A Linguistic Sketch of Tiba (Gà)
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En outre, nous avons mis à jour les données concernant le yendang (Adamaoua 5) en introduisant les résultats d’une enquête plus détaillée effectuée en 1999 et concernant le tchamba-leko en tirant sur le lexique approfondi publié par Fabre (2003).

L’interprétation la plus directe de cette documentation permet d’affirmer l’appartenance probable de cette langue au groupe mumuye-yendang de la branche Adamaoua de la famille Niger-Congo, malgré l’assimilation massive de termes empruntés au tchamba-daka qui l’entoure et qui est connu et utilisé en bilinguisme parfait par les Tiba. En effet, l’hypothèse contraire qui ferait du tiba une langue dont l’ancêtre le plus proche serait une « proto-tchamba » exigerait la supposition d’un temps historique assez long de contact avec une langue du groupe Adamaoua 5 de Greenberg dont le tiba aurait emprunté une grosse partie du vocabulaire. Or, nous n’avons aucun motif qui laisserait penser qu’une fois les Tiba auraient vécu isolés des Tchamba pendant une époque où leur langue aurait divergé du tchamba pour arriver à l’état où on le trouve aujourd’hui.

Par ailleurs nous continuons à penser que le classement du tchamba parmi les langues bantoïdes, hypothèse courante depuis Bendor-Samuel (1989), constitue une aberration malgré les influences manifestes d’une ou de plusieurs langues Benoué-Congo (Boyd 1997). Le reclassement étant fondé sur une étude lexicostatistique, d’ailleurs de portée limitée, il injecte un composant détonnant dans la méthode de Greenberg avec qui il faut continuer à affirmer : « Regarder, vous le verrez ».

Ces conclusions sont donc en contradiction avec la classification établie par Ethnologue : http://www.ethnologue.com/language/ttb
I.0. Introduction

The Tiba area can be reached at present by leaving the main Gombe-to-Yola road in the direction of Mayo Belwa, then continuing on through Jada towards Ganye via the longer route passing by Mbulo. The traveler will then turn westward at Mbulo towards Tola. Some twenty kilometers beyond the town of Pola lies Gambe, the Tiba center on this axis. Most Tiba people nevertheless reside, not in Gambe, but in hamlets on the surrounding hills. There are no census data or any means of counting the number of Tiba speakers, but a local speculative guess puts the figure at less than ten thousand.

The Tiba tend to shun outsiders, as many mountain peoples do. It was therefore with some difficulty that we found an informant, after several people had promised to help us and then not appeared. Finally, we were able to contact Abdullahi, called Awdi, son of VwèkKààmì and resident in the hamlet of KékPáán. He was unable to give himself a precise age but would seem to be in his early thirties.

It will be noticed that Awdi's father's name and the name of his hamlet are Chamba Daka (hereafter CD). This is said to be ordinary among the Tiba, i.e., at least when Islam was less widespread, they traditionally gave themselves CD names, and are certainly all fully bilingual in this language. They are also said to have adopted Chamba customs, but this has not been verified in any way. A doubt would even seem to be cast on this
affirmation insofar as Awdi did not give an identical term for the fundamental Chamba institution of lángsí, and in fact seemed unclear about its exact nature.

The Tiba (Tíbá in CD) do not use this name for themselves. Rather, they call themselves àGàá nìá 'Tiba people') and their language àgà ànéá ('Tiba mouth', i.e., 'Tiba language'). Roger Blench has called to our attention the fact that there is a word of the form tiba in the Adamawa group 4 language "Momi", which means 'blacksmith'. Now neither the Tiba themselves nor the surrounding Chamba seem to have any recollection that smithing was an original role of this people. While it may be that there was interethnic blacksmithing in this region (i.e., that one ethnic group would seek its blacksmith population among a neighboring group), and that this original relationship is now forgotten in the case of the Tiba, it may also be that terms for 'blacksmith' are not always obtained as some derivate of the terms for 'forge', 'to forge', or some other notion associated with smithing, but rather from words meaning 'outsider, stranger' (cf. CD dōō 'stranger, outsider, pagan', "a pejorative term for stranger, especially non-Chamba speakers, applied in particular to 'less developed' neighbors", Richard Fardon, pers. comm.). The common term for the Tiba people and for Momi blacksmiths may thus signify simply that both are viewed as "outsiders" with respect to their neighbors.

Our survey was conducted entirely in Nnakenyaare CD, as Awdi had practically no knowledge of English. Isa Saadu, a teacher currently resident in Pola, was present throughout in order to provide all the necessary clarifications. It might be feared that, if the informant were not committed and alert, such a procedure would tend to throw up large numbers of CD loanwords. There were indeed many cases in which the Tiba term was identical with the one recorded in CD, and it is possible that some of these cases may be attributable to the informant's fatigue after hours of the mechanical repetition required of him in the early stages of this survey. Nevertheless, the bulk of the lexical data is clearly distinct from CD, consisting either of different roots or of cognates showing important phonological variations. Grammatical and syntactic features, too, were characteristic, though often showing interesting correlations with CD. Our impression is that the degree of CD/Tiba interference was minimal.

Our sessions with Awdi took place over a period of exactly six days (plus a short additional session in 1998 to obtain further information on the pronominal system). While
the author is practiced in linguistic survey work, it should be clear to everyone that, given
the conditions, the data presented here are very far from sufficient for a reliable description
of Tiba. The attempt has nevertheless been made to suggest some kind of analysis for most
of the salient features of the language. The reader will take these analyses for no more than
what they are worth: nothing said here is not subject to review in the light of further
research.

I.2. A cognate search

Tiba is a language concerning which practically no published information exists. Williamson (1989:269) calls it a "newly-reported" Benue-Congo language, insofar as the
first linguistic knowledge concerning it came from survey work in the 1980's by Roger
Blench. Williamson cites three terms in Tiba ('man', 'one', 'neck'), the first of which is
assumed to be a "Benue-Congo innovation", the other two being "older [NC] roots". No
other basis for classification is cited. In the same volume, Hedinger (1989:424), referring
back to an unpublished paper by Blench and Williamson (1987), cites Tiba as a separate
branch of "Northern Bantoid"; Blench (1993) includes it with CD in "Dakoid".

The purpose of this article is not to dispute the classification of Tiba, though on a
wider scale, the author would certainly dispute the usefulness of forcing many of the
linguistic isolates in this region of intense contact into any branching sub-family structure,
particularly in the case of NC languages. We simply note that a) Tiba is classifiable in
Greenbergian terms as Adamawa (hereafter AD); indeed, if CD is assigned to AD, it is
inconceivable, on the basis of the material presented here, that Tiba should not be. b) Tiba is
located in fairly close proximity to undisputedly AD languages (there are predominantly
Mumuye settlements only a few kilometers away). It is therefore pertinent to examine what
similarities exist on the linguistic level between Tiba and AD; we leave to other interested
parties the task of working out the relationships which may exist between Tiba and other
language groups1. Unfortunately, the published lexical data on a number of languages which
might interest us, particularly AD groups 52 (precisely the one containing Mumuye), 8
(Kam), and 9 (Jen/Munga), are scarce (limited practically to Meek 1931). Nevertheless, we
have ourselves been able to obtain a set of some 500 lexical items in Yendang3 (the other
part of AD5), and we are fortunate to have some fairly extensive material from the Mumuye
portion of AD5 (Shimizu 1983), from AD4 (Blench and Edwards 1988 for Momi, Raen
1985 for Pere, Bohnhoff 1991 for Dii or Duru), and from at least one AD2 language, Chamba Leko, hereafter CL (an unpublished wordlist from the Balkossa Literacy Center).

All the AD languages cited above are conceivably part of a larger AD grouping (see Boyd 1989a:179-80, where an AD2, 4, 5 subgroup was mooted), which we may provisionally call "Southwestern Adamawa" (SWAD). Since a first look at the data reveals a multiplicity of striking lexical similarities between Tiba and SWAD, this paper will concentrate on specifying as many of these as possible.

Obviously, any cognate search can be extended to other AD groups. One of these would be another AD grouping including AD6 (Mbum) and AD13 (Bua). In this paper, we shall indeed incorporate data from a few languages chosen fairly arbitrarily for accessibility of material. Four of these are from AD6: Mbum (Hino 1978), Karang, Koh (Ubel's, n.d.), and Pana (Lim 1997), belonging to the "Central" group (Boyd 1989a:185); three others are from AD13: Kulaal, Kwa (not the Kwa surveyed by Kleinewillinghöfer 1996) and Niellim, using unpublished word lists prepared by Pascal Boyeldieu (n.d.), including material collected by Claude Pairault for Kulaal (cf. Boyeldieu 1985, Pairault 1969), among others. While some interesting correlations are revealed, this search is of greater interest as an illustration of the phenomenon of "diminishing returns" than for providing new AD links for Tiba. A check of the AD6/13 citations will show that the majority of these are either cases of common AD (or NC) roots, or proof of the classificatory separation of the two groupings involved, or both. In few cases do they provide the only available cognates for Tiba roots. On the other hand, there are numerous citations from only one or more languages from AD2/4/5. If we extend our search again to AD11 Fali (see Sweetman 1981), we will find even less unique citations, barely one or two, e.g., sip- 'bury' (cf. Tiba sît 'bury' and sîb 'under'). Open-ended search processes are therefore of little use. Indeed, it will often quickly become apparent which languages give "results" (multiplicity and plausibility of cognates unattested on a wider scale) and which do not. Perhaps inevitably, the ones which do give "results" are close or fairly close geographical neighbors, or at least those with which recent historical contact can be affirmed.

There is, however, a third grouping, namely "Northwestern Adamawa" (NWAD) as defined by Kleinewillinghöfer 1996 (including AD7 Yungur, AD10 Longuda, AD1 Waja, AD9 Jen, and Bikwin and Kwa groups, unknown to Greenberg). A cognate search bringing
this set of languages into play would be of considerable interest, particularly in view of the presence of AD2 Jen. Indeed, a check of the Jen and Munga lists presented by Meek (1931) reveals a certain number of interesting correlations, more in any case than with the other NWAD languages cited in that work. Furthermore, Kleinewillinghöfer stresses the affinities between the Jen and Bikwin groups and notes that neither has a noun classification system, unlike the other NWAD languages. A wider comparison between SWAD and NWAD is therefore in order; this, however, will not be the subject of this paper. We shall here do no more than cite the relevant entries in Meek's Jen/Munga lists.

Naturally, given Tiba's geographical position, one hardly expects to find any BC language which could provide cognation on the same level as that provided by the AD2/4/5 grouping. This, of course, does not prove the classificatory position of Tiba in any more than a Greenbergian sense. In the light of basic vocabulary, CD and Tiba remain peripheral with respect to AD, each containing numerous items apparently unattested elsewhere. On the basis of a wider vocabulary, of course, CD and Tiba will group in the same way that CD and CL do, despite the surveyor's intuitive impression that these languages are markedly different.

Given the sparseness of data on some crucial languages, we shall proceed here in two steps: we begin by presenting a list of nominal roots, drawn from the lists used by Meek. Our first set of 38 nominals will show that there is a considerable degree of lexical concordance between Tiba and SWAD. This connection strikes one as stronger than the link between CD and AD (involving almost exclusively AD2 CL). As usual, however, two conclusions are possible: 1) there is some kind of fairly distended genetic grouping involved; or 2) these are contact phenomena of fairly ancient date, in which case the arrival of CD on the scene would hypothetically be more recent and of a nature such as to engulf certain smaller groups, but with little effect on a wider geographical scale.

The second set of 16 nominals shows how close the relationship between Tiba and CD is. In many cases, the degree of resemblance and the absence of cognacy elsewhere suggest that borrowing in the near past is the only plausible way to account for the present situation. In other cases, however, the phonological divergence is such that, if borrowing is indeed involved, it cannot be so recent.
In the final list of 19 nominals, the individuality of Tiba comes to the fore. This set includes items which either have no apparent CD or AD cognacy, or require the assumption of considerable phonological change to account for any correspondences.

In a part II of this study, we state all the tentative conclusions which we were able to reach with regard to phonology, tonology, morphology, and grammatical marking in Tiba, compare the situations in Tiba and CD, and provide a full Tiba-English word list, with all additional putative AD cognates which we have been able to find in the sources cited.
LIST 1: ADAMAWA COGNATES FOR TIBA NOUNS WITH GLOSSES IN MEEK'S WORDLISTS

Notation: In CD, we use the characters ə, Ʉ to represent high mid vowels and e, o to represent low mid vowels; q represents a mid central vowel. For ease of typography and comparison, we have transposed material available in other languages cited here to this system whenever the distinction in mid vowel heights is clearly pertinent (the contrast is thus not marked for mid front vowels in Pere as it has no role in the native lexical stock). In the particularly complicated Dii system, both e, o and barred i, u are represented by ə, Ʉ; this is unlikely to cause confusion, given the almost total complementary distribution of the vowel heights concerned. Consonant notation is conventional; note only that vw represents a labial flap and ’ is used for glottal stop. In tonal notation, / represents downstep, while Ʉ represents any vowel bearing the suprahhigh tone in the four-register Yendang system. (Given the provisional nature of the Momi data, these are noted without tones.)

Meek's data are given in his nonphonetic notation, with the exception that ng is noted n where necessary.

In this part of the paper, Tiba nouns are presented in citation form, i.e., with â- or â/- prefix and final -á (the latter undergoing diverse alterations as described in part II). The retention of the prefix clarifies certain correspondences in Kam (AD8) where a similar element is apparently prefixed to many nouns. The prefix is dropped in the list in Part II.

Each set of items is arranged alphabetically by English gloss.

• (S)WAD cognates

 â-áŋ-á 'arm, hand'
CD wáá, the general root in AD2/5/7/8/9 is nasal + central or front vowel + nasal

 â-tó-á 'bow'
CD táám, AD2 CL táb, AD4 Momi taau, Pere tábò, AD5 Zing Mumuye (hereafter ZM) tá(k)à, Yendang tát, Meek AD8 Kam ace, cf. AD9 Jen kanto, Munga kantau; also PP *ta
à-bàk-á 'bushcow'
AD5 ZM bàkà, Meek Yendang bàt

à-kǎŋkèlóá 'chicken'
AD5 ZM kįŋ, cf. Meek AD8 Kam kumè; there is no nasal in AD2, thus CL kò, cf. CD kpàá, AD4 Momi kəz, AD6 Mbum káká vs. Koh kāy; the nasal reappears with a back vowel in AD4 Pere kōnì, the initial consonant is voiced in Meek's AD7 Yungur go; note a root in part of AD13, represented in Kulaal by hàlá, suggesting the Tiba term may involve two roots of similar meaning; also cf. terms for 'guinea-fowl'

à-nàmèn-á 'crocodile'
CD nàmèn, CL nàbàn, AD4 Pere nàmâné, Meek AD5 Yendang name

à-nákà 'cow'
AD4 Momi nogs and Pere nàgò, Meek AD5 Yendang nákì, AD6 Koh nákà, cf. PP *niak; but CD, AD2 CL nà, also in AD7; AD4 Dii has ndà, AD5 ZM has nàpò

à-bý-á 'dog'
Meek AD7 Yungur bwe, Mboi abwa; possible cognacy with the AD6 series Mbum goì, Karang gáy, Kare vàì; *bu is also PP

à-níŋ-á 'drum'
Meek AD2 Mumbake riŋgíma

à-tóó 'eat'
CD tàà, AD5 ZM shòò (derivation from an earlier *twà, or *tue as in Common Bantu, seems patent), Yendang tòk; the velar c₂ is widespread: AD2 CL túńg, AD4 Momi tok, Pere tògò, Dii tòg, cf. AD6 Karang sùk

à-éŋ-á 'egg'
ZM wŋąkàa; note Meek AD5 Yendang hàt, Kumba pa; the full AD5 set suggests cognacy with the widespread "pàŋg" form (cf. AD2 CL bóòd, AD10 Longuda fòla, AD14 Niellim hwáánnì)
à-ìsà‘eye'
yír/l forms are widely attested in non-Bantu Bantoid (along with si and li) and in AD13; otherwise, we have PP *gis, to be compared with Fali (AD11) nisi and Bantu A.90 Kako misí (also, of course, Fulfulde yeeso 'face', yiitere 'eye')

(à-)sè-é 'fingernail' (perhaps -sè-)
AD5 ZM saarí, Yendang sòò, Meek AD8 Kam aciri-, AD9 Jen/Munga cina-

à-nê-á 'four'
AD4 Pere náro, Dii ndàdó, ZM dneeró, CL náará, Meek AD5 Yendang náí, AD8 Kam nar; compare AD6 Karang níŋ, Kare nèŋ, Mbum nyàŋ

à-vúń-á 'goat'
CD víń, AD2 CL vá, Meek Wom/Mumbake vua, AD4 Momí buuz, AD5 Yendang búa, Kumba wúi, Gengle/Kugama ayi, AD9 Munga naŋbu, AD6 Karang gúy, Koh vúy, AD13 Niellim bìway

à-kpàngúm-tá 'groundnut(s)'
CD kpàŋy 'groundnut', gúum 'bambara groundnut', Meek AD2 Chamba (Leko) kpan[-]wara (now without the preposed term: wád)

à-gé rá 'guinea-corn'
Meek AD2 Wom gbera, cf. CL yéd, CD yírir; also see -háŋ- 'guinea-corn' below

à-sóksá' (body) hair'
AD4 Momí suuk 'hair', AD5 ZM sóò; a term noted súri by Meek (Yendang súří) 'hair (of head)' (Meek does not record 'body hair') is widespread in AD5 outside Mumuye, cf. Dong suk 'hair' (Blench 1997), AD6 Koh súy 'hair'; a comparable root appears in some A13 languages
à-gbó́m-á (gbóom) 'heart'
AD5 ZM gboóti

à-nyaăn-á 'horse'
CD nyáán, CL yá, Meek AD8 Kam yege
à-lúp-á 'knee'
CD húuí, CL líqād 'articulation', Meek AD2 Wom lijbera; AD5 Teme luŋ, Kumba nǐngi, Gengle/Kugama ruŋ, also Yendang (yā-)rünkā; AD8 Kam alunu (also A13 Bwa group d’rul vs. AD6 Kare (nzá-)tūù)

à-bǎk-á 'knife'
Meek AD8 Kam abak; cf. AD4 Dii pāg

yāásá 'leaf'
CL yāā and Meek AD5 Yendang nyākahē (yānkā, with classifier ḥē’), Waka nyāŋa, Teme jāŋa, AD9 Jen/Munga yangka

à-běj-á 'leg'
AD4 Momi bi ‘paw’

à-běj-ā 'leopard'
AD4 Pere bålām, cf. CD gbēč, AD5 ZM gbmee, Meek Yendang kpe (kpēč); the relationships between these roots AD2 CL gā, AD4 Momi gooz, and Meek AD7 fila, vīla, ivula, AD8 impeli, AD9 hwi, vwi is obscure

à-nyēm-ā 'meat'
Meek AD9 Jen hīā, Munga xiam; other instances of this root in AD2, 7, 8 are not palatalized; this well-known NC root reappears in AD13 Kulaal nyām, Niellim nyām

(à-)fēn-ā 'moon'
AD6 Karang fēuv, Meek AD7 Yungur -fē, -fā, AD9 Jen/Munga fī, hwī (Kleinenwillinghöfer 1996 records cases of nasal vowels); also in AD13: Kulaal fḗ, Niellim pyā́, PP *pyan has reflexes in both initial f and s, cf. ‘sun’

à-dōk-ā 'mountain'
Meek AD8 Kam adaŋ

à-kāŋ-ā 'neck'
Meek AD5 Gengle/Kugama kōŋ, AD7 Libo kwēnena; elsewhere in groups 5 and 7, the forms are kir, kwer, kor, cf. AD2 CL kōól, AD4 Pere kōlāŋ; also cf. ‘shoulder’
à-jí-á 'night'
AD4 Pere zègò 'darkness', AD5 ZM zii, Meek Kumba jim

à-bóŋ-á 'river'
Meek AD5 Yendang boŋko (bōnkō), Waka banggo, etc., AD2 CL wūŋ. But the root is also apparently in "Mambiloid" Nizaa

à-yōkūm-á 'salt'
Meek AD2 Mumbake nyuŋ, AD4 Pere yōŋ, Meek AD9 Jen jukwē; also cf. CD nyēnūm 'kind of salt', AD2 CL nwūum

à-yō-á 'snake'
CD yēgē, cf. Meek AD9 Jen dzo, Munga zqu, AD7 Mboi za, Libo i[-]zonya, and all apparent cognates with initial s in AD5 and 7; also cf. AD4 Dii yō 'slough off (old skin)'; while this root is best known in BC (cf. Bantu *-j/yökà), it is also found in languages presumably subjected to little BC influence such as AD11 Fali joo and Ubangi Gbaya gōk

à-té-é 'stone'
AD5 ZM tara, Meek Yendang tari (tāřī ), AD8 Kam atal, AD9 Jen/Munga te (cf. AD6 Karang -səw); PP *ta

à-lér-á 'tongue'
Meek AD2 Wom lela, AD5 ZM rëetē, Yendang lēkā, but CD láŋ

à-tār-á 'three'
CD tārā, ZM tat, CL tōŋrā, Meek AD5 Yendang tat (tāt), AD7 Yungur (tī)ta, Libo tar(in), AD8 Kam car, AD9 Jen (wa)ta

à-ti-á 'tree'
AD4 Momi te; the root is also clearly represented in Meek AD5 Yendang (tēŋ'), Waka, Teme and AD2 Mumbake, CL tē, cf. CD tīm with final nasal (AD10 Longuda shows a plural form with final -m, Kleinewillinghöfer 1996); also cf. AD13 Kulaal tēŋ, Niellim tēlā, but AD6 Kare dī
à-lôm-á 'war'
AD4 Dii lûû 'make war'; cf. AD6 Koh yûû, Mbum nyû

à-jûjûjú-á 'water'
Meek AD2 Lekon (Chamba Leko) nyuquna, cf. Wom/Mumbake yîla, CL wôl; also compare AD4 Dii zûj 'urine', zîn 'river'; possibly connected with the AD13 root represented in Kulaal by îm but elsewhere by rim forms

- Cognate in CD

à-wér-á (wêc) 'arrow'
CD wàrá

à-d(û)um-á 'back, behind'
CD dim(ââ): primarily a BC root (particularly Bantu and Cross River), represented regionally in Vute and Mambila; the best AD correlate is Dii dûn 'beyond, on the other side'

à-yôsûn-á 'breast'
CD nyôsà: cf. PP *basan; compare AD2 CL vûûm, AD4 Momi voom 'milk'

à-gàn-á 'chief'
CD gàng: possibly an areal root, though plausible cognates all show unusual correspondences, cf. Mambila gàng, AD2 CL gààd, AD4 Pere gênè, Dii gbûn, PP *gwam, among others

à-kônlû-á 'elephant'
CD kônlûá; CD has an apparently derived verb kônglî 'bend' from which this root may in turn derive (relating, for example, to the form of the tusks); note, however, the existence of Meek AD7 Roba lara and AD10 Longuda larawa, suggesting this root could also theoretically be an ancient compound (also cf. AD4 Pere gûnî)

à-tûn-á 'five'
CD tûmá: initial t- is characteristic of BC (AD has mostly n-); back v1 can be found, for example, in Jukunoid
à-tú-á 'head'  
CD tūi: a NC root; but SWAD (including AD5) has mostly initial y-, j- (or ø as in Yendang úk), cf. nevertheless AD4 Dii túń 'face'; AD6 (excluding Mbum) has túl

à-jëntá 'pot'  
CD jìi; see -wàlág- below

à-nyik-á 'lion'  
CD nyik, AD2 CL (gbàál-)nig

à-kémjí-á 'monkey'  
CD kèèm jìi, lit. 'red monkey': CB *-kímà (9/10)

à-(y)òn-á 'nose'  
CD nùmr, a well-represented NC root with many probable cognates in AD, though the correspondences are too complex for certainty, cf. for example AD2 CL púd, AD4 Pere gā, AD6 Mbum höök, Karang hókō but Koh múù, AD13 Niellim hùny

à-wòm-á 'oil'  
CD múm, but Mapeo Chamba 'úm; this need not be the well-represented no(m) root (cf. AD6 Karang núm), as CD also has nòò 'be fat' and derivates from it; but in AD13 where num is the common root, we also find Fanyan "mumè", according to Joly (1935); cf. Meek AD8 Kam man

à-kisë̄n-á 'slave'  
CD kàsë̄n, AD2 CL Meek kwasa (now found without the -s- suffix: kò’), apparently from a verb kò 'catch'

à-sám-á 'spear'  
CD sà̄mr, cf. ZM shàlày, suggestive of Chadic; also compare AD2 CL súd 'arrow', AD4 Dii sè́ 'war', sè́ 'arrow', AD5 ZM shön, Yendang sön, both 'arrow', and AD13 Kulaal sól, Niellim sàl, both 'combat'
à-ún-à 'tooth'
CD nùn. a NC root not well represented in AD unless cognacy can ultimately be established with AD2 CL náqál, AD4 Momi nuur, Pere núlè; cf. PP *niu

à-òt-tà 'two'
CD bàràrà. a very general root in BC; rop forms in Adawawa 1, 7 are likely metatheses of the consonant components of this root.

● No SWAD cognates

à-óg-à 'bee'
Closest neighboring AD roots are AD5 ZM wara (cf. Meek AD5 Yendang fòrì (vórí), Waka/Kumba vòrì, Teme vòbe), AD2 CL núùd (cf. Meek Wom ñòra); also compare AD4 Pere ólè 'honey'

à-lá-là 'belly'
n'la is well represented in Bantoid and presumably related to a PB *-dà (9); it is also present in Mambila; note that CD has nàà 'in, inside'

à/-gbà-à 'bird'
Related to AD4 Pere gáår 'bat' and/or gbàgò 'pigeon'?

à-lèkà 'blacksmith'
AD2 CL làmr, cognacy is hypothetical given that every AD group has a different characteristic root; also compare AD4 Dìì nàyì, cf. however 'forge' in list 2

à-gbàm-à (gbàám) 'blood'

à-òl-à 'door' (< mì 'close')?
à-gáj-sà 'fly'
All matches unsatisfactory: CD gëjë, AD4 Momi gumkàz, Pere gùì; cf. Meek AD5 Yendang group kù (kùn)
à-nyáà-á 'friend'
AD6 Karang yáh, Meek AD8 Kam apwa, but cognacy is hypothetical given that practically
every language has its own root for this gloss; CD mánàà is a derivate of màn- 'peer', often
used as a prefix.

à-háfn-á 'guinea-corn'
Cf. Meek AD5 Yendang koŋ (kón), Teme kom, AD7 Yungur/Roba koma

à-jý-á 'house'
Cf. AD5 ZM zhà(k)a, also Meek AD7 Mboi shudó, Libo ışhiria, Yungur hito; there are
apparent AD13 cognates: Kwa Perim jòō: 'house', Kwa Cini jùùrá 'woman's house'; cf. PP
*di, a root also represented in Voltaic

à-pígēe 'maize' (but curiously CD piği-gişi 'cassava')

à-ísá 'mat'
Cf. AD6 Karang hîh

à-kín-á 'one'
Meek AD5 Yendang bindi (bûntî), AD9 Jen ììng, compare Kleinewillinghöfer (1996:95-6),
who gives the initial consonant in the Jen group as ts, while the Bikwin group has either kw
or cw; this root is more widespread in NWAD (see Jungraithmayr 1968/9; also see Boyd
1989b); note the curious resemblance to AD4 Pere kinè 'compact, dense'

à-wálán-á 'pot'

(à-)hánmá 'rain'
Also means 'saliva'; cf. AD2 CL wân 'rain', also AD5 ZM sná 'rain (vb)', snááři 'saliva', AD6
Karang sám 'saliva'

à-gágá (gágá) 'road'
à-sé-é 'sun, God'
CD süü; the semantic equivalence is very widespread in SWAD languages; also AD6 Karang séh; note AD2 CL sò, AD4 Momi see, Pere sü, Dii sëë, Meek AD5 Yendang sì, se (nòò-sì), all meaning 'moon'

à-wóób-à 'ten'
Cf. AD4 Pere fôb; a widespread AD root is kop (cf. AD5 ZM kp, Yendang kòp, AD2 CL kób and Meek AD10 Hill Longuda kwoo); another is bu in AD7/8 and perhaps 9

(á-/)sáŋká 'toad, frog'
I.3. Conclusion

The author takes this opportunity to reaffirm his opinion that Greenberg's classification of African languages leaves little room for readjustment. By mass comparison, every language must find its place in a small number of inclusive groups. CD, for example, finds its place in AD on the basis of its lexical similarities with the languages of AD2 (morphology, even vestigial traces of morphology, count for little here). If, however, a closer look shows that AD2 languages are "rather like" AD4 languages but really "quite different" from CD, it does not then become helpful to leave AD2 in place and shunt CD around, particularly on the basis of a handful or less of putative "diagnostic" roots (cf. Bennett 1983; the same is valid for the treatment of Dong by Shimizu 1979). If we wish to exclude CD from AD (or better, from each of the parts of AD), our best solution is to "leave it nearby". By this is meant a nonclassificatory approach, seeking whatever lexical and morphological resemblances are to be found with languages in the immediate geographical neighborhood. We need not doubt that there will be many of these; but at the same time, there will be a small number of identities with more distant languages and groups, some of these quite surprising (for CD, Boyd 1994 cites, for example, a striking near-identity of the root for "wing" with the one found in Gurunsi, although Kleinewillinghöfer has now personally communicated similar forms in AD1 Waja and AD7 Yungur). Are such identities more significant than English/Farsi *bad*? We do not know, but unlike the case with English and Farsi, it is not at all easy for us to find out. This indeed is the crux of the matter: for many of the languages which interest us, we have no proper description; for most groups, we have no reliable reconstructions to any time depth; whatever the case, we have no documentary basis enabling us to check our historical hypotheses. Thanks to Greenberg, we can now say that the languages with which we are dealing in this paper are in the heart of a family called "Niger-Congo". This we need to know; but nothing whatsoever hangs on their subclassification. It is certainly a matter of the utmost indifference to know whether Platoid and CD had, several thousands or tens of thousands of years ago, a common ancestor that, say, AD2/4/5/8/9 did not, when we do not (and perhaps cannot) know anything about the intervening history of the two groups, prior at least to the 18th century. Language classification, indeed different kinds of language classification, have an important place in linguistics; but there is a time when classification, particularly of the "genealogical" (Manessy 1992) type has nothing further to offer, and we must rather turn, at least temporarily, to the individual languages to learn what they have to teach us.
NOTES

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1. Where obviously pertinent similarities exist, we shall nevertheless cite items from regional languages classified as Benue-Congo (BC), e.g., the "northern Bantoid" languages and Platoid, particularly Gerhardt's (1969) "Proto-Plateau" (PP) reconstructions. Common Bantu (CB) forms from Guthrie (1967/71) are also cited.

2. Numbers are those assigned by Greenberg (1963).

3. Ulrich Kleinewillinghöfer, who took a short list of around 100 terms in this language, recorded a name with harmonized vowels: Yandang. Our speaker, however, used the form as recorded by Meek (1931): nā yěndāj ‘Yandang language’, wɛɛ’ yěndāj-ù bĩnti ‘one Yendang person (child)’.

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A Linguistic Sketch of Tiba (Gb), Part II

by Raymond Boyd

II.0. Introduction

In this section, we present a set of observations, and the provisional conclusions reached concerning these observations, in the domains of phonology, morphology, and basic word order in simple constructions and predications.

II.1. Tiba phonology

a) CONSONANTS:

The initial consonant system of Tiba can be provisionally presented as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
m & \quad n \\
p & \quad f & t & s & k & km & kp \\
b & \quad v & d & j & g & gm & gb \\
& \quad d' \\
wv & \quad y & h & w \\
\end{align*}
\]

(The notation \(vw\) is used here for the labial flap found in many languages of this region. In this chart, \(y\) represents a palatal semivowel.)
Major differences with respect to Nnakenyaare Chamba Daka (CD) are:

i) A voiced "injective/plosive" contrast in the labial and dental orders. It will be noticed that the lexical frequency is such that this contrast might equally be envisaged as "fortis" (= injective) vs. "lenis" (plosive). To the ear, the $b/\theta$ contrast is less perceptible than $d/d'$; however, $d$ may be confused with $l$.

ii) Strangely, $f$ seems to be followed by unrounded vowels and $a$, but $v$ by rounded vowels and $a$. There is perhaps no $v/w$ contrast before the high front rounded vowel.

iii) The voiced palatal is affricated only before high front vowels; elsewhere it is a palatal fricative. The corresponding unvoiced consonant is a clear palatal fricative only before a high rounded front vowel; elsewhere, it is apical.

iv) There are postnasalized velar consonants (note that postnasals are also present in Mumuye, Shimizu 1983, but there duplicate almost the entire initial consonant system). The articulation of these consonants is such that they might just as well be described as postnasalized labiovelars.

v) There is a small number of terms having the structure: Initial aspirate velar ([kʰ, gʰ, h]) + High central vowel + $\eta$. (In fact, the relative weight of stop and aspiration is such that the phonetic notation might as well be [$^h\cdot h$, $^h\cdot h$].) Now it turns out that, while we have at least one initial $k\mathrm{uŋ}$, we nowhere have terms of the form $k\mathrm{iŋ}$, $g\mathrm{iŋ}$, $h\mathrm{iŋ}$, or $i\mathrm{iŋ}$. The latter are therefore reasonable phonological representations for these sequences; nevertheless, in our lists, they appear with vowel $a$ for easy identification of their peculiar nature. (Note that Shimizu 1983:13 also remarks central vowels before $\eta$ in ZM, and assigns them to phonological $i$, perhaps less convincingly insofar as his dictionary shows the preceding consonants to be arbitrary. Note a similar case in Tiba involving $q$ as $v_2$, $\dot{a}r\dot{a}q$ 'fry'; it is not clear why this vowel should not be realized $i$, but at the same time, this verb has an aberrant canonic structure.)

vi) As in Mapeo Chamba (but not Nnakenyaare CD), lexical items may have an initial vowel preceded by glottal stop. Glottal stop is nevertheless not represented here, as there seems to be no useful phonological role for it.
vii) There are cases of initial labialized $m$ [$m^*$]. This realization is treated here as a $w +$ nasal vowel, but could also conceivably be a nasal counterpart of the postnasalized velars (cf. Shimizu 1983:12). Since it also appears intervocally, however ([sùm"çç] 'worm'), this solution is questionable, aside from any phonetic implausibility. Its position in the system must be left undecided for the time being.

Tiba resembles the majority of Adamawa languages in having a sharply reduced noninitial consonant inventory. This seems to be:

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
m & n & η \\
P & T & S & K \\
\end{array}
$$

There are, however, two important questions to be resolved:

i) Is there, as in CD, an $l/r$ noninitial contrast? On the basis of the data collected, it would seem this contrast does not exist intervocally, where $[l]$ and $[r]$ seem to be allophones ($r$ is used in our notation except between high back vowels, where $[l]$ is perhaps exclusively preferred). There may, however, be a contrast after consonant, though this may be the consequence of borrowing from CD. Unlike CD, Tiba cannot be shown (at least by these data) to have $rc$ or $lc$ groups, although $cvrcv$ may be such that $v_1$ and $v_2$ must be identical (or at least $v_2$ is neutral). In such case, these items could be reanalyzed as $cvrcv$. (Given general scarcity of data together with difficulties in distinguishing compound terms, nothing will be said here about possible consonant sequences, which, as in CD, are likely to be severely restricted.)

ii) Do the semivowels $w$ and $y$ need to be represented intervocally outside loan words? The data collected thus far suggest they do not, but the integration of loan words may be such that these phonemes should nevertheless appear in the intervocalic system.

b) VOWELS:

Tiba has a nine-vowel system: the usual seven-vowel triangle ($i$, $e$, $a$, $o$, $o$, $u$) together with two rounded front vowels, $y$ (distinguished from the palatal semivowel
elsewhere in this paper by tone marking or context) and ø. There is apparently no need for the high central vowel found in CD. The presence of rounded front vowels is obviously unusual, but has been reported for Tikar at least (G. Guarisma, p.c.) in this general region.

**NASALITY:** There seems to be a clear contrast between nonnasal and nasal vowels. There are probably only three distinctive heights for nasal vowels (only i, y, e, u, ø, ø are thus far attested).

Furthermore, the nasal contrast can only appear in a limited number of positions: 1) \* in CV* (e.g., ta 'pluck' / q 'be early'; and 2) \* in CV_*C(CV) (where C2 is either a front or a back stop, e.g., tap 'sew' / gap 'count', dek 'forget' / ŋek 'go down', are attested.

There is also nonphonological nasalisation in Tiba. Firstly, both nasal and postnasalized consonants transmit their nasal feature to the following vowel. Furthermore, unlike CD, Tiba lengthens vowels before -n- in CVnCV structures (also a feature of Yendang); -n- then tends to drop (in accordance with a CD-like exclusion of CVVCCV), leaving a long nasal vowel. At the same time, in Tiba as in most if not all neighboring languages, vowel nasality spreads to a preceding smivowel. Furthermore, there being no NV/NY contrasts (just as in other Southwestern Adamawa, SWAD, languages, certainly Dii and probably Yendang), there is no justification for setting up ny/y and nw/w contrasts (unlike CD, where nasality can only be a consonantal feature). Thus, [waːsi] 'body' is, if the rules above are indeed the only ones operative, phonologically /wansi/.

We may note that there is a strong tendency in Tiba to apply the CD rule that, if C1 in C1V(V)N is a semivowel, it must be nasalized; i.e., in Tiba terms, the vowel in this structure must be nasal. There are, however, apparent counterexamples in a sort of "adjective" class. Whether there is an explanation for these cases such as to render the rule absolute in Tiba remains to be seen.

**LENGTH:** The question of the contexts in which vowel length is contrastive in Tiba requires further investigation. It would seem that the CD situation whereby lexical items cannot have the forms CV (only CV:*), CVn (only CV:n), or CV:C (only CV:C) for any C2 other than n also holds in Tiba. The rule requiring that e, ø be long in CD (except in C:CVC) does not, however, seem to hold. Tiba has cases of at least C eC, C eCV, and C øC, though in the
case of the latter, the length contrast is much clearer to the ear when a vowel suffix is added. Long \( e \) and \( o \) in \( C:\text{C} \) and \( C:\text{CV} \) contexts are, however, limited to cases in which \( C_2 \) is \( r \) or \( s \), and there are no suitable pairs for establishing a long/short contrast. It may thus well be that Tiba, like CD, ultimately has the bulk of its vowel length contrasts in the \( CV(V)CV \) structure. For either phonological or morphological reasons, however, contrasts may be impossible to find before some \( C_2 \)s.

There are two more important differences between CD and Tiba in this respect, namely 1) that, when a \(-V\) suffix is added to a \( CV:n \) term, the vowel is shortened (the notation \( CV:n \) is therefore used in the word lists presented here); 2) though less frequent, vowel lengthening and nasalization followed by loss of the nasal consonant can also be observed in the case of \( CVgCV \). (This situation involving a loss of the \( n/g \) contrast has been generalized in Zing Mumuye and Yendang.)

Vowel length is independent of tone, i.e., vowels are either short or long, whether they bear a simple or a contour tone. Contour tones are represented below by two vowels, but these vowels are only (phonetically) long in the environments specified above. Naturally, a sequence of identical vowels with identical tone represents a (phonological) long vowel in the appropriate (\( CVVCV \)) context. There is no clear case of a vowel length contrast under a contour tone; this is also true in CD, where a few apparent contrasts can be given a morphological explanation.

c) CANONIC FORM:

The canonic forms \( CV(V) \), \( CV(V)C \), \( CV(V)CV \), and \( CVCCV \), are attested for nouns and verbs, with some longer forms, particularly \( CV(C)VC \), for nouns. (As indicated above, the \( C_1 \) position may be occupied by glottal stop.)

The restrictions on \( V_2 \) are very strong, in Tiba as in CD, but will certainly have slightly different formulations in each language. Unlike CD, these restrictions are bound up, at least where nominals are concerned, with morphological phenomena. We may therefore anticipate on noun morphology in order to summarize the Tiba data as follows:
CV\(\text{(V)CV}\) and CVCCV nominals have \(i\) as \(v_2\) when the term is in nonfinal position; in final position, this vowel becomes \(\acute{a}\). (In the lists provided here, such nouns are written with final -\(\acute{a}\), making them easily distinguishable from CV\(\text{(V)CV}\) and CVCCV verbs, which have final -\(i\).) Nouns with these forms in CD end in either \(i\) or \(a\) and are invariable.

The final-vowel tonology of these nouns requires an additional remark: the majority end in -\(C\acute{i}\) or -/\(C\acute{i}\) (i.e., downstepped \(i\)) in nonfinal position; some, however, do not. These will display -\(a\) bearing a contour tone in final position, and -\(i\) bearing the first component of that contour in nonfinal position. Actually, only two such possibilities seem to exist: 1) nominals with final -\(\acute{a}\acute{a}\) (cited here with final -\(\acute{a}\)), hence nonfinal -\(i\); and 2) nominals with final -\(\acute{a}\acute{a}\), hence nonfinal -\(i\), itself followed by downstep.

There are exceptions to the rule just stated: these include a small number of terms with final -\(\acute{a}\) or -\(\acute{a}\acute{a}\) which remain invariable in nonfinal position (i.e., their final vowel does not become -\(i\)). There is also one attested case of a CVCCV noun behaving like a CVV nominal in both having a final contour tone and being invariant in final and nonfinal positions: \(p\text{ùgl\acute{a}\acute{a}}\) 'armpit'. It may be that the term for 'sickle' alternates between invariance (\(b\acute{a}\acute{a}\ms\acute{a}\acute{a}\)) and variance (nonfinal \(b\acute{a}\acute{a}\ms\acute{a}\), final \(b\acute{a}\acute{a}\ms\acute{a}\acute{r}\acute{a}\), see 'Noun morphology' below).

A small number of nouns have final -\(\acute{a}\acute{a}\), the one case of alternation (\(g\acute{y}\text{s\acute{a}\acute{a}}, g\acute{y}\text{\acute{s}\acute{y}\acute{n}}\)) suggests this structure was originally -\(\check{v}\,n\acute{a}\). The -\(\acute{a}\) marking final position has thus been incorporated into the root, the form in nonfinal position being (-)/\(C\acute{a}\) (with downstepped mid tone).

There are also CV\(\text{(V)CV}\) nominals with high \(V_1\) and final \(\check{\epsilon}\) (\(w\acute{e}\acute{s\acute{e}\acute{c}}\) '(load of) firewood' with mid \(V_1\) being an apparent counterexample), which could conceivably be analyzed as deriving from -\(i\)- + -\(\acute{a}\) in final position; however, these terms do not change their vowel in nonfinal position (their tone pattern becomes HM). This analysis is therefore better seen as diachronic than as synchronic.

There are a further three CV\(\text{(V)CV}\) nouns, \(s\acute{i}\acute{j\acute{i}}\), a variant of \(s\acute{i}\acute{n}\), 'civet cat', \(s\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{t}}\acute{\acute{t}}\)'porcupine', and \(j\acute{\acute{e}}\acute{r}\acute{f}\)'whirlwind', which have root-final -\(i\) (-\(i\acute{y}\?) ), giving -\(i\-\acute{a}\) in utterance-final position.
Like CD, Tiba allows cvcum (also cyym) and cvcvy (with v₁ = v₂). There are also terms with cvcen structure corresponding well to CD terms with identifiable -ën or -éên suffixes, and others which correspond to nothing in CD. (See "Derivational affixes" under II.4.a below.)

Tiba also has a variety of v₁-v₂ combinations in cvcvcv terms with final y and k (and even in one case, final n) which are unfamiliar in CD. The possibility that at least some of these terms are original compounds (or even synchronic compounds involving items not yet recorded individually) should be considered.

From the above, it should be clear that the v₂ position does not provide a full set of vowel contrasts. Indeed, final -i, whether for nominals or for verbs, is a lax, slightly lower variant of this sound than appears in v₁ (root) position, doubtless owing to this neutralization of contrasts. There is furthermore some tendency to total assimilation when v₁ is either ŋ or y. (It may be noted that Tiba does not seem to have the CγCγ and CγεCγ structures found in CD.)

d) TONES

Tiba has a three-level tone system, complicated by downstep and grammatical tone alternation.

Downstep occurs automatically (as a mere phonetic realization) after a rising (LH) contour tone. It also occurs syntactically (i.e., as a mark of certain syntactic relationships without necessarily requiring postulation of any "underlying" (deleted) L tone), and as a "surface" phenomenon, i.e., where the deletion of an underlying tone may be supposed. Within lexical units, this underlying tone may be structurally L; but the most frequent deletion affects HM contour tones and patterns (CvCy > CvCv, CVCv(C)v > CVCv(C)v). This situation, resulting from the abundance of such tones and patterns in nominal lexical units (see below), is largely identical to the one in CD.

Tonal alternation in some nouns in associative constructions is described below (noun morphology).
NOUN TONE CLASSES: Note that about one half of all nominals have a HM or H tone pattern; another quarter has MH or M. Other fairly well represented nominal root tone patterns are LH, LHM, HL(M), and L. The others are marginal and perhaps derivable in some way from the above.

Such a situation is historically interpretable in terms of an original two-register system, increased to three by addition of a third infralow level. There is, however, no evident comparative evidence of such a phenomenon (with the exception of the four-level Yendang system, which may have suffered Chadic influence, the languages compared here all have three tones as well). Tiba is, however, rather unusual in displaying unexpected tonal correspondences for very well-attested roots (see, for example, 'louse'; the fact that CD has láká for this gloss may help to account for this particular irregularity).

VERB TONE CLASSES: In the material presented here, the majority of transitive verbs appear in simple predications with 3sg subject kí(?) and nominal object. It appears that this construction is unfortunately not suited to revealing verb tone-class distinctions. Indeed, most transitive CV(C) verbs have a falling tone, (/)VCV or VCV, in this context, the L component being perhaps attributable to the deleted ã- prefix of the object (although such verbs in elicitation also seem to have a HL tone). This L component disappears when verbs are followed by a nominal object with ã- prefix or a nonnominal term. These verbs are therefore given in the glossary with H tone. A few transitive CV(C) verbs seem, however, to have L tone in the same context and are so marked, although this may not reflect any real difference in lexical tone. Indeed, some of the verbs which appear several times in the data have either the H/ML contour tone or L tone according to some as yet unidentified feature of the context (perhaps subject tone, object tone, or both).

In the same way, transitive CVCCV verbs have a HL or ML pattern, apparently in (free?) variation. When, in careful speech, the ã- prefix of the following noun is retained, this pattern becomes MM. Two unexplained cases of HH and five of HM were, however, observed and are cited in the glossary.

A more helpful context for distinguishing transitive verb tone classes seems to be the use of a 3sg pronominal object, kí. Indeed, this seems to yield at least three classes, H (H /kí/), M, and again a very small number of L (M is perhaps sometimes realized H with no
following downstep). Very few CVC(C)V verbs were recorded in this context, and no tone class distinctions were observable (all seem to be M). Verbs cited with M tone in the glossary were observed in this context. It may be noted that, in CD, this context neutralizes verb tone-class distinctions.

Another context in which tone classes can be distinguished is that of the perfective suffix -nêá, which can be used with intransitive verbs (which never take an object) as well as with objectless transitive verbs. Again, three classes can be distinguished: HL, H(/), and L (verbs with HL tone in the glossary were observed in this context; verbs observed with L tone in this context are marked "intr"). The position of downstep after H in this form varies: H/nêá or Hnêá. It has been impossible to determine whether or not this variation is conditioned.

A third context in which a number of verbs have been observed is with following locative (i) or definite (mî, â) markers. There are insufficient examples, but a first impression is that this context may disturb the lexical tone patterns of verbs. Tone patterns do, however, contrast there.

A fourth context for determination of verb tone classes may be as the first verb V₁ in a V₁-V₂ sequence. H-, M-, and L-tone verbs may be discernible here, as well as HL.

One final feature requires mention: some verbs have been found to take HL pattern in transitive constructions and L in intransitive ones (these are so marked in the glossary). This precise tone alternation, which may be an inflectional or a derivational phenomenon, is well attested in AD4; it may even be said that the unmarked intransitive form is L, and the unmarked transitive form H, although there are apparently exceptions to this rule.

II.3. The pronominal system

The following system of subject pronouns was obtained:

1S subject ìh       1PL subject wíí
2S subject à        2PL subject míí
3S subject kí        3PL subject wá
These pronouns are apparently obligatory markers, at least for the first verb in a series. In subject function, no other morpheme has been observed to intervene between them and the verb, wherefore they may be considered part of morphology.

The possessive markers are directly preposed to the noun they modify (i.e., between the prefix ̀- and the noun root), unlike CD where the possessives are all postposed. The system of these markers is:

- 1sg (̀-)mēē-
- 1pl (̀-)wētē-
- 2sg (̀-)wēē-
- 2pl (̀-)mētē-
- 3sg (̀-)gūū-
- 3pl (̀-)wōōntī-

It would seem, then, that the plural possessives in fact bear the non-final form of the plural suffix. Similar nominalizations seem to provide the "independent" forms of the personal pronouns (i.e., pronouns used in functions other than that of subject marker, e.g., in topicalizations).

These possessives may be used both for nouns which would generally be classified as "alienable" (e.g., 'pot') and for those which would be "inalienable" (e.g., 'head'), in languages which make such distinctions. Some kinship and relational terms (e.g., 'father', 'mother', 'husband'), however, have different forms for the 2sg and/or the 3sg. These are:

- 2sg suffixed ̀-ḪǦḪ
- 3sg prefixed ̀ (i.e., the noun prefix becomes ̀-)

It is quite curious to note that the 1pl and 2pl forms above seem to be precisely the inverse of the 1sg and 2sg forms. Knowing that informants accustomed to only oral use of language will encounter a certain difficulty in providing "translations" of pronominals, we therefore questioned Awdi insistently about this, but were in the end satisfied that he was indeed giving us the forms we were requesting.

We must now proceed to examine the differences and similarities in the Tiba and CD pronominal systems.
The Tiba 1sg subject pronoun is essentially as in CD; its point of articulation is assimilated in subject position to that of any following consonant. The CD 1sg possessive is postposed *mèè. (The CD independent 1sg pronoun, however, is *nòk, for which no Tiba correspondence has yet been observed.)

In CD, the 2sg pronoun is a M-tone nasal in subject position (â is a variant in certain contexts and obligatory in imperative forms), but the object pronoun is -â. The CD independent 2sg pronoun is wîî, related to the postposed possessive wîî. There is therefore a good correspondence here with Tiba, though the Tiba 2sg imperative seems to be yîî.

CD has no 3sg subject pronoun, but the 3sg independent forms are doubtless derived from *gù 'animate', *gû 'inanimate'. The object form is kû (gû in Mapeo Chamba); this is also the subject form used in indirect discourse, though it undergoes diverse changes in S-V tone patterns. The CD 3sg possessive is kû (gû in Mapeo Chamba). There is thus again a fairly good correspondence between the two languages.

It may be noted that Tiba kî, whether in subject or object position, is apparently followed by downstep. In CD, this feature would normally be associated with a raised L tone.

Furthermore, a usage of this pronoun with a possessive sense has been observed before a following noun, corresponding to a similar usage of the independent pronouns in CD.

The CD 1pl subject pronoun is á, the independent form wôîó, related to the possessive wôîó. If the Tiba form is to be connected, the vowel change must be explained.

The CD 2pl and 3pl subject marker is ê. The object markers are likewise identical (-bû). The independent 2pl form is in all likelihood derived from an earlier vû, the possessive being vû. The independent 3pl is likewise derived from bû, with possessive bû. This distinction among the independent pronouns is not, however, invariably maintained, and it is probable that these two forms are in fact doublets of some original form. Tiba thus
differs clearly from CD, both in the form of the 2pl and 3pl elements and in avoiding their confusion.

The Tiba pronominal system thus has points of agreement and of disagreement with the CD system. The agreements may extend to the use of a variant of the 1sg pronoun as the logophoric singular, though this requires textual verification.

**DEMONSTRATIVE**: Only one demonstrative was repeatedly requested (CD déèn 'this, that (one in question)' as noun modifier). This is translated as a form -(f)nς(ā́/ǐ) (perhaps involving some unexplained tonal phenomena). Specific questioning yielded no indication of a near/far distinction or other complication making it possible to contrast the Tiba and CD systems. There was also a single instance representing the CD -dā̀n demonstrative ('this (here and now)') in ə-mir-yōō (prefix|day|this) 'today' (CD mó-rå̀n).

II.4. Tiba morphology

a) NOUN MORPHOLOGY

**CLASSIFICATORY INFLECTION**: In general, nominals have a prefixed ə- when they are found in initial position. Some nominals, however, have a high-tone ə- prefix, followed by downstep, suggesting a structural əā-. The nominals with this prefix mostly designate animate beings, although one plant is included (see below). The case of common or cultivated plants being classed grammatically as animate is known from Zande.

Nominal prefixes are segmentally unstable, but their tones may persist. Thus, in more rapid speech, ə- may drop before a nominal in initial position, particularly when the latter has a (phonetically or phonologically) long, H-tone first vowel, with the L tone of the prefix shifting to the root. An interesting case in this regard is ə/yą̀nsə 'tiger nut', confirming that the ə- prefix is in fact ə-ə-.

Likewise, ə- and even ə- may drop when the noun follows a verb as its object, but the tone patterns of verbs suggest that the prefix tones shift to them.
Nominals with a canonic form ending in a C suffix -ā in final position. If, however, the nominal root ends in -vr, the nonfinal form ends in -v rather than -vr.

Nominals with canonic form cv suffix -ā in final position unless V is -e-, -e₂-, -o-, -ø-, or -o-, in which case the vowel is lengthened with an added H tone. Final-vowel alternation in longer canonic forms with final V has been described above in the course of the phonological discussion.

Note that this requirement that utterances (in this case, utterances with a final nominal) end in a vowel is a well-known regional feature. CD (or at least certain dialects such as the Mapeo form) distinguish themselves by requiring final -i, while CL, for example, resembles Tiba in taking final -ā.

Reduplication is observed in some Tiba nominals. No specific semantic feature can be assigned to it, unless it be a particular association with mass nouns.

Plural: the plural is regularly formed by suffixing -t-(ā/i) to the root. A small number of plurals (involving human beings in the data thus far) are irregular.

It will be noted that in AD4 Pere the plural suffix is -tò and that there is a plural suffix -t in AD4 Momi.

Syntactic Inflection: Tiba has one rule of noun tone alternation which is not present in CD: H and HM nouns undergo a tone change when they are modified by a preceding H or HM noun: they become M (e.g., lúù 'yam' + són 'staple food' > lúù /sòn(ā), ísì’eye’ + sóksá’hair’ > ísì sòksá’eyelash’).

Locative: There are two locative noun suffixes, -né and -mé, similar to the ones found in AD4. More examples are required to determine the conditions of their appearance; a first impression suggests that -né is used for position (’at, in, within’) and -mé is used for movement (’from, to’), although this would be typologically unusual for an African language in this region.
DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES:

ADJECTIVIZER: The suffix -ён can be added to some nouns to produce a derived adjective. This suffix is doubtless ultimately related to the adjectivizing verb suffix (b.iv below), but the tonological behavior of both requires further clarification.

NOMINALIZER: There is a suffix -гур- which can be added to any (nominal or verbal) adjective to form an abstract nominal, e.g., пёк 'new', -пёк-/гур-а 'newness'. In the case of verbal adjectives ending in не, this suffix may tend to be tonally assimilated (-гур-).

b) VERB MORPHOLOGY

INFLECTION: There is undoubtedly tonal inflection of verbs (such inflection has been noted in association with an imperative form, but the data are not sufficient for any conclusions to be drawn). Segmental inflection in the strict sense is not attested, although it is possible to cite a focalizing particle, construed exactly as in CD by suffixation to the verb + object pronoun group: this is -гур-а. (It is also used to translate the CD "durative" when it has an emphatic or adversative sense, "definitely, contrary to expectations", indicating that the Tiba durative does not have the same range of meaning.)

DERIVATION: A certain number of likely derivational suffixes are attested in these data. It is not, however, possible to decide whether Tiba must be thought to have a highly developed and productive system like that of CD which is not apparent for reasons of chance distribution, or whether on the contrary it has, as seems to be the case, a more vestigial system like the one found in AD5 ZM. The "suffixes" observed are as follows:

i) The -си suffix: Many verbs have the form CVVσi or CVCσī. The majority of these are not identifiable as derived from CVV or CVC verbs, respectively, perhaps simply because no possible sources appear in the data. A few are, however, so identifiable, cf. σым- 'be dry', σымсі 'dry (tr)'; воп 'run, fear', вопсі 'ride (horse, i.e., make it run)'. These are clearly causative-type derivates. Others are the same kind of "medial" causatives or benefactives found in CD and elsewhere, e.g., дон breathe', доны 'rest (i.e., make oneself breathe, breathe for oneself)', while others have more complex agentive relationships: кый 'cut (down), clear
(a field), *kỳ̄sì* 'chop (into pieces)'. Others still are evident *calques* of CD, e.g., *békši* 'break, smash', cf. CD *vwēkši*, "frequentative" of *vwēk* 'split'.

There are a few verbs of the form *cvši* with *e* or *ș* as *v₁*. It may be remarked that verbs of this form in CD would be derived from *cvt* verbs; it is difficult to tell whether a similar phenomenon might exist in Tiba.

ii) Other "suffixes": *-ki*, *-li*, *-ti*, *-ri*: The suffix *-ki* is represented by only three *cvcki* examples, two of them clear CD loans; *-li* appears in only two *cvcli* verbs, one a Fulfulde loan; *-ti* is used in four *cvcti* verbs, three of them clear loans from CD, where the corresponding suffix is *-lì*; and *-ri* occurs in two *cvcri* verbs, one being an evident CD loan, and one *cvvri* verb. There are thus only one or two examples of each of these suffixes with a plausible Tiba origin; none of the verbs in question can be related to any corresponding base verb with the possible exception of *jánri* 'dry (meat)' (< *jâ̄p*- 'hot?'). Nothing, then, can be said about the semantic content of these "suffixes". Note, however, that, in CD, the term corresponding to Tiba *biùmkì̄* 'resound, be noisy' is a frequentative derivate in *-kì* of a different root, while the term for 'tickle' (Tiba *dígÌÌ̄*) is also a *cvcli* verb. Only one *cvcti* verb (a sort of "diminutive") and no *cvvli* appear in CD. ZM does, however, have *-se* verbs with much the same meaning range as those in Tiba, as well as *-ke* and *-le* suffixes with "intensive" (essentially equivalent to "frequentative") sense, *-le* with "habitual" sense, and a small number of *-te* suffixes with no clear meaning content (see Shimizu 1983: 64-7).

iii) The verbal noun suffixes *-m̄* and *-d̄m*: The verbal noun, or infinitive, is obtained by giving the verb root a M tone pattern and by suffixing *-m̄*, unless the verb has the form *cvm* or *cvn*, in which case the suffix is *-d̄m*. Like any noun, the verbal noun can take an à-prefix and an *-â* suffix. If the noun suffix is *-m̄* and *-â* is added, the result is phonetically [vn̄m̄â]. The verb root in the infinitive may be followed by a pronominal object (as in CD) or by a nominal object (unlike CD). In such case, the verb's tones are only determined by its relation to its object, and the infinitive marking is limited to a phrase-final *m̄*.

There is nevertheless a certain number of *cvv* verbs which, for an undetermined reason, are given with suffix *-d̄m*. 
iv) The *adjectivizing suffix* -nē: some stative verbs have a derived adjective with this suffix; it may also be that some adjectives with this suffix derive from verbs no longer in the language. Roots with this suffix are attested with H, M, and LH tones.

II.5. Word order and proposition marking

Basic word order is SV(O)(C), where C represents predicate and utterance modifiers in general. The preposition of the syntactic object to the verbal noun, attested in CD, has not been observed. Nevertheless, as in CD, Tiba word order in noun phrases is such that a modifying noun precedes the "head" noun, while a modifying "adjective" follows it.

A number of prepositional markers characteristic of CD are also attested in Tiba:

1) the definite marker *nī* preceding utterance-final modifiers (CD *é(n)*); a marker *á* or *há* seems to alternate freely with *nī* and is conceivably a direct borrowing from CD;
2) the locative marker *(n)ī* preposed to noun phrases (perhaps related to the above);
3) the locative anaphoric *g dā* preposed to locative terms (also in CD);
4) the preadverbial marker *jī* (observed only utterance-finally with the sense "simply", also found in CD).

The following predicate and utterance markers have been observed:

ASPECT: There is an utterance-final marker translating both the "real" marker (-*i*) and the perfective (*go*) in CD: this is *n ë ā* (presumably *në* + -*ñ*) after L tone, *në'à* or */nëà* after H tone.

There are some tonal exceptions: some where the preceding H is itself downstepped or not subject to tone lowering (*...pë̱ ë tóm nëà '...work'), and a number of thus far unexplained cases in which the downstep is treated as M and followed by another H (*nëà*dë*).

There is an utterance-final marker translating the CD durative (*teč*): this is *jā́-á*. It may be preceded by the definite *nī*/(CD *é teč*).
NEGATIVE: There is an utterance-final negative marker: *dá*. Its compatibility with aspect markers was not tested.

INTERROGATIVE: There is an utterance-final interrogative marker -*è*, identical with CD. (In CD, this marker is used in verbal propositions only if the verb is in the absolute affirmative form.)

II.6. Conclusion

We believe that the data presented here authorize us to conclude that our informant Awdi was indeed fully bilingual in Chamba Daka and Tiba, and that he maintained a clear separation between the two systems at almost all times (excepting perhaps only a small set of lexical items). We may stress that, while many features of the two language systems resemble each other, Tiba may be found in some cases to have a more complex system than CD. Furthermore, the lexical correspondences show precisely the irregularities we would expect for languages which have had a long period of contact involving borrowing at different historical stages.

The full set of lexical data recorded appears below. Terms marked by an asterisk (*) are those which are identical in Tiba and CD, allowing for regular correspondences (e.g., CD *q* = Tiba *q*) and uncertainty regarding verb tonology, or display only minor tonal variations, making CD a likely source. Corresponding CD items and comparative remarks on a wider scale appear after a bar (|). The conventions of language notation are as in part I, but Tiba nominals are presented without their affixes, except where they prefix *d*-.

(Consequently, since, in Tiba as in CD, the intervocalic labial plosive is phonetically [b], the dental plosive is [r], but the velar plosive is [k], while in final position all plosives are unvoiced [p, t, k], noun roots with final plosive will appear below with final *b, r, k* after deletion of the -*á* suffix; while verbs will have final *p, t, k*, corresponding to the citation form.)
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES


LIST 2: A TIBA-ENGLISH GLOSSARY WITH ADAMAWA COGNATES

á, exceed, surpass | cf. AD4 Momi ar-, Pere yór- 'pass'
á, gather, scoop up
áráŋ, fry | CD nyângli (possible metathesis)
án, open (wide), yawn (+ óôrá) | a widespread ideophonic root: CD yáá yáá, AD2 Chamba
Leko (CL) yâ, AD4 Momi agan-, Pere àà-, Dii áá, AD5 Yendang hânk-, AD6 Kare 'á
áp, seek
ápsi, feel, touch (prob. < áp 'seek')
áŋkpâŋ, mouth (also âŋ, language, speech) | AD4 Pere yâgô, Dii yâg, AD5 Yendang yâg.
AD6 Karang nzâk are conceivably cognate with this (probably compounded) root
ââŋ, arm, adj. âŋnêê, relating to the arm (see list 1)
ââŋ, name | AD5 Yendang ëk
âŋ, know | cf. AD13 Kulaal ôn, Niellim 'ônà

c, dry (something in the sun) | CD yêři, AD4 Momi yend-, Pere yûr-, Dii yë', AD5 Zing
Mumuye (ZM) yâ, AD6 Kare yë 'dry'
cêk, tear, rip, pluck | AD4 Dii yë''split'
cêŋ, egg (see list 1)

*âêk, burp | CD yâk
cêsì (HH?), cough | CD wûsi, cf. AD6 Kare bèl

û, lie, lie down, sleep | AD4 Dii ûû
ûm, tooth (see list 1)
îsá, mat (MH?) (see list 1)
îsă (êsă?), eye (see list 1)
*îsên, broom | CD yîsên
óŋ, bee (see list 1)
*óřēn, cold | CD wārēn
ónsi, lick

óōinà, who? | AD5 ZM wò

ó, wash (oneself) | AD4 Dii yōō 'wash something', AD5 ZM welè, wolè, Yendang ḥū- 'bathe', AD6 Karang wòk, Kare 'ői
(y)ōōn, nose (see list 1)
óōrá (or ór), yawn (n)

*úk, hear, feel | CD wūk, cf. the reflexes of Proto-Plateau (PP) *fwak

ỳ, knead | cf. AD4 Dii vù 'pound (flour)'
ỳ (nē)-, cool (as shade) | AD2 CL wùm
ỳp, crush (under foot)
*ỳrỳym, ancestor spirit | CD wùrù(û)m; cf. AD4 Dii yōōb
ỳsî (HH?), suck
ỳsì, twist, wring (perhaps identical with the preceding term) | cf. AD4 Pere vî-
ỳsỳn, breast (see list 1)

b̥g̥, leopard (see list 1)
*bàk, follow | CD bàk, also AD2 CL bâg AD2 CL gbá 'move away'
*bàk, stick, block | CD bàk
bâm, big (be) | CD gbôöm, AD5 Yendang gbân- 'be heavy', AD2 CL gbâá
*baàmsâ(r), sickle | CD gbôôm, AD2 CL gbôômsâ, AD4 Momi gamsază, but Pere gbånë
bänkülûûŋ, elbow
*bàr(û)h, twin | CD bàrûp, AD2 CL bàdâp
*bééb, money | CD béép
bén, granary | AD4 Pere bìnè, cf. CD bòôn, AD2 CL bôn, AD5 ZM bóô; AD4 Dii váŋ
*büèreŋ, gazelle (kind of) | CD béräng, AD2 CL bédëŋ
*bì, seed, kind (bì as N2) | CD bìì
*bìì, quiver (for arrows) | CD bìì̂n
*bòksì, accompany | CD bòksì
bòr, big | CD wàrí, pl. wòpsá, AD4 Pere bògårè, AD5 ZM bòrò are all likely cognates
but-s-'kill a sleeping animal'
bỳrí, draw, decorate with drawing | AD4 Momì bìì-, AD5 ZM bìì but Yendang vèé; cf. CL bá̂d

*bá (bà with subject m '1sg'), come | CD báá, rarely with sense 'come' in AD, but cf. AD4 Pere bá- 'come forward'; however, AD2 CL gbá”move away'
bák, hug, embrace, cradle | CD kpàk, AD4 Pere kpà-, kpàŋ-
bàk, knife (see list 1)
bók, bushcow (see list 1)
bóksi (+ tūŭ 'head'), think, worry about
báámá, midst
*bán, farm (vb) | CD bàán, AD4 Momì baa-, Pere bà-, Dii bà, but AD6 Karang pā, AD13 Kulaal wáy, Niellim wāy
*bàn, field, farm | CD bànn, AD4 Momì bant, Dii bāb, but AD6 Karang pài, AD13 Kulaal āāl, Niellim wāāl
bê-síbhá, (down on) ground | cf. perhaps CD bën for the initial element
bëčë, bushbuck | cf. CD bây, AD4 Momì bayamz ‘duiker’, Dii bál’kob’
bëk, (clay) dish
*bëksi, break, smash | ideophonic root: CD vwëksi, cf. AD6 Karang vwëh ‘cut’ and even AD13 Niellim bëgèri
bëg, leg (see list 1)
*bënì, bring | CD bëni; cf. AD13 Kulaal wën
bëčìr, two (see list 1)
bì, lie, tell lies (+ léém) | cf. AD4 Pere miì̂- ‘tongue’
bìgsì, refuse | AD5 ZM bèn
bıp, ask, ask for | cf. AD4 Dìi vi, AD5 Yendang bì-, AD6 Karang vwì
bōōm, wound, sore
bōōn, bōn, cut, slash; split (intr); break (as day)
bōŋ, river (see list 1)
bō, bean
bō, throw | AD4 Dii gbō, AD6 Karang vwa
*bōb, blind(ness) | CD bōp
bōōb, dance (n)
bōp, dance (vb) | possible cognate in AD13 Niellim bōn
bōrōm, thunder, lightning | CD bōō, AD4 Dii bōō, cf. AD6 Karang pōmnā; but also CD
bēlūm, AD4 Momi bulmi 'flame' (see yér(i)mà 'flame')
bùmkī (intr), resound, be noisy
būūg, ash, dust | CD būnā 'dust'; *buŋ is PP and Proto-Jukun
būŋsā, (harmattan) wind
byyī, dog (see list 1)
būmsā, brain(s) | CD bólomsi, AD4 Pere bōrè; note AD6 Karang lî-pām
bōr, white | CD būrkī, AD2 CL būd, AD4 Momi bu(ñi) 'white', bur- 'be white', Pere bū, Dii
bū 'be white', AD6 Karang bū́, but also pūkī, cf. AD5 ZM puru

dá, copulate | CD lėēn, AD5 ZM laa
dá, take out, remove
*dábrī, wrap (in leaves to cook) | CD dābrī, AD2 CL dāp
*dāngdāŋ, bitter | CD dāngdāng
dāásī, choose, select (< dáà 'remove')
dēn, cloth, clothing
dēn, vagina
dī, press
dī(ñē)-, heavy, prob. < dī 'press' | CD dingding, but initial continuant elsewhere: AD4 Dii zī, AD6 Karang dī

*dī, long | CD dēčērī 'long, far', AD4 Dii dī, AD6 Karang dī 'far'
dīgī, tickle | AD6 Kare dīkī, cf. CD gēngī
dīŋ (perhaps dīŋ), eyebrow
dipsā, cloud
*dōk, plant (vb) | CD dōk, also AD4 Momi dōkw- but AD2 CL dōp
*dōm, greet | CD dōōm, AD2 CL dōm
dòn, sing
dōgy, misery, poverty | related to AD5 ZM rán?
dù (or dỳ), ridge (in farm)
dūūk, mountain (see list 1)
*du̍k (intr), finish, come to an end | CD dûk, cf. tỳ 'finish' below, AD2 CL dûg
dûk- stomach (but syntactically adjectival) | cf. ZM dùku 'skin bag'
*du̍ksi, finish, be used up | CD du̍ksi < dûk
dûm (intr), collapse, fall off, down
dûm, short, shallow
*(á)dûmá gâng, vulture | CD dûmá gâng, AD2 CL dûmá
*dùngbàl, hippopotamus | CD dûngkpâlì, AD2 CL dûngbàl
*dûngti (HH?), deceive | CD dûngli
dỳ, wet, moisten, soak | cf. AD4 Momi yìi-; perhaps ultimately connected with CD dùrî 'rain'
dỳn (intr), go (in) | AD4 Pere dò-, Dii dò, but Momi tor-; also AD6 Karang riḥ
dỳr, deep | AD4 Pere lù̀-, AD5 Yendang tìn- 'be deep'

dà (intr), break, shatter (from falling) | AD5 ZM daasè 'break (a piece) off', AD6 Karang
dòr, Kare dôr̄
dé, taste | AD5 Yendang lék-, AD6 Karang léh; cf. AD4 Momi dòo'
dē, testicles
dè, granary
dè, put, place | AD4 Momi de'(s-), Dii 'yé
dèk, forget | AD6 Karang yèkrē
dè, other
*dìi, burn (tr), light (fire) | CD dìi but AD2 CL dûr̄, according to Kleinewillinghöfer (pers. comm.), Bambuka in the Bikwin group has lìi
dîn, navel
dōb, in-law
dōbēn, cowife
dōbōk, mouse | AD5 Yendang ròk 'kind of (domestic) rat'
dòn, breathe | AD4 Momi don 'groan', Pere dù 'blow, snore'; however, CD gòng, AD2 CL gòn, AD4 Momi yōgs-, AD5 ZM gnp 'snore', these last three 'snore'
dōnsi (< dōn 'breathe'), rest | same derivation in CD gōngsi; but AD5 ZM wnoḵè; cf. AD6 Karang ők
dōŋ, hip (joint); thigh | cf. AD2 CL dūn, A4 Pere dōrè, Dii dōô, all 'leg'
dōŋ kāŋ, matriclan (compound with N2 'face'?)
dūk, penis | AD4 Dii ndōg, but Momi deek; AD6 Karang ndiŋ
dūm, perhaps also dūmā, back (> dūm 'behind') (see list 1)
dūmsā, urine | cf. AD2 CL wōôm, AD6 Karang tōm
dūŋ, hole | CD dōô, AD4 Momi duur; but CL dēēl, Pere dālë; also AD5 ZM tōq; AD6 Karang lōkō

fākti (intr), tasteless, insipid
fē, burn (tr/intr) | CD pū, AD2 CL pē, AD4 Dii pī 'be hot', AD6 Kare pī ʃinge'
fē, twenty
fēēn, moon, also fēn /wēʃ 'stars' (see list 1)
fēsī, full, complete (be)
fī, take (staple food with fingers)
fūn(n)i, begin (< Fulfulde fūdā?)

gá, illness
gá, get, receive | CD gāwān
gāā, strainer (for beer), sifter (for flour); also fishtrap | AD4 Pere gāŋ 'fishtrap', cf. CD gēē
gāā, road (see list 1)
gāā, Tiba
* gām, horn | CD gāām
* gāp, chief (see list 1)
* gāān-pūnwān-pūn, donkey | CD gāān-pūn-pūn


gān- (sātāa, i.e., 'sour'), pepper | AD5 ZM gān zin where the meanings of zin are 'clot of blood' and 'fish'
gāngār, drum (kind of) | < Hausa gāngā
gāp, count | AD5 ZM gna, Yendang gān-, AD6 Kare ngē (also kē), but non-nasal elsewhere: AD2 CL gād, AD4 Momi ga-, Pere gāár-(do)
*gāpsi (HM?), divide, distribute (adj. gāpsē(nē)- 'forked') | CD gāpsi
gāsā, (dry) season | AD4 Pere gāā, Dii gāāg, but AD6 Karang kāy, Kare kēp gāsī (HM?), think (about), recall | AD4 Pere gē-, cf. AD6 Karang kēr
*gānsi (HM?), strain, sift | CD gēsē
gāpsā, fly (n) (see list 1)
gāŋ, hunch (on back) | cf. AD5 Yendang kūkī; also CD gāy, AD2 CL gād
gāŋ, large potsherd | CD gi
geē, sorrel
ge, cross (river)
geḵ, (bambara) groundnut
gēk, grave | CD gēkā, AD4 Pere gāgō
gēm, scream, dream, nightmare (also a verb, 'affect (as a bad dream)')
gēn, break, snap (tr) | AD4 Pere gō- 'break (tr)' with derivative gēl- 'break into pieces (tr)'
gēn, medicine | CD gēn, AD2 CL gān, AD5 ZM gnān, but AD4 Momi gēn, Pere gaabō
  Dii gām
*gēn (intr), flow | CD gēn
gérā, guinea-corn (see list 1)
gésē, scorpion
gēk, chest | cf. AD2 CD gūl, AD5 ZM gi, but CD gānga, AD4 Pere gōgī, gāgsālē, AD6 Kare gōn

gīm, smelly (be) | cf. CD gūn, AD6 Kare gūnē 'smelly'
*gīt, abstain | CD git
gītáámā, green
gō, pay (back)
gōn, answer
*gōsā, breath | CD gōngsī, see the doublet gbāngsā 'snoring' below
gō, catch, seize | CD gūt, AD4 Pere gū-, AD5 Yendang gō- but AD2 CL kō
gū (intr), fall
*gūb, thorn | CD gūp (cf. AD4 Momi kapt)
(ā/)gūsā, also gūsīn, pigeon

gbā, call, call out | AD5 ZM ɓaa (+ nyaa 'mouth')

gbā, vomit

gbā, dig, dig up | AD2 CL gbā’, AD5 ZM gbmaa

gbák, grind (dry grain) | CD gōk
gbák, slip

gbään, blood (see list 1)

gbántilóór, (earth)worm

(a/)/gbáb, bird (see list 1)

gbànsá, snoring | CD gbànsí 'groan' (compare dôn 'breathe', gònsá 'breath')

gbànsí (intr), finish, run out | AD4 Momi gbams-, Pere bàm-, AD5 Yendang gòós- gbéč, forest

gbèr, dassie

gbòó, heart (see list 1)


gmésí, move, shift (tr) | CD gbá, cf. AD2 CL gbá' 'move away', AD4 Dii 'mè' 'move near'
gmòp (intr), crawl

hám, salt

háp, bind, wrap (up)

hárá, headpad | cf. AD2 CL kálla (with a wider sense 'rolled thing, rolling thing', AD4 Pere kàarè, Dii káa, AD5 Yendang kántán; however, CD yèrī

háń, guinea-corn (see list 1)

hájmá (or kájmá?), rain, saliva (see list 1)

jo (or jāa or jō), laziness | CD jàálén 'lazy person', AD6 Kare zòzò

jā, smear, anoint; step (in something sticky)

ják, cook, brew | AD6 Karang nzé but CD sākì

*jám (intr), stand (up), swell (adj jám(nè)-) | CD jàám

(a/)/jàán, tiger nut | CD jáánn but AD5 ZM sànn, Yendang tánká

jánrì, dry (meat) (< jān-?)

jānn(nè)-, hot, feverish (be) | AD4 Dii zágá 'sun', AD6 Karang zájmá 'fever', Kare zāŋ

*jááy, tendon | CD jàáy, AD2 CL zèèè

jēğ, scabies | AD5 ZM znàkn

jèmká, stranger, outsider | cf. AD4 Momi genz, AD5 ZM zánti, Yendang zántǎ, cf. sènèn

jērá, locust | cf. AD5 ZM zòrò
jèrì, whirlwind
jè, see | AD5 ZM zè
jìì, night (see list 1)
jìì, theft, thief | CD yììën < yìì 'steal'
jììbàr, pocket | < Fulfulde jiiba
jììntà, (cooking) pot (apparently singular though plural in form) (see list 1)
jììjìì, also jììjìì (in compounds, e.g., òjìì jììjìì 'bee water', i.e., honey), jììjìn, water (see list 1)
*jììplàá, hyena | CD jììgìáá
jō, on, upon | CD jììm
jōōb, poison | AD5 ZM znòpo, Yendang zòn
jòm, squat | CD jòjìì
*jòn, laugh (vb) | CD jòèn
jòójìì, jòñá, red | AD5 Yendang yòntì
jò (?), laughter | CD jònà, AD4 Pere zònè, Dii zòm
*jùu, up(wards) | CD jùu
jùm, flour | CD jùjìì, AD2 CL zàgàm, AD5 ZM zuman, but AD6 Karang sòm, AD13
   Niellim hùm
jùñ, mortar | AD5 ZM dun
jùñ, pound
jù, pour
jùy (jù, jùy after i 'locative' or as DO without modifier), house, room (see list 1)

*kañkì, gather (tr) | CD kañkì (frequentative of kàmì)
kañ, anklet
kañ, find, meet | AD4 Dii kàñ, cf. AD5 ZM kosè
kañ, tie (prob. another sense of the preceding verb) | cf. AD2 CL kàasì 'corde', AD6 Karang
   ngañ
kaañ, cobra
kàntà or kàntà, calabash
kàntà, tortoise | cf. AD4 Dii kàrrgàd
kaàrá, wing, feather
kañsi, join, meet (< kàñ)
kaàñ, face, forehead
kāŋ, neck (see list 1)
kāŋkilāā (invariable?), chicken (see list 1)
*kāsī, strainer (for flour) | CD kāsī
kèè, cough (n) | AD5 Yendang kṑl- (vb)
kè, say, speak
*kèlùm (also attested -kèlùm-, -kèlùm-, pl. kèlùmtá), baobab | CD kèlùm
*kèmjū, monkey (see list 1)
*kèg, refuse | CD kāg
*kèg̣ér, mad (man) | CD kèg̣è; AD2 CL kēg̣èd
*kèg̣èg̣è, hedgehog | CD kāg̣èg̣è, AD2 CL kāg̣āg̣ā
*kèng̣è, bother, disturb | CD kāng̣è
kēsā̀, (rainy) season | cf. PP *kwas
kēsā̀, side (of body), rib cage
*kilèn, loan | CD kilèn
kīn, one (see list 1)
*kinèên, leper, leprosy | CD kinèên
*kisèn, slave, captive (see list 1)
(ã/ã)yàã, (in) front, before
kō or kōŋ, carry (a child on the back) | CD kōl, AD4 Pere kū̀-, AD5 ZM kpmáâ
kọ̄, put on (clothes)
*kōk, rub | CD kōk, cf. AD5 Yendang kpòs-
kōm, urinate
*kōṃ, arrive | CD kōṃ
*kōnàr, smallpox | CD kōnà
*kōnlààr, elephant (see list 1)
*kōnṭi, gather, pile up | CD kōnglị; also AD5 Yendang gṑ-
*kōp, draw, fetch (water) | CD kōp, AD2 CL kòp 'puiser partiellement'; also note AD5 Dii kò
kọ̄, guinea-fowl | CD kāạ̄, AD4 Pere kū̀, Dii kṑ, AD6 Karang kpēh but Kare kòrè 'perdrix',
    cf. 'chicken'
*kọ̣̄, (enclosure) mat | CD kọ̣̄
kọ̣̣̄r (intr), thin (be)
kōnsì, untie
kù̀, sweep | CD kū̀, AD4 Momi koor-s-, AD5 ZM kù̀
kù (intr), old (be) (person)
kūk, kūkū, grandmother | compare CD kák, AD2 CL kā́; also AD13 Kulaal káá, Niellim kàà

kūlāŋ, boat | root with an unusual distribution: apparent cognates exist in AD13, e.g.,
Niellim kwáá:r, pl. kórgē, but may spread as far as Ubangi Zande kù̀rùngbà; also note Fulfulde koombowal

*kùmṭì, make (a fist) | CD kùmlì
kùŋhùŋ, shoulder | cf. AD4 Pere kòđlè and 'neck' (list 1)
ký, cut (down), clear (a field) | AD2 CL kò 'cut off (road)', AD5 ZM kò 'cut (in two)',
Yendang gō- 'cut (down)'
ký, bright, clear (be)
kýsì, chop (into pieces) (< ký 'cut (down)')
kýr, (wrist-, ankle-)bone, joint
ký́, hare | CD kút

kmèè, pull (up, out)
kmèk, squirrel

kpà, cut, break off (tr/intr) | AD4 Dii kpà́n, kpàá
kpá, skin | AD5 ZM kòq
kpà́m, joking partner | CD kpòóm
kpàngúuntá groundnut(s) (see list 1)
*kpát, weed (a field) | CD kpá́t
kpé, fish, go fishing | AD4 Momi gbe-, AD5 Yendang kpè̀̄s-, both 'fish by bailing'; cf.
AD2 CL kpé́'fishhook'
kpiksímsá, chin
kipí, nest
*kpísáá́r, billy-goat | CD plísáá
*kpòŋáá́r, deaf | CD kpóngáá, AD CL2 kpùʊ̀ŋ ~ gbùʊ̀ŋ
láā, belly (see list 1)
láā, sleep (n) | invariable final nasal: CD láām, AD2 CL láām, AD4 Momí rám, Pere nām,
Dii nām, AD5 ZM nū-rón, AD6 Karang nām, except AD5 Yendang (nū-)-rōó
lá (intr), fall (as rain) | always initial nasal elsewhere: CD nāā, AD2 CL nāū, AD4 Dii nāū,
AD5 Yendang nā-

(á/)lágon, chameleon | cf. AD5 Yendang gōnlí
lák, forge (vb) | AD2 CL lá, cf. AD2 CL lēñ, AD4 Dii lāgā both 'sharpen'
lâm, lost (be) | cf. AD4 Pere lēč, AD5 ZM rū
láan, cry (vb) | cf. AD4 Dii lēg, AD6 Kare rē-rēñ
*lāŋ, surround | CD láŋ
láŋsā, side of face | CD lāngsi 'temple'; also AD4 Pere lārāñ, AD6 Koh lākūn
lékā (pl. lékétā), blacksmith (see list 1)
lēcēm, lie (in bū léma 'tell lies', cf. lēr 'tongue')
lēcēn, grinding stone | AD5 ZM réé; cf. CD nāān, also AD2 CL nāgāł, AD5 Yendang (ū-)-nā
lēñ, drip | AD4 Dii lēg 'flow'
*lēp, buy | CD lēp, cf. AD4 Momí yiip-; *dyap is PP
*lēpsi, sell | CD lēpsi
lēr, tongue (see list 1)
lérrā, louse | AD2 CL lād-'flea', AD4 Pere lārāñ, Dii lēd, AD5 ZM rēñēti, Yendang rēēsiī
*lérrā, flute | CD lērrā (a regional root: AD2 CL lēéð, AD4 Momí liiræ; also AD4 Dii lēētēēð)
léesī, léesī, spoil (tr), rot, spoil (intr) | CD lēesī 'moisten', AD4 Pere lū-, AD5 ZM lēsē
lēç, grass, bush (cf. pē lē /pē 'animal (thing-bush-thing)')
lēç, prepare, get ready | cf. AD2 CL lēb, AD4 Pere lē, Dii lē, AD5 Yendang ré-, all 'produce,
give birth'
*lēç, scar, blemish | CD lēç, AD2 CL lēm
(á/llí, when?
llí (+ bāāmā), sky, above | AD2 CL lēg
llī, village | AD2 CL līgā 'compound, family', AD4 Pere līgō, Dii līg, AD5 Yendang lēč, all
'house'; also AD13 Niellim llī.; Kwa līc, both 'house'; *di is PP for 'compound,
house'
*līk (līkā ?), dirt(y) | CD līkā, cf. AD2 CL līgād, also AD4 Dii līgōd 'be dirty'; *dik is PP
(á/llín, (day after) tomorrow | cf. AD2 CL limtā 'morning'
līng, between, through
líψi, sell, hawk
líντα, gut, intestine | cf. CD nάγρί
*líψi, turn, change | CD líψi, AD2 CL líρ, líμ but also AD5 ZM rί
líψα, smoke
lόκ, take | AD5 Yendang lά-, also AD4 Dii lό, but the root have a Chadic source, cf. Bata lό 'take, get'
lόκα or lόκά, cry (n) | CD lόκι 'speak, tell'
lόόμ, war (see list 1)
lόο, yam | AD2 CL dόό, AD5 ZM lόοτί
lόκ, lump (on body, head)
lόόμό, market | < Fulfulde luumo
lύμςα, man
(ά/)lύμςα, husband (cf. 'man')
lύν, knee (see list 1)
lύ, move (residence, jύζ) | AD4 Dii lύ 'go away'
*λύύμ, male | CD lύύμ
lύ (intr.; also λύύν for 'get, stand up'?), get up, fly | CD dόμ, AD4 Momi rυυ-, Pere лύ-, Dii лύ 'lift', AD5 ZM дύ, AD6 Karang зό; also note Bata л (apparently not a reconstructible Chadic root, Carnochan 1975)
lύνσι, raise, throw up, make fly

mά, knead, work (mud, clay), build (building) | CD mάκα, AD2 CL mά 'make, do', AD5 ZM mάα, Yendang mάα-, but AD4 Dii mβόό, AD6 Karang mβόό
*mάκ, show | CD mάκ, AD2 CL мάк 'imiter, désigner, mesurer'
*mάκα дίκαρ (мάкα invariable?), (red) millet | CD мάкα (meaning of second element in Tiba unknown)
*mάкσι, try, try on, out | CD мάкσί < мάк
мέκα, green, unripe
мέκα, paste
мέχιмςα, dew | CD мέхιςαн, AD2 CL мέхίςα, AD4 Momi met, Pere mερέ, Dii mεδ, AD6 Karang mύμ, but AD5 Yendang mόό (vs. mέε 'water')
mί, day
mί, door (< mί 'open, close') (see list 1)
mú, excrement
mí, close, open
mi, shave
mí-wà, day before yesterday
mó, bear, give birth to | AD6 Karang mbùŋ, cf. AD4 Dii mbóŋ 'fix, get ready'
mó (mò with object ti'tree'), climb
múná, earth

ná (nà with indirect object wé'child'), give | CD nyáá, AD5 ZM an; this form reappears in
AD13: Kulaal néé, Niellim ná
ná (nà with object pé'thing'), do | CD nák
náksá, cow (see list 1)
*nàmnè, crocodile (see list 1)
nàn, nàán, how?, how much? | CD nyáá, nyáká, AD2 CL lá, lčč, AD4 Momi nà(jee), AD5
ZM dhee 'how much', AD6 Karang ánì, Mbùm nániit 'how'
nè, four (see list 1)
néé (pl. níh), person | CD néé, AD2 CL nég, AD4 Pere nán
nélk, owner | AD6 Kare nàá
nélñèéè, axe
ní, mother (but nàápá 'your mother'); cf. ní-wé, sibling (mother's child) | AD5 ZM yína,
Yendang yéén (with prefix yV-?)
ní, drum (see list 1)
*nújì, hurry | actually CD níngsèn < níngsí 'make tremble', AD2 CL níj 'tremble' >
níngsónn 'hurry'
*nó, (oracle) poison | CD nòó
nóksi, enough, equal (be) | CD nèkèn
nòm(né)-, good, pleasant, tasty | AD2 CL lám, AD4 Dii nèm 'be salty'
*nòm, anger | CD nòm, AD2 CL nòm
nòntà, root | cf. AD5 Yendang núnkàr, *nan is PP
nóósi (HM?), shake
(tó)/nèk, (bow)string
núŋ, locust bean tree
núngúr, locust bean (tablet)
númjá, wax

pá, put in, on (as hat, shoes) | CD pák, AD2 CL pánn, AD4 Dii pág
(bóŋ) pá, (river)bed, gulley
pään, place
pátt, all | a regional term attributable to Fulfulde
pčë̂̃k, new | AD4 Momi på(-ni) but AD6 Mbum fëkë̂̃, Koh ñbë̃
pé̃, go | cf. AD2 CL pá‘take, carry’, AD4 Momi peee‘take away’; also Dii hë‘go off, away’
péc, thing | CD pérr; cf. AD2 CL iñ, AD4 Pere ēnë, Dii hën, AD5 Yendang hë, AD6 Karang fë
pí (intr), return, go back, change (into) | CD pè (compare përi‘put back’), AD4 Pere pín‘do again’ but pil‘change into’, AD6 Kare fërë; cf. 'exchange': AD2 CL péën, AD4 Dii pé
*píí, Bení seed | CD pií
*pígëéë, maize (see list 1)
*pilàn, (large) basket | CD pilàng, a regional root (AD2 CL piläm)
púmjá, charcoal | AD6 Karang hëkrë
pó, butcher, cut open
púglá, flowering (of plants) | CD pūgrë‘flower (vb)'
púglà, armpit
púuk, púkë, (maternal) uncle | cf. CD póp, AD4 Dii pā
puk (pükä?), bark (of tree), shell | CD pòkò
pýì, viper | AD4 Dii kpuù
púyëgë̄, cassava | CD pí́i-gòó
pýn, tired (be) | CD pût
pýn, fatigue

*sáà, (father's other) wife | CD sáà
*sá, net | CD sáà, AD2 CL sád
sá, ooze, have diarrhea (+ mû) | CD sáá, AD4 Dii sõõ‘leak’, AD5 ZM sòq, but san‘forge’,
Yendang sá‘ooze; melt’, AD6 Karang sàh‘moisten'
sá, mud | AD5 Yendang sók
sák, hang, carry (on shoulder)
*sák, genet cat | CD sák, AD2 CL sàg"renard"
sám, bark (vb)
sám, spear (see list 1)
(áṣ') sámká, left (hand)
sán, carve
sán, hoe | cf. AD4 Dii tōŋ
sānsá, muddy pool | cf. sā
sānsì, grind (flour) | AD4 Pere sān-'grind (fresh, damp grain)', whence relationship with sā
sā
(á/jsáŋká, frog, toad (see list 1)
*sánkí (HM?), teach, learn | CD sānki, AD2 CL sān
*sāsì, do (repetitively) | CD sāsì (auxiliary verb)
sātāā or sātāā, sour
sātá, porcupine
sātōk, (beer) pot
sè (also sèwà), sun, God (see list 1)
sè (intr), lacking, scarce (be) | AD5 Yendang sè
sè, also sèšè, nightjar (?) (translates CD tāmāā)
(áiş) sè (or sè), fingernail (see list 1)
*sèb, witch | CD sèp 'bewitch'; cf. AD4 Dii sòb 'use witchcraft', sōg 'witch', sèy 'witchcraft'
sèèk, anklet | AD4 Pere ségò "castagnette"
sèk, go (down), also sèksì | AD2 CL sīm, AD4 Dii sì, cf. AD4 Pere sì 'sit'; also cf. sì 'down'
*sèm, (prepubescent) girl, female (animal) | CD sèm 'girl' but -sè 'female animal'
sèmsè♠tâ sand | cf. AD4 Pere sìii, AD5 ZM sneeli (note particularly sengsengli from the Saawà dialect of Mumuye, Shimizu 1979:98); Kleinewillinghöfer 1996:97 also reports forms like swaa in Bikwin; cf. AD6 Kare māsālā and AD13 Niellim hyāā from an earlier form with initial s
sèn, waist | AD4 Momi seem, AD5 ZM sāń
sèn, add (to), increase
*sènèn (pl. sènèn-t-), guest | CD sènèn, AD2 CL sèén, cf. jë♠tâ
sènëèy, strong, healthy | cf. CD sēni 'be too strong', AD4 Dii sèn 'make an effort' prob. < sèè 'be potent, effective'
*sènì, difficult (be) | CD sēnì
sèqì, pull (off, out)
sèèr, pl. of yā♠kīk, young, small (child)
sèrè, truth
sê, scratch (itching) | cf. AD5 ZM sneeté‘itch’
si, speech, matter
si (intr), black, dark (be) | cf. AD5 ZM tinri‘dark’; also cf. jîn‘night’
si, bury
si, plait (hair) | AD4 Momi si-‘make rope’; otherwise CD tû, Pere tû-‘weave’, AD5 ZM tîsé
si, also sî, down(wards) | AD5 Yendang sêk, cf. CD tîi, AD2 CL tê, AD5 ZM tî(p)î, AD6
Kare tî, also cf. sîb ‘under’, sêk ‘go down’ for this correspondence
si, wait for | CD sit, AD2 CL sid, both ‘be patient’, AD4 Pere si-‘sit’
sî, show
sîb, under, below | CD tîm, also AD5 ZM tîpî, AD6 Karang sîb, both ‘earth’; cf. si’down
sîgây(ô), much, many
sîjî, also sîn, civet cat | CD sî, AD2 CL sid
*sîm, beer | CD sîm, cf. AD4 Pere fûm, AD13 Kulaal ham, Niellim hâm
sîr, porridge | cf. AD4 Momi sîi-‘cook porridge’
*sîr, boil, abscess | CD sît, AD2 CL sîlã
sîscê, switch, whip
*sîsâ, insult (n) | CD sîsi
sô, drink | CD sôç; the general AU root is represented by AD4 Dìi zô; *swa is PP; note
however that Chadic Bata has sôb
sô, butt, ram (perhaps identical with the following term) | AD2 CL sùd
sôd, break (intr) | AD4 Dìi sôô
sô, pierce, stab | AD5 ZM suu, Yendang sô-, AD6 Karang sû, but AD2 CL sàb ‘pierce’, AD4
Pere sà-, sàd, Dìi sà; compare CD sôt
sôk, wash (something) | CD sûksi, AD4 CL sûg, AD4 Pere sôr-, AD5 ZM sôkê, AD6
Karang sôh ‘wash oneself’
*sôkâr, (land monitor) lizard | CD sôká
sôksâ, hair (on body) (see list 1)
sôksâ (used with bô’throw’), whistling
sôn, (staple) food | AD5 Yendang sôô, cf. CD tûm, also AD13 Kulaal hàal, Niellim hà:n;
cf. ‘eat, chew’
*sôg, antelope (kind of) | CD sông
sôp, blow (on)
sôpsi, lick (up)
sóó, also sóórā, wind | cf. AD13 Kulaal hààp, Niellim såàb
sósìn, carry (off, away) | cf. CD túùn, AD5 Yendang tôô, both 'carry on head'
sô, mucus | cf. AD2 CL sâb 'pus'
sóōnî, leave (a path), branch off
sônsî, put out (fire)
sûksā, soup | AD5 Yendang sônkô
sûmsī, sûmsī, gather (something); gather (together) | CD sòôm, AD4 Pere sûm-, both 'gather up', AD5 Yendang sôô 'take out, remove'
sûwëgg, (intestinal) worm | CD sôômũ, AD2 CL sôbëég
sûnsî, swell, blister
sûsùŋ, shade | AD5 ZM sunrû, cf. AD6 Karang sûŋ 'night'
syỳ, thirst | CD sùù, AD2 CL sùùd
sýûm, dry (be) | CD sùm
sýmûa, empty
sýmsî, dry (tr) | CD sûmsî
sýn, grow, develop; go out | cf. CD túùn 'develop, grow up' > tûnën 'go out'; also AD6 Karang tîh 'go out'
sýnû, tail | AD2 CL sû 'queue de oiseau'; also cf. AD13 Kulaal hëgg, Niellim hînâ
sýnsî, resemble
sûrûm, bright, shiny (be); smooth, slippery, mucilaginous (be) | AD5 Yendang sôô- 'be slippery'

tá, hit, kick, shoot | CD tât, AD2 CL tàl, AD4 Momi taa-, Dii tà', AD5 ZM tâ, Yendang tá-, cf. té 'sting...'
tá (or tô), pick, pluck (fruit); excrete | AD4 Dii tô”'pick'
*tá, butcher (vb) | CD tàà
tá, early (be, get up) | AD4 Dii tâ’dô
*tââb, sandal | CD tââp, AD2 CL tâbâ
táâm, tám, jump (over), jump (intr)
tâp, sew | AD2 CL tâb, AD4 Dii tâ, both 'tie up'; compare CD tâggâl, CL tâl, a root also present in Chadic Guđe
*târá, three (but cf. 'eight' tyn-/tärârâ) | CD tärâ (see list 1)
té, sting, prick, dazzle; appear | CD tât, AD4 Momi tâks- 'reveal', cf. tá 'hit...'
té, stone (see list 1)
(yén) tě (< tě?), anus
tébmá, luck(y) (translates CD jíř 'red' in núin jíř 'luck(y person)', lit. 'red face')
(á/)téká(/?), gecko
té, pass (through) | CD tělī 'pass by', AD2 CL tāān, AD4 Pere tāl- 'pass', AD5 Yendang tár-, AD6 Kare tá
témsì, insult
*té, push, sweep, carry along | CD tāā
*téksi, begin | CD tāksi
*téčmsä, sheep | CD tāmsì; also note AD4 Pere tāmī, AD5 Yendang dāā
tí, tree, stick (see list 1)
tí, father (but těgé 'your father') | AD4 Pere tāā, but túnú 'his father', cf. AD5 ZM yéra
Yendang yóri (with prefix yV?)
tí(yā)m, afternoon
tík, gourd | AD4 Dii tíg
*tíksá, snail | CD tíksāā
(á/)tí/sáā (< á/tísād?), owl | AD5 Yendang tūnsūn
tísēŋ (or tíṣēŋ), ant
*(píc) tó̍m, work (n) | CD pén tó̍m
tón, eat, chew | CD tāān, AD5 Yendang táā-; also AD13 Kulaal tú but Niellim tů́y 'eat
(staple food), compare só́n 'staple food', AD5 ZM shaa 'eat', and AD6 Kare só́ 'chew'
*tó̍g, play (+ tō̍o 'ear') | CD tōng tāā
tō̍ng(né)- (also tů̍mè), good, effective, clean, beautiful | AD4 Dii tō̍g and AD5 ZM tō̍g, Yendang tō̍n-, all 'be good, tasty'; cf. AD6 Karang sū
*tó̍ngtó̍n, strong, healthy | CD tō̍ngtō̍n
tó̍, miss, err
tó̍g, bow (see list 1)
tó̍ō, ear (see list 1)
tó̍ōb, Shea butter tree | CD tūūp; cognates in AD13: Kulaal tó̍, Niellim tāām
tūá, here
tūū, head (see list 1)
*(píc) tūnén, baggage | CD pén tūnén < tūn 'carry'
tūn/sým, shame | cf. AD2 CL sām, AD4 Pere ségò, Dii sèm', AD5 ZM yā́-sne with yá
'head' and CD sásāā (also of course Fulfulde semt-
*tūné, five (but changes form in compound numbers: tūné-kín 'six', tōng-si-bččrā 'seven', tỳn-/tārārə 'eight', tūné-si-ně 'nine', cf. wüp-sęč-tūná 'fifteen') (see list 1)

tūn, point (at) | CD tōq, AD6 Kare tō

tūn, push | CD tūt, AD2 CL tī, AD4 Dii tū'; but Pere tā̱r; also AD5 ZM dnō

tỳ, finish, complete (tr) | AD4 Dii tū 'be completely destroyed'; cf. CD ḅūk, ḅūksi

tỳróm, between, among | cf. AD4 Dii tā̱g

tỳn, spit | AD2 CL tō, AD4 Dii tṓ but AD4 Momi tān-, AD5 Yendang tēn-; CD tūsi

(á/)vāg, (kind of) lizard

válī, help | < Fulfulde waalla

ev, squat

vūm, roast | AD2 CL wùn 'faire frire'

vvūn, goat (see list 1)

(á/)vúnsá, mosquito | CD bōgī, AD4 Momi wōos, Pere vōrè, Dii vād, Karang vwró, Kare wwró, cf. AD5 ZM wāra 'bee', Yendang vōrī 'bee', vérc-honey'

ev, die | CD wāˈu, AD4 Momi wěr-, Pere vō-, AD5 ZM vő, Yendang wűs-, AD6 Karang hů, AD13 Kulaal ũˈĭ, Niellim ŭy; cf. AD2 CL vād

vůysá, shadow | AD2 CL nyisq; cf. PP *vu 'shade'

vwč, beat, hit | clearly ideophonic: CD vwāt, AD6 vvwā, elsewhere AD4 Momi bee', Dii vāə, cf. AD6 Karang vwăr, Kare vwró 'break'

wā, fire | AD4 Pere věč, Dii věč; cf. AD5 ZM yaa, but waa in various other Mumuye dialects; this well-represented AD-Ubangi root is not found in CD, but is present in both Mambila and Vute

wā, sharpen

wák, wákú, grandfather

wáln, (cooking) pot (see list 1)

wálnsá, heat, hot (cf. 'fire') | also compare ZM wnaa 'hot'

wánsá, body

wā, leave, let | CD vēt

wē, year, time, season | AD4 Momi wiir, Pere vērè, Dii vē'
wé (pl. wë), child | CD wëś‘small, child’, AD2 CL wà, AD4 Pere wårwà, Dii wåä, AD5 Yendang våä; *van is PP

wëjìm, morning

wëjìn, tomorrow

(ään)wëkkä, (his?) wife (‘woman' with prefix å- | (vestigial) compounding of terms for 'man' and 'woman', perhaps absent in Tiba, is a general feature of SWAD (and CD: lëf-Jrùm ‘man', nëf-Jnwù ‘woman'); if Tiba 'woman' were of this type, it might be related to AD4 Dii wā(-)kèég, etc., cf. AD2 CL kéén ‘woman'; otherwise it may be connected with an eastern root: AD6 Kare wū, Karang wûyû, AD13 Kulaal wàá, Niellim wày, cf. wū, female

*wëp, mix | CD wëp

*wér, arrow (see list 1)

wërûm-wë, (small) bird | cf. AD4 Momi welmaž ‘nightjar'

wésèë, firewood | AD2 CL wōgsà

wësì, hurt | CD nwôni (but Mapeo Chamba wënl), AD4 Pere wòd-wëk, hide (tr)

wëçrà, mushroom

wëi (wëni?), female | AD6 Karang wëyû, Kare wû ‘woman' (also Koh máy)

wí, sit, stay, wait | AD4 Momi wëlïisk- ‘set (as sun)'

wënsà, thatching grass

*wò, want | CD wòò

wù, take off (clothes) | CD wōsì

wó, watch (over) | CD nwàán, AD2 CL wán, AD4 Pere wôr-wòb, baboon

wòghû, bat

wòm(më)-, cooperative, conjoint (labor)

wòm, oil (see list 1)

wòmsà, elephant grass

wòj, fight (vb) | CD nòng but nòdm ‘be angry', cf. AD4 Pere gö- ‘fight' but nò- ‘be angry',

AD5 Yendang yòmàn-

wòp, fight (n) | CD nòng

wòp (intr), run | AD5 Yendang ó-, cf. CD nwòp ‘avoid'; also see wòp ‘fear'

wòpsì, ride (horse)

wòpsïnsà, sweat | cf. CD wât, AD2 CL wàd, but AD5 ZM pmqi; *tiin is PP
*wọ́, hide (intr) | CD wọ́, cf. AD5 Yendang kúú
wọ́b, bone | cf. the well-represented NC root appearing, e.g., in PP as *kup (but AD5 Yendang kún)
wọ́gbé, ten (see list 1)
wú, drunk (be) | cf. CD wít, AD2 CL wíd
wú, fat (be) | CD nóò, AD4 Momi non-, Pere nùù-; AD5 ZM nó
wúp, fear | cf. CD yíp, AD5 ZM yú, both 'run', perhaps associated with a Chadic root, cf.
   Bata gíbh; also AD6 Kare wúd; see wòp 'run'
wúptá, fear (n)

yá, go (and visit, + sènèn) | AD2 CL yá 'venir', AD4 Dii yá 'arrive'
yá, (over) there | cf. AD4 Dii yá 'place'
yá (intr), rot, spoil; be surprised | CD nyángì, AD2 CL nyá', also yèèl 'spoil, destroy', AD5 Yendang yànsán-
   *yàá, what?, why? | CD nyáá
yàá, friend (see list 1)
yá, old, used
yá (intr), swallow | cf. AD4 Dii yó'
(á/yá, where? | AD5 Yendang yáá
yámik, pl. sèèr, young, small (child) | cf. CD míí (pl. méém) and AD5 Yendang (váá) pl. yá
   yááán, bad
*yánn, horse (see list 1)
yáááá, leaf (see list 1)
yék, (at) home | CD nyém, AD2 CL yiil 'house, compound', AD4 Dii yéé 'courtyard', AD5 ZM ye
yék, ready, ripe, healed (be), adj. yénèè | AD4 Dii yéí ná 'true, good', cf. 'cook', cf. AD2 CL wè
yékśá, light (fire from another fire) | AD4 Pere yèg-
yérmá, flame | AD2 CL yèèl 'red, flame'; cf. bórmum 'thunder, lightening'
yéèm, meat (see list 1)
yém, carry (to), present (something) with an obeisance | cf. CD nyènì
*vènéém, yesterday | CD nyém
yèmáá, song | CD nimisí but AD4 Dii yéé, AD5 Yendang yèk
yēēn, buttocks
yēŋ, sow (by casting), scatter | CD yēê, AD4 Pere yēm- 'disperse'
*yēēn, bedbug | CD nyēēng
yēŋ, cold (be) (as wind)
*yēŋlā, digging stick | CD nyēŋlī
yī, eat | CD lū́, AD2 CL lī́, AD4 Momi ree, Pere lé-
*yī, steal | CD yī́
*yīk, lion (see list 1)

yīrīk, black | CD víkkī, AD4 Momi wii-, wiir- 'be black', Pere vīj- 'be black', Dii vī = fi 'be black', AD5 ZM viiki, but also AD4 Pere dūrī, AD5 Yendang yītī, AD6 Kare yīrī (both having cognates in AD13 as well)

(yīp)yīmā (< yī 'eat'), right (hand)
yō, pull, stretch | cf. CD nwōt, AD4 Dii wōt; also AD5 ZM gŋo 'pull', zŋo 'pull out'
yōgrēēn, soft | AD4 Momi yakw-, Dii yōo 'be soft' vs. CD wōglēēn, AD2 CL ōg 'be soft'
yōōk, cook (staple food) | AD4 Pere yō-, AD4 Dii yō 'be ripe, cooked' (cf. yē 'ready...(be)'); also cf. AD4 Momi ruu-
yōkūm, salt (see list 1)

yōm (yōm(nē)-), bite, be sharp | AD5 ZM yorr; elsewhere, the usual initial l/n alternance:
   CD lōōm, AD2 CL lūm, AD4 Momi rom(-d-), AD4 Dii nōŋ, AD5 Yendang rūn-,
   AD6 Karang nūŋ, Mbum lōŋ

yōō, snake (see list 1)
yō, weave, plait
yōōsā, rope | CD yōsī, AD4 Momi yokla
yōōsī, swim, cross a river by swimming | AD4 Pere wō(g)-; cf. CD yōō 'climb, cross a river (by any means)', AD4 Pere yōō- 'cross (a river by means other than swimming)'
yūū, death, dead body | cf. CD wēx, AD5 ZM vōq, Yendang wērē, AD6 Karang hūl, AD13 Kulaal ūūlā, Niellim 'ūūlā, all probably related

yū, hunger | CD wūū, AD5 ZM wnqō; cf. AD13 Niellim nyūnī 'thirst'
yūksā, fish | CD wūūk, cf. AD4 Momi dūgā, dūukt, Pere dūrē, AD6 Karang nzūy

yōm (or yōm), collide (with) | AD5 Yendang yin-