

Proto-Afrasian names of non-ungulate animals in light of the Proto-Afrasian homeland issue

In this paper, we present the second section³ of a relatively comprehensive thesaurus of Proto-Afrasian zoonyms, compiled and reconstructed by the authors. The list contains more than sixty terms, including monkeys, canines and hyenas, felines, rodents and other mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibia and fishes complementing and completing a wholesome (at the current level of our knowledge) picture of all relevant species of fauna in the period preceding the split of Proto-Afrasian (ca. 11th millennium BCE, according to glottochronology) within the area presumably inhabited by speakers of Proto-Afrasian. Results of the reconstruction may be ambiguously interpreted in favor of either one of the two different points of view on the localization of the Proto-Afrasian homeland, namely, the Levant vs. East Africa.

Keywords: Proto-Afrasian homeland; Afrasian (Afro-Asiatic) languages; etymology of zoonyms; reconstruction of cultural lexicon.

Introduction

In this paper, we present comparative evidence for a large number of Proto-Afro-Asiatic (PAA) “non-ungulate” zoonyms, including monkeys (4 terms), predators (22 terms), other mammals (a selection of 8 terms), birds (selection of 11 terms), reptiles (selection of 9 terms), water reptiles and amphibia (selection of 4 terms), and fishes (selection of 5 terms). Within the “predator” subset, we differentiate between 8 reconstructed terms for canines, including ‘dog’ (**kawit-*, **k^wihan-*, **KV₃/žim-*), ‘k. of wild canine’ (**ʔaway-*, **ʔaw/ys-*, **ba^wiḥ-*, **kur(-ay-)*, **wan^s-*), 4 undifferentiated terms ‘k. of canine or hyena’ (**ʔa/usk-ay-*, **ba^ʔVš*, **gVd-*, **wahr-*), 9 terms for felines including ‘lion’ (**labi^ʔ-*), ‘leopard or lion’ (**ba^ʔy-*), ‘k. of (wild) feline’ (**ʔariw-*, **ba^ʔis-*, **da(ʔ/y)m-*, **giwar-*, **layč-*, **mary-*, **sawr-*), and one undifferentiated term ‘k. of feline, hyena or viverra’ (**ʔažur-*).

In the opinion of one of the paper’s authors (S. Nikolaev), this particular array of predators in the context of terms for monkeys, ungulates and large herbivores should stimulate a search for the PAA homeland in the Eastern part of the Sahel. Although some of these zoonyms are universal and thus “neutral” in regards to the debatable issue of the Afrasian *Urheimat*, others at least make it possible to add an important observation (which, however, could hardly shed any more light on the problem, since it can be interpreted both ways): while

¹ Lexical material, reconstruction of zoonyms and presentation of the Levant *Urheimat* hypothesis for Proto-Afrasians, including their identification with Natufians. Militarev’s research is supported by The Russian Science Foundation (Project № 20-18-00159); the financing organization is The Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences.

² Evaluation of PAA zoonyms, their paleozoological interpretation and argumentation in favor of the African (most likely East Sudanic) *Urheimat* of Proto-Afrasian, as well as commentary on the semantic reconstruction of zoonyms.

³ The first section, “Proto-Afrasian names of ungulates in light of the Proto-Afrasian homeland issue”, was published in 2020 (*Journal of Language Relationship* 18/3–4: 199–226). The list in the second section continues the numeration begun in the first one (1. Bovids and pigs; 2. Camel and equids; 3. Largest herbivores).

there are terms in various Semitic (not only Ethiopian Semitic) languages that denote African animals such as the ones represented in the current paper (namely, monkeys and crocodiles), not a single one of those has a common Afrasian or even common Semitic etymology. This evidently implies a late origin of the corresponding Semitic zoonyms and, hence, late acquaintance of the already linguistically separated Semitic-speaking groups with the corresponding African animals.

A special commentary is needed for the issue of semantic reconstruction of zoonyms. It is quite rare that the Proto-Afrasian meaning may be reconstructed unequivocally on the basis of perfectly matching semantics, as in the following cases:

5.9. **k^wihan-* ‘dog [*Canis familiaris*]’.

Chad. **k^wiHan-* ‘dog’: W. **k^wiHan-*: Fyer *k^wéerj* || E. **kany-* ~ **kayan-*: W.Dangla *kàny-à* | E.Dangla *kāny-à* | Migama *kānny-à* | Mabire *kany* | Jegu *kány* | Birgit *káyànj*.

Cush. E. **k^wihan-*: Yaaku *kwehen* ‘dog’.

Omot. **k^wiHan-* ‘dog’: N. **ku/iHan-*: Wolaita, Gamu, Dawro, Zala, Malo, Dache, Koyra, Zayse, Gimira (Bench) *kyan* | Yemsa, Bworo *kan-a* | Kafa, Mocha *kun-ano* | Dizi (Sheko) *kean-u* | Mao (Hozo) *kan-a*, etc. || S. **kan-*: Dime *kén-ε*, Galila *kan-i*.

6.7. **labi?-* ‘lion [*Panthera leo*]’

Sem. **labi?-*: Akk. *labb-u* (*lab?-u*, *lāb-u*) || Ugr. *lb?-u* ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*] || Hbr. *lābī(?)* ‘lioness’ || Sab. *lb?* ‘lion, lioness’ || Arab. *luba?-at-*, *labu?-at-*, *libw-at-*, etc. ‘lionne’.

Egyp. (OK) *rw ʒbw*, inscription under the image of a lion | Copt.: Bohairic, Sahidic *laboy* ‘lion; bear’ [*P. leo*; *Ursus arctos*].

Chad. **la/ib-*: W. **lab-*: Tangale *lab-ata* (f.) ‘lioness’ [*P. leo*] || C. **(ʔa-)lib-ar-* ‘lion’ [*P. leo*]: Hwona *lifār-i* | Margi *ḥa-livār-i* | Chibak *ʔa-lvār-i* | Kilba *lēvār-i* | Kapsiki *nivèr-i* (dissim.) | Higi-Nkafa *livèr-i* | Gude *livyār-á*.

Cush. E. **lu/ib-* ‘lion’ [*P. leo*]: SA **lub-ak-*: Saho, Afar *lubaak* | LEC **lib-aḥ-*: Somali *libaḥ* | Jiddu *libááh-u*.

In the vast majority of cases, semantic reconstruction is difficult for four main reasons:

1) intermediate proto-languages, except for the relatively young Proto-Berber, are characterized by a considerable time depth (Proto-Chadic, Proto-Cushitic, Proto-Omot, somewhat younger Proto-Semitic), which makes diverse semantic shifts inevitable;

2) meanings of zoonyms in dictionaries of most Afrasian languages are often quoted inaccurately — in particular, specific species of animals are given as approximate or generic terms: “antelope”, “deer”, “duiker”, “wild cat”, etc., although in reality these zoonyms probably denote more concrete species;

3) according to modern scientific data (though somewhat debatable), in the Proto-Afrasian period there were no domestic animals (except for the dog [*Canis familiaris*]); names of wild animals were transferred to domestic ones (and *vice versa*) in the history of individual Afrasian families and languages; if so, “domestic” zoonyms do not contribute to an accurate reconstruction of the Proto-Afrasian semantics of the animal names;

4) zoonyms in various Afrasian languages can denote entire zoological groups (“small ungulates”, “largest animals”, etc.) or sex and age characteristics of certain animals (‘bull’, ‘ram’, ‘kid’, ‘lamb’, etc.); to reconstruct terms with such semantics for Proto-Afrasian is particularly difficult because of their lack of semantic stability.

Below we list several examples in which specifically “wild” semantic reflexes are indicated in semi-bold type. The remaining reflexes either refer to domestic animals and age / sex

groups, or to unspecified wild species. With such semantically chaotic material, semantic reconstruction for Proto-Afrasian is possible only within the framework of generalizing to large zoological groups – “lesser bovids”, “larger bovids”, “equids”, “canines”, “felines”, etc., even though in Proto-Afrasian all or most of these terms may have had more specific meanings.

1.2. *ʔayl- ‘k. of lesser bovid’

Sem. *ʔayil-: (?) Akk. *al-u* (*el-u*) ‘a fine breed of sheep’ (reading arguable) || Ugr. *ʔal*, *ʔil* ‘ram of superior quality’ | Hbr. *ʔayil* ‘ram’ | ESA: Sab. *ʔyl* ‘**mountain goat, ibex**’ [C. *ibex*], Min. *ʔyl* ‘**bélier, bouquetin**’ [C. *ibex*] | Arab. *ʔiyyal*-, *ʔuyyal*- ‘**bouquetin, bouc de montagnes**’ [C. *ibex*].

Berb. **ti-halay* (< **-ʔayal*, met.?) ‘sheep’: Nefusa *t-ili* | Zenaga *t-iʒi* | Ahaggar *té-helé*, Ghat *či-hali*, Ayr *t-ele*, E. Wlm. *te-həle*, etc.

Cush. *ʔayl-: N. *ʔall-i: Beja *all-i*, pl. *ill-i* ‘long-haired sheep’ || E.: SA *ʔill-: Saho *ill-e*, Afar *ill-i* ‘small cattle’ | LEC *ʔel- (< *ʔil- or *ʔayl-): Somali *eel-o* ‘**tipo de gazella (antilope giraffa)**’ [*Litocranius walleri*], Arbore *ʔell-ém*, Elmolo *ʔél-em* ‘ram’ || S. *ʔayl-: Gorowa *elete-mo* ‘**bushbuck**’ [*Tragelaphus sylvaticus*] | Ma’a *iʔal-é* ‘ram’, *iʔal-ú* (met. < *ʔayl-?) ‘sheep’ | Dahalo *ʔèl-e* ‘**hartebeest**’ [*Alcelaphus buselaphus*].

1.13a. *guday- ‘k. of larger bovid’

Sem. **gaday*- ‘kid’: Ugr. *gdy* ‘kid’ | Phoen. *gdʔ* ‘goat’, Hbr. *gādī* ‘kid (of goat or sheep)’ | Aram.: Anc. *gdh* ‘goat’, Syr. *gady-ā*, Mand. *gadi-a* | Arab. *ʒady*- ‘kid’, *ʒadāy-at*- ‘**gazelle; petit de gazelle**’ [*Gazella gazella*].

(?) Berb. N. **-gVnd-uz* ‘bull, calf’: Rif *a-yenduz* ‘taureau’, Snus *a-yenduz*, Shenwa, Qabyle *a-genduz*, Sened *a-gendus*, etc. ‘calf’.

Chad. **ga/uday*-: W. **ga/ud*- ‘k. of bovid’: Hausa *gàd-áa* ‘antelope, duiker sp.’, Kariya *gud-am*, Miya *gud-ən-zāku*, Pa’a *gud-an-cəka* ‘**Western kob**’ [*Kobus kob*], Ngizim *gád-ùwà* ‘duiker’ || C. **gVday*-: Zime-Batna *gódày* ‘buck’.

Cush. **gad*- and **gund*- ‘k. of larger bovid’: E. **gad-am*-: LEC **gad-am*-: Oromo *gad-am-sa* ‘**greater kudu**’ [*Tragelaphus strepsiceros*], Dirayta *gad-an-sa*, *gad-am-sa* ‘antelope’ | HEC **gud*-: Sidamo *god-a* ‘deer, gazelle’ || S. **gwand*-: Iraqw *gwand-a*, Alagwa *gwand-o* ‘ram’, Burunge *gond-i* ‘old ram’.

Omot. N. **gayd*- (met.): Zaisse *gaaid-é* ‘cattle’, *gaid-é-endo* ‘**buffalo**’ [*Syncerus caffer*].

1.14a. *garw- ‘k. of bovid’

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

Egyp. (MK) *ḏr* ‘calf’ (if < **gVr*).

Berb. **-gur*- ‘small cattle’: Ghadames *a-ʒur* ‘bouc’ (Nait-Zerrad 2002: 859), Zenaga *ǝ-grərħ* ‘bélier’ (Nicolas)

Chad. (a) *(ʔa-)garw/y- ‘kind of bovid (*Redunca*, *Oryx*, *Ourebia*, etc.); animal, game’: W. *(ʔa-)gary-: Hausa *āgārē* ‘**a big, male red-fronted gazelle**’ [*Eudorcas rufifrons*], Tsagu *gāre* ‘**reedbuck**’ [*Redunca redunca*], Mburku *gāri* ‘**oryx**’ [*Oryx leucoryx* ?], Ngizim *a-gare* ‘gazelle’ || C. (ʔa-n-)gary-: Logone *gari-a*, Makeri *ingərii* ‘antelope’, Buduma *ɲgəri* ‘gazelle’ || E. **gVrw*- and **gVwVr*- (met.): Tumak *gəru*, Kwang *gowor-to* ‘antelope’, Ndam *gèrù* ‘**ourebi**’ [*Ourebia ourebi*]; (b) **garaw*- ‘herd of cattle’: W. **gar(V)w*-: Hausa *gār-kei* ‘a herd, flock’, Bolewa *gaarùw-à* ‘pack ox’, Karekare *gaarùw-à* ‘bull’, Tangale *káarw-a* ‘cattle’ || C. **garaw/y*-: Bana *gàrəw-à* ‘troupeau de bœufs’, Gude *góra-nə* ‘herd of cattle’, *mà-góra* ‘shepherd, wachtsman’, Musgu *gari*, *gári* ‘Stier, Laststier’, Mandara *gāri* ‘bull’, Hursa *goragor-a* (redupl.), Uẓam *gwar-a*, Matakam *ɲ-gwur* ‘ram’ || E. **garaw*-: Bidiya *gaaruw-o* ‘animal’, Migama *gáaráw* ‘bête, bétail’; (c) C. **g^war*- and **g^warg^war*- (redupl.) ‘ram’: Ouldem *g^wàr-à*, Mbuko *g^wàrg^wár-á*, Merrey *g^waràg^wàr-a*, Muyang *g^wòròg^wòr-à*,

Mada *gurg^war-a* || E. **gagar-* (redupl.) ‘small cattle’: Sok *gaáger-o* ‘Schaf’, Mawa *gagar* ‘mouton’, Mubi *wegr-i* (met.) ‘chèvre’.

Cush. **garaw-* and **gwira?*- (met.) ‘k. of larger bovid [*Taurotragus*, *Alcelaphus*, etc.]’: N. **garuw-*: Beja *garuw-a* ‘**male antelope; eland**’ [*Taurotragus oryx*] || C. **gar-* ‘calf’: Bilin, Qwara, Qemant *gär*, Aungi *gara* || E.: HEC **gur(r)-*: Sidamo *gur-um* *ĩččo* ‘gazelle’, *garr-ančo* ‘**Agazen antelope**’ [*T. buxtoni*] || S. **g^wara?*:- Iraqw *gwará?-ai* ‘**Hartebeest**’ [*Alcelaphus caama*], Burunge *gerá?-i* ‘**Grant’s gazelle**’ [*Nanger granti*].

Omot. N. **gaHar-* ‘**antelope dekula**’ [*Tragelaphus decula*]: Wolayta, Dawro *gaar-aa*.

1.18. **lawi?*- ‘k. of large (?) bovid’

Sem. **lawi?*- and **lawli?*- (redupl.) ‘k of. large bovid [*Bos*, *Syncerus*, *Connochaetes*, etc.]’: Akk. (OB on) *litt-u* (*lit-u*) ‘cow’, *lalû* (*lali?-u*, *lala?-u*) ‘kid’, *lulî-mu* ‘**red deer, stag**’ [*Cervus elaphus*] || Ebl. *lí-a-núm*, *lí-a-nu-um* ‘cow’ | Ugr. *ll?-u* ‘lamb, kid’ | Hbr. *lê?-ā* ‘wild cow’ (only as a pers. name) | Arab. *lā?a* ‘**taureau sauvage, buffle**’ [*Syncerus caffer*], *lu?lu?*- ‘antelope’ | Tgr. *lul-it*, pl. *läwäll-it* ‘(cow) with long, crooked horns’, Amh. *lil(lə)wil* ‘**gnu**’ [*Connochaetes taurinus*] || Mhr. *lahay-tən* ‘cows’, Hbt. *leé*, pl. *lháyta*, Jib. *le?*, pl. *lhó-ti*, Soq. *?e-lh-eh* ‘cow’, *lúl-oh* ‘brébis’.

Egyp. (Pyr.) *iw?* ‘bull’ (if < **IVwV?*-).

Berb. **w/yalaH-* (met.): Izayan *ta-wala* ‘troupeau de bœufs, sangliers’, Ahaggar *élah-ei* ‘mouton à laine’.

Chad. **laway-* ‘k. of larger bovid (*Tragelaphus*, etc.)’: W.: Dera *la-à* ‘cow’ || C.: Gude *la* ‘cow’ (Jungraithmayr, Ibrizsimow), Kapsiki, Higi-Nkafa *ε*, Higi-Baza *lol-ε* (redupl.) ‘gazelle’, Higi-Ghye *le*, Bachama *liyey* ‘duiker’ (St. 2005 #57), Masa *lúway* ‘troupeau, le betail’ (CED #549).

Cush. **lawi?*- ‘cattle’: C. **luway-*: Bilin *luwī*, Khamir *luwā*, Awngi *luwā* || E. **la?*- and **la?la?*- (redupl.): SA **la(?)*:- Saho, Afar *lā* ‘cow, cattle’ | LEC **lo?(lo?)*- ‘cows (coll.)’: Somali *lo?* ‘cows (coll.)’, Rendille (pl.) *loóly-o*, Oromo *loo-ni* ‘cows (coll.)’, *lal-eesa* ‘she-goat’, Konso *low-aa* ‘cows’, Dasenech *lal-o*, pl. *lal-i* ‘cow’, etc. | HEC **lal-*: Sidamo *lal-o* ‘cows, cattle’, *laat-to* (f.) ‘young sheep, lamb’ | Dullay **lo?*-, pl. **le?*- ‘cow’: Harso, Dipina, Gollango *ló?-o*, Tsamay *lō?-ō-*, pl. *lē?-ē*, etc. || S. **li?*:- Iraqw *le?-i* | Gorowa *lee?-i* ‘goat’ | Qwadza *le?-amuko* ‘bull’.

5.1. **?away-* or **yawa?*- (met.) ‘k. of canine’

Sem. **?away-*: Hbr. **ʔī* (pl. *?iyyīm*) ‘**jackal**’ [*C. aureus*] | Syr. *bənāt ?away* ‘**thoes, canes aurei**’ [*Canis aureus*] || Arab. *?ibnu-l-?āwan* ‘animal regardé comme un mélange né d’un chien et d’un renard’ || Tgr. *?aw* ‘eatable wild animals’ | Amh. *yäyi* ‘hyena’ [*Hyaenidae sp.*], *awu* ‘hyena’s cry; hyena’ [*Hyaenidae sp.*] | Gur.: Chaha, Gyeto, Ennemor, Muher *awi* ‘wild animal, beast’.

Egyp. (MK) *izw* ‘dog’ (met. < **Vyw?*?).

Chad. W. *(?)*iy-*: Warji *iyà-nà* | Kariya *íi* | Miya *i* ‘dog’.

Cush. E. **yawa?*:- LEC **yaw/ya?*:- Somali *éy* ‘dog’, *yéy* ‘**wild dog**’ [*Lycaon pictus*] | Boni *óy?* ‘dog’, *yey?* ‘**jackal**’ [*C. aureus*] | Rendille *yááy* ‘**wild dog**’ [*L. pictus*] | Oromo *yeyy-ii* ‘**wolf; wild dog**’ [*L. pictus*] | Konso *yoy-ta* ‘**hunting dog**’ [*L. pictus*] | HEC **yayy-* ‘**hunting dog**’ [*L. pictus*]: Sidamo *iyäy* | Hadiya *yoyy-akko* | Burji *yeyy-ée*.

6.9. **mary-* or **mayr-* ‘k. of feline’

Sem. **namir-* (< **na-mir-* or **na-mayr-* with the fossilized prefix) ‘**leopard**’ [*Panthera pardus*]: Akk. *nimr-* (*nammar-*) ‘**panther**’ || Hbr. *nāmēr* ‘**leopard, panther**’ || Aram.: Anc., Off. *nmr* | Bibl. *nəmar* ‘**panther**’ | Mand. *namar* (*nimar*, *namr*) ‘**leopard**’ | Sab. *nmr* ‘**leopard, panther**’ | Hdr. *nmr* ‘**panthère**’ || Arab. *nimr-* ‘**panthère**’, *namir-* ‘**léopard, panthère**’ || Gz. *namr* | Tna., Tgr. *nābri* ‘**leopard**’ | Amh. *nām̄r*, *nābər* ‘**lynx**’ [*Caracal caracal*] | Sel. *nāwər* | Wol. *nāwr*.

Egyp. (OK) *mzy* ‘**lion**’ [*Panthera leo*] (if < **mVry*).

Chad. **mary-* and **mumur-/*murum-* (redupl.): W. **mumur-*: Dera *mūmur-u* ‘cheetah’ [*Acinonyx jubatus*] | Polchi *mur* ‘jackal’ [*Canis aureus*] | Bokkos *mūrûm* | Sha, Daffo-Butura *mūrûm* ‘hyena’ [*Crocuta crocuta*] || C. **mary-*: Mafa *mariy-žélé* ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*] | Lame *mēr* ‘serval’ [*Carracal serval*], *méri-án* ‘wild cat’ [*Felis sp.*] | Peve *méri-àn* ‘Id.’ | Zime-Dari *mīēr* ‘genette’ [*Genetta sp.*].

Cush. (a) **mary-*, **mawir-* and **marir-* (redupl.): E.: LEC **mawr-*: Oromo *mōr-ē* ‘civet(-cat)’ [*Civettictis civetta*] | Dasenech *mor* ‘lion, leopard’ || S. **mir-* and **marir-* (redupl.): Gorowa *marir-ika* ‘leopard’ [*P. pardus*] | Alagwa *mariy-amo* ‘wild cat’ | Asa *mer-ok* ‘lion’ [*P. leo*]; (b) N. **mir-al-*: Beja *miral-ai* ‘cheetah’ [*Acinonyx jubatus*] | E.: Dullay **mir-l-*: Tsamai *mirle* ‘leopard’ [*P. pardus*].

Data

Below we present the entire material in numerical order.

4. Monkeys ⁴

4.1. **dang^(w)Vl/r-* ‘monkey; dwarf’

(?) Sem. **duggal-*: Arab. *dužžal-* ‘vil, bas, de basses classes (hommes)’.

Egyp. (OK) *dng*, *dʒg* (< **dlg*), *dʒng* (< **dlnɡ*, met. of **dVngVl-*?) ‘dwarf’.

Berb. **da(n)gil*: Ghat *a-dažel* ‘singe’, *ta-dažel-t* ‘guenon (*Cercopithecus*)’ [*Cercopithecus sp.*] | Sokna *dágel* ‘monkey’ | Nefusa *a-dənžal* ‘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 *dakìl* (devoicing of **-g?*) ‘monkey’ | Gude *dángwár-á* ‘adult male of an *erd* monkey’ | Dghwede *gándàw-à* (met. < **dangw-*) | Buduma *dāgel* ‘monkey’ || E. **di(n)g^w-Vr-*: Ndam *gágēm dōgré* | Dangla *gùdìny-à* (met. < **dingw-*) ‘monkey’ (Jungraithmayr, Ibrizimow 1994).

Cush. E. **da(n)gir-* ‘monkey’:⁵ LEC **da(n)gir-*: Somali (var. dialects) *dañer*, *danžar* | Boni *dašer* (< **dašer* < **dagir*) | HEC **dagir-*: Hadiya *dagier-aa* | Kambatta *dagier-aa*.

▲ Cf. Kordofan Nubian: Dair *tiğil*, Koldegi *tingel*, Midob *tanni* ‘monkey’ (Blažek Ms. apud Meinhof) and Saharan: Tubu *degal* ‘ape’ (Lukas 1953: 183).

► AADB 38, 392.

4.2. **guray-* ‘k. of monkey’

Chad. W. **garay-*: Polchi *gari* | Dwot *gàri* ‘monkey’.

Cush. E. **gVray-*: Yaaku *kərɔi*⁶ ‘monkey Colobus’ [*Colobus sp.*].

Omot. **gayur-* (met.): N. **goyr-*: Malo *gor-o* | Basketo *goyr-a* | Chara *gor-za* | Gimira *gorr*, *gwor* ‘monkey’ | Dizi-Sheko *gyer-u* ‘baboon’ [*Papio sp.*] || S. **gayur-*: Ari *goyr-a* | Hamar *guro* | Dime *guur-u* ‘baboon’ [*Papio sp.*].

► AADB 4251.

⁴ Some forms are quoted after Blažek Ms., though our understanding of consonantal correspondences and, hence, distribution of the forms among different entries is, in most cases, distinct from this very useful collection of data.

⁵ Cf. what looks like a variant root – **dink-* ‘dwarf’: LEC: Oromo *dink-i* (borrowed in Mod. Eth **dink-* id.) | HEC: Kambatta *dank-a*, Tembaro *dink-a* (borrowed in Omot. N.: Kafa *dikk-ō* id.). Various authors reconstruct for this root E. Cush. **ž-* instead of **d-* (Dolgopolsky 1973: 107–8; Blažek Ms.) or **z-* (Sasse 1976: 140), probably because of C. Cush. **ž-* (see 4.4). The only form probably tipping the scale towards **ž-* instead of **d-* is Jiddu *yāšire* ‘monkey’: that AA **ž-* > Jiddu *y* is a fact, but whether Jid. *-š-* can continue AA **-g-* is not clear: if it can, the E. Cush. root should be compared to 4.4.

⁶ Yaaku *k* can continue both PAA **k* and **g*.

4.3. *ka(ʔa)yr- ‘k. of monkey’

Chad. W. *kayr-: Sura *kaar* ‘red monkey’ [*Ptilocolobus sp.*] | Angas *ker* ‘monkey’, *nker* ‘baboon’ [*Papio sp.*] (Kraft 1981) | Wangday *kàr-é* | Fyer *kìir* | Bokkos *kyer-āṅ* ‘red monkey’ [*Ptilocolobus sp.*]⁷

Cush. E.: LEC *ka(ʔa)r-*: Arbore *kaarr-an* ‘vervet monkey’ [*Chlorocebus pygerythrus*].

Omot. *ka(ʔa)r- ‘monkey’: N.: Basketo *kar-a* | Male *kaar-a* ‘vervet’ [*Ch. pygerythrus*] | Gemu *kaar-é* | Gofa, Dorze *kar-e* | Oyda, Zasse *kaar-e* ‘baboon’ [*Papio sp.*] | Kafa (argo) *ker-iyō* ‘monkey (Cercopithecus)’ [*Cercopithecus sp.*] || S. *ka(ʔa)r-*: Ari-Bako *kar-ā* | Hamar *kaár* | Dime *kar-e* ‘monkey’.

► AADB 2208. Cf. HSED 1569.

4.4. *ʒag^(w)-il/r- ‘k. of monkey’

Chad. *ʒi(n)gw-al-: C. *ʒi(n)gway(-l)-: Hildi *dziláṅu* (**zilang*, met. < **zingal-*) | Mbuko *zāgày* | Zime-Batna *zēṅū* (or *žēṅu*) ‘k. of monkey’ || E. *zugul-: Birgit *zúgúl-ì* ‘monkey’ (Jungraithmayr, Ibriszimow 1994).

Cush. C. *ʒag(g)ir- ‘monkey’:⁸ Bilin *žäggir-a* (< **žangir-?*) | Khamir *sažer-a* | Khamta *ziäger-aa* | Qwara *žägir-aa* | Qemant *žegər-aa* || Aungi *zagr-i* | Damot *zagr-ee*.

► AADB 398.

5. Canines and hyenas

5.1. *ʔaway- or *yawaʔ- (met.) ‘k. of canine’⁹

Sem. *ʔaway-: Hbr. *ʔī (pl. *ʔiyyīm*) ‘jackal’ [*Canis aureus*] || Syr. *bənāt ʔaway* ‘thoes, canes aurei’ [*C. aureus*] || Arab. *ʔibnu-l-ʔāwan* ‘animal regardé comme un mélange né d’un chien et d’un renard’ || Tgr. *ʔaw* ‘eatable wild animals’ | Amh. *yäyi* ‘hyena’ [*Hyaenidae sp.*], *awu* ‘hyena’s cry; hyena’ [*Hyaenidae sp.*] | Gur.: Chaha, Gyeto, Ennemor, Muher *awi* ‘wild animal, beast’.

Egyp. (MK) *ʔw* ‘dog’ (met. < *ʔVyw ?).

Chad. W. *(ʔ)iy-: Warji *iyà-nà* | Kariya *í* | Miya *i* ‘dog’.

Cush. E. *yawaʔ-: LEC *yaw/yaʔ-: Somali *éy* ‘dog’, *yéey* ‘wild dog’ [*Lyacon pictus*] | Boni *óy?* ‘dog’, *yeye?* ‘jackal’ [*C. aureus*] | Rendille *yááy* ‘wild dog’ [*L. pictus*] | Oromo *yeyy-ii* ‘wolf; wild dog’ [*L. pictus*]¹⁰ | Konso *yoy-ta* ‘hunting dog’ [*L. pictus*] | HEC *yayy- ‘hunting dog’ [*L. pictus*]: Sidamo *iyäy* | Hadiya *yoyy-akko* | Burji *yeyy-ée*.

► AADB 290. SED II No. 21.

5.2. *ʔaw/ys- ‘k. of canine’

Sem. *ʔaws-: Arab. *ʔaws-*, dim. *ʔuways-* ‘wolf’ [*Canis lupus*].¹¹

Chad. *ʔaws-: W. *ʔas-: Mupun, Angas *ās* | Sura *as* | Montol *ʔas* | Tala *ass* || E. *ʔus-: Bidiya *ʔüs-ú* ‘dog’.

Cush. *yaʔs- (met.) ‘dog’: N. *ya(ʔa)s-: Beja *yaas* || S. *sVʔay (met.): Iraqw *seeʔay* | Gorowa *sooʔay*.

Omot. S. *ʔaws-: Ongota *ʔóós-e* ‘African hunting dog; jackal’ [*Lyacon pictus*; *C. aureus*].

► AADB 2938. Cf. Blažek 2007 #21; Stolbova 2019 #29 *ʔ[a]s/c- ‘dog’ (comp. to Arab. *ʔaws-*).

⁷ *k-* may continue both PAA **k-* and **k̄*.

⁸ Borrowed in S. Eth. as **ʒ/zangi/ar-* ‘baboon’ (Leslau III, 1979: 711)

⁹ Very likely descriptive.

¹⁰ Cf. *iyyaa* ‘k. of wild cat’.

¹¹ Cf. Geez *ʔ/ʔawst, ʔawsənt* ‘eagle, bird of prey’.

5.3. *ʔa/usk-ay- ‘k. of canine or hyena’

Berb. *ʔusk-ay: Tazerwalt *uskai* | Izayan *usk-a* | Iznassen *uskai* | Ahaggar *osk-a* ‘chien lévrier’.

Chad. *(Hu)sVk(-ay): W. *sik-: Dera *šiká(-nánà)* ‘dog crying *nanna*, hyena’ || C. *sak-ey: Bana *sáká-tá* ‘jackal’, Bachama *sakéy* | Gudu *sakay* ‘dog’ | Afade *skè* ‘hyena’ || E. *(H)usk-ey: Sokoro *osk-ey* ‘hyena’ [*Crocuta crocuta*] (Stolbova 2009 #187 *sVk- ‘dog, hyena, jackal’).

Cush. E. *se(?)ek-: Yaaku *seek-a* ‘hyena’ [*C. crocuta*].

Omot. S. *ʔask-i: Ari *ʔaksi* (met.) ‘dog’¹² | Ubamer *aksi* (met.) | Ongota *ʔaski* ‘dog’.

▲ Cf. Kuliak: Nyangi *sak* ‘dog’.

► AADB 2716.

5.4. *baʔVš- ‘k. of canine or hyena’

Egyp.: Copt. (Boheiric) *boiši* (f.) ‘vulpes’ [*Vulpes sp.*], ‘a desert animal, peut-être hyéne’ [*Hyaena hyaena*] (Vycichl 1983).

Chad. W. *bVž-am- ‘hyena’ [*Hyaenidae sp.*]: Ngizim *bžàm-ù* | Bade *ʔà-bžàm-án*.

Cush. N. *baʔaš-: Beja *baʔaš-o* ‘Fuchs, Schakal’ [*Canis aureus*].

► AADB 4248; EDE II 148.

5.5. *bawih- ‘k. of canine’¹³

Egyp. (BD) *bh-n* ‘k. of a dog’.

Chad. *bay/wH-: W. *bayH-: Tangale *bay* ‘dog’ || C. *bawH-: Chibak *bouʔ-a, bùh-á* ‘Schakal’ [*Canis aureus*].

Cush. N. *bayH-: Beja *báyh-o* ‘Schakal, Fuchs, *Canis vulpes*’ [*Canis aureus, Vulpes vulpes*] || E. *bay-: LEC: Dasenech *bày-c*, pl. *bay-a* ‘jackal’ [*C. aureus*] || S. *bawih-: Iraqw, Alagwa *bah-a* | Burunge *bay-mo*, pl. *baw-u* (< *bah-u, acc. to KM) ‘hyena’ [*Crocuta crocuta*] | Dahalo *ḅwéh-a* ‘jackal’ [*Canis aureus*].¹⁴

Omot. N. *biw-:¹⁵ Yemsa *biw-á* ‘Schakal’ [*C. aureus*].

► AADB 3774; Blažek 2003: 241; EDE II 147, 282.

5.6. *gVd- ‘k. of canine or hyena’

(?) Sem. *gad-l- (with fossilized -l?): Arab. *žadlāʔ-* ‘chienne’ (BK 1 267).¹⁶

Chad. *gVd-: W.: Hausa *góǝ-èè* ‘dog’ | Ngizim *gádá-múzái*¹⁷ ‘hyena’ [*Hyaenidae sp.*] || C. *gVd- ‘dog’: Dghwede *ɣəd-ì, gád-è* | Guduf *ɣád-à* | Mofu *gəd-éy* || E. *gVd- ‘dog’: Ndam *gíy* (< *gVy-d-) | Somrai *dò-gád-à, pl. gárád-ē* | Mokilko *géd-è*, etc.¹⁸

¹² Cf. *wúksak* ‘fox, jackal’.

¹³ Obviously related is the PAA verb *bwh- ‘to bark (dog)’: Sem. *n-bh: Akk. *nabāh-u*, Hbr. *nābah*, Arab. *nabh*, Gz. *nabha*, etc.; Eg. *bhn*; Chad. C: Bura *mbwuha*, E.: Kera *bèʔé*; Cush. S.: Ma’a *-boha* (AADB 3774; cf. EDE II 282). While the noun *bawih- refers to various kinds of canine and even hyena, the PAA verb speaks in favor of a domesticated dog: it is unlikely that the PAA speakers had managed to preserve a special term for wild animals’ howling and yowling as a significant notion for over ten millennia.

¹⁴ Beja *h* may continue both AA *h and *h, *-h- in *báyho* is confirmed by -h- in Tgr. *bäyhot*, pl. *bäyhi* with the same meaning obviously borrowed from Beja; in W. Rift and Dahalo, *h* continues only AA *h, not *h (acc. to Takács 2011: 115-16); however similar to the present root the S. Cush. forms may appear, they are to be regarded as a variant root *bayh-; in Dasenech, both AA *h and *h yield Ø.

¹⁵ Both PAA *h and *h yield Ø.

¹⁶ In Lane II 392, it is quoted as fem. of *ʔašdal- ‘the hawk or an epithet applied to the hawk’.

¹⁷ *múzái* < Proto-Chad. *mVz- ‘man, male’.

¹⁸ In CED #196, rel. to *g(V)HVd-* ‘to bite’. Compared to Arab. *gaʔd-at-* ‘wolf’ referring to BK I 299 likely by mistake (there is no such meaning). In Lane Vol. 1: 11, there is *ʔabū ʔaʔd-at-* ‘the wolf’, but this is no more than just

Cush. E.: LEC **ged-all-*: Oromo *gedall-o* ‘jackal’¹⁹ [*Canis aureus*].

Omot. S. **gud-r-*: Ari *gudr-i* ‘hyena’ [*Crocuta crocuta*].

► AADB 353. Cf. HSED №856; CED #196.

5.7. **kur(-ay-)* ‘k. of canine’

Sem. Eth. **karkur-* (redupl.): Tgr. *kurkur* ‘dog’, *karakur* ‘young dog’ | Tna. *kurkur* ‘puppy, lion cub, whelp’.²⁰

Berb. S. **a-ykar* (met.): Ahaggar, Ayr, E. Wlm. *a-ikar* ‘jeune chien’.

Chad. **kuray-* ‘dog’: W. **ku/aray*: Hausa *kàré-e* | Zaar *kùràà-y-í* | Guus *kàràŋ* | Bokus *kyàr-a* || C. **ku/ir(ay)-*: Fali-Kiria *kár-í* | Higi *kur-é* | Hildi *kr-i* | Lamang *kīrr-ε* | Gisiga *kər-e* | Dugwor *kìr-á* | Sukun *kr-a* | Bura *kil-a* | Buduma *kəl-i* | Logone *kl-e*.²¹

Cush. **kuray-*: E. **kayr-* (met.): SA **kar-*: Saho *kar-e*²² | LEC **kayr-*: Rendille *kar* | Baiso *kerr-e* | Arbore *kair, ker* | Dasenech *čir* | Dirayta *herr-aa*, etc. | Dullay **kar-*: Gawwada *haar-o* | Harso *ħer-o* | Tsamay *kar-o, kar-ito* ‘dog’ || S. **kuray-*: Alagwa *to-koray-mo* ‘bat-eared fox’ [*Otocyon megalotis*] | Burunge *ta-kuraa?-imo* ‘wild dog’ [*Lycaon pictus*] | Ma’a *kuri* ‘dog’.

▲ Cf. Kanuri *keri*, Teda *kedí* ‘dog’.

► AADB 375; CED #455 (comp. to part of the Cush. terms and Tgr.), HSED 1434.

5.8. **kawit-* ‘dog’

Chad. W. **kawt-*: Hausa *kút-í* ‘dog’ (used only in one set phrase) | Bolewa *kut-ì* | Dwot *kat* | Wangday *kàt* ‘dog’ (Jungraithmayr-Ibriszimow 1994).

Cush. **ku/it-* ‘dog’ E. SA **kut-*: Afar *kut-a* | LEC **kut-*: Konso *kút-a* | Mashile *ħút-a* || S. **kit-*: Asa *kit-e*.

► AADB 2944.

5.9. **k^wihan-* ‘dog’.²³

Chad. **k^wiHan-* ‘dog’: W. **k^wiHan-*: Fyer *k^wéerj* || E. **kany-* ~ **kayan-*: W.Dangla *kàny-à* | E.Dangla *kāny-à* | Migama *kānny-à* | Mabire *kany* | Jegu *kány* | Birgit *káyànj*.

Cush. E. **k^wihan-*: Yaaku *kwehen* ‘dog’.

Omot. **k^wiHan-* ‘dog’: N. **ku/iHan-*: Wolaita, Gamu, Dawro, Zala, Malo, Dache, Koyra, Zayse, Gimira (Bench) *kyan* | Yemsa, Bworo *kan-a* | Kafa, Mocha *kun-ano* | Dizi (Sheko) *kean-u* | Mao (Hozo) *kan-a*, etc. || S. **kan-*: Dime *kən-ε*, Galila *kan-i*.

► AADB 2195. Cf. CED #441 (Chad. and Omot.), HSED #1425, 1511.

5.10. **KVzim-* or **KVžim-* ‘dog’

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

Berb. **a-Ku(r)zi/un*: Siwa *a-gurzəni, a-qurzini, əl-gurazən, lu-grāzén* | Audjila *a-γzin* ‘dog’ | Semlal *i-kzin* | Izayan *a-kzin* | Seghrushen *a-qqzin* | Rif, Snus, etc. *a-qzin* ‘young dog, puppy’ | Shawiya *a-γərzul* | Qabyle *a-qžun* ‘dog’.

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

a figure of speech. Another comparison, with Qabyle *agdi* ‘dog’, is also wrong since it is from **aydi*, the main Berb. term for ‘dog’.

¹⁹ Cf. also Somali *godgoddō* ‘type of shark’.

²⁰ Cf. *wākaru, wākarya* ‘fox’ < Saho *wakari* ‘jackal’ [*Canis aureus*]?

²¹ < **kVr-* in CED #455.

²² Cf. Saho *wakari*, Afar *wākri* ‘jackal’ [*Canis aureus*].

²³ Very likely related is Canarian **kun-*: Gran Canaria *cuna* ‘dog’ | Tenerife *cancha* ‘little dogs’, *cuncha* ‘chien’ (-*cha* < **-ta* is probably a diminutive suffix).

Cush. C. **gizim-* and **gišim-* ‘dog’: Bilin *gidin*, pl. *gižin* | Khamir *gizin* | Khamta *gózəŋ*, pl. *gəsəŋ* | Qwara *gezen* | Qemant *gəzəŋ* | Kailiña *gəzəŋ* | Waag *gizin* | Falasha *gəzín* || Aungi *gsén* | Kunfāl *kassəŋ*.

▲ Cf. Sandawe *gwece* ‘wild dog’.

► AADB 2699.

5.11. **wahr-* ‘k. of canine; hyena’²⁴

Egypt. (late) *whr.t* ‘Hündin’ (prop. name) | Copt. *ʔuhor* ‘dog’.

Berb. **a-wwur* (<**a-wHur*): Ahaggar *ǎ-ggur* | E. Tawllemmet *a-ggur* | Ayr *é-ggur* ‘chacal’ [C. *aureus*]²⁵.

Chad. **hayr-* ‘dog’: C. **har-*: Zina *hàr-i*.²⁶

Cush. **warH-* ‘hyena’ [*Hyaenidae* sp.]: 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*.

▲ Cf. Sum. *ur* [dog] (PSD, uncertain), *ur*, *ur₅*, *ur.ri* ‘hairy animal, dog, lion, etc.’ (EDS #2782), *ur* ‘chien’ (LSF).

► AADB 3189.

5.12. **wanš-* ‘k. of canine’

Egypt. (OK) *wnš* (met.) ‘wolf’ [*Canis lupus*].²⁷

Berb. **wVššin* (met. with redupl.) ‘jackal [C. *aureus*]’: Ghadames *weššin* | Qabyle, Nefusa *uššen* | Semlal *uššen*, etc.

Cush. E. **wašš-*: HEC **wašš-* (met. < **wanš*): Sidamo *woš-iččo* | Kambatta *woš-ičču* | Burji *wačč-o*, pl. *wašš-a* ‘dog’²⁸ | Dullay **woš-*: Gollango *oš-e* ‘Hyänenhund; Lycaon apictus somalicus’ [*Lycaon pictus*].²⁹

▲ Blažek 2008 cites NS parallels: Nara *wos*, Taman: Merarir *wiis* ‘dog’ which may be comparable with 4.3. **aws-* ~ **yaʔs-* ‘k. of canine’ as well.

► AADB 291. Cf. Blažek 2007 #21.

²⁴ Cf. NAA **harnag-* ~ **hirguan-* ~ **gurhan-*: Sem. **harnag-*: Syr. *harnāg-ā* ‘golden jackal’ [*Canis aureus*] (cf. also Arab. *žāriḥ-at-* < **gariḥ-* ‘bête ou oiseau de chasse (chien, guépard, faucon)’); Canarian **hir(g)wan-*: Palma *hirguan* ‘...demonio in figura d’uomo lanuto’, *irvene* ‘el demonio en figura de perro lanudo’, *irvene* ‘apparitions’, *yrvene* ‘el Diablo’ (Wölfel 1965: 484, entry “Der Hund”); Chad.: C. **gurhan*: Hildi *gərhan*, ‘jackal’ [C. *aureus*], Musgu *hérge*, Munjuk *hirge* ‘dog’, Musgoy *gurnai*, *ɣurnai*, Masa *ɣurnaita*, Banana *gɔnira*, E. **gurnV*: Kera *gòrnòy*, Kwang *gòrény*, Kabalai *gwòrrnày* ‘hyena’ [*Crocuta crocuta*] (Jungraithmayr, Ibriszimow 1994: 107, 205; CED #224a.). The entire bunch of synonyms with somewhat similar consonantal roots, or “root variants”, may point to an ancient tabooing of a term denoting a special kind of canine.

²⁵ In Nait-Zerrad 2002: 856, placed under **gwr*, though in Foucauld I: 480, the grapheme **X** (usually transliterated as *gg*) is used; in Ahaggar *tifinav* it renders the voiced stop *g* originating from **-gʷ* < **ww* < Proto-Berber and Proto-Afrasian **w* and thus opposed to the voiced velar fricative *g̃* (rendered by **ʔ**) < Proto-Berber and Proto-Afrasian **g*. There are also such forms as the somewhat enigmatic Senhadja *i-uhar*, Ait Tuzin *a-whar*, Ait Warain *uhar*, etc. ‘fox’, formally well compatible with this root but containing an unusual laryngeal, normally lost in North Berber.

²⁶ In Stolbova 2019 #153, the Zina term is combined under **hVr-* ‘jackal’ with Musgu *hérge*, Munjuk *hirge* ‘dog’ analyzed after H. Tourneux (personal communication) as **hir-ge* ‘jackal+house’ (cf., however fn. 25 above) and compared to the Egyptian and Coptic terms and Berber **-whar* ‘fox’ (see fn. 26) after EDE I: 144.

²⁷ Cf. also NE *iš* pl. ‘dogs pulling the ship of the Sun-god’.

²⁸ Cf. also Darasa *walčo*, *warša* with comments in Blažek 2007 #21: *-r/-l-* originating via dissimilation of the primary geminate.

²⁹ Omot. N. **wayši*: Haruro *wayše*, Mao (Hozo) *wiši*, (Sezo) *wiš(š)i* ‘dog’ – probably borrowed from HEC.

6. Felines

6.1. *ʔaʒur- ‘k. of feline, hyena or viverra’

Sem. *ʔa(n)dar-: Akk. *azar-u* (*azzar-u*) ‘lynx’ [*Vulpes* sp.] || Gz. *ʔanzar* ‘wild cat’ [*Felis silvestris*].
 Berb. S. *-zur-Vy ‘hyena’ [*Hyaenidae* sp.]: Ahaggar *tă-hûr-i* | Ayr, E. Wlm. *tə-zor-ay*.

Chad. W. *ʒaʔur- (met.): Galambu *zər-əm* | Warji *ʒara-waš* ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*] | Zul *zaʔār-i* ‘like a hyena or civet’ || C. *ʒVr-: Bachama *ʒār-á* | Bata *ʒír-e* | Buduma *zāzúr-mà* (redupl.) ‘leopard’ [*P. pardus*] || E. *ʒur- ‘id.’: Gabri *ʒur* | Mubi *ʒyúr-úk*.

Cush. E.: LEC *ʔadur(r)-: Oromo *adurr-ee* | Dasenech *adur-e* ‘viverra’ [*Viverra* sp.]³⁰ || (?) S. *ʒiʔVr- (met.) ‘viverra’ [*Viverra* sp.]: Alagwa *ʒeʔir-a* | Burunge *ʒiʔerar-e*.³¹

Omot. N. *ʒi(?)ar-: Kafa *yeer-oo*, *ʒār-o* ‘viverra’ [*Viverra* sp.].³²

► SED II No. 9; AADB 399.

6.2. *ʕariw- ~ *ʕiraw- ‘k. of feline’

Sem. *ʕariw-: Arab. *ʕurw-at-* ‘lion’ || Tna. *waʕro* (met.) ‘leonessa’ (Bassano1918: 653) || Mhr. *ʔáyr-i*, pl. *ʔarēw-at* | Jib. *ʕér-i* ‘tom-cat’.

Berb. *Hawr- ‘lion’: Ghadames *abur* | Ahaggar, Ayr, E. Wlm. *a-har* ‘lion’ (Prasse 1969 #362).

Chad. C. *Hiraw-: Musgu *à-hiràw* ‘leopard’ | Munjuk *a-hraw* ‘panther’.³³

Cush. E.: LEC: Somali *ʕúrr-i* ‘tom-cat’.

▲ In spite of scarce representation, the relatively infrequent combination of radicals seems to confirm the comparison. Note the same meaning in MSA and Somali (a borrowing?).

► SED II No. 41; AADB 2658.

6.3. *baʔay- ‘leopard or lion’

(?) Eg. (MK) *bʔ* (if <*bVʔ-) ‘panther’ [*Panthera pardus*].

Chad. *bay-: C.: Gude *bwáy-à* || E.: Mubi *boy-á* ‘leopard’ [*P. pardus*].

Cush. S. *baʔ-: Dahalo *baʔ-i* ‘lion’ [*P. leo*].³⁴

Omot. *bay- ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*]: N.: Sheko *bay-a* | Nao *bay-ê* || S.: Dime *biy-u*.

► Cf. EDE II 22.

6.4. *baʔis- ‘k. of feline (*Felis silvestris*)’

Sem.: Arab *bass(-at)-* ‘domestic cat’.³⁵

Egyp. (OK) *bʔs.t.t*, name of the cat-goddess Bastet.

(?) Berb. N.: Nefusa *bišiu* ‘gatto’ (isolated).

Chad. E. *bi(?)s- ‘cat’: E. Dangla *biisi* | Migama *biisú*.

Cush. N.: Beja *bēs-a*, *biss-a* ‘cat’ || E.: HEC: Sidamo *bas-u*, *bas-o* ‘cat’³⁶ || S.: Qwadza *baʔas-iko* (pl.) ‘cheetah’.³⁷

▲ The Nefusa and E. Chad. forms are likely inter-borrowings.

► AADB 4246; EDE II 86–7.

³⁰ Sidamo *adurre* ‘cat’, Dullay *ʔadurr- (Dihina, Gollango *aturre* ‘wild cat’): the Sidamo and Dullay forms look like lws. from Oromo in spite of the difference in meaning.

³¹ The two W. Rift forms absent from Kiessling, Mous 2003 are cited in Dolgopolskiy 1973: 300 after Fleming.

³² A lw. < Cush. ?

³³ Acc. to CED 42, *h* in this language group can continue *ʕ.

³⁴ Cf. C. *ʔib- (metathesis?): Qwara *ib-ā*, Qemant *yiv-a* ‘leopard’ [*Panthera pardus*] — rather a metathesis < *ʔib- than < *l-b suggested in EDE II: 22.

³⁵ Cf. Amh. *biss* ‘interjection pour chasser un chat’.

³⁶ Cf. also *basurr-i* ‘cat’ (composed < *bas* and *ʕur-?* Cf. *ʕur- ‘k. of feline’).

³⁷ Cf. *paʔas-iko* ‘cat’.

6.5. **da(?)y)m-* ‘k. of feline’

Sem. **dam-*, **dimm-* and **dumam-* (redupl.): Akk. (SB) *dumām-u* (*tumām-u*) ‘a wild animal’ (CAD d 179), ‘Gepard’ [*Acinonyx jubatus*] (AHw: 175) || Arab. *dam-*, *dimm-at-* ‘chat’³⁸ || Gz. *damm-at* | Tgr., Tna. *damm-u* | Amh. *damm-ät* ‘cat’.

Chad. **dam-*: W. **dam-*: Yergum *dam-uŋ* ‘leopard’ [*Panthera pardus*] and **(?Vn-)da/um-*: Sura *ndùmú*, Gerke *damu*, Ankwe *tumu* ‘hyena’ [*Crocuta crocuta*]³⁹ || E. **dam-* and **damd-* (redupl.): Lele *žem* (<**dem-*?) ‘caracal’ [*Caracal caracal*] | Sokoro *dámd-ē* (redupl.) ‘leopard’ [*P. pardus*].

Cush. S. **dužum-* ‘leopard’ [*P. pardus*]: Iraqw, Alagwa, Burunge *dužum-a* | Asa *dužum-ok* | Qwadza *dužum-ayi*.⁴⁰

► SED II No. 70; AADB 350.

6.6. **giwar-* ‘k. of feline’

Sem. **girr-*, **gu/ary-* and **gigVr-* (redupl.): Akk. *girr-u* ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*] || Phoen. *gr* ‘lion whelp’ | Hbr. *gūr* ‘cub (lion, jackal)’, *gōr* (pl. only) ‘lion's cub’ || Aram. (D. Alla) *gr* ‘whelp (of a fox)’ | Syr. *gury-ā* ‘catulus (leonis, canis, suis, serpentis)’ | Mand. *guri-a* ‘whelp, cur, young dog, pariah-dog’ || Arab. *žarw-*, *žirw-*, *žurw-* ‘petit de chien, de lion ou de toute autre bête carnassière’⁴¹ || Tgr. *gərž-ən*, pl. *gärägg-ən* ‘cub of lions or of leopards’ | Harari *gärgōr-a* (also *gän-gōr-a*) ‘leopard’.

Chad. **giwar-*: W. **giwar-*: Dwot *gewar* ‘an animal smaller than civet’ || C. **(?a-m-)gwar-*: Hwona *žəm-ŋwara*, *žə-ŋwara* ‘cat’ | Fali-Muchella *mùŋ-gùr-i* | Fali-Bwagira *mùŋ-gwùr-žin* ‘wild cat’.

Cush.⁴² (a) E. **gir-* ‘cat’: LEC **gir-*: Dirayta *kiro-ta* | HEC **gir-*: Burji *giraaw-ee* (met. <**?a-giraw-*?)⁴³ and (b) **gar-m-* ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*]: LEC: Konso *karm-aa* | Dirayta *karm* | HEC: Burji *gárm-i* | Dullay: Gawwada-Dalpena, Harso, Dihina, Gollango *kárm-o*.

Omot. (a) N. **gawar-* ‘cat’: Zala *gawar-ya* | Dawro, Zaysse *garaw-a* | Malo, Gamu, Dače *gawar-a* | Zaysse *garaw-a* | Koyra *giraaww-e?*⁴⁴ and (b) N. **gar-m-* ‘lion’ [*P. leo*]: Zaysse, Koyra *garm-a*.⁴⁵

► AADB 2629; cf. SED II No. 82.

6.7. **labiž-* ‘lion’⁴⁶

Sem. **labiž-*: Akk. *labb-u* (*labž-u*, *lāb-u*) || Ugr. *lbž-u* ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*] || Hbr. *lābī(?)* ‘lioness’ || Sab. *lbž* ‘lion, lioness’ || Arab. *lubaž-at-*, *labuž-at-*, *libw-at-*, etc. ‘lionne’.

³⁸ Regarded by some authors as a lw. from Gz.

³⁹ Cf. also Hausa *dāmis-à* ‘leopard’ and Berb. Tuareg *daməs-a* ‘panther’ (obviously inter-borrowing) with non-etymological -s-.

⁴⁰ Beja *žimo*, *dimmo* ‘cat’ – perhaps < Eth. or Arab. Cf. Bilin *dammu* (pl.), Qwara *damyā*, Qemant *daməya* ‘cat’; whether the Eth. term is the source of the Agaw one or the latter is inherited is hard to decide; SA **dumm-*: Saho *dummu*, Afar *dumoo* ‘cat’ can be Ethiopisms or genuine terms. LEC: Somali *dummad* ‘cat’ is likely < Arab. or Amh. HEC: Hadiya *aduuna*, *adun-čo*, Kambatta *adan-ču*, *adani-ta* ‘cat’, both <**?a-dalun-t-*, likely <**?adum-t-*, are probably genuine.

⁴¹ Cf. Arab. *žarwal-* ‘serwal, lynx’ [*Caracal serval*, *C. caracal*], likely related with fossilized -l suffixed.

⁴² Cf. S. Cush.: Dahalo *ŋgūro* ‘small black longtailed rodent’ (<**?a-ngur-*?).

⁴³ Sasse (1982: 85) compares it with a completely identical Koyra word; one of the two words is undoubtedly borrowed, but which one is hard to decide. The ending in -? seems uncommon in both languages.

⁴⁴ See fn. 170.

⁴⁵ While the difference in stem patterns in E. Cush. **gir-* and N. Omot. **gawar-* ‘cat’ more than likely points to a common origin, full similarity in reflexes of **gar-m-* ‘lion’ likely implies borrowing (in either direction).

⁴⁶ Cf. metathetic (?) **ribal-* attested in Arab. and Chad., either to be reconstructed at the NAA level or a result of independent parallel processes, accounted for by a very low compatibility of *l* and *r* in most AA languages: Sem.: Arab. *ribāl-* ‘lion; féroce, rapace (loup)’ and Chad.: W.: Sura *reḫəl* ‘wild cat’, (?) Hausa *rābbī* (with the fallen -l?), C.: Zeghvana *šrval*, Glavda *ārðvar-e*, Gava *žurwvar-a*, Lamang *šrvar-é*, E.: Somrai *lārb-š* (met.) ‘leopard’ [*Panthera pardus*].

Egyp. (OK) *rw*⁴⁷ *ʒbw*, inscription under the image of a lion⁴⁸ | Copt.: Bohairic, Sahidic *laboy* ‘lion; bear’ [*P. leo*; *Ursus arctos*].

Chad. **la/ib-*: W. **lab-*: Tangale *lab-ata* (f.) ‘lioness’ [*P. leo*] || C. **(ʔa-)lib-ar-*⁴⁹ ‘lion’ [*P. leo*]: Hwona *lifār-i* | Margi *ḥa-livār-i* | Chibak *ʔa-lvār-i* | Kilba *lēvār-i* | Kapsiki *nivèr-i* (dissim.) | Higi-Nkafa *livèr-i* | Gude *livyàr-á*.

Cush. E. **lu/ib-* ‘lion’ [*P. leo*]: SA **lub-ak-*: Saho, Afar *lubaak* | LEC **lib-aḥ-*: Somali *libaḥ* | Jiddu *libááh-u*.

▲ Cf. PIE **liw-* ‘lion’.

► SED II No. 144; HSED 1636; EDE I 61; CED #555. AADB 2279.

6.8. **layč-* ‘k. of large feline’

Sem. **layt-* ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*]: Hbr. *layiš* || Aram.: Sam. *lyt* | Jud. *lēt-ā*, *layt-ā* || Arab. *layt-*.

Chad. **lič-*: W.: **liš-um*: Sura *lūšùm* | Chip *lišim* ‘leopard’ [*P. pardus*].⁵⁰

Cush. N. **loliš* (redupl.): Beja *loliš*, *noliš* (dissim.) ‘cat’.

► AADB 2646; cf. SED II No. 147.

6.9. **mary-* or **mayr-* ‘k. of feline’

Sem. **namir-* (<**na-mir-* or **na-mayr-* with the fossilized prefix) ‘leopard’ [*Panthera pardus*]: Akk. *nimr-* (*nammar-*) ‘panther’ || Hbr. *nāmēr* ‘leopard, panther’ || Aram.: Anc., Off. *nmr* | Bibl. *nəmar* ‘panther’ | Mand. *namar* (*nimar*, *namr*) ‘leopard’ | Sab. *nmr* ‘leopard, panther’ | Hdr. *nmr* ‘panthère’ || Arab. *nimr-* ‘panthère’, *namir-* ‘léopard, panthère’ || Gz. *namr* | Tna., Tgr. *nābri* ‘leopard’ | Amh. *nāmr*, *nābər*⁵¹ ‘lynx’ [*Caracal caracal*] | Sel. *nāwər* | Wol. *nāwr*.⁵²

Egyp. (OK) *mʒy* ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*] (if < **mVry*).

Chad. **mary-* and **mumur-/mumur-* (redupl.): W. **mumur-*: Dera *mūmur-u* ‘cheetah’ [*Acinonyx jubatus*] | Polchi *mur* ‘jackal’ [*Canis aureus*] | Bokkos *mūrûm* | Sha, Daffo-Butura *mūrûm* ‘hyena’ [*Crocuta crocuta*] || C. **mary-*: Mafa *mariy-žélé* ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*] | Lame *mēr* ‘serval’ [*Caracal serval*], *méri-án* ‘wild cat’ | Peve *méri-àn* ‘Id.’ | Zime-Dari *mīēr* ‘genette’ [*Genetta sp.*].

Cush. (a) **mary-*, **mawir-* and **marir-* (redupl.): E.: LEC **mawr-*: Oromo *mōr-ē* ‘civet(-cat)’ [*Civettictis civetta*] | Dasenech *mor* ‘lion, leopard’ || S. **mir-* and **marir-* (redupl.): Gorowa *marir-ika* ‘leopard’ [*P. pardus*] | Alagwa *mariy-amo* ‘wild cat’ | Asa *mer-ok* ‘lion’ [*P. leo*]; (b) N. **mir-al-*: Beja *miral-ai* ‘cheetah’ [*Acinonyx jubatus*] | E.: Dullay **mir-l-*: Tsamai *mirle* ‘leopard’ [*P. pardus*].⁵³

▲ Cf. NS **mEr* ‘leopard, lion, cat’; Songhay *mar* id.; ESud.: Nandi *merindo*, Suk *meril* ‘leopard’; Kuliak: Nyangi *merihl* id.; SNil.: Tatoga *marir-d*, Suk *mèrīl*, Sogoo *melil-tɔ* (quoted in EDE III: 37). In spite of the striking similarity between these and some of the AA forms, all seem genuine in their families.

► AADB 2305; SED II No. 164. Cf. HSED 1760 and EDE III 37, 134-5.

6.10. **sawr-* and **sarw-* ‘k. of feline’

Sem. **šur-ān-* ~ **šinnawr-* (met.) ‘wild cat’ [*Felis silvestris*]: Akk. *šurān-u* ‘wild cat’ || Aram.: Anc. *šrn* ‘wild cat’ | Jud. *šunnār-ā*, *šūrān-ā* ‘cat’ | Syr. *šūrān-ā* ‘felis; mustela, animal quod vorat

⁴⁷ Eg. *rw* (Pyr.) is also ‘lion’ (unless < **IVw*) < **(ʔa-)rVw-* ‘k. of large feline, lion’ not quoted here since it is rather a NA than a PAA root (with only one parallel in SA: Cush. E.: LEC: Somali *ār* ‘lion’ which is probably not enough for a reconstruction at the PAA level).

⁴⁸ Also (18 Dyn.) *ʒby* ‘panther’ [*Panthera pardus*] (if < **IVb(V)y-*).

⁴⁹ With the extension *-ar* – acc. to CED #555, a marker of harmful animals.

⁵⁰ Cf. metathetic E. **ʔa-čil-*: Bidiya *ʔāčil-o* ‘serval’ [*Caracal serval*].

⁵¹ The parallel variant root **nabr-* in Mod. Eth. is likely a result of dissimilation by nasality.

⁵² Mhr. *nāmer* ‘leopard, tiger’ and Hrs. *nemr* ‘leopard’ are likely Arab. lws.

⁵³ S. Omot.: Ongota *mirila*, *morle* ‘serval, genet’ is a lw. from Tsamai.

gallinas', *šūnār-ā* 'felis' | Mand. *šunar-a* 'cat' || Arab. *sunnār-*, *sinnawr-* 'chat' || Mhr. *sənnáwr-ət*, Hrs. *sennōr-eh* | Jib. *sínór-t* | Hbt. *sənnóor-ət* 'cat'.⁵⁴

Chad. **sawar-*: W. **sa(w)r-* and **sasar-*, **sawawr-* (redupl.): Hausa *sar-a*, *sawawar-a* 'civet' [*Civettictis civetta*] (Cosper 1994 #264)⁵⁵ | Polchi *šišer* 'smaller than civet' | Daffo-Butura *šúwír* 'Wildkatze' [*Felis sp.*] || E. **sawar* ~ **sarar-*: Tumak *šàwàr* 'chat doré' [*Caracal aurata*] | Dangla *sàrààr-à* 'panthère femelle' [*Panthera pardus*].

Cush. E. **sarw-* and **warwars-* (redupl. and met.): Dullay **sar-iko*: Gawwada, Gobeze, Harso, Gollango *sar-iiko* 'leopard' [*Panthera pardus*] || Yaaku *warwars-an* (met.) 'serval' [*Caracal serval*].

Omot. N. **sawr-*: Ganjule *šuur-o* 'cat'.⁵⁶

► AADB 2651; SED II No. 206.

There are two more terms for large felines reconstructed by Václav Blažek (2013) and qualifying as PAA according to the present paper's criteria (representation in both NAA and SAA branches): **camik/y/h-* (Cush. C., E.; Omot. N.; Chad. C., E.) and **zi(n)g-(um)-* (Arab.; Cush. E.; Chad. W., C.)

7. Other mammals (a selection)

7.1. **?V(n)čaw-* 'k. of smaller carnivoran or rodent'⁵⁷

Sem. **?ay(n)šaw-*: Akk. (OB on) *ayāš-u* 'weasel' [*Mustela sp.*] || Gz. *ʔanšaw-ā*, *ʔanšew-ā*, *ʔanšow-ā* 'mouse'⁵⁸ and 'weasel' [*Mustela sp.*] | Tna *ʔančəw-a* 'rat, mouse' | Tgr. *ʔanšay*, *ʔanšay*, | Amh. *ay(ə)ʔ* 'mouse'.

(?) Berb. S. **-dVway*: Ayr, E. Wlm. *e-ḍəwi* 'jerboa' [*Dipodidae sp.*].

Chad. W. *(*Ha-*)*Čiy-*: Hausa *čiy-ō* 'field rat' | Sayanchi *ààcá* 'mouse' || C.: Musgu *ausi* 'Maus'.

Cush. C. **?i(n)čaw-*: Bilin *inšuw-aa* | Khamir *iečuw-aa* | Khamta *ačuw-aa* | Qemant *yešw-aa* || Aungi *enč-aa* | Damot *inč-ii* 'mouse' || E.: LEC **waawač-* (met.): Oromo *waawač-oo* 'mongoose' [*Herpestidae sp.*].

Omot. N. **?i(n)čaw-* 'rat': Wolaita *uča-a* | Kafa *ičo-o* | Bworo *inčo-o*, *iinč-a* | Gimirra *uč/ç* | Dizi (Sheko) *iičč-o*.

► SED II No. 26; AADB 379.

7.2. **?andaw-* 'mouse'

Chad. C. **ma(n)dVw* (likely < coll. **ma-ʔa(n)daw-*) 'rat': Mofu *m-àndùw-ánj* | Gisiga *m-onduw-anj* | Muktele *m-ádàw-á* | Matakam *m-ùdùw-à*.

Cush. E. **?andaw-*: SA **?andaw-*: Saho *andəw-a* | Afar *andaw-aa* 'mouse, rat'.⁵⁹

► AADB 285.

7.3. **?ar-* 'hare'

Sem. (a) **?ar-an-*: Arab. (pl.) *ʔarān^m* || Jib. *ʔern-í* 'hare' [*Lepus sp.*];⁶⁰ (b) **?ar-n-ab-* 'hare' [*Lepus sp.*]: Akk. (Oakk. on) *arnab-u* (*annab-u*) || Hbr. *ʔarnāb-ät* | D.-Alla *ʔrnb-n* (pl.) | Syr. *ʔarnəb-* ||

⁵⁴ The MSA forms can be Arabisms.

⁵⁵ Boghom *sawawara* 'like a hyena or civet' is most likely < Hausa.

⁵⁶ Isolated in Omotic but, perhaps, genuine: borrowing from E.Cush. semantically and phonetically improbable.

⁵⁷ **-č* instead of **-ç* is reconstructed mainly based on the Berb. forms: if they belong here, *d* can continue AA **č* (beside AA **t*) but not **ç*. In Akk. and Eth., as well as in Oromo, reflexes of **č* and **ç* coincide; in Chad. they remain obscure in the intervocalic position (but coincide in Hausa); the Agaw and Omotic reflexes are contradictory.

⁵⁸ Also *hanšaw-ā*, *hanš-e* id. with the fossilized prefix *h-*.

⁵⁹ Cf. LEC **?antu-*: Oromo *antu-ta* 'mouse'.

⁶⁰ Cf. also Aram.: Syr. *ʔarnāfā* 'mus magnus', perhaps related with a non-etymological *-f*.

Arab. *ʔarnab-* || Gz. *ʔarnāb* | Har. *ḥarbāññ-o* (met.) | Gur. **arbāññ-ä* (met.)⁶¹ || Hbt. *ḥarniib* | Mhr. *ḥarnáyb* | Hrs. *ḥeynēb*.⁶²

Egyp. (old) *wn* ‘hare?’⁶³

Chad. (a) **ʔarn-*: W.: Hausa *ánná-kó* (assim.) ‘a variety of small hare’ [*Lepus sp.*];⁶⁴ (b) **ʔa(n)bar-* (met.) and **nabir-* (> **ribun-*): W. **ʔa(n)bar-*: Gerka *tu-bbar*⁶⁵ | *ti-ḥaar* (< **ti-baʔar* or **ti-ʔabar*) | Dera *búr-kiŋ* || C. **bir-*: Kapsiki *vir-a* ‘rabbit’ [*Lepus sp.*] | Podokwo *viŋur-a* ‘lapin’ [*Lepus sp.*], etc.; **nabir-* and **ribun-* (both met.) ‘hare’ [*Lepus sp.*]: Wandala *navir-e* | W. Margi *ta-ribuna* | Malgwa *navire* | Wandala *nàvir-e* || E.: Mobu *tì-bèr* ‘rabbit’ [*Lepus sp.*] | Mubi *hom-bur-o* ‘rabbit’ [*Lepus sp.*].

Cush. **ʔar-*: N. **ʔar-*: Beja *ar-aat* ‘young hare, leveret’ || C. **b/mäntäl/r-* (met. < **ta-rnab-*) ‘hare, rabbit’ [*Lepus sp.*] | Bilin *mäntälä-rä* | Khamtanga *bitl-a* | Qemant *bäntär-a* (Appleyard 2006: 79-80) || S.: Alagwa *ʔorh-óo* | Burunge *ʔoroʔ-oo* ‘big hare sp.’ [*Lepus sp.*].

▲ Cf. PKoman **warVn-* ‘hare’. Multiple assimilations and metatheses may be due to poor compatibility of **r* and **n* in the same root, while various root extensions may be accounted for by assuming tabooing of the hare’s name as an object of hunting or a totem.

► SED II No. 14, AADB 3477; EDE I, 44; Stolbova 2019 #26; CED #11.

7.4. **bawr* - ‘k. of a large carnivorous animal’

Sem. **ba(r)bar-* (redupl.):⁶⁶ Akk. *barbar-u* ‘wolf’ [*Canis lupus*] || Arab. *babr-* (pl. *bubūr-*) ‘espèce de chacal qui conduit le lion sur la piste de la proie’ [*C. aureus*], *ʔal-barbār-* ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*].⁶⁷

Berb. **barr-an-*: Ahaggar *ǎ-barr-ân* ‘chat sauvage’ (not in Foucauld 1951-52) | Shilh *a-br-an* ‘wild cat’⁶⁸ | Shilh *a-bayrr-u* ‘fox’ (Naït-Zerrad 1998: 146).

Chad. **bawr-*: W. **bawr-*: Hausa *bār-ū* ‘hyena’ [*Crocota crocuta*] | Sura *m-bóór* | Angas *bwār* ‘lion’ [*P. leo*] | Mupun *pùpwór* | Tangale *par-i* ‘cheetah’ [*Acinonyx jubatus*] | Ngamo *bàràyr-iyà* (redupl.) ‘wild animal’ | Zul *m-bor-i* | Fyer *ʔm-bwaar* ‘lion’ [*P. leo*] || C. **ma-bawr-*: Bura *mo-bul-u* (*l* < **r*) | Mwulien *m̀búr-mò* | Bachama *mbur-uməy* ‘hyena’ [*C. crocuta*] | Mofu *má-bár-* ‘panther, lion’ [*P. pardus*, *P. leo*] | Gisiga *mo-bor* ‘lion’ [*P. leo*] || E. **bawr-*: Dangla *bùur-ì* ‘lion’ [*P. leo*] | Migama *bòdr-ú* | Bidiyo *bóor-e* | Mubi *bór-ì* ‘hyena’ [*C. crocuta*] | Birgit *bàr-á* | Toram *bar-a* ‘jackal’ [*Canis aureus*].

Cush. **bawr-*: S. **bawr-*: Dahalo *ḥór-a* ‘any dangerous animal’.⁶⁹

▲ Cf. Sum. *urbara* [wolf], wr. *ur-bar-ra*; *ur-bar*; *ur-bar-ra^{sar}*; *ur-ba-ra*; *ur-₂-bar-ra* (PSD), *ur^wbar.ra*, *ur.bar*, *ur.bar.ra* ‘wolf’ [*Canis lupus*] (EDS: 304), *ur-bar-ra-k*, *ur-bar-ra* s. ‘loup’ (LSF). Cf. P.Masai **-barie* ‘jackal’ [*C. aureus*].

► AADB 1863, 2621. Cf. HSED 246; EDE II 22, 148 and Stolbova 2021 #281 (compared to Berb.: Ghadames *a-bur*, Ghat *ahər*, Ahaggar *a-har*, etc. ‘lion’; comparison debatable).

⁶¹ All of the above Eth. forms were considered Arabisms by Leslau (Leslau 1987: 38), though it seems correct only for Gz. Cush. E.: HEC: Burji (*h*)*irbáan-čoo* ‘rabbit’ [*Lepus sp.*] and Omot. N.: Wolaita *hirbaan-e* ‘hare’ [*Lepus sp.*] are Eth. loans.

⁶² In MSA, *ḥ-* is an article before **ʔ-*. Cf. also Ugr. *ʔanhb* ‘hare?’ (more likely ‘snail’) and Arab. *ḥarnab-*, Gz. *ḥarnab* ‘hare’ obviously related with enigmatic **ḥ-*.

⁶³ The hieroglyph for *wn* depicts a hare; acc. to EDE I: 44, perhaps < *wʔn* < **wrn*.

⁶⁴ Acc. to CED #11, < **ʔarnau-k-* < **ʔarnab-k-*, assim.; however, there are no traces of *-u-*. Likely related is C.: Gude *ùrìŋá* (< **ʔurin-*) ‘type of mouse or rat’.

⁶⁵ Acc. to CED #11, < **tu-nbar-*, with metathesis and assimilation.

⁶⁶ Cf. Sem. **bVrbVr-* ‘to hawl, roar’.

⁶⁷ Cf. also hubayrat- ‘hyène’ [Hyaena hyaena].

⁶⁸ Both quoted in EDE II 21, not in Naït-Zerrad 1998.

⁶⁹ Yaaku *barié* ‘jackal’ [*Canis aureus*] is a lw. from Masai.

7.5. *čap- ‘k. of smaller carnivoran or rodent’

Sem. **tap-an-* ‘rock hyrax’ [*Procavia capensis*]: Hbr. *šāpān* ‘rock badger, hyrax, dassie’ [*P. capensis*] || Mhr. *tōfān*, Jib. *tōfun* ‘rock hyrax’ [*P. capensis*].

(?) Chad. W.: Boghom *sop*⁷⁰ ‘rabbit’ [*Lepus sp.*].

Cush. **čap-*: E.: LEC: Oromo *šuff-ee*⁷¹ ‘k. of badger, ratel’ [*Mellivora capensis*] || S. **čap-*: Bu-runge *čaa-p-u* ‘ground squirrel’ [*Spermophilus sp.*] | Alagwa *cap-ù* ‘civet’ [*Civettictis civetta*].

Omot. N. **šif-*: Kafa *šif-ō* ‘faina (beech marten)’⁷² | Dizi (Sheko) *šimf-a*⁷³ ‘mouse’.

► AADB 3908; SED II No. 240.

7.6. *dab- ‘k. of large animal’

Sem. **dabb-* (redupl.) ‘bear’ [*Ursus arctos*]: Akk. *dab-u* (*dabb-u*) || Hbr. *dōb* || Aram.: Syr. *debb-ā* || Arab. *dubb-* || Gz., Tgr., Amh. *dabb*, etc.

Egyp. (OK) *db* ‘hyppopotamus’ [*Hippopotamus amphibius*].

Chad. **dab(b)-*: W. **dabb-*: Hausa *dább-à* | Ngizim *dább-à* ‘wild animal’⁷⁴ | Boghom *túp*⁷⁵ ‘hyppopotamus’ [*Hippopotamus amphibius*] | Pero *ḍeḅ-à* ‘hyena’ [*Crocota crocuta*] | Ngamo *dáb-ən* ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*] || C. **dVb-*: Gudu *dōv-ən* ‘lion’ [*P. leo*], *dív-ā* ‘leopard’ [*P. pardus*].

Cush. S. **dab-*: Dahalo *dabi* ‘animal, game’.

Omot. N. **dab-*: Gimirra *dodba* (redupl.) | Ganza *dwob* ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*] || S.: Ari *de(e)b-i* | Hamar *dáb-i*, *dab-i* ‘wild animal’.

▲ Cf. Proto-Kuliak **dob-* ‘rhinoceros’.

► AADB 282. SED II No. 65.

7.7. *sa/ik^w- ‘k. of lesser animal’

Sem. **šikVk-* (redupl.): Akk. (OB on) *šikk-û* ‘mongoose’ [*Herpestidae sp.*] || Amh. *šakokk-o* ‘rock hyrax’ [*Procavia capensis*].

Chad. C. **sikw-*: Pižimbi *šekw-a* ‘squirrel’ [*Sciuridae sp.*] | Logone *swék-a*, *súwék-a* (met.) ‘ground squirrel’ [*Spermophilus sp.*].

Cush. E.: Dullay **šak-t-* ‘chameleon’ [*Chamaeleonidae sp.*]: Gawwata *šaḥ-to* | Gollango *šaḥ-to*.

Omot. N. **šak-*:⁷⁶ Wolaita *šak-aanča* ‘chameleon’ [*Chamaeleonidae sp.*]⁷⁷ | Kafa *šakšak-o* (redupl.) ‘pipistrello’ (Cerulli 1951: 496) || S. **sik-*: Dime *sik-u* ‘bat’ [*Microchiroptera sp.*].

► AADB 2653. Cf. SED II No. 193.

7.8. *žaʔib- ‘k. of scavenger’

Sem. **diʔb-*: Akk. *zīb-u* ‘jackal’ [*Canis aureus*]; ‘vulture’ [*Gyps sp.*] || Hbr. *zəʔēb* || Aram.: Off. *dʔb*, *dyb* | Jud. *dēb-ā*, *zīb-ā*, *zēb-ā* | Syr. *dēb-ā* ‘wolf’ [*C. lupus*] | Mand. *zab-a*, *dib-a* || Arab. *dīʔb*, *dīb-* ‘loup; chacal’ [*C. lupus*, *C. aureus*] || Gz. *zəʔb* | Tna. *zəbʔ-i*⁷⁸ | Amh. *žəb* ‘hyena’ [*Hyaenidae sp.*] || Jib. *dīb* | Soq. *dīb* ‘wolf’ [*C. lupus*].⁷⁹

Egyp. (Pyr.) *zʔb* ‘jackal’ [*C. aureus*].

⁷⁰ s- may continue *č.

⁷¹ If the theory that *č > Oromo *f* is correct, perhaps *č > Oromo *š* before a labial, cf. “s did not become *f* before a labial” (PEC 33).

⁷² An erroneous determination: *martens* (including beech-marten [*Martes foina*]) do not inhabit Africa.

⁷³ With insertion of *-n-*.

⁷⁴ These forms are arabisms, acc. to some authors; however, this form with the meaning ‘wild animal’ is not attested in Class. Arab.

⁷⁵ Regular devoicing.

⁷⁶ Cf. also Kachama *šikaale* ‘wild cat’.

⁷⁷ Borrowed from or into Dullay.

⁷⁸ Tgr. *zəbʔi* likely from Tna.

⁷⁹ It is not clear whether the MSA forms are genuine or Arab. lws.

Chad. **žab-*: W. **žabžib-* (redupl.): Hausa *žibžib-tà* ‘vulture’ [*Gyps sp.*]⁸⁰ || E. **žabiy-* ‘hyena’ [*Crocuta crocuta*]: Migama *žábíy-á* | Bidiya *žèbèy-gì*.

Omot. **zab-*: N. **zab-*: Basketo *zobba, zop* (-*p* <**?b-*?) | Male *zobi* ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*] | Gimirra *e-zub-ay* ‘cat’ || S. **zab-* ‘lion’ [*P. leo*]: Ari *zob, žobba* | Hamar *zob-o* | Dime *zof*.⁸¹

► AADB 284; HSED #2660; SED II No. 72.

8. Birds (a selection)

8.1. **bar-* ‘k. of bird (pigeon, partridge)’

Sem. **bar-* and **barbur-* (redupl.): Hbr. *barbūr* ‘a bird fattened to be eaten by king Solomon’ || Tna. *bar-eto, bar-äto, bar-ito* ‘turtledove’ [*Streptopelia sp.*], *bar-o* ‘k. of turtledove’ | Amh. *bar-et, bar-eto* ‘pigeon, dove’ [*Columba sp., Streptopelia sp.*].

Egyp. (old) *b³* (if <**bVr*) ‘kind of bird, black stork, jabiru’ [*Ciconia sp.*].

Berb. **barr-*: E. Wlm. *ta-bærr-ut* ‘caille d’Europe’ [*Coturnix sp.*] | Senhadja, Rif *a-barr-an* ‘perdrix mâle’ [*Perdix sp.*] | Qabyle *burur-u* (redupl.) ‘owl’ [*Strigiformes sp.*].

Chad. **bar-* and **barbir-* (redupl.): W. **?V-(m)bVr-* and **bVrbVr-*: Hausa *bì/ùrabì-à* ‘quail’ (Bargery 1934) [*Coturnix sp.*], *bàruu* ‘pigeons’ [*Columba sp.*] | Kirfi *mbìr-ù* ‘dove’ [*Streptopelia sp.*] | Jimbin *a-bur* ‘crested crane’ [*Balearica regulorum*] | Ngizim *bàr-í-* ‘domestic pigeon’ [*Columba livia*] || C. **birbVr-*: Bura *biber-wi* ‘k. of bird’ || E. **barr-* and **birbir-*: W. Dangla *bââr-è* (m) ‘perdrix (Francolin)’ [*Perdix sp.*] | E. Dangla *bàrr-é* (f.) ‘perdrix’ [*Perdix sp.*] | Bidiya *birbir-íny* (f.) ‘caille’ [*Coturnix sp.*].

Cush. **bVr-*: E.: HEC **bur-*: Burji *búr-o* ‘partridge, dove’ [*Perdix sp., Streptopelia sp.*] || S. **m-bar-* and **bambar-* (redupl.): Iraqw *bambar-é* ‘hoopoe’ [*Upupa sp.*] and *biir-íŷ* ‘pytilia bird’ [*Pytilia sp.*] | Dahalo *mbār-e* ‘egret’ [*Egretta/Ardea sp.*].

▲ Cf. Sum. *buru* [bird], wr. *buru₄^{mušen}, buru₆^{mušen}* ‘crow; a bird of prey or a vulture’ (PSD), *buru₄, bur₄* ‘crow’ (EDS #385), *buru₄^{mušen}* ‘corbeau’ (LSF).

► AADB 2228; SED II No. 61; cf. HSED № 293, EDE II 431-2, Stolbova 2021 #274, 274a (comp. to Eth. Burji, Senhadja, Rif).

8.2. **çiraŷ-* ‘k. of bird’⁸²

Sem. **ŷVššūr-* (met.):⁸³ Akk. *iššūr-u* || Ugr. *ŷŷr* [ŷuššūru] ‘bird (gen.); domestic fowl, poultry’.⁸⁴

Chad. **çVr-*: W. **çury-*: Hausa *çíry-ã* ‘parakeet’ | Polchi *cúr-a* ‘hawk’ || E. **sar-* and **sarsir-* (redupl.): Dangla *sàrsir-ò* ‘bird of prey’ | Bidiya *sár-a* ‘épervier’ [*Accipiter sp.*].

Cush. **çirr-* and **çiçir-* (redupl.) ‘red-billed oxpecker (*Buphagus erythrorhynchus*)’: C **çarrur-*: Bilin *çarrúr-ā* ‘Madenhacker’ [*B. erythrorhynchus*] || E.: SA **çarraŷ-*: Saho *çarãŷ, çarrãŷ* ‘Madenhacker, buphaga erythrorhynchus’ [*B. erythrorhynchus*] | LEC **çirr-*: Oromo *çi/err-ii* ‘k. of bird,

⁸⁰ Supported by a similar meaning shift in Akk.

⁸¹ Cush. N.: Beja *diib* ‘wolf’ is probably an Arabism. HEC: Sidamo *doob-iččo*, Kambatta *zob-ečču*, Tambaro *zob-ečo* ‘lion’ are likely to be borrowed from S. Omot.

⁸² Egyp. (Pyr.) *dry.t* ‘kite’ compared (if <**çry*) in SED II No. 43 is not related due to lack of ŷ whose presence in this root is confirmed by both Sem., Saho and S. Cush. forms.

⁸³ Cf. also Arab. *ŷuŷfūr-* ‘any small bird’, Malt. (*gh*)*asfūr* (<**ŷasfūr-*), Hbt. *ašferóot* ‘small bird’, Jib. *ŷešférót*, Soq. *ŷašferoh* ‘bird’ (perhaps a result of contamination between **ŷVššūr-* and **šVp(p)Vr-* see SED II No. 212).

⁸⁴ Tgr. *çarraŷ, çarnaŷ* (met.) ‘a bird, Buphaga erythrorhynchus’ [*Buphagus erythrorhynchus*] and Tna. *çarraŷ* ‘a bird a little larger than the thrush’ continue the common form **çirraŷ-* (with dissim. of -*rr-*), most likely borrowed from Saho *çarrãŷ* with the same highly specific meaning *Buphagus erythrorhynchus* which can hardly be reconstructed at the PAA or even PCu. level. Hence, attestation of the corresponding term in C. Cush. (Bilin), E. Cush. and even S. Cush. (Dahalo) can only reflect a series of borrowings, probably with Saho as a primary source, eventually related to S. Cush. (W. Rift and Asa) and, metathetically, Sem. (Akk. and Ugr. only) forms.

sucks blood from cow; like hornbill' [*B. erythrorhynchus*] | HEC **çirr-*: Sidamo *çirr-e* 'red-billed oxpecker' [*B. erythrorhynchus*] || S. **çiraʕ-*: Iraqw, Gorowa *çirʕ-i* | Alagwa *ciraʕ-a* | Burunge *çiraʕ-a* | Asa *širaʔ-a* 'bird' (generic term) | Dahalo *çičir-a* 'tick bird' [*B. erythrorhynchus*], *çuár-e* 'sp. bird (Roller?)'.⁸⁵

(?) Omot. N.: Wolaita *çer-aa* 'k. of bird' (very likely a Cushitism).

► AADB 320; cf. HSED #1095 and SED II No. 43.

8.3. **dVr-* 'k. of bird'

Sem. **durar-* (redupl.) 'k. of bird': Hbr. *dərōr* 'a kind of bird (swallow, dove?)' || Deir Alla *dr̄r* 'subst. indicating bird: swallow or dove?' || Arab. *durr-at-* 'perroquet' (BK 1, 682), 'la peruche à collier couleur de rose' (Dozy 1927: I 428) [*Psittacinae sp.*] || Amh. *där(r)-ay* 'aquatic, web-footed bird which has black or white plumage' | Masqan *dərr-i* 'k. of bird'.⁸⁶

Chad. **dawr-* (or **daHur-*): W. **du/ur-* and **dVrdVr-* (redupl.): Hausa *dúr-wǎ* 'lark-quail (Ortyxelos Meiffrenii)' [*Ortyxelos meiffrenii*] | Dera *dárir-ù* 'type of swift nightbird' | Seya *dər-i* 'crown-bird' [*Balearica regulorum*] | Buli *dádár* 'weaver bird' [*Proceidae sp.*] || C. *(*n-*)*dawr-*: Mbara *n-dòr-ò* 'green pigeon' [*Treron sp.*] | Gude *dár-á* 'type of bird' || E. **dVHur-*: Somrai *dùr-ē* 'hen' | Tumak *door* 'turtle-dove' [*Streptopelia sp.*], *dèr-t⁸⁷* 'oiseau (nom générique)'.

Cush. **diruh-*: N. **?an-dirh-*: Beja *andiirh-o* 'fowl' || C. **dir(h)w-*: Bilin *diruw-a* | Qwara, Dembea *dirh^w-ā* | Aungi *dir-ī*, etc. 'cock, hen' || E.: SA **do/irh-*: Saho *door(o)h-o*, *diirh-o* 'Huhn, Henne' | Afar *dorrah-e* 'hens' | LEC **du(H)r-*: Somali *door-o* | Jiddu *duur-i* 'chicken, hen' || S. **di(H)r-*: Dahalo *déer-e* 'woodpecker' [*Picidae sp.*].

Omot. N. **dVr-*: Zergula *dər-i* 'chicken', Chara *deer-aa* 'rooster',⁸⁸ Mao (Hozo) *dorŋ-a* 'bird'.

▲ Cf. Sum. *dar* [bird], wr. *dar^{mušen}*, *dara* 'bird, black francolin' (PSD), *dar^{mušen}* 'black francolin' [*Francolinus francolinus*] (EDS #437), *dar^{mušen}* 'francolin' (LSF). Blažek (2003) also quotes NS: Kunama *doora*, *dorha* 'chicken' (obviously a lw. < Cush.) and, less convincingly, Nubian: Kenuzi *darbád* 'hen', etc. (probably a look-alike).

► AADB 1665; SED II No. 71. Cf. HSED № 748, Blažek 2003: 235 (the Agaw forms in *g* are erroneously mixed with the forms in *d* quoted above).

8.4. **g^way-* and **g^wag^way-* (redupl.) 'k. of bird'

Sem. Eth. **g^wag^w-*: (a) Gz. *g^wāg^wā* | Amh. *gag-ano* 'swan, ibis' [*Cygnus sp.*, *Threskiornithinae sp.*]; (b) Gz. *gug-ā*, *g^wag-ā* 'owl, nighthawk, raven' | Tgr. *g^wagg^w-a* | Amh. *g^wagg-a*, *g^wag^w-ət* 'owl' [*Strigiformes sp.*] | Gur.: Gyeto *g^wag^w-a*, *gug-a*, etc. 'night bird'.

(?) Egypt. *dwy.t* (sarc) 'kind of bird' (if <**gwy-t*).

Chad. (a) **g^way-*: C. *(?*V-*)*giy-*: Higi *gýē*, Mandara *giy-e*, etc. | Gude *?i-ggì-ná* 'bird', *gyagy-a* 'hen' || E. **guy-*: Somrai *gui* 'partridge' [*Perdix sp.*]; (b) *(*n-*)*gag/k-* (redupl.) 'crow' [*Corvus sp.*]: W. *(*n-*)*gag/k-*: Gwandara *ŋgaŋk-ā* | Angas *ngak* (-*k* < **-g*) | Pa'a *gáàg-a* || C. **n-gag/k-*: Buduma *n-gag-é* || E. **gag-*: Bidiya *gaag-a* | Mubi *gak* (dissim.?) | Mokilko *gaag-u*.

Cush. E. **gug/k-*: SA **gugg-* (redupl.): Saho, Afar *gugg-a* 'hornbill' [*B. erythrorhynchus*] | LEC **gug-*: Oromo *gug-e* 'dove' [*Streptopelia sp.*] | HEC: **gug-Vn-*: Darasa *guug-en-žo*, pl. *guug-*

⁸⁵ Both words probably borrowed, since **ç* is expected to be preserved in Dahalo.

⁸⁶ Cf. Gz. *dorho*, *doroho* 'chicken', Tgr. *derho* 'chicken', Tna. *dārho* 'pollo, gallina', Amh. *doro* 'chicken', Gog. Sod. *žärä* 'hen, chicken' borrowed from Cush. The non-etymological "extra" *-h* is equally unexplainable in both Eth. and Cush. Cf. also Syr. *dardā* 'vultur' [*Gyps sp.*]

⁸⁷ From **dVHVr-*, acc. to Caprile 1975: 123.

⁸⁸ Both may be Cushitic lws.

enna ‘dove’ [*Streptopelia* sp.]⁸⁹ || Yaaku *goigui* ‘bee-eater’ [*Meropidae* sp.] || S. **n-gV*k- (dissim.): Dahalo *ngōk-o* ‘whydah bird’ [*Vidua macroura*].

▲ Cf. Kuliak **gwak-* ‘bird’. Cf. also Sum. *uga* [raven], wr. *uga^{mušen}*, *uga* (PSD), *uga^{mušen}* ‘crow, raven, bird of pray’ (EDS #2693). Note special affinity between some Chad. and Dahalo forms.

► AADB 324, 2098.

8.5. **g^wam-* ‘k. of bird’

Sem. **g^wam-* and **g^wamg^wam-* (redupl.): Akk. (SB) *gamgamm-u* ‘a bird’ || Gz. *gumgum-ā* ‘pelican’ [*Pelecanus* sp.] | Tna. *g^wag^wamm-a* ‘bird which chirps when in numbers’, *gum-a* ‘large vulture the neck of which is featherless’ [*Gyps africanus*] | Tgr. *gumgum-a* ‘esp. d’oiseau’.

Chad. **gam* and **gamgim-* (redupl.): W. **gam-*: Polchi *gam* ‘eagle’ [*Aquila* sp.] | Sayanchi *gām* ‘hawk’ [*Accipiter* sp.] || C.: Zulgo *gúwùm*, Gisiga *gigim* ‘owl’; E. **gumgi/um-* ‘owl’: W. Dangla, Migama *gúgùm-ò* | Bidiya *gúugum-a* | Mokilko *gùugím-à*, Ubi *guugùm*, Mawa *gugum* (cf. Stolbova 2011 #630).

Cush. N. *(*ʔa-*)*gam-*: Beja *agam-a* ‘seagull’ [*Larus* sp.] || E.: SA **gum-*: Saho *gúm-ā* ‘der Adler’ [*Aquila* sp.] | Afar *gum-a* ‘vultures; white-backed vultures’ [*Gyps* sp.].

Omot. N.: Gimirra *gyam* ‘chicken’.

► AADB 2628; cf. SED II No. 78.

8.6. *(*ʕa-*)*gwir-* ‘k. of bird’

Sem. *(*ʕa-*)*gawir-*: Akk. (OB) *igir-û* ‘heron’ [*Ardea* sp.] || Hbr. *ʕāgūr* ‘short-footed thrush or swift or wryneck (?)’ || D.-Alla *ʕr* ‘subst. indicating certain kind of bird’ || Arab *ʕawraḵ-*⁹⁰ ‘*Struthiocamelus mas*’ (Freytag 1833) [*Struthio camelus*].

Egyp. (late) *gr-y* ‘poultry’.

Chad. **gawir-* and **girw-* (met.): W. **gir-*: Zar *gèr-í* | Seya *gèr-i* ‘hen’ || C. **girw-* and **gagwir-* (redupl.): Matakam *gógwàr* ‘cock’ | Munjuk *gagray* ‘guinea-fowl’ [*Numida meleagris*], *yugúr-iy* ‘hen’ | Mandara, Padukwo *žírrw-e* | Uzam *žirw-e* ‘ostrich’ [*Struthio camelus*] || E. **gawr-*: Kera *gúgur-i* (redupl.) | Somrai *gàray* ‘hen’ and *gwár-a* ‘heron’ [*Ardea* sp.] | Dangla *gár-è* ‘duck’ [*Anas* sp.].

Cush. E. **gawr-ay-*: SA: Saho *gàry-a*, *gàraay* | Afar *goroyy-a* | LEC: Somali *goray* | Boni *korii*, *koree* ‘ostrich’ [*Struthio camelus*] | Oromo *gogorr-ii* (redupl.) ‘guinea fowl’ [*Numida meleagris*]⁹¹ || S.: Dahalo *ngára* ‘crested crane’ [*Balearica regulorum*].

▲ Cf. Sum. *igira* [heron], wr. *igira₂^{mušen}* (PSD), *igira*, *igirû* ‘stork’ (EDS 1233).

► AADB 1931; cf. HSED #1053; SED II No. 29.

8.7a. **ɣuraʔ-* ‘crow’

Sem. **ɣa(r)ɣur-* (redupl.): Akk. (OB) *haḥḥur-u* ‘a bird of the raven/crow family’.

Berb. S. **ɣru-t*: Ayr, E.Wlm. *a-ɣrut* ‘corbeau’ [*Corvus corax*] (otherwise <**k^war-* ‘crow, raven’ 8.13).

Chad. **ɣar-* ‘crow’:⁹² W. **ɣaHar-*: Sura *gòr-òò* ‘Krähe’ | Zul *ɣàr-átí* ‘crow’ || C.: Glavda *ɣáayàhór-a* (redupl.) ‘crow’ [*Corvus* sp.] | Sukun *ɣram-ak* ‘pied crow’ [*Corvus albus*] || E. **ʔa-gr-* (met.): Ndam *ʔagr-a* ‘crow’ [*Corvus* sp.].

Cush. **huraʔ-* ‘crow’ [*Corvus* sp.]: C.: Qemant *horay*; S. **huraʔ-*: Iraqw *hwaʔari* (met.) | Bu-runge *hwarar-iya* (redupl.) | Alagwa *hohoraʔi* (redupl.) | Ma’a *i-h/hureʔ-a* (met.)

► AADB 2632; SED II No. 89; CED #300.

⁸⁹ Cf. Dullay **ʔāg-it-*: Warazi, Gobeze, Harso *aag-iče*, Tsamay *ʔaag’-* ‘bird (generic)’.

⁹⁰ Non-etymological -*ḵ* is probably due to contamination with Arab. *ɣirnik-* ‘grue’ (see in 8.7.3. **ɣurayḵ-an-*).

⁹¹ Omot. N.: Koyra *googgóra* ‘partridge, quail’ < Oromo.

⁹² Our **ɣ* corresponds to *h* in Stolbova’s notation.

8.7b. **γurayb-* ‘crow, raven’

Sem. *(*ʔa-*)*γārib-* and **γurab-*: Akk. *ārib-u* (*ērib-u*, *hēreb-u*) ‘crow, raven’ [*Corvus sp.*] || Ebla *ḥa-ri-bu/ī*, [*h*]a-ri-bū-um, g[a-r]í-bū /*γārib-um*/ ‘corvo’ [*Corvus sp.*] || Hbr. *ṣōrēb* ‘raven’ [*C. corax*] || Aram.: Syr. *ṣūrāb-ā* ‘corvus’ [*C. corax*] | Mand. *ṣurb-a* ‘crow’ [*Corvus sp.*] | Arab. *γurāb-* ‘corbeau (tout noir); ‘corneille’ [*Corvus sp.*] || Mhr. *γə-γəráyb* ‘raven’ [*C. corax*] | Jib. *ʔa-γərəb* ‘raven, crow’ [*Corvus sp.*] | Soq. *ʔá-ṣreb* ‘crow’ [*C. corax*], ‘Egyptian vulture’ [*Neophron percnopterus*].

(?) Egyp. (Lit MK) *ṣbw* ‘kind of bird?’ (if < **ṣbw* met. < **ṣrb*).

Chad. E. **γurb-*: Jegu *gurb-ak* ‘crow’ [*Corvus sp.*]⁹³

Cush. E. **γurrub-* (redupl.) ‘crow’ [*Corvus sp.*]: Dullay **ḳurrub-*: Gawwata *ḳurruup-akko* | Harso *ḳurruup-ičče* | Galila *ḳurruup-itte*.⁹⁴

► AADB 2632. Cf. SED II No. 89; HSED N^o1015.

8.7c. **γurayk-an-* ‘k. of bird (crane, raven)’

Sem. **γurnayk-* (met.): Akk. (SB) *urnīk-u*, *ḥurnīk-u* ‘Kranich’ || Arab. *γirniḳ-*, *γurnūḳ-*, *γirnaḳ-*, *γurnayḳ-* ‘grue’.

Chad. **n-gawrak-* (met.)⁹⁵ ‘crested crane (*Balearica regulorum*): W. *(*n-*)*gaw(m)rak-*: Hausa *gaurak-a*, *gamrāk-a*, *garmāk-a* ‘(crested) crane’ [*Balearica regulorum*] | Karekare *ngùràak-àa* ‘crowned crane’ [*B. regulorum*]⁹⁶ || E. **n-garak-*: E. Dangla *ḡārk-o* | Migama, Bidiya *ḡarāk* ‘(crested) crane’ [*B. regulorum*].

Cush. E. **ḡara(y)ḳ-*: HEC **haraḳen-t-*: Darasa *haraḳen-sa* (pl.) | Sidamo *haraḳess-a* (assim. of **-n-*) ‘raven’ [*Corvus corax*] || Yaaku *ḡaryaḳ-a* ‘crow’ [*Corvus sp.*].

(?) Omot. S.: Ari *ḡuraak* (met.?) ‘crow’⁹⁷ [*Corvus sp.*].

► AADB 2633; SED II N^o 91.

8.8. **k^war-* and **k^warkay-* ‘k. of bird’

Sem. **k^warkay-* (redupl.): Akk. *kurkû* ‘goose’ [*Anser sp.*] || Aram.: Syr. *kurḳay-ā* ‘grus’ [*Grus sp.*], Jud. *kurḳay-ā*, Mand. *kurki-a* ‘crane’ [*Grus sp.*] || Arab. *kurkiyy-* ‘grue’ [*Grus sp.*] || Gz. *k^warāki*, *korki* ‘crane’ [*Grus sp.*]⁹⁸

(?) Egyp. (Pyr.) *tḥ* (if < **kVr-*) ‘junger Vogel (Schwalben, Geier); junges Tier’.

Berb. **-kVr-t*⁹⁹: Ayr *a-krə-t* | E. Wlm. *a-kər-t* ‘nestling, young of a bird | Ahaggar *e-ker-t* ‘young of ostrich’.

Chad. **k^war-*, **k^warkay* and **k^wark^wir-* (redupl.): W. **k^war-*: Tangale *k^war-tε*, *k^watr-ε* (met.) ‘guinea-fowl’ [*Numida meleagris*] | Polchi *koṛ-ə* | Buli *kúr* | Tala *kwor*, *kor* ‘hen’ || C. **kur-*, **k^warkay-* and **k^wVrk^wVr-* (redupl.): Mbara *kūrākáy* | Gude *kūrákú-tà* | Lame *kòrók-ú* ‘dove’ [*Streptopelia sp.*] | Mofu *kwerekwer-e* | Munjuk *kor-o* ‘duck’ [*Anas sp.*] | Sukur *ta-kur* ‘hen’ and ‘dove’

⁹³ Acc. to CED #300, not an Arabism as presumed in SED II No. 89, but a genuine Chadic word.

⁹⁴ Cf. also HEC: Burji *gurrub-a* ‘crow’ which may be a Dullay lw.: in Burji **γ* > *h* is rather expected.

⁹⁵ Acc. to CED: 41, Sem. **γ* (conveyed *ibid.* by **ḡ*) corresponds to what Stolbova reconstructs as P. Chad. **fi* (a symbol accepted in Chadic but not in AA studies to convey **γ*) yielding **g-* in W. and E. Chad. As for the velar in the final position, all Chadic forms except Hausa may reflect **-ḳ* corresponding to **-k* in the other AA branches; Hausa, however, points to **-k*, not **-ḳ*. One wonders if the Hausa term could have been borrowed from another W. Chad. language and not *vice versa*; another possible explanation is the loss of “emphatization” in the position of the fourth radical.

⁹⁶ Jimi *gaurak-a*, Ngizim *gəwāarak*, *vāarak* ‘crown bird’ [*B. regulorum*] are probably loans from Hausa.

⁹⁷ Reflexes of the extremely infrequent voiced uvular *γ* in Omotic have not been reliably established.

⁹⁸ Claimed by some authors to be a series of borrowings: Aram. < Akk. < Sum.; Gz. < Arab. Neither is convincing in view of the AA parallels.

⁹⁹ Cf. Ayr *ta-kārāw* ‘k. of bird’.

[*Streptopelia sp.*] || E. **(ʔa-)ku(r)kir-* (redupl.): Kera *akórkórò* | Migama *kókkór* ‘duck’ [*Anas sp.*], *kúkkirá* ‘cock’ | Dangla *kókíra* | Jegu *kókóré* | Mubi *kòkóréy* ‘hen’.

Cush. **kar-*: N. **ka(r)karr-*: Beja *kaakarr-et* ‘hen’ || S. **karaʔ-*: Qwadza *kalaʔ-eto* ‘stork’ [*Ciconia sp.*].

Omot. N. **kur-* and *kurki-t-* (redupl.) ‘partridge, quail’ [*Coturnix sp.*, *Perdix sp.*]: Gamo *kúr-aččo* | Dorze *kor-ačo* | Zergula *kerk-ečče* | Male *karek-ačo* || S. **kurki-t-*: Hamar *korikiš-a*.

▲ Cf. Sum. *kurgi* [goose], wr. *kur-gimūšen*, *kurku₂*, etc. (PSD), *kur-gimūšen* ‘crane’ (EDS #1478).

► AADB 377; cf. SED II No. 117; HSED 1505; Stolbova 2011 #277.

8.9. **k^way-* and **k^wak^way-* ‘k. of crow or bird of prey’

Sem. (a) **(ʔa-)kaw-*: Akk. (SB; LL) *akkû* || Aram. Jud. *kaw-tā* ‘owl’ [*Strigiformes sp.*] || Tgr. *kuw-a* ‘raven’ [*C. corax*]; (b) **k^wak^way-* (redupl.): Gz. *k^wāk^w-ā* | Tgr. *kākay* ‘corbeau à capuchon blanc’ [*Corvus albicollis*] | Tna. *k^wak^w-ə* ‘crow, raven’ [*Corvus sp.*].

Chad. **kawiy-*: W.: Bolewa *kāk-i* (redupl.) ‘crow’ [*Corvus sp.*] || C. **kVwiy-*: Mandara *kuy-è* ‘kite’ | Malgwa *kúúy-e* ‘falcon’ [*Falco sp.*] | Zulgo *kéwíy-è* ‘eagle’ [*Aquila sp.*] | Zime *kìw* ‘falcon, kite, eagle’ || E.: Mokilko *kāw-á* ‘white dove’ [*Columba livia domestica*]¹⁰⁰.

Cush. **k^waw^way-* (redupl.): N. **kwiikay-*: Beja *kwiikway*, *kiik(?)ay* ‘crow; raven’ [*Corvus sp.*]¹⁰¹ || E.: SA **kakaw-*: Saho, Afar *kaakoo* ‘raven’ [*C. corax*].

Omot. N. **ʔan-ka(w)-* ‘vulture’ [*Gyps sp.*]: Basketo *ánká* | Malo *anjó*.

► AADB 2641. Cf. SED II No. 123, Blažek 2003: 262.

8.10. **k^waʔay-* and **k^wak^way-* ‘k. of gallinaceous bird’¹⁰²

Sem. **kakay-* (redupl.): Syr. *kākāy-ətā* (*kokantō?*) ‘gallina’.

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

Chad. (a) **k^way-*: W. **k^way-*: Gwandara *kwee* | Sura *kwéé* | Angas *kì* ‘hen’ | Guruntum *k^wāy-a* ‘cock’ || C. **kway-*: Buduma *kúy-ē* ‘partridge’ [*Perdix sp.*]; (b) **k^wayk^w-* (redupl.): W. **k^wayk^w-*: Dera *kíyók* ‘goose’ | Fyer *kúkw-è* ‘hen’ || C. **kwak-*: Gulfei *kwaku* ‘hen’.¹⁰³

Cush. **kaway-* and **kawkaw-* (redupl.): N. **kaw-*: Beja *kaw* ‘Perdrix Erkelii’ [*Pternistis erckelii*] || C. **kaway-*: Bilin *koy-a* | Qemant *kawiy-ā* ‘Frankolinus Erkelii’ [*Pternistis erckelii*] || E. **kawkaw-*: Yaaku *kəkə* ‘fowl’.

Omot. **kaway-* and **kaykay-* (redupl.): N. **(ʔa-)kayw-*: Male *kai* ‘bird’ | Yamma *akō* ‘chicken’ | Mao *wake* (met.) ‘fowl, chick’ | Chara *aka* | Kafa *akkō* | Mocha *akke* || S. **kaykay-*: Dime *kéekí* ‘partridge, quail’ [*Coturnix sp.*, *Perdix sp.*].

► AADB 325. Cf. SED II No. 123; Blažek 2003: 261.

8.11. **k^wa(?)r-* ‘crow, raven’

Sem.: Eth. **k^war-* and **k^wak^war-* (redupl.) ‘crow, raven’ [*Corvus sp.*]: Gz. *kāker* ‘crow’ | Amh. *k^wəra* (*kura*) ‘crow, raven’ | Selti *ḳure* | Wolaita *ḳuri* | Gur. **k^wəra* ‘crow’.

Berb. S. **-ḳru-t-*: Ayr, E. Wlm. *a-ḳru-t* ‘corbeau’.

Chad. *k^war-* and *kukar-* (redupl.): C.: Podoko *kākár-a* | Cuvok *k^wūr-əw* ‘crow’ || E.: E. Dangla *kḍr-é* ‘esp. de corbeau noir’ | Bidiya *kùraag-à* (met.; -g <*k by dissim.?) ‘black crow’ [*Corvus sp.*] (cf. also **k^wVr-* ‘hawk’, **ḳVr(V)r-* ‘owl’ (Stolbova 2011 #406, 406b).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. also Fali-Jilbu, Gulfei *yukey* ‘hen’.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Beja *éke* ‘Geier’ [*Gyps sp.*], *eeki* ‘white vulture, hawk’ [*Gyps sp.*, *Accipiter sp.*].

¹⁰² It is hard to determine whether the present root is homonymous to 8.9. **k^way-* and **k^wak^way-* ‘k. of crow or bird of prey’ or if both eventually originate from a common protoform.

¹⁰³ Cf. also Chad. **kway(kway)-*: W.: Tangale *kwíyū* ‘dove’, Seya *kwok-kwok* ‘weaver-bird’; also Kwang *kóyō* ‘bird’.

Cush. C. **ḳur-* and **ḳwaḳur-* (redupl.): Bilin *kūāqūr-ā* ‘der Rabe’¹⁰⁴ | Khamta *qur-ā-* | Qwara *qur-ā* | Qemant *ḥor-ay* ‘raven’ [*Corvus corax*] || Aungi *kur-a* ‘crow’ [*Corvus sp.*] || E.: LEC **ḳurr-*: Oromo *ḳurr-uu* | Bayso *ḳur-a* | HEC **ḳur?(-an)-*: Hadiya *ḳoraan-ta* | Alaba *ḳur-a* | Burji *ḳorʔan-čō*, etc. ‘crow’ [*Corvus sp.*].

Omot. **ḳur-* and **ḳuraak-* (redupl.): N.: Wolaita *ḳuur-uwa* | Gamu, Zaysse *ḳur-o* | Dače *ḳor-aa-še* | Bworo *a-ḳoḳo-a* | Kafa *ku-re-ččo* | Yemsa *kur-a* ‘crow’¹⁰⁵ || S.: Ari *ḳuraak* ‘crow’ [*Corvus sp.*].

► AADB 1668; SED II No. 134.

9. Reptiles (selection)

9.1. **ʔačhayl-* ‘(big) reptile’

Sem. **ʔaḥhaly-* (met.) ‘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. *ʔasäl-āt, ʔashal-āt* ‘animale favoloso, di smisurata grandezza e della specie del coccodrilla’.

Berb. **Haššayl-*: Ghat *ašil* | Ahaggar *āššel* ‘serpent’ | Ayr *aššel* | E. Wlm. *aššol* ‘coulevre, gros serpent’ | Mzab *t-iššel-t* ‘vipère’.

(?) Cush. S.: Dahalo *ḥāʔala* (met.) ‘puff-adder’ [*Bitis arietans*].¹⁰⁶

Omot. **ʔ/haylaš-* (met.) ‘crocodile’ [*Crocodylus sp.*]: N. **ʔaylaš-*: Wolane *aylaaš-uwa* | Zala *aylaš-uwa* | Dawro *allaš-o* || S. **haylaš-*: Ari *hayleš-a*.

► AADB 2606. Cf. SED II No. 20.

9.2. **bač-* ‘snake, reptile’

Sem. **baḥ-am/n-*: Akk. *bašm-u* ‘a horned serpent’ [*Cerastes cerastes*]; the constellation Hydra || Ebla *ba-ša-nu-um* ‘k. of snake’ || Ugr. *bṭn, bṭn-t* ‘serpent, dragon’ || Arab. *baṭan-* ‘coulevre, serpent’, *buṭn-* ‘genre de reptile’.

(?) Berb. **buč-*: Shenwa *buš* ‘ramper (serpent, escargots, insects)’.

Cush. E.: LEC **(ʔa-)bVč-*: Somali *abes-o* ‘kind of serpent’ | Oromo *bof-a* ‘snake’.

Omot. N. **biʔas-* (met. < **ʔi-bas-?*): Dizi (Sheko) *bias-u* ‘crocodile’ [*Crocodylus sp.*].

► AADB 2625, SED II No. 63.

9.3. **bat-* ‘k. of snake or worm’

Sem. **batt-ir-* and **buttay-m-*: Akk. (SB) *mu-battir-u* ‘ein Wurm (?)’ || Gur.: Muher *buttayam-at* | Eža Chaha *butyam-at* | Ennemor. *butayäm-ata* | Gyeto *butyäm-ata* ‘vipère’.

(?) Egyp. *btn.w*, snake determinative.

Chad. **bat-ar-*: C. **bat-ar-*: Gudur *batar-a* and *botor-o* ‘vipère cornue’ [*Cerastes cerastes*] | Gisiga *botor-o* ‘Art Brillenschlange’ [*Elapidae sp.*] | Daba *m-burut-u* (met.) ‘ver de Guinée, draconculose’ || E. **bVt-Vr-*: W. Dangla *bòttòr* ‘petit vers parasite du mil (sur épis)’ | Mokilko *ḥétér-é* ‘Würmer (Eingeweide)’.

Cush. E.: LEC **būt-* ‘puff-adder [*Bitis arietans*]: Oromo *būt-ī* | Dasenech *būt-i?* | Konso *pūt-ota* | Arbore *būt-é*.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *kūā* is translated as ‘schreien, gäkern’.

¹⁰⁵ Acc. to Bender’s phonological correspondences, *k-* in Kafa and Yemsa can continue AA **ḳ-*.

¹⁰⁶ *t̥* in Dahalo is usually considered to continue only AA **t* – just as *d̥* is considered to continue AA **d*. There are a couple of cases, however, of Dahalo *d̥* likely corresponding to Sem. *d̥* < AA **ʒ* (cf. fns. 19 and 109). Interestingly, G. Takács, the foremost authority on AA consonantal reflexes in S. Cush., leaves empty cells for Dahalo reflexes of AA **č* and **ʒ* in his table of correspondences between PAA and S. Cush. (Takács 2011: 116).

¹⁰⁷ HEC: Burji *būt-ē* ‘puff-adder [*Bitis arietans*] and Golango *pūt-e* ‘Speischlange (Naia nigricollis)’ [*Naja nigricollis*] are loanwords from Oromo.

Omot. S. **bVt*-: Dime *bɛt-á* ‘lizard’.

► AADB 2626; cf. SED II No. 63.

9.4. **dawi*?- ‘k. of snake or worm’

Sem.: **dawd*- (redupl.): Arab *dūd*-, *duwwād*- ‘ver, vermine’.

Egyp. *ddy* ‘Schlangenname’.

(?) Berb.: **diwdiw* (redupl.): Izayan *a-diuidiu* ‘k. of worm’.¹⁰⁸

Chad. **daʔiw*- and **dawday*- (redupl.): W. **daʔVw*- and **dawday*-: Hausa *ɗa* ‘snake (the light-colored snake called dako)’ (<**daʔ*-), *daudai* ‘k. of snake’ | Angas *dū* ‘lizard’ | Bolewa *did* ‘snake’ || C. **dVdVw/y*-: Mofu *dédew* | Mada *dèdyè-kw* ‘a very poisonous snake’.

(?) Cush. N. **dawɬ*-: Beja *doʔ-o* ‘maggot, worm, caterpillar’.

Omot. **dawi*?- ‘python’ [*Pythonidae* sp.]: N. **dawi*?-: Malo *dawe* | Oyda *dawwe* | Basketo *dawi* | Chara *doʔ-a* | Ginirra (Bencho) *dyah* | Dizi (Sheko) *däw-á* || S. **da(H)w*-: Dime *dááú*.

► AADB 253, 368.

9.5. **har*- ‘crocodile’

Chad. **har-um*- ‘crocodile’ [*Crocodylus* sp.]: W. **haram*-: Diri *hur-in* | Sha *hàr-àm* ‘some water monster (crocodile, hippo)’ | Bokkos *haràm* | Daffo-Butura *hàrà̀m* | Kulere *hàrà̀h*, etc. || C. **hurum*-: Gisiga *hurom* | Mbara *húrúm* | Masa *hūrùm-nā*, etc. || E. *(*H*)*urm*-: Lele *ürm-ō* | Kabalai *ɔrrm-ə*.

Cush. E.: Dullay: Gollango *háar-o* ‘crocodile’ [*Crocodylus* sp.] || S. **harar*- (redupl.) ‘mythological giant snake’: Iraqw *hárár-îo* | Gorowa *haraari-yoda*.¹⁰⁹

► AADB 4072; CED #332 (comp. to Gollango and Ongota).¹¹⁰

9.6. **has*- ‘k. of big snake or crocodile’

Sem. **na-haš*: Ugr. *nħš* ‘serpent, snake’ || Hbr. *nāḥāš* ‘snake’ (in one context interpreted as *Crocodylus vulgaris* [*Crocodylus vulgaris*]).¹¹¹

(?) Egyp. (OK) *msh* (<**mV-has*- with met.?) ‘crocodile’ [C. *vulgaris*].

Chad. W. **ni-(H)wis*-: Sayanchi *nyíç-i* ‘snake’ | Bokkos *nyes* | Daffo-Butura *nis* ‘python’ [*Pythonidae* sp.].

Cush. E.: LEC **ya-has*- ‘crocodile’ [*Crocodylus* sp.]: Somali *yeḥaas* | Rendille *yaḥ(a)s-í* | Boni *ṣaháas* (ṣ- <**y*-?) | HEC **hamas*- (<**mV-has* with met.) ‘snake’: Sidamo *hamas-o* | Hadiya *hamas-iččo* | Burji *hamas-i*.

▲ The multiple prefixes and metatheses may be due to tabooing.

► AADB 279, 336. Cf. Stolbova 2005 #502 and SED II: p. 211.

9.7. **kVr*- ‘k. of big snake or crocodile’

(?) Egyp. (Pyr.) *ḫkr.w* ‘kind of snake’ (a variant root?).

Chad. **kVr*-:¹¹² W. **kVr*-: Bolewa *kúre-di* ‘snake’ | Dera *kôr-ì* ‘black cobra’ [*Naja melanoleuca*] | Tangale *kuro-t* | Pero *kùre-t* | Guruntum *kàrà-udi* ‘viper’ | Kulere *kígyér* (redupl.) ‘snake’ ||

¹⁰⁸ Cf. also *ti-dda*, *ti-ddi-t* ‘sangsue’ strangely quoted in Naït-Zerrad 1999: 274 without naming the language.

¹⁰⁹ Acc. to Kiessling, Mous, 2003: 132, “probably of Datoga origin”, which is less likely in view of the Chad. cognates.

¹¹⁰ Ongota *haar-o* ‘crocodile’ compared *ibid.*, if recorded correctly, does not fit here because of *h*-.

¹¹¹ Cf. Arab. *ḥanaš*- ‘reptile, snake’ with irregular -š instead of -s and Akk. *šahan*, a snake-god acc. to some authors.

¹¹² In all Chadic languages represented here, *k* may continue both AA **k* and **ḳ*.

C. **ku/ir-*: Hwona *kir-anja* | Gude *kir-ma* | Laamang *kár-ámá* | Mandara *kírr-we* | Glavda *kír-əwà* | Musgu *kúr-um* ‘crocodile’ [*Crocodylus sp.*] | Banana *kur-iyà* ‘snake’.¹¹³

Omot. S. **kar-* ‘python’ [*Pythonidae sp.*]: Ari *qari* | Hamar *qáári*.

► AADB 266.

9.8. **sib-* ‘k. of snake or worm’

Sem. **šib-* and **šibšib-* (redupl.): Akk. (MB) *šibb-u* ‘a snake’ || Gur.: Gyeto *sīb-a* | Chaha, Eža *šib-a* | Ennemor *šib-a* ‘k. of worm’ || Harsusi *šebšeb-ēt* ‘small red worm, centipede’ | Mhr. *šabšib*, Jib. *šabšéb* ‘red water worm’ [*Glycera sp.*].

Chad. E.: Lele *súb-ó* ‘worm’.

Cush. **sib-*: C. **sib-ar-* (with fossilized *-r* suffix) ‘snake’: Bilin *sabar-ā* | Khamir *sibr-ā* || E.: LEC: **si(m)b-*: Oromo *siib-a* ‘worm’ | Somali *sumbay* ‘tapeworm’ [*Eucestoda sp.*].

Omot. N. **šibb-* ‘crocodile’ [*Crocodylus sp.*] (with a semantic shift): Koyra *šəpp-o* | Ganjule *šəb-o* | Zaisse *šəbo*, *šəpp-o* | Zergula *šəp-o*.

► AADB 256; cf. SED II No. 200, HSED № 2227.

9.9. **sVf-* ‘k. of snake’

Sem. **šVp-*: Hbr. *šəpīp-ōn* ‘horned viper’ [*Cerastes cerastes*] || Syr. *šappāp-ā* ‘serpens’ || Arab. *siff-*, *suff-* ‘serpent; espèce de serpent tacheté de blanc et de noir’ || Tgr. *saf* ‘millepede’ [*Diplopoda sp.*] | Tna. *wāsf-at* ‘intestinal worm, hook-worm’ [*Ancylostoma sp.*] (K 1748).

Egyp. (RT) *sfy* ‘Name einer Schlange’.

Berb.: Zenaga *te-sfuf-əh* ‘a snake’.

Chad. E.: Kwang *sép-í* ‘snake’.

Omot. N. **šip-*: Kafa *šef-ittoo* ‘sorta di lucertola’ | Bworo *šippir-a*, *šipr-a*¹¹⁴ ‘worm’.

► AADB 254; SED II No. 207.

10. Water reptiles and amphibia (selection)

10.1. **k^waɬ-* and **k^waɬk^waɬ-* (redupl.) ‘frog’

Sem. **k^waɬk^waɬ-* (redupl.) ‘frog’: Eža Msq. *k^wäč-ä* | Cha. Enm. Gyt. *k^wänč-ä* | End. *kōnč-ä* (with a secondary *-n*) || Mhr. *kāk-āt* | Hbt. *kakʔó-ot* | E. Jib. *kḏákḏ-át*.¹¹⁵

Chad. **kawkaw* (redupl.): W.: Ngizim *kóokó* ‘small frog’ || C.: Buduma *kōko* ‘frog’.

Cush. E. **kawɬ-* ‘frog’: Dullay **koɬ-*: Tsamay *mu-koɬ-te* || Yaaku *koḵ-ontε* (redupl.).

Omot. N. **ʔuḵ-* (met.?) and **k^waḵ-* (redupl.) ‘frog’: Male *ʔuḵ-ane* | Mao (Hozo) *kwaḵ-a* | (Sezo) *kwaḵ-i*.

► AADB 3963, SED II No. 128.

10.2. **čamb-* ‘some water creature’

Sem. **šabb-*: Hbr. *šāb* ‘thorn-tailed lizard’ [*Uromastyx sp.*] || Syr. *šabb-ā* ‘garum, lacerta caudiverbera’ [*Lacerta caudiverbera*] ¹¹⁶ || Arab. *šabb-* ‘lézard, part. lézard d’Afrique’¹¹⁷ || Mhr. *žabb-it* | Hrs. *žebb-ēt* | Jib. *žəb* (pl. *žēt*) ‘(female) monitor lizard’ [*Varanus sp.*].

Berb. S. **zVbb-* ‘k. of small insect living in water’: Ayr, E. Wlm. *ta-zəbb-e*.

Chad. W. **čumb-*: Hausa *čumb-ē* ‘frog’.

¹¹³ Cf. also Munjuk *kiyir* ‘ground worm’ and E.: Sokoro *kōre* ‘guinea worm’.

¹¹⁴ With fossilized suffix *-r*.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Jib. *šakšákət* ‘frog’, with metathesis.

¹¹⁶ Aram. Jud. *šabbā*, *šābā* ‘thorn-tailed lizard’ [*Uromastyx sp.*], likely < Hbr. since **š* is expected to yield *š*.

¹¹⁷ Cf. also Arab. *ḏiʔb-* ‘animal living in water’.

Cush. S. **ĉamb-Vʕ*:- Iraqw *ĉamb-ebé* ‘small insect drifting on top of water, tadpole’ | Alagwa *ĉemb-eʕu* | Burunge *ĉamb-eʕu* ‘frog’.

Omot. **ĉV(m)b*:- Gimirra (Bencho) *ĉobm* ‘adder’ [*Vipera berus*]¹¹⁸ | Yemsa *ĉop-a, šöp-ā* ‘fish’ | Kafa *ṭibb-ō* ‘sorta di verme che vive nell’acqua’.

► AADB 334; cf. SED II No. 221; Blažek 2008 #173; HSED #581; Dolgopolskiy 2008 #470.

10.3. **dindal*- ‘small waer creature’

Sem. **da(n)dil*:- Akk. (SB) *dālil*- ‘a small animal, probably a frog’ || Hbr. pB *nādāl* (met.) ‘polype, centipede’ || Aram.: Jud. *naddal*- id. (met.) | Syr. *dandāl-ā* ‘scolopendra vel millepeda’ || Jib. *dolol-ét* ‘kind of slow-moving snake’.¹¹⁹

Chad. E. **didaln*- (met.): Dangla *didaln-yà* ‘limace’.

Cush. E.: HEC **dindal*:- Darasa *daddal-ʕe* | Kambatta *diddil-ičču* | Sidamo *dandall-e* ‘lizard’.

► AADB 3916. Cf. SED II No. 68.

10.4. **kʷar*- ‘frog’

Sem. **kʷa/ir*- and **kʷa(r)kʷir*- (redupl.) ‘frog’ (with different affixes): Syr. *yakrūr*- and *ʕakrūk*- | Jud. *ʕakrok-tā* || Arab. *ķirr*-, *ķurr*-, *ķarr-at*- || Gz. *ķāķer*, *ķʷarnanaʕāt* | Tgr. *ķorəʕ*, *ʕanķorəʕ* | Tna. *ķʷərʕo*, *ənķoroʕ*¹²⁰ | Amh. *ķarnan-ot* | Har. *anķurārah-ti*.

Egyp. (NE) *ķrr* | Copt. **ķarār-atw* (redupl.) ‘frog’ (Vycichl 1983: 86-7).

Berb. **ķarw* and **ķarķu/ir* (redupl.) ‘toad, frog’: Rif *a-ķarķur* | Iznassen *ķarķriw* ‘toad’ | Senhaja *a-ķarķur* | Ahaggar *a-ķeru*, pl. *i-ķer-ân* ‘frog’.

Chad. **ķir-an*- and **ka(r)ķir-an* ‘frog’: W.: Ngizim *ķàrìnàkáu* || C. **ķir-in*- ‘frog’: Gava *ķirè* | Mofu *ķakəraŋ* (redupl.) | Daba *ķirriŋ* || E. **ķVrin*:- Birgit *ķirén-ì* | Sokoro *ķóriŋ-ē*.

Omot. N. **ķu-ķar*:- Zaysse *ʕooķkar-o* | Zergula *ʕooķēr-u* ‘frog’.

► SED II No. 137; AADB 270.

11. Fish

11.1. **ķirw*- ‘fish; spawn’

Sem. **ķirw*:- Akk. (SB) *e/urû-t-u* ‘(fish) spawn’.

Egyp. (Med.) *ķr.t* ‘part of fish’ (if < **ķir-t*).

Chad. **ķirw*- ‘fish’: W. **ķuri*:- Hausa *ùùrii* || C. **ķwuraH*- (met.?) ‘k. of fish’: Zime *wùràhù?* ‘Polypterus bichir’ [*Polypterus bichir*] || E. **ķir*:- Ndam *er-e* ‘fish’.

Omot. **ķur-t*- ‘fish’: N.: Sheko *or-us* || S.: Dime *or-co*.

► AADB 2027.

11.2. **ķal*- and **ķalul*- (redupl.) ‘k. of large fish’

Sem. **ķalul*:- (redupl.) Akk. (SB) *ķulil*-, *ķulull*- ‘a fabulous creature, part man and part fish’¹²¹ || Mhr. *kell* | Jib. *kāl* ‘whale’.

Chad. **ķVl*:- W. **ķul-m*:- Hausa *ķulm-a/e/i* ‘the name of a large fish’ || C. **ķalik*- (redupl.): Bura *ķalik-o*, *ķilakil-a* ‘a k. of fish’.

Cush. E. **ķallu-m*- ‘fish’: SA **ķullu-m*:- Afar *ķullu(u)m* | LEC **ķallu-m*:- Somali *ķallúun*, pl. *ķalluum-o* | Bayso *ķunnum-i* (assim.)

► AADB 2674; cf. Dolgopolskiy 2008 #1030 (apud Thomas).

¹¹⁸ Cf. also *ķonbet* ‘snake’.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Arab. *duldul*- ‘hérisson’ and Chad. E.: Tumah *dāl* ‘rat géant’, hardly related.

¹²⁰ -ʕ in Tgr. and Tna. is non-etymological.

¹²¹ Hardly a Sumerian loanword in view of the Sem. and AA cognates.

11.3. **ka(w)ar-* ‘fish (generic?)’

Sem. **ka(w)ar-* ‘k. of fish’:¹²² Aram.¹²³: Off. *kwr* ‘fish’ | Bab. *kəwār-* ‘fish’ | Jud. *ka(w)r-ā* ‘fish in the cauf; fish in general’ | Mand. *kauar-a* ‘fish’ || Soq. *kúwerhor* ‘espèce de poisson’.¹²⁴

Chad. **kirw-* and **kukirw-* (redupl.): W. *(*ku*)*kirw-*: Hausa *kukkurw-ai* ‘name of fish’ | Bolewa *kerw-o* | Ngamo *kèrw-ò*, *kerh-o* || C. **kikur-*: Mbara *kikur-a* ‘kind of fish (Tetraodon fahaka)’ [*Tetraodon lineatus*].

Cush. E.: LEC **ka(w)ar-* ‘fish’: Dasenech *kaara* | Dullay **ka(w)ar(-at)-* ‘fish’: Gawwata *haar-e* | Gollango *haar-e* | Harso, Dobase *haar-icce* | Tsamai *haar-ite*, etc.

Omot. S. **kār-* ‘fish’: Hamer, Ongota *kāra* ‘fish’.

▲ Cf. Nub (Kenuzi, Dongola) *kāre* ‘fish’.

► AADB 372; cf. SED II No. 125; cf. Stolbova 2011 #282.

11.4. **kar-tum-* ‘k. of fish’

Sem. **kar-mut* (met.): Arab. *ḡarmūt-*, *ḡurmūt-*, pl. *ḡarāmīṭ* ‘*Silurus anguillaris*, k. of eel’ (Wehr 1020) [*Clarias anguillaris*] || MSA **ṡarnīḡ* (met. <**kar-nīṡ*): Mhr. *ṡarnīḡ* ‘name of a fish’ | Soq. *ṡárnīḡ*, *ṡáníḡ* | Boṡhari *ṡōnēḡ* ‘a kind of large black *ṡanṡad* (King macherel)’ [*Scomberomorus cavalla*] (Johnstone 1987).¹²⁵

Cush. E. **ḡur-ṡum-* ‘fish’: LEC **ḡur-ṡum-*: Oromo *ḡurṡumm-i* | Dirayta *ḡurtum-et* | HEC **ḡur-tum-*:¹²⁶ Sidamo, Darasa *ḡultiṡm-i* | Kambatta *ḡurtum-* | Alaba *ḡurṡum-et* | Hadiya, Burji *ḡurṡum-e*.

▲ Apparently a unique case of a compound word consisting of two root morphemes which are separately preserved only in NAA: **kar-* ‘fish’¹²⁷ and **tum-* ‘fish’¹²⁸ (*t* > *ṡ* in the compound terms influenced by *ḡ*).

► AADB 1054.

11.5. **maw(-ay)-* ‘k. of fish’

(?) Egyp. *mr.t* (if <**mVl-*) ‘ein Tier (zwischen Fischen genannt)’.

Chad. W. **maw(-ay)-*: Galambu *māl-á* ‘eel’ [*Anguilla sp.*] | S.: Bauchi **m^wal(l)-aṡ-* (met.) || C. **maw(-ay)-*: Mofu *mālāl-áy* (redupl.) ‘catfish’ [*Siluriformes sp.*] | Kotoko. *mul-ni* ‘poisson: *Gumnarchus niloticus*’ [*Gymnarchus niloticus*] | Musgu-Puss *malaw* (met.) ‘poisson: *Porcus Bayad Bayad*’ [*Bagrus bajad*] || E. **maw(-)* (met.): Somrai *mawà-à* ‘carpe’ [*Cyprinus sp.*].

Cush. E.: LEC **maw(-ay)* ‘fish’: Somali *mālày* | Jiddu *mallay* | Boni *mālālái* (redupl.) | Baiso *mole* | Mossiya *mōle* | Bussa *mole* | HEC **maw(-iy)-*: Sidamo *mawoliyā*.¹²⁹

Omot. **maw(-ay)-* ‘fish’: N.: Wolaita *moliy-a* | Dawro *moly-a* | Male *moll-o* | Dorze, Zergulla *mole* | Chara *mul-ā* | Bworo *mole* || S.: Galila *mol-ta* | Ari *mol-a*.

▲ Too much similarity between Chadic, Cushitic and Omotic forms raises suspicion of interborrowing which is, however, is hard to prove.

► AADB 3668; EDE III, 397.

¹²² Cf. Gz. *kawwara* ‘to set traps, catch fish’.

¹²³ Hardly from Akk. (OB) *kamār-* ‘k. of a fish’ as claimed by some authors.

¹²⁴ Cf. also *kér* ‘kind of shark’

¹²⁵ Though a series of metathetic words, their quadriconsonantal roots leave little doubt about their links with the Cush. terms, whether related or borrowed.

¹²⁶ Borrowing from Omoto is not to be ruled out.

¹²⁷ Preserved, e.g., in Hausa *ḡarāyā* ‘fish’.

¹²⁸ NAA **tVm-* ‘k. of fish’: Egyp. (Med.) *tm.t* ‘k. of fish’; Chad. C. **tum-*: Munjuk *tum* ‘pêche’, *tumi* ‘pêcher’, Musgu *tum* ‘Fisch’ (rel. to Chad. **tVm-* ‘to fish, fishing’ CED #743). Cf. also Sem. Eth. **taman-*: Geez *taman*, Tgr., Amh. *tāmān* ‘snake, dragon’.

¹²⁹ Acc. to EDE 2008, < Omotic.

Typological considerations

Extensive discussion addressing the issue of the Proto-Afrasian homeland in a chronological context can be found in our previous paper (Militarev, Nikolaev 2020). In this part, we only need to make an additional point in light of further evidence presented by semantic reconstruction in the zoonymic field.

The difficulty of reconstructing zoonyms for wild animals at the Afrasian level is hardly unique from a typological point of view. Thus, in Proto-Indo-European, the chronological depth of which is approximately half the depth of Proto-Afrasian, precise semantics can be reconstructed for only a small subset of the terms for wild animals (**bhebhru-* ‘beaver’, **lūnks-* ‘lynx’, **włk(w)o-* ‘wolf’, **h₂lōp-* ‘fox’, etc.); interpretation of the rest remains difficult. Several examples will suffice:¹³⁰

(1) PIE **h₂eit-* (~**h₃-*) ‘k. of lesser bovid’: Old Indian *éta-* m., *étā* f. ‘a k. of deer or antelope’ | Baltic: Latvian *àita*, dial. *àite* ‘sheep (generic)’ (WP I: 3);

(2) PIE **kerw-* ‘k. of larger bovid’: Slavic **kǫrǔā* ‘cow’ and **korǔb* ‘ox’ (Old Polish *karw* ‘old ox’) | Baltic **kaŗwiā* f. : Lithuanian *kárǔē* ‘cow’ and **kurwa-* m. ‘bull’: Old Prussian *curwis*, acc. *kurwan* ‘bull’ | Germanic **xiru-ta-z*, *-ēn*, **xiru-tu-z* ‘deer’ [*Cervus elaphus*] | Latin *cervus* m. ‘deer’ [*Cervus elaphus*]; *cerva* f. ‘hind’ | Celtic: Welsh *carw*, Cornish *carow*, Breton *karo* ‘deer’ [*Cervus elaphus*] | Albanian *ka*, pl. *qe* ‘ox’. ♦ The root is sometimes considered to be derived from **k’erh₂(w)-* ‘horn’, but the Balto-Slavic non-*satem* forms contradict this etymology. (WP I: 403 f.);

(3) PIE **dām-*, **dam-* ‘k. of lesser bovid’: Greek (suffixal) *δαμᾶλης* m. ‘young steer’, *δαμᾶλη* f. ‘young cow, heifer’, *δάμᾶλις* ‘young cow, heifer’, dial. ‘pig’, *δάμᾶλος* (Hdn.) ‘calf?’ | Germanic **tam-Vr(-Vl)-* (suffixal): Low Austrian German *zamer*, *zamerl* ‘junger Ochs’ | Latin *damma* or *dāma* ‘a general name for beasts of the deer kind: fallow-deer [*Dama dama*], chamois [*Rupicapra rupicapra*]; buck, doe, antelope’ | Celtic **dam-*: Cornish *da* ‘fallow-deer [*Dama dama*]’, Old Irish *dam* ‘ox’, *dam allaid* ‘deer’ [*Cervus elaphus*]; suffixal: Welsh *dafad*, Old Cornish *dauat*, Breton *dañvat* ‘sheep’. ♦ The root is sometimes considered to be derived from **demh₃-* ‘to tame’, but its nominalization and “animal” semantics can be projected back to Proto-Indo-European in any case (WP I: 72 f.);

(4) PIE **sing’h-* ‘k. of large feline’: Proto-Tokharian **šēnś-äke* (suffixal) ‘lion’ [*Panthera leo*]: Tokh. A *śisäk*, B *şecake* | Old Indian *siṃhā-* m. ‘Id.’ | Armenian *inš* ‘leopard’ [*P. pardus*]. (WP II: 508);

(5) PIE **włp-* ‘k. of wild canine or feline’: Iranian (suffixal): Middle Persian *gurp-ak*, Persian *gurb-a* ‘(domestic) cat’ | Baltic (suffixal): Lithuanian *vilp-iš-ī-s* m. ‘wild cat [*Felis silvestris*]’ | Germanic **wúlfa-z* ‘wolf’, **wulbió* ‘she-wolf’ [*Canis lupus*] (a contamination with **włk(w)o-* ‘wolf’) | Latin *volpēs*, *vulpēs* ‘fox’ [*Vulpes vulpes*] (and *lupus* ‘wolf’, a contamination with **włk(w)o-* ‘wolf’ and **h₂lōp-* ‘fox?’). (WP I: 317 f.);

(6) PIE **bhēl-*, **bhel-* ‘k. of small predator or rodent’: Slavic **bělv*, **běla* ‘squirrel’ [*Sciurus vulgaris*] (East Slavic only; contaminated with **bělv* ‘white’) | Latin *fēlēs* f. ‘wild cat’ [*Felis silvestris*], also ‘marten, ferret, polecat’ | Celtic (suffixal) **bel-ego-*: Welsh *bele* ‘marten’ [*Martes martes*] | Germanic (suffixal) **bel-ik-*: Old High German *bilih* m., *bilihmūs* ‘dormouse [*Glis glis*]; shrew [*Sorex sp.*]’, Middle High German *bilch* f., German *Bilch* m. ‘dormouse’ [*Glis glis*] (WP II: 177).

Examples like these, which can be easily multiplied, show that the Proto-Afrasian semantic picture as presented in the evidence assembled in this paper, with its mix of (sometimes) precise and (more often) vague, genus- or family- rather than species-based, reconstructions, should not be considered as being out of line with the commonly accepted standards of se-

¹³⁰ All the Indo-European examples are quoted according to Sergei Nikolaev’s online database for Indo-European etymology, hosted by the «Tower of Babel» project (<https://starlingdb.org>).

mantic reconstruction for acknowledged families — even though, of course, this does not imply that researchers in the future should not strive for more semantic precision through more careful analysis of whatever lexicographic or philological evidence is available to them.

Appendix: Alphabetic index of reconstructed roots

- **ʔačhayl-* ‘(big) reptile’ 9.1.
 **ʔandaw-* ‘mouse’ 7.2.
 **ʔar-* ‘hare’ 7.3.
 **ʔa/usk-ay-* ‘k. of canine or hyena’ 5.3.
 **ʔaway-* or **yawaʔ-* (met.) ‘k. of canine’ 5.1.
 **ʔaw/ys-* ‘k. of canine’ 5.2.
 **ʔažur-* ‘k. of feline, hyena or viverra’ 6.1.
 **ʔirw-* ‘fish (generic?); spawn’ 11.1.
 **ʔV(n)čaw-* ‘k. of smaller carnivoran or rodent’ 7.1.
 **(ʕa-)gwir-* ‘k. of bird’ 8.6.
 **ʕariw-* ~ **ʕiraw-* ‘k. of feline’ 6.2.
 **baʔy-* ‘leopard or lion’ 6.3.
 **baʔis-* ‘k. of feline (*Felis silvestris*)’ 6.4.
 **baʔVš-* ‘k. of canine or hyena’ 5.4.
 **bač-* ‘snake, reptile’ 9.2.
 **bar-* ‘k. of bird (pigeon, partridge)’ 8.1.
 **bat-* ‘k. of snake or worm’ 9.3.
 **bawih-* ‘k. of canine’ 5.5.
 **bawr-* ‘k. of large carnivorous animal’ 7.4.
 **čiraʕ-* ‘k. of bird’ 8.2.
 **čap-* ‘k. of smaller carnivoran or rodent’ 7.5.
 **čamb-* ‘some water creature’ 10.2.
 **dab-* ‘k. of large animal’ 7.6.
 **da(ʔ/y)m-* ‘k. of feline’ 6.5.
 **dang^(w)Vl/r-* ‘monkey; dwarf’ 4.1.
 **dVr-* ‘k. of bird’ 8.3.
 **dawiʔ-* ‘k. of snake or worm’ 9.4.
 **gVd-* ‘k. of canine or hyena’ 5.6.
 **guray-* ‘k. of monkey’ 4.2.
 **giwar-* ‘k. of feline’ 6.6.
 **g^wam-* ‘k. of bird’ 8.5.
 **g^way-* and **g^wag^way-* (redupl.) ‘k. of bird’ 8.4.
 **ɣuraʔ-* ‘crow’ 8.7a.
 **ɣurayb-* ‘crow, raven’ 8.7b.
 **ɣurayk-an-* ‘k. of bird (crane, raven)’ 8.7c.
 **har-* ‘crocodile’ 9.5.
 **has-* ‘k. of big snake or crocodile’ 9.6.
 **kal-* and **kalul-* (redupl.) ‘k. of large fish’ 11.2.
 **kur(-ay-)* ‘k. of canine’ 5.7.
 **kawit-* ‘dog’ 5.8.
 **kawar-* ‘fish (generic?)’ 11.3.
 **k^wihān-* ‘dog’ 5.9.
 **k^way-* and **k^wak^way-* ‘k. of crow or bird of prey’ 8.9.
 **k^waʔay-* and **k^wak^way-* ‘k. of gallinaceous bird’ 8.10.
 **KVžim-* or **KVžim-* ‘dog’ 5.10.
 **ka(ʔa)yr-* ‘monkey’ 4.3.
 **k^wVr-* ‘k. of big snake or crocodile’ 9.7.
 **k^war-tum-* ‘k. of fish’ 11.4.
 **k^waʕ-* and **k^waʕk^waʕ-* (redupl.) ‘frog’ 10.1.
 **k^war-* ‘frog’ 10.4.
 **k^wa(ʔ)r-* ‘crow, raven’ 8.11.
 **labiʔ-* ‘lion’ 6.7.
 **layč-* ‘k. of large feline’ 6.8.
 **mawl-ay-* ‘k. of fish’ 11.5.
 **mary-* or **mayr-* ‘k. of feline’ 6.9.
 **sib-* ‘k. of snake or worm’ 9.8.
 **sVf-* ‘k. of snake’ 9.9.
 **sa/ik^w-* ‘k. of lesser animal’ 7.7.
 **sawr-* and **sarw-* ‘k. of feline’ 6.10.
 **wahr-* ‘k. of canine; hyena’ 5.11.
 **wanš-* ‘k. of canine’ 5.12.
 **žaiʔib-* ‘k. of scavenger’ 7.8.
 **žag^(w)-il/r-* ‘k. of monkey’ 4.4.

Abbreviations

Names of languages

AA – Afrasian = Afro-Asiatic; Akk. – Akkadian; Amh. – Amharic; Arab. – Arabic; Aram. – Aramaic; Berb. – Berber; Bibl. – Biblical Aramaic; Cha. – Chaha; Chad. – Chadic; Copt. – Coptic; Cush. – Cushitic; Dem. – Demotic; E. Wlm – East Tawllemmet; Ebl. – Ebla; Egyp. – Egyptian; End. – Endegen; Enm. – Ennemor; ESA – Epigraphic South Arabian; ESud – East Sudanic; Eth. – Ethiopic; Ez. – Eza; Gog. – Gogot; Gyt. – Gyeto; 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; Msq. – Masqan; MSA – Modern South Arabian; Muh. – Muher; NAA North Afrasian; NE – New Kingdom; NS – Nilo-Saharan; Oakk – Old Akkadian; OB – Old Babylonian; Off. – Official

Aramaic; OK – Old Kingdom; PAA – Proto-Afrasian; PAlt – Proto-Altaic; PCO – Proto-Cushitic-OmotiC; Phoen. – Phoenician; PIE – Proto-Indo-European; PNorthCauc. – Proto-North-Caucasian; PSEBC – Proto-Semitic-Egyptian-Berber-Chadic; Qat. – Qatabanian; S. Cush. – Southern Cushitic; SA – Saho-Afar; Sab. – Sabaic; Sam. – Samaritan; Sel. – Selti; Sem. – Semitic; SNil – South Nilotic; Soq. – Soqotri; Sum. – Sumerian; Syr. – Syriac; Tgr. – Tigre; Tna. – Tigrinya (Tigray); Ugr. – Ugaritic; Wol. – Wolaita; YB – Young Babylonian.

Terminology

coll. – collective; dial. – dialect; dissim. – dissimilation; f. – feminine; gen. – generic (term); id. – idem; k. – kind; lw. – loanword; m. – masculine; met. – metathesis; pers. – personal; pl. – plural; pref. – prefix; redupl. – reduplication; sg. – singular; sp. – species; subst. – substantive; suff. – suffix.

Other notational symbols

|| separates branches within a language family

| separates subbranches or groups

- denotes morphemic boundaries¹³¹

Abbreviations of sources

AADB = Militarev, Stolbova 2020

AHw = von Soden 1965–1981

BK = Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860

CAD = Brinkman et al. 1956–2010

CED = Stolbova 2016

DRS = Cohen et al. 1970–1993

EDE = Takács 1999, 2001, 2008

EDS = Parpola 2015

HSED = Orel, Stolbova 1995

LSF = Attinger 2019

PSD = Anon. 2019 (The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary)

SED II = Militarev, Kogan 2005

WP = Walde, Pokorny 1926–1930

References

- Anon. 2019. *The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary, ePSD2 Public Beta 5 (built 2019-05-24)*. Online resource at: <http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/>.
- Attinger, Pascal. 2019. *Lexique sumérien-français (textes traduits dans Attinger février 2019)*. Ms., online at: <http://www.iaw.unibe.ch/atinger>.
- Bargery, George P. 1934. *A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bassano, Francesco da. 1918. *Vocabolario tigray-italiano e repertorio italiano-tigray*. Roma: Casa editrice italiana & C. de Luigi.
- Biberstein-Kazimirski, Albert de. 1860. *Dictionnaire arabe-français. Vols. 1–2*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Co.
- Blažek, Václav. 2003. Fauna in Beja Lexicon. In: Ilya Smirnov (ed.). *Studia Semitica: Fs. for Alexander Militarev*: 230–294. Moscow: Russian State University for the Humanities.
- Blažek, Václav. 2007. Beja historical phonology: Consonantism. In: Azeb Amha, Maarten Mous, Graziano Savà (eds.). *OmotiC and Cushitic Language Studies. Papers from the Fourth Cushitic OmotiC Conference (Leiden, April 2003)*: 125–156. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

¹³¹ In some cases, especially for Chadic lexemes, boundaries drawn between the stem and affixes, or between several affixes, may not be exact, since perfect morphemic analysis requires more detailed knowledge of each individual language's morphology and morphophonemics than possessed by the authors.

- Blažek, Václav. 2008. Lexicostatistical comparison of Omotic languages. In: John D. Bengtson (ed.). *Hot Pursuit of Language in Prehistory*: 57–148. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Blažek, Václav. 2013. Indo-European zoonyms in Afroasiatic perspective. *Journal of Language Relationship* 9: 37–54.
- Blažek, Václav. n.d. *Simiae*. Unpublished Ms.
- Brinkman, John A., Miguel Civil, Ignace J. Gelb, A. Leo Oppenheim, Eruca Reiner (eds.). 1956–2010. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago*. Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.: Oriental Institute; Glückstadt, Germany: J.J. Augustin erlagsbuchhandlung.
- Caprile, Jean Pierre. 1975. *Lexique Tumat-Français*. MSA 5. Berlin: Reimer.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1951. *Studi etiopici. IV. La lingua caffina*. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Cohen, David, Jean Cantineau, François Bron, Antoine Lonnet. 1970–2010. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*. Paris: La Haye / Mouton: Leuven.
- Cosper, Ronald. 1994. *South Bauchi Lexicon. A Wordlist of Nine South Bauchi (Chadic) Languages and Dialects*. Halifax.
- Dozy, Reinhart. 1927. *Supplément au dictionnaires arabes. T. I-II*. Leiden / Paris: E. J. Brill / Maisonneuve.
- Dolgopolskiy, Aron B. 1973. *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja fonetika kušitskix jazykov* [Comparative-Historical Phonetics of the Cushitic Languages]. Moskva: Nauka.
- Dolgopolskiy, Aharon B. 2008. *Nostratic Dictionary*. Cambridge, UK: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research University of Cambridge.
- Erman, Adolf, Hermann Grapow. 1957–1971. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. I–V. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Foucauld, père Charles de. 1951–1952. *Dictionnaire touareg-français*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale de France.
- Freytag, Georg Wilhelm. 1833. *Lexicon arabico-latinum. T. I-IV*. Halle: Halis Saxonum.
- Johnstone, Thomas M. 1987. *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word List*. London / New York: Routledge.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann, Dymitr Ibrizimow. 1994. *Chadic Lexical Roots. Vols. I-II*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Kiessling, Roland, Maarten Mous. 2003. *The Lexical Reconstruction of West-Rift Southern Cushitic*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Kraft, Charles H. 1981. *Chadic Wordlists I-III*. Berlin: D. Reimer.
- Lane, Edward W. 1863–1893. *An Arabic-English Lexicon. Vols. I-VIII*. London / Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1979. *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic). Vol. III: Etymological section*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1987. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Lukas, Johannes. 1953. *Die Sprache der Tubu in der Zentralen Sahara*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Militarev, Alexander, Leonid Kogan. 2005. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Vol. II: Animal Names*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Militarev, Alexander, Olga Stolbova. 2021. *Afroasiatic Etymology Database*. Available online at: <http://starlingdb.org>.
- Militarev, Alexander, Sergei Nikolaev. 2020. Proto-Afrasian names of ungulates in light of the Proto-Afrasian homeland issue. *Journal of Language Relationship* 18/3-4: 199–226.
- Nait-Zerrad, Kamal. 1998–2002. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères*. Paris-Louvain: Peeters.
- Orel, Vladimir, Olga Stolbova. 1995. *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden / New York / Köln: Brill.
- Parpola, Simo. 2015. *Etymological Dictionary of the Sumerian Language. Part 1. Lexical Evidence*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Prasse, Karl-Gustav. 1969. *A propos de l'origine de H touareg (tahaggart)*. *Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser* 43/3. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskaberne Selskab.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1976. *The Consonant Phonemes of Proto-East-Cushitic (PEC): A First Approximation*. Malibu: Undena Publications.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen 1982. *An Etymological Dictionary of Burji*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Soden, Wolfram von. 1965–1981. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Stolbova, Olga V. 2005. *Chadic lexical database. Issue I*. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.
- Stolbova, Olga V. 2009. *Chadic Lexical Database, Issue III*. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.
- Stolbova, Olga V. 2011. *Chadic Lexical Database, Issue IV*. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.
- Stolbova, Olga V. 2016. *Chadic Etymological Dictionary*. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

- Stolbova, Olga V. 2019. *Chadic Lexical Database, Issue V*. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.
- Stolbova, Olga V. 2021. *Chadic Lexical Database, Issue VI*. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.
- Takács, Gábor. 2001. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian. Vol. 2: B-, P-, F-*. Leiden / Boston / Köln: Brill.
- Takács, Gábor. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian. Vol. 3: M*. Leiden / Boston: Brill.
- Takács, Gábor. 2011. *Studies in Afro-Asiatic Comparative Phonology: Consonantism*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1983. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Walde, Alois, Julius Pokorny. 1926–1930. *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Bd. I–II. Berlin / Leipzig: W. de Gruyter.
- Wehr, Hans. 1958. *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Wölfel, Josef Dominik. 1965. *Monumenta linguae Canariae. Die kanarischen Sprachdenkmäler. Eine Studie zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte Weissafrikas*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt.

А. Ю. Милитарев, С. Л. Николаев. Праафразийские названия некопытных животных в свете проблемы афразийской прародины

В статье представлена вторая порция относительно полного тезауруса праафразийских зоонимов, подготовленного авторами — более шестидесяти реконструированных названий обезьян, собачьих, гиен, кошачьих, грызунов и других млекопитающих, птиц, пресмыкающихся, земноводных и рыб, отражающих максимально полную (на современном уровне наших знаний) картину этих видов фауны в период накануне распада праафразийского языка (11 тыс. до н.э. согласно глоттохронологическим подсчетам) и в зоне обитания праафразийцев, две различные точки зрения на локализацию которой (Левант и Восточная Африка) также обсуждаются авторами.

Ключевые слова: афразийская прародина; афразийские (афро-азиатские) языки; этимология зоонимов; реконструкция культурной лексики.