

## Some Berber Parallels of European Substratum Words<sup>1</sup>

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### 1. Introduction

In recent years, the substratum languages that underly the Indo-European languages of Europe have received new attention from a number of scholars. Several substratum words have been identified and a number of morphological characteristics of substratum words has been defined (e.g. Polomé i.a. 1989, 1990, Kuiper 1995, Vennemann i.a. 1995, Beekes 1996, Boutkan 1998, *forthc.*, Boutkan & Kossmann 1998). The identification of the substratum language(s) has also received attention. Especially Basque and Semitic are favourite candidates (cf. Vennemann 1995, Kortlandt 1997).

In this article, we shall present a number of lexical parallels between European substrate material<sup>2</sup> and evidence from another language group, viz. the Berber languages of northern Africa. Some Berber material has been used by propagators of a circummediterranean substratum (cf. Durand 1994 for a critical discussion). Especially the comparison of Latin *sappinus* with Berber *tasajt* 'oak' has been given some attention (esp. Hubschmid 1950). We shall not give a full discussion of the proposed correlations, which are of different degrees of probability (cf. a.o. Cohen 1931, Hubschmid 1950).

The evidence presented in this article was gathered more or less by chance without involving a complete scrutiny of all available material. It is possible that a more detailed analysis of the Berber lexicon will provide more parallels.

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<sup>2</sup>Of course we do not wish to imply that all forms are derived from one single substrate language. Cf. also Beekes (1996: 217-8).

At this moment, it is impossible to assess the status of these lexical parallels. It may very well be that they can be ascribed to mere chance. However, we consider it useful to introduce this Berber material into the discussion.

## 2. Note on the Berber reconstructions

The reconstruction of Proto-Berber is in a very preliminary stadium. Therefore, proposals for a reconstruction must be equally preliminary. In evaluating our version of (Pre-)Proto-Berber, one should note the following points of departure:

- (1) Berber *f* and *ɣ* are reconstructed as *\*p* and *\*q* (uvular voiceless stop), respectively.
- (2) Touareg *h* (= Ghadames *β*) is reconstructed *\*β*. As Proto-Berber *\*b* is rare in many contexts, one may assume that *\*β* goes back to *\*\*b* in some earlier stadium of the language.
- (3) The short vowels are reconstructed on the basis of Southern Touareg and Ghadames forms. We assume that [ã] goes back to short *\*a* and *e* (= schwa) to short *\*i* and *\*u*.
- (4) As the Touareg/Ghadames long vowels *é* and *o* are often, though not always, the result of secondary developments, they will be written *\*ī* and *\*ū* respectively in the reconstructions.
- (5) Vowels that could not be reconstructed, or that vary according to regular ablaut patterns are written [V].

In the reconstructed forms, the Berber nominal prefixes and suffixes are not included. Where the so-called 'voyelle constante' does not go back to *\*[β]*, it is taken as part of the root morpheme. In the actually attested forms, spirantization is not indicated.

The reconstructions are based on as many as possible reliable Berber forms. Most forms included can without problem be reconstructed for Proto-Berber.

## 3. The evidence

### 3.1 'berry' (Lat.)

**European:** Lat. *bāca* 'berry', an isolated etymon that is probably not to be connected with Welsh *bagad* 'bunch' (Schrijver p.c.). An alleged Lat. *bacca*, though attested in Modern Romance languages, cf. Italian *bacca*, does not exist (Juret 1918: 195).

**Berber:** *\*bqā* < *\*βqā*? 'blackberry, mulberry'

Premodern Sous Berber *tabya* ~ *tafya* 'mûre', Middle Atlas *tabya*

'mûres sauvages de ronce' Rif *tabya* 'sorte d'herbe' Chenoua *habya* 'mûre'

**Discussion:** Although Berber plant names are often borrowed from Latin, the absence of the first long vowel of Latin *bāca* in the Berber forms makes borrowing improbable (pace Schuchardt 1919: 22-23).

### 3.2 'evening' (Gmc.)

**European:** PGmc. \*ǣf(t)-an(d)-, cf. ON *aptann*, OE *ǣfen*, OS *āband*, OHG *āband*, *abunt*, *abant*, OFris. *ēvend*, ODu. *avont*, *avant*, MDu. *avont*, *avent*

Cf. Beekes (1996: 231-2) on all formal problems concerning this Gmc. isolate, such as the remarkable 'ablaut' \*ā ~ \*a that is a current feature of (North) European substratum words in Gmc. (cf. also Boutkan forthc.).

**Berber:** \*βad 'night'

Ahaggar Touareg *ēhod*, Iwellemmeden Touareg *ēhād*, Ghadames *ēβād*, Kabyle *id*, Sous *id*, Middle Atlas *id*, Mzab *id*, Ouargla *id*, Figuig *id*

**Discussion:** The absence of a nasal element in the Berber forms makes the comparison less attractive. Note however its absence in some Gmc. forms, too.

### 3.3 'goat' (Gmc., Italic)

**European:** PGmc. \*gait-, cf. Goth. *gaits*, ON *geit*, OE *gāt*, OS *gēt*, OHG *geiz*, MDu. *gheit*, *gheet*; Lat. *haedus*, Sabinian *faedus* 'he-goat'

The word is a well-known Gmc.-Italic isogloss (Krahe 1954: 76). The Gmc. word may originally have been a root noun (De Tollenaere 1982/3).

The relation between this etymon and Lat. *catulus* 'young of an animal' remains unclear. We find possibly cognate Umbrian *KATEL* 'catulus', but also semantically fitting M-Irish *cadla*, MHG *hatele* 'goat', also ON *haðna* 'young goat'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>As to the formal complications concerning the relationship between *catulus* and \*g<sup>h</sup>aid-, note the ununderstood variation of apparent \*g<sup>h</sup> and \*k in European substrate material, e.g. in \*ghabh- in Lat. *habere* 'have', OIr. *gaibid* 'take, seize', Lith. *gabėnti* 'transport' ~ \*kap- in Lat. *capiō* 'seize', Gr. *káptō* 'seize eagerly', PGmc. \*hab- (Goth. *haban*, etc.) 'have'; also Lat. *caper* 'buck', Gr. *kápros* 'wild boar', OIr. *caera* 'sheep', ON *hafr* 'buck' < \*kap-ro- ~ OIr. *gabor*, Gaul. *Gabro-* 'buck' < \*g<sup>h</sup>ab<sup>h</sup>- (Schrijver p.c.). Furthermore, a variation \*ai ~ \*a is also frequent in European substrate words, cf. Schrijver (1997: 304ff.). Thus, we could connect \*kad- and \*g<sup>h</sup>aid-.

**Berber:** \**āqād* '(she-)goat'; \**qayd* 'billy goat'

Ahaggar Touareg *iḡeyd* 'chevreau', Iwellemmeden Touareg *éḡāyd* 'chevreau', Ghadames *tēcat* (< \**tē'adt*) 'chèvre' *a'īd* (< \**a'īd*) 'chevreau', Kabyle *taḡat* 'chèvre' *iḡid* 'chevreau', Sous *taḡatt* 'chèvre' *iḡid*, *iḡīd* (< \**iḡeyd*) 'chevreau', Middle Atlas *taḡatt* 'chèvre' *iḡid* 'chevreau', Rif *tyat* 'chèvre' *iḡeyd* 'chevreau', Ouargla *iḡeyd* 'bouc, chevreau', Mzab *iḡid*, *iḡeyd* 'chevreau', Figuig *tyatt* 'chèvre' *iḡid* 'chèvre'

The Berber words for 'goat' and 'billy-goat' cannot be linked formally.<sup>4</sup>

**Discussion:** The European and Berber words show remarkable similarities, both formally and semantically.

### 3.4 'bent' (Gmc. [, Celt.], perhaps also Greek)

**European:** WGmc. \**krumb* in OE *crumb*, OS *krumb*, OFris. *krumb*, OHG *chrumb*, MHG *krum(p)*, MLG *krum(me)*, MDu. *crom(me)*, *cromb*, *crumb* 'crooked, curved' [; OIr. *cromb*, *cromm*, Welsh *crum*, Cornish *crom* 'bent', OBret. *crum* 'hunchbacked', MBret. *kro(u)mm* 'bent']; maybe to be connected with Gr. *grūpós* 'bent', (Hesych) *grumpánein* · *grupoūsthai* (Pokorny 1959: 387).

The Celtic forms may be early loans from Gmc. (Vendryes 1959, C-244-5).

**Berber:** \**ku/irVnb* etc. 'to be bent'

Ahaggar Touareg *kerembi* 'être courbé' Iwellemmeden Touareg *kerenbew* 'être courbé' Rif *krumbeš* (from \**krumbeš* or \**klumbeš*) 'être enchevetré' (Cadi 1987: 142)

The quantity of the second vowel is uncertain. The quality of the vowel may go back to \**u*. The Berber form shows various expressive extensions.

**Discussion:** Because the European forms show two features which typically cause variation in North European substratum material, viz. optional prenasalisation (Kuiper 1995: 68ff.) and initial *kr-*, we suspect that the similarity with the Berber forms is coincidental.

### 3.5 'burrough' (Gr. [, Lat.], perhaps Gmc.)

**European:** Gr. *púrgos* 'fortification' [, → Latin *burgus*], perhaps PGmc. \**burgs*, cf. Goth. *baurgs* 'city, tower', ON *borg* 'city, castle, height, wall, fortified place', OE *burg*, *burh*, OS *burg*, OHG

<sup>4</sup>The Berber word has also been connected to Greek *aiks*, *aigos* 'Aegis' (Camps & Chaker 1996).

*bur(u)g*, MHG *burc*, MLG *borch*, MDu. *bor(ē)ch*, *burch*, *boorch*, *borcht* 'fortified place, castle, city', ODu. *burg* 'civitas'

The Greek form may represent a European substrate term (different Furnée 1972: 64-6, 178, who compares Urartu *burgana* 'palace').

Usually the Gmc. forms are considered as a contamination of a Gmc. word related to *\*berg-* 'mountain' (i.e. a zero-grade *\*burg-* < *\*bʰyǵʰ-*, cf. also Griepentrog 1995: 91-116, with abundant reff., especially p. 112) and a Latin loan *burgus*. However, *\*burgs* may equally represent a zero-grade to the PIE root (note also that the word is a root stem), or, on the other hand, be a substratum word in Gmc. without further complications, cognate with Gr. *púrgos*, *phúrkos*.

**Berber:** *\*farāg* 'enclosure'

Ahaggar Touareg *āfarag* 'clôture', Iwellemmeden Touareg *afārag* 'clôture, jardin', Kabyle *afrag* 'clôture' Middle Atlas *afrag* 'haie, clôture', Rif *afray* (< *\*afrag*) 'clôture', Ouargla *afrag* 'haie'

Most Berber languages have an additional verb *efreg* meaning 'to enclose (by an *afrag*)'.

**Discussion:** The situation in Europe is complicated by the coexistence of a PIE etymon 'mountain', i.e. *\*bʰyǵʰ-* (Pokorny 1959: 140-1, see above) and a possible alternative comparison with the Gr. isolate *phrássō* 'to encircle' (see however Frisk 1960-1972, s.v.).

### 3.6 'crutch' (Gmc.)

**European:** WGmc. *\*krukjō*, cf. OE *cryce*, OS *krukka*, OHG *krucka*, MDu. *crucke*, *crocke*, *cricke* 'crutch', beside *\*krak-*, cf. ON *kraki* 'stick with a hook', *\*krök-*, cf. ON *krökr* 'hook', *krækill* 'crook, crozier', perhaps also with *\*æ* and root-final *\*-g*: OHG *krāgo* < *\*kræg-* 'hook'.

The form of the root as well as the non-IE 'ablaut' *\*u ~ \*a ~ \*ō (~ ē)* (in a substantival root) point to a non-IE heritage in Gmc. (pace De Vries 1992, s.v. *kruk* and the mechanical root-etymology in Pokorny 1959: 385).

**Berber:** *\*qaru/iy* 'stick'

Ghadames *tayārit* 'bâton', Kabyle *iyri* 'bâton' (archaic), Middle Atlas *tayriyt* 'bâton', Rif *tayāšt* (< *\*tay(γ)reyt*) 'canne', Figuig *ayrey* 'bâton'.

**Discussion:** Variation of *k* and *y* is irregular in Berber, but not uncommon, especially root-finally. The assumption of the variation in this etymon is *ad hoc*.

## 3.7 'head' (Gmc., Lat.)

**European:** PGmc. \**haubid-*, \**haubud-*; \**hafud-* < \**ka(u)pVt-*, \**haful-* < \**kapul-*, cf. Goth. *haubiþ*, ON *haufuþ*, OE *hēafod*, OS *hōbid*, OHG *haubit*, MHG *houb(e)t*, *houpt*, MLG *hōvet*, ODu. *hōvid*, MDu. *hovet*, *hooft*, *hoift*, *hoot*, *hood*, *hoit*, ON *hofuþ*, OE *hafud* 'head', OE *hafola*; Lat. *caput* 'head'

On this etymon and its apparent substrate origin cf. Beekes (1996: 218-220). In view of OE *hafola*, one can consider that the dental and competing lateral elements represent extensions to a root \**ka(u)p-*, cf. also Boutkan (1998: 111-2).

**Berber:** \**qap* 'head, top'

Ahaggar Touareg *éyef* 'tête', Iwellemeden Touareg *éyāf* 'tête, sommet', Ghadames *éyāf* 'tête, extrémité, sommet', Kabyle *ixef* 'tête, sommet', Sous *ixf* 'dessus', Middle Atlas *ixf* 'tête', Rif *ixf* 'bout', Ouargla *ixf*, *iʔef* 'tête', Mzab *iʔef*, *ixf* 'tête, bout', Figuig *ixef* 'tête'

**Discussion:** The European and Berber words show remarkable similarities, both formally and semantically.

## 3.8 'lead' (Lat., perhaps Gr., perhaps Celtic [→ WGmc.?.])

**European:** Latin *plumb-* (< \**plund<sup>h</sup>(w)-?*) 'lead', Mycenaean *moliwd-os*, Greek a.o. *mólubd-os*, *mólib-os* 'lead', perhaps OIr. *lúaide*, perhaps PWGmc. \**lauda-*, cf. OE *lēad*, MHG *lōt*, MLG *lōt*, *lōde*, OFris. *lād*, MDu. *loot* 'lead'

It is unclear whether all European forms belong together. Beekes (p.c.) reconstructs the Greek form as \**moliwd-* which cannot be linked to the Latin form. It has been assumed that the Gmc. term was borrowed from Celtic (orig. Much, *apud* Kluge-Seebold 1989, s.v. *Lot*), which may have contained initial \**p-*. According to an old idea (e.g. Kluge-Seebold 1989, loc.cit.) the Celtic form must actually be reconstructed as \**ploudiā-*, which could be coupled to PIE \**ploud-* 'fließen', which is little attractive. Moreover, Schrader (1907: 95) compares the European complex to Basque *berun* 'lead' and explicitly assumes a Western European substratum origin.

It is not clear whether there is a relationship with European words for 'pewter (a grey alloy of tin with lead)', cf. Italian *peltro*, Spanish *peltre*, Ofrench *peautre*, *espeautre*, etc. (Schrader 1907: 96).

**Berber:** \**baldūn* ~ \**βaldūn* ~ \**būldūn* ~ \**baldūm* 'lead'

Ahaggar Touareg *āhāllun* 'plomb, étain', Iwellemeden

Touareg *aldom* 'étain', Ghat Touareg *ahellum* 'plomb', Kabyle *aldun* 'plomb', Sous Berber *aldun* 'plomb', Middle Atlas *aldun* 'plomb', Mzab *buldun* 'plomb', Ouargla *buldun* 'plomb', Mauretanian Zenaga *âldûn* 'plomb'

**Discussion:** In view of the wild variation in the Berber forms, the etymon may be considered a foreign word in Berber. It may very well represent a Wanderwort.

### 3.9 'crab, lobster' (Gmc.)

**European:** PGmc. \**krabit*, cf. OS *krebit*, OHG *krebiz*, MLG *krēvet*, *krēft*, MDu. *crēvet* (→ French *crevette* 'shrimp'), *creeft*, *crēft* 'lobster', \**krabb*-, cf. ON *krabbi*, OE *crabba*, MLG *krabbe*, MDu. *crabbe* 'crab'

A connection with many similar Greek (= probably Mediterranean substratum; cf. also Cohen 1931) words, cf. *kārabos* ~ *grapsaios* (→ Lat. *cārabus*) 'sea-lobster' (Furnée 1972: 109, 154, 169, 178, 282 and passim) is quite generally denied (e.g. explicitly Franck & Van Wijk & Van Haeringen 1976, s.v. I *krab*, Vercoullie 1925, s.v. *krab*). On the obvious North European substratum origin of this Gmc. etymon, cf. Kuiper (1995: 70), however. As to the dental derivation in 'lobster', cf. Boutkan (1998: 126, forthc.).

**Berber:** \**qi/urβ* ~ \**qi/urβi* (?) 'shield'

Ahaggar Touareg *ayer* 'bouclier', Taneslemt Touareg *ayerh* (Prasse 1969:581), Iwellemmeden Touareg *ayer* 'bouclier', Medieval SW Moroccan Berber *ayri* 'bouclier'

Iwellemmeden Touareg knows a verb *γār-āt* 'se cacher derrière'. It is not clear whether this verb is derived from the noun 'shield' or the other way round.

**Discussion:** Although a semantic relationship between 'lobster' and 'shield' is quite straightforward, it is not compelling.

### 3.10 'rock' (Gmc., Celt., Gr. [, French])

**European:** PGmc. \**falis*-, OS *felis*, *filis*, OHG *felis(a)*, MHG *vels(e)* 'Fels', cf. also ON *fell*, *fjall* 'Berg, Fels' < \**felz*-; OIr. *aill*; Maced. *pélla* 'Klippé', but also Gr. *phelleús* 'stoney land' < \**b<sup>h</sup>ell*-; French *falaise* (← Gaul.-Rom. \**falšisia* ← Gmc.))

Several formal complications point to a non-IE origin (pace Pokorny 1959: 807), viz. the vacillation of root-final \**l* ~ *ll*, of Gr. root-initial \**p* ~ \**b<sup>h</sup>*- and of the root-vowels \**a* ~ \**e* (R.S.P. Beekes p.c.). Furnée (1972: 161-2) denies a connection

of Maced. *pélla*, etc. with the Gmc. *Fels*-etymon, but also compares such Romance forms as Central-Lad. *pelf* 'harter Fels' < \**péllawo*- 'Fels', cf. also Dauzat (1946: 75ff.), who assumes a pre-IE toponym \**pala* 'cime rocheuse' (p. 78). The form is frequent in the Pyrenees-region.

**Berber:** \**pallā* 'height'

Ahaggar Touareg *afella* 'haut (surface supérieure, dessus)', Iwellemmeden Touareg *afälla* 'haut, partie supérieure', Kabyle *-fella* 'au-dessus, en haut', Sous *aflla* 'dessus', Middle Atlas *afella* 'le haut, le dessus', Ouargla *f, fell-* 'sur' (preposition)

**Discussion:** The European and Berber words show remarkable formal similarity and hardly present problems from a semantical point of view.

### 3.11 'salmon' (Lat., Gr.? [, Gmc.])

**European:** Latin *salmon-* 'salmon', Gr. *sélakhos* 'Knorpelfisch(e)'<sup>?</sup> [, OS, OHG *salmo*, MDu. *salme*]

The Gmc. words are generally considered as loans from Latin (partly, i.e. in part of WGmc., replacing \**lahs-*, cf. still German *Lachs*). The Lat. word is considered as a non-IE word, showing such by-forms as *salpa* 'saupe, poisson de mer' and *salar* 'kind of trout', whose formations are evidently non-IE. See further Ernout-Meillet and Walde-Hofmann, s.vv. *salmo*.

**Berber:** \**sūlmay*, \**slVm* 'fish'

Ahaggar Touareg *asūlmey*, Kabyle *aslem*, Sous *aslm*, Middle Atlas *aslem*, Rif *ašm* (< \**aslem*), Figuig *aslem* 'poisson' Cf. perhaps Ghadames *olisma* 'poisson de sable'.

The vocalisation in Touareg (and with metathesis in Ghadames?) can only with difficulty be related to the other Berber forms.

**Discussion:** The European word denotes a specific species of fish, whereas the Berber word is the generic term. The formal coincidence is remarkable, however.

### 3.12 'shoulder' (Gmc.)

**European:** WGmc. \**skuldrō*, cf. OE *sculdor*, OHG *skultarra*, *skultirra*, OFris. *skuldere*, MDu. *scouder(e)*.

The so-called 's-mobile' was productive in Gmc. with both IE and non-IE lexical material (cf. recently the unpublished MA-thesis of M. Driessen, Leiden). If we disconnect this prefixal element, we can assume a form \**kld(r)-* as our point of departure. There are only very abstract root-etymologies (to



\*(s)kel- 'cut' or its homonym \*(s)kel- 'be bent') serving as explanations of the etymon as a PIE heritage, cf. De Vries (1992) and Franck & Van Wijk & Van Haeringen (1976), s.v. *schouder*, Kluge & Seebold (1989), s.v. *Schulter*.

**Berber:** \**qrūd* 'shoulder, scapula'

Iwellemmeden Touareg *tiyerdén* 'partie du corps située en-dessous du cou et entre les deux omoplates', Ghadames *taɣurel* 'épaule', Kabyle *taɣrut* 'omoplate, épaule', Sous *taɣrutl* 'omoplate', Middle Atlas *taɣrutl* 'omoplate, épaule', Rif *taɣrut* 'épaule', Ouargla *taɣrudt* 'épaule', Mzab *taɣrudt* 'épaule', Figuig *taɣrutl* 'épaule'. Cf. also Ahaggar Touareg *tiyôrad* 'force'

In Berber, one finds a strange variation between *d* in the singular and *d* in plural forms, as in Figuig *taɣrutl* (< *ta-ɣrud-t*) 'épaule', pl. *tiyerdin*

**Discussion:** The comparison of this West-Germanic form with Berber requires a confusion between *r* and *l*.

### 3.13 'lentil' (Gmc., Lat. [, Balto-Slavic])

**European:** OHG *linsi* (→ Mod. Du. *linze*? or Du. directly from Lat<sup>2</sup>); Lat. *lens*, *lent-* (→ OE *lent*)[]; Church Slavonic *lešta*; Lith. *lėšis* ← Gmc.].

Details concerning the exact lines of borrowing remain unclear, but it is generally accepted that we are dealing with non-IE substratum material.

**Berber:** \**linti*

Sous *tilintit* ~ *tinilit* 'lentille'. The word is not attested in other Berber languages, which all have a borrowing from Arabic. The Sous Berber etymon may therefore represent the original term.

**Discussion:** The Berber form can not be a loan from Latin, as proposed by Schuchardt (1919:24 and 75), as Latin words are generally taken over in their nominative form (cf. *asnus* 'young donkey' from Latin *asinus*). However, a later loan from Romance cannot be excluded. The idea that the Latin word was derived from Berber is already old, cf. for reff. Laoust (1920: 269).

### 3.14 'leather' (Gmc., Celt., Lat., Gr., Balto-Slavic)

**European:** PGmc. \**hriflinga-*, cf. ON *hriflingr*, OE *hrifeling* 'shoe'; OIr. *cairem*, Welsh *crydd*, OCorn. *chereor*, Bret. *kere(our)* 'cobbler'; Lat. *carpisculum* 'kind of shoe'; Gr. *karbátinos* 'made of leather'; OBulg. *kr̥bpa* 'textura, Lappen', Lith. *kùrpė* 'shoe'

In spite of Pokorny's attempt to reconstruct a PIE form (1959: 581), the word is strongly suspect of being a *Wanderwort* (Frisk 1960-72, Chantraine 1968, s.v. *karbátinos*; Furnée 1972: 146).

**Berber:** \**VqrVp* 'to cover something with leather'

Ahaggar Touareg *eyref* 'tendre de peau, de cuir (un corps dur, p.ex. tambour, selle)', Iwellemmeden Touareg *eyref* 'confectionner, tendre une peau (cuir) sur', Kabyle *γ<sup>e</sup>erref* 'tanner' (rare word), Middle Atlas *γref* 'couvrir avec du cuir', Figuig *γref* 'bander un tambour (with leather)'

A connection with Arabic *γarafa* 'to tan with the *γarf* herb' (Lane 1863-: 2249) is improbable, as the Arabic verb is without doubt derived from the plant name. Moreover the word does not occur in the modern dialects of the Maghreb.

**Discussion:** The association with 'leather' is not necessarily the primary one in Berber. Still, the comparison looks attractive.

### 3.15 'gristle' (WGmc.)

**European:** PWGmc. \**gri/us(t/p)(V/ø)l-*, cf. \**gristl-*: OE *grist(e)l*, OFris. *gristel* ( MLG *gristel* ← OFris.), \**grustl-*: MHG *gruschel*, \**grustVl-*: OHG *krustula*; *grustila*, *krustila*, *krustil*, *krustili(n)*, \**gruspVl-*: OHG *kruspil*, MHG *kruspel*, \**grosł-*: OHG *krosła*, OS gloss. *krosła*, MHG *krosel*, \**grosVl-*: OHG *krosila*, \**grost-*: OE *grost*, \**grostVl-*: OHG *krostila*, MHG *krostel*, \**grosplVl-*: OHG *krospil*, MHG *krospel*

This etymon is not attested outside West Germanic, where it displays an abundance of clearly non-Indo-European formations and formatives (cf. Boutkan 1998: 110-1).

**Berber:** Iwellemmeden Touareg *égärgäwés* 'gristle', Kabyle *igergis* 'gristle'

The Berber forms represent a well-known reduplicated stem type.

**Discussion:** The Berber forms could belong to a consonantal root GRS, which would match the WGmc. word.

## 4. Conclusion

The presented parallels are of many different types and convincing up to various degrees. One finds parallels to exclusively Gmc. words and parallels with Greek, Italic, Celtic and Balto-Slavic. The status of these comparisons is therefore unclear. One must note that none of the many formal features

of the European and Northern European substrate material (cf. Kuiper 1995: 66, 68ff.) is found in Berber. This makes a genetic relationship of these substrates with Berber very unlikely. One can therefore assume that the correspondences are either mere chance, or that both Berber and the European languages have borrowed from the same source(s).

As the internal relationship of the Berber languages is rather close, it is difficult to adduce arguments for a substratum origin of Proto-Berber words. One should note, however, that in two of the cited parallels, there is a strange variation between \**d* and \**ḍ* ('goat' and 'shoulder'). This variation can be found in a few other Berber words (*aydi* pl. *i(y)dan* 'dog'), but is quite rare.

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