

Václav Blažek

Department of Linguistics and Baltic Studies
Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno
Czech Republic
blazek@phil.muni.cz

BEJA VERSUS NILO-SAHARAN: ON THE LEXICAL WITNESS OF MUTUAL CONTACTS

Abstract. In the article the mutual lexical connections between Beja and Nilo-Saharan neighbors, namely Nile-Nubian, Kunama and Nara, are summarized and analyzed from the point of view to determine the orientation of vector of borrowing.

Keywords: Beja, Nilo-Saharan, Nubian, Kunama, Nara = Barea, language contact, lexical borrowing.

In the recent time, namely in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Beja dialects were in a direct contact with three Nilo-Saharan groups: A. Nubian, represented by its northernmost branches, Nobiin and Kenuzi & Dongola; B. Kunama; C. Nara (= Barea). The main purpose of this study is to map these mutual contacts and to determine the vectors of borrowings. For this reason the Cushitic or Afroasiatic cognates for Beja and Nilo-Saharan cognates for Nubian, Kunama and Nara are analyzed. Most of the present comparisons were proposed by Reinisch 1874, 1890, 1895, 1911 (R₇₄, R₉₀, R₉₅, R₁₁), and summarized by Murray 1923 (M)

A. Beja-Nubian lexical parallels

1. Beja *émbaḍ*, *émbaj* “(Stroh)matte” (R₉₅, 16) = *b’ad* & *umb’ad* “birsh matting” (Roper)

Nubian: KDM *nébid* “mat, bedding”, K also *níbit* (R₁₁, 111; M 128). The primary source should be sought in Egyptian (New Kingdom) *nbd* “flechten; Flechtwerk, Geflochtenes (Korb, Sieb etc.)” (Wb. II, 246), Demotic *nbt* “to

wrap; wicker-work”, Coptic Bohairic *nubt* “to weave”, *nebti* “plait, tress” (Černý 1976, 107).

2. Beja *ámar* & *ambaróoy* “Lippe” (R₉₅, 17) = *ambaróy* m., pl.-*a* “animal lip”, f. “human lip of small size” (Roper). Cf. East Cushitic: Som *‘anbur* “chubby cheek”, perhaps a compound consisting of *‘an* “cheek” & *buran* “thick” (Larajasse), ?Dasenech *‘abààr-ic* “lip” (Sasse) ||| Berber: (North) Wargla *anbur* & *ambur* “lèvre”, Tinduft *angur* id. (Laoust 1920, 110).

Nubian: M *amir* “lips” (R₁₁, 92; M 9). Isolated within Nilo-Saharan, so probably borrowed from Beja.

3. Beja *ajwiil* “Ohr”, *angwláy* adj. “taub” (R₉₅, 24) = *angwiil* m. “ear”, *angwiili* adj. “deaf” (Roper)

LECu **maq(a)l-* “to hear” > Somali *maqal-/maql-* (Abraham), Boni *má’al*, Rendille *makhal*, Bayso *maal-*; Dasenech *maal-* (Sasse) - see Dolgopolsky 1973, 183; Heine 1978, 90; Lamberti 1986, 252; Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 127 ||| Chadic: (West) **k^wal-* “to hear” > Tal *k^wāl*, Sura *kəliŋ*; Fyer *hwali*; Kirfi *kwáli-wò* (Stolbova 1987, 213-4) || (Central) Bacama *kúlò*, Bata Garwa *klò* id. (JgIb II, 184-85; Dolgopolsky 1972, 226 identified the agentive AA prefix **m-* in Cushitic).

Nubian: KD *ulíg*, M *úkki* “ear” : *ukk-* “to hear” (M 175), further Dilling *ulce*, Debri *ulka*, Gulfan *ulca*, Kadari *wólce*, Dair *uša*; Birgid *oŋeldi*; Meidob *ulgi* “ear” < pNubian **ulgi* (BG₈₄, 65). If this protoform reflects older **ug(V)li* (cf. Birgid *oŋeldi*), a related word could be Kunama *ukuna* “ear” and Koman: Gule *iŋəŋ* id.; maybe also Taman: Tama *ik-*, Sungor *ig-* “to hear” (cf. Ehret 2001, 577). Alternatively, it is possible to consider Gaam *ɔlg*, pl. *úlŋ* “mouth”, and maybe pDaju **ikke/*ukke* “mouth” (cf. Ehret 2001, 581) to be cognates. The semantic difference has an analogy in Hittite *istaman-* “ear”, *istamas-* “to hear” vs. Greek στόμα “mouth”.

4. Beja *úŋgwa* “taub” (R₉₅, 26).

Nubian: FM *nej*, D *negua*, K *gǐj* “deaf” (R₁₁, 111; M 129).

5. Beja *éera* “weiss, licht” (R₉₅, 27) = *era* adj. “white”, dim. *ela* id. (Roper); there are only possible areal parallels in Saho (East Cushitic) *eroo* “rötliche Farbe, Fuchsfarbe”, and Ethio-Semitic: Tigre *erō* “rötlich” (Reinisch) and Harari *ayrōr* “brown” (Leslau), isolated within Ethio-Semitic. Outside of the Greater Ethiopia, there is only an isolated parallel in West Chadic: Ngizim *àaràwái* “white” (Schuh).

Nubian: KD *arō* “white”; Dilling *Qri*, Dair *ari*, Kadaru *orru*, Debri *orri*, Garko *ɔ:re*, Gulfan *ori*; Birgid *elee*; Midob *addē* “white” (R₁₁, 93; M 18) < pNubian **aurori* (BG₈₄, 71); cf. Surma: Didinga *ora*; Kunama *arā* “white”; Nara

erenka id.; Taman: Tama *ará*: “yellow”; Songhay *kàaró* “white” (Greenberg 1963, 107, #124; Ehret 2001, 542, #1288).

6. Beja *isín* f., acc. *isínt*, pl. *isena* “Nilpferd, Flusspferd” (R₉₅, 31) = *isiin* c., usually f., “hippopotamus” (Roper)

Nubian: KD *essi-n-ti* “cow (*ti*) of water” (R₉₅, 31, R₁₁, 98; M 47; BG₈₄, 101); cf. Nobiin, KD *essi* “water” < Nile Nubian **essi*; Dilling *ɔti*, Debri *ɔto*, Dair *otho*, Kadaru *ɔtu*, Dulman *ote*, Gulfan *oto*, Koldegi *otu*, Haraza *oti*; Birgid *ejj*; Meidob *əəši*, *eeci* “water” < pNubian **əsti* (BG₈₄, 70-71; the Nilo-Saharan parallels proposed by Ehret 2001, 595, #1481 are not convincing). The pNubian **tey* “cow” (> D *tī*; Kadaru *té*, pl. *té*.; Meidob *təə*) is related to Taman: Tama *téé*, pl. *tèè* id.; Gaam *tó*.; pl. *tóg*; Central Sudanic: Baka *ítí* id. (Ehret 2001, 424, #762).

7. Beja *ay* “Hand, Arm” (R₉₅, 37) = *ayi*, *eyi* m. “hand, forearm”, cf. *ey* “5” (Roper). There are only uncertain Cushitic & Afroasiatic parallels: South Cushitic: Iraqw *yaa’ee*, pl. *ya’a’* “foot, leg” (Maghway) etc.; Q’wadza *ya’o* (Ehret 1980, 384) ||| ?Chadic: (West) Ron: Fyer *yá*, pl. *’e-ya(h)ásh* “hand”, Kulere *ri-yáw*, pl. *ri-yéy* “arm, hand” (cf. Bokkos *râ*, Daffo-Butura *râ* “hand”) (Jungrauthmayr) ||| Berber: (North) Zwawa *taít* “épaule” (Laoust 1920, 115, ft. 2), (South) Iullemeden *téít*, pl. *-īwin* id. (Nicolas).

Nubian: ON *ei*, KD *ī* id. (R₁₁, 102; M 70); cf. also Meidob *ayi* “elbow” (M 17).

8. Beja *dérk^wa*, *dír^wa* “Schildkröte” (R₉₅, 70) = *dirkoá* id. (Seetzen).

Nubian: FM *aman-dákki*, KD *dérri* id. (R₁₁, 96; M 30, 33), KD *darig* id., while KD *aman-dakke* “Schildkröte des Wassers” represents a loan from Nobiin with analogous assimilation as in Nobiin *ukki* vs. KD *ulug* “ear” (BG₈₄, 101).

9. Beja *dəḡy* “große Wüstenstrasse” (Hess) = Bisharin *dooiä* “vie” (Huber); cf. Cushitic: (East) Somali *daw* “way, path” (Luling); Burji *daw(w)a* id. (Hudson).

Nubian: ON *dau*, N *dauwi* “path, way, road” (M 32 added Central Sudanic: Bagirmi *dobu*). Bechhaus-Gerst (BG₈₉, 93) connects Nobiin *dauwi* with Kenzi-Dongola *darub* id. Although the change *-r- > -w- is typical for Nobiin, this comparison is probably not valid, because KD *darub* is an apparent loan from Arabic, but the Old Nobiin evidence practically excludes the same for ON *dau* and N *dauwi*.

10. Beja *gil* “Grenze, Ziel” (R₉₅, 95).

Nubian: Old Nubian *kel*, Nobiin *kæl*, KD *kæel* “limit, end”; Dilling *kel*, Kadaru *kæl* (R₁₁, 106; M 95) < Nile Nubian **kæel* (BG₈₄, 74). From rich comparanda

quoted by Ehret (2001, 496, #1088), only Gaam *éél* “border, boundary, limit” agrees in semantics. On the other hand, the ultimate source could be Egyptian (Pyramid Texts) *ḏrw* “Ende, Grenze” (Vycichl 1983, 219), see Zyhlarz 1933, 178, #112.

11. Beja *gángar* “die Ähre” (R₉₅, 98).

Nubian: KDM *gangari* “ear of corn” (R₁₁, 100; M 56).

12. Beja *hān* “Eselgeschrei” (R₉₅, 122)

Nubian: KD *hánū* “Esel” (R₁₁, 102). Perhaps this more primary meaning indicates Nubian > Beja.

13. Beja *haraagw* “hunger”, *hárgwa* “Hunger” (R₉₅, 125) = *haragw* “to be hungry”, *har(ũ)gwi* “hunger” (Roper). It has been connected with Egyptian (Pyramid Texts) *ḥqr* “hungern; Hunger” (Wb. III, 174), Coptic *hoker* id. (Vycichl 1983, 293; Id. 1960, 260), but Beja *g* is not a regular correspondent of Egyptian *q*, in case of borrowing though the substitution of Egyptian *q* by Beja & Nubian *g* is possible.

Nubian: KD *örig* “to hunger, starve” (R₁₁, 113; M 139).

14. Beja *kúrme* “Cadaba glandulosa” (Schweinfurt > R₉₅, 146).

Nubian: D *kurmě*, M *kurmē* “willow” (M 113).

15. Beja *ket* “rein, klar sein” (R₉₅, 150) = *ket*, *kit* “to be clear” (Roper), may be connected with the homonym meaning “niederlegen, -setzen” & “to settle (fluid)” respectively. If this meaning is primary, it is possible to see relatives in Cushitic: (East) Burji *kotay* “place” || (South) Alagwa-Burunge *kiti* “sitting” ||| Omotic: Kafa *kot(e)*- “to sit”, Mocha *kota-*; Yemsa *kottaa* “to sit” etc. (Dolgopolskij 1973, 246).

Nubian: FM *kut* “be clean, clear” (R₁₁, 108; M 114).

16. Beja *kʷəlél*, pl. *kʷəlál* “Ring” (R₉₅, 141)

Nubian: M *kulel* (L), DM *kúlal* “circle” (R₁₁, 106; M 110).

17. Beja *nad* “Zahn” (R₉₅, 180). There are only isolated and semantically not too convincing parallels in other Cushitic & Afroasiatic languages: ?Cushitic: Kunfāl *enid* “to bite” (Cowley) || ?(East) Oromo *ñadd-* “to eat” (Gragg); ? Yaaku *nóoŋ-o* “lip” (Heine) || ?(South) **ned-* > Asa *neris-* “to herd, feed”, Ma’a *-ne* “to bite; to sting” (Ehret 1980, 261) ||| ?Chadic: (Central) Daba *ndiŋ* “tooth”; Mafa *ndiyə’ə* “to eat” (Kraft).

Note: Zyhlarz (1933, 169, #48) compared Beja *nad* with Egyptian *nḥd* “Zahn”, Coptic *nahgi*, but it is problematic for irregular correspondences.

Nubian: FM *nɛl*, KD *nīd* “tooth” < Nile Nubian **nɛldi*; Dilling *jili*, pl. *jil*, Kadaru *jildu*, pl. *jil*, Debri *jildu*, Garko *jiile*; Birgid *jildi*, Meidob *kəddi* id. (R₁₁, 111; M 130) < pNubian **jəl*, sg. **jəldi* (BG₈₄, 71). Closest cognates appear in Gaam *jiid*, pl. *jiilg* “tooth” and Central Jebel: Aka *jiice*, pl. *jiidi*, Molo *jisu*, pl. *jidi*, Kelo *jiidi* id. (cf. Greenberg 1963, 106, #117 & Ehret 2001, 317, #267, who adds Nara *nihi*, pl. *nihit* and Surma **nikiD*, but Ehret does not take into account the Nubian forms).

18. Beja *nignigo* “Eidechse” (R₉₅, 182). There are isolated similarities in other Cushitic & Omotic languages, proposed already by Reinisch (l.c.): ?Cushitic: (Central) Qwara *enxaxala* “Eidechse” (Reinisch); ?Omotic: (North) Kafa *engangilo* “lucertola” (Cerulli).

Nubian: KD *nóngē* (L) “chameleon” (R₁₁, 111; M 132).

19. Beja *nar’i* m. “Schlummer, leichter Schlaf” (R₉₅, 184) = *nári* f. “sleep” (Roper); in Afroasiatic there is only one isolated parallel in Central Chadic: Mofu *nar* “dormer” (Mouchet).

Nubian: KDM *nəer*; Dilling & Dair *jer*, Kadaru *jer*, Debri *jeri*; Birgid *neeri*; Meidob *kerā* “to sleep” (R₁₁, 111; M 129) < pNubian **jer* (BG₈₄, 67).

20. Beja *see* “Laus” (R₉₅, 194) = *s’e, sə’i* f. “tick (parasite)” (Roper); cf. Cushitic: ?(South) Ma’a *swa’* “tick on animal” (Fleming) ||| Omotic: (North) Gofa *iso*, Basketo *isa* “bed bug” and/or Shako *sēi*, Gimira *sai* “flea” || (South) Ubamer *sea*, Galila *seya* “flea” (all Fleming; cf. id., *Ethnology* 8[1969], 30).

Nubian: KDM *issi* < Nile Nubian **it-si*; cf. Dair *itu* “louse” (R₉₅, 194, R₁₁, 104; M 76; they add Masai *ašei*), Dilling *itid*, pl. *iti*, Meidob *iidi* id. < pNubian **it-* (BG₈₄, 63). Regarding this reconstruction, the Nubian protoform may be better compared with Beja *taat* f., pl. *tāt* id. (Rp & Al) = *taat* f., pl. *tāt* “Laus” (Re) and other Cushitic words: (Central) Awgi *inti* (Beke) = *yinti* “louse” (Hetzron), Kunfāl *yenti* id. (Cowley) || ?(East) Arbore *’ijdot* “larva” (Hayward); Yaaku *intōni*, pl. *intō* “caterpillar” (Heine) || Dahalo *’itta* coll. “louse” (Tosco) || (South) **ita-* > Iraqw *itirmo / itna* “louse / lice”, Burunge, Alagwa *itino / ita*; Asa *’ita* (Ehret 1980, 290), plus Chadic: (Central) Uzam *atāt*, Mada *etēt* “pou” (Mouchet).

21. Beja *waat*, pl. *wāt* “Eiter” (R₉₅, 240) = *waat* f. “pus” (Rp).

Nubian: FM *winti*, D *winčē*, K *wičči* “pus” (R₉₅, 240, R₁₁, 119; M 187). The development **-nt-* > *-(t)t-* is regular in Beja therefore the direction Nubian > Beja is more probable.

22. Beja *yaawid* “flechten” (R₉₅, 243) = *yiwid* “to dress the hair by curling and frizzling” (Roper).

Nubian: KD *awij* “weave, twist, plait” (R₁₁, 93; M 17).

B. Beja-Kunama lexical parallels

1. Beja *eṅgal/r* & *gal/r* “eins, ein”, *eṅgaláalay* “ganz allein, einzig”, *asagwer* “6”, *támna-gwər* “11” (R₉₅, 23-24) = *gaal* m., *gaat* f. “one” (Roper). Cf. further Cushitic: (East) Dullay **gollan* “9” || (South) **g^waleli* “9” > Iraqw *gwalel*, Burunge *gwelel*, Alagwa *gweleli*; Q’wadza *gweli* (Ehret 1980, 372) || Omotic: (North) Zayse *gillo* “alone” (Cerulli). The primary meaning could be “a finger”, perhaps “the first finger”, i.e. “thumb”: East Cushitic: Saho-Afar *giili* “thumb” (Reinisch) || North Omotic: Koyra *gillaa* “finger” (Cerulli) || Central Chadic: Chibak *gwulànda* “finger” (Blažek 1990, 35).

Kunama *ingal* “allein, einzig, einsam” (R₉₀, 15); cf. also Nile Nubian **kool* “alleine” > KD *kool*, Nobiin *kooi* (BG₈₄, 72).

2. Beja *eṅgili* “Rinde”, var. *néegili* “Eierschale” (R₉₅, 24) = *nigiri* “scale, scab, eggshell” (Roper); cf. further East Cushitic: Saho ‘*engire* “bark” (Welmers), Afar ‘*ingir* id. (Parker & Hayward).

Kunama *agalā*, *ágelā* “Haut” (R₉₀, 7). The Kunama word has probably nothing common with Beja and Saho-Afar forms.

3. Beja *éera* “weisse Farbe” (R₉₅, 27). *era* adj. “white”, dim. *ela* id. (Roper); cf. the possible areal parallels in East Cushitic: Saho *eroo* “rötliche Farbe, Fuchsfarbe”, and Ethio-Semitic: Tigre *erō* “rötlich” (Reinisch) and Harari *ayrōr* “brown”. West Chadic: Ngizim *àaràwái* “white” (Schuh) is too isolated within both Chadic and Afroasiatic.

Kunama *arā* id., “Weiss” (R₉₀, 17), Ilit *allo* “white” (Bender); cf. pNubian **aurori* “white” (BG₈₄, 71); Nara *eren-* id.; Taman: Tama *ará*: “yellow”; Songhay *kàaró* “white” (Ehret 2001, 542, #1288; Bender 1996, 84, #43). To sum, Nilo-Saharan origin is more probable for Beja than vice versa.

4. Beja *guub*, *gubb*, *gibb* “Maus” (R₉₅, 88) = *gwib* c., pl. *-a* “mouse” (Roper)

Kunama *gubbā* “Fledermaus” (R₉₀, 47).

5. Beja *hawáad*, pl. *háwad* “Nacht, später Abend”, *hawid* “Abend/Nacht zubringen” (R₉₅, 131) = *ha-wáad* m., pl. *ha-wād* id., cf. *hawid* v.1 “to pass the night, to be benighted” (Roper); there are safe Cushitic cognates: (East) Oromo Wellega (*h*)*eda* adv. “last night” (Gragg), Konso *awedđ* “night” (Black); Burji *yedi* & *hiyedi* (Moreno) = *yédi* “night” (Sasse 1982: 192), ?Sidamo *hawado* “rainy season” (Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 104 compared it with Beja *hawaad*) || Dahalo *hèddo* “evening” (Ehret 1980, 270).

Kunama *awādā* id. (R₉₀, 23). Ehret (2001, 591, #1465) adds Nubian: Nobiin *áwá*, pl. *àwàrìi* “night”.

6. Beja *šee* ‘alt werden’, perf. *ašée* (R₉₅, 208) = *š’i* ‘to be/become old’ (Roper)

Kunama *ašā* ‘alt’ (R₉₀, 21). The Kunama word seems to be borrowed from the Beja perfect form.

7. Beja *šuu*k ‘Atem, Lebenshauch, Geist, Seele’ (R₉₅, 214) = *šuu*k ‘breath, soul’, from the verb *šii*k ‘to snuff, sniff at, snuffle’. Related could be East Cushitic: Burji *šook*- ‘to stink’ (Sasse 1982, 174).

Kunama *šūkā* ‘Atem, Leben, Seele; Puls(schlag)’ (R₉₀, 95). The Beja word has an internal etymology and external cognates. For this reason it looks as a source of the Kunama form.

8. Beja *tākw* ‘herab-, hinabfallen, -springen’ (R₉₅, 225); cf. East Cushitic: Burji *tokk*- ‘to leak’, caus. *tokk-is*- ‘to pour’, Hadiyya *tok*- id. (Sasse 1982, 182).

Kunama *tākw* ‘mit Geräusch auffallen’ (R₉₅, 102). Probably Kunama < Beja and not vice versa.

9. Beja *tekwi* ‘kochen’, caus. *se-takw* (R₉₅, 225) = *tikwi* ‘to cook’ (Roper); there are no convincing cognates in Afroasiatic (Egyptian *tk3* ‘torch, flame; to illumine’ or Geez *takk^wasa* ‘to ignite, set on fire, burn’?)

Kunama *tākw* ‘brennen’ (R₉₅, 102); cf. Kuliak: Nyang’i *tak* ‘fire’ (Greenberg 1963, 119, #18), Tepes *dak* id.; Nara *dok* ‘to be hot’; West Nilotic: Dinka *tuc* ‘heat’ (Fleming 1983, 442). Regarding the Nilo-Saharan cognates of the Kunama form, the vector of borrowing should be Kunama > Beja.

10. Beja *terig* & *terik* c., pl. *tirga*, m. ‘Monat’, f. ‘Mond’ (R₉₅, 231) = *térig*, *tírig* m., pl. *térga* ‘month; moon in the first quarter, crescent moon’ (Roper). The Beja word is isolated within Cushitic, but with remarkable parallels almost in all Chadic and Berber languages meaning ‘moon’ and ‘star’ respectively: Chadic: (West) Sura *tár*; Bokkos *túré*; Karekare *taré*; Jimbin *tirà*; Guruntum *tarri*; Ngizim *tra* || (Central) Tera *tera*; Higi-Nkafa *trre*; Laamang *trí*; Wandala *trre*; Sukur *tea*; Muktele *tèlá*; Kola *trá*; Gidar *tárq*; Logone *tèèdà*; Musgu *tle*; Zime-Batna *tér* || (East) Kera *kí-tír*; Lele *gi-dìrì*; Sumray *dùrù*; Sokoro *dáála*; Mokilko *térè*; Mubi *tíri* (JgIb₂ 238-39); Berber: (East) Siwa *iri* (R. Basset) || (South) Tuareg of Ahaggar *atri*, pl. *itrán* (Foucauld) || (West) Zenaga *ədāri* (Nicolas) || (North) Kabyle *itri* (Dallet). Accepting a common AA origin of this Beja - Chadic - Berber isogloss, there is a tempting etymology proposed by Cohen (1947, # 323) and Hodge (*Anthropological Linguistics* 10/3[1968], 24): ?Cushitic: (Central) Bilin *tari* ‘die bestimmte Zeit, Reihenfolge’, cf. *tart* ‘in Reihen stehen’, borrowed in (or from ?) Tigre *tart* & *tartara* id. (Reinisch 1887, 342) || (East) Som *tiri* ‘to count’, *tiro* ‘number’, Boni *tér* / *téria* ‘to count’ (Heine) || Egyptian (Pyramid texts) *tr* ‘Zeit’, cf. the old form of the plural *itr:w*

“Jahreszeit”, Coptic Sahidic *te* “temps” (Wb V, 313-16; Vycichl 1983, 208) || Semitic: Hebrew *tōr* “to turn”; Arabic *tāra* (*t-w-r*) “to go around”; Amharic *tāra* “turn, row” (concerning semantics, Cohen l.c. quoted Akkadian *dūru* “année” vs. Arabic *d-w-r* “tourner”).

Kunama *tērā* / *tēlā* “Mond; Licht; anzünden, Feuer machen” (R₉₀, 103), Iit *teera* “moon”; Gaam = Ingassana *turia* id. (Bender); cf. Bender 1996, 130, #302, who adds Kado **tar-* “moon”. Greenberg (1963, 102, #76) saw a cognate in East Nilotic: Bari *tyer(ja)* “to shine”. For both etymons, Afroasiatic and Nilo-Saharan, there are internal etymologies, and so it is not possible to decide, who borrowed from whom.

C. Beja-Nara lexical parallels

1. Beja *gúmba* & *gínba* m. “Knie” (R₉₅, 97) = *gumba* m. “knee, hock” (Rp); there are numerous cognates in Cushitic: (Central) **gərb-* “knee” > Bilin, Khamir, Kemant *gərb*; Awngi *gárəb*, Kunfāl *gerv* (Appleyard 1991, 23) || (East) **gilb-* / **gulb-* id. > Saho-Afar *gulub*; Somali, Rendille *jilib*, Boni *šilub*, Bayso *gilib*; Oromo *jilb-a*, Konso, Mossiya *kilp-a*, Dirayta *kilp^a*; Harso, Gawwada *kilp-ay-o*, Tsamakko *gilib-ko* (Sasse 1979, 5, 6; Id. 1982, 81; Haberland & Lamberti 1988, 98); Burji *gilba*, Sidamo *gulube*, Kambatta *gulube*, *gulab-ita*, Gedeo *gulubo*, Hadiyya *gurubbo* (Hudson 1989, 87) || Dahalo *gilli*, pl. *gillibi* “knee” (Tosco); Omotic: (North) Sezo *gubbi* (Fleming), Shinasha *guubra* (Bender), *gubta* (Beke) etc.; Chadic: (West) Hausa *gwiwàà*; Ngizim *kufu* || (Central) Zime (Dari) *giffi* || (East) Sumray *gùbé*, Migama *gìppi*; Jegu *gifo* etc. (Jglb II, 214-15). However; Masa *ɣulafa-no* (Kraft) = *ɣulfa* (Mouchet) id. opens a possibility to derive the common Chadic word for “knee” from **gulbV* via **gubbV* > **guffV* etc. The original meaning could be in Egyptian (Medical Texts) *dnb* “gekrümmt” (Wb. V, 576). Note: The cluster *-mb-/-nb-* is probably a regular Beja correspondent of East Cushitic **-lb-*, cf. Beja *amba* & *ánba* “Kot, Exkrement” (Reinisch) = *amba* “dung” (Roper), related with East Cushitic: Oromo of Wellega *albaatii* “diarrhea” (Gregg). On the other hand, there are alternative cognates in Cushitic: (East) Arbore *ginba* “heel” (Hayward), Elmolo *gima*; Yaaku *kimba* (both Heine) || Dahalo *gimpo* || (South) Burunge, Alagwa *gobina* id. (Ehret 1980, 240).

Nara *gumbe* “Knie” (R₇₄, 123) looks as an apparent loan from Beja.

2. Beja *naa* “welcher”, *náa-na* “was” = “welche Sache” (R₉₅, 177)

Nara *na* “wer, welcher?”, *nan(e)* “wer?” (R₇₄, 143-44); there are numerous cognates in various Nilo-Saharan branches: Nubian: N *na*, *nàay*, D *nī* “who”, Dilling *na* “what”; South Nilotic **ne* “what?”; Gaam *nái* “which?”; Taman **na* “who”; Kunama *na-* “who, what”; For *nàán* “when?”; Saharan: Zaghawa *na* “what?”; Bertha *naano* “what?”; Kuliak **na* “who, what, that” (Greenberg 1963,

107, #126; Ehret 2001, 312, #248). The interrogative/relative in *n-* is typical for Nilo-Saharan, but not for Afroasiatic. Hence Nara > Beja.

3. Beja *nuun* “reichen, geben; Gabe” (R₉₅, 186-87, 184); within Afroasiatic, there are only isolated parallels in one branch of North Omotic: Hozo *neeni*, Seze *né:nti* “to give” (Bender).

Nara *nin* “geben”, imp. *nin!* & *neg!* (R₇₄, 145); cf. further Surma: Didinga *nya*, Murle *anyi* “to give”; Maban: Maba (*o*)*nyioi*; Saharan: Teda *nin-* “give you”; Songhay: Gao, Djerma *no* “to give” (Greenberg 1963, 139, #64).

4. Beja *seyám* & *siyám* “Gras” (R₉₅, 207) = *siyám* “grass, edible vegetable matter” (Roper); cf. Cushitic: (East) Oromo of Wellega *sooyama* & *sooyoma* “thin straight bamboo-like plant” (Gregg) ||| Omotic: (North) Ganjule *saamo* “cabbage” (Fleming), Kachama *saamo* id., besides Wolayta *saan-ta* id. (Lamberti & Sottile 1997, 498), Bench *sam* id. (Wedekind) ||| Chadic: (East) Sumray *sémdē* “Gras” (Lukas), Bidiya *sóomà* “herbe sp.” (Alio & Jungraithmayr), Mokilko *sèemí* “foin” (Jungraithmayr) ||| Egyptian (Pyramid Texts) *sm.w* “Kraut” (Wb. IV, 119), Coptic *sim* “herbe” (Vycichl 1983, 188) ||| Semitic: Akkadian *šammu(m)* “Pflanze, Kraut; Droge”; (AHw 1156).

Nara *sem* “Gras” (R₇₄, 148); maybe also Kunama *sena* id., which Ehret (2001, 524, #1214) compares with East Central Sudanic **se* id. The Afroasiatic cognates for Beja look more impressive than the Nilo-Saharan for Nara. Therefore the probable direction of borrowing was Beja > Nara.

5. Beja *takát* “Weib, Gattin” : *tak* “Mann”, pl. **tika*, reconstructed on the basis *tikée náaka* “von Leuten welche Menge”, besides the suppletive pl. *énda*, (R₉₅, 224-25) = *takat* f. “woman, wife” : *tak* m. “man”, with the suppletive pl. *da* (Roper); cf. further Cushitic: (South) **tikay* “women, wives” > Gorowa *tí'ay*, Burunge *tigay* “women, wives”, Alagwa *tikay* “women” (Kissling & Mous; Zaborski 1985[89], 590, #98: Beja + South Cushitic) ||| Berber: (North) Shilh *takat* “famille” (S. Chaker, *Textes en Linguistique Berbère*. Paris: CNRS 1984, 223) = Shilh of Tazerwalt *ták(k)ät* “Familie” (Stumme), if *t-* is not the feminine prefix. All of them are probably derived from the verbal root attested in South Omotic: Galila *tik* “coire” (Fleming) and Egyptian (Old Kingdom) *wtt* “erzeugen”, (Middle Kingdom) “zeugen” (Wb. I, 381; cf. Zyhlarz 1933, 166, #16: Beja + Egyptian).

Nara *toko* “Frau”; cf. Dinka, Nuer *tik* id. (R₇₄, 155). The Nara word could be of Beja origin, while the Nilotic parallels resemble the South Cushitic counterparts.

Summarization of lexical data

A. Beja-Nubian lexical parallels

Beja	Nubian
<i>émbad'</i> , <i>émbaj</i> „(Stroh)matte“ (R ₉₅ , 16)	KDM <i>nébid</i> „mat, bedding“ (R ₁₁ , 111; M 128)
<i>ámar</i> & <i>ambaróoy</i> „Lippe“ (R ₉₅ , 17)	M <i>amir</i> „lips“ (R ₁₁ , 92; M 9)
<i>aḡwíil</i> „Ohr“ (R ₉₅ , 24)	KD <i>ulúg</i> , M <i>úkki</i> , Midob <i>ulgi</i> „ear“ (M 175)
<i>úḡgwa</i> „taub“ (R ₉₅ , 26)	D <i>negua</i> , FM <i>nej</i> , K <i>gǰj</i> „deaf“ (R ₁₁ , 111; M 129)
<i>éera</i> „weiss, licht“ (R ₉₅ , 27)	KD <i>arō</i> id., Dair <i>ari</i> , Midob <i>addē</i> „white“ (R ₁₁ , 93; M 18)
<i>isín</i> „Flusspferd“ (R ₉₅ , 31)	K <i>essi-tī</i> id., i.e. „Wasserrind“ (R ₁₁ , 98; M 47)
<i>ay</i> „Hand, Arm“ (R ₉₅ , 37)	ON <i>ei</i> , KD <i>ī</i> id. (R ₁₁ , 102; M 70)
<i>dérkwa</i> „Schildkröte“ (R ₉₅ , 70)	FM <i>dákki</i> , KD <i>dérri</i> id. (R ₁₁ , 96; M 30)
<i>gil</i> „Grenze, Ziel“ (R ₉₅ , 95)	ON <i>kel</i> , KDM <i>kēl</i> „limit, end“ (R ₁₁ , 106; M 95)
<i>gáḡgar</i> „die Ähre“ (R ₉₅ , 98)	KDM <i>gangari</i> „ear of corn“ (R ₁₁ , 100; M 56)
<i>hān</i> „Eselgeschrei“ (R ₉₅ , 122)	KD <i>hánū</i> „Esel“ (R ₁₁ , 102)
<i>haraagw</i> „hungern“ (R ₉₅ , 125)	KD <i>ōrig</i> „to hunger, starve“ (R ₁₁ , 113; M 139)
<i>kúrme</i> „ <i>Cadaba glandulosa</i> “ (Schw. > R ₉₅ , 146)	D <i>kurmě</i> , M <i>kurmē</i> „willow“ (M 113)
<i>ket</i> „rein, klar sein“ (R ₉₅ , 150)	FM <i>kut</i> „be clean, clear“ (R ₁₁ , 108; M 114)
<i>kʷaléel</i> , pl. <i>kʷalál</i> „Ring“ (R ₉₅ , 141)	M <i>kulel</i> (L), DM <i>kúlal</i> „circle“ (R ₁₁ , 106; M 110)
<i>nad</i> „Zahn“ (R ₉₅ , 180)	FM <i>nād</i> , D <i>nil</i> , K <i>něl</i> „tooth“ (R ₁₁ , 111; M 130)
<i>nígnigo</i> „Eidechse“ (R ₉₅ , 182)	KD <i>nóngē</i> (L) „chameleon“ (R ₁₁ , 111; M 132)
<i>nar'i</i> „schlafen“ (R ₉₅ , 184)	KDM <i>nēr</i> , Dair <i>ger/gel</i> „to sleep“ (R ₁₁ , 111; M 129)
<i>see</i> „Laus“ (R ₉₅ , 194)	KDM <i>issi</i> ; cf. Dair <i>itu</i> „louse“ (R ₁₁ , 104; M 76)
<i>waat</i> „Eiter“ (R ₉₅ , 240)	FM <i>winti</i> , D <i>winčē</i> , K <i>wičči</i> „pus“ (R ₁₁ , 119; M 187)
<i>yaawid</i> „flechten“ (R ₉₅ , 243)	KD <i>awij</i> „weave, twist, plait“ (R ₁₁ , 93; M 17)

B. Beja-Kunama lexical parallels

Beja	Kunama
<i>eṅgal</i> & <i>gal</i> „eins, ein“ (R ₉₅ , 23-24)	<i>ingal</i> „allein, einzig, einsam“ (R ₉₀ , 15)
<i>eṅgili</i> „Rinde“ (R ₉₅ , 24)	<i>agalā, ágelā</i> „Haut“ (R ₉₀ , 7)
<i>éera</i> „weisse Farbe“ (R ₉₅ , 27)	<i>arā</i> „id., weiss“ (R ₉₀ , 17)
<i>guub, gubb, gibb</i> „Maus“ (R ₉₅ , 88)	<i>gubbā</i> „Fledermaus“ (R ₉₀ , 47)
<i>hawāad</i> „Nacht, späte Abend“ (R ₉₅ , 131)	<i>awādā</i> id. (R ₉₀ , 23)
<i>šee</i> „alt werden“, pf. <i>ašée</i> (R ₉₅ , 208)	<i>ašā</i> „alt“ (R ₉₀ , 21)
<i>šuur</i> „Atem, Lebenshauch, Geist, Seele“ (R ₉₅ , 214)	<i>šūkā</i> „Atem, Leben, Seele; Puls(schlag)“ (R ₉₀ , 95)
<i>tākw</i> „herab-, hinabfallen, -springen“ (R ₉₅ , 225)	<i>tākw</i> „mit Geräusch auffallen“ (R ₉₅ , 102)
<i>tekwi</i> „kochen“ (R ₉₅ , 225)	<i>tākw</i> „brennen“ (R ₉₅ , 102)
<i>terig</i> , pl. <i>tirga</i> „Mond“ (R ₉₅ , 231)	<i>tērā/tēlā</i> „Mond; Licht; anzünden, Feuer machen“ (R ₉₀ , 103)

C. Beja-Nara lexical parallels

Beja	Nara (= Barea)
<i>gumba</i> „Knie“ (R ₉₅ , 97)	<i>gumbe</i> „Knie“ (R ₇₄ , 123)
<i>naa</i> „welcher“, <i>nāa-na</i> „was“ = „welche Sache“ (R ₉₅ , 177)	<i>na</i> „wer, welcher?“, <i>nan(e)</i> „wer?“ (R ₇₄ , 143-44)
<i>muun</i> „reichen, geben; Gabe“ (R ₉₅ , 186-87, 184)	<i>nin</i> „geben“, imp. <i>nin!</i> & <i>neg!</i> (R ₇₄ , 145)
<i>seyáam</i> & <i>siyáam</i> „Gras“ (R ₉₅ , 207)	<i>sem</i> „Gras“ (R ₇₄ , 148)
<i>takát</i> „Weib, Gattin“ : <i>tak</i> „Mann“, pl. <i>tika</i> (R ₉₅ , 224-25)	<i>toko</i> „Frau“; cf. Dinka, Nuer <i>tik</i> id. (R ₇₄ , 155)

Conclusion

The material analyzed in the present study may be classified as follows:

Source	Items ##
Nilo-Saharan > Beja	A5, A6, ?A8, A12, A17, A19, A21; B3, B9; C2, C3
Beja > Nilo-Saharan	A2, ?A15, A18, A20; B1, B5, B6, B7, B8; C1, C4, C5
Egyptian > Nubian > / & Beja	A1, A13
Indecisive	A4, A7, A9, A10, A11, A14, A16, A22; B4, B10
Nothing common	A3; B2

It is possible to conclude that

(i) The Nubian-Beja relations, limited only to the Nile Nubian groups, i.e. Nobiin (Mahas & Fadidja) and Kenzi & Dongola, were more intensive than Kunama-Beja, which were more intensive than the Nara-Beja contacts.

(ii) The loan vector Nubian > Beja was stronger than the Beja > Nubian vector.

(iii) The loan vector Beja > Kunama was stronger than the Kunama > Beja vector.

(iv) The loan vector Beja > Nara is a little stronger than the Nara > Beja vector, but in principle both are relatively weak.

Summing up, the strongest Nilo-Saharan influence in the Beja lexicon can be ascribed to the Nile Nubian languages, which probably played a role of the most prestigious mediator between the Egyptian civilisation and the Great Ethiopia. Similarly, Beja played a more prestigious role in relation to Kunama and Nara, but their mutual influence was significantly weaker. They probably became the neighbours only relatively recently.

Abbreviations: D Dongola, F Fadidja, K Kenuzi, M Mahas, N Nobiin, O Old.

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AAL *Afroasiatic Linguistics*.

AAP *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere*.

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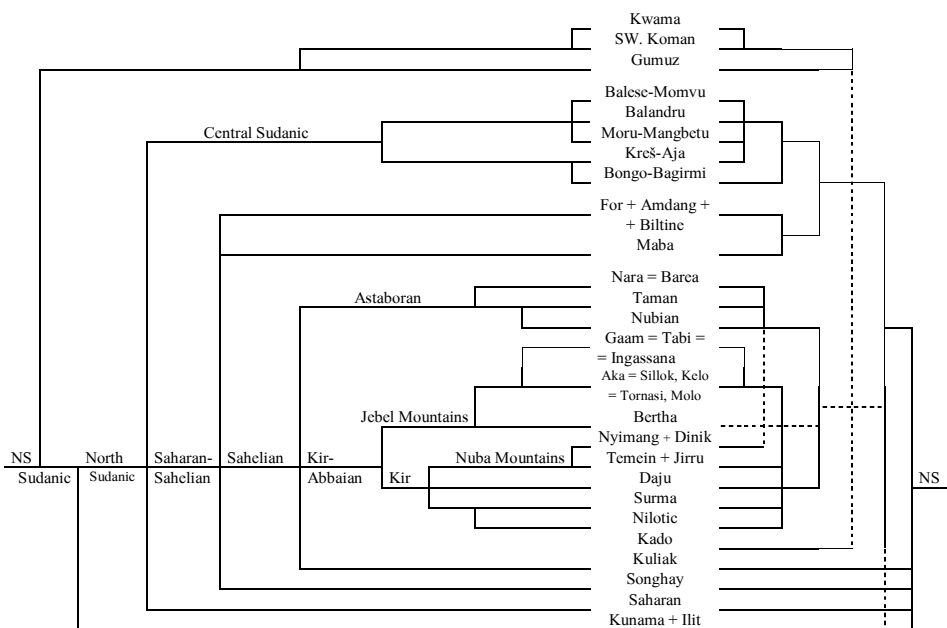
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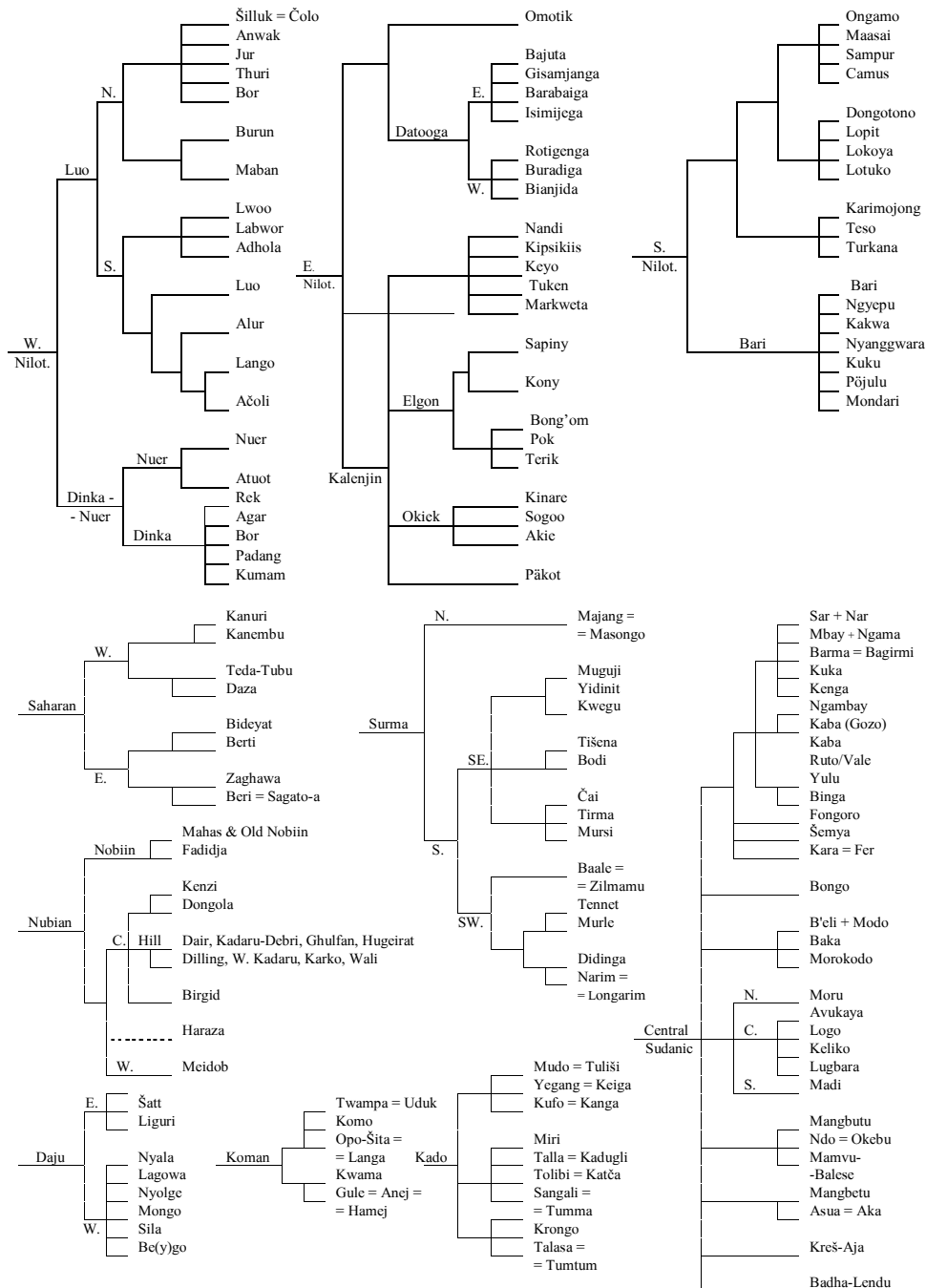
Appendix: Classification of the Nilo-Saharan languages

Chris Ehret (2001; here left) vs. M. Lionel Bender (1996: 59-64; here right):



Nilotic languages: Reh (1985, 4) **West**; Rottland (1982, 255) **South**; Vossen (1982, 296) **East**;

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Abbreviations: C. Central, E. East, N. North, Nilot. Nilotic, NS Nilo-Saharan, S. South, W. West.

Details see in

Blažek, Václav. 2006. Jazyky Afriky v přehledu genetické klasifikace. In: *Viva Africa 2006. Sborník příspěvků z konference věnované Africe*, ed. by Tomáš Machalík & Jan Záhorský. Plzeň: Dryada, 63-79, esp. 70-71.

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