

RECONSTRUCTING A CULTURAL LEXICON
FOR PRE-HISTORY: BERBER ZOONYMS OF AFRASIAN
(AFRO-ASIATIC) ORIGIN *

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The paper contains 63 common Berber zoonyms denoting domesticated and wild animals and their cognates in various branches of the Afrasian (Afro-Asiatic, Afroasiatic, Semito-Hamitic) macro-family including reconstructed proto-forms for each branch and the macro-family. The research is based on the classical comparative and historical method relying on the established sound correspondences between the languages of every taxon.

Keywords: Berber, Afrasian, zoonyms, etymology, reconstruction, comparative and historical linguistics

The present article is part of the author's decades-long project aiming at reconstructing the most comprehensive picture possible of all aspects of the life of Late Epipaleolithic and Early Neolithic people in the Near East and North Africa which can be derived from the reconstructed Proto-Afrasian lexicon, namely, terms referring to people and society; economic life and technology, intellectual culture; and the natural and physical environments (see, for example^{1,2,3}). Zoonyms are an important part of this picture both for the

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¹ MILITAREV, A. *The prehistory of a dispersal: the Proto-Afrasian (Afroasiatic) farming lexicon.*

economy (hunting and the domestication of animals) and natural surroundings. For this contribution Berber zoonyms in an Afrasian perspective were selected.

From the point of view of etymology, the Berber lexicon is a mixed blessing. Due to the relative genealogical proximity between the Berber languages,⁴ their common vocabulary is much easier to reconstruct compared to that of Semitic, Chadic, Cushitic or Omotic. Besides, individual idioms have been appropriately recorded by several generations of students, mainly, but not only, of the French school starting with Foucauld's incomparable *Dictionnaire*.⁵ Great work on the identification of Arabisms, which make up a significant portion of the vocabulary of almost any Berber language, was carried out by Berberologists, many of whom were also professional Arabists; relatively small groups of Phoenician (possibly also Hebrew), Greek and Latin loanwords have also been identified. There are first-class comparative Tuareg studies by K.-G. Prasse^{6,7} and intra-Berber comparative lexicons by M. Kossmann,⁸ K. Naït-Zerrad⁹ (regrettably, first issues only), Aman Iman, M. A. Haddadou.¹⁰ The latter three are elaborate and very helpful synchronous matching lists of words, though intended for inter-dialectal comparison rather than comparative-historical studies; Kossman's work following Prasse's neogrammarian approach aims at

² MILITAREV, A. *Reconstructed lexicon for the West Asian home of Proto-Afrasians: pastoralism*.

³ MILITAREV, A. *Lexical Reconstruction for the Reconstruction of Prehistory: Proto-Afrasian Terms Related to Weaponry, Warfare and Other Armed Conflicts*.

⁴ This proximity is, however, greatly exaggerated by some authors to the point of recognizing the differences between them as dialectal, which – even in the absence of clear criteria for interdialectal and interlingual differences (“language is a dialect armed with tanks”) – was a poor and counterproductive call inhibiting the development of comparative-historical Berberology as part of comparative Afrasian studies for many decades. Cf. “En linguistique berbère, il est tradition de considérer le berbère comme une seule langue. Pour répéter la formulation de Salem Chaker, la langue berbère serait une et chaque dialecte n'en serait qu'une variante régionale.” (KOSSMANN, M. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*, p. 15).

⁵ FOUCAULD, Ch. de. *Dictionnaire touareg-français*.

⁶ PRASSE, K.-G. *A propos de l'origine de H touareg (tahaggart)*.

⁷ PRASSE, K.-G. *Manuel de grammaire touarègue*.

⁸ KOSSMANN, M. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*.

⁹ NAÏT-ZERRAD, K. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*.

¹⁰ AMAN IMAN. *One thousand Berber and Hassaniya words and their variants concerning traditional water resources, irrigation systems, crops and cultivation*; HADDADOU, Mohand Akli. *Dictionnaire der racines berbères communes*. Haut Commissariat a l'Amazighité, 2006/2007.

establishing phonetic rules and regular correspondences between Berber languages, but without external parallels, it cannot replace a full-fledged comparative-historical Berber dictionary. For all the conventionality of this distinction, Berber languages are far from qualifying as a group of dialects. Lexicostatistics based on Swadesh's 100-word list¹¹ show around 50% of cognates between the most genealogically distant languages (like any Tuareg vs. Siwa vs. Zenaga vs. any North Berber idiom) which roughly corresponds to the percentage of cognates between, say, Baltic vs. Slavonic and far surpasses the percentage of cognates between the most distant Romance, Slavic or Turkic languages. The status of a linguistic family with a chronological depth of about 3,000 years¹² actually cries out for the comparison of reconstructed Proto-Berber lexemes with non-Berber Afrasian data relying on the established regular correspondences in consonants¹³ and a comprehensive *ad maximum*, fairly organized Afrasian etymological database with a convenient search function without which non-systematic, impressionistic comparison often proves to be inaccurate or outright wrong.¹⁴

¹¹ Recently transforming from "a controversial method" into one half-accepted by the linguistic mainstream.

¹² See our differences – not particularly fundamental – with Václav Blažek on the question of measuring the time depth of the Berber family, in other words, dating the Proto-Berber language in MILITAREV, A. *Libyo-Berbers – Tuaregs – Canarians: Linguistic Evidence*.

¹³ Correspondences in vocalism are still a weak point in the Afrasian comparison: the vocalic elements in the AA proto-forms in the present paper are rather tentative. It is to be noted, however, that in Afrasian comparative linguistics, by contrast with, say, the Indo-European one, matching of vowels, unlike consonants, plays practically no role in establishing word relationship. Of course, reconstruction of vowels is indispensable, among other reasons, for reconstructing the sounding, the "phonetic image", of the proto-forms, but not for etymology, in which it is of little help. On the contrary, consonant correspondences between the main AA languages – the work started over 40 years ago by Igor Diakonoff's team (of which the present author was one of the active participants) – are regular and quite reliable, serving as a solid base for the step-by-step reconstruction of proto-forms at the PAA and each branch and group level.

¹⁴ Missing the mark by hitting a "variant root" is quite common due to the considerable reduction of the Berber consonant system in comparison with the reconstructed PAA one, and the merging in Berber of two or more AA consonants, especially in the laryngeals and sibilant affricates area; another, and perhaps, the trickiest, issue in Berber-AA comparison is the case of Aujila and Ghadames **b* irresolvable without external comparison (in some cases irresolvable even *with* it); for details see footnotes 42 and 81.

Such a database¹⁵ was compiled between the end of the last century and the latter part of the first decade of our century by O. Stolbova and myself (in the first years, within the framework of the Santa Fe Institute's project "Evolution of Human Languages") and later further worked on by the present author.¹⁶ At present it contains over 4,000 entries in the main Afrasian etymological base (liable to strong reduction in the final version, of course) and some 15,000 entries in the subordinate bases, connected with the main one.

Conspicuous lack of a comprehensive comparative and historical or etymological Berber dictionary is to some extent compensated by numerous disparate etymologies in the works of such Afrasianists as Aharon Dolgopolsky (†), Olga Stolbova, Václav Blažek, Gábor Takács, and the present author; there are several etymological articles devoted to a specific group of Berber lexemes, such as kinship terms,¹⁷ 'year'¹⁸ or the basic lexicon.¹⁹ Some of the etymologies presented are quite convincing, some are debatable or even far-fetched, but in general they rely on the basic principles of the classical comparative and historical method in linguistics and correspond to the current level of comparative Afrasian studies.

¹⁵ The version dated April 2007 is available from <https://starlingdb.org>. According to the description, "Compiled by Alexander Militarev and Olga Stolbova on the basis of multiple published sources as well as constantly on-going newer work. Both the main Afroasiatic database and all of the numerous subordinate databases are in a state of near-permanent construction, containing much raw data that still has to be polished, but nevertheless, the database even as it is is a considerable improvement on previously available etymological dictionaries. Subordinate databases include files with Semitic, Berber, Egyptian, Cushitic, and Chadic data (the latter courtesy of O. Stolbova, most of the others supported by A. Militarev)." To this somewhat outdated description I would add Omotic. The words "in a state of near-permanent construction" explain why "the final version" is still not posted on the Internet.

¹⁶ Stolbova has in recent years been busy compiling a comprehensive Chadic etymological database (available from <https://book.ivran.ru/f/i/lovepdfmerged.pdf>) – up till now the only basically successful attempt to enter mass lexical material of over a hundred Chadic languages into the Afrasian comparative studies based on regular consonantal correspondences established mostly by Stolbova and convincing or plausible etymologies.

¹⁷ BLAŽEK, V. *Toward the Berber kinship terminology in the Afroasiatic context*.

¹⁸ BLAŽEK, V. *Berber year and its seasons*.

¹⁹ MILITAREV, A. *Историческая фонетика и лексика ливийско-гуанчских языков [Historical phonetics and lexicon of the Libyo-Guanche languages]*, pp. 250–265; BLAŽEK, V. *On application of glottochronology to Berber languages: East Berber branch*; BLAŽEK, V. *On Application of Glottochronology to South Berber (Tuareg) Languages*.

This article is devoted to Berber zoonyms and their Afrasian etymologies. The author did not set himself the tasks of presenting either a complete set of common Berber animal names or the reflexes of a particular Berber proto-form in all Berber idioms; or to delve into the combinative intricacies of Berber vocalism. The task was, first of all, to establish the continuity of Berber zoonyms from the common Afrasian ones.²⁰ The consonantal correspondences between Berber and other Afrasian branches relying on Militarev Историческая фонетика и лексика ливийско–гуанчских языков [Historical phonetics and lexicon of the Libyan-guanche languages] were developed by the author in the course of his work on the comparative AA dictionary in the team headed by I. M. Diakonoff²¹ and mainly accepted, further specified and tested on a considerable lexical material chiefly in the studies by Stolbova, Blažek, Takács and the present author. The consonantal correspondences between the Afrasian branches are based on the team work by Diakonoff and his group and subsequent studies by all the above-mentioned authors, and within each of the branches and subbranches, on the works by the same and many other linguists.

The choice of this semantic field is accounted for, on the one hand, by the fact that zoonyms represent important segments of cultural and environmental vocabularies including biocoenosis and food acquisition (hunting, fishing, and domestication of animals); on the other hand they are one of the best – if not the best – studied groups of Afrasian vocabulary to date. In addition to several papers by Blažek (e. g. ^{22,23,24}), SED II,²⁵ where Afrasian cognates were provided

²⁰ That is why such zoonyms as Berber *(a-)bidd-aw (Ghadames *biddu*, Ahaggar *a-biddau*) vs. Proto-Chadic *bid- ‘(red/patas) monkey’ (STOLBOVA, O. *Chadic lexical database*. Issue VI, #42) are not omitted in my paper, but deliberately not included. I usually do not include Berber terms having cognates in Chadic only as they may not represent a common inherited Afrasian term, but be a result of borrowing, which is exactly the case: the Berber words are undoubtedly Chadic loanwords.

²¹ DIAKONOFF, I., A., MILITAREV, O. STOLBOVA et al. *Historical and Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian*.

²² BLAŽEK, V. *Fauna in Beja Lexicon* (with comparative AA material).

²³ BLAŽEK, V. *Simiae*.

²⁴ BLAŽEK, V. *Elephant, Hippopotamus and Others: On Some Ecological Aspects of the Afroasiatic Homeland*.

²⁵ MILITAREV, A., KOGAN, L. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Vol. II. Animal Names.

for some of the common Semitic animal names, a few more papers addressing Proto-Afrasian zoonyms have been published.^{26,27}

The data

Domesticated animals

Dogs

1. Berb. **a-yud/day*, pl. *yid-an* ‘dog’: Ghadames *īḍi*, pl. *id-an*, Izdeg *i-ydi*, Nefusa *yūḍi*, Mzab *a-yḍi*, Snus *a-yḍi*, *a-yḍi*, Ghat *a-ydi*, Ahaggar *e-ydi*, pl. *iid-an*, Ayr *iḥi*, *idi*, pl. *id-an*, Adghaq *ēḍi*, Zenaga *iḍi*, Semlal *a-ydi*, pl. *idā-n*, Qabyle *a-ydi*, etc.

< AA **ʔayd-* ‘dog’:²⁸

Chad. **ʔayd/d-* ‘dog’: W.: Bolewa, Ngamo *ʔàdà*, Kirfi (pl.) *ʔéddiḥi*, Diri *àddā*, Guruntum *dā*, Gera *yaḍá*, Mburku *ḍiyà*; C.: Tera *yìḍa*, Gude *idda*, *ʔàddá*, Zime–Batna *áḍà*, Marba *ʔàḍi*, Ngidè *āīdā*?, etc.²⁹

(?) Sem.: Aram. Syr. *yadnā* ‘hyène’³⁰

Cush. S.: Ma’a *idiḥe* (met.) ‘dog’ (though marked in various sources as a loanword, matches well the AA root).

[] AADB 2939; cf. STOLBOVA, O. *Chadic lexical database*. Issue V #116.

²⁶ MILITAREV, A., NIKOLAEV, S. *Proto-Afrasian names of ungulates in light of the Proto-Afrasian homeland issue*.

²⁷ MILITAREV, A., NIKOLAEV, S. *Proto-Afrasian names of non-ungulate animals in light of the Proto-Afrasian homeland issue*, No. 19/4.

²⁸ The main common Berb. term for a dog and etymologically a very entangled case. For Chadic, Stolbova reconstructed two variant proto-forms: **hid-/hadd-* and **ʔaid-*, the second one having such a striking affinity with the Berber forms that it made her suspect a loan from Berber. The opposite direction of borrowing – from Chadic into Berber – is also a possibility. The remaining explanation is a common Berb.-Chad. term with two isolated external matches: Sem.: Syrian *yadnā* ‘hyena’ and S. Cush.: Ma’a *idiḥe* ‘dog’, both problematic in their own way but both pointing to **ʔ-*, not **h-* (should then the Proto-Chad. term with **h-* be treated as a variant root?) and *-d*, not **t* while *-ḍ* instead of *-d* in some of the Berb. singular and nearly all plural forms as well as Chad. forms remains enigmatic. In any case, whether borrowed from Chadic into Berb. or vice versa, the PAA origin is highly questionable.

²⁹ Cf. **ʔayd-* In STOLBOVA, O. *Chadic lexical database*. Issue V, #116a. and **hid-*, **had-* #2019.

³⁰ COHEN, D. et al. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*, 1145. Forms with the suffixed *-n* are current in Semitic animal names.

2. Berb. **Husk-ay* ‘greyhound’: Tazerwalt *uššay*, Izayan *usk-a*, Iznassen *uskai*, Seghrushen *uššay*, Ahaggar *osk-a* ‘chien lévrier’

< AA **ʔa/usk-ay-* ‘kind of canine or hyena’:

Chad. *(*H*)*usak-ay-*: W.: Dera *šíká(-nánjà)* ‘dog’; C. **sak-eyt-*: Bana *sáká-tá* ‘jackal’, Bachama *sakéy* ‘dog’; E **usk-ey-*: Sokoro *oskeḡ* ‘hyena’, etc.³¹

Cush. E. **se(H)ek-*: Yaaku *seek-a* ‘hyena’

Omot. S. **ʔask-i-*: Ari *ʔaksi* (met.) ‘dog’,³² Ubamer *aksi* (met.), Ongota *ʔaski* ‘dog’.

[] Attested in Africa only. AADB 2716. Cf. Kuliak: Nyangi *sak* ‘dog’.

3. Berb. **a-ykar* (met.) ‘young dog’: Ahaggar, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. *a-ykar* ‘jeune chien’³³

< AA **kur-ay-* ‘dog’:

Chad. **kuray-* ‘dog’: W. **ku/aray-*: Hausa *kàré-e*, Zaar *kùràày-í*, Guus *kàràḡ*, Bokos *kyàr-a*; C. **ku/ir(ay)-*: Fali-Kiria *kár-í*, Higi *kur-é*, Hildi *kr-i*, Lamang *kīr-ε*, Gisiga *kər-e*, Dugwor *kìr-á*, Sukun *kr-a*, etc.³⁴

Sem.: Mod. Eth. **karkur-* (redupl.): Tgr. *kurkur* ‘dog’, *kāarakur* ‘young dog’, Tna. *kurkur* ‘puppy, lion cub, whelp’

Cush. **kuray-*: E. **kayr-* (met.): SA **kar-*: Saho *kar-e*,³⁵ LEC **kayr-*: Rendille *kar*, Baiso *kerr-e*, Arbore *kair*, *ker* Dasenech *čir*, Dirayta *herr-aa*, etc., Dullay **kar-*: Gawwada *haar-o*, Harso *ḡer-o*, Tsamay *kar-o*, *kar-ito* ‘dog’; S. **kuray-*: Alagwa *to-koray-mo* ‘bat-eared fox’, Burunge *ta-kuraaʔ-imo* ‘wild dog’, Ma’a *kuri* ‘dog’.

[] Attested in Africa only. AADB 375; CED #455, HSED 1434. Cf. Kanuri *keri*, Teda *kedi* ‘dog’.

4. Berb. **a-Ku(r)zi/un* ‘(young) dog’: Siwa *a-gurzəni*, *a-qurzini*, *əl-gurazən*, *lu-grāzén*, Audjila *a-gzin* ‘dog’, Semlal *i-kzin*, Izayan *a-kzin*, Seghrushen *a-qqzin*, Rif, Snus, etc. *a-qzin* ‘young dog, puppy’, Shawiya *a-gzin* ‘petit chien’,³⁶ Qabyle *a-qžun* ‘chien’, Figig *a-gzin* ‘chiot’³⁷

³¹ Cf. STOLBOVA, O. *Chadic lexical database*. Issue III, #187: only Chad.

³² Cf. also *wuksak* ‘fox, jackal’.

³³ Cf. also Ahaggar *abaykôr*, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *abäykor*, Adghaq *abäykor* ‘chien de mauvaise race’, Ghat *abaykur* ‘lévrier’ (I analyze it as **ab-aykar*, a composite word, something like ‘non-dog, under-dog’: **a/iba*, negation and **a-ykar* ‘young dog’).

³⁴ < **kVr-* in CED #455.

³⁵ Cf. Saho *wakari*, Afar *wàkri* ‘jackal’.

³⁶ Cf. also *a-yərzul* ‘chien’.

³⁷ Cf. KOSSMANN, M. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*, #749.

< AA *KVzim- or *KVžim- ‘dog’.³⁸

(?) Chad. C. *kazim: Bura *kazim* ‘a male baboon, monkey, or dog’

Egypt. (MK) *ṭzm* (< *kVzVm- or -ž-) ‘dog’

Cush. C. *g/kaz/žij- (-ij is < *-m) ‘dog’: Bilin *gidij*, pl. *gižij*, Khamir *gizij*, Khamta *gázəj*, pl. *gəsəj*, Qwara *gezej*, Qemant *gəzəj*, Kailiña *gəzəj*, Waag *gizin*, Falasha *gazij*; Aungi *gséj*, Kunfāl *kassan*.

[] Attested in Africa only. AADB 2699.

Ungulates

Small cattle

5. Berb. *a-bagug ‘young ram, lamb’: Ghat *a-bažuzž* ‘mouton châtré’, Ahaggar *a-bāgūg*, pl. *i-bḡāg* ‘agneau’, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *a-bāgog* ‘jeune mouton de 2 à 3 ans’ (cf. Nefusa *bḡu*, pl. *i-bḡi-in* ‘calf’)

< AA *bag(gV)ɣ- ‘(young) small cattle’:

Chad. *bagV: W.: Diri *bəg^wu-nži* ‘male goat’ (*nži* ‘male’); C.: Gude *bàgá*, Fali–Jilbu *bàgà*, Mwulien *m-bága-tí*, Bachama *m-baga-to*, Bata *bāgέ* ‘sheep’; E.: Sibine *bàge* (pl.) ‘she-goat’

Sem.: Eth. *bag(g)iɣ- ‘sheep, ram’: Gz. *baggəɣ*, Tna. *bəgfi*, Tgr. *bəgguf*, Amh. *bäg*, Arg. *bägi*

Cush. C.: Bilin *baggā*, Khamir *begā*, Khamta *bigā*, Qwara, Kemant *bagā* ‘sheep’

Omot. N.: Kafa *bagē*, Mocha *bágo*, Bworo *baggō* ‘sheep’.³⁹

[] Attested in Africa only. AADB 2459; cf. HSED: 44; DOLGOPOLSKY, A. *Nostratic Dictionary*, 185; STOLBOVA, O. *Chadic Lexical Database*. Issue VI, #85.

³⁸ In spite of the variation of consonants – probably due to tabooing – both within Berber and Agaw and between the AA branches, all the quoted forms are hardly unrelated (this is the comparison which may be labelled “impressionistic” but is worth considering all the same). The AA term is still more intriguing if compared with the Proto-North Caucasian **kwače* (> Proto-Andi **gwVži*) ‘dog’ (MILITAREV, A., STAROSTIN, S. *Общая афразийско-севернокавказская культурная лексика* (Afroasian-North Caucasian cultural terms), p. 259).

³⁹ With their stable root vowel *a* and reduplicated –g– in some of the forms, part of them may represent a chain of loanwords, or a *Wanderwort*, rather than a common Afroasian zoonym. According to some authors, the Eth. terms are borrowed from C. Cush., while according to others it is *vice versa*; the lack of non–Eth. Sem. cognates would point either to the borrowing from Agaw (note, however, that the Agaw terms are isolated in Cush.) or N. Omot., though, also poorly represented in one subgroup only.

6. Berb. **a-bakir* ‘young goat or ram’: Semlal *a-bukīr*, pl. *i-bukr-en* ‘jeune bouc’; Ahaggar *é-beker*, pl. *i-bekr-ân* ‘agneau’, Ayr, E. Tawllemet. *e-bākār*, pl. *i-bākr-an* ‘jeune mouton’

< AA **ba/ukir-* ‘kind of (young) small bovid’:⁴⁰

Chad. W. **bVkvr-*: Bolewa *bark-e* (met.) ‘she-goat’, Karekare *bugur-è* ‘goat’, Dera *bukur-in* (pl.) ‘goats’ C.: Tera *bòkàr-à*, Bachama *bògúr-é* ‘he-goat’, Musgu *bénger-ē* and *iki binkiri* ‘he-goat’ (*iki* ‘she-goat’).⁴¹

(?) Sem.: Amh. *bohor* (<**bokor*) ‘reedbuck’

[] Attested in Africa only. AADB 2500. Cf. SED II No. 56.

7. Berb. **ballVy* ‘ram’ (pl.): Gurara, Tuat, Tidikelt, Timimun *belli* ‘moutons’⁴²

< AA **bawil* ~ **wabil-* ~ *(?*a-m-*)*bVl-* ‘ram, goat’:

Chad. *(*m-*)*bil-* and **balaw/y-* ‘small cattle’: W. **m-bil-*: Geji *mbil-a* ‘sheep’; C. **bVlaw-*: Matakam *báláw* ‘race de mouton sp.’; E. **balVy-*: Lele *bulóbuló* (reduplication) ‘he-goat’, Kabalai *bâl*, Migama *bòlly-ò*, Sokoro *bal* ‘goat’

Egypt. (OK, MK) *ibʿw* (very likely < **ʔVbVl-* or **yVbVl-*) ‘Mähnschaf (Ovis tragelaphus)’

⁴⁰ This Berb.-Chad. root is included as an exception because of its possible provenance from AA **bkr* ‘to be early / firstborn’ (see discussion in SED II No. 56).

⁴¹ All forms with *-g-* are likely due to the voicing of **-k-* in an intervocalic position with a voiced stop in the C₁ position (see CED, p. 38).

⁴² Infantile words and, according to TAKÁCS, G. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Vol. 2, p. 24, “therefore cannot be considered”, which is an arguable tenet. Cf. also **belbel* (reduplication; perhaps descriptive) ‘crier, bêler (bouc)’: Nefusa *belbel*, Mzab *bbelbel*, etc. (NAÏT-ZERRAD, K. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*, p.: 54). However, there is an alternative etymology excluding Gurara, Tuat and Tidikelt *belli* but, instead, including Audjila *te-bel* and Ghadames *ta-bali* ‘brebis’ together with Nefusa *t-ili*, Zenaga *t-iži*, Ahaggar *té-helé*, Ghat *či-hali*, Ayr *t-ele*, E. Tawllemet. *te-hæle*, etc., the proto-form reconstructed as **bVli* ‘sheep’, tentatively related to AA **ʔayl-* ‘kind of lesser bovid’ (below). The equally probable decision depends on the much-discussed but still unsettled issue of the interpretation of Berb. **b* yielding Audjila and Ghadames *b* (conveyed by some authors by *β*, *v* or *f*) and Tuareg *h* as **b* (probably in contact with a laryngeal) or as a laryngeal/pharyngeal (probably labialized – conventionally **Hʷ*). Apparently, in every individual case, an etymological choice depends on the suggested AA parallels, which sometimes allow for both decisions. For a similar case see Fn. 81. For a detailed discussion see TAKÁCS, G. *Studies in Afro-Asiatic Comparative Phonology: Consonantism*, pp. 88–103.

Sem. *w/yābil- ‘ram’: Phoen. *ybl*, Hbr. *yōbēl*; Aram.: Dem. *ʔybl*, Jud. *yūbəl-ā-* ‘ram’; Arab. *wābil-at-* ‘petits chameaux ou agneaux; petits d’un troupeau composé de chameaux ou de moutons’

Cush. *(ʔa-m-)bVl- ‘kind of lesser bovid’ (Tragelaphus sylvaticus, etc.): E. *(ʔam-)bul-: LEC *bulal- (reduplication): Oromo *bulāl-ē* ‘lamb’, HEC *ʔam-bul-: Hadiya *ambul-a* ‘ram’, Kambatta *ambul-a* ‘ram, goat’; S. *(ʔa)m-bal-: Ma’a *mbāl-a* ‘Buschbock’.

[] AADB 2484; SED II No. 245; cf. MILITAREV, A. *Reconstructed lexicon for the West Asian home of Proto-Afrasians: pastoralism*; MILITAREV, A., NIKOLAEV, S. *Proto-Afrasian names of ungulates in light of the Proto-Afrasian homeland issue*, #1.6. (*balay/w- ‘kind of lesser bovid’). Cf. TAKÁCS, G. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Vol. 2, pp. 23–24 quoting similar terms in non-Afras. African languages (C. Sud.: PMoru–Madi *bilō ‘sheep’, Bagirmi *bal* ‘ram’; Ful *mbala*, *mbāl-u*, *bāli* ‘sheep’, W.Atl.: Serer *mbal*, Mende, Kpele *bala* id.; Masai *em-balelo* ‘lamb’).

8. Berb. *a-gur- ‘small cattle’: Ghadames *a-gūr* ‘bouc’,⁴³ Zenaga *ə-grərħ* ‘bélier’,⁴⁴ Ahaggar *ǎ-gūr*, E. Tawlllemmet *ǎ-gur* ‘animal castré’, Adghaq *a-žorħ* ‘castrat (caprin)’⁴⁵

< AA *g^waraʔ- ‘kind of small bovid’:⁴⁶

⁴³ LANFRY, J. *Ghadamès. II. Glossaire*, p. 117; NAÏT-ZERRAD, K. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*, p. 85.

⁴⁴ NICOLAS, F. *La langue berbère de Mauritanie*, p. 156.

⁴⁵ Probably contaminated with the meaning ‘eunuch, castrate’ in a homonymous root, cf. PRASSE, K-G. *A propos de l’origine de H touareg (tahaggart)*, #105 and NAÏT-ZERRAD, K. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*, p. 878.

⁴⁶ There is another AA term with the same root consonants but denoting a large bovid, likely related either at the PAA or, separately, proto-branch (Chad. and Cush.) level: *garaw/y/ʔ-: Eyp. (MK) *ḡr* ‘calf’ (if <*gVr); Chad. (a) *(ʔa-)garw/y-: W. *(ʔa-)gary- ‘kind of antelope’: Hausa *āgārē* ‘a big, male red-fronted gazelle’, Tsagu *gāre* ‘reedbuck’, Mburku *gāri* ‘oryx’, Ngizim *a-gare* ‘gazelle’; C. *(ʔa-n-)gary-: Logone *gari-a*, Makeri *ingərii* ‘antelope’, Buduma *ngəri* ‘gazelle’; E. *gVrw- and *gVwVr- (met.): Tumak *gəru*, Kwang *gowor-to* ‘antelope’, Ndam *gərù* ‘ourebi’, (b) *garaw-* ‘bull’: Bolewa *gaarìw-à* ‘pack ox’, Karekare *gaarìw-à* ‘bull’, Tangale *káarw-a* ‘cattle’; C. *garaw/y-: Bana *gārəw-à* ‘troupeau de bœufs’, Gude *gərə-nə* ‘herd of cattle’, Musgu *gári* ‘Stier, Laststier’, Mandara *gári* ‘bull’; Cush. *garaw- and *gwiraʔ- (met.): N. *garuw-: Beja *garuw-a* ‘male antelope; eland’; C. *gar- ‘calf’: Bilin, Qwara, Kemant *gär*, Aungi *gara*; E.: HEC *gur(r)-: Sidamo *garr-ančo* ‘Agazen antelope’; S. *g^waraʔ-: Iraqw *gwaraʔ-ai* ‘Hartebeest’, Burunge *geraʔ-i* ‘Grant’s

Chad. C. *g^war- and *g^warg^war- (reduplication) ‘ram’: Hursa *goragor-a*, Uẓam *gwar-a*, Matakam *η-gwur*, Ouldem *g^war-à*, Mbuko *g^wàrg^war-á*, Merey *g^waràg^war-a*, Muyang *g^wòròg^wòr-à*, Mada *gurg^war-a*; E. *gagar- (reduplication) ‘small cattle’: Sok *gaáger-o* ‘Schaf’, Mawa *gagar* ‘mouton’, Mubi *wegr-i* (met.) ‘chèvre’.

Sem. *(*ʔa-*)gurr-: Akk. (MA) *gurr-at-u*, *agurr-at-u* ‘ewe’

[] Cf. AADB 2485, 3386, 4152. Cf. CED #234, 235, 238; SED II No. 85.

9. Berb. **ti-halay* (< **-ʔalay*, met.) ‘sheep’: Nefusa, Figig *t-ili*, Zenaga *t-iʒi*, Ahaggar *té-helé*, Ghat *či-hali*, Ayr *t-ele*, E. Tawllemmet. *te-hæle*, etc.⁴⁷

< AA **ʔayl-* ‘kind of lesser bovid’:

Sem. **ʔayil-* ‘ram; ibex’: Ugr. *ʔal*, *ʔil* ‘ram of superior quality’; Hbr. *ʔayil* ‘ram’; ESA: Sab. *ʔyl* ‘mountain goat, ibex’, Min. *ʔyl* ‘béliér, bouquetin’; Arab. *ʔiyyal-*, *ʔuyyal-* ‘bouc de montagne’

Cush. **ʔayl-* ‘ram, kind of antelope’: N.: Beja *alli* ‘long-haired sheep’; E.: Saho *ill-e*, Afar *ill-i* ‘small cattle’, LEC **ʔel-* (< **ʔayl-*): Somali *eel-o* ‘tipo di gazella (antilope giraffa)’, Arbore *ʔell-ém*, Elmolo *ʔél-em* ‘ram’; S. **ʔayl-*: Gorowa *ele-te-mo* ‘bushbuck’, Ma’a *iʔal-é* ‘ram’, Dahalo *ʔèèl-e* ‘hartebeest’

[] AADB 2466; MILITAREV, A. *Reconstructed lexicon for the West Asian home of Proto-Afrasiatics: pastoralism*; cf. SED II No. 24; cf. MILITAREV, A., NIKOLAEV, S. *Proto-Afrasian names of non-ungulate animals in light of the Proto-Afrasian homeland issue*, # 1.2.

10. Berb.–Canarian *(*a-*)*haray/w* ‘small cattle’: Semail *āhruy* ‘mouton’ (coll.), Central Morocco *ara* ‘agneau d’un an’, Ahaggar *e-here*, pl. *i-həraw-en* ‘menu bétail’⁴⁸, Ayr *e-hāre* ‘bétail, bien’; Canarian: Tenerife *hara* ‘sheep’, *ara* (but also *axa*) ‘goat’, Gran Canaria *ta-har-an* ‘sheep’ (cf. *ta-hax-an* ‘brebis’, *ti-hax-an* ‘mouton’)⁴⁹

< AA **haw/yr-* ‘kind of small bovid’:

Chad. **Haray*: W.: Dera *ʔara* ‘stew, meat’; C.: Bachama *hara* ‘meat (animal)’; E.: Lele *ōrē* (pl.) ‘goats’

gazelle’; Omot. N. **gaHar-*: Wolayta, Dawro *gaar-aa* ‘antilope dekula’ (probably a loanword < Sidamo).

⁴⁷ Cf. KOSSMANN, M. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*, #65.

⁴⁸ Cf. Ahaggar, E. Tawllemmet *a-hiar* ‘faon de gazelle’.

⁴⁹ Cf. PRASSE, K.–G. *A propos de l’origine de H touareg (tahaggart)*, # 397; KOSSMANN, M. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*, # 197; WÖLFEL, J. D. *Monumenta linguae Canariae*, pp. 485, 486. On the Canarian consonantism see MILITAREV, A. *Fragments of the Canarian Etymological Dictionary*.

Sem.: Arab. *hawr*– ‘très grand troupeau de moutons’

Cush. S.: Dahalo *heeri*, *ēri* ‘goat, sheep’.

[] Scarce representation in the non-Berber branches. AADB 2128.

11. Berb.–Canarian **ti-h^watt*– (can be <**ti-ɣawit-t⁵⁰*) ‘sheep’ (pl.): Nefusa *tatt-ən*, Audjila *t-bitt-în*; Ahaggar *ti-hatt-în*, Ayr *ti-hatt-in* (both pl.), etc.; Canarian (Gran Canaria) *ta-hat-an* ‘ovejas’

< AA **ɣaw/yat*– ‘sheep, goat’:⁵¹

Chad.: W.: Bokkos *tūtwi* (met.?) ‘sheep’; E. **ɣataw* (met.) ‘she-goat’: Sokoro *atu*, Nanchere, Lele, etc. *tū*, Modgel *tō*

Sem.: Mod. Eth. **ɣay/wVt*–: Tigre *ɣäyot* ‘Ziege, Zicklein’, Gogot *wət-əññä*, Chaha *wət-ənä*, etc. ‘the young (male) of a goat or a sheep’

Cush. S.: Qwadza *aɣat-o* ‘sheep’

Omot. S.: Hamer *yati* ‘sheep’

[] AADB 2483. Attested in Africa only.

12. Berb. **a-karw* ~ **i-karr* ~ **a-krar* (partial reduplication) ‘young of small cattle’: Nefusa *a-krar* ‘billy-goat’, Semlal *i-kru* ‘chevreau’, Rif *i-karr-i*, Qabyle *i-karr-i* ‘ram’, Ghat *a-kərw-āt* ‘lamb’, Ahaggar *ê-krer*, pl. *a-krâr-en* ‘bélier’, *a-kerw-âten*, pl. *i-kerw-âten* ‘agneau’, etc.

< AA **kaw/yr*– ‘young (small) bovid’:

Chad. **kawr*– ‘small cattle’ (also ‘bull’): W. **kwa/ir*–: Kofyar *koor* ‘castrated goat’, Angas *kwēr*, Dira *kur-e* ‘reedbuck’, Gera *kwar-à* ‘goat’, Mburku *kwaar-i* ‘meat, animal’, Zaar *kar-ò* ‘sheep’, Kulere *kiry-ét* ‘wild animal; meat’; C.: Ouldem *kwàkwâr* (reduplication) ‘taureau’; E.: Kera *kúrkí* (reduplication) ‘taureau’, Tobanga (N. Gabri) *kar-aŋ* ‘goat’

Sem. **ka/irr*– ‘small cattle’: Akk. *kirr-u* ‘a breed of sheep’; Ugr. *kr* ‘ram’; Hbr. *kar* ‘(young) ram’

Cush. E. **kawr*– ‘goat’: LEC: Arbore *kaar-iy* ‘heifer goat’, *kor-at* ‘male goat’, Dullay: Dobase *kor-en-te* ‘female goat’; Yaaku *kúrium-a* (with the fossilized *-m* suffix) ‘young goat; lamb’.

[] AADB 2491. Cf. HSED No.1432; SED II No. 118; MILITAREV, A. Reconstructed lexicon for the West Asian home of Proto-Afrasians: pastoralism; STOLBOVA, O. *Chadic lexical database*. Issue IV, #286; MILITAREV, A., NIKOLAEV, S. *Proto-Afrasian names of non-ungulate animals in light of the Proto-Afrasian homeland issue*, #1.17.

⁵⁰ The glottal stop ʔ, unstable in Berb. as in many other AA languages, is rendered in some cases as *h*, and falls in others.

⁵¹ Reconstruction phonetically problematic because of only one “hard” root consonant.

13. Berb. *walli ‘small cattle’: Qabyle *ulli* ‘sheep’, Ghadames *welli*, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. *wəlli*, Ahaggar, Tadghaq *ulli* ‘goat’

< AA *waʕil- ‘kind of bovid’:

Chad. *wayl- ‘kind of antelope’: W. *wal-: Jimi *wal-aróo* ‘antelope’, Geji *wull-i* ‘gazelle’; E. *wil-: Lele *òl*, Kabalai *yil-ə* ‘antelope’

Sem. *waʕil- ‘mountain goat, ibex’: Ugr. *yʕl*; Hbr. *yāʕēl*; Aram.: Syr. *yaʕl-ā* ‘ibex (?)’, Jud. *yaʕāl-ā*, *yāʕēl-ā*; ESA: Sab., Qat. *wʕl*, Hdr. *ʔ-wʕl* (pl.); Arab. *waʕl-*, *waʕil-*, *wuʕil-* ‘argali, bouc de montagne; bouc domestique’; Gz. *wəʕəl-ā*, *waʕāl-ā*, *wāʕəl-ā* ‘kind of antelope, mountain goat’, Tgr. *wəʕəl-a* ‘elk/élan’⁵², Amh. *waliy-a* ‘Walia ibex’; Mhr. *wēl*, pl. *wəʕōl*, *wəyʕōl*, Hrs. *wāl*, Hbt. *wʔaál*, pl. *wəʔyoól* ‘wild goat, oryx’

Cush. E. *wiʕl- ~ *ʕawl- (met.) ‘kind of bovid’: LEC *ʕawl-: Somali *ʕawl-kii*, Rendille *hol* (*h* < *ʕ) ‘gazelle’, HEC: Sidamo *wil-ii’l-icco* ‘young (of sheep, goat)’.

[] AADB 2470; cf. SED II No. 244; MILITAREV, A., NIKOLAEV, S. *Proto-Afrasian names of ungulates in light of the Proto-Afrasian homeland issue*, #1.23.

14. Berb. *(a-)zūlay (met.) ‘buck of small bovid’: Nefusa *zaləy* ‘bélier’, Sokna *zalay* ‘grand chevreau’, Siwa *zalaq*, Ghat *a-žulay*, Ahaggar *a-hūlay*, Ayr *ə-zolay* ‘bouc’, etc.

< AA *yuzal- ‘kind of young bovid’:⁵³

Sem. *yuzāl- ‘gazelle’: Akk. *huzāl-u*, *uzāl-u* ‘young gazelle’; Aram.: Jud. *ʕwzl*, Syr. *ʕūzayl-ā* ‘antelope; hinnuleus’; Arab. *ʕazāl-* ‘petit de gazelle; gazelle (mâle)’.

[] Cf. AADB 2634; SED II No. 92.

15. Berb. *i-z(V)mVr ‘ram, lamb’: Ghadames *a-zūmer* (*z* is hard to explain), Fodjaha *zamâr*, Siwa *i-zmər*, Semlal, Izayan *i-zimər* ‘ram’, Snus, Shawiya *i-zmər*, Qabyle *i-zimər*, Zenaga *ə-žiʔmər* ‘lamb’, etc.

< *zVmVr- ‘kind of bovid’:

(?) Chad. C.: Ouldem *zèmélmèl* (< *zVmVr/l-) ‘oryx algazel’ (isolated, questionable)

⁵² COHEN, D. et al. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*, p. 578.

⁵³ Perhaps goes back to the biconsonantal form *gawz- with different fossilized affixes, cf. Chad. W.: Hausa *ganžar*; C.: Gudur *maŋ-gazaw* ‘reedbuck’; Cush. C. *ʔa-gaz-in- ‘agazen antelope’: Qemant *agāzēn*, Aungi *agāziēn-ī*.

Sem. **zmr-*: Ugr. *zmr* ‘antelope’ (not fully reliable); Hbr. *zāmār* ‘kind of gazelle’; (?) Arab. *zmr* ‘s’enufir (se dit d’une gazelle)’

Cush. S.: Dahalo *žumúru* ‘male waterbuck’.

[] Poorly represented outside of Berber. SED II No. 253; AADB 2662.

Large cattle

16. Berb. **a-birk* ~ **i-bark-aw* ‘bull, calf’: Ahaggar, Adghaq *a-brek*, Ayr *ē-brek* ‘troupeau de boeufs ou de moutons’, Ahaggar *é-berkaw* ‘veau non sevré’, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *e-bārkāw* ‘veau (de 2 à 12 mois)’

< AA **birak-* ~ **kabir-* ‘large bovid’:⁵⁴

Chad. **barik-* ~ **kabir-*: W.: Dera *birik* ‘bull’; C.: Matakam *ń-kúvár* ‘bull’, Buduma *kāber* ‘antelope’ (cf. also *berg-á* ‘buffalo’); E.: Dangla *bark-i* ‘bull, cow’, Bidiya *bir-k-i* ‘bull’, *bir-k-à* ‘cow’

(?) Egyp. (NK) *bk* ‘milk cow’ (if < **bVkv-* with metathesis and unless < *bk* ‘be pregnant’)

Cush. E.: HEC **kabir-* ‘buffalo’: Hadiya *kobir-a*; S.: Asa *kubarar-* ‘dikdik antelope’, Dahalo *kórrōb-e* (met.) ‘male lesser kudu’

[] Attested in Africa only. AADB 2535; 400.

17. Berb. **a/i-Hayr-* ‘calf’: Shilh (dial.) *i-rey* (met.) ‘veau’, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. *e-hār-i*, pl. *i-hār-an* ‘jeune bœuf de 2 à 3 ans’

< AA **hay/wr-* ‘kind of larger bovid’:

Sem. **haw(a)r-* ‘bull, cow’: ESA: Sab. *hwr-y*, Hdr. *hwr*, (?) Min. *hwr* ‘cow’; Arab. *hawar-* ‘taureau’ (see SED II No. 106)

Cush. E. **hawr-*: LEC **hawr-*: Oromo *hor-ii* ‘cattle’, Konso *hor-eet-a* ‘wealth, livestock’, HEC **hur-*: Burji *húr-i* ‘buffalo’.

[] AADB 4120, 380; cf. STOLBOVA, O. *Chadic lexical database*. Issue V, #224.

Pigs

18. Berb.–Canarian *(*H*)*ilf-* ‘hog, pig’: Semlal, Figig, Shawiya, Qabyle, etc. *iləf*; Gran Canaria, Fuerteventura, Lanzarote *ilfe*

< AA **hVlp-* ~ **lVpħ-* ‘hog’:

Egyp. (20th Dyn.) *iph* ‘pig’ (<**lVpVħ*, met.)

⁵⁴ Whether these two triconsonantal roots with the radicals of the same quality and the same meaning are to be regarded as metathetic variants of the same root or two independent roots is a purely scholastic question.

Sem.: Arab. *hallūf*- ‘hog, pig’⁵⁵

[] Cf. also Beja *hallūf* ‘hog’ which must be an Arabism. AADB 2647; WÖLFEL, J. D. *Monumenta linguae Canariae*, p. 492; cf. TAKÁCS, G. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, Vol. I, p. 89. A somewhat “enigmatic” term with metathetic reflexes (probably accounted for by a kind of tabooing), though undoubtedly connected.

Odd-toed ungulates

19. Berb. **a-baḥul*- ‘chameau’: Ahaggar *a-bāḥul*, pl. *i-būḥāl* ‘chameau de charge commun et lourd’, Ghat *a-baḥul* ‘vieux chameau’.⁵⁶

(?) < AA **bay/kl*- ‘kind of odd-toed ungulate’:

Sem. **bay/kl*- ‘mule’:⁵⁷ Sab. *byl*; Arab. *bayl*-, *bayyāl*-;⁵⁸ Gz. *baḳl*, Tna. *bäḳl-i*, Tgr., Har. *bäḳäl*, Amh. *bäḳl-o*;⁵⁹ Mhr. *bayl-ēt*, Hrs. *beyel-ēt*

Cush. N.: Beja *bagäl*, *bāgl-a* ‘Maultier, –Esel’ (according to Reinisch, a loan from Eth.); C. **ba/iḳl*- ‘mule’: Bilin *baql-a*, Khamir *biql-a*, Kemant (pl.)

⁵⁵ Not in classical Arabic: according to COHEN, D. et al. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*, attested in Egyptian, Maghrib, Chadic, Maltese and N. Arabian Arabic. Could these terms be loans from Berb. (which is hardly so in the case of N. Arabian Arabic)?

⁵⁶ Compared in NAÏT-ZERRAD, K. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*, p. 141, to Maroc central *abaḥil* ‘pied de chameau (sabot)’. In STOLBOVA, O. *Chadic Lexical Database*. Issue V, p. 228 compared to Chad. C. **buh*^h*al*- ‘deer’ and commented: “For the origin of Berb forms see [Belova, No. 34, pp. 99–101]”; BELOVA, A. *Etymological dictionary of Old Arabic lexicon* not quoting the Berb. form, adduces Arab. *bāhil*, pl. *buhhal-u* ‘верблюдица с неперевязанным выменем’ [a she-camel with the udder untied] which can hardly be the origin of the Berb. terms meaning ‘load camel’ and ‘old camel’, matching them neither semantically nor phonetically. Of interest also is Ahaggar *a-buyəlli* ‘mulatto, bastard’.

⁵⁷ This is one of the most debatable Semitic zoonyms (see discussion in SED II, No. 55) with a lot of conflicting hypotheses trying to explain the irregular correspondence *y* vs. *k* (and even *g*) by various borrowings; the irregular Cushitic parallels considered by some authors sources of the Eth. terms confuse the issue still further. The Berber terms fit well phonetically while their meanings make borrowing from Arabic unlikely, rendering the idea of a PAA origin of some odd-toed ungulate (far too early for a mule, of course, attested to much later) plausible.

⁵⁸ There are also Aram.: Syr. *bagl-ā*, *baḳl-ā*, Mnd. *bagal*, Turoyo *bayl-o* commonly recognized as Arabisms.

⁵⁹ According to APPLEYARD, D. *A Comparative Approach to the Amharic Lexicon*, p. 25, the Eth. forms are “almost certainly of Cushitic origin”.

bākəl; E.: Saho, Afar *baḳel-a*, LEC: Somali *baqal*, HEC: Hadiya *baqulla* ‘mule’.

[] AADB 2537; SED II No. 55; cf. BLAŽEK, V. *Fauna in Beja Lexicon*, p. 5.

20. Berb. **(H)abal*⁶⁰ ‘(young) camel’: Ghat *abal* ‘chameau en âge d’être monté’, Ahaggar *ābal*, pl. *ābal-ən* ‘jeune chameau’, *t-ābal-t* ‘chamelle de selle d’âge quelconque.’, Ayr *abal*, pl. *abal-ān* ‘chameau noir et court d’une race particulière’ (also ‘autruche mâle’)

< **ʔabil-* ‘camel’:⁶¹

Sem. **ʔibil-* ‘camel’:⁶² Akk. (SB) *ibil-u* ‘Arabian camel, dromedary’⁶³; Aram. Syr. *həbālātā* ‘grex (camelorum)’, *habbālā* ‘pastor camelorum’, *ʔebālātā* ‘grex camelorum’ (a rarer variant); ESA: Sab., Qat. *ʔbl* (f. *ʔblt*) ‘camel’; Arab. *ʔibl-*, *ʔibil-* ‘chameaux, race de chameaux’; Mhr. *ḥə-ybīt*, Jib. *yət* ‘she-camel’

(?) Cush.: N. **balb(al)-* (reduplication): Beja *balāb-* ‘2-3 year-old camel’.

[] Cf. SED II No. 2, AADB 2509.

21. Berb. **a-gil* ~ **gVlgVl-* (reduplication) ‘ass; camel’: Ahaggar *ā-gelgāli* ‘chameau de charge commun et lourd’, Zenaga *a-žij*, pl. *u-žəž-ən* ‘âne’ (BASSET, R. *Mission au Sénégal*, p. 80; < **Ha-gil*)

< AA **(ʔa-)gal-* ‘kind of equid or camel’:

Sem. **ʔa-gal-/ *gilgal-/ *gawl-* ‘(young of) an equid’: Akk. *agāl-u*, *agall-u* ‘an equid’ (BRINKMAN, J. A., CIVIL, M., GELB, I., et al, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago*, a, p. 141),

⁶⁰ While a direct borrowing from Arabic into each of the Tuareg idioms (not into Proto-Tuareg, of course) can obviously be suspected, the vocalism of the Tuareg forms rather speaks against it.

⁶¹ Though the PAA whose split I date to the mid-11th millennium seems too early for a camel, according to some authors (PROTHERO, D., SCHOCH, R. M. *Horns, Tusks, and Flippers: The Evolution of Hoofed Mammals*, pp. 53–4), ancestors of the dromedary occurred in the Middle East and northern Africa as early as by the Pleistocene. A series of dromedary sculptures found in the Saudi Arabian province of Al-Jawf was dated recently between 7,000 and 8,000 years old while in Somalia (in Laas Geel meaning ‘well of camel’ in Somali) there are paintings of dromedary dated from 5,000 to 9,000 years ago.

⁶² Arguably commented on in SED II No. 2 as “reliably attested in the Arabian area only, which makes its Common Semitic status doubtful” contra COHEN, D. et al. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*, p. 3.

⁶³ Acc. to SED II No. 2, a late literary term of limited frequency and hardly genuine in Akkadian – see discussion in BRINKMAN, J. A., CIVIL, M., GELB, I. et al. (eds.). *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago*, i, p. 2.

‘Reitesel’ (SODEN, W. von. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 15); (?) Arab. *ǧawl*– ‘troupeau nombreux de moutons, de chevaux, de chameaux’; Tgr. *gəlgäl*, Tna. *gəlgəl* ‘foal (mule, horse)’, Amh. *gəlgäl* ‘the young of domestic animals (goat, sheep, horse, donkey)’

Cush. E. **gaal*– ‘camel’: Saho, Afar *gāl-ā* ‘Kamal’ (REINISCH, L. *Die Afar-Sprache*, p. 849), LEC **gāl*– ‘camel’: Somali *geel-a* (coll.) ‘camels’, Boni *g’áál*, Rendille *gaal*, Bayso *gal-a*, Arbore *gaal*, Elmolo *gal-te*, HEC **gāl*– ‘camel’: Sidamo, Darasa *gaal-a*, Burji *gaali*, Dullay **kāl*– (<**gāl*–) ‘camel’: Harso, Dobase, Galila *kaal-á*

Omot. N. **gal(l)*– ‘camel’: Wolaita, Dache, Zaisse *gaal-e*, Yamma *gaal-a*, Kafa *gall-o*, Dizi (Sheko) *gaal-e* (< HEC?).

[] AADB 2508. Note a mixed term for ass and camel.

22. Berb. **a-Hugg* ‘colt, horse’: Zenaga *oǧǧi*, Izayan *a-wiǧǧ*, Ndir *a-wǧ* ‘cheval’, Ghat *a-huǧ*, Ahaggar *ǎ-huǧ*, pl. *i-huǧǧ-ǎn*, E. Tawllemmet. *ǎ-hug*, pl. *i-hǎǧǧ-ǎn* ‘poulain’, etc.⁶⁴

< AA **hu/ig-an/m*– ‘kind of odd-toed ungulate’:

Sem.: Aram.: Jud. *hōgān-ā*, *hōgǎn-ā* ‘young camel, or dromedary’, Syr. *hūgn-ō gaml-ō* ‘dromedarius’ (in fabul. aram. ‘asinus’); Tgr. *haǧin* ‘chameau de monte’ (COHEN, D. et al. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*, p. 367).

Cush. N.: Beja *hig* ‘3 year-old camel’; E.: HEC: Burji *hogom-áy* ‘horses’.

[] AADB 2461. Another mixed term for equids and camel, cf. 19 (?) and 21.

23. Berb. **a-hulil* ~ **a-hahul* (part. reduplication) ‘young odd-toed ungulate’: Ghat *a-hulil* ‘âne sauvage’, Ahaggar *ǎ-hāhul* ‘jeune chameau non castré’, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *ǎ-hulel*, pl. *i-hule-tǎn* ‘poulain, ânon’

< AA *(?V)*hi/ull*– ‘young odd-toed ungulate’:

Sem.: Akk. (OB) *ilulay-u* ‘ein Kamel?’; Tgr. *hele* ‘camel (poet.)’, Tna. *hawla* ‘donkey’s colt or foal of about two years’; Hrs. *me-heley-ōt* ‘she-camel with fully-grown young’

Cush. E.: LEC: Rendille *éhel*, Arbore *holl*, Dasenech *ʔuol* ‘donkey’ (Heine Rend. 215); Dullay: Gollango *ooll-ó* ‘Pferd’; S.: Dahalo *helle?-a* ‘zebra’

Omot. N.: Zaisse *oll-ō*, *woll-ō*, Ganjule *oll-o* ‘horse’ (<**hawl*–, possibly a loanword from Dullay, or < **ɣawl*–).

[] AADB 2462. Another mixed term for equids and camel.

⁶⁴ Cf. KOSSMANN, M. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*, #207.

24. Berb. **i-kirkar* (reduplication): Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. *i-kærkar* (pl.) ‘camels’⁶⁵

< AA **kawr-* and **kirkar-* (reduplication) ‘wild ass or camel’:

Chad. **kawr-*: W. **kwar-* ‘wild ass, donkey’: Chip *kor-o*, Bolewa *kor-o*, Ngizim *kwár-á*, etc.; C. **kwar-* ‘ass’: Tera *kór-ó*, Hwona, Margi, Gude *kwara*, Banana *kwær-a*; E. **kur-* ‘ass’: Ndam *kùr-ō*, Kwang *kúr-ā*, etc.

Sem. **kirkar-* ~ **kurkir-* (reduplication) ‘she-camel’: Hbr. *kirkär-ät* ‘she-camel’; Hobyot *kóokær* (part. reduplication) ‘female camel (from 2 to 3 years)’⁶⁶

Cush. **ku/ar-*: N. **kar-*: Beja *kár-ee-see* ‘Kamellaus’ (*see* ‘louse’); E.: LEC **(?Vn-)kur-*: Somali *kór-on* ‘castrated camel; barren she-camel’, Rendille *in-kuraarr-ú* ‘donkey colt, young donkey’

Omot. N. **kur-* ‘donkey’: Chara *kur-ā*, Kafa, Mocha, Anfillo *kur-ō*, Gimirra, Dizi (Sheko) *kur*.

[] AADB 2468. One more mixed term for donkey / wild ass and camel.

25. Berb. **a-l(V)kum-* ~ **a-ḵ(V)lam-* ‘camel’: Ntifa *a-lyum*, Izayan *alyem*, Qabyle *a-lyʷəm*; Siwa *a-lyom* ‘camel’; Ahaggar *a-ylam*, pl. *i-ylām-en* ‘chameau de selle’, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *a-ylam*, pl. *i-ylam-än* ‘chameau de selle; caravane’

< AA **ʕalVḵ-* ~ **lVḵum-* ~ **kalVm-* ‘camel’:

(?) Chad.: W.: Hausa *rākúmí*, Karekare *zúkùmó*, Warji *lākùmài*, Miya *lākùmì*, Mburku *lààkùmì*, Diri *raḵúmí*, Tsagu *rààkùmì*, *ràḵwámì*, Jimbin *raḵùmìtà gāḡ* (all the North Bauchi forms are considered loanwords from Hausa), Ngizim *zágámáú*, *zákəmau* ‘camel’; C.: Bura *likamo*, Dghwede *lùgwámà*, Kotoko *lògòmè*, Masa *lákmaná*, Daba *zògomo*, Lame *zəgwàamà* ‘camel’, Mbara *lukma* ‘camel, horse’; E.: Ndam *lùkmà*, Kwang *lokúma*, *lògəmà*, Migama *lókumo*, etc. ‘camel’, Kabalai *lakma* ‘horse’ (irregular reflexes: **l > r* and *z*; **ḵ > g* rather point to borrowing – most likely < Berb.)

Sem.: Arab. *ʕalīḵ-at-* ‘chamelle menée en laisse’ (cf. Mhr. *ʔēlīg* ‘camel-calf about two years old’, Jib. *ʕizóg*, dim. *ʕálgen* ‘2-4 year-old camel’).

Cush. E.: LEC **kaal-im-*: Somali *qaalin*, pl. *qaalimo*, Rendille *haal’im* ‘young female camel’ (note similarity with the Tuareg forms).

⁶⁵ Note a striking resemblance between the Tuareg and Hebrew terms.

⁶⁶ Perhaps related is Arab. *kurr-* ‘anon, poulain’ (COHEN, D. et al. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*, p. 1283). What is surprising is the very fact of the mixed terms for equids and camel (see 19, 21, 22, 23, 24). What could unite them in the minds of the PAA speakers? It's too early for a pack animal function...

[] AADB 2596. Unless a common AA term with varying root consonants and metathesis due to tabooing, a chain of borrowing from Arab. > Berb. > Chad. and, apparently, LEC (< Tuareg?) accompanying the introduction of the domesticated camel from the Arabian Peninsula to Africa.

26. Berb. **sardun* < **s-ardun* ‘mule’: Semlal, Izdeg *a-sərdun*, pl. *i-sərdan*, Shawiya *a-sərdun*, Izayan, Snus *a-sərdūn*, Rif *a-sardun* ‘mulet, mule’, etc., Ahaggar, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *ə-šārdan* ‘mulâtre’

< AA **ʕar(a)d-* ‘(wild) ass’:

Sem. **ʕar(a)d-* ‘(wild) ass’: (?) Akk. *aradd-u*, *ḥaradd-u* (< Aram.?); Hbr. *ʕārōd*; Aram.: Syr. *ʕārād-ā*, Mand. *arada* ‘wild ass’; Arab. *ʕard-* ‘âne’

Mixed terms for ungulates

27. Berb. **a-saraw/y-* ‘herd of animals’: Ahaggar *ǎ-sāra*, pl. *i-sārâ-tān* ‘troupe d’animaux sauvages’, Taitoq *a-sera* ‘troupeau de moutons, de chèvres, d’ânes’, Tadghaq *ta-sāraw-t* ‘small herd of cows (up to about 30)’, *ta-sāray-t* ‘large herd (especially of camels or cattle)’

< AA **saraw/y-* ‘kind of bovid’:

Chad. W. **sa(r)sar-* (reduplication): Hausa *sassar-o* ‘male red-fronted gazelle’

Egyp. (OK) *sʕ* (if < **sVr-*) ‘Herde’

Cush. E. **sar(a)w/y-* and **sawr-*: Saho *saraaw-ii* ‘two-year-old bull’, LEC: Somali *sary-an* ‘adult male oryx’, Dullay **sawr-* ‘dik-dik antelope’: Gollango *sawr-ó*, *sayr-ó*, Tsamai *sawr-o*.

[] Attested in Africa only. AADB 299. Cf. Blažek, V. *Fauna in Beja Lexicon*, p. 9.

Poultry

28. Berb. **a-ka(H)y-aw* ‘chicken’: Ghat *i-kai*, Ahaggar *e-kahi*, pl. *i-keh-an*, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. *ta-kəyy-a*, Semlal *a-kiy-aw*, pl. *i-kiyaw-ən* ‘poussin’.

< AA **k^waʔay-* and **k^wak^way-* ‘kind of gallinaceous bird’:

Chad. (a) **k^way-*: W. **k^way-*: Gwandara *kwee*, Sura *kwéé*, Angas *kì* ‘hen’, Guruntum *k^way-a* ‘cock’; C. **kway*: Buduma *kúy-ē* ‘partridge’; (b) **k^wayk^w-* (reduplication): W. **k^wayk^w-*: Dera *kíyók* ‘goose’, Fyer *kùkw-è* ‘hen’; C. **kwak-*: Gulfei *kwaku* ‘hen’.

Sem. **kakay-* (reduplication): Syr. *kākāy-ətā* ‘gallina’.

Cush. **kaway-* and **kawkaw-* (reduplication): N. **kaw*: Beja *kaw* ‘Perdrix Erkelii’; C. **kaway-*: Bilin *koy-a*, Qemant *kawiy-ā* ‘Frankolinus Erkelii’; E. **kawkaw-*: Yaaku *kəkə* ‘fowl’

Omot. **kaway-* and **kaykay-* (reduplication): N. **(ʔa-)kayw*: Male *kai* ‘bird’, Yamma *akō* ‘chicken’, Chara *aka*, Kafa *akkō*, Mocha *akke*; S. **kaykay-*: Dime *kéekí* ‘partridge, quail’.

[] AADB 325. Cf. SED II No. 123; BLAŽEK, V. *Fauna in Beja Lexicon*, p. 261. By placing this root with the domesticated animals, I do not claim that the domestication of birds occurred in the Proto-Afrasian era, although a few PA zoonyms allow such an interpretation.

Wild animals

Monkeys

29. Berb. **da(n)gil* ‘kind of monkey⁶⁷; dwarf’: Ghat *a-dažel* ‘singé’, *ta-dažel-t* ‘guenon (Cercopithecus)’, Sokna *dágel* ‘monkey’, Nefusa *a-dənzal* ‘dwarf’

< AA **dang^(w)Vl/r-* ‘monkey; dwarf’

Chad. **da(n)g^(w)-ir/l-*: W.: Hausa *gand-i* (met. < **dang-*) ‘pigmy’; C. **da(n)g^wil/r-*: W. Margi *dagil*, Chibak *dakil* (devoicing of **-g?*) ‘monkey’, Gude *dángwár-á* ‘adult male of an *erd* monkey’, Dghwede *gándàw-à* (met. < **dangw-*), Buduma *dāgel*; E. **di(n)g^w-Vr-*: Ndam *gágām dāgré*, Dangla *gùdiny-à* (metathesis < **dingw-*) ‘monkey’

Egypt. (OK) *dng*, *dʒg* (< **dlg*), *dʒng* (< **dlng*, metathesis of **dVngVl-?*) ‘dwarf’

(?) Sem. **duggal-*: Arab. *dužžal-* ‘vil, bas, de basse classe (hommes)’ (semantically arguable); Tna. *dənki*, Amh. *denk* ‘dwarf’ (< Oromo).

Cush. E. **da(n)gir-* ‘monkey’:⁶⁸ LEC **da(n)gir-*: Somali (various dialects) *daŋer*, *danžar*, Boni *dašer* (< **dažer* < **dagir*), HEC **dagir-*: Hadiya *dagier-aa*, Kambatta *dagier-aa*.

⁶⁷ Borrowing from Chad. not to be ruled out.

⁶⁸ Cf. what seems a variant root **dink-* ‘dwarf’: LEC: Oromo *dink-i* (borrowed in Mod. Eth **dink-* id.), HEC: Kambatta *dənk-a*, Tembaro *dink-a* (borrowed in Omot. N.: Kafa *dikk-ō* id.). As for **da(n)gir-*, various authors reconstruct for this root the E. Cush. **ž-* instead of **d-* (DOLGOPOLSKY, A. *Comparative–Historical Phonetics of Cushitic Languages*, pp. 107–8; BLAŽEK, V. *Simiae*) or **z-* (SASSE, H.-J. *The Consonant Phonemes of Proto-East-Cushitic (PEC)*, p. 140), because of C. Cush. **ž-*.

[] In the meaning ‘monkey’ attested in Africa only. AADB 38, 392; BLAŽEK, V. *Simiae*. Cf. Kordofan Nubian: Dair *tigil*, Koldegi *tingel*, Midob *tanni* ‘monkey’ (ibid., apud Meinhof) and Saharan: Tubu *degəl* ‘ape’ (ibid., apud Lukas).

Ungulates

30. Berb. **a-nHir* (< **-nVʔir*) ‘kind of antelope’: Semlal *anīr* ‘antilope’, Zenaga *e-naʔrh* ‘gazelle dama’, Ghat *inir*, Ahaggar *enir*, Taneslemt *tī-nhir-t* ‘antilope mohor’.⁶⁹

< AA **naʔir-* ~ **ʔarn-* ~ **ʔiran-*⁷⁰ ‘kind of antelope’:

Sem. **ʔarn-* ~ **ʔiran-* ‘kind of antelope or mountain goat’: Syr. *ʔarn-ā* ‘caper montanus’; Arab. *ʔirān-* ‘oryx mâle’; Gz. *ʔorn-ā* ‘kind of antelope’

31. Berb. **i-baray/w* ‘addax species’: Ahaggar *ě-berey* ‘faon d’antilope adax’, Ayr. E. Tawllemmet. *e-bārāy* ‘faon d’oryx/adax’, (?) Kel-Ataram *bārway-a* ‘ram’⁷¹

< AA **baray-* ~ **bayer-* ‘young of any bovid’:

Chad. **baray/w-* and **babar-* (reduplication) ‘kind of bovid’: W. **baray/w-* and **(ba)bar-*: Hausa *bàrééw-áá*, pl. *bàrèey-íí* ‘gazelle’, Gera *bar-a* ‘buffalo’, Pa’a *bàbár* ‘roan antelope’, Siri *babar-i* ‘gazella dama’, etc.; C. **bVʔ/wr-*: Masa *boʔor-a* ‘kind of gazelle’, Banana *bbōr* ‘cephalophe de Grime’; E. **ma-bur-*: Lele *mbur* ‘Cobe Defassa’, Kwang *mābār-ā* ‘duiker’

Egyp. (OK) *bʾ* ‘heiliger Bock (ovis longipes palaeo-egyptiacus)’, Copt.: Fayumic *bar-it*, Boheiric *barh-it* ‘bouc’ (*-h-* is not clear)⁷²

Sem. **bayr-* ‘young cattle’: Akk. (OB on) *būr-u* ‘young calf’, (MB on) *būr-u* ‘bull (for breeding); young cattle (up to three years)’; Mand. *bir-a* ‘domestic cattle’, *bar-a* ‘lamb’; Arab. (Yemen.) *bār-ah* ‘cow’; Tgr. *bar-a* ‘ox’, Amh. *bare* (< **baray*), Har. *bār-a* ‘ox, bull’, Gur. **bawr-* ‘ox (for farming)’

Cush. **bayr-* ‘k. of bovid (Oreotragus, Oryx etc.)’: E.: LEC **bayr-*: Somali *bayr* ‘Klippspringer’ (REINISCH, L. *Die Somali-Sprache. Wörterbuch*), *bārār* (pl.) ‘lambs’; S. **baʔur-*: Burunge *baʔur-u* ‘oryx’.

⁶⁹ Cf. KOSSMANN, M. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*, #28.

⁷⁰ Metathetic variants are probably accounted for by the hunting taboo.

⁷¹ Cf. also Ghadames *ābbur* ‘agneau’ in CALASSANTI-MOTYLINSKI, A. de C. *Le dialecte berbère de R’edamès*, p. 99 (not in LANFRY, J. *Ghadamès. II. Glossaire*).

⁷² *-r-* in Faumic points to **-r-* rather than **-l-*, though, acc. to TAKÁCS, G. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Vol. 2, p. 23, it is “most probably, < **bl*”.

[] Cf. AADB 2498, 2487; HSED Nos. 183, 217, 341; DOLGOPOLSKY, A. *Nostratic Dictionary*, # 225a; TAKÁCS, G. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Vol. 2, pp. 24–25, 53 notes, 54–55; SED II No. 53; MILITAREV, A. *Reconstructed lexicon for the West Asian home of Proto-Afrasians: pastoralism*; CED #22.

32. Berb. **a/i-damay* ‘gazelle’: Tlit *á-dmū* ‘gazelle’, Zenaga *dāmi* ‘Gazelle Rufifrons’, Ahaggar, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *e-demi*, pl. *i-demâ-n* ‘gazelle de grande espèce’ (cf. Ued Righ *ta-dmen-t* ‘brebis’)

< AA **damaʔ/y-* ‘kind of bovid, antelope’:

Chad.: W.: Mburku *dumun* ‘duiker antelope’; C. **di/um(m)-*: Masa *dimi*, Afade *dümмо*, Makeri *dimmu*, Gulfei *dumu*; E. **dVma*: Somrai *demai*, Tumak *dāmā* ‘sheep’

(?) Sem.: Gur. **dumm-a* ‘cow without horns’ (isolated in Sem.).

Cush. E. HEC: Hadiya *damal-iččo* ‘antelope dekkula’ (with the fossilized *-l* suffix?); S. **damaʔ* – ‘éland’: Iraqw *damaʔ-amo*, Alagwa, Burunge *damaʔ-imo*, Asa *domo-k*, Qwadza *damay-it-uko*

Omot. N.: Male *damm-ə* ‘calf (bovine)’, Yemsa *dumā* ‘antelope dekkula’.

[] Attested in Africa only. AADB 2464.

33. Berb. **i-daray-* ‘oryx’: Ahaggar, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. *e-dəri*, pl. *i-dāra-n*

< AA **(ʔa-)dury-* ‘kind of bovid’:

Chad. **(ʔan-)dVry-* ‘kind of antelope; small cattle’: W. **(ʔan-)dur-*: Hausa *dari* ‘hartebeest’, Guruntum *dòor-o* ‘goat’, Bokkos *ʔan-dūr*, Sha *n-dur* ‘ram’, etc.; C. **ʔu-dVr-*: Musgu *u-deri*; E. **dar-*: Dangla *dar-o* ‘gazelle species.’

Egypt. (OK) *idr* ‘Herde (von Vieh und Geflügel)’

Sem. **(ʔa-)dury-*: Akk. *dudrū* ‘sorte de mouton’ (partial reduplication); Arab. *diry-ān-at-* ‘espèce de taureau’; Tgr. (pl.) *ʔaddari-t* ‘dwarf-antelope’

Cush. **(ʔa-)dury-* ‘kudu antelope’: E.: Afar *wadar* ‘Ziegen, Kleinvieh’, LEC **ʔa-dVry-*: Somali *a-deri-o* ‘male kudu antelope’; S. **(da)dury-*: Burunge *dor-o* ‘zebra’, Dahalo *dáđiiri* ‘Lesser Kudu’

Omot. **dury-* ‘sheep’: N. **dur-*: Koyra, Zaise *dor-ō*, Basketo, Doko *dori*, Oida *dur-o* id., Gimira (She) *dor* ‘ram’; S. **dayr-* (met.): Ari *der-ti* ‘sheep’, Dime *der* ‘goat’.

[] Cf. Sum. *dār*, *dàra* ‘ibex’. AADB 2482. Cf. TAKÁCS, G. *Studies in Afro-Asiatic Comparative Phonology: Consonantism*, p. 73.

34. Berb. **a-wdad* (partial reduplication) ‘Barbary sheep (Ammotragus lervia)’: Nefusa *a-wdād*, Semlal, Izdeg, Ghadames, Ghat *udad*, Ahaggar *ūdad*, Fodjaha *udād*, etc.

< AA **wad-* ‘(wild) sheep’:

Chad. **wad-* ~ **daw-* (met.) ‘kind. of lesser bovid’: W.: Hausa *ud-a* ‘kind of sheep’; C. **daw/y-*: Mofu *dáw* ‘goat’, Zime–Batna *dèy* ‘duiker’

Sem. **wad-*: Arab. *wad-ān-* ‘mouflon’⁷³

Cush. E. **ʔayd-* ‘sheep’: Saho *ayd-ō* ‘sheep (coll.)’, Afar *id-a* ‘ewe’, LEC: Bayso *idādo* (partial reduplication) ‘sheep’.

[] Cf. Sum. *udu* ‘sheep’. AADB 2531.

35. Berb. **i-zamm-* ‘kind of antelope’:⁷⁴ Siwa *i-zəm*, pl. *i-zamm-ən*, Zenaga *ə-žəmmi*, pl. *žəmm-ən* ‘gazelle’, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. *e-zamm*, pl. *i-zamm-ən*, Ahaggar *e-həm*, pl. *i-həmm-ən* ‘oryx’

< AA **ʒa(ʕV)m-* ‘kind of bovid’:

Chad. W. **ʒum-kwar-* ‘hartebeest’: Kariya *zuma-kwar*, Jimbin *žima-kwan*; C. **ʔVʒVm-* ‘ram’: Mofu *ézəm*, *zem*, Balda *ʔèžém*, *ʔàžém*, etc.⁷⁵

(?) Sem.: Arab. *zaʕʕām-at-* ‘boeuf ou vache’

[] AADB 2663.

Largest herbivores

36. Berb. **y/a(H)lw* ‘elephant’: Shilh *əlu*, Ghat *alu*, Ahaggar *ēlu*, pl. *ēlw-ān*, Ayr *iləw*, E. Tawllemmet *eləw*, Zenaga *əžih* (–ž– <*–l–), etc.

< AA **ʕalw-* ‘elephant’⁷⁶

(?) Chad. W.: Zul *liiye* ‘elephant’ (met. < **liʕ-?* cf. also C.: Musgu *ālī* ‘giraffe’).

⁷³ Cf. also miscellaneous terms that are somewhat similar and probably eventually related: Sem.: Akk. (lex.) *dūd-u* (< **dawd-*, partial reduplication?), (OA, SB) *a/etūdu* ‘wild sheep (male)’; Off. Aram. (hapax in Frah) *ʔndwt* (< **ʔV-n-daw-t?*) id. (cf. SED II No. 44).

⁷⁴ Also related is Berb. Tuareg **a-wzim* ‘faon de gazelle’: Ahaggar *ă-whim*, Ghat, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *a-wžim* [PRASSE, K.-G. *A propos de l’origine de H touareg (tahaggart)*, #635] (a relict diminutive from **i-zamm-?*)

⁷⁵ STOLBOVA, O. *Chadic lexical database*. Issue III, #489.

⁷⁶ Compared in BLAŽEK, V. *Elephant, Hippopotamus and Others: On Some Ecological Aspects of the Afroasiatic Homeland* (passim) to Cush. E: Somali *wiyil*, etc. and S.: Dahalo *wāla* ‘rhinoceros’ which is arguable as AA **ʕ* yields *ʕ* both in Somali and Dahalo.

Sem.: Akk. *alû* (*elû*) ‘bull (as a mythological being)’, ‘The Bull (of Heaven)’ (can be < **ʕalw/y*); Syr. *yaflā* ‘unicornis, rhinoceros’; Tgr. *ʕəwal* ‘young of the elephant’ (three metathetic variants)

[] AADB 2511.

Canines

37. Berb. **baggay* ‘kind of wild canine’: Ghat *i-beži*, pl. *i-bež-an*, Ahaggar *ǧ-beggi*, pl. *i-begg-ân*, E. Tawllemmet *e-bæggi*, pl. *i-bägg-an* ‘chacal’, Kel-Ui *a-beggi*, pl. *i-begg-en* ‘loup, renard’, Taneslemt *i-bəgg-an* ‘wolves’

< AA **baggay-* ‘kind of wild canine or hyena’:

Chad. C. **ba(H)gay* ‘hyena’: Dghwede *bàngá* (dissim. < **bagg-*?), Gulfei *baga*, *bega*, pl. *begai*, Logone *boga*, *ḥògà*, pl. *ḥògày*

Egyp. (NE) *bg* ‘Name eines beissenden Tieres’ (meaning not specified).

[] Attested only in Africa. TAKÁCS, G. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, Vol. 2, p. 341; AADB 3971.

38. Berb. **kVs-* ‘wolf’: Ahaggar *aysi* ‘loup’, Ayr *ta-γəs-t*, E. Tawllemmet *ši-γəss* ‘chien-loup’

< AA **kaš/ĉʕ-* ‘kind of canine; hyena’:

Sem. **kašʕ-* (< AA **kaĉʕ-*): Arab. *kašʕ-* ‘hyène mâle’ (also ‘caméléon’); Jib. *kešé-t* ‘wolf’

Omot. S.: Hamer *ḵaski*, Ongota *qaske*, *kaski* ‘dog’ (likely a lw. < Hamer or vice versa).

[] AADB 2698. Correspondences unclear, not fully reliable.

39. Berb. **a-wwur*: Ahaggar *ǧ-ggur*, E. Tawllemmet *aggur*, Ayr *éggur* ‘chacal’⁷⁷

< AA **wahr-* ‘kind of canine or hyena’:

Egyp. (late) *whr.t* ‘Hündin’ (prop. name), Copt. *ʔuhor* ‘dog’

⁷⁷ NAÏT-ZERRAD, K. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*, p. 856, placed under **gwr*, though in FOUCAULD, Ch. de. *Dictionnaire touareg-français*, p. 480, the grapheme **X** usually transliterated as *gg* is used; in the Ahaggar *tifinav* it renders the voiced stop *g* originated from **-gg^w* < **-ww* < Proto-Berber and Proto-Afrasian **w(w)* and thus opposed to the voiced velar spirant *ḡ* (rendered by **T**) < Proto-Berber and Proto-Afrasian **g*. There are also the somewhat enigmatic Senhadja *i-uhar*, Ait Tuzin *a-whar*, Ait Warain *uhar*, etc. ‘fox’ formally well compatible with this root but containing a laryngeal normally lost in North Berber. (cf. KOSSMANN, M. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*. # 5.14).

Cush. **warH*– ‘hyena’: E. **warH-ab*–: LEC **warH-ab*–: Konso *oray-ta*, Somali *waraab-e*, Oromo *waraab-esa*, Rendille *warab-a*, Dirayta *waraab-e*, Dullay **war(H)-ab*–: Gawwada *oraap-atte*, Harso *araap-ičče*, Gollango *oraap-atte*; S. **war*–: Ma’a *war-é*.

[] Attested in Africa only. AADB 3189. Cf. STOLBOVA, O. *Chadic Lexical Database*. Issue VI, #153 where this root is glossed as ‘jackal’. Cf. Sum. ur.gi₇, ur.ki ‘(male) dog’ (gi, gi₇, ki ‘male, man’).

40. Berb. **wVššin* (met.) ‘jackal’: Fodjaha *uššan*, pl. *i-wuššân-ən*, Ghadames *weššin*, Qabyle, Nefusa *uššan*, Semlal *uššan*, etc.

< AA **wa(n)š*– ‘kind of canine’:

Egyp. (OK) *wnš* ‘wolf’

Cush. E. **wašš*–: HEC **wašš*– (< **wanš*–): Sidamo *woš-iččo*, Kambatta *woš-ičču*, Burji *wačč-o*, pl. *wašš-a* ‘dog’,⁷⁸ Dullay **woš*–: Gollango *oš-e* ‘Hyänenhund’

Omot. N. **wayši*: Haruro *wayše*, Mao (Hozo) *wiši*, (Sezo) *wiš(š)i* ‘dog’ (probably borrowed from HEC).

[] Attested in Africa only. In BLAŽEK, V. *Lexicostatistical comparison of Omotic languages*, cited are NS parallels: Nara *wos*, Taman: Merarir *wiis* ‘dog’. AADB 291.

Hyena

41. Berb. **-zur-Vy* ‘hyena’: Ahaggar *tă-hûr-i*, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *tə-zor-əy*

< AA **ʔažur*– ‘kind of feline or viverra; hyena’:

Chad. W. **žažur*– (met.): Galambu *zăr-əm*, Warji *žara-waš* ‘lion’, Zul *zažâr-i* ‘like a hyena or civet’; C. **žVr*–: Bachama *žâr-á*, Bata *žír-e*, Buduma *zāžúr-mà* (reduplication) ‘leopard’; E. **žur*– ‘id.’: Gabri *žur*, Mubi *žyúr-úk*

Sem. **ʔa(n)đar*–: Akk. *azar-u* (*azzar-u*) ‘lynx’; Gz. *žanzar* ‘wild cat’

Cush. E.: LEC **ʔadur(r)*– ‘viverra’: Oromo *adurr-ee*, Dasenech *adur-e*⁷⁹; S. **žižVr*– (met.) ‘viverra’: Alagwa *žežir-a*, Burunge *žižerar-e*

⁷⁸ Cf. also Darasa *walčo*, *warša* with the comment in BLAŽEK, V. *Beja historical phonology: Consonantism*, #21: *-r/-l-* originating via dissimilation of the primary geminate.

⁷⁹ Sidamo *adurre* ‘cat’, Dullay **ʔadurr*– (Dihina, Gollango *aturre* ‘wild cat’): the Sidamo and Dullay forms look like loanwords from Oromo in spite of the meaning difference.

Omot. N. **ǰi(?)ar-*: Kafa *yeer-oo*, *ǰär-o* ‘viverra’.⁸⁰
 [] SED II No. 9; AADB 399.

Felines

42. Berb. **Hawar*⁸¹ ‘lion’: Ghadames *a-bur*, Ghat *a-her*, Ahaggar, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. *a-har*, Zenaga, Nefusa, Mzab *war*, Sened *ar*, etc.

< AA **ǰariw-* ~ **ǰawVr-* ‘kind of feline’:

Chad. C. **Hiraw-*: Musgu *à-hiraw* ‘leopard’, Munjuk *a-hraw* ‘panther’⁸²

Sem. **ǰariw-*: Arab. *ǰurw-at-* ‘lion’; Tna. *waǰr-o* (met.) ‘leonessa’; Mhr. *ǰáyr-i*, pl. *ǰarēw-ət*, Jib. *ǰér-i* ‘tom-cat’

Cush. E.: LEC: Somali *ǰurr-i* ‘tom-cat’ (note the same meaning in MSA and Somali: a borrowing?)

[] SED II No. 41; AADB 2658.

43. Berb. **a-barr-an* ‘wild cat’: Ahaggar *ǎ-barr-ân* ‘chat sauvage’ (not in Fouc.), Shilh *a-br-an* ‘wild cat’⁸³ (cf. *a-bayrr-u* ‘renard’ NAÏT-ZERRAD, K. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*, p.146)⁸⁴

< AA **baw/Har-* ‘kind of large carnivorous animal’00000

Chad. **baw/Har-*:⁸⁵ W. **baw/Har-*: Hausa *bár-ú* ‘hyena’, Sura *m-bóór*, Angas *bwār* ‘lion’, Mupun *pùpwór*, Tangale *par-i* ‘cheetah’, Ngamo *bàràyr-*

⁸⁰ A loanword < Cush.?

⁸¹ Reconstruction depends on the interpretation of this reconstruction choice as **Hawar* or **baHVr* (if **bar*, the correspondence Ghadames *b* ~ Tuareg *h* remains completely unexplained). For a similar case see Fn. 42.

⁸² Acc. to CED, p. 42, *h* in this language group can continue **ǰ*.

⁸³ Both quoted in TAKÁCS, G. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Vol. 2, p. 21, absent in NAÏT-ZERRAD, K. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*.

⁸⁴ There is also *buharu* ‘lion, monster’ in Rif (Temsaman, Tuzin, Iboqqoyen) and Senhadja (cf. KOSSMANN, M. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*, # 5.14 and NAÏT-ZERRAD, K. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*: BHR 5), nicely matching the Afrasian proto-form (cf. also Arab. *hubayrat-* ‘hyène’) but somewhat enigmatic because of *-h-* (cf. Fn. 77); NAÏT-ZERRAD, K. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*: BHR 5, suspects a composite word *bu* (*u?*) +*haru*.

⁸⁵ Reconstructed as **mb(w)ar-* ‘lion’ in STOLBOVA, O. *Chadic Lexical Database*. Issue VI, #281 (compared to the Berb. terms; **mb-* in the reconstructed form looks weird). Though no terms meaning ‘hyena’ are included in the Chad. entry (ibid.), in the Afrasian perspective it is almost impossible in this case to attribute terms representing

iyà (reduplication) ‘wild animal’, Zul *m-bor-i*, Fyer *ʔm-bwaar* ‘lion’; C. **ma-bawr-*: Bura *mobul-u* (*l* < **r*), Mwulien *mbúr-mò*, Bachama *mbur-uməy* ‘hyena’, Mofu *mábár-* ‘panther, lion’, Gisiga *mobor* ‘lion’; E. **baw/HVr-*: W. Dangla *bùur-ì* ‘lion’, Migama *bóòr-ú*, Bidiyo *bóor-e*, Mubi *bóòr-ì* ‘hyena’, Birgit *bàr-á*, Toram *bar-a* ‘jackal’

Sem. **ba(r)bar-* (reduplication):⁸⁶ Akk. *barbar-u* ‘wolf’; Arab. *babr-* (pl. *bubūr-*) ‘espèce de chacal qui conduit le lion sur la piste de la proie’, *ʔal-barbār-* ‘lion’⁸⁷

Cush. S. **baw/HVr-*: Dahalo *ḥōr-a* ‘any dangerous animal’.⁸⁸

[] Cf. Sum. ^u*bar.ra*, *ur.bar*, *ur.bar.ra* ‘wolf’ and PMasai **-barie* ‘jackal’. AADB 1863, 2621. Cf. HSED 246 and EDE II 22, 148.

Small mammals

44. Berb. **a-g(w)arziz* ‘hare’: Ghadames *ta-žeržīs*, pl. *ta-žerzaz*, Rif *a-yerziz*, Mzab, Wargla *a-gergīz* (*-g-* < **-z-* assimilated to *g-*), Shawiya *a-g^warziz*

< AA **gVrVž-* ‘any small animal’:⁸⁹

Chad. **garž-* ‘kind of small animal’: C.: Gude *tán-gə̀rə̀ž-áne* ‘type of animal (like squirrel or weasel)’; E.: Dangla *gār̀zè* ‘rat species’ (unless an Arabism), (?) *gír̀zìb-ó* ‘varan’

Sem. **gVrVd-* ‘kind of rodent’: Aram.: Syr. *gār̀əd-ā* ‘castor’; Arab. *žuraḍ-* ‘espèce de gros rat des champs’, *žird-aw-n-*; Mhr. *gər̀d-īn* ‘rat’, Hrs. *ger̀d-īn* ‘rat, mouse’

(?) Omot. N.: Dizi (Sheko) *gór̀ž-u* ‘gecko’, *gor̀žub-e* ‘lizard’,⁹⁰ S.: Dime *ger̀ž* ‘cat’.

[] AADB 3836; SED II No. 84.

felines, canines and hyenas to different roots; perhaps, Dahalo *ḥōr-a* ‘any dangerous animal’ retains the original meaning.

⁸⁶ Cf. Sem. **bVrbVr-* ‘to howl, roar’.

⁸⁷ Cf. also *hubayr-at-* ‘hyène’ (metathesis?)

⁸⁸ Yaaku *barié* ‘jackal’ is considered a loanword from Masai.

⁸⁹ For a semantic parallel, see Hbr. *šār̀ās* ‘a mass of small animals or reptiles...’

⁹⁰ Note a striking similarity between Sheko *gor̀žub-e* ‘lizard’ and E. Dangla *gír̀zìb-ó* ‘varan’ (likely with a fossilized *-b-* suffix).

Reptiles and amphibia

45. Berb. **Hassil*– ‘snake, viper’: Ghat *ašil*, Ahaggar *âššēl* ‘serpent’, Ayr *aššēl*, E. Tawllemmet *aššol* ‘couleuvre, gros serpent’, Mzab *t-iššēl-t* ‘vipère’.⁹¹

< AA **ʔačayl*– ‘big reptile, snake’:

Sem. **ʔat(h)al(y)*– ‘a mythical reptile, dragon’: Syr. *ʔātaly-ā* ‘draco; stella, quae solem tegens eclipsim efficit’, Mand. *tali-a* ‘fictive dragon causing eclipse’; Tgr. *ʔashal-āt* ‘dragon’, Tna. *ʔasāl-āt*, *ʔashal-āt* ‘animale favoloso, di smisurata grandezza e della specie del coccodrillo’

(?) Cush. S.: Dahalo *táʔal-a* ‘puff-adder’⁹²

Omot. N. **ʔhaylaš*– (metathesis) ‘crocodile’: Wolaita *aylaašuwa*, Zala *aylašuwa*, Dawro *allašo*; S.: Ari *hayleša*

[] AADB 2606. Cf. SED II No. 20.

46. Berb. **a-ḳarw* and **ḳarḳu/ir* (reduplication) ‘toad, frog’: Rif *a-ḳarḳur*, Iznassen *ḳarḳriw* ‘toad’, Senhaja *a-ḳarḳur*, Ahaggar *a-ḳeru*, pl. *i-ḳer-ân* ‘frog’, etc.

< AA **ḳʷar*– ‘frog’:

Chad. **kir-an*– and **ka(r)kir-an* ‘frog’: W.: Ngizim *kàrìnàkáu*; C. **kir-in*– ‘frog’: Gava *kirè*, Mofu *kakəraŋ*, Daba *kìrriŋ*; E. **kVrin*–: Birgit *kirén-i*, Sokoro *kóriŋ-ē*.

Egyp. (NE) *krr*, Copt. **ḳarār-aw* ‘frog’.⁹³

Sem. **ḳʷa/ir*– and **ḳʷa(r)ḳʷir*– (reduplication) ‘frog’ (with different affixes): Syr. *yakrūr*– and *ʕakrūk*–, Jud. *ʔakroḳ-tā*; Arab. *ḳirr*–, *ḳurr*–, *ḳarr-at*–; Gz. *ḳāḳer*, *ḳʷarnanaʕ-āt*, Tgr. *ḳorəʕ*, *ʔanḳorəʕ*, Tna. *ḳʷərʕ-o*, *ənḳoroʕ*,⁹⁴ Amh. *ḳərnan-ot*, Har. *anḳurārah-ti*.

Omot. N. **ʔu-ḳar*: Zaysse *ʔooḳkar-o*, Zergula *ʔooḳēr-u* ‘frog’.

[] SED II No. 137; AADB 270.

47. Berb. **mVlul*– ‘kind of snake’: Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *məlul*, pl. *məlul-ān* ‘espèce de serpent’⁹⁵

⁹¹ Cf. KOSSMANN, M. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*, #681.

⁹² Dahalo *t* in most cases continues AA **t*, but there are a few rather convincing cases when it corresponds to Sem. **t* (< AA **č*).

⁹³ VYICHL, W. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, pp. 86–87.

⁹⁴ *ʕ*- in Syr. and *-ʕ* in Gz., Tgr. and Tna. are non-etymological.

⁹⁵ Cf. Beni Menacer *mulab* ‘lizard’, Kabyle of Jurjura *imulab* ‘Algerian lizard’ in BLAŽEK, V. *Indo-European zoonyms in Afroasiatic perspective*; < **mul-ab* with a fossilized *-b* suffix? (cf. fn. 90).

< AA **mul(l)aʃ-* ‘snake; lizard’:

Chad. W.: Hausa *múlŵ-à* ‘a short, thick snake, Dera *məlməl* ‘viper’, Bokkos *mulú-sūs* ‘grey lizard’; C.: Kobocho *malwāʃ*, Nzangi *maalāw-ǎ*, Holma *mālŵ-ě* ‘cameleon’

(?) Egyp. (Gr.) *mnḥ* in *kʷ-mnḥ* (< **mlḥ?*) ‘Schildkröte’⁹⁶

Cush. E. **muluʃ-* ‘lizard’: Afar *mulluʃ-it*, LEC: Somali *muluʃ-a*, Rendille *mul'úh*

[] Attested in Africa only. AADB 370. Cf. TAKÁCS, G. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Vol. 3, pp. 308–398.

Birds

48. Berb. **a-bilbil* (reduplication) ‘heron, cattle egret’: Ayr *ə-belbel*, E. Tawllemmet *ǎ-belbel* ‘héron, garde-boeuf’, Ahaggar *ǎ-bilbil* ‘nom d'un oiseau’⁹⁷

< AA **bal-* ~ **balbil-* ‘kind of heron’:

Chad. W.: Hausa *balbéél-à* (reduplication) ‘buff-backed heron, i.e. cattle-egret’; E.: Lele *báál-ē* ‘heron’, Mubi *búul-è* ‘kind of heron (grey)’

Egyp. *bnw*⁹⁸ (MK) ‘phoenix’, (18 Dyn.) ‘heron’

(?) Sem.: Akk. (SB, hapax) *bulīl-u* ‘a species of crested bird’; Arab. *ʔabābil-* (pl.) ‘nom d'oiseaux fabuleux’ (SED II No. 3).

[] AADB 3767; cf. TAKÁCS, Gábor. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Vol. 2, p. 211; SED II No. 60.

49. Berb. **a-barr-* ‘partridge, quail’: Rif, Senhaja *a-barr-ān* ‘perdrix mâle’, E. Tawllemmet *ta-bərr-ut* ‘caille d’Europe’, etc.

< AA **bar-* ‘kind of bird (partridge, quail, pigeon)’:

Chad. **bVr-* ~ **bVrbVr-* (reduplication) ‘pigeon, dove, partridge, quail’: W. **barw-*: Hausa *bàruu* ‘pigeons’, *bùràabur-àa* (reduplication.) ‘quail’, Kirfi *mbirù* ‘dove’, Warji *baru-na* ‘pigeon’, Ngizim *bàri* ‘domestic pigeon’; C. **(?a-)bVrbVr* (reduplication) ‘pigeon’: Gizey *bèrbér*, Masa *bérbér*, Marba *ʔàbèrbèr*, etc.; E. **ba/ir-* ‘partridge, quail’: W. Dangla *bààr-è*, Migama *bàar-é* ‘perdrix’, Bidiya *bìrbìr-nyì* (reduplication) ‘caille’

Egyp. (old) *bʷ* (if < **bVr*) ‘kind of bird; jabiru’

⁹⁶ BLAŽEK, V. *Indo-European zoonyms in Afroasiatic perspective*

⁹⁷ Hardly a different bird in view of the full formal matching.

⁹⁸ If < **blw*; *n* of course can render **n* as well, but there seems to be no matchable AA etymology for Egyp. egret-like bird with the root **bn*.

Sem.: Hbr. *barbūr* ‘a bird fattened to be eaten by King Solomon’; Tna. *barā-to*, *bari-to* ‘turtledove’, Amh. *bare-to* ‘pigeon, dove’

Cush. E.: HEC: Burju *bur-o* ‘partridge’; (?) S.: Iraqw *bambar-é* (reduplication) ‘hoopoe’, Dahalo *mbār-e* ‘egret’.

[] AADB 2228; SED II No. 61; CED #274.

50. Berb. **a-gaṭi/uṭ* ‘bird (generic)’

< AA **gi/uṭaṭ-* ‘kind of bird’:

Chad. C. **(n)gudiy-*: Ga'anda *gudiy-a*, Gabin *ngudiy-a* ‘dove’, Buduma *ngud-o* ‘bird’ Cush. S.: Iraqw *gidṣaw-u* ‘tawni eagle’

[] AADB 2328. A scarcely represented outside Berber and semantically difficult case (‘dove’ versus ‘eagle’), but impeccable phonetically.

51. Berb. **a-kVr-t* ‘young of a bird’: Ayr *a-krə-t*, E. Wlm. *a-kər-t* ‘nestling, young of a bird’, Ahaggar *e-ker-t* ‘young of ostrich’

< AA **k^war-* and *k^warkay-* (partial reduplication) ‘kind of (young) large bird’:

Chad. **k^war-*, **k^warkay* and *k^wark^wir-* (reduplication) ‘guinea-fowl, hen, duck’: W. **k^war-*: Tangale *k^war-te* ‘guinea-fowl’, Polchi *koṛ-ə*, Buli *kúr*, Tala *kwor*, *kor* ‘hen’; C. **kur-* and **k^wVrk^wVr-* (reduplication): Mofu *kwerekwer-e*, Munjuk *kor-o* ‘duck’, Sukur *ta-kur* ‘hen’ and ‘dove’, etc.; E. **(?a-)ku(r)kir-* (reduplication): Kera *akórkór-ò*, Migama *kókkór* ‘duck’, *kúkkir-á* ‘cock’, Dangla *kókír-a*, Jegu *kókóré*, Mubi *kókóréy* ‘hen’.

(?) Eyp. (Pyr.) *ṭ’* (if < **kVr-*) ‘junger Vogel (Schwalbe, Geier); junges Tier’

Sem. **k^warkay-* (partial reduplication) ‘goose, crane’: Akk. *kurkû* ‘goose’; Aram.: Syr. *kurkəy-ā* ‘grus’, Jud. *kurkəy-ā*, Mnd. *kurki-a* ‘crane’; Arab. *kurkiyy-* ‘grue’; Gz. *k^warāki*, *korki* ‘crane’⁹⁹

Cush. **kar-*: N. **ka(r)karr-*: Beja *kaakarr-et* ‘hen’; S. **kara?*: Qwadza *kala?-eto* ‘stork’.

Omot. N. **kur-* and *kurki-t-* (partial reduplication) ‘partridge, quail’: Gamo *kúr-aččo*, Dorze *kor-aččo*, Zergula *kerk-ečče*, Male *karek-aččo*; S. **kurki-t-*: Hamar *koriki-ša*.

[] Cf. Sum. KUR.GI ‘goose’. AADB 377; cf. SED II No. 117; HSED 1505.

⁹⁹ Claimed by some authors to be a series of borrowings: Aram. < Akk. < Sum.; Gz. < Arab. while neither is convincing in view of the AA parallels.

52. Berb. **a-krut-* ‘raven’: Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. *a-yru-t* ‘corbeau’.

< AA **kʷa(?)r-* ‘crow, raven’:

Chad. *kʷar-* and *kukar-* (reduplication): C.: Podoko *kəkár-a*, Cuvok *kʷúr-əw* ‘crow’; E.: E. Dangla *kòr-é* ‘espèce de corbeau noir’, Bidiya *kùraag-à* (met.; *-g* < **k* by dissimilation?) ‘black crow’.

Sem.: Eth. **kʷar-* and **kʷakʷar-* (reduplication) ‘crow, raven’: Gz. *ḳāker* ‘crow’, Amh. *ḳʷar-a* (*ḳur-a*) ‘crow, raven’, Gur. **ḳʷar-a* ‘crow’.

Cush. C. **kur-* and **ḳwakur-* (reduplication): Bilin *küāqūr-ā* ‘der Rabe’¹⁰⁰, Khamta *qur-ā-*, Qwara *qur-ā*, Qemant *ḥor-ay* ‘raven’, Aungi *kur-a* ‘crow’; E.: LEC **kurr-*: Oromo *ḳurr-uu*, Bayso *ḳur-a*, HEC **ḳur?(-an)-*: Hadiya *ḳoraan-ta*, Alaba *ḳur-a*, Burji *ḳorʔan-čə*, etc. ‘crow’.

Omot. **kur-* and **ḳuraak-* (partial reduplication): N.: Wolaita *ḳuur-uwa*, Gamu, Zaysse *ḳur-o*, Dače *ḳor-aa-še* Kafa *ku-re-ččə*, Yemsa *kur-a* ‘crow’;¹⁰¹ S.: Ari *ḳuraak* ‘crow’.

[] Attested in Africa only. AADB 1668; SED II #134.

53. Berb. **a-wazz* ‘ostrich; partridge’: Ghadames *a-wəz(z)*, pl. *wəzz-ān* ‘autruche’, Igerwan *wawūzz*, Izayan *wawīz* (partial reduplication), Messiwa, Ait Amran *wauž* ‘perdrix’

< AA **ʔa-wazʔ-* ‘kind of bird (partridge, goose, duck, cock)’:

Chad. E.: Mokilko *ʔūzú* ‘chick, cock’

Egyp. (Pyr) *z.t* ‘Ente, Ganz’, *kʔ zw.t* ‘Erpel’ (i. e. ‘male of a duck’)

Sem. *(*ʔa-*)*waz(z)-* ‘goose’: (?) Akk. (OB lexical list) *wazwaz-u*, some bird; Ugr. *ʔuz*; pB *ʔāwāz*; Syr. *wazzā*; Arab. *wazz-*, *ʔiwazz-*; Gz. *zəy* (metathesis?)

[] Cf. Sum. UZ^{mušen} ‘duck’. AADB 2607; cf. SED II No. 22.

Fish

54. Berb.–Canarian **sVlm-ay*, pl. *(*i/a-*)*salm-an* ‘fish’:¹⁰² Ghat *a-ləmšay*, Ahaggar *a-sūlmey*, pl. *i-sūlmäy-än*, Snus, Semlal, Izdeg, Qabyle *a-sləm*,

¹⁰⁰ *küā* is translated as ‘schreien, gäkern’.

¹⁰¹ According to Bender’s phonological correspondences, *k-* in Kafa and Yemsa can continue AA **k-*.

¹⁰² The only pan-Berber generic term. As for the Canarian one, it is rather an Ahaggarism (on this see MILITAREV, A. *Libyo-Berbers – Tuaregs – Canarians: Linguistic Evidence*, #1.2.4.4.).

Zenaga *siṣm-an* (pl. of **silm-*), Ghadames *u-lism-a*, etc.; Canarian (various islands) *salema* ‘Sparus Cantharus’, ‘pez de la clase de los torácicos’¹⁰³

Egyp. (NK) *nšmw.t* ‘kind of fish’ (*n* < **l* based on the unequivocal Berb. parallel).

[] This Berber-Egyptian term might have been taken for a common heritage from Afrasian were it not for the fact that the New Kingdom Egyp. *nšmw.t* evolved from the meaning ‘scales of fish’ attested as early as in the Middle Kingdom period (and, hence, having the “internal” Egyp. etymology) is identifiable as the source of the Berber term, the latter to be interpreted as **IVsm-ay* or, rather, **IVšm-ay*.¹⁰⁴

Insects

55. Berb. **buryVs-* ‘kind of insect’: Seghrushen *burḥs* ‘small grasshopper’, Snus *a-buryes* ‘insect’, Rif *buryes* ‘grillon’, Ayr, Adghaq *bərwəḳḳās* ‘animaux nuisibles (comme... les insectes venimeux, les guêpes)’, etc.

< AA **pVryVč-* ‘flea, grasshopper’:

¹⁰³ In WÖLFEL, J. D. *Monumenta linguae Canariae*, p. 563, compared to the Snus form (mentioning that it is common Berber), and to Latin *salmo-onis*. It is very likely that the Latin and Celtic terms for ‘salmon’ (note that this fish plays such an important role in Celtic mythology) were borrowed from the Proto-Libyo-Berber plural form *(*i/a-*) *salm-an*.

¹⁰⁴ With the relative adjective suffix **-ay*, probably reflecting the original Egyptian meaning ‘scaly (fish)’. That only the Ghadames term’s order of root consonants matches the Egyptian one can be accounted for by the former (and, perhaps, similar unregistered forms in other East Berber languages) retaining the original – Egyptian – order, while in non-Eastern Berber, metathesis apparently took place due to the incompatibility tendency between the two lateral consonants in immediate contact: *l* and *s* which, according to the regular correspondence established by the author (Berber **s* ~ Egyptian *š* < Afrasian voiceless lateral sibilant **š*), must have still been pronounced as a lateral sibilant in early Berber. If this reasoning is correct, the “secondary” order of radicals in Canarian *salema* probably features it as a borrowing, conceivably from Tamâhaq/Ahagggar, rather than going back to the Proto-Berber-Canarian level. The Berber term was, in its term, borrowed in Hausa as *lâmsâ* (likely from Ghat) and in the Central Chadic language of Bura as *šalmwi* (from some other Berber language) ‘a kind of fish’. In spite of the unspecified kind of fish in both Berber and Chadic, the coincidence of the triradical terms with regular consonant correspondences in all the languages in question practically rules out a happenstance.

Chad. C.: Glavda *bírəgšù-wa* ‘tick’, Podoko *birəgešəw-e* ‘pou de chien’, Mafa *ńkišbér* (met.), Daba *mbìrguč* ‘louse’, Logone *mburgumisi* ‘punaise’; E.: Bidiya *bugùlčú-mò* (-lč- < *-rč-) ‘larve’

Sem. **pVryVt-* ~ **pVrtVy-* ‘flea’: Akk. *peršaḡ-u*, *puršuḡ-u*, etc.; Hbr. *paršōš*; Syr. *purtaš-n-ā*; Arab. *buryūt-*.¹⁰⁵

Cush. E.: Dahalo *pááreet-e* ‘termite’ (<**parHeč-*?)

Omot. N.: Gimirra *birč-* ‘ant’.

[] AADB 2595; SED II No. 185; STOLBOVA, O. *Chadic lexical database*. Issue V. The rarest case of a four-consonant root at the Proto-Afrasian level.

56. Berb. **a-bVrriw* ‘locust, cricket’: Rif *a-barru*, Senhaja *a-barru* ‘cricket’, Menaser *a-bərru*, Warsenis *a-bərriw*, Iznasen *a-barru*, Snus *a-bərru* ‘locust’, etc.

< AA **baʔVr-* ~ **barw-* ‘kind of insect, fly’:

Chad. **ba/ur-* ~ **bVrbVr-* (reduplication) ‘kind of insect’: W. **bur-* ‘mosquito’: Dera *burù-k*, Gera *bur-si*; C. **bar-* ~ **bVbVr-* (partial reduplication) ‘kind of insect’: Hwona *mbèr-a* ‘locust’, Mbara *ḥòḥór* ‘punaise de lit’, Gudur *beber* ‘taon’, Zime-Batna *bùbùr-ùm* ‘mosquito’, Masa *bar-a* ‘locust’; E.: Lele *ḥòrḥór* ‘punaise’, Bidiya *burbur-uŋ* ‘coléoptère’, Sokoro *bóbor-ō* ‘Wanze’

Sem. **bur-* ‘kind of caterpillar or insect’: Akk. **būr-t-u* (in *burt/di šamḥat*) ‘caterpillar’; Gur. **bur-a* ‘insect that eats the root of the äsät’ (cf. also Arab. *burām* and Tgr. *bəram* ‘tick’, likely an Arabism)

Cush. E.: LEC: Elmolo *báru-at* ‘bee’; S. **baʔar-* ‘honeybee, fly’: Iraqw *baʔār-mō*, Alagwa, Burunge *baʔar-imo*.

[] Cf. Sum. *bir₃* ‘a fly’; AADB 2624; SED II No. 62 Cf. TAKÁCS, G. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Vol. 2, pp. 107-108, 142, 413.

57. Berb. **a-gurday-* ‘kind of a tick; louse’:¹⁰⁶ Ayr *e-gerdu* ‘pou’, E. Tawllemmet *ǎ-gurdǎy* ‘espèce de tique’, Shilh *a-ggurdi*, *a-g(g)urdu*, Shawiya *gurdi* ‘pou’, etc.¹⁰⁷

< AA **garud-* ~ **gurd-ay* ‘kind of insect’:

¹⁰⁵ Cf. also a variant root: Arab *baryaš-(at)-* ‘moucheron’

¹⁰⁶ Note a variant root **kurd-* ‘kind of tick’: Iznassen *kurdu*, Senhaja *a-kurdu*, Rif *kurdu*, Qabyle *a-kured*, Shawiya *a-kurd*, Sened, Nefusa *kurdi* and what seems another variant root – **i-ḵirdam* ‘scorpion’ (#58).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. KOSSMANN, M. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*, #214.

Sem. **garud*– ‘kind of insect’: Aram.: Syr. *gārūd-ā* ‘locusta’;¹⁰⁸ Arab. *žarād*–, *žardam*– ‘sauterelle’; Tna. *gārād-o* ‘ragno di colore molto oscuro’; Jib. *géród* ‘locusts’ (Arabism is possible)

[] AADB 2630; cf. SED II No. 88

58. Berb. **i-ķirdam* ‘scorpion’; Qabyle *i-yirdem*, Semlal *i-yirdem*, pl. *i-yardm-iun*, Siwa *ti-qerdem-t*, Ghadames *ta-šardem-t*,¹⁰⁹ Audjila *t-yardim-t*, Ahaggar *é-yirdem*, pl. *i-yôrdâm*, etc.¹¹⁰ Note a fossilized *-m* suffix.

< AA **ķ(w)ird*– ‘tick; scorpion’:

Sem. **ķwird*– ‘tick; wasp’: Syr. *ķerd-ā* ‘ricinus’; Arab. *ķurd*– ‘teigne qui attaque les chevaux, les chameaux; ver qui se met dans les cuirs’; Tgr. *ķwārʔəd*, Tna. *ķwārʔədət* ‘tick’

(?) Cush. E.: Burji *tark-ée* (met.) ‘flea’.

[] AADB 2610; SED II No. 135.

59. Berb. **ta-madiʔ-t* ‘termite’: Siwa *ta-mdi* ‘fourmi’, Taneslemt *te-mədhe*, E. Tawllemmet *ta-madəy*, Ahaggar *tā-māde*, pl. *ti-mādi-wīn* ‘termit’, Ayr *tā-madé* ‘termite, mite’¹¹¹

< AA **maTiʔ*–¹¹² ‘termite, ant’:

Chad. C. **maḍa(H)*–: Tera *mada* ‘termite’, Gude *māḍāa-dəwá* ‘type of ant (dark brown)’

Cush. N.: Beja *mala-miida* ‘Ameisenbär’; E.: LEC: Oromo (Borana) *miṭii* ‘tiny black ant’, HEC: Sidamo *miṭa* ‘kind of little red ant’ (unless < Oromo); S.: Dahalo *mut-a* (< **mut*–) ‘small ant’.

[] AADB 390; cf. BLAŽEK, V. Fauna in Beja Lexicon; TAKÁCS, G. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. Vol. 3, p. 723.

60. Berb. **ta-minaw*– ‘kind of fly; louse’s eggs’: Ayr, E. Tawllemmet *te-mne*, pl. *ta-mniw-en* ‘espèce de mouche’, *i-mniw-ān* (pl.) ‘louse’s eggs’,

¹⁰⁸ Commented on in SED II No. 83 as “the Arabic origin...is highly probable” but difference in the vocalic pattern speaks against it.

¹⁰⁹ A rare but not the only case of AA and Berb. **ķ* > Ghadames *š*.

¹¹⁰ Cf. KOSSMANN, M. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*, #214.

¹¹¹ Cf. PRASSE, K.–G. A propos de l’origine de H touareg (tahaggart), #502; KOSSMANN, M. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*, ##20, 131. Cf. also Ghadames *mi-məḍ* ‘fourmiller (de monde, de parasites)’ in LANFRY, J. *Ghadamès. II. Glossaire*, #0979, probably related but with *ḍ* (< **t*) instead of *d*.

¹¹² *T* symbol stands for any one of the dental stops (**t*, **d*, **t̪*).

Semlal *tā-mna*, pl. *ta-mniw-in* ‘grosse mouche’, Ayyashe *ta-mna*, Myill *ti-mna* ‘mouche sarcophage’, etc.

< AA **minaw/n*– ‘kind of insect, worm, etc.’:

Sem. **minan*– ‘kind of insect, worm, caterpillar, spider’: Akk. *mūn-u* ‘caterpillar’; Aram.: Syr. *mənīn-ā* ‘curculio; cynips, musca’; Arab. *minan-at*–, *manūn-at*– ‘araignée’; (?) Gz. *to-mni* ‘bedbug’¹¹³

Cush. E. **minn*– ‘tapeworm’: LEC: Oromo *minn-i* ‘verme solitario’, Arbore *mīnn-e*, HEC (likely < Oromo): Darasa *minn-e*, Burji *mīnn-i* ‘tapeworm’; S. **minaʔ/n*–: Burunge *manaʔ-aa* ‘winged termites’, Asa *menan-a* ‘tapeworm’.

[] AADB 2310; SED II No. 152

61. Berb. **izi(w)* ‘fly’ ~ **zizw*– ‘bee’: Nefusa *uzu*, Siwa *izi*, pl. *izā-n*, Ahaggar *ēhi*, Zenaga *iži*, Qabyle, Mzab, Wargla *izi*, Iznassen, Snus *īzi*, etc. ‘fly’; Nefusa *tā-zizwi*, Izayan *tī-zizw-it*, Rif *t-zizw-it*, Senhadja *tā-zizw-it*, Iznassen, Snus *d-zizw-i*, etc. ‘bee’

< AA **ziʒ(Vw)*– ‘kind of insect (fly, bee; locust)’:

Chad. **ʔa-zizuw*– ‘fly’: W. **ʔa-zizuw*–: Diri *ʔaʒéé*, *ádzé*, Dwot *zii*, Kulere *aʒiʒuwaw*; C. *(*ʒa*)*zuway*–: Higi-Nkafa *žuwi*, Fali-Kiria *žu*, Mofu *ʒàʒùwà*, Gude *ʒiʔiwá*, Logone *zú*, etc.

Sem. **ziz*– ‘kind of insect’: Akk. *ziz-ān-u* (*sis-ān-u*) ‘a locust’; Hbr. *ziz* ‘the small creatures that ruin the fields’; Arab. *ziz*– (pl. *zizān*–) ‘cigale’;¹¹⁴ Wolane *ziz-o*, Selti *ziz-o* ‘May bug’

Cush. E.: HEC **ziʒ-t*– (or **ʒiʒ-t*) ‘bee’: Sidamo *diišš-o* (<**diid-č*o), Kambatta *ziiššu* (< **ziiz-ču*).

[] AADB 2665; SED II No. 255. Probably descriptive.

62. Berb. **a/i-zibab*– ‘gadfly’: Izayan *i-zāb* ‘horse-fly’, ‘Ghat *a-zāb(b)*, Ayr *e/i-zāb*, E. Tawllemmet. *i-zābb*, Ahaggar *a-hāb*, etc.

< AA **ʒibab*– ‘kind of insect (fly, bee)’:

Chad. **ʒibaH*– ‘kind of insect’: W. **ʒVb*– ‘bee’: Ngizim *zheboa*; C. **ʒib(aH)*– ‘kind of insect’: Bura *ʒeb-a* ‘locust in the hopper state’, Fali-Gili *ʒiʔi* ‘fly’, Gudu *ʒābà-cù*, Bata *ʒébi* ‘termite’

Egyp. (MK) *zb.t* ‘kind of insect, parasite’

¹¹³ While the *t*-prefixation in zoonyms is not common, note a striking structural (but not semantic) affinity with the Berber, esp. Tuareg, forms.

¹¹⁴ According to DOZY, R. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. T. I, pp. 618–9, “un mot berbère” which is hardly so in view of the different meanings in Berb. and the cognates in other Sem.

Sem. **dubab*– ‘fly’: Hbr. *zəbūb* ‘flies’; Syr. *dabbāb-ā* ‘musca’; Arab. *dubāb*– ‘mouche; abeille’

[] AADB 365; SED II No. 73.

63. Berb. **a-zVnbibVr* (partial reduplication) ‘coleoptera species’: Ahaggar *ǎ-zənbībər*,¹¹⁵ Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. *ə-zəbbenbər*

< AA **žibar*– ‘bee, fly’:

Chad. W. **ma-žibar*–: Hausa *mážībāri* ‘sausage fly’

Sem. **dibar*– ‘bee’: Mhr., Hrs. *debēr*, Soqotri *édbehir*.

[] AADB 364; cf. SED II No. 66 (p. 98). Likely derived from **žibab*– ‘kind of insect (fly, bee)’ with a fossilized *-r* suffix.

Conclusion

Out of the 63 analyzed Berber zoonyms with cognates in other Afrasian branches, 28 terms represent domesticated animals (dogs – 4, small cattle – 11, large cattle – 2, pigs – 1, odd-toed ungulates – 8, herd of ungulates, common to domestic and wild – 1, poultry – 1) and 34 designate wild animals (monkeys – 1, ungulates – 6, elephant – 1, canines – 4, hyenas – 1, felines – 2, hare – 1, reptiles and amphibia – 3, birds – 6, fishes – 1, insects – 9). Therefore, practically the whole spectrum of Berber fauna is represented, and the Afrasian origin of nearly all the Berber zoonyms analyzed is beyond doubt. As for the distribution of cognates in various AA families / branches, it is as follows: Chadic cognates – 40 (of which 3 are represented in one Chad. language only) plus 3 questionable cases; Egyptian – 14 plus 4 questionable plus 1 (#53) postulated Egyp. loan word in PBerb.; Semitic – 46 (out of which 2 are represented in Eth. Semitic only and 5 in Arabic only¹¹⁶); Cushitic – 45 (of which 11 are represented in one Cush. language only); Omotic – 13 (of which 2 are represented in one Omot. language only) plus 1 questionable case.

¹¹⁵ The Ahaggar word with *-z-* instead of the expected *-h-* is likely a loan from Ayr, E. Tawllemmet or any Berber language in which **z* > *z*.

¹¹⁶ In all instances of Semitic parallels attested in Arabic, only those Berber terms are quoted which, for this or that reason (chronological, semantic, etc.), cannot be Arabic loans or where borrowing from Arabic is unlikely.

Discussion

According to the author's half a century of experience in comparative-historical and etymological research, the comparison in the widest possible coverage of each individual language lexicon in *all* related linguistic families and lexical reconstruction at the most chronologically deep level – or, alternatively, search for all possible sources of borrowing – can range from beneficial to indispensable for establishing even seemingly obvious phonetic correspondences / rules and suggestive etymologies within even the youngest and most compact language family such as Berber, not to mention complex and controversial cases. Lack of interest in going beyond the “narrow” comparison or inability to apply the correct methods of “broad” comparison often leads to what can be described by the oxymoron “scholarly folk etymology,” called by me “mythetymology”. These are false etymologies, often based upon a venerable scholarly tradition in a given field and sometimes honoured with great names.

One of the most striking examples from the field of Semitic etymology illustrating the last point relates to Akkadian *iššūr-u* ‘bird’ (cognate with Ugaritic *šr /šuššūru/* ‘bird, domestic fowl, poultry’) to Sem. **špūr-* proposed by some Semitists and uncritically repeated by others. Though the complete assimilation of *-p-* in the **-sp-* cluster is not attested in Akkadian (to say nothing of Ugaritic), it seemed natural and appealing to connect it with Arabic *šufūr-* and further on to a solid Sem. root **šVp(p)Vr-* ‘(kind of small) bird’. Added to this is the notion in many heads, including those of certain linguists, that sound laws function with a lot of “spontaneous” exceptions and that regular sound correspondences are something sporadic and can rely on a single example.¹¹⁷ In fact, the decisive argument is a deeper etymology – in this case, on a common Afrasian level. Both debated terms, **špūr-* and **šVp(p)Vr-*,¹¹⁸ have matches in other Afrasian branches: (1) AA **šacir-* ~ **širaš-* ‘(kind of) bird’: Sem. **špūr-* ‘bird (generic)’; Cush. E.: Saho *čar(r)áč* ‘hornbill’, S.

¹¹⁷ There are, in fact, what can be conventionally called exceptions to the sound laws, though rare and accounted for by our insufficient knowledge of subtle and understudied phenomena like contamination or variant roots which are to be turned up and puzzled out to the extent possible.

¹¹⁸ From which Arabic *šufūr-*, with a prefixed root extension *-š-* very likely derived – probably, due to contamination with **špūr-* (see discussion in SED II No. 212 comments).

(Rift) **çira*ç- ‘bird (generic)’: Iraqw *çirfi*, etc.¹¹⁹ (2) AA **çif*Vr- ‘(kind of) bird’: Sem. **šip*(p)Vr- ‘(kind of small) bird; bird (generic)’: Chad. **çif*Vr- ‘guinea fowl’: W.: Mburku *çápùr*, C.: Bura *civira*, Margi *càvur*, Wamdiu *civùř*, Mofu *càvár*.¹²⁰

Another similar example is Mandaic Aramaic *zma*, the main term for ‘blood’ (*dma* as ‘blood’ is also attested but is rarely used). Contrary to the opinion common in Semitic studies it is not a somewhat weird variant of *dma* < Sem. **dam*- < AA *(*ʔa*-)*dam*- ‘blood’, but a separate relict root “in its own right”, probably cognate with a couple of Sem. terms (in Arab. and Gz.) but certainly originating from AA **zam*(*ʔ*)- ‘blood’ with reliable reflexes in Chadic and Omotic (see SED I No. 296).

Similar examples can be found in the field of Berber etymology and comparative phonetics.

Appendixes

Alphabetical index of reconstructed roots (according to the root consonants, prefixes do not count)

Ungulates

Berb. **a*-*bagug* ‘young ram, lamb’ < AA **bag*(gV)ç- ‘(young) small cattle’

Berb. **ball*Vy ‘ram’ (pl.) < AA **bawil* ~ **wabil*- ~ *(*ʔa*-*m*-)*bVl*- ‘ram, goat’

Berb. **a*-*bakir* ‘young goat or ram’ < AA **ba*/*ukir*- ‘kind of (young) small bovid’

Berb. **a*-*brak* ~ **i*-*bark*-*aw* ‘bull, calf’ < AA **birak*- ~ **kabir*- ‘large bovid’

Berb. **i*-*baray*/w ‘Addax species’ < AA **baray*- ~ **bayar*- ‘young of any bovid’

¹¹⁹ AADB 320. See the other S. Cush. and AA forms in SED II No. 43. The presence of the S. Cush. form, albeit with a metathesis, impermeable to Semitic and East Cushitic lexical borrowings makes this AA reconstruction of the triconsonantal root practically flawless.

¹²⁰ AADB 363. The impeccable Semitic **šVp*(p)Vr- has a weaker Afrasian etymology, based upon the Chadic parallels only, though a regular correspondence of all three consonants and the same order of radicals in both Semitic and Chadic make random coincidence unlikely.

- Berb. **a/i-damay* ‘gazelle’ < AA **damaʔ/y-* ‘kind of bovid, antelope’
- Berb. **i-daray-* ‘oryx’ < AA **(ʔa-)dury-* ‘kind of bovid’
- Berb. **a-gur-* ‘small cattle’ < AA **g^waraʔ-* ‘kind of bovid’
- Berb. **(H)ilf-* ‘hog, pig’ < AA **hVlp-* ~ **lVpḥ-* ‘hog’
- Berb. **ti-halay* (< **-ʔalay*, met.) ‘sheep’ < AA **ʔayl-* ‘kind of lesser bovid’
- Berb. **(a-)haray/w* ‘small cattle’ < AA **haw/yr-* ‘kind of small bovid’
- Berb. **ti-hatt-* (can be < **ti-ʔat-t*) ‘sheep’ < AA **ʔaw/yat-* ‘sheep, goat’
- Berb. **a/i-Hayr-* ‘calf’ < AA **haw/yr-* ‘kind of larger bovid’
- Berb. **a-karw* ~ **i-karr* ~ **a-krar* ‘young of small cattle’ < AA **kaw/yr-* ‘young (small) bovid’
- Berb. **a-nHir* (< **-nVʔir*) ‘kind of antelope’ < AA **naʔir-* ~ **ʔarn-* ~ **ʔiran-* ‘kind of antelope’
- Berb. **a-saraw/y-* ‘herd of animals’ < AA **saraw/y-* ‘kind of bovid’
- Berb. **a-wdad* ‘Barbary sheep’ < AA **wad-* ‘(wild) sheep’
- Berb. **walli* ‘small cattle’ < AA **wafil-* ‘kind of lesser bovid’
- Berb. **(a-)zulay* (met.) ‘buck of small cattle’ < AA **yuzal-* ‘kind of young smaller bovid’
- Berb. **i-zamm-* ‘kind of antelope’ < AA **za(ʕV)m-* ‘kind of bovid’
- Berb. **i-z(V)mVr* ‘ram, lamb’ < AA **zVmVr-* ‘kind of bovid’ Odd-toed ungulates
- Berb. **a-baḥul-* ‘chameau’ (?) < AA **bay/kl-* ‘mule’
- Berb. **a-gil* ~ **gVlgVl-* (reduplication) ‘ass; camel’ < AA **(ʔa-)gal-* ‘kind of equid or camel’
- Berb. **(H)abal* ‘(young) camel’ < AA **ʔabil-* ‘camel’
- Berb. **a-Hugg* ‘colt, horse’ < AA **hu/ig-an/m-* ‘kind of odd-toed ungulate’
- Berb. **a-hulil* ~ **a-hahul* (partial reduplication) ‘young odd-toed ungulate’ < AA **(ʔV)ḥi/ull-* ‘young odd-toed ungulate’
- Berb. **i-kirkar* ‘camels’ < AA **kawr-* and **kirkar-* (reduplication) ‘wild ass or camel’

Berb. **a-l(V)kum-* ~ **a-k(V)lam-* < AA **ʕalVḵ* – ~ **lVḵum-* ~ **ḵalVm-*
'camel'

Berb. **sardun* < **s-ardun* 'mule' < AA **ʕar(a)d-* '(wild) ass'

Largest herbivores

Berb. **y/a(H)lw* 'elephant' < AA **ʕalw-*

Monkeys

**da(n)gil* 'kind of monkey; dwarf' < AA **dang^(w)Vl/r-* 'monkey; dwarf'

Canines

Berb. **bagg-ay* 'kind of wild canine' < AA **bagg-ay* 'kind of wild canine or hyena'

Berb. **Husk-ay* 'greyhound' < AA **ʔa/usk-ay-* 'kind of canine or hyena'

Berb. **a-Ku(r)zi/un* '(young) dog' < AA **KVzim-* or **KVžim-* 'dog'

Berb. **ḵVs-* 'wolf' < AA **ḵas/ĉĉ-* 'kind of canine; hyena'

Berb. **a-wwur* 'jackal' < AA **wahr-* 'kind of canine or hyena'

Berb. **wVššin* (met. with reduplication) 'jackal' < AA **wans-* 'kind of canine'

Berb. **a-yd/di?* 'dog' < AA **di?*– ~ **ʔayd-* (Berb.–Chad.) 'dog'

Berb. **a-ykar* (met.) 'young dog' < AA **kur(-ay-)* 'dog'

Hyena

Berb. **-zur-Vy* 'hyena' < AA **ʔažur-* 'kind of feline or viverra; hyena'

Felines

Berb. **a-barr-an* 'wild cat' < AA **bawr-* 'kind of large carnivorous animal'

Berb. **Hawar-* 'lion' < AA **ʕariw-* ~ **ʕawVr-* 'kind of feline'

Small mammals

Berb. **a-g^(w)arziz* ‘hare’ < AA **gVrVž-* ‘any small animal’

Reptiles and amphibia

Berb. **HassVl-* ‘snake, viper’ < AA **ḡačayl-* ‘big reptile, snake’

Berb. **a-ḡarw* and **ḡarḡu/ir* ‘toad, frog’ < AA **ḡ^war-* ‘frog’

Berb. **mVlul-* ‘kind of snake’ < AA **mul(l)aš-* ‘snake; lizard’

Birds

Berb. **a-bilbil* ‘heron, cattle egret’ < AA **balbil-* ‘kind of heron’

Berb. **a-barr-*: ‘partridge, quail’ < AA **bar-* ‘kind of bird (partridge, quail, pigeon)’

Berb. **a-ḡaṭi/uṭ* ‘bird (generic)’ < AA **gi/uṭaš-* ‘kind of bird’

Berb. **a-kVr-t* ‘young of a bird’ < AA **k^war-* and **k^wark-ay* ‘kind of (young) large bird’

Berb. **a-ḡru-t-* ‘raven’ < AA **ḡ^wa(?)r-* ‘crow, raven’

Berb. **a-wazz* ‘ostrich; partridge’ < AA **ḡa-wažž-*

Fish

Berb. **sVlm-ay* ‘fish’

Insects

Berb. **buryVs-* ‘kind of insect’ < AA **pVryVč-* ‘flea, grasshopper’

Berb. **a-bVrriw* ‘locust, cricket’ < AA **baḡVr-* ~ **barw-* ‘kind of insect, fly’

Berb. **a-ḡurd-ay* ‘kind of tick’ < AA **garud-* ~ **ḡurd-ay* ‘kind of insect’

Berb. **i-ḡirdam* ‘scorpion’ < AA **ḡ^(w)ird-* ‘tick; scorpion’

Berb. **ta-madi?*-*t* ‘termite’ < AA **maTi?*- ‘termite, ant’

Berb. **ta-minaw*- ‘kind of fly; louse's eggs’ < AA **minaw/n*- ‘kind of insect, worm, etc.’

Berb. **izi* ~ **zizw*- ‘fly, bee’ < AA **ziʒ(Vw)*- ‘kind of insect (fly, bee; locust)’

Berb. **a/i-zibab*- ‘(horse-)fly’ < AA **ʒibab*- ‘kind of insect (fly, bee)’

Berb. **a-zVnbibVr* (partial. reduplication) ‘coleoptera species’ < AA **ʒibar*- ‘bee, fly’

Abbreviations

AA = Afrasian, Afroasiatic, Afro-Asiatic; Akk. = Akkadian; Amh. = Amharic; Arab. = Arabic; Aram. = Aramaic; Berb. = Berber; Chad. = Chadic; C. = Central; Copt. = Coptic; Cush. = Cushitic; E. = East; Egyp. = Egyptian; ESA = Epigraphic South Arabian; Eth. = Ethiopian; Gur. = Gurage; Gz. = Geʿez; Har. = Harari; Hbr. = Hebrew; Hbt. = Hobyot; HEC = Highland East Cushitic; Hrs. = Harsusi; Jib. = Jibbali; Jud. = Judaic Aramaic; LEC = Lowland East Cushitic; Mand. = Mandaic; MB = Middle Babylonian; Mhr. = Mehri; Min. = Minaean; MK = Middle Kingdom; MSA = Modern South Arabian; N. = North; NE = New Kingdom; OB = Old Babylonian; Off. = Official Aramaic; OK = Old Kingdom; P. = Proto-; PAA = Proto-Afrasian; Phoen. = Phoenician; Qat. = Qatabanian; S. = South; Sab. = Sabaic; Sem. = Semitic; Soq. = Soqotri; Sum. = Sumerian; Syr. = Syriac; Tgr. = Tigre; Tna. = Tigrinya (Tigray); Ugr. = Ugaritic

Transcription and transliteration

p̣ bilabial emphatic voiced stop; *ḅ* bilabial emphatic voiceless stop; *b̥* bilabial voiced fricative; *ṭ* dental emphatic voiceless stop; *ḍ* dental emphatic voiced stop; *t̥* voiceless interdental fricative (in Egyp., a conventional symbol conveying *č* < **k*); *d̥* voiced interdental fricative (in Egyp., a conventional symbol conveying *ʒ*); *c* alveolar voiceless affricate [ts]; *ʒ* alveolar voiced affricate [dz]; *č* palato-alveolar voiceless affricate [tʃ]; *ʒ* palato-alveolar voiced affricate [dʒ]; *ʃ* hissing emphatic voiceless fricative; *ç* emphatic voiceless affricate; *ʒ* emphatic voiced fricative; *č̣* palato-alveolar emphatic affricate; *ʃ̣* lateral voiceless fricative; *č̣* lateral voiceless affricate; *ʃ̣* lateral voiceless emphatic fricative; *č̣* lateral voiceless emphatic affricate; *ʒ̣* lateral voiced sibilant; *g̣* voiced velar fricative (in Berb.), *ḳ* or *q̣* emphatic velar stop; *ɣ* uvular voiced fricative (Arabic “ghain”); *ħ* uvular voiceless fricative; *ḥ* pharyngeal

voiceless fricative; *ʕ* pharyngeal stop (“ayin”), *h* laryngeal voiceless fricative; *ʔ* glottal stop (“aleph”, “hamza”), *y* palatal resonant; *ʕ* and *i* conventional transcription symbols accepted in Egyptology.

Conventions for reconstructed proto-forms.

V renders a non-specified vowel, e.g. **bVr-* should be read “either **bar-*, or **bir-*, or **bur-*”.

H renders a non-specified laryngeal or pharyngeal.

S renders a non-specified sibilant.

/ when separating two symbols means “or”, e.g. **ʔi/abar-* should be read “either **ʔibar-* or **ʔabar-*”.

() a symbol in round brackets means “with or without this symbol”, e.g. **ba(w)r-* should be read “**bawr-* or **bar-*”.

~ means “and” pointing to two or more co-existing proto-forms.

Abbreviations of sources

AADB – MILITAREV, Alexander, STOLBOVA, Olga. 2007. *Afroasiatic Etymology Database* (AADB) [online] [Cit. 18 October 2019]. Available from <http://starling.rinet.ru>; [Cit. 28 December 2021]. Available from <https://starlingdb.org>.

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