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An Excerpt from the ‘Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja: Natural Phenomena, Time and Geographical Terminology’

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

Keywords Beja, Cushitic, Afroasiatic, geography, meteorology, astronomy, terminology, etymology

The idea of *Etymological Dictionary of Beja* has its origin in one Viennese café in summer 1990, where I met with Andrzej Zaborski, one of the greatest specialists for Cushitic languages and specifically Beja. Thanks to Zaborsky’s energy and the positive reaction of Bernd Heine and Hans-Jürgen Sasse I have got Humboldt’s fellowship for this project and study of materials at the institutes headed by these scholars, Institute of African Studies and Institute of Linguistics at the University of Cologne respectively. In the end of the stay (1993–1994) the raw manuscript was in principle ready. Unfortunately, it was a real manuscript, written by hand. Only after the computer revolution in my home organized by my wife Marcela, I was able to start gradually rewriting the thick file into the electronic text. In 2003 the first two parts were published: ‘Fauna in Beja Lexicon’ (Blažek 2003a) and ‘Beja Kinship and Social Terminology’ (Blažek 2003b). The first version of ‘Natural Phenomena, Time and Geographical Terminology in Beja Lexicon’ was published in two parts (Blažek 2005; 2006).

The current version, however, represents the radically updated and supplemented text. Thanks to the longer period expired from finishing the first version



of the manuscript, the new data from the Beja lexicon can be included (namely Hudson ms. rewritten by Blench; Starkey field data for Ammar'ar; a rich Beja-English lexicon by Wedekind or valuable grammatical research of Vanhove). The same may be said about new special studies devoted to various Cushitic languages (e.g., the reconstruction of the Agaw protolanguage by Appleyard; new descriptions of Rendille by Pillinger and Galboran; Dasanech by Tosco; Konso by Ongaye Oda; Tsammakko by Savà; South Cushitic by KM) and other Afroasiatic branches (e.g. EDE I–III by Takács or SED by Militarev and Kogan). These new standards were already applied to the most recent parts of the 'Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja', devoted to the anatomical and botanical lexicon (Blažek 2020; 2021).

The richest sources of Beja natural phenomena and geographical terminology are five dictionaries: Munzinger (1864), Almkvist (1885, including older records), Reinisch (1895), Roper (1928), Wedekind (2007), a specialised article of Hess (1919), and from the recent time field records of Hudson rewritten by Blench (1996) and of Starkey for Ammar'ar (2004). Unfortunately, the complete lexical data collected by Vanhove in Sudan are not yet available. For the present study the relevant lexemes from her grammar of Beja were included (Vanhove 2017).

Lexical data

'*aa* f. 'time, period', *tə'aa* 'now', *ont'aa*, *ontəaa* 'now, at this time' (Rp) = *tʔa*, *ontʔa* 'maintenant' (Vh) = '*át* 'tempo', cf. *ont'á* 'ora, adesso' (Ci) = Bi *ónt'* 'now' (Th) = *oond'aab* and *oont'aab* adv. 'now, this time', where *oon* = 'this' (Wd)
Eg (MK) 3.t 'Zeit; Augenblick', *m t3 3.t* 'jetzt' (Wb. I: 1; Zyhlarz 1932–1933: 165, #1: Eg + Beja; Vycichl 1983: 56 connects it with 3.t 'Kraft', deriving it from Eg *w3y* 'einlassen' [OK], 'kommen' [MK]).

'*abbq* f., acc. '*abbaat* 'dry water course, khor' (HuB) = *ʔaba* 'oued' (Vh) = '*aba* f. 'khor' (Rp) = '*abä*^h, indet. *abaat* 'Trockental, Wâdī' (Hs) = *aba* f. 'Fluss, Bach' (Re) = *taba*, pl. *tabat* 'Torrent' (Mu) = Am *to'abat* 'khor, valley' (Star) = *abaat* f., def.sg. *tu'aba*, def.pl. *ti'aba* 'river, brook, khor' (Wd)

Leslau (1987: 6) seeks a source in the EtSe root *ʕ-b-y 'to be big', continuing in Amh *Abbay* 'Blue Nile', i.e. 'the big one'. In that case Gz *ʔabbāwi* 'river, the Blue Nile' should be 'created' according to the Amh pattern and the Cushitic counterparts (at least Oromo) would be borrowed:

Cu: (C) Bilin *aba*, pl. *af* 'ein gegrabener Brunnen, eine Zisterne' (Re) = *ʔäba* 'well' (Appleyard 2006: 167) || (E) Or (Tu) *abä*, nom. *abofni* 'river', or it represents a variant of the common Oromo designation of the Blue Nile, cf. Macha *Abbaya*, Guji *Abayi*, Borana *Abaya* (LVC).

Be: (E) Siwa *taba*, pl. *tibâwin* 'fossé d'écoulement des eaux captées dans les sources et servant; l'irrigation des jardins' (La).

Mukarovsky (1987: 298) added Chadic comparanda: (W) Ron: Sha (Jg) 'abáh 'river' || (C) Musgu (Ba) *ba* id., Girvidik *ba* id. (Meyer-Bahlburg) || (E) Tumak (Cp) *baa* id., but the last two examples are probably borrowed.

Note: Takács (EDE II: 160–161) thinks about a relation of Siwa and Musgu with Eg (BD) *bʃbʃ.t* 'stream' (Faulkner 1981: 81) = 'Bach, Flusschen' (WPS 1999: 293).

ábaab-háakwili m. 'Venus, as an evening star' (Rp) = Am *ababharkowri* 'Evening star' (Star)

A compound of *ab* 'kid, young goat' and intensive imperative from the diminutive of *hakwir* v.1 'to tie' (Rp)

afǵ 'yesternight' (HuB) = *ʔafa* adv. 'ce soir (passé)' (Vh) = Am *afa garab* 'yesterday evening' (Star) = *áfa* 'yesterday evening' (Rp) = *afa* m. 'die vergangene Nacht; Gestern', *afa-née* 'seit gestern' (Re) = *áf(a)* 'gestern' (Al) = *afa* 'night' (Bu) = *afa* adv. 'last night'

Dahalo *ʔáfíteete* 'shadow' (Ehret 1980: 281 compared it with Asa *firiya* id., reconstructing PSCu **ʔafi*–; later he compared this proto-form with Beja; see 1987: #193). Reinisch (1895: 8) compared *afa* with Som *aawo* and *ʔaawo* 'Nacht, späte Abend', *ʔaawa* 'heute Abend' (Reinisch 1902: 66) = *cawo* 'night, good fortune' (Luling). A regular counterpart of ECu **-f*- can be Beja *-w-*, but probably not vice versa: cf. Beja *tawǵay* 'mosquito', *ta(u)weg* 'mosquitoes' (Rp) vs. ECush **takf*- > Som *tagfi* 'flea' (Ab); Arbore *táfke* id. (Hy); Or: Wellega *tafk-ii* id. (Gg); see Sasse (1982: 177).

éefo f. 'die Hausflur, der allen besuchern zugängliche vordere Teil des Hauses' (Re) = *to'efo* 'äußeres Haus, Flur' (Mu)

Perhaps borrowed from EtSe, cf. Gz *ʔafʔā*, *ʔafʔa* 'out, outside (part), outdoors, outward, outside of, on the outside, beyond', Ti *ʔafʔa* 'outside', cf. also Awngi (CCu) *af* 'outside, outdoors', apparently of the same origin (Leslau 1987: 9).

afla m. 'Zeit, Stunde, besonders der gegenwärtige Augenblick', *afláay* 'jetzt', *afláan* 'jetzt, von jetzt an' (Re) = *aflaai* 'von jetzt an' (Al) = *aflai* id. (Mu) = *aflaa* and *aflan* 'then, now' (Wd)

affratt f., pl. *-a* 'cloud, white or rain, cumulus abstemious' (HuB) = *afrad* 'nuage' (Vh) = *afrad* f., pl. *-a* 'cloud (cumulus)' (Rp) = *afra* f. 'Wolke' (Re) = *áfrat* m. (sic) 'Wolke' (Al) = *ta áfrad* id. (Km)

Reinisch (1895: 9) connected it with Gz *qobār* 'fog, mist, darkness' and Ar *kafr* 'caligo nubium, darkness of night', cf. *kafrat* 'darkness' (Sg 890). Phonetically improbable. More promising seems to be a borrowing from Ar *ʕarfa* 'wind, odour' (Sg 687), *ʕarīf* 'first rain'; concerning semantics, cf. the Semitic cognates of the Arabic forms: Ug *ʕrpt* 'clouds', Akk *urpu*, pl. *urpāti* 'cloud(s)' (Gordon 1965: 461). Let us mention SSe parallels in Mehri *ʔāfōr*, EJibbali *ʔāfōr* 'cloud' (Jh).

eegaab m., def. *w'eega* 'smoke' (Wd) = *eeḍa* and *eega* 'fumée' (Vh) = *eegā* and *eedā* m. 'smoke', *eegas* v. caus. 'to fumigate' (HuB) = *éga* and *ēḍa* m. 'smoke', *ega* v. 2 'to smoke', caus. *egas* v.2 'to fumigate' (Rp) = *eeḍa* n. 'smoke' (Tl) = *éga* m. 'Rauch, Dunst', *egaa-s* v.2 caus. 'Rauch machen', *egaa-t* refl. 'rauchen, ein brennender Gegenstand' (Re) = Halenga *erda*, *érḍa* and *éeḍa*, besides *éega* m. 'Rauch' (Lp) = *éega* m. 'Rauch' (Al) = *o'ēge* 'Rauch', *egáte* 'rauchen', caus. *egásiya* (Mu)

CCh: Musgu *agíḡ* (Krause) = *egien* (Decorse) 'Rauch'.

It remains to explain the variant with medial *-d-/-ḍ-/-rḍ-* (cf. Afar [PaHy] *ṣer* and *ṣir* 'smoke'?).

agab f., pl. *-a* 'mountain pass' (HuB)

From SudAr *agaba* 'negotiable path over hill' (Roper 1928: 2).

eeki f. 'mist' (HuB)

?Om: (N) Gongga **aaḵ-* 'cold' > Shinasha *aaḵ*, Anfillo *aḵo*, Kafa *aako* (Be);

?Ch: (W) SBAuchi: Zaar *yàḵḡ* 'cold' (JgIb II: 79).

'ákil m. 'sharp cold weather' (Rp) = *akil* m. 'cold weather' (Wd)

akratiheel m. 'heap of stones, prehistoric grave' (HuB)

akwhiit f., def. *tu'akwhi* 'night' (Wd) = *akūhūt* adv. 'by night' (Rp) = *akwiit* f. 'night' (HuB) = *akohūtak* 'von Nacht' (Mu) = *akuūt* 'gestern' (Se)

Derived by the *a*-prefix from *kūhi*, *khwi* f. pl. 'first half of the night' (Rp), cf. *ámaag* 'bad' vs. *mig* v.1 'to do evil', *mag* v.1 refl. 'to be bad' or *akíṣ* 'miserly' vs. *kaṣ* v.1 refl. 'to be miserly' (Rp).

It resembles Kotoko (CCh) forms: Gulfei *áakiiuu* 'Morgen', Shoe *akisu* 'morgen' (Lukas 1937: 147, 154).

ulbaat f., def.sg. *tu'ulba*, def.pl. *ti'ulba* 'tin, can' (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *ṣulba* 'box, chest, trunk' (Sg 719).

eeloogani f. 'storm' (Wd) = *iiлогáni* f. 'whirlwind, dust-wind' (Rp) = *ilogáani* f., pl. *ilogáanya* 'Sturmwind, Orkan' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 14) connected it with Ar *ṣalaḡān* 'commotio, cursus' (Freytag); cf. also Ti *ṣəllagīt* 'storm' (LH 451).

alák m., pl. *-a* 'Wolke, düsterer, trüber Himmel; Trübe, Düster'; *alak* v.2 'trübe, düster, dunkel sein' (Re)

Ch: (W) NBauchi: Diri *àlàkwá*, Warji *lakwai*, Siri *laḡkwa* (Skinner 1977: 15; Mukarovsky 1987: 127 NBauchi + Beja);

Reinisch (1895: 14) compared it with Ar *ḥalak* 'nigredo', but one would expect *h-* in Beja.

alal m. 'wind' (HuB) = *alaal* m., pl. *alāl* 'whirlwind, dust-evil' (Rp)

It is tempting to compare it with the Semitic parallels: Aram and Post-Biblic Hb *ṣalōl*, Syr *ṣalṣālā* 'whirlwind' (Leslau 1987: 78 connects the Semitic data with Gz *ṣawlo* 'tempest, whirlwind').

elli gubay (~ *eri guubā*) 'double stars in the handle of the Plough' (HuB)

allak f. 'muddy water' (HuB)

There is a suggestive parallel in Hausa of Sokoto (WCh) *àllàkaa* 'sand' (Matsushita), maybe connected with *laakaa* 'clay' = *laaka* 'mud' (Skinner 1996: 184). Cf. Beja *ḥuk* [*lakʷ*] 'Lehm, Ton' (Re) etc.?

eluleenq m. 'constellation of Great Bear' (HuB)

eelaat f., def.sg. *tu'eela* 'water hole' (Wd)

Cu: (E) **ʔeel-* > Saho *ʔeela* 'well' (Vergari), Afar *ʔèela* 'well' (PaHy); Somali *ʔeel* 'well' (Luling), Boni of Kilii *eel*, pl. *éélā* 'well' (He); Dasanech *ʔeel* 'water-hole' (To), Elmolo *éel* 'grave' (He); Oromo: Borana, Orma, Waata *eela* 'well, pit' (Stroemer), Konso *ela*, Dirayta *eel* 'well'; Sidamo *eela* 'low place, esp. where water can be found', Kambatta *eloo* 'well', *eela* 'pond, pool', Gedeo *eela* 'pond, pool', Hadiyya *eera* 'salt lake' (Sasse), *leera* 'pond, pool' (Hudson), Burji *eela* 'water-hole, pond, pool', *eelá* 'river' (Hudson 1989: 115); Tsamakko *ʔelko*, pl. *ʔelle* 'wells' (Savà), Gawwada *ʔelḥó*, Gawwada of Dalpene *ʔelxó* 'water hole' (AMS); Yaaku *ʔel*, pl. *ʔéli* 'well' (Heine 1974–1975: 137; Sasse 1982: 67; Black 1974: 109, 113); ?(S) NWRift **ḥaala* 'well, waterhole' > Iraqw *ḥalaangw* ~ *ḥala* 'well', Gorowa *ḥaala*, Alagwa *ḥaala* (KM 147); Qwadza *xalito* 'waterhole' (Ehret 1980: 306, n. IX.D.14 added also Dahalo *helelaaḏ-* 'to flow').

Eg (Pyr) *ʔ3ʔ* 'Wasserloch' (Wb. I: 166) = 'Wasserablass, Ablaufrinne, Feldbrunnen' (WPS 292), besides (Gr) *ʔrj.t* 'Art Gewässer' and (Gr) *ʔnj* 'Art Gewässer' (Wb. I: 209, 189), plus *ʔr* 'Tümpel' (WPS 292).

Berber: Ghadames *tala* 'puits alimenté par une source, équipé de leviers basculants pour puiser l'eau et l'élever au niveau d'écoulement voulu' (Lanfry 1973: 174); Ahaggar *tāhāla*, pl. *tihāliwīn* 'petite source' (Fc) < **tā-haHL-āH*, pl. **tī-haHL-iwīn* (Prasse 1974: 339, §FF.I.A.3).

elitneen 'Monday' (HuB) = *eletnéen* and *letneen* f. id. (Rp) = *litneent* f. 'Monday' (Wd) = *eletnéen*, *letnūin* and *etnūin* f. 'Montag' (Re) = *telletnên* id. (Se)

Borrowed from Ar (*yawm*) *al-ʔitnayn* 'Monday' (Wehr 95), lit. '(day)-of/on the two (obl.du.)'.

Am *omaa* ‘east’ (Star); see *mhaab*, def.sg. *oomha* ‘morning, dawn; east’ (Wd)

imai m. ‘North wind at the beginning of winter’ (HuB) = *’îma* m. ‘autumn, the season between summer rains and winter (Oct-Nov)’ (Rp) = *éma* and *îma* m. ‘Spätherbst und Winter (Okt-Feb)’ (Re) = *imáay* m. ‘Spätherbst’ (Al) = *eemab* ‘Winter (November-März)’ (Mu)

Cu: (E) Som *mayay* ‘dawn rain; heavy rain, downpour’ (Luling) = ‘ein zwei bis drei Tage lang andauernder leichter Regen’ (Re).

amadi m. ‘midnight, time of milking camels’, *amadaab* ‘unmilked’ (HuB)

amar m., def.sg. *w’amar*, def.pl. *w’amra* ‘cave’ (Wd) = *amar*, pl. -a m. ‘cave’ (Rp) = *’amer*, indet. *ameraab*, pl. *i ’amere* ‘Höhle, abris sous roche’ (Hs) = *améer*, pl. -a m. ‘Höhle’ (Re) = Am *amar* ‘cave’ (Star)

Reinisch (1893: 46, §77c; 1895: 19) assumed the metathesis from **ma’éer*, connecting it with Ar *mağār*, pl. *mağā’ir* ‘cave, grotto’ (Sg 1031). But in Beja, Ar *ğ* is substituted by *g*, cf. *garīb* < Ar *ğarb* ‘west’ or *bagāl* < Ar *bağl* ‘mule’ etc. (Reinisch 1893: 25, §42).

Cu: (S) NWRift sgl. **maraʔiya* ‘cave’ > Iraqw *marʔi*, Gorowa *marʔi*, Alagwa *marʔi*, Burunge *marʔiya*, pl. **maraʔoo* > Iraqw, Gorowa *marʔoo*, Alagwa *marʔoo*, Burunge *marʔoo* ~ *marʔiyoo* ‘caves’ (KM 203–204).

Woelfel (1965: 600–601) mentioned a similarity of the Beja word ‘cave’ and Guanche **amar* with a hypothetical meaning ‘cave’ reconstructed according to *Amartihuya*, the name of one cave on Palma. He tried to find an etymological background in Berber: (S) Tuareg of Ahaggar *mar* ‘être ouvert’, Taitoq *imera* ‘il est ouvert, specieux’ (ibid.). Stroomer (p.c., Aug 1998) drew my attention to the Berber verbal root **H-r-H* (cf. Prasse 1973: 122–123), continuing in (E) Ghadames *ar* || (S) Ahaggar *ar*, Ayr, Iulemidden *ar* ‘ouvrir’.

amas adv. ‘at night’, *amasing’aab* adv. ‘midnight’ (Wd) = *amas* adv. ‘nuitamment’, *amsi* adv. ‘aujourd’hui’ (Vh) = *amass* m. ‘time from sunset to sunrise’, *amass anga* and *anass anga* besides *amass niga* ‘midnight’ (HuB) = *ámse* adv. ‘oggi’ (Ci) = Ammar’ar *’amás* ‘in night’ (Do) = *ámse* adv. ‘today, one day’, *amsenók* adv. ‘one day, there came a day’, perhaps also *ámsei* f., pl. *aamsäya* ‘present’, esp. ‘by suitor to prospective mother-in-law’; further cf. *mäs* m. pl. ‘late evening, night’, *áamas énga* ‘midnight’ (Rp) = *amás* m. ‘der späte Abend, die Dunkelheit, Finsterniss, Nacht’, *amas-í-nga* ‘in der tiefen Nacht, um Mitternacht’, abl. *amsée* and *amsü* ‘heute’, d.i. ‘von gestern Abend bis jetzt vor dem Abend, da der Tag von Sonnenuntergang an’ (Re) = *’amás* ‘heute Abend’: *ámse* ‘heute’ (Al) = *amsee* ‘heute’ (Mu) = *emszih* id. (Se)

Almkvist (1885: 4) and Reinisch (1895: 19) connected it with Ar adv. *?amsi* and *bi-l-?amsi* ‘yesterday, time just past’, *musya ?amsi* ‘last night’, *misy/musy* and *masā?*

'evening' (Sg 77, 994, 1003). The Beja etymon could be both borrowed from Ar and inherited, regarding the suggestive cognates in other AA branches:

Cu: (S) **?amasi* 'night' > Iraqw *?amsi?* 'midnight', Gorowa *?amsi* 'night', Burunge and Alagwa *?amasi* 'night' (KM 55: NWRift **?amasi*); Qwadza *amasiya* 'tomorrow'; ?Maa *amá* 'night' (Ehret 1980: 297);

?Om: (N) Zayse *ansoo* 'oggi' (Ce);

Be: (S) Tuareg of Iulemmiden and Ayr *āṇsu* 'passer la nuit' (Alojaly); (N) Rif, Izna-cen, Senhaja *ens* id. (Renisio), Nefusi *ens* 'pernottare' (Beguinet) etc.

Eg (Pyr) *msw.t*, (MK) also *msy.t* 'Abendbrot; Mahlzeit' (Wb. II: 142);

Se: Akk *mūšu* and *mišu* 'night', Hb *ʔemēš* 'yesterday', Soqotri *imšin* 'evening', Ar *masā* (*m-s-y*), Gz *masya* 'to become evening', *məsət* 'evening', Ti *māsa* and *məsət* id. resp. (Leslau 1987: 368), *?amsa* 'to pass the evening', *māsē*, pl. *?am-suy* 'evening' (LH 121) > Bilin *mise*, pl. *amsuy* 'Abend' (Re; /s/ = z in his transcription).

Cohen (1947: #472) Beja + Bilin + Be + Eg + Se; Dolgopolsky (1973: 142) added the SCu and NOM data. All comparanda are summarised and evaluated in EDE (III: 558–562).

ana m. 'Tageslicht, der Morgen', *woo-án-i* (*deháay*) 'am Morgen' (Re)

Probably reanalyzed from *wána* adv. 'at dawn, early morning' (Rp) = *wana* adv. 'this morning' (Wd).

'ánda m. 'a deep fixed shadow'; f. 'a more mobile fleeting shadow' (Rp) = *n?andaa* 'ombre' (Vh) = *'andaaab* m. 'shade', def.sg. *ul'anda*, def.pl. *il'anda* (Wd)

Probably shortened from *'andala* 'shadow' (Rp) = *andalaab* m. 'shadow', def.sg. *w'andala*, def.pl. *y'andala* (Wd) = *andala* m. 'Schatten', *wuu-ándala* 'der Schatten' (Re) = *wándala* m. 'Schatten' (Al).

Cf. Ch: (E) Dangla *aando*, Migama *â:ndòṅ*, Jegu *?ántiṅ*, Birgid *?àndàṅè* 'night', Kabalai *àndà*, Lele *ìndùwá* 'black' (JgIb II: 29, 257).

endi and *di* f., with art. *teendi*, acc. *di(i)t* 'iron' (HuB) = *indí* and *di*, with art. *to-ndí* f. 'ferro' (Ci) = *di* f., acc. *diit*, with art. *tuundi* (nom.), *tóndi* (acc.) 'iron' (Rp) = *deet* f., def.sg. *toondi*, def.pl. *teendi* 'metal, iron' (Wd) = *endi*, énde f., acc. *endiit*, with art. *túundi* 'Eisen' (Re) = *énde*, énde f. id. (Al) = *to'endi*, acc. *endit* (Mu) id. = *[tó]nda* id. (Salt)

There are two etymological approaches, depending on inclusion (1) or exclusion (2) of *en-* as an integral part of the root:

(1) Reinisch (1895, 22) assumed metathesis from **ediin*, seeking an original source in EtSe: Gz *ḥaššin* 'iron, sword, weapon, iron tool', Ti *ḥašin*, Ty *ḥašin*, *ḥənši* 'iron' (Leslau 1987: 267), perhaps via CCu, cf. Khamir *ačín* 'Eisen, Lanze, Speer, Schlacht' (Re); cf. also Beja *hadīid* 'ferro' (Ci) and TiBA *ḥadi:dat* 'iron' (Nakano and Tsuge).

(2) Hudson (l.c.) sees in *(en)di* a derivative of *daai* ‘good’, with the article *endai* (Rp).

eŋga and *éŋge*, *éŋgi* f. ‘Mitte(n)’, *t-engáa-t tibaláay* ‘Mittelfinger’ (Re) = *te’engi* ‘Mitte, mitten’ (Mu) = *tingate tibalá* ‘Mittelfinger’ (Se), perhaps identical with *nīga* m. ‘waist, small of back, middle’, *nīgat* f. ‘middle finger’ (HuB).

Reinisch (1895: 23) connected Beja *eŋga* etc. with Bilin *anqay* ‘Loch, Höhle; Inneres, die Mitte, Zentrum, das Innere’; further cf. Qwara *anḡay* ‘Inneres, Innerteil’, Khamir *aḡay* ‘Loch, Höhle’ (Reinisch 1887: 40); Awngi *ay* ‘inside’ < CCu **ʔanq-* ‘inside’ (Appleyard 2006: 87). Cf. also SSe: Mehri *ṣāmḵ*, East Jibbali *ṣamḵ* ‘middle’ (Jh).

anguudā m. ‘Egyptian’, adj. *angudaliib* (HuB)

enkhi ‘upper’ (Rp) = *imkhi* (~ *imkhay*) ‘above, upper’ (HuB)

The prep. *kehii* ‘at, at a position’ (Wd) = *khi*, *khaj* ‘sur’ (Vh) = *k(e)h*, *khw*, *kūh* ‘on, over, above’ (Rp) with article (Roper 1928: 203).

Cu: (E) **kaʃ-* ‘to get up’ > Saho *-uy-kuʃ-* caus. ‘to lift, carry’; Som *kaʃ-*, Boni *kaʔ-*; Dasanech *ke(?)*-, Elmolo *keʔ-* ‘to go away’, caus. *ke-is-* ‘to raise’; Oromo *kaʔ-* ‘to arise, get up, stand up; happen, occur’ (Gg), Konso *xa-*, Dirayta *ha-*; Tsamakko *kaʔ-* ‘to get up’ (Savà), Gawwada *xaʃ-* ‘to fly’, Dobase, Gollango *haʃ-* id.; Sid *kaʔ-* ‘to get up, go away’, Burji *kaʔ-* ‘to get up’; Yaaku *keʔe* ‘to put up, plant’ (Sasse 1979: 11–12, 36, 54; 1982: 112; Black 1974: 204); *ʔ(S)* Alagwa *yukuhus-* ‘to put load on top of another’ (Ehret 1987: 129 n. 562 Beja + Gollango *yak-* ‘to heap up’ + Alagwa).

onun (~ *enin*) f. ‘kohl, black antimon’ (HuB) = *enen* f. (Rp) = *hinint* f. ‘antimonium’, def.sg. *tuhinin*

Cf. *on* v.2 ‘to khol’ (Rp).

oont’aab and *oond’aab* adv. ‘now, this time’ (Wd)

See *’aá* f. ‘time, period’, *tə’aá* ‘now’, *ont’aá*, *ontəaá* ‘now, at this time’ (Rp).

ántiimhaa adv. ‘this year’ (Rp) = *antima* ‘this current year’ (HuB) = Am *antemha* ‘this year’ (Star)

A compound consisting of *entói* ‘here, in this place’ (Rp), plus *mase* f. ‘year’ (HuB) = *masseet* id. (Wd)?

ari f. ‘boundary stone or heap of stones’ (HuB) = *’are* m./f. (dim.), acc. *’ariib/’ariit* ‘hill covered with granite boulders’ (Rp) = *u ’ari^h*, indet. *ariib* ‘Fels’ (Hs)

Cu: (C) Bilin *ʔarora* ‘hill’ (Appleyard 2006: 84 compared it with Tigre *ʔarori* and *ʔarera* ‘slope’); Waag *ároa* ‘hill, mountain’ (Bk) || *ʔ(E)* Saho *arar* ‘mountain top’

(Re; Sasse 1979: 48 derived it from PECu *k'ar- 'top'), Som (Ab) *aror* 'mountain slope';

?Eg *i3.w* 'Erdhügel, Kom, Tell', *i3.t* 'Stätte, Ort, (bewohnter) Erdhügel, Ruine, Tell, zerstörter Ort' (WPS 286; Wb. I: 26 only MEg *i3.t*);

Be: (S) Tuareg of Ahaggar *târayt*, pl. *târaîn* 'escarpement rocheux formant un anneau sur tout le pourtour d'une montagne' (Fc) < **t-Harāy-t* (Prasse 1974: 72);

Ch: (E) Gabri *ara* 'mountain' (GD).

Am *araab* 'khor', maybe also *orab* 'stream', if *o-* does not represent the article (Star)

Cf. *ariba* 'to fetch water', *aruub* 'fetching water', *arbiib* m., def.sg. *w'arbi*, def.pl. *y'arbi* id. (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *ṣaraba*, pl. *ṣarab* 'rapid stream', *ṣarib* 'great quantity of pure water' (Sg 682).

eru (*iri*) 'yesterday', *eru betkay* 'day before yesterday', *eru too suri* 'three days ago' (HuB) = *iru/iri/ura* 'yesterday' (Wd) = Am *era* 'yesterday' (Star) = *irooi* 'yesterday' (Ti) = *éri, úri, úru* adv. 'yesterday' (Rp) = *éèro, éere, úri* 'gestern Abend' (Re) = *éru, úra, úre* id. (Al) = *eró* 'gestern' (Mu) = *era* id. (Km) = *ourra/ura* 'hier' (Li) Cu: (E) Arbore *?arrāw* (Hy), Elmolo *arrau* 'evening' (He); ?Yaaku *mé'éri* 'evening' (He).

aarbaa (*t'arbaa*) 'Wednesday' (HuB) = *arba'aat* f., def.sg. *tu'arb'a*, def.pl. *ti'arb'a* (Wd) = Am *arbaat* id. (Star) = *arbáa* f. id. (Rp) = *arb'a* f. 'Mittwoch' (Re) = *árba* f. id. (Al) = *teârba* id. (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *al-?arbiṣā?/al-?arbaṣā?* 'Wednesday'; cf. also Ti *?arärbəṣa* id. (LH 358; Leslau 1982: 7).

ard m. 'Land' (Re) = Am *ard* 'land' (Star)

Borrower from Ar *?arḍ* id.

erda and *erḍa* 'Rauch' (Lp), see *eega* and *eeda* 'smoke' (HuB) etc.

Am *oreef* 'north' (Star)

erej m. 'Nebel' (Al)

Related with *erda* and *erḍa* 'Rauch' (Lp)?

arér m., pl. *árëra* 'Blei, Bleikugel' (Re) = *arer* id. (Mu)

Borrowed from EtSe: Gz *ṣarar* 'lead', Ti, Ty *ṣarār*, Amh *arār* id.; CCu counterparts are of the same origin: Bilin *arāra* 'Schiesskugel, Bleikugel zum Schiessen', Khamir *arír* 'Blei' (Re), see Leslau (1987: 71).

irra m. 'vertical bank of khor' (Rp)

?ECu: Afar (PaHy) *àru*, pl. *arwa* 'bank of stream' or Konso *írrota* 'mountain' (Bl).

arri-mass 'night before last' (HuB)

A compound consisting of *arri* 'after (time or position), behind' and *amass* 'time from sunset to sunrise' (HuB).

arroi nii m. 'misty cloud' (HuB)

Cf. ECu: Konso *urratta* 'mist' or *oraaraa* 'cloud in the sky'? (On)

arāwa m. 'Nähe, Seite', *arāwāa-y* 'an der Seite, neben' (Re); cf. *araaw* m., def.sg. *w'araaw*, def.pl. *y'araw* 'friend; other' (m.) (Wd)

Perhaps borrowed from Ti *ʔarfāt* 'side', cf. Gz *ʔaraft* 'wall; bulwark, partition of boards' (LH 361; Leslau 1987: 37). The substitution of -w- by -f- in Beja is not unknown, cf. Beja *nawar* 'Seil, Strick' vs. Eg (MK) *nfry.t* 'Strick mit dem man das Steuerruder lenkt' (Wb. II: 262); the comparison was proposed by Reinisch (1895: 187) and accepted by Vycichl (1960: 260). The vacillation *f* ~ *w* is even attested in various records, cf. *šifig* 'to haste' (Rp) vs. *šewig* 'eilen' (Re).

εεε f. 'blast, squall, gust', *baramūt εεε* 'gust of wind' (Rp)

asir m., def.sg. *w'asir* 'evening, prayer time' (Wd) = *ʔasir* 'après-midi' (Vh) = *asīr* m. 'Nachmittag' (Re) = *ásir* id. (Al) = [w]assir id. (Se) = Am *asir* 'evening' (Star)

Borrowed from Ar *ʕaṣr* 'day or night, evening, morning, afternoon' (Sg 700; Wehr 554).

issi (var. *bhissi*, i.e. **w-hissi*?) m. 'sand' (HuB) = *ʔassi*, acc. *ʔasseet* 'sable' (Vh) = *essé-t* 'sabbia' (Ci) = *asseet* 'sand' (Tl) = *asse*, *isse* (*isset*) 'sand'; m. 'coarse', f. 'fine sand' (Rp) = *u* 'isse^h', indet. *issēḡb* 'Staub, zerriebene Erde, unreiner Sand' (= Ar *turāb*) (Hs) = *isa*, *íse* m. 'feiner Sand' (Re) = *úse(i)*, *wíse* m./f. 'Erdreich, Erdboden; Staub' (Al) = [te]esze 'Sand' (Mu) = [u]ussa 'Staub' (Km)

Ch: (W) Hausa *yààshíf*; Ankwe *héés*; Ron: Fyer *hós*; Karekare *aysi*, Galambu *wùsá*; Mburku *yáàshí*; Guruntum *washà*; Ngizim *áisaw* || (C) Tera *wuʔyi*, Chibak *wiaḡe*; Margi *shishuà*; Ngwaxi (Hoffmann) *hashu*; Buduma *keesa* || ?(E) Sumray *gàwsīnī*, Tumak *kəsaŋ*, Ndam *kuusaayny*; Dangla *góósine*; Kwan *giśíny*; Mubi *sínìyó* etc. 'sand' (JgIb II: 280–281; Stolbova 1987: 231, #794 reconstructed PWCh *8asi). Maybe, some of these parallels do not belong here and represent cognates of Beja *haaš* 'sand, dust, earth' (see below).

iša and *aša* m. 'Spätabend, Anbruch der Nacht' (Re) = *ʔiifa* 'soir' (Vh)

Borrowed from Ar *ʕiṣāʔ* 'evening', *ʕaṣāʔ* 'supper' (Sg 696).

ušee m. 'district, place' (HuB) = *'ášay* m., pl. *'áše* 'site, place, position (esp. of dwelling)' (Rp) = *u 'ašaay* 'Ort, Platz', *i 'äšey* 'verlassene Lagerstätte' (Hs) = *ye'eshei* 'verlassenes Lager' (Mu)

Almkvist (1885: 20) speculated about identity of this word and *úšay* (Al) = *eša* (Se) 'Harn', '... woran es jedenfalls auf einem verlassenen Lagerplatz kein Mangel ist'.

ašti f. 'silver, money' (HuB) = *ašteet* f., def.sg. *tu'ašti* 'silver' (Wd) = *ašte* f. 'silver', *aštet-kwotana* 'silversmith' (Rp) = *'ašta*, *'ášte* f. 'Ring, Silberring; Geld', *ášta kat'ána* 'Silberschmied' (Re) = Hdd *teshtë* 'silver' (Wt) = *ášta*, *ášte* 'Silber, Geld' (Al) = *t'eshtë*, acc. *eshtëb* (corr. certainly -t) (Mu) = *[t]ashtëh* 'Silber', *woastetkotana* 'Silberschmidt' (Se)

The closest parallel appears in Afar *asta* 'the silver-headed stick of the sultan given as surety, mark of identification' (PaHy). A foreign origin of this cultural word is very probable, but the attempt of Reinisch (1895: 34) to identify Gz *hašada* 'to twist, make tight, bend, curve', *ḥʷəṣād* 'ring, hook, clasp, twisted' (Leslau 1987: 267) as a source is not convincing. On the other hand, Reinisch is probably right finding a borrowing from this EtSe source in Beja *hášša* m. 'Kreis, Rundung' (1895: 130).

atmúur m., pl. *atmír* 'plain' (Rp) = *atmuur* m., def.sg. *w'atmuur*, def.pl. *y'atmuura* 'bush species, in the plains' (Wd) = *u 'atmuur*, pl. *i 'atmir* 'jede Ebene mit feinem Kiese und Sand und von einer Ausdehnung von ½–1 Tagereise' (Hs) = *atmúur* m. 'die Wüste, besonders der nubische Teil zwischen Abu-Hammad und Korosko' (Re)

Borrowed from Ar (El-ʿAbâbde) *ʿatmūr*, in Nağd *ʿötmūr* means 'kleinere Dünenwelle' (Hess 1919: 211).

atsuur m. 'country round Atbara river' (HuB)

Cannot it be a mistaken record of *atmúur* 'plain' (Rp)?

atrúun f., pl. *átrin* 'Natron' (Re) = *atruun* m., def.sg. *w'atruun* 'soda' (Wd) = Am *atrun* 'rock salt' (Star)

Borrowed from Ar *naṭrūn* 'natron, borax' (Sg 1128), perhaps via Nile Nubian *atrúun* id. (Re).

aweeb m., def.sg. *w'awi*, def.pl. *y'awi* 'stone' (Wd) = *?awi*, acc. *?aweeb* 'pierre' (Vh) = *auwi* m. id. (HuB) = *aweeb* 'stone, rock' (Tl) = Am *'oweb* 'stone'; *awab* 'hill' (Star) = *'áwe* m. 'stone' (Rp) = *awe* m. 'Stein' (Re) = *áwe*, pl. *áwa/áwe* (Al) = *o'auee*, pl. *ye'aue* 'Stein', cf. *sikuauneb* 'Quarzit' < acc. **siku awn-eeb* '*bright stone' (Mu; cf. Reinisch 1893: 9–10, §16; 1895: 36) = *away* (Bu) = *waueeh* (Kc) = *[wu]auiy* (Se)

Cu: (C) Bilin, Qwara, Kemant *amba*, Khamir *aba* (Re), Khamtanga *ábba* (Ap), Awngi *ambe* ‘mountain’ (CR) < **amb-* < **’anb-* < **ʔabn-* (?), cf. also the EtSe counterparts: Ti *ʔamba*, Ty *ʔamba* ‘table-mountain’ (LH), Gafat, Amh *amba* > Gz *ʔambā* ‘flat-topped mountain’ (Appleyard 1977: 76; 2006: 102; Leslau 1987: 23);

Ch (W) **ʔabuni* ‘millstone’ (Stolbova 1987: 230) > Ankwe *fūn*, Kofyar *fūn*; Tangale *pīn*, Karekare *būnī*; Kirfi *būnī*; Kariya *vun*; Jimbin *ávàná*; Zaar *vuun*; Ngizim *vənyí* || (C) Tera *vəna*; Wandala *úvraq*; Gidar *búúna nq aqa*; Musgu *fúni*; Zime-Batna *vəná* || (E) Kera *kuuni* (Newman 1977: 27, #63; JgIb II: 172–173; Stolbova 1996: 81); PBe: (E) ?Ghadames *ʔbānt*, pl. *bāntān* ‘boulet de pierre à piler les noyaux’ (Lanfry) || (S) Ayr *təwint*, Iulemmiden *təhunt*, pl. *šihun* (Alojaly), Taitoq *tahunt*, pl. *tihun* ‘pierre’ (Masqueray) || (W) Zenaga *tò’ntʰ* ‘enclume’ (Nicolai) || (N) Shilh of Tazerwalt *taggunt* ‘Stein’, pl. tantum *aggun* ‘Gestein’ (Stumme), Sus *aggun* and *awwun* ‘pierre’ (Laoust); Kabyle *tawent* ‘grosse pierre’ (Dallet) ||| Numidian *bn* ‘stone’ (Rössler) ||| Guanche *tavonas* ‘knives made of sharp stones’, *tabona* ‘piedra ó hacha cortante’, *tauona* ‘piedra que les servia de cuchillo’ etc., cf. also the place-name *Abona* (Woelfel 1965: 535–536, 599; Rössler 1964: 214 reconstructed PBe **abūn*; Kossmann 1999: #208 **taHunt*);

Eg (MK) *bnw.t*, (18th dyn.) *bnwj.t* ‘Mühlstein; Art harter Stein, als Baumaterial’, Coptic Bohairic ⲉϥⲛⲓ, Middle Egyptian Coptic ⲟϥⲛⲉ ‘meule (inférieure)’ < **’ewn*^o < **’ebnōyet* < **benwōyet* (Vycichl 1983: 48–49), while Eg (Med) *ibnw* ‘ein mineralischer Stoff: Alaun?’ (Wb. I: 63), Demotic *3bn* ‘Alaun’, Coptic Sahidic ⲟⲃⲛ, Bohairic ⲟⲃⲉⲛ id. (Vycichl 1983: 154) is probably a WSe lw.;

PSe **ʔābun-* ‘stone’ > Akk *abnu*, Ug *ābn*, Hb *ʔēben*, Samaritan Hb *ʔābān*, pl. *ʔābānām*, Aram-Syr *ʔabnā*, EpSA *ʔbn*, Soqotri *ʔoben*, Mehri *ḥa-ubin*, Gz *ʔabn*, Ti *ʔabən*, Gurage *əmən*, Harari *ūn*; cf. also Ar *ʔabān* ‘proper name of Petra’ (Dolgopolsky 1986: 78; Leslau 1987: 4).

Lit.: EDE (II: 212–215) Beja + Ch + Be + Se.

’aawi f. ‘noon; zenith’, *hānat’aawi* ‘forenoon’ (Rp) = *aawiit* f., def.sg. *tu’aawi*, def. pl. *ti’aawi* ‘forenoon’ (Wd) = *awi* f. ‘Morgen- und Abendröte, Dämmerungszeit’ (Re) = Am *awiit* ‘midday, noon’ (Star)

Cu: (C) Awngi *áwá* ‘sun’ (Ht) = *awáa* and *awíi* ‘sole, luce’ (CR), Kunfál *awi* ‘sun’ (Cowley), although Appleyard (2006: 130) identifies in these South Agaw forms the Omotic loans || ?(E) Konso and Dirayta *awwe* ‘today’ (Black) and/or Konso *aw-ḏ-* ‘(sun) appears and gives heat’, *aw-s-aḏ-* ‘to warm oneself’ (Black), Oromo *ow’-* ‘to become warm’ (Black 1974: 101 POromoid **awf-*);

Om: (N) Wolayta, Dawro, Gamu, Dache, Zayse, Yemsa *awa* ‘light of the sun, heat of the sun’, Zala, Gofa, Koyra *awwaa* ‘sun’, Tsara *awaa* id., Shinasha *aawa* ‘sun, day(light)’, Anfillo, Kafa *abo* ‘sun, day’, Mocha *aabe* ‘sun’, *aabo* ‘heat of the sun’, Bench *ab* ‘day, time’ (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 302); Omoto > Gurage: Gyeto *āwayä*, Ennemor *āwāyā* ‘sun, light of the sun’ (Leslau 1986: 381).

'*áawili* and '*awli* m. 'all the country west of the crest of the Red Sea hills', cf. '*awil* v.1 'to move westwards from the Red Sea hills' (Rp) = '*awila* v.2 'to move west' (Wd), besides Am '*awilib* 'west' (Star)

Perhaps derived from the Arabic verb *ʔāla* (*ʔ-w-l*) 'to return, come to a pass' etc. (Sg 94).

'*awle* m. 'Missjahr, Hungerjahr, Dürre, Hungersnot' (Re) = '*áule* m. 'dürres, schlechtes Jahr (in Bezug auf die Ernte), Hungerjahr, Hungersnot' (Al)

Could it be related to '*awláay* 'Sturmwind' (Re)?

'*awláay* m. 'Sturmwind, Sturm' (Re) = '*aulei* 'Bergwind' (Mu)

Borrowed from Ti '*ʔawlay* 'wind', cf. Gz '*ʕawlo* 'tempest, whirlwind, storm', Amh and Soddo '*awlo nafas* 'hurricane, whirlwind', similarly as Khamir '*awla* (Reinisch 1895: 36; Leslau 1979: 113; 1987: 78).

áwri adv. 'noon (the period 11 a.m. to 1 p.m.); today' (Rp) = '*ʔawri* adv. 'cet après-midi (passé)' (Vh)

It could be derived from '*aawi* 'noon; zenith' (Rp).

But there are two sets of possible external cognates derivable from 1) **(ʔa-)bur-*; 2) **ʔawir-* > **ʔayir-*:

1) Cu: (E) Saho '*abori* 'die Röte am Himmel' (Re); Boni '*bóro* 'tomorrow' (He); Elmolo '*búrre* 'morning' (He); Oromo: Macha '*boru*, Borana '*bori* 'tomorrow' (LVC) || Dahalo '*ḅurra* 'morning' (Ehret 1980: 321 compared Dahalo with Som '*berri* 'tomorrow', '*bari* 'east', Oromo '*berīye* 'dawn'; cf. also Bayso '*bari* 'morning', Rend '*bárío* 'dawn' (He), Burji '*baráy* 'yesterday', while Sasse (1982: 34) reconstructed PECu **bar-/ber-/bor-* 'dawn, morning, tomorrow';

Om: (S) Hamar of Karo '*bu(u)ri* 'to be morning' (Fl).

2) Cu (E) **ʔayr-* > Afar '*ayro* 'day, sun', Saho '*ayro* 'sun', Som Tunni '*irrə* 'sun', Jiddu '*ariyə* id., Bayso '*arri* 'day, noon', '*arii-ti* 'sun', *ʔArbore* '*ʔarráw* 'afternoon' (Hy); Sidamo '*arriššo*, Alaba '*aarriccu-tʰ*, Kambatta '*aarricco*, Hadiyya '*eelli-nco*, *ʔBurji* '*hinʔ-ícço* 'sun' (Haberland and Lamberti 1988: 72–73; cf. Sasse 1982: 97) || Om: (N) Kafa '*arraa* 'luce', *dač-arraa* 'mattino, alba' (Ce); EtSe counterparts can also be of ECu origin, cf. Harari '*ir*, Selti, Wolane '*ayr*, Ennaqor '*ayir*, Zway '*ar-it*, Gogot '*aret* etc. (Cerulli 1951: 403; Leslau 1963: 30–31 also admitted a derivation from the Se root **ʔ-m-r*, cf. Gz '*ʔamir* 'day, sun'); the variant **ʔawr-* perhaps continues in Arbore '*ʔurró* 'today' (Hy), Elmolo '*urrow* 'day' (Haberland and Lamberti 1988: 72); cf. further Oromo '*orraa* 'daylight' (> Burji '*orraa-ttée* 'day, daytime'), Rendille '*orraḥ*, Boni '*orah*, Som '*orrax* ~ '*qorrax* 'sun' with unclear *q-* (Sasse 1982: 156).

aaymam 'spending the day' (Wd) = '*aiyim* v.1 'to rest in the shade' (HuB) = '*aay-im* v.1 'to pass the noon-time (10 a.m. to 2 p.m.)', cf. *šlbo* '*áayima* 'good day' (Rp) = '*áayim*, yaawim, Barka '*yaaym* v.1 'den Tag, die Zeit zubringen' (Re) = '*áayim*

‘die Zeit in Stille und Schatten zubringen, ausruhen, im Schatten sitzen’, áymaam f. ‘Ausruhen’ (Al) = *yáim* v.1 ‘den Tag zubringen’ (Mu)

Borrowed from Ar *yawm*, pl. *ʔayyām* ‘day (of twenty-four hours), time’ (Sg 1242), *yawima* ‘per diem exstitit’ (Freitag).

Am *ay mhay* ‘Orion’s belt’ (Star)

Lit. ‘three goats’.

b

b’i, *bi’* m., acc. *b’eb* ‘day (as opposed to night)’, with article *imbi’*, *imb’i*, *embi’*, cf. further Hadendiwa *b’ika* = Am *b’oka* ‘every day, always’ (Rp) = *bʔeeb* ‘un jour’, *u:-mbʔe* ‘le jour’, from *nebaʔ* ‘être chaud, chauffer’ (Vh) = Am *bi’eb* ‘day’ (Star) = *embe* f. pl. ‘day’ (HuB) = *emb’ée* and *émb’e* m. ‘Tag’ (Re), cf. *naba* ‘hot, warm’ (Wd) = *neba* ‘heiß machen (die Sonne)’, *nēb’a* ‘Hitze, Sonnenwärme’ (Re) = (é) *mbe* m. ‘Tag’ (Al) = *o’ēmbee* id. (Mu) = [*wú*] *mbe* id. (Se)

(1) Cu: (E) Dullay **biʃ-ʃ-* ‘white’ > Harso-Dobase *píʃ-f-a*, Gollango *píʃ-a* id. (AMS), Tsamay *biʃ* id. (Savà). In his objection against Dullay relationship with other forms in **b-*, Takács (EDE II: 152) ignores the fact that Dullay minus Tsamay **p* corresponds regularly with Tsamay and common Cushitic **b* (with exception of the other languages where the *Lautverschiebung* had operated, e.g. Konsoid) and not with *f* in other East Cushitic languages.

Eg (NK) *bʃ* ‘Bezeichnung des Sonnengottes’ (Wb. I: 446).

Ch: (W) Ron: Daffo and Bokkos *ḥwè* ‘sun, day; God’ (Jg) || (C) Dghwede *ḥiya* ‘to shine’, Glavda *mbi* id. (EDE II: 152 Beja + Eg + Ch).

(2) ?ECu: Som *ʃabo* ‘Dürre, Trockenheit’ (Reinisch 1902: 48 compared it with Saho *ʃamoo*, *ʃamuu* id.);

?Ch: (W) Ron: Daffo and Bokkos *ḥwè* ‘sun, day; God’ (Jg) || (C) Dghwede *ḥiya* ‘to shine’, Glavda *mbi* id.

?Se **ʃab(V)b-*: Akk *ebēbu(m)* ‘licht, rein sein’, *ebbu(m)* ‘licht, rein’ (AHw 180), Ar *ʃab(b)*, *ʃabʔ* ‘sun-light’ (Sg 663), cf. Albright (1918: 222–223, fn. 1), where a possibility of relationship with Eg *ʃbw* (BD) ‘rein’, *wʃb* (Pyr) ‘reinigen, rein (sein)’ (Wb. I: 175, 280–281; Vycichl 1983: 230) is discussed.

Note: The Beja and Chadic forms are derivable from both alternative sequences **ʃ-b* and **b-ʃ*.

b’aluuk m., def.sg. *ub’aluuk*, def.pl. *ib’aluuka* ‘cloud’ (Wd) = *b’aluuk* m. ‘mist’ (Rp) = *ba’elúuk* m., pl. *b’áalek* ‘Nebelwolke’ (Re) = *baluk* m., pl. *-q* ‘mist’ (HuB)

It is tempting to compare it with Logone (CCh) *bəlukʷi* ‘Wolke’ (Lk).

Is there any connection with *baal* f. ‘cloud’ (Rp)?

baab m., def.sg. *oobaab*, def.pl. *eebab* ‘door, gate’ (Wd) = *baab* m., pl. *bab* ‘Türe’ (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *bāb* 'door, gate', similarly as Gz, Ti, Saho-Afar, Som etc. *bāb* id. (Leslau 1987: 85).

Bisharin *o-bādē* 'west' (Th). Perhaps identical with *badi* m., pl. *badii* 'sky just after the sun has sunk or early morning when sky is red' (HuB) = *bad'iib* m., def.sg. *ubad'i*, def.pl. *ibad'i* 'eve, dusk' (Wd) = *bade* 'twilight' (Rp) = *bád'a* or *báda* 'Dämmerungszeit am Abend oder Morgen', cf. *oo-bad'áay tuu-kláay* 'Fledermaus', lit. 'Dämmerungsvogel' (Re).

Reinisch (1895: 41) sought a source in Ar *biṣṣ* 'beginning of the night' (Sg 127), cf. also *baḍṣ* 'part of the night' (Sg 128). But an internal Beja etymology based on *badoiy* v.2 'to begin', n. act. *badoti* 'beginning' can also be admitted.

bado m. 'crack in the ground as in cotton soil', f. 'crack (small), furrow' (HuB) = *baadi* m., acc. *baadob* 'ground split by deep clefts in dry weather, boggy after rains' (Rp) = *báado* m. 'Furche, Ackerfurche' (Re) = *báado* m. (or f.) 'Furche' (Al) = Am *te-bad* 'rich silt soil', *badob* 'clay soil' (Star)

Usually connected with Ar *badda* 'to separate', Gz *bad(a)da* 'id., detach', Ti *bādād bela* 'to scatter' etc. (Reinisch 1895: 41; Leslau 1987: 86), but the semantic difference is not trivial. Semantically seems to be a more hopeful comparison with Nile Nubian *badd* 'graben, pflügen' (Reinisch l.c.). Cf. also Ar *badwa* 'Talwand' (Wahrmund I, 1: 189).

badír m. 'Vollmond' (Re).

Borrowed from Ar *badr*, pl. *budūr* 'full moon' (Sg 111).

[o]bha 'Norden' (Bu)

There are at least two alternative etymologies:

- (1) *bhar 'sea' = 'north' from the point of view of Beja people;
- (2) The original meaning was 'left'. In that case a hypothetical *b[əd]ha would be comparable with ECu *bidḥ- 'left' > Som *bidix*, Boni *bidah*, Oromo *bita-a* etc. (Sasse 1979: 16); concerning the cardinal points, cf. Gollango *piḥát-t-o* 'links; Süden' vs. *misk-ítto* 'rechts; Norden' (AMS) || Dahalo *biḥíta* 'left' (Elderkin).

bhar m., def.sg. *oobhar*, def.pl. *ibhara* 'sea' (Wd) = *bhar* 'mer' (Vh) = *bahár* m., with art. *o-bhár* 'mare' (Ci) = Am *bahár* 'sea' (Star) = *bhar* 'river', *bhariṣṣṭi* 'riverband' (Ti) = *bāhar*, *bəhar* m. 'sea; the Nile' (Rp) = *oo bhār*, indet. *bhāraab*, pl. *bhāre* 'Fluss (Nil), Meer' (Hs) = *beháar*, *behár*, *behéer* m., pl. -a 'Fluss, spez. der Nil', *úu-bhaar wuu-hámi* 'das bittere Wasser = das Meer' (Re) = **baheer* m. 'Fluss' (Al) = *o'baheer o'enaffer* 'das Süßwasser = Fluss', *o'baheer o'hameb* 'das Salzwasser' (Mu) = *obhéer enápher* 'Fluss', *obhéer wohadén* 'Meer' (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *baḥr* 'sea, large river', cf. also EtSe: Ti *baḥr*, Ty *baḥri*, Amh *bahər*, *bar* 'sea' (Leslau 1987: 91).

bāhása, bəhása m. 'spring (from mid-March to end April)' (Rp) = Am *bahasa* 'spring' (Star)

bīhayəfīni f. 'name of the second month following *haruud* (i.e. the month of Dhul Hijjah, derived from *harid* v.1 'to slaughter') (Rp)

Derived from *hai(y)* v.2 'to be on the first of the new moon' (Roper 1928: 161, 198, 200).

bal m. 'rain cloud in distance', *balanq* f., pl. *balane* 'black rain cloud' (HuB) = *baal*, pl. -a 'nuage' (Vh) = *baal* 'cloud' (Tl) = *baal* f., pl. -a 'cloud' (Rp) = *baal* m., pl. *bal* and *bal* m., pl. -a 'Wolke' (Re)

Cu: (E) Rendille *báal* 'cloud' (Pillinger and Galboran), Arbore *boolan* id. (Hy), cf. Beja *balanq* and the ECh counterparts with the same extension.

Om: (N) Gofa *buollaa* (Ce) = *bolla* (Fl) 'sky', Kullo *bola* id. (Borelli);

Ch: (C) Bata *boole* 'Regen' (Strümpell); Bachama *fwòley* 'rainy season' (Kr); Gisiga *bilvoŋ* 'Gott' (Lk) || (E) Sumray *bəláani* (Lk), Ndam *belan* (GD) 'rain', Tumak *bə̀làn* 'pluie, ciel, Dieu', ná:m-bə̀làn 'pluie' = 'eau' + 'ciel' (Cp).

Illič-Svityč (1971: #13) and Dolgopolsky (1973: 194) Beja + ECu + NOm + Ch.

bal'a f. 'small, cultivated, green patch' (HuB)

balad m., def.sg. *ubalad*, def.pl. *ibalada* 'land' (Wd) = *balad* 'pays' (Vh) = *balad* m. 'town, country' (HuB) = *belád* and *bélled* m. 'Dorf, Stadt' (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *balad* 'city, district, province, country; house, dwelling', cf. also Ti *balad* 'pays, patrie' (LH 273).

baláak m., pl. *balák* 'Wildniss, Wald, Dickicht, Gestrüppe' (Re) = *balak* 'Dickicht' (Mu) = Am *balag* 'peripheral areas under Gash Delta Board' (Star)

Borrowed from Ar *balqaṣ*, pl. *balāqiṣ* 'uncultivated land and uninhabited country' (Sg 142).

baloob m., def.sg. *ubalu* 'copper' (Wd) = *ballo* m. 'copper', f. 'copper drum with skin stretched over it' (HuB) = *báala* m. 'ferro sottile' (Ci) = *bale* m., acc. *balób* 'copper' (Rp) = *bálo* m. 'Kupfer' (Re) = *bálo* id., *túubalo* 'Kupferstück' (Al) = *belo* id. (Mu) = *baló* id. (Se)

Zyhlarz (1933: 163) found a source of the Beja 'copper' in Coptic Sahidic, Bohairic ⲃⲁⲣⲱⲧ 'bronze, laiton' < Eg (MK) *bj3-rwḏ* 'métal solide' (Vycichl 1983: 30–31).

bándar m., pl. -a 'Stadt, Handelsplatz' (Re)

Borrowed from Vulgar Ar *bandar* 'workshop; harbour, port; emporium' (Sg 144) or Nile Nubian and Donglawi *bándar* 'Dorf' id. (Reinisch 1895: 49).

baar m., pl. *bar* 'Geruch'; the form *barám* m., pl. *barám* 'Luft, Witterung, Wind', lit. 'Geruch der zugetragen wird, durch die Luft kommt' is derived from the passive verbal stem, see Reinisch (1894: §317) *bar-am* v.2 'Geruch zugetragen werden durch die Luft, riechen, Witterung bekommen' (Re) = *baraam* m., def.sg. *ubaraam*, def.pl. *ibaram* 'wind; smell' (Wd) = *barám*, pl. *barám* 'vent, odeur' (Vh) = *baram* m. 'wind, climate, storm', *beran* 'wave in wind' (HuB) = *baraam* 'wind' (Tl) = *baraam*, pl. *barām* m. 'wind, weather', *baraam* v.2 'to smell' intr. (Rp) = Am *baram* 'wind', *baran* and *buram* 'air' (Star) = *barám* m. (pl.?) 'Luft, Wind' (Al) = *o'bērām* 'Wind', *beram beram* 'Sturm' (Mu) = *bahramm* (Kc) = *baram* 'Wind', *baramta* 'Luft' (Km) = *barám* 'Luft, Wind' (Se)

Takács (EDE II: 6–8) has collected the set of cognates, derivable from AA **b-r* 'to blow' → 'soul', which can be a source of the Beja forms too:

Cu: (S) Alagwa *bur-* 'to fan', Qwadza *bul-* 'to blow' (Ehret 1980: 140 still adds Dahalo *búri* 'fart').

Eg (OK) *b3* 'soul' (Wb. I: 411–412).

Ch: (C) Chibak *mbàr* 'blasen' (Hf) || (E) Kwang *bō:rē* 'to blow', *kà-bá:r* 'wind' (Jg), Kera *bò:rē* 'to blow' (Eb); see JgIb (II: 32–33, 80).

?Se: Ug *brl-t* 'spirit, life force; hunger, appetite, relish' (DUL 238).

With regard to this etymological chain, the old idea of Vycichl (1953) to interpret Beja *bar-úuk* m./*bat-úuk* f. 'thou' as 'thy soul', seems quite plausible (cf. his typological parallel in Tigrinya *nəssə-ka* m./*nəssə-ki* f. 'thou' = Ar *nafsika* 'thy soul').

bar m., def.sg. *oobar* 'countryside, hill area' (Wd)

Cf. *barar* m., def.sg. *ubarar*, def.pl. *ibarara* 'countryside, earth, rivulet' (Wd) etc.?

bireeb m., def.sg. *oobri* 'rain', *bireet* f., def.sg. *toobri*, def.pl. *teebri* 'sky' (Wd) = *biri* 'pluie' (Vh) = *bire* m. 'rain', f. 'sky' (Rp) = *birri* ~ *billi* (with the unetymological gemination) m. 'rain', f. 'sky', cf. *birri* f. 'vegetation springing up after the rain without being planted' (HuB) = *bvreeb* 'rain' (Be) = *bireeb* 'rain', *teebri* 'sky' (Tl) = *bíre*, *bíri*, *bíle* m. 'Regen', with art. *úu-bre*, acc. *beréeb*, f. 'Himmel', with art. *túu-bre*, acc. *beréet*, v.2 *b(i)re* 'regnen' (Re) = *bíre*, *bére* m. 'Regen', f. 'Himmel' (Al) = *o'berē* 'Regen', *te'berē* 'Firmament' (Mu) = *óbra* 'Regen', *to'bra* 'Himmel' (Km) = *ōbra* 'Regen' (Bu) = *o berrah* 'pluie', *to berah* 'ciel' (Li) = [*té*]bre 'Himmel', [*ô*]bre 'Regen' (Se)

Reinisch (1895: 50) compared it with Kullo (NOM) *bóla* 'Himmel' (see *baal* m. 'cloud', Rp), Se **b-l-l* 'to moisten' > Akk *balālu*, Ug *bll*, Hb *bālāl*, Ar, Gz *balla* 'id., wet, immerse in a liquid' (Leslau 1987: 96) and further with Kunama (NS) *bal* 'regnen', *a-ûlā* 'Regen'. All these comparanda imply the primary liquid *-l-*.

An alternative possibility assuming a primary **-r-* is represented by Sid (HECu) *birr-* 'to rain a heavy rain' (HG) [if it is not identical with HECu **birr-* 'to rain stop, sky clear', apparently borrowed from Amh *bārāra* 'to (give) light' (Hudson 1989: 120)] and SOM 'God': Ari *ber-í*, Hamar *bar-jo*, Karo *bair-o* (Be).

Eg *bj3* ‘Gewässer am Himmel’ (Pyr), ‘Himmel’ (Gr) (Wb. I: 439) can reflect both *-l- and *-r- as the second radical. See EDE (II: 128) for other references.

buur m., def.sg. *oobuur*, def.pl. *ibuura* ‘earth’, *buurt*, def.sg. *toobuur* and *buut* f., def.sg. *toobuut* id. (Wd) = *bur* f., acc. *burt* and *but* ‘ground’ (HuB) = ‘oo *búur* ‘sandy country, sands’, *too búur* ‘country’ (Do) = *buur* f. ‘earth, land, land and sea, the wide world’, *buut* f. ‘earth, ground, land’ (Rp) = *too buur*, indet. *buurt* and *buut* ‘Gebiet (eines Volkes oder Stammes)’ (Hs) = *buur* f., pl. -a, acc. *buut* ‘Erde, Erdreich, Boden; Gebiet, Land’ (Re) = *búur* f., obj. *buut* ‘Erde, Boden, Erdreich’ (Al) = *to’but*, pl. *te’bura* ‘die Erde, Land, Gebiet’ = *to bút* ‘earth’ (Salt) Cu: (E) Saho *bure* ‘Sand’, pl. *burer* ‘Sandhaufen’ (Re), *buuree* ‘sabbia’ (CR), Afar *bur(b)ura* ‘dust, power’ (PaHy); Som *burco* ‘sandy hill’ (Luling), ‘sand-dune’ (Ab), pBoni **bùúr* ‘dust’ (He), Rend *ebêr*, pl. *ebérre* ‘dust’ (He), Bayso *burre* ‘meadow-land’ (Hy); Arbore *bóore* ‘earth’ (Hy); Sidamo Habiela *berrinoo* ‘polvere’ (Ce) || Dahalo *úrune* ‘dust’ (To).

Ch: (W) Angas *bur* ‘dust’ (Jg), *buur* ‘sand, dust’ (Foulkes); Ron: Daffo-Butura, Bokkos *úrà* ‘dust’ (Jg); Karekare *bárbàr* ‘dust’ (Lk), Bade *bàrbən-ən* ‘Staub’ (Lk) || (C) Margi *bárbàr* ‘dust’, Bura *burbur* id. Logone *búuraa* ‘Sand, Staub’, Buduma *burbur* ‘Staub’ (Lk) etc. || (E) Dangla pl. *bùrintál* ‘dust’ (Fédry; cf. Skinner 1977: 19).

Se: Mehri *ḥabrēr*, East Jibbali *ḥabrér* ‘sand-dune’ (Jh).

Lit.: Dolgopolsky (1973: 315) Beja + ECu + Ch + Mehri; EDE (II: 34) Beja + ECu + Dahalo + Ch.

Alternatively, the Beja forms can be borrowed from Ar *bawr*, *būr* ‘uncultivated or fallow land’ (Sg 150).

barúud m., pl. -a ‘Pulver’ (Re)

Apparently of Semitic origin, but Ar *barūd* means ‘cold, cooling’, *barad*, pl. *burūd* ‘hail’ (Sg 121, 117) and in Ethio-Semitic the situation is analogous: Gz *barada* ‘to be cold’, Ti, Ty etc. *bārād* ‘hail’ (Leslau 1987: 103). On the other hand, Saho *baruud* also means ‘Pulver’ (Re).

bírga adj. ‘hoch’ (Al)

Perhaps comparable with Oromo (ECu) *borga* ‘hill’ (Tu).

birka m., pl. *birg’a* ‘pool’ (HuB) = *bírka*, *bérka* f. ‘See, Teich’ (Re) = [te]berka ‘Teich’ (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *birka*, pl. *birak* ‘pond, fountain-basin’ (Sg 120).

baram m. ‘wind, climate, storm’, see *baar* m. ‘Geruch’ (Re).

biraari m. ‘edge, margin’ (HuB)

Is it identical with the homonymous *biraari* m. 'hair on the back of woman's head, animal's neck' (HuB)?

barar m., def.sg. *ubarar*, def.pl. *ibarara* 'countryside, earth, rivulet' (Wd) = *bärer* m. 'Wādī' (Hs) = *beréer* m., pl. *bérra* 'Steppe, Wüste' (Re) = *berr* m. 'Land, Wildniss' (Mu)

Borrowed from Ar *barriyya*, pl. *barāri* 'desert', *barrīt*, pl. *barārīt* id. (Sg 121).

Takács (EDE II: 32–35) includes the word into the chain of the lexical parallels: Cu: (C) Awngi *bār* 'radura, spiazzo, terreno scoperto' (CR) || (E) Saho *bárr-e* 'Wüste, Steppe' (Re), Afar *bàrr-i* 'country, land outside an inhabited place, the sticks' (PaHy); Som *bérri* 'country, land' (Ab) || (S) Qwadza *balyiko* 'bare ground' (Ehret 1980: 134).

Eg *b3.t* 'Steppe', although a direct relation with the homonym *b3.t* 'bush, thicket' cannot be excluded (Hannig and Vomberg 1999: 240).

Ch: (C) Gude *bàbárá* 'open space, plain, open level country without mountains' (Hoskison); Mafa *vara* 'terrain plat' (Barreteau and Bléis) || (E) Mokilko *béré* 'plaine au pied de la montagne, espace plat dans la montagne où on peut célébrer des rites et des fêtes' (Jg).

Se **barr-* > Akk *barru* 'unbebautes Land' (AHw 107 from Aram); Hb *bar*, BibAram *bārā*, Syr *barrā* 'das freie Feld'; Ar *barr* 'Festland, Flachland, Steppe', Sabaic *brr* 'open country, plain'; Soqotri *bar* 'côté éloignement', Jibbali pl. *εbrór* 'far away desert', Mehri *bar* 'desert, land' (Jh); Tigre *barr* 'continent, région' (DRS 87).

biruur m. 'desert, place of few trees' (HuB)

Identical with the preceding entry?

bitik m., def.sg. *oobtik*, def.pl. *eebtik* 'middle', *bitki* postp. 'amidst, among', *bituuk* n.act. 'being in between, separation' (Wd) = *bētik* m. 'middle or middle one, waist'; *beetik* adv. 'in the middle of, between' (HuB) = *bitki* f. 'split, cleft, hairless, space between eyebrows', cf. *bitik* v.1 'to cleave, split, divide, be between' (Rp) = *bítka* f. 'Trennung', cf. *betik* v.1 'schneiden, auf-, ab-zerschneiden' (Re) The verb is borrowed from Ar *bataka* 'to cut off' or Ti *bātka* id., cf. also Gz *bat-aka* 'to break, tear apart'. The same lw. of Ar or EtSe origin also occurs in Bilin *bätäk* 'schneiden' and Qabenna *butukko* 'to cut' (Leslau 1987: 112).

bitkayt m. 'day after tomorrow' (HuB)

Shortened from the idiom *lahait bitkayt* 'day after tomorrow' (HuB).

bayúk 'Schnee' (Se)

The closest parallel appears in Berber: (N) Shilha of Tafilalt *abökko* 'neige' (Laoust 1920: 189). Naït-Zerrad (1998: 49) quotes generally Shilha *abukku* 'neige'.

Accepting the semantic development to or from the semantic field 'rain, cloud', the following cognates can be added:

Cu: (C) Bilin *bəkʷána*, pl. *bəkʷán* 'cloud' (Palmer), Qwara *bəkʷana* 'Wolke' (Re), Kemant *bukʷana* 'brouillard' (CR) || (E) Oromo Macha *boka* 'rain', Guji *bokea*, Borana *bokaha* (LVC), Waata *bókke* (He), Wellega *bokkaa* (Gg) id., Som of Hawiia *bokkod* 'pioggia' (Ce);

Om: (N) 'to rain': Wolayta *bukk-*, Dawro *buk-*, Dache *bukk-*, Kachama *boḵ-*, Gamu *bukḵ-* etc. (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 316; cf. Dolgopolsky 1973: 270);

Ch: (E) Mubi *'bok* 'regnen', Jegu *boŋ* id. (Lk);

Be: (N) Snus *tbika* and *tbica*, Figig *tbica* 'pluie' (Nait-Zerrad 1998: 10).

d

di f. 'iron' (HuB, Ci) = *deet* f., def.sg. *toondi*, def.pl. *teendi* 'metal, iron' (Wd), see *endi*.

dī m. 'hole dug in ground as store' (HuB) = *óo di* 'le trou à fumigations', *děēb* 'un trou à fumigations, pl. *dēēb* (Vh) = *de* m. (*deb*, pl. *deeb*) 'hole made in the ground, usually either for a smoke bath or for storing grain' (Rp) = *deeb* m., def.sg. *oodi*, def.pl. *eedi* 'hole in ground for smoke bath' (Wd) = *oḡ de^h*, indet. *deeb*, pl. *ēḡ de^h* 'Wassergrube, ungemauerter Brunnenn im Sande, z.B. am Meere, nicht im Fels' (Hs) = Am *deb* 'big holes for *dura*, a dug hole' (Star) = *de* m. 'Rauchbad der Frauen' (Re) = *de* m. 'Lache, Pfütze' (Al)

doo m., pl. *du* 'stream; pool that is hidden' (HuB) = *o'do* 'Wasserbecken in Fels' (Mu) = Am *dat* 'pond' (Star)

dī'ε 'brand', i.e. 'stick burning at one end' and maybe *dīy'e* m. 'spark' (Rp) = *dīy'eb* 'spark' (HuB)

Cu: (E) Afar *diyyi* 'carbon, powdered charcoal, soot' (PaHy); Yaaku *daai*, pl. *daai* m. 'fire-stick' (He).

də'ei m., acc. *də'εób* 'artificial reservoir' (Tebilol dial.), besides *d'i* m. 'natural reservoir' (Rp) = *day* m., pl. *daiḡ* 'pool where rainwater collects' (HuB) = *u d'ayä^h*, indet. *d'ayob*, pl. *i d'ayä^h* 'flache Depression mit undurchlässigem Boden, in der das Wasser stagniert' (= Ar *naqḡ*) (Hs) = *o'deyo* 'Teich' (Mu)

NOM: Yemsa *do'ya* 'deep well, hole, water hole' (Lb).

dibba m. 'sandhill; small island' (HuB) = Ammar'ar *tū dibba*, *dibbat* 'plateau' (Do) = *debat* 'small bank of earth' (Star) = *dabba*, *debba*, *dibba* m. 'loose dry soil; mound (of earth soil, sand); bank', f. 'moving sand hill(s)' (Rp) = *u deb-be^h*, indet. *debbaab* 'Sanddüne', *debbaat* 'Sand (der Wüste und des Niles)' (Hs)

= *dībba*, *dúbba* f. 'Hügel, erhöhter Platz vor dem Dorfe, wo man zum Rate sich versammelt' (Re) = *dāba* m. 'feiner weisser Sand' (Al)

There are two possible etymological solutions:

(1) Hess (1919: 211) derived it from Arabic *debbah* 'Sanddüne' (the dialect of Egyptian beduins), cf. Class. Ar *dabah* 'sandy tract' (Sg 353), further Ti *dabbat*, Ty *dabbat* 'hill of sand' (LH 528).

(2) Dolgopolsky (1973: 50) compared it with the following Cushitic parallels: Cu: (C) **dab*[b]-a (Appleyard 2006: 102) > Bilin *dībbaa*, pl. *dīfuf*, *dīfuf* 'erhöhter Platz vor dem Dorfe, auf welchem die stimmberechtigten Männer des Ortes zu Beratung sich versammeln', Qwara *deba*, Dembea *debba* 'Berg' (Re), Kemant *dāba* 'colline; petite plaine montante' (CR) || (E) Saho *dīboo* 'Steppe, Wüste', Afar *dūubuu* 'Steppe, Wüste, Wald' (Re) and/or *daāba* 'brow of hill' (PaHy); Som *dabo* 'Hügel, kleiner Berg' (Re) and/or *dibād* 'Aussenseite, freie Land, Steppe, Wüste' (Reinisch 1902: 98 derived it from *dib* 'Hinterteil, Schwanz'); Sid *dubbo* 'foresta' (Mo) = *dubboo* (Ce); Sasse (1976: 140) added Oromo *dib-u* and *dip-u* 'valle, vallata, gola' (Thiene) and Rendille *yib* 'desert, uninhabited land' (He) = *yīb* 'wild, uninhabited land' (Galboran and Pillinger) and reconstructed PECu **zib*-. But PECu **z*- indicates another correspondent in CCu (cf. Appleyard 1984: 42–43). If the primary meaning in PECu was '*uncultivated land', Khamtanga (CCu) *zība* 'earth, land' (Ap), Waag *zībba* 'earth' (Bk) represent better cognates.

For Gz *diba* 'upon, on, onto, above, over', Ti *dib* 'on, over, to', Harari *dabba* 'raised ground', Leslau (1987: 119) assumes a Cushitic (Central?) origin.

dageen f., pl. -*q* 'fireplace' (HuB) = *dageent* f., def.sg. *tudageen*, def.pl. *tidageena* 'stone stove' (Wd) = *dāgen* f., pl. *dagena* 'hearth-stone' (usually three) (Rp) = *dagéena* f. 'Feuerherd, die drei Steine worüber der Kochtopf gestellt wird' (Re) = *dagéena* f. 'Feuerherd' (Al) = *te'dagena* id. (Mu) = [té]*dagên* 'Küche' (Se) Reinisch (1895: 62) compared it with Kunama (NS) *etingenā* id.

digwgwaat f., def.sg. *tudigwgwa*, def.pl. *tidigwgwa* 'copper' (Wd)

dhi f., acc. *dihiiit* 'narrow valley' (HuB) = Ammar'ar *dāhi* f. 'ravine, gorge' (Rp) Derived from *dah* 'to be thin, narrow' (Rp).

dahanu f. 'first day, beginning of the month' (HuB) = *deháana* f. 'der erste Tag des Monats', with art. *túu-dhaana* (Re), also *oo-terg-ñit deháana* (Lp) Reinisch (1895: 64) derived it from *daah* v.1 'klein, zart, mager, schwach sein', cf. n. ag. *deháana* 'der kleinste unter seinesgleichen'.

dīhat f. 'charcoal, coal' (HuB) = *dīhe* f. 'Kohle, Glutkohle' (Re) = *te'ha* 'Glutkohle' (Mu) = *tedihhet* id. (Se)

Probably derived from *dhoi* v.2 ‘to warm water by putting hot stones in it’, n. act. *dīhati* (Hu) = *deha(i)* v.2 ‘to be/become warm’, *deho(i)* v.2 ‘to heat e.g. water/milk/food by putting into them stones previously made hot in fire’, *deha* m. ‘heat, warmth’ (Rp).

dehur m., def.sg. *oodehur* ‘noon, midday’ (Wd) = *dhor* m., pl. *dhwirq* ‘noon’ (HuB) = Am *dhoor* ‘midday, noon’ (Star) = *dīhir* and *duhur* m. ‘noon’ (Rp) = *dúhr* m., with art. *úu-dhur* ‘Mittag’ (Al) = [wo]dürr id. (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *ḍuhr* ‘time immediately after noon’ (Sg 658).

deelaab m., def.sg. *udeela*, def.pl. *ideela* ‘hole, ditch’ (Wd) = *deela* m. ‘lair, den’ (HuB) = *dela* m., B. Amer *dili* m. ‘hole, esp. small hole in ground, heel-mark, burrow’ (Rp) = *déela* and *déera* m. ‘Loch, Grube, Brunnen’ (Re) = *délub* m. ‘Grube’ (Al) = Am *delab* ‘hole’ (Star)

Cu: (E) Som *dalool* ‘hole, opening, aperture’ (Luling) and/or *deli* ‘pitfall’ (Luling); ?Tsamakko *deelo* ‘flat plain’ (Savà) as the opposite of ‘mountain’?

dúluma f. ‘Finsternis’ (Re) = *tédelémma* id. (Mu)

Borrowed from Ar *ḍulma* and *ḍulmāt* ‘Finsternis’ (Wahrmund I, 2: 184).

Hdd *dim* f., pl. -a ‘ravine’ (Rp)

Cf. *damaak* m. ‘direction in which stream flows, towards the plains’ (HuB)?

Could it be related to HECu ‘deep’: Sidamo *diime*, Gedeo *ḍi’mo* (HG) and SOromo *ḍi(i)mmu* ‘depth (of river, well)’ (Stroomer)?

deem m., def.sg. *oodeem*, def.pl. *ideema* ‘area, quarter’ (Wd)

Perhaps borrowed from Ar *daymūm* ‘desert’ (Sg 380)?

dum’ara and *dim’ara* m. ‘gold’ (Rp) = *dim’araab* m., def.pl. *idim’ara* id. (Wd) = *dum’áara* m. ‘Gold’ (Re) = *demúurrara* ‘Gold’, *túu-demúurara* ‘Goldstück’ (Al) = *damarrq* m. ‘gold’ (HuB) = *demmarab* id. (Mu) = *demourary* id. (Bu) = *dímmará* id. (Se)

Reinisch (1895: 66) found Nubian parallels: Mahas *šuiḡir*, Dongola *duḡi*, Kenzi *dúgu*, Dair *tunḡi* ‘gold, money’ (Murray 1923: 157). All probably borrowed from Ar *dīnār* ‘a gold coin’ (Sg 382).

damaan m., def.sg. *udamaan*, def.pl. *idamaana* ‘time, season, epoch’, *daman* m., def.sg. *udaman* ‘century, world, age’ (Wd) = *deman* ‘long time ago, in the past’ (HuB) = Am *daman* ‘time’, *damana* ‘weather’ (Star) = *damaan* m. ‘weather, season, character’ (Rp) = *demáan* m. ‘Zeit’ (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *zamān* ‘time’, cf. also Gz *zaman* ‘time, period, season, year’, while Bilin *dābān*, pl. *dāfān* ‘Zeit’, being itself a source of Afar *daban* ‘age, period

of time' (PaHy), was borrowed from some EtSe language where the dissimilation $m - n > b - n$ was realised, cf. Ti, Ty, Amh and Argobba *zäbän*, besides Ty, Amh *zämän* 'time' (Leslau 1987: 638–639).

dangar m., def.sg. *udangar* and *dangart* f., def.sg. *tudangar*, def.pl. *tidangara* 'flat area' (Wd) = *dangaar* m., pl. *dangara* 'desert waste' (HuB) = *dángar* f., pl. *dan-gára* 'place, area cleared and set apart for particular purpose' (Rp) = *tu dingar*, indet. *dingart*, pl. *ti dingare*^h 'Ebene von geringer Ausdehnung' (Hs) = *dángar* and *díngar* f., pl. *-a* 'die Ebene, weites Flachland' (Re) = *dárigar* m. 'Ebene' (Al) Cf. TiBA *dangarat* 'desert' (Nakano and Tsuge).

dangeer m., pl. *-a* 'stone suitable for throwing' (HuB) = *danger* m., pl. *-a* 'stone(s) of suitable size for missiles' (Rp)

Cu: (C) **däng^wər/*dang^wər* 'large stone, rock' (Appleyard 2006: 129–30) > Bilin *dängura* (Ap) = *dong^wəra*, pl. *donk^wər* 'grosses Felsblock' (Re), Khamir *dig^wəra* and *dirwa* 'Stein' (Re), Khamta *dengúr* (CR), Awiya *dengueri* (CR); CCu > EtSe: Ti *dong-^wola*, Amh *dəngay*, *dängiya* 'rock, stone' etc. (Ls);

Om: (N) Mocha *dingaro* 'rock' (Ls);

Be: (S) Ahaggar *adrəg*, pl. *idərgān* 'massif montagneux ayant à son sommet un plateau' < **ā-dirgih*, pl. **ī-dirgāhan* (Prasse 1974: 135).

dinna m. 'paradise' (HuB) = *dínne* f. 'Garten, Paradies' (Re) = *dinne* 'Himmel' (Mu)

Reinisch (1895: 68) derived it from Ar *ġinna* 'garden' (Sg 247) while Almkvist (1885: 15) rejected this *communis opinio* and connected the Beja word with Ar *dunyā*, pl. *dunan* 'world' (Sg 375). For close semantics, and the fact that the borrowing of Ar *dunyā* is independently attested in Beja (see below), Reinisch was apparently right. The unexpected *d-* instead of *j-* (or *g-* in borrowings from EgAr) can be explained as a result of contamination of Arabic *ġinna* 'paradise' and *dunyā* 'world', two words important for muslim religion.

See also *ganna* 'paradise, heaven' (HuB).

dínya f. 'Welt' (Re) = Am *tu-dinia* 'world' (Star) = *duniq* m. 'world' (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar *dunyā* 'world' (Sg 375). See also *dinna* 'paradise' (HuB).

dar m., pl. *dār* 'edge, bank of khor' (HuB), if it is not identical with *dar* 'côté' (Vh) = *dar* m., def.sg. *oodar*, def.pl. *idara* 'side' (Wd) < Ar; cf. *dirbani* m. 'steep bank of khor' (HuB)?

Cu: (C) Bilin *dar* 'der einem Tribus gehörige Bezirk; Familie; Wirtschaft, der erlebte Landbesitz' (Re), Khamtanga *däy*, Kemant *day*, Awngi *dar* 'side, bank, shore' (Appleyard 2006: 123 mentions Tigrinya, Amhara *dar* 'frontière, limite' < Sem *d-w-r* (DRS 239) as a possible source of the Agaw words) || ?(E) Konso *tarra* 'skull,

head' (Black), Dirayta *tarr* 'relatively higher ground', *tarratté* 'any high place' (Black), where *t-* can reflect both PECu **t-* and **d-*.

Om: (N) Ometo **dar-iya* 'mountain' > Zala *darya*, Wolayta *deriy^a*, Gofa *dere*, Chara *dera*, Kachama *dare* id., Gamu *dare* 'country' etc. (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 348; the **-iya* indicates one of the nominal classes);

Be: (E) Siwa *adrār*, pl. *idrārən* (Laoust 1932: 261), Ghadames *adurar*, pl. *durāren* 'montagne' (Lanfry) || (S) Ahaggar *adrar*, pl. *idraren* 'mont, massif montagneux, chaine de montagnes' (Foucauld), Iulemedden *adar*, pl. *adaren* 'Berg' (Barth) besides Ghat *adri*, pl. *idran* 'crevasse dans la terre' (Nehlil), Taitoq *ider*, pl. *idiren* 'fond' (Masqueray) || (N) Kabyle *adrar* 'montagne' (Dallet), Shilha *adrar*, pl. *idraren*, Tamazight *dari*, pl. *tedwari* id. (Cid Kaoui) etc. ||| Guanche of Tenerife *adara* 'monte', *adaar* 'cierta parte de costa peñascosa al Este de Tenerife; falaises escarpées; riveras escarpadas' (Woelfel 1965: 594–595).

door m., def.sg. *oodoor*, def.pl. *idoora* 'time, turn' (Wd) = *door* 'temps' (Vh) = *der* m., pl. *-a* 'times, sometimes', *derka* 'occasions' (HuB) = *dor* m., pl. *-a* 'turn', i.e. 'order of succession'; 'time', (*gaal*)*dor* adv. 'suddenly, once' (Rp) = *door* m., pl. *-a* 1. 'Zeit'; 2. 'Mal, vices', e.g. *gaal door* 'einmal', *mallé dóora* 'zweimal' (Re) = *door* m. 1. 'Zeit'; 2. postp. 'zur Zeit da, als' (Al)

Borrowed from Ar *dawr* 'circle, cycle, turn, age, period' (Sg 379).

daara f. 'halo, arena', *testergttīt daara* 'lunar halo' (N.B. of good omen) (Rp)

Borrowed from Ar *dāra*, pl. *-āt* 'halo, circle' (Sg 350).

darab m., def.sg. *udarab*, def.pl. *idaraba* 'way' (Wd) = *darab* 'chemin' (Vh) = *darab* m., pl. *darba* 'way, path' (HuB) = Am 'u *darib*, pl. 'i*darba* 'way, road' (Do) = Am *darib* 'road' (Star) = *deréeb* m., pl. *deráb* and *derīb* m., pl. *dérba* 'der Weg' (Re) = *déreb* m. 'Weg, Pfad' (Al) = *dérreb* (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *darb*, pl. *dirāb* '(mountain-)path, road, street, gate' (Sg 358).

u derhi^h, indet. *derhiib* 'altes Gebäude, Schochgrab, alte Ruine' (Hs)

Am *dorhan* 'smoke' (Star)

daráak m., pl. *darák* 'die kalte Jahreszeit, Regenzeit, Winter' (Re) = *oo darak* 'Winter' (Bu)

The closest cognate appears in Iraqw (SCu) *daraqī* 'coolness' (Mous). The other parallels are problematic:

(1) Reinisch (1895: 70) compared it with Gz *dadak* 'frost, cold, highland' (Leslau 1987: 123) and further with Saho (ECu) *dadaaf* 'Regenzeit, kalte Jahreszeit (Jan–Ap), Jahresanfang, Jahr' (Re), cf. Afar *dadaf* 'short rainy season' (PaHy).

(2) Mukarovsky (1987: 289) found Chadic parallels: (C) Kotoko: Buduma *delagö* 'pluie' (Decorse), Gulfei *dalage* id., Makeri *ndelgo* id., Affade *dılko*, Kuseri *ntul(u)* go 'Himmel', So *antilga* 'God' (cf. Sölken 1967: 186), but cf. Kanuri *dólágə* 'rain cloud' (Cyffer).

dirukw m., def.sg. *oodruk*w, def.pl. *eedruk*w 'trough, watering place for animals' (Wd) = *dirikw* m., pl. -*g* 'pool made by side of a well to water animals at skin for drawing water', cf. *dirkwā* m. 'skin for drawing water' (HuB) = *dirúukw* m., pl. *dirkwa* 'water-trough', i.e. 'hole, near well, lined with clay' (Rp) = *oḡ druk* w, pl. *děruk* w^h 'Trog aus Lehm neben dem Brunnen, aus dem die Tiere saufen' (Hs) = *derúkw* m., pl. *dirkwa* 'Wassertrog aus Lehm neben der Zisterne, zum tränken des Viehes' (Re) = *dérük*, pl. *dérk* w^a 'Wassertrog' (Al) = *o'deruk* id. (Mu)

Cu: (C) **dādaq* w^a (Appleyard 2006: 102) > Bilin *dārāq* w^a 'black earth from which pots are made', Qwara *dax* w^a, ?Khamir *rəq* w^a 'Ton(erde), Lehm' (Re; see also Appleyard 1984: 48), cf. Gurage *čəqara* 'mud' (Ls) || (S) Asa *deregiyo* 'mud' (Ehret 1980: 360).

Appleyard (2006: 45, 103) analyses CCu **dādāq* w^a as the partial reduplication, where the simple root would be preserved in Qwara *dax* w^a and corresponds to ECu **doqq-/*čəqq-* > Som *ḍooqo* 'muddy water'; Oromo *doqqee*, Konso *doqqeta*, Dirayta *čəqqa*; Gawwada *čooqqo/koqqo*; Yaaku *čəqon* 'wet' etc. Kemant *šəxa* and Awngi *čəqi* 'mud, clay' are borrowed from a source of the type Amh *čəqa*, which itself was adapted from some source close to Dirayta *čəqqa* or Gawwada *čooqqo*. In any case, Beja *dirukw* must represent an adaptation of the reduplicated form close to Bilin *dārāq* w^a.

u dirre ^h, indet. *dirraab* 'plastischer Ton mit dem der Kochtopf gemacht wird' (Hs) (1) Cu: (E) Afar *ḍarri* 'shale, argil' (PaHy); Sam **ḍeri* 'clay pot' (Heine 1978: 80) > Som *ḍeri* 'cooking pot of clay' (Ab), Boni *ḍerg* (He), Rend *ḍiri* 'clay pot' (He; Lamberti 1986: 345 has recorded Rendille *diri*); Arbore *ḍeeré* 'cooking pot (earthenware)' (Hy).

(2) ?Cu: (E) Sid, Kamb *dora* '(red) clay' (HG); ?Som *dooro* 'Schmutz' (Re); ?Oromo *duri* 'schmutzig' (Tutschek);

?Ch: (W) Gwandara *dora* 'dirt'.

The alternative (1) implies *ḍ-* instead *d-* in Beja.

diwil, *dauwil* 'near', *diwil* v.1 'to be near, to appear' (Rp) = *dawil* 'proche' (Vh) = *dawúl*, *dawíl* besides *daliw* 'nahe' (Re) = *diwuul* n.act. 'being close' (Wd); cf. *dawlaat* f., def.sg. *tudawla*, def.pl. *tidawla* and *teediwal* 'country' (Wd)

Reinisch (1895: 72) connected it with Ar *ḡiwār* 'neighbourhood' (Sg 252) and Kunama *dawla*, *doola* 'nähe, nahe'. The latter comparison is certainly correct; it remains to determine a donor-language. The first parallel is apparently incorrect.

u duwaar, pl. *i duwer* ‘Zeltlager’ (Hs) = *duwээр* m., pl. *-a* ‘Verwandtschaft, Geschlecht, Stamm, Tribus’ (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *duwwār* ‘kreisförmiges Beduin-Zeltlager’ (Hess 1919: 212) and not from *ğawwār* ‘farmer, peasant’ (Sg 252) how proposed Reinisch (1895: 72).

?*te dai* ‘moon’ (Salt), compatible perhaps only with *ondjim* id. (Bu)

If these old and apparently inexact records reflect a word different from the usual denotation of ‘moon, month’, viz. *tirig* m. ‘month’, *tirig* f. ‘month’ (Hu), in older records with voiced *d*–: *the dirik* (Kc) = *o’ědrik* (Mu), they can be compared with ECu (Macro-Somali) counterparts: Som *day(y)ax* ‘moon’, dial. Qallaaf *daynyax*, Rendille *yeyah* (Heine 1981: 199 reconstructed PSam **záy(y)āh*); Bayso *diginni* id. (Nuu and Ehret 1985: 252–257). Outside Cushitic, there is a possible cognate in Masa (CCh) *ndai* ‘Sterne’ (Lk). Doubtful.

doi m., pl. *doiya* ‘path’ (HuB) = Am *doy* ‘road’ (Star) = *ęę dōy* ‘die grosse Wüstenstrasse’ (Hs) = Bi *dooiā* pl. ‘vie’ (Huber 1898; see Cifoletti 1994: 61)

?Cu: (E) Som *daw* ‘way, path’ (Luling) = *dáu* ‘method, direction’ (Ab) = ‘Weg, Strasse’ (Re); Burji *daw(w)-a* ‘way, path’, Sid *doogo* ‘road’ (Sasse 1982: 54; Hudson 1989: 124 reconstructed PHECu **doogo* and included here Hadiyya *googo* id. without any explanation of the different initials; it seems better to assume two words for ‘path/road’: (i) **daw*–, (ii) **goog*– [see below apud *giig*], contaminated in Sid *doogo*).

Note: Reinisch (1902: 120) compared Som with Nile Nubian, concretely Old Nobiin *ḏay*, Mahas *dāwi* ‘way, road’ (Murray 1923: 32 connected the Nubian forms with Central Sudanic Bagirmi *dobu*).

dayaayt f., def.sg. *tudayaay*, def.pl. *tidayay* ‘ground’ (Wd) = *dayay* f., pl. *deey* ‘earth, ground’ (HuB) = Am *daiyay* ‘earth, ground’ (Star) = *tu dāyaay*, indet. *dāyaayt*, pl. *ti deyey* ‘Erde, Land’ (Hs) = *dāya* f. ‘ebene, weite Fläche, Land’ (Re) = [*to*] *tayáh* ‘Erde’ (Km)

?Cu: (C) Khamir *dáadaa* ‘Wüste, Steppe, der freie Raum ausserhalb des Dorfes’ (Re); (E) ?Afar *daada* ‘piece of land for cultivation, plot of land’ (PaHy); Bayso *dida* ‘plain, flat country’ (Fleming 1964: 53) = *diida* ‘plain’ (Hy); Oromo: Borana, Orma, Waata *diida* ‘plains, fields, savanna; outside’ (Stroomer).

Lit.: Reinisch (1884: 352) Khamir + Oromo.

Note: Beja *dayay* is compatible with Khamir and ECu forms, if the rule **-dy-* > *-y-* operated in Beja. There is a good example in Beja *gweđi*, pl. *gwey* ‘eye’ (Al). Alternatively, the C + ECu forms can be explained as a result of reduplication.

d

d'(a) v.1/2 'to patch, to plaster (mud wall, garment, wound)' (Rp) = *doo'* m., pl. *dóo'a* 'Ton, Lehm, klebrige Masse', *doo'* (2) 'aus Lehm formen, Töpferei betreiben, bestreichen' (Re) = *doo'* '(auf)kleben' (Al)

Cu: (E) Som *ḍaaʕ* 'Schlamm, Kot, Ton, Lehm' (Re) || Dahalo *dódoʔa* 'mud' (To) = *ndodóʕo* id. (Eh);

Se: Ar *tāʔ* (*t-w-ʔ*) 'mud', Gz *teʔa* and *tefa* 'to besmear, anoint, cover over, plaster with mud' (Leslau 1987: 600).

Lit: Reinisch (1902: 125) Beja + Som + Gz.

toḡ ḍaa', indet. *ḍaa't*, pl. *teḡ ḍä'* 'Wasserloch im Felsen' (Hs)

?Cu: (E) Afar *ḍaḍḍaʕo* 'rock pool' (PaHy).

d(ə)'aaš, *ḍaaš* m. 'cool wind from south in rainy season' (Rp) = *daš* m., pl. *d'hašq* 'wind preceding autumn rain' (Hu)

Om: (N) Male *čüš-i* 'cold weather'; (S) Dime *čüč-* 'cloud, fog' (Hayward 1988: 266 reconstructs P_{Om} *č-).

dib m., def.sg. *oodib*, def.pl. *eedib* 'time, period' (Wd) = *dib* in *u yiin dib* 'Westen, Sonnenuntergang' (Hs) = *too yīñ-dib* 'Sonnenuntergang, West', cf. *dib* v.2 'fallen, stürzen; untergehen (Sonne, Mond, Sterne)', *ḍuub* m., pl. *dib* ~ *d-* (Re) = *dib* 'to fall, set (sun, moon, stars)' (Vh) = *dib* and *dib* v.2 'to fall; set (sun)' (Rp) = *yin dib* 'sunset' vs. *dib* v.2 'to fall' (Hu) = *dibaa* 'to fall' (Wd).

Reinisch (1887: 95) compared it with Bilin *dibb* 'niederfallen, -stürzen'.

dēefáa, pl. *dēefa* 'porte' (Vh)

dhalayt f. 'charcoal, coal, ember, spark', def.sg. *tuḍhalay*, def.pl. *tiḍhalay* and *dhat* (Wd) = *ḍāhālay*, *ḍahālay* f., pl. *ḍahāley* 'glowing ember' (Rp) = *d(ā)hlee* f. 'charcoal, coal' (HuB) = *dehalāay* f., pl. *dehaláy* 'Kohle, Glutkohle' (Re) = *dhāley* f. pl. '(Holz-)Kohlen' (Al)

Cu: ?(C) Khamir *ḡildena* 'Kohle' (Re) || (E) *čilḥ- ~ *čulḥ- 'charcoal' (Sasse 1979: 22, 26, 30; Id. 1982: 104) > Saho *dilheno* 'Glutkohle' (Re), Afar *dikiñhin* 'hot coals' (PaHy); Som *duxul*, Ashraf *dhuxul*, May, Tunne *dhohol*, Dabarre, Jiddu *dhuhul*, Garro *dhulah*, Boni Kilii *ulah*; Rendille *jilax* 'Holzkohle' (Lamberti 1986: 347; he reconstructed 'Old Somali' *ḍyulax-); Oromo *čil-ee* 'charcoal', Konso *ḍil-a*, D'irayta *ḍilh-a*; Dullay: Harso-Dobase, Gollango *ḍilh-e* 'Holzkohle' (AMS); Burji *il-i* 'ember'; Yaaku *ṭééh-ó* 'charcoal' (He) || Dahalo *ṭiliha* 'embers' (Eh).

déek^wa m. 'Tonplatte zum Brotbacken' (Re)

The potential parallels can be organised according to the various original initials, viz. dental (1), glottalized dental (2), glottalized affricate (3):

(1) Cu: ?(C) Qwara *dax*^wa 'Ton(erde)' (Reinisch 1887: 111 connected it with Bilin *dāraq*^wa id.) || Dahalo *dokke* 'dust, mud' (Elderkin);

Ch: (C) Nakatsa *ùdiywa* 'large water pot', Zeghwana *nduywè* id., Glavda *ndiyywà* id.; Fali Gili *dāyo* id., Higi Kamale *dūywi* 'cooking pot' (Kr);

(1) or (2) PBe *(w)a-/(w)i-d/*duq*-i > (N) Shilha *ideqqi* 'argile à poteries'; (E) Ghadames *ūḍašši* (Lanfry) id. = *oudhetchi/udečči* (Calassanti-Motyliniski), see Vyčichl (1990: 40);

(2) Cu: (E) **dokk*- > Som *dhoq-o* 'turbid water, mud' (Ab); Oromo *doqq-ee* 'mud; excrement from horse or cow' (Gg), Maca and Borana *dhoq-e*, Guji *doq-e* 'mud' (LVC), Konso *doq-eta* 'mud' (Bl); Dullay: Gollango-Gawwada *doqqolo* 'Schlamm' (AMS); Burji *dokk-ée* 'mud, swamp' (Sasse 1982: 65);

(3) Cu: (C) **cay*^w- (~ *-q^w-) > Bilin *šaq*^wa, Khamir *cawa*, Kemant *say*^wa 'dung' (Apleyard 1984: 36) || (E) **çokk*- > D'irayta *çokk-a* 'mud' (Bl); Dullay: Gawwada *çooq-o* id. (Ss), Tsamakko *čooq-e* 'mud' (Hy); Burji *çók-k-ee* 'excrements of horse or mule' (Sasse 1982: 49);

Ch: (W) NBAuchi: Warji *çakwan-na* 'small beer pot' (Skinner) || (C) Fali Gili *tsàx-wa* 'small water pot' (Kr) || (E) Bidiya *cookfya* 'grand vase' (Alio) (Stolbova 1996: 47 reconstructs PCh **çako*).

doom 'Norden, unter, tiefer gelegen', *doomaab* 'nördlich' (Hs) = *dóme* m. 'der Norden' (Re) = *dóome* m. 'Norden' (Al) = *dome*- 'Nord' (Li); cf. *domaa* 'to go east' (Wd)

Probably identical to *doom* 'downhill, under' (Vh), cf. adv. *dom* 'downhill, downstream', a derivative of the *dom* v.2 'to move downhill' (Rp) = *doom* adv. 'downhill', *doomaa* 'to move down' (Wd). Other parallels can be perhaps found in HECu: Gedeo *di'mo* 'deep (of water)', Sid *diime* 'deep (esp. river)' (HG).

Another, but less probable possibility consists in a borrowing from Gz *dim* 'left' < *dəgm* (Leslau 1987: 149).

daw 'forêt, jungle' (Vh) = *daiw* m., pl. -ā 'khor with trees in it, forest' (HuB)

f

fai 'water course (small tributary)' (HuB)

fuu m., pl. *fī* 'smell' (n.), cf. *fu* v.2 'to smell', n. act. *fu'ti* (HuB) = *fī* m. pl. 'air' (Rp) = *fuu* m., pl. *fī* 'Geruch', cf. *fī* v.2 'riecken, Geruch verbreiten' (Re), and further n. act. *fú'ti/e* m. 'Riechen' (Al)

Ehret (1987: #185) compared it with Qwadza (SCu) *fī'* 'to sniff'. Onomatopoeitic.

tu faaḏiḥ, indet. *faaḏiit* 'vom Meer zeitweise überschwemmten Teil oder Bucht der Küste (blindes Ende eines Wâdī-Armes)' (Hs)

Borrowed from Ar *fayḍ* 'Fluss oder Wasser, das über die Ufer tritt', cf. Ṣûtêbic *fêḏe* 'grosse Verbreitung eines Wâdis in einer Ebene, indem sich dasselbe in mehrere Rinnsale auflöst' (Hess 1919: 212).

Am *fufeen* 'wind' (Star)

Derived from the verb *fuuf* v.2 'to blow' (Rp) = *fuufaa* 'to blow (up)' (Wd).

Am *fugir* 'wind which comes from the North' (Star)

faham m., def.sg. *oofham* 'charcoal, coal' (Wd) = *faa(h)m* m. 'charcoal' (HuB) = *faháam* m., pl. *fahám* and *faam* m., pl. *fam* 'Kohle' (Re) = *fam* m. '(Holz-) Kohlen' (Al)

Borrowed from Ar *faḥm* or Ti *fāḥam* 'charcoal' (Leslau 1987: 157)

oḥ fej, indet. *fājaab*, pl. *i fājaḥ* 'Klus, tiefer Einschnitt zwischen zwei Bergen von einiger Breite, nicht Wâdī' (Hs)

Borrowed from Ar *faḡḡ* 'broad valley path; saddle of mountain, defile, pass' (Sg 775), dial. (Yemen) *feḡḡ* 'pass (in hills)' (Hess 1919: 212).

fájr, *fadl*, *fádīl* 'dawn, early morning' (Rp) = *fajír* m., pl. -a 'Morgen, Morgendämmerung' (Re) = Am *fajr*, Hadendoa *fadl* 'dawn' (Star) = *phâdjir* 'Morgen' (Se); cf. *fajir* m. 'morning prayer' (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *faḡr* 'first light of the morning' (Sg 776) or Ti *fäjr* 'the (next) morning' (LH 674).

filfuu f. and *filfit* m. 'ground too hot to walk on, place where fire has been' (HuB)

fara'g m., pl. *fara* (~ *felq*) 'difficult pass over mountain range' (HuB) = *far'a* f., dim. *fal'a* and *falas* f. 'agaba', i.e. 'negotiable path over hill', *liilitit fál'a* 'corner of eye' (could it correspond to *fála* f. 'Augapfel' recorded by Reinisch?), *yáfiit fál'a* 'corner of mouth' (Rp) = *tu farä*, indet. *farä't* 'die oberste einer Gebirgsstrasse' (Hs)

Borrowed from Ar *farṣa*, *farṣā*? 'der höchste Teil der Straße, die Stelle, wo sie endet' (Hess 1919: 212).

farhå m. 'clouds that white, on top of rain clouds' (HuB)

feter m., pl. -å 'name of the last two months of year', *fitrå* f. 'end of Ramadan with giving of alms' (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar *fiṭr* 'breaking of the fast, feast following the month of Ramadan', *fiṭrat* 'alms, sacrifice' (Sg 769).

g

gáa'ra, *gár'a*, *gara* f. 'Hofraum, Raum um das Haus mit einer Umzäunung versehen' (Re) = *to'gara*, acc. *garat* 'Hof, Umzäunung' (Mu)

Borrowed from Ti *qaṣrāt* 'Hofraum' (Re), cf. also Ty *qərṣat* id. and borrowed Bilin and Saho *qaṣrāt* id., of the same origin (Reinisch 1887: 239; 1890: 230). The closest cognate to EtSe appears in Soqotri *qáṣer* 'maison, intérieur' (Leslau 1938: 380; 1979: 288; cf. Dolgopolsky 1973: 317) while Ar *qaṣr* 'bottom, ground, depth, pit' (Sg 847) differs in semantics.

gibla f. 'direction of Mecca' (HuB) = *gabal* 'direction' (Vh) = *gībla* f. 'der Nord, Direktion nach Mekka' (Re) = *te'gible* pl. 'der Nord' (Mu)

Borrowed from Ar *qibla* 'side towards which one turns, especially in prayer, direction of Mecca' (Sg 818).

gedi ~ *gegi/ũ* ~ *giḥā* m. 'pole-star' (HuB) = Am *igedi and gygi* 'Polar star' (Star) = *jaj'i*, *je j(')i* m. id. (Rp) = *u ḡaḡu^h* 'Polarstern' (Hs)

Borrowed from Ar *ḡady*, pl. *ḡidyān*, *ḡadāyat* 'kid, he-goat; Capricorn', *ḡdayy* 'polar star' (Sg 224), dial. ('Öteb) *el-ḡedi* (Hs); cf. Gz *gadey* 'Capricorn' (sign of a zodiac) (Leslau 1987: 183).

gedīm m., pl. *gídma* 'Rand, Seite, Ufer' (Re)

Is it a cognate of or a borrowing from EtSe: Gz *gədm* 'side, direction, breadth, transversal side', Ti *gədam* 'edge, side', Ty *gədmī* 'side, flank', Amh *gədm* 'width, horizontal road' (Leslau 1987: 183)? The EtSe forms are isolated within Semitic; that is why their (Central) Cushitic origin is probable, cf. Bilin *gədum* 'Seite, Rand, Ufer' (with a 'Semitic' pl. *agdaam*), Khamir *gidem-š* 'ausgestreckt liegen' (Re). Ehret (1987: #44) compared the Beja and CCu forms with ECu **gudm-* 'shoulder' > Oromo *gurm-uu*; Burji *gudūm-a*, Hadiyya *gudum-o* (Sasse 1982: 85). Saho *gadīm* 'Breite, Weite, Ausdehnung; Seite, Rand, Ecke' (Re) is borrowed from an EtSe source, maybe via CCu.

gídiimha, *gídemha* adv. 'last year' (Rp) = Am *gidemha* 'last year' (Star)

A compound consisting of *gidh(i)* 'beyond, behind' (Rp), plus *mase* f. 'year' (HuB)?

gaaf m., pl. *gǎf* 'dregs' (Rp)

Could it be connected with *gaaf* v.2 'to leave an unconsumed portion of food or drink' (Rp) or with *geef*, pl. *gaf* 'Flussufer' (Re)?

geef m., def.sg. *oogeef*, def.pl. *igeefa* 'river bank, bay' (Wd) = *oḡ geef*, indet. *geḡ-faab*, pl. *i geḡefe^h* 'Steiufer des Nil und der Wādīs' (Hs) = *geef* m., pl. *gaf* 'steiles Flussufer' (Re) = *geef* m., pl. *gǎf* 'steiles (Fluss-)Ufer' (Al)

Borrowed from Sudan Ar *gēf* 'steiles Flussufer', cf. Upper Egypt Ar *qēf* 'steile Felswand' (Hess 1919: 212).

giig m., def.sg. *oogiig* 'departure, passage', *giigaa* 'to go, leave' (Wd) = *giig* m., pl. -a 'Gang, Weggang, Abreise', *giig* v.2 'fort-, weggehen' (Re) = *giig* 'to go away' (HuB) = *giig* v.2 'to go; be about; die' (Rp) = *giig* '(fort)gehen' (Al) = *o'gig* 'Gang', *giigya* 'gehen', caus. *gigisya* 'schicken' (Mu) = *giikszetene* 'ich verkaufe' (Se)

Cu: (C) Bilin *gug* 'Weg' (Re), Khamta *gʷəg* (CR) || (E) Had *googo* 'road', Kamb *goggo* (Ce);

Om: (S) Ari, Galila *goog-í* 'road' (Be);

Ch: (W) Bolewa *goggo*, Dera *gokò* 'road', ?Tangale *wokò* 'path' (Kr).

gigiiri f. 'island' (HuB), besides *jadiira* id. (Nakano and Tsuge) = *jasire* 'Insel' (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *ǧazīra*, pl. *ǧazāʾir* 'island' (Sg 233).

gagerhuš and *garhuuš* m. 'granite that is disintegrating' (HuB) = *garhuuš* m., def. sg. *ugarhuuš*, def.pl. *igarhuuša* 'sand stone' (Wd) = *u gerhuuš*, pl. *i gerhiš* 'zerfallener (verwitterter) Granit oder Sandstein' (Hess 1919: 212 also quoted 'Abābde [an Ar dialect of the Upper Egypt] *qerhūš*, pl. *qārāhīš*) = *auēb garhūš* 'Sandstein, mürber Stein' (Lp) = *gagerhuš* 'verwitterter Granit' (Mu)

Especially the form *gagerhuš* indicates an old compound, where the first component could be identified with Ti *gərgər* 'limestone, cliff, rock', Amh *gārgara* 'kind of stone to sharpen the scythe' (Leslau 1982: 30), while the second component resembles Beja *haas* 'Sand, Staub' (Re).

təp gel, indet. *gelt*, pl. *ti gele^h* 'Wasserloch im Felsen' (Hs)

Probably borrowed from Ar *qalt* 'mountain-cave with water' (Sg 852), ʕōtēbic dzelte etc. (Hess 1919: 212); on the other hand, there are Gz *gol* 'cave' (Ls 1987: 189) and Saho-Afar *galaba*, pl. *galoob* 'Höhle, Felsenhöhle, Loch' (Re) = Afar *gabila*, pl. *gāboolu* 'cave' (PaHy) which are alternatively comparable with Beja.

There are also interesting NS parallels: Kenzi *gol-di* 'hole', Gulfan *kol-do* 'well'; Bagirmi *gulu* 'cave, waterhole' (Murray 1923: 63, 110), but the Arabic connection seems to be more probable.

gil m., pl. -a 'Grenze; bis (zu)' (Re) = -*gil* 'bis' (Al); cf. Am *gilhan* 'edge' (Star)? Reinisch (1895: 95) compared it with Old Nobiin *kel* 'limit, end, boundary', Kenzi-Dongola *keel* id., -*keel-ir* 'at the edge of' etc. (Murray 1923: 95).

Less probable seems the solution of Zyhlarz (1933: 178, #112) proposing a comparison with Eg (Pyr) *ḏrw* 'Ende, Grenze' (Vycichl 1983: 147, 219).

gál'a f. 'Festung, Burg' (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *qalʿa* 'fortress, fortification, castle' (Sg 853).

gaaliigay m., pl. *gaaliigee* ‘mountain path’ (HuB)

gimə m. ‘mist’ (HuB) = *gimt* f., def.sg. *toogim*, def.pl. *teegim* ‘cloud’ (Wd) = *geem*, *giim* m., pl. *géema*, *gīma* ‘Nebel, Wolke’ (Re) = *o’gim* ‘Nebel’ (Mu)

Probably of EtSe origin, cf. Gz *gime*, *gum* ‘fog, cloud, dampness, mist, vapour’, Ti *gim* ‘fog, cloud’, Ty *gime*, *gəmə* ‘cloud, mist’, Amh *gum* ‘fog, mist’ etc. (Leslau 1987: 193), although a lw. from Ar *ḡaym* ‘cloud’, which has an exact correspondent in Syrian *ḡaymā* ‘mist, fog, cloud’, is also not excluded.

gimə f. ‘Friday’ (HuB) = *gīm’a* and *gúm’a* f. ‘Freitag’ (Re) = *gúma* f. ‘Freitag’ (Al) = *gīma* ‘Woche’ (Km) = *tegümma* (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *ḡumṣa* ‘week’, (*yawm*) *al-ḡumuṣa* and *ḡumaṣa* ‘Friday’ (Sg 245). Cf. also the palatal variant *jumaa*’ and *jimaa*’ id. (Rp).

ganna f. ‘paradise, heaven’ (HuB) = *jannaat* f., def.sg. *tujanna*, def.pl. *tijanna* ‘paradise’ (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *ḡanna* ‘garden, orchard; paradise’ (Sg 247). See also *dinna* ‘paradise’ (HuB).

Am *gunub* ‘coastal area, Red Sea hills’ (Star)

Borrowed from Ar *ḡanūb* ‘south’ or *ḡanb*, pl. *ḡnūb* ‘coast, boundary, region’ (Sg 248–249).

gar ‘west’ (Hu) = [o]ḡhar ‘West’ (Bu)

Identical with the following entry. The expected *-ab* or *-eb* was reinterpreted as the accusative ending.

gereb m., with art. *oo ngereb* = *engereb* m., pl. *engrebə* ‘evening, west’ (HuB) = *giirab* m., def.sg. *ungiirab* ‘evening, west’, def.pl. *ingiiraba* ‘evenings’, and *girab*, *in-girab* m., def.sg. *w’ingirab*, *oograb* (Wd) = *garīb* m., pl. *gārba* ‘West, Sonnenuntergang’, *engerāb*, pl. *éngreba* ‘Abend, West’, *mágreb* m., pl. *-a* id. (Re) = *gerab* m. ‘evening’ (Rp) = Am *gerab* ‘sunset’ (Star) = *engěreeb* ‘Abend’ (Mu)

Borrowed from Ar *ḡarḥ* and *maḡrib* ‘sunset, west’.

Am *an-gareeb*, *angi* ‘Great Bear’ (Star)

Lit. ‘bedstead’, cf. *angáre*, acc. *angareb* ‘native bedstead’ (Rp) = *aṅgarée*, acc. *-b* ‘tragbares Bettgestell’. Reinisch (1895: 24) derived it from Ar *maqrī* ‘lectus’.

garáabi f., pl. *-a* ‘footpath’ (Rp) = *garabi* ‘chemin’ (Vh) = *geráabi* f., pl. *geráabya* ‘Fussweg durch die Wüste’ (Re) = *geráabi* f., pl. *-ya* ‘Wüstenweg’ (Al) = *garbiit* f., def.pl. *tigarbi* ‘path, way in the desert’; cf. *gaar’ib* ‘on foot’ (Hu)

Probably connected with Ti *gärab* 'road', Ty *g^wärbi* 'stony road' (Leslau 1982: 29). Reinisch (1895: 100) compared the Beja word with Ar *garaba* 'to pass away, disappear, depart', *garba* 'long journey, exile, emigration' (Sg 749).

gərbä m. 'foreign country', perhaps related to *gerabi* f. 'distance', *gerbenda* c. 'people inhabiting any distant country' and/or *gərbib* 'dwelling to the west of the River; strange, foreign', apparently derived from *gereb* 'west' (HuB) = *gwirbaat* f., def.sg. *tugwirba* 'strange place' (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *garba* 'foreign country' (Sg 749).

gurbeebi m. 'mountain ridge' (HuB)

Am *gerdaga* 'salty earth' (Star)

gärha f. 'der Acker' (Re) = *gara* 'village, yard, enclosure' (HuB)

Borrowed from EtSe: Gz *garha* 'plough', *garāht*, *garh* 'field, arable land, farm, estate', Ti *gärhat* 'field', Ty *garat*, pl. *gərahaw* (Leslau 1987: 202).

gīrif 'argent' (Vh)

gas m. 'wave of sea' (HuB).

gos f., pl. -a 'bouldery hill with sand powdered base: moving sandhills' (Rp)

Cu: (E) **ge(e)š-* > Afar *gas-o* 'fence, wall'; Sid *geeša* 'fino a' (Mo), Burji *jees-a* 'border' (Sasse 1982: 110);

Om: (N) Kafa *gašo* 'river bank, edge, border', *geš* 'towards' (Ce).

Takács (EDE I: 225) adds Som *gees* m. 'side, corner, edge; horn', f. 'direction, side', adv. 'sideways' (Luling) ||| Eg (PyrT) *gs* 'side' (Wb. V: 191–194) ||| Se **gišš-* 'side, body' > Akk *giššu* 'hip, flank', post-Bib Hb *gāsās*, Judaic Aram *gīsāsā* 'side, arm', Syriac *gessā* 'coxa, latus', Arabic of Daṭina *gišša* 'cadavre, corps mort', Mehri *gəššēt* 'body, corpse', Jibbali *gésāt* 'side' (SED 90–91), but without the Beja example.

gestīr m. 'Zinn' (Re and Al) = *gestir* id. (Mu) = *kastir* id. (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *qašdir* 'tin' (Sg 839) or from Ti *gaštir* id. (LH 581).

gw'ad m. 'side; eye, loop, noose, bud, spring of water; v.1 'to watch' (Rp) =

gwod m., pl. *gwad* 'side, edge, margin; eye, spring of water; v.1 'to watch' (HuB) = *gwaad* and *kwaad* m., pl. *gwád* 'Rand, Seite', *gwad* and *gwaj* m., pl. -a 'Auge, Gesicht, Quelle' (Re) = *o'guedy*, pl. *e'guey* 'Auge' (Mu)

Cu: (C) **g^wədɨ/*g^wadɨ* 'side' (Ehret 1987: #59) || (E) Som *gawdi*, *goodi* 'Rand, Saum, Borte' (Re) || (S) **g^weʔed-* (Ehret 1980: 372) > Asa *gideʔe* 'ribs'; Qwadza *geʔelito*; Iraqw *gweʔdo* 'anus' (Eh) = 'buttocks' (Ki);

Ch: (W) Bolewa *gàʔɪɖɪ* ‘face’ (Kr).

Note: The SCu and Bolewa parallels confirm Roper’s record *gw’ad*. A primary semantics could be ‘face’.

gwaab ‘plaine’ (Vh) = *gwob* m., pl. *gwəb* ‘heap of stones in the bed of a khor’ (HuB) = *gwāb* m./f. (with a dim. function) ‘broad open flat ground with little or no vegetation’ (Rp) = *oɔ ngʷaab*, indet. *ingʷaab*, pl. *ɛɛ ngʷāb* ‘flache, steinige Ebene’ (Hs); cf. *gaab* m., def.sg. *oogaab*, def.pl. *igaaba* def.pl. ‘ground flat, no vegetation’ (Wd)

Cu: (E) **gub(b)-* > Afar *gubb-i* ‘high spot in undulating country’; Dasenech *gum* ‘mountains’, Oromo *gubb-aa* ‘up, above’; Dullay: S’aamakko (Hy) *g’up-o*, Harso *gúpo* ‘mountain’; Burji *gúbb-a* ‘highland’ (Sasse 1982: 85) || Dahalo *gúɓa* ‘plains’ (Ehret 1980: 238);

Ch: (C) Gava *yubà*, Nakatsa *yùba* ‘mountain’ (Kr);

Eg (Pyr) *gbb* ‘Erdgott; Erde, Erdboden’ (Wb. V: 164);

Se: Mehri *gōbi* ‘side of mountain’, East Jibbali *gē* id. (Jh).

Note: The semantic difference ‘mountain’ or ‘highland’ vs. ‘plain’ is not unusual, cf. Bulgarian *planina* ‘mountains’ vs. Czech *planina* ‘plain’.

gwoon m., def.sg. *oogwoon*, def.pl. *igwoona* ‘dunes’ (Wd)

Hdd and Bi *gwineb* ‘the land east of the crest of the Red Sea hills’ (BG) = *gwinéb* m. sg. ‘all the land to the east of the crest of the Red Sea’ (Rp)

Am *gwar arawe* ‘big deep well’ (Star)

h

haab m. ‘a red earth of which the sun-dried mud is impervious to water’ (Rp)

hoob m. ‘time’, *na hoob* ‘when?’ (HuB) = *hoob* ‘temps’ (Vh) = *hoob* m., def.sg. *whu* ‘time, season’ (Wd) = *hob* 1. ‘time, period’, cf. *gál hob* ‘once’, *ón hob* ‘at this present time’, 2. ‘when’, used as suffix to verb, cf. *barúu-tamián-hob* ‘when he ate’ (Rp, cf. § 147) = *hoob* 1. ‘Zeit, Mal, vices’, cf. *éngal hoob* ‘einmal’, *mallée hoob* ‘zweimal’; 2. ‘als, da, nachdem, während’ (in Temporalsätzen, see Reinisch 1894: §107) (Re) = *hoob* postp. ‘als, nachdem’ (Al)

Reinisch (1895: 107) connected it with Ar *sabba* ‘time’, Gz *soba* ‘when, at that time, then’ and Nile Nubian *šóobe* ‘Zeit’. Leslau (1987: 482) added Ty *sabu* and *šabu* ‘then’ and an overview of etymologies of the Semitic words. In spite of the suggestive semantic proximity, without a convincing explanation of the development from Se *s* to Beja *h* this solution cannot be accepted.

habi m. 'dusty wind' (HuB) = Am *habahai* 'hot east wind' (Star)

Is it connected with *hibi* f. 'early autumn, rainy season on plains' (HuB)?

hibi 'early autumn, rainy season on plains' (HuB) = *hibiit* f., def.sg. *tuhibi* 'rainy season, starting June', and *hubiit* f., def.sg. *tuhubi*, def.pl. *tihubi* 'rainy season' (Wd) = Am *hubeet* 'autumn' (Star) = *hibe* m. 'rainy season (July to mid Sept)', f. 'rainy season, rain or rainfall during that season', *hibeb* v.1 'to spread the rainy season' (Rp) = *húbi* f. pl. 'Regenzeit, Herbst' (Al) = *te'hebi* 'Regenzeit' (Mu) = *tohût* id. (Se) Cu: (E) Burji *haburšó* (HG) = *hubúrši* 'flood' (Sa) || (S) Qwadza *hubuko* 'rain' (Ehret 1980: 384);

Eg *ħbb.t* (Med) 'frisches Flusswasser', (NK) 'Stelle des Flusses aus der man trinkt; Urwasser; Wasser' (Wb. III: 63; Faulkner 1981: 167).

hebbi 'foam, froth, scum' (HuB) = *hibibt* f., def.sg. *tuhibib*, and *hububt* f., def.sg. *tuhubub* 'foam, froth' (Wd) = Ammar'ar *hubbáat*, st. det. *tī húbba* id. (Do) = *hibib* f., pl. *hibba* 'foam, froth' (Rp) = *hebīb* f., pl. *hībba* 'Schaum' (Re) = *tehūbba* id. (Se) Cu: (E) **ħumb*- (LECu by Black 1974: 107, but the cognate in Kamb allows to extend the level of the reconstruction) > Saho *hembo* 'froth, foam' (We) = *himbó* ~ *himbó* 'Schaum, Geifer' (Re), Afar *himbo* 'bubbles, froth' (PaHy); Som and Rendille *húmbo* 'froth' (Heine 1981: 189 reconstructed pSam **húmbò*); Or Wellega *hoomacca* 'foam' (Gg); Kamb *humbi* 'foam' (Ls); Om: (N) Kafa *umbo* 'schiuma' (Ce), see Dolgopolsky (1973: 152) who connected Cu and Kafa.

hubaal 'viele und schwierige Sanddünen' (Hs)

Borrowed from Ar *ħabl*, pl. *ħibāl* and *ħubūl* 'far-stretching sand-hill' (Sg 262; cf. Hess 1919: 214).

had m., pl. -a 'boundary, limit, frontier', o *rbai had* 'foot of mountain' (HuB) = *hadd* m., def.sg. *whadd*, def.pl. *yhadda* 'location, site', cf. *haddoyt* f., def.sg. *tuhaddooy* 'limit' (Wd) = *haddi*, *haddo* 'limit, boundary, extent' (Rp) = *ḳḳ had* 'Fuss des Berges resp. die Ebene, die unmittelbar an ihm liegt' (Hs) = *haad* m., pl. -a 'die Ebene, das Flachland; Grenze, bis zu/hin' (Re) = *had* 'until (e.g. tomorrow)' (Wd) = o'*hadd* 'Ebene' (Mu)

Reinisch (1895: 108) compared the form meaning 'Ebene' with Ar *hadūd* 'plain; steep precipice' (Sg 1169) while the latter meaning was connected with Ti *ħadda* 'to delimit', *ħad* 'aim, limit; till, about, because of', Ar *ħadda* 'begrenzen' (LH 96), *ħadd* 'limit, boundary' (Sg 266). But there are also promising ECu parallels: Burji *hādd-a* 'middle, centre; between', *urranānda hādda* 'hollow between mountains', Oromo (h)*add-a* 'fronte, frontone' (Borello) = Borana *adda* 'forehead' (Stroomer), see Sasse (1982: 89). A confusion of the genuine Cushitic word and Semitic borrowings?

had m. 'Sunday' (HuB) = *hadt* f., def.sg. *toohad*, def.pl. *teehad* 'Sunday' (Wd) = *haḡ* f. 'Sunday' (Rp) = *had* 'erster', only in *had yiin* or *had embi* 'Sonntag' (Re) = Am *haṭ* 'Sunday' (Star) = *tachát* id. (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *yawm al-ṣaḥad* 'Saturday', lit. 'day-the one' (Sg 1242), cf. Ar dial. (Upper Egypt) *yōm ilḥadd* id. (Nishio 1994: 277).

hood 'trou naturel d'un oued, réservoir, mare' (Vh) = *hood* m., def.sg. *whood*, def.pl. *yhooda* 'mud', and *hood* m. 'cistern, lake, puddle' (Wd) = *hood* m., pl. -a 'Teich, See' (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *ḥawḍ* 'reservoir, cistern, watering-place' (Sg 304).

hud f., pl. *hid* 'thunder', *hud* v.2 'to thunder' (HuB) = *huudt* f., def.sg. *toohuud*, def.pl. *tihuuda* 'thunder', *huudaa* 'to thunder' (Wd) = Am *húud*, *hoot* 'thunder' (Star) = *huud* m., pl. *hiid* 'Donnerschlag, Donnern', *hída* f. Gekrach; Donner', *huud di* v.1 'donnern' (Re) = *huud* f. 'Donner' (Al) = *te'hud* id. (Mu) = *to hût* id. (Se)

Borrowed from Ti *ḥadūd* 'thunder', *hadda* 'to thunder' (LH 26), related to Ar *hadd* 'destruction', *hadda*, *hudda* 'crash of ruin' (Wahrmund I.2: 1104; Sg 1167).

híd'a and *héd'a* f. 'Versteck, Höhle, Räuberlager' (Re)

Borrowed from EtSe, cf. Gz *ḥəzʔat* and *ḥəzʔat* 'hiding place, den, lair, retreat, enclosure', Ti *ḥazʔat* 'reserved pasture' (Leslau 1987: 252). Bilin *hedʔát* 'Räuberlager' (Re) is of the same origin.

hadīd m. 'ferro' (Ci); cf. *haddaadiib* m., def.sg. *whaddaadi*, def.pl. *yhaddaadi* 'blacksmith' (Wd)

Undoubtedly connected with TiBA *ḥadi:dat* 'iron' (Nakano and Tsuge). Cf. also Beja *haddáad* m. 'fabbro' (Ci) < Ar *ḥaddād* 'blacksmith' (Sg 266). The other information, see *endi* 'iron' (HuB).

hidim f. 'light rain' (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar *hadma* 'light rain' (Sg 1169).

hafiir m., def.sg. *whafiir*, def.pl. *yhafiira* 'well, water' (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *ḥafir* 'pit, cavity' (Sg 287).

hog m. 'lower land to which water flows, depth descent' (HuB)

Cu: (E) Som *hog* 'Grube, Loch, Höhle' (Re) = 'hole in the ground' (Luling).

hagir m. 'pool of water, shallow well' (HuB) = *u hagir*, indet. *hàgraab*, pl. *i hagire*^h 'Tümpel im Wâdi-Bette' (Hs) = Suakin *o-hăġir* 'pool' (Th)

hagaay m., def.sg. *whagaayi* 'summer time', *hagiya* 'to spend the hot season' (Wd) = *hagáay* m. 'Sommer, heißeste und trockene Jahreszeit' (Re) = *haggai* (with art.) 'the past summer', (without art.) 'the coming summer', *māhagay* m. 'summer' (HuB) = *mahagay* m. 'the hot season in May and June', *imhagay* 'in summer', cf. v.1 *hagi* 'to spend the hot weather' (Rp)

Cu: (C) Bilin *hagay* 'dry season' (Ap) = *hagáay* 'die trockene Jahreszeit, Sommer' (Re), Khamir *hiya*, besides *aya* 'Sommer, trockene Jahreszeit' (Re), Khamta *hagáay* id. (Re) || (E) **hagay-* 'rainy/dry season' (Sasse 1982: 89) > Saho *hagay*, Afar *haagay* 'summer', Som *hagaa* 'dry season'; Oromo *hagay-y-a* 'wet season (June-July)' = SOromo (*h*)*agaya* '(season of the short) rains (Oct-Nov)', D'irayta *haakay-t*; Dullay: Harso, Dobase *hakay-te*, Gollango *hakay-té* 'Regenzeit' (AMS), Tsamakko *haqay-te* 'month after the rain season' (Savà); Burji *hagáy-ee* 'second rainy season; short rains (April)', Had *hagey-y-ee* 'rainy season' (HG), Kamb *haguu(ha)* 'dry season' (HG);

EtSe: Gz *hagāy* ~ *hagāy* 'summer, dry season (Jan-March)', *hagaya* 'dry season', Ti, Ty *hagay* 'dry season', Amh (*h*)*agay* (Leslau 1987: 228).

The presence of the initial *h-* in Agaw indicates a borrowing from Ethio-Semitic (Appleyard 2006: 58). The absence of any cognates to the Ethio-Semitic words in other Semitic languages can also mean their foreign origin, probably from East Cushitic. The Beja forms can represent a common Cushitic heritage, but a borrowing via Tigre cannot also be excluded.

hójar m. 'period of the day from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.', cf. *hojar* v.2 'to set off in the heat of noontide' (Rp)

Borrowed from a source of the type Ar *hağır* 'Mittagshitze' (Wehr 905) or *hağıra* 'hottest mid-day' (Sg 1167)?

u hakib, pl. *i hakbā^h* 'Stufe, abfallende Stelle in der Strasse' (Hs)

(*w*)*hal* m. 'mud' (HuB)

?Cu: (E) Oromo *hola* 'hole in ground, ditch' (Sasse; Stroemer); Burji *hóoloo* 'ditch' (Sasse 1982: 100).

heleidiigwát f., pl. -a 'rainbow' (Rp)

Lit. 'hare's messenger'.

halham m. 'sandy foreshore' (Rp)

Is it connected with (*w*)*hal* m. 'mud' (HuB)?

hélle, *hílla* f. 'Dorf, Ortschaft' (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *hilla* 'Absteigequartier, Dorf um 100 Zelten, Versammlung, Ort derselben' (Wahrmund I, 1: 540).

haláan adv. 'jetzt', *haláan-nee* 'von jetzt an' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 117) derived it from Ar *al-ān* 'now, at present' (Sg 70).

héema f. 1. 'Zelt'; 2. 'Sternbild der Plejaden' (Re) = *tehéma* 'Zelt' (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *ḥayma* 'tent' or EtSe, cf. Gz *ḥaymat* and *ḥaymat* 'tent, tabernacle', Ti *ḥaymāt* 'round hut made of' (Leslau 1987: 269).

u ḥomi^h, indet. *ḥomiib* 'Felswand' (Hs)

There is a suggestive parallel in Hb *ḥomāh* 'Stadtmauer, mur d'enceinte' or Qatabanian *ṭmy* 'mur' (DRS 880), while the corresponding Ar counterpart *ḥāmiya* means 'die schützende' (Vergote 1965: 60). The historical circumstances of this connection remain puzzling.

Am *humā-* 'rainbow of three colors' (Star)

Could it be adapted from Ar *ḥumm(a)* 'heat of midday', *ʔaḥamm* 'white' etc. (Sg 295)?

hemni f. 'afternoon' (HuB) = *hamnii* f. 'après-midi' (Vh) = *himni* f. 'late afternoon' (Rp) = Am *himni* 'afternoon' (Star) = *humniit* f., def.sg. *tuhumni* 'afternoon' (Wd) = *humnay* and *húmne* f. 'der späte Nachmittag, die Zeit um Asser, Abend' (Re) = *humnay* 'Nachmittags reisen (abreisen)' (Al) = *hemeni[t]* 'Abend', *hemenáya* 'Abends verreisen' (Mu)

Cu: (E) Macro-Somali **hammeen* (Ehret 1987: #549) or **himmeen* (Heine 1978: 85 reconstructed pSam **hibèèn* 'night' > Som *habeen* 'night', Jiddu *hamúŋ* id., Boni *hawéer-ka* 'this night', Rendille *ibéen* 'night' (He), Bayso *hemeen* id. (HaLb); ?Dullay **ʔawn-e* 'night' > Harso-Dobase-Gollango-Gawwada *áwne* id. (AMS); Yaaku *aun* id. Apparently a derivative of **him-* continuing in Elmolo *híme* 'darkness of a moonless night' (He); Libido, Hadiyya *hiimo* 'night, evening' vs. *heemaca* 'black' (Korhonen et al. 1986: 82, 79) = Hadiyya *heemacca* 'black' (Hu). The corresponding forms also appear in Dahalo *húmane* 'tomorrow' vs. *húma* 'night' (Tosco);

?Om: (N) Kafa *hana* 'Abend' (Re); Gimira: She *eehn* 'notte' (CR).

hamiis f. 'Thursday' (Rp) = *khamiist* f. id. (Wd) = *hamis* f., pl. -a 'Donnerstag' (Re) = *tamís* id. (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *ḥamīs* 'Thursday' (Sg 341).

hinint f., def.sg. *tuhinin* 'antimonium' (Wd)

har'ii adv. 'after, afterward', *har'a* postp. 'end, after' (Wd) = *har'ii* 'après' (Vh) = *har'úi* adv. and prep. 'behind, after(wards), back', *har'iinay* 'that which is behind, hinder most the past' (Rp) = (*h*)*ar'* adv., prep. and postp. 'hinter, nach, hinten',

cf. with the gen. in -i: *óo-gaw-hár*-'i 'hinter Hause', with pronom. suffixes: *har*'-oo 'hinter, nach mich', *har*'-óok 'hinter, nach dich' etc. (Re) = *ári, áre, éri* 'hinter, hinten, nach' (Al) = *erree* id. (Mu) = *arúk* 'hinter dich' (Km); cf. also *har*'í 'poppa' (Ci)

Probably borrowed from Ti *har* 'behind, after that', cf. Soqotri *her-hen* 'behind' etc. (LH 64–65; Leslau 1987: 13).

harbuub m., def.sg. *wharbuub*, def.pl. *yharbuuba* 'edge, riverbank' (Wd) = *harbuub* (~ *helbuub*) m. 'khor, small tributary, ravine' (HuB) is probably identical with *hirbub* m., pl. *hribib* 'bed of river or khor' (HuB) = *hírba, hérbo, hárbo* m. 'Flussbett, Bucht, steiler Abhang, Hügel' (Re) = *hérbo* m. 'Einschnitt, kleine Bucht, Flus-sufer' (Al) = *hirba* m. 'Flussbett, khor' (Kc)

Perhaps related to ECu **hirrib*- (Sasse 1982: 105) > Som *hirrib* 'corner of the eye', CSom *hirrib* 'eyelid', Jiddu *hereefā* 'lip' (Lb); Oromo *hirrib-a* 'sleep', Konso *hirrip-a*, D'irayta *hirrip-itt*; Yaaku *hereb-an* 'eyebrow'; Burji *imbír-oo* 'eyelid' || Dahalo *híri-fane*, pl. *hírifa* 'eyebrow' (Eh) or SOromo *hirba* 'heel; behind, following' (Stroom-er) and Burji *hirba* 'back' (HG), cf. also Beja *herbabam* 'to return, come back' (Rp). The semantic difference between 'shore' and 'edge/corner (of face, mouth, eye etc.)' is not insuperable, cf. Beja *daraag* 1. 'Wange', 2. 'Rand, Seite' (Re).

haruur m. 'hot wind' (HuB) = Am *haror* 'hot wind' (Star)

Borrowed from Ar *harūr* 'hot night-wind; heat of the sun' (Sg 274).

hasas m. 'gravel' (HuB)

It is tempting to connect this word with its Semitic counterparts where the closest cognates appear in Aram *ḥšššā*, Hb *ḥššš* 'pebbles, gravel' (see *haš* below).

haš m. 'ground, earth' (HuB) = *haaf* 'terre (sol)' (Vh) = (*u*) *haaš*, pl. (*i*) *haš* 'earth' (Do) = *haaš* m., pl. *hšš* 'dust, earth, ground, land, country' (Rp) = *oḡ haaš* 'Staub, zerriebene Erde, unreine Sand' (Hs) = *haaš* m. 'Sand, Staub' (Re) = *haaš* m. 'Staub' (Al) = *o'hash* 'Staub' (Mu) = Am *haš* 'country, ground' (Star) = [*oh*] *haasch* 'Erde' (Kc) = [*wu*] *hásch* (Se)

Reinisch (1895: 129) compared *haaš* with EtSe: Gz *ḥoṣā* 'sand, gravel', Ty *ḥoṣa* 'gravel', Ti *ḥoṣa*, Amh *hača* 'resembling coarse white sand' (cf. further Soqotri *ḥāṣahāšihīn* 'gravel', Aram *ḥšššā*, Hb *ḥššš* 'pebbles, gravel', Akk *ḥiššu*, see Leslau 1987: 266–267). The difference š : ṣ indicates that the Beja word is not borrowed from EtSe; it might be a cognate. More convenient cognates probably appear in SCu: Iraqw *hasaṇ*, Qwadza *hasinko* 'sand', Asa *hajat* 'id., earth' (Eh), although the correspondence of the second consonant is not quite clear. In ECu, D'irayta *huss* 'earth' (Bl), although isolated, can be related too. The CCu forms as Kemant and Khamir *ašāwa*, Qwara *ašawa* etc., are probably borrowed from an EtSe source of the type Amh *ašāwa* or Ty *ḥašāwa* 'sand', although they were probably at least in-

fluenced by a Cushitic substratum (cf. Appleyard 1977: 34). Bilin *quša* and Kafa *qa-ačo*, Bench *qačay* 'sand' are of different origin. On the other hand, at least some of the Chadic parallels quoted above (see *isse* 'sand') can be related to Beja *ha(a)š*, e.g. Ch: (W) Ankwe *héés*; Ron: Fyer *hós* (JgIb II: 280) || (C) Ngwaxi (Hf) *hashu* 'sand'.

hooš m., def.sg. *whooš*, def.pl. *yhooša* 'fence of thorn, courtyard' (Wd) = *hooš* m., pl. -a 'Hof, Hof-Raum um das Gehöfte, mit einem Dornenzaun umgeben' (Re) = *hooš* m. 'Hof' (Al)

Borrowed from Ar *hawš* 'enclosure for cattle, fold, farm' (Sg 304).

u hašüümä^h, indet. *hašüumaab*, pl. *i hašüümä^h* 'gebrochene, an der Erde liegende Bäume und Sträucher' (Hs)

Borrowed from Ar *hašima* 'withered tree, piece of dry wood' (Sg 1176), dial. (Central Arabia) *hašime* (Hs).

Am *howa* 'storm wind' (Star)

Borrowed from Ar *huwwa* 'air, atmosphere' (Sg 1185)

Am *o-hawě* 'stone' (Star)

Probably a variant of 'áwe m. 'stone' (Rp).

hawaad m., def.sg. *whawaad*, def.pl. *yhawad* 'evening, night', *hawaadiib* adj. 'at night' (Wd) = *hawáad*, pl. *hawád* 'nuit' (Vh) = *ha^wwaad* m., pl. *ha^wwad* 'night', *ha^wwaadi tarǵb* 'midnight' (HuB) = Am *hawaat* 'night' (Star) = *háwaad* 'night, time after sunset' (Do) = *hawad* 'night' (Be) = *ha-wáad* m., pl. *ha-wád* id. (Rp), cf. *hawid* v.1 'to pass the night, to be benighted' (Rp) = *hawáad* 'der späte Abend, die Nacht', cf. *hawid* 'Abend/Nacht zubringen' (Re) = *hawáad* m., pl. *hāwad* 'Nacht, Abend', cf. *hāwid* 'des Abends irgendwo sein/machen, dem Abend zubringen' (Al) = *o'hauad*, pl. *e'haued* 'Nacht', cf. *haued* 'den Abend zubringen' (Mu) = [wu] *hauād* 'Nacht' (Se)

Cu: (E) Or Wellega (*h*)*eda* adv. 'last night' (Gg), Konso *awedǵ* 'night' (Bl); Burji *yedi* and *hiyedi* (Moreno) = *yédi* 'night' (Sasse 1982: 192), ?Sid *hawado* 'rainy season'; Haberland and Lamberti (1988: 104) compared it with Beja *hawaad*) || Dahalo *hèǵǵo* 'evening' (Ehret 1980: 270).

Dolgopolsky (1973: 239) also quoted Qwara (CCu) data, in reality Kunama (NS) *awáadaa* 'späte Abend, Nacht' (Re) = *awaada* 'night' (Be) which can be a lw. from Beja.

hawil m., def.sg. *whawil*, def.pl. *yhawla* 'year' (Wd) = *ha^wwil* m., pl. -ǵ 'year' (HuB) = Am *howil* 'year' (Star) = *hawil* m., pl. -a 'year' (Rp) = *hawıl* m., pl. *hawla* 'Jahr', cf. *hawáal* m., pl. *hawāl* 'Verwechslung, Täuschung, Betrug, Hinterlist', *hawāl* v.2 'verwechseln, täuschen, betriegen' (Re) = *háwil* m., pl. *hāula* 'Jahr' (Al) = *haul* id. (Km)

Borrowed from Ar *ḥawl* 'change', pl. *ḥuwūl* 'year' (Sg 305), cf. Ti *ḥāwəl* id. (LH 89).

hooy f., pl. -a 'der innere Raum, die innere Seite', *oo-gawīi-hóoyteeb* 'in Innern des Hauses' (Re) = *hooy* adv. 'from it' (Wd) = *hói* 'in esso' (Ci) = *hoi* 'in it, of it/ them' (Rp) = *hoih* 'innerhalb' (Se) = ?Am *haiya* 'area in town' (Star)

Zyhlarz (1932–1933: 169) compared it with Eg (MK) *h3j.t* 'Halle, Vorhalle', in AK written *h.t* (Wb. II: 476); cf. also the sign *h* (Pyr) depicting 'Hof, Halle' (Wb. II: 470). Vycichl (1934: 85) connected *h* with Som *hooy* (ECu) 'Einkehr, Zelt; Haus, wo man die Nacht zubringt; Herberge' (Reinisch 1902: 213) = 'Heim, Haus, Zuhause' (Farah and Heck) = 'home, shelter' (Luling).

hayiikw m., def.sg. *whayiikw*, def.pl. *yhayiikw* 'star' (Wd) = *hajuuk*^w 'étoile' (Vh) = *haiyuuk* m., pl. *haiyik* 'star' (HuB) = Ammar'ar *hayúuk*^w, pl. *hayik*^w (Do) = *hayuk* (Be) = *hayuuk* (Tl) = *hayuuk* m., pl. *hayikw* 'star' (Rp) = *hayúuk* m., pl. *hayúk* 'Stern' (Re) = Halanga *hayóokw* and *hayóob* (sic!), pl. *heykwáa-b* 'stella' (Ci) = *whayok* 'star' (Wt) = *hayúuk* m. (Al) = *wohayonc* (Li) = *yiook* (Lucas) = *o'heyok* (Mu) = *hayúk* (Km) = *iéheiyúk* (Se) = *hai-ek* (Salt) id.

Cu: (E) **hizk-/huzk-* 'star' (Black 1974: 151, 178, 194, 250; Sasse 1975–1976: 138; Id. 1979: 11, 35–37, 39, 57; Id 1982: 129) > Saho *hútuk* (We), Afar sgl. *hutuukta*, pl. *hutuk* (PaHy); Som *xiddig*, Bay (dial. of Som) *hinjin*, Jiddu *ḥaddik* (Nuux and Eh), Boni *hiddé* (He); Arbore coll. *húzzuk* (Hy), Elmolo *húyu-te*, pl. *húyuk* (He), Dasenech *hizi-n-tti* (Ss); Oromo (*h*)*urj-ii* (> Gedeo *urjee*, see HG), Konso *iskitta* (Bl) = *iskiteta* (Sim) = *hikkitta* (On), D'irayta *hiskaa* (Bl), Mashile *íska* (Bl), Bussa *hIIsko* (Be), Muusiye *isko* (SLLE); Dullay (all pl.): Harso-Dobase *ḥiske*, Gawwada-Gollango *ḥiske*, Tsamakko *ḥizge* (AMS) = *ḥízge* (Hy); Yaaku *hinso-ni*, pl. *hinso*' (He); Hayward apud Sasse (1982: 98) also speculated about Burji *hísk-a* 'worm, maggot' as a cognate (cf. Konso *isk-itta* 1. 'worm, 2. 'star') assuming the primary semantics 'small, white, pulsating thing' while Sasse preferred to see here the secondary homonymy;

?Om: (S) Galila *hayeka* 'day' (Fl); Hamer *'eezini* 'Venus' (Lydall) can be borrowed from an ECU source of the type Dasenech *hizi-n-tti* 'star'. The Galila and ECU forms are compatible only starting from the common semantic denominator 'celestial light'.

háymo f. 'Welle, Woge' (Re)

It was already Zyhlarz (1933: 169, #55) who mentioned a similarity between the Beja 'wave' and its Eg and Copt counterparts, viz. Eg (NK) *h3nw* and *hynw* 'Welle, Flut' (Wb. II: 481), Demotic *hym*, Copt Sahidic ⲱⲉⲓⲙ, ⲱⲉⲓⲙⲉ 'vague' (Vycichl 1983: 292). The sign 3 reflects an old liquid, cf. *hrm* 'ein Gewässer' (Wb. II: 501). Roquet (1980, 126–28) proposed a borrowing from a late Egyptian source which can be vocalised as **háymu*.

j

jaziiraat f., def.sg. *tujaziira*, def.pl. *tijaziira* 'island' (Wd) = *jadiira* 'island' (Nakano and Tsuge 1982: 11) = *jasíre* f. 'Insel' (Re), besides *gigiiri* f. id. (HuB)
Borrowed from Ar *ğazíra* 'island' (Sg 233); cf. TiBA *jadi:rat* and *jazi:rat* 'island' (Nakano and Tsuge).

jihaat f., def.sg. *toojha*, def.pl. *teejha* 'side, direction' (Wd) = *jíħa* f. 'direction', *jəhasiire* f. 'central stick of palm branch' (Rp)
Borrowed from Ar *ğíħa*, pl. *ğihāt* 'side, front, surface, shape, manner; cause; direction' (Sg 250).

jhur m., def.sg. *oojhur*, def.pl. *ijhura* 'river' (Wd)
Probably borrowed from Ar *ğuḥr* 'hole, den' (Sg 219).

jumaa and *jimaa* f. 'Friday; Friday moontide prayers' (Rp) = *jim'aat* f., def.sg. *tujim'a*, def.pl. *tijim'a* 'Friday' (Wd) = *júm'a* and *jím'a* f. 'Freitag' (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *ğumaṣa* or *ğumuṣa* id. (Sg 245); cf. also Ti *ǰəmṣat* id. (LH 549). There is the unpalatalized variant *gim̥a* id. (HuB).

jeméed m., pl. *jém̥da* 'Tau, Taufall, leichter feiner Regen' (Re) = *ēdjeméd* 'Regenwasser' (Mu)
Reinisch (1895: 165) correctly connected it with Ar *ğamad* 'ice, snow' (Sg 244); Almkvist (1885: 36), deriving it from *yam* 'water', is apparently mistaken.

jínuub m., def.sg. *oojínuub* 'side' (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *ğanb*, pl. *ğunūb* 'side, flank, half of the body' (Sg 248).

jiir m., pl. -a 'Kalk' (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *ğayr* 'quicklime' (Sg 256).

jerf m., pl. *jírfa* 'Gestade, Ufer, Strand' (Re) = *jerf* m. 'Strand, Ufer' (Al)
Borrowed from Ar *ğirf* 'place not reached by a flood' (Sg 229).

jaw m., def.sg. *oojaw*, def.pl. *ijawa* 'air, weather' (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *ğaww*, pl. *ğiwā?* 'atmosphere; air; sky; wide valley; open pasture-ground' (Sg 252).

jaaw m., def.sg. *oojaaw* 'valley' (Wd), cf. *jaw* m., def.sg. *oojaw*, def.pl. *ijawa* 'air, weather' (Wd)

jawhar m., def.sg. *ujawhar*, def.pl. *ijawhara* 'pearl' (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *ğawhar* 'jewel, pearl, precious ore' (Sg 255).

jiwaay postp. 'inside' (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *ğaww*, pl. *ğiwāʔ* 'interior of a house, hall', besides 'atmosphere; air; sky; wide valley; open pasture-ground' (Sg 252).

k

kabhe, *kabbəhe* f. 'buble; fruit of sodom apple' (Rp)

kubis 'storm' (HuB)

kubbul f., pl. -*g* 'sand hill, small mountain' (HuB) = *kambuul* m., def.sg. *ukambuul*, def.pl. *ikambuula* 'mountain' (Wd) = *kənbúul* and *kombúul* m., pl. *kénbel*, *kúmbel* 'Berg, Hügel' (Re) = *to'kónbul*, pl. *te'kenbel* 'Hügel' (Mu)

There are more uncertain parallels:

(1) Cu: (E) Som *gúnbur* and *gúmbur* 'Hügel; Wall, Verschanzung, Erderhöhung die aus der ebenen Fläche hervorragt' (Reinisch 1902: 171). But the difference *k* || *g* and *l* || *r* should be explained.

(2) Borrowed from Ar *qunbūr* 'Buckel' (Wehr 706). Besides the semantic difference again the uncorresponding finals *l* || *r*.

Other solutions presume an old compound where the second member perhaps corresponds to Som *buur* 'mountain, bare-topped hill' (Luling), while the first component is comparable with Am *kim* 'top' (Star) and/or

(3) Cu: (C) Awngi *kán* 'mountain' (Ht) || HECu **kin-* 'stone, rock' > Gedeo *kinjo*, Had *kina*, Kamb *kinu*, Sid *kin-co* (Hudson 1989: 144);

(4) Cu: (C) Bilin *quum* 'Bergrücken, -sattel' || (E) Saho *kooma* 'mountain' ||| Om: (N) Yemsa *kumma* id. (Be);

(5) Cu: (E) Oromo *kobi* 'mountain' (Tu) = Guji *kooba* = Borana *kubi* 'small hill' (LVC); Gedeo *kooba* id. (Be).

kúbre f. 'Schwefel' (Re) = *kwíberi* f. 'sulphur; match' (Rp) = *takkubrem* 'Schwefel' (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *kibrīt* 'sulphur' or EtSe: Gz *kabārit*, *kabrit*, *kəbrit* 'sulphur', Ti *kərbīt* 'wood for making fire', Ty *kəbrit*, *kərbīt* 'matches' (Leslau 1987: 274).

kādi f. 'piece of ground fit for cultivation' (HuB) = *káda* m. and *kadán* m., pl. *kádna* 'Steppe, Wüste, Prärie' (Re) = *káda* m. 'Steppe' (Al) = *o'kaddai* 'Bergsattel' (Mu)

Connected with Ti *kadan* 'desert, wilderness; outside, out, away', Ty *kadadā* 'weiter Platz, auf dem man Ball spielt' (LH 424) and Bilin *k/gadán* 'die Ebene, weite Fläche, prairie, Wüste' (Re).

ḳḳ *kḏi^h*, indet. *kḏiib*, pl. *ḳḳ kḏi^h* ‘Felsblock’ (Hs)

?Cu: (E) Burji *kedd-áa*, pl. *-ána* ‘hill’ (Sa).

?Be: (S) Tuareg of Ayr and Iulemmiden *ekāde*, pl. *ikādewan* ‘pierre’ (Alojaly).

kafa m. ‘cliff’ (HuB) = *kaafá* ‘le rupi, gli scogli’ (Ci) = *kaafa* m. ‘cliff (marine)’ (Rp) = Am *kafa* ‘clift’ (Star)

Is there any relation with Ar *quff*, pl. *qifāf* and ?*aqfāf* ‘stony hill, stone-heap; hole of the axe’ (Sg 848)?

?Eg *kf* (*k3f*) ‘Obsidian, Silex’ (WPS 277).

kūhii, *khwi* f. pl. ‘first part of the night (a time approximating to 9 p.m.)’, cf. adv. *akūhūt* ‘by night’ (Rp)

Is it derived from *kūh*, *keh*, *khw* ‘on, over, above’ (the part of the night when moon is rising?) or related to Tsamakko (Dullay branch of ECu) *qayanqáy-hó* ‘night’, *qayna* ‘tomorrow’ (Hy)?

kalq f. ‘cold wind’ (HuB)

Is it related with ?*akil* m. ‘sharp cold weather’ (Rp)?

?Cu: (E) Oromo of Wellega *qilleensa* ‘wind; climate’ (Gg), Borana *qilleensa* ‘light wind, breeze’ (Stroomer).

Ch: (E) Kwang *ká:l* ‘cold’ (Jg); Kabalai *kàlā* id. (Cp), Lele *kàloo* ‘vent’ (Weibegué and Palayer), Gabri *kal* ‘Wind’, *kaal* ‘kalt’, Nancere *kāl* and *kal* id. resp., Dormo *kāl* ‘Wind; kalt’ (Lk); Sumray *gāle* ‘Wind’ (A. Friedrich), Ndam *gā:l* ‘cold wind’ (Jg), Tumak *gā:l* id. (Cp); see JgIb (II: 81); and further probably EDangla *kūlūuty* ‘cold’ or Dangla *śāla*; ?Jegu *’oolān* (Jg), Bidiya *’olgā* (Alío and Jg) id.;

?Eg (Pyr) *t3w* ‘Luft, Wind, Hauch, Atem’, Coptic Sahidic *ⲧⲏⲩ* ‘vent’ (Wb. V: 350–353; Vycichl 1983: 14, 178).

(u) *kilme^h*, indet. *kilmoḳḳ*, pl. *kilme* ‘kleiner *duwwār* (Zeltlager) von 2–6 Häusern’ (Hs) = *kilmi* c. ‘a person living in a lonely isolated spot’, m. ‘lone house or hamlet’ (Rp) = *kīlmo* m. ‘Gehöft, Dorf’ (Re)

The only etymological attempt, Reinisch (1895: 142) comparison with Ar *ḥilm* ‘urbanity’ (Sg 294), is not satisfactory for both semantic and phonological reasons (Ar *ḥ* has been usually substituted by Beja *h*).

kelentif m. ‘rain that is continuous’ (HuB) = *kulínfe*, *kulúmfe* f. ‘die periodische Regenzeit, langdauernder Regen’ (Re) = *kelönfet* ‘anhaltender Regen’ (Mu)

The *l*-variant (diminutive?) of *kerentif* (HuB) etc.

kalatani f. ‘running water of waterfall’ (HuB) = *kalaatánai* f. ‘small stream; running water’ (Rp)

Could it be related to Som (ECu) *kal*, pl. *kalo* ‘depression full of water’ (Ab)?

Am *kim* 'top' (Star)

Cu: (E) Saho *kooma*, pl. *kooman* 'mountain' (Vergari) = *kooma* 'hill' (Welmers), Afar *kooma*, pl. *koomaami* 'hill, knoll, pass, saddle; island' (PaHy); South Oromo (Orma) *kumma* 'top, climax, old age' (Stroomer).

Om: (N) Yemsa *kumma* id. (Be).

Cf. also Tigrinya *kuma*, *k'äma* 'hill' (Appleyard 2006: 84 separated it from Geez *qom* 'height' and Bilin *qum* 'small hill'; Leslau (1979: 479) mentioned Gurage Gyeto *qūm*, Muher *qum*, *qəm* 'height, size' etc., deriving them from the verb attested in Geez *qomä*, Arabic *qāma* 'to stand').

komberiss m. 'clouds covering the sky' (HuB) = *o comberis* 'les nuages' (Li)

It could be connected (lw.?) with Gz *qobara* 'become black, dark, foggy', *qobār* 'darkness, blackness, fog, mist', Ti *qobar* 'darkening of the air' (Leslau 1987: 419). Mukarovsky (1987: 128) found remarkable Chadic parallels: (C) Mandara *kúmbà* 'cloud', Glavda *akumba* || (E) Kera *kamrà* id.

kaar m., sg. = pl. 'hillock' (HuB) = *kaar* m., pl. *kar* 'Anhöhe, Hügel' (Re) = *kaar* m., pl. *kār* 'Hügel, Anhöhe' (Al)

Cu: (E) **kar-* > Som *qar* 'hill higher than *kur*' (Re) = 'mountain peak, edge, bank of pond, cliff' (Luling); Oromo *qar-r-ee* 'peak', ?*çara* 'tip, top, edge' (>) Burji *çār-i* id. (Sasse 1979: 48 and 1982: 46).

?Eg (Pyr) *q3* 'Bezeichnung des Atum mit Bezug auf den Urhügel *q33*, auf dem er entstand', *q33* 'Hügel', later (BD) *q3j* id., also 'der Urhügel in Hermopolis, auf dem der Schöpfer zuerst erschien', in MK also 'der Hügel in dem die Gräber angelegt sind', plus (Pyr) *q3.t* 'hochgelegenes Land', related to *q3.w* 'Höhe' and *q3j* 'hoch (sein)' (both Pyr; Wb. V: 1–6). Takács (EDE I: 212) mentions the alternative comparanda: Ar *q-l-l* I 'heben, stützen', VII 'to be high', X 'to rise', *qulla* 'Berggipfel' ||| Be: (N) Shilh *yuli*, hab. *aqqalāi* 'to rise', Qabyle of Zwawa *iyil*, pl. *iyallen* 'hill, colline' (R. Basset) ||| Ch: (W) Hausa *koolii*, pl. *kooloolwaa* 'top' (Ab).

An alternative solution (borrowing?) is represented by the comparison of Reisch (1895: 144) with Ar *qāra*, pl. *qār*, -*āt* 'isolated hill; large black stone' (Sg 812).

o *kaar* 'Gebirgswâdi, Wâdi mit starkem Gefäll' (Hs) = *kaar* m. and f., pl. *kar* 'Niederung, Senkung, Tiefebene' (Re) = *o'kar*, pl. *e'kerr* 'Schlucht, Tal' (Mu). Cf. *karkaar* 'valley, passage, ford' (Wd).

Is it identical with the preceding entry?

u karab, pl. *i karabāh* 'Wald' (Hs) = *kerab* 'small dam round fields' (Star)

Cf. Ti *kərba*, Ty *kurba*, Amh *koräbta* 'hill' (LH 400; Leslau 1982: 44)?

karbuub m., def.sg. *ukarbuub* ‘edge, river bank’ (Wd) = *karbuub* m., pl. *karbuuba* and *karbib* ‘sharp cleft in ground caused by running water’ (Rp)

karkaar m., def.sg. *ukarkaar*, def.pl. *ikarkaaara* ‘valley, passage, ford’ (Wd)
Cf. *kaar* ‘Gebirgswâdī, Wâdī mit starkem Gefäll’ (Hs) = *kaar* m. and f., pl. *kar* ‘Niederung, Senkung, Tiefebene’ (Re).

kiruum, *keruum* f. pl. ‘the period immediately preceding dawn’, *kiruumáab* adv. ‘before dawn’ (Rp) = *kruumt* f., def.sg. *tookruum*, def.pl. *teekrum* ‘early morning, dawn’ (Wd) = *kerúum*, pl. *kerím* ‘Dämmerung, Frühmorgen’ is analyzed as nom. act. of *kerim* v.1 ‘das erste Morgengrauen zum vorschein kommen, anbrechen der Tag’ (Re) = *kruum* f., pl. *krūm* ‘Frühmorgen, Dämmerung’, cf. caus. *sékarim* ‘vor dem Sonnenaufgang aufstehen’ (Al) = *o’krum*, acc. *korumáab*, pl. *e’krum* ‘Morgen’ = *tokroum* ‘morning’ (Bu)

The closest cognate can be found in Dime (SOm) *qerəm* ‘tomorrow’ (Be) = *gram* id. (Fl). Besides this isolated form there is CCu **kʷar-a* ‘sun’ (Appleyard 2006: 130) > Bilin, Kemant, Kàiliña *kʷara*, Khamir, Khamtanga *kʷara* (Ap) and maybe Som (ECu) *qorrax* ‘sun’ (a contamination of the *q*-form related to Agaw and ECu **ʔorraḥ-* ‘sunshine’ related to Beja *áwri* ‘noon’, see above?).

kerentif (~ *kelentif*) m. ‘rain that is continuous’ (Hu) = *kerínte*, *kerínti* m. ‘die periodische Regenzeit (Juli-Oktober), Winter’ (Re) = *kérinte* m. ‘feiner anhaltender Regen’ (Al)

Borrowed from some EtSe source, cf. Gz *k(ə)ramt* ‘rainy season, rains (June-July-Sept), winter, year’, Ty *krämti* ‘rainy season’, Ti *kārām*, Amh *kərāmt* etc., and further ultimately related Ar *karuma* ‘was generous, liberal, beneficent’, *kuram* ‘fertile’ (Sg 882), besides numerous Cu parallels borrowed from the same EtSe source: Qwara *keremt* ‘Regenzeit, Winter’ (Flad apud Re) || Saho *karma* ‘rainy season’; Som *keran*; Qabenna *kārmī* etc. (Leslau 1987: 292–293).

kiruur m., def.sg. *ookruur* ‘dam construction, making a dam’ (Wd)

u kārrāte^h, indet. *kārrāteeb*, pl. *i kārrāte^h* ‘kleineres Gebirgswâdī’ (Hs)
Cf. *oṓ kaar* ‘Gebirgswâdī, Wâdī mit starkem Gefäll’ (Hs).

koriay f. ‘(small) basin’ (HuB)

Cu: (C) **kʷər-a* (Appleyard 2006: 116) > Bilin *kʷara*, pl. *kʷar* ‘Fluss’, Qwara *kʷara* id., Khamir *aqʷal* id. (Re), Khamta *qʷāra* ‘flowing water’ (Ap), Kemant *kura*, pl. *kuri* ‘russeau, riviére’ (CR) = *kʷara* (Ap); Harari *kūri* and Gurage and Amh *kure* ‘pond, pool’ (Leslau 1979: 348) can be borrowed from an Agaw source || (E) Had *kireeta* (Ls); Oromo *kurre* ‘laghetto’ (Borello), if it is not borrowed from Amh; Om: (N) Wolayta *kur-īya* ‘lake’ (Alemayehu 1993: 8);

Ch: (W) Hausa *kwari*, *kware* 'valley, furrow', *kwāra* 'River Niger' (Skinner 1996: 161, 174; Angas *kūr* 'lake' (Foulkes) || (C) Bacama *gùřèy*, Fali Mucela *gùru* 'lake', Mwulyen *gùrò* 'river' etc. (Kr) || (E) Sokoro *kóroo* 'Teich'; Sumray *króoi* 'Fluss', Chire *korai* id. (Lk); Lele *kúryé* 'fleuve' (Weybegué and Player); Jegu *kuuráayé* 'der See' (Jg).

Takács (1996: 117), adds Eg (Pyr) *t3.w* pl. attested in magical formulae as a parallel to *mw* 'water' (Wb. V: 342), perhaps related to late (Gr) *t3r* 'Gewässer im Gau XVII vom Unt. Aeg. (Wb. V: 356).

See also Orel and Stolbova (1995: 372, # 1502) CCu + Oromo + Angas + ECh.

kĩšo f. 'kleines Dorf' (Re)

Borrowed from Ti *qĩšot* 'kleines Gehöft, Weiler, kleines Dorf', Ty id. Bilin (CCu) *qĩšot* id. (Re) is of the same origin.

tu katṭoṣy, indet. *katṭoṣyt*, pl. *ti katṭoṣye^h* 'schwieriger Weg im gebirgigen Gelände' (Hs)

kaw m., pl. -a 'dürre, unfruchtbare felsige Erde, Wüstenboden' (Re) = *kau*, *kaw* m., pl. *káwa* 'harter, fester Platz am Boden' (antonym: *luk* 'weicher Ton, Kot') (Al) = *kaw* (*kaya*) 'to be dry' (Wd)

?Cu: (E) Som *qau* 'steile Felswand, Abgrund, Tiefe' (Re); Burji *qayyé* 'highland' (Sasse 1982: 125); Yaaku *qεε* 'mountain' (He).

Reinisch (1895: 152) compared Beja *kaw* with Ar *qawā?*, *qiwā?* 'desolate place, desert, open air' (Sg 861).

kwibriib m., def.sg. *ukwubri*, def.pl. *ikwubriya* 'bridge' (Wd)

Borrowed from Egyptian Arabic *kubri*, pl. *kabāri* 'bridge' < Turkish *köprü* id. (Wehr 1958: 722).

kwaad (~ *gwaad*) m. 'Seite, Rand', see *gw'ad*.

oṣ kʷaakʷ, pl. *εṣ kʷakʷ* 'Wasser, das man durch Graben im Sande finden, wenig Wasser in einem Wasserloch im Sande' (Hs)

Cu (E) **koyy*- 'wet' (Sasse 1979: 49) > Som *qoy* 'to make wet, wet dampen, moisten, soak' (Luling); Arbore *kuyyá* 'wet' (Hy); Konso -*qoy*ⁱ 'wet' (Be);

Om: (N) She *kai* 'wet' (Be).

Could also CCu **ʔaqʷ*- 'water' (Appleyard 1984: 53) be related?

oṣ kʷu(u)l, pl. *kʷuule^h* 'spitzer Kegel in der Ebene' (Hs)

Ar dial. 'Abābde) *kūle*, pl. *kuwal* 'spitzkegel förmige Hügel', (Yemen and Ḥadramaut) *kaula*, pl. *kiyāl* 'Basalthegel', cf. Class. Ar *ʔakwal* 'Erhöhung im Gelände wie ein Berg' (Hess 1919: 215).

kwaan m., def.sg. *ookwan*, def.pl. *EEKwan* 'flood' (Wd) = *kwaan* m., pl. *kwan* 'torrent, flood' (HuB) = *kwaan* m., pl. *kwan* 'spate', cf. *kwaan* v.2 'to spate (khor)' (Rp) = ɔɔ *kʷaan*, pl. ɛɛ *kʷan* 'Regenflut, Wasser des Wâdî, sêl' (Hs) = *kwaan*, pl. *kwan* m. 'Fluss, Giess-, Regenbach' (Re) = *kʷaan* m., pl. *kʷăn* 'Strom, Giessbach, Regenbach' (Al) = *oʻkuann*, pl. *eʻkuenn* 'Strom' (Mu) = *o couan* 'torrent' (Li) = [o]kwân 'Regenbach' (Se)

Cu: ?(C) Awngi *kaan* 'altura; ciglio d'un torrente o d'un fiume' (CR) = *kaun* 'erto' (Waldmeier) || ?(E) Boni **kòón* 'pond, lake', cf. also SOr: Waata *kóónó* 'lake' (He) = *konnoo* 'small lake' (Stroemer);

?Om: (N) Gamo, Dorze, Tsancha *kan-çe* 'river' (Alemayehu 1993: 9);

Ch: (E) Tumak and Ndam *kwan* 'riviére' (GD 1907: 299), but cf. Teda-Daza *kwan* 'riviére' (Coeur 1955: 372). Is it a Chadic borrowing penetrating into Saharan or vice versa?

kwiiremír'áá m. 'weather, climate' (Rp)

Cf. *m'akwaraab* m., def.sg. *um'akwara* 'cold, cold weather' (Wd)?

kaiyait 'clay' (Tl) = *kayay* f. 'mud, clay', esp. for pottery (Rp) = Am *kaiyait* 'red or grey clay for making pottery' (Star)

?Cu: (E) Som *qay* 'puddle' (Luling).

Cf. Hausa (WCh) *koya* 'red earth' (Skinner 1996: 149)?

khamiist f., def.sg. *tukhamiis* 'Thursday' (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *ḥamīs* 'fifth part; Thursday' (Sg 341).

khoor m., def.sg. *ookhoor* 'river bed' (Wd) = *khoor* 'khor' (Vh)

Borrowed from Ar *ḥawr* 'valley, bay, gulf, river-mouth; mountain-ridge' (Sg 345).

l

l'a adj. 'cold, cool; useless', f. 'cold, coolness' (Rp) = *lʔa* 'froid' (Vh) = *l'aa* v. 'to be happy, cool' (Wd) = *la'* v.2 'to cold', n. act. *la* f., adj. *la'ab* 'cold, fresh' (= *l'aabi* 'cold' by Tl), cf. *la'annay* f. 'cold in the head; dew' (Hu) = *la'* v.2 'kalt, kühl sein', partic. *l'a*, cf. *laa'* f. 'Kälte' (Re) = *la'*, *le'a* f. 'Kälte', *lé'* v.2 'kalt sein/ werden', caus. *lé'as* 'kalt machen' (Al) = *la* 'kalt, Kälte', *liye* 'kalt werden', caus. *lasie* 'kalt machen' (Mu) = [to]la 'hot!' (Bu)

?Cu: (C) Qwara *lāwā* 'Tau' (Re), perhaps a compound, where the second component could be *awūā* 'air' (Re), i.e. 'cold air'; (E) Afar *lee* (PaHy) = *lay* (Re), Saho *lay* (Vergari) = *lae* (We) 'water'; Gedeo *lolaʔa* 'flood, torrent' (HG); Yaaku *leei* m., pl. *leeimô'*, *leeinin* 'water, rain, dew' (He);

?Om: (S) Banna, Hamer *liile* 'cloud' (Be and Lydall), Ari and Ubamer *lila* id. (Be and Fl);

Ch: (W) Karekare *leilei* 'cold' (Jg); Ngizim *láyí* id. (Schuh) || (C) Margi *l'ilihu* 'cold'; Gisiga *leleŋ* id. (Mukarovsky 1987: 129 Beja + Ch), Kola *lilɛ̀ɛ̀ŋ* id. (Schubert); see JgIb (II: 78–81) || (E) ?Mokilko *réèlé* 'kalt' (Lk) and/or Gulei *lel* 'wind' (Lk).

Lit.: Ehret (1987: 75, n. 313) Beja *lil* v. 'to be wet, moist' + Qwara *lāwā* 'dew' + Yaaku *leei* 'water, rain, dew').

lo'o(o) f., acc. *lo'ot* 'course of stream', cf. adj. *lo'ob* 'rained on, satisfied (thirst)' (Hu)

Probably a *l*-variant of *ro'o* 'tributary khor' (Hu). Cf. also Gedeo (HECu) *lola?a* 'torrent, flood' (HG).

l'eedaab m., def.sg. *ul'eeda*, def.pl. *il'eedi* 'hole' (Wd)

l'ul'oob m., def.sg. *uul'ul'u* 'pearl' (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *lu?lu?* 'pearl, jewel' (Sg 932).

lob 'Bachrinne' (Mu)

It is tempting to connect it with Bayso (ECu) *lábu* 'river' (Hy) and Sid *lawó* id. (HG), if the latter form is not a variant of *lagá*, *lagga* id. borrowed from Oromo *laga* id. (see Beja *lagi*). But it was already Almkvist (1885: 43) who saw in *-b* the accusative (object) marker of masculines; in that case it is compatible with *lo'o(o)* 'course of stream' (Hu), the *l*-variant (diminutive?) of *ro'o* (see below), cf. the adj. *lo'ob* 'rained on' (Hu). An alternative etymology can perhaps be based on the adj. *la'ab* 'cold, fresh' (HuB).

labassoyega m. 'Jupiter' (Rp) = Am *labusaweega* 'Eastern star' (Star)

Derived from *libas* 'to travel by night' (Rp).

lagi f., pl. *-a* 'path, pathway, beaten track' (Rp) = *lagi* 'chemin' (Vh) = *leggi* f., pl. *leggiya* 'road, path', cf. *luglug* 'to wander' (HuB) = *lagi* f., pl. *lágya* 'Weg' (Re) = *télegi* m. (!), pl. *télegya* 'kleiner, schmaler Pfad' (Al) = *te'legi*, pl. *te'legia(d)* 'Weg' (Mu) ?ECu: Som *laag* 'water-channel' (Luling), Bayso *lága* 'river-bank' (Hy); Oromo Macha *laga* 'river', *lage* 'valley' (LVS) > PHECu **laga* 'river' (Hudson 1989: 124); Konso *lak-a* 'plain, outside', D'irayta *lak* 'place, vacancy, room, space' (Bl), cf. Sasse (1982: 131);

SCu: Qwadza *lagalako* 'path, road' (Eh)

CCh: Wamdiu *làgu*, Margi *lagù*, WMargi *lakù*, Kilba *laakù* 'road' (Kr).

Ehret (1987: #316) compared Beja and Qwadza with CCu **längat-*, translating it 'path, road'. But this reconstruction is based on the words with different meanings: Bilin *lāngar* 'Handelsreisen machen', Awngi *langad* '?' (Re) = *lingidí* 'foreigner' (Ht); their more promising cognate in Beja can be *lengwi* m. 'messenger', *lenguum* 'to send' (HuB).

ligwoi (~ *lingoi*) m. 'inlet of sea, secondary branch of tree, pastern of camel's hind leg' (HuB)

Perhaps derived from *liig* m. 'main branch of tree' (HuB).

Am *lihis* 'small quantity of liquid' (Star)

lhayt adv. 'tomorrow' (Wd) = *lheejt* adv. 'demain' (Vh) = *lghayt* 'tomorrow', *l. baakay* 'day after tomorrow', *l. gkwiit* 'tomorrow night' (HuB) = *lāhéit*, *lāhéit*, *laahfiit* adv. 'tomorrow' (Rp) = *lééha* m. 'Morgen', *leháa-y(-t)* 'am Morgen' (Re) = *l(e)hfiit*, *lahiit*, *elhfiit* 'morgen' (Al) = *lehéit* 'morgen, demain' (Mu) = *laheit* id. (Se)

It suggestively resembles Afar (ECu) *laafo* 'east', *laafyta* 'early morning after sunrise' (PaHy). The unexpected *h* instead of ' in Beja could perhaps be explained by influence of semantically close *meha* 'morning; East' (Rp) etc.

luk m., pl. *lúka* 'Ton, Lehm' (Re) = *luk* m. 'weiches Ton' (Al) = *lugg* 'Kot' (Mu) SBe: Tuareg of Taitoq *i-luk* 'boue' and/or *te-laq* 'argile' (Masqueray), Ayr *tālaq* 'argile, boue' (Alojaly);

Ch: (W) Hausa *laaka* 'mud' (Skinner 1996 184: Beja + Hausa).

Almkvist (1885: 43) compared Beja *luk* with Ti *leqleqe* 'enduire de boue', p.p. *lūqlūq* = *laqlaqa* 'to clean the threshing-floor and to smear water and cow-dung over it' (LH 36). Regarding the isolated position within Semitic, the Tigre word can be borrowed from Beja rather than vice versa.

Cf. Beja *allak* f. 'muddy water' (HuB).

liil-'awe m. 'granit, esp. where it outcrops into a smooth pillar, boulder or platform' (Rp) = *liiláaw*, pl. *liilaw* 'rocher' (Vh) = *oḡ liilaaw*, pl. *i liilow* 'Steinblock' (Hs) = *liilaaw* m., def.sg. *uliilaaw*, def.pl. *iliilaw* 'stone, small rock' (Wd)

It represents an apparent compound of 'awe 'stone' and **liil-* which is compatible with:

(1) *liilii* 'eye' (Rp);

(2) *liil* 'to be liquid' (Rp);

(3) HECu: Sidamo *ilaala* 'mountain, above' ||| Om: (N) Bench *nī'eel*; Maji *nialu*, Nao *n'elu* || (S) Dime *laal°* 'stone' (Be) ||| Eg (OK) *inn* and *in* (Wb. I: 97), Demotic *iny*, Coptic Sahidic ⲱⲛⲉ 'stone' (Vycichl 1983: 249–250). Cf. also Akk *alallu(m)*, *elallu* 'ein Stein' < Sumerian *e-le-el-e* or vice versa (AHw 34)?

u lambāt 'ganz feiner Sand' (Hs)

lamlam m., def.sg. *ulamlam*, def.pl. *ulamlama* 'salty sand' (Wd)

loon m., def.sg. *ooloon*, def.pl. *iloona* 'colour' (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *lawn* 'colour; form, shape' etc. (Sg 932).

lenda 'shade from sun' (HuB) = Am *landab* 'shadow' (Star) = *lénda* 'Schatten' (Re) = *élenda* id. (Mu); the deviated *enindall* id. (Se) was analysed as a compound of Bi *iin* 'Sonne' and Ar *ḍill* 'shadow' (Almkvist 1885: 18)

CCu: Kemant *lāmda* (CR; see also Appleyard 2006: 120) = *lāmdá* 'shadow' (Sa), Qwara *lemda* (Re) = *lambda* (Floh) 'Schatten', Dembea *lemda* id. (Re);

HECu: Burji *lemm-óo* 'shadow (of man)' (Sa) < **lemn-* < **lemd-*?

Lit.: Reinisch (1895: 159) Beja + Qwara; Sasse (1982: 134) Beja + Kemant + Burji.

lingoi m. 'inlet of sea, secondary branch of tree, pastern of camel's hind leg' (HuB), see *ligwoi* (HuB)

lasso m. 'thundercloud' (Hu) = *lasaa* 'cloud' (Be) = *léso* m. 'Wolke' (Re) = *o'lesso*, acc. *lessob*, pl. *é'lesso* id. (Mu)

?Om: (S) Galila *leeca* 'storm' (Fl).

litneent f., def.sg. *tulitneen*, def.pl. *tilitneen* 'Monday' (Wd), see *elitneen* 'Monday' (HuB)

m

[o]ma 'Süden' (Bu)

There are two alternatives:

(1) The word is identical with *mah* 'Morgen; Osten' (Al) = *mhaab* m., def.sg. *oomha*, def.pl. *eemha* 'morning, dawn; east';

(2) It is shortened from *mhak^wal* 'Süd' (Hs).

mi, *mi'* m. (acc. *mēb*) 'hailstone(s)', f. (acc. *met*) 'stone of fruit' (HuB) = *tóo mi* 'le caillou', *mōōt* 'un caillou', pl. *môôt* (Vh) = *mee*, *mii* m. 'Hagel(korn)' (Re) = *mi* m. 'Hagel' (Al) = [e]*mēh* id. (Se) = *eembi* id. (Mu) = Bi *ēbī* 'hail' (Tl)

Apparently connected with *mi'* v.2 'to be/become damp' (Rp). It is also in agreement with external cognates:

Ch: (C) Kotoko: Logone *muu* 'Tau' (Nachtigal), Affade *mo* id. (Se), see Sölken (1967: 191).

m'akwaraab m., def.sg. *um'akwara* 'cold, cold weather', *m'akwrooyt* n.act. 'being cold', *m'akweert* f., def.sg. *tum'akweer* 'cold, feeling cold' (Wd); cf. *kwiiremir* 'aá m. 'weather, climate' (Rp)

Cu: (E) Oromo of Wellega *qorra* v. 'to freeze, become cold', n. 'cold, coldness', *qorraa* adj. 'which feels cold' (Gg); cf. *qorra* 'cold' (Legesse Geleta Koro 2013: 163).

m'amaa and *m'umaa* v. 'to make humid' (Wd), see *mi'* v.2 'to be/become damp' (Rp).
m'araw m., def.sg. *um'araw*, def.pl. *im'araw* 'side' (Wd)

Cf. *arāwa* m. 'Nähe, Seite', *arāwāa-y* 'an der Seite, neben' (Re).

mab'uuyt f., def.sg. *tumab'uuy* 'heat, warmth' (Wd), see *b'i*, *bi'* m., acc. *b'eb* 'day (as opposed to night)', with article *imbi'*, *imb'i*, *embi'* (Rp)

maadaat f., def.sg. *tumaada*, def.pl. *timaada* 'pool' (Wd) = *maadq* f. 'deep water (sea)' (HuB)

?Cu: (E) Or Wellega *madda* n. 'water; last drop of water' (Gg), Borana *maddoo* 'spring, oasis', *madda*, *maddita* 'to bubble up (water in a well), to bring forth water or milk continuously' (Stroomer); Burji *madd-* 'to spring up', *máddo* 'spring' may be adapted from Oromo (cf. Sasse 1982: 139).

Alternatively, the Beja (and independently Oromo) forms could represent an adaptation of Ar *madd* 'rising of the water, flood' (Sg 974).

Am *mudaat* and *middat* 'time' (Star)

Borrowed from Ar *mudda*, pl. *mudad* 'space of time' (Sg 974).

máadna f. 'Turm, Minaret' (Re) = *temmâ dna* 'Turm' (Mu)

Borrowed from Ar *maʔḏana* 'Turm, Minaret' (Wahrmund I, 2: 670).

madiinat f., def.sg. *tumadiina*, def.pl. *timadiina* (Wd) = *madiina* f. 'ville' (Vh) = *madīna* f. 'Stadt' (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *madīna* 'town' (Sg 978).

Am *mog* 'wave' (Star)

Borrowed from Ar *mawğ* 'wave' (Sg 1087).

migrab m., def.sg. *umigrab*, def.pl. *imigrab* 'west, sunset' (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *magrib* 'place and time of sunset; west; evening' (Sg 1032).

mágwa f. 'Wolke, Regenwolke' (Re) = *magwā* (~ *mokwā*) m. 'shelter from the rain' (HuB) = *magwaab* m., def.sg. *umagwa*, def.pl. *imagwa* 'basin for cattles' (Wd)

?Om: (N) Wolayta, Kullo *meg-uwa*, Gofa, Gamo, Dirze, C'ancha *meego* 'cool, cold' (Alemayehu 1993: 6), Oyda *meego*, Dache *mee'go* (Be), Malo *me go* id. (Fl).

Reinisch (1895: 164) compared it with Bilin *bəkʷána* 'cloud' (see Beja *bayúk* 'Schnee').

magwal m., def.sg. *umagwal*, def.pl. *imagwala* 'hole for collecting rainwater' (Wd) = *magʷal* 'reservoir' (Vh) = *mugwil* f., pl. -a 'shallow well in khor', cf. *magwāl* and *makwal* f. 'pool made by scratching in ground' (HuB) = Am *magwal* 'waterhole', *mugwel* 'small well' (Star) = *u magʷel*, pl. *i magʷelä* 'spärliches Wasser in sandi-

gem Gelände des Wâdī, das durch Graben gewonnen wird' (Hs) = *mágwal* m., pl. *magwála* 'hole excavated for collection of rain' (Rp) = *máagwel* m., pl. *máagula* 'die Tränke, Wasserbassin für Viehtränke' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 164) connected it with Ar *maʕǧal* 'stagnum, piscina' while Hess (1919: 215) found a source in Ar dial. ('Abâbde) *maqal*, pl. *měqûl* 'Brunnen, resp. Wasserloch im Mittellauf, resp. dem Sande des Wâdī', Class. Ar. *maql* 'bottom of a well, descending into the water, making water' (Sg 1043).

mhaab m., def.sg. *oomha*, def.pl. *eemha* 'morning, dawn; east', *mhaa* v. 'to spend morning'; *mhagaayeeb* m., def.sg. *umhagaayi* 'dry season, summer' (Wd) = *mha* 'matin' (Vh) = *māha* m. 'dawn, time of morning prayer, east' (HuB) = *meha* m. 'morning; East', cf. *meh* 'in the morning to be or to do' (Rp) = *oḡ māh* 'Osten, Morgen', *māhiyaab* 'östlich' (Hs) = Bishari *o-mhón* 'east' (Th) = *mah* and *māha* m. 'der Morgen; Sonnenaufgang, Osten' (Re) = *mah* 'Morgen; Osten', *mahóon* 'im Osten' (Al) = *o'mhi* 'der Morgen', *mehiya* 'Morgen werden' (Mu) = [u]ma 'Morgen' (Km) = *o mah-oc* 'est' (-oc is the 2sg. poss. suff.) (Li)

Cu: (E) Afar *maḏha* 'early morning' (PaHy), Saho *maḥ-* 'to dawn', *máaḥā* 'time before dawn' (We); Yaaku *imeheí* 'tomorrow' (He);

?Eg (OK) *mḥw.t*, (MK) *mḥy.t* 'Nordwind, als kühlender, erquickender Wind', *mḥ.t-j* 'nördlich; Norden' (Wb. II: 125; EDE III: 476), Coptic of Lycopolis *μηε* 'souffle', Sahidic and Bohairic *μηιτ* 'Nord' > Arabic *maḥwat* 'vent du Nord; pluie' (Vycichl 1983: 130).

māhagay m. 'summer' (HuB) = *məhagay* m. 'the hot season in May and June', *im-hagay* 'in summer' (Rp), see *hagáay* m. 'Sommer, heißeste und trockene Jahreszeit' (Re) etc.; cf. also Am *maghib* 'summer' (Star)

mhakwal m., def.sg. *umhakwal* 'western side' (Wd) = *mhakʷal* 'Süd; oben, höher gelegen', -*iḥ* 'südlich von ihm', -*aab* 'südlich' (Hs) = *meháakwel* and *emháakwel* m. 'die weite ebene südlich von Suakin; der Süden' (Re) = *muhakʷalóon* 'im Süden' (Al) = *mo acouweg* 'Sud' (Li); cf. also *mehaakwal*, *imhaakwal* (2) 'to be/go upwards, upstream' (Rp) < Ar *maḥqala* 'Saatfeld' (Reinisch 1895: 215; Hess 1919: 215) = *maḥqala* 'arable land, sown field' (Sg 967).

mhalaab m., def.sg. *umhala*, def.pl. *imhala* 'shore' (Wd)
Probably borrowed from Ar *maḥla* 'dry land' (Sg 967).

mehiın m., pl. -*a* 'place', *mehiınwer* adv. 'elsewhere', *mehiınaan* adv. 'in this place, here' (Rp) = *mhiın* 'endroit' (Vh) = *mhiın* m., def.sg. *oomhiın*, def.pl. *imhiına* 'place' (Wd) = *mehiın* m. 'place' (HuB) = *mehiın* m., pl. -*a* 'Ort, Stätte', *náa-mhi-in(-i)* 'wo, wohin, woher' (Re)

From the verb *haan* 'existieren, bleiben, leben', pres. *ee-hiın* (Reinisch 1895: 122, 166).

ee-mhay ‘constellation of Orion’ (HuB) = Suakin *e-mhai* ‘Orion’ (Th)

Lit. ‘The Three [Stars]’, cf. *mehay* ‘three’ (HuB).

majal m., def.sg. *umajaal*, def.pl. *imajaala* ‘way, scope’ (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *mağāl* ‘road, passage; career; power, capacity, opportunity, possibility’ (Sg 957).

makwq f. ‘double star in tail of constellation of the Plough’ (HuB)

Is it identical with *nakwqt* ‘double star in handle of Plough’ (HuB)?

malhi ‘the middle one’, *malmalhu* ‘middle one’ (HuB) = *u malha^h* ‘die Mitte’, *mal-hooy* ‘in der Mitte befindlich’ (Hs) = *malhé* m. ‘centre; midst’ (Rp), prep. *malh* ‘amongst, amidst’ (Rp) = *málho* 1. ‘Zweiheit, Paar’, 2. ‘Mitte, Zwischen’ (Re) = *malh* ‘zwischen’, lit. ‘Mitte’ (Al) = *to malhoy* ‘moyen’ (Li)

Re (1895: 168) compared it with Khamir (CCu) *māxil* ‘Mitte’ (and Amh *mākhal*) but the medial -x- undoubtedly continues some pCCu velar stop, cf. Kemant *mālqi* ‘milieu’ (CR). On the other hand, there is a suggestive etymological solution based on the numeral ‘2’, cf. the form *mahlō* (Hu 1964) or *mhaloo-* (Hu 1976). The semantic development is quite natural, cf. English ‘between’ or German ‘zwischen’.

malh m. ‘salt’ (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar *milh*, pl. *milah*, *milāh*, *milḥa* ‘salt’ (Sg 1054).

miilak m., def.sg. *umiilak*, def.pl. *imiilaka* ‘salt’ (Wd) = *miilak* m. ‘salt’ (HuB) =

Am *milak* id. (Star) = *miilák* m. ‘salt’ (Rp) = *miláak* m., pl. *milák* ‘salz’ (Re)

See *malh* id.

milik m., def.sg. *oomlik*, def.pl. *imilka* ‘kingdom; sole’ (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *milk* ‘kingdom, dominion’ (Sg 1057).

malal m. ‘wilderness, desert, khor and surroundings’ (HuB) = *maláal* m., pl. *malāl* ‘khor, country on either side of banks of khor; town’ (Rp) = *u malaal*, pl. *i malel* ‘das Wâdi und seine Umgebung, Wâdiiglände’ (Hs) = *maláal* m., pl. *malāl* ‘die Wüste, Steppe’ (Re) = *maláal* m., pl. *malāl* ‘Wüstental’ (Al) = *melāl* ‘Wüste’ (Mu)

Reinisch (1895: 169) and Hess (1919: 215) connected it with Ty *marōr* or *mōrōr* ‘brousse, terrain en friche garenne; essart’ (Coulbeaux and Schreiber).

melaowlaa ‘constellation of the Great Bear’ (HuB)

mamuudq ‘muddy and slippery place’ (HuB)

miimhə m. 'direction of Mecca' (HuB) = Suakin *e-mimha* 'east' (Th), cf. *məhə* m. 'dawn, time of morning prayer, east' (HuB).

minday n.act. 'dripping', *mindaat* f. 'drop, shower of rain' (Wd), see *náda* m. 'dew' (Rp)

mingaay m., def.sg. *umingaay* 'isolation, desert' (Wd) = *mingay* m. 'place without people' (HuB) = *mangai* and *mingai* m., pl. *mangei* 'khala, isolation' (Rp) = *u mingaay*, pl. *i mingey* 'Einöde, menschlichenleere Gegend' (= Ar *ḥalā*) (Hs) = *mánga* and *mínga* m. 'die Wüste, Steppe' (Re) = *miŋgai* m. 'Wüste' (Al) = *mká* 'Wüste' (Km)

Reinisch (1895: 171) connected it with Ar *manḡa(n)* 'place, esp. on high, where one can escape; rising of the ground' (Sg 1065).

mari 'direction' (Vh)

murdim m. 'star near Orion's belt' (HuB) = Am *mirdam* 'middle star of Orion's belt; after this appears, rainy season begins' (Star)

Could it be adapted from Ar *mirdan* 'spindle' (Sg 985)?

Am *te-marafa* 'Milky Way' (Star)

Could it be adapted from Ar *marfa*? 'anchorage' (Sg 988)?

murjaan m., def.sg. *umurjaan* 'coral' (Wd) = *morgaan* m. 'coral' (HuB) = *murjáan* m., pl. -a 'Koralle' (Re) = *mürġân* id. (Se).

Borrowed from Ar *murġān* 'coral, pearl' (Sg 983), cf. Ti *mərġān* 'chain of read beads' (LH 116).

meréer, *merár* m., pl. -a 'Röte am Himmel', *oo-súbhu meréer* 'Morgenröte', *óo-ngrebi meréer* 'Abendröte' (Re)

Eg (D 18) *m3w.t* 'die Strahlen der Sonne, ihr Glanz', *m3wy* 'bestrahlen, erleuchten' (Wb. II: 28), Coptic Bohayric ⲙⲟⲩⲉ, ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲓ 'lumière, clarté' (Vycichl 1983: 108).

mus m. 'salt', *masiib* 'salty, bitter (not used water)' (HuB) = *mos* f. 'salt water used as condiment' (Rp) = *moos* 'Salz' (Re) = *moos* f. 'Salz', *móosi* 'salzig' (Al) = *omoss* id. (Km) = [o]*mous* id. (Bu)

Reinisch (1895: 173) connected it with Ar *ḥamaḍa/ḥamiḍa/ḥamuḍa* 'to be sour' (Sg 297) and further with non-AA counterparts:

Nubian (NS): Mahas *imīd* 'salt' || Kenzi and Dongola *um(b)ud* id. (Murray 1923: 73) and Tegele (Kordofanian) *múude* id. But the Ar word was apparently borrowed into Beja *hamid* 'sauer' (Re) = *hamīd* id. (Al).

Murray (l.c.) compared it with Coptic (Sahidic) ⲅⲙⲟⲗ ‘devenir aigre’, itself of Semitic origin (Vycichl 1983: 303), and Eg (MK) ḥm3.t ‘Salt’ (Wb. III: 93), continuing in Coptic (Sahidic and Bohayric) ⲅⲙⲟⲩ id. (Vycichl 1983: 299), evidently unconnected with Beja *mos* and *mus*.

masset f., def.sg. *tumassi*, def.pl. *timassi* ‘year’ (Wd) = *mase* f. ‘year’ (HuB) = Am *masset* id. (Star) = *masse* f. ‘year’, *mási* adv. ‘yet, ever, still’, with neg. ‘never, not yet’ (Rp) = *máase*, *másse* f. 1. ‘Vergangenheit’; 2. ‘Jahr’, *mási* ‘einst, jemals’, with neg. ‘niemals’ (Re) = *maszét* ‘Jahr’ (Se)

Reinisch (1895: 173) connected it with Ar *māḍi* ‘passed, past (n.)’ (Sg 938), cf. also Gz *maḍaw* ‘season of flowers, spring, season after rains’, *maḍawa* and *maṣawa* ‘to pass the season of *maḍaw*’, Ty *māṣāw* ‘season of flowers’ etc. (Leslau 1987: 331).

měši f. ‘act of producing fire by means of twirling stick’ (HuB)

Be ‘fire’: (E) Siwa *tamisiḥ* (Bricchetti-Robecchi) = *temsa* (Cailliaud), see Basset (1890: 56); Ghadames *timsi* (Calassanti-Motyliniski) || (N) Kabyl *times(s)/tim(es)si* (Dallet) || (W) Zenaga *tīmši* id. (Nicolas), further see Laoust 1920: 50.

Am *misgas* ‘small canals’ (Star)

mišad m. ‘shallow surface well’ (HuB)

Is it identical with *mašel* ‘trockener Wâdi-Arm’ (Hs)?

mišadḍawt f., pl. *mišadḍawa* ‘oasis’ (Vh)

(u) *mašel*, indet. *mašalaab*, pl. i *mašeleh* ‘trockener Wâdi-Arm’ (Hs)

mătir f. ‘lateral boundaries of a valley’ (HuB)

mitway m. ‘rains coming before regular winter rain’ (HuB) = Am *mitwai* ‘summer rain’ (Star) = *mitway* m., pl. *mitwey* ‘light spring rains’ (Rp)

təḡ mḡy, indet. *mḡyt*, pl. *ti mḡye^h* ‘kleiner Berg’ (Hs), probably identical with *moi* m. ‘top of head’ (HuB) = *moi* m., pl. *moi(y)a* ‘crown of head, top’ (Rp) = Am *o-moi* ‘top’ (Star) = *mooy* ‘onto’ (Wd)

Cu: (E) Afar *moyya* ‘brain, head, skull’ (PaHy);

?Om: (N) Nao *mai* ‘mountain’ (Be);

Ch: (C) Bachama *mwey*, Wamdiu *məw*, Kilba *mâ* ‘mountain’ (Kr).

maiyyam m. ‘ground sloping downwards or low lying’ (HuB)

Derived from *mḡy* f. ‘kleiner Berg’ (Hs) or from *ayam* ‘low’ (HuB)?

n

n'q and *n'ē* f., acc. *neet* 'fire', *na'a* 'hot' (HuB) = *nʔi* 'feu' (Vh) = *n'eet* f., def.sg. *toon'i* 'fire' (Wd) = *n'e* ~ *n'ie* 'fuoco' (Ci) = *n'e* f. id. (Rp) = *n'a* and *n'e* f. 'Feuer, hitziges Fieber' (Re) = *na*, *ne* f. 'Feuer' (Al) = Am *nait* 'fire' (Star) = [*to*]*ney*[*t*] id. (Bu) = *tona* id. (Km) = [*tô*]*n-ih* id. (Se)

?ECu: Afar *niʃna* 'fever, heat', *niʃnà-le* 'to be hot', *niʃinnoowe* 'to become hot' (with variants in *lal*) (PaHy);

SOM: Hamar *nu*(?), Kara *no*, Dime *nuun*, Ari *nóhá* and *nɔɔ*, Galila *noḵa* and *loḵa* 'fire' (Bender 1994).

Bi *nē'ed-dôl* 'ash' (Th)

The compound consisting of the acc. of *n'e* 'fire' and *ḍāhālay* 'glowing ember' (Rp).

na'aal f. 'part of constellation of great Bear' (HuB)

nʔeet haaf 'cendre' (Vh) = *n'eetehaas* 'ashes' (Wd) = *n'eet-haas* m. 'ash(es)' (Rp) = *ne'ēt-haas* m. 'Asche' (Re) = *neet has* 'ash, cinders' (HuB) = *netháas* m. 'Asche' (A) = Am *naitas* id. (Star) = *net hasch* id. (Mu) = *netásch* id. (Se)

Lit. 'fire-dust'. Only Thompson (1910: 165) recorded a deviated form, viz. Bi *nē'ed-dôl* 'ash'.

n'iya and *n'aya* v. 'to be down' (Wd) = *nʔa* 'être en bas' (Vh)

nab'ooyt f., def.sg. *tunab'ooy* 'warmth', *nab'anaayt* f., def.sg. *tunab'anaay*, def.pl. *tinab'anay* 'warmth, heat', from *naba'* adj. 'hot, warm' (Wd)

nabhoob, *nabhiib* m., def.sg. *unabhoob*, *unabhi*, def.pl. *inabhiya* 'afternoon, early' = Am *nabahowb* 'midday' (Star)

nibira v. 'to cool, cool off' (Wd)

náda m. 'dew', *minda* 'raindrop' (Rp) = *náda* 'Tau' (Re) = *enédda* '(der) Tau' (Se); Borrowed from Ar *nadā* 'dew' or Ti *nāda* id. (LH 340) = TiBA *nada* 'drop' (Nakano and Tsuge).

nafaay adv. 'afterwards' (Wd)

nageeb m. 'deserted (place)' (HuB) = Am *nagib* 'desert', *nageb* 'oasis' (Star) = *nage* m. (acc. *nageb*), pl. *nagia* 'desert, district void of wells', *nageti re* 'oasis' (Rp) = *nageet* f., def.sg. *tunagi*, def.pl. *tinagi* 'wilderness' (Wd)

Perhaps borrowed from Ar *naqb* 'hole in the earth or in a wall; tunnel; digging, tilling, cultivation of the ground' (Sg 1140).

naggaal m., def.sg. *unaggaal*, def.pl. *inaggal(i)* 'shore, edge' (Wd)

nagaar m, def.sg. *unagaar*, def.pl. *inagar* 'turn, every second day' (Wd) = Am *nagari* 'day after day' (Star)

nagaara 'large drum of copper' (HuB) = *niggara* f. 'Kupfer' besides *nakáara* f. 'Trompette, Horn' (Re) = *nakkáara* 'Pauke, Pauken' (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *naqqāra* 'small kettle-drum, cymbal' (Sg 1140) or Ti *naggārat* 'big drum of the chieftain' (LH 341), cf. Gz *nagārit* 'trumpet, drum' (Leslau 1987: 392), besides Ar *nāqūr* 'Trompette' (Wehr 881), see Almkvist (1885: 50).

nīki f. 'ground cracked and dry' (HuB)

Cf. *nika'a* v. 'to crack, explode' (Wd).

nakwāt f. 'double star in handle of Plough' (HuB), see *makwā* id. (HuB).

Bi *o-nôn* 'summer' (Th)

nóora f. 'Kalk' (Re) = *tennaúwará* id. (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *nawra*, *nūraa*, pl. *nūr* 'lime, chalk' (Sg 1155) or some EtSe source, cf. Gz *norā* 'chalk, lime', Ti *norāt*, Ty, Amh, Gurage *nora* id. (Leslau 1979: 460; 1987: 401).

nuur m., def.sg. *oonuur* 'light' (Wd) = *nuur* m., pl. -a 'Licht' (Re) = *nuur* m. id. (Al) = Am *o-nur* 'light' (Star)

Borrowed from Ar *nūr* '(ray of) light, brightness' (Sg 1155).

tu nāsäl, pl. *ti nāsälä^h* 'Felskuppe ohne Blöcke und Steine' (Hs)

Borrowed from Ar *naṣl* 'Kopf, Kuppe des Hinterkopfes' (Hess 1919: 216).

Am *natila* 'top tributary of a wadi' (Star)

r

re f., pl. *rī* 'well' (HuB) = *tóo rī* 'le puits', *rěēt* 'un puits', pl. *rêēt* (Vh) = *reet* f., def. sg. *toori*, def.pl. *teeri* 'well, water hole' (Wd) = *re*, *rī* f., pl. *reet* 'well' (Rp) = *təp re^h*, indet. *reēt*, pl. *təp re^h* 'Brunnen' (Hs) = *re*, rare *ra* m. and f. 'Wassersammlung, Zisterne', *merwi* adj. in *buur mérwi* 'wasserbetränktes Land' (Re) = Am *to-ri*, acc. *red* 'well', further perhaps *ret* 'khor', cf. also *to-rě* 'oasis'? (Star) = *re* m. (or f.?) 'Brun-

nen' (Al) = *tore* 'Brunnen' (Mu) = [to]ry 'spring or source' (Bu) = [to]réh (Se)
 Reinisch (1895: 188) connected it with Se **r-w-y* (Leslau 1987: 478): Gz *raw(a)ya*
 'to drink one's fill; be watered', Ar *rawiya* 'drink one's fill', *marwiyy* 'abundantly
 watered', Gz *mərway* 'place of refreshment' = Beja *merwi*.

?Cu: (E) Bayso *ra* 'hole' (Haberland and Lamberti 1988: 134), which should be
 probably separated from the homonym *ra* 'path, road' (ibid.) = *raa* 'road' (Hy) =
ra 'road' (Fleming 1964: 54, who compared it with Som *raf-* 'to follow, go with');
 ?Elmolo *rāa* 'cave' (He).

ro'o (lo'o) f., pl. *rū* 'tributary khor' (HuB) = *tóo rʔi* 'le lit d'un oued', *rʔōōb* 'un
 lit d'un oued', pl. *rʔōōb* (Vh) = *r'e* f. 'small subsidiary khor', indef. *r'oot*; m. 'id.,
 somewhat larger' (Rp); cf. *r'oob* m., def.sg. *oor'oob* 'bottom, under side' (Wd)
 Cu: (E) Dullay: Harso-Dobase *ráʕʕ-e* f. 'Tal, Schlucht' (AMS).

Note: Beja *r'e* f. 'small subsidiary khor' (Rp) etc. can be identical with *re^h* 'Brun-
 nen' (Hs).

ribaab m., def.sg. *oorba*, def.pl. *eerba* 'hill, mountain' (Wd) = *riba* 'montagne'
 (Vh) = *rēba* m. 'mountain' (HuB) = *rēba* and *rība* m. 'mountain; large group of
 hills'; f. 'id., smaller group of hills' (Rp) = *oṓ rbe^h*, indet. *ribaab*, pl. *eṓ rbe^h* 'Berg'
 (Hs) = *réeba* and *rība* m. 'Berg, Hügel' (Re) = *r(ē)ba* m., with article *úrba* '(der)
 Berg' (Al) = Am *reba* 'hill', *rebab* 'mountain', ?*rebart* 'small bank of rock', *mirbaay*
 'high place' (Star) = *órba* (Kc, Km) = *o'orba*, pl. *e'eerba* (Mu) = [o]rbay (Bu) =
 [o]rba (Se)

Reinisch (1895: 188) and Hess (1919: 216) derived it from Ar *rabw(a)/ribwa/rub-
 wa*, pl. *rubā* 'hill' (Sg 400), cf. dial. (Yemen) *rabwe* 'Hügel', Tripolis *rabbā* 'collina'
 (Hess l.c.), probably derived from the verbal root *r-b-w* 'to increase, grow'. Is it
 also connected with Eg (MK) *w3b.t* 'Anhöhe, hochgelegenes Ackerstück' (Wb. I:
 251) and Som *rabaal* 'Hügel, kleiner Berg' (Reinisch 1902: 318)?

Lit.: Takács (EDE I: 104) Eg + Ar + (or >) Beja.

Riif m. 'Egypten', *Rifya* c.g. 'Egypter' (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *ar-Rif* 'Unterägypten' where *rīf* means 'fruchtbare, bebautes
 Land; flaches Land' (Wehr 337).

raagw m., pl. *rāgw* 'artificial reservoir' (Suakin/Sinkat dial.) (Rp)

?Be: (S) Tuareg of Ahaggar *āruḡ*, pl. *iruḡḡän* < *ā-*rahūḡ* 'vallée' (Prasse 1974: 75).

oṓ rhaab, pl. *eṓ rhāb* 'breites Wâdi in der Ebene, das nur durch den grünen Pflan-
 zenwuchs (ʕōšb) kenntlich ist, ohne Holzpflanzen' (Hs)

rāka m. 'weite, freie Luft' (Re)

Perhaps borrowed from Ar *ruhāʔ* 'breeze' (Reinisch 1895: 191; Sg 407).

rěkwia m. 'depression in ground' (HuB)

rimiab 'on heat' (HuB)

Cu: (E) Afar *rama* 'hot ashes remaining from a fire' (PaHy), if it is not borrowed from Ar *ramād* 'ashes'; Arbore *rómm* (Hy), Elmolo *rôm* 'ashes' (He); Yaaku *hroon*, pl. *hroómê* 'ashes' (He); Mashile and D'irayta *room*- 'red' (Bl) can also be related ('colour of glowing ashes', cf. Ar *ramādiyy* 'ash-coloured' vs *ramād* 'ashes; potash', see Sg 433). Oromo *ramači* 'ashes' (Tu) = *ramaci* 'cenere calda' (Borello) is an Amh lw., cf. Amh *rāmāt* 'hot ashes, cinder' (Ls);

Se: Aram *rimšā* 'ashes'; Ar *ramaḍa* 'to roast on stones, heat in the fire'; Gz *rāmāḍ* 'hot ashes, cinders', Ty *rāmāš*, Ti *rāmāč*, Amh *rāmāt* id. (Leslau 1979: 526). Ar *ramād* with the different third radical implies the biradical root **r-m*.

In Chadic a possible cognate could be found in the colour-name 'black': (W) Kariya *rimína*, Miya *rînní* || (E) Jegu *ráámân*, Mubi *rám* id. (JgIb II: 28–29).

ror m., pl. -a 'potholes in khor' (Rp)

?Cu: (E) Oromo *raaree* 'pool' (Gg); Sid *rirriwá* 'marsh, swamp' (HG).

Am *o-rs-eet* 'south' (Star)

Eg (Pyr) *rsw*, later *rsj* 'südlich', *rsw.t* 'Süden' (Wb. II: 452–453), Copt ϣⲏⲥ id. (Vychichl 1983: 178).

rasáas m. 'bullets, cartridges' (Rp) = *resáas* m. coll. 'Blei', *tuu-resáas* 'ein Bleistück, (Blei-/ Schiess)kugel' (Re) = *rasáas* m. 'Blei', n. unit. *tu-rasáas* 'Bleistück' (Al) = *orszáas* (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *raṣāš* 'lead, tin' (Sg 416).

riša f. 'crest, summit' (HuB) = *rūša* f. 'Berggipfel, -spitze' (Re) = *te'riša* 'der Berggipfel' (Mu)

Borrowed from EtSe: Gz *rəʔs* 'head, top, summit', Ti *rāʔas*, Ti *rəʔsi* 'head', cf. Ar *raʔs* and Soqotri *reš* id. (Leslau 1987: 458).

Am *ruša* 'rain after bad flood' (Star)

rošáan m., pl. *rošán* 'Haus, Palast aus Steinen, Burg, Festung' (Re) = *rošáan* 'Haus von Steinen' (Se)

Perhaps borrowed from Ar (< Pers) *rawšan* and *rawzan* 'window' (Wahrmund I, 1: 808–809; Sg 442). This word is widespread in Cushitic, cf. Saho *rosan* (Re) and Som *rosaan* (Reinisch 1902: 326).

Am *to-rtu* 'thunder' (Star)

s

saa', *saa'a* f. 'hour' (Rp) = *sa'aat* f., def.sg. *toos'a*, def.pl. *tees'a* (Wd) = *saa'a* f. 'Zeit, Stunde' (Re) = Am *sa* 'time' (Star) = *tossa* 'Stunde' (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *sāʿa* 'hour, moment, short time' (Sg 474), cf. also Gz *saʿāt* and *sāʿat* 'hour, time, moment, season', Ti, Ty *tāʿat* etc. (Leslau 1987: 481).

s'ai 'mist' (HuB) = *s'aay* m., def.sg. *oos'aay* 'dew' (Wd) = *saa'g* m. 'dew' (HuB) = *s'ay*, *sə'ay* m. 'mist, fog' (Rp) = *sa'* m., pl. *sá'a* 'Nebelwolke' (Re) = *o'sa* 'Tau' (Mu)

Cu: (C) **səw-a* 'rain' (Appleyard 2006: 113–114; he compared the Agaw forms with Beja *-siw* 'to spurt') > Bilin, Khamtanga, Khamir, Kemant, Kaĩliña *səwa* id.; (S) Iraqw *tsaʔ* 'cold'; Qwadza *tsaʔu-* id.; Maa *sa'á* 'cold; wind' (Ehret 1980: 176). Ch: (C) Zime-Batna *sóʔó* 'cold' || (E) Sokoro *ósso* id.; Jegu *ʔés* 'cold wind' (JgIb II: 80–81).

Lit.: Ehret (1987: 59, n. 230) Beja 'dew' + CCu 'rain'.

saboo f. 'desert, waterless place' (HuB) = *sabbi* f., acc. *sabbot* 'desert' (Rp) = *sabboot* f., def.sg. *tusabbu*, def.pl. *tisabbu* 'wilderness' (Wd)

Perhaps connected (lw.?) with Ar *sabsab*, pl. *sabāsib* 'vast plain, desert' or *sabtāʔ* 'desert' (Sg 478, 477).

sibdiq f. 'basin' (HuB)

səbuh m. 'morning' (HuB) = *sebūh* m. 'Morgen', *oo-súbh-i meréer* 'Morgenröte' (Re) = *sbuh* m. 'Morgen' (beginnt eine Viertelstunde vor dem Sonnenaufgang, cf. *kruum*) (Al)

Borrowed from Ar *ṣubḥ* 'dawn, light of the morning' (Sg 578).

sabt f., def.sg. *toosab* 'Saturday' (Wd) = *sabt* f. 'Saturday' (HuB) = *sab* f. id. (Rp) = *saab* and *sabb* f. 'Samstag' (Re) = Am *subt* 'Saturday' (Star)

Borrowed from Ar *sabt* 'Saturday' (Sg 477).

sīd m. 'south' (HuB) = *sīd* m. 'Süd' (Re, Al) = *o'sīd* 'der Süd' (Mu)

Reinisch (1895: 195) derived it from Ar *ṣaʿīd* 'ascensio'.

Sodáan m. 'Sudan' (Re)

Borrowed from *as-Sūdān* 'der Sudan' where *sūdān* represents a plural of *ʔaswad* 'schwarz' (Wehr 401).

siif m., def.sg. *oosiif* 'drizzle, fine rain' (Wd) = *siif* m. 'fine misty rain, drizzle' (Rp)

Derived from *saf* v.2 'to sprinkle' (Rp, HuB).

siifa f. 'coral rock' (Rp)

Borrowed from Ar *sīf* 'sea-coast, shore, river-bank' (Sg 521).

Suakin *o-sáfil* 'north' (Th) = *sáafit* (-*t* instead of -*l*?) m. 'der Norden' (Al)

Thompson (1910: 181) assumed a borrowing of Ar *sāfil* 'lower part, further down' (Sg 474).

sagi 'distant', *sig* 'to be distant' (Rp) = *sagi* 'loin' (Vh) = *segi* 'fern, entfernt sein' (Re) = *sagiib* m., *sagiit* f. 'distant', *sagiimhiin* adv. 'far away, distant' (Wd) = *ségi* 'sich entfernen' (Al) = *ésgi* 'lang werden, sich entfernen' (Mu)

Cu: ?(C) Bilin *səŋʷət/səŋut* 'far, distant' (Appleyard 2006: 64; Reinisch 1887: 309); (E) **seg-/sog-* 'far' (Sasse 1975: 246; 1979: 54) > Som *seeg* 'versäumen'; Arbore, Dasenech *seg-* 'far', Konso, Dirayta *sek-* id.; Yaaku *seke* id.; (S) **sag-* id. (Ehret 1980: 350) > Iraqw *saw*, Burunge *segin*, Alagwa *sige*, Qwadza *sagumu*, Asa *sanga* id.

Lit.: Reinisch (1887: 309) Beja + Bilin; Ehret (1987: 65, n. 227) PCu **seg-/sog-* 'far' > Beja + Ecu + Scu.

soguud m., pl. *sagud* 'firebrand' (HuB) = *sug(w)uud* m., pl. *sugwíd* 'brand' (Rp; *ɖ* is 'an occlusive final consonant') = *sāgūd* m., pl. -*a* 'Hitze, Brand' (Re) = *sogúd* m. 'Feuerbrand' (Mu)

sugúm, segúm m. 'Frühling, Zeit nach den periodischen Regen' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 196) connected it with Ti (and Ty) *səgm* ('the ascending', cf. *sāga-ma* 'to ascend, move into highland', see LH 198) and added Saho *sugúm* 'Frühling (Mai-Juni)' (Re) = *sugum* 'small rainy season' (Vergari), Afar *sugum* 'rain which doesn't amount to much' (PaHy) and Bilin *sagem* 'vom Meere, vom Tiefland aus nach dem Hochland ziehen' (cf. Reinisch 1887: 297). This areal isogloss represents a typical example of the Northeast African *Sprachbund* connecting Beja, Bilin, Saho-Afar and Tigre-Tigray.

sigwonni m. 'hard white stone, often found in ostriches' crops' (HuB)

Am *to-sgunfoy* 'hail' (Star)

Perhaps a compound with the first component identical with *sigwonni* m. 'hard white stone, often found in ostriches' crops' (HuB).

sāhaab, saab m. 'cloud (cirrus or stratus)' (Rp) = *shaab* and *saab* 'nuage' (Vh) = *saháab* m., pl. *saháb* 'Wolke' (Re) = *saháab* 'Wolke' (Se)

Borrowed from Ar *saḥāba*, pl. *saḥāb* 'cloud' (Sg 482).

tu saahah, indet. *saahaat* 'ebenes Gelände vor und um den *duwwār*' (Hs)

Borrowed from Ar *sāḥa* 'weiter Platz vor einem Hause oder um die Wohnungen eines Stammes' (Hs) = *sāḥa*, pl. *sāḥ* 'open place between tents, houses etc.' (Sg 473).

sʰheel 'Stern Canopus and Carinae', cf. *sheelit hidadt* '(in oder nach der) Richtung des Canopus' (Hs) = Am *sihala* 'star to which indicate rains esp. in summer' (Star) Borrowed from Ar dial. (Central Arabia) *sēhēl*, Class. Ar *suhayl* id. (Hs; Sg 516).

sikwi f. 'quartz' (HuB) = *sikuauneb* 'Quarzit' (Mu)
Reinisch (1893: 9-10 and 1895: 36) analysed the latter form as the acc. **siku awn-eeb* '*bright (?)stone', identifying the first component with Gz *ṣəḥwa* and *ṣəḥwa* 'to be bright (sky)'. The second component is discussed apud *auwi* 'stone' (HuB).

seel m. 'star' (which?) (HuB) = *sail* 'star in Orion's belt visible in the end of autumn' (Star)

Identical with *sʰheel* 'Stern Canopus and Carinae' (Hs)?

sil f. 'boundary' (HuB)

salal m., def.sg. *usalal*, def.pl. *isalala* 'way, path' (Wd) = *salal* 'chemin' (Vh) = *sallal* m., pl. *ṣalla* 'way, road', *salool* v.2 'to lead' (HuB) = *salal* m., pl. *sāl(ā)* 'way, path', *salol* v.2 'to guide, lead camel' (Rp) = *sālla*, pl. *salóol* m. 'Weg', cf. *salool* v.2 'führen, leiten' (Re) = [o]*sala* 'route' (Li)

Borrowed from EtSe or from Ar, cf. Ti *ṣəlal* 'winding road, mule-track', Ar *salla* 'to withdraw, pull out' (LH 167; Leslau 1987: 516).

som'a m. 'hillock formed by white ants' (Rp)

simha 'the day that comes after an interval of three days' (Rp) = Am *sinhab* 'after three days' (Star)

Derived from the numeral *məḥei* (Rp) = *maháy*, *meháy*, *emháy* 'three' (Re).

san m., pl. *ṣing* 'basin' (HuB) = *sánay* f., pl. *sanɛi* 'stream of running water' (Rp)
Cu: (E) SOromo *sona* 'bank of a river, riverside' (Stroomer 1987: 386) || Dahalo *sòðni* 'river' || (S) Maa *sondá* 'valley' (Ehret 1980: 182);
?Ch: (C) Misme of Zime *sina* 'river' (Kr).

Note: SOromo and Dahalo are neighbours; it means that the similarity of the compared words could be caused by their mutual contact.

saanha f. 'col, pass' (Rp) = *tu säänäḥ*, indet. *säänäht* 'Pass' (Hs)

Perhaps borrowed from the same Arabic root as *sunḥ* 'middle of the road'.

sanaat f., def.sg. *tusana*, def.pl. *tisana* ‘year’ (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *sana* ‘year’ (Sg 512).

senáy ‘Frühherbst, September and Oktober’ (Re) = *senéei* id. (Mu)

Reinisch (1895: 203) connected it with EtSe: Gz *šane*, *səne* ‘tenth Ethiopian month (8 June-7 Juli), Ty *səne*; Amh *sāne* (Leslau 1987: 531 adds HECu forms: Kamb, Tambaro *sanaa*). Afar (ECu) *saaniyya* ‘cold dampness, *saaniyyu* ‘cold west wind’ and the fact that the EtSe words have no cognates outside Ethiopia, can offer a witness to a common Cushitic origin of both Beja and Afar words and a borrowed character of their EtSe counterparts.

suurq f. ‘watering place’ (HuB) = *suura* f. ‘well, watering-place’ (Rp) = *súura* f. ‘die Tränke, Becken aus Lehm, vor der Zisterne errichtet, zum Tränken der Herden (Re) = *to’sura*, pl. *te’sura* ‘die Tränke’ (Mu)

?Cu: (E) SOromo *sora* (~ *ś-*) ‘season of rains’ (Stroomer);

?Ch: (W) Diri *súwàrú*, Tsagu *zááwá*; Wangday *shar*, Tule, Zaar *zhà* etc. ‘water’ (JgIb II: 340);

Be: (N) Beni Snus *essuur* ‘tränken’ (Zyhlarz 1933–1934: 99, #45 Be + Eg);

Eg (Pyr) *zwr*, (MK) *swj* (Wb. III: 428), Demotic *swr*, Copt Bohairic and Sahidic *cw* ‘to drink’ (Vycichl 1983: 183; Zyhlarz 1932–1933: 170, #69 Eg + Beja).

sirma ‘the day that comes after an interval of two days’ (Rp) = Am *sirmabi* ‘after two days’ (Star)

Derived from the numeral ‘two’ attested in *asaráama* ‘seven’, lit. ‘growing two [plus five]’ (Re).

suwan m. ‘flint’ (HuB)

š

šaab m. ‘reef, shoal (submerged rock)’ (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar *šaʿb* ‘split, cleft’ (Sg 543) > Som *šaʿab* ‘Koralenriff, Klippe’ (Reinisch 1902: 353).

u šabaay, pl. *i šābey* ‘schwierige, unebene Strasse im gebirgen Gelände’ (Hs)

Perhaps connected (lw.?) with Ar *šīʿb*, pl. *šīʿāb* ‘mountain path, narrow pass, water-course’ (Sg 543).

šafāk m. ‘dusk’ (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar *šafaq* ‘evening twilight; ruddy light’ (Sg 547).

šuugq m. ‘khor between high mountains’ (HuB)

šagiil m. 'hill' (HuB)

šake m. 'precipice' (Rp)

?EtSe: *Ti šikā* 'field, meadow, walley', *Ty šakī* 'frische Weide, Wiese' (LH 222).

šelhatani f. 'precipice, steep place' (Hu) = *u šelhät*, indet. *šelhätaab*, pl. *i šelhätä*^h 'glatter Felsboden, eben oder abschüssig, auf dem man ausgeleitet' (Hs) = *šelhúutani* m. 'schlüpfriges Terrain (Weg, steiler Abhang, Abgrund)' (Re) = *šelhúutani* m., pl. -a 'schlüpfrige Stelle' (Al) = *shelhotenéb* 'Abgrund, Rain' (Mu)

Reinisch (1894: 11, §294 and 1895: 213) analysed it as the derivative (nomen agentis) of the verb *šehaat* 'ausgleiten, glitschen' and connected it with Bilin (CCu) *jalhaṭ*, *Ty* (?an)*dälḥaṣä* and *däḥäṣä* 'to slide' etc. (Leslau 1987: 128).

šallag m. 'beach' (HuB) = *e-šalág* 'la costa' (Ci) = *u šelek*, indet. *šelekaab*, *i šeleke*^h 'Meeresstrand, Ebene, die sich an dem Meere entlang zieht' (Hs)

tu šellaalä^h, indet. *šellaalaat*, pl. *šellaalä*^h 'blinder Wâdī-Arm, abgetrennter Wâdī-Arm mit Wasser' (Hs)

Borrowed from Ar, cf. dial. (°Ötebic, Sinai, Nubia, Sudan) *šellāl*, *šellāle* 'Katarakt, Wasserfall, Stromschnelle' (Dozy).

šam m. 'cave or crack in the earth' (HuB)

šamburq f. 'mist, cloud' (HuB)

Could it be a compound of *šaay* 'Wolke' / *šay* v.2 'to float' and *ambúur* 'Flügel' (Re)? Let us mention that Afar *šamburre* (PaHy) and Saho *amburre* (We) mean 'cloud'.

Apparently the same word occurs in Qift, the Arabic dial. of the Upper Egypt, viz. *šabbūra* 'fog, mist' (Nishio 1994: 199) and in Mahas and Kenzi *šabbur* / *šebuur* 'Nebel' (Lepsius). Are they borrowed from Beja or vice versa?

šan m. 'precipice, flood' (HuB)

šanki 'edge', acc. *šankeb* (Rp) = *šankib* 'seashore' (Hu) = Am *šank* 'bank of a river, side', *šankabe* 'edge' (Star)

šanti f. 'flat stone for throwing something wrong or out of place' (HuB)

širig m. 'khala' (= country as opposed to town; open solitary spaces), cf. *širgíay* and *širgitak* 'hillman'; *tak* means 'man' (Rp)

šarik m. 'east', *šarikbet(i)* 'eastwards' (Rp) = *šarig* m., def.sg. *ušarig* 'east' (Wd) = *šarík* m. 'Ost, Sonnenaufgang', pl. *šárka* 'östlich gelegene Ortschaften oder Länder' (Re) = *osherk* 'Ost' (Bu), but *šerk* m. 'west' (HuB)!

Borrowed from Ar *šarīq* 'rising sun, east', *šarq* 'east, sun-rise', *šarqīyy* 'eastern, oriental', *šariqa* 'rising sun' (Sg 540, 538).

širmiit f., def.sg. *tuširmi*, def.pl. *tiširmīya* 'gap, split' (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *šarm*, pl. *šurūm* 'split, gap; precipice, abyss, whirlpool; gulf, bay' (Sg 539).

šeráar and *seraar* m., pl. -a 'Funke' (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *šarār*, *širār* 'spark' (Sg 534), cf. also *Ti šararit* id. (LH 211).

šowōw m. 'cloud' (HuB)

Om (N): Maoid: Hozo *šaawi*, East Mao *šiiwe* 'wind, air' (Fleming 1988: 42, n. 22).

Eg (Pyr) *šw* 'the air-god Šu' (Wb. IV: 429).

Note: Takács (1999: 205) connected Maoid + Eg + Berber *z-w-y* 'to be airy, fresh'.

šīq f. 'well that is very shallow, water-hole dug in khor' (HuB) = Am *šīha* 'shallow small well' (Star) = *təḡ šyāh*, indet. *šyāht*, pl. *ti šīhāḥ* 'reichlichliches Wasser, das im Rande des Wādi-gegraben wird, kann wohl dreißig Kamele im Tage tränken' (Hs)

?Cu: (C) Awngi *soyen* 'wet' (Hetzron), Kufäl *sek^{hw}an* id. (Cowley) || ?Cu: (S) Mbugu -*sīwa* 'to be wet', -*sí* 'to rain' (Ehret 1980: 175);

Om: (W) She *so* 'acqua' (Montadon apud Conti Rossini 1925) = She-Bench *so* 'water' (Be);

Ch: (E) Kujarke (Mubi group) *šia* 'water' (Doornbos) and/or PCh **sa/i*- 'to drink' (Stolbova 1996: 58; cf. Stolbova 1987: 180, #326): (W) Hausa *sháá*; Sura *shwaa*; Daffo *shoh*; Kirfi *shé:-wò*; Siri *sáwá*; Guruntum *sai*; Ngizim *sá* || (C) Margi *sàh*; Higi Nkafa *sexwì*; Gudu *sa*; Laamang *s(u)-*; Wandala *shá*; Sukur *sàvàn*; Gisiga *she*; Daba *sa*; Gidar *sa*; Logone *sé*; Zime-Batna *cé/sé* || (E) Kera *sé*; Kabalai *sùwə*; Sumrai *sha*; Sokoro *sa*; ?Mokilko *síbè*; Birgid *sáyà*, Mubi *súwà* and *siyá* etc. (JgIb II: 110–111);

Be 'to drink': (E) Siwa *su*, Ghadames *əsuw* || (S) Tuareg of Ahaggar *əsu* || (W) Zenaga *ešbi* < **iswi* || (N) Mzab, Wargla *su* etc. (Militarev 1991: 256, #19.1).

šaay m., pl. *šay* 'Wolke' (Re)

Probably derived from *šay* v.2 'to float' (HuB).

Dolgopolsky (1973: 193) compared it with NOm counterparts: Wolayta *šara* 'cloud', Kullo *šariya*, Male *šaari*, Yemsa *šaaru* id., She *šaar* 'smoke' (Be), etc. Their more apparent cognates occur in ECu: Rendille *seréf* 'sky'; Elmolo *séér* 'rain cloud'

(He). A common origin with Beja is in principle also possible, cf. Beja *boy* 'blood' (Rp), if related to CCu **bər-* id. ||| Ch **bar-* id., but the internal etymology within Beja looks more convincing.

t

t'ung^a 'south' (Th)

taba 'Torrent', *taba enfeeris* 'Torrentmündung' (Mu)
Probably *aba* 'Fluss, Bach' (Re) with the feminine article.

til m. 'stream' (HuB); *tilt* m., def.sg. *tootil* 'drop' (Wd)
Cf. *til* v.2 'to drop' (HuB) = *til* v.2 'to drip, dribble' (Rp). Perhaps the same root forms the phytonym *til* f. 'Urostigma abutifolium' (Schw).
It could be connected with Ar *tilla* 'humidity' (Sg 184) or Gz *ṭal(a)a* 'to be moist, humid, wet, covered with dew', *ṭallāt* 'drops of dew, fatness', Ti *ṭalla* 'to be wet' etc. (LH 606; Leslau 1987: 591).

Am *teli* 'charcoal before it is burnt' (Star)
Cf. *talaw* 'blitzen' (Re) = *talawaa* 'to shine' (Wd)?

til'eet f., def.sg. *tootl'i*, def.pl. *titl'iiya* 'hole' (Wd) = *til?ii* 'trou' (Vh)
Probably derived from the verb *tila'a* 'to bore' (Wd).

Am *telij* 'snow' (Star)
Borrowed from Ar *ṭalğ* 'snow', *ṭaliğ* 'icy cold' (Sg 208).

taláata f. 'Tuesday' (Rp) = *taláata* f. 'Dienstag' (Re) = *tetalláte* id. (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *ṭalātā?/ṭulātā?* 'Tuesday' (Sg 207).

talaw m. 'lightning' (HuB) = *tálaw*, pl. *taláawa* m. 'lightning, flash', f. 'blaze', e.g. of fire, *talaw* v.2 'to glimpse, appear', cf. *yínt-talaw* 'sunrise' (Rp) = *taláaw* f., pl. *taláw* 'Blitz', *talaw* v.2 'blitzen' (Re) = *tálaw* m. 'Blitz' = *te'telau* id. (Mu) = *ittaláu* id. (Se) = Am *italau* and *talub* 'lightning' (Star); cf. *talawaa* 'to shine' (Wd)
Reinisch (1895: 227) connected it with Ti *talawa bela* 'to flash', cf. *tawlah* id. (LH 303, 318) > Bilin *talwah y* id. (Re).

With respect to the idiom *yínt-talaw* 'sunrise' (Rp), it is tempting to compare *tálaw* with Sbauchi (WCh) 'sun': Boghom *taal*, Kir *tàl*, Tule *càl* (JgIb II: 312).

tirig, pl. *tirga*, m. 'month', f. 'moon' (HuB) = *tiríg* f. 'croissant de lune, mois', *tírga* m.pl. 'mois', (Wagar) *ʔeetirig* 'pleine lune' (Vh) = *teríg* and *terík* c., pl. *tírga*, m. 'Monat', f. Mond' (Re) = *térig*, *tírig* m., pl. *térga* 'month; moon in the first quarter,

crescent moon', *etérig* f. 'moon from seventh day onwards' (Rp) = *terig*, *eterig*, pl. *tírga* 1. 'Mond', 2. 'Monat' (Al) = Am *terig*, pl. *tirga* 'month', *ter'igt* and *to-trik* 'moon' (Star) = [o]tryk 'heaven' (Bu) = o'edrik 'der Mond' (Mu) = [e]trig 'Monat' vs. [to]trig 'Mond' (Se)

Reinisch (1895: 231) proposed a connection with Ar *ṭarqa* 'to come at night time', *ṭarq* 'turn, time, once', *tāriq* 'night-traveler, morning-star' (Sg 633, 622) and SEtSe forms: a) Amh, Argobba, Harari *čäräqa* 'moon' (> Qwara *zärkaa*), Gafat *šäräqa* id.; b) Gurage: Zway *ṭarqa*, Goggot *ṭarraqa*, Soddo *därraqa*, Chaha, Gyeto *ṭän-aqa* id. (Leslau 1979: 632; he follows Cerulli 1936: 243 considering a Cushitic origin of the Gurage 'moon', but Cushitic family is represented only by Beja). Appleyard (1977: 77) also mentioned remarkable parallels in various NS languages of Ethiopia: Kunama and Ilit *teera* ||| Ingassana *turia* ||| Surma: Mursi *tàagì*, Kwegu *tigèš* etc., all after Bender).

On the other hand, there are suggestive counterparts in almost all Chadic and Berber languages meaning 'moon' and 'star' respectively:

Ch: (W) Sura *tār*; Bokkos *túré*; Karakare *taré*; Jimbin *tirà*; Guruntum *tarri*; Ngizim *tra* || (C) Tera *tera*; Higi-Nkafa *trre*; Laamang *trí*; Wandala *trre*; Sukur *tea*; Muktele *tèlá*; Kola *trá*; Gidar *tárq*; Logone *tèèdà*; Musgu *tle*; Zime-Batna *tér* || (E) Kera *kí-tír*; Lele *gì-dìrì*; Sumray *dúru*; Sokoro *dáála*; Mokilko *térè*; Mubi *tírí* (JgIb II: 238–239); Be: (E) Siwa *iri* (R. Basset) || (S) Tuareg of Ahaggar *atri*, pl. *itrán* (Foucauld) || (W) Zenaga *əḍəri* (Nicolas) || (N) Kabyle *itri* (Dallet).

Accepting a common AA origin of this Beja-Chadic-Berber isogloss, there is a tempting etymology proposed by Cohen (1947: # 323) and Hodge (1968: 24):

?Cu: (C) Bilin *tari* 'die bestimmte Zeit, Reihenfolge', cf. *tart* 'in Reihen stehen', borrowed in (or from?) Ti *tart* and *tartara* id. (Reinisch 1887: 342) || (E) Som *tiri* 'to count', *tiro* 'number', Boni *téré/téria* 'to count' (Heine 1978: 96);

Eg (Pyr) *tr* 'Zeit', cf. the old form of the plural *itr.w* 'Jahreszeit', Copt Sahidic *ṛe* 'temps' (Wb. V: 313–316; Vycichl 1983: 208);

Se: Hb *tōr* 'to turn'; Ar *tāra* (*t-w-r*) 'to go around'; Amh *tāra* 'turn, row' (concerning semantics, Cohen (1947: #323) quoted Akk *dūru* and *dūru* 'année' vs. Ar *d-w-r* 'tourner').

tarhagʷad 'north; left-hand' (Th) = *tarha* and *talha* 'left' and *gwʷad* 'side' (Rp).

torni 'charcoal ashes' (Star)

teruus 'earth bank in qash' (Star)

Am *ti-teeta* 'Little Bear' (Star) = *te'ēdite* (constellation) 'der grosse Bär' (Mu)

Derived from *tūta* 'twin' (Rp) = Am *ti-teet* 'twins' (Star). Apparently a calque for Am *tayman* 'Little Bear' (Star).

Am *tayman* 'Little Bear' (Star)

Borrowed from Ar *at-taymā*? 'constellation of the Twins' (Sg 197).

tooyin adv. 'today' (Wd), cf. *yint* f., def.sg. *tooyin*, def.pl. *teeyna* 'day', in sg. also 'sun' (Wd).

ṭ

ṭakwt f., def.sg. *toṭakw* 'dripping', *ṭakwisa* and *ṭakwiša* 'to drip' (Wd)

ṭeláay f., pl. *ṭeláy* 'Regenbogen' (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 235) connected it with Ar *ṭalāwa/ṭilāwa/ṭulāwa* 'fairness, beauty, elegance, charm', *ṭalwa* 'brightness of dawn' (Sg 640, 642).

ṭiin m., def.sg. *ooṭiin*, def.pl. *itiina* 'clay, mud' (Wd) = *ṭiin* m. 'mud, clay, morass' (Rp) = *ṣo ṭiin* 'Erde, Lehm' (Hs) = *ṭiin* ~ *tiin* 'Ton, Lehm, Schlamm Erde' (Re) = *ṭiin* m. 'Ton' (Al) = Am *ṭin* 'clay, mud' (Star) = *tiin* 'mud' (Tl) = *tīn* 'Lehm, Ton' (Se) Borrowed from Ar *ṭin* 'clay, mud, puddle, sealing-earth, red chalk' (Sg 653).

ṭiir 'swamp' (Tl)

?Cu: (E) Afar *ḍarri* 'shale, argil' (PaHy); Sam **ḍeri* 'clay pot' (Heine 1978: 80) > Som *ḍeri* 'cooking pot of clay' (Ab), Boni *ḍerg* (He), Rend *ḍiri* 'clay pot' (He); Arbore *ḍeeré* 'cooking pot (earthenware)' (Hy).

w

wi'i m. and *ye* m. 'winter' (HuB) = *wjaa* 'hiver' (Vh) = Am *wiya* id. (Star) = *wiya* m. 'winter (Nov-Feb), winter rain(s)', ówiiyay 'in winter' (Rp) = *wíya* m 'Regenzeit, Winter' (Re) = *wíya* m. 'Winter' (Al) = *owiha* 'hiver' (Li) = *owie* 'Winter' (Kr) = [o]wiyáh 'Regenzeit' (Se)

Cu: (E) **waf*-/ **wiṣ*- (Sasse 1982: 186) > Saho-Afar *wef* 'flowing water' (Sa); HECu **waʔa* 'water' (Hudson 1989: 164–165) > Burji *waa*, gen. *way-i-n*- (-y- is epenthetic glide), Gedeo *wadaʔa* (with puzzling -d-), Had *woʔo*, Kamb *waʔa* and *wiʔa*, Sid *waa*. Amh *wəha* 'water' is apparently of Cushitic origin;

?Om: (N) Kafa *yoyo* 'Regenzeit, Winter' (Re).

The semantic difference between 'Winter' = 'Regenzeit' and '(flowing) water' is neglectable.

wagh 'in direction of' (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar *waġh* 'front, face' (Sg 1201).

wúha m. 'Niederung, Tiefe', *wuháay* 'in der Tiefe; unten, unterhalb, unter' (Re) = *whii* postp. 'under', *whay* postp. 'below, under', *whiinay* adv. 'down, below' (Wd)

= *whi* 'sous' (Vh) = *wihi* 'down, below, under' (HuB) = (w)*uuhii* prep. and adv. 'underneath', adj. 'lower, under' (Rp) = *úhi*, *wáhi*, *yúih* 'unten, unter' (Al) = *uhi* (Km) = *wuhih* 'unten' (Se)

Reinisch (1890: 73; 1895: 237) compared it with Saho *baah-aa*, pl. *baah-it* 'niedrig gelegene Ortlichkeit, Tiefe', *baahaaraa* 'Tieffläche' and Afar *baah-aa* 'niedrig gelegener Ort, Tiefe; Elend, Not, Armut', *baahaaraa* 'Tiefebene am Meere', from *baah* 'niedrig sein' (Re), cf. *baahat* 'a deep place in the sea; high seas, middle of ocean', *baḥàri* 'flat wide plain' (PaHy). It is in principle possible, accepting the following development in Beja: **u baha* > **uwaha* > **waha* (cf. *wáhi* by Almkvist).

whafa adv. 'far' (Wd)

wakit, *wakt* m., def.sg. *uwakit* 'time, period' (Wd) = *wákte* m. 1. 'Zeit'; 2. 'Mal, vices' (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *waqt* 'time', cf. also Gz *waqāt* and Ti *wāqt* 'time, season' (LH 438; Leslau 1987: 616).

wana adv. 'this morning', *wanaaneet* 'of this morning' (Wd) = *wana* adv. 'ce matin (passé)' (Vh) = *wonno* (?) 'this morning' (HuB) = Am *wana* 'morning' (Star) = *wána* adv. 'at dawn, early morning', *wanaané* adv. 'since morning', *wanaani* adj. 'matinal, belonging to the early morning' (Rp)

Reinisch (1895: 20) saw in *w-* the article before the noun *ana* m. 'Tageslicht, der Morgen', *woo-án-i* (*deháay*) 'am Morgen'.

Zyhlarz (1932–1933: 166) compared Beja *wána* with Eg (OK) *wbn* 'aufgehen (zumeist von der Sonne), glänzen, scheinen', *wbn.t* 'erste Tagesstunde' (Wb. I: 292f). It is in principle possible, accepting the same development as in the case of *wúha* 'Niederung', *wáhi* 'unten' < **u-wah-* < **u-bah-*, hence **u-wan-* < **u-ban-*. But in this case the form *ana* attested by Reinisch would represent a secondary decomposition.

Finally, there is a possibility that *w-* belongs to the root, if the Beja word 'morning' is related to Koyra (NOM) *wont-* 'to dawn, become light' (Hy apud Sasse 1982: 190). Skinner (1996: 292) also finds promising parallels in Chadic: (W) Hausa *wuni* 'daytime; to pass the day' (but the variant *yini* is compatible with Beja *yün* 'sun; day', see below); Tangale *wuni* 'day of 24 hours; to spend night'; Ngizim *wəna* id. || (E) Mokilko 'onny- 'passer la nuit, jour, journée'; maybe (C) Gude *wanə* 'this year'.

And what is the position the Gurage forms: Ennemor, Gyeto *wa?ana*, Endegeñ *wa?anä*, Eža, Muher *wanna*, Chaha *wana* 'day (in daylight)' (Leslau 1979: 640)? A direct Beja-Gurage contact at least in recent times is excluded.

oh-wer 'Fluss' (Kc; Almkvist 1885: 68 reconstructed **wer*) = ?Am *orab* 'stream' (Star)

Cu: (C) Bilin *wäräbá*, pl. *wäräḥ* 'Fluss' (Re) = *wäräba* 'river-course, valley' (Appleyard 2006: 116), Khamir *wirba*, pl. *wirib* 'Fluss' (Re), Khamta *wirva* 'fiume' (CR); cf. Amh *wayb* and Som *webbi* 'grosser Fluss, breiter Strom' (Reinisch 1902: 372) and further Oromo *waraab*- 'to pour, dip, fetch' (Reinisch 1887: 360) < PECu **waraab*- 'to draw water' || (E) **war*- > Som *war* 'pool, pond', Rendille *wor* 'well' (Pillinger and Galboran) or 'river' (Fl); Dasanech *wár*, pl. *warram* 'river' (To), Arbore *wor* (Sasse 1979: 42); Burji *wara* 'marsh, swamp' (HG); Om: (N) Male *uor* 'fiume' (da Trento 1941: 204).

watan m., def.sg. *uwatan*, def.pl. *iwatana* 'land country' (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *waṭan* 'permanent dwelling, residence, home, place where the cattle lie down or are tied up, stable' (Sg 1220).

y

yaḍa' adj., m. *yaḍ'aab*, f. *yaḍa't* 'wet, damp', *yiḍa'a* v. 'to be wet, moist', *yiḍ'uuyt* f., def.sg. *tuyḍ'uuyt* 'moisture, being wet, damp' (Wd) = *yáḍḍ* adj. 'damp', *yiḍ'(a)* v. 'to be damp, moist' (Rp) = *yeḍa* 'feucht, nass, grün, unreif sein', *yíḍ'a* f. 'Nässe, Feuchtigkeit' (Re) = *jáḍa* 'feucht, nass (sein)' (Al) = *ierdáu* 'feucht' (Se)

Cu: (E) Saho *ceerho*/ʕeero/ 'raw, unripe thing(s)' (Vergari), 'eḷin 'feucht', 'aḷáa 'Nässe' (Re), Afar *qeexini*/ʕeedini/ 'to be raw, coarse' (PaHy); PSam **ʕaiḍi* 'unripe' (Heine 1978: 99) > Som *ceeydhiin*/ʕeeydiin/ adj. 'unripe, raw' (Luling) = *ʕéḍiin* 'roher oder unreifer Zustand'; adj. 'roh, unreif' (Re), Jiddu *eeráan* 'unripe' (Banti and Ibraaw), Boni *eerí* (He), Rendille *hééḍi* 'unripe' (He); Arbore *heedḍi* 'raw' (Hayward), Elmolo *énída* 'unreif sein' (He); Oromo of Wellega *deedii* adj. 'raw' (Gg) < **t-ʕeed*-; Yaaku *ké-ʕé* 'raw, unripe' (He); (S) **ʕeetl*- (Ehret 1980: 277) > Iraqw *ʕeetl* 'fresh, raw', Gorowa *ʕeetl* 'unripe', Alagwa *ʕeetl* 'to be unripe, be raw' (KM 102); Ma'a *ihlé* 'unripe' (Ehret 1980: 389 adds still Dahalo *ʔeeʔ*). ?Egyptian (BD) *ʕḍ* 'ein Gewässer im Jenseits' (Wb. I: 240).

Lit.: Ehret (1980: 389) SCu + Beja; Ehret (1987: n. 494) PCu **ʕ-y-dl*- 'raw, unripe' > Beja + PSom **ʕeed*- + SCu **ʕeetl*-.

yam m., def.pl. *eeyam* 'water', *yaam* m., def.sg. *ooyaam*, def.pl. *eeyaam* 'rains', *yimt* f., def.sg. *tooyma* 'raining' (Wd) = *yam* m. 'water', cf. *ayam* 'low' (HuB) = *jam* 'eau' (Vh) = *yém* 'acqua' (Ci) = *yam* 'water' (Be) = Am *yum* id. (Star) = *yam* m. pl. 'water' (Rp) = *ęę yām*, indet. *yāme^h* 'Wasser' (Hs) = *yam* m. pl. 'Wasser' (Re) = *yem* 'water' (Wt) = *yoom* m. pl. tantum 'Wasser' (Al) = *e yam* (Li) = *en-àm* (Kc) = *o'yem* (Mu) = *éyam* (Km) = *ayam* (Bu) = *o yum* (Salt) = *êyem* id. (Se) ??Cu: (S) Iraqw *yamu* 'under, below; floor', Gorowa *yamu* 'places; country', Buryunge *yamu* 'place; district; under, below'; Qwadza *hamuko* 'under, below' (Ehret 1980: 315; KM 329); cf. the isolated Jiddu (ECu) *yan* 'earth' (Nuux and Ehret); Ch 'water': (W) Sura *àm*; Fyer *ham*, Kulere *ʔaàm*; Tangale *am*, Kirfi *amma*; Pa'a

ambi, Jimbin *ìmbí*; ?Boghom, Kir *yíp*; Ngizim *âm* || (C) Tera *ʔyim*; Margi *ʔímí*; Fali-Kiria *jiami*; Nzangi *mbii*; Laamang *úimí*; Wandala *jàwè*; Sukur *yâm*; Gisiga *yam*; Daba *ym*; Buduma *āmái*; Musgu *yim*; Zime-Batna *hì* || (E) Kwang *káam*; Kabalai *kaamè*; Sumray pl. *nímí*; Sokoro *mbo*; Migama *àmmi*; Mubi *ʔàm* (JgIb II: 340–341);

Be ‘water’ (Vycichl 1955: 314; 1957: 143, reconstructed an unattested sg. as **im* or **ymi* resp., while the plural should reflect **i-imē-ěñ* or **i-ymi(yu)n* resp.): (E) Siwa *aman* pl. (Laoust), Ghadames *āman* m. pl. (Lanfry) || (S) Ayr and Iulemidden *aman* m. pl. (Alojaly) || (W) Zenaga *aman* (Basset) || (N) Shilh of Tazerwalt *aman* pl. tantum (Stumme) ||| Guanche *a(h)emon* ‘water’ (Woelfel 1965: 513);

Se **yamm-* ‘sea’ > Ug *ym*, Hb *yām*, pl. *yammī* ‘sea, lake; reservoir, large basin’, Aram *yammā*, Ar *yamm* ‘sea’ (Aistleitner 1965: 129; Klein 1987: 259). A Semitic source is evident for Eg (18th Dyn) *ym* ‘Meer’ (Wb. I: 78), Demotic *ym* id., Copt Sahidic ⲉⲓⲟⲙ, Bohairic ⲓⲟⲙ, Ahminic and Fayyumic ⲓⲁⲙ ‘mer; pressoir’, pl. Bohairic ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲟⲩ < **yammīy-u* (Vycichl 1983: 63).

yint f., def.sg. *tooyin* ‘day; sun (only sg.)’, def.pl. *teeyna* ‘days’, *yindibt* f., def.sg. *tuyindib* ‘sunset, West’, where the second component corresponds to *dib* m. ‘time, period’ and/or *dibaa* ‘to fall’ (Wd) = *yiin* f. ‘sun’, *yin-ti-dib* ‘sunset’, *yiin-talaw* ‘sunrise’ (HuB) = *jiin* ‘soleil’ (Vh) = Am *yint* ‘sun; day’, *yindib* ‘west’ (Star) = *yiin* f., pl. -a ‘sun, sunlight, heat, day’, *tó-yiin-ton* ‘today’, *yiindibs* m. ‘sunrise’, *yiintálaw* m. ‘sunrise’ (Rp) = *y’endib* ‘west’ (Vh) = (y)*iin* f., pl. -a ‘Sonne, Tag’, *too-yīn* ‘am Tag, heute’, *too-yīn-dib* and *yīn-dib* ‘Sonnenuntergang, West’ (Re) = *yen*, *yin*, *iin* f., pl. *yéena* ‘Sonne, Tag’, *tó-iin* ‘heute’, *iin-dēb* m. ‘Sonnenuntergang, West’ (Al) = *ēin* ‘Sonne’, *te’ein diubb* ‘Sonnenuntergang, West’ (Mu) = *to hi* ‘soleil’, *o hi* ‘jour’ (Li) = *toin* ‘heute’ (Km) = *do-i* ‘Tag’, *do-i* ‘Sonne’, *mallo gina* ‘zwei Tage’, *sarama gina* ‘heute’ (Kc) = *iindēp* ‘Westen’ (Se)

Reinisch (1895: 241) analyzed (y)*iin* as a derivative of *yi*’ v.2 ‘licht, hell sein, glänzen, leuchten’ (cf. Id. 1893: §351).

Cu: (E) Gedeo and Sid *yanna* ‘time’ (HG; Skinner 1996: l.c. HECu + Beja); Yaaku *in* f. id. (He).

Behnk (1928: 138) compared Beja *yiin* with Eg (Pyr) *iwnw* ‘Heliopolis’, Copt ⲱⲛ, cf. *iwnw* (NK) ‘Beiname des Sonnengottes’ (Wb. I: 52).

Vycichl (1934: 83) found cognates in Eg (BD) *in* ‘heute’ (Wb. I: 92) and Hausa (WCh) *yini*, with variants *wuni* and *’uni* ‘period of day, from sunrise to sunset’ (Bargery 1934: 1116, 1093; Skinner 1996: 292).

yooyt adv. ‘every day’ (Wd)

Survey of the cognates to the Beja terms describing space, nature, and time in other Cushitic branches

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
'aba ^{Wd} river, brook, khor	Oromo ^{Tu} <i>abā</i> river	Bilin ?āba well		
āfa ^{Rp} yesterday evening			?āfiteete shadow	
'eela ^{Wd} water-hole	*ʕeel- well			?*haala water-hole
imāay ^{Al} late autumn	Som ^{Lu} <i>mayay</i> dawn rain; heavy rain			
amar ^{Rp} cave				*mara?iya cave
amas ^{Wd} at night				*ʔamasi night
eŋga ^{Re} middle		*ʔanq- inside		
enkhi ^{Rp} upper k(e)h, khw ^{Rp} on, over	*kaʃ- to get up			Alagwa <i>yuku-hus-</i> to put load on top of another
'arih ^{His} rock	Saho ^{Re} <i>arar</i> mountain top Som ^{Ab} <i>aror</i> mountain slope	Bilin ?arora hill		
éri, íri, íru ^{Rp} yesterday	Arbore ?arráw Elm <i>arrau</i> evening Yaaku <i>mé'éri'</i> id.			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>irra</i> ^{Rp} vertical bank of khor	Afar ^{PaHy} <i>àru</i> bank of stream and/or Konso ^{Bl} <i>írrota</i> mountain			
'áwe ^{Rp} stone < *awn-		*'anb- moun- tain		
'aawi ^{Rp} noon, zenith	Konso and Dirayta <i>awwe</i> today; Oromoid *awf- become warm	Awngi <i>áwá</i> sun Kunfāl <i>awí</i> id.		
<i>áwri</i> ^{Rp} noon	*(ʔa-)bur- dawn or *ʔayr- sun, day		<i>ḅurra</i> morning	
<i>b'i, bi</i> ^{Rp} day	Dullay *biſſ- white			
[o]bha ^{Bu} north	*bidh- left		<i>biḥṭa</i> left	
<i>baal</i> ^{Rp} cloud	Rend <i>báal</i> cloud Arb <i>boolan</i> id.			
<i>baar</i> ^{Re} smell <i>barám</i> ^{Re} air, wind, weather			<i>ḅúri</i> fart	Alagwa <i>bur-</i> to fan; Qwadza <i>bul-</i> to blow
<i>bire</i> ^{Rp} rain, sky	Sid ^{HG} <i>birr-</i> to rain a heavy rain			
<i>búur</i> ^{Do} sandy country, sands	*buur-/*burr- sand, dust		<i>ḅúrone</i> dust	
<i>bírga</i> ^{Al} high	Oromo ^{Tu} <i>borga</i> hill			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>barar</i> ^{Wd} country-side, earth, rivulet = <i>beréer</i> , pl. <i>bérre</i> ^{Re} steppe, desert	* <i>barr</i> -/* <i>berr</i> -steppe, country	Awngi <i>bār</i> open terrain, clearing		Qwadza <i>balyiko</i> bare ground
<i>bayúk</i> ^{Se} snow	* <i>bok(k)</i> - rain	* <i>bəkwan-a</i> cloud		
<i>di'ε</i> ^{Rp} brand = stick burning at one end; <i>diyy'e</i> ^{Rp} spark	Afar <i>diyyi</i> carbon, powdered charcoal, soot; Yaaku <i>daai</i> , pl. <i>daai'</i> fire-stick			
<i>dabba</i> , <i>debba</i> , <i>dibba</i> ^{Rp} m. loose dry soil; mound (of earth soil, sand); bank f. moving sand hill(s)	* <i>diib</i> -/* <i>duub</i> -steppe, forest or * <i>zib</i> - uncultivated land	* <i>dəb[b]</i> -a hill, mountain or * <i>zəb[b]</i> - earth		
<i>deela</i> ^{Wd} hole, ditch	Som <i>dalool</i> hole, opening and/or <i>deli</i> pit-fall ?Tsamakko <i>deelo</i> flat plain			
<i>danger</i> ^{Rp} stone(s) of suitable size for missiles		* <i>dāngwər</i> / * <i>dəngwər</i> large stone, rock		
<i>dar</i> ^{HuB} edge, bank of khor	?Dirayta <i>tarr</i> relatively higher ground	* <i>dar</i> side, bank, shore		
<i>daráak</i> ^{Re} cold season, rainy period, winter				Iraqw <i>daraq</i> i coolness

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>dirreh</i> ^{Hs} plastic clay to making cooking pots	* <i>ḍarr-</i> /* <i>ḍeer-</i> argil/clay pot			
<i>dai</i> ^{Salt} moon	PSam * <i>záy(y)àḥ</i> Bayso ^{Nuuh + Ehret} <i>diginni</i> moon			
<i>doi</i> , pl. <i>doiyg</i> ^{HuB} path <i>doy</i> ^{Starkey} road	Som <i>daw</i> way, path Burji <i>daw(w)a</i> id.			
<i>dayay</i> earth, ground	* <i>diid-</i> plain	Khamir <i>dáadaa</i> steppe, desert		
<i>ḍ'(a)</i> ^{Rp} to patch, plaster (mud wall) <i>doo</i> ^{Re} clay	Som ^{Re} <i>ḍaaṣ</i> clay, mud		<i>dódoʔa</i> mud	
<i>ḍəhálay</i> ^{Rp} glowing ember	* <i>ḥilḥ-</i> ~ * <i>ḥulḥ-</i> charcoal	Khamir <i>ḥildena</i> coal	<i>ṭliḥa</i> embers	
<i>ḍéekwa</i> ^{Re} plate of clay for bread-baking	* <i>ḍokḳ-</i> mud or	?Qwara <i>daxwa</i> clay	<i>ḍokḳe</i> dust, mud	
<i>ḍom</i> ^{Rp} adv. downhill, downstream <i>ḍoḍm</i> ^{Hs} situated deeper, below, in the north	Gedeo <i>ḍi'mo</i> deep (of water), Sid <i>diime</i> deep (esp. river)			
<i>giig</i> ^{Wd} departure, passage	HECu * <i>goog-</i> /* <i>gogg-</i> road	* <i>gwəg</i> road		
<i>gos</i> ^{Rp} bouldery hill	* <i>ge(e)ṣ-</i> border, edge			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>gw'ad</i> ^{Rp} side; eye	Som ^{Re} <i>gawdi</i> , <i>goodi</i> edge			Asa <i>gide?</i> <i>e</i> ribs Qwadza <i>ge?</i> <i>elito</i> Iraqw <i>gwe?</i> <i>do</i> buttocks
<i>gwāb</i> ^{Rp} flat ground <i>gaab</i> ^{Wd} ground flat	* <i>gub(b)</i> - high- land		<i>gúβa</i> plains	
<i>hubi</i> ^{Wd} rainy season <i>hibe</i> ^{Rp} id.	Burji <i>haburšó</i> ^{HG} = <i>hubúršt</i> ^{Sasse} flood			Qwadza <i>hubuko</i> rain
<i>hibib</i> and <i>hubub</i> foam, froth, pl. <i>tj húbba</i> ^{Do}	* <i>humb</i> - foam, froth			
<i>hog</i> ^{HuB} lower land to which water flows	Som <i>hog</i> hole in the ground			
<i>hagaay</i> ^{Wd} sum- mer time	* <i>hagay</i> - rainy/ dry season	?Khamir <i>aya</i> summer (Bilin ^{Ap} <i>hagay</i> Khamir <i>hiya</i> dry season < EtSe < ECu)		
(w) <i>hal</i> ^{HuB} mud	Oromo <i>hola</i> hole in ground, ditch; Burji <i>hóoloo</i> ditch			
<i>humni</i> ^{Wd} after- noon <i>himni</i> ^{Rp} late afternoon	* <i>hi(i)m</i> - dark- ness of night * <i>hammeen</i> ^{EH} or * <i>himmeen</i> ^{He} night		<i>húma</i> night <i>húmane</i> tomor- row	
<i>húrba</i> , <i>hérbo</i> , <i>hárbo</i> ^{Re} bed of river, bay, steep slope, hill	* <i>hirrib</i> - corner of the eye or mouth			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>haas</i> ^{Rp} dust, earth, ground, land, country	?D'irayta <i>huss</i> earth			Iraqw <i>hasaŋ</i> sand Qwadza <i>hasinko</i> id. Asa <i>hajāt</i> id., earth
<i>hawaa</i> ^{Wd} evening, night	Or ^{Gg} (<i>h</i>)eda last night, Konso <i>aweqd</i> night Burji (<i>h</i>)iyedi night		<i>hèddo</i> evening	
<i>hooy</i> ^{Re} inside	Som <i>hooy</i> ^{Li} home, shelter			
<i>hayuuk</i> ^{Rp} star	* <i>hizk</i> -/* <i>huzk</i> - star			
<i>kambuul</i> ^{Wd} mountain <i>koṇbúul</i> ^{Re} hill, mountain	HECu * <i>kin</i> - stone, rock + Som <i>buur</i> mountain, bare-topped hill	Awngi <i>kán</i> mountain		
<i>kěd</i> ^{HS} block of rock	Burji <i>keddáa</i> hill			
<i>kūhii</i> , <i>khwi</i> ^{Rp} pl. first part of the night <i>akūhūt</i> ^{Rp} by night	?Tsaamakko <i>qayanqáy-hó</i> night <i>qayna</i> ^{Hy} tomorrow			
<i>kalq</i> ^{Hub} cold wind	Or <i>qilleensa</i> ^{Gg} wind; climate			
<i>kalaatána</i> ^{Rp} small stream; running water	Som ^{Ab} <i>kal</i> , pl. <i>kalo</i> depression full of water			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>kim</i> ^{Starkey} top	Afar-Saho <i>kooma</i> hill; Or (Orma) ^{Str} <i>kum-</i> <i>ma</i> top, climax, old age			
<i>kaar</i> ^{HuB} hillock	* <i>kar-</i> mountain peak			
<i>kiruum</i> , <i>keruum-</i> ^{Rp} the period immediately preceding dawn	?Som <i>qorraḥ</i> sun	* <i>kwār-a</i> sun		
<i>koriay</i> ^{HuB} (small) basin	Or ^{Bor} <i>kurre</i> small lake; Had ^{Ls} <i>kireeta</i> pond, pool	* <i>kwār-a</i> river		
<i>kwaakw</i> ^{HS} water found through dig- ging in sand	* <i>koyy-</i> wet			
<i>kwaan</i> ^{HuB} tor- rent, flood	Boni * <i>kòón</i> pond, lake; Waata ^{Str} <i>konnnoo</i> small lake	Awngi <i>kaan</i> edge of a river or torrent		
<i>kayay</i> ^{Rp} mud, clay	Som <i>qay</i> ^{Lu} puddle			
<i>l'a</i> ^{Rp} cold, cool	Afar <i>lee</i> , Saho <i>lay</i> water; Gedeo <i>lolaʔa</i> flood, torrent; Yaaku <i>leei</i> wa- ter, rain, dew	Qwara <i>lāwā</i> dew < * <i>la</i> *cold + <i>awǎā</i> air		
<i>lob</i> ^{Mu} stream channel	Bayso <i>lābu</i> riv- er; Sid <i>lawó</i> id.			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>lagi</i> ^{Rp} path, pathway, beaten track	Som <i>laag</i> water-channel, Bayso <i>lága</i> river-bank; Or Macha <i>laga</i> river Konso <i>laka</i> plain, outside, D'irayta <i>lak</i> place, space			Qwadza <i>lagalako</i> path, road
<i>léeha</i> ^{Re} morning <i>lhayt</i> ^{Wd} tomorrow	Afar <i>laaʕo</i> east, <i>laaʕyta</i> early morning after sunrise			
<i>lénda</i> ^{Re} shadow	Burji <i>lemm-óo</i> shadow (of man)	* <i>lämd-a</i> shadow		
<i>m'akwara</i> ^{Wd} 'cold, cold weather; <i>kwiiremír'aá</i> ^{Rp} weather, climate	Or Wellega <i>qorra</i> ^{Gg} to freeze, become cold, <i>qorraa</i> adj. which feels cold			
<i>maada</i> ^{Wd} pool <i>maadg</i> ^{HuB} deep water (sea)	Or Wellega ^{Gg} <i>madda</i> water; last drop of water, Borana ^{Str} <i>maddoo</i> spring, oasis; Burji <i>máddo</i> spring			
<i>meha</i> ^{Rp} morning; East	Afar <i>maàha</i> early morning, Saho <i>maḥ-</i> to dawn, <i>máaḥā</i> time before dawn; Yaaku <i>imehef</i> tomorrow			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>mōoy</i> ^{His} small mountain <i>moi</i> ^{Rp} crown of head, top	Afar <i>moyya</i> brain, head, skull			
<i>n'a</i> and <i>n'e</i> ^{Re} fire, fever <i>n'q</i> and <i>n'e</i> fire, <i>na'a</i> ^{HuB} hot	Afar <i>niṣna</i> fever, heat, <i>niṣnà-le</i> to be hot			
<i>re</i> , <i>ri</i> ^{Rp} well <i>ri</i> ^{Wd} well, water hole	Bayso ^{Hb} <i>ra</i> hole Elmolo <i>rāa</i> cave			
<i>r'e</i> ^{Rp} small subsidiary khor	Dullay: Har-so-Dobase <i>rāṣṣe</i> gorge, ravine, valley			
<i>rimiab</i> ^{HuB} on heat	Afar <i>rama</i> hot ashes remaining from a fire; Arbore <i>róm̄m</i> , Elmolo <i>rôm</i> Yaaku <i>hroon</i> id.			
<i>ror</i> ^{Rp} potholes in khor	Or <i>raaree</i> ^{Gg} pool Sid <i>rirriwá</i> marsh, swamp			
<i>s'aay</i> ^{Wd} dew <i>s'ay</i> , <i>s'a'y</i> ^{Rp} mist, fog		* <i>səw-a</i> rain		Iraqw <i>tsaʔ</i> cold Qwadza <i>tsaʔu</i> -id. Maa <i>sa'a</i> cold, wind
<i>sagi</i> ^{Rp} distant	* <i>seg-</i> /* <i>sog-</i> far	Bilin <i>səḡwət</i> / <i>səḡut</i> far, distant		Asa <i>sanga</i> far Qwadza <i>sagumu</i> NWRift * <i>sag-</i> / * <i>seg-</i>
<i>sánay</i> ^{Rp} stream of running water	SOromo <i>sona</i> ^{Str} bank of a river, riverside		<i>sòðni</i> river	Maa <i>sondá</i> valley

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>senáy</i> ^{Re} early autumn	Afar <i>saaniyya</i> cold dampness, <i>saaniyyu</i> cold west wind			
<i>suura</i> ^{Rp} well, watering-place	SOr ^{Str} <i>sora</i> (~ ś-) season of rains			
<i>šiq</i> ^{HuB} wa-ter-hole digged in khor = <i>šiha</i> ^{Star} shallow small well = <i>šyäh</i> ^{Is} rich water digged in wadi		Awngi <i>soyen</i> wet Kunfāl <i>sekhwan</i> id.		Maa - <i>síwa</i> to be wet, - <i>sí</i> to rain
<i>wi'i</i> and <i>ye</i> ^{HuB} winter <i>wíya</i> ^{Rp} winter rain(s)	* <i>waf</i> -/* <i>wif</i> - flowing water			
<i>wúha</i> ^{Re} lowland, valley, depth, <i>úhi</i> , <i>wáhi</i> , <i>yúih</i> ^{Al} below, under < * <i>u-bah</i> -	Afar <i>baahat</i> deep place in the sea			
<i>wer</i> ^{Kc} river	* <i>war</i> - river, pool, marsh; * <i>waraab</i> - to draw water	* <i>wäräb</i> -a river-course		
<i>yaḍa</i> ^{Wd} wet, damp <i>yeḍa</i> ^{Re} to be wet, damp, green, unripe	* <i>ṣayḍ</i> - raw, unripe			NWRift * <i>ṣeetl</i> fresh, raw, unripe Ma'a <i>ihlé</i> unripe

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
<i>yam</i> water, <i>ayam</i> ^{HUB} low	Jiddu ^{NUUX} <i>yan</i> earth			Iraqw <i>yamu</i> under, below Burunge <i>yamu</i> place; district; under, below ?Qwadza <i>hamuko</i> under, below
<i>yiin</i> ^{RP} sun, sun- light, heat, day	Sid, Gedeo <i>yan- na</i> time; Yaaku <i>in id.</i>			

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Abbreviations of languages, dialects and language groups

AA	Afroasiatic	Hb	Hebrew
Akk	Akkadian	IE	Indo-European
Am	Amar'ar	Kamb	Kambatta
Amh	Amhara	L	Lowland
Ar	Arabic	Med	Medical Texts (Egyptian)
Aram	Aramaic	MK	Middle Kingdom (Egyptian)
BA	Beni Amer	N	North
BD	Book of the Dead (Egyptian)	NK	New Kingdom (Egyptian)
Be	Berber	Nub	Nubian
Bi	Bisharin	OK	Old Kingdom (Egyptian)
Bib	Biblical	Om	Omoti
Ch	Chadic	Or	Oromo
Copt	Coptic	p	proto-
Cu	Cushitic	Pyr	Pyramid Texts (Egyptian)
Dem	Demotic	Rend	Rendille
E	East	S	South
Eg	Egyptian (see BD 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
Hdd	Hadandiwa	Ug	Ugaritic
		W	West

Abbreviations of authors

Ab	Abraham	Ds	Doornbos
Ae	Abebe	Eb	Ebert
Al	Almkvist	EG	Erman and Grapow
AMS	Amborn, Minker, and Sasse	Eh	Ehret
Ap	Appleyard	El	Elderkin
Ba	Barth	Fc	Foucauld
Be	Bender	Fl	Fleming
BG	Bechhaus-Gerst	Fr	Freytag
Bk	Beke	GD	Gaudefroy-Demombynes
Bl	Black	Gg	Gragg
Bs	Bliese	GP	Galboran and Pillinger
Bu	Burckhardt	Gr	Greenberg
Ce	Cerulli	Gt	Grottanelli
Ci	Cifoletti	Hb	Haberland
Cp	Caprile	He	Heine
CR	Conti Rossini	Hf	Hoffmann
Cw	Cowley	HG	Grover Hudson
Do	Dolgopolsky	Hs	Hess

Ht	Hetzron	Nw	Newman
HuB	Hudson's Beja field notes rewritten by Blench	On	Ongaye Oda
Hy	Hayward	Pa	Parker
Ib	Ibrizimow	Pl	Palmer
Jg	Jungraithmayr	RB	René Basset
JgIb	Jungraithmayr and Ibrizimow 1994	Re	Reinisch
Jh	Johnstone	Rn	Renisio
Kc	Krockow	Rp	Roper
Ki	Kiessling	Sa	Sasse
Km	Kremer	Sb	Seignobos
KM	Kiessling and Mous	Se	Seetzen
La	Laoust	Sg	Steingass
Lb	Lamberti	Sk	Skinner
Lf	Lanfry	St	Strumpell
Lg	Lafarge	Star	Starkey
LH	Littmann and Höfner	Th	Thompson
Lk	Lukas	Tl	Thelwall
Lo	Loubignac	Tn	Thiene
Lp	Lepsius	To	Tosco
Lr	Larajasse	Tu	Tutschek
Ls	Leslau	Tx	Tourneux
LVC	Leus, Van de Loo, and Cotter	Ve	Venturino
Mc	Mouchet	Vh	Vanhove
Me	Meinhof	Vi	Viterbo
Mo	Moreno	Wb.	Erman and Grapow
Mq	Masqueray	Wd	Wedekind (K. Wedekind, Ch. Wedekind, and Abuzeinab Musa)
Ms	Mous	We	Welters
Mt	Morton	WPS	Hannig and Vomberg
Mu	Munzinger	Wr	Wehr
Ng	Nachtigal	Wt	Watson
Nk	Nakano	ZL	Zealelem Leyew

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