welsh *cig* ‘meat, flesh’; cf. further Middle Welsh (13th cent.) *cic*, Old Cornish *chic* gl. ‘caro’, Middle Breton *quic*, Breton *kig* (GPC), but the generally accepted cognate of the Brittonic forms, Old Irish *cích* f. ‘female breast’ (DIL C-182), indicates that the primary meaning of this Celtic etymon was rather far from ‘strength’ (Matasović 2009: 204).

2.3. Konstantīns Karulis (1992: 285), the only one who took into account the possible ‘Narewian’ cognate after Zīgmas Zinkevičius, also speculated about a relation of *gaļa* with Latvian *galēt*, *-ēju* ‘to finish, overcome difficulties, manage, endure’, and further with *gals* ‘end, tip, top’ and *dzelt*, *dzeļu*, *dzēlu* ‘to prick, sting, bite, burn’ (ME I 541), corresponding to Lithuanian *gālas* ‘end, finish, conclusion; death’ and *gēlti*, *gēlia*, *gélé* ‘to sting, prick; bite (of insects, of a viper); sting, hurt violently’ respectively (Smoczyński 2018: 327–328: IE **g^uelH-* ‘to pierce, inflict pain’ – see LIV 207).

3. NEW ETYMOLOGY

The present study aims to offer an alternative solution based on the comparison with anatomical terms in other IE branches. Let us remember that Latvian preserves some terms inherited from the IE protolanguage, which have no continuants in other Baltic languages, namely e.g. Latvian *asins* ‘blood’ (ME I 143; Pokorny 1959: 343). There are several promising external cognates:

3.1. Old Irish *gaile* m. ‘stomach; belly, womb, bowels’ (DIL G-22) is derivable from Proto-Celtic **galio-* and further from **glio-* by Patrizia De Bernardo Stempel (1987: 32, 50, 131; 1999: 208) or **glHio-* by Deborah Hayden & David Stifter (2022: § II.5, referring to Zair 2012: 70–77, 89–93). Together with Julius Pokorny (1959: 365), de Bernardo Stempel derives *gaile* from the verb *gelid* ‘grazes, consumes’ (DIL G-60). August F. K. Fick (1881: 211) had already connected *gelid* with Welsh *gele* ‘leech’, and further with Old High German *kela* f. ‘throat, gullet, oesophagus, larynx, pharynx; gills’; Latin *gula* f. ‘throat, gullet’; Sanskrit *gala-* m. ‘throat’; Armenian *klanem* ‘I swallow’, aor. *e-kowl*; Russian *goltát* ‘to gulp’. This chain of comparanda was more or less preserved by Walde & Pokorny I 621; Walde & Hofmann I 625–626; Pokorny 1959: 365.

Now it is generally accepted that Sanskrit *gala-* ‘throat’ is derived from the IE verb **g^uerH₃-* ‘to gulp’ (Pokorny 1959: 474; EWAI I 469–470, 476; Kümmel LIV 211).

Armenian *kl^o/^okowl*, Latin *gula* and Russian *goltát* are derived from the root **guel-* ‘to gulp, swallow’ by Martin Kümmel (LIV 192), but in Celtic and Germanic one would expect the initial reflex of **gu-*, namely **b-* and

**kw-* respectively. Here Ranko Matasović (2009: 145) prefers the more plausible reconstruction **gleu-*.

Stefan Schumacher (2000: 57, 70; 2004: 271–272), followed by Kümmel (LIV 217–218) and Nicholas Zair (2012: 188–189), connect Old Irish *gelid* ‘grazes, consumes’ with the noun *gelt* f. ‘grazing, feeding’, and further with the Brittonic designation of ‘grass’: Old Welsh (9th cent.) *guel*, Middle & Modern Welsh *gwellt* m., Cornish *gwels* id., Old Breton *gueltiocion* gl. ‘fenosa’, reconstructing the Proto-Celtic root **g^uel-*, implying IE **g^{uh}el-*, although it would be limited only to Celtic. Matasović (2009: 145) expresses his doubts about the existence of such a root. Let us add that the root of the Brittonic word for ‘grass’ is compatible with Old Norse *vǫllr* m. ‘Ebene, Feld, Wiese’ (De Vries 1977: 673), independently of the protoform **walbu-* or **walnu-*, and further with Hittite *wellu-* ‘pasture, meadow’ < **uelnu-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 998).

Old High German *kela* f. ‘throat, gullet, oesophagus, larynx, pharynx; gills’, together with Old Saxon *kel-* in the compound *kelgirithi* n. ‘Genussucht’, Middle Low German *kēle*, Old Low Frankish *kela* f., Middle Dutch *kele*, Old Frisian *kele*, Old English *ceole* f. ‘throat, gullet; ravine, gorge; prow of a ship’ reflect Proto-Germanic **kelōn-* (EWAhd V 451–454). There is still the variant with a different suffixal extension: Old High German *kelur* m. (*i*-stem) ‘Kehle, Schlund, Wamme am Hals’, *kelura* f. (*ōn*-stem), *keluro* m. (*an*-stem) ‘Wamme, herunterhangende Hautfalte am Hals; *palear*’; ?Old Saxon *kelur* ‘*palear*’; Old English *ceolor* m. ‘throat, gullet’, usually derived from Proto-Germanic **keluz-* (EWAhd V 452, 464–465). But Guus Kroonen (2013: 284) modified this reconstruction to **kelurō-* f., thus reconciling it, with **kelōn-*, both members of an original *r/n*-heteroclitic paradigm. On the other hand, his derivation of **kelur^o*/**kelōn-* from a seeming root **g^uelH₁-* is not necessary, since the root **gel-* is quite satisfactory (cf. EWAhd V 452–453). This protoform is also compatible with the extended form **gleu-* preferred by Matasović (2009: 145), belonging together in the same way as the verbal roots **ser-* ‘to run, hurry’ (EWAI II 705–706) vs. **sreu-* ‘to flow’ (LIV 588) or **der-* ‘zerreißen, zerspringen’ vs. **dreu(H)-* ‘niederschneiden’ (LIV 119, 129) or **dreH₂-* ‘to run’, **drem-* ‘to run’, implying the primary root **der-*, vs. **dreu-* ‘to run’ (LIV 127–129) etc.

3.1.1. Hayden & Stifter (2022) extend the Celtic data, adding Old Irish *eclas* (*o-* or *ā*-stem) ‘stomach’ (DIL E-40), Modern Irish *eaglais* ‘a bird’s stomach’ or ‘gizzard’, with their Brittonic counterparts: Welsh *glasog* ‘gizzard of fowl, crop, kidney’, *afu (g)las* ‘gizzard’, literally ‘*glas*-liver’ (GPC); Old Cornish *glas* gl. ‘stomachus’ (Campanile 1974: 49); Middle Breton *elas* ‘gizzard’ (*Catholicon*; Vannetais), ‘liver’ (*Liber Vocabulorum*), Modern Breton *elaz* ‘gésier’ (Deshayes 2003: 212) < Common Celtic **eχs-glasso-/ā-* < **eġ^hs* ‘out of’ + *(*ġ*)^(h)*!H-stH₂o-*. But de Bernardo Stempel (2023: 19) convincingly demonstrated

that the sequence **CLsC* develops through **CaLsC*, probably still preserved in Celtiberian, to the metathesized form **CLasC* in residual Common Celtic. That is why Common Celtic **eχs-glasso-/ā-* is also derivable from **eġ^hs + *g^(h)l̥-stH₂o-*. Both of the Celtic anatomical terms, **galio-* and **eχs-glasso-/ā-*, designated more or less the same internal organ, ‘stomach’. Analyzing their projections back to Proto-Indo-European, **g^(h)l̥(H)io-* ‘belonging to **g^(h)l̥(H)-*’ and **eġ^hs-(ġ^(h))l̥(H)-stH₂o-* ‘out of **g^(h)l̥(H)-*’ respectively, it is rather difficult to understand that both the formations would have the same meaning, if **g^(h)l̥(H)-* meant the same. One possibility is to propose that **g^(h)l̥(H)-* in **eġ^hs-(ġ^(h))l̥(H)-stH₂o-* designated another internal organ. A good candidate is ‘gall, bile’, derivable from the root **ġ^helH₃-* ‘green, yellow’ > Avestan *zāra-* m. ‘gall, bile’; Greek *χόλος* & *χολή* ‘gall; bitter hate, wrath’, *χολέρα* ‘cholera, a disease of the stomach, which causes vomiting and diarrhoea’; Germanic **galla-* m., **gallōn-* f. ‘gall, bile’ > Old Norse *gall* n., Old English *gealla* m., Old Saxon, Old High German *galla* f. id.; Baltic **žulti-* > Lithuanian *tulžis, tulžė* ‘bile; yellow-brown secretion from the liver’, Latvian *žul(k)ts* ‘bile’; Old Church Slavonic *zlvčb* id. (Pokorny 1959: 429; Beekes 2010: 1641–1642; Kroonen 2013: 165; Boček, ESJS XIX 1131; Smoczyński 2018: 1536). In Celtic, there is no apparent continuant of the root **ġ^helH₃-* ‘green, yellow’ in the sense ‘gall, bile’, only the colour-name in Welsh *gell* ‘yellow, brown, bay’, Breton *gell* ‘brown’. The idea that its derivative meaning ‘gall, bile’ is hidden in Celtic **eχs-glasso-/ā-* ‘standing out of a gall’ = ‘stomach’ is quite attractive. For this reason, Celtic **eχs-glasso-/ā-* will not be taken into account in the following research.

3.2. Hayden & Stifter (2022: § II.V) supplement the comparanda, adding two glosses from the lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria, compiled around 500 CE:

3.2.1. γόλα · έντερα. Μακεδόνες (Latte, Cunningham 2018: 516, γ-769; cf. Kalléris 1954: 138–139, § 50 on other interpretations, namely †γόδα or †γόδα).

3.2.2. γάλλια · έντερα (Latte, Cunningham 2018: 485, γ-106). If there is no ethnicon, the Greek origin has been implicitly ascribed to the quoted word, but it is not a firm rule. E.g. the gloss *δαλάγκαν · θάλασσαν* (Latte, Cunningham 2018: 538, δ-148) has been identified as Macedonian (Schmidt 1867: 370) without any ethnicon. With regard to the fact that the gloss *γάλλια · έντερα* is preceded by the gloss *γάλλαρος · Φρυγιακόν ὄνομα*, the same, i.e. Phrygian, origin of the word *γάλλια* could be also taken in account. Let us use the glottonym ‘Para-Phrygian’. The term ‘Macedonian’ is used here in the sense of the language of so-called Macedonian glosses, where β, δ, γ correspond to Greek φ, θ, χ respectively. The same rule operated in Phrygian (except for palatalizing context, when γ changes into ζ). Macedonian and Phrygian γ- would imply both IE **g-/ġ-* and **g^h-/ġ^h-*, while Greek γ- reflects only

IE *g-/ *ĝ-. It means, Macedonian γόλα is derivable from *(ĝ)ol(H)-eH₂- or *(ĝ)^hol(H)-eH₂-, if it was the nom.sg.f. But it can be identified as the nom.pl.ntr., implying the nom.sg.ntr. *γόλον. More difficult is the analysis of the gloss γάλλια. Taking in account {perhaps} Phrygian¹ βαλλίον n. ‘phallus’, pl. βαλλία ‘privative parts’ [Herodas], in perspective of their relationship to Greek φαλλός m. ‘membrum virile’, φαλλίων [Suida] = φαλλοφόρος, περιφαλλία · πομπή Διονύσω τελουμένη τῶν φαλλῶν [Hesychius] (Beekes 2010: 197, 1550), and further to Old Irish *ball* ‘member, body-part’, German dial. *bille* ‘penis’, *bulle* ‘vulva’ etc., reflecting *b^hln^o (Pokorny 1959: 120–121), it is possible to project γάλλια into *(ĝ)lnieH₂- or *(ĝ)^hlnieH₂- in the case of its Phrygian origin and *(ĝ)lieH₂-² or *(ĝ)lnieH₂-, if it was of Greek origin. Naturally, γάλλια could also represent the nom.pl.ntr. In this case, the nom. sg. should be reconstructed as the (i)o-stem *γάλλιον. The analogical nasal extension can be identified in Latin *hernia* ‘rupture, hernia’ vs. *haruspex* ‘a soothsayer, who foretold the future from the inspection of the entrails of animal victims’ (Walde & Hofmann I 643). This root *ĝ^herH- with the nasal extension appears in Lithuanian *žarnà* or *žárna* ‘small intestine’, pl. *žárnos* ‘guts, intestines’, Latvian *zārnas* f.pl. ‘guts’, *zarni* m.pl. ‘entrails’; Old Norse *gorn* f. ‘intestine’, pl. *garnar* ‘Eingeweide’, Old Saxon *mid-garni* m. ‘arvina’ (Pokorny 1959: 443).

3.3. If the gloss γάλλια is not of Greek origin, but e.g. Phrygian (Para-Phrygian), the protolanguage initial could be the aspirated velar *(ĝ)^h-. For this case, Hayden & Stifter (2022, § II.V) still add Greek χολάδες f.pl. ‘entrails, guts’ [*Iliad*] (Beekes 2010: 1641), derivable from *(ĝ)^hol-nd-, and Slavic *želǫdvk^o m. ‘stomach’ > Bulgarian *želǫdǫk*; Slovak *žaludok*, Czech *žaludek*, Upper & Luwer Lusatian *žoldk*, Polish *zółdek*; Ukrainian *želúdok*, Russian-Church Slavonic *želudvkv*, Russian *želúdok* / *želǫdv(čv) > Macedonian *želudec*, Serbo-Croatian *želudac*, Slovenian *želôdec*; Old Russian *želudv*, derivable from *ĝ^hel-ond- (Vasmer I 416; Derksen 2008: 556; Snoj 2016: 889). It is necessary to stress that the Slavic example excludes the initial palatal velar.

3.4. Latin *helluō*, -ōnis m. ‘glutton, squanderer’ [Terentius+], *helluor* ‘I gormandize, devour’ [Cicero], allows us to think also about the Italic cognate, if derived from the protoform *ĝ^helnū^o and not *ĝ^helsū^o as Johann Knobloch (1973) thought. It is tempting to speculate about a primary compound *hell(i)-vorus *‘belly-devourer’ like *carni-vorus* ‘carnivorous’ [Pliny], cf. *vorō* ‘I swallow, devour, consume’, comparable with Greek γαστερο-πλήξ ‘glutton’ [Eustathius from Thessalonica], lit. ‘belly-stroker’. From the hypothetical compound

¹ So Haas 1966: 159.

² Cf. Greek καλός ‘beautiful, noble, good’ [*Iliad*], Boeotian καλφος id., comparative καλλίων, superlative κάλιστος, besides κάλλος n. ‘beauty’ [*Iliad*] (Beekes 2010: 626–27).

**hell(i)-vorus* would be formed the deponent verb *helluor* and finally the *n*-stem noun *helluō*, *-ōnis*.

4. DISCUSSION OF THE PROTOFORM

Some examples are derivable from the root **gel-*, other from **g^hel-*, and the third group does not allow to decide between **gel-* or **g^hel-*. Both the roots are more probably *aniṭ* than *seṭ*. Let us compare both the patterns in the perspective of word formation.

4.1. **gel-*

root/suffix	*-o-/*-eH ₂ -	*-iō-/*-iēH ₂ -	*-n-iō-/*-n-iēH ₂ -	*-r-/*-n-
* <i>gel-</i>				Gmc. * <i>kelur</i> ^o /* <i>kelōn-</i>
* <i>gol-</i>	Mc. γόλα	Ltv. <i>gaļa</i>		
* <i>g^l-</i>		OIr. <i>gaile</i> ?Gr. γάλλια	?Gr. γάλλια	

4.2. **g^hel-*

root/suffix	*-o-/*-eH ₂ -	*-iō-/*-iēH ₂ -	*-n-iō-/*-n-iēH ₂ -	*-n + <i>u</i> ^o	*-nd-/*-ond-
* <i>g^hel-</i>				?Lat. <i>helluō</i>	Sl. * <i>želōdъkъ</i> & * <i>želōdъ(cb)</i>
* <i>g^hol-</i>	Mc. γόλα	Ltv. <i>gaļa</i>			Gr. χολάδες
* <i>g^hl-</i>		OIr. <i>gaile</i>	?PaPhr. γάλλια		

Abbreviations: Gmc. Germanic, Gr. Greek, Lat. Latin, Ltv. Latvian, Mc. {Ancient} Macedonian, OIr. Old Irish, PaPhr. Para-Phrygian, Sl. Slavic.

4.3. Discussion.

The Old Irish verb *gelid* ‘grazes, consumes’ can reflect both **gel-* and **g^hel-*. The semantic connection of this verb with the organs of the alimentary canal, beginning of ‘throat’ or ‘gullet’ through ‘stomach’ to ‘intestines’ may be

compared with the relation of Greek γαστήρ f. ‘belly, paunch, womb’ [*Iliad*] with the verb γράω ‘I gnaw, eat’, Sanskrit *grásate* ‘devours’, implying for Greek the primary form *γραστήρ (cf. Buck 1949: 253, § 4.46; Beekes 2010: 262, 286). In any case, the scenario based on the root **g^hel-* allows us to explain a bigger number of anatomical terms and that is why this solution is more preferable, independent of the acceptance of the primary derivation from the verb of the type Old Irish *gelid* or recognition of the underived primary noun **g^hel-* in the Indo-European protolanguage. On the other hand, if Hesychius’ gloss γάλλια is of Greek origin, the root **gel-* returns in the play and Germanic **keluro*/**kelōn-* ‘throat, gullet’ becomes a compatible cognate. In this case, it is necessary to operate with two roots **gel-* and **g^hel-*, which could designate ‘alimentary canal’ and ‘stomach, intestine’ respectively. Latvian *gaļa* ‘meat, flesh’ and Old Irish *gaile* ‘stomach; belly, womb, bowels’ are derivable from both of them.

5. SEMANTIC MOTIVATION

The semantic dispersion between ‘meat’ and some internal organ of a belly is not trivial, but it is possible to illustrate it by examples from Afroasiatic (see Blažek 2020: 46–47, 90):

(a) North Cushitic: Beja *fi* m. ‘abdomen, stomach, interior’ (Hudson apud Blench) = *fi*, *fi* m. ‘stomach; interior’ (Roper) = *f(i)* m. ‘Inneres, Mitte, Magen, Bauch’ (Reinisch) = *fi*, *fe* m. ‘Bauch(höhle), innere Eingeweide’ (Almkvist);

East Cushitic: Somali *fii* ‘Bauch, Herz, Verstand, Laune’ (Reinisch);

Berber: (North) Tazerwalt *tifii/á/ú* ‘Fleisch’ (Stumme), Semlal *tifiyyi*, Ntifa *tifiy*, Baamrani *tifiyi*; (West) Zenaga *tfi’jji* (Nicolas) ‘viande’.

It is tempting to add Egyptian *ʕf3.t* ‘Fleischstück’ (WPS 437).

(b) Semitic **šiʔr-* > Akkadian *širu(m)* ‘Fleisch; Leib; Eingeweide-Omen’ (AHw 1248), Phoenician *šʔr* ‘meat, flesh’, Ugaritic *šir* ‘flesh’, Hebrew *šəʔer* ‘flesh, body’ (DUL 786; SED I 210–211).

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Indoeuropiečių anatomijos terminijos kartografavimas II: latvių *gaļa* ‘mėsa’

SANTRAUKA

Straipsnyje aptariama latvių kalbos žodžio *gaļa* ‘mėsa’ vidinė sandara, vediniai ir kilmė. Apibendrinus jau žinomas etimologijas, pasiūlomas naujas aiškinimas. Šis žodis patenka į kelių indoeuropiečių kalbų grupių anatomijos terminų rinkinį ir pavadina organą, priklausantį virškinamajam traktui nuo „gerklės“ iki „žarnų“. Diskusija apima istorinės fonetikos, žodžių darybos ir semantinės tipologijos aspektus.

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