

Václav Blažek 

Masaryk University in Brno, Czech Republic | blazek@phil.muni.cz

## Beja Kinship and Social Terminology

**Abstract** The contribution concentrates on the kinship terminology in Beja, the only representative of the North Cushitic branch of Afroasiatic languages. The first aim is a summarisation of all relevant lexical data including all dialects and from all available authors which recorded them. The second aim is the internal analysis of the studied lexemes from the point of view of word-formation. The third aim focuses on the etymological analysis, discussing their origin in both perspectives, areal and genealogical. The latter perspective concerns the cognates identified in Cushitic languages and more widely in other Afroasiatic branches.

**Keywords** Afroasiatic, Cushitic, Beja, cognate, borrowing, kinship terminology

The kinship terminology in Beja was analyzed by Morton (1988) from the point of view of ethnography. The main purpose of the present comparative-etymological study, which forms a fragment of a prepared project of *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja*, is to collect all available lexical data covering the semantic field of the kinship and social terminology in Beja, and in those cases when it is possible, to add the internal etymology or external parallels from related Cushitic and other Afroasiatic languages, or to determine probable sources of borrowings.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The phonetic correspondences among Cushitic languages are described in Blažek (1997: 172–173; 2007: 125–156), among Afroasiatic branches in Blažek (1999: 231–232); cf. also a detailed discussion in Takács (1999).



### Comparative-etymological word-list

**adaaba** c. ‘widow/er’ (HuB) = **’ádaba** f. ‘Witwe’ (Re) = **ádaba** f. id. (Al)  
Borrowed from Ar **ʕazabat** ‘unmarried person, bachelor, spinster’ (Sg 692).

**Aadim** ‘Adam’ (HuB) = **bani ʔa:dam** ‘humain’ (Vh) = **Adám** m. ‘Adam’, **ad-amée** ‘zum Stamme Adam’s gehörige, Mensch, Person’ (Re) = **ádami**, **ádame** m. ‘Mensch, Person’ (Al) = **admi[b]** ‘Kinder Adams’ (Mu)  
Borrowed from Ar **ʔādam** ‘Adam’, **ʔadamiyy** ‘man, human’ (Sg 23), maybe via Ti **ʔāddam** ‘men, people’ (LH 384) = Ti of Beni Amer **ʔadda:m** ‘person’ (Nk).

**adaani** c. ‘human being’, cf. **adaniib** ‘young, not full grown’ (HuB)  
Perhaps a wrongly recorded or modified lw. from Ar **ʔadamiyy** ‘man, human’ (Sg 23).

**ad’uraab** and **d’uuraab** adj.part. m., **ad’uraat** f. ‘married’ (Wd)  
From the verb **di’ir** v. 1 ‘to marry, give in marriage’ (HuB), which is perhaps borrowed from Ar **zaʕara** ‘to lie with’ (Sg 456).

**adar’oor** m. ‘baby, newborn’, def.sg. **w’adar’oor**, def.p. **y’adar’ar** (Wd) = **adaar’or** ‘child’ (Tl) = **adar or** c., pl. **adar ar** ‘baby’ (HuB)  
Consisting of **adar** ‘fair, pale, light red’ (Rp) = **adara** ‘to be red’ (Wd) = **adar[ab]** ‘red’ (Tl) and **’oor** ‘child’ (Rp). R. Hudson mentions that children are born red and gradually become darker.

**’ihé** f., def. **tə’ihé** ‘grandmother, old woman’ (Rp) = **ahoot** f. ‘grandmother’, def. sg. **tu’ahu**, def.pl. **ti’ahu** (Wd)  
Cu: (E) Somali **hooyo** ‘Mutter’ connected with **hooy** ‘home, shelter’ by Reinisch (1902: 213); ?Dullay: Harso **axke** ‘Hausgemeinschaft’, Gollango **ahk-é** (AMS 147, 149, 193), Gawwada **ahk-e** ‘(nuclear) family’ (Tosco 2022: 18).  
Be: (S) Awlemidden **éha** in **messíss-n-éha** ‘Familienmutter’, cf. **máss** ‘Onkel väterlicher Seite’ (Barth).

**ahoobaab** m. ‘grandfather’, def.sg. **w’ahooba**, def.pl. **y’ahooba** (Wd)  
Cf. **ahoot** f. ‘grandmother’, def.sg. **tu’ahu**, def.pl. **ti’ahu** (Wd).

**ummaat** f. ‘people’, def.sg. **t’umma** (Wd) = **umma** 1. ‘Volk, Leute, Menschen’; 2. ‘Welt, Erde’ (Re) = **úmma** ‘Sammlung (von Menschen)’ (Al) = **ummat** ‘Menschen’ (Mu)  
Borrowed from Ar **ʔummat** ‘nation, tribe, family’ (Sg 75; cf. Almkvist 1885: 67).

**amna** c. ‘guest’ (HuB) = **amnaab** m. ‘guest’, def.sg. **w’amna**, def.pl. **y’amna** (Wd) = **amna** c., usually m. ‘guest’ (Rp) = **amna** m. ‘Gast’ (Re) = **ámna** m. id. (Al) = **o’amna**, pl. **ye’amne** id. (Mu) = [wu]ámna id. (Se)

Reinisch (1895: 18) connected it with CCu \*ʔäbən- (Appleyard 2006: 78) > Bilin ʔäbən, Khamtanga **abən**, Khamir **abin**, Qwara **abən** ‘Gast’ (Re), Khamta **avän**, Kemant **avən** id. (CR) and Awiya **avən**- ‘portare notizie di fuori’, **avni** ‘informazione’ (CR); ECu: Afar **abin** id. (Re) = **abeena** (Lb) = **ʕibina** ‘guest’ (PaHy) (< CCu) and NOM: Shinasha **ibbà** ‘Fremder, Gast’ (Lb), Kafa **ibbo** ‘guest, stranger’ (Habte Mikael); cf. further Mocha **iibbo** id. (Lb); Zayse **imma-çç**, Dache-Gamu **ima-cce**, Wolayta **ima-tta** id. (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 288).

**amna** f. ‘lying in woman’ (HuB) = **amanaat** f. ‘young mother’, def.sg. **tu’amana**, def.pl. **ti’amana** (Wd) = **amna** f. ‘woman in child-bed’ (Rp) = **amna** f. ‘Kindbetterin, Wöchnerin; Amme’ (Re) = **ámna** f. ‘Kindbetterin’ (Al) = **amnat** id. (Mu) Eg (Pyr) **mnɿ.t** ‘Amme’, cf. (D 18) **mnɿ** ‘säugen’ (Wb. II: 77–78), Copt Sahidic **MOONE** ‘nourrice’ < \***ma3na.t** < \***manʕa.t** (Vycichl 1983: 115) or \***māniʕat** (Vergote 1965: 60).

Lit.: Zyhlarz 1933: 168; Beja + Eg.

**amorama** m. ‘companion’ (HuB); cf. **amoorama** v. ‘to go with’ (Wd)

Derived from **ram** v.1 ‘to accompany’ (HuB) = ‘to accompany, obey, agree with’ (Rp); cf. **ramaam** m. ‘company’, def.sg. **uramaam** (Wd).

**aanda** nom., **enda** acc. ‘men’ (Rp) = **endooa** m. ‘(own) people; village’ (HuB) = **enda** m. pl. ‘Männer, Leute, Volk’ (Re)—see **da** ‘men’ (Rp)

Cf. the compound **rabandiit** f. ‘manhood’, def.sg. **turabandi**, def.pl. **tirabandi** (Wd), where the first component corresponds to the adj. **rabaab** m., **rabaat** f. ‘male; big’ (Wd).

**enda** f. ‘mother’, with art. **too nde**, with poss. **deeroon** ‘our mother’ (HuB) = **deet** f. ‘mother’, def.sg. **toondi**, def.pl. **teendi** (Wd) = **enda** and **énde** f., with art. **túu-nde**, shortened **déetuu** ‘Mutter’ (Re) = **enda** f. id., with art. **túunda**, pl. **táanda**, cf. **éndeeta** ‘meine Mutter’ (Al) = **endé[t]** ‘Mutter’, cf. **enda[d]** ‘weibliche Kalb’ (Mu) = **ntéto(k)** ‘(deine) Mutter’ (Km) = **tonde** ‘mother’ (Bu) = **to édah** ‘mère’ (Li), besides **de** f., with art. **túunde**, pl. **táande** ‘mother’ (Rp) = **dë:-t** ‘mère’, pl. **dê:-t**, def. **tó:-ndi** (Vh) = **de** f., with art. **teende**, acc. **deet** id. (HuB) = **deet** id. (Mt) = **daatoo** id. (Lucas) = **detôn** ‘(our) mother’ (Se)

Cu: (C) Bilin **adee** ‘o Mutter’ (Reinisch 1887, 11 derived it from \***ada** + í ‘Mutter + meine’) || (E) Som **hiindo** ‘mother’ (Luling), ‘mamma’ (DSI), maybe contracted from \***hooy-indo**, cf. **hooyo** ‘Mutter’ connected with **hooy** ‘home, shelter’ by Reinisch (1902: 213); ?Or: Maca, Borana **haađa** ‘mother’ (LVC), Konso **hantoota** ‘Ehefrau des Bruders’ (Lb) and / or Som **eeddo** ‘Schwester des Vaters’ (Lb); Or

Wellega **adaadaa** ‘aunt’ (Gg); Kamb **ada(ta)** ‘aunt, maternal’, Had **ada** id., Sid **ada, adaada** id. (HG) || (S) \***daaʔawi** > Iraqw **daaʔawi** ‘relation through mother’, Alagwa **daawaʔi** ‘family’ (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 79).

Om (N) Kafa **inde** ‘mother’ (Habte Mikael), Mocha **ʔinde** id. (Ls), Shinasha **índò**, Anfillo **indi**; Yemsa **into**; Kachama **endo**, Koyra, Zayse, Dache, Malo **indo** (Lb), Basketo **inde** (Ce) id. || (S) Ari **indi** id. (Lamberti 1993a, 267);

Se: There are tempting parallels in modern Ethio-Semitic languages: Ty **ʔadde** ‘mother’; Harari **i(n)dōč**, Gurage: Chaha, Muher **adot**, Gyeto **adōt**, Ennemor, Endegeñ **adōd**, Selti, Wolane **əndät** ‘mother’ and Chaha **adi**, Ennemor, Gyeto **ādi**, Gogot, Wolane **adde**, Selti **ādde**, Endegeñ **adōdi**, Chaha, Ennemor **da**, Endegeñ, Gyeto, Selti **dā** etc. ‘mother!’ (Leslau 1979: 18).

There are at least three etymological approaches:

(1) Leslau (l.c.) speculates about an *enigmatic* connection to Se (Canaanean) \***ʔadān-at** ‘lady’ (Aistleitner 1965: 8; Cohen 1970f: 8).

(2) The shortened variant (Beja, Gurage) is compatible with Ar **dāya**, pl. **-āt** ‘Amme, Hebamme’ (Wr) and Or: Macha **daaye** (LVC), Wellega **daʔee** ‘mother’ (Gg). But the kinship terms of this type are probably *Lallwörter*.

(3) There are interesting NS parallels indicating a possibility of substratal origin: Barea **addaa** ‘Mutter’ (Re) || Nub: Kenzi-Dongola **indí** ‘my mother’ (Murray 1923: 74).

**endi** or ‘man of position, noble birth’ (HuB) = **enjóor**, pl. **enjär** ‘Adelige’ (Re) = **indjoru** ‘frei, edel’ (Mu)

Reinisch (1895: 21) correctly derived it from \***end-i ʔoor** ‘Menschensohn’.

**enday** c. ‘orphan’—see **naday** id. (HuB) = **nadaay** m. id. (Wd)

**insi** ‘Mensch’ (Re)

Borrowed from Ar **ʔinsiy** ‘man’ (Sg 85).

**ʔaar** m. ‘female relatives not including wife’ (?hidden thing; cf. **aar** ‘hiding’, e.g. ‘treasure’ – see Wd), **uu ʔáari** ‘my women-folk’ (Rp)

Cu: (C) **ʔBilin ranj** ‘husband’ (Appleyard 2006: 86), if it is derivable from \***ʔVram-** (CCu \***ʔ** < Cu \***m** is regular: cf. CCu \***lāja**/**\*laja** ‘2’ vs. ECu \***lamma** id. etc. – see Appleyard 2006: 141); Awngi **yără** ‘her husband’ (Ht) < **yi-** and \***ara** || (E) Som **oori** ‘wife’ (Luling), **ʔRend oboórri** ‘married women, wives’ (PG), Bayso **oori** ‘wife’ (Hy); further Som **ar-ad** ‘married woman’ (Luling; Haberland and Lamberti 1988: 71 also adds **aroos-** ‘to get married’, but it is borrowed from Ar **√s-r-s** ‘to bring the bride home’, **ʔarūs** ‘bridegroom’; cf. Reinisch 1902: 40), **ʔRend eéra** ‘father’s brother’ (PG) or **áram** ‘husband’, **arám** ‘wife’ (PG); HECu \***ar-e** ‘wife’ > Gedeo, Had, Sid **are**, Kamb **ari-ta** vs. \***aroʔo** ‘husband’ > Gedeo, Had **aroʔo**, Kamb, Sid **aroo** (Hudson 1989: 168);

Om: (N) Anfillo **aroo** 'marito' (Ce; Haberland and Lamberti 1988: 71 also quote non-existing 'Kafa' **aroo** vs. **aree** 'husband' vs. 'wife'; it has to be Sidamo, see Cerulli 1951: 403);

?Eg (OK) **iry** 'der Zugehörige, Genosse' (Wb. I: 105), Copt **np** 'compagnon, ami' (Vycichl 1983: 53–54);

?Se: Ug **ary** 'Anverwandter, Sippenmitglied, kinsman' (Aistleitner 1965: 35; Gordon 1965: 366; Segert 1984: 180) = 'fellow, friend, kin' (DUL 108), Ar **ʔarā** 'an derselben Krippe stehen'; Aistleitner l.c. adds the element **ari**, **iri** forming some Old Mesopotamian personal names of West Semitic origin.

Lit.: Ward, *JNES* 20[1961], 32: Eg + Ug (following Albright, 1932).

'oor, pl. 'ār c. 'child', m. 'boy, son', f. 'girl, daughter', pl. 'ārit (Rp) = oor m. 'boy', def.sg. w'oor, def.pl. y'ar; oot f. 'girl, daughter', def.sg. tu'oor, t'oot, def. pl. ti'arit (Wd) = ʔo:r, def. w-ʔo:r, pl. ʔar 'enfant, garçon', ʔo:t, def. t-ʔo:r 'fille', pl. ʔar-it; ʔo:r ʔo:r and ʔo:t ʔo:r 'petit-fils', i.e. 'fils du fils' and 'fils de la fille', ʔo:r-i-t ʔor and ʔo:t-i t ʔo:r 'petite-fille', i.e. 'fille du fils' and 'fille de la fille' (Vh) = 'oor, pl. 'ar, 'ār m. 'Knabe, Sohn', f. 'Mädchen, Tochter', acc. 'oot (Re) = 'oor 'son', 'oot 'daughter, girl' (Mt) = or c., pl. aar 'child, boy', acc. f. ot 'girl' (HuB) = u-'oor 'le garçon' (Va) = 'ōr 'son' (Mr) = or 'son, boy', o(o)t 'daughter, girl' (Tl) = oor, pl. ār 'Kind', úu oor 'Knabe, Sohn', túu oor and tóo oor 'Mädchen, Tochter' (Al) = o'or, pl. ye'er 'Knabe', te'or, pl. t'or 'Mädchen' (Mu) = [te]ohr 'Kind (Knabe)' (Kc) = wūr 'Kind, Knabe', wuorūn 'Sohn', i.e. 'unsere Knabe', toōr 'Mädchen', tootōn 'Tochter', i.e. 'unsere Mädchen' (Se)

Cu: (C) \*ʔər- (Appleyard 2006: 44) > Bilin er-t 'to be pregnant' (Re), Kunfāl jar 'child', Awngi jer id. (SLE), -yírí 'children', Awiya ira 'son' || (E) Saho irro (Vergari), Afar úrru 'children' (PaHy); Som oori 'wife' (Luling), ?Rend oboórri 'married women, wives' (PG), Bayso oori 'wife' (Hy); Elmolo aruate 'girl' (He), Arbore harát id. (Hy), Dasenech maartti id. (Sa) < \*maa ʔartti (Hayward 1984: 11); Yaaku aure' 'daughters', pl. to iṭa' (He) || Dahalo ʔóora kudzi 'male relative, nephew' (Maddieson et al. 1993: 45);

NOM: Bambeshi ori meri 'figlio' vs. peel meri 'figlia', cf. mera kunda 'bambino', inne meri 'sorella', peelli 'fanciulla' (Gr);

Ch: (C) Musgu arú, arwái, arwae, ároe 'Kind, Knabe, Sohn', aroo munii 'Tochter' (Lukas 1941: 45) = årwày 'child' (Tx) = Munjuk of Kaykay årùwùṅ 'fils' (Tx);

Be: (S) Awlemidden aṙəw 'engendrer, enfanter', aṙa, pl. -tän 'enfant(ement), descendant, progéniture, fruit' etc., Ayr aṙṙaw, pl. -än m. 'garçon', f. 'fille' (Alojaly), Ahaggar arw 'enfanter' (√H-r-w), ara, pl. arätän 'enfant, descendant' (\*HarāH—see Prasse 1974: 229), arṙaw, pl. -en 'enfant' (Fc) || (N) Wargla arw 'enfanter, accoucer, avoir des enfants', ara 'enfant' (Biarnay), Shilh of Tazerwalt āru 'zeugen, gebären', arṙāu 'Kind' (Stumme), Kabyle arew 'enfanter', arṙaw 'enfant' (Dallet); (E) Ghadames āṙəw 'engendrer', ara 'progéniture, enfant' (Lf), Augila

érōū ‘partorire, generare’, **irīū** ‘ragazzo, bambino’ (Paradisi), Siwa **iru** ‘enfantier’ (La) || (W) Zenaga **ira** ‘naitre’ (RB) = **ərug** ‘engendrer’ (Nicolas);

Eg (Pyr) **īwr** ‘(ein Kind) empfangen, schwanger sein; Schwangerschaft, Embryo’ (Wb. I: 56), Copt ωω < \***īō3** ‘concevoir, devenir enceinte’ (Vycichl 1983: 248); Se: Ar **ʔāra** (√**ʔ-y-r**) ‘to have sexual intercourse with a woman’ and **ʔarra** ‘to have connection with a woman’ (Sg 98, 25) and / or Akk **āru(m)** ‘Junges, Jungmann’ (AHw 72).

Lit.: Vycichl 1934: 54: Bilin + Be + Eg + Ar + Hausa **iri**, pl. **iroori** etc. ‘Geschlecht, Nation, Stamm, Art’. The latter word could be of Tuareg origin, cf. Awlemidden **terērt** ‘Nation’ (Barth). Cohen 1947: #19/90: Beja + Bilin + Be + Eg + Akk **arū**, **erū** ‘schwanger sein, empfangen’ (AHw 72), usually connected with Ug **hry** ‘empfangen (geschlechtig)’, Hb **hārā** (Aistleitner 1965: 92). Cohen (l.c.) also adds Som **uur** ‘stomach, belly; pregnancy’ (Luling), but the latter meaning is perhaps secondary (Sasse 1982: 106 compared it with Rend **ur** and Burji **ir-a** ‘stomach’).

**araaw** m. ‘friend’, def.sg. **w’araaw**, def.pl. **y’araw** (Wd) = **ʔara:w** ‘ami’ (Vh) = **áraw** c., pl. **arauwa** ‘companion, friend’, **arau** adj. ‘honest’, cf. **arausam** v.2 recip. ‘to be friendly, be allies, keep one another company’ (Rp) = **arraauu** m., pl. **arraū** ‘other’ (HuB) = **aráaw** c., pl. **árawa** ‘Freund, -in’ (Re) = **árau** m., pl. **árawa** ‘Freund’ (Al) = **arau** ‘friend’ (Tl) = **ouraok** ‘[thy] friend’ (Bu)

Probably extended from **raw** c. ‘other; companion’, with art. **úuraw**, **óraw** m., **túuraw**, **tóraw** f., pl. **áaraw**, **éraw** (Rp), cf. **rauôn** ‘[unseren] Freund’, **rauôko** ‘er [ist dein] Freund’ (Se). Cf. also **arāwa** m. ‘Nähe, Seite’ (Re).

?Cu: (E) Tsamakko **ʔayra** ‘friend’ (Savà 2005: 219).

?Eg (OK) **iry** ‘der Zugehörige, Genosse’ (Wb. I: 105), Copt ηρ ‘compagnon, ami’ (Vycichl 1983: 53–54);

?Se: Ug **ary** ‘Anverwandter, Sippenmitglied, kinsman’ (Aistleitner 1965: 35; Gordon 1965: 366; Segert 1984: 180) = ‘fellow, friend, kin’ (DUL 108), Ar **ʔarā** ‘an derselben Krippe stehen’.

**araaw** m. ‘other’, def.sg. **w’araaw**, def.pl. **y’araw**, **eeraw**; **araawt** f., def.sg. **t’araaw** (Wd) = **arraauu** ‘other, different’ (HuB)—see **raw** ‘other, companion’ (Rp)

**askir** m. ‘army, soldier, policy’ (HuB) = **asker** m., pl. **áskera** ‘Soldat’ (Re) = **askariib** m. ‘soldier’, def.sg. **w’askari**, def.pl. **y’askari** (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar **ʔaskar**, pl. **ʔasākir** ‘soldier, army, troop, crowd, large number’ (Sg 695).

**asalla** f. ‘tribe, nationality’ (HuB)

**ašoob** m. ‘enemy’, def.sg. **w’ašu**, def.pl. **yi’ašu** (Wd)

**ašay** m. 'position, site where someone lived; remainder', def.pl. **y'ašay** (Wd)

**iyáal** m., pl. **iyäl** 'Familie, Sippe, Verwandtschaft' (Re) = **iyáal** 'Fmilie' (Mu)  
Borrowed from Ar **šayyil**, pl. **šiyäl** 'family; who belongs to the household' (Sg 741; cf. Almkvist 1885: 35).

**'ayay** f. 'relationship'; **ayaytak** m. 'friend' (HuB) = **?aya:y** 'parent' (Vh) = **ayaayt** f. 'relationship', def.sg. **tu'ayaay**, def.pl. **ti'ayay**; **ayaaytak** m. 'male relative', def.sg. **w'ayaaytak**, def.pl. **y'ayayda**, and **ayaaytakat** f. 'female relative', def.sg. **tu'ayaaytakat**, def.pl. **ti'ayaym'a** (Wd) = **a'yay** c., pl. **a'yey** 'relative', cf. **a'yays** v. 2 caus. 'to mediate, conciliate, make peace between' (Rp) = **aiait** 'kinship' (Mt)

(1) Borrowed from EtSe: Ti **?ayay** 'relative, kinsman', Amh **ayaya** 'comrades who are equal in age and status', Gz **?ayaya** 'to make / be equal'; a Semitic cognate outside Ethiopia can be found in Syr **?āwē** ( $\sqrt{?}$ -w-y) 'agreeing, in concord' (Leslau 1987: 51).

(2) Cu: (E) Dasaneč **?é, ?éñ-** 'house'. also 'family' as the suppletive plural to **bíl** 'family' (Tosco 2001: 480, 489); Yaaku **ai**, pl. **áiyó** 'house' (He) || (S) **\*?aya** > Iraqw **?aya** 'village area', Gorowa **?ayaa** 'neighbourhood area', Alagwa **?aya** 'village area', Burunge **?aya** 'homestead'; Qwadza, Asa **ayo** 'homestead' (Ehret 1980: 288).

(3) Cu: (E) Saho **aay-a** 'der älterer Bruder' (Re) = **ayya** 'elder brother' (Vergari) || Dahalo **?ááji** 'elder brother' (Eh) || (S) Iraqw **aykos** 'his father's wife' (-kos 'his'); Qwadza **ayi-bala'a** 'cross-cousin' (Ehret 1980: 288).

(4) Cu: (E) **\*?aayy-** > Afar **ayy-a** 'term of address for mother' (PaHy); Som **aay-o** 'stepmother, uncle's wife' (Luling), Boni **aay-ô**, Rend **áy-o** 'mother' (He), Bayso **aay-o** 'mother' (Hy); Or: Wellega **ayy-oo** 'mama; mother-in-law' (Gg), Borana, Orma **aayy-oo** 'mother', Waata **aayy-aa** id. (Stroomer), Konso **aayy-aa**, voc. **-e** 'mother' (Bl); Dullay: Harso, Dobase, Gawwada **yayy-e**, Gollango **yáyayy-e** 'Mutter' (AMS), Tsamakko **?a:i** 'mother' (Kusia and Siebert) = **?ayya** (Savà); Burji **aayy-ée** 'mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife' (Sa), Kamb voc. **iyyo** 'mother!', Had **a(a)yay-a** 'sister' (HG), **ay-minee** 'mater familias' (Sasse 1979: 44; 1982: 22) || Dahalo **jáájo** 'mother' (Eh) = **yááyo** id. (To) and **já:jo:ni** 'parents' (Maddieson et al.) || (S) **\*?ayo-** 'mother' (Ehret 1980: 317) > Asa **yeyo** id.; Common Iraqw **\*?aayo** ~ **\*?aayi** > Iraqw-Gorowa **?aayoo** ~ **?aayi**, Burunge **yaayi**, besides **\*?iyóo** > Alagwa-Burunge **?iyóo** 'mother' (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 65, 168).

Om: (N) Zayse **ayee** (Ce), Wolayta **aay<sup>u</sup>**, Malo **?ayo**, Gamu, Dache **aayo** 'mother'; Yemsa **ayi** 'brother', **ee-ta** 'sister' (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 305);

Ch: (W) Hausa **iya** 'female relative of preceding generation, esp. maternal aunt', pl. **iyaaye** 'parents'; Jimbin **iya** 'grandmother' (Sk); Tangale **íya** id. (Jg) || (C) Boka, Gabin, Ga'anda **yă**, Hwona **?iya**, WMargi **?iyà** (Kr); Udlam **íyà** (Mc), Muktele **íyà** 'mother' (Rossing); Gude **yaya/i** (Kr); Kotoko: Buduma **yaa-** (Na-

chtigal), Affade (**i**)**ya**, Ngala, Shoe **ya**, Makeri **iya** id. (Sölken 1967: 309); Zime, Peve **ya** id. (Kr) || (E) Dangla **iya**, Migama **yâà-tù** ‘ma mère’ (Jg), Bidiya **yaa-te** ‘mère’ (AlioJg); Tumak **yó** id. (Caprile); Mubi **iyà** id. (Lk).

Be: (N) Ndir Abes **yu** ‘mère’, Zayan **yu-n-nem** ‘ta mère’ (Lo);

The EtSe forms as Harari and Zway **āy** ‘mother’, Soddo **ayyo** ‘mother!’ are of ECushitic origin (Leslau 1979: 116). Šheri **ey** ‘father’, coll. **iyó** ‘parents’ together with Soqotri **?if** ‘père’ vs. **?éfo** ‘parents, famille, gens’ (Leslau 1938: 68–69) and Mehri **háyb** / **hawb** ‘father’, pl. ‘parents’ (Jh) reflect Se \***?abb-** ‘father’.

Lit.: Müller 1975: 64: EtSe + ECu + NOm + Kotoko + Mubi + Nilo-Saharan: Nubian: Dair, Midob **iya**, Kenzi **iyōyō** ‘my mother’ || Nil: (E) Masai **yeeyo**; (S) Suk **iyu**, Nandi **eiyo** || Kuliak: Nyangiya **yoiyao** ‘thy mother’ ||| CSud: Bagirmi **ia** ||| Gumuz **iyō** || Tabi **ēā** || Maban: Runga **ya** || Fur **iya** || Saharan: Kanuri **ya**, Kanembu **y(i)a**, Daza **aya**; Berti **yo**, Zaghawa **īa** ‘mother’ (Murray 1923: 45; Greenberg 1963: 102, 142); Skinner 1996: 118: Beja + E+SCu + Ch + Kanuri **ya** ‘mother’.

**baaba** m. ‘father’, def.sg. **ubaaba**, def.pl. **ibaaba** (Wd) = **baaba** m., pl. **baba** ‘father’, cf. **baabi endoo** ‘own people’ (HuB) = **ba:ba** ‘père’, def. **i-(m)ba:ba** (Vh) = **baaba** ‘father’ (Mt) = **baaba** m. ‘father’, pl. ‘parents’ (Rp) = **báaaba** m. ‘Vater’ (Re) = **baab**, **bába** m. id. (Al) = **babaab** id. (Tl) = **bab** id., cf. **babie endoa** ‘Vaterland’ (Mu) = **babú** id. (Se), i.e. \***bab-úuh** ‘sein Vater’

Cu: (E) \***baabb-** ‘father, daddy’ > Arbore **baabbó** ‘term of address to ones father’, **baabbá** ‘polite term of address to an elderly man’ (Hy), Dasenech **baab-a** ‘father, daddy’, Gawwada **papp-o** (Sasse 1979: 44) || Dahalo **ḡáaḡa** ‘father’ (To) || (S) \***baabá** ‘father’ > Iraqw, Gorowa **baabá**, Alagwa, Burunge **baaba** id. (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 67: cf. Swahili **baba**).

Ch: (C) Higi Ghye, Ga’anda **bàba** id. (Kr); Mafa, Uzam **báába**, Mboku **bábay** id. (Mc), Kobocho **bābá** id. (St).

Be: (N) Warsenis **baba**, Snus **bāba**, Sus **bāb** id. (Woelfel 1955: 38); Kabyle **baba** id. (Dallet) || (W) Zenaga **baba** id. (RB) || (S) Ghat **baba** ‘my father’ (Nehli).

**beedib** f. ‘Zueidi tribe’ (HuB)

**beḡawi** and **biḡawi** adj. ‘low-born’, **beḡawīe** and **biḡawīe** f. sg. ‘the language of Haḡandiwa and kindred tribes’ (Rp) = **beḡawye** and **bejawye** 1. m. ‘des Bed-schavolkes’, cf. **ee-beḡawīe-t buur** ‘das Land der Bedscha’, 2. f. ‘Bedschasprache’ (Re) = **beḡáawīe** f. ‘das Bedawie (die Sprache der Bischari, Ababde)’ (Al) = **to beḡawīe** ‘der das Bedawie spricht; unterworfenen’ (Mu)

**balawi** adj. ‘high-born, lord, lady’, **baláwīe** ‘language other than Beḡawīe, usually Arabic’ f. (Rp) = **beláawīe** adj. rel. ‘Name der angehörigen des Fürstengeschlechtes des Hadendāwa; das Wort bezeichnet genau das was **had’-ēḡdāwa**.

Sie leiten sich von Arabien her, daher nennen sie auch häufig einen Araber **beláawi**, sowie sie arabische Sitte, Sprache mit **beláawye** bezeichnen im gegensatze zum einheimischen **beḍawye** (Reinisch 1895: 49) = **balla<sup>w</sup>wiib** ‘freeborn’, **balla<sup>w</sup>wi** f. ‘language other than Beja’ (HuB) = **balawiit** f. ‘Arabic language’, def.sg. **tubalawi**, def.pl. **tibalawi** (Wd) = **beláawi** ‘frei, edel’ (Al) = **o’belawi** ‘Herr, Adliche’ (Mu)

Probably of EtSe origin, cf. Gz **bəʃla** ‘to be rich, wealthy’, **bāʃl** ‘rich, wealthy, owner, possessor, master, head of family’, **bāʃlāy** ‘rich, wealthy’, Ty **baʃlāyā** ‘to be rich’, **bāʃal**, **baʃal** ‘master’, Ti **bāʃal** id. (Leslau 1987: 84).

**bišáari** c., pl. **bišáari(a)** ‘Bisharin’, cf. **bišáaray** c., pl. **-a** ‘a tribe of the Haḍanḍiwa’ [not to be confused with the Bisharin] (Rp) = **bišáari** and **bešáare** ‘der nördlichen Bedscha-Tribus’, with art. **uu-bšáare** ‘ein Individuum davon’, pl. **aa-bšáare** (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 53) connected it with Ar **bašar** ‘homo’, pl. **ʔabšār** ‘homines, gens’ (cf. Sg 125).

**da** m. pl. ‘men’ (pl. to **tak** ‘man’), with art. **áanda** nom., **énda** acc., indef. **dii(b)** (Rp) = **da** ‘hommes’, with art. **a:nda** ‘les hommes’ (Vh) = **da** ‘Leute’, **enda** m. pl. Männer, Leute, Volk’, coll. **(en)deháay**, with art. **úu-dhaay** ‘die Leute, Einwohnerschaft, Volk’ (while **eṇḍáwa** m. ‘Männerstamm’ < **en-ḍáwa**, cf. **ḍiwa** ‘family’, with art. in acc. **eṇḍiwa** after Rp) (Re) = **dehay** m. ‘people’, def.sg. **oo-dehay**, def.pl. **idehaya** ‘people’ (Wd) = **énda** pl. ‘Leute’ (Al) = **enda[b]** ‘Männer’ (Mu) = **énda** ‘Leute’ (Km) = **[o]déiy** ‘Mensch’ (Se) = **d(ě)ay** m. ‘people, relation’ (HuB)

(a) Cu: (E) **\*zat-** ‘person, people’ > Saho **daat** ~ **zaat** ‘Versammlung’ (Re); Som Isaq **dad** (Ab), Jiddu **yed**, pBoni **\*dád** (He); Dasenech **-zat** (Sa)—see Sasse 1976: 140; further cf. Rend **\*dóo’d** ‘people’ (or: Orma **dadda** ‘people; village’ (Stroomer). Ch: (1) (W) Nbauchi: Tsagu **zafu** ‘man’ (Sk); (C) Kapsiki **za**, Higi Kamale and Nkafa **zà**, Higi Futu and Baza **zù** (Kr); (E) Jegu **já** (Jg), Mubi **njóo** ‘Mensch’ (Lk) or (2) (C) Mboku **du**, **ḍo** ‘homme’ (‘homo’), pl. **ḍay**, **ḍahay** ‘gens’, Hurzo **du**, pl. **ḍahā** id., Mofu **ndu**, pl. **ndúhwoy** id., Mafa **ndḍo**, pl. **ndḍohay** id.; Musgu **dif**, pl. **ḍay** id.; Gidar **dəf**, pl. **dī** id. (Mc)

Eg (OK) **z (\*zy)** ‘Mann’, (Pyr) **z.t (\*zy.t)** ‘Frau’ (Wb. III: 404–406), Copt ca ‘personne, marchand/e’ (Vycichl 1983: 181; cf. Edel 1955: LXI, § 213).

(b) Vanhove (2017: 30) compares **da**, def. **a:nda** ‘hommes’ with Saho **endá**, deriving both from Ty **ənda**, pl. from **ədan**, corresponding to Geez **ʕəd** ‘homme’.

Note: The Beja collective **deháay** can be compared with Ti **dahay** ‘people, tribe, village, surroundings’ (LH 510).

**de** f. ‘mother’ (Rp) = **dě:-t** ‘une mère’, pl. **dē:-t** (Vh) = **deet** f. id. (Wd)—see **enda** and **énde** f. id. (Re)

**de'ar** m. 'wedding' (HuB) = **d'ar** m. id., def.sg. **ood'ar**, no pl., and **d'ariit** f., no sg., def.pl. **tid'ari** (Wd) = **dʒir** v. 'marier' (Vh)

Nom. act. from **di'ir** v. 1 'to marry, give in marriage' (HuB), which is perhaps borrowed from Ar **zašara** 'to lie with' (Sg 456).

**doba** 'bridegroom, doll', cf. **doob** v. 2 'to marry', **dobti** f. 'wedding, marriage' (HuB) = **doob** m. 'marriage', no sg., def.pl. **eedoob**, further **doobaab** m. 'bridegroom', def.sg. **udooba**, def.pl. **tidooba**, and **doobaat** f. 'bride', def.sg. **tu-dooba**, def.pl. **tidooba** (Wd) = **do:bá:t** 'une mariée', pl. **dó:ba:t**, def. **ti-do:ba** 'la/les mariée(s)' (Vh) = **dab** 'marriage (as an institution)' (Mt) = **doba** c. 'bride(groom)', cf. **dob** v. 2 'to marry' (Rp) = **doob** c. 'verlobt, Braut, Bräutigam' (Re) = **doob** 'verlobt', **úu-doob** 'der Bräutigam', cf. **doob** 'heiraten', **dóobti** 'Hochzeit' (Al) = [e]dób[a] 'Bräutigam', [te]dób[a] 'Braut' (Se), cf. **idob** 'marier' (Li) and **t'ídooba** 'the husbands' (Mr)

Cu: (E) Saho **dóoba** 'friends' (We) = **zooba** 'mate(s), friends' (Vergari) = **dooba** and **zooba** 'Gesellschaft, Kameradschaft; Genosse', Afar **dooba** 'Genossenschaft, Tribus; die Kameraden' (Re); Som **doobo** 'bachelor' (Ab, Luling) || (S) Asa **dobonok** 'young man' (Ehret 1987: #224: Beja + Som + Asa);

Be: (S) Awlemidden, Ayr **adubān**, pl. **idubānān** 'marriage' (Alojaly), Ahaggar **adūben**, pl. **idūbnawen** and **idūbūnen** 'marriage, relations sexuelles', cf. the verb **duben** 'avoir des relations sexuelles' (Fc).

**dha:y**, **dhe:y** 'gens' (Vh) = **dehay** m. 'people', def.sg. **oodehay**, def.pl. **idehaya** 'people' (Wd) – see Beja **da** pl. 'men' (Rp)

Cf. **dha:y** 'vers' (Vh)?

?Cu: (S): \***tlahay** (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 275) > 'patrilinear clan; outdoor assembly places of elders' > Iraqw, Gorowa, Burunge **tlahay**, Alagwa **tlaháy** id. One would expect Beja **ḏ-** as the counterpart of SCu \***tl-**.

?**daani 'oor** 'Neffe' (Reinisch 1895: 313), lit. 'son of brother', cf. the parallel formation **kwaati 'oor** 'Neffe' (Re), lit. 'son of sister' (**kwa** 'sister')

Cu: (C) \***zān** / \***zan** 'brother' and \***t-zān-i** (> \***šān-**) 'sister' (Appleyard 2006: 38) > Bilin **dan**, pl. **šan** 'brother' (Pl) = **dan** 'brother', **šani** 'sister' (Ap) = **daan**, pl. **žaan** id., **žaan**, pl. **žaan** 'Schwester', **daan-dəq<sup>w</sup>ra** 'Neffe / Nichte' (Re), Dembea **zān**, pl. **zānezān** 'Bruder', **šen** 'Schwester' (Re), Kailiña **zān** m., Qwara **zān** m., **šeen** f. (Re), Khamtanga **-zin**, pl. **-s'in** m., **-sin**, pl. **-s'in** f. (Ap), Khamta **isèn**, **izzèn** m. (CR), Khamir **zin**, pl. **-te** / **-taan** m. / f. (Re), Kemant **zān**, pl. **šān** m., **šān**, pl. **šān** f. (CR) = **zān**, pl. **zān-ti** m., **šān**, pl. **šān-ti** f. (ZL), Dembea **zān**, pl. **zānezān** m., **šēn** f. (CR); ?Awngi **sén** m., **séna** f. (Ht), Kurfäl **yesan** f. (Cw) or Agawmeder **da'em** (Re) = **daemb** (Waldmeier; see Conti Rosini 1906: 149) || (S) ?Burunge **danaa** 'friend' (Ehret 1974: 76; the semantic difference is comparable with Eg **sn(y)-w** 'brother; companion; boy-friend, lover'—see Faulkner 230).

?Om: (N) Wolayta **azina** ‘husband’ (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 297).

Ch: (W) Angas **ʒan** ‘twin boys’ (cf. Appleyard 2006: 38); Warji **jinná**, Kariya **jîn** (but cf. Beja **jina** c. ‘newly-born infant or animal; embryo’ [Rp] < Arabic) || (C) Lamang **uzan**; Gude **uzm**, Bachama **nze**; Balda **ziŋ** etc. ‘child / son’ (Jglb 2: 76).  
Be: (N) Shilh **tazzänt**, pl. **tazänin** ‘ganz kleines Kind’ (Stumme) = **azzan** ‘jeune garçon à la mamelle’ (Cid Kaoui).

**dungúih /dungwi/** ‘Knecht’ (Se)

It resembles the Gurage forms as Chaha, Gyeto **däng’ä** ‘boys’ (Leslau 1986: 381: Beja + Gurage).

**díngal** c., pl. **-a** ‘junger Mann oder Mädchen der reife nahe’ (Re)

Probably borrowed from EtSe: Gz **dəngəl** ‘chaste (young man), celibate (monk), virgin’, Ti, Ty, Amh, Gur **dəngəl** ‘virgin’ (Leslau 1987: 137), cf. Ti of Beni Amer **dingil** ‘maiden’ (Nk), similarly Saho **dingil** ‘reifes, heiratsfähiges Mädchen’ (Re).

**durə** c. ‘uncle / aunt’ (HuB) = **duura** c. ‘uncle/aunt; stepfather, -mother’ (Rp) = **duuraab** m. ‘uncle, def.sg. **uduura**, def.pl. **iduura**; **duuraat** f. ‘aunt’, def.sg. **tuduura**, def.pl. **tiduura** (Wd) = **du:ra:b** ‘oncle’, def. **i-dú:ra** ‘l’oncle’, gen. **du:r-i** gen.sg. ‘de oncle’, **du:ra:t** ‘tante’, def. **ti-dú:ra** ‘la tante’; **du:ra ʔo:r** ‘cousin’, i.e. ‘fils de l’oncle’, **du:ra-i-t ʔo:r** ‘cousine’, i.e. ‘fille de l’oncle’, **dira:-t(-i) ʔo:r** ‘cousin’, i.e. ‘fils de la tante’, **dira:-t-i-t ʔo:r** ‘cousine’, i.e. ‘fille de la tante’ (Vh) = **dúura** c. ‘Oheim, Tante’ (Re) = **duura** ‘uncle’ : **duurat** ‘aunt’ (Mt) = **dúri** ‘my uncle’ (Mr) = **duur(a)** ‘Geschwister der Eltern’, **ó-duura** ‘der Oheim’, **túu-duura** ‘die Tante’, var. **déra** ‘Tante’ (Al) = **o’duro** ‘der Onkel’, **te’derato** ‘die Tante’ (Mu) = **durao** ‘cousin’ (Bu) = **dúron** ‘[unseren] Oheim’, **dráatón** ‘[unsere] Tante’, **dratitóntô** ‘Nichte’, i.e. ‘die Tochter der Tante’, **dráyanór** ‘Vetter’, i.e. ‘der Sohn der Tante’ (Se)

?Cu: (E) (1) \***dur-** ‘preceding, previous; be in front’ > Som **dur** m. ‘Vorderseite’; adv. ‘vor, gegenüber’ (Re); Or Wellega **dur** adv./adj. ‘old, previous, former’, **durabuutuu** ‘leader’ (Gg), Dirayta **tur** ‘before, in the past, in front’, Konso **tur-** ‘before, front’, Dirayta **tur** ‘before, in the past, in front’ (Bl); Burji **dúr-u** ‘in front of’, **dur-i-kka/-tta** ‘front...previous’; Amh **duro** ‘formerly’ < Or (Sasse 1982: 58) or Cu: (E) (2) Or Wellega **durbii** ‘cousin, niece’ (Gg); ?Konso **tármašš** ‘brother-in-law’ (Black).

Se \***dawr-** ‘generation’ > Hb **dör** ‘generation’, Aram-Syr **dārā** ‘race, generation’, Gz **dor** id. (Leslau 1987: 141).

Note: Cf. Kunama (NS) **adōra** ‘Schwägerin’ (Re).

**diwa** m. pl. ‘family, relatives, people, house, home, wife’, with art. **aandīwa** nom., enđiwa acc., cf. the compound **díw’or** ‘freeman, of good family’, lit. ‘son of family’, and further the tribal names as **Hađandīwa**, **Kišandīwa** etc. (Rp) = **diwaab** m.

‘family, household’, no sg., def.pl. **eedwa**; cf. the compound **diwaay’oor** ‘noble person’, def.sg. **unđiwaay’oor**, def.pl. **y’indīwaay’ar** (Wd) = **điwʔo:r / điwʔor** ‘homme honorable’ (Vh); **điwa** ‘famille’, with art. **e:nđiwa** (Vh) = **đá’wa** and **dá’wa** m. ‘Stamm, Tribus, Ansiedlung, Dorf, Gemeinde’ (Re) = **diwab** ‘family’ (Mt) = **endooḡ** m. ‘(own) people, village’ (HuB) = **éndoa** m. ‘Araber, Beduinen’ (Al) = **o’endoa** ‘Ansiedlung, Familie, Stamm’ (Mu) = **endoá** ‘Stadt’ (Se)  
 Perhaps connected with Bilin (CCu) **ciba** ‘Tribus, Stamm, Familie’ (Re). Cf. further Kurfäl **čewa**, Awngi **čwá**, **-čú** ‘mother’, Awiya **yičū** (CR) = **yə-čú** ‘my mother’ (Appleyard 2006: 101).

The records of HuB, Al, Mu and Se indicate a contamination with **enda** ‘Leute, Volk’ (Re).

**fagáar** m., pl. **-a** ‘junger Mann in kräftigsten Alter’ (Re) = **fagar** m., **fagart** f. adj. ‘good, courageous, strong, brave’ (Wd) = **fágar** adj. ‘clever, stout, smart’ (Rp) = **fagar** ‘bold, brave, daring’ (HuB)

Of the same origin as Ti **fāgra** ‘männlich handeln, auf Raub ausziehen’ (Re) and Bilin **fagar** ‘(auf Raub) ausgehen’ (Re).

**fári** c. ‘genitor, parent’, **feray** m. ‘offspring’ (Rp) = **farooob** m. ‘parent’, def.sg. **ufari**, def.pl. **ifarooya**; **faraay** m., **faraayt** f. adj.partic. ‘born’ (Wd) = **feráay**, pl. **feráy** ‘Kind, Nachkommenschaft’ (Re) = **feray** ‘well-born, of good family’ (HuB)  
 Derived from **firi** v. 1 ‘to give birth; breed; produce offspring, fruit; lay eggs’ (Rp) = ‘gebären, zeugen’ (Re) = ‘to bring forth’ (HuB).

Cu: (C) **\*ʔənfar-a / \*ʔənfār-a** (Appleyard 2006: 36) > Khamtanga **əfára** ‘boy’, **əfára** ‘girl’, Khamta **fār**, **ferä** ‘boy’, Kemant **əmfära** ‘servant, serving boy’.

**gabiila** f., pl. **gabail** ‘tribe’ (HuB) = **gabiilaat** ‘tribe’ (Tl)

Borrowed from Ar **qabilat**, pl. **qabāʔil** ‘nomadic tribe’ (Sg 818).

**ginḡ** c. ‘child’ (HuB)—see **jina** c. ‘newly-born infant or animal; embryo’ (Rp)

Cf. also Gz **ganin** ‘foetus, embryo’—all borrowed from Ar **ḡanín** id. (Leslau 1987: 198).

**girbaḡ** m. ‘foreign country’, **gerb-enda** c. ‘people inhabiting any distant country, foreigners’ (HuB) = **gírba** c. ‘stranger’, usually **gírbatak** m., pl. **gírbada** (Rp) = **gírbatak** ‘foreigner’ (Tl) = **gírbénda** ‘Feind’ (Se), cf. [o]gry ‘enemy’ (Bu)  
 Almkvist (1885: 25) derived it from **gérīb** ‘(be)siegen’ (Al) = **giriba** v. ‘to conquer’ (Wd) = **gerib** v. 1 ‘to conquer, succeed’ (HuB).

**gaw** m. ‘house, dwelling, custody, tent’, def.sg. **oogaw**, def.pl. **igawa** (Wd) = **gaw** ‘maison’ (Vh) = **gaw** m., pl. **gáwa** ‘Gehöft, Haus, Familie’ (Re) = **ga<sup>w</sup>**, **gow** m., pl. **-a** ‘house’ (HuB) = **gaw** m., **-a** ‘house’ (Rp) = **gaw** m., pl. **-a** ‘Zelt von Matten,

Haus' (Al) = **ū-gaw** 'the house' (Mr) = **o'gau**, pl. **e'gau** 'Haus' (Mu) = [o]gau id. (Km) = **ah-gau-ah** 'Dorf, i.e. pl. 'houses' (Kc) = [e]gowa 'tent' (Bu) = [o]gáu 'Zimmer, Säbelscheide', **kauhindi** 'Bauholz', cf. **hín**de 'Holz' (Se)

(1) Cu: (C) Awngi -γo 'house' (Appleyard 2006: 85, 143); (E) Som **góob**, pl. **góobó** 'place', **góobo** 'circle' (He), Rend **góob** 'clan, village, nomadic settlement' (PG) = **gob**, pl. **góbáb** 'village, settlement' (Heine 1981: 188: pSam \*góòb);

Om: (N) Anfillo **gabbó** 'tribù' (Gt);

?Ch: (W) Gera **gaaw-** 'room', Dera **gawa** 'hut'; maybe Hausa **guu** 'place' (if it is not a variant of the synonym **guri**) || (C) ?Nzangi **kwo** 'house' (Skinner 1996: 89: Beja + Bilin **kau** (see below) + Ch);

?Se: Akk **gabbu** 'Gesamtheit, alles, das Ganze' (AHw 272).

(2) Cohen (1947: #222) connected the Beja word with CCu: Bilin **kauu**, Qwara **koo** 'Haus, Familia' (Re) and Se: Hb **gōy** 'nation, people'; cf. further Akk **gā'um**, **gāwum** 'Volk' (AHw 284), Ph **gw** 'communauté, corporation', EpSAr **gw** 'communauté, collectivité, ensemble du peuple' (Cohen 1970f: 107). The Semitic parallels exclude the ECushitic and Anfillo forms with medial **-b-**. The Chadic examples quoted after Skinner seem to be compatible with both the sets of parallels.

**ha** c. 'Wesen, Person, Mensch' (Re)

(1) Perhaps derived from the verb **ha(i)** 'to be, exist' (Rp), cf. Saho **ḥeaw** 'men' (We) = **heyaw** 'Mensch', lit. 'lebend(ig)', cf. **hay** 'leben' (Re), Afar **heyoo**, pl. **heyaaw** 'Mensch' vs. **hay** 'leben' (Re)

(2) Reinisch (1894: 29–31, §174–176) connected it with **-he-** and **-ho-** forming verbal suffixes of object (**-heeb/a/i** c./m./f. 'me', **-hook/a/i** c./m./f. 'thee', etc.) and compared it with Copt ϩω 'ipse', ϩω-ⲓ 'ego ipse', ϩω-κ 'tu ipse', ϩω-ϥ 'is ipse' (cf. Vycichl 1983: 287–288) which is connected with Eg (Pyr) **ḥṣ** 'flesh', pl. **ḥṣw** 'body' (Faulkner 164) = 'Körper, Leib; (Brust)fleisch; Glieder' (Wb. III: 37–39).

**ho** f., acc. **hot** 'grandparent' (HuB) = **ho:-t**, def. **t-he:** 'grand-mère' (Vh) = **ahoot** f. 'grandmother', def.sg. **tu'ahu**, def.pl. **ti'ahu** (Wd)—see **hoot** 'grandmother' (Mt).

**hooba** m. 'grandparent' (HuB) = **hooba** 'grandfather, greatuncle' (Mt) = **ahoo-baab** m. 'grandfather', def.sg. **w'ahooba**, def.pl. **y'ahooba** (Wd) = **ho:ba:-b**, def. **w-ho:ba** 'grand-père', **ho:b-u:n** 'notre grand-père' (Vh) = **hoba** m. 'grandfather', **hóbaybaaba** 'great-granfather', **hóbayhóba** 'ancestor/s' (Rp) = **hoob** m. 'Grossvater' (Re) = **hoobab** m. 'grandparent' (Tl) = **hóoba** m. 'Grossvater (sowohl auf der väterlichen als den mütterlichen Seite)' (Al) = **o'hobo** 'Grossvater' (Mu) = **hobo(k)** '(dein) Grossvater' (Km) = **u hobôn** '[unseren] Grossvater' (Se)

(1) Reinisch (1895: 108) connected **hoob** m. and **hoot** f. with Gz **ṣəmməḥew** / f. **-t** 'ancestor, grand-father/-mother', Amh (**əṃ**)**mita** 'grandmother', Gafat **əṃ'itātā** 'grandmother' etc. (Leslau 1987: 23), not explaining the absence of any equivalent of **ṣəmmə-** in Beja.

(2) ?Cu: (E) Som of Maay **awoy**, Jiddu **awó** ~ **uwó** ‘grandmother’ (Banti); Arbore **?áw** ‘maternal uncle’ (Hy); Oromo: Borana **haawani** ‘mothers’, Orma, Waata **haawo(o)ni** id. (Stroomer).

(3) There are interesting South Arabian counterparts: Soqotri **ḥábbēh** ‘maîtresse, grand’mère’, Oman **ḥobbō** ‘grand’mère’, Hadr **ḥabbeh**, Daṭina **ḥabāba** ‘patronne, grand’mère’, Dhofar **ḥabābiti** ‘ma maîtresse’ (Leslau 1938: 159). But this comparison does not explain apparently related **hoot** ‘grandmother’ (Mt, Re).

(4) Maybe derived from **ha** ‘person’ by the masculine accusative marker **-ob**, similarly as **hoot** ‘Grossmutter’ by the feminine accusative marker **-ot**.

**hīda** m. ‘Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft’ (Re), cf. **hidáab** (obj. pl. of **+hīid** or **+hīida**) ‘zusammen’ (Al) = **hidda** adv. ‘together with’, **hiddaab** ‘together’, with possessive suff. **hiddook**, **hidday** adv. ‘beside, near, with’ (Wd) = **hib** id. (Mu), **hīidai** postp. / prep. ‘neben, an der Seite, along with’ (Al) = cf. extended **hidadda** ‘together’ and perhaps **hadaaga** m. coll. ‘family, relatives’ (Rp) = **hiida** m. ‘the being with’, **hiidab** ‘in the company of, together’, **hoodaṇa** ‘together, in one another’s company’ (HuB)

Cu: (E) Tsamakko **?eeda** ‘relative’ (Savà 2005: 219), if **?-** originates from **\*h-**, as in **?awne** ‘in the evening’ vs. Somali **habeen** ‘night’, Boni **hawéej-ka** ‘this night’ and Beja **himni** ‘late afternoon’ (Rp) (cf. Blažek 2023: 366); Gedeo **hado** ‘close relative’, ?Sidamo **aydde** id., **aiddé** ‘family’ (HG) || (S) **\*heedi** ‘person’, pl. **\*hida** > Burunge **heedi** ‘man’, pl. **hida**, Alagwa **hi(i)ru**, pl. **hira**, Iraqw, Gorowa **hee** (Kießling and Mous 2003: 135–136); Qwadza **hilaku** ‘person’ (Ehret 1980: 307); Ch: (C) Musgoy **hiddi** ‘homme’ (Mc).

Alternatively, the Beja word may be connected with Ecu **\*hizz-** ‘root’ (Sasse 1979: 20, 36) > Som **xidid** [h̥idid] ‘radice; vena, vaso sanguigno; nervo; parentela acquisita’ (DSI), Rend **híy** ‘root; kin, family’ (He).

**hadaaga** m. sg. or pl. ‘family, relatives’ (Rp)

Perhaps **hīda** ‘Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft’ (Re), plus **-ga** ‘a plural (or dual) ending’ (Roper 1928: 183).

**haggoit** ‘co-wife, lineage’ (Mt) = **haggoi** m. ‘rival, competitor’, f. ‘one of two’ (HuB) = **hággo**, **hüá’g(g)o** f. ‘Nebenbühler, Rivale’ (Re)

Undoubtedly a cultural word of the same origin as Afar **haggo** ‘polygamy, plurality of wives’, **haggoyta** ‘one of many wives, wife of a polygamous marriage’ (PaHy), Saho **hogga** ‘neighbors’ (We) = **haggo** ‘Eifersucht’, **haggoyta** ‘Nebenbühler’ (Re) and Ti **haggoot** ‘id., envy’ (LH).

**ham** c., pl. **-ḡ** ‘parent-in-law’, cf. **hamayi** ‘related by marriage’ (HuB) = **hamaab** m. ‘in-laws’, no def.sg., def.pl. **yhama**; **hamamt** f. ‘in-law’, def.sg. **tuhamaam**, and **hamaayeet** f. ‘mother-in-law’, def.sg. **tuhamaaya** and **tuhamaayi** (Wd) = **ham**

m. 'father / son-in-law', f. 'mother-in-law' (Mt) = **(w-/t-)ham** '(le/la) beau-père, gendre, belle-mère, bru', pl. **(y-)ham-a** (also 'belle-famille' (Vh) = **ham** c., pl. **-a** m. 'father-in-law; son-in-law', f. 'mother-in-law' ('daughter-in-law'), **hamai** f. sg. '-in-laws, relatives by marriage' (Rp) = **hámo** c. 'Schwiegervater, Schwiegermutter' (Re) = **o'hamo** 'der Schwiegervater', **te'hamo** 'die Schwiegermutter' (Mu) Borrowed from EtSe, cf. Gz, Ti **ham** 'father/son-in-law', Ty **hamu** (and further Ar **ham** 'father-in-law', Šheri **him** 'brother-in-law', Hb **hām** 'father-in-law', Aram **ḥāmā**, Akk **emu**—see Leslau 1987: 235); but it is not excluded that the Ethio-Semitic root could merge with the original Cushitic root, preserved in Beja and further in Dahalo **háme** 'father's brother' (Eh) = **šáme** 'male relative; grandfather' (Maddieson) and (S) Ma'a **hame** 'my uncle' (Ehret 1980: 299); maybe also SO-romo: Orma **(h)aammaa** 'mother' (Stroomer). Ultimately, Eg (Pyr) **hym.t** 'Frau' (Wb. III: 76–78), Demotic **hm** 'Ehefrau', Copt ⲪⲓⲘⲉ 'femme' (Vycichl 1983: 300) can also be related.

**hamuḍ** m., pl. **hamaḍa** 'companion, escort' (HuB)

**haraami'or** m. 'bastard', def.sg. **wharaami'oor**, def.pl. **yharaami'ar** (Wd)  
Cf. **oor** m. 'boy', def.sg. **w'oor**, def.pl. **y'ar** (Wd).

**hunkwili or** 'boy about the age of puberty' (HuB) = **hankwil** 'youth' (Rp)  
Cf. **hankwīli** 'long hair that hangs to shoulders' (Rp).

**hoot** 'grandmother, great aunt' (Mt) = **ahoot** f. 'grandmother', def.sg. **tu'ahu**, def.pl. **ti'ahu** (Wd) = **ho** f., acc. **hot** 'grandparent', cf. **hootoon** 'Eve', lit. 'our grandmother' (HuB) = **hot** f. indef. 'old woman, grandmother' (Rp) = **hoot** f. 'Grossmutter' (Re) = **hoot** f. 'grandparent' (Tl) = **hóota** f. 'Grossmutter (sowohl auf der väterlichen als auf der mütterlichen Seite' (Al) = **o'hoto** 'Grossmutter' (Mu) = **hoto(k)** '(deine) Grossmutter' (Km) = **úhotôn** '[unsere] Grossmutter' (Se), cf. Bi **hōta** 'aunt' (Th)  
Etymology is discussed apud **hoob(a)** 'grandfather'.  
100).

**hiyi** c., acc. **hiy-ob/-ot** 'husband / wife' (Rp) = **hiyoot** f. 'spouse', def.sg. **tu-hiyu**, def.pl. **tihiyu** (Wd) = **híyo** c. 'Gatte / Gattin' (Re) = **hiu** 'husband', **hiut** 'wife' (Mt) = **hióo** c., pl. **hióo-ya** 'Gatte', with art. **úuhio** m., **túuhio** f. (Al) = **o'hiyo** 'der Gemahl', **te'hiyo** 'die Gemahlin' (Mu)

?Cu: (S) \***ha?áy** 'children' > Alagwa **ha?áy**, Burunge **ya?ay**; \***haywa?a/i** '(grand)children' > Iraqw **haywa?**, Gorowa **haywaa** (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 129, 135)

(1) Eg (OK) **h**, (MK) **hy** 'Gemahl, Gatte' (Wb. II: 475), Copt Ⲫⲓ 'mari' (Vycichl 1983: 290: Eg + Se);

?Se  $\sqrt{h-w-y}$  > Ug **hwy** ‘begehren’ (Aistleitner 1965: 86), Ar **hawiya** ‘aimer’, **hawān** ‘amour, désir, passion’, Mehri **šəhwū** ‘aimer’ etc., cf. also  $\sqrt{h-w-ʔ}$  > Ar **hāʔa** ‘tendre à, viser à; se réjouir de’, **hawʔ-** ‘esprit, but, idée, désir’, Lihyanite **hʔ** ‘s’efforcer de’, and  $\sqrt{h-y-ʔ}$  > Ar **hāʔa** ‘être beau, de belle apparence’, **hayyaʔa** ‘préparer, disposer, achever, enterrer’, **hāyaʔa** ‘s’entendre, otre, se mettre d’accord avec’, **hīʔat** ‘forme, aspect’, Ti **həy**, **həya belä** ‘rattraper, rejoindre’, Amh **hay hay alä** ‘réconcilier’ (Cohen 1970f: 386, 382, 398).

Lit.: Cohen 1947: #92: Beja + Eg + Se + ECu: Som **hawo** ‘ambizione, desiderio’, **hawoo** ‘desiderare sessualmente’ (DSI); Or Wellega **hawwa** ‘to wish, desire’, **hawwee** ‘marriage after long period of courtship’ (Gg), but these forms are apparently borrowed from Arabic.

(2) Roquet (1980: 128–129) proposes a borrowing from late Eg **h3y** ‘époux’ (/ **hiʔyu/** > pre-Beja \***híyyu**).

(3) Cu: Dahalo **hāájo**, pl. **hāázi** ‘man, husband’ (Eh) || (S) Iraqw **hay** ‘kinsfolk, clan’ (Eh), besides \***hiyaʔa** > Iraqw **hiyaʔ** ‘brother, cousin’, Gorowa **hi(i)yaʔ**, Alagwa **heeʔa**, Burunge **hiʔa** id. and \***hiʔoo** ‘sister’ > Iraqw-Gorowa **hoʔoo**, Alagwa-Burunge **hiʔoo** id. (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 154) and / or \***hawata** > Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa **hawata** ‘man, husband’ (Ehret 1980: 299; Kiessling and Mous 2003: 150).

**jina** c. ‘newly-born infant or animal; embryo’ (Rp) = **jinaab** m. ‘child, embryo, infant’, def.sg. **oojna**, def.pl. **eejina** (Wd) = **jina** ‘baby’ (Mr) = **gina** c. ‘child’ (HuB) Borrowed from Ti **jəna** ‘foetus, new-born child’ (LH 552), Beni Amer **jina nʔu:š** ‘baby’ (Nk), all of Arabic origin: Ar **ǧanna** ‘geborgen sein (im Mutterleib)’, **ǧanīn** ‘foetus, embryo’ (Sg 250).

**kišia** c. ‘slave, servant’ (HuB) = **kišiyaab** m. ‘slave’, def.sg. **ukišiya**, def.pl. **ikišiya**; **kišiyaat** f. ‘slave’, def.sg. **tukušiya**, def.pl. **tikišiya** (Wd) = **kišia** ‘slave’ (Tl) = **kišia** c. ‘slave, negro’ (Rp) = **kíšya** and **kíša** c. ‘Sklave, Sklavin’ (Re) = **kíšya** c. ‘Sklave, Diener’, with art. **úukišya** ‘der Sklave’, **túukišya** ‘die Sklavin’ (Al) = **o’kisha**, pl. **ye’kisha** ‘der Sklave’, **to’kisha**, pl. **te’kisha** ‘die Sklavin’ (Mu) = **ekkeschía** ‘Sklave’, **tekkeschía** ‘Sklavin’ (Se)

Reinisch (1893: 19, fn. 4) connected it with EtSe: Ti **həsn**, Ty **həšni** ‘boy, child’ (Leslau 1987: 226), but it is improbable for phonetical reasons.

**kwā** f. ‘sister’, **kwāt** ‘female’ (HuB) = **k<sup>w</sup>a**: ‘soeur’, def. **to:-k<sup>w</sup>a** (Vh) = **kwaat** f. ‘sister; female’, def.sg. **tookwa**, def.pl. **teekwa** (Wd) = **kwa** f. ‘sister; female’, cf. **haḍayt kwa** ‘lioness’ (Rp) = **kwa** f. ‘Weibchen, weiblich bei Tieren; Schwester’ (Re) = **k<sup>w</sup>a** f. ‘Schwester; weiblich’ (Al) = **kwab** ‘weiblich’ (Mu) = **kwat** ‘sister’, adj. ‘female, feminine’ (Mt) = **to cua** ‘la soeur’ (Li) = **tekuata** (Km) = **tukato** ‘the sister’ (Bu) = **tukwatook** ‘(deine) Schwester’ (Lucas) = **tōkwatōn** ‘unsere Schwester’ (Se)

Cu: (C) \***ʔəqi** (Appleyard 2006: 148) > Bilin **ʔəʔi** ‘girl’. Is there any relation to the following comparanda: Bilin (**ʔə**)**q<sup>w</sup>i**, pl. **ʔək<sup>w</sup>in** ‘Weibchen von Tieren’ (Re), Awngi **-qá** ‘wife’ (Ht) and / or Bilin **ʔəx<sup>w</sup>ina**, pl. **ʔək<sup>w</sup>in** ‘Gattin, Ehefrau’, Khamir **əwna**, pl. **ək<sup>w</sup>ən**, Dembea **kwina**, pl. **kwin**, Qwara (**i**)**əwina**, pl. **iəwin** (Re), Kemant **yəwəna**, pl. **yəwən** ‘femme’, Khamta **equén** ‘donna’ (CR), Awngi **ɣuna** (Ht), Kunfāl **kuna** ‘woman’ (Cw) || (E) Yaaku **óqóí**, pl. **oqoinin** ‘woman, wife’ (He); Ch: (C) Wamdiu **kwà** ‘daughter’, Hildi **kwā**, Kilba **kwāñi** id., Bura **bẓir n̄kwà** id., where **bẓir** means ‘son’ (Kr);

Be: (N) Djerba **taḥnaw** ‘concubine’ (Saada), Kabyle **takna**, pl. **takniwin** ‘co-épouse’ (Dallet) || (S) Ahaggar **tēkné**, pl. **-wīn** ‘concubine’ (Fc), etc.;

Se: Akk **kinītu** ‘Nebenfrau’, Aram **k<sup>n</sup>nāwātā** ‘Genossen’ (Rössler 1952: 133, #23: Be + Se).

**kwáaya** c. ‘Kamerad, Genosse, Gefährte, Freund; Freundschaft’, cf. **kwaayáa-y-t gibaláay** ‘der zweite, der Goldfinger’ (Re)

Cu: (C) \***kāw-** (Appleyard 2006: 110, 142) > Bilin **kāw** ‘people’ (pl. to **ʔək** ‘man’), Khamtanga **kiw**, Kemant **kāw**, Kailiña **ku**, Qwara **kāw**, **ko** ‘village’ || (E) Dullay: Gawwada **qaw-ho** ‘man; person’ (To), Gollango **qaw-hó** ‘Mensch’, Harso **k’aw-hó**, Dobase **k’aw-hó** and **qaw-hó** ‘Mensch, Mann’ (AMS), Tsamakko **q’aw-ko** ‘man’ (Hy, Savà).

Eg (Pyr) **ṯ3j** ‘Mann’ (Wb. V, 344).

Lit.: Cohen (1947: n. 222: CCu + Eg).

Reinisch’ (1895: 154) comparison of Beja **kwáaya** with Gz **kāləʔ** ‘other, another, anyone else second, companion, friend’ (Leslau 1987: 282) is unconvincing for phonetic reasons.

**laamána** c., usually m. ‘rover, brigand’ (Rp)

Extended by the suffix **-ana** forming nom. agentis.

**m(ə)ʔa** f. pl. ‘women’ (sg. **takat**) (Rp) = **mʔa** pl. ‘femmes’ (sg. **takat** ‘femme’) (Vh) = **ma** f. pl. ‘Weiber, Gattinen’ (Re) = **mā** f. pl. ‘women’ (sg. **takat**) (HuB) = **ma** pl. ‘Weiber, Frauen’ (sg. **takat**) (Al) = **teʔma** ‘die Frauen’ (Mu)

Cu: (E) Gawwada **miʔay-e** ‘child’ (To), Gollango **miʔáye**, Harso-Dobase **miʔé** ‘child’ (AMS); HECu \***meʔaat** ‘female’ > Kamb **meʔaat**, Sid **mehaa(te)**, **meʔate**, **meyate** id. (Hudson 1989: 62) || (S) Iraqw **maafi** ‘mature (for girls), marriageable’ (MQK). Ch: (W) \***ʔama** ‘woman’ (Stolbova 1987: 231) > Warji **ám-ái**, Jimbin **ámá**, Tsagu **óoméy**, Kariya **ám**, Miya **ám** (Sk); Ron: Sha **ʔamuy** (Jg); Ngizim **ámâ** (Schuh).

**mʔadam** ‘personne’ (Vh) = **mʔadamiib** ‘person’ (Tl) = **mʔadamiib** m. ‘person, human being’, def.sg. **umʔadami**, def.pl. **imʔadami** (Wd)

Probably **ádami** ‘Mensch, Person’ (Al) with the reciprocal prefix **m-** and the accusative in **-b**.

**m'aali** c., pl. **-a** 'brother/sister-in-law; rival', cf. **m'ali** v. 1 recip. 'to be rivals, be at loggerhead' (Rp) = **m'aali** /-t 'brother/sister-in-law' (Mt) = (**w-/t-**)**mʔali** 'beau-frère, belle soeur', pl. **mʔali-a** (Vh) = **m(e)ʔali**, pl. **mʔalya** c. 'Schwager, Schwägerin' (Re) = **mall'i** c. 'brother-in-law' (HuB) = **o-malyô** 'brother-in-law' (Th) = **o'mallyo** 'der Schwager' vs. **te'malito** 'die Schwägerin' (Mu)

(1) Perhaps derived from **m'a** 'women, wives' by the productive suffix **-al-**, suggesting the original semantics 'a relative of wives' or by the second component corresponding to ECu: Dullay \***ʔalaw-** > Gawwada **ʔalaw-h-o** 'brother', **ʔalaw-t-e** 'sister', Gollango **alaw-té** 'brother', **alaw-ho** 'sister' (sic!), Tsamakko **ʔalaw-te** 'older sister' (AMS 147; Savà 2005: 218; Tosco 2022: 19); Konso **alawa** m. and **alawta** f. 'sibling; spouse', Dirayta **alawát m.** 'sibling of opposite sex', f. voc. **alawte**, pl. **alawaḍ(ḍ)a** and **alawwa** (Black).

(2) Cu (E): Had **mollo** '(close) relative' or Gedeo **melaalle** 'girl' (HG) || (S) Iraqw **maaloo** 'small girls' (MQK).

SOM: Kara **mulʔa** 'family, kin' (Fl);

Ch: (W) \***mu**[ **jal** 'brother' (Stolbova 1987: 234: \***maH<sup>w</sup>al**) > Angas **mwöi** 'brother', **mäl** 'sister' (Foulkes), cf. **mwol-na** 'my brother', **mäl-na** 'my sister' (Kr), Montol **lää-məḡəl** 'brother' (Jg); Bolewa **mol** 'younger brother', **molle** 'younger sister' (Benton), Karekare **málú**, Tangale **mole** 'brother' (Jg) || (C) Gamargu **mélē** (Ba / Benton) 'elder brother', Glavda **máál** id., Dghwede **mílē** id.; Mofu **məlmá-ŋ** 'brother'; Gidar **máimu** id. (JgIb 2: 48; cf. Greenberg 1963: 53, #14: Beja + Ch + Mocha **màno** 'brother', **màne** 'sister', cf. also Kafa **mano** / **mane** id., probably of Surma (NS) origin, cf. Masongo **maña** 'fratello'—see Cerulli 1951: 472; Leslau 1959: 41).

Leslau (1987: 382) mentions a connection of the Beja word in EtSe: Gz **nəʕult** 'widow whom the late husband's sister in relation to the wife', Ti **nəʕal** 'husband's sister in relation to the wife' etc.

**mehaabu** m. 'relatives, people one is connected to' (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar **maḥbūb**, pl. **maḥābīb** 'beloved' (Sg 963) with the final **-b** reinterpreted as the accusative.

**maaktak** m. 'child', def.sg. **umaaktak**, def.pl. **imaaktaka** (Wd)

Cf. **makay** m. 'being, becoming', def.sg. **umakay**, def.pl. **imakay** (Wd), plus **tak** m. 'man', def.sg. **ootak**, def.pl. **eenda** (Wd).

**moor(a)mooyt** f. 'company, going with', def.sg. **tumoor(a)mooy**, no pl. (Wd) = **mormi** m. 'companion' (HuB)—see **amorama** id. (HuB)

**mišúuši** f. 'spinster of any age' (Rp)

Roper (1928: 219) mentioned that 'she wears the **mašša** f., i.e. the hair swept to the sides of the face; a married woman has a fringe or plaits over forehead.'

**mitammad** c., pl. **-a** ‘person, human being’ (Rp)

Borrowed from Ar **mutamaddin** ‘settled in a town, cultivated, civilized’ (Sg 952).

**naday** and **enday** c., pl. **nadee** ‘orphan’ (HuB) = **nadaay** m. ‘orphan’, def.sg. **unadaay**, def.pl. **inaday**; **nadaayt** f., def.sg. **tunadaay**, def.pl. **tinaday** (Wd) = **náday** c., pl. **nád’ey** id. (Rp) = **nadáay** c., pl. **naday** ‘Waise, Verwaist’ (Re) = **nadáay** c., pl. **nádey** ‘Waise’ (Al) = **nedai** id. (Mu)

Borrowed from EtSe, cf. Gz **nadaya** ‘to be poor, deficient’, Ti **nāda**, Ty **nādäya** id. (Leslau 1987: 387).

**nekiri** f. ‘widow’, **nekraat** ‘widowed’, **seniker** ‘to keep virginity’ (HuB) = **nikkiraat** f. ‘widow’, def.sg. **tunikkira**, def.pl. **tinikkira**, besides **nikraab** m. ‘unmarried person, bachelor’, def.sg. **unikra**; **nikraat** f. ‘unmarried person, spinster’, def.sg. **tunikra**, plus adj. **nikraab** m., **nikraat** f. ‘unmarried’ (Wd) = **nikra** ‘unverheiratet’ (Al) = **te’nekiri** pl. ‘die Wittwe’ (Mu)

Borrowed from EtSe, cf. Gz **nakara** ‘to separate’, **nakir**, f. **nakkār** ‘strange, foreign, one who is not a relative’, Ti **nākāra** ‘to reject’ (Leslau 1987: 397).

**(i-/ti-)rʔi:kina** ‘(le/la) cadet(te)’, i.e. ‘propriétaire de devant’ (Vh)

**r’adaab** m. ‘nuclear family; support; pillar, main pole at the back of a Beja house’, def.sg. **ur’ada**, def.pl. **ir’ada** (Wd)

**raba** ‘male (in opposition to **kwat** ‘female’), capable, able, skilled’ (Mt) = **ra-baab** m., **rabaat** f. ‘big, male’ adj.; **rabaanaay** m. ‘masculinity’, def.sg. **urabaa-naay**, besides **rabandiit** f. ‘manhood’, def.sg. **turabandi**, def.pl. **tirabandi** (Wd) = Ammar’ar **raba** ‘male; strong man’ (Do) = **raba** ‘male; capable, able’, cf. **rāb-ka** c. ‘majority, most’, **rābagānay** ‘male gazelle’ (Rp) = **rāba** adj. ‘männlich’ (Re) = **rāba** ‘männlich’ (Al) = **reba[b]** ‘männliche Junge von mitterem Alter’; **o rábeh** ‘jeune chameau’ (Li) and **terabie** ‘she-camel’ (Bu) are more probably compatible with **rab’e** ‘young camel between one and two years old’ (Rp) = **rab-bi** c. ‘young camel’ (HuB)

(1) Cu: (E) \***lab-/leb-** ‘male; big’ > Saho **laab** ‘männlich’, coll. **laabahaa** ‘Leute’, indiv. **laabahaayto**, Afar **lab** ‘männlich’, **laba-haytu** ‘Mann’ (Re) = Afar **lab** ‘male’, **labha** ‘men’, **labhàytu** ‘able / clever / strong male’ (PaHy); Som **lab** ‘male’ (Ab), Rend **lábo**; Elmolo **-lepa** ‘man’ in **mó-lepa** (Heine 1973: 281) = Dasanech **maliab** ‘uomo’ (da Trento), where **ma-** = **máa** means ‘person, man’ and **yáb** coll. ‘males’ (To); Or **labbi** ‘virilità, età virile’ (Borello), Waata **lab(b)a** ‘young’, cf. **imoolee labaa** ‘young calves’ (Stroomer) and / or Or **luba** ‘sexual parts of man’ (Tu); Gedeo **labba**, Sid **labba** ‘male’ (Dolgoolsky 1973: 229; Sasse 1979: 22 and 1982: 131; Hudson 1989: 96). The difference **r : l** is perhaps comparable with Beja \***rama** ‘2’ in **asa-rama** ‘7’ vs. Ecu \***lam-** ‘two’? In Beja the difference

**r** : **l** has got a function expressing the augmentative vs. diminutive. Cf. further Burji **ráb-i** ‘uncircumcised person’ (Sasse 1982: 158) || ?(S) Iraqw **lávâlâmo**, pl. **lávâlê** ‘slave’ (Wh).

NOM: Shako **yaab**, Nao **yab**, Dizi **yabu** ‘man’ (Be), cf. Dasanech **yáb** coll. ‘males’ (To), see above.

?Ch: (W) Hausa **lofa** ‘foreskin’ || (E) Mokilko **lōpo** ‘prépuce’ (Jg)—see Skinner 1996: 188.

Lit.: Meinhof 1912: 236: Beja + Som + Hausa.

(2) Cu: (E) \***rib**(?)- ‘to be strong’ > Som **rib**- ‘strong’ (Ab); Konso **rib**- ‘to be strong’ (Bl; Sasse 1982: 159 connects it with Konso **rib-a** ‘tendon of the backbone’, Mussiya **rip-o** ‘root, vein’, Or **rib-uu** ‘tendon, nerve; string of bow’ > Harso **rip-o**, Gollango **rip-to** ‘string of bow’ and Burji **rib-óo** id.);

Se  $\sqrt{\text{r-b-b}}$  ‘to be big’, cf. Akk **rabû(m)**, **rabā’u(m)** gross sein / werden’, **rabbû(m)** ‘sehr gross’ (AHw 938, 934), Ug **rb** ‘gross; Oberhaupt, Ober-’ (Aistleitner 1965: 287) etc.

**réro** c. ‘Verwandtschaft, Verwandter’ (Re) = **reer** c. ‘Verwandter’ (Al) = **rero** ‘companion, friend’ (HuB) = **o’réro**, acc. **reerob** ‘Freund’ (Mu) = **reer** m. ‘love, loving’, def.sg. **ooreer**, besides **areeti** m. ‘loving’, **areeyanaab** nom.ag. ‘one who liker, lover’ (Wd) = **reer** ‘amour’ (Vh) = Ammar’ar **reero** ‘beloved’ (Do)

Cu: (E) Som **reer** ‘Sippe, Geschlecht, die weitere Familie, Verwandtschaft, Volk’ (Re) = ‘family household; lineage, clan’ (Luling), Rend **rèèr** ‘warriors, people’ (Heine 1981: 196 reconstructs pSam \***rèèr** ‘people of one geographical, social or agnatic unit’);

Be: Awlemidden **terērt** ‘Nation’ (Ba).

Lit.: Reinisch 1902: 326: Beja + Som; Dolgopolsky 1973: 171: Beja + Som + Rend.

**raw** c. ‘other; companion’, with art. **úuraw**, **óraw** m., **túuraw**, **tóraw** f., pl. m. **áaraw**, **éraw**, probably extended in **áraw** c., pl. **arauwa** ‘companion, friend’ (Rp) = **araaw** m. ‘other; friend’, def.sg. **w’araaw**, def.pl. **y’araaw**, **eeraw**; **araawt** f., def.sg. **t’araaw** (Wd) = **raaw** c., pl. **raw** ‘Kamerad, Genosse, Freund; anderer, zweiter’ (Re) = **rau** ‘companion, friend’, **arraauu** ‘other, different’ (HuB)

?Cu: (C) Bilin **?āri** ‘other’ (Appleyard 2006: 108).

?Se  $\sqrt{\text{r-w-ſ}}$  > Akk **rū’u**, Ug **rſ**, Hb **reſ**<sup>o</sup> ‘friend, companion’, Aram **rſ**, Gz **raſawa** ‘to join’, Ti **rāwſe** ‘to have intercourse’ (Leslau 1987: 459).

**seeb** m. ‘clan, family’ (HuB)

Probably borrowed from EtSe: Gz **sab?** ‘persons, men, people, mankind; servants; inhabitants’, Ti **sāb** ‘man’, Gurage **sāb** ‘man, person’ etc.; outside EtSe cf. Mehri **habū** ‘people’ (Bittner), perhaps corresponding to **hābū** ‘(poor man) to go to people every day for food, to drink milk’ (Jh) (Leslau 1979: 531 and 1987: 482). Appleyard (1977: 50) speculates about connection with the ethnical name **Sb?**

'Sabean' (cf. Biela 1982: 323). The EtSe word probably also passed into other Cushitic languages, e.g. Som **sab** 'group of people of low status' (Luling).

**sâf** m. 'marriage ceremony (grasping the hands of the bride's representative and saying a formula)' (HuB) = **saf** m. 'engagement, marriage agreement', def.sg. **oo-saf**, def.pl. **isafa** (Wd)

**sama:r** 'descendants' (Vh)

**san** m., pl. **-a** 'brother' (HuB) = **san** m. 'brother', def.sg. **oosan**, def.pl. **isana** (Wd) = **san**, def. **o:-san** 'frère' (Vh) = **san** id. (Mt) = **san** id. (Do, Tl) = **san** m., pl. **-a** 'brother', **sanáay** 'brotherhood' (Rp) = **san** m., pl. **-a** 'Bruder' (Re) = **san** m. id. (Al) = **ssána** id. (Km) = **o senne** id. (Li) = **sanyô** 'my brother' (Mr) = **assanok** '(thy) brother' (Bu) = **lanook** id. (Lucas; I!) = **eszanûn** '(unseren) Bruder' (Se)

?Cu: (C) Bilin **?anšin** 'father-in-law', **tânšini** 'mother-in-law' (Re), Kemant **anšin** 'beau-père, -frère, fils' (CR), Dembea, Qwara **anšin** 'suocero' (CR), Khamtanga **asən** 'in-law' (Ap) {Appleyard 2006: 38, 65; 77: \*?än 'grandfather' > Bilin **?än**, Khamtanga **-innə**, Kemant **an** id. || Saho **anna** 'aunt' (Vergari); HECu \***anna** 'father' > Gedeo, Hadiya, Kambatta, Sidamo **anna** id.; Burji **anáa** 'husband, father of a family, owner' || Dahalo **?ánnə** 'aunt' {Maddieson} = **?ánnə** 'father's sister' {To}); ?Awngi **sén** 'brother', **séna** 'sister' (Ht), Kunfāl **yesan** 'sister' (Cw), besides Awiya **yešánsē** 'father-in-law' (CR)}.

(E) ?Dirayta-Mossiya **inšara** 'younger brother' (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 297), if from \***išn**<sup>o</sup> or Konso **ašum-a/-ta** 'sister's or aunt's male/female child'; Dullay: Gawwada **?ašin-ko**, pl. **?ašim-me** 'sister's male child', **ašin-te**, pl. **?ašim-me** 'sister's female child' (To), Gollango **ašin-ko** 'nephew', **ašin-te** 'niece', cf. **inan-káayyu/-táayyu** id. vs. **inán-ko/-te** 'son / daughter' (AMS);

Ch: ?(W) Kirfi **launa-šino** 'brother' (Gowers); Tsagu **šən** 'elder brother' (Sk) || (C) Bachama **zinogi** 'my brother' (Meek); Bana **bā sóna** 'Bruder', **bā sónta** 'Schwester' (Lk) || (E) Kera **sé:nú**, Kwang **səní**; Sumray **shân**, Tumak **hə̀nà**; Sokoro **šintu**; Migama **sín**, Bidiya **sinte**, Dangla **siṅò**; Toram **hin**, Jegu **šin**, Mubi **sìn** 'brother', Birgit **sintù** 'my brother' (JgIb 2: 48–49);

Eg (Pyr) **sn(y)-w** 'brother; companion; boy-friend, lover' (Faulkner 230; Wb. IV: 150–151), **sn.t** 'sister', Copt **caN, con**, pl. **cnhoγ** 'frère', **coḡi/ε** 'soeur' (Vycichl 1983: 190);

?Se: Ug **š<sub>2</sub>n** 'Bruder' (Aistleitner 1965: 321) and / or Ti (**tə**)**sana** 'to be friends', Gz **sən?**(ā) 'peace, agreement' etc., and further Syr **šayyen** 'to pacify', Hb **ša?ānān** 'to be at ease', Akk **šanānu** '(im Lauf) gleichkommen mit, gleichen' (Leslau 1987: 504–505).

(i/ti)-**su:rkina** '(l')aîné(e)', i.e. 'propriétaire de devant' (Vh)

**sarana** (and **sefarana**) f. ‘midwife’ (HuB)

**serriiay** f., pl. **serriee** ‘female slave, concubine’ (HuB)

**šiinay** f. ‘old female of any sort’ (HuB)

Derived from **ši** v. 1 ‘to be old’ (HuB) = **š’iya** v. ‘to become old’ (Wd).

**ša<sup>w</sup>waw** c. ‘neighbour’ (Rp) = **šawaw** m. ‘neighbour’, def.sg. **ušawaw**, no pl. (Wd) = **šáawya** ‘Fremd, Genosse, Nachbar’ (Re)

Derived from **šawawi** ‘to get together; collect’ (Rp), besides **šaawa** v. ‘to add’ (Wd) = **šaawi** ‘mengen, vermehren’ (Re) respectively.

**šwuuy** m. ‘pregnacy’, def.sg. **oošwuuy**, **šiwuyaat** f. id., def.sg. **tušwuya**, from the verb. **šiwiyi** v. ‘to be/become pregnant’ (Wd) = **šiwí** and **šuwí** ‘to be/become pregnant’, **šiwúui** ‘pregnacy’ (Rp) = **šúuya** ‘schwanger, trüchtig’ (Re) = **šúja** id. (Al) = **shuiya** [b] ‘trächtige Kuh’ (Mu)

Om: (N) Shinasha **šúw-** ‘gebären’, Mocha **šuw-**, Anfillo **šuy-**, Kafa **šii-** id. (Cerulli 1951: 491; Lamberti 1993a, 384).

**tak** ‘man’, **takat** ‘woman’ (Mt, Tl) = **tak** m. ‘man’, def.sg. **ootak**, def.pl. **een-da**, besides **taktak** adv. ‘each other’; **takatt** f. ‘woman’, def.sg. **tutakat**, def.pl. **teem’a** (Wd) = **tak** ‘homme’ (pl. **da**), **takat** ‘femme’ (pl. **m?a**) (Vh) = Ammar’ar **tak** ‘human being, man, husband’ (Do) = **tak** m. ‘man’, with the suppletive pl. **da**, **tákat** f. ‘woman, wife’, **takka** indec. ‘everybody, **taktak** indec. ‘each other, one another’ (cf. Yaaku **tuktuk** ‘all!’) (Rp) = **tak** m. ‘Mann, Gatte’, pl. **\*tíka** reconstructed on the basis **tikée náaka** ‘von Leuten welche Menge’, besides the suppletive pl. **énda**, **takát** ‘Weib, Gattin’, **táktak** ‘einander’ (Re) = **tak** m. ‘Mann’, pl. **énda** ‘Leute’, **áanda** ‘die Leute’, **tákat** f. ‘Weib, Frau’, pl. **ma**, **táktak**, **téktek** ‘einander’ (Al) = [ū]**tak** ‘man’ (Mr) = **o’tekk** ‘der Mann’, pl. **enda**[b] ‘Männer’, **te’tekét** ‘die Frau’ (pl. **te’ma**), **tektek** ‘einander’ (Mu) = [o]**tak** ‘man’, [ta]**takat** ‘woman’ (Bu) = **o teek** ‘Mann’, **the takat** ‘Frau’ (Kc) = [o]**ták** ‘Mann’, [te]**tak-kát** ‘Weib’ (Se) = **takat** f., pl. **ma** ‘woman’, **taktak** ‘one another’ (HuB)

Cu: (S) **\*tikay** ‘women, wives’ > Gorowa **tiyay**, Burunge **tigay** ‘women, wives’, Alagwa **tikay** ‘women’ (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 270: **\*tigay**; Zaborski 1985[89]: 590, #98: Beja + SCu);

Be: (N) Shilh **takat** ‘famille’ (Chaker 1984: 223) = Shilh of Tazerwalt **ták(k)ät** ‘Familie’ (Stumme).

All probably derived from the verbal root attested in SOm: Galila **tik** ‘coire’ (Fl) and Eg **wtt** ‘erzeugen’ (old), ‘zeugen’ (MK) (Wb. I: 381; cf. Zyhlarz 1933: 166, #16: Beja + Eg).

**talleeg** m. ‘friend’ (HuB)

**tiitā** c. 'twin' (HuB) = **tiitaab** m. 'twins', def.pl. **itiita**; **tiitaat** f. id., def.sg. **tutiita**, def.pl. **titiita** (Wd) = **tiitaab** 'twins' (Tl) = **tīita** c. 'Zwilling' (Re) = **ṭiṭa** id. (Mu)

Perhaps derived from **te'i** v.1 'gleich, ähnlich sein', cf. the participle **te'it-a** (Re). A similar formation could be found in Eg (old) **ty.t** 'image; form, shape' (Wb. V, 239), Copt τοι 'tache, signe, modèle' < **\*tayya.t** or **\*ta3ya.t** (Vycichl 1983: 210) and / or **twt** 'statue; image, figure, likeness, assembled, united' etc. (Faulkner 294–295; Wb. V: 255–257), Copt τῳωτ 'statue' < **\*tawāt-iy** (Vycichl 1983: 224).

## Survey of cognates in kinship terminology between Beja and other Cushitic branches

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
'Ihe <sup>Rp</sup> grandmother	Som <sup>Re</sup> <b>hooyo</b> mother vs. <b>hooy</b> home Dullay *ʔaxke family			
amna <sup>Rp</sup> guest	Afar <b>ʕibina</b> id.	*ʔäbən- id.		
'aar <sup>Rp</sup> female relatives not including wife	Som-Bayso <b>oori</b> wife Rend áram / arám husband / wife HECu *are wife, *aroʔo husband	?Bilin <b>raŋ</b> husband < *ram Awngi y-ará her husband		
'oor <sup>Rp</sup> , pl. 'är child	Elmolo <b>aruate'</b> girl Arbore <b>harát</b> id. Dasenech <b>maartti</b> id. < *maa ʔartti; Yaaku <b>aure'</b> daughters	Awngi -yíri children cf. Bilin <b>er-t-</b> be pregnant < *ʔər-	ʔóora <b>kudzi</b> nephew	
aiyay <sup>Rp</sup> relative	*ʔaayy- mother		yááyo <sup>To</sup> mother	*ʔaayo/*ʔaayi/*ʔiyóo Asa yeyo mother
baaba <sup>Rp</sup> father	*baabb- father, daddy		baába <sup>To</sup> father	*baabá father
da <sup>Rp</sup> pl. men def. áanda <sup>Rp</sup>	*zat- person, people			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<b>de</b> <sup>Rp</sup> mother def. <b>túunde</b> <sup>Rp</sup>	Som <b>eddo</b> sister of father; Or <b>da'ée</b> mother or <b>adaada</b> aunt; HECu <b>*ada</b> id.	Bilin <b>adee</b> oh, mother < <b>*ʔada-i</b> my mother		<b>*daaʔawi</b> relation through mother
<b>do</b> <sup>Rp</sup> bride(groom)	Saho <b>dóoba</b> <sup>We</sup> friends = <b>zooba</b> <sup>Vergari</sup> mate(s), friends; Som <b>doobo</b> <sup>Ab</sup> bachelor			Asa <b>dobonok</b> young man
<b>daani</b> <sup>re</sup> 'oor nephew		<b>*zän</b> / <b>*zan</b> brother		Burunge <b>danaa</b> friend
<b>duura</b> <sup>Rp</sup> uncle/aunt; stepfather, -mother	Or: Wellega <b>durbi</b> <sup>iCg</sup> cousin, niece			
<b>diwa</b> <sup>Rp</sup> pl. family, relatives, people		Bilin <b>ciba</b> kin, family ?SCCu <b>*čawa</b> mother		
<b>fári</b> <sup>Rp</sup> genitor, parent <b>feray</b> <sup>Rp</sup> offspring		<b>*ʔənfara</b> / <b>*ʔənfāra</b> boy or girl		
<b>gaw</b> <sup>Rp</sup> house, also family <sup>re</sup>	pSam <b>*góob</b> village, clan	Awngi <b>-yo</b> house		
<b>hoba</b> <sup>Rp</sup> grandfather <b>hoob</b> <sup>re</sup> id. < <b>*haw-ob?</b> <b>hot</b> <sup>Rp</sup> grandmother = <b>hoot</b> <sup>re</sup> id. < <b>*haw-</b> <b>ot?</b>	Som of Maay <b>awoy</b> , Jiddu <b>awó</b> / <b>uwó</b> grandmother; Arbore <b>ʔaw</b> maternal uncle Or: Borana <b>haawani</b> mothers?			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<b>híida</b> <sup>re</sup> society <b>hadaaga</b> <sup>RP</sup> family	* <b>hayd-</b> > Tsamakko <b>?eeda</b> relative; Gedeo <b>hado</b> close relative, Sidamo <b>ayddi</b> id.			* <b>heedi</b> , pl. * <b>hida</b> person Qwadza <b>hilaku</b> id.
<b>ham</b> <sup>RP</sup> father-in-law; son-in-law, mother-in- law	?Oromo: Orma <b>(h)aammaa</b> mother		<b>háme</b> <sup>th</sup> father's brother	Ma'a <b>hame</b> my uncle
<b>hiyi</b> <sup>RP</sup> husband / wife			<b>háájo</b> , pl. <b>háázi</b> <sup>th</sup> man, husband	* <b>hiyaʔa</b> brother * <b>hiʔoo</b> sister; Iraqw <b>ḥay</b> <sup>th</sup> clan, kinsfolk
<b>kwa</b> <sup>RP</sup> sister; female		Bilin <b>?əʔi</b> girl Bilin <b>(ʔə)qʷi</b> , pl. <b>?ək<sub>w</sub>in</b> female Awngi <b>-qá</b> wife		
<b>kwáaya</b> <sup>re</sup> friend, com- panion	?Dullay * <b>qaw-</b> man	* <b>káw-</b> people, village		
<b>m(ə)ʔa</b> <sup>RP</sup> . pl. women	Dullay * <b>miʔay-</b> child HECu * <b>meʔaat</b> female			Iraqw <b>maafi</b> <sup>MOK</sup> mature (for girls), mar- riageable
<b>mʔaali</b> <sup>RP</sup> brother / sis- ter-in-law < Beja <b>mʔa</b> women, wives + counterpart of Dullay *ʔalaw- sibling	Had <b>mollo</b> (close) relative or Gedeo <b>melaalle</b> girl			Iraqw <b>maaloo</b> small girl

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<b>raba</b> <sup>RP</sup> male; capable	* <b>lab-/leb-</b> male; big			Iraqw <b>láválámo</b> , pl. <b>lávâlé</b> <sup>Wh</sup> slave
<b>réero</b> <sup>Re</sup> relative, relationship	Som <b>reer</b> clan, family, Rend <b>réèr</b> warriors, people			
<b>raw</b> <sup>RP</sup> other; companion		Bilin <b>?ári</b> other		
<b>san</b> <sup>RP</sup> brother	?Dirayta-Mossiya <b>inšara</b> younger brother < * <b>?išn</b> <sup>o</sup> ?Konso * <b>?ašum-</b> sister's child ?Dullay * <b>?ašim-</b> sister's child < ?* <b>?ašin-m</b> <sup>o</sup>	* <b>?anšin</b> father / brother-in-law Awngi <b>sén</b> brother, <b>séna</b> sister		
<b>tak</b> <sup>RP</sup> man, <b>tákat</b> <sup>RP</sup> woman <b>taktak</b> <sup>RP</sup> each other	?Yaaku <b>tuktuk</b> all			* <b>tikay</b> women, wives

## Statistics

Analyzed lexemes: 91.

Identified borrowings from Arabic: 13.

Identified borrowings from Ethio-Semitic: 8–9.

Inherited terms with probable or possible cognates in other Cushitic branches: 28.

Concretely: East Cushitic 20; Central Cushitic 12; Dahalo 5; South Cushitic 12.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## ORCID

Václav Blažek  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6797-7188>

## Abbreviations of languages, dialects and language groups

AA	Afroasiatic	Hdd	Hadandiwa
Akk	Akkadian	IE	Indo-European
Amh	Amhara	Kamb	Kambatta
Ar	Arabic	L	Lowland
Aram	Aramaic	Med	Medical Texts (Egyptian)
BA	Beni Amer	MK	Middle Kingdom (Egyptian)
BD	Book of the Dead (Egyptian)	N	North
Be	Berber	NK	New Kingdom (Egyptian)
Bi	Bisharin	Nub	Nubian
Bib	Biblical	OK	Old Kingdom (Egyptian)
Ch	Chadic	Om	Omoti
Copt	Coptic	Or	Oromo
Cu	Cushitic	p	proto-
D	Dynasty (Egyptian)	Pyr	Pyramid Texts (Egyptian)
Dem	Demotic (Egyptian)	Rend	Rendille
E	East	S	South
Eg	Egyptian (see BD Dem Gr Med MK NK OK Pyr)	Se	Semitic
EpSar	Epigraphic South Arabian	Sid	Sidamo
Et	Ethiopic	Som	Somali
Gr	Greek and Roman period (Egyptian)	Sud	Sudan
Gz	Geez	Syr	Syrian
H	Highland	Ti	Tigre
Had	Hadiyya	Ty	Tigrinya
Hadr	Hadramawt	Ug	Ugaritic
Hb	Hebrew	W	West

**Abbreviations of authors**

Ab	Abraham	Ki	Kiessling
Ae	Abebe	Km	Kremer
Al	Almkvist	La	Laoust
AMS	Amborn, Minker, and Sasse	Lb	Lamberti
Ap	Appleyard	Lf	Lanfry
Ba	Barth	Lg	Lafarge
Be	Bender	LH	Littmann and Höfner
BG	Bechhaus-Gerst	Lk	Lukas
Bk	Beke	Lo	Loubignac
Bl	Black	Lp	Lepsius
Bs	Bliese	Lr	Larajasse
Bu	Burckhardt	Ls	Leslau
Ce	Cerulli	LVC	Leus, Van de Loo, and Cotter
Ci	Cifoletti	Mc	Mouchet
Cp	Caprile	Me	Meinhof
CR	Conti Rossini	Mo	Moreno
Cw	Cowley	Mq	Masqueray
Do	Dolgopolsky	MQK	Mous, Qorro, and Kiessling
Ds	Doornbos	Mr	Morin
DSI	Agostini, Puglielli, and Siyaad	Ms	Mous
Eb	Ebert	Mt	Morton
EG	Erman and Grapow	Mu	Munzinger
Eh	Ehret	Ng	Nachtigal
El	Elderkin	Nk	Nakano
Fc	Foucauld	Nw	Newman
Fl	Fleming	Pa	Parker
Fr	Freytag	PG	Pillinger and Galboran
GD	Gaudefroy-Demombynes	Pl	Palmer
Gg	Gragg	RB	René Basset
Gr	Greenberg	Re	Reinisch
Gt	Grottanelli	Rn	Renisio
Hb	Haberland	Rp	Roper
He	Heine	Sa	Sasse
Hf	Hoffmann	Sb	Seignobos
HG	Grover Hudson	Se	Seetzen
Hs	Hess	Sg	Steingass
Ht	Hetzron	Sk	Skinner
HuB	Hudson's Beja field notes rewritten by Blench	St	Strumpell
Hy	Hayward	Th	Thompson
Ib	Ibrizimow	Tl	Thelwall
Jg	Jungraithmayr	Tn	Thiene
JgIb	Jungraithmayr and Ibrizimow (1994)	To	Tosco
Jh	Johnstone	Tu	Tutschek
Kc	Krockow	Tx	Tourneux
		Ve	Venturino
		Vh	Vanhove

Vi	Viterbo	Wr	Wehr
Wb.	Erman and Grapow (1971)	Wt	Watson
We	Welmers	ZL	Zealelem Leyew

### The less usual grammatical abbreviations

Art.	article	v. 1	verb of the first (prefixal) conjugation
c.	genus communis		
coll.	collective	v. 2	verb of the second (suffixal) conjugation
obj.	objective case		

### References

- Abraham, Roy Clive. 1962. *Somali-English Dictionary*. London: University of London Press.
- Abraham, Roy Clive. 1967. *English-Somali Dictionary*. London: University of London Press.
- Agostini, Francesco, Annarita Puglielli, and Ciise Moxamed Siyaad, eds. 1985. *Dizionario Somalo-Italiano*. Roma: Gangemi.
- Andreu, Guillemette, and Sylvie Cauville. 1977. 'Vocabulaire absent du Wörterbuch (I)'. *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29: 5–13.
- Andreu, Guillemette, and Sylvie Cauville. 1978. 'Vocabulaire absent du Wörterbuch (II)'. *Revue d'Égyptologie* 30: 10–21.
- AHw = Soden, Wolfram von, and Bruno Meissner. 1965–1981. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. III vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Aistleitner, Joseph. 1965. *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*. 2nd ed. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Albright, William Foxwell. 1918. 'Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology'. *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 34: 81–98, 215–255.
- Alio, Khalil. 1986. *Essai de description de la langue bidiya du Guéra (Tchad)*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Alio, Khalil, and Herrmann Jungraithmayr. 1989. *Lexique bidiya*. Frankfurt: Klostermann.
- Allison, Sean. 2005. *Makary Kotoko Provisional Lexicon, Cameroun*. S.I.: SIL.
- Almkvist, Herman. 1881–1885. *Die Bischari-Sprache Tū-Beḏāwie in Nordost-Afrika*. 2 vols. Uppsala: Druck der Akademischen Buchdruckerei, Edv. Berling.
- Alojaly, Ghoubeid. 1980. *Touareg-français*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
- Amborn, Hermann, Gunter Minker, and Hans-Jürgen Sasse. 1980. *Das Dullay*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Amha, Azeb. 2001. *The Maale Language*. Leiden: Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies at Universiteit Leiden.
- Appleyard, David L. 1977. 'A Comparative Approach to the Amharic Lexicon'. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 5 (2): 43–109.
- Appleyard, David L. 1984. 'The Internal Classification of the Agaw Languages: A Comparative and Historical Phonology'. In *Current Progress in Afroasiatic Linguistics. Papers of the 3rd International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, edited by James Bynon, 33–67. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Appleyard, David L. 1987. 'A Grammatical Sketch of Khamtanga, II'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 50: 470–507.
- Appleyard, David L. 1989. 'Agaw and Omotic Links: The Evidence of the Lexicon'. Paper presented at the *2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Turin, 16–18 November 1989.

- Appleyard, David L. 1991. 'The Vowel System of Agaw: Reconstruction and Historical Inferences'. In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, edited by Hans G. Mukarovskiy, 2: 13–28. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 41. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Appleyard, David L. 2006. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Agaw Languages*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Arvanites, Linda. 1990. *The glottalic phonemes of Proto Eastern Cushitic*. PhD thesis, Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles.
- Banti, Giorgio, and Saalim Aliyow Ibraaw. 1996. *Jiddu: An Extended Basic Word List*. Roma (draft version).
- Barth, Heinrich. 1858. *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Central-Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 1855. Band V. Anhang IV: Wörterbuch des Dialektes der Auelimmiden*. Gotha: Perthes, 673–714.
- Basset, André. 1925. 'Le nom du "coq" en berbère'. In *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à J. Vendryès par ses amis et ses élèves*, edited by Louis Renou, 41–58. Paris: Champion.
- Basset, André. 1929. *Études de géographie linguistique en Kabylie (sur quelques termes berbères concernant le corps humain)*. Paris: Leroux.
- Basset, André. 1959. *Articles de dialectologie berbère*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Basset, René. 1895. 'Les noms des métaux et des couleurs en berbère'. *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 9: 58–91.
- Basset, René. 1909. *Mission du Sénégal. I. Étude sur le dialecte zénaga*. Paris: Leroux.
- Bechhaus-Gerst, Marianne. 1984. 'Sprachliche und historische Rekonstruktionen im Bereich des Nubischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Nilnubischen'. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 6: 7–134.
- Beeston, Alfred F.L., M.A. Ghul, Walter W. Müller, and Jacques Ryckmans. 1982. *Dictionnaire sabéen*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters (Beyrouth: Librairie du Liban).
- Beke, Charles Tilstone. 1845. 'On the Languages and Dialects of Abyssinia and the Countries to the South'. *Proceedings of the Philological Society* 2 (23): 89–107.
- Belova, Anna. 1989. 'Isoglosses yéménites-couchitiques'. Paper presented at the *2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Turin, 16–18 November 1989.
- Belova, Anna. 1991. 'Sur la reconstruction du vocalisme afroasiatique: quelques correspondances égypto-sémitiques'. In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, edited by Hans G. Mukarovskiy, 2: 85–93. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 41. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Bender, M. Lionel. 1971. 'The Languages of Ethiopia: A New Lexicostatistic Classification and Some Problems of Diffusion'. *Anthropological Linguistics* 13 (5): 165–288.
- Bender, M. Lionel. 1975. *Omotic: A New Afroasiatic Language Family*. University Museum Series 3. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University.
- Bender, M. Lionel. 1988. 'Proto-Omotic Phonology and Lexicon'. In *Cushitic-Omotic: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages (Cologne, January 6–9, 1986)*, edited by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Fritz Serzisko, 121–159. Hamburg: Buske.
- Bender, M. Lionel. 1994. 'Aroid (South Omotic) Lexicon'. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 38: 133–162.
- Bender, M. Lionel. 2003. *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University.
- Bender, M. Lionel. 2020. *Cushitic Lexicon and Phonology*, edited by Grover Hudson. Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Biarnay, Samuel. 1908. *Dialecte berbère (Ouargla)*. Paris: Leroux.
- Biberstein-Kazimirski, Albert de. 1860. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. 2 vols. Paris: Maison-neuve.

- Biella, Joan Copeland. 1982. *Dictionary of Old South Arabic. Sabaean Dialect*. Harvard Semitic Studies 25. Chico: Scholars Press.
- Black, Paul David. 1974. 'Lowland East Cushitic: Subgrouping and Reconstruction'. PhD Thesis, New Haven: Yale University.
- Blažek, Václav. 1989a. 'Omotic Lexicon in Afroasiatic Perspective: Body Parts Cognates'. Paper presented at the *2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Turin, November 1989.
- Blažek, Václav. 1989b. 'A New Contribution to Comparative-Historical Afrasian Linguistics'. *Asian and African Studies* 24: 203–222.
- Blažek, Václav. 1990. 'A Comparative-Etymological Approach to Afrasian Numerals'. In *Proceedings of the 5th International Hamito-Semitic Congress: Held at the University of Vienna, 27th September – 2nd October 1987*, vol 2., edited by Hans G. Mukarovsky, 29–44. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Blažek, Václav. 1997. 'Cushitic Lexicostatistics: The Second Attempt'. In *Afroasiatica Neapolitana. Studi Africanisti*, edited by Alessandro Bausi and Mauro Tosco, 171–188. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Blažek, Václav. 1999. 'Egyptian Numerals'. In *Afroasiatica Tergestina. Papers from the 9th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) Linguistics, Trieste, April 1998*, edited by Marcello Lamberti and Livia Tonelli, 229–264. Trieste: Unipress.
- Blažek, Václav. 2003. 'Beja Language'. In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, 1:519–521. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Blažek, Václav. 2002 [2004]. 'Toward the Berber Kinship Terminology in the Afroasiatic Context'. In *Articles de linguistique berbère : Mémorial Werner Vycichl*, edited by Kamal Nait-Zerrad, 103–135. Paris, Budapest, and Torino: L'Harmattan.
- Blažek, Václav. 2005a. 'Natural Phenomena, Time and Geographical Terminology in Beja Lexicon (Fragment of a Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja), I'. In *Memoriae Igor M. Diakonoff*, edited by Leonid E. Kogan, Natalia Koslova, Sergey Loesov, and Serguei Tishchenko, 365–407. Babel und Bibel 2. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Blažek, Václav. 2005b. 'Cushitic and Omotic Strata in Ongota, a Moribund Language of Uncertain Affiliation from Southeast Ethiopia'. *Archiv orientální* 73: 43–68.
- Blažek, Václav. 2006. 'Natural Phenomena, Time and Geographical Terminology in Beja Lexicon (Fragment of a Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja), II'. In *Annual of Ancient Near Eastern, Old Testament, and Semitic Studies*, edited by Leonid E. Kogan, Natalia Koslova, Sergey Loesov and Serguei Tishchenko, 383–428. Babel und Bibel 3. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Blažek, Václav. 2007. 'Beja Historical Phonology: Consonantism'. In *Omotic and Cushitic Language Studies. Papers from the Fourth Cushitic Omotic Conference (Leiden, April 2003)*, edited by Azeb Amha, Maarten Mous, and Graziano Savà, 125–156. Köln: Köppe.
- Blažek, Václav. 2008. 'A Lexicostatistical Comparison of Omotic Languages'. In *Hot Pursuit of Language in Prehistory. Essays in the Four Fields of Anthropology*, edited by John D. Bengtson, 57–148. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Blažek, Václav. 2013a. 'Cushitic Year'. In *Sounds and Words through the Ages: Afroasiatic Studies from Turin*, edited by Alessandro Mengozzi and Mauro Tosco, 65–79. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Blažek, Václav. 2013b. 'Beja Lexicostatistics'. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 55: 21–35.
- Blažek, Václav. 2014. 'Beja versus Nilo-Saharan: On the Lexical Witness of Mutual Contacts'. *Folia Orientalia* 51: 319–336.
- Blažek, Václav. 2020. 'An Excerpt from the "Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja: Anatomical Lexicon"'. *Folia Orientalia* 57: 25–125.

- Blažek, Václav. 2021. 'Flora in Beja Lexicon'. *Folia Orientalia* 58: 39–63.
- Blažek, Václav. 2023. 'An Excerpt from the "Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja: Natural Phenomena, Time and Geographical Terminology"'. *Folia Orientalia* 60: 329–428.
- Bliese, Loren F. 1970. 'The Lexicon—a Key to Culture; with Illustrations from Afar Word Lists'. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 8 (2): 1–20.
- Borelli, Jules. 1890. *Éthiopie méridionale*. Paris: May Motterot.
- Borello, Mario P. 1995. *Dizionario Oromo-Italiano*, edited by Hans-Jürgen Sasse and Paolo Tablino. Hamburg: Buske.
- Brenzinger, Matthias. 1995. 'The Bayso Communities and Their Languages'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 26: 5–32.
- Brockelmann, Carl. 1950. *Abessinische Studien*. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse 97,4. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Büchner, Hanspeter. 1964. 'Vokabulare der Sprachen in und um Gava (Nordnigerien)'. *Afrika und Übersee* 48: 36–45.
- Burckhardt, John Lewis. 1819. *Travels in Nubia*. London: Murray.
- Calice, Franz. 1936. *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung*. Wien: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Institutes der Universität.
- Caprile, Jean-Pierre. 1975. *Lexique Tumat-Français (Tchad)*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1929. 'Note su alcune popolazioni Sidama dell'Abissinia meridionale, II. – I Sidama dell'Omo'. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 12: 1–70.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1936. *Studi etiopici. I. La lingua e la storia di Harar*. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1938a. *Studi etiopici. II. La lingua e la storia dei Sidamo*. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1938b. *Studi etiopici. III. Il linguaggio dei Gangerò ed alcune lingue Sidama dell'Omo (Basketo, Ciara, Zaissè)*. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1951. *Studi etiopici. IV. La lingua Caffina*. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1961. 'Etiopico'. In *Linguistica semitica: Presente e futuro*, edited by Giorgio Levi Della Vida and Henri Cazelles, 139–159. Roma: Centro di studi semitici, Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente, Università di Roma.
- Chaker, Salem. 1984. *Textes en linguistique berbère : introduction au domaine berbère*. Paris: CNRS Éditions.
- Cifoletti, Guido. 1986. 'I fabbri di Kassala: contributo alla conoscenza del lessico begia'. *Incontri Linguistici* 11: 79–93.
- Cifoletti, Guido. 1987. 'Terminologia marittima araba e begia in Sudan'. In *Atti della 4a giornata di Studi camito-semitici e indoeuropei*, edited by Giuliano Bernini and Vermondo Brugnatelli, 73–76. Milano: Unicopli.
- Cifoletti, Guido. 1994. 'Un'inedita grammatica begia di fine ottocento'. In *Sem Cam Iafet: Atti della 7a giornata di studi camito-semitici e indoeuropei*, edited by Vermondo Brugnatelli, 57–62. Milano: Centro Studi Camito-Semitici.
- Cifoletti, Guido. N.d. *Note linguistiche sulla tribu' Halanga (Sudan)*. Ms.
- Clark, W.T. 1938. 'Manners, Customs and Beliefs of the Northern Bega'. *Sudan Notes and Records* 21 (1): 1–29.
- Cohen, David. 1970f. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*. Paris and La Haye: Mouton.
- Cohen, Marcel. 1947. *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*. Paris: Champion.

- Colombel, Véronique de. 1997. *La langue ouldémé (Nord-Cameroun). Précis de grammaire, texte, lexique*. Paris: Les Documents de Linguistique Africaine.
- Conti, Giovanni. 1990. 'Il sillabario della quarta fonte della lista lessicale bilingue eblaita, II: glossari'. *Quaderni di semitistica* 17: 63–220.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo. 1904. 'Appunti sulla lingua khamta dell'Averghellé'. *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 17: 183–242.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo. 1905. 'Appunti sulla lingua awiya del Danghal'. *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 18: 103–194.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo. 1912. *La langue des Kemant en Abyssinie*. Schriften der Sprachenkommission IV. Vienna: Hölder.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo. 1925. 'Sui linguaggi dei Naa e dei Ghimirra (Sce) nell'Etiopia meridionale'. *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche filologiche* VI (1): 612–636.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo. 1936. 'Contributi per la conoscenza della lingua haruro'. *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche filologiche* VI (12): 621–671.
- Cortade, Jean-Marie. 1967. *Lexique français-touareg*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale de France.
- Cowley, Roger W., Birru Teqebba, and Adal Zena. 1971. 'The Kunfāl People and Their Language'. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 9: 99–106.
- Cyffer, Norbert. 1994. *English-Kanuri Dictionary*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Dallet, J.-M. 1982. *Dictionnaire kabyle-français*. Paris: SELAF.
- Destaing, Edmond. 1914. *Dictionnaire français-berbère (Dialect des Beni-Snous)*. Paris: Leroux.
- Diakonoff, Igor M. 1965. *Hamito-Semitic Languages*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Diakonoff, Igor M. 1988. *Afrasian Languages*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Dimmendaal, Gerrit J. 1988. 'The Lexical Reconstruction of Proto-Nilotic: A First Reconnaissance'. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 16: 5–67.
- Dolgopolsky, Aron B. [Dolgopol'skij, Aron B.]. 1966. 'Materialy po sravnitel'no-istoričeskoj fonetike kušitskix jazykov: Gubnye i dental'nye smyčnye v načal'nom položenii'. In *Jazyki Afriki. Voprosy struktury, istorii i tipologii*, edited by B.A. Uspenskij, 35–88. Moskva: Nauka.
- Dolgopolsky, Aron B. 1972. 'La permutation des \*m et \*b initiaux dans les racines couchitiques'. In *Congrès international des africanistes, 2e session. Dakar, 11–20 décembre 1967*, 225–234. Paris: Présence africaine.
- Dolgopolsky, Aron B. [Dolgopol'skij, Aron B.]. 1973. *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja fonetika kušitskix jazykov*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Dolgopolsky, Aron B. 1983. 'Semitic and East Cushitic: Sound Correspondences and Cognate Sets'. In *Ethiopian Studies: Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday, Nov. 14th, 1981 by Friends and Colleagues*, edited by Stanislav Segert and András J.E. Bodrogligeti, 123–142. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Dolgopolsky, Aron B. 1986. 'Semitic nomina segolata in Ethiopic'. In *Ethiopian Studies. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference, Tel-Aviv, 14–17 April, 1980*, edited by Gideon Goldenberg, 71–90. Rotterdam and Boston: Balkema.
- Dolgopolsky, Aron B. 1999. *From Proto-Semitic to Hebrew. Etymological Approach in a Hamito-Semitic Perspective*. Milano: Centro Studi Camito-Semitici.
- Doornbos, Paul, and Bender M. Lionel. 1983. 'Languages of Wadai-Darfur'. In *Nilo-Saharan Language Studies*, edited by M. Lionel Bender, 42–79. East Lansing: African Studies Center.
- DRS = Cohen, David. 1970f. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*. Paris and La Haye: Mouton.

- DUL = Olmo Lete, Gregorio del, and Joaquín Sanmartín. 2003. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Ebert, Karin H. 1976. *Sprache und Tradition der Kera (Tchad)*, III: *Lexicon/Lexique*. Berlin: Reimer.
- EDE = Takács, Gábor. 1999–2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. III vols. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill.
- Ehret, Christopher. 1974. *Ethiopians and East Africans. The Problem of Contacts*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
- Ehret, Christopher. 1979. 'On the Antiquity of Agriculture in Ethiopia'. *The Journal of African History* 20 (2): 161–177.
- Ehret, Christopher. 1980. *The Historical Reconstruction of Southern Cushitic Phonology and Vocabulary*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Ehret, Christopher. 1987. 'Proto-Cushitic Reconstruction'. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 8: 7–180.
- Ehret, Christopher. 1994. 'The Consonants of Proto-Eastern Cushitic'. Paper presented at the *3rd International Congress of Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Berlin, 17–19 March 1994.
- Ehret, Christopher. 2001. *A Historical-Comparative Reconstruction of Nilo-Saharan*. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 12. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Ehret, Christopher, Edward Derek Elderkin, and D. Nurse. 1989. 'Dahalo Lexis and Its Sources'. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 18: 5–49.
- Ehret, Christopher, and Mohamed Nuuh Ali. 1984. 'Soomaali Classification'. In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies, University of Hamburg, August 1–6, 1983: Linguistics and Literature*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 201–269. Hamburg: Buske.
- Ember, Aaron. 1912. 'Notes on the Relation of Egyptian and Semitic'. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 50: 86–90.
- Faulkner, Raymond O. 1981. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Griffith Institute. Reprint.
- Fedry, Jacques. 1971. *Dictionnaire Dangaléat (Tchad)*. Lyon: Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1964. 'Baiso and Rendille: Somali Outliers'. *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 20: 35–96.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1965. 'The Age-Grading Cultures of East Africa: A Historical Inquiry'. PhD thesis, University of Pittsburgh.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1969a. 'Asa and Aramanic. Cushitic Hunters in Masai-Land'. *Ethnology* 8: 1–36.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1969b. 'Classification of West Cushitic Within Hamito-Semitic'. In *Eastern African History*, edited by Daniel F. McCall, Norman R. Bennett, and Jeffrey Butler, 3–27. New York, Washington and London: Praeger.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1971. *Wordlists of Dasenech, Doko, Galila, Ganjule, Gofa, Malo, Oyda, Ubaner*. Unpublished field notes.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1974. 'Omotic as an Afroasiatic Family'. *Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement* 5: 81–94.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1976a. 'Omotic Overview'. In *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, edited by M. Lionel Bender, 222–231. East Lansing: African Studies Center.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1976b. 'Kefa (Gonga) Languages'. In *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, edited by M. Lionel Bender, 351–376. East Lansing: African Studies Center.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1988. 'Mao's Ancestor. Consonant Phonemes of Proto-Mao. Stage One'. In *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Ethiopian Studies: Moscow, 26–29 Au-*

- gust 1986, edited by Anatoly Gromyko, 35–44. Moscow: Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences.
- Foucauld, Charles De. 1951–1952. *Dictionnaire touareg-français: Dialecte de l'Ahaggar*. 4 vols. Paris: Imprimerie nationale de France.
- Foulkes, H. D. 1915. *Angass Manual*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- Freytag, Georg Wilhelm. 1830–1837. *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*. Halis Saxonum: Schwetschke et filium.
- Fronzaroli, Pelio. 1964. 'Studi sul lessico comune semitico, II. Anatomia e fisiologia'. *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 8. *Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 19 (7–12): 243–280.
- Fronzaroli, Pelio. 1988. 'Materiali per il lessico eblaita, 1'. *Studi eblaiti* 7: 145–190.
- Funaioli, U., and A.M. Simonetta. 1985. *Nomi vernacolari degli animali in Somalia e denominazioni corrispondenti in latino, inglese ed italiano. Vernacular Names of Somali Animals with Correspondent Latin, English and Italian Denominations*. Firenze: Istituto agronomico per l'oltremare.
- Gamta, Tilahun. 1989. *Oromo-English Dictionary*. Addis Ababa: AAU Print. Press.
- Gardiner, Alan. 1988. *Egyptian Grammar*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Maurice. 1907. 'Documents sur les langues de l'Oubangi-Chari'. In *Actes du 14e Congrès international des orientalistes, Alger 1905. 2ème Partie, Section IV*, 172–330. Paris: Leroux.
- Gordon, Cyrus H. 1965. *Ugaritic Textbook (Glossary, Indices)*. *Analecta Orientalia* 38. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
- Gouffé, Claude. 1975. 'Notes de lexicologie et d'étymologie soudanaises: II, III'. *Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 16 (1971–1972): 101–119, 155–173.
- Gragg, Gene B. 1982. *Oromo Dictionary*. East Lansing: African Studies Center.
- Gravina, Richard. 2014. *The Phonology of Proto-Central Chadic. The Reconstruction of the Phonology and Lexicon of Proto-Central Chadic, and the Linguistic History of the Central Chadic Languages*. Utrecht: Landelijke Onderzoekschool Taalwetenschap.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963a. 'The Mogogodo, a Forgotten Cushitic People'. *Journal of African Languages* 2: 29–43.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963b. *The Languages of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Grottanelli, Vinigi L. 1940. *Missione etnografica nel Uollega occidentale, I. Mao*. Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia.
- Grottanelli, Vinigi L. 1941. 'Gli Scinascia del Nilo-azzurro ed alcuni lessici poco noti della loro lingua'. *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 1: 234–270.
- Haberland, Eike. 1966. 'Zur Sprache der Bodi, Mursi und Yidenič Südwest-Äthiopien'. In *Neue Afrikanistische Studien*, edited by Johannes Lukas, 88–99. Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-Kunde 5. Hamburg: Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung.
- Haberland, Eike, and Marcello Lamberti. 1988. *Ibaaddo ka-Ba'iso: Culture and Language of the Ba'iso*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Habte Mikael, Habte Wolde, and J.N. Zwarthoed. 1989. *English Kaffinya Dictionary*. Addis Abeba: Lazarist School.
- Hailu, Berhanu, Dereje Sisay, and Klaus Wedekind. 1995. 'Khamir—the People [ximra] and Their Language [xim'ana]'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 23: 1–8.
- Halévy, J. 1869. 'Études sur les idiomes de l'Afrique: de la place de la langue hadendoa'. *Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée* 3: 175–208.

- Hannig, Rainer, and Petra Vomberg. 1999. *Wortschatz der Pharaonen in Sachgruppen*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1978. 'The Qawko Dialects and Yaaku'. *Abbay* 9: 59–70.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1979. 'Bayso Revisited: Some Preliminary Linguistic Observations II'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42: 101–132.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1981. 'Nominal Suffixes in Dirayta (Gidole)'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44: 126–144.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1982. 'Notes on the Koyra Language'. *Afrika und Übersee* 65: 211–268.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1984. *The Arbore Language*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1988. 'Remarks on the Omotic Sibilants'. In *Cushitic-Omotic: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages, Cologne, January 6–9, 1986*, edited by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Fritz Serzisko, 263–299. Hamburg: Buske.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1989. 'Comparative Notes on the Language of the S'aamakko'. *Journal of Afroasiatic Linguistics* 1: 1–53.
- Heine, Bernd. 1973. 'Vokabulare ostafrikanischer Restsprachen, I: Elmolo'. *Afrika und Übersee* 56 (4): 276–283.
- Heine, Bernd. 1975. 'Notes on the Yaaku Language (Kenya)'. *Afrika und Übersee* 58: 27–61, 119–138.
- Heine, Bernd. 1976. 'Notes on the Rendille Language (Kenya)'. *Afrika und Übersee* 59: 176–223.
- Heine, Bernd. 1978. 'The Sam Languages. A History of Rendille, Boni and Somali'. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 6 (2): 23–115.
- Heine, Bernd. 1980. 'Elmolo'. In *The Non-Bantu Languages of Kenya*, edited by Bernd Heine, 173–218. Language and Dialect Atlas of Kenya 2. Berlin: Reimer.
- Heine, Bernd. 1981. 'Some Cultural Evidence on the Early Sam-Speaking People of Eastern Africa'. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 3: 169–200.
- Heine, Bernd. 1982. *Boni Dialects*. Language and Dialect Atlas of Kenya 10. Berlin: Reimer.
- Hess, Johann J. 1917–1918. 'Bemerkungen zu einigen arabischen Wörtern des abessinischen Glossars'. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 31: 26–32.
- Hess, Johann J. 1919. 'Geographische Benennungen und Pflanzennamen in der nördlichen Bischari-Sprache'. *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen* 9: 209–225.
- Hetzron, Robert. 1969. *The Verbal System of Southern Agaw*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Hetzron, Robert. 1976. 'The Agaw Languages'. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 3 (3): 31–74.
- Hetzron, Robert. 1978. 'The Nominal System of Awngi (Southern Agaw)'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 41: 121–141.
- Hetzron, Robert. 1980. 'The Limits of Cushitic'. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 2: 7–126.
- Heuglin, Theodor von. 1860. 'Reise in Nordost-Afrika und längs des Rothen Meers im Jahre 1857'. *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie* 6: 326–358.
- Hodge, Carleton T. 1976. 'An Egypto-Semitic Comparison'. *Folia Orientalia* 17: 5–28.
- Hoffmann, Carl. 1963. *A Grammar of the Margi Language*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Hofman, Inge, Herbert Tomandl, and Michael Zach. 1984. 'k3rm.t – Armband aus Elefantenthaar?' *Göttinger Miscellen* 74: 7–9.
- Holma, Harri. 1911. 'Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen'. Leipzig: s.n.
- Huber, Otto. 1898. *Elementi di grammatica bisciarina*. Ms. Roma.
- Hudson, Grover. 1989. *Highland East Cushitic Dictionary*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Hudson, Richard. 1976. 'Beja'. In *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, edited by M. Lionel Bender, 97–131. East Lansing: African Studies Center.

- Hudson, Richard. 1996. 'Beja Lexicon'. Unpublished field notes rewritten and distributed by Roger Blench.
- Illič-Svityč, Vladislav M. 1966. 'Iz istorii čadskogo konsonantizma: labial'nye smyčnye'. In *Jazyki Afriki. Voprosy struktury, istorii i tipologii*, edited by B.A. Uspenskij, 9–34. Moskva: Nauka
- Illič-Svityč, Vladislav. 1971. *Opyt sravnenija nostratičeskix jazykov*. Vol. I. Moskva: Nauka.
- Illič-Svityč, Vladislav. 1976. *Opyt sravnenija nostratičeskix jazykov*. Vol. II. Moskva: Nauka.
- Illič-Svityč, Vladislav. 1984. *Opyt sravnenija nostratičeskix jazykov*. Vol. III. Moskva: Nauka.
- Jaggar, Philip J. 1988. 'Guruntum (*gârdâng*) (West Chadic-B): Linguistic Notes and Wordlist'. *African Languages and Cultures* 1: 169–189.
- Johnstone, Thomas M. 1977. *Ḥarsūsi Lexicon and English-Ḥarsūsi Wordlist*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1961. 'Beobachtungen zur tschadohamitischen Sprache der Jegu (und Jonkor) von Abu Telfan (République du Tchad)'. *Afrika und Übersee* 45: 95–123.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1963. 'Die Sprache der Sura (Maghavul) in Nordnigerien'. *Afrika und Übersee* 47: 8–89, 204–220.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1964. 'Materialien zur Kenntnis des Chip, Montol, Gerka und Burrum (Südplateau, Nordnigerien)'. *Afrika und Übersee* 48: 161–182.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1970. *Die Ron-Sprachen: Tschadohamitischen Studien in Nordnigerien*. Glückstadt: Augustin.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1981. 'Über die Mawa (Guera, Tschad) – Ethnographische und linguistische Notizien'. In *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von P. Anton Vorbichler. I. Teil*, edited by Inge Hofmann, 47–70. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 11. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1990. *Lexique Mokilko: Mokilko-français et français-mokilko (Guéra, Tchad)*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann, and Dymitr Ibriszimow. 1993. 'Chadic Lexical Roots – Wege zum Urtschadischen'. In IX. *Afrikanistentag. Beiträge zur afrikanischen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 16. – 24. September 1992, edited by Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig, Siegmund Brauner, and Herrmann Jungraithmayr, 129–148. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann, and Dymitr Ibriszimow. 1994. *Chadic Lexical Roots*. 2 vols. Berlin: Reimer.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann, and Kiyoshi Shimizu. 1981. *Chadic Lexical Roots. II: Tentative Reconstruction, Grading and Distribution*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Kiessling, Roland, and Maarten Mous. 2003. *The Lexical Reconstruction of West-Rift Southern Cushitic*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Klein, Ernest. 1987. *A Comparative Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*. New York and London: Macmillan.
- Kossmann, Maarten. 1999. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Kraft, Charles. 1981. *Chadic Wordlists*. 3 vols. Berlin: Reimer.
- Krebernik, Manfred. 1983. 'Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla. Teil 2'. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 73: 1–47.
- Kremer, Alfred von. 1863. *Aegypten*. Vol. I. Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Krockow von Wickerode, Carl Graf. 1867. *Reisen und Jagden in Nordost-Afrika*. Vol. II. Berlin: Duncker.
- Kusia, Dinote (Shenkere), and Ralph Siebert. 1994. 'Wordlists of Arbore (Irbore), Birayle (Ongota) and Tsamay (Tsamaho)'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 20: 4–12.
- Lacau, Pierre. 1970. *Les noms des parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique*. Paris: Klincksieck.

- Lamberti, Marcello. 1984a. 'Review of *An Etymological Dictionary of Burji* by Hans-Jürgen Sasse, 1982'. *Anthropos* 79 (4–6): 720–721.
- Lamberti, Marcello. 1984b. 'The Linguistic Situation in the Somali Democratic Republic'. In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies: University of Hamburg, August 1–6, 1983*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 155–200. Hamburg: Buske.
- Lamberti, Marcello. 1986. *Die Somali-Dialekte*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Lamberti, Marcello. 1987. 'Some Konsoid Etymologies'. *Anthropos* 82: 529–541.
- Lamberti, Marcello. 1988. *Kuliak and Cushitic: A Comparative Study*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Lamberti, Marcello. 1993a. *Die Schinascha Sprache*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Lamberti, Marcello. 1993b. *Materialien zum Yemsa*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Lamberti, Marcello, and Roberto Sottile. 1997. *The Wolayta Language*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Lane, Edward William. 1863–1893. *Arabic-English Lexicon*. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.
- Lanfry, Jacques. 1973. *Ghadamès: II. Glossaire*. Fort-National: Fichier.
- Laoust, Emile. 1920. *Mots et choses berbères: Notes de linguistique et d'ethnographie – Dialectes du Maroc*. Paris: Challamel.
- Laoust, Emile. 1931. *Siwa. I*. Paris: Leroux.
- Larajasse, Evangeliste. 1897. *Somali-English and English-Somali Dictionary*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Lebeuf, Jean-Paul. 1942. 'Vocabulaires Kotoko: Makari, Gulfei, Kousséri, Afadé'. *Bulletin de l'institut français d'Afrique Noire* 4: 160–174.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1938. *Lexique soqotri (sudarabique moderne): avec comparaisons et explications étymologiques*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1945. 'The Parts of the Body in the Modern South Arabic Languages'. *Language* 21: 230–249.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1959. *A Dictionary of Moča (Southern Ethiopia)*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1963. *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1979. *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1980. 'Proto-*\*Sidamo \*z*'. *Afrika und Übersee* 63: 119–129.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1982. 'North Ethiopic and Amharic Cognates in Tigre'. Supplemento n. 31 agli ANNALI 42,2. Istituto Orientale di Napoli: Napoli.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1986. 'Cushitic Loanwords in Gurage'. In *Ethiopian Studies. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference, Tel-Aviv, 14–17 April, 1980*, edited by Gideon Goldenberg, 373–387. Rotterdam and Boston: Balkema.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1987. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1988. 'Observations on Sasse's Vocabulary of Burji'. *Afrika und Übersee* 71: 177–203.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1990. 'Analysis of the Ge'ez vocabulary: Ge'ez and Cushitic'. *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 32 (1988): 59–109.
- Leus, Ton, Joseph Van de Loo, and George Cotter. 1992. *An Oromo-English Vocabulary*. Debre Zeit: Bole Press.
- Linant de Bellefonds Bey, L.M.A. 1868. *LEtbaye, pays habité par les Arabes Bicharieh: géographie, ethnologie, mines d'or*. Paris: Arthus Bertrand.
- Littmann, Enno, and Maria Höfner. 1962. *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Loubignac, Victorien. 1924–1925. *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Zaïan et Aït Sgougou*. 2 vols. Paris: E. Leroux.

- Lucas, Louis. 1876. 'On Natives of Suakin and Bishareen Vocabulary'. *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 6 (2): 191.
- Lukas, Johannes. 1936. *Die Logone-Sprache im Zentralen Sudan*. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 21,6. Leipzig: Kraus.
- Lukas, Johannes. 1937. *Zentralsudanische Studien*. Hamburg: Friedrichsen, de Gruyter and Co.
- Lukas, Johannes. 1941. *Deutsche Quellen zur Sprache der Musgu in Kamerun*. Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 24. Berlin: Reimer, Hamburg: Friedrichsen.
- Luling, Virginia. 1987. *Somali-English Dictionary*. Wheaton: Dunwoody Press.
- Maddieson, Ian, Sinisa Spajić, Bonny Sands, and Peter Ladefoged. 1993. 'Phonetic Structures of Dahalo'. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 36: 5–53.
- Majzel', Solomon S., and Aleksandr J. Militarev, eds. 1983. *Puti razvitija kornevogo fonda semitskix jazykov*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Masqueray, Émile. 1893–1895. *Dictionnaire français-touareg (dialecte des Taitoq)*. Paris: Leroux.
- Matsushita, Shuji. 1972. *An Outline of Gwandara Phonemics and Gwandara-English Vocabulary*. Tokyo: Tokyo Press.
- Meeks, Dimitri. 1977. *Année lexicographique: Égypte ancienne*. Vol. 1. Paris: Cybele.
- Meeks, Dimitri. 1978. *Année lexicographique: Égypte ancienne*. Vol. 2. Paris: Cybele.
- Meeks, Dimitri. 1979. *Année lexicographique: Égypte ancienne*. Vol. 3. Paris: Cybele.
- Meinhof, Carl. 1912. *Die Sprache der Hamiten*. Hamburg: Friedrichsen.
- Meinhof, Carl. 1919. 'Sprachstudien im ägyptischen Sudan. D. Eine Hamitensprache: 44. Bedauey'. *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen* 9: 246–255.
- Meyer-Bahlburg, Hilke. 1972–1973. Texte im Musgu von Girdivik (Norkamerun). *Afrika und Übersee* 56: 61–71.
- Militarev, Aleksandr J. 1988. *Berber Word Lists*. Offered to the author.
- Militarev, Aleksandr J. 1991. 'Livijsko-guančskie jazyki'. In *Jazyki Azii i Afriki IV.2*, edited by Igor M. Ďjakonov and G.Š. Šarbatov, 148–267. Moskva: Glavnaja redakcija vostočnoj literatury.
- Militarev, Alexander. 2022. 'Reconstructing a Cultural Lexicon for Pre-History: Berber Zonyms of Afrasian (Afro-Asiatic) Origin'. *Asian and African Studies* 31 (1): 1–41.
- Militarev, Alexander, and Sergei Nikolaev. 2020. 'Proto-Afrasian Names of Ungulates in Light of the Proto-Afrasian Homeland Issue'. *Journal of Language Relationship* 18 (3): 199–226.
- Morin, Didier. 1995. *Des paroles douces comme la soie : introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique (bedja, afar, saho, somali)*. Paris: Peeters.
- Morton, John. 1988. 'Beja Kinship Terminology'. *Northeast African Studies* 10: 140–149.
- Mouchet, Jean. 1950. 'Vocabulaires comparatifs de quinze parlers du Nord-Cameroun'. *Études camerounaises* 3 (29–30): 5–74.
- Mouchet, Jean. 1953. 'Vocabulaires comparatifs de sept parlers du Nord-Cameroun'. *Études camerounaises* 6 (41–42): 137–199.
- Mous, Maarten. 1992. 'A Grammar of Iraqw'. PhD thesis, Leiden: Leiden University.
- Mous, Maarten, Martha Qorro, and Roland Kießling. 2002. *Iraqw-English Dictionary with an English and Thesaurus Index*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Mukarovskiy, Hans G. 1981. 'Wo steht das Saharanische?' *Afrika und Übersee* 64: 187–226.
- Mukarovskiy, Hans G. 1987. *Mande-Chadic Common Stock. A Study of Phonological and Lexical Evidence*. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 32. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Mukarovskiy, Hans G. 1989. 'On the Relations of Cushitic, Omotic and Chadic Languages'. Paper presented at the *2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Turin, 16–18 November 1989.

- Müller, W. Max. 1896. 'Altafrikanische Glossen'. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 10: 203–211.
- Müller, Walter W. 1975. 'Beiträge zur hamito-semitischen Wortvergleichung'. In *Hamito-Semitic: Proceedings of a Colloquium Held by the Historical Section of the Linguistics Association (Great Britain) at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, on the 18th, 19th and 20th of March 1970*, edited by James Bynon and Theodora Bynon, 33–50. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.
- Munzinger, Werner. 1864. *Ostafrikanische Studien*. Schaffhausen: F. Hurter.
- Murray, George W. 1923. *An English-Nubian Comparative Dictionary*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Nachtigal, Gustav. 1879. *Sahara und Sudan*. Vol. 1. Berlin and Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Nachtigal, Gustav. 1881. *Sahara und Sudan*. Vol. 2. Berlin and Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Nachtigal, Gustav. 1889. *Sahara und Sudan*. Vol. 3. Berlin and Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Naït-Zerrad, Kamal. 1998f. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*. 3 vols. Paris and Louvain: Peeters.
- Nakano, Aki'o. 1976. *Basic Vocabulary in Standard Somali*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Language and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Nakano, Aki'o, and Yoichi Tsuge Y. 1982. *A Vocabulary of Beni Amer Dialect of Tigré*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Nehilil, Mohammad. 1909. *Étude sur le dialecte de Ghat*. Paris: E. Leroux.
- Newman, Francis William. 1887. *Kabail Vocabulary*. London: Trübner.
- Newman, Paul. 1964. 'A Word List of Tera'. *Journal of the West African Languages* 1: 33–50.
- Newman, Paul. 1977. 'Chadic Classification and Reconstructions'. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 5 (1): 1–42.
- Newman, Paul, and Roxana Ma. 1966. 'Comparative Chadic: Phonology and Lexicon'. *Journal of African Languages* 5: 218–251.
- Nicolas, Francis. 1953. *La langue berbère de Mauritanie*. Dakar: Mémoire de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 33.
- Nicolas, Francis. 1957. 'Vocabulaires ethnographiques de la Tamajeq des Iullemeden de l'est, VI–VII'. *Anthropos* 52: 49–64, 564–580.
- Nishio, Tetsuo. 1994. *The Arabic Dialect of Qift*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Ongaye Oda, Orkaydo. 2013. *A Grammar of Konso*. Utrecht: Landelijke Onderzoekschool Taalwetenschap, Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics.
- Orel, Vladimir, and Olga Stolbova. 1995. *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden: Brill.
- Palmer, Frank Robert. 1958. 'The Noun in Bilin'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 21: 377–391.
- Paradisi, Umberto. 1960. 'Il berbero di Augilo'. *Rivista degli studi orientali* 35: 157–177.
- Parker, Enid M., and Richard J. Hayward. 1985. *An Afar-English-French Dictionary*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Petrollino, Sara. 2016. *A Grammar of Hamar: A South Omotic Language of Ethiopia*. Köln: Koeppe.
- Pillinger, Steve, and Letiwa Galboran. 1999. *A Rendille Dictionary: Including a Grammatical Outline and an English-Rendille Index*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Plazikowsky-Brauner, Herma. 1964. 'Wörterbuch der Hadiya-Sprache'. *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 20: 133–182.
- Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern and München: Francke.

- Prasse, Karl-G. 1969. *À propos de l'origine de h touareg (tähäggart)*. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske meddelelser 43,3. København: Munksgaard.
- Prasse, Karl-G. 1972–1974. *Manuel de grammaire touaregue (tähäggart)*. 8 vols. Copenhague: Akademisk Forlag.
- Rabin, Chaim. 1981. 'Ron-Semitic Etymologies'. In: *The Chad Languages in the Hamitosemitic/Nigritic Border Area*, edited by Herrmann Jungraithmayr, 24–31. Berlin: Reimer.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1874. *Die Barea Sprache*. Wiesbaden: Sändig.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1879. *Die Nuba Sprache. II: Nubisch-deutsches und deutsches-nubisches Wörterbuch*. Wien: Braumüller.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1884. *Die Chamirsprache in Abessinien*. Vol. II. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 106,4. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1885. *Die Quarasprache in Abessinien*. Vol. II. *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 109,1. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1886. *Die 'Afar-Sprache*. Vol. II. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 113,26. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1887. *Die Bilin-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*. Wien: Hölder.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1888. *Die Kafa-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*. Vol. II. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 116,4. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1890a. *Wörterbuch der Saho-Sprache*. Wien: Hölder.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1890b. *Die Kunama-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*. Vol. III. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 122,5. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1893. *Die Beḍaŷe-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*. Vol. II. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 128,7. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1894. *Die Beḍaŷe-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*. Vol. III. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 130,7. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1895. *Wörterbuch der Beḍaŷe-Sprache*. Wien: Hölder.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1902. *Die Somali Sprache. II: Wörterbuch*. Südarabische Expedition 2. Wien: Hölder.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1911. *Die sprachliche Stellung des Nuba*. Schriften der Sprachkommission 3. Wien: Hölder.
- Renisio, Amédé. 1932. *Étude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair*. Paris: Leroux.
- Roper, E.-M. 1928. *Tū Beḍawie: An Elementary Handbook for the Use of Sudan Government Officials*. Hertford: Herts.
- Roquet, Gérard. 1980. 'Sur quelques emprunts du Beḍaŷe à l'égyptien'. *Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 17 (1972–1973): 125–136.
- Rössler, Otto. 1952. 'Der semitische Charakter der libyschen Sprache'. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 50: 121–150.
- Rössler, Otto. 1964. 'Libysch-Hamitisch-Semitisch'. *Oriens* 17: 199–216.
- Rössler, Otto. 1979. 'Berberisch--tschadisches Kernvokabular'. *Africana Marburgensia* 12 (1–2): 20–32.
- Rössler, Otto. 1983. 'Äthiopisch und Hamitisch'. In *Ethiopian Studies: Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday, Nov. 14th, 1981 by Friends and Colleagues*, edited by Stanislav Segert and András J. E. Bodrogligeti, 330–336. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Salt, Henry. 1816. *Voyage en Abyssinie*. Paris: Imprimerie de Demonville.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1973. 'Bemerkungen zum "Language Survey of Ethiopia"'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft* 123: 117–128.

- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1974. 'Notes on the Structure of Galab'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 37: 407–438.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1975. 'Galla /š/, /s/ und /f/'. *Afrika und Übersee* 58: 244–263.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1976. 'Weiteres zu den ostkuschitischen Sibilanten'. *Afrika und Übersee* 59: 125–142.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1979. 'The Consonant Phonemes of Proto-East-Cushitic (PEC): A First Approximation'. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 7 (1): 1–67.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1982. *An Etymological Dictionary of Burji*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Savà, Graziano. 2005. *A Grammar of Ts'amakko*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Schlee, Günther. 1978. *Sprachliche Studien zum Rendille*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Schuh, Russell G. 1981. *A Dictionary of Ngizim*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schuh, Russell G. 1984. 'West Chadic Vowel Correspondences'. In *Current Progress in Afroasiatic Linguistics. Papers of the 3rd International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, edited by James Bynon, 167–221. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Schweinfurth, Georg. 1869. 'Pflanzennamen der Bega-Sprache zwischen Suekin und Berber'. *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 4: 334–339.
- SED I = Militarev, Alexander, and Leonid Kogan. 2000. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary. I: Anatomy of Man and Animals*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- SED II = Militarev, Alexander, and Leonid Kogan. 2005. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary. II: Animal Names*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Seetzen, Ulrich Jasper. 1816. *Proben Deutscher Volks-Mundarten: Dr. Seetzen's linguistischer Nachlaß, und andere Sprach-Forschungen und Sammlungen, besonders über Ostindien*. Edited by Johann Severin Vater. Leipzig: Bei Gerhard Fleischer dem Jüngern.
- Segert, Stanislav. 1984. *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- Seignobos, Christian, Henry Tourneux. 1984. 'Note sur les Baldamu et leur langue (Nord-Cameroun)'. *Africana Marburgensia* 17 (1): 13–30.
- Sethe, Kurt. 1923. 'Die Vokalisation des Ägyptischen'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft* 77: 145–207.
- Shimizu, Kiyoshi. 1978. 'The Southern Bauchi Group of Chadic Languages'. *Africana Marburgensia* 11 (2): 5–49.
- Siebert, Ralph, Lydia Hoeft, and Matthias Brenzinger. 1994. 'Languages of the Abbaya/Chamo Area: Baiso, Ganjawle, Gats'ame, Koorete, Zayse and Zergulla Wordlists'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 21: 11–22.
- Siebert, Ralph, Klaus Wedekind, and Charlotte Wedekind. 1994. 'Languages of the Begi/Asosa Area: Hozo and Seze Wordlists'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 15: 10–18.
- Sim, Ronald J. 1977. 'A Linguistic Sketch: Phonology and Morphology of the Word in Konso'. MA dissertation, Nairobi.
- Simeone-Senelle, Marie-Claude, and Antoine Lonnet. 1991. 'Lexique soqotri: Les noms des parties du corps'. In *Semitic Studies: In Honor of Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His Eighty-fifth Birthday, November 14th, 1991*, edited by Allan S. Kaye, 2: 1443–1487. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Siyad, Isse Mohamed. 1984. 'A Semantic Field: The Camel'. In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 287–297. Hamburg: Buske.
- Skinner, Neil. 1977. 'The Northern Bauchi Chadic Languages: Common Root'. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 4 (1): 1–49.
- Skinner, Neil. 1992. 'Body Parts in Hausa—Comparative Data'. In *Komparative Afrikanistik: Sprach-, geschichts- und literaturwissenschaftliche Aufsätze zu Ehren von H.G. Mukarovsky*

- anlässlich seines 70. Geburtstags*, edited by Erwin Ebermann, Erich R. Sommerauer, and Karl É. Thomaneck, 345–357. *Beiträge zur Afrikanistik* 44. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Skinner, Neil. 1996. *Hausa Comparative Lexicon*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Sölken, Heinz. 1967. *Seetzens Áffadéh. Ein Beitrag zur Kotoko-Sprachdokumentation*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Starkey, Janet. 2004. *Amarar Lexicon*. Ms. University of Durham.
- Steingass, Francis. 1988. *Arabic-English Dictionary*. Jalandhar City: Gaurav.
- Stolbova, Ol'ga V. 1987. 'Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja fonetika i slovar' zapadnočadskix' jazykov. In *Afrikanskoe istoričeskoe jazykoznanie*, edited by Viktor Porxomovskij, 30–268. Moskva: Nauka.
- Stolbova, Olga V. 1996. *Studies in Chadic Comparative Phonology*. Moscow: Diaphragma.
- Stolbova, Olga V. 2016. *Chadic Etymological Dictionary*. Moskva: Institut vostokovedenija – Russkaja akademija nauk.
- Strooper, Harry. 1987. *A Comparative Study of Three Southern Oromo Dialects in Kenya*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Strooper, Harry. 1995. *A Grammar of Boraana Oromo (Kenya)*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Strooper, Harry. 2001. *A Concise Vocabulary of Orma Oromo (Kenya): Orma – English, English – Orma*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Strümpell, Kurt. 1911. 'Vergleichendes Wörterverzeichnis des Heidensprachen Adamaus'. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 42: 444–488.
- Strümpell, Kurt. 1923. 'Wörterverzeichnisse der Heidensprachen des Mandara-Gebirges (Adamaua)'. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 13: 47–75, 109–149.
- Stumme, Hans. 1899. *Handbuch des Schülhischen von Tazerwalt*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Takács, Gábor. 1996. 'Some Berber Etymologies'. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 38: 43–59.
- Takács, Gábor. 1997a. 'Selected New Egypto-Afrasian Correspondences from the Field of Anatomical Terminology'. In *Afroasiatica Neapolitana. Studi Africanisti*, edited by Alessandro Bausi and Mauro Tosco, 225–250. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Takács, Gábor. 1997b. 'The Common Afrasian Nominal Class Marker \*h'. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 2: 241–273.
- Takács, Gábor. 1997c. 'Aegyptio-Afroasiatica XII'. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 39: 93–98.
- Takács, Gábor. 1997d. 'Observations on the Phonetic Value of Some Egyptian Hieroglyphic Signs'. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 39: 99–103.
- Takács, Gábor. 1999. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian: Vol. I: A Phonological Introduction*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill.
- Tanaba, Wolde-Gebriel, Bekele, Zewde Cheru, and Klaus Wedekind. 1994. 'On the Wordlists of Diraasha (Gidole) and Muusiye (Bussa)'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 19: 3–17.
- Thelwall, Robin E.W. 1970. *Linguistic Investigations in the Sudan: Beja Wordlist*. Ms. Khartoum.
- Thiene, Gaetano da. 1939. *Dizionario della lingua galla*. Harar: Vicariato Apostolico.
- Thompson, R. Campbell. 1910. 'Some Hadendoa Words Hitherto Unpublished'. *Man* 95: 164–167; 99–100: 180–182.
- Tosco, Mauro. 1989. 'The Classification of Dahalo: Another perspective'. Paper presented at the *2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Turin, 16–18 November 1989.
- Tosco, Mauro. 1991. *A Grammatical Sketch of Dahalo*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Tosco, Mauro. 2001. *The Dhaasanac Language: Grammar, Texts and Vocabulary of a Cushitic Language of Ethiopia*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Tosco, Mauro. 2022. *A Gawwada Dictionary: A Cushitic Language of Sout-West Ethiopia*. Köln: Köppe.

- Tourneux, Henry. 1990. 'Place du masa dans la famille tchadique'. In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, edited by Hans G. Mukarovsky, 2: 249–260. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 41. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Tourneux, Henry, Christian Seignobos, and Francine Lafarge. 1986. *Les Mbara et leur langue (Tchad)*. Paris: SELAF.
- Tutschek, Charles. 1844–1845. *Dictionary of the Galla Language*. München: Lorenz Tutschek.
- Vanhove, Martine. 2000. 'Dire et les propositions subordonnées à valeur finale : un cas de grammaticalisation en bedja. Paper presented at the 30th Colloquium on African Languages and Linguistics, Leiden, August 2000.
- Vanhove, Martine. 2001. 'Y a-t-il des mi-nasales en bedja?'. Paper presented at the 31st Colloquium on African Languages and Linguistics, Leiden, August 2001.
- Vanhove, Martine, Mohamed-Tahir Hamid Ahmed, and Ahmed Abdallah Mohamed-Tahir. 2017. *Le bedja*. Leuven and Paris: Peeters.
- Venturino, Bartolomeo. 1973. *Dizionario Borana-Italiano*. Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana.
- Vergari, Moreno, and Roberta Vergari. 2003. *A Basic Saho-English-Italian Dictionary: With an English-Saho Index and Grammatical Notes by Giorgio Banti and Moreno Vergari*. Asmara: Sabur.
- Viterbo, Ettore. 1887. 'Vocabolario della lingua oromonica'. In *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, edited by Antonio Cecchi, 3: 269–398. Roma: Loescher.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1934. 'Hausa und Ägyptisch: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Hamitistik'. *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 37 (3): 36–116.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1953. 'Das persönliche Fürwort im Bedja und im Tigré [corr. Tigrinya]. Eine Studie zur Grammatik und Religionsgeschichte der Bedja Stämme'. *Muséon* 66: 157–161.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1958. 'Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo* 16: 367–405.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1960. 'The Beja Language Tū Bedawiye: Its Relationship with Old Egyptian'. *Kush* 8: 252–264.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1978. 'L'état actuel des études chamito-sémitiques'. In *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica Camito-Semítica: Firenze, 16–19 Aprile 1974*, edited by Pelio Fronzaroli, 63–76. Quaderni di Semitistica 5. Firenze: Istituto di Linguistica e di Lingue Orientali, Università di Firenze.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1983. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*. Leuven and Paris: Peeters.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1988. 'Beja – A Language with Seven Seals'. In *Cushitic-Omotiic: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Cologne, January 6–9, 1986, edited by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Fritz Serzisko, 411–430. Hamburg: Buske.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1989. 'Études de phonétique et d'étymologie berbères'. In *Journée d'études de linguistique berbère: Samedi 11 Mars 1989 à la Sorbonne*, 1–18. Paris: Publications Langues'O.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1990. *La vocalisation de la langue égyptienne. I. La phonétique*. Bibliothèque d'étude 16. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1992. 'Die pharyngalen Laute 'Ayin und Ḥā im Berberischen'. In *Komparative Afrikanistik: Sprach-, geschichts- und literaturwissenschaftliche Aufsätze zu Ehren von Hans G. Mukarovsky anlässlich seines 70. Geburtstags*, edited by Erwin Ebermann, Erich R. Sommerauer and Karl É. Thomanek, 383–386. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 44. Wien: Afro-Pub.

- Wahrmund, Adolf. 1898. *Handwörterbuch der neu-arabischen und deutschen Sprache*. II vols. Giessen & Ricker. Reprint, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1985.
- Watson, Charles Moore. 1888. *Languages Spoken at Suakin: Arabic, Hadendoa, Beni-Amer*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- Wb. = Erman, Adolf, and Hermann Grapow. 1971. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 6 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag (1st ed.: Leipzig 1928–1931).
- Wedekind, Charlotte, and Klaus Wedekind. 1995. 'A Survey of Awngi'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 28: 1–22.
- Wedekind, Klaus. 1995. 'The Wordlists of Amuru – Boro of Bulen – Boro of Wombera'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 29: 4–7.
- Wedekind, Klaus, Charlotte Wedekind, and Abuzeinab Musa. 2007. *A Learner's Grammar of Beja (East Sudan): Grammar, Texts and Vocabulary (Beja-English and English-Beja)*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Wedekind, Micha. 1995. 'A Survey of Boro (Shinasha)'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 25: 33–52.
- Wehr, Hans. 1958. *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Welmers, William E. 1952. 'Notes on the Structure of Saho'. *Word* 8: 145–162, 236–251.
- Wölfel, Dominik Josef. 1965. *Monumenta Linguae Canariae*. Graz: Akademische Verlag.
- Wölfel, Dominik Josef. 1955. *Eurafrikanische Wortschichten als Kulturschichten*. Acta Salamanticensia, Filosofía y letras 9,1. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.
- Yilma, Aklilu. 1994. *Wordlists of Sheko, Nao and Dizi*. Ms.
- Zaborski, Andrzej. 1986. *The Morphology of Nominal Plural in Cushitic Languages*. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 28. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Zaborski, Andrzej. 1989. 'Der Wortschatz der Bedscha-Sprache—eine vergleichende Analyse'. In *XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag: Vom 16. bis 20. September 1985 in Würzburg*, edited by Einar von Schuler, 573–591. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Zaborski, Andrzej. 1992. 'Traces of dual in Beja?'. In *Komparative Afrikanistik: Sprach-, geschichts- und literaturwissenschaftliche Aufsätze zu Ehren von H.G. Mukarovsky anlässlich seines 70. Geburtstags*, edited by Erwin Ebermann, Erich R. Sommerauer, and Karl É. Thomanek, 423–430. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 44. Wien: Afro-Pub 1992.
- Zealelem Leyew 1998. *Kemant Wordlist*. Ms.
- Zealelem, Leyew. 2003. *The Kemantney Language: A Sociolinguistic and Grammatical Study of Language Replacement*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Zyhlarz, Ernst. 1930. 'Das meroitischen Sprachproblem'. *Anthropos* 25: 409–463.
- Zyhlarz, Ernst. 1933. 'Ursprung und Sprachcharakter des Altägyptischen'. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 23: 25–45, 81–110, 161–194.
- Zyhlarz, Ernst. 1934–1935. 'Die Sprachreste der unteräthiopischen Nachbarn Altägyptens'. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 25: 161–188, 241–261.
- Zyhlarz, Ernst. 1956. 'Die Fiktion der "kuschitischen" Völker'. *Kush* 4: 19–37.