

[Text version of database, created 18/08/2015].

### **Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Jebel group (East Sudanic family).**

Languages included: Aka [jeb-aka]; Molo [jeb-mol]; Kelo [jeb-kel]; Beni Sheko [jeb-bsh]; Gaam [jeb-gaa].

## **DATA SOURCES**

### **I. Aka, Molo, Kelo, Beni Sheko.**

#### **Main sources**

Bender 1997 = Bender, Lionel M. The Eastern Jebel Languages of Sudan I: Phonology. **In:** Afrika und Übersee, 80, pp. 189-215. // *General notes on the phonologies of four East Jebel lects (Aka, Kelo, Molo, Beni Sheko), including comparative 300-item wordlists collected by the author himself.*

Evans-Pritchard 1932 = Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. Ethnological Observations in Dar Fung. **In:** Sudan Notes and Records, 15, 1, pp. 1-61. // *This primarily ethnographical description of several populations in the Dar Fung region contains brief wordlists on a variety of minor languages, rife with phonetic inaccuracies but sometimes quite valuable from a historical point of view.*

#### **Additional sources**

Bender 1989 = Bender, Lionel M. The Eastern Jebel Languages. **In:** Topics in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics. Ed. by M. Lionel Bender. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, pp. 151-179. // *A brief comparative grammatical description of Gaam (Ingassana), Aka, Kelo, and Molo.*

### **II. Gaam (= Gaahmg, Ingassana).**

## Main source

Bender & Malik 1980 = Lionel M. Bender, Malik Agaar Ayre. Preliminary Gaam-English-Gaam Dictionary. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Printing Service. // *Comprehensive dictionary of the Gaam language, produced in collaboration with a native speaker, although the accuracy of phonetic notation and semantic glossing is sometimes questionable.*

## Additional sources

Stirtz 2012 = Stirtz, Timothy. A grammar of Gaahmg, a Nilo-Saharan language of Sudan. Utrecht: LOT. // *Detailed grammatical description of Gaam, well illustrated with lexical and syntactic examples.*

Verri 1955 = Sisto Verri, Di. Il Linguaggio degli Ingessana nell'Africa Occidentale. In: Anthropos, 50, pp. 282-318. // *Mostly of historical interest, this is nevertheless a very important source that collects most of the lexical and grammatical data made available on Gaam by different researchers over a period of about fifty years. Some of this data reveal important clues as to the phonological history of Gaam and other Jebel languages.*

## NOTES

1. General.

### Aka, Molo, Kelo, Beni Sheko.

These four idioms are spoken by small groups of people in Eastern Sudan, south of the Ingessana Hills, scattered among the local "jebels" (hills). The only more or less modern and generally reliable (or, at least, "usable") source on the lexical inventory of these languages are the wordlists in [Bender 1997], sufficient for performing lexicostatistical calculations and etymological research, though, as is often the case with Bender's data, some phonetic and semantic inaccuracies may be suspected. Some additional grammatical data are pulled from the earlier sketch [Bender 1989].

For a broader historical perspective and at least partial verification, we also make use of a much earlier source: the very brief wordlists, collected by the ethnologist E. Evans-Pritchard and published in the comparative survey [Evans-Pritchard 1932]. The idioms in this source are named after the geographical landmarks ("jebels") rather than the people themselves: Bender's Aka = Sillok, Molo = Malkan, and Kelo = Tornasi (data on the language of the small clan of Beni Sheko, which is most close to Kelo, was only collected by Bender). Evans-Pritchard's forms show surprisingly few discrepancies with Bender's data, collected much later, and are included in the notes section whenever they are available.

## **Gaam**

Gaam (= Gaahmg, Ingassana) is the largest and also the most far removed member of the small Jebel group. Since its speakers occupy a much larger territory than those of the small East Jebel languages, there is much more data available on Gaam, much of which dates back to the beginning of the 20th century and even before; most of the early sources have been diligently collected in [Verri 1955], and this data is also adduced by us in the comments section, where (Marno) = data from Ernst Marno's collection of 179 words, originally collected in 1869-73 and published in 1874; (De Pruyssenaere) = data from E. De Pruyssenaere's collection of 81 words, published as an appendix to his ethnographical report, originally published in 1877; (Seligman) = data from Brenda Z. Seligman's collection of about a hundred words, originally published in 1912; (Robertson) = data from J. W. Robertson's "Further Notes on the Ingessana Tribe", originally published in 1934. (For more detailed bibliographical information on all these sources, please refer to Verri 1955; in the database, all references are made exclusively to Verri 1955).

The main source of lexicostatistical data on Gaam should unquestionably be identified as the large and comprehensive dictionary by M. L. Bender and Malik Ayre [Bender & Malik 1980]. It is not very well illustrated with textual examples, and some of the semantic notation may be questioned, so that occasionally several equivalents have to be included as "technical synonyms" for lack of required information. As a reliable control source for both semantics and phonetics, we choose T. Stirtz's recent

grammatical description of Gaam [Stirtz 2012], where many (though far from all) of Bender & Malik's words may be found supported with textual examples. It should be kept in mind, however, that the dialect described by Stirtz is less phonetically archaic than previously described dialects (for instance, it demonstrates the total deletion of intervocalic *-t-*, a consonant that is essential for external comparison), so even if the data there were sufficient for a lexicostatistical database, it would still make sense to choose an older source as primary.

## 2. *Transcription.*

### **Aka, Molo, Kelo, Beni Sheko.**

Bender's transcription mostly follows standard IPA conventions employed in Nilo-Saharan studies and requires only minor conversion to UTS (palatal affricates *c* > UTS *č*, *j* > UTS *ʒ*). Long vowels are rendered by Bender as doubled symbols *aa*, *ee*, *uu*, etc., and are converted to UTS *a:*, *e:*, *u:*, etc. Additionally, for Kelo Bender sometimes uses a separate symbol *ä* (distinct from simple *ə*) without explaining its articulation. If this is indeed a "centralized *ə*", it seems reasonable to render it with UTS *ɔ* (see Kelo 'dog', etc.). However, in most cases it seems to be a conditioned phonetic variant of simple *e*.

### **Gaam**

The same conventions as for Aka-Molo-Kelo also apply to re-transcribing Bender & Malik's Gaam material. The only addition is the standard UTS re-transcription of retroflex consonants *t̪, d̪* as *t̪, d̪* respectively. Also, the dictionary does not mark tones on a consistent basis: although three basic level tones are recognized (high, mid, and low), they are only marked for about half of the entries, presumably those in which they play a particularly important contrastive role. We preserve all tonal markers where they are present in the original dictionary, but there is nothing to be done about entries where tones were never marked in the first place.

The phonological analysis in [Stirtz 2012] differs from Bender & Malik's in several respects. Most importantly, B&M's "dental" *t, d* are marked as *t̪, d̪*, whereas B&M's "alveo-palatal retroflex" *t̪, d̪* are simply called "alveolar" and are marked as *t, d*. We did

not introduce this unification, since all of Stirtz's data are only quoted in the comments section anyway. Other discrepancies involve phonology (e. g. Stirtz's Gaam informants all drop the lateral fricative *-t-*; many consonants find themselves geminated in specific contexts where no gemination is indicated by Bender & Malik, etc.) and have even less reason to be unified.

The earlier sources, collected in [Verri 1955], use a variety of transcriptional conventions that have partially been unified by the author. The following re-transcriptions into UTS have been performed, based on the phonetic description in [Verri 1955: 288]: (a) interdental *th* > UTS  $\theta$ ; (b) palatal nasal *ny* > UTS  $\eta$ ; (c) velar nasal *ni* > UTS  $\eta$ ; (d) long vowels *ā*, *ū*, etc. > UTS  $\text{a:}$ ,  $\text{u:}$ , etc. Digraphs such as *gy* or *kh* have been left unchanged, since their phonetic nature is unclear (*gy* may actually be palatal  $\text{\textbar}$ , and *kh* may be velar fricative  $x$  or uvular fricative  $\chi$ , but nothing is certain). It should be noted that most of the transcriptions in the old sources are highly approximate and do not reflect an adequate understanding of Gaam phonology in general (e. g. none of them distinguish properly between dental and alveolar consonants, or identify the lateral fricative *t* as a distinct phoneme).

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

## 1. ALL

Aka *tabb'izi* ~ *tapp'isi* (1), Molo *tibbisi* (1), Kelo *mo:dī* (2), Beni Sheko *wiri:di* (3), Gaam *kā̄*

## (4).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 95. Nominal and adjectival use; meaning glossed as 'all, entire, everything, whole; each'. Quoted as *kāč* in [Stirtz 2012: 154]. Cf. *kayà ~ keyà* (Marno) 'all' in [Verri 1955: 306].

## 2. ASHES

Aka *tɔdɔ* (1), Molo *tɔdɔ* (1), Kelo *tɔ:dɔ* (1), Beni Sheko *tɔ:do* (1), Gaam *du:-g* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 68. *Plurale tantum*. Quoted as *dù:-gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 110]. Cf. *dudu-g* 'ashes' (Marno) in [Verri 1955: 303] (an earlier variant with unelided intervocalic *-d-*, important for external comparison).

## 3. BARK

Aka *pɔ:ri* (1), Molo *gəga* (2), Kelo *saba* (3), Beni Sheko *kəfollo* (4), Gaam *ð:r* (5).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 204. Bender also lists the equivalent *bɔ:ba*, but the notes section states that it is actually a verb with the meaning 'to peel'.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 43. Quoted as *ðr* in [Stirtz 2012: 43]. Additional synonym (a more generic term): *b gā*, pl. *b gā-g*, with polysemy: 'bark of tree / chip of wood / eggshell / husk / paper / peel / rind / shell' [Bender & Malik 1980: 48]. Cf. also the derived verb *b g-s-* 'to peel (off)' [ibid.]. According to the authors, the root here is *bá-*, but it is unclear how they determine this.

## 4. BELLY

Aka *elle* (1), Molo *illi* (1), Kelo *ele* (1), Beni Sheko *elle* (1), Gaam *el-g* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 204. Plural: *elle-ti*. Quoted as *eli* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 204. Quoted as *eli* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 204. Quoted as *neli* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9] (with an unclear initial *n*-).

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 72. Plural: *il-g*. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach / bottom'. Quoted as *é:l-g* 'stomach' in [Stirtz 2012: 37] (but cf. also *g àir-d* 'stomach' [ibid.]). Cf. *ol-k* 'belly' (Seligman) in [Verri 1955: 308].

## 5. BIG

Aka *mari* (1), Molo *muwari* (1), Kelo *amadena* (2), Beni Sheko *ya:mædæl̩* (2), Gaam *mæd-ən* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 204. Polysemy: 'big / many'. Also *kɔ:ʒega* id.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 111. Meaning glossed as 'big, great, huge, large, spacious, stout'. Derived form: *mæd-ən-dæg* 'enormous'. Quoted as *mædā*, pl. *mæ-ŋg* in [Stirtz 2012: 157]. An additional synonym, also found in [Stirtz 2012: 157], is *d mɔl*, pl. *d mɔl-g* 'big'. Cf. *mat-én*, pl. *má-ŋga* (Seligman) 'big' in [Verri 1955: 307]; cf. also the strange form *fanse:r* (Marno) 'big' in [Verri 1955: 304].

## 6. BIRD

Aka *meʒ'e* (1), Molo *miʒe* (1), Kelo *meʒe-* (1), Beni Sheko *miʒe ~ miʃe* (1), Gaam *mi:* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 204. Plural: *meʒe-ŋai*. Quoted as *meʒe* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9]; cf. also *migi* 'hen' [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 204. Quoted as *meʒe* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9]; cf. also *megi* 'hen' [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 204. The form by itself means 'fowl'; the more generic meaning 'bird' is expressed by the idiomatic formation *meʒe-na-aịyo*, literally 'fowl of wilds' [Bender 1997: 214]. Quoted as *meʒe* 'bird; hen' in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9, 11].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 204. Also *miʒi-ŋne* id.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 117. Plural: *mi:-g*. Polysemy: 'bird / chicken / hen'. Quoted as *mi'* 'chicken' in [Stirtz 2012: 46]. Cf. *mi*, pl. *mi-ik* (Seligman), *miq-in* (Marno) 'bird' in [Verri 1955: 307]; cf. also *migi-m* (Marno), *migi-n* (De Pruyssenaere) 'chicken' [ibid.].

## 7. BITE

Aka *gvrrı* (1), Molo *si:b-ɔna* (2), Kelo *si:b-ɔze* (2), Beni Sheko *si:b-i* (2), Gaam *in-* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 87. Polysemy: 'to bite / to sting'. Past stem: *it-*. Cf. *idi gani* 'to bite' (Marno) in [Verri 1955: 305] (unclear structure of the expression).

## 8. BLACK

Aka *ɔrɔ:ga* (1), Molo *ɔrɔwa* ~ *ɔrwa* (1), Kelo *ɔrrɔ* ~ *ɔyyɔwa* (1), Beni Sheko *e:ro* ~ *ɔrɔwa* (1), Gaam *dùì* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 68. Also *dùì-n* with the definite suffix *-n*. Quoted as *dùì*, def. form *dùì-n* in [Stirtz 2012: 162]. Cf. *ena podé* 'black' (De Pruyssenaere) in [Verri 1955: 304] (probably a mistake, since *podé* actually = 'white' q.v., whereas the form *ena* is just a copula, but not a negative one).

## 9. BLOOD

Aka *g<sup>y</sup>efa* ~ *ʒe:fa* (1), Molo *g<sup>y</sup>e:wa* (1), Kelo *g<sup>y</sup>e:ba* (1), Beni Sheko *g<sup>y</sup>e:fa* (1), Gaam *afa-d* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 204. Quoted as *gyefa* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 204. Quoted as *giewa* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 204. Quoted as *kefe* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 204.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 38. Plural: *afəl-g*. Quoted as *áfá-d* in [Stirtz 2012: 23]. Cf. *afá-k* 'blood' (Marno) in [Verri 1955: 301] (probably the plural form with elided *-t*).

## 10. BONE

Aka *gamo:-ka* (1), Molo *gəm-ka* (1), Kelo *əmma* (1), Beni Sheko *ga:mu:-ŋga* (1), Gaam *ám* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *gamo:-ŋi*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Also *ora-* id. (not clear if the stem is used autonomously or, as the hyphen would indicate, only as part of compound formations).

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 41. Plural: *ám-g*. The plural form also means 'skeleton'. Quoted as *á:m* in [Stirtz 2012: 30]. Cf. *a:m* 'bone' (Marno) in [Verri 1955: 301].

## 11. BREAST

Gaam *kúnd-úg* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Not properly attested in our main source, but cf. *kūga* 'chest' in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10]. Cf. also sg. *iwi-qe*, pl. *iwi-di* 'breast (female)' [Bender 1997: 205].

**Molo:** Not properly attested in our main source, but cf. *kwa* 'chest' in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10]. Cf. *i:sɔ* 'breast (female)' [Bender 1997: 205].

**Kelo:** Not properly attested in our main source, but cf. *an=kwa* 'chest' in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10]. Cf. *awi-di* ~ *iwi-di* 'breast (female)' [Bender 1997: 205].

**Beni Sheko:** Not properly attested. Cf. *abbi* 'breast (female)' [Bender 1997: 205].

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 104. Plural form of *kúnd* 'heart' q.v., glossed as 'breasts / chest'. Quoted as *kúnd* 'chest' in [Stirtz 2012: 83]. Distinct from *wīd*, pl. *wīl-g* 'breast, nipple, teat, udder' [Bender & Malik 1980: 160], quoted as *wī-d* in [Stirtz 2012: 22].

### 12. BURN TR.

Aka *k'e:gəso* (1), Kelo *ɔ=pem* (2), Beni Sheko *a:rrebe* (3), Gaam *bēr-* (4).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Molo:** Not attested.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Possibly a prefixed derivate from *ŋom* 'eat' q.v.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 55. Several other synonyms in the same source: (a) *har'i:g-* 'to burn', borrowed from Arabic [Bender & Malik 1980: 85]; (b) *n m-* 'to burn (fire, pepper)', most likely a secondary meaning of *n m-* 'to eat' q.v., glossed as a transitive verb [Bender & Malik 1980: 122]; (c) *tūi-* 'to burn' [Bender & Malik 1980: 152]; since the noun *tūi* 'ruins' is probably derived from this verb, the more exact meaning may be 'to burn down' (completely, to the ground, etc.). Cf. also *bà* 'to burn' (Marno) in [Verri 1955: 302].

### 13. CLAW(NAIL)

Aka *mise* (1), Molo *mvs-e-ne* (1), Kelo *mvs-v* (1), Beni Sheko *mise* (1), Gaam *másí* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *mise-i*. Meaning glossed as 'claw'.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205. Meaning glossed as 'claw'.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Meaning glossed as 'claw'.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205. Meaning glossed as 'claw'.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 115. Plural: *m sī-g*. Polysemy: 'claw / fingernail / snail shell'.

### 14. CLOUD

Aka *a:bug-a* (1), Molo *siha:ba* (-1), Kelo *a:gu:yu* (2), Beni Sheko *r:əŋgu* (3), Gaam *kōi* (4).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *a:bug-a-di*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205. Borrowed from Arabic.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 100. Same word as 'rain' q.v.

## 15. COLD

Aka *e:zi* (1), Molo *wo:* (2), Kelo *zzi* (1), Beni Sheko *e:zi* (1), Gaam *ɔil-* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205. Also *ɔssomxri* id.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 39. Polysemy: 'chilly, cold, cool / calm / blunt, dull'. Quoted as *ɛl-d* 'cold' in [Stirtz 2012: 37]. Cf. *eil-to-nomà* 'cold' (Marno) in [Verri 1955: 304]; the obviously related simpler form *ail-tu* (Marno), however, is listed in the same source with the nominal meaning 'wind' [Verri 1955: 301].

## 16. COME

Aka *la:ko* (1), Molo *la:ko* (1), Kelo *la:ŋ* (1) / *ɔya* (2), Beni Sheko *la:go* (1), Gaam *lē:-* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Bender 1997: 205. No information on possible semantic or syntactic difference from *la:ŋ*.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 107. Meaning glossed as 'arrive, come, walk'. Verbal noun: *le:g*. Quoted as *lēč* 'to come, arrive' in [Stirtz 2012: 45]. Cf. *le- ~ li-* 'to come' (Seligman, Robertson) in [Verri 1955: 306].

## 17. DIE

Aka *tvgvru* (1), Molo *tvrwo* (1), Kelo *tv:ri ~ tui* (1), Beni Sheko *du:rri* (1), Gaam *tír-* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 151. Polysemy: 'to be sick / to be dead, die, perish'. Quoted as *ṭīr* in [Stirtz 2012: 207].

## 18. DOG

Aka *kele* (1), Molo *kɔlo* (1), Kelo *kɔli* (1), Beni Sheko *kɛli* (1), Gaam *á:t* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *kəle-i*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 40. Plural: *āt-g*. Quoted as *ādā* in [Stirtz 2012: 31]. Cf. *ād* (Seligman), *ado* (De Pruyssenaere), *adō* (Marno), pl. *al-k* (Seligman), *ath-ga* (Robertson) 'dog' in [Verri 1955: 301].

## 19. DRINK

Aka *mε:tu* (1), Molo *mo:tu* (1), Kelo *məd-ea* (1), Beni Sheko *midi* (1), Gaam *mátl-* (1) / *bù:d-* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 112. Polysemy: 'to drink / to lick / to sip / to smoke / to evaporate'. The root is identified as *mag-* in [Stirtz 2012: 193] (cf. imper. sg. *mā*, imper. pl. *mɛd̩ ð* etc.). Cf. *madà* (Marno) 'to drink' [Verri 1955: 307]. Bender & Malik 1980: 58. Polysemy: 'to drink / to inhale (e. g. smoke) / to take a mouthful / to swallow'. Although this polysemy is structured somewhat differently from *mɛl-*, it is still not clear which of the two verbs is closer to the basic meaning 'drink'; we include both as technical synonyms.

## 20. DRY

Aka *k'ε:kebe* (1), Molo *kikεbe* (1), Kelo *kek<sup>y</sup>εbe* (1), Beni Sheko *kε:gεbe* (1), Gaam *ām-* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 41. Polysemy: 'to be dry / to dry up / to be hard, inflexible / to wither'. Quoted as *ā:m-sá* 'dry, tired' in [Stirtz 2012: 38].

## 21. EAR

Aka *sigi:* (1), Molo *sigi* (1), Kelo *si:-di* (1), Beni Sheko *si* (1), Gaam *win-d* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *sigi-de*. Quoted as *sig̊i* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as *sig̊i* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as *si-ti* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205. Also *m=zi* id. (the root morpheme is probably the same, but *m=* is unclear - a pronominal possessive prefix, perhaps?).

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 160. Plural: *wind-g*. Polysemy: 'ear / handle (of jug)'. Quoted as *wind-g* (pl.) 'ears' in [Stirtz 2012: 346].

Cf. *wi:ndu* (Marno), *windu-ku* (Pruyssenaere, probably pl.), *wint* (Seligman) 'ear' in [Verri 1955: 31].

## 22. EARTH

Aka *kɔrɔ* (1), Molo *kala* (2), Kelo *kɔyɔ* (1), Gaam *áldá* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 208. Plural: *kɔrɔ ~ kɔrɔ-ki*. Quoted as *kɔrɔ* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 208. Quoted as *kɔrɔ* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 208. Quoted as *kɔrɔ* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 40. Polysemy: 'earth, land / soil / floor'. Quoted as *áldá*: 'earth, dust' in [Stirtz 2012: 35]. Cf. *aldeł* (Marno) 'earth' in [Verri 1955: 301].

## 23. EAT

Aka *ŋa:m-ɔ* (1), Molo *ŋəm* (1), Kelo *ŋəm* (1), Beni Sheko *ni:m̥i* (1), Gaam *nám-* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 122. Polysemy: 'to eat / to chew / to have intercourse / to burn (fire, pepper)'. Quoted as *nám* in [Stirtz 2012: 180]. Cf. *na:m* (Marno) 'to eat' in [Verri 1955: 307], *lam* (Robertson) 'to eat' in [Verri 1955: 306]; also *nei* (De Pruyssenaere) 'to eat' in [Verri 1955: 307].

## 24. EGG

Aka *'vnu:-ke* (1), Molo *vn-ko* (1), Kelo *ʒn-di* (1), Beni Sheko *amɔ-i ~ ammo-i* (1), Gaam *kɔlɔ-d* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *v:mv-i*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *ʒn-di-ma*.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 100. Plural: *k l ɔ d*. Quoted as *k l ɔ d* in [Stirtz 2012: 186]. Cf. *golgu* (De Pruyssenaere) 'egg' in [Verri 1955:

305]; more importantly, cf. *won* (Marno) 'egg' in [Verri 1955: 311], which may be an archaism comparable to the Aka-Molo-Kelo equivalents for 'egg'.

## 25. EYE

Aka *ere* (1), Molo *eri* (1), Kelo *ɛ:di* (1), Beni Sheko *i:n=e:rɔ* (1), Gaam *ɛd* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *ere-ti*. Quoted as sg. *eri*, pl. *erè-ti* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as *er-ti* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as *ip=er-ti* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10] (the first component is a prefix, cf. the form in Beni Sheko).

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205. Contains the same prefix as 'ear' q.v.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 71. / Plural: *ɛd-g*. Polysemy: 'eye / point'. Quoted as *ɛ:d* 'my eye', *ʒ:d* 'your eye', *č:d* 'his eye' (with various possessive prefixes), pl. *ɛl-gg* 'my eyes', *id-ūgg* 'your eyes', *id-īgg* 'their eyes' in [Stirtz 2012: 81]. Cf. *o:t* (Seligman) 'eye' in [Verri 1955: 308]; *itu-ku* (Marno) 'eye' (probably pl.) in [Verri 1955: 306].

## 26. FAT N.

Aka *bvkine* (1), Molo *apɔwa* (2), Kelo *apɔ* (2), Beni Sheko *kɔba* (3), Gaam *ɔyɔ* (4).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205. Also *ju:nwɔdət* id.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *apɔ-ga*.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 48. Plural: *ɔyɔ-g*. Polysemy: '(animal) fat / grease / oil'. Quoted as *iyá* 'oil, fat' in [Stirtz 2012: 31].

## 27. FEATHER

Aka *pɔta* (1), Molo *fɔ:ta* (1), Kelo *pɔtɔ* (1), Beni Sheko *pɔ:do* (1), Gaam *f̩i:d* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *pɔta-ki*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 75. Plural: *f̩i:t-g*. Quoted as sg. *f̩i:d*, pl. *f̩i:-gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 124].

## 28. FIRE

Aka *ma:* (1), Molo *ma* (1), Kelo *ma* (1), Beni Sheko *ma?a* (1), Gaam *mɔ:* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as *ma* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as *ma* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as *ma* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 117. Plural: *mɔ:g*. Meaning glossed as 'fire, light of fire'. Quoted as *mɔ:* in [Stirtz 2012: 326]. Cf. *mo* (De Bruyssenaere), *mo:* (Seligman), *mo:n* (Marno) 'fire' in [Verri 1955: 307].

## 29. FISH

Aka '*v:gu* (1), Molo *u:-do* (1), Kelo *u:* (1), Beni Sheko *u:* (1), Gaam *gɔwl-dɔ* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: '*v:gu-ðe*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *u:-d'e*.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 82. Plural: *gɔwl-dɔ:g*. Polysemy: 'fish / callous on foot' (?). Quoted as *gɔldɔ* in [Stirtz 2012: 36].

## 30. FLY V.

Aka *piri* (1), Molo *firi* (1), Kelo *piri* (1), Gaam *pɔrd-* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 212.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 212.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 212.

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 132. Polysemy: 'to fly / to jump, leap / to trot'.

## 31. FOOT

Aka *ella=lu* (1), Molo *lu:* (1), Kelo *lu-di* (1), Beni Sheko *lv* (1), Gaam *lú:-d* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *ɛga=lu-ði*. Quoted as *lu* 'leg' in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as *lu* 'leg' in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Also *lu-di-ŋorane* id. (this is probably the specially marked form 'foot' as opposed to the normally polysemous *lu-di* 'foot/leg'). Quoted as *a=lu-di* 'leg' in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 190. Plural: *lù:g*. Polysemy: 'foot / leg / hoof / paw'. Quoted as *lú-d*, pl. *lu-ùgg* 'leg' in [Stirtz 2012: 103]. Cf. *lud-ugu* (De Bruyssenaere) 'leg' (plural form), *lut-anà* (Marno) 'foot' in [Verri 1955: 307].

## 32. FULL

Aka *tɔkɔzaw* (1), Molo *tɔtu:du* (2), Kelo *tu:du ~ du:du* (2), Gaam *ta:=pərl-* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 208.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 208. Probably a reduplicated stem.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 208.

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 131. Stative derivative ('to be filled') from *pərd-* 'to fill, load, overload, stuff' [Bender & Malik 1980: 131]. Cf. also the adjective *pārr-ās* 'full' in [Stirtz 2012: 23], as well as the (suppletive?) plural adjective form *nēŋnēr-ās* [ibid.].

## 33. GIVE

Aka *a:n-su* (1), Molo *ɔŋ-kono* (1), Kelo *a:n-si* (1), Beni Sheko *bi* (2), Gaam *gəf-* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 78. Polysemy: 'to give / to offer / to owe / to pay'. Quoted as *gəf* (incompletive) in [Stirtz 2012: 30].

## 34. GOOD

Aka *kɔrrɔ* (1), Molo *ware* (2), Kelo *wɔ:di* (2), Beni Sheko *war* (2), Gaam *wé:dá* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205. Also *in=wa:r-di* id.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 159. Plural: *wi:t-ɔg*. Meaning glossed as 'fine, good, o.k., splendid, worthwhile; beautiful, elegant, graceful, handsome, luminous, pretty; chief, important, main, significant; faithful, generous, gentle, honest, kind, loyal, noble, prudent, reliable, well-behaved, well-bred; fertile, proper, safe, useful, valuable, be(come) well'. Quoted as *wé:dá*, pl. *wi:ɛgg* 'good, beautiful' in [Stirtz 2012: 157]. Cf. also *qé:n-dúg* 'funny, good, playful', derived from *qé:n-* 'to joke, be merry, be mischievous, play' [Bender & Malik 1980: 61]; *qū:-* 'be good, happy, interesting, mild, pure, sweet, well' [Bender & Malik 1980: 62] (these two words seem to have more specialized meanings, in the directions of 'funny' and 'happy' respectively). Cf. *weket-en* (Marno) 'good, beautiful' and *wíet-in*, pl. *wíet-aka* 'good' in [Verri 1955: 311] (the form in Marno's notes is particularly important, indicating that an original velar consonant may have been deleted in the root).

## 35. GREEN

Aka *=dəgir* (1), Molo *se:iro* (1), Kelo *=zəriyə* (1), Beni Sheko *e:=ke:rə* (1), Gaam *niá:r* (2).

#### References and notes:

- Aka:** Bender 1997: 209.  
**Molo:** Bender 1997: 209.  
**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 209.  
**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 209.  
**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 125. Color term, apparently distinct from *sñi-* 'be damp, moist, soggy, wet; fresh, green (unripe)' [Bender & Malik 1980: 141]. Quoted as *niáär*, pl. *niáär-g* 'green' in [Stirtz 2012: 158].

## 36. HAIR

Aka *ȝeke* (1), Molo *fota* (2), Kelo *ȝnə* (3), Beni Sheko *ȝəŋge* (1), Gaam *sù:-d* (4).

#### References and notes:

- Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *ȝeke-i*. Quoted as *gyeka* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].  
**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205. Differently in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10]: *ȝøko* 'hair'.  
**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Differently in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10]: *kāŋŋg* 'hair'.  
**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.  
**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 141. Plural: *sù:d-g*. Polysemy: 'fur / hair / wool'. Apparently no lexical distinction between 'head hair' and 'body hair'. Quoted as sg. *sūu-d*, pl. *sù:gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 124]. Cf. *sugu-d* (De Pruyssenaere), *su:-t* (Seligman) 'hair' in [Verri 1955: 309].

## 37. HAND

Aka *qar-ga* (1), Molo *soro* (1), Kelo *qɔyə* (1), Beni Sheko *qɔrɔ ~ sɔrɔ* (1), Gaam *ás* (2).

#### References and notes:

- Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *qar-a*. Quoted as *qerga ~ qerawa:si* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].  
**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as *sōror* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].  
**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as *an=sōra* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11] (with a pronominal prefix).  
**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.  
**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 44. Plural: *ás-g*. Quoted as *áas* 'my hand', *ɔs* 'your hand', *ɛ̄s* 'his hand' (with various possessive prefixes), pl. *ɔs-gg* 'my hands', *is-ugg* 'your hands', *is-īgg* 'their hands' in [Stirtz 2012: 81]. Cf. *waso* (Marno) 'hand' in [Verri 1955: 310]; *o:s*, pl. *u:s-ak* (Seligman) 'hand' in [Verri 1955: 308] (all these forms probably mean 'your hand/s').

## 38. HEAD

Aka *ɔla* (1), Molo *ɔla* (1), Kelo *ɔla* (1), Beni Sheko *ɔ:la* (1), Gaam *ɔl* (1).

#### References and notes:

- Aka:** Bender 1997: 205. Plural: *ɔla-di*. Quoted as *ola* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].  
**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as *ola* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].  
**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as *ola* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 129. Plural: *il-g*. Polysemy: 'head / point / tip / top / on, upon (prep.)'. Quoted as *il* in [Stirtz 2012: 34]. Cf. *ol* (Seligman), *oll* (Marno), *ol* (De Bruyssenaere) 'head' in [Verri 1955: 308] (according to Marno, with polysemy: 'head / hair').

## 39. HEAR

Aka *e:ro ~ e:r* (1), Molo *e:r* (1), Kelo *vssine* (2), Beni Sheko *assini* (2), Gaam *fīn-ān-* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 76. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'. Quoted as *fīn ād āin* [Stirtz 2012: 275].

## 40. HEART

Aka *ninagaga* (1), Molo *kɔ=ŋyine* (1), Kelo *iyo* (2), Beni Sheko *i:yo* (2), Gaam *bón* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. The plural form is listed as *nilayayay'adai* (sic!) [Bender 1997: 214].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206. The first syllable is segmented out by Bender as a prefix, without a precise explanation.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 57. Plural: *b n-ág*. Polysemy: 'heart (physical) / soul'. Quoted as *b n*, pl. *b n-āgg* in [Stirtz 2012: 100]. Cf., perhaps, also *boen* (Marno) 'fat' (sic!) in [Verri 1955: 302] (same word with polysemy or misglossed semantics?). Distinct from *kúnd* 'heart (fig. and physical) / mood' [Bender & Malik 1980: 104], which also, in the plural, means 'breast' q.v.

## 41. HORN

Aka *kɔsvl-ge* (1), Molo *kvdul* (1), Kelo *kvsvl-tə* (1), Beni Sheko *gvsu:li* (1), Gaam *il* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *kɔsv:l-i*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *kvsvl-e*.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 86. Plural: *il-g*. Quoted as sg. *il*, pl. *il-āgg* in [Stirtz 2012: 124]. Cf. a completely different equivalent in *serm* (Seligman) 'horn' in [Verri 1955: 309].

## 42. I

Aka *e:* (1), Molo *ɔŋ* (1), Kelo *ɔŋ* (1), Beni Sheko *ŋgi* (1), Gaam *à:-n* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206; Bender 1989: 160. Object form: =*e* ~ =*i*. Possessive form: =*n*=á (sg.), =*a* (pl.).

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206; Bender 1989: 160. Object form: =*i*. Possessive form: =é*n*=à (sg.), =*a* (pl.).

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Glossed as *ŋi* in [Bender 1989: 160]. Object form: =á. Possessive form: =*n*=á (sg.), =á (pl.).

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 42. Subject and object forms of the independent pronoun. Cf. the possessive clitical form =*ñi* 'my' [ibid.]. The paradigm in [Stirtz 2012: 78] is as follows: "long subject" á-*n*, "short subject" á, object -*a*, dative -*o-n*, possessive prefix á, etc. Cf. *a-ně* (Seligman), *a-ma-se* (Marno) T in [Verri 1955: 301].

### 43. KILL

Aka *pɔ:* (1), Molo *fɔ:du* (1), Kelo *pɔ:zi* ~ *bɔ:zi* (1), Beni Sheko *bɔ:si* (1), Gaam *dāf-* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. The verb *eddibi* ~ *addibi* 'to hit' may also be used in the meaning 'to kill' [Bender 1997: 209, 214].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 63. Polysemy: 'to break to pieces / to fight / to hit / to kill'. Other possible candidates include *tir-d-* 'to assassinate, cause to die, kill, murder, slay' [Bender & Malik 1980: 151], a regular causative derivative from *tír-* 'to die' q.v.; and the idiomatic expression *k n-tírlí* 'to kill', literally 'to pierce-to-death' [Bender & Malik 1980: 97]. In [Stirtz 2012], several different verbs are interchangeably translated as 'kill'; it is unclear which one should be selected as the more general/neutral equivalent, but the most frequently cited ones are also *dāf-*, e. g. in [Stirtz 2012: 185], and the causative stem *tir-*, e. g. in [Stirtz 2012: 193]. Cf. *tofa-gen* (Marno) 'to kill' in [Verri 1955: 309]; *dau-* (Seligman) 'to kill' in [Verri 1955: 303].

### 44. KNEE

Aka *kvsu* (1), Molo *kvdu* (1), Kelo *kvsu* (1), Beni Sheko *kvsu* (1), Gaam *kvsni* ~ *kvsvmi* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *kvsu:-ŋi*. Quoted as *kusu* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206. Quoted as *kudu* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *kvsv-nde*. Quoted as *an=gusum* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11] (with the same prefix as in *an=kwa* 'chest' q.v., etc.).

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *kusu-ŋi*.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 105. Plural: *kvsni-g*. Quoted as sg. *küsümí*; pl. *küsümí-gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 124].

### 45. KNOW

Aka *a:ŋe* (1), Molo *ŋədni* (2), Kelo *kʷɔyə* (3), Beni Sheko *kɔ:rmi* (4), Gaam *ŋel-* (5) / *túr-* (6).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 126. Polysemy: 'to acquaint / to believe / to know / to perceive'. Quoted as *nil* ~ *nél* in [Stirtz 2012: 330]. Bender & Malik 1980: 153. Polysemy: 'to notice, observe / to see / to know / to understand'. The difference between *nél-* and *túr-* is not very clear and seems at least partially suppletive (the stem *túr-* is said to be used in the infinitive and imperative forms of the paradigm of *nél-*); we currently include both as technical synonyms.

## 46. LEAF

Aka *kəq=a=sigi* (1), Molo *kəs=a=sigi* (1), Kelo *kəq=a=si:-ti* (1), Beni Sheko *k'əbəro* (2), Gaam *te:fa* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *kəq=e=sigi-ðe*. Literally = 'tree-ear'.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206. Literally = 'tree-ear'.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Literally = 'tree-ear'. Also *kəz=a=si:-di* id. [Bender 1997: 214].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 149. Plural: *te:fa-g*. Quoted as *tɛ:fá* 'leaf; liver sickness' (?) in [Stirtz 2012: 38].

## 47. LIE

Gaam *pɔ:l-* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Not attested.

**Molo:** Not attested.

**Kelo:** Not attested.

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 133. Meaning glossed as 'to lie (down), be prostrate'.

## 48. LIVER

Aka *tɔgi* (1), Molo *kibda* (-1), Kelo *te:-te* (1), Beni Sheko *te:* (1), Gaam *øłma* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *tɔgi-de*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 41. Plural: *øłma-g*. Quoted as sg. *øłm ñ*, pl. *øłm ñgg* in [Stirtz 2012: 124].

## 49. LONG

Aka *fulu:ge* (1), Molo *fvlu:go* (1), Kelo *olv?vv* (1), Beni Sheko *u:luwe* (1), Gaam *gà:l-* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 79. Polysemy: 'be far / be long'. Cf. also *zá:r* 'far-reaching, high, long, tall' [Bender & Malik 1980: 204].

## 50. LOUSE

Aka *gεnε* (1), Molo *g'iŋɔ* (1), Kelo *ɔŋɔ* (1), Beni Sheko *apni* (1), Gaam *ʒɪŋ-d* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *gεnε-ki*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *ɔŋɔ-di*.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 91. Plural: *ʒɪŋ-g*. Quoted as *ʒɪŋ-id* in [Stirtz 2012: 23].

## 51. MAN

Aka *ele=gora* (1), Molo *ulisəkəlo* (2), Kelo *amɔlɔra* (3), Beni Sheko *amo:lorɔŋ* (3), Gaam *zá:=fūì* (4).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 209. Plural: *fa=kora* [Bender 1997: 215]. The latter form is quoted as *fa=kura* 'man' in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11]; the simple form *fa* (= Bender's plural *fa* 'people', see notes on 'person') is also listed there in the same singulative meaning 'man', which is probably erroneous.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 209. Plural: *kyesi=ulisəkəlo* [Bender 1997: 215]. In [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11], the meaning 'man' is rendered with two equivalents: *ole:soköla* (= Bender's *=ulisəkəlo*) and *wera* (no direct equivalent in Bender's notes, but most likely represents the same component as *=ɔr-* in Bender's *amɔlɔr-a*). It is unclear which 'man' is referred to ('male human being' or 'person = human being in general'), or whether the two different words may correspond to both of these meanings.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 209. Quoted as *amɔlɔra* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11]. Plural: *pa=kra* [Bender 1997: 215].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 209. Plural: *fa=kora* [Bender 1997: 215].

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 87. Plural: *ʒɔg=fūì-g*. The first part of the compound is 'person' q.v.; the second is the adjectival stem *fūì* 'male, masculine' [Bender & Malik 1980: 77]. Cf. *ža=fūì*, pl. *žuk=fūì-k* (Seligman) 'man' in [Verri 1955: 305].

## 52. MANY

Aka *ma:ri* (1), Molo *fɔŋa* (2), Kelo *le?a* (3), Beni Sheko *le?:a ~ lia?* (3), Gaam *tɔlg* (4).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Polysemy: 'big / many'.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 146. Quoted as *talg* in [Stirtz 2012: 154]. Cf. *talke* (Marno), pl. *talga* (Seligman), *tulga* (Robertson) 'many' in [Verri 1955: 309].

### 53. MEAT

Aka *o?o* (1), Molo *fie* (2), Kelo *kɔ:kɔ* (3), Beni Sheko *ɔ?ɔ* (1), Gaam *ɔŋ* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Quoted as *o?o* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206. Quoted as *fie* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Quoted as *koko* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 129. Plural: *ɔŋ-g*. Quoted as *ɔŋ* in [Stirtz 2012: 35]. Cf. *ɔŋ* (De Pruyssenaere) in [Verri 1955: 308].

### 54. MOON

Aka *aguwa* (1), Molo *'aguwa* (1), Kelo *a?vwa* (1), Beni Sheko *aqa* (1), Gaam *tūrī* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *aguwa-di*. Quoted as *agwa* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206. Quoted as *agwa* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Quoted as *aguwa* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 208. Plural: *tūrī-g*. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Cf. *tūri* (Seligman) 'moon' in [Verri 1955: 310].

### 55. MOUNTAIN

Aka *pe:la* (1), Molo *fela* (1), Kelo *bela* (1), Beni Sheko *be:la* (1), Gaam *gá:m* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Same word as 'stone' q.v.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206. Same word as 'stone' q.v.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Same word as 'stone' q.v.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206. Same word as 'stone' q.v.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 80. Plural: *gá:m-g*. Polysemy: 'hill, mountain / country'. Cf. *gam* (Seligman), *gam* (Marno) 'mountain' in [Verri 1955: 304].

## 56. MOUTH

Aka *vdu* (1), Molo *ɔdu* ~ *vdu* (1), Kelo *vdu* (1), Beni Sheko *vdu* (1), Gaam *ɔt̪g* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *vdu-ti*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 129. Plural: *ut̪g*. Polysemy: 'mouth / snout'. Quoted as *ā-gg* 'my mouth', *ā-gg* 'your mouth', *ā-gg* 'his/her mouth' in [Stirtz 2012: 98], where the root actually has zero shape (< \*ā=t̪-g, \*ā=t̪-g, \*ā=t̪-g with regular deletion of -t̪- in the modern variety of the language described by Stirtz).

## 57. NAME

Aka *'azin'iʒani* (1), Molo *ma:na* (2), Kelo *si:gə* (3), Beni Sheko *ŋgi* (4), Gaam *sa:-g* (5).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 137. *Plurale tantum*. Polysemy: 'name (personal) / poetry / song'. Cf. *sa-g* (Robertson) 'song' in [Verri 1955: 309].

## 58. NECK

Aka *ŋa:lo* (1), Molo *ŋalu* (1), Kelo *ŋa:lu* (1), Gaam *ŋalg* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *ŋa:lo-ti*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 127. Plural: *ŋɛlg*. Quoted as *ŋalg* in [Stirtz 2012: 22]. Cf. *gaga* (Marno) 'neck' in [Verri 1955: 304] (same word with denasalization or a different root?).

## 59. NEW

Aka *ara:ya* (1), Molo *ara:ya* (1), Kelo *ayaya* (1), Beni Sheko *a:yara* (1), Gaam *yá: ~ yá:-n* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 160. Polysemy: 'new / next / second'. Quoted as *yá:*, pl. *yá:-gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 157]. Cf. *gebur* (Marno) 'fresh, new' in [Verri 1955: 305].

## 60. NIGHT

Aka *ɔrg-a* (1), Molo *ɔrrele* (1), Kelo *ɔrrɔ* (1), Beni Sheko *ɔrɔ* (1), Gaam *kái* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *ɔrg-ajai*. Same root as 'black' q.v.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206. Same root as 'black' q.v.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Same word as 'black' q.v.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206. Same root as 'black' q.v.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 210. Plural: *kái-g*. Quoted as *ká:é* in [Stirtz 2012: 48]. Cf. *kai* (Seligman) 'night' in [Verri 1955: 306]. Cf. also *i:gyi:-g* (Robertson) 'night' in [Verri 1955: 305]; *tama:m* (Marno) 'night' in [Verri 1955: 309].

## 61. NOSE

Aka *namuna=mɔ-di* (1), Molo *arkana=mu-di* (1), Kelo *v=mu:-di* (1), Beni Sheko *a:=mu-di* (1),  
Gaam *fɔdɔr* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. The second component = *vmɔ:-di* 'face' [Bender 1997: 208]. Quoted as *imana=mu-di* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206. The second component = *mu:-di* 'face' [Bender 1997: 208]. Quoted simply as *mu-di* 'nose' in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Quoted as *a=mu:-ti* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 76. Plural: *fɔdɔr-g*. Quoted as sg. *fɔdɔr*, pl. *fɔdɔr-ɛ:gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 124]. Cf. *fotor* (De Pruyssenaere) 'nose' in [Verri 1955: 304], *u=fütür* (Seligman) 'nose' in [Verri 1955: 310].

## 62. NOT

Aka *=to ~ =tu ~ =tɔ* (1), Molo *in- ~ n-* (2), Kelo *á ~ á:* (3), Gaam *wà ~ wà?* (4).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1989: 168. According to Bender, this suffixal morpheme is normally used in conjunction with the prefixal negation *wol-*, e. g. *mà: w l=é3é-tù* "fire is not cold". On its own, this prefixal morpheme is used in the prohibitive function: *wol le:i* "do not stand!" It is also believed to have been borrowed from Arabic (*wola*), which leaves the suffixal *=to ~ =tu* as the optimal candidate for external comparison.

**Molo:** Bender 1989: 169. Cf.: *mò: n=wáré* "the cow is not good". Bender also states that he had recorded "NEG exist" as *i:to*, without any supporting examples (but an interesting note in light of Aka general negative *=to ~ =tu*).

**Kelo:** Bender 1989: 169. This is the general negative: *má: á: lúwà* "the fire is not hot". It is opposed to the prohibitive *i:séñ: i:séñ m áñi* "do not drink!"

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 155. Quoted as *wá* (clause-final particle) in [Stirtz 2012: 279].

## 63. ONE

Aka *ligi-di* (1), Molo *le:-di* (1), Kelo *lx:-di* (1), Beni Sheko *lo:-di* (1), Gaam *támán* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Quoted as *lígí-di* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Quoted as *lo:-di* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 110. Polysemy: 'each / one / individual / a (article)'. Quoted as *támán* in [Stirtz 2012: 151]. Cf. *dämmman* (De Bruyssenaere) 'one' in [Verri 1955: 303]; *tamann* (Marno) 'one' in [Verri 1955: 309]; *tüm* (Seligman) 'one' in [Verri 1955: 310].

## 64. PERSON

Aka *imili* (1), Molo *una:ta* (2), Kelo *a:mɔl-i* (1), Beni Sheko *ami:l-u* (1), Gaam *ʒá:* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Suppletive plural: *fa* 'people'.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206. Suppletive plural: *k̥e:si* 'people'.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Also *a:mɔl* id. (Bender's note: "*l* devoices"). Suppletive plural: *ba* 'people'.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206. Suppletive plural: *fa* 'people'.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 87. Plural: *ʒág*. Quoted as sg. *ʒín*, pl. *ʒígg* in [Stirtz 2012: 109]. Cf. *ga* (Robertson) (possibly a misprint for *[gá]* = *ʒá*) 'person' in [Verri 1955: 304]; *gén-fui* (Seligman) 'person' (actually, 'man /male/', see notes on 'man') in [Verri 1955: 305]. The singular stems *\*ʒá* and *\*ʒin* seem to be in complementary distribution between different dialects of Gaam, but there is no reason to believe that they go back to two different roots (more likely, the second one incorporates a fused former singulative marker).

## 65. RAIN

Aka *kʷiç-e* (1), Molo *a:ro* (2), Kelo *guʒə ~ kuʒə* (1), Beni Sheko *gu:ʒe* (1), Gaam *kɔì* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: same as sg. or *kʷiç-ɛŋi*. Quoted as *kwiçə* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Quoted as *kwi:sa* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 100. Polysemy: 'cloud / rain / blood (from nose-bleed)'. Distinct from the verbal stem *lɔ-* 'to fall (of rain)' [Bender & Malik 1980: 109]. Cf. *kwai* (Seligman), *kwoi* (Robertson) 'rain' in [Verri 1955: 306]; *goy-en* (Marno) 'rain' in [Verri 1955:

305]; *oye* (De Bruyssenaere) 'rain' in [Verri 1955: 308].

## 66. RED

Aka *pɔ:ra* (1), Molo *fɔ:ra* (1), Kelo *tɔ:yəŋ* (2), Beni Sheko *bvra* (1), Gaam *bèrlé* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 55. Quoted as sg. *bèrà*, pl. *bèrà-gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 155]. Cf. *berdi* (De Bruyssenaere) 'red' in [Verri 1955: 305] (the complete quoted form is *gyena berdi*, where the first component may mean 'clothes').

## 67. ROAD

Aka *aŋgar* (1), Molo *a:ma* (2), Kelo *a:ma* (2), Beni Sheko *a:ma* (2), Gaam *te:d* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *aŋgar-eða*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206. Also *al=a:ma* id.; Bender states that *al=* is the borrowed Arabic article, but the stem *a:ma* itself looks inherited. However, the Arabic borrowing *šari* 'road' may also be used [Bender 1997: 214].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. The Arabic borrowing *šaria* 'road' may also be used [Bender 1997: 215].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 149. Plural: *te:t-g*. Meaning glossed as 'passage, road, route, way'. Quoted as *te:d* in [Stirtz 2012: 28]. Cf. *teθ* (Seligman) 'path' in [Verri 1955: 309].

## 68. ROOT

Aka *fil-ke* (1), Molo *fil-kɔ* (1), Kelo *add'ɔwa* (2), Beni Sheko *addawa* (2), Gaam *filá-d* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *fil-ŋi*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 75. Plural: *fil-g*. Polysemy: 'artery, vein / root / sinew / string / tendon / line'. Cf. *som* (Marno) 'root' in [Verri 1955: 309] (completely different, dubious equivalent).

## 69. ROUND

Gaam *ta:=ku:ri* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Not attested.

**Molo:** Not attested.

**Kelo:** Not attested.

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 105. Meaning glossed as 'around, round'. The component *ta*: is the general verb 'to be'.

## 70. SAND

Aka *assessel* (1), Molo *ɔdɔ:la* (2), Kelo *φε:ŋa ~ k⁹ε:ŋa* (3), Beni Sheko *kereŋa* (3), Gaam *sesa* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 140. Polysemy: 'pebble / sand'.

## 71. SAY

Aka *zəgəsi* # (1), Molo *tu:rano* (2), Kelo *vlli* (3) / *wanza* (5), Beni Sheko *illi* (3), Gaam *kór-* (4) / *bè-* (6).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Somewhat dubious (a sidenote glosses this as 'speak' rather than 'say').

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206. Bender 1997: 206. No known difference between this equivalent and *vlli*.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 101. Meaning glossed as 'remark, say, speak, talk, utter (word); announce, deliver a speech, proclaim, pronounce, relate, tell; argue; assume; chat, converse; suspect'. This seems to be the most basic equivalent for the meaning 'say' in Gaam. Bender & Malik 1980: 53. Past stem: *be-s-*. Meaning glossed as 'to assert, propose, recommend, suggest; to say; to suppose, suspect'. We count *kór-* and *bè-* as technical synonyms for the moment. It must be, however, noted that in [Stirtz 2012] it is unquestionably the verb *bè-* that should be regarded as the basic equivalent for the required Swadesh meaning; this is confirmed by numerous textual examples, e. g. in [Stirtz 2012: 180] and elsewhere.

## 72. SEE

Aka *golləko* (1), Molo *kormo* (2), Kelo *a:r-* (3) / *ə:y* (4), Beni Sheko *a:ri* (3), Gaam *túr-* (4).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Bender 1997: 207. No known difference between this equivalent and *a:r-*.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 153. Meaning glossed as 'notice, observe, perceive, see, witness; grasp, imagine, know, understand; confirm, discover, locate'. Same word as 'know' q.v. Quoted as *túr* in [Stirtz 2012: 57]. A possible alternative is *awr-* 'to aim (at), gaze (at), look at, observe, peep, peek, see, sight, stare' [Bender & Malik 1980: 47], but this seems more like the proper equivalent for the intentional meaning 'to look'.

## 73. SEED

Aka *wi:qo* (1), Molo *wɔ:so* (1), Kelo *te:rəb* (-1), Beni Sheko *a:ʒʒene* (2), Gaam *fɔidə* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Borrowed from Arabic.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 212. The generic term for 'seed' is said to be the same in this language as the equivalent for 'dura seed' (sesame?) = Aka *a:ʒʒene*, Molo *addini* [ibid.].

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 73. Plural: *fɔidə-g*. Quoted as *fɔ̄ēdá*, pl. *fɔ̄ēdáā-gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 100].

## 74. SIT

Aka *abbese* (1), Molo *e:nə* (2), Kelo *ebbəs'i* (1), Beni Sheko *a:bbizi* (1), Gaam *aw-* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Alternately transcribed as *?ebbes'i*, with an additional glottal stop for some reason.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 46. Polysemy: 'to sit / to dwell / to encamp / to be permanent / to spend time'. Infinitive form: *ab*. Present tense stem: *a-n-*. Past tense stem: *aw-s-*. Quoted as *àō* (incompletive), *àw- ~ àb-* (different stems) in [Stirtz 2012: 23]. Cf. *au-* (Robertson) 'to sit; to stand' (sic!) in [Verri 1955: 302].

## 75. SKIN

Aka *kɔa-ka ~ kʷɔa-ka* (1), Molo *ʒilda* (-1), Kelo *kɔkɔ:-ne* (1), Beni Sheko *sə:ba* (2), Gaam *səw* (174).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *kɔa-ŋji*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Borrowed from Arabic.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 138. Plural: *səw-g*. Polysemy: 'skin / hide'. In the meaning '(animal) skin', other words are used as well:

cf. *furu* 'leather, skin' [Bender & Malik 1980: 77]; *pare* 'bag, hide, skin, skin sack, leather water-bag' [Bender & Malik 1980: 132]. Cf. *sab-ann* (Marno) 'skin, hide' in [Verri 1955: 309].

## 76. SLEEP

Aka *dədəse* (1), Molo *a:no* (2), Kelo *dɛ:ddəse* (1), Beni Sheko *də:si* (1), Gaam *ná:-* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Possibly reduplicated stem (cf. Beni Sheko).

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Possibly reduplicated stem (cf. Beni Sheko).

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 121. Polysemy: 'to sleep / to lie down, repose'. Quoted as *nā:* (incomplete), *nág-* (underlying root) in [Stirtz 2012: 40].

## 77. SMALL

Aka *ti:sa* (1), Molo *ti:sa* (1), Kelo *gi:a* (2), Beni Sheko *e:giə* (2), Gaam *ŋa:n* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 125. Plural: *ŋal-g(e)*. Polysemy: 'little / narrow / small / young'. Quoted as *ŋáan*, pl. *ŋál-gégg* 'small, young' in [Stirtz 2012: 157]. Cf. *ŋan* (Marno), sg. *ŋan*, pl. *ŋál-geka* (Seligman) 'small' in [Verri 1955: 307].

## 78. SMOKE

Aka *pvrū* (1), Molo *fur:* (1), Kelo *pvyu* (1), Beni Sheko *bvrū* (1), Gaam *ŋu:d* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 127. Plural: *ŋu:t-g*. Polysemy: 'smoke / steam / vapor'. Cf. *ŋugu-t* (Marno) 'smoke' in [Verri 1955: 308] (still preserving an old intervocalic velar consonant, deleted in modern dialects).

## 79. STAND

Aka *le:* (1), Molo *la:go* (1), Kelo *kʷəʔi* (2), Beni Sheko *a:mmi* (3), Gaam *tā:l-* (4).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 145. Polysemy: 'to stand / to be fixed / to be still / to stagnate'. As a transitive verb, its meanings are: 'to appoint, assign, employ; to decide, direct; to fix, put, set trap; to release, set free'. The verb *rá-* [Bender & Malik 1980: 134] is also glossed as 'to stand', but it is also assigned such meanings as 'to cease, delay, be firmly fixed, be retarded, stop', implying that the basic meaning here is 'to stop, cease' rather than 'to be in a standing position'. Cf. *tal* (Seligman) 'to stand, to be' in [Verri 1955: 309]. In [Stirtz 2012: 62] (and *passim*) the meaning 'to stand' is assigned to the verb *dɔ̃s-*, but comparison with Bender & Malik's data show that this is rather the dynamic 'stand up': cf. *qɔ̃s-* 'to awake, get up, arise, stand up; to leave, set out' in [Bender & Malik 1980: 68].

## 80. STAR

Aka *podur* ~ *podɔr* (1), Molo *mide:ro* (1), Kelo *ma:žu-weya* (1), Beni Sheko *maqe:ra* (1), Gaam *pážó* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *podur-i*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Also *ma:žu-wa* id.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 130. Plural: *páž žg*. Polysemy: 'star / planet'. Quoted as *pážžž* in [Stirtz 2012: 36]. Cf. *počan* (Marno), sg. *pōgō*, pl. *pogó-k* (Seligman) 'star' in [Verri 1955: 308].

## 81. STONE

Aka *pe:la* (1), Molo *fela* (1), Kelo *bela* (1), Beni Sheko *be:la* ~ *bela* (1), Gaam *mì:d* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *pe:la-ŋi*. Quoted as *pela* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 117. Plural: *mì:d-ŋg*. Polysemy: 'stone / dance of elders (from stone used for percussion instrument)'. Quoted as *mì:d*, pl. *mì:d- gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 102]. Cf. sg. *mít*, pl. *mit-ak* (Seligman), *mítu* (Marno, De Bruyssenaere) 'stone' in [Verri 1955: 307].

## 82. SUN

Aka *bi:di* (1), Molo *b'i:di* (1), Kelo *bi:di* (1), Beni Sheko *bi:di* (1), Gaam *téł* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Quoted as *bidi* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Quoted as *bi:ti:* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 149. Polysemy: 'sun / God'. Cf. *tel* (Marno, De Bruyssenaere, Seligman) 'sun / God' in [Verri 1955: 309].

## 83. SWIM

Aka *v:mino* (1), Molo *to?ɔni* (2), Kelo *u:maŋ* (1), Beni Sheko *pɔŋgui* (3), Gaam *=du:l* (4).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 54, 63. The meaning 'to swim' is expressed idiomatically, with one of the two expressions: *bèl- du:l* or *df- du:l*, where the verbs *bèl-* and *df-* both mean 'to beat, to hit'. The autonomous meaning of the component *du:l* is, however, unclear; it is definitely not 'water', and although it is phonetically close to *də:l* 'river', it cannot be identified with the latter because of phonetic discrepancies.

## 84. TAIL

Aka *pɔr-i* (1), Molo *fvr* (1), Kelo *pɔi* (1), Beni Sheko *pvri* (1), Gaam *rùsù* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *pɔr-sai*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *pɔi-dε*.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 136. Plural: *rùsù-g*.

## 85. THAT

Aka *=i* (1), Molo *i:-de* (1), Kelo *=i ~ =i-gai* (1), Beni Sheko *?i-?i* (1), Gaam *ná:-dè* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1989: 159; Bender 1997: 210. Plural: *=i-qi ~ =e-qi* 'those'.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 210. In the earlier source [Bender 1989: 159], the sg. form 'that' is glossed as *=i-de* and the plural 'those' is glossed as *=i-sizi ~ =e-sizi*, but all the forms are said to be "fairly uncertain".

**Kelo:** Bender 1989: 159; Bender 1997: 210. Plural: *=i-gɔi-gɔ* 'those'.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 210.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 121. The plural form is tonally different: *nà:-dè* 'those'. The first syllable can probably be identified with the relative morpheme *ná* 'which, who, that' [ibid.]. Quoted as sg. *ná:-dī* 'that', pl. *nà:-dī* 'those' ('away from both speaker and addressee') in [Stirtz 2012: 50]; cf. also the simpler forms *ná: ~ ná:-n*, pl. *nà: ~ nà:-n* 'that, those (near addressee)' ibid.

## 86. THIS

Aka =e ~ =ε (1), Molo =na (2), Kelo =e? ~ ε-gəi (1), Beni Sheko =?i (1), Gaam =nɛ (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1989: 159. Plural: =i-qe ~ =e-qe 'those'. Glossed simply as *e* in [Bender 1997: 207].

**Molo:** Bender 1989: 159; Bender 1997: 207. In [Bender 1989: 159], the clitical forms =i and =e are also listed in the meaning 'this', and the plural 'these' is glossed as =ε-si ~ =i-si. However, an additional note states that "the Molo forms are fairly uncertain".

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Glossed as =ε ~ =ε-gai in the earlier source [Bender 1989: 159]; the plural form 'these' is listed there as =ε-gai-qə.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 123. Plural: =nɛ. Quoted as sg. *nɛ*: 'this', pl. *nɛ*: 'these' in [Stirtz 2012: 50].

## 87. THOU

Aka *ni* (1), Molo *m* (1), Kelo *in* (1), Beni Sheko *ni* (1), Gaam òn ~ ò:n (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Glossed as *in-ni* in [Bender 1989: 160]. Object form: =eni. Possessive form: =n=íá (sg.), =ia (pl.).

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Glossed as *ŋi* in [Bender 1989: 160]. Possessive form: =ε=ŋa (sg.), =ŋa (pl.).

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Glossed as *iŋi* in [Bender 1989: 160]. Object form: =ín. Possessive form: =èná (sg.), =íč (pl.).

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 129. Subject and object forms of the independent pronoun (the object form also has an extra variant - ù:n). The possessive form 'your' is =ù:n (sg.), =ùnök (pl.) [Bender & Malik 1980: 154]. The paradigm in [Stirtz 2012: 78] is as follows: "long subject" ɔ-n, "short subject" ɔ object -O, dative -u-n, possessive prefix ɔ, etc.

## 88. TONGUE

Aka *kala* (1), Molo *kala* (1), Kelo *kala* (1), Beni Sheko *kala* (1), Gaam kálá-d (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *kala-ti*. Quoted as *küla* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Quoted as *küla* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Quoted as *un=küla* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12], with a prefix that is typical of body parts (cf. the variants *an-*, *in-* in numerous other items).

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 96. Plural: *k lá-t-g*. Quoted as sg. *kálá-d*, pl. *k l ɔ-gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 124]. Cf. *ka:lät* (Seligmann), *khalgattu* (Marno) 'tongue' in [Verri 1955: 306].

## 89. TOOTH

Aka *ni:-qe* (1), Molo *ni-su* (1), Kelo *ni:-di* (1), Beni Sheko *ni-di* (1), Gaam *ni:-d* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *ni:-ði*.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *ni-di*.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. No difference between sg. or pl.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207. Possibly a plural form or a *plurale tantum*.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 126. Plural: *ni:-t-g*. Quoted as *niñ-d*, pl. *niñ-gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 124]. Cf. *nigitu* (Marno) 'tooth' in [Verri 1955: 308]; *niët* (Seligman) 'teeth' in [Verri 1955: 307].

## 90. TREE

Aka *kəqa* (1), Molo *kəsa* (1), Kelo *kəža* (1), Beni Sheko *kəqa* (1), Gaam *guldū* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *kəqa-ki*. Quoted as *kāqa* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Quoted as *kusa* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Quoted as *kāša* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 84. Plural: *guldū-g*. Polysemy: 'tree / wood / beam, board / firewood / handle / log'. In [Stirtz 2012: 120], the word *guldū*, pl. *guldū-gg* is listed with polysemy 'tree trunk / wood', but not referring to growing trees. The meaning 'tree' as such (i. e. 'living tree') is rather correlated with the word *ūfū* [Stirtz 2012: 265], which is glossed in [Bender & Malik 1980: 154] as *ūfū* 'baobab'. Cf. the older sources: *gulda*, pl. *guldū-k* ~ *gulda-ka* (Seligman), *guldu* (Marno) 'tree' in [Verri 1955: 305]; *wuldu* (De Bruyssenaere) 'tree' in [Verri 1955: 311]. Stirtz's data most likely reflect a very recent trend towards the connected semantic shifts {'tree (gen.)' > 'tree as material, wood'} and {'baobab' > 'tree (gen.)'}.

## 91. TWO

Aka *wa:si* (1), Molo *wa:di* (1), Kelo *wa:di* (1), Beni Sheko *wadi* (1), Gaam *qa:g* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Quoted as *wa:ti* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 63. Quoted as *dáagg* in [Stirtz 2012: 152]. Cf. *diag* (Marno), *diák* (De Bruyssenaere), *da:k* (Seligman) in [Verri 1955: 303].

## 92. WALK (GO)

Aka *bago* (1), Molo *ba* (1), Kelo *þai* (1), Beni Sheko *þa ~ þi* (1), Gaam *lɛʒ-* (2) / *wði-* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 205.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 108. Meaning glossed as 'go, part'. Distinct from the hardly eligible *mér-* 'to amble, go, hasten, hurry, be quick, be speedy' [Bender & Malik 1980: 116]. Quoted as *lēʒ-* in [Stirtz 2012: 321]. Bender & Malik 1980: 156. Meaning glossed as 'to come out; displace, go, move, travel, walk; go with; leave'. Although this cluster of meanings at first seems to correspond to the meaning 'to exit' rather than 'to go (somewhere)', numerous textual examples in [Stirtz 2012] (where the word is transcribed as *wā-*) show that it might, in fact, be the most frequent equivalent for the required Swadesh meaning. However, precise difference between the usage of *lēʒ-* and *wā-* has not been specially described in any publication, so we treat them as technical synonyms.

## 93. WARM

Aka *lu:ge* (1), Molo *lu: ~ lu:wa* (1), Kelo *lua* (1), Beni Sheko *lu:i* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Meaning glossed as 'warm'.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Meaning glossed as 'warm'.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Meaning glossed as 'warm'.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207. Meaning glossed as 'warm'.

**Gaam:** Not properly attested. The closest equivalent is *lu:tūn*, pl. *lu:tūn-ag* 'glowing, hot, shining', an adjectival verb derived from *lū:t* 'dry season' [Bender & Malik 1980: 110]. However, the way that the meanings are glossed suggests that this may not be the neutral equivalent for either 'warm' or 'hot'. Cf. *lūsú*, pl. *lūsu-gg* 'hot' in [Stirtz 2012: 157].

## 94. WATER

Aka *qi* (1), Molo *si* (1), Kelo *ki?i* (2), Beni Sheko *ki:* (2), Gaam *fɛ-g* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Cf. *siki* 'water' in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 74. *Plurale tantum*. Quoted as *fɛgg* in [Stirtz 2012: 30]. Cf. also *wā:* 'water, watery place' in [Bender & Malik 1980: 155], quoted as *wā:* 'water' in [Stirtz 2012: 22]. Cf. *faku* (De Pruyssenaere), *feko* (Marno), *fik* (Seligman) 'water' in [Verri 1955: 304].

## 95. WE

Aka *ɛ:-gi* (1), Molo *ɔy* (1), Kelo *ɔy* (1), Beni Sheko *i:-ʒe* (1), Gaam *ā-g-¹ān* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Glossed as *ɛ-gé ~ ɛ-gi* in [Bender 1989: 160]. Object form: =*ɛ-gí*. Possessive form: =*n=āgɔ* (sg.), =*āgɔ* (pl.).

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207; Bender 1989: 160. Possessive form: =*ɛ:ná:* (sg.), =*ɛ:ká* (pl.).

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Glossed as *ɔy* in [Bender 1989: 160]. Object form: =*éwè*. Possessive form: =*no* (sg.), =*g u* (pl.).

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 38. Independent pronoun. Cf. also the subject prefix *ă-g-*; the object suffix *-'ăg-ji* [ibid.]. The paradigm in [Stirtz 2012: 78] is as follows: "long subject" *ă-ggá*, "short subject" *ă-gg*, object *-a:ggá*, dative *-o:ggm*, possessive prefix *ă-gg*, etc.

## 96. WHAT

Aka *i=ŋi* (1), Molo *ŋi* (1), Kelo *ŋi* (1), Beni Sheko *ŋi-ne* (1), Gaam *ŋí* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *ŋi-ge*. Glossed as sg. *ŋi*, pl. *ŋi-gé* in [Bender 1989: 170].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Also *ši=ŋi ~ si=ŋi* id. Glossed as *ni ~ si=ni* in [Bender 1989: 170].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Also *ŋani* id. Glossed as *ŋi ~ ŋaní* in [Bender 1989: 170].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 126. Plural: *ŋi-ŋi*. Quoted as sg. *ŋí*, pl. *ŋí-gg* (unmarked form), sg. *ŋí-nā*, pl. *ŋí-gg* (marked form) in [Stirtz 2012: 311].

## 97. WHITE

Aka *ba:ga* (1), Molo *fɔ* (1), Kelo *bɔ* (1), Beni Sheko *e:bo* (1), Gaam *pɔ:- ~ pɔ:-n-* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 132. Quoted as *pɔ*, pl. *pɔ-g* in [Stirtz 2012: 155]. Cf. *pōde-n* (Marno) 'white', *gobono podé* (De Pruyssenaere) 'white' (the first word *gobono* is unclear) in [Verri 1955: 308].

## 98. WHO

Aka *ŋa* (1), Molo *i-nu* (2), Kelo *na=ŋai* (1), Beni Sheko *ŋai* (1), Gaam *ŋáná* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *ŋa:-ga*. Glossed as sg. *ŋā*, pl. *ŋa:-ga* in [Bender 1989: 170].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *i-ku*. Glossed as sg. *i-nu*, pl. *i-kú* in [Bender 1989: 170].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *ka=ŋai*. Glossed as sg. *ŋái ~ na=ŋái*, pl. *ŋái ~ ka=ŋái* in [Bender 1989: 170].

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 127. Plural: *ŋá-də*. Quoted as sg. *ŋān*, pl. *ŋāná-đān* in [Stirtz 2012: 311].

## 99. WOMAN

Aka *ile:mi* (1), Molo *adiŋelə* (2), Kelo *aməlɔ?ŋi* (3), Beni Sheko *amele:men* (3), Gaam *đd* (4).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207. Suppletive plural: *fa:-miki* (the first component is 'people', see notes on 'person'). Quoted as *ulèmi* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *adajile* [Bender 1997: 215]. Quoted as *adujgela* in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Suppletive plural: *ba:-imi* [Bender 1997: 215] (the first component is 'people', see notes on 'person'). Differently in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12]: *wera* 'woman' (possibly a mistake, because cf. Malkan /Molo/ *wera* 'man' [ibid.: 11]).

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207. Suppletive plural: *fa:-minj* [Bender 1997: 215] (the first component is 'people', see notes on 'person').

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 128. Plural: *ðt-g*. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Quoted as *ðt* 'wife' in [Stirtz 2012: 35]. Cf. also *kàmàlðgg* 'woman' in [Stirtz 2012: 47]. Cf. *ato* (De Bruyssenaere) 'woman' in [Verri 1955: 302]; *ðt*, pl. *ol-k* (Seligman) 'woman, wife' in [Verri 1955: 309]; *utt* (Robertson) 'woman' in [Verri 1955: 310].

## 100. YELLOW

Aka *ŋa:rgen* (1), Molo *ku:rkv̥m* (-1), Kelo *kəriyə* (2), Beni Sheko *be:bɛ* (3), Gaam *bɔ:r* (4).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Borrowed from Arabic.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 58. Meaning glossed as 'pale, yellow-orange'. Quoted as *bɔ:r*, pl. *bɔr-g* 'yellow' in [Stirtz 2012: 155].

## 101. FAR

Aka *ru:ke* (1), Molo *rv:ko* (1), Kelo *yv:ŋə* (1), Gaam *dugud* # (2).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 208.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 208.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 208.

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 68. Meaning glossed as 'distant, far'. Additionally, cf. also *gà:l-* 'to be far, to be long' [Bender & Malik 1980: 79] (this is the basic equivalent for 'long' q.v.) = *gà:l* 'far' in [Stirtz 2012: 49]; *tú-tì* 'far', derived from *tú* 'away, external, off, outside' [Bender & Malik 1980: 152]. It is not quite clear which of these should be considered the default equivalent for the required meaning. Cf. also *an=du:gut* 'far' (Marno) in [Verri 1955: 301] (where the first part is probably a copula).

## 102. HEAVY

Aka *li:qe* (1), Molo *li:so* (1), Kelo *liʒə ~ lidyə* (1), Gaam *iłí-n* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 209.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 209.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 209.

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 86. Cf. *ñi*, pl. *ñi-gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 157]. Cf. *üdim* 'heavy' (Marno) in [Verri 1955: 310] (not clear if this is the same word, mistranscribed, or something completely different).

## 103. NEAR

Aka *lɛ:gi* (1), Molo *lo:gi* (1), Kelo *le:ŋð* (1), Gaam *tɛ:r* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 209.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 209.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 209.

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 150. Polysemy: 'near / shallow'.

## 104. SALT

Aka *ka:gøw* (1), Molo *kaga* ~ *gaga* (1), Kelo *ka:ko* (1), Gaam *bɔ:t* (2).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 210.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 210.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 210.

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 50. Quoted as sg. *b ãð*, pl. *b ãð-g* ~ *b ãð-̄i:gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 111]. Cf. *bagidi* (De Bruyssenaere), *begidenn* (Marno) 'salt' in [Verri 1955: 302].

## 105. SHORT

Aka *ledvṛ:* (1), Molo *ti:sa* (2), Kelo *fuḍullu* (3), Gaam *dù:r* (1).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 210. Also *giseyir* id., borrowed from Arabic [Bender 1997: 215].

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 210. Same word as 'small' q.v.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 210.

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 69. Plural: *dù:r-ag*.

## 106. SNAKE

Aka *ma:la:ga* (1), Molo *ma:la* (1), Kelo *ma:la* (1), Beni Sheko *ma:la* (1), Gaam *də:hṛ* (2).

#### References and notes:

- Aka:** Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11. Plural: *ma:la:ga-i*.
- Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Quoted as *ma:la*: in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11].
- Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11.
- Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.
- Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 65. Plural: *d ðr-ig*. Quoted as *d ðr* 'snake type' in [Stirtz 2012: 34].

## 107. THIN

Aka *mɔzzəl* (1), Molo *fulugo* # (2), Kelo *bɔdvlu ~ bədɔya* (3), Beni Sheko *de:de* (4), Gaam *dɛ:r* (5).

#### References and notes:

- Aka:** Bender 1997: 207.
- Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Bender notes suspicious similarity with *fvlugō* 'long' q.v.; perhaps the meaning is glossed inaccurately and the form is really an idiolectal variant of 'long'.
- Kelo:** Bender 1997: 207. Cf. *budullu* 'short' (a variant of the same word?).
- Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 207.
- Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 66. Meaning glossed as 'be(come) slim, thin; shrink'. Cf. also *kà-* 'be emaciated, be(come) slim, thin, weak' [Bender & Malik 1980: 94] (probably said of people, but no diagnostic contexts are available) = *ká-èn* 'thin' in [Stirtz 2012: 49].

## 108. WIND

Aka *εbe:gu* (1), Molo *wo:di* # (2), Kelo *ɔ:bɔ* (1), Gaam *ù:* (2).

#### References and notes:

- Aka:** Bender 1997: 211. Another listed form, with a question mark, is the oddly shaped *alosarr* 'wind'.
- Molo:** Bender 1997: 211. Glossed with a question mark as *wo xo:di* (idiomatic expression? the individual components, however, have not been identified).
- Kelo:** Bender 1997: 211.
- Beni Sheko:** Not attested.
- Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 153. Plural: *ù:-g*. Polysemy: 'air / wind / storm, tempest / weather'. Quoted as *ù:* 'air' in [Stirtz 2012: 37]. Cf. *ou* (Seligman) 'wind' in [Verri 1955: 308]. Other early sources list a different equivalent: *eyntó* (De Pruyssenaere) 'wind' [Verri 1955: 304], *ailtu* (Marno) 'wind' [Verri 1955: 301]. Both are clearly derived from the adjectival stem *oil-* 'cold' q.v., and it is not clear if in the corresponding subdialects they really meant specifically 'cold wind' (as distinct from 'wind (gen.) / air') or 'wind' (= 'moving air') in general, with *ù:* restricted to the meaning '(static) air'.

## 109. WORM

#### References and notes:

- Aka:** Not attested.

**Molo:** Not attested.

**Kelo:** Not attested.

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Not attested in Bender & Malik's dictionary. Cf., perhaps, *búlīṣṣ* 'worm' in [Stirtz 2012: 30].

## 110. YEAR

Aka *ŋɔ̃ni* (1), Molo *muk'vm* (2), Kelo *ɛssəna* (-1), Gaam *du:-d* (3).

### References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 214.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 214.

**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 214. Borrowed from Arabic.

**Beni Sheko:** Not attested.

**Gaam:** Bender & Malik 1980: 68. Plural: *du:-t-g*. Quoted as *dù:-d* in [Stirtz 2012: 22]. Cf. *dow-to* (De Pruyssenaere) 'year' in [Verri 1955: 303].