

M i s c e l l a n e a

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An Excerpt from the ‘Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja: Fauna in Beja Lexicon’

Abstract The contribution summarises the Beja lexicon connected with zoological terminology. Every lexeme is documented in available sources and etymologized in areal or genealogical perspectives. In the case of borrowings, the ambition is to trace primary donor-languages, usually Arabic or Ethio-Semitic, sometimes Nilo-Saharan. The inherited lexemes are identified, if no convincing donors were determined, while there are promising comparanda in other Cushitic, Omotic or other Afroasiatic branches.

Keywords Beja, Cushitic, Afroasiatic, Nilo-Saharan, zoological terminology, etymology

The Beja [Beḍawiye] language from Eritrea, Northern Sudan and Southern Egypt is the only representative of the North branch of the Cushitic languages. Besides very archaic grammar there is an interesting lexicon, although full of borrowings from Arabic, Ethio-Semitic and other sources. The most effective way in stratigraphy of a lexicon of any language is a systematic etymological study of the lexicon leading to the etymological dictionary of such a language. The idea of *Etymological Dictionary of Beja* has its origin in one Viennese café in summer 1990, where I met with Andrzej Zaborski, one of the greatest specialists for Cushitic languages and specifically Beja. Thanks to Zaborski's energy and the positive reaction of Bernd Heine and Hans-Jürgen Sasse I have got Humboldt's fellowship for this project and study of materials at the institutes headed by these scholars, Institute of African Studies



and Institute of Linguistics at the University of Cologne respectively. At the end of the stay (1993–1994) the raw manuscript was in principle ready. Unfortunately, it was a real manuscript, written by hand. Only after the computer revolution in my home organised by my wife Marcela, I was able to start gradually rewriting the thick file into the electronic text. In 2003 the first two parts were published: ‘Fauna in Beja Lexicon’ (Blažek 2003a) and ‘Beja Kinship and Social Terminology’ (Blažek 2003b). The first version of ‘Natural Phenomena, Time and Geographical Terminology in Beja Lexicon’ was published in two parts (Blažek 2005a; 2006). The current version, however, represents the radically updated and supplemented text. Thanks to the longer period expired from finishing the first version of the manuscript, the new data from the Beja lexicon can be included (namely R. Hudson’s ms. rewritten by Blench; Starkey field data for Ammar’ar; a rich Beja-English lexicon by Wedekind or valuable grammatical research of Vanhove). The same may be said about new special studies devoted to various Cushitic languages, e.g., the reconstruction of the Agaw protolanguage by Appleyard (2006) or the Kemant grammar by Zelealem (2003); new Saho dictionary by M. and R. Vergari (2003), new descriptions of Rendille by Pillinger and Galboran (1999), Dasanech by Tosco (2001), Konso by Ongaye Oda (2013), Tsammakko by Savà (2005), Sidamo (SAE 2007), besides the comparative Cushitic glossary by Bender (edited posthumously by G. Hudson in 2020); South Cushitic by Kießling and Mous (2003); plus other Afroasiatic branches, Omotic: Aroid comparative lexicon by Bender (1994) and Omotic comparative glossary by Bender (2003), comparison of 100-word-lists by Blažek (2008), besides new descriptions of individual languages as Wolayta by Lamberti and Sottile (1997), Maale by Amha (2001), Hamar by Petrollino (2016); Chadic: *Chadic Lexical Roots I–II* by Jungraithmayr and Ibrizimow (1994), *Reconstruction of the Phonology and Lexicon of Proto-Central Chadic* by Gravina (2014) or *Chadic Etymological Dictionary* by Stolbova (2016); Berber: *Dictionnaire des racines berbères I–III* by Naït-Zerrad (1998–2002), *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère* by Kossmann (1999), *Dictionnaire Touareg–Français (Niger)* by Prasse et alii (2003); Egyptian: *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian I–III* by Takács (1999; 2001; 2007); Semitic: *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques (DRS)*, fascicles 1–10, by Cohen, Lonnet et al. (1970–2012) or *Semitic Etymological Dictionary I–II* by Militarev and Kogan (2000, 2005). These new standards were already applied to the most recent parts of the ‘Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja’, devoted to the anatomical, botanical, geographical and astronomical lexicon (Blažek 2020; 2021; 2023). The richest sources of Beja zoological terminology offer five dictionaries: Munzinger (1864), Almkvist (1885, including older records), Reinisch (1895), Roper (1928), Wedekind (2007), and field records of Hudson rewritten by Blench (1996) and of Starkey for Ammar’ar (2004). Unfortunately, the complete lexical data collected by Vanhove in Sudan are not yet available. For the present study the relevant lexemes from her grammar of Beja were included (Vanhove 2017), besides individual zoological terms recorded by Morin (1995) in Beja songs.

Lexical data

ʔi f. (acc. *ʔit*, pl. *ʔe*) 'small white sea-shell' (Rp) = *ʔit* f. 'shell', def.pl. *tiʔi* and *eet* f., def.sg. *tooʔi*, def.pl. *teeʔi* id. (Wd) = *teéh*, i.e. **e*, 'Schnecke' (Se)

ab m. 'goat, young male, billy goat', def.sg. *wʔab*, def.pl. *yʔaba*, and *abatt* f. 'young goat', def.sg. *tuʔabat* (Wd) = *ʔab* m., pl. *abg*, f. *abad* 'kid', *abʔaddi* 'skin with the hair not removed, i.e. skin of kid' (HuB) = *ab* c., pl. *āba* 'kid, young goat; dwarfish person' (Rp) = *ab* c., pl. *-a* 'Zicklein, Junges der Ziege' (Re) = *ab* c. 'Junge der Ziege, Zicklein' (Al) = *ab* 'männliches Zicklein', pl. *abab*, f. *abet* 'weibliches Zicklein' (Mu); cf. *abaab-haakʷili* 'Vénus', lit. 'agneaux' + le nom d'agent du verbe *hakʷir* 'attacher' au diminutif (Vanhove 2017: 108)

Cu: (E) Or *abiyó* 'antilope orix, antilope cervo' (Borello); ?Burji *ibáar-i* 'nanny goat, female goat which has given birth' (Sasse 1982: 103); ?Yaaku *apur* 'sheep' (Eh);

?Ch: (W) Nbauchi: Diri *aba* 'goat' (Sk), if it is not related to Jimbin *àkwá* id. etc. (JgIb 2: 166) || (C) Chibak *ʔabà* 'he-goat', WMargi *ʔabà* id. (Kr);

Eg (MK lit.) *ib* 'Böckchen' (Wb. I: 61).

Lit.: Reinisch 1895: 3: Beja + Eg; Ehret 1979: 171: Beja + Yaaku + SCu **ʔaf-* 'goat' + Eg; EDE I: 82: Beja + Eg + Diri.

ībaab m., pl. *ībāb* 'nit or young of louse' (Rp) = *ʔi:bā:b* 'louse' (HuB)

Cu: (E) HECu **ibibe* 'louse' > Burji *í(i)bb-a*, Sid *ib-icco*, pl. *ibiib-e*, Kamb *ibiib-ic-cu-ta*, pl. *ibiib-e*, Had *ibiib-a*, Gedeo *ibbe* id. (Sasse 1982: 104; Hudson 1989: 94).

abdergága, *abdregága* m. 'Riesenschlange, Boa constrictor' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 92) identified in it a compound consisting of *ab(u)* and a derivative of the verb *agder* and *adger* v. 2 'im Stande sein, können, vermögen', subst. *ágder* and *ádger* and *ádreg* m. 'Kraft, Vermögen'; cf. also the idiom *o-ankuane o-ed-ergab* 'Gott der Starke' recorded by Munzinger.

Hdd *abúki* 'camel at training age' (BG)

Cf. *abuuk* m. 'holding, seizure', def.sg. *wʔabuuk* (Wd)?

abuláay, *abalaay* 'Cercopithecus griseo-viridis' (Re) = (*h*)*abelay* c., pl. *abilee* 'ape, monkey other than baboon' (HuB) = Sawakin *o-hābālai* 'small monkey with long arms' (Th)

Reinisch (1895: 3–5) connected it with Nubian forms as Mahas *abalāñ* 'ape, Cercopithecus griseo-viridis', Kenzi *ābālāy* id. and SudAr *ʔabu lang*, cf. also Mubi (ECh) *ʔabalāny* 'red monkey' (JgIb 2: 237). He also mentioned other animal names in Beja consisting of the component *ab(u)*: *abu-ʔagléen* 'Ibis', *ab-dergága* 'Boa constrictor', *ab-náfa* 'Viper', *abu-šóok* 'Stachelschwein', *abu-táabiš* 'Fischadler'. Mur-

ray (1923: 2) added Kunama *gábela* ‘Affe’ (Re) = *gobella* ‘monkey’ (Salt).

ab(a)náfa m. ‘Viper’ (Re)

From SudAr *’abu nafh*, lit. ‘father of blowing’? (Reinisch 1895: 5).

Hdd *abét* ‘female camel lacking milk’ (BG)

Cf. *abatt* f. ‘young goat’ (Wd)?

adangaláay c., pl. *adangaláy* ‘Eidechse’ (Re; Reinisch 1893–1894: §290, separated the suffix *-aláay*) = *dangálay* c., pl. *dangáley* ‘lizard’ (Rp)

Ch: (W) Hausa *kadangaree* ‘lizard’; (C) Tera *dínglítí* ‘scorpion’ (Newman); Musgu *díjídíntí*, pl. *deɲdeɲ* ‘Eidechse’ (Krause apud Lukas 1941: 91); Banana *hɔɔgola* id. || ?(E) Kera *asunguli* id.

Be: (S) Ahaggar *adâknan*, pl. *idâknânen* ‘chameleon dans le ventre de sa mère’ (Foucauld I: 190).

Lit.: Rössler (1979: 30): Beja + Hausa + Banana + Kera + Saharan: Tubu (*k*)*adunkuli* id. Onomatopoeitic?

’aḍiḍáne m. ‘black poisonous scorpion’ (Rp) = *adiid’anoo* m. ‘large scorpion’ (HuB)

Cf. *aḍiḍ* m. ‘fraction, division, part’, def.sg. *w’aḍiḍ*, def.pl. *y’aḍḍa* (Wd)?

’ágaba m. ‘Büffel(ochs)’ (Re) = *agaba* ‘Büffel’ (Mu)

A *Wanderwort* occurring in both EtSe and Beja and Saho languages:

EtSe: Ti *ʔagaba* (Mu) = *ʔägäba* ‘buffalo’ (LH 488);

Cu: (E) Saho *agaba* ‘Büffel, Bubalus vulgaris’ (Re). Reinisch (1887: 211) added Bilin (CCu) *käbga* ‘Büffel’ (cf. Appleyard 2006: 39) and Kunama (NS) *gabga* id.

’ihe f. ‘hopper locust’ (Rp) = *hi* c. ‘locust, grasshopper’ (HuB)

Cu: (E) Som *ayyah* ‘locust(s)’ (Ab) = ‘Heuschrecke’ (Re) = *ayah* ‘locust’ (Luling); Harso, Dobase, Gollango *ayy-akkó* ‘Heuschrecke’ (AMS); Sasse (1979: 37) would expect a preservation of *h* in Dullay.

Om: (S) Bako, Galila (*e*)*ek*, Dime *iik* ‘locust’ (Be).

Ch **hVy/w-* (Stolbova 2016: 166, n. 313) > (C) Chibak *xawà*, WMargi *haʔwa*, Ngwahi *həwà*, Bura *hawà* ‘locust’ (all Kr) = *hauwa* ‘locusts’ (Blench); Bana *xây* ‘sauterelle’ (Gieder and Linhardt), Kilba *háʔi*, Hildi *ʔaʔi*, Wamdiu *ʔaʔi*, Margi *aʔayi*, Higi Nkafa *xàgi*, Higi Baza *xàgyi*, Higi Kamale *xàgi*, Higi Ghye *xàyi*, Higi Futu *xàgi*, Fali Kiriya *xàyi* ‘locust’, Fali Gili *xàyi* id. (all Kr); Fali Jilbu *yùwî*, Fali Mucela *yìwu*, Fali Bwagira *yìwun*, Nzangi *ʔyəho*, Gude *ayùwa* (all Kr) = *áyìwá* ‘grasshopper’ (Hoskinson); Hurza *ayimak* ‘sauterelle’ (Mc); Wandala *íwě* (Mc) = *ʔiwè*, Glavda *ʔàyàyuwa*, Gava *yàyiwà*, Nakatsa *yàyuwa* (all Kr); Podokwo *íyawa* ‘sauterelle’ (Mc); Hdi *hiʔi* ‘grasshopper’ (Bramlet); Zulgo *háyaw* ‘sauterelle’ (Haller et al.),

Moloko *heyew* 'criquet' (Bow), Muyaŋ *éyèw* 'grasshopper' (Smith), Mada *ayəq* 'sauterelle', Uzam *awayək*, Mofu *hoygk* id. (all Mc); Makari *hayo* 'grasshopper' (Allison); Gidar *hèy-dèŋ* 'criquet' (Frajzyngier) = *hédeŋ* 'sauterelle' (Mc); Gisiga *hoyok* (Lk); Musgu *ayúk*, *aiúi*, *ayuwi* 'Heuschrecke' (Lk), 'Muzuk 37' *áyíwi* 'sauterelle' (Mc) || (E) Mawa *uwi* 'locust'; Mubi *wàwó* 'sauterelle, criquet' (Jg).

?Se: Ar *hāwiyat* 'locust' (Sg 1161). The Arabic word could be adapted in (some of) the Chadic languages. On the other hand, Somali *h* does not correspond to Ar *h*. Lit.: Stolbova 2016: 166, n. 313: C + ECh + Ar.

Note: Stolbova 2016: 155, n. 284 compared Kilba *háʔi*, Margi *aʔayi*, Higi Nkafa *xəgi*, Higi Baza *xəgi* with Makari *gayo* 'grasshopper' (Allison 2005: 17, while on p. 20 Allison has recorded Makari *hayo* id.), and further with WCh: Ngas *gʷok*, Goemai *ngok* 'locust', Mopun *ngòk páal* 'kind of grasshopper', Mushere *ngok* 'grasshopper'. Taking in account Ar *gawgaʔ* 'sauterelle' (Biberstein-Kazimirski II: 519) = *gawgāʔ* 'noisy crowd' (Sg 766), she reconstructs pCh **[hʷ]a[h]Vʔ-*.

'ihe c. 'junge Ziege, Zicklein' (Re)

(1) Could it be connected with *'ihe* 'hopper locust' recorded by Roper?

(2) Could it be connected with EtSe: Gz *ʔahā* 'cattle, cows', Ti and Ty *ʔaha* 'cattle' (Leslau 1987: 12) ||| Eg *ih* 'Rind' (Wb. I: 119–120), Copt *εʔε* m. 'bœuf', f. 'vache' (Vycichl 1983: 50)? Cf. Cohen 1947: #11: Se + Eg (following Littmannn)?

**ajama* = *adjáma* 'Ente' (Se) = *agama* m. 'seagull' (HuB)

Perhaps borrowed from Ar *ʔağğām* 'mountain swallow; bat' (Sg 672).

eeke f., pl. *eeqə* 'white vulture, hawk' (HuB) = *ééke* c. 'Falke, Habicht, Sperber' (Re) = *éke* '(eine Art) Geier' (Al) = *equih* 'vautour' (Li) = *[te]êke* 'Weihe' (Se)

There are interesting Semitic, ECushitic and NOmotic parallels:

Se: Ar *ʔanūq* 'vulture', Gz *ʔanqe*, pl. *ʔanāqəy* 'hawk, kite', Amh *anqe*, Gurage *anq'it* 'kind of hawk' (Leslau 1987: 30–31);

Cu: (E) Dullay: Harso *ʔank-o* 'Geier' (AMS);

Om: (N) Malo *anʔkó* 'appet-faced vulture', Basketo *anʔká* 'vulture' (Fl).

oka 'Schaf' (Lucas; see Almkvist 1885: V)

Cu: (E) Arbore *ʔokk-ič/-ité* 'individual male / female of horned stock' (Hy); Do-base *okk-itte* 'Schaf, das noch nicht geboren hat' (AMS) || (S) Asa *ʔaʔaku* 'sheep' (Ehret 1980: 277 compared it with Qwadza *a'ato* id. and Mbugu *amo* 'goat');

Om: (N) Doko *okki* 'heifer' (Fl)

Ch **awku* 'goat' (Newman 1977: 27) > (W) Hausa *àkwíyàà*, pl. *áwáákíí* 'goat'; Kofyar *ɔk*; Kulere *ʔaah*; Karekare *ʔóókàì*; Jimbin *àkwá*, Miya *áhu*; Ngizim *áakù* || (C) Kilba *kwa*; Higi Nkafa *ukwe*; Gude *ohwa*; Lamang *ógù*; Glavda *áágwà*; Muktele *àwák*, Gisiga *ʔaw*; Gidar *hawá*; Logone *húfu*; Musgu *hiki*; Zime-Batna *úhʷú* || (E) Dangla *áwká* id. (JgIb 2: 166–167).

'álaag f., pl. 'alága 'water-worm' (Rp)

Borrowed from Ar *šalaqa* 'leech' or Ethio-Semitic: Gz *šalaqt* and *ʔalaqt* id., Ti *šalāq* id. (Leslau 1987: 61). There are interesting (areal or expressive?) parallels in East Cushitic: Som *šolaašol* (Re) = *šalaašul* (Ab); Or: Guji *ulaula*, Macha and Borana *ulanula* (LVC); Gedeo *ulaʔull-a*, Had *urull-a*, Sid *ulaaʔull-e* 'leech' (Sasse 1982: 128; Hudson 1989: 90).

alli f., pl. *illi* 'long-haired sheep' (HuB)

Cu: (E) Afar *illi* pl. 'Kleinvieh, Schafe und Ziegen' (Re) = *illi* 'sheep', pl. *il-litte* (PaHy), Saho *ille* coll., sgl. *illéyta* 'weisses aus dem Dankali kommendes Fettschwanzschaf' (Re), besides *ala* 'she-goats', *alat-ilo* 'flock of goats' (Vergari)?; ?Som *alen* 'ram' (Funaioli and Simonetta 1985: 86); ?Or: Macha *hoola*, Guji *hoole*, Borana *hola* 'sheep' (LVC), Orma *hoolaa*, pl. *hooliyoo* id. (Stroomer); ?Burji *hil-ísso* 'female calf', pl. tantum *hil-áano* 'calves' (Sasse 1982: 96 connected it with Som *weeyl*, Had *woʔl-a* 'calves');

?Be: (N) Tazerwalt *ulli* 'Schafe', *tīli*, pl. *táttēn* 'Mutterschaf' (Stumme), Iznacen *ulli* 'troupeau de brebis, ovins' (Rn), Zayan *ulli* pl. 'les ovins' (Lo), Nefusa *tilī*, pl. *táttēn* 'pecora' (Beguinet); (W) Zenaga *tidži*, pl. *tattēn* and *talēn* 'brebis' (RB); (S) Ahaggar *tehēle*, pl. *tiháttēn* 'brebis', Ghat *tehale*, Tawllemet *tilāy* (Prasse 1974: 338–339 proposed a pattern **tē-h[a]l-ay*, pl. **tī-h[a]l-tiHin*), but Ghadames *tabāli*, pl. *tāliwīn* 'brebis' (Lf) = *taf'ali*, pl. *-win* id. (Motylinski), Augila *tevél*, pl. *dvittīn* 'pecora' (Paradisi) indicate an initial labial (cf. Vycichl 1955: 314 who connected the Berber word with Eg [OK] *b3* 'heiliger Bock', see Wb. I: 414);

Se **ʔayl*- 'ram' > Akk *ālu*, Ug *āl*, Ph pl. *ʔlm*, Punic *ʔyl*, Hb *ʔayl* (Cohen 1970: 17; DUL 46). It is apparently different from **ʔayyal*- 'cerf' (Cohen 1970: 17; DUL 46).

**aalem* [*taālem*] 'Stachelschwein' (Se)

Apparently a feminine.

alandoya 'zum ersten mal trüchtige Kuh' (Mu) = *allandoiyā* m. 'camel that is hobbled hopping along', f. 'cow wanting a bull or in first pregnancy' (HuB)

Probably derived from *alandō* v. 2 'to shy, rear, kick and plunge', cf. *unuus'áa té'aa hoi nīya neádħob igiesó alandoūni* 'this cow, when we wish to milk from it, at once it begins to kick and plunge' (Rp).

ambilibiliit 'butterfly' (Tl)

Hdd *amáda* 'camel not yet milked' (BG) = 'amaḍi 'time for milking nagas, often by nights'

(e)*mjafár* f., pl. *emjáfra* 'Vipensorte' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 18) connected it with Ar *muzaffar* 'Anhelitus vehemens'.

'ane f., acc. 'anot, 'ewe', pl. 'ewes, sheep' (Rp) = *anoot* f. 'sheep', def.sg. *tu'anu*, def.pl. *ti'anu* (Wd) = *t'anoo-t* 'les brebis' (Vh) = *anoo*[t] 'sheep' (Tl) = *ano* and *ána* f. 'Schafmutter, Schaf', *anóo-t* 'oor 'Lamm' (Re) = *annoo* f. 'sheep', *annoot dambi* m., pl. -a 'dragon fly' (HuB)

(1) Cu: (E) Afar *anaṣ-to* 'lamb (female)' (PaHy); Dasanech *ʔān* 'domestic animal' = 'cattle and the little livestock' (Tosco 2001: 478).

?Guanche (Tenerife) *ana* 'a sheep' / 'mouton', *haña* 'la oveja' (Woelfel 1965: 485–487; he characterized Abercomby's comparison with Beja as *ganz fernliegende*; on the other hand, Militarev 1984: 21 accepted it);

EtSe: Gurage: Chaha *onä*, Ezha *onnä* 'the young male goat or sheep' (Leslau 1979: 55 connected the Gurage and Beja words).

(2) Cu: (E) Som *wan*, pl. *wanan* 'ram' (Ab), Rend *onó* 'old or mature ewes' (GP) = 'sheep' (Heine 1978: 76 reconstructed pSam **wan* 'ram');

Eg (NK) *wny* 'Kalb (als Bezeichnung des Osiris)' (Wb. I: 315).

Lit.: Cohen 1947: #126: Beja + Som; Takács 1996: 63: Beja + ECu + Eg.

Note: The Somali and Egyptian *w-* would imply pre-Beja **wanV* with a following reanalysis caused by homonymy with the article.

andiirhoo c. 'fowl', cf. *malaliit andiirhoo* 'bustard or any large bird found in desert', lit. 'desert fowl' (HuB) = *andirhe* and *endirhe* c. 'fowl' (Rp) = Sawakin *wundirho* and *tundirho* 'fowl, chicken', cf. Hdd *to-mälälit ndirôt* 'bustard', i.e. 'desert fowl' (Th) = *endirho*,-u,-e, *éndhiro*, *ándhiro* c. 'Huhn, Henne oder Hahn', cf. *malaalīt endirho* 'Wüstenhuhn' (Re) = *teantie-reh* 'Haushuhn' (Kc) = *tandirhu* 'Henne, Kücker' (Se) = *ad dee ro* 'poule' (Salt)

There are apparent (areal?) parallels in Ethio-Semitic a Central and East Cushitic languages:

EtSe: Gz *dor(o)ho*, pl. *dawārəh* 'chicken, hen, rooster, cock, fowl', Ti *derho*, Ty *därho*, Amh *doro*, Gurage *gärä* id. (Leslau 1987: 142);

Cu: (C) **dirw-a* (Appleyard 2006: 43) > Bilin *diruwa*, pl. *dirw* 'Huhn, Henne' (Re) = *dirwa* 'chicken' (Ap), Qwara *diruwa*, Dembea *dirhwa* and *diruwa*, pl. *dirkw*, Khamir *jiruwa* and *giruwa*, pl. *jirəkw* and *girəkw* id. (all Re), Kailiña *dərwa*, Khamtanga *jirwa*, pl. *jirək* 'chicken' (Ap), Khamta *girwa*, pl. *giru* 'pollo, gallina', Kemant *dirwo*, pl. *diruk* 'poulet, coq, poule' (CR), with var. *diwra* (Sasse); Damot *duri* (Re), Awngi *dúra* 'hen' (Ht) = *dura* 'gallina' (Waldmeier) = *diri* 'gallina, pollo' (CR), Kunfāl *diri* 'hen, chicken' (Cw) || (E) Afar *dorrahe* 'hens' (PaHy), Saho *door(o)ho* and *diirho*, pl. *dooraah* 'Huhn, Henne' (Re); Som *dooro* 'chicken, hen' (Ab), Jiddu *duurí* 'chicken' (Banti and Ibraaw);

Om: (N) Chara *deera* 'pollo' (Ce);

Ch: (E) Sumray *dúrreei* 'Henne', Kabalai *túro* 'Huhn', *túro baa* 'Hahn', Nancere *túruba* 'Hahn' (Lk).

Lit.: Müller 1975: 67: Cu + EtSe + Sumray.

There are also interesting NS parallels: Kunama *doora* ‘Huhn, Henne’ (Re) = *dorha* ‘chicken’ (Salt); Nub: Kenzi *darbād*, Dongola *durmāde*, Mahas *dirbād*, Old Nobiin ΔOYTPAN ‘hen’ (cf. Murray 1923: 31).

endit ‘Nashorn’ (Heuglin)

Cf. *d’a* ‘horn’ (Rp)?

inḍaat f. ‘calf of cows’ (Wd)

Cf. *ḍa* c. ‘newly born calf’ (Rp).

Hdd *u-angáloy* ‘old camel, no longer joining the others’, *i-’angalóoy* (sic) ‘herd without milk nags’, *t-’angalóoy* ‘herd’ (BG) = *angalooy* / *angarooy* / *angaraw* m. ‘camel for riding’, def.sg. *w’angalooy* / *w’angarooy* / *w’angaraaw*, def.pl. *y’angalooya* / *y’angaraawa* / *y’angaroowa* (Wd)

Cu: (E) **gaal-* ‘camel’ > Saho-Afar *gaal-a*; Som *geel*, Rend, Boni *gaal*, Bayso *gaal-a*; Arbore *gal-te*, Dasanech *gal-ti* f., pl. *galsam* m. (To), Elmolo *gal-te*, pl. *gaal*; Oromo *gaal-aa*, Konso *kaal-a*, Dirayta *kaal*; Harso, Dobase, Gawwada *kaalá*, Gawwada of Dalpena *kaal-xó* (AMS); Sidamo *gaal-a*, Darasa *gaal-a*, Burji *gáal-e*, -i coll. ‘camels’, sgl. *gál-co* (Sasse 1982: 72).

Om: (N) Dache, Zayse *gaale*; Janjero *gaala*, Kafa *gallo*, Mocha (Sheko) *gaale* ‘camel’ < HECu? (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 372).

Be: (S) Ahaggar *ā-gelgāl-i* ‘chameau de bât commun et lourd’ (Ritter 2009: 115). Se **?a-gal-* and **gilgal-* (redupl.) ‘sp. equid’ > Akk *agāl-u*, *agall-u* ‘an equid’ (CAD Ia: 141), ‘Reitesel’ (AHw 15), Ebl *ag-lum* = ANŠE.NITA.KUR = ‘a donkey’; Ti *gəlgāl* ‘foal (mule, horse)’, Ty *gəlgəl* ‘puledro di cavallo o mulo non ancora domato’, Amh *gəlgāl* ‘the young of domestic animals (goat, sheep, horse, donkey)’ (Militarev and Nikolaev 2020: 213–214: ECu + NOm + Be + Se).

Note: The prefix *an-* could be the same as in *andiirhoo* / *endírho* ‘fowl’ (HuB/Re), *endit* ‘Nashorn’ (Heuglin), *enkerêwil* ‘beetle’ (Th) or *inḍaat* f. ‘calf of cows’ (Wd).

arigano/e c. ‘Raubameise’ (Re), see *hángana* ~ *hánkana* ‘Sorte grosser schwarzer Ameisen’ (Re)

Sawakin *enkerêwil* ‘beetle’ (Th)

anoy m., pl. -a ‘sandgrouse’ (Rp) = *anoi* m., pl. -a id. (HuB) = Okela *wa-anno*ⁱ ‘sandgrouse Pallas’ (Th)

?Eg (OK) *wn*, *wnn*, *wnwn* ‘sp. small bird (Blaßhuhn)’ (Wb. I: 307, 317; WPS 212).

Note: The comparison is acceptable only in the case, if the syllable **wa-* was re-interpreted as the article in Beja.

oreo ‘zahmes Tier’ (Mu), cf. also *ora[ba]* in *oscha oraba* ‘männliches Rind, Stier’ (Km)

Cu: (E) **ʔawr*- (Sasse 1979: 46) > Saho *aur*, pl. -a 'bull' (We), Afar *awur* / *abur* / *agur*, pl. *awra* / *aburwa* 'bull, ox' (PaHy); Som *awr* 'he-camel' (Ab), Boni óor 'male elephant', Rend ôr, pl. *our(u)ár* 'bull camel, bull' (Heine 1978: 75 reconstructed pSam **áùr* 'male camel'), Jiddu *úr* 'adult mating-bull' (Banti and Ibraaw), Bayso *aar* 'big bull' (HbLb); Arbore *ʔaar* 'bull' (Hy), Elmolo *aar a ote* 'bull, ox' (He), Dasanech *ʔawr-ic* 'he-camel' (Sa); Or: Borana (*h*)*oor-oo* 'burden camel' (Stroomer); ?Burji *array*, *arʔáy* 'bull', *aʔre* 'calf'; ?Yaaku *erer* 'antelope sp.' (He) || Dahalo *ʔáároole* 'eland / Taurotragus sp.' (Ehret 1980: 287) || (S) Mbugu *áro* 'large herbivore' (Ehret 1980: 333). Cushitic data were compiled by Militarev and Nikolaev 2020: 201.

Eg (OK) *iw3* 'Mastrind, Langhornrind, Hausrind; Ochse', *iw3.t* 'Kuh', coll. 'Rindvieh' (WPS 198).

Be: (S) Ahaggar *awūra*, pl. *iwārān* 'chamelon dans sa 1^{ère} année' < **ā-wirāh*, pl. **ī-warāhan* (Prasse 1973: 58).

Note: Vanhove (p.c. 2001) proposed the interpretation *oreo* = *oo-reew* 'the cattle' and *oscha oraba* = *oo-šʔaa oo-raba* 'the cow – the male'.

erʔe c., acc. *erʔi-b/-t* m. / f. 'eagle' (Rp) = *eerīb* m. 'eagle', def.sg. *wʔeerī*, def.pl. *yʔeerī* (Wd) = *éerʔe* m. 'weisschwänzige Seeadler' (Re) = *eerī* c. 'hawk' (HuB)

?Cu: (E) Afar *ʔarre* 'bird (red-billed oxpecker)' (PaHy); Som *ʔarre* 'doves (many species)' (Funaioli and Simonetta 1985: 34); ?Dasanech *ʔaar-ac*, pl. *ʔaar-ru* 'crow' (To) or *ʔariericu* 'a sp. of unidentified bird (hornbill?)'?

Se **ʔary-* > Akk *erū* 'eagle', Ebl *ir-lu-um* / *ʔerrum* / 'a bird of prey'; Ancient Aramaic ʔr 'bearded vulture', Jewish-Aram *ʔār* 'bird of prey' *ʔaryā* 'id.; eagle'; Ar *ʔaʔwar* 'corbeau' (SED II: 58–59, n. 40).

argin c., pl. *argan* 'lamb, sheep' (HuB) = *argin* m. 'lamb, sheep', def.sg. *wʔargin*, def.pl. *yʔargina* (Wd) = *árgin* c., pl. *argína* 'sheep not yet full-grown', besides *ergaane* c., acc. *ergaaniib* 'lamb' (Rp) = *árgin* and *ergáne,-i* c., pl. -a 'Schaf(bock)' (Re) = *árgin* c. 'Junge des Schafs, Lamm' (Al) = *argeno* 'Ovis aries (in genere)' (Heuglin) = *aérken* 'Widder' (Km) = [*wú*]*argín* 'Schaf' (Se)

Cu: (E) **ʔorg-* > Som *orgi*, *urgí* 'Ziegenbock' (Re), Rend *órgey* '(uncastrated) billy-goat / male goat' (GP); Arbore *ʔorgí* 'male uncastrated goat' (Hy); Or: Borana *org-ee* 'baby she-camel' (Stroomer), Dirayta *ork-eet* 'non-castrated male goat older than ca. two months' (Bl); Harso *ork-akkó* 'Ziegenbock' (AMS), Dopasunte *ʔorkaṇ-ko*, Tsam *ʔorgay-ko* 'he-goat' (Hy); Yaaku *org-ei* 'male giraffe' (He) (Sasse 1979: 23);

?Be: (W) Zenaga *irki*, pl. *ārkan* 'veau' (RB; Vycichl 1955: 315 derived the plural form from **i-irki-ən*).

arare c., acc. *ararob,-t* 'crane' (Rp) = *arraroi* ~ *arʔarra* m. 'crane, grey (bird), swallow (bird)' (HuB)

?Cu: (E) Dasanech *?ariericu* ‘a sp. of unidentified bird (hornbill?)’ (To); Or: Welle-ga *arragessa* ‘crow’ (Gg) = Borana (*h*)*araankeesa* ‘crow, raven’ (Stroomer).

?Se: Akk *arru* ‘bird used for decoy’ > Aram: Syr *?arra* ‘avis illicebra’; Tigre *?irir*, *?ərīr* ‘bird which has an instinct to lead a honey gatherer to where there is honey’ (SED II: 21–22, #15).

araat c., pl. *aráta* ‘young hare, leveret’ (Rp)

asalaat f. ‘boa’, def.sg. *tu’asala*, def.pl. *ti’asala* (Wd)

Cf. *salaat* ‘python’ (Tl) = *sali* f. id. (Rp) = *sála* f. ‘Sorte grosser Schlangen, eine Art Boa constrictor’ (Re).

isin f. ‘hippopotamus; shield made of hippo hide’ (HuB) = *ĩsin* c., usually f., ‘hippopotamus’ (Rp) = *isín* f., acc. *isínt*, pl. *ísena* ‘Nilpferd, Flusspferd’ (Re)

Reinisch (1893: 45 and 1895: 31) correctly determined as a source a Nubian compound attested in Kenzi *esi-n-ti* ‘Flusspferd’, consisting of *esi* ‘water’ and *tí* ‘cow’ (Murray 1923: 47), hence ‘Wasser-von-Kuh’.

aaši m., acc. *aašob* ‘fish’ (generic) (Rp) = *’aaši*, acc. *’ašoo-b* id. (Vh) = *aašooob* m. ‘fish’, def.sg. *w’aašu* (Wd) = *ašo* m. id., *ašooob kwaremna* ‘fisherman’ (HuB) = *hašoo-b* ‘pesce’, cf. *hašoo-b kwaranáa-b* ‘pescatore’, i.e. ‘raccoglitore di pesci’ (Ci) = *aašo[b]* ‘fish’ (Tl) = *áaša*, -e, -o c., pl. *áašáw-a* ‘Fisch’ (Re) = *ašša[b]* ‘fish’ (Be) = *wa assu* id. (Salt) = *uášcho* ‘Fisch’, *uaschó korána* ‘Fischer’ (Se)

There are suggestive parallels in EtSe, Agaw and Afar-Saho languages, probably representing an old *Erythrean Sprachbund*: EtSe: Gz *ʕāšā* ‘fish’, Ti, Ty *ʕasa*, Amh, Gurage *asa*;

Cu: (C) **ʕas-a* (Appleyard 2006: 68; ʕ/h after EtSe) ‘fish’ > Bilin *?ʕasa* (Ap) = *ʕasa* (Pl) = *asa* (Be), Kemant *asa* (Sa), Khamtanga *háza* (Ap), Khamir *haza* (Ap) = *xaza* (Hailu, Dereje and Wedekind), Qwara *asa* (Flad), Awngi *asi* id. (Ht) || (E) Saho *ʕaasa* (We; Vergari) = *asa* id. (Be); ?Dasanech *?ašobóđu* ‘sp. fish: *Xenomystus nigri*’ (To).

Om: (N) Kaffa *yešo*, Mocha *hašo* (Ls); Anfillo *haašo*; Nao *aša* ‘fish’; Seze *was¹ε*, Hozo *wasⁱ* id. (Blažek 2008: 74).

Eg: *ʕš*, *ʕšʕš* ‘sp. fish’ (WPS 191).

eew m. ‘antelope’, def.sg. *w’eew*, def.pl. *y’eewa* (Wd) = *éuu* c., pl. *éwa* ‘ibex’ (Rp) = *éew(u)* m., pl. *éewa* ‘Klippspringer, Steinbock, Antilope Saltatrix oder Oreotragus Saltatrix’ (Re) = *weeyu* c. ‘ibex’ (HuB) = *eeo* ‘hartbeest’ (Tl)

?Cu: (S) Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa *aw* ‘bull’ (Ehret 1980: 317).

?iweeb ‘bull’ (Tl)—see *yi*, *yu* ‘ox, bull’ (Rp)

ay, äy, ey f., pl. éeya 'Ziege', eyáa-t-éega 'Ziegenhirt' (Re) = yaa f., acc. yaet sg., yaat pl. 'goat' (generic) (Rp) = ya f. 'flock' (HuB)

(1) Reinisch (1895: 37) connected it with Ti *äyēt* 'Ziege, Zicklein'. It is perhaps compatible with Rendille *ifý* 'sheep' (in general) (GP); Dasanech *ʔáy* 'sheep and goats' (To); Burji (HECu) *ayáan-e* 'gazelle' (Sasse 1982: 29) || (S) Qwadza *ʔaʔato* 'sheep' (Eh).

(2) If a regular correspondent of ECu *-z- was (also?) Beja -y-, there are suggestive parallels reconstructible as **ʔiz(z)-* / **ʔiiz-* > Afar *ida* 'ewe' (pl. *illi*) (PaHy), *ʔSaho feydo* 'sheep' (We); *ʔRendille ifý* 'sheep' (in general) (GP); Arbore *ʔizze* 'gazelle' (Hy), Elmolo *íwate* 'Thomson's gazelle' (He).

b'ane c., usually m., 'vulture' (Rp) = *b'aneeb* m. 'vulture', def.sg. *ub'ani*, def.pl. *ib'anya* (Wd) = *b'anee[b]* id. (Tl) = *báa'ni*, *báa'no* m. 'Aasgeier, weissköpfige Geier, Vultur fulvus' (Re) = *báane* m. 'Aasgeier' (Al) = *bano[b]* 'grosser Geier' (Mu) It can be interpreted as a nomen agentis from *be'aan* v. 1 'furchtsam sein, fürchten' (Reinisch 1895: 39).

be'ráay m., pl. *be'ráy* 'Stier, Rind' (Re)

Borrowed from EtSe: Gz *bəʃər*, *bəʃ(ə)rāy* etc. 'ox, bull, horned cattle; stupid person', Ti, Ty *bəʃəray* 'ox, bull' etc. (Reinisch 1895: 39; Leslau 1987: 84–85; SED II: 73–76, #53 with other comparanda). Passed in numerous Cushitic languages: (C) **bira* 'ox, bull' (Appleyard 2006: 109) > Bilin, Khamir (Re), Khamtanga (Ap), Kemant (CR) *bira*, Awngi *birí* (Ap) || (E) Afar *bəʃra* ~ *befeera* 'young bull, steer' (PaHy), Saho *beʃera* 'bull' (We); Had *baara* 'young bull', Kamb *boora* id., Sid *boor-to* 'calf' (HG), etc.

b'aši c., acc. *b'ašob*, -t 'fox, jackal' (Rp) = *b'ašooob* m. / *bašoot* f. 'fox, jackal', def. sg. *ub'ašu* m. / *tub'ašu* f., def.pl. *ib'ašu* m. / *tib'ašu* f. (Wd) = *i-b'aši* 'le renard', *b'ašōō-b* 'un renard', pl. *b'ašōō-b* (Vh) = *i-ba'aši* 'le chacal', *ti-ba'ašo* 'le chacal' (Mr) = *u b'aše^b*, indet. *bā'ašooob* (Hess 1917–1918: 28; Beja > SudAr *baʃšūm* 'sudanischer Schakal / Canis anthus soudanicus') = *ba'áašo*, *be'áašo*, *be'áaši* c., acc. *be'aašóob*, -t 'Fuchs, Schakal' (Re) = Hdd *i-bašó[b]* 'fox' (Th) = *bašo* c. 'jackal', *timbil bašo* 'fox' (HuB) = *bašo[b]* 'fox' (Tl) = *bacho* 'un petit renard' (Li) = *ba-sho* 'fox' (Salt) = *baaschoob* 'Fuchs, Schakal' (Se)

Reinisch (1895: 40) connected it with Copt Boh ⲃⲟⲓⲛⲓ 'nom d'un animal du désert', prob. 'hyène', representing an old active participle **bayša.t* or **bašya.t* (Vycichl 1983: 26). The word passed into Ar dial. ('Ababde) *baʔašūb* 'chacal', pl. *baʔašīb* (Vycichl 1983: 26).

Cu: ?(C) Khamtanga (Ap) *bājiwa*, Khamir (Re) *becewā* 'leopard' (Appleyard 2006: 92) || (E) Som *basho*, pl. *bashooyin* 'gatto' (DSI 50) = Som of Ogaden *baašo*, pl. *baašoyyin* 'Katze' (Lamberti 1986: 197, 215); Or: Macha *bašoo* 'cat' (LVC).

b'uut m., pl. -a 'wood-boring beetle' (Rp)

?Cu: (C) **bətt-* (Appleyard 2006: 95) > Bilin *bita*, pl. *bit* 'Laus' (Re) = *bəta* 'louse' (Ap), Qwara *beta*, Kemant *bəta* (Sa), Khamir *betta* id. (Re) = *biṭṭə* id. (Hailu, Dereje, Wedekind), Khamtanga *bītta* id. (Ap), Kailiña *bit'a* (Ap).

boob m. 'sparrow, bird', def.sg. *ooboob*, def.pl. *ibuuba*, and *buub* m. 'sparrow, birds', def.sg. *oobuub* (Wd) = *buub-iyyi-t* 'des hirondelles' (Vh)

Cf. *buw* ~ *buu* c. 'Falke, Sperber' (Re)?

Bi *oo-béedi* 'a camel 0–1 year old' (BG) = *baidi* 'up to 6 months old camel' (Clark 1938: 21)

budgīn m., pl. -a 'Maulwurf; Talpa' (Re)

Reinisch' comparison with Ar *bataka* 'rupit, fidit' etc. (1895: 42) is unconvincing. More promising is a hypothetical compound of *buut* f. def. 'earth' (**bur-t*) + *ginuuf* m. 'nose' (Wd) with the following shortening, i.e. *buut-ginuuf* > *budgīn*.

Hdd *bádaw.t* 'Rashaida camel' (BG)

Cf. Bi *oo-béedi* 'a camel 0–1 year old' (BG) = *baidi* 'up to 6 months old camel' (Clark 1938: 21)?

bagal m. 'mule', def.sg. *ubagal*, def.pl. *ibagala* (Wd) = *bagál* m., pl. *bágla* 'Maultier, -esel' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 45) determined an EtSe origin: Gz *baql* 'mule', Ti, Harari *bäqäl*, Ty *bäqli*, Amh *bäqlo*, Gurage *bʷäqla*, besides Ar *baql*, EpSAr *bgl* id. (Leslau 1987: 101; SED II: 77–78, #55). The same origin is also apparent for other Cushitic languages: (C) **bäql-a* / **bəql-a* (Appleyard 2006: 103) > Bilin *baqla* 'Maultier', Khamir *biqla*, Qwara *beela* id. (Re), Kemant *bäyla*, pl. *bäkəl* 'mule' (ZL) || (E) Som *baqal* 'mule' (Ab); Had *baqulla* (Ls) = *baḵucco* id. (HG), Kamb *buula*, pl. *buulla* id. (HG).

bāhaε, *bəhaε* c. 'small gazelle commonly known as digdig' (Rp) = *baha* c. 'Zwergböckchen, Beni Israel, Antilope Saltiana oder Cephalophus Hembrichii (= Dikdik)', with art. *úu-bha* m., *túu-bha* f. (Re) = *baha* m. 'Beni Israel' (Al) = *o'baha*, pl. *ēbaha* id. (Mu)

Cu: (E) Yaaku *bahbah* 'dikdik' (Eh) = *baxbax* 'a small red species of dikdik' (He). Lit.: Ehret 1987: #107: Beja + Yaaku.

beháare c. 'Hornrabe, Buceros abessinicus' (Re)

Could it be connected with *bəhári kelay* 'sea-bird', where *bəhar* means 'sea' (Roper 1928: 160)?

bharé hatáy 'cavallo di mare' (Ci)

Cf. *bhar* 'sea' (Wd) and *hátay* 'horse' (Rp).

bharé hayóokw (or *hayóob!*) 'la stella marina' (Ci)

Cf. *bhar* 'sea' (Wd) and *hayóokw* 'star' (Ci).

bharé tankwalée-b 'medusa' (Ci)

Cf. *bhar* 'sea' (Wd) and *tankwáli* m. 'prepuce', f. 'clitoris' (Rp).

book m. 'buck', def.sg. *oobook*, def.pl. *ibooka* (Wd) = *book* m. 'bouc', pl. *bak* (Vh) = *bok* m. 'he-goat' (m. to *nay* 'she-goat') (HuB) = *bok* 'he-goat' (Do) = *bok* m., pl. *bāk* 'he-goat' (Rp) = *book* m., pl. *bak* 'Bock, Ziegenbock' (Re) = *bok* m., pl. *bak* id. (Al) = *o'bock*, pl. *e'bek* 'Ziegenbock' (Mu), cf. *bokšenáak* 'Usnea sp.' (Schwein-furth) = *bok* + *šenáak* 'Bart'

Following Reinisch (1895: 46), Leslau (1987: 91) supposes a Beja origin for Gz *baḥakʷ*, *bəḥkw* 'male of cattle, ram, billy goat'.

?Cu: (E) Som *bakai* 'castrated cattle' (Funaioli & Simonetta, 1985: 85).

Ch: (C) Mafa *ḥ(w)ǝk* 'goat' (Schubert) and / or Hurzo *bábāk*, Muktele *bāhó* 'he-goat' (Rossing).

baal m., pl. *bal* 'Schwan' (Re)

Cu: (E) **baal*- 'feather' > Afar *bal*, pl. *baála* 'feather worn by one who has killed a man' (PaHy); Som *baal* 'feather', Jiddu *báal* 'feather, wing' (Banti and Ibraaw), Boni **báal* 'feather' (He), Bayso *baal* id. (Hy); Dasenech *bàal-l-ì* id. (Sa); Or: Macha *baal-l-e* id. (LVC), Wellega *baal-l-aa* id. (Gg), Borana *baal-a* 'id., leaf' (Stroomer), Konso *paal-a* 'feather' (Bl), Dirayta *paal*, *paal-l-eta* id. (Sa); Harso, Dobase and Gollango *paal-hó* 'Straussenfeder' (AMS); Burji *baal-ée* 'feather', Sid *balle*, -*icco*, Kamb *baall-ita*, -*iccu-ta*, Had *bal-l-a'e* id. (Sasse 1982: 31; Hudson 1989: 62; Ehret 1987: #64 connected ECu **baal*- 'feather' with Or *balali*- 'to fly, flap, flutter' and Beja (Re) *babal/r* 'flattern, wirr durcheinander flattern, aufgewirbelte Federn, wallende Haare im Winde'); Om: (N) Wolayta *ball-iya*, Gofa *balla*, Gamo, Dorze, Cancha *balle* 'feather' (Ae).

Bi *baláabu* '2-3 years old camel' (BG) = *batabun* 'two years old camel' (Clark 1938: 21)

belbel 'wilde Taube' (Se)

(1) Connected with Or: *bulula* (Tu), Macha *bulala* 'dove' (LVC).

(2) Borrowed from Ar *bulbul*, pl. *balābil* 'nightingale' (Sg 138; cf. Reinisch 1895: 47; cf. SED II: 85, #60).

Hdd *e-bīlāg* 'bat' (Th)

te-bilhólís ‘the worm-like black centipede found on the tops of the mountains’ (Th)
 Could it be connected with *lolis* ‘centipede’ (Mu)?

bilikamai ~ *birikamai* f. ‘anything fluttering, moth, small bird’ (HuB) = *bilekanáy* f. ‘Schmetterling’ (Re)

(1) Derived from the verb *birrik* v. 2 ‘to fly’ (HuB).

(2) Borrowed from Ar *baliqa* and *baluqa* ‘in bunten Farben schimmern’ plus the suffix of abstr. and f. gener. nouns (Reinisch 1894: 34, §357; 1895: 48).

(3) Related to ECu **billaʃ-t* ‘butterfly’ > Boni *baala-ci*; Or: Macha *billa-cha* (LVC), Borana *billaa-ca* (Stroomer); Harso *pallaʃ-ticcé* (AMS); Burji *billaatt-ée* ~ *bil’aat-ee* (Sasse 1982: 36).

belúul’ay c. ‘Geier, Sperber’ (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 48) analyzed it as a relative from the infinitive **beluul’* derivable from **belil’*, an iterative of the verb known in Gz *balsa* ‘to eat, consume, devour’. Se: Akk *bulilu* ‘a species of crested bird’; Ar *buluʃluʃ-* ‘avis aquatica longo collo praedita’ (SED II: 85, #60).

barak ~ *mbarak* ‘snake’ (HuB)

berám m., pl. *berám* ‘Zecke’ (Re) = *beram* ‘Zecke’ (Mu)

Borrowed from Ti *bəram* id., cf. also Ar *burām* ‘Schaflaus’ (Reinisch 1895: 51; LH 275).

bir’aat f. ‘termites’, def.sg. *tubir’a*, def.pl. *tibir’a* (Wd) = *birat* ‘termites’, det. *ti-mbi-rat* ‘les termites’ (Vh) = *biret* ~ (*e*)*mbiret* f. ‘white ant, termite’ (HuB) = *birat* ‘termite’ (Tl) = *birát* f. ‘termites, white ants’, with art. *tembirát* (Rp) = *embira* f. ‘Ameise, besonders die alle fressende; Termite’ (Re)

Cu: (E) Som *aboor* ‘termites’ (Ab), Boni *aboor* ‘termites’ (Heine 1978: 73) || (S) **baʔara* > Iraqw-Gorowa *baʔár* ‘flies’, Alagwa *baʔara* ‘flies; honey bee’, Burunge *baʔara* ‘flies; honey bees’; **baʔariya* ‘honey bees’ > Iraqw-Gorowa *baʔari*, Alagwa *baʔeeri* (MK 67).

Note: Reinisch (1902: 10) connected Som + Ar *habbūr* ‘a small kind of ants’ (Sg 1163).

bissa c. ‘cat’ (Rp) = *bissaab* / *bissaat* m. / f. ‘cat’, def.sg. *ubissa* / *tubissa*, def.pl. *ibissa* / *tibissa* (Wd) = *bissaat* ‘cat’ (Tl) = *bésa* ‘chat’ (Mr) = Bi *ti-bisésa*, Okela *ti-bissa* ‘cat’ (Th) = *bíssa* and *bésa* c. ‘Katze’, mingáa-y-t *bíssa* ‘Wildkatze’, lit. ‘Wüstekatze’ (Re) = *bésa* c. ‘Katze’, with art. *úub(e)sa* ‘der Kater’, *túub(e)sa* ‘die Katze’ (Al) = [*te*]beszá ‘Katze’ (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *biss(at)*, *bass* ‘domestic cat’ (Sg 123; cf. Reinisch 1895: 53). Takács (EDE II: 86–87) discusses in detail the relations of Beja *bissa*, Ar *bissat*, *bass*, Egyptian *b3s.t.t* ‘goddess Bastet (depicted with the head of a cat)’, Sidamo

basu 'cat' (Hudson 1989: 353), besides Rend *baḥasí* 'lion' and Qwadza *baʔas-iko* pl. 'cheetahs'.

bit m. 'hawk, eagle', def.sg. *oobit*, def.pl. *eebta* (Wd) = *bit* m., pl. *biṭa* 'hawk' (HuB) = *bit* m., pl. *biṭa* id. (Rp) = *bit* m., pl. -a 'Geier' (Re) = *ebitt* id. (Km) = *obitt* 'Fledermaus' (Se)

(1) From **birt*, a derivative of *biir* v. 2 'fliegen', cf. nom. act. *birti* (Re). The development **-rt-* > *-t-* is regular, cf. *barúuk* / *batúuk* < **bart-uuk* m. / f. 'thou', *barúus* / *batúus* < **bart-uus* 'he' / 'she' (Reinisch 1894: 16, §157).

(2) Cu: Dahalo *fi:ṭa* 'pelican' (Maddieson) = *fi:tá* id. (Eh).

buw ~ *buu* c. 'Falke, Sperber' (Re) = *bii* m., pl. *bi'i* 'owl' (HuB)

Reinisch (1895: 54) connected it with Ar *būh* 'owl, moulting hawk' (Sg 152), but there are promising comparanda:

?Cu: (S) Iraqw *buubuuti* 'eagle' (MQK).

Eg: Copt Boh Sah βαί, 1x Boh βαγ 'corbeau de nuit / Nycticorax griseus, une sorte de chouette; hibou d'Égypte, eagle-owl, screech-owl / Bubo ascalaphus' (Vycichl 1983: 25).

Be: (S) Ayr *buwen* 'hibou', EAwlemidden *bəwwən* id. (SED II: 72, #52).

Se: Akk *be'u* 'a bird'; Hb (post-Bibl) *bā(?)wāt* 'night-bird, owl'; Syriac *baʔwā*, *bawwā* 'upupa, noctua'; Ar *būh* 'owl, moulting hawk' (Sg 152; SED II: 72, #52: Se + Be + Copt + Iraqw).

báyho c. 'Schakal, Fuchs, Canis vulpes Nilotica' (Re)

Undoubtedly connected with Ti *bāyhot*, pl. *bāyhi* 'a species of jackal' (LH 294). There are suggestive parallels in Cu: (E) Dasanech *bây-c*, pl. *bây-à* 'jackal' (Sa) || Dahalo *ḥwéha* 'jackal' (Maddieson) || (S) **bahaa* > Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa *bahaa*, Burunge *baymo* 'hyena', pl. **bahu* > Iraqw, Alagwa *bahu*, Gorowa *bahu'*, Burunge *baw* (KM 68).

?Om: (N) Nayi, Sheko *baqya* 'lion' (Yilma 1994).

Lit.: Fleming 1969: 28: Beja + SCu.

doo m., pl. *di* ~ *du* 'maggot, worm, caterpillar' (HuB) = *d'oob* m. 'worm, insect', def.sg. *ood'u*, def.pl. *eed'u* (Wd) = *d'e* m., acc. *d'ob* 'worm' (Rp) = *d'oo*, *de'oo*, *do'oo* m. 'Wurm' (Re) = *doo* m. id. (Al) = *o'do*, pl. *e'do* 'Wurm, Käfer' (Mu) = [e] *dá* 'Wurm' (Se) = *ḍaʔ*, with art. *'oo ḍa'* 'lady-bird' (Do)

Reinisch (1895: 56) connected it with Saho (Re) *duduuqa* 'eine Wurmsorte von grauweisslicher Farbe, ohne Füße' and Ty *dədiq* (cf. Reinisch 1890: 101); cf. also Or: Guji *didiqo* 'black ants' (LVC).

daa'bi m., pl. -a 'breeding male' (HuB) = *d'abi* m., pl. -a 'stallion, male (of all kinds of domestic cattle) kept for breeding; extra large bead on rosary' (Rp)

= Bi *oo-d'ábe* 'stallion' (BG) = ?*dabaab* m. 'cattle, flock', def.sg. *udaba*, def.pl. *idaba* (Wd)

(1) Cu: (E) **zib-* / **zub-* > Boni, Som: Ashraf, Garro *dibi* 'calf', May, Dabarre *dubə*, Tunni *dubī* id., Jiddu *dow* (Lamberti 1986: 205, 215, 224); Or: Wellega *dibi-cca* 'young bull' vs. *jabbi* 'any kind of calf' (Gg) || Dahalo *dabi*, pl. *dábima* 'animal, game' (Tosco 1991: 132);

Se: Ar ?*aḍabb* 'wild bull' (Sg 24).

(2) Cu: (E) HECu **dzoobba* 'lion' > Sid *dobb-icco*, pl. *dobe*, Had *hoobba*, Kamb *zoobba* (Hudson 1989: 92), Alaba *zoob-o* id. (Sasse 1976: 141);

Om: (S) Ari *zob(ba)*, Hamar *zəbə*, Karo *zobo*, Dime *zop* 'lion' (Be);

Eg (Pyr) *z3b* 'Schakal' (Wb. III: 420); Vycichl (1958: 383, #15) added the variant *dyby.w* 'wolves, jackals, hyenas', assuming the vocalization **di3b-ū*;

Se **ḍiʔ[i]b-* > Akk *zibu*, *zibū* 'jackal; vulture'; Hb *zəʔəb* 'wolf'; OffAram *dʔb*, *dyb* 'wolf', Aram *dēbā*, Syr *dēbā* id.; Ar *ḍiʔb* 'wolf, jackal'; Jibbali *ḍib*, Soqotri *dīb* 'wolf' (if not borrowed from Ar; cf. Leslau 1938: 120); Gz *zəʔb* ~ *zəbʔ*, Ty *zəbʔi* 'hyena', Amh *žəb*, *ḡəb* id. (Leslau 1987: 630; SED II: 105–108, #72).

The semantic difference has an analogy e.g. in Som *aar* 'male lion; hero', Bayso *aar* 'bull', Arbore *aar*, Dasenech *ar* 'bull', Elmolo *aar a ote* 'bull, ox', lit. 'male of cattle' (Haberland and Lamberti 1988: 70).

diib c. 'Wolf' (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *ḍiʔb* 'wolf'.

dabaab m. 'cattle, flock', def.sg. *udaba*, def.pl. *idaba* (Wd)

Probably identical with *d'abi* 'stallion, male of domestic cattle' (Rp).

dībēda and *dabáada* c. 'Muschuskatze' (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *zabād* 'civet cat, perfume extracted from a civet cat' or Gz *zəbād* 'civet cat, musk', Ti, Ty, Amh *zəbad* id. (Leslau 1987: 630). Cf. also Afar *dabaad*, Saho *dabaad* and *zabaad* 'Moschus', Afar-Saho *dummoo dabaad* 'Moschuskatze; Viverra civetta' (Re) and Som *sabaad* 'civet' (Luling) which are of the same origin. There are the Beja variants *sebáada* (Re) = *tisbateh* 'Zibethtier' (Se).

dābdab and *tābtāb* m., pl. -a 'Eidechse, Molch' (Re) = *dābdab* m. 'Eidechse' (Al) = *tabtab* m. 'lizard', def.sg. *utabtab*, def.pl. *itabtaba* (Wd)

Almkvist (1885: 12) and Reinisch (1895: 59) connected it with Ar *ḍabbat* 'an eatable lizard' (Sg 603).

debala 'einjährige Kuh' (Mu) = *danbaliib* m. 'heifer, buck', def.sg. *udanbali*, def. pl. *idanbaliya* (Wd)

(1) Almkvist (1885: 12) proposed a primary meaning 'die Kleine', cf. *dābali*, *dībili* 'small; young' (Rp) = *debaloob* 'small' (HuB) = *dabaloob*, -t id. (Wd).

(2) There are numerous parallels in the Ethiopian area:

EtSe: Gz *dābelā* 'billy goat, bull, male of any animal', Ti *dābela* 'ram', Ty *dibāla*, Amh *dabela*, *dābāl* 'billy goat', Harari *dābāy* 'heifer', Gurage *zābāy* id.; cf. also Ar *dawbal* 'wild boar, suckling pig, fox, wolf' (Leslau 1987: 120–121);

Cu: (E) Afar *dabeēla* 'buck goat, billy goat' (PaHy), Saho *dabēla* 'he-goat' (We) = *dabeela* 'Ziegenbock' (Re); Som *dabuula* 'Schlauch, Ledersack von Bocksfell für Transport von Kafefbohnen' (Reinisch 1902: 100), Bayso *dabaalo* 'heifer' (Hy).

Lit.: Halévy 1869: 205: Beja + Amh.

dagfiḡa m. 'small domestic animals, menu bétail' (Rp) = *dagfiḡaat* f. 'animals, small domestic', def.sg. *tudagiḡa*, def.pl. *tidagiḡa* (Wd)

Cu: (E) **deg-* > Afar *dag-o* 'one who is small; to be few, little' (PaHy), Saho *dag-o* 'Wenigkeit, Kleinheit' (Re); Som *dagaag* 'pauper' (Ab); Or: Macha (LVC) = Borna (Stm) *deeg-a* 'to be poor', Konso-Dirayta *teek-* 'to be(come) poor' (Bl); Gollango *tak-k-a* 'klein' (AMS); Burji *dog-eyn-ee* 'small, little', cf. *dagammāay-oo* 'young of sheep or goat' (Sasse 1982: 52, 56–57).

Note: The same semantic development occurs e.g. in postbiblHb *bhmh dqh* 'small cattle' or Ug *dqt* 'a female head of small cattle for sacrifice', a derivative of Se *d-q-q* 'small' (Gordon 1965: 386; DRS 305).

diik m. 'cock', def.sg. *oodiik*, def.pl. *eediik* (Wd) = *diik* 'cock' (Tl) = *diik* and *jik*, pl. -a 'Hahn' (Re) = *diik* m. id. (Al) = *dik* id. (Mu) = [o]*dih* id. (Se) = Sawakin *o-jik* 'cock' (Th)

Reinisch (1895: 65) connected it with Ar *dīk* '(dung-hill) cock' (Sg 381).

dakáar m., pl. *dakár* m. 'Männchen von Tieren; der wilde Büffel' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 65) connected it with Ar *ḡakar* 'male' (Sg 387).

damba c. 'lizard' (Rp) = *dambq* id. (HuB)

(1) Metaphorically from *dambe* 'thigh, hindquarter' (Rp) = *dambi* 'thigh' (HuB)? Cf. Latin *lacerta*, -us 'lizard' vs. *lacertus* 'arm, muscles'.

(2) Shortened from *dambilaalq* m., pl. *dambil* 'lizard' (HuB), probably a derivative of *dambalaal* v. 2 'turn over and over' (HuB).

(3) Borrowed from Ar *ḡabbat* 'an eatable lizard' (Sg 603).

(4) Takács (EDE I: 244) compared *damba* with Eg **dmj* 'lizard-shaped animal with four legs' reconstructed after a hieroglyphic sign, cf. Wb. V: 453 ||| Ch: (W) Hausa *damo* 'Kammechse' (Vycichl 1938: 135: Hausa + Eg), Sura *dāmsār* 'Gecko' (Jg) || (C) Mwulyen *dāmẁázá* 'lizard' (Kr). Zyhlarz (1934–1935: 171) found a parallel to the Egyptian etymon in Mahasi (Nile Nubian) *dimō* 'Chamäleon'. Takács's chain of comparisons does not explain -b- in Beja, with exception of the only form, viz. Mwulyen.

dambilaalq m., pl. *dambil* ‘lizard’ (HuB)—see *damba* ‘lizard’ (Rp)
Cf. *tambal’aay* ‘lézard’ (Vh).

o domiagag ‘renard’ (Li; see Almkvist 1885: 9, fn. 1)

Cu: (C) **dVmmV*-(ta) (Appleyard 2006: 41) > Bilin *dəmmu* ‘cats’, sgl. *dəmmura*, where -ra < *-ta; Kemant *daməya* ‘cat’, Qwara *damyā* id. Appleyard (1977: 67) finds the Modern Ethio-Semitic counterparts as borrowings from Agaw: Ti, Ty *dəmmu*, Amh *dəmmät* ‘cat’ || (E) Afar *dummu* f. ‘cat’, sgl. *dummuuta* / *dummuyta*, pl. *dùmmum* m. (PaHy), while Afar *dimmatto* f. ‘cat’ looks as a loan from Arab *dimmat* ‘cat’, similarly as Somali *dummad* and *dinnad* ‘cat’ (Re; Luling) || (S) **duʔuma*, pl. **duʔumi* > Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa, Burunge *duʔuma* (KM 100); Asa *duʔum-ok*, Qwadza *duʔumayi* ‘leopard’ (Ehret 1980: 347).

Ch: (W) Yergum *damuŋ* ‘leopard’, Mupun *ndəmú-k* ‘hyena’, Sura *ndùmú*, Ankwe *tumu* id., Gerka *damu* id. (JgIb 2: 204) || (E) Lele *jem* ‘caracal’; Sokoro *dámde* ‘leopard’ (JgIb 2: 223).

Se: Akk *dumamu* (*tumamu*) ‘a wild animal’ (CAD D: 179), ‘gepard’ (AHw. 175); Arab *dimmat* and *dam* ‘cat’, dial. (Yemen) *dim* and *dum* id.; Geez *dəmmat* ‘cat’, Ti, Ty *dəmmu*, Amh *dəmmät* ‘cat’ (Leslau 1987: 136; SED II: 102–103, #70).

Lit.: SED II: 102–103, #70: C + E + SCu + Ch + Se.

dimmo ‘chat’ (Salt), see *jímo* ‘Katze, Kater’ (Re)

Borrowed from Arab *dimmat* ‘cat’. Cf. SED II: 102–103, #70 and Beja *domiagag* ‘renard’ (Li).

danbaliib m. ‘heifer, buck’, def.sg. *udanbali*, def.pl. *idanbaliya* (Wd)

See *debala* ‘einjährige Kuh’ (Mu).

dangálay c., pl. *dangáley* ‘lizard’ (Rp), see *adangaláay* c., pl. *adangaláy* ‘Eidechse’ (Re)

Ch: (C) Tera *díngílíŋ* ‘scorpion’ (Newman).

daraaf m. ‘giraffe’, def.sg. *udaraaf*, def.pl. *idaraafa* (Wd) = *deráaf* c., pl. *deráf* ‘Giraffe’ (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 70) connected it with Ar *zaráf* ‘giraffe, camelopard’ (Sg 453). There is a Beja variant *seráf* id. (Mu, Heuglin).

dírfin c., pl. -a ‘Lamm, Zicklein’ (Re) = *jirfáne* c., acc. *jirfaaniib* ‘young sheep not so large as *argin*’ (Rp) = ? *tirfem* ‘Ovis aries in genere’ (Heuglin)

Reinisch (1895: 70) proposed a connection with Ti *dərʃən* ‘lamb, ram’ (LH 523).

dérk^wa, *dír^kw*a ‘Schildkröte’ (Re) = *dirík^wahállo* ‘tortue’, pl. *dirík^wahälle* (Mr) = *derk^wa* c. id., with art. *úu-derk^wa* m., pl. *túu-derk^wa* f. (Al) = *derkua hallo*[b] (Mu) = *dirkoá* id. (Se)

Reinisch (1895: 70) connected it with Ar *daraqat* '(leathern) shield' (Sg 360) and Nub: Dongola *derri* 'turtle', Mahas *aman-dákki* 'tortoise' (Murray 1923: 33, 30). The semantic difference 'shield' vs. 'tortoise / turtle' has an analogy in Ar *turs* 'Schild' vs. *tirsat* 'Schildkröte'.

daray anɿ'e 'chauve-souris' (Vh)

dees c., pl. -a 'young gazelle' (HuB)

Om: (N) Wolayta *dešša*, Gofa *deeša*, Gamo *dešša*, Dorze *dešš*, Cancha *dešš*, Kul-lo *dešša* 'goat' (Ae), Zala, Koyra, Chara *deeša*, Malo *deše*, Dache *deyšše*, Basketo *dayša*, Kachama *deyše* 'goat'; ?Shinasha *daaza* 'donkey' (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 348 derive Ometo from **dayl-šaa* and compare it with the Dullay-Konsoid isogloss **dal-* 'goat'; *d-* is preserved in Tsam *dal-e* 'goat', see Hayward 1989: 9, but there are suggestive external parallels confirming original *-š-);

Se: Akk *daššu* '(Gazellen)bock; Haken?' (AHw 165); less probably Hb, Aram *tayš*, Ar *tays* 'Ziegenbock' (SED II: 295–297, #231; Salonen 1976: 197; cf. also Hommel 1879: 403; Klein 1987: 701).

da c. 'newly born calf' (Rp) = *daa-b*, with art. *uu-nɿa* 'bébé veau' (Vh) = *dɿ* f., with art. *tenda* 'female calf' (HuB) = *da* f. 'weibliches Kalb' (Mu)

(1) Cu: (E) Som *doow-ehē* 'cow in mid-pregnancy', Tunni *doow-at*, Garro *duw-aat* id. (Arvanites 1990: 57) || ?(S) Mbugu *dé* 'cow, cattle'; Iraqw *ditoʔo* 'calf and small-stock pen'; cf. Burunge, Qwadza *deʔ-* 'to herd' (Ehret 1980: 190);

(2) Cu: (E) **ʔadd-* > Afar *add-i* 'young heifer', *add-o* 'she-camel not fully grown' (PaHy); Burji *ádd-i* 'heifer', Had *add-icco*, Sid *add-é* 'heifer' (Sasse 1982: 23; Hudson 1989: 35).

Ch: (C) Mofu *dáw* 'goat' (Rossing) = *daw*, *duw* id. (Mc).

d'an m. 'gecko, house lizard', def.sg. *ood'an*, def.pl. *id'ana*, and *d'aneeb* m. id., def. sg. *uɿ'ani*, def.pl. *id'ani* (Wd) = *d'an*, *də'an* m., pl. *d'ana* 'gecko, house lizard' (Rp) = *dan* ~ *deen* m., pl. *d'anna* 'lizard found among rocks' (HuB) = *ôd-én* 'Eidechse' (Se)

There are at least three hypothetical explanations, one based on an inner Beja etymology, two on comparisons with possible Eastern Cushitic counterparts:

(1) It is tempting to connect this zoonym with Beja *da'* (and *daʔ*) 'horn; molar tooth' (Re) via the suffix of nomina agentis -a(a)na (Reinisch 1893–1894: §290; 1903: §116), i.e. *d'ana* = 'cornutus', which would be reinterpreted as the plural and a new singular was formed as *d'an*. See *tal'ane* and *tan'ale* m. 'scorpion' (Rp) below.

(2) Cu: (E) Som *daʃaan*, *deʃaan* 'Geifer, Eiter', used in the syntagm *daʃaan mas* 'Schlangengeifer' (Reinisch 1902: 125), cf. *dhacaan* / *daʃaan* / 'sap, moisture, fluid' (Luling) = *dhacaan* / *dheecaan* 'siero, succo; umore; linfa; secrezione; pus'

(DSI 151) = *deʃan* or *daʃan* ‘juice, gravy, pus, matter, or any humour coming out from a living body’ (Larrajasse 1897: 33). This solution assumes that this reptile is slimy or products slimy secrets.

(3) If this gecko lives among rocks, it is legitimate to ask, if its name cannot be derived from the South-East Cushitic isogloss for ‘stone’: (E) Som *ḍuʃun* ~ *ḍuḥun* ‘flintstone’ (Re) || (S) Iraqw *tlaaʃanoo* ‘upper grinding stone’, Gorowa *tlaʃanó* ‘small stone’, vs. pl. in Iraqw *tlaʃu*, Gorowa *tlaʃu*¹, and Alagwa *tlaaʃu* id., Burunge *tlaaʃu* ‘upper grinding stone’, besides Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa, Burunge *tlaaʃa* ‘rock’, pl. in Iraqw-Gorowa *tlaaʃee*, Alagwa *tleeʃee*, Burunge *tleeʃeeng* (KM 273).

ḍībáab f., pl. *ḍībáb* ‘large fly that infests camels’ (Rp) = *ḍibáab* f., pl. *ḍibáb* f. ‘Floh’ (Re) = Hdd *ḍībab* ‘large fly that infests camels’ (BG) = *dibab* f. ‘camel fly’ (HuB)

?Ch: (W) North Bauci: Mburka *ḍīḍu*, Jimbin *duba*, Miya-Kariya *dupu*, Siri *dəbətəmi* ‘termite’ (Skinner 1977: 44; cf. Stolbova 2016: 95–96, n. 135).

ḍhaniinay ‘animal sauvage’, pl. *ḍhaniinay*, var. *ḍhaniini* (Vh) = *ti-ḍahanīney* ‘les animaux’ (Mr)

In reality the compound **ḍhan-i-na* ‘chose de vie’ (Vanhove 2017: 33).

ḍiinaant f. ‘bee, drone’, def.sg. *tuḍiinaan*, def.pl. *tiḍiinan* (Wd) = *ḍīna* m. ‘Biene oder Wespe’ (Re) = *ḍīna* m. ‘Biene’ (Al) = *ḍiing* m., *feroi* (*feloī*) *ḍing* ‘hornet, mason wasp’ (HuB)

Cu: (E) Afar *ḍuune* ‘ants’; Das *dōdōnìn-tì* ‘mosquito’ (Sa) = *ḍunun-ni* ~ *donin-ni* id. (To) || Dahalo *t’óónane* ‘mosquito’ (Ehret 1980: 176). Originally perhaps derived from the verb of the type Beja *ḍiinaa* ‘to hums, buzz; fly’ (Wd).

ḍaat m., pl. *ḍāt* ‘flea’ (Rp)

?Cu: (E) Arbore *ḍúuḍu* ‘jigger-flea’ (Hy).

Ch: (W) North Bauci: Pa’a *dīda* ‘flea’; Ron: Daffo-Butura *tadáy* ‘louse’ (Blench: *Ron Comparative Dictionary*); ?(E) EDangla *dyōodyō* ‘la cigale’, WDangla *dyéédyə̀* id. (cf. Stolbova 2016: 377, n. 883).

fuu m., pl. *fuu’g* ‘centipede’ (HuB)

?Eg (BD): *ʃp* ‘sp. worm?’ (Wb. I: 180; WPS 217).

fiil c. ‘Elefant’ (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *fiil* id. (see SED II: 227–230, #173).

Ammar’ar *filáy* ‘she-camel just foaled’ = Hdd *fírrat* id., cf. Bi *to-filáy-it-kamtu* ‘she-camel under 2 months in foal’ (BG)

Cu: (C) Dembea *fiyala*, Awngi *fiyéli*, Kunfāl *f[ə]äy* 'goat' > Amh *fäyyäl* id. (Leslau 1979: 252; Appleyard 2006: 75 thought about an opposite vector of borrowing, but admits that in this case the origin of the Amhara word is obscure) || (E) HECu: Hadiya *fill-ak-iččo*, pl. *filla?a*, Kambatta *felle-ccu*, pl. *felle?u* 'goat' (Hudson 1989: 71).

?Ch: (W) Guruntum *fwull* 'cow' (JgIb 2: 92).

Se: Borrowed from or into Tigre *fəlu* 'un veau sevré' (Mu apud LH 653)? There is also Tigre *fəlit* 'Bezeichnung für ein Kuhkalb vom Ende seines ersten Jahres bis zum ersten Kalben' (LH 653), related to Soqotri *fólhi* 'a yearling calf' (Naumkin) = 'petit des grandes animaux' (Leslau 1938: 336); Arab *filw*, *faluww*, *fuluww* 'poulain, petit de cheval ou d'âne âgé d'un an et sevré' (SED II: 230, #174: Beja + NCu + HECu + Se + Ch).

falani f., pl. -*q* 'butterfly' (HuB) = Suakin *te-fälän* 'moth' (Th)

flinkiday c., pl. -*q* 'bat' (HuB)

The first component is apparently *falani* f. 'butterfly' (HuB). The determination of the second member remains open.

fallúus m., pl. *fallis* (Kassala) 'sandfly' (Rp) = *o-felús* 'mosquito' (in mountain speech) (Th), cf. also *falo*i (~ *fanoi*) *dina* 'mason wasp, humble bee' (HuB)

Perhaps connected with the following Cushitic and Omotic counterparts:

Cu: (C) **fVIVta* (Appleyard 2006: 69) > Bilin *fəluta*, pl. *fəlut* 'flea' (Ap), Khamir *felta*, pl. *filit*, Qwara *peḷiya* 'Floh' (Re), Kemant *fäläy* (Ap) = *fäle*, pl. *fälät* 'puce' (CR) || (E) Dirayta *fillét* 'flea' (Bl); Harso *filláyye*, Gollango *filláye* 'Floh' (AMS); Om: (N) Kafa *pilo,-e* 'flea' (Habte Mikael) = *pillo* id. (Ce);

?Eg (Med; D 18) *py* 'Floh' (Wb. I: 502), Copt Sah ⲡⲏⲓ 'puce' < **piy3aw* (Vycichl 1983: 158 connected it with Eg *p3* 'fliegen'; Wb. I: 494);

?Se: Ar *falā* 'to louse', *tafalī* 'to catch lice or fleas' (Sg 804); besides Akk *uplu* 'Kopflaus' (AHw. III: 1423); Jewish-Aram *palyā*, *palyā be?ari* 'name of a locust on palm-trees'; Ar *fāliyat* 'sorte d'insecte semblable au scarabée marqué de taches noires et blanches qui accompagne ou précède ordinairement les scorpions ou les vipères' (SED II: 231, #175).

Lit.: Cohen 1947: #365: CCu + Kafa + Eg + Ar *falā*.

Note: It is tempting to analyze *fallúus* as *falo*i (see above) and *s'e* 'tick' (Rp) = *see* 'Laus, Zecke' (Re).

feringi f. 'guinea worm' (HuB) = *fringi* f. 'Guinea-, Hautwurm *Filaria medinensis*' (Re) = 'pheringit Hautwurm' (Se)

Reinisch (1893: 25, §43; 1895: 83) connected it with SudAr *firindit*, Ti *farəntət* 'aine', Ty *farəntit* 'Testikul', Amh *farəntət* 'eine Krankheit an den Leistendrücken' (LH 658).

On the other hand, there is an interesting parallel in Harso (Dullay / ECu) *fuuraḍ-akkó* ‘Made’ (AMS).

Hdd *fírrat* ‘she-camel just foaled’ (BG)

(1) Cf. Ammar’ar *filáy* id. (BG).

(2) Cu: (E) Somali *farow* ‘zebra’ (Lr; Luling) = *faraw* (Ab); Arbore *faraw* f. ‘horse’ (Hayward 1984: 357), Dasanech *far-ic*, pl. *fár-a* m. ‘horse’, *far-t-i* f. ‘female horse; oryx’ (To).

g’am, *g’am* m., pl. *g’ama* ‘tick’ (Rp) = Hdd *g’am* id., *to g’amtéeni* ‘small tick’ (BG) = *giim* m. ‘gnat, small fly’ (HuB)

Cu: (E) Elmolo *gímate*, pl. *gímai* f. ‘tick’ (He)

Ch: (W) Angas *ngūm* ‘insects in general’ (Foulkes), Sura *ńgum* ‘eine fliegende Käferart’ (Jg); Kariya *nguna*, Warji *nginangina-na*, Pa’a *gwunagwuna*, Miya *angi-nani*, Diri *anguna* ‘spider’ (Sk); Jimbin *amuma* id. (Sk) allows to reconstruct proto-NBauchi **anguma* and further WCh **n-guma* (Stolbova 1987: 219).

Note: Alternatively, the Chadic forms can be related to Be *ańgano/e* c. ‘Raubameise’ (Re) and *hángana* ~ *hánkana* ‘Sorte grosser schwarzer Ameisen’ (Re).

g’ooy m. ‘frog’, def.sg. *oog’ooy*, def.pl. *ig’ooya* (Wd) = *ge’óoy*, *g’ooy*, *gooy*, pl. *-a* ‘Frosch, Kröte’ (Re) = *go’oi* ‘frog’ (Tl) = *gay* m., pl. *-a* ‘frog, toad’ (HuB) = *gooy* m. ‘Frosch, Kröte’ (Al) = *o’goi*, pl. *e’goi*, acc. *goyáb* ‘Kröte’ (Mu) = [o]kóih ‘Kröte, Frosch’ (Se)

?Ch: (W) Kanakuru *gəwa* ‘frog, toad’; Ron: Sha *ńafá* ‘Frosch’ (Jg)—see Skinner 1977: 44: Kanakuru + Sha.

guub m., pl. *-a* ‘mouse, rat’ (HuB) = *gub* ‘mouse’ and *gob* ‘rat’ (Tl) = *gwib* m. ‘mouse’, def.sg. *oogwib*, def.pl. *igwiba* (Wd) = *gwib* c., pl. *-a* id. (Rp) = *guub* and *gubb*, *gibb* c., pl. *-a* ‘Maus’, cf. *gúubi déela* ‘Mausloch’, *gúubay ámba* ‘Mäusedreck’ (Re) = *guub* c. ‘Maus, Ratte’ (Al) = *to’gibb*, pl. *te’gba*, acc. *gebat* ‘Maus’ (Mu) = *gowo* id. (Heuglin)

?NS: Kunama *gubbā* ‘Fledermaus’ (Reinisch 1890b: 47).

Hdd *gábid* ‘young trained camel’ (BG)

gedi f. ‘poisonous snake’ (HuB) = *gedi*[t] ‘schwarze Vipensorte’ (Mu)

See *gádda* ‘kleine Schlange, in Mauern sich aufhaltend’ (Re).

géddo c. ‘Schwalbe’ (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 90) connected it with Ti (EtSe) *gädo* and Bilin (CCu) *gäddo* ‘Schwalbe’ (cf. Reinisch 1887: 141).

gádda f., pl. *gádda'a* 'kleine Schlange, in Mauern sich aufhaltend' (Re)
 Reinisch (1895: 91) connected it with Ar *gandaʕ* 'a kind of lizard' (Sg 248).
 ?Eg *d3d.t* 'sp. snake' (WPS 198).

Hdd *gífil* 'untrained camel' (BG)

guug m., pl. -a 'Uhu, Eule' (Re) = *gwuugw* m. 'owl', def.sg. *oogwuugw*, def.pl. *igwuugwa* (Wd)

There are numerous (areal or onomatopoetic?) parallels in the Ethiopian area collected already by Reinisch (1895: 93):

EtSe: Gz *gugā* etc. 'owl, nighthawk, raven', Ty *gugg^wa* 'owl', Amh *g^wägga*, *guggut* etc., Gurage *g^wäng^wä* (Leslau 1987: 184);

Cu: (E) Saho-Afar *gugga* 'Hornrabe; Buceros abessinicus' (Re); Or: Wellega *gug-ee* 'dove' (Gg), Macha *gug-e* id. (LVC).

gehée f. 'Klippschliefer; Hyrax abessinicus' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 93) found the following (areal or onomatopoetic) parallels:

EtSe: Gz *gəhe*, *gəhe*, *gaḥāy* 'rock badger, hyrax', Ti *gəhe(t)*, Ty *gihe* (Leslau 1987: 186; cf. LH 565).

Cu: (C) Bilin *gehe*, Khamir *giñi-ra* 'Klippschliefer; Hyrax abessinicus' (Re).

gāhan ~ *kāhan* m. 'shark' (HuB)

galaaba c. 'spotted hyaena' (HuB) = *galáaba* 'une hyène', acc.sg. *galaabá-b*, acc. pl. *galáaba-b* (Vh) = *galaaba* c. 'hyaena smaller and less fierce than *mir'afi*' (Rp) = *galáab* c., pl. *galáb* 'die gestreifte Hyäne; Hyena striata' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 95) sought a source in Ar *qilāb* 'wolf' (Sg 851).

?Cu: (E) Afar *gəlwā*, pl. *gelwitte* 'fox' (PaHy); Som *golli* 'tipo di sciacallo' (DSI 271); Gollango *kaʕʕálho* 'sp. fox' (AMS).

galiibi m. 'locust, large black solitary' (HuB)

gulgul m., pl. *gulgullā* 'lizard' (HuB)

Cu: (E) Som *golgoley* 'danza del coccodrillo' (DSI 271); Tsam *gula* 'sp. of a tiny lizard' (Savà).

Om: (N) Nayi *goli*, Shako *gor* 'lizard' (Yilma 1994).

Ch: (W) Ron: Bokkos *gol* 'agama-lizard' (Blench: *Ron Comparative Wordlist*); North Bauci: Warja *ngəla-na*, Pa'a *ngila-ciki*, Diri *angəla* 'lizard' (Skinner 1977: 30).

guláah f., pl. *gúlha* 'Weibchen von Antilope oder Strepticerus, Kuhantilope' (Re)

?Cu: (E) Som *golʕas* 'tipo di dik-dik dal pelame fulvo sui fianchi' (DSI 271).

gam m. ‘large female (!) camel’ (HuB) = *o-gaam* Kamel’ (Heuglin), see *kaam* c. ‘camel’

gaamuus / *jaamuus* m. ‘buffalo; wild’, def.sg. *ugaamuus* / *ujaamuus*, def.pl. *ig-aamuusa* / *ijaamuusa* (Wd) = *gamúus* ~ *jamúus* c., pl. *gamís* ~ *jamís* ‘Wildbüffel’ (Re) = *jamúus* c. coll. ‘Büffel’ (Al)

Almkvist (1885: 36) and Reinisch (1895: 105) correctly derived it from Ar *ḡāmūs* ‘buffalo’ (Sg 214).

gomaseek ~ *maseek* m. ‘snake’ (HuB)—see *maseek*

gunfid ~ *kinfid* c., pl. -a ‘hedgehog’ (HuB) = *gínfed* ~ *kúnfed* m., pl. -a ‘Igel’ (Re) = *gundhütt* id. (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *qunfuḍ*/d, pl. *qanāfid*/d ‘hedgehog, porcupine’ (Sg 859; SED II: 181–183, #133).

ganaay ‘gazelle’, pl. *ganay* (Vh) = *ganáy* ‘gazelle’, pl. *gáney* (Mr) = *ganay* c., pl. *ganoi* ‘gazelle’, *rabba ganay* ‘buck gazelle’ (HuB) = *ganaay* f. ‘gazelle’, def.sg. *tuganaay*, def.pl. *tiganay* (Wd) = *gánay* c., pl. *gáney* ‘gazelle’ (Rp) = *genáy* c., pl. *genáy* ‘Gazelle, Antilope Dorcas oder Sömmeringii’ (Re) = *ganáa*(y) c., pl. *ganéy* ‘Gazelle’ (Al) = *genna* id. (Kc) = *ganna*, pl. *gannai* id. (Km) = [o]*gana* id. (Bu) = *ganai* ‘Antilope dorcas’ (Heuglin) = *ganná* ‘kleine Gazelle’ (Se) = *gun nai* ‘petit daim’ (Salt)

Cu: (E) Dasanech *ginte* ‘oribi, lelwel hartebeest’ (Fl) = *ginti*, pl. *gíni* ‘gazelle (general term); impala / Aepycero melampus’ (To);

Om: (N) Wolayta *gännaa* and *genaassee* ‘sorta di antilope’ (Ce), Zala *ganešee* id. (Ce), Kullo *genes(s)e* ‘gazelle’ (Borelli), Oyda *gun?a* ‘madoqwa’ (Fl);

Ch: (C) Tera *gùnò* ‘goat’ (Newman), Pidlimdi *gunnú* id. (Kr); Musgoy *genaw* ‘chèvre’ (Mc), Kola *gánâw* (Schubert), Daba *gìnâw* (Lienhard), see JgIb 2: 166–167.

Hdd *uu-gáari* ‘2–4 years old camel’ (BG)

?Cu: (E) Som *geri*, pl. *geriyyo* ‘giraffe’, Boni *kíri* (> Dahalo *kiri* id.; see Ehret 1980: 24), Rend *géri*, pl. *gerínye* id. (Heine 1978: 82); Dasanech *gár-ra* f., sg. *garic* m. ‘buffalo’ (To).

?Eg: (New) *g3w*, *gw* ‘sp. horse’ (Wb. 154, 159; WPS 204).

?Ch: (W) North Bauci: Tsagu *gāre*, Mburka *gāri* ‘oryx’ (Skinner 1977: 10) || (C) Hina *gelówi* ‘giraffe’ (Strümpell 1923: 134).

Note: The semantic connection between designations of ‘giraffe’ and ‘camel’ can be illustrated on examples from the West Chadic group Ron: Bokkos *rakum ti ya* ‘giraffe’ vs. *rakumi* ‘camel’ or Daffo-Butura *rakúđūŋ* ‘camel; giraffe’ (Blench, *Ron Comparative Vocabulary*).

gíríd c., pl. *gírda* 'Pavian' (Re) = *gíríd* c. 'Affe' (Al)

Borrowed from Ar *qird* 'ape, monkey' (Sg 828; cf. Almkvist 1885: 25; Reinisch 1895: 100), similarly as Gz *qərd*, *qard* 'monkey', Amh *qərd* id. (Leslau 1987: 440).

gergeeri f. 'camel, female, a year after having had a foal' (HuB) = Ammar'ar *gi-rigéeri* 'she-camel over two months in foal', Bi *ti-grigéeri* 'herd of milk camels' (BG) Is it connected with Hdd *uu-gáari* '2–4 years old camel' (BG)?

garuwa c. 'eland' (HuB) = *gáruwa* m. 'Männchen vom Agazen, Kuhantilope' (Re) Reinisch (1895: 102) connected it with Ti *gärwa* 'antelope kudu; Strepsiceros capensis' (LH 576).

?Cu: (E) Arbore *goran* 'heifer' (Hy), Dasanech *gár-ra* f., sg. *garic* m. 'buffalo' (To); Sidamo *gurum?iččo* 'gazelle' (Moreno) || Dahalo *gírriida* 'dikdik' (Ehret 1980: 237) || (S) **gwarefáy* > Iraqw *gwarfay* 'Grant's gazelle', Gorowa *gwarfay* 'hartebeeste', Alagwa *gwerefáy* 'gazelles', Burungi *gerefay* 'Puku antelope' (KM 126).

Ch: (W) Bolewa *gaarùwà* 'pack ox', Karekare *gaarùwà* 'bull', Tangale *káarwa* 'cattle' || (C) Bana *gàrèwà* 'troupeau de bœufs' || (E) Bidiya *gaaruwo* 'animal', Migama *gáaraw* 'bête, bétail'; Tumak *garu*, Kwang *gowor-to* 'antelope', Ndam *gèrù* 'ourebì' / Ourebia ourebì' (Militarev and Nikolaev 2020: 208).

?Se: Akk *agurratu* and *gurratu* 'ewe' (CAD Ia: 160).

gašmelli m. 'crane, stork' (HuB)

gati' f., pl. *gát'a* 'Ringelnatter' (Re)

gʷəbár m. pl. 'Schnabeltier, Ornithorrhynchus' (Re)

gwondooli ~ *wondooli* c. 'water wagtail' (HuB)

hi c. 'locust, grasshopper' (HuB), see *ihe* 'hopper locust' (Rp)

hoo c., pl. *hi* 'lamb' (HuB) = *oob* m. 'lamb', def.sg. *whoob*, def.pl. *yhu*, and *hoot* f. id., def.sg. *toohu*, def.pl. *teehu* (Wd) = *w-hi* 'l'agneau' (Vh) = *hi* c., acc. *hob* m., *hot* f. 'newly-born young of sheep, camel, horse' (Rp)

Cu: (S) **haa?iya* 'young animal' > Iraqw *ha?i* 'low vegetable plant', Alagwa *haa?i* 'young (specifically of a bird)', Burunge *haa?iya* 'young of bird' (KM 130).

habekáni c. 'baboon' (Rp)

(1) Derived from *habek* v. 2 'to swagger' (Rp) by the suff. of nom. actionis (cf. Reinisch 1894: 14, §302).

(2) If it is possible to separate *-káni* (= *kína* ‘Besitzer’, see Reinisch 1894: §353), the first component can be related to the following Ethio-Semitic and Cushitic counterparts:

EtSe: Gz *hobāy* ‘ape; kite, hawk’, Ti *habäy*, *humbay* ‘baboon, monkey’, Ty *habäy* ‘monkey’, Amh *eba* ‘monkey; monkey’s cry’ (Leslau 1987: 214);

Cu: (E) Afar *habubba* ‘Hundsaffe, Pavian’ (Re), Saho *habub*, sgl. *habubba* (Vergari) = *habúbba* ‘baboon’ (We) = *haabuub(b)a* ‘Mantelpavian, Cercopithecus hama-dryas’, cf. *habuu*, pl. *haabuub* ‘Geschrei, Gebell des Mantelpavians’ (Re) || Dahalo *híbe* ‘baboon’ (To).

háade m. ‘Wildente’ (Re)

Hdd *hadaksia[b]* ‘a large species of beetle, not unlike a spider, but does not ear flies’ (Th)

haḍa c. ‘lion’, m. ‘sheikh, old man’ (HuB) = *haḍáa-b* ‘un lion’, pl. *háḍaa-b*, det. w/y-*haḍda* ‘le/les lion(s)’ (Vh) = *haḍaab* m. ‘lion’, *whaḍa*, def.pl. *yhaḍa* (Wd) = *w^háḍa* ‘le lion’, *haḍá-b* ‘un lion’, *haḍáa-b* ‘des lions’ (Mr) = *haḍaa[b]* ‘lion’ (Tl) = *haḍa* c. ‘lion’, cf. *Haḍayḍiwa* and *Haḍanḍiwa* m. ‘the Hadandiwa’ (Rp) = *háḍ(ḍ)a* c. ‘Löwe’ (Re) = *háḍa* c. id. (Al) = *o’hada*, pl. acc. *hadáb* id. (Mu) = [o]*haḍḍa* id. (Km) = [uh]*harda* id. (Kc) = *haldaa[b]* and *hadaa[b]* id. (Heuglin) = [wú]*hardá* id. (Se) = *woo ad de* ‘lion’ (Salt)

Reinisch (1895: 112) connected it with Ar *harada* ‘to roar (as a lion)’, assuming a protoform **harda* or **hadra*. The geminate *-ḍḍ-* recorded by Reinisch really gives a chance to start from a protoform **harda* or **harḍa*, indicating the following possible parallels:

(1) Om: (N) Kachama *haaraado* ‘bestia selvatica che dissotterra i cadaveri’ (CR).

(2) Via metathesis Om: (N) Anfillo *dehiro* id. (Gt), Kafa *dahero* id. (Habte Mikael), Mocha *daaharo* ‘lion’ (Leslau 1959: 26 rejected the connection with Gz *ṭāḥarä* ‘to roar’ suggested by Reinisch and accepted by Cerulli 1951: 427–428, just as analogy to Reinisch’ comparison Beja *haḍ(ḍ)a* with Ar *harada* ‘to roar’).

(3) Eg (OK) *ḥḍr* ‘Hyäne’ (Wb. III: 214).

hiḡ ‘3 years old camel’ ~ Bisharin *hi’ib* id. (Clark 1938: 21)

Be: (W) Zenaga *oṣṣi*; (N) Izayan *awiṣṣ*, Nḍir *awṣ* ‘cheval’; (S) Ghat *ahuṣ*, Ahaggar *āhuḡ*, pl. *ihuḡḡan*, East Tawllemmet *əhug*, pl. *iḥāggān* ‘poulain’ (Kossmann 1999: 101, n. 207: **aḥug*) or < **ā-hūgg* < **ā-haHūg*, pl. **ā-hūggan* < **ā-haHūgan* (Prasse 1974: 213).

Se: Jewish Aramaic *hōgānā*, *hōgənā* ‘young camel, or dromedary’, Syriac *hūgnō gamlō* ‘dromedarius’; Ti *haṣin* ‘chameau de monte’ (DRS 367).

Lit.: Militarev 2022: 17: Be + Se.

Alternatively, it could be a derivative of *hi* c., acc. *hob* m., *hot* f. 'newly-born young of sheep, camel, horse' (Rp) or *hiiwa* c. 'camel foal up to 6 months old' (Rp).

haloobi c. 'mason wasp, ant lion dragonfly' (HuB)

halaakkwereena 'carnivore' (Tl)

halkwi and *halki* c. '(young of) donkey' (HuB) = *halkwi* c., acc. *halkwii/b,-t*, pl. *halkwīa* 'foal of donkey' (Rp) = *hāl(ə)k^wi* c., pl. *hālśk^wya* 'junger Esel' (Re) = *halkwiib* m. 'young donkey', def.sg. *whalkwi*, def.pl. *yhalkwīya*, besides *halgwaab* m. 'colt', def.sg. *whalgwa*, def.pl. *yhalgwa* (Wd)

Cu: (E) Afar *oklo*, pl. *okaale* / *okoli* / *okoolla* 'donkey' (PaHy), Saho *okólo* 'donkeys', sglt. *okolóyta* (We); Jiddu *uul* (Lb), Rend *éhel*, pl. *ehél* 'donkey' (He) = *éhel*, pl. *ehél* id. (GP), Bayso *kaylka* id. (Bender 2020: 32); Arbore *ʔohól* 'donkey(s), zebra(s)' (Hy) = *holl* 'asino' (da Trento), Elmolo *óhol* 'donkey, zebra' (He), Dasanech *Gúól*, pl. *Gòl-ù* 'donkey' (Sa) = *gúol*, pl. *ʔól-u* id. (To); Dullay: Kule *holgo* 'asino' (da Trento), Tsam *ʔuuʔulku* 'donkey' (Kusia and Siebert), ʔollango *ooll-ó* 'Pferd' (AMS) || Dahalo *hokoloṭi* and *'okoloṭi* 'donkey' (Nurse apud Ehret, Elderkin, Nurse 1989: 16, 22). Om: (N) Dizi *kulul* 'donkey' (Lb) || (S) Hamar ('Amar cocche') *oculi* 'asino' (da Trento) = *ukulí* 'donkey' (Petrillino).

Be: (S) Ghat *ahulil*, pl. *ihulal* (Nehli), Ahaggar *aholil* 'young ass', f. *taholilt* (Barth apud Ritter 2009: 135) = *āhūlil*, pl. *ihūlinān* (Prasse), Ayr, Tawlllemmet *āhūlil*, pl. *ihūlinān* 'wild ass; domestic animal in a wild milieu' (Nicolaisen apud Ritter 2009: 136) < **ā-hūlil*, pl. **ī-hūlilan* (Prasse 1973: 278; 1969: 54, n. 240: from the verb attested in Ahaggar *huləl* 'être sauvage').

Ch: (W) Hausa *aholaki* 'young donkey, young camel' (Skinner 1996: 3: Beja + Hausa).

?Se **[h]alul-ay-* 'colt, foal' > Akk *ilulay-u* 'a camel?'; **hawil-ay-* > *hay(i)l-ay-* > Harsusi *me-ḥeley-ōt* 'she-camel with fully-grown young'; Ti *ḥel-e* 'camel' (poet.), Ty *ḥawl-a* 'donkey's colt or foal of about two years' (Militarev and Nikolaev 2020: 214: ECu + Be + Se). The Harsusi and Ethio-Semitic forms maybe reflect the meaning 'yearling', cf. Ar *ḥawl* 'year'?

Lit.: Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 399: Beja + ECu + Dizi.

hallúuf and *halúuf* c., pl. *hállif* 'Eber, Wildschwein' (Re)

Borrowed from Ar (Egypt, Maghreb) *ḥallūf* 'Wildschwein, Eber; Schwein' (Wehr 183).

hiililaray c., pl. *-g* ~ *hiiriranai* ~ *herirani* 'insect' (HuB)

Be: (S) Ahaggar *ahellelu*, pl. *ihellelwan* 'butterfly' (Cortade apud Ritter 2009: 132).

heeley 'lièvre', pl. *heelay-a* (Vh) = *heelay* m. 'rabbit', def.sg. *wheelay*, def.pl. *yheelaya* (Wd) = *heelay* c., pl. *heela'ya* 'hare' (HuB) = *heel'ai* id. (Tl) = *héley* c., pl. *heláya* 'hare' (Rp) = *héelay* c., pl. *-a* id. (Re) = *hélei* c., pl. *-a* id. (Al) = [*temby*] *lhoy* id. (Bu) = [*wu*]*héle* id. (Se)

Cu: (E) pBoni **hileesə* 'hare' (Heine 1982: 111); Arbore *helleč* 'rabbit, butterfly' (Hy), Elmolo *hélec* 'hare' (He), Dasanech ^h*ül-lì*, pl. ^h*ül-ààm* 'rabbit' (Sa) = ^h*ül-i*, pl. ^h*ilaam* id. (To); Or: Wellega *hilleentii* ~ *hilleettii* 'rabbit' (Gg), Waata *hilleesa*, Borana (*h*)*illeensa* 'hare, rabbit' (Stm); Gedeo *hilleensa* 'hare', Sid *hill-eessa*, pl. *hill-ee* (HG); the Boni and HECu forms can be borrowed from Oromo.

Om: (N) Dizi *ʔel*, Nayi *eelu*, Sheko *era* 'rabbit' (Yilma 1994).

Lit.: Reinisch 1895: 118: Beja + Or.

hem m., pl. *-a* 'a large sort of poisonous tick' (Rp)

hambiluuliq c. 'hawk; Milvus parasiticus' (HuB) = *hambiluulfina* or *hambilúulay* f. 'Falke; Milvus parasiticus' (Re)

Maybe a compound **hamb-i luul-iina* where a hypothetical component *-*luul-* can correspond with Beja *lalée* 'Falke; Milvus parasiticus' and Gz, Ti *lilo* 'vulture' (Reinisch 1895: 120).

hamaam 'dove' (Tl) = *hamám* m., pl. *hamám* 'Taube(r); eine Sorte Wüstenhuhn' (Re) = *hamám* c. coll. 'Taube' (Al) = *o'hamám* id. (Se) = *hummaamiyaayt* f. 'pigeon', def.sg. *tuhummaamiyaay*, def.pl. *tihummaamiyay* (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *ḥamām* 'turtle-dove, dove, turtle' (Sg 296), cf. also cf. Almkvist 1885: 30 and Reinisch 1895: 121 who also added the areal parallels in Ti, Ty *ḥāmam* 'Taube' (LH 60) and Saho *hamaam* 'Taube, Palumbes' (Re).

Hdd *u-hámar* 'untrained (badly trained) camel' (BG)

Cf. *humáar* c., pl. *hamfir* 'Zebra' (Re).

humáar c., pl. *hamfir* 'Zebra' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 121) connected it with Ar *ḥimār*, pl. *ḥamir*, *ḥumur* '(wild) ass' (Sg 295; SED II: 137–138, #98: the broken plural is the most convincing proof of its Arabic origin).

Hdd *himát* 'she-camel in milk with small foal, young milk camel' (BG) = *huumaat* f. 'milking animal', def.sg. *tuhuuma* (Wd)

hundulemuun m. 'Frettchen, Mustela furo' (Re)

Cf. *híndi* 'Baum, Holz' (Re)?

hang'ane c., usually f. in sg., m. in pl., 'ant, emmet' (Rp) = *hang'anoot* f. 'ant', def. sg. *tuhang'anu*, def.pl. *tihang'anu* (Wd) = *hang'ant* 'ant' (Tl) = *hangan* ~ *angan* c., pl. -*g* '(large and black) ant' (HuB) = Bi *w'hongăna*, pl. *y'hungăna*, Ammar'ar *hongurnu* 'ant' (Th) = *hángana* ~ *hánkana*, -o ~ *ángano* c. 'Sorte grosser schwarzer Ameisen, welche den Termiten nachsetzen und sie fressen' (Re) = *hánkana* ~ *héngana* c. coll. 'Ameise' (Al) = *hanganób* m., *hanganot* f. id. (Mu) = [t]*anganu* id. (Se)

Cu: (C) Awngi *angí* 'ant' (Bk) = *əŋí* id. (Ht; Appleyard 2006: 25) || ?(E) Dasanech *guoni*, pl. *guonam* 'black ant' (To).

?Ch: (W) North Bauci: Warja *nginangina-na*, Pa'a *ngwunangwuna*, Diri *anguna*, Miya *anginani*, Kariya *nguna* 'spider' (Skinner 1977: 41).

hanhan m., pl. -a 'porcupine' (Hu) = *hanhan* 'Stachelschwein, *Hystrix cristata*' (Heuglin)

?Eg (Med) *hntj* 'hedgehog' and *hnt3* 'hedgehog, porcupine' (Wb. III: 121–122; WPS 202).

Bi *hánan.t*, Hdd *t-háanne* 'she-camel thought to be in foal but found not to be', Ammar'ar *hanát* 'she-camel not in foal' (BG)

?Eg (OK +) *hnn* 'Damhirsch / Dama schaeferi', *hnn.t* 'die Hindin des Damhirsches' (Wb. III: 494–495; WPS 202).

hansîr c., pl. -a 'Schwein' (Re, Al) = *hansîr* id. (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *hinzîr*, pl. *hanâzir* 'pig' (Sg 343; SED II: 149–152, #111; cf. Almkvist 1885: 31; Reinisch 1895: 124); Gz *hanzir*, *hanzir* 'pig, wild boar' is of the same origin (Leslau 1987: 263).

hare c., acc. *hare/b,-t* 'camel' (Rp) = *y-hari* 'ces chameaux' (Vh) = *háre* 'chameau' (Mr) = Bi *i-hári* 'herd (of camel)' (BG) = *harri* c. 'mount (anything that can be ridden, from a camel to a train)' (HuB)

(1) Cu: (E) Som *harur* 'ein ganz weisses Kamel' (Re);

(2) Cu: (E) **har(r)*- 'donkey' > Saho *her-a* 'female donkey' (We); Or: Wellega *harr-ee* 'donkey' (Gg), Konso *harr-eta*, Dirayta *harr-et* id. (Bl); Harso, Dobase *har-icce*, Dobase, Gawwada, Gollango *harr-e* 'Esel' (AMS); Burji *harr-ée* id. (Sasse 1979: 39; 1982: 92–93) || Dahalo *héllefa* 'zebra' (To);

Om: (N) Wolayta *har-iyā*, Gofa *haare*, Gamo, Dorze, Cancha, Kullo *hare* 'donkey' (Ae), Malo, Dache, Zayse *hare* id., Kachama *haarre* id. || (S) Ari *harra* id. (Lb).

Lit.: Ehret 1980: 334: ECu + Dahalo; Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 398: Beja + ECu + Dahalo + Om.

haari f. 'weevil' (HuB)

?Cu: (S) **haraḥarā* > Iraqw *ḥarḥār*, Gorowa *ḥarḥarā* 'white ants', Alagwa *ḥaraḥara*

‘termites’ (KM 149).

Eg: (Royal tombs from Thebe; Gr) *ħrrt* ‘Gewürm’ (Wb. III: 150: cf. Med *ħrrw* ‘Art Eingeweidewürmer’) = ‘sp. insect’ (WPS 193).

?Ch: (C) Musgu *má-ħarai* ‘red ant’ (Lk); cf. Stolbova 2016: 180, n. 360.

ħárhara c. ‘Papagai’ (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 125) compared it with Ti (and Ty) *ħārhārat* ‘oiseau à présages’ (LH 65) and Saho *harharat* ‘bestimmte Vogelsorte deren erscheinen als Wahrzeichen, vorbedeutung angesehen wird’ (Re); cf. also Gz *ħarħar* ‘multicolored’ (Leslau 1987: 242).

ħaris c., pl. *ħersa* ‘rhinoceros’ (Hu) = *ħarīs* m., pl. -a ‘Nashorn, Rhinoceros’ (Re) = *ħarīs* ‘Nashorn’ (Mu) = *ħaris* id. (Heuglin)

Borrowed from Ethio-Semitic languages, cf. Gz *ħariš*, *ħaris*, (?arwe) *ħoras* ‘rhinoceros’ (> Ar *ħariš* id.), Ti, Ty *ħariš* id., Amh *ħaris*, *awraris* id. (Leslau 1987: 244; cf. Reinisch 1895: 126), similarly as Saho *hariš* id. (Re).

ħarawya and *karra^uwia* m. ‘warthog, wild pig’ (HuB) = *ħarāawya* c. ‘Eber, Wildschwein’ (Re) = *ħaraawīya* ‘Wildschwein’ (Mu)

Borrowed from Ethio-Semitic languages, cf. Gz *ħarāwāyā*, *ħaraw(i)yā* ‘pig, wild boar’, Ti *ħarāwya* ‘boar’, Amh *arāya*, Harari *ħariyya* ‘wild pig’, Selti *irāyā* ‘pig’, *ħarāyā* ‘porcupine’ (Leslau 1987: 244; cf. Reinisch 1895: 127), similarly as Saho *ħeray* ‘wild boars’ (We), Afar *ħèray* ‘pigs’ (PaHy); Or *eria* ‘cinghiale’ (Borello).

ħaasim f. ‘(annulated) spider’ (HuB) = *ħaasimt* f. ‘spider’, def.sg. *tuħaasim*, def. pl. *tiħaasima* (Wd) = *ħaasim* ‘spider’ (Tl) = *hāasim*, *hāasām* f., pl. *hāasma* ‘spider’ (Rp) = Sawakin *t-ħāsīm*, pl. -a id. (Th) = *tāszim* id. (Se)

ħuut m. ‘Fisch’ (Re, Al) = *hut* f. ‘fish’ (HuB) = *o houtti* ‘poisson’ (Li)

Borrowed from Ar *ħūt* ‘large fish’ (Sg 303; cf. Reinisch 1895: 130).

ħutanā c. ‘(a bird) lark’ (HuB)

ħatay c., pl. *ħatee* ‘horse’ (HuB) = *ħatai* id. (Tl) = *hátay* c., pl. *hátēy* ‘horse, mare’ (Rp) = *ħataay* m., pl. *ħataj* ‘cheval’, *t-ħataay* f., pl. *t-ħatay* ‘la jument’ (Vh) = *ħatāay* c., pl. *ħatáy* ‘Pferd’, cf. *t-yaméet ħatāay* ‘Frosch’, lit. ‘Wasserpferd’ (Re) = *ħatāay* c., pl. *ħatáy* ‘Pferd’, *úu-ħataay*, pl. *áa-ħatay* ‘der Hengst’, *tóo-ħataay*, pl. *táa-ħatay* ‘die Stute’ (Al) = *o’hattai* ‘der Hengst’, pl. *e’hattai* ‘die Pferde’, *te’hattai* ‘die Stute’ (Mu) = *ħadai* ‘Equus caballus’, in compound *ħataimeq* ‘Equus (Asinus) africanus’ (Heuglin) = *ħatay* ‘horse’ (Bu) = [oh]ħatta ‘Pferd’ (Kc) = [wo]ħatteiy id. (Se) = *at tai* ‘cheval’ (Salt)

Halévy and Reinisch (1895: 130) correctly connected it with Copt Sahidic Ⲫⲧⲟ m. 'cheval', Ⲫⲧⲱⲉ f. 'jument' (Vycichl 1983: 315 derives these forms from **ḥatā*3 m., **ḥatār-at* f., cf. Demotic *ḥty*, *ḥtr* 'Pferd'), Eg (D 18) *ḥtr* 'Pferd' (Wb. III: 199), a derivative of *ḥtr* (Pyr) 'zusammenbinden, zusammenfassen' (Wb. III: 202).

Lit.: Halévy 1869: 205: Beja + Copt.

hiiwa c. 'camel foal up to 6 months old', *hiiway bar* 'camel hair' (Rp) = *hiiwaat* f. 'camel foal', def.sg. *tuhiiwa*, def.pl. *tihiiwa* (Wd) = Hdd *o-hîwâ* '(unweaned) camel' (Th) = *hiiw* c., pl. -a 'Kamelfohlen' (Re) = Hdd *uu-hiiwa* 'a camel 0–1 years old' (BG), cf. Ammar'ar *hiwáydi* 'she-camel under 2 months in foal' (BG) = ?Bi *hi'ib* '3 years old camel' ~ *hig* '3 years old camel' (Clark 1938: 21)

(1) Cu: (E) Arbore *háww* 'steer' (Hy), Elmolo *héu* 'to mark ears of livestock' (He); Eg (OK) *hw.w* '(kämpfende) Stiere', (MK) *hwyw* 'allgemeine bezeichnung für Rinder' (Wb. III: 45).

(2) ?Cu (S): Iraqw *haywa?*, Gorowa *haywaa* 'children' (KM 135); Asa *hawa*, Qwadze *yawa* 'children' (Ehret 1980: 381; 1987: #552: Beja + Asa + Qwadza).

(3) Borrowed from Ti *ḥawar* 'young (of camel and donkey)' (LH 89) or Ar *ḥuwār*, *hiwār* 'foal of camel not yet weaned' (Sg 302); the final segment -*ār* could perhaps be identified with Beja 'or c. 'child', pl. 'ār (Rp);

(4) Eg *hyw* 'Esel' (Meeks 1977/1980: #2516).

haiwaan 'animal' (Tl)

Borrowed from Ar *ḥaiwān* 'animal, cattle; beast of burden', derived from *ḥayya* 'to live' (Sg 308, 306).

hawti or c. '(a bird) babbler' (HuB)

The latter component means 'child'.

jeddāad c., pl. *jéddad* 'Huhn, Henne, Hahn' (Re) = *jeddāad* c. coll. 'Huhn' (Al) = *giaggiag* 'poule' (Li)

Almkvist (1885: 36) and Reinisch (1895: 104) correctly determined a source of borrowing in vulgar Ar *ǧeddād* < classical Ar *daǧāǧ* 'cock, hen', coll. 'fowl, chickens' (Sg 354).

jááajo f. 'Mücke, Gelse, Mosquito' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 104) connected it with numerous, apparently onomatopoeic, parallels in Ethio-Semitic and CCushitic; Conti Rossini (1912: 252) added Omotic (Gonga) counterparts:

EtSe: Gz *ṣə(n)ṣanyā*, *ḍandanyā* 'fly, moth, buzzing swarm', Ty *ṣənṣaya* 'fly', *ṣən*, *čənča* 'fly', Gurage *čini* 'tick' (Leslau 1987: 562);

Cu: (C) **cənc-a* 'fly' (Appleyard 2006: 70) > Bilin *šinša* 'fly', Khamtanga and Kailiña *ṣəša* (Ap), Qwara *činč* id. (Re) = *čənča* / *šənša* (Ap), Kemant *šinša*, pl. *šinš*

‘mouche’ (CR); Kunfāl *zinzi* ‘fly’ || (E) Or: Wellega *sonsa* ‘wasp’ = Borana *sonsa* ‘wasp, hornet’ (Stroomer).

Om: (N) Mocha *yäwuğğō* ‘fly’ (Ls) = *yaawjjo* (Lb), Shinasha *zaanzá* ‘Fliege’, *ziinzá* ‘Käfer’ (Lb).

jímo c. ‘Katze, Kater’ (Re) = *to’djümme*, pl. *te’djümmo* id. (Mu) = *dšimo* id. (Heuglin) = *dim-mo* id. (Salt) = ? *town* id. (Lucas)

There are numerous areal parallels. The closest one is Nara (NS) *jümo* (Reinisch 1874: 124) = *jímmoo* id. (Reinisch 1895: 105) while the others are with initial *d-*: Ar *dimmat*, dial. (Yemenite) *dimm*, *dumm* ‘cat’; Gz *dəmmat*, Ti, Ty *dəmmu*, Amh, Gafat *dəmmät* id. (Leslau 1987: 136), and further the Cushitic counterparts, apparently of Ethio-Semitic or Arabic origin: (C) Bilin pl. *dəmmu*, sglt. *-ra* (Ap) = *dummu*, Qwara *damyā* (Re), Kemant *daməya* (CR) || (E) Afar *dummu* and *dimmato* ‘cat’ (PaHy); Som *dummad* ‘cat’ (Luling).

See Cf. SED II: 102–103, #70 and Beja *domiagag* ‘renard’ (Li).

jirfáane c., acc. *jirfaaniib* ‘young sheep not so lange as *argin* (Rp), see *dírfín* ‘Lamm, Zicklein’ (Re)

j(y)e, *kye* f. ‘Wasserschlange’ (Re)

kúbhar c., pl. *-a* and *kubhéeri* c., pl. *kubhéerya* ‘Taube’ (Re) = *kubhéere* f. ‘Turteltaube’ (Al) = *kuh-behr* ‘Taube’ (Kc) = *kubbéri* id. (Mu) = *kubeeri* m. ‘dove, pigeon (wild)’ (HuB)

kəḍa f. ‘locust’ (HuB)

?Cu: (E) Som *kudkude* ‘pulce della sabbia’ (DSI 372) = *kud kude* ‘tick (generic)’ (Furnaioli and Simonetta 1985: 78); Dasanech *kiiḍīn*, pl. *kiiḍam* ~ *kiiḍim* m. ‘fly’ (To).

kafaab m. ‘cheetah, wild cat’, def.sg. *ukafa*, def.pl. *ikafa* (Wd) = *kəffā* c. ‘lynx, wild cat’ (HuB) = *kafaa[b]* ‘wildcat’ (Tl) = *kafa* c. ‘wild cat’ (Rp) = *káfa* c. ‘Katze, Kater; Gepard, Cynailurus guttatus’ (Re) = *káfa* c. ‘Katze’, *úukafa* ‘der Kater’, *túukafa* ‘die Katze’ (Al) = *okaffa* m. ‘Katze’ (Km)

Cu: ?(C) Kunfāl *kávisa* ‘jackal’ (Cw) || (E) **kebʿ*- ‘leopard’ > Afar *kabʿ-i* (PaHy), Saho *qabiʿ* (Vergari) = *qábeʿ* (We); Bayso *kebiḥ* (Fl); Yaaku pl. *çé’pe* (He), and **kebeel*- id. > Som *šabeel*, Boni *šuweel*, Rend *kabil* (He), Bayso *keebeel* (Hy); Had *kabeec-co*, pl. *kabeer-a*, Kamb *kabiec-coo*, Sid *kabeel-coo* (Ce) = *kewel-co* (Gasparini); Yaaku *çe’pen* (He); see Dolgopolsky 1973: 192; Sasse 1979: 12–13, 37, 54; Haberland and Lamberti 1988: 111; Hudson 1989: 91.

Be: (N) Iznacen *aḵṣab* ‘renard’ (Rn), Zayan *ikaṣṣ* id. (Lg).

?Ch: (W) Ron: Monguna *kábwì* ‘dog’ (Blench, *Comparative Ron Wordlist*).

Lit.: Fleming 1964: 52; Beja + ECu.

**kege* (recorded *qége*) 'Hyrax; Felsendachs' (Heuglin)

Almkvist (1885: 38) connected it with 'Massawan' *gehej* and (Vulgar) Ar *qēgo*. Could **kege* be related to Beja *káka* m. 'Spitzmaus, Maulwurf' (Re)?

káka m. 'Spitzmaus, Maulwurf' (Re)—see **kege* 'Hyrax, Felsendachs'

kook c., pl. *kak* 'Frankolin; Francolinus Erkelii' (Re)

An areal word of onomatopoetic origin:

EtSe: Gz *qoqāh/h* 'francolin', Ti, Ty *qoqah* 'partridge', Amh, Gur *qoq*; cf. also Syr *qūqānā* id. (Leslau 1987: 438);

Cu: (C) Khamir *qoqaya* 'Frankolinuhuhn; Perdrix Erkelii', Bilin *qoq'a* id. (Re) || (E) Saho coll. *qooqaaʃ* 'Frankolinuhuhn; Francolinus Erkelii' (Re).

kaakarret 'hen' (Tl)

kaliid'áni c. 'Hyrax, Procavia abess.', i.e. 'a rodent-like animal' (Rp)

kalijanóo m., pl. *kalijánāwa* 'Nachteule; abessinische Helmvgel (Buceros coronatus)' (Re)

kelúus c., pl. *k(ě)lis* 'cub, pup' (Rp) = *kiluus* m. 'bitch, cub, pup', def.sg. *ookluus*, def.pl. *eeklis* (Wd)

Cf. Kunama (NS) *kaluusaa* 'Junges von Tieren', *taa kaluusaa* 'ein junger Hund' (Re).

kilaay 'oiseau', pl. *kilay* (Vh) = *kilaay* m. 'bird', def.sg. *ooklaay*, def.pl. *eeklay* (Wd) = *kilay* c., pl. *kilee* 'bird' (HuB) = *kəlai* id. (Ci) = *kɛ'lay* id. (Be) = *kilai* id. (Tl) = *kélay* c. 'bird, domestic fowl' (Rp) = *keláay* c., pl. *kelay* 'Vogel' (Re) = *k(e) láay* c., pl. *k(e)léy* 'Vogel' (Al) = *oklai* id. (Wt) = *to'kelei* f., acc. *keleit*, pl. *e'kelei* m. id. (Mu) = *kilay* (Bu) = *[oh-]klà* id. (Kc) = *ókla*, pl. *ékle* id. (Km) = *[o]klá* id. (Se) = *ke-lai* id. (Salt)

Reinisch (1895: 139) determined it as a nomen agentis in -aay from *kil* v. 1 'fliegen, kreisen' (Re).

Ehret (1987: #91) finds other parallels, but they do not exclude the primary motivation 'bird' = 'flieger':

Cu: (E) **kool-* > Boni **kòòl* 'wing' (He), maybe also Rend *kalala* 'feather' (Bl); Arbore pl. *kollá* 'wings, shoulders', vs. sg. *kóol* 'leaf' (Hy), Dasanech *kúol* 'wing' (To), Elmolo *kóol* 'shoulder' (He); Or: Borana, Waata, Orma *kool-a* 'feather, wing, leaf', Orma also *koollee* 'feather' (Stroomer), Guji *koola* 'feather' (LVC), Konso *xool-a* 'wing' (Bl); Harso-Dobase *hóol-o* 'Feder', Gollango *hóol-o*, Gawwada *xool-akko* 'Flügel' (AMS), Tsam *kool-o* 'wing' (Hy); Darasa *keel-à* 'wing' (Leslau 1988: 193); Yaaku *kol* 'branch' (He) (Sasse 1979: 11; 1982: 117) || Dahalo *kool-* 'to fly' (Eh)

|| ?(S) Maa -γυγύlu 'to flutter'; Burunge *kurukuro*, Alagwa *kurukuraw* 'bat' (Ehret 1980: 245).

Reinisch (1895: 139) also mentioned close Nubian forms: Mahas *kel-áy*, Dongola *kel-éi* 'wild goose, wild duck' (Murray 1923: 95), apparently borrowed from Beja.

kaam m. 'camel', def.sg. *ookaam*, def.pl. *EEKAM* (Wd) = *kaam* 'un chameau', *úu-kaam* 'le chameau', *kám* 'chameaux' (Mr) = *kaam* (cf. the variant *gam* m. 'large female camel'!) c., pl. *kam*, f. *kamt* 'camel' (HuB) = *kaam* 'dromadaire', pl. *kam*; *oo-kaam* m. 'le dromadaire', *too-kaam* 'la chamelle' (Vh) = Hdd, Bi *kaam*, pl. *kam*, coll. *kamít* 'camel', Hdd *kam.t*, with art. *tée-kam*, Bi *too-kaam* 'female camel' (BG) = *kaam* c., pl. *kām* 'camel', cf. *kataši* 'chameleon' (Rp) = *kaam* c., pl. *kam* 'Kamel' (Re) = *kaam* c., pl. *kām* 'Kamel', with art. *úukaam* 'der Kamel', *túukaam* 'die Kamelstute' (Al) = *o'kam* m., pl. *e'kam*, *to'kam* f., pl. *te'kam*, acc. *kamet* 'Kamel' (Mu) = *o-kam* and *o-gaam* id. (Heuglin) = [oh-]ka id. (Kc) = *o-kam* 'chameau' (Salt)

Probably borrowed from Nubian, cf. Mahas, Kenzi, Dongola *kām*, pl. Mahas *kam-rī*, Kenzi, Dongola *kámli*, besides Dair *kamle* and *kāla*, Kargo *kamal*, Kadaru *kamla* 'camel' (Murray 1923: 90; cf. Bechhaus-Gerst 1991–1992: 45 who also adds Nara *kambero* id. recorded by Reinisch), perhaps via Meroitic (the Meroitic postpositive definite article -*l* allows to explain the loss of the final -*l* in the word 'camel', see Zyhlarz 1930: 495) from late Egyptian, cf. Demotic *gmwl*, Copt Sah m. Ⲅⲙⲟⲩⲗ, f. Ⲅⲙⲁⲩⲗⲉ, Boh m. Ⲅⲙⲟⲩⲗ, f. Ⲅⲙⲁⲩⲗⲓ 'chameau', apparently from a West Semitic source, cf. Hb *gāmāl*, pl. *gēmallīm* 'camel' (Vycichl 1934: 81 and 1983: 341).

kaamd'ašob 'chamaeleon' (Tl)

kandīl m. 'boar', def.sg. *ukandīl*, def.pl. *ikandeela* (Wd)

kinfid c. 'hedgehog' (HuB)—see *gunfid* id. (HuB)

kónšib ~ *kúnšib* m., pl. -a 'Käfer', cf. *ám̄ba-kónšib* 'Mistkäfer' (Re) = *ambakonschīb* id. (Se) where *ám̄ba* = 'Kot' (Al)

Reinisch (1895: 144) connected it with Ar *ḥunfasat*, pl. *ḥanāfis* 'black beetle, scarabeus' (Sg 343).

kūrib, *kwirib* c., pl. *kurb(a)* 'elephant', *kurībi kwíre* 'tusk', lit. 'elephant's tooth' (Rp) = *kwirib* 'elephant' (Tl) = *kʷarīb* c., pl. *kʷārba* 'Elefant', with art. *úu-krub*, cf. *oo-kúrb[i]* áy 'Elefantenrüssel', lit. 'e.'s arm', *oo-kurbū-t kure* 'Elfenbein', lit. 'e.'s tooth' (Re) = *kurrib* c. 'elephant', *kurrbi ḍa* 'ivory', lit. 'e.'s horn', *kurrbi aye* 'e.'s trunk', lit. 'e.'s arm' (HuB) = *kurb* and *krub* c. 'Elephant', with art. *úukrub* m., *túukrub* f. (Al) = *o'krub*, pl. acc. *kurbab* id. (Mu) = *kuruub* id. (Heuglin) = [oh-]kurib id. (Kc) = *okurub* id., *okurbit kurre* 'Elfenbein' (Se)

There are areal parallels in Nara *kūrbe*, pl. *korúb-ta* 'Elefant' (Reinisch 1874: 139; 1895: 145; Nara + Beja) and Ti (EtSe) *kərb* (poet.) 'name of the elephant', and maybe *kurbaj* 'jeune éléphant mâle adulte' (Mu), see LH 400 and Reinisch 1874: 139.

(1) Reinisch (1874: 139 and 1902: 36) connected Beja *kürb* with Or and Som *arb-a* id. (< ECu **ʔarb-* id., see Sasse 1979: 14 and 1982: 28) without any explanation of *k-* in Beja.

(2) There could be Egyptian or Nubian sources: Eg (NK) *krm.t* 'Art Schmuck nubischer Sklaven' (Wb. V: 135) = *k3rm.t* 'Armband aus Elefantenhaar?' (Hofmann, Tomandl, and Zach 1984: 7–9), and Nile Nubian (in Girgeh) *camme* 'Elfenbein' (Carradori 1635) and Midob *ummat* 'Elfenbein' (MacMichael) < **kummat* < **karmat* (Hofmann et al., l.c.), cf. Kenzi-Dongola and Mahas *kaj*, Dair *kudyi*, vs. Midob *uči* 'donkey' (Murray 1923: 89). The vacillation *b||m* is known even in Beja proper, cf. *tirib* || *tirim* v. 1 'to divide into two parts' (Rp).

(3) The denotation of 'tusk (of elephant)' can be quite naturally derived from 'tooth', cf. *o-kurbit kurre* 'Elfenbein' (Salt) where the second member is *kwire* 'tooth' (Rp) etc.

kurfifano f. 'lizard' (HuB)

?Cu: (S) Iraqw-Gorowa *ʃurfi* 'sp. lizard' (KM 310: **ʃurufi*). Onomatopoeitic?

kirhinnay m., pl. *kerhinnee* 'any noxious beast' (HuB)

karkarnebbuus 'Krebs' (Se)

**karra* **dog* in *anḍaḍ karra* 'hunting dog', where *anḍaḍ* f. means 'hobble', i.e. 'rope tied round camel's bent knee' (HuB)

Cu: (E) **ker-* 'dog' > Saho *kár-e* (We); Rend *cer* (He) vs. *kár* (GP), Bayso *ker* (Hy); Arbore *kér* (Hy), Elmolo *kêr* (He), Dasenech *cer* m. vs. *cedḍi* f. < **cer-ti* (Sa) = *cér* m. / *ced-dî* f. (To), but *kerr* (Fl); Or: Wellega *sar-ee* (Gg), Guji *sar-r-ee* (LVC), Borana *sar-ee* (Stroomer), Dirayta *herr-aa* (Bl), Mussiye *her-r-o* (Tanaba, Cheru and Wedekind); Harso-Dobase and Gollango *hár-ó*, Gawwada *xar-o* (AMS), Tsam *kar-o* (Hy) (Sasse 1979: 13);

Ch: (W) Hausa *kàréé*, pl. *kárnúkáà* 'dog'; Bokkos *kyàra*; Kirfi *kàrkànti*; Zaar *kàḍi* / *kùràqyì* || (C) Higi Kamale *kurri*; Lamang *krí*; Sukur *kra*; Gisiga *kiri*; Gidar *kra*; Yedi-na *keli*; Musgu *kirgiigi* || (E) Lele *girà*; Tumak pl. *garák* etc. id. (JgIb 2: 106–107; Stolbova 2016: 215, n. 455). Newman (1977: 25, #37) reconstructed pCh **kər*; Stolbova (1987: 210–211, #610) proposed pWCh **k^{w/y}arV*. Finally, Jungrathmayr and Ibrizsimow (1994 1: 49) seek an origin of this Chadic denotation of 'dog' in West Saharan: Kanuri *kírri* (Duisburg), Kanembu *kérî* (Lk); Daza *kudi*, *kiidi* (Cœur), Tubu *kidi* (Lk); the East Saharan counterparts, viz. Zaghawa *birri*, Bideyat *bili*, Berti *mirr* and *murr*, indicate pSaharan **nk^{wi}[r/r/K]i* (Hassan, ms. 1998).

káreesee ‘Kamellaus’ (Mu)

Consisting of *káre*, apparently different from *kaam* ‘camel’, but maybe identical with *karra* *‘dog’ (HuB), plus *see* ‘Laus, Zecke’ (Re), hence ‘dog’s louse’.

kiriš m. ‘shark’ (HuB)

kurštin c., pl. -a ‘Reiher, Ardea’ (Re)

karaay m. ‘hyena’, def.sg. *ukaraay*, def.pl. *ikaray* (Wd) = *i-karaay* ‘l’hyène’, var. *kharaay* (Vh) = *i-kárey* ‘les hyènes’ (Mr) = *karay* m., pl. *karäy* ‘hyaena’ (HuB) = *karai* ‘hyena, jackal’ (Tl) = *káray* c., pl. *kárey* ‘hyaena’ (Rp) = *karáy* c., pl. *karáy* ‘Hyäne; Hyaena crocuta’ (Re) = *karáy*, *keráy* c., pl. *keráy* ‘Hyäne’ (Al) = *kerai*, pl. *kerei* id. (Mu) = *keray* id. (Bu) = *karr-ah* id. (Kc) = *o karra* ‘kleine Hyäne; Hyaena striata’ (Km) = *kerai* ‘Hyaena crocuta’ (Heuglin) = *kerai* ‘hyène’ (Salt)

Almkvist (1885: 38) and Reinisch (1895: 147) connected it with Ti *kāray* ‘hyaena’ (LH 404; perhaps ‘Gräberin’, cf. Gz *karāyi* ‘that which digs’, from *karaya* ‘to dig’, see Leslau 1987: 295). But there are also remarkable other parallels:

?Cu: (C) Awngi *kuerdidā* ‘leopard’ (CR) || (E) Or: Macha, Guji *qeeransa* (LVC), Borana *qeeramsa* ‘leopard’ (Stroomer);

Ch: (W) Hausa *kúúráá* ‘hyena’ || ?(C) Musgoy *ḡrñay* id.; Masa *gúrñey*, Zime-Batna *gwārāy* id. || (E) Kwang *gō:rény*, Kera *gòrnòy* (Ebert) = ‘Tuburi’ *kórne* (Lk) id.; Kabalai *gwōrrnày* id. (JgIb 2: 204–205); Tumak *korāḡ* ‘chacal’ (Caprile);

?Be: (S) Tawllemmet *āyōrāy*, pl. *i-yōrāyān* ‘hyène mâle’ (Alojali);

Lit.: Müller 1975: 67, #47: Ti + Hausa and Kera of Tuburi; Skinner 1996: 154: Beja + Ch + Be.

kut baane m. ‘vulture (black)’ (HuB)

Cf. *kooteb* m. ‘owl’ / ‘well, strong’ (HuB) and *báane* ‘Aasgeier’ (Al) = *b’ane* ‘vulture’ (Rp).

kóote m. ‘Männchen vom Agazen; Antilope Bubalis’, cf. *oo-kootfīt kwa* ‘das Weibchen, die Kuh davon heisst’ (Re)

Ch: (W) North Bauci: Siri *kīti*, Pa’a *kīci* ‘antelope duiker’ (Skinner 1977: 10).

kooteb m. ‘owl’ (HuB)

(1) Identical with *kooteb* ‘well, strong’ (HuB)?

(2) ?Cu: (HE) Had, Kamb *gutansa/-icco* ‘owl’ (HG).

kutaan, *kwitaan* m. ‘bugs’ (Rp) = *kwuttaan* m. ‘bugs, fleas’, def.sg. *ukwuttaan* (Wd) = *kitaan* m., pl. *kitan* ‘bedbug’ (HuB) = *kutáan* and *kutáam* m., pl. *kután* and *kutám* ‘Wanze’ (Re) = *ôktâm* id. (Se)

Apparently connected with (borrowed from?) Ar *kuttān* 'bedbug', cf. also Mehri *ket-tōn* id. (cf. Leslau 1987: 573). Som *kutaan* 'bedbug' (Luling; cf. Reinisch 1893: 21, §34) is of the same origin. Interesting is also Gz *qʷəṭni* 'louse' (Leslau 1987: 454).

On the other hand, there are numerous forms in both Ethio-Semitic and Cushitic, differing only in the opposite order of the first two consonants:

EtSe: Gz *təkʷān* 'bedbug', Ti *təkan*, Ty *təkʷan*, Amh *təhʷan*, Argobba *tuhan*, Gurage *təkan*, Harari *tuxān* (Leslau l.c.);

Cu: (C) Bilin, Khamir *təxʷana* 'bedbug' (Re), Kemant *təxona* ~ *təɣona* 'bug' (ZL), Qwara *tukan* coll. 'Wanze' (Re), Awngi *təɣʷáná* 'bug' (Ht) || (E) Saho *tukwán* 'fleas' (We), Afar *təkwaan* coll. 'Wanzen' (Re); Or: Borana *tukaani* 'bedbug' (Stroomer), Macha *tukani* id. (LVC); Qabenna *tuhaana* 'bedbug' (Ls) || ?Dahalo *ṭákkwaʔe* 'dung beetle' (Ehret 1980: 169) || (S) Iraqw *táhān-mo* 'bedbug' (Fleming 1969a: 28: Iraqw + Or + Bilin and Khamir + EtSe).

kaw m. 'guinea fowl', def.sg. *ookaw*, def.pl. *ikawa* (Wd) = kaw c., pl. *káwa* 'Perlhuhn; Perdrix Erkelii' (Re) = **kau* in *rebekau* 'Perlhuhn' (Mu) = *the-kau-ah* id. (Kc)

?Cu: (C) Bilin *koya* 'Perlhuhn' (Re), Kemant *kawyā* 'Frankolinhuhn / Frankolinus Erkelii' (CR) || ?(S) **qawa* > Iraqw *qaway* 'black-headed weaver bird', Burunge *qawaaʔiya* 'small bird' (KM 232).

Ch: (W): Sura *kwèè*, *kye*, Ankwe *kee* 'chicken' (JgIb 2: 70) || (C) Malgwa *kuuye* 'Falke' (Lühr) || (E) Kwang *kóyō* 'bird' (JgIb 2: 23).

Be: (N) Semlal *a-kiyaw* 'poussin' (Destaing). On the other hand, (S) Ghat *ikayi*, pl. *ikayan* 'coq' (Nehliil) does not belong here with regard to its cognates in Ahaggar *ekahi*, pl. *ikəhān* 'coq, poule', Taneslemt *ekəz*, Tawllemmet *ekəži*, Ayr *ekəzi*, pl. *ikəzan*, implying pBerb *-z- (Basset 1925; Prasse 1969: 75, n. 467).

Ch: (W) Ron: Daffo-Butura *aku* 'parrot' (Blench: *Ron Comparative Wordlist*).

Se: Akk *akkū* 'a kind of owl' (CAD A₁: 275; AHw 29); Jewish-Aram *kawtā* 'owl'; Ti *kuwa* 'corbeau' (LH 419).

Lit.: SED II: 168–169, #123: N + CCu + Ch + Be + Se.

khanziir m. 'swine, pig', def.sg. *ukhanziir*, def.pl. *ikhanziira* (Wd)

Borrowed from Gz *ḥanzir* (*hanzar*, *hanzir*, *hənzir*) 'pig, wild boar' (Leslau 1987: 263; SED II: 149–151, #111).

kwakwar m. 'snake', def.sg. *ukwakwar*, def.pl. *ikwakwara* (Wd) = *kʷakʷar-t* 'une vipère' (Vh) = *kwokwer* m., pl. -a 'snake' (HuB) = *kwakwar* id. (Tl) = *kwákwar* c., pl. *kwakwára* 'a species of snake' (Rp) = *kwákwâr*, pl. -a 'Schlange' (Re) = *kákʷar*, *kókʷar* c. id. (Al) = *korkʷor* id. (Mu)

?Cu: (E) Afar *aruuraa*, *aroora*, pl. *aaruur* 'Schlange', Saho *aroora*, *aruuraa*, pl. *aroor* 'Schlange' (Re); Arbore *korkessá* 'python' (Hy); the development pECu **k* > Afar-Saho Ø is regular (Sasse 1979: 48);

Ch: (W) Dera *koori* 'black cobra'; ?Kulere *kinjér* 'Schlange' (Jg) || (C) Nzangi *kòk-wàrà*, Hurzo *kurkura* 'lézard' (Mc);

Eg (Pyr) *ḵrr* 'eine Schlange' (Wb. V, 62).

Lit.: Skinner 1996: 159: Beja + Arbore + WCh.

kwiikway, *kiik*(^h)*ay* c., usually m., pl. *kiikēy* 'crow' (Rp) = *k^wiik^w'aay* 'corbeau' (Vh) = *i-k^wiik^w'aai* 'le corbeau' (Mr) = *kwiikwai* 'crow' (Tl) = Sawakin *o-kîkâ* 'raven' (Th) = *k^wiik^w'aay* m., pl. *k^wiik^w'áy* 'Rabe, Geier' (Re) = *kwikwei* 'Adler' (Mu) = *o quickay* 'corbeau' (Li) = *kuikwaiy* 'Rabe' (Se)

Apparently onomatopoeitic, cf. *kiik* v. 2 'to creak; to hawk in throat' (Rp) = *kuuk* v. 2 'gackern die Henne', krähen der Hahn' (Re)

Similar forms occur in other languages of North-East Africa:

EtSe: Gz *k^wāk^wā* 'raven', Ti *kākay* id., besides Ar *kākā* 'cluck (hen), cackle, chatter' (Leslau 1987: 280);

Cu: (C) Bilin *k^waq^wara* 'Corvus', *qaqy* 'schrein' (Re) || (E) Afar-Saho *kaakoo* 'Rabe', *kaak* 'Geschrei' (Re).

Reinisch (1895: 139) also added Nile Nubian (Kenzi-Dongola, Mahas) *kōg* 'raven, crow'. Murray (1923: 103) supplemented parallels in other NS languages: Kuna-ma *kūkā* 'Rabe' || Saharan: Kanuri *kōgo* 'vulture' || Nil: Nandi *kwog*, Dinka *gak*, Shilluk *agak*.

k^waléelmēek c., pl. *k^waléelmak*, with art. *uu-kléelmēek* 'Kranich' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 141) interpreted it as *'kreisende Esel', cf. *k^waléel* 'Kreis' and *mēek* 'Esel'.

kwomberi f. 'garfish' (HuB)

kwiiriib m. 'ostrich', def.sg. *ukwiiri* (Wd) = *kwiire*, *kuiire* c. 'ostrich' (Rp) = *kwiiri* m. 'ostrich feather' (HuB) = *kwiree*[b] 'ostrich' (Tl) = *kwüre* c. 'Strauss' (Re) = *k^würe* m. 'Strauss' (Al) = *o'küire*, pl. *e'küire* id. (Mu) = *kwire* id. (Km) = *quire* or *gure*[b] id. (Heuglin) = [*u*]*kwireh* (Se)

Cu: (E) Afar *goroyya* 'ostrich', pl. *gòroy* (PaHy), Saho *gooriya* id. (Vergari) = *gàrya* and *gàraay* 'Strauss' (Re); Som *goray* 'male ostrich' (Luling), Boni *korii*, *koree* id. (He); Harari *gurāññit* id. is borrowed from a source of the type Som Hawiyya *goraño* id. (Leslau 1963: 75) || ?(S) Qwadza *gungulumayo* 'ostrich' (Ehret 1980: 330).

?Ch: (C) Wandala and Padukwo *žírwe*, Uzam *žirwe* 'autruche' (Mc);

Se: Ar *ḡawraq* 'Struthiocamelus mas; asinus; equus non Arabicus celer' (Freytag 1830: 268).

Lit.: Reinisch 1895: 145: Beja + ECu + Harari + Ar + Nara (NS) *geel* id.

kwotq šaabq '(type of) spider' (HuB)

Cf. *kwooti* v. 2 'to emasculate' (HuB)?

kwuuteeb m. 'animal, sterile', def.sg. *ukwuuti* (Wd)

kye f. 'Wasserschlange' (Re)—see *j(y)e* id. (Re)

labatuut 'locust' (HuB)

Term used by children.

laga c. 'calf' (Rp) = *lagäâ-b* 'un veau', pl. *lagââ-b* (Vh) = *lága* 'veau' (Mr) = *lagaab* m. 'calf', def.sg. *ulaga*, def.pl. *ilaga* (Wd) = *legħa* c. id. (HuB) = *lága* c. 'Kalb' (Re and Al) = *o'lega* 'das männl. Kalb' (Mu) = *laga* 'Ochse' (Heuglin)

EtSe: Ti *läga* 'male calf (from its first year until it is tamed), bullock' (LH 48 compare it with Amh *läga* 'frisch, neu').

Cu: (E) Afar *lagàddu* m. 'male lamb', *lagaddo* f. 'ewe lamb' (PaHy); Som *liig* 'male of Waller's antelope' (Ab; Luling) || (S) **legaʔa* 'goat' > Iraqw-Gorowa *leeʔi*, Alagwa *lagaʔi*, Burunge *legeʔa*, *legaʔa* id. (KM 193: N + SCu; cf. Ehret 1980: 357 who added Qwadza *leʔamuko* 'bull').

lagag gillim m. 'grasshopper' (HuB)

Probably 'long head', cf. *leggaab* 'long, tall' and *gilim* 'head' (HuB)

lehaa, *lhaa* m. 'hermit-crab' (Rp) = [ô]lhá 'Krebs' (Se) = *lāhaboi* m. 'hermit crab, snail shell', *lahambo* m. 'hermit crab; young baboon' (HuB)

(1) Connected with *lehay* 'partially bald' (HuB).

(2) Related to Afar (ECu) *liiḥo* 'claws of the *ḥerka*-crab' and / or *laḥuw* 'stinging tail' (PaHy).

lehúmbo m. 'die graugrüne Meerkatze; Cercopithecus griseo-viridis Desm.' (Re) = *o'lehumbo* m. 'Affe' (Mu) = *lahambo* m. 'young of baboon; hermit crab' (HuB) Halévy (1869: 205) compared it with 'Berber', correctly Kabyle, *ahalum* 'ape' (Newman 1887: 41).

lehaawe c., usually f. (acc. *lehaawet*) 'jackal, fox' (Rp)

Hdd *lakīnat* 'she-camel towards the end of the milk period' (BG)

lalée f. 'Falke; Milvus parasiticus' (Re)

EtSe: Gz, Ti *lilo*, Ty, Amh *lilo*, *lila* 'vulture' (Leslau 1987: 314); Cushitic origin is possible.

CCu: Bilin *lilo* 'Falke', sowohl 'Milvus parasiticus / regalis' (Re).

Be: Ahaggar *ālullam*, pl. *ilulâmen* 'faucon' (Foucauld).

Ch: (W) Nbauchi: Jimbin *alaliya*, Pa'a *liha* 'kite hawk' (Skinner 1977: 28).

Lit.: Cohen 1947: #439: Beja + Bilin + Gz + Be + Eg (Pyr) *nr.t* 'Geier' (Wb. II: 277), but Copt ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲉ 'vautour' (Vycichl 1983: 144) excludes the derivation of the Egyptian word from *IVL-.

lalúinkwi c., usually m., acc. *lalunkwob*, 'ape, monkey' (Rp) = *laalinkwoob* m. 'ape', def.sg. *ulaalinkwu*, def.pl. *ilaalinkwu* (Wd) = *i-láalaŋk^wi* 'le singe' (Mr) = *lalanko* c. 'baboon' (HuB) = *laalaŋko*[b] 'monkey, baboon' (Tl) = *lalúinkwe*, *lalúinkwi*, *lalúinkwā* and *lakúinkwa* c. 'Pavian, Mantelpavian, Hamadryas; Affe (überhaupt)' (Re) = *lalúinko* c. 'Affe' (Al) = *o'lálanko* id. (Mu) = *lálunkó* id. (Se)

Cu: (S) Burunge *longay* 'Mantelaffe' (Kiessling 1996: 61).

Ch: (C) Higi Nkafa *lukwi*, Higi Kamale *luku*; Lamang *lugva:k*; Padukwo *lukvo*; Musgoy *lōvov* 'monkey' (JgIb 2: 237); Mafa *lokov* 'singe' (Mc), Muktele *úlkòv* 'baboon' (Rossing 1978: 204, n. 35).

NS: Reinisch (1895: 159) connected Beja with Bari *lolok* 'Affe'.

lolis 'Tausendfuss' (Mu)

lolíš and *nolíš* c., pl. *lólša* and *nólša* 'Katze, Kater' (Re) = *noliš* 'Felis domestica' (Heuglin)

Cf. *nālat* m. 'hyena' (HuB)?

Hdd, Bi *láama* 'trained camel' (BG)

Be: (S) Ahaggar *alem*, pl. *illeman* 'chameau' (Cortade; Ritter 2009: 162).

leema m. 'crocodile' (HuB) = *leemaab* m. 'crocodile', def.sg. *uleema*, def.pl. *ileema* (Wd) = *leemaab* 'crocodile' (Tl) = *lema* m. id. (Rp) = *léema* m. 'Krokodil' (Re and Al) = *leema*[b] id. (Mu)

There are remarkable areal parallels in various languages of North-East Africa:

EtSe: Ti *ǎalma*, pl. *ǎälämmi* 'crocodile' (LH 350).

Cu: (C) Bilin *alma* 'Riesenschlange; Boa constrictor' (Re) || (E) Saho *ilmaa* 'Krokodil' (Re), Afar *ulum* 'Flusspferd' (Re).

?Eg (NK) *ḥrm(w)* *'crocodile', reconstructed after the sign 'crocodile' determining the homonymous place name ('ein Gewässer', see Wb. III: 330; cf. already W.M. Müller (1896: 205) who mentioned the modern Egyptian Arabic name *timsāḥ*, i.e. 'crocodile'; with question mark accepted also by Cohen 1947: #153)

NS: Nub: Kenzi-Dongola *elum*, Mahas *ulum* 'crocodile' || Bari *lomom* 'crocodile glands' (Murray 1923: 44) || Kunama *aynima* 'Krokodil' (Mu) = *haynuma* 'Flusspferd' (Englund).

Reinisch 1887: 27: Beja + Ti + Bilin + Saho-Afar + Eg + Nubian + Kunama; Murray 1923: 44: Beja + Ti + Saho + Nubian + Bari.

Note: Stolbova (2016: 172, n. 332) differentiates PCh **hVrVm-* 'crocodile' from **kVdVm-* id., adding ECu: Gollango *háaro* id. (AMS). Her PCh **hVrVm-* is compatible with Eg (NK) *hrm(w)* **'crocodile'*, but probably not with Beja *léema*.

luumhanyfid f., pl. -a 'Puppe, Raupe' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 159, 133) interpreted it as a compound consisting of *luum* 'Steiss, Podex' and *hayid* 'nähen', i.e. 'sie vernäht den Hintern'.

lengig, pl. [acc.] *lengigáb* 'Leopard' (Mu)

Cu: (C) Khamta *läguā* 'leopardo' (CR) || ?(E) Or: Wellega *leenča* 'lion' (Gg), Macha *lenca*, Guji *neenqa*, Borana *lencha*, *nyencha* (LVC) = *nyeenca* id. (Stroomer), Konso *léénj-aa* 'id.; strong and clever' (Bl), cf. also Gurage Zway *leenča* 'lion' (Leslau 1979: 381) || (S) Alagwa *longaʔi* 'civet cat' (Fl);

Ch: (C) Mboku *lungo*, Muturua *lungum*, Gisiga *longum* 'leopard' (Mc).

Lit.: Fleming 1969a: 28: Beja + Alagwa.

mehír c., pl. -a 'colt, foal (of horse)' (Rp) = *mehúr*, *mehír* m., pl. -a 'Füllen, Fohlen, junges Pferd', *úu-mhūr* 'das Fohlen' (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *muhr* 'foal of a horse' (Sg 1075; cf. Reinisch 1895: 166).

meek 'âne', pl. *mak* (Vh) = *mek* c., pl. *mak* 'donkey', cf. *meki ya^{wi}* 'locust, large and black, not considered edible' (HuB) = *maak* 'âne', pl. *mek* (Mr) = *meek* m. 'donkey', def.sg. *oomeek*, def.pl. *eemak*; *mek humaar* 'zebra' (Wd) = *meek* 'donkey' (Tl) = *meek* c., pl. *māk* 'donkey' (Rp) = *meek* c., pl. *mak* 'Esel', cf. *oo-malál-i meek* 'der wilde, Wüstenesel' (Re) = *meek* c., pl. *māk* id., with art. *uumeek* m., *tuumeek* f. (Al) = *o'mek*, pl. *e'mek* 'Esel', cf. f. *to'mek*, pl. *te'mek* id. (Mu) = *o'm(e)k*, pl. *emak* id. (Km) = *[oh-]mehk* id. (Kc) = *o-meg* id. (Heuglin) = *[o-]meyg* id. (Bu) = *o mēk* id. (Se) = *o meck* 'âne' (Salt)

There are interesting (areal?) parallels in the Ethiopian region:

EtSe: Gz *makebā?* 'mule' and / or *meʔekebeʔ* 'mare' (Leslau 1987: 324, 339).

?Cu: (E) Or: Borana, Orma, Waata *moçoo* 'a male donkey' (Stroomer) < **mo-qcoo?*, maybe comparable to Wellega *leenča* 'lion' (Gg), if it is derivable from **leenqca*, with the old velar preserved in Guji *neenqa* 'lion' (LVC); cf. also *maç* interjection 'incitamento per il mulo' (Borello) || ?(S) **makaa* sg., **makay* 'beast, wild animal' > Iraqw-Gorowa *makaa* ~ *makiitoʔoo*, pl. *makay*, Alagwa *makaa*, pl. *makay*, Burunge *makimo*, pl. *makay* id. (KM 199–200).

?Om: (N) Kafa *maçe* 'horse' (Habte Mikael) = *maaço* 'cavallo' (Ce) = *maaço* 'Pferd, Maultier' (Re), Mocha *máço* 'horse' (Ls); Cerulli (1951: 468) also mentioned Masongo (Surma / NS) *mašoy* id. || (S) Hamer *méeke* 'buffalo' (Petrollino). Be: (S) West Awlemidden, Ifoghas *amaka*, pl. *imakan* 'taureau', Taneslemt *emaka*, pl. *emakan* id. (Ritter 2009: 177, 395), Ahaggar *āmāka*, pl. *imākân* 'bœuf très grand et très fort' < **ā-māhkāh*, pl. **ī-māhkāhan* (Prasse 1974: 319–320: verbal

adj. from the verb *akk* 'être supérieur de niveau).

Lit.: Reinisch 1895: 167: Beja + Kafa.

malamūda m. 'Ameisenbär' (Re), i.e. in the English zoological terminology 'ant-eater', but this animal lives only in South and Mesoamerica; in reality it should be 'Erdferkel' in German, i.e. 'aardvark / Orycteropus afer', living in Africa and eating ants

(1) Cu: (E) Or: Wellega *miṭii* 'ant' (Gg), Guji *miṭa* 'ants', Borana *miṭa* 'red, large ants' (LVC); maybe also Som *miḍ* 'Würmchen in Wasserpfüthen' (Re) || ?Dahalo *muṭa* 'small ant' (Ehret, Elderkin, and Nurse 1989: 38);

?Eg (late) **mtj* reconstructed after the worm-determiner (Wb. II: 169; Takács 1997c: 94: Eg + ECu + Dah + Be + Ch: (W) Hausa *muuḍuwa*, Ngamo *miḍiwi* || (C) Bachama *miḍu-to* 'python', see Skinner 1977: 35).

Be: (S) Taneslemt *temədhe*, Awlemmiden *tamadəy*, Ahaggar *tāmāde*, pl. *timādiwîn* 'termite' (Prasse 1969: 78, #506: $mH_3d \sim mdH_3$).

(2) If *malamūda* consists of **mala-* and *-*mūda* and the latter component is identical with *mūda* 'Zunge' (Re), the former member could correspond to ECu **ma-lab-* 'honey' > Saho *malaab* 'Honigwasser' (Re), Afar *malab* 'honey' (PaHy); Som *malab* (Ab), Rend *málab*, Boni *málub* id. (He); Gedeo *maleb-o*, Sid, Kamb *malab-o*, Had *marab-o* id. (Sasse 1979: 14; Hudson 1989: 81) || Dahalo *móla*, pl. *mólalle* 'mead' (To) || ?(S) Mbugu *mála* 'beer' (Ehret 1980: 154).

milayke f. 'owl' (Rp)

Cu: (E) Afar *milliko* 'bird of prey (?osprey); Pandion halinitus' (PaHy);

Eg: Demotic *3mwld* 'Nachteule', Copt Boh *ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲁⲭ* 'hibou' (Vycichl 1983: 112); cf. the hieroglyph *m* depicting 'barn owl / Tyto alba alba' (Wb. II: 1).

Ch: (W) North Bauci: Jimbin *milwa* 'dove' (Skinner 1977: 18).

menu m. 'wild dog' (HuB) = *máni* c., acc. *mano/-b,-t* 'wild dog' (Rp) = *máno*, *máne* c. 'Wolfshund, Canis anthus' (Re) = *o'emeno*, acc. *menob* 'Hyänenhund, Toqla' (Mu)

Cu: (S) Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa *maanaa* 'dead person transformed into a hyena' (KM 201);

Ch: (E) Sokoro *moin* 'Hyäne' (A. Friedrich).

Lit.: Ehret 1987: #424: Beja + Iraqw. Fleming 1969a: 29: Beja + Alagwa *moon-jo*, Burunge *moondo* 'jackal' (KM 209: origin is identified in pBantu **mondo* id.), plus Sandawe *monjoo* and *monzoo* id.

mir'áfí c., pl. -a 'hyaena' (Rp) = *mer'áf* c., pl. *mér'af* 'Hyäna' and *merfa'-ül/n* and *mer'af-ül/n* c. 'dieselbe Hyäne' (Re) = *mar'afiin* m. 'hyaena', def.sg. *umar'afiin* (Wd) = *meraafi* and *merfaa'ül* '(spotted) hyaena' (HuB) = *merafe* 'Hyäne; Hyaena crocuta' (Kr)

(1) Separating the suffix *-lūn* of *nomina agentis*, Reinisch (1894: 33, §351) connected it with SudAr *mirʕaf* id., and identified the root *r-ʕ-f* with Ar *raʕasa* 'schleichen, wackeln, schäbig, decrepit sein', cf. *mirʕas* 'vilis qui cibum ex fimo colligit'. Nile Nubian (Re) *marafīl* 'Hyäne' (Reinisch 1895: 172) and the forms extended in *-lūl* and *-lūn* resembling the postpositive article in Nile Nubian, allow to speculate about a mediation of Nile Nubian.

(2) Could it be connected with Gz *marābo* 'hyena' (Leslau 1987: 357)?

mirbe c., often f. (acc. *mirbet*) 'camel from adolescence to prime' (Rp) = Hdd *mir-bēē.t* 'baggage camel' (BG)

Cf. Hdd *mírbe*, Ammar'ar *rabēē* 'load' (BG)

maseek ~ *gomaseek* m. 'snake' (HuB)

If *gomaseek* is a compound with the first component *go-*, it is tempting to connect the second component *maseek* with ECu: Somali *mas* 'snake' (Luling) = *mas*, pl. *masas* 'snake' (Ab, Re), dial. Bimaal *maaso* id., while Digil, May and Boni *moofā* id. were influenced by Oromo *bofa* 'python'; HECu **hamasa* 'snake' > Burji *hamási*, *homási*, Sidamo *hamaššo* < **hamas-čo*, pl. *hamaso*, Hadiya *hamas-icco* id., Kambatta *hamasu* 'roundworm' (Sasse 1982: 90–91; Hudson 1989: 137).

moošee c. 'sheep (young), ewe once pregnant' (HuB) = *mošey*, *muušey* c., pl. *mošaaya* 'sheep in adolescent stage' (Rp)

Could it be connected with (or borrowed from ?) Gz *māhsəf* 'suckling kid, lamb, young goat', Ty *maḥsi?* 'kid' (Leslau 1987: 337)?

mašóki c., pl. *-a* 'klipspringer gazelle' (Rp) = *mašóoki/e* c. 'Steinbock, Antilope saltatrix' (Re) = *mašokiib* 'Antilope saltatrix' (Heuglin) = *manšoki* c. 'dikdik, klipspringer' (HuB)

móoyta c. 'eine Spezies Adler' (Re)

Cu: (E) Som *mooy* 'Kori bustard / Ardeotis kori' (DSI 442); HECu **mooy-ca* 'beast of prey' (Hudson 1989: 25) > Burji *móo-cca*, pl. *móo-yya*, Had *moo-cco*, Kamb *moo-ccu*, Sid *moʔ-iccu* (Sa) = *moy-cco* (HG);

Om: (N) Basketo *moyya* 'hawk-like bird with whie chest, eats chickens' (Fl).

?Eg (D 22) *im* 'sp. bird (Goldamsel)' (Wb. I: 78; WPS 211).

naʕ f., pl. *naʕ* 'sheep' and *nay* f., pl. *nee* 'goat' (HuB) = *nʕay* f. 'chèvre', *hadaa-nʕay* 'sp. antilope' (Vh) = *nnʕait* 'goat' (Tl) = *n(ə)ʕa* m. 'ram, male sheep' and *n(ə)ʕay* f., pl. *nʕey* 'goat', cf. *naai(y)* v. 1 'to milk' (Rp) = *naaʕ* c., pl. *nʕa* 'Schaf' and *naaʕi* c., pl. *náʕi* c. / *naay*, pl. *nay* 'Ziege, Ziegenbock' and *oo-malaal-iit náaʕo* 'Steinbock', lit. 'desert goat', cf. also *neʕay* and *naay* v. 1 'melken' (Re) = *naʕ* and *néʕa* 'Schaf', with art. *úuna* 'der Schafbock', *túuna* 'der Mutterschaf' (Al) = *oʕna*,

pl. *e'na* 'Schafbock', cf. *maláaliknei* 'wilde Ziege' (Mu) = *to anna* 'Schaf' (Km) = *to anah* 'brebis', *o nâh* 'mouton' (Li) = *o na* 'mouton', *to-nai* 'chèvre' (Salt)

(1) Cohen (1947: #463) compared Beja words for 'sheep' and 'goat' with Eg (OK) *nî3w* 'Steinbock' (Wb. II: 202). But the later spelling *nr3w* indicates the radicals *n-y-l(-w)* compatible with Akkadian *najjalu*, *nālu(m)* 'Reh' (AHw 725), cf. Ember 1912: 87, and Ti *nālāt* 'she-antelope Kudu; Strepsiceros capensis' (LH 323–324).

(2) Müller (1975: 67, #40) compared both Beja 'sheep' and 'goat' with Ti (EtSe) *nāway* 'Vieh, Besitz' (cf. Agaw **nāw-* > Khamir-Khamta *niw*, Kailiña *nāw*, Kunfāl *nāwi*, Awngi *nēw*, pl. *-ari* 'calf'—see Appleyard 2006: 41), and Wandala (CCu) *nāwè* 'Ziege' (Lk). Cf. also ECu: Boni *nūî* 'greater kudu' (He). Militarev and Nikolaev (2020: 211) add the Chadic data: (W) South Bauci: Boghom, Tala, Jimi *naa* 'cow' || (C) Masa: Lame *nādò*, Mesme *nau* 'cow'. Cf. also Stolbova 2016: 261, n. 585.

(3) It is tempting to connect the verb 'to milk', recorded by Reinisch and Roper, with Sumray (ECh) *nae* 'Milch', *náee* 'Euter' (Lk).

negnegoo m. 'lizard' (HuB) = *nínigoo* m. 'Eidechse' (Re) = *negnego[b]* id. (Mu)

?Cu: (C) Qwara *enxalxala* 'Eidechse' (Re), but cf. Amh *enqaaqəlaa* id. (Rössler 1979: 30);

?Om: (N) Kafa *engangilo* 'lucertola' (Ce).

?Ch: (C) Tera *xenéxene* 'chameleon' (Newman 1964: 41); Matakam *henəneṽ* 'lizard' (Mouchet 1953: 161).

Lit.: Reinisch 1895: 182: Beja + Qwara + Kafa.

nekar c., pl. *-a* 'wild sheep' (HuB) = *nákar* c., pl. *nakara* id. (Rp)

Could it be connected with Ti (EtSe) *nākid*, pl. *nākädəd* 'kid' (LH 335)?

?Cu: (E) Afar *narig* m., *nargo* f. 'very young bull- or she-camel' (PaHy).

?Eg *ng3w* 'Langhornrind (als Opfertier, Zugtier)' (WPS 201)—it agrees better with Afar.

nālqt m. 'hyena'? (HuB)

?Om: (N) Nayi *nula* 'hyena' (Yilma 1994).

nāwe f. 'Käuzchen; Strix aluco' (Re)

nay f., pl. *nee* 'goat' (HuB)—see *na'g* 'sheep' (HuB)

raa c. 'ariel gazelle' and *rahi* c. 'ariel fawn', cf. also *rayt ánde* 'fumet' (Rp) = *raa* c., pl. *ra* 'ariel antelope', *raaho* m. 'young of ariel gazelle' (HuB) = *ra* c. 'Ariel-Antelope' (Re) = *ra* c. 'Antilope' (Al) = *raho[b]* 'Gazelle' (Mu) = [*oh-*]*rah* 'Ariel(-Antelope)' (Kc) = *ôra* 'grosse Gazelle' (Se) = *o ra* 'daim' (Salt)

Cu: (E) **ri?* > Afar *rey-ta* (pl. *wadar*) 'doe goat, nanny goat' (PaHy); Som *ri*, pl. *riyyo* 'nanny-goat' (Ab), Jiddu *ri*, Rend *riḥ-í*, pl. *ri-yo* 'goat' (He) = *riḥy* 'mature

female goat, mature nanny-goat' (GP) (Heine 1978: 94 reconstructed pSam *ri?, pl. *ri-yo*); Arbore *re'et* 'goats', indiv. *re-t-té* (Hy), Elmolo *rré-te* 'goats' (He), Dasanech *rí* 'goat' (To); Or: Wellega *ree-tii*, pl. *re'-oota* 'goat' (Gg), Borana *ree* 'goat(s), small stock, sheep and goats', indiv. *ree-tii* 'a goat, one goat' (Stroomer); Yaaku *reh-ε*, pl. *réh-so* 'calf' (He) (Sasse 1979: 22) || Dahalo *hééri* 'goat' (To) || **ʔaráa* pl. 'goats' > Iraqw-Gorowa *ʔaraa*, Alagwa *ʔaráa*, Burunge *ʔaraa* id. (Ehret 1980: 297; KM 59).

raab m. 'antelope', def.sg. *ooraab*, def.pl. *iraaba* (Wd)

Cf. *rabaab* adj. 'big; male' (Wd) and further *rabameek* 'mâle âne' (Vh)?

rab'e c. 'young camel between one and two years' (Rp) = *rab'iib* m. 'camel, young above 1 year', def.sg. *urab'i*, def.pl. *irab'i* (Wd) = *rabbi* c., pl. *rabbia* 'young camel' (HuB) = Hdd *râbi* 'young camel' (BG) = *terabie* 'she-camel' (Bu)

Probably derived from *ribi* v. 1 'to load (pack animal), to carry' (Rp) = *rebi* v. 1 'to load, saddle' (HuB).

regene f. 'sheep which has not born young' (HuB) = *ragáne* c. 'goat not yet fall-grown' (Rp) = *ranganeeb* f. 'goat', def.sg. *urangani* (Wd) = *rangáne* f. 'weibliches junges Schaf, bald Zuchtfähig' (Re) = **rengene*: *te'rengenee*, pl. *e'rengenee*, acc. *rengeneeb* 'weibliche Junge von mittleren Alter' (Mu)

?Cu: (E) Saho *rúga*, pl. *rugaage* 'calf' (We);

Ch: (W) Hausa of Sokoto *rààgoo*, pl. *raagunàà* 'ram' (Matsushita).

rahi c. 'ariel fawn' (Rp) = *raaho* m. 'young of ariel gazelle' (HuB)

A compound consisting of *raa* c. 'ariel gazelle' and *hi* c. 'newly-born young of sheep, camel, horse' (Rp).

rehaw c., pl. *rehaúwa* 'zebra' (Rp)

rašüida 'bétail' (Vh)

From the verb *rišid* 'élever, s'occuper de, prendre soin des cultures ou du bétail' (Vh).

reew m. 'animals; wealth', def.sg. *ooreew* (Wd) = *oo-/uu-reew* 'le bétail', pl. *i-reew* (Vh) = *rew* m. 'flocks and property including camels' (HuB) = *reew* m. 'Vieh; Besitz, Habe, Geld' (Re); see *oreo* 'zahmes Tier' (Munzinger), corr. *oo-reew* (Van-hove, p.c. 2001)

(1) Reinisch (1895: 193) connected it with Ar *rabā* 'auctus fuit'.

(2) Better to compare with Cu: (E) **ʔawr-* (Sasse 1979: 46) > Saho *aur*, pl. *-a* 'bull' (We), Afar *awur* / *abur* / *agur*, pl. *awra* / *aburwa* 'bull, ox' (PaHy); Som *awr* 'he-camel' (Ab), Boni *óor* 'male elephant', Rend *ôr*, pl. *our(u)ár* 'bull camel, bull'

(Heine 1978: 75 reconstructed pSam **âur* ‘male camel’), Jiddu *úr* ‘adult mating-bull’ (Banti and Ibraaw), Bayso *aar* ‘big bull’ (HbLb); Arbore *?aar* ‘bull’ (Hy), Elmolo *aar a ote* ‘bull, ox’ (He), Dasanech *?awr-ic* ‘he-camel’ (Sa); Or: Borana (*h*)*oor-oo* ‘burden camel’ (Stroomer); ?Burji *array*, *ar?áy* ‘bull’, *a?re* ‘calf’; ?Yaaku *erer* ‘antelope sp.’ (He) || Dahalo *?áároole* ‘eland / Taurotragus sp.’ (Ehret 1980: 287) || (S) Mbugu *áro* ‘large herbivore’ (Ehret 1980: 333). Cushitic data were compiled by Militarev and Nikolaev 2020: 201.

Eg (OK) *iw3* ‘Mastrind, Langhornrind, Hausrind; Ochse’, *iw3.t* ‘Kuh’, coll. ‘Rindvieh’ (WPS 198).

Be: (S) Ahaggar *awūra*, pl. *iwārān* ‘chamelon dans sa 1^{ère} année’ < **ā-wirāh*, pl. **i-warāhan* (Prasse 1973: 58).

?Ch: (W) Ron: Sha *arwà* ‘bull’ (Blench). Stolbova (2016: 180, n. 361) compared Sha with Ch: (C) Musgu *halúu*, *hollú* (Lk), Mbara *hùlúu* ‘buffalo’; (E) Sumrai *hāra* ‘elephant’, and further with Se: Ar *hawar* ‘taureau’ (Biberstein-Kazimirski I: 510) = ‘cow’ (Sg 303), Sabaic *hwry*, Hadramaut *hwrw* ‘a wild animal killed by hunters’ (SED II: 145), and ECu: Burji *húr-i* ‘buffalo’ (Sasse 1982: 102).

s’e, *sə’i* f. ‘tick (parasite)’ (Rp) = Hdd *t-éssi* ‘camel louse’ and / or *too-s’i* ‘tick (parasite, red, esp. in ears)’ (BG) = *se* m. ‘camel tick’ (HuB) = *see* f. ‘Laus, Zecke’ (Re) = *se* f. ‘(Kamel-)Laus’ (Al) = *to’sé* ‘die rote Kamellaus’ (Mu)

Cu: (E) Tsam *sa?e* ‘small flea which is not in the rural area’ (Savà 2005: 239) || (S) Mbugu *swa* ‘tick on animal’ (Fl);

Om: (N) Gofa *iso*, Basketo *isa* ‘bed bug’ and / or Shako *sêi*, Gimira *sai* ‘flea’ (Fl) || (S) Ubamer *sea*, Galila *seya* ‘flea’ (Fl).

Lit.: Fleming 1969a: 30: Beja + Mbugu + Shako and Gimira; Blažek 2005b: 49–50: Beja + Tsam [>] Ongota *sey* ‘flea’ + Om.

Note: Reinisch (1895: 194) compared Beja *see* with the Nubian forms: Kenzi-Dongola, Mahas *issi* ‘louse’, cf. also Dair *itu* and Masai (Nil) *ašei* (Murray 1923: 76).

seeb m. ‘camel about five years old’ (HuB) = Ammar’ar *oseib* ‘3 years old camel’ (Clark 1938: 21)

?Cu: (E) Afar *seben*, pl. *seb(n)aānu* ‘fully grown ewe which has not yet given birth’ (PaHy).

sebáada c. ‘Muschuskatze’ (Re) = *tisbateh* ‘Zibethtier’ (Se)—see *dabáada* and *díbe-da* id. (Re)

sabal m. ‘crop of bird’ (Rp)

Could it be connected with Ti *sābālli* ‘ein Vogel’ (LH 184)?

siidoo c. ‘Kangaroo rat; Jerboa Jaculata’ (HuB) = *sfida* ‘Maus’ (Heuglin)

sadaŋ m. 'shell', def.sg. *usadaŋ*, def.pl. *isadaŋa* (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *šadaŋ* 'shell, pearl-oyster' (Sg 576).

sekiur c., pl. -a 'Schildkröte' (Re) = *tôskur* id. (Se)

salaat 'python' (Tl) = *sali* f. id. (Rp) = *sála* f. 'Sorte grosser Schlangen, eine Art Boa constrictor' (Re) = *asalaat* f. 'boa', def.sg. *tu'asala*, def.pl. *ti'asala* (Wd)

Cu: (E) Som *sil*, *silo* 'python' (Funaioli and Simonetta 1985: 58).

Be: (S) Ahaggar *âššäl*, pl. *âššälän* 'serpent', f. *tâššält*, pl. *tâššälîn* 'vipère', East Tawlemmet *aššol* < **hassül* (Prasse 1974: 161).

Note: Reinisch (1895: 198) connected Beja *sála* with Ar *šillat* 'serpens' (Freytag) = *šill*, pl. *ʔašlāl* and *šilāl* 'serpent with a human face' (Sg 587) = 'a variety of venomous adder, viper' (Wehr).

šeraaf m. 'giraffe' (HuB) = *seráf* 'Giraffe' (Mu, Heuglin)—see *deraáf* id. (Re)

saaranaat f. 'insect', def.sg. *tusaarana*, def.pl. *tisaarana* (Wd)

?Cu: (E) Som *sonsur* 'cricket' (Funaioli and Simonetta 1985: 76) || (S) **siriinsoroḥu* 'big black ants' > Gorowa *soroonsoróḥ*, Alagwa *soonsooḥáy*, Burunge *siinsooḥay* (KM 250).

seráay c., pl. *seráy* 'Papagei', viz. 'Halsbandsittich' (Re)

Cu: (E) Som *sarra* 'black-faced sandgrouse / *Eremialector decoratus*' (Funaioli and Simonetta 1985: 35); Elmolo *sérrán-te*, pl. *sérran* 'flamingo' (He) || (S) **sirooḥiya*, coll. **sirooha* 'small bird' > Iraqw *sori*, coll. *sora* 'small red bird', Gorowa *siroori*, coll. *siriira*, Alagwa *siroohi*, coll. *sirooha*, Burunge *siroowiya*, coll. *siroway* 'fire finch' (KM 250).

Eg (Pyr) *sr* 'Gans' (*zr* written only in the New period), *srw* 'Graugans / Anser anser rubrirostris' (Wb IV: 192–193; WPS 215).

sosari f. 'cattle' (Rp) = *soossariit* f. 'domestic animal', def.sg. *tusoossari*, def.pl. *tisoossari* (Wd)

?Cu: (E) Afar *soosa* 'young bull-camels', *soosayto* 'young she-camel' (PaHy).

síwi c., usually m. (acc. *siwiib*), pl. -a 'chick' (Rp) = *i-siwe* '(nearly full grown) chicken' (Th)

Eg (OK) *sw* 'sp. duck' (Wb. IV: 59; WPS 214).

Ch: (W) North Bauci: Warji, Kariya *šiw*- 'cock' (Skinner 1977: 12).

ši c., usually f., 'rhinoceros' (Rp) = *šee* c., pl. *ša* 'Rhinozeros, Nashorn' (Re) = *šu* m. 'rhinoceros' (HuB)

?Cu: (E) **war-š[af]*- 'rhinoceros' > Bayso *woors-eesa* 'rhino' (HbLb do not exclude a borrowing from Or); Or *wars-eesa* (Thiene), Borana and Orma *wors-eesa* 'rhi-

no' (Stroomer) = Borana *wars-esa* id., Macha *ors-esa* (LVC), Dirayta *orš-ayt* 'gnu' (Bl) = *orš-ayt*^a 'rhino' (HbLb), Konso *orš-ayta* 'hippo' (Bl); Gollango *oršaḥ-te* 'Na-shorn; Diceros bicornis somaliensis', Gollango and Harso *oršaḥ-aḍ-o* 'Rhinoceros-Horn' (AMS); Burji *worša* 'rhino' (Sa); Yaaku *ɔrse* 'rhino' (He) (Sasse 1982: 191; Haberland and Lamberti 1988: 147–148 proposed the reconstruction **waršayf*-). The comparison with the Beja counterpart is possible only accepting the analysis of the ECu zoonym as a compound consisting of **war*-, maybe continuing in Dasenech *wər* 'mountain' (Fl) = *wáár* 'stone' (Sa), Tsamakko *wóro* 'Wald' (AMS), Had *wor* in *hak-wor* 'bosco' vs. *hakka* 'albero, legno' (Ce) and **-š[af]*, perhaps identical with ECu **šaḥ*- 'cow', hence 'rhinoceros' = 'mountain cow' or sim., cf. Wolayta *wora-kana* 'jackal', lit. 'wild dog' where the primary meaning of *wora* is 'forest'; similarly Dache *worko-kana*, Gamu *wor-kana* id. (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 413, 547). Sid of Habiella *workarro* 'rinoceronte' (Ce) apparently represents an analogous compound with a different latter component.

š'a f. 'heifer', m. 'cow' vs. šaε f. 'meat' (Rp) = š'a m. 'vache', šʔāā-b 'une vache', pl. šʔāā-b (Vh) = š'aab m. 'bull, cattle', f. 'cattle, cows and oxen', def.sg. ooš'a, def.pl. eeš'a, and š'eegaab m. 'cowherd', uš'eega, def.pl. iš'eega, vs. šaat f. 'meat, flesh', def.sg. tooša (Wd) = s'a 'vache' (Mr; misprint?) = š'aa[b] 'cow' (Tl) = ša' m. 'Kuh' vs. f. 'Fleisch' (Re) = ša' m., pl. šá'a 'Kuh' (Al) = šā m., pl. ša'ā 'cow' (HuB) = o-šaa id. (Heuglin) = [o]sha 'cow' (Bu) = o'sha, pl. e'sha, acc. shab 'Kuh' (Mu) = o écha 'bœuf' (Li) = [oh]sha 'Rindvieh' (Kc) = toscha 'Kuh', oscha oraba 'männliches Rind, Stier' (Km) = o-sha 'vache' (Salt)

Cu: (E) **šaḥ*- 'cow' > Saho *sáf-a* 'cattle' (We), Afar *saḥ* ~ *sàḥa* 'small stock (animal)' (PaHy); Som *saḥ*, pl. *saḥyo* 'cow' (Ab), Jiddu *sū* (Banti and Ibraaw), Boni Baddey *sa*, pl. *sa'-oobə* (He), Rend *saḥ* (He), Bayso *se*, pl. *sae* (Hy); Arbore *seʔ* (Hy), Dasanech *seʔ* (Sa); Or: Wellega *sá'-a*, *saa-wa* id. (Gg), Borana *saa* 'cow(s), cattle' (Stroomer), Konso *sa-a* id. (Bl); HECu **saʔa* 'cow' (Hudson 1989: 44 assumed an Oromo origin) > Burji *saa*, pl. *saa-inna* and *saa-yanna*, Gedeo *saayya*, pl. *saayy-uwwa*, Had *saayya*, Kamb *saʔa*, Sid *saa*, pl. *saa-da* (Dolgopolsky 1973: 115; Black 1974: 167, 204; Sasse 1982: 161).

Ch: (W) Hausa *saa* m. 'cattle', *sáánìyáá* f. 'cow', pl. *šaanuu* (Vycichl 1934: 85, fn. 2 proposed sg. m. *saa* < **sawa* < **siwa* vs. pl. *šaanuu* < **siwaanuu*) || (E) Kera *sí*, Kwang *tú-sú*; Ndam *swí*, Tumak *hùì* 'cow' etc. (JgIb 2: 92–93; Stolbova 2016: 358–360, n. 831).

Be: (S) **Hisiw* m., pl. **Hisiw-ān* > Ahaggar *osu*, pl. *oswān* 'bœuf' (Prasse 1974: 125; Vycichl 1934: 85, fn. 2 derived *osu* from **a. ʔsu* < **a-siḥ*) vs. **t-Hisiwt* f., pl. **tī-siHt-āH* > Ahaggar *tosut*, pl. *tisita* 'vache' (Prasse 1974: 125), cf. Tawllemmet *tašt*, pl. *šitan* = Ayr *titan* 'vache' (Alojaly) < **tī-siHtān* (Prasse 1974: 414);

Lit.: Halévy 1869: 206; Beja + Tuareg; Vycichl 1934: 85, fn. 2; Hausa + Tuareg; Skinner 1996: 222; Beja + ECu + Hausa + Tuareg; Stolbova 2016: 358–360, n. 831; Ch + Beja + ECu.

šehedo 'Felis pardus' (= Ar *nimr* 'Panther') (Heuglin)

Borrowed from Ti *ʔäshädi* 'lion'; cf. Gz *ʔasäd* 'name of a constellation' < Ar *ʔasad* 'lion' (Leslau 1982: 7).

šákalo c. 'Maulwurf' (Re)

Zyhlarz (1933: 162) connected it with Copt Sah $\omega\kappa\omicron\lambda$, Boh $\chi\omicron\lambda$ 'hole', cf. Demotic *kil* 'niche, hole', all borrowed from Se *ḥ-l-l* > Hb *ḥ-l-l* 'to bore, pierce', Ar *ḥallat* 'gap' (Černý 1976: 239; Vycichl 1983: 76).

Reinisch (1894: 8, fn. 290) identified here the same suffix *-alo* as in *tén'-alo* 'Skorpion' while the root should correspond with Ar *sāḥa* 'in lutum immersus fuit'. Improbable.

šalagíey 'coastal camel' (BG)

šulúul c., pl. *-a* 'Hyäne' (Re)

(1) Reinisch (1895: 215) connected it with Ar *šulūl* 'to rot, be putrid, be foul' (Sg 587).

(2) Cu: (E) Bayso (ECu) *sulaale* 'wild animal' (Hy). Fleming (1969a: 28, #15) compared it with Gorowa (SCu) *sorari* 'caracal'.

(3) Om: (N) Janjero *solsu* 'hyena' (Cerulli 1938b: 83).

šimbúukule, *šumbúukule* c. 'Papagei' (Re)

šambiiri m. 'pelican' (HuB) = *šámbor* c., pl. *-a* 'Pelekan' (Re)

Ch: (W) Angas *čimír* 'stork' (Foulkes 1915: 158).

šinbedad m. '(small) grasshopper' (HuB)

ša^uwiay m. 'camel whose mother is again pregnant' (HuB), *ša^uwi* or 'camel to young to ride' (HuB) = Hdd *šu^wíya* 'oor, Bi *šu^{wi}'óor* 'a camel 1–2 years old' (BG) = *šu^weih* 'or 'one year old camel' (Clark 1938: 21) = Hdd *o-s^uior* 'young camel' (Th) = *ši^{wi}'or* 'child, calf, foal whose mother is again pregnant' (Rp)

A derivative of *ši^{wi}* 'to become pregnant' (BG) and a compound consisting of the same verb and 'or 'child' (Rp).

šaayi f., acc. *šaayot* 'a poisonous sort of snake' (Rp)

?Ch: (W) Ron: Mangar *sô* 'snake (gen.)' (Blench: *Ron Comparative Wordlist*).

tabtab m. 'lizard', def.sg. *utabtab*, def.pl. *itabtaba* (Wd)

See *dábdab* and *tábtat* m., pl. *-a* 'Eidechse, Molch' (Re).

?Cu: (S) Asa *tapa^aak* 'chameleon' (Ehret 1980: 349).

?Eg *dpy* 'crocodile' (WPS 198).

tifā m. 'fly' (HuB) = *tiifaab* m. 'fly, butterfly', def.sg. *utiifa*, def.pl. *itiifa* (Wd) = *tifaa(b)* 'fly' (Be) = *tiifaa[b]* id. (Tl) = *tiifa* m. 'fly; *Musca humilis*', cf. *tiifábtam* f. 'bat' (Rp) = *tíifa* (*tíifa* in Barka) m. 'Fliege' (Re) = *tíifa* 'Fliege' (Al) = *o'tíifa*, pl. *e'tíifa* id. (Mu) = *típhá* id. (Se)

?Cu: (E) HECu **tawiya* 'fly' > Kamb *tawi-ccu*, *taay-ccu*, pl. *tawa* (besides *taakata*; cf. Had sg. *teekaya*), Burji *taayyá* (Hudson 1989: 66) = *táay(y)a* id. (Sasse 1982: 175).

Note: The vacillation between *-f-* and *-w-* is attested in Beja proper, cf. *šifig* 'to haste' (Rp) vs. *šewig* 'eilen, sich sputen' (Re). In this perspective, Beja *tiifa* 'fly' (Rp) and Beja *taweeg* 'mosquitoes' (Wd) with its counterpart in ECU **tafk-* 'flea' are also compatible.

tagar c., pl. *tagarra* 'young of calf or heifer' (HuB)

ták^wla c. 'Wolf; *Lycaon pictus*' (Re) = *taklā* 'Lycaon pictus' (HuB)

EtSe: Gz *tak^wlā* 'wolf, jackal', Ty, Amh *tāk^wla* 'jackal', Ti *tākla* id. (Leslau 1987: 573);

Cu: (C) Bilin *tax^wla* 'jackal' (Appleyard 2006: 88) = *tāg^wlā* and *təγ^wlā* 'Wolf' (Re), Qwara *tax^wla* id. (Re), Kemant *takwila* 'loup' (CR) = *tāk^wla* (Ap), Khamta *takulā* 'lupo' (CR); Awngi *takueli* id. (CR), Kunfāl *tuhula* 'wolf' (Cw) || (E) Saho *tokla* 'type of wolf' (Vergari) = *tākla* ~ *tāxla* 'Wolf, Hyänenhund; *Lycaon pictus*' (Re); Harso *tolokk-ó* 'Serval-Katze; *Felis serval*' (AMS) || (S) **tak^wer-* in the paradigm **takwerimo*, pl. **takweru* (KM 266–267) > Iraqw *taweer(a)moo*, pl. *tawer* 'fox, jackal' (Maghway) = *tawér* 'wild dogs', Burunge *takuraa?imo* 'wild dog', pl. *takuraa?ee*, Alagwa *tokoraymo* 'bat-eared fox', pl. *tokora?i*; the original SCU **-l-* can be preserved in Sandawe (Khoisan) *tekele* 'hyena, aard-wolf' (Fleming 1969a: 28);

Om: (N) Koyra *tólko* 'hyaena' (Hy), Ganjule *tolkoε* id. (Fl), Zayse and Zergulla *tolko* id. (Siebert) || (S) Dime *tolku* 'leopard' (Be);

Ch: (C) Uzam *tókola* 'hyène' (Mc).

Lit.: Reinisch 1895: 226: Beja + EtSe + Bilin and Qwara + Saho; Fleming 1969a: 28 and Ehret 1987: #412: Beja + Bilin and Qwara + SCU.

tákte'i m. 'Kranichgeier; *Gypogeryx serpentinus*' (Re)

tal'ane and *tan'ale* m. 'scorpion' (Rp) = *tel'ána* and *tén'alo* m. 'Skorpion' (Re) = *til'anoo* and *tillanoo* m. 'scorpion', *bahri til'anoo* 'crayfish' (HuB) = *tan'aloo[b]* 'scorpion' (Tl) = *tálana* and *tánalo* id. (Al) = *te'tenalo*, acc. *tenalob* id. (Mu) = *otallana* id. (Li) = *talannob* id. (Se)

Almkvist (1881: 277, §373b) and Reinisch (1894: 8, §290; 1895: 226) correctly identified here nomina agentis in *-aana(y)* and *-aalo(y)* from *tela'* and *tena'* 'durchbohren, -stechen, -löchern', hence 'scorpion' = 'Durchbohrer'.

Bi *o-timbil* 'fox' (Th) = *timbil bašo* id. (HuB)

tambal'aqy 'lizard' (Vh)

Cf. *dambilaalq* m., pl. *dambil* 'lizard' (HuB), apparently derived from *damba* lizard' (Rp).

tímsa, obj. *tímsáb* m. 'Krokodil' (Re) = *timsa* m. id. (Al) = *tímszâb* id. (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *timsāḥ* 'crocodile', itself a borrowing from a pre-Coptic form with the feminine article *ti-* (> *di-* in Arabic period), cf. Sahidic ⲙⲥⲁⲩ, pl. ⲙⲥⲟⲟⲩ 'crocodile', and further Demotic and MK *msh*, OK *mzḥ* and the place names from the Greek-Roman period as f. Θεμσαίς vs. m. Πεμσαίς etc. (Vycichl 1983: 123; Wb. II: 136; it was already Reinisch 1895: 230 who connected Beja with Arabic, Coptic and Egyptian).

Orel and Stolbova (1995: #2431) try to project Ar *timsāḥ* and apparent Arabic borrowings in East Chadic: Mubi and Migama (not Mokilko!) *tùmsá* 'Krokodil' (cf. Lukas 1937: 185 and JgIb 2: 95) on the pAA level.

tankaroot f. 'spider', def.sg. *tutankaru*, def.pl. *titankaru* (Wd)

tírbil c., pl. *tírbíla* 'carf just weaned' (Rp)

tírfem 'Ovis aries in genere' (Heuglin), see *dúrfín* c. 'Lamm, Zicklein' (Re)

taat 'louse' (Be, Tl) = *táat* id. (HuB) = *taat* 'pou' (Vh) = *taat* f., pl. *tāt* id. (Rp and Al) = *taat* f., pl. *tat* 'Laus' (Re) = *to'tat* id. (Mu) = *totât* (Se); cf. *tateeyaa* 'to have lice, be lousy' (Wd), besides *taatiyaat* f. 'wild beast', def.sg. *tutaatiya*, def.pl. *titaatiya* (Wd)?

Cu: (C) Awgi *inti* (Bk) = *yíntí* 'louse' (Ht), Kunfāl *yenti* id. (Cw) || ?(E) Arbore *ʔijdot* 'larva' (Hy), Dasanech *ʔiðid-dī* 'louse' (To); Yaaku *intōni*, pl. *intō* 'caterpillar' (He) || Dahalo *ʔitta* coll. 'louse' (To) || (S) **ʔita-* > Iraqw *itirmo* / *itna* 'louse / lice', Burunge, Alagwa *itino* / *ita*; Asa *ʔita* (Ehret 1980: 290).

Ch **ʔVtV(tV)-* (Stolbova 2016: 53, n. 13) > (C) Bata *tétiye* 'pou' (Mc); Uldeme *àtāt* 'parasite des poules' (Colombel) = Uzam *atāt* (Mc), Mada *etēt* 'pou' (Mc) = *itét* 'louse', Muktele *âtāč* id. (Rossing 1978: 286, n. 441), Muyang *ètīti* 'tick sp.' (Smith); ?Masa: Peve *tandi* 'louse' (Venberg), if derivable from *(V)*ntati* || (E) Migama *ʔitāatá*, EDangla *ittà* 'le pou, la vermin, la tique' (Djibrine), WDangla *ètà* (Fedry); Mabire *intat* 'head louse' (Johnson and Hamm), Birgit *ʔitātī*, Jegu *ʔintāatō* 'pou', Mubi *idéedí*, pl. *èdèt* 'pou' (Jg).

Lit.: Ehret 1987: #82: Awngi + Dahalo + SCu; Tosco 1989 (p.c.): Arbore and Yaaku + Dahalo; Zaborski 1989: 564, #48: Beja + Awngi + Dahalo + SCu + CCh; Stolbova 2016: 53, n. 13: W + C + ECh + N + C + SCu + Dahalo. She still adds WCh: Monguna *tíʔ* 'louse' and NOM: Yemsa / Janjero *tuʔa* 'louse'.

téetel m., pl. -a 'Kuhantilope, Antilope Bubalis' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 232) correctly determined a source in Ti *tetäl* 'bovine antilope, antilope bubalis' (LH 313), borrowed from Ar *ṭaytal* and *ṭayṭal* 'a kind of antelope' (Sg 212).

tawwi f. 'rock partridge' (HuB)

taweeg m. 'mosquitoes', def.pl. *itaweeg*, and *taweegayt* f., def.sg. *tutaweegaay*, def. pl. *titaweegay* (Wd) = *taweeg* 'mosquito' (Tl) = *taweg*, *tauweg* 'mosquitoes' (generic), *tawīgay* f. 'mosquito' (Rp) = Hdd *o-taweg* 'mosquito' (Th) = *tawigáay* f., pl. *táawig* and *tawīg* 'Floh, Mücke, Insekt' (Re) = *tauwak* f., pl. -a 'mosquito' (HuB) = *tauêk* 'Mücke' (Se)

Cu: (E) **tafk-* > Som *tagf-i* 'flea' (Ab); Arbore *táfke* id. (Hy); Or: Wellega *tafk-ii* id. (Gg), Guji *taf-f-i* (LVC), Borana *taf-f-ii* id. (Stroomer); Or > Gedeo *taf-f-e* id., Sidamo *tafo* 'flea' (SAE 550), besides Burji *tark-ée* 'flea', maybe better corresponding to Som *takar* 'gadfly, camelfly, horsefly' (Sasse 1982: 177; Hudson 1989: 65–66) || (S) Mbugu *twángé* 'gadfly' (Eh).

Lit.: Reinisch 1902: 364: Beja + Som and Or; Zaborski 1989: 581: Beja + ECu + Mbugu.

tiiye c. 'wild beast' (m.), 'snake' (f.) (Rp) = *tiyoo-t* 'un serpent' (Vh) = *tiiyoot* f. 'insect, beast, animal', def.sg. *tootiiyu*, def.pl. *teetiiyu* (Wd), cf. *taatiyaat* f. 'wild beast', def.sg. *tutaatiya*, def.pl. *titaatiya* (Wd) = *tíyo* f. 'das Wild, Wildtier, insbesondere die grossen gefährlichen ungetüme der Wüste und des Meeres' (Re) *te'tiyo*, pl. *te'tiyot* 'das wilde Tier' (Mu) = *tio* f. 'wild animal' (HuB)

Cu: (E) SOr: Orma *tuya* 'cat' (Stroomer 1987: 395; 2001: 70).

If the primary meaning was 'wild animal', it is possible to add the following comparanda:

Ch: (E) Jegu *tètīj* 'antelope' (Militarev apud SED II: 290–291, #225 adds CCh: Musgu *tai* 'cow' by JgIb 2: 93).

Se: Hb *təʔō* 'antelope', post-BiblHb 'wild ox'; Ti *tay*, pl. *tayatat* 'young of gazelle' (SED II: 290–291, #225).

ṭ'aaṭ'anaab m. nom.ag. 'flying animal', def.sg. *uṭ'aaṭ'ana* (Wd)

Derived from the verb *ṭ'aaṭ'aa* 'to fly about' (Wd).

wu'ága c. 'graugrüne Meerkatze; Cercopithecus griseo-viridis' (Re) = *wága* 'To-tachaffe' (Mu)

Apparently a *Wanderwort* attested in Ethio-Semitic, Bilin and Saho:

EtSe: Ti *wāśága* 'guenon' = 'Meerkatze'; 'Cercopithecus', Ty *wəṣag* 'Cercopithecus sabeus / griseoviridis' (LH 444);

Cu: (C) Bilin *wāṣaga* 'monkey' (Apleyard 2006: 100) = *wuṣaga* 'graugrüne Meerkatze; Cercopithecus griseo-viridis' (Re) || (E) Saho *waṣaagaa* id. (Re) = *waṣaggera* 'type of monkey: Cercopithecus' (Vergari), Afar *wàgaṣ(a)* 'ape, monkey' (PaHy); Or: Wellega *waangoo* 'fox' (Gg) = *wongo* 'wild cat', perhaps 'lynx' (Tutschek 1844: 154).

Ch: (W) Ron: Bokkos and Daffo-Butura *waṣāy*, Sha *waṣāy* 'Affe' (Jungraithmayr 1970: 388) = Daffo-Butura *waṅgāy* 'baboon', Monguna *waṅgay* id. vs. Bokkos *waṅg āy* 'monkey', Sha *waṅgāy*, Kirfa *waṅgāy*, Tambas *waṅga* id. (Blench: *Ron Comparative Wordlist*).

Lit.: Reinisch 1887: 352: Beja + EtSe + Bilin + Saho.

wilkayoo m. 'mosquito larvae (small moving things in water)' (HuB)

wandali f. 'water wagtail' = (g)*wondooli* c. id. (HuB)

wuuš c., pl. -a 'Gans' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 240) connected it with Ar *wuzzat* (Sg 1210: *wazzat* 'goose'). The substitution of Ar -zz- by Beja -š- is rather surprising.

wiyu, *wiu* f., pl. *wau* 'bee, honey-bee' (Rp) = *wīyu* c. 'Biene' (Re) = *wiūw* f., pl. *waw* 'bee' (HuB) = *wīyuut* id. (Tl) = [tī]waû id. (Th and Se) = *o'uyut*, pl. *te'au* id. (Mu)

?Ch: (W) Ron: Fyer-Tambas *'i-wan*, Daffo-Butura *woon* 'bee' (Jungraithmayr 1970: 388) = Daffo-Butura *won*, Bokkos *wan*, Fyer *í-wan* 'bee' (Blench: *Ron Comparative Wordlist*).

weeyu c. 'ibex' (HuB)—see *euu* c., pl. *éwa* 'ibex' (Rp)

yaa f. 'goat' (Rp) = *ya* f. 'flock' (HuB)—see *ay*, *äy*, *ey* 'Ziege' (Re)

yi, *yu* m. 'ox, bull; big burly man; curmudgeon' (Rp) = *yi* m. 'taureau' (Vh) = *yoo* m. 'bull, ox', def.sg. *ooyu*, def.pl. *eeyu* (Wd) = *yoo* m. 'Stier' (Re and Al) = *o'yo*, pl. *e'yo* id. (Mu) = *yew* c. 'bull, heifer', *yew koteb* 'bullock' (HuB) = *'iweeb* 'bull' (Tl)

Cu: (E) Yaaku *wáá(t)*, pl. *wáa* 'cow' (He).

Be: (S) West Tawllemmet pl. *iwân* 'boeufs, vaches' (Alojaly) < **iwhāhan*, probably a derivative of a verb of the type Ahaggar *iwi* 'naître' (Prasse 1974: 248, 413).

?Ch: (W) Ron: Monguna *ye* 'animal', Sha *ye* 'antelope (gener.)' (Blench, *Ron Comparative Wordlist*).

Mistaken is Reinisch (1893: 18, §30), connecting *yoo* with Qwara *kuwa*, Kafa *gaw* 'Stier' etc.

Note: Cf. also Beja *yúwe* f. 'Färse' (Re).

yuhaam c., pl. *yihām* ‘leopard’ (Rp) = *yihaam* m. ‘leopard, tiger’, def.sg. *ooyhaam*, def.pl. *iyhaama* (Wd) = *yhaam* ‘léopard’ (Vh) = *yīham*, pl. *yihami*, *iham* and *hiam* m. ‘leopard’ (HuB) = (y)*iháam* c., pl. *yihám* ‘Adler’ (Re) = *y(e)háam*, *iháam* c. ‘Adler’ (Al) = *ehaam* ‘Felis pardus’ (Heuglin) = [o]*ihá(m)* ‘Tiger’ (Km) = [ó]*heâm* ‘Panther’ (Se) = *wo e am* ‘Leopard’ (Salt)

(1) Starting from ‘leopard’ as a primary meaning, it is possible to connect it with Beja *hammi* f. ‘spot’, *hamaam* ‘spotted’ (Rp).

(2) Almkvist (1885: 30) mentioned a parallel in Ti *həmmän* ‘leopard’ (LH 7). If the Tigre word is borrowed from Beja, this solution is compatible with (1).

(3) Reinisch (1895: 242) connected (y)*iháam* ‘Adler’ with Copt Sah ⲁⲗⲱⲙ ‘aigle, vautour’ (Vycichl 1983: 22) and Eg *ḥmw* (D 18) ‘idole’ and (Gr) ‘faucon’ (Wb. I: 226). Vycichl (l.c.) reconstructed **ṣahhāmaw* and further via assimilation **iahhāmaw*, i.e. *nomen agentis* from an unattested verb **hm*, corresponding to Ar *ḥāma*, *yaḥūmu* ‘voler, voltiger tout autour, planer dans les airs en faisant des tours’.

(4) Let us mention the interesting bird names in the Modern South Arabian languages: Soqotri *niḥūmi* ‘aigle’, Mehri *nehūm* id., cf. Ar dial. (Hadr) *nehūm* ‘espèce de faucon dont les ailes sont grises et le ventre brun’ (Leslau 1938: 260).

yaag c., pl. *yǎg* ‘wild pig’ (Rp) = *yaak* c., pl. *yak* ‘Wildschwein; Phacochoerus aeliani’ (Re) = *yak* id. (Heuglin)

?Cu: Dahalo *jáágo*, pl. *jáágu* ‘cow’ (To) || (S) **yakwaa* ~ **hikwaa* ‘cattle’ > Iraqw *hikwaa*, Gorowa *yikwaa* ~ *hikwaa*, Alagwa *yaawáa*, Burunge *yakway* id. (KM 329); Qwadza *yagwa*, Asa *yaga* id. (Ehret 1980: 316).

yam-gwáa’ni m. ‘Ente’ (Re) = *yemgonni* m. ‘wilde Ente’ (Mu)

Reinisch (1895: 242) correctly explained it as ‘Wassertrinker’, cf. *yam* ‘Wasser’ and *gw’* ‘trinken’, nom. ag. *gw’ána* ‘Trinker’ (Re).

yaas m. / *yaast* f. ‘dog’, def.sg. *ooyaas* / *tooyaas*, def.pl. *eeyas* / *teeyas* (Wd) = *yaas* ‘dog’, pl. *yas* (Vh) = *yas* c. ‘dog’ (HuB, Tl) = *yá:s* id. (Hu) = *yaas* m., pl. *yās* ‘dog; core’ (Rp) = *yaas* c., pl. *yas* ‘Hund’, cf. *wóo-yaasi* ‘oor’ ‘junger Hund’ (Re) = *yaas* ‘Hund’ (Al) = *oyás* id. (Wt) = *o’yas* id. (Mu) = *oyas* id. (Bu) = *o hias* id. (Li) = *wayas* id. (Lucas) = *oyás* id. (Se) = *wo-yas* id. (Salt) = *ɔyaas* id. (Be)

Cu: (E) Gollango *oš-e* ‘Hyänenhund; Lycaon pictus somalicus’ (AMS); HECu **waša* ‘dog’ > Burji *wacc-o*, pl. *wašš-a*, Gedeo *walco*, *warša* (with liquids originating via dissimilation of the primary geminate), Had *waš-icco*, pl. *wuš-a*, Kamb *waš-iccu*, pl. *wuš-ata*, Sid *waš-icco*, pl. *wašš-a* (Hudson 1989: 52; cf. Sasse 1982: 187); there are suggestive areal parallels: the EtSe forms as Amh *wəšša* ‘dog’ and Gurage (Soddo) *wəssa* id. are probably of HECu origin (Leslau 1979: 667), while Nara (NS) *wos* (Re) = *wes* (Be) id. can be connected with Beja (Reinisch 1874: 158). Bender (2020: 31) adds still other areal comparanda in Tama and even Kordofanian.

Om: (N) Mao *wiši*, *uši* 'dog' (Fl), Seze *wiš(š)i*, Hozo *wiši* id. (Siebert and Wedekind).
Ch: (E) Bidiya *ʔùsù*, pl. *ʔùsúwè* 'chien' (Alio and Jg); maybe also Sokoro *óskeŋ* 'Hyäne' (A. Friedrich / Lk).

Be: (N) Tamazight *uska*, pl. *uskawen* (Cid Kaoui), Shilha of Tazerwalt *usk'āi*, pl. -*n* 'Windhund' (Stumme), Zayan *uska*, pl. *uskain* 'lévrier' (Lg), Iznacen, Uriaghel *uskay*, Senhaja *uṣṣay* 'chien *sloughi*, lévrier' (Rn), Kabyle *uṣṣay* 'lévrier' (Dallet); (S) Ahaggar *oska*, pl. *oskātān* 'lévrier' (Fc; Prasse 1974: 295 admits the reconstruction **wiskāh*); an origin of -*k*- remains unclear—maybe a compound consisting of **wis*- and **-kain* with the second component reinterpreted as the plural, cf. the Chadic parallels as Sokoro *óskeŋ* 'Hyäne' vs. Birgit *kājāŋ* 'dog', Fyer *kweēŋ* id. (JgIb 2: 106–107) and further Omotic forms as Ari *wúksak* 'fox, jackal' vs. Seze *wiši* 'dog' and Ari (?) *ákisi* 'dog', besides Shako *kī'ano*, Dizi *kianu*, Bench *k⁽ⁱ⁾yen*, Dime *kenno* etc. 'dog' (Be);

Se: Ar *ʔaws*, dim. *ʔuways* 'wolf' (Sg 94, 96).

Lit.: Cohen 1947: 505: Beja + Had and Amh + Be. Orel and Stolbova 1995: #2571: Beja + Had + Eg (NE) *iš* 'Art Hunde [neben Schakalen] die das Sonnenschiff ziehen' (Wb. I: 134; but Eg *š* is probably not compatible with Ar *s*) + 'Omoto', concretely Kachama, *wayše* 'dog', i.e. Italian 'cane', in reality 'canna' (CR), i.e. 'reed'!

Note: The Beja zoonym is compatible with its counterparts in *w*- starting from a primary form *wayas* in Beja, recorded, e.g., by Lucas. The loss of expected *wa*- probably reflects a reinterpretation caused by homonymy with the definite article.

yaweeb m. / *yawee* f. 'locust', def.sg. *uyaawi* / *tuyaawi*, def.pl. *iyawi* / *tīyawi* (Wd) = *yauwi* m., pl. *yowi* 'locust' (HuB) = *yaawe*[t] id. (Tl) = *yaawe* m. 'locust (generic)', f. 'locust' (Rp) = *yáawe* c. 'Heuschrecke' (Re) = *yáawe* id. (Al) = *yaue* id. (Mu) = *īiauiy* id. (Se)

?Cu: (E) Or: Wellega *awaanisa* 'locust' (Gg), Macha and Guji *awanisa* (LVC), Borana *awwaanisa* id. (Stroemer).

yew c. 'bull, heifer' (HuB)—see *yi*, *yu* 'ox, bull' (Rp) and *yúwe* 'Färse' (Re)

yúwe, acc. *yuwéet* f. 'Färse, Kalbin vom Stiere noch nicht besprungen' (Re) = *weeb* m. 'heifer, calf', def.sg. *oowi*, def.pl. *eewiya* (Wd) = Ammar'ar *tóo ywə* 'calf' (Do) = *yue* f. 'junge Kuh (die vom Stier noch nicht besprungen worden ist)' (Al) = *to'yue*, pl. *te'yue*, acc. *yuet* 'die junge Kuh' (Mu)

Eg **iŵ* 'Vieh' (Wb. I: 47) = 'newborn bubalis or hartebeest' (Gardiner 1988: 459: E9).

Lit.: EDE I: 79: Beja + Eg.

Probably connected with *yi* / *yu* 'ox, bull' (Rp) = *yoo* 'Stier' (Re and Al), cf. *yew* 'bull' and 'heifer' (HuB).

Survey of cognates in zoological terminology between Beja and other Cushitic branches

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>ab</i> ^{RP} kid, young goat	Or <i>abiyó</i> antelope orix, antelope cervo; Burji <i>ibáari</i> nanny goat, female goat which has given birth'; Yaaku <i>apur</i> sheep			
<i>íbaab</i> ^{RP} nit or young of louse	HECu <i>*ibibe</i> louse			
<i>'ihe</i> ^{RP} hopper locust	Som <i>ayyaḥ</i> locust Gollango, Harso, Do-base <i>ayy-akkó</i> id.			
<i>oka</i> ^{LUCAS} sheep	Arbore <i>?okk-ič/-ité</i> individual male / female of horned stock; Dobase <i>okk-itte</i> Schaf, das noch nicht geboren hat			Asa <i>?a?aku</i> sheep
<i>alli</i> , pl. <i>illi</i> ^{HUB} long-haired sheep	Afar <i>illi</i> sheep; Som <i>alen</i> ram; Burji <i>hil-ísso</i> female calf			
<i>'ane</i> ^{RP} ewe, pl. ewes, sheep	Afar <i>anaḥ-to</i> lamb (female); Dasanech <i>?áñ</i> cattle and the little livestock			
<i>u-angáloy</i> ^{BG} old camel, no longer joining the others <i>t-'angalóoy</i> herd	* <i>gaal</i> - camel			
<i>oreo</i> ^{MU} tamed animal (or by Vh <i>*oo-reew</i> ?)	* <i>?awr</i> - bull, male camel or elephant			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>er'e^{Rp}</i> eagle	Afar <i>ɣarre</i> sp. bird Som <i>ɣarre</i> doves Das <i>ɣariericu</i> sp. bird			
<i>árgin</i> , pl. <i>ar-gína^{Rp}</i> sheep not yet full-grown; <i>ergaane</i> lamb	* <i>ɣorg</i> - billy goat / male goat			
<i>arare^{Rp}</i> crane	Or: Borana (<i>h</i>) <i>araankeesa</i> crow, raven; Wellega <i>arragessa</i> crow			
<i>'aašī^{Vh}</i> fish (gen.)	Saho ^{Verg} <i>ɣaasa</i> id. ?Das <i>ɣašobódu</i> sp. fish	* <i>ɣas-a</i> (ɣ/h after EtSe?)		
<i>éuu</i> , pl. <i>éwa^{Rp}</i> ibex <i>eew^{Wd}</i> antelope				Iraqw, Alagwa, Burunge aw bull
<i>ay</i> , <i>äy</i> , <i>ey</i> , pl. <i>éeya^{Re}</i> goat	Rendille <i>iŷy</i> sheep Das <i>ɣáy</i> sheep and goats; Burji <i>ayádane</i> gazelle			?Qwadza <i>ɣaɣato</i> sheep
<i>b'ašī^{Rp}</i> fox, jackal	Som <i>bašo</i> cat Or: Maca <i>bašoo</i> cat	Khamtanga <i>bājwa</i> , Khamir <i>bece-wā</i> leopard		
<i>b'uut^{Rp}</i> wood-boring beetle		* <i>bətt</i> - louse		
<i>bāhaɛ</i> , <i>bāhaɛ^{Rp}</i> small gazelle called digdig	Yaaku <i>bahbah^{EH}</i> dikdik = <i>baxbax^{He}</i> small red species of dikdik			
<i>bok</i> , pl. <i>bāk^{Rp}</i> he-goat	Som <i>bakai</i> castrated cattle			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>baal</i> , pl. <i>ba</i> ^{Re} swan	* <i>baal</i> - feather, wing			
<i>bilekanáy</i> ^{Re} butterfly	* <i>billa</i> <i>s</i> - <i>t</i> - butterfly			
<i>bir'aat</i> ^{Wd} ter- mites	Som-Boni <i>aboor</i> ter- mites			* <i>baʔara</i> hon- ey bees, flies; * <i>baʔariya</i> honey bees
<i>bit</i> ^{Wd} hawk, eagle			<i>ḥi:ṭa</i> ^{Mad} peli- can = <i>ḥi:ṭá</i> ^{Eh} id.	
<i>buw</i> ~ <i>buu</i> ^{Re} falcon, sparrow hawk				Iraqw <i>buubuuti</i> eagle
<i>báyho</i> ^{Re} jackal, fox	Das <i>bây-c</i> , pl. <i>báy-à</i> jackal		<i>ḥwéha</i> ^{Mad} jackal	* <i>bahaa</i> hy- ena, pl. * <i>bahu</i>
<i>d'e</i> , acc. <i>d'ob</i> ^{Rp} worm	Saho ^{Re} <i>duduuqa</i> sp. worm; Or: Guji <i>dī- dīqo</i> ^{LVC} black ants			
<i>dabaab</i> cattle, flock, def.sg. <i>udaba</i> ^{Wd}	* <i>zib</i> - / * <i>zub</i> - calf		<i>dabi</i> animal, game	
<i>deba</i> ^{Mu} one- year cow <i>danbaliib</i> heifer, buck, def.sg. <i>udanbali</i> ^{Wd} ; cf. <i>dábali</i> , <i>dībili</i> small; young	Afar <i>dabeèla</i> buck goat, billy goat, Saho <i>dabéla</i> he-goat Bayso <i>dabaalo</i> heifer			
<i>dagīga</i> ^{Rp} small domestic ani- mals	* <i>deg</i> - small; cf. Burji <i>dagammáyoo</i> young of sheep or goat			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>domiagag</i> ^{Linant} fox	<i>dummu</i> cat	* <i>dVmmV</i> -(<i>ta</i>) cat		Iraqw, Alagwa, Burunge <i>du?uma</i> Asa <i>du?um-ok</i> Qwadza <i>du?umayi</i> leopard
<i>ḍa</i> ^{Rp} newly born calf	Som <i>ḍoow-ehee</i> cow in mid-pregnancy Tunni <i>ḍoow-at</i> Garro <i>ḍuw-aat</i> id.			
<i>ḍ(ə)'an</i> ^{Rp} gecko, house lizard	Som <i>ḍaṣaan</i> fluid, moisture, sap, pus; <i>ḍaṣaan mas</i> snake's secretion			
<i>ḍīna</i> ^{Rp} bee or wasp cf. <i>ḍiinaa</i> ^{Wd} to hums, buzz; fly	Afar <i>ḍuune</i> ants Das <i>dḍònninti</i> ^{Sa} mosquito = <i>dununni</i> ~ <i>donin-ni</i> ^{To} id.		<i>t'óónane</i> mosquito	
<i>filáy</i> ^{BG} she-camel just foaled	HECu * <i>filla?</i> - goat	* <i>fiyal</i> - goat < * <i>filay</i> -?		
<i>faloī</i> ^{HuB} mason wasp, humble bee <i>fallíus</i> , pl. <i>fallis-</i> ^{Rp} sandfly	Dirayta <i>fillét</i> flea Harso <i>filláyye</i> Gollango <i>filláye</i> id.	* <i>fVlV</i> - <i>ta</i> flea		
<i>fírrat</i> ^{BG} she-camel just foaled	Som <i>farow</i> zebra Arbore <i>faraw</i> horse Das <i>far-ic</i> , pl. <i>fár-a</i> horse			
<i>g(ə)'am</i> ^{Rp} tick	Elmolo <i>gímate</i> , pl. <i>gímai</i> tick			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>galáab</i> , pl. <i>galáb</i> ^{Re} striped hyena / Hyae-na striata (or < Ar <i>qilāb</i> wolf?)	Afar <i>gə̀lwa</i> , fox Som <i>golli</i> sp. jackal Gollango <i>kaʃʃálho</i> sp. fox			
<i>gulgul</i> ^{HuB} lizard	Som <i>golgoley</i> dance of crocodiles; Tsamay <i>gula</i> sp. lizard			
<i>guláah</i> , pl. <i>gúlha</i> ^{Re} female of red hartebeest / Alcelaphus buselaphus	Som <i>golʃas</i> sp. dikdik			
<i>gánay</i> , pl. <i>gánay</i> ^{Rp} gazelle	Das <i>ginti</i> , pl. <i>gíní</i> ^{To} gazelle (gen.); impala / Aepycero melampus			
<i>uu-gáari</i> ^{BG} 2–4 years old camel; cf. <i>girigéeri</i> ^{BG} she-camel over two months in foal	Som <i>geri</i> , Boni <i>kíri</i> , Rend <i>géri</i> giraffe; ?Das <i>garic</i> , pl. <i>gárra</i> buffalo		(<i>kíri</i> < Boni <i>kíri</i> giraffe)	
<i>gáruwa</i> ^{Re} male red hartebeest / Alcelaphus buselaphus	Arbore <i>goran</i> heifer ?Das <i>garic</i> , pl. <i>gárra</i> buffalo			?* <i>gwareʃáy</i> sp. gazelle
<i>hi</i> ^{Rp} , acc. <i>hob</i> m., <i>hot</i> f. newly-born young of sheep, camel, horse				* <i>haaʔiya</i> young animal

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>halkwi</i> ^{RP} foal of donkey	Afar pl. <i>okaale</i> / <i>okoli</i> / <i>okoolla</i> donkeys, Saho <i>okólo</i> id.; Rend sg. <i>éhel</i> id. Arbore <i>?ohól</i> donkey, zebra, Elmolo <i>óhol</i> id., Das <i>ǵúol</i> , pl. <i>?ólu</i> donkey; Tsamay <i>?uu?ulku</i> id.		<i>hokoloṭi</i> , <i>'okoloṭi</i> ^{Nurse} donkey	
<i>héley</i> ^{RP} hare <i>heelay</i> ^{WD} rabbit	pBoni <i>*hileesə</i> hare Arbore <i>helleč</i> rabbit Elmolo <i>hélec</i> hare Das <i>ḥīli</i> rabbit; Or: Wellega <i>hilleentii</i> ~ <i>hilleettii</i> rabbit, Borana (<i>h</i>) <i>illeensa</i> hare, rabbit; Sid <i>hill-eessa</i> , pl. <i>hillee</i> hare			
<i>hang'ane</i> ^{RP} ant <i>aṅgano</i> / <i>e</i> ^{Re} sp. ant	Das ^{To} <i>guoni</i> black ant	Awngi ^{Ht} <i>əŋí</i> ant		
<i>hare</i> ^{RP} camel	<i>*har(r)-</i> donkey		<i>ḥelleṣa</i> ^{To} zebra	
<i>haari</i> ^{HuB} weevil				<i>*ḥaraḥará</i> white ants, termites
<i>hiw</i> ^{Re} camel foal	Arbore <i>háww</i> steer Elmolo <i>héu</i> to mark ears of livestock			Iraqw <i>hay-wa?</i> Gorowa <i>hay-waa</i> children; Asa <i>hawa</i> ; Qwadza <i>yawa</i> children
<i>jááajo</i> ^{Re} mosquito	Or: Wellega <i>sonsa</i> wasp, Borana <i>sonsa</i> wasp, hornet	<i>*cənc-a</i> fly		

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>kəḍḍa</i> ^{HuB} locust	Som <i>kudkude</i> tick Das <i>kiiḍin</i> fly			
<i>kafa</i> ^{Rp} wild cat <i>kaffa</i> ^{HuB} lynx, wild cat	* <i>kebf</i> - leopard * <i>kebeel</i> - id.	Kunfāl <i>kävisa</i> jackal		
<i>kilaay</i> ^{Wh + Wd} bird cf. <i>kil</i> ^{Re} to fly	* <i>kool</i> - feather, wing		<i>kool</i> - to fly	
<i>kurfifano</i> ^{HuB} lizard				Iraqw-Goro- wa <i>ʕurfi</i> sp. lizard
<i>anḍaḍ karra</i> ^{HuB} hunting dog, where <i>anḍaḍ</i> = hobble	* <i>ker</i> - dog			
<i>karaay</i> ^{Wd} hyena	Or: Macha, Guji <i>qeer-ansa</i> , Borana <i>qeeramsa</i> leopard	Awngi ^{CR} <i>kuerdidā</i> leopard		
<i>kaw</i> ^{Wd} guinea fowl / Perdrix Erkelii		Bilin <i>koya</i> guinea fowl Kemant <i>kawyā</i> Frankolinus Erkelii		
<i>kwakwar</i> ^{Wd} snake	Afar pl. <i>aaruur</i> , Saho pl. <i>aroor</i> snakes Arbore <i>ḳorḳessá</i> python			
<i>kwiire</i> ^{Rp} ostrich = <i>quire</i> or <i>gure</i> [b] Heuglin	Afar <i>goroyya</i> ostrich, pl. <i>gōroy</i> , Saho <i>gooriya</i> id.; Som <i>goray</i> male ostrich, Boni <i>korii</i> , <i>koree</i> id.			Qwadza <i>gun-gulumayo</i> ostrich

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>laga</i> ^{Rp} calf	Afar <i>lagàddu</i> male lamb, <i>lagaddo</i> ewe lamb; Som <i>liig</i> male of Waller's antelope			* <i>legaʔa</i> goat
<i>lehaa</i> , <i>lḥaa</i> ^{Rp} hermit-crab	Afar <i>liiḥo</i> claws of the <i>ḥerka</i> -crab			
<i>lalée</i> ^{Re} falcon / <i>Milvus parasiticus</i>		Bilin <i>lilo</i> falcon, ? <i>Milvus regalis</i> / <i>parasiticus</i>		
<i>lalúnkwī</i> ^{Rp} monkey, ape				Burunge <i>longay</i> Colobus guereza
<i>lema</i> ^{Rp} crocodile	Saho <i>ilmaa</i> crocodile, Afar <i>ulum</i> ^{Re} hippopotamus	Bilin <i>alma</i> Boa constrictor		
<i>lengig</i> ^{Mu} leopard	Or: Guji <i>neenqa</i> vs. Wellega <i>leença</i> , Macha <i>lenca</i> , Borana <i>lencha</i> , <i>nyencha</i> lion Konso <i>léénj-aa</i> lion; strong and clever	Khamta ^{CR} <i>läguā</i> leopard		Alagwa ^{F1} <i>longaʔi</i> civet cat
<i>meek</i> , pl. <i>māk</i> ^{Rp} donkey cf. Gz <i>makebəʔ</i> mule?	Or: Borana, Orma, Waata <i>moçoo</i> male donkey < * <i>moqcooʔ</i>			?* <i>makaa</i> , pl. * <i>makay</i> beast, wild animal
<i>malamfida</i> ^{Re} aardvark / <i>Orycteropus afer</i>	Or: Wellega <i>miṭti</i> ant Borana <i>miṭa</i> red, large ants ?Som <i>miṭ</i> ^{Re} little worms in puddle		<i>muṭa</i> small ant	
<i>milayke</i> ^{Rp} owl	Afar <i>milliko</i> bird of prey (?osprey) / Pandion halinitus			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>máni</i> ^{Rp} wild dog <i>meno</i> ^{Mu} Hyänenhund				* <i>maanaa</i> dead person transformed into a hyena
<i>maseek</i> ^{HuB} snake (~ <i>gomaseek</i>)	Som <i>mas</i> snake HECu * <i>hamasa</i> id.			
<i>móoyta</i> ^{Re} sp. eagle	Som <i>mooy</i> Kori bus- tard / <i>Ardeotis kori</i> ; HECu * <i>mooy-ca</i> beast of prey			
<i>n(ə)'a</i> ram, male sheep and <i>n(ə)'ay</i> ^{Rp} goat	Boni <i>nûi</i> greater kudu	* <i>näw-</i> calf		
<i>raa</i> ^{Rp} ariel gazelle and <i>rahi</i> ariel fawn = <i>ra</i> + <i>hi</i> newly-born young of sheep, camel, horse	* <i>ri?</i> - goat		<i>hééri</i> goat (cf. Beja <i>rahi</i> ariel fawn)	
<i>ragáne</i> ^{Rp} goat not yet fall- grown	Saho <i>rúga</i> , pl. <i>rugaage</i> calf			
<i>s'e</i> , <i>sə'i</i> ^{Rp} tick	Tsamay <i>sa?e</i> small flea which is not in the rural area			?Mbugu <i>swa'</i> tick on animal
<i>seeb</i> ^{HuB} camel about five years old <i>oseib</i> ^{Clark} 3 years old camel	Afar <i>seben</i> fully grown ewe which has not yet given birth			
<i>sali</i> ^{Rp} python	Som <i>sil</i> , <i>silo</i> python			
<i>saaranaat</i> ^{Wd} insect	Som <i>sonsur</i> cricket			* <i>siriinsoroḥu</i> big black ants

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>seráay</i> ^{Re} parrot	Som <i>sarra</i> black-faced sandgrouse / Eremitalector decoratus; Elmolo <i>sérrán-te</i> , pl. <i>sérran</i> flamingo			* <i>siroohiya</i> , coll. * <i>sirooha</i> small bird
<i>sosari</i> ^{Rp} cattle	Afar <i>soosa</i> young bull-camels			
š'a f. heifer', m. cow	*šaš- cow			
šulúul ^{Re} hyena	Bayso <i>sulaale</i> ^{Hy} wild animal			Gorowa <i>sorari</i> ^{Fl} caracal
<i>tabtab</i> ^{Wd} lizard <i>dábdab</i> and <i>tábtāb</i> ^{Re} lizard, salamander				Asa <i>tapaʔak</i> chameleon
<i>tiifa</i> ^{Rp} fly	HECu * <i>tawiya</i> fly			
<i>ták</i> ^{wla} ^{Re} sp. wolf; Lycaon pictus	Saho <i>tokla</i> type of wolf (Vergari) Harso <i>tolokkó</i> serval / Felis serval	Bilin <i>tax</i> ^{wla} jackal, Qwara <i>tax</i> ^{wəla} wolf, Kemant <i>täk</i> ^{wla} , Khamta <i>takulā</i> ; Awngi <i>takueli</i> Kunfāl <i>tuhula</i> id.		* <i>takwerimo</i> , pl. * <i>takweru</i> fox, jackal, wild dog cf. Sandawe <i>tekele</i> hyena, aard-wolf
<i>taat</i> , pl. <i>tāt</i> ^{Rp} louse	Das ʔiðid-dī louse ʔYaaku <i>intōni</i> , pl. <i>intō</i> caterpillar	Awgi <i>yíntí</i> louse, Kunfāl <i>yenti</i> id.	ʔitta coll. louse	*ʔita- louse / lice Asa ʔita id.
<i>ta(u)wəg</i> ^{Rp} mosquitoes <i>tauwak</i> ^{Hub} mosquito	* <i>tafk</i> - flea, fly			ʔMbugu <i>twángé</i> gadfly

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>tiiye</i> ^{RP} wild beast (m.), snake (f.) = <i>tiiyoot</i> ^{Wd} insect, beast, animal	SOr: Orma <i>tuya</i> cat			
<i>wu'ága</i> ^{RP} sp. monkey: Cercopithecus cf. Ti <i>wäſäga</i> Cercopithecus, Ty <i>wəſag</i> id.	<i>waſaggera</i> ^{Vergari} sp. monkey: Cercopithecus Afar <i>wàgaſ(a)</i> ape, monkey; Or: Wellega <i>waango</i> ^{Gg} fox = <i>won-go</i> ^{Tu} wild cat	Bilin <i>wäſaga</i> ^{Ap} monkey = <i>wuſaga</i> ^{Re} Cercopithecus griseo-viridis		
<i>yi, yu</i> ^{RP} ox, bull; <i>'iweeb</i> ^{Ti} bull <i>yúwe</i> ^{Re} heifer	Yaaku <i>wáá(t)</i> , pl. <i>wáa'</i> cow			
<i>yaag</i> , pl. <i>yǎg</i> ^{RP} wild pig = <i>yaak</i> , pl. <i>yak</i> ^{Re}			<i>jáágo</i> , pl. <i>jáágu</i> cow	* <i>yakwaa</i> ~ * <i>hikwaa</i> cattle; Qwadza <i>yagwa</i> , Asa <i>yaga</i> id.
<i>yaas</i> , pl. <i>yǎs</i> ^{RP} dog <i>wayas</i> ^{Lucas} id.	Gollango <i>oše</i> African painted dog / <i>Lycaon pictus somalicus</i> ; HECu * <i>waša</i> dog			
<i>yaawe</i> ^{RP} m. locust (gen.), f. locust	Or: Wellega <i>awaanisa</i> locust, Maca and Guji <i>awanisa</i> ^{LVC} , Borana <i>awwaanisa</i> ^{Stroemer} id.			
Σ 94	Σ 79	Σ 18	Σ 11	Σ 24–26

Acknowledgements

The list of all linguists who were supportive of the preparation of 'Etymological Dictionary of Beja' would be very long. The following names represent only a limited choice of the most influential ones (in alphabetic order): David Appleyard, Giorgio Banti, Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst, M. Lionel Bender, John Bengtson, Roger Blench, Aaron Dolgopolsky, Chris Ehret, Harold Fleming, Richard Hayward, Bernd Heine, Carlton T. Hodge, Dymitr Ibriszimow, Herrmann Jungraithmayr, Roland Kiessling, Leonid Kogan, Maarten Kossmann, Marcello Lamberti, Wolf Leslau, Alexander Militarev, Maarten Mous, Hans Mukarovsky, Paul Newman, Hans-Jürgen Sasse, Helmut Satzinger, Olga Stolbova, Harry Stroomer, Gábor Takács, Robin Thelwall, Mauro Tosco, Henry Tourneux, Martine Vanhove, Werner Vycichl, Klaus Wedekind, Andrzej Zaborski, and Petr Zemánek. Naturally, the fundamental support is connected with the Humboldt Foundation, thanks to it I could cooperate with most of these scholars.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Abbreviations of languages, dialects and language groups

AA	Afroasiatic	Eg	Egyptian (see BD Dem Gr Med MK NK OK Pyr)
Akk	Akkadian	EpSAr	Epigraphic South Arabian
Am	Amar'ar	Et	Ethiopic
Amh	Amhara	Gr	Greek and Roman period (Egyptian)
Ar	Arabic	Gz	Geez
Aram	Aramaic	H	Highland
BA	Beni Amer	Had	Hadiyya
BD	Book of the Dead (Egyptian)	Hdd	Hadandiwa
Be	Berber	Hb	Hebrew
Bi	Bisharin	IE	Indo-European
Bib	Biblical	Kamb	Kambatta
Boh	Bohairic	L	Lowland
C	Central	Med	Medical Texts (Egyptian)
Ch	Chadic	MK	Middle Kingdom (Egyptian)
Copt	Coptic (see Boh Sah)	N	North
Cu	Cushitic	NK	New Kingdom (Egyptian)
Dem	Demotic (Egyptian)	Nub	Nubian
E	East		

OK	Old Kingdom (Egyptian)	Sid	Sidamo
Om	Omotic	Som	Somali
Or	Oromo	Sud	Sudan
p	proto-	Syr	Syrian
Pyr	Pyramid Texts (Egyptian)	Ti	Tigre
Rend	Rendille	Tsam	Tsamay or Tsammakko
S	South	Ty	Tigrinya
Sah	Sahidic	Ug	Ugaritic
Se	Semitic	W	West

Abbreviations of authors

Ab	Abraham	HG	Grover Hudson
Ae	Abebe	Hs	Hess
Al	Almkvist	Ht	Hetzron
AMS	Amborn, Minker, and Sasse	HuB	Hudson's Beja field notes rewritten by Blench
Ap	Appleyard	Hy	Hayward
Ba	Barth	Ib	Ibrizimow
Be	Bender	Jg	Jungraithmayr
BG	Bechhaus-Gerst	Jglb	Jungraithmayr and Ibrizimow 1994
Bk	Beke	Jh	Johnstone
Bl	Black	Kc	Krockow
Bs	Bliese	Ki	Kiessling
Bu	Burckhardt	Km	Kremer
Ce	Cerulli	KM	Kiessling and Mous
Ci	Cifoletti	La	Laoust
Cp	Caprile	Lb	Lamberti
CR	Conti Rossini	Lf	Lanfry
Cw	Cowley	Lg	Lafarge
Do	Dolgopolsky	LH	Littmann and Höfner
Ds	Doornbos	Lk	Lukas
DSI	Agostini, Puglielli, and Siyaad	Lo	Loubignac
Eb	Ebert	Lp	Lepsius
EG	Erman and Grapow	Lr	Larajasse
Eh	Ehret	Ls	Leslau
El	Elderkin	LVC	Leus, Van de Loo, and Cotter
Fc	Foucauld	Mc	Mouchet
Fl	Fleming	Me	Meinhof
Fr	Freytag	Mo	Moreno
GD	Gaudefroy-Demombynes	Mq	Masqueray
Gg	Gragg	Mr	Morin
GP	Galboran and Pillinger	Ms	Mous
Gr	Greenberg	Mt	Morton
Gt	Grottanelli	Mu	Munzinger
Hb	Haberland	Ng	Nachtigal
He	Heine	Nk	Nakano
Hf	Hoffmann		

Nw	Newman	Tl	Thelwall
On	Ongaye Oda	Tn	Thiene
Pa	Parker	To	Tosco
Pl	Palmer	Tu	Tutschek
RB	René Basset	Tx	Tourneux
Re	Reinisch	Ve	Venturino
Rn	Renisio	Vh	Vanhove
Rp	Roper	Vi	Viterbo
Sa	Sasse	Wb.	Erman and Grapow
Sb	Seignobos	Wd	Wedekind (K. Wedekind, Ch. Wedekind, and Abuzeinab Musa)
Se	Seetzen	We	Welmers
Sg	Steingass	WPS	Hannig and Vomberg
Sk	Skinner	Wr	Wehr
St	Strumpell	Wt	Watson
Star	Starkey	ZL	Zealelem Leyew
Th	Thompson		

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