

**THE KAINJI LANGUAGES**

**of**

**NORTHWESTERN and CENTRAL**

**NIGERIA**



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To the memory of Clark Regnier (1962) whose survey work initiated this project



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## **Preface**

This study originally began as an attempt to make sense of the field data collected by Clark Regnier, a young SIL researcher who died in 1992 as the result of a road accident in NW Nigeria. Photographs of Clark, kindly supplied by Ann Regnier, appear on the title page. Clark had begun to survey the Kainji languages and just prior to his unexpected death had started to put together his datasheets. We owe their preservation, together with the original computer text file, to Steve and Sonia Dettweiler, who kindly passed them to me along with some of the original wordlists. In view of the large amount of unpublished data now available on the Kainji languages, it seemed to be useful to try and synthesise this material and put it into some sort of order. However, the growth of the project has also meant that much of the original source material has now been supplanted by more modern transcriptions.

Roger Blench first had the opportunity to listen to a Kainji language (Kambari) in 1980, when visiting David and Liz Crozier in Salka. Since then he has visited and surveyed various languages rather sporadically over the years. However, with the availability of funding from the Kay Williamson Educational Foundation it has been possible to carry out systematic survey with a view to a comprehensive overview of this family. Stuart McGill began work on the Cicipu language in 2006 and became actively involved in the field survey and analysis of the wider Kainji group in 2008.

Beginning in 2008, the Kay Williamson Educational Foundation has sponsored a series of workshops in Kontagora, focusing on the West Kainji languages. These were held in 2008, 2010, 2012 and another in the series is projected in 2014. These have proved invaluable in bringing together researchers and teams working on language development, to discuss both problems of analysis and practical problems.

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11 May 2012

## **Acknowledgments**

Individual assistants and informants for particular languages are listed in the Appendix and acknowledged in particular chapters, as well as in the Appendix. However, we would like to thank a large number of people for discussion, access to unpublished materials, and help in the field. These include Steve and Sonia Dettweiler, David Heath, David & Liz Crozier, Robert and Joyce Hyslop, John Nengel, Barau Kato, James McDonnell and Gareth and Katherine Mort.

## **1. Introduction: the Kainji languages**

The West Kainji languages are a set of some thirty languages or lects spoken in northwestern Nigeria and the East Kainji languages a similar-sized group spoken north and west of the Jos Plateau. Because of their extremely diverse lexicon and morphology, it is only comparatively recently that their unity has been recognised. They form a branch of the Benue-Congo family, itself a major division of Niger-Congo and their nearest relatives are the Plateau and Jukunoid branches of Benue-Congo. Typologically, they are difficult to characterise, but some of the more conservative branches have both nominal and verbal morphology highly reminiscent of Bantu (as indeed the –tu root for ‘person’). This strongly suggests that many of the characteristics we usually attribute to Bantu must be considerably older, and that developments in Plateau and Jukunoid have tended to obscure this link.

Kainji languages are spoken in quite inaccessible areas, and even today, many languages are reached only through arduous motorbike trails. This explains why even establishing a comprehensive list of these languages is still under way. At the same time, there has been considerable progress in the development of individual languages, strongly associated with literacy and bible translation projects. Nonetheless, their official profile is slight, with virtually no teaching of the languages in schools and no broadcasts in media such as radio and television.

It therefore seems worthwhile to try and bring the attention of the world linguistic community to the Kainji languages, as well as providing basic information to speakers themselves. The study is thus divided into three volumes, as follows;

1. General survey of the West Kainji languages and phonological summary of individual languages
2. Comparative wordlist with etymological commentary
3. Analysis and reconstruction of proto-Kainji lexicon

The morphology and syntax of Kainji languages are patchily known at best. Because nominal plurals are easily collected, it is possible to say much more about noun classes than for example verbal extensions. For languages such as Shen, which have lost almost all their morphology, our knowledge will inevitably be sketchy. As a result, the text will summarise what is known for individual languages with the caveat that much more needs to be filled in.

The human geography of Kainji-speaking peoples is also very striking. As Map 1 shows, there are outliers of Kainji spoken near Makurdi far from the homeland area. It is likely that the dispersal of the Basa peoples is a consequence of the destructive effects of the nineteenth century slave-raiding era, although this is not confirmed by recorded oral traditions. However, the twentieth century has also seen important migrations. The Hun-Saare peoples have formed a number of colonies remote from their home area to take advantage of improved farmland. As far as possible, these outliers are shown in the maps accompanying the text.

The comparative ethnography of the Kainji-speaking peoples remains very poorly known, and we often depend on old colonial intelligence reports or locally published materials. Even the few ethnographic monographs that have been published (e.g. Ces 19xx) are of limited value. The text will thus try to summarise existing knowledge and bibliographic references, pending further investigation.

Oral traditions have been collected in a number of areas and these have occasionally been published (e.g. ref). These are of interest when they deal with local migrations or concern the history of conflicts with slave-raiders. However, in recent times there has been a growth of untrustworthy traditions that reflect current political and religious concerns rather than the genuine oral record.

Much can be deduced from historical linguistics concerning the prehistory, migrations and spread of cultural items. Not all the lexical items chosen are even likely candidates for reconstruction to proto-Kainji, but are included for their historical potential. For example, the New World food crops, such as cassava and maize must have spread in the region over the last few centuries; linguistics should be able to tell us from which direction they were borrowed and approximately when. More intriguing are items of uncertain antiquity such



as the horse and iron, which were apparently introduced in the last two thousand years but which cannot be reconstructed to proto-Kainji. This study can hope to throw some light on their diffusion in the region.

## **1.2 Existing materials and survey work**

Lexical material on individual languages is summarised in individual sections. However, the first attempt to compile a comparative wordlist was the work of Clark Regnier, a young SIL linguist who began surveys in the late 1980s. Clark was unfortunately the victim of a fatal motor accident in 1992. He had compiled most of his wordlist data, using the somewhat laborious text editing systems available at the period. Luckily, he also made a printout which shows what special characters were intended. Through the good offices of Steve and Sonia Dettweiler, the computer files were saved and made available, as well as some individual wordlists which were not integrated with the existing dataset.

Roger Blench first edited Clark Regnier's material into tables and then began the laborious process of converting all the special characters first to IPA and then Unicode. Clark's original list compiled every source he could find, of whatever quality, but things have moved on since the data was first collected. Since new, tone-marked data is now available for many languages, it is useful to cite one authoritative source rather than several doubtful ones. In addition, the original order of the list (which was not a standard one) was by semantic fields without regard to part of speech, in other words, 'burn', 'fire' and 'hot' would be tabulated together. This has advantages for elicitation and for spotting etymologies, but in view of the complex comparative morphology of West Kainji, an arrangement by parts of speech, placing all the nouns together, seemed to be more useful. The nouns are then subclassified by broad semantic fields, such as persons, animals, household objects etc. The comparative wordlist intended for Volume II appended is transitional; its re-arrangement is not yet complete.

Another area where the original wordlist had curious lacunae was in the choice of items. Not all researchers collect according to the same list, and not all words are equally useful. Cultural words or recently introduced things often show rather unusual patterns and are less use for developing comparisons. They are, however, important for tracing innovation and the adoption of new technologies, ideas or products. There are some omissions that seemed difficult to explain, such as basic pronouns. So we have now added whatever new items are well-documented and shifted to an appendix those of doubtful value, such as ethnonyms. Given the scattered geography of the Kainji languages, these would never form a complete set and are valuable principally for cultural historical purposes.

From the dry season of 2010, a joint programme to physically visit and record the speech of as many Kainji communities as possible has been undertaken by Roger Blench and Stuart McGill. The audio files are being posted on the web, as well as supporting materials, such as images of the communities and additional documents, or links to documents. We are also re-recording data on existing languages. For example, there exist orthographic dictionaries of three Kambari languages. To make these useful, establishing tone and vowel length is essential.

A structural problem with any synthesis of the Kainji languages relates to the opposition between East and West Kainji. The literature has characteristically divided Kainji into these two groups; but the evidence for this is non-existent. Kainji is thus treated as a single branch of Benue-Congo. However, East Kainji consists of numerous languages, closely related to one another, but poorly documented. To include them in the present survey in the same detail would not only require extensive additional fieldwork, but also make the process unfeasibly lengthy. The solution has been to include a summary of current research on East Kainji and a sample of better-documented languages, pending a full survey.

## **2. Overview of the Kainji languages**

### **2.1 General**

The first lexical list of a Kainji language appears to be the *Kambali* lists in Koelle (1854). The first intimation that these were part of a linguistic group is in 1919, when Johnston (1919-22, I:732-746) noted that the noun-class systems of the 'Semi-Bantu' languages of northwestern Nigeria showed marked resemblances to those of the Bantu languages and published comparative wordlists linking Kamuku, Gurmana and Basa. Thomas (in Meek 1925, II:137) put the known West Kainji languages into 'Nigerian Semi-Bantu' but joined Lopa and

Laru with Bariba in ‘Volta’ i.e. Gur. In the 1950s, Westermann and Bryan (1952:70) largely followed Thomas, although recognising that Kambari, Hun-Saare [Duka], and possibly Kamuku and Lela [Dakakari] were grouped together. These languages were then listed in the catch-all category ‘class languages’ under the general heading of ‘isolated units’. The recognition that the group now known as West Kainji forms a genetic unit is due to Bertho (1952:264-6) who asserted its coherence on the basis of unpublished wordlists. Bertho rejected the Gur affiliations of Lopa and Laru proposed by Thomas and stated that the affiliations of the ‘*groupe Kamberi*’ were with central Nigerian Plateau languages. A nearly simultaneous classification was proposed by Greenberg (1955) who created a large Plateau group encompassing what would now called East and West Kainji (as Plateau 1a and b) as well as Tarokoid and Jukunoid.

Rowlands (1962) first demonstrated the links between some languages of the Jos region with the Benue-Congo languages of northwestern Nigeria but proposed no clear genetic model to account for this situation. The division of Plateau 1 languages into Eastern and Western appears first in the appendix to the Index of Nigerian Languages (Hansford *et al.* 1976). This was based on a classification developed by Carl Hoffmann and distributed only in mimeo. Hoffman split Western Plateau into 1a and 1b, and his 1a includes the main groups of languages in north-western Nigeria. The term Kainji was informally introduced in the 1980s but was established in article on Plateau in the reference volume on Niger-Congo published at the end of the decade (Gerhardt 1989). The new information on Kainji in Gerhardt was based largely on an unpublished conference paper<sup>1</sup> (Blench 1988), but no evidence was put forward to support the classification published. Since that date there has been a significant expansion of field data, most of it still in manuscript<sup>2</sup>.

## **2.2 Distribution of Kainji languages**

### **2.2.1 Geographical Situation**

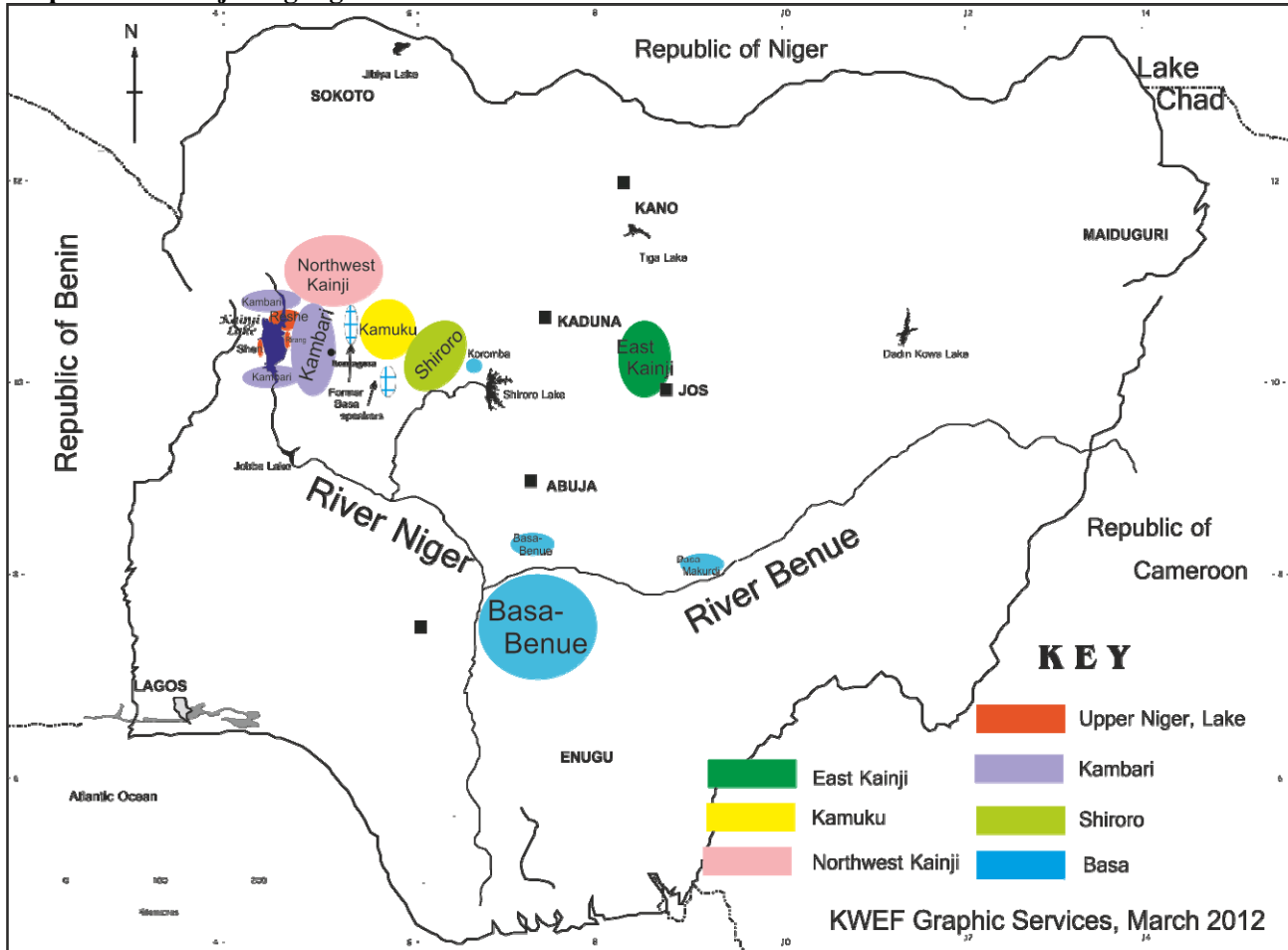
The main concentration of Kainji languages is in northwestern Nigeria, immediately due south of the Hausa-speaking region. The most recent published map of the Kainji languages is that accompanying Ethnologue (2009). A series of more detailed maps accompanies the sections on individual language groups. In administrative terms, this region formerly consisted of Niger and Sokoto States. In late 1991, Sokoto State was divided in two, and a new state, Kebbi, created covering the south and west of the former Sokoto State. The boundaries of Niger State were also redrawn. Apart from the scattered Basa people, the West Kainji languages fall within the boundaries of the new Kebbi State and Niger State. Map 1 shows the overall distribution of Kainji languages;

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<sup>1</sup> The first version of this material was contained in a paper prepared for the 18th Leiden Colloquium on African Languages, in September, 1988. The original title was ‘The Basa-Kamuku languages’ and part of the paper discussed the system of noun-classes in Basa. In that form, it was circulated in Europe and Nigeria, but never published. Additional fieldwork has carried since 1989 by the author. In 1991, Clark Regnier of SIL, based in Ilorin, began a programme of survey of West Kainji languages. He made comments on my original paper and made available informally his survey results to me in Ilorin in April 1992.

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank Steve and Sonia Dettweiler for early access to a number of their valuable field reports on West Kainji languages (cited in the bibliography) and to Don Lindholm for giving me prompt access to them.

Map 1. The Kainji languages



Recent years has seen the some significant changes in the distribution of languages. Improved communications and population expansion has encouraged some groups to move away from their home area and seek better farmland elsewhere. The most striking example of this are the Hun-Saare peoples, who have formed a number of colonies outside their home area. These are shown in Map xx. It is likely that other groups are also seeking similar opportunities. The linguistic competence of such outlying populations needs also to be monitored; such groups have a tendency to los ethier language in favour of Hausa.

In addition, some speech-communities have been losing their language over the course of the survey. When Roger Blench first began to survey the Basa in 1980, there were still scattered speakers remaning in the northwestern zone, along the Kontagora-Rijau road and south of Tegna. These have almost certainly diappeared completely, as the speakers were old and bilingual in Hausa even at that period.

## 2.2.2 Human population

## 2.3 Classification

### 2.3.1 Internal classification

The group of languages now called West Kainji were originally ‘Plateau 1a’ in the classification of Greenberg (1963). Greenberg did not offer any further subdivision of Plateau 1a, but Hoffmann divided it into five subgroups as follows (Table 1);

**Table 1. Kainji languages: Hoffmann (1976)**

No.	Subgroup	Languages
i.	Upper Niger	Laru, Lopa
ii.	Reshe	Reshe
iii.	Kambari	Kambari cluster
iv.	Kamuku-Bassa	Ngwoi, Kamuku, Bassa, Gurmana, Baushi, Fungwa, Pongu
v.	Lela	Lela, Duka, Kag [=Fakai] cluster, Lyase

This study sees no case for uniting Kamuku cluster languages with Basa, or even with the Baushi languages, and these are treated as distinct branches of equal status. More significantly, we do not accept the division, enshrined in the literature, but lacking any proof, that East and West Kainji represent separate branches. In this monograph, the two are treated as integral elements in the Kainji branch of Benue-Congo.

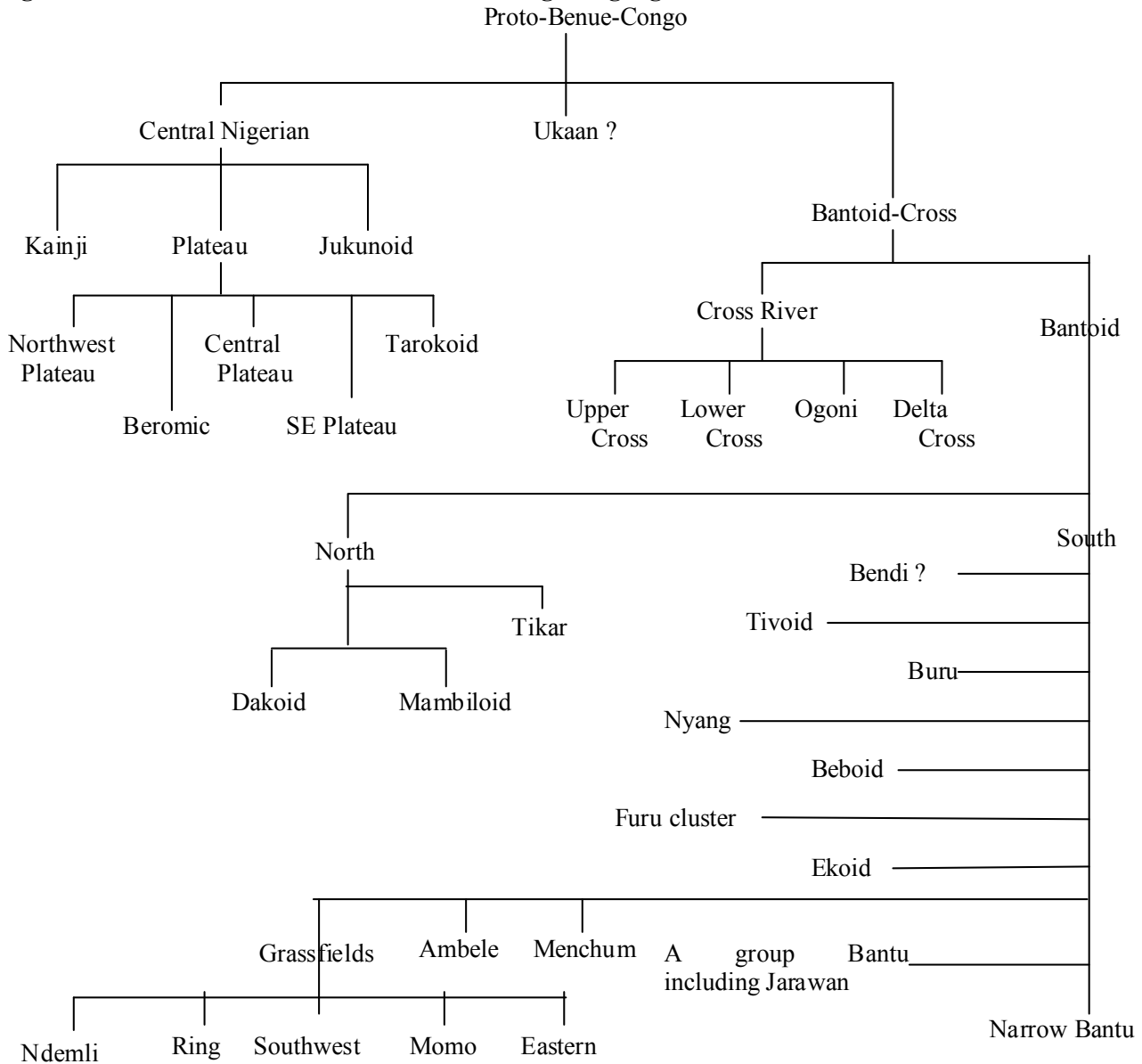
### 2.3.2 External affiliation

Williamson (1982:104) subclassifies a few West Kainji languages in relation to ‘Plateau’. However, no modern classificatory work has dealt with the group as a whole from the point of view of subgrouping. The overview of Plateau in Gerhardt (1989) follows Hoffmann (in Hansford et al., 1976), except where new information supplied by Roger Blench was incorporated. The Niger-Congo overview in Williamson & Blench (2000) presents a more recent view, but these general syntheses have in common a lack of evidence in support of their speculations.

It generally assumed that there is a linguistic unit, usually known as Benue-Congo which is the larger grouping which includes Bantu. This has its origin in Westermann’s (1927) *Benue Cross-Fluss* group but was first elaborated in Greenberg (1963). Greenberg essentially put together all the languages with manifest traces of noun-classes and proposed they were ancestral to Bantu. Languages such as Yoruba, Igbo and Edo, all of which presumably once had noun-classes but which are now largely lost were assigned to Kwa. During the 1970s it became increasingly clear that the so-called ‘Eastern Kwa’ languages previously had noun class systems and these survive, either in traces (for example in parts of Edoid. cf. Schubert & Elugbe 19xx) or largely complete (e.g. Gade, cf. Sterk 19xx). As a consequence it was proposed to unite these languages (Yoruboid, Igbooid, Edoid, Nupoid and Idomoid) with the ‘old’ Benue-Congo and transfer the name to this larger entity. Greenberg’s original classification had been largely typological and this new view was equally so; no evidence to support it was ever put forward except retrospectively (see Williamson 1989). This view is reflected in the volume of studies on Niger-Congo edited by Bendor-Samuel (1989) and in the map accompanying Crozier & Blench (1992). Since then, matters have stood unresolved, although this merging of Eastern Kwa and Benue-Congo does not seem very satisfactory and in various publications, Blench (refs) has argued for returning to the original concept of Benue-Congo and creating a new subgroup of Niger-Congo, Volta-Niger, which would conjoin the former West Benue-Congo and the Gbe languages. The position of various small language groups near the Niger-Benue confluence, such as Ikaan, Akokoid and Ayere-Ahan remains unresolved.

Figure 1 shows a tree of Benue-Congo languages proposed by Blench which shows where Kainji languages would fit in the larger group.

Figure 1. Revised subclassification of Benue-Congo languages



This issue involves the comparison of several hundred languages and clearly cannot be resolved from the perspective of a study of Kainji languages. However, Appendix I sets out some evidence for the link with Plateau and Jukunoid. In particular the existence of rich systems of noun classes in all three families and some correspondences between the prefix systems, suggests this is a credible construct.

#### 2.4 Language development

Kainji languages have a low profile in Nigerian education and media. With the exceptions of Cicipu and εBoze, almost all literacy development has been in the context of scripture translation, actual or proposed. Table 2 summarises the current situation for Kainji languages. Brackets around a + indicate the project is effectively moribund.

Table 2. Literacy and broadcast media in Kainji languages

Group	Language	Literacy	Scripture	Media
Kambari	Cishingini	+	+	
	Tsikimba	+	+	
	Agwara	+	+	
	Tsuvaɗi	(+)	(+)	
	Cicipu	+		
Kamuku	Cinda	+	+	
	Hungwɛryə	+		
Shiroro	Pongu	+		
Northwest	tHun	+	+	
	cLela	+	+	
	utMain	+	+	
Basa	Benue	+	+	
Reshe	Reshe	+	+	
East	Boze	+		
	Gbiri	+		

One obvious consequence has been that there has been a substantial output of studies of these languages, particularly in respect of phonology, although much of this has not been published. References to individual documents are given in the relevant sections for each language.

### 3. Principal Language Groupings

#### 3.1 Reshe (Gungawa)

The Reshe people and language certainly represent the most divergent group in West Kainji. They are generally known in the ethnographic literature as ‘Gungawa’, from the Hausa term for ‘island’. The Reshe lived on the shores and islets of the Niger above Busa until the creation of Lake Kainji in 1974. They are described summarily in the ethnographic literature (Gunn & Conant 1960). Today, the Reshe people live in Kebbi and Niger states of Nigeria, primarily in and around Yelwa town (known today as Yauri) in Yauri and Borgu Emirate council areas. an important port on the East of the Niger River in Kebbi state. There are Reshe settlements throughout Yauri, N’gaski, and Shanga L.G.As of Kebbi state, and also in Agwara and Borgu LGAs of Niger state. Their ancient city, Birnin Yauri or Ireshe ubinə, is about five miles east of Yelwa (See Map).

From a lexical point of view, the language of the Reshe people is quite well-known, through the article of Harris (1946). Other materials include the data in BCCW and a short grammar and conversational drills prepared by Boettger and Boettger (1967). Dettweiler and Dettweiler (1993b) review existing materials and analysed their newly collected field data. The first classification of Reshe appears in Bertho (1952), on the basis of unpublished material. Bertho considered Reshe to be ‘*Voltaïque*’ i.e. affiliated to what we would now call Gur languages. Greenberg (1963:40) placed Reshe with his Plateau 1a [now West Kainji], while admitting its position was ‘uncertain’. The available material shows clearly that Reshe is by far the most divergent member of West Kainji, with many forms that do not resemble other languages in the group as well as a highly distinctive system of noun-class affixes.

### 3.2 Lake (Shen and Rerang)

#### 3.2.1 General

Like the Reshe, the Laru and Lopa are fishing peoples who live around the edge of Lake Kainji. Prior to the creation of the Lake in 1974, they lived on islands in the Niger, but afterwards they were divided by the water and now have very little contact. Competition for fish is very intense in today's Nigeria, and many have turned to farming. Very little has previously been recorded about their settlements and language, apart from comments in Reed *et al.* (1974), and passing references in ethnographic texts. Short wordlists of two of the languages were prepared by one of Meek's informants<sup>3</sup>. It is unlikely that either language has more than a few thousand speakers although the Lopa are more numerous than the Laru.

Research in 2011 and 2012 showed that 'Lopa' is in fact two highly distinctive languages. The correct names of the languages are as follows;

**Table 3. Ethnonyms and reference names of the Lake Group**

Usual name	Group name	One person	people	language	Reference Name
Laru		Shen		Shen gwe	Shen
Lopa	Rerang	dòrírǎŋ	ò:rírǎŋ	òl:èrǎŋ	
	Rop	dòróp	ò:róp	òl:óp	Rop
	Shuba				

Even more surprisingly, despite the ethnic label and Rerang and the assertion of a common culture between the Rop and the Shuba, Shuba is clearly a conservative type of Shen, which still retains at least some nominal morphology.

#### 3.2.2 Shen [Laru]

Prior information on Shen consists of unpublished wordlists prepared by Meek (collected by Hoskyn Abrahall in 1926) and Janie Stark (1982) analysed in Blench (2006). Laru fish names (which seem to be substantially accurate) are given in Jenness (1971). A lengthy wordlist was collected in Papiri, from Màgínó Mámâm in February 2011 and this is the basis for most of the information given below.

According to the information we were given, has three dialects spoken in the following settlements:

- 1) Kárábàndéi and Sànsáni
- 2) Sà:gúnú<sup>4</sup>, S<sup>w</sup>ǎfí, Lúm:à, and Barkatai
- 3) Mòn:áí, Sǎŋk<sup>w</sup>à, and Málá:lé

The major villages were said to be (in order of size): Sà:gúnú, Kárábàndéi, S<sup>w</sup>ǎfí, Lúm:à, Mòn:áí. We estimate that there are less than 4000 speakers. Nonetheless, from the evidence, Shen is still widely spoken and is being transmitted to children. Although most adults are fluent in Hausa it does not seem to have had an undue impact on the language. The main language that has influenced Shen is Busa, which is a large Mande language spoken in the immediate neighbourhood. We are fortunate in having a significant dictionary of Busa (Jones xx), which makes it possible to identify possible loanwords.

#### 3.2.3 Shuba

Villages in which Urcibar is spoken (Hausa names in brackets):

Major villages: òtǎbá (Cifamini), t<sup>w</sup>òtǎgí (Gungun Tagwaye), òsán (Kwanga, different to òsán above)

<sup>3</sup> A sketch of the phonology of Lopa is purportedly recorded in Adekunle (1986). However, comparison of lexical items in his text with the wordlists taken for Meek and by the author in 1992 (which substantially agree) reveals almost no resemblances. Since Adekunle provides no detail on the elicitation of his material, the wisest course is to eliminate this document from further consideration.

<sup>4</sup> (this town has a Laru cultural association called Dànú:dà 'let us come together'),

Minor villages: ǎǎm (Yumu), à:ʔó (Bakari), ámbú (Ambu shiri)

### 3.2.4 Rerang

#### 3.2.3.1 General

The name ‘Lopa’ which presumably comes from the settlement of lópár (Lapar) covers both the Rop and the Shuba. Locally, there is a name for both dialects together, which is unusual in the context of West Kainji: [dò:riǎŋ] (one person), [ò:riǎŋ] (many people), and the language [ò:èǎŋ].

#### 3.2.3.2 Rop

The following names were given to us by Lopa speakers ‘proper’ (i.e. the northern dialect). They call themselves [dò:róp] (one person), [ò:róp] (many people), and the language [ò:l:óp]. They call the other dialect [dò:tǐbár] (one person), [ò:tǐbár] (many people), and the language [è:tǐbár].

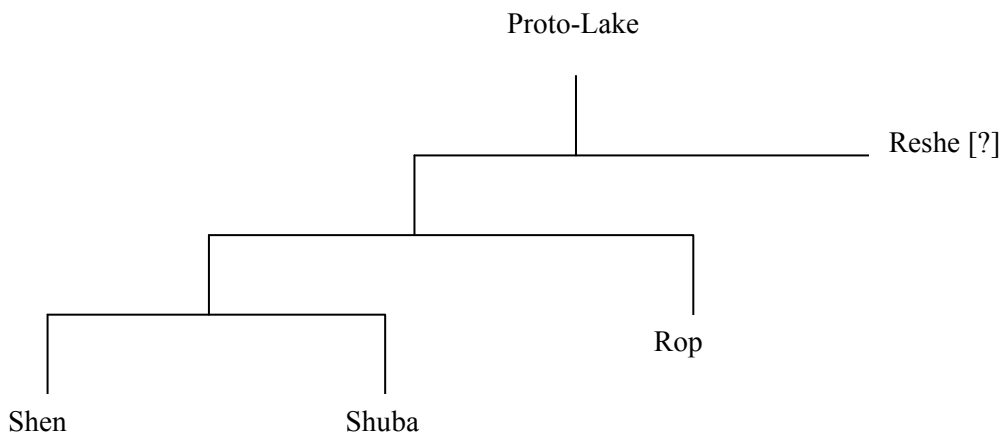
Villages in which Ollop is spoken (Hausa names in brackets):

Major villages: àróp (Lopa town), ùǎémé (Gafara), r<sup>w</sup>á:ǎé (Raishe)

Minor villages: ʔ<sup>w</sup>é:rà (Tungan Masu), òsán (Bakin Ruwa), lópár (Lapar), ánwá (Ana)

#### 3.2.3.4 Classification

**Figure 2. Likely configuration of the ‘Lake’ subgroup**



### 3.3 Kambari

#### 3.3.1 Introduction

The Kambari are perhaps the largest of the West Kainji subgroups, numerically. Their languages have been studied more extensively than others in the group although much research has never been completely published. Kambari (Kamberi, Cumbri etc.) is an outsiders’ name, but since there is no overall name for the group it is retained here. Present studies suggest that Kambari has two major divisions, usually referred to as Kambari I and II. These crudely correspond to east and west, but in some regions the two are territorially intertwined (Blench 1982).



Koelle (1854) includes a wordlist of Kambari and very short Kambari texts were published as early as 1897 (see Hoffmann for further description and references). A manuscript by Mierau (1967) describes some aspects of the Agwara dialect, while the first modern linguistic studies of the Salka dialect (ciShingini) were carried out by Hoffmann (1963, 1965, 1972). Crozier (1984) also studied the Salka dialect and our present view of the dialect situation derives from his unpublished fieldnotes. A wordlist of TsuVadi has been prepared by Lovelace (n.d.). More recently, trilingual Kambari-Hausa-English dictionaries have been published for three Kambari varieties Cishingini, Tsikimba, and Tsishingini (Stark 2003, 2004a, 2004b). Unfortunately for the linguist, these are not marked for tone and contain no Hausa or English finder lists. Stark (2004a) and Crozier (1984) use the term ‘Cishingini’ to refer to two different languages. Stark applies it to West Kambari, while Crozier uses it to mean Central Kambari (which Stark calls Tsishingini). As far as can be determined, Crozier’s usage is correct, and Janie Stark apparently adopted this confusing convention to avoid two dictionaries having homonymous titles.

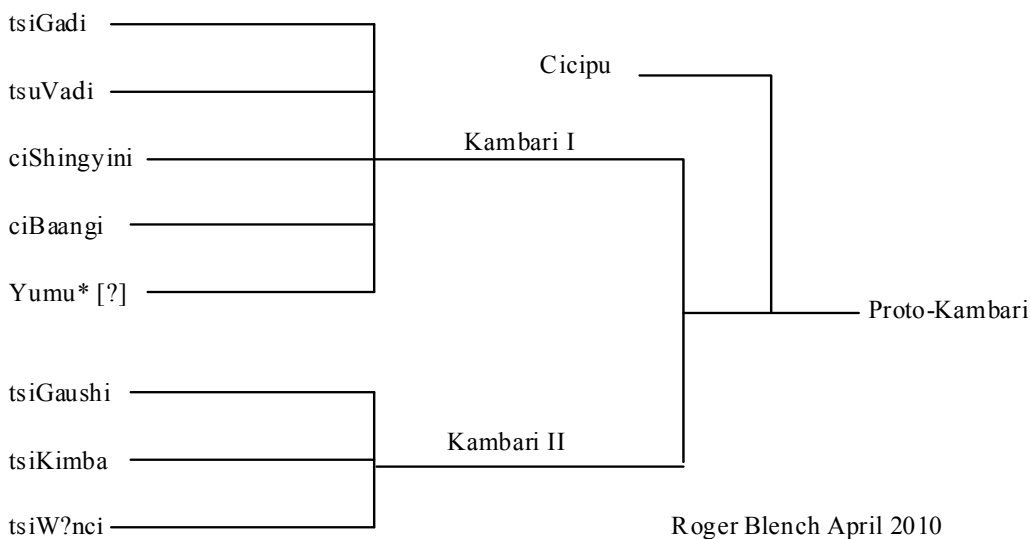
Table 4 shows the common names of the various Kambari sub-groups and the correct names of the people and language. The initial consonant of the root is marked with upper case.

**Table 4. The Kambari languages**

Usual Name	Other Names	One person	People	Language
<b>Kambari I</b>				
Agadi	Kakihum		aGadi	tsiGadi
Abadi, Evadi	Ibeto		aVadi	tsiVadi
Bangawa		vuBaangi	aBaangi	ciBaangi
	Salka	sShingini <i>or</i> maShingini	əShingini	ciShingini
<b>Kambari II</b>				
Agaushi	Auna, Wara		aGaushi	tsiGaushi
Kimba			aKimba	Tsikimba
Ngwunci	Agwara	maWunci	ŋWənci	tsuWənci
<b>Cicipu</b>				

Figure 3 gives a tentative subclassification of the Kambari cluster;

**Figure 3. Subclassification of the Kambari languages**



Kambari is clearly distinguished from the other West Kainji languages by a pervasive system of long-short consonant distinctions found in initial position in noun-stems but medially in other word-classes.

### 3.3.2 The Eastern cluster

### 3.3.3 The Western cluster

Kimba is divided into at least three dialects; Auna, Yumu and Wara. There is a lect called Ashe spoken in Garafini, southwest of the lake proper. Ngwunci is divided into two dialects;

Agwara	masaweni	nsaweni	asaweni	tsusaweni
Rofia	məɓʷəshi	nɓʷəshi	aɓʷəshi	tsuɓʷəshi

### 3.3.4 Cicipu

#### 3.3.4.1 The Cicipu language

Cicipu, the Western Acipa language has usually been considered part of the Kamuku cluster, along with the eastern Acipa (§3.4.2). Dettweiler & Dettweiler (1995) present a comparative wordlist for three lects spoken in Kumbashi, Kakihum and Karisen towns. In this report they point out that ‘Western Acipa’ is so different from all the other languages in the group that it would be better to assign it to a separate branch. Stuart McGill (refs) has collected a large number of common glosses with the Kambari cluster which suggests strongly that this language has been misclassified and is in fact part of the Kambari group. Alternatively, it could have come under extremely strong influence from Kambari (not impossible since the two languages are neighbours in Kakihum). However, now that more in-depth description of the grammar and morphology of Cicipu is available, this seems less likely. Cicipu is treated here as a primary branching of the Kambari cluster.

#### 3.3.4.2 Cicipu culture

The Cipu are a relatively conservative society, which has relatively recently come under the influence of Islam and more recently Christianity. Nonetheless, many traditional ceremonies are still observed (Photo 1).

**Photo 1. A Cicipu ceremonial gathering, 2008**



Source: Stuart McGill photo

### 3.4 The Basa cluster

One of the early names for West Kainji was ‘Basa-Kamuku’, mainly because these were the languages for which data was accessible. However, the impression has remained that Basa and Kamuku have a privileged relationship, for which there seems to be no evidence. The coherence of Kamuku as a language group is doubtful at best, and certainly unproven (see §3.5) and it is thus treated as an independent branch of West Kainji pending further evidence.

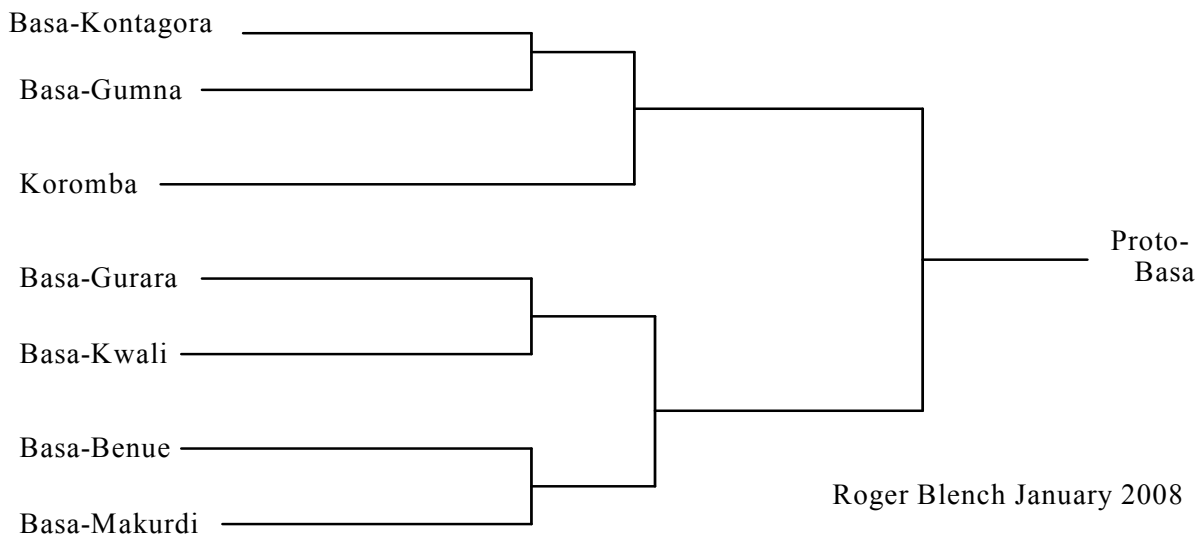
Apart from the Hausa and Fulbe, the Basa people may be the single most widespread group in the whole of Nigeria. The history of their dispersal remains to be written, but it is clear that their movement into the Benue Valley is relatively recent and may be a response to early nineteenth century slave-raiding. However, none of these scattered groups have any knowledge of the existence of the others, and no oral traditions relating to these migrations have yet been recorded. A curious paradox of this expansion is that it is only the outlying groups who have retained Basa language and culture. In what is presumably the heartland, backing on Kambari country, the Basa have virtually completely lost their language, and now speak only Hausa. Most Basa communities are known as ‘Basawa’ but in some places Basa refuse to answer to this name today.

The Basa languages should probably be treated as a language cluster. Following this research, there are probably seven groups as follows;

- Basa-Kontagora
- Basa-Gumna
- Koromba (formerly Basa-Gurmana)
- Basa-Gurara
- Basa-Kwali
- Basa-Benue (formerly Bassa-Kwomu)
- Basa-Makurdi

Figure 4 shows the likely subgrouping of the Basa languages;

**Figure 4. The Basa languages**



Roger Blench January 2008

The Basa-Kontagora reported by Rowlands (1962) still existed in 1986, but the language is now probably lost irrecoverably. Along the Koton Koro road, N.E. of Kontagora, are a number of villages of ‘Basawa’, in particular Udara and Mangu. There were about 5 speakers of ‘Tubasa’ in these villages in 1986, all very old. Even at that time, they no longer remembered the language perfectly -however, they recalled enough of the lexicon to establish that this *is* the same lect recorded by Rowlands. All the other Basawa speak only Hausa.

The Basa-Gumna are discussed and sited geographically in ethnographic texts such as Gunn & Conant (1960). The town of Gumna is about 10 km west of the Teginia-Zungeru road. However, it is now deserted as the population was moved to the road in approximately 1963, where they now live in a town called Yakila. There are two satellite hamlets, both apparently known as ‘Basa’, in the bush westwards of the road. In Yakila in 1986, there were only two people who spoke Basa, and that not well, so it is effectively dead.

The town of Basa-Gurmana is some 20 km south of Allawa, near Pandogari, and not far from the Kaduna river. The Basa community here has retained its own language. However, they do not use the word Basa of themselves but instead;

bɔKɔrɔmba	one person
aKɔrɔmba	the people
tuKɔrɔmba	the language

Other Basa said this may be a clan name that has been expanded into an ethnonym. Notice also the similarity to the elusive Koro who appear so often in the Middle Belt.

The Basa-Gurara, and their neighbours the Basa Kwali, live along the Gurara river on the western boundary of the Federal Capital territory. A rather inaccurate wordlist of Basa-Kwali is available in Sterk (1977).

The Basa Kwomu<sup>5</sup> are the most well-known of the Basa peoples and have been described briefly in a number of ethnographic sources (e.g. Gunn & Conant, 1960). They live on both sides of the Benue -their centre appears to be Oguma on the south side and Umaisha on the north side. The appellation ‘Kwomu’, often used to distinguish them from the Nupoid Basa-Nge, is an administrative contraction of ‘Oku Omu’, a greeting to a senior woman. The term has now fallen out of favour locally, and should not be used without a cautionary note to indicate that it is now considered pejorative. It has been the subject of heated polemics in locally distributed mimeos (Tukura, 1984a). The Basa-Benue who live on the south bank of the Benue were brought within the missionary orbit relatively early and there has been a literacy programme in operation since at least the 1950’s. Orthographic issues still raise a certain amount of heat locally (Tukura 1984b). A translation of the New Testament has been in circulation for some time, and the Old Testament is in the process of being completed. Imoh (2002) has described the phonology and morphology of Basa.

Autonyms;

bu-Basa	one person
a-Basa	the people
ru-Basa	the language

The correct reference term is therefore simply ‘Bas(s)a’. However, in view of the multiplicity of Basa groups, ‘Basa-Benue’ would be a convenient term for scholars to use -though local opinion favours simply ‘Bassa’.

The Basa of Makurdi live in twelve villages on the north bank of the Benue west of Makurdi. They are marked on the map accompanying Gunn & Conant (1960) and Hansford et al. (1976). Speakers of Basa-Benue have told me that they can communicate with them with some difficulty.

### **3.5 The Kamuku group**

#### **3.5.1 Introduction**

The Kamuku, following Gunn & Conant (1960) and Rowlands (1962) have conventionally been divided into ‘Acipa’ and ‘Ucinda’. The Acipawa, correctly the Acipu, are linguistically part of the Kambari cluster, and are treated in §3.3.4. The whole Kamuku area consists of a complex of related languages, and the scatter of Kamuku lects seem to relate to the individual hills in the Mariga area which were the homeland of particular subgroups. A study of Kamuku lects has added a great deal to our understanding of these languages but also

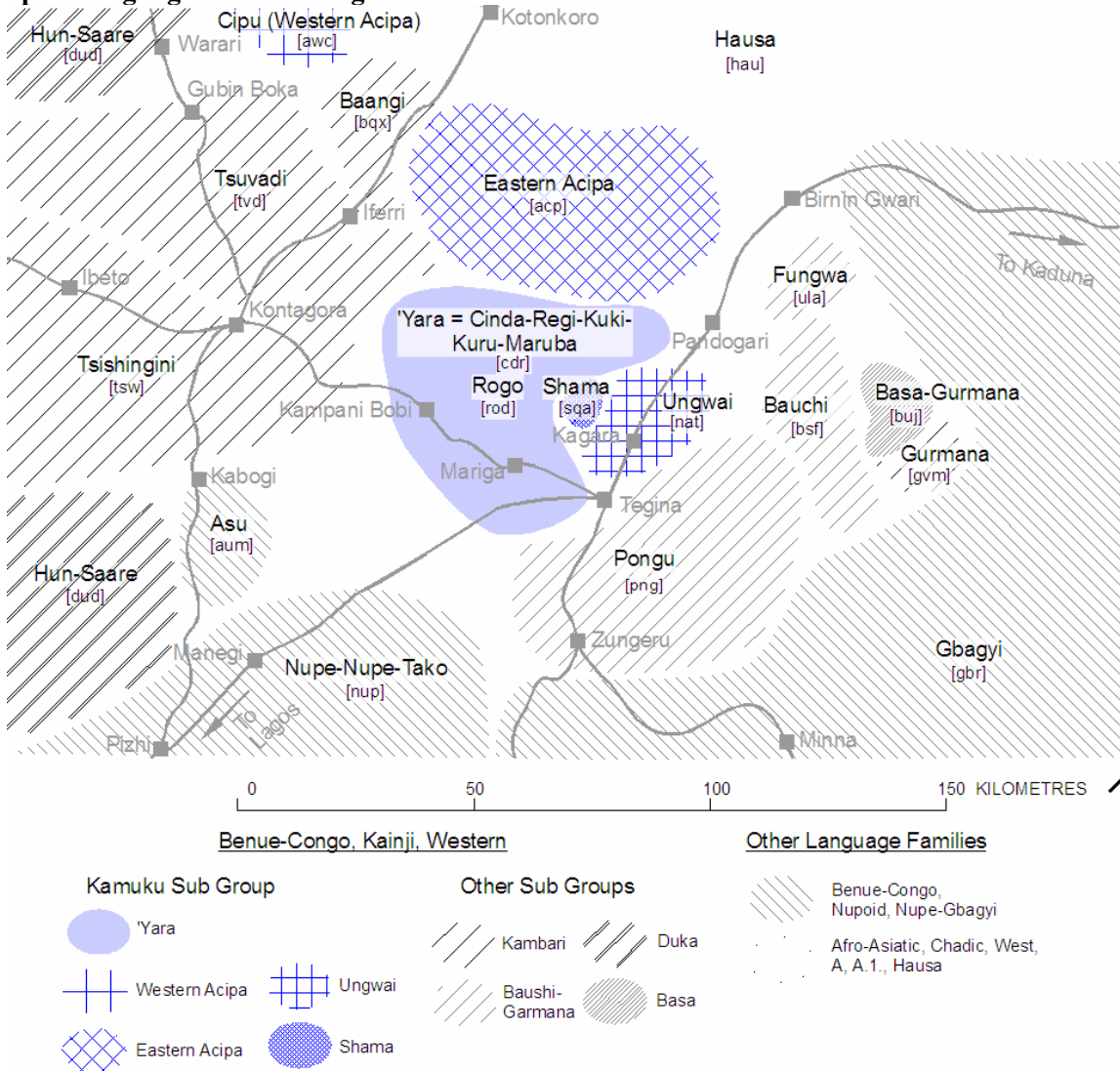
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<sup>5</sup>I would like to take this opportunity to thank the late Robert and Joyce Hyslop in Dekina for their encouragement and hospitality while working on Basa-Benue.

added many new possible languages (Yoder et al. 2008). The exact classification should emerge when all the data collected for this study is compiled. The following sections try and set out what is known about these, with the rider that this information remains provisional.

Map 2 (from Yoder et al. 2008) shows the locations of the languages mentioned in this section.

**Map 2. Languages surrounding the ‘Yara**



**3.5.2 Hungwəryə [=Ngwoi]**

The language called in Ngwoi in sources such as Rowlands is correctly Hungwəryə. The terminology of their autonyms is;

One person	People	Language
Buhungwəryə	Əhungwəryə	təhungwəryə

Hungwəryə is spoken by some 20,000 people in the Tegna area. It is in turn divided into a number of dialects, which are all mutually intelligible.

**Table 5. Dialects and Villages of the Hungwəryə**

Clan	Language	Person sg.	Pl.	Hausa
kùbìt	cikùbìt	bùbítúbitù	à-	Kabitu
kálólkù	cikálólkù	bùlókúlàkù	à-	Karaku
əyinyə	ciyinyə	bùyínyáyinyə	à-	Makangara
ùwùsà	ciwùsà	bùwùsáwùsà	à-	Karaya
támbari	citámbari	bùtámbari	à-	Tambari
gàdà	cigádágàdà	bùgádágàdà	à-	Makangada

Citámbari is not a true dialect as half the population speaks Ciwùsà and half Cikálólkù. Table 6 shows the villages associated with individual clans.

**Table 6. HuHungwəryəye villages and clans**

Clan	Villages
Makangara	Sàgòmýè, Àriyà, Ərwàkò, Ìgádá, Àzwàngò, Àtá?èngè, Àságànà, Kátùngà
Karaku	Mùtəkùci,
Karaya	
Kabitu	
Tambari	
Makangada	

Cigádágàdà is the lect chosen for language development and some publications have appeared in an orthography developed by the literacy team.

### 3.5.3 The Kamuku complex

#### 3.5.3.1 Introductory

The ‘Yara complex is probably the largest subgroup of Kamuku and one of the most problematic. According to Yoder et al. (2008) there is some evidence for a group name Tu?yara being used by most groups, but this remains to be confirmed. In the Index of Nigerian Languages (Crozier & Blench 1992) this cluster was called Cinda-Regi-Tiyal, but the inclusion of Tiyal was evidently a mistake.

#### 3.5.3.2 Cinda-Regi languages

There are four confirmed members of this cluster, Cinda, Regi, Orogo and Kuki. The settlements of Kuru and Maruba also apparently speak closely related languages. The Shiyabe language was said to be close to tuRogo.

**Table 7. Kamuku lects**

Common form	One person	People	Language
Cinda	buCinda	uCinda	tuCinda
Regi	buRegi	uRegi	tuRegi
Rogo	bɔRogo	oRogo	tòRógó
Kuki	buKuki	Kuki	tuKuki
and also			
Kuru			
Maruba			
Shiyabe			

The main form of Cinda, Regi, is being actively developed for literacy.

### **3.5.3.3 Səgə̀muk [=Zubazuba]**

In Igwama town, three languages are spoken, including ‘Zubazuba’, Tushyabe and Turubaruba. An extensive list of Zubazuba was compiled on February 2011. The speakers called their language Tusə̀gə̀muku. This is almost certainly the origin of the general name ‘Kamuku’. There is no data for the other two languages, but speakers of Tusə̀gə̀muku suggested that they were relatively similar. The population of Igwama are all fluent in Hausa, but nonetheless, all these languages seem to be currently spoken.

### **3.5.3.4 Kagare**

In Unguwar Tanko, a Kagare village, people reported that when they meet with Cinda and Regi some speak Hausa with them while some speak Cinda and Regi dialect with them. It appears that those who can speak Cinda and Regi in Kagare have learnt the dialects. In Maruba village at the CAPRO school a story was told by one young man in the Kagare dialect and our interpreter, who is a Cinda man, couldn’t understand the story at all. However, the Kagare young man understood a Cinda story narrated by our interpreter. The Kagare people also reported that the Zubazuba people speak Zubazuba with them, while they respond to them in Hausa. Probably Kagare people learn to understand Zubazuba dialect while Zubazuba do not learn to understand the Kagare dialect.

### **3.5.4 Rogo**

It seems likely there are two types of Rogo, the second type not understood by speakers of the Cinda-Regi cluster.

### **3.5.5 Shama-Sambuga**

Shama and Sambuga, two closely related languages, were first reported in Blench (1988). However, only Shama is spoken today and the Sambuga have apparently not been speaking their language for some time. The Shama language is still vital. Although Shama is clearly part of the broader Kamuku group, it is quite divergent lexically.

### **3.5.6 Makici**

A Kamuku lect called Makici (? [məkici]) was spoken in a village of that name as well as a cluster of hamlets some few kilometres east of Igwama. Following interviews in February 2012, it has become clear that the speakers have switched to Hausa and only remember a few lexical items. However, Makici was almost certainly a very close relative of xx.

### **3.5.7 Inkwai and others**

Inkwai and possibly Saya dialects may have formerly existed, but in these settlements people are now speaking only Hausa.

Scrap text

Wordlists of Ucinda, Uregi and Kuki have been compiled, but without data on the other subgroups Kamuku cannot be effectively subdivided. The tree treats Kamuku as a single group. Table 8 below shows the names of the other subgroups, based on informants’ assertions<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Thanks to Jennifer Davey for fresh information on Hungwə̀ryə

**Table 8. Kamuku lects**

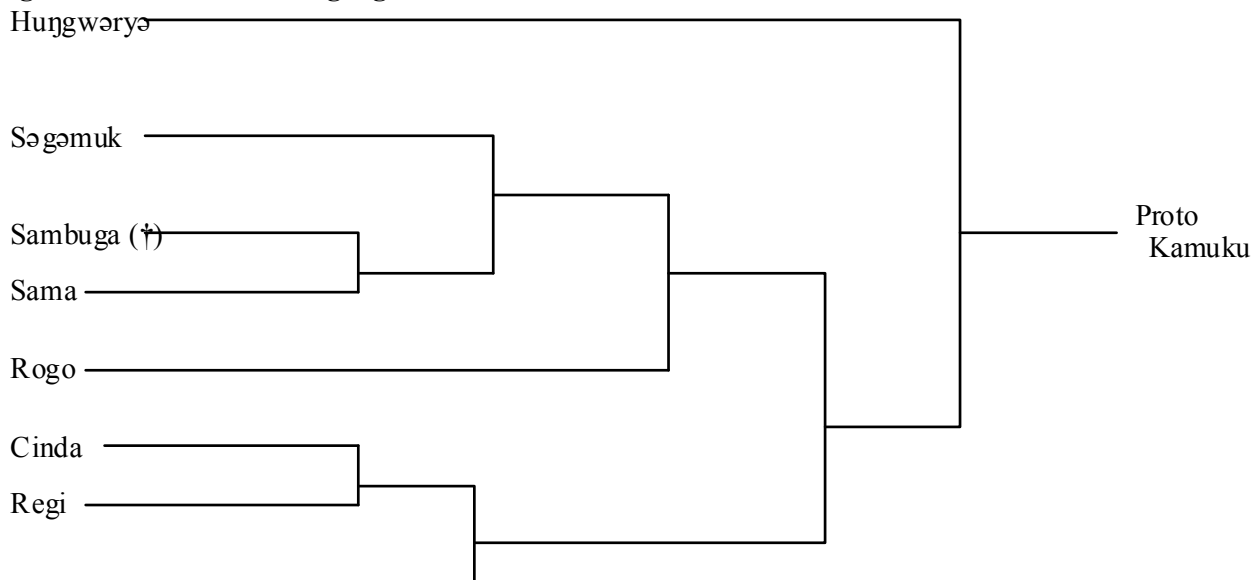
Common form	One person	People	Language
Ucinda	Bucinda	uCinda	tuCinda
	Buregi	uRegi	Turegi
Acipa	Bərəgo	u-rəgo	Turəgo
	said to be the same as:		
	Bucanja	Ucanja	Tucanja
	Mutabərroma	Utabərroma	Tabərroma
	Bushama	Ushama	Tushama
	Busambuga	Usambuga	Tusambuga
	buSundura	uSundura	Tusundura

The following languages have been reported

Tucinda and Turegi are closely related at the dialect cluster level -wordlists confirm this. Ticep and Tabərroma are more loosely related. Tushama is said to be isolated, as is təhungwəryə. The others probably all form part of the Tucinda continuum, although this remains to be confirmed.

Figure 5 shows a tentative ‘tree’ of the Kamuku languages;

**Figure 5. The Kamuku languages**





### 3.6 The Shiroro languages

#### 3.6.1 Introduction

The Shiroro group consists of four languages, usually known as Rin, Fungwa, Baushi and Gurmana<sup>7</sup>. Baushi can be considered as language cluster with six members. The tentative name proposed here is based on the proximity to Shiroro lake. The Shiroro languages have previously been treated as part of the Kamuku cluster, but there is no evidence for this. Shiroro is treated as an independent branch of Kainji. The following subsections discuss the names, locations and status of individual languages.

#### 3.6.2 Rin (Rī) (=Pongu)

The Rin have been surveyed by Dettweiler and Dettweiler (1992) and MacDonell & Smith (2004) have circulated a phonology and grammar of Rin as well as a wordlist. A literacy programme for the language is under way and several preliminary documents have now been published. The Rin are the most numerous people in the region and their farming settlements have spread into remote areas far beyond their home area. They live in isolated villages, mostly in remote bush locations. They practice a complex system of sister-exchange that makes it difficult for outsiders to enter their community. As a result their culture and language have remained exceptionally strong. It is difficult to estimate their numbers exactly, but there are probably at least 20,000. Their central town is Pangu Gari (divided into ‘old’ -Tsoho and ‘new’ -Sabo) is some 20 kilometres S.E.E. of Tegina.

Dettweiler and Dettweiler (1992) discuss alternative pronunciations recorded for the ethnonym of the Rin. Aya, Ayi, Ariya and Ariyu have all been recorded and the report suggested the possibility of using Arya for the people and Tarya for the language. However, the most widely accepted version of the vernacular ethnonym appears to be as follows;

Usual Name	One person	People	Language
Pongu	Bwə-rī	A-rī	Tə-rī

Hence the proposal to use Rin for both people and language. All such terms may be regarded as interim, as the Rin people should formally adopt a reference name.

Printed materials referring to the Rin now refer to the ‘Pangu’ which is said locally said to be the ‘correct’ spelling. This is based on a supposed oral tradition that the origin of the Rin is Mangu, a Mwaghavul town SE of Jos in Plateau State. This is not very credible historically; Mwaghavul is a Chadic language and TəRin is a well-established Kainji language. As noted in the section of the Fungwa, ‘Pongu’ is based on a early colonial confusion.

The Rī are divided into eight clans as follows;

Ca-su	Ca-gere = Ca-majere	A-zhiga
Ca-undu	A-baba = U-bwəbwə	A-waga
A-sebi	A-wusi = A-kwa	

Some clans appear to have duplicate names, shown by the = sign in the second column.

All the clans are said to speak ‘the same’ and their language comes under the rubric of Rin. However, informants’ statements and the comparative wordlist of Dettweiler and Dettweiler (1992) does suggest there *are* minor variations and that these are based on clans. This is clearly not a barrier to effective intercomprehension. The exception is the Awəgə people.

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<sup>7</sup> For reasons that are unclear (perhaps typographical error?), Gerhardt (1989) placed Fungwa and Rin with Kamuku in opposition to Baushi and Gurmana. The present group was proposed and provided with some justification in Blench (1988) and has been confirmed by more detailed work (Dettweiler and Dettweiler 1995; see especially their footnote 11).

One person	People	Language
Buwàgá	Awàgá	Tùwàgá

These people have been incorporated into the Rin but apparently are of a different ethnolinguistic origin. A field trip in February 2011 confirmed that the TuWəgə language had been spoken in a number of villages east of Zungeru. We were able to record Mr. Agwàgwá Mahago Wagai in Dikko village, near Luwa town, Rafi LGA, some 20 km. east of Zungeru (Photo 2). He was unable to give noun plurals, and appeared to substitute Rin words for those he had forgotten, so the data is somewhat imperfect. Nonetheless, it is clear that TuWəgə was a distinct language related to Rin. For the future, the most promising place to record would be Gidan Gambo, near Pongu Gari, where two fluent speakers are reported to live.

**Photo 2. Agwàgwá Mahago Wagai, former speaker of TuWəgə**



Source: Roger Blench photo

### 3.6.3 Fungwa [=Ura]

The Fungwa live in five villages (Gulbe, Gabi Tukurbe, Urenciki, Renga and Utana) along the Pandogari-Allawa road, Rafi LGA, Niger State. The name they have previously been given in the literature is ‘Ura’; this may derive from the name of a nearby hill. It is unlikely that they number more than 1,000 people. Despite this, their correct name is not entirely agreed. The usual form is;

mu-fungwa	one person
a-fungwa	the people
ci-fúngwà	the language

This suggests an hypothesis about the names ‘Pongu’ and ‘Fungwa’; these are Hausa mispronunciations for the Fungwa and Rin, but transposed.

Apart from a short wordlist collected by Blench (n.d.) no data has been available on Fungwa. Stuart McGill collected some 200 words in April 2010 and an extended list in February 2012. This makes it appear that the closest relative of Fungwa may be Wayan [Tú-wáyá].

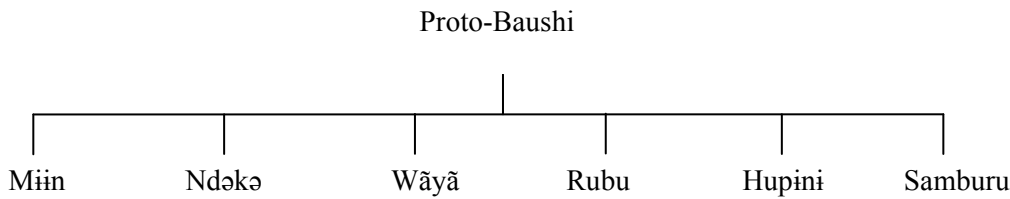
### 3.6.4 Gurmana

The Gurmana people live in the village of Gurmana and some associated hamlets. They are unlikely to number more than 2-3,000. No ethnonym for the Gurmana people has yet been recorded. Despite several attempts, I was unable to clearly determine their autonym. Remarkably, Johnston (1919) includes a long wordlist of Gurmana in his study of Bantu and ‘Semi-Bantu’ languages. Stuart McGill has recorded a lengthy wordlist of Gurmana in 2012, and once this is analysed, it should provide clues to the closer affiliation of this language.

### 3.6.5 Bauchi [=Baushi] cluster

The Baushi are treated in earlier sources as a single language, but there appear to be six related languages, as shown in Figure 6. The Rubu [Robo, Rubawa] are mentioned in one early source (Temple, 1922:341, 518, 523).

Figure 6. The Baushi lects



**Miin**

**Ndəkə [=Madaka]**

Data on Madaka consists of a short wordlists apparently collected by Clark Regnier in September 1991. It is entered as on the hand-written manuscript. The Madaka are divided into three clans the Undo, the Sambora and the Jibwa.

**Wāyā [=Wayam]**

The earliest data on Wāyā is very limited and consists of two short ms. wordlists collected by Steve Dettweiler on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1991. The long list is marked ‘Chief of Wayam (Bauchi) Musa Makigani’ and ‘shortened to nouns only’. The list is sub-phonetic and no plurals are provided for nouns. More recent and extensive materials were collected by Stuart McGill in 2010 and by Roger Blench and Stuart McGill in February 2010.

Tú-wáyǎ

Rubu

Tù-rùbó

Hipina [=Supana]

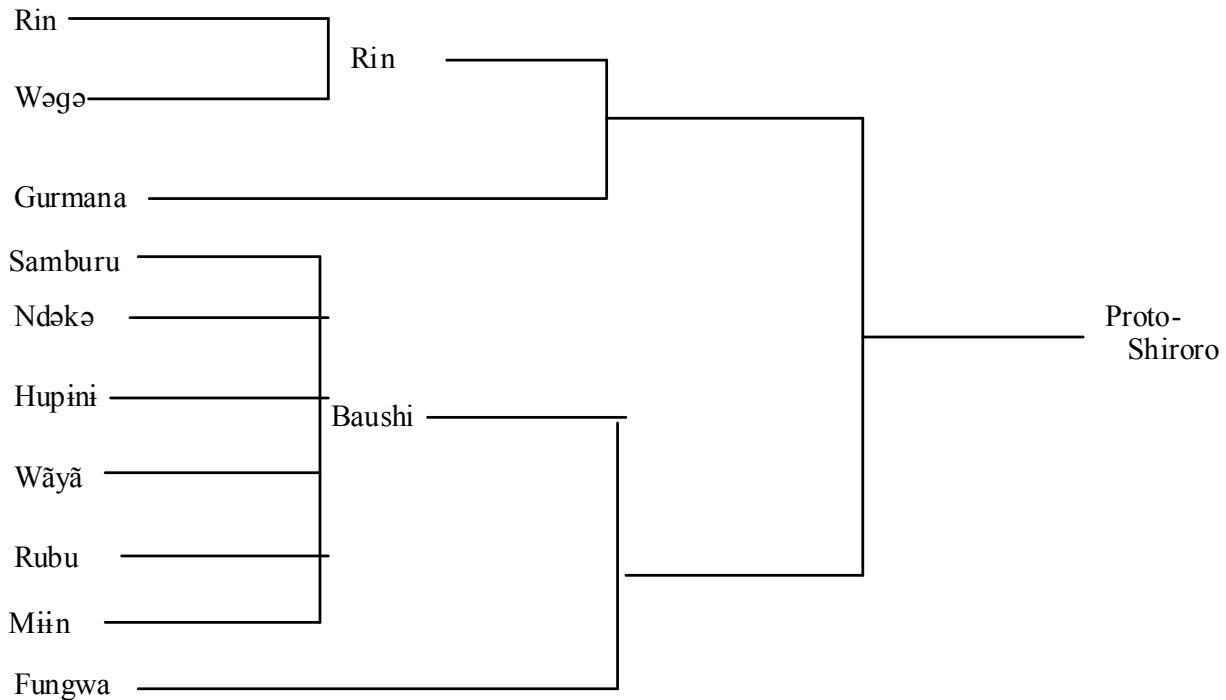
Tì-hèpǎńń

Samburu

**3.6.6 Subclassification of the Shiroro languages**

Figure 7 proposes an internal classification of the Shiroro, based on a rapid inspection of the existing lexical data. The status of the Baushi subgroups remains uncertain and data for the others is scanty at best.

Figure 7. The Shiroro languages

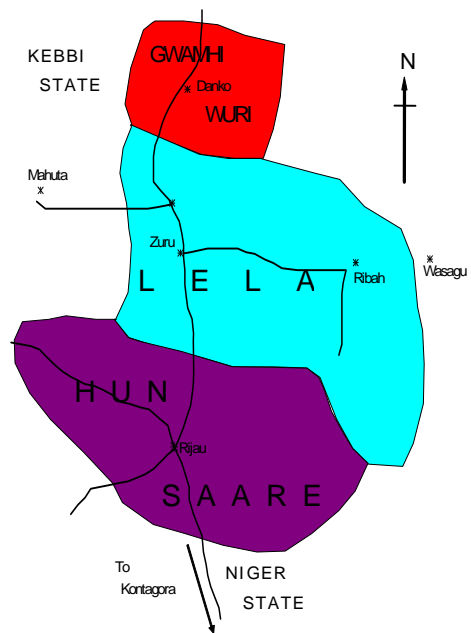


### 3.7 East Kainji

#### 3.7.1 Languages

The East Kainji languages are a poorly studied group of some 26 languages spoken north and west of the Jos Plateau in Central Nigeria. The first record of East Kainji is in Gowers (1907), a set of unpublished but widely circulated wordlists which includes ‘Rebinawa’ (=Ribina i.e. Ibonu), Naraguta (=Anaguta i.e. Iguta), Buji and Guram (i.e. εBoze), Jere (i.e. iZeLe), Butawa (i.e. Gamo-Ningi), Gyem and Taurawa (i.e. Takaya), but a more extensive listing of language names is in Meek (1925, II:137), where the classification (contributed by N.W. Thomas) lists them under ‘Nigerian Semi-Bantu’ along with Plateau and Jukunoid. Meek (1931, II: 129-218) collected wordlists of Piti, Atsam, Kurama, Janji, Gbiri and Niragu which have remained the basis for many later analyses. Westermann and Bryan (1952:106-108) list some of these languages (Atsam, Kurama, Janji, Piti, Jere) as ‘isolated language groups’ but classify them together with other ‘class languages’, although noting that Chawai has ‘no noun classes’. The group was originally designated as Plateau 1b by Greenberg (1955), where Plateau 1a was the geographically separate West Kainji, which includes such languages as cLela and Kambari. Williamson (1971) followed Greenberg’s terminology while adding the languages that were then being included in the Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlist (BCCW).

Map 3. The Northwest Kainji Languages



Rowlands (1962) seems to have rediscovered this link between the two branches of Kainji without reference to Greenberg, and argued that East Kainji should be treated as distinct from Plateau. The idea that Kainji languages were co-ordinate with Plateau rather than simply to be included within it seems to have surfaced in the Benue-Congo Working Group, as did the informal use of the name Kainji, following the creation of Lake Kainji in 1974. Hoffmann’s (in Hansford *et al.* 1976) listing in the Index of Nigerian Languages calls them ‘Western Plateau’ and the term ‘Kainji’ seems to have only been formally recognised in print by Gerhardt

(1989) and Williamson (1989). Shimizu (1982b), the most complete listing of these languages in print, refers to them as Western Plateau b. and his classification is reproduced in Gerhardt (1989) and Crozier & Blench (1992).

Published evidence for the unity of East Kainji as a group and for its subclassification is non-existent, as is any coherent account of its relation to West Kainji. Scattered wordlists, some very short, are found in Gowers (1907), Rowlands (1962), the BCCW (Williamson & Shimizu 1968; Williamson 1972) and in the publications of Shimizu (1968, 1979, 1982a). Many languages, especially of the Kauru group, appear to have no material available at all. Di Luzio (1972) is the only published grammar sketch of an East Kainji language, tiMap [=Amo], while Anderson (1980) presented a more complete account of the noun classes of the same language. [Remember Shimizu 1968.] Since the field trips conducted by Shimizu in the 1970s there have been virtually no new materials published on East Kainji languages. Some ethnographic material has been collected (Gunn 1956; Nengel 1999; CAPRO ined.) but this throws little light on linguistic relations. As a consequence, from 2003, a survey of East Kainji communities has been undertaken especially in the Jos area, focusing on languages reported by Shimizu as severely threatened<sup>8</sup>. So far data has been collected on the Boze [=Buji], Loro, Panawa, Sheni, Tunzu, Ziriya and Zora [=Cokobo] languages and the programme will try and visit all the remainder in the coming years.

No reliable or even unreliable figures are available for the number of speakers of East Kainji languages today, but most groups are very small and language competence is declining. It is unlikely that there are more than 100,000 speakers of all East Kainji languages. There are no serious literacy projects in any East Kainji language, although some initial work in Kurama and Amo has been undertaken. East Kainji languages have no profile in any other media. Appendix 1 provides a listing of the extant or recently extinct East Kainji languages with a tentative classification. Since there is no data for some languages, the grouping depends on statements by informants, especially in the Kauru area.

Almost all East Kainji languages are threatened, except perhaps Amo and Chawai, and many reported to exist may well now be extinct. The main source of endangerment is the spread of Hausa and the small size of communities. East Kainji languages abut the Hausa-speaking area to the north and their speakers tend to be fluent in Hausa. Many languages are threatened by the declining competence of younger speakers. Although there is now some energy to protect larger languages like Boze, Tunzu and Amo, isolated lects encapsulated among the Hausa such as Kuda-Chamo are virtually gone. Ziriya is completely dead, Sheni has just six speakers and Zora is clearly in decline. It is unlikely the trend will be easily reversed, but with larger speech communities such as the Boze, where there is an articulate older generation with an interest in language development, this is a more realistic proposition.

Figure 8 shows the languages and internal structure of East Kainji as far as can be gauged from existing data.

**Figure 8. The internal structure of East Kainji**

- A. Southern
  - Piti
  - Atsam
- B. Jos group
  - Northern
    - Ningi cluster
      - Kudu-Camo (almost extinct)
      - Gamo-Ningi (Butu-Ningi†)
    - Lame cluster
      - Gyem (almost extinct)
      - Shau (almost extinct)
    - Lere cluster

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<sup>8</sup> I would like to acknowledge the collaboration of John Nengel, University of Jos, who studied some East Kainji communities in the 1980s (Nengel 1999) and has accompanied me on all the field trips.

- Si (almost extinct)
- Gana (almost extinct)
- Takaya (almost extinct)
- North-central cluster
  - Izora (=Cokobo)
  - Lemoro
  - Sanga
  - Janji
  - εBoze (=Buji) –iGusu -iZeLe(=Jere) -iBunu(=Ribina) -iPanawa-iLoro
  - Iguta
  - Tunzu (=Duguza)
  - tiMap
- Sheni cluster
  - Ziriya (extinct)
  - Kere (extinct)
  - Sheni (almost extinct)
- Kauru
  - Gbiri-Niragu
  - Shuwa–Zamani
  - Surubu
  - Kurama
  - Mala-Ruma
  - Bina
  - Kono
  - Kaivi
  - Vono
  - Tumi
  - Kinuku
  - Dungu

Compared with West Kainji, which has undergone a wide variety of morphological changes that makes its branches look very diverse, the East Kainji languages for which data exist are comparatively similar. Impressionistically, Atsam (Chawai) and Piti are somewhat different from the others, but the remainder form a continuous chain, although the Kuda-Chamo languages have clearly changed under the influence of the encircling Chadic languages. East Kainji languages are a little-studied group of languages in Central Nigeria, which represent a high priority in terms of endangerment and deserve more greater attention.

### 3.7.2 Individual language notes

#### 3.7.2.1 Gbiri

Tughiri is the language of the Gbiri people, spoken by the larger part of the cluster called Gbiri-Niragu in the Ethnologue and estimated to have a population of 25,000. It is spoken in the village of Gure and its environs in Lere LGA, southern Kaduna

**Photo 3. Ritual pottery finial on Boze ceremonial house**



Source: Roger Blench photo



**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

State, Nigeria. Formerly the Gbiri lived in the rugged hills just northwest of where the village of Gure now is, because in the hills they were safe from war bands and slave raiders. However, since the 1930s they have migrated down onto the plain.

There are slight dialectical differences (for example, palatalization of certain consonants, variation between /l/ and /r/), there is mutual intelligibility between all speakers. Bilingualism in Hausa and in English is high, and some Hausa borrowings have been absorbed into the lexicon, complete with Tugbiri noun class markers.

**3.7.3 Societies**

Photo 3 shows a ritual pottery finial on a Boze ceremonial house. These finial are characteristic of most East Kainji peoples but sem not be found outside this region and may well be part of a cultural complex borrowed from the neighbouring Plateau speakers.

Photo 4 shows an ensemble of horn players among the Tunzu (formerly Duguza). Such horn ensembles are

**Photo 4. Tunzu horn players**



Source: Roger Blench photo found almost everywhere among the East Kainji speakers.

**3.8 The Northwest group**

Lela (as Dakarkari) is often used as a cover-term for the peoples of the region between Rijau and Donko, in reference books such as Gunn and Conant (1960) and Wente-Lukas (1985). This is now generally rejected, and the term Lela should be applied only to the group formerly called Dakarkari and living around Zuru. It is here proposed to adopt the term ‘Northwest Kainji’ to cover this group, which consists of the cLela, Hun-Saare, Kag cluster and Wurə-Gwamhyə-Mba languages. The group is unified by a striking morphological feature, the reduction of nominal prefixes to single consonants.

Map 3 shows the cLela, Hun-Saare and Wurə-Gwamhyə-Mba Languages;

### **3.8.1 cLela (Dakarkari)**

#### **3.7.1.1 Background**

The Lela people are usually referred to in the literature as Dakarkari and their language as Dakarci. The etymology of this name is uncertain and it has been derived either from Arabic *dakakir* ‘idolaters’ or from the Hausa *dàakáarèè*, ‘infantry-man’. This name has now been generally rejected by the community and Lela is preferred, based on the autonym minus affixes. The correct names of the people and language are;

k’-Lélà	one person
Lélnà	the people
c’-Lélà	the language

The language name is locally written C’Lela, as in the C’Lela Translation & Literacy Association (CTLA).

#### **3.7.1.2 Linguistic studies**

A valuable dictionary of cLela provides a large database of reliably transcribed material (Rikoto et al. 2001).

#### **3.7.1.3 Literacy and language development**

Literacy and bible translation work in cLela, based on the dialect spoken in Zuru has been in progress since the 1980s, possibly earlier with the Catholics. Regrettably, the two projects use different orthographies for cLela and meetings to try and resolve this and agree on a unified system have so far come to nothing. In addition, a wealthy cLela business has been sponsoring a scripture translation project under the auspices of the Nigeria Bible Translation Trust which uses yet another writing convention. This is clearly not a valuable contribution to overall literacy however much it may satisfy the convictions of those involved.

The first attempt to write cLela was in the 1930s, by Paul and Phoebe Ummel (Gospel of Mark and a hymnbook respectively)<sup>9</sup>. They were Protestant missionaries, under the Mennonite Brethren mission, which later became United Missionary Society, later renamed World Partners Nigeria. The first primer was produced in roughly 1935, because I believe I have seen one that the Ummels produced in conjunction with their work in the local language. Tommy Hayden also produced one in the 1980s. Sonia and others produced a transition (Hausa to C’Lela) primer in 2001, and a basic series of five primers that assumes no prior literacy was produced by CTLA in 2005 or 2006.

An Irish Catholic priest, Rev. Fr. Tommy Hayden, developed an orthography which included 6 vowels (the Hausa 5 plus schwa) in the 1980s, preparing (at least) a 3-year scripture lectionary and a primer in that orthography. Much more recently (approx 2008), Rev. Fr. Francis Koko produced a Bible story book in another orthography, under the bishop's imprimatur. Most recently this Catholic literature group merged with C’Lela Promoters and Trainers and accepted the need to use a common orthography with them. This is basically the orthography that our project developed and proposed in the late 1990s and has used with successive modifications since then.

The current Wycliffe project started when Dettweilers moved from Ilorin to Zuru in 1995. Oversight of the project work by a local language committee (which later came to be called C’Lela Translation & Literacy Association - CTLA) started in mid-1998.

### **3.8.2 Hun-Saare (Duka)**

#### **3.7.2.1 Background**

The Hun-Saare people live directly south of the Lela, between Niger and Kebbi States. They are conventionally divided into two groups, the Hun and the Saare, but are commonly known in Hausa as Duka and their language as Dukanci (Dettweiler & Dettweiler 1993). They are first mentioned by Temple (1922:96-

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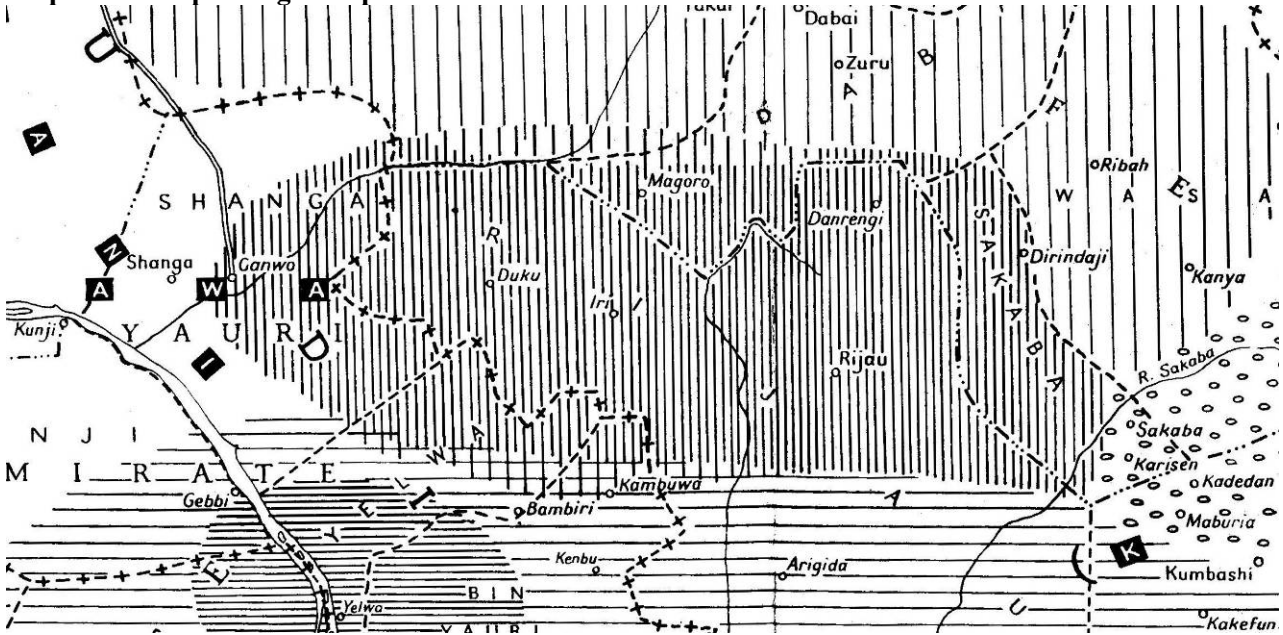
<sup>9</sup> We would particularly like to thank Steve Dettweiler for information on the history of C’Lela literacy development.



100). A summary ethnographic description is given in Gunn and Conant (1960) and a more complete anthropological account in Ces (1974).

Rural-rural migration is another source of language change. Modern transport makes it possible to survey an area, perhaps test it out for some years and, if it seems to have potential, to move a community as a unit. This type of transplanting carries language along with it; unlike slow processes of assimilation, this simply enlarges the area where a language is spoken. An example of this is the expansion of the Duka (correctly tHun-sSaare) language over the decades since the 1980s. When Duka was first studied in the Ethnographic Survey of Africa (Gunn & Conant 1960) and the anthropologist Prazan (1977) it was confined to a coherent geographical area around Rijau (Map 4).

Map 4. Duka-speaking area prior to 1960



Source: Re-edited from Gunn & Conant (1960)

Migration and expansion have radically altered the distribution of Duka-speaking communities, and by 2011 the pattern was as shown in Map 5. Whether these language islands will be absorbed by the surrounding communities, switch to an LWC, or develop through creolisation processes remains to be seen. But this emphasises the importance of continuing to update the language map and to survey speakers of minority languages.

Map 5. Duka-speaking communities in 2011



Source: Based on a hand-drawn map in the Tungan Magajiya Duka literacy project office with additional research

### 3.7.2.2 Linguistic studies of tHun-sSaare

The only comparative data on Hun-Saare lects is in Dettweiler & Dettweiler (1993) and the unpublished field materials of Regnier (n.d.). These do not paint a clear picture of a division into sharply demarcated dialects. However, it is clear that speakers of tHun have significant difficulties understanding sSaare. The noun-phrase is described in Bendor-Samuel *et al.* (1973), and Cressman & Skitch (1980) is a summary description of the language. A electronic dictionary of tHun (Dukawa) is available, associated with the translation project (Heath p.c.) as well as a grammar sketch (Heath n.d.).

### 3.7.2.3 Literacy and language development

A literacy and Bible translation project began in the 1970s. Some trial vernacular publications were issued, such as a book of Duka proverbs (anon, n.d.). Bible translation was restarted in the 1990s and a New Testament was published in 200x (Heath p.c.).

3.8.3 The Ut-Ma'in (=Fakai) cluster

The first mention of the languages of the Kag cluster is probably in Temple (1922:89) who refers to 'Kelinchi' [? = Kelanci, i.e. Ker-ni] as the language of the Adoma. Rowlands (1962) gives short lists of nouns in 'Fakawa', Kelawa and Zusu. Tuko (1990) prepared some quite substantial, though untonemarked, subphonemic lists of tKag which constitute a valuable source for an otherwise almost undocumented language. Regnier (2003) conducted a sociolinguistic survey among five of the eight named Fakai cluster members in 1991-1992, although this was finally only edited for circulation in 2003. Smith (2007) represents new in-depth fieldwork on the Ror language, now named ut-Ma'in by its speakers. Table 9 shows the peoples and languages of the Ut-Ma'in cluster;

**Table 9. Peoples and Languages of the Ut-Ma'in Cluster**

Hausa Name	c-Lela Name	One person	People	Language
Fakkawa	Pək-nu		Kag-ne	ət-Kag
Fakkawa	Pək-nu		əs-Uş	ət-Uş
Gelawa	Geeri-ni		a-Jiir	ət-Jiir
Zuksun	Wipsi-ni		a-Zuksun	ət-Zuksun
Kukumawa	Wipsi-ni		əs-Fer	ət-Fer
Kelawa	Keri-ni		Kər-ni	ət-Kər
Tuduwa	əd-Gwan		a-Ror	ət-ma-Ror
Kuluwa	?		a-Koor	ət-ma-Koor

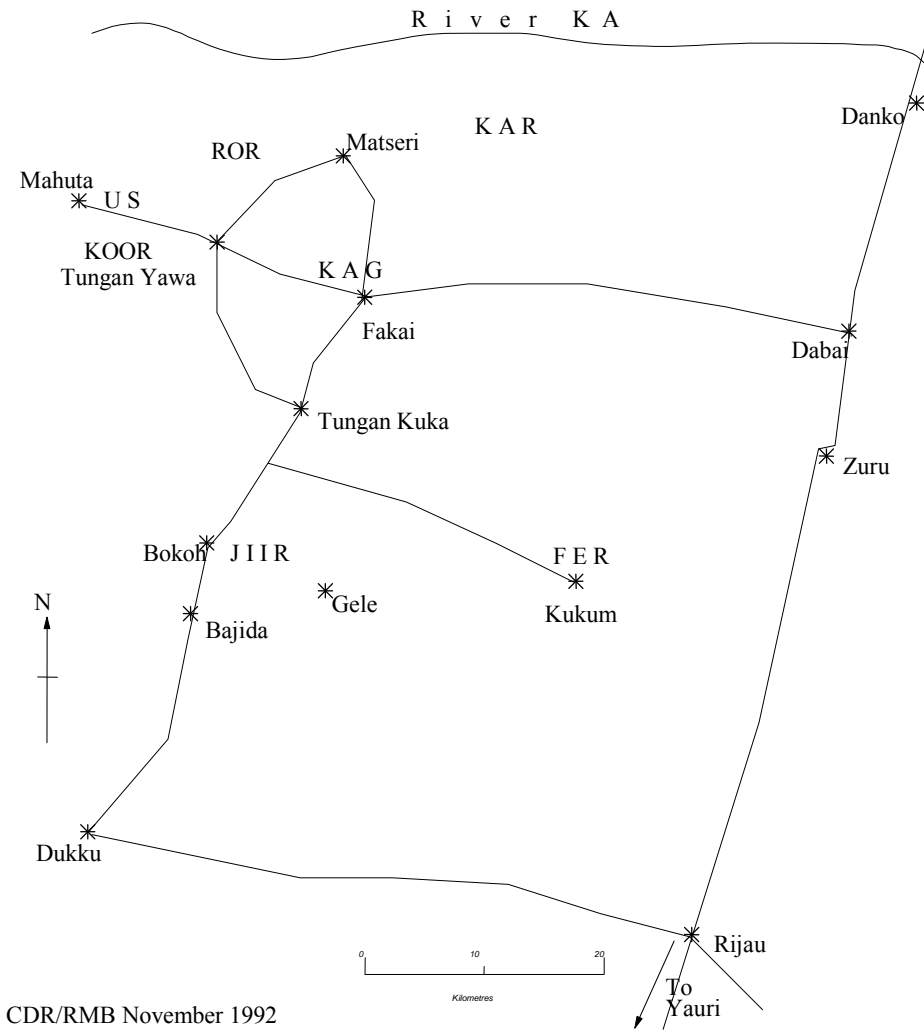
Recently, there has been a move to adopt a cover term. Smith (2007:4) says;

In the year 2000, a small group that represented the different clans chose the name ut-Ma'in (*ət-Māʔin*) as a cover term for the purposes of unity and language development (Heath et al. 2004). Though this name is not yet in common use, the meaning clearly represents the common language shared by all eight clans. Following The first person inclusive pronoun, *in*, replaces the clan name and results in the word *ət-Māʔin*.

In the light of this, it will be interesting to see if this term is generally adopted.

Map 6 shows the locations of the Kag cluster;

Map 6. The Kag cluster



**3.8.4 Wəri-Gwamhyə-Mba**

The group formerly listed as Wurə-Gwamhyə-Mba are now given the name of the three languages constituting a cluster, Wəri-Gwamhyə-Mba. The Mba people, known locally as Kokanawa, have not previously been reported. These peoples appear in Rowlands (1962) as the Bangawa or Lyase-ne (the cLela form) as their centre is given as Donko. Rowlands give a short list of nouns in their language. Some confusion has arisen because Bangawa is also applied to another group of people in this region, the people of Ukata (see section 3.3) who speak a dialect of Kambari.

The peoples who speak these languages are divided into three groups. Table 10 shows the correct names for the peoples and languages.

**Table 10. Autonyms of the Wəri-Gwamhyə-Mba cluster**

One person	The people	The language	Hausa
wa-Wəri	a-Wəri	d-Wəri	Wurawa
wa-Gwamhyə	a-Gwamhyə	d-Gwamhyə	Gwamfawa
wa-Mba	a-Mba	?	Kokanawa

Despite much discussion we were unable to confirm the language name of the Mba, but it is presumed to be d-Mba.

The distinction between these three languages is largely ethnic; speakers can all understand one another without much trouble. The differences are said to largely lie in the ‘tonation’. The Wəri are by far the largest group; they have as many as twenty villages. The Gwamhyə and Mba are smaller and more scattered. All these live between Maga and Donko, largely to the east of the main road. The Fakai [ɥt-Ma’in] live to the west and the cLela to the south. Speakers have the impression that the languages of the Fakai cluster are the most closely related group, but this has yet to be confirmed in the comparative data. There is no literacy work or previous attempts to write these languages.

The Wəri-Gwamhyə-Mba cluster is the smallest subgroup of Northwest Kainji, and it is bounded by Hausa speakers in the north. All speakers except for the youngest children, appear to be near-bilingual in Hausa. As a consequence it might appear to be the most threatened language of the region. In fact this is not the case; all three languages appeared to be extremely lively in early 2011, although Mba [which we did not visit] is undergoing some switch to Hausa in villages on the plain. Exactly what accounts for this persistence [in sharp contrast, for example, to the moribund East Kainji languages] remains to be explained.

Extensive wordlists were taken of Wəri and Gwamhyə directly in villages and a much shorter Mba list from an out-of-context informant in Maga. These confirm that these three lects are extremely close to one another and that a single orthography could be used for them if one were developed.

### **3.8.5 Damakawa**

The Damakawa are a group of perhaps 500-1000 people living in three or four villages situated just south of Maganda on the Dirindaji to Kamuku road in Sakaba LGA, Kebbi State (McGill 2008). The language of the Damakawa was already moribund in 2008, and even the oldest speakers struggle to remember basic terms. Young children in these villages now speak a neighbouring and probably related language, cLela, as their mother tongue. Hausa is also spoken, probably universally. This section lists those few Damakawa words and phrases that we were able to elicit. The researchers were told that the language is still used in traditional rituals carried out on their mountain near Talata (a nearby Acipu settlement). It seems that the Damakawa are not well-regarded by neighbouring tribes. Acipu accounts of their origin are uncomplimentary to say the least, and there is (or was) a taboo forbidding intermarriage with them (which may extend to other tribes as well). Such an attitude may have contributed to the small size of the ethnic group and the current state of the Damakawa language. It is not obvious what to call the language. The original autonyms seem to be lost, and members of the ethnic group refer to themselves using the Hausa term Damakawa. The expected Hausa term for the language would be Damakanci, but those interviewed asked us to use the term ‘Damakawa’ for the language as well. In Cicipu the Damakawa people are referred to as the Adama’un [àdàmàù] and their language as Tidama’un [tìdàmàù]. This was recognised by the Damakawa we met but there is no way of knowing if this was ever the autonym. Photo 5 shows the last rememberers of Damakawa;

Photo 5. The last rememberers of Damakawa



Illustration 3: Maraha Tura (left)



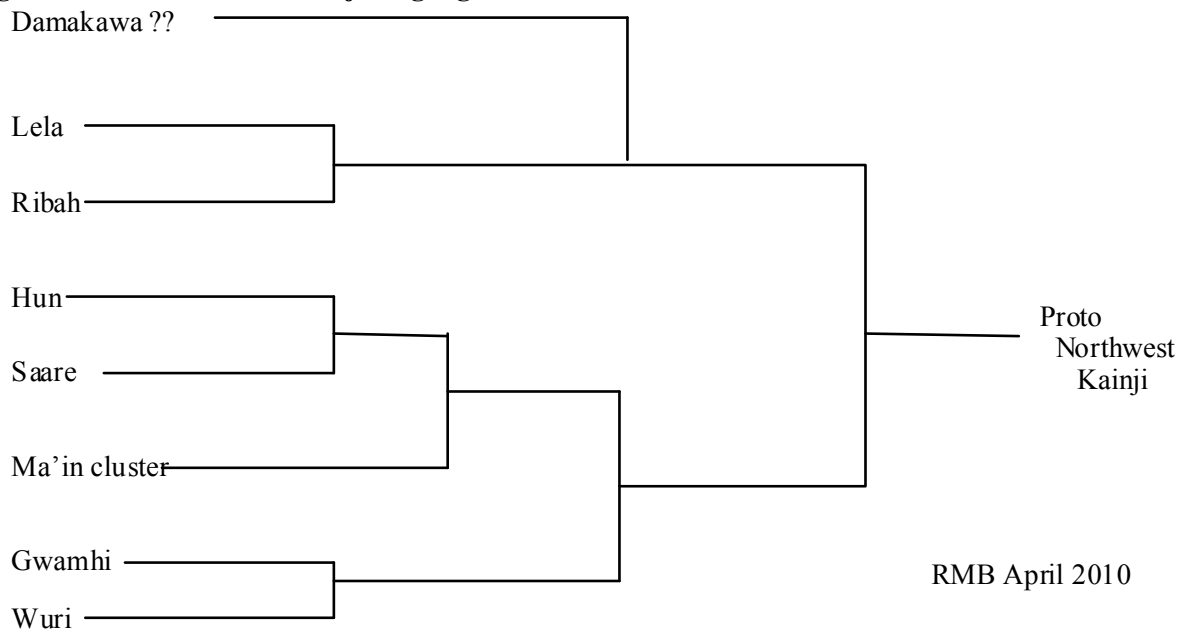
Illustration 4: Tura Zaure

The data, which is included in the comparative wordlist, is too fragmentary to be certain of the affiliation of Damakawa.

### 3.8.6 Subclassification of the Northwest group

The Northwest group is easily defined phonologically by a single innovation; the development of consonantal prefixes with only a transitional central vowel joining them to the stem. These are quite distinctive, not only within West Kainji, but within Benue-Congo as a whole. A surprising feature of the group is that Lela is the most remote member. Many lexical items shared by the other three languages are different in Lela. Since Lela falls between Kag and Wurə-Gwamhyə-Mba geographically, it must have expanded subsequently, separating the two groups. Figure 9 gives a tentative internal classification of the Lela group; evidence for the classification is given in the appendix.

Figure 9. The Northwest Kainji languages



RMB April 2010

## **4. Phonology**

### **4.1 Reshe**

### **4.2 Lake**

#### **4.2.1 Shuba**

#### **4.2.2 Rop**

#### **4.2.3 Proto-Lake**

### **4.3 Kambari**

#### **4.3.1 Cicipu**

#### **4.3.2 Salka**

#### **4.3.3 Auna**

#### **4.3.4 TsuVadi**

#### **4.3.5 Proto-Kamberi**

### **4.4 Basa cluster**

#### **4.4.1 Basa-Benue**

#### **4.4.2 Koromba**

#### **4.4.3 Proto-Basa**

### **4.5 Kamuku cluster**

#### **4.5.1 Cinda**

The consonant inventory of Cinda is described in Mort (n.d.) and shown in Table 11, is similar to that of other West Kainji languages, with the exception of the velar approximant /ɥ/. This sound occurs in Hungwəryə, and also in Rin. Cinda has no labiodental fricatives or labial-velar plosives. Cinda also lacks the implosive stops found in some other Kainji languages (Cicipu, Kambari) and the language of wider communication, Hausa.

Table 11: Cinda consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless Stops	p, p <sup>j</sup> , p <sup>w</sup>	t, t <sup>w</sup>			k, k <sup>j</sup> , k <sup>w</sup>	ʔ, ʔ <sup>j</sup> , ʔ <sup>w</sup>
Voiced Stops	b, b <sup>j</sup> , b <sup>w</sup>	(d) (d <sup>w</sup> )			g, g <sup>j</sup> , g <sup>w</sup>	
Voiced Prenasalised Stops	<sup>m</sup> b	<sup>n</sup> d, <sup>n</sup> d <sup>w</sup>			<sup>ŋ</sup> g, <sup>ŋ</sup> g <sup>j</sup> , <sup>ŋ</sup> g <sup>w</sup>	
Voiceless Fricatives		s, s <sup>w</sup>	ʃ			
Voiced Fricatives		z, z <sup>w</sup>	ʒ			
Voiceless Affricates			tʃ			
Voiced Affricates			(dʒ)			
Voiced Prenasalised Affricates			<sup>n</sup> dʒ			
Nasals	m, m <sup>w</sup>	n n <sup>j</sup>				
Liquids		(l)				
Trills		r, r <sup>w</sup>				
Approximants	w			j	ɥ, ɥ <sup>w</sup>	h, h <sup>j</sup> , h <sup>w</sup>

Allophonic variations are as follows;

Voiceless stops can be freely aspirated to a greater or lesser extent. Some speakers pronounce /t/ almost as [θ] or close to [tʃ], particularly before low vowels.

For some speakers, the consonant /s/ is realized as [f] before [ɔ]. Speakers tend to consistently use either [s<sup>w</sup>ɔ] or [fɔ], but variation in the same context occurs between speakers.

Prenasalisation is not always detectable utterance-initially, but when preceded by a vowel, the prenasalisation is heard.

The velar approximant /ɥ/ can optionally be pronounced with a retroflex tongue: [ɥ̠].

The palatalised nasal /n<sup>j</sup>/ can also optionally be pronounced with a retroflex tongue: [n̠].

### Vowels

Cinda vowels are quite restricted, as shown in the table, but is similar to Hungwɔryɛ and indeed many chadic languages.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Low	ɛ	a	ɔ

Cinda vowels exhibit cross-height harmony rather than the ATR harmony more characteristic of Niger-Congo.

Vowel nasality is contrastive in Cinda, but typical spreads leftwards from the root. Thus if the final vowel is nasal the features spreads across the phonological word. Nasal vowel phonemes are relatively uncommon. Only 78 out of 686 noun roots (11%) contain a nasal vowel phoneme, and only 32 out of 430 verb roots (7.4%).

### Tone

The tone inventory of Cinda is analysed as two level tones, here referred to as high (H) and low (L). These are most clearly seen in bisyllabic noun roots, which display all four expected patterns: HH, HL, LH, LL. Cinda makes use of both lexical and grammatical tone. Lexical tone contrasts are relatively rare, but they can be found in noun roots. Contrastive tone pairs can also be found across grammatical categories. Many demonstratives and possessives form a pair with a noun, such as [mì-ní] ‘‘NC10-water’’ and [mí-ní] ‘‘NC10-1SG.POSS’’. Tone is apparently lexicalised as a pattern on a morpheme rather than as tones assigned to individual syllables. In reversed speech, the tone melody across a morpheme remains the same even though the syllables have been reversed, showing that it exists independently from the syllables.



### Automatic downstep

Automatic downstep occurs in Cinda, whereby a low tone triggers the lowering of the pitch of subsequent high and low tones, for example:

- 1) [bèràkwà bí-ní]  
 /bè-ràkwà bí-ní/  
 horse NC4-1SG.POSS  
 “my horse”

If the first tone of an utterance is low, it tends to have the same pitch as the final low of the previous utterance, and the first high tone of the new utterance re-sets the register to a higher pitch.

When people are calling over a distance, downstep seems to be eliminated and the tones are pronounced at the same pitch throughout the utterance.

### Non-automatic downstep

The above two processes, tone spreading and automatic downstep occurring together produce non-automatic downstep. When a H tone spreads to the right, it can cause a L tone to be delinked and become floating. The L tone still causes downstep, but this is considered non-automatic because the L tone is not itself otherwise evident.

Here the H tone of the first syllable of the noun [bágò] spreads to the second syllable. The low tone is delinked as shown in the diagram. The floating low tone causes downstep of the following H tone.

### Upstep

Example (**Error! Reference source not found.** above could also be considered an example of upstep, where a H tone becomes “super-high” before a L tone, here a delinked, floating L tone. However, this analysis is problematic since the upstepped tone is actually the same H tone as has spread from the the previous syllable, as shown in the diagram. To enable an analysis of upstep, we would be required to say that, once the tone has spread, it divides and becomes two separate tones, the second of which is upstepped.

#### 4.5.2 Rogo

#### 4.5.3 Shama

#### 4.5.4 Hungwəryə

The description of Hungwəryə phonology is adapted from Hackett & Davies (2009). Table 12 shows the consonant inventory, which is really surprisingly small, although extended by the palatal and labial prosodies.

**Table 12. Hungwəryə consonant phonemes**

p, p <sup>w</sup> , p <sup>j</sup>	t, ṭ	k, k <sup>w</sup> , k <sup>j</sup>	ʔ, ʔ <sup>w</sup> , ʔ <sup>j</sup>
b, b <sup>w</sup> , b <sup>j</sup>	d, ḍ	g, g <sup>w</sup> , g <sup>j</sup>	
	ʃ, ʃ̣		
	s, ṣ	h, h <sup>w</sup> , h <sup>j</sup>	
	z, ẓ		
m, m <sup>w</sup> , (m <sup>j</sup> )	n, n <sup>w</sup> , n <sup>j</sup>		
	ɹ, ɹ <sup>w</sup> , ɹ <sup>j</sup>	j	w
			(ɥ)

### Vowels

i	ĩ	i:	ĩ:	u	ũ	u:	ũ:
ɛ	ẽ	ɛ:	ẽ:	ə	ẽ	ə:	ẽ:
	a	ã	a:	ã:			

Tone

Hungwəryə has two level tones, High and Low. Downstep is not reported, but it would be surprising if it was absent.

#### 4.5.6 Proto-Kamuku

### 4.6 Shiroro languages

#### 4.6.1 Baushi

#### 4.6.2 Fungwa

#### 4.6.3 Rin

#### 4.6.4 Gurmana

#### 4.6.5 Proto-Shiroro

### 4.7 East Kainji

#### 4.7.1 Boze

#### 4.7.2 Gbiri

Gbiri has been described by Wenger (ined.) and a substantial wordlist has been recorded by Roger Blench (ined.)<sup>10</sup>. There is also a lengthy wordlist in WeSay format, which contains considerable cultural material, but which is not transcribed in a consistent manner. The following material derives from the two sources.

Table 13 shows the consonant phonemes of tuGbiri;

**Table 13. TuGbiri consonant phonemes**

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Labiovelar	Velar	Glottal
plosive vl.	p p <sup>y</sup>	t t <sup>y</sup>		kp kp <sup>y</sup>	k k <sup>y</sup>	
vd.	b b <sup>y</sup>	d d <sup>y</sup>		gb	g g <sup>y</sup>	
fricative vl.		s s <sup>y</sup>				h
vd.		z z <sup>y</sup>				
nasal	m m <sup>y</sup>	n n <sup>y</sup>		ŋm	ŋ	
flap		r r <sup>y</sup>				
approximant vl.				ʌ		
vd.			y	w		
lateral		l l <sup>y</sup>				

and Table 14 the vowel phonemes;

---

<sup>10</sup> Thanks to Mr. xx for recording the wordlist, in Jos May 2012.

**Table 14. TuGbiri vowel phonemes**

	front	central	back
close	i: i		u: u
mid	e: e	ə ə:	o o:
low		a a:	

#### **4.7.3 Rurama**

#### **4.7.4 TiMap**

#### **4.7.5 Atsam**

#### **4.7.6 Proto-East Kainji**

### **4.8 Northwest**

#### **4.8.1 cLela**

#### **4.8.2 tHun**

#### **4.8.3 Fakai cluster**

#### **4.8.4 Wuri cluster**

#### **4.8.5 Damakawa ?**

#### **4.8.6 Proto-Northwest**

### **4.9 Proto-Kainji**

## **5. Morphology**

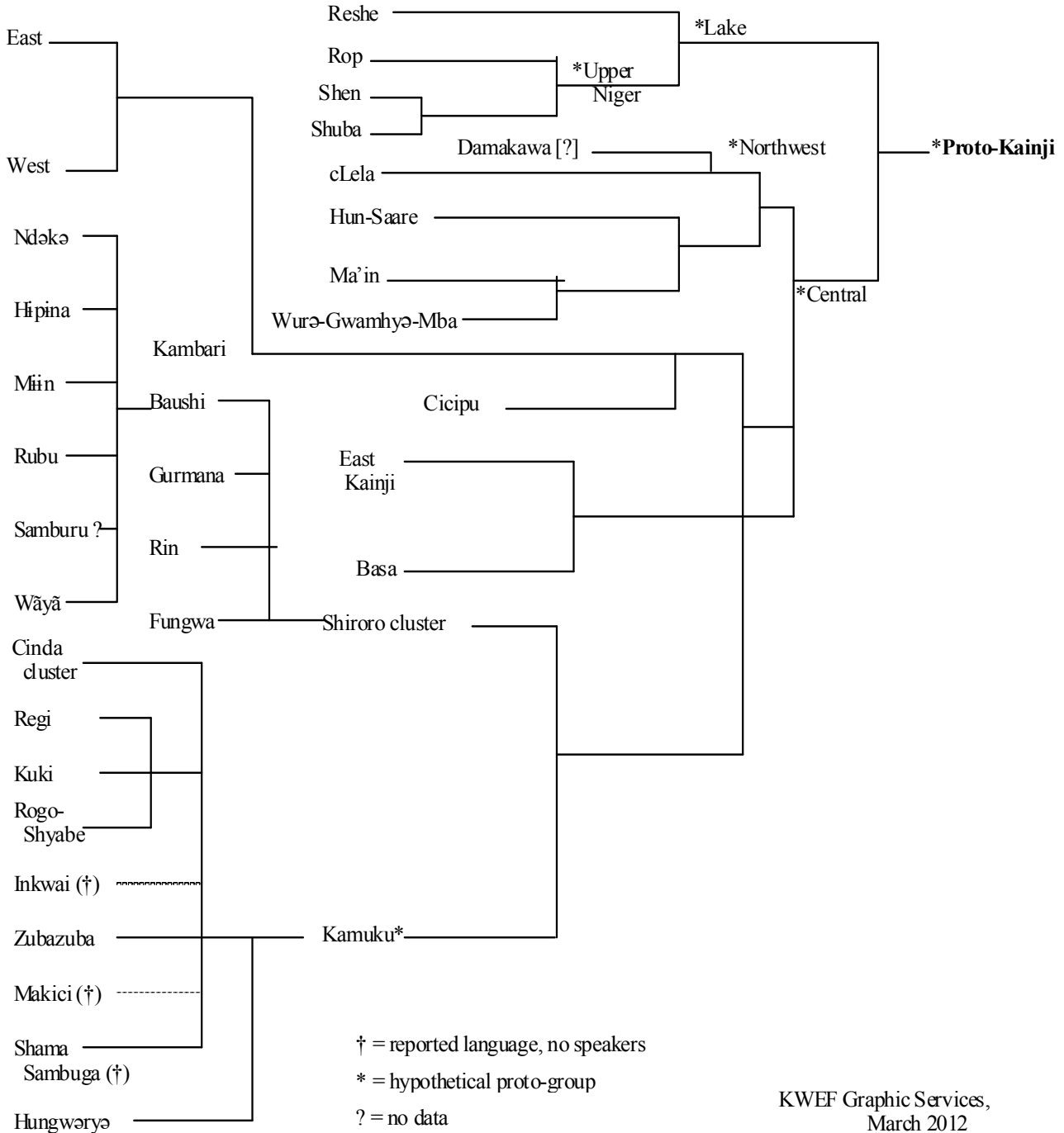
## **6. Grammar**

## **7. Proposed subclassification of Kainji Languages**

The unpublished data makes it possible to speculate on the internal relations of the Kainji languages. The phonological and morphological evidence clearly defines some subgroups but it is not yet adequate to propose innovations validating the higher nodes.

Figure 10 shows a tentative subclassification of the Kainji languages. I have proposed some names for the classificatory levels represented by different nodes. If further work confirms the tree outlined here then they can either be adopted by something more culturally appropriate.

Figure 10. Subclassification of Kainji Languages



8. The prehistory of the Kainji Languages

The Kainji languages are spread across a significant region of west and central Nigeria and it is therefore an intriguing question to try and ask when and how they spread and what was the stimulus that allowed this expansion. Linguistic geography suggests that Kainji once constituted a unified group spread across from the Jos Plateau to northwestern Nigeria and that it was broken into two groups by the northward spread of the Nupoid languages. The nineteenth century slave trade, which saw horseback mounted riders penetrating many

parts of the Middle Belt and the establishment of a major slaving outpost in Kontagora, was an additional force to disperse populations. The far-flung Basa populations may well reflect the dislocations of this era.

How long ago was this? It was certainly prior to the diffusion iron-smelting technology in Central Nigeria, which is usually dated to about 2500 BP (ref). The key evidence is the potential to reconstruct cereal agriculture, and here the evidence remains ambiguous. Millet was clearly unknown until much later, and the reconstruction for sorghum is uncertain, since it depends on the Lake languages being cognate with the #*hyu* forms found elsewhere. Nonetheless, if agriculture is 4-3000 years old in this region (ref), then this would be reasonable date for the dispersal of Kainji, given its internal diversity. The Nupoid expansion northwards would have presumably been somewhat more than a thousand years ago, cutting off the East Kainji languages, but apparently stimulating their diversification.

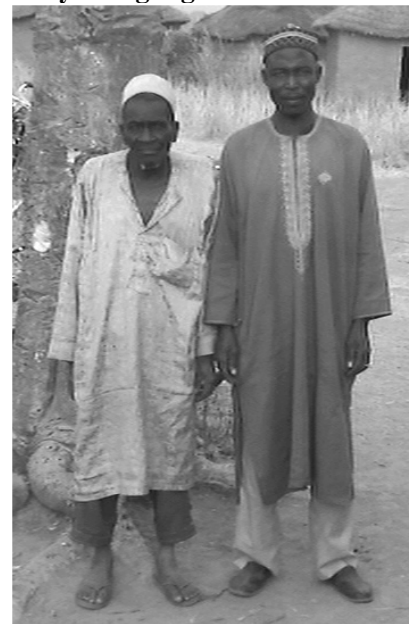
### **Appendix 1. The end of Ziriya and Kεrε**

The Ziriya language is first referred to in Shimizu (1982: 108 ff.) where a brief wordlist is given. Sheni informants insisted that Sheni was the same language as Ziriya; however, the wordlists in Shimizu differ from one another, perhaps as a result of faulty recall. We visited Ziriya on 30<sup>th</sup> December 2003 and were able to interview Sarki Abubakar Yakubu, probably the last person with any recall of the language (Photo 6). Ziriya village is situated at N10° 22.6, E 8° 50. Ziriya was divided into a number of wards as follows;

Ziriya, Salingo, Kajakana, Wurno, Ungwar Marika, Funka and Farin Dutse.

The language has definitively disappeared, and even Sarkin Yakubu had only spoken it as a child, some sixty years ago. He could recall some greetings and some numbers, all of which corresponded to Seni, suggesting that the assertion that they were the same language is correct. There is a third village, Kεrε, somewhat further north, where the language was dropped even longer ago.

**Photo 6. Sarkin Yakubu (left), the last person to remember the Ziriya language**



**Kainji comparative wordlist**

**Sources**

The list shows the list of West Kainji languages as far as possible in order, with a list of the published and unpublished sources as far as I am aware of them. If you have any new or different information, then I would be pleased to have it. On separate sheet I have presented comparative glosses for the word ‘tortoise’ to establish a possible outline of such a comparative listing.

One of the problems that arises from data drawn from different sources is the comparability of transcriptions. I have established four categories of transcription; orthographic, phonetic, subphonemic and phonemic. These are defined as follows;

**Table 15. Acronyms for transcription types**

O	orthographic	Written in ‘English’ spelling by untrained transcriber
PH	phonetic	Unanalysed transcription
SP	subphonemic	Not all strict phonemic distinctions neutralised (very common!)
P	phonemic	Strict phonemic

**Symbols**

Some of Clark Regnier’s symbols are obscure to me, in particular subdotted forms of IPA graphemes. The following occur in the data;

ɛ  
 ɔ̣  
 ɔ̣̣

ɪ and ʌ also occur but these are strictly phonetic. No West Kainji language appears to have more than eight vowels.

Table 16 shows the principal sources for the Kainji lexicon. The relative value of each source is given in the relevant section above.

**Table 16. Sources for Kainji Languages**

Branch	Subgroup	Language	Sources
Lake	Rerang	Rop	Meek, Blench, McGill
		Laru	Blench, McGill
		Shen	Meek, Sterk, Blench, McGill
Reshe		Reshe	Harris, mss., Agamalafiya, Blench, Detweilers
Northwest	Lela	cLela Zuru	Hoffmann, Rikoto, Detweilers, Regnier, Blench
		cLela Ribah	Blench
	Hun	tHun	Skitch & Cressman, Regnier, Detweilers, Heath
		sSaare	Regnier, Detweilers, Blench
	Gwamhi	Gwamhyə	Regnier, Rowlands, Blench, McGill
		Wurə	Regnier, Blench, McGill
	ut-Ma’in	Mba	Blench, McGill
		Kag	Blench, Regnier
		Fer	Regnier
		Jiir	Regnier
Kər		Regnier	
Koor		None	

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Branch	Subgroup	Language	Sources
		Ror	Smith, Regnier
		Us	Regnier
		Zuksun	Rowlands
	?	Damakawa	McGill
Basa		Basa Kontagora	Rowlands, Blench
		Basa-Gumna	Blench
		Koromba	Blench
		Basa-Gurara	Sterk
		Basa-Benue	Blench
		Basa-Makurdi	Blench
Kamuku		Shama	Regnier, Yoder et al., McGill
		Rogo-Shyabe	Regnier, Yoder et al., Blench, McGill
		Sagamuk	Regnier
		Cinda	BCCW, Rowlands, Regnier, Blench, Mort, Yoder et al.
		Regi	Regnier, Omanor, Yoder et al.
		Kuki	Regnier, Blench, Yoder et al.
		Zubazuba	Yoder et al., Blench, McGill
		Kagare	Yoder et al.
		Hungwerye	Rowlands, Davey
Shiroro		Fungwa	BCCW, Blench, McGill
		Rin	Rowlands, Regnier, Detweilers, Blench, MacDonell & Smith
		Wage	Blench, McGill
		Gurmana	Johnston, Blench, McGill
	Baushi	Ndake	Regnier
		Hipina	McGill
		Rubu	None
		Miin	Gimba, Blench
		Samburu	None
		Waye	Dettweiler
East		Gbiri	Wenger
		Boze	Blench
		Sheni	Blench
		Moro	Blench
Kambari		CiShingini	Hoffmann, Crozier, Stark et al.
		Tsivadi	Lovelace, Blench,
		Baangi	Blench
		Tsikimba	Blench, Stark et al.
		Agwara	Mierau, Stark et al.
		Cicipu	McGill, Detweilers

1. Nouns

1.1 Body parts

	Body	Skin	Head
Rop			
Rerang	ayero	ø-yaagu /a-	ri-hyendə /a-
Shen	pali	yábà	ǰírí
Reshe	yi-twa	hi-wa /tsu-	ri-shitə /a-
cLela	ù-wèdé pl. c-	k-wèdé pl. c-	d-hí pl. c-
Gwamhɪ-R	u-walle	u-bangə	ər-hi pl. əd-
Fakai-A	u-warr	u-ba	ər-hi
Ror	ūwár pl. ətwár	ūkā? pl. ətkā?	ərhí pl. əthí
Hun-east	o-wur	o-ka	ər-hi
Hun-west	u-wər	u-ka	o-hi
Shama	kɛɪŋ	tək	ri-yatɔ
Rɔgɔ-2	u-wab	bə-tək	u-hyi
Səgəmək	a-karo	u-tək	i-ɛc
Cinda-1		təkə	wɔ-ǰí
Cinda-2		tɛkɪ	ɔ-hĩ ɪ
Cinda-4	u-kanga	u-waba	u-hihi
Cinda	mur	tíkì	u-hi
Rɛgi	mur	tək	u-hi
Kuki	mur	tək	h-hi
Hungwɛryə	i-kangə		e-to
Basa-Benué	tu-wawa		ù-hyùhyù
Koromba-R	to-wawa		u-umbu
Gbiri			nĩǰí
Moro		ù-ŋmà /mì-	ù-kpii /mì-
Bauchi-R	u-jiki		u-hyu
Gurmana-R	tu-waba		hwihhi
Rin	tə-ʔwábá /ə-	u-tutú	o-hyúhyú /a-
Rin-2		u-títú	u-ǰíjyo
Ndəkə	aduba		ohiyo
Cicipu	(rù)-'ú	(ù)-kwáa pl. kkwáa	(kà)-tíi no pl.
Salka	lípú	úúkwá	ààcɪ
TsuVadɪ	lipu	u-hwa	ha-ci

	Hair	Body hair	Pubic hair
cLela	v-hí pl. s-	k-kènè pl. c- [also <i>feather</i> ]	v-kòmà pl. s-



Gwamhɪ-R	ələ-hi		
Gwamhyə	əs-hi		
Fakai-A	s-hi		
Fakai-R	ərə-hi		
Ror	ū-hí pl. əs-hí	ūʃʃàn pl. əsʃʃàn	
Hun-east	əs-hi	o-can /ət-	əs-kwəm
Hun-west	əs-hi		
Shama	tə-hɪnj		
Rɔgɔ-2	tə-hɪnj		
Səgəmuk	ʃi:		
Cinda-1	tɔ-hɪndə		
Cinda-2	tɔ-hɪŋgyə		
Cinda-4	u-hi		
Cinda	tu-hɪnj		
Rɛgi	tə-hɪnj		
Kuki	tu-hɪndu		
Hungwəryə	ce-hinje		
Basa-Benue	bi-hinzhe /ti-		
Koromba-R	kə-njirə		
Bauchi-R	tə-hinje		
Ndəkə	tihinj		
Gurmana-R	ziro		
Rin	tə-hínjé		
Cicipu	(s)-sɪ'ɪ pl. isɪ'ɪ	as 'hair'	
Salka	ǎzi	éllémé	
TsuVadɪ	h-enji		
Rop			
Shuba	hɛbi pl. se-hɪ		
Shen	ʃírípù		
Reshe	w-inə /c-		

	<b>Face</b>	<b>Ear</b>	<b>Nose</b>
cLela	à-cú pl. s-	ù-cón pl. c-	d-wén pl. c-
Gwamhɪ-R	u-cə	ər-səmə	ərə-sómɔ
Gwamhyə	u-cə	ə-tɔ	ər-səmə, ər-səmɔ
Fakai-A		ø-tøn	ør-sa
Fakai-R	u-ʃə		ərə-sua
Ror	ūʃʃə pl. əʔʃʃə	ūtó pl. əʔtó	ərs <sup>w</sup> à pl. əʔs <sup>w</sup> à
Hun-east	o-co	ət-tɔ	əs-ho
Hun-west	ʃo	o-tɔ	ər-ho

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Shama	ʃənɔ	a-tɔbi	ri-ɔ:n
Rogo-2	i-ʃɪn	a-tɔmbe	ɛ:-nɔ
Səgəmək	ka-ʃən	a-tɔbi	ri-ɔ:n
Cinda	tùnú	tómbè	é-énò
Régi	tunu	tɔmbi	ɛ-nɔ:
Kuki	tunɔ	tɔmbi	ɛ-no
Hungwəryə	sunu	a-tobi	ŋw-ano
Rin	a-pusuka [< H.]	ù-cébyé /à-	ùuʔánú
Ndəkə		acaba	yanane
Basa-Benue			i-ɲenu /ø-
Koromba			
Gbiri		kutu	pì-nīm
Moro		ò-to /tò-	bì-ɲimu /i-
Cicipu	(kà)-húsà pl. à-	(kù)-tívì pl. àttívì	(kà)-húu pl. à-
Salka	ùùrèwéésù	ùùtsàvù	vùunù
Rop			
Shuba	a-haahũ	to pl. ato	ro-hǒro /a-
Shen		có	gó
Reshe	a-tsu	ú-tò /a-	rora

	<b>Eye</b>	<b>Mouth</b>	<b>Lip</b>
cLela	d-isó pl. c-	k-nwé pl. c-	k-dòmɔ [? bilə-kə-nəwə [= <i>edge of mouth</i> ] [?]
Gwamhyə	əl-íʃi/əd-	u-nu	u-gəhɔ
Ror	ə́rís pl. ə́tís	ūnú pl. ə́nú:	ə́rgə̀p pl. ə́tgə̀p
Hun-east	o-yiʃ pl. ege-	o-nu	ər-gwɔp/ət- o-tar [ <i>upper lip</i> ]
Hun-west	ər-iʃ	o-nu	"
Shama	ri-iʃ	ɪ-ndɔ	dɔmbu
Rɔgɔ-2	"	u-nɔ	a-mɔs
Səgəmək	a-wuʃ	kɪ-nu	
Cinda	íʃi	u-nu	bè-rəmbó
Régi	íʃi	u-nu	rəmbo
Kuki	íʃi	u-nu	"
Hungwəryə	e-yis	ŋw-unu	bi-ryá
Basa-Benue	íʃɛ	u-nu /o-	
Koromba-R	əʃɛ		

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Gbiri	nayizə		
Boze	ri-dʒi /a-	à-nu/ti-	
Moro	li-yizi /à-	ù-ŋmì /mì	
Bauchi-R	a-ife		
Gurmana-R	ri-ijī		
Rin-2	ùrí:ǰé	ũ-nũ /a-	bijǎmbò /n-
Ndəkə	rise	uno	
Cicipu	(ko)-ósì pl.	(ù)-nôo /ñ-	?
	òwósi		
Salka-D	lyùusû	ùùnâ	ùùná wògǔ [upper lip] ùùná wèzàlâ [lower lip]
Rop			
Shuba	ru-ɔmbi /a-	nu /anu	
Shen	mèmbí	nú	
Reshe	ri-nini /a-	u-nu /a-	hi-bobe /i-

	<b>Tongue</b> <sup>11</sup>	<b>Tooth</b>	<b>Cheek</b>
cLela	d-rémé /c-	v-níná /ø- k-níná /c- (large ~)	ù-gàtə /c- s-iama [n/R]
Gwamhɪ-R	ø-reme	ninu	əɫə-gətə
Gwamhyə	ər-reme	nine	ər-gətə
Fakai-R	ør-rerem	nun	ərə-gət
Ror	ǎl:ém pl. ǎtrém	ūnín pl. nín	ǎrgət pl. ǎtgət
Hun-east	ər-rem	o-yin/ ɛgɛ-	ər-geeg /ət-
Hun-west	ən-din	o-nin	ər-geeg /ət-
Shama	k-ari	ri-ɛ:r	a-suk
Rɔgɔ-2	ayaɪ	a-nin	a-sugə
Səgəmək	k-ari	a-ər	
Cinda	ʔǎ-ɥǎ	í-nǎ	a-gaw
Regi	ai'a	i:na	səgə
Kuki	a:n	i:n	a-ʃɛbuʃɛbu
Hungwəryə	a-ryín	í-yélà, h-é:là	sugu
Rin	ù-ryètù /a-	rùjǎ /a-	ù-gàwà /a-
Ndəkə	unyarata	rine	
RuBasa	ì-rɛtu		
Gbiri	pilem	pi-bangu/i-	
More	lè-lɛn /à-	biini /tùuni	
Cicipu	(ké)-ré'è pl. éré'è	(ká)-ngáa pl. ángáa	(ka)-ágùdù pl. á-
Salka	èèlèntsù /è-	áá-ŋgá /á-	ùù-gbàzùgù /ù-
TsuVadí	hɛ-lentsu	h-anga	e-sue

<sup>11</sup> Usually polysemous with 'language'

Rop			
Shuba	ri-rimiya /a-	fo-yefə /a-	ri-hēm /a-
Shen	lágùzù	yùwí	
Reshe	rí-lùmè /a-	ri-shika /a-	

	Forehead	Chin	Beard	
cLela	d-cùmku /c-	d-lèklókù /c-	v-rèrù /s- [pl. = <i>beard</i> ]	
Gwamhyə		ər-ləkər	sə-ləlu	
Ror Jiir	ər-pôŋ / ət-	əl:ók pl. ətrók ər-líkəmpər	əsrər	
Hun-east Hun-west		ər-rekəmpər /ət- ər-gəmpər	əs-camnu	
Shama Rəgə-2		ba-jegɔ ri-jək	a-jerɔ	
Cinda-R Cinda-4 Cinda Regi Kuki		rík <sup>w</sup> ì " rɛ-okɔ	a-rero turaru tərɪl təru tərɪl	
Hungwəryə		bi-jegu	e-jero	
Basa-Benue Koromba			fɪ-dzɛlu i-jeru	
Bauchi-R Rin-R	ɪtúnú	ù-ŋjúkú /a-	njeru àndzǔrù	
Cicipu Salka TsuVadi	(cì)-cǐi pl. ñ- n/C	(kó)-jògù pl. ójògù ì-lègù /ñ- i-legu	cíyò no pl. n-tsikê i-tsəhə	
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe	rə-payanə /a- ri-tugu /a-	—	bəibu pl. sə-bəibu ú-bùbù /tsu-	
	Neck	Throat	Voice	Shoulder <sup>12</sup>
cLela	ø-tòró /s-	v-gòdò /s-	v-gòdò /s-	ù-kápó/ c- u-dankala [= ~ <i>blade</i> ]
Gwamhyə Gwamhyə	gegse gekse	calə		u-kahə
Fakai-A	gekes			

<sup>12</sup> Usually polysemous with ‘wing’

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Ror	ǝrgɛ̀kàs pl. ǝtgɛ̀kàs	ũʃw̃âr pl. ǝstʃw̃âr		ũkáp pl. ǝʔkáp
Fer	gɛks			zogat kap
Hun-east	ǝr-gɛks	ǝs-cɔr/ nɛ- o-sǝt		o-gar ǝr-hide okap [ <i>shoulders</i> ] hit ǝdǝ-gaba
Hun-R				ǝrǝ-bɛkteben
Hun-5	ǝr-gɛks	o-cɔr	cɔr	
Shama	bi-gwɔpɔ			a-tot
Rɔgɔ-2	a-twɔr			/ʃi-tut
Sǝgǝmuk	bi-taro			
Cinda	bɛ-ragɔ	o-gwandogwand	bɛ-ɯǝgɔ	ʔi-tútú
Rɛgi	bi-yagu			a-tut
Kuki	bi-ragɔ			aba'au
Hungwǝryǝ	bi-twarya			u-tutu
Rin	ù-rùrù /a- orara	ù-tʃútʃwǎ:rú /a-	?	bítútú
Ndǝkǝ				
Moro	li-ŋmelo /ǎ-			
RuBasa	ù-ruoruo			ù-tùtù
Cicipu	(ci)-llú pl. mí-	(mǝ)-gǝllǝ pl. ñgǝllǝ	(kù)-dǝǝ pl. ò-	(kù)-lúngù pl. à-
Salka	yínlú	ǝǝ-lǝkútsù /ǝ-	ù:dýô	ùù-vànggáçì /ù-
TsuVadì	hi-llu	he-gorovili		i-lingu
Rop				
Shuba	rǝ-ɔɔru /a-	ɔrobi /a-		tam /a-
Shen	wò <sup>w</sup>			
Reshe	rotso	u-kokuto /i-	u-kokuto /i-	u-kapya /a-

**Armpit**

**Arm**

cLela	d-hàpà /c-	à-kómá /c-
Gwamhyǝ	sotr-kahǝ	u-kumu/ǝd-
Fakai-A		u-kom
Ror	sóʔùkóp pl. sóʔǝtkóp	ũkóm pl. ǝtkóm
Fer		
Hun-R		u-kom
Hun-east	ǝr-hapɛ	o-kom
Hun-west	ǝr-hapɛ	u-kom
Shama		wa
Rɔgɔ-2	ʃɛ-apat	ya
Sǝgǝmuk	ka-apat	wa:k
Cinda-R		o-wo
Cinda-2	opata	ɔwɔ

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Cinda	apat	o:w
Regi	abat	o:w
Kuki	apat	o:w
Hungwəryə		u-wa
Basa-Benue		u-yala
Koromba-R		kə-ara
Bauchi-R		o-all
Gurmana-R		nigya
Rin	ùpàkàrkà	ùʔàrá
Ndəkə		arara
Moro		wà-ʔara /tə-
Cicipu	(kù)-pítáráanáa pl. à-	n/M
Salka	wìppányàn	u-kyerye
TsuVadi		hwerye
Rop		
Shuba	—	taha /a-
Shen		tá
Reshe		

	<b>Upper Arm</b>	<b>Elbow</b>
cLela	c-tàmpò	kòkò pl. s-
Gwamhyə		kukuntu
Fakai-A		
Ror	ərdʒwāk pl. əʔdʒwāk	ūkōkōn pl. əskōkōn
Fer	u-kap	u-kəkən
Hun-east	o-kap	
Hun-west	"	
Shama	a-səŋgarumi	
Rəgə-2	a-suŋgərum	
Səgəruk	kə-səŋgarum	
Cinda		ʔi-súŋgúwúmù
Regi		ə-suŋgarəm
Kuki		səŋgarum
Hungwəryə		
Basa-Benue		
Koromba-R		
Bauchi-R		
Gurmana-R		
Rin-R		

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Cicipu ? (kò)-górúmò *pl.* à-  
 Salka ò:bòlù  
 TsuVadí

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

	<b>Finger</b>	<b>Fingernail</b>	<b>Palm/Sole</b>
cLela	v-gyú <i>pl.</i> s-	v-kùbù <i>pl.</i> c-	dàksò <i>pl.</i> c-
Gwamhyə		kukebø	
Gwamhyə	u-gwabə əv-jəbə	əp-kwə jəbə	u-daksə
Fakai-A		karanku	
Ror	ūdzó <i>pl.</i> dzó	ūkāránjkù <i>pl.</i> kāránjkù (S) u-karanku/əs- (R)	ərdákə̀s <i>pl.</i> əʔdákə̀s
Fer	u-jo	u-kanku	
Hun-R	o-jo	u-kanku	ə̀rə-daks
Hun-east	o-jow	kanku	ə̀r-dakse, o-da
Hun-west	o-jo	u-kanku	"
Shama	e-bwabɔ	bi-səri/a-	
Rəgə-2	e-bwab	bə-səi	ɛ-ɛeə
Səgə̀muk	ke-bwab	e-sweri	
Cinda	é-bób <sup>w</sup> à	bè-sóɥè	
Rəgi	e-bobo	bi-səri	bə-tara
Kuki	e-bob	bi-səri	bə-tar
Hungwəryə	i-bwabu	bi-swǎí	u-tak
Bauchi-R	bi-mve		
Gurmana-R	kumba [<H.]		
Rin	bi-mbwà	biswəri	u-ban a <sup>?</sup> ara
Rin-2		ĩn-sĩri	u-bamin na <sup>?</sup> ara
Ndəkə		rusure	
Moro	li-bo /si-	bè-ɲòko /è-	
Basa-Benue	vu-vəvə		
Koromba-R	bi-mbabwa		
Cicipu	(kò)-zúvù <i>pl.</i> ò-, òzízúvù	(kà)-káncírí <i>pl.</i> à-	(kà)-tádá <i>pl.</i> à-
Salka	à:kàtsù	ə̀kkpátə̀	n/C
TsuVadí	a-katsə	u-toho ɪ	
Rop			
Shuba		gungu /a-	
Shen			
Reshe			

	<b>Chest</b>	<b>Breast</b>
cLela	d-gèn pl. c-	d-dón pl. c-
cLela	ù-sòkà pl. c-	
Gwamhyə	ø-re	øb-romø
Gwamhyə	u-sòkə	ə-dɛ
Wurə		əb-romə
Fakai-A		ød-de
Ror	ərgèn pl. ətgièn (S) ər-səg (R)	ərdé pl. əʔdé
Fər	ər-gən	
Hun-east	ər-wə	ər-dɛ
Hun-west	ər-o	əd-dɛ
Shama	bì-fɪndɔ	rɪ-sup/ə-
Rəgə-2	bì-fɪnɔ	ə-sub
Səgəmuk	bì-fɪ	ə-sup
Cinda	bì-fɪjì	/í-súbì
Rəgi	bì-fɪ	mə-sup
Kuki	bì-fɪ	ə-sup
Hungwəryə	bì-sì	ə-subə
Basa-Benue	ə-uvə	ə-suvə
Koromba-R	e-kwagwo	ə-sue
Moro		lì-mààne
Bauchi-R	tə-ub	mì-sub
Gurmana-R	gwabu	ə-subə
Rin-R	àʔúbé	màjè:súbé
Ndəkə		musibi
Cicipu	n/M	(kà)-sí'yá pl. à-
Salka	mə̀kə̀n:kə̀n	mà:ní
TsuVadí	mə-hu	h-ani
Rop		
Shuba		ri-hiŋga /a-
Shen		gínòbí
Reshe		



	Penis	Vagina	Clitoris
<b>Northwest</b>			
cLela Zuru	d-lànkà /c-		d-yà /c-
cLela Ribah			
tHun			
sSaare			
Gwamhyə			
Wurə			
<b>Kag cluster</b>			
Kag			
Fere			
Jiir			
Kər			
Koor			
Ror	ā:l:ég pl. ātrég		ā:l:èt pl. ātrèt
Us			
Zuksun			
<b>Basa cluster</b>			
Basa Kontagora			
Basa-Gumna			
Koromba			
Basa-Gurara			
Basa-Benue			
Basa-Makurdi			
<b>Kamuku group</b>			
Shama			
Rəgə			
Səgəmək			
Cinda	bù-dírì		k <sup>w</sup> àndzà bè-règá
Regi			
Kuki			
Hungwəryə			
<b>Shiroro</b>			
Fungwa			
Rin			ùkúryé
Rin Awəgə			
Gurmana			
Ndəkə			
Hipina			
Rubu			
Wāyā			
Gbiri			pìfěrkū
<b>Kambari</b>			
Cicipu	(kə)-zɔɔnɔ pl. ə-	(kà)-kúci pl. à-, (kà)-gillí pl. à-	
Salka	é:péné		ú:gúsú
Tsuvadí			
Baangi			
Tsikimba			

Agwara

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

ri-rigə /a-

ri-law/a-

	Heart	Liver	Kidney
cLela	v-dúmú/s-	d-dèbè pl. c-	
Gwamhyə	əv-zəmə	ər-jabə, ər-yabə	
Fakai-A Ror	ər-hur dʒāb pl. əsdʒāb (S) ər-hur/ət- (R)	ər-dʒāb pl. əʔ- ər-jab/əd-	
Fer			
Hun-east Hun-west	ər-hur "	ər-ja:b ər-jab	
Shama Rəgə-2 Səgəmək	rə-kək i-du kocəkʊ	ka-səb a-bofən	
Cinda-2 Cinda Regi Kuki	i:-rʊ ì-rú ì-rú ì-rú	ʔà-bòzà a-pəru am-bofən a-bwəje	é-ufómá
Hungwəryə	e-koko		
Basa-Benue Koromba-R		a-səbɔ /ʃi-	
Moro Gbiri	lè-nòŋ /à- kū-nóyò	lè-gwo /à-	
Bauchi-R Gurmana-R Rin Ndəkə	bi-gátá bigeta	rù-swəbwə asobĩ	
Cicipu Salka TsuVadĩ	(kò)-dúù pl. ò- ɔ-kwələ hə-du	(kà)-piiri pl. à-i àsɛvù	
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe	rə-bi /a- yàβí	sə-ʔya pwibí ri-nuhe	
	<b>Belly</b>	<b>Stomach</b>	
cLela	əbú	d-bətè k-bètè pl. c- [animal ~]	
Gwamhyə	əd-məne		
Fakai-A	ər-men		

Ror	ǝrmên pl. ǝtmên	
Hun-R	ǝtǝ-meni	
Hun-east	ǝd-men	
Hun-west	ǝr-men	
Shama	mǝ-kǝb	
Rǝgǝ-2	mǝ-cǝŋgu	
Sǝgǝmuk	ʃu:	
Cinda	mǝ-cǝŋgu	à:mé
Regi	mǝ-cǝŋgu	
Kuki	mǝ-cǝŋgu	
Hungwǝryǝ	mu-kabǝ	
Moro		li-bangi /ǝ-
Rin	tǝmbǝrǝ	ùtʃùtʃòkò
Ndǝkǝ	awĩbi	
Cicipu	(kò)-túmó pl. ò-	(kò)-cílò pl. ò-
Salka	ǝ:tsímǝ	ǝótímbí
Rop		
Shuba		ru-kusu /a-
Shen	p <sup>wí</sup>	
Reshe	rí-pò /a-	

**Commentary:** cf. Nupe *tùmbi* and CB #-*tùmbe*.

	<b>Vein</b>	<b>Intestine</b>
cLela	v-lǝn /s-	c-bàtǝ [pl. of <i>stomach</i> ] k-mènǝ pl. c- [large ~]
Gwamhyǝ		yada-mǝnɛ
Ror	fǝn jǝ-mh'ǝ /sǝ-	jájùmên pl. jágǝmên
Hun-R		ǝtǝ-meni
Hun-east		ǝs-men
Hun-west		yane-men
Shama		ʃibɔ
Rǝgǝ-2		ʃibu
Sǝgǝmuk		
Cinda	bǝ-ndǝ	ʃímbù
Regi		ʃímbu
Kuki		ʃímbu
Hungwǝryǝ		subu
Rin	b'ínì	cǝcuku (R)
Ndǝkǝ		ameme

Moro		managa
Cicipu Salka	(kà)-yíwá <i>pl.</i> à- á:rówá	cíncú <i>pl.</i> ìcíncú tsə-ŋi
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe		pwègúmbi tsu-pihã

	<b>Navel</b>	<b>Rib</b>	<b>Leg</b>
cLela	d-góndó <i>pl.</i> c-13	v-kábó <i>pl.</i> s-14	ù-ná <i>pl.</i> s-
Gwamhyə	ər-ubu	ya-banə	ka-nə/əs-
Ror	ər-óp <i>pl.</i> ət-óp	ŋərjùgàs <i>pl.</i> ƶàrsùgàs (S) u-gas/əs- (R)	ūná <i>pl.</i> ēsá
Hun-R		u-gyɛn	o-na
Hun-east	ər-əb	o-gɛn, o-gagan	u-na
Hun-west	ər-əb	u-bana	"
Shama	ri-wəb	bi-yabɔ	bwɔnd
Rɔgɔ-2	i-wəb	be-wəbu	o-bwɔn
Səgəmək			o-bwɔn
Cinda	ɔbɔ	sək	bòná
Rɛgi	ɔbu	bi-yabu	bwɔn
Kuki	"	bi-yabu	bwɔna
Hungwəryə		mu-afu	-b'óná, í-
Basa-Benue Koromba-R			u-vuna ka-wuna
Bauchi-R Gurmana-R Rin-R Rin Ndəkə			o-van bunwa u-gwonə (R) ùbùnà owitə
Moro Gbiri			ò-bònà /tò- kādēŋfi
Cicipu	rìgídó <i>pl.</i> ̀̀rìgídó híinvi <i>pl.</i> àhíinvi	kám̀̀bà <i>pl.</i> ikám̀̀bà	náa <i>pl.</i> ànáa
Salka TsuVadí	è:bên	àkkám̀̀bù a-hamba	a-na hu-na
Rop Shuba	ru-kuuru /a-	tɛŋgya /a-	kuna /a-

<sup>13</sup> Also 'umbilical cord'

<sup>14</sup> Also 'side'

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Shen	posiri		púnà	
Reshe	hi-pulo /i-		ú-kánà	
	<b>Thigh</b>	<b>Knee</b>	<b>Heel</b>	
cLela	ì-kùtù pl. m-	d-rwín pl. c-	d-kíntù pl. c-	
cLela			d-kyúntù əd-duvcu/əc- ?? R	
Gwamhyə		ør-zwønø		
Gwamhyə	ər-kutu	ər-zənə	bal-kanə	
Fakai-A		ør-jon		
Ror	ūkūt pl. ətkūt	ərdʒwân pl. əʔdʒwân	ər-dəkentɛ/əd- (R)	
Kər			ər-daənta	
Fər			ər-gər	
Hun-R	u-kutu	u-rwən	ərə-pəs	
Hun-east	u-kut	o-rwən	ər-pəs, ər-pos	
Hun-west	"	u-rwən		
Shama	ut	ə-ru		
Rəgə-2	i- ut	u-bərəŋgu		
Səgəmuk	u-kut			
Cinda	ut	u-gurəŋgu	ka-tokɔ	
Rəgi	"	u-gwərəŋg		
Kuki	"	u-gərəŋgu		
Hungwəryə	ú-ʔútə, há-	ŋ-gurum	i-kutəku	
Basa-Benue	i-ute			
Koromba-R	ə-ute			
Moro		ù-luŋ /tù-		
Gbiri	nìtāk			
Bauchi-R	i-ut			
Rin	ùʔútə	ùrúrí	kokwɛbi (R)	
Cicipu	kútóo pl. ìnkútóo	lúu pl. òlúu	rákátáw pl. àrákátáw	
Salka	à:gùtsù	ə:lú	ə-civə	
Rop				
Shuba	kuna tsəŋ /a-	kuna rugu /a-		
Shen		pùnǎw		
Reshe	ú-búni / á-, tsu	ú-kùmu / a-	ri-jupu	
	<b>Back</b>	<b>Waist</b>	<b>Buttocks</b>	<b>Anus</b>
cLela	d-cinè pl. c-	a-bai (R)	wádká pl. c- k-wáná also ù-, c- c-wìdì also v-, k-, s-	

			zúgdá pl. zúgdána <sup>15</sup>	
Gwamhyə	u-cimi		ər-nɔ	
Ror	ūʃɪn pl. əʔʃɪn	ūbiɛn pl. ótbiɛn	ərnò pl. ən:ò	
Jiir			vante-jik	
Hun-R	u-cini		ərə-ta	
Hun-east	o-cm	ər-bion [= <i>waist</i> ?]	ər-ta/ət-	
Hun-west	u-cin	"	o-dɔ	
Shama			bɛ-dag ?/a-tau	
Rɔgɔ-2	a:ba		bəʔɔs	
Cinda	ʔà-bá	ʔi-mbí	ʔà-ʔóssò	bi-tùmbú
Regi			"	
Kuki			məʔɔs	
Hungwəryə	e-əss		e-tau	
Rin	àbáá		ɛŋ-kija (R)	
Ndəkə			uŋkuka	
Basa-Benue	a-ba			
Cicipu	cínó pl. ðcínó		gúutù pl. àgúutù	
Salka	ú:cínó		ù:gùndô	
	bà: yà			
TsuVadi			a-tauŋ	
Rop				
Shuba	ru-waʔ		rubu sujenda	
Shen			inógò	
Reshe	ú-máló /tsu-		á-pínó /tsu-	

	<b>Blood</b>	<b>Bone</b>	<b>Backbone</b>
cLela	m-hibə	k-tɛlɛ pl. c-	
Gwamhyə	əm-hɪr	u-calə	
Fakai-A	m-hyø		
Ror	əmhíó	ūʃār pl. əʔʃār	
Hun-A	m-hyø		
Hun-R	m-hyo	u-caar	
Hun-east	əm-hyo	o-ca:r	
Hun-west	əm-hyɪ	u-ca:r	
Shama	m-ə:i	up	
Rɔgɔ-2	m-ə:i	u-up	
Səgəmək	"	na-own	

<sup>15</sup> Large buttocks

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Cinda	mì-hí	ǔ-pǎ	bì-ʔúndù
Regi	m-ə:i	ə-up	
Kuki	m-əi	up	
Hungwəryə	mə-hyi	ʔupə	
Basa-Benue	mə-hyə		
Koromba-R	mə-heʔe		
Moro	mì-nu	li-tʃàko /à-	
Bauchi-R	mə-hyə		
Rin-R	ma-hi		
Rin	màhyǎ	ùʔùfù	
Ndəkə	mahe	upəŋə	
Cicipu	hínʔin	téré pl. àtéré	
Salka	m̀pàsà	é:télé	
Rop			
Shuba	iiŋgə /a-	ŋɔɔŋ	
Shen	ùŋgú	ure	
Reshe	máyé	wú-pə /tsu-	

	<b>Wound</b>	<b>Scar</b>
cLela	èmánkà d-hwéssè d-lónésè d-òvésè v-hyùndù pl. s-17 m-sónò18 k-tóoká19	v-kùdú pl. s-16 " u-lana pl. cə-
Gwamhyə	u-nɔtɔ	u-ranɛ
Ror	ūnát pl. ɛn:át	ūrán pl. ɛtrán
Hun-R	u-nata	u-wə
Hun-east	o-nat	o-hyar
Hun-west	u-nat	o-rana
Shama	əfɔ	ə-nɛt
Rəgɔ-2	ʃian	
Cinda	ma-gɔn	o-rand
Regi		
Kuki	əpɛu	

<sup>16</sup> pl. = ‘smallpox’

<sup>17</sup> ‘weal, nick, notch’

<sup>18</sup> Also ‘gonorrhoea’

<sup>19</sup> ‘sore place’



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Hungwəryə	i-hugə	u-ranə
Rin	n/M	ùrǎndá
Cicipu	n/M	lánà <i>pl.</i> <b>ǎlánà</b>
Salka	u-vəsu (n/C)	a-lana (n/C) à:gà:dù ì:jìngà kàlàngù
Rop		
Rerang		
Shen		
Reshe		ubundu

	<b>Fear</b>	<b>Bravery</b>
cLela	v-gèlà	èrmê /c- k-dèbè əd-kaò [R]
Gwamhyə	u-gɛle	
Ror	ūgǐêr	?
Fer		əm-campa
Hun-east	o-gyer	
Hun-west	"	
Shama	rias	
Rəgə-2	rias	
Səgəmək	mə-kəre	
Cinda-4	wansa, kamagiwo	
Cinda	was	ma-i
Regi	was	
Kuki	was	
Rin	rùkwàyǎ	
Ndəkə	rokwaiya	
Cicipu	óvóó	n/M
Salka	n/C	n/C
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe	meta	

	<b>Strength</b>	<b>Sickness</b>	<b>Disease</b>
cLela	m-wèsè k-dèbè	gàagó -màlsè /s- əm-səno [R]	

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

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Gwamhyə		əm-sanə	
Ror	ərɛ́ɛb	əsgóm	
Hun-east	əm-wəŋs	gom	
Hun-west	ər-bɛbo	"	
Shama		hɔ:nɔ	
Rɔgɔ-2		ba-gomb [ <i>sick person</i> ]	
Səgəmək		mə-gwəm	
Cinda	sərA	mà-gómà	
Rɛgi		ma-gwəma	
Kuki		ma-gòm	
Rin	ikái		
Cicipu	n/M	ɓóci	
Salka	ú:tʃírá	ntûn <i>pl.</i> <b>ántûn</b> m̀gbêlê ú:bánákún	
Rop			
Shuba		<b>sa'anə</b>	<b>ɔ̃rwa isə</b>
Shen			
Reshe	<b>tsukisa</b>	ciba	

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**Goitre**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rɔgɔ-2

Səgəmək

Cinda-4

Cinda

Rɛgi

Kuki

Rin

Basa-Benue a-mbɔ̀rəkwo/ʃi-

Cicipu

Salka

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

	<b>Hunger</b>	<b>Work</b>
cLela	k-mèró	à-yòmkò s-bíkí [menial ~]
Gwamhyə	mɛle	
Ror	əsmēr	ū-pāmā pl. əs-
Hun-east	mɛr	
Hun-west	mɛr	
Shama	rɪ-yanɔ	
Rəgə-2	ɛ-mɛr	
Səgəmək	ri-yanu	
Cinda-4	ʃimbu	
Cinda	ʃimbɔ	
Regi	ʃimbu	
Kuki	ʃimbu	
Rin	rumura	tũmǎ
Cicipu	kállù <i>pl.</i> <b>állù</b>	núu <i>pl.</i> <b>nnú:</b>
Salka	à:mbòlù	ú:lĩngá
Rop		
Shuba		atomwarə
Shen	wòm	
Reshe	rome	rí-mòndò /a-

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	Urine	Faeces	Diarrhoea
cLela	m-básá	c-wín	m-rwè c-bàsè
Gwamhyə	m-basır		
Ror	əmbás	əmbàs	?
Hun-R	m-məʔəs		
Hun-east	əm-məʔəs		
Hun-west	"		
Shama	ə-nug		
Rəgə-2	ə-nug		
Səgəmək	mə-cəgu		
Cinda	mə-rɪŋg	ʃitun, dɔ̀já [manure]	
Rəgi	ma-yɪŋg		
Kuki	ma-rɪŋg		
Hungwəryə	hə-nugu	tuŋ	
Basa-Benue	mə-yɪŋgə		
Koromba-R	ma-suo		
Bauchi-R	n-wətə		
Rin	ùrɪŋgɔ̀	tù:	
Ndəkə	uhəŋu		
Cicipu	sílònóò	tín	bóosú <i>pl.</i> ðbóosú
Salka	màzàrà	ə:jən	
Rop			
Shuba	səkāhā	su-binni /a-	
Shen	<sup>h</sup> mà		
Reshe	tupəhā		

	Spit	Saliva	Vomit <i>n.</i>	Sweat <i>n.</i>
cLela	cipsó	c-tèi	c-gɔ̀	
cLela	písó			
Gwamhyə	tupsu	m-ta	ər-gusu	
Ror	əʔtəpəs	əmtá	ətgwàʔ	
Hun-R	m-ta			
Hun-east	m-cips	m-ta	ət-gwɔ̀	
Hun-west	"	"	"	
Shama	kɔ̀ɪŋg	ə-təmbrɪ	ta-gɔ̀	
Rəgə-2	tə-cicipəŋg	ma-təmbrɪ	tu-gɔ̀	
Səgəmək	na-tubəŋ	mə-tu	na-gwa	

Cinda-4	tambi	tu-go		
Cinda	karko	ma-tambi	tu-gu	b <sup>w</sup> ázà
Régi	cə-pəŋgəm	ma-təmbi	tu-gə	
Kuki	tə-pəgəm	tu-g		
Hungwəryə	ə-təmbi			
Rin	màtʃími	tu-musa tu-pĩgĩ	gwa:ga v.	
Ndəkə	tirənə		tugwa	
Cicipu	tungo	tóòn <i>pl.</i> <b>ìntóòn</b>	wəulə	
Salka	n/C	mátsôn	ʃà:mâ (v.)	
Rop				
Shuba				
Shen				
Reshe			wéétà (v.)	

## 1.2 Animals

### 1.2.1 General terms

	<b>Animal</b>	<b>Wild animal</b>	<b>Domestic animal</b>
cLela	nómá [= <i>meat</i> ]	nèèmə pl. nèèmnè	ù-tùsù
cLela	riŋ nanu <sup>2</sup> usu R	nəmv vəd-kade R	
cLela	riŋ nəš-na R	riŋ nə-kade R	
Gwamhyə	u-bisa		
Ror	ū-bīśá? /ə̄t-		ap nə dɔg <sup>20</sup>
Hun-east	u-bisa	u-nəm	ər-gət
Hun-west	"	u-bisa	
Shama	nəmi hır	a-məga	
Rəgə-2	dəke	bı-nəm	
Səgəmək	o-dabowi	i-nəm	
Cinda-4	nəmi	bi-undu	
Cinda	dəke	dəke undə	dəke a-rab, nami undə
Régi	dəke	zəmbə ɔnd	
Kuki	dəke	zumbə und	
Hungwəryə	bi-nemi		
Rin		bi-gicwa	
Rin-2		bi-kicow	

<sup>20</sup> = *animal + compound*

Cicipu	lâ	n/M	n/M
Salka	nnâmâ	n/C	n/C
Rop			
Shuba	mərə /a-	mərə kwããrə /a-	
Shen			
Reshe	<b>á-bákèndó</b>		

### 1.2.2 Domestic animals

	Horse	Donkey	Camel
cLela	dókò pl. dókɲò	jánká pl. jánkɲá	rákúmí <i>no pl.</i>
Gwamhyə	əv-lɪni	əv-janka	ūrākūm / rākūm
Ror	ūdʒwá:k pl. dʒwá:k	ūdʒāŋkā pl. dʒāŋkā	
Kər	əv-rɪn		
Hun-east	o-jək	o-janka	
Hun-west	u-jəko	u-janka	
Shama	bi-dakɔ	a-ʒiʔak	
Rəgə-2	bi-dwakɔ	ʒe:k	
Səgəɲuk	bi-dau		
Cinda	bè-rəkʷà	janki	
Regi	bɛ-rakɔ	ʒək	
Kuki	bɛ-rakɔ	ʒek	
Hungwəryə	bi-dəkɰu	ziyaki	
Koromba-R	bi-ndakwa		
Bauchi-R	bi-ndwakə		
Rin-R	bì-ndákɰá /sù-	ùʒɛŋkyɛ /a-	
Basa-Benue	bu-dakwa/i-dakwɛ		
Gbiri		kàdʒèèkī	
Cicipu	dôɔ pl. <b>idôɔ</b>	jákíi pl. <b>injákíi</b>	rákúmí pl. <b>àràkúmí</b>
Salka	ddô pl. iidô	mòlòlì pl. ñlòlì	á:rá:kúmí
Salka		mótóón	
Rop			
Shuba	taangə /a-	fo-jaki /a-	
Shen	ruri	jaki	rakumi

Reshe                      hi-roko /i-                      hí-jákyà /i-                      hí-rákùnbe

**Commentary:** The forms for ‘horse’ are conventionally derived from the Hausa term, *doki*. However, *doki* has no North African etymology and the horse spread in West Africa well before the Hausa expansion. It is at least possible that the Hausa term actually derives from West Kainji languages.

**Commentary:** All the forms for ‘donkey’ except for Salka Kambari are related to Hausa *jaki*. However, Hausa *jaki* is not well explained etymologically. The forms in Northwest Kainji and Kamuku with a nasal are unexpected and may well reflect an earlier form of the word. The history of the donkey in Sub-Saharan Africa is discussed in Blench (2000).

**Commentary:** The camel was introduced into Sub-Saharan Africa by the Berbers and Hausa *rakumi* reflects Berber xx. All the forms in Kainji languages appear to reflect fairly direct Hausa borrowings.

	Cow	Bull
cLela	nààmá pl. nààmná	as 'cow'
Gwamhɪ-R	əvə-na	
Gwamhyə	əv-na	
Fakai-R	u-na	
Ror Cl	səjùná pl. sòóná	gōbjùná pl. gōbóná
Hun-R	o-na	
Hun-east	o-na	
Hun-west	u-na	
Hungwəryə	bi-na	
Shama	bi-na	
Rəgə-2	bɛ-na	
Səgəmuk	bi-nak	
Cinda	bè-ná/ è:-ná	
Regi	bɛ-na	
Kuki	bɛ-na	
Basa-Benue	vu-naha, bɔna	
Koromba-R	be-na <sup>2</sup> a	
Rin	bì-náá /i-	
Gurmana-R	bi-na <sup>2</sup> a	
Bauchi-R	bi-ne	
Ndəkə	bina	
Wāyā	bina?	
Cicipu	náa pl. <b>ínáa</b>	n/M
Salka	nnáàn	bójíní
TsuVadí	və-naha	
Rop		
Shuba	na /a-	
Shen	zabanalu	zàbà
Reshe	<b>hí-buka</b>	<b>hí-rùme /í-</b>



	Sheep	Ram
cLela	kyóómò pl. kyóómnnò also cóómò	rùgmú pl. rùgùmnú
Gwamhyə	əv-kya	
Fakai-R Ror	u-ca ūtǎǎ? pl. tǎǎ?	kāgjùtǎǎ? pl. kāgétǎǎ?
Hun-R	u-ca	u-ruəg
Hun-east	o-ca	
Hun-west	o-kya	
Shama	bi-təmi	
Rəgə-2	bi-təmə	
Səgəmək	bu-ci	bə-ragu [< H.]
Cinda	bi-timí	
Regi	bi-təmə	
Kuki	bi-təmu	
Hungwəryə	bi-tami	o-dumag
Basa-Benue	vi-ceme	
Koromba-R	bi-təməi	
Bauchi-R	bi-kəlle	
Gurmana-R	bi-təməi	
Rin-R	bi-kərebe	
Rin	bi-kárə̀bi/ i-	ùgwáfě /a-
Cicipu	có'ò pl. ìc'ò	n/M
Salka	kkyón	ə̀ə̀gyìrí
TsuVadí	mə-lala	
Rop		
Shuba	tam /a-	
Shen	tuŋ	
Reshe	hí-támə /i-	

**Commentary:** The #*tam*- root is widespread in Sahelian Africa. See Blench (1995) for further discussion of its distribution. It is possible the #*fə* root in NW Kainji and Kambari is related, as the cLela form looks like a borrowing with backing of the central vowel. Cicipu would most likely be a borrowing from Northwestern languages.

**Commentary:** Not recorded in many languages. Many of the words are borrowings from Hausa *rago*.

	Goat	Goat (F)	He-goat
cLela	gwèlè pl. gwèlnè	wéémà	gwèbè
Gwamhyə	əv-gwale, əv-gwalə		
Fakai-R	u-gwarə		
Ror	ūg <sup>wā</sup> :r pl. g <sup>wā</sup> :r	sòjùg <sup>wā</sup> :r pl. sò:g <sup>wā</sup> :r	gōbjùg <sup>wā</sup> :r pl. gōbóg <sup>wā</sup> :r
Hun-R	u-gwɔru		u-gəb
Hun-east	o-gwo:r		
Hun-west	u-gwo:r		
Shama	bɛɛ		
Rɔgɔ-2	bɛɛ		
Səgəmuk			
Cinda-R	bě-jě		
Cinda-4	ru-maga		
Cinda	bɛɛ		
Regi	bɛ		
Kuki	bɛ		
Hungwəryə	bi-ě		ə-rugu
Basa-Benue	bì-yòyò/i-ywèywè		
Koromba-R	kə-ye		
Bauchi-R	bi-yoye		
Gurmana-R	bi-yo		
Rin	bì-yò /i-		bìpí /i-
Ndəkə	biiyu		
Wāyā	bi-zwewi		
Cicipu	vóotò pl. ivóotò		óbí pl. ɔ́bí
Salka	mègbèèlê		mègèjì
TsuVadí			
Rop			
Shuba	vini /a-		
Shen			
Reshe			

	Dog	Cat
cLela	ómò pl. ómnò jógò pl. jógnò	músú pl. músnú
Gwamhyə	əv-ɔ, əb-	
Fakai-A	əb-o	
Fakai-R	u-ɔ	
Ror Cl	ūóʔ pl. óʔ	ū-mús / mús
Hun-east	u-wɔ	

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Hun-west	u-wɔ		
Hungwɛryə	a-o		
Shama	auw		
Rɔgɔ-2	auw		
Səgəmuk	k-auw		
Cinda	ʔà-ówà		
Rɛgi	auw		
Kuki	auw		
Basa-Benue	a-awa		
Koromba-R	kə-aa		
Moro	ò-èrè /è-		
Gbiri	kaasan		
Bauchi-R	a-awa		
Gurmana-R	ka-awa		
Rin	à-wà /su-		
Ndəkə	awa		
Wáyā	awu		
Cicipu	wáa <i>pl.</i> ñwáa	zɔ́rí <i>pl.</i> ìnzɔ́rí	
Salka	mùù-sɛ̀n	mózzólí	
TsuVadí			
Rop			
Shuba	vavi /a-	a-dama	
Shen	ʷgwà		
Reshe	hí-bwa/ i-	hí-páná	

	<b>Chicken</b>	<b>Hen</b>	<b>Cock, rooster</b>
cLela		kéci	n/R
Gwamhyə			
Gwamhi-R	əvə-kate		
Gwamhyə	əv-kəti/ø-		
	əv-kətə		
Fakai-A			
Fakai-R	u-kəət		
Ror	ūkó:t <i>pl.</i> kó:t		kāgjúkó:t <i>pl.</i> kāgókó:t
Hun-R	u-keet		
Hun-east	u-kit		
Hun-west	u-kyet		
Hungwɛryə	wá-ròmà, sá-		
Hungwɛryə	jǎ-ròmà, mʷǎ- [chick]		
Shama	ɑ-ròm		
Rɔgɔ-2	wɑ-ròm		
Səgəmuk	kɑ-ròm		

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Cinda-4	mununo	
Cinda	ʔà-:uómà	sómbà
Regi		
Kuki	æ-rɔm	
Basa-Benue	a-luma/fa-	
Moro	kuru	
Bauchi-R	u-alɔmɔ	
Gurmana-R	u-ároma	
Rin	ùkwíyá / su-	u-kǎrĩ /se-
Ndəkə	waroma	
Wāyā	waʔyɔm	
Tirisino	kù-tóó	
Ticahun	ku-towu	
Kumbashi	ku-to	
Cicipu	tóó <i>pl.</i> intóó	cígà <i>pl.</i> <b>acígà</b>
Salka	mó-tóó <i>pl.</i> n-tóó	úúpé
Rop		
Shuba	taarə /a-	
Shen	kúm	
Reshe	hí-tálùkwà /í-	

	Duck	Guinea-fowl
cLela	àgwàgwá pl. àgwàgwána	yògò pl. yògnò <sup>21</sup>
Gwamhyə		əd-ge
Gwamhyə		əv-kɔtɔ
Fakai-A		ør-ge
Fakai-R		
Ror	ər-āg <sup>w</sup> āg <sup>w</sup> á / ət-	ūkó:t pl. kót
Hun-R		u-kɔʔt
Hun-east		o-kɔ:t
Hun-west		u-kɔʔt
Hungwəryə		i-ryegũ
Shama		ri-agɔ
Rɔgɔ-2		or-egɔ
Səgəruk		kɔ-egu
Cinda-1		éŋge
Cinda-4		aŋgye
Cinda		reagɔ
Regi		i-yagwə
Kuki		ryagu
Basa-Benue		
Bauchi-R		
Gurmana-R		
Rin		ù-ryègwà /su-
Gbiri		kā:-lō:bī
Tirisino		
Ticahun		
Kumbashi		
Cicipu	ʔɔgɔgɔgú pl. ɪ'ɔgɔgɔgú	píyá pl. ipíyá
Salka	gbàgbá	ɗɗáw, ɗɗó ɔ-kwɔwɔ [ʔR]
Rop		
Shuba	gbagba	ʃoogu
Shen		sekwise
Reshe		hi-tsokutso /i-

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<sup>21</sup> Male guineafowl is **kyáná yògò** which conserves the widespread NC root #**kaŋa**.

### 1.2.3 Wild mammals

	<b>Elephant</b>	<b>Hippo</b>
cLela	lògmó pl. lògə̀mnó	hyòmsó pl. hyòmsónò
Gwamhɪ-R	ə̀bə-lɔ̀ge	
Gwamhyə	ə̀r-ragə	
Fakai-R	u-rwag	
Ror	ūr <sup>w</sup> ág pl. r <sup>w</sup> ág	?
Hun-east	o-róóg	
Hun-west	o-ro:ɡ	
Shama	a-gyɔ	
Cinda		
Regi		
Kuki	gɛ <sup>?</sup> o	
Hungwəryə	u-gyɔ	
Rin	ù-bəm	
Cicipu	gíiwá pl. àgíiwá	dòoríná (< H.)
Salka	áágyíiwá	ààgyìiwâ: míni <sup>22</sup>
Rop		
Shuba	tsya /a-	dyɔm /a-
Shen	cǎ	
Reshe		
	<b>Leopard</b>	<b>Lion</b>
cLela	gwiimi pl. gwiimni	zùrù pl. zùrnù
Gwamhyə	ə̀və-gu	ə̀v-zulu
Ror	u-tugə̀m	ūzūr pl. zūr
Hun-east	o-gə	o-zur
Hun-west	o-gɛr	"
Shama		ə̀-zaʔ
Cinda	ɔ̀ŋg	
Regi	ɔ̀ŋgo	zakɪ
Kuki	ɔ̀ŋgɔ	zak
Hungwəryə	u-gə̀bi	ə̀-zə̀k(í)
Rin	ùgə̀bí	

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<sup>22</sup> ‘elephant of water’

Basa-Benuè bi-zeci/i-

Cicipu lúu *pl.* **inlúu** záaki *pl.* **àzáaki**  
 Salka úútósú kkàmù

Rop  
 Shuba tariifa /a- kaw /a-  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Hyena I**

**Hyena II**

cLela dwiri *pl.* dwirini

Gwamhyə

Ror ūgòmòr *pl.* gòmòr  
 Jiir u-dur

Hun-east o-dur  
 Hun-west "

Shama  
 Rəgə-2

Cinda kéʃɛ  
 Regi kéʃɛ  
 Kuki kéʃɛ

Hungwəryə i-yimbu

Koromba-R u-kuruə

Bauchi-R kulə  
 Gurmana-R kuruo  
 Rin kutumu ùkúrɛ̀nù  
 Cicipu kúndú *pl.* **inkúndú** vàari *pl.* **invàari**  
 Salka mé-kúúnzú

Rop  
 Shuba kwəndə  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Monkey**

**Monkey II**

**Monkey III**

cLela dàptà *pl.* dàptnà dàpt-rímú

Gwamhyə ə-wamə

Ror ūwám *pl.* wám

Hun-R u-wəm  
 Hun-east u-wəm  
 Hun-west o-kero

Shama	a:m		
Rɔgɔ-2	wa:ma		
Səgəmuk	bi-amb		
Cinda	ʔà-ámá	maguga [Black]	
Rɛgi	a:ma		
Kuki	a:m		
Hungwəryə	ɲw-amu		
Rin	ù-wyámá /sə-		
Rubasa Basa-BC			
Gbiri	hārmà		
Cicipu	ómò <i>pl.</i> yóómò	màkàlù	màrìgyì
Salka	yyòmô		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	<b>Patas monkey</b>	<b>Baboon</b>	<b>Porcupine</b>
cLela	dàpt gyózo	dàpt bikà	yùgù <i>pl.</i> yùgnù
Gwamhyə			
Ror			
Hun-east			
Hun-west			
Shama			
Rɔgɔ-2			
Səgəmuk			
Cinda			bi-wìgí
Rɛgi			
Kuki			
Hungwəryə			
Rubasa			
Basa-Benue			bi-gbe be ehilo/i-
Rin	bìgáží	ù-gwóógò /a-	bìyùgwò
Gbiri		gūūs	
Cicipu	n/M		yúu <i>pl.</i> ònyúu



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Salka	n/C	n/C
Agwara-BC		
Rop		
Shuba	gwam mokaɾə	gbədəgi /a-
Shen		
Reshe		

	<b>Hedgehog</b>	<b>Porcupine</b>
cLela		yùgù <i>pl.</i> yùgnù
Gwamhyə		
Ror		
Hun-east		
Hun-west		
Shama		
Rəgə-2		
Səgəmək		
Cinda	kázómà	bì-wìgí
Rəgi		
Kuki		
Hungwəryə		
Rubasa		
Basa		
Rin		biyùgwò
Cicipu		yúu <i>pl.</i> ñyúu
Salka		n/C
Agwara-BC		
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

	<b>Buffalo</b>	<b>Warthog</b>	<b>Duiker</b>
cLela	kwòbó <i>pl.</i> kòbnó	dèké <i>pl.</i> dèkné	zòɾ gyózó <sup>23</sup>
Gwamhyə	ə-pəti	əv-lər	
Ror	u-hwɔt	ūtərəm <i>pl.</i> tərəm	
Hun-R	u-heti	u-jiki	
Hun-east	u-hɪt	o-jik	
Hun-west	u-hyɪt	"	

<sup>23</sup> Red-flanked duiker

Shama		bi-haʃ		
Rɔgɔ-2		bi-hɛc		
Sɔgɔmuk				
Cinda-4			ʃirroh	
Cinda		bi-heci	a:r	
Rɛgi		bi-heci		
Kuki		bi-heci		
Hungwɔryɔ		bi-hasi	kado	
Rubasa		à-dʒɛ /ʃi-	nkomu	
Basa-BC		í:kam/ʃi-		
Basa-Benue		bi-nemi/i-		
Rin		bĩ-híçí /n-	à-dǝ /su-	ùwǝ̀ndzì
Cicipu	ɓáuná <i>pl.</i> àɓáuná <sup>24</sup>		jímà <i>pl.</i> injímà	rí'yò <i>pl.</i> inrí'yò
Salka	yààçî		i:jimâ	màkùràná mâryònʔòn
Agwara-BC			kù-jímâ	
Rop				
Shuba		geehũ /a-	kume /a-	
Shen				
Reshe		hí-ʃiʃibu/i-		

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<sup>24</sup> < Hausa

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	House-rat	Giant rat	Pygmy mouse
cLela Gwamhyə	ninmú pl. ninəmnu	?	
Ror			
Hun-east Hun-west		"	
Shama Rəgə-2 Səgəmək	o-koigm o-koigm		
Cinda Rəgi Kuki	k <sup>w</sup> áɰábà kwaiyab kwaiyabɔ		
Hungwəryə			
Rin	ùgwórwò		
Basa-Benue			bi-degwele/e-
Cicipu Salka	ʔáan pl. àʔáan ə́ə́gə́dǎ	n/M ə́zzúwé	
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe			

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	<b>Bush rat I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>	<b>V</b>
cLela Gwamhyə	ləgù əv-ləgu	kwèdè pl. kwèdnè	hyàhnyán risì	kwintád zòòrè	ūrōg pl. rōg
Ror Hun-east Hun-west	u-rə:g				
Shama	bəsɔ				
Rɔgɔ-2 Səgəmək	bəsɔ				
Cinda Regi Kuki	bè-s <sup>w</sup> á bəsɔ bəsɔ				
Hungwəryə Hungwəryə Rin	bi-ɛfɔ bi-ɛ-ɾé, ɛ- [mouse] bi-swà				
Cicipu Salka	n/M áácíǰú				
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe					

	<b>Grasscutter</b>	<b>Hare, rabbit</b>	<b>Squirrel</b>	<b>Shrew</b>
cLela cLela	kè dgwé pl. ~nɛ epa [ʔR]	zòmò pl. zòmno	bègà pl. bègnà	
Gwamhyə	əv-huhu			
Ror Hun-east Hun-west	u-ɛp o-yɛp	ūsér pl. sér ozwɔm	ūdèrəg /ø-	
Shama				
Rɔgɔ-2 Səgəmək				
Cinda Regi	bè-ɛpá	ʔǎ-z <sup>w</sup> á		
Kuki				

Hungwəryə			
Rin	bikwámá	à-zwǝ́ /su-	àpəri
Basa-Benué	bi-yipa/i-pe	a-zwε/ʃε-	e-dʒeku/ʃi-
Gbiri	gûr /ágùr		ʃítá
Cicipu Salka	díyò ááryú	díyá <i>pl.</i> òdíyá mózómú	kúdàà <i>pl.</i> òkúdàà màdzìrú
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe			màkùzâ
	<b>Bat</b>	<b>House-bat</b>	<b>Fruit-bat</b>
cLela	kúntòmò <i>pl.</i> kúntòmno kwèŋó kòòncé	kədéri <i>pl.</i> ~ni kwèèti <i>pl.</i> kwèètni	gìvgìvì <i>pl.</i> gìvgìvìní
Gwamhyə	kɔpu		
Fakai-A Ror	ūbòm <i>pl.</i> bòm		ūkʷānā <i>pl.</i> kʷānā
Hun-east Hun-west		o-pitahar	o-apoke
Shama Rɔgɔ-2 Səgəmək	o-yəma		
Cinda Regi Kuki	gʷɪbɪ gwɔbɔ	ì-bùgù-bùgù	uémà
Hungwəryə	í-pəpì, mú-		
Gbiri	ŋmáárɪs		
Rin Cicipu Salka	bi-máɾámáɾá /m- ggòmbò <i>pl.</i> óggòmbò ə̀ə̀ʔúʔwə̀25	n/M mèpèpù	ù-gwə́gə̀ /a- n/M áá-gyǝ́ also áágyǝ́w
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe			

<sup>25</sup> Larger than áá-gyǝ́ and found in the bush

### 1.2.4 Reptiles

	Crocodile	Dwarf crocodile
cLela	cèwíímè pl. cèwíímnè	?
Gwamhyə	ək-cu	
Ror Jiir	ūtú? pl. tú?	
Hun-east Hun-west	o-tu o-tu	
Shama Rogɔ-2	ʊʃ ka-bau	
Cinda-R Cinda-4 Cinda Regi Kuki	u-ba " u:-ba u:-ba	
Hungwəryə	ŋ-us	
Koromba-R		
Bauchi-R Gurmana-R Rin	ùgúbè	
Cicipu Salka	yúpù pl. òyúpù wĩpũ	n/M mákúné?ě also mákúá?ĩ
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe		

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	Snake	Python	Cobra
cLela	òblá pl. òbólnà	òbál péé	rùn pl. rùnnù
Gwamhɪ-R	əb-hwa		
Gwamhyə	əv-hwa/əs-	ə-pi	
Fakai-R	u-hwa		
Ror	ūfá? pl. fá?	ūè? pl. è?	fá?úrīmjà pl. fá?rīmè
Jiir		u-ε	
Hun-east	o-hwɔ	o-hwɔpi	o-rwə
Hun-west	u-was	o-i, was o-gɔsyɔ	
Shama	a-hwa	hwa	
Rɔgɔ-2	a-hwɔ		
Səgəmuk	ka-ka		
Cinda-BC	á:-hu:a/ǰé:-		
Cinda-R	a-hohwa	aŋ -guna	
Cinda	a-hɔ	hɔɔ	
Régi	a-hɔ	a-wɔwɔ?ɔt	
Kuki	a-hɔw	ɔ:w	
Hungwəryə	hɔ?a	wa?i	
Rubasa	u-hwá		
Basa-BC	ó:-hu:a/á:-		
Basa-Benue	u-hwa		
Koromba-R	u-hwa?a		
Bauchi-R	u-hwa		
Fungwa-BC	ì-hwá?à/ìhwé?è		
Gurmana-R	u-hwa		
Rin	ù-hwáá /a-		ù-rwĩ/ ã-
Ndəkə	uwha		
Cicipu		cíin pl. <b>ìcín</b>	m/M
Salka	y-yɔ̂/í:-	pieni	rúkú
Agwara-BC	kó:-kò/ó:-		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe	h-yoha/ø-		

	Male agama lizard	Female agama lizard	
cLela	gòṅò pl. gòṅnò		
Gwamhyə	əv-gə		
Fakai-R			
Ror	tʃikūgəʔ	ūgəʔ pl. gəʔ	
Hun-east	o-həkan, o-hokon	o-yεʔ	
Hun-west	o-hokan		
Shama	ha-kadek		
Rəgə-2	a-dəgk		
Səgəṃuk			
Cinda	o-rɛgareg		
Rɛgi	a-gwəna		
Kuki	aga-gwan		
Hungwəryə			
Basa-Benue			
Koromba-R			
Bauchi-R			
Fungwa-BC			
Gurmana-R			
Rin	ù-wyàwyànà /ā-		
Ndəkə			
Cicipu	joo pl. <b>òjoo</b>		
Salka	gəŋgú	ààgàdà	
Agwara-BC			
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			
	<b>Gecko</b>	<b>Skink</b>	<b>Chameleon</b>
cLela	máléndmò pl. -no máléndùsù pl. -nu	gòṅd gòpè məlgəmhò bèrgəmhò, bəlgəmhò	kwàntámé pl. kwàntàmné
Gwamhi-R Gwamhyə			
Fakai-R			
Ror	ūkótíndākā pl. kótíndākā		ūfándárnàkí pl. fándárnàkí
Jiir			
Hun-east		o-heent	wamoru
Hun-west			
Shama			



Rɔgɔ-2  
Səgəmuk

Cinda  
Regi  
Kuki

gírúmì

Hungwəryə

kú-k<sup>w</sup>ə̀gɔ̀: /hə-

Basa-Benue  
Koromba-R

e-ɲere/ʃi-

Bauchi-R  
Fungwa-BC  
Gurmana-R  
Rin

ùgùdǎmǎ

Basa-Benue

a-ɲala/ʃi-

Cicipu  
Salka  
Agwara-BC

kwètè *pl.* **ńkūk̀wètè**  
màppàlyɔ̀ʔɔ̀

n/M  
n/C

ká<sup>ʔ</sup>íláa *pl.* **àká<sup>ʔ</sup>íláa**  
ààkànlá

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

Language	Land Monitor	Water monitor
cLela	ùnù <i>pl.</i> ùnnù	hyùnhýún, hyənsu
Gwamhyə	ək-unu	
Ror	ũʔún <i>pl.</i> ʔún	
Hun-east	un	o-ye
Hun-west	un	o-wɛ
Shama Rɔgɔ-2 Səgəmuk	undɔ	
Cinda Regi Kuki	unɔ unə unu	
Hungwəryə		ʔú-wǎ, hǎ-
Fungwa-BC Rin	ùʔúnǎ	ùdàgàrigjè
Cicipu Salka Agwara-BC	n/M kkùnə	lóngí úúlóngyí

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

Language	Tortoise	Frog	Toad
cLela	kààrò pl. kààrnò sípsípé pl. sípsípné	màdé pl. màdné rùdúdù pl. ~nu à-tántáábò dínkírí pl. dínkèrní gòlhànò dhóádí hwèbgè sààré	kò pl. kòònò
cLela Ribeh	cècè		
Gwamhyè	əv-kale ək-ulu		ər-ko
Ror	ər̄kār pl. ər̄tkār	ūtò pl. tò	ər̄kō? pl. ər̄tkō?
Hun-east	u-kara		o-kə:
Hun-west	u-kaar		o-kə
Shama	i-urō		reow
Rəgə-2	i-uru		u-kundu
Səgəmək	i-kuru		kə-kundu
Cinda	ʔi-ʔùuú		kùndú
Rəgi	ə-uru		u-kwəndu
Tiya	a-ur /ʃi-		
Kuki	a-ur /ʃi-	a-rebu	
Hungwəryə	u-ogal	i-yəu	
Fungwa-BC	ì-kwàkí:kèw/à-		
Rin	ùʔwəgəryè	ù-jùgwà /a-	
Ndəkə	bi-gyatə		
Kərɔmba	ka- <sup>2</sup> ugwəri	ʃe	
Basa-Benuè	u-kpákwd	a-	
Gbiri			gbətsə
Cicipu	kúlú pl. ìnkúlú		pòdɔ̀ pl. ̀̀pòdɔ̀
Salka	mé-kúlú/íj-	ddáányí	óó-póɔ̀
Salka	màkpàgà		
Tsívadí	me-kulu o-podo		
Agwara-BC	mà-kpàgà		
Rop			
Shuba	urukpəgə		

Shen kógù  
Reshe hí-kpàgùlù/i-

### 1.2.5 Fish

	<b>Fish</b>
cLela	génè pl. génnè
Gwamhɪ-R	əvə-gyane
Gwamhyə	əv-gani
Fakai-A	øb-gyan
Fakai-R	əvə-jan
Ror	ūdʒán pl. dʒán
Hun-A	gyan
Hun-R	o-jane
Hun-east	o-jan
Hun-west	o-gyan
Shama	i-kyamba
Rəgə-2	o-kyɛmba
Səgəmək	i-kyag
Cinda-2	i-rigə/ mù-rigə
Cinda-4	a-gyana
Cinda	i-rig
Regi	i-ɛ:ŋga
Kuki	i-rig
Hungwəryə	i-ryegi
Rin	bijjío /n-
Ndəkə	biyuu
Basa-Benue	bi-dʒana/i-dʒɛnɛ
Cicipu	ʔyóʔyó pl. inʔyóʔyó
Salka	ə̀ə̀sə̀rə̀
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	hi-fə /i-

### 1.2.6 Birds

	<b>Bird</b>	<b>Crow</b>	<b>Eagle I</b>	<b>Eagle II</b>
cLela	nèmà pl. nèmnà	yògò	bàtkñ pl. batkene	
Gwamhyə	øb-nu			



Fungwa-BC Rin		ùhù:rú	ùdǎmǎ
Cicipu Salka Agwara	mârikú:kù	ódǎn <i>pl.</i> ódǎn mù:dā	sòllúgò <i>pl.</i> òsòllúgò à:sà:là
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe			

	<b>Kite</b>	<b>Bush-fowl</b>	<b>Owl</b>
cLela	kálè <i>pl.</i> kálnè	òbkò <i>pl.</i> òbknò	hwèèrí <i>pl.</i> hwèèrni

Gwamhyə  
Wurə

Fakai-R  
Ror

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rəgə-2  
Səgəmək

Cinda Regi Kuki		ʔi-ujibi	humbi, è-h <sup>w</sup> àuyè
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Hungwəryə  
Rubasa

Fungwa-BC Rin			ùkwéé
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Cicipu Salka Agwara	hón mādāni	yóónò <i>pl.</i> inyóónò mòrò:ní	óróorì <i>pl.</i> oóróorì n/C
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Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

	<b>Woodpecker</b>	<b>Cattle egret</b>	<b>Nightjar</b>
cLela			

Gwamhyə  
Wurə

Fakai-R  
Ror

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔgɔ-2  
Sɛgɛmuk

Cinda	ʔà-góbágá	ʔà-bébéjà	ʔà-bàùà-bàùà
Regi			
Kuki			

Hungwɔryə

Fungwa-BC  
Rin

Basa-Benue			a-mbalaka /ʃi-
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Cicipu  
Salka  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Hornbill                      Village weaver**

cLela

Gwamhyə  
Wurə

Fakai-R  
Ror

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔgɔ-2  
Sɛgɛmuk

Cinda	ʔà-ʃɛ̀uáákáuá	é-ʃã:gò
Regi		
Kuki		

Hungwɔryə  
Rubasa

Fungwa-BC

Rin

Cicipu  
Salka  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

### 1.2.7 Insects

	Scorpion red	Black scorpion	Mason wasp
cLela	cwècé pl. cwècné vègè pl. cvègnè [black] wàlkè dhwén [other]		
Gwamhyə	əv-cətu		
Fakai-A Ror	ūtót pl. tót		
Hun-R	o-totu		
Hun-east	o-tət, o-tot		
Hun-west	o-tot		
Shama	a-nɔ		
Rɔgɔ-2	a-na		
Səgəmuk		kan	
Cinda	ʔàná		
Rəgi	a-na		
Kuki	a-na		
Hungwəryə	a-an		
Rin	à-nà /su-		
Rin	ù-gěmbò /a-		
Basa-Benue	a-na/ʃi-		a-zazaguma
Cicipu	nó'ò pl. ònó'ò		
Salka	ùùgàʃi pl. àgàʃi		
Salka	àègàtsù pl. àgàtsù [black]		
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe			

	Locust	Migratory locust	Grasshopper
cLela	émà pl. émnà	gəw pl. gəwnù	bəttərmà pl. -na

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	mágyáńórò málòdè mánàkò rùktù sàkàsà	rwènrwánnè	bòkkè bòkkàdkwé búmb-s'gwé pl. bumbs'gwene bùnkù pl. bunknu còntó pl. còntòno dóssí pl. dəsni èmə pl. emna kóng dwàac'ya pl. kɔngno kòngó pl. kɔngno pátá pl. patana pùktù sùudè pl. suudene swèngè
Gwamhyə	ə-pí:		
Ror	ūtámskərī pl. támskərī		ūí? pl. í?
Hun-east Hun-west	o-i'ε		
Shama Rɔgɔ-2 Səgəmək			
Cinda	i-gac kà-kàrándà		
Regi Kuki	ma-yei		
Hungwəryə			
Rin	mà-kárú no pl.	inkeya, arzuro	ùkárä.wá
Cicipu Salka	n/C	n/C	gàatàbóon n/C
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe			

	<b>Cricket</b>	<b>Termite</b>	<b>Louse</b>
cLela	cèrgstó <i>pl.</i> cergstòno rèrmù <i>pl.</i> rərəmnu	órgò <i>pl.</i> órgnò	kórkótò <i>pl.</i> -no
Gwamhyə			kwarkwata [H.]
Fakai-A Ror	ūrìákès <i>pl.</i> rìákès	ūhè? /ø-	korkota ùkórkótò
Hun-east Hun-west			kwəkwəta kərkəta
Shama Rɔgɔ-2			ha-kwarkwat [H.] ma-yei



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Səgə̃muk ma-raget  
 Cinda-1 ma-rageta  
 Cinda-2 è-rá me-régida  
 Regi  
 Kuki ma-raget

Hungwəryə

Rin à-ndəkàrè /su- ùkəkə́jǎ  
 ùpjégjé ùrjèè  
 Ndəkə ?oon

Gbiri kàkpilbū

Cicipu n/M kwíyá *pl.* àkwíyá kúrúkútà *pl.* ákúrúkútà  
 Salka dʒdʒôn ggàgû 0-kkùrùkútà *pl.* ìì- (< H.)  
 mḕp̄l̄t̄t̄  
 à:p̄onz̄û  
 á:rán

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Bedbug**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east  
 Hun-west

Shama  
 Rəgə-2  
 Səgə̃muk

Cinda  
 Regi  
 Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rin

Ndəkə

Gbiri kùkúmbī

Cicipu  
 Salka

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

	<b>Tick</b>	<b>Mosquito</b>	<b>Spider</b>
cLela	òpà pl. òpnà	lǎntù, lǎntè	kókù <sup>26</sup> pl. cǎknù dàdǎmléndé pl. ~nɛ
Gwamhyə	kakumpta	əv-lɪntɪ	u-kwainagə
Ror	u-op [R]	ūrènt pl. rènt	ūdàrīdàng pl. dārīdàng
Hun-R	u-opa		u-dareginda
Hun-east	u-ɔp	o-rəkrend	u-dariginda
Hun-west	o-ka	rə-hɪŋg	u-gizogizo [<H.]
Shama		/ʃɛy	ka:t
Rɔgɔ-2		au	"
Səgəmək		"	ka-nat
Cinda	kar	ʔǎ-wǎ/ʃɪnwa	ànáátá
Regi		a-wa/ʃɛ-wa	"
Kuki		a-wa/ʃɛ-wa	a-nat
Hungwəryə	bi-opə		ka-ata
Rin		ù-wǎ /sũ-	àkwǎkwǎ ù-kúndú /su-
Basa-Benue		a-wan/ʃɛ-	undata
Cicipu	kúppá /i- tón dó pl. itón dó	sìpíyú pl. isípíyú	náatà pl. ìnáatà gìzògìzò pl. ògìzògìzò < H.
Salka	áá-kúpá	ʃʃìpìrù	nnátá
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe			

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	<b>Fly [n]</b>	<b>Bee</b>	<b>Butterfly</b>
cLela	gyúmù, júmù	swèèmà pl. swèèmnà ùbgnù gàb szətnə pámá pl. pámná	

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<sup>26</sup> Also 'evil spirit'

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

		sèèné, sèpnè, sèèpnò	
Gwamhyə	əv-gi		
Ror	ūgí? pl. gí?	ūsɔ? pl. sɔ?	
Hun-east	o-ji	o-zwo	
Hun-west	o-gi		
Shama		u-cic	
Rɔgɔ-2		bɛ-caw	
Səgəmuk		bɛ-ʃɛ	
Cinda	bì-íjǐ, é-másá	bè-só	mì-mbírí-mbírí
Rɛgi			
Kuki			
Hungwəryə	bi-ŋus		
Rin	ù-yǐjǐ/a-	bǐswàì	
Ndəkə	nazuba		
Basa-Benue	bi-shí	bɔ-sɔ/i-swɛ	
Cicipu	yùnyûn <i>pl.</i> iyùnyûn	zìyán <i>pl.</i> izìyán	
Salka	àányû	ʃʃíkýí	
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	<b>Earthworm</b>	<b>Flea</b>	<b>Caterpillar</b>
cLela	zómò pl. zómnò màjòzò		
Gwamhyə	u-awə		
Ror	ūwàp pl. wàp		
Hun-east	u-turend		
Hun-west	o-suruntɛ		
Shama	bɛ-cɛ		
Rɔgɔ-2			
Səgəmuk			
Cinda	bè-ʃǐwá	bè-kèsò	ú-ʃǐ-ʃǐ
Rɛgi	bɛ-cəŋɔ		
Kuki	bɛ-cɛʔɔŋ		
Hungwəryə			
Rin	ù-cúwà /a- ù-ʔǐpǐ /a-		

Gbiri

ākákàṅā

Cicipu  
Salka

cûn *pl.* icûn  
ââzû

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Ant I**

**Ant II**

**Ant III**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-R  
Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rəgə-2  
Səgəṃuk

Cinda  
Regi  
Kuki

ə:súmbə

?i-rú

Hungwəryə

Rin

Cicipu  
Salka

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Flying ant**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rəgə-2

Səgəmək

Cinda

Rəgi

Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rin

Basa-Benue bo-da/i-de

Cicipu

Salka

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

### 1.2.8 Others

	<b>Snail</b>	<b>Crab</b>	<b>Prawn, shrimp</b>
cLela	kòréndómó pl. korəndəmnɔ	káŋá àvə pl. àvnà	
Gwamhɪ			
Ror	ūʔālkōtó pl. ətālkōtó	ūàw pl. àw	
Jiir			
Hun-east		o-aw, ege-	
Hun-west		o-aug	
Shama			
Rɔgɔ-2			
Cinda	bè-ʔwáɥá	ʔánó	bóndógò
Rəgi			
Kuki			
Hungwəryə			
Koromba-R			
Bauchi-R			
Gurmana-R			
Rin-R	ūʔwàrà	biʔyɛnjò	
Gbiri		kármá	
Cicipu	kòyô	kàanáa pl. àkàanáa	
Salka	n/C	mákáná	

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

### 1.2.9 Animal Parts and products

	Fat	Oil I	Oil II	Meat
cLela	sèmmèn dúnkù <sup>27</sup> msèmá [fatty meat] síirí	m-nèvè		námá v <sup>2</sup> pòní pl. s <sup>2</sup> pòni
Hun-A	m-sem	msha(a)ka [butter]	m-naw	ér-àp
Hun-west				ám-àp
Gwamhyə	u-cəmø			
Gwamhyə	m-seme		m-nəmɔ	ə-cəmə/ u-
Fakai-A				m-ap
Ror	əmsém	əmnɔːg		əməp
Shama		ma-nɛbi		mə-nyegure-nyegv
Rəgə-2		ma-nɛbɪ		i-nɛm
Səgəmək	kic [< H.]			kut
Cinda		mà-nébé		zùmbí
Regi		ma-nibe		zəmbv
Kuki		ma-nɛbɪ ?		zumbə
Hungwəryə		mə-nəbi		m-óniég <sup>w</sup> à
Fungwa-BC	i-dágù			
Rin	rùbyábú (human) bigágá (animal)	màrígó		ùsùndà í-híwa i-hyúé
Ndəkə	abiyaba			
Wáyā	əndəka			
Rubasa				u-sunda/i-
Basa-BC				o:-súnda
Cicipu	yá'á pl. ìnyá'á	n/M		námà
Salka	màniʔín	màniʔí		ì-nàmâ
Salka				nnàmâ
Agwara-BC				òòpòsù [lean meat] vù-ɲámà/ì-
Rop				
Shuba				
Shen				
Reshe				
	<b>Horn</b>	<b>Tail</b>		
cLela	ù-kààrè pl. c-	twèré pl. s-twèré		

<sup>27</sup> 'fat in meat'

Gwamhyə	øb-kalo	øb-turu
Gwamhyə	əv-kale	əb-təlu
Ror	ūkàr pl. ãskàr	ūtór pl. ãstór
Hun-east	o-kar	o-tər
Hun-west	o-kar	o-tur
Shama	bi-enɔ	
Rɔgɔ-2	əhɛ	bi-tɔri
Səgəmuk	rɛ-nyɛgu	u-run
Cinda-1	nwɔ̄hĩ	tæɪɪ
Cinda-2	nwahɪ	tæɪɪ
Cinda	ɔhi	twɔri
Rɛgi	ɔhi	twɔyi
Kuki	ɔyi	toiri
Hungwəryə	bi-enə	
Basa-BC		
Fungwa-BC		
Rin	ũhyɔ̄	ùtʃɔ́rí /a- oturdi
Ndəkə		
Wáyā	tuhóŋg	
Tirisino		kù-ízá
Cicipu	lám báu pl. <b>àlám báu</b>	‘ízá pl. <b>à’ízá</b>
Salka	ááwáná	wíízá
Tsuwadí		úúfɔ́cɔ́ [tail of bird]
Agwara-BC		hwizā
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

**Egg**

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cLela	d-gyàn pl. c-gyàn
Gwamhyə	ər-gə/əd-
Ror	ãrgɛ pl. ãtgɛ
Hun-east	o-gɛ/ ət-
Hun-west	o-gɛ/ ət-
Shama	ri-ɛgi
Rɔgɔ-2	aigɛ
Səgəmuk	i-ɛg
Cinda	è-ŋgɛ





	Wing	Feather
cLela	ù-kàpó/c-	k-kènè /c- [ <i>also body hair</i> ]
Gwamhyə	øb-kaho	
Gwamhyə	u-kahı	u-gane
Wurə	əv-byabə	
Fakai-A		øb-can
Ror	ūkáp pl. ðtkáp	ūtʃān pl. əʔtʃān
Hun-east	o-kəkən(te) /ət- [ <i>also elbow</i> ]	o-can/ ət-
Hun-west	o-ba:b	u-kyan
Shama	ha-gambɔ	a-hyanj, ta-hınj
Rogə-2	ə-pəpəs	bə-hyanj
Səgəmək	baki ?	
Cinda	ɔ:k, pípísú	bítómbà, bè-tómbà
Regi	pəpəs	bə-tómba
Kuki	ɔ:k	bə-tómbɔ
Hungwəryə		
Fungwa-BC	í-piá	
Rin	u-pyam	ùʔɛnjè /a, sə-
Ndøkə	uʔra	uʔenda
Rubasa	upembe	bə-hyɛzhe/ʃɛ-
Cicipu	vélù pl. èvélù	sın'in pl. àsın'in
Salka	ùù-vèlù/a-	ájǎǎí
Agwara-BC	kù-vèlù	
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe	ú-pètà/á-	

### 1.3 Plants

#### 1.3.1 Crops

	<b>Yam</b>	<b>Water-yam</b>
cLela	d-lòŋ/c-	d-róngǎncè pl. c-
Gwamhyə		
tKag		
Ror	ə̃l:wāʔ pl. ə̃trwāʔ	
Fer	ər-doya/əd- (R) < H. ər-lwa	
Hun-east	ət-rwɔ	
Hun-west	ən-dwɔr	
Shama	mwə-gan	
Rɔgɔ-2	bo-gan	
Səgəmuk	mwə-gan	
Cinda	gánà	
Regi	mo-gana	
Kuki	mə-gana	
Hungwəryə	mo-gam	
Rin	bì-gàpà /ŋ-	
Fungwa	a-gugwá /u-	
Baushi		
Gurmana		
Cicipu	yóɔ pl. <b>ihyóɔ</b>	
Tirisino	cì-yóɔ	
Salka	mórǎ /ń-	àppásà
Tsuvaɗi	hiɔ	
ciBaangi		
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe	rí-lwá /á-	

	Old cocoyam	New cocoyam
cLela	d-gwáázá /c-	d-mànkèni /c-
Gwamhyə		
tKag Ror	ɾ-gwàzà /t	ǎr-mə̀ŋkə̀ni / ǎt-
Fer		
Hun-east Hun-west	r-kùkù /ətə-	
Shama Rogo-2 Səgə̀muk		
Cinda Regi Kuki		
Hungwə̀ryə		
Rin Fungwa Baushi Gurmana	ùŋgédèrè	
Cicipu Tirisino		mènkéni
Salka Tsuvađi ciBaangi	é-émélé hé-mélé /é-	
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe	rí-gwaza /á-	

	Cassava	Sweet potato
cLela	d-róngò pl. c-	d-kúnkú pl. c-
Gwamhyə		
tKag	r-zóʔ /ə-	
Ror	ə̄r-zó/ əʔ-	ə̄r-kútùŋkù / ə̄t-
Fer		
Hun-east		
Hun-west		
Shama		
Rəgə-2		
Səgə̄muk		
Cinda		
Rəgi		
Kuki		
Hungwəryə		
Rin		ùndùkùndùkù
Cicipu	róogò	dùkùmə <i>pl.</i> <b>idùkùmə</b>
Tirisino		
Salka	à:gbámgbàrà	də̄ŋkə̄lî
Tsuvađi	mù-ró	
ciBaangi	mòrò	
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

	<b>Rizga</b>	<b>Wild yam</b>	<b>Aerial yam</b>
cLela			
Gwamhyə			
tKag			
Ror			
Fer			
Hun-east			ródé?iyə?
Hun-west			
Shama			
Rəgə-2			
Səgəmək			
Cinda			
Rəgi			
Kuki			
Hungwəryə			
Rin			
Gbiri	nìgbə	māgbəgbər	
Cicipu			
Tirisino			
Salka			
Tsuvaɗi			
ciBaangi			
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

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	<b>Rice</b>	<b>Millet <i>gero</i></b>	<b>Millet <i>maiwa</i></b>	<b>Acca/fonio</b>
cLela	bényá	nàatà pl. s- v-nata	v-yàmprà	pòcò pl. s-
Gwamhyə	sahə	nati		
Ror	ūsàp pl. sàp	ūnàt pl. nàt		
Hun-east	əm-béré	nat		
Hun-west	berye	"		
Shama	ʃirakap	aʃandɔ		
Rəgɔ-2	ʃin kap			
Səgəmuk	ʃin kap	"		
Cinda	ʃin kap	ʃɛnà		
Rɛgi	ʃin kap			
Kuki	ʃin kap			
Hungwəryə	serekaf	u-nata		
Rin	ʃimbaka	rùʃíná		
Cicipu	bèyée <i>pl.</i> <b>ìbèyée</b>	děezi <i>pl.</i> <b>ìdéezi</b>		
Salka	i-wélya	sínà <i>pl.</i> ìsínà yǎzi		
Rop				
Shuba		rə-tsuuru /a-		
Shen		toro		
Reshe				

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

	<b>Maize</b>	<b>Guinea-corn</b>	<b>Finger-millet</b>
cLela	k-hí pl. c-	v-hí pl. hí	mágùgù
cLela	hí códgánà	əc- əv-hi	
Gwamhyə	ət-məsəla	vəlu	
Ror	ūmāgānā pl. ət̄māgānā (S)	ūh̄ə pl. h̄ə	
Jiir	hir kwundi (R)		
	hir magana		
Hun-east	magəna	hyo	
Hun-west	ən- magəna	"	
Shama	m̄s̄r	əhi	
Rɔgɔ-2	məsər	əhi	
Səgəmuk	məsər	əyi	
Cinda	məsər	bì-hí, ì-hí	bè-tám̀bà
Rəgi	məsər	ì-hí	
Kuki	məsər	ì-hí	
Hungwəryə	masal	hə-yi	
Rin	a-hyo	rùhyù /a-	
Gbiri		pìpùn	
Cicipu		dá <sup>?</sup> ùn pl. ìdà <sup>?</sup> ùn	
Salka	i-karabu	e-mo	
Rop			
Shuba		rə-gyu /a-	
Shen		gwu	
Reshe			

Flour	
cLela	m-hyùn
	ù-bàklò [Coarse ~]
Gwamhyə	[< H.]
Ror	əmhə
Jiir	
Hun-R	m-hyo
Hun-east	ət-mak
Hun-west	"
Shama	məi
Rəgə-2	to-bɪnd
Səgəmək	
Cinda	mɔ
Rɛgi	məi
Kuki	məi
Hungwəryə	mu-hi
Rin	
Gbiri	mùṅā
Cicipu	íyá
Salka	i-ra
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	



	Groundnut	Bambara nut
cLela	v-gwàənè pl. ø-	gwàèn-bírbírní
Gwamhyə	dalagə	
Ror Fər	ūg <sup>w</sup> ən pl. g <sup>w</sup> ən	
Hun-east Hun-west	i-gwən i-gwən	
Shama Rəgə-2 Səgəmək	gwənitorí e-rab	
Cinda Rəgi Kuki	éràbá e-raba e-rab	
Hungwəryə	i-goíí	
Rin	bíŋgwàjè	
Basa-Benue	bu-gwezhe/i-	bu-gwezhe bi-shenje/i-gwezhe i-shenje
Tirisino Cicipu Salka Tsuvađí	á:gújíyá (< H.)	
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe		

	Bean/cowpea	Sorrel	Kenaf
cLela	v-yàlà pl. 0-	k-wèèrè pl. c-	
Gwamhyə	yalə		
Ror	u-yar/0- (R)		
Fər			
Hun-east	yor		
Hun-west	yor		
Shama	gɛ:		
Rɔgɔ-2	i-gəI		
Səgəmuk	bi-gei		
Cinda-4	gayə		
Cinda	bi-gey		
Rɛgi	bi-gəy		
Kuki	gəy		
Hungwəryə			
Rin	bigəyá		
Gbiri	pīsôm		màtárpí
Basa-Benue	bu-kapa/i-kɛpɛ		
Tirisino			
Cicipu	áyà pl. áayà	súmbó	
Salka	á:lɔ́bá	à:pì:fôn	
Tsuvaɗí			
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	Okra	Garden egg	Tiger-nut
<b>Northwest</b>			
cLela Zuru	d-kwə̀nbé pl. c- d-zógó pl. c-	v-gwè̀ntà pl. ø- (< H.)	mó
cLela Ribah			
tHun			
sSaare			
Gwamhyə			
Wurə			
<b>Kag cluster</b>			
Kag			
Fere			
Jiir			

Kər  
Koor  
Ror  
Us  
Zuksun

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora  
Basa-Gumna  
Koromba  
Basa-Gurara  
Basa-Benue bo-'yinywa/i-'yinywɛ  
Basa-Makurdi

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
Rəgɔ  
Səgəmək  
Cinda bi-ʔuní bè-gáòtá < H.  
Regi  
Kuki  
Hungwəryə

**Shiroro**

Fungwa  
Rin bîʔúně biʔíqǎ biwúrù  
Rin Awəgə  
Gurmana  
Ndəkə  
Hipina  
Rubu  
Wáyā

Gbiri pikpirà

**Kambari**

Cicipu  
Salka  
Tsuvaɗi  
Baangi  
Tsikimba  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

	Pepper I	Pepper II	Pepper III	Pepper IV
<b>Northwest</b>				
cLela Zuru	à-tárgú	tàtàsè pl. c-	zángánè	cèetá pl. s-
cLela				

Ribah  
tHun  
sSaare  
Gwamhyə  
Wurə

**Kag  
cluster**

Kag  
Fere  
Jiir  
Kər  
Koor  
Ror  
Us  
Zuksun

**Basa  
cluster**

Basa  
Kontagora  
Basa-  
Gumna  
Koromba  
Basa-  
Gurara  
Basa-  
Benue  
Basa-  
Makurdi

**Kamuku  
group**

Shama  
Rəgə  
Səgəmək  
Cinda  
Rəgi  
Kuki  
Hungwəryə

**Shiroro**

Fungwa  
Rin  
Rin Awəgə  
Gurmana  
Ndəkə  
Hipina  
Rubu  
Wāyā

bɪfɪtá

**Kambari**

Cicipu  
Salka  
Tsuvaɗi

Baangi  
Tsimba  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

	<b>Pumpkin</b>	<b>Calabash I</b>	<b>Calabash II</b>	<b>Calabash III</b>	<b>Gourd</b>
cLela	d-òbò pl. c- əd-kwənəba	hònò pl. m-	k-sín	í-yàagcò pl. m-	
Gwamhí-R Gwamhyə	ər-ròhò	m-sue i-ja/əd-			
Fakai-R Ror	ər-òb (R)	sò ūkók pl. ãtkók			
Hun-east Hun-west	ər-pər, ər-ɔ:p ər-kabus, ər-ɔ:b	ər-kək ər-kək			
Shama Rəgɔ-1 Rəgɔ-2 Səgəmək	ɛ:r kwər a-ra i-wə	a-bob yɛtagɔ ki-bob			
Cinda-4 Cinda Rəgi Kuki	a-tugo [big ~] kur i-gwej in-gweh	enso ɛʃ a-kur kɔra			ʔà-zʷágò
Rin Hungwəryə	ùgwàmbwà a-yel	bijógó e-hongu	bigwàgà	ùkòkò	ùgwàrà
Basa-Benue	bù-gbògo/tu-				
Cicipu		cijji <i>pl.</i> ìncijji	kápà <i>pl.</i> ìnkápà	mándá <i>pl.</i> míndá	kóbú
Salka	e-dəryɔ	ù:rân yanda	ólóló zùṅgùrù	médélé	məkkábù é:kóbú
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe					



Ndəkə mʔhonti  
Wāyā muhót

Cicipu kómó *pl.* **kkómó** ósi  
Salka a-kpadi

Rop  
Shuba ηwá  
Shen  
Reshe

### 1.3.2 Plant parts

	Bark	Branch	Leaf
cLela	k-kwəkʷø [= <i>palm</i> ?]	əvə-zatə	kə-va
cLela	ə-koko/əc-	əv-zətə/əs-	kə-va/cə-
Gwamhyə	ət-ku	əv-zəki	əd-ba/əs- əsfè?
Fakai-A	u-ko		u-wan
Ror	ūjāb <i>pl.</i> əʔjāb (S)	ūfè? <i>pl.</i> əsfè?	ūrān <i>pl.</i> ətrān
Jiir	u-pɔ (R) u-pɔʔɔg	əv-zɔg (R) u-fɛg	
Hun-A	u-keg [?]		u-wa
Hun-R		u-jeti	itu-wa
tHun-east	ət-pɔʔɔg	o-jet gaak o-jekt	o-wa
Hun-west	o-pog	sɔɾɔg [= <i>branches</i> ] o-jek, o-ganci	o-fwa
Shama	ha-gugk	a-gogɔ	hɔ:m
Rɔgɔ-1		a-boba	a-bomba
Rɔgɔ-2	a-gug	e-bwɔb	a-bomb
Səgəmək		ka-babA	a-mam
Cinda	gúgù	a-bob	ʔā-ujāngɔ́, a- bɔmba
Rɛgi	gugɔ	a-bob	a-bomba
Kuki	gugɔ	a-bob	bombo
Hungwəryə		i-bwabu	ó-bʷómbá, há-
Rin	u-gugu	ùrúú	ùʔāmbà
Rin-2	o-gugu	uru	o-amba
Ndəkə	agugi		
Cicipu	sìn'in <i>pl.</i> àsín'in	bátù <i>pl.</i> àbátù	ssà <i>pl.</i> ássà
Salka	ê:vûn	ù:tên	ə-vúʔú

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

	Root	Seed	Flower
cLela	əvə-gəru	go	pəru
cLela	əvə-gəru/sə-	əv-go, əv-yana/əs-	ək-paru/əc-
Gwamhyə	əv-gələ/əs-	gə	
Fakai-A	əb-gər əb-gwə		
Ror	ūgər pl. əsgər	ūgə pl. gə	ətpjəkət pl. ətpjəkət
Hun-A	u-ger	go	
Hun-R	u-geri		
Hun-east	əs-geer, əs-giir	ege-gə, o-yaənə [?]	ər-mok, ət-
Hun-west	o-gere	ər-gwə	"
Shama	o-gəntɔ	byerə	[< H.]
Rəgə-1		byero	
Rəgə-2	a-guŋg	a-byerə	"
Səgəmuk		a-byero	
Cinda	gúŋgú	bì-ìní, bè-béuɔ	mì-kúndì
Regi	gungu	byer	
Kuki	gəŋgu	byero	
Hungwəryə	i-petu		
Rin	ùŋgəŋgəddə	bikǎ:sú	tùsúmǎ
Ndəkə	uguŋgi		
Basa-Benue		bu-zagwu/i-zegwu	
Cicipu	yáyù pl. àyáyù	cún <sup>?</sup> ùn pl. ìcún <sup>?</sup> ùn	pélù pl. ìpélù
Salka	àà-ràlù	ccùn <sup>?</sup> ùn	yìppə:lù
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	Grass	Thorn	Branch
cLela	c-gwe	kə-ilə	
cLela	əv-gwə	ək-hilə:/əc-	
		əd-	
cLela	k-gwə	k-hilə	
Gwamhyə	əd-gwa	əv-gənə/əs-	



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Fakai-A	øt-gwa		
Ror	ūgʷá pl. ǎsgʷá	ūhír pl. ǎshír	
Hun-A	øʂ-gø	u-yokol	
Hun-east	ət-gwá	ege-tuntun, əs-	
	o-gwɔ, əs-gwɔ	o-yokor, also ət-	
	ət-pɔ		
Hun-west	ər-gwɔ	u-hir	
Shama		ma-kadt [plural?]	
Rɔgɔ-1		undu	
Rɔgɔ-2		ba-kad	
Səgəmuk		wɔ-kambu	
Cinda-4	lulube		
Cinda	á:mbè	mà-kàrá	ʔà-bóbʷà
Rəgi		ma-kara	
Kuki		ma-kad	
Hungwəryə		bi-kwarye	
Rin	ùuʔámú		
Gbiri		kùsāp	
Cicipu	híʔó pl. ðhíʔó		
Salka	ʔyúwó pl. ðʔyúwó		
	wínlyá	a-wanda	
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	<b>Forest</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Swamp</b>
cLela			
cLela		ək-kade	
		əd-	
cLela		də-kade	
Gwamhyə		əl-wa	
Fakai-A			
Ror		ǎrdòg pl. ǎtdòg	
Hun-east		o-kɔt, also ət-	
Hun-west		o-kɔt	
Shama		o-zanɟ [= <i>field</i> ?]	
Rɔgɔ-1			
Rɔgɔ-2		a-hir	
Səgəmuk			
Cinda-4		undu, rata [ <i>near home</i> ]	
Cinda	ì-gìrì	â:f, ʔǎpǎ	ⁿdìkì

Regi undu [= forest ?]  
 Kuki əndu

Hungwəryə  
 Rin ùhirə

Cicipu dábá pl. àdábá

Salka

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

### 1.3.3 Trees

	Tree	Stick	Firewood
cLela	cɛ/əs-		
Gwamhyə	əv-tɛ/əs-		
Fakai-A	əb-te		
Ror	ūté pl. əsté		té dūrā pl. té tūrā
Hun-A	u-te		
Hun-east	o- <sup>2</sup> yo		
Hun-west	ə-ce		
Shama	ɔ		
Rɔgɔ-1	ɔ:		
Səgəmuk	ɔk		
Cinda-1	ǰ-ǰ	ʔi-íɡ <sup>w</sup> i	tò-bòuá
Cinda-2	ǰ-ǰ		
Regi	ɔ-ɔ		
Kuki	ɔ		
Hungwəryə	u-əə		
Rubasa	u-wu <sup>2</sup> wu/i-wɛ <sup>2</sup> wɛ		
Basa-BC	o:-wówɛ/e:-		
Basa-Benué	o-wé <sup>é</sup>		
Bauchi-R	ɔ-ɔ		
Fungwa-BC	i-à <sup>2</sup> ù/i-ɛ <sup>2</sup> u		
Rin	ù-ʔwè /i-		
Ndəkə	waʔə		yaʔə
Wāyā			u-ɔʔə
Gbiri			kūzínzà
Cicipu	dǎngà	gísi	n/M

		sílú <i>pl.</i> òsílú	
Salka	ù:-dàṅgâ	à:dāṅgâ	m/C
Agwara-BC	mà-dāṅgâ		

Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	ú-cě́/tsú-

	<b>Baobab</b>	<b>Shea</b>
cLela	kùbù /s-	rigə/əs-
Gwamhyə	əm-lɪgə əm-nɛvge	
Fakai-A		
Ror	ūkʷók pl. əskʷók	ūfàr pl. əsfàr [?]
Hun-east	o-nəŋg [?]	o-riig
Hun-west	u-kup	
Shama	ubɔ	
Rɔgɔ-1		
Rɔgɔ-2	u-ub	
Səgəmuk		
Cinda	ubɔ	ʔi-ɯɪgɪ
Regi	u-ubə	
Kuki	upə	
Hungwəryə		
Rubasa		
Basa-BC		
Basa-Benue		
Bauchi-R		
Fungwa-BC		
Rin		ùrígó
Cicipu	kúwò	lá'á <i>pl.</i> àlá'á
Salka	ù:kòrò	ù:liǰê
Agwara-BC		
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

	<b>Dum-palm</b>	<b>Locust bean</b>	<b>Silk-cotton</b>
cLela			
Gwamhyə			

Ror

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔɔ-1  
Rɔɔ-2  
Səgəmuk

Cinda  
Rɛgi  
Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rubasa  
Basa-Benue                      bi-ndeshi/ti-

Bauchi-R  
Fungwa  
Rin                                      ùrò

Gbiri                                      kà-lál

Cicipu              ccémé *pl.* àciccémé      lóó *pl.* llóó  
Salka  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

---

**Ebony tree                      Mahogany                      Cactus<sup>28</sup>**

---

**Northwest**

cLela Zuru                              kòmò *pl.* s-kòmò  
cLela Ribah  
tHun  
sSaare  
Gwamhyə  
Wurə

**Kag cluster**

Kag  
Fere  
Jiir  
Kər  
Koor  
Ror  
Us  
Zuksun

---

<sup>28</sup> *Euphorbia kamerunica*

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora  
 Basa-Gumna  
 Koromba  
 Basa-Gurara  
 Basa-Benue  
 Basa-Makurdi

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
 Rɔgɔ  
 Səgəmuk  
 Cinda  
 Regi  
 Kuki  
 Hungwəryə

**Shiroro**

Fungwa  
 Rin  
 Rin Awəgə  
 Gurmana  
 Ndəkə  
 Hipina  
 Rubu  
 Wāyā

Gbiri pɪdzō

**Kambari**

Cicipu yíndà pl. ýyíndà  
 Salka  
 Tsuvadì  
 Baangi  
 Tsìkimba  
 Agwara

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

---

**Fan palm      Raffia palm      Oil-palm**

---

**Northwest**

cLela Zuru kènɓè pl. s-kɛnɓɛ hyán  
 cLela Ribah  
 tHun  
 sSaare  
 Gwamhyə  
 Wurə

**Kag cluster**

Kag  
 Fere

Jiir  
Kər  
Koor  
Ror  
Us  
Zuksun

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora  
Basa-Gumna  
Koromba  
Basa-Gurara  
Basa-Benué  
Basa-Makurdi

bi-shiwa/i-shiwe

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
Rɔgɔ  
Sɛgɛmuk  
Cinda  
Regi  
Kuki  
Hungwɛryɛ

kábà

**Shiroro**

Fungwa  
Rin  
Rin Awɛgɛ  
Gurmana  
Ndəkə  
Hipina  
Rubu  
Wáyā

**Kambari**

Cicipu  
Salka  
Tsuvaɗi  
Baangi  
Tsikimba  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

1.4 Natural world

	<b>Cloud</b>	<b>Wind</b>	<b>Whirlwind</b>
cLela	kə-wɛɛ /co-	m-ɛn	i-gipi
Gwamhyə	əb-ɔtɔ, u-	əm-iyɑ	
Fakai-A Ror Cl.	ɔt-kɔr ərkɔ:t/ ərkɔʔɔt pl. ɔtkɔʔɔt	əm:jā	u-gip (R)
Hun-east Hun-west	ər-kyentɛ ər-kyentɛ	əm-yo əm-yo	
Shama Rɔgɔ-1 Rɔgɔ-2 Səgəmuk	homasota ɔn-dwai a-raN	u-pyar, 0- o-pyarA o-pyara ho-pyala	
Cinda-4 Cinda Rɛgi Kuki	un-dwaya ɔn-dwai an-dwai an-dwai	u-pearɑ o-pyar o-pyar o-pyara	gípù
Rin Ndəkə Wāyā	ùrará as Hausa	ùpyàrà upyara opél	ùgípé
Gbiri			nigīhū
Kumbashi Karisen Cicipu	ka-wəci /a- ka-huci hhúunci pl. àhhúunci	u-pepi u-pepi	
Salka C	èlléjɛ	úúpépu	llipô
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe			

	<b>Moon, month</b>	<b>Star</b>
cLela	pɛ:tɛ	kyeba/-na
Gwamhyə	ər-gili	əb-bele
Fakai-A Ror Kag	pyat ūpā:t pl. ɔspā:t "	heger ūrɛgɛr pl. rɛgɛr əb-rɛgər
Hun-A Hun-east Hun-west	rakrend [= Mosquito] o-rɛŋg u-rɛŋ	o-rɛgɛn u-rɛgɛn
Shama	pyana	ringwan

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Rɔgɔ-1	pyana	bi-ringwan
Rɔgɔ-2	o-pyana	bi-zəŋg
Səgəmuk	o-wat	bi-run, i-zɛg
Bobi		bi-zəzəŋgi /mu-
Cinda-2	pyana	bi-rəgwani
Cinda	píáná	bè-rèŋg <sup>w</sup> ànè/mə-
Rɛgi	pyan	bi- ngwan/mwə-
Kuki	pyana	bi-rəngwan
Hungwəryə		mə-renga
Rin	ùpyándá	bi-gwásù
Ndəkə	upyana	bigwafə
Wāyā	opɛɛ	bi-gwaf
Kumbashi	wɔtɔ	mə-cicɛri /ən-
Kakihum		tɛtɛ <sup>ʔ</sup> uri /i-
Karisen	wɔtɔ	cicɛɛ
Cicipu	ótò <i>pl.</i> <b>vɔtɔ</b>	ccɛɛrè <i>pl.</i> <b>ɪncicɛrè</b>
		ciccɛɛrè <i>pl.</i> <b>ɪcicɛrè</b>
Salka	wòtòt [cf. H.]	ttályòʔò [< H. ?]
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

**Thunder**

**Lightning**

cLela	s-teno [= bark]	
Gwamhyə		
Fakai-A		
Ror	ūkágágág pl. kágágág	
Kag		
Hun-A	u-ren	
Shama		
Rɔgɔ-1		
Səgəmuk		
Bobi		
Cinda	pàsá	mà-bàlò-bàlò
Rɛgi		
Kuki		
Hungwəryə		
Rin	ùdámǎ	
Kumbashi		
Kakihum		



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Karisen  
Cicipu n/M ládámú

Salka à̀̀gyíríyè [long, grumbling]  
tsàántân [*thunder-clap*]

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

---

	Year	Last year
--	------	-----------

---

cLela	wɛ  sɛ-	
-------	---------	--

Gwamhyə	yakə/əs-	
---------	----------	--

Ror	ūhāk pl. ēshāk	
-----	----------------	--

Hun-east	i-hak	
----------	-------	--

Shama	[< H.], mo-gɛk ?	
Rɔgɔ-2	a:i	

Cinda	jīya	ɥəmbè
Regi	a-yai ?	
Kuki	jea	

Rin	ùɥò	
Ndəkə	uwiya	

Cicipu	ásá pl. <b>áasá</b>	
--------	---------------------	--

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

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	Morning	Evening	Day	Night
cLela	əm-zana	a-rimə		gyòpó/s-
Gwamhyə				u-tentete
Gwamhyə	byambyamnə	əm-limi	u-hə	u-lumptete
Fakai-A				m-gyep
Ror	ərwən	əmrím	ərhō pl. əthō	əmgíóp
Kər	ər-bianəmbian			
Hun-A				m-tet
Hun-east	[ən-]sot	m-rim	m-həw, m-haw	m-tet
Hun-west	m-sotenga	m-rim		ən-det
Shama	bəŋgɔ	a-rəmbI/na-	ɛ-wə	a-get/na-
Rəgɔ-1	bəŋgu/ na-	rəmbi/na-		geta
Rəgɔ-2	a-bəŋgɔ	a-yəmbi		a-get
Səgəmuk	kə-bəŋ	ka-yɪp		ka-get
Cinda	bəŋgɔ	ɥómbè	ʔó-hó	gìtá
Rəgi	bəŋgu	rəmbi	nə-hə	get
Kuki	bəŋgu	a-rəmbi		get
Hungwəryə			ʔé-hó, mó-	
Rubasa				njita
Basa-BC				nuá:na, u:-gítá
Fungwa-BC				i-gyità
Rin	ùbúwá	ùfùrùgò	ùhwè <sup>29</sup>	ùgità
Ndəkə				ugita
Wáyā				ugyet
Cicipu	n/M	ríví	kwáan'án	hín'ín pl. àhín'ín
Salka	ú:sáná	ú:lívú	pl. áan'wán, ʔwáan'wán	á-yí
Agwara-BC			ú:ráná [=sun]	káyí
Rop				
Shuba			ru-bwi /a-	ru-ira /a-
Shen			gweba	íyà
Reshe				a-kipə

<sup>29</sup> Also 'day, God'

	Rainy Season	Dry Season
cLela	u-gwɛsɛ/ɛc- "	yaŋ-gəvnɪwe/yaŋs-niwe yaŋ-gəvnəwe
Gwamhyə	u-gɔsɔ	dawɔ i-hɔ
Ror Fɛr	ūgɔs pl. ɛtgɔs	ūzʷɛ:n pl. ɛʔzʷɛ:n o-hɔwn
Hun-east Hun-west	o-gɔs o-gɔs	o-zwən o-zwəɪn
Shama Rɔgɔ-1 Rɔgɔ-2 Səgəmuk	fɪ/na- fɪʔa u-fɪ u-gwɔʃ	rɛʔɔ rɛʔo o-hab wambiɔk
Cinda Rɛgi Kuki	fɪjɪ fɪə fɪ	ʊɛhɔ rɛʔo rɛʔo
Rin	ùfɪyó	ùbwázá
Cicipu	úsi zívíi	wándái pl. àwándái
Salka	lyù:fɪ	í:ráná
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe		

	Sun	Sky	God
cLela	ɛdɔ-hwɛ́	a-silɔ	a-silɔ
cLela	dɔ-hwɛ	a-cona	æ-silɔ
Gwamhyə Gwamhyə Wurə	nd-ho i-hɔ	domo-ire domo yə	i-halkɔ
Fakai-A Ror Kər Jiir Fɛr	ɔr-ho ɛrhɔ pl. ɛthɔ u-hɔ ɛr-hɔ u-hɔ	ūrɛ zərm-əhɔ [up+sun] zəm-ɛrɔ [up+god] domo-ɛrɔ	ūrɛ u-rɔ, u-wɔ u-rɔ, u-wɔ u-rɔ, u-wɔ
Hun-A Hun-R Hun-east Hun-west	nono-ho ɛrɔ-hɔ rɔ-hɔ rɔ-hɔ	ən-tən [= up] fɪr o-fɪr	sir fɪr o-fɪr
Shama Rɔgɔ-1	ɔɔ mɔɔ	zat tɔn-dwaiʔa	ɔɔ mɔɔ

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Rɔgɔ-2	mɔ	tə-ran [< H.]	mɔ
Səgəmuk	kɔ-ran [< H.]	zata	kɔ-ran [< H.]
Bobì		to-ran	
Cinda	ḥ-hḥ	tò-ndʷájà	ḥ-hḥ
Régi	ɔ-hɔ	tɔn-dwai	ɔɔ
Kukì	ɔ	tɔn-dwai	ɔ
Hungwəryə	hu yis	naro	
Rin	ùhwè <sup>30</sup>	tàrà, tàrəgàdè	ùhwè <sup>31</sup>
Ndəkə	ɔhɔ	azuba	
Wàyā	oho	azop	
Kumbashi	u-lɛnji	gaḍu	
Karisen	u-lɛnji	geḍu	
Cicipu	lénjí <i>pl.</i> llénjí		kúngwáa
Salka	úúráná [< H.]	ésílé, éésíláázívvá	ésílé
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	<b>Rain</b>	<b>Rainbow</b>	<b>Dew</b>	<b>Stream</b>
cLela	mɛŋkɛ		cə-mɔ	
Gwamhyə	u-yə		əd-mi	palɪ
Ror	ūjə pl. ətjə		ə-rapɔt (R) ūjə pl. ətjə (S)	ūgí pl. əsgí
Kər	"		u-rapɔt	----
Jiir	"		t-rapɔt	u-gí
Fer	"		əd-rapt	"
Hun-east	kyɛm		ət-mɛ	
Hun-west	kɛm		u-mɪ	
Shama	ə-ʃira		tu-mi	o-jab
Rɔgɔ-1	ʃir		a-raba	
Rɔgɔ-2	ə-ʃir		tu-nɪ	o-jab
Səgəmuk	ʃir		ko-jaba	
Cinda	ʃiɥí	bè-ráná	tù-ní	?à-ràbá
Régi	ʃir		tu-ni	a-rab
Kukì	ʃir		tu-mi	a-raba
Rin	rùʃirə <sup>32</sup> /à-		tɪ-mi	bisətʃi
Ndəkə	afilə		ayɔbi	

<sup>30</sup> Also 'sun, day'

<sup>31</sup> Also 'sun, God'

<sup>32</sup> sg. = 'raindrop'

Wâyã

awoy(ε)

Basa-Benue e-shilo/ġi-

Gbiri

kùmyâ

Cicipu yɔ'ɔ v.  
Salka rɔʔɔ

ʔizà hóyú *pl.* hhóyú  
à:ʔizâ iiyənə

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

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	River	Pond, lake, pool	Cave	Hole, pit
cLela	kə-gyɛn/ci-		ək-paku/əc-	əkə-wə/cə-
cLela	gɛn /s- k-kòrò /c-		k-so /c-	d-wə /c-
Gwamhyə	lɛ		u-pəki	u-kuhu/əs- u-hɪ
Ror	u-kor (R) as stream (S)	ər-bà / ər- [lake] ər=kapkin/ ər- [pool]	ūsó? pl. əʔsó?	ūhə pl. əshə
Kər	u-kor		"	
Jiir	i-gor		"	u-hə
Fer	u-kər		"	"
Hun-east	o-ròḡg		o-pak /ət-	o-kuub o-wu o-so [hole in tree]
Hun-west	u-rəw		", o-so	o-owu
Shama	o-rwag		o-byar	hambɪ
Rɔḡɔ-1	a-ragA			
Rɔḡɔ-2	o-rwag		o-byar	a-hambɪ
Bobi			ko-byar	wəmpi
Cinda-4	ainoa [deep ~]			
Cinda	ʔà-ràbá	ʔi-íní	b'ajúá	hòmbé
Rɛgi	rwag		byar	hɔ:mbi
Kuki	rwag		byara	həmbi
Hungwəryə				ú-h'ónù [pit]
Rin	ù-rwàgà /a-		u-suwa	ùʔibwá /a-
Ndəkə	uraga			
Wāyā	urəg			
Kumbashi			kəpətə	kwe-ci/ε-
Kakihum			kəpəta	koci
Karisen			ka-pata	koci
Cicipu	jénè pl. <b>èjénè</b>	kón'òn sóon pl. <b>òsòon, òsòsòon</b>	ppàtá pl. <b>àpippátá</b>	ócì pl. <b>óócì</b>
Salka	ùù-dǒlù	ù:j'ɛn	n/C	ttópú pl. <b>ìntíttópú</b> <sup>33</sup> wǎǎc'ì
Rop				
Shuba				
Shen				
Reshe				
	<b>Ground, earth</b>	<b>Dirt</b>	<b>Dust</b>	
cLela	u-copo cihwin [?]	k-kimə c-kóptó	k-búdbúdu d'̀bùdgù	

<sup>33</sup> 'small hole'

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

		c-lìmlà k-bècè wàp	d-lègè [ <i>sediment</i> ] màmà	
Gwamhɪ	u-cɪhi	m-hugu	i-hu	
Fakai-A Ror Cl	ūdàk pl. əʔdàk	əm-jigən [R]	m-hog əmhú:g (S) u-cər	
Hun-A Hun-east Hun-west	ət-ba <i>also</i> clay o-dak o-dak	m-hu m-hu	o-kura u-kura	
Shama Rɔgɔ-1 Rɔgɔ-2 Səgəmuk Bobi	toɪŋkɪ toɪŋgi toig toge toge		u-bukur bukura u-bukur ku-bug	
Cinda-1 Cinda-4 Regi Kuki	tɔŋgɛ tunge = clay toɪŋki toɪnkɪ		mbútə bukure m-but bukur	
Rin Ndəkə Wāyā	n-cáyě ùkùrì caŋga cɪŋk	tì-jírì [ <i>also black</i> ]	ùpútù /a- ura abul	
Basa-Benue	fɛndʒɛ			
Kumbashi Kakihum Karisen Cicipu Salka C	i-dā i-dāa cɔbwɔ dāa íidāá	kóm̩mó pl. <b>ɔ́kóm̩mó</b> yéyí ə́fíndé	kakuri kakuuri kakuri ákùrì pl. <b>áakùrì</b> mèbɪtə	
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe				

	Clay	Mud	Sand	Iron/metal
cLela	c-lɔbo		c-mama	kə-kɔmɔ
Gwamhyə			m-hilgi	u-kwɔmɛ
Fakai-A Ror Cl Jiir	əl:wāb pl. ətrwāb		m-hyarge əmhɪərəg "	ūk <sup>w</sup> ām pl. ətk <sup>w</sup> ām u-kwam
Hun-R Hun-east	ət-ba	əm-hu [= <i>dirt/dust</i> ] əm-hireg		u-kwom o-kwɔm

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

Hun-west	o-ba		u-kwəm
Shama	təndgetərəm	hɛ:ɣɪ	bi-rəm
Rɔɔɔ-1		ma-hyaga	bi-rɔma
Rɔɔɔ-2		o-hiʔɛg	bɛ-rəm
Səgəmuk		kwəwaiʔa	bi-rəm
Randeggi		kwayayəg	bɛroma
Bobi		kwayayek	bi-rəm
Cinda	rabba	hʲáɣà	ʔà-ɯómə
Regi		hyag	bɛ-rəm
Kuki		hyaga	bɛ-rəm
Hungwəryə			e-rom
Rin		rùŋgɛʔfɛ /a-	tùrúmá
Ndəkə		caŋga [=ground]	tumu
Wâyā		ayi	tizən
Kumbashi		kū-yu(yu)	ka-yumu
Kakihum		kū-yūū	yumu
Karisen		kwīyōyū	yumu
Cicipu	lɔɔgú pl. ɔ́lɔɔgú	yùnyûn	yúmò pl. yiyúmùn
Salka	ɔ́lɔɔʔɔ	àyŷû	rəmû
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			



	Stone, rock	Hill	Mountain
cLela-BC	d-tà:rè	ək-, i-	seme
cLela	əd-ta:re/əc- i-, ək-		seme /əs-
Gwamhyə	o-hale	n-dalo	
Gwamhyə	ər-ta:le, u-	u-lɔlɔ, 0-/əs-	
Fakai-A	or-tar	u-rɔr	
Ror	ītā:r (small) ərtāʔār pl. əʔtāʔār (medium) ūtā:r pl. ātā:r (large)	ər-zɪgɪt ? [R]/ət- ər-rɔr (R)	əl:ɔr pl. ətrɔr
Hun-A	or-taʔar	u-taʔar	
Hun-east	ər-təʔar	ər-ha:g	o-ha:g
Hun-west	ər-ta:r	u-ɪgyɛr	
Shama	tɛɛ		ʃam/mu-
Rɔgɔ-2	o-tari		e-ʃamu
Səgəmuk	ko-tei		u-ʃam
Randeggi	ko-tarɛ		u-ʃam
Bobi	ko-tali		ki-ʃam /mu-
Cinda	tare bi-tare [ <i>pebble</i> ]	é-ʔógó	ʃama
Regi	taɪ		ʃam
Kuki	tari		ʃam
Hungwəryə	tare		
Basa-Benue	u-tay/a-	bu-kpeku/ti-	
Basa-BC	o-tai		
Fungwa-BC	ì-tàyà/à- ì-ko ì		
Rin	ù-tàri /a- ùpàgà (flat rock)		ùʔúndú /a-
Ndəkə	utara		
Wāyā	otay	o-kəg	
Kumbashi	ka-tari /a-		
Kakihum	ka-tari /a-		
Karisen	ka-tari /a-	kù-sáá	
Cicipu	táari pl. <b>átáari</b>		sáan pl. <b>ásáansàn</b>
Salka	á:-táli/á-	ààgàdī	ma-kū /ə- màsásà
Salka			
Agwara-BC	kà-tà:lí/á-		ku-sa /a-sasa
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe	ú-tárɛ		

Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft

	Fire	Ashes	Potash for soup
cLela	hwèlá <i>pl.</i> hwèlána		m-tón m-rinè
Gwamhyə	u-la	m-cwa	m-kambə
Fakai-A Ror	u-ra ūrā	m-ca əmtjʷā?	əm-kamb
Hun-east Hun-west	o-ra ra	m-cow m-cow	m-cik m-kik
Shama	ɔ-ra	mɔwt	
Rɔgɔ-1	ɔ-rada	mət	
Rɔgɔ-2	ɔ-r	mɔwt	
Səgəmək	u-wɔra	mʃ̣.t	
Randeggi	wa-ra	motu	
Bobi	ʔo-r	mɔt <sup>h</sup>	
Cinda-2 Rɛgi Kuki	ɔ-la ɔ-r ɔ-ra	mɔtɔ mɔt mɔwt	maza
Hungwəryə	o-wala	mu-oto	
Rin Ndəkə Wāyā	ù-rà /a- ura olyuwa	bìtḽ mayara untɔ?	
Gbiri		mùtsō	
Kumbashi Kakihum Karisen Cicipu	u-la u-laa u-la lāa	ko-komɔ ko-koma ka-komo àkwádí [hot]	
Salka	úúlyóó	ó-kkwómó <i>pl.</i> ó-kwómó	
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe			

	Smoke	Water
cLela D	d-hyón /c-	m-hò
Gwamhyə	m-hiti	m-bə
Fakai-A	ør-sa	m-bo
Ror	əmfəʔət	əmbə
Kər	"	"
Jiir	ət-fəʔit	əm-bər
Fer	əm-fət	əm-bər
Hun-BC		əm-mí
Hun-east	m-he /r-	əm-hó
Hun-west	o-hyɪ	əm-mi
Shama	m-wui	mɛ:n
Rəgə-1	m-whɪ	ma ni
Rəgə-2	m-whɪ	mə ni
Səgə muk	m-wui	mə n
Randeggi		məni
Bobi		mən
Cinda	mʉ-hyǎ	mì-ní
Rəgi	m-wui	mə:ni
Kuki	m-wui	məni
Hungwəryə	m-úhúwə	mə-ni, m-íjǎ
Basa-BC		mé-ni
Koromba-R		mə-ni
Bauchi-R		m-me
Fungwa-BC		mò
Rin	ɲhyó /a-	mǎnɪ
Ndəkə	ənciko	mii
Wǎyǎ	əncuk	mə
Kakihum		məni
Karisen		məni
Tirisino		
Ticahun		
Kumbashi		məni
Cicipu	cùʔwó	
Salka	míkyǎ	mí-ní
Agwara-BC		
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

1.5 Persons

	Person	Father
cLela-BC	nòcò	
cLela	nəco, niti	kə-ceto
cLela	necə-na	ək-ceto/əc- ... + no
Gwamhyə	nette	
Gwamhi-R	nete	
Gwamhyə	netɛ/əd-	əb-əsə
Fakai-A	not	
Ror	nét pl. nétnè	ūʔəsō pl. ətəsō
Fakai-R	nɛt	
Hun-east	nét	u-tato
Hun-west	nét	u-tato
Shama	bəwt	bəc
Rəgə-2	bəwt	bəc
Səgəmək	bəwt	baba [< H.]
Cinda-4	bu-ga/0-	gacabo [your f.]
Cinda	bɔ-gä:	bɔʃfɛ
Rəgi	bo-ga	baba [< H.]
Kuki	bo-ga	bici bərabu
Hungwəryə	bo-to	bu-oci
Basa-Benue	atwa/etwɛni	bi-shí/e-
Basa-Benue	vu-mə	
Basa-Benue	bɔtò/atwà/atwamwa	
Koromba-R	bo-to	
Bauchi-R	bi-imən	
Fungwa-BC	vá:tu/aʔv:tà	
Gurmana-R	bu-oto	
Rin	mbu-tu	àʃĩ [his father] ababa [< H.]
Ndəkə	bɔɔta	
Gbiri	ùnĩr	
Tirisino	z-zá	
Ticahun	za	
Kumbashi	za	
Cicipu	zá pl. àzá	dàadáa pl. idàadáa bàbá òsòó pl. ónisòó
Salka		v-aali
Salka	zzâ	v-à:ĩ/0-
Agwara-BC		v-á:ĩ/0-

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

undo ?/b-ípa

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	Man	Husband	Wife
cLela	kempa		
cLela	ərə-mə		
Gwamhi-R	əvə-gubu		
Gwamhyə	wa -gubu/ya-		
Ror	tʃāmpá pl. tʃāmpánè		
Fakai-R	campa		
Hun-east	cæmpɔ		
Hun-west	kyæmpɔ		
Shama	bɔt o-twai		
Rɔgɔ-2	but u-twai		
Səgəmuk	bwɔt o-twai		
Cinda-4	racce [ <i>male</i> ]		
Cinda	bʷi-íuɿ	bʷi-íuɿ	
Rɛgi	bogə twəi		
Kuki	baga təwəri		
Hungwəryə	boare		
Rubasa	bu-tu bweyi bu-oloo/o-luo		
Basa-BC	bútu boi		
Basa-Benue	vu-təvoɿ	bw-olo/-olwo	
Koromba-R	bo-ri		
Bauchi-R	ə-ulo		
Fungwa-BC	bù-wóyí/à-		
Gurmana-R	bu-ori		
Rin	mu-təgɛəri		
Ndəkə	banigəri ari [=husband]		
Gbiri			kpāābū
Tirisino			
Ticahun			
Kumbashi			
Cicipu	ári pl. áari		
Salka	vu-ma		
Salka	vém-má		
Agwara-BC	v-ùma		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			

Reshe

	Woman	Mother	Ancestor
cLela	nita	kə-inu	
cLela	nètá	kə-inu/əc-...+ nu	cetacina
Gwamhyə	nida/əd-	əb-mi	
Fakai-R	nita		
Ror	nētá pl. nētánè	ūʔinō pl. ətīnō	ūʔándàkà pl. ándàkà
Hun-east	ne <sup>?</sup> a	u-ino	yan-gayε [pl.]
Hun-west	ne <sup>?</sup> a	u-ino	yæn-daka [pl.]
Shama	bwaA	ɪ-ind	
Rəgə-2	bu <sup>?</sup> ə	ə:i	
Səgəmək	bwək		
Cinda-4		ganubu [ <i>your m.</i> ]	
Cinda	b <sup>w</sup> i-ʔi pl. i-ʔi	b <sup>w</sup> i-íni	
Rəgi	buə	a-məc = [ <i>old woman</i> ]	
Kuki	bə, bimi bərab	bwin	
Hungwəryə	bo-ə	i-yin	
Rubasa	biyikwó		
Basa-BC	bí:-ko		
Basa-Benue	vi-iko	bi-ne/e-	
Koromba-R	bu-ə		
Bauchi-R	ə-oi		
Fungwa-BC	bù <sup>?</sup> o í/à-		
Gurmana-R	bo-o		
Rin	bù-ʔə /à-	à-də̀də̀	a-dada
Ndəkə	baʔi aʔyi [ <i>wife</i> ]		kaka [< H.]
Gbiri		nāw	
Cicipu	káa pl. àkáa	mámá ònóo pl. ónònò	
Salka	k-kâ/ə-mècǐ	ʔm̀m̀à ầǹô [= <i>your mother</i> ]	
Agwara-BC	vùkâ/"		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

	<b>Grandfather</b>	<b>Old Man</b>	<b>Elder</b>	<b>Old woman</b>
cLela		ko-gama, manka		magaze
Gwamhyə	i-manki	u-wəməkə		wa-wəne
Ror	u-zika (R)	u-nɛŋgɛn/ət/ən- (R)	ūnɛŋgɛn pl. ɛn:ɛŋgɛn	
Hun-east		ko-maŋg		wan-sɛkwə
Hun-west		"		wan-sɛkwə
Shama		ya:ri		
Rɔgɔ-2		yai		
Səgəɱuk		bɔ-yair		
Cinda	[< H.]	yar [male]		əməŋfi
Rɛgi	i-nən	yai		
Kuki		ya:ri		
Rin	àdàádà			
Gbiri	dzôw			
Cicipu	kàakáa pl. <b>ikàaká</b>		mányàn pl. <b>ámányàn</b>	
Salka	àkkájà [father's side] òkkô [mother's side]	mòkkwófi		n/C
Rop				
Shuba				
Shen				
Reshe				



**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

	<b>Child</b>	<b>Youth, young man</b>	<b>Girl, young woman</b>
cLela		wa beba	wa wanta
cLela	wa/akna	kyempa	wa wanta/ya yantna
Gwamhyə	i-ya/əm-	zalə	gwəhə
Fakai-R		zwara	gwəp
Ror	wáʔ pl. já:g	z <sup>w</sup> àr pl. jāʔz <sup>w</sup> àr	g <sup>w</sup> əp pl. jātg <sup>w</sup> əp
Kər-R		zwar	u-gwəp
Hun-R		wa	wa ne <sup>ʔ</sup> a
Hun-east	wa		wa ne <sup>ʔ</sup> a
Hun-west	"		"
Shama	bwa	εkaŋgaz	
Rəgə-2	bwa		bwa-tərə
Səgəmək	bau		bu-dərə
Cinda-4		bu-gwaya/gaya-ne	bu-durwa
Cinda	bò-ʔó/à-ʔó	bò-g <sup>w</sup> áúà	bu-dərə
Rəgi	bə		bu-dərə
Kuki	bə		bə-təwə
Hungwəryə		bú-ləgəsə, é-	é-kəŋgàzà, mó-
Basa-Benue		i-awe	u-hu <sup>ʔ</sup> uta
Koromba-R		ba-a	kyə-vəgə
Bauchi-R		ba-a	
Gurmana-R		bu-gama	bu-risi
Rin	bibyè	bu-gwama	bi-a bi-ə
Ndəkə	biʔu		
Cicipu	móo pl. <b>múu</b>	cíyá pl. <b>àcíyá</b>	láci pl. <b>àláci</b>
Salka	má:wún	u-ləbə	u-feli
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	Widow	Senior sibling	Junior sibling
cLela	bòmɛ		
Gwamhyə	elɔmbɔ		
Fakai-R			
Ror	bómós pl. ətbómós		
Fer	boms		
Hun-east			
Hun-west			
Shama	bwa <sup>?</sup> a tɔfɛra		
Rɔgɔ-2			
Səgəmuk			
Cinda	bù-ɔ̀ùní	bò-ʃáné	bù-jínì
Rɛgi			
Kuki			
Hungwəryə			
Basa-Benue		ba-tagu/a-	
Koromba-R			
Bauchi			
Gurmana			
Rin			
Cicipu	góoró pl. ògóoró		
Salka			
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	Chief	Stranger
cLela	gwomɔ	hamce
Gwamhyə	k-waləkə [= God?]	hamtə/əd-
Fakai-R	hwarək	hamət
Ror	fàrək pl. ɛ̄tfàrək	hāmət pl. ɛ̄thāmət (= guest)
Fer	fark	hamt
Hun-R	ku-gwomu	hamate
Hun-east	ku-gwomɔ	ko-hamat
Hun-west	ku-gwomu	ko-hamt
Shama	bu-gwamɔ	bo-toganya
Rɔgɔ-2	bu-gwam	bo-togahamac
Səgəmuk	bu-gwam	bamaʃemeʃ
Cinda	gʷámá	u-gab tə-hamac
Rɛgi	bu-gwam	u-gab tə-hamac
Kuki	bu-gwam	u-gab tə-hamac
Hungwəryə	bu-gwama	nyagata
Basa-Benue	u-gwoma	
Koromba-R	bu-gwama	
Bauchi-R	a-gwam	
Gurmana-R	bu-gwama	
Rin	bùgwámǎ /ŋ-	bù-gày /a-
Cicipu	wómó pl. òwòmó dáa pl. idáa	móci pl. ɛ̄nmóci
Salka	mə-gwəno	<b>mmócin</b>
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

	Friend	Enemy	Slave
cLela	kwesəme		coko
cLela	kwəsire	[< H.]	"
Gwamhyə	həbə/ət-		toko
Fakai-R			
Ror	hə:b pl. əthə:b	həbə ga:ba (R)	tók pl.tóknè
Fer	u-ʒane		
Hun-R			kə-gəu
Hun-east	wan-yende, nai	wa-jəndi	ko-gow
Hun-west	nai	wa-yagəndi	ku-gow
Shama	bu-cage	bu-cage gab	bu-gyanu
Rəgə-2	bu-twagə		bu-gyam
Səgəmək	abog [< H.]		
Cinda	bə-tógó	to-ʃes	bə-giámà
Rəgi	bə-tóg	bo-gyanəm ʃɛʃ	bu-gyam
Kuki	bə-tóg	makimai	
Rin			bùgyámá
Cicipu	máçì pl. ámacì		módó pl. òmódó báwà pl. íbáwà
Salka	ì:ʔùtsô		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

	<b>Thief</b>	<b>Smith</b>	<b>In-Law</b>
cLela	hivi	zɔge	k-mene
Gwamhyə	hyəbə	wan zwa	
Ror	h'əw pl. h'əwnè	wǎʷzʷā pl. ǎʷzʷā	má:n pl. ətámá:n
Shama	bu-hi	[< H.]	
Rəgɔ-2	bu-zumb		
Cinda-4	bu-zumbo		ca-tugo [~ I-L]
Cinda	bu-zumb	pyapɔ	
Rɛgi	bu-zumb		
Kuki	bə-zəŋk		
Rin	bù-zùmbə /à-		ayènyé
Basa-Benue	bu-zundo/o-		
Cicipu	bówó pl. ðbówó		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

	<b>Herbalist/doctor</b>	<b>Seer/diviner</b>	<b>Hunter</b>
cLela	boka*	kano goco	
Gwamhyə	əb-boka*	walabatə = priest	
Fakai-A Ror	was ba:t (R)	wámh'án pl. ámh'án	
Hun-east Hun-west			
Shama Rəgə-2 Səgəmək	byat o-gargaje		
Cinda Rəgi Kuki	bək*		
Rubasa			
Fungwa-BC Rin	bùwà		
Cicipu Salka	n/M zàvêgúmê	n/M n/C	táwán <i>pl.</i> <b>átáwán</b> ttên <b>tánwân</b>
Agwara-BC			
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe			

\* These forms resemble Hausa *boka*.

	Witch	Death	Corpse
cLela			əd-wə/cə-
Gwamhyə			əl-u
Fakai-A Ror			ə́rú? pl. ə́tú?
Hun-east Hun-west			ər-u ər-u
Shama Rəgə-2 Səgəmuk			ri-u <sup>ʔ</sup> ʊ ri-uk
Cinda Regi Kuki	b <sup>w</sup> áúǝ́		i-u i-u i-u
Hungwəryə			i-u
Rin Rin-2 Ndəkə	bù-hyáá		buru <sup>ʔ</sup> wu uru <sup>ʔ</sup> wǝ́ ugawa [< H.]
Cicipu Salka TsuVadí	yíri pl. àyíri n/C	kòò pl. kǝ́ò ù:kwǝ́ u-hwə	kkwái pl. àkkwái á:gá:wá
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe			

1.

## 6 Material culture

### 1.6.1 Hunting and warfare

chief's spear in Hun-east = ordinary spear in Hun-west

chief's spear in Hun-west = ordinary spear in Hun-east

<b>Spear</b>	
cLela	kə-taka
cLela	ək-taka/əc-
Gwamhɪ Wurə	u-sɔmo [= <i>nose</i> ?]
Ror	ūsáp pl. ɛʔsáp
Jir	vili
Fɛr	u-sa
Hun-east	o-tak
Hun-west	u-gwɔb
Shama	mɔf [H.]
Rɔgɔ-2	"
Səgəmuk	mɔf
Cinda	mɔf
Rɛgi	mɔf
Kuki	mɔf
Hungwɔryə	
Rin	u-mɔfi
Rin-2	o-mɔfi bwɔ
Cicipu	sáyú pl. <b>àsáyú</b>
Salka	í:bátá
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	



**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

	<b>Arrow</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Quiver</b>	<b>Poison</b>
cLela	dèèlà pl. c-~ d-lón /c- [ <i>blunt arrow</i> ]	k-táw/c-		m-làbá
Gwamhyə	ə-ele	ta		
Ror	ə̄r̄ər pl. ə̄s̄ər	ūtá pl. ə̄stá		ə̄mráb
Hun-east	ər-εεr /əs-	o-ta		m-r(y)aab pɛrɛ
Hun-west	ər-εεr /əs-	o-ta		m-r(y)aab
Shama	rə-εrɑ	ɔt		ma-gɛi
Rəgɔ-2	ε-εr	ɔt		ma-ŋgai
Səgəmuk	ɛk-ərə	wɔt		ma-gɛi
Cinda	ʔèɥá	ɔt	bágò	mà-ŋgàɥé
Rɛgi	era	ɔt		man-gai
Kuki	yara	ɔt		man-gyari
Hungwəryə	e-el	o-te	ʔó-tá, há-	
Rin	rùʔírà	ù-tà /a-	ùbágú	màɥàrĩ
Basa-Benue			a-bagi /ʃi-	
Cicipu	hánʔàn pl. àhánʔàn	táàn pl. ttân	díin pl. èdíin	n/M
Salka	li-yâ	ùù-tâ	n/C	yààzâ
Rop				
Shuba				
Shen				
Reshe				

	<b>Knife</b>	<b>Sword</b>
cLela	i-vana	
cLela	i-vana/əm-	
Gwamhyə	i-kahə	
Ror	ūván pl. ə̄sván	
Hun-east	u-wan, ər-	
Hun-west	u-wan, ər-	
Shama	e-pəpɔ	
Rəgɔ-2	ε-pəp	
Səgəmuk	e-papu	
Cinda	pəpò	
Rɛgi	ɛ-ipəp	
Kuki	pəp	

Hungwəryə	e-popu	
Rin	ùtʃikə	
Ndəkə	ucikə	
Cicipu	kántú <i>pl.</i> <b>̀nkántú</b>	<i>gáin pl.</i> <b>̀ngáin</b>
Salka	matsu	
Agwara-BC		
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

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**Trap [n.]**

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cLela-BC		
cLela	ək-kəmo/əc-	
cLela	k-kako	
Gwamhyə		
Ror	ə́l:én <i>pl.</i> ə́trén (S)	
	ər-ta (R)	
Hun-R		
Hun-east	o-keko [for wild animals]	
	o-takotə [for cats & rats]	
Hun-west	o-keko	
Shama		hakɔ
Rəgə-2		
Səgə́muk		
Cinda		ɕɛba
Rəgi		hak
Kuki		ɕɛbu
Hungwəryə		
Rin		
Cicipu	kwáakútée <i>pl.</i> <b>̀kwáakútée</b>	
Salka		ə́llə:
Agwara-BC		
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

1.6.2 Space and place

	Road, path	Town	Village
cLela-BC	k- lèvè/s-		
cLela	kə-levè	εεε	
cLela	kə-levè/cə-	i-lɛ/əm-	hɪlge [archaic = farms]
Gwamhyə	nəbθ		
Gwamhyə	nəbθ/əs-	u-bə	əl-wa
Fakai-A	hwøn		
Ror	ūfən pl. əsfən	ūbó pl. ətbó	ūtà:s pl. əʔtá:s u-tuŋga [< H.] (R)
Kər	u-maŋg		
Hun-east	ù-cóu/əs-	o-bə	ər-uŋuwa [< H.]
Hun-west	"	"	o-kauye [< H.]
Shama	ɛ:n, i-yɛiŋ	ʃɛpɔ	a-hɪr/na- [= Bush ?]
Rəgə-1	a-nɛna	ɛɛp	
Rəgə-2	bɪ˘.-sɪc	o-ʃɛpɔ	
Səgəmu:k	wɛ:n	ko-ʃɛpɔ	
Cinda-1	wə-nɛ		
Cinda-2	ɔnya		
Cinda	ʔà-néníá, ɔ:n	ʃéɛpò	undɔ
Rəgi	a-nɛn	ɛɛpu	undu
Kuki	ɔ:n	ɛɛpu	ɔndu
Hungwəryə	e-yən	sab	
Rubasa	u-hwana/i-hwene		
Fungwa-BC	iywá/iŋwé		
Rin	ùɥò	ùtʃɛɛpɛ	u-aga
Rin-2			ən-haro
Wáyã	ūywã	ucəp	as Hausa
Cicipu	yáa pl. yyáa, yyáayàa gwédíbé pl. ègwédíbé	rée pl. r̀ré, réerèè	
Salka	ú:ré/v- ú:zɪbó [path]	wê:tê lyú:tʃi	maalu [?R] à:tòŋgá
Agwara-BC	ù-yè		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe	ù-cìnà/tsù-		
	Compound	Room	Roof
cLela	u-bu/cə-	ək -kuru/əc-	a-bɛmɛ
cLela	a-bu	kə-kuru	"

Gwamhyə	u-vu/əs-	ər-sakir, u-/əs-	biamə/əs-
Ror	ūbū pl. ət̪bū	ūkúr pl. ət̪kúr	ərbiām pl. ət̪biām
Hun-east	o-hur	o-kur, o-kukɛ	
Hun-west	"	"	
Shama	i-yab, ri-	u-bəɲɔ	u-ʃɛɲɔ
Rəgɔ-1	ri-yaba	u-bəna	cena
Rəgɔ-2	e-yabA	u-bən	u-ʃena
Səgəmuk	ki-yab	ko-twət	i-ʃɛɲɔ
Cinda	ɯábá 'house'	u-bən	ʃɛná
Regi	i-yaba	u-bən	cena
Kuki	ri-yab	u-bən	cenu
Rin	iʔinà	ùdùrè	ikwàsù
Ndəkə	uʔina	umónò	
Wáyā	eʔɛn	ómən	
Gbiri			dīrə
Cicipu	ʔwá'á pl. ʔwá''wáá	áyá pl. ááyá	vótó pl. òvótó
Salka	ù:ʔwâ	á:sílá	tsàtsù ú:kəʔə
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

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**Fence                      Wall                      Granary**

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cLela

Gwamhyə

Fakai-A

Ror

Kər

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rəgɔ-1

Rəgɔ-2

Səgəmuk

Cinda

sándò

bʷàgá

ʔi-ɯúɯù

Regi

Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rubasa



1.6.3 Household objects

	<b>Mortar</b>	<b>Pestle</b>	<b>Grindstone</b>
cLela	dɔrɔ́/əm-, əc-	kuncu/əs-	
Gwamhɪ	ər-zú	i-suntu	
Ror	ərdú pl. əʔdú	ūsɔnd pl. əʔsɔnd	
Hun-east	ər-du	o-sond	
Hun-west	ər-du	o-sond	
Shama	ʋnʋ	a-ʃɛrʋ	
Rɔgɔ-2	əru	a-ra	
Səgəmuk	ʋnu	o-ʃɛnu	
Cinda	í-ɥú-ɥú	/ɛ-ɥó	
Rɛgi	í-ɥú	ɔra	
Kuki	í-ɥú	ɔr	
Hungwəryə	u-ú	ə-sún	
Rin	àʔírù	ù-rwà /à-	
Ndəkə			
Wāyā			
Basa-Benue		a-lala /ʃi-	
Gbiri	kùdū		kùhəzə
Cicipu	dávù pl. àdávù	síin pl. ssíin	
Salka	u-súú	u-ʃíʔi	
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

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	<b>Pot</b>	<b>Water Pot</b>	<b>Pot II</b>	<b>Pot III</b>
cLela	i-dɔrɔ̀/əc-, ək-cidi/əc-	k-saŋ		
Gwamhɪ	i-culu/əd-	əl-galhə		
Ror	ərtúr pl. əʔtúr	ərfár pl. əʔfár		
Hun-east	ər-tur	o-tur		
Hun-west	ər-tur	o-tur		
Shama	i-kimbʋ	a-kəmbun		

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

Rɔgɔ-2	i-gyeru			
Səgəmuk	kɔrɔr			
Cinda	o-kwai	a-raʃ	í-í-pù	í-mímí
Regi				i-məm
Kuki	o-kwai			
Hungwəryə				
Rin	bì-gəgəri			
Rin-2	bin-da:si			
Ndəkə	bindasa			
Wāyā	bindaʃi			
Basa-Benue	i-kwəshɛ/n-kwashya	ɔ-kwòkwò /ʃi-	a-bwaka /ʃi-	i-hilwe /n-
Cicipu	yini <i>pl.</i> àyini yóntù			
Salka	ttílú <i>pl.</i> intíttilù à:tàdā mèdē:n ù:kpàdũ ù:pòndó	àzzálùtsù ú:ráʔátsú		
Rop				
Shuba				
Shen				
Reshe				

**Bed**

**Stool, chair**

cLela		əd-dota/cə-
cLela		d-dota
Gwamhyə		ə-zɛkə
Ror		ɔrtʃəmàs <i>pl.</i> ɔrtʃəmàs ɔrpóra <i>pl.</i> ɔrpóra
Hun-east		ər-dɛ:g
Hun-west		ər-pere
Shama		i-nu:nɔ
Rɔgɔ-1		rɔs
Rɔgɔ-2		i-ʃik
Səgəmuk		i-kɔg
Randeggi		
Cinda	kè-kèbáuyò	è-rɔsò
Regi		rɔs
Kuki		a-rɔs
Rin		m-bĩsĩ bi-zééké /n-
Ndəkə		biubĩ
Wāyā		biʔube

Basa-Benue                    è-tè/ʃi-                    a-kara /ʃi-

Kumbashi

Kakihum

Karisen

Cicipu

Salka C

dóntú *pl.* òdóntú

ò:tògù

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe



	Winnowing tray	Basket	Basket II	Well
cLela D cLela				d-gòògá d-duwə/cə-
Gwamhyə				ər-zu
Ror				ərdu pl. ərdu
Hun-east Hun-west				r-du əd-du
Shama Rəgə-1 Rəgə-2 Səgə muk Randeggi				i-yu i-wəg ki-wə
Cinda Regi Kuki		é-ɥágó, í-ɥúkí		wəg wəg wəg
Rin				
Ndəkə Wāyā				
Basa-Benue	a-vula/fi-	a-rigada /fi-	bu-gongo/tu-	
Kumbashi Kakihum Karisen Cicipu Salka C				ka-rijiya ka-rijiya ka-rijiya rijiyà pl. àrijiyà ààrijijà [< H.]
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe				

	Mat I	Mat II	Mat III
cLela D cLela	ək-εε/əc-		
Gwamhyə	u-yati		
Ror	ūkʷākā pl. ətʷākā		
Hun-east Hun-west			
Shama Rəgə-1	kʷisù		

Rɔgɔ-2  
Səgəruk  
Randeggi

Cinda [ $< H.$ ]  
Regi  
Kuki

Rin

Ndəkə  
Wāyā

Basa-Benue a-dugwa /fɪ- à-kwàkwà /fɪ- bi-ʔitowa/i-ʔitowɛ

Kumbashi  
Kakihum  
Karisen  
Cicipu  
Salka C

táatú  
əkkpəgə  
í:váʔátsú  
fěmbé:rú  
ù:kjětê  
à:vàlù

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

	Granary	Door
cLela		
cLela	əd-bɛ/əc-	
Gwamhyə		
Ror	ərb'á pl. ətb'á	
Fɛr		
Hun-east	ər-byó	
Hun-west	“	
Shama	ə-uri	
Rɔgɔ-1	i-ru	
Rɔgɔ-2	a-raʃɛg	
Səgəmuk	ka-raʃə	
Cinda	a-rul	
Rɛgi	a-ru	
Kuki	i-ru	
Hungwəryə		
Rin		adúbó
Rin-2		
Wǎyǎ		
Basa-Benue		a-kpa /ʃi-
Tirisino		
Ticahun		
Kumbashi		
Cicipu	póɔn pl. ðpóɔn, irùpóɔn ppóɔn pl. ìmpíppóɔn	cáurée pl. ècáurée gòmbúu
Salka		
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

	Chain	Rope		
cLela				hwen
cLela				hwɛ/əs-
Gwamhyə		u-gwamə, ər-/əs-əv-hu		
Ror				ūho pl. əshō
Fər				
Hun-east				o-hər
Hun-west				“
Shama				o-hər
Rəgɔ-1				hanta
Rəgɔ-2				i-wə
Səgəmuk				bi-uh
Cinda				i-myag
Rɛgi				g <sup>w</sup> àbá
Kuki				uh
Hungwəryə				uH
Rin				bi-rige
Rin-2				uhwu
Wǎyǎ				uhwĩ
Gbiri	ɪnāŋ			bi-hwō
Basa-Benue	a-shenje /ʃa-			kipū
Tirisino				
Ticahun				kà-mǎŋá
Kumbashi				ka-maŋga
Cicipu				ka-maŋga
Salka				mángá pl. <b>ámángá</b>
Rop				áámóŋgá
Shuba				
Shen				
Reshe				
	<b>Broom</b>	<b>Ladder</b>		<b>Rubbish Pile</b>
cLela	vɛsɔ			
cLela	wɛsɔ/sə-			ək-ilri/əc-
Gwamhyə	biasə			
Ror	ūbǎs pl. əsbǎs			ərbús pl. ətbús (S) u-dag ®

Kər			
Fər			
Hun-east		o-sa:g	o-buse
Hun-west		u-sa:g	u-buse
Shama		a-bias	
Rɔgɔ-1		bias	
Rɔgɔ-2		a-bias	
Səgəmuk		ku-bias	
Cinda		a-bias	u-turu
Rɛgi		a-bias	sər
Kuki		bias	bɛ-ʃɛgam
Hungwəryə		a-byasu	
Rin		u-byasú	
Gbiri		kùyēs	
Basa-Benue	bi-shosho/i-sheshe/n-shyoshyo	e-genegbe/ʃi-	
Cicipu		vísù <i>pl.</i> àvísù	n/M
Salka		vezu	ɛ:-zâ/ɛ-
Agwara-BC		túbá <i>pl.</i> àtúbá	kàkí:zâ/à-
		<b>kólló</b>	
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	<b>Axe</b>	<b>Axe II</b>	<b>Sickle</b>
cLela D	d-géttà /c- <sup>1</sup>	i-gyürü /m-	
Gwamhyə	u-gwəbə		
Ror	ǝrgó:g pl. ǝtgó:g		
Hun-east	ər-yar		
Hun-west	ər-gwo		
Shama	a-kyabowt		
Rɔgɔ-1	ɛ-əp		
Rɔgɔ-2	ɛ-oph		
Səgəmuk	kibu		
Randeggi	ki-bu		
Bobi	ki-gup		
Cinda-4	renge [ <i>pickaxe</i> ]		
Cinda	ɛ̃-ʔáp̃	ʔà-ʃábò	
Rɛgi	ɛ̃-ʔáp̃		

<sup>1</sup> Chopping animal fodder

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

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Kuki                      é-ʔápó

Hungwəryə            a-kyabotu

Rin                      a-càgù /sə-

Gbiri                                              kələsgīyā

Kumbashi              ko-bo

Kakihum                kəbɔw

Karisen                 kəbɔ

Cicipu                 ɓóɔn *pl.* **àbón**

Salka                    áábóó  
e-kpó'ɔ [ʔ]

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Hoe I**

**Hoe II**

**Hoe III**

**Hoe IV**

**Northwest**

cLela Zuru  
cLela Ribah  
tHun  
sSaare  
Gwamhɪ  
Wurə

**Kag cluster**

Kag  
Fere  
Jiir  
Kər  
Koor  
Ror  
Us  
Zuksun

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora  
Basa-Gumna  
Koromba  
Basa-Gurara  
Basa-Benue  
Basa-Makurdi

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
Rɔgɔ  
Səgəmuk  
Cinda                    é-k<sup>w</sup>ábóuyé                    é-ʔ<sup>w</sup>ábò  
Regi



Kumbashi  
 Kakihum  
 Karisen  
 Cicipu kútù  
 ?ópúwóotú *pl.* ñ'ópúwóotú  
 Salka n/C  
  
 Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

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**Headpad                      Fan**

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**Northwest**

cLela Zuru  
 cLela Ribah  
 tHun  
 sSaare  
 Gwamhɪ  
 Wurə

**Kag cluster**

Kag  
 Fere  
 Jiir  
 Kəɾ  
 Koor  
 Ror  
 Us  
 Zuksun

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora  
 Basa-Gumna  
 Koromba  
 Basa-Gurara  
 Basa-Benue  
 Basa-Makurdi

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
 Rɔgɔ  
 Səgəɱuk  
 Cinda átò  
 Rəgi  
 Kuki  
 Hungwəryə

**Shiroro**

Fungwa  
 Rin  
 Rin Awəgə  
 Gurmana  
 Ndəkə



Hipina  
Rubu  
Wáyā

**Kambari**

Cicipu            kátà *pl.* àkátà  
Salka  
Tsuvađi  
Baangi  
Tsikimba  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

1.6.4 Human manufactures

	Cloth(es) I	Cloth(es) II	Cloth(es) III
cLela	əc-kaya		
cLela	c-kusu		
Gwamhyə	əc-cə		
Ror	ətkús		
Fer	ət-tufa		
Hun-east	ət-cəp		
	o-gund		
Hun-west	əm-cəp		
Shama	a-zɔz		
Cinda	ǎ:pḏ ‘shirt’	ʃizən	
Regi	a-zuz		
Kuki	[< H.]		
Cicipu	kómpó <i>pl.</i> òkómpó	háci <i>pl.</i> iháci	míná <i>pl.</i> àmíná
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	Hat	Shoe	Thread
cLela	əd-kobla/əc-	u-kata/əc-	əv-lendɛ/əm-
Gwamhyə		ət-katə/əs-	əv-landi
Ror	nòmdərhí (S)	ūkáʒát <i>pl.</i> ətkáʒát	əmrándí
Fer	ə-tika		
Hun-east	əm-gwɛrɛ [?]		
	majɛɲɔ	kaantɛ	gwɛrɛ
Hun-west	“, o-jɔr		
Shama	ma-rap	ha-tak	bi-ɛbɪ
Cinda	ma-lapɔ, patəm	táká	bi-ta
Regi	ma-lap	bi-ta	
Kuki	ma-lap	ali	
Cicipu	púlòɔ		
Salka		a-táá	
Rop			
Shuba			

Shen  
Reshe

	Bag	Load n.	Bundle	Thing
cLela	ka-bai/cə-	əd-doso/əc-		
cLela	d-bai	də-toso		
Gwamhyə	əb-jika	wa <sup>?</sup> a		
Ror	ərbā pl. ət̪bá	əʔt̪f̪wə		ūnəm pl. ən:əm
Fer	ər-tə <sup>?</sup> as			
Hun-east	ər-bá/ət- o-bá	ər-saw/əs-		rii
	o-jekka (? < H.)	ʊs-saw		
	o-para			
Shama	tu	retənʊ		
Rəgə-2	a-zəŋg			
Səgəmək	na-twəŋ			
Cinda	u-paki	wa <sup>?</sup> a		
Cinda	ũ:tútú	wa	béŋgá	
Regi		wa		
Kuki		wa		
Rubasa	i-yi			
Fungwa-BC	i-yi			
Cicipu	ceðkó pl. ðeicceðkó ʔángálámì pl. àʔángàlámì	né'in pl. nné'in	vá'an pl. àváv'an	rí pl. írri
Salka	tstsə̀n é:kpúkú	i:tá:nà		i:lí
Rop				
Shuba				
Shen				
Reshe				

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	<b>Drum I</b>	<b>Drum II</b>	<b>Drum III</b>	<b>Drum IV</b>
cLela	se-hevo	əd-gwəŋgə/ci-	d-hinə	
cLela				
cLela				
Gwamhyə				əb-kili/əs-
Ror	ər-gòŋgū	ərkaŋga pl. ətkaŋga	kil:əsta pl. kil:təsta	ūkír pl. əskír
Hun-R	əs-hev			
Hun-east	o-dum			
Hun-west	o-dum			
Shama	o-gaŋg			
Rəgə-1				
Rəgə-2				
Səgəmək				
Cinda	gaŋg	kì-kizígí		
Rəgi	gaŋg			
Kuki				
Hungwəryə				
Rin	i-imi			
Rin-2	bigə̀gà	gáyá		
Tirisino				
Cicipu		kóotò <i>pl.</i> òkóotò	kòkkò <i>pl.</i> ikòkkò	
Salka				
Rop				
Shuba				
Shen				
Reshe				

	<b>Drum V</b>	<b>Drum VI</b>	<b>Drum VII</b>
cLela			
Gwamhyə			
Ror	ərzaʔka pl. ətzaʔka	ukələŋgu < H.)	
Hun-R			
Hun-east			
Hun-west			
Shama			
Rəgə-1			
Rəgə-2			
Səgəmək			
Cinda-4			

Cinda  
Regi  
Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rin  
Rin-2

Tirisino  
Cicipu  
Salka

gúlà

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

---

**Flute Flute II**

---

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-R  
Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rəgə-1  
Rəgə-2  
Səgəmək

Cinda è-mbó ʔà-hówá  
Regi  
Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rin  
Rin-2

Tirisino  
Cicipu  
Salka

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

#### 1.6.4 Liquids and solids

	Milk	Kunu	Beer
cLela	miyo		m-kya
cLela	əm-yɔ	əm-zubu	“
cLela	m-yɔ	m-zubu	“
Gwamhɪ-R			kɛ
Gwamhyə	m-mɛ	[< H.]	m-kya
Fakai-R			kyɛ
Ror	əm:ɛ	əm-zug ®	ké?
Hun-R	ə-miyau		m-kyɛ
Hun-east	əm-yow	əm-zu:b	“
Hun-west	əm-yɔ	əm-zu:g	“
Shama	= breast	u-subuk	m-məru
Rɔɔɔ-1	“		
Rɔɔɔ-2	“	u-subuk	ma-yag
Səgəmuk	“	kwafim	məru
Bobi			
Cinda-R			me-ryaga
Cinda-4		ta-ama	ma-ryaga
Cinda	= Breast	ta-am	ma-rag
Regi	“	haraŋɛ	ma-yaga
Kuki	“	ta-am	ma-yag
Hungwəryə	= Breast		mə-ru
Basa-Benue			mə-yaga
Koromba-R			mə-riga
Bauchi-R			mə-yag
Rin-R	= breast		ma-ryaga
Ndəkə	misībi		
Cicipu			yóo <i>pl.</i> ìnyóo
Salka	mà:nî		móró
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

#### Charcoal

cLela

Gwamhɪ

Fakai-R  
Ror

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔgɔ-1  
Sɛgɛmuk  
Bobi

Cinda                    bɛ-ɯɔ̀nɔ́  
Rɛgi  
Kuki

Hungwɔryɔ

Basa-Benue            bi-enzi/ti-  
Koromba-R

Bauchi-R  
Rin

Kumbashi  
Kakihum  
Karisen  
Cicipu                  cínà *pl.* àcínà

Salka

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

	Food	Tuwo	Miya (Soup)
cLela		əd-ga	əs-tɔ
cLela	ci-yako	d-ga	s-tɔ
Gwamhyɔ		əl-hə	ya-cya/ət-
Ror	nòmàtrè	ǎrgá? pl. ǎtgá?	ǎʔtʃ <sup>wā</sup>
Hun-east		ər-ga	əs-co
Hun-west		ər-ga	ər-co
Shama	kəriyagɔ	tɔ-gA	ʃɛ:p
Rɔgɔ-2		tɔ-gA	ʃɛ:p
Sɛgɛmuk		tɔ-gA	ʃɛ:p
Cinda-4		ti-ga	ʃɛpa
Cinda		tɛ-gA	ʃɛ:p
Rɛgi		tɔ-gA	ʃɛ:p
Kuki		tɛ-gA	ʃɛ:p

Hungwəryə	m-əhū̀tù		
Rin		tə-gə	ʃipa
Cicipu	táà	nó'ò <i>pl.</i> <b>ònó'ò</b>	sán'àn <i>pl.</i> <b>àsán'àn</b>
Salka	ì:ljà:ljà	ù:nəʔə	ù:sànʔàn
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

### 1.6.5 Abstracts

	<b>Market</b>	<b>Money</b>
cLela	[< H.]	kindi
Gwamhyə	tənlə/u-	ʃiki
Ror	ūtəl:ə <i>pl.</i> əʔtəl:ə	ʃik
Hun-east	o-kasuwa	hwər
Hun-west	ər-bəra [archaic]	hwər
Shama	o-kaso [< H.]	karubi
Rəgə-2	kaso	i-kurub
Səgəmuk	kaso	i-kurubi
Cinda	kaso	ʃikubi
Rəgi	kaso	ʃikəbi
Kuki	kasə	ʃikubi
Hungwəryə		mə-sare
-2		
Rin		ayùwà
Cicipu	káasùwà <i>pl.</i> <b>àkáasùwà</b>	cínjì
Salka	<b>ú:ká:súwá</b>	i-kebye
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		



	Word	Story
cLela		i-kenu
cLela		misami
Gwamhyə		
Fakai-A		
Ror		ƶámàsrém (S)
		u-kwər ®
Fər		
Hun-east		
Hun-west		
Shama		ta:j
Rɔgɔ-2		
Səgəmuk		
Cinda	hèuǎ	
Rɛgi		
Kuki		
Rubasa		
Basa-BC		
Rin		
Rin-2		
Cicipu	dámá <i>pl.</i> <b>àdámá</b>	mísòoní <i>pl.</i> <b>òmísòoní</b>
Salka	<b>à:dànǎ</b>	
Agwara-BC		
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

**Medicine**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rɔgɔ-2

Səgəmuk

Cinda

níbù

Rɛgi

Kuki

Hungwəryə -b'átó, há-

Wāyā

Cicipu étú *pl.* 'éetú  
Salka

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

	Shadow, shade	Name
cLela-BC		dínə/c-
cLela		əd-dmə/ci-
Gwamhyə		ri-gimi
Gwamhyə		rə-jimi/əd-
Fakai-A		ør-din
Ror		ərdím <i>pl.</i> əʔdím
Hun-east		ə̀r-jín/əd-
Hun-west		ør-jim
Shama		ri-zɛ
Rəgə-2		i-iʒ
Səgəmək		i-zak
Cinda	hùuú	i-ʒí
Rəgi		i-ʒí
Kuki		i-ʒí
Rubasa		izecí
Fungwa-BC		nə-zóʔə/à-
Rin		ri-zyĩ
Rin-2		əri-jĩ
Ndəkə		rije
Cicipu	úlíllú <i>pl.</i> úulíllú	
Salka	ú:lúlú	á:lá
Agwara-BC		kù-là
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		r-inə/0-

cLela	ede-gago
cLela	ədə-ga:go/əc- [rare]
cLela	də-ga:go
Gwamhyə	m-gagə
Ror	əmgàg
Jiir	ə-gagɛm
Fer	ər-gwən
Hun-east	ər-gón/əd-
Hun-west	ər-gón/əd-
Shama	ɲgas
Rɔgɔ-1	gyasA
Rɔgɔ-2	a-gas
Səgəmuk	u-gas
Cinda	giásà
Regi	gyas
Kuki	gyes
Hungwəryə	ə-gas
Rubasa	a-jasa
Basa-BC	ó:ge:ása
Fungwa-BC	ì-gyásà
Rin	u-gyasa
Ndəkə	yaki [< H.]
Cicipu	úmá pl. rúmái
Salka	ú:vǎ
Agwara-BC	kù-vo ì
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Song**

---

cLela	u-sepa
cLela	tu-sepa
Gwamhyə	əsə-heʔɛ
Ror	ūsɛp pl. əʔsɛp
Hun-R	əs-sɛp
Hun-east	o-sɛp
Hun-west	“
Shama	a-zɔg
Rɔgɔ-1	
Rɔgɔ-2	

Səgəmək

Cinda                    zɔg  
Rɛgi  
Kuki

Hungwəryə            ha-zəg

Rubasa                a-zunga

Fungwa-BC  
Rin                    aʒə

Cicipu                sipá  
Salka                í:-ʃipá  
Agwara-BC        vù-ʃipà/i-

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

## 2. Verbs

### Accompany

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Kər

Fər

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rəgə-1

Rəgə-2

Səgəmuk

Cinda

Hungwəryə

Rin

Cicipu

songu

Salka

**ʃɛn:wɪn**

Agwara-BC

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

### Follow

cLela

u-gabo

cLela

gaba

Gwamhyə

u-dəlɔnkɔ

Ror

əʔdɔr

Hun-east

əm-dɔre

Hun-west

əm-dɔrɛ

Shama

ragaga

Rəgə-2

dɔʔag

Səgəmuk

kacɛg

Cinda

aŋg-

Regi

aganam

Kuki

aganam

Rin            tɛ-jɪ̄vwarige  
 Rin-2            jariga  
 Ndəkə

Cicipu            dɔnɔ

Salka            kùrû

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Add to**

<b>Northwest</b>	cLela Zuru	
<b>Lela</b>	cLela Ribah	
<b>HS</b>	tHun	
	sSaare	
<b>WGM</b>	Gwamhyə	
	Wurə	
	Mba	
<b>Kag cluster</b>	Kag	
	Fere	
	Jiir	
	Kər	
	Koor	
	Ror	
	Us	
	Zuksun	
<b>Unknown</b>	Damakawa	
<b>Basa cluster</b>	Basa Kontagora	
	Basa-Gumna	
	Koromba	
	Basa-Gurara	
	Basa-Benue	
	Basa-Makurdi	
<b>Kamuku</b>	Shama	
	Rɔgɔ	
	Shyabe	
	Rubaruba	
	Səgəmuku	
	Tushyabe	
	Turubaruba	
	Eastern Acipa [?]	
	Cinda	dag-
	Rɛgi	
	Kuki	
	Makici	

	Hungwəryə
<b>Shiroro</b>	Fungwa
	Rin
	Rin Awəgə
	Gurmana
	M̄in
	Ndəkə
	H̄ip̄ini
	Rubo
	W̄āȳā
	Samburu
<b>Kambari</b>	Cicipu
	Salka
	Tsuvad̄i
	Tsugad̄i
	Baangi
	Tsikimba
	Agwara
<b>Lake</b>	Rop
	Shuba
	Shen
<b>Reshe</b>	Reshe

**Commentary:** H. kara

**References:**

	<u>Answer</u>
cLela	u-zɛsɔ
Gwamhyə	
Ror	əʔʃàs
tHun-east	ʃas waks
Cinda	tɔɥ-
Cicipu	dila
Salka	ʔùsù
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. amsa

**References:**

Ask question	
cLela	sip
cLela	u-ipku
Gwamhyə	i-halə
Gwamhyə	ɕiti
Ror	əɾʃə̀t
Fer	əɾ-ʃit
tHun-east	m-ciit
Hun-west	əs-cit
Cinda-4	tam-bika
Cinda	təm-bik
Regi	təmbəʔəm [< H.]
Kuki	tambekəm
Gbiri	l̩ip
Cicipu	héepiyú <i>pl.</i> èhéepiyú (n.)
Salka	ɛ:cê
	pàtí
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. tàmbayá

**References:**

	<b>Bark (v.)</b>
cLela	əs-təno (= <i>thunder</i> )
Gwamhyə	əs-camu, əs-camə
Fakai-R	
Ror Cl	əɾʃán (S) əɾ-ʃan ®
Hun-east	əm-can
Hun-west	əs-can
Shama	gwəs
Rəgə-2	i-gwos
Səgəmək	i-gwəs
Cinda	g <sup>w</sup> is-
Regi	“
Kuki	gwos
Hungwəryə	
Basa-Benue	
Koromba-R	



Bauchi-R  
Gurmana-R

Rin                      ũ-gwĩsĩ  
Rin-2                    əŋ-gusĩ  
Ndəkə                    ugwa

Cicipu                    wonson  
Salka  
TsuVadi

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. yi haushi

**References:**

<b>Bathe</b>			
cLela	u-zɔɔ		
Gwamhyə	u-zɔɔ		
Ror	ūnóngùzɔ̄r		
Hun-east			
Hun-west			
Shama	o-ʃik		
Rɔ̀gɔ̀-1	i-ʃea		
Rɔ̀gɔ̀-2	a-zɔ̀r		
Səgə̀muk			
Cinda	ʒe		
Rɛgi	zɔ̀r		
Kuki	je		
Rin	zúra		
Ndəkə			
Basa-Benue	dula	dure	duwa
Cicipu	zila		
Salka	<b>sɪmbô</b>		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

Be, exist

cLela

Gwamhyə

Fakai-A

Ror

Fer

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rɔŋɔ-2

Səgəruk

Cinda

Rɛgi

Kuki

Rubasa

Fungwa

Rin

Ndəkə

Gbiri

ɖji

Cicipu

kama

Salka

ɖɖa

Agwara-BC

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	Be bent	declined I	declined II
cLela			
Gwamhyə			
Ror			
Hun-east			
Hun-west			
Shama			
Rəgə-1			
Səgəmək			
Cinda-4			
Rəgi			
Kuki			
Hungwəryə			
Basa-Benue	anta	enci	ontwo
Koromba			
Fungwa			
Rin			
Rin-2			
Ndəkə			
Cicipu			
Salka			
Agwara-BC			
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

**Commentary:**

**References:**

	Beat
cLela	
Gwamhyə	
Ror	
Hun-east	
Hun-west	
Shama	
Rəgə-1	hwama
Səgəmək	
Cinda	hwama

Regi hwag  
Kuki hwama

Hungwəryə

Rubasa  
Basa-Benue dubo dʒibi dubwo

Fungwa  
Rin básánà  
Rin-2  
Ndəkə

Gbiri ɣ̀ɪ̀rká/ɪ̀rká

Cicipu gɔrɔ  
Salka lãpã  
Agwara-BC

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. buga

**References:**

**Beg**

---

cLela	kona
cLela	kɔna

Gwamhyə	u-kɔnkɔ
---------	---------

Ror	əskɔn
Fer	

Hun-east	əm-kɔn
----------	--------

Hun-west	[əs-]kɔn, kɔn mosse [=beg for money]
----------	-----------------------------------------

Shama	ɔnA
Rɔgɔ-2	bi-səg
Səgəmuk	bi-ri

Cinda	riok*
Regi	ro:k*
Kuki	rokəm*



cLela s-ɛpɛ

Gwamhyə m-hahə

Fakai-A u-hyan [= see]

Ror ɔ̄tjáb (S)

əm-ɪp ʘ

Hun-A u-hyan [= see]

Hun-east əm-haw

Hun-west o-haw

Shama hak

Rɔ̄gɔ-2 a-nin

Səgəmuk

Cinda-1 ta-mwɛ̄nɛ

Cinda-2 i-ta

Cinda təin

Rɛgi tɛin, i-sak

Kuki i-tɛiŋ

Rin tə-gaba

Rin-2 gəbəga

Ndəkə bogoba

Cicipu numa

Salka lɛmâ

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. ciza

**References:**

**Blind, be**

---

cLela pómà pl. pómna [*blind person*]

Gwamhyə u-pɔkɔ

Fakai-A

Ror pɔ

Fɛr pɔ

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama ba-rub [*blind person*]

Rɔ̄gɔ-2 ka-rub

Səgəmuk ku-ru

Cinda-4 ba-rubo

Cinda bu-rub

Regi bu:b  
 Kuki ba-rub

Rin

Ndəkə

Cicipu n/M  
 Salka n/C

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<u>Blow</u>
cLela	u-hulɔ, ɛ-həru
cLela	hulu
Gwamhɪ	wahə
Ror	əfɛr
Hun-east	əm-hur
Hun-west	“
Shama	hurapə
Rəgɔ-2	hupən
Səgəmuk	k-wargət
Cinda	hupən, bəbɔz-
Regi	
Kuki	upənəm
Rin	tu-kumbɪnɪ
Rin-2	hurɪpɪnɪ
	kumbɪna
Ndəkə	
Cicipu	hullo
Salka	i:vilô
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

blow on fire = yi:f Hun-5  
 = əm-wiz Hun-6



Commentary: H. būsà

References:

<u>Boil</u>	
cLela	
Gwamhyø	
Fakai-A	
Ror	
Fer	
Hun-east	
Hun-west	
Shama	
Rəgə-2	
Səgəmək	
Cinda	bərəgə?-
Rəgi	
Kuki	
Rubasa	
Rin	
Rin-2	
Ndəkə	
Cicipu	caana
Salka	təwə:
Agwara-BC	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

Commentary:

References:

Break, smash

---

cLela

Gwamhyə

Fakai-A

Ror

Fer

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rɔgɔ-2

Səgəmuk

Cinda

kɔs-

Regi

Kuki

Rin

Ndəkə

Basa-Benue

bwada bweji bwodwo

Cicipu

Salka

Agwara-BC

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:**

**References:**

Bring

cLela  
 Gwamhyə  
  
 Fakai-A  
 Ror  
  
 Fer  
  
 Hun-east  
 Hun-west  
  
 Shama  
 Rɔgɔ-2  
 Səgəruk  
  
 Cinda  
 Rɛgi  
 Kuki  
  
 Rubasa  
  
 Rin  
 Rin-2  
 Ndəkə  
  
 Cicipu           caana  
  
 Salka           təwə:  
 Agwara-BC  
  
 Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<b>Build</b>
cLela	a-ma
Gwamhyə	a-ma
Ror	ūmā əʔdògòb
Hun-east	ət-ma
Hun-west	ər-ma
Shama	
Rɔgɔ-1	
Rɔgɔ-2	
Səgəruk	

Cinda                    m-  
Regi  
Kuki

Rubasa  
Basa-BC

Cicipu                ʔoba  
Salka                sùwâ  
Agwara-BC

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. gina

**References:**

Burn	
cLela	dwa tòká
Gwamhyə	u-ndo [command]
Gwamhyə	a-doka
Fakai-A	m-dog
Fakai-R	
Ror	əʔdóʔ (S) ər-tòks ®
Kər	“
Jiir	“
Fer	“
Hun-east	tək zəmə [ <i>burn food</i> ] do [ <i>make fire</i> ]
Hun-west	əm-tík
Shama	ma-tatuki
Rɔgɔ-1	
Səgəmək	
Randeggi	
Bobì	ʔε-rən
Cinda-1	ərɔna
Cinda-2	kər
Cinda-4	rukusa [= <i>burning</i> ]
Cinda	tə-kəʔən
Rɛgi	itə-kə
Kuki	itə-ɛra
Hungwəryə	
Rubasa	
Basa-BC	
Basa-Benue	
Koromba-R	
Bauchi-R	
Fungwa-BC	
Rin	tu-hunĩ ì
Rin-2	u-huni
Kakihum	kulə
Karisen	kulu
Tirisino	kullo
Ticahun	kulə
Kumbashi	kulə
Cicipu	kullo
Salka	dàlà dāpā kùlê

Agwara-BC

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. kone

**References:**

	<b>Bury</b>
cLela	əs-sago
Gwamhyə	əs-sagə
Fakai-A	
Ror	ūdók
	ən-jyak ⑧
Hun-east	dək
Hun-west	“, əm-jək
Shama	ʃimbə
Rəgə-2	u-bən
Səgəmək	a-mə'əm
Cinda	bumbʷ-
Rəgi	i-bənbən
Kuki	u-bənən
Hungwəryə	
Rin	
Rin-2	
Ndəkə	
Cicipu	cidonu
Salka	tʃidō
TsuVadi	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. binne

**References:**

	<b>Buy</b>
cLela	u-wəw
cLela	wa
Gwamhyə	əm-tələ

Ror                    ɔ̀tò

Hun-east            əm-ɔ̀  
 Hun-west            “

Shama                na-nas  
 Rɔ̀gɔ̀-2                na-kɛs  
 Səgəmuk            na-wai

Cinda-4              sama  
 Cinda                 sam  
 Rɛgi                    ɛ:s  
 Kuki                    sam

Gbiri                  gbírá

Cicipu                tila  
 Salka                  tsilá

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H. saya

**References:**

**Call**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east  
 Hun-west

Shama  
 Rɔ̀gɔ̀-2  
 Səgəmuk

Cinda  
 Rɛgi  
 Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rin

Gbiri                  yindá

Cicipu                kuula  
 Salka                  dɛ̃

Agwara-BC

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. kira

**References:**

	<u>Carry</u>
cLela	u-ɔmɔ, amo
Gwamhyə	tasɔ
Ror	ət-tɔ:s
Fɛr	ər-taks
Hun-east	heet kep
Hun-west	əm-dək
Shama	ʒəŋgɔ
Rɔgɔ-2	wa:
Səgəmuk	
Cinda	waʔam
Rɛgi	waʔam
Kuki	waʔam
Rin	
Rin-2	
Cicipu	
Salka	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. dauka

**References:**



Carry on head

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

ər̄t̄ɔːs

Fer

Hun-east

saw, sɔw

Hun-west

Shama

Rɔgɔ-2

Səgəmuk

Cinda

Rɛgi

Kuki

Rin

Rin-2

Cicipu

tangu

Salka

tà.nû

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

Carry (child)  
on back

cLela	
Gwamhyə	
Ror	sákdəwàʔūʃín
Fer	
Hun-east	m-dək
Hun-west	
Shama	
Rəgə-2	
Səgəmək	
Cinda	
Rəgi	
Kuki	
Rin	
Rin-2	
Cicipu	
Salka	wəʔʔ
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

Commentary: H.

References:

	Carve
cLela	a-sebe
Gwamhyə	u-ʃabə
Ror	əʔʃab
Hun-east	ʃa:b
Hun-west	sa
Shama	
Rəgə-1	
Səgəmək	
Cinda	ʃábá
Rəgi	
Kuki	

Rubasa  
Basa-BC

Cicipu            sen'en  
Salka             n/C  
Agwara-BC

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. sassaka

**References:**

**Catch**

---

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror  
Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rəgə-1  
Səgə muk

Cinda-4  
Regi  
Kuki

Hungwəryə  
Rubasa  
Basa-BC

Fungwa  
Rin                kwóténə  
Rin-2  
Ndəkə

Cicipu            kaβa  
Salka             kɛ́dɔ̃  
Agwara-BC

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. kama

**References:**

**Chew**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Fakai-A  
Ror

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rəgə-2  
Səgəruk

Cinda           tutup-  
Rəgi  
Kuki

Rin  
Rin-2  
Ndəkə

Basa-Benue   como       cwemi   cwomwo

Gbiri           tùkpkpú

Cicipu         təomə  
Salka          tààmâ

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. tauna

**References:**

Choose

cLela

Gwamhyə

Fakai-R

Ror

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rəgə-2

Səgəmək

Cinda

ʃápá

Rəgi

Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rin

Ndəkə

Gbiri

nààká

Cicipu

yovo

Salka

dəngwâ

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. zabe

**References:**

Clear (land)	
cLela	ci-zaga
Gwamhyə	
Ror	əʔzəg
Hun-east	ət-hu:g
Hun-west	
Shama	
Rəgə-2	
Cinda	ʃapag a-saŋ a-saŋ ?
Rəgi	
Kuki	
Rin	
Rin-2	
Cicipu	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

Commentary: H.

References:

**Climb, mount, ride**

---

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rəgə-2

Səgəmək

Cinda

gab-

Rəgi

Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rin

Cicipu

Salka

Agwara-BC

kumba

**kùmbâ**

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. hau

**References:**

**Close**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror  
Fər

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rəgə-2  
Səgəmək

Cinda                    bɪŋg-  
Rəgi  
Kuki

Rubasa  
Rin  
Rin-2

Cicipu                    ʒungonu  
                              ʔumbo  
Salka                      ʃə̀rú  
Agwara-BC

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. rufe

**References:**

**Come, arrive                    Reach**

cLela-                                            noká

Gwamhyə                    hanə, u-hankə

Fakai-A                                        hane  
Ror                                                hā:né

Hun-A                                            han  
Hun-east                                        əm-ha:n

Hun-west		“
Shama		kəriya
Rɔgɔ-2		kɔrya
Səgəmuk		ʃɛgɛp
Cinda		g <sup>w</sup> iʔ- ʔanag-
Regi		gwɛ <sup>?</sup> im
Kuki		gwɛ <sup>?</sup> im
Rin	wuci, j†va [command]	
Rin-2	wīci, ja [command]	
Ndəkə		pica
Cicipu		ya
Salka		təwə
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

**Commentary:** H. zo

**References:**

**Come In**

---

cLela	u-uvə
Gwamhyə	u-əbkə
Fakai-A	
Ror	tʃ <sup>w</sup> āné
Hun-A	
Hun-east	
Hun-west	“
Shama	
Rɔgɔ-2	
Səgəmuk	
Cinda	
Regi	
Kuki	
Rin	
Rin-2	
Ndəkə	
Cicipu	ziriyo
Salka	ʔūwā
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	



Reshe

**Commentary:** H. shiga

**References:**

**Come Out**

cLela-	rwən	
Gwamhyə	u-lumkə	
Fakai-A Ror	r <sup>w</sup> ənɛ́	
Hun-A Hun-east Hun-west	rwən	
Shama Rəgə-2 Səgəmək		
Cinda-2 Cinda Regi Kuki	suremah [go out] soram	
Rin Ndəkə		
Basa-Benue	bana	beni bonwo
Cicipu Salka	n/M ù:tê	
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe		

**Commentary:** H. fito

**References:**

**Cook (Miya)**

cLela	si-risə
Gwamhyə	i-liəsə
Ror Jiir	
Hun-BC Hun-east Hun-west	riʃ əm-riʃ əm-ris

Shama                    rasa  
Rɔgɔ-2                    ʃitə

Cinda-4                 rubuga  
Cinda                    rubugəm  
Regi  
Kuki

Fungwa-BC

Cicipu                    ʔisoo  
Salka                    sùnʔwân  
Agwara-BC

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. dafa

**References:**

**Cook (Tuwo)**

cLela-BC                    zoʔv  
cLela                    əc-sama [archaic]  
cLela                    “, likcu

Gwamhyə

Ror                         ə̄təriəs  
Jiir                         ət-nəs

Hun-BC  
Hun-east                    jegε  
Hun-west                    əm-zεgε

Shama  
Rɔgɔ-2

Cinda-4                 hare<sup>2</sup>ama  
Cinda                    haran  
Regi                    haran  
Kuki                    to-harə

Fungwa-BC

Cicipu                      
Salka                    rânô  
Agwara-BC

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<u>Cough v.</u>
cLela	s-hɔɔ
Gwamhɪ	m-kutu
Ror	əswár
Hun-east	ət-wɔ:r
Hun-west	u-wɔt
Shama	wɛt
Rɔgɔ-2	e-wagət
Səgəmuk	mungwap
Cinda	ʃi'ub
Rɛgi	ʃə-obə
Kuki	ʃi'up
Rin	su'ubĩ
Rin-2	su'ɪbĩ
Ndəkə	aubĩ
Gbiri	kìŋmí
Cicipu	cere
Salka	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. tari

**References:**

	<u>Count</u>
cLela	əd-ogəmə
cLela	də-əgəmə
Gwamhyə	
Gwamhyə	ət-əgə
Fakai-A	
Ror	ətògòr
Hun-A	
Hun-east	əg
Hun-west	ər-ək
Shama	rətəg
Rəgə-2	rətəg
Səgəmək	rətəg
Cinda-1	
Cinda-2	
Cinda-4	
Cinda	kərəb
Rəgi	kərəp
Kuki	kərə, robagam
Rin	tu-ruba
Rin-2	i-rubyə
Ndəkə	toroba
Basa-Benue	bwa bwi buwa
Cicipu	cete
Salka	<b>kyècè</b>
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. kirga

**References:**

**Cover**

cLela

Gwamhi

Ror

Fer

Hun-R

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rɔgɔ-1

Rɔgɔ-2

Səgəmuk

Cinda

Rɛgi

Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rin

Rin-2

Cicipu

kɔmɔ

pala

Salka

n/C

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. ya rufe

**References:**

Cut I

cLela

Gwamhyə

Fakai-A

Ror

Hun-A

Hun-east

Shama

Rəgə-2

Səgəmək

Cinda

kʲāu-

Rəgi

Kuki

Rin

Gbiri

kyàzá

Cicipu

gaata

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. raba

**References:**

Cut II

---

cLela

Gwamhyə

Fakai-A  
Ror

Hun-A  
Hun-east

Shama  
Rəgə-2  
Səgəṃuk

Cinda            k'àpótá 'cut open'  
Regi  
Kuki

Rin

Cicipu

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**





	<b>Dance</b>			
cLela	sə-hevo			
Gwamhyə	əs-heve			
Ror	əs-heo			
Hun-east	əs-hew			
Hun-west	əs-he			
Shama	ta-hebɔ			
Rɔgɔ-1	ta-hebu			
Rɔgɔ-2	to-hebɔ			
Səgəmuk	ta-hebu			
Cinda-4				
Cinda	ta-hebɔ			
Rɛgi	to-hebu			
Kuki	tə-hebu			
Hungwəryə	ci-hyebu			
Rin	tʰhibwa			
Ndəkə				
Basa-Benue	hiba	hibe	hibwa	
Tirisino	zeʔɛ			
Cicipu	zeʔen			
Salka	ə-heʔɛ̃			
Salka	jɛ̃ʔɛ̃			
Rop				
Shuba				
Shen				
Reshe				

**Commentary:** H. rawa

**References:**

Defecate, shit

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cLela                      sàlgá

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔgɔ-2  
Səgəruk

Cinda                      gəm-  
Rɛgi  
Kuki

Hungwəryə

Basa-Benue  
Koromba-R

Bauchi-R  
Rin  
Rin-2

Cicipu                      ɓono  
Salka                      ɓono

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	Die
cLela	a-wə
Gwamhyə	əm-male
Fakai-A	m-mar
Ror	ətmàr
Hun-east	əm-mar
Hun-west	əm-mar
Shama	u-ʊ
Rɔ̀gɔ̀-2	o-u
Səgəmuk	mək
Cinda-1	ʊ-wə
Cinda-4	u-wo
Cinda	u-ʊ
Rɛgi	u-u
Kuki	u-u
Hungwəryə	
Rin	tu-u
Rin-2	bɛwi
Ndəkə	buʔu
Gbiri	kɔ́
Cicipu	koo
Salka	kùwê
TsuVadí	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. mutu

**References:**

	Dig I	Dig II
cLela	i-hinu, əc-hinku	
Gwamhyə		m-kabə
Ror		ətkâw
Hun-east	hm	
Hun-west	ər-hyon	
Shama		gabə
Rəgə-1		
Rəgə-2	ma-hindu	
Səgəmək		
Cinda	hində	bəŋg-
Rəgi	hindəkəm	
Kuki	hindəkəm	
Rubasa		
Rin	kíndó	
Ndəkə		
Cicipu	hino	
Salka		
Agwara-BC		
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

**Commentary:** H. gina.

**References:**

**Dig up**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rəgə-1

Rəgə-2

Səgəruk

Cinda

Rəgi

Kuki

Rubasa

Rin

Ndəkə

Cicipu

jokoro

Salka

Agwara-BC

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. gina

**References:**

Divide, share

cLela  
Gwamhyə

Fakai-A  
Ror

Fər

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔgɔ-2  
Səgəruk

Cinda                      hibus-  
Rɛgi  
Kuki

Rubasa

Rin  
Ndəkə

Cicipu                      kaisa

Salka                      nɛ̀ʔɛ̃ɲʃɛ̃n  
Agwara-BC

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. kasa

**References:**

Do, make	
cLela	
Gwamhyə	
Ror	ən:òm
Hun-east	
Hun-west	
Shama	ʃə
Rɔgɔ-1	
Rɔgɔ-2	
Səgəmuk	
Cinda	cam, ʃ-, ʃan-
Rɛgi	cam
Kuki	camɔ
Rin	ndá
Ndəkə	
Gbiri	dée
Cicipu	yaan
Salka	yùnwân
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. yi

**References:**

<u>Dress, put on</u>	
cLela	u-təpə
Gwamhyə	wacə
Ror	ətwà? (S) ət-cwap ®
Fer	
Hun-east	cəp, cəp təpɛ
Hun-west	
Shama	
Cinda Regi Kuki	mbàtánà
Cicipu	
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<u>Drink</u>
cLela	sɔ̃
Gwamhyə	əm-swa
Fakai-A Ror	u-swo əʔsʷà
Hun-R Hun-east Hun-west	 swɔ̃ əm-sɔ̃
Shama Rəgɔ-1 Rəgɔ-2 Səgəmuk Bobi	sɔ̃ swəma to-swam swə swɔ̃
Cinda-1 Cinda-2 Cinda-4 Cinda Regi Kuki	ɛswa isa  ɛʃ, ʃwa ɛs, swəm ɛs



Hungwɔryə

Basa-Benue  
Koromba-R

Bauchi-R

Rin	ni-swɔ
Rin-2	mə-swɔ
Ndəkə	tuswa

Kumbashi	soy
Kakihum	se
Karisen	sɔ
Cicipu	sɔɔ
Salka	sɔwɔ

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. sha

**References:**

**Drop**

---

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror  
Jiir  
Fɛr

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔgɔ-1  
Rɔgɔ-2  
Səgəmuk

Cinda-4  
Cinda  
Rɛgi  
Kuki

Hungwɔryə  
Rubasa  
Basa-BC

Fungwa-BC  
Rin  
Cicipu  
Salka

vayana  
n/C

Agwara-BC

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. sake

**References:**

	<b>Eat</b>
cLela	k-rya
cLela	u-riyo
Gwamhyə	øl-le
Gwamhyə	u-lɛ
Fakai-A	u-re
Ror	ɔ̄trɛ̀
Hun-east	əm-rɛ̀
Hun-west	o-rɛ̀
Shama	riya
Rɔ̀gɔ̀-2	riya
Sə̀gə̀muk	na-riyo
Cinda-1	ɛ̀ra
Cinda-2	ri
Cinda-4	ryaba
Cinda	ɛ̀r
Rɛ̀gi	ɛ̀ya, i-yama
Kuki	ɛ̀ri
Rin	bu-ryɛ̀
Rin-2	i-ryɛ̀
Ndəkə̀	riya
Cicipu	raa
Salka	liwâ
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. ci

**References:**

<u>Extinguish</u>
cLela
Gwamhyə
Fakai-A

Ror

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔɔɔ-2  
Səgəmuk

Cinda  
Rɛgi  
Kuki

Rin  
Ndəkə

Gbiri                      límó

Cicipu  
Salka

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Fall**

cLela	əɗə-hya
cLela	d –hya, hɛka [= break?]
Gwamhyə	u-hɛkɛ
Ror	ərhé?è
Hun-east	əm-hɛ
Hun-west	ər-hɛ
Shama	ma-supi
Rɔɔɔ-2	a-hɛnu
Səgəmuk	na-bəriok
Cinda-4	dubu
Cinda	hinagɔ
Rɛgi	hinagəm
Kuki	hinyagam
Rin	kina
Rin-2	kina
Ndəkə	kina

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

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Cicipu dama  
 yuwo  
 Salka rijâ  
  
 Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<b>Farm</b>
cLela	u-bela/cə-
Gwamhyə	u-bəbə, ər-roma ?
Ror	ətgʷá
Hun-east	o-kat
Hun-west	“
Shama	saŋA
Rəgə-1	saŋga
Rəgə-2	o-saŋga
Səgəmək	ko-saŋga
Cinda	saŋA
Rəgi	saŋga
Kuki	saŋA
Rubasa	
Rin	i-cema
Ndəkə	toma
Cicipu	
Salka	
Agwara-BC	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

Cultivate	
cLela	u-gɔvɔ
cLela	“
Gwamhyə	ər-rɔmɔ, ə-nərɔmɔ
Ror	ətg <sup>w</sup> á
Hun-east	ə-tɔm
Hun-west	“
Shama	tɔma
Rəgɔ-1	toma
Rəgɔ-2	o-tɔm
Səgəmuk	tom
Cinda-4	tuma
Cinda	tɔma
Rɛgi	tɔma
Kuki	tɔma
Rin	i-cima
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

	Hoe
cLela	əd-kwintə
cLela	d-kwintə
Gwamhyə	u-kənə/ət-
Ror	ərtóm ər-kwund/ət- ®
Hun-east	o-kerɛga, ər-ɔ:r ər-kunt [harvest tool]
Hun-west	“ , “ “
Shama	i-duŋɔ
Rɔgɔ-1	
Rɔgɔ-2	i-duŋɔ
Səgəmuk	ki-dwi
Cinda	ɛ-ɔb, bi-up, ʃabu
Regi	ɛ-ɔb
Kuki	waba
Rin	
Gbiri	ʌéró
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

Commentary: H. nòmā

References:

	Fight
cLela	i-dumi [rare]
cLela	i-dama
Gwamhyə	m-dəmu
Ror	əmdúm
Jiir	
Fer	
Hun-east	əm-du
Hun-west	
Shama	bɛ-tag
Rɔgɔ-1	
Rɔgɔ-2	bɛ-tag
Səgəmuk	
Cinda	bɛ-tag
Regi	bɛ-tag
Kuki	bɛ-tag

Hungwəryə  
 Rubasa  
 Basa-BC

Fungwa-BC  
 Rin  
 Cicipu  
 Salka  
 Agwara-BC

hwadā  
 n/C

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H. yi fadā, yi yāki

**References:**

**Fill**

cLela	hísi
	hyə̀ə̀lɔ́ [fill up]
	nàrgsá [fill up container]
	cwébé [fill to brim]
Gwamhyə	cusø
Gwamhyə	ʃɪzə [imp.]
Fakai-A	sog
Ror	ə̀ʔʔə̀s (S)
	ət-sir ®
Kər	səsə
Fer	ər-sər
Hun-A	custe
Hun-east	shiig
	shoʔos [fill with liquid]
	shirə
	pakrɛ [fill to overflowing]
Hun-west	ʃɪʃɛ
Shama	ʃɪnd
Cinda	ʃɪg-
Regi	
Kuki	
Rin	tə-cigəhine
Rin-2	cɪgɪhinu
Ndəkə	
Cicipu	sungusa
Salka C	ʃiitô
Rop	

Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. cika

**References:**

	<b>Finish</b>
cLela	u-tase
cLela	taka
Gwamhyə	u-halkɪ
Ror	ət-ta:s
Fer	
Cinda-4	hunane
Cinda	honanəm
Regi	ɛ-honam
Kuki	ɛ-honanəm
Rin	húwó
Cicipu	kɔtɔ
Salka	<b>kwɔ̀t̪</b>
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. gama

**References:**

	<b>Flow [v.]</b>
cLela	
Gwamhyə	
Fakai	
Ror	
Hun-east	
Hun-west	
Shama	
Rɔgɔ-2	
Səgəmuk	
Cinda	pəŋg-
Regi	



Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rin

Basa-Benue funga funjɛ fungwa

Cicipu  
Salka

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Fly [v.]**

---

cLela	s-bugu
cLela	sə-burgu
Gwamhyə	m-yənɔ
Gwamhyə	əv-rɪhɪnɔ
Fakai-A	yonne
Ror	əɾjənɛ
Hun-A	m-huks [= <i>jump</i> ]
Hun-east	əs-ryo:g
Hun-west	əs-ɔɾ
Shama	ɛhɔ
Rɔgɔ-2	zɔŋge
Səgəmuk	ɛ-humbi
Cinda-1	ɪ i-hɪ iya
Cinda-2	i-ʃigana
Cinda	bi-hɛ
Regi	heyeya
Kuki	hiyam
Hungwəryə	ə-kyamu
Rin	tə-hyá
Rin-2	nɪmáirɪ i
Basa-Benue	hila hierɛ hilwa
Cicipu	hungwa
Salka	ʔʔyánwân

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. ya tashi

**References:**

**Forget**

cLela [*< H.*]

Gwamhyə əm-bahalo

Ror kágmètó (S)  
ət-bòtrètó ®

Jiir kəsəto

Hun-east kesetto [?]  
bəpre  
ka

Shama bo-botag

Rəgə-2 rapəm

Səgəmək na-bot

Cinda ɥápáná

Rəgi to-rap

Kuki rapəm

Cicipu panda

Salka i:tʃiná

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. màntā

**References:**

**Fry**

cLela-BC ðtò

cLela əs-ɔtə

Gwamhyə

Ror ət̪kâ:r

Jiir

Hun-BC ká:s

Hun-east kar

Hun-west əm-wət

əm-kaŋs

Shama  
Rəgə-2

Cinda            ə-sori  
Regi  
Kuki

Fungwa-BC

Cicipu           kangala  
Salka            **kàṅgàlá**  
Agwara-BC

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. sōyā

**References:**

Gather, collect

cLela

Gwamhr

Ror

Fer

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rɔgɔ-1

Rɔgɔ-2

Səgəruk

Cinda

ma:m-

Rɛgi

Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rin

Rin-2

Cicipu

cina

ciyu

dānga

taarukwa

Salka

ḃḃlḃḃ

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. tārà

**References:**

Give	
cLela	u-nese
cLela	ne <sup>2</sup> o
Gwamhyə	yal <sup>2</sup> un
Gwamhyə	u-yakər
Fakai-A	ni-yase
Ror	ə <sup>2</sup> nā
Fer	
Hun-A	ya <sup>2</sup> as
Hun-east	dəptə
	m-ya, ya <sup>2</sup> as, ye, ya <sup>2</sup> ərə
Hun-west	əm-yese
Shama	pan
Rəgə-2	pa:n
Səgəruk	na-pa:n
Cinda-2	wa <sup>2</sup> a [also <i>load</i> ]
Cinda	pàná, pan-
Régi	pan, i-fan
Kuki	panam
Rubasa	
Rin	páná
Rin-2	ma-čeka
Ndəkə	pana
Cicipu	caa
	nɔɔ
Salka	nê <sup>2</sup> ê
Agwara-BC	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. bā dà

**References:**

**Give Birth**

cLela	mátà
Gwamhyə	ələ-mate
Ror	ərmát
Hun-east	o-mat

Hun-west “

Shama ma-mat  
 Rɔgɔ-2 ma-mat  
 Səgəmuk ma-gwər

Cinda mátá  
 Rɛgi ma-mat  
 Kuki ma-mat

Rin bu-macɛ  
 Rin-2 mæci  
 Ndəkə mītī

Cicipu mata  
 Salka n/C

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H. haifū

**References:**

**Go**

---

cLela nokà  
 Gwamhyə u-hak əm-ha

Fakai-A  
 Ror ārké (S)  
 ər-nək ®

Hun-A or-heu  
 Hun-east arag, əm-ha  
 Hun-west əm-ark

Shama kariga  
 Rɔgɔ-2 harag  
 Səgəmuk

Cinda kandz-  
 Kuki kadem

Rin jágá

Ndəkə

Cicipu dukwa  
 ?waa  
 Salka wâlâ

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. jē

**References:**

Go in, enter

**Northwest**

cLela Zuru  
cLela Ribah  
tHun  
sSaare  
Gwamhyə  
Wurə

**Kag cluster**

Kag  
Fere  
Jiir  
Kər  
Koor  
Ror  
Us  
Zuksun

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora  
Basa-Gumna  
Koromba  
Basa-Gurara  
Basa-Benue  
Basa-Makurdi

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
Rəgə  
Səgəmək  
Cinda  
Regi  
Kuki  
Hungwəryə

**Shiroro**

Fungwa  
Rin  
Rin Awəgə  
Gurmana  
Ndəkə  
Hipina  
Rubu  
Wāyā

**Kambari**

Cicipu                    kondo  
                                  ziriyo  
Salka                        ?ùwâ

Tsuvaɗi  
Baangi  
Tsikimba  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. shiga

**References:**

**Go out, exit**

**Northwest**

cLela Zuru  
cLela Ribah  
tHun  
sSaare  
Gwamhyə  
Wurə

**Kag cluster**

Kag  
Fere  
Jiir  
Kər  
Koor  
Ror  
Us  
Zuksun

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora  
Basa-Gumna  
Koromba  
Basa-Gurara  
Basa-Benue  
Basa-Makurdi

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
Rɔgɔ  
Səgəmuk  
Cinda  
Rɛgi  
Kuki  
Hungwəryə

**Shiroro**

Fungwa  
Rin  
Rin Awəgə  
Gurmana  
Ndəkə



Hipina  
Rubu  
Wāyā

**Kambari**

Cicipu                      toono

Salka                        i:p̄is̄ə

Tsuvadi  
Baangi  
Tsikimba  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. fita

**References:**

[Go back, return](#)

**Northwest**

cLela Zuru  
cLela Ribah  
tHun  
sSaare  
Gwamhyə  
Wurə

**Kag cluster**

Kag  
Fere  
Jiir  
Kər  
Koor  
Ror  
Us  
Zuksun

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora  
Basa-Gumna  
Koromba  
Basa-Gurara  
Basa-Benue  
Basa-Makurdi

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
Rɔgɔ  
Səgəmuk  
Cinda                      <sup>m</sup>bir-  
Rɛgi  
Kuki

Hungwəryə

**Shiroro**

Fungwa

Rin

Rin Awəgə

Gurmana

Ndəkə

Hipina

Rubu

Wāyā

Gbiri

zàgá

**Kambari**

Cicipu

gitu

Salka

**kâmbô**

Tsuvaɖi

Baangi

Tsikimba

Agwara

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. kōmà

**References:**

Go down

**Northwest**

cLela Zuru

cLela Ribah

tHun

sSaare

Gwamhyə

Wurə

**Kag cluster**

Kag

Fere

Jiir

Kər

Koor

Ror

Us

Zuksun

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora

Basa-Gumna

Koromba

Basa-Gurara

Basa-Benué  
Basa-Makurdi

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
Rɔgɔ  
Sɛgɛmuk  
Cinda  
Rɛgi  
Kuki  
Hungwɛryɛ

**Shiroro**

Fungwa  
Rin  
Rin Awɛgɛ  
Gurmana  
Ndɛkɛ  
Hipina  
Rubu  
Wɛyɛ

**Kambari**

Cicipu                      tadá

Salka                        cìpâ

Tsuvadi  
Baangi  
Tsikimba  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	Greet
cLela	vataze
cLela-BC	igmê
cLela	əc-hɔsɔ
cLela	əd-pɔsɔ
Gwamhyə	ma
Gwamhyə	vəksɔ
Fakai-A	m-war
Ror	əsvək
Fər	ər-gas
Hun-east	
Hun-west	
Shama	
Rɔgɔ-2	
Səgəmuk	
Cinda-BC	(mi:)cúza:ma
Cinda	ta-zɔ
Rɛgi	tɔ-zɔm
Kuki	tɔ-zɔm
Rubasa	
Rin	maza
Rin-2	mazama
Ndəkə	
Cicipu	ulasa
Salka	cê:sê
Agwara-BC	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	wopə

Commentary: H.

References:

**Grind**

---

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔgɔ-1  
Rɔgɔ-2  
Səgəmuk

Cinda  
Regi  
Kuki

Rubasa  
Basa-BC

Cicipu                      hiya  
Salka                        i:râ  
Agwara-BC

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. nikà

**References:**

**Grow**

cLela	bègná pòtà ròknà
Gwamhyə	u-nenkɛ
Ror	ātrògòm (plants) (S) nen ®
Hun-east	təpɛ boʔɔsɛ
Hun-west	boʔɔsɛ
Shama Rɔgɔ-2 Səgəmuk	bo-argar ?
Cinda Regi Kuki	mīgig- bo-kwaf ?
Rin	
Cicipu	
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe	

Commentary: H. yi girmā

References:

	<u>Harvest</u>
cLela	kɛmɛ
Gwamhyə	u-kamkə
Ror	két
Hun-east	əm-cɛ
Hun-west	əm-ke
Shama	bi-gub
Rɔgɔ-2	bi-gub
Cinda	yap
Rɛgi	yap
Kuki	yaba
Rin	u-gubĩ
Rin-2	o-gubĩ
Cicipu	golo
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

Commentary: H.

References:

	<u>Hate v.</u>
cLela	ə-həlu
Gwamhyə	dab gɔkɔ
Ror	ətgəgəm (S) kɔbdə cwan ®
Hun-east	gin yagɛ
Hun-west	cɔn ['love' + neg.]
Shama	na-wanc
Rɔgɔ-2	na-tupan
Səgəmukn	
Cinda-4	
Cinda	to-ʃɛs
Rɛgi	e-ʃɛʃ
Kuki	to-ʃɛs

Rin  
Ndə̀kə

Tirisono  
Cicipu  
Salka

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

<b>Branch</b>	<b>Subgroup</b>	<b>Language</b>	<b>Have</b>
Lake	Shuba	Rop	
		Laru	
			Shuba Shen
Reshe		Reshe	
Northwest	Lela	cLela Zuru	
		cLela Ribah	
	Hun	tHun	
		sSaare	
	Gwamhi	Gwamhyə	
		Wurə	
	ut-Ma'in	Mba	
		Kag	
		Fer	
		Jiir	
		Kər	
		Koor	
		Ror	
Us			
Zuksun			
Basa	?	Damakawa	
		Basa Kontagora	
		Basa-Gumna	
		Kərɔmba	
		Basa-Gurara	
		Basa-Benue	
		Basa-Makurdi	
Kamuku		Shama	
		Rogo-Shyabe	
		Səgə̀muk	
		Cinda	ʔag-
		Regi	
		Kuki	
Shiroro		Zubazuba	
		Hungwə̀ryə	
		Fungwa	
		Rin	

Branch	Subgroup	Language	Have
Kambari	Baushi	Wəgə	
		Gurmana	
		Ndəkə	
		Hipina	
		Rubu	
		Miin	
		Samburu	
		Wāyā	
		CiShingini	
		Tsivadi	
		Baangi	
		Tsikimba	
		Agwara	
Cicipu			

**Hear**

cLela	u-həŋgo
cLela	u-həŋga
Gwamhyə	m-hogo
Gwamhyə	ma-həkə
Fakai-A	hog
Ror	əthóg
Hun-east	ə-həge
Hun-west	ə-həge
Shama	hog
Rəgə-2	ba-hog
Səgəmək	na-ug
Cinda	hog-
Regi	həgam
Kuki	həgəm
Rubasa	
Fungwa	
Rin	n-feragye
Rin-2	həŋga
Ndəkə	hoga
Tirisino	uwa
Ticahun	uwa
Kumbashi	uwa
Cicipu	n/M
Salka	ùwwâ
Agwara-BC	



Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. jī

**References:**

**Help**

cLela	əd-seṭe
cLela	seṭe
Gwamhyə	ʃa²unu
Ror	ər-sege
Fer	
Cinda	g <sup>w</sup> aj-
Regi	tamakan [< H.]
Kuki	temak [< H.]
Rin	
Cicipu	gonu
	teemaka
Salka	wàwâ
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Hide**

cLela	əc-weke
Gwamhyə	
Ror	əjàsè (tr.)
Fer	ər-eb
Jiir	
Hun-east	
Shama	swɔɪ
Rɔgɔ-2	sək
Cinda-4	
Cinda	sɔ²i
Regi	sɔ²əm
Kuki	so²əm
Rin	pasa

Cicipu sɔwɔ

Salka pànʔân  
sòkwô

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<u>Hunt</u>
cLela	hɔbɔ
cLela	hobo
Gwamhɪ	əl-hɪlbə
Wurə	əv-sahə
Ror	bák
Jiir	
Fer	
Hun-east	
Hun-west	
Shama	ko-zaum
Rɔgɔ-2	ma-gyar
Səgəmuk	ma-gɛt
Cinda-4	ma-gyare
Cinda	ma-gər
Rɛgi	ma-gara
Kuki	gala
Hungwəryə	gwabu
Rin	
Ndəkə	
Cicipu	káci (n.)
Salka	n/C
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. fàrautà

References:

	<b>Hit</b>
cLela	sə-vosa
cLela	vosa
Gwamhyə	m-əsɔ
Ror	ətgàp
Hun-east	əm-wəs
Hun-west	“
Shama	sup
Rɔgɔ-1	nɪp
Səgəmuk	nɪp
Cinda-4	
Rɛgi	
Kuki	
Hungwəryə	
Rubasa	ufw ɒalí
Basa-BC	
Fungwa	
Rin	i-dibi
Rin-2	bɪpɪjɪ
Ndəkə	pa
Cicipu	vasa
Salka	<b>fàbâ</b>
Agwara-BC	ʃilkə
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. buga

References:

	<b>Jump</b>
cLela	əs-jarko
cLela	lɔlkɔ, maka
Gwamhyə	əp-alɔ
Ror	tàrimàk (S)
	əs-mak ®
Hun-east	hukse
Hun-west	“
Shama	ma-hɛ
Rɔgɔ-2	ba-hɛ
Səgəmuk	rɛ:k

Cinda-4            birumbo [*leap*]  
Cinda              ban-, hiyam  
Regi                hiyam  
Kuki                hiyam, jamsɔ

Rin                    tu-gubɛ̃  
Rin-2                gɛ̃bɛ̃  
Ndəkə

Cicipu              toduwo

Salka                ??jànwân

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. yī tsallē

**References:**

<b>Kill</b>	
cLela	d-hwe
Gwamhyə	øl-ho
Gwamhyə	əm-həkə, u-
Fakai-A	u-hog
Ror	əthò
Hun-A	ho
Hun-east	əm-ho
Shama	hwɔn
Rəgə-2	hɔn
Səgəmuk	na-ɔ:n
Cinda	hɔn-
Rəgi	hɔnam
Kuki	honam
Rin	tu-kuna
Ndəkə	kəna
Cicipu	huna
Salka	ù:nâ
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. kashè

**References:**

**Kneel**

cLela  
Gwamhyə

Fakai-R  
Ror Cl

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rəgə-2  
Səgəmuk

Cinda  
Rəgi  
Kuki

Hungwəryə

Basa-Benue  
Koromba-R

Bauchi-R  
Gurmana-R  
Rin  
Rin-2  
Ndəkə

Cicipu        yongu  
Salka        **kiŋgyô**  
TsuVadi

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. durkùsā

**References:**

	Know
cLela	əs-nəpa, u-napo
cLela	s-napa
Gwamhyə	n-nahe
Gwamhyə	naɦin
Fakai-A	nap
Ror	ən:ap
Hun-A	nap
Hun-east	nap nak kip re
Hun-west	“
Shama	i-dekɔ
Rɔgɔ-2	na-nap
Səgəmuk	na:p
Cinda-1	é-yə i
Cinda-2	mewó
Cinda-4	yama
Cinda	yam
Rɛgi	ɛ-ya
Kuki	yam
Rin	búiya
Rin-2	búyá
Ndəkə	tiya
Cicipu	lapa
Salka	rèvê
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. sanì

**References:**

**Laugh v.**

cLela	nómsə
Gwamhyə	ə-nəmse
Ror	ən-nəməs ® nómdən:əmés (S)
Hun-east	nəmés-te

Hun-west o-nɛms

Shama rat

Rɔgɔ-2 ma-mus

Sɛgɛmukn ma-ʃintu

Cinda-4

Cinda ma-hɛŋg

Regi ma-hɛŋga

Kuki ma-hɛŋgu

Rin eratu

Rin-2 iratu

Ndəkə irəti

Tirisono zɔɔsɔ

Cicipu zɔɔsɔ

Salka zɔ<sup>?</sup>ɔsɔ

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. yī dāriyà

**References:**



Learn

cLela  
 Gwamhyə  
 Ror  
 Hun-east  
 Hun-west  
 Shama  
 Rɔɔɔ-1  
 Rɔɔɔ-2  
 Səgəmuk  
 Cinda-4  
 Cinda  
 Rɛgi  
 Kuki  
 Hungwəryə  
 Rin  
 Ndəkə  
 Tirisino  
 Cicipu      koyo  
 Salka  
 Salka  
 Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H. kòyā

**References:**

	<u>Leave</u>
cLela	u-laga, u-tə
Gwamhyə	
Fakai-A	
Ror	ətjàgè
Hun-east	əm-yage
Hun-west	əm-yæge
Shama	ariga ?
Rɔɔɔ-2	
Səgəmuk	na-kotai
Cinda	tuɥ-

Regi  
Kuki                    tə-riəmu

Rin                    bu-gĩ  
Rin                    gáá  
Ndəkə                gana

Cicipu                naha  
Salka                 lɛwâ

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

cLela                 **Lick**  
                          u-lɛngo

Gwamhyə            ən-sɛkɛ

Ror                    ɔ̄trɛkəm  
Jiir

Hun-east            əm-rɛkɛm  
Hun-west            əm-rɛkɛm

Cinda

Gbiri                 lɔ̀ŋká

Cicipu                pɪdɔ̀  
Salka                 mùdɔ̀

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. lāsá

**References:**

Lie Down	
cLela	d-ləcu
Gwamhyə	m-liti
Gwamhyə-3	əv-liti
Fakai-A	øri-ret
Ror	əl:ət, ət̩rət
Hun-A	ød-lot
Hun-east	rət
Hun-west	əm-rət
Shama	rabot
Rɔɔɔ-2	ma-rabut
Səgəmuk	rabot
Cinda	rəbtəm, ŋgauɕak-
Regi	rəbtəm
Kuki	rəbtəm
Rin	
Rin-2	
Ndəkə	
Cicipu	ʔitu
Salka	məkpəkpə
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. kwántā

**References:**

**Lose, miss**

---

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Fer

Hun-east    ɛg(g)ɛ, ɛgəsɛ  
                   hos  
                   taage  
                   nebe  
                   rasse [< H.]

Hun-west

Shama

Rɔɔɔ-2

Səgəmuk

Cinda-4  
Cinda  
Regi  
Kuki

Rin  
Rin-2

Cicipu               vayu  
Salka                nàsân

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. ɓacē

**References:**

**Look for, seek**

<b>Northwest</b>	cLela Zuru
<b>Lela</b>	cLela Ribah
<b>HS</b>	tHun sSaare
<b>WGM</b>	Wurə Gwamhyə Mba
<b>Kag cluster</b>	Kag Fere Jiir Kər Koor Ror Us Zuksun
<b>Basa cluster</b>	Basa Kontagora Basa-Gumna Koromba Basa-Gurara Basa-Benue Basa-Makurdi
<b>Kamuku</b>	Shama Rəgə Səgəmək Cinda Regi Kuki Hungwəryə
<b>Shiroro</b>	Fungwa Rin Rin Awəgə Gurmana Ndəkə

	Hipina	
	Rubu	
	Wāyā	
	Gbiri	haaʃa
<b>Kambari</b>	Cicipu	bɔɔ
	Salka	zzàmî
	Tsuvadi	
	Baangi	
	Tsikimba	
	Agwara	
<b>Lake</b>	Rop	
	Shuba	
	Shen	
<b>Reshe</b>	Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. nēmā

**References:**

**Language**                      **Look at**

---

**Northwest**

cLela Zuru  
cLela Ribah  
tHun  
sSaare  
Gwamhyə  
Wurə

**Kag cluster**

Kag  
Fere  
Jiir  
Kər  
Koor  
Ror  
Us  
Zuksun

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora  
Basa-Gumna  
Koromba  
Basa-Gurara  
Basa-Benue  
Basa-Makurdi

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
Rəgə  
Səgəruk  
Cinda  
Regi  
Kuki  
Hungwəryə

Language Look at

**Shiroro**

Fungwa  
Rin  
Rin Awəgə  
Gurmana  
Ndəkə  
Hipina  
Rubu  
Wāyā

**Kambari**

Cicipu kollo  
Salka i:ndànà  
Tsuvađi  
Baangi  
Tsikimba  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:**

**References:**

	Love v.
cLela	tònò
Gwamhyə	u-nɛlgə
Ror	əʔtʃvàn
Hun-east	cən
Hun-west	
Shama	na-kudagɪ
Rəgə-2	na-kudagɪ
Səgəmukn	
Cinda-4	kurage
Cinda	to-koragɔ
Regi	ɛ-korag
Kuki	to-koragɔ
Rin	
Rin-2	
Ndəkə	
Tirisono	

Cicipu  
Salka

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Marry**

---

cLela	gáa
Gwamhyə	əl-cu <sup>ʔ</sup> e
Ror	nómdərgə̄
Hun-east	ga
Hun-west	ga
Shama	o-ʃian
Rəgə-2	toi
Səgə̄muk	u-ʒə̄ŋ
Cinda-4	
Cinda	twəʒ
Regi	toiʒa
Kuki	toiʒa
Rin	in-ʒə̄bu <sup>ʔ</sup> u
Rin-2	ʒáá
Ndəkə	amari [< E. ?]
Cicipu	
Salka	ò:lò

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. aurè

**References:**

**Measure**

---

cLela  
  
Gwamhyə  
  
Fakai-A  
Ror  
  
Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔ̀gɔ-1  
Rɔ̀gɔ-2  
Səgəmuk  
Bobi

Cinda  
Regi  
Kuki

Hungwəryə

Basa-Benue  
Koromba-R

Bauchi-R  
Rin           máá  
Rin-2  
Ndəkə

Kumbashi  
Kakihum  
Karišen  
Cicipu       gwada  
Salka

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Mix**

---

cLela

Gwamhyə

Fakai-A  
Ror

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔ̀gɔ-1  
Rɔ̀gɔ-2  
Səgəmuk  
Bobi

Cinda       gərɔ̀b-, hatauɸ-  
Regi



Kuki

Hungwəryə

Basa-Benue  
Koromba-R

Bauchi-R  
Rin  
Rin-2  
Ndəkə

Kumbashi  
Kakihum  
Karisen  
Cicipu  
Salka

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<b>Open</b>
cLela	u-əbəsə
Gwamhyə	u-guksəku
Ror Fər	upse
Hun-east Hun-west	əm-ups əm-wups
Shama Rəgə Səgəruk	
Cinda Regi Kuki	biŋg-
Rubasa Rin Rin-2	
Cicipu Salka Agwara-BC	jungo ʔumbowo b̩əruwá

Rop

Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. būdē

**References:**

	<b>Pay</b>
cLela	copa
Gwamhyə	əm-təhə
Ror	əʔtəp
Hun-east	təpt
Hun-west	əm-təp
Shama	təp
Rəgə-2	
Səgəmək	
Cinda	topa
Rəgi	topam
Kuki	topa'am
Cicipu	biya
Salka	tsəpā
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<b>Peel</b>
cLela	
Gwamhyə	
Fakai-A	
Ror	
Hun-east	
Hun-west	
Shama	
Rəgə-2	
Səgəmək	
Cinda	b <sup>w</sup> ar-
Rəgi	
Kuki	

Hungwəryə

Rin  
Rin-2

Cicipu                      kudù  
Salka                         ʃɪnlɛ̃

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Plait, braid**

---

**Northwest**

cLela Zuru                      n/R  
cLela Ribah  
tHun  
sSaare  
Gwamhyə  
Wurə

**Kag cluster**

Kag  
Fere  
Jiir  
Kər  
Koor  
Ror  
Us  
Zuksun

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora  
Basa-Gumna  
Koromba  
Basa-Gurara  
Basa-Benue  
Basa-Makurdi

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
Rəgə  
Səgəɲuk  
Cinda  
Regi  
Kuki  
Hungwəryə

**Shiroro**

Fungwa  
Rin

Rin Awəgə

Gurmana

Ndəkə

Hipina

Rubu

Wāyā

**Kambari**

Cicipu

Salka

Tsuvaɗi

Baangi

Tsikimba

Agwara

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. kitsà

**References:**

	<b>Plant v.</b>		
cLela	d-go		
Gwamhyə	u-kapkə		
Ror	ków		
Hun-east			
Hun-west			
Shama	ta-bəro		
Rəgə-1	wəbo		
Rəgə-2	to-bəro		
Səgəɓmuk			
Cinda	to-bər		
Rəgi	to-byər		
Kuki	to-byəro		
Rin	bírá		
Basa-Benue	bila	bere	bilwa
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

**Commentary:** H. shūkà

References:

	<u>Play</u>
cLela	əd-hete
Gwamhyə	hələ
Ror	hɔ̃r
Hun-east	ər-hɔ̃gt
Hun-west	ər-hɔ̃gtɛ
Shama	ragɔ̃
Rɔ̃gɔ̃-1	ragu
Rɔ̃gɔ̃-2	ɔ̃-ragɔ̃
Səgəmuk	tə-wagu
Cinda-4	rago
Cinda	ragɔ̃
Rɛgi	ragu
Kuki	rago
Hungwəryə	
Rin	umutu
Ndəkə	uwəmətə
Tirisino	
Cicipu	méré [n.]
Salka	
Salka	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. yi wàsā

References:

<u>Pound</u>
cLela
Gwamhyə
Fakai-A
Ror
Hun-east
Hun-west
Shama
Rɔ̃gɔ̃-2
Səgəmuk

Cinda nísú  
 Regi  
 Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rin

Cicipu dɔvɔɔ  
 Salka n/C

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H. dakà

**References:**

	<b>Pour In</b>
cLela	u-zɛsko
cLela	zɛské, zùskə pàpásá pàtà [gently] ródódó
Gwamhyə	dasə
Ror Cl	ət-agəz
Hun-east	aas du[ʔ]us
Hun-west	əm-du:z
Shama	
Rəgɔ-1	ʒənəm
Rəgɔ-2	i-kan
Səgəmuk	
Randeggi	
Bobì	
Cinda	ʒənəm
Regi	ʒiən
Kuki	jənəm
Rin	zwonə́ŋ
Rin-2	zouna
Ndəkə	ʃana
Kumbashi	
Kakihum	
Karisen	
Cicipu	tuun
Salka	tsû

Rop

Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. zubà

**References:**

**Pour Away**

cLela	u-asko hèlksé kèdè kivú [~ much] séngkà
Gwamhyə	əs-kər
Ror Cl	əd-daʔas
Hun-east	uks kapar
Hun-west	
Shama	hɔŋg
Rɔgɔ-1	
Səgəmək	rətən
Randeggi	
Bobì	
Cinda	kubiʔ-
Regi	tu-rən
Kuki	ku-bəm
Rin	
Ndəkə	
Kumbashi	
Kakihum	
Karisen	
Cicipu	
Salka	d̄arùwá lèpê
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	Pray
cLela	əs-cepko
cLela	cepko
Gwamhyə	
Ror	ūt̩˥˥:g pl. əst̩˥˥:g
Fer	əs-dəg
Hun-east	kən təg
Hun-west	
Shama	ə-hundə
Rəgə-2	kibasən
Səgəmuk	
Cinda-4	ahunda
Cinda	maɪŋ
Rəgi	maɪŋ
Kuki	maɪŋ
Cicipu	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

Commentary: H.

References:

	Press
cLela	u-lepo
cLela	lepe
Gwamhyə	
Ror	
Fer	
Hun-east	əm-hi
Hun-west	
Shama	
Rəgə-2	
Səgəmuk	
Cinda	himənəm, dīb-
Rəgi	himənəm
Kuki	
Rubasa	



Rin

Gbiri                      nùskyá

Cicipu                      huko

Salka                      **kpàkô**  
 Agwara-BC

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<b>Pull</b>
cLela	u-humɔ
Gwamhyə	u-dasəkə
Ror	ət-nak
Fer	ər-hatfu
Hun-east	əm-nak
Hun-west	əm-nak
Shama	num
Rəgə	num
Səgəmuk	na-num
Cinda	<sup>m</sup> b-
Regi	əm-bam
Kuki	m-bam
Rin	mani
Ndəkə	bana
Cicipu	yɔnɔ
Salka	rɔnô
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. jā

**References:**

	<b>Push</b>
cLela	u-cuku

Gwamhyə u-nəko

Ror ət-tək  
Fər

Hun-east əm-tute  
Hun-west əm-tupe

Shama tur [< H.]  
Rəgə sopta  
Səgə muk

Cinda sopte  
Regi soptam  
Kuki sopta'am

Rin tu-tumai i  
Rin-2 tu-tuma  
Ndəkə

Cicipu tosu  
tuura  
Salka kyèbê  
lɔ:sò  
zədô

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. tūrà

**References:**

**Put**

---

cLela  
Gwamhyə

Fakai-A  
Ror

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rəgə-2  
Səgə muk

Cinda-1  
Regi  
Kuki

Rubasa

Fungwa-BC

Rin  
 Rin-2  
 Ndøkə

Tirisino  
 Ticahun  
 Kumbashi  
 Cicipu            duwa  
 Salka             zùwâ

Agwara-BC

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<b>Quarrel</b>
cLela	i-dama
Gwamhyə	
Ror	ūhàr
tHun-east	ma ween (quarreling)
Cinda	bɛ-ròm
Cicipu	gáàn
Salka	n/C
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. fadā

**References:**

	<b>Rain (v.)</b>
cLela	
Gwamhyə	
Fakai-A	
Ror	
Kər	
Jiir	
Fer	
Hun-east	
Hun-west	

Shama  
Rəgə-1  
Səgəmək

Cinda-1  
Rəgi  
Kuki

Rin  
Wāyā                      aɸɛr

Cicipu                      yɔ'ɔ  
Salka                        rɔʔɔ

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<b>Receive</b>
cLela	u-kaba
Gwamhyə	biʔaʔa
Ror Fɛr	ɛtkàb
Hun-east Hun-west	m-gòks m-gòks
Shama Rəgə-2 Səgəmək	
Cinda Rəgi Kuki	twamɔ twamA twam
Rin Ndəkə	
Cicipu Salka	ʔusaa n/C
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. kàrbā

**References:**

**Refuse**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Jiir

Hun-east

Shama

Rəgə-2

Səgəmək

Cinda

Rəgi

Kuki

Cicipu           ewe

Salka           ʔyɪnwān

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. kī

**References:**

**Remember**

cLela           u-bakasa

cLela           s-bakasa

Gwamhyə   əm-baksɪkɪr

Ror           ə̀tbàks

Jiir           ət-baks

Hun-east   o-bontɛ [ʔ]  
              baks

Shama       ma-tubare

Rəgə-2       ma-təbəg

Səgəmək   na-ma-tagao

Cinda-4       ta-magi

Cinda       ta-magəm

Regi            to-nam  
 Kuki            to-mage

Cicipu            cu<sup>??</sup>waa  
 Salka            cùnwwân

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H. tunà

**References:**

	<u>Rest</u>
cLela	d-hwera
Gwamhyə	
Fakai-A Ror	ərhúè
Hun-east Hun-west	
Shama Rəgə-l Səgəmək	
Cinda Regi Kuki	həŋgəs-
Rin Ndəkə	
Cicipu Salka	hungwa iivùnwân
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<b>Roast</b>
cLela-BC cLela	kàgèdsá, əc-kagədsa, əs-zə
Gwamhyə	
Ror	əʔzʷà

Jiir

Hun-BC zó  
Hun-east han, əm-zɔt, zwo  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔŋɔ-2

Cinda-4 zumage  
Cinda raseg  
Rɛgi  
Kuki

Fungwa-BC ndồsò, ndósómà

Gbiri pòssó

Cicipu zunwa  
Salka zú  
Agwara-BC zàtskù

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe pòpà

**Commentary:** H. gasà

**References:**

**Rub**

cLela  
 Gwamhyə  
 Fakai-A  
 Ror  
 Hun-east  
 Hun-west  
 Shama  
 Rəgə-2  
 Səgəmək  
 Cinda  
 Rəgi  
 Kuki  
 Hungwəryə  
 Rin  
 Rin-2  
 Ndəkə  
 Cicipu      hɔɔmɔ  
 Salka      gbò:rô  
 TsuVadi  
 Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H. gōgà

**References:**

	<b>Run</b>
cLela	kwɛvɛ
cLela	s-ma
Gwamhyə	u-səmko
Fakai-A	
Ror	əmsòm
Hun-east	əm-səm, o-rek
Hun-west	o-rik
Shama	ʃəmbɔ
Rəgə-2	a-səm
Səgəmək	
Cinda-1	



Cinda-2	sumoh
Cinda	som
Regi	somA
Kuki	sombu

Rin

Ndəkə

Cicipu	sima
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Salka	<b>sîmâ</b>
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Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. gudù

**References:**

Say, tell	
cLela	
Gwamhyə	
Fakai-A	
Ror	əzə
Fer	
Hun-east	
Hun-west	
Shama	
Rəgə-2	
Səgəmək	
Cinda-1	hyama [said]
Cinda-4	rumugama [say]
Cinda	bisig-, h̃-
Rəgi	
Kuki	
Basa-Benue	
Rin	
Ndəkə	
Gbiri	míɡá
Cicipu	dama hyaan
Salka	dàmmâ
Agwara-BC	dàsà
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. cē

**References:**

	Scratch
cLela	əc-kwəsi
cLela	c-kwɛlsi
Gwamhɪ	tɔntɔ
Ror	ətkò:t
Hun-east	əm-kət
Hun-west	“
Shama	mungwap
Rɔgɔ-2	kaparaŋg
Səgəmuk	
Cinda	mungwap
Rɛgi	gwaparaŋgam
Kuki	mɛngwap
Rin	tu-gwapa
Rin-2	tu-gwɔpa
Ndəkə	tuhuda
Cicipu	
Salka	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	See
cLela	hènè
Gwamhyə	m-hyanə
Gwamhyə	mɛ-hyane
Fakai-A	un-hay
Ror	əmhán
Fer	
Hun-A	u-hyan
Hun-east	əm-hyan
Hun-west	o-hyan
Shama	na-hɪ̂.r
Rɔgɔ-2	ɛs
Səgəmuk	nin
Cinda-1	ɪ-hyana

Cinda-2	mu-hyanɔ
Cinda	hɛnɛm
Regi	i-hyanA
Kuki	i-hyanu

Rin	tu-huwɨgɨ̃ [ability] tɔn-daya [v.t.]
Rin-2	bundi
Ndəkə	

Cicipu	zaa
Salka	ɛ:nê

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. ganī

**References:**

	<b>Sell</b>
cLela	u-babɔw
cLela	baba
Gwamhyə	əm-tulsu
Ror	ətbàb
Hun-east	ət-ba:b
Hun-west	əm-bab
Shama	na-nusaŋgɔ
Rəgɔ-2	na-kisaŋg
Səgəmuk	na-ragu
Cinda-4	sango [sold]
Cinda	sangan
Regi	i-saŋga
Kuki	saŋgam
Cicipu	wiina
Salka	wi:nâ

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. sayar dà

**References:**

	Send
cLela	còmá
Gwamhyə	tomə
Ror	əʔtəm
Hun-east	təm
Hun-west	“
Shama	toma
Rəgə-1	toman
Rəgə-2	to-toma
Səgəmək	təmai
Cinda	təm-
Rəgi	to-təm
Kuki	te-toma
Rubasa	tumuana
Rin	u-tuma
Ndəkə	kada
Cicipu	kaana
Salka	liŋgû
Agwara-BC	sù:kù
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. àikā

**References:**

	Sew
cLela-BC	ziló
cLela	a-zilu, a-ca
Gwamhyə	ʒilə
Ror	ūdʒər
Hun-east	jir
Hun-west	o-jur
Shama	tɪtə
Rəgə-1	twitu
Rəgə-2	twɪtu
Səgəmək	
Cinda-BC	í:tɛŋga
Cinda	təwɪt

Rɛgi                    i-təngəm  
Kuki                    teit

Rubasa                ngasa  
Basa-BC                ta:ge

Cicipu                 dopo  
Salka                    zəlê  
Agwara-BC             yilê

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe                má-tácè [I sew]

**Commentary:** H. dinkà

**References:**

**Shake**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east  
Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔgɔ-1  
Rɔgɔ-2  
Səgəmək

Cinda  
Rɛgi  
Kuki

Rubasa  
Basa-Benue

Gbiri                ʃirkyá

Cicipu  
Salka  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:**

**References:**

**Sharpen**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rəgə-1

Rəgə-2

Səgəmək

Cinda            ləbag-

Regi

Kuki

Rubasa

Basa-BC

Cicipu

Salka

Agwara-BC

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:**

**References:**

**Shoot**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Fakai-A

Ror

Kər

Fer

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Cinda  
Regi  
Kuki

Rin  
Ndəkə

Cicipu      taan  
Salka C      lãpãl

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. hàrbā

**References:**

	<b>Show</b>
cLela	kwèsákà
Gwamhyə	gwate [gwət = look in Hun-east]
Fakai-A Ror Fər	ət-kɔsɛ (R)
Hun-east Hun-west	əm-kutɛ əm-kotɛ
Shama Rɔgɔ-2 Səgəmuk	ceba:n be-səʔən na-bəkən
Cinda Regi Kuki	bisiʔ- bi-sənəm bi-sənəm
Rin	tɛ-bisĩ
Rin-2 Ndəkə	bisĩ bisĩ
Cicipu Salka	ʔoosonu rɔcô
Rop Rerang Shen Reshe	

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<sup>1</sup> Also ‘beat’



**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Shriek, scream**

cLela	kán
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Gwamhyə

Ror

Fer

Hun-east	can, kan
----------	----------

Hun-west

Shama

Rɔɔɔ-2

Səgəɱuk

Cinda-4

Cinda

Regi

Kuki

Rin

Rin-2

Cicipu

Salka

Rop

Rerang

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Sing**

cLela	s-sepa
-------	--------

Gwamhyə	əsə-hɛ
---------	--------

Ror	ətfə (S)
-----	----------

	əs-sɛp (R)
--	------------

Hun-east	əm-hu
----------	-------

Hun-west

Shama	ʃi a-zɔg
-------	----------

Rɔɔɔ-1	zɔga
--------	------

Rɔɔɔ-2	a-zɔg
--------	-------

Səgəɱuk	a-rəg
---------	-------

Cinda	zɔg
-------	-----

Regi zɔg  
Kuki zɔg

Hungwɔryə  
Rubasa zunjɛ

Fungwa-BC zúnɣà  
Rin ɪzyɸ̃  
Rin-2 ɪzu  
Ndəkə uje

Cicipu sipa  
Salka cà:nà  
Agwara-BC

Rop  
Rerang  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. rērà

**References:**

**Sit down**

cLela ød-soco  
cLela əd-sogco, sogəda  
cLela sota

Gwamhyə ri-camø  
Gwamhyə cimi

Fakai-A ri-set  
Ror əɾfɔ:t

Hun-A ciʔit  
Hun-east ʃi:t, ʃiʔit  
Hun-west ə-sit

Shama ʃə:nɔ  
Rɔgɔ-2 noŋga  
Səgəmək ʃikən

Cinda-1 nɪkyæma  
Cinda-2 nɪkyæm  
Cinda-4 hunka  
Cinda nəkéjà  
Regi nekyam  
Kuki nekyam

Rin huraná  
Rin-2 hwɸnà-hwɸinà  
Ndəkə wana

Cicipu doonu

Rop  
 Rerang  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H. zaunà

**References:**

	<u>Slaughter</u>
cLela	s-pana (= cut)
Gwamhyə	u-pane, u-pankə
Fakai-A Ror	ə̀tɾàn
Hun-east	
Shama Rə̀gə̀-2 Sə̀gə̀muk	ʃanɔ na-ʃir
Cinda-1 Cinda-2 Cinda Rə̀gi Kuki	ʃeram ʃaram
Rin Ndəkə	ʃírá
Cicipu Salka	paɗa <b>pàɗà</b>
Rop Rerang Shen Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. yankà

**References:**

	Sleep
cLela	əm-levə
cLela	m-ləvə
Gwamhyə	m-levə
Gwamhyə-3	mə-lebə
Fakai-A	m-reg
Ror	əmró:g
Hun-A	m-reu
Hun-east	əm-rəw
Hun-west	"
Shama	mo-rab
Rɔgɔ-1	ma-juk
Rɔgɔ-2	bo-rabo
Səgəruk	mo-rabu
Cinda-1	mɛ-zukwo
Cinda-4	ma-jiko
Cinda	ma-zɪkʊ
Rɛgi	ma-zuk
Kuki	ma-zuk
Rin	n-rabi
Rin-2	rɪɪ
Ndəkə	nra
Cicipu	latta
Salka	lantsá
Rop	
Rerang	
Shen	
Reshe	

Commentary: H. yī barcī

References:

**Smash (calabash)**

cLela	hɛko
cLela	c-wɛkɛ, zɛsɛ, hɔka
Gwamhyə	yasə
Ror	ətjò:k
Fɛr	
Jiir	
Hun-east	
Shama	
Rɔgɔ-2	

Cinda	hambakam
Regi	
Kuki	
Rin	
Cicipu	pišo
Salka	ḃòsò
Rop	
Rerang	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. fasà

**References:**

	Smell v.
cLela	əs-kwəsmə
cLela	kəso
Gwamhyə	wusə
Fakai-A	
Ror	ətwəsè
Hun-BC	wəsé
Hun-east	wəs
Hun-west	"
Shama	nə-səmə
Rəgə-2	a-sumən
Səgəmək	nə-səmən
Cinda	
Regi	u-səmənəm
Kuki	i-səmənəm, nus
Rubasa	hɾó
Fungwa-BC	wúsúmònò
Rin	úwasu
Rin-2	úwĩ ɪsĩ ɪ
Ndəkə	iwuso
Tirisino	
Ticahun	
Kumbashi	
Cicipu	kusiya
Salka	ʔʔjìnwân

Agwara-BC            ʃà.mâ  
                               tsú  
                               mgbâ

Rop  
 Rerang  
 Shen  
 Reshe                ù-pùnò

**Commentary:** H. sunsùnā

**References:**

	<u>Smelt</u>
cLela	a-zò
Gwamhyə	
Ror	
Hun-east	
Hun-west	
Shama	
Rɔɔɔ-2	
Cinda	pyapɔ
Rɛgi	
Kuki	
Rin	
Rin-2	
Cicipu	
Rop	
Rerang	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<u>Snap (Stick)</u>
cLela	u-gɛto
cLela	geta
Gwamhyə	u-gɛt
Ror	ət-gɛt (R)
Fɛr	
Jiir	gis

Hun-east            əm-bəeg

Shama                gundɔ

Rɔgɔ-2                ba-kyadu

Cinda-4                kusagpago

Cinda                 ε-kos

Rɛgi                    kyabam

Kuki                    kosam

Rin                     hwata

Cicipu                 bisa

gita

Salka                    kàsâ

kùdâ

Rop

Rerang

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. karyà

**References:**

**Squat**

cLela                    u-kugtu

cLela                    kugutu

Gwamhyə                sɔtkɔ

Fakai-A

Ror                      ārsɔkɔt

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama                 hɔka

Rɔgɔ-2                 hɔkan

Səgəmək

Cinda                    hɔk

Rɛgi                     i-hɔkan

Kuki                    sosagam

Rin

Rin-2

Ndəkə

Cicipu

Rop

Rerang

Shen

Reshe

Commentary: H.

References:

	<u>Sow</u>
cLela	
Gwamhyə	
Ror	
Hun-east	
Hun-west	
Shama	
Rəgə-1	
Rəgə-2	
Səgəmək	
Cinda	bəu-
Rəgi	
Kuki	
Rubasa	
Rin	
Ndəkə	
Cicipu	cu'o
Salka	
Agwara-BC	
Rop	
Rerang	
Shen	
Reshe	

Commentary: H. shūkà

References:



Speak, Talk

cLela	u-vato, lalko, igmə		
cLela	s-lalko, s-igmə		
Gwamhyə	u-lalə		
Ror	əs-sərim (R)		
Fer			
Hun-BC	zé, tépér, rór		
Hun-east	tɛp, əm-cɛp, ən-zɛ		
Hun-west	tɛp, ə-tɛp		
Shama	o-za:n		
Rəgɔ-2	o-zwam		
Səgəmək	u-nən		
Cinda	táʒé, zwama		
Rəgi	zwoma		
Kuki	ta:t, zwəm		
Rubasa	duma, duanɛ, hě		
Basa-Benue	duma	dʒɛmɛ	dumwa
Rin			
Rin-2			
Ndəkə	maza		
Cicipu	tepe		
Salka			
Agwara-BC			
Rop			
Rerang			
Shen			
Reshe			

Commentary: H.

References:

Spread out to dry

cLela	
Gwamhyə	
Ror	
Hun-east	
Hun-west	
Shama	
Rəgə-1	
Rəgə-2	
Səgəruk	
Cinda	
Rəgi	
Kuki	
Rin	
Rin-2	
Ndəkə	
Cicipu	baza yadukwa bete waalukwa
Salka	n/C
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Stab, pierce**

**Northwest**

cLela Zuru                      dóókò  
cLela Ribah  
tHun  
sSaare  
Gwamhyə  
Wurə

**Kag cluster**

Kag  
Fere  
Jiir  
Kər  
Koor  
Ror  
Us  
Zuksun

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora  
Basa-Gumna  
Koromba  
Basa-Gurara  
Basa-Benue  
Basa-Makurdi

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
Rəgə  
Səgəmək  
Cinda  
Regi  
Kuki  
Hungwəryə

**Shiroro**

Fungwa  
Rin  
Rin Awəgə  
Gurmana  
Ndəkə  
Hipina  
Rubu  
Wāyā

**Kambari**

Cicipu                      dolo  
Salka  
Tsuvađi  
Baangi  
Tsikimba  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. cākā

**References:**

	<b>Start</b>
cLela	u-zɛbɔ
cLela	əd-talkabɔ
Gwamhyə	takə
Ror	
Fɛr	ət-farɛn
Cinda	to-bam
Regi	
Kuki	to-bam
Rin	
Cicipu	hwaara
Salka	fà:râ
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. fara

**References:**

	<b>Steal</b>
cLela	əd-hivi
Gwamhyə	u-hibi
Ror	ūh'ūw
Fɛr	
Hun-east	ər-hyow
Hun-west	[ər-]hwɛw hyew, hyiw hwu, hiwis [əs-]haps
Shama	rif
Rəgɔ-2	bu-zumb
Səgəmuk	na-bigip

Cinda                    zumb  
 Regi                    zumb  
 Kuki                    zumbəm

Rin                      u-zumbǝ  
 Rin-2                    zumbǝ  
 Ndəkə                  zumbĩ

Cicipu                  bɔwɔ  
 Salka                    i:vê

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H. sātā

**References:**

**Squeeze**

cLela                    u-mɔdu  
 cLela                    mɔdɔ

Gwamhyə              ə-tapalɔ

Ror                      ət-vɪn  
 Fər                      ət-mɪrəgər

Hun-east                pɔt  
 Hun-west               əm-binz

Shama                  məs, pɪrê  
 Rəgɔ-2                    pɪr  
 Səgəmuk                na-pɪrɪŋ

Cinda                    piən, h<sup>w</sup>at-  
 Regi                      i-pɪr  
 Kuki                      pi<sup>?</sup>am

Rubasa                  piɪpitaná  
 Rin                        tu-suguta  
 Rin-2                      piĩrĩ

Cicipu                  mita

Salka                    piʃã, kpɔkwô  
 Agwara-BC              piʃã

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

Commentary: H.

References:

Split

cLela D	héékè sàtá [ <i>become split</i> ] àkànné bàkà		
Gwamhyə	əs-bakər		
Ror	ətk'ēgi'ər (S) ət-bərkər (R)		
Hun-east	beker [~ <i>wood</i> ] ceter coog		
Hun-west	beker		
Shama	to-bant		
Rəgə-1	to-bəra		
Rəgə-2	to-banda		
Səgəmək	ku-sala		
Randeggi	ku-sala		
Bobì	ʔa-sar		
Cinda	bəu-		
Rəgi	to-bər		
Kuki	to-bəra		
Hungwəryə			
Rin	buragí		
Rin-2	buragi		
Ndəkə	tubəra		
Wāyā			
Basa-Benue	bágá	beji	bogwo
Kumbashi	ka-pete		
Kakihum	kə-pete		
Karisen	u-pete		
Cicipu			
Salka	ʃilê [ <i>split off</i> ]		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

Commentary: H. fàskàrà

References:

Stand/Stop

cLela ød-esbo  
 cLela u-eso  
 cLela esa

Gwamhyə ese  
 Gwamhyə i-yɛnikə

Fakai-A ør-is  
 Ror ərē:s

Hun-A  
 Hun-east əm-ɛs  
 Hun-west əm-ɛs

Shama ɛsə  
 Rɔgɔ-2 esa  
 Səgəmuk

Cinda ?ɛs-  
 Regi  
 Kuki ?ɛs-

Rin  
 Ndəkə

Cicipu  
 Salka

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H. tāshì

**References:**

**Stand up**

cLela u-nɔ  
 cLela ina esa

Gwamhyə yənə, yakə

Fakai-A  
 Ror yɛnɛ (R)  
 u-bum

Hun-A ine  
 Hun-east mɛ  
 Hun-west "

Shama ma-fɪŋge  
 Rɔgɔ-2  
 Səgəmuk kubɪk

Cinda ?ɛʃɛg-  
 Regi ʃɪgənəm

Kuki                    ʃigənəm

Rin                    bu-ʃiki

Rin                    hikɛ

Ndəkə                higə

Cicipu                ʔungo

Salka                i:sànwân

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. tāshì

**References:**

**Stir**

---

cLela

Gwamhyə

Fakai-R

Ror Cl

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rəgə-2

Səgəmuk

Cinda                εɥ-

Rəgi

Kuki

Hungwəryə

Basa-Benue

Koromba-R

Bauchi-R

Gurmana-R

Rin

Rin-2

Ndəkə

Cicipu                yoono

Salka                lùwwê

Tsuvaɖi

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe



Commentary: H. dāmà

References:

**Suck**

---

cLela

Gwamhyə

Fakai-A

Ror

Kər

Fer

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Cinda

Regi

Kuki

Rin

Ndəkə swa [=drink]

Cicipu suvo

Salka C n/C

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

Commentary: H. tsòtsā

References:

**Surpass**

---

cLela pètə

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east kaps

Hun-west

Shama

Rəgə-2

Səgəruk

Cinda

Regi

Kuki

Rin

Rin-2  
Ndøkə

Cicipu            dāa  
Salka             làʔâ

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. fī

**References:**

	<b>Swallow</b>
cLela	u-talo
Gwamhyə	əm-calkə
Ror Jiir	əʔtʃwàr
Hun-east Hun-west	əm-core "
Cinda	
Cicipu Salka	sòdũ sòdũ
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. hàdīyà

**References:**

	Sweat v.
cLela	d-samko
Gwamhr	
Ror	əshùnd
Hun-east	əm-səsamb
Hun-west	ən-sasan
Shama	e-bwaz
Rəgə-2	?
Səgəmək	
Cinda	bwaz
Rəgi	bwazə
Kuki	mwa-bwaz
Rin	
Rin-2	
Ndəkə	
Cicipu	
Salka	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

Commentary: H.

References:

	<b>Sweep</b>
cLela	ci-wagu
Gwamhyə	visə
Ror	ə̄töpōs
Kər	ət-bise
Fər	ət-ɔps
Hun-east	ət-wəfɛ
Hun-west	u-wəfɛ
Shama	saga
Rəgɔ-1	bɛ-fɛgam
Rəgɔ-2	ɔ-sər
Səgəmuk	bɛ-fɛga
Cinda	bɛf-
Hungwəryə	
Rin	i-harikye
Rin-2	harka
Cicipu	hudō
Salka	i:zə̄
Agwara-BC	
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. shārā

**References:**

	<b>Swell</b>
cLela	bíkím hwə
Gwamhyə	rènkà, réŋkà m-hír
Ror	ətfəʔ
Hun-east	əm-hu
Hun-west	"
Shama	ma-ʃet,bu-simbaʔ
Rɔ̀gɔ̀-2	o-randa
Cinda	ʃian
Rɛgi	ɛ-ʃiano-randa
Kuki	ʃɛu"
Hungwəryə	
Rin	tu-muta
Rin-2	u-mwɔ̀ɛ
Cicipu	sita
Salka	n/C
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. kumbùrā

**References:**

Swim	
cLela	s-hogo
Gwamhyə	m-swab
Gwamhyə	swabə
	əm-supsu [Wurə]
Fakai-A	swab
Ror	s <sup>w</sup> áb
Hun-A	swag
Hun-east	əs-swa:g
Hun-west	u-sɔp
Shama	bi-yag
Rɔgɔ-2	bi-yag
Səgəmuk	na-faki <sup>?</sup> o
Cinda-1	bɪ-hena
Cinda-2	bɪ-hɛnna
Cinda	bɪ-hɛn
Rɛgi	bɪ-hɛn
Kuki	bɪ-hɛnɔ
Hungwəryə	
Rin	a-gɪdɪ
Ndəkə	mɪ
Cicipu	doosonu
Salka	dɔːsɔ
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. yī iyò

**References:**

Take (away)

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

əthàst

Fer

Hun-east

kəse

Hun-west

Shama

Rəgə-2

Səgəmək

Cinda

Rəgi

Kuki

Rin

Rin-2

Cicipu

Salka

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H. dāukà

**References:**

Take out

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror

Fer

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rəgə

Səgəmək

Cinda

Rəgi

Kuki

Rin  
Rin-2  
Ndəkə

Cicipu            tuwo

Salka

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<b>Taste</b>
cLela	u-ləko
Gwamhyə	sɛgɛ
Ror	ətrək
Jiir	ət-rak
Hun-east	əm-rak
Hun-west	əm-rək
Cinda	twa-rəm
Cicipu	n/M
Salka	pɛdɛ
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**



Teach	
cLela	i-ləsi
Gwamhyə	i-ʃi
Ror Fər	ətkósè
Hun-east Hun-west	yoʔos
Shama Rəgə-2 Səgəmək	cə-baga
Cinda Rəgi Kuki	bi-sigənəm [= show ?] i-kwəyəg kwəyo [< H.]
Cicipu	
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Tear**

cLela

Gwamhyə

Ror  
Fər  
Jiir

Hun-east

Shama  
Rəgə-2

Cinda  
Rəgi  
Kuki

Rin

Basa-Benue dwatwaga dwetweji dwotwogwo

Cicipu bata  
dāya  
Salka kàrà, kkàrà

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. kēcè

**References:**

	<b>Think</b>
cLela	s-kəkbo
Gwamhyə	
Fakai-A	
Ror	āsdòròg
Hun-east	barag boog ceker cəkər gwət
Hun-west	o-barək
Shama	tanān [< H.]
Rəgə-2	na-fatorat
Səgəməuk	na-fatonin
Cinda	tanān [< H.]
Rəgi	tonan
Kuki	tanani
Rin	
Ndəkə	
Cicipu	tuna
Salka	jinyân
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	Throw
cLela	sə-bodna [spear] əs-pana [stick]
cLela	lokə
Gwamhɪ Wurə	u-bəno
Ror	bən (R) u-ɟyɪrɛg (R), əʔdʒɛrè (S)
Jiir Fer	
Hun-east Hun-west	əm-ɟir u-bəm
Shama Rɔgɔ-2 Səgəmuk	ma-ta ma-tak na-usagu
Cinda Rɛgi Kuki	ta-əgi ma-ta ta-agam
Hungwɛryə	
Rin Ndəkə	bwá wəga
Gbiri	tùkpkyá
Cicipu Salka	kudù bə:ʃi ò:tʃò: sàrà vàrà
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. jēfà

**References:**

Throw away

---

cLela

Gwamhi

Wurə

Ror

Jir

Fer

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rəgə-2

Səgəruk

Cinda

Rəgi

Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rin

Ndəkə

Cicipu

Salka

ʔugo

và:rî

Rop

Shuba

Shen

Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<b>Tie</b>
cLela	u-gago
Gwamhr	gagə
Ror	ətgàg
Fer	əd-gəks
Hun-east	əm-ga:g
Hun-west	"
Shama	parag
Rɔgɔ-1	i-pərəm
Rɔgɔ-2	bəŋg
Səgəmək	rəkag
Cinda	parənəm
Regi	parənəm
Kuki	parənəm
Hungwəryə	
Rin	kadage
Rin-2	para, kadaga
Gbiri	kàkpkpyá
Cicipu	hintonu va'an
Salka	à:ròmâ
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. daurà

**References:**

	<b>Touch</b>
cLela	u-dwɔvɔ
cLela	dɔvɔ
Gwamhyə	u-tamkə
Fakai-A	
Ror	əʔtàm
Hun-east	əm-ci
Hun-west	ən-tam
Shama	dər
Rɔgɔ-2	də:k
Səgəmək	na-kadau ?

Cinda-4                ruge  
 Cinda                nu:sə-rəg  
 Regi                 rəgəm  
 Kuki                 rəgam

Rubasa

Fungwa-BC

Rin  
 Ndəkə

Tirisino  
 Ticihun  
 Kumbashi

Cicipu                sɔ'un  
 Salka                dʒinʔwɛn  
                           sɔ'un

Agwara-BC

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H. tabà

**References:**

	<b>Trap [v.]</b>	<b>Set trap</b>
cLela-BC	rɛ̀nà	
Gwamhyə		
Ror	nómɔ̀l:én	
Hun-east		
Hun-west		
Shama		
Rəgə-2		
Səgəmuk		
Cinda	ʃaŋgam-	humb-, ʃɛbaʔ-
Regi		
Kuki		
Hungwəryə		
Rin		
Cicipu	n/M	
Salka	à:zû	
Agwara-BC	àzkù	

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<u>Undress, take off</u>
cLela	u-ɔkɔsɔ [= remove ?]
cLela	butu
Gwamhya	lɪducə
Ror	əthòst
Fer	
Hun-east	us
Hun-west	
Shama	
Cinda	batf-
Ręgi	
Kuki	
Cicipu	pɔʔɔn
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

Untie

cLela	
Gwamhr	
Ror	
Fer	
Hun-east	
Hun-west	
Shama	
Rɔgɔ-1	
Rɔgɔ-2	
Səgəruk	
Cinda	pəʃĩngí
Rɛgi	
Kuki	
Hungwəryə	
Rin	
Cicipu	siiwa
Salka	bəɗɗ
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. kuncè

**References:**



Urine	
cLela	básá
Gwamhyə	
Ror	jádé mbás
Hun-east	ət-tu
Hun-west	
Shama	a-ja u-nug
Rɔgɔ-2	
Səgəmək	
Cinda	cə mə-rɪŋg
Rɛgi	
Kuki	
Hungwəryə	
Basa-Benue	
Koromba-R	
Bauchi-R	
Rin	
Rin-2	
Cicipu	silono
Salka	ə-yǎ́
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Vomit v.**

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cLela góòkò

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east

Hun-west

Shama

Rɔgɔ-2

Səgəmək

Cinda

Rɛgi

Kuki

Hungwəryə

Rin

Basa-Benué gbaga gbeji gbogwo

Cicipu woulɔ  
Salka ʃà:mâ

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

**Wait**

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cLela vâlá

Gwamhyə

Ror

Hun-east mat  
mes

Hun-west

Shama  
Rɔgɔ-2  
Səgəmuk

Cinda bauqag-, bauqat-  
Regi  
Kuki

Rin hmbá  
Rin-2  
Ndəkə

Cicipu cinda  
Salka ʃimâ

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<u>Wake up</u>
cLela	əd-unu
Gwamhyə	yənə
Fakai-A Ror	ərzətè
Hun-east Hun-west	
Shama Rɔgɔ-1 Rɔgɔ-2 Səgəmuk	
Cinda-4 Cinda Regi Kuki	ʃigano zaw
Rin Ndəkə	
Gbiri	zintá
Cicipu Salka	zungwa dʒùnwân
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<u>Weep, cry</u>
cLela	ənò
Gwamhyə	u-neswəbə
Ror Fər	əskán
Hun-east	ən, wan, wən jogɛ
Hun-west	ən, wan, wən
Shama Rɔgɔ-2 Səgəmuk	ta-darɔ ma-ogan ma-cumuk
Cinda	ɔ:t

Regi                    ɔ:t  
Kuki                    ɔ:t

Rin                    ú-úgwa  
Rin-2                  u-əŋgwa

Cicipu                sɔɔn  
Salka                  fɔn

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. yi hawâyē

**References:**

	Want
cLela-BC	tònò
cLela	əm-tamko, u-tono
cLela	əm-tanko
Gwamhyə	ə-nəlgə, ilgə
Fakai-A	
Ror	ūsa (S)
	ət-can (R)
Fer	
Hun-BC	cən
Hun-east	m-cən, m-cun <sup>1</sup>
Hun-west	"
Shama	ko-dagɪ
Rəgɔ-2	ma-kodag
Səgəmuk	na-darau
Cinda-4	
Cinda	e-korag
Rəgi	e-korag
Kuki	to-koragu
Rubasa	jala
Fungwa-BC	gúmànà
Rin	éribi
Rin-2	rubĩ
Ndəkə	robi
Cicipu	tʃigâ
	ta'a
Salka	cigâ
Agwara-BC	cigà
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. sō

**References:**

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<sup>1</sup> Also 'love, need'

	Wash
cLela	ci-guzgu
Gwamhyə	u-gwəzə
Ror	əmdzā:s
Hun-east	əm-soʹos
Hun-west	əm-sos
Shama	tə-guz
Rəgɔ-1	to-hambar
Rəgɔ-2	tə-həcəgu
Səgəruk	wɔ-giz
Cinda	hambauɸ
Rəgi	hambarəm
Kuki	to-hambar
Rin	mbari
Rin-2	həmbari
Ndəkə	ʃigəti
Cicipu	ʔize'en
Salka	sàʔâ zzâʔwê
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H. wankà

**References:**

	Walk, Trek	Walk, Trek
cLela	ahəgəcu	
Gwamhyə	m-ha	
Gwamhyə	nomkɔ m-ha	
Fakai-A	m-ha	
Ror	əmhā	
Hun-east	əm-neke, əm-nəkə	
Hun-west	ər-heo	
Shama	to-han	
Rəgɔ-2	tə-han	
Səgəruk	to-wan	
Cinda-1	hərugɔ	
Cinda-2	ərɔ	

Cinda	harug	pond-
Regi	harug	
Kuki	harug	
Rin	t̥h̥ani	
	f̥undá	
Ndəkə	taha	
Cicipu	haala	
Salka	<b>wâlâ</b>	
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

**Commentary:** H. yī tàfiyà

**References:**

**Whistle**

cLela	u-hulu [w/ instrument]
	ə-swendo [w/ mouth]
cLela	swəndo, hulu
Gwamhyə	əs-kɛle
Ror	əskê:r
Hun-east	o-cɛ:r
Hun-west	o-kɛr
Shama	a-hɔnɔm
Rɔgɔ-1	byɛro
Rɔgɔ-2	a-byɛr
Səgəmuk	a-byɛro
Cinda	bɛr
Regi	byɛr
Kuki	byɛro
Hungwəryə	
Rubasa	
Fungwa-BC	
Rin	i-byɛrye
Rin-2	ki-byɛre
Ndəkə	rebera
Cicipu	‘írú pl. à’írú [n.]
Salka	
Agwara-BC	
Rop	
Shuba	

Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. yi fitò

**References:**

	<u>Write</u>
cLela	u-geno
cLela	s-geno
Gwamhyə	u-panə
Ror	əs-gen (R)
Fer	
Hun-east	gen
Hun-west	"
Shama	rubut (<H.)
Rəgə-2	
Səgəruk	
Cinda	rubut (<H.)
Rəgi	rubutəm
Kuki	rebutəm
Cicipu	ɗana
Rop	
Shuba	
Shen	
Reshe	

**Commentary:** H.

**References:**

	<u>Weave</u>
<b>Northwest</b>	
cLela Zuru	cà
cLela Ribah	
tHun	
sSaare	
Gwamhyə	
Wurə	
<b>Kag cluster</b>	
Kag	
Fere	
Jiir	
Kər	
Koor	
Ror	
Us	



Zuksun

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora  
Basa-Gumna  
Koromba  
Basa-Gurara  
Basa-Benue  
Basa-Makurdi

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
Rɔgɔ  
Səgəmuk  
Cinda  
Rɛgi  
Kuki  
Hungwəryə

**Shiroro**

Fungwa  
Rin  
Rin Awəgə  
Gurmana  
Ndəkə  
Hɪpɪna  
Rubu  
Wāyā

**Kambari**

Cicipu                      dɔva  
Salka  
Tsuvaɗi  
Baangi  
Tɕikimba  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Commentary:** H. sākà

**References:**

**Weed v.**

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<b>Northwest</b>	cLela Zuru
<b>Lela</b>	cLela Ribah
<b>HS</b>	tHun sSaare
<b>WGM</b>	Gwamhyə Wurə Mba
<b>Kag cluster</b>	Kag Fere

	Jiir			
	Kər			
	Koor			
	Ror			
	Us			
	Zuksun			
<b>Unknown</b>	Damakawa			
<b>Basa cluster</b>	Basa Kontagora			
	Basa-Gumna			
	Koromba			
	Basa-Gurara			
	Basa-Benue	bwolo	bweri	bwolwo
	Basa-Makurdi			
<b>Kamuku</b>	Shama			
	Rɔgɔ			
	Shyabe			
	Rubaruba			
	Səgə̃muku			
	Tushyabe			
	Turubaruba			
	Eastern Acipa [?]			
	Cinda			
	Rɛgi			
	Kuki			
	Makici			
	Hungwəryə			
<b>Shiroro</b>	Fungwa			
	Rin			
	Rin Awəgə			
	Gurmana			
	M̄in			
	Ndəkə			
	H̄ipini			
	Rubo			
	Wāyā			
	Samburu			
<b>Kambari</b>	Cicipu			
	Salka			
	Tsuvadi			
	Tsugadi			
	Baangi			
	Tsikimba			
	Agwara			
<b>Lake</b>	Rop			
	Shuba			
	Shen			
<b>Reshe</b>	Reshe			

**Commentary:** H. yi nōmā ciyawa

**References:**

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<b>Northwest</b>	cLela Zuru
<b>Lela</b>	cLela Ribah

<b>HS</b>	tHun sSaare
<b>WGM</b>	Gwamhyə Wurə Mba
<b>Kag cluster</b>	Kag Fere Jiir Kər Koor Ror Us Zuksun
<b>Unknown</b>	Damakawa
<b>Basa cluster</b>	Basa Kontagora Basa-Gumna Koromba Basa-Gurara Basa-Benue Basa-Makurdi
<b>Kamuku</b>	Shama Rəgə Shyabe Rubaruba Səgəmuksu Tushyabe Turubaruba Eastern Acipa [?] Cinda Rəgi Kuki Makici Hungwəryə
<b>Shiroro</b>	Fungwa Rin Rin Awəgə Gurmana Min Ndəkə Hipini Rubo Wāyā Samburu
<b>Kambari</b>	Cicipu Salka Tsuvaɗi Tsugaɗi Baangi Tsikimba Agwara
<b>Lake</b>	Rop Shuba Shen
<b>Reshe</b>	Reshe

Commentary: H. shafa

References:

	<b>Work</b>
<b>Northwest</b>	cLela Zuru
<b>Lela</b>	cLela Ribah
<b>HS</b>	tHun sSaare
<b>WGM</b>	Gwamhyə Wurə Mba
<b>Kag cluster</b>	Kag Fere Jiir Kər Koor Ror Us Zuksun
<b>Unknown</b>	Damakawa
<b>Basa cluster</b>	Basa Kontagora Basa-Gumna Koromba Basa-Gurara Basa-Benue Basa-Makurdi
<b>Kamuku</b>	Shama Rəgə Shyabe Rubaruba Səgəməku Tushyabe Turubaruba Eastern Acipa [?] Cinda Rəgi Kuki Makici
<b>Shiroro</b>	Hungwəryə Fungwa Rin Rin Awəgə Gurmana Mīn Ndəkə Hīpini Rubo Wāyā
<b>Kambari</b>	Samburu Cicipu Salka Tsuvađi Tsugađi Baangi

	Tsikimba
	Agwara
<b>Lake</b>	Rop
	Shuba
	Shen
<b>Reshe</b>	Reshe

**Commentary:** H. yī aiki

**References:**

	<b>Yawn</b>
<b>Northwest</b>	cLela Zuru
<b>Lela</b>	cLela Ribah
<b>HS</b>	tHun
	sSaare
<b>WGM</b>	Gwamhyə
	Wurə
	Mba
<b>Kag cluster</b>	Kag
	Fere
	Jiir
	Kər
	Koor
	Ror
	Us
	Zuksun
<b>Unknown</b>	Damakawa
<b>Basa cluster</b>	Basa Kontagora
	Basa-Gumna
	Koromba
	Basa-Gurara
	Basa-Benue
	Basa-Makurdi
<b>Kamuku</b>	Shama
	Rəgə
	Shyabe
	Rubaruba
	Səgəmu
	Tushyabe
	Turubaruba
	Eastern Acipa [?]
	Cinda
	Rəgi
	Kuki
	Makici
	Hungwəryə
<b>Shiroro</b>	Fungwa
	Rin
	Rin Awəgə
	Gurmana
	Min
	Ndəkə
	Hipini
	Rubo

	Wāyā
	Samburu
<b>Kambari</b>	Cicipu
	Salka
	Tsuvadī
	Tsugadī
	Baangi
	Tsikimba
	Agwara
<b>Lake</b>	Rop
	Shuba
	Shen
<b>Reshe</b>	Reshe

**Commentary:** H. hammà

**References:**

	Twist (rope etc.)
<b>Northwest</b>	cLela Zuru
<b>Lela</b>	cLela Ribah
<b>HS</b>	tHun
	sSaare
<b>WGM</b>	Gwamhyə
	Wurə
	Mba
<b>Kag cluster</b>	Kag
	Fere
	Jiir
	Kər
	Koor
	Ror
	Us
	Zuksun
<b>Unknown</b>	Damakawa
<b>Basa cluster</b>	Basa Kontagora
	Basa-Gumna
	Koromba
	Basa-Gurara
	Basa-Benue
	Basa-Makurdi
<b>Kamuku</b>	Shama
	Rəgə
	Shyabe
	Rubaruba
	Səgəmu
	Tushyabe
	Turubaruba
	Eastern Acipa [?]
	Cinda
	Rəgi
	Kuki
	Makici
	Hungwəryə
<b>Shiroro</b>	Fungwa

	Rin
	Rin Awəgə
	Gurmana
	Min
	Ndəkə
	Hipini
	Rubo
	Wāyā
	Samburu
<b>Kambari</b>	Cicipu
	Salka
	Tsuvadi
	Tsugadi
	Baangi
	Tsikimba
	Agwara
<b>Lake</b>	Rop
	Shuba
	Shen
<b>Reshe</b>	Reshe

**Commentary:** H. murdā

**References:**

<b>Northwest</b>	cLela Zuru
<b>Lela</b>	cLela Ribah
<b>HS</b>	tHun sSaare
<b>WGM</b>	Gwamhyə Wurə Mba
<b>Kag cluster</b>	Kag Fere Jiir Kər Koor Ror Us Zuksun
<b>Unknown</b>	Damakawa
<b>Basa cluster</b>	Basa Kontagora Basa-Gumna Koromba Basa-Gurara Basa-Benue Basa-Makurdi
<b>Kamuku</b>	Shama Rəgə Shyabe Rubaruba Səgəmu Tushyabe Turubaruba Eastern Acipa [?] Cinda Rəgi Kuki Makici Hungwəryə
<b>Shiroro</b>	Fungwa Rin Rin Awəgə Gurmana Min Ndəkə Hipini Rubo Wāyā Samburu
<b>Kambari</b>	Cicipu Salka Tsuvaɗi Tsugadi Baangi Tsikimba Agwara
<b>Lake</b>	Rop Shuba



**Reshe**      Shen  
                 Reshe

**Commentary:**

**References:**

### 3. Adjectives

	Round	Be round
cLela	ød-rigimsø	
cLela	giri-giri	a-ririgə
cLela		a-ririgə
Gwamhyə	ə-pu <sup>ʔ</sup> o	nare
Fakai-A	ryak	
Ror	girgir (R)	əmnā:r (S)
Hun-A		m-rig vb.
Hun-east	jirjir	
Hun-west	gərgər	
Shama		riŋg
Rəgə-1	u-piə	
Rəgə-2	riŋgiŋg	
Səgəmək	ta-kəŋ	
Cinda-1	riŋgətuguwa	
Cinda-2	riŋgəcigi	
Cinda	kət [n]	riŋgəcigi
Regi	ingərən	
Kuki	riŋgəcigin	
Rin	teyɿ	
Rin-2	bigiti	
Tirisino		
Salka C		
Tsuvaɖi		
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		
	New	Old
cLela	pòɔyè	i-utu, i-utəmku
Gwamhyə	pu <sup>ʔ</sup> o	
Gwamhyə	u-wəməkə	
Fakai-A	po <sup>ʔ</sup> o	
Ror	pòʔə vb.	ūʔūt
Hun-A	pu <sup>ʔ</sup> o	
Hun-east	pə [ <i>also young</i> ]	wətəm a.

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

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Hun-west	ər-pəɾɛ	ut [ʔ] o-ut
Shama	ɪ-ph	ta-ɔŋk
Rɔɔ-1	ta-ɔŋga	
Rɔɔ-2	ɪ-ph	ɔŋk
Səgəmuk		
Cinda-1	ɕ:pwɔ	
Cinda-2	tɕ:fə	
Cinda	yu-ph	ta-ɔŋk
Regi	i-yupɪ	ta-ɔŋk
Kuki	i-up	ta-ɔŋk
Hungwəryə	pú	
Rin	tu-fwo	
Rin-2	nə-fu	
Ndəkə	nəfu	
Tirisino	sáávíná	
Cicipu	sáavínà	kúnó
Salka	sá'ávú	
Tsuvadí	ssavo	
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

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**Wet**

cLela	u-nobɔ
cLela	
Gwamhyə	u-maskə
Ror Cl	mas [RF]
Hun-east	
	məɛ
Hun-west	əm-moɛ
Shama	zətə
Rɔɔ-1	
Rɔɔ-2	
Səgəmuk	
Randeggi	
Bobi	
Cinda-4	carem

Cinda rabi  
 Regi  
 Kuki

Rin  
 Rin-2  
 Ndəkə

Kumbashi  
 Kakihum  
 Karisen  
 Cicipu  
 Salka

Rop  
 Shuba  
 Shen  
 Reshe

	Good	Evil	Dry	Up
cLela	i-kasi	u-hoke		
cLela	i-kasi	i-nake	əd-naka	u-hōse
cLela	kasi	ək-rimɔ	hōse	
Gwamhyə	øm-leve	m-hwa		hōkɔ
Gwamhyə	u-kaʃi,	əm-lɪli	ə-wakɪ	
Fakai-A	so <sup>ʔ</sup> o	gag		
Ror	sɔʔɔ vb.	jɔʔɔ vb.	ətgàʔ	ūdóm
Kər	əs-səɔ	"		
Jiir	ər-zwar	namu	zwar	"
Fer	əm-səkɪ	i-yɔ <sup>ʔ</sup> ɔ	"	
Hun-A	or-bo	u-ho <sup>ʔ</sup> og		
Hun-east	ər-bon	əm-zwɔm,	yowɔ	əs-hwɔ [past], berɛg
Hun-west	ər-sər	"	"	m-hwɔ
Shama	ə-sambari	sambari	ba	tə-rairɔ
Rɔgɔ-1	bi-zɛgi			
Rɔgɔ-2	tɔ-sambɔri	ki-katag		
Səgəmuk	bi-zɛgi			
Cinda-1	ɔn-zɛ	tɔ-hwɔ <sup>ʔ</sup> hwɔ		
Cinda-2	bə-zeykyɪ	hwɔ <sup>ʔ</sup> hwɔ	kagabo [ <i>dried well</i> ]	
Cinda	be-zɛgi		gata:g- ɛwa	hwa
Regi	bi-zɛgi	a-miyau		i-gatag
Kuki	bi-zɛgi	tə-hwɔ	i-gatag	
Rin	ɛ-zuma	bu-tunawɛ	tu-hwɪgɪ	
Rin-2	zuma	iri-	nawɛ	hwɪgɪ
Ndəkə	jimaŋga		hogɔ	
Cicipu	he <sup>ʔ</sup> we			

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

	Cold	Warm	Hot
cLela	k-tudu	øm-døngø	
cLela	i-tudu	m-dəŋgə	= <i>fire</i>
cLela	"	m-dəŋgə	"
Gwamhyə	m-tulu	m-døngø	
Gwamhyə	əm-tulu	m-dəngə	rə-suhu
	ə-tuktupə	[water]	
Fakai-A	m-tor	m-døng	
Ror Cl	əmtòr	əmdəŋg	
Hun-A	u-həu[body]	m-hog	
Hun-east	o-how		= <i>fire</i>
	əm-gwəgwə		
Hun-west	o-how	o-maza	
	əm-wowər		
Shama	tu-hwābi [body]	tə-zəm	
	tə-daw		
Rəgə-1	tə-yaw	tə-zəma	
Rəgə-2	tə-dəw	tə-zəma	
Səgəmək	tə-dəku		
Cinda-1	tu-yawə	tə-zəma	
Cinda-2	tə-iyəʊ	"	
Cinda	ta-hwəbi	[w/wind]	
	ta-yau		
Rəgi	tə-hwəbi	tə-zəm	
	ta-yau		
Kuki	tə-hwəbi	tə-zəm	
	ta-yau		
Rin	tu-whəbi	mambo	
Rin-2	tu-hwəibi	māmbu	
Ndəkə	wadigĩ		
Cicipu	yéyù	n/M	n/M
Salka	ù:tə:nù		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	Darkness	Sharp	Big
cLela	damra		
cLela	i-cəmɔkɔnɔ	əm-reya	əm-lɔgɔ, i-gubu
cLela	i-cumukunu	"	k-damra
Gwamhyə	wayatinne		
Gwamhyə	m-cəmə	m-le	əv-yetɛ
Fakai-A	u-yat		
Ror	ūɬʷəm	əmré	játjà
Kər	u-cwəm	ər-ga:g	i-yætɔ
Jiir	"	əm-rɛ	u-bɛbɔ
Fər	u-cwum	əm-rɛ	u-damra
Hun-A	gos <sup>2</sup> s		
Hun-east	o-comb	əm-ryɛ	ət-gɔs, o-ca:ri
Hun-west	"	əm-ri	o-bebo, əm-sem
Shama	tu-mɔʃ	tɔ-ri	ətɔ-wag
Rɔgɔ-1		tɔ-ri	bɔ-gaba, ɔt [~ person]
Rɔgɔ-2	tu-mɔʃ	tɔ-ri	bau-waga
Səgəmuk		tɔ-ri	bɔ-wai [~ person]
Cinda-1	mɔ-kwafɛ		
Cinda-2	m-kwaf		
Cinda-4	lubane	[v.]	
Cinda	tu-mɔɕ	tɔ-ri	m-kwafɪ
Rɛgi	tɔ-mɔɕ	tɔ-ri	to-wag, ta-ɔt
Kuki	tu-mɔɕ	tɔ-i	ɛ-ɔt
Rin	tɛ̃yɛci	itɪ	butu-atwɔ
Rin-2	tɪ̃yɪ́cɪ́	matəsu	ina-watɔ
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	Small	Tall	Short
cLela	cammi [=~ bit]		i-zisi
cLela	i-reke, i-ese	əm-zisə	aiyu= <i>not tall</i>
Gwamhyə	øb-leke	ød-wøle	
Gwamhyə	i-leke, əm-ə	əd-wøle	wəhə
Fakai-A	məsi	m-war	
Ror/Jiir	rəkjà	əm-wər (R)	ərkiik
	cafi [=tiny]		
Kər	məfi [=tiny]		
Fər	i-jaksə	əm-wər	ər-dutu
	cafi [=tiny]		ər-kik [=short+fat]
Hun-A	rekwu	m-seb	
Hun-east	əs-rək	m-se:b	ər-kən
Hun-west	ər-myədi	əm-yəs	ər-kən
Shama	nə	gyes:	[< H.]
Rəgə-1	a-ni	i-gesə	"
Rəgə-2	nə	gyes	"
Səgəmək	m-baku	gesə	"
Cinda-1	ʃimù	ŋgésò [ <i>tallness</i> ]	
Cinda-4	enaka [s.t.]	lwaye [ <i>thin object</i> ]	
	cimu,	yane	
Cinda	tə-cimə	gesə	kuri- [be short]
Rəgi	tu-cimu	n-ges	guri
Kuki	i-yan	n-ges	ta-kuri
Rin	gye	n-giswə	n-gyɛʃɛʃɛ
Rin-2	gɛ	ɲ-giswɔ́	ŋ-geaʃɛʃɛ
Ndəkə	onaiyane	ogeswa	ogudi
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

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	<b>Deep</b>	<b>Narrow</b>	<b>Heavy</b>
cLela	u-lɔ, s-lɔ	u-kalo	əm-ni
cLela	lɔkɔ		
Gwamhyə	m-nəku		
Ror/ Jiir	əl:āʔ ər-rap (R)		ətnò:s
Fer	əm-rak	"	
Hun-east	ər-dəw	myegense	əs-nə
Hun-west	ər-dɛ	kereye	"
Shama	kwɔrɛc		to-canɔ
Rəgɔ-1	to-cəra		
Rəgɔ-2	kwɔrɛc		gə-cirɔ
Səgəmuk		tə-cira	
Cinda	tə-kər		ʃiɥi-
Rəgi	tu-kur		tə-cir
Kuki	ta-zɔma		tə-cir
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	<b>Full</b>	<b>Empty</b>
cLela	u-hyɔu u-hyɛʊ, u-hyo hikə	i-tahɛda bahɛdi
Gwamhyə	əm-sikə = <i>nothing</i>	
Ror Kər Fer	ʃá:g (S)	əmzān
Hun-east		əm-zar [= <i>nothing</i> ]
Hun-west	əm-yɪ	kɔtɛ
Shama	i-ʃintɔ	
Cinda-4	ʃindu	
Cinda	i-ʃindɔ	kwe əza
Rəgi	ʃindu	
Kuki	ʃindu-ʃindu	
Rin		
Ndəkə	cigĩtənĩ	
Cicipu	cuwo	
Salka		



Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

	<b>Ripe</b>	<b>Rotten</b>
cLela	i-enka, cə-ena	zəmó
cLela	enka	naka
Gwamhyə	nenke	ək-təkε
Ror	nén vb.	əʔzəm vb.
Fer		ər-zəmz
Hun-BC	wém	
Hun-east	əm-nən	əm-zim, ər-wəm
Hun-west	"	
Cinda-4	usungu [ <i>odour</i> ]	
Cinda	ɛ:n	ta-pwas
Rubasa	ifuɔʃi	
Fungwa-BC	hwésò	
Cicipu	n/M	sama
Salka	n/C	ʃàmâ

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

	<b>(be) Black</b>	<b>(be) White</b>	<b>(be) Red</b>
cLela	rími	í-pùsí [ <i>whiteness</i> ]	gyòzò
Gwamhyə	sə-limi	məkə	gyazε, gyazə
Fakai-A	rim <sup>ʔ</sup> o	pus <sup>ʔ</sup> o	m-zan
Ror Cl	rīmjà	púsò	jásò
Kər	o-rimo "	",	ər-myak [Rə] ", əm-zan
Hun-east	rim <i>a.</i> [ <i>also dark</i> ] cip <i>a.</i>	pus, puu [ <i>also good</i> ]	za(a)
Hun-west	u-rimye	u-puʃyer	u-gafir [ <i>color + thing</i> ]
Shama	ʃiri	cəni	ʃən
Rəgə-1	ʃiri	sabəri	ʃənɪ
Rəgə-2	ʃir	bəkəc	u-ʃən
Səgəmək	ku-wiz	ku-sabəri [ <i>off w.</i> ]	u-ʃei
Cinda-R	ʃiri	cene	ʃene
Cinda-4	kwacam [ <i>very ~</i> ]	janai [ <i>very</i> ]	

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Cinda	ʃiri	ʃɛné	ʃɛni
Regi	ʃi	cɛni	ʃɛni
Kuki	ʃiri	cɛni	ʃɛni
Rin	ʃiri	tandɛ	ʃɛnjɪvi
Rin-2	ʃiri	tandai	ʃɛnji
Ndəkə	ɪʃiri	tanda	ʃɛnje
Wāyā	inidoyn	incənc	inʃənc
Hungwəryə	siri	ʃɛné	
Basa-Benué		ʃɛndʒɛ	
Cicipu	rùmó	ʔúyó	sílá
Salka	úúlimó [ <i>blackness</i> ] ə̀ə̀finə̀	ùùʔúri [ <i>whiteness</i> ]	ùùfilí [ <i>redness</i> ]
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	Blue/Green	Yellow
Lelab	əm-yoro	c-gollo
Lelab	ci-yoro	c-gollo
cLelab	wada ci-kolo -5g	pusi-pusi wadun va shocone
Gwamhyə	m-ləgə [= G.Soup]	əllu [= locust flower]
Fakai-A	m-rab	təto
Ror	ə̀trɛʔuri	bámàtró (S) ət-təro-təro (R)
Hun-A	ot-rer	i-trə
Hun-east	əm-yar ?	wər ət iʔɛ, wər ət rə
Hun-west		ətə-rə [= locust powder]
Cinda	mani ma bomb	mani ma tur
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

Branch	Subgroup	Language	Sweet	Bitter
Lake	Shuba	Rop		
	Laru	Shuba		
		Shen		
Reshe		Reshe		
Northwest	Lela	cLela Zuru		
		cLela Ribah		

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Branch	Subgroup	Language	Sweet	Bitter
	Hun	tHun		
		sSaare		
	Gwamhi	Gwamhyə		
		Wurə		
		Mba		
	ut-Ma'in	Kag		
		Fer		
		Jiir		
		Kər		
		Koor		
		Ror		
		Us		
		Zuksun		
Basa	?	Damakawa		
		Basa Kontagora		
		Basa-Gumna		
		Kərɔmba		
		Basa-Gurara		
		Basa-Benue		
Kamuku		Basa-Makurdi		
		Shama		
		Rogo-Shyabe		
		Səgəruk		
		Cinda		bára
		Regi		
		Kuki		
		Zubazuba		
Shiroro		Hungwəryə		
		Fungwa		
		Rin		
		Wəgə		
		Gurmana		
	Baushi	Ndəkə		
		Hipina		
		Rubu		
		Miin		
		Samburu		
		Wāyā		
Basa-Benue				
				gaguma
Kambari		CiShingini		
		Tsivadi		
		Baangi		
		Tsikimba		
		Agwara		
		Cicipu		

**4. Pronouns**

Language	I	you sg.	he/she/it
<b>Northwest</b>			
cLela Zuru			
cLela Ribah			
tHun			
sSaare			
Gwamhɪ			
Wurə			
<b>Kag cluster</b>			
Kag			
Fere			
Jiir			
Kər			
Koor			
Ror	ā̄m/mē	bō	wōn
Us			
Zuksun			
<b>Basa cluster</b>			
Basa Kontagora			
Basa-Gumna			
Koromba			
Basa-Gurara			
Basa-Benue			
Basa-Makurdi			
<b>Kamuku group</b>			
Shama			
Rɔgɔ			
Səgəmuk			
Cinda			
Rɛgi			
Kuki			
Hungwəryə			
<b>Shiroro</b>			
Fungwa			
Rin	gēm gân	gà	bwà byè
Rin Awəgə			
Gurmana			
Ndəkə			
Hìpìna			
Rubu			
Wāyā			
Gbiri			pyă
<b>Kambari</b>			
Cicipu	àmù	ivó	éví
Salka			
Tsuvadì			
Baangi			
Tsikimba			

Agwara

Cipu

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

Language	We, us (inc.)	We, us (exc.)	you pl.	they, them
<b>Northwest</b>				
cLela Zuru				
cLela Ribah				
tHun				
sSaare				
Gwamhɪ				
Wurə				
<b>Kag cluster</b>				
Kag				
Fere				
Jiir				
Kər				
Koor				
Ror	ín	īt	nō	ēn
Us				
Zuksun				
<b>Basa cluster</b>				
Basa Kontagora				
Basa-Gumna				
Koromba				
Basa-Gurara				
Basa-Benue				
Basa-Makurdi				
<b>Kamuku group</b>				
Shama				
Rɔgɔ				
Səgəmuk				
Cinda				
Regi				
Kuki				
Hungwəryə				
<b>Shiroro</b>				
Fungwa				
Rin	gə́ətù		gə́hì	àbá
Rin Awəgə				
Gurmana				
Ndəkə				
Hipina				
Rubu				
Wāyā				

**Kambari**

Cicipu	óttù	dò	éré
Salka			
Tsuvadi			
Baangi			
Tsikimba			
Agwara			

Cipu

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

5. Adverbs

	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
cLela	dede	tɛntɛ	buku
Gwamhyə	m-tɛtɛ	i-yala	u-hunu
Ror	gʲɔp	əjāʔɔ	ūsɔt
Kər	əm-tɛt	ər-yara	
Jiir	gyɛp-nɛ		
Hun-east	[əm-]ryɔ	caanɛ	[əm-]buk
Hun-west	ən-jɔw	kya	ən-sot <sup>1</sup>
Shama	o-wɔ	narɛ	a-bi
Rɔgɔ-1	ala	bɪn	biri
Rɔgɔ-2	a:r	bɪˆn	bi
Səgəmuk	yi	wai	bik
Cinda	ar	bɪn	biri
Rɛgi	a:r	bɪn	bi:
Kuki	a:r	bɪn	bi:
Cicipu	hyánʔùn	ánnà	cùʔwán
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

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<sup>1</sup> [= morning in Hun-east dialect]

6. Numerals

	One	Two	Three
cLela	cin, dø, øv-dø	ilø	
cLela-BC		ciŋ	təccù
cLela		ciŋ	təcu
	əv-dəŋ [not counting]		
Gwamhyə	əb-də	yələ	
Gwamhyə	cenhi	yeli	təti
	ər-ru [not counting]		
Fakai-A	øv-dø	yør	
Ror	tʃə:n	jə:r	tət
	cin [not counting]		
Hun-A	gaa	yor	
Hun-R	coon	yoor	teet
Hun-east	co:n	yo:r	tə:t
	o-ga:n [not counting]		
Hun-west	də:n	yu:r	"
Shama	iyə	dəryo	tətə
Rəgə-2	iyə dəryo	tətə	
Səgəmək	iyi	rə:g	tətə
Cinda-1	ində	i riə	
Cinda-2	ɪŋgə	i lyə	
Cinda-BC	hí:a	i-rye	i-tato
Cinda-R	ndɛ	i rye	i-tato
Cinda-4	undo		
Cinda	iʔa	dərə	tətə
Rəgi	iʔa	u-yə	tətə
Kuki	i:a	dəryo	tətə
Rubasa	híŋ	yebi	a-tatu
	-ko, -ke [not counting]		
Basa-BC	hí:	yé:wi	tá:tú
Gbiri	pieshem	piba	pitar
Fungwa-BC	hí	yó:gó	tá:tú
Rin	hí	rənu	a-tatu
Rin-2	riyunĩ	riyunĩ	tatu
Ndəkə	kĩ	rei	tətə
Wáyã	ʔĩ	yok(u)	tatu
Cicipu	tóò	yápù	táàtù
Salka	íyyán	èjéré	táʔàtsú
	záttá, -tə [attrib]	ì:rè	àzátàʔàtsù
Agwara-BC	-tè	-rè	tà:tsù
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			



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		rì-só	tátsò
Reshe			
	<b>Four</b>	<b>Five</b>	<b>Six</b>
cLela-BC	nássé	táŋ	cihèn
cLela	nase	taŋa	cihiŋ
Gwamhyə	nasɪ	ta:nə	ci'ə, ci'o
Ror	ná:s	tán	ʃiʃin
Kər			ʃihi
Jiir			ʃikən
Hun-BC	nas	tá:n	ce:nt
Hun-R	nass	taan	ti'ind
Hun-east	nas:	ta:n	ci:nd
Hun-west	nas:	ta:n	ciŋ
Shama	nə:ʃi	taɔ	tənwi
Rəgə-2	nə:ʃi	ta:	tunwi
Səgəmək	nə:f	ta	cihr̄.
Cinda-R	inəʃi	ita'a	itunihi [=5+1]
Cinda	nə:ʃi	ta:	tunhwi
Rəgi	nəʃi	ta:	tunuwi
Kuki	təʃi	ta:	tunuhiri
Hungwəryə	nəsi		
Rubasa	neʃi	ta	cihi
Basa-BC	ná:ʃi	tá:na	ci:hí
Gbiri	pinas	pishi	pitashi
Fungwa	nó:ʃi	tá	cíhí
Rin	niʃi	ta	cinihí
Rin-2	n̄ʃi	ta	ci mahi
Ndəkə	n̄si	ta?	cihin
Wáyā	nóʃ	ta?	ciin
Cicipu	nəsi	tâun	tórihin
Salka	nəʃin	tááwú	tó:li
Agwara-BC	nəʃi	tôn	
		-táú	tó:li
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe	la-naʃě	la-t̄	tézo
	<b>Seven</b>	<b>Eight</b>	<b>Nine</b>
cLela	tàŋ ilè	yó:rù	dó:rè
Gwamhyə	taŋ-ile	na-nasə	zaro
Wurə			kabdugu

Ror	tàʔər	é:r	dʒ <sup>w</sup> ə:r
Kər		kabda <sup>ʔ</sup> i:l	kabdugan
Hun-BC	tà yo:r	<sup>ʔ</sup> é:r	jírɔ
Hun-R	ta yoor	yeer	jɔɔ
Hun-east	ta-yo:r	ɛ:r, ye:r	jírɔ
Hun-west	ta-yo:r	ɛ:r, ye:r	jírɔ
Shama	tən-diri	tə-tat	tən-nəf:
Rɔgɔ-2	tən-diri	to-tat	tən-nəf
Səgəmuk	tən-dəri	to-tat	tən-nəf
Cinda-R	itan dərye	ito-tato	itən-dəsi
Cinda	tən-dir	to-tat	tən-dəf
Rəgi	tən-dei	to-tat	tən-dəf
Kuki	tən-dəryɔ	tə-tat	tən-dif
Rubasa	cenje	tin-datu	cin-jiʃi
Basa-BC	cé:nje	n-dá:tu	cín-diʃi
Gbiri	pisundari	kunas	
Fungwa-BC	tín-dàlò	tín-dátù	tín-díʃi
Rin	t̃n-dar̃	t̃n-datu	t̃n-diʃi
Rin-2	tən-duru	t̃n-datu	t̃n-dəʃi
Ndəkə	tandir̃	tandata	tandiʃi
Wáyā	əndə	əndatu	əngis
Cicipu	tíndàyà	kùrillò	kùtítí
Salka	cìndèré	kùnlè	kùtcí
Agwara-BC	cìndèrè	kùnlài	kùcì
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe	tá-sǎ	lata-lanza	látànàǎǎ

	Ten	Eleven	Fifteen
cLela-BC	ó:pá		ó:pá nitân
cLela	<sup>ʔ</sup> opa		
cLela	o:pa	o:pa nəv dən	o:pa ns illə
Gwamhyə	ɔhɔ	ɔhɔ b-du	ɔhɔ ilə
Ror	ɔp	ɔpəgān	ɔpətán
Hun-BC	óp		ɔp ɔ-tá:n
Hun-R	<sup>ʔ</sup> ɔp		
Hun-5	ɔph	up o-ga:n	ɔp ə-ta:n
Hun-6	ɔp	ɔp də:n	ɔp u-tan
Shama	rɛ-kɔpɛ	rɛ-kɔpɛ nə i-kan	rɛ-kɔpɛ nə ta
Rɔgɔ-2	rɛ-kɔpɛ	rɛ-kɔpɛ nə i-gigə	rɛ-kɔpɛ na ta
Səgəmuk	rɛ-kɔpɛ	rɛ-kɔpɛ nə i-kə	rɛ-kɔpɛ na ta

Cinda-R	<sup>2</sup> upa		
Cinda	opa	opa na ində	opa na ta:
Regi	opa		
Kuki	opa	opa na ində	opa na ta:
Rubasa	umpua		
Basa-BC	ó-po:a		
Gbiri	nakyaranaba		
Fungwa-BC	úpá		swá:gə̀tá
Rin	upwa		
Rin-2	upwɔ		
Ndəkə	ɔpa		
Wāyā	opa		
Cicipu	kúppá		
Salka	kùppá		gyé:ndú
Agwara-BC	kùpà		gèndù, kùppá nàzátó
Rop			
Shuba	obwa		
Shen	úbà		
Reshe	úpo		úpócító ì

	Twenty	Thirty	Forty
cLela	ədə-kwɛzɛ	əd-kwɛz o:pa,	[< H.] kwɛc illə
cLela	də-kwɛzɛ	əd-kwɛz ən opa	"
Gwamhyə	er-fili	ər-fiki ɔhɔ	ər-fiki də yəlɪ
Ror	ərʃik	ərʃikáʔɔp	ərʃikətjē:r
Hun-BC	ér-kwɔ́:z		
Hun-5	ər-kwɔ:z		
Hun-6	"		
Shama	a-kopa hɛragir		
Rɔgɔ-2	a-kopa yə		
Səgəmuk	a-kopa hɛragir		
Cinda-BC	opá:li:e		
Cinda	opa rə		
Regi	opa yə		
Kuki	opa yə		
Basa-BC	wó:ʃi		
Fungwa-BC	kùjɪyò		
Rin	wɛʃi		bihàndà
Salka	ú:ʃi		

Agwara-BC kà-màngà

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

alásə

**Fifty**

**Sixty**

**Seventy**

cLela	kwɛc ill ən o:pa	kwɛc tæcu	kwɛc tæcu ən o:pa
Gwamhɪ Ror	ɛr-ʃiki yə ɔhɔ əʔʃikəʔtjə:rəʔɔp	ɛr-ʃiki tətə əʔʃikəʔtət	ɛr-ʃiki tətə ɔhɔ əʔʃikəʔtətəʔɔp

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

**Eighty**

**Ninety**

**Hundred**

cLela-BC			zəŋgú
cLela	kwɛc ə nase	kwɛc ə nase ən o:pa	zəŋgu, kwɛc tan
cLela	kwɛcnase	"	"
Gwamhyə Ror	ɛr-ʃiki də nasə əʔʃikən:á:s	ɛr-ʃiki də nasə ɔhɔ əʔʃikən:á:səʔɔp	zəŋgo əʔʃikəʔtán
Hun-BC Hun-5			ù-zùŋgú o-zuŋgu
Shama Rəgə			bwəni bwe kwəpɛʔO
Cinda Regi Kuki			dowi dei dəyi opa
Rubasa			idipi-iyebi
Fungwa-BC Rin Rin-2			ikwà:ku dari [< H.] dari
Cicipu Salka			dāri àməŋgátɔ́, əməŋgèré nùʃí
Rop Shuba Shen Reshe			ri-noku

	Thousand	Many	All
cLela		hwedi	kwe
cLela-BC	zəŋgu o:pa		
cLela	zəŋgu o:pa	hwedi	"
Gwamhyə		n-kyau	pyaddø
Gwamhyə		dɔʔɔ, doʔə	pyate
Fakai-A		u-tat	bet
Ror	ətkókətɔp (S) u-zangu (R)	ūtát	bɛ:t
Jiir			u-cən
Hun-A		de	kwe
Hun-5	o-dubu	dɛ:ŋg	kap
Hun-6	o-dubu	o-mor	mai
Shama	[< H.]	dɛya	kuci
Rɔgɔ-2	mai-dubu [< H.]		sabɛ
Səgəmuk		ma-maiʔowa	səbɛ
Cinda-1		kwafɛ	sabɛ
Cinda-2		kwafi	sabi
Cinda-4			sabɛ
Cinda	dubunda	yaw	sabɛ
Rɛgi		to-kwaf	sabɛ
Kuki		ɛ-kwaf	sabɛ
Rubasa	akpaku ata		
Rin	yawa [< H.]	ʔótó	ʃwa
Rin-2		hwárápí	hyua
Salka	kkpákú kkúppá,ú:-gbáá		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe	ú-dubu [< H.]		

7. Interrogatives, particles etc.

	Who?	What?	Why?	Where?	When?	Which?
cLela	wɛ	yɛ	remen-yɛ			
cLela	"	i-yɛ	"			
Gwamhyə	wa hanne	yaha <sup>ʔ</sup> o				
Gwamhyə	wa hane	yaho	yaha <sup>ʔ</sup> o			
Fakai-A	wane	yana				
Ror	waná	jánó	rémùjàn	éhè		dáʔəhè
Hun-A	wa	ya				
tHun	wa, wɔ					
Hun-east	wa:	ya:	rəmənyɑ:			
Hun-west	wanəe	ya, yan ri re nɛ nɛ	yəndɔ	ke		ke
Shama	gə	iyə	zom-iyə			
Rɔgɔ	ambai	yabe	zɔ-iyə			
Cinda-1	gamba	i-yak				
Cinda-2	bambwɔn	bwa-yab				
Cinda-4	gamba	yaba				
Cinda	gamb	ya	zom-iyar			
Regi	gamb	ya:b	hazom-aya			
Kuki	gamba	ya:b	zom-aya			
Rin	iyá	imbè imbátá	wanabĩ	pée pyékátá	ná	iyó
Rin	iya	ibĩ	nuwanabĩ			
Ndəkə	aya	abie	ibifa			
Basa-Benue				ceé	akana	
Cicipu	yàanú	èné		hànú	ánà ín	
Salka	záné	yyén		té	yà:ǰí:né	záné
Rop						
Shuba						
Shen						
Reshe						
	<b>This</b>	<b>That</b>	<b>Here</b>	<b>There</b>		
<b>Northwest</b>						
cLela Zuru						
cLela Ribah						
tHun						
sSaare						
Gwamhyə						
Wurə						

**Kag cluster**

Kag  
Fere  
Jiir  
Kər  
Koor  
Ror  
Us  
Zuksun

**Basa cluster**

Basa Kontagora  
Basa-Gumna  
Koromba  
Basa-Gurara  
Basa-Benue                   ata       epe       apata  
Basa-Makurdi

**Kamuku group**

Shama  
Rəgə  
Səgəmək  
Cinda                               pìnə       pítù  
Regi  
Kuki  
Hungwəryə

**Shiroro**

Fungwa  
Rin  
Rin Awəgə  
Gurmana  
Ndəkə  
Hìpina  
Rubu  
Wāyā

**Kambari**

Cicipu                   dō           célé       dóò       lèè  
                             mpà       ʔzá'indè  
Salka  
Tsuvađi  
Baangi  
Tsikimba  
Agwara

Rop  
Shuba  
Shen  
Reshe

Appendix: Ethnonyms

	Hausa sg.	Hausa pl.	Hausa Language
cLela	ək-kɔgɔ	kɔg-nɔ	əc-
Gwamhyə		a-kwani	kwani
Ror	wa-kwundi (R)		
Fer	wɔ-ganə		
Hun-east	ko-gana	gana-ne, yæge-gana	
Hun-west	ku-gana	ət-gana, ər-gana	
Shama	ε-kware	mə-kwɔre	ta-kwɔre
Rɔgɔ	e-kware		
Səgəmuk	kε-kɔri		
Cinda-4	kuya		
Cinda	kɔra	mɔ-kɔra	tɔ-kɔra
Rɛgi	kwɔya	mɔ-kwɔya	tɔ-kwɔya
Kuki	kɔrə	mɔ-kɔrə	tɔ-kɔrə
Cicipu	kɔgɔ		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			



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	<b>Fulani sg.</b>	<b>Fulani pl.</b>	<b>Fulfulde</b>
cLela	ək-boroji	boroʝ-ni	əc- "
cLela	ək-pələto kə-boroji	pələt-no boroʝ-ni	fulani-ni
Gwamhyə	wa-fulani	am-fulani	fulani
Ror	wɔ-fulani (R)		
Hun-east	ko-boroji	yæŋɛ-boroji	ət-boroji
Hun-west	ku-pɛ:to		ər-pɛ:to
Shama	a-fərat	ʃə-pərat	tə-pərat
Rɔgɔ	a-pɛrani		
Səgəmuk	ka-həra:n		
Cinda	ʔà-pèuàtà	ʃe-pərat	tə-pərat
Rɛgi	a-fəlat	ʃe-pəlat	tə-fəlat
Kuki	a-fərat	ʃe-pərat	
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	<b>English sg.</b>	<b>English pl.</b>	<b>English (Lang)</b>
cLela	bature kans con-goc-ne [man of red ears]	turawa-na	əc-turanci
cLela	"	"	turanci
Gwamhyə	əb-bature		əd-turanci
Ror	wɔ-bature (R)		
Hun-east	ko-bature		
Hun-west	ku-bature	turawa-nɛ	ər-təranɛi
Shama	ha-nasal	ʃi-nasal	tə-nasal
Rɔgɔ	batur		
Cinda	baturi	tərau	turanci
Rɛgi	batur		
Kuki	nasal	u-nasal	tu-turənc
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	<b>Muslim</b>	<b>Christian</b>
cLela	kan sala	kas-gaba
cLela	kan amda clumku	"
Gwamhyə- 3	wan sala	wa b-dalo
Shama	musulmi [< H.]}	krīsta [< H.]
Cinda	məsələm	krīsta
Rēgi	bəgaba sala	krīstA
Kuki	məsələm	krīsta
Rop		
Shuba		
Shen		
Reshe		

	<b>cLela sg.</b>	<b>cLela pl.</b>	<b>cLela</b>
cLela	kə-lela	lel-na	c -lela
Gwamhyə	wa-kwanda a-kwanda	kwanda-ta,	ət-kwanda
Ror	wə-ril (R)		
Hun-east	ko-ri <sup>?</sup> er	yæge-ri <sup>?</sup> er	ət-ri <sup>?</sup> er
Hun-west	ku-ril		ər-ril
Shama	o-dakakarī		
Cinda	bə-dəkəri		
Rēgi	bə-dəkəkəi		
Cicipu	hwí <sup>?</sup> i	èhwí <sup>?</sup> i	
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

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	<b>Dukawa sg.</b>	<b>Dukawa pl.</b>	<b>Dukawa (Lang)</b>
cLela	ək-hunu	hun-nu	əc-hunu
cLela	ku-hunu	"	
Gwamhyə	dukawa	dukawa-nɛ	əd-dukanci
Ror	wə-dukku (R)		
Fer	wau-sa:ri		
Hun-east	ku-hun	hun-nɛ	ət-hun
Hun-west	ku-sa:re		əs-sa:re
Shama	ba-duk		
Cinda	ba-dəkəri [= LELA]		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	<b>Kambari sg.</b>	<b>Kambari (Pl)</b>	<b>Kambaranci</b>
cLela	ək-kamberi	kamber-ni	əc-kambarci, c-kamberi
cLela	kəmbəri	kəmbər-ni	c-kəmbəri
Gwamhyə	əb-kamberi	a-kamberi	kamber-ni
Ror	wa-kəmbəri (R)		
Fer	wəu-bar		
Hun-east	ko-bar	yæɣɛ-bar	ət-bar
Hun-west	"		ər-bar, əm-bar
Shama	a-kambar	kambaratətə	
Cinda	kamberi	kamberi	
Régi	bə-kambai		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

**Comparative Kainji: Main text Roger Blench and Stuart McGill Circulation draft**

	<b>Fakawa sg.</b>	<b>Fakawa pl.</b>	<b>Fakanci</b>
LelaA	kə-wipsi	wips-ni	cə-wipsi
4B	ək-kəpsamyare	kəpsamyar-ne	əc-kəpsamyare
4C	kə-bagele	bagel-ne	əc-bagele
cLelaA	kə-wipsi	wips-ni	
B	kə-pəku	pək-nu	c-pəku
C	kə-gəri	gər-ni	
GwamhyəB	əb-fakai		
3D	əb-kəle		
Ror-A.1	wɔ-zuksun	a-zuksun	ət-zuksun
Ror-A.2	was-fər	æs-fər	ət-fər
Ror-B.1	wɔ-kag	kag-nɛ	ət-kag
Ror-B.2	wɔ-ror	a-ror	ət-ma-ror
Ror-B.3	wɔ-kɔ:r	a-kɔ:r	
Ror-B.4	wɔ-us	æs-us	
Ror-C	wɔ-ji:r	jiir	ət-ji:r
Ror-D	wɔ-kər	kər	
Jiir-A.1		æs-kwək	
Fər-B.4	wa-usut		
Hun-eastC	ko-jor	yæge-jor	ət-jor
Hun-westB	ko-kag	kag-nɛ	
Hun-westC	ku-jər		
Rop			
Shuba			
Shen			
Reshe			

	<b>Bangawa sg.</b>	<b>Bangawa (Pl)</b>	<b>Banganci</b>
cLela		gwamhɪ	
Gwamhyəa	wa-gwamhɪ 3b wa-wuri	a-gwamhɪ a-wuri	wuri
Jiir		lias-nɛ	

	<b>Katsinawa sg.</b>	<b>Hungwəryə sg.</b>	<b>Acipa sg.</b>
Shama	ba-cɪna bətwai	ba-ŋgwe	bɔ-cɛpɔ
Rɔgɔ			bə-cɛp
Səgəmuk			bə-səgəmuk
Cinda	ba-kasɪn	ba-həŋgwər	bɔ-cɛp
Rɛgi	ba-kasɪn	ŋgwe	cɛp
Kuki	ba-kacɪn	u-hungwərə	bɔ-cɛp
Cicipu			cɪpù pl. àcɪpù

	<b>Bauci sg.</b>	<b>Rin sg.</b>	<b>Basa sg.</b>
Shama	bauc	poŋɔ	bas:
Cinda	bawc	bo-paŋgu	bo-bas:
Rɛgi	bu-bowc	bə-paŋgu	bo-bas

Shama	<b>Yoruba sg.</b> bə-rəbi
Cinda Rɛgi	bo-yorabaw bə-yorabaw

	<b>Cinda sg.</b>	<b>Cinda (Pl)</b>	<b>Cinda (Lang)</b>
Shama	bə-cindA	cindA	tə-cindA
Cinda	ʃindí	ʃindí	ʃindí
Rɛgi	bu-cinda	cinda	tə-cinda
Kuki	bu-cinda	cinda	tə-cinda

	<b>Rɛgi sg.</b>	<b>Rɛgi (Pl)</b>	<b>Rɛgi (Lang)</b>
Shama	bə-rɛgi	a-rɛgi	tə-rɛgi
Rɔɔ	bə-rɛg		
Cinda	bù-ɔ́ɣi	a-rɛgi	tə-rɛgi
Rɛgi	bə-gaba rɛg	a-rɛg	tə-rɛg
Kuki	bə-rɛgi	a-rɛgi	tə-rɛgi

	<b>Kuki sg.</b>	<b>Kuki (Pl)</b>	<b>Kuki (Lang)</b>
Shama	ba-kɔrɛk	a-kɔrɛk	tɔ-kɔrɛk
Sɛgɛmuk	bɔ-tiyara		
Cinda	bə-kuk	kuk	tə-kukɪ
Rɛgi	bə-kuk	kukɪ	tə-kuk
Kuki	bu-kuk	ɛiba kuk	tə-yala

Sɛgɛmuk response given to ba-Kamuke

	<b>Shama sg.</b>	<b>Shama (Pl)</b>	<b>Shama (Lang)</b>
Shama	bu-ʃamA	ɛ-ʃamA	tə-ʃamA
Rɔɔ	bu-ʃam		
Cinda	bɔ-ʃam	a-ʃam	tɔ-ʃam
Rɛgi	bu-ʃam	a-ʃam	tə-ʃam
Kuki	bu-ʃama		tə-ʃamu

	Rɔgɔ sg.	Rɔgɔ pl.	Rɔgɔ (lang)
Shama	ba-rɔgɔ	a-rɔgɔ	tə-rɔgɔ
Rɔgɔ	bə-rɔg	a-rɔgo	tə-rɔg
Cinda	bə-rɔg	a-rɔg	tə-rɔg
Rɛgi	bə-rɔgo	a-rɔgo	tə-rɔg
Kuki		a-rɔg	tə-rɔgɔ

Branch	Subgroup	Language			
Lake	Shuba	Rop			
	Laru	Shuba Shen			
Reshe		Reshe			
Northwest	Lela	cLela Zuru cLela Ribah			
		Hun	tHun sSaare		
	Gwamhi	Gwamhyə Wurə			
		ut-Ma'in	Mba Kag Fer Jiir Kər Koor Ror Us Zuksun		
	?		Damakawa Basa Kontagora Basa-Gumna Kərɔmba Basa-Gurara Basa-Benué Basa-Makurdi		
			Kamuku	Shama Rogo-Shyabe Səgəruk Cinda Regi Kuki Zubazuba Hungwəryə	
				Shiroro	Fungwa Rin Wəgə Gurmana
					Baushi

Branch	Subgroup	Language
Kambari		CiShingini
		Tsivadi
		Baangi
		Tsikimba
		Agwara
		Cicipu

**Commentary:** H.

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