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**DOCTORI
CESLAVO SRZEDNICKI
VIRO NOBILISSIMO
ET
HUMANISSIMO
IN MEMORIAM**

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 57 (2020)

Contents

List of Contributors.	7
Notes for Contributors	8
A Few Introductory Words by Editorial Board.	9

Articles

SERGIO BALDI	
Arabic Influence in West Africa: An Overview	11
Václav BLAŽEK	
An Excerpt from the COMPARATIVE AND ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF BEJA: ANATOMICAL LEXICON.	25
Gábor TAKÁCS	
Angas-Sura Etymologies VIII.	127

Review Articles

Álvaro SUÁREZ ORTIZ	
Panace@: <i>Revista de medicina, lenguaje y traducción. Volumen XX, n° 50.</i> Barcelona: Tremédica, 2019, 122 pp. ISSN 1537-1964.	161
Mateusz M. KŁAGISZ, Oskar PODLASIŃSKI	
A Few Comments on K. Salehi and A. Nazar's "A Description of Fire Temples of Ancient Iran from the Perspective of Islamic Historians", <i>Folia Orientalia</i> LV (2018), 411-425.	165

Reviews

Stanisław Adam Jaśkowski, <i>Parcham – Journal of Ahmad Kasravi and His Followers.</i> <i>A Snapshot from the History of Press in Iran</i> , Warszawa: Dialog, 2018, 227 pp. ISBN 978-83-8002-736-7 (by Anna Krasnowolska)	171
<i>Ethnographical Texts in Moroccan Berber (Dialect of Anti-Atlas)</i> , Collected by Aki'o Nakano, Translated and Annotated by John Cooper, Berber Studies, Volume 50, Köln: Köppe Verlag, 2017, 379 pp. ISBN 978-3-89645-950-3 (by Valentina Schiattarella).	175
List of Lectures at the Meetings of the Commission of Oriental Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Kraków Branch) (2019/2020).	177

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 57

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Notes for Contributors

The scholarly journal *Folia Orientalia* was founded in 1959 by Professor Tadeusz Lewicki, a prominent Polish Arabist. It is published by the Orientalist Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Kraków. Professor Lewicki's editorial work was continued by Professor Andrzej Zaborski, who specialized in the comparative linguistics of Semitic-African languages. *Folia Orientalia* focuses on Oriental studies (on the Near, Middle and Far East, and Africa). The periodical covers the research fields of linguistics, literature, history, archaeology, religious studies and anthropology.

The contributors are kindly asked to submit their papers in English, German, French, Italian, or Russian.

- Contributions sent to *Folia Orientalia* should not be submitted to any other journal or publishers, nor should they have been previously published elsewhere in any language.
- All articles and reviews should be based on original research.
- Each article will be anonymously assessed by two independent referees.
- Text copies accepted for publication will not be returned.
- There is no standard length of articles, but usually up to 25 pages of approximately 1,800 characters per page is the best option.
- Contributors are requested to send **one Word and one PDF copy in the Times New Roman Fonts**. All the fonts used in the paper, except for **Times New Roman**, should be enclosed. The Authors are also kindly asked to append abstracts and key words.
- Maps, photos and other illustrative material which cannot be edited by Word, should be produced in clear copies on separate sheets.
- The authors are requested to give their affiliation and e-mail addresses.

A Few Introductory Words

The present volume of *Folia Orientalia* is a collection of articles gathered by Professor Tomasz Polański, the current editor-in-chief, who has recently retired. Thanks to his conscientious work over the course of seven consecutive years, subsequent volumes of *Folia Orientalia* were published every year, for which we are grateful to him. Now the time has come to choose a new editor-in-chief, and during the interregnum we, the undersigned, have decided to complete the already commenced edition of volumes 57 and 58.

For future volumes we invite authors who have already published their research and review articles here as well as new contributors. Completing Professor Polański's work and presenting it in this journal, we would like to express our sincere gratitude to all the authors who contributed to the volume, and to all the assessors of the articles who kindly agreed to evaluate the papers.

The volume, as intended by Professor Polański, is dedicated to Dr Czesław Szrednicki (born 1927), a member of the Commission of Oriental Studies of the Polish Academy Sciences (Kraków Branch), who passed away in May 2020.

The late Dr Szrednicki was one of the first to enrol in the Department of Oriental Philology at the Jagiellonian University, when it reopened after World War II (in 1945). Although he later obtained a doctorate in law and economics and worked as a lawyer for a technical institution, he never abandoned his passion for Oriental studies. For many years, he participated in the activities of the Commission of Oriental Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Kraków Branch) and supported it with his wise advice and experience.

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A r t i c l e s

Literature and Linguistics

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Arabic Influence in West Africa: An Overview¹

Abstract

The Arabic influence in West Africa has been studied from the perspectives of linguistics, anthropology, culture and religion. This paper will discuss both the common and divergent aspects of this influence, not only on linguistic material but also on anthropological data. This does not mean that only anthropological data has influenced the languages dealt with, but the donor language is also studied under the perspectives of what is transferred to the recipient. So, for example, Kanuri has been influenced by Arabic loan words for centuries, whereas all the minor languages in the wider Mega-Chad area and even in West Africa received Arabic loan words rather late. This gives us a kind of chronology whereby the *linguae francae* – simply because of their great numbers of speakers – cannot be neglected. An example is Hausa, which from its strong influence on other languages might be heavily responsible for that transmission. Another fact that cannot be ignored is the Fulfulde. Through their historical migrations over the whole Savanna belt of West Africa, they have been considered as carriers of Islam and thus, through the spread of Islam, have infiltrated the various ethnic groups with many loan words. Therefore this paper provides a concise overview of the work done so far on West African languages.

Keywords

West Africa, Arabic, Kanuri, Fulfulde, Hausa.

¹ This paper was originally presented at 2nd SyWAL (Symposium on West African Languages, Vienna 27-29 October 2016), whose Acts have never been published.

Introduction

In this communication, through an examination of the statistics concerning Arab loans in some West African languages, we will try to give an explanation of the paths and modalities that some terms have taken in their diffusion. The arrival of the Arabs and the consequent spread of Islam in Africa undoubtedly led to a great influence of Arabic on many local languages. Apart from the lexicon connected to the new religion, new concepts and terms were introduced by a culture that was immediately perceived as superior, above all in its link to the Koran that is to a written book: a highly innovative factor in the local cultures, which were exclusively oral. The process of diffusion of Islam was slow and often accepted by the dominant classes in a superficial way, for reasons of prestige, while it remained marginal for most of the population. An examination of the nature of loan words in the various languages reveals certain characteristics. The spread of Islam often took place at first among local converts and not from direct Arab contact, as demonstrated by Mervyn Hiskett (1965: 18) in his study of the Hausa language, where there is often the presence of terms from the same lemma but in different forms, since in the first instance they derived from Arabic forms as spoken by converts, and only later, from the classical Arabic used by native-speakers who gradually infiltrated from North Africa and Egypt. Arab interest in spreading the new religion to these lands is shown by the fact that, although the prophet Muḥammad never arrived at Lake Chad, he sent his uncle there.

Loan words are more numerous in widely spoken languages. One thinks of Hausa and Fulfulde, or of languages, such as Kanuri, which was the expression of a militarily organized population that had created a strong state in the Borno region. It was later the Kanuri, who, after having accepted many terms from Arabic, disseminated them in their modified forms, enabling, *inter alia*, Jan Knappert (1970: 79), in an interesting article, to talk of travel-words, that is, loan words that passed from one language to another and were present over large geographical areas, as will be seen later through numerous examples.

In this kind of analysis it should also be noted that the data recorded in the Tables are provided to give an idea of the presence of Arabic loan words in the various languages, but it can in no way be considered completely reliable. In fact, they depend on various factors: the number of existing dictionaries for certain languages (i.e. Hausa), often related to geographical areas with different dialects (i.e. Fulfulde), the size by number of words in a dictionary (i.e. Tumak), the attitude of the population in preserving its own language (see for example the case of Kwami, where the elderly strenuously resisted the influx of Hausa, the pre-eminent language in the region, in order to preserve their own idiom) and, not to be underestimated, the aims of a dictionary compiler (i.e. Masa), whose religious bias was unfavorable to Islam.

My study here focuses on West African languages, for two reasons: first I mention the geography understood as the whole Sub-Saharan Sudan zone ranging from the Senegambia region up to what is now the Chad Republic. This geographical

zone can be considered a kind of melting pot of various peoples and their languages around the hub of Lake Chad. The region is characterized by having no natural borders, (such as tall mountains), which makes it very favourable for heavy migrations over long distances. The second reason is that this accessibility – apart from the Trans-Saharan routes – favoured the spread of Islam. Both reasons therefore facilitated the introduction of Arabic loan words into the various languages spoken in the entire Sudan zone. Here we find more than eight hundred languages, which can be classified into the three phyla, i.e. Niger-Congo, Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan. Of these three main stocks I have chosen the most representative languages spoken in that vast region. It will be obvious in this article that Afro-Asiatic languages, and in particular Chadic languages, outnumber those belonging to Niger-Congo and Nilo-Saharan. This is due to the fact that my main studies have concentrated on these languages because of their greater exposure to Islamic expansion.

On the basis of the data extrapolated from my *Dictionnaire* (Baldi 2008) and given here, I have reached the following conclusions, according to the three big language phyla:

A – Afro-Asiatic (Table 1)

TABLE 1a

Language	Loans	Nouns	Verbs	Others	Speakers	Linguistic family
Bole	7	7	-	-	100.000	Afro-Asiatic, West Chadic
Hausa	1245	1051	165	29	50.000.000	Afro-Asiatic, West Chadic
Kwami	3	3	-	-	10.000	Afro-Asiatic, West Chadic
Ngizim	81	72	4	5	80.000	Afro-Asiatic, West Chadic
Pero	11	8	1	2	25.000	Afro-Asiatic, West Chadic
Tangale	3	3	-	-	200.000	Afro-Asiatic, West Chadic
Total	1350	1144	170	36	50.415.000	

TABLE 1b

Buduma	52	50	1	1	55.000	Afro-Asiatic, Central Chadic, Biu-Mandara
Giziga	11	8	-	3	80.000 ¹	Afro-Asiatic, Central Chadic, Biu-Mandara
Kotoko	111	106	-	5	49.071	Afro-Asiatic, Central Chadic, Biu-Mandara

¹ According to Ethnologue the speakers are divided into 20.000 for North Giziga and 60.000 for South Giziga.

Logone	64	61	3	-	10.000	Afro-Asiatic, Central Chadic, Biu-Mandara
Mafa	6	6	-	-	215.000	Afro-Asiatic, Central Chadic, Biu-Mandara
Malgwa	35	31	-	4	44.000	Afro-Asiatic, Central Chadic, Biu-Mandara
Masa	37	31	4	2	230.000	Afro-Asiatic, Chadic
Mofu-Gudur	16	14	-	2	90.000	Afro-Asiatic, Central Chadic, Biu-Mandara
Munjuk ²	95	83	-	12	61.500	Afro-Asiatic, Central Chadic, Biu-Mandara
Uldeme	14	12	-	2	10.500	Afro-Asiatic, Central Chadic, Biu-Mandara
Total	441	402	8	31	889.071	

TABLE 1c

Bidiya	196	157	37	2	14.000	Afro-Asiatic, East Chadic
Dangaleat (West)	307	275	32	-	60.000	Afro-Asiatic, East Chadic
Dangaleat (East)	138	117	12	9		Afro-Asiatic, East Chadic
Kera	1	1	-	-	50.000	Afro-Asiatic, East Chadic
Migama	144	71	61	12	20.000	Afro-Asiatic, East Chadic
Mokilko	178	146	15	17	12.000	Afro-Asiatic, East Chadic
Mubi	174	76	93	5	35.000	Afro-Asiatic, East Chadic
Tumak	10	10	-	-	25.000	Afro-Asiatic, East Chadic
Total	1148	853	250	45	216.000	

² This name refers to a group of about 80,000 people living in Cameroon and Chad. In literature, we also call them mousgou, muzgu, mousgoum, musuk, muzuk, mulwi, vulum (see Jungraithmayr & Möhlig 1983:171).

Considering Afro-Asiatic, I have taken into account 23 languages belonging to the Western, Central and Eastern Chadic Branches. From them I have formed the following picture: of the five East Chadic languages (Bidiya, Dangaleat East and West, Migama, Mokilko, Mubi, Tumak) there is a total of 1148 loan words, which – as I did for the other charts – can be divided into three sections: nouns,

verbs and others. Here again the distribution we find is: 853 nouns, 250 verbs and 45 other words, i.e. particles and interjections. Dangaleat displays the highest number of loan words (307), followed by Mokilko (178) and Mubi (174), which show basically the same, as does, more or less, Migama (144). The last language, Tumak, displays only 10 loan words, all nouns. According to the number of speakers, which roughly number around 250,000, one realizes that the influx of Islam followed a westward trajectory that determined the geographical distribution of the above-mentioned languages.

There are ten Central Chadic languages - Buduma, Gisiga, Kotoko, Logone, Mafa, Malgwa, Masa, Mofu-Gudur, Munjuk, Ouldeme - whose features are as follows. There is a total number of 441 loan words: Four or two to four nouns, eight verbs, and 31 particles and interjections. Roughly one million people speak these languages. From the number of loan words it can be seen, because of the local geography, that the Central Chadi languages were less affected by the advent of Islamisation.

The West Chadic languages - Bole, Hausa, Kwami, Ngizim, Pero and Tangale - contain a total of 1350 loan words: 1144 nouns, 170 verbs and 36 particles and interjections. The high number is explained by the presence of Hausa, which alone accounts for 1245 loan words, of which 1051 are nouns, 165 verbs and 29 other words. So the extreme number of loan words should not be overestimated since the total number of speakers is roughly 51 to 52 million. Here one can recognize the role of *lingua franca*, which Hausa displays in Central West Africa. It is therefore not amazing that Tangale on the Southern fringe of West Chadic extension has only 3 loan words. It is not so strange that Islam had its greatest influence on Hausa since to this day Islamisation has found its greatest proselytizer in Hausa and Hausa mallams.

B – Nilo-Saharan (Table 2)

Concerning the Nilo-Saharan phylum, the following languages were researched for loan words: Bagirmi, Dendi, Kanuri, Mbay, Sar, Songhay, Teda, Tubu and Zarma.

In a geographical grouping, the languages spoken in the East are Teda, Tubu, Zarma, Mbay and Sar. Here we find 260 loan words, distributed as follows: 221 nouns, 12 verbs and 27 particles and interjections.

Westward we deal with the Bagirmi and Kanuri languages, whose total number of loan words is 552, which again are distributed into 12 verbs and 26 other words, i.e. particles and interjections. Not surprisingly, Kanuri displays a high number of loan words (481) since it is the most important *lingua franca* in the Lake Chad area.

The two remaining languages are Dendi and Songhay, where the number of loan words is 561, 405 of which are verbs and 43 particles and interjections. The high number of loan words in Songhay is not so surprising since it also functions as a *lingua franca* in Mali and in Burkina Faso.

TABLE 2

Language	Loans	Nouns	Verbs	Others	Speakers	Linguistic family
Baguirmi	71	66	4	1	45.000	Nilo-Saharan
Dendi	8	8	-	-	32.000	Nilo-Saharan
Kanuri	481	448	8	25	4.000.000	Nilo-Saharan
Mandjia	1	1	-	-		Nilo-Saharan
Mbay	113	94	2	17	90.000	Nilo-Saharan
Sar	106	91	6	9	180.000	Nilo-Saharan
Songhay	553	397	113	43	3.000.000	Nilo-Saharan
Teda	14	14	-	-	42.500	Nilo-Saharan
Tubu	27	22	4	1	2.500.000	Nilo-Saharan
Zarma	5	5	-	-	2.400.000	Nilo-Saharan
Total	1379	1146	137	96	12.289.500	

The conclusion is that only 1378 loan words in all are found in the Nilo-Saharan family, of which 1145 are nouns, 137 verbs and 96 other words. If we consider the expansion of Islam towards West Africa and also the early Islamisation of the Songhay people, it is not surprising that this language, with its approximately 3 million speakers, played an important role, superseded only by Kanuri, with its approximately 4 million speakers. The estimated total number of speakers of the Nilo-Saharan family – at least those we have researched above – is roughly 14 million.

C – The last phylum here described is Niger-Congo (Table 3). We have made the following classification to facilitate loan word distribution:

1) The Gur family

The following 8 languages are included in the Gur family: Buli, Dagara, Dagbani, Gurenne, Gurma, Moore, Sisaala and Vagla. Their total number of loan words is 414. Within this distribution there are 371 nouns and 20 verbs. The remaining 23 words are particles and interjections. Among those 8 languages Dagbani and Moore have the highest number of loan words: 261. This is not surprising since these two languages, with their roughly two million speakers, have the greatest extension with respect to the others. They were also Islamised early on, forming Islamic centres from which the religion spread to smaller surrounding ethnic groups such as the Buli, the Gurenne, the Gurma, the Sisaala and the Vagla. The total number of Gur language speakers is estimated at roughly 6.5 million.

TABLE 3a

Language	Loans	Nouns	Verbs	Oth- ers	Speakers	Linguistic family
Bariba	31	27	3	1	560.000	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo
Boko	60	55	-	5	150.000	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo
Dogon	92	82	5	5	600.000	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo
Fulfulde	614	563	22	29	20.000.000	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo
Lamé	11	11	-	-	10.000	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo
Limba	25	23	1	1	340.000	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo
Nupe	88	84	-	4	800.000	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo
Senufo ³	18	15	2	1	2.700.000	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo
Serer	50	43	6	1	1.200.000	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo
Sherbro	10	7	3	-	140.000	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo
Temne	33	27	6	-	2.000.000	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo
Wolof	216	184	19	13	3.976.500	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo
Yoruba	104	91	6	7	28.000.000	Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo
Total	1352	1212	73	67	60.476.500	

³ Under the name of this language, I also quote the mimeo document data by Prost (1983), classified as Minianka. Garber (1987) estimates the total number of Senufos at some 1.5 million; the Ethnologue, based on various population estimates, counts 2.7 million.

2) The Mande Family

TABLE 3b

Bambara	227	185	32	10	2.772.340	Niger-Congo, Mande
Bisa	17	16	-	1	590.000	Niger-Congo, Mande
Bokobaru	71	68	-	3	67.000	Niger-Congo, Mande
Bozo	148	127	17	4	230.000	Niger-Congo, Mande
Bɔbɔ	87	65	17	5	220.000	Niger-Congo, Mande
Busa	83	73	5	5	110.000	Niger-Congo, Mande
Dioula	7	5	2	-	2.500.000	Niger-Congo, Mande
Kpele	32	28	2	2	1.300.000	Niger-Congo, Mande

Mandinka	116	85	25	6	1.300.000	Niger-Congo, Mande
Maninka	125	101	12	12	5.000.000	Niger-Congo, Mande
Mende	57	52	3	2	1.500.000	Niger-Congo, Mande
Samo	32	29	1	2	230.000	Niger-Congo, Mande
Sembla	10	10	-	-	17.000	Niger-Congo, Mande
Soninke	108	90	17	1	1.000.000	Niger-Congo, Mande
Susu	97	82	11	4	1.060.000	Niger-Congo, Mande
Total	1217	1016	144	57	17.896.340	

Within the Mande Family we have taken into account the following 15 languages: Bambara, Bisa, Bokobaru, Boso, Bɔbɔ, Busa, Dyula, Kpelle, Mandinka, Manninka, Mende, Samo, Sembla, Soninke and Susu. The total number of their loan words is 1217: 1176 nouns and verbs and 65 particles and interjections. The total number of Mande language family speakers taken into consideration here is roughly 17 million.

TABLE 3c

Buli	22	19	2	1	150.000	Niger-Congo, Gur
Dagara	6	5	1	-	1.100.000	Niger-Congo, Gur
Dagbani	151	145	1	5	830.000	Niger-Congo, Gur
Gurenne	24	20	1	3	720.000	Niger-Congo, Gur
Gurma	47	38	5	4	1.700.000	Niger-Congo, Gur
Moore	110	97	7	6	7.600.000	Niger-Congo, Gur
Sisaala	35	32	1	2	180.000	Niger-Congo, Gur
Vagla	19	15	2	2	14.000	Niger-Congo, Gur
Total	414	371	20	23	12.294.000	

3) The Atlantic Family

Within the Atlantic Family we deal with the following 13 languages: Bariba, Boko, Dogon, Fulfulde, Lame, Limba, Nupe, Senufo, Sereer, Sherbro, Temne, Wolof and Yoruba, the total number of whose loan words is 1352: 1212 nouns, 73 verbs and 67 particles and interjections. It is no big surprise that among all these languages 3 are of the utmost importance: Fulfulde, Wolof and Yoruba. Apart from the fact that speakers of Wolof and Yoruba constitute a very large population and therefore have an enormous impact on neighbouring languages, Fulfulde – with a total number of

614 loan words – is of the greatest importance in the Sub-Saharan region. The Fulani were to a great extent the nomadic transporters of Islam throughout West Africa from the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries on. Through their influence most of the peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa became Islamised and the process of Islamisation still goes on today. Their greatest expansion took place in Senegambia (cf. Wolof), Masina (cf. Songhay), Nigeria (cf. Hausa and Yoruba) and Cameroon-Chad. The population of all the above-mentioned can be estimated at 35 million.

These figures show only the trend of Arabic loan words as a whole, but they say next to nothing about which terms entered most frequently into these languages, their peculiarities from both a phonetic and semantic point of view. Let us examine certain features of the principal languages.

Hiskett (1984:1-2) observes in his book that: "Islam came to the west and central Sudan, not directly from Arabia where the Prophet Muḥammad first preached it in AD 610, but little by little from North Africa and Egypt, across the Sahara and then down into the savanna. That this could happen was largely due to the relatively recent introduction of the camel, for without that essentially beast of burden the great Saharan caravan routes could not have developed and the desert would have remained a more formidable obstacle to human intercourse than in fact it did." Some Islamic influences may have entered western Sudan as early as the 7th century. The spreaders of Islam were of various stocks: Berbers, Africans from the Atlantic coast, and nomadic Arabs who had drifted into the Sahara from the Nile. One ethnic group that contributed to spreading Islam in West Africa was the Dyulas of Mande origins, also known by the name of Wangarawa².

In Hausa the loan words arrived in two distinct periods, as shown by Hiskett (1965:18-26), in his critique of Greenberg's article (1947:85-97): a first stage, when Islam was introduced by the Wangarawa, the Mandingo people, and a second one directly by the Arabic *mallams*. One example is given by *dōlè* 'compulsion' and *daulà* 'power' which show that the second is closer to the Arabic *daula* (Wehr 1966:302b) 'power'. I have used this example because the same phenomenon occurs in a language spoken in a different part of Africa, Swahili, where we find *dola* and *daulati* meaning 'government'. Apart from this, Hausa also has the highest Arabic verb loans, not only among Chadic languages, but among all the languages examined. This for two clear reasons: Hausa, being a Chadic language used as a lingua franca, was more in contact with Arabic speaking peoples and its verb system was close to that of Arabic. Here are some examples from Hausa (Baldi 1989: 285-301), where even the Arabic form system influenced the Hausa grade system:

Hausa *hàlārɔ̀* 'to attend' < AR *ḥaḍara* (Wehr 1966:183b) 'to attend' and Hausa *hallàrɔ̀* 'to send for P.' < AR *ḥaḍḍara* II (Wehr 1966:184a) 'to fetch, get, bring'; Hausa *hàlakà* 'to perish; to die' < AR *halaka* I (Wehr 1966:1031b) 'to perish; to die' and Hausa *hallàkà* 'to perish; to die' < AR *hallaka* II (Wehr 1966:1031b) 'to ruin, destroy'.

² A possible explanation on the origin of this name is given by Hiskett (1984:45).

Another peculiarity of Arabic loan words was the shift of word meanings related to sexual anatomy, where the introduction of such words as *azakàrĩ* ‘penis’, completely unnecessary, modified the old Chadic word, *bũrā*, as scurrilous, though this is not limited to Hausa, for we also find it in other languages, such as Fulfulde, Kanuri, Mandinka and Wolof (Baldi 2009: 150).

The second most prominent language for the diffusion of Islam was Fulfulde. Apart from the high number of noun loans, the verbs are very few, but it is an idiom belonging to a different linguistic stock. Fulfulde was very influential in spreading Arabic loan words, sometimes via other languages: AR *qubba* (Wehr 1966:737b) ‘cupola ; kubba (esp., of a saint)’ > Fulfulde *hubbāre*, pl. *kubbāje* ‘tomb, sanctuary, shrine’ > Hausa *hubbārè* ‘tomb of a religious leader’, where Fulfulde felt the Arabic word as a plural and constructed the singular according to its own class system.

Fulfulde spread Arabic loan words mainly in:

Dogon: FU *moodibbo* ‘Muslim ; marabou’ (< AR *mu’addib* (Wehr 1966:10a) ‘educator’ > *módibò* ‘marabou’;

Lamé: FU *jība* ‘pocket’ (< AR *jaib* (Wehr 1966:150b) ‘pocket’) > *dzībà*;

Masa: FU *paatuuru* ‘cat’ (< AR *batū* (JdP 258a) ‘cat’) > *pàtùrú*;

Mofu-Gudur: FU *amma* ‘but’ (< AR *ammā* (Wehr 1966:26a) ‘but’) > *amá*;

Munjuk: FU *sirla*, *sarla* ‘trousers’ (< AR *sirwāl* (Wehr 1966:408b) ‘trousers, pants’) > *sìrlà*;

Tupuri: FU *tūbu* ‘repentance’ (< AR *tauba* (Wehr 1966:98b) ‘repentance’) > *tuba* ‘forgiveness’.

The various Fulfulde dialects sometimes had a special impact in transmitting the Arabic loan words: one of these examples is given by *wallifa* v. ‘to compose’ (< AR *allifa* II (Wehr 1966:23a) ‘to compose’) > HA *wàllafā* v. ‘to compose (book)’. In Hausa, the passage of the loan via Fulfulde explains the Arab /ʔ/ > Hausa /w/, which otherwise is very rare, but common to Fulfulde’s Western dialects (Baldi 1991:85).

Another case of the interference of Fulfulde dialects is given, again with Hausa, by *mangariba* ‘sunset’ (< AR *maḡrib* (Wehr 1966:669a) ‘place or time of sunset’) > HA *màngàrībā* ‘time between sunset’, because AR /ḡ/ > FU /g/⁴ or /ḡ/⁵.

Kanuri is another important language for Islam in West Africa, as I have remarked in a previous article (Baldi 2011:45-55), where I focus on some aspects of loan words. Kanuri used some prefixes no longer in use in the language, so we can date, more or less, when the Arabic loan word arrived in the language. Here I give one example of a couple of prefixes (*k+* and *n+*):

³ It is a voiced velar, see Bateson (1967:4).

⁴ It is a plosive velar, see Arnott (1977:240).

⁵ It is a prenasalised velar, see Arnott (1977:240).

Kanuri *kə́násar*⁶ (Cyffer & Hutchison 1990:91b) ‘victory’ < AR *naṣr* (Wehr 1966: 970a);

Kanuri *ngádar*⁷ (Cyffer & Hutchison 1990:133a) ‘calumny, slander’ < AR *ḡadr* (Wehr 1966:666a) ‘perfidy, breach of faith, betrayal, treason, treachery’.

There are also cases where the transposition of the act of doing something becomes in the borrower languages the person doing the action: *adān* ‘call to prayer’ becomes in Kanuri *ladān* ‘muezzin’ and it will pass with this meaning into other languages. A similar case arises for *ḥajjām*⁸ ‘suckers setter’ that will pass, but only into Kanuri via Songhay, as *wanzām* with the meaning of ‘barber profession’.

From a linguistic point of view, the presence of so many Arabic loan words in the languages spoken in West Africa indicates some general common features. First, the loan words dealt not only with the new religious sphere, which was attractive for its simplicity and collocation in a written book, the Quran, but also all human activities. For example, the word *sūq* (Wehr 1966:443a) ‘market’, which is present in more than nineteen languages (Baldi 2008:263, no. 1402), is here cited with just a few examples: Bambara *sugu*, Hausa (via Kanuri) *kāsuwā*, Kanuri *kasúwu*, Kotoko (via Kanuri) *gásə̀gbí*, Munjuk (via Kanuri) *kàskú*, Pero (via Hausa) *kásúwà*, Tubu (via Kanuri) *kasúgu*.

If we consider the loan words related to trade, the number becomes very high: *baiʿa* (Wehr 1966:86b) ‘agreement, arrangement; business, transaction; sale’, which gives Hausa *biyā* v. ‘payer’ and Kanuri *bíya* ‘payment’ and *lèwáyà* ‘market business’; *raḵṣa* v. (Wehr 1966:332a) ‘to be cheap’ giving Dangaleat ‘bon marché’, Hausa *rùhusà* ‘cheapness’ and *àrāhā* ‘cheapness’, Migama *rākīs* adj. ‘bon marché’, Songhay *yaraasu*, *yeraasu* ‘être facile’; *wa-lā baiʿa* (Wehr 1966:852a) ‘there is no sale’ > Hausa *wàlā baiʿu* adv. / n. ‘cheap, gratis’; *habaṭa* v. (Wehr 1966:1016b) ‘to descend; to fall down; to slump (prices)’ and *būti* / *būtīn* adj. (JdP 286a) ‘bon marché, peu cher’ > Dangaleat *búùti* ‘pas cher, bon marché’ and Migama *búùti* ‘pas cher’.

From a grammatical point of view, we note that, of course, the majority of loan words were nouns, but in some languages, for example Hausa and Mubi, the verb loan words were quite relevant, certainly because Chadic languages were close to a Semitic language like Arabic. In Mubi (Baldi & Jungraithmayr 2008:25-37) we note that the verb loan words surpass the noun ones. This is due to the special situation of Mubi speakers, most of whom are bilingual Mubi-Arabic speakers.

This does not mean that only anthropological data has influenced the languages dealt with, but also the donor language is studied from the perspectives of what

⁶ For other examples of *k-* prefix in internal Kanuri formation, see Greenberg (1960:210-211).

⁷ On the *n* prefixation, see Hutchison (1981:81-82).

⁸ “Il rase la tête (cheveux et barbe), pose aussi des ventouses faites de petites cornes d’animal, etc. Cf. touareg *wa-aḥažžam*” (C. Gouffé, c.p.).

is transferred to the recipient. So, for example, Kanuri has been influenced by Arabic loan words for centuries, whereas all the minority languages in the wider Mega-Chad area and even in West Africa have received Arabic loan words rather late. This gives us a kind of chronology whereby the *linguae francae* – simply because of their great numbers of speakers – cannot be neglected. An example is Hausa, which because of its strong influence on other languages, might be heavily responsible for that transmission. Another fact that cannot be ignored is the Fulfulde. Through their historical migrations in the whole Savanna belt of West Africa, they have been considered as carriers of Islam and thus have infiltrated the various ethnic groups in many respects regarding loan words. Therefore, this paper may provide a concise overview of the work done so far on West African languages.

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An Excerpt from the COMPARATIVE AND ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF BEJA: ANATOMICAL LEXICON

Abstract:

The present study summarizes the anatomic lexicon of Beja, the only representative of the North Cushitic branch according to all relevant sources published during last two centuries. This dialectological material is compared with probable or possible counterparts in other Cushitic branches and further, in the Afroasiatic perspective, with Omotic, Chadic, Berber, Egyptian and Semitic lexical data, all in agreement with historical phonology formulated in Blažek 2007. Several etymological studies devoted to thematic parts of the Beja lexicon were already published: Fauna (Blažek 2003a), Kinship & Social terminology (Blažek 2003b), Natural Phenomena, Time and Geographical Terminology (Blažek 2005 & 2006).

Key words

Afroasiatic, Cushitic, Beja, anatomic terminology, etymology.

The richest sources of Beja anatomical terminology are five dictionaries: Munzinger (1864), Almkvist (1885, including older records), Reinisch (1895), Roper (1928), Wedekind (2007: Klaus & Charlotte, plus Abuzeinab Musa); further a specialized article of Bechhaus-Gerst (1989), and field records of Hudson rewritten by Blench (1996).

Lexical Data

i f., acc. **eet** „throat“ (HuB) = **eet** f. „throat“, def.sg. **too'i**, def.pl. **tee'i** (Wd) = **eet** f., def. **tee'i** (Wd) = 'ε f. „foramen at side of throat beneath articulation of jaw“ (Rp) = ê f. „Hals, Kehle“ (Re) = **teetôn** „unsere Kehle“ (Se)
?Ch: (C) Gisiga, Baldamu **?ay** „cou“ (SbTx), Maturua **ai** „Nacken, Hals“ (St), Wandala **?iye** „neck“ (Kr); JgIb II, 252-53 connect these forms with such the parallels as (W) Buli (SBauchi) **iyarr**; Siri (NBauchi) **yere**; Kulere (Ron) **iyər**

„neck“, besides Hausa **wúyàà**; Ngizim **wùrá** || (C) Higi Kamale **wuri**; Lamang **wurek**; Kola **wúlá**; Gidar **wul**; Yedina **wuy** || (E) Migama úrè; Jegu **were** etc. id.; if the CCh examples quoted above are derived from pCh ***ḥa-wuyar** (Stolbova 1996, 91), they cannot be compared with the Beja word;

Be: (N) Ntifa **tayyut** „bosse“, B.Snus **ṭiwa**, Zemmur **ṭuyá** & **ṭwoyé** „dos“ (Laoust 1920, 115, fn. 2);

Takács (1997a, 237) added Eg (Gr) **iw3y.t** „Kehle“ (Wb. I, 49), but it seems to be a better cognate of such the Chadic forms as Ngizim **wùrá** || Higi Kamale **wuri** || Jegu **were** „neck“ (cf. above).

There are interesting parallels in Nubian (NS): Kenuzi, Dongola **eiye**, Mahas **iyi**, Kundugr **eeju** „neck“ (Murray 1923: 48). Do they represent a result of an areal contact of Nubians with speakers of any AA dialect?

aat f. „milk“, def.pl. **tee'a** (Wd)

abb f. „(ear)wax“ (HuB)

obaab f. „chafe on animal's back“ (HuB)

'ad m., pl. **-a** id. (Rp) = **aaḍ** m., pl. **ad** „vulva“, **u aadi gurma** „clitoris“ (HuB) = Ammar'ar **'ad**, pl. **'adaab** „vulva“ (Do) = **'ad** & **'aḍ** m., pl. **-a** „vulva, anus“ (Re) = **aḍ** m. „weibliches Scham“ (Al) = **wôḍ** id. (Mu) = **wat** id. (Bu)

ECu: Afar **adda** „depth, interior“, cf. **búruk addád** „Vulva“ (Re), ?Arbore **?edanó** pl. „testicles“ (Hy);

NOM: Kafa („Manjo C“) **addi** „vulva“ (Fleming 1976b, 359);

Eg **id.t** „vulva, womb“ (Faulkner 1981, 35), Copt **ootē**, **oti** „vulve, matrice, sein de la mère“ (Vycichl 1983, 156 reconstructs ***ya3da.t** and compares it with Se **√w-l-d** „enfanter“).

addi m. „hide, skin“, f. „body“, **addi assi** „skin that is not tanned“ (HuB) = **adeeb** m. „skin“, def.sg. **w'adi**, def.pl. **y'adi** (Wd) = **adeeb** „skin“ (Be) = **'ade** „skin“ m. (animal), f. (human); „body, self“ (Rp) = **'áda**, **áde** m. „Haut“, f. „Körper, Leib“ (Re) = **áde** „Haut, Fell“ (Al) = **to hadah** „corps“ (Li) = **wor-hà-de** „Haut“ (Kc) = **o'ade**, pl. **ye'ede** id. (Mu) = **[wu]adéh**, **[t]ade[to]** „Haut“ (Se)

ECu: Afar **adday** „hides / skins (of cows / camels)“ (PaHy); ?Yaaku **ata** „hide of ox“ (Gr after Hobley).

The other etymologies are less probable:

(1) Dolgopolsky (1973, 237) connected it with Som **ídiin** „leather“ (Ab).

(2) Ehret (1987: #34) compared Beja with ECu: Som **ṣid** „person“, Arbore **?edan** „people“ (Hy).

(3) Leslau (1987, 28) derived Gz **?anad** „skin, hide“ from Beja or from Saho **anāda** id.

eediniin f. „grey hair“ (HuB)

eefoof m. „hernia, swelling of testicles“ (HuB)

aggia f. „backbone, spinal column“ (HuB) = **ágia** f. „spine, dorsal vertebrae“, pl. „tribe, family, people“ (Rp) = Suakin **tagia** „spine“ (Th)
ECu: Or **eeg-**, Konso **eek-ta**; ?Burji **deeg-ée** „tail“ with unexplained **ḍ-** (Sasse 1982, 62).

ageriisó adv. „apart, on one side“ (Rp), cf. **agir** „part, piece of“, **agar** v.1 (intr.), **agiir** (tr.) „to return“ (HuB)
?ECu ***gaar-** „edge; eyebrow“ > Som **gar** „Rand, Abhang, Uferrand; Teil“ (Re), Boni **gaar-i** „eyebrow“ (< Or ?); Or **gaar-a** id., Konso **káar-a** „edge“; Burji **gáar-i** „eyebrow“ (Sasse 1982, 73 proposes Or > Burji), Gedeo **gaaro** id. (vs. **gaaro** „eyelash“), Sid **gaaro** id. (vs. **gaara** „forehead; hill“) (Hudson 1989, 60) || SCu: Iraqw, Gorowa **geera** „in front, ahead“ (MK 115; Ehret 1980, 237).

agarat f., pl. **-a** „bladder in the camel mouth“ (HuB)

Suakin **to-akälä** „bone at the back of the ears“ (Th)
Is it identical with **angwiil** m. „ear“ (Rp) etc. ?

akwiit f. „pupil of eye, reflection of one looking into another’s eye“ (HuB)
Perhaps identical with the homonym **akwiit** f. „night“ (HuB) = **kwhii**, **khwii** f. pl. „first half of the night“ (Rp).

ála f. „neck“, **alunfiduit** adv. „backwards“ (Rp) = **alaat** f. „neck“, def.sg. **tu’ala**, def.pl. **ti’ala**; besides **aluunfidooyt** adv. „backwards“ (Wd) = **’ala** f. „Nacken, Hals“ (Re) = **ála** f. „Hals“ (Al) = **allā** f. „neck“ (HuB) = **alaat** „neck“ (Tl) = **tále** id. (Mu)
ECu: Afar **alal**, pl. **aloola** „back of the neck“ (PaHy): ?Dirayta **ál?alt** „protuberance on the neck of a goat“ (Bl) || SCu ***?ala** „behind, after(wards)“ > Iraqw **alu** „after, behind, in back of“, **aluwa** „afterwards“, **alacunqu** „nape“, lit. „behind the throat“, Alagwa **alu** „behind“, Burunge **aluj** „after, behind, in back of“; Qwadza **alale** „afterwards“ (Ehret 1980, 315-6);
?NOM: Kafa **iloo** „schiena, dorso“ (Ce; cf. Dolgopolsky 1973, 222);
?Se: Ar **?āla** „mit dickem Hintern; mit dickem Fettschwanz“, **?alyat**, pl. **?alāyā?** „fleischiger Teil der Hüften, des Hintern; Fettschwanz; Wade“ (Wahrmund I.1, 121).

aali f., pl. **ali** „calf of leg“ (HuB) = **’aali** f. „back of leg below knee“ (Rp) = **ali** f. „Wade, Schienbein“ (Re), cf. perhaps also Hdd **oo-áli báy** „short ribs“ (BG) = **aadliit** f. „calf“, def.sg. **tu’aadli**, def.pl. **ti’aadliya** (Wd)

The closest parallel (or a source of borrowing ?) could be Ar **ʔalyat**, pl. **ʔalāyāʔ** „Wade; fleischiger Teil der Hüften, des Hinteren; Fettschwanz“ (Sg 74; Wahrmund I.1, 121).

Note: The meaning „back of leg ...“ would indicate the possible relationship to **ála** / **ʔala** „neck, back“ (cf. the Arabic parallel).

The comparisons with Som **ʕala(an)ʕal** „palm of the hand“ (Lr) and / or Yaaku **ɛl** „cheek“ (He) (Ehret 1987, #324: Beja+Yaaku) are less convincong for semantical differences.

ambaab „excrement“ (Tl) = **amba** m. „dung, ordure“ (Rp) = **amba** & **ánba** m. „Kot, Exkrement“ (Re), cf. **ambaab** m., pl. **ambab** „dung beetle“ (HuB) = **ámba** m. „Kot, Exkreme (der Menschen)“ (Al) = **amba** id. (Mu) = [**ie**]**anba** id. (Se) ECu: Or Wellega **albaatii** „diarrhea“, **alba'a** „to have diarrhea“ (Gg).

Eg (Gr) **imb.w** „Schmutz“?; „Böse“? (Wb. I, 95; Takács 1997a, 227: Beja + Eg); Note: The correspondence Beja **-nb/-mb-** vs. ECu ***-lb-** can be regular, cf. **gumba** & **gínba** „Knee“ (Re) vs. ECu ***gilb-/ *gulb-** id.

An alternative etymology can be seen in EtSe: Gz **ʕabā**, Ty **ʕiba**, Amh **əbaat** „dung“ (Leslau 1987, 54) = **ábbät**, Sid **obba** id. (Hudson 1989, 54) || SCu: Mbugu **ibúmbe** „fresh cow dung“ (Ehret 1980, 140) although it is not evident, who borrows from whom. But cf. also WCh: Hausa of Sokoto **'ambo** „stinking thing“; Bade **áaban** „feces“ (Kr) (Takács 1997a, 227: Beja + Mbugu + Hausa).

umbel f. „goat's neck“ (HuB) - see **bála** f. „Kehle“ (Al)

imbilu ~ **umbiblui** f. „breast bone, lower end of“ (HuB) - see **bili** m. „shoulder-blade“

ambarey & **ambaley** f., pl. **ambareiya**, also **mburoi** f., pl. **-yā** „lip“ (HuB) = **ambaroyt** f. „lips“, def.sg. **tu'anbarooy**, def.pl. **ti'anbarooya** (Wd) = Hdd **t-ambároy**, Bi **ti-ámbaróy** „lips“ (BG) = **ambarooiat** „lip“ (Tl) = **ambaróy** m., pl. **-a** „animal lip“, f. „human lip of small size“ (Rp) = **ambar(óoy)** & **ambalóoy** f., pl. **-a** „Lippe“ (Re) = **embaroy** id. (Al) = [**ta**]**mbaroy** „lips“ (Bu) = **tembaróih** **tônkiy** „Oberlippe“ & **tembaroy tôhiy** „Unterlippe“ (Se)

ECu: Som **ʕanbur** „chubby cheek“, perhaps a compound consiting of **ʕan** „cheek“ & **buran** „thick“ (Lr), ?Dasenech **ʔabààr-ic** „lip“ (Sa) || ?SCu ***bara** „side, direction“ > Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa, Burunge **bara** (KM 70).

Be: (N) Wargla **anbur** & **ambur** „lèvre“, Tinduft **angur** id. (Laoust 1920, 110).

***omfu** f. (to-**omfou**) „graisse“ (Li)

?SCu: Alagwa **ʕamfo** „birdlime“ (Ehret 1987, #484).

Bi **amkwá**, Hdd **ánkwa** „hump“ (BG) = **ankwaab** m., def.sg. **w'ankwa**, def.pl. **y'ankwa** (Wd) = **ankwā** m. „hump (of camel)“ (HuB) = **ankwa** m. id. (Rp) =

ankwa m. „Höcker, Buckel“ (Re) = **ánkʷa** m. „(Kamel-)Höcker“ (Al) = **oʼankua** „Höcker“ (Mu)

(1) SCu: Qwadza **onko**, pl. **oma**; Burunge **ʔoŋ** (Ki), pl. **ʔomeri** „mountain“, cf. Iraqw **omi** „cow’s hump“ (Ehret 1980, 276), but Iraqw, Gorowa **ʕumi** „hump of cow“ (KM 308);

? NOm: Kachama **anqa** „testa“ (CR).

(2) Borrowed from or related to Ar **ʕunq** „neck“, pl. **ʔaʕnūq**.

Hdd **aminšaʼab** „barefoot“ (HuB), cf. **šib** v.1 „to shoe“, **šab** v.1 refl. „to be shoed, put on one’s footgear“ (Rp)

anáab m. „Eiter“ (Re) = **aanaab** m. „pus“, def.sg. **wʼaana**, def.pl. **yʼaana** (Wd)

There are EtSe parallels indicating lw. (1) or a possible cognate in SCu (2):

(1) < EtSe: Gz **ʔanbəʕ**, pl. **ʔanābəʕ** „tear“, Ti **ʔənbəʔ**, Amh **əmba** id. (Leslau 1987, 382);

(2) SCu: Common Iraqw ***ʕimf-** „mucus, snot, to sneeze“ (Ehret 1980, 333; Id. 1987, #485: N+SCu).

anbir ~ **ambir** m. „wing, feather; chest“ (HuB) = **anbuur** m. „wing“, def.sg. **wʼanbuur**, def.pl. **yʼanbir**, **yʼanbuura** & **ambir** f. „wings“, def.pl. **yʼambir** (Wd) = **ambuur** „wing“ (Tl) = **anbúur** & **ambuur** m., pl. **ánbir** „wing, flank, side“, cf. **anbirə** ~ **ambirə** v. 2 „to glide on motionless extended wings“ (Rp) = **ambúr**, pl. **anbir** & **ambir** = **anbúur** & **ambúur** m., pl. **ánbir** & **ámber** „Flügel, Seite“ (Re) = **ánbuur** m., pl. **ánbir** „Flügel“ (Al) = **anbor**, pl. **enber** „Flügel, Feder“ (Mu) = [ie]**ánbir** „Flügel, Schulterblatt“ (Se)

Probably derived from the verb **biir** „fliegen“ (Re), cf. ECu ***-brir-** & HECu ***burr-** „to fly“ (Sasse 1982, 44; Hudson 1989, 66; Ehret 1987, #65), plus SCu ***baʔara** „flies“ > Iraqw, Gorowa **baʼár**, Alagwa, Burunge **baʼara** (KM 67).

There are remarkable external cognates in Semitic ***ʔabr-** ~ ***ʔibr-**: Akk **abru** „wing; fin“ (Holma 1911, 140; AHW 7), Ug **ibr** „wing“ (DUL 11), Hb **ʔēber** „pinion“, Syr **ʔebrā** „penna“ etc. (SED I, 3-4). The other comparisons, namely with (1) CCu ***kānf-** „feather“ (Dolgopolsky 1973: 65) or (2) CCu ***amb-** „upper part, aisselle“ || SCu ***nab-** „rib, side“ (Ehret 1987, #462), are quite hopeless (***kānf-** is an EtSe lw., cf. Ti **kinfe** with cognates in Ar **kanaf** „wing of a bird“ etc.) or improbable for problems in word formations (2).

enadi m., pl. **-a** „shinbone“ (HuB) = **ʼenádi** f., pl. **-a** id. (Rp)

?ECu: Sam ***áddim** „leg“ > Som **addin**, Boni **íddi**, pl. **íddiin**^e (Heine 1978, 73 & 1982, 115).

anḑe c. „animal dung“ (Rp) = **anḑo** & **ándo** m. „Exkreme von Tieren“ (Re) = **anḑoob** m. „excrement, dung“, def.sg. **wʼanḑu**, def.pl. **yʼanḑu** (Wd) = **ánḑa**,

ándo f. „Exkremente (von Ochsen, Eseln, Pferden)“ (Al) = **andob** „dung“ (Tl) = **endod** „Kamelexkremente“ & **endo[b]** „Kuhexkremente“ (Mu) = **andi** f. „dung of camel or sheep“, m. „dung of donkey or horse“ (HuB) = **[wu]ándo** „Mist“ (Se) It is perhaps compatible with Se ***ši?-(-at-)** > Akk **zū** „excrement“; Ug **zū** „filth“, Hb **šeʔā** „dirt, excrement“, Syr **š(ʔ)ī** „to be filthy“; Ar (Daṭīna) **ṣayy** „dirty“, EpSA **ys₁n-šy-n** „stink“; Šheri **deʔ** „odor, smell“; Gz **šiʔ** „bad smell“, **šiʔat** „rot, filth, excrement“, Ty **čäʔe** „to smell bad“ (Fronzaroli 1964, #2.20; Leslau 1987, 567; SED I, 256-57) if **an-** represents a prefix.

ándeh, anḏe' m. „gegerbte Haut als Kleid verwendet“ (Re) = **teándeh** /***ande**/ „Pelz“ (Se)

?ECu: Som **dirḥ** „bark of tree“ (Re);

?Ch: (W) Siri **zirre**; Geji **dhli** „skin“ || (C) Bata **shúre**; Yedina **círúgù** || (E) Kera **ti:rə**; Tumak **dar** id. (JgIb II, 296-97);

?Eg (MK) **dhḥ** & **dhṛ** „Leder“ (Wb. V, 605, 481; Zyhlarz 1932-33, 173: Beja + Eg);

?Se: Ar **ḏarḥ** „skin, hide, leather“ (Sg 608), cf. Cohen 1947, #357: Ar + Eg.

Note: The Beja word is compatible with the quoted forms only supposing its simplification from ***an-ḏreh**. The comparison of Cohen (1947: #74) who connected Beja with Gz **?anadā** „peau“ seems to be less promising.

anḏare m. „Hüfte, Schenkel“ (Re)

Separating the prefix ***an-**, the following cognates can be found:

ECu: Afar **ḏiiror** „lumbar spine“ (PaHy), Saho **ḏiroo** „Hüfte, Lenden“ (Re);

Eg (OK) **ḏrww** „side, flank; Rippengegend des Körpers“ (Wb. V: 602; Faulkner 1981, 324; Takács p.c.: Beja + Eg) and / or Eg **ḏ3j** „partie d'abdomen“ (AC 2, 13);

EtSe: Gz **ṣarāṣit** „loins“ (> Bilin **ṭari** „Lendenstück“?), **ṣorṣe** „large intestine“, Ti **ṣārṣ** (Leslau 1987, 563).

angarboy adv. „sideways, on one side, shoulder to shoulder“ (Rp)

Perhaps the root ***garVb** extended by the prefix **an-** / **am-** (reciprocal?; see Roper 1928, 78; similarly **amfadinóy** / **anfadinóy** „opposition“, derived from **fidin** „to be/go backwards“) and suffix **-oy** (orig. dual?; see Zaborski 1992); cf. also **gari** „body, trunk; self“, probably reanalyzed from ***garVb** via homonymy with the acc. **garob**.

Cu: (C) Bilin **garba**, Qwara **gibra**, Kemant **gəbra**, Khamir **jirba** „Rücken, Rückteil“ (> Saho **gurbat**, pl. **guurboot** and Ti **gurbāt**, Amh **gārba** „back“ - see Dolgopolsky 1973: 73; Appleyard 1977, 56) || (E) Afar **gàrab** „half, part, some“ (PaHy); Sam ***gárab** „shoulderblade“ > Som **garab** „shoulder“, Boni **kárub**, Rendille **gárab** id. (Heine 1978: 82), Bayso **garab** „upper arm“ (Hy); Dirayta **karáp** „upper part of the back“ (Lamberti 1987, 536);

Nom: Wolayta **goorbiya** „throat“ (Lb);

Eg (MK) **gb3**, (D 19) **g3b.t** „Arm“ (Wb V, 163, 154; see discussion by Takács 2016, 289-90);

WCh: Nbauchi: Miya **gərəbu** „ribs“ (Kr) = **garabu** „chest“ (Sk), Tsagu **garabun** „rib“ (Sk).

Note: Akk **gup/bāru** „Nacken(mähne)“ is apparently borrowed from the Sumerian compound **gú-bar** id. (AHw 298).

angwiil m., pl. **angwili** „ear“, cf. **angulay** „deaf“ (HuB) = **angwiil** m. „ear“, def. sg. **w'angwill**, def.pl. **y'angwil** (Wd) = Hdd **angwil** id. (BG) = **angwiil** id. (Be) = **angwiil** id., **angwilai** „deaf“ (Tl) = **angwiil** m. „ear“, **angwili** adj. „deaf“ (Rp) = Hdd (Port Sudan) **angwil**, (Suakin) **qūngwīl**, pl. **i-angwil** „Ohr“ (Me) = **angwiil** m., pl. **angwil** & **angwla** „Ohr“, **angwlay** adj. „taub“ (Re) = **angwiil** m., pl. **angwil** & **angwel** „Ohr“ (Al) = [oh]-**orgihl** id. (Kc) = **oonquil** id. (Km)

LECu ***maq(a)l-** „to hear“ > Som **maqal-/maql-** (Ab, Re), Boni **máʔal**, Rendille **makhal**, Bayso **maal-**; Dasenech **maal-** (Sa) - see Dolgopolsky 1973, 183; Heine 1978, 90; Lamberti 1986, 252; Haberland & Lamberti 1988: 127; in HECu possible cognates can be found in ***manča** „ear“ & ***mačč-is-** „to hear“ (Hudson 1989, 55 & 77) although the serious differences remain to explain.

WCh ***kʷal-** „to hear“ > Tal **kʷəl**, Sura **kəliŋ**; Fyer **hwalî**; Kirfi **kwálú-wò** (Stolbova 1987, 213-14) || CCh: Bacama **kúlò**, Bata Garwa **klə** id. (Mukarovsky 1987: 152; JgIb II, 184-85; Dolgopolsky 1972: 226 identified the agentative AA prefix ***m-** in Cushitic).

ankwa m. „hump“ (Rp) - see Bi **amkwá** „hump“ (BG)

'ank'íl'a „kidney“ (Do) = **ankwél'a** & **unkúl'a** f. „Niere“ (Re) and **tinkelə** f. „kidney“ (HuB) = **intinkwil'aat** f. „kidney“, def. sg. **tuntinkwil'a**, def.pl. **títinkwil'a** (Wd) = **tunkwila** f. id. (Rp) = Suakin **tong'illa** & **tunk'iila** (Th) = **tənkwl'a** f. (Re) = **túnkula** f. (Al) = **te'onkola** (Mu) „Niere“ = **tetúnkolá** „Hüfte“ (Se)

ECu ***kal-(al-)** id. (Dolgopolsky 1973, 77, 195-96; Heine 1981, 191; Sasse 1982, 113; Lamberti 1986, 262, 353; Hudson 1989, 86) > ?Afar **akiyya** „renal area, side of the waist“, **akiyyabbaḏa** „kidney“ (PaHy), Saho **akiya** „Niere“ (Re); Somaloid (Lamberti 1986, 195, 353) (1) ***kalyu** > Isaq, Benadir, Ashraf etc. **kelli**, cf. also Jiddu **čarrə**, (2) ***kalal-tu** > Tunni **kalašə** (Lb), Rend **kalási**, pl. **kalasiyó** (He; Heine 1981: 191 reconstructs Sam ***kàlsí**), cf. also Boni **kaláálə** „kidney“ (He) and Bayso **kalaljaa** „kidneys“ (Hy); Arbore **kalanó** „kidney“ (Hy), Elmolo **kâl** id. (He); Or Wellega **kalee** „kidney“ (Gg), Konso **xalli-tta** id. (Lb); Gawwada of Dalpena **xalle** id. (AMS); Burji **kalatte(e)**, Gedeo **kalatte** „kidney“ (HG);

Om: (N) Wolayta **kellawa** id. (da Luchon) = **killahuwa** (Lb) (or to Beja **kalawa** „interior/Bauch“?), Gamu-Dache **kila-ho** id. (Lb), Koyra **killée** „fegato“ (Ce) || (S) Galila **kela** (Fl), Ari-Jinka **kela** „kidney“ (Be&Tully) < ECu ?;

Ch: (W) Ngizim **kúrsáásiyà**, Bade **kúrsásiyá** (Kr) || (C) Hwona **kwuliša**, Ga'an-da **kùlkùlarà**, Bura **kulši** id. (Kr) || ?(E) Kera **mokorá** id. (Ebert);

Se ***kulay-(at-)** / ***kalay-(at-)** „kidney“ > Akk **kalītu**, Ug **klyt**, Hb **kilyā**, Aram-Syr **kulyā**, Ar **kulya** id., Soqotri **keloih** „intestines“, Gz, Ty **kʷəlīt**, Argobba **kullay** etc. „kidney“ (Fronzaroli 1964, 272; Leslau 1987, 284; SED I, 141: ***kʷaly-at-**); EtSe: Geez **kʷəlīt** or rather Ti **kəlkəlʔot**, **kälwat**, **kəlawəʔ** id. > Bilin **kilʔoot** (Re) = **kʷələt** (Lb); Beja **-kʷil'a** / **-kul'a** can be of the same origin while the regular continuant of AA ***kʷaly-** „kidney“ appears rather in Beja **kaláwa** „interior“ (Rp).

Notes: The reconstruction of SCu (Rift) ***kʷal-** „lower back“ (Ehret 1980: 373) on the basis of Iraqw **karutome** „second stomach“ and Qwadza **kolingayo** „back-bone“, **kolima** „nape“ is doubtful. The Qwadza forms belong to ECu ***kolm-** „uvula, back of neck“ (Lamberti 1987: 535).

Dahalo **kalle** „kidney“ reflects a Somaloid source (***kalli** - see Lamberti 1986: 262) rather than the borrowing from Or **kalee** id. (Gg).

Copt ⲃⲗⲱⲧ „rein; lombes, entrailles“ < WSe, cf. Hb **kilyā**, pl. **kelāyōt** etc. (Vyčichl 1983: 339; Cohen 1947: #191: Copt + Se + ECu).

irif m. „head of hair when not very long“ (HuB), cf. **arfak**, **ɛrfak** adj. „long-haired (animals)“ (Rp)

ECu ***rif-/ruf-** „hair“ > Arbore **ruufan** (Hy), Elmolo **rrúfan-** (He); Or (Harar) **rifeensa** (***rifan-ita**), Dirayta **rífant**, Muusiya **rifanca**, metathesized Konso **ñirfa**, Mashile **ñifirt** (Bl); Harso **rifan-ko**, Dobase **rif-akko** „body hair“, derived from ***rif-** „to pluck“ > Som **rif-** „to pluck (poultry)“; Dasenech **rif-** „to pull out (hair or feather)“, Or **rif-** „pluck, flay, pull out hair“ etc. (Sasse 1979, 19); cf. also Gollango **ufur-kó** „Körperhaar“ (AMS)?

?Eg (NK) **f3k** „kahl sein, der Kahle“ (Wb. I, 575; Takács p.c.: Beja + Eg).

aráag m., pl. **arág** „Wurzel, Gelenk, Glied“, pl. „Körper“ (Re) = **arreeg** m., pl. **arrag** „nerve“ (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar **širq** „Ader, Wurzel; Ursprung“, pl. **ʔašrāq**.

ergaane m. (sg. = pl.) „shoulder-joint“ (Rp) = **argan** m. „collar-bone“ (HuB) = Suakin **o-argîgân** „collar-bone“ (Th)

Probably borrowed from EtSe, cf. Harari **aräq** „arm above the elbow“ (Leslau 1986, 382), cf. also Beja **araag** „Wurzel, Gelenk, Glied; pl. Körper“ (Re) < Ar **širq**.

'arri m. „stubby hair“, cf. **'arir** „to sprout (beard, hair, cultivation)“

ECu ***šarr-/širr-** „white, grey hair“ > Som **širr-o** „grey hair“; Or (Guji) **ar-ii**, (Maji) **harr-i** „grey hair“ (LVC); Harso **šarr-é** „weisses Haar“, Dobase **šarr-akkó** „greis“ (AMS); Burji **arr-ee las** „to go grey (of hair)“ (Sasse 1982, 28) ||

Dahalo **šara** „white hair“ || SCu: Iraqw **širaŋ** „pubic hair“, Ma’a **a’ara** „beard“ (Ehret 1980, 275: ***šara** „body hair“).

Note: Kemant **ayaat** „cheveux blancs“ (CR) cannot be directly derived from ***arat** (so Ehret 1987, #486); a more plausible starting point would have been ***aryat** (Sasse p.c.).

áror m.pl. „lap, bosom“ (Rp) = **aroor** m., def.pl. **y’aroor** (Wd) = **arór** pl.-a „Schoss“ (Re)

ECu: Som **šaruur** (coll.) „children“ (Lamberti 1986, 320), ?Rendille **arrari** „clan“ (Fleming 1964, 67; Schlee 1978, 109 has recorded **arrári** „alter Mann“); Afar **ùrru** „children“, **urrina** „placenta“, Saho **irro** „Kinder, Nachkommenschaft“ (Re); Bayso **eré** „child“ (Hy); Dasenech **ruur-ic** „young man in the age of puberty“ (Sa) - cf. Ahaggar **rur** „fils“ (Fc);

?Ch: (W) Hausa **arrau** „child“ (< Tuareg); ?(C) Musgu **arú**, **arwái**, pl. **alíi** „Kind“ (Krause > Lk); cf. Be;

Be: Guanche **arrorró** „Kleinkind“ (or „Schlummerlied“?) (Woelfel 1965, 410 compared it with Ahaggar **rur** „fils“); a relationship to Ayr, Adghaq **arraw** „child (offspring)“, Shilh **arraw** „child, boy or girl“, Ayt-Hadiddu **arraw** „boys, children“, cf. Wargla etc. **arw** „to give birth“ (Bynon 1984, 273-74; Haddadou 2006-07, 181, n. 724), remains open; cf. also Beja **’óor**, pl. **’ar** „Sohn, Knabe“ (Re); ?Eg (late) **ššš** „der männl. Same“, „erzeugen“, lit. „Samen ergießen“ (Wb. I, 166; Takács 1997a, 236);

Se: Ar **šarr/šarar** „enfant servé avant le temps“, **šurr-** „jeune homme“ (Belova 1989, #2).

Note 1: The semantic dispersion is comparable with Gz **ḥəḍn** „bosom“ vs. **ḥəḍān** „infant“ > Bilin **ḥaṭaan** „boy“ > Saho **haṣan** (Leslau 1990, 72).

Note 2: Militarev & Kogan (SED I, 11-12) and Watson (2015, 333) connected Beja **áror** „lap, bosom“ with Se ***ʔir(r)-at-** „chest, breast“ and its relatives, which are probably different.

ás’i adj. „raw, unripe, uncooked“ (Rp) = **as’oob** „what is unripe“, def.sg. **w’as’u** vs. **su’a** „to be unripe“ (Wd) = **assi** „uncooked, unripe, untanned“ (HuB) = **asi** „raw“ (Th), besides **asúw** adj. „unreif, noch nicht gar geworden“ (Re) = **assu** „ungegerbt“ (Mu) = **aszu** „unreif“ (Se)

(1) Reinisch (1895, 206) connected it with Gz **šawaya** & **sawaya** „to ripen, mature“, Ty **sāwāyā** „to ripen“ (Leslau 1987, 539), cf. further Saho **suw** „im Reifen begriffen, noch nicht ganz reif sein“ (Re) etc.

(2) Cu: ?(C) ***səx-** „flesh“ > Bilin **səxá**, Khamtanga **səya**, Kemant **səyā** (Sa); Awngi **əšši** (Ht), Kunfāl **eš** (Cw) (Appleyard 1984, 53; Id. 1991, 20-21) || (E) ***soʔ-** „meat“ > Som **soʔ**, Jiddu **suo**, Bayso **soo** (Hy); Arbore **sóʔ** (Hy), Elmolo **sóo** (He), Dasenech **so** (Sa); Or **foo-ni**, Konso **sów-aa**, Mashile **sóh-a**, Dirayta **soʔ-a** ~ **sóh-aa** (Bl), Bussa = Mussiya **soʔ-o** (Be = Lb); ?Tsamakko (Kusia

& Siebert) **saʔán-ko** (Black 1974, 205; Sasse 1979, 50, 52; Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 135);

?CCh: Musgu **soo** „Fleisch“ (Decorse > Lk);

Be ***ī-sihāhan** (Prasse 1974, 412) > (S) Ahaggar **isān**, Ayr, Ghat, Iullemiden, Adhaq **isan** „meat“, (E) Ghadames **īsan**, (N) Nefusi **isan** „cooked meat“ (Militarev 1988);

Se ***taʔw-** > Ak **šuʔu** „Schaf“, Ug **tāt**, pl. **tūt** „ewe“, OAram **tʔtʔ**, Ar **taʔwah** „emaciated ewe“, Soqotri **téʔəh**, Mehri **tīwīt** „sheep“ etc. (DUL 892; Johnstone 1987, 419; SED II, 301-02). Rabin (1981, 30) compared the Semitic data with Bokkos **titwi** „sheep“ (Ron / WCh).

Note: The semantic dispersion „raw“ vs. „meat“ has a parallel e.g. in IE: Greek κρέας „Fleisch“ vs. Germanic ***xrawa-** „raw“ (Pokorny 1959, 621-22).

esse f. „Bauch, Inneres, innere Teil“ (Re)

Be: Iullemiden **tessa** „Gedärme“ (Barth), Ahaggar **těsa**, pl. **tisattīn** „ventre“ < ***tē-sahaht** / ***tī-sahāht-in** (Prasse 1974, 76; Militarev 1991, 251: Beja + Be);

Eg (MK) **3js** / **3s** / **īs** „viscera“ (Faulkner 1981, 1; Takács p.c.: Beja + Eg).

Note: Ehret 1987, #614 connects Beja with Awngi **əṣəw** „heart“, comparing CCu ***ʔis-** (but cf. Kunfāl **šew** id.), Som **uus** „content of stomach“ (< ECu ***ʔus-**, see Sasse 1982, 184) || SCu ***ʔats-** „breast, udder“ > Iraqw **isaŋ** „breast“, **isama** „udder“, Burunge **isaŋ**, Alaba **isaʼamu**; Mbugu **iʼasemú** (Ehret 1980, 283 reconstructed pSCu ***ʔas-**). These parallels are certainly plausible, but they do not explain Beja **-ss-**.

asallanna f. „first stomach of herbivora, used as a covering for the hand when cutting food to roast“ (HuB)

(1) Derived from **asal** v. 2 „to roast, fry“, cf. **sala** „roasted meat“ (Rp), cf. **salā** f. „fire made with wood on which stones are heated in which meat is roasted, roast meat“ (HuB) || ECu: Saho, Som **sol-** „to grill, toast“, Burji **sal-** „to cook“, Had **sar-** „to cook, bake“, **saʔl-** „to bake“ (Sasse 1982, 163).

(2) ?HECu: Burji **sal-áy** „belly“, Had **saalasih-te** id. (Sasse 1982, 163), Sid **sal-to** „stomach“ (Leslau, *AuÜ* 71[1988], 198).

ēša f. „Huf, Nagel, Klaue“ (Re)

ECu: Afar **issóo** „Zehe“ (Re); Dirayta **essót** „thumb“ (Hy);

NOM ***ʔašw-** „foot“ (Blažek 1989, n. 38) > Dizi **aašu** (Be) = **aššu** (Fl), Shako **aašu(-s)**, Nao **ašo** (Be); Gimira: She **uš** „piede“ (CR);

Ch ***asə** „foot / leg“ (Newman 1977, 29; Mukarovsky 1987, 179) > (W) Kulere **siyáw**; Karekare **siyáw**; Diri **áshómá**; Tala **asəŋ**, Jimi **assam** || (C) Logone **aasə** (Lk); Musgum City **azii** (Krause); Masa **siyèma** (Kr) || (E) Dangla **àsè**; Birgit **ʔisiŋ** etc. (JgIb II, 220-21);

Be: Iullemiden **tausésit** „Ferse“ (Barth);

?Eg (Gr) **š3.t** „Vogelkralle“ (Wb. IV, 402; Takács p.c.: Beja + Eg). Later Takács (1997, 227) proposed other cognates, viz. (Pyr) **sw.t** „leg of beef, tibia“ (Wb. IV, 60) and the sign „leg-bone with adjoining meat“ with the reading **ʾisw** (Gardiner 19983, 466: F44).

Hdd **too-ʾiša** „hair at tail“ (BG)

ôša, úuša(y) f. „Harn, Urin“ (Re) = **úša(y)** f. pl. „Harn, Urin“, cf. **ooš** „harnen, pissen“ (Al) = **iš** f. pl. „urine“, cf. **oš** v. 2 „to urinate, defecate“ (Rp) = **ooša** „to urinate“ (Wd) = **iša**at „urine“ (Tl) = **ša** f. „urine“, **o ša hadal** id., lit. „black urine“, cf. **oš** „to urinate“ (HuB) = **oʾshat haḡalat** „Urin“, lit. „schwarzer Urin“ (Mu) = **[te]eschá** „Urin“ (Se) ECu: Dullay: Gollango **waašo** „(Kuh)dung“ (AMS), Arbore **was**, pl. **wassó** „pennis“ (Hy);

Om: (N) Kachama **oyšaa** „sterco di vacca“ (CR) || (S) Dime **ʔuš** „feces, dung“ (Be); Be: (S) Iulemidden **áuass** „Urin“ (Barth), Ghat **imušan** „urine“ (Nehlil), Ahaggar **awas / iwassen** < pTuareg **√w-h-s** (Prasse 1974, 228);

?Eg (Pyr) **wzš.t** „Harn“, **wzš** „harnen“ (Wb. I, 357-58), Copt **ⲓⲥ** „urine“ (Vycichl 1983, 68).

Note: There are possible cognates also in Chadic:

(1) Tera **wujingin** „urine“ vs. **ngin** „faeces“ (Newman; cf. Skinner 1977, 47)

(2) Ch ***ʔisV** „faeces“ (Newman 1977, 25; Stolbova 1987, 230) > (W) Kofyar ès; Karekare **ʔišè**; Buli **ʔiš**, Zaar **yi:s** || Zime-Batna **ʔisi** „dirt, dregs“ || (E) Kera **k-usi**; Lele **k-əsiyα**; Sumray **ʔishīny**; Sokoro **íssi**; Mokilko **ʔiizi**; Jegu **ʔiš**, Mubi **ʔàsà** pl. (JgIb II, 128-29; Stolbova 1996, 76 reconstructs pCh ***h/ʕis-** to connect it with Eg **hs** „Exkremente, Kot“ - see Wb. II, 164; Copt **ʔac, ʔoc, ʔec** „fumier, excréments“ - see Vycichl 1983, 313).

It is not excluded that Tera **wuji-** is related only to Eg **wzš**, where **z** is not regularly corresponding with Beja **š**. On the other hand, the Eg forms are compared with Ar **√z-ḡ-ḡ** „uriner“ (Belova 1991, 90).

Stolbova (1996, 76) also mentions interesting parallels in NS: Barea **iš** || Sungor **iši** || CSud: Bongo **iši**, Bulala **isi** „excrement“ (Greenberg 1963, 99; 120).

ašadunna f. „first finger“ (HuB) - see **šhadáana tíbala** „Zeigefinger“ (Re)

***ataba** or ***aḡaba (adtaba)** „Brust“ (Km)

It resembles the Semitic forms as Geez **ṭəb**, pl. **ʔaṭbāt** „breast, teat“ > Bilin **ṣəṭəb** „breast“ (Be)?, Soqotri **ʔaṭab** etc. (Leslau 1987, 587). Thompson (1910, 166) recorded Bi **o-dābá** „breast“ = **dāaba** „Vorderseite“ (Re). This explanation seems to be more convincing.

Bi **u-ʾut** „lower part of neck“ (BG) = **it** m. „front of neck, Adam's apple“, orig. perhaps pl. (HuB) = Hdd **éet** „pomo d'Adamo“ (Ci)

Is it identical with the object case **eet** from **i** f. „throat“ (HuB)?

’awíl m. „Klitoris“ (Re)

< Ti (Habab) **awəlto**, cf. Bilin **ʕ/ʔawilto** „Klitoris“ (Re), all perhaps borrowed from Ar **ʕawrat** „pudenda“.

ayi, eyi m. „hand, forearm“, cf. **ey** „5“ (Rp) = **ayeeb** m. „hand“, def.sg. **w’ayi**, def. pl. **y’ayi**; cf. **ayb** m., **ayt** f. „five“ (Wd) = Hdd (Port Sudan) **’ai** „Arm“ (Me) = **ay** m. „Hand, Vorderarm, Arm“, cf. **ay, äy** „5“ (Re) = **aiy** m. „hand“ (HuB) = **ay**, pl. **áya** m. „Hand“ (Al) = **ayeeb** (Tl) = **ayeb** id. (Wt) = **o’eye**, pl. **ye’ei** „Hand, Arm“ (Mu) = **whei-i** „Arm“ (Kc) = **oya** „arm, hand“ (Bu) = **[wu]aiy** „Vorderarm“, **[wu]aiôn** „Arm“, lit. „unsere Arm“ (Se)

There are at least two alternative etymologies:

(1) Cohen 1947, #493:

Eg (old) **d** phonetic value of the hand-hieroglyph (D 46 by Gardiner³ 1988, 455); **mdy** „mit, bei“, Copt **NTΔΦ** „bei ihm“, orig. „in seiner Hand“ (Vycichl 1983, 145; Id. 1985, 177); **dy** „5“ < ***dayīy-** < ***dawīy-** (Vycichl 1983, 223; Id. 1985, 176); Se ***yady-** or ***yadīy-** „hand, arm“ > Akk **idu**, Eblaite gen. sg. **i-tim /yidim/**, nom. du. **i-da /yiday/** (Krebernik 1983, 19, 20), Ug, Ph **yd**, Hb **yad**, Aram **yādā**, Syr **ʔidā**, Ar **yad**, EpSA **yd**, Soqotri **ʔed**, Gz **ʔəd**, Ti **ədə**, Ty **ʔid**, Amh **əḡḡ**, Harari **iḡi** (Vycichl 1985, 174-75; Leslau 1987, 7; SED I, 262-63); EtSe > Xamir **(i)ej** „Arm“ (Re).

Note: The loss of **d** before **y** is known in Beja, cf. **gwedi**, pl. **gwey** „eye“ (Al).

(2) ?SCu (WRift) ***yaaʔee** „foot, leg“ > Iraqw **yaaʔee**, pl. **yaʔaʔ** (Maghway) etc.; Qwadza **yaʔo** (Ehret 1980, 384; KM 328: ***yaaʔee** „leg“);

?Ch: (W) Ron: Fyer **yá**, pl. **ʔe-ya(h)ášh** „hand“, Kulere **ri-yáw**, pl. **ri-yêy** „arm, hand“ (cf. Bokkos **râ**, Daffo-Butura **rá** „hand“) (Jg); the SBauchi forms as Tala **aa**, Buli **a, ā** „arm“ compared with Beja by Takács (1997b, 261) do not belong here; they are shortened from the forms of the type Nyamzah **aam**, Zul **am**, Megang **aŋ** etc. (Shimizu);

Be: (N) Zwawa **ʔaiʔ** „épaule“ (Laoust 1920, 115, ft. 2), (S) Iullemiden **téit**, pl. **-īwin** id. (Nicolas);

(3) Takács (2016, 276) thinks about a possible cognate in Eg (OK) **ʕ** „arm, hand“ (Wb, I 156-57), adding the South Bauchi forms discussed above, but it is not compatible with SCu ***yaaʔee** „foot, leg“.

Rather enigmatic is the origin of Meidob (Nub) **ayi** „elbow“ (Murray 1923, 17)? Meroitic ***iy** „Hand“ reconstructed by Zyhlarz (1956, 25) is not generally accepted.

baʔ „distance between finger tips with arms extended“, cf. **bay** „to measure length with outstretched arms“ (HuB) = **b(ə)ʔa** m. „fathom“, cf. **bʔas** v. 2 „to measure with outstretched arms“ (Rp)

Borrowed from Ar **bāʕ** „cubit“ > Gz **bāʕ** „palm of hand, cubit“, Ti **baʔ** id. (Leslau 1987, 83).

b'anúun m., pl. **b'ánin** „edge, margin, esp. edge of corner of eye or lip (Rp) = **banúun** m., pl. **banín** „Augenbrauen“ (Re) = **banúun** m., pl. **benín** „Augenbraue, Augenlid“ (Al) = **banun** ~ **balul** m., pl. **benin** „eyebrow“ (HuB) = Hdd **banún** „brow“, Bi **oo-b'ánur** „without hair“ (BG)

The comparison with Afar **minin** „eyebrow“ (Reinisch 1895, 49) is problematic; Beja **b-** does not correspond to ECu ***m-**. Maybe accepting the nasal assimilation ***binin** > Afar **minin**. But the full expression for „eyebrow“ in Afar is **minin-ḍagorta** (PaHy), lit. „hair of face / forehead“, hence **minin** = „face / forehead“, cf. Konso **miin-tá** „forehead, face“, Dirayta **miín-t^a**, Mossiya **miín-ta** id. (Lb); Dullay: Gawwada, Gollango **miin-té** „Stirn, Vorderseite, Gesicht“, Harso, Dobase **miin-cé** id. (ALM), Tsamakko **min-te** „face“ (Kusia & Siebert); Alaba, Kamb **miin-e** „forehead, face“; Yaaku **maṇa** „eyebrow“ (Lamberti 1987, 533).

A more promising etymology can be found in the Ometo forms as Wolayta, Gofa **binnana**, Malo **binaana**, Dache **biy'nena** etc. „hair“ (Be).

If the form **balul** recorded as a variant by R. Hudson is primary, there are also interesting parallels:

ECu: Som **baalal** „eyelash“ (Nk);

Be: (N) Rif **abəl**, Wargla **abal** „cil“, Mzab **abliu** „paupière“, (S) Ahaggar **ābīlāt** id. (Basset 1929, 63-65; Nait-Zerrad 1998, 55; 59 where in the final **-āt** the word **t-it** „eye“ is recognized).

On the other hand, an alternative possibility is to see here a borrowing from a hypothetical Semitic compound ***bi** „by“ & ***ṣayn-** „eye“, cf. Geez **ṣayn ba-ṣayn** „face-to-face“ (Leslau 1987, 79).

bu'usi m. „intestines whipped with chopped meat and roasted on a charcoal fire“ (HuB)

b'úuy m. „joint, articulation of bones“ (Rp) = **buu'** m., pl. **bi'i** „joint“ (HuB) = **biy** & **buuy** m. „Glied“ (Re) = **buuy** m., pl. **būy** „Glied (es Körpers)“ (Al)

ECu: Or Wellega **bu aa** „member, limb“ (Gg);

CCh: Banana **bi'a** „Oberarm“ (Lukas 1937, 132).

bab'á f. „armpit“ (Rp) = **baḅa** f. „armpit“ (HuB) = **bába** f. „Achselhöhle, Armhöhle“ (Re) = **bába** f. „Armhöhle“ (Al) = **te'bába** id. (Mu)

ECu: Sam ***babaṣ** „palm (of hand)“ > Som **baabbaṣo** (Lb), Boni **b^eb'a'**, **buba'** id. (Heine 1978, 75), Rend **baḥáb** „armpit“ (He; **ḥ** regularly from ***ṣ**); Arbore **beebe?** id. (Hy); Or Wellega **bobba** „armpit“ (Gg) > Burji **boba(a)**, Gedeo **boba** (Sasse 1982, 37; Hudson 1989, 21); ECu > Amh (EtSe) **bəbbət**; Mocha (NOM) **bəbbii-ho** (Ls); Ik (NS) **baba** id. (Lamberti 1988, 26);

?Ch: (C) Buduma **biibi** „Oberarm“ (Lk), but cf. Kanuri (Saharan / NS) **biví** „(upper) arm“ (Lk);

Eg (Med) **bby.t** „Schlüsselbeinregion“ & **bb.wy** „Schlüsselbeine/claviculae“, (Gr) **bb.t** „Kehle, Kehlkopf, larynx“ (Wb. I, 455) - see Takács (1997b, 254); Se: Ar **bāṣ** „cubit“ > Geez **bāṣ** „palm of hand, cubit“, Ti **ba?** id. (Leslau 1987, 83) > Beja **b(ə)ʼa** „fathom“ (Rp).

Note: The Cushitic forms probably represent an original reduplication ***baṣbaṣ-**. Takács (1997b, 254-55) adds the words meaning „breast“: Dahalo **úúba** „chest“ (To), if it is not of Bantu origin, cf. Swahili (Lamu) **bubu** „breast“ (Ehret 1974, 66) ||| Ch: (W) Bokkos **fóf**, Kulere **fúf** id. (Jg); Bade **fufa** || Tera **bùbu** „breast“ (Nw); Bata **bwōbi** id. (Mc); Bachama **boḃe** (Meek), Musgu **fyāw** id. (Mc) || (E) Mubi **fāabó** id. (Jg) etc. (JgIb II, 46-47) ||| Be: (N) Tuggana **tibbit**, Ait Bu Ulli **abbui**, pl. **ibbuin**, Ashtuken **babba**, pl. **id-bubba** etc. „sein, mamelle“ (Laoust 1920, 115-16, fn. 4). The word „breast“ very probably represents a *Lallwort* (cf. Laoust, l.c.).

bedid m., pl. **-a** „bone of forearm, either radius or ulna“ (HuB)

ECu: Sid, Had **budaa** „arm; horn“ (Cerulli 1938a, 194 compared it with Oromo **budaa** „horn“);

SOMot: Ari-Jinka **bud** „upper back, back of thorax“ (Bender);

ECh: Ndam **bād**, Tumak **bèd** „arm“; ?Sokoro **pèt(im)** id.; ?Mokilko **béy** „hand“ (JgIb II, 179);

Se: Akk **būdu(m)** „Schulter“ (AHw 136); Eblaite **bù-tum** id. (Krebern timer 1983, 36; SED I, 31).

baḏʼa m. „cheek“; f. „jaw(bone)“, cf. **beḏay**, **biḏay** v.1 „to yawn“ (Rp) = **too-béḏʼa** „jaw“ (BG) = **báḏʼa** m. „Backen, Wange“ (Re) = **bḏa** m. „Wange“, cf. **beḏáay** „gähnen“ (Al) = **bīḏa** m., pl. **bīḏī** „cheek“, **bida** f. „jawbone“, cf. **biday** v.1 „to yawn“ (HuB) = **o bédah** „jowes“ (Li) = **[e]barda** „Backen“ (Se)

ECu ***baḑ-** > Dirayta **paḑétʼa**, Mossiya **paḑáta** „beard“ (Lamberti 1987, 533); Dullay ***baaḑ-** „Bart“ > Harso, Dobase **páaḑe**, Gollango **paaḑe** „Bart“ (AMS); Burji **boḑḑó** f. „cheek“ (Wedekind) and **boḑoo** m. originate from HECu ***boḑo** „cheek“ (Hudson 1989, 39);

NOM: Zayse **baatṣa** „beard, chin“ (Lb), Koyra **batsaa** (Ce), Ganjule **baṣa** id. (Fl).

***bha** m. (**obha**) „Norden“ (Bu), orig. perhaps „left“, cf. **ma** „Süden“ (Bu), corresponding perhaps with **maykwa** „right side/hand“ (Rp); similarly Gollango **pi-ḥát-t-o** „links; Süden“ vs. **misk-ítto** „rechts; Norden“ (AMS)

ECu ***bidḥ-** „left“ (Sasse 1979, 16); Or > Ari **bita** (Lb); ECu > Kuliak ***becin** „left hand“ (Ehret, *AuÜ* 64 [1981], 92; Lamberti 1988, 27) || Dahalo **biḥíta** „left“ (El) || ?SCu: Iraqw **biḥi?** „side“ (Ki).

bokt f., pl. **bokat** „double handful“ (HuB)

Ch: (W) Karekare **bàká(á)** „arm“, Tangale **paka** „hand“; Kariya **pákə̀** „arm“; (C) Masa **begiya** id. (JgIb II, 178-79) || (E) Sokoro **bákt-um** „deine Schulter“ (Lk).

bal f., pl. **balla** „lobe of ear“ (HuB)

bála f.pl. „Kehle, Schlund“ (Al) = **bala'a** id. (Do); cf. **umbel** f. „goat's neck“ (HuB)

?CCu: Kemant **bála** in **käš bāla** „dos, corps“ (**käš/s** „épaule“) (CR) || ? ECu: Afar **biliša** „necklace“ (Bs); but cf. **bila** „gifts of ornaments (gold / silver)“ or **bilša** „brilliance, elegance“ (PaHy);

NOM: Koyra **balaa** „neck“ (Ce), ? Kachama **baalaa** „wattle, nipple“ (CR);

Ch: (W) Hausa **beli** „uvula“ (Skinner 1996, 20); Ron: Bokkos **bulè?** „Kropf“ (Jg) || (C) Kotoko ***billum** „Rücken“ > Affade **billüm**, Makeri **billim**, Gulfei **beļem** (Sölken 1967, 256-57) || (E) Bideyat **beli** „gorge, voix“ (cf. Skinner l.c.);

Be: (S) Ghat **bêlêbêlé** „luette“ || (N) Figig **tabilult** id. (Nait-Zerrad 1998, 53, #10); Se **√b-l-ʕ** „to swallow“ (Leslau 1987, 95), cf. Syr **bālaštā** „gorge“, Ar **bulṣūm** „gosier“ (Cohen 1970, 68-69).

bili m. „shoulder-blade“, cf. **imbilu** ~ **umbiblu** f. „breast bone, lower end of“ (HuB) = Hdd **bilēti-kumús** „hip-bone“ (BG)

Lit. „flat (bone)“, cf. **billi** m. „any flat thin thing“, **bille** „flat, spread“, **bilil** v.1 (dim. from **birir**) „to spread out thin and flat, to flatten“ (Rp)

balanda“wi f. „large intestine“ (HuB)

Hdd **too-bilāti** „hair on hump (of camel)“ (BG)

bār m. „camel-hair“, **beraari** m. „mane“ (Rp) = **biraari** ~ **bilaali** m. „mane“ (HuB) = **biraari** m. „mane of horse“, def.sg. **ubiraari**, def.pl. **ibiraariiya** (Wd) = **beráre** m. „Mähne des Löwen, Pferdes, von Pavian“ (Re)

Cu: (E) Som **baar** „hairs of the camel's hump“ (Siyad 1985, 290) || (S) Iraqw **boori** „body hair, facial hair“ (Ehret 1980, 140), Burunge **boora** „goat's beard“ (Ki). MK 75: Iraqw **boori**, Gorowa **boora** & Iraqw **booráy**, Gorowa **booráy** „goat's beard“.

biraab „having swelling breasts (early pregnancy)“ (HuB)

The final **-b** is not a part of the root.

baranni f. „flank“ (HuB)

ECu: Som **barbar** „side“, Rend **bárbar** „shoulder“ (Heine 1978, 75; 1981, 184);

Om: (N) Kafa **borboroo** „coscia“ (Ce) = **borborro** „shin“ (Habte Mikael) || (S)

Ari **bar** „thigh“ (Be);

?Ch: (C) Musgu **babará** „Fuss“ (Lk) = **bóbbbero** „Bein“ (Barth);
 Se: Soqotri **berberoh** „thigh“; Gurage **bärrä** id., cf. Ar dial. (Oman, Daṭina, Hadramaut) **barbur** „penis“ (Leslau 1938, 94; 1945, 240 & 1979, 149). Takács (1997b, 252) also adds Hb **ʔēber** „member of body, genitalia“ (but there are closer cognates in Aram (Pahlavi) **ʔbr** „pénis“, Ar **ʔibrat** „pénis, verge“ - see Cohen 1970f, 5; SED I, 4-5), and further Som **buuryo** „foreskin“ (Luling) and Hausa **bùùráá** „penis“ (cf. Mukarovsky 1987, 282).

Hdd **bírra** „front of withers“ (BG)

baraš m. „skin disease“ (HuB) - see **bašar** „skin“ (Tl)

buus m., pl. -a „Hinterbacken, podex“ (Re) = **bus** m. „Schmutz, Kot“ (Al)
 Cu: ?(C) Bilin **bäsbäs** „back of head“ (Re) || (E) Saho **bus** „Vulva“ (Re), Afar **bus** „vagina, female organ“ (PaHy); Harso **poosigté** „pubic hair of adult man“ (AMS);
 Had **bisso**, Gedeo **bošore** „vagina“ (Hudson 1989, 161);
 NOm: Yemsa **boosa** „vulva“ (Ce = Lb);
 ?Be: Siwa **bašša**, Ntifa **abäši** „vagina“; cf. Nefusa **bəšš** „to urinate“ (Laoust 1932, 309, 314) - probably of onomatopoeic origin, cf. also Eg (Pyr) **bšy** „to vomit, spit“ (Wb. I, 477; Takács p.c.: Be + Eg);
 Eg (BD) **bss** „neben Kot erwähnt“ (Wb. I, 477; Takács p.c.: Beja + Eg);
 Se **√b-w-t** (~ **b-h-t**) „to be ashamed“ > Akk **bāšu**, Ug **bṭ**, Hb **bōš** „avoir honte“ etc. (Cohen 1970, 91; cf. Cohen 1947, #410; Hintze 1951, 84).

bašar „skin“ (Tl) = **bášar** m., pl. **bašara** „trunk, body“ (Rp) = Hdd **o-běšaróg** „body“, lit. „thy body“ (Th)
 Borrowed from Ar **bašar** „human skin“ (Sg 125).

baat m., pl. **bat** „Achsel“ (Al) = **baat** m., pl. **bat** „Achselhöhle, Armhöhle“ (Re) = **tabatôn** „Achsel“, lit. „unsere Achsel“ (Se)
 Borrowed from Ar (Oman & Qift - Upper Egypt after Nishio) **bāṭ**, (class.) **ʔibṭ**, (Hadr) **ʔubṭ**, **ṣubṭ**, **ḡubṭ** „armpit“ > Ti **ḥabāṭ** (Leslau 1945, 239) > Bilin **hebīt** (Re).

bīiti f., pl. -a „forehead“ (Rp) = **bite** & **bíti** f., pl. -a „Antlitz, Gesicht, Stirn“ (Re) = **bite** f. pl. „Gesicht, Antlitz“ (Al) = **te'bite**, pl. **te'bitya** „Stirn“ (Mu)
 ECu: Bayso **bebbeetee** „forehead“ (redupl.?) (Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 81);
 Or **batte** „guancia“ (Tn).
 Zyhlarz (1956, 25) reconstructed Meroitic ***biti** „Gesicht“, but it is not generally accepted.

batha f. „skin disease (Impetigo contagiosa)“ (HuB)

boy, **b'(a)** m. „blood“ (Rp) = **booy** m. id. (Be, Re & Al) = **boi** m. id. (HuB & Tl) = **o'boi** id. (Mu) = **[o]boy** id. (Bu) = **[o]bóih** id. (Se); cf. **booyaa** „to bleed“ (Wd) CCu ***bər-** id. > Bilin **bər** (Ap), Qwara **bir** (Re), Kemant **bər** (Sa), Xamir **birr** (SLLE), Khamtanga **bär** (Ap); Awngi **bəri** (Ht), Kunfāl **buri/é** (Cw) (Appleyard 1984, 38; Id. 1991, 20) || ?ECu: Saho **biilo** (We), Afar **ɕabal** (PaHy), **bil** (Re) id. (< CCu ?); cf. also Bambeshi (NOM) **ambile** „sangué“ (Gt), Hozo, Seze **hambili** „blood“ (Siebert & Wedekind).

The genuine ECu cognates can be identified in ***bur(r)-** „red“ > Dasenech **bur** (Sa, Fl), Elmolo **púrra** (He), Arbore **burrí** id. (Hy); Dobase **poore** „rotbraune Farbe“ (AMS), besides Konso, Mashile & D'irayta **poor-** „black“ (Bl), cf. Konso pl. **puʔʔur**, Or **boor-uu** „ash-colored, dim, dull“, SOr **boora** brown, dark-colored (esp. meat)“ (Stroemer); Som **bor-a** „grey, dirty“; Burji **bóor-ee** „yellow color“ (Sa), Kamb **baara** „yellow“, Had **borḳ-** „to be dark-colored“ (Sa), „impured“ (HG), etc. (Sasse 1982, 39 reconstructed ***boʔr-**) and / or Or **burundoo** „raw meat“; Sid (HG) **bu'ra**, **bura mala** „raw meat“ where **mala** = „meat“ (if Amh **bərəndo** id. is borrowed from Oromo and not vice versa and Sid **bu'ra** does not represent a corruption of the same Amh word as Burji **búdr-o** „lean meat“ - see Sasse 1982, 41);

?NOM: Kafa **buroo** „prezzo del sangue, guidrigildo“, cf. Som **diig** „sangué; guid-rigildo“ (Ce), Shinasha **birá** „red“ (Lamberti 1993: 285); ? Male **bārbo** „menstruated blood“ (Fl);

Ch ***bar-** „blood“ (Newman 1977, 22; Stolbova 1987, 148 reconstructed WCh ***paranV**, but in 1996, 19 she changed her WCh reconstruction to ***ḥa-pura-m** < Ch ***-pura-**) > (W) Siri **varámi**, Jimbin **bəramá**; Jimi **biram**, Tule **vúràni** || (C) Gidar **bēlí**; Musgu **fəl** || (E) Kwang **kúwá:r**; Lele **kùbàrò**; Sumray **bàrē**; Dangla **báári**; Jegu **bar** etc. (JgIb II, 30-31).

Note: The loss of **-r-** is not quite unique in Beja, cf. **šaay** „Wolke“ (Re) vs. Elmolo **séer** „cloud, rain“ (He), NOM ***šaar-** „cloud“. On the other hand, the borrowing (influence ?) of Ar (< Turkish) **boya** „color“ (Zaborski p.c.) cannot be excluded too.

boykut „Embryo“ (Mu) = **boi kot** „embryo, abortion“ (HuB)

A compound with the first component **booy** „Blut“ (Re). There are tempting, although only hypothetical, parallels in Be: (S) Iullemeden **abárkōt** „Bauch“ (Barth), (N) Shawiya **abərkuṭ** id. (in the component **bVr** Militarev 1991, 213 sees an augmentative prefix; cf. also A. Basset 1959, 134-35).

bayi & **bəyi** m. „rib“ (Rp) = **bíye** m. „Seite, Seitenknochen, Rippe“ (Re) = **bay** m., f., pl. **bee** „ribs“, cf. v. 2 **bay** „to measure length with outstretched arms“ ? (HuB) = Hdd **oo-báy**, pl. **a-báye**, Bi pl. **ε-báye** „ribs“ (BG) = Suakin pl. **ê-bai** „ribs“ (Th) = **bíye** m. „Rippe“ (Al) = **o'bei[b]** (Mu) = **[e]béiy** „Rippen“ (Se)

?ECu: Yaaku **poóyuʔ**, pl. **poymin** „upper arm“ (He);

?Ch: (W) ***baya** „back“ (Stolbova 1987, 157) > Hausa **bááyáá**; Karekare **bái** || (C) Gude **baa**, Nzangi **bii** etc. (JgIb II, 6-7);
 ?Be: (S) Ghat **tuhi**, pl. **tuhawin** etc. „camel's hump“ < * **-uhay-** < ***wa-bay-**? (SISAJ I, 103-4).

u daba „chest, front“ (Do) = **daba** m. „chest, breast, bosom“, cf. **dabay** „to go forward, ahead, in front“ (Rp) = **dabā** „front“, **dabay** „in front“ (HuB) = **dáaba** m. „Gesicht, Vorderseite“ (Re) = Bi **o-dǎbá** „breast“ (Th) = **adtaba** „Brust“ (Km) CCu ***dzab-** „front side“ > Bilin, Qwara, Dembea **jab** „Vorderseite, Gesicht“, Kemant **jab & jav** „partie antérieure, commencement; avant, devant“ (Conti Rossini 1912, 204; Ehret 1987, #511: Beja+NCCu) || ECu: Dullay ***zaab-** > Harso **saap-e** pl. „Oberseite“ (AMS) || SCu ***daʃab-** „chest“ > Iraqw **daʃeewo & daʃwa?** (Maghway), Gorowa **daʃáwi**, pl. **daʃéebu**, Alagwa **daʃabi** (Whiteley).
 Note: Dolgopolsky (1973, 230) connected the Beja word with Afar **ḍabʃe** „arm-pit, axilla“ (PaHy), Som **ḍab** „lap“ (Ab); SCu „chest“, and further with Ar **zab-būnat** „flank-protection; neck“ (Sg 450).

Bi **dibálay** „cleft between toes“ (BG) - see **digwollai** f. „foot, hoof“ (HuB) = Hdd **to-digwála** „cleft between toes“ (BG)

dad m., pl. **did** „ulcer“ (HuB)

diidaadii adj. „buxom, well-fleshed“ (Rp)

CCu: Khamir **diden-** „dick, fett sein“, Khamta **didno** „fett“ (Re);

?NOM: Kafa **daddo** „grasso“ (Ce), Shinasha **dóddo** id. (Bk).

doof m., pl. **dáfa** „piece of meat“ (HuB) = **dof** m., pl. **dáfa** „roast meat, joint of meat“ (Rp) = **doof** m., pl. **dáafa** „Fleischstück über lebende Feuer gebraten“ (Re) = **doof** m., pl. **dáfa** „Stück“ (Al) = **o'dof** „Fleischstück“ (Mu) = **doof** m. „piece, loaf“, def.sg. **oodoof**, def.pl. **idoofa** (Wd)

ECu: Som **dufan** „grease“ (Ab);

Be: (S) Ghat **aduf**, pl. **idufan**, Ahaggar **adûf**, pl. **idûfân**; (N) Beni Snus **âdûf**, Tazerwalt **adif** etc. „(os à) moelle“ (cf. Laoust 1920, 120).

Note: The semantic dispersion is comparable with Se ***muḥḥ-** > Ar **muḥḥ-** „marrow, brain“ vs. Ph **mḥ** „fat“ (adj.) (Klein 1987, 331).

daafuu m. „rump, buttock“ (HuB)

Could it be related to the preceding item ?

duuf m. „sweat“, cf. **daf** v.2 „to smoke oneself“ (Rp) = **duf** m., pl. **daf** „Schweiss“, cf. **daf** v.2 „schwitzen im Rauchbad“ (Re) = **duuf** m. „sweat“, def.sg. **ooduuf** (Wd) = **duf** m. „sweat“ (HuB) = **duuf** f. „Schweiss“, cf. **duuf** „schwitzen“ (Al) = **o'duf**

„Schweiss“, cf. **dufya** „schwitzen“, caus. **dufesya** (Mu) = [o] **dûf** „Schweiss“ (Se)
CCu: Bilin **dif** „Schweiss“ (Re) || ECu: Or **dafqa** „sweat“ (Gg);
WCh: Ngizim **dafəu** „sweat“ (Kr) || CCh: Kotoko ***m-dafu** „heiss“ > Kuseri **ndá-fu**, Shoe **dofo** (Lk);
Eg (Pyr) **fd.t** „Schweiss“ (Wb. I, 582);
Se: Arab **dafiʔa** „to be warm“, **difʔ-** „heat“ (SISAJ II, 60-1; Cohen 1970f, 297).

digat & **tagat** f., pl. **-a** „udder, breast“ (HuB) = **digat** f. „breast“, def.sg. **toodga**, def.pl. **tidga** (Wd) = **digat** „udder“ (Tl) = **degát** f., pl. **-a** „breast, udder“ (Rp) = **tegát** f., pl. **-a** „Zitze, Mutterbrust, Euter“ (Re) = **tó-degát** „Euter der Kühe“ (Se)
(1) Almkvist (1885, 14) connected it with **dega** „schwer“ (Al), but it is problematic from the point of view of semantics.

(2) Semantically more promising seems to be a derivation from **duug** „to suck / saugen, an der Mutterbrust“ (Rp / Re); cf. also Kenzi (Nub) **dūg** „to suck, lick, taste“ (Murray 1923, 39). Beja **duug** „to suck“ as a primary source does not exclude other parallels:

Dahalo **dāga** „waist“ (Ehret 1980, 189);

Ch ***dig-** „chest“ (Stolbova 1996, 37) > (C) Gisiga **degag** „Brust“ (St), Musgu **dídiga**, **dedegá** id. (Lk) || (E) Kera **dídígí** „Brustbein“ (Eb).

digwollai f., pl. **digwollee** „foot, hoof“ (HuB) = Hdd **to-digwála** „cleft between toes“, Bi **dibálay** (BG)

Ch: (C) Kotoko: Makeri **dýggěluu**, Ngala **dochóle** „Oberschenkel“, Sao **dubel** „cuisses“, Affade **dúbbulánkó** „[dein] Schenkel“, Gulfei **dubalé** pl. „Bein“ (Sölken 1967, 261-62) || (E) Ndam **dágəl**, Tumak **dègəl** „leg“ (JgIb II, 221).

dáha m. „Kinn, Kinnbart“ (Re) = o’**daha**, pl. e’**daha** „Kinnlade“ (Mu)

Perhaps derived from **dah** „kurzgeschnittenes Haar“, which is a derivative of **dah** „eng, kurz sein“ (Almkvist 1885, 12).

daalaat „early pregnancy with morning sickness“ (HuB)

It is tempting to connect it with ECu ***ḍal-** „to give birth, beget“ > Saho-Afar, Som **ḍal-**, Boni, Rend **ḍel-** id., Bayso **al-at-** „to be born“; Dasenech **ḍal-**, Elmolo **dal-**; Or, Dirayta **ḍal-**, Konso **ḍal-/ḍel-**; Dullay **ḍal-**; Yaaku **del-** „to give birth, beget“; maybe also HECu ***ḵal-** id., if it reflects a variant to expected ***ḍal-** (Sasse 1979, 21, 30; 1982, 123). The absence of expected glottalization in the most recent records of R. Hudson is frequent.

On the other hand, it is compatible with Or **dil’uu** „animal placenta, afterbirth“ (Gg) without any problem.

dam v.2 „to blink“, **damam** v.2 ref. „to close the eyes“ (Rp), cf. **daman** v.2 „to close the eyes tightly, blinfold“ (HuB)

CCu: Qwara **duma** „Augenlid“ (Re) || ECu: ***deem-** > Dirayta **teemá** „eyebrows“; Harso **teem-ice** „eyebrow“ or „eyelash“, Gollango **teeme**; Had & Kamb **deemma** „eyebrow“ (Lamberti 1987, 534; Hudson 1989, 60); Lamberti & Sottile (1997: 342) quote Afar **dambar** „eyebrow“, Saho **dambar** „forehead“.

NOM: Zayse **deemo** (Lb), Wolayta **deem-uwa** „eyebrow“ (Ae) = **deemuw^a** „forehead“ (Lb), Koyra **déemoo** (Ce), Kachama **deemo** „fronte“ (CR).

dambi m., pl. **-ǵ** „thigh“ (HuB) = **dambeet** „thigh“ (Tl) = **dambe** m. „thigh, hind-quarter“ (Rp) = **dámba** m. „Schenkel, Schienbein, Wade“ (Re) = **e’dembi** „Waden“ (Mu); cf. **dambool** m. „hoof“, def.sg. **udambool**, def.pl. **idambooli** (Wd)

Cu: (C) Bilin **dāmbi** & **dāmbi** „Rücken, Rückseite, hinter, hinten, nach“ (Re), Kemant **dāmbi** „cuisse“ (CR) || (E) Som **danbe** „behind, afterwards“, Boni **damêd** „thigh“ (He); Bayso **dambe** „afterwards, after that, then“; Sidamo **dumbaa-nni** „after“ (Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 89);

NOM: Kafa **dambo** „Rücken, Rückseite; Hinterer; anus“ (Re); Kullo **domba** „cuisse“ (Bo); Hozo **domba** „buttocks“ (Fl) = **dómà**, Seze **dó:mbà** „buttocks“ (Siebert & Wedekind);

Is Barea (NS) **temmo** „Rücken“ (Re) borrowed from CCu ?

Hdd **oo-dar** „place of forward pad“ (BG)

Perhaps identical with **dar** m. „edge“ (HuB).

daraag m., pl. **darag** „cheek, side of“, **baahri drag** „side of shore“ (HuB) = **daraag** m. „cheek, side; seaside, beach“, def.sg. **udaraag**, def. pl. **idaraaga** (Wd) = **daraag** m., pl. **darag** „cheek“ (Rp) = **daráag** m. „Rand, Seite, Wange“, cf. **t-ába-ti deráag** „Ufer“, lit. „Flusser-Seite“ (Re) = **ēderag** „Wange“ vs. **o’derág**, pl. **e’déreg** „Ufer“ (Mu)

There are at least three possible etymologies:

(1) ? ECu: Arbore **daǵál** „cheek (of face)“ (Hy) and /or Elmolo **déker**, pl. **dérko** „horn“ (He), where **-k-** can originate from ***-g-**.

(2) CCu: Awngi (also Amh) **dar** „side“ (Ht), but cf. Beja **dar** „side“ (Tl) || ECu: Or Wellega **daarii** „boundary, limit“ (Gg) (Ehret 1987, #21);

(3) NS: Kunama **dárgáa** „Seite“ (Re) > Beja or vice versa?

diror v.1 „to be well-fleshed, in good health“, cf. **dirora** adj. „plump“ (Rp)

(1) ECu: Arbore **dirrá** „flesh, muscle of the back, the lumbar region“ (Hy), ?Had **diʒira** „fat“ (HG).

(2) ECu ***zir-** > Saho **dir-o** „hip“, Dasenech **zir** „rib“, Burji **dír(r)-i** „backbone“ (Sasse 1982, 56).

diwdiw m., pl. **-a** „shinbone“ (Rp) = **diwdíw** & **dúyduy** m., pl. **-a** „Schienbein“ (Re) = **díwdiww** m. „Schienbein“ (Al) = **duidui** m., pl. **-yǵ** „shinbone“ (HuB) = [e] **duiduyo** id. (Mu)

ḍa „horn“, besides **ḍa** „molar teeth, elephant's tusks“ (HuB) = **ḍa'**^a m., pl. **ée ḍa'**^a, acc. **d'aab** „molar tooth“ (Do) = **ḍ'aab** „horn“ (Tl) = **ḍa'** m., pl. **ḍ'aab** „molar tooth“, besides **d'a** m., acc. **d'āb**, pl. **d'aab** „horn“ (Rp) = Hdd (Port Sudan) **ḍa'** „Backenzahn“ (Me) = **ḍa'** & **da'** m., pl. **-a** „Backenzahn; Horn“ (Re) = [o] **da** „Horn“ (Mu) = **o'da**, acc. **dab**, pl. **e'da** „Elephantenzahn“ (Se); cf. **d'aab** m. „horn“, def.sg. **ood'a**, def.pl. **eed'a** vs. **ḍ'aab** m. „molar tooth“, def.sg. **ood'a**, def.pl. **eed'a** (Wd)

ECu ***ṣaṣ(ç)-** > Saho **áḍa** „molar tooth“ (We) = **áḷaa** „Gesicht, Kopf, Backen, Wangen über welche die Haare herabfallen“ (Re), Afar **ode** „cheek“, Dirayta **aḍḍa**, Konso **aḍá** (pl.), Muusiya **aḍdetá** id. (Lamberti 1987, 533); Gawwada **ṣaḍ-o** „Adam's apple“, Gollango **ṣaḍ-o** „Backe“ (AMS); cf. also Arbore **ʔačēč** „lower jaw“ (Hy) || SCu ***ṣoč-** > Burunge **ṣutla**, Alagwa **ṣuntla** „cheek“, Mbugu **i'óhlo** „cheekbone“ (Ehret 1980, 278);

Om: (S) Hamar **ʔaṣ-** (Be), Galila **ači** (Fl) etc. || (N) Shako **aaçu**, Nao **açu**, Bambahsi **aatṣ-/aaz-e** (Fl), Yemsa **aaʔya**, Oyda **aači** (Be) etc. „tooth“, Koyra **ʔaaṣ-** „to chew“ (Hy), Kachama **ač-** id. (Fl);

?WCh: Ngizim **ʔḍà**, Bade **àḍán** „head“ (Kr).

Se ***ṣaṣay** > Hb **ṣāṣē** „vertebra of the tail, coccyx“, Ar **ṣaṣā** „bone of the leg“, **ṣaṣṣaṣ** „bone of the tail“, besides ***ṣač(Vč)-** / ***ṣačṣač-** > Šheri **ṣaḍuḍ**, Mehri **ʔaḍayḍ**, Harsusi **ʔaḍaiḍ** „bones“ (Leslau 1945, 233; SED I, 24) - see Blažek 1989, # 101.

ḍ'anā „Morettia parviflora / philaena“ = Ar **ṭagr** (Hs)

Originally perhaps „toothed“ or sim., cf. Arab **ṭagr** „Vorderzahn, Mund, Hafen, Bucht“ (Wr). Probably derived from **ḍa'** „molar tooth“ (Rp) by the suffix of abstract nouns, cf. **leh-anáy**, **-ane** „Krankheit“ etc. (Reinisch 1894, § 352).

ḍifi m./f. „a style of coiffure in which the hair is done in a round ball without being parted into **tirra** and **hankwili**“ (Rp) = **diffi** m. „hair cut short“ (HuB)

Perhaps derived from **ḍif** „färben“ (Re).

ḍah „to be fat“, adj. **ḍahaab** „fat“, cf. **maḍḥa** m. „fatness“ (HuB) = **ḍaha** „to be fat“, adj. **ḍhaab** m., **ḍhaat** f. „fat“ (Wd) = **ḍhaab** n. „fat“, adj. **ḍhaabi** (Tl) = **ḍaha** adj. „fat“, **ḍah** v.1 „to be fat“ (Rp) = **ḍah** v.1 „fett, dick sein“ (Re) = **ḍah** „fett / dick sein“, **ḍáha** / **ḍéha** „fett, dick“ (Al) = **deha** „fett“, **te'edha** „Fettigkeit“, cf. **edha** „fett werden“ (Mu) = **daha[b]o** „gras“ (Li) = „fett“ (Se)

(1) ECu: Afar **ḍàyta** „fat, stoutness“, SOR **ḍaḍaa** „fat, oil“ (Stroomer), Konso **ḍaata** „butter“ (Sim); Yaaku **deeʔuʔ** adj. „fat“ (He); Yaaku **-ʔ-** can be a continuant of ECu ***-h-**, cf. **-loʔoʔ** „to have“ (He) < ECu ***leh-** „having“, while ECu ***h** > Afar **Ø** (Sasse 1979, 41) || Dahalo **ḍeṣem-** „to be fat“ (Ehret, Elderkin, Nurse 1989, 28);

(2) ECu ***ḍuḥ-** „marrow“ > Afar **ḍuḥ-u** (PaHy); Som **ḍuuḥ**; Dasanech **ḍúh-a**; Konso **ḍóh-ota** (Black 1974, 108); Dopasunte **ḍoḥ-kó** „bone marrow“ (Hy) or

LECu **ʔaḍaḥ* > Afar *àḍḥa* „back, back-bone, spinal column“ (PaHy); Som *aḍaḥ* „back-bone“, Rend *aḍáḥ* „back“ (Heine 1978, 73);

Eg (Gr) *ṭḥ* „fett, gemästet (von Ochsen)“ (Wb. V, 325; Takács 1997a, 232);

?Se $\sqrt{\text{ṭḥdh}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{dhdh}}$ > Akk *ṭuḥdu(m)* „abundance; fat, grease“ (AHw 1392-93), Soqotri *ṭadaḥ* „back“ (Leslau 1945, 244).

Note: The semantic dispersion „marrow“ – „fat“ is comparable with e.g. Ar *muḥḥ* „brain, marrow“ vs. Ph *mḥ* „fat“ (adj.) (Klein 1987, 331).

ḍuuk m., pl. *-a* „crupper“ (Rp) = *duk* m. „buttocks, rope under donkey’s tail“ (HuB)

ECu: Sam **ḍák* > Som *ḍeeg* „flank of camel below hump“, Rend *ḍaḥ* „rope made of camel hide“ (Heine 1981, 179, 185);

?Se: Gz *ḍa(a)k^w*, *ṣak^w* etc. „hip(bone), thigh(bone), flesh of thigh, shoulder-blade“ (Leslau 1987, 149), if it is not an ECu lw.

Skinner (1996: 59) compared Beja with Ch: (W) Hausa *ḍuwai*, pl. *ḍuwaawu* „buttocks“; (C) Ga’anda *ḍukwe-*, but Fali Jilbu *ḍubaku* id. probably preserves a more archaic form which is incompatible with the Cushitic data.

ḍekwa adj. „lacking teeth“ (Rp)

Probably derived from *ḍikw* v.1 „to be tired, suffer pain, loss“, *ḍikwa* adj. „bored, ennuyé“ (Rp).

ḍambe f. „palm of hand, sole of foot“ (Rp) = *ḍanbi* f. „sole, trace, footprint“, def. sg. *tuḍanbi*, def.pl. *tiḍanbi(iya)* (Wd) = *dámbe* f. „Fuss-, Schuhsohle, Fussfläche“ (Re) = *ḍambét* f. „heel“ (Do) = *ḍambét* „foot“ (Tl) = Hdd *dambe* „foot“ (BG) = *dambi* f. „palm of hand, sole of foot“; cf. *dambi* m. „thigh“ (HuB) = *te-dumbé* „palm of the hand, sole of the foot“ (Th) = *dámbe* & *démbe* „Fusssohle“ (Al) = *[te]démbe* „Fusssohle“, *[te]démbe[tôn]* „Hand“ (Se)

?CCu **camb/f-* „sole of leg“ > Bilin *šanfí*, Khamtanga *s’abb*, Kemant *šamba*; Awngi *čam* (Appleyard 1991, 18); CCu > Amhara *čamma* „shoe, sole of the foot“, Gurage *čamba* „sole of foot serving as measure“ (Appleyard 1977, 55; Leslau 1986, 381) || ?ECu **ḍabn-/ḥabn-* „side, cheek“ > Saho-Afar *daban* „cheek, side“; Som *ḍaban* „cheek“; Konso *ḍapn-a* „side (of face, body, mountain, river)“, Or *ḍamn-a* „jaw“; Had *ṭaban-o* „cheek, jaw“, Burji *ḍaban-s-* „to bend“; Yaaku *dapa* „at, near“ (Sasse 1982, 60) - semantics cf. Swahili *shavu* „cheek; calf of leg“.

Note: The presence of *d* instead of *ḍ* in most Beja records could be caused by contamination of f. *ḍambe* „palm of hand, sole of foot“ and m. *dambe* „thigh“ (Rp).

fi’ m., pl. *-a* „abdomen, stomach, interior“ (HuB) = *f’iib* m. „belly, inside“, def. sg. *oof’i* (Wd) = Bi *oo-f’i* „stomach“ (BG) = *’óo f’i* m. „belly“ (Do) = *f’i*, *fi’i* m. „stomach; interior (of box, house, zeer)“ (Rp) = *f(i)’* m. „Inneres, Mitte, Magen,

Bauch“ (Re) = **oo-fé** „belly“ (Wt) = **fi, fe** m. „Bauch(höhle), innere Eingeweide“ (Al) = **o’fi** „Bauch“ (Mu) = **ofy** „stomach“ (Bu) = [**o**] **phéh** „Bauch“, **phi[ôk]** „[deinen] Magen“, **effiûl-lahábo** „Kolik“, lit. „sein Magen ist krank“ (Se; see Almkvist 1885, 22)

ECu: Som **fiiŋ** „Bauch, Herz, Verstand, Laune“ (Re);

?Be: (N) Tazerwalt **tifií/á/ú** „Fleisch“ (Stumme), Semlal **tifiyyi**, Ntifa **tifyi**, Baam-rani **tifiyi** (Militarev 1988); (W) Zenaga **tfi’jji** (Nicolas) id. Vycichl (1992, 384) proves that AA *ŋ regularly continues in common Be -y-.

faduunt „back, buttocks“, def.sg. **tifaduun**; cf. **fadoont** f. „after, behind, buttocks“, def.sg. **tufadoon**, def.pl. **tifadoon** (Wd)

fuufán(n)e f. „bladder“ (Rp) = **fuufanaayt** f. „bladder“, def.sg. **tufuufanaay**, def. pl. **tifuufanay** (Wd)

Derived from **fuuf** „blasen“ (Re); cf. Harso (Dullay / ECu) **uff-o** „Harnblase“ s. **uff-** „blassen, pusten“ (AMS).

fighat f. „skin disease with bleaching and itching“ (HuB)

fala m. „teat, nipple“; f. „meatus“ (Rp) = **falla** f. „nipple“ or (?) „penis“ (HuB) = **fála** f. „Augapfel“ (Re) (the semantic relationship is uncertain) = **faal** m. „corner of eye“, def.sg. **oofaal**, def.pl. **ifaala** (Wd) = **te’fale** „Augapfel“ (Mu)

?ECu: Tambaro **folle**, Had **foré** „coeur“ (Borelli 1890, 463) || ?SCu: Iraqw, Gorowa **fala** „hide“, Alagwa, Burunge **fala** „skin“ (KM 104); cf. Asa **fulo** id. (Ehret 1980, 150).

fuul f. „blister“ (HuB)

Perhaps identical with **fuul** m. „bean“ (HuB).

fiilik m., pl. **filka** „head of thighbone, kneecap“ (Rp)

?ECu: Som (Af-Boon) **figgilo** „fingernail“ (Lamberti 1984, 161) || ?SCu: Qwadza **fuguluko** „heel“ (Ehret 1980, 152).

fandood m., pl. **-a** „anus; small pool for watering animals“ (HuB) = **fandood** m. „anus“, def.sg. **ufandood**, def.pl. **ifandooda** (Wd) = **fandod** m., pl. **-a** „anus“ (Rp) = **finđo** & **findo** m. „Mist, Kot, Dreck“ (Re)

?CCu: Xamir **fāndiyaa**, pl. **fāndi(t)** „Schmutz“ (Re) if it is not borrowed from EtSe, cf. Amh **fandiya**, Gogot **fandiyya** etc. „excrement“ (Ls) || ECu: Som **fáanto** (& **fáalto**) „frischer, feuchter Mist, Kot“ (Re); Or **faando** „dung“ (Tu); Harso-Dobase **fānte** „Exkremente des Rindes“ (AMS); Qabenna **faandúta**, Gedeo **faandò** „dung“, Had **fiinda** „dung of horses“ (PB); ECu > Gz **fandot** „anus, buttocks“, Ti **fāndot** „buttocks“, besides Soddo **fando**, Selti **findo** „excrement“ (Leslau 1979, 234 & 1987, 162); NOM: Mocha **pāando** „dung of donkey or horses“ (Ls);

WCh: Hausa **findi** „excrement“ (Illič-Svityč 1966, 21, 24, # 2.7 connected it with CCh: Gidar **pəlwa**; Musgu **vulay**, **flay** „excrement“; cf. also Migama **pálló** „defecate“ - see JgIb II, 129, and further with Se ***part-** „excrements“ > Akk **paršu**, Hb **perēš**, Aram **partā**, Ar **fart**, Soqotri **fórt** id. - see Leslau 1938, 343).

fiir & **fiil** m. „face, features“ (HuB) = **fiir** m. „face“, def.pl. **eefiir** (Wd) = **ε-fir** „face; forehead“ (BG) = Halanga **fiir** „viso“ (Ci) = **fiir** „face“ (Tl) = **fiir** m. „face, surface“ (Rp) = **fir** m., pl. **-a** „Gesicht, Antlitz“ (Re) = **fiir** m. „Gesicht“, pl. **fiira** „Gesichtzüge“ (Al) = [é]**fiir** „Gesicht“ (Km) = [e]**phiir** id. (Se)

(1) ECu ***fool-/*fuul-** > Sam ***fòl-** > Som **fool-daḡo** „to wash face“, Boni **fóol** „face“, Rend **fôl** id. (Heine 1978, 81); Arbore **fool** „face“, Konso **fuulá** „forehead“, Or **fuula** „face, front“ (Sasse 1982, 175; Lamberti 1987, 533; Reinisch 1895, 81: Beja + Or; Meinhof 1912, 234: Beja + ECu + Be);

Be: Shilh **afilla** „Oberseite“ (Stumme), Zayan **afella** „dessus d’une chose; sur“ (Lo); cf. Rend **fuula** „to be on (top of [something])“ (GP).

(2) ECu: Som **faruur** „lip“, Rend **furúr** „lip“ (Heine 1981, 186: Sam ***fàruúr**). Ehret (1987, #181) compared Beja + Som, but it is probably derived from ECu ***fur-** „to open“ (Ehret 1987, #189).

Hdd **firḡhím** „nostrils“ (BG)

Could it be a compound consisting of two components corresponding to Sam ***feed** „rib“ (> Som **feed**, Boni **fée(r)’d**, pl. **feer^e** - see Heine 1978, 81) & Beja **huum**, pl. **hum** & **him** „Gehirn, Hirn, Mark“ (Re) respectively? Alternatively, in the first component Beja **fiir** „face“ can be identified while a source of **-ḡhim** remains unknown.

fourta m. „blister“ (HuB)

Derived from **four** „to swell up, blister“ (HuB).

fit (& **fud**) m., pl. **fiṭa** „extremity, point of ear“ (HuB)

fawáad m. „Lunge“ (Re)

Borrowed from Ar **fuwād** „heart, lung, liver“.

gá’a (st.abs.), **’óo nga’a** (st.det.) (Do) = **g’a**, **ga’** m., with article **unga’** sg., **eng’a** pl. „back“ (Rp), cf. **angā** m., with article **oo nga** „back“ (HuB) = **g’aat** f. „backbone“, def.sg. **toong’a**, def.pl. **teeng’a** (Wd) = **enga** m. „Rücken, Rückenteil, Hinterteil“ (Re) = **énga** „Rücken“ (Al) = [o]**ng[ôn]** „[unseren] Rücken“ (Se), cf. **te’engidmitat** „Rückgrat“ (Mu), lit. „Rücken“ & „Knochen“

ECu: Harso-Dobase **geefe** „Hals“ (AMS).

geeb prep. „with, in possession of“ (HuB) = **geeb** „with“ (Wd) = **geb** prep. „by, with, near“, **gebok** = **bariokgeb**, **geb** & **bəʔa** v.2 „to lie with“ (euph.) (Rp) = **gäb**

& **geb** m., pl. -a „Seite“, **géeb-i** „zur Seite, bei, neben“ (Re) = **geeb** „an, bei“ (Al)
CCu ***gab-/*gäb-** „side“ (Appleyard 1991, 23) > Bilin **gaba** „Seite, neben, bei“,
Qwara **gaba** „Seite“, Khamir **g(ə)ba**, **gwa** „Seite“ (all Re) || ECu ***gab-** „side; near,
at“ > Afar **gabb-e** „side (of back)“, Som **geb-i** „riverbank“, Or **gam-a** „side, direction;
riverbank“, Konso **kap-a** „next to, near“, Dirayta **kap-a** „near, beside“, Harso-Do-
base **kap-e**, Gollango **káp-e**, Gawwada **kap-a** „Seite“ (Sasse 1982, 74; AMS);
? NOm: Kafa **ga(?)oo** „lato, fianco“ (Ce) < ***gawo** < ***gabo**;
Ch: (W) Hausa **gàbaatà** „to put near“ || (C) Musgu **gob/gubbi/goboi/gobi/gop**
„nahe bei“ (Lk); Bana **góbio** „nahe“ (Lk); Illič-Svityč 1966, 16, 19, #1.24 recon-
structed pCh ***gVbb(V)** „near“;
Se ***gabb-** „side“ > Akk **gabbu** „part of human or animal body“, Ug **gb** „spine,
back, body“, Hb (post-biblical) **lā-gabbe** „near to, concerning“, Aram-Syr **gabbā**
„side“, Ar **ḡanb** „side“, Gz **gabo** „side, flank, rib, loins“, Ty **gobo**, Ti **gābo** „side“
(Watson 2015, 344; SED I, 79-80: ***ganb-**; Leslau 1987, 176; cf. Dolgopolsky
1973, 234 and Greenberg 1963, 54).

goob m., pl. -a „melted fat“ (HuB) = **goob** „fat“ (Be) = **gwoob** m. „suet“, def.sg.
oogwoob, def.pl. **igwooba** (Wd)
ECu ***gab?/*gob?/*ga?b-** „fat“ > Afar **gabuu-lu** (Be); Bayso **ḡab-i** „fat“ (Be);
Or **gabb-uu** „fat, thick“ (Gg), Konso-Dirayta **kapp-**; Gawwada **koop-i**, Gollango
koopo-lakko „fat person“, Burji **gabb-oo** n. „fat“, Yaaku **ke?p-ey-** „to be(come)
fat“ (Sasse 1982, 74) || SCu: Mbugu **-gābi** „to become fat“ (Ehret 1980, 234 com-
pares it with Iraqw **gawit** „stout“;
?Be: Zayan **agaḡb'ub'** „dos“ (Lo);
?Se: Ar (Hadr) **ḡaḡba** „buttock“ (Leslau 1945, 242).

giba f. „Finger, Zehe“, **gibala** & **gibaláay** f. id. (Re) = **giiba** f. „Finger“, **giibala**
m. „Daumen, grosse Zehe“ (Al) = **gibəloi** f., **gebole** „toe, finger“ (HuB) = **o'gib**
„Daumen“ (Mu) = **giballah** „Finger, Zehe“, **giballeh** „die Zehen“ (Kc) = **ngibála**
„Daumen“ (Se) = ?**gwiilay** in **kasti gwiilay** „middle finger“ (HuB) if derived from
***guwiil-** < ***gubbiil-**

(1) ECu: Dirayta **kúpalitt**, pl. **kúpaliyya** „finger-, toenail“ (Hayward 1981, 132)
< ***gubal-** (but Lamberti 1987, 537 quotes **qupalitt^a** / **qolopitt^a** / **qelepayitt^a** „fin-
gernail“);

(2) ECu: Afar **gaba** „hand, arm“ (PaHy), Saho **gaba** „hand“ (We);

WCh: Hausa **gaba** „joint (of limb)“ (Skinner 1996, 73: Hausa + Beja **gibaab**
„span“ + Afar **gaba** „hand“).

gibaab f., pl. **gibab** „handspan“ (HuB) = **giibaabt** f. „span“, def.sg. **tugiibaab**,
def.pl. **tigiibab**, vs. **giibeebaa** „to span“ (Wd) = **giibaab** m., pl. **giibab** „span“, v.2
„to span, measure with spans“ (Rp)
Derived from **giba** etc. „Finger, Zehe“ (Re).

gibab f. (**te'gibab**) „Brust“ (Mu)

ECu: Afar **gublo** & **gabuulo** „lung“, Saho **gubúul** „Lunge“ (Re); Som (Af-Boon) **gabo** „breast“ (Lamberti 1985, 161);

NOM: Oyda **gobina** „lungs“ (Fl); Shako **gùb** „chest“ (Yi);

WCh ***gaba** (Stolbova 1987, 214) > Hausa **gàba** „front part“; pBole ***gaba** „chest“ (Schuh 1984, 207); SBauchi: Seya, Dwot **gup** „breast“ (Kr);

?Be: Senhaja **igeybuyen** „poitrine“ (Rn);

Se: Ar **ğayb**, pl. **ğuyüb** „Brust, Busen“.

gabala f. „front, direction“, **gabalok** „in front of you“ (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar **qibal** „side, direction“, **qabla** „before“ (Sg 818).

géedi & **gaj** m. „Gesicht, Antlitz, Auge“ (Re) = Hdd **gaadí** „viso“ (Ci) = **gedib** „Gesicht“ (Mu)

CCu ***gäc-/gac-** „face“ > Bilin, Kemant **gäš**, Khamir **gac** (Appleyard 1977, 56 & 1991, 23); CCu > Gz **gašš** „face“, Ti, Ty **gäšš**, Amh also **gätt** id. (Leslau 1987, 205-6) || ECu ***gaḏ-** „jaw“ > Som **gaḏ** „chin“, Jiddu **gaḏí** „lip“, Boni **kir** „chin“; Or **gaḏ-ee** (Sasse 1982, 75), but Qabenna **gečá** „chin“ (Ls), Sidamo **gačč-o** „chin“, Burji **gac-óo** „molar, jaw“ (Hudson 1989, 40; Sasse l.c.) indicate the reconstruction ***gač-** || Dahalo **gáṭa** „face“ (Eh) || SCu: Iraqw **gitsaṣa** „face“ (Ehret 1980, 235) ~ **gitseeṣa(?)**, Gorowa **gitseeṣa** „forehead“ (KM 117: ***gitseeṣaʔi**).

Om: (N) Kafa **gaṭoo** (Ce) = **gatho** „chin“ (Habte), Mocha **gaṭano** „chin“ (Ls), Anfillo **garo** id. (Gt) - see Dolgopolsky 1973, 302.

Ch ***guč̣a-um** (Stolbova 1996, 122) > (W) Ankwe **ḍer-gòs** „jaw“ (Shimizu); Jimbin **gú'tlà** „cheek“ (Sk); Daffo **gátlm** „Wange“ (Jg) || (C) Mofu **gwasl** „maxillaire inférieur“; Banana **gwəḥi-no**, Banana (Musey) **-gəhlb-no** „cheeks“ (Kr) || (E) Sumray **gàjé** „cheek“; Dangla **gàḏumò** id.; Birgit **gàḏáyó** id., Jegu **gédé** „Wange“ (Jg) - see JgIb II, 69.

Be: (S) Ahaggar **agʷaz** (Fc), Ghat **ajež** „joue“ (Nehilil).

gaḏam m., pl. **gudam** „buttock“ (HuB), cf. **gaddam** „neben“ (Mu), originally probably „hinter“ (Almkvist 1885, 23), besides other forms with initial **k-**, see **kadáam** „Steisse, Hintere, Hinterbacke“ (Re)

ECu: Bayso **gedeemi** „uterus“ (Hy); Or **gadameesa** „womb“ (Gg) - see Ehret 1987, #261: Beja + Or.

goofi f. „blood blister“ (HuB)

guug m., pl. **-a** „heart, brain, mind, thought“ (Rp)

ECu: Som **gog** „Brust bei Menschen und Tieren, Seite“ (Re) and /or Bayso **gegiyo** „chest“ (Hy), Kamb, Had **gāga** „body, self“ > Gurage **gāg** id. (Leslau 1979, 267).

gale m., acc. **galob** „skin“; **galot** f. „self“ (Rp) = **galoo** f. „skin of animal“ (HuB) = **galoot** f. „skin“, def.sg. **tugalu**, def.pl. **tigalu** (Wd)

ECu: Saho **gale** „body“ (Lamberti 1987, 538), Afar **galaa** „Farbe“ (Re) = **gale** „stripes (on the body of an animal)“ (PaHy); alternatively, if the primary form was Beja **galob**, only later reinterpreted as the accusative, there are promising cognates in Afar **galbo** „hide, skin“ & **galab**, pl. **galooba** „body“ (PaHy); Bayso **galba** „skin“, Boni ***kúbùl** id. (He), Som **gubil** id. (Ehret & Nuuh Ali 1984, 237-240);

NOM: She **gel** „skin“ (Be); Wolayta, Gofa, Gamo, Dorze, Kullo **galba** id. (Ae) and /or Zala **galla**, Dache **gaalla** „body“ (Lamberti 1987, 538);

Be: Ait Khalfun **agulim**, Zenaga **iğem**, pl. **ellemem**, Ahaggar **aglim** „skin“ (> Hausa **agalami** „sheep or goat skin“) (Hintze 1951, 74-5; Haddadou 2005-06, 72-73, n. 254);

Se ***gild-** „skin“ > Akk **giladu** (< Aram), Hb **geled**, Aram **gildā**, Ar **ğild**, Mehri **geld**, Soqotri **gad**, Gz **gald** „skin, hide“ (Fronzaroli 1964, 266; Leslau 1987, 189-90);

?NS: Kunama **agala** „Haut“ could be borrowed from CCu, cf. Qwara **anjala**, Khamir **agay** id. (Re).

gálo f. „scrotum“ (Re)

(1) Identical with **gale** m. „skin“ (cf. Ar **ğald** & **ğild** „penis“ vs. **ğild** „skin“ - see Albright 1918, 246; SED I, 72-74)?

(2) Cu: (C) Bilin **gʷālaa** „Hoden“ (Re) || (E) Rend **gul** „penis“ : **gel** „vagina“ (He); Arbore **gél** „vagina“ (Hy); Dirayta **kélalla** „testicles“ : **kélat** „vulva“ (Hy), Or Bararetta **gula** „genitalia“ (Fl); Black (1974, 183) derives ***gel-** „vulva“ from ***gel-** „under, inside“ || (S) Qwadza **gulala**, Asa **gulala** „testicles“ (Ehret 1980, 239), vs. Iraqw **gwalay**, Qwadza **gulaʔiko** „vagina“ (Ehret 1980, 372; KM 125); Ch: (W) Hausa **gwaíwa**, **golo** „testicles“; Angas **gwaal**, Dera **gware** id. || (C) Bachama **gule** „vagina“; Musgu **gili** „weibliche Scham“ (Lk) || (E) Migama **gólile** „Hoden“ : **gèllú** „Penis“ (Jg), Bidiya **gulal** „testicules“ : **guláalá** „penis“ (Alio); Be: Sus **iglayn** „testicules“ : **taglait** „oeuf“, Kabyle **agellay**, pl. **igellayen** „testicule“, **taglayt**, pl. **tiglayin** „oeuf“ (Laoust 1920, 117; Haddadou 2005-06, 73, n. 257);

Se: ***gilf-** „prepuce, clitoris“ > Syriac **gəlaʕtā** „praeputium“, Mehri **gəlot**, E&C-Jibbali **giʕʕot** „clitoris“ (Jh), Ar **ğaliʕa** „to be obscene“, (Hadr) **ğalaʕa** „to pull down the prepuce“ (Leslau 1945, 242; SED I, 71).

gilgo m. „body; one’s own; human frame“ (HuB)

gilgiš m. „kneecap“ (HuB) < ***gilb-giš** ?

gulhe f. „Vorderarm bis zum Ellenbogen“, cf. **gwalháan** & **gwenháal** „id., Elle; Ellbogen“ (Re) = **gúlhe** f. „Unterarm“ (Al) = **gulhin** m., pl. **gulhan** „ell, length of forearm and hand, point of elbow“ (HuB) = **gulhiin** „elbow pad“ (BG) = Hdd **gwilhiin** „gomito“ (Ci) = **gwilhiin** „arm, elbow“ (Rp) = Hdd **ęę-gwilhiin** pl. „Ellenbogen“ (Me) = **gilhaan** & **galhaan** m. „edge, side“ (Rp) = **o-gulhin** „elbow“

(Th) = **gwanhiil** m. „elbow, ulna“, def.sg. **ugwanhiil**, besides **gwilhuun** m. „ulna, measure“, def. **ugwilhuun**, def.pl. **igwilhun**, & **gwilhiin** m. „ulna, measure“, def. sg. **oogwilhiin**, def.pl. **igwilhan** (Wd)

Cu: (C) Bilin **gállaw** „knuckle“ (Re) || (S) Qwadza **guhuluko** „ankle“ (Ehret 1980, 365 compares it with Iraqw **guhulay** „knobbed club“; Id. 1987, #534: N+C+SCu); ?Ch: (W) Polci **ngwəł** „shoulder“ (Kr) || (C) Masa **gila ata(no)** „arm“ (Kr) - added by Takács (1997c, 101);

Eg ***grh** reconstructed on the basis of the sign „forearm with palm of hand downwards“ (Gardiner 1988, 455: D 41) determining frequently the words with the structure **grh**, e.g. (MK) „fertig machen“, (Gr) „Steuerrückstände“, (Gr) „Nacht“ (Wb. V, 182-84) - see Takács 1997c, 101, developed by Takács 2016, 291-92.

Note: The Beja forms **gwəlháan** (Re) & **gi/alhaan** perhaps represent a compound of **gulhe** & **gínha**. This idea was supported by Takács (2016, 292), analyzing his reconstruction of Angas-Sura ***kwaŋ-gwayal** „elbow“ and Bole-Tangale ***gun-gul**- id. in similar way.

gulam m, pl. **gulmā** „moustache“ (HuB) = **guláam** m., pl. **gulám** „Schnurrbart der Oberlippe, Moustache“ (Al) = **o goulam** „moustache“ (Li)

CCh: Fali Jilbu **ngwələmən**, Fali Bwagira **ngorūmun**, Gude **gwəgwuremīn**, Bana **gwəlino** „chin“ (Kr).

guumba m., pl. **gumbə** „knee“ (HuB) = Bi **gúmba** „knee“ (BG) = **gwumbaab** m. „knee“, def.sg. **oogwumba** (Wd) = Halanga **gumbá** „ginocchio“ (Ci) = **gumba** m. „knee, hock“ (Rp) = **gumba** & **gínba** m. „Knie“ (Re) = **o'gumba** „Eln- oder Kniebogen“ (Mu) = **oh gummba** „Knie“ (Kc)

CCu ***garb-** „knee“ > Bilin, Khamir, Kemant **garb**; Awngi **gárəb**, Kunfāl **gerv** (Appleyard 1991, 23) || ECu ***gilb-/gulg-** id. > Saho-Afar **gulub**; Som, Rend **jilib**, Boni **šilub**, Bayso **gilib**; Or **jilb-a**, Konso, Mossiya **kilp-a**, Dirayta **kilp^a**; Harso, Gawwada **kilp-ay-o**, Tsamakko **gilib-ko** (Sasse 1979, 5, 6; Id. 1982, 81; Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 98); HECu ***gilube** id. > Burji **gilba**, Sid **gulube**, Kamb **gulube**, **gulab-ita**, Gedeo **gulubo**, Had **gurubbo** (Hudson 1989, 87) || Dahalo **gilli**, pl. **gílibi** „knee“ (To);

NOM: Sezo **gubbi** (Fl), Shinasha **guubra** (Be), **gubta** (Bk) etc., although the interference with HECu or EtSe is very probable, cf. Amh **gulgāt**, Gurage: Chaha **g^wurbāt** id. (Ls) - Blažek 1989, #71; Bender 1988, 147;

?Eg (Med) **dnb** „gekrümmt“ (Wb. V, 576);

For pCh Stolbova (1996, 104) reconstructs ***gufi** „knee“ > (W) Hausa **gwíwàà**; Ngizim **kufu** || (C) Zime (Dari) **giffi** || (E) Sumray **gùbé**; Migama **gippi**; Jegu **gifo** etc. (Jglb II, 214-15). But Masa **ɲulafa-no** (Kr) = **ɲulfa** (Mc) id. opens a possibility to derive the common Chadic word for „knee“ from ***gulfV** via ***guffV**.

Note: The cluster **-mb/-nb-** is probably a regular Beja correspondence to ECu ***-lb-**, cf. Beja **amba** & **ánba**. On the other hand, there are alternative cognates in Arbore

gĩṇḃa „heel“ (Hy), Elmolo **gíma**; Yaaku **kimba?** (He) || Dahalo **gĩmpo** || Burunge, Alagwa **gobina** id. (Ehret 1980, 240; KM 118: from ***goob** „to run away“).

Bi **oo-gúmba** „back bad (stifle“ (BG)

Probably identical with the synonymous item „knee“.

gõmuus m. „hips, iliac, crest“ (HuB) - see **kumus** f. „buttock“ (HuB)?

ganaab m. „human skin“, def.sg. **ugana** (Wd)

Cu: (C) Bilin **gano** „Haut, Fell“ (Re); Dahalo **gino** „skin, hide“; (S) Qwadza **gunayo** „circumcisor“ (cf. Ehret 1980, 240). Ehret (1987, #41) compared the Bilin, Dahalo & Qwadza words with Beja **ginuun** „jaw, gum of teeth“ (Wd).

gan'a f. „flat of the hand from wrist to finger-tips“ (Rp) = **gan'a** f. „Hand, Arm (Re) = **gan'aat** f. „sole, flat of hand from wrist to finger tips“, def.sg. **tugan'a**, def. pl. **tigan'a** (Wd) = Ammar'ar **tu gána'a** f. „palm of hand“ (Do) = **ganna** f. „palm of hand, sole of foot“ (HuB) = **gána** f. „flache Hand“ (Al) = **te'gana** „hohle Hand“ (Mu) = **the gannah** „Hand“ (Kc)

Cu: (C) Khamir **ägäna** „Handfläche, palma manus“ (Reinisch 1884, 333 compared it with Bilin **äqän** „abmessen, mit der Handspanne etwa abmessen“; Takács 1997b, 260 compared it with Beja **gan'a** and its relatives);

ECu ***ganf-** „(palm of) hand“ > Afar **gènnaf & ginnaf** „palms of the hand, soles of the foot“ (PaHy); Som **gaŋan** „arm, hand“, Boni **kaʔan**, Bayso **gene** „hand, arm“; Elmolo **gene** „hand“; Or Borana **gana** „palm of hand“ (LVC), Konso **kanʔ-aata**, Dirayta **kanaʔ-atʰ**, Massiya **kanaʔ-ta** id.; Harso, Gollango **kanáf-e**, Gawwada of Dalpena **kanfate** „Handfläche“ (AMS); ? Burji **gan-áa** „(palm of) hand“ (if it is not borrowed from Or) or HECu ***anga** „arm“ > Burji **ánga**, Sid, Had, Kamb, Gedeo, Alaba **anga**; Yaaku **kinneʔe**, pl. **kiʔn-ei** „hand“ (Sasse 1979, 17, 36 & 1982, 77, 26; Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 99; Dolgopolsky 1973, 316; Ehret 1987, #498) || ?SCu ***ganaʔ** „to be straight“ > Iraqw, Gorowa **ganaaʔ**, Alagwa **ganaʔ** id. (Kiessling 1994 p.c.: N + ECu + Iraqw; KM 114);

NOM: Basketo **ganná** „shoulder“ (Fl);

Ch: (W) ?Hausa **hánnúú** „hand“; Sura **kəgɔŋ**, Angas **gwon/ŋ** „shoulder“; Dwot **kùryun** „shoulder, wing“; Bokkos **kôŋ**, Sha **ŋgaan** „arm“ (Stolbova 1987, 218 reconstructs pWCh ***hV-ganV**) || ?(C) Musgu **gonogoné** „Ellbogen“ (Lk) || (E) Tumak **gēp** „main“ (Cp);

Eg (Pyr) **ḏnh** „Flügel, Bein oder Teil desselben“ (Wb. V, 578), Copt **ḡnaʔ** „bras, avant-bras, aile; force“ (Vycichl 1983, 329);

Se: Ar **ḡanāḥ**, pl. **ʔaḡniḥ(at)** „bras, aisselle, nageoire, aile“, Šheri **gináḥ** „wing“ (Leslau 1945, 238; SED I, 80-81).

Note: Takács (1997b, 251) connects Eg **ḏnh** with Mocha (NOM) **gano** „foot, leg“ (Ls) || Ch: (C) Bata **gwone** „leg“ (Mc) || (E) Nancere **guánung**, Dormo **dé-ganu**

„Bein“ (Lk). The meaning „hand“ and „foot“ are compatible starting from the common denominator „palm of hand / sole of foot“, cf. Beja.

gin'a m. „heart; mind, idea“ (Rp) = **gin'a** & **gínha** m. „Herz, Bauch, Brust“ (Re) = **gina'**, pl. **gin'aab** m. „heart, feelings, understanding“, def.sg. **ugin'a**, def.pl. **igin'a**, besides **ginhaab** m. „chest“, def.sg. **ooginha**, def.pl. **eeginha** (Wd) = **ginha** „breast (male)“ & **gin'a** „heart“ (Tl) = **gina** „heart“ (HuB) = **gína** & **géna** m. Herz, Bauch, Brust“, cf. **gíni** „verständlich, klug“ (Al) = **o'gena** „Herz“, cf. **ginni** „gescheidt, fröhlich“ (Mu) = **e-gná** „cuore, petto; prua“ (Ci) = **[eh]g-nah** „Brust (Herz)“ (Kc) = **[ê]gná** „Brust“ (Se)

ECu: Som **ganaɸ** „Mastdarm“ (Re); ?Elmolo **gôn** „body“ (He); it is tempting to add Saho-Afar **gínaa** „Gestalt, Form, Körper“ (Re) = **gino** „kind, type“ (PaHy) || SCU: Iraqw **gunuɸa** „navel“ (Ehret 1987, #499: Beja + Iraqw);

Ch: (C) Fali Kiria **gínu?** „intestines“ (Kr); Kotoko ***ngun** „belly“ > Buduma **gun**, Logone **ngun** etc. (Sölken 1967, 260-1) || ?(E) Tumak **gègōn** „ventre“ (Cp);

?Eg (NK) **gnnw** „the fat between and around intestines“ (Wb. V, 176; Ward, *JNES* 20[1961], 33);

Se: Soqotri **ganḥ** / **gánḥi** / **ignáḥoh** „devant, milieu de la poitrine“, Noked **gánʰ** „sternum“ (Simeone-Senelle & Lonnet 1991, 1458), Ar **ḡāniḥat** „interior et exterior costa, pectus respiciens“ : **ḡanaḥa** „inclinavit“ (Fr). There are also forms without the final radical **-ḥ-** (probably indicating the body part terms): Akk **gannu** „ein innerer Körperteil des Schafes“ (AHw 280) listed among „entrails, marrow, small cuttings, upper stomach“, Ug **gngn** „insides“ (Ward, *JNES* 20[1961], 33). With question mark Klein (1987, 96) derived Hb **gāḥōn** „belly (of reptiles)“ from the verb $\sqrt{\text{g-n-ḥ}}$ (cf. also Takács 1997b, 248).

ganaad m., pl. **ganad** „canine tooth“ (HuB), cf. **ɛyās-ganaat** „the canine teeth“ (Rp)

?ECu: Or Borana **gaadee** „canine tooth“ (Stroemer).

gundúuf m., pl. **gindef** „Knie, Ellbogen“ (Re) = **gindif** & **gindif** m. „knee“, def. sg. **uginḏif**, def.pl. **iginḏifa** (Wd) = **gundif** m., pl. **-a** „knee“ (HuB) = Hdd **gindüif** „ginocchio“ (Ci) = Hdd **gindif** „knee“ (BG) = **gindif** „knee“ (Tl) = **gindif** m., pl. **-a** „point of bent knee or elbow“ (Rp) = Hdd (Port Sudan) **gindif** „Knie“ (Me) = **gúnduf** m. „Knie“ (Al) = **[e]géndef** m. „Knie“, **wuaiôn gündif** „Ellbogen“ (Se) Derived from **ginif** „to cause to kneel“ (Rp) = **ginafa** „to kneel down“ (Wd) = **genif**, pres. **aganiif** „to kneel“ (HuB) = **genif** „biegen, krümmen“ (Re), cf. the reflexive stem **adganiif** „I kneel down“ (Roper 1928, 71); **-uu-** in the second syllable (cf. Reinisch' record) is the marker of Nomen actionis, cf. **dibuul** „collecting“ from **dibil** „to collect“ (Roper 1928, 63).

The verb is connected with (or borrowed from) Ar **ḡanafa** „to turn aside, decline“ (Sg 249).

ganḡe m. „anus, fundament“ (Rp)

ECu: Dullay ***gonf**- „Rücken“ > Gawwada of Dalpena **kónso**, Gollango **konnatto**, Harso-Dobase **konʔo** (AMS); Burji **gunḡúree** & **gunʔúree** „waist, spine, backbone“ (Sasse 1982, 86); cf. also Arbore **gín** „bottom“ (Hy), Elmolo **gin** „under“ (He); Ch: (W) Hausa **gíndi** „buttocks; bottom, lowest part“ (Skinner 1996, 84: Hausa + Beja) || (C) Tera **ganà** „back“ (Nw).

gěnuuf m., pl. **genif** „nose, beak“ (HuB) = **ginuuf** m. „nose“, def.sg. **oognuuf**, def.pl. **eegnif** (Wd) = **ginuuf** „nose“ (Tl) = **ginúuf** & **genúuf** m., pl. **genif** „nose“ (Rp) = Hdd (Port Sudan) **u-gunúf**, pl. **genif** „Nase“ (Me) = **genúuf** m., pl. **genif** „Nase, Schnabel“ (Re) = **gunuf** „nose“ (Be) = **kenuf** „nose“ (Wt) = **g(e)núuf** m., pl. **génif** „Nase“ (Al) = [o]gnuff id. (Km) = [to]genouf id. (Bu) = [ô]gnûf „Nase, schnabel“, cf. **gümpfo-hoih** „Nasenlöcher“, i.e. ***genúufooh úhi** * „unter seiner Nase“ (Se; see Almkvist 1885, 25)

ECu: Burji **guuna** „nose“ (Be; cf. Zaborski 1989, #60: Beja + Burji); Bayso **konoono** id. (Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 119: Beja+Bayso); Harso **gunun-ak-kó** „Nasenflöte“ (AMS);

? Eg (Pyr) **fnd** „Nase“ (Wb. I, 577; Zyhlarz 1933, 173: Beja + Eg); Eg (MK) **gnf**, (D 18) **gfn** „abwehren“ (Wb. V, 174) is written with the hieroglyph „nose“ (Gardiner 1988, 452: D 19; Vycichl 1934, 46, 63 and Id. 1960, 263 reconstructs ***gnf** „nose“).

Note: Ehret 1987, #379: Beja + Bilin **ganbär** „forehead“ + SCu: Alagwa **gamfari** „chin, beard“, Qwadza **kampuko** „chin“ (Ehret 1980, 364). Lamberti p.c. analyzes Bilin word as the original compound of ***gVn**- (see ECu) & **bar**- (cf. NOM: Gongga ***bar**- „forehead“ || ECu: Burji **bára** „chest“, Dasenech **bal** „front“ - see Sasse 1982, 33-4 || SCu: Mbugu **ki-béra** „skull“ - see Ehret 1980, 137; cf. Blažek 1989, #45).

genaga f. „corpse“ (HuB)

Hdd **gunúun** „jaw“ (BG) = **ginuun** m. „jaw, gum of teeth“, def.sg. **oognuum**, def.pl. **eegnin** (Wd) = **genúun** & **ginúun** m., pl. **genín** „gum (of teeth)“ (Rp) = **genúun** m., pl. **genín** „Kiefer, Kinnbacken, -lade“ (Re) = **genúun** m., pl. **genín** „Kinnladen, -backen“ (Al) = **o'gnun** „Zahnfleisch“ (Mu)

SCu: Gorowa **ginee** „face“ (Ki);

Ch: (W) Ankwe **gen**, Angas **gün**, Montol **gun**, Sura **gǎn** „cheek“ (Jg; cf. Stolbova 1987, 218); Gera **geni**, Burma **kyən** „face“ (Kr) || (C) Lame **gíní**, Peve **ngyen** „cheeks“ (Kr) || (E) Mubi **gín** „Stirn“ (Lk);

Eg (Med) **dnn.t** „Kopf“ (Wb. V, 576).

Note: Ehret's (1987, #41) comparison of the Beja word with Bilin **gano** „Haut, Fell“ (Re) and Dahalo **gino** „skin, hide“ & Qwadza **gunayo** „circumcisor“ (cf. Ehret 1980, 240) is less convincing for semantic reasons.

gari m. „body, trunk; self“, acc. **garob** (Rp) = **garoot** f. „body; self“, def.sg. **tugaru**, def.pl. **tigaru** (Wd) = **gari** m. „body“ (HuB) = **garooy**- „self“ (Do)

Originally evidently ***garVb**; **-b** was reanalyzed as an object marker. The form with **-b** is probably preserved in **angarboy** „sideways, on one side, shoulder to shoulder“.

Cu: (C) Bilin **g(e)róob**, pl. **g(e)róof** „Gestalt, Leib, Körper“ (Re) > or < Ti (see Se) || (C) Saho **gárba** „stomach“ (We); Som **gárab** „Schulter“, pl. **gárbo** „Oberkörper“ (Re), Rend **gárab**, pl. **garbó** „shoulder blade“, Boni **kárub**, pl. **karooḡt** „shoulder“ (Heine 1978: 82); Bayso **gárab** „upper arm“ (Hy);

?NOM: Kachama **gaaraa** „corpo“ (CR);

?WCh: Nbauchi: Tsagu **garabun** „rib“, Miya **garabu** „chest“ (Sk);

Se ***gVrVb**- (SED I, 84-85): EpSAr **grb** „body; (bodily) life; person“ (Biella 1982: 75), Ti **garōb** „body“ (LH 574-75); Mehri **garəbēt**, EJibbali **garbēt** „mass, group of people“ (Johnstone 1987: 123); cf. also Ar **ġirāb** „(sheepskin) bag for provisions“ (cf. Biella l.c.).

gaarīb m., pl. **gaariba** „that place in front of the camel's hump on which the front saddle-pad rests; withers“ (Rp) = Hdd & Bi **oo garīb** „withers“ (BG) = **gaar'ib** m. „part of camel's neck in front of the hump, abrasion in this area“ (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar **ġarīb**, pl. **ġawārib** „part between hump and neck of a camel, hump, neck“ (Sg 743).

ġirguma m. „Halsknorpel, Adamsapfel, Schlund, Kehle, Rachen“ (Re)

Cu: (C) Bilin **gurgumáa** (Re); Awngi **gurgəm** (Be), Kunfāl **gurgum** (Cw) „neck“ || ?(E) Afar **gurdumée**, Saho **durgumáa** „Schlund, Rachen, Kehle“ (Re) < CCu?; cf. also Bayso **geredde** „neck (back)“ or **gororo** „throat“ (Hy)?

Note: A compound of two components perhaps corresponding with (1) Gz **gurŋe** „throat, neck, palate“ and (2) Beja **ġirma** & **gúrma** „head“ respectively?

ġirgiš m., pl. **-a** „pad on camel's chest“ (HuB) = Hdd **ġirgiš** „back bad (stifle), boss“ (BG) = **ġirgič** f., pl. **-a** „flat boss on camel's chest“ (Rp)

ġirma, dim. **ġilma** m. „head, corner“ (Rp) = **ġirmaab** m. „head“, def.sg. **uġirma**, def.pl. **iġirma** (Wd) = **guurma**, **ġilma**, **ġilim** „head, top, summit“ (HuB) = Hdd **ġirīmu** „[mein] Kopf“, pl. **ġirīma** (Me) = **ġirma** & **gúrma** m. „Kopf, Haupt“ (Re) = **ġirmaa** „head“ (Be) = **ġirmaab** „head“ (Tl) = **akermá** „head“ (Wt) = **o'agurma**, pl. acc. **gurmáb** „Kopf“ = **gurma** id. (Km) = **ġirmah** „Stirn“ (Kc) = **óġürmá** „Kopf“ (Se)

WCh: Hausa **kungurmi** „cranium“ (Skinner 1992, 348: Beja + Hausa); maybe also Jimbin (Nbauchi / WCh) **gürmá** „chin“ and Gude (Bata gr. / CCh) **gurmá** id. (Jglb II, 76-77);

Se: Hb **gərem** „bone“, YewishAram **garmā** „bone, body, self“, Ar **ġirm** id., Saba-ic **grm** „body of animal, Mehri **gurma** „nape of neck“, Šeri **gurmo** id. (Leslau 1945, 234; SED I, 87-88).

gran m. „hair at side of woman’s head“ (HuB)

giisát m., pl. **-a** „heel“ (Rp) = Suakin **te-gisat** „heel“ (Th) = **kisát** & **tikás** m., pl. **-a** „Ferse“ (Re) = **gisud** & **digus** m. „heel“, besides **kiisa** f. & **kisalay** m. id. (HuB) = **tiikas** m. „heel“, def.sg. **utiikas**, def.pl. **itiikasa** (Wd)

There are at least three alternative sets of possible cognates:

(1) NOm: Male **guuši** „knee“ (Be);

CCh: Higi Baza **gəšini**, Higi Kamale **yašine**, Higi Futu **yašini** „knee“ (Kr);

Se: Ar **gaṭaʔa**, **ʋg-t-w** „knieen“ (Holma 1911, 135).

(2) ECu: Dasenech **yás**, pl. **yaśś-ù** „foot, leg“ (Sa) = **kas** „Bein“ (Hb) = **kəs** / **kaś** / **yaś** „foot“ (Fl); Takács (1997b, 257) tries to include here words from SSom dialects: Kilii **kaásə**, Baddey **g’áásə**. But they mean „bow“ and their older shape is preserved in NSom **qaanso** „bow“ (cf. Tosco, *SUGIA* 15[1994], 165);

SOM: Dime **kəss** (Be) = **küs** (Fl) „bone“ || NOm: Nao **kus**, Shako **ʔus**, Dizi **us** id.; ʔHozo **kāši** „foot, leg“ (Fl) - cf. Blažek 1989, #20;

WCh ***hV-kasi** „bone“ (Stolbova 1987, 211) > Hausa **kāshii**; Yiwom **yas**; Daffo **kyās**; Gerumai ókashi; Kariya **kaásu**; Zaar **yes** || CCh: Higi Nkafa **gúḏ** (Kr), Munjuk **keske** id. (Tx), Buduma **háyi**, Logone **aase** (Lk) || ECh: Dangla **kaaso** (Lk), Kera **kəskəŋ** (Eb), Sumray **guseŋ** id. (Lk) etc. (Jglb II, 36-37; Stolbova 1996, 65-66: ***kasi**).

Be ***a-qisi**, pl. ***i-qisiy-un** id. (Vycichl 1978, 73) = ***ē-yasah**, pl. ***ī-yasāh-an** > (S) Ahaggar **eyās** / **iyaśān** „os“ (Prasse 1974, 72); (W) Zenaga **i’ssi** / **a’ssən**^h (Nicolas); (N) Tazerwalt **ihs**, pl. **-an** (Stumme), Kabyle **iyes(s)** (Dallet); (E) Ghadames **yess** / **yaśen** (Lanfry) etc.;

Eg (Pyr) **qs** id. (EG V, 68);

?Se: Ar **qassa** „to pick a bone entirely and suck it out“ (Sg 835);

(3) CCu: Awngi **terekéz** „heel“ (Ht) > Amhara **tärākāz** id. or vice versa.

What is the origin of Kunama (NS) **takáasaa** „Fläche, Ebene“ in **míndaa takáasaa** „Fussfläche,-sohle“ (Re)?

gw’ad m. „eye, loop, noose, bud, spring of water; v.1 „to watch; side“ (Rp) = **gw’aj** m. „eye“, def.sg. **oogw’aj**, def.pl. **igw’aja** (Wd) = **gwod** m. „eye, spring of water; v.1 „to watch“, besides **gwod** m., pl. **gwad** „side, edge, margin“ (HuB) = Halanga **gwaj** „occhio“ (Ci) = Hdd **gwad** „Auge“ (Me) = **gwad** & **gwaj** m., pl. **-a** „Auge, Gesicht; Quelle“; **gwaad** & **kwaad** m., pl. **gwád** „Rand, Seite“ (Re) = **o’guedy**, pl. **e’guey** „Auge“, **guedj**, pl. [acc.] **-ab** „Quelle“ (Mu), cf. **g’ad** m. „Quelle, Trinkplatz“ (Almkvist 1885, 27 derived it from **g’a** „trinken“) = **egoât** „Auge“, **egoâd** **êtlât** „Augenlid“, **akwäd hammo** „Augenwimper“ (lit. „Augenhaar“), **?guaagīb** „einäugiger“, besides **iemôkwod** „Quelle“ (lit. „Wasser“ & „Quelle“) (Se)

CCu ***gʷədɲ** / ***gʷadɲ** „side“ > Khamir **gʷədəɲ**, Qwara **gʷəɲ** (Re); Awngi **gwann** (Ht) - cf. Ehret 1987, #59: N+C+SCu || ECu: Som **gaudi**, **goodi** „Rand, Saum, Borte“ (Re) || SCu ***gʷeʔed-** > Asa **gideʔe** „ribs“, Qwadza **geʔelito**, Iraqw **gweʔdo** „anus“ (Ehret 1980, 372) = **gweʔeedoo** „buttocks“ (Ki), orig. „back face“? ?WCh: Bolewa **gàʔidi** „face“ (Kr).

gwada·b m., pl. **gwadaba** „chest, front part of body“ (Rp) = **gwadab** m. chest, share, part, tribute“, def.sg. **ugwadab**, def.pl. **igwadaba**; cf. **gwadiib** „with, this side of“ (Wd) = **gwadeb** m. „meat on animal’s chest“ (HuB)

HECu ***godoba** „belly“ > Gedeo **godoba**, Had **godabo**, Kamb **godaba**, Sid **godobá**, pl. **godobba** (Hudson 1989, 26) and perhaps Afar **gudda** „pregnancy“; ?WCh: Hausa **gídibì** & **gájèebaa** „kidneys, part of the back“, Sokoto **gidibù**, pl. **gidibbaa** „kidney“ (Matsushita) || ?CCh: Gidar **gəðəf** „ventre“ (Mc); JgIb II, 21 compare it with Bachama **jede**, (E) Kera **kidə**, Ndam **guuj** „belly“.

Note: Ehret 1987, #32 compared Beja + HECu + SCu: pIraqw ***gurʔa-** „belly“ and Dahalo **gídare** „man’s chest“ (Ehret 1980, 239), comparable rather with Sam ***gíd-** „body“ (Heine 1978, 61); Dullay ***gʷidɖ-e** „mageres Fleisch“ (AMS).

gwiilay in **kasti gwiilay** „middle finger“ (HuB)

(1) From ***guwiil-ay** < ***gubiil-**, cf. **gíba** & **gibaláay** „Finger, Zehe“ (Re).

(2) Compatible with ECu: Afar **gili** „big toe, thumb“ (PaHy), Saho **gíli**, **gile** „Daumen“ (Re) || CCu: Nzangi **gɛɛ**, Bata **gélíé**, Bachama **gɛlto** „finger“; Wanda-la **gúlándà** id. (JgIb II, 137).

gwoili m. „disease of skin with desquamation“ (HuB)

gwinhil m., pl. **gwinhal** „length of forearm and hand, point of elbow, ell“ (HuB) = **gwanhiil** m. „elbow, ulna“, def.sg. **ugwanhiil**, besides **gwilhuun** m. „ulna, measure“, def. **ugwilhuun**, def.pl. **igwilhun**, & **gwilhiin** m. „ulna, measure“, def.sg. **oogwilhiin**, def.pl. **igwilhan** (Wd) = Halanga **gwanhíil**, Hdd **gwilhiin** „gomito“ (Ci) = **gwilhin** „arm“ (Ti) = **gwenháal**, **gwanhíl**, etc. m., pl.-a „Ellbogen“ (Re) = **gʷinháal** m., pl. **gʷinhil** „Ellenbogen, Arm“ (Al) = **oʷgunnehil** „natürliche Elle“ (Mu) = **ôkwanhíl** „Elle“ (Se) - see **gulhe** id.

gwannə f. „small skin (for carrying drinking water)“ (HuB) = **toʷgwáne** „Schlauch“ (Mu)

Cf. **gʷánay** „das Trinken“, nomen actionis (Reinisch 1894, §302) from **gʷa** „trinken“ (Al) = **gwʷ** „to drink“ (Rp).

gwáraar m., pl. **gwarar** „large intestine, colon“ (Rp) = **gwaraar** m. „intestines; colon“, def.sg. **ugwaraar**, def.pl. **igwarar** & **igwaraara** (Wd)

CCu: Bilin **gir** & **jir** „Bauch“ (Re) and /or Awngi **guriangɣe** „navel“ (Wedekind) ||

ECu ***gurʔ-** „udder“ > Or **gurr-uu**, EOr **gurʔ-uu**; Burji **gúrr-oo**, Sid **gurʔo ~ guḍo**, Gedeo **guʔlo** id. (Sasse 1982, 86; Hudson 1989, 159) || SCu: pIraqw ***guraʔa** „belly“ > Iraqw **gura**, Burunge, Alagwa **guraʔa** id. (Ehret 1980, 239; KM 122); ?Be: (E) Siwa **ḡār** „ventre“ (La);

Note: There is an interesting NS parallel in Ik (Kuliak family) **gar^a** „heart“ which can be connected (lw.?) with the comparanda compiled above than with ECu ***garʔ-** > Arbore **gereʔ**, Dasenech **gere** „belly“, Elmolo **gere** „stomach“; Or **garaʔ** „heart, stomach, belly, mind“, Konso **karitta**, Mossiya **karʔa**, Dirayta **karda** „belly“ proposed by Lamberti (1988, 54-55).

hadug f., pl. **hadugga** „meat of hind leg“ (HuB)

?ECu: Or Borana, Waata **hagooda** „shoulder, back“ (Stroomer).

haaf m., pl. **haf** „diaphragm, midriff, belly, guts, pluck“, **ʔakerhaafi** „plucky“ (Rp) = **haf** m. „pit of stomach, midriff“ (HuB) = **haaf** m. „inside, belly, guts“, def. sg. **whaaf**, def.pl. **yhaafa** (Wd) = Suakin **o-hâf** „navel“ (Th)

ECu: Dirayta **hopp-att** „viscera“, Burji **oppótt-a** „spleen“ (Sasse 1982, 155);

?CCh: Masa **hifa** „navel“ (Mc), Zime-Batna **úfü** id. (Jg); Takács (1997a, 234) also quotes Musgu **hif-na** id., but correctly it is again the Masa form with determination (Tourneux 1990, 256 compares the Masa word with Musgu **kúftiy** id.; if this comparison is correct, it would indicate an initial velar in Masa too);

Se: Akk **ipu(m)** „Häutchen, Nachgeburt“ (AHw 385), Soqotri **ḥafen** „lap“, probably derivatives of **ṽḥ-p-p** „to surround“ > Hb **ḥāpāp**, Ar **ḥaffa** (Leslau 1938, 184-5; Id. 1945, 241).

hagga m. „anus, rump“ (HuB) = **hageeb** m. „anus“, def.sg. **whagi**, def.pl. **yhagi** (Wd) = **hage** m. „base, bottom, anus“ (Rp) = **há(g)ge** m. „anus, podex; der untere Teil, der Bodeneines Gefäßes“ (Re) = **háge** m. „Hintere, Steiss“ (Al) = **[wu]** **haggeh** m. „Schwanz“ (Se)

ECu: Afar **hòngog** „shinbone, kneecap, knee and lower leg“ (PaHy), Saho **hogub** „Hüftknochen“ (Re); Som **hòog** „shin“ (Ab); Or **hojj-aa** „shin; height, length“ (Gg); Harso-Gollango **hook-t-akkó** „Schienbein“ (AMS); Burji **hógg-i** „collarbone“ (Sasse 1982, 99).

halag m. „radius, ulna“ (HuB), cf. **haléegwi** „forearm“ (BG)

Probably derived from **halaag** „bent, crooked“, from the verb **halig** „to bend“ (HuB) = **haliga** „to bend“ (Wd). Cf. ECu: Som (ECu) **ḥagal** „Knie- und Ellbogengelenk“ (Re) can be of the same origin || SCu: Burunge **ḥiingilóo** „joint“ (KM 153).

helgwagwaʔ m. „waist“ (Rp)

Zaborski (1992, 428) sees here a derivative of **halig** „to bend“.

haliima f. „ring finger“ (HuB)

huum m. „brain, marrow“ (HuB) = **hoom** m. „brain“, def.sg. **whoom**, def.pl. **yhooma** (Wd) = Hdd **huum** „cervello“ (Ci) = **huum** „brains“ (Tl) = **huum** m., pl. **-a** „brain; bone marrow“ (Rp) = **o-hòm**, Hdd **w'hôm** „brain“ (Th) = **huum** m., pl. **hum** & **him** „Mark, Gehirn, Hirn“, cf. **huuminde** „Gipfel“ (Re) = **huum** m. „Hirn“ (Al) = **[u]húmm** „Gehirn“ (Se)

?ECu: Saho **amoo** „head“ (Be), Afar **amo** „head, summit, top, hair, intelligence“ (PaHy); HECu ***iima** „top“ > Gedeo, Sid **iima**, Had **iimane** (Hudson 1989, 156), while Sidamo **umo** „head“, Gedeo **umo** „head, hair“ (Hudson 1989, 77) are probably borrowed from Omotic, cf. Zayse **uuma** (Be) = **hummaa** (Ce), Oyda **oomma**, Gidicho **omma** (Be), Doko **k(w)om**, Basketo **komma** (Fl) „head“, Ari-Jinka **xüma** „top of head“ (Be & Tully);

?Ch: (W) ***hamV** „head“ > Warji **yám-áy**, Pa'a **fiámá**, Diri **àmá**, Tsagu **ààmái**; Zaar **gaam**, Tule **gaami**, Boghom **k'a:m**, Baraza **hôm** etc. (Stolbova 1987, 226; JgIb II, 182-83) || ?(C) Banana **yambà** „head“ (Kr; cf. Takács 1996, 54);

Be: (S) Ahaggar **imme**, pl. **-wän**, augm. of **timme**, pl. **timmawîn** „front“ < ***him-mīw**, pl. **-an** & (Prasse 1974, 171-72); (N) Zemmur **ammīun** „sourcils“, Zkara **imemman** „sourcils d'homme“, besides Tlit **timmi**, pl. **tammīu**, Ait Bu Ulli **tamaut**, pl. **timua** etc. „sourcils“ (Laoust 1920, 112, fn. 4; cf. also Takács 1996, 54 who added the Berber & CCh data to this etymon);

?Se: (1) ***muḥḥ-** „midollo, cervello“ (Fronzaroli 1964, #2.37; Krebernik 1983, 12; Fronzaroli 1988, 173; SED I, 169-70) - with metathesis?; (2) Ar **hām** „head; chief“ (Sg 1161) = **hāma**, pl. **-āt** „Kopf, Scheitel, Spitze“ (Wr 923), if it is not related to Beja **hāmo** „Kopfhare“ (Re)?

Note: Saho-Afar Ø- can be a regular continuant of ECu ***h-** (Sasse 1979, 38-9); Beja **h-** and ECu ***h-** correspond regularly. On the other hand, ECu ***h** is probably a regular counterpart of Semitic ***ḥ**, cf. Se **√ḥ-d-r** „to live“ : ECu ***-hdir-** „to sleep“ or **√ḥ-b-r** „to raise a clamour“ : ***habaar-** „to curse“ or Akk **ḥarr-** „canal, vadi, ravine“ : ***har-** „pond, creek“ etc. (Dolgopolsky p.c.). The Semitic (1) & Cushitic forms are compatible, if one of them is metathesized. The position of the Omotic data quoted as a source of HECu ***umo** is quite unclear.

Note: Zyhlarz (1956, 25) added Meroitic ***xamoo** „Kopf“, but his reconstruction is not generally accepted.

hami c. „hair, wool“ (Rp) = **hamoot** f. „hair, wool, feather“, def.sg. **tuhamu**, def.pl. **tīhamu** (Wd) = **hāmo/u** m. „Feder, Wolle“; f. „Haar, Kopfhare“, cf. **hami** v.1 „überdecken, bedecken, verhülen“ (Re) = **hāmu** f., pl. **ham** „Haar“, **hamo** m. „Wolle“, **tūu-hamo** „das Wollenhaar“ (Al) = **te'hamo** „das Haar“, acc. **hamob** (Mu) = **[te]hāma** „Haar“ (Km) = **[t]am-meh** id. (Kc) = **[e]hamo** „wool“, **hamoy** „beard“ (Bu) = **[tá]hamú** „Haar“, **[wu]hammé** „Wolle“ (Se)

SCu: Iraqw **ḥamḥamo** „eyelash“ (Ehret 1987, #521: Beja + Iraqw), cf. Beja éegwad **hámo** „Augenwimper“ (Re); Gorowa **ḥamḥamó** „eyelid and eyebrow“ (Ki) < ***ḥamḥamimo** (KM 148).

hami m. „gall bladder“ (HuB) = **hami** m., pl.-a „gall bladder“ (Rp) = **wuu-háami** m. „Galle“ (Re) = **úhamméh** id. (Se); cf. **hamiinaayt** f. „gall bladder“, def.sg. **tuhamiinaay**, def.pl. **tihamiinay** (Wd)

Derived from Beja **hami** „to be bitter, acrid, sour“ (Rp=Re). Ehret 1987, #520 connects it with Som **ḥameeti** „gall bladder“ but it is probably of an EtSe origin, cf. Gz, Ty **ḥamot** „bile, gall“ (Leslau 1987, 235), similarly as Khamir **ḥamuut**, Qwara **hamoot** (Re), Khamta **ḥamot**, Awngi **ḥamuotii** (CR) and Saho **hamoot** (Re) id.

humindi f. (HuB) = **huumínde** f. „Scheitel“ (Re)

Probably a compound of **huum** „Gehirn, Mark“ and **hinde** „Holz, Baum“ (Re).

hangay m., pl. **hangey** „popliteal space“ (Rp), cf. **hungai** m. „hock of camel, back of knee“ (HuB)

Probably derived from **hanig** v.1 „to bend (down)“ (Rp)

hanáak m., pl. **hanák** „Gaumen, Kehle“ (Re) = **wuhannakok** „[deinen] Kinnbacken / Gaumen“

Borrowed from Ar **ḥanak** „palate, lower part of chin“ (Sg 301).

hunki tibilay „little finger“ (HuB)

Lit. „first finger“, cf. **henkáy** adv. „first, before-hand“, prep. „within, before“ (Rp) = **hunk** „before“ (HuB).

Ammar’ar **hánkár** „uvula“ (Do) = **ankar** f., pl.-a „Gaumen, Schlund, Kehle, Rachen“ (Re)

There are various parallels which can be interpreted as a source of borrowing (1) or cognates (2, 3, 4):

(1) EtSe: Gz **ʔanqar** „throat, the interior of the mouth“, Ti, Ty **ʕanqār** „uvula, throat, palate“, Amh **anqar** id. (Leslau 1987, 31) > Bilin **anqar** „Schlund, Kehle“ (Re), Kemant **änkär** (CR); Saho-Afar forms can be borrowed from Agaw, although its Ethio-Semitic source is probably of a Cushitic origin.

(2) ECu: Afar **ʕánkár** & **ʕangár** „roof of the mouth“ (PaHy), Saho **anqár** „Gaumen, Kehle, Schlund, Rachen“ (Re) are compatible with **ankar** (Re).

(3) Dahalo **ḥanqára** „hard palate“ is compatible with **hánkár** (Ehret 1980, 300; 1987, #523: Beja + Dahalo + Kemant **angi** „palate“).

(4) Be: (S) Ahaggar **tánkár**, pl. **tánkārīn** „arrière-gorge (pharynx buccal) (Fc) is compatible with all the quoted examples.

hankwili f. „long hair that hangs to shoulders“, cf. **hankwil** „youth“ (Rp) = **hánk-wəli** m./f. „Haarflechtenfrisur“ (Re)

Derived from **hankwəl** v.1 „verstricken, flechten, binden“ (Re).

Zyhlarz (1933, 170) compared Beja with Eg (MK) **ḥnk(z).t** „Haarflechte“ (Wb. III, 120), but there is the older form **ḥnẓk.t** attested beginning from the Pyramid Texts (Wb. III, 116). On the other hand, Vycichl (1990, 17) connected Eg **ḥnẓk.t** with Ar **qanzaʕ** „avoir les cheveux dispersés autour de la tête“, Gz **qʷenzāʕt** „boucle (de cheveux)“, supposing an irregular metathesis **ḥ--k > q--ʕ** or vice versa.

?***hanúul** m. (**oha-nuhl**) „Nase“ (Kc)

Is it an isolated or a mistaken record? An explainable form could be the acc. ***hanuub** (m.) or ***hanuut** (f.), comparable with Eg (Pyr) **ḥn.t** „Gesicht; vor“ (Wb. III, 302), cf. e.g. **ḥntw** „before, earlier“ vs. Beja **hánat-ʾaawi** „forenoon“ where **ʾaawi** means „noon“ (Rp).

hírba, hérbo, hárbo m. „Flussbett, Bucht, steiler Abhang, Hügel“ (Re) = **hérbo** m. „Einschnitt, kleine Bucht, Flussufer“ (Al) = **herbo[b]** „Abhang, Tonwand“ = **hirbab** „Flussbett, khor“ (Kc); cf. **harbuub** m. „edge, riverbank“, def.sg. **wharbuub**, def.pl. **yharbuuba** (Wd)

Reinisch (1895, 124) connected it with Ar **ḥarb, ḥarbat** „foramen“ = **ḥarb** „round hole“, **ḥarbat** „sieve“ (Sg 317). If the semantic starting point of the Beja word was „edge, corner“, there are Cushitic comparanda:

?ECu ***ḥirrib-** > Som **ḥirrib** „corner of the eye“, CSom **hirrib** „eyelid“, Jiddu **hereefə** „lip“, Or **hirrib-a** „sleep“, Konso **hirrip-a** „eyelash“ (> Gollango **hirrip-e** id.), Dirayta pl. **hirrip-á** id.; Burji **imbír-oo** „eyelid“ (***ḥirrib-** or ***ḥinrib-**); Yaaku **hereb-an** „eyebrow“ (Sasse 1982, 105; Lamberti 1987, 534) || ?Dahalo **ḥirifane**, pl. **ḥirífa** „eyebrow“ (Eh, see AAP 18[1989], 27).

Note: The semantic difference is perhaps comparable with Beja **daraag** „Rand, Seite“ vs. „Wange“ (Re), **eederag** „Wange“ vs. **oʾderág** „Ufer“ (Mu).

hirbanna m. „appendix“ (Rp), cf. **harbana** m. „large intestines“ (HuB)

?ECu: Burji **hirba** „back“ (Hudson 1989, 23); SOr **hirba** „heel; behind, following“ (Stroemer); cf. Beja **herbabam** „to return, come back“ (Rp)?

haarka m. „shoulder, upper arm“ (HuB) = **harka** f. „shoulder“, def.sg. **tuharka**, def.pl. **tiharka** (Wd) = **herka** m. „upper arm, shoulder“ (Rp) = Hdd (Suakin) **héreka** „Oberarm“ (Me) = **hárka, hérka** m. „Arm, Oberarm, Schulter, Achsel“ (Re) = **hárka, hérka** m. „Oberarm“ (Al) = **oʾherka** „die Schulter“ (Mu) = **harka** „Arm“ (Km) = **[wojrka-a]** „Schulter“ (Kc) = **o arca** „bras“ (Li)

ECu ***ḥar-(q/k/g-)** „arm, hand“ > Afar **ḥaray** „upper arm“ (PaHy), Saho **ḥaray** „arm“ (We); Or **harka** „hand, lower arm“ (LVC), Konso-Mashile **harka**, Dirayta **hark** „hand“ (Bl); Harso-Dobase **ḥarkó**, pl. **ḥárqe**, Gollango **ḥarqó**, Gawwada

ḥarkó Arm, Hand“ (AMS), Tsamakko **harko** id. (Fl, Be, *SLLE*) (Dolgopolsky 1973, 159; Lamberti 1987, 536); ECu > Gurage **aräq**, Harari **ḥaräq** „arm above elbow“ (Leslau 1963, 86 & 1979, 90) || SCu: Mbugu **mharéga** / **mharéya** „arm“ (Ehret 1980, 335; Id. 1987, #524: Beja + ECu + Mbugu);

?CCh: Tera **xar** (Nw), Hwona **hèra**, Gabin **xàre**, Boka **hàre** (Kr) „hand“, Mofu **ḥar**, Padukwo **ḥarā** „main“, Uzam, Zelgwa **ḥar** „bras“ (Mc) (-r- cannot be a regular reflex of *-n- because *-n- should have been preserved e.g. in Tera, cf. Tera **l₃in** „tooth“);

?Eg (MK) **qšh** „(upper) arm, shoulder, elbow“ (Wb V, 19), if it was derived from ***qrh** and further via metathesis from ***ḥrq** (Takács 2016, 289).

?Se: ***rāḥ**-(at-) „mano aperta“ > Akk **rittu** „Hand“ (AHw 990), Ug **rḥt-m** du. „hands“, Hb **raḥat** „winnowing shovel“, Ar **rāḥa** „palm of hand“, Mehri **rəḥāt** id. (Jh), Soqotri **riḥoh**, pl. **riḥóti** id., Gz **ʔərāḥ** id. (Leslau 1938, 399 and 1987, 38; Fronzaroli 1964, #2.83; SED I, 202-03).

hérsa f. „Fell, Haut“ (Re) = **to hersi** „peau de mouton“ (Li)
Borrowed from Ar **ḥiršā** „thin skin on the milk“ (Sg 319).

hasim „disease of skin, urticaria“ (HuB)

huuṣ m. „liquid manure“, v.2 „to have diarrhoea“ (HuB) = **huuṣ** m. „liquid faecal matter“ (Rp)

ECu: Afar **ḥayso** „urine“ (PaHy), Saho **haššú**, **hašúu** id. (Re);

Eg (Pyr) **ḥs** „Exkrement, Kot“ (Wb. III, 164), Copt **ʔoc**, **ʔac** „fumier, excréments“ (Vycichl 1983, 313).

Hdd **oo-joor** „chest“, Bi **oo-dor** id. vs. **oo-dor** (BG) = **o-jorr** „boss of camel under chest between forelegs“ (Th)

Borrowed from Ar **zawr** „Mitte und höchster Teil der Brust, Brustbein“ (Wahrs mund I, 856).

Bi **oo-kabúul** „point at back of head“ (BG)

kiibálay f., pl. **kiibálei** (besides **t-** form) „finger“ (Rp) = Hdd (Port Sudan) **tu-kibála** „Finger“ (Me)

ECu ***ḥub-** „finger“ > Arbore **ḥúb** „hand“ (Hy), Elmolo **úp** id. (He); Or **ḥub-a** „finger“, **ḥub-ee** „finger-ring“ (> Burji **ḥub-ée** id.), Konso **qup-itta**, Dirayta **ḥop-ayt** „finger“ (Bl); Gawwada **qup-akko**, Gollango **g'up-ako** id. (AMS); Gedeo **ḥubb-a**, Had **ḥub-aʔa**, Sid **ḥubb-a**, Burji **ḥup-ee** id. (Sasse 1982, 128-29); Yaaku **qope** id.; cf. Mossiya **qupal-itta** „finger“ (Lamberti 1987, 537; he adds Had & Kamb **oobba** „hand“, cf. Sid **hoobo**) extended by the same suffix **-al-** as the Beja word; maybe with metathesis Sid **qalabate** & **qalawate** „finger-ring“ (Hu), if it is not related to Beja **kēlib** „ankle“ (HuB);

NOm: Gamu **ḱup̣pe** „palm of hand“ (Lb);

WCh ***ḱUban-** „fingernail“ > Hausa **ḱùmbaa**; Sura **ciḅen**, Angas **coon** etc. (Stolbova 1987, 211) || CCh: Kotoko: Logone **koáfé** „Fingernagel“ (Lk) - see Jglb II, 246-47.

kadám m., pl. **kadám** „Steiss, Hintere, Hinterbacke“ (Re) = **kadám** „Steiss“ (Al) = **te'kedem** „der Hintere“ (Mu) = **kaḁamt** „buttocks“ (Tl) = **kaḁam** m. „buttock“, cf. the variant **gaḁaam**, pl. **gudam** (HuB)

ECu: Bayso **gedemi** „uterus“ (Hy), Or **gadameesa** „womb“ (Gg), cf. Ehret 1987, #261: Beja + Or.

Note: The older variant with the preserved initial **g-** can also be found in Beja **gaddam** „neben“ (Mu), orig. perhaps „hinter“ (Almkvist 1885, 23).

kiiḁi m. „lock of hair stiffened with grease“, cf. **kiiḁo** v.2 „to curl the hair with grease“ (Rp)

?ECu: Or **qiḱiḱaa** „kinky hair“ (Gg).

koofi m. „back of head or neck“, **kofia** f. „cap (skull)“ (HuB) = Hdd **kóofe** „point at back of head“ (BG)

Probably borrowed from Ar **qafa(n)**, **qafāʔ**, pl. **qifiyy**, **qufiyy**, **qifīn** „hind part of the head, occiput, neck; head, skull; back side, reverse; pursuit“ (Sg 848).

kaḁḁ m. „palm of the hand, sole of the foot“ (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar **kaffat** „hollow of the hand“ (Sg 889).

Hdd **o-kāfāl** „knee-cap“ (Th)

koofri m. „muscular appendage of heart which native will not eat“ (HuB)

kokelem f. (**te'kokelem**) „Hinterkopf“ (Mu) = **kinkilli** ~ **kinkirri** m., pl. **-ḱ** „back of neck or head; glands at back of camel“ (HuB) = **kinkiliib** m. „back of head or neck“, def.sg. **ukinkili**, def.pl. **ikinkiliya** (Wd) = Hdd **kinkiri**, Bi **to-kiḱkiri** „sweat gland at back of head (of camel)“ = **kinkili** m. „back of head or neck“ (Rp) = **kinkeli** m., pl. **kinkélya** „Nacken“ (Re) = **kínkeli** „Nacken“ (Al) = **kiḱkelyôn** „[unseren] Nacken“ (Se)

Cu: (C) Bilin **kərmá** „neck, ridge“ (Pl), Khamtanga **qálma** „neck“ (Ap), Khamir **ḱilmə** (*SLLE*), Kemant **xʷəm** id. (Sa; Conti Rossini 1912, 207) || (E) Afar **kálma** (PaHy) = Saho-Afar **kalma** „uvula“ (Lb); Som **kolon**, pl. **kolmo** „glands hanging from the throat of goats“; Dirayta **holmá-tʰ**, Konso **kholmá** pl., Mashile **kholma**, Mossiya **holmá** „back of neck“; Yaaku **kilimi** „uvula“ (He) (Lamberti 1987, 535) || (S) Qwadza **kolima** „nape“ (Ehret 1987, #397: C+E+SCu).

Note: Kiessling 1994 (p.c.) connects the form **kinkili** with Burunge **kilingkil-**

ing „armpit“. But it is probably a widespread East African ideophone motived as „ticklish place“, cf. Beja **kilkil** „Kitzel“, Som **kilkilo** „ascella“ (Ce), HECu ***killkila** „armpit“ (Hudson 1989, 21) and Nile Nubian **kíkili** & **killikílli** id. (Re), Teda **kilikili** „ascella“ (Cerulli 1961, 149).

kákwi, **káki** m. „Hand, Arm, Unterarm“ (Re)

SCu: Qwadza **kuʔuko** „muscle, tendon, sinew“ (Ehret 1980, 367);

NOM: Oyda **kaʔa** „palm of hand“ (Fl);

?WCh: Kofyar & Montol **kwak**, Chip **kwək** „leg“ (Kr) || ? ECh: Mubi **kèeg-fi** „my arm“ (Mukarovsky 1989: Beja + Mubi), Mokilko **kóokè**, pl. **kóngá** „claw“ (Jg), Mawa **kwàkam** „Fingernagel“ (Jg).

kělib f., pl. **kilba** „ankle, waist“ (HuB) = **kwilib** m. „ankle“, def.sg. **ookwlib**, def. pl. **eekwlib**, besides **kalbeed** m. „calf of leg“, def.sg. **ukalbeeb**, def.pl. **ikalbeeba** (Wd) = **oo-kilib** „fetlock“ (BG) = **klibt** „heel“ (Tl) = **kelib** f., pl. **kilba** „ankle“, **uu-eyi-kelib** „wristbone“ (Rp) = **kělíb** „Knöchel“ (Me) = **kelib** f., pl. **kélba**, with article **túu-klib**, **-klüb** „Knöchel“ (Re) = **kélíb** f., pl. **kélba** „Knöchel“ (Al) = **to'klub** id. (Mu) = **to-kúlba** f. „Fussknöchel“ (Se)

?ECu: Afar **alib** „tendon“ and / or Dirayta **qelabi-ta**, Gato **kolbai-ḏa** „claw“ (Fl).

Note: ECu ***k-** > Afar-Saho **ø**- regularly (Sasse 1979, 48).

kilab m. „child's hair allowed to grow long in middle and shaved at sides“ (HuB), cf. Hdd **kilaw** „hair at neck (of camel)“ (BG)

Hdd **kalif** „back of upper neck“ (BG) = **kalliif** m. „back of neck“ (HuB) = **kaliif** m., pl. **-a** „occipital bone“ (Rp) = **kalif** m., pl. **kálfa** „Nacken“ (Re)

Eg (Med) **kf3** „Steiss, Hinterteil eines Vogels“ (Wb. V, 120);

Se: Ar **kafal** „hind parts, croup“ (Sg 890) (Vycichl 1934, 63, 69 & Cohen 1947, #178: Eg + Ar).

On the other hand, accepting metathesis, the Beja word could be borrowed from Ar **qaflat** „occiput“ (Sg 850).

Note: Takács (1997a, 233) proposes a derivation from a more primitive meaning attested e.g. in Bilin (CCu) **käf-** „sich setzen, sitzen“ (Re).

Hdd **kilaw** „hair at neck (of camel)“ (BG), cf. **kilab** m. „child's hair allowed to grow long in middle and shaved at sides“ (HuB)

kila“**wā** m. „abdomen“ (HuB) = **kalawaab** m. „belly, inner room“, def.sg. **ukalawa** (Wd) = Hdd **kaláwa** „stomach“ (BG) = Hdd **kalawá** „pancia“ (Ci) = **kalawa** „belly“ (Tl) = **kaláwa** m. „interior“, **kalaway** adv. „inside“ (Rp) = **kálawa** m. „innere Raum von etwas; Bauch“ (Re) = **kálawa** m. „Bauch“ = **[eh-]ka-la-wah** id. (Kc) = **o calaho** „ventre“ (Li) = **gələwa'** „belly“ (Be)

?NOM: Wolayta **kellawa** „kidney“ (da Luchon > Do) = **killahuwa** id., Gamu-Dache **kilaho** id. (Lb). The other possible cognates are discussed apud **'ank'il'a** „kidney“.

Hdd **too-kílay** „forearm muscle“, Bi **too-kílay** „forearm“ (BG) = **kílaayt** f. „muscle“, def.sg. **tooklaay**, def.pl. **teeklay** (Wd) = **kélay** f., pl. **kéley** „muscle“ (Rp)

(1) Identical with **kélay** „bird“; the semantic development similar as Latin **mus** „mouse“ vs. **musculus** „muscle“?

(2) ECu: Sam ***kal** „joint, ankle“ > Som **kál**, pl. **kálál** „ulna & radius-bones“, Rend **kal**, pl. **kálál** „ankle“ (Heine 1981, 191) and / or Saho **kuluhúm** „Fuss-oder Handknöchel“ (Re), Afar **kulhun-to** „ankle bone“ (PaHy) || Dahalo **kónkolo** „shin“ (Eh) = **kónkoolo** „leg (from knee to foot) (To) || SCu: Iraqw **kooloo** „heel“, Gorowa **kooloo** „ankle“ (Ki), Qwadza **kolotiko** „wrist“ (Ehret 1980, 245);

Ch: (W) Bole **kala**, Kirfi **koleni**, Karekare **kòòlè** „finger“ (JgIb II, 136) || (C) Gul-fei **kal**, **kel** (Lk); Masa **kuul** „Bein“ (Lk) etc.

kumus f., pl. **kumis** „buttock“, besides **gõmuus** m. „hips, iliac, crest“ (HuB) = Bi **too-kumús** „hip-bone“, Hdd **too-kumús** „area round short ribs“ (BG) = **kamúus** f., pl. **kumís**, **kuumsa** „hip-bone, ilium“ (Rp) = **kemúus** „Sitzen, Gesäss, Hinterbacken“ (Re) Nomen actionis from **kemis** „sitzen“ (Re), cf. Afar **kamus** „buttocks, bottom“ (PaHy) vs. Saho **kammas** „zusammengekauert sitzen“ (Re). An East Cushitic origin is possible for Ik (Kuliak family of NS) **komos** „buttock“ (Lamberti 1988, 50). The isolated Soqotri **qmešoh** „anus“ (Leslau 1945, 245) can be related too, although Saho-Afar **k-** and Soqotri **q-** are probably directly incompatible.

kinkili m. „back of head or neck“ (Rp) - see **kokelem** „Hinterkopf“ (Mu)

kanṭal m. „penis“ (Rp) = **kantal** m. „glans penis“ (HuB)

(1) ECu ***qanč-** „gland“ > Som **qanj-iḍ** „lymphatic gland“, Dasenech **g'an** „udder“, Konso **qand-itta** „udder; swollen or abnormally big gland“, Harso **gan-ce**, Gollango **g'an-te** „udder“, Burji **ḳán?-i** ~ **ḳánd-i** „clitoris“ (Sasse 1982, 124); SOM: Ari & Galila **qantí** & **ḳanti** „testicles“.

(2) Cu: (C) Xamir **q'acel** „scrotum“, **q'əcəra** „penis“ (Re) || (S) Qwadza **ḳutsalu** „clitoris“ (Ehret 1987, #130).

kuur m., pl. **-a** „pair of bellows“ (Rp) = **kur** m. „bellows“ (HuB) = **o-kûr** id. (Th) = **koor** m., pl. **kóora** „Sattel“ (Re)

Borrowed from Ar **kūr** „bellows; camel-saddle“ (Sg 900). Cf. Bilin **koor**; Saho-Afar **koor**, Som **koora**, Or **koora** etc. of the same origin (Reinisch 1895, 145).

kúrbe f. „Haut“ (Re)

Borrowed from EtSe: Ti, Amh **q'ərbat** id. (> Qwara **korbee**, Kemant **k'ärəbäy**), cf. Ar **qirbat**.

kirkabi m. „upper part of chest“ (HuB) - cf. **širkabā** id.

kartumā ~ **kartuwā** ~ **kantarā** m. „Adam's apple“ (HuB) = Suakin **o-kertum** „throat“ (Th)

(1) Identical with **kartoma** m. „windpipe“ (Rp).

(2) ?ECu: SOr **korree** „throat“ (Stroomer).

(3) ?Borrowed from Ar **qarṭama** „cut (off)“ (Sg 830).

koos m., pl. **-a** „Zahn; Horn“ (Re) = **ekosé** „tooth“ (Wt)

(1) ECu ***gaws-** „molar“ > Sam ***góùs** „molar“ > Som **góws**, Rend **góòs**, Boni **kaas** (Sasse 1979, 45; Heine 1981, 188); Arbore **góos** „chin, beard“ (Hy), Elmolo **gòs** „chin“ (He); Dirayta, Mossiya **kawsá-(t^a)** „chin“, Konso **kawsá** (Lamberti 1987, 533); Gollango **kawso**, Harso **kawsa-kko** id. (AMS), Tsam-akko **ga^uzo** id. (Kusia & Siebert) || SCu: Iraqw **goso** „incisor tooth“ (Ehret 1980, 264);

NOM: Gonga ***gaaš-/gaašš-** „tooth“ > Kafa **gašo** (Habte Mikael), Mocha **gašo** (Ls), Amuru **gáso**, Boro I **gē:ša**, Boro of Bulen & of Wombera **gášà** (Wedekind), Anfillo **gaaššo** (Be); Gimira (Bench-She) **gaš** id. (Be; cf. Blažek 1989, #102); Seze **gòšká** „chin“ (Siebert & Wedekind).

(2) ECu ***gaays-** „horn“ > Saho-Afar **gays-a**; Som **gees**, Jiddu **gaas**, Boni **kaas**, Rend **gaas** (He); Arbore **gáh** (Hy), Dasenech **gáás** (Sa); Or **gaaf-a** (> Gedeo **gaa-fa**), Konso **kaas-a**, Dirayta & Mashile **kaas** (Bl); Harso, Dobase **káas-s-ó**, Gollango **káas-e** (AMS), Tsamakko **gasako** (Be) (Sasse 1979, 33, 44: ****gaawis-**); CCh: Kotoko: Logone **káašu** „Horn“ (Lk).

(3) ?CCu: Kunfāl **kusi** „cheek“ (Cw) or Awngi **kóčkóč** „chin“ (Ht) - cf. also Dasenech (ECu) **kácìnti** „tooth“ (Sa) || ?SCu: Qwadza **ko?osiko** „molar tooth“ (Ehret 1980, 264) || ?NOM: Kachama **kaasula** „dente canino“ (CR);

Se: Akk **kusāsū** „Zahnfleisch“ (AHw 514);

(4) Be ***(w)a-qusi** „tooth“ > (W) Zenaga **ukši** (RB); (N) Shilh **ax^ws, ux^ws** (Bynon 1984, 271).

Note: The forms (1) and (2) are probably related, while the position of Beja **koos** is uncertain. Dolgopolsky 1973, 70 sought regular continuants of Cu ***g^w-** in both Beja **g^(w)-** and **k^(w)-**. Ehret (1987, 63-8) postulated pCu ***γ^(w)-** on the basis of the correspondence of Beja **k^(w)-**, CCu ***k^(w)**, ECu **g-** and SCu ***x^(w)-**. But for some of his Beja examples there are voiced variants, e.g. see **kadáam** „Steiss“ or **kwiire** „ostrich“.

kiisa & **kisalay** m. „heel“ (HuB)

(1) NOM: Dorze, Cancha **kese** „elbow, forearm“ (Ae).

(2) A variant of **giisát** f. „heel“ (Rp).

kasti gwiilay „middle finger“ (HuB) - see **gíba** and **gwiilay** above.

kešīya f. „Hals, Nacken“ (Re)

(1) ECu: Or **qoosee** „upper nape“ (Gg) || SCu: Burunge **qosa** „nape“ (Ehret 1980, 268; Id. 1987, #156).

(2) Borrowed from EtSe, cf. Gz **kəsād**, **kəšād** „neck“, Tn **kəsad** id. etc., see Leslau 1987, 296, accepting the change **d > y** as in **o’guedy**, pl. **e’guey** „eye“ (Mu)?

kwoḍaḍ ~ **kaḍaḍ** „base of skull, foot of mount“ (HuB) = **kaḍad** m. „scruff of neck“ (Wd) = **kaḍat** m., pl. **-a** „scruff of neck“ (Rp)

ECu ***kuç-(t-)** > Jiddu **quj** „neck“ (Lb); Or **quç-e** „back of the neck“ (> Gedeo **kuç-e**), Kamb **ḱutta-ta**, Burji **kuç-oo** „nape of neck“ (Hudson 1989, 104); NOm: Zala **ḱoḍiya** „throat“, Gofa **ḱooḍa** id., Malo **ḱoode** „neck“, Gamu-Dache **ḱooḍe** „throat, neck“, Koyra **ḱoḍe** „throat“, Basketo **ḱotsa** id. (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 436).

Alternatively, the Beja word could be compared with Burji **ḱud-ee** „behind“, Dullay **g’ut-a** „above there“ (so Sasse 1982, 128 while AMS 159, 260 quote Do-base **gutá** „oben“);

Note: The delabialisation of the expected ***kw-** could be compared e.g. with the following variants: **gwəlháan** „Vorderarm bis zum Ellenbogen“ (Re) vs. **ga/il-haan** „edge, side“ (Rp).

kwahi m., acc. **kwhaab** „egg“ (HuB) = **kwhib** m. „egg“, def.sg. **ookwhi**, def.pl. **eekwhi** (Wd) = **kwiib** id. (Tl) = **ḱḱ-kwhḱ** „Ei“ (Me) = **kwáhi**, **kúhi** m. id. (Re) = **kuhii**, **khwii** m. „egg“ (Rp)

ECu: Sam ***ukáh** „egg“ > Som **ugah**, Jiddu **ogáh**, Rend **ukáh** (Heine 1978, 97); Arbore **hakkó** „eggs“ (Hy) etc.; Or **okhokaan** (LVS) = **hangagu** (Tu), Konso **húkuk-kaa** id. (Bl); Harso pl. **okáah-e**, Dobase, Gollango, Gawwada of Dalpena **ukaah-e** (AMS), Tsamakko **ukaxayte** (Be) = **ugah-íte** (*SLLE*); ECu > Harari **aquḥ** „egg“, Gz **?anqoqḥo** vs. Saho **unqoqoḥo** id. (We) (Leslau 1963, 30; Id. 1987, 31) || Dahalo **ḱawe** „eggshell“ (El) or **ḱogóhi** „egg“ (To) || SCu: Iraqw **qanḥi** „egg“, Gorowa **qanḥi** „germinated grain“ (KM 229: ***qanaḥi**), besides Gorowa **qan?i**, Burunge **qana?iya**, Alagwa **qana?i** „egg“ (KM 230: ***qana?iya**); Mbugu **ikokóha/ ixoxóha** „egg“ (Ehret 1980, 253; Id. 1987, #539: pCu ***ḱʷanḥ-**, but **-n-** can be explained as the original plural marker, analogically as in Som **úgaḥ**, pl. **úghán** (Ab);

?NOM: Yemsa **ke(e)wa** „egg“ (Be);

WCh ***ḱway** „egg“ > Hausa **ḱwái**; Yiwom **ḱkíe** id., Sura **kwɛɛ**, Angas **kì** „hen“; ?Diri **ákyùm** „egg“; Ngizim **əgwái**, Bade **əgwe** id. (Stolbova 1987, 214; JgIb II, 122);

?Be: (N) Iškern & Igerwan **auqi**, pl. **iuqin** „testicules“, but cf. Šenua **uqi** „caillou“ (Laoust 1920, 117, fn. 3), Zayan **tʷauqit**, pl. **tʷiuqin** „testicule“ (Lo).

tu-kʷômai „temples of the forehead“ (Tl) = Hdd **kóoma** „hollow behind the eye“ (BG) ?SCu: Mbugu **ʷkumbíti** „eyebrow“ (Ehret 1980, 21 compared it with Gorowa **qaway** id. and Dahalo **ḱawaṭi** „middle of forehead“).

kwomálay c., pl. **kwomáley** „socket of the eye“ (Rp) = **koomallay** f. „upper edge of the orbit“ (HuB)

(1) Extended from the preceding word [***k^wom-a(y)**] by the suffix **-al-**.

(2) A compound of **kwa'** „socket“ & **mile** „tear“ & suffix **-ay** ?

kwon f. „hollow above camel's eye“ (HuB)

Could it be connected with **kwomálay** „socket of the eye“ (Rp)?

kaawáni f. „cartilage“ (Rp) = **kawáani** f., pl. **-a** „äussere Ohr, Ohrmuschel, Ohr“ (Re)

ECu: Dullay ***qabaq-** „to hear“ > Tsamakko **qabaq-** (Hy), Dobase **qapaq-**, Gollango, Gawwada of Dalpena **apaq-**, Harso **ḵapaḵ-** (AMS), Tsamakko **gaḡa** (Kusia & Siebert); Burji **akkab-** id. (Sasse 1982, 24);

NOM: Mocha **qābbi-** id. (Ls); Sezo **ḵiw-e**, Bambeshi **ḵew-** id. (Fl) vs. **kwapa** „orecchino“ (Grottanelli).

kwándiīd m. „buttocks (ape, esp. baboon)“ (Rp)

?SOM: Ari **kantsits** „buttocks“ (Be).

kwinin f. „dysentery“, **ṣoft-kwinin** „diarrhoea“ (Rp) = **kwinni** f. „dysentery“ (HuB)

Ch: (C) Wamdiu **kwùnyi**, Kilba **kùní**, Chibak **kwunyi**, Bura **kini** (Kr); Padukwo **kúrę** (Mc); Kotoko: Ngala **kuni**, Logone **ḵkúṇę**, Kuseri **kure**, Buduma **kóray** „Urin“ (Sölken 1967, 266); Gidar **kúnṇę**; Mada **kune**, Uzam **kunnęy** „urine“ (Mc), Gisiga **kunnay** id. (Lk) || (E) Mokilko **gôntiýó** id. (JgIb II, 334-35; Stolbova 1996, 65 reconstructs pCh ***[ḥ-]kuni**. It is also tempting to include Hausa **kúrǎá** - cf. JgIb l.c. Stolbova l.c. explains the change ***-n- > -r-** in Hausa as a result of neighborhood of **k**).

kwire m. „tooth“ (Rp) = **kwiliib** front tooth“ & **kwiriib** m. „tooth“, def.sg. **ook-wli/ookwri**, def.pl. **teekwli/eeqwri** (Wd) = **kwiręet** id. (Be) = Hdd **kul**, Suakin **kwirj** „Zahn“ (Me) = **to-k^wirrê** (Th) = **kure** & **kule** f. „Zahn“ (Re) = **to^wkole** f., pl. **te^wkore** id. (Mu) = **to courah** (Li) = [**doh**]-**kor** f., pl. [**deh**]-**kurre** id. (Kc) = **to-gura** f., pl. **te-gura** id. (Km) = **té koréh** pl. (Se)

(1) Derived from **kwiri** „to graze, eat“ (Rp) = **kwiriya** „to graze“ (Wd), similarly as IE ***H₁dont-** „tooth“ vs. ***H₁ed-** „to eat“ (Pokorny 1959, 287-89).

(2) Supposing metathesis, Ehret (1987, #342) compared Beja **kwire** with CCu ***ərḵ-** (Appleyard 1984, 46) || ECu ***ṛilk-** (Sasse 1982, 106) || SCu ***ṛiḵik^wa** „tooth“ (Ehret 1980, 292). The ECu „tooth“ probably penetrated into Kuliak (NS): So **ilog**, pl. **ilgwe** „tooth“ (Lamberti 1988, 58-9). Instead of **kwire** Dolgopolsky (1973, 269-70) included here Beja **ʾäyikw** „to chew“ (Rp) and compared this Cushitic isogloss with Ar **lāka** (impf. **-lūk-**) „to chew“, cf. **√ṛ-l-k** „to champ (the

bit“ (Dolgopolsky 1983, 134). A similar semantic motivation represents the etymology of Sasse (p.c. Jan 1994), comparing the Cushitic word for „tooth“ with Se **-ʔkul-* „to eat“ (Segert 1984, 179), cf. also Konso **khawl-eeta** and Dirayta **háwl-et** „molar tooth“ (Bl) < pre-Konsoid **kawl-*.

On the other hand, the lateral sibilant in Qwadza **ihlikwa** „teeth“ projected on the pCu level also implies similar correspondences among external parallels. Dolgopolsky (1989, 100, #21) finds an alternative cognate for E+SCu „tooth“ in Se **šikk-* „thorn, pin, nail“.

(3) ?ECu: Elmolo **kárris** „cheek, molar“ (He); Or **qarriifa** „canine tooth“ (Or **f** is a regular continuant of both pECu **f* & **s*), cf. further **qaaruu** „lower part of mouth“ (Gg);

?SOM: Ari-Jinka **ḵari** „tusk, tooth of hippo or elephant“ (Be & Tully); cf. Kačama (NOM) **qeeree** „naso“ (CR)?

WCh **ḥV-ḳʷari* „tooth“ > Hausa **hákáoorii**; Ron: Fyer **hágòr**, Kulere **ʔagweér** etc. (Jg) (Stolbova 1987, 222);

Be: (N) Senhaja **aqarruš** „dent“ (Rn).

Note: Takács (1997b, 255) also adds Eg (Pyr) **wḥ3.w** „die Zehennägel eines tiergestalts tigen Gottes“ (Wb. I, 355), reconstructing pAA **ḳʷar-/ḳʷarw-* with an initial uvular.

kwiretáti & kuretáti f. „rump, hindquarters; bones of lower spine“ (Rp) = **kwer-eeta** f. „spinal column“ (HuB)

Perhaps derived from **kwire** „tooth“ ?

ka'yan m. „ulcer, inflamed wound“ (HuB)

l'a m. „fat, grease“ (Rp) = **la'** m. „oil obtained from butter, liquid fat“ (HuB) = **l'aat** f. „clarified butter“, def.sg. **tool'a** (Wd) = **laa'** m., pl. **la'** „Fett, Schmalz, Butter“ (Re) = **o-ólá** „lard“ (Th) = **la'** m. „Fett, Schmalz“, cf. **la'am** „sich mit Fett beschmieren, bestreichen“, caus. **lá'as** „mit Fett beschmieren“ (Al) = **o'la** „Schmalz“, cf. **lasia** „einem Fett in die Haare tun“; from this caus. stem can also be derived **te'lasséi** „Pomade“ (Mu) = **ola** „Butter“ (Km) = **[oh-]lâh** „Butter, Schmalz“ (Kc) = **[o]la** „Butter“ (Bu) = **olá** „Butter“ (Se)

(1) CCu: Awngi **lati** „animal fat“ (Ht) || HECu **leʔ-* „to grow (up)“ (Hudson 1989, 74) || SCu: Mbugu **-lí** „to grow (of plants)“, Alagwa **loʔo** „weight, heavy“ (Ehret 1980, 205; Id. 1987, #323: N + C + E + SCu); cf. also Iraqw **ʔiilooʔ**, Burunge **hiilooʔ** „heavy“ (Ki);

?Se: Hb **ʔalyā** „fat tail of sheep“, Ar **ʔalyat** „queue grasse de certaines espèces de mouton“, Syr **ʔellitā** (Cohen 1970, 20; SED I, 7-8).

(2) ?ECu: Yaaku **lehen** „fat“ (He).

leeb f., pl. **-a** „Bauch, Magen, Herz“ (Re)

(1) Borrowed from EtSe: Gz, Ti **labb** „heart, understanding“ (Leslau 1987, 305);

(2) CCu: Bilin **läbbäka** „heart“ (Pl), Kemant **läbäka** „coeur; ame“ (CR) etc. || ECu: Afar **alib** „lung“ (Bs), Som **laab** „sternum, thorax“ (Ab) (Dolgopolsky 1973, 163-64, 229: without Beja) || ?SCu: Burunge **looboo**, Alagwa, Gorowa **loo-bi** „sheath“ (KM 194);

WCh: Chip **läp** „lungs“ (Kr);

(3) ECu: pSom ***leba** „udder“, cf. Jiddu **lowí** id. (Banti & Ibraaw) || SCu ***li(i)b-** > Asa **liba** „chest“, Mbugu **lubúra** „spleen“ (Ehret 1980, 205; Id. 1987, #317: N+E+SCu).

luub f. „hair on arms or legs“ (HuB)

?HECu: Gedeo **labata** „hair (of face)“ (Hudson 1989, 252);

?ECh: Dangla **lávà** id. (Fédry); Jegu **láawó** „hair“ (Jg), Bidiya **laláawà** id. (Alio), Mubi **álèe** id. (Lk).

liif m. „lid, hair; tissue in jabana“, def.sg. **ooliif**, def.pl. **iliifa** (Wd)

legaag m. „pain in chest“ (HuB)

Derived from **leeg** v. 2 „to be dying, very ill“ (HuB).

lagaaga f. „prominent point of bone or handle of knife“ (HuB)

Probably derived from **legagaab** „long, tall“ (HuB) with the accusative **-b** marker.

lehaak f., pl. **lehak** „throat“ (Rp) = **lēhak** m. „uvula, palate (roof of mouth)“ (HuB) = **leháak** f., pl. **lehák** „Gaumen“ (Re) = **leháak**, pl. **lehák** „Gaumen“ (Al), cf. the form with the original article **telháak** f., pl. **télhak** „Gaumen, Rachen, Kehle“ (Re) Borrowed from Ti **lähaq** „throat, place under the chin“ (LH 30).

lekway in **tə lekway at’agiig** „I am squatting on my heels“ where the verb **’agag** means „to sit on one’s séant“ (Rp)

CCu ***lək**- „foot, leg“ > Bilin **lək** (Ap), Qwara **lek** (Re), Kemant **lək** (Sa), Khamir **lukkū** (*SLLE*), Khamtanga **lək** (Ap), Falasha **lúkko** (Bk); Awngi **lèk** (Ht) = **likkū** (*SLLE*), Kunfāl **lug’i** (Cw) (Appleyard 1991, 20, 23) || ECu ***luk(k)-** /***luḳ(ḳ)-** „leg“ > Saho **lak** (We), Afar **lak** (PaHy); Som **lug**, Tunni **luk**, Jiddu **loh** (Ehret & Nuuh Ali), Rend **luḥ** (He), Bayso **luki** (Hy); Arbore **lukk** (Hy), Elmolo **lūk**, pl. **núnka** (He) id.; Or: Wellega **luka** „foot“ (Gg), Maca **luk-a**, Guji **lukk-a** „thigh (bone of animal)“, Borana **luk-a** „leg“ (LVC), Konso **lóqta**, Mashile **luxt**, Dirayta **lukkét** (Bl), Mussiye **lušša** (*SLLE*); Harso-Dobase **luhté**, pl. **luqe**, Gollango **luhté**, pl. **lúhe** & **lúqqe**, Gawwada **lukté** (AMS), Tsamakko **lukté** (Hy) = **lúb-te**, pl. **luḥ-be** (Kusia & Siebert); HECu ***lokka** „foot / leg“ (Hudson 1989, 66) > Burji **lukka**, Gedeo **lekka**, Had **lokko**, Kamb **lokka-ta**, Sid **lekka** (Black 1974, 140, 189; Sasse 1979, 5, 12, 41; Id. 1982, 136; HbLb 1988, 124) || Dahalo **lúḳa** „leg (from thigh to knee)“ (To) = **luka** „thigh“ (Eh);

?NOM: Basketo **lukq-** „to go“ (Be) = **lug-** id. (Lb); cf. Arbore **lukk ?eh-aq** „to walk“ = „to take leg“ (Hy);

Be: Ahaggar **éley** „jambe“ (Fc), Taitoq **ileq**, pl. **ilyan** „jambe de devant (d'un animal)“ (Mq); Zayan **iley** „mollet“ (Laoust 1920, 119).

Note: Cohen 1947, #419 compared C+ECu, Berb and Copt **ⲁⲗⲟⲃ** „cuisse, genou, épaule, bras“ but it is the continuant of Eg **ʕnd** „Flügel“ (Vycichl 1983, 9; Wb. I, 207).

liili f. „eye“ (HuB) = **liili** f.sg., m.du., m./f.pl. „eye“ (Rp) = **lili** & **lile** f. „Auge“ (Re) = **liiliit** f. „eye, pupil“, def.sg. **tuliili**, def.pl. **tiliili** (Wd) = Hdd **liili** „occhio“ (Ci) = Amar'ar **liili** id. (Do) = Hedared **leelit** id. (Be) = **liiliib** „eye“, **liiliit** „evil eye“ (Tl) = Hdd **telil** „eye“ (Wt) = **tilyly** id. (Bu) = **liili** f. „Auge“ (Al) = **teléle** id. (Km) = **deh-lihle** id. (Kc) = **to lili** id. (Li) = **te-le-le** id. (Salt)

CCu ***ʔəl-** „eye“ > Bilin **ʕəl** (Pl), Khamir **ʔəl** (*SLLE*), Khamtanga **əl** (Ap), Kemant **il** (Sa), Qwara **yil** (Re); Awngi **əl** (Ht), Kunfāl **el** (Cw) (the variant ***ʕəl-** was influenced by EtSe ***ʕayn-** id., cf. Appleyard 1984, 57; Id. 1991, 20, 21, 23; 2006, 62) || ECu ***ʔil-** id. > Som **il**, pBoni ***il** (He), Jiddu **ʔel**, Rend **il** (He), Bayso **il** (Hy); Arbore **ʔil** (Hy), Elmolo **il** (He), Dasenech **ʔil** (Sa); Or: Wellega **ijja** < ***il-i-ta** (Gg), Maca **ija**, Guji **iila**, Borana **ila** (LVC), Waata **il*** (He), Konso **ilta**, Mashile **ilta**, Dirayta **ilt** (Bl), Mussiye **ilca** (*SLLE*); HECu ***ille** > Burji **illa**, Gedeo, Had, Sid **ille**, Kamb **illi**; Yaaku **il** (He) (Sasse 1982, 104; Lamberti 1987, 534; Hudson 1989, 60); ***ʔilaal-** „to look, watch“ > Saho **ilaal-** „to wait for“, Som **ilaal-** „to guard“, Or **ilaal-** „to watch“, Konso **ilaal-** „to follow with the eyes“ (Sasse 1982, 105), besides HECu ***lell-** „to appear, be seen“ > Gedeo **lell-**, Kamb **lall-**, Sid **lell-** (Hudson 1989, 21) and Afar **lilli-hee** „to turn to look behind, look at“ (PaHy) || Dahalo **ʔila** „eye“, **ʔelej-** „to know“ (Eh) || SCU ***ʔila-** „eye“ > Iraqw, Gorowa, Burunge, Alagwa **ila**; Asa **ilat**; Qwadza **ilito**; Mbugu **i'ila** (KM 158-59; Ehret 1980, 291; Id. 1987, #326 and Dolgopolsky 1973, 144-5: N+C+E+SCu + Dahalo);

Ch: (W) Sbauchi: Buli **ʔiir**, Guruntum **yeren** || (C) ? Margi **li** (Hf), Kilba **li** (Kr); Hidkala **ilí** „eye“ (Lk); Lamang **ili**, Vizik **iri** / **ili** id. (Meek), Alataghwa **ilyia** id. (Büchner); Kotoko: Buduma **yíl** „Auge“, Gulfei **il**, **el**, **el** id. (Lk), Mandague **ʔəl** „yeux“ (Bouny); Masa **íra** || (E) Mokilko **ʔêr-sá**; Mubi **ʔirûni**, pl. **ʔàrà̀n** (Jg). Stolbova (1996, 108-09 differentiates this root from the synonym with the radical ***-d-**, in her reconstruction ***ʔida-n-** > (W) Hausa **ídòò**, pl. **ídà̀ànúú**; Tangale **ido**; Jimbin **ʔida**; Ngizim **dà/ďa** || (C) Tera **idi**; Bata **dii**; Guduf **diyà**; Mofu **dɛy** id. || (E) Kwang **k-éd-um** „thy eye“; Sokoro **íd-im** id. (vs. pl. **irí**); Migama **ʔidê**, Bidiya **ʔùdíyà**; Jegu **ʔúdê** etc. (cf. JgIb II, 126-27); the forms with **ɖ** (Ngizim, Migama) indicate a hypothetical cluster *liquid + dental stop*. This explanation could represent a common denominator for both the sets of etymons.

?Be: (N) Shilh of Tazerwalt) **állèn** „eyes“ (pl. to **tyt̪t̪** < ***t-il-t** ?) (Stumme), Ntifa **alln** & **tallin** (pl. to **tiṭṭ**), Semlal **wallən** (pl. to **tiṭṭ**) - see Militarev 1991, 258); (E) ? Ghadames **awəl**, pl. **wallən** id. (Lf) where **w-** can represent an original Status

annexus in **wa-** (on the other hand, Vycichl 1983, 27 compared these Berber forms with Eg ***bil**, Copt **Βαλ**, **Βελ** „oeil“, cf. also Saho-Afar **-bl-** „to see“ - Sasse p.c.); Eg (Pyr) **ir.t** „Auge“, Copt **ιεipe** id. (Wb. I, 106; Vycichl 1983, 60, 66 derives it from the verb **iry** „voir“, cf. Se **√r-ʔ-y**, but the present etymology could have been confirmed by Eg **rmy.t** „tear“, analyzable as „eye“ & „water“).

luul m. „anus“, def.sg. **ooluul**, def.pl. **eelil** (Wd)

lúmi f., pl. **lúmya** „finger“ (Re)

Cu: (C) Kemant **lañjii** „ongle“ (CR) = **lañg** „finger“ (ZL), but **langəla** „claw“ (Sa), Damot **lañetii**, Awngi **lañatii** „dito“ (CR) = **lañet** „finger“ (Ht), cf. **laña** „hand“ (CR) (Ehret 1987, #446: N+CCu) || ?(E) (1) Or **elema** (Th), **elemtu** (Vi) „indice“ (Dolgopolsky 1973, 167:N+CCu + Or); (2) Gedeo **lumoka** **ḵub-icco** „index finger“ vs. **lumo** „big; many, much“ (Hudson 1989, 253) || ?(S) ***ʔaleema** > Iraqw **halmi**, pl. **haleema**, Gorowa **ʔaleemi**, Alaqwa **ʔeleemi**, Burunge **ʔeleema** „branch, twig“ (KM 53).

Note: CCu ***ŋ** corresponds regularly with ***m** in the other Cushitic branches, cf. Ehret 1987, ##436, 439, 440, 443, 444, 447, 448. From this point of view Kemant **ng** recorded by Sasse (1973, 121) is rather puzzling, because it is not a regular reflex of pCu ***m**. The semantic dispersion „finger“ : „index finger“ : „hand“ : „branch“ is plausible if the original semantic motivation was „two“ (CCu ***läñ-** || ECu ***lamm-** || Dahalo **líma** || Asa **slam** || pOm ***lamm-** „2“ - see Blažek 1990, 37): „index finger“ = „the second one“ and „branch“ = „bifurcated“, cf. German **Zweig** : **zwei**. Dolgopolsky (1973, 167) saw the original motivation in „index finger“ - it is semantically certainly possible, but Oromo **elema** „index finger“ with preformative ***ʔa-** is easier derivable from a more primitive form ***lam(m)-**.

luum m. „anus“ (HuB) = **luum** m. „body from knee to waist“, **luumi** f. „crupper, tail-piece of harness“ (Rp) = **luum** m., pl. **luuma** & **lim** „Steiss, podex“ (Re) = **lúum** m. „Steiss“ (Al) = **o'lum** „Anus“ (Mu)
ECu: Or **lummié** „vertebre cervicali“ (Vi).

Hdd **lungwáy**, **lungwéy** „hock“ (BG)

Hdd **too-lus** „tail“ (BG)

lɛw f. „pylorus“ (Rp) = Halanga **léw** „pancia“ (Ci) = **luu** f. „first stomach of herbivorous animals“ (HuB)

?CCu ***labb-ak-** „heart“ > Bilin **läbbäka**, pl. **läffäk** (Pl), Qwara **läbaka** (Re), Kemant **lɛb(b)äka** id. (Sa) (cf. Dolgopolsky 1973, 163-64, 229) || ECu ***lubb-** „heart, soul“ > Afar **lubbii** „heart, soul, yolk, soft part“ (PaHy); Som **rub(b)-ad** „life“ in the idiom **rub(b)ad jar-** „to kill“, Rend **rub-ey** „heart-beat“, Elmolo

rup-ai' „heart“; Or **lubb-uu** „soul, vital spirit, life“, Konso **lupp-oota** „heart, soul“; Sid **lubb-o**, Burji **lubb-óo** „soul“, postp. „like, as“ (Sasse 1982, 135-36) || SCu: Asa **liba** „chest“, Mbugu **lubúra** „spleen“ (Ehret 1980, 205); Ch ***(ḥa-)lub-** „heart, liver“ (Stolbova 1996, 90) > (W) ? pBole ***ruḥu-** „liver“ > Tangale **rubo**, Dera **ru(w)ó**, Bolewa **rǎḥ-sà**, Karekare **rúbú-só** etc. (Schuh 1984, 211 reconstructed ***rǎḥsa**) || (C) Zeghwana **řuvè/ǎřvè** „heart“, Gava **řuřvǎ** id., Nakatsa **ĩřwa** „liver“, **ĩřvide** „heart“, Glavda **řěřyà** „liver“, **řividiya** „heart“, Wandala **řuřvǎḡùdè** „heart“ (Kr), Padukwo **arwa** „chest“ (Lk); Musgoy **lib** „ventre“ (Mc), Daba **libi** „stomach“ (Kr) || Ech: Mokilko **řulbé** „heart“ (Lk); Greenberg (1963, 58) added Logone **nǎfu** (Lk) and Illič-Svityč (1966, 20) Kusri **(ǎ)rrvi** „coeur“ (Lebeuf), but these forms represent continuants of Kotoko ***nǎfu** > Ngala **ĩnwuu**, Makeri **ĩřfuu**, Klesem **rěwu**, Gulfei **(ǎ)rfu**, Affade **nphey** „Herz“ vs. **rphih** „Seele“ (Sölken 1967, 264-65), cf. Musgoy **nǎv** „coeur, poitrine“ (Mc), Daba **nùv** „heart“ and Fali Gili **nufó** id. (Kr); Be **?*luḥi** „heart“ > ***luhi** > (S) Taneslemt **ulhi**, Ghat (y)**ul**; (W) Zenaga **uj**; (N) Ntifa **ull**; (E) Siwa **uli** etc. (Rössler 1964, 213; Militarev 1988); Eg (Pyr) **ib**, Copt **YB-** „heart“, **HB-K** „your heart“ (Wb. I, 59; Vycichl 1983, 243); Hodge 1976, 20-21 tried to prove older orthography **inb**); Se ***libb-** „heart“ (Fronzaroli 1964, 272 & SED I, 157-58; Vycichl 1958, 391 reconstructed Se ***libw-**) > Akk **libbu(m)**, Eblaite **li-bù** (Krebernik 1983, 22), Ug **lb**, Hb **lēb** & **lēbāb**, cf. **libb-ō** „his heart“, Aram **libb-ā**, Mandaic **liba**, Ar **lubb**, EpSAR **lb**, Soqotri **řilbib**, Harsusi **ḥe-lbēb**, Mehri **ḥe-wbēb** / **ḥe-wbōb** (Jh), Šheri **ub**, Gz, Ti, Amh, Gurage **labb**, Ty **labbī** id. (Leslau 1987, 305).

léew f., pl. **-a** „Seite“ (Re; but cf. the preceding entry)

ECu: Afar **lab** „side of the body“ (PaHy); Som **laab** „chest“ (Ab); Or **lapp-ee** „heart, chest“ (Gg); Burji **lap-ée** „side“ (Sasse 1982, 133; Id. 1979, 53 reconstructs two variants ***labʕ-** & ***laʕb-**, but there is no direct witness for reconstruction of ***ʕ**);

?Se ***labb-at-** (SED I, 156-57): Mehri **mǎlabb** „side“, EJibbali **mlab** id. (Jh); cf. Ar **labbat** „throat of an animal“ (Sg 906). On the other hand, the derivation from the root **√l-b-b** „heart“ is not excluded.

liwa m. „blister“ (Rp) = **lēwǎ** m. „blister due to rubbing“ (HuB) = **liwaab** m. „blisters; testicles“, def.sg. **oolwa(b)**, def.pl. **eelwa**, **iluuwa** (Wd)
Derived from **liw** v. 1 „to burn“ (Rp).

m'age m. „(nape of) neck“ (Rp) = **m'aggi** m. „neck“ (HuB) = Hdd **m'ági**, Bi **oo-m'áge** (BG) = **máge** m. „Hals“ (Al) = **em-magéh** m. id. (Se)

ECu: ?Afar **magoy** ~ **mogoy** „forearm from elbow to wrist“ (PaHy); Som **moḡog** „back, part of the back“, Bayso **moo** „back“ (Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 126) || CCu: Awngi **maq** „shoulder“ (Appleyard 2006, 122);

Be: (E) Siwa **taməḡa** „cou“ (La) = **tamigiah** (Brichetti-Robechei; see Basset 1890, 46) || (N) Beni Iznacen **miija** „gorge“, Rif **tmizža** „gosier“; (S) Ghat **tamaia**, pl. **čimaiawin** „gorge“ (Nehlil).

ma'mát f. „fistful“ (Rp) = **m(e)'amáat** „Faust“ (Re)

Derived from **'amit** v.1 „to grip, grasp“ (Rp) = **amit/d** v.1 „an- fassen, ergreifen“, ref. **amaat** „an sich nehmen“ (Re).

m'ára m. „pudenda of either sex“ (Rp)

(1) Derived from **'ar** v.1 „to hide“ by prefix **m-**

(2) Borrowed from Ar **maṣra**, **maṣrāt** „uncovered parts of body“, **muṣarra** „naked, bare“ (Sg 1025).

m'aawanaat f. „aorta“, def.sg. **tum'aawana**, def.pl. **tim'aawana** (Wd)

miid m., pl. **-a** „penis“ (Rp) = **miid** m., pl. **-a** „männliche Schamglied“ (Re) = **miid** m. „penis“, def.sg. **oomiid**, def.pl. **imiida** (Wd) = **mid** m. „penis“ (HuB) = Suakin **o-mit** id. (Th)

ECu: Or **mudaamuddii** „groin“ (Gg) > Gurage: Wolane **mudamudo** id.; Had **mudayicco**, Kamb, Qabenna **mojojita** id. < Gurage ***məžamža** id. (Leslau 1986, 378).

Note: Dolgopolsky (1972, 229) quoted Beja **miid** (with **ḍ**!) „penis“ compatible with Afar **muḍi** „testicle“.

maḍha m. „fatness“, def.sg. **umaḍha** (Wd) = **maḍḥa** m. „fatness“ (HuB)

Derived from **ḍah** „to be fat“ (HuB).

miidálab & **miidaab** m., pl. **miidaab** „tongue“, **imiidaab úudis** „uvula“ (Rp), orig. „the small tongue“ = BA, Halanga **mídala**, Hdd, Bi **míida** m. „Zunge“ (Re) = **miidalab** m. „tongue“, def.sg. **umiidalaab**, def.pl. **imiidalab** (Wd) = **midaala** m. & **miidaab** m., pl. **midab** (HuB) = **midalaab** id. (Be) = **miidaab** „tongue“ (Tl) = **miidá-b** „lingua“ (Ci) = **mída** m. „Zunge“ (Al, Km) = **imidab** id. (Wt) = **o'miḍa[b]** id. (Mu) = **o midab** id. (Li) = **[e]midap** (Se)

Perhaps a compound of the type ECu ***ṣan-rab-** „tongue“, where the component ***-rab-** can correspond with Beja **-lab** (lw. from Nilotic ***-lyep** „tongue“ [Dimmendaal 1988, 60]?) and the first component **miida-** is related to Or **madde** „cheek“ (Gg) similarly as ECu ***ṣan-** vs. Som **ṣan** „inside of mouth next to cheek“ (Eh) and Dahalo **ṣéena** „tongue“ (Ehret 1980, 274 compares it with Qwadza **ondalimo** and Mbugu **lu-ṗánda**). There are also other hopeful cognates:

NOM: Kafa **muddoo**, Chara **muddaa** „naso“ (Ce);

CCh: Mafa **muddey** „front“, Hurzo **midgee** „langue“ (Mc).

mehi f. pl. „placenta“ (Rp) = **mihe** f. „Überbleibsel, Rest, Nachgeburt, secundae partus“ (Re)

Derived from **mihi** „to remain stay or get behind, to lay“ (Rp) = **mehi** „bleiben, sich aufhalten; zurückübrigen“ (Re).

mahragati m. „tibia & fibula of animals“ (HuB) = **i-mharákti**, **oo-nharákti** „between stifle and hock (of camel)“ (BG)

It is tempting to identify **harka** „hand, arm“ here.

mook f. „front of the neck“ (HuB) = **mok** f., pl. **-a** „front external part of neck“ (Rp) = **mook** f., pl. **-a** and **máka** „Hals, Nacken; Nackenpreis der Frau“ (Re)

CCu: Bilin **māk**°a (Appleyard 2006, 27) = **mækk**°a „buttock“ (Lamberti 1988, 50) = **mākwāa** „Steiss, Podex“ (Re) and / or Awngi **maq** „shoulder“ (Ht) || ECu: Afar **makuh** / **mukoh** / **mukuh** „spine, spinal cord“ (PaHy), Boni **múkkə** „buttocks, anus“ (He), Rend **mókkolo** „(bones of) lower spine; small of the back“ (Galboran & Pillinger); ?Yaaku **muk** „lower side of body“ (Eh);

Eg (MK) **mkh3** „Hinterkopf“ (Wb. II, 163), Copt **mak2** „nuque, cou“ (Vycichl 1983, 111 identifies **m-** prefix here while Beja **mook** should have been derived from ***maakeX** (X = consonne disparue), pl. ***makXew** or sim. But the etymological analysis **mkh3** < **mky** „protéger“ & **h3** „arrière de la tote“ (Sethe 1923, 191) agrees better with AA data. The comparison of Beja + Copt was presented by Reinisch 1895, 167 and Beja (**m’age**) + Eg by Zyhlarz 1933, 168.

muk m. „stomatitis, inflammation of mouth“ (HuB)

CCu ***mākäy-** (CDA 102) > Kemant **mākäy** ~ **mækäy** „mouth“ (Sa), Qwara **ma-kiya** id. (Re), Falasha **makya** (Bk), Khamir **mika** „Mund“ (Re) = **mitšə** „mouth“ (SLLE), Khamtanga **māja** id. (Ap).

mukəla „nose bag“ (HuB)

miikwa m. „femur, humerus, tibia“ (Rp) = **miikw’at** f. „elbow, knee“, def.sg. **tumiikw’i**, def.pl. **tim’iikwi** (Wd) = **miak**°a (with the suppletive pl. **tě-mitât** „bone“ (Th)

(1) CCu: Awngi **mæk** „wing“ (Ht) = **mæk’i**: „feather“ (Wedekind) || Dahalo **mukúm pilo** „ankle“ (Eh) || (Ehret 1980, 159; Id. 1987, #100: N+CCu +Yaaku **muk** „lower side of body“ „+ Asa **mugura** „ankle“).

(2) ECu ***miḱ-** „bone“ > Mossiya **meḱ-ete** (Lb) = **nekete** (SLLE); Harso **miḱ-ac-cé**, Gollango **miq-atté**, Gawwada **maq-te**, **maq-q-e** (AMS), Tsamakko **meḱ-te** (SLLE); Had **miḱ-ee**, Kamb **miḱ-o**, Sid **miḱ-icco**, pl. **miḱḱ-a**, Gedeo **miḱḱ-o**, pl. **miḱ-e**, Burji **miḱ-a**; Yaaku **moḱ-o**, pl. **muḱ-a** (Sasse 1982, 144: < Om) || NOM: Male **migutsi** (Be); Dokko **miḱats**, Malo **miḱetsa** (Fl), Koyra **miḱita**, Wolayta **meḱetta**; Shinasha **maḱəttəsa**; Yemsa **mega** „bone“ etc. (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 458-59; Blažek 1989, #21; Hayward 1988, 278);

Ch: (W) Guruntum **myaw** „horn“; Ngizim **màakám** || (C) Mwulyen **myòk** (Mc), Munyuk **ámíyók** (SbTx), Gidar **mòhoo** (Mc), Masa **myok** (Mc), Banana **mìyèka** (Kr) || (E) Kwang **tómko** „horn“ (Jglb II, 192-93).

mikw'ol f., pl. **-a** „radius, ulna, fibula, bones of the hand or foot“ (Rp) = **miikw'ool** m. „fibula bones of hand or foot“, def.sg. **umiikw'ool**, def.pl. **imiikw'oola** (Wd) = Bi **too-mig'óoli**, Hdd **míikóol** „shin“ (BG) = **mikool** f. „shinbone“ (HuB) = **mík^(w)ál** f., pl. **-a** „Mark, Knochenmark“ (Re) = Suakin pl. **mîk^uôl** „shin“ (Th) = **te'mikol** „Mark“ (Mu) = **témmikóla** „Handknöchel“, **tmîk-ôl** „Schiene“ (Se) Borrowed from EtSe: Gz **maq'fál** „fat (animal)“ (derived from **q'a'fala** „to be fat“), Ti **maq'fal** „marrow“ (Leslau 1987, 417).

Hdd **ti-mukúla** „side of toe“ (BG)

?SCu: Asa **mugura** „ankle“ (Eh).

mile f. „tear“, **milot** & **melot** v.2 „to weep“ (Rp) = **melo** f. „Träne“ (Se), cf. **me-loot** v.2 „weinen“ (Reinisch 1895, 168) = **miloot** f. „tears“, def.sg. **toomlu**, def.pl. **teemlu** (Wd) = **maloi** f. „tears“ (HuB) = **miloot** „tear“ (Tl) = **te'melo** „Träne“, cf. **melodya** „Tränen vergiessen“ (Mu) = **te'mlah** „larmes“ (Li)

CCu ***ʔarəŋ^(w)** „tears“ (Appleyard 1991, 23) > Bilin **ərəŋ^w** (Lb), Khamtanga **ərəŋ^w** (Ap), Kemant **yirəŋ** (ZL) || ECu ***ʔilm-** „tear“ > Som **ilm-o**, Boni pl. **ilm^e**, Rend **ilím** (He); Or (pl.): Waata **ilmaani**, Borana of Isiolo **imimaani** (Stroomer), Wellega **immimaan** (Gg), Konso pl. **ilm-aam-aa**, Dirayta pl. **ilm-am-a** (Bl), Mossiya pl. **ilm-am-ó** (Lb); Dullay (pl.): Harso **ilm-aam-e**, Gollango, Gawwada **ilm-áam-e** (AMS), Tsamakko **ilmale** (Kusia & Siebert, *SLLE* 20[1994], 11); Burji **ilm-a**, **ilm-áa**; Yaaku **ilm-am-u** (Sasse 1982, 105; Lamberti 1986, 330; Id. 1987, 534) || Dahalo **ʔilíma** id. (Eh) || SCu: Asa **ʔelelema**, Mbugu **i'ílíma** id. (Ehret 1980, 291); Kiessling (p.c.) added Gorowa **ʔilmó** „grain“, but there are other, apparently closer, cognates in ECu: Rend **ilím** „seeds“ besides Som **ilmó** „child of either sex“ (Heine 1981, 190).

SOM: Ari **erma** id. (Lb);

CCh: Buduma **himaalo** id. (Ng > Lk) || ECh: Tumak **muləl** id. (Cp);

Eg (MK) **rmy.t** „Träne“, (Pyr) **rmy** „weinen“ (Wb. II, 416-7), Copt **ΕΡΜΗ** (B), **ΛΕΜΗ** (F) „larme“, **ΡΙΜΙ** (B), **ΛΙΜΙ** (F) „pleurer“ (Vycichl 1983, 172; cf. the review of O. Rössler, *ZDMG* 137[1987], 384, where **rmy.t** is compared with Som **ilmo**; similarly already Cohen 1947, #73: N + C + ECu + Eg).

Note: Probably a compound of ***ʔil-** „eye“ & ***muʔ-** „water, wet“ or in the opposite order, besides Beja and Chadic also preserved in Eg **m3w.t** „larmes“ (RdE 30[1978], 14)? An alternative solution can consist in the analysis ***m-** & ***ʔil-**, cf. Ahaggar (SBe) **amit** / **iməttawän** „larme“, lit. „celui de l'oeil“, derived from unattested ***it** „eye“, really **tiṭ** / **tiṭṭawin** (Prasse 1974, 139). Perhaps accidentally similar is Arbore (ECu) **hiḍimá** „tears“ (Hy).

malaal m. „diarrhea“, def.sg. **umalaal**, def.pl. **imalal** (Wd)

mána m. „bowels, intestine, viscera“ (Rp) = **maṇa** m. „intestines“ (HuB) = **ma-naab** m. „intestines“, def.sg. **umana**, def.pl. **imana** (Wd) = **manaab** „bowels“ (Tl) = **mána** m. „Darm, Gedärme, Eingeweide“ (Re = Do)

ECu: Sam ***mindiqar** > Rend **miṇḍaxár**, Som **mindiqir** & **mindisir** „intestines“, Boni **mineʔer** „part of intestines“ (Heine 1978, 91), Bayso **minʔeer** „intestines“ (Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 128), ?Arbore **merḍe** id. (Hy) || Dahalo **máni** „large intestines“ (Ehret 1980, 153; Id. 1987, #423: N+E+Dahalo);

CCh: Pidlimdi **minà** „heart“, Boka **mwàṇàʔtə** „liver“; Higi Nkafa, Higi Ghya **mni** „heart“, Higi Kamale **mùṇe** „liver“, Fali Gili **mīni** id., Fali Bwagira **man-jewin** „intestines“; Mafa **məṇad** „liver“ (Kr) || ?ECh: Bidiya **moono** „pancréas“ (Alio).

me(n)sarə f. „scrotum“ (HuB)

mari m. „side; direction“ (Rp) = **mar** m. pl.-a „Seite“, **már-i** „zur Seite, neben“ (Re); cf. **marii** „towards“ (Wd)

?ECu: Som **marmar** „the neck of the camel“; Or **morm-a** „neck“; Burji **marmár-i** „neck, nape of neck“ (Leslau 1963, 111; Sasse 1982, 141 derived it from ECu ***mar-** „round“); ECu > Harari **märmär** „shoulder“, Ennemor **märmär** „nape of the neck“, Zway **marmara** „hump of the neck“ (Leslau 1963, 111);

WCh: Nbauchi: Pa’a **marni**, Mburku **marin**, Miya **amarno**, Siri **mirka** „rib“ (Skinner 1996, 196: Beja + Nbauchi);

?Eg (Gr) **mr.t** „Kehle eines Gottes“ (Wb. II, 107; cf. Takács 1997a, 226: Eg + ECu + WCh).

mirba f. „aorta; central channel of khor; blood feud“ (Rp) = **mírba** f. „Blutrache“ (Re) = **mirbaat** f. „blood feud“, def.sg. **tumirba**, def.pl. **timirba** (Wd)

Borrowed from EtSe, cf. Gz **marbabt** „net, trap, snare“, derived from **√r-b-b** „to stretch, expand, extend“ (Leslau 1987, 460-1). Concerning the meaning „blood feud“, cf. Bilin **märbat** „(Blut)rache“ (Re) of the same origin.

mirdáf f., pl. -a „croup“ (Rp)

Derived from **ridif** v.1 „to set on a pillion (esp. on camel)“ (Rp) = **ridif** v.1 „to take behind on camel“ (HuB) < Ar **radafa** & **radifa** „to come behind (another), follow“ (Sg 410), cf. Beja **radif** „camel’s back behind the hump“ (HuB).

maráar m., pl. **márar** „vein; streak of color esp. in sky at dawn and sunset“, **maráara** „internal organ (heart, lung, liver, kidney)“ (Rp) = **maraar** m. „vein, artery“, def.sg. **umaraar**, def.pl. **imarar** (Wd) = **marrar** m. „vein, artery“ (HuB) = **maraar** „vein“ (Tl)

?ECu: Oromo **mar'uman** „intestines“ (Gg);

Ch: (W) Hausa **maara** „lower stomach“ || (C) Mafa **mār** „artère, veine“ (Mc) || (E) Dangla **marar** „estomac (des bêtes)“ (Skinner 1996, 196: Beja + Hausa + Dangla);

?Se: Soqotri **merr** „belly“; ?Ar **mirra** „gall“, Argobba **mārara** „bile“, Syr **mer^etā**, Hb **m^erērā**, Akk **martu** id., derived from Se $\sqrt{\text{m-r-r}}$ „to be bitter“ (Leslau 1945, 236; Id. 1987, 360; while in SED I, 170-71 the derivation from $\sqrt{\text{m-r-r}}$ „to be bitter“ is doubted).

mesik m., pl. **míska** „Haut, Fell“ (Re)

Borrowed from Ar **mask** „skin“.

mīša f. „shoulder-blade“ (HuB) = Bi **ti-mīša** „shoulder“, and perhaps related **too-mša** „elbow pad“ (BG) = **to-mīša** „shoulder-blade“ (Th)

Is it connected with **mīšaakwi** etc. „temple“ (Rp)?

Hdd **too-mīš'a** „part of upper arm“, Bi **to-mīš'u** „forearm muscle“ (BG)

miškan m. „back of neck“, def.sg. **umiškan**, def.pl. **imiškana** (Wd) = **mīšken** m., pl. **-a** „Nacken“ (Re) = **mīšken** „Nacken“ (Mu)

Reinisch (1895, 175) derived it from Ar **sakinat** „basis capitis, qua collo cohaeret“, but Beja **š** implies the same sound in the source. Lamberti p.c. sees possible relatives in Som **maskaḥ** „brain“, Dabarre **mascaḥ** id. (Lamberti 1986, 244). Heine (1978, 91) reconstructs pSam ***misqaḥ** continuing in Som and Boni **miska'** id.

An original source can perhaps be seen in Ti **maškarī** „place on the neck which is struck in order to benumb“, contaminated with Ti **mašangal** „neck“ (LH 223, 220)?

mīšaakwi & **šimaakwi**, **šimaakwa·ni** f. „temple“ (Rp) = **mīšáakwi**, **mīšakwáani** f., pl. **-a** & **šemakwáani** f. „die Schläfe“ (Re) = **mīš'akweet** f. „temples, sides of the face“, def.sg. **tumiš'akwi**, def.pl. **timiš'akwi** (Wd) = **mīšakwonnay** & **simakwonnay** „temple, forehead“ (HuB) = **šim'ek(u)**, pl. **šim'ekwa** „Schläfe“ (Me)

(1) Be: (E) Siwa, Sokna **ta-məzzuḥ-t**, (S) Adghaq **ta-məzzuk**, (W) Zenaga **ta-mazguu-ḡ**, (N) Seghrushen **a-məzzuq**, Kabyle **a-məzzuy** etc. „ear“ (Militarev 1991, 256), cf. Rössler, *ZDMG* 137, 1987, 384: Beja + Berb; the semantic development is comparable with Eg (Pyr) **msdr** „Ohr“ vs. **sdr** „schlafen“ (Wb. II, 154 and IV, 390).

(2) Borrowed from EtSe $\sqrt{\text{m-š-k}}$ „to chew the cud, ruminare“ (Reinisch 1895, 175 & 215; Leslau 1987, 368-69).

(3) The variant **šimaakwi** (Rp) etc. is easy compatible with Awngi (CCu) **šimark'wi**: „eyebrow“ (Wedekind). The direction of borrowing remains to determine.

mašálág m., pl. **mašálaga** „Euter“ (Re)

A similarity of Ti **mašálág** „interjacent bone“ (LH 206) need not be accident, although the semantic development remains unclear.

mat (& **mud**) m. „top of the head; crown of the head“ (HuB) = **mat** m., pl. **-a** „Scheitel“ (Re)

ECu ***math-** „head“ > Som **madaḥ**, Boni **máda'**, Jiddu **mádi'**, Rend **mataḥ** (He), Bayso **méte** (Hy); Arbore **mettéh** (Hy), Elmolo **mête** (He), Dasenech **mé**, pl. **met-tu** (Sa); Or: Wellega **mat-aa** (Gg), Waata **mát-a'** (He), Konso, Mashile **matta** (Bl), Dirayta **maššá**, Mossiya **maššá** (Lb); Tsamako **máta** (AMS); Yaaku **mitēh** (Dolgopolsky 1973, 182: N+ECu + Om; Sasse 1979, 5, 8, 10, 36, 37, 54, 57; Lamberti 1987, 532);

NOM: Shako **mootu**, **muutu** (Fl), Nao **mot** (Be) id. || SOM: Ari **mata**, Galila **matá**, Dime **māto**, Karo **māti** id. (Blažek 1989, #60);

CCh: Padukwo **mudara** „tête“ (Mc); Vulum **māt** (TxSbLg), Musgu **mada** (Mc) id.;

?Se: Akk **muttu** „Vorderseite“ (AHw 690).

Takács (*Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 28[1996], 126) also finds a promising cognate in Eg (OK) **mtý** „Vorsteher einer Priestergilde“ (Wb. II, 168) analyzing it as a nisba from unattested ***mt** „head“ or sim., cf. e.g. Eg (Pyr) **tp** 1. „Kopf“; 2. „Oberhaupt“ (Wb. V, 263, 266).

mitaat f. „bone“ (HuB) = **miitaatt** f. „bone“, def.sg. **tumiitaat**, def.pl. **timiitat** (Wd) = Ammar'ar **miitáat**, pl. **miitát** id. (Do) = **mmitat** id. (Tl) = **miitáat** f., pl. **miitát** id. (Rp) = **miita** f. „Knochen“ (Re) = **tě-mitât** „bones“ (Th) = **mīita** f. „Knochen“ (Al) = **to'mitá[t]**, pl. **te'mite[t]** id. (Mu) = **[ti]mita** id. (Bu) = **[t]mitât** id. (Se)

ECu: Or: Borana **mita** „giuntura, membro, articolazione“ (Ve) = **mittaa** „joints“ (Stroemer), besides Guji **mitika** „joint“ and Waata **mikita** „arm, joint“ (LVS); Arbore **mittá** „joint of body“ (Hy), Elmolo **mótolac** „ankle“ (He); Burji **mitt-aa** „wrist“ (Sasse 1982, 146: Burji < Oromo);

?WCh: Sbauchi: Zaar **mwæt** „bone“ (Jglb), Zakši **mwat** id. (Shimizu).

Halanga **mux** „cervello“ (Ci)

Borrowed from Ar **muḥḥ** „brain“.

moy m., pl. **-a** „crown of head, top“ (Rp) = **moi** m. „top of the head“ (HuB)

ECu: Afar **moyya** „brain, head, skull“ (PaHy); ?Arbore **moydé** „eyebrow, eyelash“ (Hy).

mayukwā m. „right hand“ (HuB) = Ammar'ar **mayk"ā** „right“ (Do) = **máyikwa** m. „right hand“ vs. **miyakw** v.1 „to be dexterous“ (Rp) = **máyikwa** or **máyəkwa**

m. „rechte Seite, rechte Hand, die Rechte“ (Re) = **mayuk^a** „recht; rechte Seite“ (Al); cf. **w'ai'imiikwa** „right hand“ (Tl) vs. **ayi** „hand“ (Rp) and **o-mayeg^aad** „right hand; south“ (Th) < ***mayukwa** & **gwad**, cf. **gwaad** „Seite, Rand“ (Re), similarly **mayúg^aadook** „zu deiner rechte Hand, rechts“ (Mu) = **maygwad** „right side“, cf. **miikwaab** m. „right side“, def.sg. **umiikwa**, def.pl. **imiikwa**, and perhaps **timukwt** f. „fist“, def.sg. **tootmuukw** (Wd)

ECu ***mizg-** „right hand / side“ > Saho **mizga**, Irob, Afar **midga** „rechte Hand“ (Re), **migda** „right hand“ (PaHy); Som **midig**, Boni **mídig**, Jiddu **mayg-** (Lb) = **méeg** „right (hand)“ (Banti & Ibraaw), Rend **miig** id. (He) = **miig** „right, north; strong, strength“ (GP); Arbore **middá** „right hand“ (Hy), Elmolo **migit** „right (side)“ (He); Or: Wellega **mirga** n. „right; south“ (Gg), Guji **midda** „right hand“ (LVC), Konso **mikt-a**, Dirayta **misk-itt** (Bl), Mossiya **misk-óta** „right side“ (Lb); Harso, Dobase **misik-ko** „rechte Seite“, Gollango **misk-ító** adj. „rechts“ (AMS), Tsamakko **mizg-ittó** „right hand“ (Hy); Gedeo **midda** „right hand“ (HG) can be original, but Burji **mírga** „right hand / side“ is apparently borrowed from Or while a source of Kamb **makke**, Had **makk-ita** „right side“ (HG) is uncertain; Yaaku **maqaio** „right side“ (Lb) (Dolgopolsky 1973, 272; Sasse 1979, 25; Id. 1982, 145; Lamberti 1986, 261; Id. 1987, 537; Hudson 1989, 124: HECu ***mirka**?);

?SOM: Ari **mizi** „right side“ (Lb), Galila **miži** id. (Be);

Ch: (E) Dangla **mèedà** „droit“ (Fe) = „Karbo“ **mèedén** „rechts“ (Lk) - see Gouffé, *GLECS* 12[1971-72/1975], 113 who also adds Hausa (WCh) **daama** „droite“.

n'af m. „fingernail, claw, hoof“, def.sg. **oon'af**, def.pl. **een'af** (Wd) = Bi, Hdd **n'af** „toenail“ (BG) = **ne'áaf** m., pl. **n'af** „unghia“ (Ci) = **n'af** „claw“ (Be) = **naf** m., pl. **nuf** „nail, claw“ (HuB) = (**n**)**naf** „claw, (finger)nail“ (Tl) = **n'af**, **nə'af** m., pl. **n'af**, **n'afa** „claw, hoof, nail“ (Rp) = **ne'áaf** m., pl. **ne'áf** „Nagel, Krallen, Klaue“, cf. **ne'af** v. 2 „kratzen, krallen“ (Re) = **naf** m. „Nagel“ (Al) = **o'naff**, pl. **e'neff** „Nagel, Klaue“ (Mu) = **o naf** „ongles“ (Li) = [**e**]**néf** „Nagel“ (Se)

ECu: Afar **lifif** „claws, fingernails“ (PaHy), Saho **lifif** „claw“ (We) = **lifif** „Krallen, Nagel, unguis“ (Reinisch 1890, 245 connects it with **lefáaf** „Ritze, Spalt“);

?CCh: Lamang **ělféŋ** „finger“ (JgIb II, 137); Masa: Banana **lilifa** „Fingernagel“ (Lk) (Illič-Svityč 1966, 24: N+ECu + Masa + Eg);

Eg (Pyr) **ĩ3f.t** „Krallen des Raubvogels“ (Wb. I, 31).

Note: The irregular variation **l** > **n** also appears e.g. in **láfe** & **náfe** „Korb“ (Re). The irregular change **l** > **n** could also be caused by influence of the (quasi)synonym **m'áfay** „nail, rivet, peg, plug, fastener“, a derivative of **'afi** „to prevent, restrain, secure“ (Rp).

Hdd **í-n'akašóot** „flank“ (BG)

A compound of **n'akw** v. 1 „to be soft, fine, tender“ & **ša** f. „meat“ (Rp).

n'áli f. „groin“ (Rp) = Ammar'ar **n'áliit** id. (Do) = **nalloo** f. „inflamed gland, groin“ (HuB)

Cu: (E) Afar **naala** „eggs“, **nàli** „baby, child, infant, egg“ (PaHy); NWSom ***naa-lo** „egg“ < Afar (Ehret & Nuuh 1985, 234); Arbore **ñele?** „to copulate“ (Hy) || ?(S) Iraqw, Gorowa **naʕani** „penis“, Alagwa **niʕ-** „to copulate with“ (Ehret 1980, 186; KM 213);

Se: Akk **nīlu(m)**, **niʿlu** „Befeuchtung; Sperma“ (AHw 790).

Note: Dolgopolsky 1973, 174-75: Beja + Afar + Rend **ñohur** „penis“ (Fl) + Iraqw; Ehret 1987, #468: Beja + Arbore + Iraqw).

nad m., pl. **-a** „Zahn“ (Re)

?CCu: Kunfāl **enid** „to bite“ (Cw) || ?ECu: Or **ñadq-** „to eat“ (Gg); ?Yaaku **nóot-o** „lip“ (He) || ?SCu ***ñeq-** > Asa **ñeris-** „to herd, feed“, Mbugu **-ñe** „to bite; to sting“ (Ehret 1980, 261);

?CCCh: Daba **ndiñ** „tooth“; Mafa **ndiyəʔà** „to eat“ (Kr);

Zyhlarz (1933, 169, #48) compared Beja **nad** with Eg **nḥd** „Zahn“, Copt **na.xʒi**, but it is problematic for irregular correspondences.

There are remarkable parallels in NS: Nub: Mahas **niid** „tooth“ (vs. Dongola **nil**) || Tabi **niet** id. (Murray 1923, 130).

nadaali ~ **nadaari** f. „point of ear“ (HuB)

Was the primary semantic motivation „toothed“?

nif f. „benign tumour or swelling“ (HuB)

náfe f. „leather bag of skin of one animal for dry goods not liquids“ (Rp) = **nafeet** f. „leather bag for durrah“, def.sg. **tunafi**, def.pl. **tinafi** (Wd) = **nafi** (~ **nefi**) f., pl. **-at** „bag, sack“ (HuB) = **náfe** ~ **láfe** ~ **aláafe/i** „Korb, wasserdicht geflochtener Korb zur Aufnahme von Flüssigkeiten, Wasser, Milch“ (Re)

? ECU ***naxf-** „body“ > Or **naf-a** „body“ > Burji & Gedeo **nafa** id., Sidamo **nafa** „even“; Yaaku **naxap** „body“ (Sasse 1982, 152-53; Hudson 1989, 29).

Note: The etymons are compatible if in Beja a starting point was **náfe** „skin“.

ñga m. „waist, small of back, middle“, cf. **ñgat** f. „middle finger“ (HuB)

?ECu: Afar **niya** „heart“ (PaHy).

nigirri f. „spinal column“ (HuB)

HECu ***nigga** „tendon, vein“ > Had, Kamb **nigga**, Sid **nigá**, pl. **nigga** (Hudson 1989, 150).

nugw m., pl. **núgwa** „teat, nipple of breast or udder“ (Rp) = **nuug**, **nugwe** m., pl. **nug** „Zitze, weibliche Brust“ (Re) = **nigw** m. „breasts“, def.sg. **oonigw**, def.pl. **eengwa** (Wd) = (ʾoo) **nígʷ** m., pl. (ʾée) **ngʷa** „nipple of breast“ (Do) = **nūwkw** m. „breast, udder“ (HuB) = **nnigw** „(female) breast“ (Tl) = **nuug** m., pl. **nūg** „(weibliche) Brust,

mamelle“ (Al) = **o'nug**, pl. **e'nug** „Mutterbrust“ (Mu) = **o nouc** „sein ou mamelle“ (Li) = **onûk** „Zitzen, Weiberbrust“ (Se)

CCu ***ʔangʷ-/ʔangʷ-** „(nipple of) breast“ > Bilin **ʔangʷí** „nipple of breast“ (Pl), Khamir **əqʷ** (Re), Khamtanga **əkʷ** (Ap), Kemant **əngʷə** (Sa), Qwara **engu** (Re); Awngi **angʷ**, Kunfāl **angukʰ** (Cw) (Appleyard 1991, 21) || ECu: Saho **angu** (We), Afar **angu** „breast“ (PaHy) (< CCu?); Jiddu **ʔeneg** „breast“ (Ehret & Nuuh), cf. Som **nuug-** & **nuuj-** „to suck“ (Ab), Rend **nuuga** „to suck“ (GP) (Dolgopolsky 1973, 175-76; Ehret 1987, #463: N+C+ECu);

CCh: Kotoko: Makeri **énkwe**, Gulfei **emgwe** „Brust“ (Sölken 1967, 260);

?Eg (OK) **mnd** „Brust“ (Wb. II, 92-93) has been usually compared with Se $\sqrt{\text{m-l-g}}$ > Ar **malağa** „to suck but with the edges of the lips“ (Sg 1053) - cf. Albright 1918, 92; Ember 1930, 57; Calice 1936, #201; Cohen 1947, #483), but Copt **MNOT** „poitrine“ (Vycichl 1983, 117) indicates that **n** is original. Following Grapow and Lacau, Takács (1997a, 232; 2016, 294-97) proposes another solution, separating the nomen instr. prefix **m-** and the root ***-nd** compatible with other AA counterparts. Note: There are interesting NS parallels: Nubian: Kenzi, Dongola, Dair **og** „breast“ ||| Barea **nögu** „to suck“ ||| Nilotic: Masai **goo** „breast“ (Murray 1923, 136).

nakak m. „jaw“, def.sg. **unakak**, def.pl. **inakak** (Wd)

nakašo f. „humerus of animals“ (HuB) = Bi **o-nakašóote** „part of upper arm“ (BG) = **nákašu** m. „Schulterbein, humerus“ (Al) = **nekešo** „Oberarm“ (Mu) Perhaps derived from **nakaš** „to be short“ (HuB) = **nakaši** „short“ (Tl) = **nakašot** f. „short, small in stature“ (BG) although the semantic motivation remains unclear.

naʷa m. „tendon“ (HuB) = Bi **oo-náwa** „tendon“ (BG) = **nawaab** „sinew“ (Tl) = **naʷa** & **nowa** m. „tendon“ (Rp) = **nauayôn** „unsere Ferse“ (Se)

?ECu: Rend **nûib** „skin (of goats and sheep)“ (Eh) = **niib** „(prepared) cow skin, cattle hide“ (GP);

?SCu: Burunge **naʃeebi** „Sehne“ (Kiessling 1996, 55).

naʷi f. „thorn“ (HuB) = **nawe** f. „thorn; fork; sting“ (Rp) = **náwe** f. „Dorn, Stachel; Gabel“ (Re)

?CCh: Kotoko: Gulfei **naue** (pl.), Makeri **ngwo**, Kuseri **naaue**, Shoe **noe** etc. „Finger“ (Sölken 1967, 259).

niiwa m. „tail“ (HuB) = **niiwaat** f. „tail“, def.sg. **tuniiwa** (Wd) = Hdd **níw**, Bi **oo-níwa** id. (BG) = Kassala **níwa** m. „coda“ = **niiwaab** id. (Tl) = **niiwa** m. „tail; taproot (e.g. of carrot)“ (Rp) = **níwa** m. „Schweif, Schwanz, Schlepp der Tiere“ (Re) = **níwa** m. „Schwanz“ (Al) = **enniwa** id. (Mu)

?SCu: Iraqw **nawe** „ham“ (Ehret 1980, 184) = „thigh“ (Ki);

NOM: Seze **ɲwi:ni** „tail“ (Siebert & Wedekind);

ECh: Mubi: Minjile **iñewi**, Kajakse **iñawi** „tail“ (Ds & Be), Mubi **ʔínyéwii** id. (Jg). JgIb (II, 316-17) compare these words with parallels without **ñ**: Birgid ááyó, Jegu **ʔayo**, Migama **àyà**, and Dera (WCh) **yíwà** „tail“.
 ?Be: Rif (Ammart) **anuwar** „queue“ (Renisio).

raat f. „eyelid“, def.sg. **toora**, def.pl. **teera** - apparently identical with the homonym **raat** f. „leaf“ (Wd)

radif m. „camel's back behind the hump“ (HuB) = **ridaaf** „Kruppe“ (Re)
 Borrowed from Ar **ridāf** „Kruppe“ (Wr) = **ridf** „hind part, croup“, cf. **radifa** & **radafa** „to come behind, follow“ (Sg 410).

Bi **to-ragába** „junction of neck and body“ (BG)
 Borrowed from Ar **raqabat**, pl. **raqab**, **riqāb**, **raqabāt** „(root of the) neck“ (Sg 428).

ragad m., pl. -**a** „foot, leg“ (HuB) = **ragad** m. „leg, foot“, def.sg. **uragad**, def.pl. **iragada** (Wd) = Bi **rágad** „foot“ (BG) = **ragad** „leg“ (Tl) = **ragád** m. „leg“ (Do) = **reged** „foot“ (Be) = **ragad** & **lagad** m., pl. -**a** „foot“ (Rp) = Hdd (Port Sudan) **ragad** „Fuss“ (Me) = **ragád** m., pl. **rágada** „Fuss, Bein; mal, vices“ (Re) = **reked** „foot“ (Wt) = **ragád** m. (Al) = **te'reged**, pl. acc. **regeḍab** „Bein“, **regeḍ usurib** „Vorderbein der Bein“, **regeḍ urreeb** „Hinterbein der Bein“ (Mu) = **ragad** „Fuss“ (Km) = **ragad** „foot“ (Bu) = **rag-gèhd** „Bein“ (Kc) = **regget** „Fuss“, **rakkáda** „Huf“, **erkádo** „Schenkel“ (Se) = **rugādok** „[thy] foot“ (Salt)

ECu: Saho **rigíd** „Fuss“, **ragad-** „treten“ (Re), Afar **rigid** „root, trunk, relation“ (PaHy) || SCu: WRift ***dagira** > Iraqw **digir** „footprint“, Gorowa **digir**, Alagwa **degera** „trail(s)“, Burunge **dagara** „foot“ (KM 82; Ehret 1980, 324; Id. 1987, #357; Beja + Saho + SCu, cf. Dolgopolsky 1973, 170).

?Be: Tuareg **√r-g-z** „marcher“ (Rössler 1952, 140 connected it with Kabyle **argaz** „foot soldier, man, husband“, Tazerwalt **argaz** „Mann“, supposing the semantic motivation comparable with Se ***rigal-** „foot, leg“ and Ar **raḡul** „man“);

Eg (NK) **dg3** „gehen, schreiten“ (Wb. V, 499);

?Se: (1) Mehri **me-rkedét** „sole of the foot“, perhaps derived from **√r-k-d** „to stamp“, but Ar **rakada** & **rakaḍa**, Gz **ragaḍa** (cf. Saho **ragad-** „treten“) and Hb **rāqad** id. do not correspond exactly (Leslau 1945, 243; Id. 1987, 464); (2) Akk **daraggu** „Weg(spur)“ (AHw 163: Akk + Hb **derek** „Weg“; Calice 1936, 43: Akk **darāgu** „treten“ + Eg **dg3** + Beja **ragad** + Saho **rigid**; cf. also Cohen 1947, #333).

Hdd **tu-rhúum**, Bi **to-rhum** „bridge of nose“ (BG) - see **terhuum** id. (Rp)
 Reinterpretation of the first syllable ?

Hdd **oo-ruur** „junction of neck and body“ (BG)

Be: (S) Ahaggar **ārûri**, pl. **irûriyawän**, Ghat **ārori** „dos“ < *ā-rūrīy/ī, pl. *ī-rūrīyāwan (Prasse 1974, 279); (N) Kabyle **aḥrur** id. (Dallet).

riša f. „crest, summit“ (HuB) = **riiš** m. „feather“, def.sg. **ooriš**, def.pl. **iriša** (Wd) = **riiš** „feather“ (Tl) = **riiš** m., pl. **-a** „Feder, Vogelfeder; eine Sorte Kolibri, Paradeis- vogel“ (Re) = **riiš** m. „Feder, Straussfeder“, **riiša** „eine Feder“ (Al) Borrowed from Ar **rīš** „Feder“ or Ti **rīš** „ostrich feather(s)“ (LH 151).

saa f. „excreta“ (Rp)

?NOM: Shako **ši**, Dizi **ci** „feces“ (Yi);

?WCh: Ron: Daffo-Butura **šaš** „Exkrement, Kot“, Bokkos **šiši** „Exkrement“ (Jg);

?Eg (MK) **3s.w** „Vogelmist“ (Wb. I, 120; Takács p.c.: Beja + Eg);

There are remarkable NS parallels: Nub: Kenuzi **sii** „dung, filth“ || CSud: Bongo **ših** „dung“ (Murray 1923, 148).

si f. „liver“ (HuB) = **seet** f. „liver“, def.sg. **toosi**, def.pl. **teesi** (Wd) = **seeti** id. (Tl) = **se** & **si** f. „liver“, **set-hami** „gall bladder“ (Rp) = **see** f. „Leber“ (Re) = **sa** f. id. (Al) = **tó-si** id. (Th) = **to'see** id. (Mu) = **tôszéh** id. (Se)

?CCu ***sanq**-/ ***sānq**-/ ***sənq**- „liver“ > Bilin **sanki**, Khamtanga **šaq**, Kaïliña **säq**, Kemant **sanxi** (Appleyard 2006, 94) id., **saḥi kaanaa** „foie“ (CR) || ?SCu ***saaxi** „gall, bile“ > Iraqw, Gorowa **saaxi** id. (KM 247);

Ch: (W) Nbauchi: Warji **say-ai**, Miya, Kariya **sey**, Mburku **see**, Siri **šiyi** „liver“ (Sk) || (E) Mubi **sât** „Leber“ (Lk);

Be: (E) Siwa **tša** & **tasa**, Augila **tīsī**, Fojaha **tasân**, (N) Sened **tesa** & **etsa**, Senhaja **t'asa**, (W) Zenaga **taša** „liver“ (Militarev 1988). Laoust (1920, 116) included here the SBe forms meaning „belly“, e.g. Ahaggar **těsa** (see Beja **esse** „Bauch, Inneres“), while the Sbe word „liver“ continues in Ahaggar **awsa**, pl. **iwsâtän** „foie“ (< *ā-wisāH, pl. *ī-wisātan - see Prasse 1974, 185) which together with Nefusa **tusâ**, pl. **tsâtten** id. reflect the skeleton ***w-s-H** (Vycichl 1989, 6). With respect to the absence of any traces of the radical **w** in other Berber languages, it is tempting to interpret it as a frozen article. The unexpected **h** in the Zenaga variant **taḥsa** „foie“ (RB) is probably a result of influence of **əḥs** „aimer, désirer, vouloir“, cf. Mzab **aḥsa** „volonté“, Nefusa **aḥsai** „amour“ (Laoust 1920, 116).

Takács (p.c.) connected the Beja word „liver“ with Eg (D 18) **z3.wt** „ein Körperteil des Menschen zwischen Rücken und Gesäss“ (Wb III, 419) = „loins“ ? (Faulkner 1981, 209), but there are serious phonetical problems. A more promising cognate to Eg **z3.wt** can be found in Tlit (NBe) **izerman** pl. „intestins“ (Laoust 1920, 120).

sebaḷa m. „throat“, besides **seeba** & **enseeba** m. „gullet, crop of birds, first stomach of herbivoras“ (HuB) = Hdd **wansēeba** „lower part of jaw“ (BG) = **seba(la)**

m. „alimentary canal“, with article **inseba(la)** id. (Rp) = **seeb'aat** f. „throat“, def. sg. **tuseeb'a**, def.pl. **tiseeb'a** (Wd) = Suakin **o-nsêba** „Adams's apple“ (Th) = Halanga **seebá** „pomo d'Adamo“ (Ci) = **séebala** m. „Hals, Gurgel“, with article **enséeba** m. „Halsknorpel, Adamsapfel“ (Re) = **sébela** „Gurgel“ (Mu)
 ?ECh: Sumray **sebulom** „poitrine“ (GD). The semantic difference is comparable with French **gorge** „gullet; breast“.

sibta f. „wrist, wrist-joint“ (Rp)
 ?ECu: Som **saṣab** „Hand, Faust“ (Re), „palm of hand“ (Lb).

safiina f. „tuberculous glands in neck“ (HuB)

saṣara m. „dung, dirt, jaundice“ (HuB)

sifir m. „pupil of the eye“, def.sg. **oosfir**, def.pl. **isifira** (Wd)

sukba & **skuup** f. „wrist“ (HuB) = **sikba** f. „pastern joint“ (Rp) = Suakin **to-sipka** pl. „wrists“ (Th) = **šebik** f., pl. **šibka** & **šikba** „Handgelenk“ (Re) = **sikwib** f. „joint“, def.sg. **tooskwib**, def.pl. **teeskwib** (Wd)
 CCu: Awngi **cəḡfi** „palm of hand“ (Ht).

Note: Ehret 1987, #173 connects Beja & Awngi with ECu ***kaṣ-** / ***keṣ-** > Som **ṣaf** „chest“, Rend **kac**; Elmolo **kac** „chest“; Or **kaš-oo** „bronchitis“, Konso **kessa** „chest“; Gawwada **xaš-ito**, Gollango **haš-ito**, Harso **hešš-e** „shoulder“; Yaaku **kehp-en** id. (Sasse 1982, 112). Unconvincing.

sekuka „Unterarm“ (Mu)

?CCu: Kemant **säksiee** „partie sous l'aisselle“ (CR).

Note: Perhaps the same word (lw.?) occurs in Ti **sōqōqā** „avant-bras“ (Mu) = **səqīqā** „Unterarm, Unterschenkel“ (LH 182). A possible primary source could be Afar **sunku**, pl. **sunkuuka** „shoulder“ (PaHy).

sēkuum m. „colostrum (first milk)“ (HuB) = **súkuum** m., pl. **súkma** „colostrum, beestings; contents of egg; heart of plant or vegetable“ (Rp) = **sukma** m. „Fett, Mark“, cf. **oo-ukh-i sukma** „Eierdotter“ (Re) = **sikwim** m. „part of the brain (gray matter)“, def.sg. **ooskwim** (Wd)

Reinisch (1895, 198) saw here a lw. from Ar **šahm** id., but the Arabic borrowings in Beja preserve š.

sukena f. „foot, hand“ (HuB) = **sikwina** f. „pad, foot or sole of foot (esp. animals)“ (Rp) = **súkwina** „Fusssohle“ (Me) = **səkwena** f. „Fussfläche, Fuss, Huf“ (Re) = **súkena** f. „Fussknöchel“ (Al) = Ammar'ar **sik'ina** f.pl. „shin-bones“ (Do) = **súkena** f. „Fussknöchel“ (Al) = **te'sokena** „Fuss“ (Mu)

CCu ***säy**ˈän-/***säq**ˈän- „sole of foot, heel, hoof“ > Bilin **säx**ˈana „hoof“ (Pl) = **säy**ˈana, pl. **säg**ˈän & **säk**ˈän „Ferse, Fuss(fläche), Huf“ (Re), Khamir **sox**ˈana „Ferse, Fuss“ (Re), Qwara **säk**ˈana id. (Re) (Dolgopolsky 1973, 99; Ehret 1987, #282: N+CCu); CCu > EtSe: Gz **sak**ˈanā „sole of foot“, Ti **šəkna** „foot“, Ty **sāk**ˈana, **šokona**, Amh **säk**ˈana, **šäk**ˈana, **šāhona** id. > ?Qabenna **suhaanna-ta** (Leslau 1987, 496) || ?HECu ***siginṭa** „heel“ > Kambatta **siinṭa**, Hadiya **sinṭicco**, Sidamo **ginde** (Hudson 1989, 78 reconstructed ***sinṭa**).

Note: Brockelmann (1950, 13-14) derived Beja, CCu & EtSe words from the verb known from Beja **sak** „to go“ and Saho **siig-** „wandern, verreisen“ (Re; cf. also Dolgopolsky 1973, 262).

siil m. „spittle, phlegm“ (HuB) = **siil** m. „saliva“, def.pl. **eesiil** (Wd) = **siil** „saliva“ (Tl) = **siil** m. „spittle“ (Rp) = **sil** m., pl. **-a** „Speichel, Geifer“ (Re) = **sit** m. „Speichel; Fleischbrühe“ (Al) = **o'sit** „Fleischbrühe“, **ēsil** „spucken“ (Mu) ECu: Arbore **silla** „first milk of cow“ (Hy; cf. Ehret 1987, #228: Beja + Arbore); Or **fiilla** „sweat“ (Gg); Or **f-** can reflect both pECu ***s-** and ***f-**; ?NOM: Seze **ṣulī**, Hozo **tsóli** „saliva“ (Siebert & Wedekind); Be: Iullemiden **imselha** „Schweiss“ (Barth).

?Se: Ug **ṭil** „saliva, phlegm, spittle“ (DUL 125; Watson 2015, 339).

Note: Almkvist (1885, 59) saw in the final **-t** a misprint, but it could be caused by a regular change ***-Rt** # > **-t**, cf. **'or** c. „child“ vs. indef. f. **'ot** „girl“ or **barúuk** m. vs. **batúuk** f. < ***bartúuk** „thou“ m./f. (Rp).

suuli f., pl. **-a** „the upper part of the coiffure“ (Rp) = **súuli** f., pl. **súulya** „die Gissa, die auf dem Scheitel aufwärts gekämmten Haare in der Haartracht der Beduan“ (Re)

ECu: Som **siil** „pubes“ (Nk);

?WCh: Ankwe **šul(ka)**, Tangale **sulduk** „hair“ (Stolbova 1987, 203).

suli „breast bone; front“ (HuB) = Bi **too-súuli** „short ribs“ (BG) = Suakin **o-sulai** „forearm“ (Th)

(1) Probably the **l**-variant (= diminutive) to **suri** id., see **sur** „front“ (HuB).

(2) ?NOM: Dorze, Cancha **suule** „knee“ (Ae).

selli f. „oil“ (HuB) = **saliit** f. „oil“, def.sg. **tusali** (Wd)

salandale „rounded mass of muscle, e.g. vastus of thigh“ (Rp)

?CCu: Kemant **səluda** „muscle de la cuisse“ > or < Amh **sələda** (CR).

sembi m., pl. **-a** „wart“ (HuB) = **simbi** m., pl. **-a** „wart or mole on skin“ (Rp) = **šimbo** & **šúmbo** f. „Kratze“ (Re) = **simbiit** f. „wart, mole on skin“, def.sg. **too-simbi**, def.pl. **teesimbi** (Wd)

simuum f. „suet, fatty covering of kidneys“ (Rp) = **simuumt** f. „fat, suet, heavy body“, def.sg. **toosmuum**, def.pl. **teesmuum** (Wd) = **semúum** f., pl. **semím** „Fett“ (Re) = **to'sēmum** id. (Mu) = **tószmûm** id. (Se)

ECu: Dullay ***šiinam**- > Gollango **šiinan-ko**, pl. **šiinam-aane** „Fett“, Dobase **šinan-ko** „Butter“, Gawwada Dalpena **šiínán-ko**, pl. **šiinam-aane** id. (AMS) || ?CCu ***səna** „butter“ > Bilin, Khamtanga, Kemant **səna**, Awngi **səna** (Appleyard 2006, 40);

Ch: (W) Nbauchi: Diri **šinama**, ?Warji **šivəna**, ?Kariya **šivə** „oil“ (Skinner 1977, 34 compares Nbauchi „oil“ with Dangla **sewe** and Se **√š-m-n**) || ?(E) Migama **séwén**, Bidiya **séwəŋ** „graisse“ (Jg), Dangla **sewe** id., Mubi **síwín** „fett“ (Lk), Sokoro **súnee** „fett“ (Lk), Mawa **suun** „Öl“ (Jg);

Be: (S) Ayr, Iullemeden **ešem**, Ghat **isim**, (N) Qabyle **ta-ssəm-t** „(melted) animal fat“, Guanche (Hierro) **achemen** /**ašemen**/ „milk“ (Militarev 1991, 55-56 compared Beja **semín** adj. „fett, beleibt“ with Dullay + Nbauchi + Be + Eg + Se, but the Beja word is borrowed from Ar **samīn**);

Eg (Med) **smy** „Sahne“ (Wb. IV, 130);

Se ***šamn-** n. „fat, oil“, **šamin-** adj. „fat“ > Akk **šamnu(m)** „Öl, Fett“ (AHw 1157), Ebl **sa-ma-nu-um** /**šamnum**/ „oil“, Ug **šmn** n. „fat, oil, butter“, Ph **šmn** „oil“, Hb **šəmen** „oil, fatness“, Aram **šumn-ā**, Ar **samn** „Schmalz, Rahm“, EpSAr **Smn** „personal name“ etc. (SED I, 218-19; Fronzaroli 1964, #2.35; DUL 827; Cohen 1947, #264: Se + Eg + Be + CCu ***sən-** „butter“ - see Appleyard 1984, 42).

simarfiay f., pl. **simarfičy** „incisor tooth“ (Rp) = **simaree** f. „incisor tooth“ (HuB) = **simiriyaayt** f. „incisor tooth“, def.sg. **tusimiriyaay**, def.pl. **tisimiriyaay** (Wd) ?SCu: Qwadza **tselembayo** „tusk“ (Ehret 1980, 195).

sindilí „lobo dell'orecchio“ (G. Cifoletti: *Note linguistiche sulla tribu' Halanga [Sudan]*, Ms., p. 2)

Zaborski, p.c. 1995 analyzed it as a compound of ***sim** „ear“ & **dili** „hole“ (Rp) ?ECu: Boni **samúún** „upper lip“ (He); HECu ***suume** > Had **suume** „mouth, Gedeo, Sid **suume** „lip“ (Hudson 1989, 92-93, 102); the semantic development has an analogy in IE: Hittite **istaman-** „ear“ vs. Greek στόμα „mouth“ and also Germanic ***stemnō** „voice“ (cf. Sturtevant, *Language* 4[1928], 123), which supports an evident closeness of the AA items „ear“ (HECu „mouth“) and „name“ (Beja **sim**);

Ch: (W) Sbauchi ***kumsi** „ear“ < ***ku-sim** (cf. Kera **kó-sŋ**) || (C) Tera **l₃im** (Nw); Wandala **síma** (Mc); Gidar **smokó** (St); Logone **sím** (Lk) etc. || (E) Kwang **sèmdî** (Jg), Kera **kó-sŋ** (Eb); Kabalai **sámí** (Cp), Lele **sùmá** (Garrigues); Sumrai **súmi** (Jg), Tumak **him** (Cp); Mubi **súmáámn** (Lk) etc. „ear“

Be: (E) Ghadames **ēsəm**, pl. **samman** „ear“ (Lf) = **asim**, pl. **semmen** (Cassalati-Motylnski); Bynon 1984, 255 adds Tuareg **sumət**, Kabyle **tasumta** „pillow, cushion“ etc. (for semantics cf. French *oreiller*);

Se $\sqrt{s-m-f}$ „to hear“ (Leslau 1987, 502), cf. Akk *šāme’ānu* „Ohrenzeuge“ (AHw 1156). Note: Traditionally quoted Eg (Pyr) *sdm*, Copt ⲥⲱⲧⲙ „to hear“ (Wb. IV, 384) probably does not belong here (Vycichl 1983, 199 in contrary to Vycichl 1934, 63, where the same author supposed the development *sdm* < **sagima* < **saḡima* || Se $\sqrt{s-m-f}$). On the other hand, a connection „ear“ & „name“ is very probable. Greenberg 1963, 55-56: Ch + Be + Se; cf. Bynon 1984, 255: Ch + Be.

sánkwa & sínkwa & sánkwa, Hadendiwa **sánkwi**, pl.-a m./f. „Nacken, Schulter, Rücken“ (Re) = **sink**^a m. „shoulder“ (Do) = **sinkə** f. „back of shoulder“ (HuB) = Hdd **sínka** „shoulder“ (BG) = **sínkaab** „shoulder“ (Tl) = **súnka & sínka** m./f. „Schulter“ (Al) = [te]**sanka** id. (Km) = **szinkaon** „[unsere] Schulter“ (Se) ECu: Afar **sunku** „shoulder“ (PaHy), Saho **sunku** „shoulder joint“ (We); Som **sagan** „Nacken, Genick“ (Re); ?Or **sagg-oo** „back of head“ (Gg), if it is not related with SCu ***saga** „head“ (Ehret 1980, 350); Yaaku **sanj** „mane“ (Ehret 1987, #603; Dolgopolsky 1973, 91).

suunkwoi f. „hump“ (HuB) = **sunkúuy** f., pl. **-a** „hump (esp. of cattle, but not camel)“ (Rp)

Derived from the preceding item.

saar m. „contents of stomach of slaughtered animals“ (Rp)

ECu: (1) Burji **siir-** „to have diarrhoea“ (Sasse 1982, 165); (2) Burji **sera & sarra** „dung of horned cattle“, if it is not derived from ECu ***saal-/sall-** „cow dung“ (Sasse 1982, 164; Hudson 1989, 54); cf. also SCu: Mbugu **ki-sálo** „mud; dung of large animal“ (Ehret 1980, 326).

sar m., pl. **-a** „artery“ (Rp) = **sir** m. „artery“, f. „stalk“ (HuB) = **sər** „root“ (Be)
CCu ***sər-** „root“ > Bilin **sər** (Be), Khamir **sər**, Qwara **sər** (Re), Khamtanga **sər**
(Ap), Kemant **sər** (Sa); Awngi **sər** (Ht), Kunfāl **ser?** (Cw) > (or < ?) EtSe: Gz
śarw „sinew, tendon“, Ty **sur** / **sər**, Ti, Harari, Amh **sər** „sinew“ (Appleyard 1977,
58; Leslau 1987, 535);

WCh ***ɛ̄arw/ya** „root“ (Stolbova 1987, 200) > Hausa **sâywáá**; Yiwom **t^huar**; Daf-fo **súřê**; Geruma **su:ra**; Miya **tlêrwâ**; Kir **tlêri**, Guruntum **so:ri**; Ngizim **àaráu** || CCh: Tera **I₃l₃à**; Gude **l̥ɔrgin**; Wandala **shállwâ**; Musgu **salawón**; Zime **tló:r** etc. id.; || ECh: Kera **kásár**; Ndam **sírwe**; Migama **câ:rú**; Mokilko **sotto**; Mubi **cààró** etc. id. (JgIb II, 276-77; Mukarovsky 1987, 300-01; Newman 1977, 31; pCh ***šar-**; Stolbova 1996, 53-54: pCh ***ɛ̄oHar**);

Be: (S) Ghat **asur**, pl. **isurren** „tendon“ (Nehilil), Iullemiden **ásaren** „Adern“ (Barth), Ahaggar **asar** & **ažar** „fil ou lanière en nerf“ (Fc); (N) Kabyle **asaru**, pl. **isura** „tresse ronde formée de quatre, six ou huit fils de laine tressés sur la quenouille“ (Dallet); ?Se *šurš- „root“, cf. also Ar **surra** „umbilical cord“, **sirr** „origin, source“, Hb **šōr** „nerve, muscle“ etc. (Appleyard 1977, 58).

sar „hide“ (Tl) = **sar** m. „skin of animals“, def.sg. **oosar**, def.pl. **eesar** (Wd) = **sir** m., pl. **-a** „water skin“ (HuB) = **sarr** „leather bag for liquid“ (Do) = **sar** m., pl. **-a** „skin (in situ or after removal from animal)“ (Rp) = **saar** m., pl. **sar & sār** „Wasserschlauch, Girbe, Ledersack“ (Re) = **sar** m. „Haut, Fell; Wasserschlauch“ (Al) = **o sar** „skin“ or „leather“ (Bu) = **o serre** „peau“ (Li) = **[o]szérr** „Wasserschlauch“ (Se)

(1) Borrowed from EtSe: Gz **sāʔr**, **səʔr** „a leather bottle“, Ti **səʔər** id. (Leslau 1987, 480), similarly as Bilin **səʔər** „Schlauch zur Aufbewahrung für Wasser oder Milch“ (Re).

(2) Related to the following ECU parallels, if they (at least Afar & Som) are not borrowed from EtSe: Afar **saar** „goat-skin water bag“ (PaHy); Som **saar** „hide of cow or camel“ (Ab), Rend **sār** „body“ (He; concerning semantics - see Hb **bāšār** „meat“ vs. Ar **bašar** „skin“). Leslau (1990, 87) finds a source of the EtSe forms (1) in Cushitic, but Gz **səʔr** is derivable from Se ***šīʔr-** > Akk **šīru(m)** „Fleisch; Leib; Eingeweide-Omen“ (AHw 1248), Ph **šʔr** „meat“, Ug **šīr** „flesh“, Hb **šʔər** id. (Watson 2015, 343; SED I, 210-11; Fronzaroli 1964, #2.31), cf. also Soqotri **širhi** „peau“ (Leslau 1938, 433), and Se ***šīʔr-** is compatible with Beja **sa(a)r** & ECU ***saar-**. Further parallel can be found in Be: (S) Ahaggar **tésarké** „peau de boeuf tannée“ (Fc), (N) Sus **tisarki** id., cf. Cohen (1947, #270) who also proposed a connection with Copt **ϣϣⲁⲡ** „peau, cuir, bourse“, but it is excluded because it continues late Eg **ḥšr** „Leder“ (Vycichl 1983, 269). Takács (p.c.) offers another Egyptian parallel, viz. (MK) **sr** „tress, wig, hide (of animal)“ (Faulkner 1981, 235) = „Haar eines Tieres“ (Wb. IV, 191). Finally, there are promising, although rather ambiguous, cognates in Ch: (W) Warji **tirhei**, Siri **zirre** „skin“ || (C) Bata **šiirē** id. || (E) Kera **ti:rə** id. (JgIb II, 296-97).

serə f. „back, posterior surface“ (HuB) = **sára** f. „Rücken“ (Re) = **saraat** f., pl. **sarat** „back“ (Rp) = **saraat** f. „back“, def.sg. **tusara**, def.pl. **tisara** (Wd) = **tesarat** „back“ (Wt)

Cu: (C) Xamir **səra** „Rücken“ (Re), Awngi **sər** „lower part“ (Ht) || ECU: Afar **sārra** „back, rear, later time“, **sarra** „sheep’s tail“ (PaHy), Saho **sara** „Schwanz, Schweif, Hinter-, Rückteil“ (Re); ?Som **sar** „over, upstairs“ (Nk), ?Boni ***sāríd** „backside of chest“ (He); Burji **saro** „tail“, ?Had, Kamb **šeerima** id. (Hudson 1989, 148); Yaaku **səerəy** „below, down“ (Ehret 1987, #172 compares it with SCU ***tšer-** „to decrease, become less“) || Dahalo **sàre** „back“ (To) || SCU: Alagwa & Burunge **sira** „buttocks“ (Ehret 1980, 178; Id. 198, #226; KM 250: ***sira**); Eg (Pyr) **s3** „Rücken“ (Wb. IV, 8), Copt **coi** „dos“ (Vycichl 1983, 185); Se: Ar **sarāt**, pl. **sarawāt** „back, croup“, Soqotri **sar** „derrière“ (Leslau 1938, 290), Mehri **sār** „back(wards), behind“, Harsusi **sār**, **ser**, Šeri **sér** „behind, after“ (Jh), ?Amh **sarasar** „colonne vertébrae“ (Cohen 1947, #269; cf. SED I, 223); Gouffe (1969-70, 37) added Hausa **tsara** „middle of the back“, but there are probably other cognates (Skinner 1996, 269): ECh: Tumak **tər**, Ndam **tār**, Sumray

tàríny „back“; Migama **tà:ró**; Mokilko **dár** „back“ (JgIb II, 7) || Se ***ṭahr-** „back“ > Akk **ṣēru** „Rücken, Oberseite; Steppe“; Eblaite **za-lum** [**zaḥrum**] = Sum **mur-gu** (Krebernik 1983, 47), Ug **ṣr** „top, back“, Ar **ṣahr**, EpSA **ṣhr** „back“, Mehri **ṭahar**, Soqotri **ṭhar** „auf“ (SED I, 253-55); Fronzaroli 1964, #2.65; Müller 1975, 64: Se + Sumray) || ECu ***ṣeer-** > Bayso **ṭeeri** „buttocks“ (He); Dirayta **ḍeer-t'** id., Or **ṭeeri'** „vagina“; Sidamo **ṭeere** „anus“, etc.; the original pECu ***ṣ-** is reconstructed on the basis of Som (Upper Juba) **jeer** and Konso **jeera** „shame“ (Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 144) || NOm: Zayse **deere** „buttocks“ (Lb).

Kunama (NS) **səra** „Hals und Nacken“ (Re) can be of Cushitic (Beja or Agaw?) origin. Skinner (1996, 269) also adds Daza (Saharan) **osoro** „derrère“.

sur m. „front, anterior surface“, **suri** ~ **suli** f. „front, breast bone“, **suranaḡ** m. „first in a race, winner“ (HuB) = **suur** m. „Vorrang, Vorderseite, Front“, **súur-i** „vor, früher“ (Re) = **suur** prep.-adv. „in front, formerly, at first“, v.2 „to be go in front, ahead“ (Rp) = **surí** „before“ (Wt) = **suur** „erster; vor, vorne, voran, vorher, im voraus, früher“, **usurib** „der Erste“ (Al) = **usure** „vorn, vorher“ (Mu) = **sourone** „devant“ (Li)

ECu: (1) Afar **sori** „chest“ (PaHy). Semantics as in Beja **gwadaab** „chest, front part of body“ (Rp)?; (2) HECu ***soor-** > Sid **soor-eessa** „first, preceding, guide“, **soor-icca** & **soor-aamo** „eldest brother“, Gedeo **sooree-ssa** „eldest“ (Hudson 1989, 33, 64);

?Se: Akk **šurrû(m)** „Anfang, Beginn; anfangen, beginnen“, Aram **šar(r)i** id. (AHw 1285).

saríimay m., pl. **saríimey** „femur“ (Rp) = **sarima** m. „thigh, bone of animal“ (HuB) = Suakin **malo serimai** „the two thighs“ (Th), orig. perhaps „a soft part of body“, cf. Bi **saríimaw** „to be soft, fine, tender“, **saríimaw-ša** „flank“, lit. „soft meat“ (BG) ?CCu: Bilin **harb**, pl. **harfu** „Wade“ (Re) || ECu ***sarb-** „calf of leg“ > Saho **sarb-a** „lower leg“ (We) = „Wade“ (Re), Afar **sarb-a** „calf, lower leg“ (PaHy); ?Som **sarab** „branches used for building hut“ (Luling); Arbore **sarb-á** „shin“ (Hy), Dasenech **sarab** „calf of leg“ (Sa); Or: Wellega **sarb-aa** (Gg), Borana **sarb-a** id. (LVC), Konso **sarp-itta** (Bl); Tsamakko **sérb-e** „Wade“ (AMS); HECu ***sarba** > Burji **sárb-aa** „calf of leg“, Gedeo **sarba**, Kamb **sarba-ta**, Sid **saraba** id. (Sasse 1982, 163; Hudson 1989, 35); ECu > EtSe: Ti **s/šárba** „partie de la jambe au-dessous du mollet“ (LH < d'Abbadie), Ty, Harari **sárba** „calf of leg“, Gurage **sārāba** id. (Leslau 1979, 559).

WCh: Hausa **shaaraaba** „calf (of leg)“ (Skinner 1992, 347; Id. 1996, 242).

Note: The vacillation **m** ~ **b** is not unknown in Beja, cf. **tirim** „to divide into two parts“ vs. **tirib** „to divide into two equal parts“, **taraba** „half“ (Rp).

ša f., acc. **šaāt** „meat“ vs. pl. m. **ša'a** „cow“ (HuB) = **šaāt** f. „meat, flesh“, def.sg. **tooša** (Wd) = **šaāt** „meat“ (Tl) = **šaa** f. „meat“ (Rp) = **ša** & **ša'** f. „Fleisch“ (Re) =

śaa- „meat“ (Hudson 1976, 104) = **śa** f. „Fleisch“ (Al) = **too-śáa** „la carne“, indef. **śáat** (Ci) = **to'sha**, acc. **shat** id. (Mu) = **toscha** id. (Km) = [**doh-**]**sharr** (Kc) = [**to**]**sha** „meat“ (Bu) = **tôschá** „Fleisch, Wade“ (Se)

(1) Derived from **ś'a** m. „cow“, f. „heifer“ (Rp) = **śa'** m. „Kuh“ (Re), or at least influenced by the initial **ś-**; the latter solution would allow to reconstruct the original initial ***s-** compatible with ECu ***soʔ-** „meat“ > Som **so'** „lean meat“ (Luling), Garre **soʔ** „meat“, Jiddu **suo** id. (Ehret & Nuuh), Bayso **soo** id. (Hy); Arbore **sóʔ** (Hy), Elmolo **sóo** (He), Dasenech **sú** id. (Sa); Or: Wellega **foon** (Gg), Borana **fooni** (LVC), Konso **soʔá**, pl. **sowá** (Lb), Dirayta **sóhaa**, Mashile **sóha** (Bl), Mussiya **soʔó** (Lb); ? Tsamakko **saʔán-ko** id. (Kusia & Siebert) (Sasse 1979, 50; Lamberti 1987, 538) || SCu: Qwadza **saʔu-ko**, Asa **saʔaka** „meat“ (Eh)? But from the point of historical phonology, there is a better cognate in Beja **ás'i** „raw“ (Rp) = **asúw** „unreif“ (Re).

(2) CCu: Awngi **əʃši** „meat“ (Ht), Kunfál **eš** id. (Cw) || NOM: Wolayta **ašuwa**, Gamu **ašo**, Kullo **ašwa**, Gofa **aša**, Basketo **aayš**, Doko **ayšše**, Koyra **acco**, Chara **accaa**, Bench **ač**, Yemsa **aša**, etc. „meat“ (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 298; Blažek 1989, #77); Seze **ʔəsi**, Hozo **ətsi** „meat“ (Siebert & Wedekind).

Ch: (W) Miya **tlíwíyá**, Pa'a **hluwi**; Jimi **hlo**, Tule **tlawò**; Ngizim **tlùwái** (Stolbova 1987, 200 reconstructs WCh ***čaw[a]y**) || (C) Tera **lù**, Hona **lua**; Lamang **lui**; Dghwede **tlúwè**; Mofu **áləw**, Gisiga **ʔiše**; Gidar **lwa**; Logone **lwa**; ?Musgu **soo**; Zime-Batna **tlew** || (E) Barain **suu**; Mokilko **séy**; Jegu **súút** etc. „meat“ (Jglb II, 232-33);

Eg (Med) **šw.t** (menschlicher Körperteil) „Seite, Hüfte, Lende“ (Wb. IV, 425); ?Se: Ar **šawā** (√š-w-y) „rösten, braten (Fleisch)“, **šiwāʔ** & **šuwāʔ** „gebratenes Fleisch“ (Wr 450).

The other comparanda are less convincing. So Zyhlarz (1933, 171) compared Beja **ša'** with Eg (Pyr) **šf** „schneiden“ (Wb. IV, 415) while Ehret (1987, #248) finds a cognate in Yaaku (ECu) **šeʔen** „marrow“, **šeʔno** „bark“ and Iraqw (SCu) **tsiʔite** „skin of bird“!

šə f. „urine“, cf. **o ša hadal** id., lit. „black urine“ (HuB) - see **ôša**, **úuša(y)** „Harn, Urin“ (Re)

Hdd **oo-š(i)bít** „side of toe (of camel)“ (BG)

Could it be connected with **šib** v. 1 „to shoe“, refl. **šab** v. 1 „to be shod, put on one's footgear“ (Rp), Hdd **amin-ša'ab** „barefoot“ (Th)?

šabil m., pl. **šabaḷa** „moustache; cock's comb“ (HuB) = **šaabil** m./f. „moustache, crest of birds, wattles“ (Rp) = **šabíl** m., pl. **šábla** „Hahnenkamm, Schopflappen des Hahnes, crista galli“ (Re)

Borrowed from Ar **sabla(t)**, pl. **sibāl** „moustache“ (Sg 479).

šid'a f. „human hair that hangs over the ears“ (Rp) = **šit'i** & **šit'e**, pl. **šit'ya** „die

Locke welche Knaben vom Haare wird, während die übrigen Haupthaare abrasiert werden“ (Re) = **šiida** f. „side hair of woman“ (HuB)

(1) Reinisch derived it from Ar **šaṭṭ** „surculus“ = „palm-shoot“ (Sg 541). But the semantic difference is rather big.

(2) Om: (N) Nao **sīču**, Dizi **cicu(s)** „hair“ || (S) Bako **sīči**, Galila **šiči**, Dime **sīšu**, Ubamer **sīši** etc. id. (Blažek 1989, #48);

Ch: (W) SBAuchi: Wangday **cétn** (Shimizu) || (C) WMargi **cici**, **citi**, Margi **šiši**, Chibak **šiši** etc. „hair“ (Kr);

Lamberti (1988, 71) connected the Omotic words with Kuliak (NS) parallels: Ik **səṭṭ**^a, So **səj-at** „hair“.

šagara f. „inflammation of glands or private parts of woman“ (HuB)

šehadáana tíbala „Zeigefinger“ (Re) = **ašadunna** f. „first finger“ (HuB) = **táschadénna** „Zeigefinger“ (Se)

From **šehadáana** „Zeuge“, from **šehad** v. 1 „zeugen“ (Reinisch 1895, 212).

šaka „mucus (phlegm)“ (HuB) = **šáaka** f. „Halsgeschwulst, Halsentzündung“ (Re) = **šákka** f. (**te-šákka**) „Speichel“ (Se)

Reinisch (1895, 213) connected it with Ar **šakat** while Ehret (1987, #245) compared it with SCu ***šuk-** „to spit“ > Iraqw **tsuq-**, Burunge **cuq-** id.; ?Mbugu **šuyúši** „to rinse out mouth“ (Ehret 1980, 231; KM 302: Iraqw-Gorowa **tsuunq**, Alagwa **tsubaq**, Burunge **cubaq** < ***tsubaq**).

šiikhay m., pl. **šikhēy** „upper jaw-bone“ (Rp), cf. **šikiyáiti-hum** „cheeks“ (BG) ECu: Afar **sokto** „lip“; Dirayta **šaakót**^a, Mossiya **šaakotá** „jaw“ (Lamberti 1987, 533);

NOM: Shako **siiku** „chin“ (Yi).

šikaff m. „pancreas“ (HuB)

šalga f. „a single-handful“, cf. **šilig** v.1 „to scoop with one hand“ (Rp) = **šelga** f. „single handful“, cf. v.1 **šelig** „to take a single handful“ (HuB)

Borrowed from Ti **šalgat** „a handful“, **šalaga** „to measure with the hollow of the hand“, Ty **šalgat** „eine Getreidemenge, die in beiden hohlen Händen Platz hat“ (LH 206).

šallúf m., pl. **-a** „trunk of elephant“ (Rp)

Probably borrowed from Ar dial. (Qift, Upper Egypt) **šallūfe**, pl. **šalalíf** „lip“ (Nishio).

The other possibilities are less probable:

(1) Takács (p.c.) compared Beja with Eg (NK) **šnb** „Trompette“ (Wb. IV, 514)

with the irregular final **-b**, perhaps representing the alternation **-b/-p** attested even in Pyramid Texts, e.g. **n3b.t / n3p** „Locke“ (Wb. II, 200).

(2) ?ECu: Konso **šuuł-a** „tooth of wild boar“; Burji **šúul-i** „face, front“ (Sasse 1982, 174-75); perhaps also Dasenech **šool-ti** „bald head“ (Lamberti 1987, 533).

šambo f. „eczema, ringworm“, **kurbi šamboot** „extensive eczema“ (HuB)

šimbehani m. „eyelash“ (HuB) = **šambhaniib** m. „eyebrows“, def.sg. **ušambhani** (Wd) = Hdd **šambháne**, Bi **oo-šimbháne** „eyebrow“ (BG) = **šambəháni** m. „eyebrows“, **išambəháni euhii(b)** „eyelashes“ (Rp) = **šimbeháni** m., pl. **-a** „Augenwimpern, -brauen“ (Re) = **ʾi šinphani** „eyebrows“ (Do) = Suakin **o šambʾhân** „eyelash, eyebrow“ (Th) = **šimbeháne** „Augenwimper“ (Al) = **shimbeháne** „Augenbrauen“ (Mu) = **ochombanni** „sourcils“ (Li)

(1) Almkvist (1885, 62) proposed a compound consisting of **šebib** „sehen“ & **hamu** „Haar“.

(2) Alternatively, it could be a compound of ***šimb-** or ***šinb-** & ***-hani**; the latter component can be identified in Beja **hánat-ʾaawi** „forenoon“ (Rp) while the former part is probably corresponding to

Cu: (C) Awngi **šuban** „eyebrow“ (Ht) || ?(E) Som **suunni** „eyebrow“ (Nk) and / or HECu ***šoomba** „(pubic) hair“ > Burji **šomba/i**, Had **šomba**, Sid **šobba** (Hudson 1989, 75), Kamb **šabb-ata** and further Gurage **šombä** id. (Leslau, *AuÜ* 71[1988], 199) || ?(S) Burunge **sumbiya** „bird’s crest“ (Ehret 1980, 183);

NOM: Yemsa **somma** „hair“ (Be) = **somà** „Kopfhaar, Körperhaar, Fell(haar)“ (Lb); ?CCh: Sukur **šimbut** „hair“ (Meek);

Be: (N) Zaian **ašbʾabʾ** „sourcil“ (Lo);

Eg (MK) **šnby** „Haar“ (Wb. IV, 514; Takács 1997a, 236 added both Eg & Sukur forms).

šambuukia m. „jugular vein“ (Rp) = Suakin **e-šambukía** „muscle at side of neck“ (Th)

Perhaps derived from the same base as **šambuut** „lung“ (Rp)?

šimbili m. „prepuce“, f. „clitoris“, also „toadstool, fungus“ (Rp) = **šimbili** f. „fungus“ (HuB)

CCh: Fali Kiria **šimpuř**, Higi Futu **sibulu**, Kilba **šípèlì** etc. „testicles“ (Kr).

šambut m., pl. **šambit** „lung“ (HuB) = **šambiit** f. „lungs“, def.sg. **tušambi**, def. pl. **tišambi** (Wd) = **šambuut** m., pl. **šambit** „lung“ (Rp) = **šanbuut** m., pl. **šanbit** „lungs“ (Do)

CCu ***sāmb-** (or ***sānb-** according to Bilin **sānbi** and Geez **sanbuʔ**) „lungs“ > Bilin **sānbi**, Khamir **səbba**, Khamtanga **síbb** (Ap), Qwara **sāmba** (Re), Kemant **samba** (ZL); Awngi **samb** (Ht) (Appleyard 1977, 58 and 1991, 23; Appleyard

2006, 95: ***sāmb-/samb-**); CCu > EtSe: Geez **sanbu?**, Ti **sānbu?**/**sānbuʃ**, Amh **samb-a** id. (Leslau 1987, 505); on the other hand, the EtSe forms can reflect the original Semitic continuant of AA „lungs“, cf. Akk **sinib/ptu** „eine Haut auf der Lunge“ (AHw 1047) || ECu ***šamb-** „lungs“ > ?Saho **sibbi** „asthma“, Afar **sibbi** „phthisis, hectic fever“ (PaHy); Som **samb-ab** & **sanb-ab** „lung, pneumonia“ (Luling), Jiddu **sāmb-ab** (He) = **sab-b-í** (Banti & Ibraaw), Boni **somb-ób**, Rend **somb-ób** (He), Bayso **sómb-ob** (Hy); Arbore **soñbot** (Hy), Elmolo **sóm-ot** (He), Dasenech **saam(-ic)** (Sa); Or: Wellega **somb-a** (Gg), Borana **somb-a** (LVC); HECu ***šombo** id. > Burji **šomb-i**, Gedeo, Sid **šomb-o** (Hudson 1989, 95) (Sasse 1982, 174; Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 138-39); HECu > Gongga: Kafa **šombo** (Habte Mikael), Mocha **šombo** (Ls) id.; ?SBe: ETawlllemmet **sənbub-ān** (pl.) „tuberculose“, **sənbub-ət** „aspirer au moyen d’un tuyau (liquide)“, **ta-sānbab-út**, pl. **ši-sənbuba** „tuyau“ (Takács 2016, 301). ?Ch: (W): Gude **acembá (-ts-)** „Brust“ (St) || (E): WDangla **tyàmbiìnà** (*čamb-) (pl.) „poumons“ (Fe) (Takács 2016, 302); ?Eg (MK) **šnb.t** „Brust, Körper“, later „Kehle“ (Wb. IV, 512; see discussion by Takács 2016, 299-302); ?Se: Akk **sinib/ptu** „eine Haut auf der Lunge“ (AHw 1047; SED I, 207-09). The Ethio-Semitic comparanda (see above) can be related or borrowed / influenced from Cushitic. The phonetic correspondences are not regular: N+ECu and Eg *š imply AA/Se *š giving Akk š while Akk s continues AA *c > Eg s (cf. Eg [Gr] **snb** „Atemluft“, mentioned in SED I, 208).

šimaakwi f. „temple“ (Rp) - see **mišaakwi** id. (Rp)

There is a tempting parallel in Awngi (CC) **címərəkʷí** „eyebrow“, derivable from **cómár** „tail“ (Appleyard 2006, 63).

šenəb m. „moustache“ (HuB) = **šenáb** m., pl. **-a** „Schnurrbart“ (Re) = **šéneb** m. id. (Al)

Borrowed from Ar **šanab** „Schnurrbart“, cf. the other borrowings from Arabic: Siwa **šnabīb** (La), Nile Nubian **šāneb** (Re), Afar **sanab** & **tanab** „moustache“.

šindáw m. „fine head of hair, esp. on young girl“ (Rp) = **šindau** m. „hair of unmarried woman“ (HuB)

?NOM: Basketo **išinc**, Zergula, Zayse **isin** „hair“ (Mukarovsky 1989: NOM + CCh);

CCh: Fali Kiria **šinci**, Higi Ghye **šinji**, Higi Futu **cimši**, Higi Nkafa **šinti** „hair“ (Kr), Kapsiki **šinti** „Haar“ (St) etc.;

Eg (Pyr) **šn** „Haar“, (Med) **šnty** id. (Wb. IV, 499-501, 518; Takács 1997a, 235-36).

šanguul m. „hair which hangs down at back and sides of head“ (HuB)

šanak „beard“ vs. **šanki** m. „edge, side of house“ (HuB) = **šanak** m. „chin, beard, moustache“, def.sg. **ušanak**, def.pl. **išanaka** (Wd) = **šanak** „beard, chin“ (Tl) =

šanák m., pl. **šanaka** „Kinnbacken, Kinn, Kinnbart“ (Re) = **šanki** m. „edge“ (Rp) = **šanak** & **šenak** f. „Kinn“ (Al) = **shenek** „Kinn, Bart“ (Mu) = **schanak** id. (Km) = **a-shanak** id. (Kc) = **o channak** „menton“ (Li) = **schánek** „Bart“ (Se), cf. **bok-šenāk** „Usnea sp.“, lit. „Bockbart“ (Schweinfurth)

Probably of EtSe or CCu origin, cf. Qwara **šangobat** „Kinn“ (Re), Kemant **šangobat** „menton“ (CR), Awngi **šang^weviti** „(barba del) mento“ (CR) or Gurage **šäng^wābāt** „beard and whiskers, moustache“, Amh **šängobāt** chin“ (Leslau 1979, 582).

šinkidā f. „spleen“ (HuB)

šurā m. „pubic hair“ (HuB) = **š'uraab** m. „pubic hair“, def.pl. **iš'ura** (Wd)

Ch: (W) Hausa **sura** „head hair“ and / or **shaari, shiro** „long hair on chest of ram“ (Skinner 1996, 184; Stolbova 1996, 39, 52-54 has collected evidence for Hausa **s/sh** < Ch/AA *ĉ);

?Eg (MK) **šrt** „Gerste“ (Wb. IV, 524), if the primary semantic motivation was „hairy“, cf. Ug **šŕr**, Hb **šəšōrā**, Aram **səšārtā**, Ar **šašŕr** „barley“, lit. „hairy“, e.g. Akk **šārtu** „hair“, Ug **šŕrt** „wool“, Hb **šēšār**, Ar **šaš(a)r** „hair“ (Fronzaroli 1969, #6.39);

?Se: Ug **šrn(ā)** „Weizen“ (Aistleitner 1965, 316-17), Gz **šərnāy** „wheat“ (Leslau 1987, 534), if the starting point also was „hairy“.

širkabā „upper part of the chest“ (?) - cf. **kirkabi** m. id. (HuB)

šawa m. „muscle“, f. „penis“ (Rp) = **ša^wwa** m. „back of hand or foot“ (HuB) = Suakin **o-šawa** „foot from ankle to base of toes“ (Tl)

(1) Perhaps derived from **šaw** v.1 „to repeat, do again, increase“ (Rp).

(2) NOm: Bambeshi **šabba** „testicolo“ (Gt);

Eg (D18) **šb(.t)** „Fleischstück“ (Wb. IV, 437; Zyhlarz 1933, 171: Beja + Eg).

šawāarib pl. „Schnurrbart“ (Re) = **ša^wwarib** m. „moustache“ (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar **šārib**, pl. **šawāarib** id.

tabok f., pl. **-a** „double-handful“, cf. **tibok** „to fill scoop with two hands joined“ (Rp) = **tebek** v. 2 „to fill outspread hands“ (HuB) and **tebook** v.1 „bei der Ernte beschäftigt sein; übereinander legen, aufhäufen, mit den Händen Korn in den Sack füllen“, **tebook** v.2 „einfassen das Korn in die Säcke“ (Re)

Borrowed from Ar **√t-b-q** II „plicavit, imposuit rem rei“ (Reinisch 1895, 221) = „to close the hands“ (Sg 626).

tibalay f., pl. **tibal** „finger, toe“ (HuB) = **tiibalaayt** f. „finger“, def.sg. **tutiibalaay**, def.pl. **titiibalay** (Wd) = **tiibalait** „finger“ (Tl) = **tiibálay** f. id. (cf. **kiibalay** id.) (Rp) = Hdd (Port Sudan) **tu-tibála** (besides **tu-kibála**), pl. **te-tibálei** „Finger“ (Me) = **tíbala** & **tibaláay** f., pl. **tibaláy** „Finger“ (Re) = **tíbalaay** f., pl. **tibalěy**

„Finger, Zehe“, **rába tíbalaay** „Daumen“, lit. „männlicher Finger“ (Al) = **te'tibe-lei** „die Zehen“ (Mu) = **tetíbala**, pl. **-e** „Finger“ (Km) = **[ti]tibala** „fingers“ (Bu) = **tetíbaléiy** „Finger“, **tétibálei táruih** „Goldfinger“ (Se)

(1) ECu: Afar **tibíſ** „Ferse“ (Re); Arbore **téb** „foot“ (Hy);

?NOM: Hozo **tó:bmi** „fingernail“ (Siebert & Wedekind);

?ECh: Dormo **tubunu** „Finger“ (Lk).

(2) Alternatively, it could be derived from ***tu-kibalay**, cf. the forms **tu-kibála** and **tu-tibála**, pl. **te-tibálei** „Finger“ recorded by Meinhof (1919, 250).

Hdd **teefá** „ombelico“ (Ci) = **tefa** f. „navel, centre of circle“ (Rp) = **téefa** f. „Nabel“, with article **túu-tfa** (Re) = **tó-ofta**, pl. **té-efta** „navel“ (Do) = **tootfa** id. (Tl) = **to'téfa** id. (Mu) = **tótphá** id. (Se) = **dítfa** f. id. (HuB)

(1) CCu: Bilin **ətəba** „Nabel“ > or < EtSe: Ti **ʔətəb**, Tn **ʔətəbti** „umbilical cord“, Amh **attäbä** „to cut the umbilical cord“ (Leslau 1982, 7) || ?ECu: Elmolo **típir** „navel“ (He) (cf. WSe: BiblAram **ṭibbūr**, postBiblHb **ṭabbūr** „navel“?);

CCh: Wandala **otoobe** „Nabel“ (Barth).

(2) CCu: Awngi **tefo** „hip(s)“ (Ht) || ECu ***taf-** „thigh, hip, bottom“ > Som **taf** „thigh; edge“ (Luling); Or: Wellega **taf-a** „bottom, hip“ (Gg), Konso **taf-a** „thigh, upper leg“ (Bl); Gollango **taf-o** „Oberschenkel“ (AMS); Burji **táf-i** „thigh“, Gedeo **tafa**, Had **tefo** „hips“, Sid **taf-a** „buttocks“ (Sasse 1982, 174; Hudson 1989, 34, 80: HECu ***tafa** < Or or Amh **tafa** „thigh“);

tagal & tagar m. „behind angle of jaw“ (HuB)

tagat f., pl. **-a** „udder“ - see **digat** „udder, breast“ (HuB)

tagwayi & tagwia adj. „barefoot“, **tagwáaii** adv. „barefoot(ed)“ (Rp) = **tugiáb** „barefoot“ (Th)

?NOM: Wolayta **tohuw^a**, Gamu **toho** „foot, leg“, Zala, Gofa, Kachama **toho** „foot“, Dache, Zayse **tuke**, Basketo **toka**, Koyra **toke / toge** „leg, foot“, Chara **taaya** id., She **to** „foot“ etc. (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 516); Seze **təg:[i]** „foot“ (Siebert & Wedekind).

talḥa ~ tarḥa m. „left side“ (HuB) = **talha & tarha** adj. „left, left-hand“ (Rp) = **talhaab** m., **talhaat** f. „left handed one“, def.sg. **utalha** „lefthanded person“, besides **tarah gwad** „left side“ (Wd) = **tálha & tárha** m. „linke Hand, Seite“ (Re) = **delha** adj. „linkhandig“ (Mu), cf. **w'ayitalha** „left hand“ (Tl) and Bi **tarhag** „ad „left hand; north“

(1) ?ECu (Konsoid-Dullay) ***kelḥ-** > Konso **kell-ittá**, Mashile **xalx-ot** „left side“ (Lb); Harso, Dobase **ḥalah-ko**, Gollango **ḥalḥ-itta**, Gawwada Dalpena **ḥalaſ-aka ko** „links“ (AMS) (Lamberti 1987, 537); the irregular correspondence **t** vs. **k** can be explained by influence of Beja **táməgwa** „link, die linke Seite, Hand“ (Re),

although the same process which was proposed for **tiibálay** „finger“ (Rp) < ***ti-ki-balay** (see above) cannot also be excluded here.

(2) ?NOM: Yemsa **halda** „left“ (Bender 1988, 150), cf. Beja **delha** (Mu).

talhanguum m., pl. **talhangwim** & **talhanguuma** „patella (of animal only)“ (Rp)
Probably a compound of **talhaati** „humerus“ & **gúmba** „knee“ (Zaborski 1992, 427).

talhaati m., pl. **talháatia** „humerus; corresponding bone in foreleg of animals“ (Rp)

?ECu: Afar **tešari** „Oberschenkel“ (Re) || Dahalo **tahara** „calf of leg“ (Ehret 1987, #372: Beja + Dahalo).

tuulana f. „first finger or middle finger“ (Rp), cf. **mantúulana** f. „Zeigefinger“ (Re) = **tuulanaayt** f. „index / pointing finger“, def.sg. **tutuulanaay**, def.pl. **tituulanay** & **ituulti** (Wd)

Derived from **tuul** v. 2 „to point with the forefinger, indicate, point out“ (Rp).

talanga m. „prepuce“, f. „clitoris“ (Rp) = **talgan** m. „clitoris“, def.sg. **utalgan**, def.pl. **italgan** (Wd)

ECu: Yaaku **tilíngu** „male genitals“ (He).

timba „feather“ (Rp) = **tanbaat** f. „feather“, def.sg. **tutanba**, def.pl. **titanba**, besides the variant **tambaat** etc. (Wd) = Okela **tumba** in **ti-tumba ti-kelai** „bird’s feather“ (Th)
ECu: Sam ***tim** „hair“ > Som **tin**, pl. **timo**, Jiddu **tin**, Rend **tim** (Heine 1978, 96)
|| ?Dahalo **tumpo** „horn“ (Ehret 1980, 386);

?CCh: Banana **túmúsá**, Kulung **tumúsa** „Haar“ (Lukas 1937, 132, 137);

?Eg (Med) ***tm3** reconstructed on the basis the „hair“ determinative accompanying **tm3.wr** „etwas Krankhaftes“ (Wb. V, 308; Takács 1997a, 231);

Note: The Berber etymon „eyebrow“ (Ntifa **timmi**, Semlal **timiut**, Warain **timmau** etc.) compared with the ECu & CCh „hair“ by Blažek (*Archív orientální* 59[1991], 365), is of different origin, cf. the masculine forms in Zemmur **ammium**, Zkara **im-emman** (Laoust 1920, 112, fn. 4), and further Ahaggar **imme**, pl. **-wān**, besides f. **timme**, pl. **timmawīn** „front“ (***himmīw**, pl. **-an** & **t-himmāwt**, pl. ***t-himmāwīn** - see Prasse 1974, 171-72), cf. Iullemeden **timin** „Stirn“ (Ba), indicating a prefixal character of **t-**. Takács (1997a, 231) also adds Dirayta pl. **teema** „eyebrow“; Harso **teem-icce**, Gollango **teem-e** id. But in Konsoid and Dullay (with exception of Tsam-akko) a *Lautverschiebung* operated and that is why these forms reflect ECu ***deem-**, cf. Had, Kamb **deemma** „eyebrow“ (HG) and further NOM counterparts as Wolayta **deemuw^a**, Koyra **demo**, Kachama **deemo** „forehead“ (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 342).

túmba m. „Loch, Öffnung, Anus“ (Re) = **túmbu** m. „Loch, Anus“, **angwīl-i túmba** „Ohrhöhle“ (Al)

?SCu ***tumbay** > Iraqw **tuumbáy** „marsh“, Gorowa, Alagwa **tuumba** „pond, pool, puddle“ (KM 272).

?WCh ***tĩmbi** „navel“ > Hausa **címbiyáá**, pBolewa ***tumbi** > Karekare **tĩmbí**, Bole **tumba**, Ngamo **tumbô** (Stolbova 1987, 162; Gouffe 1975, 111 connected the Bolewa form with Hausa **tũmbii** „estomac des ruminants“ and further with (CCh) Tera **mbu** and Margi **tumbi** „ventre“; cf. also (WCh) Ngizim **tũmpí** „belly“ - see JgIb II, 20) || CCh: Kotoko: Logone **tumbu**, Sao **tombu** „vulve“ (GD).

Halanga **təmbirrá** „ombelico“ (Ci)

(1) Extended from **tumba** „Loch“ etc. (Re).

(2) The Beja article & the EtSe „navel“, cf. Gz **hənbərt**, Ti **hənbər(t)**, Amh, Argobba **əmbərt** etc. (Leslau 1987, 236).

táməgwa adj. „link“, m. „die linke Seite, Hand“ (Re) = **támuuka** & **támuuga** „link“, **támuugadóok** „zu deiner linken Hand“ (Al)

Probably borrowed from EtSe: Gz **ḏagām**, Tn **ṣəgam** „left“, cf. Ar **ḏajima** „to be crooked“ (Leslau 1987, 149).

tankwáli m. „prepuce“, f. „clitoris“ (Rp) = **tankwiil** m. „clitoris“, def.sg. **utankwiil**, def.pl. **itankwiila** (Wd)

If a bare root is ***-kwal-**, there are the following cognates:

CCu: Bilin **qʷəla** „testiculi“ (Re) > OAmh **qʷəlha** (today Amh **qʷəla**), adopted in Geez as **qʷəlḥ** id. (Leslau 1987, 428);

NOM: Koyra **qolóppō** (Hy), Ganjule **qolopō** „testicles“ (Fl), ?Kafa **quroo** id. (Ce) (cf. Blažek 1989, n.96);

Ch: (W) Hausa **kʷaaláatàì** „testicles“ || (C) Bura, Margi **kwal** „penis“ (Kr); Bachama **kʷalèy** „testicles“ (Sk); Kotoko: Makeri **kòlì** id. (Mukarovsky 1987, 284), Sao **kolie** „testicules“ (GD) || (E) Kera **kələŋ** „testicles“ (Eb);

Be: Rif (Ait Uriaghel) **iqellawen** „testicules“ (Rn).

taruu f. „forehead“ (HuB) = **taroot** f. „forehead“, def.sg. **tutaaru** (Wd) = Hdd **tárre** id. (BG) = **tári** f. „forehead, brow“ (Rp) = **táara** f. „Stirn“ (Re) = **táaru** „Stirn“ (Al) = **[te]tárot[ôn]** „[unsere] Stirn“ (Se)

(1) Reinisch (1895, 231) connects **táara** with Ar **ṭarr** „hair growing again“, **ṭurr** „hair hanging in front“.

(2) Cu: ?(C) Bilin **ṭarār** „Scheitel, Spitze des Kopfes“ (Re) and /or Kemant **tārara** „colline, montagne“ (Conti Rossini 1912, 261) > or < Amh **tārara** „mountain“ (Ls) || (E): Konso **tarr-a** „skull, head“ (Bl).

terhuum & **t'erhuum** m. „bridge of nose“ (Rp) = Hdd **tu-rhúum**, Bi **to-rhum** id. (BG) with the first syllable reinterpreted as the article?

Probably a compound of **tári** „forehead, brow“ & **huum** „brain, bone marrow“ (Rp).

tiikas m. „heel“, def.sg. **utiikas**, def.pl. **itiikasa** (Wd) = see **giisát** m. „heel“ (Rp)

táschadénna „Zeigefinger“ (Se) - see **šhadáana tíbala** „Zeigefinger“ (Re)

tataw f. „eczema of head“ (HuB)

tewi f. „lymphatic gland“ (HuB) = **tíwi** f. „gland“ (Rp)

Perhaps derived from **tiwi** „to twist“ (Rp) < EtSe, cf. Gz **ṭawaya** „be crooked, winding“, **ṭaway** „twisting, colic“ (Leslau 1987, 600).

twaal m., pl. **twal** „muscles of back“ (HuB)

Ch: (C) Gisiga **tuwal** „thigh“ (Lk) || (E) Kwang **tò:hól** id. (JgIb II, 325).

wil'a m. „testicle“ (Rp) = **wilaab** m. „testicle“, def.sg. **oowla**, def.pl. **eewla** (Wd) = **u wila** „testicles“ (Do) = **wéela** & **(w)úla** „Hode, testiculus“ (Re) = **úla** m. „Hode“ (Al) = **e'ula** „die Hoden“ (Mu) = **olla** „testiculi“ (Bu) = **yūla** m. „testicle“, **oi yūla** „scrotum“ (HuB)

Perhaps derived from **wil'(a)** v.1 „to swill out, rinse“ (Rp) = **wil'aa** „to rinse, move“, besides **wilala** „to swell“ (Wd).

wadak m. „(rendered) suet“ (Rp)

Borrowed from Ar **wadak** „fat, grease“ (Sg 1205).

wínhal, pl. **-a** & **wenháal**, pl. **wínhal** m. „Elle“ (Al)

A variant or an inaccurate record of **gwenháal**, metathesized from **gwəlhiin** „Vorderarm bis zum Ellenbogen; Elle(nbogen)“ (Re).

waat f. „pus“ (Rp) = **wat** m. „pus“, def.sg. **oowat** (Wd) = **waat** f., pl. **wát** „Eiter“ (Re) = **wat** f. „Eiter“ (Al) = **tóet** id. (Mu) = **[to]wát** id. (Se) = **wot** f. „pus“ (HuB)
There are interesting parallels in Nubian: Mahas **winti**, Dongola **winčee**, Kenzi **wičči** „pus“ (Murray 1923, 187), proposed already by Reinisch (1895, 240) indicating a Nubian origin.

yábaab adj. „having outturned toes“ (Rp)

?CCu: Kemant **awe** „doigt“ (CR), Awngi **yiw** „wrist“ (Ht) || ECu: Afar **iba** „foot, leg“ (PaHy), Saho **iba** „Fuss“ (Re); ?Bayso **iʔʔib** „heel“ (Hy); ?Had, Tambaro **obba** „pied“ (Bo);

Eg (late) **3b** „Fingernagel“ (Wb. I, 7), Dem **yb** „ongle“, Copt **ⲉⲓⲉⲃ**, **ⲓⲉⲃ** „ongle, griffe, sabot, dard, plante des pieds“ (Vycichl 1983, 61), besides the sign **b** depicting „foot“. The semantic dispersion is comparable with situation in Slavic, cf. Russian **nogá** „foot, leg“ vs. **nogot'** „fingernail“. The external parallels confirm that the latter meaning is primary.

yiidi f. „coiffure (man's)“ (HuB)

yeef m., pl. **yefa** „mouth, entrance“ (HuB) = **yaf** m. „mouth“, def.sg. **ooyaf**, def.pl. **iyafa** (Wd) = **yaf** „bocca“ (Ci) = **yaf** „mouth“ (Tl) = **yaf** m., pl. **-a** „mouth“ (Rp) = **yaaf** m., pl. **yaf** & **yäf** „Mund, Sprache, Mundart“ (Re) = **yaf** m., pl. **-a** „mouth“ (Do) = **yef** „mouth“ (Be) = **yef**, **yaf** „Mund“ (Al) = **o'yeff**, pl. **e'yafa** id., cf. **yefe hamo** „Schnurrbart“, lit. „Mund“ & „Haar“ (Mu) = **oyeff** „Mund“ (Km) = [o]yaf id. (Bu) = [o]yéf id. (Se).

CCu: Bilin **ʔäb**, pl. **ʔäfäf** „mouth“ (Pl; Appleyard 1984, 36), Qwara **af** (Re), Falasha **af** id. (Bk) || ECu ***ʔaf-** „mouth“ > Saho-Afar **af**; Som, Boni, Rend **af**; Dasenech **'af-u**; Or **af-aani**, Konso **af-aa**; Burji **afay**, Sid, Alaba, Kamb **af-oo**, Gedeo **af-aʔo** id., Had **af-oʔo** „hole“ (Sasse 1982, 23; Hudson 1989, 102) || Dahalo **ʔáfo** id. (To) || SCu ***ʔaf-** „mouth“ > Iraqw, Burungi, Alagwa **afa**; Asa **afok**; Qwadza **afuko** id.; Mbugu **aféta** „doorpost“ (Ehret 1980, 281; Id. 1987, #191: N+C+E+SCu + Dahalo);

SOM: Dime **ʔappo**, Banna **aapo**, Hamar **afo**, Ari **aaffa** (Be), Galila-Ubamer **afa** (Fl) „mouth“ (Blažek 1989, #78);

WCh ***ʔaap-** „to open (mouth)“ > Hausa **áfà** „to throw in mouth“; Chip, Montol **'εep**, Ankwe **ep** „to open“, Sura **ap**, Angas **ep** „to yawn“; Karekare **ʔaf-**, Tangale **ʔap-**, Pero **ápp** etc. (Stolbova 1987, 230); Rabin (1981, 27, #24 adds the following WCh forms: pAngas ***pʷa** > Sura **pwɔ̀**, Chip **pwɔ̀**, Angas **po**, Ankwe **pu** „mouth“; Ron: Fyer **fo**, Daffo **fo(h)** id. (Jg) for which Stolbova (1987, 152) reconstructs pWCh ***ba-ki**, cf. also JgIb II, 244-45;

Eg (Pyr) **wpy** / **'ipy** „to open, separate“ (Wb. I, 298; Rössler 1983, 331);

Se ***p-** „mouth“ > Akk **pū**; Ug **p**, Hbr **pe**, constr. **pī**, Syr **pummō**, Ar **fam**, constr. **fū**, EpSA **f** (Fronzaroli 1964, #2.50; Dolgopolsky 1983, 126; SED I, 195-97: ***pay-**); EtSe ***ʔaf** id. (Leslau 1987, 9) is rather of Cushitic (C or E) origin.

yūkwok f. „illness, disease“ (HuB)

yūḷa m. „testicle“, **oi yūḷa šukula** „scrotum“ (HuB) - see **wil'a** m. „testicle“ (Rp)

(y)iham ~ **yam** ~ **ham** m. „uterus, womb“; f. „pubes“ (HuB) = **yaam** m. „womb“, def.sg. **ooyaam**, def.pl. **iyaama** (Wd) = **yaam**, pl. **yam** m. „belly“, f. „womb“ (Rp)

?ECu: Konsoid ***ʔamf-** „breast“ > Konso, Gato **am-a**, Mashile, Bussa **amḥ-a**, Dirayta **amḥ** (Black 1974, 253-54); ?Harso **ʕaamicakkó** „Brust“ (AMS), Tsam-akko **ʔambe** „breast“ (Kusia & Siebert); ?Yaaku **ahman** „liver“ (He);

?Om: (N) Basketo **amma** „breast“ (Be) || (S) Ari **aami**, Dime **immo** id. (Be);

Eg (Pyr) **imy** „Innere“ (Wb. I, 72).

Abbreviations of authors recording Beja:

Al Almkvist, Be Bender, BG Bechhaus-Gerst, Bu Burckhardt, Do Dolgopolsky, Hs Hess, HuB Hudson R. rewritten by Blench, Kc Krockow, Km Kremer, Li Linant, Lp Lepsius, Me Meinhof, Mu Munzinger, Re Reinisch, Rp Roper, Se Seetzen, Star Starkey, Th Thompson, Tl Thelwall, Wd Wedekind (Klaus & Charlotte, plus Abuzeinab Musa), Vh Vanhove.

Abbreviations of all authors: Ab Abraham, Ae Abebe, Al Almkvist, Am Ale-mayehu, Ap Appleyard, Ba Barth, Be Bender, BG Bechhaus-Gerst, Bk Beke, Bl Black, Bs Bliese, Bu Burckhardt, Ce Cerulli, Ci Cifoletti, Cp Caprile, CR Conti Rossini, Cw Cowley, Do Dolgopolsky, Ds Doornbos, Eb Ebert, EG Erman & Grapow, Eh Ehret, El Elderkin, Fc Foulcauld, Fe Fedry, Fl Fleming, Fr Freytag, GD Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Gg Gragg GP Galboran & Pillinger, Gr Greenberg, Gt Grottanelli, Hb Haberland, He Heine, Hf Hoffmann, HG Grover Hudson, Hs Hess, Ht Hetzron, HuB Hudson's Beja field notes rewritten by R. Blench, Hy Hayward, Ib Ibrizimow, Jg Jungraithmayr, Jh Johnstone, Kc Krockow, Ki Kiessling, Km Kremer, La Laoust, Lb Lamberti, Lf Lanfry, Lg Lafarge, LH Littmann & Höfner, Li Linant, Lk Lukas, Lo Loubignac, Lp Lepsius, Lr Larajasse, Ls Leslau, LVC Leus, Van de Loo & Cotter, Mc Mouchet, Me Meinhof, Mo Moreno, Mq Masqueray, Ms Mous, Mt Morton, Mu Munzinger, Ng Nachtigal, Nk Nakano, Nw Newman, Pa Parker, Pl Palmer, RB René Basset, Re Reinisch, Rn Renisio, Rp Roper, Sa Sasse, Sb Seignobos, Se Seetzen, Sg Steingass, Sk Skinner, St Strumpell, Star Starkey, Th Thompson, Tl Thelwall, Tn Thiene, To Tosco, Tu Tutscheck, Tx Tourneux, Ve Venturino, Vh Vanhove, Vi Viterbo, Wd Wedekind, We Welmers, Wr Wehr, Wt Watson, ZL Zelealem Leyew.

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

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

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
’ade ^{Rp} skin	*(H)adday- hide			
ágia ^{Rp} spine	*(H)eeg- tail			
ageriisó ^{Rp} apart, on one side	*gaar- edge; eyebrow			Iraqw, Gorowa geera in front
ála ^{Rp} neck	*ʔalʔal- back of the neck			*ʔala behind
ambaróy ^{Rp} lip	*ʕanbur- cheek, lip			*ʔbara side
’enádi ^{Rp} shinbone	*ʔaddiN- leg			
aṇḍare ^{Re} thigh	*ḍir- loins, lumbar region			
angarboy ^{Rp} side- ways, shoulder to shoulder	*garab- shoulder	*gərba back		
angwiil ^{Rp} ear = oónquil ^{Kremer}	*maqal- to hear			
ānkwél’a ^{Re} kidney	*kalali- kidney			
irif ^{HuB} head of hair arfak ^{Rp} long-haired	*rif-/ʔruf- hair			
’arri ^{Rp} stubbly hair	*ʕarr-/ʕirr- white, grey hair	Kemant ayaat white hairs < *aryat-ʔ	ʕara white hair	Iraqw ʕiraṇ pubic hair; Ma’a a’ara beard
áror ^{Rp} lap, bosom	*ʕaruur r children			
asallanna ^{HuB} first stomach of her- bivora	*sal- belly			
ěša ^{Re} claw, nail	*ʔess-/ʔiss- toe			
iš ^{Rp} urine, oš to urinate	Arbore was penis Goll. waašo dung			
ayi ^{Rp} hand, forearm				*yaaʔee foot, leg
balul ~ banun ^{HuB} eyebrow	Som baalal eye- lash			
b’úuy ^{Rp} joint	Oromo buraa member, limb			

bab' ^{Rp} armpit	*babbaʕ armpit, palm of hand			
bedid ^{Hub} forearm bone	HECu *bud- arm			
baɖ' ^{Rp} cheek, jaw	*baɕ- cheek, beard			
bala' ^{Do} throat, gullet	?Afar biliʕa neck-lace	Kemant bäla in käš bälä back		
bär ^{Rp} camel-hair beraari ^{Rp} mane	Som baar hairs of the camel's hump			Iraqw boori body hair; Burunge boora goat's beard
baranni ^{Hub} flank	*barbar shoulder, side			
buus ^{Re} podex	*bus-/bis- vagina			
büiti ^{Rp} forehead	Bayso bebbeetee forehead; Oromo batte face, cheek			
boy, b'(a) ^{Rp} blood	*bur(r)- red; cf. Oromo burundoo raw meat	*bär- blood		
bayi ^{Rp} rib	Yaaku poóyu? upper arm			
daba ^{Rp} chest, breast	Dullay *zaab- upper side	*dzab- front side		*daʕab- chest
diidaadii ^{Rp} well-fleshed		*didn- fat adj.		
dof ^{Rp} piece of meat	Somali dufan grease			
duuf ^{Rp} sweat	Oromo dafqa sweat	Bilin dif sweat		
dambe ^{Rp} thigh	*danb- thigh, behind	*dänb- back, thigh		
ɖa ^{Rp} molar tooth	*ʕaɕ(ɕ)- molar tooth, jaw, cheek			*ʕoɕ- cheek
ɖuuk ^{Rp} crupper	*ɖak- flank of camel			
ɖambe ^{Rp} palm of hand, sole of foot	*ɖabn-/ʕabn- side, cheek	*canb/f- sole of leg		

f'i, fi'i^{Rp} stomach; interior	Somali fiif belly, heart, intellect			
fala^{Rp} niple; meatus	HECu *folle heart			*fala hide, skin Asa fulo hide
fiilik^{Rp} kneecap	Somali (Af-Boon) figgilo fingernail			Qwadza fugulu- ko heel
fiir & fiil^{HuB} face	*fool-/ *fuul- face, front			
g'a, ga'^{Rp} back	Harso-Dobase geeʕe neck			
geb^{Rp} by, with, near	*gab- side; near, at	*gab-/ *gäb- side		
goob^{HuB} melted fat	*gabʔ-/ *gobʔ-/ *gaʔb- fat			Iraqw gawit stout Mbugu -gábi become fat
gíba(la) & gibaláay^{Rc} finger, toe	Dirayta pl. kú- paliyya finger-, toenails			
gibab^{Mu} breast	Somali (Af-Boon) gabo breast; Afar gabuulo lung			
géedi & gaj^{Rc} face	*gaç- jaw, chin, lip	*gäc-/ *gac- face	gáʕa face	Iraqw gitseeʕa(?) face
gadam^{HuB} buttock	Bayso gedeemi uterus; Oromo gadameesa womb			
guug^{Rp} heart, brain, mind	*gog-/ *geg- breast, chest			
gale, acc. galob^{Rp} skin	*galb-/ *gubl- skin			
gálo^{Rc} scrotum	*gel-/ *gul- gen- italia			Iraqw gwalay vagina; Qwadya & Asa gulala testicles
gulhe^{Rc} forearm to elbow		Bilin gállaw knuckle		Qwadza guhulu- ko ankle
gumba & gínba^{Rc} knee	*gilb-/ *gulb- knee	*gärb- knee	gilli, pl. gillibi knee	

ganaab human skin, def.sg. ugana ^{Wd}		Bilin gano skin	gino skin, hide	Qwadza gunayo circumcisor
gan'a ^{Rp} flat of the hand	*ganɕ- (palm of the) hand	Khamir ägäna palma manus		*gana? be straight
gin'a & gínha ^{Re} heart, belly, breast	Afar gino kind, type PaHy = body, figure, form ^{Re} ; Elmolo gôn body; ?Somali ganaɕ anus			Iraqw gunuɕa navel
(ɛyäs-) ganaat ^{Rp} canine teeth	Oromo Borana gaadee canine tooth			
gande ^{Rp} anus, fundament	Dullay *gonɕ- back Burji gunḏúree & gunʔúree waist, spine; cf. Arbore gín bottom			
genúuf , pl. geníf ^{Rp} nose	Bayso konoono Burji guuna nose Harso gunun-akkó nose flute			
genúun , pl. genín ^{Rp} gum, jaw		Bilin gano skin	gino skin	Gorowa ginee face
gw'ad ^{Rp} eye, spring of water, bud; side, edge ^{HuB}	Somali gaudi , goodi edge	*gwədɲ / *gwadɲ side		Iraqw gweʔee- doo buttocks Asa gideʔe ribs
gwada ^{Rp} • b chest	HECu *godoba belly ?Afar gudda preg- nancy			
(kasti) gwiilay ^{HuB} middle finger	Afar gili thumb Saho gile id.			
gwáaraar ^{Rp} large intestine, colon	*gurʔ- udder	Bilin gir & jir belly; Awngi guriaŋɣɛ navel		*gurʔa belly
hadug ^{HuB} meat of hind leg	Oromo Borana, Waata hagooda shoulder, back			

haaf ^{Rp} diaphragm, midriff, belly, guts	Dirayta hopp-att viscera; Burji oppótt-a spleen			
há(g)ge ^{Re} anus, podex, bottom, base	Afar hòngog knee and lower leg, shinbone; Somali hòog shin; Burji hógg-i collarbone			
halag ^{HuB} radius, ulna vs. halaag bent	Somali hagal knee- and elbow joint			Burunge hiin-gilóo joint
huum ^{Rp} brain; bone marrow	Afar amo head, summit, top; HECu *iima top / *umo head			
hami ^{Rp} hair, wool, cf. ée-gwad hámo ^{Re} eyelash				Iraqw hamhamo eyelash, Gorowa hamhamó eyelid and eyebrow
hirbanna ^{Rp} appendix harbana ^{HuB} large intestines	South Oromo hir-ba heel; behind; Burji hirba back			
herka ^{Rp} upper arm, shoulder	*harK- arm, hand			Mbugu mharéga / mharéya arm
huuŕ ^{Rp} liquid faecal matter	Afar hayso urine Saho haššú id.			
kiibálay ^{Rp} finger	*kub- finger			
kokelem ^{Mu} back of head; ?kínkeli ^{Re} neck	*kalm-/kolm- uvula, throat, neck	*kərm-/kəlm- neck		Qwadza kolima nape
kákwi ^{Re} arm, hand				Qwadza kuʔuko muscle, tendon, sinew
kelib ^{Rp} ankle	Afar alib tendon Dirayta qelabita claw			
kamús , pl. kumís ^{Rp} buttocks, bottom vs. kemis ^{Re} to sit	Afar kamus buttocks, bottom			

kaŋal ^{Rp} penis	* qaŋc- gland	Khamir qwa-cel scrotum, qwəcəra penis		Qwadza ḱutsalu clitoris
koos ^{Re} tooth; horn	* gaws- molar tooth			Iraqw goso incisor tooth
kešiiya ^{Re} neck	Oromo qoosee upper nape			Burunge qosa nape
kwodaq ^{Hub} base of skull; kaḍat ^{Rp} scruff of neck	* ḱuḱ-(t-) back of the neck			
kuhii , khwii ^{Rp} egg	* ʔukáh- egg Somali pl. úghán		ʕogóhi egg	* qanaḥi egg
kaawáni ^{Rp} cartilage kawáani ^{Re} external ear	Dullay * qabaq- to hear; Burji akkab- id.			
kure & kule ^{Re} tooth kwire ^{Rp} id. vs. kwiri ^{Rp} to graze, eat	Konso khawl-eeta Dirayta háwl-et molar tooth < * kawl-			
l'a ^{Rp} fat, grease	Yaaku lēhən fat	Awngi lati animal fat		
ʔleeb ^{Re} belly, heart	Afar alib lung Somali laab sternum, thorax	* ləbb-ak- heart		* looboo sheath
luub ^{Hub} hair on arms or legs	Gedeo labata hair (of face)			
lili & lile ^{Re} eye	* ʔil- eye	* ʔəl- eye	ʔila eye	* ʔila- eye
lúmi ^{Re} finger	Oromo elema index-finger; cf. Gedeo lumoka ḱub-icco index finger	* laŋ- finger cf. Awngi laŋa hand		* ʔaleema branch
léw ^{Rp} pylorus, first stomach	* lubb- heart, soul	* ləbb-ak- heart		Asa liba chest Mbugu lubúra spleen
léw ^{Re} side	Afar lab side of the body, Somali laab chest, Oromo laḥḥ-ee heart, chest			

m'age^{Rp} (nape of) neck	Afar magoy ~ mo-goy forearm from elbow to wrist; Bayso moo , Somali moḥog back	Awngi maq shoulder		
miid^{Rp} penis	?Afar muḍi testicle; Oromo mudaamuddii groin			
miidá-lab^{Rp} tongue	Oromo madde cheek + *ʕan-rab-tongue			?Qwadza ondal-imo tongue
mook^{Re} neck	Afar makuḥ / mukoḥ / mukuḥ spine; Boni múkkə buttocks; Yaaku muk lower side of body	Bilin mākwa backside, anus		
muk^{HuB} stomatitis		* mākäy-a mouth		
miikwa^{Rp} femur, humerus, tibia	* miḵ- bone	Awngi məkw wing		
ti-mukúla^{BG} side of toe			mukúm pilo ankle	?Asa mugura ankle
mile^{Rp} tear	* ʔilm- tear	* ʔərəŋ(w)- tears		Asa ʔelelema tear Mbugu i'ílíma
mána^{Rp} bowels, intestine	* minḍiqar intestines		máni large intestines	
mari^{Rp} side; direction	* marmar- nape of the neck			
maráar^{Rp} vein maráara^{Rp} internal organ (heart, lung, liver, kidney)	Oromo mar'uman intestines			
mat^{Re} top of the head	* math- head			

miitáat ^{Rp} bone	Oromo: Borana mittaa joints; Arbore mittá joint of body, Elmolo mótolac ankle; Burji mitt-aa wrist			
moy ^{Rp} crown of head	Afar moyya brain, head, skull; ?Arbore moydé eyebrow, eyelash			
máyikwa ^{Rp} right hand	* mizg- right hand			
n(ə)ʼaf ^{Rp} claw, hoof, nail	Afar lifiŋ claws, fingernails, Saho lifiŋ claw			
nʼáli ^{Rp} groin	Afar naala eggs Arbore ñele? - to copulate			?Iraqw naŋani penis
nīga ^{HuB} waist, small of back, middle, nīgat middle finger	Afar niya heart			
nigirri ^{HuB} spinal column	HECu * nigga tendon, vein			
nugw ^{Rp} nipple of breast	Afar angu breast Jiddu ʔeneg breast Somali nuug- to suck	* ʔəngw- /* ʔangw- (nipple of) breast		
na·wa & nowa ^{Rp} tendon	?Rendille nūib skin (of goats, sheep, cows)			Burunge naŋeebi tendon, sinew
niiwa ^{Rp} tail; taproot				Iraqw nawe thigh
ragad & lagad ^{Rp} foot	Saho rigíd foot			* dagira footprint
se & si ^{Rp} liver		?* sanq- liver		* saaxí gall, bile
sibta ^{Rp} wrist	Somali saŋab palm of hand			
səkwen ^{Rc} sole of foot	HECu * siginŋa heel	* säywän- / * säqwän- sole of foot, heel, hoof		

siil ^{Rp} spittle	Arbore silla first milk of cow; Or fiilla sweat			
suuli ^{Rp} upper part of the coiffure	Somali siil pubes			
semúum , pl. semím ^{Re} fat	Dullay * šiinam -fat	?* səna butter		
simariiyay incisor tooth				Qwadza tselem-bayo tusk
sindilí ^{Ci} earlobe < * sim ear + dili ^{Rp} hole	Boni samúún upper lip; HECu * suume lip, mouth			
sánkwa & sínkwa ^{Re} shoulder, neck, back	Afar sunku shoulder Somali sagan neck Yaaku saŋ mane			
saar ^{Rp} contents of stomach	Burji siir -to have diarrhoea			
sar ^{Rp} artery sir ^{HuB} artery; stalk		* sər - root		
sar ^{Rp} skin sir ^{HuB} water skin	Afar saar goat-skin water bag; Som saar hide of cow or camel Rendille sár body			
sára ^{Re} back	Afar sàrra „back, rear, Saho saro tail, rear part; Burji saro tail; Yaaku səɛɛɣ below, down	Khamir səra back; Awngi sər lower part	səre back	Alagwa, Burunge sira buttocks
suur ^{Rp} in front, formerly, at first	Afar sori chest Sidamo soor-eessa first, preceding			
saríimay ^{Rp} femur	* sarb - calf of leg	Bilin harb , pl. harfu calf of leg		
ša & ša ^{*Rp} meat	?Yaaku šeʔen marrow	Awngi əšši Kunfāl eš meat		

šebík , pl. šíbka & šíkba ^{Re} wrist		Awngi cəŋfi palm of hand		
šiikhay ^{Rp} upper jaw-bone, šikiyái- ti-hum ^{BG} cheeks	Afar sokto lip; Dirayta šaakóta , Mossiya šaakotá jaw			
šambəháni ^{Rp} eye- brows	Somali suunni eyebrow; HECu *šoomba (pubic) hair	Awngi šuban eyebrow		
šambuut , pl. šambit ^{Rp} lung	*šamb- lungs	*sänb-/ *sanb- lungs		
tiibálay ^{Rp} finger	Afar tibiſ heel Arbore téb foot			
tefa ^{Rp} navel	*taf- thigh, hip, bottom	Awngi tefo hip		
talha & tarha ^{Rp} left < ? *ta-kalha	*kelḥ- left side			
talhaati ^{Rp} humerus	Afar teŋari thigh		tahara calf of leg	
talanga ^{Rp} prepuce; clitoris	Yaaku tilíngu male genitals			
timba ^{Rp} feather	*tim hair			
túmba ^{Rc} hole, opening, anus				*tumbay pond, pool, puddle, marsh
tankwáli ^{Rp} prepuce; clitoris		Bilin qwəla testiculi		
tári ^{Rp} forehead, brow	Konso tarr-a skull, head			
yábaab ^{Rp} having outturned toes	Afar iba foot, leg ?Bayso iʔʔib heel Hadiya obba foot	Kemant awe finger; Awngi yiw wrist		
yaf ^{Rp} mouth	*ʔaf- mouth	Bilin ʔäb , pl. ʔäfəf mouth	ʔáfo mouth	*ʔaf- mouth
yaam ^{Rp} belly; womb (y) iham/yam/ham- ^{HuB} uterus, womb	Konsoid *ʔamŋ- breast; Tsamakko ʔambe breast; ?Yaaku ahman liver			

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Angas-Sura Etymologies VIII

Introduction

The languages of the Angas-Sura (AS) group are spoken between the South-Eastern Plateau and the Benue river, Plateau State of Nigeria, by about 200.000 people in the estimation of H. Jungraithmayr (1981, 407). The Angas-Sura language group belongs to the West Chadic subbranch (cf. e.g. Jng. 1981, 407-8; Stl. 1987, 31; JI 1994 II, viii) of the Chadic branch, which, in turn, represents part of the great Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic) language family (or phylum), which is divided into six equipotential cognate branches: Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Omotic, Chadic.

The best inner classification of the Angas-Sura group was suggested by C. Hoffmann (1971; 1975 MS, 2), who assumed Gerka to have been the first member split off from the group. The remaining group falls into three subgroups: (1) **Northern**: Angas, (2) **North-Eastern**: Sura, Mupun, Chakfem-Mushere Chip, Jorto, Kofyar, (3) **Southern**: Kanam (Koenoen), Pyapun(g), Tal, Montol, Goemai. On the basis of my own research on comparative AS phonology, I can state that the phonological isoglosses confirm the correctness of Hoffmann's inner classification. Henceforth, I use the following (slightly modified) inner grouping: (1) **Gerka**, (2) **Angas**, (3) **Suroid** languages (falling further on in two clusters: 3.1. Sura-Mupun vs. 3.2. Kofyar-Mushere-Chip according to the isoglosses of the complex AS *g^y-), (4) **Goemaoid** languages (Kanam/Koenoen, Pyapun/Pyapung, Tal, Montol, Goemai).

The inner reconstruction of the Angas-Sura language group had only been elaborated in minor segments¹ until the first comparative lexicon of the Angas-Sura group has been completed (Takács 2004)². Now, it has become plausible to systematically deal also with the external cognates of the Angas-Sura lexical stock. The series „Angas-Sura Etymologies”³ is contributing to outlining the so far unknown background of Angas-Sura lexical stock primarily with new lexical parallels. In this issue of my series, the new external (Afro-Asiatic) correspondences of some of the Angas-Sura (AS) roots with initial *d- are discussed, collected mostly during my 2019 research on the Afro-Asiatic root stock with initial dentals in my Ederics library.

Some peculiar elements of the Afro-Asiatic background of the Angas-Sura historical consonantism

- A general devoicing of the voiced PAA stops in the Auslaut of the AS stems is a recent development. There are but a handful of records of older final *-b#, *-d#, and hardly any for *-g# (cf. Takács 2004, xxv-xxvi, xxxi, resp.).

¹ Thus, G. Greenberg (1958) surveyed the Angas-Sura roots beginning with labials pointing out the original labial triad *b - *p - *f inherited from Afro-Asiatic. O. V. Stolbova devoted two studies to the subject, using basically the Angas (Foulkes 1915, Ormsby 1913-4) and Sura (Jungraithmayr 1963) lexicons for the comparison adding some additional data from Chip, Montol, Gerka (collected and published by Jungraithmayr 1965). In 1972, she proposed a historical-comparative survey of the Proto-Angas-Sura consonant system in the light of some illustrative lexical material (2-3 exx. for each correspondence). In her 1977 paper, Stolbova presented 256 lexical roots and Proto-Angas-Sura reconstructions accompanied by a brief sketch of vowel correspondences. C. Hoffmann (1975 MS) offered a phonological (both consonantal and vowel) reconstruction of the Proto-Angas-Goemai level (on the basis of Goemai, Mernyang, Sura, and Angas) through 248 lexical roots. The West Chadic historical phonology by Stolbova (1987, 240-244) also contains a separate list of some 64 Proto-Angas roots.

² I express my cordial thanks for the constant and many-sided unselfish support yielded for my work by the great Chadicist, Prof. Herrmann Jungraithmayr (Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften, J.W.Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt a/M). I am greatly indebted also to the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (Bonn) for facilitating my research stays at Frankfurt a/M (1999-2000, 2002) as well as for funding the publication costs of the Angas-Sura comparative lexicon together with the OTKA (Hungarian National Scientific Research Fund, project nr. D 45976). I express my deep gratitude to the City Hall of Székesfehérvár (Hungary) for its „Lánczos-Szekfü” prize granted almost twenty years ago for an early phase of my research on the Afro-Asiatic background of the Angas-Sura lexicon, which I eventually began back in Sept. 1998 during my research at the Haifa University (funded by the OSI at Prague, which is gratefully acknowledged also in this place) with the guidance of the late Prof. A. B. Dolgopolsky (1930-2012), one of the greatest Afro-Asiatic or Semito-Hamitic comparativists of all times, may his memory be blessed.

³ The first part (AS roots with initial *b-) appeared in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 46 (2004), while the second one (AS roots with *b-) in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warsaw) 57/1 (2004), and the third issue (AS *p-) in *Lingua Posnaniensis* 48 (2006). The fourth part (AS *f-) has been published in *Folia Orientalia* (Kraków) 47/2 (2011), while the fifth part (AS *m- in monoconsonantal roots) in the *Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie* (Schoelcher, Martinique) 13-14 (2010). The sixth part (the rest of AS etymons with *m-) is forthcoming to appear *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warszawa) 74/1 (2021), while the seventh one in *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań) 62/3 (2020).

Sometimes the devoicing of plosives may be observed even in other positions too under conditions that cannot be precisely known as yet.

- Labials basically reflect the original AA triad of *b, *p, *f as demonstrated by J.H. Greenberg (1958) and manifold corroborated by V.M. Illič-Svityč (1966, 9, 14-15), O. V. Stolbova (e.g., 1996, 15, §I.1.), and G. Takács (2001, 55; 2011, 148-152 etc.).
- AS *-VγV- < either an AA root medial „laryngeal” or a velar or a semi-vowel, i.e., where the -C₂- of AA *√C₁C₂C₃ was either *-h/?/h/?- or *-g/k/γ/h- or *-w/y-, but sometimes it is just epenthetic without a consonantal precedent (cf. Dolgopolsky 1982, 32-36).
- Original AA pharyngeals (*ʕ, *ħ) and laryngeals (*ʔ, *h) were mostly preserved in the Inlaut as AS *-γ- (above). In the Anlaut, normally, AA *ʕ- and *ʔ- > AS zero, while AA *ħ- and *h- > either AS *h- or zero. In the Auslaut, they mostly disappeared, but sometimes they developed in the contrary way, i.e., AA *ħ- and *h- may have resulted in AS *-k#.
- Final AS *-ŋ – beside being a natural result of an older nasal (*m, *n) + velar, of course – otherwise usually derives from the contraction of an AA medial nasal (*-m- or *-n-) + lost AA pharyngeal (*ʕ, *ħ) or laryngeal (*ʔ, *h), cf. already Illič-Svityč 1966, 33, fn. 11.

AS *ḍ = Eg. d ~ t = Brb. *ḍ = Sem. *ṭ < AA *ṭ

238. AS (or just Suroid?) *ḍayar “star” [GT 2004, 82]: (?) Gerka dar-kir (compound) [d- < *ḍ- or *z-?] “star” [Ftp. 1911, 220], Kfy. ḍàgar [reg. < *ḍayar] “star” [Ntg. 1967, 8], Msr. ḍakar [-k- reg. < *-γ-] “star”, ḍakar poo-bit “early morning star” (poo-bit “early morning”), ḍakar pya pee “the star shines the place” (pya “to shine”, pee “place”) [Dkl. 1997 MS] ||| Eg. *dw3 „(phonetic value of the hr̥gl. depicting a) „star (and a star in circle)” (Grd. 1927, 475, N14 and 476, N15, resp.) ||| Sem.: cf. perhaps Ar. √ṭr I „13. briller, se montrer (se dit, p.ex., des étoiles)” [BK II 64] < AA *√ṭ(w)r „star” [GT]. Gerka dar- may alternatively be equated with NOM.: Sheko 'dertn „star” [Bnd. 2003, 217, #127].

239. AS *ḍak (var. *dak?) → *ḍək “to care for” [GT 2004, 82]: Angas ḍək (so, d-) “ein Baby versorgen” [Jng. 1962 MS], Gmy. ḍak “1. to attend upon a sick person or a sick beast, 2. look well after oneself” [Srl. 1937, 24] = ḍak “to heal” vs. dak [ḍak ~ dak] “to feed (e.g. chicken)” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 4, 6] ||| ES *√ṭnqq (epenthetic nasal?) „to be careful” [Leslau 1987, 594].

240. AS *ḍak (< *dʷak?) “true, truly (?)” [GT 2004, 82]: probably Angas o-ḍak (≈ o-gak) “okay” (≈ Hausa too “very well!”), Abr. 1962, 868) [ALC 1978, 50], Sura ḍak “2. tatsächlich, wirklich” (≈ Hausa dáí “indeed”, Abr. 1962, 170) [Jng. 1963, 63], perhaps Kfy. ší-dùk [< *dʷak?] “truth” (cf. AS *šik- “matter”?) [Ntg. 1967, 36] ||| ES: Geez ṭanqaqa „to be exact, strict, accurate, equal, fit exactly,

do sg. accurately, with precision or with attention, measure exactly, be accomplished” [Leslau 1987, 594]. Cf. the next entry.

241. Gmy. ḍak (adv.) “very (generally used with ḥal ‘hard’ only)” [Srl. 1937, 90], vars. in Gmy. toe-ṭak “entirely” [Srl. 1937, 252] vs. Gmy. tak-talak “very” [Srl. 1937, 236] ||| ES: Geez ṭəqqa „exactly, precisely, accurately, certainly, surely, completely, greatly, exceedingly, extremely, very (much), even, indeed, more, how much (more)!” [Leslau 1987, 596] = „exactement, complètement, beaucoup” [DRS 1109], usually explained from Geez ṭanqaqa „to be exact etc.” [Leslau]. Related to the preceding entry.

242. Angas ḍák “steckenbleiben” [Jng. 1962 MS] ||| Sem.: MSA *ṭyḳ: Mehri ṭəyāk and Jibbali ṭayāk „être collé, attaché”, eṭeyāk „marcher dans la boue” [DRS 1099: isolated in Sem.]. Alternatively, cf. the section for AS *ḍ secondary < AA *H + *d or *d + AA emphatics (below).

243. Gmy. *ḍam “to dive” [GT 2004, 83]: Gmy. ḍam’ [ḍám] “to dive”, cf. also ḍam ka “to pass over one’s head, be deep” [Srl. 1937, 26, 46] = ḍam “to dive, sink” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 6] ||| LECu.: Afar ḍūme „submerger (to sink)” [PH 1985, 94] ||| Sem. biconsonantal *ṭm „to sink (?)” [GT] > Ar. ṭamtama „nager, voguer au milieu des flots” vs. ES *ṭmʿ: Geez ṭamʿa „1. immerger, tremper, 2. teindre”, Tigrinya ṭāmʿe „plonger, tremper” (Sem.: DRS 1085, 1087).

244. AS *ḍaṇ “1. to wish (?), 2. beg” [GT 2004, 84]: Angas ḍaṇ “bitte, doch” [Jng. 1962 MS] = ḍaṇ “please” [ALC 1978, 12], Sura ḍaṇ “bitten, erbitten” [Jng. 1963, 63], Mpn. ḍaṇ (so) ~ ḍaṇ “to beg” [Frj. 1991, 14], Kfy. ḍaṇ “to beg” [Ntg. 1967, 9, 42], Msr. ḍaṇ “to beg” [Jng. 1999 MS, 4], Gmy. ḍaṇ “to prefer, like” (so) [Srl. 1937, 28] | Ron-Fyer ḍaṇ „bitten um, erbeten, betteln” [Jng. 1970, 84] ||| HECu. *ṭamʿ- „to ask”, *ṭamʿ- „question” [Hudson 1989, 22, 422] ||| Sem. *ṭmʿ [GT] > Ar. ṭmʿ > I ṭamiʿa „désirer ardemment, être avide de qqch., désirer obtenir”, ṭamuʿa „être avide, être rempli d’avidité”, cf. also ṭamaḥa I „4. chercher qqn. ou qqch. partout et avec persistance” [BK II 108 vs. 104, resp.] || Jibbali ṭmʿ > ṭōʿ „to desire, be greedy for”, ṭamʿ „desire, greed” [Jns. 1981, 278] || Tigre ṭāmʿa „(re)garder avec convoitise”, Tigrinya ṭāmməʿe „être pingre, avaricieux” (ES: DRS 1087) < AA *ṭmʿ „1. to wish, 2. ask (for)” [GT]. Cf. also AS *ḍem ~ *ḍom vs. *ḍwam “1. to desire (for flesh), lust, 2. be greedy, 3. want, love, agree” [GT 2004, 88] < AA *ṭm (below), the biliteral simplex of the present root. Another PAA root variety is represented by AA *ṭdm „1. to want, 2. look for” [GT] discussed s.v. AS *dem > *deṇ “to prefer, favour” [GT 2004, 68] (above).

245. AS *ḍaṇ “lizard sp.” [GT 2004, 84]: Angas ḍaṇ “lizard” [Ormsby 1914, 313], Mpn. ḍaṇ “monitor lizard” [Frj. 1991, 14], Gmy. ḍaṇ “the iguana, kind of

large sized lizard living near waters (two feet long)” [Srl. 1937, 28] = ɗaŋ “monitor lizard” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 6] ||| (?) Bed. $\text{ɗan} \sim \text{ɗəʔan}$ [< metathesis $*\sqrt{\text{t}}^m$ of $*\sqrt{\text{tm}}^?$] „gecko, house lizard” [Roper 1928, 177] ||| Eg. $*\text{dmj}$ [regular < $*\sqrt{\text{tm}}^?$], phonetic value of the „späte Hieroglyphe” depicting „ein eidechsenartiges Tier” (Zyhlarz 1934-5, 171) = „(Hieroglyphe ’Eidechse’ mit der Lesung dmj e.g. in Philae I 102:13, II 87:1, Edfou VIII 75:1)” (Brunner-Traut, LÄ I 1205, n. 1, cf. LÄ VII 500) ||| possible Semitic reflexes < $*\sqrt{\text{tm}}$ (with semantic shifts)⁴ corroborating AA $*\sqrt{\text{tm}}^?$ „lizard” [GT]. An ultimately related PAA root variety with plain $*\text{d-}$ must have also existed, cf. the following SAA varieties with diverse extensions:

(245.1) SAA $*\sqrt{\text{dm}}$ [GT] > LECu.: PSam $*\text{dīm}$ „tortoise” [Heine 1978, 56] ||| WCh. $*\text{dam-}$ „lizard” [GT]: Hausa dámóó „1. an iguana lizard” [Bargery 1934, 207] = damo „Kammechse” [Vycichl 1938, 135] = „1. land-monitor” [Abraham 1962, 182] | Sura $*\text{dam-}$ in ɗàm-sà̀r (compound)⁵ “Gecko” [Jng. 1963, 63] || CCh.: Mwulyen dàmwàzá „lizard” [Kraft 1981 III, 58, #171]. Already W. Vycichl (l.c.) surmised that the hieroglyph depicting a lizard-shaped animal with 4 legs (GT based on Wb V 453) with the phon. value dm „in den späten Schreibungen für dmj ‘Stadt’ könnte aber alt sein und mit Hausa damo ‘Kammechse’ zusammenhängen”. As an areal parallel cf. Nubian: Mahasi dimō „Chamäleon”, which already E. Zyhlarz (l.c.) combined with Eg. $*\text{dmj}$.

(245.2) SAA $*\sqrt{\text{dmb}}$ [GT] > Bed. damba „lizard” [Roper 1928, 171] ||| ECh. $*\text{dimbil-}$ „lizard sp.” [GT]: Bidiya dimbil (m) „gros lézard” [AJ 1989, 68] | Ubi dimbil „ver de terre” [Alio 2004, 269, #84].

(245.3) SAA/Ch. (also in AA?) $*\sqrt{\text{dng}}$ [GT] > WCh.: perhaps Gmy. diang (so, dia-) in: nem-mat-diang “frog” (cf. AS $*\text{lam-wat}$ “frog”) [Ftp. 1911, 217] || CCh.: Musgu dínjídínjí , pl. $\text{dénjɛŋ} \sim \text{dínjédínákáí}$ „Eidechse” [Krause apud Lukas 1941, 51] = dínjídínjí „lizard” [Kraft 1981 apud Mkr.] || ECh. $*\text{tiyaŋg-}$ (unexpected $*\text{t-}$) „chameleon” [GT]: WDangla tíyàngò ($\text{túiyàngò}^?$) (m), pl. tiyaŋgina „caméléon” (ar. irbe) [Fédry 1971, 163] | Kofa tiyaŋ (m) „chameleon” [Jng. 1977 MS, 13,

⁴ One wonders if Ar. ṭamma „6. courir rapidement, 7. être rapide, véloce”, $\sqrt{\text{tmy}}$ I: ṭamā „passer avec rapidité” vs. ṭimm- „1. grand nombre, masse, foule” vs. ṭimm- „5. pénis d’une grandeur démesurée” [BK II 105, 110] preserve the traces of a lost word for „lizard” < AA $*\sqrt{\text{tm}}$ „lizard” [GT]. Noteworthy, the very same semantic (resembling the typical attributes of lizards) spectrum appears in the case of Eg. ʕš3 „lizard” (MK/CT, FD 49; DCT 79) = „gecko” (Zyhlarz 1934-5, 171) = „Gecko (Hemidactylus spec.), Scheibenfinger” (ÄWb II 570) vs. ʕš3 „viel sein” (OK-, Wb I 228, 8-26) || Sem.: Ar. ʕāšir-at- „4. plume de la queue d’un oiseau” vs. Ar. maʕšar- „1. réunion, assemblée d’hommes, de personnes ou de démons” vs. ʕāšrab- „3. qui court avec rapidité, bon marcheure” [BK II 261-262]. E. Zyhlarz (l.c.) connected Eg. ʕš3 with Nubian: Mahasi aža(r) , Kunuzi, Dongola aši „Gecko”.

⁵ For its second component cf. AA $*\sqrt{\text{Sr}}$ „lizard” [GT] > Eg. ʕš3 (root extension $\text{ʕ-}^?$) „lizard” (MK/CT, FD 49; DCT 79) ||| NOm. $*\text{zar-}$ „lizard” [Bender 1988, 151] ||| WCh.: Hausa zarái „the lizard zarya” [Brg. 1934, 1132], cf. also Hausa záryáá „a smooth-skinned skink with red sides, similar to kul’ba but much longer” [Brg. 1934, 1135] = „the skink šààrindò (= mázáríí)” [Abr. 1962, 970] || CCh.: (?) Mofu màklàzàráw (compound?) „lizard” [Rossing 1978, 285, #433.b].

#302] ||| (???) Eg. dngngs „Bez. der Uraeusschlange (an der Stirn des Königs)” (GR, Wb V 470, 8) = „l'uraeus” (Cauville 1997, 639).⁶

(245.4) An ultimately related quadriliteral extended AA root variety is represented by SAA $\sqrt{\text{dngr}}$ [GT] > P.Om. *dingar „snake” [Blažek 1989, 212 pace Cerulli 1951, 431] = *dingar „lizard” [OS] ||| WCh.: Hausa *ḡà-dànggàrè* (m), pl. *ḡà-dànggàrúú* „lizard” [Abr. 1962, 442]⁷ | Karekare *dōnkarà*, Ngamo *dòkùrà* „lizard” (BT: Kraft 1981) || CCh.: PFali *danguḡ [-ḡ- < *-rd-?] „chameleon” [GT]: Fali *tanerugu* [metathesis < *taneg^wur/ḡ-?] „Chamäleon” [Strümpell 1910, 468], Fali-Mubi *dāngūḡḡ* „Chamäleon” [Strümpell 1922-3, 135], Fali-Bwagira *taṅgwù[?]un* „chameleon” [Kraft], Fali-Mucella *taṅgwù[?]u* „chameleon” [Kraft], Fali-Jilbu *taṅgūwī* „chameleon” [Kraft] | Gude *taṅgwùḡ* „chameleon” [Kraft] (CCh.: Kraft 1981 III, 8, 18, 28, 38, #179). For N.Om.-WCh. see Mukarovsky 1987, 244 and HSED #716.

(245.5) But both Skinner (l.c.; also 1995, 32) and Rössler (l.c.) affiliated it with Bed. *adangalāy* „Eidechse” [Rn. 1895, 8] = *dangálay* „lizard” [Roper 1928, 172], in which L. Reinisch (l.c.) segmented a basic stem *adang- + suffix *-alāy, which, if correct, would certainly discard any equation with P.Om. *dingar or other reflexes of this quadriliteral SAA root, where the same analysis is not possible, and, instead, would support a direct cognacy with AA $\sqrt{\text{dng}}$ under #3 above. By the way, after L. Reinisch (1888, 280), V. Blažek (1989, 217) combined the N.Om. stem above with a certain LECu.: Oromo *dāngalé* „Kaulquappe” [Rn.] = „tadpole” [Blz.], which is, however, not attested in this shape in the lexicon either by G. da Thiene (1939, 91) or by G. Gragg (1982, 98). A remote cognate from WCh.: Dera *gəndəl* [metathesis < *dangal?] „lizard” [Kraft 1981 II, 133, #171] = *gandal* [Skinner], adduced in comparison with the Bed. and Chadic terms above by N. Skinner (l.c.), might in principle point to a sporadic SAA $\sqrt{\text{dngl}}$ „lizard”.

246. AS *ḡār “to tremble” [GT 2004, 85] ||| Eg. d3 (reg. < $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$) „zittern (von den Fingern, Füßen, vom Kopf)” (Med., Wb V 415, 1), d3.wt „das Zittern” (CT-, Wb V 415, 2), sd3 (caus.) „zittern” (PT-, Wb IV 365-366) < AA $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$ [GT]. Its root variety with a PAA plain voiceless *t- is attested in Sem.: Akk. (Bab. Lit.) *tārāru* „zittern”, (younger Bab.) *tārāru* „Zittern” [AHW 1325] || Ar. *tartara* „1. agiter, secouer” [BK I 195] = „to move, (be) shake(n), tremble” [Ehret] ||| SCu. *tarar- „to tremble, shake” [Ehret]: Ma’a *-tará’i* „to shake” | Dahalo *tarar-* „to tremble, shake” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 169, #8). For Ar.-SCu. see also Ehret 1995, 143, #176.

⁶ Alternatively, see entry #201 in my „Angas-Sura Etymologies VII”.

⁷ The Hausa form was rightly segmented by N. Skinner (1981, 175, #12), whereas O. Rössler (1983, 332, #1.09), erroneously assuming a shift of *r* < *l in the Hausa word (hardly the case in the light of the above parallels), derived it from an ill-founded AA $\sqrt{\text{qdngli}}$ (sic: *i!) set up on the basis of unrelated parallels. Like ES: Amhara *ʔəṇqāqəla* and NAgaw: Qwara *ʔəṇḡalḡala* „Eidechse”.

247. AS *ḏā₂r⁸ “(to)morrow” [GT 2004, 85-86] < Ch. *ḏ-(r) „tomorrow” [NM 1966, 240] = *ḏr [GT] ||| HECu. *dar- „morning” [GT: irreg. *d- for **ḏ-]: Had-iyya dara „morning”, cf. Kambatta sōdarāro „early morning” (*darār- contracted with sōz- „to dawn”) [Hudson 1989, 89] ||| Eg. dw3.w „1. Morgenfrühe, 2. morgige Tag” (MK-, Wb V 422-423) = „1. dawn, morning, 2. tomorrow, the morrow” (FD 310). Further parallels are just as obscure as the ultimate etymology of the underlying AA word (*ḏtr or *ḏwr or *ḏrr [GT]?).⁹

248. AS *ḏek ~ *ḏik > *ḏək “1. to shake, 2. sift, winnow” [GT 2004, 87] ||| NBrb.: Wargla ṭteḡteḡ „frétilier, se trémousser de contentement, de joie, sautiller” [DRB 457: isolated in Brb.] | Qabyle ṭeṭeṭ ~ ṭeṭdeṭ „bouillonner, crépiter, pétiller (liquide), radoter” [DRB 478] ||| Sem.: (?) Syriac ṭāḥīḥ (DRS: ṭāḥīḥ!) „inquiet” [Brk. 1928, 272 cited in DRS 1071] | Ar. ṭṭw: I ṭayā „6. être agité, en fureur (se dit de la mer, des vagues), 7. bouillonner, être en mouvement (se dit du sang)” [BK II 86]. The C₂ correspondences (e.g., Wargla -g- vs. Qabyle -ḡ- or Syr. -ḥ-, even if < *ḥ- vs. Ar. -ḡ-) are sometimes irregular.

Root varieties with plain voiced or voiceless stops (*d- or *t-) are attested in SBrb.: Ahaggar ḥəṭəḡṭəḡ „palpiter” [Prasse 1969, 70, #416] ||| Eg. ṭṭṭh „verwirren, verworren sein, in Unordnung geraten sein, zerknittern” (MK-, Wb V 323, 8-13; GHWb 939) = „1. to make disturbance (PT 392d), 2. disorder (hair) (Urk. V 87:4, Herdsman 25), 3. crumple (papers) (CT IV 385d)”, adj. „inimical” (AEPT 251, utterance 607, n. 3, also p. 330) = „to mess up, disorder” (Allen 2000, 471) ||| Sem.: Ar. dayḏaya „6. troubler (l’esprit etc.), 7. agiter, remuer” [BK I 707].

249. AS *ḏe₂l ~ *de₂l (?) “top” [GT 2004, 67]: Gerka del-la “south”¹⁰ [Ftp. 1911, 221], Angas n-dil-ke (so, d-) “on, over, above, etc.” [Gcl. 1994, 111], Mpn. ḏél (prep.) “on top” [Frj. 1991, 15], Msr. deel (sic: d-, false vowel length?) “peak of a hill, mountain, tree” [Dkl. 1997 MS], Gmy. ḏèl’ [ḏél] “a crest of hair running from the back of head to the forehead (seen among hillmen)” [Srl. 1937, 30].

⁸ Contrary to my earlier assumption (Takács 2004, 86), there was no AS variety *ḏa₂ya₂r, neither a primary sense „morning star”, since Kofyar ḏàgar [< *ḏayar] “star” [Ntg. 1967, 8] is the reflex of AS *ḏayar “star” (above) with a regular -g- instead of being an irregular match of the Suroid (Sura, Mupun, Mushere, and Chip) reflexes of AS *ḏa₂r (without *-ḡ-) „star” pointing to an AS var. *ḏa₂ya₂r. the

⁹ Any connection to either of (1) ECu. *ḏawr- „to prevent” [Sasse 1979, 46] or (2) ECu. *ḏur- „preceding, previous, to be in front” [Blažek pace Sasse 1982, 58] ||| WCh.: Nbauchi *(n) d-r „to begin” [Skinner 1977, 12] = *[n]dar- [Stl. 1987, 172] ||| ECh.: WDangla dūṛyè «inaugurer, commencer» [Fédry 1971, 199] or (3) Sem.: Syr. ṭawrā „espace de temps” | Ar. ṭawr- „i.a. fois, limite, phase” || Mehri, Harsusi ṭawr „temps, fois” (Sem.: DRS 1067)?

¹⁰ „North” being „the bottom” in AS. For the formation of “north” < “bottom” in Gerka on the analogy of “south” < “top” see AS *der > *ḏər “bottom” [GT 2004, 68-69] > i.a. Gerka der-dwal “north” [Ftp. 1911, 221]. Or cf. AS *tel “1. bottom (?), 2. depth” [GT 2004, 361] > Montol tel “north” [Ftp. 1911, 219].

May be akin to either of the following AA root varieties. Cf. AA $\sqrt{t}l$ > LECu.: Somali *dá/álo* „Scheitel, Spitze des Kopfes” [Rn. 1902, 135] ||| Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{t}l$ IV „2. paraître sur une hauteur, émerger, se lever, apparaître”, VI „allonger le cou ou se dresser sur les orteils pour voir mieux et plus loin”, X „2. regarder d’en haut ce qui est en bas” [BK II 92; DRS 1078: isolated in Sem.], also Sem. $\sqrt{t}l^c$ (root ext. $\sqrt{t}l^c$) „to ascend” [GT after DRS 1080]. Cf. also AA $\sqrt{dl}$ > LECu.: Somali *dul* „1. Oberseite, -fläche eines Gegenstandes, 3. als Richtungspartikel und adv.” [Rn. 1902, 109] = *dúl* „2. (prep.) on, over, 3. up above, upstairs, 4. top” [Abr. 1964, 68] = *dul* „top part of sg.” [Ehret 1995, 131 #137 with different etymology] ||| NBrb. $\sqrt{dl}VI$ „temple of head” [GT]: Shilh *ta-dlal-t* „tempe”, CA Algerian dial. *a-dlil* „tempe”, Wargla *ta-dlal-t* „tempe, côté du front” (NBrb.: DRB 328).

250. AS $\sqrt{d}em \sim \sqrt{d}om$ vs. $\sqrt{d}^*am$ “1. to desire (for flesh), lust, 2. be greedy, 3. want, love, agree” [GT 2004, 88] = $\sqrt{d}^*em$ “to desire for good food, esp. meat” [Dlg.] || ECh. $\sqrt{d}yem$ „to like” [GT] > WDangla *ḍimè* „aimer” [Fédry 1971, 208] | Mubi *ḥžem* „wollen” [Lukas 1937, 183] = *ḍým* (*ḍyem*, *ḍýmà*) „aimer” [Jng. 1990 MS, 12], Birgit *ḥžemá* ~ *ḥžomí* (*ḥžómà*, *ḥžómò*) „aimer” [Jng. 2004, 355] < AA $\sqrt{tm}$, whose root extension is represented by AA $\sqrt{tm}^c$ „1. to wish, 2. ask (for)” [GT] examined s.v. AS $\sqrt{d}aṇ$ “1. to wish (?), 2. beg” [GT 2004, 84] (q.v. above). Another PAA root variety is represented by AA $\sqrt{dm}$ „1. to want, 2. look for” [GT] discussed s.v. AS $\sqrt{d}em$ > $\sqrt{d}ej$ “to prefer, favour” [GT 2004, 68] (above).

251. AS $\sqrt{d}en \sim \sqrt{d}ēn$ “to put” [GT 2004, 89]: i.a. Angas *den* (sic: *d-*) “to place, put down” [Flk. 1915, 166] = *ḍen* ~ *ḍēn* “setzen, legen, stellen, plazieren, fixieren, erschaffen” [Jng. 1962 MS] = *ḍen* “to place” [ALC 1978, 13] = *ḍen* “to put down” [Krf.] = (usual) *ḍēn*, (hill) *ḍīn* “to put” [Gcl. 1994, 33, 72], Mpn. *ḍēen* “to put on, lay” [Frj. 1991, 15], Kfy. *ḍen* “to put, place” [Ntg. 1967, 9] etc. ||| Eg. *wdn* „einsetzen (als König), setzen (auf Thron)” (PT, Wb I 389, 13; GHWb 228) > „die königliche Titulatur urkundlich festsetzen” (NK-, Wb I 389, 11) = „1. (PT) to instal (as god or king), 2. (XVIII./Urk. IV) record (royal titulary)” (FD 73), cf. *wdn* „vom Niederwerfen der Feinde” (XIX., Wb I 389, 10) ||| Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{wtn}$: I *waṭana* „séjourner qq. temps dans un lieu et s’y habituer”, II „choisir un lieu pour s’y fixer, le prendre pour son séjour”, IV „se domicilier, s’établir” [BK II 1563; DRS 529] = II „to dispose and subject one’s mind or o’self to do a thing”, IV and X „to take for o’self as a home, settle place of abode or residence”, *waṭan-* „the place of abode, constant residence, dwelling, home” [Lane 3056]¹¹ < AA $\sqrt{tn}$ (hence NAA $\sqrt{wtn}$) „1. to set(tle) down, 2. fix” [GT].

¹¹ For the semantic shift in Ar., cf., e.g., Cpt. (SALBF) $\sqrt{wtn}$ etc. „1. legen, setzen, werfen, 2. stürzen, stoßen, hinzufügen, 3. sich niederlassen, sich aufhalten, bleiben, wohnen”, as noun (m) „Aufenthaltort, Wohnort, Platz usw.” (KHW 284).

252. AS *ḍe/ēs “1. many, 2. large, great” [GT 2004, 89]: presumably Gerka det [t reg. < *s] “power” (lit. “greatness”?) [Ftp. 1911, 219], Sura ḍés “1. viel(e), 2. groß, 3. bedeutend, mächtig” [Jng. 1963, 64] = (ḍi)ḍés “large” [Krf.], Mpn. ḍés “big, large”, ḍées “many, very much” [Frj. 1991, 15], Msr. ḍees (so, long -ee-, error) “plenty” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 224] = ḍés “plenty”, ḍes “much” [Jng. 1999 MS, 4] || ECh.: (?) Ubi ḍisse „colline” [Alio 2004, 270, #99] < *, „big, huge” (?) || Common Brb. *ṽḍs > *a-ṭṭas „beaucoup, trop” [DRB 498] || Sem.: Ar. ṽṭys: I ṭāsa „être nombreux”, ṭays- and ṭaysal- „1. grand nombre, nombre immense, incalculable, essaim, myriads (se dit, p.ex., en parlant du sable, de l’eau, des insectes)” [BK II 130; DRS 1073: isolated in Sem.] < AA *ṽṭys „many” [GT].

253. AS *ḍiṽin (var. *ḍuṽun?) → *ḍəṽən (var. *ḍəṽən in Suroid?) “inside” [GT 2004, 92] = *ḍəṽən “inside (n.)” [Dlg.] || LEg. ṭṭn „entrer, pénétrer en un lieu” (GR: Dendara VIII 152:1, AL 78.4603) < Eg. *ṽṭṭn „1. to push (into), 2. penetrate” (GT) with the regular shift of AA *-ṽ- > Eg. *-ḥ- in the proximity of a dental (cf. EDE I 326-327) || Sem. *ṽṭṭn „1. to thrust at, 2. penetrate” [GT]: cf. esp. Ar. ṭaʿana I „3. pénétrer dans l’intérieur, s’enfoncer dans l’intérieur des terres, du désert” [BK II 85]. For more details on this AA root cf. Suroid *ḍuṽun “to copulate” [GT 2004, 96], also AS *ṭuṽun “1. to push (into), 2. pinch” [GT 2004, 385-386]. Root variety with plain *d- and *-g- attested in WBrb.: Zenaga e-degni „chambre centrale” || SBrb.: EWlmd. e-dgen „s’enfoncer (dans une activité)” (Brb.: DRB 305: isolated in Brb.).

254. AS *ḍiṽir (hence *ḍṛ > *ḍūr through mergers) “1. elevation of ground, 2. shore” [GT 2004, 92]: Sura ḍiṽir “Land, Festland” [Jng. 1963, 64], Msr. ḍikir “1. riverbank, 2. over to another river-bank, 3. edge or margin” [Dkl. 1997 MS], Gmy. ḍūr [ḍūr] “an elevation, a rising on the ground” [Srl. 1937, 43] || Eg. tw3 „1. stützen, 2. hoch-, an-, emporheben, 3. tragen” (PT-, Wb V 248-250) || Sem.: Ar. ṭawr- and ṭūr- „montagne”, cf. ṭa/iwār- „longueur et largeur d’une maison, aire” [BK II 118] < AA *ṽṭwr „to raise” [GT]. The same AA root is present also in AS *ṭəṽər „to raise”, also „anthill” [GT 2004, 382] (cf. „Angas-Sura Etymologies VII”).

255. AS *ḍiṽir > *ḍəṽər “to carry load on head (balancing)” [GT 2004, 92] = *ḍəṽər “to carry on head” [Dlg.]: Angas ḍiir “to carry on head” [Hfm.] = ḍər “to carry on the head” [ALC 1978, 14], Sura ḍiṽir “auf dem Kopf tragen, balancieren” [Jng. 1963, 64] = ḍiṽir “to carry on head” [Hfm.], Kfy. ḍəṽər “to carry on head” [Hfm.], Gmy. ḍūr [ḍūr] (verb), used in the following expression only: ḍūr lê “to carry a load on one’s head without holding it with the hands” [Srl. 1937, 43] = ḍṭūr [ḍūr] “to carry on head” [Hfm.] = ḍūr [ḍūr] “to carry on head” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 7] (AS: Hfm. 1975, 20, #84; JI 1994 II, 62) || Eg. tw3 „1. stützen, 2. hoch-, an-, emporheben, 3. tragen” (PT-, Wb V 248-250) < AA *ṽṭwr „to raise” [GT]. In other words, this AS entry etymologically eventually represents the same AA root as seen in AS *ḍiṽir “elevation of ground” [GT 2004, 92] (above).

256. PAngas *ḍim > *ḍəm “to finish” [GT 2004, 92] ||| Eg. tmm „verschließen, verschloßen sein” (PT-, Wb V 308, 5-9; ÄWb I 1432), cf. tmm „von einer Wunde die sich unverwünscht schließt” (Med., Wb V 308, 10), also tmtm „être annihilé” (GR: Dendera, Cauville 1997, 616) ||| LECu. *ḍa/i/um- „to come to an end” [Apl.]¹² = „1. to be finished, end, 2. be completed” [GT]: Afar ḍimmo „full stop (of punctuation)” [PH 1985, 92] | PSam *ḍam-mē „to finish” [Heine 1978, 79] = *ḍam-may- [Apl.] > e.g. Somali = šo ḍán [-n < *-m#] „complete, entire”, ḍamm-ānayya „A) 1. to come to an end, 2. be ready, 3. end in sg., B) 1. to perish, 2. be worn out”, ḍamm-ānayya „to finish sg., complete sg., end”, ḍamm-ān „1. end, completion, 2. speak out, 3. completely do” [Abr. 1964, 47] = ḍamm-ād „end”, ḍamm-ayn „to have finished or have done” [Farah-Heck 1993, 176] | Oromo ḍum „1. aufhören, zu Ende gehen, 2. sterben” [Rn.] = ḍumu „1. finire, terminare, 2. essere finito, terminato, ultimato, 3. essere annientato, sterminato, soppresso, distrutto, consumato” [da Thiene 1939, 117] = ḍuma „to come to an end, be finished” [Gragg 1982, 131] = ḍum- „to end”, ḍum-aḍ- „to perish, come to an end” [Apl.] (LECu.: Reinisch l.c.; Apl. 2006, 67) ||| Sem. *√ṭm „to stop, close” [Zaborski 1971, #267] > *√ṭmm: Akk. ṭummumu D “(Ohren) verschließen, taub machen” [AHW 1394] || Hebrew √ṭmm: nəṭammonū „are stopped up, ‘wooden-headed’ [KB 376], MHebrew and Jewish Aramaic ṭmm “verschließen, verstopfen” [Levy 1924 II 166] = qal “to fill up, stop”, itpe. “to be covered up, buried”, palp. “to close (around)”, itpalp. „to be closed” [Jastrow 1950 I 540] = „to stop up, block” [KB 376], Syriac ṭamm „boucher, obstruer” [DRS] = ṭmm „to shut, close, stupefy” [Zbr.] | Ar. √ṭmm I “to fill up, choke up etc.” [Lane 1877] = I “3. remplir jusqu’aux bords (un vase ou un puits)”, VII „être rempli, comble” [BK II 105] = „to stop up” [Zbr.] || Tigrinya ṭememe „fermer les yeux et la bouche à un mourant” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 1086) vs. Sem. *√ṭm: Hebrew √ṭm qal „1. to stop up (one’s ears), 2. (archit. term as part., of a window) closed, barred, framed (?)” [KB 37] | Ar. √ṭm IV “fermer (une porte)” [BK I 39] = √ṭm “serrer, fermer”: I ṭaṭima “être resserré

¹² Under this common ECU. reconstruction, D. Appleyard (l.c.) seems to have forced together words indicating at least 3 or 4 diverse ancestral roots that can semantically be distinguished from one another: (1) the LECu. forms discussed above in the main entry stem from a basic sense „to complete, close, stop” neatly agreeing with that of the Sem. comparanda, while (2) this is hardly the case with LECu.: Saho ḍame (intr.) „to be melted, dissolved” [Vergari 2003, 74], Afar ḍam-(i) se (tr.) „to dissolve” [PH 1985, 90], whereas (3) also Somali ḍin [-n < *-m#] „Abnahme, Abgang”, intr. verb „abgehen, mangeln, fehlen, weg sein”, tr. „verkürzen, vermindern, etw. abziehen, wegnehmen vom ganzen”, ḍim-ad „Abgang, Mangel, Entgang, Verlust”, ḍim-o „1. sich vermindern, abnehmen, 2. sterben”, ḍim-an „1. (pass. part.) vermindert u. dgl., 2. (adj.) abgänglich, mangelnd, fehlend” [Rn. 1902, 138] = ḍim-ayya „to reduce, have shortcomings”, ḍim-ānayya „to die”, ḍim-ašo „to die, death”, ḍim-ād „putrefaction” [Abr. 1964, 62; Farah-Heck 1993, 176] appears to represent yet another, etymologically distinct root. (4) D. Appleyard (l.c.) included in his LECu. etymology also Konso ḍum- „to set (of the sun)” [Apl.] with right hesitation, since this form seems to clearly represent a distinct ECU. root, cf. Saho ḍume „to set (of the sun), grow dark” [Vergari 2003, 76], Afar ḍume „to sink (submerger)” [PH 1985, 94].

(to be constricted)”, ʔaṭama “rétrécir (l’orifice d’un puits), to narrow (the mouth of a vessel)” [Blachère 147] = „to stop up, close” [Zbr.] (Sem.: Zaborski 1971, #267) < AA *√ṭm „to close” [GT]. For Eg.-Sem. see Erman 1892, 122; GÄSW 41-42, #99; Vergote 1945, 144, #21.b.11; Cohen 1947, #33; Ward 1962, 400-2, #4; HSED #2467.

Cf. also a remote PAA root variety with plain voiced *d- discussed s.v. AS *dim → *dēm “to finish (?)” [GT 2004, 71-72] < AA *√dm „to (be) finish(ed)” [GT] (with many further details discussed above).

257. AS (Angas-Goemay) *dō → *dʷə “to fall” [GT 2004, 94] vs. **AS *ṭā**, “1. to fall, 2. descend” [GT 2004, 377-378] ||| LECu. *ḍa₁ “1. to fall, 2. attack, come” [Black 1974, 204] > PSam *ḍā^ᶜ-i “to fall upon” [Heine 1978, 57]: i.a. Somali ḍā^ᶜ „1. fallen, 2. untergehen (Sonne, Mind, Stern), 3. einfallen, eintreten, 4. überfallen usw.” [Rn. 1902, 124] || SCu.: Dahalo ḍi^ᶜ-am- „to go down” [Ehret 1980, 190-191 with false etymology] ||| Brb. *√ḍ „tomber” [DRB 440-441, s.v. √ḍ1] < pre-PBrb. **√ṭʷ [Rössler] = < **√ṭw^ᶜ [GT] > e.g. SBrb. (Twareg) *u-ḍu „fallen” [Rössler]: EWlmd. u-ḍu “tomber, tomber au combat” [PAM 1998, 47] ||| Sem.: Ar. √ṭw^ᶜ I (ṭā^ᶜa) „1. obéir à qqn.” [BK II 119] < AA *√ṭ^ᶜ „to fall” [GT]. For the Twareg-Somali etymology see also Rössler 1964, 207 (with mistaken reconstruction). The trans. sense of the same AA root is to be seen in LECu.: Somali ḍā^ᶜ „6. hart bedrängen (durch Gewaltherrschaft)” [Rn. 1902, 124] ||| Eg. ḍḥ (reg. < *√ṭ^ᶜ pace EDE I 326-327) „nieder-, unterwerfen, angreifen usw.” (XIX., Wb V 483-484; GHWb 986) ||| Sem.: Ar. √ṭw^ᶜ II „1. rendre obéissant, soumettre” [BK II 119].

A remotely related root variety with plain AA *d- is also attested in Sem.: Dathina dawwa^ᶜ, dayya^ᶜ, dā^ᶜ „(faire) descendre” [Landberg GD 898 quoted in DRS 237, 255: isolated in Sem.] ||| SCu.: Ma’a dī „beneath, under” [Ehret 1980, 190-191] ||| NOm.: Kefoid/PGongan *dih- „to fall, stumble” [Fleming]: Kaffa diḥ- „(на) падать” [Dlg.] = diḥ- „to fall”, caus. dič- „to cause to fall” [Fleming], Mocha dihi- „падать” [Dlg.] = diḥ-i-ye „to fall”, diṣ-s-i-ye „to cause to fall” [Fleming: < *dih-s- or *dihs- → *diṣs-], Shinasha de-ti „падает” [Dlg.], Shinasha-Wombera dial. diḥ-a „to fall, stumble” [Fleming], Shinasha-Amuru dē-ti „he fell” [Beke apud Fleming] (NOm.: Dlg. 1966, 74, #5.29;¹³ Fleming 1987, 148, #8) < AA *√d(w/y)^ᶜ „to fall” [GT]. A root variety with plain AA *t- is also attested in Sem.: Ar. ta^ᶜasa I „3. tomber, 5. être mis par terre, déposé” [BK I 199] ||| SCu. *ta^ᶜ-at- (med.) „to fall”, caus. *ta^ᶜ-as- „to fell” [GT] > Asa taʔ- „to fall” | Dahalo ṭa^ᶜ-āḍ- „to trap” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 169, #13 and #14 with false reconstruction).

¹³ A.B. Dolgopolskij (l.c.) combined the Kefoid parallels mistakenly with LECu.: Somali daʔ „leichter Regenfall, ein Spritzer”, as tr. verb „regnen, Wasser spritzen, sprengen” [Rn. 1902, 35] = (so: d-) „падать (о дожде)” [Dlg.].

258. Gmy. *ḏū (hence *ḏ^uē) “1. to put (into)” [GT 2004, 93] ||| SCu. *ḏa^c- „to insert, put into” [Ehret]: Alagwa ḏa^c- „to thrust into” | Dahalo ḏa^c- „to insert, put into” (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 189, #11) < AA *ṽṭ^c „to put into” [GT].¹⁴

259. Suroid *ḏuyun “to copulate” [GT 2004, 96]: Mpn. ḏúhùn ~ ḏúun [-h- reg. < *-γ-] “to have sex, sexual intercourse” [Frj. 1991, 16], Kfy. ḏùgun & ḏwagan (repeated action) “to copulate” [Ntg. 1967, 11] ||| Eg. *ṽṭhⁿ „1. to push (into), 2. penetrate” (GT) with the regular shift of AA *-ṽ- > Eg. *-ḥ- in the proximity of a dental (cf. EDE I 326-327), cf. Eg. ṭhⁿj „to be pierced, injured (?)” (CT, DCT 741) vs. LEg. ṭhⁿ „entrer, pénétrer en un lieu” (GR: Dendara VIII 152:1, AL 78.4603) vs. Dem. ṭhⁿ „Stempel” (DG 654) ||| Sem. *ṽṭ^cn „1. to thrust at, 2. penetrate” [GT]: Ug. ṭ^cn G „durchbohren”, N „niedergestoßen werden” [WUS 121, #1123] = G „to attack, destroy” [DUL 886], Hebrew ṭ^cn pual „durchbohrt werden” [GB 278] = „to be pierced” [KB 377] | Ar. ṭa^cana I „1. frapper avec une lance, lui porter un coup de lance, et l’en blesser, 2. (fig.) lancer contre qqn. des propos injurieux, médire, calomnier, déchirer qqn., 3. pénétrer dans l’intérieur, s’enfoncer dans l’intérieur des terres, du désert” [BK II 85] = „mit der Lanze durchbohren” [WUS] || MSA *ṽṭ^cn „donner un coup de corne, poignarder” [DRS]: Harsusi ṽṭ^cn: ṭōn „to thrust at” [Jns. 1977, 128], CJibbali ṭa^cán, EJibbali ṭ^cán „to thrust at, stab, butt” [Jns. 1981, 273], Mehri ṽṭ^cn: ṭān „to thrust at so. (usually with a dagger), butt” [Jns. 1987, 405], Sq. ṭa^can „piquer” [Lsl. 1938, 206] (Sem.: DRS 1098). See also HSED 519, #2480 (AS-Ar.). The same AA root is present also in AS *ḏiyin (var. *ḏuyun?) → *ḏəγən (var. *ḏəγən in Suroid?) “inside” [GT 2004, 92] and AS *ṭuyun “1. to push (into), 2. pinch” [GT 2004, 385-386]. Root variety with plain *d- and *-g- attested in WBrb.: Zenaga e-degni „chambre centrale” || SBrb.: EWlmd. e-dgen „s’enfoncer (dans une activité)” (Brb.: DRB 305: isolated in Brb.).

260. Suroid *ḏuyun [GT 2004, 96]: Mpn. ḏúhùn [-h- reg. < *-γ-] “to be superior” [Frj. 1991, 16] ||| Eg. dhⁿ.t „Felswand, Bergvorsprung, Bergspitze” (NK-, Wb V 478, 11) = „mountain, top, peak, summit, promontory, hilltop” (DLE IV 139) ||| Sem.: Ar. ṭuhⁿ-at- „homme grand et stupide” [BK II 114; DRS 1059: isolated in Sem.].

261. AS *ḏuṇ “elevation of ground” [GT 2004, 97] > Mpn. ḏúṇ “riverbank” [Frj. 1991, 16], Mnt. dong (so, -o-) “hill” [Ftp. 1911, 217], Gmy. ḏung maar “the top of a furrow (ḏiang maar is the depression between two furrows)” [Srl. 1937, 42] vs. AS *ḏ^ceṇ ~ *ḏ^ca₂ṇ “1. upper part, 2. up” [GT 2004, 101], cf. also AS *ṭiṇ

¹⁴ As for the SCu. stem, it has to be emarked here that Ch. Ehret (1995, 137, #157) equated a certain PCu. *ḏa^c- „to insert, enter” [Ehret] ||| Sem.: Ar. *ṽḏ^c „to put into, stick into” > ṽḏ^cd^c „to fill the dish”, ṽḏ^cs „to fill, pierce”, ṽḏ^clq „to go deeper into the water” [Ehret]. But this comparison has little evidence value. For instance, the PCu. *d- is hardly correct in the light of the SCu. data, while the reconstruction of a PSem. Basic sense „to put into” can hardly issue from the Ar. *comparanda*.

(var. **ṭuṇʔ*) > **ṭəṇ* “1. high, 2. upper part, 3. sky” [GT 2004, 384], AS **ṭəṇ* “1. to sprout, 2. grow” [GT 2004, 379] and AS **ṭuṇ* “heap” [GT 2004, 387] ||| NBrb.: Shawya ḍumm „mettre en tas” [DRB 469 with a different etymology] ||| (???) Eg. tmḥ „praise” (GR 1x: Edfu III 176:1-2, PL 1145)¹⁵ ||| Sem.: OSA: Sabaic ṭmḥ „qui est en amont” [SD 153], Ar. ṭamaḥa „1. élever, porter vers le haut (ses yeux, ses regards), 2. être élevé, porté vers un point plus élevé (se dit des regards), 6. emporter, enlever, ravir”, II „1. élever les deux pieds de devant en l’air (se dit d’un cheval qui s’élance à la course), 2. lancer en haut (l’urine en urinant)” [BK II 106], Sudanic Ar. ṭamaḥ „monter, déborder (lait, eau, vagues ...)” [DRS] (Sem.: DRS 1085). The underlying AA **ṭmḥ* „to raise” [GT] may be of biconsonantal origin, cf. Ar. ṭmḥ I: ṭamā „1. s’élever bien au-dessus du sol, être haut (se dit des plantes d’une taille considérable), 2. (fig.) être haut, élevé (se dit d’esprit, de la pensée), 3. être plus grand, plus haut que ..., dépasser qqn. par sa taille, 4. être rempli, gonflé par la masse d’eau” [BK II 110].

262. AS **ḍʷam* ~ **ḍʷam* “to die (of sickness or be killed?)”: Kfy. dwám “to die of sickness, perish (pl. obj.)” [Ntg. 1967, 8], Msr. ḍuwaam (pl. of tuh) “to kill” ~ var. duwaam (sic: d-) “to kill” [Dkl. 1997 MS] ||| LECu.: perhaps Oromo ḍum „1. aufhören, zu Ende gehen, 2. sterben” [Rn. 1902, 138] ||| LEg. tmtm „être annihilé” (GR: Dendera, Cauville 1997, 616) ||| Sem.: Ar. ṭūm-at- „1. mort, 2. calamité, malheur” [BK II 125; DRS 1065: isolated in Sem.] < AA **ṭwm* „to perish” [GT]. In this case the AS var. **ḍʷam* has to be regarded secondary < **ḍʷam*.¹⁶ Presumably ultimately cognate with the AA root specified s.v. PAngas **ḍim* > **ḍəm* “to finish” [GT 2004, 92].

AS **ḍ* = Eg. *ḍ* = Brb. *** = Sem. **ṣ* < AA **ṣ*
 AS **ḍ* = Eg. *ḍ* = Brb. *** = Sem. **ṭ* < AA **ṭ*
 AS **ḍ* = Eg. *ḍ* = Brb. **ḍ* = Sem. **ṣ* < AA **ṣ*

263. AS **ḍap* ~/< **ḍab* “to lift up, take up” [GT 2004, 85] > cf. esp. Angas dap “to take” [Flk./Mgd. 1911, 383] = dab ~ dap “to lift up, carry (Hs. ḍauka)” [Flk. 1915, 163] = ḍap “aufnehmen, einsammeln” [Jng. 1962 MS] = ḍap “to lift” [Jng. 1963, 274] = ḍap “1. to lift, 2. hold” [Krf.] | Hausa ḍírbà „1. (b) to gather, pluck, (c) scoop up” [Abr. 1962, 210] < Ch. **ḍVb-* „to pluck, gather (fruit)” [CLD III 111, #307 sine AS] ||| Eg. ḍb „sammeln” (GR, Wb V 553, 1) ||| SBrb. **ḍb* [DRB]: Ahaggar ṭub-et „être réuni en masse, être tous réunis sans exception, se réunir en masse (p.)” [DRB 444: isolated in Brb.] ||| Sem.: Ar. ḍbb I „7. prendre qqch. avec toute la

¹⁵ With a semantic shift as seen, e.g., in English exalt < Latin altus „high, deep”, similarly translated into Hungarian magasztal „to exalt” < magas „high”.

¹⁶ And so its coincidence with Sem.: Hebrew dūmā „silence” (hence in Middle Hebrew: also „the angel of death”), dūmām „1. quiet, silence, 3. underworld” [KB 216] may be due to pure chance.

main, en ramassant, p.ex., les bouts, pour les tenir dans la main, de là: 8. s'emparer de tout, empoigner tout", II „1. empoigner une chose, prendre avec toute la main", IV „3. s'emparer d'une chose toute entière, l'empoigner en ramassant tous les bouts ou toutes les parties, se rendre entièrement maître de qqch., et tenir ferme" [BK II 2-3] < AA * $\sqrt{\text{čb}}$ „2. to pick up and collect all" [GT], whose 1st sense „to r(a)ise" may have been preserved by Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{dbw}}$ IV „8. enlever, ôter", cf. also $\sqrt{\text{šb}}^?$ I: $\text{šaba}^?a$ „1. se lever (se dit d'une étoile)" [BK I 1305 and II 8, resp.], which testifies to a PAA root variety * $\sqrt{\text{čb}}$ [GT]. This PAA root pair is presumably ultimately related to that whence Ch. * $\sqrt{\text{čVb-}}$ „pile" [CLD III 162, #652] > WCh.: e.g., Hausa cibi (ts-) „pile" as well as Ch. * $\sqrt{\text{č}}\text{VbV}$ „abundance" vs. Ch. * $\sqrt{\text{čVb-}}$ „to pile up" [CLD III 111, #310 and #310.a sine AS] > WCh.: e.g., Hausa đibi „thing placed on another, 2. surplus" [Abr. 1962, 211] = đibi [Hodge] ||| Sem.: cf. Ar. đabba „1. être attaché, s'attacher" [BK II 2] may have originated from. Noteworthy is that the underlying PAA varieties, viz. * $\sqrt{\text{čb}}$ vs. * $\sqrt{\text{čb}}$ „3. to heap up and collect all" [GT] survived also in Semitic, but with a C₃ root extension *-r in both cases, cf. Ar. đabara I „2. ranger, mettre en ordre (les pierres, etc.), 3. assembler, réunir (les feuillets en cahiers)", II „1. assembler, réunir" [BK II 5] vs. Ug. šbr-t „Schar" [WUS #2301], Hebrew $\sqrt{\text{šbr}}$ qal „aufhäufen, aufschütten", šibbur „Haufe" [GB 762] | MAram. $\text{šibbūr} \sim \text{šibbūrā}$ „Menschenhaufe, Versammlung, Gemeinde" [Levy 1924 IV 167] = „Gesamtheit, Versammlung" [WUS] | Ar. šabara I „11. entasser, amonceler, accumuler, mettre en tas sans peser ni mesurer (p.ex., des grains)" [BK I 1305] > šubr-at- „Getreidehaufen" [WUS] ||| WCh.: Zaar cóbər „rubbish heap" [Caron in CLD]. C.T. Hodge (1969, 109, #21) has already affiliated some of the Hausa, Twareg, and Ar. parallels above with Eg. wdb „6. Opfer umleiten" (OK-, ÄWb I 402) = „to divert offerings" (FD 76) > db.w „Einkünfte, Zuwendungen" (OK-, WB V 553, 4) = „revenue, which, however, derive from a root with a fully different basic sense (Eg. wdb „to turn")).

264. AS * $\sqrt{\text{đār}}$ (var. * $\sqrt{\text{đer}}$ in Msr.) „1. to stand, 2. stay, 3. stop" [GT 2004, 85]: Gerka dir (sic: d-) [-i- obscure] „to stand" [Ftp. 1911, 220], Angas dar (sic: d-) „1. to stand, 2. stop" [Ormsby 1914, 315] = daar (sic: d-) „to stop, stay" [Flk. 1915, 164] = đaar „stehen bleiben" [Jng. 1962 MS] = đar „to stand, stop", cf. đar tur „to resist" [ALC 1978, 13] = đar [đār] „to stand up" [Krf.] = (Pang, plains) đār , (hill, Garam) dór (so, -o-) „1. to stand, stop", ka đar-đar „standing" [Gcl. 1994, 33, 37, 109], Sura đar „stehenbleiben, bleiben" [Jng. 1963, 63], Mupun đar „to stand (about living things, including trees), step, stand up, wait" [Frj. 1991, 14], Kofyar đar (sg.), đyaram (pl.) „to stay, stand" [Ntg. 1967, 9], Mushere $\text{đar} \sim \text{đer} \sim \text{deer}$ (sg.), đirang (pl.) „1. to stop, end (verb or noun?), 2. stand, wait", đe(e)r-tiktik „(to stand) without movement, motionless, inactive" [Dkl. 1997 MS] = đer „stand(ing)" vs. đer „end" (lit. “stopping”?) [Jng. 1999 MS, 4], Tal đái [-i < *-r#] “to stand" [IL], Mnt. dai (sic: d-) [-i < *-r#] “to await”, cf. dai-bien “to delay” (lit. “to stay behind”),¹⁷ yal-dai [-i < *-r#] “to

¹⁷ Mnt. bien < AS * $\sqrt{\text{pwoyōn}} \sim \sqrt{\text{pwiyin}}$ or * $\sqrt{\text{pwe}_2\text{ye}_2\text{n}}$ “hind part, buttocks” [GT 2004, 43].

stand” (lit. „to rise and stand”)¹⁸ [Ftp. 1911, 214, 216, 220] | Hausa cáyà [ts- < *ç-, reg. change of -y- < *-r-] „to stand” [Abr. 1962, 881] | Fyer ɗar „to stand” [Jng.] | Maha ɗeri „to stand” [Nwm.] | Nbauchi *çurw- → *çərɓw- „1. to stand, 2. stop, wait” [Skn.]: Warji çərɓw-, Miya, Mburku, Kariya, Tsagu ɗər-, Pa’a çura, Siri çuru, Diri ɗala (Nbauchi: Skinner 1977, 42) < WCh. *çVr- „to stand” [CLD III 180, #766] || CCh.: Zime-Batna càr [ts-] á sém „to stand” [Scn.] || ECh.: Kwang ɗyèrē „to stand” [Jng.] | Mubi-Toram *ɗār- „1. to stand, 2. stellen” [GT]: Mubi ɗaar „sich hinstellen, stehen”, ɗér „hinstellen” [Lukas 1937, 181] = *ɗaar „to stand” [Bender-Doornbos 1983, 78, #77] = ɗár (ɗār, ɗíɗàár) „s’arrêter, rester debout” [Jng. 1990 MS, 10], Minjile *ɗéyru „to stand” [Bnd.-Drn.], Kajakse ɗaarù (impér.) „se tenir debout”, ɗaarà „debout” [Alio 2004, 241, #87-88], Masmaje ɗaarù „s’arrêter, freiner” [Alio 2004, 281, #52] etc. (Ch.: JI 1994 II, 304-305) || SBrb.: perhaps EWlmd. a-zyar, pl. i-zyar-ān „2. (poét.) „bouclier” [PAM 2003, 929] || (?) Eg. ɗr (unless *ɗl)¹⁹ „1. fernhalten von (r) jem., 2. e. Zustand (Hunger, Zustand o.ä.) beseitigen, 3. aufgehalten werden (Fuss, Schreiten, Schritt)” (PT-, Wb V 595, 5-9; GHWb 1011; ÄWb I 1507c; ÄWb II 2851a-b) = „wohl: gebannt sein, (etwas ähnliches wie rth) einschränken, hemmen, beängstigen (?), vorenthalten (mit r der Person), (den Fuß, den Schritt) hemmen,

¹⁸ Cf. AS *ya₃ya₁l “to rise” [GT 2004, 411].

¹⁹ The Coptic evidence seems to speak for OEg. *-l in this root reconstructed as IIIae inf. *√dlj „fern/aufhalten” suggested by J. Osing throughout his NBÄ (p. 38, p. 203, p. 738, n. 896, cf. KHW 572) in the light of (SL) 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩪, (L) 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣, (S) 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩪+ „1. (intr.) to be hindered (?), 2.(tr.) (L) stop, make cease” > (L) 𐩧𐩢𐩨 (m) „hindrance (?)” (CD 766b) = (SL) 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩪 etc. „1. hindern, hemmen, anhalten, beenden, 2. bleiben, aufhören” (KHW 419) = (SL) 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩪 etc. „(zum) aufhören (bringen)” > (ML) 𐩧𐩢𐩨 (m) „1. Hindernis, 2. Zaun” (Osing) – all this is, however, not in a necessary contradiction with the AA etymology above in the light of the number of instances of anomalous Cpt. (outside F) 𐩧 < Eg. r < AA *r or vice versa: Eg. r- = AA *l- contra Cpt. P- collected by G. Takács (2005, 82-83), which is corroborated by the history of Cpt. (ML) 𐩧𐩢𐩨 (m) „Hindernis, Zaun” vs. (B) 𐩧𐩢𐩨, 𐩧𐩢𐩨 (m) „Wand, Mauer, Wall, Zaun, Hecke” and (B) 𐩧𐩢𐩨 (f) „Wand, Mauer”, all explained by J. Osing (NBÄ 658, n. 695, p. 668, n. 734, p. 891, Nachtrag zu S. 418) ultimately from the same Eg. verbal root reconstructed by him as *√dlj „fern/aufhalten” and its nominal derivatives: cf. ɗrj „(Um)Wall(ung), Umfassungsmauer” (OK-MK, NBÄ, cf. Wb V 598, 11-12) = „enclosing wall (?)” (FD 323) = „*Mauer, Palissade” (ÄWb II 2852b), pl. tante ɗr.w „Teil des Hauses oder seiner Ausstattung” (MK, Wb V 601, 2) = ɗrj.w „Zäune (?), Wände (?)” (NBÄ) = „*Mauern des Hauses” (ÄWb II 2852a) vs. ɗrw.w „Seitenwand” (OK, ÄWb I 1508) = „Wand” (LEM 415, 12:3; WD I 240) vs. ɗrj.t „wall (?)” (FD 323) = „ein Gebäudeteil (teilweise schon Wand, Mauer)” (NBÄ), hence denom. (?) ɗrj „ein/umschließen” (CT I 386a, ÄWb II 2852b), which, however, are all, in turn, evidently akin to Sem.: OSA: Qatabanian √šyr „to wall, embank” [Ricks 1989, 135], Sabeian √šyr „to wall, embank” [Biella 1982, 422-423], Dathina šir-at „Einfriedigung” [Miessner/GD] = „enclos de pierres à hauteur d’homme” [GD 2161] = stone fence” [Biella], resp. Cf. also the special isgloss of Sem.: Ar. √šyr I „1. se faire, devenir tel ou tel, finir par être tel ou tel” [BK I 1391] = „2. entstehen, werden” [Torczyner apud GD 2161] || Eg. ɗr „1. i.a., to end up as (aux. vb.)” (FD 323) = „schließlich sein, *beinahe (sein)” (GHWb 1011) || WCh.: Mushere *ɗer „(to) end” [Jng./Dkl.] (above). The same anomaly may appear in Cpt. (SF) 𐩧𐩢𐩨(𐩣)𐩪 etc. „sammeln, ernten, (Steuern) einziehen” (KHW 419 with a different, albeit semantically vague etymology) < (?) Eg. ɗrꜥ „(ob) sammeln (?)” (XX., Wb V 603, 4) vs. Sem.: Ar. √šwr I „8. réunir, rassembler” [BK I 1383] || WCh.: AS *ɗuyur “to sum up, collect all (?)” [GT] (in detail see below).

(den Zutritt) verwehren” (PT 235a, 162a, 622d, 625d, 976d, resp., ÜKAPT I 204 and IV 266, resp.) = „1. to end (hunger), 2. hinder, obstruct” (FD 323), hence also Eg. *ḏr* „obstacle” (CT, FD 323) = *ḏr.w* (Pleneschreibung 1x unter Hatshepsut) „Hindernis” (Osing) = „Behinderung, Hindernis” (CT VII 514j, ÄWb II 2851b) and *d3* „to be blocked” (CT, DCT 814) ||| Sem.: OSA (Sabea) *šrr* „to stay, stand (demeurer, rester debout)” [SD 147], cf. Ar. *šarra* I „3. dresser les oreilles et les serrer contre la tête (se dit d’un cheval quand il écoute)”, III „retenir qq., et le contraindre à qqch.”, IV „3. persévérer, persister dans qqch.”, VIII „être étroit, resserré (se dit d’un sabot petit et comme pincé)”, mu-širr- „1. persévérant, qui persiste dans qqch. et poursuit avec opiniâtreté qqch.” [BK I 1325-1327] vs. Ar. *√šry*: I *šarā* „5. retenir (l’urine ou le sperme) dans ses reins, et de là: s’abstenir du commerce sexuel”, *šariya* „être retenu dans le canal (se dit de l’urine ou du sperme), 2. croupir, être à l’état de stagnation au point de se gâter (se dit de l’eau)”, II „réservé, mettre à l’écart et empêcher de traire une femelle pour faire augmenter la quantité de lait” > *šarā-t-* „1. tout ce qui reste à l’état de stagnation et croupit, p.ex., eau stagnante, sperme arrêté dans le canal, etc., 2. femelle qui n’a pas été traitée pendant quelques temps” [BK I 1336] vs. Ar. *√šyr* (whose basic sense was conceived by Torczyner as „1. stehen, 2. entstehen, werden”, cf. GD 2161) II: *šayyara* „3. arrêter (p.ex., l’eau dans son cours)” [BK I 1390-1391] || MSA **√šwr* [Jns.] > Harsusi *√šwr*: *šōr* „to stand, stay”, *ašwōr* „to stand (tr.), stop, hold off, get sg. to stand still” [Jns. 1977, 117], Jibbali *šor* „to stand (up)” [Ricks] = *√šwr*: *šōr* „to stand” [Jns. 1981, 243], Mehri *š/zâr* „stehen (bleiben)” [Jahn, Bittner quoted in GD] = *šâr* „to stand (up)” [Ricks] = *√šwr*: *šōr* „to stand”, *həšwūr* „to make (sg.) stand, stand (sg.)” [Jns. 1987, 368], Soqotri *šer* „retenir, refuser, renvoyer, séparer” [Leslau 1938, 351] = *šər* „to hold back” [Biella 1982, 422-423] (Ar.-MSA: also GD l.c.; Ricks 1989, 135) < AA **√čr* „1. to stand, 2. stop, obstruct” [GT].

265. AS *ḏa₍₂₎r* (?) “to excuse” [GT 2004, 86]: Angas de (sic:plain d-) [loss of *-r#?] “excuse” [Flk. 1915, 165], Msr. *ḏar* aku “to excuse” [Dkl. 1997 MS] ||| Eg. *d3.w* „protection magique (?)” (NE Mag., AL 78.4865) = „Schutzzauber” (WMT 995) ||| Sem.: Ar. *√šry* I „2. éloigner de qq. un mal, un danger, etc., 3. sauver, délivrer qq., 6. se séparer, se mettre à l’écart” [BK I 1336]. Curiously, the same special (original?) sense „to save, deliberate from sg. bad” appears in both the Egyptian and Semitic roots, whence it appears right to assume a NAA **√čr* „to save” [GT].

266. Mpn. **dā_{1/2/3}r* > *dāar* “to scream” [Frj. 1991, 14] ||| Sem.: Ar. *√šrr* I „4. crier (se dit du bruit que fait une plume sur le papier quand on écrit, ou des dents qui grincent, ou d’une porte qui tourne sur ses gonds, des grillons, des cigales, etc.)”, 5. gronder, mugir, rugir (se dit du vent, etc.)” [BK I 1325-1326]. The Ar. root was combined with semantically dubious WCh. parallels in HSED 103, #433.

267. Gmy. **dā₍₃₎r* (perhaps < AS **dā₃ya₃r*?) “confession” [GT 2004, 86]: Gmy. lap *ḏaar* ~ *ṭoem ḏaar* “to confess” (lap “to answer”, *ṭoem* “to say”) [Srl. 1946, 55]

= door (so, -oo-) “confession” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 6] ||| ECu. *tār- „to swear” [Apl. 1991, 23] = *čar- „клясться” [Dlg. 1973, 126] = *dār- [GT] ||| Sem. *√thr: MSA: Sabaic h-hr „to testify, witness, certify”, hr „document, certificate” [SD 171], Ar. √hr I „1. (ap)paraître, 2. être clair, évident, 4. divulguer”, IV „1. faire voir, manifester, montrer, 2. proclamer, témoigner hautement, 7. réciter qqch. de mémoire, ce qu’on sait par coeur”, VI „1. paraître, se faire voir, se déclarer (se dit d’une chose), 2. montrer qqch., mettre en avant” [BK II 143-144] (Sem.: DRS 1126) < AA *√čhr „to declare” [GT]. Cf. its ancient root variety with PAA *s- (?).²⁰

268. Gmy. *ḍā₃r (perhaps < AS *ḍa₃ya₃r?) > **Gmy. ḍāâr** [ḍoôr] “the perineum” [Srl. 1937, 23] | Hausa tsáraá „middle of back from neck to coccyx” [Abr. 1962, 878] || ECh.: Kera čečerká „Rückgrat, colonne vertébrale” [Ebert 1976, 35] < Ch. *čVr- „spinal cord” [CLD III 216, #986] ~ var. *čahar- [GT] ||| (?) Eg. ḍ3j.w „hump” (CED) = „bosse” (AL 77.5136) = „Buckel” (GHWb 994) > Cpt. (SB) ጸዐ, (B) ለጸዐ „crook-back” (CD 753b; CED 309) = „Buckliger” (KHW 412) ||| Sem. *tahr- (with no *-h- in Ugaritic) „back” [Klein 1987, 542] < AA *√čr „back, bottom of torso” [GT]. The Goemay word has been tentatively combined by G. Takács (2004, 96) with **Suroid *ḍuyur** “kidney” (discussed below, q.v.) < AS **ḍ^wayar or **ḍoyor (?) [GT]²¹ ||| LECu.: Somali-Jiddu ḡōro (ḡ’-) „kidney” [Ehret: ḡ’- < ECu. *č-] = čarrə „Niere” [Lamberti 1986, 262, 353 with a dubious alternative derivation], which appears to be semantically plausible (cf. Eg. dp.t „kidney” vs. AA **√dP „back”). O.V. Stolbova (CLD l.c.) has already combined the Hausa-Kera parallel with PSem. *tahr-, whereas Ch. Ehret (1995, 291, #550) has already equated the latter with the Jiddu term (above).

269. Sura ḍēē “verloren gehen, sterben” [Jng. 1963, 63] ||| Eg. ḍ^c „wüst liegen” (XIX., Wb V 534, 12; GHWb 998) > Cpt. (S) ጸላ፤፤, (FM) ጸላ፤፤ „Wüste, Einöde” (NBÄ 412) ||| Sem. *√šy^c „to be spoiled, perish” [Dlg.]: Ar. √ḍy^c I ḍā^ca „1. périr, 2. être perdu”, II „1. laisser tomber, perdre ou répandre ce qu’on avait sur eus, des richesses, le temps précieux”, ḍāyi^c- „vide (en parlant des intestins)”, ma-ḍī^c-at- „1. perte, ruin, 2. qui perd souvent, toujours qqch.” [BK II 47] = „to perish, be lost” [Dlg.] || Harsusi √zy^c „to spoil”, Jibbali √zy^c „to become thin, go waste,

²⁰ Attested in AS *s^he₂ye₂r → *s^həyər ~ var. *s^hē₂r (without *-y-) “to swear, oath” [GT 2004, 332] vs. AS *s^hē₂r (Mnt. var. *s^hwar?) “1. to confess, disclose (a secret), 2. regret, 3. (make) excuse” [GT 2004, 332] ||| NA₂gaw *car- „to swear” [Apl. 1991, 23] = *cā/ar- „to swear an oath” [Apl. 2006, 131] ||| Eg. sr „to show sg. to, sy. into” (MK, FD 235) = „to (be) show(n)” (DCT 519) = „zeigen, einführen, *geleiten” (ÄWb II 2280) ||| Sem.: Ar. √srr IV „2. divulguer (un secret), 3. confier un secret à qqn.” [BK I 1074]. Cf. OS 1992, 177.

²¹ Phonologically fully possible, cf. AS *ḍuyur, pl. *ḍ^wayar (> Gmy. *ḍa₃ya₃r) “1. to block, 2. cover, 3. lock” [GT 2004, 76].

get lost”, Mehri $\sqrt{\text{zy}}^{\text{C}}$ „to waste, lose money” (Sem.: Dlg. 1987, 208, #96)²² < AA $\ast\sqrt{\text{cy}}^{\text{C}}$ „to get lost, go waste” [GT].

270. AS $\ast\text{del}$ “1. to pass by, 2. cross, 3. go in” [GT 2004, 87] || ECh.: Mgm. dyilò (dyilè , dyèlāa) „(dé)passer, se terminer” [JA 1992, 82] || NBrb.: (?) Tamazight a- del „être enfoui” [DRB 462: var. to $\sqrt{\text{dl}}$] || Eg. d3j „1. überfahren (auf die andere Flußseite), (hin)überfahren, kreuzen, (Gewässer) durchschreiten, 2. durchfahren, durchziehen (Land, Himmel), 3. übersetzen usw.” (OK-, Wb V 511-513; GHwB 992) = „to ferry s’one across water, cross (sky)” (FD 318) || Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{dl}}$ I „1. s’écarter de la ligne droite, prendre une fausse route (se dit de l’homme), 2. aller, s’égarer qq. part, et ne pas arriver au but (se dit des choses ou des arguments faux)”, cf. $\sqrt{\text{dly}}$ I (dalā) „périr”, V (taḏallā) „rechercher la société des hommes égarés” [BK II 33, 36, resp.] < AA $\ast\sqrt{\text{cl}}$ [GT]. A remotely related PAA root may be seen in SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr $\sqrt{\text{zly}}$: ə-zləy „i.a. mettre à part, séparer” [PAM 2003, 918] || EBrb.: Ghadames $\sqrt{\text{zl}}$: zāl „être absent, parti” [Lanfry 1973, 424, #1790] || Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{zl}}$ X „3. sortir du fond, de l’intérieur du corps, etc. (se dit du sang)” [BK II 136] < AA $\ast\sqrt{\text{cl}}$ [GT]. Both PAA roots above may have primarily meant „1. to transgress, 2. pass away, depart” (or sim.).

Alternatively, if AS $\ast\text{d-}$ < AA $\ast\text{t-}$, or simply as a root variety, one might compare (also) Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{tlh}}$ (root extension $\ast\text{-h?}$): I ṭalaha „traverser (un pays) en se traînant lentement, comme un homme fatigué” [BK II 103] || Amh. $\sqrt{\text{twtlwtl}}$: tāntolāltoḷā „1. marcher à pas courts et rapides, courir de ci de là, 2. regarder avec inquiétude de tous côtés” [Baeteman quoted in DRS 1065: isolated] || Eg. dndn [reg. < $\ast\sqrt{\text{tltl}}$] „durchwandern” (PT, Wb V 470, 12-13) < NAA $\ast\sqrt{\text{tl}}$ „to transgress (or sim.)” [GT].

271. Gmy. $\ast\text{dem}$ (or $\ast\text{du}_2\text{m?}$) “remainder” [GT 2004, 88] || Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{šmm}}$ II „1. continuer, persévérer, persister dans qqch., 2. raffermir, maintenir avec force” [BK I 1366].

272. AS $\ast\text{den}$ (var. $\ast\text{den?}$) “to prevent, keep back” [GT 2004, 89]: presumably Gerka dun-dang (so, -u-!) “to prevent” (dang obscure) [Ftp. 1911, 219], Angas den “to hinder” [Ormsby 1914, 209] = den “to prevent, stop (someone)” [Flk. 1915, 166] = ḍen “ablehnen, zurückweisen” [Jng. 1962 MS] = den (so: d-) “to deny (someone, something)” [ALC 1978, 11] = ḍen “to keep” [Gcl. 1994, 72], Mpn. ḍen “to refuse, prevent, deny (the person to whom sg. is denied is the direct

²² A.B. Dolgopolsky (l.c.) equated the Sem. root with SCu.: PRift $\ast\text{ci}^{\text{C}}$ - „to stink” [Ehret 1980, 360] = $\ast\text{ci}^{\text{C}}$ - [Dlg.]. Semantically dubious. Plausible, provided its primary sense was $\ast$ „to be spoilt” (unattested). But much closer stands his other comparandum, ECu. $\ast\text{šu}^{\text{C}}$ -s- (caus.) „to smell” [Sasse 1979, 33; 1982, 170], which testifies to SCu. $\ast\text{č-}$ < AA $\ast\text{č-}$ here, and not < AA $\ast\text{č-}$ (both cases are attested, cf. Takács 2011, 131-133).

object)” [Frj. 1991, 15], Msr. *ḍen* “to keep” [Dkl. 1997 MS] = *ḍen* “to keep” vs. *den* (so, d-) “keeping” [Jng. 1999 MS, 3-4], Gmy. *den* (so: plain d-) “to refuse, hinder, forbid” [Srl. 1937, 32] = *den* (so, d-!) “to prevent, forbid” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 5] ||| SBrb.: Ahaggar e-*ḍen* „i.a. paître (surveiller au pâturage des animaux), veiller sur”, EWlmd. e-*ḍen* „paître, pâturer, surveiller au pâturage” etc. (SBrb.: DRB 473) ||| Eg. *ḍnj* (PT) > *dnj* (MK) „1. abdämmen (gegen das Wasser), 2. auch: die Ufer befestigen (mit Stein)” (PT-, Wb V 575, 10-12) = „(Wortstamm für) das Abdämmen des Wassers” (PT 278c, ÜKAPT I 313) = „to dam (water), construct dam” (FD 314) > *dnj* „1. jemanden zurückhalten, 2. vom Arm (°): dessen Gebrauch hindern” (BD-, Wb V 464, 13-17) = „to hold back, restrain (s’one), revet (earthen banks with stone)” (FD 314) ||| Sem. **ṣwn*: Hebrew *ṣnn* III: *ṣinnā* „der große, den ganzen Körper deckende Schild, Schild(dach)” [GB 687] | Ar. *ṣwn*: I *ṣāna* „1. protéger qq. contre qq. ou qqch., 2. conserver, cacher, serrer, tenir renfermé”, VIII „garder, conserver”, ma-*ṣūn* ~ ma-*ṣwūn* „gardé, préservé, conservé, caché, serré, renfermé” [BK I 1387-1388], Ar. of Yemen *ṣawān* „guarantor, surety” [Leslau] || Geez *ṣwn* ~ *ḍwn*: *ṣawwana* ~ *ḍawwana* „to protect, defend, preserve, shelter” [Leslau 1987, 566-567] = „umhegen, behüten” [GB], Amharic *ṣawān* „refuge” [Leslau] < AA **ṣn* (NAA **ṣwn*) „1. to keep back, 2. protect” [GT]. For Eg.-Sem. cf. also Schneider 1997, 207, #17.²³

273. Angas ḍar “to agree” [ALC 1978, 14] ||| Sem.: Ar. *ṣry* I „12. réconcilier, mettre le paix entre les gens, 16. traiter qq. avec bienveillance, et lui témoigner de l’affection” [BK I 1336].

274. AS (Gmy.-Montol) *ḍi “to pour, urinate” and **AS (sine Gmy.) *ḍō** „2. pour into” [GT 2004, 91 and 93, resp.] ||| (?) Eg. *wḍh* „schütten, giessen” (OK-, Wb I 393, 6-13) ||| Sem. **ṣḥ* [GT] > Sem. **nṣḥ* „to sprinkle” [GT]²⁴ and ES **wṣḥ* „to pour” [Apl. 1977, 30] = „verser, goutter, être tamisé” [DRS 591].²⁵ For the Eg.-Sem. equation see Ember 1930 (ESS), §26.b.2; Calice 1936 (GÄSW),

²³ Albeit this study is to be handled with utmost caution (like most of the works conceived in the frames of the so-called „*Neuere Komparatistik*”, a far-fetched and ill-founded hypothesis based on O. Rößler’s otherwise precious ideas, which his new fans turned into an uncontrolled chaos, which received severe critics over the past decades, for more details cf. Takács 2003). Here, e.g., the author ignored the earlier form of Eg. *ḍnj* and working with Eg. *dnj* (in his notation: *ṭnj*) forced the erroneous Rösslerian rule of Eg. *d* = Sem. **ṣ*. The same mistake is to be found in C.T. Hodge’s (1968, 4) and the Diakonoff team’s (SISAJa II #170) comparison of Eg. *dnj* with AA parallels with **d*.

²⁴ W.A. Ward (1962, 410, fn. 4) misquoted the Arabic reflex of Sem. **nṣḥ* as *nadaḥa* (sic: -d-) „to sprinkle”.

²⁵ W. Leslau (1962, 45, fn. 5), followed by O. Rößler (1971, 289-290), W. Vycichl (1985, 172), attributed to A. Ember having misquoted the ES root **wṣḥ* as **wḍh* (which indeed never existed), which is not really true, since in ESS l.c., Ember quoted the ES root correctly as **wṣḥ* with **-ṣ*- under the alleged rule of Sem. **ḍ/ṣ* and **ṣ*, whereas, misquoting the false ES **wḍh* mentioned above was in fact committed by W. Vycichl (1958, 373).

#30; Vergote 1945, 138, §12.a.2; Cohen 1947, 105, #140; Rössler 1971, 289-290; DRS 592. Both Ember and Rössler assumed here a direct correspondence of OEg. -d- vs. Sem. *-š-, which is not tenable in the frames of the regularities elaborated in EDE I 240-249. Nevertheless, we may admit in Eg. vs. Sem. two different, albeit remotely cognate PAA biconsonantal root varieties, viz. *√th vs. *√çh. The WCh. root (for whose comparison with Eg. cf. OS 1992, 179) may in principle be a regular reflex of either varieties. Given the Law of Belova (cf. EDE I 394-400), Eg. wdḥ may reflect AA *√twh, which, in turn, seems best correspond to AS (sine Gmy.) *dō.

275. AS *dū ~ *du “(to) smell” [GT 2004, 95] || ECh.: Mokilko (t)iddā [< *i-dʿa] „péter” [Jng. 1990, 110] || LECu.: Somali ḍaʿ- „to blow (of the wind)” [Bell 1969, 165] || Common Brb. *a-du „wind” [GT]: cf. e.g. Tamazight √d: a-du „vent, arôme” [Taïfi 1991, 86] | NBrb.: Nefusa a-tu „vent” [Laost 1931, 309] = a-tū „vento” [Beguinet 1942, 275] | Qabyle √d: a-du „vent, rhume” [Dallet 1982, 171] || SBrb.: Ayr & EWlmd. a-du „vent, odeur, parfum, fumet” [Alj. 1980, 30], Ghat a-dhou [-du] „vent” [Nehlil 1909, 213] || Eg. dʿ „Sturmwind” (OK, Wb V 533-4), hence dʿ „Winde lassen (von einer Person)” (Med., Wb V 534, 7) = „Blähungen haben, Winde haben, lassen” (GHWb 998) || Sem.: Ar. √dwʿ I: dāʿa „8. répandre son odeur (se dit d’une chose qui sent bon ou mauvais, lorsque remuée elle fait sentir sa présence)” [BK II 45] < AA *√çʿ „1. to blow (wind), 2. break wind, 3. smell” [GT]. See also Mlt. in Sts. et al. 1995, 36 (Brb.-Somali); Takács 2002, 149 (AA).

276. AS *ḍuyur > *dūr “to sum up, collect all (?)” [GT]: Mpn. ḍūr “all”, also dūr “to finish” (denom. verb, lit. *“(to) total”?) [Frj. 1991, 17], Msr. ḍukur [-k- reg. < *-γ-] “to gather (intr.)” [Dkl. 1997 MS] || Sem.: Ar. √šwr I „8. réunir, rassembler” [BK I 1383] < AA *√çwr „to collect” [GT]. One wonders if all this is related to (?) Eg. drʿ (root ext. -ʿ?) „(von Besiegten neben ’versprengt sein’: ob) sammeln (?)” (XX., Wb V 603, 4) = „sich sammeln (nach dem Versprengtsein) (GHWb 1013): both its meaning²⁶ and its Coptic reflexes²⁷ are uncertain || Ch. *çVr- „to pack, gath-

²⁶ Its rendering and Semitic etymology are highly disputed, cf. Helck 1962, 578, #314 and 1971, 527, #314 pace Burchardt („niederwerfen” ~ Sem. *√šrʿ) followed in DLE IV 151 and 165 too („to throw down” and „to lay down”, resp.); CED 319 and DELC 331a („to scatter”/„se disperser” > ~ Sem. *√zrʿ „to sow”); Hoch 1994, 392-393, #590 („to lay down, overthrow the defeated army of enemy” ~ Sem. *√wšḥ. Accordingly, its Coptic etymology (if any) is equally under dispute.

²⁷ The authors of Wb (l.c.) connected it with Dem. dlʿ ~ dl3 „1. (Früchte) sammeln, 2. (in übertragenen Bedeutung) protokollieren, aufnehmen”, p3 dlʿ „die Weinlese” (DG 684-685) > Cpt. (SF) xw(ω)λe, (S) wωλe, (S) xeeλe-, x(o)λ=, (SM) xele-, (SL) xwale-, (A) xo(γ)(oγ)λe, (L) xal=, (MF) xole, (F) xoolē, xale-, (B) σωλ, wωλ, σελ-, σολ-, σολ=, σολ+ etc. „sammeln, ernten, (Steuern) einziehen”, (SA) xalē (m) „Nachlese (Bezeichnung einer Traubenart)” (KHW 419), for which J. Černý (1950, 44) and W. Westendorf (KHW l.c.) suggested a differ-

er” [CLD] = *√čr (?) „to pile up” [GT] > WCh. *čīr- < **čīHr- (?) [GT]: Hausa *círá* (ts-) „to pile up”, *círi* (ts-) „1. odds and ends packed into a vessel, 2. a pile of articles, e.g., vessels, loads etc., packed one on top of another” [Brg. 1934, 1039-1040; Abr. 1962, 886-887] | Gmy. *šīr (?) “heap” [GT 2004, 353]: Gmy. *šīr* [š-] “1. a collection, a heap of things, 2. to be heaped up, be buddled together” [Srl. 1937, 220] || CCh.: Mofu -čár- „cueillir, déchirer, picorer”, -čárhw- „piler (le mil pour séparer la balle de la graine)”, -čárž- (-zl-) „empiler, mettre par dessus” [Brt. 1988, 96] (Ch.: CLD III 180, #765.a). For Hausa-Eg. cf. HSED #446.

277. AS *ḍuyur ~ *ḍʷayar > *ḍʷār “to (be) tire(d), not feel well” [GT 2004, 96]: Sura *ḍugur* ~ *ḍuyur* “ermüden”, *ḍùgùr* “Müdigkeit” [Jng. 1963, 65] = *ḍùgùr* “fatigue”, *ḍuyur* “to be tired” [Krf.], Mpn. *ḍùur* “fatigue”, *ḍūr* “to tire (tr.)” [Frj. 1991, 16-17], Gmy. *ḍwaar* [< *ḍʷayar] “to be ill at ease, not to feel well”, cf. also *ḍwaar* *kê* “spoiled eggs left over after hatching” [Srl. 1937, 45] ||| Sem.: Ar. √swr I „2. affaiblir” [BK I 1383] = I „étourdir les oreilles”, II „assourdir”, VII „être étourdi, assourdi” [Dozy I 852]. There are also root varieties with AA *t-/t-²⁸ as well as with AA *č- > Sem. *š-²⁹

278. Suroid *ḍuyur “kidney” [GT 2004, 96]: Sura *ḍúgúr* “Niere” [Jng. 1963, 65] = *ḍugur* “kidney” [Krf.], Mpn. *ḍúur* “kidney” [Frj. 1991, 17], Chip *ḍùgur* (so, plain d-! error) “kidney” [Krf.] || CCh.: Mwulyen *ḍúgúri* „kidney” [Kraft 1981 III 56, #71] ||| LECu.: Somali-Jiddu *žōro* (ž’-) „kidney” [Ehret: ž’- < ECu. *č-] = *čarrə* „Niere” [Lamberti 1986, 262, 353 with a dubious alternative derivation]. The SAA stem seems to have been sg. like *tuH/K/wur (or with a glottalized sibilant affricate in the Anlaut), which might in principle be compared either with a semantically rather vague ES-NEg. parallel (implying a NAA *√tgʷr)³⁰ or, much

ent, albeit semantically vague etymology Eg. *ḍʳ* „suchen” (Wb) = „to seek and collect” (Černý), which was succesully equated with Cpt. (S) *ḍʳ* „to examine, study” by Sethe (1899 I, §233.3 and §309.1) and Spiegelberg (KHW 276). At any rate, the anomaly of (B) *ḍ*- vs. Eg. *ḍ*- remains in either case puzzling. But both J. Černý (CED 319) and W. Vycichl (DELG 331a) saw in LEg. *ḍr* the LEg. etymon of Dem. *ḍr* „zerstreuen, ausbreiten”, cf. *ḍl3* „sich zerstreuen” (DG 684:1 and :7) = „to scatter, spread” (CED) > Cpt. (S) *ḍʳ*, (B) *ḍʳ*, (A) *ḍʳ* „to scatter” (CD 782a) = „1. étendre, répandre, 2. disperser, 3. se répartir, 4. (+ *ḍʳ*) anéantir” (DELG), which, regarding (B) *ḍ*-, is phonologically more satisfactory.

²⁸ Cf. Suroid *tuyur “tired” [GT 2004, 372]: Mpn. *túur* (var. with t-?) “1. to be tired, 2. tire” [Frj. 1991, 62], Msr. *tukur* to be tired of sg. or a person” (Hs. *gaži*), *tukur-pee* “to disturb, be tired of” [Dkl. 1997 MS, 225-6].

²⁹ Cf. Ar. √dwr V „1. se tordre, se contracter et se rouler par terre (se dit d’un homme qui éprouve une faim, des douleurs violentes), 2. hurler (se dit des bêtes carnivores tourmentées par la faim)”, X „être en chaleur, en chasse (se dit des vaches)”, *ḍawr*- „faim violente”, *ḍūr-at*- „pauvre, misérable”, √ḍrr V „1. être fatigué de qqch.” [BK II 45 and 14, resp.].

³⁰ Cf. Eg. *dg3j.t* „Art Fleischstück (als Speise, als Maß für Fleisch), unter Anderm von Dörrfleisch” (NE, Wb V 500, 2-4; Helck, LÄ III 1205) = „cuts of red meat” (DLE IV 144) =

more probably, with P_{Sem}. *ṭahr- „back”, which has already been equated with the Jiddu term above by Ch. Ehret (1995, 291, #550). This semantical shift would be plausible (cf. Eg. dp.t „kidney” vs. AA **√dP „back”) and project PAA varieties like *√ḥhr ~ *√ḥwr, whose alternation *-h- ~ *-w- would neatly agree with Suroid *-γ-. In addition, cf. perhaps also Eg. d3j.(t) (regular < AA *√ḥwr) „une partie de l’abdomen” (NE, AL 77.5139) = „part of abdomen (?)” (DLE IV 144) = „e. Teil des Unterleibes” (GHWb 994).

279. AS *ḍ^{er} (or *ḡ²-) “to pour” [GT 2004, 101]: Msr. ḍeer (false vowel length) “to pour water from the calabash slowly or gently” [Dkl. 1997 MS], Gmy. ḍier “to pour some liquid out of a vessel by tilting its top” [Srl. 1937, 35] < either Ch. *ḥVr- „to pour” [CLD III 180, #767] vs. Ch. *ḥVr- „to pour into” [CLD III 216, #985] vs. Ch. *ḥVr- „to pour”, *ḥVr- „liquid” [CLD II 121, #361] ||| Eg. d3d3 „(einen Brunnen) Wasser geben lassen” (GR, Wb V 532, 11) ||| Sem.: Akk. ṣarāru G „träufeln, tröpfeln (Speichel, Samen, Blut usw.)” (Bab., NAss.), D (ṣurruru) „(im Kult) tröpfeln lassen, libieren” (MAss.) [AHW 1084-1085] = G „to flow, drip”, D „to libate, pour out” [CAD ṣ 105b-106a] || Ar. ṣry I: ṣarā „1. couler (se dit de l’eau)” [BK II 133] vs. Ar. ṣdrw I: ḍarā „1. saigner (se dit d’une plaie ou d’une artère coupée), 2. couler”, IV „5. boire le suc exprimé des dattes” [BK II 25] || Soqotri ḍe^{er} and Jibbali ḍa^r ~ ḍa^r (root ext. -ʿ-) „verser” [Leslau 1938, 363] < AA *√ḥr ~ *√ḥr ~ *√ḥr „to flow” [GT]. For Ch.-Ar. see also CLD l.c.

AS *ḍ secondary < AA *d + *H

280. AS *ḍā, “1. calabash, 2. dish” [GT 2004, 81] = *ḍā, “calabash (сосуд из тыквы)” [Stl. 1972, 180; 1977, 153, #46; 1987, 174, #273] = *ḍā “calabash” [Dlg.] | Daffo ḍe^{er} [Jng.] | Karekare ḍaayí [Jng.] | Jimi dyé [Gowers] || ECh.: Kera tó:yó [Ebert] (Ch.: CLR II 56) || SCu. *ḍaḥ- „wooden vessel” [Ehret]: WRift *ḍaḥāngw (KM: SWRift *ḍaḥāng via delabialization) „calabash”, pl. *ḍaḥēri [KM] = *ḍaḥ- „calabash” [GT] > Iraqw ḍaḥaṇ „large calabash”, ḍaḥari „small calabash” [Ehret] = Iraqw ḍaḥāngw, pl. ḍaḥēri „calabash” [KM], Gorowa ḍaḥāngw, pl. ḍaḥēri? ~ deḥēri? „calabash” [KM], Alagwa ḍaḥa [KM: terminal denasalization], pl. ḍaḥēri „calabash” [KM], Burunge ḍaḥaṇ „half calabash cup” [Ehret] = ḍaḥāng, pl. ḍaḥēri „calabash” [KM] (WRift: KM 2004, 84) | ERift: (?) Qwadza da-layiko „wooden winnowing tray” [Ehret] | (???) Dahalo ḍau „cooking pot” [Ehret]³¹ (SCu.: Ehret 1980, 189, #14) < SAA *ḍaḥ- „calabash” [GT], a remote root variety to SAA/PCh. *ḍaḥ- „calabash” [GT] surveyed below s.v. AS *ḍak ~ *dak “calabash” [GT 2004, 83].

„Fleischstück: *Fleisch in Scheiben, *Gulasch” (GHWb 989) ||| ES *√t’gwr: Amharic ḥaggwar(r)a „estomac des ruminants, panse” [DRS 1057-1058: isolated in Sem.].

³¹ Included by Ch. Ehret (l.c.) in this comparison as a rare example of irregular Dahalo *ḥ > /h/ after voiced alveolar stop.

AS *ḍ secondary < AA *d + emphatics

281. AS *ḍak ~ *dak “calabash” [GT 2004, 83]:³² Kfy. dak (so, plain d-) “calabash (eating)” [Ntg. 1967, 6], Gmy. ḍak “a species of calabash” [Srl. 1937, 24], also Gmy. ka-ḍak “a very shallow calabash for eating purposes” [Srl. 1937, 90] = ka-ḍak “calabash” [Hlw. 2000 MS, 15] | WCh.: Tangale deḡo “calabash” [Jng.] | Ngizim gádákùwà “calabash (for eating)” [Schuh] || CCh.: Kotoko dúhúsàà, pl. ḍàhwàsàn “calabash” [Lukas] || ECh.: Lele dāngá “calabash” [Caprile] | Somray ḍágónà “calabash” [Jng.] | Dangla-Migama *ḍě/ōk- < **ḍay/wk- (?) „calabash” [GT]: EDangla ḍàwḡā (f), pl. ḍàwḡinà „la calebasse (Coloquinthe coupée au milieu et évidée, nombreux usages)” vs. EDng. ḍíkīyē (f), pl. ḍíkīyāngē „la calebasse (petite taille)” [DM 1973, 90, 94], WDangla ḍóòka (DM: ḍóòkà) „calebasse: coloquinthe coupée par le milieu et évidée, utilisée par les Dungaléat pour toutes sortes d’usages”, ḍóòko „fruit de calebassier (calebasse encore non évidée)”, cf. ḍòkinyè „puiser avec une calebasse”, ḍòkàny „puises” (mot formée sur /ḍóòka/) [Fdr. 1971, 210], Migama ḍyèekú (ḍye- < *ḍe-) (m) „grande calebasse” [JA 1992, 82] | Kofa ḍèk (m), pl. ḍèkík „calabash” [Jng. 1977 MS, 7, #124b], (?) Jegu ḍèkḍék „Knollenfrucht (flach)” [Jng. 1961, 112] < PCh. *ḍak- „calabash” [GT],³³ which may be a remote root variety to SAA *ḍaḥ- „calabash” [GT], discussed s.v. AS *ḍā₂ “calabash” [GT] (above).

Special attention is to be devoted to the apparent special Ch.-Eg. triconsonantal isogloss *ḍakal- (extended from *ḍak-?) ~/> *ḍalak- (metathesis?) “calabash” [GT], cf. CCh.: Dghwede *√dg^wl > mādḡwálà (prefix *mV-?) “calabash” [Frick] || NEg. dnrg (act. *dlg, regular < older **dlq) ~ j.dnrg (prothetic j- of morphological nature)³⁴ „eine essbare Pflanze” (NE, Wb V 470, 4) = „Melone, Gurke, Kürbis” (Helck, LÄ I 1269 and II 921, 922, n. 5, cf. Störk, LÄ III 269, n. 11, cf. LÄ VII 501) = „squash and/or gourds, melon” (DLE IV 136-137) = „a sweet melon, perhaps water-melon” (Hoch 1994, 46, #43) = „gourd” (Ward 1996, 27)³⁵ > Dem. glg

³² Synchronically, the AS stem would easily look like a mere extension of AS *ḍā₂ “1. calabash, 2. dish” [GT 2004, 81] (discussed above, q.v.). But the AA parallels discussed here suggests that behind the AS varieties, two diverse SAA root varieties for “calabash” may underlie, viz. *ḍaḥ- vs. *ḍak- [GT].

³³ Whether ECh.: Ndam žók [Jng.], Tumak žoóg [Caprile] | Birgit žùḡunéy [Jng.] – all “calabash” (ECh.: CLR II 57) display a secondary shift of ž- < *ḍy- from this root above or represent a distinct one with an original voiced affricate, remains subject to further research, cf. SAA *žung-(Vr)- „sp. of gourd” [GT 2001, 65] > SCu.: Ma’a i-zunge [-Ø < *-r# regular] „cucumber” [Ehret 1974 MS, 75] || WCh.: Hausa žùḡùrúú „long gourd (worn on arm by women to protect newly-hennaed hands)” [Abr. 1962, 980] | Bole-Tangale *sVng- [irregular *s-?] „melon” [GT]: Ngamo šenži, Pero čonži, Tangale yəngu [y- < *s-] (WCh.: Kraft 1981, #227).

³⁴ J. Hoch (l.c.) collected the following orthographical vars. from Dyn. XIX-XXI: jdnrg (6x) jdnḡ (2x), jdnrdrg (1x), jdnrdng (1x), jdnrq (2x), jnrdg (1x), dg (1x), dgj (1x).

³⁵ The NEg. term had earlier been rendered „carob” (Loret, RT 15, 1893, 119f.; Caminos, LEM 74, 76; DLE l.c.) = „Johannisbrot(frucht)” (Helck, LÄ II 922, n. 5 and Störk, LÄ III 269, n. 11, both pace Loret). But the meaning „melon” has become commonly accepted.

(via assimilation < *dlg)³⁶ „gourd” (not in DG, CED l.c.: pap. Cairo 30982, vo. 11) > Cpt. (S) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ, (L) ⲉⲃⲗⲁⲃ, (B) ⲉⲗⲟ/ⲱⲗ, ⲉⲗⲟⲩ, ⲉⲃⲗⲟⲗ, ⲉⲗⲟⲗ, ⲱⲗⲱⲗ (m) „gourd” (CD 815a; CED 330) = „Kürbis” (KHW 455). NEg. *dlg has had so far a phonologically ambiguous etymology, a presumed borrowing from Sem. *√dlʕ.³⁷ Since our word does not occur in script before LEg., it may well indeed be a loan, but not necessarily *eo ipso*. In the light of the Chadic parallels, however, and especially in that of Dghwede, one is disposed to side better with J.J. Jansen (Ex Oriente Lux 19/6, 1967, 445) in assuming in NEg. *dlg not a Semitic loan, but a „well known” (i.e., a native) Egyptian word for „gourd”. What if NEg. *dlg „gourd” (or sim.) evolved from an AA *√dk „calabash” [GT] on the analogy of at least two similar instances of an epenthetic Eg. *-l- as C₂, i.e., another means of triconsonantization?³⁸ May we perhaps recognize, by the way, the same root extended by *-l- (i.e.,

³⁶ J. Černý (CED 330) projected this assimilation to Coptic assuming an unattested primary *ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ < *dlg referring to a parallelism with the case of (S) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ vs. / < ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ, but this is unprecise, since here, both Coptic forms are attested, whereas the change in the word for „melon”, in fact, had been completed by Demotic glg < *dlg. The same pertains to W. Westendorf’s (KHW 455) argument of Cpt. (S) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ vs. / < ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ „Niere”.

³⁷ J. Hoch (1994, 46-48, #43) explained it from Mishnaic and modern Hebrew dāʕlaʕat „cucumber, pumpkin” [Hoch, Ward] | Maghrebi Ar. dallāʕ „water-melon” [Hoch] = dallāʕa ~ dullāʕa „pastèque, melon d’eau (sandia)” [Dozy I 457; DRS 267: isolated in Sem.], Moroccan Ar. dāllāḥ ~ dāllāʕa „pastèque” [Premare 1994 IV 318], although he too found the reflection of Sem. *ʕ (not *γ) as LEg. -g as „unexpected”, which compelled him to postulating that LEg. *dlg originated in an unattested Semitic root *√dlʕ, which „passed into Arabic via a language, such as Syriac, that no longer distinguished”, which, in his view is „slightly supported by the fact that Ar. dallāʕ refers to melons called Indian, Palestinian, and Syrian” (cf. Dozy I 457b). In this respect I regard the reflection of NBrb.: Wargla ta-dluḥ-t, pl. ti-dluḥ-in „sorte de coquillage” [Dlh.] as Ar. dullaʕ (DRB 332) to be noteworthy. Even more far-fetched is his alternative hypothesis on the anomaly of *ʕ vs. *γ here: „the Egyptian perception of ʕ as γ could have had a simple phonetic basis: assimilation of voicing from /d/ and /l/”, although both phonemes were voiced, their difference being due to their place of articulation. Hoch’s third theory is not better either: „or misperception on the part of the Egyptians?”. Nonetheless, since W.A. Ward (1996, 27) found the word nowhere else in Semitic than Mishnaic Hebrew and Maghrebi Arabic, he excluded a connection of the Sem. and Eg. plant names. Now, AA *√dlk „calabash” [GT] appears to offer a phonologically much safer option for Eg. dnrg.

³⁸ Cf. (1) Eg. dnrg (*dlg) „to be deaf” (NE, DLE IV 136) < AA *√dg ~ *√dk „1. deaf, 2. stupid” [GT], examined s.v. AS *duyur ~ *dʕayur (?) → *duyar “4. to be deaf” [GT 2004, 76] in „Angas-Sura Etymologies VII”. Or cf. (2) Eg. ḥ3g (MK) > ḥnrg, i.e., *ḥlg (XIX.) > ḥrg (GR) „froh sein, sich freuen” (MK-, Wb III 34, 18-20) = „to be glad, joyous” (Yeivin 1936, l.c., so also Ward 1962, l.c. infra) = „to be merry, rejoice” (CED) = „to be content” (DLE II 122) > Cpt. (S) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ, (ALF) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ, (Sa) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ, (B) ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲩ „1. to be sweet, 2. take delight” (CD 673a; CED 281) = „1. süß, angenehm sein, 2. sich wohl fühlen, sich erfreuen, sich vergnügen” (KHW 369) vs. Eg. ḥ3g3g „froh sein über (r)” (rituals, Wb III 35, 2-3) = „to rejoice over” (CT VI 356n, DCT 311 pace Yeivin 1936, l.c. infra) vs. Eg. ḥngg „jubeln, sich freuen” (GR, Wb III 121, 7-9) ||| Sem.: Hebrew ḥgg qal „ein Fest feiern (to celebrate a feast), taumeln”, ḥāg „Fest” [GB 213] | Ar. ḥġġ I „1. se réjouir de qqch.”, V „1. se réjouir de qqch.” [BK I 379] vs. ḥġw I: ḥāġiya „6. être gai, joyeux” [BK I 386] vs. ḥġġ „to perform (the religious rites and ceremonies of) the pilgrimage”, ḥa/iġġ-at „pilgrimage” [Lane 513-514] (Sem.: also Ward l.c. infra). For this Eg.-Sem. equation see also Yeivin 1936, 76-77, #33;

a *pars pro toto* semantical shift from AA/Eg.-Ch. * $\sqrt{dlk} \sim * \sqrt{dkl}$ “calabash”?) also in NAA * $\sqrt{dlk}$ „some round object” [GT] > Sem. * $\sqrt{dklk}$ > Palmyrene Ar. mdaglag „rond, sphérique” [DRS 304: isolated in Sem.] ||| NBrb.: Wargla $\sqrt{dl\gamma}$ [γ < AA * k] > ta-dluḥ-t, pl. ti-dluḥ-in „sorte de coquillage servant du cuiller pour faire manger les petits enfants” [Dlh. 1987, 52] compared by K. Naït-Zerrad (in DRB 332) with Ar. dullaʿ „espèce de coquillage” (as a loan?)?

282. AS * $\dot{d}ak \sim * \dot{d}uk$ “also” [GT 2004, 82]: Angas pé- $\dot{d}ak$ (Ks) “also (like kwát)” [Jng. 1962 MS, 32], Mpn. $\dot{d}uk \sim \dot{d}uk-m\grave{a}a$ (adv.) “also” [Frj. 1991, 16] ||| Brb. * $\sqrt{d\gamma}$ „1. encore, de nouveau, 2. aussi etc.” [GT after DRB 356] < AA * $\sqrt{dk}$ [GT].

283. Angas $\dot{d}ak$ “steckenbleiben” [Jng. 1962 MS] ||| SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-ddəy „1. collar (à la colle), 2. adhérer à, etc.” [PAM 2003, 90; DRB 356: isolated in Brb.] < AA * $\sqrt{dk}$. Alternatively, cf. the section for AS * $\dot{d}$ = Eg. $d \sim t$ = Brb. * $\dot{d}$ = Sem. * $\dot{t}$ < AA * $\dot{t}$ (above).

*

Abbreviations of languages and other terms

(A): Ahmimic, AA: Afro-Asiatic (Afrasian, Hamito-Semitic), Akk.: Akkadian, Amh.: Amhara, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, (B) Bohairic, Bab.: Babylonian, BAram.: Biblical Aramaic, Bch.: Bauchi, Bed.: Bed’awye (Beja), BM: Bura-Margi, BN: Bade-Ngizim, Brb.: Berber (Libyo-Guanche), BT: Bole-Tangale, CCh.: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cpt.: Coptic, CT: Coffin Texts, Cu.: Cushitic, DB: Daffo-Butura, Dem.: Demotic, E: East, Ebl.: Eblaite, Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian, Eth.: Ethiopian, Eth.-Sem.: Ethio-Semitic, (F): Fayyumic, Gmy.: Goemay, GR: Ptolemaic and Roman period, H: Highland (in Cushitic), Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahaggar, Hrs.: Harsusi (in MSA), Hs.: Hausa, IE: Indo-European, irreg.: irregular, JAram.: Jewish or Judeo-Aramaic, Jbl.: Jibbali, Kfy.: Kofyar, KK: Kera-Kwang group, L: Late, L: Low(land), lit.: literature, LP: Late Period, M: Middle, Mag.: magical texts, Math.: mathematical papyri, Med.: medical texts, MG: Mofu-Gudur, MK: Middle Kingdom, MM: Mafa-Mada group, Mnt.: Montol, Mpn.:

Ward 1962, 405, fn. 6; KHW 369; Castellino 1984, 16. Curiously, W.A. Ward (1972, 20) negated later „*Yeivin’s tempting etymology*” having found it as a theory disproven by the LEg. evidence for its C_2 as *-l-, whose secondary epenthetic nature (as a root extension) only now can we understand. All this overwrites the comparison of Sem. * $\sqrt{hlw}$ „sweet” with Eg. * $\sqrt{hlg}$ (cf. Vycichl 1990, 50), whose old meaning, as we have just seen, was substantially different.

Mupun, MSA: Modern South Arabian, Msr.: Mushere, N: New, N: North, NE (or NEg.): New Egyptian, NK: New Kingdom, NS: Nilo-Saharan, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, OT: Old Testament, P: Proto-, PB: Post-Biblical, PT: Pyramid Texts, reg.: regular, S: South, (S): Sahidic, Sab.: Sabaeen, Sem.: Semitic, Sgt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, TA(ram): Aramaic of Talmud, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West, (E)Wlmd.: (East) Tawllemmet, Y: Young(er).

Abbreviations of author names

Abr.: Abraham, AJ: Alio & Jungrathmayr, Alj.: Alojaly, Alm.: Alemayehu, Apl.: Appleyard, Bgn.: Beguinot, BK: Bieberstein Kazimirsky, Blc.: Blachère, Blz.: Blažek, Bnd.: Bender, Brg.: Bargery, Brk.: Brockelmann, Brq.: Burquest, Brt.: Barreteau, Cpr.: Caprile, CR: Conti Rossini, Crl.: Cerulli, Csp.: Cospè, Ctc.: Caîtucoli, Dbr.: Djibrine, Djk.: D'jakonov, Dkl.: Diyakal, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, DM: Djibrine & Montgolfier, EEN: Ehret & Elderkin & Nurse, Egc.: Eguchi, Ehr.: Ehret, Eld.: Elderkin, Fcd.: Foucauld, Fdr.: Fédry, FH: Farah & Heck, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frz.: Fronzaroli, Ftp.: Fitzpatrick, GB: Gesenius & Buhl, Gcl.: Gochal, Grb.: Greenberg, Grd.: Gardiner, GT: Takács, Hds.: Hudson, Hfm.: Hoffmann, Hlw.: Hellwig, Hsk.: Hoskison, Hyw.: Hayward, Ibr.: Ibriszimow, IL: Institute of Linguistics, IS: Illič-Svityč, JA: Jungrathmayr & Adams, JI: Jungrathmayr & Ibriszimow, Jng.: Jungrathmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, JS: Jungrathmayr & Shimizu, KB: Koehler & Baumgartner, KM: Kießling & Mous, Krf.: Kraft, Lks.: Lukas, Lmb.: Lamberti, Lnf.: Lanfry, LS: Lamberti & Sottile, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mch.: Mouchet, Mgd.: Migeod, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mrn.: Moreno, Mts.: Matsushita, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nct.: Nachtigal, Nhl.: Nehlil, NM: Newman & Ma, Ntg.: Netting, Nwm.: Newman, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, PH: Parker & Hayward, Prs.: Prasse, RB: Rapp & Benzig, Rn.: Reinisch, Rpr.: Roper, Rsg.: Rossing, Rsl.: Rössler, Sbr.: Siebert, Scn.: Sachnine, Skn.: N. Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Snd.: Schneider, Spg.: Spiegelberg, Srl.: Sirlinger, Stl.: Stolbova, Str.: Strümpell, Sts.: Starostin, Tf.: Taïfi, Trn.: Tourneux, Vcl.: Vycichl, Vrg.: Vergote, Zbr.: Zaborski, Zhl.: Zyhlarz.

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Review Articles

**Panace@: Revista de medicina, lenguaje y traducción.
Volumen XX, n° 50. Barcelona: Tremédica, 2019,
122 pp. ISSN 1537-1964**

As stated by the editors on the introductory pages of this volume, the *Panace@* journal was born with the aim of spreading scientific knowledge by publishing original texts on various aspects of translation, medical language, and related sciences. This publication, which makes up the 50th issue of such journal, includes a monographic edition of the second semester of 2019 and brings together a total of 15 compositions along its 122 pages, which are organized in five different sections presenting, in various ways, a link between translational praxis and the vast field of medical science.

The first differentiated section in the publication is entitled *Editorial*. In it, Dr Ana María Cabo-González (University of Seville), begins by mentioning the work of Universities as cornerstones of the treatment, study and spreading of scientific knowledge in the field of Arab Studies, and then goes on to provide a summary but detailed description of all eight articles that make up the second section of the magazine, entitled *Tribuna*.

The first of the articles included in the *Tribuna* section is the work of Camilo Álvarez de Morales (School of Arabic Studies of Granada), entitled *El arte de sanar en la Andalucía islámica* [*The Art of Healing in Islamic Andalusia*]. Its author delves into the medical praxis and the art of healing as they were understood in al-Andalus, showing us that the medicine practiced by the Andalusians, heir to a large extent to the Greco-Latin and Persian tradition, did not enjoy the status of an autonomous science; rather, it was the result of a peculiar syncretism in which magic, religion, astrology, superstition and alchemy formed an inseparable whole.

The second work is called *Una incorporación norteafricana y andalusí de la farmacopea medieval: los tubérculos comestibles Sonchus bulbosus (L.) N. Kilian*

& Greuter [*A North African and Andalusí Incorporation to the Medieval Pharmacopoeia: The Edible Tubers of *Sonchus bulbosus* (L.)* N. Kilian & Greuter], by Joaquín Bustamante-Costa (University of Cádiz). This article aims to accurately identify said tubers, for which different phytonyms are offered coming from a detailed study that analyzes the work of different Arab authors from that period. Among other details, its flavor, harvest and, especially, its pharmacological properties are accounted for.

A third article, entitled *Interesante reflexión de Ibn al-Dahabī (s. XI) sobre el secreto de la vida: el agua* [*An Interesting Reflection on the Secret of Life by Ibn al-Dahabī (11th century): Water*], by Ana María Cabo-González and Mila Mohamed-Salem, focuses on the only work by the aforementioned author: the *Kitāb al-Mā'*. After a first autobiographical section on the life and adventures of its writer, a translation into Spanish of the first chapter of the compendium is presented under the premise that the *Kitāb al-Mā'* was conceived as a treaty that mainly combines Arabic language and medicine together, but also includes information taken from linguistic, literary, medical, botanical or pharmacological sources, as well as from Galen and Dioscorides. In that first chapter, the author expounds the different properties of water and the manifold benefits it has for health.

The title of the next composition, by Miquel Forcada (University of Barcelona), is *Granada safarī e higo dunniqāl: la transmisión de nombres y especies en al-Andalus* [*Safarī Pomegranate and Dunniqāl Fig: The Translation of Names and Species in al-Andalus*]. Its author, after thoroughly researching both Arab and Iberian historical sources, offers a series of conclusions on the cultivation of these varieties of pomegranate and fig, which still exists in Andalusia, providing a large number of descriptions and explanations of Arabisms used to name said fruits.

The fifth article in the journal is entitled *La medicina árabe medieval* [*Medieval Arab Medicine*], by Fernando Girón-Irueste (University of Granada, retired). This author performs an in-depth explanation of the development of medicine between the 9th and 15th centuries and highlights the complex process of translation of the works coming from Hellenistic Greece and the Persian and Syriac sources, which in turn enabled the development of medicine through Spanish-Arab scholars such as Avicenna, Rhazes, Averroes, Abulcasis or Avenzoar and, above all, made it possible to lay the foundations of a scientific legacy that was to have a marked influence on the Renaissance and that would be met with rapid diffusion after the spread of the printing press.

The next composition, by Indalecio Lozano-Cámara (University of Granada), is entitled *Historia social y científica de la adormidera y del opio en el islam clásico: fuentes primarias y propuesta de investigación* [*Social and Scientific History of Opium Poppy and Opium in Classic Islam: Primary Sources and Research Proposal*], and rests on the premise that, despite the fact that opium and opium poppy have been widely known and used throughout the history of mankind for their healing and psychoactive properties, it is actually striking how

little treatment they have had in the field of Arab and Islamic studies. Therefore, this article aims to lay the foundations for future research on the subject by providing comprehensive bibliography from Arab, Persian, Indian, Turkish, Greco-Latin and European sources in order to prepare multidisciplinary studies on the contributions and properties of these substances in the field of Arab science.

The penultimate article in this section is the work of Juan Perro Monferrer-Sala (University of Córdoba): *Traducciones árabes de fitónimos griegos y sus correspondencias arameas y hebreas* [Arabic Translations of Greek Phytonyms and their Aramaic and Hebrew Equivalences]. Its author studies a total of 21 phytonyms found in an Arabic version of the text of “Song of Songs” and carries out a comparative study in which he provides a list of each phytonym in three languages intertwined by tradition (Greek, Arabic and Hebrew), indicating the verse in which they appear and completing their study with a translation of each word into Spanish.

The eighth and final article of the Tribuna section is *La terapia alternativa de la medicina árabe medieval* [Alternative Therapies in Medieval Arab Medicine], by Concepción Vázquez de Benito (University of Salamanca). It studies the *khawāṣṣ* or peculiar virtues of certain medicines that were used in medieval Arab medicine to treat diseases such as epilepsy and other issues related to gynecology and obstetrics. The author delves into the main Arab authors versed in the *ʿIlm al-Khawāṣṣ* or “Science of occult properties” to present us with the different properties of these substances, used in various magical-superstitious procedures in the aforementioned areas.

The 8 articles that make up the Tribuna section yield to a smaller group of pieces of writing called *Reseñas*. As its name suggests, this part of the journal consists of three different reviews. The first one, written by Jaime Coullaut-Cordero and Concepción Vázquez de Benito, analyzes a book named *El Libro del árbol de Ibn al-Kattānī: Un tratado médico andalusí*. The book describes the historical context of the aforementioned Cordovan doctor and includes a translation of his work accompanied by a glossary of medical terms. The second work, produced by Concepción Vázquez de Benito and María Teresa Herrera, reviews the book *Los arabismos de los textos médicos latinos y castellanos de la Edad Media y de la Modernidad*, which provides list of anatomical, pathological, pharmacological and dietary terms in Arabic, Latin and Spanish, with the aim of carrying out a study that backs up the imprint left by the Arab medical legacy in neo-Latin medical culture. The third review is entitled *Visibilizar las enfermedades raras: una tarea común*. Written by Soledad Díaz-Alarcón (University of Córdoba), it reports on how RECOR, an online portal that provides linguistic resources on the field of rare diseases in English, French and Spanish, can assist students and specialists in medical translation.

The next section of the journal, *Entremeses*, consists of only four texts discussing different topics, one page long each. The first of them, *De los trabajos y recompensas de la traducción*, by José Luis Agud, shows the author’s reflections

on the translator's work and the feelings he has both when he encounters difficulties in his work and when he succeeds in best rendering the content of a text. In the second, *És adequat dir «un brot de listèria?»*, TERMCAT advises about correct word formation for infectious diseases in the Catalan language and condemns the erroneous use of these terms in informal or journalistic registers. The third one, *I amb la tornada a les aules, també tornen els polls!*, describes the different types of lice along with a series of related Catalan terms. Finally, the fourth text, *Formantes griegos en el ámbito biosanitario: el caso de “topos”*, by Alejandro García-Aragón discusses the different fields of knowledge that use terms derived from this Greek formant and highlights a particular case in the health field where word “ectopic” is a false friend.

The text of this Panace@ journal winds up with a section named *Nuestra ilustradora*, in which María Luisa Rodríguez-Muñoz (University of Córdoba) dedicates an *oda a los cuasicristales de Inmaculada Rodríguez-Cunill*, this being the name of the illustrator of the reviewed journal. Her work and professional career are discussed in this section.

And so finishes the 50th issue of the Panace@ journal, which proves itself to be a collaborative work that crystallizes in a scientific publication in which interesting reflections and well-documented research converge in order to deal with very diverse topics, all written in a very readable fashion. A pleasant, enjoyable, and enriching read that allows us to expand our knowledge, directly or indirectly, about the multiple aspects that fit in the vast field of medical science and Arabic language.

ÁLVARO SUÁREZ ORTIZ

**A Few Comments on Kurosh Salehi and Arezou Nazar's
“A Description of Fire Temples of Ancient Iran from the
Perspective of Islamic Historians”,
Folia Orientalia vol. LV (2018), 411-425**

In *Folia Orientalia* vol. LV (2018) a 24-page article on fire temples mentioned by mediaeval Muslim polyhistorians was published by Salehi and Nazar from Sistan and Baluchestan University (Zahedan, Iran). The issue itself appears to be interesting but the way it has been presented raises a number of objections. Below, the more important reservations divided into: (1) technical issues, (2) methodological issues, and (3) substantive issues have been elaborated upon.

(1) Technical issues

A strong advantage of the work is its extensive bibliography, which includes major works by medieval Muslim polyhistorians. It is a pity, however, that the authors were not editorially consistent in constructing this bibliography, since in several cases: (i) there is no date of publication, (ii) there are no spaces between two lexemes, or (iii) the colon [:] is used several times instead of the standard comma [,] as a mark separating the place of publication from the name of the publishing house. Also, they should have included texts such as:

(i) Aoki *The Whereabouts of Ādur Farrōbay Fire between the 10th and the 13th Centuries: an Approach from the MSS of the Bundahishn* (2010), (ii) Minardi and Amirov *The Zoroastrian Funerary Building of Angka Malaya* (2017), (iii) Shenkar *Intangible Spirits and Graven Images. The Iconography of Deities in the Pre-Islamic Iranian World* (2014), or (iv) Williams Jackson *The Location of the Farnbāg Fire, the Most Ancient of the Zoroastrian Fires* (1921), which would have allowed for a critical evaluation of the information acquired by reading medieval Muslim works.

The technical shortcomings that are noticeable in the article under discussion are:

(i) incorrect English versions of Persian proper names, e.g.: (a) the name of the dynasty ruling between 224-651 CE is *Sasanians* (or: *Sas(s)anids*), not *Sasanidis* (p. 411); (b) the adjective formed from the name of the aforementioned dynasty is *Sasanian* (or: *Sas(s)anid*; p. 420 × 2), not *Sasani* (p. 412, 413, 415, 416 × 2, 417 × 2, 418 × 2, 240, 422 × 2) – in the case of the form *Sasani*, we are dealing with the New Persian (pl. *Sāsāniyān* ساسانیان) name of the above-mentioned dynasty, not used in English; (c) the name of the Macedonian ruler who, by conquering the Persian

state in the 4th century BC, overthrew the reigning Achaemenid dynasty, is *Alexander*, not *Alexandra* (p. 412, 413, 415 × 10, 423), as the latter is the feminine form of that name; (d) similarly incorrect is the title *Alexandra-name* (p. 415), which should actually read *Eskandar-name*; (e) the nickname (Ar. *nisba*) of the medieval Muslim polyhistor Abu Rayhan is written as *al-Biruni* or *Biruni*, not *Birooni* (p. 413, 415, 424 × 2); (f) the name of the mythical Iranian ruler embodying, among other things, justice is in New Persian *Fereydun*, not *Freydoun* (p. 414 × 2; also incomprehensible is the inconsistency in the transcription of the vowel [u] either as /oo/, /ou/ or as /u/); (g) the standard transcription of the name of a city currently located in north-western Iran is *Tus*, not *Toos* (p. 414) – the authors treat the issue of transcription of Arabic or New Persian quite casually, yet in both cases there are specific scholarly standards (e.g. Lambton, *Persian Grammar* (1953 and subsequent editions)).

(ii) inconsistency in the spelling of some proper names, e.g.: (a) transcription of the title of one of the works analysed – *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* (10th c.), as: *Hodod Al Alam* (p. 417), *Hodod Al alam* (p. 419), *Hodod al alam* (p. 419); (b) transcription of the name Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya‘qūb ibn Miskawayh (10th/11th c.) as: *Ibn Maskovie* (p. 415), *Ibn Maskuye* (p. 417), *Ibn Masovieh* (p. 418), *Ibn Maskovieh* (p. 418), *Ibn Meskoye* (p. 424) – five different forms (*sic!*); (c) transcription of the title of one of the literary texts – *Vis-o Rāmin* (11th c.) as: *Vis and Ramin* (p. 424) and *Veis and Ramin* (p. 414) – the reasons for this are to be found in the debate over the correct reading of the name *Vis* or *Veys*, in which we favour the version *Vis* due to Av. *vīs*, Skr. *vīś*, rejecting the folk etymology linking it to a name of Arabic origin, i.e. *Ways/Weyes*, e.g. *Mir Weyes*.

(iii) spelling mistakes, e.g.: (a) the name of the legendary ruler *Jamshid* is written as *Jamishd* (p. 414), although it is given in the correct form on the same page (p. 414 × 2); (b) the name of the people who invaded Central Asia and the Middle East in the 13th century CE, i.e. *Mongol*, is written as *Mangol* (p. 418); (c) the name of the medieval Muslim geographer *Ibn Khordadbeh* (9th/10th c.) is recorded as *Ibn Khordabeh* (p. 413, 424).

(iv) misuse of capital letters, e.g.: (a) *Ancient times* (p. 411) instead of *ancient times*; (b) *Catacombs* (p. 411, 412) instead of *catcombs*; (c) *Event* (p. 414, 415) instead of *event*.

(v) misuse of lower case letters, e.g.: (a) *ferdousi* (p. 422) instead of *Ferdousi*; (b) *Ibn hoqal* (p. 419) instead of *Ibn Hoqal*; (c) *turkish* (p. 415) instead of *Turkish*.

(vi) serious objections are occasionally raised by stylistics making the message difficult to understand, e.g.: (a) “In these four major eras, the era for forming and using these buildings created” (p. 412) – this raises the question of what was created by the era of forming and using these buildings; (b) “Even these fire temples remained for centuries after Islam and for this reason we can have a more precise awareness of these buildings in ancient times” (p. 412); (c) “In ancient time, a kind of buildings was used as religious ones which were used as rituals

and prayer by people" (p. 412); (d) "Zoroastrianism were there who had access to one of the *Avesta*'s versions and read and interpreted it" (p. 417) – *Zoroastrianism* is the name of a religion whose adherents are *Zoroastrians*; (e) "For instance, Nobahar did not consider Balkh neither as idol temple nor as fire temple while confirming its religious function" (p. 423) – *Nobahar* (or rather: *Noubahār*) is a Persian term for a Buddhist temple (Skt. *vihāra*), although the sentence implies that it must have been a medieval Muslim polyhistor.

(vii) non-standard notation of the Arabic definite article *al-* without a hyphen in the main text (p. 411-423) and standard, i.e. with a hyphen, in the *Bibliography* (p. 424-425).

(viii) inconsistent notation of the Persian izafet morpheme *-e* without a hyphen or as *e-* (p. 424).

(ix) inconsistent transcription of Persian and Arabic terms, confusing scientific transcription e.g.: *ahl al-dimma* (p. 411; by the way, nowhere, apart from key words, does this term appear in the text) with a simplified one appearing, for example, in the titles of Muslim works cited (translated additionally in the *Bibliography*).

The above-mentioned examples (which by no means include all the shortcomings) indicate a highly careless preparation of the scientific article. The text should have been sent for linguistic correction before printing in order to avoid not only stylistic but also grammatical mistakes, e.g.: (a) "Islamic authors mentioned buildings used as temples for Iranian in ancient times" (p. 412) – it should be rather *used as temples by Iranians* or *Iranian people*; (b) "When describing ancient times, the authors of Islamic era noted many of these building which had religious functions" (p. 412) – should be *buildings*; (c) "Ferdousi considers Houshang as fire worshipper (...)" p. 414) – should be *as a fire worshipper*.

(2) Methodological issues

The article discusses the testimonies of medieval Muslim authors about, as can be inferred from the content, Zarathushtrian fire temples. The authors have applied the descriptive-analytical method to their research, although one might wonder whether a classical philological reading combined with a critical evaluation of the information thus obtained by projecting it onto *strictly* scientific studies would have been preferable.

The methodological downsides of the work are:

(i) the lack of definition of the term "Islamic historians". Does it refer to all, including contemporary, Muslim historians or only the classical ones? A better solution in this situation may have been to use a term such as "mediaeval" or "classical".

(ii) the lack of basic information about the corpus of medieval Muslim texts the authors are working on. We do not know whether they applied any selection key. Why, for example, did they not refer to *Tārix-e Sistān* or *Tārix-e Boxārā*? Was there no information there that could have been successfully used for the article?

(iii) the lack of any information on the selection criterion for medieval Muslim polyhistorians (we prefer to use this term in place of “historian” as it better reflects the nature of the researchers and their activities at the time). Occasionally there is such a reference: (a) *the Islamic authors* (e.g. p. 411 × 2), (b) *these authors* (e.g. 412 × 2), or (c) *the authors of Islamic era* (p. 412), but the reader is eager to know which authors are actually behind it!

(iv) the lack of information on when individual medieval Muslim polyhistorians lived. Such dates would allow those unfamiliar with the issues to plot a timeline and place individual texts on it, thus creating some vision of historical depth.

(v) the lack of any definition of the basic conceptual apparatus used in the work, e.g.: (a) how do the authors understand the term *idol temple*?; (b) should the lexeme *God* in the sentence “There were, in addition, other authors who confirmed the sacredness aspect of fire, i.e. God and its nearness in the senses that noted individuals achieve God’s guidances though worshipping fire and this guidance is not completed by logic” (p. 413) be considered a synonym for the Zarathushtrian term *yazata*?; (c) what does the word *Revayat* in “According to some Revayat (...)” mean? (p. 414) – the simple print suggests a group of people, not a title.

(vi) the lack of any information to place temporally the four historical eras distinguished by the authors (p. 412), the last of which is sometimes inconsistently named: *Ardeshir the first Sasani* (p. 412), *First Ardeshir Sasani* (p. 413), *Ardeshir Babakan’s era* (p. 415).

(vii) the lack of distinction between *strictly* historical texts (richly exploited) and literary works. *Šāhnāme* by Ferdousi (quoted several times in the article, but given by title only in *Conclusions* (p. 423)) although containing a number of historical facts, cannot be treated as a source for historical research; in particular, it cannot be a source of historical facts for the oldest history, which it presents in a highly mythologised perspective – Hušang (in a strange English transcription *Houshang*) or Arğasp (existing as *Arjasp*) are mythological figures, under no circumstances may they be treated as historical characters! The lack of such distinction is a serious methodological and substantive fault, especially as the text deals with historical, not literary or mythological accounts.

(viii) the use of inappropriate vocabulary, e.g. *guru* here appears in the colloquial meaning as it means “[a] Hindu spiritual teacher or head of a religious sect. Also in general or trivial use: an influential teacher, a mentor; a pundit” (*The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989: 964)).

(3) Substantive issues

Our most serious reservations relate to mixing historical and mythological facts, leading to a distorted perception of the history of ancient, i.e. pre-Islamic Iran – there is no such thing in Iranian history as the *pre Gashtasb era* or the *Gash-*

tasb era (e.g.: p. 412), since Gaštāsb is a *strictly* mythological figure. It is quite obvious that medieval Muslim authors combined both visions of history into one coherent picture, as they were building on earlier traditions that did so. However, we stand by the view that it was the authors' task to separate what is a record of history and what is a record of mythology in their texts. The lack of such a distinction suggests that the authors themselves share the views of the above-mentioned Muslim polyhistorians and regard mythical figures and events as real.

The major substantive downsides of the work are:

(i) explaining the obvious, e.g.: "Catacombs in ancient times were places for burying the dead" (p. 411).

(ii) the interesting statement "Iranians regarded fire as sacred in order to avoid Hell [by the way, why the capital letter? – MMPK & OP]. As such, they lit fire in combustion chamber so that they could remember the hell and recall the burning nature of fire in their thoughts" (p. 413) is devoid of any factual commentary. For that reason we conclude that the view presented therein is true which means the authors conflate fact and fiction. Even if the authors in the question explain the reasons why Iranians worshipped fire, this statement should be backed up with the state of scientific knowledge. Otherwise, the reader, whose knowledge in this area may be limited, might form an erroneous impression as to the reasons for fire worship.

(iii) nor do we understand what connection there is between theism and abandoning fire worship: "Thus when talking about Houshang Pishdadi, he talked about worshipping fire but not fire temples in the sense that not only he talked about theism but inhibition of worshipping fire" (p. 414). Moreover, is it possible to *worship* fire temples? In our opinion, no.

(iv) why do the authors not address the fact that at the beginning of Zarathushtrianism there was no such thing as a fire temple, as they are not mentioned in *Avesta*?

(v) what does it mean that "Yazgerd definitely sought to protect this sacred fire out of religious reasons. Similarly, Khosrow Anoshiravan [rather Anoshirvan – MMK & OP] transferred the sacred fire to river because of idols in Rey fire temple (...). Such religious reasons caused the destruction of Rey fire temple in Islamic period" (p. 418). We understand that the authors refer to Mas'udi's work, but why do they not comment on this information?

(vi) what new principles did Khosrow Anoshirvan create for Zarathushtrianism after he put down the Mazdak uprising (p. 417)? It would be appropriate to cite the critical literature here.

(vii) the authors confuse the ethnonym Turanian, used to describe an ethnos hostile to the Iranians but related to them, with the ethnonym Turk (p. 415).

(viii) what is the ethnonym Zerasb (p. 422)?

Conclusions

The above-mentioned reservations do not constitute a comprehensive account of all observations arising when reading Salehi and Nazar's articles. The topic they have analysed is interesting, primarily due to the cultural transformations that were taking place in Iran after the Arab-Muslim conquest (7th c.), related to the progressive Islamisation of Iranian society. One of the topics that the authors do not mention, but which may have appeared in the texts they analysed, is the phenomenon of the transformation of Zarathushtrian temples into mosques. They write: "In accordance with the treaties that were enacted with the peoples of the Conquered lands, Attempted [capital letter!] to respect the religious beliefs of the people of the conquered areas, They [capital letter!] committed that the fire temples of the people would not be destroyed by them Or [capital letter!] Is [capital letter!] mentioned from securing people. Some documents also talk about freedom of the people at their ceremonies and festivities (Safari Forushani, 2000: 57). Muslim reporters reported fewer fires that were destroyed by Muslim conquerors, Of [capital letter!] course, this is relative, And [capital letter!] the destruction of the fire temple in the areas conquered was likely Or [capital letter!] after a contract with Muslims, they rebelled, This [capital letter!] is the exception" (p. 422), but this type of information requires vigorous verification through other scientific sources.

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Reviews

**Stanisław Adam Jaśkowski, *Parčam – Journal of Ahmad Kasravi and His Followers. A Snapshot from the History of Press in Iran*, Warszawa: Dialog, 2018, 227 pp.
ISBN 978-83-8002-736-7**

This book presents a critical analysis of the content of the *Parčam* bi-weekly, one of the newspapers published by Ahmad Kasravi (1890-1946). It came out from early Farvardin to late Shahrivar 1322 (March-September 1943). Stanisław Jaśkowski gives a brief account of Kasravi's other periodicals (the bi-weekly *Peymān*, 1933-42; the daily *Parčam*, 1942; and the weekly *Parčam*, 1944), but he decides to concentrate on the bi-weekly *Parčam* since, as he explains, this was Kasravi's only journal which came out in an uninterrupted sequence of over 10 issues, and its content gives a relatively compact idea of Kasravi's and his followers' (*Āzādegān*), ideology. The book consists of two parts.

Part 1, "Iran and its journalism in the early 1940s. Press regulations in Iran until 1940s," gives a general outline of the situation of the press in Iran under Reza Shah and during the Second World War, with a detailed presentation of Iran's Press Law and its changing censorship regulations from 1908 to the early 1940s. Jaśkowski then proceeds to Ahmad Kasravi's publications and his subsequent newspapers. He gives a synopsis of them, and finally concentrates on the bi-weekly *Parčam* and Kasravi's views on the key issues presented in this newspaper, namely social, moral and religious questions rather than history, science and politics, which were the main subjects in his earlier periodicals. Next he examines the nature of the *Āzādegān* movement, its vague status as something of a cross between a cultural association, a religious sect, and a political party; its complex relationship with Kasravi's and his followers' earlier associations, known under such names as: *Peymāniyān* ("Peymanists") *Poštibānān-e Peymān*, ("Supporters of Peymān") and *Pākdinān*, ("Adherents of the Pure Faith"). In the following chapters Jaśkowski looks at the issues most often addressed in the *Parčam* bi-weekly:

– the language of *Parčam* and its articles calling for language reform, a topic Kasravi broadly discussed in his other writings as well;

– *ketāb-suzi*, the book-burning ceremony Kasravi and his followers performed annually to liberate Iranian society from “harmful and stupefying ideas,” the philosophy behind the event and the harassment it provoked, which granted the *Āzādegān* the status of victims;

– Kasravi’s negative attitude towards Islam, in particular its Shi’a branch, his critique of Shi’ite clergy and rituals; also his criticism of the Baha’i religion, which he apparently perceived as a dangerous rival to his own doctrine;

– his opinion on communism and its local variant, which was gaining popularity in wartime Iran (Kasravi blamed it for lack of seriousness and authenticity); his own, rather utopist and naïve concepts on economic matters and how to achieve universal well-being;

– finally, Kasravi’s own religious system (*Pākdini*), as represented in the *Parčam* texts; Jaśkowski discusses this aspect with reference to *Varjāvand Bonyād*, Kasravi’s main ideological manifesto first published in 1943, that is the same time as *Parčam* bi-weekly.

Part 2, “Presentation of the source material,” gives a detailed schedule of the content of all 12 issues of the *Parčam* bi-weekly, with a table of contents for each issue, the headline and a short summary of each of its articles, along with the advertisements. This offers the reader a full review of the topics addressed in the periodical, as well as the possibility to follow their development in subsequent issues (especially for the polemical articles and readers’ letters). This part of the book may serve as a useful research tool for all interested in Kasravi’s ideas and Iran’s modern socio-religious movements in general.

The book’s appendix contains an alphabetical list of members of the *Āzādegān* society, with the names of over 270 subscribers, authors, correspondents, activists, and participants of *ketāb-suzi* events, mentioned in the periodical. In most cases a short identifying note is provided (some of Kasravi’s followers and sympathizers are well-known personalities of Iran’s political or cultural affairs), however, several persons have not been identified. Jaśkowski notes the movement’s very few female adherents.

Another short addition is a list of “Selected words and phrases from Ahmad Kasravi’s language” (in fact only words) used in *Parčam* articles. The list includes grammatical terms, numerals and verbs coined by Kasravi, giving an insight into his extensive work to bring about a radical change in the Persian language.

The book is provided with a large bibliography and index.

Jaśkowski’s analysis combines the diligence of an archivist with the sensitivity of a historian of ideas: he is interested in the paper’s legal status, the practical details of its production, financing, distribution, and social range of its readership, as well as in the ideology and worldview it conveys. The way he presents the content of *Parčam*, which is topical in Part 1 and chronological in Part 2, enables him to follow the development of Kasravi’s doctrine and capture its drift away from its initially proclaimed declarations of tolerance and open-mindedness towards

a growing fanaticism and intolerance. Jaśkowski observes the journal's double function, on the one hand to bring together and integrate the *Āzādegān* closed community, and to attract new followers on the other hand. The book discusses Kasravi's doctrine and other issues raised in *Parčam* in a broad socio-political context of the situation in Iran during the Second World War.

The pleasure of reading this solid and useful monograph is spoiled by its careless editing and large number of typos.

Anna Krasnowolska

***Ethnographical Texts in Moroccan Berber*
(Dialect of Anti-Atlas), Collected by Aki'o Nakano,
Translated and Annotated by John Cooper, Berber Studies,
Volume 50, Köln: Köppe Verlag, 2017, 379 pp.
ISBN 978-3-89645-950-3**

One of the main objectives of the Berber Studies series is to publish linguistic and text-oriented studies. Many volumes are indeed dedicated to folktales collections, prose texts, included ethnographic and narrative material. The series also intends to publish data collected in the past, integrating them with translations or with further linguistic analysis.

The book under review contains the translation of ethnographical texts collected by Aki'o Nakano and published in three volumes in 1994, 1995 and 1998 (by *Studia Berberi* I, II, III – Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), *Studia Culturae Islamicae*, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo, Japan).

In addition to the PDF of this volume, the CD-rom that comes with it also contains the original files of the three books by Nakano and a list of contents.

The texts transcribed are in Tashelhiyt Berber, a variety spoken in several regions in South Morocco (High Atlas, Anti-Atlas and Sous plains). Other collections of texts from Morocco exist, some of which were published in the Berber Studies series, as the *Textes berbères des Aït Âyyache* by Lemkaden and Stroomer (2017) or *Textes berbères des Ait Izdeg (Moyen Atlas marocain)* by Mercier (2013), just to cite a few. The latter contains a translation that was not in the original, so its aim is very similar to the volume reviewed here.

The book opens with a foreword by the translator John Cooper, where he explains how he conducted his work by undertaking four visits to the Tafraout - Tinzggit area from 2012 to 2015, two of them with David Sudlow, a linguist also known for his grammar and dictionary of the Tuareg variety (Tamasheq) spoken in Burkina Faso. The foreword is also an acknowledgement to the five Moroccan consultants who worked with the translator in revising Nakano's texts. Moreover, Cooper explains how he supplemented Nakano's thirty photographs, adding some pictures he took during his visits to the site. They are all grouped together at the end of the book (pp. 306-365). The photographs are followed by two maps of the Tinzggit/Tassriit area, where these texts were collected.

Nakano's preface to the 1994 edition is included in this book. The author explains that all the texts were collected from the same speaker, Mr. Afouche, and that the

medium language chosen between them was Arabic (Moroccan and modern literary).

The main part of the book is composed of the translation of the ethnographic texts, organised in twenty-four main sections. Each section is dedicated to a specific topic and divided into sub-sections. Furthermore, the translation maintains the line numbering of the original. The first three sections, as well as the photographs, correspond to Nakano's first volume. Nakano's second volume corresponds to sections 4-11, while the third one includes sections 12-24. Although it is very easy to match the original texts with their translation, the fact that the Tashelhiyt texts are absent from the volume obliges the reader to always refer to the digital format.

Topics covered by the speaker concern many aspects of the community life and give detailed information about the people's food tradition, their clothes, the tools used in the kitchen, the plants that grow in the region, children's education, religion, people's main occupations and animals. The volume ends with some sections containing notes on the history of the region, where the speaker mainly focuses on the differences between the past and the present (the years when the texts were collected). The volume concludes with some songs and poems.

The work John Cooper has carried out is not limited to the translation. As mentioned in the foreword, his fieldwork trips and the collaborative work with the speakers allowed him to verify the transcriptions by Nakano, correct typos or any misinterpretation and error that could have been caused by the fact that Nakano only consulted one person. Cooper's footnotes also contain supplementary information given by his consultants, and cross-references to other texts (where the topic mentioned is analysed in more detail) or to photographs.

In conclusion, the volume is a valuable contribution to the study of the language and culture of the area. Through the translation, researchers who are not specialists in Berber can finally access these texts. The translation follows the Berber version as closely as possible, allowing for further linguistic analysis, even by those who are not specialists in Tashelhiyt. In addition, the accuracy of Afouche's descriptions and the details he provides are invaluable for those interested in different cultural aspects of the area, also for those who want to compare it with similar data available from different Moroccan or North African Berber regions.

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List of Lectures at the Meetings of the Commission of Oriental Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Kraków Branch) (2019/2020)

1. Mgr Karolina Jaworska (Jagiellonian University of Kraków), Nowe ustalenia dotyczące historii języka arabskiego – o pracy z inskrypcjami safaickimi (New research results on the history of Arabic: Safaitic Inscriptions) (10th June 2019).
2. Prof. Dr Chul Park (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul), Korea in the 16th century: the first contacts between Europe and Asia (13th June 2019).
3. Prof. Dr Christa Müller-Kessler (Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena), New Discoveries Among the Palimpsest Finds in the Monastery of St Catherine, Sinai: the Multispectral Imaging Technology (2nd December 2019).
4. Dr Renata Rusek-Kowalska (Jagiellonian University of Kraków), W poszukiwaniu przedislamskich precedensów perskiej poezji więziennej (habsiyye) (Pre-Islamic patterns in Persian prison poetry (habsiyye)) (9th December 2019).
5. Dr Mateusz Kłagisz (Jagiellonian University of Kraków), Komu zawdzięczamy niepodległość? Afgański dyskurs polityczny i jego reprezentacja na znaczkach pocztowych (To whom do we owe independence? Afghan political discussion on postage stamps) (27th January 2020).