

Indo-European zoonyms in Afroasiatic perspective*

The main purpose of this contribution is to serve as a summary of such zoonyms as might be common for Indo-European and Afroasiatic, to define them from the point of view of zoological classification and to compare them to cognates with other Nostratic branches. The results of this comparison are important for the discussion on the beginnings of animal domestication in the Fertile Crescent, the area that is currently singled out by some researchers as the most probable Afroasiatic homeland.

Keywords: Indo-European, Afroasiatic, Nostratic, zoonyms, linguistic reconstruction, animal domestication.

The present study intends to focus on bilateral Indo-European [IE] / Afroasiatic [AA] comparisons in the field of zoological terminology; however, it is also useful to consider the wider context of Nostratic¹ in general. Within the corpus of 30 analyzed zoonyms, promising cognates in other Nostratic language families are distributed as follows: 9–11 in Dravidian, 8–9 in Kartvelian, 8–9 in Altaic, 3 in Uralic (and 3 in Elamitic), 19–22 in total, i.e. $\frac{2}{3}$ of the cognates are attested in at least one of these four families.

The present mini-glossary of 30 Indo-European zoonyms with more or less promising Afroasiatic counterparts illustrates the share of the Indo-European domesticated species: **canidae**: ‘dog’ (1×); **equidae**: ‘ass’, ‘foal’ (3×); **suidae**: ‘pig’ (1×); **caprinae**: ‘goat’, ‘buck’, ‘kid’ (5×);

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¹ It is necessary to explain the terms that are employed here. The key term, “Nostratic”, was coined by Holger Pedersen for the macrofamily that included Indo-European and hypothetically related language families: Afroasiatic (which, at that time, consisted only of Semitic and, occasionally, Egyptian), Kartvelian, Uralic, Altaic. Albert Cuny and, as late as the 1980s, Allan Bomhard limited their ‘Nostratic’ comparisons only to Indo-European and Afroasiatic. Only in the 1960s V. Illič-Svityč and A. Dolgopolsky returned to the wider model of Pedersen. Accepting the bilateral comparisons of Burrow (Dravidian / Uralic) and Menges (Dravidian / Altaic), they added Dravidian to the family and formulated the first pattern of regular sound rules between the reconstructed proto-languages. Their reconstruction of Nostratic consonantism was, for the most part, based on correspondences between Indo-European and Afroasiatic. On the basis of preliminary lexicostatistical testing (operating only with Semitic), Sergei Starostin excluded Afroasiatic from Nostratic. Later, operating with representatives of all Afroasiatic branches, George Starostin confirmed the comparable time depth of Afroasiatic and the common ancestor of five language families called Eurasiatic after J. H. Greenberg (Indo-European, Uralo-Yukaghir, Altaic, Chukchee-Kamchatkan, and Eskaleutan, although the position of Chukchee-Kamchatkan remains highly controversial), namely, \approx 12 millennia. The contemporary “New Moscow Nostratic school” reserves the term Nostratic for these Eurasiatic families, plus Kartvelian and Dravidian. Their disintegration is dated to *ca.* 13 500 BC by George Starostin. I have no better figures at my disposal and so I accept these results as a first approximation (with the exception of the position of Omotic and the dating of the separation of Nostratic and Afroasiatic to around 20 mill. BC). As to the ambiguous taxonomical terminology, I differentiate “Micro-Nostratic” without Afroasiatic in the sense of the new Moscow school from “Macro-Nostratic” that includes Afroasiatic, in the sense of the old Moscow school. In agreement with the older tradition, I use the term “Nostratic” as an equivalent of “Macro-Nostratic”.

ovinae: ‘sheep’, ‘ram’, ‘lamb’ (3×), **bovinae**: ‘cow’, ‘bull’, ‘calf’ (4×), i.e. 17 zoonyms, compared to 13 names for (apparently) wild animals, namely, **pisces** (2×), **amphibia & reptilia** (3×), **aves** (2×), **rodentia** (1×), **viverridae & mustelidae** (2×), **felidae** (2×); **cervoidea**: ‘stag, deer’ (1×).

Some of the analyzed Afroasiatic cognates of Indo-European designations of domesticated animals show semantic variation between both domesticated and wild animals, even within the same branch or subbranch:

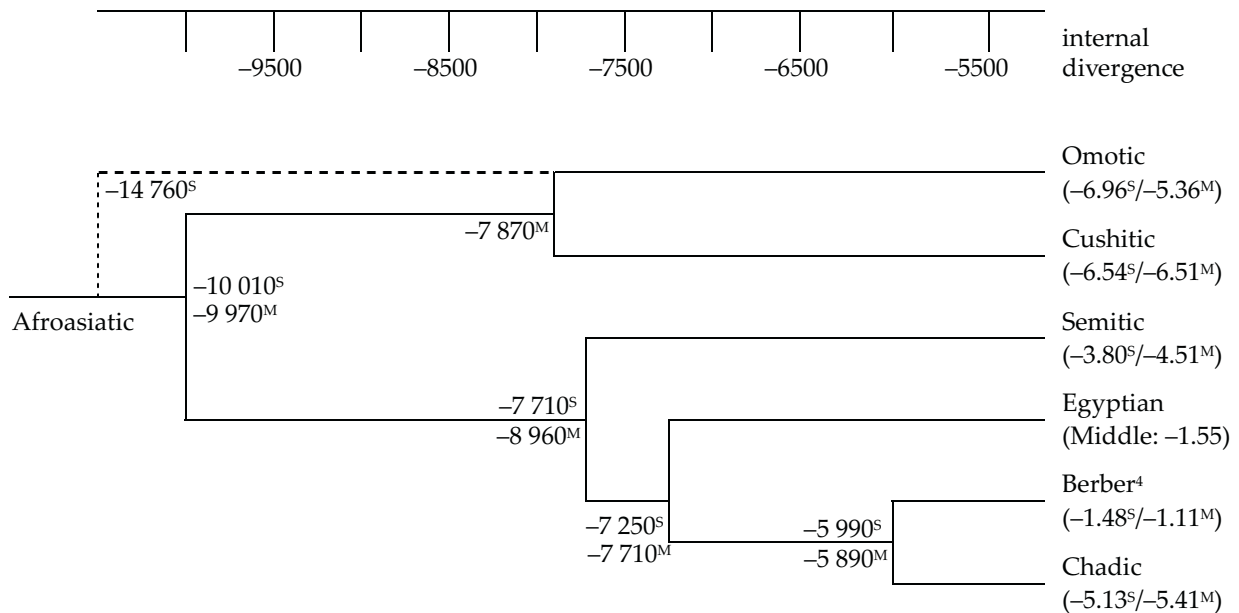
- Cushitic: Beja *bok* ‘he-goat’ vs. Highland East Cushitic **bookk-* ‘wild pig’; Qwadza *ba’uko* ‘bush duiker’ (#20);
- Chadic: Chip *dìgunj*; Mofu *ḍakw* ‘goat’ vs. Geruma *dugai* ‘antelope duiker’; Masa *duka* ‘gazelle’ (#21);
- Semitic **gady-* ‘kid, goat’ vs. East Cushitic **gadam-* ‘antelope kudu’, but Sidamo *godanné* ‘sheep, lamb’ (#22);
- Cushitic: Somali *ari, eri* ‘sheep or goat’, Burji *aráy* ‘sheep’; Iraqw *ari* ‘goat’ vs. Semitic **ʔarwiy-* ‘gazelle, mountain goat’ (#25);
- Egyptian *ʕw.t* ‘small cattle (goats or sheep)’ vs. Bade *āiwa* ‘gazelle’ (#26);
- Cushitic: Bayso *worab* ‘he-goat’, Burji *wórbi* ‘ram’ vs. Oromo *worabo* ‘gazelle’ (#27);
- Chadic: Kulere *war* ‘he-goat’ vs. Hausa *wariyya* ‘gazelle’ (#27);
- Semitic **táwar-* ‘steer, bull’ vs. Cushitic: Dullay **sawr-* ‘antelope dikdik’, cf. also Arabic *tawr* ‘antelope bubalis’, besides ‘bull’ (#30).

Of these 8 cases 7 represent *caprinae* & *ovinae*, and 1 represents *bovinae*. The vacillation between designations of wild and domesticated species probably indicates the archaic situation at the very beginning of domestication practices. It is symptomatic that only *caprinae* and *ovinae* were domesticated as the first mammals (naturally, excluding the dog), according to our present knowledge — around the 11th mill. BP.; these were followed by *suinae* (10.5 mill. BP) and *bovinae* (10 mill. BP), all of them in the Fertile Crescent (Zeder 2008, 11598), which is a good candidate for being the original homeland of Proto-Afroasiatic. The first traces of morphological markers indicating crop domestication in the same area are dated to the 11th mil. BP,² while the beginning of plant management should be dated to at least ca. 12 000 BP (Zeder 2008, 11599). New technologies of food production could stimulate growth of the population, which may be identified with speakers of the Afroasiatic protolanguage, and, subsequently, its disintegration into two protobranches: Northwest, represented by the ancestors of Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, and Chadic, and Southeast, represented by the ancestors of Cushitic, Omotic, and, hypothetically, also Elamitic and the pre-Sumerian substratum (Blažek 1999, 52–54). Thanks to pastoralism, which was introduced one millennium later, migrations to distant territories became possible as well. The archaeological data that imply such a scenario show a high correlation with the linguistic results of two scholars that have independently applied the “recalibrated” procedure of glottochronology to the Afroasiatic macrofamily, Alexander Militarev (2005) and George Starostin (2010). They have obtained more or less the same tree-diagrams,³ despite operating on the data of 100- and 50-item wordlists respectively.

² E.g., in Abu Hureyra (Syria) rye (*Secale cereale*), lentils, and (possibly) wheat are attested from the beginning of the 11th mill. BP (<http://archaeology.about.com/od/athroughadterms/qt/Abu-Hureyra.htm>).

³ The only exception is the position of the Omotic branch. According to A. Militarev, the Cushitic and Omotic branches formed one “superbranch”; similar conclusions were reached by Bender and Zaborski on the basis of common morphological isoglosses. The deviant position of Omotic in the model of G. Starostin should be ascribed to extremely strong influences of substrata and adstrata (G. Starostin himself tends to regard many of the exclusive Cushitic-Omotic isoglosses as a result of areal ties and convergent development, *p.c.*).

Afroasiatic (^S= G. Starostin 2010; ^M= A. Militarev 2005)



On the other hand, the date of disintegration of the Indo-European protolanguage is apparently younger (calculated as approximately 4670 BC by Sergei Starostin and 4340 BC by George Starostin, i.e. comparable with the age of disintegration of Semitic according to Militarev. The time period of 6 millennia from the beginning of animal domestication to the disintegration of Indo-European would be quite sufficient to acquire this practice via cultural diffusion, especially if the Indo-European homeland were located in the Near East (East Anatolia?), i.e. in the neighborhood of Semitic; in the earlier periods, this diffusion could probably also have involved other branches of Afroasiatic before their migrations to Africa through the Sinai (Chadic, Berber, Egyptian) or through the Arabian Peninsula (OmotiC, Cushitic).

As has already been mentioned, contemporary archaeological data confirm that the first steps towards the domestication of sheep and goats were taken in the Syro-Palestinian region *ca.* 11 mill. BP; during the following millennium, this was followed by domestication of pigs and cattle. It is probable that at that time the area in question was occupied by speakers of the early Afroasiatic dialect continuum, whose disintegration began *ca.* 12 mill. BP. This means that in the Afroasiatic protolanguage there were no terms for domesticated animals (with the possible exception of 'dog'), but only for wild animals, some of which were domesticated later. But it is only as pastoralists, breeding domesticated animals, that the Afroasiatic-speaking people would be able to migrate to their historical sites in Africa. On the other hand, in the Indo-European protolanguage there are zoonyms that, with very high probability, designate domesticated animals. The fact that they correspond to their Afroasiatic counterparts in agreement with the phonetic rules established by the authors of the Nostratic theory implies that common heritage is a more likely explanation here than borrowing (especially if there are identified phonetically corresponding cognates in other Nostratic branches as well). Lexical borrowings are more probable in cases of irregular phonetic correspondences, cf. especially #21, #22. As for the other domesticated animals, discussed above, it is far more likely that they were adopted by Indo-Europeans from their Afroasiatic neighbors.

⁴ According to my analysis, the disintegration of Berber should be dated no earlier than the 7th cent. BC. There is a strong argument for this rather late dating in the form of Phoenician loans that show up in all known branches of Berber (Blažek 2010).

Pisces

1. IE **d^hǵ^huH-* ‘fish’: Armenian *jowkn* ‘fish’ (Olsen 1999, 130–31); Greek *ιχθῦς*, gen. -ύος id.; Lithuanian *žuvis*, Latvian *zivs* & *zivs* id., Prussian *suckis*, ac. pl. *suckans* ‘fish’ (Pokorny 1959, 416–17); Slavic **zъveno* > Polish (*d*)*zwonko* ‘a piece of fish’, Russian *zvenó* id. (Smoczyński 2003, 106–08: from the adj. **zъv-enъ* ‘of fish’).

AA **dag-/dug-*: Semitic **d[a]g-*: Ugaritic *dg* ‘fish’, *dgy* ‘fisherman’ or a ‘name of a fish-shaped being, triton’ (DUL 267–68); Hebrew *dāg* ‘fish’ (with the variant *dā*’g in *Neh.* 13,16), pl. *dāgā*, cf. further *dayyāg* ‘fisher’ (**-ww-*), *dūgāh* ‘fishing’ (DRS 216); Jewish Aramaic *dg* ‘fish’ (HJ 240), Yudeo-Palestinian Aramaic *dəgōgītā* ‘fisherman’s barque’ (DRS 216), maybe also Amharic *ǵuǵ* ‘paquet de poissons liés ensemble’ (ibid.). ||| East Chadic: Mawer *dòò*, pl. *dòògán* ‘fish’, Tumak *dòó*, pl. *dòónán* id. (Caprile 1971, 53), Ndam *do*, Gabri *dol* id. (Gaufrey-Demombynes 1907, 298); cf. also Tumak *dūgān* ‘anguille’ (Caprile 1975, 54, 56) and Kera *dògròy* ‘Fischart’ (Ebert 1976, 41).

Cf. Altaic: Mongolian **žigasan* ‘fish’ || Middle Korean *-thi* ‘fish’ (EDAL 477).

Lit.: Illič-Svityč 1971, #67: Semitic+IE+Mongolian.

2. IE **meni-* ‘sp. fish’: Gr. *μαίνη* (> Latin *maena*), *μαίνις* ‘ein kleiner Seefisch’, Slavic **mbnb*, Russian *menb* etc. ‘Aalraupe’; perhaps Old High German *muniwa*, Old English *myne*, English *minnow* ‘Elritze, ein Fisch’ (Pokorny 1959, 731)

AA **m[u]n-* ‘fish; lizard’: ?Semitic: Akkadian (*u*)*mūnu* ‘Larve, Raupe’ (AHw 673), Syrian *āmūnā* ‘sp. lizard’ (Zimmern 1915, 52 assumed Akkadian > Syrian) ||| Berber: (North) Sus *amun* ‘sp. fish’ || (South) Iulemidden *emān* (Alojaly), Adghaq *emən*, Taneslemt *əmən* ‘fish’ (Prasse 1974, 145: proto-Tuareg **i-manāhan*; Militarev 1991, 260: Berber + IE). The semantic difference is comparable with German *Raupe* vs. Slavic *ryba* ‘fish’.

Fenno-Ugric **menV* ‘sp. fish’ (FUV 99; SKES 347–48) ||| Dravidian **mīn(u)* ‘fish’ (DEDR 4885) ||| Altaic **mañu(k’V)* ‘sp. fish’: ?Turkic **bañak-* > Yakut *mājayas* ‘white-fish’ || Mongolian **munig* ‘bleat, ablet’ || Tungus **māngu* ‘trout’, **mañma* id. || Middle Korean *mājūki* ‘trout’, Modern Korean *megi* ‘catfish, wels, horned-pout’ || Old Japanese *munagji* ‘eel’ (EDAL 903).

Amphibia & Reptilia

3. IE **ǵwēb^(h)-* ‘frog’: Old Saxon *quappa*, *quappia*, *quappo* ‘Aalquappe’, Middle High German *quappe*, *quape*, *kobe*, German *Quappe*, Dutch *kwab(be)* ‘Quappe, Kropf, Wamme’; Prussian *gabawo* ‘Kröte’; pre-Slavic **ǵēbā* ‘Kröte’ > Old Church Slavonic *žaba*, Russian *žába*, Serbo-Croatian *žàba* (Pokorny 1959, 466).

AA **kub(b)-* ‘toad’: Cushitic: (East) **kub-* > Harso, Gollango *hup-e*; Konso *kup-aata* id.; ? Burji *kóop-i* id., if not borrowed from Koyra (Sasse 1982, 117) ||| ? Omotic: (North) Koyra *koppe* id.

Cf. Dravidian **kapp-* ‘frog’ (D 1224: I-III, VI, VII?)

4. IE **mHol-/mōHl-*: Armenian *molêz* ‘lizard’; Old Saxon, Old High German *mol*, German *Molch* ‘salamander’ (Kluge 1999, 566).

AA **mula^[ʃ/h]-* ‘lizard’ > Cushitic: (East) Afar *mulluʃit* (Reinisch); Somali *mulaʃ*, *muluʃ*, Rendille *mulúh* id. (Heine 1978, 91) ||| Berber: (North) Beni Menacer *mulab* id., Kabyle of Jurjura *imulab* ‘Algerian lizard’ (R. Basset, *Journal Asiatique* 1885, 174) ||| Chadic: (West) Hausa *mulwa* ‘a short thick snake’ || (Central) Kobocho *malwaa*, Nzangi *mālawá*, Holma *malwé* ‘chameleon’ (Strümpell). Takács (*Studia etymologica Cracoviensia* 1[1996], 147) adds Egyptian (Greek

period) *mnḥ* in *kʷ-mnḥ* ‘Schildkröte’ (Wb. V, 96), which may be seen as a particularly attractive cognate for East Cushitic **mulʿ*-.

Cf. Kartvelian **mxul*- ‘lizard’ (Fähnrich 2007, 307) ||| Dravidian **malaṅku* ‘eel’ (DEDR 4737).

5. IE **serp*-: Vedic *sarpá*- m. ‘snake’ vs. *sárpāti* ‘schleicht, kriecht, geht’; Greek ἐρπετόν ‘kriechendes Tier’, ablaut. lesb. ὄρπετον ‘Tier’ (**sṛp*-) vs. ἔρπω ‘schleiche, gehe’, ἐρπύζω ‘schleiche, krieche’; Albanian *gjarpën* ‘snake’ (**serpeno*-); Latin *serpēns* ‘snake’ vs. *serpō* ‘krieche, schleiche’ (Pokorny 1959, 912).

AA: Semitic **šarap*- ‘kind of creeping creature’: Hebrew *šārāp* ‘Eraph serpent’; Mehri *šrēf* ‘Tausendfüssler’ (SED II, 279–80, #215).

Aves

6. IE **H₂woi*-s nom. : **H₂wei*-s gen. ‘bird’ (Schindler, *Sprache* 15, 1969, 144–67) > Armenian *haw* and Latin *avis* ‘bird’, Greek αἰετός ‘eagle’ < **awyetó*-, cf. αἰβετός · αετός · Περγαῖοι. (Hesych.), etc. (Pokorny 1959, 86).

AA **awy*-/**ayw*-/**wa*[y]’-: Semitic: Syriac *yaʿā* ‘avis quaedam, pterocles al. coturnix’; Tigre *wīe* ‘sorte de passereau’ (SED II, 312, #243: **wV*-) || Egyptian *w* ‘ein Vogel’, *jw* ‘Graukranich – Jungvogel / Grusgrus juv.’ (WPS 211).

Cf. Kartvelian **ixw*- ‘wild duck’: Georgian *ixvi* ‘duck’, *xv-ir-iḱ-a* ‘a kind of wild duck’, Megrel *ixvi-nži* id. (Fähnrich 2007, 217) ||| Altaic: Tungus **āwuldunḡa* ‘sp. duck’; Old Japanese *u* ‘cormorant’ (EDAL 278).

7. IE **H₃er*-(n)-: Hittite & Palaic *hāras*, gen. *hāranas* ‘eagle’; Greek ὄρνις ‘bird’; Old Irish *ilar/irar* ‘eagle’ (metathesis from **arilo*-?); Old Norse *ari* ~ *orn* id.; Old Prussian *arelie*; Old Church Slavonic *orbъ* id. (Pokorny 1959, 325–26; Greppin, EIEC 173).

Semitic **gar*-(an)-: Akkadian *erû* ~ *arû* ‘eagle’, *urinnu* ‘eagle’; Old Aramaic *r* ‘bearded vulture’, Jewish Aramaic *ar* ‘sp. of eagle’; Arabic *garan*- id. (SED II, 59, 131).

Cf. Kartvelian **orb*- ‘eagle’ (Klimov 1964, 150) ||| Dravidian **eruvay* ‘sp. kite’ (DEDR 818). Lit.: Illič-Svityč 1967, 352: Semitic+IE. Bomhard 2008, 695: IE + Dravidian.

Rodentia

8. IE **muHs*- ‘mouse’: Vedic *mūṣ*- m. ‘mouse, rat’, Persian *mūš* ‘mouse’; Armenian *mu-kn* ‘mouse, muscle’; Greek μῦς (μῦός, μῦν after ὕς, ὕός, ὕν) ‘mouse’; Albanian *mī* ‘mouse’; Latin. *mūs* m. ‘mouse’; Old Norse, Old English, Old Saxon, Old High German *mūs* ‘mouse’; Old Church Slavonic *myšъ* f. ‘mouse’ (Pokorny 1959, 752–53).

AA: Semitic **Hušum*-: Akkadian *ušummu*, later *šummu* ‘bandicot rat’, Eblaite *ù-šu-mu-um*; ?Arabic *šim* ‘rat’ and or *šayham* ‘porc-épic’ ||| Chadic: (Central) Mofu-Gudur *séhwem* ‘musa-raigne’, Logone *uḥsemī* ‘rat’ (SED II, 278–79, #214).

Felidae

9. IE **sinḡ^h*-: Vedic *simhá*- m. ‘lion’ / *simhī* f. ‘lioness’, Kashmiri *sah*, *süh* m. ‘tiger, leopard’, *sīmiñ* f. ‘tigress, leopard’; Waigali *sī* ‘tiger’ (Turner 1966, #13384; EWAI II, 727); Armenian *in3*,

inc, gen. *-ow* ‘leopard’; Tocharian **sä(n)śäke* ‘lion’ > A *śišäk*, B *şecake* (Adams & Mallory, EIEC 350).

(i) AA **camik/γ/h-*: Cushitic: (Central) Awnigi *şaanīγ* ‘leopard’ (Wedekind 1995, 14) = *şánäy* id. (Beke), Damot *şánaḥ* id. (Conti Rossini 1905, 178; he recorded Awnigi *şāniḥ* ‘lion’), Kunfāl *sanki* ‘leopard’ (Cowley 1971, 103). Glottalization of the initial is probably stimulated by the third radical *γ/h*. It must be mentioned that Agaw **η* is a regular continuant of Cushitic / Afroasiatic **m*. || (East) Kambatta *samaaga* ‘leopard’ (Hudson 1989, 91); Yaaku *sunḡai*, pl. *sunḡáimo* ‘lion’ (Heine 1975, 129). Note that Yaaku *s-* can reflect East Cushitic **s-*, **š-*, **z-* (Sasse 1976, 135, 137; Id. 1979, 33); this means that the Yaaku word could alternatively be derived from the protoform B. ||| Omotic: (North) Mao *šanka* ‘leopard’ (Grottanelli 1940, 373); Seze *šāḡkí* ‘leopard’ (Siebert & Wedekind 1994, 14) ||| Chadic: (Central) Bura *tsiḡi*, Ngwaxi *tsiḡi* ‘lion’ (Kraft II, 53, 83); Masa *zími*, Musgu *senīm* ‘lion’ (JL₂, 227) = *zenīm* id. (Lukas 1937, 143) || (East) Kwang *sēmki* & *sémgi* ‘lion’ (JL₂, 227) = *zémki* id. (Lukas 1937, 97) ||| Egyptian (from the Pyramid Texts) *šm.t* ‘löwenköpfige Göttin’, Old Coptic *caχmu* (Wb. IV, 250).

(ii) AA **zi(n)g-(um-)*: ?Semitic: Arabic *zimḡil* ‘leopard’ (Steingass 1988, 462) = ‘sorte de panthère’ (DRS 744), perhaps from **zimḡin* and further from **zingīm*? ||| Cushitic: (East) Highland East Cushitic **zaguum-* ‘leopard’ > Tembaro *zāgumá*, Hadiyya, Sidamo *daguun-čö* (Leslau 1980, 120) ||| Chadic: (West) Gera *junḡùmà* ‘leopard’, ?Pero *cəḡiní* id. (Kraft I, 74, 111), Karekare *zīgàn*, Tsagu *zəḡən* id. (JL₂, 222) || (Central) Chibak *zing’é* (Hoffmann 1955, 122) = *dzunḡay* (Kraft II, 63) ‘lion’, Mafa *jəḡwaya* ‘leopard’ (Kraft III, 147).

Lit.: Dolgopolsky 1975, 18: IE+AA.

10. IE **stib^(h)-yo-* > Slavic **stbbj* ‘wild cat’ > Church Slavonic *stbbb*, Old Polish (1472) *step*, later *zdeb* & *zdbik*, today *žbik*.

AA **ži'b-* ‘wolf, jackal, hyena, lion’ > Semitic **ḏi'b-* > Akkadian *zību*, *zibū* ‘jackal, vulture’, Hebrew *zə'eb* ‘wolf’, Aramaic of Palmyre *d'b*, Jewish Aramaic *dēbā*, Syrian *dī'ḇā*, Arabic *ḏi'b* ‘wolf, jackal’, Mehri *ḏiyá:b* (Nakano), Jibbali *ḏib*, Soqotri *dīb* ‘wolf’, Geez *zə'b* & *zəb* ‘hyena’, Ti-gray *zəb'i* id., Amhara *žəb* id. (SED II, 105, #72; Leslau 1987, 630; Cohen 1970f, 324) ||| Cushitic: (East) Highland East Cushitic **dzoobba* ‘lion’ > Kambatta *zoobba*, Hadiya *hoobba*, Sidamo *dobb-icco*, pl. *dobbe* (Hudson 1989, 92) = *doobba*, Tembaro *zobbé-ččo*, Alaba *zobe-ččo*, Qabenna *zoobbóo* id.; cf. also South Omotic parallels (perhaps borrowed from Highland East Cushitic): Baka *zab* id., Galila *zob(ba)*, Hamer *zəb*, Karo *zobo*, Dime *zop* (Bender) ||| Egyptian (Pyramid Texts) *zḡb* & *zb* ‘jackal’, besides *dyby-w* ‘wolves, jackals, hyenas’, cf. also *d-b* plus the ideogram ‘jackal’ in the Coffin Texts (Vycichl 1958, 383) ||| Chadic: ? (West) Ngizim *jíbdà* ‘civet cat’ (Schuh) || (East) Migama *jábíyá* ‘hyena’ (Jg), Bidiya *jèbèygē* id. (Alio & Jg).

Cf. Dravidian **civ(v)anki* ‘leopard, lynx, hyena’ (DEDR 2579) ||| Altaic: Turkic **jēbke* ‘wolverine’ (Räsänen 1969, 195) || Mongolian **žeye-ken* > Written Mongolian *žegeken*, Khalkha *zēx(en)*, Buriat *zēgen*, Kalmyk *zēḡən* ‘wolverine’ (EDAL 389).

Lit.: Blažek 1992, 20–21.

Viverridae & Mustelidae

11. IE **H₂wis(-yo/-elo-)*: ?Greek αἰέλουρος ‘(wild) cat’; Irish *fial* ‘Frettchen’ (**wiselo-*); Icelandic *visla*, Old English *weosule*, *wesle*, Old High German *wisula* ‘weasel’; without the *l*-suffix Germanic **wis(j)ō* > Old High German *wiessa*, Old Frankish > Old French *voisson* ‘pole-cat’; cf. Vulgar Latin *vissio* ‘Furz, Gestank’ (Pokorny 1959, 1134).

AA *[h]awyaṣ-: Semitic */hayyaṣ-: Akkadian *ayyaṣu/ayāṣu* ‘weasel’; Amhara *ay(ə)ṭ* ‘mouse’ ||| (Central) Musgu (Lukas) *ausi* ‘mouse’ (SED II, 40).

12. IE **mēl*-: Latin *mēlēs* ‘badger’; Slavic: Kashubian *məlc* id. (Machek 1968, 225)

AA **m[u]ly*-: Egyptian (Old Kingdom) *mʿj* ‘lion’ (Wb. II, 11) ||| Berber: (South) East Iulemmiden *molli*, pl. *mollitān* ‘sp. of leopard’ ||| Cushitic: (East) Afar *molta* ‘lioness’ ||| Chadic: (West) Kariya *mūl* ‘leopard’; Angas *mulut* id. || (Central) Ngala *mali* ‘hyaena’ || (East) Sokoro *mela* ‘cat’, Nancere *melí* ‘lion’, Lele *mīláng*, Kabalai *mlàṇə* ‘lion’ (Jl₂ 222, 227; EDE III, 37–38).

Further related to Kartvelian **mal*- ‘fox’ (Klimov 1964, 125) ||| Altaic: Written Mongolian *malur* ‘wild cat’ || Tungus: Manchu *malaxi* ‘wild cat; steppe hare’ (EDAL 900).

Lit.: Blažek 1992, 17–18.

Canidae

13. IE **k(u)wō(n)/kūn*- ‘dog’: Vedic *śvā* & *śuvā*, gen. *śúnas*, ac. *śvānam* ‘dog’, Avestan *spā*, ac. sg. *spānəm*, gen. pl. *sūnam* id.; Armenian *šown*, gen. *šan* ‘dog’, besides *skund* ‘puppy’; Hittite *kuwas*, gen. *kuwanan*, Hieroglyphic Luwian *suwani*- ‘dog’ (Hawkins 2000, 153, 629); Greek *κύων*, gen. *κυνός* ‘dog’; Albanian *samë* ‘dog’s excrements’ < **kun̥-mo*- (Orel 1998, 393), *shak(ë)* ‘dog, bitch’, if not borrowed from Iranian, cf. Middle Persian *sak* < Iranian **śuaka*- (Orel 1998, 406–07); Latin *canis* ‘dog’, *canēs* ‘bitch’; Old Irish. *cú*, gen. *con*, Welsh *ci*, pl. *cwn*, Breton, Cornish *ki* ‘dog’ < **kwō*; Gothic *hunds*, Old Icelandic *hundr*, Old English *hund*, Old High German *hunt* ‘dog’; Lithuanian *šuō*, gen. *šuōš*, Latvian *suns*, Prussian *sunis* ‘dog’, besides Latvian *suntana* ‘big dog’; Tocharian AB *ku* ‘dog’ (Pokorny 1959, 632–33; Adams 1999, 179).

AA **kun*-/**kuwan*- ‘dog’: Berber-Guanche: Gran Canaria *cuna* ‘dog’, Tenerife *cancha* & *cuncha* ‘dog, puppy’ (Militarev 1991, 256) ||| Omotic: (North) Ometo-Yemsa **kan*-, Gonga **kunaan*, Gimira-Dizoid **kyan*- id., Mao & Ganza *kana* (Bender 1990, 602) || (South) Dime *kene*, Galila *kani* id. ||| Chadic: (West) Fyer *kweén* ‘dog’; ?Warji *iyànà*; ?Bade *wūnāyá* id. || (Central) Gamergu [Benton] *kēnee* id. || (East) ?Sokoro *kúyo* / *kuwī*; Dangla *kànyà*; Jegu *kany*, Birgit *kájàn* id. (Jl₂ 106–07).

Cf. Uralic: Saami-Permian **küjnä* ‘wolf’ (Illič-Svityč 1971, 361, #238: AA+IE+Uralic).

Equidae

14. IE **kH₂er*- ‘ass’: Vedic *khāra*-, Ashkun *xar*; Avestan *xara*-, Khotanese *khara*- ‘ass’, *khaḍara*- ‘mule’ (**khara-tara*-), Khwarezminan *xar*, Middle Persian *xar*, Sogdian *γry*, Yaghnobi *xar(ak)*, Pashto *xar*, Ossetic *xæræg*, Kurdish *ker* etc. ‘ass’; Albanian *kërr* m., pl. *kërra* ‘donkey, ass, foal’ (Orel 1998, 183).

AA: Semitic: Šeri *qérah* m., *qerhét* f. ‘Esel’ (Bittner, SAW 179, 1915, 27, 39) = East & Central Jibbali *kéráḥ* ‘donkey’ (Johnstone 1987, 235 connected it with Mehri *karēḥ* ‘hornless; shave-headed’) ||| ? Cushitic: ? (North) Beja *hare* ‘camel’ (Roper) || (East) **har(r)*- ‘donkey’ > Saho *her-a* ‘female donkey’; Oromo of Wellega *harr-ee* ‘donkey’, Konso *harr-eta*, Dirayta *harr-et* id.; Harso *har-icce*, Dabase, Gawwada, Gollango *harr-e* ‘ass’; Burji *harr-ée* id. (Sasse 1979, 39; 1982, 92–93) ||| Omotic: (North) Wolayta *har-iya*, Gofa *haare*, Gamo, Dorze, Cancha, Kullo *hare* ‘donkey’, Malo, Dache, Zayse *hare*, Kachama *haarre* id. || (S) Ari *harra* id. (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 398).

15. IE **muk-*: Greek μυχλός ‘he-ass’ (**mukslo-*); Latin *mūlus* ‘mule’ (**mukslo-*), cf. dim. *muscellus* ‘young he-mule’; Old Russian *mrskb* ‘mule’ (**muksko-*); Slavic > Albanian *mushk* id. (Adams & Mallory, EIEC 34).

Cushitic: (North) Beja *meeek* c., pl. *māk* ‘donkey’ (Roper) = *meeek* c., pl. *mak* ‘Esel’ (Reinisch). There are interesting (areal?) parallels in the Ethiopian region: Geez *makebā* ‘mule’ and /or *me’ekebe* ‘mare’ (Leslau 1987, 324, 339) || Cushitic: (East) Oromo: Borana, Orma, Waata *moç-oo* ‘a male donkey’ (Stroomer) ||| Omotic: (North) Kafa *maçe* ‘horse’ (Habte Mikael) = *maaço* ‘cavallo’ (Cerulli) = *maaço* ‘Pferd, Maultier’ (Reinisch), Mocha *máčo* ‘horse’ (Leslau).

16. IE **poH1-/*peH3l-*: Greek πῶλος ‘foal, filly’; Albanian *pelë* ‘mare’; Germanic **folan-* > Old English *fola*, Old Saxon & Old High German *folo* ‘foal’ (Mann 1984–87, 973).

Semitic: Akkadian *puhālu* ‘male animal, stud’, of ‘ram, bull, stallion, elephant, duck’ (CDA 277); Ugaritic *phl* ‘ass, jackass, stallion’, *phlt* ‘mare’; Arabic *fahl*, pl. *fiḥāl*, *fuḥūl*, *fiḥālat* ‘stallion’ (DUL 668; Steingass 1988, 777).

Cf. Dravidian **ivuli* ‘horse’ (DEDR 500), originally perhaps ‘onager; Equus hemionus’, the only equid native to South Asia, whereas the horse (*Equus caballus*) was introduced into South Asia after 2000 BC (McAlpin 1981, 147). Possibly related to Middle Elamite *lakpilan* ‘horse’, if this word is derivable from the compound **laki-[i]pilan*, parallel to German *Reitpferd*, where the first component corresponds to Elamite *laki-* ‘to travel’ (Blažek 1999, 64: Dravidian + Elamite).

Suidae

17. IE **suH1-* ‘pig, sow’: Avestan *hū* (gen. sg. for **huuuō*) ‘Schwein’; Greek ὕς, ὑός, ac. ὕν m. ‘Eber’, f. ‘Sau’, besides οὔς, οὔός id.; Albanian *thi* ‘Schwein’; Latin *sūs*, *suis* ‘Schwein’, Umbrian *sif* ‘sues’, *sim* ‘suem’; Gaulish **su-tegis* ‘Schweinestall’ (Meyer-Lübke 1935, # 8492); Old Icelandic *sýr*, Old English, Old High German *sū* ‘Sau’; with **-en-/*-on-* extension: Latvian *suvēns*, *sivēns* ‘Ferkel’; Tocharian B *suwo* ‘pig, hog’ (**suw-on-*); further the derivative **suH1eino-* ‘swine’ (**‘pertaining to a pig’*): Latin adj. *suīnus* = Old Church Slavonic *svinъ*, besides the substantivized forms in Gothic *swein*, Old Icelandic *suín*, Old Saxon, Old High German *swīn* ‘Schwein’; Prussian *seweynis* ‘Schweinestall’; Old Church Slavonic *svinija* ‘Schwein’; Tocharian B *swāñana misa* ‘Schweinefleisch’; (Adams, Mallory, Hansen, EIEC 425; Pokorny 1959, 1038–39).

AA **caw-* ‘sheep’/‘pig’/‘meat’: Semitic **šaw-*: Akkadian *šū’u* ‘sheep’; Ugaritic *š* ‘ram, sheep’; Phoenician *š* ‘sheep, one of a flock’; Arabic *šā* ‘brebis’, coll. *šawa*; Sabaic *s2h* ‘sheep’ ||| Egyptian (Middle Kingdom) *šy* ‘pig’ (Wb. IV, 408) ||| Chadic: (West) Kariya *šiwì*, Pa’a *šúwí*; Zem *šàu*; Ngizim *šùwái* ‘meat’ ||| (Central) Glawda *cùw*; Hidkala *cùwì*; Zime-Batna *cew* id. ||| (East) Lele *sii*; Barein *suu*; Mokilko *séy*; Jegu *súút* id. (SED II, 281–82, #217).

Cf. also Kartvelian **ešw-* ‘(wild) pig’ (Fähnrich 2007, 152).

Note: The semantic difference between ‘pig’ and ‘meat’ is reconcilable, cf. Greek σάργξ, gen. σαρκός ‘flesh’ vs. Old Irish *torc* ‘boar’ (LIV 656).

Cervoidea

18. IE **H1el(y)-en-* ‘stag, deer’: Hittite *aliyan-* ‘roe(buck)’ (Puhvel, HED 3, 139); Armenian *eth*, gen. *elin* ‘hind’; Greek Homeric ἔλαφος ‘stag; hind’, cf. Mycenaean *e-ra-pi-ja* ‘pertaining to deer’, further ἔλλός ‘young of (red) deer, fawn’, ἔνελος · νεβρός (Hesych.) < **elenos*; Gaulish *ELEMBIV* ‘month-name from the Calendar of Coligny, perhaps devoted to ‘deer’’, Welsh *elain*

'hind', Breton *élan* id. < **elanī*, Middle Irish *ell* 'herd' < **elnā*; Old Lithuanian *elenis* 'elk, moose; red deer', Lithuanian *ėlnis* 'elk, moose', *ėlnė*, *álnė* 'hind', Latvian *ālnis* 'elk'; Prussian *alne* 'Tyer', correctly probably 'deer' or 'hind'; Old Church Slavonic *jelenъ* 'deer', *lani* 'hind' < **olnī*; Tocharian A *yäl*, B *yal* 'gazelle' (Adams & Mallory, EIEC 154–55).

AA **iyal*:- Semitic **ayyal*- 'stag, deer': Akkadian *ayalu* 'stag, deer'; Ugaritic *'ayl* 'deer', *'aylt* 'hind'; Phoenician *'yl* 'stag', Hebrew *'ayyāl* 'fallow deer', *'ayyālā* 'doe of a fallow deer'; Old Aramaic *'yl* 'deer, stag', *'ylth* 'hind', Judeo-Aramaic *'ayyālā* 'hart', *'ayyaltā* 'hind, roe', Syriac *'aylā* 'cervus', *'aylatā* 'cerva', New Syriac *élā* 'hart'; Arabic *'iyyal* 'bouc de montagnes, cerf'; Sabaic *'yl* 'mountain goat, ibex'; Jibbali *ayyól* 'Steinbock'; ?Geez *hayyal* 'ibex, mountain goat' ||| Cushitic: (East) Somali *eelo* 'a kind of gazelle'; Gollango *yiiló* 'Wasserbock / Kobus defassa', Harso *yilicakkó* 'Grimms Ducker / Sylvicapra grimmia abyssinica' (Amborn, Minker, Sasse); Kambatta *elliéti* 'antelope nana' (Cerulli) || Dahalo *'èèle* 'hartebeest' || (South) Gorowa *eletemo* 'bush-buck' ||| Chadic: (East) Kabalai *yile* 'antelope' (SED II, 39–40, #25; Skinner 1984, 35–36).

Cf. Dravidian **ilar*-/**iral*- 'stag, deer' (DEDR 474) ||| Altaic **ǝIV*-(*k* *ʷ*) 'deer' (EDAL 501).

Lit.: Illič-Svityč I, 272–73, #135 (following Trombetti): Semitic + IE + Dravidian + Altaic.

Caprinae

19. IE **b^huǵ-* 'he-goat': Romani *buzni* 'goat'; Avestan *būza* 'he-goat', Persian *buz* '(he-) goat'; Armenian *bowz* 'lamb'; Middle Irish *bocc*, Welsh *bwch*, Cornish *boch*, Breton *bouc'h* 'he-goat, buck'; Old Icelandic *bukkr*, *bokkr*, *bokki*, Old English *bucca*, Old High German *boc* 'he-goat' (Pokorny 1959, 174). Cf. also Slavic **bъzv*/**buzv*/**byzvje* 'alder / Sambucus' together with Lithuanian *búožė* 'reed-mace / Typha latifolia' and Latvian *bouze* or *buožu kuoks* 'gekappter Baum im Walde' which may continue IE **b^huǵ-* 'he-goat', judging by the frequent metaphors in botanical terminology inspired by '(he-)goat': Greek αἰγίνη, Latin *Caprifolium*, German *Geissblatt*, Russian *žimolost'*, or Nogai (the Turkic language from the Caucasus) *eški tal* 'Sambucus', i.e. 'goat' willow' (see Blažek 2002, 201–04).

AA: Cushitic: (North) Beja *bok* m., pl. *bāk* 'he-goat' (Roper) = *book* m., pl. *bak* 'Bock, Ziegenbock' (Reinisch 1895, 46 and Leslau 1987, 91 supposed a Beja source for Geez *baḥak^w*, *baḥkw* 'male of cattle, ram, billy goat' || ?(East) Kambatta *bookkiccu*, pl. *bookkita*, Hadiyya *boonkekicco*, pl. *bonke'e* 'wild pig' (Hudson 1989, 113) || (South) Qwadza *ba'uko* 'bush duiker' ||| Chadic: (Central) Mafa *ḥ(w)ɔk* 'goat' (Schubert) and /or Hurzo *bábàk*, Muktele *bàhó* (Rossing) id. ||| ? Berber: Ahaggar *abag^yug^y* 'young ram', Iullemeden *abbeug* 'ram'.

Cf. Elamitic *bakemaš* 'intermediate (female) goat' (Hallock 1969, 673); it may be a compound of the Elamitic word for 'goat' and Sumerian *maš*, *máš* 'he-goat, kid, gazelle'. Further Altaic: Turkic **bugu(-ra)* 'male deer/elk/camel'; Written Mongolian *bojir* 'male elk'? (EDAL 1102).

20. IE **dig^h*- 'goat': Ishkashim *dec* 'goatskin bag'; Armenian *tik* 'Schlauch aus Tierfell' (*'Ziegenfell'); Palaeo-Balkanian (Illyrian by Blumenthal) δίζα · αἶξ . Λάκωνες (**dighia*), cf. Albanian *dhi* 'she-goat' (**deigā*); Old High German *ziga* 'Ziege', with hypocoristic gemination Old English *ticen*, Old High German *zickī*, *zickīn* 'Zicklein'; further Norwegian dial. *tikka* 'sheep' (Pokorny 1959, 222; Adams & Mallory, EIEC 229: **dīks*, gen. **digós*).

AA **dig*-/**dug*:- Omotic: (North) Koyra *deggele* 'goats', Oyda *doge* 'large antelope kudu' ||| Chadic: (West) Chip *diguṅ* 'goat'; Geruma *dugai* 'antelope duiker'; Warji *dakai-na* id., Diri *adaki*, Tsagu *dōgan* id. || (Central) Mofu *ḍakw* 'goat'; Masa *duka* 'gazelle' (Skinner 1984, 21).

Cf. Kartvelian **daq*- 'goat' (Fähnrich 2007, 124).

21. IE *g^haid- ‘(he-)goat’: Shughni *gidik* ‘ram’ < *gaidika- (Paxalina 1983, 170); Latin *haedus* ‘Böckchen, junger Ziegenbock’; Gothic *gaits*, Old Icelandic *geit*, Old English *gāt*, Old Saxon *gēt*, Old High German *geiz* ‘goat’ (Pokorny 1959, 409); maybe Slavic *žimolztb & *žimolza > Russian *žimolost’* & Polish *zimolza* ‘lonifera’, originally a compound of *g^haid- ‘goat’ & *melǵ- ‘to milk’ (Trubačev 1960, 84; Id. apud Vasmer II, 55–56). There is also an additional variant:

IE *gid^hyo-: Germanic *kidja- ‘kid’ > Old Norse *kið* > English *kid*, Old High German f. *kizzi(n)*, German *Kitze* id. (Hoad 1986, 252).

AA *gad- > Semitic *gady- ‘kid, goat’ > Akkadian *gadū*, Ugaritic *gdy*, Punic *gd’*, Hebrew *gēdī*, Aramaic *gadyā*, Arabic *ḡady* (DRS 100) ||| Cushitic: (East) Oromo of Borana *gadamsa* ‘antelope kudu’ (Stroomer), Burji *gadama* id., Sidamo *godanné* ‘sheep, lamb’ (Hudson) ||| Chadic: (West) Hausa *gadaa* ‘antelope duiker’; Gera *gadere* ‘bushbock’; Ngizim *gaduwa* ‘antelope duiker’ (Skinner 1984, 20) or

AA *kīd-/*kayd-: Berber *γayd- ‘kid’ > (East) Siwa *iγīd* ‘ram’, Sokna *iγid* ‘kid’ (Laoust) || (North) Kabyle *iγid* id. (Dallet) || (South) Ayr & Iulemidden *eγāyd* (Alojaly), Ahaggar *eγāyd* id. (Prasse) || (West) Zenaga *igēdi* id. (R. Basset); further cf. such Semitic forms as Akkadian *nāqīdu(m)*, Hebrew *nōqēd*, Syrian *nuqdō* ‘shepherd’, Arabic *naqad* ‘sheep of weak race’ and Omotic: (North) Kafa, Mocha *qiddo* ‘shepherd, herdsman’ (Leslau) — cf. Militarev 1990, 49.

Cf. Dravidian *kaṭ-/*kiṭ- ‘male of sheep or goat, he-buffalo’ (DEDR 1123).

Note: IE *d does not regularly correspond to either AA *d or Dravidian *ṭ. For this reason Illič-Svityč (1964, 4) identified here a Semitic (AA?) loan in IE.

22. IE *kapro- ‘he-goat’: ?Vedic *kápr̥th-* m., *kapr̥thá-* m. ‘penis’; Khotanese *kaura* ‘sheep’, Kurdish *kaur*, Awrami *kawrā* ‘lamb, sheep, ram’, Persian *kahra* ‘kid’; Greek *κάπρος* ‘boar’, also *σῦς κάπρος*; Latin *caper*, gen. *caprī* ‘he-goat, buck’, plus new f. *capra* ‘she-goat’, *caprea* ‘roe’, *capreolus* ‘roe-buck’, Umbrian *kabru*, *kaprum* ‘caprum’, *cabriner* ‘caprīnī’; Gaulish **cabros* ‘buck’ (Bertoldi, *Revue Celtique* 47, 1930, 184–96) according to Gallo-Romance **cabrostos* ‘Geißblatt, Lüguster’, further Old Irish *caera*, gen. *caerach* ‘sheep’, Welsh *caeriwrch* ‘roe-buck’, Gaulish tribal name *Caeracates*, besides Celtic **gabros* ‘buck’, **gabrā* ‘she-goat’, continuing in the Gaulish place-name *Gabro-magos* (Noricum) *‘buck’s field’, Old Irish *gabor*, Welsh *gafr* m. ‘buck’, f. ‘she-goat’ (with *g- perhaps after IE *g^haido-?); Old Nordic *hafr* ‘Ziegenbock’, Old English *hæfer* id. (Pokorny 1959, 529; Bailey 1979, 65; Delamarre 2001, 82, 146).

AA: Cushitic: (East) **korb-*: Oromo *korbessa* ‘billy-goat’, Konso *xorpayta* id., Burji *korbáyši*, *korp’áyši*, pl. *korbéena* id., Sidamo *korbeesa*, Gedeo *korbeessa* ‘goat’ < Oromo? (Sasse 1982, 118), ?Hadiyya *kobira* ‘buffalo’ || Dahalo *kórroḡe* ‘male lesser kudu’; Asa *kubararok* ‘male antelope dikdik’, *kubarari* ‘antelope dikdik’ (Ehret 1980, 246) ||| ?Chadic: (Central) Buduma *kaaber* ‘bull’ (Lukas) || (East) Tumak *kawər* ‘sp. antelope’ (Skinner 1984, 24–25).

Cf. Altaic: Turkic *körpe* ‘new-born lamb’; Mongolian **körbe* ‘new-born lamb’ (EDAL 826).

Note: The only regular correspondence is between Celtic **gabro-* and AA **karb-*/**kabr-*.

23. IE *s^hkogo- ‘goat’: Vedic *chága-* m. ‘buck’, *chágū-* f. ‘goat’, Ossetic Digor *sægæ*, Iron *sæg* ‘goat’, Wakhi *čēγ* ‘kid’ (Abaev III, 58); Middle High German *schege* ‘goat’.

AA *čik-: Omotic: (North) Zayse *čiega* ‘goat’ ||| Chadic: (West) *čikan- (Stolbova 1987, 193): Warji *čičānà* ‘he-goat’, Miya *čángù* id., Pa’a *àcákà* ‘goat’, Tsagu *šāngén* id. (Skinner); Bokos *šikyen* id. (Jungraithmayr) || (Central) Wandala *čéké* id. (Lukas) || (East) Sumray *čánjé* id. (Lukas).

Cf. Kartvelian **ciḡ-* ‘goat’ > Georgian *ciḡ-an-i* ‘kid’, Megrelian *bi-ciḡ-e* ‘goat’ (Fähnrich 2008, 5–6).

Ovinae

24. IE **H₁er-(i)-*: Old Indic *āreya-* ‘ram’; Armenian *erinj* ‘young cow’, *oroj* ‘lamb’; Greek *ἔριφος* ‘young goat/buck’; Latin *ariēs*, gen. *-etis*, Umbrian acc. sg. *erietu* ‘ram’; Old Irish *eirp* ‘Ziege, Hirschkuh’ (Pokorny 1959, 326; Irslinger, NIL 233–35).

Semitic **arwiy-*: Akkadian *arwīu*, *arwū* ‘gazelle’; Eblaite *a-wi-um /arwiyum/* ‘goat’; Arabic *urwīyyat*, pl. *arwā* ‘mountain goat’; Sabaic *rwy-n* pl. ‘mountain goat, ibex’; Mehri *arī* ‘goat’ ||| Cushitic: (East) **aray-*: Somali *ari*, *eri* ‘sheep or goat’, Burji *aráy* ‘sheep’, Yaaku *erer* ‘antelope’ || (South) **ari*: Iraqw *ari* ‘goat’, Burunge pl. *ara* id. (SED II, 26–28).

Lit.: Bomhard 2008, 593–94: AA + IE + Kartvelian **arčw-* ‘chamoix, ibex’ (Fähnrich 2007, 38).

25. IE **H₃ewi-* ‘sheep’: Vedic *ávi-* ‘sheep’, Wakhi *yobc* ‘ewe’ < **āvi-či-*; Armenian *awdik* ‘sheep’ : *hoviw* ‘shepherd’; Cuneiform Luwian *hāwī-*, Hieroglyphic Luwian *hawali-*, Lycian *χawa-* ‘sheep’; Greek *ἄις*, Argolide acc. pl. *οἴτις* ‘sheep’; Latin *ovis* ‘sheep’, Umbrian *uven* ‘ovem’; Old Irish *ói* ‘sheep’; Old Norse *ær* ‘ewe’, Old Saxon *euui* etc., Gothic *awistr* ‘sheep-cote’; Lithuanian *avis*, Latvian *avs* ‘sheep’; Slavic **ovbca* ‘sheep’ < **owikā*; Tocharian B *āuw*, pl. *awi* ‘sheep’ (Wodtko, NIL 335–39).

AA **awy-*: Egyptian (Old Kingdom) *ʿw.t* ‘small cattle (goats and sheep)’ (Wb. I, 170–71) ||| ?Cushitic: (North) Beja *ay*, *äy*, *ey* f., pl. *éeya* ‘Ziege’, *eyáa-t-éega* ‘Ziegenhirt’ (Reinisch 1895, 37 who connected it with Tigre *äyet* ‘Ziege, Zicklein’). It is perhaps compatible with some Cushitic parallels: (East) Burji *ayáan-e* ‘gazelle’ (Sasse 1982, 29) || (South) Qwadza *a’ato* ‘sheep’ (Ehret) ||| Chadic: (West) Ngizim *āyu*, Gashuwa Bade *āiwa* ‘gazelle’; Tangale (*h*)*ayay* id. (Skinner 1984, 15).

Cf. Dravidian **ā(v)-* ‘cow’ (DEDR 334)?

Lit.: Møller 1909, 105: Egyptian + IE.

26. IE **uḡH₁ēn-* ‘ram, lamb’: Vedic *úran-* m. ‘lamb’, nom. sg. *úrā*, acc. sg. *úraṇam*, *urabhra-* m. ‘ram’; Middle Persian *varak* ‘ram’, Persian *barra* (**varnak*) ‘lamb’; Armenian *garñ*, gen. *garin* ‘lamb’; Greek *ἀρήν*, gen. *ἀρνός* ‘lamb’, Cretan *Ἐαρήν*; Tsakonian *vanna*, from Laconian *αρνίον* ‘lamb’, Homeric *πολύρρηνες* ‘having many lambs’, *ἀρνειός* ‘ram’; Latin *rēno* ‘Tierfell als Kleidung, Pelz’ < Germanic **urēnōn-*; Tocharian B *yrīye* ‘male sheep’ (Pokorny 1959, 1170; EWAI I, 225–26: **uḡH₁en-*, **uḡH₁n-*; Adams 1999, 519).

AA: Semitic **waʿr-/ʿwarʿ-*: Hebrew *yaʿārā* ‘kid’; Arabic *yaʿr* ‘kid’, *yaraʿ* ‘young of wild cows’ (< Aramaic?); Tigre *warʿe* ‘mountain-goat’ ||| Cushitic: (East) Saho *wayrhele* ‘Soemmering’s gazelle’ (Vergari); ?Oromo *awaro* ‘barren kob (small antelope)’ or with the *b*-suffix *worabo* ‘gazelle’; cf. also Bayso *worab* ‘he-goat’; Gollango *orpo* ‘ram’; Burji *wórbi* id. (Sasse 1982, 190) ||| Omotic: Male *wari* ‘goat’ ||| Chadic: (West) Hausa *wariyya* ‘gazelle’; Montol, Gerka *ur* ‘he-goat’; Kulere *war* id.; Gera *wariya* ‘gazelle’; Dera *wóré* ‘ox’ || (East) Lele *ōrē* ‘goats’ ||| ?Egyptian *ʿr* ‘goat’ (SED II, 317–18; Skinner 1984, 25).

Note: AA **r* would correspond to IE **H_{2/3}*, but the reconstruction of **H₁* (~ AA **r*) is not obligatory before **ē* (Lex Eichner).

Bovinae

27. IE **g^uoHu-* ‘cattle/cow/bull’ (m.-f. nom. sg. *g^uōus*, gen. *g^uous* (& *g^uouos?*), acc. *g^uōm*, loc. *g^uoui*): Vedic *gáuh* m.-f. ‘cattle’ (= Avestan *gāuš* id.), gen. *góh* (= Avestan *gāuš*), dat. *gáve* (= Avestan *gave*), loc. *gávi* (= lat. abl. sg. *boue*), acc. *gám* (also disyllabic, like Avestan *gām*); nom. pl.

gáwaḥ (= Avestan *gāvō*), gen. pl. *gávām* (= Avestan *gavām*), acc. pl. *gāḥ* (= Avestan *gā* < **g^wōs*, cf. Doric βῶς); Hittite **kuwāu-* ‘cow’: nom. sg. GU₄-uš, acc. sg. GU₄-un, Cuneiform Luwian *wawa/i-*, Hieroglyphic Luwian ^{BOS.ANIMAL}*wa/i-wa/i-*, Lycian *wawa-*, *uwa-* ‘cow’ (Kloekhorst 2008, 507); Armenian *kov* ‘cow’; Greek Attic βούς m.-f. ‘cattle, cow’, acc. βούν, Doric βῶς, acc. βῶν, gen. βο(Φ)ός, etc.; Latin *bōs*, gen. *bovis* m.-f. ‘cattle’ (< Osco-Umbrian lw. for Latin **vōs*; the original Latin continuant may be preserved in *vacca*, parallel to Celtic **boukkā*); Umbrian *bum* ‘bovem’ (**g^wōm*), *bue* ‘bove’, Oscan in *Búvaianúd*, Volscan *bim* ‘bovem’; Old Irish *bó* f. ‘cow’ (< **báu* < **g^wōus*), gen. arch. *bóu*, *báu*, later *báo*, *bó*, in Brittonic with velar extension: Old Welsh *buch*, Welsh *buwch*, Old Cornish *buch*, Breton *buc’h* ‘cow’ (**boukkā*); in compounds e.g. Gallo-Romance *bō-tege* (**g^wou-tegos*) ‘Kuhstall’ (Meyer-Lübke 1935, #1229a), besides **bovo-tegos* in Old Breton *boutig*, Welsh *beudy* ‘Kuhstall’; Old High German *chuo*, Old Saxon, Old Swedish *kō* (< acc. sg. **kōn* < **g^wōm*), Old English, Old Frisian *cú*, Old Icelandic *kýr* ‘cow’ (**kūz* < *g^wōus*); Latvian *gūovs* ‘cow’, dimin. *guōtiņa*; Slavic **govędo* ‘cattle’; Tocharian A *ko* ‘cow’, pl. *kowi*, B *kau*, obl. pl. *kewän*; A *kayurš*, B *kaurše* ‘bull’ < **g^wou-uršo-*, cf. Vedic *vṛṣaṇ-* ‘bull’ (Pokorny 1959, 482–483).

AA: Egyptian (Pyramid Texts) *k3* ‘bull’, Old Coptic *ko* id. (Wb. V, 94) ||| Cushitic: (Central) **kaw-a* (Appleyard 2006, 39) > Qwara *kuwa*, Awngi *kiwa* ‘bull’ ||| Chadic: (West) Bolewa *kwô* ‘bull’ || (Central) Glawda, Gava, Wandala *kawa* ‘bull’ (Orel & Stolbova 1995, 306, #1399) || (East) Kajakse *k^hiyà*, Masmaje *kíh*, Mubi *kî* ‘cow’, Zerenkel *ki* id., Kujarke *keja* ~ *kújò* id. (JL₂, 93; Lovestrland 2012, 51).

Cf. Uralic **kewe*: Livonian *kēu*, *kēv* ‘Stute’ (> Latvian *kēve*); Saami (Inari): *kieu^va* ‘Rentier weiblichen Geschlechts’, (Ter) *kiev* id., (Kildin) *kiev^v(a)* ‘wilde Rentierkuh’; Mator *keibe*; Taigi *kéibe* ‘Stute’ (UEW 152).

Note: Illič-Svityč (1964, 3–4) saw the Bolewa and Central Cushitic forms as cognates to Egyptian *gw* ‘sp. bull’ and Kaffa *gaû*, *goo*; he proposed an AA source for the IE term. But Central Cushitic **k-* does not correspond to Egyptian *g-*. For the same reason Egyptian *gw* cannot be a cognate of IE **g^woHu-*, unlike *k3*.

28. IE **por(w/stH)i-* ‘young bull, calf’: ?Old Indic *pr̥thuka-* m. ‘Rind, Kalb, Tierjunges’; Ossetic *firt’on* ‘Vieh, grössere vierfüssige Haustiere’; Armenian *ort’*, *-ow* ‘calf, young deer’ < **pr̥thu-* < **pr̥H_{1/2}-tu-* (Olsen 1999, 108); Greek πόρις, πόριταξ, πόρις ‘Kalb, junge Kuh’; Welsh *erthyl* ‘abortus’; Old High German *far*, *farro*, Old English *fearr*, Old Icelandic *farri* (**farz-*) ‘Stier’, further Middle High German *verse*, German *Färse* ‘junge Kuh’ (Germanic **fársi*, gen. **fársjōs*), in compound form cf. Old English *héah-fore*, English *heifer* (Pokorny 1959, 818).

AA **par(r)-* ‘bull’ > Semitic **parr-*: Akkadian *parru* ‘lamb, young sheep’, *parratu* ‘female lamb’, cf. also *pārum* ‘ein Rind’ (AHw 834, 836), Ugar *pr* ‘young cattle’, *prt* ‘young cow’, Hebrew *par* ‘bull, bullock, steer’, *pārā(h)* ‘cow’, Jewish Aramaic *par^vtā* id., Syrian *par-ō* ‘ewe lamb’, Arabic *farr* ‘calf’, *farīr*, *furār* ‘lamb, wild calf, young gazelle’, Mehri *fōr* ‘bull’ (Aistleitner 1965, 159–60; Klein 1987, 522; Fox, *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 11[1998], 20; he separates it from the word **par(a)-* ‘onager’) ||| Chadic: (Central) Margi *fūr* ‘buffalo’ (Hoffmann), Kilba *fur* id. (Meek) ||| Egyptian (Middle Kingdom) *pry* ‘Bezeichnung des Kampfstiers’ (Wb. I, 526). Orel & Stolbova (1995, 418, #1950) mention an isolated form in Mbara (Central Chadic): *fārày* ‘bétail, dot’, i.e. ‘bride wealth’ (Tourneux, Seignobos & Lafarge 1986, 260).

Further cf. Kartvelian **pur-* ‘cow’ (Fährnich 2007, 445) ||| Dravidian **pōri* ‘bull’ (DEDR 4593).

29. IE **steuro-*: Avestan *staora-* ‘large cattle (horse, camel, ass, bovine)’, Khotanese *stūra-* ‘large cattle, horse’, Khwarezmian *scwr /stōr/* ‘large animal’, Buddhistic Sogdian *st’wr*, Yagh-nobi *s^utūr* ‘sheep, ram’, Ossetic Iron *stur*, Digor (*æ*)*stor* ‘cow & bull’, Shughni *sātūr*, Munjan

s^otūr ‘large cattle’, Sarykoli *staur* ‘yak’, Middle Parthian (Tumshuq) ‘*stwr*, Middle Persian *stōr* ‘draught animal, horse’, Persian *sutōr*, Kurdish *hastur*, (*h*)*istir*, *estir*, *estor* ‘horse’; Gothic *stiur* m. ‘calf, young steer’; Old High German *stior*, Old English *stēor*, Old Icelandic *stiōrr* ‘steer’ (Pokorny 1959, 1010; Bailey 1979, 434; Abaev III, 155–56).

AA *čawar-/ *čaraw- ‘bull, steer’: Semitic *táwar-: Akkadian *šūru(m)* ‘Stier’; Eblaic *šu-lum* /*tōrum*/ ~ /*tūrum*/ = Sumerian GU₄.TUR (Jung-)Stier’; Ugaritic *tr*, pl. *trm* ‘bull; epithet of II’; Phoenician *θωϞ* ‘divine steer’; Hebrew *šōr* ‘ox, bull’; Samalean *šwrh* ‘cow’, Old Aramaic *swr* ‘bull’, *šwrh* ‘cow’, Official Aramaic of the Persian empire *twr*, status emphaticus *twr*’, Biblical Aramaic pl. *tōr-īn*, Jewish Aramaic *tōr*, status emphaticus *tōr-ā* ‘ox, bull, steer’, pl. *tōr-īn*, status emphaticus *tōra(y)yā*, West Syriac *tawr-ā*, East Syriac *tōr-ā* id., Mandaic *taura* ‘bull, ox’; Arabic *tawr*, pl. *tiwarat*, *tiyarat*, *tiyār*, *tirat*, *tīrān* ‘bull’, also ‘antelope bubalis’, *tawrat* ‘cow’; Sabaic *twr*, *tr*, pl. *twr(m/n)* ‘bull(-statuette); divine epithet’, Qatabanian, Minean *twr* ‘bull, steer’; Mehri *tawr* ‘bull; big, stupid blundering strong fellow, brave but useless man’, Harsusi *tawer*, pl. *hetwéret* ‘bull’; Geez *sor*, also *šor*, pl. *’aswār(āt)* ‘ox, bull’, Tigre *sor* ‘ox’, Tigrinya *sor* ‘castrated goat’ (SED II, 307–10) ||| Egyptian (Old Kingdom) *s*’ ‘taurillon?’ (Meeks 1977[80], #3325) ||| Cushitic: (East) East Cushitic: Tsamay *sawr-o*, Gollango *sawr-ó* & *sayr-ó* ‘antelope dikdik’ (Amborn, Minker & Sasse 1980, 221; Blažek 2003, 7–12: Semitic+Egyptian+Cushitic).

Note: IE *tauro- ‘bull’ (Pokorny 1959, 1083; Abaev I, 390–91; Bailey 1979, 132) looks as a direct borrowing from Semitic *táwar- ‘bull, ox, steer’; cf. Illič-Svityč 1964, 3.

30. IE *tel- ‘calf’: ?Armenian *taj* ‘child’; Lithuanian *tēlias* ‘new-born calf’, Latvian *teļš* ‘bull-calf’; Slavic *tele, pl. *telete ‘calf’ (Mann 1984–87, 1375–76).

AA *taly- > Semitic *talyā-: Hebrew *tālā* ‘lamb’, Aramaic *talyā* id., Arabic *tala*’ ‘young of an animal’, Sabaic *tly* ‘yearling lamb’, Geez *tali* ‘goat, kid’, Tigre *tel* ‘goat’, Harari *tāy* ‘sheep’ (Leslau 1987, 590) ||| Cushitic: (East) *dal- ‘to beget’: Bayso *ṭaltu idaado* f. ‘sheep’ : *idaado* ‘ewe’; Sidamo *ḍala/tala* ‘she-donkey’ (Sasse 1982, 123; Hudson 1989, 52) ||| ?Berber: Iullemeden *ā-ḍel* ‘tout jeune veau’ (Nicolas 1957, 59), but other records and relatives are without the emphatic *ḍ*: Iullemeden of Udalan & East Iullemeden *edāll*, pl. *idālān* ‘calf (newborn to three months)’ (Sudlow 2009, 29; Alojaly 1980, 22); Ahaggar *ēhedel* ‘veau de lait’ (DRB 329); Hausa *tāliyō* ‘young animal following its mother’ (Bargery) is borrowed from Arabic *tāliyat* ‘one who follows’ (SED II, 298–99).

Cf. Elamite *tila* ‘calf’ (Hinz & Koch 1987, 329); Altaic *t’élV: Turkic *Tēl ‘to put the kid or calf to a different milch-ewe or cow; a kid or calf sucking two milch-ewes or cows’; Written Mongolian *tölüge(n)* ‘last year’s lamb’ (EDAL 1415); Dravidian *taḷ- ‘to shoot, sprout’, cf. Kota *tayl* ‘breed of cattle’ (DEDR 3131).

Lit.: Illič-Svityč 1967, 359: Semitic+IE+Dravidian+Altaic.

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В. БЛАЖЕК. Индоевропейские названия животных в афразийской перспективе.

В статье приводится набор лексических параллелей, относящихся к области дикой и домашней фауны, между индоевропейскими и афразийскими языками, иногда с при-

влечением дальнейших сопоставлений из других ветвей ностратической макросемьи. Выводы, которые можно с той или иной степенью вероятности извлечь из анализируемого материала, имеют значение для общей дискуссии о начале животноводства в области Плодородного полумесяца — ареала, который рядом исследователей считается наиболее подходящим кандидатом на прародину афразийской языковой семьи.

Ключевые слова: индоевропейские языки, афразийские языки, ностратические языки, названия животных, лингвистическая реконструкция, одомашнивание.