'Elephant' in Indo-European languages

Václav Blažek

The article studies the words for "elephant" and "ivory" in the Indo-European languages, concretely in Indo-Iranian, Anatolian, Greek, Latin, Germanic, Slavic and Tocharian. The result is quite negative. Besides the descriptive terms motivated by such the meanings as "tooth, tusk, horn" and "roar", and metaphors based on the comparison of the trunk to "hand" or "snake", there are numerous designations which can be identified as borrowings. One of the most important purposes of this study is to determine the donor-languages. It is quite natural when for the animal-names of the representants of exotic fauna the zoonyms from the languages familiar on the territory of the exotic animal's occurence are used. In our list the following donor-languages were determined: Austro-Asiatic, Chinese, Semitic, Egyptian and / or Berber-Libyan.

The 'elephant' belongs to the most prominent animals. His postglacial occurrence limited to Africa, some regions of Western, South and Southeast Asia, gives chance to determine the homeland or the trajectory of a borrowing for any language group where the 'elephant' was designated. Let us check the Indo-European data.

1. Indo-Iranian

Most designations for "elephant" are known from Old Indic, sometimes with Iranian (areal) parallels:

íbha-...an original meaning was "servants, dependants, domestics, households, family" (RV); the meaning "elephant" occurs only in later sources (Manu, Bhartṛhari, Raghuvaṁśa etc.); *ibhī* "she-elephant" is attested by lexicographers (M-W:167); the meaning "elephant" has probably an origin in a misinterpretation (KEWA III:644). It continues only in literary languages: Pali *ibha-*, Prakrit *ibha-*, *iha-*; Sinhalese *iba* was probably borrowed from Pali; any inherited relation to Latin *ebur* "ivory" is improbale for both historical and phonological reasons;

dantin- (MBh, Rām), lit. "tusked" (MaitrS), a transparent derivation from *dant-* "tooth";

gaja- (Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, Manu), and Pali *gaja-* & *gajendra-* (Revā-Khaṇḍa) > Hindi *gayãd*, maybe connected with *garja-* "(roar of) elephant" : *gárjati* "roars, growls, howls", cf. Lex. *gaj-* "to roar" (EWAI I:458; KEWA I:314; on the other hand, the form *gajendra-* is perhaps compatible with Nepali *gaĩro* "rhinoceros" < *gayaṇḍa-*; an Austro-Asiatic origin is probable, cf. Khasi *kynda* id.;

hastín- (AV, Samh.)... in RV *mṛgá-hastin-* "the animal with a hand" (KEWA III:588);

karaṭin-, *karin-*, *kareṇu-* & *kaṇeru-*, *karabha-* (Pur) & *kalabha-* (class., Pali)....probably all these words are derivatives of *kará-* "hand" (RV), "trunk of elephant" (ep., class.) (EWAI I:309);

kuñjara- (MBh)....cf. *kuñja-* "an elephant's tusk or jaw" (M-W:288); in spite of the difference *j // c* it could be derived from *kuñc-* "to bend, curve, make crooked";

mataṅga- (MBh)....of Austro-Asiatic origin, cf. Kinta-Sakai *mẒ-n-toñ* "elephant", lit. "that with a hand", cf. Khmer *ṭaṅg*, Stieng *tõng* "hand"; the same semantic motivation is characteristic for denotations of "elephant" in Southeast Asia, cf. e.g. Javanic *liman* "elephant" vs. *lima* "hand".

nāgá- (AitB)....probably identical with the synonym meaning "snake" (ŚB); perhaps shortened from a hypothetical compound **nāga-hasta-* ~ Latin *angui-manus elephantos* "snake-handed e." (Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 2.538) rather than "naked", i.e. "hairless" (EWAI II:33);

pīlu-....a late borrowing from Iran, perhaps from Middle & Modern Persian *pīl* "elephant" (KEWA II:296) which can be of Arabic origin (*fīl*), or from Sogdian *pyδ* (**pīl*) id., perhaps borrowed from

Aramaic *pīlā* id., while Old Persian *pīruš* "ivory" was borrowed from late Akkadian *pīru* "elephant" (besides *pīlu* id.);

stamberama- (Kav)...loc. of *stamba-* "a clump or tuft of grass" & *rama-* "delighting", i.e. "delighting in clumps of high grass" (M-W:1258);

śakva- (Lex)...an epithet "powerful, able, mighty" (M-W:1045);

vāraṇá- (MBh, Kav)....originally ellipsis from the compound *vāraṇá-mr̥ga-* "wild animal" (RV VIII.33,8; X.40,4), cf. also (Lex) *vārīṭa-* "elephant", *vāru-* "war-elephant" (EWAI II:546). Latin *barrus* "elephant" was probably borrowed from a late Indic source of the type *vāru-* (cf. Isidore of Sevilla: "*..elephas apud Indos...a uoce barrus uocatur*"), maybe via Iranian mediation (Pahlavi *banbarita-* "elephant"). Alternatively the word could be borrowed from South Dravidiam (Tamil + Malayalam) **vēram* "elephant" (DEDR #5542), although the opposite direction cannot be excluded too.

2. Tocharian

For Tocharian A *oṅkaläm*, B *oṅkolmo* 'elephant' numerous etymologies were proposed:

(a) *oṅk-* "man" & *läm-* "sit", i.e. "man-sitter" (Sapir, *Language* 12[1936]:264-66);

(b) ~ Latin *ungula* "hoof" (Van Windekens 1941:82);

(c) ~ Greek ἀγκάλη "bent arm", Old Indic *aṅguri-* "finger" (Duchesne-Guillemin, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 41,2 [1941]:159);

(d) < **on-* + **kel-* > Lithuanian *kelỹs* "knee" (Van Windekens, *Archív orientální* 13[1942]:165);

(e) ~ Slavic **slonъ* "elephant" (Jakobson, *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 1,2 [1959]:271 = 1971:643);

(f) < **ank-olm ō(n)* "bent one, curvy" (Van Windekens 1976:337-38);

(g) < Turkic **aŋ* "beast" + Tibetan *glaŋ* "ox; elephant" (Ivanov 1977:156, fn. 31);

(h) < **Honk-ālmā*, cf. Latin *uncus* "hook", Greek ὄγκος "barb of arrow" (Normier, *KZ* 94[1980]: 255);

(i) < Old Chinese **ŋrā* "ivory" or proto-Mnong **ŋo'la* "tusk (not "trunk"!) of elephant" (Ivanov 1982:166; Muong used by Ivanov is a mistake, Norman & Mei 1976:288 proposing an Austro-Asiatic origin of the Old Chinese word, quote the proto-**Mnong** reconstruction - the Mnong dialect cluster belongs into the Bahnaric subbranch of the eastern branch of the Mon-Khmer languages while Muong or Müöng is the closest relative of Vietnamese; they represent a subbranch of the northern branch of the same language family).

(j) < **H₂ṇku-*, cf. Greek ἀγκύαλος "curved", + **ālm-* "living being" (Hilmarsson 1986:198);

(k) < **H₂m̥bʰi-kʷl̥H-meH₂* , cf. Greek ἀμφί-πολος "servant" (Rasmussen 1988:172-77);

(l) < **m̥ĝeH₂-* "great" + **H₂on(H₁)mōn* "having breath" > "animal" (Hilmarsson 1991:158-59);

(m) < **oṅk-olm-o-* "seizer", cf. B *eṅk-* "to take, seize, grip" (Adams 1999:113);

(n) < **H₂ongul-* parallel to **H₂engur-* > B *āṅkär* "tusk" + possessive suffix *-mo-* (Adams 1999: 113).

None from these etymologies is so convincing to be accepted without doubts. On the other hand, the idea of a local (Sino-Tibetan) source could be quite promising, combining the data of Ivanov: **ŋa* "tooth, tusk" (cf. Lushai *ŋ'o*, Kapvi *ŋa*) + **g(a)laN* "ox; elephant" (cf. Tibetan *glaŋ*, Tśeku *galon* id.). From the point of view of semantic typology, the most hopeful and elegant solution based on IE data was proposed by Puhvel (*HS* 106[1993]:39-41) who assumes a starting point **angʷʰi-pl̥Hmā* "snake-hand" > **ankʷ-palmo* > **oṅkwalmo*.

3. Slavic

Common Slavic *slonъ "elephant" is without any hopeful etymology based on both inner Slavic data and IE comparanda. Slavs in their own history were never in a direct contact with elephants. That is why it is legitimate to seek an origin of this zoonym outside. There are the following candidates for the source of borrowing:

(a) Turkic (e.g. Osman, Balqar, Karačai) *aslan* "lion", cf. Chuvash *uslan-kajăk* id., but originally *arsylan* (so Kazakh; besides e.g. Karaim *aryslan* or Chuvash *arăslan*), from a compound *arsyl & aŋ* "wild beast", preserved e.g. in Teleut. This idiom could also designate other exotic beasts, cf. Mongolian (< Turkic) *erseleng* "legendary beast eating lions and tigers". Cf. Vasmer III:674-75; Räsänen 1969:27; Sevortjan 1974:177-78.

(b) The continuant of Turkic *jaγan ~ *jān "elephant" (Räsänen 1969:177-78; Sevortjan 1989: 60) in Old Bulgar (an ancestor of Chuvash) or in some related language (of Hunns or Avars ?). In early Chuvash we would expect *śon or *śăn (where *ś could have been substituted by Slavic *sl-), but it was replaced by *sălan* borrowed from Russian.

(c) Old Chinese *sδāŋ (Pulleyblank 1962:126; as a source proposed by Ivanov 1977:156) = *lháŋ (Starostin 1989:102, 600) = *ljang (Hwang-cherng 1995:75) "elephant", perhaps mediated by Hunns or Avars who probably spoke a language closely related to Old Bulgar where *-ŋ > *-n. If the initial cluster was substituted in the language-mediator by *sl-*, it is natural to expect the prothetic vowel (so in all languages of the Altaic family); cf. ʼΟσλάν(ν)ας ὁ βαγατούρ from anthroponymy of the Danubian Bulgars (~ Old Polish *wsłoń* ? - see Vasmer III:674-75). Let us mention that this Old Chinese word was probably borrowed into Turkic where it can be identified in Old Uighur *jaŋa* "elephant" (Räsänen 1969:27; Sevortjan 1989:60). In the hypothetical continuant in Bulgar-Chuvash we would again expect *śon.

(d) Yenisseian *čel "mammonth" (> Ket *tēl*, Sym *čel* - see Starostin 1995:216) + Turkic *aŋ "beast" (cf. Kornilov 1971:211, discussed by Ivanov 1977:154-55). The Yenisseian word is probably related with Old Chinese *slhə̄j (Starostin 1989:569) and Tibetan *b-se* "rhinoceros" (cf. Blažek & Bengtson 1995, 20 with references), but any connection with Slavic *slonъ without any mediation in the concrete time and space is doubtful.

4. Greek & Anatolian

Greek ἐλέφᾱς,-αντος means both "ivory" (*Il.* 5.583 etc.) and later also "elephant" (Hdt. 3.114, 4.191; cf. also ἐλέφαντος ὀδόντες in 3.97). The former meaning is evidently older, judging by the witness of Mycenaean texts where only "ivory" is attested: nom. sg. *e-re-pa* (KN Sd 4412a, Va 482), acc. sg. *e-re-pa-ta* (Kn Og 7504), gen. sg. *e-re-pa-to* (KN V 684.1, Ce 144.1; PY Sa 793), instr. sg. *e-re-pa-te* (KN Ra 1028.A, Sd 4401.b, 4403.b, 4408.b, 4450.c; PY Ta 642.2, 708.1), adj. *e-re-pa-te-jo* instr. pl. ntr.(KN Sd 4403.a), instr. pl. m. or ntr. (PY Ta 642.3, 707.1, 708.1, 710.1, 715.1, 721.1-5, 722.1), *e-re-pa-te-jo-pi* instr. pl. m. (KN Se 891.A,B), *e-re-pa-te-ja* nom. sg.f. (PY Ta 713.2, 715.2.2), *e-re-pa-te-ja-pi* instr. pl. f. (Py Ta 707.2, 708.2, 722.3.3), etc. - see Aura Jorro 1985:240-241.

During the last almost 4 centuries there were presented numerous, sometimes rather bizarre etymologies. The origin has been sought in both Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages.
A. Indo-European origin:
a) Saussure, *MSLP* 3 [1878]:208 and Lewy 1895:5 derived "ivory" from the meaning "white" attested in Greek ἀλφός "lepra" (Hesiod and others), ἀλφούς · λευκούς & ἀλωφούς · λευκούς, ἀλφινία · ἡ λεύκη (Hesych.). Lewy l.c. mentions the use of the ivory as a synonym of "whiteness", cf. λευκοτέρην δʼ ἄρα μιν θῆκε πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος (*Od.* 18.196).

b) Osthoff 1901:281 speculated about the root *el- "horn" seeking it also in ś λαφος "deer".

c) Kretschmer (1951 & 1952) connected Greek "elephant" with Gothic *ulbandus* "camel" and reconstructs the heteroclitic paradigm *léb^h$r̥$ / *l̥b^{h}ánt-*, finding a support for the *r*-form (*ś λεφαρ) in the verb ἐλεφαίρομαι "destroy" (about the Nemean lion - see Hesiod, *Th.* 330) and "cheat with empty hopes", used anagrammatically together with ἐλέφᾱς (*Il.* 562-565).

d) Laroche 1965:56f proposed a connection of Greek ἐλέφᾱς and Hittite or Luwian *laḫpa-* "ivory". Following Güterbock & Hoffner (see CHD:12), Ivanov 1984:68-69 added Hittite *laḫma-* & *laḫmant-* known e.g. from the following context: *periš uizzi* [...] *peran* SÌR(coll.)-*RU la-aḫ-ma-aš paizzi* (KBo 17.43 iv 5-6). Ivanov interpreted it as "elephant goes [...] before [him] they sing, *laḫma-* goes", where *laḫma-* should represent a native synonym to *peri-*, probably a borrowing from Akkadian *pēru*, *pīru*, *pīlu* "elephant", perhaps via Hurrian (cf. Hurrian *šinnipera/uḫḫu* < Akkadian *šinni pi(-i)-ri* "ivory", lit. "tooth of elephant" - see AHw: 867).

B. Non-Indo-European origin:

e) A borrowing from Semitic *Ɂalp- "ox" (already M. Martinius 1623, G.J. Vossius 1662, S. Bochart 1663 and still B. Hemmerdinger, *Glotta* 48 [1970]:52 - see in details West 1993:126). Pott, *ZDMG* 4 [1842]: 15 modified this etymology starting from *aleph Hindi "tauris Indicus", assuming a Phoenician transmission (this solution is discussed by Müller 1861).

f) Schrader & Nehring 1917-23:242 separated ἐλ- ('Arabic-like article'!) from the root -εφ- and compare it with Latin *ebur* "ivory", Old Indic *íbha-* "elephant" and Hebrew (1 Kings 10.22 = 2 Chron. 9.21) *šenhabbîm* "ὀδόντων ἐλεφαντίνων", seeking an origin in Egyptian *3bw* "elephant", beginning from the Middle Kingdom also "ivory".

g) Lokotsch 1927:48 assumed for ἐλέφᾱς the same origin as for Arabic *fīl* "elephant", Persian *pīl* id., deriving them from 'Hamitic', concretely Tuareg *elu*, plus prefixed Egyptian article *p-* !

h) Rössler 1942:296 mentioned a similarity of the Greek ἐλέφᾱς and Berber "elephant", concretely Tuareg (of Taitoq) *ēlū*, pl. *ēlwan*, deriving the Greek word from an early Berber source of the type *eleƀ*.

i) Analyzing (almost) all existing etymologies till 1977, Vallini 1979:182, fn. 137 added her own solution, namely Egyptian (Old Kingdom) zoonym *irb3*, interpreted "rhinoceros" after its determinative (Wb. I:115).

j) Blažek 1992:144 proposed an origin of Greek ἐλέφᾱς and Hittite / Luwian *laḫpa-* "ivory" in Egyptian *ibḥ* "tooth, elephant tusk", Demotic *3bḥ* (Vycichl 1983:154), if it is derivable from *l-b-ḥ). This idea was independently supported by Hodge (1992:215).

2. Let us judge the presented etymological attempts.

Ad a) The white color of ivory is undoubtedly its characteristic feature, cf. Greek ἐλεφάντινα · λευκά (Hesych.), Sumerian logographic expression **KA** x **UD** [**AM** . **SI**] "ivory", i.e. "mouth + white [elephant]" (Tischler 1990:14-15) etc. But from the point of view of laws of Indo-European apophony the initial vowels ἐ- and ἀ- are incompatible. The only solution would be an assumption of assimilation from *ἐλεφαντ° (cf. ἄτερος vs. ἕτερος).

Ad b) The semantic motivation based on "horn" is also quite legitimate, cf. e.g. Sumerian **AM** . **SI** "elephant", lit. "bull" + "horn", Geez (Old Ethiopic) *qarna nage* "elephant tusk", lit. "horn of elephant", Hebrew *qarnōt šēn* id., lit. "horns of tooth", i.e. "ivory" (Ez 27$_{15}$). But the author's separation of the root *el- "horn" is not generally accepted. Also the explanation of the rest of the word lacks.

Ad c) The reconstruction of the form *ἔλεφαρ is implied by existence e.g. of τέκμαρ derived from τεκμαίρομαι (Schwyzer 1939:724). The root ἐλέφ° has been compared with ὀλοφώϊος "deceptive, tricky; destructive, deadly" (cf. ἐρέφω "cover" vs. ὄροφος "roof") and further with Lithuanian *vìlbinti* "to make a fool of", although not without uncertainty (Beekes 1969:41).

On the other hand, any connection (cognate or borrowing) of Gothic *ulbandus*, Old Icelandic *ulfalde*, Old English *olfend* "camel" with Greek ἐλέφαντ° is improbable in the light of Hittite *ḫuwalpant-* "humpback, hunchback", Luwian *ḫu-wa-al-pa-na-ti-ar*, how Puhvel (1991:424-426 and 1993:187-189) has recognized. It was already Schrader & Nehring 1917-23:553 who speculated about an influence of languages of Asia Minor on Gothic spoken in the North Pontic area. Puhvel l.c. admits a common heritage of the Germanic and Anatolian words, but regarding the *-nt*-suffixation typical for Anatolian ('animates' or participles of denominative verbal derivatives) he prefers a cultural influence of the late Anatolian civilization. But Pijnenburg (1996:479-480) has demonstrated that just the *-nt*-suffix forms some animal names in Germanic, cf. Old High German *wisunt*, *wisant* "aurochs", Old English *rowend* "scorpion", *slincend* "reptile", Middle Low German *ellent*, Middle Dutch *elent*, *ellant* "elk", *arent* "eagle" etc.

Ad d) The Anatolian words evidently cannot be a source of Greek ἐλέφαντ° (and vice versa). Probably, both Anatolian and Greek "ivory" / "elephant" were borrowed independently from a common source.

Ad e) Semitic ***ʔalp-* continuing in Akkadian *alpu* "ox, cattle", Phoenician *ʔlp*, Ugaritic *ảlp* "ox", Hebrew *ʔélεp*, used in pl. tantum *ʔălāpîm* "oxen, bullocks, cows, cattle", Empire Aramaic *ʔlpʔ* "ox", Soqotri *ʔalf* "heifer" (Leslau 1938:62; Cohen 1970:21) designated "tamed animal", cf. Arabic *ʔalif* "grow tame", Aramaic *ʔallep* "get used", Hebrew *ʔallūp* "domestic" (Fronzaroli 1969:28, # 6.41). Masson 1967:82 mentions that none of the quoted words was used for "elephant" or even "ivory" (similarly already Th. Hyde in 1694!). Recently West (1993:127-128) tries to rehabilitate this etymology assuming a starting point of the type **alap Ḫanê "ox of Ḫanû", as Akkadian speakers from North Syria about 1800-1500 BC **could** designate the elephant living on the upper and middle Euphrates in the second mill. BC (the Egyptian pharao Tuthmose III hunted elephants in the land of Niy, probably east of Aleppo) and even still in the first millennium BC (the Assyrian king Tiglat-Pilesar I killed ten elephants in the land Harran). This region was inhabited in the first half of the second millennium BC by a semi-nomadic people of a West Semitic origin called *Ḫanû*, in Hurrianized texts *Ḫaniaḫḫe*. This undoubtedly tempting solution does not overcome two problems: (i) in semantics - the primary meaning of the Greek and Anatolian words was apparently "ivory"; (ii) in vocalism - Hebrew *ʔélεp* resembling most Greek ἐλέφ° reflects the Masoretic vocalization developed in the second half of the first mill. AD; the situation of the second mill. BC is reflected besides Akkadian by Ugaritic *ảlp*. Even the borrowing of the beginning of the first mill. BC, namely the name of the letter ἄλφα borrowed from Phoenician (cf. ἄλφα · βοὸς κεφαλή . Φοίνικες, Hesych.), preserves the vowel *a*- in the first syllable.

Ad f) The Old Indic, at least Vedic, *íbha-* means "Gesinde, Tross, Hauswesen, Hofstaat" (EWAI I:194). Mayrhofer, KEWA III:644 confirms that the meaning "elephant" appears only in the later language (Mānava-Dharmaśāstra) probably thanks to misinterpretation of an original Vedic text (cf. further Pali *ibha-*, Prakrit *i(b)ha-*; Sinhalese *iba* probably represents a direct borrowing from Pali - see Turner 1966:71, # 1587).

The Hebrew *šεnhabbîm* is more probably corrupt for ***šεn (wə)hābnîm* "ivory and ebony" (West 1993:128). Let us mention that the source of "ebony" was Egyptian (from the 5th Dyn) *hbnj* "ebony(-tree)" (Spiegelberg 1907:131; Bancel (1989:20-37) tried to find a source of *hbnj* in the Niger-Congo languages, cf. Soninke [Mande] *binne*; proto-Bantu **-pínd-* "to be black" > Ibali -*peen-* id., *i-vindu* "ebony", i.e. "black wood"). Another conjecture **šεnhalbîm was discussed by Pictet 1855:129. Latin *ebur* "ivory" probably reflects a late Egyptian pronunciation of Egyptian *3bw* "elephant preserved in the name of the island Elephantine known in both Greek transcription Χνομῳ [Ν]εβιῆβ, Χνουβὼ Νεβιῆβ (the epochs of Ptolemaios VI and X) corresponding to Egyptian *Ḫnmw ʕ3 nb 3bw* "Ḫnum the great, lord of **Elephantine**", and Coptic Sahidic (e)ihb "Elephantine"

(Vycichl 1983:61-62). The Egyptian *3bw* meant "elephant" beginning from the Old Kingdom, from the Middle Kingdom it was also used in the meaning "ivory". The consonant *3* represents not only "aleph", but it frequently serves as a substituent of **l* or **r*. There are remarkable examples demonstrating that the colloquial speech continuing in Coptic sometimes preserves these liquids even in the positions where the Egyptian language written in hieroglyphs used *3* (see also Satzinger 1994:199):

(1) *3bḫ* "burn, be hot" (Coffin Texts) vs. Coptic Sahidic lwbS "be hot, glow" (Vycichl 1983:95);

(2) *ḥ3b* "a catch (of fish or fowl)" (Pyramid Texts; later *ḥb*) vs. Coptic Sahidic Halib "casting-net" (Vycichl 1983:297; Hodge 1992:209);

(3) *ḫ3b* (Middle Kingdom) "sickle" vs. Coptic Bohairic xrobi id. (Vycichl 1983:246);

(4) *ḫp3.t* "navel" (Pyramid Texts) vs. Demotic *ḫlpy*, Coptic Sahidic Hlpe, Bohairic Kelpi id.; cf. also Argobba *hulufo* "navel" (Vycichl 1958:389 and 1983:298);

In other cases only external comparisons allow to determine an original character of *3* (for simplicity the examples are limited to Egypto-Semitic parallels):

(5) *3ḥ.t* (Old Kingdom) > Demotic *3ḥ* & *iḥ.t* (Middle Kingdom) "field" > Coptic Sahidic eiwHe, Bohairic ioHi id. vs. Arabic *law-* "flower-bed", Hebrew *lūăḥ* (Vycichl 1983:69);

(6) *d3b* "fig" (Pyramid Texts), in Papyrus Ebers "a cake made out of figs", vs. Hebrew *debēlā* "cake of pressed figs", Ugaritic *dblt* "fig cakes" etc. (Ember 1930:17-18);

(7) *ḫ3ʕ* "leave, forsake, pull, let" (Pyramid Texts), Coptic Bohairic xw, Sahidic kw id. vs. Arabic *ḫalaʕa* "remove, pull off, depose, dismiss, divorce (wife)", *ḫaluʕa* "cast off" (Ember 1930:20);

(8) *3is* "brain" (Med.) vs. Arabic *raʔs*, Hebrew *rōš*, Akkadian *rēšu* "head" (Rössler 1966:227);

(9) *k3p* "cover, hide" (19th Dyn.), Coptic kwp "hide, be hidden" vs. Arabic *kafara* "cover"; Hebrew *kapar* "atone for, make atonement" meant orig. "cover" (Ember 1930:16);

(10) *q3b* "entrails, midst" (Med.) vs. Hebrew *qɛrɛb* "midst, interior", Ugaritic *qrb* id., Akkadian *qirbu* "inward part, interior" etc. (Ember 1930:9).

The following step should decide between **l* and **r*. Without safe Coptic data only the external parallels can answer this question. There are several elephant names in various Afroasiatic branches compatible with *3bw*, but they are mutually incompatible (cf. Blažek 1994:197-198):

(11) East Cushitic **ʔarb-* "elephant": Somali *arba*, Rendille *arab*, Arbore *arab*, Dasenech ʼ*arab*, Elmolo *árap*, Oromo *arba*, Konso *arpa*, D'irayta *arp*, Burji *árba*, Dullay *arap-ka* id., Yaaku *arape* "large feline" or "carnivorous animal" and South Cushitic: Maa *áro* "large herbivore elephant";

(12) Common Berber **Hiliw*, pl. **Hiliwan* "elephant" (Prasse 1974:124-125): South = Tuareg: Ahaggar *êlw*, pl. *êlwân* (Foucauld), Ayr *iləw*, pl. *ilwan*, Iullemmiden *eləw*, pl. *elwan* (Alojaly), Taitoq *elw*, pl. *elwan* (Masqueray), Ghat *alu* (R. Basset); West = Zenaga *idjit*, pl. *adjadan* (R. Basset), *ə ǰih*, *īǰih* (Nicolas), *iyiʰ* (Taine-Cheikh);

(13) West Chadic: Tangale *labaṭa*; East Chadic: Mokilko *ʔêlbí* "elephant" (Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994:124-125).The Central Chadic elephant names sometimes connected with the preceding ones (Jungraithmayr & Shimizu l.c.) are probably of a different origin. Sukur *rɪvɛri* resembles suggestively names of "lion" in other Central Chadic languages: Hwona *lìfarì*, Kilba *levàrí*, Higi Dakwa *lɪvɛri*, Hildi *luvari*, Higi Futu *lùvàri*, Dghwede *rvírè*, Laamang *ɔ́rvárè* etc. In respect to the regular change **-n- > -r-* characteristic for most of Central Chadic this zoonym is compatible with West Chadic "leopard": Kulere *ɲúwân*, Daffo *ṛáfán*, Hausa *râbíi*, all from **lub-an-* (cf. Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994:222, 226-227; otherwise Stolbova 1996:89 who reconstructs Proto-Chadic **ʔa-luba-ri*). The Kotoko forms as Logone (Bouny) *ʔàrfɔ*, Makeri *árfu*, Gulfei *árfu(r)*, Shoe *arfu*, Kuseri *árwi* "elephant" seem to be similar too. More probably they are related to Ngala *ánwe*, Yedina *ambu*, Logone (Lukas) *neví* id. The development in Kotoko could

look as follows: *nəwi (cf. Logone after Lukas) > *ʔənwə (cf. Yedina, Ngala) > *ʔərwə (cf. Kuseri, Logone by Bouny, Shoe etc.). There are important parallels also outside Kotoko supporting our reconstruction: Nzangi (Mouchet) ñíwạ and Sura níí, Ankwe niye etc. (Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994:124-125).

The external parallels within Afroasiatic do not solve our question: the Cushitic and Berber data imply *r and *l respectively; our knowledge of Chadic historical phonology allow to confirm the originality of *l only in Mokilko and perhaps in Tangale too:

(14) Mokilko ʔż lzé "tongue", Mubi lísí; Bole lisim (the same group as Tangale, where it was replaced by another word dagọ) etc. (Jungraithmayr & Ibriszimow 1994:328-329) vs. Semitic *lišān // Egyptian ns, Coptic las // Berber *Hilis, pl. *-āwan (Prasse 1974:111, 125) > Siwa iləs, Tuareg Ahaggar iləs etc. (Vycichl 1983:99);

(15) Mokilko (East Chadic) ʔùlbó "heart", Chip (West Chadic) ləp "lungs", Daba (Central Chadic) liɓi "belly" (Kraft) vs. Semitic *libb- / *lubb- "heart" // Berber *wiliH or *HuluH ? "heart" (Prasse 1974:72) or *ulHʷ (Kossmann 1999:82) > Taneslemt ulh, pl. ulhawən, Zenaga udj, pl. allun // Cushitic: Beja lɛw "pylorus" (Roper); Agaw *ləbb-ak- "heart, soul"; East Cushitic *lubb- "heart, soul" > Afar lubb-i, Konso lupp-oota (Sasse 1982:136); South: Asa liba "chest" // Egyptian *ỉub > ỉb, Coptic ub- "heart" (Vycichl 1983:243). For Egyptian, Hodge 1976:20 and 1992:211-212 offers another reading. He mentions the word "ax", in the traditional transcription mỉbt & mỉnb "ax" (Wb. II:42, 44), which is based on the Middle Egyptian reading mỉ of the signs MILK-JUG IN NET [W19] and CHANNEL [N36] respectively (the references to signs follow Gardiner 1988). Using the older mr instead mỉ, both the forms become easy compatible: mrbt & mrnb unambiguously indicate *m-l-b(-t). The alternative spellings (using r instead of ỉ) mr-HEART-t AX (coffin of Min-khaf, 4th Dyn.), mn-n-HEART-t AX BLADE (3rd-4th Dyn.), mr-n-HEART-b INGOT [N34] (Sarc.) imply the primary transcription of the HEART-sign *nb ~ *rb besides later * ỉ3b > ỉb, i.e. *l[u]b ~ *ʔulb > * ỉəlb with the prothetic alif (cf. already Edel 1964: LVII offering the reading jnb for the HEART-sign).

(16) G. Takács drew my attention to the following possibility to determine the liquid substituted by 3 in Egyptian 3bw "elephant". The words 'elephant', 'elephant tusk' and 'ivory' were usually spelled 3b-(b)-w ELEPHANT, 3b-b-(w) TUSK and 3b-b-(w) HARPOON POINT (Wb. I:7; Faulkner 1981:2). In most cases the sign 3b depicting "chisel" was used (Gardiner 1988:518, U 23; Faulkner l.c. also mentions the spelling with the sign SPEAR DECKED OUT AS STANDARD [R 15] read as 3b from Dyn. XVIII, but with original value ỉ3b - see Gardiner 1988:502). The 'chisel' was the main instrument for writing in stone and hence it could serve as a symbol of writing for neighbors of Egyptians. There is at least an undirect support of this idea in the the word 3b.t "brand" (Pyramid Texts) spelled 3b(= 'CHISEL')-b-w with ideograms SCRIBE'S OUTFIT (determining the words as zš "write", zšw "writings", ṯms "red" etc.) and 'GLEAM' (Faulkner 1981:2; Gardiner 1988:534, Y 3 & 505, S 15 respectively). Accepting this identification, there are suggestive parallels in Berber beginning from the oldest sources. So in the Numidian inscription from Thugga we read t.t.rb t-rb.t-n, lit. "sie (t-) wurde (-t-) geschrieben (√rb), die Schrift (t-rb.t) diese (-n)" (Rössler 1942:290-92; Woelfel 1955:117; cf. Augila teturef "it is written" f. after Beguinot - see Wölfel 1965:462). The root √(ʔ)rb continues in living Berber languages too: Ghadames ụụrəɓ "write", verbal noun atiirəɓ (Lanfry) = aref "write" vs. tiraf "script" (C. Motylinski), Augila arév & úrev "write", nom. act. arrâv (Paradisi); Zenaga arha "write", tirekt "script" (R. Basset); Shilha ara "write", arra & tirra "script" (Wölfel), Nefusi ári "write" (Beguinot), Zayan aⱡi "write", nom. act. ťirra (Loubignac), Senhaja ari "write", ťira "script" (Renisio), Snus âriy "write", tira "script" (Destaing), Kabyle aru "write", ṯira "script, inscriptions" (Boulifa); Taitoq ṭīrawt, pl. ṭīra "écrit, amulette" (Masqueray), Ayr tiṛăwt, pl. tiṛa "lettre (missive), amulette écrite" (Alojaly), Ahaggar têrăwt, pl. têra (Prasse

1974:184 reconstructs *t-Hirāw-t, pl. *t-Hirāw, nom. act. of the verb √HrH "write"; cf. also Prasse 1969:

19, 28 postulating roots √H₁rH₂, √H₁rw, √H₁ry). Guanche (Gran Canaria) *tarha* "marque pour les souvenirs" = *tar(j)a* "señal para recuerdos" (Wölfel 1965:461) belongs here too. The old -*b*- is also preserved in Hausa *rubuu-tuu* "write" borrowed (via Kanuri *rĕvo(-tĕ)*): Hausa -*tuu* is the infinitive ending borrowed from Kanuri - see Kossmann 1999:134) from some Berber-Libyan source (Vycichl 1934:40).

The hypothetical connection of the Egyptian sign *3b* 'CHISEL' and the common Berber-Libyan root √(ʔ)rb "write" implies these probable conclusions: (i) The Berber-Libyan "write" is borrowed from the Egyptian source for its more primitive meaning. (ii) The Egyptian *3* substitues *r* here. Hence, the original reading of the Egyptian word "elephant" should be *r[a]baw* or *ʔ[a]rbaw* (regarding the spelling *ỉ3b-b-w* - see above). (iii) The proposed reading is fully compatible with East Cushitic *ʔarb-* (see # 11). On the other hand, any connection with Greek ἐλέφ° is imaginable only via mediation of some substratal language of the Eastern Mediterranean. Let us mention that judging by the Linear B script, the language of the linear A script did not differentiate *r* and *l*.

Accepting this tempting idea of Takács, we must conclude: the Egyptian *3bw* probably is not a source of Greek ἐλέφᾱς.

Ad g) The idea of the prefixed (late) Egyptian article *p*- was first formulated by Hommel (1879: 381) who derived Geez (= Old Ethiopic) *bǝhǝ*, *bǝ- ǝ*, *biḥ/ḥ* "hippo" from Coptic ⲉⲎⲉ "cattle; cow" (< Egyptian *ỉḥ*) with the definite article ⲡ-. But the Geez "hippo" is apparently of a substratal, namely Cushitic, origin, cf. (Central Cushitic) Khamir *biwa*; (East Cushitic) Rendille *ibeḥ*, Arbore *yibéh* etc. id. (see Blažek 1994:202). Arabic *fīl* "elephant" is related to its counterparts in other Semitic languages: Syrian *pīlā*, Postbiblical Hebrew *pīl*, Akkadian (Old Babylonian, Middle Assyrian) *pīru(m)*, *pīlu* id. The vacillation *r ~ l* in Akkadian is perhaps explainable from the protoform *pir-l-* with following assimilation *pill- & *pirr-* and further *pīl- & *pīr-*. There is a hopeful etymology based on the primary meaning "horn" in other Afroasiatic branches: West Chadic: Kofyar *feer*; Miya *ǝpǝr*, Kariya *pár*, Pa'a *pur-kiti* // North Omotic: Shakko *fára* id. // ? East Cushitic: Yaaku *puria'*, pl. *puriain* "rhinoceros" (in details - see Blažek 1994:196). The Akkadian *pīru* was borrowed in Old Persian *pīruš* "ivory" (and New Elamite *pi-ri-um-na* "from ivory" - see Hinz & Koch 1987:210) while Middle & Modern Persian *pīl* "elephant" probably represent an Aramaic borrowing. The late Old Indic *pīlu-* "elephant" is borrowed from some Iranian source. Any connection to Greek ἐλέφᾱς is improbable.

Ad h) Prasse's reconstruction *Hiliw, pl. *Hiliwan "elephant" is based only on Tuareg data (see # 12). In Ghadames, Augila or in Old Libyan, i.e. languages preserving the 'weak' *b (Rössler and Militarev use the symbols *ƀ and *ḅ respectively), this word is not known. But the vacillation *w ~ h* of the final radical in Tuareg vs. Zenaga respectively represents the same correspondence as continuants of Berber-Libyan √(ʔ)rb studied in # 16. This conclusion allows to expect a Berber-Libyan starting-point **ʔilib, pl. **ʔiliban. Just this reconstruction is in a good agreement with external cognates, especially Mokilko (East Chadic) *ʔêlbí* "elephant" (see # 13) and probably also Semitic *ʔibil- "camel" > Akkadian *ibilu* "camel", Syrian *hebaltā* "herd of camels", Arabic *ʔib(i)l*, Thamudic, Safaitic, Sabaic *ʔbl*, Śheri *iyél* "camel" (Cohen 1970:3; the sequence of radicals fully corresponding to the skeleton *ʔ-l-b* attested in the Berber & Mokilko "elephant" could be preserved still in Arabic *ʔalab* "rassembler les chameaux").

A hypothetical source of the Greek ἐλέφαντ° should be sought either in the plural *ʔiliban or in the determined form *ʔilib-Vn, where *-Vn represents a postpositive demonstrative, cf. Numidian trbt-n "this inscription".

In respect to other Greek words which can be of a Berber-Libyan origin, e.g. πίθηκος (from Archil.), Doric -ᾱκος (Ar. *Ach.*), perhaps also the Mycenaean man's name *Pi-ta-ke-u* (PY Jn 389) = *Pithākeus (Ventris & Chadwic 1973:572), besides the dim. πίθων (Pi.), vs. Tuareg of Ahaggar ăbiddaw, pl. *ibiddawän*, Ghadames *biddu* "monkey" (cf. Blažek 1984:443-447; let us mention that 'monkey' was known already for the Minoan civilization, judging by the fresco with two grey macacs depicted on the wall of the room 6 of the Complex B found on Thera), the Berber-Libyan origin of the Greek ἐλέφαντ° is quite possible.

Ad i) The spelling *ỉrb3* can perhaps reflect the skeleton *ʔ-l-b or *ʔ-b-l (cf. *p-l-g > png3, Coptic pwlG "separate" vs. Arabic *falağ* "separate in two", Hebrew *pālag* "divide", or *z-b-l > znb3 "fall", Coptic sbl-te - see Vycichl 1958:374 and 1983:159,184). In spite of the semantic difference it is tempting to compare it with the isogloss *ʔilib- ~ *ʔibil- attested in Berber and Chadic in the meaning "elephant" and in Semitic as "camel" (see above ad h). The variant *ʔ-l-b in Egyptian looks formally compatible with Greek ἐλέφᾱς, but the semantic difference needs to explain.

Ad j) Besides 'standard' spellings *ỉ-b-ḥ* with various ideograms (TUSK[F18].STROKE[Z2], TUSKS), *ỉ-b-ḥ-w* TUSK. PELLETS[N33]and *ỉ-b-ḥ-t* TUSK.FLESH[F51], Hodge 1992:203 quotes e.g. HEART[F34]-ḥ TUSK and *ỉ-b-KID[E8]-ḥ-w*. Just the last two spellings open new readings. Hodge has demonstrated (see # 15) that the HEART-sign [F34] traditionally read *ỉb* is to be read *nb ~ *rb ~ *ỉ3b*. Also for the KID-sign, traditionaly read *ỉb* [E8] as well, there are alternative variants *3b* and *ỉbỉ* (Hodge 1992: 204 after Edel 1955:59) indicating the 'maximum' reading *ỉ3bỉ "kid". The presence of *3* in the word "tooth, tusk" is supported by Demotic *3b & 3bḥ*. Finally, the Coptic continuants agree too (after Hodge 1992:203-204 with Satzinger's corrections):

Sahidic obHe, abHe, ofHe, Ahminic abHe, Bohairic obi < *CVCC-Vt = *3ábḥat (after Satzinger this feminine looks as a participle of the type "die Beissende");

Sahidic obH, Fayumic abH < *CVCC-Vw = *3ábḥVw (originally perhaps plural);

Fayumic abaH, abeH < *ʔV-CCVC = *ʔə3báḥ (Hodge). Satzinger admits only the accented *á* in the first syllable, while the vowel of the second syllable should be a 'Sprossvokal'. Its creation is natural when the vowel between C_1 and C_2 was lost.

The use of the HEART-sign allows to identify *3* = *l (see # 15). Besides this argument of Hodge, there is still an undirect witness: Semitic *l & *r were regularly substituted by *3* in so called 'Proscription Texts' from the Middle Kingdom, cf. the borrowed proper names ʕk3m = ʕagirum, attested in Mari *Ḫa-gi-rum*, related to Arabic ʕagir "be thick", 'Iw3t = Ullaza, Ṯb3nw = Zabulon, Ḫ3wb3- = Ḫālu-barīḫ, M3k3m = Malkī-ilum etc. (Rössler 1966:223; Vycichl 1990:209). There are particular cases of the same way of transcription which are older: 3pỉm = Rapiʔum (Mari *Ra-pí-ú-um*, Ugaritic *RpʔU*; the place name Ndỉ3 attested in the tomb of Inti (6th Dyn.) would correspond to Hebrew *nəṭūʔél, parallel to the really attested place name Pənūʔél (the verbs *naṭû* and *panū* are synonymous - they mean "sich zuwenden" - see Rössler 1966:225). Another support could be found in Arabic *labaḥ* "senescere" compared with *ỉbḥ* by Ember 1930:30-31. In spite of Calice's scepticism (1936:116) the meanings "tooth, tusk" and "grow old" are compatible, starting from the primary semantics "white" - cf. Ugaritic *lbn*, Hebrew *lābān* "white" with other third radical. This idea implies the equation "tusk" = "white". Starting from the biradical root *l-b, it is possible to imagine its extension by the suffix *-ḥ, serving as a body part marker (cf. Takács 1997:241-273). The alternative possibility consists in the sign TUSK OF ELEPHANT [F18] appearing as a phonetic determinative *ḥw* (Gardiner 1988:463; Ember 1930:17 derives *ḥw* from *ḥwr* and compares it with

Semitic *ḫ-w-r "be white" > Arabic ḥawir, Hebrew, Aramaic ḥawar; cf. also East Cushitic *ḫir- "tusk of elephant" > Rendille ḥiir, Harso - ir-ce - see Sasse 1982:98). On the other hand, Hodge 1992:203-206 derives * ĭbḫ from the homonymous biradical base *l-b with a hypothetical meaning "pierce", including here also *3bw* "elephant" and *3b*, older *ĭ3b* (written with the sign R15 - see above # 16) "fingernail, claw", Demotic *yb*, Coptic Ahminic ieebe, Sahidic eieb.

Accepting the presented arguments and regardless on the concrete etymology, Egyptian *ĭbḫt* (attested only in the late language, but certainly older) can reflect *ʔə3[a]bḫat = *ʔəl[a]bḫat.* This form, borrowed in the East Mediterranean substratal language knowing only open syllables (judging by the Linear B script), should be remodelled in *ʔələbʰat* vel sim. And just this hypothetical reconstruction is well compatible with Greek ἐλέφᾱς < *ἐλέφατ(-ς). Hittite/Luwian *laḫpa-(nt-)* could be borrowed from a source of the type *labḫaw* or *labḫat.*

Summing up, among the analyzed etymologies just the last solution, i.e. the Egyptian origin of both the Greek and Anatolian denotations of "ivory" looks as the most hopeful.

5. Latin

Besides apparent borrowings (*elephantus & elementum* < Greek ἐλέφαντ-, the later form via Etruscan; *barrus* < ? < Old Indic *vāru-*), there is *ebur* "ivory", without any evident parallels in the IE languages (Old Indic *ĭbha-* must be rejected - see above). Schrader & Nehring (1917:242) correctly sought its origin in Egyptian *3bw* "elephant", later (from Middle Kingdom) "ivory". With respect to the complete transcription (besides *3bw* also *ĭ3bw*) and the external parallels (East Cushitic *ʔarb-* "elephant"), it is possible to determine the vocalized forms *rabaw* and *ʔərbaw* respectively. Probably via metathesis the latter form could become a source of *ebur*. Alternatively, in the later language (1 mill. BC) the word was probably pronounced *ʔêbu* vel sim., cf. Coptic (e)ihb, the name of the island Elephantine, and Νεβιῆβ, the Greek transcription of the Egyptian title *nb 3bw* "lord of Elephantine". If *ebur* was a heteroclitic noun (cf. the adj. *eburneus* corresponding to *nocturnus* quoted by Benveniste 1935:89 among examples of the -*r*-/-*n*- heteroclisis), the final -*r* did not belong to the root.

6. Germanic

In the Scandinavian languages, there is a different designation of the 'elephant' than the Greek borrowing diffused via the Latin mediation within West Germanic: Old & Modern Icelandic *fíll*, Old Swedish & Older Danish *fíl* id., besides Old Icelandic *fíl(s)bein* "ivory", Faeroese *filabein*, Older Danish *filsben* id. Its origin is more probable thanks to the direct contact of Normans with Arabs in Mediterranean (cf. Arabic *fīl* discussed above - so Falk & Torp 1960:217) than in the Balkanian mediation (de Vries 1962:120 quoted Serbian-Bulgarian *fildiš* "ivory" < Turkish "elephant's tooth" where the first component represents the same Arabic word).

Conclusion

There is no positive evidence giving any convincing proof that the 'elephant' belonged into the proto-Indo-European lexicon (similarly Adams & Mallory, *EIEC*: 176-77).

Appendix
An overview of the most important mistakes accompanying the etymologies of the zoonym "elephant" in the Indo-European languages.

- 'Coptic ebou "elephant"' does not exist. This ghost-form has an origin in the 'training' transcription of J.-F. Champollion of Egyptian *3bw* which continues only in the Coptic name of the island Elephantine (see above ad f; it was already in 1834 I. Rosselini who speculated about the

correspondence of the Coptic and Greek names of this island - see Vallini 1979:158-165). This error is copied from dictionary to dictionary (e.g. Boisacq, Ernout & Meillet, Walde & Hofmann, Chantraine, Mayrhofer in KEWA I, etc.) and even it continues in the recent publications, e.g. Ivanov 1984:71, Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1984:524.

- Arabic *fīl* "elephant" is not borrowed from Modern Persian *pīl* id. which cannot be analyzed in the Egyptian article *p-* plus Tuareg (or even "Hamitic" ! - so Walde & Hofmann 1938:389) *elu* "elephant" (see above ad g).

- Colloquial Arabic *bil* "camel" cannot be compared with Arabic *fīl* "elephant", as Puhvel does (1993:187). The form *bil* is simply shortened from *ʔibil* (see above ad h).

- Ivanov 1977:161 and Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1984:525 have created another ghost-word in 'Tocharian ⁺*alpi* "camel"', a presumable cognate of Greek ἐλέφαντ°, referring to Clauson 1973: 40. But Clauson exactly says: "For example, applying the normal rules of Tokharian phonetics to the Indo-European words for "**barley**", the Tokharian word should have been something like *alpi* which is very like Turkish *arpa*. Again the Chinese word for 'camel', which is disyllabic and so a loan-word, might well be Tokharian". The unattested Tokharian ⁺*alpi* is postulated on the basis of Greek ἄλφι and Albanian *elp*, *elbi* "barley" (Pokorny 1959:29). Common Turkish *arpa* represents more probably an Iranian borrowing (the change $l > r$ is regular in Iranian languages, but not in Tokharian or Turkish), cf. Pashto *orbašē* (pl.), Ishkashim *urwus*, Sanglichi *vərvəs*, Yidgha *yaršīō* "barley" < Iranian **arbasyā*; with another extension in Yazgulami *xarban* "millet" (Steblin-Kamenskij 1982:23; otherwise Morgenstierne 1927:11). Today we know the Tocharian word for camel too, cf. B *partāktaññe pitkesa* "camel spittle" (Adams 1999:358-59). L. Isebaert assumes a Middle Iranian source of the type **partaxt* < **pari-taxta-* "faisant le tour de, circulant, se promenant". A.J. Van Windekens reconstructs **par(t)-* + **āk(to)-* < **bʰer-* + **aĝ-to-* "load" + "carried" (*IF* 93[1988]:99-100). Regardless of the decision which of these etymologies is correct, there is no connection between the Tocharian "camel" and the Greek "elephant". Finally, after Starostin (letter from June 3, 1998) the Middle Chinese pronunciation of the word for camel was *lâk-dâ*, first attested in the Houhanshu (1st cent. AD), in the list of captured Barbarian animals. The pronunciation in earlier periods should have been **rāk-lāj*. Although its foreign origin is more than probable, it is very difficult to identify a source just in Tocharian B. The remaining hope is an unknown East Tocharian (= A) designation for "camel".

- Gothic *ulbandus* "camel" with its counterparts in other Germanic languages is not borrowed from Greek ἐλέφαντ°, but it is connected with Hittite *huwalpant-* "hunchback, humpback" (Puhvel 1991:424-426 and 1993:187-189; see above ad c). The regular Germanic continuants of the Greek "elephant" are e.g. Old English *elpend*, *ylpend*, Old High German *elpfant*, *elafant* "elephant", borrowed via Latin.

References:

Adams, Douglas Q.
  1999 *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*. Amsterdam - Atlanta: Rodopi.
AHw = von Soden, Wolfram 1972: *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Aura Jorro, Francisco
  1985 *Diccionario micénico*, I. Madrid: Instituto de Filologia.
Bancel, Pierre
  1989 Ébène: un emprunt de l'égyptien ancien à une langue négro-africaine au 3ᵉ millénaire
  av. J.-C. *Pholia* 4, 20-37.
Beekes, Robert S.P.
  1969 *The Development of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Greek*. The Hague - Paris: Mouton.

Benveniste, Emile
  1935 *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen.* Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.
Blažek, Václav
  1984 Gr. πίθηκος. *Linguistica* 24, 443-447.
  1992 *Historická analýza indoevropské zoologické terminologie* (*savci*). Brno: Unpublished
  dissertation.
  1994 Elephant, hippopotamus and others: some ecological aspects of the Afroasiatic
  homeland. *Asian and African Studies* 3/2, 196-212.
Blažek, Václav & Bengtson, John D.
  1995 Lexica Dene-Caucasica. *Central Asiatic Journal* 39, 11-50.
CHD = *The Hittite Dictionary of The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, eds. H.G.
  Güterbock & H.A. Hofner. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
Clauson, Sir Gerard
  1973 Philology and archaeology. *Antiquity* 47, 37-42.
Cohen, David
  1970 *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques*. Paris - Lattaye: Mouton.
DEDR = Burrow, Thomas & Emeneau, Murray 1984: *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary$_2$*.
  Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Edel, Elmar
  1955-64 *Altägyptische Grammatik.* Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
EIEC = *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, eds. James P. Mallory & Douglas Q. Adams.
  London - Chicago: Fitzroy Dearbon Publishers 1997.
Ember, Aaron 1930 *Egypto-Semitic-Studies*, ed. by F. Behnk. Leipzig: Verlag Asia Major.
EWAI = Mayrhofer, Manfred 1986 *Etymologiches Wörterbuch des Altindoarisch* I.
  Heidelberg: Winter.
Falk, H.S. & Torp, Alf
  1960 *Norwegisch-Dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I (**A-O**)$_2$. Heidelberg: Winter.
Faulkner, Raymond O.
  1981 *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
Fronzaroli, Pelio
  1969 Studi sul lessico comune semitico VI. La natura domestica. *Accademia Nazionale dei
  Lincei. Rendiconti della Classe Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Ser. VIII, vol. XXIV,
  fasc. 7-12, 1-36.
Gamkrelidze, Tamas V. & Ivanov, Vjačeslav V.
  1984 *Indoevropejskij jazyk i indoevropejcy.* Tbilisi: Izdatel'stvo Tbilisskogo univerziteta.
Gardiner, Sir Alan
  1988 *Egyptian Grammar$_3$*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
Hilmarsson, Jörundur
  1986 *Studies in Tocharian Phonology, Morphology, and Etymology: with special emphasis on
  the o-vocalism.* Reykjavík: Author.
  1991 *The Nasal Prefixes in Tocharian: A Study in Word Formation.* Reykjavík: Tocharian and
  Indo-European Studies, Supplementary Series 3.
Hinz, Walther & Koch, Heidemarie
  1987 *Elamisches Wörterbuch*. Berlin: Reimer.
Hodge, Carleton T.
  1976 An Egypto-Semitic Comparison. *Folia Orientalia* 17, 5-28.
  1992 Tooth and Claw. *Anthropological Linguistics* 34, 202-232.
Hommel, Fritz
  1879 *Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den südsemitischen Völkern.* Leipzig: Hinrichs
  Buchhandlung.

Hughes-Brook, Helen
 1992 Ivory and related material. *Discussions in Egyptology* 23, 23-37.
Hwang-cherng, Gong
 1995 The system of finals in Sino-Tibetan. In: *The Ancestry of the Chinese Language*, ed.
 William S.-Y. Wang. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, *Monograph Series Number* 8, 41-92.
Ivanov, Vjačeslav V.
 1977 Nazvanija slona v jazykax Evrazii. 1-3 (3. Xet. *laŻpa-* 'slonovaja kosť' i greč. ἐλέφας).
 Étimologija 1975, 66-75.
 1982 K ėtimologii nekotoryx migracionnyx kul'turnyx terminov. *Étimologija* 1980, 157-166.
 1984 O proisxoždenii dr.-greč. ἐλέφας 'slonovaja kosť, slon'. In: *Étnogenez narodov Balkan i
 severnogo Pričernomorja. Lingvistika, istorija, arxeologija.* Moskva: Nauka, 66-76.
Jakobson, Roman
 1971 *Selected writings*, vol. II. The Hague-Paris: Mouton.
Jungraithmayr, Herrmann & Ibriszimow, Dymitr
 1994 *Chadic Lexical Roots*, II. Berlin: Reimer.
KEWA = Mayrhofer, Manfred 1956-76: *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des
 Altindischen*, I-III. Heidelberg: Winter.
Kornilov, G.E.
 1971 Altajskie paralleli k čuvašskim nazvanijam olenja, verbljuda i slona. *Problema obščnosti
 altajskix jazykov*. Leningrad: Nauka, 208-213.
Kossmann, Maarten
 1999 *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*. Köln: Köppe.
Kretschmer, Paul
 1951 Der Name des Elefanten. *Anzeiger der Ősterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
 88, 307-325.
 1952: Nachträge zum Name des Elefanten. Ibid. 89, pp. 191-193.
Laroche, Emanuel
 1965 Sur le nom grec de l'ivoire. *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d' Histoire Anciennes*
 39, 56-59.
Leslau, Wolf
 1938 *Lexique soqotri (sudarabique moderne)*. Paris: Klincksieck.
Lewy, Heinrich
 1895 *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*. Berlin: Gaertner.
Lokotsch, Karl
 1927 *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs.*
 Heidelberg: Winter.
Masson, Emilia
 1967: *Recherches sur les plus emprunts sémitiques en Grec*. Paris: Klincksieck.
Morgenstierne, Georg
 1927 *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*. Oslo: Dybwad.
Müller, Friedrich
 1861 Ist ἐλέφας = elef hindî. *KZ* 10, 267-269.
M-W = Monier-Williams, Monier 1899[1993]: *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal
 Banarsidass.
Norman, Jerry & Mei, Tsu-lin
 1976 The Austroasiatics in Ancient South China: Some Lexical Evidence. *Monumenta Serica*
 32, 274-301.
Osthoff, H.
 1901 *Etymologische Parerga*, I. Leipzig: Hirzel.
Pijnenburg, W.J.J.

    1996 The etymology of Dutch *windhond*, Frisian *wynhûn*, German *windhund* 'greyhound'.
    NOWELE 28-29, 479-483.
Pictet, Adolphe
    1855 Encore une conjecture sur l'origine d'ἐλέφας. *KZ* 4, 128-131.
Pokorny, Julius
    1959 *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern-München: Francke.
Prasse, Karl - G.
    1969 A propos de l'origine de *h* touareg (tăhăggart). København: *Det Kongelige Danske
    Videnskabernes Selskab Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser* 43.3
    1974 *Manuel de grammaire touaregue* (tăhăggart), IV-V (Nom). Copenhague: Akademisk
    Forlag.
Puhvel, Jaan
    1991 *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, Vol. 3: *Words beginning with* H. Berlin - New York:
    Mouton de Gruyter.
    1993 On the origin of Gothic *ulbandus* 'camel'. *Linguistica* 33, 187-189.
Pulleyblank, Edgar G.
    1962 The consonantal system of Old Chinese. *Asia Major* n.s. 9, 58-144, 206-265.
Räsänen, Martti
    1969 *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen.* Helsinki: Lexica
    Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XVII, 1.
Rasmussen, Jens E.
    1988 Tocharian B *oṅkolmo*, A *oṅkaläm* 'elephant': An etymological suggestion. *Tocharian
    and Indo-European Studies* 2, 166-183.
Rössler, Otto
    1942 Libyca. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 49, 282-311.
    1966 Das ältere ägyptische Umschreibungssystem für Fremdnamen und seine
    sprachwissenschaftlichen Lehren. In: *Neue Afrikanistische Studien*, hrsg. J. Lukas. Hamburg:
    Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung, 218-229.
Sasse, Hans-Jürgen
    1982 *An Etymological Dictionary of Burji.* Hamburg: Buske.
Satzinger, Helmut
    1994 Das ägyptische "Aleph" - Problem. In: *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten. Fs. Gertrudd
    Thausing*, eds. M. Bietak, J. Holaubek, H. Mukarovsky, H. Satzinger. Wien: Institut für
    Ägyptologie der Universität Wien, 191-205.
Schrader, Otto & Nehring, Alfons
    1917-23 *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, I. Berlin-Leipzig: Walter de
    Gruyter.
Schwyzer, Eduard
    1939 *Griechische Grammatik* I. München: Beck.
Sevortjan, É.V.
    1971, 1989 *Étimologičeskij slovaŕ tjurkskix jazykov* (Initial vowels; ʒ, ž, j). Moskva: Nauka.
Spiegelberg, Wilhelm
    1907 Ägyptische Lehnwörter in der älteren griechischen Sprache. *KZ* 41, 127-132.
Starostin, Sergei A.
    1989 *Rekonstrukcija drevnekitajskoj fonologičeskoj sistemy.* Moskva: Nauka.
Starostin, Sergei A.
    1995 Sravnitel'nyj slovaŕ enisejskix jazykov. In: *Ketskij sbornik: Lingvistika*, ed. S.A.
    Starostin. Moskva: Vostočnaja literatura, 176-315.
Steblin-Kamenskij, Ivan M.

1982 *Očerki po istorii leksiki pamirskix jazykov. Nazvanija kul'turnyx rastenij.* Moskva: Nauka.

Stolbova, Olga V.
1996 *Studies in Chadic Comparative Phonology.* Moscow: Diaphragma.

Takács, Gábor
1997 The common Afrasian nominal class marker *- . *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 2, 241-273.

Tischler, Johann
1990 *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, Lief. 5 und 6 (**L-M**). Innsbruck: IBS 20.

Turner, R.L.
1966 *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Iranian Languages*. London: Oxford University Press.

Vallini, Cristina
1979 Gr. ΕΛΕΦΑΣ: storia di un'etimologia. *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico*, sezione linguistica, 1, 123-186.

Van Windekens, Albert J.
1941 *Lexique étymologique des dialectes tokharien.* Louvain: Bibliothèque II.

Van Windekens, Albert J.
1976 *Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, Vol. I: *La phonétique et la vocabulaire.* Louvain: Centre Internationale de Dialectologie Générale.

Vasmer, Max
1986-88 *Étimologičeskij slovaŕ russkogo jazyka*, 4 vols. O.N. Trubačev (trans.). Moskva: Progress (orig. *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I-III. Heidelberg: Winter 1950-58).

Ventris, Michael & Chadwik, John
1973 *Documents in Mycenaean Greek$_2$*. Cambridge: University Press.

de Vries, Jan
1962 *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch$_2$*. Leiden: Brill.

Vycichl, Werner
1934 Hausa und Ägyptisch. *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, 37.3.
1958 Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, Bd. 16 (Fs. H. Junker, II). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 367-405.
1983 *Dictionnaire étymologie de la langue copte.* Leuven: Peeters.
1990 La vocalisation de la langue égyptienne, I. La phonétique. *Institut Français d'archeologie orientale du Caire*, Bibliothèque d'étude, XVI.

Walde, Alois & Hofmann, J.B.
1938 *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I (**A-L**). Heidelberg: Winter.

Wb. = *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache*, I-VI, hrsg. A. Erman & H. Grapow. Berlin: Akademie -Verlag 1971.

West, M.L.
1993 Elephant. *Glotta* 70, 125-128.

Wölfel, Dominik J.
1955 *Eurafrikanische Wortschichten als Kulturschichten.*Salamanca: Acta Salmanticensia, Filosofia y Letras, IX.1

Wölfel, Dominik J.
1965: *Monumenta Linguae Canariae*. Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt.

Václav Blažek
Ryneček 148
26101 Příbram III

Czech Republic
e-mail: blazek@phil.muni.cz