Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Nubian group (East Sudanic family).

Languages included: Old Nubian [nub-onu]; Nobiin [nub-nob]; Dongolawi [nub-dng], Kenuzi [nub-knz]; Dilling [nub-del]; Kadaari [nub-kad]; Debri [nub-deb]; Karko [nub-krk]; Wali [nub-wli]; Birgid [nub-bir]; Midob [nub-mid].

DATA SOURCES

I. Old Nubian

Browne 1996 = Browne, Gerald M. Old Nubian Dictionary. Louvain: Peeters. // The most modern and complete dictionary of all attested forms of Old Nubian from one of the most expert specialists in the language.

II. Nobiin


Lepsius 1880 = Lepsius, R. Nubische Grammatik. Mit einer Einleitung über die Völker und Sprachen Afrikas. Berlin: Verlag von Wilhelm Hertz. // R. Lepsius’ classic grammatical description of Nubian that also includes examples of texts and a large vocabulary for both the Kenuzi-Dongola and the Nobiin (Mahas) dialects / languages. Despite some relatively minor inaccuracies corrected in later sources, the work still remains relevant to this day.
III. Dongolawi


IV. Kenuzi


V. Dilling

Kauczor 1920 = P. Daniel Kauczor. Die Bergnubische Sprache (Dialekt von Gebel Delen). Wien: In Kommission bei Alfred Hölder. // A detailed grammar of the Dilling (Deleny, Jebel Delen) language. Does not include a separate dictionary, but the lexical data that illustrate phonology, morphology, and syntax are copious enough to allow the construction of a near-complete Swadesh wordlist.

Jabr el Dar 2006 = Khaliifa Jabr el Dar. Towards a general orthography of the Ajang languages. In: Insights into Nilo-Saharan Language, History and Culture. Ed. by Al-Amin Abu-Manga, Leoma Gilley, & Anne Storch. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, pp. 183-198. // A short paper on the issues of orthographic representation for Hill Nubian languages. Includes some newly collected lexical data on Dilling that may be used for auxiliary purposes (such as verification of Kauczor’s data).
VI. Kadaru; Debri

Thelwall 1978 = Robin Thelwall. Lexicostatistical relations between Nubian, Daju and Dinka. In: Etudes Nubiennes. Colloque de Chantilly, 2-6 Juillet 1975, Kairo, pp. 265-286. // This comparative paper includes wordlists on several varieties of Nubian, including two Hill Nubian languages, Kadaru and Debri, data on which is taken by the author from the unpublished manuscripts of R. C. Stevenson.

Meinhof 1918 = Carl Meinhof. Sprachstudien im egyptischen Sudan. In: Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen, Band IX, pp. 43-64, 89-117, 167-204. // This source includes some brief, not always accurate, but generally important notes on many languages of modern Southern Sudan, including several varieties of Hill Nubian.

VII. Karko; Wali


VIII. Birgid


IX. Midob

illustrative texts and sets of phrases, as well as a relatively comprehensive glossary.

NOTES

1. General.

I. Old Nubian

The term "Old Nubian" refers to the language of texts written in one or more forms of the Nubian language from approximately the VIIIth to the XIth centuries A.D. (the largest of the texts, "The Miracle of St. Menas", is dated to the Xth century, which is why this is the provisional date chosen for glottochronological dating). It is not only the oldest attested form of any Nubian language, but the oldest attested form of any "Nilo-Saharan" language in general.

The amount of recovered texts and their lexical content is large enough to permit the use of Old Nubian for lexicostatistical purposes. Even so, it has only been possible to fill in 75 out of 100 slots (and a few of these entries remain under serious doubt for various reasons), so any lexicostatistical conclusions on replacement rates between Old Nubian and modern Nubian dialects must be made with caution.

Worse still, although this topic has not been seriously explored so far, there are reasons to suggest that "Old Nubian" is not a single, concise, dialect, but that some of the sources represent different dialects: lexical analysis indicates, for instance, every once in a while the presence of "doublets", in which one word is cognate with its equivalent in modern Kenuzi-Dongolawi and the other one - in modern Nobiin (e. g. 'white'). This contradicts the general idea of Old Nubian as being specifically the ancestor of modern "Fadidja / Mahas", i. e. Nobiin dialects. On the other hand, it is also true that generally Old Nubian is more close lexically to Nobiin than to Kenuzi/Dongolawi.
The main principle employed in the construction of a unified wordlist for Nobin has been that of statistic frequency. *Hapax legomena* or contextually ambiguous forms are accepted as main entries only in those cases where no other equivalents for the required Swadesh meaning are available. In case of "doublets" where one word is frequently encountered in texts and the other one is basically a *hapax*, only the frequently used word is listed as the main entry, and the other one remains in the Notes section. Consistent use of this principle shows that the majority of "exclusive" isoglosses, as a result, is indeed between Old Nubian and Nobin rather than Old Nubian and Kenuzi-Dongolawi.

II. Nobin

There is no fully adequate and complete dictionary for Nobin Nubian, or Fadidja-Mahas ("Fadidja" is the most common old name for Egyptian Nobin, while "Mahas" generally refers to Sudanese Nobin; actual dialectal variety is reported to be quite small and probably irrelevant for lexicostatistical purposes). The latest dictionary to appear (Mokhtar M. Khalil, *Wörterbuch der nubischen Sprache /Fadidja-Maḥas-Dialekt*, Warszawa, 1996) is not so much an original work as simply a compilation of all previous sources on Nobin, and is therefore fairly useless for lexicostatistics (in addition, it employs the questionable strategy of using the Old Nubian script to transcribe Modern Nobin words, which results in some hard-to-resolve ambiguities; and it omits all Arabic borrowings into Nobin, including even those that are used in everyday conversation and have entered the basic lexicon).

We therefore have to rely on older, sometimes less thorough or antiquated, publications. The main source for our wordlist is [Werner 1987], which may be considered perfectly reliable wherever the needed word in question is attested in the author's text corpus and glossary (this accounts for 98 out of 110 entries). The remaining gaps have been filled in by data from the description in [Bell 1970], another reliable, if predictably small, source; and, in just a few cases, with entries from the old dictionary of R. Lepsius [1880]. Comparison of all these sources shows that they generally agree with each other, so the probability of erroneous lexical inclusions or even incorrect phonological notation is quite small even in the most dubious cases (all of which have been marked accordingly).
Where the information is available, nouns are listed along with their plural forms; verbs, following Werner, are listed in the 1st p. sg. present form, but with all the proper morphological segmentation.

III. Dongolawi

The most adequate and detailed source for data on modern Dongolawi is [Armbruster 1965], a dictionary that is closely tied with his earlier grammar, still one of the best "classically-oriented" grammars written for a Nilo-Saharan language. For the most part, it renders obsolete the earlier sources; to make the list more well-rounded, and also in order to counterbalance some of Armbruster's transcriptional excesses (see below), we also use the slightly earlier glossary of [Massenbach 1962] for cross-reference purposes.

It must be noted that a serious flaw of Armbruster's dictionary is its abuse of internal etymologization: many of its verbal and nominal stems are segmented by the author in most ingenious ways (e. g. *missi 'eye' is explained as *min-si 'little what?', etc.). In the process of morphemic segmentation for preparing this particular wordlist, we have carefully omitted all such excesses, and retained only the more or less understandable cases of regular / productive verbal and nominal derivation.

IV. Kenuzi

The most detailed source of lexical data on Kenuzi, a "sister" dialect for Dongolawi with which it has a very minor number of discrepancies, is [Hofmann 1986], a recent reworking of much earlier records by S. Ali Hisen. The vocabulary is well illustrated with lexical examples and is ideally suitable for the extraction of the Swadesh wordlist, although the inclusion of numerous Arabic borrowings may seem somewhat dubious (it is not clear to what extent many of these words were, or have continued to remain, integrated in the common language). For cross-reference purpose, we also consult the glossary of [Massenbach 1962] wherever possible.
V. Dilling

The single largest source on Dilling is Kauczor 1920, a highly detailed grammatical description, well illustrated by lexical data. Comparison with newer, much less detailed but (in theory) more modern and accurate sources, such as Jabr el Dar 2006, shows that Kauczor's description is questionable as far as certain aspects of phonetic transcription are concerned, but on the whole (and particularly in respect to the accuracy of eliciting the basic lexicon), turns out to be a highly reliable source.

VI. Kadaru; Debri

Apart from Kauczor 1920 on Dilling, available information on the numerous Hill Nubian languages is generally scant. Although Carl Meinhof (1918) had managed to compile a small comparative vocabulary of several Hill Nubian idioms, this source is quite incomplete, and the accuracy of its phonetic and semantic notation is quite questionable, so it is recommendable to use it exclusively for etymological purposes or, at best, as an auxiliary source for lexicostatistical lists.

Until 2012, the only two lists to have been officially published for Hill Nubian were Thelwall 1978, for Kadaru and Debri (the latter is either a dialect of Dilling or a very closely related language), taken from the unpublished manuscripts of R. C. Stevenson. Unfortunately, they contain numerous lacunae (around 35 items each), which really justifies their inclusion only in terms of reconstructing an original wordlist for Proto-Hill Nubian.

VII. Karko; Wali

These two lects that seem to belong to a separate small subbranch of Hill Nubian were, until recently, only known through very scarce and unreliable information in Carl Meinhof's comparative vocabulary and various later small-scale comparative works on Hill Nubian. In 2007, however, Amy Krell has collected valuable 200-item wordlists on both these languages, published later as [Krell 2012]. Although comparative scrutiny of the wordlists shows that they may not altogether be free of phonetic and semantic misglossings, on the whole the quality of the data seems quite high, and although these wordlists, too, have some gaps, their addition is very valuable for a proper
lexicostatistical evaluation of Hill Nubian.

VIII. Birgid

The presumably extinct Birgid language of Darfur has, unfortunately, failed to be adequately documented. The only more or less serious wordlist is provided by Robin Thelwall [1978] without much commentary, and even that list contains some important gaps in the basic lexicon. For certain purposes (including gap filling in the Swadesh list), the much older list in [MacMichael 1920] may also be consulted, although its phonetic and semantic accuracy is under serious doubt.

IX. Midob

The main source on Midob Nubian of North Darfur is the grammar and vocabulary [Werner 1993]; for cross-checking purposes, the older wordlist in [Thelwall 1983] may also be consulted. Both sources were obtained independently and generally agree with each other, although there are some significant discrepancies in tonal notation between the two.

2. Transliteration.

I. Old Nubian

Old Nubian is commonly written in a modified form of the Coptic alphabet, with a few additional letters. For technical reasons, even though Coptic has its own Unicode section, we do not use Coptic letters in the database. However, the alphabetic notation of Old Nubian words is not perfect, and the same form may frequently be graphically noted in different ways. For this reason, it is often important to include the words both in their phonetic transcription ("restored" with a high, but not always hundred-percent probability of accuracy) and in their original graphic form, transliterating the Coptic alphabet directly with Latin (or, occasionally, Greek) letters.

The following has to be remembered when comparing the original transcription and the UTS transliteration:
(1) Coptic/Nubian ou = UTS u (following the Greek tradition).

(2a) Coptic/Nubian ω, o = UTS o
(2b) Coptic/Nubian η, i = UTS i
(although Old Nubian must have had vowel length opposition, there is no serious evidence that it was correctly reflected in writing).

(3) The superscript dash in Old Nubian texts most commonly renders a short i preceding the letter over which the dash is placed (so {agil} = agil, etc.). Sometimes, however, it is also placed over the word-initial vowel (e. g. {ādɔ} 'white'), where its function is unknown; in these cases, we do not reflect the dash in UTS transliteration.

(4) Finally, the vowel i is also sometimes rendered by the digraph ei. Again, there is no clear indication that this transcription indicates that the vowel was long. The "trigraph" -iei- is quite likely to mark an original -i:- (although in some cases it could probably transcribe an original -yi-).

(5) The glide w is either rendered with the special letter w (rarely) or, more frequently, with ou (before a vowel) or u (as part of a diphthong), thus {ouatto-} = {watto-}; {dau-} = daw-, etc.

II. Nobiin

Changes from Werner’s phonological transcription to UTS have been minimal and mostly concern satisfying the usual UTS requirements, such as:

(a) Werner’s c, j = UTS ç, ǯ (= ǵ in Lepsius 1880, where voiced and voiceless palatal affricates are not discerned);
(b) Werner’s sh = UTS š (also in Lepsius’ transcription);
(b) Werner’s ny = Lepsius’ ň = UTS nj; Werner’s ng = UTS ň;
(c) Werner’s VV = Lepsius’ Ź = UTS Ź: (vowel length);
(d) Werner marks high tone as Ź and leaves the statistically more frequent low tone unmarked (V); we always mark it as Ź.
III. Dongolawi

The transcription used by Armbruster requires only minimal transliterational activity when converting it to UTS:

(a) Armbruster's ġ = UTS ħ. Massenbach uses the symbol j, transliterated as UTS ǯ, for the same phoneme (it is probably realized more often as a palatal rather than post-alveolar consonant, but the issue is not quite clear);
(b) Armbruster's ĭ = Massenbach's ny = UTS ŋ (palatal nasal);
(c) Armbruster's j = Massenbach's y = UTS y;
(d) Armbruster's ŝ = UTS V (vowel length).

It should also be noted that in most contexts, Armbruster transcribes the front vowels of Dongolawi as "-ATR" sounds: ɛ and i. We retain that transcription, but there is really no phonemic opposition between ɛ and e, or i and i, in Dongolawi Nubian (nor, as it seems, in any other Nubian language).

IV. Kenuzi

The transcription used by Hofmann is, for the most part, preserved when transliterated to UTS. The following discrepancies should be noted:

(a) Hofmann's ġ = UTS ħ;
(b) Hofmann's ĭ = UTS ŋ;
(c) Hofmann's ſ = UTS ʃ (this laryngeal is encountered only in borrowings from Arabic).

Double vowels (aa, ee, etc.) represent vowel length and are transliterated accordingly (aː, eː, etc.).

V. Dilling

In his grammar, P. Kauczor uses a number of local idiosyncrasies that are transliterated into the UTS system as follows:
(a) Kauczor’s palatal Ʌ, Ɇ = UTS ɕ, ʑ respectively. (In Jabr el Dar 2006 and certain other sources, the same consonants are transcribed as tʃ and dʒ, i.e. as post-alveolars).

(b) Kauczor distinguishes between three varieties of mid-level vowels, which he marks respectively as e, ɛ, ę and o, ɔ, ọ. His description of the actual phonetic differences is rather vague, but it seems that the dot indicates openness; thus, we retain Kauczor’s e, o as UTS e, o and transcribe his ɛ, ɔ as UTS ɛ, ɔ. On the other hand, the distinction between e, o and ɛ, ɔ is extremely dubious; it is possible that Kauczor uses this to indicate near-close articulation (i, v), but there is no knowing for sure. For now, we simply merge these symbols in UTS transliteration (i.e. e, o = UTS e; o, ɔ = UTS ɔ), indicating, however, which of the transcriptional signs Kauczor uses in the notes section. According to the description in Jabr el Dar 2006, open / close vowel pairs in Dilling do form phonological oppositions, whereas Kauczor’s distinction between e/o and e/ɛ is not even noted there as a relevant phonetic opposition.

(c) Other transliterational issues: Kauczor’s ń = UTS ɲ, Kauczor’s ṅ = UTS ŋ; = Vː (long vowels);  V = V (stress, defined by Kauczor as musical pitch-rising and usually characteristic of more than bisyllabic words).

VI. Kadaru; Debri

Almost no differences between Stevenson’s (Thelwall’s) transcription of the data and the UTS, other than the standard coronal affricate/fricative conversions (ʃ > š; dʒ > ǯ; c > ç; Ɋ > ɋ).

VII. Karko; Wali

Amy Krell mainly uses standard IPA, with only minimal UTS transliteration requirements (same as in Kadaru and Debri, actually). It is only worth noting that she postulates tonal distinctions for both languages, and consistently marks high and low tones as Ʌ and Ʌ, respectively. We presume that unmarked vowels in her transcription correspond to mid-level tone (Ʌ), although this is not explicitly stated in the source.
VIII. Birgid

No transcriptional differences from Thelwall’s transcription other than standard UTS/IPA discrepancies (ʃ > š; c > ç; j > ž; j > y). It should be noted that Thelwall distinguishes between centralized a and back a in his transcription; this difference is most likely phonetic rather than phonological, but we have preserved this distinction in the recoding.

IX. Midob

Minimal discrepancies with Werner’s transcription include: (a) long vowels are transcribed as doubled (aa, oo, etc.) in [Werner 1993], retransliterated as aː, oː, etc.; (b) the palatal series c, j, ny is retransliterated as ç, ʒ, n̥; (c) velar nasal ng is transliterated as ŋ.

1. **ALL**

Old Nubian *kell-o* (kello ~ kellω) (1) / *miśšan- {māšan-} (2), Nobii *mālė: (3), Dongolawi *malle (3), Kenuzi *malle: (3), Dilling *t’u-kepe (4), Kadaru *tu-ggeñ (4), Debri *tu-ŋyan (4), Karko *tú-mšēr (4), Wali kündū (5), Birgid *ulā-ti (6), Midob *pọ̀q-igi-r (7).**

**References and notes:**

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 88. Renders Greek πάντες ~ πάντα. Adverbal form, derived from *kell- 'limit, fulness' [Browne 1996: 87]; Browne 1996: 118. Renders Greek πάντες ~ πάντα; the semantic difference between *miśšan-* and *kell-o* is impossible to determine based on attested evidence (it certainly has nothing to do with the difference between 'all = omnis' and 'all = totus'). We include both words as 'technical' synonyms. Still other forms with similar meanings are: (a) *malle- 'all, every' (encountered rarely and, seemingly, in adjectival rather than nominal function) [Browne 1996: 110]; (b) *wałilo- {wałilo- ~ *wulo-} 'whole, all, entire' [Browne 1996: 131] (this word definitely seems to display the semantics of *tōtus* and is therefore ineligible for inclusion); (c) *śimmlā- {śimml- ~ śimml-} 'all, entire, whole' [Browne 1996: 189]. Overall, available evidence makes it rather hard to determine the most basic and "neutral" equivalent for 'all' in Old Nubian (not to mention that there may have been dialectal variation).

Nobii: Werner 1987: 112. Meaning glossed as 'all; each'; the word has both adjectival and nominal functions. Quoted as *malle: in [Lepsius 1880: 358].


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 95. The lengthier variant *tugu-kepe is also quoted ibid. as characterizing the speech of the older generation. The suffix -kepe ~ -kepe is also encountered with numerals, e.g.: 'or-kepe 'both' (see 'two'), *tʃu-keke 'all three', etc.


Karko: Krell 2012: 40.

Wali: Krell 2012: 40.


Midob: Werner 1993: 117. Quoted as *pọ̀q-igi in [Thelwall 1983: 110]. Additional synonyms: *tūnnār ~ tūnmāniči "all, everybody" [Werner 1993: 134]; *tāssii "all" [Werner 1993: 128]. Textual examples, however, confirm *pọ̀q-igi- as the most common equivalent for the adjectival meaning 'all' (of people, animals, etc.).

2. **ASHES**

Nobii *ùbùr-ti (1), Dongolawi *ubur-ti (1), Kenuzi *ubur-ti (1), Dilling *ʒp-te (1), Kadaru *st-te (1), Debri *st-te (1), Karko *ômì-t (1), Wali *tùŋùnà-di (2), Birgid *ubur-ti (1), Midob *úfù-dì (1).**

**References and notes:**

Old Nubian: Not attested.


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 49.

3. BARK

Nobiin àçì # (1), Dongolawi g’abad (2) / k’æçĉ ~ k’æçĉì (3), Kenuzi gabad (2), Karko hôʒ (3), Wali fiürnû (4), Midob àççî-di (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Bell 1970: 124. Polysemy: ‘chaff / bark’. In [Lepsius 1880: 312], an entirely different word is listed in the meaning ‘bark’: gabad. However, the reverse German-Nubian index also lists the complex form koi-ajin [Lepsius 1880: 417], where the first word = ‘tree’ q.v. and ajin = Bell’s aqi.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 72. Plural form: g’abad-s.Armbruster 1965: 115. Plural form: k’æçĉi-nè ~ k’æçĉi-nĉ. This word is glossed based on a more generic semantics than g’abad: ‘investing tissue, rind, bark, skin, crust, shell, husk, pod’. However, both words are simply glossed as ‘bark of tree’ when found in idiomatic formations with the word for ‘tree’: ʒowyn k’æçĉi = ʒowyn g’abad. The difference between the two is unclear, and we treat them as technical synonyms.


Dilling: Not attested.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 42.

Wali: Krell 2012: 42.

Birgid: Not attested.


4. BELLY

Old Nubian tu- {tou-} (1), Nobiin ti: (1), Dongolawi t’u: (1), Kenuzi tu: (1), Dilling te-te (2), Kadaru to (1), Debri to (1), Karko têtà (1), Wali ti (1), Birgid tu: (1), Midob tê (1).

References and notes:


Karko: Krell 2012: 45.
Wall: Krell 2012: 45.

Birgid: Thewall 1977: 199. Meaning glossed as 'belly (inside)', opposed to er-ti 'belly (outside). Although the latter meaning could be regarded as a closer fit for the Swadesh definition, we hesitate to include it instead of tuc, since known information is not sufficiently reliable to postulate a lexical replacement in Birgid (other Nubian languages do not generally distinguish between 'inside of belly' and 'outside of belly', so the situation deserves additional investigation).

Midob: Werner 1993: 135. Glossed with polysemy: 'stomach / midst / inside'. The meaning 'belly' or 'abdomen' is not listed as such, but the word is listed in the meaning 'belly' in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

5. BIG

Old Nubian daw- {dau- ~ dau-e- ~ dauou- ~ dauê-} (1), Nobin dâwâwi (1), Dongolawi d'w-l (1), Kenuzi duc-l (1), Dilling ugi-r-i (2), Kadaru ñwoddû (2), Debrì ñoro (2), Karko ûtè (3), Wali kwâtà (4), Birgid oggôr (2), Midob péô (5).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 36. Verbal root: 'to be great' (Browne glosses the meaning as 'great' since it is rarely, if ever, attested in contexts describing physical largeness, but it consistently renders Greek μεγας, and, with the additional evidence of modern Nobin, there is little doubt that it was the default equivalent for 'big' in Old Nubian as well).


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 82. Polysemy: 'big / old'.


Wali: Krell 2012: 41.


Midob: Werner 1993: 115. Additional synonym: kârê 'big / old' [Werner 1993: 101; Thelwall 1983: 110]. Textual examples confirm that péô is generally used in the simple meaning 'big' ('big toes, 'big cheeks', etc.), whereas kârê more commonly refers to age ('old').

6. BIRD

Old Nubian kawar-t- {kaurte- ~ kawart-} (1), Nobin kawar-ti (1), Dongolawi k'awâr-te ~ k'aur-te ~ k'aur-te (1), Kenuzi kawir-te (1), Dilling kâmîl-ti (1), Kadaru kându-ndo (2), Debrì kânnê-tu (2), Karko kûbûr-àn (1), Wali kûn-dâ (2), Birgid kwar-ti (1), Midob âbêd-di (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 84. Renders both Greek πετεινὸν 'bird' and σπετεινὸν 'sparrow', so the more precise meaning is probably '(small) bird'.


Cf. also *foča* 'small bird' [Armbruster 1965: 72].

**Kenuzi**:

**Dilling**:
Kauczor 1920: 49. Singulative form; the plural form is glossed as simply *kumil*. The plural form is listed as *komil-i* in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 186].

**Kadaru**:
Thelwall 1978: 276.

**Debri**:
Thelwall 1978: 276.

**Karko**:
Krell 2012: 42.

**Wali**:
Krell 2012: 42.

**Birgid**:

**Midob**:
Werner 1993: 75. Also *hàːbè́d-dí*. Quoted as *àːbè́d-in* [Thelwall 1983: 110].

7. **BITE**

Old Nubian *aţţ- (1), Nobii *ač-îr (1), Dongolawi *ačč ~ *aččį (1), Kenuzi *aččį (1), Dilling *aţ (1), Karko *aţ (1), Wali *ái (1), Midob *aţţā- (1).*

**References and notes:**

**Old Nubian**:
Browne 1996: 21. According to Browne’s dictionary, attested only once, but confirmed as the verb ‘to bite’ by further parallels in Modern Nobii.

**Nobiin**:

**Dongolawi**:
Armbruster 1965: 4. Of people / animals (for insects, *kˈal* ‘to eat’ q.v. is used instead). Quoted as *aţţ* in [Massenbach 1962: 169] (where, however, the word is additionally glossed as ‘to sting /e.g. of scorpions/’, contra Armbruster).

**Kenuzi**:

**Dilling**:
Kauczor 1920: 124.

**Kadaru**:
Not attested.

**Debri**:
Not attested.

**Karko**:
Krell 2012: 45.

**Wali**:
Krell 2012: 45.

**Birgid**:
Not attested.

**Midob**:
Werner 1993: 75. Quoted as *aţţ* (imperative) in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

8. **BLACK**

Nobiin *úrūm (1), Dongolawi *ur'umm-e (1), Kenuzi *urumm-e (1), Dilling *ur-i (1), Kadaru *wur-û (1), Debri *urr-i (1), Karko *úr-û (1), Wali *úr-i (1), Birgid *úd-è (1), Midob *úd-i (1).*

**References and notes:**

**Old Nubian**:
Not attested. The most likely candidate would be a verbal stem with the same root as *udm- /oudm-* 'dark(ness)' [Browne 1996: 131], found applied to ‘dark people’ (Ethiopians); however, this is highly indirect evidence ('darkness' and 'black' could have easily been different lexical roots in Old Nubian).

**Nobiin**:

**Dongolawi**:

**Kenuzi**:
9. BLOOD

Old Nubian dis- (1), Nobiiin dis (1), Dongolawi gɛːu (2), Kenuzi gew (2), Dilling ogor (3), Kadaru ogor (3), Debri ør (3), Karko úgò (3), Wali ør (3), Birgid igir (3), Midob òggår (3).

References and notes:

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45. Graphically transcribed as or.
Karko: Krell 2012: 43.
Wali: Krell 2012: 43.

10. BONE

Old Nubian gísri- {gísri- ~ ðísri-} (1), Nobiiin gísir (1), Dongolawi khaːd (1), Kenuzi kïd (1), Kadaru kwede (1), Debri kwedu (1), Karko kwëdã (1), Wali kwîtu (1), Birgid kizi-dì (1), Midob ò-xå-dì (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 32. Renders Greek όστούν. The orthographic variant {ðísri-} is met once as part of a toponym and is probably accidental. Cf. also kier- 'bone', a hapax in [Browne 1996: 90]: probably the same word (possibly a poorly written kisr-, with the variation between voiced and voiceless velar orthographically admissible).
Dilling: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 43.
Wali: Krell 2012: 43.
11. BREAST

Old Nubian ʿog- (1), Nobii ʿog (1), Dongolawi ʿug (1), Kenuzi ʿug (1), Dilling ʿak-i (1), Kadaru ʿko # (1), Debri ʿku # (1), Birgid ʿugi (1), Midob ʿi (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 122. Renders Greek ἄρτηθος 'breast' in at least one context where the passage refers to man's chest / breast in general. Even if a special word for 'female breast' existed in Old Nubian, it is not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 371. Plural form: ʿog-i. Meaning glossed as 'rib cage' ('Brustkorb'), but in [Lepsius 1880: 374], the form ʿog, pl. ʿog-i ~ ʿak-kuc is simply translated as 'breast' ('Brust'). Cf. also dūgūsī, pl. dūgūssī ~ dūgūssī-gū in [Werner 1987: 347], where the meaning is glossed simply as 'breast' ('Brust'); however, in [Lepsius 1880: 289] the form dūgūsī ~ dūgūssī is explicitly rendered as 'female breast' ('Weibermus'). Judging from the collective evidence, it seems safe to assume that ʿog is really 'male chest', as opposed to dūgūssī 'female breast'.


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 48. Distinct from ʿi-i, pl. ʿi 'female breast' [ibid.].

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276. Meaning glossed as 'breasts'; it is not clear if the opposition between 'male breast' and 'female breast' was neutralized in Kadaru, but etymologically, this word does go back to the Proto-Nubian equivalent of 'male breast', so we tentatively include it on the list. Cf. also ʿg ʿi 'breast' in [Meinhof 1918: 90] (German 'Brust').

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276. Same notes as for Kadaru.

Karko: Not attested; cf. ʿur-ḏē 'breast(s)' (female) in [Krell 2012: 45].

Wali: Not attested; cf. ʿil-ḏū 'breast(s)' (female) in [Krell 2012: 45].

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 200. Meaning glossed as 'chest', distinct from ʿunne, pl. ʿun-ḏi 'female breast' [ibid.].


12. BURN TR.

Old Nubian ʿuṭ- {ṭouk-} (1), Nobii ʿuġè-ēr (1), Dongolawi ʿuġ-ur (1), Kenuzi ʿuġ (1), Dilling ʿot-ʿig (2), Kadaru ʿot-ʿogi (2), Debri ʿwaši (2), Karko ʿūrā-ngā (3), Wali ʿómī (4), Birgid ʿuṣ (5), Midob ʿúlli- (6).

References and notes:


Nobiin: Werner 1987: 359. Used both in the transitive and intransitive senses. Quoted as ʿuġ-e in [Lepsius 1880: 322]. Same root as in ʿuġ 'hot' q.v.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 95. The transitive verbal stem is a regular causative formation from intransitive ʿuġ 'to catch fire, take fire, ignite, burn' [ibid.]; Quoted as ʿuġ-ur in [Massenbach 1962: 203].


Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276. Presumably a transitive form (parallel forms from non-Hill Nubian languages are all transitive in Thelwall's comparative wordlists).

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276. Presumably a transitive form (parallel forms from non-Hill Nubian languages are all transitive in
Thelwall’s comparative wordlists).


Birgid: Thelwall 1978: 276. Presumably a transitive form (parallel forms from non-Hill Nubian languages are all transitive in Thelwall’s comparative wordlists). Not attested in [Thelwall 1977].

Midob: Werner 1993: 137. Transitive stem, but there is no root distinction from the corresponding intransitive stem, cf. šúkú ‘to burn (intr.)’ in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Nobiin sun-ti ~ sut-ti # (1), Dongolawi s’un-ti ~ s’un-t (1), Kenuzi sut-ti (1), Dilling šun-di (1), Birgid sun-di (1), Midob sùn-dí (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.


Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Not attested, but cf. šúkú ‘claw’ [Krell 2012: 44].

Wali: Not attested, but cf. šú ‘claw’ [Krell 2012: 44].


14. CLOUD

Old Nubian nįįį (1), Nobiin gė:m (-1), Dongolawi nįčč ~ nįčči (1), Kenuzi yem (-1), Dilling dwɛ-d (1), Kadaru de-du (1), Debri dwi-du (1), Karko dwú-id (1), Wali dwi-nî (1), Birgid na:si-di (1), Midob tɛɛ:di ~ tɛɛ:ő-dí (1).

References and notes:


Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 153. Plural forms: nįčč-nč ~ nįčči-nč. Polysemy: ‘cloud / mist’. Armbruster’s internal etymology that derives the word from the verb nį ‘to sew’ (i.e. ‘cloth; sc. that veils the scene’) seems far-fetched. Alternately, cf. also the Arabic borrowing saḥib ‘cloud’ [Armbruster 1965: 171].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 71. Borrowed from Arabic ṣayma-.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45.


15. COLD

Nobiin ór-ki (1), Dongolawi or'ofeː-l (1), Kenuzi orokoː-l (1), Kadaru wor-uɡp (1), Debri wɔr-uy (1), Karko ŋe-ɡe (1), Wali ór-ko (1), Birgid kizi-di (3), Midob tussé (4).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 371. Adjectival stem. Cf. also the verbal stem: orki-ə ~ orki-r 'to be cool, cold'. Quoted as orkie in [Lepsius 1880: 376]; cf. also oron 'cold (adj., n.)' [Lepsius 1880: 377], confirming that -ki is a suffixal component.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 232. Adjectival derivative from the verbal stem or'ofs 'to become (get) cold' [ibid.]. Applied to objects or people; for 'cold weather', the simpler stem əd is used instead. Quoted as orocef- ~ orocef-bi: (of objects)', əd 'cold (of weather)' in [Massenbach 1962: 222-223].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 143. Adjectival derivative from the verbal stem oroke 'to be cold' [ibid.]. Furthermore cf. also əd 'cold (n.)', əd-os 'to be cold' [Hofmann 1986: 141]. Quoted as oroče-l 'cold (of objects)', əd 'cold (of weather)' in [Massenbach 1962: 222-223].

Dilling: Not attested. Cf. k̩d 'cold (n.)', kdir-eɾ- 'to freeze (smbd.)' [Kauczor 1920: 122]. However, cf. also urði 'cold', urki 'make it cold' in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 187].


Karko: Krell 2012: 49.

Wali: Krell 2012: 49.


Midob: Werner 1993: 135; Thelwall 1983: 110. Cf. also ərəvə-yil 'it is cold' in [Werner 1993: 110]. We prefer to include the lexeme that is attested in both of the available sources, even though ərəvə-yil boasts more transparent etymological connections.

16. COME

Old Nubian ki- (1) / ta- (2), Nobiin ki-il (1), Dongolawi t'ə: (2), Kenuzi ta: (2), Dilling ta (2), Kadaru ti-rı (2), Debri tə-rə (2), Karko tə-mə̀ (2), Wali té-ri (2), Birgid ki (1), Midob iː (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 91. The main entry is listed as kir- ~ kar- ~ kər- ~ kər- where -r- is the imperfictive aspect marker. The original root form is kiː; other variants are rare and due either to specific morphophonological conditions or orthographic peculiarities.Browne 1996: 166. The main entry is listed as tar-, where -r- is the imperfective aspect marker. Both ki- and ta- render Greek ἵχοςμα without any clear distinction between the two; we have to include both as potential synonyms.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 48, 362. Werner analyzes this form as a contraction from *kir-ir (he probably means * Kir-il), but -r- would not be a part of the root in any case (see notes on Old Nubian). Quoted as ki-r-e in [Lepsius 1880: 345].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 188; Massenbach 1962: 232. Less frequent quasi-synonyms include bidə: 'to come' [Armbruster 1965: 36] and ʃu: [Armbruster 1965: 91], the latter normally with the meaning 'to go' q.v.

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 164; Massenbach 1962: 232. This is the most common equivalent for the meaning 'come'; less frequent synonyms include bidə: [Hofmann 1986: 40; Massenbach 1962: 178] and sukg [Hofmann 1986: 157] (actually = 'to hurry, hasten', with
'to come' listed as a possible secondary meaning).

Karko: Krell 2012: 47.
Wali: Krell 2012: 47.

17. DIE

Old Nubian *di:* {di- ~ dei- ~ diei-} (1), Nobii *di-il* (1), Dongolawi *di:* (1), Kenuzi *dǐ* (1), Dilling *ti* (1), Karko *tǐ* (1), Wali *tī*- (1), Birgid *tǐ-n-* # (1), Midob *tǐ:* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 44. Renders Greek ἀποθνῄσκω. The verb ἔσ(ίr) is occasionally found as the equivalent of 'die', but its primary and most frequent meaning is 'to cease, to rest' [Browne 1996: 199].
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 129.
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debri: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 46. The exact quoted form is *tǐ-nǜa* 'he died'.
Wali: Krell 2012: 46. The exact quoted form is *tǐ-nǜa* 'he died'.
Birgid: MacMichael 1920: 213. Cf. the actual forms: *Mugur tǐ-n-arum* 'the Sultan has died'; *usoka tǐ-n-allā* 'where did he die?'. Morphological structure of these forms is not entirely clear, but external comparison suggests that *tǐ-* is the root and -n-* is a suffixal verbal stem component. Not attested in [Thelwall 1977].

18. DOG

Old Nubian *mug-* {moug-} (1), Nobii *mūg* (1), Dongolawi *wēl* (2), Kenuzi *wel* (2), Dilling *bol* (2), Kadaru *bōl* (2), Debri *bōl* (2), Karko *bōl* (2), Wali *bōl* (2), Birgid *mēl* (2), Midob *pōl* (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 120. Attested in the plural form: *mug-ri-gu-* {mougrīgou-}.
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276. Quoted as *b l* in [Meinhof 1918: 89].
Karko: Krell 2012: 42.
Wali: Krell 2012: 42.

19. DRINK
Old Nubian ɲi- {ɲe- ~ ɲei- ~ ɲi-} (1), Nobii ni-il (1), Dongolawi n'ː (1), Kenuzi ni: (1), Dilling di (1), Kadaru di (1), Debri di: (1), Karko di (1), Wali di (1), Birgid ɲi: (1), Midob tiː- (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 200. Renders Greek πίνω. There is also a strange hapax: Old Nubian sirip- 'to drink' [Browne 1996: 159], which Browne questionably identifies as a loan from Arabic šariba; in any case, this is clearly not the default Old Nubian equivalent for the required meaning.
Karko: Krell 2012: 45.
Wali: Krell 2012: 45.

20. DRY

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 180. Polysemy: 'dry / avaricious, stingy'. Adjectival stem, derived from the verb sóww ~ sóww 'to get dry, dry up' [ibid.]
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 157. Adjectival stem, derived from the verb sóww- 'to be dry' [ibid.]. Another, more complex, adjectival stem with the same meaning is sóww-i-huː-ː [ibid.]. Quoted as sóww-od in [Massenbach 1962: 229].
Karko: Krell 2012: 50.  
Walli: Krell 2012: 50.  

21. EAR

Old Nubian ulg- ~ ulug- (oulg- ~ ouloug-) (1), Nobin ūkk (1), Dongolawi 'ulug' (1), Kenuzi ulug (1), Dilling ulũ-e (1), Kadaru wǒlũ-e (1), Debri ul-k (1), Karko ūš-i (1), Wali úl-gũ (1), Birgid on̂jel-di (2), Midob úl-gũ (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 136. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf'. Renders Greek οἶς. See also 'hear'.  
Dilling: Kauzor 1920: 48. The plural form is listed as ulũ-i in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 187].  
Karko: Krell 2012: 44.  
Walli: Krell 2012: 44.  

22. EARTH

Old Nubian iskit- {skɛ- ~ skɛ-} (1), Nobin gūr (2), Dongolawi 'arid' (-1), Kenuzi ñarid (-1), Dilling tob (3), Kadaru ño (3), Debri tɔg (3), Karko wĩn-d (4), Wali ù:n-ðù (4), Birgid izzi-di (5).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 77. Polysemy: 'earth / dust'. Regularly renders Greek γη. Secondary synonym: gu·d- ~ gud- {goul- ~ goud-} [Browne 1996: 33], with polysemy: 'earth / ground / place / weather / time'. Among other equivalents, this word occasionally renders Greek γῆ, but for the most part it denotes 'earth' as 'locus' rather than 'earth' as 'soil' and is therefore ineligible for inclusion. (Variation between root-final -d- and -d- is not quite clear; it may be the result of earlier *gud- or *gur- occasionally fusing with the determinant -d-.)  
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 18. Plural forms: 'aridi- ~ 'arid-i. Meaning glossed as 'earth, soil, ground, land'. Quoted as arid, pl. arid-i in [Massenbach 1962: 172]. Transparent borrowing from Arabic; opposed to gū 'earth, ground, floor' [Armbruster 1965: 81], which seems to be generally used in the meaning 'earth (as surface)' rather than 'earth (as soil)'. Cf. also *esked 'loose earth, crumbled soil; dust' in [Armbruster 1965: 66], cognate with Old Nubian iskit- but with different semantics.  
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 27. Transparent borrowing from Arabic; opposed to gū: 'field, acre; earth (surface)' [Hofmann 1986: 77], with the same overall semantic distinction as in Dongolawi.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 201. Quoted as izzi-di ‘ground’ in [MacMichael 1920: 201].
Midob: Not attested properly. In [Thelwall 1983: 110], the meaning ‘earth’ is rendered with the compound formation kònnìkúdì = *kòd-n-ìkìdì, literally ‘sand/dust of the place’. In [Werner 1993], the word ‘earth’ is not present in the vocabulary, and several textual examples simply render the meaning ‘earth’ with the word kòd ‘place, world’ [Werner 1993: 99], but this seems to be ‘earth’ as ‘ground, surface’ rather than substance. We prefer to leave the slot empty before new data becomes available.

23. EAT
Old Nubian kap- (1), Nobiiin kàb-ir (1), Dongolawi k’al (2), Kenuzi kal (2), Dilling kol (2), Kadaru kol-i (2), Debri kol-i (2), Karko kámër (1), Wali káirî (2), Birgid kiř-e (2), Midob ăl- (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 84. Rare morphophonological variants also include kip- and kop-. Renders Greek ἔδω and other verbs with the semantics of ‘to eat’. This is the main Old Nubian equivalent for ‘to eat’, cotinued in Modern Nobiin. There is also a hapax form kal- ‘to eat’ in one context [Browne 1996: 83], more close to Modern Kenuzi-Dongolawi; it probably reflects a dialectal “intrusion” of sorts, and from a statistical point of view, cannot be eligible for separate inclusion on the list even if kap- and kal- are not related etymologically (which is an actual possibility).
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 116. Polysemy: ‘to eat / to bite (of insect)’. Also, as a nominal stem, used in the meaning ‘food / bread’. Quoted as kal in [Massenbach 1962: 204].
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 113. Singular object form (‘to eat smth. /one thing’). The corresponding plural object form is kam (‘to eat several things’) [ibid.].
Karko: Krell 2012: 45.
Wali: Krell 2012: 45.

24. EGG

References and notes:

Karko: Krell 2012: 43.
Wali: Krell 2012: 43.

25. EYE
Old Nubian *maŋ- (1), Nobiin *máŋ (1), Dongolawi *m'issi ~ *m'ss (1), Kenuzi *missi (1),
Dilling *kal-ti (2), Kadaru *kal-do (2), Debri *kal-to (2), Karko *kā-tè (2), Wali *kātāl (2), Birgid
*kāl-di (2), Midob *pi-di ~ *pi-di (1).

References and notes:
Karko: Krell 2012: 44.
Wali: Krell 2012: 44.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 201. Plural form: *kāl-é. Quoted as *kul-di ~ *gul-di 'eye', *en= gil-i 'the two eyes' in [MacMichael 1920: 206] (for the prefix *en=, see notes on 'name').

26. FAT N.
Nobiin *sìlë: (1), Dongolawi *w'adag (-1), Kenuzi *šaham (-1), Dilling *ąpur (2), Kadaru *ąpur (2), Debri *ąpón (2), Karko *dūgūd (3), Wali *kwēr-tù (4), Birgid *kēaldin (5), Midob *tēss-ì (6).

References and notes:
Old Nubian: Not attested.
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45. Distinct from *təj 'oil (liquid fat)' [Kauczor 1920: 44]. Quoted as *ąnor 'fat' in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 187] (probably the same word, although the discrepancy between Kauczor's and Jabr el Dar's notation requires an explanation).
Wali: Krell 2012: 43. Meaning glossed as 'grease'.
Midob: Werner 1993: 130. Meaning glossed as 'oil, butter'. However, the same word is also quoted as téss-ì 'fat' in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

27. FEATHER
Nobiin šiber # (1), Dongolawi s'ibur (1), Dilling tel-ti (2), Karko tûrè (3), Wali tîl-tû (2), Birgid til-de (2), Midob tè:-di # (2).

References and notes:
Old Nubian: Not attested.
Nobiin: Lepsius 1880: 390. Somewhat dubious (attested only in an old source, although has reliable external parallels).
Kenuzi: Not attested.
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 62. Same word as 'hair' q.v. Differently in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 186], where the word törî is listed in the meaning 'feather'.
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debri: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 43.
Wali: Krell 2012: 43.
Midob: Werner 1993: 129. Same word as 'hair' q.v. The meaning 'feather' is not listed in Werner's vocabulary, but is present in [Thelwall 1983: 110]: tèd-di 'feather'.

28. FIRE
Old Nubian eig- {eig- ~ ēg- ~ eik-} (1), Nobiin īg- ìg (1), Dongolawi īg (1), Kenuzi īg (1), Dilling ike (1), Kadaru ike (1), Debri ika (1), Karko úkò (1), Wali úgù (1), Birgid uzug (1), Midob ússí (1).

References and notes:
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 47.
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276. Quoted as īgìc in [Meinhof 1918: 89].
29. FISH
Old Nubian *watto- {ouatto-} (1), Nobiin *àngissi* (2), Dongolawi *kacre* (3), Kenuzi *ka:re* (3), Karko *fiùtè* (-1), Wali *kîl* (4).

References and notes:

Dilling: Not attested.
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debru: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 41. Probably an Arabic borrowing (cf. Arabic ḥuṭ- 'fish').
Wali: Krell 2012: 41.
Birgid: Not attested.
Midob: Not attested. The meaning is annotated as "Arabic loan" in [Thelwall 1983: 110], but the form itself is not listed.

30. FLY V.

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 146. Meaning glossed as 'to whirl, fly'. Somewhat dubious (attested only in the idiomatic expression *parr medanasa*, literally "to fly-running", of one's breath), but indirectly supported by external data.
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 382. Quoted as *wái* 'to fly', *ái wái*-r 'I am flying' in [Lepsius 1880: 409].
Karko: Krell 2012: 46.
Wali: Krell 2012: 46.
Midob: Werner 1993: 150. Literally = 'to put wing' (*áwâr* = 'wing'). Quoted as *áwâr- k ār* - in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

31. FOOT
Old Nubian *oy- {ōē- ~ ōei-}* (1), Nobiin *ōy* (1), Dongolawi *oss ~ oss-i* (1), Kenuzi *oss-i* (1),
Dilling kogod (2), Kadaru kwoddu (2), Debri kwodo (2), Karko kúgoð (2), Birgid os-e (1), Midob ðt-ði (1).

References and notes:

**Old Nubian:** Browne 1996: 123. Renders Greek πούς.


**Kadaru:** Thelwall 1978: 278. Quoted as kút in [Meinhof 1918: 90].

**Debri:** Thelwall 1978: 278.

**Karko:** Krell 2012: 44.

**Wali:** Krell 2012: 44.

**Birgid:** Thelwall 1977: 201. Completely different complex stem quoted in [MacMichael 1920: 205]: fabatkidi.

**Midob:** Werner 1993: 111; Thelwall 1983: 111.

32. FULL


References and notes:

**Old Nubian:** Browne 1996: 113. Polysemy: 'to be full / to be ready'. Occasionally spelled as merid- [mer i], which must be the older, non-contracted form. The majority of contexts in which the word is attested bear the sense of 'ready' rather than 'full', but at least in one context the word translates Greek γεμίζω 'to fill', and additional data from Modern Nobiin indirectly confirm that this must have been the basic equivalent for 'full' in Old Nubian as well.

**Nobiin:** Werner 1987: 367. Verbal stem: 'to fill'. Quoted as midd-e 'to be full', midd-o ~ midd-on 'full' (participial form from midd-e) in [Lepsius 1880: 363].

**Dongolawi:** Armbruster 1965: 85. Participial form from stative verb ñangi-bu: 'to be full', itself derived from ñangi 'to get full; to fill'. Quoted as 'bìg to fill', ñangi-bu: 'to be full' in [Massenbach 1962: 200].

**Kenuzi:** Hoffman 1986: 61. Verbal stem: 'to be full', derived from eyye 'to fill up (intr.)'. Quoted as eyye-bu: in [Massenbach 1962: 186].

**Dilling:** Kauczor 1920: 89. Verbal stem: 'to become full' (cf. en-olgà 'it is full').

**Kadaru:** Not attested.

**Debri:** Not attested.

**Karko:** Not attested.

**Wali:** Not attested.

**Birgid:** Thelwall 1977: 202.

**Midob:** Werner 1993: 97. Also kätt-ǎri id. Adjectival derivate from a verbal root. Quoted as kätt-ǎrè in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

33. GIVE

Old Nubian tir- ~ ter- {tì- ~ ter-} (1), Nobiin tèr (1), Dongolawi tìr (1), Kenuzi tìr (1), Dilling ti (1), Kadaru tì (1), Debri ti (1), Karko ìti (1), Wali tì (1), Birgid te-ːn (1), Midob ti-
~ ti-r- (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 174. The precise meaning is: 'to give to 2nd / 3rd person'. The corresponding verbal stem with the meaning 'to give to 1st person (me, us) is den ~ dir- [Browne 1996: 42]. Both verbs expectedly render Greek ἄγαθος.

Nobin: Werner 1987: 378. The precise meaning is: 'to give to 2nd / 3rd person'. Cf. tir-ā 'he gave' [Bell 1970: 134] (the form tēr, according to Werner's morphophonological analysis, is a contraction from *tir-īr). Quoted as tir in [Lepsius 1880: 397]. The corresponding verbal stem with the meaning 'to give to 1st person (me, us) is dēn-īr [Werner 1987: 345].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 199. Meaning glossed as: 'to give (to other than the speaker). The corresponding verbal stem with the meaning 'to give to 1st person (me, us) is dēn ~ dēn [Armbruster 1965: 47]. Quoted as tir vs. dēn 'to give' in [Massenbach 1962: 235].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 170. Meaning glossed as: 'to give (to smbd.)'. The corresponding verbal stem with the meaning 'to give to 1st person (me, us) is dēn [Hofmann 1986: 47]. Quoted as tir vs. dēn 'to give' in [Massenbach 1962: 235].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 113. Singular action form ('to give once'); the corresponding suppletive stem ('to give multiple times') is huk-i [ibid.].

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 47.

Wali: Krell 2012: 47.

Birgid: Thelwall 1978: 278. Quoted as te- ~ ti- in [MacMichael 1920: 212]. cf. the forms: tē-ni 'give it to me', ti-ri 'give it to him', ti-ren 'I have given it to you'. Not attested in [Thelwall 1977].


34. GOOD

Old Nubian gen- (1), Nobin màs (2), Dongolawi s'ère ~ s'ere: (3), Kenuzi sere: (3), Dilling ken (4), Kadaru ken (4), Debri kēŋ (4), Karko kwànti-kō (4), Wali kātwà (5), Birgid azze-n (6), Midob tīsīnjī (7).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 27. Verbal root: 'to be good'. Renders Greek ἄγαθος. Another, very rare, somewhat dubious, equivalent is the verbal stem mas- [Browne 1996: 111].

Nobin: Werner 1987: 366. Plural form: màs-kūc. Numerous textual examples show that this word is the most common and generic equivalent for 'good' in Modern Nobin. In contrast, Nobin gēn, glossed as 'better; good' in [Werner 1987: 353], seems to have really been well preserved only in the comparative sense ('better'). Comparison of textual evidence from Old Nubian and Modern Nobin gives serious evidence for considering the situation as a lexical replacement. However, cf. gēna 'good' [Lepsius 1880: 311] and màs 'good' [Lepsius 1880: 360] without any noticeable difference in semantics; it may be so that the differentiation observed in XXth century language use is quite recent.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 174. Polysemy: 'good / in good condition or health'. Plural forms: sērɛc-ri ~ sērɛc-nā ~ sērɛc-nē. Quoted as s'ère ~ sere, pl. sere-ri in [Massenbach 1962: 227]. Synonym: gēn [Armbruster 1965: 77]. Plural form: gēn-1. Polysemy: 'good / healthy'. The difference between the two words is vague, but perusal of attested contexts shows that the older word gēn is more frequently used in the meanings 'sound', 'healthy', 'in good condition etc., whereas the more abstract idea of 'goodness' (as opposed to 'badness') is more frequently expressed by s'ère. In [Massenbach 1962: 190], the adjective gēn is only quoted in a comparative meaning ('better').

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 153. Quoted as s'ère ~ sere, pl. sere-ri in [Massenbach 1962: 227]. Several other, less frequent, synonyms, are also listed, most of them identifiable as Arabic borrowings: fādel [Hofmann 1986: 19], libab [Hofmann 1986: 121], etc.

**Kadaru:** Thelwall 1978: 278.
**Debri:** Thelwall 1978: 278.
**Karko:** Krell 2012: 49.
**Wali:** Krell 2012: 49.
**Birgid:** Thelwall 1977: 202. Quoted as azei-

**Midob:** Werner 1993: 132. Meaning glossed as 'pleasant, beautiful'; cf. also the adverb tising-ér 'well' [ibid.]. In [Thelwall 1983: 111], however, the word is directly listed as tisîng 'good'.

35. **GREEN**

Old Nubian dess- (1), Nobiiin déss-i (1), Dongolawi d’ess-e (1), Kenuzi dess-e ~ doss-e (1), Dilling tež-e (1), Birgid tež-e (1), Midob tèss-è (1).

References and notes:

**Old Nubian:** Browne 1996: 43. Verbal root: 'to be green'. Renders Greek χλωρός.


**Dilling:** Kauczor 1920: 82.

**Kadaru:** Not attested.

**Debri:** Not attested.

**Karko:** Not attested.

**Wali:** Not attested.

**Birgid:** Thelwall 1977: 202.

36. **HAIR**

Nobiiin šigir-ti (1), Dongolawi d’il-t ~ d’il-ti (2), Kenuzi sir (1), Dilling tel-ti (2), Kadaru tīl-tu (2), Debri til-tu (2), Karko tīlè (2), Wali tīlè (2), Birgid ur=dill-e (2), Midob tèz-di (2).

References and notes:

**Old Nubian:** Not attested.

**Nobiin:** Werner 1987: 376. Plural forms: šigir-ti ~ šigir-ti-nçé. No difference between 'body hair' and 'head hair'. Quoted as šinjir-ti in [Lepsius 1880: 390]; cf. also specifically ur-ìš šinjir-ti 'head hair' ibid. (where ur = 'head' q.v.).

**Dongolawi:** Armbruster 1965: 52. Plural forms: d’il-ti-nç ~ d’il-ti-nçé. No difference between 'body hair' and 'head hair'. Quoted as dil-ti 'hair, wool' in [Massenbach 1962: 182]. The latter source also lists the word sir 'hair' for both Kenuzi and Dongolawi dialects, but there is no equivalent for it in Armbruster’s dictionary.

**Kenuzi:** Hofmann 1986: 154. No difference between 'body hair' and 'head hair'. Quoted as sir in [Massenbach 1965: 228].


**Debri:** Thelwall 1978: 278.

**Karko:** Krell 2012: 43.

**Wali:** Krell 2012: 43.

**Birgid:** Thelwall 1977: 202. The first component = 'head' q.v. Quoted simply as tillei 'hair' in [MacMichael 1920: 205].

37. HAND
Old Nubian ey- {ei- ~ ē-} (1), Nobiiin èd-di (1), Dongolawi 'i: (1), Kenuzi iː (1), Dilling iš-i (1), Karko ūš-ā (1), Wali ūš-i (1), Birgid es-si-gafui (1), Midob ḥs-si (1).

References and notes:
Debi: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 45.
Wali: Krell 2012: 45.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 202. Literally = ‘arm-neck’ (the simple form essi is glossed as ‘arm’). Quoted as en-esi, pl. en-es-cli ‘hand’ in [MacMichael 1920: 206] (for the prefix en-, see notes on ‘name’).

38. HEAD
Old Nubian ur- {our-} (1), Nobiiin īr (1), Dongolawi 'ur (1), Kenuzi ur (1), Dilling or (1), Kadaru wūr # (1), Karko ār (1), Wali ār (1), Birgid ēr (1), Midob ēr (1).

References and notes:
Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 139. Very rarely spelled as or-. Renders Greek κεφαλή.
Debi: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 44.
Wali: Krell 2012: 44.

39. HEAR
Old Nubian ulg-ir- {oulg-ir-} (1), Nobiiin ūkkē-ār (1), Dongolawi giš-ir (2), Kenuzi giš-ir (2), Dilling ki-er- (2), Karko ki-ēr (2), Wali kē-rī (2), Midob ānn- (3).
References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 136. Renders Greek ἀκούω. The verb is transcribed in at least six different ways: ulg-ir ~ ulg-ar ~ ulk-ar ~ ulg-ar ~ ulk-ir ~ ulg-er, reflecting idiolectal or unique orthographic peculiarities. Transparently derived from ul(u)g ‘ear’ q.v.


Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 45.

Wali: Krell 2012: 45.


40. HEART

Old Nubian ai-l- (āeil-) (1), Nobiin áy (1), Dongolawi ’ā (1), Kenuzi a: (1), Dilling a-l (1), Kadaru a-l-du (1), Debrí a-l-du (1), Karko ā-l-ā (1), Wali ē-l-dā (1), Birgid ai-di (1), Midob āssá-d (2).

References and notes:


Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debrí: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 45.

Wali: Krell 2012: 45.


41. HORN

Nobiin nišši (1), Dongolawi n’išši ~ n’išš (1), Kenuzi nišši (1), Dilling dɔ-ti (1), Karko nū-tù (1), Wali dū-tú (1), Birgid ḫis-ti (1), Midob kā’e-i (1).

References and notes:
Old Nubian: Not attested.


Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 43.

Wali: Krell 2012: 43.


42. I

Old Nubian ay {ai- ~ aiei-} (1), Nobiin āy (1), Dongolawi āy (1), Kenuzi ay (1), Dilling e (1), Karko iyā (1), Wali ʾi (1), Birgid ama (2), Midob ʾay (1).

References and notes:


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 96. Direct stem. Most of the oblique forms are generated by means of a different root variant: accusative o ~ o-ge, genitive o-n- ~ o-ne 'my'.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 40.

Wali: Krell 2012: 40.


43. KILL

Nobiin fāʾy-ʾer (1), Dongolawi bʾe: (1), Kenuzi be: (1), Dilling hur (2), Kadaru wur-i (2), Debri wur-i (2), Karko fūr-ʾangā (2), Wali fūr-ʾi (2), Birgid fila:l-e (1), Midob pē-r- ~ pē-nd- (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 350. According to Werner's analysis, contracted from *fāyir-ir, but the basic root is still fāy- (the first -ir- would be an aspectual suffix, historically). Quoted in a slightly more archaic form as fāw-ir-e ~ fāw-r-œs-e in [Lepsius 1880: 301].


Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 36. Polysemy: 'to kill / to extinguish'. Quoted as bc ~ bay in [Massenbach 1962: 176]. The causative formation from dī- 'to die' q.v., dī-kīr, can apparently also be used in the meaning 'kill' [Hofmann 1986: 49].
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 113. Singular action stem ('to kill one person; to kill sbmd. in one movement'), as opposed to plural action stem *to* [ibid.].

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 46.

Wali: Krell 2012: 46.


44. KNEE

Nobiin *kùr-tì* (1), Dongolawi *k'ür-t* (1), Kenuzi *kur-tì* (1), Karko *kù-tè* (1), Wali *kù-tù* (1), Birgid *kurti-n-ur* (1), Midob *ùrù-d* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 364. Plural form: *kùr-tì* ~ *kùr-tì*: Quoted as *kùr-tì* in [Bell 1970: 134]; as *kur-tì*, pl. *kur-tì*: Quoted as *kur-tì* in [Lepsius 1880: 351] (in the meaning 'joint': *vi-n kurti* = 'knee', *eldi-n kurti* = 'elbow'). The fossilized suffix -ti is encountered frequently in Nobiin (see 'ashes', 'hand', etc.).

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 133. Plural forms: *k'ür-tì-nč* ~ *k'ür-tì-nč*. Quoted as *k'ür-tì* in [Massenbach 1962: 211].


Dilling: Not attested.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 45.

Wali: Krell 2012: 45.


45. KNOW

Old Nubian *i-* (*i-* ~ *ei-*) (1), Nobiin *irbè-èr* (1), Dongolawi *iŋur* (2), Kenuzi *iy-ir* (1), Dilling *i-er-* (1), Karko *ʒ-ir* (1), Wali *t-rí* (1), Midob *iŋá-* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 63, 64. Renders Greek γιγνώσκω. Also attested as *ia-r* ~ *ie-r* ~ *eiar* ~ *eier*-, where the suffix -r- marks the imperfective aspect. Phonetically might have been pronounced with a long vowel (*i-*).

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 357. This verb looks like a complex formation, possibly to be segmented as *i-r-be-er*, where *i-r-* is the same stem as in Old Nubian and -be- is a further suffixal extension; this is not certain, since evidence for such a suffix is very scarce, but the verbal stem has a rather unique shape all the same. Quoted as *irbi-r-e- ~ irbi-r-e-de* in [Lepsius 1880: 334].


Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 46.
46. LEAF

Old Nubian ulg- ~ ulug- {oulg- ~ ouloug-} (1), Nobii ükki (1), Dongolawi 'ulg (1), Kenuzi ulug (1), Dilling áid-an (2), Karko ál (3), Wali fír=n=áidó (2), Birgid ?aware (4), Midob pí-dí (5).

References and notes:

Nobii: Werner 1987: 380. Same word as 'ear' q.v. (Werner does not list the meaning 'leaf' in the dictionary, but it is evident from numerous textual examples in his monograph). Quoted as ükki, pl. ükki in [Lepsius 1880: 404].
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 177. Same word as 'ear' q.v. The meaning is listed as 'oberstes Blatt von Weizen oder Gerste', but there is no better equivalent for the generic meaning 'leaf of plant' in Hofmann's dictionary. Quoted as 'ulg, pl. ulg-i in [Massenbach 1962: 238].
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 8. Cf. in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 187]: "according to the elders, aqit 'leaf' is an old word; the current word is aday'; Kauczor's aqit-aday, Jabr el Dar's aday obviously < *aqit-aday with extra suffixation (originally a collective form?).
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debri: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 42.
Wali: Krell 2012: 46. The first component is 'tree' q.v.

47. LIE

Old Nubian pi- # (1), Nobii fíyy-ir ~ fii-r (1), Dongolawi t'urbi ~ t'ubbi (2), Kenuzi turub (2), Dilling zír ~ żeř (3).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 150. Polysemy: 'to be / to lie / to remain'. Somewhat questionable due to lack of unambiguous contexts, but comparative data of modern Nobii shows that the root could indeed have been the basic equivalent for 'to lie' in Old Nubian as well.
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 206. Used both in the dynamic ('to lie down') and static ('to be lying, to rest') sense. Quoted as turb ~ tubb in [Massenbach 1962: 237].
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 292. Denotes the stative verb ('to be lying'); cf. žeř-kiŋ 'to lie down'.
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debri: Not attested.
Karko: Not attested.
Wali: Not attested.
Birgid: Not attested.
Midob: Not attested properly. The verb kērī-, listed in [Thelwall 1983: 111] with the meaning 'to lie (down)', is only listed with the meaning 'to sleep' in [Werner 1993].

48. LIVER
Nobiin dibè (1), Dongolawi kibd'ad (-1), Dilling hegin (2), Karko šīgī-dēʔ (3), Wali fiāʔ (2), Birgid fišši (2), Midob temmēzi (1).

References and notes:
Old Nubian: Not attested.
Kenuzi: Not attested.
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45.
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debri: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 45.
Wali: Krell 2012: 45.

49. LONG
Nobiin nāssī (1), Dongolawi n'oṣo ~ n'oṣo: (1), Kenuzi nosso (1), Dilling dɔʔ-i (1), Kadaru dɔʔu (1), Debri dɔʔi (1), Karko dɔʔ-è (1), Wali dwí (1), Birgid nizz-e (1), Midob tàss-è (1).

References and notes:
Old Nubian: Not attested.
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 369. Plural form: nāssī-kū. Meaning glossed as 'big, long', but most of Werner's textual examples confirm the primary semantics of 'long'. Quoted as nāssī ~ nāssī-r, pl. nāssī-ku in [Lepsius 1880: 369].
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.
Wali: Krell 2012: 41.

50. LOUSE
Nobiin issi (1), Dongolawi 'issi ~ 'issi (1), Kenuzi issi (1), Dilling iti-d (1), Karko ītē (1), Wali
ité-tū (1), Midob i:di (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.
Nobiin: Lepsius 1880: 335. Attested only in the oldest source, but there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the word (particularly in the light of external data).
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debi: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 42.
Wali: Krell 2012: 42.
Birgid: Not attested.

51. MAN

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 122. Meaning glossed as 'man, husband'; the word consistently renders Greek ἀνήρ rather than ἄνθρωπος, so the required semantics of 'male human being' is quite appropriate here.
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 371. Quoted as ogi:ʒ, pl. ogzi:ri ~ ogi:ʒi:ri in [Lepsius 1880: 375]. The form in Lepsius’ dictionary is closer to the Old Nubian equivalent; final -l in Werner's attestation may be a fossilized determinant.
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debi: Not attested.
Wali: Krell 2012: 41.

52. MANY
Old Nubian di:ʒ- {diei- ~ diē- ~ diei-} (1), Nobiin diyy-i (1), Dongolawi dìg-ri ~ dìg-ri: (1), Kenuzi diγ-ri: (1), Dilling inʃər-i (2), Kadaru inʃir-u (2), Debi inʃir-i (2), Karko ñm̩nèʔ (3), Wali šāmō (4), Birgid farra (5), Midob ép:þe (6).

References and notes:
Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 45. Renders Greek πολλοί. Attested once as *dig-* (possibly a dialectal form, since it is closer to the Kenuzi-Dongolawi form of this word than to modern Nobiin).

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 113, 346. Cf. also the predicative form: *diyy-à ~ diyy-à* 'it is a lot, it is enough'. Quoted as *dê-î* in [Lepsius 1880: 285].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 51. Meaning glossed as 'great in quantity or number, abundant, plentiful, numerous'. Plural forms: *diɡ-rika* ~ *diɡ-rika*-nê. Adjectival stem; cf. also the adverb *diɡ-rika*-g 'much, exceedingly, very'. Quoted as *diɡri* in [Massenbach 1962: 181].


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 82.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Deibri: Thelwall 1978: 278.


Wali: Krell 2012: 41.


53. MEAT


References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 24. Dubious: the meaning is listed as 'body, flesh', and the word consistently renders Greek σάρξ 'flesh' and σῶμα 'body' rather than κρέας 'meat'. On the other hand, no relevant passages with the meaning 'meat (of animal, etc.)' are attested in the texts, so there is no better candidate for this meaning.


Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Deibri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 43.

Wali: Krell 2012: 43.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 204. Quoted as *kozi* in [MacMichael 1920: 204].


54. MOON

Old Nubian *un- {oun-}* (1), Nobiin *ûnât-tî* (1), Dongolawi *un-at-ti ~ un-at-t* (1), Kenuzi *un-at-ti ~ an-at-ti* (1), Dilling *nôn-tî* (1), Kadaru *nôn-tu* (1), Debri *nôn-to* (1), Karko *ômô-d* (1), Wali *ûm-tû* (1), Birgid *maːl* # (2), Midob *ûmûôl* (3).

References and notes:
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 209. The non-derived root stem un 'moon / month' is also attested; it seems to be more frequently used in the temporal than in the celestial meaning. However, cf., the following distinction in [Massenbach 1962: 239]: un 'moon / crescent moon' vs. un-at-ti 'moon / full moon'.
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 82; Massenbach 1962: 201. In [Meinhof 1918: 89], the meaning 'mountain' is glossed as kâgâr = kakâr 'stone' in Stevenson's lists (q.v.).
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 34. The word is encountered less frequently than naa, but it also renders Greek ὄρος in at least two different contexts, as well as Greek σκόπελον 'mound' in a third one. It seems impossible to uncover the proper difference between the two; we include them as a technical synonyms. Still a third "candidate" is kul- [koul-] [Browne 1996: 101], which also renders Greek ὄρος, but only in a single context; for statistical reasons, we do not include it in the calculations.
Kadaru: Hofmann 1986: 28. In [Meinhof 1918: 89], the meaning 'mountain' is glossed as kâgâr = kakâr 'stone' in Stevenson's lists (q.v.).

55. MOUNTAIN

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 209. The non-derived root stem un 'moon / month' is also attested; it seems to be more frequently used in the temporal than in the celestial meaning. However, cf., the following distinction in [Massenbach 1962: 239]: un 'moon / crescent moon' vs. un-at-ti 'moon / full moon'.
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 28. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. The simple form un is not attested; however, the distinction between un 'moon / crescent moon' and un-at-ti 'moon / full moon' in [Massenbach 1962: 239] seems to apply to the Kenuzi dialect as well as Dongolawi.
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.
Karko: Krell 2012: 47.
Wali: Krell 2012: 47.
Birgid: MacMichael 1920: 204. Dubious entry, since the word is not attested in Thelwall 1977; cf., however, as 'month' [Thelwall 1977: 204].

56. MOUTH
Old Nubian *agil- ~ akil- {âgl- ~ âkl-} (1), Nobin âg (1), Dongolawi 'agil (1), Kenuzi *agil (1), Dilling *agul (1), Kadaru *agvl (1), Debri *xl (1), Karko ogâlè (1), Wali ûl (1), Birgid *agul (1), Midob âl (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 4. Renders Greek *stôma. Additionally, Old Nubian amid- {âmid-} is also glossed by Browne as 'mouth' [Browne 1996: 11], although its Modern Nobin reflex *amir means 'lips'; in any case, it is only attested once, unlike the much more frequent *agil-, and should not be included.


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278. Quoted as *gel in [Meinhof 1918: 90].

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 44.

Wali: Krell 2012: 44.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 204. Quoted as *en=-*agul in [MacMichael 1920: 206] (probably = 'my mouth' or 'your mouth', cf. the same prefix in 'name' q.v.).


57. NAME

Old Nubian *tanjis- {tanš- ~ tans-} (1), Nobin *tanjis (1), Dongolawi *errì ~ *err (2), Kenuzi *errì (2), Dilling or (2), Karko â:kwò (3), Wali ûr (2), Birgid *cn=erei # (2), Midob ârì (2).

References and notes:


Nobiin: Bell 1970: 129. Quoted as *tanjis ~ tanši in [Lepsius 1880: 393].


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 44.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 50.

Wali: Krell 2012: 50.

Birgid: MacMichael 1920: 203. External as well as internal (cf. 'mouth') comparison shows that *cn= is most likely a prefixal component (probably 'my /name' or 'your/ name'). The entry still remains somewhat dubious, since the word is not attested in Thelwall 1977.

Midob: Werner 1993: 142. Quoted as *ri in [Thelwall 1983: 111] (connection with *ri 'demon', mentioned there, should probably be regarded as a case of homonymy). Cf. also kâli 'name', kâli-âm 'it is called' [Werner 1993: 103], not confirmed in [Thelwall 1983].

58. NECK

Nobiin îyyì (1), Dongolawi *eyye ~ *eyye (1), Kenuzi eyye (1), Kadaru e: (1), Debri dul (2),
Karko dól-è (2), Wali dól (2), Birgid kafai (3), Midob ér (4).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.


Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 64. Plural forms: 'egye-ní - 'egye-ní. Quoted as 'egye ~ 'egye 'neck' in [Massenbach 1962: 186]. Alternate synonym: gümur [Armbruster 1965: 82]. Plural form: gümur-i. Quoted as gümur, pl. gümri-i 'nape; neck' in [Massenbach 1962: 193]. The difference between the two words is not quite clear, but, given the semantics in Massenbach's description, 'egye is more likely to refer to the 'neck' in general or to 'front part of neck' in particular, whereas gümur is more likely to refer to 'back side of the neck; nape'.


Dilling: Not attested.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 45.

Wali: Krell 2012: 45.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 204.


59. NEW

Old Nubian miri- {miri- ~ miriei- ~ muri-} (1), Nobiin mírí: (1), Dongolawi 'er ~ 'ẽr (2), Kenuzi ēr (2), Dilling ēr (2), Karko ēr (2), Wali īr (2), Birgid ēr (2).

References and notes:


Nobiin: Werner 1987: 368. Quoted as mirí, pl. mirí-gu in [Lepsius 1880: 364].


Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 49.

Wali: Krell 2012: 49.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 204.

Midob: Not attested. Said to be an 'Arabic loan' in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

60. NIGHT

Old Nubian oyar- {õar-} (1), Nobiin āwá (1), Dongolawi 'ugu ~ 'ugu: (2), Kenuzi ugu: (2), Dilling kwalol (3), Kadaru kwál (3), Debri kwál (3), Karko kwál-nò (3), Wali kwál (3), Birgid nergi (4), Midob õdl (1).
References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 122. Renders Greek νυξ. Also attested in the form ȝydae- [ȝaide-].


Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 208. Plural forms: ȝug-nû ~ ȝug-nû. Cf. ȝug-rûs ‘day’ [ibid.]; both words are derived from the root ȝug-, which Armbruster defines as ‘day (of 24 hours)’. Quoted as ȝug, pl. ȝug-nei in [Massenbach 1962: 238].


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debi: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 49.

Wali: Krell 2012: 49.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 204.


61. NOSE

Nobiin sûrî (1), Dongolawi s'orî (1), Kenuzi sorî (1), Kadaru ëdi (2), Debri ënu (2), Karko ëdî (2), Wali ëtu-ë (2), Birgid mîn (3), Midob ënî (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.


Dilling: Not attested.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debi: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 44.

Wali: Krell 2012: 44.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 204.


62. NOT

Old Nubian men- {men- ~ mën- ~ mein- ~ min-} (1), Nobiin =mûn (1), Dongolawi =mun- (1), Kenuzi =mun- (1), Dilling =min (1), Birgid =m- # (1), Midob =â- (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 114. Formally a negative verb (‘not to be’), joined with the stem of the negated verb in a compound formation.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 159. Formally a negative verb (‘not to be’), joined with the stem of the negated verb in a compound formation.
In some forms, represented with vowel gradation as \(=\text{min}^-\) or \(=\text{mun}^-\) (cf. the root shape in Old Nubian), but the main present and past conjugation paradigms all feature the stem variant \(=\text{mun}\).

**Dongolawi**: Armbruster 1965: 146. Formally a negative verb (‘not to be’), joined with the stem of the negated verb in a compound formation. The suffixal forms are \(=\text{mun-an}\) for 3rd p. plural and \(=\text{mun-un}\) for all other persons. In certain other contexts, the verb shows a different vocalism: \(=\text{men}\) [Armbruster 1965: 140]. Quoted as \(=\text{mun}\sim=\text{men}\) in [Massenbach 1962: 218].

**Kenuzi**: Hofmann 1986: 132. Formally a negative verb (‘not to be’), joined with the stem of the negated verb in a compound formation. Quoted as \(=\text{mun}\sim=\text{men}\) in [Massenbach 1962: 218].

**Dilling**: Kauczor 1920: 227. Formally a negative verb (‘not to be’), joined with the stem of the negated verb in a compound formation.

**Kadaru**: Not attested.

**Debri**: Not attested.

**Karko**: Not attested.

**Wali**: Not attested.

**Birgid**: MacMichael 1920: 211. Negative suffix or negative root stem, attested in such forms as \(=\text{mun}\sim=\text{men}\) ‘I did not come’, \(=\text{mun}\sim=\text{men}\) ‘do not go’ etc. Not attested in [Thelwall 1977], but there is no reason to distrust the information in the earlier source.

**Midob**: Werner 1993: 49. Negation of assertion in Midob is expressed with the suffixal extension \(=\text{á}^-\), appended to the verbal root.

### 63. ONE

Old Nubian \(\text{wer}^-\) \(=\text{wel}^-\) \{\text{ouel}^-\) \(=\text{ouer}^-\) \(=\text{wer}^-\} (1), Nobin \(\text{wèr}^-\) \(=\text{wèl}^-\) \(=\text{wè}: (1),\) Dongolawi \(\text{wèr} (1),\) Kenuzi \(\text{wer} (1),\) Dilling \(\text{be} (1),\) Kadaru \(\text{ber} (1),\) Debri \(\text{ber} (1),\) Karko \(\text{bè}:\) (1), Wali \(\text{bèr-àrà} (1),\) Birgid \(\text{mèl-ug} (1),\) Midob \(\text{pàr-qi} (1).\)

### References and notes:

**Old Nubian**: Browne 1996: 132-133. This word functions both as a numeral (‘one’) and an indefinite article (‘a’, ‘some’). The variation between \(\text{wer}^-\) and \(\text{wel}^-\) looks random, but \(\text{wer}^-\) is the more archaic variant as suggested by external comparison.

**Nobin**: Werner 1987: 382. Quoted as \(\text{wèr}^-\) \(\text{wèl}^-\) \(\text{wè}:\) in [Lepsius 1880: 411]. Final -\(r\) belongs to the root, as may be seen from various bound and derived forms, e. g. \(\text{wèr}-\text{à}:\) ‘it is one’ or \(\text{àr}-\text{à}i\) ‘first’; the vowel-final variant is apparently the result of contextual simplification.

**Dongolawi**: Armbruster 1965: 219. Plural form: \(\text{wèr}-\text{i}\). Quoted as \(\text{wer}\) in [Massenbach 1962: 242].


**Dilling**: Kauczor 1920: 90. Predicative form: \(\text{be}-\text{n}^-\) \(\text{be}-\text{n}^.\) Transcribed as \(\text{bè}:\) in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 186].

**Kadaru**: Thelwall 1978: 278. Quoted as \(\text{be}-\text{r}^-\) in [Meinhof 1918: 89].

**Debri**: Thelwall 1978: 278.

**Karko**: Krell 2012: 41.

**Wali**: Krell 2012: 41.

**Birgid**: Thelwall 1977: 204. Quoted as \(\text{mèr}-\text{ti}\) in [MacMichael 1920: 198].

**Midob**: Werner 1993: 33; Thelwall 1983: 111. The simple root stem \(\text{pè}:\) ‘one’ [Werner 1993: 115] seems to be restricted to certain bound contexts.

### 64. PERSON

Old Nubian \(\text{i-t}^-\) \{\text{eit}^-\) \(=\text{eṭ}^-\} (1), Nobin \(\text{i-d} (1),\) Dongolawi \(\text{adem} (1),\) Kenuzi \(\text{zè}:\) (1), Dilling \(\text{i-d} (1),\) Midob \(\text{i-r} (1).

### References and notes:
Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 80. Consistently renders Greek ἄνθρωπος rather than ἄννη (with one or two insignificant exceptions), so the required semantics of 'human being' (irrespective of sex) is quite appropriate here; cf. also the derived it-k- [εk-] '(hu)mankind' [ibid.]. Stem-final -t- is segmentable as the old singulative suffix, since it disappears in the plural: i- [εt-] 'people' [Browne 1996: 63].


Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 5. Plural form: ʾadem-t. Quoted as adem in [Massenbach 1962: 170]. Borrowed from Arabic. The older word ʾad, glossed by Armbruster as 'man (vir); husband; person' [Armbruster 1965: 105], seems to be generally employed in various compound formations, or functions as an archaism.

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 188; Massenbach 1962: 244. Borrowed from Arabic ẓawil 'person'.


Kadaru: Not attested.
Debri: Not attested.
Karko: Not attested.
Wali: Not attested.
Birgid: Not attested.

65. RAIN

Old Nubian aru- {ārou-} (1), Nobiin awwi (1), Dongolawi ʿaru (1), Kenuzi a-nn-essi (1), Dilling are (1), Kadaru ara (1), Debri are (1), Karko ār (1), Wali ārəʔ (1), Birgid ʾaše (1), Midob ārè ~ ārî ~ ārò (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 19. Renders Greek ὑετός. The stem is more frequently attested within the compound verb aru-agar- ‘to rain on; to cover, protect’, but there is at least one context in which it functions independently. Highly problematic is the relation between aru- and a different, phonetically similar form for ‘rain’: awi- [auei-] [Browne 1996: 14], attested only in two different contexts. The difference may be dialectal, since aru- is closer in form to modern Kenuzi-Dongolawi, while awi- is closer in form to Modern Nobiin; however, that does not solve the issue of whether the two are really variants of the same root or not, and if yes, what is the original stem and what was the cause of the sound change. Since the form with -r- has an overall wider distribution in Nubian than the Nobiin form with -w-, we include aru- as the main entry.


Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 26. The form is a contraction from *aru-n-essi, where *aru- is the old word for ‘rain’, -n- is the genitive marker, and essi = ‘water’ q.v. The non-contracted form is still attested as aru-n-essi in [Massenbach 1962: 173], along with a-nu-essi.


Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278. Quoted as ārī in [Meinhof 1918: 89].
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.
Karko: Krell 2012: 47.
Wali: Krell 2012: 47.

66. RED
Old Nubian gel- # (1), Nobin gé:l (1), Dongolawi gɛ:l-e (1), Kenuzi ge:l-e (1), Dilling kel-e (1), Kadaru kell-e (1), Debri kell-e (1), Karko kél-è (1), Wali kél-i (1), Birgid kel-e (1), Midob kél-è (1).

References and notes:
Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 26. Actually renders Greek πορφυροῦς 'purple' rather than 'red', but external data strongly confirm that 'red' must have been the basic meaning. No other equivalent for 'red' is known.
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 82.
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.
Karko: Krell 2012: 49.
Wali: Krell 2012: 49.

67. ROAD
Old Nubian dawi- ~ dawu- {dauei- ~ dauou-} (1), Nobin dàwwi (1), Dongolawi dˈarib ~ dˈarib (-1), Kenuzi darub ~ darb (-1), Dilling ob (2), Kadaru op (2), Debri og (2), Karko kʒk (3), Wali ŏngōl (4), Birgid tun-di (5), Midob táː (1).

References and notes:
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

68. ROOT
Old Nubian dulist- {doulst-} # (1), Nobin ʒáːː (2), Dongolawi ˈurse (3), Kenuzi kɔːy (4),
Dilling *irt-ad* (5), Karko *itîr* (5), Wali *îršū-dū* (5), Midob *îr-dî* (5).

References and notes:

**Old Nubian:** Browne 1996: 54. Dubious; only attested twice, and the corresponding Greek equivalents are not indicated, nor does the word have any reliable external parallels in modern forms of Nubian.

**Nobiin:** Werner 1987: 359. Plural form: *zā-nēː*. Quoted as *zāc* in [Lepsius 1880: 322]; cf. also *asil* 'root' [Lepsius 1880: 273], borrowed from Arabic.


**Dilling:** Kauczor 1920: 61. Plural form: *irt-eni*.

**Kadaru:** Not attested.

**Debri:** Not attested.

**Karko:** Krell 2012: 42.

**Wali:** Krell 2012: 42.

**Birgid:** Not attested.

**Midob:** Werner 1993: 94. Also *îr-dî* id. Quoted as *îr-dî* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

69. **ROUND**

Nobiin *geger* # (1), Dongolawi *gir'ic-de-buc-l* (1), Kenuzi *gur-gur* (1), Dilling *dîl-e-ad* (2), Midob *kîkîl-îçê* (1).

References and notes:

**Old Nubian:** Not attested.

**Nobiin:** Lepsius 1880: 310. Dubious (attested only in an old source).

**Dongolawi:** Armbruster 1965: 79. Participial form from the verbal stem *gir'ic-de-buc*: 'be in a rounded state or condition, be round, be circular', itself derived from *gir'ic* 'to revolve, turn oneself round; take a turn, walk round' [ibid.]. Applied to 3D objects.

**Kenuzi:** Hofmann 1986: 78. Reduplicated stem. Also used in the verbal meaning: 'to spin (a ball of yarn)'. Only quoted in the meaning 'ball of yarn; to spin' in [Massenbach 1962: 193].

**Dilling:** Kauczor 1920: 275. Adjectival derivative from the verb *dîl-e* 'to put / scoop together, make into a pile'. The word functions both as an adjective ('round, ball-shaped') and a noun ('ball').

**Kadaru:** Not attested.

**Debri:** Not attested.

**Karko:** Not attested.

**Wali:** Not attested.

**Birgid:** Not attested.

**Midob:** Werner 1993: 102. Formally derived from the verb *kîkîl-îçê* 'to make a heap' [Werner 1993: 102].

69. **ROUND**

Dongolawi *sil'ac-de* (2).

References and notes:
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 177. Meaning glossed as 'round, circular'; applied to 2D objects (plates, trays, etc).

70. SAND
Nobiin siw (1), Dongolawi šitu ~ š'yu (1), Kenuzi siw (1), Dilling šu-d (1), Kadaru šun-du (1), Debri šu-du (1), Karko šwi-d (1), Wali šu-tè (1), Birgid šeši (2), Midob ūki-dí (3).

References and notes:
Old Nubian: Not attested.
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 44. Different from wende 'fine sand' [Kauczor 1920: 48].
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

71. SAY
Old Nubian pes- (1), Nobiin iːg-ir (2), Dongolawi wːeː ~ ːc- (3), Kenuzi weː ~ eː (3), Dilling fe (3), Kadaru wei (3), Debri wei (3), Wali fi (3), Birgid pa (3), Midob kː- (4).

References and notes:
Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 149. This is the most frequent and basic verb to introduce direct speech, rendering Greek λέγω and similar verbs. Much more rare, and dubious in the required meaning, is the verb il- ~ il-d- [eil- ~ eil-d-] 'to say' [Browne 1996: 68], also attested as a noun: il- ~ il-d- 'voice' [ibid.]. It also occasionally renders Greek λέγω, along with several other different verbs with the semantics of 'speaking' or 'telling', and thus, may have been closer in semantics to 'tell' or 'pronounce'. In any case, its frequency of usage prevents it from being included along with pes-. Still another weak candidate is we- [weː ~ ouː] 'to say', attested in, at most, a couple of contexts [Browne 1996: 204]; external evidence suggests that it may be a Kenuzi-Dongolawi dialectism in the texts.
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 57, 216. The allomorph ːc- seems to be a "lenited" variant of weː, originally developed in specific unstressed / "fused" contexts and later extrapolated to certain other parts of the verbal paradigm. Quoted as e ~ we in [Massenbach 1962: 184]. Distinct from an 'say; say to, tell, bid; let, allow' [Armbruster 1965: 14] (contexts show that this verb is generally closer to English 'tell' than 'say').
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 183. Probably the same distribution between the two variants as in Dongolawi. Quoted as e ~ we in [Massenbach 1962: 184]. The verb an is also listed in the meaning 'to say' [Hofmann 1986: 25], but its semantics seems to be more or less the same as in Dongolawi.
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 77.
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.
Karko: Not properly attested; Krell quotes the form īknahār [Krell 2012: 47], which is clearly the same as in āy-īknahār 'this' q.v. and
is fairly dubious (could be just a "parasitic" word that is sometimes mistaken for a basic item or appended to it).

Wali: Krell 2012: 47.

Birgid: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Midob: Werner 1993: 104. Differently in [Thelwall 1983: 111]: ãŋŋà 'say!' (imperative), ãŋŋà-nán 'to say' (infinitive); not confirmed in [Werner 1993].

72. SEE

Old Nubian ñal- ~ ñil- {ñal- ~ ñl- ~ ñl-} (1), Nobii nèl (1), Dongolawi n'al (1), Kenuzi nal (1), Dilling gel (1), Kadaru ñeli (1), Debri ñeli (1), Karko ñl (1), Wali gîlî (1), Birgid ell- (1), Midob kâl- (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 195. Renders Greek εἰδος, etc.

Nobii: Werner 1987: 227. Cf. nāl-il 'he saw' in [Bell 1970: 132] (the form nēl, according to Werner's morphophonological analysis, is a contraction from 'nāl-il'). Quoted as nal-e = na-l-os-e in [Lepsius 1880: 368]. Cf. also gûp-e 'to see' [Lepsius 1880: 315] = gûn-ir 'to show; to examine' [Werner 1987: 354] (the meaning in Werner's dictionary seems to have been glossed more accurately).


Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 46.

Wali: Krell 2012: 46.

Birgid: Thelwall 1978: 278. Quoted as el- in [MacMichael 1920: 213], attested in the sentence ter uzzet el-um 'he saw the corn'. Not attested in [Thelwall 1977].

Midob: Werner 1993: 104. In [Thelwall 1983: 111], the verb 'to look' is incorrectly substituted for 'to see': kâl-ná 'look at...'

73. SEED

Old Nubian koşir- ~ koşîd- {koşî- ~ koşîd-} (1), Nobii koşîr (1), Dongolawi t'eːri (2), Kenuzi teːri (2), Dilling ter-ri (2), Karko fânî (3), Wali tónzó (4), Birgid uzz-e (5).

References and notes:


Nobii: Bell 1970: 127. Glossed as the plural form 'seeds', although the form is not a morphological plural. In [Werner 1987: 363], only the corresponding verb stem is attested: kôşîr - kôšîr 'to plant'.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 198. Plural forms: têrî-nê ~ têrî-nê. Cf. also hičn 'child (of any age), offspring; male child, son; boy; young (of animals); fruit, seed (of plants)' ([Armbruster 1965: 36]; glossed only as 'child, youngling, young (of animal)' in [Massenbach 1962: 178].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 169. Polysemy: 'seed / fruit'. Also used in the verbal meaning 'to plant'. Cf. also ewit-ti [Hofmann 1986: 61], a nominal derivative from the verb ewîr 'to plow' [ibid.]. Quoted as ewîr- = ewît- 'crop; seed' in [Massenbach 1962: 186].


Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 42.
Wali: Krell 2012: 42.

74. SIT
Old Nubian ak- ~ ag- (1) / tik- ~ tìŋ- (2), Nobini ã:ɡ-îr ~ ã:ɡ-il (1) / ti:ɡ-îr (2), Dongolawi 'aɡ (1) / tɛːɡ (2), Kenuzi aɡ (1) / teɡ (2), Dilling ak-i (1), Kadaru ek-i (1), Debrì ak-i (1), Karko ãk (1), Wali āk-i (1), Birgid ?utta (3), Midob ãɡ- (1) / tâɡ- (2).

References and notes:
Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 8. Polysemy: 'to sit / remain / live'. Commonly renders Greek κάθημαι. Browne 1996: 171. This verb is encountered less frequently than ak-, but only in the meaning 'to sit' (= Greek κάθημαι). The semantic difference between ak- and tik- is just as hard to establish as it is in modern Nile-Nubian languages; provisionally, we include both as technical synonyms. Nobini: Werner 1987: 339. Cf. ãɡ-d 'he sat' in [Bell 1970: 135]. Quoted as ãɡ-e 'to sit' in [Lepsius 1880: 266]. Werner 1987: 378. This word is glossed as 'to sit' ('sitzen') in Werner's monograph. However, in [Lepsius 1880: 396] the word tìɡe is explicitly glossed as 'to sit down' ('sich setzen'). Textual examples in both sources do not permit to see a clear picture; it may be so that in modern Nobini dialects, the old dynamic verb 'to sit down' is steadily infringing on the territory of the old static verb ãɡ- 'to be sitting', or, in fact, this process may have already begun in Old Nubian. For now, we include both forms as synonymous (technical or transit synonymy). Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 6. Polysemy: 'to sit down, sit / to squat / to reside, live / to remain, stay / to be present'. Quoted as ãɡ ~ a: in [Massenbach 1962: 170]. Armbruster 1965: 196. Polysemy: 'to sit / to squat / to reside, live / to remain, stay / to be present'. Quoted as tɛɡ in [Massenbach 1962: 234]. As in Nobini, the precise difference between ãɡ and tɛɡ is hard to determine, and we include both forms as synonyms. Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 19. Polysemy: 'to sit / to dwell'. Quoted as ãɡ ~ a: in [Massenbach 1962: 170]. Hofmann 1986: 168. Quoted as tɛɡ in [Massenbach 1962: 234]. As in Nobini, the precise difference between ãɡ and tɛɡ is hard to determine, and we include both forms as synonyms. Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 292. This stem denotes both the active (ak-i-p 'to sit down') and static (ak-er 'to be sitting') verbs. Polysemy: 'to sit / to dwell, reside'. Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280. Debrì: Thelwall 1978: 280. Karko: Krell 2012: 47. Wali: Krell 2012: 47. Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 205. Midob: Werner 1993: 77. Meaning glossed as 'to sit, stay, lie'. Werner 1993: 136; Thelwall 1983: 112. Meaning glossed as 'to sit, stay'. Difference between ãɡ- and tɡ- remains unclear, as in other Nubian languages.

75. SKIN
Nobini nàwá (1), Dongolawi aţım (2), Kenuzi aţım (2), Dilling dor (3), Karko dʒ (3), Wali dîr (3), Birgid nor (3), Midob ãdànjí (4).

References and notes:
Old Nubian: Not attested.
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 44. Transcribed as dor, pl. dor-ì in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 186].
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debi: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 43.
Wali: Krell 2012: 43.

76. SLEEP

Old Nubian ɲer- (1), Nobiin nèr-ìr (1), Dongolawi n’èr (1), Kenuzi ner (1), Dilling ñer (1), Kadaru dtwalleli (2), Debi ñer-i (1), Karko ʒë-mʒà (1), Wali ñër-i (1), Birgid ner-i (1), Midob kërà- (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 199. Attested only once, but correlates well with external data (the same root in modern Nile-Nubian languages). Additionally, the form ñìc: [ñìc-ì] is also glossed as ‘to sleep’ in [Browne 1996: 151], since in one context it does render Greek κοιμάμαι. However, the basic and most frequent meaning of ñìc- is ‘to be, remain, lie’ (see under ‘to lie’), and this is probably just an accidental use of the verb ‘to lie’ in place of ‘to sleep’.
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 291. Glossed as ‘to go to sleep’, but analysis of contextual examples shows that the same verb usually expresses the static meaning ‘to be sleeping’ as well.
Karko: Krell 2012: 46.
Wali: Krell 2012: 46.

77. SMALL


References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 114. Verbal root: ‘to be small’. Renders Greek ὀλίγος and many other partial synonyms. This is the most frequent Old Nubian equivalent for ‘small’. Additionally, cf. also mo(r)-’small’, attested only once [Browne 1996: 204]: tuk...- [touk...-], with a lacuna, also attested only once [Browne 1996: 182] - neither of these two words are included due to scarcity of occurrences.
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 364; Bell 1970: 127. Polysemy: ‘small / young’. Cf. also tuɲ ‘small’, pl. tuɲː- ‘small ones, young ones, children’ in [Lepsius 1880: 401], only attested as the pluralis tantum tuɲ - tuɲː ‘children; the young’ in [Werner 1987: 379]. Lepsius also remarks that the word is most frequently found in the plural, referring to human children or young of animals (fish, dogs, etc.). The corresponding suppletive singular form is tod ‘small, young’ [Lepsius 1880: 298] = tod id. [Werner 1987: 378].


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 31. The suffix -ndu is in itself a productive diminutive morpheme. Said of singular objects. The corresponding suppletive plural form is dweː-eni [Kauczor 1920: 82].

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.


Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 203. Meaning glossed as ‘little (volume)’; cf. also maːn-tita ‘little (size)’ [ibid.].


78. SMOKE


References and notes:


Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 205. Quoted as tulla in [Massenbach 1962: 237]; the latter source also lists the verbal stem tull- ‘to smoke’, from which tull-a is supposedly derived, but no such stem is given in [Armbruster 1965].


79. STAND


References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 203. Also attested with the imperfective suffixal extension as ηοζ-ir- [ηοζζ-], and with a strange inserted nasal as ηοζ- (possibly due to assimilative influence of the word-initial nasal). This verb is the most frequent and basic equivalent of Greek ἴστημι and its close synonyms. Alternately, cf. also: (a) meʃʃ [Browne 1996: 116], attested only once (related to the Modern
Nobiin word for 'stand', but definitely not the most common means of expression in Old Nobiin; (b) ok~og ‘to stand; to be (over)’ [Browne 1996: 124], a word with rather vague semantics that seems to reflect something like 'to be placed, located (somewhere)' rather than specifically 'stand (upright)'.

**Nobiin:** Werner 1987: 367. Polysemy: ‘to be (somewhere) / to stand’. Quoted as menjet in [Lepsius 1880: 362].

**Dongolawi:** Armbruster 1965: 194. Polysemy: ‘to stand / to stand still, stop / to remain, stay, wait’. Quoted as tek in [Massenbach 1962: 234].

**Kenuzi:** Hofmann 1986: 168. Quoted as tek in [Massenbach 1962: 234].

**Dilling:** Kauczor 1920: 292. Cf. tek-i ‘to set up, make to stand’.

**Kadaru:** Not attested.

**Debri:** Not attested.

**Karko:** Krell 2012: 47.

**Wali:** Krell 2012: 47.

**Birgid:** Not attested.


80. **STAR**

Old Nubian wiɲʒ- {oueɲʒ-} (1), Nobiin wıŋzi (1), Dongolawi wissı ~ wıssı (1), Kenuzi wissı (1), Dilling ornu-ndu (2), Kadaru wonz-ntu (2), Debrı wondu-nu (2), Karko ŏndà (2), Wali ŏndá (2), Birgid waxi-di (2), Midob ônë-di (2).

References and notes:


**Dongolawi:** Armbruster 1965: 221. Plural forms: wıssı-nč ~ wıssı-nč.

**Kenuzi:** Hofmann 1986: 186. Quoted as wissı in [Massenbach 1962: 243].


**Kadaru:** Thelwall 1978: 280.

**Debrı:** Thelwall 1978: 280.

**Karko:** Krell 2012: 47.

**Wali:** Krell 2012: 47.


**Midob:** Werner 1993: 109. Quoted as ônë-di in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

81. **STONE**

Old Nubian kit- {kı-} (1), Nobiin kid (1), Dongolawi k’ulu (2), Kenuzi kulu (2), Dilling kugor (3), Kadaru kakar (3), Debrı kakar (3), Karko kıkông-dè (3), Wali kĭgûn-dû (3), Birgid kul-di (2), Midob ûll-i (2).

References and notes:

**Old Nubian:** Browne 1996: 94. Renders Greek πέτρας or λίθος.


**Dongolawi:** Armbruster 1965: 131. Plural forms: k’ulu-nći ~ k’ulu-nći. Quoted as k’ulu, pl. k’ulu-nći in [Massenbach 1962: 211]. Cf. also:
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kórd ‘small stone, pebble’ [Armbruster 1965: 128].


82. SUN

Old Nubian maša-l (1), Nobii māš (1), Dongolawi m’asil (1), Kenuzi masil (1), Dilling εζ (2), Kadaru ašu (2), Debri engal-to (3), Karko ì (2), Wali ìò (2), Birgid ìzi (2), Midob pàssàr (1).

References and notes:


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 44.


Karko: Krell 2012: 47.

Wali: Krell 2012: 47.


83. SWIM

Nobiin kuζ- # (1), Dongolawi b’oww* ~ b’oww (2), Kenuzi bowwi (2), Dilling ok-er- (3), Karko urù-mzà (4), Wali člk-i (5), Midob tùggà- ~ tûkkà- (6).

References and notes:


Nobiin: Lepsius 1880: 349. Dubious (only attested in an old source).


Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 43. Polysemy: ‘to bathe / to wash / to swim’. Quoted as bow ~ bowwi in [Massenbach 1962: 179]. Cf. also: asar ‘to flow / to swim’ (judging by the adduced examples, said of water or objects floating on water) [Hofmann 1986: 29].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 120. Quoted as ñe ‘swim’ in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 189].

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.
84. **TAIL**

Nobiin żêlêw (1), Dongolawi ɛ:u (2), Kenuzi ɛ:w (2), Dilling ɛb (2), Kadaru ep (2), Debri ɛbo (2), Karko ēib (2), Wali ió (2), Birgid ｚibbe (-1), Midob ेmi (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.


Karko: Krell 2012: 43.

Wali: Krell 2012: 46.


85. **THAT**

Old Nubian man- {man- ~ maan-} (1), Nobiin mán (1), Dongolawi m'an (1), Kenuzi man (1), Dilling oje (2), Karko wârè (2), Wali ą-ŋú (3), Birgid tara (4), Midob à-n (3).

References and notes:


Nobiin: Werner 1987: 121. Quoted as man ‘that; he’ in [Lepsius 1880: 358].


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 102. The suppletive plural inde [ibid.] is a semantically neutralized form used for both 'these' and 'those'.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 40.

Wali: Krell 2012: 40.


Midob: Werner 1993: 38. There is also a separate, less frequent, distant deixis pronoun: ąkā- ‘that (over there)’ [ibid.].

86. **THIS**

Old Nubian in- {eŋ- ~ ein- ~ ęn- ~ en-} (1), Nobiin in (1), Dongolawi in (1), Kenuzi in (1),
Dilling ge (2), Karko áy-ıknâhár # (3), Wali ṇū (4), Midob nè-n (5).

References and notes:

**Old Nubian:** Browne 1996: 70. Most of the orthographic variants reflect *in-*, but dialectal pronunciation *en- is also not excluded.
**Nobiin:** Werner 1987: 121. Quoted as in in [Lepsius 1880: 332]. According to Werner, there is an additional possibility to interpret the Nobiin deictic system as tripartite, including ĭr this / that (intermediate) as a third element; however, he himself prefers to consider ĭr primarily as a personal pronoun (*he, she, it*).
**Dilling:** Kauczor 1920: 102. The suppletive plural inde [ibid.] is a semantically neutralized form used for both ‘these’ and ‘those’.
**Kadaru:** Not attested.
**Debri:** Not attested.
**Karko:** Krell 2012: 40. A strangely complex form with an unclear internal structure (perhaps *this something / someone*?). Cf. the similar form for the interrogative ‘what?’.
**Wali:** Krell 2012: 40.
**Birgid:** Not attested.
**Midob:** Werner 1993: 38; Thelwall 1983: 112.

87. THOU

Old Nubian i-r ~ i-d {iur ~ ṅi ~ ei-d ~ ṅd-l} (1), Nobiin i-r (1), Dongolawi ĭr (1), Kenuzi ĭr (1), Dilling a (2), Karko ṳ (1), Wali ă (1), Birgid ĭ-dî (1), Midob ĭ-n (1).

References and notes:

**Old Nubian:** Browne 1996: 73. Final -r ~ -d marks the direct stem; cf. the genitive i-n ~ i-nna, accusative i-kkā.
**Nobiin:** Werner 1987: 116. Cf. also the emphatic form i-r-kā. Accusative case: i-kkā, genitive (possessive): i-nni. Quoted as i-r ~ i-r-kā in [Lepsius 1880: 334].
**Dilling:** Kauczor 1920: 96. Direct stem. Cf. the oblique forms: accusative a ~ a-ge, genitive a-n-, possessive form a-ne ‘your’.
**Kadaru:** Not attested.
**Debri:** Not attested.
**Karko:** Krell 2012: 40.
**Wali:** Krell 2012: 40.
**Birgid:** Thelwall 1977: 208. Quoted as i-di in [MacMichael 1920: 207].

88. TONGUE

Old Nubian tame- (1), Nobiin nār (2), Dongolawi nēd (2), Kenuzi ned (2), Dilling ẓal-e (2), Kadaru ẓal-dō (2), Debri ṭal-dō (2), Karko ẓār-če (2), Wali dōr (2), Birgid nat-ti (2), Midob kādārē (2).
References and notes:

Wali: Krell 2012: 44.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 207.
Midob: Werner 1993: 95. Quoted as kàdāŋ in [Thelwall 1983: 112]. In [Werner 1993], the form kàḍī is also listed in the meaning 'tongue'; cf. kàḍī 'meat without bones' [ibid.].

89. TOOTH

Nobiin nì:d (1), Dongolawi n'el (1), Kenuzi nel (1), Dilling ǯil-ː (1), Kadaru ǯil-du (1), Deibri ǯil-do (1), Karkin ǯil-ː (1), Wali ǯil-ː (1), Birgid ǯil-di (1), Midob kàd-di (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.
Karkin: Krell 2012: 44. Glossed as plural 'teeth'.
Wali: Krell 2012: 44. Glossed as plural 'teeth'.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 207. Suppletive plural: kanane. Cf. also 'back tooth': kàl-ːi, pl. kàl-ːː in [ibid.].

90. TREE

Old Nubian koir- {koer-} (1), Nobiin kōy # (1), Dongolawi żôwwi ~ żôw [2], Kenuzi żôw (2), Dilling hor (3), Karkin kûtɛ? (4), Wali fôr (3), Birgid ka:n (5), Midob kàːr (6).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 96. Renders both Greek ξύλον 'wood' and δέντρον 'tree'.
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 363; Bell 1970: 132. Plural: kōy-ː. Somewhat dubious, since in both of these sources the meaning is explicitly glossed as 'wood' (material) rather than 'tree' (growing). This is unquestionably the old word for 'growing tree' as well, which is made explicit not only by Old Nubian data, but also by the glossing 'wood; tree' for koir ~ koi, pl. koi-ː in [Lepsius 1880: 347]; however, it remains unclear if it still functions as the basic equivalent for 'growing tree' in the modern language. Alternately, cf. ǯülɛ 'a k. of acacia; tree (in general)' in [Lepsius 1880: 322] (but only glossed as ǯülɛ: 'acacia' in [Werner 1987: 359]) and saːr 'tree' in [Lepsius 1880: 380] (an Arabic borrowing).
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 91. Polysemy: 'tree / black tree, Acacia arabica'. Plural forms: ǯˈowwį-nč ~ ǯˈowwį-nč. Quoted as ǯowwį 'a k. of acacia; Acacia nilotica', without the generic meaning 'tree', in [Massenbach 1962: 202]. Alternate synonym: ǯidąr [Armbruster 1965: 186], borrowed from Sudanese Arabic; quoted as šidąr, pl. šidąrći in [Massenbach 1962: 231]. Although the data in Massenbach's glossary seem to indicate that it is the recent Arabic borrowing that functions as the generic equivalent for 'tree' in Dongolawi, it still makes sense to follow Armbruster, since the practice of equating a particular species of tree "par excellence" with "tree" in general is quite widespread in Nubian and other languages of the same area.

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 86. Polysemy: 'acacia / tree (general)'. Quoted as ǯowwį 'a k. of acacia; Acacia nilotica', without the generic meaning 'tree', in [Massenbach 1962: 202]. Cf. also ǯber 'wood / cross / stem / tree' [Hofmann 1986: 37], quoted in the meaning 'wood / tree' in [Massenbach 1962: 177]; this word seems to generally refer to 'wood' (as material), and only very rarely to growing trees.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 44. Polysemy: 'tree / wood'.


Karko: Krell 2012: 42.

Wali: Krell 2012: 42.


Midob: Werner 1993: 33. Quoted as ǯd-di (1).

91. TWO

Old Nubian ǯwo- (ǯouo- ~ ǯouou- ~ ǯowwọ-) (1), Nobiiin ǯwọ (1), Dongolawi ǯowwi ~ ǯowwi (1), Kenuzi ǯowwi (1), Dilling ǯore (1), Kadaru ǯoro (1), Debri ǯoro (1), Karko ǯărè (1), Wali ǯărè (1), Birgid ǯul-ug (1), Midob ǯd-di (1).

References and notes:


Nobiiin: Werner 1987: 381. Quoted as ǯwọ ~ ǯọ in [Lepsius 1880: 408].


Wali: Krell 2012: 41.


92. WALK (GO)

Old Nubian ǯɔr- ~ ǯu- ~ ǯw- ~ ǯo- ~ ǯur- ~ ǯowour- (1), Nobiiin ǯiù-l (1), Dongolawi ǯu: (1), Kenuzi ǯu: (1), Dilling ǯu (1), Karko ǯrə-mʒa (2), Wali ǯiša (1), Birgid ǯazi # (3), Midob ǯə-r- (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 191. Renders a large group of Greek verbs with the semantics of 'to go' (πορέυω, etc.). The resonant -r- is the imperfective marker. Root vowel, judging by the variation in orthography as well as modern reflexes, must have been long; the
exact quality, however, is not easy to determine - both variants (with o and u) could have been present in different dialects.

**Nobili**: Werner 1987: 359. Quoted as zu-c in [Lepsius 1880: 322].

**Dongolawi**: Armbruster 1965: 91. Quoted as zuc in [Massenbach 1962: 202]. The root is highly polysemous and is also used in multiple compound formations. Alternate synonyms with less broad semantics include: (a) nóg [Armbruster 1965: 155], with polysemy: 'to go / to go along, travel, walk', quoted as nóg 'to go out' (forderhen) in [Massenbach 1962: 221]; (b) an 'to become, grow, turn, get, go to go, move along' [Armbruster 1965: 15]. Semantic differentiation between these three stems merits a separate discussion; we only include zuc as the main entry, since it clearly retains its basic meaning in modern Dongolawi and constitutes a lexicostatistical match with Nobini, etc.

**Kenuzi**: Hofmann 1986: 86. Quoted as zuc in [Massenbach 1962: 202]. Cf. also nóg 'to go / to travel / to pass by' [Hofmann 1986: 138]; talle 'to go' in [Hofmann 1986: 167]. It is not quite clear from attested examples which item should be considered the default equivalent for 'to go'; as in the case with Dongolawi, we place the item with the best lexicostatistical cognates in the main slot.


**Kadaru**: Not attested.

**Debri**: Not attested.

**Karko**: Krell 2012: 46.

**Wali**: Krell 2012: 46.

**Birgid**: Thelwall 1977: 202. Quoted as nazi 'go!' in [MacMichael 1920: 210]. The latter source, however, adds another equivalent: sx- (sx-m-i 'do not go', sx-r-e 'I am going', sx-n-di 'I am not going'), which seems in some respects to be a more likely pretender to the status of basic Birgid 'go', since it is confirmed by syntactic examples and also agrees better with external data. However, since our primary source remains [Thelwall 1977] and it does not list this stem, we have to go along with nazi.

**Midob**: Werner 1993: 126. Quoted as só- in [Thelwall 1983: 111]. Alternate synonyms: ʃ ~ g- 'to go' [Werner 1993: 141], ʃi- 'to go' [Werner 1993: 93]. However, analysis of textual examples clearly identifies z over- as the most statistically frequent, neutral, and basic equivalent for the required meaning.

### 93. WARM (HOT)

**Nobili** ʒʊğ (1), **Dongolawi** ʒʊg-ri ~ ʒ'ʊg-ri: (1), **Kenuzi** ʒʊg-ri (1), **Dilling** ɔb (2), **Kadaru** wʊʊ (2), **Debri** wa-ŋ (2), **Karko** ʃiɔw (3), **Wali** ŋɪw (2), **Birgid** w:ŋ (2), **Midob** ʃʊ: ~ ʃw (1).

### References and notes:

**Old Nubian**: Not attested.

**Nobili**: Werner 1987: 359. Meaning glossed as 'hot'. Plural form: ʒʊk-ːuː. Same root as in ʒʊg-ær 'to burn (tr.)' q.v. Quoted as ʒʊg-ɐr 'hot' in [Lepsius 1880: 322].


**Kenuzi**: Hofmann 1986: 86. Meaning glossed as 'hot / warm'. Quoted as ʒʊg-ri in [Massenbach 1962: 203]. Derived from 'to burn' q.v. Different from kakke 'to be warm' [Hofmann 1986: 105].


**Kadaru**: Thelwall 1978: 280. Meaning glossed as 'warm'.

**Debri**: Thelwall 1978: 280. Meaning glossed as 'warm'.

**Karko**: Krell 2012: 49.

**Wali**: Krell 2012: 49.

**Birgid**: Thelwall 1977: 203. Meaning glossed as 'hot'.


### 94. WATER
Old Nubian *aman-* (1), Nobiiin *ámán* (1), Dongolawi *ıessı* ~ *ıess* (2), Kenuzi *essı* (2), Dilling *ɔtti* (2), Kadaru *ọto* (2), Debri *ıtți* (2), Karko *ıtți* (2), Wali *ıttı* (2), Birgid *eʒi* (2), Midob *əqi* (2).

References and notes:

**Old Nubian:** Browne 1996: 10. Polysemy: ‘water / river / Nile’. This word is encountered quite frequently, although most of the time it refers to ‘flowing’ water (‘river’, ‘Nile’); nevertheless, in at least one context (in the quintessential Old Nubian text, “The Miracle of St. Menas”) it is encountered in the phrase *agnosis aman-ka* ‘holy water’, confirming that it could be equally applicable to water in a baptistery. This implies that the situation in ‘standard’ Old Nubian was similar to the one in Modern Nobiiin.

The situation is further complicated, however, by the presence in some Old Nubian fragments of a different word for ‘water’, attested in at least three variants: (a) *asę*- [Browne 1996: 21], glossed as ‘water’, but actually rendering either Greek ὀμβρός ‘thunderstorm, rain’ or σῶς ‘dew’ (i. e. ‘sky-water’); (b) *esși*- [Browne 1996: 61], attested in only one, not quite clear, context; (c) *etto*- [Browne 1996: 62], also attested only once (on an ostracon!). At least asę- and esși- are unquestionable descendants of the Common Nubian root for ‘water’; that said, the evidence in favor of their still preserving this basic meaning in the “standard” dialects of Old Nubian is rather scarce. It is more likely that, in general, the old stem was replaced by *aman-*, although it could still be preserved in some peripheral functions (e. g. ‘water from the sky; similar limited usage of the old word is attested in Modern Nobiiin as well).

**Nobiiin:** Werner 1987: 339. Quoted as *dı màn* in [Bell 1970: 129]; as *amān* in [Lepsius 1880: 268].

**Dongolawi:** Armbruster 1965: 67. Quoted as *essı* in [Massenbach 1962: 186].


**Dilling:** Kauzor 1920: 66.

**Kadaru:** Thelwall 1978: 280. Quoted as *ıtți* in [Mieinhof 1918: 90].

**Debru:** Thelwall 1978: 280.

**Karko:** Krell 2012: 47.

**Wali:** Krell 2012: 47.

**Birgid:** Thelwall 1977: 207. Quoted as *ezi* in [MacMichael 1920: 201].

**Midob:** Werner 1993: 140. Polysemy: ‘water / year (rainy season)’. Quoted as *əzi* in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

95. WE₁

Old Nubian *u- {ou-} (1), Nobiiin *ù* (1), Dongolawi *a-r* (2), Kenuzi *a-r* (2), Dilling *i* (2), Karko *ā* (2), Wali *vē* (1), Birgid *a-dī* (2), Midob *à:-dī* (2).

References and notes:

**Old Nubian:** Browne 1996: 129. This is most likely the exclusive stem (although this is a matter of some debate). Genitive form: *u-n* ~ *u-na*. Accusative: *u-k* ~ *u-ka*.


**Dongolawi:** Armbruster 1965: 16. Accusative form: ‘*a-r-ɡr* ~ ‘*a-r-g*’. Genitive form: ‘*a-n* ~ ‘*a-nn*’. Quoted as *a-r*, genitive *a-n* ~ *a-nn* in [Massenbach 1962: 172].

**Kenuzi:** Hofmann 1986: 26. Genitive form: ‘*a-n* ~ ‘*a-nn* ~ ‘*a-nna*’. Also attested as *ar-ɡu*, with an extra plural suffix [ibid.]. Quoted as *a-r* ~ *a-r-gu*, genitive *a-n* ~ *a-nna* in [Massenbach 1962: 172].

**Dilling:** Kauzor 1920: 96. Direct stem. Cf. the oblique forms: accusative *i* ~ *i-gi*, genitive *a-n*, possessive form *a-ne* ‘our’ (the latter two forms are homonymous with ‘your’, see under ‘thou’).

**Kadaru:** Not attested.

**Debru:** Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 40.
Wali: Krell 2012: 40.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 207.
Midob: Werner 1993: 36. Exclusive form. The inclusive form àŋá is formed with the same pronominal root. Quoted as à-dí (excl.), àŋá (incl.) in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

95. WE₂
Old Nubian e-r- (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 60. This is probably the inclusive stem. Final -r marks the direct stem; cf. the genitive e-n ~ e-naa, accusative e-k ~ e-kka.

96. WHAT
Old Nubian min- ~ men- {mǐ- ~ men- ~ mǐ-} (1), Nobiin min (1), Dongolawi min (1), Kenuzi min (1), Dilling na ~ na: (2), Kadaaru nan-ʒar (2), Debri naŋ (2), Karko nài (2), Wali dá=ní (2), Birgid na-ta (2), Midob nè:n (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 117. This is the main inanimate interrogative pronoun. The interrogative stem is- [Browne 1996: 75], sometimes also interpreted as 'what', is actually a general interrogative particle or stem, from which certain interrogative adverbials may be formed (e. g. is-gil 'whither?', is-kal 'how?', etc.).
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 123. Quoted as min in [Lepsius 1880: 363].
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 104.
Karko: Krell 2012: 40. Also ık-nahür id. (dubious, since the form is almost the same as in iy-ıknahür 'this' q.v.).
Wali: Krell 2012: 40.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 207.
Midob: Werner 1993: 40. Object form. The predicative form 'what is?' is nè-å [Werner 1993: 41]. This form is quoted as nè-å in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

97. WHITE
Old Nubian ñul- ~ ñulu- {ñoul- ~ ñoulou(ou)-} (1), Nobiin nùlu (1), Dongolawi ˈaro ~ ˈaro: (2), Kenuzi əro (2), Dilling ər-i (2), Kadaaru ər-u (2), Debri ər-r (2), Karko ər-ʊ (2), Wali ər-ɪ (2), Birgid əl-e (2), Midob ədd-é (2).

References and notes:
Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 204. Attested in at least three different contexts; applied to clothing or, in one context, to a white cloud. Alternatively, cf. also *ado*- [ādoː-] 'white', attested only once in application to a k. of clothing [Browne 1996: 4]. Both words seem to render Greek λευκός; the former agrees with the basic equivalent for 'white' in Modern Nobiin (an innovation compared to Common Nubian), the latter agrees better with Kenuzi-Dongolawi. It is possible to consider *ado*- a peripheral dialectal form, and choose the more frequently attested *nai* as the principal equivalent for 'white' in Old Nubian.


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 104.


Karko: Krell 2012: 49.

Wali: Krell 2012: 49.


98. WHO

Old Nubian *nai* - *naiː* - *naiːi* - (1), Nobiin *nāːy* (1), Dongolawi *nīː* - *nīːːr* - (1), Kenuzi *nī*: (1), Dilling *deː ~ nde* (1), Kadaru *deːn* (1), Debri *deːnː* (1), Karko *t=diːn* (1), Wali *diːnː-dā* (1), Birgid *neː-ta* (1), Midob *kāːrənː* (1).

References and notes:


Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 104.


Karko: Krell 2012: 40.

Wali: Krell 2012: 40.


99. WOMAN

Old Nubian *ilː ~ itː* - *eilː - eilː* - *ittː* - (1), Nobiin *id=ēn* (2), Dongolawi *eːn* (2), Kenuzi *eːn* (2), Dilling *eːli* (1), Kadaru *ilː-do* (1), Debri *elː-do* (1), Karko *iːl* (1), Wali *iːlː-dā* (1), Birgid *eːn* (2), Midob *id-di* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 68, 80. Both forms represent the same root. The variant *ilː* is encountered only as part of complex plural forms: *ilː-gūː* [eitpouː*ː ~ eitpouː*ː ~ ntiːgːouː*] or simply *ilː-gū* [eitlouː*] 'women'. The variant *ittː* is the singular 'woman', a
contraction from "il-t- where the suffix -t is a common marker of singularity (cf. the same in the word for 'person' q.v.).


Wali: Krell 2012: 41.


100. YELLOW

Nobiin asfar (-1), Dongolawi gel'inde-l (1), Kenuzi korgos (-1), Karko tázi? (2), Wali bárâ (3).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 77. Plural form: gel'inde. Internal composition of the word is not quite clear, except for the participial suffix -l; it may be related to gicle 'red' q.v.

Dilling: Not attested.
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debri: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 49.
Wali: Krell 2012: 49.

Birgid: Not attested.
Midob: Not attested.

101. FAR

Old Nubian wid- {oueid-} (1), Nobiin wir- (1), Dongolawi warr ~ warr (2), Kenuzi warri (2), Karko tutuwe (3), Wali têr (4), Birgid tayya-n (4), Midob tâss-ê (5).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 134. Verbal root: 'to be far away, at a distance'. Usually attested in the participial form wid-il- 'being far'. In one context, renders Greek μακρόθεν. Additionally, cf. also war- {ouar-} 'to be far' [Browne 1996: 131] - a somewhat dubious hapax that has external parallels, but is too weakly attested and semantically questionable (even according to Browne himself) to be properly included on the list.
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 383. The root is attested in such forms as wỉːːr-‘it is far away’, wỉːːr-kỉː ‘to be far away’. Cf. wỉːːrī ‘far’ in [Lepsius 1880: 413].

Dilling: Not attested.
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debri: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 54.
Wali: Krell 2012: 54.

102. HEAVY

Nobiin gitti (1), Dongolawi d’ullo (2), Kenuzi dullo (2), Dilling til-i (2), Kadaru tildr (2), Debri til-uŋ (2), Karko tıl-dē (2), Wali túlù (2), Birgid tindi-n (2), Midob till-ē (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 286.
Kadaru: Thewlall 1978: 278.
Debri: Thewlall 1978: 278.
Wali: Krell 2012: 55.

103. NEAR

Old Nubian ig- ~ ik- ~ ikk- {eig- ~ eg- ~ ek(k)- ~ ek-} (1), Nobii módll-ā (2), Dongolawi eg’ēt-tt ~ eg’ēt-t (1), Kenuzi eget-ťi ~ igit-ťi (1), Dilling ol-ı (3), Karko ȗl-è (3), Wali ȗrdvə (3), Birgid utundaki-n (4), Midob ȃgādī-n (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 64. This is the most frequent equivalent for the verbal stem ‘to be near’; also attested once in the complex verbal form ikk-idd- [ibid.]. Cf. also gig- ‘to be near’ [Browne 1996: 28], attested only once; and ȗr- ~ ȗr-ir- ‘to be near, approach’ [Browne 1996: 190], whose semantics seems to be dynamic rather than static.
1970: 127].

**Dongolawi:** Armbruster 1965: 63. Plural forms: *egēt-ti-nē ~ egēt-ti-nē*. Formally a noun (‘nearness, vicinity’, hence the nominal suffix -ti), but may also function as the adjective ‘near’. Quoted as *egēt-ti* in [Massenbach 1962: 184].

**Kenuzi:** Hofmann 1986: 100. Glossed both as an adjective and as a noun (‘nearness, proximity’). Quoted as *igēt-ti* in [Massenbach 1962: 184].

**Dilling:** Kauczor 1920: 294. Adverbial form; cf. the verb *ol-er-* ‘(to begin to) be near; to approach’ [ibid.]. Graphically transcribed as *gl-i*.

**Kadaru:** Not attested.

**Debri:** Not attested.

**Wali:** Krell 2012: 55.

**Birgid:** Thelwall 1977: 204.

**Midob:** Werner 1993: 141. Formally derived from *g-d* ‘relative’ [ibid.]. Quoted as *gg-dē* ‘near’ in [Thelwall 1983: 111]. An alternate candidate is the adverb *áliqar* ‘near’ [Werner 1993: 60], although this word looks like a locative postposition (attested in such examples as ‘I met him near the village’) rather than the required adjective.

104. **SALT**


References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 58. Dubious, according to dictionary data (attested only once in an original text, so the meaning is tentatively reconstructed by analogy with Modern Nobii).

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 356. Quoted as *imīd* in [Lepsius 1880: 331].


Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 54.

Wali: Krell 2012: 55.


105. **SHORT**


References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 51.
Wali: Krell 2012: 55.

106. SNAKE
Old Nubian mit- {mief- ~ mit-} (1), Nobiin bisláŋi (2), Dongolawi kāg (3), Kenuzi ḥayya (-1), Dilling kəŋu-l (4), Kadaru kəŋe (4), Debri kəŋu (4), Karko kūŋe (4), Wali kūŋó (4), Birgid kunji (4), Midob kōssār (5).

References and notes:

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 30. Polysemy: 'snake / dragon'. Borrowed from Arabic ḥayya. Quoted as ḥayya ~ ḥya in [Massenbach 1962: 174]. It should be noted that both kāg and ḥayya are listed in Massenbach's glossary with no comments, i.e. it is surmised that both words may be encountered both in Kenuzi and Dongolawi. However, kāg is not attested at all in [Hofmann 1986].
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45. Transcribed as kunč in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 187].
Karko: Krell 2012: 42.
Wali: Krell 2012: 42.

107. THIN
Nobiin ōlōw (1), Dongolawi kawwāŋ ~ kawwāŋ (2), Kenuzi kawai (2), Dilling wal-ad (1), Karko kūdūrī-ŋə (3), Wali ʒōpō (5), Midob tukīː-ə ~ tukkīː-ə (6).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 120. Plural form: kowwāŋ-i. 'Thin 1D' (glossed as 'deficient in one dimension').
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 108. Applied to 'paper', etc. (e.g. 'thin 1D').
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debr: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 49.
Wali: Krell 2012: 49.

Birgid: Not attested properly. The form kōzi-kom 'thin', quoted in [Thelwall 1977: 206] and tentatively explained as 'meat + without', probably refers to the semantics of 'emaciated' (of person), but it is not likely that it can be applied to inanimate objects.

107. THIN₂
Dongolawi ˈese ~ ˈesɛ: (4), Kenuzi esse: (4).

References and notes:

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 66. Plural form: ˈese-n. 'Thin 2D' (glossed as 'deficient in two dimensions'). Quoted as ˈes ~ esse, pl. esse-ri in [Massenbach 1962: 186].
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 60. Applied to people, branches, etc. (e. g. = 'thin 2D'). Quoted as ˈes ~ esse, pl. esse-ri in [Massenbach 1962: 186].

108. WIND
Old Nubian tuk- {touk-} (1), Nobin tüğ (1), Dongolawi t'urug (1), Kenuzi turug (1), Dilling irš-i (2), Kadaru irš-o (2), Debri irš-o (2), Karko īš (2), Wali ārš-ū (2), Birgid kurr-i (3), Midob ēss-ī (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 182. Attested once in the plural form, rendering Greek ἀνεμός, and is well confirmed through the Modern Nobin form. The alternative tuf-, rendering Greek ζέφυρος (also in only one context), is far more questionable.
Wali: Krell 2012: 51.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 207.

109. WORM
Nobin wirki # (1), Dongolawi w'gud (1), Kenuzi wigid (1), Dilling birge-tî (1), Karko bīgī-t (1), Wali bīr-tū (1), Birgid mergi-di (1), Midob pirgè-dî (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.
Nobiin: Lepsius 1880: 413. Dubious (attested only in an old source).


Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 52.

Wali: Krell 2012: 52.


110. YEAR

Old Nubian ǯem- ~ gem- (1), Nobiin gèm (1), Dongolawi ǯ'en (1), Kenuzi ǯen (1), Kadaru ǯin (-1), Debri ǯin (1), Karko ǯò (2), Wali ārabè (3), Birgid sol-e (4), Midob sèn (-1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 189. Renders Greek ἕτος. The affricate-initial variant ǯem- is attested in the absolute majority of cases; gem- is featured in only one context (as is ǯen- in the phrase ǯen kosila ‘bad year’, where the spelling may have been phonetically triggered).

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 353; Bell 1970: 128. Plural form: gèm-gù. Quoted as gem in [Lepsius 1880: 310]. In some contexts, an Arabic loanword is also used: sènà ~ sànà, pl. sènà-gù: [Werner 1987: 373] = sene [Lepsius 1880: 383]. However, the original Nubian term is still in active use, so the situation does not count as a lexical replacement.


Dilling: Not attested. Cf. alu ‘next year’, kanstu ‘last year’ [Kauczor 1920: 283]. In [Jabr el Dar 2006: 186], the word ǯèn (a transparent Arabic borrowing) is listed in the meaning ‘year’.


Wali: Krell 2012: 59.


Midob: Werner 1993: 122. Borrowed from Arabic. Alternate synonym: ǯèi ‘water / year (rainy season)’ [Werner 1993: 140], quoted as ǯèi in [Thelwall 1983: 112]. Although the latter is a native word, its use in the basic meaning ‘year’ is quite dubious.