RECONSTRUCTING A CULTURAL LEXICON FOR PRE-HISTORY: BERBER ZOONYMS OF AFRASIAN (AFRO-ASIATIC) ORIGIN *
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Alexander MILITAREV
Russian State University for the Humanities,
Miusskaya Sq., 6, Moscow, Russia 125993
amilitarev@gmail.com

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 example1,2,3). 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, 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*. 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 and intra-Berber comparative lexicons by M. Kossmann, K. Naït-Zerrad (regrettably, first issues only), Aman Iman, M. A. Haddadou. 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

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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 list\textsuperscript{11} 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 years\textsuperscript{12} actually cries out for the comparison of reconstructed Proto-Berber lexemes with non-Berber Afrasian data relying on the established regular correspondences in consonants\textsuperscript{13} 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.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{11} Recently transforming from “a controversial method” into one half-accepted by the linguistic mainstream.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 database 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. 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/ilovepdfmerged.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. The consonant 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. Diakonoff, 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, 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.\textsuperscript{26,27}

The data

Domesticated animals

Dogs

1. Berb. *a–yud/day, pl. yid–an ‘dog’: Ghadames idī, pl. id–an, Izdeg i–ydi, Nefusa yudi, Mzab a–ydi, Snus a–ydi, a–ydi, Ghat a–ydi, Ahaggar e–ydi, pl. iid–an, Ayr ed, idī, pl. id–an, Adghaq ēdī, Zenaga ēdī, Semlal a–ydi, pl. idā–n, Qabyle a–ydi, etc.

< AA *ʔayd– ‘dog’.\textsuperscript{28}

Chad. *ʔayd/d– ‘dog’: W.: Bolewa, Ngamo ʔadā, Kirfi (pl.) ʔedd̠i, Diri ʔadd̠a, Guruntum dā, Gera yadā, Mburku diya; C.: Tera yida, Gude ʔdda, ʔadd̠a, Zime–Batna ʔdā, Marba ʔdi, Ngide ʔiːd̠a, etc.\textsuperscript{29}

(? ) Sem.: Aram. Syr. yadn ā ‘hyena’\textsuperscript{30}

Cush. S.: Ma’a idīe (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.

\textsuperscript{26} MILITAREV, A., NIKOLAEV, S. Proto-Afrasian names of ungulates in light of the Proto-Afrasian homeland issue.

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

\textsuperscript{28} The main common Berb. term for a dog and etymologically a very entangled case. For Chadic, Stolbova reconstructed two variant proto-forms: *hid–/*had– 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 idīe ‘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 *ʔ while –d 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.

\textsuperscript{29} Cf. *ʔayd– In STOLBOVA, O. Chadic lexical database. Issue V, #116a.

\textsuperscript{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. *Husĭk–ay ‘greyhound’: Tazerwalt ušṣay, Izayan usk–a, Iznassen uskai. Seghrushen ušṣay, Ahaggar osk–a ‘chien lévrier’
< AA *ʔa/uṣk–ay– ‘kind of canine or hyena’;
Chad. *(H)usak–ay: W.: Dera šikò(–nāţa) ‘dog’; C. *sak–eyt–: Bana sákā–tá ‘jackal’, Bachama sakēy ‘dog’; E *usk–ey: Sokoro oskey ‘hyena’, etc.31
Cush. E. *se(H)ek–: Yaaku seek–a ‘hyena’
Omot. S. *ʔaʃk–i: Ari ʔaksi (met.) ‘dog’,32 Ubamer aksi (met.), Ongota ḳaski ‘dog’.
[ ] Attested in Africa only. AADB 2716. Cf. Kuliak: Nyangi sak ‘dog’.

3. Berb. *a–ykar (met.) ‘young dog’: Ahaggar, Ay, E. Tawlemmet. a–ykar ‘jeune chien’33
< AA *kur–ay– ‘dog’;
Chad. *kuray– ‘dog’: W. *ku/aray: Hausa kàrè–e, Zaar kàraỳ–i, Guus kàrày, Bokos kyâr–a; C. *ku/ir(ay):– Fali–Kìria kàr–i, Higi kr–è, Hildi kr–ì, Lamang kàr–e, Gisiga kor–e, Dugwor kìr–à, Sukun kr–a, etc.34
Sem.: Mod. Eth. *kirkur– (redupl.): Tgr. kurkur ‘dog’, kàrakur ‘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 çir, Dirayta herr–aa, etc., Dullay *kar–: Gawwada haar–o, Harso ĕer–o, Tsamay kar–o, kar–ito ‘dog’; S. *kuray–: Alagwa to–koray–mo ‘bat–eared fox’, Burunge ta–kuraʔ–imo ‘wild dog’, Ma’a kari ‘dog’.
[ ] Attested in Africa only. AADB 375; CED #455, HSED 1434. Cf. Kanuri keri, Teda kedi ‘dog’.

4. Berb. *a–Ku(r)zị̄n ‘(young) dog’: Siwa a–gurzəni, a–gurzini, al–gurzən, lu–gurzən, Audjila a–guzin ‘dog’, Semal i–kzin, Izayan a–kzin, Seghrushen a–gqizin, Rif, Snus, etc. a–gzin ‘young dog, puppy’, Shawiya a–gzin ‘petit chien’,36 Qabyle a–gqızn ‘chien’, Figig a–gzin ‘chiot’37

31 Cf. STOLBOVA, O. Chadic lexical database. Issue III, #187: only Chad.
32 Cf. also wàksak ‘fox, jackal’.
33 Cf. also Ahaggar abaykòr, Ay, E. Tawlemmet abaykor, Adghaq abaykor ‘chien de mauvaise race’, Ghat abaykur ‘lévrier’ (I analyze it as *ab–ykar, a composite word, something like ‘non-dog, under-dog’; *wiba, negation and *a–ykar ‘young dog’).
34 < *kVr– in CED #455.
35 Cf. Saho wakari, Afar wàkri ‘jackal’.
36 Cf. also a–yorzal ‘chien’.
37 Cf. KOSSMANN, M. Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère, #749.
< AA *KVζim– or *KV̱jim– ‘dog’.
(?) Chad. C. *kazim: Bura kazim ‘a male baboon, monkey, or dog’
Egyp. (MK) ζm (< *KV̱Vm– or –̱j–) ‘dog’
Cush. C. *g/kay̱jim– (–̱j is < *–m) ‘dog’: Bilin giḏị, pl. gij̱ị, Khamir giği, Khamta goṣẹ, pl. goṣẹ, Qwara geṣẹ, Qemant goṣẹ, Kaliñga goṣẹ, Waag giği, Falasha gaiṣẹ; Aungi geṣẹ, Kunfäl kassẹ.
[] Attested in Africa only. AADB 2699.

Ungulates
Small cattle

5. Berb. *a–bagug ‘young ram, lamb’: Ghat a–bažuṭ ‘mouton châtré’, Ahaggar a–bağug, pl. i–bağug ‘agneau’, Ayr, E. Tawlemmet a–bágog ‘jeune mouton de 2 à 3 ans’ (cf. Nefusa bğu, pl. i–bği–in ‘calf’)
< AA *bag(g)Vʕ– ‘(young) small cattle’:
Chad. *bagV: W.: Diri bəgʷu–nži ‘male goat’ (nži ‘male’); C.: Gude bågà, Fali–Jilbu bågà, Mwulien m–båga–tì, Bachama m–båga–to, Bata bågè ‘sheep’
E.: Sibine båge (pl.) ‘she-goat’
Sem.: Eth. *bag(g)ʕ– ‘sheep, ram’: Gz. bågaʃ, Tna. båfgi, Tgr. bågguʃ, Amh. båg, Arg. bågí
Cush. C.: Bilin båggà, Khamir begà, Khamta bigà, Qwara, Kemant bagà ‘sheep’
Omot. N.: Kafa bågê, Mocha bågo, Bworo båggò ‘sheep’.[]
[] 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 *kwaĉe (Proto-Andi *gwVçi) ‘dog’ (MILITAREV, A., STAROSTIN, S. Оцица афразийско-северокавказкая культурная лексика (Afrasian-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 Afrasian zoomyn. 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–bukir, pl. i–bukr–en ‘jeune bouc’; Ahaggar é–beker, pl. i–bekr–án ‘agneau’, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. e–bākār, pl. i–bākr–an ‘jeune mouton’

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

Chad. W. *bVkVr–: Bolewa bārk-e (met.) ‘she-goat’, Karekare bugur–è ‘goat’, Dera bukur–in (pl.) ‘goats’ C.: Terā bōkār–, pl. i–bəkər–ən ‘jeune mouton’

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

< AA *bawil ~ *wabil – *ʔaw–mel– ‘ram, goat’:

Chad. *(m–)bil– and *balaw/y– ‘small cattle’:

Egyp. (OK, MK) ib/w (very likely < *ʔVbVL– or *yVbVL–) ‘Mähnenschaf (Ovis tragelaphus)’

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40 This Berb.-Chad. root is included as an exception because of its possible provenance from AA *bkwr ‘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, bèler (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 bellī but, instead, including Audjila te–bel and Ghadames ta–bel ‘brebis’ together with Nefusa t–ili, Zenaga t–jī, Ahaggar tē–helē, Ghat ēl–hali, Ayr t–ele, E. Tawllemmet. te–hole, etc., the proto-form reconstructed as *bhVli ‘sheep’, tentatively related to AA *ṭayl– ‘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 h (conveyed by some authors by β, v or f) and Tuar t as *β (probably in contact with a laryngeal) or as a laryngeal/pharyngeal (probably labialized – conventionally *Hv). 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. yōbêl; Aram.: Dem. ḫybl, Jud. yūbsl– ‘ram’; Arab. wābil–at– ‘petits chameaux ou agneaux; petits d’un troupeau composé de chameaux ou de moutons’

Cush. *(ʔam–)jbUl– ‘kind of lesser bovid’ (Tragelaphus sylvaticus, etc.): E. *(ʔam–)bul–: LEC *bulal– (reduplication): Oromo bulâl–è ‘lamb’, HEC *(ʔam–bul–: Hadiya ambul–a ‘ram’, Kambatta ambul–a ‘ram, goat’; S. *(ʔam–bal–: Ma’a mbâl–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 *bilô ‘sheep’, Bagirmi bal ‘ram’; Ful mbala, mbâl–u, bâlî ‘sheep’, W. Atl.: Serer mbal, Mende, Kpele bala id.; Masai em–balelo ‘lamb’).

8. Berb. *(ʔa–gur– ‘small cattle’: Ghadames a–ğur ‘boue’,43 Zenaga a–grorh ‘bélier’,44 Ahaggar a–ğûr, E. Tawlemmet a–gur ‘animal castré’, Adghaq a–ţørh ‘castrat (caprin)’45

< AA *gʷ araʔ– ‘kind of small bovid’.46

43 LAFRÉY, J. Ghadames. II. Glossaire, p. 117; NAĪT-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 NAĪT– 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/yʔ–. Egyg. (MK) ḫr ‘calf’ (if <*gVr); Chad. (a) *(ʔa–)garw/y–: W. *(ʔa–) gary– ‘kind of antelope’: Hausa ḫgârê ‘a big, male red–fronted gazelle’, Tsagu gâr ‘reedbuck’, Mburku gâri ‘orx’, Ngizim a–gare ‘gazelle’; C. *(ʔa–n–)gary–: Logone gâri–a, Makeri ingorii ‘antelope’, Buduma ngâri ‘gazelle’; E. *gVw– and *gVwVr– (met.): Tumak gâri. Kwang gowor– to ‘antelope’, Ndam gârù ‘ouèbí’, (b) garaw– ‘bull’: Bolewa gaariw– à ‘pack ox’, Karekare gaariw– à ‘bull’, Tangale kârâw– a ‘cattle’; C. *garaw/y–: Bana gârôw– à ‘troupeau de boeufs’, Gade gôrâ–nô ‘herd of cattle’, Musgu gârî ‘Stier, Laststier’, Mandara gârî ‘bull’, Cush. *garaw– and *gwirâ– (met.): N. *garaw–: Beja garaw–a ‘male antelope; eland’; C. *gar– ‘calf’: Bilin, Qwara, Kemant gâr, Aungi gara; E.: HEC *gur(r)–: Sidamo garr–ańço ‘Agazen antelope’; S. *g’araʔ–: Iraqw gwaraʔ–ai ‘Hartebeest’, Burunge geraʔ–i ‘Grant’s
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Chad. C. *gʷar– and *gʷargʷar– (reduplication) ‘ram’: Hursa goragor–a, Užam gwar–a, Matakam ḫ–gwar, Ouldem g̀ar–ā, Mbuko g̀argʷar–ā, Meray gʷaragʷar–ā, Muyang g̀ořogʷor–ā, Mada gurgʷar–a; E. *gagar– (reduplication) ‘small cattle’: Sok gaîger–o ‘Schaf’, Mawa gagar ‘mouton’, Mubi wegr–î (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–hale (˂ *–xalay, met.) ‘sheep’: Nefusa, Figig t–ili, Zenaga t–ı̞ji, Ahaggar té–hale, Ghat či–hali, Ayr t–ele, E. Tawllemmet. te–hale, etc.45 < 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 ‘bélier, bouquetin’; Arab. ʔyyal–, ʔyyal– ‘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 elli–ém, Elmolo elli–em ‘ram’; S. *ʔayl–: Gorowa ele–te–mo ‘bushbuck’, Ma’a ʔal–e ‘ram’, Dahalo ʔèl–e ‘hartebeest’
[ ] AADB 2466; MILITAREV, A. Reconstructed lexicon for the West Asian home of Proto-Afrasians: 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’: Semlal ʔhruy ‘mouton’ (coll.), Central Morocco ara ‘agneau d’un an’, Ahaggar e–here, pl. i–haraw–en ‘menu bétail’46. Ayr e–हेरे ‘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’)?9 < AA *haw/yr– ‘kind of small bovid’:

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

45 Cf. KOSSMANN, M. Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère, #65.
46 Cf. KOSSMANN, M. Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère, #65.
47 Cf. KOSSMANN, M. Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère, #65.
48 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. *ḥawr̝- ‘très grand troupeau de moutons’
Cush. S.: Dahalo heeri, ērī ‘goat, sheep’.
[] Scarce representation in the non–Berber branches. AADB 2128.

11. Berb.–Canarian *ti–*hₚatt– (can be <*ti–ʔawit–t⁵⁰) ‘sheep’ (pl.): Nefusa tatt–än, Audjila t–ḥit–in; Ahaggar ti–ḥatt–än, Ayr ti–ḥatt–än (both pl.), etc.; Canarian (Gran Canaria) ta–ḥat–än ‘ovejas’
< AA *ʔaw/yat– ‘sheep, goat’;⁵¹
Chad.: W.: Bokkos titwi (met.) ‘sheep’; E. *ʔataw (met.) ‘she–goat’:
Sokoro atu, Nanchere, Lele, etc. tū, Modgel tō
Sem.: Mod. Eth. *ʔay/wVi–: Tigre ḥäyot ‘Ziege, Zicklein’, Gogot wàt–ənňä, Chaha wɔt–ənňä, etc. ‘the young (male) of a goat or a sheep’
Cush. S.: Qwadza aʔat-o ‘sheep’
Omot. S.: Hamer yatt ‘sheep’
[] AADB 2483. Attested in Africa only.

12. Berb. *a–karw ~ *i–karr ~ *a–kran (partial reduplication) ‘young of small cattle’: Nefusa a–krar ‘billy-goat’, Semlal Ḣ–ku ‘chevreau’, Rif Ḣ–karr–i, Qabyle Ḣ–karr–i ‘ram’, Ghat a–kərʷ–ät ‘lamb’, Ahaggar ḡ–krēr, pl. a–krār–en ‘bêlier’, a–kerw–ät, pl. i–kerw–äten ‘agneau’, etc.
< AA *kaw/yr– ‘young (small) bovid’:
Chad. *kawr– ‘small cattle’ (also ‘bull’): W. *kwa/ir–: Kofyar koor ‘castrated goat’, Angas kwēr, Dirâ kur–e ‘reedbuck’, Gera kwar–ə ‘goat’, Mburku kwər–i ‘meat, animal’, Zaar kər–ō ‘sheep’, Kulere kiriy–ēt ‘wild animal; meat’; C.: Ouldem kwēkwâte (reduplication) ‘taureau’; E.: Kera kükí (reduplication) ‘taureau’, Tabanga (N. Gabri) kart–aŋ ‘goat’
Sem. *ka/ir– ‘small cattle’: Akk. kir–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 kūrum–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-African names of non–ungulate animals in light of the Proto-Afrasian homeland issue, #1.17.

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³⁰ The glottal stop ʔ, unstable in Berb. as in many other AA languages, is rendered in some cases as h, and falls in others.
³¹ Reconstruction phonetically problematic because of only one “hard” root consonant.
13. Berb. *wal* 'small cattle'; Qabyle *ull* 'sheep', Ghadames *welli*; Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. *woll*, Ahaggar, Tadghaq *ull* 'goat'
< AA *wa-nil* 'kind of bovid':
    Chad. *wall*- ‘kind of antelope’: W. *wal-*: Jimi *wa-roo* ‘antelope’, Geji *wull*-i ‘gazelle’; E. *wil-*: Lele *wil*, Kabalaí yi- ‘antelope’
    Sem. *wa-nil* ‘mountain goat, ibex’: Ugr. *wil*; Hbr. *yil*; Aram.: Syr. *ya-nil*– *ibex (?)*; Jud. *ya-nil*-ä, *yax-nil*-ä; ESA: Sab., Qat. *wil*, Hdr. *wa-nil* (pl.); Arab. *wa-nil*–, *walil*–, *wailil*– ‘argali, bouquet de montagne; bouquet domestique’; Gz. *wa-nil*–, *walil*–, *wailil*– ‘kind of antelope, mountain goat’, Tgr. *wa-nil*-a ‘elk/élan’
    Sem. *wa-nil*– ‘kind of antelope, mountain goat’, Tgr. *wa-nil*-a ‘elk/élan’
    Cush. E. *wil*– ‘kind of bovid’: LEC *wil*–: Somali *wil*– ‘gazelle’, HEC: Sidamo *wil*-ii ‘young (of sheep, goat)’.
[1] 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-)zulay* (met.) ‘buck of small bovid’: Nefusa *zulay* ‘bélier’, Sokna *zalay* ‘grand chevreau’, Siwa *zalay*, Ghat *a-zulay*, Ahaggar *a-hulay*, Ayr *a-zulay* ‘bouc’; etc.
< AA *yul*- ‘kind of young bovid’:
    Sem. *(a-)zulay* ‘gazelle’: Akk. *uzul*-u, *uzul*-u ‘young gazelle’; Aram.: Jud. *swel*, Syr. *uzulay*-i ‘antelope; hinnuleus’; Arab. *ya-nil*– ‘petit de gazelle; gazelle (mâle)’.
[1] Cf. AADB 2634; SED II No. 92.

15. Berb. *(a-)zum* (V) ‘ram, lamb’: Ghadames *a-zum* (< *gaw-j- with different fossilized affixes, cf. Chad. W.: Hausa *gan*jar*; C.: Gujur *man*- *gazaw* ‘reedbuck’; Cush. C. *pa-gaz-in*- ‘agazen antelope’; Qemant *agazên*, Aungi *agàziên-i*.

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 *gaw- with different fossilized affixes, cf. Chad. W.: Hausa *gan*jar*; C.: Gujur *man*- *gazaw* ‘reedbuck’; Cush. C. *pa-gaz-in*- ‘agazen antelope’; Qemant *agazên*, Aungi *agàziên-i*.
Sem. *żamr*: Ugr. zmr ‘antelope’ (not fully reliable); Hbr. zāmār ‘kind of gazelle’; (?) Arab. zmr ‘s’enfuir (se dit d’une gazelle)’
Cush. S.: Dahalo ʒuműr ‘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 ē–berkaw ‘veau non sevré’, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet e–bārkāw ‘veau (de 2 à 12 mois)’
< AA *birk— ~ *kabir— ‘large bovid’:54
Chad. *barik– ~ *kabir–: W.: Dera birik ‘bull’; C.: Matakan ū-kūvär ‘bull’, Buduma kāber ‘antelope’ (cf. also berg-ā ‘buffalo’); E.: Dangla bark-i ‘bull, cow’, Bidiya birk-i ‘bull’, birk-ā ‘cow’
(?) Egyp. (NK) bk ‘milk cow’ (if < *bVkVr– with metathesis and unless < bk ‘be pregnant’)
Cush. E.: HEC *kabir– ‘buffalo’: Hadiya kobir–a; S.: Asa kubar–r ‘dik-dik antelope’, Dahalo kórro b̲–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–hor–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. ḥwr–y, Hdr. ḥwr, (?) Min. ḥwr ‘cow’; Arab. ḥawar– ‘taureau’ (see SED II No. 106)
Cush. E. *hawr–: LEC *hawr–: Oromo hor–ii ‘cattle’, Konso hor–eet–a ‘wealth, livestock’, HEC *hur–: Burji hūr–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. ilf; Gran Canaria, Fuerteventura, Lanzarote ilfe
< AA *hVlp– ~ *Ivh– ‘hog’;
Egyp. (20th Dyn.) ipḥ ‘pig’ (<*Ivh, 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.
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Sem.: Arab. ḥallūf – ‘hog, pig’

[15] Cf. also Beja hallūuf ‘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–bûḥāl ‘chameau de charge commun et lourd’, Ghat a–baḥul ‘vieux chameau’.

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

Sem. *bay/kl– ‘mule’.57 Sab. byl; Arab. bayl–, bayyāl–;58 Gz. bâkl, Tna. bâkl–i, Tgr., Har. bâkāl, Amh. bâkāl–o;59 Mhr. bayl–ēt, Hrs. beyel–ēt

Cush. N.: Beja bagāl, bâgl–a ‘Maultier, –Esel’ (according to Reinsch, a loan from Eth.); C. *bâ/iql– ‘mule’: Bilin baql–a, Khamir baql–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*l– ‘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. bâhil, pl. buḥhal–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–bûyâli ‘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. $ (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. baql–ā, baḵl–ā. Mnd. baqal, Turoyo baɣl–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”.

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20. Berb. *{H}abal⁶⁰ ‘(young) camel’: Ghat abal ‘chameau en âge d’être monté’, Ahaggar ābal, pl. ābal-ān ‘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) ibl-u ‘Arabian camel, dromedary’, Aram. Syr. habālātā ‘grex (camelorum)’, habbālā ‘pastor camelorum’, ṭebālḥātā ‘grex camelorum’ (a rarer variant); ESA: Sab., Qat. ʔbl (f. ʔblt) ‘camel’; Arab. ʔbl–ʔblil ‘chameaux, race de chameaux’; Mhr. ḥā-ybīt, Jib. yat ‘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–ziţ, pl. u–ziţ–ān ‘âncé
(BASSET, R. Mission au Sénégal, p. 80; <* Ha–gil)
< AA *{ʔa–}gal– ‘kind of equid or camel’:
Sem. *ʔa–gal–/gigal–*/gawel– ‘(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),

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

Cush. E. *gəal—‘camel’: Soho, Afar gəl-ā ‘Kamal’ (REINISCH, L. Die ‘Afar-Sprache, p. 849), LEC *gəl—‘camel’: Somali geel-ā (coll.) ‘camels’, Boni g'āl, Rendille gaal, Bayso gal-ā, Arbore gaal, Elmoło gal-te, HEC *gəl—‘camel’: Sidamo, Darasa gaal-ā, Burji gaal, Dulay *kəl—(<*gəl—) ‘camel’;

Omot. N. *gəl(ā)—‘camel’: Wolaita, Dache, Zaïsse 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 ożži, Izayan a–wiţţ, Ngir a–wɛ ‘cheval’, Ghat a–hůţ, Ahaggar a–hůg, pl. i–huţ–an. E. Tawlemmet. ə–huţ, pl. i–hůţ–ən ‘poulain’, etc.54 < AA *huţ–an–m– ‘kind of odd-toed ungulate’;

Sem.: Aram.: Jud. hůgān–ā, hůgon–ā ‘young camel, or dromedary’, Syr. hůg–ō gəml–ō ‘dromedarius’ (in fabul. aram. ‘asinus’); Tgr. ʔaţin ‘chameau de monte’ (COHEN, D. et al. Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques, p. 367).

Cush. N.: Beja hığ ‘3 year-old camel’; E.: HEC: Burji hogom–āy ‘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 a–hahul ‘jeune chameau non castré’, Ayr, E. Tawlemmet ə–hulel, pl. i–hule–ən ‘poulain, ânon’;

< AA *(ʔ)Vhi/ul– ‘young odd-toed ungulate’;

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

Cush. E.: LEC: Rendille əheł, Arbore holl, Dasenech ʔuol ‘donkey’ (Heine Rend. 215); Dulay: Gollango oll–ə ‘Pferd’; S.: Dahalo helleʔ-a ‘zebra’

Omot. N.: Zaïsse əl–ə, wəll–ə, Ganjule əll–ə ‘horse’ (<*həwl–, possibly a loanword from Dulay, or <*ʔəwl–).

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

54 Cf. KOSSMANN, M. Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère, #207.
24. Berb. *i–kirkar (reduplication): Ayr, E. Tawlemmet. i–korkar (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 kwar–a, Banana kwár–a; E. *kur– ‘ass’: Ndám kúr–ó, Kwang kúr–á, etc.
Sem. *kirkar– ~ *kurkur– (reduplication) ‘she-camel’: Hbr. kirkár–át ‘she-camel’; Hobyo kóok (part. reduplication) ‘female camel (from 2 to 3 years)’66
Cush. *kùr–: N. *kar–: Beja kàr–ee–see ‘Kamellaus’ (see ‘louse’); E.: LEC *(2Vn–)kur–: Somali kór–on ‘castrated camel; barren she-camel’, Rendille in–kuraarr–ú ‘donkey colt, young donkey’
Omot. N. *kur– ‘donkey’: Chara kúr–á, Kafa, Mocha, Anfillo kúr–ó, Gimirra, Dizi (Sheko) kur.
[[]] AADB 2468. One more mixed term for donkey / wild ass and camel.

25. Berb. *a–l(V)kum– ~ *a–k(V)lam– ‘camel’: Ntìfa a–lyum, Izayan alyem, Qabyle a–lye–om; Siwa a–lyom ‘camel’; Ahaggar a–ylam, pl. i–ylám–en ‘chameau de selle’, Ayr, E. Tawlemmet a–ylam, pl. i–ylam–án ‘chameau de selle; caravane’

< AA *kalVk– ~ *Wkum– ~ *kalVm– ‘camel’:

(?) Chad.: W.: Hausa ràkúmi, Karekare žúkúmò, Warji làkùmài, Miya làkùmi, Mburku làkùmì, Diri ràkúmì, Tsagu ràkùmì, ràkwámi, Jimbin rakùmità gàŋ (all the North Bauchi forms are considered loanwords from Hausa), Ngizim žógámaù, žòkímaù ‘camel’; C.: Bura likomo, Dghwede lúgwàmà, Kotoko lógómmà, Daba žogomo, Lame žógwàmà ‘camel’, Mbara lukma ‘camel, horse’; E.: Ndám lúkà, Kwang kókùma, lógómmà, Migama lókímo, etc. ‘camel’, Kabalai lákà ‘horse’ (irregular reflexes: *l > r and ž; *k < g rather point to borrowing – most likely < Berb.)

Sem.: Arab. ʕalīk–at– ‘chamelle menée en laisse’ (cf. Mhr. ʕellíg ‘camel-calf about two years old’, Jib. ʕizzíg, dim. ʕálgên ‘2–4 year-old camel’).
Cush. E.: LEC *qaal–im–: Somali qaalín, 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– ‘ânon, 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...
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[ 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–ar dun ‘mule’: Semlal, Izdeg a–sərdun, pl. i–sərdan, Shawiya a–sərdun, Izyan, Snus a–sərdən, Rif a–sardun ‘mulet, mule’, etc., Ahaggar, Ayr, E. Tawlemmet o–sərdan ‘mulâtre’
< AA *Gar(a)d– (wild) ass’.
Sem. *Gar(a)d– (wild) ass’: (?) Akk. aradd–u, ḥaradd–u (< Aram.); Hbr. Sərōd; Aram.: Syr. Sărād–ā, Mand. arada ‘wild ass’; Arab. Sard– ‘âne’

Mixed terms for ungulates

27. Berb. *a–saraw/y– ‘herd of animals’: Ahaggar ā–səra, pl. i–sərå–tän ‘troupe d’animaux sauvages’, Taitoq a–sera ‘troupeau de moutons, de chèvres, d’ânes’, Tadghaq ta–saraw–t ‘small herd of cows (up to about 30)’, ta–saray–t ‘large herd (especially of camels or cattle)’
< AA *saraw/y– ‘kind of bovid’.
Chad. W. *sa(r)sar– (reduplication): Hausa sərɑ–o ‘male red-fronted gazelle’
Egyp. (OK) sʕ (if < *sVr-) ‘Herde’
Cush. E. *sar(a)w/y– and *sawr–: Saho saraaw–i ‘two-year-old bull’, LEC: Somali sary–an ‘adult male oryx’, Dullay *sawr– ‘dik-dik antelope’: Gollango sawr–o, sawr–o, Tsamai sawr–o.
[ Attested in Africa only. AADB 299. Cf. Blažek, V. Fauna in Beja Lexicon, p. 9.

Poultry

28. Berb. *a–kat(H)y–aw ‘chicken’: Ghat i–kai, Ahaggar e–kahi, pl. i–keh–an, Ayr, E. Tawlemmet taw–kjaw–a, Semlal a–kiy–aw, pl. i–kiyaw–an ‘poussin’.
< AA *k’a day– and *k’a k’ay– ‘kind of gallinaceous bird’.
Chad. (a) *k’ay–: W. *k’ay–: Gwandara kwee, Sura kwɛɛ, Angas ki ‘hen’, Guruntum k’ay–a ‘cock’; C. *kway: Buduma kɛɛ–ɛɛ ‘partridge’; (b) *k’ayk’– (reduplication): W. *k’ayk’–: Dera kiyó ‘goose’, Fyer kükɛɛ ‘hen’; C. *kwak–: Gulfi 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 kawaiy–ā ‘Frankolinus Erkelii’; E. *kawkaw–: Yaaku kık ‘fowl’

Omot. *kaway– and *kaykay– (reduplication): N. *(ʔa–)kayw: Male kai ‘bird’, Yamma akō ‘chicken’, Chara aka, Kafa akkō, Mocha akke; S. *kaykay–: Dime kēeki ‘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(g)il ‘kind of monkey’; dwarf: Ghat a–dažel ‘singé’, ta–dažel–t ‘guenon (Cercopithecus)’, Sokna dāgel ‘monkey’, Nefusa a–dangal ‘dwarf’

< AA *dang(ʷ)Vl/r– ‘monkey; dwarf’

Chad. *(da)n(g)–ir/l–: W.: Hausa gand–i (met. < *dang–) ‘pigmy’; C. *(da)n(g)–il/r–: W. Margi dagil, Chibak dakil (devoicing of *–g?) ‘monkey’, Gude dângwâr–ā ‘adult male of an erd monkey’, Dghwede gândâw–ā (met. < *dangw–). Buduma dâgel; E. *di(n)g–Vr–: Ndam gôgm gôgô. Gângâ dûgîny–ā (metathesis < *dingw–) ‘monkey’

Egyp. (OK) dng, d’g (< *dlg), d’ng (< *dlng, metathesis of *dVngVl–?) ‘dwarf’

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

Cush. E. *(da)n(g)ir– ‘monkey’. LEC *da(n)gir–: Somali (various dialects) daŋeř, daŋjær, Boni dašer (<*daʃeɾ < *dagir), HEC *dagir–: Hadiya dagier–aa, Kambatta dagier–aa.

Borrowing from Chad. not to be ruled out.

Cf. what seems a variant root *dink– ‘dwarf’: LEC: Oromo dink–i (borrowed in Mod. Eth *dink– id.), HEC: Kambatta dünk–a, Tembaro dink–a (borrowed in Omot. N.: Kafa dikk–ā id.). As for *(da)n(g)ir–, various authors reconstruct for this root the E. Cush. *ʒ– 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. *ʒ–.
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[] In the meaning ‘monkey’ attested in Africa only. AADB 38, 392; BLAŽEK, V. Simiae. Cf. Kordofan Nubian: Dair tigil, Koldegi tingel, Midob tami ‘monkey’ (ibid., apud Meinhof) and Saharan: Tubu aهج ‘ape’ (ibid., apud Lukas).

Ungulates

30. Berb. *a–nHir (< *–nVʔir) ‘kind of antelope’: Semlal anir ‘antelope’, Zenaga e-naʔrh ‘gazelle dama’, Ghat inir, Ahaggar enir, Taneslent ti–nhir–t ‘antelope mohor’. 69 < AA *naʔir– ~ *arn– ~ *ʔran–70 ‘kind of antelope’:

Sem. *ʔarn– ~ *ʔran– ‘kind of antelope or mountain goat’: Syr. ʔarn–ʔ ‘gazelle dama’, Ghat inir, Ahaggar enir, Taneslent ti–nhir–t ‘kind of antelope’

31. Berb. *i–baray/w ‘adax species’: Ahaggar ē–berey ‘faon d’antelope adax’, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. e–bārāy ‘faon d’oryx/adax’, (?) Kel–Ataram bɔrwiː–a ‘ram’71 < AA *baray– ~ *bayar– ‘young of any bovid’:

Chad. *baray/w– and *babar– (reduplication) ‘kind of bovid’: W. *baray/w– and *(ba)baru–: Hausa bārēw–ā, pl. bārēw–ii ‘gazelle’, Gera baru–a ‘buffalo’, Pa’a babār ‘roan antelope’, Siir babar–i ‘gazella dama’, etc.; C. *bVʔwr–: Masa boʔor–a ‘kind of gazelle’, Banana bōr ‘cephalophe de Grime’; E. *ma–baru–: Lele mbur ‘Cobe Defassa’, Kwang māb–ā ‘duiker’

Egyp. (OK) bꜣ ‘heiliger Bock (ovis longipes palaeoae
gyptiacus)’, 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) bir–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 ‘Klippsspringer’ (REINISCH, L. Die Somali-Sprache. Wörterbuch), bārār (pl.) ‘lams’; S. *baʔur–: Burunge baʔur– ‘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 ałuur ‘agneau’ in CALASSANTI-MOTYLINSKI, A. de C. Le dialecte berbère de R’edamès, p. 99 (not in LANFRY, J. Ghadames. II. Glossaire).
72 –r– in Fauymic points to *–l– rather than *–l–, though, acc. to TAKACS, G. Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian. Vol. 2, p. 23, it is “most probably, < *bꜣ”.

21
32. Berb. *a/i–*damay ‘gazelle’: Tlit ʔ–dámû ‘gazelle’, Zenaga dâmi ‘Gazelle Ruffifrons’, Ahagar, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet e–demi, pl. i–demâ–n ‘gazelle de grande espèce’ (cf. Ued Righ ta–*dmen–*t ‘brebis’)

< AA *(dam)â/y– ‘kind of bovid, antelope’:

Chad.: W.: Mburku *dumun ‘duiker antelope’; C. *di/un(m)–: Masa *dimi, Afade dûmm, Makersi dim, Gulei *dumi; E. *dVma: Sonrai *demai, Timak *dimm ‘sheep’

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

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

Omot. N.: Male *damm–o ‘calf (bovine)’, Yemsa *dumâ ‘antelope dekkula’.

[] Attested in Africa only. AADB 2464.

33. Berb. *i–*daray– ‘oryx’: Ahagar, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. e–*dori, pl. i–*dara–n

< AA *(ʔa–)dury– ‘kind of bovid’:

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

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

Sem. *(ʔa–)dury–: Akk. *dudrû ‘sorte de mouton’ (partial reduplication); Arab. *diry–ʔan–*at– ‘espèce de taureau’; Tgr. (pl.) *addari–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 dôôr–*o ‘zebra’, Dahalo *gâdiiri ‘Lesser Kudu’

Omot. *dury– ‘sheep’: N. *dur–: Koyra, Zaise dôôr–Ô, Basketo, Doko *dori, Oida dôôr–*i, Gimira (She) *dôôr ‘ram’; S. *(da)yry– (met.): Ari der–*i ‘sheep’, Dime *der ‘goat’.

[] Cf. Sum. *dár, dâra ‘ibex’. AADB 2482. Cf. TAKÁCS, G. Studies in Afro-Asiatic Comparative Phonology: Consonantism, p. 73.
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34. Berb. *a–wdad (partial reduplication) ‘Barbary sheep (Ammotragus lervia)’: Nefusa a–wdâd, Semlal, Izdeg, Ghadames, Ghat udad, Ahaggar udad, Fodjaha udâd, etc.
   < AA *wâd– ‘(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 déy ‘duiker’
   Sem. *wâd–: Arab. wad–ân– ‘mouflon’
   Cush. E. *âyd– ‘sheep’: Saho âyd– ‘sheep (coll.)’, Afar id–a ‘ewe’, LEC:
   Bayso idâdo (partial reduplication) ‘sheep’.
   [ Cf. Sum. udu ‘sheep’. ] AADB 2531.

35. Berb. *i–zamm– ‘kind of antelope’:
   Siwa i–zân, pl. i–zamm–ân, Zenaga ž–žmni, pl. žmnn–on ‘gazelle’, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. e–zamm, pl. i–zamm–ân, Ahaggar e–hâm, pl. i–hâm–ân ‘oryx’
   < AA *3a(V)m– ‘kind of bovid’:
   Chad. W. *zum–kwar– ‘hartebeast’:
   Kariya zuma–kwar, Jimbin žima–kwan; C. *VžVm– ‘ram’:
   Mofu ézom, zem, Balda žěžém, žâžém, etc.
   (?) Sem.: Arab. zažâm–at– ‘boeuf ou vache’
   [ Cf. also miscellaneous terms that are somewhat similar and probably eventually related: Sem.: Akk. (lex.) dîd-u (< *dawd–, partial reduplication?), (OA, SB) a/etîdu ‘wild sheep (male)’; Off. Aram. (hapax in Frah) ãdwt (< *3Vn–daw–?) id. (cf. SED II No. 44).

36. Berb. *y(li(H))lw ‘elephant’: Shilḥ ṣlu, Ghat ālu, Ahaggar ālu, pl. āl–ân, Ayr ilw, E. Tawllemmet elw, Zenaga žižh (ž– <–lz–), etc.
   < AA *alw– ‘elephant’
   (?) Chad. W.: Zul liiye ‘elephant’ (met. < *liš–? cf. also C.: Musgu âli ‘giraffe’).

73 Cf. also miscellaneous terms that are somewhat similar and probably eventually related: Sem.: Akk. (lex.) dîd-u (< *dawd–, partial reduplication?), (OA, SB) a/etîdu ‘wild sheep (male)’; Off. Aram. (hapax in Frah) ãdwt (< *3Vn–daw–?) id. (cf. SED II No. 44).
74 Also related is Berb. Tuareg *a–wzim ‘faon de gazelle’: Ahaggar ā–whim, Ghat, Ayr, E. Tawllemmet a–wzim [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 wâla ‘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 <$*alw/}); Syr. yaṣlā ‘unicornis, rhinoceros’; Tgr. ḫōwal ‘young of the elephant’ (three metathetic variants)  
[] AADB 2511.
Canines

37. Berb. *baggay ‘kind of wild canine’: Ghat i–beţi, pl. i–beţ–an, Ahaggar ē–beggi, pl. i–beg–ān, E. Tawellemmet e–bēggi, pl. i–bāgg–an ‘chacal’, Kel–Ui a–beggi, pl. i–begg–en ‘loup, renard’, Tuneslent i–bōg–an ‘wolves’  
< AA *baggay- ‘kind of wild canine or hyena’;  
Chad. C. *ba(H)guy ‘hyena’: Dghwedē bāŋgā (dissim. <$*bag–?), Gulfei baga, bega, pl. begai, Logone bōgā, ḫōgā, pl. ḫōgāy  
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. *qVs– ‘wolf’: Ahaggar aysi ‘loup’, Ayr ta–yos–t, E. Tawellemmet ši–yos ‘chien-loup’  
< AA *kaš/c– ‘kind of canine; hyena’;  
Sem. *kaš– (< AA *kač–): Arab. kaš– ‘hyène mâle’ (also ‘caméléon’); Jib. keš–t ‘wolf’  
Omot. S.: Hamer kaski, Ongota qaske, kaski ‘dog’ (likely a lw. < Hamer or vice versa).  
[] AADB 2698. Correspondences unclear, not fully reliable.

39. Berb. *a–wwur: Ahaggar ā–ggur, Ayr ēggur ‘chacal’  
< AA *wahr– ‘kind of canine or hyena’;  
Egyp. (late) whr.t ‘Hündin’ (prop. name), Copt. ḥuḥor ‘dog’

77 NÀIŤ-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  usually transliterated as gg is used; in the Ahaggar tifinav it renders the voiced stop g originated from *-gg* <$*ww <$ Proto-Berber and Proto-Afrasian *w(w) and thus opposed to the voiced velar spirant ġ (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).
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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 araab–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.gi, ur.ki ‘(male) dog’ (gi, gi, ki ‘male, man’).

40. Berb. *wVššin (met.) ‘jackal’: Fodjaha uššən, pl. i–wuššən–ən, Ghadames weššin, Qabyle, Nefusa uššən, Semlal uššən, etc.
< AA *wa(n)š– ‘kind of canine’:
Egyp. (OK) wnš ‘wolf’
Cush. E. *wašš–: HEC *wašš– (< *wanš–): Sidamo woš–iččə, Kambatta woš–iččə, Burji wačč–ə, pl. wašš–ə ‘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 tà–hùr–i, Ay R. Tawlemmet tò–zor–əy
< AA *ʔažur– ‘kind of feline or viverra; hyena’:
Chad. W. *ʔažur– (met.): Galambu ṯɔ–waʒ, Warji ḵara–waš ‘lion’, Zul zažər–i ‘like a hyena or civet’; C. *ʒVr–: Bachama žar–á, Bata žir–e, Buduma žazúr–mà (reduplication) ‘leopard’; E. *ʒur– ‘id.’: Gabri žur, Mubi ḥyúr–úk
Sem. *ʔa(n)ḏar–: Akk. azar–u (azar–u) ‘lynx’, Gz. ḥanžar ‘wild cat’
Cush. E.: LEC *ʔadur(r)– ‘viverra’: Oromo adurr–ee, Dasenech adur–e79; S. *ʒiʔVr– (met.) ‘viverra’: Alagwa żežar–a, Burunge żižerar–e

78 Cf. also Darasa waļčo, 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 *ʔadur– (Dihina, Gollango aturre ‘wild cat’): the Sidamo and Dullay forms look like loanwords from Oromo in spite of the meaning difference.
Omot. N. * ⱡar–: Kafa ⱡar– ‘viverra’. 
[] SED II No. 9; AADB 399.

Felines

42. Berb. *Hawar81 ‘lion’: Ghadames a–bur, Ghat a–her, Ahaggar, Ayr, E. Tawlemmet. a–har, Zenaga, Nefusa, Mzab war, Sened ar, etc.
< AA *ʕarw– ~ *ʕawVr– ‘kind of feline’:
Chad. C. *Hiraw–: Musgu à–hiråw ‘leopard’, Munjuk a–hraw ‘panther’82
Sem. *ʕarw–: Arab. ʕawr–at– ‘lion’; Tna. waʕr-o (met.) ‘leonessa’; Mhr. lâyr–i, pl. ʕarw–at, Jib. fēr–i ‘tom-cat’
Cush. E.: LEC: Somali ʕur– ‘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 à–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 bår–ā ‘hyena’, Sura m–bɔɔr, Angas bwär ‘lion’, Mupun pipwɔr, Tangale par–i ‘cheetah’, Ngamo bårɔyr–

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 *ʕ.
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?) +hara.
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
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iyà (reduplication) ‘wild animal’, Zul m–bor–i, Fyer ñm–bwaar ‘lion’; C. *ma–bawr–: Bura mobul–u (l < *r), Mwulien ñbúr–mò, Bachama mbur–umay ‘hyena’, Mofu mábá– ‘panther, lion’, Gisiga mobor ‘lion’; E. *baw/HVr–: W. Dangla bùur–i ‘lion’, Migama bòor–ú, Bidiyo bòor–e, Mubi bòr–i ‘hyena’, Birgit bâr–á, Toram bar–a ‘jackal’

Sem. *ba(r)bar– (reduplication):66 Akk. barbar–u ‘wolf’; Arab. babr– (pl. bubûr–) ‘espèce de chacal qui conduit le lion sur la piste de la proie’, al–barbār ‘lion’

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

[] Cf. Sum. “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–ţerţis, pl. ta–ţerzaz, Rif a–yerziz, Mzab, Wargla a–gergizi (–g– < *–z– assimilated to g–), Shawiya a–gʷarziz

< AA *gIrVŷ– ‘any small animal’.89

Chad. *gar– ‘kind of small animal’: C.: Gude tân–gorţâ–âne ‘type of animal (like squirrel or weasel)’; E.: Dangla gârzè ‘rat species’ (unless an Arabism), (?) girzib–ô ‘varan’

Sem. *gIrVô– ‘kind of rodent’: Aram.: Syr. gârd–â ‘castor’; Arab. žuraf– ‘espèce de gros rat des champs’, žîrî–aw–n–; Mhr. gərî–în ‘rat’, Hrs. gerî–în ‘rat, mouse’

(?) Omot. N.: Dizi (Sheko) gorţ–u ‘gecko’, gorţub–e ‘lizard’.90 S.: Dime gerţ–‘cat’.

[] AADB 3836; SED II No. 84.

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

66 Cf. Sem. *bVrbVr– ‘to howl, roar’.

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

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

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

90 Note a striking similarity between Sheko gorţub–e ‘lizard’ and E. Dangla girzib–ô ‘varan’ (likely with a fossilized –b– suffix).
Reptiles and amphibia

45. Berb. *Hassil– ‘snake, viper’: Ghat ašil, Ahagger âššel ‘serpent’, Ayr aššel, E. Tawlelemmet ašsol ‘couleuvre, gros serpent’, Mzab t–iššel–t ‘vipère’ 91
< *ʔaššel– ‘big reptile, snake’:
Sem. *ʔaššel(h)y– ‘a mythical reptile, dragon’: Syr. ṭātaly-ˁ draco; stella, quae solem tegens eclipsim efficit’, Mand. tali-ˁ ‘ficte dragon causing eclipse’; Tgr. ṭashal-ˁ ‘dragon’, Tna. ṭasāl-ˁ, ṭashal-ˁ ‘animale favoloso, di smisurata grandezza e della specie del coccodrillo’
(?) Cush. S.: Dahalo ṭaʔal-a ‘puff-adder’ 92
Omot. N. *ʔiʔaylaš– (metathesis) ‘crocodile’: Wolaita aylašuwa, Zala aylašuwa, Dawro allaša; S.: Ari hayleša
[ ] AADB 2606. Cf. SED II No. 20.

46. Berb. *a–karw and *karkuːr (reduplication) ‘toad, frog’: Rif a–karkur, Iznassen karkrawler ‘toad’, Senhaja a–karkur, Ahagger a–y eru, pl. i–yer–än ‘frog’, etc.
< AA *kʷar– ‘frog’:
Chad. *kær–an– and *ka(r)kir–an ‘frog’: W.: Ngizim körinâkâu; C. *kir–in– ‘frog’: Gava kirê, Mofu kakorâŋ, Daba kirrijâ; E. *kVrin–: Birgit kirên–i, Sokoro köriy–ê.
Egyp. (NE) krr, Copt. *karâr–aw ‘frog’. 93
Sem. *kʷar–ir– and *kʷar(r)kir– (reduplication) ‘frog’ (with different affixes): Syr. yakrûr– and šakrûk–, Jud. źakroţ–ţ; Arab. kîr–, kūr–, karr–at–; Gz. kâker, k̡armanaţ–ţ, Tgr. karoš, źankoroš, Tna. kʷor–o, źankoroš. 94 Amh. körnâ–ot, Har. ankûrârah–ti.
Omot. N. *ʔu–kar: Zayisse źookkar–o, Zergula źookêr–u ‘frog’.
[ ] SED II No. 137; AADB 270.

47. Berb. *mVlul– ‘kind of snake’: Ayr, E. Tawlelemmet molul, pl. molul–än ‘espèce de serpent’ 95

91 Cf. KOSSMANN, M. Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère, #681.
92 Dahalo ṭ in most cases continues AA *ṭ, but there are a few rather convincing cases when it corresponds to Sem. *ṭ (< AA *ṭ).
93 VYCICHL, W. Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte, pp. 86–87.
94 ṭ in Syr. and –ṭ 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-abyrinth with a fossilized –b– suffix? (cf. fn. 90).
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< AA *mul(l)āʕ– ‘snake; lizard’:
  Chad. W.: Hausa múlw–ā ‘a short, thick snake, Dera múlmòl ‘viper’, Bokkos múl–ssis ‘grey lizard’; C.: Kobochi malwāf, Nzangi maalāw–ā, Holma múlw–ē ‘cameleon’
  (?) Egyp. (Gr.) mnḥ in kī-mnḥ (< *mlḥ?) ‘Schildkröte’
  Cush. E. *muluʕ– ‘lizard’: Afar mulluʕ–it, LEC: Somali muluʕ–a, Rendille mulʕā
[] 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 ā–belbel ‘héron, garde-boeuf’, Ahaggar ā–bilbil ‘nom d’un oiseau’
  < AA *bal– ~ *balbil– ‘kind of heron’:
    Chad. W.: Hausa balbēél–ā (reduplication) ‘buff–backed heron, i.e. cattle–egret’; E.: Lele bāl–ē ‘heron’, Mubi bāul–ē ‘kind of heron (grey)’
    Egyp. bnw (< MK) ‘phoenix’, (18 Dyn.) ‘heron’
  (?) Sem.: Akk. (SB, hapax) bull–u ‘a species of crested bird’; Arab. ?ābābil– (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–barr–ut ‘caille d’Europe’, etc.
  < AA *bar– ‘kind of bird (partridge, quail, pigeon)’:
    Chad. *bVr– ~ *bVrbVr– (reduplication) ‘pigeon, dove, partridge, quail’;
    W. *barv–: Hausa bārubyu ‘pigeons’, bārubur–āa (reduplication.) ‘quail’, Kirfi mbirù ‘dove’, Warji baru–na ‘pigeon’, Ngizim bāri ‘domestic pigeon’; C.
    *(ʔa–)bVrbVr (reduplication) ‘pigeon’: Gizey bērbēr, Masa bērbēr, Marba ʔābērbēr, etc.; E. *ba/n– ‘partridge, quail’; W. Dangla bāār–ē, Migama bāār–ē ‘perdrix’, Bidiya bībir–nyī (reduplication) ‘caille’
    Egyp. (old) bī (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-ē (reduplication) ‘hoopoe’, Dahalo mbār-ē ‘egret’.

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

50. Berb. *a–qati/uṭ ‘bird (generic)’
< AA *gi/uṭ- ‘kind of bird’:
Chad. C. *(n)gudiy-: Ga’anda guḍiy-a, Gabin ngudiy-a ‘dove’, Buduma ngud-o ‘bird’ Cush. S.: Iraqw gidʕaw-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 *kʰar– and kʰarkay– (partial reduplication) ‘kind of (young) large bird’:
Chad. *kʰar–, *kʰarkay and kʰarkʰir– (reduplication) ‘guinea-fowl, hen, duck’: W. *kʰar–: Tangale kʰar-te ‘guinea-fowl’, Polchi kor–a, Buli kár, Tala kwor, kor ‘hen’; C. *kur– and *kʰVrkʰVr– (reduplication): Mofu kwerekwer-e, Munjuk kor-o ‘duck’, Sukur ta–kur ‘hen’ and ‘dove’, etc.; E. *(ʔa–)kir)ki(r– (reduplication): Kera akórkór–ø, Migama kókór–ø, akórk–a ‘cock’, Dangla kókir-a, Jegu kókóre, Mubi kókórey ‘hen’.

(?) Egyp. (Pyr.) t’ (if < *kVr–) ‘junger Vogel (Schwalbe, Geier); junges Tier’

Sem. *kʰarkay– (partial reduplication) ‘goose, crane’: Akk. kurtā ‘goose’; Aram.: Syr. kürkāy–ā ‘grus’, Jud. kürkūy–ā, Mnd. kurki–a ‘crane’; Arab. kurkiyy– ‘grue’, Gz. kʰarkāki, korki ‘crane’

Cush. *kur–: N. *k(ar)karr–: Beja kaakarr–et ‘hen’; S. *karaʔ–: Qwadza kalaʔ–eto ‘stork’.

Omot. N. *kur– and kurki–t– (partial reduplication) ‘partridge, quail’: Gamo kür–aččo, Dorze kor–ačo, Zergula kerk–ečče, Male karek–ačo; 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. *a̬-kru- – ‘raven’; Ayr, E. Tawlemmet. a̬-yru- – ’corbeau’.
\< AA *k’a(?r)– ‘crow, raven’:
  Chad. k’ar– and kukar– (reduplication): C.: Podoko kɔkär–, Cuvok k’ʊr–
  阋 w ‘crow’; E.: E. Dangla  kɔr– ‘espèce de corbeau noir’, Bidiya kuraag–á
  (met.: –g <*k by dissimilation?) ‘black crow’.
  Sem.: Eth. *k’ar– and *k’ak’ar– (reduplication) ‘crow, raven’: Gz. kāker
  ‘crow’, Amh. k’or–a (kuru–a) ’crow, raven’, Gur. *k’or–a ‘crow’.
  Cush. C. *kur– and *kwakur– (reduplication): Bilin kūaqur–ā ‘der
  Rabe’100, Khamta qur–ā-, Qwara qur–ā, Qemant ḥor–ay ‘raven’, Aungi kur–a
  ‘crow’; E.: LEC *kur–r: Oromo kur–uu, Bayso kur–a, HEC *kur–(–an):–
  Hadiya koraa–ta, Alaba kur–a, Burji kor–ā–čo, etc. ‘crow’.
  Omot. *kur– and *kuraak– (partial reduplication): N.: Wolaita kuur–uwa,
  Gamu, Zayssse kur–o, Dače kor–a–șe Kafa ku–re–čo, Yemsa kur–a ‘crow’;101
  S.: Ari kuraak ‘crow’.
  [] Attested in Africa only. AADB 1668; SED II #134.

53. Berb. *a–wazz ‘ostrich; partridge’: Ghadames a–wɔzz(z), pl. wɔzz–ān
  ‘autruche’, Igerwan wawuţţ, Izayan wawîţ (partial reduplication), Messiwa, Ait
  Amran wawăţ ‘perdrix’
\< AA *ʔa–wazz– ‘kind of bird (partridge, goose, duck, cock):
  Chad. E.: Mokilko ḥizī ‘chick, cock’
  Egyp. (Pyr) ṭ.t ‘Ente, Ganz’, k’zw.t ‘Erpel’ (i. e. ‘male of a duck’)
  Sem. *ʔa–wazz– ‘goose’: (?) Akk. (OB lexical list) wazwaz–u, some bird;
  Ugr. ḥu; PB ṭwāţ; Syr. wazz–; Arab. wazz–, ṭwazz–; Gz. zy (metathesis?)
  [] Cf. Sum. UZμśēn ‘duck’. AADB 2607; cf. SED II No. 22.

Fish

54. Berb.–Canarian *sVlm–ay, pl. *(i/a–)salm–an ‘fish’;102 Ghat a–lomšay,
  Ahaggar a–sūlmey, pl. i–sūlmāy–ān, Snus, Semlal, Izdeg, Qabyile a–slom,

100  kūţš is translated as ‘schreien, gakern’.
101  According to Bender’s phonological correspondences, k– in Kafa and Yems 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 *siǯm–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 *lVsm–ay* or, rather, *lVšm–ay.*104

Insects

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

< AA *pVryVc–* ‘flea, grasshopper’:

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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/Ahaggar, rather than going back to the Proto-Berber-Canarian level. The Berber term was, in its term, borrowed in Hausa as *lũms̀* (likely from Ghat) and in the Central Chadic language of Bura as *šalmẁ* (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.
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Chad. C.: Glavda birogšu-wa ‘tick’, Podoko biragešw–e ‘pou de chien’, Mafa įkišbér (met.), Daba mbirguč ‘louse’, Logone mburgumisi ‘punaise’; E.: Bidiya bugulčú–mô (~lč– ~ *–rē– ‘larve’

Sem. *pVṛVṛVṛ– ~ *pVṛVṛVṛ– ‘flea’: Akk. perša?–u, puršu?–u, etc.; Hbr. paršš; Syr. purtaš–n–a; Arab. burũṯ.105

Cush. E.: Dahalo pāārēt–e ‘termite’ (*pHēc–?)

Omot. N.: Gimirra birē– ‘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–bVr̃w ‘locust, cricket’: Rif a–barru, Senhaja a–barru ‘cricket’, Menaser a–barru, Warsenis a–borrw, Iznassen a–barru, Snus a–bɔrụ ‘locust’, etc.

< AA *baʔVr̃ ~ *barw– ‘kind of insect, fly’:

Chad. *baʔar– ~ *bVrbVr̃– (reduplication) ‘kind of insect’: W. *bur– ‘mosquito’: Dera buru–k, Gera bur–s; C. *bar– ~ *bVrbVr̃– (partial reduplication) ‘kind of insect’: Hwona mb–a ‘locust’, Mbara bōbōr ‘punaise de lit’, Gudur beber ‘taon’, Zime–Batna būbūr–ūm ‘mosquito’, Masa ba–a ‘locust’; E.: Lele ḇṟbōr ‘punaise’, Bidiya burbur–uŋ ‘coléoptère’, Sokoro bōbor–ō ‘Wanze’.

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

Cush. E.: LEC: Elmolo bāru–at ‘bee’; S. *baʔar– ‘honeybee, fly’: Iraqw baʔaʔ–mō, Alagwa, Burunge baʔar–imo.

[] Cf. Sum. bir ‘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. Tawlemeret ā–gurday ‘espèce de tique’, Shilha 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–kared, Shawiya a–kurdu, Sened, Nefusa kurdi and what seems another variant root – *i–kirdam ‘scorpion’ (#58).
107 Cf. KOSSMANN, M. Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère, #214.
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Sem. *ğarud*– ‘kind of insect’: Aram.: Syr. gārūd–ā ‘locusta’;108 Arab. żarād–, żardam– ‘sauterelle’; Tna. gārād–o ‘ragno di colore molto oscuro’; Jib. gèrād ‘locusts’ (Arabism is possible)

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

58. Berb. *i–ki’dam* ‘scorpion’: Qabyile i–ɣirde, Semlal i–ɣirde, pl. i–ɣardim–iun, Siwa ti–ɣerde–t, Ghadames ta–şardem–t,109 Audjila t–yardim–t, Ahaggar é–ɣirde, pl. i–ɣôrdêm, etc.110 Note a fossilized -m suffix.

< AA *k(ʷ)ird– ‘tick; scorpion’:

Sem. *kʰird– ‘tick; wasp’: Syr. kërd–ā ‘ricinus’; Arab. kurd– ‘teigne qui attaque les chevaux, les chameaux; ver qui se met dans les cuirs’; Tgr. kârəd, Tna. k(ʷ)âredt ‘tick’

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

[] AADB 2610; SED II No. 135.

59. Berb. *ta–madì²–t* ‘termite’: Siwa ta–mdi ‘fourmi’, Taneslemt te–madê, E. Tawllemmet ta–madêy, Ahaggar tâ–mâde, pl. ti–mâdi–wîn ‘termite’, Ayr tâ–madê ‘termite, mite’111

< AA *maT̂i²– ‘termite, ant’:

Chad. C. *mada(H):* Tera mada ‘termite’, Gude mûdâa–dôwá ‘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 muṭ–a (< *muṭ–) ‘small ant’.

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

60. Berb. *ta–miṇaw– ‘kind of fly; louse’s eggs’: Ayr, E. Tawllemmet te–mne, pl. ta–miṇiwi–en ‘espèce de mouche’, i–miṇiwi–ān (pl.) ‘louse’s eggs’,
Semlal tā–mna, pl. ta–mnīw–in ‘grosse mouche’, Ayyashe ta–mla, Myill tī–mla ‘mouche sarcophage’, etc.

< AA *mīnañ– *mīnañ– ‘kind of insect, worm, etc.’;

Sem. *mīnañ– ‘kind of insect, worm, caterpillar, spider’: Akk. mūn–u ‘caterpillar’; Aram.: Syr. mān–ā ‘curculio; cynips, musca’; Arab. mīnā–at–, manūn–at– ‘araignée’; (?) Gz. to–mni ‘bedbug’\(^{113}\)

Cush. E. *mīn– ‘tapeworm’: LEC: Oromo mīn–i ‘verme solitario’, Arbore mīn–e, HEC (likely < Oromo): Darasa mīn–e, Burji mīn–i ‘tapeworm’; S. *mīnā?–n–: Burunje mānā?–aa ‘winged termites’, Asa mēn–a ‘tapeworm’.

\(^{113}\) AADB 2310; SED II No. 152

61. Berb. *izi(w) ‘fly’ ~ *ziw– ‘bee’: Nefusauzu, Siwaizi, pl. izā–n, Ahaggar ḍhī, ḍhī, ḍhī, Qalyb, Mzāb, Warglaizi, Iznassen, Snusizi, etc. ‘fly’; Nefusa to–ziw, Izayan ti–ziw–it, Rīf t–ziw–it, Senhadja ta–ziw–it, Iznassen, Snus d–ziw–it, etc. ‘bee’

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

Chad. *ja–ziw– ‘fly’; W. *ja–ziw–: Diri ḍjaaddē, ādzē, Dwot zīi, Kulere ağiʒuwaaw; C. *ʒuwaay–: Higi–Nkafa žw, Fali–Kiria žu, Mofu ʒuwaaw, Gude ʒw, Logonežu, etc.

Sem. *ziw– ‘kind of insect’: Akk. zī–ān–u (sis–ān–u) ‘a locust’; Hbr. zī ‘the small creatures that ruin the fields’; Arab. zī– (pl. zīzān–) ‘cigale’;\(^{114}\) Wolane zī–o, Selti zī–o ‘May bug’

Cush. E.: HEC *ziw–t– (or *ziw–t–) ‘bee’: Sidamo diiš–o (<*diid–čo), Kambatta ziissu (< *ziiz–ču).

\(^{114}\) While the t–prefixation in zoonyms is not common, note a striking structural (but not semantic) affinity with the Berber, esp. Tuareg, forms.

62. Berb. *aʃi–zaab– ‘gadfly’: Izayan i–zaab ‘horse–fly’, Ghat a–zaab(h), Ayr aʃi–zaab, E. Tawlemmet. i–zaab, Ahaggar a–haab, etc.

< AA *ziw– ‘kind of insect (fly, bee)’;

Chad. *ziw–H– ‘kind of insect’: W. *ziw– ‘bee’: Ngizim zheboa; C. *ziw(aH)– ‘kind of insect’: Bura żeb–a ‘locust in the hopper state’, Fali–Gilli żiñi ‘fly’, Gudu żiñi–cù, Bata żiñi ‘termite’

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

\(^{114}\) 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. *ḏubab– ‘fly’: Hbr. ṣḥbūb ‘flies’; Syr. ḏabbāb-ā ‘musca’; Arab. ḏubāb– ‘mouche; abeille’

[] AADB 365; SED II No. 73.

63. Berb. *a–z\̣VnbibVr (partial reduplication) ‘coleoptera species’:
Ahaggar ā–z\̣nbîb\̣r.115 Ayr, E. Tawllemmet. ə–z\̣bben\̣b\̣r
< AA *\̣jibar– ‘bee, fly’:
Chad. W. *ma–\̣jibar–: Hausa m\̣ă\̣jibā̆ri ‘sausage fly’
Sem. *\̣dbar– ‘bee’: Mhr., Hrs. ḏebēr, Soqotri ődbēhir.

[] AADB 364; cf. SED II No. 66 (p. 98). Likely derived from *\̣jibab–
‘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.

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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 ḫṣṣur-u ‘bird’ (cognate with Ugaritic ḫṣr ḫṣṣūṟu/ ‘bird, domestic fowl, poultry’) to Sem. *ńsūr– 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 xfaṣūr– and further on to a solid Sem. root *ṡvp(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. In fact, the decisive argument is a deeper etymology – in this case, on a common Afrasian level. Both debated terms, *ḫṣṣūr– and *ṡvp(p)Vr–, have matches in other Afrasian branches: (1) AA *ṣṣā– ~ *ṣ̱iṟā ‘(kind of) bird’: Sem. *ḫṣṣūr– ‘bird (generic)’; Cush. E.: Saho ḫṣā(r)iṟ ‘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 ḫṣṣūr–, with a prefixed root extension –ʕ– very likely derived – probably, due to contamination with *ḡṣṣūr– (see discussion in SED II No. 212 comments).
(Rift) *cirəʔ– ‘bird (generic)’: Iraqw cirı, etc. 119 (2) AA *cfVr– ‘(kind of) bird’: Sem. *ṣip(p)Vr– ‘(kind of small) bird; bird (generic)’; Chad. *cfVr– ‘guinea fowl’: W.: Mburku ẓápúr, C.: Bura civirá, Margi ẓóvur, Wamdiu civúr, Mofu cāvár. 120

Another similar example is Mandaic Aramaic ẓma, 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 *ʒam(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)f– ‘(young) small cattle’
Berb. *ballVy ‘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 *ṣVp(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.
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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 araʔ– ‘kind of bovid’
Berb. *(H)ilf– ‘hog, pig’ < AA *ḥVlp– ~ *lVp ḥ– ‘hog’
Berb. *a/i–Hayr– ‘calf’ < AA *haw/yr– ‘kind of larger bovid’
Berb. *a–karw/y– ‘herd of animals’ < AA *saraw/y– ‘kind of bovid’
Berb. *a–wdad ‘Barbary sheep’ < AA *wad– ‘(wild) sheep’
Berb. *walli ‘small cattle’ < AA *wašil– ‘kind of lesser bovid’
Berb. *(a–)zulaɣ (met.) ‘buck of small cattle’ < AA *(ʔ)V(al)– ~ *(ʔ)iran– ‘kind of antelope’
Berb. *i–z(V)mVr ‘ram, lamb’ < AA *(ʔ)VmVr– ‘kind of bovid’
Berb. *a–baḥul– ‘chameau’ (?) < AA *bay/kl– ‘mule’
Berb. *a–gil ~ *(ʔ)V(g)Vl– (reduplication) ‘ass; camel’ < AA *(ʔa–)gal– ‘kind of equid or camel’
Berb. *(H)abal ‘(young) camel’ < AA *(ʔ)abil– ‘camel’
Berb. *a–Hugg ‘colt, horse’ < AA *(ʔ)hu/ig– ‘kind of odd–toed ungulate’
Berb. *a–ḥuilil ~ *(ʔ)a–ḥahl (partial reduplication) ‘young odd–toed ungulate’ < AA *(ʔ)V(h)i/ull– ‘young odd–toed ungulate’
Berb. *i–kirkar ‘camels’ < AA *(ʔ)kawr– and *(ʔ)kar– (reduplication) ‘wild ass or camel’
Berb. *a–l(V)kum– ~ *a–k(V)lam– < AA *ʕalVk ~ *lVkum– ~ *ʕalVm– ‘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)l/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/um ‘(young) dog’ < AA *KVʒim– or *KVʒim– ‘dog’

Berb. *ʔVʃ– ‘wolf’ < AA *ʔas/aʔ– ‘kind of canine; hyena’

Berb. *a–wwur ‘jackal’ < AA *wahr– ‘kind of canine or hyena

Berb. *wVššin (met. with reduplication) ‘jackal’ < AA *wanš– ‘kind of canine’

Berb. *a–yd/ʔiʔ ‘dog’ < AA *ʔiʔ– ~ *ʔayd– (Berb.–Chad.) ‘dog’

Berb. *a–ykar (met.) ‘young dog’ < AA *kur(–ay)– ‘dog’

Hyena

Berb. *–zur–Vy ‘hyena’ < AA *ʔaʃur– ‘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’
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Small mammals
Berb. *a–g(ʷ)arziz ‘hare’ < AA *gVrVʒ– ‘any small animal’

Reptiles and amphibia
Berb. *HassVl– ‘snake, viper’ < AA *ʔačayl– ‘big reptile, snake’
Berb. *a–kwar and *karkwir ‘toad, frog’ < AA *kʷar– ‘frog’
Berb. *mVlul– ‘kind of snake’ < AA *mul(l)a– ‘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–gaṭi/uṭ ‘bird (generic)’ < AA *gi/uṭa– ‘kind of bird’
Berb. *a–kVr–t ‘young of a bird’ < AA *kʷar– and *kʷark–ay ‘kind of (young) large bird’
Berb. *a–kru–t– ‘raven’ < AA *kʷa(?r)– ‘crow, raven’
Berb. *a–wazz ‘ostrich; partridge’ < AA *ʔa–waẓẓ–

Fish
Berb. *sVlm–ay ‘fish’

Insects
Berb. *buryVs– ‘kind of insect’ < AA *pVrVč– ‘flea, grasshopper’
Berb. *a–bVrriw ‘locust, cricket’ < AA *baʔVr– ~ *barw– ‘kind of insect, fly’
Berb. *a–gurd–ay ‘kind of tick’ < AA *garud– ~ *gurd–ay ‘kind of insect’
Berb. *i–kirdam ‘scorpion’ < AA *k(ʷ)ird– ‘tick; scorpion’
Berb. *ta–madiʔ–t ‘termite’ < AA *maTiʔ– ‘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 *ʒiʒ(Vw)– ‘kind of insect (fly, bee; locust)’
Berb. *a/i–zibab– ‘(horse-)fly’ < AA *ǯibab– ‘kind of insect (fly, bee)’
Berb. *a–zVnbibVr (partial. reduplication) ‘coleoptera species’ < AA *ǯibar– ‘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. = Ge’ez; 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. = Tigré; Tna. = Tigrinya (Tigray); Ugr. = Ugaritic

Transcription and transliteration

[p] bilabial emphatic voiced stop; [b] bilabial emphatic voiced stop; [h] bilabial voiced fricative; [t] dental emphatic voiceless stop; [d] dental emphatic voiced stop; [θ] voiceless interdental fricative (in Egyp., a conventional symbol conveying [k]); [ð] voiced interdental fricative (in Egyp., a conventional symbol conveying [j]); [c] alveolar voiceless affricate [ts]; [ʒ] alveolar voiced affricate [dz]; [ć] palato–alveolar voiceless affricate [ť]; [ʒ] palato–alveolar voiced affricate [dž]; [ʃ] hissing emphatic voiceless fricative; [č] emphatic voiceless affricate; [z] emphatic voiced fricative; [ć] palato–alveolar emphatic affricate; [ś] lateral voiceless fricative; [ć] lateral voiceless affricate; [š] lateral voiceless emphatic fricative; [ć] lateral voiceless emphatic affricate; [ź] lateral voiced sibilant; [g] voiced velar fricative (in Berb.), [k] or [q] emphatic velar stop; [ɣ] uvular voiced fricative (Arabic “ghain”); [h] uvular voiceless fricative; [h] pharyngeal
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voiceless fricative; ʕ pharyngeal stop (“ayin”), h laryngeal voiceless fricative; ʔ glottal stop (“aleph”, “hamza”), ʝ palatal resonant; ɬ 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. *ʔiabar– 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.

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