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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 **ootε**, **οτι** „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 / skines (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 **ḑ-** (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 **aluḡ** „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 convincing 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) **ɪnb.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 **ʕəbā**, 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 consisting of **ʕan** „cheek“ & **buran** „thick“ (Lr), ?Dasenech **ʔabàâr-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) = **oʿankua** „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 **aminšaʿab** „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 **baʿár**, Alagwa, Burunge **baʿara** (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) = **ʿenádi** 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**,

ándō 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]ándō** „Mist“ (Se) It is perhaps compatible with Se ***šiʔ-(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 **shúíre**; 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 **gərba**, 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) **oṅgwil**, pl. **i-aṅgwil** „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 **kəliṅ**; 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** „backbone“, **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 **᠆᠕ᠤᠳ** „rein; lombes, entrailles“ < WSe, cf. Hb **kilyā**, pl. **kelāyōt** etc. (Vycichl 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-argígān** „collar-bone“ (Th)

Probably borrowed from EtSe, cf. Harari **arāq** „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 ***ʕarr-/ʕirr-** „white, grey hair“ > Som **ʕirr-o** „grey hair“; Or (Guji) **ar-ii**, (Maji) **harr-i** „grey hair“ (LVC); Harso **ʕarr-é** „weisses Haar“, Dobase **ʕarr-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 **arorró** „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-h-h** „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 **ʔait** „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 **bwobi** id. (Mc); Bachama **boḃe** (Meek), Musgu **fyáw** id. (Mc) || (E) Mubi **fáabó** 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. **biḏay** v.1 „to yawn“ (HuB) = **o bédah** „joues“ (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 ***biḏh-** „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 **kāš bāla** „dos, corps“ (**kāš/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-ʃ** „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 **bùúrää** „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 onomatopoeitic 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 **borɕ-** „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 **ɖiig** „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 ***ha-pura-m** < Ch ***-pura-**) > (W) Siri **varámi**, Jimbin **bəráma**; 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 **abərkuɕ** 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. **ɛ-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 **didn-** „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, blindfold“ (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) = **dámbe** 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 derág** „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. **-ya** „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 **ʔaččč** „lower jaw“ (Hy) || SCu ***foč-** > Burunge **ṣutla**, Alagwa **ṣuntla** „cheek“, Mbugu **i'óhlo** „cheekbone“ (Ehret 1980, 278);

Om: (S) Hamar **ʔaṭṣ-** (Be), Galila **ači** (Fl) etc. || (N) Shako **aaču**, Nao **aču**, Bambeshi **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 *√ṭḥdh* or *√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 **tifiy**, 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 ***fóðl-** > 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.

fourṭa 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. **angṭa** 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“, **gée-b-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-óo** 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** / **qolopítt^a** / **qelepáyítt^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 ***gaḍ-** „jaw“ > Som **gaḍ** „chin“, Jiddu **gaḍí** „lip“, Boni **kir** „chin“; Or **gaḍ-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 **der-gòs** „jaw“ (Shimizu); Jimbin **gú'tlà** „cheek“ (Sk); Daffo **gátlm** „Wange“ (Jg) || (C) Mofu **gwasl** „maxillaire inférieur“; Banana **gwəḥi-no**, Banana (Musey) - **gəhɪb-no** „cheeks“ (Kr) || (E) Sumray **gàjé** „cheek“; Dangla **gàḍumò** id.; Birgit **gàḍáyò** id., Jegu **gédé** „Wange“ (Jg) - see JgIb II, 69.

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

gadam 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 **gäg** 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 **gñli** „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 **gəlōt**, 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. **gulhañ** „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. **gumba** „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 **gáráb**, Kunfāl **gerv** (Appleyard 1991, 23) || ECu ***gilb-/*gulb-** 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 **gulbät**, Gurage: Chaha **g^wurbät** 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 **gĩma**; Yaaku **kimba?** (He) || Dahalo **gĩmpo** || Burunge, Alagwa **gobina** id. (Ehret 1980, 240; KM 118: from ***goob** „to run away“).

Bi **oo-gũmba** „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 **gēn** „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** / **ignáhoh** „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 **ganbār** „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 **gəṛəbēt**, EJibbali **gəṛbēt** „mass, group of people“ (Johnstone 1987: 123); cf. also Ar **ǧirāb** „(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 **ǧārib**, pl. **ǧawārib** „part between hump and neck of a camel, hump, neck“ (Sg 743).

gírguma 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 **gírma** & **gúrma** „head“ respectively?

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

girma, dim. **gilma** m. „head, corner“ (Rp) = **girmaab** m. „head“, def.sg. **ugirma**, def.pl. **igirma** (Wd) = **guurma**, **gilma**, **gilim** „head, top, summit“ (HuB) = Hdd **gírīmu** „[mein] Kopf“, pl. **gírīma** (Me) = **gírma** & **gúrma** m. „Kopf, Haupt“ (Re) = **girmaa** „head“ (Be) = **girmaab** „head“ (Tl) = **akermá** „head“ (Wt) = **o'agurma**, pl. acc. **gurmáb** „Kopf“ = **gurma** id. (Km) = **girmah** „Stirn“ (Kc) = **ógürmá** „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 **ǧirm** id., Sabaic **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 **gəšmi**, Higi Kamale **γəšine**, Higi Futu **γəšmi** „knee“ (Kr);

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

(2) ECu: Dasenech **γás**, pl. **γäss-ù** „foot, leg“ (Sa) = **kas** „Bein“ (Hb) = **kəs** / **ḵəs** / **γəs** „foot“ (Fl); Takács (1997b, 257) tries to include here words from SSom dialects: Kilii **ḵáásə**, 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 **ḵöss** (Be) = **ḵüs** (Fl) „bone“ || NOm: Nao **ḵus**, Shako **ʔus**, Dizi **us** id.; ʔHozo **kāši** „foot, leg“ (Fl) - cf. Blažek 1989, #20;

WCh ***ḥV-ḵasi** „bone“ (Stolbova 1987, 211) > Hausa **kāshii**; Yiwom **γas**; Daffo **kyās**; Gerumai **ókashi**; Kariya **káásu**; Zaar **yes** || CCh: Higi Nkafa **ḡtə** (Kr), Munjuk **keske** id. (Tx), Buduma **háyi**, Logone **aase** (Lk) || ECh: Dangla **kaaso** (Lk), Kera **kəskəṅ** (Eb), Sumray **guseṅ** id. (Lk) etc. (Jglb II, 36-37; Stolbova 1996, 65-66: ***ḵasi**).

Be ***a-qisi**, pl. ***i-qisiy-un** id. (Vycichl 1978, 73) = ***ē-γasah**, pl. ***ī-γasāh-an** > (S) Ahaggar **eyäs** / **iγāsān** „os“ (Prasse 1974, 72); (W) Zenaga **i’ssi** / **a’ssən^h** (Nicolas); (N) Tazerwalt **ihs**, pl. **-an** (Stumme), Kabyle **iyes(s)** (Dallet); (E) Ghadames **γess** / **γāsen** (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 ***gʷədŋ** / ***gʷadŋ** „side“ > Khamir **gʷədəŋ**, Qwara **gʷəŋ** (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 ***gʷid̥d-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 **gwanhiil**, 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 **hífa** „navel“ (Mc), Zime-Batna **úfú** 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 **ḵ(w)om**, Basketo **ḵomma** (Fl) „head“, Ari-Jinka **xūma** „top of head“ (Be & Tully);

?Ch: (W) ***ḥamV** „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. **-wân**, 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 ée-gwad **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 **ānkār** (CR); Saho-Afar forms can be borrowed from Agaw, although its Ethio-Semitic source is probably of a Cushitic origin.

(2) ECu: Afar **ʕānkar** & **ʕāngar** „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 **tānkart**, pl. **tānkārīn** „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 ***hirrib-** > Som **hirrib** „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“ (***hirnib-** or ***hinrib-**); Yaaku **hereb-an** „eyebrow“ (Sasse 1982, 105; Lamberti 1987, 534) || ?Dahalo **hírifane**, pl. **hírífa** „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) **héréka** „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 **kùmbaa**; 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 **gedeemi** „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 **qālma** „neck“ (Ap), Khamir **ḱilmə** (*SLLE*), Kemant **xʷəm** id. (Sa; Conti Rossini 1912, 207) || (E) Afar **kālma** (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 **kaḳa** „palm of hand“ (Fl);

?WCh: Kofyar & Montol **kwak**, Chip **kwək** „leg“ (Kr) || ? ECh: Mubi **kèeg-íi** „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) = **kalíf** 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) **kāf-** „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 **kòòlé** „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 **qanḍ-itta** „udder; swollen or abnormally big gland“, Harso **gan-ce**, Gollango **g'an-te** „udder“, Burji **ḳán?-i** ~ **ḳánḍ-i** „clitoris“ (Sasse 1982, 124); SOM: Ari & Galila **qantí** & **ḳanti** „testicles“.

(2) Cu: (C) Xamir **q'acel** „scrotum“, **q'acəra** „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. **širkaba** id.

kartuma ~ **kartuwa** ~ **kantara** 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 ***góús** „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^azo** id. (Kusia & Siebert) || SCu: Iraqw **goso** „incisor tooth“ (Ehret 1980, 264);

NOM: Gonga ***gaaš-/gašš-** „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.

kešiiya 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**, **kəsād** „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 **ḱoode** „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. **eeekwhi** (Wd) = **kwiib** id. (Tl) = **ẹẹ-kwhẹ** „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 **aquh** „egg“, Gz **?anqoqho** vs. Saho **unqoqoḥo** id. (We) (Leslau 1963, 30; Id. 1987, 31) || Dahalo **ḱawe** „eggshell“ (El) or **ḱogóhi** „egg“ (To) || SCu: Iraqw **qanhi** „egg“, Gorowa **qanhi** „germinated grain“ (KM 229: ***qanahi**), 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 ***ḱʷanh-**, but **-n-** can be explained as the original plural marker, analogically as in Som **úgah**, 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 **àgwái**, Bade **ægwe** 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 **tʰauqit**, pl. **tʰiuqin** „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“, **šoft-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 **kúnne**; Mada **kune**, Uzam **kunnęy** „urine“ (Mc), Gisiga **kunnay** id. (Lk) || (E) Mokilko **gôntiýó** id. (JgIb II, 334-35; Stolbova 1996, 65 reconstructs pCh ***[ḡ-]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 ***ər^wk-** (Appleyard 1984, 46) || ECu ***ʔilk-** (Sasse 1982, 106) || SCu ***ʔiḡik^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 **ʔayikw** „to chew“ (Rp) and compared this Cushitic isogloss with Ar **lāka** (impf. **-lūk-**) „to chew“, cf. **ʔ-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 **ḱari** „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) **wh̥3.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 ***ləkʷ-** „foot, leg“ > Bilin **ləkʷ** (Ap), Qwara **lekʷ** (Re), Kemant **ləkʷ** (Sa), Khamir **lukkū** (*SLLE*), Khamtanga **ləkʷ** (Ap), Falasha **lúkko** (Bk); Awngi **lèkʷ** (Ht) = **likkū** (*SLLE*), Kunfāl **lugʷi** (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 ***ʕəl-** „eye“ > Bilin **ʕəl** (Pl), Khamir **?əl** (*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 ***ʕil-** id. > Som **il**, pBoni ***il** (He), Jiddu ***el**, Rend **il** (He), Bayso **il** (Hy); Arbore **?il** (Hy), Elmolo **il** (He), Dasenech **?il** (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); ***ʕilaal-** „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 **?ila** „eye“, **?elej-** „to know“ (Eh) || SCU ***ʕila-** „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 **?iir**, 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 **?əl** „yeux“ (Bouny); Masa **íra** || (E) Mokilko **?êr-sá**; Mubi **?irûni**, pl. **?àrà̀n** (Jg). Stolbova (1996, 108-09 differentiates this root from the synonym with the radical ***-d-**, in her reconstruction ***ʕida-n-** > (W) Hausa **ídòò**, pl. **ídà̀ànúú**; Tangale **ido**; Jimbin **?ida**; 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 **?idê**, Bidiya **?ùdíyà**; Jegu **?údê** 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 **tit̪t̪**), Semlal **wallən** (pl. to **tit̪t̪**) - 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 **laŋjii** „ongle“ (CR) = **laŋg** „finger“ (ZL), but **langəla** „claw“ (Sa), Damot **laŋetii**, Awngi **laŋatii** „dito“ (CR) = **laŋet** „finger“ (Ht), cf. **laŋa** „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 ***läŋ-** || 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 **rèwu**, Gulfei **(ǎ)rfǎ**, Affade **nphey** „Herz“ vs. **rphih** „Seele“ (Sölken 1967, 264-65), cf. Musgoy **nǎv** „coeur, poitrine“ (Mc), Daba **nùv** „heart“ and Fali Gili **nufǎ** 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-Robechi; 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) = **mákwáa** „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 **ماكز** „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 **miḱ-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. **mík^uól** „shin“ (Th) = **te'mikol** „Mark“ (Mu) = **témmikóla** „Handknöchel“, **tmík-ól** „Schiene“ (Se) Borrowed from EtSe: Gz **maq^uʕāl** „fat (animal)“ (derived from **q^uaʕala** „to be fat“), Ti **maqʕal** „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 **tiʔ** / **tiʔtawin** (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 **minḏaxár**, Som **mindiqir** & **mindifir** „intestines“, Boni **mineʔer** „part of intestines“ (Heine 1978, 91), Bayso **minʔeer** „intestines“ (Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 128), ?Arbore **merḏe** id. (Hy) || Dahalo **máni** „large intestines“ (Ehret 1980, 153; Id. 1987, #423: N+E+Dahalo);

CCh: Pidlimdi **minà** „heart“, Boka **mwànáʔtə** „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 **maṛ** „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'rērā**, 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-mazḥuk**, (W) Zenaga **ta-mazguu-ḡ**, (N) Seghrushen **a-mzḥuq**, Kabyle **a-məzzuḥ** 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) **mty** „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“ (Stroomer), 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^wa** „recht; rechte Seite“ (Al); cf. **w'ai'imiikwa** „right hand“ (Tl) vs. **ayi** „hand“ (Rp) and **o-mayeg^wad** „right hand; south“ (Th) < ***mayukwa** & **gwad**, cf. **gwaad** „Seite, Rand“ (Re), similarly **mayúg^wadook** „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“);

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

Eg (Pyr) **í3f.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 **nhḏ** „Zahn“, Copt **na.xḏi**, 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) **niḡ** 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 ***ʔəngʷ-/ʔangʷ-** „(nipple of) breast“ > Bilin **ʔəngʷí** „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 **naŕeebi** „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 **ŋwi: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** „Exkremente, Kot“, Bokkos **šiši** „Exkremente“ (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 **šəq**, Kaīliña **sāq**, 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. **iwsâtān** „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)

saḡara 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) = **sukum** 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 **säk**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 **šulī**, Hozo **tsōli** „saliva“ (Siebert & Wedekind); Be: Iullemiden **imselha** „Schweiss“ (Barth).

?Se: Ug **īl** „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 **sāluda** „muscle de la cuisse“ > or < Amh **sāloda** (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 **semíin** 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).

simaríiay f., pl. **simaríiēy** „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 $\sqrt{\text{š-m-f}}$ „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 $\sqrt{\text{š-m-f}}$). 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 & sinkwa & sänkwa, Hadendiwa *sänkwi*, pl. -a m./f. „Nacken, Schulter, Rücken“ (Re) = *sinkʷa* m. „shoulder“ (Do) = *sinkʷa* 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 **sa-gan** „Nacken, Genick“ (Re); ?Or **sagg-oo** „back of head“ (Gg), if it is not related with SCu **saga* „head“ (Ehret 1980, 350); Yaaku *saŋ* „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 *śərʷ* „sinew, tendon“, Ty *sur / sər*, Ti, Harari, Amh *sər* „sinew“ (Appleyard 1977, 58; Leslau 1987, 535);

WCh **čarw/ya* „root“ (Stolbova 1987, 200) > Hausa *sâywáá*; Yiwom *tʰuar*; Daf-fo *súrê*; Geruma *su:ra:*; Miya *tlêrwà*; Kir *tléri*, Guruntum *so:ri*; Ngizim *àaráu* || CCh: Tera *l̥̥l̥̥ ǎ*; Gude *l̥̥rgin*; Wandala *shállwā*; Musgu *salawōŋ*; Zime *tló:r* etc. id.; || ECh: Kera *kəsár*; Ndam *sirwe*; Migama *câ:rú*; Mokilko *sotto*; Mubi *cààró* etc. id. (Jglb II, 276-77; Mukarovsky 1987, 300-01; Newman 1977, 31: pCh **šar-*; Stolbova 1996, 53-54: pCh **čəHar*);

Be: (S) Ghat *asur*, pl. *isurren* „tendon“ (Nehlil), Iullemeden *ásaren* „Adern“ (Barth), Ahaggar *asar & aẓar* „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 **ϣⲁⲁⲣ** „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 **sarra** „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 **zr** „top, back“, Ar **ṣahr**, EpSA **zhr** „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).

sarḡimay m., pl. **sarḡimey** „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 **sarḡimaw** „to be soft, fine, tender“, **sarḡimaw-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 **sərb-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).

šḡ f., acc. **šaāt** „meat“ vs. pl. m. **ša'ḡ** „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 **əšši** „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 **šaṭʔ** „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 **səṭṣʰa**, 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. **šikhəy** „upper jaw-bone“ (Rp), cf. **šikiyáiti-hum** „cheeks“ (BG) ECu: Afar **sokto** „lip“; Dirayta **šaakótʰ**, 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 > Gonga: 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) **címərkw’í** „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)

šura 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 **ššōrā**, Aram **sšārtā**, Ar **šašŕr** „barley“, lit. „hairy“, e.g. Akk **šārtu** „hair“, Ug **ššrt** „wool“, Hb **šēšār**, Ar **šaš(a)r** „hair“ (Fronzaroli 1969, #6.39);

?Se: Ug **šrn(ā)** „Weizen“ (Aistleitner 1965, 316-17), Gz **šörnāy** „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. **šawārib** 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) = **tibala** & **tibaláay** f., pl. **tibaláy** „Finger“ (Re) = **tibalaay** 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) = **tetibáléiy** „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'ərhuum** 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:ból** 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)

yūla m. „testicle“, **oi yūla 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 Jungrathmayr, 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-/*ruf- hair			
'arri ^{Rp} stubbly hair	*ʕarr-/*ʕirr- white, grey hair	Kemant ayaat white hairs < *aryat-?	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			
geɓ^{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	gáʔa 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 ägāna 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 gunḍúree & 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 ħagal knee- and elbow joint			Burunge ħiin-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 ħamħamo eyelash, Gorowa ħamħamó eyelid and eyebrow
hirbanna ^{Rp} appendix harbana ^{HuB} large intestines	South Oromo hir-ba heel; behind; Burji hirba back			
herka ^{Rp} upper arm, shoulder	*ħarK- arm, hand			Mbugu mharéga / mharéya arm
huuŕ ^{Rp} liquid faecal matter	Afar ħayso urine Saho haššú id.			
kiibálay ^{Rp} finger	*ħub- 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			

kanʔal ^{Rp} penis	* qanç- gland	Khamir qwa-cel scrotum, qwəcəra penis		Qwadza qutsalu 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; kaɖat ^{Rp} scruff of neck	* kuç-(t-) back of the neck			
kuhii, khwii ^{Rp} egg	* ʔukáh- egg Somali pl. úghán		ʔogóhi 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 lehen 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 ḵub-icco index finger	* laŋ- finger cf. Awngi laŋa hand		* ʔaleema branch
lew ^{Rp} pylorus, first stomach	* lubb- heart, soul	* ləbb-ak- heart		Asa liba chest Mbugu lubúra spleen
léew ^{Re} side	Afar lab side of the body, Somali laab chest, Oromo laḵḵ-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 samúun 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	sàre 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 ^{Re} 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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