

[Text version of database, created 22/05/2015].

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]; Kadaru [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

Werner 1987 = Werner, Roland. Grammatik des Nobiin (Nilnubisch). Phonologie, Tonologie und Morphologie. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag. // *A detailed phonological and grammatical description of Nobiin Nubian (Fadidja-Mahas), accompanied by numerous examples of phrasal usage, texts, and a brief glossary.*

Bell 1970 = Bell, Herman. The Phonology of Nobiin Nubian. **In:** African Language Review, 9, pp. 115-139. // *Detailed phonological description of Nobiin, richly illustrated by lexical examples.*

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

Armbruster 1965 = Armbruster, Charles Hubert. *Dongolese Nubian: A Lexicon*. Cambridge University Press. // *A thorough dictionary of the Dongolawi dialect, following up on an earlier exemplary grammar of Dongolawi by the same author.*

Massenbach 1962 = Massenbach, Gertrud von. *Nubische Texte im Dialekt der Kunuzi und der Dongolawi*. Mit Glossar. Wiesbaden: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. // *A collection of texts in the closely related Kenuzi and Dongolawi dialects, accompanied with a large glossary. No significant discrepancies with Armbruster's dictionary, but useful as a cross-reference source.*

IV. Kenuzi

Hofmann 1986 = Inge Hofmann. *Nubisches Wörterverzeichnis*. Nubisch-deutsches und deutsch-nubisches Wörterverzeichnis nach dem Kenzi-Material des Samuël Alî Hisên (1863-1927). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag. // *A vocabulary of the Kenuzi dialect of Nubian, compiled by the author based on much earlier records of Kenuzi texts by S. Ali Hisen.*

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

Krell 2012 = Krell, Amy. *Rapid Appraisal Sociolinguistic Survey Among Ama, Karko, and Wali Language Groups (Southern Kordofan, Sudan)*. SIL International. // *A sociolinguistic survey of the Nyimang (Ama) language and several varieties of Hill Nubian. Includes complete 200-item wordlists for all the covered lects.*

VIII. Birgid

Thelwall 1977 = Thelwall, Robin. A Birgid vocabulary list and its links with Daju. **In:** *Gedenkschrift Gustav Nachtigall 1874-1974*. Ed. by H. Ganslmayr & H. Jungraithmayr. Bremen, pp. 197-210. // *The only available wordlist for the extinct Birgid language, collected by the author in December 1969.*

MacMichael 1920 = MacMichael, H. A. Darfur Linguistics. **In:** *Sudan Notes and Records*, 3.3, pp. 197-216. // *This short paper contains a small comparative list of various Nilo-Saharan languages spoken in Darfur at the beginning of the 20th century, including Birgid.*

IX. Midob

Werner 1993: Werner, Roland. *Tìdn-áal: A Study of Midob (Darfur Nubian)*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag. // *Detailed grammatical description of Midob. Contains a few*

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

Thelwall 1983: Thelwall, Robin. Meidob Nubian: Phonology, Grammatical Notes and Basic Vocabulary. **In:** *Nilo-Saharan Language Studies*. Ed. by Lionel M. Bender. Michigan: East Lansing, pp. 97-113. // *Based on the author's own field research in 1979. Contains a 218-item wordlist.*

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 Nobiin 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 Nobiin rather than Old Nubian and Kenuzi-Dongolawi.

II. Nobiin

There is no fully adequate and complete dictionary for Nobiin Nubian, or Fadidja-Mahas ("Fadidja" is the most common old name for Egyptian Nobiin, while "Mahas" generally refers to Sudanese Nobiin; 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-Mahas-Dialekt/*, Warszawa, 1996) is not so much an original work as simply a compilation of all previous sources on Nobiin, and is therefore fairly useless for lexicostatistics (in addition, it employs the questionable strategy of using the Old Nubian script to transcribe Modern Nobiin words, which results in some hard-to-resolve ambiguities; and it omits all Arabic borrowings into Nobiin, 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 mis glossings, 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 {*agī*} = *agil*, etc.). Sometimes, however, it is also placed over the word-initial vowel (e. g. {*ādω*} '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-*} = {*wattω-*} = *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 *ϕ, ʒ* (= *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' *ń* = UTS *ɲ*; Werner's *ng* = UTS *ŋ*;

(c) Werner's *VV* = Lepsius' *V̄* = UTS *V*: (vowel length);

(d) Werner marks high tone as *Ŷ* and leaves the statistically more frequent low tone unmarked (*V*); we always mark it as *Ŷ*.

III. Dongolawi

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

- (a) Armbruster's \check{g} = UTS \check{z} . Massenbach uses the symbol j , transliterated as UTS z , 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 \tilde{n} = Massenbach's ny = UTS n (palatal nasal);
- (c) Armbruster's j = Massenbach's y = UTS y ;
- (d) Armbruster's \bar{V} = UTS V : (vowel length).

It should also be noted that in most contexts, Armbruster transcribes the front vowels of Dongolawi as "-ATR" sounds: ε and ι . We retain that transcription, but there is really no phonemic opposition between ε and e , or ι 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 \check{g} = UTS \check{z} ;
- (b) Hofmann's \dot{g} = UTS γ ;
- (c) Hofmann's $\acute{\text{}}$ = UTS ʔ (this laryngeal is encountered only in borrowings from Arabic).

Double vowels (aa , ee , etc.) represent vowel length and are transliterated accordingly (a , e , 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 \bar{t} , \bar{d} = UTS φ , \mathfrak{z} 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 , $ė$, $ë$ and o , $ȯ$, $ö$. 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 $ė$, $ȯ$ as UTS ε , \mathfrak{o} . On the other hand, the distinction between e , o and $ė$, $ȯ$ is extremely dubious; it is possible that Kauczor uses this to indicate near-close articulation (ι , υ), but there is no knowing for sure. For now, we simply merge these symbols in UTS transliteration (i. e. e , $ė$ = UTS e ; o , $ȯ$ = UTS o), 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 $ė/ȯ$ is not even noted there as a relevant phonetic opposition.

(c) Other transliterational issues: Kauczor's \acute{n} = UTS η , Kauczor's \grave{n} = UTS η ; \bar{V} = V : (long vowels); \acute{V} = \grave{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 ($f > \mathfrak{s}$; $dʒ > \mathfrak{z}$; $c > \varphi$; $j > \mathfrak{z}$).

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 \acute{V} and \grave{V} , respectively. We presume that unmarked vowels in her transcription correspond to mid-level tone (\bar{V}), although this is not explicitly stated in the source.

VIII. Birgid

No transcriptional differences from Thelwall's transcription other than standard UTS/IPA discrepancies ($f > \check{s}$; $c > \check{c}$; $\dot{j} > \check{z}$; $j > y$). 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 $a:$, $o:$, etc.; (b) the palatal series c , j , ny is retransliterated as \check{c} , \check{z} , η ; (c) velar nasal ng is transliterated as η .

Database compiled and annotated by: G. Starostin (last update: May 2015).

1. ALL

Old Nubian *kell-o* {*kello* ~ *kellω*} (1) / *miššan-* {*mššan-*} (2), Nobiin *mállé:* (3), Dongolawi *m'allé* (3), Kenuzi *malle:* (3), Dilling *t'u:-keje* (4), Kadaru *tu-ggeṇ* (4), Debri *tu-ḡyaḡ* (4), Karko *tú-mšēr* (4), Wali *kūndù* (5), Birgid *ula:-ti* (6), Midob *pòçç-íçí-r* (7).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 88. Renders Greek πάντες ~ πάντα. Adverbial form, derived from *kel-* 'limit, fulness' [Browne 1996: 87]. Browne 1996: 118. Renders Greek πάντες ~ πάντα; the semantic difference between *miššan-* 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) *watto-* {*ouatto-* ~ *wattω-*} 'whole, all, entire' [Browne 1996: 131] (this word definitely seems to display the semantics of *totus* and is therefore ineligible for inclusion); (c) *šimmil-* {*šimmil-* ~ *šīmml-*} '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).

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

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 136. Plural form: *malle-nč* ~ *malle-nči*. Quoted as *malle*, pl. *malle-ri* ~ *malle-nçi* in [Massenbach 1962: 214].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 124. Quoted as *malle* in [Massenbach 1962: 214].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 95. The lengthier variant *tugu-keje* is also quoted *ibid.* as characterizing the speech of the older generation. The suffix *-keje* ~ *-kene* is also encountered with numerals, e. g.: *'or-keje* 'both' (see 'two'), *t'ʒu-kkene* 'all three', etc.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 40.

Wali: Krell 2012: 40.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 199.

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

2. ASHES

Nobiin *ùbúr-tí* (1), Dongolawi *ub'ur-ti* (1), Kenuzi *ubur-ti* (1), Dilling *ɔp-te* (1), Kadaru *ɔt-te* (1), Debri *ɔt-te* (1), Karko *ōmì-t* (1), Wali *túnùnà-dù* (2), Birgid *ubur-ti* (1), Midob *úfù-dì* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 380. Quoted as *ùbúr-tì* in [Bell 1970: 136]; as *obur-ti* ~ *ubur-ti*, with polysemy: 'ashes / gray' in [Lepsius 1880: 374]. The component *-ti* is an old fossilized nominal suffix.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 207. Plural form: *ub'ur-ti-nč* ~ *ub'ur-ti-nči*. Quoted as *ub'ur-ti* in [Massenbach 1962: 238].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 175. Quoted as *ub'ur-ti* in [Massenbach 1962: 238].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 49.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.
Karko: Krell 2012: 48.
Wali: Krell 2012: 48.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 199.
Midob: Werner 1993: 137. Quoted as *úfû-dì* in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

3. BARK

Nobiin *àçì* # (1), Dongolawi *g'abad* (2) / *k'a:čč* ~ *k'a:čči* (3), Kenuzi *gabad* (2), Karko *hòz* (3), Wali *fúrmú* (4), Midob *àççì-dì* (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': *gaba:d*. However, the reverse German-Nubian index also lists the complex form *koi-n ašin* [Lepsius 1880: 417], where the first word = 'tree' q.v. and *ašin* = Bell's *àçì*.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 72. Plural form: *g'abad-i*. Armbruster 1965: 115. Plural form: *k'a:čči-nč* ~ *k'a:čči-nči*. 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': *š'owwiy k'a:čči* = *š'owwiy g'abad*. The difference between the two is unclear, and we treat them as technical synonyms.

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 65. Quoted as *gabad* in [Massenbach 1962: 188].

Dilling: Not attested.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 42.

Wali: Krell 2012: 42.

Birgid: Not attested.

Midob: Werner 1993: 75. Quoted as *áççì-dì* in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

4. BELLY

Old Nubian *tu-* {*tou-*} (1), Nobiin *tù:* (1), Dongolawi *t'u:* (1), Kenuzi *tu:* (1), Dilling *te-te* (2), Kadaru *to* (1), Debri *to* (1), Karko *têtà* (1), Wali *t̄* (1), Birgid *tu:* (1), Midob *tà:* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 181. Renders both Greek γαστήρ 'stomach' and κοιλία 'belly', so, apparently, with polysemy: 'belly / stomach', normal for Nubian languages in general.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 379; Bell 1970: 137. Plural form: *tù-nçi:*. Quoted as *tu:*, pl. *tu-gu:* in [Lepsius 1880: 400], with polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 204. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach / inside, interior'. Plural form: *t'u-nč* ~ *t'u-nči*. Quoted as *tu:* in [Massenbach 1962: 237].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 173. Quoted as *tu:* in [Massenbach 1962: 237].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 49, 62. Plural form: *te-ti-l*. Glossed as *tete* 'stomach' in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 186].

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 45.

Wali: Krell 2012: 45.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 199. Meaning glossed as 'belly (inside)', opposed to *εr-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 *tu*, 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-* ~ *dauei-* ~ *dauou-* ~ *dauē-*} (1), Nobiin *dàwwi* (1), Dongolawi *d'u:-l* (1), Kenuzi *du:-l* (1), Dilling *ugir-i* (2), Kadaru *η^woddu* (2), Deбри *ηoro* (2), Karko *útè* (3), Wali *kwātà* (4), Birgid *oggor* (2), Midob *pér* (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 μέγας, and, with the additional evidence of modern Nobiin, there is little doubt that it was the default equivalent for 'big' in Old Nubian as well).

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 344; Bell 1970: 127. Plural form: *dàwwi-kú*. Quoted as *dauw ~ dauwi*, pl. *dauw-i*: 'big, high' in [Lepsius 1880: 283] (also *dauwi-r ~ dauwu-r* id.).

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 55. Polysemy: 'big / old'. Plural form: *d'u:-l-i ~ d'u:-l-i-nč ~ d'u:-l-i-nči*. Quoted as *du:-l*, pl. *du:-l-i ~ du:-l-i-nči* in [Massenbach 1962: 183]. Stem-final *-l* may be considered a fused suffix, based on external (cf. Nobiin *dàwwi*) as well as internal evidence (it is found in multiple other adjectival stems).

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 54. Quoted as *du:-l*, pl. *du:-l-i* in [Massenbach 1962: 183].

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

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Deбри: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 41.

Wali: Krell 2012: 41.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 199.

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

6. BIRD

Old Nubian *kawar-t-* {*kaurte-* ~ *kawart-*} (1), Nobiin *kawar-ti* (1), Dongolawi *k'awir-te ~ k'aur-te ~ k'aur-te* (1), Kenuzi *kawir-te* (1), Dilling *kòmil-ti* (1), Kadaru *kòndu-ndu* (2), Deбри *kònnε-tu* (2), Karko *kùbùr-àn* (1), Wali *kûn-dà* (2), Birgid *kwar-ti* (1), Midob *à:béd-dí* (1).

References and notes:

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

Nobiin: Lepsius 1880: 340 (quoted as *kauarti* in Lepsius' orthography). Plural form: *kawar-ti*. The suffix *-ti* reflects the old fossilized singulative marker. Not attested in [Werner 1987].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 120. Plural form: *k'awir-te-nč ~ k'awir-te-nči*. Quoted as *kawir-te ~ kawwer-te* in [Massenbach 1962: 205].

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

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 108. Quoted as *kawir-te* ~ *kawwer-te* in [Massenbach 1962: 205].

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

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 42.

Wali: Krell 2012: 42.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 199. Plural form: *kwar-e*.

Midob: Werner 1993: 75. Also *hâbéd-dí* id. Quoted as *â:bé-dî* in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

7. BITE

Old Nubian *aʒʒ-* (1), Nobiin *âç-îr* (1), Dongolawi *'ačč ~ 'ačči* (1), Kenuzi *ačči* (1), Dilling *aʒ* (1), Karko *âʒ* (1), Wali *áí* (1), Midob *âççá-* (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 Nobiin.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 339. Cf. *âç-í-mù:n* 'he does not bite'. Cf. *âçç-í* 'he bites' in [Bell 1970: 124]. Quoted as *aʒʒ-e ~ aʒʒ-e-de* in [Lepsius 1880: 266].

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

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 18. Quoted as *açç* in [Massenbach 1962: 169].

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 *âççâ* (imperative) in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

8. BLACK

Nobiin *úrúm* (1), Dongolawi *ur'umm-ε* (1), Kenuzi *urumm-e* (1), Dilling *ur-i* (1), Kadaru *wuɸ-u* (1), Debri *urr-i* (1), Karko *úr-ù* (1), Wali *ūr-ì* (1), Birgid *ú:d-è* (1), Midob *úd-í* (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: Werner 1987: 381. Polysemy: 'black / dark'. Plural forms: *ùrm-ì ~ ùrùm-gú*. Quoted as *urum* 'black; blue' in [Lepsius 1880: 407].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 212. Plural forms: *ur'umm-ε-ri ~ urumm-ε-nč ~ urumm-ε-nč*. Adjectival stem, formally derived from the noun *'urum* 'black substance' [ibid.]. Quoted as *ur'um-e*, pl. *ur'um-e-ri* in [Massenbach 1962: 239].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 178. Quoted as *ur'um-e*, pl. *ur'um-e-ri* in [Massenbach 1962: 239].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 82. Plural form: *ur-e*.
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.
Karko: Krell 2012: 49.
Wali: Krell 2012: 49.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 199. Quoted as *u:di-a* in [MacMichael 1920: 207].
Midob: Werner 1993: 137. Quoted as *úd-i* in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

9. BLOOD

Old Nubian *dis-* (1), Nobiin *dí:s* (1), Dongolawi *g'ε:u* (2), Kenuzi *ge:w* (2), Dilling *ogor* (3), Kadaru *ogvr* (3), Debri *o:r* (3), Karko *úgò* (3), Wali *ōr* (3), Birgid *igir* (3), Midob *àggár* (3).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 46. Renders Greek αἷμα.
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 346; Bell 1970: 129. Quoted as *dí:s* in [Lepsius 1880: 287].
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 78. Polysemy: 'blood / menses'. Quoted as *ge:w ~ ge:u* in [Massenbach 1965: 191].
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 72. Quoted as *ge:w ~ ge:u* in [Massenbach 1965: 191].
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45. Graphically transcribed as *oggr*.
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.
Karko: Krell 2012: 43.
Wali: Krell 2012: 43.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 199.
Midob: Werner 1993: 141; Thelwall 1983: 110.

10. BONE

Old Nubian *gisri-* {*gisri-* ~ *ηisri-*} (1), Nobiin *gìsìr* (1), Dongolawi *kìh'ì:d* (1), Kenuzi *ki:d* (1), Kadaru *kwede* (1), Debri *kwedu* (1), Karko *kwìèdà* (1), Wali *kwitù* (1), Birgid *kìzì-dì* (1), Midob *à:-dí* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 32. Renders Greek ὀστούν. The orthographic variant {*ηisri-*} 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).
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 353. Plural form: *gìsìr-kú*. Quoted as *gisir* in [Lepsius 1880: 312].
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 122. Plural forms: *kìh'ìd-ì ~ k'ìh'ìd-ì*. Quoted as *ki:d ~ ko:d* in [Massenbach 1962: 207].
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 111. Polysemy: 'bone / nature, character / self'. Quoted as *ki:d ~ ko:d* in [Massenbach 1962: 207].
Dilling: Not attested.
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.
Karko: Krell 2012: 43.
Wali: Krell 2012: 43.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 199.

Midob: Werner 1993: 141; Thelwall 1983: 110.

11. BREAST

Old Nubian *og-* (1), Nobiin *óg* (1), Dongolawi *'og* (1), Kenuzi *og* (1), Dilling *ɔk-i* (1), Kadaru *ɔko* # (1), Debri *ɔku* # (1), Birgid *ogi* (1), Midob *á*: (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 122. Renders Greek *στῆθος* '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: *òg-i*. Meaning glossed as 'rib cage' ('Brustkorb'), but in [Lepsius 1880: 374], the form *og*, pl. *og-i* ~ *ok-ku*: is simply translated as 'breast' ('Brust'). Cf. also *dùgússí*, pl. *dùgùssi*: ~ *dùgùssi-gú*: in [Werner 1987: 347], where the meaning is glossed simply as 'breast' ('Brust'); however, in [Lepsius 1880: 289] the form *dugussi* ~ *dujussi* is explicitly rendered as 'female breast' ('Weiberbrust'). Judging from the collective evidence, it seems safe to assume that *óg* is really 'male chest', as opposed to *dùgússí* 'female breast'.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 159. Polysemy: 'breast / bosom / fathom'. Plural form: *'og-i*. Quoted as *og* in [Massenbach 1962: 222]. Distinct from *'erti* 'female breast', actually glossed as 'mamma; teat' in [Armbruster 1965: 66].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 141. Quoted as *og* in [Massenbach 1962: 222]. Distinct from *erti* 'female breast; udder' [Hofmann 1986: 59].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 48. Distinct from *ɔ-i*, pl. *ol* '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 *g ʕ* 'breast' in [Meinhof 1918: 90] (German 'Brust').

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

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

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

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 200. Meaning glossed as 'chest', distinct from *unne*, pl. *un-di* 'female breast' [ibid.].

Midob: Werner 1993: 140. Distinct from *ár-tí* '(female) breast' [Werner 1993: 82].

12. BURN TR.

Old Nubian *žuk-* {*žouk-*} (1), Nobiin *zùgè-èr* (1), Dongolawi *ž'ug-ur* (1), Kenuzi *žug* (1), Dilling *ot-ig* (2), Kadaru *wot-ogi* (2), Debri *waši* (2), Karko *úrā-ngà* (3), Wali *ómí* (4), Birgid *tuj* (5), Midob *úllí-* (6).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 192. Renders Greek *καίω* and its derivatives. Attested in transitive usage; eligible for inclusion.

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

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

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 86. Quoted as *žug* in [Massenbach 1962: 203].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 134. Graphically transcribed as *ot-ig*. Transitive verb.

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).

Karko: Krell 2012: 48.

Wali: Krell 2012: 48.

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. *úll-nán* '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 *súḡún-dí* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Lepsius 1880: 388. Plural form: *sun-ti*: ~ *sun-ti-gu*. Attested only in an old source, but with reliable external correlations. Final *-ti* is an old fossilized singulative marker.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 182. Plural forms: *s'un-ti-nč* ~ *s'un-ti-nči*. Polysemy: 'nail / claw / hoof'. Quoted as *sun-ti* in [Massenbach 1962: 230].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 158. Quoted as *sut-ti* in [Massenbach 1962: 230].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 48.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Not attested, but cf. *šúkúl-é* 'claw' [Krell 2012: 44].

Wali: Not attested, but cf. *šùè* 'claw' [Krell 2012: 44].

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 204. Plural form: *sun-n-e*.

Midob: Werner 1993: 125. Quoted as *súḡù-dì* in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

14. CLOUD

Old Nubian *ḡiṣṣ*- (1), Nobiin *gé:m* (-1), Dongolawi *n'ičč* ~ *n'ičči* (1), Kenuzi *ḡem* (-1), Dilling *dwe-d* (1), Kadaru *de-du* (1), Debri *dci-du* (1), Karko *dwú-ìd* (1), Wali *dwi-nî* (1), Birgid *na:si-di* (1), Midob *tèççì-dì* ~ *tàççí-dí* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 201. Renders Greek νεφέλη.

Nobiin: Bell 1970: 135. Borrowed from Arabic *ḡayma*-. Quoted as *ge:m* ~ *gama:m* in [Lepsius 1880: 307, 310].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 153. Plural forms: *n'ičči-nč* ~ *n'ičči-nči*. Polysemy: 'cloud / mist'. Armbruster's internal etymology that derives the word from the verb *niṣ* 'to sew' (i. e. '*cloth; sc. that veils the scene') seems far-fetched. Alternately, cf. also the Arabic borrowing *sah'a:b* 'cloud' [Armbruster 1965: 171].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 71. Borrowed from Arabic *ḡayma*-.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 48.

Wali: Krell 2012: 48.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 200.

Midob: Werner 1993: 129. Quoted as *t ḥçè-dì* in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

15. COLD

Nobiin *ór-kí* (1), Dongolawi *or'o:fe-l* (1), Kenuzi *oro:ke-l* (1), Kadaru *wor-ugv* (1), Debri *worr-unḡ* (1), Karko *ú-gè* (1), Wali *ór-kō* (1), Birgid *kízì-dì* (3), Midob *tùssé* (4).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

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

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

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

Dilling: Not attested. Cf. *ked* 'cold (n.)', *keḏir-er-* 'to freeze (smbd.)' [Kauczor 1920: 122]. However, cf. also *urgi* 'cold', *urki* 'make it cold' in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 187].

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 49.

Wali: Krell 2012: 49.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 200. Additional synonym: *kirkiralun* 'cold' [ibid.]. Semantic difference unknown.

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

16. COME

Old Nubian *ki-* (1) / *ta-* (2), Nobiin *kí-ìl* (1), Dongolawi *t'a:* (2), Kenuzi *ta:* (2), Dilling *ta* (2), Kadaru *ti-ri* (2), Debri *tɔ-rɛ* (2), Karko *tā-mzà* (2), Wali *té-rí* (2), Birgid *ki* (1), Midob *ì:-* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 91. The main entry is listed as *kir- ~ kar- ~ kur- {kour} ~ ker-*, where *-r-* is the imperfective aspect marker. The original root form is *ki-*; 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 ἔρχομαι 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 *bida:* 'to come' [Armbruster 1965: 36] and *ḡ'u:* [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 *bida:* [Hofmann 1986: 40; Massenbach 1962: 178] and *suḡ* [Hofmann 1986: 157] (actually = 'to hurry, hasten', with

'to come' listed as a possible secondary meaning).

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 109.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 47.

Wali: Krell 2012: 47.

Birgid: Thelwall 1978: 276. Quoted as *ki- ~ ki:-* in [MacMichael 1920: 210-211], cf. *ama Fašerei ki-e:n* 'I came from Fasher'. Not attested in [Thelwall 1977].

Midob: Werner 1993: 92. Quoted as *ii* "come!" in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

17. DIE

Old Nubian *di:-* {*di-* ~ *dei-* ~ *diei-*} (1), Nobiin *dí-ìl* (1), Dongolawi *d'i:* (1), Kenuzi *di:* (1), Dilling *ti* (1), Karko *tí-* (1), Wali *tí-* (1), Birgid *ti-n-* # (1), Midob *tí:-* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 44. Renders Greek ἀποθνῆσκα. The verb *nes(ir)-* is occasionally found as the equivalent of 'die', but its primary and most frequent meaning is 'to cease, to rest' [Browne 1996: 199].

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 345. Cf. *dīy-ā* 'death' [Bell 1970: 132], *ā=dī* 'he is dying' [Bell 1970: 135]. Quoted as *dī:-e ~ dī:-os-e* in [Lepsius 1880: 285].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1969: 49. Quoted as *di:* in [Massenbach 1962: 181].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 49. Polysemy: 'to die / to extinguish'. Quoted as *di:* in [Massenbach 1962: 181].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 129.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 46. The exact quoted form is *tí-mīnzà* 'he died'.

Wali: Krell 2012: 46. The exact quoted form is *tí-γiúā* 'he died'.

Birgid: MacMichael 1920: 213. Cf. the actual forms: *Mugur ti-n-arum* 'the Sultan has died'; *usoka ti-n-alla* 'where did he die?'. Morphological structure of these forms is not entirely clear, but external comparison suggests that *ti-* is the root and *-n-* is a suffixal verbal stem component. Not attested in [Thelwall 1977].

Midob: Werner 1993: 131; Thelwall 1983: 110.

18. DOG

Old Nubian *mug-* {*moug-*} (1), Nobiin *múg* (1), Dongolawi *w'el* (2), Kenuzi *wel* (2), Dilling *bol* (2), Kadaru *bɔl* (2), Debri *bɔl* (2), Karko *bôl* (2), Wali *bṽl* (2), Birgid *mɛl* (2), Midob *pà:l* (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 120. Attested in the plural form: *mug-ri-gu-* {*mougrigou-*}.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 368; Bell 1970: 118. Plural form: *mùg-r-ì*. Quoted as *mug*, pl. *mug-ri:* in [Lepsius 1880: 365].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 218. Plural form: *w'el-i*. Quoted as *wel* in [Massenbach 1962: 242].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 184. Quoted as *wel* in [Massenbach 1962: 242].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 44, 60. Plural form: *bɔl-i*.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276. Quoted as *b l* in [Meinhof 1918: 89].

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 42.

Wali: Krell 2012: 42.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 200. Plural form: *me-çir*. Quoted as *me:l* in [MacMichael 1920: 204].

Midob: Werner 1993: 119; Thelwall 1983: 110. Plural form: *p ǎ-tì* [Thelwall 1983: 110].

19. DRINK

Old Nubian *ŋi-* {*ŋe-* ~ *ŋei-* ~ *ŋi-*} (1), Nobiin *ní-ìl* (1), Dongolawi *n'i:* (1), Kenuzi *ni:* (1), Dilling *di* (1), Kadaru *di* (1), Debri *di:* (1), Karko *dì* (1), Wali *dǐ* (1), Birgid *ɲi:* (1), Midob *tì:-* (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.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 369. Cf. *niy-ò* 'he drank' in [Bell 1970: 129]. Quoted as *ni:-e* (*ai ni:-r* 'I am drinking') in [Lepsius 1880: 371].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 153. Polysemy: 'to drink / to smoke'. Quoted as *ni:* in [Massenbach 1962: 220].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 137. Polysemy: 'to drink / to smoke'. Quoted as *ni:* in [Massenbach 1962: 220].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 116.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 45.

Wali: Krell 2012: 45.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 200.

Midob: Werner 1993: 131; Thelwall 1983: 110.

20. DRY

Nobiin *sám-á* (1), Dongolawi *s'oww-əd* ~ *s'orww-əd* (2), Kenuzi *soww-od* (2), Dilling *šonç-ad* (2), Kadaru *fiŋka-du* (3), Debri *šua-du* (2), Karko *šūŋ-è* (2), Wali *šwān-tù* (2), Birgid *su:d-i* (4), Midob *sì:-* (5).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 373. Adjectival form ('dry'). Cf. also: *sàmm-è* 'dryness', *sàmm-ikìrò* 'he dried' [Bell 1970: 129]. The verbal stem is quoted as *samm-e* ~ *samm-o:s-e* 'to dry up' in [Lepsius 1880: 382].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 180. Polysemy: 'dry / avaricious, stingy'. Adjectival stem, derived from the verb *soww* ~ *sowwi* 'to get dry, dry up' [ibid.].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 157. Adjectival stem, derived from the verb *soww-i* 'to be dry' [ibid.]. Another, more complex, adjectival stem with the same meaning is *soww-i-bu-l* [ibid.]. Quoted as *soww-od* in [Massenbach 1962: 229].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 81. Graphically transcribed as *šon ud*. Plural form: *šwanç-ige*. Derived from the verbal root *šon* 'to become dry' [Kauczor 1920: 130], with morphophonological changes on morphemic boundaries.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 50.

Wali: Krell 2012: 50.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 200.

Midob: Werner 1993: 123. Cf.: *sì-núm* 'it is dry'. Quoted as *sí-á* 'dry' in [Thelwall 1983: 110]. Alternate synonym: *sé-d* 'dry' [Werner 1993: 122; Thelwall 1983: 110]. Semantic difference is unclear.

21. EAR

Old Nubian *ulg-* ~ *ulug-* {*oulg-* ~ *ouloug-*} (1), Nobiin *úkkí* (1), Dongolawi *'ulug* (1), Kenuzi *ulug* (1), Dilling *ul̄z-e* (1), Kadaru *wvl̄e* (1), Debri *ulk-a* (1), Karko *úš-ì* (1), Wali *úlg-ū* (1), Birgid *oηel-di* (2), Midob *úlg-í* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 136. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf'. Renders Greek οὔς. See also 'hear'.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 380. Plural form: *úkkí*: (< **úkkí-i*). Quoted as *ukki*, pl. *ukki*: in [Lepsius 1880: 404].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 209. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf'. Plural form: *'ulug-i*. Quoted as *'ulug*, pl. *ulg-i* in [Massenbach 1962: 238].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 176. Quoted as *'ulug*, pl. *ulg-i* in [Massenbach 1962: 238].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 48. The plural form is listed as *ul̄z-i* in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 187].

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276. Quoted as *wúlḡe* in [Meinhof 1918: 90].

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 44.

Wali: Krell 2012: 44.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 201. Plural form: *oηal-e*.

Midob: Werner 1993: 137. Quoted as *úlg-ì* in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

22. EARTH

Old Nubian *iskit-* {*sk̄t̄-* ~ *sk̄t̄-*} (1), Nobiin *gùr* (2), Dongolawi *'arid* (-1), Kenuzi *ʕarid* (-1), Dilling *tob* (3), Kadaru *tɔ* (3), Debri *tɔg* (3), Karko *wîn-d* (4), Wali *ū:n-dù* (4), Birgid *izzi-di* (5).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 77. Polysemy: 'earth / dust'. Regularly renders Greek γῆ. Secondary synonym: *gul-* ~ *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 *-l-* and *-d-* is not quite clear; it may be the result of earlier **gud-* or **gur-* occasionally fusing with the determinant *-l-*.)

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 354. Plural form: *gùr-kú*. Polysemy: 'earth / land / surface'. Opposed to *iskid* 'dust' [Werner 1987: 357]. Quoted as *gur* in [Lepsius 1880: 316].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 18. Plural forms: *'arid-i* ~ *'ard-i*. Meaning glossed as 'earth, soil, ground, land'. Quoted as *arid*, pl. *ard-i* in [Massenbach 1962: 172]. Transparent borrowing from Arabic; opposed to *g'u*: '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 *gu*: 'field, acre; earth (surface)' [Hofmann 1986: 77], with the same overall semantic distinction as in Dongolawi.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 4. Transcribed as *ṭṭb* 'ground' in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 186].

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 48.

Wali: Krell 2012: 48.

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 *kòmùkúdi* = **kòd-n-ùkúdi*, 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), Nobiin *kàb-ir* (1), Dongolawi *k'al* (2), Kenuzi *kal* (2), Dilling *kol* (2), Kadaru *kol-i* (2), Debri *kol-i* (2), Karko *kámēr* (1), Wali *káirī* (2), Birgid *kiṭ-e* (2), Midob *àl-* (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', continued 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).

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 360. Quoted as *kab-e ~ kab-ir-e* in [Lepsius 1880: 337].

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].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 105. 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.].

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 45.

Wali: Krell 2012: 45.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 201. Quoted as *kil-e-* in [MacMichael 1920: 210] (*kile-in* 'I ate', *kile-o* 'thou atest', *kile-m* 'he ate', etc.).

Midob: Werner 1993: 141; Thelwall 1983: 110.

24. EGG

Old Nubian *kumpu-* {*koumpou-*} (1), Nobiin *kúmbú:* ~ *kúnbú:* (1), Dongolawi *k'umbu* (1), Kenuzi *gaskatti* (2), Dilling *koṅil-ti* (3), Kadaru *koṅul-tu* (3), Debri *koṅul-tonu* (3), Karko *kwê-t* (3), Wali *kwīl-tù* (3), Birgid *koζoηel-di* (3), Midob *àyì-dì* (4).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 101.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 364. Plural form: *kùmbù:-nḩi:*. Quoted as *kumbu:* ~ *kombo:* in [Lepsius 1880: 350].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 132; Massenbach 1962: 211. Plural form: *k'umbu-nči* ~ *k'umbu-nč*.

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 69. Quoted as *gaskatti* ~ *gaskanti* ~ *gaskatti* in [Massenbach 1962: 189].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 62. Plural form: *kojil* ~ *kojil-i*. Graphically transcribed as *kojil*.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 43.

Wali: Krell 2012: 43.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 201. Plural form: *koʒoŋal-e*.

Midob: Werner 1993: 84. Quoted as *àì-dì* in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

25. EYE

Old Nubian *maḡ-* (1), Nobiin *má:ḡ* (1), Dongolawi *m'issi* ~ *m'iss* (1), Kenuzi *missi* (1), Dilling *kal-ti* (2), Kadaru *kal-do* (2), Debri *kal-to* (2), Karko *kā-tè* (2), Wali *kátāl* (2), Birgid *kál-dì* (2), Midob *pì-dì* ~ *pì:-dì* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 113. Renders Greek οφθαλμός.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 366; Bell 1970: 117. Plural form: *mà:ḡ-ì*. Quoted as *ma:ḡ*, pl. *ma:ḡ-gu*: ~ *ma:ḡ-i*: in [Lepsius 1880: 359].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 143. Polysemy: 'eye / spring (of water)'. Plural forms: *m'issi-nči* ~ *m'issi-nč*. Quoted as *missi* in [Massenbach 1962: 216].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 130. Polysemy: 'eye / spring (of water)'. Quoted as *missi* in [Massenbach 1962: 216].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 63. Plural form: *kal-e*.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 44.

Wali: Krell 2012: 44.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 201. Plural form: *kál-l-è*. Quoted as *kul-dì* ~ *en=gul-di* 'eye', *en=gál-i* 'the two eyes' in [MacMichael 1920: 206] (for the prefix *en=*, see notes on 'name').

Midob: Werner 1993: 115. Quoted as *pì-dì* in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

26. FAT N.

Nobiin *silè*: (1), Dongolawi *w'adag* (-1), Kenuzi *šaham* (-1), Dilling *aḡur* (2), Kadaru *aḡur* (2), Debri *aḡur* (2), Karko *dūgùd* (3), Wali *kwēr-tù* (4), Birgid *keḡaldin* (5), Midob *tèss-ì* (6).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 374. Plural form: *silè-gú:*. Quoted as *sille*: in [Lepsius 1880: 385].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 213. Plural form: *w'adag-i*. Meaning glossed as 'animal fat, grease'. Borrowed from Arabic *wadāk* id.

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 158. Borrowed from Arabic *ša ḡm*. Distinct from *des* 'butter; plant oil; melted animal fat' [Hofmann 1986: 48].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45. Distinct from *tεɜ* 'oil (liquid fat)' [Kauczor 1920: 44]. Quoted as *ḡur* '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).

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 43. Meaning glossed as 'grease'.

Wali: Krell 2012: 43. Meaning glossed as 'grease'.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 201.

Midob: Werner 1993: 130. Meaning glossed as 'oil, butter'. However, the same word is also quoted as *téss-i* 'fat' in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

27. FEATHER

Nobiin *šiber* # (1), Dongolawi *s'ibr* (1), Dilling *tel-ti* (2), Karko *túrè* (3), Wali *tíl-tù* (2), Birgid *til-de* (2), Midob *tè:-dì* # (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).

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 176. Plural form: *s'ibr-i*. Quoted as *sibir* in [Massenbach 1962: 227].

Kenuzi: Not attested.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 62. Same word as 'hair' q.v. Differently in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 186], where the word *toji* is listed in the meaning 'feather'.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 43.

Wali: Krell 2012: 43.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 201. Plural form: *till-e*.

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]: *tè:d-dì* 'feather'.

28. FIRE

Old Nubian *eig-* {*eig-* ~ *ēg-* ~ *eik-*} (1), Nobiin *íg* ~ *ig* (1), Dongolawi *'rg* (1), Kenuzi *i:g* (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:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 64. Renders Greek πῦρ.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 357; Bell 1970: 134. Plural form: *ig-i*. Quoted as *ig*, pl. *ik-ku* in [Lepsius 1880: 329].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 104. Plural form: *'rg-i*. Polysemy: 'fire, flame / light / blossom, flower'. Quoted as *i:g* in [Massenbach 1962: 197].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 99. Quoted as *i:g* in [Massenbach 1962: 197].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 47.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276. Quoted as *ígyi:* in [Meinhof 1918: 89].

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 48.

Wali: Krell 2012: 48.

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

Midob: Werner 1993: 139. Quoted as *ússi* in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

29. FISH

Old Nubian *watto-* {*ouatto-*} (1), Nobiin *àngíssi* (2), Dongolawi *k'a:re* (3), Kenuzi *ka:re*: (3), Karko *fútè* (-1), Wali *k̄l* (4).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 131. Renders Greek ἰχθύς.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 340. Plural form: *àngíssi-rí*: ~ *àngíssi-gú*: ~ *àngíssi*:. Quoted as *àngíssi* in [Bell 1970: 116]; as *añissi* in [Lepsius 1880: 271].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 118. Plural forms: *k'a:re-nč* ~ *k'a:re-nč*. Quoted as *ka:re*: in [Massenbach 1962: 205].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 106. Quoted as *ka:re*: in [Massenbach 1962: 205].

Dilling: Not attested.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 41. Probably an Arabic borrowing (cf. Arabic *hu:t*- '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.

Old Nubian *parr-* # (1), Nobiin *wá:y-ir* (2), Dongolawi *firr* ~ *firri* (1), Kenuzi *firr* ~ *firri* (1), Dilling *tɔp-tig* (3), Kadaru *tori* (4), Debri *tori* (4), Karko *tíbù-mzà* (3), Wali *tēr-ñūā* (4), Birgid *ma:r* (2), Midob *áwár-g ðr-* (5).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 146. Meaning glossed as 'to whirl, fly'. Somewhat dubious (attested only in the idiomatic expression *parra medianasa*, literally "to fly-running", of one's breath), but indirectly supported by external data.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 382. Quoted as *waie* 'to fly', *ai wai-r* 'I am flying' in [Lepsius 1880: 409].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 72. Quoted as *firri* in [Massenbach 1962: 188].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 65. Quoted as *firri* in [Massenbach 1962: 188]. Cf. also *deg* 'to move around; to fly' [Hofmann 1986: 47]; *sib* 'to fly' [Hofmann 1986: 153] (glossed as 'to fly; to move quickly' in [Massenbach 1965: 227]).

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 292. Cf. *tob-ur* 'to fly off' ("auffliegen, davonfliegen").

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Karko: Krell 2012: 46.

Wali: Krell 2012: 46.

Birgid: Thelwall 1978: 276.

Midob: Werner 1993: 150. Literally = 'to put wing' (*áwár* = 'wing'). Quoted as *áwár-k ðr-* in [Thelwall 1983: 110].

31. FOOT

Old Nubian *oy-* {*ōē-* ~ *ōei-*} (1), Nobiin *ó:y* (1), Dongolawi *'oss* ~ *'oss-ɪ* (1), Kenuzi *oss-i* (1),

Dilling *kogod* (2), Kadaru *kwoddu* (2), Debri *kwodo* (2), Karko *kúgòd* (2), Wali *kō:tō* (2), Birgid *os-e* (1), Midob *òt-tì* (1).

References and notes:

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

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 372. Plural form: *ò:y-ì*. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. Quoted as *oi*, pl. *oi: ~ oi-nzi* in [Lepsius 1880: 375].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 164. Plural forms: *'ossi-nčì ~ 'ossi-nč*. Polysemy: 'foot / leg / footprint, track'. Quoted as *ossi* in [Massenbach 1962: 223].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 143. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. Quoted as *ossi* in [Massenbach 1962: 223].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45, 65. Graphically transcribed as *kogod*. Plural form: *kog-e ~ ko-e*.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278. Quoted as *kúti* 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

Old Nubian *medd-* ~ *midd-* (1), Nobiin *mídd-ìr* (1), Dongolawi *š'anḡi-bu:-l* (2), Kenuzi *eyye-bu:* (3), Dilling *eṇ* (3), Birgid *?i:ṇi-n* (3), Midob *kàtt-í* (4).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 113. Polysemy: 'to be full / to be ready'. Occasionally spelled as *merid-* {*mer ε*}, 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 *š'anḡi-bu:* 'to be full', itself derived from *š'anḡi* 'to get full; to fill'. Quoted as *šanḡ* 'to fill', *š'anḡi-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. *e:ṇ-olza* 'it is full').

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Not attested.

Wali: Not attested.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 202.

Midob: Werner 1993: 97. Also *kàtt-àri* id. Adjectival derivate from a verbal root. Quoted as *kàt-à:rè* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

33. GIVE

Old Nubian *tir-* ~ *ter-* {*tīr-* ~ *ter-*} (1), Nobiin *tè:r* (1), Dongolawi *t'ir* (1), Kenuzi *tir* (1), Dilling *ti* (1), Kadaru *ti* (1), Debri *ti* (1), Karko *ātì* (1), Wali *tí* (1), Birgid *te:-n* (1), Midob *tì-*

~ *tì-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-* ~ *din-* [Browne 1996: 42]. Both verbs expectedly render Greek δίδωμι.
- Nobiin:** Werner 1987: 378. The precise meaning is: 'to give to 2nd / 3rd person'. Cf. *tir-ò* 'he gave' [Bell 1970: 134] (the form *tè:r*, according to Werner's morphophonological analysis, is a contraction from **tir-ir*). Quoted as *tire* in [Lepsius 1880: 397]. The corresponding verbal stem with the meaning 'to give to 1st person (me, us)' is *dèn-ir* [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 *d'en* ~ *d'en* [Armbruster 1965: 47]. Quoted as *tir* vs. *de:n* 'to give' in [Massenbach 1962: 235].
- Kenuzi:** Hofmann 1986: 170. Meaning glossed as: 'to give (to sbd.)'. The corresponding verbal stem with the meaning 'to give to 1st person (me, us)' is *de:n* [Hofmann 1986: 47]. Quoted as *tir* vs. *de:n* '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: *tè-ni* 'give it to me', *tì-ri* 'give it to him', *tì-ren* 'I have given it to you'. Not attested in [Thelwall 1977].
- Midob:** Werner 1993: 131. Cf. *tì-n-nán* 'to give', *tì-t* 'give!' in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

34. GOOD

Old Nubian *gen-* (1), Nobiin *màs* (2), Dongolawi *s'ere* ~ *s'ere* (3), Kenuzi *sere* (3), Dilling *ken* (4), Kadaru *ken* (4), Debri *ken* (4), Karko *kwàñi-kō* (4), Wali *kátwà* (5), Birgid *azze-n* (6), Midob *tísíní* (7).

References and notes:

- Old Nubian:** Browne 1996: 27. Verbal root: 'to be good'. Renders Greek ἀγαθός. Another, very rare, somewhat dubious, equivalent is the verbal stem *mas-* [Browne 1996: 111].
- Nobiin:** Werner 1987: 366. Plural form: *màs-kú*. Numerous textual examples show that this word is the most common and generic equivalent for 'good' in Modern Nobiin. In contrast, Nobiin *gèn*, 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 Nobiin gives serious evidence for considering the situation as a lexical replacement. However, cf. *genna* 'good' [Lepsius 1880: 311] and *mas* '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: *ser'e-ri* ~ *ser'e-nči* ~ *ser'e-nč*. Quoted as *s'ere* ~ *sere*, pl. *sere-ri* in [Massenbach 1962: 227]. Synonym: *g'en* [Armbruster 1965: 77]. Plural form: *g'en-i*. Polysemy: 'good / healthy'. The difference between the two words is vague, but perusal of attested contexts shows that the older word *g'en* 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'ere*. In [Massenbach 1962: 190], the adjective *gen* is only quoted in a comparative meaning ('better').
- Kenuzi:** Hofmann 1986: 153. Quoted as *s'ere* ~ *sere*, pl. *sere-ri* in [Massenbach 1962: 227]. Several other, less frequent, synonyms, are also listed, most of them identifiable as Arabic borrowings: *šadel* [Hofmann 1986: 19], *libab* [Hofmann 1986: 121], etc.
- Dilling:** Kauczor 1920: 81. Plural form: *ken-e*.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 49.

Wali: Krell 2012: 49.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 202. Quoted as *azei-n* in [MacMichael 1920: 207].

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 *tisínè* 'good'.

35. GREEN

Old Nubian *dess-* (1), Nobiin *déss-i* (1), Dongolawi *d'ess-ε* (1), Kenuzi *dess-e ~ doss-e* (1), Dilling *tez-e* (1), Birgid *te:z-e* (1), Midob *tèss-é* (1).

References and notes:

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

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 345. Plural form: *dèssi-kú*. Polysemy: 'green / fresh / raw'. Quoted as *dessi* in [Lepsius 1880: 284].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 49. Plural forms: *d'esse-nčt ~ d'esse-nč*. Polysemy: 'green / light blue'. Quoted as *desse*, pl. *desse-ri* in [Massenbach 1962: 181].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 48. Quoted as *desse ~ dosse* 'green / raw / unripe' in [Massenbach 1962: 181].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 82.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Not attested.

Wali: Not attested.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 202.

Midob: Werner 1993: 130.

36. HAIR

Nobiin *šigír-tí* (1), Dongolawi *d'il-t ~ d'il-tt* (2), Kenuzi *sir* (1), Dilling *tel-ti* (2), Kadaru *til-tu* (2), Debri *til-tu* (2), Karko *tīèl* (2), Wali *tī:lè* (2), Birgid *ur=dill-e* (2), Midob *tè:-dì* (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

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

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 52. Plural forms: *d'il-tt-nčt ~ d'il-tt-nč*. 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].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 62. Plural form: *tel*. Graphically transcribed as *tēlti*.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

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].

Midob: Werner 1993: 129. Polysemy: 'hair / wool'. Quoted as *tè:d-dì* 'hair, wool' in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

37. HAND

Old Nubian *ey-* {*ei-* ~ *ē-*} (1), Nobiin *èd-dì* (1), Dongolawi *'i:* (1), Kenuzi *i:* (1), Dilling *iš-i* (1), Karko *vš-à* (1), Wali *iš-ī* (1), Birgid *es-si-gafai* (1), Midob *às-sì* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 63. The spelling may actually reflect *i-* (as in modern Nile-Nubian languages). Renders Greek χεῖρ.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 349; Bell 1970: 127. Plural form: *èd-dì-gú:*. Assimilated from **ey-di*, where *-di* is a fossilized singulative suffix. Quoted as *eddi*, pl. *edd-i:* ~ *eddi-gu:* in [Lepsius 1880: 291].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 103. Plural forms: *'i-nči* ~ *'i-nč*. Quoted as *i:* in [Massenbach 1962: 197].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 99. Quoted as *i:* in [Massenbach 1962: 197].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 66; Jabr el Dar 2006: 187. Defined as a *plurale tantum*.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: 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-a:li* 'hand' in [MacMichael 1920: 206] (for the prefix *en=*, see notes on 'name').

Midob: Werner 1993: 142. Quoted as *ssi* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

38. HEAD

Old Nubian *ur-* {*our-*} (1), Nobiin *ùr* (1), Dongolawi *'ur* (1), Kenuzi *ur* (1), Dilling *or* (1), Kadaru *wúr* # (1), Karko *òr* (1), Wali *òr* (1), Birgid *úr* (1), Midob *òr* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 139. Very rarely spelled as *or-*. Renders Greek κεφαλή.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 380; Bell 1970: 136. Plural form: *ùr-kú:*. Quoted as *ur*, pl. *ur-ku:* in [Lepsius 1880: 406].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 211. Plural form: *'ur-i*. Quoted as *ur* in [Massenbach 1962: 239].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 177; Massenbach 1962: 239.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 61. Plural form: *or-eni*. Graphically transcribed as *or*.

Kadaru: Meinhof 1918: 90. Not attested in Stevenson's wordlists.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 44.

Wali: Krell 2012: 44.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 202. Plural form: *ùr*. Quoted as *urr* in [MacMichael 1920: 205].

Midob: Werner 1993: 109; Thelwall 1983: 111.

39. HEAR

Old Nubian *ulg-ir-* {*oulg-ir-*} (1), Nobiin *úkké-èr* (1), Dongolawi *g'¹š-ir* (2), Kenuzi *giš-ir* (2), Dilling *ki-er-* (2), Karko *kī-ēr* (2), Wali *kē-rî* (2), Midob *ànn-* (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-ur-* ~ *ulk-ir-* ~ *ulg-er-*, reflecting idiolectal or unique orthographic peculiarities. Transparently derived from *ul(u)g-* 'ear' q.v.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 380. Transparently derived from *úkki* 'ear' q.v. Quoted as *ukki-re* in [Lepsius 1880: 404].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 79. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen / to smell'. Quoted as *giž-ir* in [Massenbach 1962: 191].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 73. Polysemy: 'to hear / to understand'. Quoted as *giž-ir* in [Massenbach 1962: 191], with polysemy: 'to hear / to feel / to smell'.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 119.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 46.

Wali: Krell 2012: 46.

Birgid: Not attested.

Midob: Werner 1993: 142. Quoted as *ḏḡḡ-* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

40. HEART

Old Nubian *ai-l-* {*āeil-*} (1), Nobiin *áy* (1), Dongolawi *'a:* (1), Kenuzi *a:* (1), Dilling *a-l* (1), Kadaru *a-l-du* (1), Debri *a-l-du* (1), Karko *ā-l-ḏ* (1), Wali *ē-l-dà* (1), Birgid *ai-di* (1), Midob *ássá-d* (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 7. Polysemy: 'heart / soul'. Renders Greek καρδιά as well as ψυχή. The transcription with *ei* may indicate the pronunciation **ayil* rather than **ail*. Stem-final *-l-* is of a suffixal nature (fossilized determinant).

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 342; Bell 1970: 132. Plural forms: *ày-rì:* ~ *ày-kú:*. Quoted as *ai* ~ *ai-l* (plural: *ai-l-i:*) in [Lepsius 1880: 267].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 1. Plural forms: *'a-nčì* ~ *'a-nč*. Polysemy: 'heart / self'. Quoted as *a:* 'heart, soul, life' in [Massenbach 1962: 169].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 17. Quoted as *a:* 'heart, soul, life' in [Massenbach 1962: 169]. Cf. also *dugus* 'intestine, bowel' [Hofmann 1986: 53], said to be used in the meaning 'heart' when addressing children.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 60. Plural: *al-i*.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 45.

Wali: Krell 2012: 45.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 202.

Midob: Werner 1993: 82; Thelwall 1983: 111.

41. HORN

Nobiin *nè:šì* (1), Dongolawi *n'isšì* ~ *n'isš* (1), Kenuzi *nišši* (1), Dilling *dɔ-ti* (1), Karko *nū-tù* (1), Wali *dú-tú* (1), Birgid *ḡis-ti* (1), Midob *ká:ḡ-í* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 370; Bell 1970: 130. Plural form: *n̄:š̄i-gú:*. Quoted as *n̄:š̄i*, pl. *n̄:š̄i: ~ n̄:š̄i-gu:* in [Lepsius 1880: 372].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 164. Plural forms: *n̄'íš̄i-n̄č̄i ~ n̄'íš̄i-n̄č̄.* Quoted as *n̄iš̄i* in [Massenbach 1962: 221].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 138. Quoted as *n̄iš̄i* in [Massenbach 1962: 221].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 64. Plural form: *n̄ɔ-ni* (suppletive on the synchronic level, but both forms go back to the same Proto-Nubian root).

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 43.

Wali: Krell 2012: 43.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 203. Plural form: *ɲizz-ε*.

Midob: Werner 1993: 103; Thelwall 1983: 111.

42. I

Old Nubian *ay* {*ai-* ~ *aiei-*} (1), Nobiin *ày* (1), Dongolawi *'ay* (1), Kenuzi *ay* (1), Dilling *ε* (1), Karko *íyá* (1), Wali *ī* (1), Birgid *ama* (2), Midob *áy* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 5.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 342; Bell 1970: 132. Quoted as *ai* in [Lepsius 1880: 267]. Accusative case: *ày-gà*.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 11. Accusative case: *'at-gi ~ 'at-gi*. Genitive: *'a-nn*. Quoted as *ay* in [Massenbach 1962: 170].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 22. Quoted as *ay* in [Massenbach 1962: 170].

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-*, possessive form *o-ne* 'my'.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 40.

Wali: Krell 2012: 40.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 203; MacMichael 1920: 207.

Midob: Werner 1993: 36. Quoted as *í* in [Thelwall 1983: 111]. Genitive: *í-n*. Accusative: *í ~ ék*.

43. KILL

Nobiin *fáy-è:r* (1), Dongolawi *b'ε:* (1), Kenuzi *be:* (1), Dilling *hur* (2), Kadaru *wur-i* (2), Debri *wur-i* (2), Karko *fúr-àngà* (2), Wali *fūr-í* (2), Birgid *fila:l-e* (1), Midob *pé-r- ~ pé-nd-* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

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

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 31. Polysemy: 'to kill / to extinguish / to numb'. Quoted as *be: ~ bay* in [Massenbach 1962: 176].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 36. Polysemy: 'to kill / to extinguish'. Quoted as *be: ~ bay* in [Massenbach 1962: 176]. The causative formation from *di-* 'to die' q.v., *di-kir*, 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 smbd. in one movement'), as opposed to plural action stem *tob* [ibid.].

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 46.

Wali: Krell 2012: 46.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 203.

Midob: Werner 1993: 114; Thelwall 1983: 111.

44. KNEE

Nobiin *kúr-tí* (1), Dongolawi *k'ur-ti ~ k'ur-t* (1), Kenuzi *kur-ti* (1), Karko *kú-tè* (1), Wali *kú-tù* (1), Birgid *kurti-n-ur* (1), Midob *ùrú-d* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

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

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

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 119. Polysemy: 'knee / joint'. Quoted as *k'ur-ti* in [Massenbach 1962: 211].

Dilling: Not attested.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 45.

Wali: Krell 2012: 45.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 203. Plural form: *kurti-n-ur-si*. Literally = 'head of knee' (cf. *úr* 'head').

Midob: Werner 1993: 138; Thelwall 1983: 111.

45. KNOW

Old Nubian *i-* (*i- ~ ei-*) (1), Nobiin *ìrbé-èr* (1), Dongolawi *'uḡur* (2), Kenuzi *iy-ir* (1), Dilling *i-er-* (1), Karko *ṣ-īr* (1), Wali *ī-rí* (1), Midob *ì:yá-* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 63, 64. Renders Greek γιγνώσκω. Also attested as *ia-r- ~ ie-r-* (*ear- ~ 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].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 210. Polysemy: 'to know / to understand'. Quoted as *uḡor* in [Massenbach 1962: 239].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 103. Quoted as *iy-ir* 'to know / to count' in [Massenbach 1962: 199].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 119.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 46.

Wali: Krell 2012: 46.

Birgid: Not attested.

Midob: Werner 1993: 94. Quoted as *iyá-* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

46. LEAF

Old Nubian *ulg-* ~ *ulug-* {*oulg-* ~ *ouloug-*} (1), Nobiin *úkki* (1), Dongolawi *'ulug* (1), Kenuzi *ulug* (1), Dilling *a:íd-anj* (2), Karko *àl* (3), Wali *fúr=n=áídó* (2), Birgid *?awa:re* (4), Midob *pì-dì* (5).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 136. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf'. Renders Greek φύλλον.

Nobiin: 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 *ukki*, pl. *ukki*: in [Lepsius 1880: 404].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 209. Polysemy: 'ear / leaf'. Plural form: *'ulug-i*. Quoted as *'ulug*, pl. *ulg-i* in [Massenbach 1962: 238].

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 *'ulug*, pl. *ulg-i* in [Massenbach 1962: 238].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 8. Cf. in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 187]: "according to the elders, *ayit* 'leaf' is an old word; the current word is *adanj*"; Kauczor's *a:íd-anj*, Jabr el Dar's *adanj* obviously < **ayit-anj* with extra suffixation (originally a collective form?).

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 42.

Wali: Krell 2012: 42. The first component is 'tree' q.v.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 203.

Midob: Werner 1993: 115. Plural form: *pídí-dí* (this form is simply listed as the singular 'leaf' in [Thelwall 1983: 111]). Same stem as in 'eye' q.v.

47. LIE

Old Nubian *pi-* # (1), Nobiin *fíyy-ìr* ~ *fi:-r* (1), Dongolawi *t'urbí* ~ *t'ubbí* (2), Kenuzi *turub* (2), Dilling *zir* ~ *zer* (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 Nobiin shows that the root could indeed have been the basic equivalent for 'to lie' in Old Nubian as well.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 351. Polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep'.

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].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 174. Polysemy: 'to lie down / to lie / to sleep'. Quoted as *turub* in [Massenbach 1962: 237].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 292. Denotes the stative verb ('to be lying'); cf. *zer-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 *kèrà-*, 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 *dìbè:* (1), Dongolawi *kìbd'a:d* (-1), Dilling *hegiŋ* (2), Karko *šígì-dʷè* (3), Wali *fiá?* (2), Birgid *fíšši* (2), Midob *tèmmèzi* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Bell 1970: 128. Plural form: *dìbè-nèi* [Bell 1970: 116]. Quoted as *dibe:* in [Lepsius 1880: 285].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 122. Quoted as *kibda:d* in [Massenbach 1962: 207]. Borrowed from Arabic.

Kenuzi: Not attested.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 45.

Wali: Krell 2012: 45.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 203.

Midob: Werner 1993: 130. Quoted as *tèmmèzi* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

49. LONG

Nobiin *nàssí* (1), Dongolawi *n'oso ~ n'oso:* (1), Kenuzi *nosso* (1), Dilling *dɔʒ-i* (1), Kadaru *dɔʒʒ-u* (1), Debri *dɔʒʒ-i* (1), Karko *dūʒ-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: *nàssí-kú:*. Meaning glossed as 'big, long', but most of Werner's textual examples confirm the primary semantics of 'long'. Quoted as *nassi ~ nassi-r*, pl. *nassi-kku:* in [Lepsius 1880: 369].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 156. Polysemy: 'long / tall'. Plural forms: *nos'o:-ri ~ nos'o:-nčt ~ nos'o:-nč*. Quoted as *nosso*, pl. *nosso-ri* in [Massenbach 1962: 221].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 138. Quoted as *nosso*, pl. *nosso-ri* in [Massenbach 1962: 221].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 81. Plural form: *dɔʒ-e*.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 41.

Wali: Krell 2012: 41.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 203.

Midob: Werner 1993: 128; Thelwall 1983: 111. Polysemy: 'long / far'.

50. LOUSE

Nobiin *issi* (1), Dongolawi *'issi ~ 'iss* (1), Kenuzi *issi* (1), Dilling *iti-d* (1), Karko *itè* (1), Wali

ité-tū (1), Midob *ì:dì* (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).

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 112. Plural forms: *'issi-nč̣i* ~ *'issi-nč̣*. Quoted as *issi* in [Massenbach 1962: 199].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 102; Massenbach 1962: 199.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45, 65. Plural form: *iti*.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 42.

Wali: Krell 2012: 42.

Birgid: Not attested.

Midob: Werner 1993: 92; Thelwall 1983: 111.

51. MAN

Old Nubian *ogīš-* {*ōgṣ̌- ~ ōgoṣ̌-*} (1), Nobiin *ògzi-l* (1), Dongolawi *'ogīš* (1), Kenuzi *ogīš* (1), Dilling *kor-ti* (2), Karko *kwō-tè* (2), Wali *kwōr-tò* (2), Birgid *kur-ti* (2), Midob *èd* (3).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 122. Meaning glossed as 'man, husband'; the word consistently renders Greek ἀνὴρ rather than ἀνθρώπος, so the required semantics of 'male human being' is quite appropriate here.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 371. Quoted as *ogōš*, pl. *ogzi-ri:* ~ *ogōzi-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.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 159. Polysemy: 'man (male) / husband'. Plural forms: *'ogīš-i* ~ *'ogṣ̌-i*. Quoted as *ogīš*, pl. *ogṣ̌-i* in [Massenbach 1962: 222].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 141. Plural form: *ogṣ̌-i:*. Quoted as *ogīš*, pl. *ogṣ̌-i* in [Massenbach 1962: 222].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 63. Plural form: *kor-i*. Graphically transcribed as *korṭi*.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 41.

Wali: Krell 2012: 41.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 203. Plural form: *kur*. Quoted as *kor-ti* ~ *kor-togei* in [MacMichael 1920: 199].

Midob: Werner 1993: 85. Quoted as *ét*, pl. *ét-ti* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

52. MANY

Old Nubian *dī-* {*diei-* ~ *diē-* ~ *deiē-*} (1), Nobiin *dīyy-i* (1), Dongolawi *d'ig-ri* ~ *d'ig-ri:* (1), Kenuzi *dig-ri:* (1), Dilling *inṣ̌'ir-i* (2), Kadaru *inṣ̌ir-u* (2), Debri *inṣ̌ir-i* (2), Karko *ḡm̄nēṣ̌* (3), Wali *šāmō* (4), Birgid *farra* (5), Midob *é:ḡé* (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: *diy-à ~ diy-à* 'it is a lot, it is enough'. Quoted as *di-i* in [Lepsius 1880: 285].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 51. Meaning glossed as 'great in quantity or number, abundant, plentiful, numerous'. Plural forms: *dig-r'i-nči ~ dig-r'i-nč*. Adjectival stem; cf. also the adverb *dig-r'u-g* 'much, exceedingly, very'. Quoted as *digri* in [Massenbach 1962: 181].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 50. Quoted as *digri* in [Massenbach 1962: 181].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 82.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 41.

Wali: Krell 2012: 41.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 203.

Midob: Werner 1993: 88; Thelwall 1983: 111.

53. MEAT

Old Nubian *gad-* # (1), Nobiin *áriṣ* (2), Dongolawi *k'usu* (3), Kenuzi *kusu* (3), Dilling *kwaṣe* (3), Kadaru *kwaṣe* (3), Debri *kwai* (3), Karko *kwāṣē?* (3), Wali *kwè* (3), Birgid *kozi* (3), Midob *òsòḥí* (3).

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 σώμα '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.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 340. Oblique stem: *áriṣṣ-á*. Quoted as *áriṣ* in [Bell 1970: 127]; as *ariṣ ~ arṣi*, pl. *arṣ-i* in [Lepsius 1880: 272].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 134. Plural forms: *k'usu-nči ~ k'usu-nč*. Quoted as *k'usu ~ kussu* in [Massenbach 1962: 212].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 119. Quoted as *k'usu ~ kussu* in [Massenbach 1962: 212].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 48.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 43.

Wali: Krell 2012: 43.

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

Midob: Werner 1993: 110; Thelwall 1983: 111. Cf. also *kàdi* 'meat without bones' [Werner 1993: 95].

54. MOON

Old Nubian *un-* {oun-} (1), Nobiin *ùnát-tí* (1), Dongolawi *un-'at-ti ~ un-'at-t* (1), Kenuzi *un-at-ti ~ an-at-ti* (1), Dilling *nɔn-ti* (1), Kadaru *nɔn-tu* (1), Debri *nɔn-to* (1), Karko *ōmù-d* (1), Wali *ūm-tù* (1), Birgid *ma:l* # (2), Midob *ánnḥál* (3).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 137. Renders Greek σελήνη.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 381. Quoted as *ùnát-ti* in [Bell 1970: 136]. Plural form: *ùnàt-tì*. Comparison with Old Nubian, as well as Nobiin *ú:n* 'crescent moon' [Bell 1970: 136], suggests a development from **un-aC-ti*, although synchronically the word is not segmentable. Quoted as *unatti* ~ *onatti* in [Lepsius 1880: 405].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 209. The non-derived root stem *'u:n* '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: 25. 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.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 63. Plural form: *nɔn-i*. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.

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].

Midob: Werner 1993: 142. Quoted as *ḏḏ* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

55. MOUNTAIN

Old Nubian *ḡaṣ-* ~ *ḡaṣṣ-* (1) / *wer-* {*ouer-*} (2), Nobiin *mùlé:* (3), Dongolawi *ṣ'ebel* (-1), Kenuzi *ṣebel* (-1), Dilling *kulí* (4), Kadaru *kul-du* (4), Debri *k^wu-du* (4), Karko *kúrù* (4), Wali *kùl-dū* (4), Birgid *kú:r* (4), Midob *ò:r* (4).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 198. This is the most common equivalent for the required meaning in Old Nubian texts. Consistently renders Greek ὄρος. Browne 1996: 134. This word is encountered less frequently than *ḡaṣ-*, but 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 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.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 368. Plural form: *mùlé-nḡi:*. Meaning glossed as 'hill, mountain'. Quoted as *mule:* 'mountain' in [Lepsius 1880: 366].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 86. Plural forms: *ṣ'ebel-t* ~ *ṣib'a:l*. Transparent borrowing from Arabic. Quoted as *ṣebel* in [Massenbach 1962: 201].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 82; Massenbach 1962: 201.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 34.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278. In [Meinhof 1918: 89], the meaning 'mountain' is glossed as *kágár = kakar* 'stone' in Stevenson's lists (q.v.).

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 48.

Wali: Krell 2012: 48.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 202. Meaning glossed as 'hill'. Plural form: *ku:r-a:n*. Quoted as *ku:r* 'mountain' in [MacMichael 1920: 201].

Midob: Werner 1993: 110; Thelwall 1983: 111.

56. MOUTH

Old Nubian *agil-* ~ *akil-* {*āgīl-* ~ *ākīl-*} (1), Nobiin *ág* (1), Dongolawi '*agil*' (1), Kenuzi *agil* (1), Dilling *ɔgul* (1), Kadaru *ɔgvl* (1), Debri *ɔ:l* (1), Karko *ógv̀lè* (1), Wali *ūl* (1), Birgid *agal* (1), Midob *á:l* (1).

References and notes:

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

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 339. Plural forms: *àg-i-* ~ *àg-r-í-*. Quoted as *ag*, pl. *ag-i-* ~ *ak-ku-* in [Lepsius 1880: 265].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 9. Polysemy: 'mouth / opening / blade of knife'. Plural form: '*agl-t-*'. Quoted as *agil* in [Massenbach 1962: 170].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 20. Polysemy: 'mouth / door'. Quoted as *agil* in [Massenbach 1962: 170].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278. Quoted as *gèl* 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.).

Midob: Werner 1993: 78; Thelwall 1983: 111. Polysemy: 'mouth / speech / word'.

57. NAME

Old Nubian *tan̄is-* {*tan̄s-* ~ *tans-*} (1), Nobiin *tàn̄is* (1), Dongolawi '*err̄i*' ~ '*err*' (2), Kenuzi *err̄i* (2), Dilling *or* (2), Karko *â:kwò* (3), Wali *īr* (2), Birgid *e:n=erei* # (2), Midob *á:ri* (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 168. Renders Greek ὄνομα.

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

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 66. Plural forms: '*err̄i-n̄i*' ~ '*err̄i-n̄č*'. Quoted as *eri* ~ *err̄i* in [Massenbach 1962: 185].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 59. Quoted as *eri* ~ *err̄i* in [Massenbach 1962: 185].

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 *e:n=* 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 *k dí* 'name', *k d-àm* 'it is called' [Werner 1993: 103], not confirmed in [Thelwall 1983].

58. NECK

Nobiin *íyyí* (1), Dongolawi '*eyye*' ~ '*eyye*' (1), Kenuzi *eyye* (1), Kadaru *e:* (1), Debri *dul* (2),

Karko *dôl-è* (2), Wali *dól* (2), Birgid *kafai* (3), Midob *é:r* (4).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 358; Bell 1970: 132. Plural form: *iyyi*: (< **iyyi-i*). Quoted as *i*: ~ *i-i*, pl. *i-i*: ~ *i-gu*: in [Lepsius 1880: 327].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 64. Plural forms: '*eyye-nči* ~ '*eyye-nč*. Quoted as *eye* ~ *eyye* 'neck' in [Massenbach 1962: 186]. Alternate synonym: *g'umur* [Armbruster 1965: 82]. Plural form: *g'umur-i*. Quoted as *gumur*, pl. *gumr-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, '*eyye* is more likely to refer to the 'neck' in general or to 'front part of neck' in particular, whereas *g'umur* is more likely to refer to 'back side of the neck; nape'.

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 61. Quoted as *eye* ~ *eyye* 'neck' in [Massenbach 1962: 186]. Alternate synonym: *ɣumur* 'neck' [Hofmann 1986: 78]. See notes on Dongolawi for the potential semantic difference between the two.

Dilling: Not attested.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 45.

Wali: Krell 2012: 45.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 204.

Midob: Werner 1993: 88; Thelwall 1983: 111.

59. NEW

Old Nubian *miri-* {*miri-* ~ *miriei-* ~ *muri-*} (1), Nobiin *míri:* (1), Dongolawi '*er* ~ '*er* (2), Kenuzi *e:r* (2), Dilling *er* (2), Karko *ē?* (2), Wali *ír* (2), Birgid *e:r* (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 118. Renders Greek *κατῶς*.

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

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 65. Plural form: '*er-i*. Quoted as *er* in [Massenbach 1962: 185]. Polysemy: 'new / fresh'. Alternate synonym: *šed'i:d* [Armbruster 1965: 87], borrowed from Arabic.

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 58; Massenbach 1962: 185.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 284.

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-* {*ōar-*} (1), Nobiin *áwá* (1), Dongolawi '*ugu* ~ '*ugu*: (2), Kenuzi *ugu*: (2), Dilling *kwalol* (3), Kadaru *kwalet* (3), Debri *kwalet* (3), Karko *kwâl-nò* (3), Wali *kwāl* (3), Birgid *nergi* (4), Midob *ò:d* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 122. Renders Greek $\nu\acute{\xi}$. Also attested in the form *oyade-* {*ōāde-*}.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 341. Plural forms: *àwà:n-çì*: ~ *àwà:r-ì*: ~ *àwà-kú*:. Quoted as *áwà* 'night-time' in [Bell 1970: 130]; as *auar* ~ *aua* in [Lepsius 1880: 274].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 208. Plural forms: *'ugu-nčì* ~ *'ugu-nč*. Cf. *ug-r'ε:s* 'day' [ibid.]; both words are derived from the root *'ug-*, which Armbruster defines as 'day (of 24 hours)'. Quoted as *ugu*, pl. *ugu-nčì* in [Massenbach 1962: 238].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 175. Quoted as *ugu*: in [Massenbach 1962: 238]. Cf. also *tur* 'evening; night' [Hofmann 1986: 174]; *li:le* 'night' (borrowed from Arabic).

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 49.

Wali: Krell 2012: 49.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 204.

Midob: Werner 1993: 107. Quoted as *ò:t* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

61. NOSE

Nobiin *sòrìŋ* (1), Dongolawi *s'orìŋ* (1), Kenuzi *sorin* (1), Kadaru *ižìŋ* (2), Debri *epunŋ* (2), Karko *īŋè* (2), Wali *íjù-ŋó* (2), Birgid *mijŋ* (3), Midob *èsèŋì* (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 374; Bell 1970: 129. Plural form: *sòrìŋ-gú*:. Quoted as *surin* ~ *sorin*, pl. *sorin-gu*: in [Lepsius 1880: 388].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 180. Plural form: *s'orìŋ-i*. Quoted as *s'orin*, pl. *sorŋ-i* in [Massenbach 1962: 229].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 156. Plural form: *sorn-i*:. Quoted as *s'orijŋ*, pl. *sorŋ-i* in [Massenbach 1962: 229].

Dilling: Not attested.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 44.

Wali: Krell 2012: 44.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 204.

Midob: Werner 1993: 88; Thelwall 1983: 111.

62. NOT

Old Nubian *men-* {*men-* ~ *mŋn-* ~ *mein-* ~ *min-*} (1), Nobiin =*mù:n* (1), Dongolawi =*mun-* (1), Kenuzi =*mun-* (1), Dilling =*min* (1), Birgid =*m-* # (1), Midob =*á:-* (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 =*min-* or =*men-* (cf. the root shape in Old Nubian), but the main present and past conjugation paradigms all feature the stem variant =*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 =*mun-an* for 3rd p. plural and =*mun-un* for all other persons. In certain other contexts, the verb shows a different vocalism: =*mɛn* [Armbruster 1965: 140]. Quoted as =*mun* ~ =*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 =*mun* ~ =*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 *ki-m-en* 'I did not come', *so-m-i* '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 =*á-*, appended to the verbal root.

63. ONE

Old Nubian *wer-* ~ *wel-* {*ouel-* ~ *ouer-* ~ *wer-*} (1), Nobiin *wè:r* ~ *wè:l* ~ *wè:* (1), Dongolawi *w'ɛ:r* (1), Kenuzi *wer* (1), Dilling *be* (1), Kadaru *bɛrɔ* (1), Debri *ber* (1), Karko *bīɛ?* (1), Wali *bêr-àrà* (1), Birgid *me:l-ug* (1), Midob *pàr-ǫí* (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 *wer-* and *wel-* looks random, but *wer-* is the more archaic variant as suggested by external comparison.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 382. Quoted as *wer* ~ *wel* ~ *we:* ~ *wɛi* in [Lepsius 1880: 411]. Final *-r* belongs to the root, as may be seen from various bound and derived forms, e. g. *wè:r-à* 'it is one' or *ùrr-áǫí* 'first'; the vowel-final variant is apparently the result of contextual simplification.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 219. Plural form: *w'ɛ:r-i*. Quoted as *wer* in [Massenbach 1962: 242].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 184; Massenbach 1962: 242.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 90. Predicative form: *be-n* ~ *be-n*. Transcribed as *bɛ:* in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 186].

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278. Quoted as *bɛ:rɔ* in [Meinhof 1918: 89].

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 41.

Wali: Krell 2012: 41.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 204. Quoted as *meir-ti* in [MacMichael 1920: 198].

Midob: Werner 1993: 33; Thelwall 1983: 111. The simple root stem *pèr* 'one' [Werner 1993: 115] seems to be restricted to certain bound contexts.

64. PERSON

Old Nubian *i-t-* {*eit-* ~ *eṯ-*} (1), Nobiin *í-d* (1), Dongolawi *'adɛm* (-1), Kenuzi *zo:l* (-1), Dilling *i-d* (1), Midob *í-r* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 80. Consistently renders Greek ἀνθρώπος rather than ἀνήρ (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-* {*e k-*} '(hu)mankind' [ibid.]. Stem-final *-t-* is segmentable as the old singulative suffix, since it disappears in the plural: *i-* {*ei-*} 'people' [Browne 1996: 63].

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 356; Bell 1970: 125. Plural form: *i-d-i-*. The old singulative suffix *-d* (still detachable in Old Nubian) has become completely fossilized in Nobiin. Quoted as *id* in [Lepsius 1880: 328]. Suppletive plural: *úttú:* 'people' [Werner 1987: 381], quoted as *uttu:* in [Lepsius 1880: 408].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 5. Plural form: *'adem-i*. Quoted as *adem* in [Massenbach 1962: 170]. Borrowed from Arabic. The older word *'id*, 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 *zawl* 'person'.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 65. Plural form: *i-ri*.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Not attested.

Wali: Not attested.

Birgid: Not attested.

Midob: Werner 1993: 93; Thelwall 1983: 111. Plural form: *i-ʒʒéti*.

65. RAIN

Old Nubian *aru-* {*ārou-*} (1), Nobiin *áwwí* (1), Dongolawi *'aru* (1), Kenuzi *a-nn-essi* (1), Dilling *are* (1), Kadaru *ara* (1), Debri *are* (1), Karko *âr* (1), Wali *árè?* (1), Birgid *a:le* (1), Midob *áré ~ árí ~ áró* (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-* {*auēi-*} [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.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 341; Bell 1970: 131. Polysemy: 'rain / mourning' (in [Bell 1970]). Quoted as *auī* in [Lepsius 1880: 274]. On p. 269 of the same source, cf. also *amu:r ~ ambu:r* 'rain', of unclear origin.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 20. Plural forms: *ar'u-nčt ~ ar'u-nč*. Quoted as *aru* in [Massenbach 1962: 173].

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-nn-essi*.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 47. Polysemy: 'sky / rain'.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278. Quoted as *árà* in [Meinhof 1918: 89].

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 47.

Wali: Krell 2012: 47.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 205. Quoted as *a:li* in [MacMichael 1920: 203].

Midob: Werner 1993: 82. Quoted as *árè* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

66. RED

Old Nubian *gel-* # (1), Nobiin *gél* (1), Dongolawi *g'ɛ:l-ɛ* (1), Kenuzi *ge:l-e* (1), Dilling *kel-e* (1), Kadaru *kell-e* (1), Debri *kell-ɛ* (1), Karko *kél-è* (1), Wali *kél-ì* (1), Birgid *ke:l-e* (1), Midob *ké:l-é* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 26. Actually renders Greek πορφύρεος 'purple' rather than 'red', but external data strongly confirm that 'red' must have been the basic meaning. No other equivalent for 'red' is known.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 352; Bell 1970: 126. Plural form: *gè:l-ì*: ~ *gél-kú*. In [Bell 1970], the meaning is glossed as 'red, yellow'. Quoted as *ge:l* 'red' in [Lepsius 1880: 310].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 76. Plural forms: *g'ɛ:lɛ-nč* ~ *g'ɛ:lɛ-nč*. Quoted as *ge:le*, pl. *ge:le-ri* 'red, brown' in [Massenbach 1965: 190].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 70. Quoted as *ge:le* 'red, brown' in [Massenbach 1965: 190].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 82.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 49.

Wali: Krell 2012: 49.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 205. Quoted as *kayl-ei* in [MacMichael 1920: 207].

Midob: Werner 1993: 98. Quoted as *kél-è* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

67. ROAD

Old Nubian *dawi-* ~ *dawu-* {*dauei-* ~ *dauou-*} (1), Nobiin *dáwwí* (1), Dongolawi *d'arib* ~ *d'arib* (-1), Kenuzi *darub* ~ *darb* (-1), Dilling *ob* (2), Kadaru *op* (2), Debri *og* (2), Karko *kōk* (3), Wali *ōngōl* (4), Birgid *tvn-di* (5), Midob *tá*: (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 36. Meaning glossed as 'path'; renders Greek ὁδός. Cf. also *ta-* 'path, street' [Browne 1996: 163] (renders Greek ἀμφόδος 'a k. of road').

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 344. Plural form: *dâww-ì*. Meaning glossed as 'path'. Quoted as *dau* 'way, road' ('Weg') in [Lepsius 1880: 283].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 45. Plural forms: *d'arib-ɪ* ~ *d'arb-ɪ*. Quoted as *darib* ~ *darub* in [Massenbach 1962: 180]. Borrowed from Arabic.

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 45. Quoted as *darib* ~ *darub* in [Massenbach 1962: 180]. Borrowed from Arabic.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 61. Plural form: *ɔb-in* ~ *ɔb-in-di*. Alternate synonym: *okul* [Kauczor 1920: 45].

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 48.

Wali: Krell 2012: 48.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 205. Quoted as *tvn-di* in [MacMichael 1920: 203].

Midob: Werner 1993: 126; Thelwall 1983: 111. Meaning glossed as 'way, path' in [Werner 1993]; as 'road, path' in [Thelwall 1983].

68. ROOT

Old Nubian *dulist-* {*doulst-*} # (1), Nobiin *zú*: (2), Dongolawi *'urse* (3), Kenuzi *ko:y* (4),

Dilling *irt-ad* (5), Karko *ítir* (5), Wali *íršū-dū* (5), Midob *ír-dí* (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: *zù:-nçì*. Quoted as *zu* in [Lepsius 1880: 322]; cf. also *asil* 'root' [Lepsius 1880: 273], borrowed from Arabic.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 211. Plural forms: *'ursec-nčì ~ 'ursec-nč*. Quoted as *ursec*, pl. *ursec-nçì* in [Massenbach 1962: 239].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 114. Plural form: *koy-i*. Polysemy: 'sinew / vein / root'. Quoted only in the meaning 'nerve, vein' as *koy*, pl. *koy-i* in [Massenbach 1962: 209]. Cf. also *bun* 'lower part, bottom; behind; root' [Hofmann 1986: 43]; *butti* 'root, stem' (? < **bun-ti*) [Hofmann 1986: 44].

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 *irçì-dì* id. Quoted as *ir-dì* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

69. ROUND₁

Nobiin *geger* # (1), Dongolawi *gir'i:-de-bu:-l* (1), Kenuzi *gur-gur* (1), Dilling *dilç-ad* (2), Midob *kùkùl-íççè* (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'i:de-bu-* 'be in a rounded state or condition, be round, be circular', itself derived from *gir'i:de* '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 *dilç-i* '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 *kùkùlá-* 'to make a heap' [Werner 1993: 102].

69. ROUND₂

Dongolawi *sil'a:-de* (2).

References and notes:

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

70. SAND

Nobiin *síw* (1), Dongolawi *s'iu* ~ *s':u* (1), Kenuzi *si:w* (1), Dilling *šu-d* (1), Kadaru *šun-du* (1), Debri *šu-du* (1), Karko *šwî-d* (1), Wali *šū-tè* (1), Birgid *še:ši* (2), Midob *ùkú-dí* (3).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 375; Bell 1970: 129. Plural form: *sìw-i*. Quoted as *si:w* in [Lepsius 1880: 386].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 176. Polysemy: 'sand (coll.) / sand-bank, sand-dune'. Plural forms: *s'iw-i* ~ *s':w-i*. Quoted as *si:w* in [Massenbach 1962: 228].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 155. Quoted as *si:w* in [Massenbach 1962: 228].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 44. Different from *wende* 'fine sand' [Kauczor 1920: 48].

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 48.

Wali: Krell 2012: 48.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 205; MacMichael 1920: 205.

Midob: Werner 1993: 137. Polysemy: 'sand / dust'. Quoted as *ùkú-dí* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

71. SAY

Old Nubian *pes-* (1), Nobiin *í:g-ir* (2), Dongolawi *w'ε:-* ~ *'ε-* (3), Kenuzi *we:* ~ *e:* (3), Dilling *fe* (3), Kadaru *wei* (3), Debri *wei* (3), Wali *fí* (3), Birgid *pa* (3), Midob *ká-* (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-* {*we-* ~ *ouē-*} '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.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 356. Cf. *í:g-ò* 'he said' in [Bell 1970: 134]. Quoted as *í:g-e* in [Lepsius 1880: 329].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 57, 216. The allomorph *'ε-* seems to be a "lenited" variant of *we-*, 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 *ìknàhār* [Krell 2012: 47], which is clearly the same as in *áy-ìknàhār* '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]: *àḥḥà* 'say!' (imperative), *àḥḥà-nán* 'to say' (infinitive); not confirmed in [Werner 1993].

72. SEE

Old Nubian *ḥal-* ~ *ḥil-* {*ḥal-* ~ *ḥl-* ~ *ḥḥl-*} (1), Nobiin *nè:l* (1), Dongolawi *n'al* (1), Kenuzi *nal* (1), Dilling *gel* (1), Kadaru *ḥeli* (1), Debri *ḥeli* (1), Karko *gíl* (1), Wali *gíli?* (1), Birgid *ell-* (1), Midob *kàl-* (1).

References and notes:

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

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 227. Cf. *nà-l-ò* 'he saw' in [Bell 1970: 132] (the form *nè:l*, according to Werner's morphophonological analysis, is a contraction from **nàl-il*). Quoted as *nal-e* ~ *nal-o:s-e* in [Lepsius 1880: 368]. Cf. also *gu:n-e* 'to see' [Lepsius 1880: 315] = *gú:n-ir* 'to show; to examine' [Werner 1987: 354] (the meaning in Werner's dictionary seems to have been glossed more accurately).

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 149. Polysemy: 'to see / to look'. Quoted as *nal* ~ *nel* in [Massenbach 1962: 219].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 134. Quoted as *nal* ~ *nel* in [Massenbach 1962: 219].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 109. Quoted as *gíli* 'see' in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 187].

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 uzzei 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': *kó:d-ná* 'look at...!'

73. SEED

Old Nubian *kožir-* ~ *kožid-* {*kožr-* ~ *kožid-*} (1), Nobiin *kóžir* (1), Dongolawi *t'ɛ:ri* (2), Kenuzi *te:ri* (2), Dilling *ter-ti* (2), Karko *fání* (3), Wali *tónzó* (4), Birgid *uzz-e* (5).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 100. Renders Greek σπέρμα.

Nobiin: 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: *kóžir* ~ *kòkir* 'to plant'.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 198. Plural forms: *t'ɛ:ri-nči* ~ *t'ɛ:ri-nč*. Cf. also *bit'an* '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 *ewir* 'to plow' [ibid.]. Quoted as *ewir-ti* ~ *ewit-ti* 'crop; seed' in [Massenbach 1962: 186].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 63. Plural form: *ter-i*. Graphically transcribed as *terti*.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 42.

Wali: Krell 2012: 42.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 205.

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

74. SIT

Old Nubian *ak-* ~ *ag-* (1) / *tik-* ~ *tiŋ-* (2), Nobiin *à:g-îr* ~ *à:g-il* (1) / *tì:g-îr* (2), Dongolawi *'a:g* (1) / *t'ε:g* (2), Kenuzi *a:g* (1) / *te:g* (2), Dilling *ak-i* (1), Kadaru *εk-i* (1), Debri *ak-i* (1), Karko *àk* (1), Wali *āk-í* (1), Birgid *ʔutta* (3), Midob *à:g-* (1) / *tág-* (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.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 339. Cf. *à:g-ò* 'he sat' in [Bell 1970: 135]. Quoted as *a:g-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 *tì:ge* 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 Nobiin dialects, the old dynamic verb 'to sit down' is steadily infringing on the territory of the old static verb *à:g-* '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 *a:g* ~ *a:* in [Massenbach 1962: 170]. Armbruster 1965: 196. Polysemy: 'to sit / to squat / to reside, live / to remain, stay / to be present'. Quoted as *te:g* in [Massenbach 1962: 234]. As in Nobiin, the precise difference between *a:g* and *te:g* is hard to determine, and we include both forms as synonyms.

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 19. Polysemy: 'to sit / to dwell'. Quoted as *a:g* ~ *a:* in [Massenbach 1962: 170]. Hofmann 1986: 168. Quoted as *te:g* in [Massenbach 1962: 234]. As in Nobiin, the precise difference between *a:g* and *te:g* is hard to determine, and we include both forms as synonyms.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 292. This stem denotes both the active (*ak-i-ŋ* 'to sit down') and stative (*ak-er* 'to be sitting') verbs. Polysemy: 'to sit / to dwell, reside'.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Debri: 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 *à:g-* and *t g-* remains unclear, as in other Nubian languages.

75. SKIN

Nobiin *náwá* (1), Dongolawi *'ažin* (2), Kenuzi *ažin* (2), Dilling *dor* (3), Karko *dô* (3), Wali *dùr* (3), Birgid *no:r* (3), Midob *ádánì* (4).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 369. Plural form: *nàwàr-í*. Quoted as *náwà* in [Bell 1970: 131]; as *naua ~ nauar*, pl. *nauar-i* in [Lepsius 1880: 369].
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 10. Plural forms: *'ažm-i ~ 'ažn-i*. Polysemy: 'skin, hide / leather' (applied to people and animals alike). Quoted as *ažin*, pl. *ažin-či* in [Massenbach 1962: 171].
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 21. Quoted as *ažin*, pl. *ažin-i* in [Massenbach 1962: 171].
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 44. Transcribed as *dor*, pl. *dor-i* in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 186].
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debri: Not attested.
Karko: Krell 2012: 43.
Wali: Krell 2012: 43.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 205.
Midob: Werner 1993: 76; Thelwall 1983: 112. Polysemy: 'skin / leather'. The word *tllí*, glossed in [Werner 1993: 136] as 'skin, leather bag', seems to mean 'skin' as a container, judging by examples of usage.

76. SLEEP

Old Nubian *ŋer-* (1), Nobiin *nè:r-ìr* (1), Dongolawi *n'ε:r* (1), Kenuzi *ne:r* (1), Dilling *zer* (1), Kadaru *dwallēli* (2), Debri *zer-i* (1), Karko *zê-mzà* (1), Wali *zēr-í* (1), Birgid *ne:r-i* (1), Midob *kèrà-* (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 *pi:-* {*piei-*} is also glossed as 'to sleep' in [Browne 1996: 151], since in one context it does render Greek κοιμῶμαι. However, the basic and most frequent meaning of *pi:-* 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'.
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 369. Quoted as *ne:r-e ~ ne:r-o:s-e* in [Lepsius 1880: 370].
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 151. Polysemy: 'to sleep / to fall asleep, go to sleep'. Quoted as *ne:r* in [Massenbach 1962: 220].
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 136. Quoted as *ne:r* in [Massenbach 1962: 220].
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.
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.
Karko: Krell 2012: 46.
Wali: Krell 2012: 46.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 205.
Midob: Werner 1993: 98; Thelwall 1983: 112.

77. SMALL

Old Nubian *mekk-* (1), Nobiin *kùdú:d* (2), Dongolawi *k'ιγηα* (3), Kenuzi *kinna* (3), Dilling *batu-ndu* (4), Karko *mândè* (5), Wali *bândò* (5), Birgid *ma:n-a* (5), Midob *sàŋ-άφί* (6).

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 *ŋo(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 *tu:n* 'small', pl. *tu:n-i*: 'small ones, young ones, children' in [Lepsius 1880: 401], only attested as the plurale tantum *tù:nì ~ tù:nì*: '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 *to:d* 'small, young' [Lepsius 1880: 298] = *tò:d* id. [Werner 1987: 378].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 122. Plural form: *k'ijna-ri*. Quoted as *kijna ~ kinna*, pl. *kijna-ri* in [Massenbach 1962: 207].

Kenuzi: Hoffman 1986: 112. Plural form: *kinna-ri*. Quoted as *kijna ~ kinna*, pl. *kijna-ri* in [Massenbach 1962: 207].

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

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 41.

Wali: Krell 2012: 41.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 203. Meaning glossed as 'little (volume)'; cf. also *man-tita* 'little (size)' [ibid.].

Midob: Werner 1993: 121. Quoted as *sàhàçì* 'small, few' in [Thelwall 1983: 112]. Cf. also *tèré* 'small / young' [Werner 1993: 130].

78. SMOKE

Old Nubian *arpaye- {arpaē-}* (1), Nobiin *túllí* (2), Dongolawi *t'ulla* (2), Kenuzi *gussut-ti* (3), Dilling *kwi-ndi* (4), Kadaru *ko-du* (4), Debri *wai-nde* (5), Karko *kwìε-nd* (4), Wali *kwié-ndù* (4), Birgid *šiki-di* (6), Midob *kúmé-dí ~ kúmmé-dí* (7).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 20. Renders Greek *καπνός*. Attested only once.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 379. Plural form: *túllì:-nçì*. Quoted as *tulli* in [Lepsius 1880: 401], with polysemy: 'smoke / tobacco / pipe'.

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].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 79. Polysemy: 'smoke / tobacco'. Quoted as *gusutti* in [Massenbach 1962: 193], also as *gusuti* in [Massenbach 1962: 237].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 48.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Karko: Krell 2012: 48.

Wali: Krell 2012: 48.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 205.

Midob: Werner 1993: 102. Polysemy: 'smoke / incense'. Quoted as *kúmé-dí* in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

79. STAND

Old Nubian *ηοž- ~ ηοžž-* (1), Nobiin *ménz-ir* (2), Dongolawi *t'ε:b* (3), Kenuzi *te:b* (3), Dilling *tek-er* (4), Karko *dì* (5), Wali *dí* (5), Midob *tèkk-ér-* (4).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 203. Also attested with the imperfective suffixal extension as *ηοž-ir- {ηοžř-}*, and with a strange inserted nasal as *ηονž-* (possibly due to assimilative influence of the word-initial nasal). This verb is the most frequent and basic equivalent of Greek *ἵστημι* and its close synonyms. Alternately, cf. also: (a) *mežž-* [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 *menz-e* in [Lepsius 1880: 362].

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

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 168. Quoted as *teb* 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.

Midob: Werner 1993: 129. Incorrectly translated as *kə̀* in [Thelwall 1983: 112] = 'to rise, get up' in [Werner 1993: 104].

80. STAR

Old Nubian *wip̄t̄- {oueip̄t̄-}* (1), Nobiin *w̄in̄z̄i* (1), Dongolawi *w'issi ~ w'iss* (1), Kenuzi *wissi* (1), Dilling *ornu-ndu* (2), Kadaru *wonɔ-ntu* (2), Debri *wondu-nu* (2), Karko *v̄ndà* (2), Wali *óndá* (2), Birgid *wa:n-di* (2), Midob *òjè-dì* (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 135. Plural form: *wip̄t̄-ri ~ wip̄t̄-ri-gu ~ un̄zu-ri*. Renders Greek ἀστὴρ.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 383. Plural form: *w̄in̄z̄i-gú:*. Quoted as *wi:nzi*, pl. *wi:nzi ~ wi:nzi-gu* in [Lepsius 1880: 413].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 221. Plural forms: *w'issi-nči ~ w'issi-nč*.

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

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 50. Plural form: *orni-ni*. Graphically transcribed as *ornu-ndu*. The suffixes *-ndu* / *-ni* have diminutive semantics.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Karko: Krell 2012: 47.

Wali: Krell 2012: 47.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 206. Plural form: *wa:n-e*. Quoted as *wen-di*, pl. *wa:n-i* in [MacMichael 1920: 205].

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

81. STONE

Old Nubian *kit- {kĕ-}* (1), Nobiin *k̄id* (1), Dongolawi *k'ulu* (2), Kenuzi *kulu* (2), Dilling *kugor* (3), Kadaru *kakar* (3), Debri *kakar* (3), Karko *kōkòn-dè* (3), Wali *kùgṽn-dù* (3), Birgid *kul-di* (2), Midob *ùll-ì* (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 94. Renders Greek πέτρος or λίθος.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 362; Bell 1970: 127. Plural form: *kit-tú:*. Quoted as *kid*, pl. *kit-tu* in [Lepsius 1880: 343].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 131. Plural forms: *k'ulu-nči ~ k'ulu-nč*. Quoted as *k'ulu*, pl. *kulu-nçi* in [Massenbach 1962: 211]. Cf. also:

k'orod 'small stone, pebble' [Armbruster 1965: 128].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 118. Quoted as *k'ulu*, pl. *kulw-i* in [Massenbach 1962: 211].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45, 65. Plural form: *kəker-i*.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Karko: Krell 2012: 48.

Wali: Krell 2012: 48.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 206; MacMichael 1920: 202.

Midob: Werner 1993: 137. Quoted as *úlli* in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

82. SUN

Old Nubian *maša-l-* (1), Nobiin *màšà* (1), Dongolawi *m'asil* (1), Kenuzi *masil* (1), Dilling *εζ* (2), Kadaru *ažu* (2), Debri *eṅgal-to* (3), Karko *îẓ* (2), Wali *îò* (2), Birgid *ʔi:zi* (2), Midob *pàssàr* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 112. Renders Greek ἥλιος. Final *-l-* is a fossilized determinant.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 367; Bell 1970: 128. Plural form: *màšà-kú:*. Quoted as *maša* in [Lepsius 1880: 360], with a suggested (but not attested) development < *mašar*.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 139. Quoted as *masil* in [Massenbach 1962: 214].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 125. Quoted as *masil* in [Massenbach 1962: 214].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 44.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Karko: Krell 2012: 47.

Wali: Krell 2012: 47.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 206. Quoted as *izzi* in [MacMichael 1920: 204].

Midob: Werner 1993: 113; Thelwall 1983: 112.

83. SWIM

Nobiin *kuž-* # (1), Dongolawi *b'owwi* ~ *b'o:wwi* (2), Kenuzi *bowwi* (2), Dilling *ok-er-* (3), Karko *ūrù-mzà* (4), Wali *ēlk-í* (5), Midob *tùggà-* ~ *tùkkà-* (6).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested properly. Cf., perhaps, *fuff-* {*fouff-*} 'swimming' [Browne 1996: 185] (only attested once in the form *fuff-il-o-*, rendering Greek κολυμβήτης 'diver'; hence, quite questionable).

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

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 40. Polysemy: 'to bathe / to swim'. Quoted as *bow* ~ *bowwi* in [Massenbach 1962: 179].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 43. Polysemy: 'to bathe / to wash / to swim'. Quoted as *bow* ~ *bowwi* in [Massenbach 1962: 179]. Cf. also: *ašar* '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 *əke* 'swim' in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 189].

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 46.
Wali: Krell 2012: 46.
Birgid: Not attested.
Midob: Werner 1993: 134; Thelwall 1983: 112.

84. TAIL

Nobiin *zèlèw* (1), Dongolawi *'ɛ:u* (2), Kenuzi *ɛ:w* (2), Dilling *ɛb* (2), Kadaru *ep* (2), Debri *ebo* (2), Karko *ēib* (2), Wali *íó* (2), Birgid *zibbe* (-1), Midob *è:mí* (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 358; Bell 1970: 130. Plural form: *zèlèw-gú:*. Quoted as *zelew* in [Lepsius 1880: 319]. The same source (p. 274) also lists a much more archaic form: *aw*, cognate with Kenuzi-Dongolawi.
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 67. Plural form: *'ɛ:w-i*. Quoted as *ɛw* in [Massenbach 1962: 186].
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 61. Quoted as *ɛw* in [Massenbach 1962: 186].
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 61. Plural form: *eb-eni*.
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.
Karko: Krell 2012: 43.
Wali: Krell 2012: 43.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 206. Most likely borrowed from Daju (cf. Nyala *ibe*).
Midob: Werner 1993: 87. Polysemy: 'tail / behind'. Quoted as *émi* in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

85. THAT

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

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 110.
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 121. Quoted as *man* 'that; he' in [Lepsius 1880: 358].
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 137. Plural form: *m'an-ŋu*. Quoted as *man*, pl. *man-gu* in [Massenbach 1962: 214].
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 124. Plural form: *man-gu*. Quoted as *man*, pl. *man-gu* in [Massenbach 1962: 214].
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.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 206.
Midob: Werner 1993: 38. There is also a separate, less frequent, distant deixis pronoun: *áká-n* 'that (over there)' [ibid.].

86. THIS

Old Nubian *in-* {*eñ-* ~ *ein-* ~ *ŋn-* ~ *en-*} (1), Nobiin *in* (1), Dongolawi *'in* (1), Kenuzi *in* (1),

Dilling *ge* (2), Karko *áy-ìknàhár* # (3), Wali *ηū* (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 *târ* 'this / that (intermediate)' as a third element; however, he himself prefers to consider *târ* primarily as a personal pronoun ('he, she, it').

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 107. Plural form: *'iŋ-gu*. Quoted as *in*, pl. *in-gu* in [Massenbach 1962: 198].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 101. Plural form: *in-gu*. Quoted as *in*, pl. *in-gu* in [Massenbach 1962: 198].

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* {*eir-* ~ *ī-* ~ *ei-d* ~ *ηd-*} (1), Nobiin *ì-r* (1), Dongolawi *'ε-r* (1), Kenuzi *e-r* (1), Dilling *a* (2), Karko *yā* (1), Wali *ā* (1), Birgid *e-di* (1), Midob *í:-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-kka*.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 116. Cf. also the emphatic form *ì-r-í*. Accusative case: *ì-kkà*, genitive (possessive): *ì-nmí*. Quoted as *i-r ~ i-r-i* in [Lepsius 1880: 334].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 65. Accusative case: *'ε-kki ~ 'ε-kk*, genitive (possessive): *'ε-nn*. Quoted as *e-r*, accusative *e-kki*, genitive *e-n* in [Massenbach 1962: 184-185].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 58. Accusative case: *e-kki*. Quoted as *e-r*, accusative *e-kki*, genitive *e-n* in [Massenbach 1962: 184-185].

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].

Midob: Werner 1993: 36; Thelwall 1983: 112. Genitive case: *ná:-n*. Accusative case: *ná ~ ná-k*.

88. TONGUE

Old Nubian *tame-* (1), Nobiin *nâr* (2), Dongolawi *n'εd* (2), Kenuzi *ned* (2), Dilling *zál-e* (2), Kadaru *zál-do* (2), Debri *ŋál-do* (2), Karko *zār-è* (2), Wali *dūr* (2), Birgid *nat-ti* (2), Midob *kàdàŋì* (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 163. Renders Greek γλώσσα.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 369; Bell 1970: 132. Plural form: *nār-kú*. Quoted as *nar*, pl. *nar-ku*: in [Lepsius 1880: 369].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 150. Plural form: *n'ed-i*. Quoted as *ned ~ nad* in [Massenbach 1962: 219].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 135. Quoted as *ned ~ nad* in [Massenbach 1962: 219].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 62. Plural form: *zal*.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Karko: Krell 2012: 44.

Wali: Krell 2012: 44.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 207.

Midob: Werner 1993: 95. Quoted as *kádáji* in [Thelwall 1983: 112]. In [Werner 1993], the form *kàdì* is also listed in the meaning 'tongue'; cf. *kàdì* 'meat without bones' [ibid.].

89. TOOTH

Nobiin *nè:d* (1), Dongolawi *n'el* (1), Kenuzi *nel* (1), Dilling *zil-i* (1), Kadaru *zil-du* (1), Debri *zil-do* (1), Karko *zil-è* (1), Wali *zil-ì* (1), Birgid *nil-di* (1), Midob *kàd-dì* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 369; Bell 1970: 129. Plural form: *nìt-tú*. Quoted as *nid*, pl. *nid-i ~ nit-tu*: in [Lepsius 1880: 371].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 151. Plural form: *n'el-i*. Quoted as *nel ~ nil* in [Massenbach 1962: 220].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 136. Quoted as *nel ~ nil* in [Massenbach 1962: 220].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 62. Plural form: *zil*. The plural form is transcribed as *žil* in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 187].

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Karko: Krell 2012: 44. Glossed as plural 'teeth'.

Wali: Krell 2012: 44. Glossed as plural 'teeth'.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 207. Suppletive plural: *kaḡane*. Cf. also 'back tooth': *kàl-dì*, pl. *kà:l-è* [ibid.].

Midob: Werner 1993: 104. Quoted as *k d-dì* in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

90. TREE

Old Nubian *koir- {koē-}* (1), Nobiin *kóy #* (1), Dongolawi *ž'o:wwi ~ ž'o:ww* (2), Kenuzi *žowwi* (2), Dilling *hor* (3), Karko *kūtè?* (4), Wali *fúr* (3), Birgid *ka:n* (5), Midob *kà:r* (6).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 96. Renders both Greek ξύλον 'wood' and δένδρον 'tree'.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 363; Bell 1970: 132. Plural: *kòyr-í*. 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-ri*: 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. *zulle*: 'a k. of acacia; tree (in general)' in [Lepsius 1880: 322] (but only glossed as *zùllé*: 'acacia' in [Werner 1987: 359]) and *sažar* 'tree' in [Lepsius 1880: 380] (an Arabic borrowing).

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 91. Polysemy: 'tree / black tree, *Acacia arabica*'. Plural forms: *ʒ'o:wwi-nči* ~ *ʒ'o:wwi-nč*. Quoted as *ʒowwi* 'a k. of acacia; *Acacia nilotica*', without the generic meaning 'tree', in [Massenbach 1962: 202]. Alternate synonym: *šidar* [Armbruster 1965: 186], borrowed from Sudanese Arabic; quoted as *šidar*, pl. *šidari* 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 *ʒowwi* 'a k. of acacia; *Acacia nilotica*', without the generic meaning 'tree', in [Massenbach 1962: 202]. Cf. also *ber* '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'.

Kadaru: Not attested. Cf. *kəl* 'stick' [Thelwall 1978: 280].

Debri: Not attested. Cf. *kəl* 'stick' [Thelwall 1978: 280].

Karko: Krell 2012: 42.

Wali: Krell 2012: 42.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 207. Quoted as *ka:n* (sg. and pl.) in [MacMichael 1920: 202].

Midob: Werner 1993: 96; Thelwall 1983: 112.

91. TWO

Old Nubian *uwo-* {*ouo-* ~ *ouou-* ~ *ouwwo-*} (1), Nobiin *úwwó* (1), Dongolawi *'owwi* ~ *'o:wwi* (1), Kenuzi *owwi* (1), Dilling *ore* (1), Kadaru *ɔrro* (1), Debri *ɔrrɔ* (1), Karko *ārè* (1), Wali *ērè* (1), Birgid *ul-ug* (1), Midob *ád-dí* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 138.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 381. Quoted as *uwo* ~ *uo* in [Lepsius 1880: 408].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 165. Quoted as *owi* in [Massenbach 1962: 223].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 143. Quoted as *owwi* in [Massenbach 1962: 223].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 90. Predicative form: *'ore-n*.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280. Quoted as *ɾɛ* in [Meinhof 1918: 90].

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Karko: Krell 2012: 41.

Wali: Krell 2012: 41.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 207. Quoted as *ullu* in [MacMichael 1920: 198].

Midob: Werner 1993: 33. Quoted as *d-dì* in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

92. WALK (GO)

Old Nubian *ʒo:-r-* ~ *ʒu:-r-* {*ʒor-* ~ *ʒɔr-* ~ *ʒour-* ~ *ʒouour-*} (1), Nobiin *ʒúù-l* (1), Dongolawi *ʒ'u:* (1), Kenuzi *ʒu:* (1), Dilling *šu* (1), Karko *ōrà-mzà* (2), Wali *išā* (1), Birgid *ɲa:zi* # (3), Midob *sá-r-* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 191. Renders a large group of Greek verbs with the semantics of 'to go' (πορεύω, 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.

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

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 91. Quoted as *zu:* 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) *n'og* [Armbruster 1965: 155], with polysemy: 'to go / to go along, travel, walk', quoted as *no:g* 'to go out' (*fortgehen*) 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 *z'u:* as the main entry, since it clearly retains its basic meaning in modern Dongolawi and constitutes a lexicostatistical match with Nobiin, etc.

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 86. Quoted as *zu:* in [Massenbach 1962: 202]. Cf. also *nog* '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.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 109.

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: *so:-* (*so:-m-i* 'do not go', *so:-r-ei* 'I am going', *so:-m-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 *na:zi*.

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

93. WARM (HOT)

Nobiin *zùg* (1), Dongolawi *ž'ug-ri ~ ž'u:g-ri:* (1), Kenuzi *žug-ri* (1), Dilling *ob* (2), Kadaru *woo* (2), Debri *wa-η* (2), Karko *îzɔwù* (3), Wali *òηwā* (2), Birgid *u:-n* (2), Midob *sù:* ~ *sù:ɔw* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 359. Meaning glossed as 'hot'. Plural form: *zùk-kú:*. Same root as in *zùgé-èr* 'to burn (tr.)' q.v. Quoted as *zug-ir* 'hot' in [Lepsius 1880: 322].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 95. Meaning glossed as 'hot'. Plural forms: *žug-r'i:-nčì ~ žug-r'i:-nč.* Quoted as *zug-ri* in [Massenbach 1962: 203]. Derived from 'to burn' q.v. Distinct from *kahar-ti* 'warm' [Armbruster 1965: 115], quoted as *kahar-te* in [Massenbach 1962: 204].

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

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 20, 81. Plural form: *wab*. Polysemy: 'hot / warm'. Graphically transcribed as *qb*.

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'.

Midob: Werner 1993: 124. Meaning glossed as 'hot'. Distinct from *ò:ηé* 'warm' [Werner 1993: 109] = *òηηé* id. in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

94. WATER

Old Nubian *aman-* (1), Nobiin *ámán* (1), Dongolawi 'essi ~ 'ess (2), Kenuzi *essi* (2), Dilling *oti* (2), Kadaru *oto* (2), Debri *otu* (2), Karko *útù* (2), Wali *ítì* (2), Birgid *ezi* (2), Midob *á:ǫí* (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 *agiosin aman-ka* 'holy water', confirming that it could be equally applicable to water in a baptistry. This implies that the situation in "standard" Old Nubian was similar to the one in Modern Nobiin.

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) *asse-* [Browne 1996: 21], glossed as 'water', but actually rendering either Greek ὄμβρος 'thunderstorm, rain' or δρόσος 'dew' (i. e. 'sky-water'); (b) *essi-* [Browne 1996: 61], attested in only one, not quite clear, context; (c) *etto-* {*ettw-*} [Browne 1996: 62], also attested only once (on an ostrakon!). At least *asse-* and *essi-* 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 Nobiin as well).

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 339. Quoted as *ámán* in [Bell 1970: 129]; as *aman* in [Lepsius 1880: 268].

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

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 60. Polysemy: 'water / river / sea'. Quoted as *essi* in [Massenbach 1962: 186].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 66.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280. Quoted as *iti* in [Meinhof 1918: 90].

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Karko: Krell 2012: 47.

Wali: Krell 2012: 47.

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

Midob: Werner 1993: 140. Polysemy: 'water / year (rainy season)'. Quoted as *á:ǫí* in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

95. WE₁

Old Nubian *u-* {*ou-*} (1), Nobiin *ù:* (1), Dongolawi 'a-r (2), Kenuzi *a-r* (2), Dilling *i* (2), Karko *ǎ* (2), Wali *vʔ* (1), Birgid *a-di* (2), Midob *à:-dí* (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*.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 116, 380. Emphatic form: *ù:-í:*. Quoted as *u:*, emphatic form *u:-i:* in [Lepsius 1880: 402, 404].

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

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

Dilling: Kauczor 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.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 40.

Wali: Krell 2012: 40.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 207.

Midob: Werner 1993: 36. Exclusive form. The inclusive form *à-ŋá* is formed with the same pronominal root. Quoted as *à-dí* (excl.), *à-ŋá* (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-nna*, accusative *e-k* ~ *e-kka*.

96. WHAT

Old Nubian *min-* ~ *men-* {*mñ-* ~ *men-* ~ *mḡ-*} (1), Nobiin *mìn* (1), Dongolawi *min* (1), Kenuzi *min* (1), Dilling *na* ~ *na:* (2), Kadaru *nan-zar* (2), Debri *naḡ* (2), Karko *nái* (2), Wali *dá=nī* (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].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 142. Quoted as *min* in [Massenbach 1962: 216].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 129. Plural form: *min-i:*. Quoted as *min*, pl. *min-i:* in [Massenbach 1962: 216].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 104.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Karko: Krell 2012: 40. Also *ik-nàhūr* id. (dubious, since the form is almost the same as in *áy-ìknàhár* 'this' q.v.).

Wali: Krell 2012: 40.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 207.

Midob: Werner 1993: 40. Object form. The predicative form 'what is?' is *nè:-â* [Werner 1993: 41]. This form is quoted as *nè:-á* in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

97. WHITE

Old Nubian *ŋul-* ~ *ŋulu-* {*ŋoul-* ~ *ŋoulou(ou)-*} (1), Nobiin *nùlù* (1), Dongolawi *'aro* ~ *'aro:* (2), Kenuzi *aro* (2), Dilling *or-i* (2), Kadaru *orr-u* (2), Debri *orr-i* (2), Karko *ūr-ù* (2), Wali *úr-í* (2), Birgid *e:l-e* (2), Midob *àdd-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. Alternately, cf. also *ado-* {*ādω-*} '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 *ηul-* as the principal equivalent for 'white' in Old Nubian.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 370; Bell 1970: 131. Plural form: *nūlū-gú*. Quoted as *nulu* in [Lepsius 1880: 373].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 19. Plural forms: *'aro-nčī ~ 'aro-nč*. Quoted as *aro*, pl. *aro-nčī ~ aro-ri* in [Massenbach 1962: 173].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 27. Quoted as *aro* in [Massenbach 1962: 173].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 82. Plural form: *or-e*.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Karko: Krell 2012: 49.

Wali: Krell 2012: 49.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 207. Quoted as *el-ei* in [MacMichael 1920: 207].

Midob: Werner 1993: 76. Quoted as *ádd-é* in [Thelwall 1983: 112]. Cf. also the derived form: *ár-íççè: ~ ár-íççí* 'white, very white' [Werner 1993: 82].

98. WHO

Old Nubian *ηai-* {*ηai-* ~ *ηaiei-*} (1), Nobiin *nà:y* (1), Dongolawi *n': ~ n':-re* (1), Kenuzi *ni:* (1), Dilling *de ~ nde* (1), Kadaru *den* (1), Debri *den-ε* (1), Karko *í=diàn* (1), Wali *dīēn-dá* (1), Birgid *ne:-ta* (1), Midob *kà:-rén* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 195.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 369. Plural form: *nà:y-gú*. Quoted as *nai ~ na* in [Lepsius 1880: 368].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 152-153. Plural form: *n':-gu*. Quoted as *ni:*, pl. *ni:-gu* in [Massenbach 1962: 220].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 137; Massenbach 1962: 220. Plural form: *ni:-gu*.

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 104.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Karko: Krell 2012: 40.

Wali: Krell 2012: 40.

Birgid: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Midob: Werner 1993: 40. Plural form: *k à-góssí-rén* [ibid.]. Listed simply as *k à* (root morpheme only) in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

99. WOMAN

Old Nubian *il-* ~ *itt-* {*eil-* ~ *eīt-* ~ *itt-*} (1), Nobiin *id=é:n* (2), Dongolawi *'ε:n* (2), Kenuzi *e:n* (2), Dilling *eli* (1), Kadaru *il-do* (1), Debri *el-do* (1), Karko *îl* (1), Wali *îl-dá* (1), Birgid *e:n* (2), Midob *id-dì* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 68, 80. Both forms represent the same root. The variant *il-* is encountered only as part of complex plural forms: *il-îw-gu* {*eilηugou-* ~ *ellηougou-* ~ *ηlwigou-*} or simply *il-îw* {*eiliou-*} 'women'. The variant *itt-* 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.).

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 356. Quoted as *id-én* in [Bell 1970: 129]; as *id-en* in [Lepsius 1880: 328]. A compound form, consisting of *id* 'person' q.v. + the old noun *én* 'woman' [Werner 1987: 348] (seemingly not in general use any longer). The plural form, however, is formally suppletive, being generated directly from the old noun: *èn-çi:* ~ *èn-zi:* [Werner 1987: 348, 357] = *èn-zi* [Bell 1970: 116] 'women'.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 65. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Plural forms: *'ɛn-či* ~ *'ɛn-č*. Quoted as *en* ~ *ɛn*, pl. *en-çi* 'woman; mother' in [Massenbach 1962: 185].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 57. Plural form: *e-či*. Polysemy: 'woman / mother'. Quoted as *en* ~ *ɛn*, pl. *e-çi* in [Massenbach 1962: 185].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 66. Graphically transcribed as *gli*.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Karko: Krell 2012: 41.

Wali: Krell 2012: 41.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 208. Quoted as *ein* in [MacMichael 1920: 199].

Midob: Werner 1993: 92. Polysemy: 'wife / woman'. Quoted as *id-dì*, pl. *iddèddi* 'woman', *id-dí* '(his) wife' (with tonal change) in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

100. YELLOW

Nobiin *asfar* (-1), Dongolawi *gɛl'indɛ-l* (1), Kenuzi *korgos* (-1), Karko *tázì?* (2), Wali *bārā* (3).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Lepsius 1880: 273. Borrowed from Arabic.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 77. Plural form: *gɛl'indɛ-l*. Internal composition of the word is not quite clear, except for the participial suffix *-l*; it may be related to *g'ɛ:ɛ* 'red' q.v.

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 115; Massenbach 1962: 210. Borrowed from Greek.

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 *wi:r-* (1), Dongolawi *w'arrɪ* ~ *w'arr* (2), Kenuzi *warri* (2), Karko *tú:tùwè* (3), Wali *tèr* (4), Birgid *tayya-n* (4), Midob *tàss-è* (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 *wì:r-à* 'it is far away', *wì:r-kîr* 'to be far away'. Cf. *wi:ri* 'far' in [Lepsius 1880: 413].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 215. Plural form: *w'arrî-nčî ~ w'arrî-nč*. Quoted as *warri*, pl. *warri-nčî* in [Massenbach 1962: 241].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 182. Quoted as *warri* in [Massenbach 1962: 241].

Dilling: Not attested.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 54.

Wali: Krell 2012: 54.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 201.

Midob: Werner 1993: 128; Thelwall 1983: 110. Same word as 'long' q.v. Alternately, cf. *tò:s-í* 'far, from far' [Werner 1993: 133], although this word looks more like a locative postposition.

102. HEAVY

Nobiin *gittí* (1), Dongolawi *d'ullo* (2), Kenuzi *dullo* (2), Dilling *til-i* (2), Kadaru *tildr* (2), Debri *til-un* (2), Karko *til-dè* (2), Wali *túlùà* (2), Birgid *tindi-n* (2), Midob *tíll-é* (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 353. Quoted as *gitti-r* in [Lepsius 1880: 312].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 56. Polysemy: 'heavy / dull, slow / difficult, hard'. Plural forms: *d'ullo-ri ~ d'ullo-nčî ~ d'ullo-nč*. Quoted as *dullo*, pl. *dullo-ri* in [Massenbach 1962: 183].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 54. Quoted as *dullo*, pl. *dullo-ri ~ dullo-čî* in [Massenbach 1962: 183]. Cf. also *gasi* 'heavy; hard', borrowed from Arabic *qasi:y* [Hofmann 1986: 68].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 286.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 55.

Wali: Krell 2012: 55.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 202.

Midob: Werner 1993: 131. Quoted as *tíll-è* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

103. NEAR

Old Nubian *ig-* ~ *ik-* ~ *ikk-* {*eig-* ~ *eg-* ~ *ek(k)-* ~ *ek-*} (1), Nobiin *mó:ll-á* (2), Dongolawi *εg'εt-ti* ~ *εg'εt-t* (1), Kenuzi *eget-ti* ~ *igit-ti* (1), Dilling *ol-i* (3), Karko *ūl-è* (3), Wali *ūrdvə* (3), Birgid *utundaki-n* (4), Midob *ógádí-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-* {*ekk d-*} [ibid.]. Cf. also *gig-* 'to be near' [Browne 1996: 28], attested only once; and *žir-* ~ *žir-ir-* 'to be near, approach' [Browne 1996: 190], whose semantics seems to be dynamic rather than static.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 368. Adverbial form: 'nearby', derived from the noun *mól*, pl. *mò:l-i*: 'nearness'. Quoted as *mo:l* 'near', *mo:l-e* 'to be near' in [Lepsius 1880: 365]. Cf. *niçç-ir* 'to approach' [Werner 1987: 369] = *niç-e* id. [Lepsius 1880: 371]. Cf. *žà:b-ò* 'he was near' [Bell

1970: 127].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 63. Plural forms: *εg'ēt-ti-nči* ~ *εg'ēt-ti-nč*. Formally a noun ('nearness, vicinity', hence the nominal suffix *-ti*), but may also function as the adjective 'near'. Quoted as *eget-ti*, pl. *eget-ti-nči* in [Massenbach 1962: 184].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 100. Glossed both as an adjective and as a noun ('nearness, proximity'). Quoted as *igit-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.

Karko: Krell 2012: 55.

Wali: Krell 2012: 55.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 204.

Midob: Werner 1993: 141. Formally derived from *g dī* 'relative' [ibid.]. Quoted as *gg dé* 'near' in [Thelwall 1983: 111]. An alternate candidate is the adverb *á:līqčár* '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

Old Nubian *imet-* {*ēmet-*} # (1), Nobiin *imíd* (1), Dongolawi *'umbud* (1), Kenuzi *umbud* ~ *unbud* (1), Dilling *ɔr-di* (2), Kadaru *ɔru:-du* (2), Debri *šɛɛ* (3), Karko *wià-d* (2), Wali *īr-tù* (2), Birgid *kaŋar-ti* (4), Midob *kùlò* (5).

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 Nobiin).

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

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 209. Plural form: *'umbud-i*. Quoted as *'umbud* in [Massenbach 1962: 239].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 176. Quoted as *'umbud* in [Massenbach 1962: 239].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 67.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 278.

Karko: Krell 2012: 54.

Wali: Krell 2012: 54.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 205.

Midob: Werner 1993: 102. Quoted as *kùlò* in [Thelwall 1983: 111].

105. SHORT

Nobiin *ùrá:d* (1), Dongolawi *'urtina* (1), Kenuzi *urtunna* (1), Dilling *šere* (2), Kadaru *šɛɛ-ndu* (2), Debri *šere-nu* (2), Karko *šērā-ndè* (2), Wali *šērè?* (2), Birgid *so:n-e* (3), Midob *è:r-ìçì* (4).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 380; Bell 1970: 132. Glossed as 'short, not tall' in [Bell 1970]. Quoted as *ura:d* in [Lepsius 1880: 406].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 211. Plural forms: *'urtina-nċi ~ 'urtina-nċ*. Quoted as *urtina*, pl. *urtina-nċi* in [Massenbach 1962: 239].
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 178. Plural form: *urtunna-ri*. Meaning glossed as 'short, small'. Quoted as *urtunna* in [Massenbach 1962: 239].
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 51.
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.
Karko: Krell 2012: 55.
Wali: Krell 2012: 55.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 205.
Midob: Werner 1993: 88. Quoted as *ēr-iq̄i* in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

106. SNAKE

Old Nubian *mit-* {*mieġ-* ~ *mit-*} (1), Nobiin *bislāngi* (2), Dongolawi *k'a:g* (3), Kenuzi *ḡayya* (-1), Dilling *k̄ḡu-l* (4), Kadaru *k̄ḡe* (4), Debri *k̄ḡu* (4), Karko *kūḡè* (4), Wali *kúḡó* (4), Birgid *kunḡi* (4), Midob *kòssà:r* (5).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 116. Renders Greek ὄφις.
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 343. Plural form: *bislāngi*. Quoted as *wislangi ~ uslangi*, pl. *wislangi* in [Lepsius 1880: 408, 413].
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 115. Plural form: *k'a:g-i*. Quoted as *ka:g*, pl. *ka:g-i ~ ka:g-ku* in [Massenbach 1962: 203].
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 30. Polysemy: 'snake / dragon'. Borrowed from Arabic *ḡayya*. Quoted as *ayya ~ aya* in [Massenbach 1962: 174]. It should be noted that both *ka:g* and *ayya* 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, *ka:g* is not attested at all in [Hofmann 1986].
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 45. Transcribed as *kunḡu:l* in [Jabr el Dar 2006: 187].
Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.
Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.
Karko: Krell 2012: 42.
Wali: Krell 2012: 42.
Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 205. Quoted as *kunḡu* in [MacMichael 1920: 204].
Midob: Werner 1993: 101. Quoted as *kòssà:r* in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

107. THIN₁

Nobiin *ólów* (1), Dongolawi *kaḡw'aḡ ~ kaḡw'a:ḡ* (2), Kenuzi *kawai* (2), Dilling *wal-ad* (1), Karko *kùdùri-nzà* (3), Wali *zónō* (5), Midob *tùkù:-çè ~ tùkkù:-çè* (6).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.
Nobiin: Werner 1987: 371. Plural form: *òlów-ḡú*. Quoted as *olow ~ olow-o:d* 'thin, meager' in [Lepsius 1880: 376].
Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 120. Plural form: *kaḡw'a:ḡ-i*. 'Thin 1D' (glossed as 'deficient in one dimension').
Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 108. Applied to 'paper', etc. (e.g. = 'thin 1D').
Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 12. Plural form: *wal-ij̄i*. Cf. the verbal stem: *wal* 'to stretch; to make thin' [Kauczor 1920: 141].
Kadaru: Not attested.
Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 49.

Wali: Krell 2012: 49.

Birgid: Not attested properly. The form *kozi-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.

Midob: Werner 1993: 134. Quoted as *túkkú:-ǵí* in [Thelwall 1983: 112].

107. THIN₂

Dongolawi 'εε ~ 'εε: (4), Kenuzi *esse*: (4).

References and notes:

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 66. Plural form: 'εε:-ri. 'Thin 2D' (glossed as 'deficient in two dimensions'). Quoted as 'ese ~ esse, pl. esse-ri in [Massenbach 1962: 186].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 60. Applied to people, branches, etc. (e. g. = 'thin 2D'). Quoted as 'ese ~ esse, pl. esse-ri in [Massenbach 1962: 186].

108. WIND

Old Nubian *tuk-* {*touk-*} (1), Nobiin *tù:g* (1), Dongolawi *t'urug* (1), Kenuzi *turug* (1), Dilling *irš-i* (2), Kadaru *irš-o* (2), Debri *irš-o* (2), Karko *ĩš* (2), Wali *árš-ú* (2), Birgid *kurr-i* (3), Midob *éss-í* (2).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Browne 1996: 182. Attested once in the plural form, rendering Greek ἄνεμος, and is well confirmed through the Modern Nobiin form. The alternative *tof-*, rendering Greek ζέφυρος (also in only one context), is far more questionable.

Nobiin: Werner 1987: 379; Bell 1970: 125. Plural form: *tù:k-kú:*. Quoted as *tu:g* in [Lepsius 1880: 401].

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 206. Plural form: *t'urug-i*. Quoted as *turug* in [Massenbach 1962: 237].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 174. Quoted as *turug* in [Massenbach 1962: 237].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 48; Jabr el Dar 2006: 187.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280.

Karko: Krell 2012: 51.

Wali: Krell 2012: 51.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 207.

Midob: Werner 1993: 89; Thelwall 1983: 112. Polysemy: 'dust / sand / sandstorm / wind'.

109. WORM

Nobiin *wi:rki* # (1), Dongolawi *w'igid* (1), Kenuzi *wigid* (1), Dilling *birge-ti* (1), Karko *bīgì-t* (1), Wali *bīr-tù* (1), Birgid *mergi-di* (1), Midob *pīrgè-dí* (1).

References and notes:

Old Nubian: Not attested.

Nobiin: Lepsius 1880: 413. Dubious (attested only in an old source).

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 221. Plural form: *w'igid-i*. Polysemy: 'worm / larva'. Quoted as *w'igid* in [Massenbach 1969: 242].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 185. Quoted as *w'igid* in [Massenbach 1969: 242]. Cf. also *sus* 'moth / worm', borrowed from Arabic [Hofmann 1986: 158].

Dilling: Kauczor 1920: 62. Plural form: *birge*.

Kadaru: Not attested.

Debri: Not attested.

Karko: Krell 2012: 52.

Wali: Krell 2012: 52.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 208.

Midob: Werner 1993: 116; Thelwall 1983: 112.

110. YEAR

Old Nubian *žem-* ~ *gem-* (1), Nobiin *gèm* (1), Dongolawi *ž'en* (1), Kenuzi *žen* (1), Kadaru *šin* (-1), Debri *šin* (-1), Karko *šô* (2), Wali *ārābè* (3), Birgid *sol-e* (4), Midob *sèn* (-1).

References and notes:

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

Nobiin: /Werner 1987: 353; Bell 1970: 128. Plural form: *gèm-gú*. Quoted as *gem* in [Lepsius 1880: 310]. In some contexts, an Arabic loanword is also used: *sènà* ~ *sànà*, pl. *sènà-gú*: [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.

Dongolawi: Armbruster 1965: 87. Plural form: *ž'en-i*. Quoted as *žen* in [Massenbach 1962: 201]. Cf. also *s'ena* 'year' [Armbruster 1965: 174], borrowed from Arabic; quoted as *sena* ~ *senet* ~ *sin* in [Massenbach 1962: 227].

Kenuzi: Hofmann 1986: 83. Quoted as *žen* in [Massenbach 1962: 201].

Dilling: Not attested. Cf. *alçu* 'next year', *kamšu* 'last year' [Kauczor 1920: 283]. In [Jabr el Dar 2006: 186], the word *šin* (a transparent Arabic borrowing) is listed in the meaning 'year'.

Kadaru: Thelwall 1978: 280. Borrowed from Arabic.

Debri: Thelwall 1978: 280. Borrowed from Arabic.

Karko: Krell 2012: 59.

Wali: Krell 2012: 59.

Birgid: Thelwall 1977: 208.

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