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


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


II. Gaam (= Gaahmg, Ingassana).
Main source


Additional sources


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 Ingassana 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 -ɬ-, 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 ƈ, j > UTS ʢ). Long vowels are rendered by Bender as doubled symbols aa, ee, uu, etc., and are converted to UTS aː, eː, uː, etc. Additionally, for Kelo Bender sometimes uses a separate symbol ŋ (distinct from simple ə) without explaining its articulation. If this is indeed a "centralized ə", it seems reasonable to render it with UTS ɜ (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 ṭ, ṗ as t, ḩ 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" ṭ, ṗ are marked as ṭ, ḩ, whereas B&M's "alveo-palatal retroflex" ṭ, ṗ are simply called "alveolar" and are marked as ṭ, ṗ. 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 \( ñ \); 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 \( ñ > UTS \, ñ \); (d) long vowels \( ā, ū \), etc. > UTS \( aː, uː \), etc. Digraphs such as \( gy \) or \( kh \) have been left unchanged, since their phonetic nature is unclear (\( gy \) may actually be palatal \( ʒ \), and \( kh \) may be velar fricative \( x \) or uvular fricative \( χ \), 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 \( ɬ \) as a distinct phoneme).

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

1. ALL
Aka \( təb'zı \sim təp'ısı \) (1), Molo \( tıbbısı \) (1), Kelo \( mɔdi \) (2), Beni Sheko \( wiri:di \) (3), Gaam \( kāi \)
(4).

References and notes:

Aka: Bender 1997: 204.
Molo: Bender 1997: 204.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 204.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 204.

2. ASHES
Aka ṭdọ (1), Molo ṭdọ (1), Kelo ṭdọ (1), Beni Sheko ṭdọ (1), Gaam duː-g (1).

References and notes:

Aka: Bender 1997: 204.
Molo: Bender 1997: 204.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 204.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 204.

3. BARK
Aka ppri (1), Molo gaga (2), Kelo sàba (3), Beni Sheko kafîlo (4), Gaam ār (5).

References and notes:

Aka: Bender 1997: 204. Bender also lists the equivalent bëba, 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 ār 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 bë-, 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:

Molo: Bender 1997: 204. Quoted as eli in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9].
Kelo: Bender 1997: 204. Quoted as peli in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9] (with an unclear initial p-).
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 204.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 72. Plural: il-g. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach / bottom'. Quoted as ċį-g 'stomach' in [Stirtz 2012: 37] (but cf. also găr-g 'stomach' [ibid.]). Cf. ol-k 'belly' (Seligman) in [Verri 1955: 308].

5. BIG
Aka mɔrį (1), Molo muwarį (1), Kelo amadena (2), Beni Sheko yamədeļi (2), Gaam mcheidə (2).

References and notes:
Molo: Bender 1997: 204.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 204.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 204.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 117. Meaning glossed as 'big, great, huge, large, spacious, stout'. Derived form: mcheidə 'enormous'. Quoted as mādā, pl. mād-g in [Stirtz 2012: 157]. An additional synonym, also found in [Stirtz 2012: 157], is d mʃl, pl. d mʃl-g 'big'. Cf. mact-ён, pl. mai-ŋə (Seligman) 'big' in [Verri 1955: 307]; cf. also the strange form fanscer (Marno) 'big' in [Verri 1955: 304].

6. BIRD
Aka mɛʒə (1), Molo mżyə (1), Kelo mɛʒə- (1), Beni Sheko mʒe ~ mʃe (1), Gaam mʃi (1).

References and notes:
Molo: Bender 1997: 204. Quoted as mɛʒe in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9]; cf. also migi '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 mɛʒe-na-aigo, literally 'fowl of wilds' [Bender 1997: 214]. Quoted as mɛʒe 'bird; hen' in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9, 11].
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 204. Also mgi-niə id.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 117. Plural: mį-g. Polysemy: 'bird / chicken / hen'. Quoted as mii 'chicken' in [Stirtz 2012: 46]. Cf. mć, pl. mć-ık (Seligman), miq-in (Marno) 'bird' in [Verri 1955: 307]; cf. also migi-m (Marno), migi-n (De Pruyssenaere) 'chicken' [ibid.].

7. BITE
Aka gvrri (1), Molo sib-ona (2), Kelo sib-aze (2), Beni Sheko sib-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.
8. BLACK
Aka ёрэ́га (1), Molo ёрэ́ва ~ ёрва (1), Kelo ёрро ~ ыры́ва (1), Beni Sheko ёрро ~ ёрва (1), Gaam дүй (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 дүй-н with the definite suffix -н. Quoted as гүй, def. form гүй-н in [Stirtz 2012: 162]. Cf. ена podé 'black' (De Pruyssenaere) in [Verri 1955: 304] (probably a mistake, since podé actually = 'white' q.v., whereas the form ена is just a copula, but not a negative one).

9. BLOOD
Aka гё́єфá ~ ѣёфá (1), Molo гё́єва (1), Kelo гё́єба (1), Beni Sheko гё́єфа (1), Gaam афá-d (1).

References and notes:
Aka: Bender 1997: 204. Quoted as гё́єфа in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9].
Molo: Bender 1997: 204. Quoted as гё́єва in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9].
Kelo: Bender 1997: 204. Quoted as kefe in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 9].
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 204.

10. BONE
Aka гамо-кá (1), Molo гам-ка (1), Kelo əmma (1), Beni Sheko гаму-ңга (1), Gaam а́м (1).

References and notes:
Molo: Bender 1997: 205.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 205. Also оре- 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: а́м-g. The plural form also means 'skeleton'. Quoted as а́м in [Stirtz 2012: 30]. Cf. а́м 'bone' (Marno) in [Verri 1955: 301].

11. BREAST
Gaam ку́нд-ûг (1).
References and notes:

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

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


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


12. BURN TR.

Aka kọ̀ẹgọ (1), Kelo ẹ=niem (2), Beni Sheko arrebe (3), Gaam bẹr- (4).

References and notes:

Aka: Bender 1997: 205.

Molo: Not attested.


Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205.

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

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Aka mise (1), Molo mọẹ-ne (1), Kelo mọọ (1), Beni Sheko mise (1), Gaam mọ́si (1).

References and notes:


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'.


14. CLOUD

Aka abug-a (1), Molo siha:ba (-1), Kelo aigu:yu (2), Beni Sheko raŋgu (3), Gaam kọ́jì (4).

References and notes:

Kelo: Bender 1997: 205.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 100. Same word as ‘rain’ q.v.

15. COLD
Aka e:\i (1), Molo wo (2), Kelo 3\i (1), Beni Sheko e:\i (1), Gaam ail- (3).

References and notes:

Aka: Bender 1997: 205.
Molo: Bender 1997: 205. Also besimxiri id.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 205.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 39. Polysemy: ‘chilly, cold, cool / calm / blunt, dull’. Quoted as ‘il-d ‘cold’ in [Stirtz 2012: 37]. Cf. ail-to-nomì ‘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:yo (1) / oy\a (2), Beni Sheko la:go (1), Gaam le:- (1).

References and notes:

Aka: Bender 1997: 205.
Molo: Bender 1997: 205.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205.

17. DIE
Aka t\\o\a\ru (1), Molo t\\o\wo (1), Kelo t\\o\ri ~ t\\i (1), Beni Sheko du:rr\i (1), Gaam t\ir- (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 t\ir in [Stirtz 2012: 207].

18. DOG
Aka ke\le (1), Molo ko\lo (1), Kelo k\\i\i (1), Beni Sheko ke\l (1), Gaam ât (2).
19. DRINK

Aka mːtu (1), Molo mːtu (1), Kelo mːd-ea (1), Beni Sheko mːdi (1), Gaam mːd- (1) / bːːd- (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: 40. Plural: dː-g. Quoted as dː in [Stirtz 2012: 31]. Cf. ṣá (Seligman), aːd (De Pruyssenaere), aːd (Marno), pl. aː-k (Seligman), ath-ga (Robertson) ‘dog’ in [Verri 1955: 301].

20. DRY

Aka kːeːkebe (1), Molo kikebe (1), Kelo kekːebe (1), Beni Sheko keːgebe (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: 112. Polysemy: ‘to drink / to lick / to sip / to smoke / to evaporate’. The root is identified as mː in [Stirtz 2012: 193] (cf. imper. sg. mː, imper. pl. mːd etc.). Cf. mːd (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 mː, it is still not clear which of the two verbs is closer to the basic meaning ‘drink’; we include both as technical synonyms.

21. EAR

Aka sigi: (1), Molo sigi (1), Kelo siː-di (1), Beni Sheko si (1), Gaam wːn-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: 41. Polysemy: ‘to be dry / to dry up / to be hard, inflexible / to wither’. Quoted as aːm-sː ‘dry, tired’ in [Stirtz 2012: 38].

11
Molo: Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as sigi in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].
Kelo: Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as sî-ti in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205. Also m̩-zi id. (the root morpheme is probably the same, but m̩ is unclear - a pronominal possessive prefix, perhaps?).

22. EARTH
Aka karo (1), Molo kala (2), Kelo karo (1), Gaam âldâ (3).

References and notes:

Molo: Bender 1997: 208. Quoted as kîro in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].
Kelo: Bender 1997: 208. Quoted as kîro in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].
Beni Sheko: Not attested.

23. EAT
Aka nam- (1), Molo nam (1), Kelo nam (1), Beni Sheko ni:mî (1), Gaam nâm- (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 nâm in [Stirtz 2012: 180]. Cf. nam (Marno) 'to eat' in [Verri 1955: 307], lam (Robertson) 'to eat' in [Verri 1955: 306]; also nei (De Pruyssenaere) 'to eat' in [Verri 1955: 301].

24. EGG
Aka 'vmu:-ke (1), Molo vm-ko (1), Kelo 3n-di (1), Beni Sheko am-î ~ amm-î (1), Gaam kîlî-d (2).

References and notes:

Molo: Bender 1997: 205.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205.
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 e:di (1), Beni Sheko i:n=era (1), Gaam Ʌd (1).

References and notes:
Molo: Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as er- ti in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10].
Kelo: Bender 1997: 205. Quoted as i:ner- 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: ñd- g. Polysemy: 'eye / point'. Quoted as ñd 'my eye', ñd 'your eye', ñd 'his eye' (with various possessive prefixes), pl. ñd- ñg 'my eyes', ñd- ñgg 'your eyes', ñd- ñgg 'their eyes' in [Stirtz 2012: 81]. Cf. o7 (Seligman) 'eye' in [Verri 1955: 308], itu- ku (Marno) 'eye' (probably pl.) in [Verri 1955: 306].

26. FAT N.
Aka bökine (1), Molo Ʌndwa (2), Kelo Ʌuo (2), Beni Sheko kəba (3), Gaam Ʌyə (4).

References and notes:
Aka: Bender 1997: 205.
Molo: Bender 1997: 205. Also ŋawadat id.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205.

27. FEATHER
Aka pəta (1), Molo fəta (1), Kelo pətə (1), Beni Sheko pədo (1), Gaam f:əd (1).

References and notes:
Molo: Bender 1997: 205.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 205.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205.

28. FIRE
Aka ma: (1), Molo ma (1), Kelo ma (1), Beni Sheko maːa (1), Gaam məː (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.

29. FISH
Aka ’ʋːgu (1), Molo uː-do (1), Kelo u: (1), Beni Sheko u: (1), Gaam gɔːl-dɔ (2).

References and notes:
Molo: Bender 1997: 205.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205.

30. FLY V.
Aka piri (1), Molo firi (1), Kelo piri (1), Gaam pərd- (1).

References and notes:
Aka: Bender 1997: 212.
Molo: Bender 1997: 212.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 212.
Beni Sheko: Not attested.

31. FOOT
Aka ɛlla=lu (1), Molo luː (1), Kelo lu-di (1), Beni Sheko lə (1), Gaam lùː-d (1).

References and notes:
Kelo: Bender 1997: 205. Also lu-di-norane 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.
32. FULL
Aka tokɔraw (1), Molo tɔtu:dɔ (2), Kelo tɔdu ~ du:du (2), Gaam ta=ɔpɔɬ- (3).

References and notes:
Molo: Bender 1997: 208. Probably a reduplicated stem.
Beni Sheko: Not attested.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 131. Stative derivative (‘to be filled’) from p ɬd- ‘to fill, load, overload, stuff’ [Bender & Malik 1980: 131]. Cf. also the adjective pàrr-às ‘full’ in [Stirtz 2012: 23], as well as the (suppletive?) plural adjective form mëtɛtɛ-às [ibid.].

33. GIVE
Aka an-su (1), Molo əŋ-kəno (1), Kelo an-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. Polysynomy: ‘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 wɔdɪ (2), Beni Sheko wər (2), Gaam wɛ:də (2).

References and notes:
Aka: Bender 1997: 205.
Molo: Bender 1997: 205. Also in-wər-dɪ id.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 205.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 159. Plural: wiɬ-ɡ. 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 wiɬəɡò, pl. wiɬəɡ ‘good, beautiful’ in [Stirtz 2012: 157]. Cf. also qɔn-diːɡ ‘funny, good, playful’, derived from qɔn- ‘to joke, be merry, be mischievous, play’ [Bender & Malik 1980: 61]; qɔː- ‘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-ən (Marno) ‘good, beautiful’ and wiɬət-in, pl. wiɬət-akə ‘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 =deɡir (1), Molo seʃro (1), Kelo =ʃeriya (1), Beni Sheko e=keɾə (1), Gaam púr (2).
References and notes:


36. HAIR

Aka ʑ̱ɛke (1), Molo ʃʊta (2), Kelo ɕ̱ɜə (3), Beni Sheko ẓ̱ɤŋge (1), Gaam sʊː-d (4).

References and notes:

Molo: Bender 1997: 205. Differently in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10]: ʃ̱ōko 'hair'.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 205. Differently in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 10]: kāng 'hair'.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205.

37. HAND

Aka ç̱ar-ga (1), Molo sʊro (1), Kelo ç̱ya (1), Beni Sheko ç̱ɔrɔ ~ sɔrɔ (1), Gaam âs (2).

References and notes:

Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 44. Plural: âs-g. Quoted as âs-s 'my hand', âs 'your hand', âs 'his hand' (with various possessive prefixes), pl. âs-gg 'my hands', âs-ɪgg 'your hands', âs-ɪgg 'their hands' in [Stirtz 2012: 81]. Cf. waso (Marno) 'hand' in [Verri 1955: 310]; âs, pl. âs-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 xɔla (1), Gaam ĵł (1).

References and notes:

Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205.
Cf. âl (Seligman),oll (Marno), ol (De Pruyssenaere) ‘head’ in [Verri 1955: 308] (according to Marno, with polysemy: ‘head / hair’).

39. HEAR
Aka Ǽ-ro ~ Ǽ-r (1), Molo Ǽ-r (1), Kelo vssine (2), Beni Sheko assini (2), Gaam Ûn- (3).

References and notes:
Aka: Bender 1997: 205.
Molo: Bender 1997: 205.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 205.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 205.

40. HEART
Aka ninagaga (1), Molo k Kazakhstan (2), Beni Sheko iyo (2), Gaam Ûn (3).

References and notes:
Aka: Bender 1997: 206. The plural form is listed as nila-ga (sic!) [Bender 1997: 214].
Molo: Bender 1997: 206. The first syllable is segmented out by Bender as a prefix, without a precise explanation.

41. HORN
Aka kKaren (1), Molo kovul (1), Kelo kovul-ù (1), Beni Sheko grosuli (1), Gaam Ûl (2).

References and notes:

42. I
Aka À (1), Molo À (1), Kelo À (1), Beni Sheko Àgi (1), Gaam À- (1).
References and notes:

Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 42. Subject and object forms of the independent pronoun. Cf. the possessive clitical form =n 'my' [ibid.]. The paradigm in [Stirtz 2012: 78] is as follows: "long subject" áːn, "short subject" á, object -a, dative -ən, possessive prefix á, etc. Cf. aː- (Seligman), aːnna- (Marno) 'I' in [Verri 1955: 301].

43. KILL

Aka pɔː (1), Molo fɔːdu (1), Kelo pɔːzi ~ bɔːzi (1), Beni Sheko bɔːsi (1), Gaam dɔːf- (2).

References and notes:

Kelo: Bender 1997: 206. The verb eddi bi ~ eddi 'to hit' may also be used in the meaning 'to kill' [Bender 1997: 209, 214].
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 63. Polysemy: 'to break to pieces / to fight / to hit / to kill'. Other possible candidates include tər- 'to assassinate, cause to die, kill, murder, slay' [Bender & Malik 1980: 151], a regular causative derivative from tir- 'to die' q.v.; and the idiomatic expression kə-tirli '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 dɔːf-, 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 kʋsu (1), Molo kʋdu (1), Kelo kʋsɛ (1), Beni Sheko kʋsu (1), Gaam kʋsmi ~ kʋsɛmi (1).

References and notes:


45. KNOW

Aka aŋe (1), Molo ɲadni (2), Kelo kɛŋya (3), Beni Sheko kɛrmi (4), Gaam ɲel- (5) / tir- (6).

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

46. LEAF
Aka kəɕ=a=sigi (1), Molo kəɕ=a=sigi (1), Kelo kəɕ=a=siti (1), Beni Sheko kəbo (2), Gaam te:fa (3).

References and notes:

47. LIE
Gaam pʋl- (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 ḍma (2).

References and notes:
49. LONG
Aka fuluːge (1), Molo fɔluːgo (1), Kelo ɔlʋɔ (1), Beni Sheko uːluːwe (1), Gaam gàːl- (2).

References and notes:

50. LOUSE
Aka geɲɛ (1), Molo ɡˈiɲɔ (1), Kelo əːɲə (1), Beni Sheko aɲi (1), Gaam ʒiɲ-d (1).

References and notes:

51. MAN
Aka ele=gora (1), Molo ulisəkəlo (2), Kelo aməlɔra (3), Beni Sheko aməlorəŋ (3), Gaam ʒáː=fiː (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: kəsi=ulisəkəlo [Bender 1997: 215]. In [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11], the meaning ‘man’ is rendered with two equivalents: olesokōla (= Bender’s =ulisəkəlo) and wera (no direct equivalent in Bender’s notes, but most likely represents the same component as =xr- in Bender’s aməl-ɔ-ra). 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.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 87. Plural: ʒɛ=kfiː-ɡ. The first part of the compound is ‘person’ q.v.; the second is the adjectival stem fiː ‘male, masculine’ [Bender & Malik 1980: 77]. Cf. ʒɛ=fiː, pl. ʒuk=fiː-k (Seligman) ‘man’ in [Verri 1955: 305].

52. MANY
Aka mari (1), Molo fɔɲa (2), Kelo leʔa (3), Beni Sheko leʔa ~ liaʔ (3), Gaam ɔlɡ (4).
References and notes:


53. MEAT
Aka oʔo (1), Molo fie (2), Kelo kɔkɔ (3), Beni Sheko ɔʔɔ (1), Gaam ɲ (1).

References and notes:


54. MOON
Aka aguwa (1), Molo ʔaguwa (1), Kelo aʔvwa (1), Beni Sheko aqa (1), Gaam tūrī (2).

References and notes:


55. MOUNTAIN
Aka peːla (1), Molo fela (1), Kelo be]:a (1), Beni Sheko beːla (1), Gaam gām (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.
56. MOUTH
Aka ʋdu (1), Molo ʋdu ~ ʋdu (1), Kelo ʋdu (1), Beni Sheko ʋdu (1), Gaam ʕɡ (1).

References and notes:

57. NAME
Aka ʇːzɪn ʇːzənı (1), Molo maːna (2), Kelo siːɡə (3), Beni Sheko uŋgi (4), Gaam saː-g (5).

References and notes:

58. NECK
Aka ŋaːlo (1), Molo ŋalu (1), Kelo ŋaːlu (1), Gaam ŋálg (1).

References and notes:
Beni Sheko: Not attested.

59. NEW
Aka arayə (1), Molo arayə (1), Kelo ayayə (1), Beni Sheko ayara (1), Gaam yː ~ yː-n (2).

References and notes:

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

References and notes:
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.

61. NOSE
Aka ɲamuna=mu-di (1), Molo arkana=mu-di (1), Kelo v=mu-di (1), Beni Sheko a=mu-di (1), Gaam fɔdɔr (2).

References and notes:

62. NOT
Aka =to ~ =tu ~ =tɔ (1), Molo in- ~ n- (2), Kelo á ~ áː (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. má: wol-e-ŋe-tu "fire is not cold". On its own, this prefixal morpheme is used in the prohibitive function: wol le ci 'do not stand!' It is also believed to have been borrowed from Arabic (wala), which leaves the suffixal =to ~ =tu as the optimal candidate for external comparison.
Molo: Bender 1989: 169. C.f. mɔ; n=warz 'the cow is not good'. Bender also states that he had recorded "NEG exist" as ɛto, 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: ɛwɔ: ˈlɛwɔw 'the fire is not hot'. It is opposed to the prohibitive ɛsɛ:n: ɛsɛ:n mɔɔ "do not drink!"

Beni Sheko: Not attested.


63. ONE
Aka ligi-di (1), Molo le:-di (1), Kelo lx-di (1), Beni Sheko lx-di (1), Gaam tɔmɔn (2).

References and notes:

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

Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 110. Polysemy: 'each / one / individual / a (article)'. Quoted as màn in [Stirtz 2012: 151]. Cf. dàmmman (De Pruyssenaere) 'one' in [Verri 1955: 303]; tōm (Marno) 'one' in [Verri 1955: 309]; tōm (Seligman) 'one' in [Verri 1955: 310].

64. PERSON
Aka imili (1), Molo una:ta (2), Kelo a:ml-i (1), Beni Sheko amil-u (1), Gaam ʒà: (3).

References and notes:

Aka: Bender 1997: 206. Suppletive plural: fa 'people'.
Molo: Bender 1997: 206. Suppletive plural: kˤeʃi 'people'.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 206. Also amxl id. (Bender's note: 'i devoices'). Suppletive plural: ba 'people'.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 206. Suppletive plural: fa 'people'.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 87. Plural: ʒ. Quoted as sg. ʒin, pl. ʒ-g in [Stirtz 2012: 109]. Cf. ga (Robertson) (possibly a misprint for [ɡa] = ʒa) 'person' in [Verri 1955: 304]; ʒin-fui (Seligman) 'person' (actually, 'man /male/', see notes on 'man') in [Verri 1955: 305]. The singular stems ʒa 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 singularive marker).

65. RAIN
Aka kʷiə-e (1), Molo a.ro (2), Kelo guʒə ~ kuʒə (1), Beni Sheko guʒe (1), Gaam kʒi (1).

References and notes:

Molo: Bender 1997: 206; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 100. Polysemy: 'cloud / rain / blood (from nose-bleed)'. Distinct from the verbal stem lə 'to fall (of rain)' [Bender & Malik 1980: 109]. Cf. kwai (Seligman), kwai (Robertson) 'rain' in [Verri 1955: 306]; goy-e (Marno) 'rain' in [Verri 1955:
66. RED
Aka *pɔra* (1), Molo *fɔra* (1), Kelo *tɔyɔŋ* (2), Beni Sheko *bɔra* (1), Gaam *bɛtæ* (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. *bɛrɔ*, pl. *bɛrɔ-gg* in [Stirtz 2012: 155]. Cf. *berdi* (De Pruyssenaere) '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 *aːma* (2), Kelo *aːma* (2), Beni Sheko *aːma* (2), Gaam *teːd* (3).

References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *aŋgar-دا*.
**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206. Also *aːma* id.; Bender states that *aː* is the borrowed Arabic article, but the stem *aːma* itself looks inherited. However, the Arabic borrowing *šar*i '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.

68. ROOT
Aka *fili-ke* (1), Molo *fil-kɔ* (1), Kelo *addɔwa* (2), Beni Sheko *addawa* (2), Gaam *filá-ɖ* (1).

References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 206. Plural: *fili-ŋi*.
**Molo:** Bender 1997: 206.
**Kelo:** Bender 1997: 206.
**Beni Sheko:** Bender 1997: 206.

69. ROUND
Gaam *tɔ=kuːri* (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 tə is the general verb 'to be'.

70. SAND
Aka *assesel* (1), Molo *ɔdəla* (2), Kelo *ʨeŋa* ~ *k'ʨeŋa* (3), Beni Sheko *kereŋa* (3), Gaam *sesa* (1).

References and notes:

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

71. SAY
Aka *ẓagəsi* # (1), Molo *tucrano* (2), Kelo *vili* (3) / *wanza* (5), Beni Sheko *illi* (3), Gaam *kɔr*- (4) / *bɛ*- (6).

References and notes:

Aka: Bender 1997: 206. Somewhat dubious (a sidenote glosses this as 'speak' rather than 'say').
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: *kɔr*-+-. Meaning glossed as 'to assert, propose, recommend, suggest; to say; to suppose, suspect'. We count *kɔr*- and *bɛ*- as technical synonyms for the moment. It must be, however, noted that in [Stirtz 2012] it is unquestionably the verb *bɛ*- 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 *gɔllako* (1), Molo *kɔrmo* (2), Kelo *acr*- (3) / *aŋ* (4), Beni Sheko *ari* (3), Gaam *tuv*- (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 ar-.
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 ûr 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:ço (1), Molo wxso (1), Kelo tcraːb (-1), Beni Sheko aːzdẽne (2), Gaam fə́ida (3).

References and notes:
Aka: Bender 1997: 207.
Molo: Bender 1997: 207.
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 aːzdẽne, Molo addmn [ibid.].

74. SIT
Aka abbẽse (1), Molo eːnə (2), Kelo ebbẽʃi (1), Beni Sheko æbbezi (1), Gaam æw- (1).

References and notes:
Aka: Bender 1997: 207.
Molo: Bender 1997: 207.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 207. Alternately transcribed as ðebbẽʃi, with an additional glottal stop for some reason.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.

75. SKIN
Aka kɔa-ka ~ k⁴ʈɔa-ka (1), Molo ẓilda (-1), Kelo kɔkx-ne (1), Beni Sheko sxbu (2), Gaam saw (174).

References and notes:
Kelo: Bender 1997: 207.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 138. Plural: saw-g. Polysemy: ‘skin / hide’. In the meaning ‘(animal) skin’, other words are used as well:

76. SLEEP

Aka *dedese* (1), Molo *ano* (2), Kelo *dc:ddese* (1), Beni Sheko *dɛsi* (1), Gaam *nā:-* (3).

References and notes:

Molo: Bender 1997: 207.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 121. Polysemy: 'to sleep / to lie down, repose'. Quoted as *nā:* (incompletive), *nāg-* (underlying root) in [Stirtz 2012: 40].

77. SMALL

Aka *ti:sa* (1), Molo *ti:sa* (1), Kelo *gia* (2), Beni Sheko *egia* (2), Gaam *ɲan* (3).

References and notes:

Aka: Bender 1997: 207.
Molo: Bender 1997: 207.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 207.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.

78. SMOKE

Aka *pvru* (1), Molo *fur:* (1), Kelo *pvyu* (1), Beni Sheko *bvrur* (1), Gaam *ɲu:d* (2).

References and notes:

Aka: Bender 1997: 207.
Molo: Bender 1997: 207.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 207.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.

79. STAND

Aka *le:* (1), Molo *ləgo* (1), Kelo *kədːi* (2), Beni Sheko *ammi* (3), Gaam *tāːl:-* (4).
80. STAR
Aka podur ~ podur (1), Molo midc:ro (1), Kelo ma3u-weya (1), Beni Sheko ma4cra (1), Gaam pâ3ô (1).

References and notes:
Molo: Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.

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

References and notes:
Molo: Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.

82. SUN
Aka bi:di (1), Molo b‘i:di (1), Kelo bi:di (1), Beni Sheko bi:di (1), Gaam têl (2).

References and notes:
Aka: Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.
Molo: Bender 1997: 207. Quoted as bi:di in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].
Kelo: Bender 1997: 207. Quoted as biti: in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.

83. SWIM
Aka v:nno (1), Molo to?:ni (2), Kelo u:man (1), Beni Sheko poŋgui (3), Gaam =du: (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: b:]- du: or d:]- du:, where the verbs b:j- and d:j- both mean 'to beat, to hit'. The autonomous meaning of the component du: is, however, unclear; it is definitely not 'water', and although it is phonetically close to d:ɛːl 'river', it cannot be identified with the latter because of phonetic discrepancies.

84. TAIL
Aka p:ri (1), Molo f:ri (1), Kelo p:ri (1), Beni Sheko p:ri (1), Gaam r:si: (2).

References and notes:
Molo: Bender 1997: 207.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.

85. THAT
Aka =i (1), Molo i:-de (1), Kelo =i =i-gai (1), Beni Sheko ?i-?i (1), Gaam n:si:dè (2).

References and notes:
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'.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 121. The plural form is tonally different: n:si:dè 'those'. The first syllable can probably be identified with the relative morpheme n: which, who, that [ibid.]. Quoted as sg. n:si:dè 'that', pl. n:si:dè 'those' ('away from both speaker and addressee') in [Stirtz 2012: 50]; cf. also the simpler forms n:si:n, n:si:n 'that, those (near addressee)' ibid.
86. THIS
Aka =e ~ =e (1), Molo =na (2), Kelo =eʔ ~ e-gai (1), Beni Sheko =ʔi (1), Gaam =nɛ (2).

References and notes:
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 =e-ɕi ~ =i-ɕi. However, an additional note states that 'the Molo forms are fairly uncertain'.
Kelo: Bender 1997: 207. Glossed as =ɛ ~ =ɛ-ɡəi in the earlier source [Bender 1989: 159]; the plural form 'these' is listed there as =e-gai-ɡəi.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.

87. THOU
Aka mi (1), Molo mi (1), Kelo in (1), Beni Sheko mi (1), Gaam ðn ~ ðːn (2).

References and notes:
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 - ʊːn). The possessive form 'your' is =ʊɛn (sg.), =ʊɛŋk (pl.) [Bender & Malik 1980: 154]. The paradigm in [Stirtz 2012: 78] is as follows: "long subject" ɛ-n, "short subject" ə object-O, dative -u-n, possessive prefix ð, etc.

88. TONGUE
Aka kala (1), Molo kəla (1), Kelo kəla (1), Beni Sheko kəla (1), Gaam kmédia (1).

References and notes:
Molo: Bender 1997: 207. Quoted as kəla in [Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12].
Kelo: Bender 1997: 207. Quoted as un=kəla 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.

89. TOOTH
Aka ɲiː-ɡəe (1), Molo ɲi-su (1), Kelo ɲiː-di (1), Beni Sheko ɲi-di (1), Gaam ɲiː-d (1).
90. TREE

Aka *kaça* (1), Molo *kasa* (1), Kelo *kaça* (1), Beni Sheko *kaça* (1), Gaam *güldû* (2).

91. TWO

Aka *wa:si* (1), Molo *wa:di* (1), Kelo *wa:di* (1), Beni Sheko *wadi* (1), Gaam *da:q* (2).
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 mɛ̀r- ‘to amble, go, hasten, hurry, be quick, be speedy’ [Bender & Malik 1980: 116]. Quoted as lɛ̀z- in [Stirtz 2012: 321]. 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 wɤ) show that it might, in fact, be the most frequent equivalent for the required Swadesh meaning. However, precise difference between the usage of lɛ̀z- and wɤ- has not been specially described in any publication, so we treat them as technical synonyms.

93. WARM
Aka luːɡe (1), Molo luː ~ luːwa (1), Kelo lua (1), Beni Sheko luː (1).

References and notes:

Molo: Bender 1997: 207. Meaning glossed as ‘warm’.
Gaam: Not properly attested. The closest equivalent is lʊːɬʊn, pl. lʊːɬʊn- ‘glowing, hot, shining’, an adjectival verb derived from lʊː ‘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. lʊːsʊ, pl. lʊːsʊ- ‘hot’ in [Stirtz 2012: 157].

94. WATER
Aka ɡi (1), Molo si (1), Kelo kiːʔ (2), Beni Sheko kiː (2), Gaam fɛː-g (3).

References and notes:

Aka: Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.
Molo: Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 12.
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.

95. WE
Aka ɛː-ɡi (1), Molo ɔy (1), Kelo ɔy (1), Beni Sheko iː-ʒe (1), Gaam ā-g-ˈān (1).

References and notes:

Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 38. Independent pronoun. Cf. also the subject prefix ă-; the object suffix -ăg- [ibid.]. The paradigm in [Stirtz 2012: 78] is as follows: "long subject" ă-ğgă, "short subject" ă-ğgă, dative ă-ğgăm, possessive prefix ă-ğg, etc.

96. WHAT
Aka i=ni (1), Molo ɲ (1), Kelo ɲ (1), Beni Sheko ɲi-ne (1), Gaam ɲ (1).

References and notes:

Molo: Bender 1997: 207. Also ɲi = nj in [Bender 1989: 170].
Kelo: Bender 1997: 207. Also nj in [Bender 1989: 170].
Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.

97. WHITE
Aka baːga (1), Molo ʃ (1), Kelo ʃ (1), Beni Sheko ebo (1), Gaam pɔː- ~ pɔː-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: 126. Plural: ɲiː-g. Quoted as sg. ɲiː, pl. ɲiː-g (unmarked form), sg. ɲiː-ɲ, pl. ɲiː-g (marked form) in [Stirtz 2012: 311].

98. WHO
Aka ɲ (1), Molo ɲ-ɲu (2), Kelo na=ɲai (1), Beni Sheko ɲai (1), Gaam ɲánă (1).

References and notes:

Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.

99. WOMAN
Aka ilemi (1), Molo adinělo (2), Kelo amloʔɲ (3), Beni Sheko amelemen (3), Gaam ʃd (4).
References and notes:

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

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 207. Plural: *adag'ile* [Bender 1997: 215]. Quoted as *adungela* 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-ːmi* [Bender 1997: 215] (the first component is 'people', see notes on 'person').


100. YELLOW

**Aka** *ŋergen* (1), **Molo** *kurkóm* (-1), **Kelo** *keriya* (2), **Beni Sheko** *bɛ:be* (3), **Gaam** *bjr* (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 *bjr, pl. bjr-g* 'yellow' in [Stirtz 2012: 155].

101. FAR

**Aka** *ruke* (1), **Molo** *rv:ko* (1), **Kelo** *yv:ŋa* (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 *gàl* - 'to be far, to be long' [Bender & Malik 1980: 79] (this is the basic equivalent for 'long' q.v.) = *gàil* 'far' in [Stirtz 2012: 49]; *tú-ti* '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:gu*t 'far' (Marno) in [Verri 1955: 301] (where the first part is probably a copula).

102. HEAVY

**Aka** *liːe* (1), **Molo** *liːo* (1), **Kelo** *liː̃a ~ liːd̪a* (1), **Gaam** *ïː-n* (2).

References and notes:

**Aka:** Bender 1997: 209.

**Molo:** Bender 1997: 209.
Beni Sheko: Not attested.
Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 86. Cf. ii, pl. ii-gg in [Stirtz 2012: 157]. Cf. iiddim ‘heavy’ (Marno) in [Verri 1955: 310] (not clear if this is the same word, mistranscribed, or something completely different).

103. NEAR
Aka le:gi (1), Molo lo:gi (1), Kelo le:nθ (1), Gaam tɛr (2).

References and notes:
Beni Sheko: Not attested.

104. SALT
Aka ka:gwɔ (1), Molo kaga ~ gaga (1), Kelo kako (1), Gaam bɔːt (2).

References and notes:
Beni Sheko: Not attested.

105. SHORT
Aka ledvr (1), Molo tɛ:sə (2), Kelo budullu (3), Gaam dɛːr (1).

References and notes:
Molo: Bender 1997: 210. Same word as ‘small’ q.v.
Beni Sheko: Not attested.

106. SNAKE
Aka ma:lagə (1), Molo ma:la (1), Kelo ma:la (1), Beni Sheko ma:la (1), Gaam dɔːr (2).
References and notes:


Kelo: Bender 1997: 207; Evans-Pritchard 1932: 11.

Beni Sheko: Bender 1997: 207.


107. THIN

Aka mɔɔl (1), Molo fulugo # (2), Kelo bɔdɔlu ~ bɔdɔyɔ (3), Beni Sheko de:de (4), Gaam dːr (5).

References and notes:

Aka: Bender 1997: 207.

Molo: Bender 1997: 207. Bender notes suspicious similarity with fulugo ‘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 kɛ- ‘be emaciated, be(come) slim, thin, weak’ [Bender & Malik 1980: 94] (probably said of people, but no diagnostic contexts are available) = kɛːn ‘thin’ in [Stirtz 2012: 49].

108. WIND

Aka ebɛɡu (1), Molo wɔxdi # (2), Kelo xbo (1), Gaam ʊː (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 xdi (idiomatic expression? the individual components, however, have not been identified).

Kelo: Bender 1997: 211.

Beni Sheko: Not attested.

Gaam: Bender & Malik 1980: 153. Plural: ʊː-g. Polysemy: ‘air / wind / storm, tempest / weather’. Quoted as ʊː ‘air’ in [Stirtz 2012: 37]. Cf. ou (Seligman) ‘wind’ in [Verri 1955: 308]. Other early sources list a different equivalent: eynṭo (De Pruyssenaere) ‘wind’ [Verri 1955: 304], ailu (Marno) ‘wind’ [Verri 1955: 301]. Both are clearly derived from the adjectival stem aːl- ‘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 ʊː 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, búlfəg ‘worm’ in [Stirtz 2012: 30].

110. YEAR
Akaɲɔːni (1), Molo mukʼəm (2), Kelo ɛsəna (-1), Gaam duː-d (3).

References and notes:

Beni Sheko: Not attested.