

Ethnologue: Languages of Eritrea

Twenty-sixth edition data

David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig, Editors

Based on information from the *Ethnologue*, 26th edition:

Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2023.
Ethnologue: Languages of the World. Twenty-sixth edition. Dallas, Texas:
SIL International. Online: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

For personal use only

Permission to distribute or reuse this work (in whole or in part)
may be obtained through the Copyright Clearance Center at
<http://www.copyright.com>.

Contents

List of Abbreviations	3
How to Use This Digest	4
Country Overview	6
Language Status Profile	7
Statistical Summaries	8
Alphabetical Listing of Languages	11
Language Map	15
Languages by Population	16
Languages by Status	18
Languages by Region	21
Languages by Family	22
Language Code Index	23
Language Name Index	24
Bibliography	27

Copyright © 2023 by SIL International

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, redistributed, or transmitted in any form or by any means—electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise—without the prior written permission of SIL International, with the exception of brief excerpts in articles or reviews.

List of Abbreviations

A	Agent in constituent word order
ACHPR	African Charter on Human Peoples' Rights (1987)
<i>alt.</i>	alternate name for
<i>alt. dial.</i>	alternate dialect name for
AOV	Agent-Object-Verb
C	Consonant in canonical syllable patterns
<i>Class</i>	Language classification
CSICH	Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)
<i>dial.</i>	primary dialect name for
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)
km	kilometer(s)
L1 / L2	first language / second (or other additional) language
<i>Lg Dev</i>	Language development
<i>Lg Use</i>	Language use
m	meter(s)
P	Patient in constituent word order
PARADISEC	Pacific And Regional Archive for Digital Sources In Endangered Cultures
<i>pej.</i>	pejorative
<i>pl.</i>	plural
S	Subject in constituent word order
<i>sg.</i>	singular
SIL	SIL International
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb
<i>Type</i>	Typological information
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
V	Vowel in canonical syllable patterns

How to Use This Digest

This *Ethnologue* country digest provides an extract of the information about the language situation in Eritrea that is published in the 26th edition of *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (see <http://www.ethnologue.com>), including some ways of presenting the information that are not available in the online version. The digest begins with a “Country Overview” (page 6) and “Statistical Summaries” (page 8) of languages and number of speakers by language size, by language status, and by language family.

The “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) provides detailed information on the 15 languages listed in the *Ethnologue* for the country of Eritrea. This includes languages that are indigenous to the country, languages that have developed well-established multigenerational speaker communities after immigrating in the past, and languages that have a significant presence in the country but are not established (that is, not being transmitted to the next generation within the country). A complete language entry has the following form and content:

Primary language name [ISO 639-3 code] (Alternate names). Autonym. *Users*: Country user population. Population stability comment. Population remarks. Monolingual population. Ethnic population. *Location*: Location. *Status*: EGIDS level. Special cases. Language function in country. *Class*: Linguistic classification. Macrolanguage membership. *Dialects*: Dialect names. Intelligibility and dialect relations. Lexical similarity. *Type*: Linguistic typology information. *Lg Use*: Remarks on use of the language. Domains of use. User age range. Language attitudes. Bilingualism remarks. Use as second language. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rates. Literacy remarks. Use in education. Publications and use in media. Revitalization efforts. Language development agencies. *DLS*: Digital support. *Writing*: Scripts used. *Other*: Non-indigenous. General remarks. Religion. *Worldwide*: Total population in all countries. Other countries where used.

See <http://www.ethnologue.com/methodology/#languagePages> for a full description of these information elements. If the autonym contains the “?” character, this indicates a complex non-Roman character that the PDF-creating software we are using is not able to render. We regret the inconvenience.

Many ways of finding languages are provided. “Languages by Population” (page 16) lists the languages in order of their first-language speaker populations. “Languages by Status” (page 18) lists the languages by their level of development or endangerment as measured on EGIDS, the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis and Simons 2010). “Languages by Region” (page 21) lists the top-level administrative subdivisions of Eritrea and the languages located within each. “Languages by Family” (page 22) lists the languages by their linguistic classifications. “Language Code Index” (page 23) gives an alphabetical listing of all the three-letter codes from ISO 639-3 that are used in this digest to uniquely identify languages. “Language Name Index” (page 24) lists every name that appears in the language listings as a primary or alternate name of a language or dialect. A total of 93 unique names are associated with the 15

languages described in this digest.

Finally, a listing of all the published sources cited within this digest is found in “Bibliography” (page 27). The published sources are cited using standard in-text citations enclosed in parentheses, consisting of the author’s or editor’s surname followed by the year of publication. Unpublished sources including personal communications and unpublished reports are also acknowledged when specific statements or facts are attributed to them. They are identified using in-text citations enclosed in parentheses in which the year of the communication is given first, followed by the source’s first initial and surname. In such a case, there is no corresponding entry in the bibliography.

This digest is designed for use in both digital and print formats. The cross-references are thus rendered as page numbers that are hyperlinks. When using the document in printed form, simply turn to the referenced page by number. When using it in digital form, click on the blue text to jump to the cross-referenced location.

If you believe any of the information about a language in this digest is in error or if you are able to supply missing information, please send your proposed change to the editor using one of the means given below. Provide as much information as possible about the source of your information. Full bibliographic details of published sources are especially helpful.

The preferred method of submitting corrections and additions is to join our Contributor Program by applying at <http://www.ethnologue.com/contributor-program>. With a contributor account you will be entitled to complimentary access to the website and will be able to use the Contribute tab on the page for a language or country in order to propose corrections and additions. The advantage of giving feedback in this way is that it becomes part of the public record on the website. You will also be automatically notified of the editorial action.

Alternatively, you may submit corrections and additions by e-mail to:

Ethnologue_Editor@sil.org

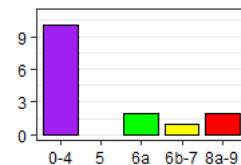
Or by post to:

Editor, Ethnologue
SIL International
7500 West Camp Wisdom Road
Dallas, TX 75236, U.S.A.

Country Overview

Name of country	Eritrea
Other names	State of Eritrea
Population	3,662,000 (2022 UNDESA)
Comments	Semenawi Key Bahri region includes Red Sea islands offshore from Massawa, mainly the Dahlak Archipelago. The Hanish Islands in the middle of the Red Sea are disputed between Eritrea and Yemen. Further south off of Aseb, Debubawi Key Bahri region includes Halba Island and associated islets.
Principal languages	English, Standard Arabic, Tigrigna
Literacy rate	77% (2018 UNESCO)
International conventions	ACHPR (1999), CSICH (2010), ICCPR (2002)
General references	

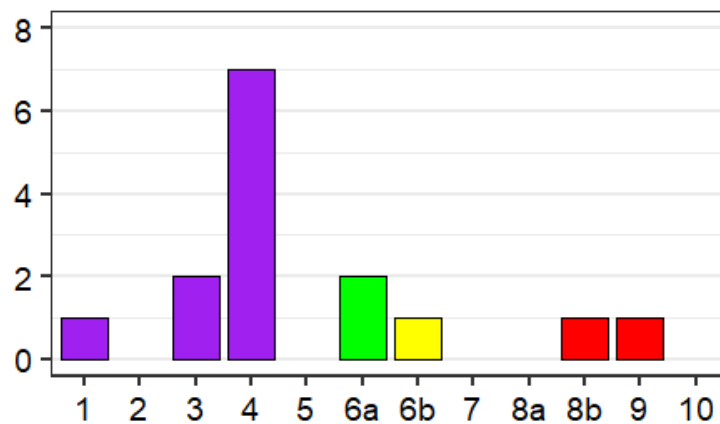
Language counts The number of established languages listed for Eritrea is 15. All are living languages. Of these, 9 are indigenous and 6 are non-indigenous. Furthermore, 10 are institutional, 2 are vigorous, 1 is in trouble, and 2 are dying.



See the next page for an explanation of the summary categories for language vitality used in the above counts and graph.

Language Status Profile

The following histogram gives a graphic profile of the established languages in Eritrea with respect to their status of language development versus language endangerment. This includes all of the languages appearing in the “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) that report an EGIDS level after *Status*; macrolanguages and unestablished languages are not included in the profile. The horizontal axis plots the estimated level of development or endangerment as measured on the EGIDS scale (Lewis and Simons 2010). The height of each bar indicates the number of languages that are estimated to be at the given level. Consult “Languages by Status” (page 18) in order to see the specific languages for each level.



The color coding of the bars in the histogram above matches the color scheme used in the summary profile graph on the preceding page. In this scheme, the EGIDS levels are grouped as follows:

- Purple = Institutional (EGIDS 0–4) — The language has been developed to the point that it is used and sustained by institutions beyond the home and community.
- Blue = Developing (EGIDS 5) — The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.
- Green = Vigorous (EGIDS 6a) — The language is in vigorous use among all generations and remains unstandardized.
- Yellow = In trouble (EGIDS 6b–7) — Intergenerational transmission is in the process of being broken, but the child-bearing generation can still use the language so it is possible that revitalization efforts could restore transmission of the language in the home.
- Red = Dying (EGIDS 8a–9) — The only fluent users (if any) are older than child-bearing age, so it is too late to restore natural intergenerational transmission through the home; a mechanism outside the home would need to be developed.
- Black = Extinct (EGIDS 10) — The language is no longer used and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language.

Statistical Summaries

The “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) provides a detailed listing of all the languages of Eritrea. This section steps back from the detail to offer a summary view of the language situation in the country. Specifically, it offers three numerical tabulations of the living established languages of Eritrea and their users: by language size, by language status, and by language family.

Summary by language size

Table 1 summarizes the distribution of living established languages in Eritrea by number of L1 speakers. The *Population range* column categorizes the sizes of the languages by order of magnitude (in terms of the number of digits in the population of first-language speakers). Consult “Languages by Population” (page 16) for a listing of the specific languages in each range category.

The *Count* column gives the number of living established languages within the specified population range. The *Percent* column gives the share of the count for that population range as a percentage of the total number of languages given at the bottom of the Count column. The *Cumulative* column gives the cumulative sum of the percentage of languages going from top to bottom in the column.

The *Total* column gives the total L1 population of all the languages in the given range category. The second *Percent* column gives the percentage of the total country population as estimated at the bottom of the Total column. Note that if the table has a row for Unknown, representing languages for which the *Ethnologue* does not have a population estimate, the calculation of population percentage is not able to take those languages into account. The final *Cumulative* column gives the cumulative sums of the population percentages going from top to bottom in the column.

Table 1: Distribution of languages by number of first-language speakers

Population range	Living languages			Number of speakers		
	Count	Percent	Cumulative	Total	Percent	Cumulative
1,000,000 to 9,999,999	1	6.7	6.7%	1,940,000	53.69945	53.69945%
100,000 to 999,999	5	33.3	40.0%	1,520,000	42.07380	95.77324%
10,000 to 99,999	3	20.0	60.0%	150,200	4.15756	99.93080%
1,000 to 9,999	1	6.7	66.7%	2,500	0.06920	100.00000%
0	1	6.7	73.3%		0.00000	100.00000%
Unknown	4	26.7	100.0%			
<i>Totals</i>	15	100.0		3,612,700	100.00000	

Summary by language status

Table 2 summarizes the distribution of living established languages in Eritrea by their status in terms of language development or language endangerment. The *EGIDS* column categorizes the languages by their level on the EGIDS scale. Consult “Languages by Status” (page 18) for a listing of the specific languages that have been assigned to each level. Note that the EGIDS level reported here is for the status of the language in Eritrea. Languages that are also used in other countries may be assigned to a different EGIDS level in those countries.

The next six columns are as in Table 1. In addition, the *Mean* column gives the average L1 population of all the languages with the given EGIDS level and the *Median* column gives the median L1 population for the languages at that level, that is, half of the languages at that level have a higher population and half have a lower population. If there are any languages with an unknown population, these are ignored in the calculation of the mean and the median.

Table 2: Distribution of languages by vitality status

EGIDS	Living languages			Number of speakers			Mean	Median
	Count	Percent	Cumulative	Total	Percent	Cumulative		
1	1	6.7	6.7%	Unknown				
3	2	13.3	20.0%	1,940,000	53.6994	53.6994%	970,000	1,940,000
4	7	46.7	66.7%	1,651,900	45.7248	99.4243%	235,986	143,000
6a	2	13.3	80.0%	18,300	0.5065	99.9308%	9,150	18,300
6b	1	6.7	86.7%	2,500	0.0692	100.0000%	2,500	2,500
8b	1	6.7	93.3%	Unknown				
9	1	6.7	100.0%		0.0000	100.0000%		
<i>Totals</i>	15	100.0		3,612,700	100.0000			

Summary by language family

The genealogical classifications given in the language entries of the “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) name 3 different top-level groups. Table 3 summarizes the distribution of living established languages and their L1 populations within these families. The columns are as for table 2, with the exception that *Cumulative* is excluded since there is no inherent ordering of the families.

Table 3: Distribution of languages by language family

Language family	Living languages		Number of speakers			
	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>
Afro-Asiatic	11	73.3	3,407,400	94.3	309,764	121,000
Indo-European	2	13.3	Unknown			
Nilo-Saharan	2	13.3	205,300	5.7	102,650	102,650
<i>Totals</i>	15	100.0	3,612,700	100.0		

Alphabetical Listing of Languages

Afar [aar] (Afaraf, Qafar, Qafar af, Qafaraf, ‘Afár af, “Danakil” *pej.*, “Denkel” *pej.*). Autonym: Qafar af. *Users*: 304,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Location*: Northern Red Sea and Southern Red Sea regions. *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic, East, Saho-Afar. *Dialects*: Central Afar, Northern Afar, Aussa, Ba’adu. *Type*: SOV; 17 consonants and 10 vowels (5 short and 5 long). *Lg Use*: Home, journalism, local administration. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Arabic [ara]. Used as L2 by Dahalik [dlk], Saho [ssy]. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L2: 8%. Taught in primary schools. Literature. Radio. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. Bible: 2013. *Writing*: Ethiopic script, used in Ethiopia. Latin script, used since 1840, primary usage. *Other*: Nomadic. Muslim. *Map*: 15:6. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 2,365,800 (as L1: 2,343,000; as L2: 22,800). Global EGIDS level: 2 (Provincial). Also indigenous in: Djibouti, Ethiopia.

Arabic, Hijazi Spoken [acw] (Rashaida, Rashida). *Users*: 18,300 in Eritrea (2022). Ethnic population: 80,000 (2010). *Location*: Northern Red Sea and Southern Red Sea regions. *Status*: 6a* (Vigorous). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. *Other*: Non-indigenous. The ethnic group, the Rashaida, migrated from Saudi Arabia to Eritrea in the 1840s. Muslim. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 10,795,700. Global EGIDS level: 5 (Developing). Indigenous in: Saudi Arabia. Also established in: United Arab Emirates. Unestablished in: Qatar, United States.

Arabic, Standard [arb]. *Users*: 2,420,000 in Eritrea (2015 SIL), all users. *Location*: Widespread. *Status*: 1 (National). De facto national language. *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic. *Type*: VSO; prepositions; noun head initial; gender (masculine/feminine); dual number; definite and indefinite affixes; case-marking (3 cases); verb affixes mark number, gender of subject; aspect; 28 consonant and 6 vowel phonemes; non-tonal; stress on first syllable; triliteral roots, few affixes. *Lg Use*: Media, literature, government, religion. Used by all. Positive attitudes. *Lg Dev*: Taught in primary schools. Fully developed. Bible: 1645–2008. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, primary usage. Braille script. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 273,989,700. Global EGIDS level: 0 (International). Indigenous in: Saudi Arabia. Also established in 30 other countries and unestablished in 1 more.

Arabic, Sudanese Spoken [apd] (Arabi). *Location*: Anseba and Gash-Barka regions: possibly Asmara and other urban communities. *Status*: 6a* (Vigorous). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic. *Lg Use*: Used as L2 by Tigré [tig]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Radio. TV. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 1978. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 42,373,370 (as L1: 33,373,370; as L2: 9,000,000). Global EGIDS level: 3 (Wider communication). Indigenous in: South Sudan, Sudan. Also established in: Egypt, Ethiopia. Unestablished in: Australia, Canada, Germany, Libya, Norway, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, United Arab Emirates, Yemen.

Bedawiyet [bej] (Bedauye, Bedawi, Bedawiye, Bedawye, Bedja, Bedwi, Bedyä, Bedäwie, Beja, Bidhaawet, Bidhaawyeet, Lobat, Tu Bdhaawi). *Users*: 121,000 in Eritrea (2022). *Location*: Gash-Barka region. *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic, North. *Dialects*: Hadareb (Hadaareb), Bisharin (Bisariab, Bissarin), Hadendoa (Hadendowa), Beni-Amir, Ababda, Amara. *Type*: SOV; postpositions; 2 genders (masculine, feminine); case-marking (3 cases); definite and indefinite articles; 21 consonants and 5 vowels; pitch stress. *Lg Use*: Home. Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Taught in primary schools. Literature. Radio. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. Bible portions: 2008–2010. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, limited usage. Latin script, used since 1990s, primary usage. *Other*: Muslim. *Map*: 15:1. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 2,424,000. Also indigenous in: Egypt, Sudan.

Bilen [byn] (Balän, Belen, Beleni, Bilayn, Bilein, Bilene, Bilenö, Bilin, Bogo, Bogos, North Agaw). *Users*: 69,600 in Eritrea (2022). *Location*: Anseba region: Keren town area. *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic, Central, Northern. *Dialects*: Senhit, T'aqwur. *Type*: SOV. *Lg Use*: Home. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Many also use Arabic [ara], especially in the code-switching of the younger population. Also use Kunama [kun]. Also use Nara [nrb]. Also use Tigré [tig], by 70% of the Muslim population. Also use Tigrigna [tir], by 60% of the Christian population. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L1: Females: 40%. Taught in some primary schools. Literature. Periodicals. Radio. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. NT: 2018. *DLS*: Emerging (0.11). *Writing*: Ethiopic script, unofficial usage. Latin script, used since 1990s, primary usage. *Other*: Muslim, Christian. *Map*: 15:3. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 72,350 (as L1: 71,940; as L2: 410). Unestablished in: Canada.

Dahalik [dlk] (Dahlak). *Users*: 2,500 (2012 J. McLaughlin). *Location*: Northern Red Sea region: Dahlak Archipelago. *Status*: 6b* (Threatened). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, South, Ethiopian, North. *Dialects*: None known. Reportedly similar to Tigré [tig]. *Lg Use*: Also use Afar [aar]. Also use Standard Arabic [arb]. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Map*: 15:5.

English [eng]. Autonym: English. *Location*: Widespread. *Status*: 3 (Wider communication). De facto national working language. *Class*: Indo-European, Germanic, West, English. *Type*: SVO; prepositions; genitives after noun heads; articles, adjectives, numerals before noun heads; question word initial; word order distinguishes subject, object, indirect objects, given and new information, topic and comment; active and passive; causative; comparative; consonant and vowel clusters; 24 consonants, 13 vowels, 8 diphthongs; non-tonal; free stress; phrasal verbs. *Lg Dev*: Taught in primary and secondary schools. Taught in all tertiary schools. Fully developed. Bible: 1382–2002. *Writing*: Braille script. Deseret Alphabet, developed in 1854 with limited usage until 1877. Duployan shorthand. Latin script, primary usage. Shavian (Shaw) script, no longer in use. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,456,448,320 (as L1: 379,682,200; as L2: 1,076,766,120). Global EGIDS level: 0 (International). Indigenous in: Ireland, United Kingdom. Also established in 167 other countries and unestablished in 16 more.

Geez [gez] (Ancient Ethiopic, Ethiopic, Ge'ez, Giiz). *Users*: No known L1 speakers in Eritrea. No ethnic community. *Location*: Widespread. *Status*: 9 (Second language only). *Class*: Afro-

Asiatic, Semitic, South, Ethiopian, North. *Type*: VSO. *Lg Use*: Liturgical language only. Orthodox Church. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. Bible: 400–1918. *Writing*: Ethiopic script. *Other*: Non-indigenous. Only few highly educated priests can understand the language. Christian. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: none known. Indigenous in: Ethiopia.

Italian [ita] (Italiano). Autonym: Italiano. *Users*: A few monolinguals. *Location*: Maekel region: Asmara area. *Status*: 8b (Nearly extinct). *Class*: Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Italo-Western, Italo-Dalmatian. *Type*: SVO; prepositions; gender (masculine/feminine); definite and indefinite articles; verb affixes mark person, number; passives; tense; comparatives; 23 consonant and 7 vowel phonemes; non-tonal; stress mostly on penultimate syllable. *Lg Use*: Elderly only. Shifted to Tigrigna [tir]. *Lg Dev*: Fully developed. Bible: 1471–1985. *Writing*: Braille script, used since 1974. Latin script, primary usage. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 67,935,480 (as L1: 64,647,380; as L2: 3,288,100). Global EGIDS level: 1 (National). Indigenous in: Croatia, Italy, San Marino, Slovenia, Switzerland. Also established in 11 other countries and unestablished in 35 more.

Kunama [kun] (Baada, Baaden, Baaza, Baazayn, Baazen, Bada, Baden, Baza, Bazan, Cunama, Diila). Autonym: Kunama. *Users*: 143,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Location*: Gash-Barka region: between Gash river and Ethiopia border; Aimara west of Barentu, Barka south of Barentu, Marda north, northeast, and east of Barentu, Barentu. *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Class*: Nilo-Saharan, Satellite-Core, Satellites, Kunama. *Dialects*: Barka (Berka), Marda, Aymasa (Aaimasa, Aimara, Oda), Tika (Lakatakura-Tika, Tiika), Ilit (Iliit, Iilit, Iliit), Bitama (Bitaama), Sokodasa (Sogadas, Sogodas), Takazze-Setiit (Setiit, Setit), Tigray. Bitama and Ilit are nearly unintelligible to other Kunama dialect speakers. Barka is largest and is intelligible to speakers of all others. *Type*: SOV; postpositions; case suffixes. *Lg Use*: Home. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Used as L2 by Bilen [byn], Nara [nrb]. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L1: Females: 21%. Literacy rate in L2: Low. Taught in primary schools. Literature. Radio. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. Bible: 2012. *DLS*: Emerging (0.04). *Writing*: Latin script, used since late 1800s. *Other*: Laka-Takura and Tika have been influenced by Arab culture and by the Beni-Amer. Traditional religion, Muslim. *Map*: 15:9. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 150,570 (as L1: 150,430; as L2: 140). Also established in: Ethiopia.

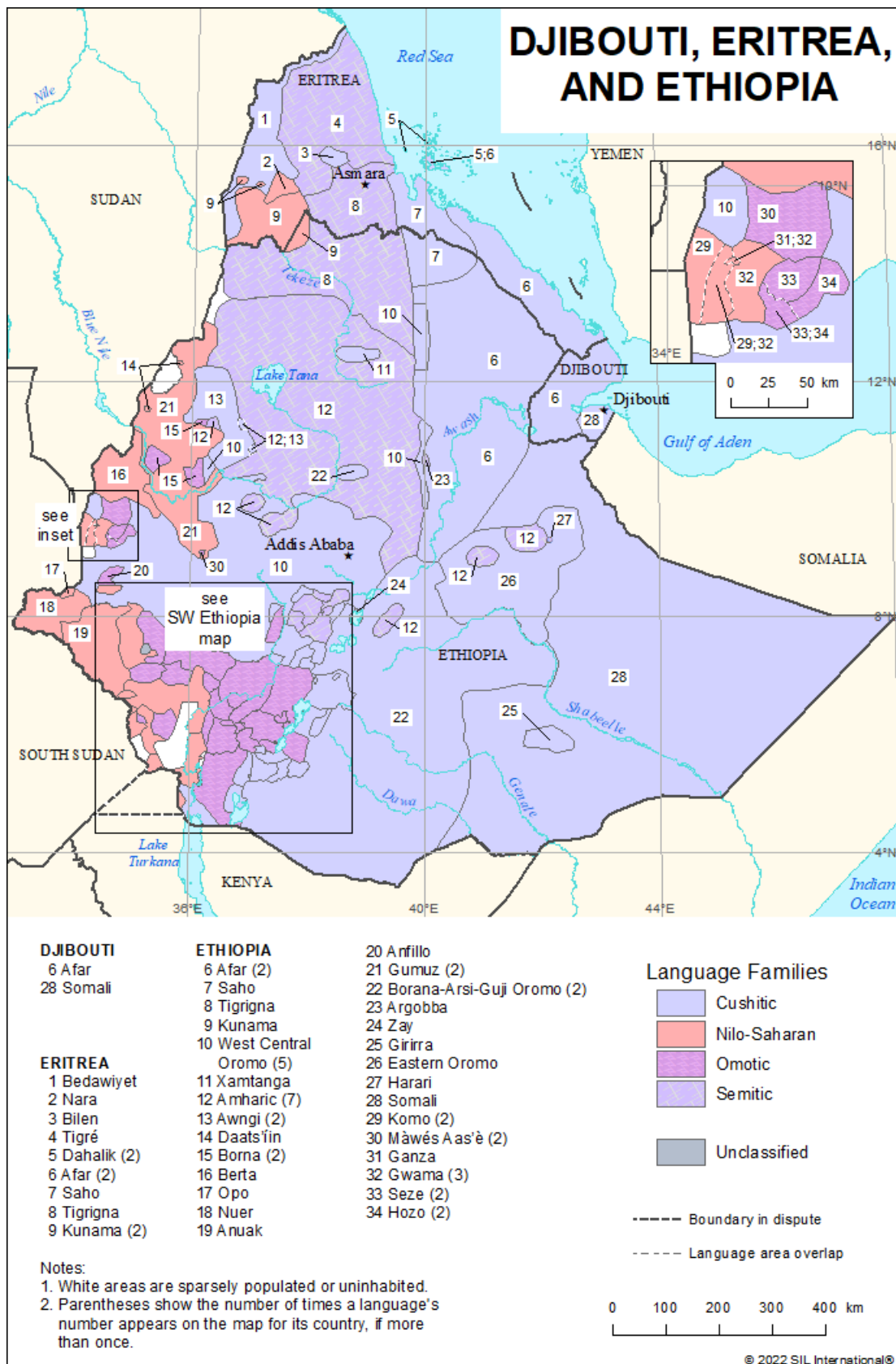
Nara [nrb] (Nara bana, Nera, “Barea” *pej.*, “Baria” *pej.*, “Barya” *pej.*). Autonym: Nara. *Users*: 62,300 (2022), increasing. *Location*: Gash-Barka region: north of Barentu. *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Class*: Nilo-Saharan, Satellite-Core, Core, Eastern Sudanic, Northern (k languages), Nara. *Dialects*: Higir, Koyta, Santora. Little intelligibility of Kunama [kun]. *Type*: SOV; case suffixes; passive verbs; reciprocal verbs. *Lg Use*: Home, community. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Kunama [kun], especially the Koyta. Also use Standard Arabic [arb], for intercommunication. Also use Tigré [tig], for intercommunication. Used as L2 by Bilen [byn]. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L1: Female: 21%. Most literate Nara use Arabic [arb]. Taught in some primary schools. Literature. Radio. Videos. Texts. *DLS*: Emerging (0.01). *Writing*: Latin script, used since 1988. *Other*: Considerable dialect variation within 4 main groups: Higir, Mogareb, Koyta, and Santora. Muslim. *Map*: 15:2.

Saho [ssy] (Sao, Shaho, Shiho, Shoho). Autonym: Saaho. *Users*: 146,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Location*: Debub, Northern Red Sea, and Southern Red Sea regions. *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic, East, Saho-Afar. *Dialects*: Irob dialect only in Ethiopia. Very similar to Afar [aar]. *Type*: SOV. *Lg Use*: Home, community. Used by all. Also use Afar [aar]. Also use Tigré [tig]. Also use Tigrigna [tir]. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L1: Females: about 30%. Literacy rate in L2: Below 5%. Taught in some primary schools. Literature. Radio. Videos. Dictionary. Texts. Bible portions: 1964. *DLS*: Emerging (0.02). *Writing*: Ethiopic script, official usage in Ethiopia. Latin script, official usage in Eritrea. *Other*: Ethnic group names are Asa'orta, Hadu (Hazu), Miniferi. Nomadic. Not accepting of outsiders. Muslim, Christian. *Map*: 15:7. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 182,180 (as L1: 178,800; as L2: 3,380). Also indigenous in: Ethiopia.

Tigré [tig]. *Users*: 806,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Location*: Anseba, Gash-Barka, and Northern Red Sea regions. Widespread except in Southern Red Sea region. *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, South, Ethiopian, North. *Dialects*: Mansa' (Mensa), Habab, Beni-Amir, Semhar, Algeden, Senhit (Ad-Tekleis, Ad-Temariam, Bet-Juk, Marya Kayah, Mensa). Between dialects, intelligibility is above 91% (Idris 2005); between Dahalik [dlk] and Tigré dialects: 24%–51% (Idris 2010). Lexical similarity: 71% with Ge'ez [gez], 64% with Tigrigna [tir] (Bender, M. 1971). Tigré dialectal lexical similarity is 86%–97% (Idris 2005); 55%–60% with Dahalik [dlk] and Tigré dialects (Idris 2010). *Type*: SOV. *Lg Use*: All domains. Used by all. Somewhat positive attitudes. Formerly they favored Arabic [arb]. Also use Sudanese Spoken Arabic [apd]. Also use Tigrigna [tir]. Used as L2 by Bilen [byn], Nara [nrb], Saho [ssy], Tigrigna [tir]. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L1: Females: about 30%. Taught in primary schools. Fully developed. Bible: 1988. *DLS*: Emerging (0.07). *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Ethiopic script, used since 1889, not written in Sudan. *Other*: Spoken by some Beni-Amer called Lobot. Other ethnic groups are Ad Aha, Geden Sikta, Iddifer, and Teroa Beit Mushe. Believed by some to be the direct linguistic descendant of Ge'ez [gez]. Incorrectly called Ge'ez. Muslim, Christian. *Map*: 15:4. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 825,000. Also indigenous in: Sudan.

Tigrigna [tir] (Habashi, Tigray, Tigrinya). *Users*: 1,940,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Location*: Widespread, especially south and central. *Status*: 3 (Wider communication). De facto national working language. *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, South, Ethiopian, North. *Type*: SOV; noun head final; gender (masculine/feminine); definite article; verb affixes mark person, number, gender of subject; passives; aspect; 33 consonant and 14 vowel phonemes. *Lg Use*: All domains. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Tigré [tig]. Used as L2 by Bilen [byn], Italian [ita], Saho [ssy], Tigré [tig]. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L1: 1%–10%. Literacy rate in L2: 5%–25%. Female: above 65%. Taught in primary and secondary schools. Fully developed. Bible: 1956. *DLS*: Vital (0.61). *Writing*: Ethiopic script, used since 13th or 14th century. *Other*: Christian, Muslim. *Map*: 15:8. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 8,829,790 (as L1: 8,667,590; as L2: 162,200). Also indigenous in: Ethiopia. Also established in: Israel. Unestablished in: Australia, Canada, Finland, Germany, Norway, Sudan, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States.

Language Map



Languages by Population

In this section the languages of Eritrea are listed in order of their population of first-language speakers within the country, from highest to lowest. The entries report just the population and status elements.

1,000,000 to 9,999,999

Tigrigna [[tir](#)] *Users*: 1,940,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Status*: 3 (Wider communication). De facto national working language. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 8,829,790 (as L1: 8,667,590; as L2: 162,200).

100,000 to 999,999

Tigré [[tig](#)] *Users*: 806,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 825,000.

Afar [[aar](#)] *Users*: 304,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 2,365,800 (as L1: 2,343,000; as L2: 22,800).

Saho [[ssy](#)] *Users*: 146,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 182,180 (as L1: 178,800; as L2: 3,380).

Kunama [[kun](#)] *Users*: 143,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 150,570 (as L1: 150,430; as L2: 140).

Bedawiyet [[bej](#)] *Users*: 121,000 in Eritrea (2022). *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 2,424,000.

10,000 to 99,999

Bilen [[byn](#)] *Users*: 69,600 in Eritrea (2022). *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 72,350 (as L1: 71,940; as L2: 410).

Nara [[nrb](#)] *Users*: 62,300 (2022), increasing. *Status*: 4 (Educational).

Arabic, Hijazi Spoken [[acw](#)] *Users*: 18,300 in Eritrea (2022). Ethnic population: 80,000 (2010). *Status*: 6a* (Vigorous). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 10,795,700.

1,000 to 9,999

Dahalik [[dlk](#)] *Users*: 2,500 (2012 J. McLaughlin). *Status*: 6b* (Threatened).

0

Geez [[gez](#)] *Users*: No known L1 speakers in Eritrea. Ethnic population: No ethnic community.

Status: 9 (Second language only). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: none known.

Unknown

Arabic, Standard [[arb](#)] *Users:* 2,420,000 in Eritrea (2015 SIL), all users. *Status:* 1 (National). De facto national language. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 273,989,700.

Arabic, Sudanese Spoken [[apd](#)] *Status:* 6a* (Vigorous). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 42,373,370 (as L1: 33,373,370; as L2: 9,000,000).

English [[eng](#)] *Status:* 3 (Wider communication). De facto national working language. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,456,448,320 (as L1: 379,682,200; as L2: 1076,766,120).

Italian [[ita](#)] *Users:* A few monolinguals. *Status:* 8b (Nearly extinct). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 67,935,480 (as L1: 64,647,380; as L2: 3,288,100).

Languages by Status

In this section the languages of Eritrea are listed in order of their status within the country as represented by their level on the EGIDs scale (Lewis and Simons 2010). The language entries are reduced to just the information elements that are relevant to assessing the EGIDS level: population, status, language use, language development, and writing.

1 (National)

Arabic, Standard [[arb](#)] *Users:* 2,420,000 in Eritrea (2015 SIL), all users. *Status:* De facto national language. *Lg Use:* Media, literature, government, religion. Used by all. Positive attitudes. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant, primary usage. Braille script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 273,989,700.

3 (Wider communication)

English [[eng](#)] *Status:* De facto national working language. *Writing:* Braille script. Deseret Alphabet, developed in 1854 with limited usage until 1877. Duployan shorthand. Latin script, primary usage. Shavian (Shaw) script, no longer in use. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,456,448,320 (as L1: 379,682,200; as L2: 1076,766,120).

Tigrigna [[tir](#)] *Users:* 1,940,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Status:* De facto national working language. *Lg Use:* All domains. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Tigré [[tig](#)]. Used as L2 by Bilen [[byn](#)], Italian [[ita](#)], Saho [[ssy](#)], Tigré [[tig](#)]. *Lg Dev:* Fully developed. Bible: 1956. *Writing:* Ethiopic script, used since 13th or 14th century. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 8,829,790 (as L1: 8,667,590; as L2: 162,200).

4 (Educational)

Afar [[aar](#)] *Users:* 304,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Lg Use:* Home, journalism, local administration. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Arabic [[ara](#)]. Used as L2 by Dahalik [[dlk](#)], Saho [[ssy](#)]. *Writing:* Ethiopic script, used in Ethiopia. Latin script, used since 1840, primary usage. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 2,365,800 (as L1: 2,343,000; as L2: 22,800).

Bedawiyet [[bej](#)] *Users:* 121,000 in Eritrea (2022). *Lg Use:* Home. Used by all. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant, limited usage. Latin script, used since 1990s, primary usage. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 2,424,000.

Bilen [[byn](#)] *Users:* 69,600 in Eritrea (2022). *Lg Use:* Home. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Many also use Arabic [[ara](#)], especially in the code-switching of the younger population. Also use Kunama [[kun](#)]. Also use Nara [[nrb](#)]. Also use Tigré [[tig](#)], by 70% of the Muslim population. Also use Tigrigna [[tir](#)], by 60% of the Christian population. *Lg Dev:* Literature. Periodicals.

Radio. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. NT: 2018. *Writing*: Ethiopic script, unofficial usage. Latin script, used since 1990s, primary usage. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 72,350 (as L1: 71,940; as L2: 410).

Kunama [kun] *Users*: 143,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Lg Use*: Home. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Used as L2 by Bilen [byn], Nara [nrb]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Radio. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. Bible: 2012. *Writing*: Latin script, used since late 1800s. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 150,570 (as L1: 150,430; as L2: 140).

Nara [nrb] *Users*: 62,300 (2022), increasing. *Lg Use*: Home, community. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Kunama [kun], especially the Koyta. Also use Standard Arabic [arb], for intercommunication. Also use Tigré [tig], for intercommunication. Used as L2 by Bilen [byn]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Radio. Videos. Texts. *Writing*: Latin script, used since 1988.

Saho [ssy] *Users*: 146,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Lg Use*: Home, community. Used by all. Also use Afar [aar]. Also use Tigré [tig]. Also use Tigrigna [tir]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Radio. Videos. Dictionary. Texts. Bible portions: 1964. *Writing*: Ethiopic script, official usage in Ethiopia. Latin script, official usage in Eritrea. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 182,180 (as L1: 178,800; as L2: 3,380).

Tigré [tig] *Users*: 806,000 in Eritrea (2022), increasing. *Lg Use*: All domains. Used by all. Somewhat positive attitudes. Formerly they favored Arabic [arb]. Also use Sudanese Spoken Arabic [apd]. Also use Tigrigna [tir]. Used as L2 by Bilen [byn], Nara [nrb], Saho [ssy], Tigrigna [tir]. *Lg Dev*: Fully developed. Bible: 1988. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Ethiopic script, used since 1889, not written in Sudan. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 825,000.

6a (Vigorous)

Arabic, Hijazi Spoken [acw] *Users*: 18,300 in Eritrea (2022). Ethnic population: 80,000 (2010). *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 10,795,700.

Arabic, Sudanese Spoken [apd] *Lg Use*: Used as L2 by Tigré [tig]. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 42,373,370 (as L1: 33,373,370; as L2: 9,000,000).

6b (Threatened)

Dahalik [dlk] *Users*: 2,500 (2012 J. McLaughlin). *Lg Use*: Also use Afar [aar]. Also use Standard Arabic [arb]. *Writing*: Unwritten.

8b (Nearly extinct)

Italian [ita] *Users*: A few monolinguals. *Lg Use*: Elderly only. Shifted to Tigrigna [tir]. *Writing*: Braille script, used since 1974. Latin script, primary usage. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 67,935,480 (as L1: 64,647,380; as L2: 3,288,100).

9 (Second language only)

Geez [gez] *Users:* No known L1 speakers in Eritrea. Ethnic population: No ethnic community. *Lg Use:* Liturgical language only. Orthodox Church. *Writing:* Ethiopic script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: none known.

Languages by Region

This index gives an alphabetical listing of the top-level administrative subdivisions within Eritrea. Under the name of each region is a list of the language communities that are located within its area.

Anseba

Arabic, Sudanese Spoken [apd], 11

Bilen [byn], 12

Tigré [tig], 14

Debub

Saho [ssy], 14

Gash-Barka

Arabic, Sudanese Spoken [apd], 11

Bedawiyet [bej], 12

Kunama [kun], 13

Nara [nrb], 13

Tigré [tig], 14

Maekel

Italian [ita], 13

Northern Red Sea

Afar [aar], 11

Arabic, Hijazi Spoken [acw], 11

Dahalik [dlk], 12

Saho [ssy], 14

Tigré [tig], 14

Southern Red Sea

Afar [aar], 11

Arabic, Hijazi Spoken [acw], 11

Saho [ssy], 14

Languages by Family

This index gives an alphabetical listing of the linguistic classifications used for the established languages of Eritrea. The entries in this index represent the full path in the linguistic family tree from the highest level grouping down to the lowest. All the languages listed in the same entry are members of the same lowest-level subgroup. The referenced page contains the main entry that describes the language.

Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic, Central, Northern

Bilen [byn], [12](#)

Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic, East, Saho-Afar

Afar [aar], [11](#)

Saho [ssy], [14](#)

Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic, North

Bedawiyet [bej], [12](#)

Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic

Arabic, Hijazi Spoken [acw], [11](#)

Arabic, Standard [arb], [11](#)

Arabic, Sudanese Spoken [apd], [11](#)

Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, South, Ethiopian, North

Dahalik [dlk], [12](#)

Geez [gez], [12](#)

Tigré [tig], [14](#)

Tigrigna [tir], [14](#)

Indo-European, Germanic, West, English

English [eng], [12](#)

Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Italo-Western, Italo-Dalmatian

Italian [ita], [13](#)

Nilo-Saharan, Satellite-Core, Core, Eastern Sudanic, Northern (k languages), Nara

Nara [nrb], [13](#)

Nilo-Saharan, Satellite-Core, Satellites, Kunama

Kunama [kun], [13](#)

Language Code Index

This index gives an alphabetical listing of all 15 three-letter codes that are used in this work to uniquely identify languages. The referenced page contains the main entry that describes the language. All codes listed are part of the ISO 639-3 standard; see <http://www.sil.org/iso639-3/>.

aar	Afar, 11	gez	Geez, 12
acw	Arabic, Hijazi Spoken, 11	ita	Italian, 13
apd	Arabic, Sudanese Spoken, 11	kun	Kunama, 13
arb	Arabic, Standard, 11	nrb	Nara, 13
bej	Bedawiyet, 12	ssy	Saho, 14
byn	Bilen, 12	tig	Tigré, 14
dlk	Dahalik, 12	tir	Tigrigna, 14
eng	English, 12		

Language Name Index

This index lists every name that appears in the language listings as a primary or alternate name of a language or dialect. The following abbreviations are used in the index entries: *alt.* ‘alternate name for’; *alt. dial.* ‘alternate name for a dialect of’; *dial.* ‘primary name for a dialect of’; *pej. alt.* ‘pejorative alternate name for’; and *pej. alt. dial.* ‘pejorative alternate name for a dialect of’. Each index entry resolves to the primary name for the language with which the indexed name is associated, followed by square brackets containing the unique three-letter language code from ISO 639-3. The referenced page contains the main entry that describes the language. If the language appears on a map, the entry for the primary name also lists page numbers for the maps on which the language occurs.

- Aaimasa**, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
Ababda, *dial.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
Ad-Tekleis, *alt. dial.* Tigré [tig], 14
Ad-Temariam, *alt. dial.* Tigré [tig], 14
Afar [aar], 11, 15
 ‘**Afár af**, *alt.* Afar [aar], 11
Afaraf, *alt.* Afar [aar], 11
Aimara, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
Algeden, *dial.* Tigré [tig], 14
Amara, *dial.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
Ancient Ethiopic, *alt.* Geez [gez], 12
Arabi, *alt.* Arabic, Sudanese Spoken [apd], 11
Arabic, Hijazi Spoken [acw], 11
 see Arabic, Hijazi Spoken [acw], 11
Arabic, Standard [arb], 11
 see Arabic, Standard [arb], 11
Arabic, Sudanese Spoken [apd], 11
 see Arabic, Sudanese Spoken [apd], 11
Aussa, *dial.* Afar [aar], 11
Aymasa, *dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
Baada, *alt.* Kunama [kun], 13
Baaden, *alt.* Kunama [kun], 13
Ba’adu, *dial.* Afar [aar], 11
Baaza, *alt.* Kunama [kun], 13
Baazayn, *alt.* Kunama [kun], 13
Baazen, *alt.* Kunama [kun], 13
Bada, *alt.* Kunama [kun], 13
Baden, *alt.* Kunama [kun], 13
Balen, *alt.* Bilen [byn], 12
Barea, *pej. alt.* Nara [nrb], 13
Baria, *pej. alt.* Nara [nrb], 13
Barka, *dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
Barya, *pej. alt.* Nara [nrb], 13
Baza, *alt.* Kunama [kun], 13
Bazen, *alt.* Kunama [kun], 13
Beḍauye, *alt.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
Bedawi, *alt.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
Bedàwie, *alt.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
Bedawiye, *alt.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
Bedawiyet [bej], 12, 15
Bedawye, *alt.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
Bedja, *alt.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
Bedwi, *alt.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
Bedya, *alt.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
Beja, *alt.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
Belen, *alt.* Bilen [byn], 12
Beleni, *alt.* Bilen [byn], 12
Beni-Amir, *dial.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
 dial. Tigré [tig], 14
Berka, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
Bet-Juk, *alt. dial.* Tigré [tig], 14
Bidhaweet, *alt.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12

- Bidhaawyeet**, *alt.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
- Bilayn**, *alt.* Bilen [byn], 12
- Bilein**, *alt.* Bilen [byn], 12
- Bilen** [byn], 12, 15
- Bilene**, *alt.* Bilen [byn], 12
- Bileno**, *alt.* Bilen [byn], 12
- Bilin**, *alt.* Bilen [byn], 12
- Bisariab**, *alt. dial.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
- Bisarin**, *alt. dial.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
- Bisharin**, *dial.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
- Bitama**, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
- Bitama**, *dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
- Blin**, *alt.* Bilen [byn], 12
- Bogo**, *alt.* Bilen [byn], 12
- Bogos**, *alt.* Bilen [byn], 12
- Central Afar**, *dial.* Afar [aar], 11
- Cunama**, *alt.* Kunama [kun], 13
- Dahalik** [dlk], 12, 15
- Dahlak**, *alt.* Dahalik [dlk], 12
- Danakil**, *pej. alt.* Afar [aar], 11
- Denkel**, *pej. alt.* Afar [aar], 11
- Diila**, *alt.* Kunama [kun], 13
- English** [eng], 12
- Ethiopic**, *alt.* Geez [gez], 12
- Geez** [gez], 12
- Ge'ez**, *alt.* Geez [gez], 12
- Giiz**, *alt.* Geez [gez], 12
- Habab**, *dial.* Tigré [tig], 14
- Habashi**, *alt.* Tigrigna [tir], 14
- Hadaareb**, *alt. dial.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
- Hadareb**, *dial.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
- Hadendoa**, *dial.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
- Hadendowa**, *alt. dial.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
- Higir**, *dial.* Nara [nrb], 13
- lilliit**, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
- lilit**, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
- lliit**, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
- Ilit**, *dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
- Italian** [ita], 13
- Italiano**, *alt.* Italian [ita], 13
- Khasa**, *pej. alt.* Tigré [tig], 14
- Koyta**, *dial.* Nara [nrb], 13
- Kunama** [kun], 13, 15
- Lakatakura-Tika**, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
- Lobat**, *alt.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12
- Mansa'**, *dial.* Tigré [tig], 14
- Marda**, *dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
- Marya Kayah**, *alt. dial.* Tigré [tig], 14
- Mensa**, *alt. dial.* Tigré [tig], 14
- Nara** [nrb], 13, 15
- Nara bana**, *alt.* Nara [nrb], 13
- Nera**, *alt.* Nara [nrb], 13
- North Agaw**, *alt.* Bilen [byn], 12
- Northern Afar**, *dial.* Afar [aar], 11
- Odasa**, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
- Qafar**, *alt.* Afar [aar], 11
- Qafar af**, *alt.* Afar [aar], 11
- Qafaraf**, *alt.* Afar [aar], 11
- Rashaida**, *alt.* Arabic, Hijazi Spoken [acw], 11
- Rashida**, *alt.* Arabic, Hijazi Spoken [acw], 11
- Saaho**, *alt.* Saho [ssy], 14
- Saho** [ssy], 14, 15
- Santora**, *dial.* Nara [nrb], 13
- Sao**, *alt.* Saho [ssy], 14
- Semhar**, *dial.* Tigré [tig], 14
- Senhit**, *dial.* Bilen [byn], 12
dial. Tigré [tig], 14
- Setiit**, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
- Setit**, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
- Shaho**, *alt.* Saho [ssy], 14
- Shiho**, *alt.* Saho [ssy], 14
- Shoho**, *alt.* Saho [ssy], 14
- Sogadas**, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13
- Sogodas**, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13

Sokodasa, *dial.* Kunama [kun], 13

Takazze-Setiit, *dial.* Kunama [kun], 13

T'aqwur, *dial.* Bilen [byn], 12

Tigray, *alt.* Tigrigna [tir], 14

dial. Kunama [kun], 13

Tigré [tig], 14, 15

Tigrigna [tir], 14, 15

Tigrinya, *alt.* Tigrigna [tir], 14

Tiika, *alt. dial.* Kunama [kun], 13

Tika, *dial.* Kunama [kun], 13

Tu Bdhaawi, *alt.* Bedawiyet [bej], 12

Xasa, *pej. alt.* Tigré [tig], 14

Bibliography

- Bender, M. L. 1971. The languages of Ethiopia. *Anthropological Linguistics* 13(5):165–288.
- Idris, M. S. 2005. Tigré dialects. *Journal of Eritrean Studies* 5(1):45–73.
- Idris, M. S. 2010. Is Dahalik a dialect of Tigré? In G. Lusini (ed.), *Proceedings of the international workshop on history and language of the Tigré-speaking peoples*. Studi Africanisti: Serie Etiopica 8. Naples: Università degli studi di Napoli “L’orientale.
- Lewis, M. P. and G. F. Simons. 2010. Assessing endangerment: Expanding Fishman’s GIDS. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 55(2):103–120. http://www.lingv.ro/RRL_2_2010_art01Lewis.pdf. Accessed 11 January 2011.