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 ».

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 lāngsí, and in fact seemed unclear about its exact nature.

The Tiba (Tibá in CD) do not use this name for themselves. Rather, they call themselves àGàà nìà 'Tiba people') and their language àgà àŋà ('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 groups. Unfortunately, the published lexical data on a number of languages which might interest us, particularly AD groups 5 (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 Yendang (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 (Ubels, 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 stû 'bury' and stö '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 AD9 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 ɛ, ɔ to represent high mid vowels and e, o to represent low mid vowels; ɑ 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 ɛ, ɔ; 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 ˘ represents any vowel bearing the suprahigh 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 ɲ where necessary.

In this part of the paper, Tiba nouns are presented in citation form, i.e., with à- or á/- 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

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

à-tó-à 'bow'
CD táám, AD2 CL tāb, AD4 Momi taaù, Pere tābò, AD5 Zing Mumuye (hereafter ZM) tā(k)à, Yendang tát, Meek AD8 Kam ace, cf. AD9 Jen kanto, Munga kantaur; also PP *ta
'à-bàk-à' 'bushcow'
AD5 ZM bàkà, Meek Yendang bàt

'à-kàŋkiláá ’chicken'
AD5 ZM kpì, cf. Meek AD8 Kam kumë; there is no nasal in AD2, thus CL kò, cf. CD kpàà, AD4 Momi kpì, AD6 Mbum kákà vs. Koh kày; the nasal reappears with a back vowel in AD4 Pere kònì, the initial consonant is voiced in Meek's AD7 Yungur go; note a root in part of AD13, represented in Kulaal by hàlå, suggesting the Tiba term may involve two roots of similar meaning; also cf. terms for 'guinea-fowl'

'à-nàmèn-à’ ’crocodile'
CD nàmèn, CL nàbân, AD4 Pere nàmànè, Meek AD5 Yendang name

'à-náksá ’cow'
AD4 Momi nògs and Pere nàgö, Meek AD5 Yendang nákì, AD6 Koh nàkà, cf. PP *nìakk; but CD, AD2 CL nà, also in AD7; AD4 Dii has ndà, AD5 ZM has nàppò

'à-by-à’ ’dog'
Meek AD7 Yungur bwe, Mboi abwa; possible cognacy with the AD6 series Mbum gà, Karang gà, Kare và; *bu is also PP

'à-nùp-à’ ’drum'
Meek AD2 Mumbake riŋgìma

'à-tòò ’ear'
CD tàà, AD5 ZM shòò (derivation from an earlier *twa, or *tue as in Common Bantu, seems patent), Yendang tòk; the velar c is widespread: AD2 CL tùng, AD4 Momi tok, Pere tògò, Dii tòg, cf. AD6 Karang suìk

'à-ép-à’ ’egg'
ZM wàŋkà; note Meek AD5 Yendang hàt, Kumba pa; the full AD5 set suggests cognacy with the widespread "pàŋgì" form (cf. AD2 CL bòòd, AD10 Longuda fòla, AD14 Niellim hwàánnì)
à-ísá 'eye'

*yir/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) *nisì* and Bantu A.90 Kako *misì* (also, of course, Fulfulde *yeeso* 'face', *yiitere* 'eye')

*(à-)*së-é 'fingernail' (perhaps -së-)

AD5 ZM *saari*, Yendang *sóó*, Meek AD8 Kam *aciri-*, AD9 Jen/Munga *cina-

à-në-â 'four'

AD4 Pere *närö*, Dii *ndádó*, ZM *dneerį*, CL *näärrä*, Meek AD5 Yendang *nät*, AD8 Kam *nar*; compare AD6 Karang *níñ*, Kare *née*, Mbum *nyàñ*

à-vün-â 'goat'

CD *vín*, AD2 CL *vā*, Meek Wom/Mumbake *vua*, AD4 Momí *buuz*, AD5 Yendang *bii*, Kumba *wii*, Gengle/Kugama *ayi*, AD9 Munga *nañbu*, AD6 Karang *gûy*, Koh *vûy*, AD13 Niellim *bûy*

à-kpàngüm-tā 'groundnut(s)'

CD *kpàáŋ* 'groundnut', *gùūm* 'bambara groundnut', Meek AD2 Chamba (Leko) *kanf-[jwara* (now without the preposed term: *wàd*)

à-gérá 'guinea-corn'

Meek AD2 Wom *gbera*, cf. CL *yëd*, CD *yíri*; also see -hāŋ- 'guinea-corn' below

à-sōksá '(body) hair'

AD4 Momí *suuk* 'hair', AD5 ZM *sòó*; a term noted *sùri* by Meek (Yendang *sùüri*) 'hair (of head)' (Meek does not record 'body hair') is widespread in AD5 outside Mumuye, cf. Dong *suk* 'hair' (Blench 1997), AD6 Koh *sûy* 'hair'; a comparable root appears in some A13 languages

à-gbôm-á (gbôóm) 'heart'

AD5 ZM *gboóti*

à-nyân-á 'horse'

CD *nyäañ*, CL *yà*, Meek AD8 Kam *yëge*
à-lúŋ-á 'knee'
CD luũũi, CL lúŋd 'articulation', Meek AD2 Wom luŋbera; AD5 Teme luŋ, Kumba nĩŋgi, Gengle/Kugama ruŋ, also Yendang (yũ-) rèŋká; AD8 Kam alunu (also A13 Bwa group d'ruŋ vs. AD6 Kare (nʒá- )tuũ)

à-bák-á 'knife'
Meek AD8 Kam abak; cf. AD4 Dií pāg

yàásá 'leaf'
CL yáá and Meek AD5 Yendang nyákā (yãŋkã, with classifier hẽ), Waka nyãŋa, Teme jãŋga, AD9 Jen/Munga yangka

à-bèŋ-á 'leg'
AD4 Momi bi 'paw'

à-bè-ŋ 'leopard'
AD4 Pere bâlẽm, cf. CD gbẽ, AD5 ZM gbme, Meek Yendang kpe (kpẽ); the relationships between these roots AD2 CL gã, AD4 Momi gooz, and Meek AD7 ñila, ñila, ñula, AD8 impeli, AD9 hwi, vwi is obscure

à-nyḙ́m-á 'meat'
Meek AD9 Jen hiã, Munga xiam; other instances of this root in AD2, 7, 8 are not palatalized; this well-known NC root reappears in AD13 Kulaal nyãm, Niellim nyãm

(à-)fẽ̇n-á 'moon'
AD6 Karang fẽw, Meek AD7 Yungur -fẽ, -fã, AD9 Jen/Munga ñi, ñi (Kleinewillinghöfer 1996 records cases of nasal vowels); also in AD13: Kulaal fẽ, Niellim pỹã, PP *pyan has reflexes in both initial Ŋ and ŋ, cf. 'sun'

à-dòk-á 'mountain'
Meek AD8 Kam adąŋ

à-kãŋ-á 'neck'
Meek AD5 Gengle/Kugama kðañ, AD7 Libo kwē̊na; elsewhere in groups 5 and 7, the forms are kír, kwer, kor, cf. AD2 CL kòól, AD4 Pere kòlãŋ; also cf. 'shoulder'
à-jjì̀-à 'night'
AD4 Pere zègò 'darkness', AD5 ZM zìì, Meek Kumba jim

à-bòŋ-à 'river'
Meek AD5 Yendang boŋko (bōnkō), Waka bangö, etc., AD2 CL wùŋ. But the root is also apparently in "Mambiloid" Nizaa

à-yòkùm-à 'salt'
Meek AD2 Mumbake nyuŋ, AD4 Pere yōŋ, Meek AD9 Jen jukwè; also cf. CD nyémùm 'kind of salt', AD2 CL nwùm

à-yǒ-à 'snake'
CD yǒ, 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 yǒ 'slough off (old skin)'; while this root is best known in BC (cf. Bantu *j/yókā), it is also found in languages presumably subjected to little BC influence such as AD11 Fali jò and Ubangi Gbaya gòk

à-tè-è 'stone'
AD5 ZM tara, Meek Yendang tari (tàrì), AD8 Kam atal, AD9 Jen/Munga te (cf. AD6 Karang -sàw); PP *ta

à-lýr-à 'tongue'
Meek AD2 Wom lela, AD5 ZM rëetè, Yendang lèkā, but CD láj

à-tàr-à 'three'
CD tàrà, ZM tat, CL tôôrã, Meek AD5 Yendang tat (tàt), AD7 Yungur (ìì)ta, Libo tar(in), AD8 Kam car, AD9 Jen (wa)ta

à-tì-à 'tree'
AD4 Momi te; the root is also clearly represented in Meek AD5 Yendang (tèè'), Waka, Teme and AD2 Mumbake, CL tèf, cf. CD tím with final nasal (AD10 Longuda shows a plural form with final -m, Kleinewillinghöfer 1996); also cf. AD13 Kulaal tëyö, Niellim tëlã, but AD6 Kare dì
à-lóm-á 'war'
AD4 Dii lúú 'make war'; cf. AD6 Koh yúũ, Mbum nyǔ

à-jújú-á 'water'
Meek AD2 Lekon (Chamba Leko) nyunjuna, cf. Wom/Mumbake yila, CL wël; also compare AD4 Dii ziţ 'urine', ziţ 'river'; possibly connected with the AD13 root represented in Kulaal by ím but elsewhere by rim forms

● Cognate in CD

à-wér-á (wéé) 'arrow'
CD wárí

à-d(ũ)ım-á 'back, behind'
CD dim(âa). primarily a BC root (particularly Bantu and Cross River), represented regionally in Vute and Mambila; the best AD correlate is Dii đàn 'beyond, on the other side'

à-yós̄n-á 'breast'
CD nyésr̃. cf. PP *basan; compare AD2 CL vūm, AD4 Momi voom 'milk'

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

à-kônglár-á 'elephant'
CD kôngláá; CD has an apparently derived verb kôngli '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 gòŋi)

à-tūń-á 'five'
CD tūımá: initial t- is characteristic of BC (AD has mostly n-); back v₁ can be found, for example, in Jukunoid
̀-tú-à '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

̀-jùntá 'pot'
CD jìi; see -wàlág- below

à-nyik-à 'lion'
CD nyik, AD2 CL (gbàd-)nìg

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

à-(y)òn-à 'nose'
CD nùùm: a well-represented NC root with many probable cognates in AD, though the correspondences are too complex for certainty, cf. for example AD2 CL júdí, AD4 Pere ãã, AD6 Mbum hòòk, Karang hókò but Koh múù, AD13 Niellim hùny

à-wòm-à 'oil'
CD múm, but Mapeo Chamba 'ùm; this need not be the well-represented nò(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 "mùmë", according to Joly (1935); cf. Meek AD8 Kam man

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

à-sàm-à 'spear'
CD sàqìì, cf. ZM shàlày, suggestive of Chadic; also compare AD2 CL só́d'arrow', AD4 Dii së́g 'war', sëgó 'arrow', AD5 ZM sòò, Yendang sòò, both 'arrow', and AD13 Kulaal sól, Niellim sàl, both 'combat'
à-ún-à 'tooth'
CD nùm. a NC root not well represented in AD unless cognacy can ultimately be established with AD2 CL nágàl, AD4 Momi nuur, Pere nùúlè; cf. PP *niu

à-bëčär-à 'two'
CD bààrà. 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-óŋ-à 'bee'
Closest neighboring AD roots are AD5 ZM wara (cf. Meek AD5 Yendang fôri (vôrì), Waka/Kumba vòri, Teme vobe), AD2 CL núúd (cf. Meek Wom ṭòra); also compare AD4 Pere ólè 'honey'

à-lá-á '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'

á/-gbùñ-à 'bird'
Related to AD4 Pere gáář 'bat' and/or gbáŋò 'pigeon'?

à-lèká 'blacksmith'
AD2 CL lâmr; cognacy is hypothetical given that every AD group has a different characteristic root; also compare AD4 Dii náŋ; cf. however 'forge' in list 2

à-gbùm-à (gbáám) 'blood'

à-mí-á 'door' (< mū 'close')?
à-gáŋsá 'fly'
All matches unsatisfactory: CD gë̄, AD4 Momi gumkaz, Pere gùi; cf. Meek AD5 Yendang group kû (kûn)
à-nyáá-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 mànáá is a derivate of màn- 'peer', often used as a prefix

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

à-jú-á 'house'
Cf. AD5 ZM zhà(k)á, also Meek AD7 Mboi šudó, Libo išária, Yungur hitó; there are apparent AD13 cognates: Kwa Perim jòö: 'house', Kwa Cini jùùrà 'woman's house'; cf. PP *di, a root also represented in Voltaic

à-pígèë 'maize' (but curiously CD piī-gëë 'cassava')

à-ísá 'mat'
Cf. AD6 Karang hiíh

à-kín-á 'one'
Meek AD5 Yendang bíndi (bíntí), AD9 Jen ūng, 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 kínë 'compact, dense'

à-wáláŋ-á 'pot'

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

à-gàá (gàá ) 'road'
à-sé-é 'sun, God'
CD sūū; the semantic equivalence is very widespread in SWAD languages; also AD6 Karang sēh; note AD2 CL sò, AD4 Momi see, Pere sū, Dii sē, Meek AD5 Yendang sï, se (nōg-sî), all meaning 'moon'

à-wōób-ā 'ten'
Cf. AD4 Pere fōb; a widespread AD root is kop (cf. AD5 ZM kôp, Yendang kǒp, AD2 CL kôb and Meek AD10 Hill Longuda kwoo); another is bu in AD7/8 and perhaps 9

(á/-)sāŋká '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 yēndāŋ 'Yendang language', wēç yēndāŋ-ù bīnti 'one Yendang person (child)'.

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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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
  m & n \\
p & f & t & s & k & km & kp \\
b & v & d & j & g & gm & gb \\
b & d' \\
vw & l & y & h & w
\end{array}
\]

(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 $b/\delta$ contrast is less perceptible than $d/\delta$; 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 ([$k^h$, $g^h$, $h$]) + High central vowel + $\eta$. (In fact, the relative weight of stop and aspiration is such that the phonetic notation might as well be [$\theta h$, $\theta h$].) Now it turns out that, while we have at least one initial $ku\eta$, we nowhere have terms of the form $ki\eta$, $gi\eta$, $hi\eta$, or $i\eta$. 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 $\eta$ as $v_2$, $\delta r\acute{a}\eta$ '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 (\([sùm"çe] \) '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, a \( l/r \) 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 (\( i, ē, e, a, o, ō, u \)) together with two rounded front vowels, \( y \) (distinguished from the palatal semivowel
elsewhere in this paper by tone marking or context) and \( \sigma \). 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 \( \ddot{i} \), \( \ddot{y} \), \( \ddot{e} \), \( \ddot{a} \), \( \ddot{o} \), \( \ddot{u} \) are thus far attested).

Furthermore, the nasal contrast can only appear in a limited number of positions: 1) \( V \) in \( CV\# \) (e.g., \( ta \) 'pluck'/\( ta \) 'be early'; and 2) \( V_1 \) in \( CV, C_2(CV) \) (where \( C_2 \) is either a front or a back stop, e.g., \( tap \)'sew'/\( gap \)'count', \( d\ddot{e}k \)'forget'/\( s\ddot{e}k \)'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 \( NV/N\dddot{V} \) 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, \([w\dddot{a}g\ddot{i}] \)'body' is, if the rules above are indeed the only ones operative, phonologically /\( w\ddot{a}n\ddot{s}i/\).

We may note that there is a strong tendency in Tiba to apply the CD rule that, if \( C_1 \) in \( C_1V(V)N \) 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 \( CVC_2 \)) for any \( C_2 \) other than \( n \) also holds in Tiba. The rule requiring that \( \ddot{e} \), \( \dot{e} \) be long in CD (except in \( C_CCV \)) does not, however, seem to hold. Tiba has cases of at least \( C\ddot{e}C \), \( C\ddot{e}CV \), and \( C\dot{e}C \), though in the
case of the latter, the length contrast is much clearer to the ear when a vowel suffix is added. Long \( \varepsilon \) and \( \varphi \) in \( CC \) and \( C.CV \) 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 \( CVn \) 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(V)CV and CVCCV nominals have i as V₂ when the term is in nonfinal position; in final position, this vowel becomes á. (In the lists provided here, such nouns are written with final -á, making them easily distinguishable from CV(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 -Cí or -/Cí (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 -áá (cited here with final -á), hence nonfinal -í; and 2) nominals with final -áá, hence nonfinal -í, itself followed by downstep.

● There are exceptions to the rule just stated: these include a small number of terms with final -á or -áá which remain invariable in nonfinal position (i.e., their final vowel does not become -í). 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: pùglàá 'armpit'. It may be that the term for 'sickle' alternates between invariance (bàámsàá) and variance (nonfinal báámsà, final báámsàrá, see 'Noun morphology' below).

● A small number of nouns have final -áá, the one case of alternation (gýsàá, gýsýn) suggests this structure was originally -Vn-á. The -á marking final position has thus been incorporated into the root, the form in nonfinal position being (-)/Cá (with downstepped mid tone).

● There are also CV(V)CV nominals with high V₁ and final éé (wésèč 'load of firewood' with mid V₁ being an apparent counterexample), which could conceivably be analyzed as deriving from -I- + -á 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(V)CV nouns, siíjì, a variant of sií, 'civet cat', sáàtì 'porcupine', and jèrí 'whirlwind', which have root-final -í (-iy?), giving -I-á in utterance-final position.
• Like CD, Tiba allows cvc\textit{um} (also cvc\textit{ym}) and cvcv\textit{y} (with \textit{v}_1 = \textit{v}_2). There are also terms with cvc\textit{en} structure corresponding well to CD terms with identifiable -\textit{en} or -\textit{\textae}n suffixes, and others which correspond to nothing in CD. (See "Derivational affixes" under II.4.a below.)

• Tiba also has a variety of \textit{v}_1-\textit{v}_2 combinations in cvc(c)vc terms with final \textit{y} and \textit{k} (and even in one case, final \textit{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 \textit{v}_2 position does not provide a full set of vowel contrasts. Indeed, final -\textit{i}, whether for nominals or for verbs, is a lax, slightly lower variant of this sound than appears in \textit{v}_1 (root) position, doubtless owing to this neutralization of contrasts. There is furthermore some tendency to total assimilation when \textit{v}_1 is either \textit{\varphi} or \textit{\rond}. (It may be noted that Tiba does not seem to have the cvc\textit{f} and cvc\textit{g} 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 (cv\textit{\varphi} > cv\textit{\varphi}/, cvc(c)\textit{\varphi} > cv/c/c/c\textit{\varphi}). 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 predication with 3sg subject kff/ 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 VC, in this context, the L component being perhaps attributable to the deleted - 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 - 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 CVCCCV verbs have a HL or ML pattern, apparently in (free?) variation. When, in careful speech, the - 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, kff. Indeed, this seems to yield at least three classes, H (H/kff), M, and again a very small number of L (M is perhaps sometimes realized H with no
following downstep). Very few \( cVc(C) \) 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 \(-n\bar{e}\bar{a}\), 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/\(n\bar{e}\bar{a}\) or \(Hn\bar{e}\bar{a}\). 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 (\(n\bar{i}, \bar{a}\)) 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 \(V_1\) in
a \(V_1-V_2\) 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 \(i\bar{h}\) 1PL subject \(w\bar{u}\)
2S subject \(\dot{a}\) 2PL subject \(m\bar{u}\)
3S subject \(k\bar{i}\) 3PL subject \(w\bar{a}\)
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 \( \dot{a} \)- and the noun root), unlike CD where the possessives are all postposed. The system of these markers is:

- 1sg (\( \dot{a} \)-)mēē-
- 1pl (\( \dot{a} \)-)wēē-
- 2sg (\( \dot{a} \)-)wēē-
- 2pl (\( \dot{a} \)-)mēē-
- 3sg (\( \dot{a} \)-)gūū-
- 3pl (\( \dot{a} \)-)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 \(-\dot{u}\dot{u}\)h
- 3sg prefixed \(-\) (i.e., the noun prefix becomes \( \dot{a}/-\))

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 (à is a variant in certain contexts and obligatory in imperative forms), but the object pronoun is -à. The CD independent 2sg pronoun is wàà, related to the postposed possessive wàà. There is therefore a good correspondence here with Tiba, though the Tiba 2sg imperative seems to be yiì.

CD has no 3sg subject pronoun, but the 3sg independent forms are doubtless derived from *gù 'animate', *ge' 'inanimate'. The object form is kù (gù 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 kù (gù in Mapeo Chamba). There is thus again a fairly good correspondence between the two languages.

It may be noted that Tiba ki, 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 à, the independent form wòò, related to the possessive wòò. If the Tiba form is to be connected, the vowel change must be explained.

The CD 2pl and 3pl subject marker is ë. The object markers are likewise identical (-bù). The independent 2pl form is in all likelihood derived from an earlier vú, the possessive being vùù. The independent 3pl is likewise derived from bù, with possessive bùù. 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 -(fnk(á/i)) (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 -áân demonstrative ('this (here and now)') in á-ní-yóó (prefix|day|this) 'today' (CD móí-r-áán).

II.4. Tiba morphology

a) **NOUN MORPHOLOGY**

**CLASSIFICATORY INFLECTION:** In general, nominals have a prefixed á- when they are found in initial position. Some nominals, however, have a high-tone á- prefix, followed by downstep, suggesting a structural áá-. 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, á- 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 á/jáánsá 'tiger nut', confirming that the á- prefix is in fact á-á-.

Likewise, á- and even áá- 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 suffix -á 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 -á in final position unless V is -e-, -e-, -o-, -o- 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 -á.

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-(á/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 -tô 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., lúú 'yam' + són 'staple food' > lúú/són(á), ísí'eye' + sóksá'hair' > ísí sóksá'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 -en 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 -gür which can be added to any (nominal or verbal) adjective to form an abstract nominal, e.g., pék 'new', -pék/-gür-á 'newness'. In the case of verbal adjectives ending in në, this suffix may tend to be tonally assimilated (-gür-).

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 -gu-á. (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 -si suffix: Many verbs have the form cvvsí or cvcsí. 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. syým 'be dry', symsí 'dry (tr)'; wóp 'run, fear', wópsi '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., dón breathe', dônsí 'rest (i.e., make oneself breathe, breathe for oneself)', while others have more complex agentive relationships: kóy 'cut (down), clear
There are a few verbs of the form CVsi with η or e 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 -lï; 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 jānri 'dry (meat)' (< jān-'hot'?). Nothing, then, can be said about the semantic content of these "suffixes". Note, however, that, in CD, the term corresponding to Tiba bïumkï- 'resound, be noisy' is a frequentative derivate in -kï of a different root, while the term for 'tickle' (Tiba digli) is also a CVCLI verb. Only one CVCTi verb (a sort of "diminutive") and no CVVRI 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 -m and -dim: The verbal noun, or infinitive, is obtained by giving the verb root a M tone pattern and by suffixing -m, unless the verb has the form CVm or CVn, in which case the suffix is -dim. Like any noun, the verbal noun can take an à-prefix and an -ā suffix. If the noun suffix is -m and -ā is added, the result is phonetically [mv ŋ má]. 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 m.

There is nevertheless a certain number of CVV verbs which, for an undetermined reason, are given with suffix -dim. 
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 *nî* preceding utterance-final modifiers (CD *è(n)*); a marker *â* or *hâ* seems to alternate freely with *nî* and is conceivably a direct borrowing from CD;
2) the locative marker *(n)i* preposed to noun phrases (perhaps related to the above);
3) the locative anaphoric *gáta* preposed to locative terms (also in CD);
4) the preadverbial marker *jî* (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 (-î) and the perfective (*gô*) in CD: this is *néâ* (presumably *nê* + -î) after L tone, *nê'â* or /nêâ/ after H tone.

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

There is an utterance-final marker translating the CD durative (*têچ*): this is *jâ-â*. It may be preceded by the definite *nî* (CD é *têچ*).
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 -ê, 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 â-. (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 nyāngli (possible metathesis)
án, open (wide), yawn (+ dro) | a widespread ideophonic root: CD yáá yáá, AD2 Chamba
Leko (CL) yá, AD4 Momi agan-, Pere àà-, Dii áá, AD5 Yendang hánk-, AD6 Kare 'á
áp, seek
ápsi, feel, touch (prob. < áp 'seek')
áŋpāā, mouth (also ŋ, language, speech) | AD4 Pere yāgó, Dii yāg, AD5 Yendang yák,
AD6 Karang nzák are conceivably cognate with this (probably compounded) root
áŋŋ, arm, adj. áŋnčč, relating to the arm (see list 1)
áŋŋ, name | AD5 Yendang ďk
áŋŋ, know | cf. AD13 Kulaal 뇨n, Niellim 'ںnā

c, dry (something in the sun) | CD yērī, AD4 Momi yend-, Pere yēr-, Dii yē’, AD5 Zing
Mumuye (ZM) yā, AD6 Kare yē’dry'
ck, tear, rip, pluck | AD4 Dii yē’‘split'
cŋ, egg (see list 1)

*čk, burp | CD yāk
csì (HH?), cough | CD wūsi, cf. AD6 Kare āēl

ūi, lie, lie down, sleep | AD4 Dii ㅂi
ūm, tooth (see list 1)
isá, mat (MH?) (see list 1)
isā (كسب), eye (see list 1)
*isèn, broom | CD yisèn
óŋ, bee (see list 1)
*órı̋n, cold | CD wārēn
ónsì, lick

óñőnà, who? | AD5 ZM wò

ò, wash (oneself) | AD4 Dii yōō 'wash something', AD5 ZM welè, wolè, Yendang hù-'bathe', AD6 Karang wòk, Kare ōi
(y)ōñőn, nose (see list 1)
ôñőrá (or ōr), yawn (n)

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

ỳ, knead | cf. AD4 Dii vù 'pound (flour)'
ỳ (në)-, cool (as shade) | AD2 CL wùm
ỳp, crush (under foot)
*ỳỳỳm, ancestor spirit | CD wùrù(ù)m; cf. AD4 Dii yōō
ỳsi (HH?), suck
ỳsì, twist, wring (perhaps identical with the preceding term) | cf. AD4 Pere vì-
ỳsìn, breast (see list 1)

bú, leopard (see list 1)
*bák, follow | CD bák, also AD2 CL bāg AD2 CL gbá' 'move away'
*bák, stick, block | CD bák
bùm, big (be) | CD gbóöm, AD5 Yendang gbàn- 'be heavy', AD2 CL gbáá
*bàamś(ə), sickle | CD gbòōmsà, AD2 CL gbòōmsà, AD4 Momi gamsą, but Pere gbànè
bāŋkùlùnì, elbow
*bàr(ù)b, twin | CD bārùp, AD2 CL bàdàp
*béēb, money | CD beēp
bén, granary | AD4 Pere binè, cf. CD bón, AD2 CL bón, AD5 ZM böį; AD4 Dii vány
*bèreŋ̥, gazelle (kind of) | CD bèrèng̥, AD2 CL bèdèŋ̥
*bi, seed, kind (bi as N2) | CD biĩ
*biĩ, quiver (for arrows) | CD bècën
*bökṣi, accompany | CD bökṣi
bór, big | CD wàrî, pl. wòpsá, AD4 Pere bògγrè, AD5 ZM bòrò are all likely cognates
búŋ̥, kill | cf. CD bût, AD4 Momi but-s- 'kill a sleeping animal'
býír̥i, draw, decorate with drawing | AD4 Momi bii-, AD5 ZM bii but Yendang vēĉ̥; cf. CL bād

*b̥á (bā with subject m '1sg'), come | CD bāá, rarely with sense 'come' in AD, but cf. AD4
Pere b̥á- 'come forward'; however, AD2 CL gba‘’move away'
bāk, hug, embrace, cradle | CD kpāk, AD4 Pere kpā-, kpāŋ-
bāk, knife (see list 1)
bāk, bushcow (see list 1)
bāksĩ (+ tūā 'head'), think, worry about
bāámā, midst
*bān, farm (vb) | CD bānn, AD4 Momi baa-, Pere bā-, Dii bā, but AD6 Karang pā, AD13
Kulaal wāy, Niellim wāy
*bān, field, farm | CD bānn, AD4 Momi bant, Dii bāb, but AD6 Karang pāi, AD13 Kulaal
ūādl, Niellim wādl
bē-sībā, (down on) ground | cf. perhaps CD bēn for the initial element
bēc, bushbuck | cf. CD bāy, AD4 Momi bayamz 'duiker', Dii bāl 'kob'
bēk, (clay) dish
*bēksĩ, break, smash | ideophonic root: CD vwēksĩ, cf. AD6 Karang vwēh 'cut' and even
AD13 Niellim bāγgr̥i
bē, leg (see list 1)
*bēn, bring | CD bēn̥, cf. AD13 Kulaal wën
bēkṣr̥, two (see list 1)
bī, lie, tell lies (+ léêm) | cf. AD4 Pere mii- + 'tongue'
bīkṣį, refuse | AD5 ZM bèn̥
bīp, ask, ask for | cf. AD4 Dii vĩ, AD5 Yendang bī-, AD6 Karang vwĩ
bōöm, wound, sore
bōön, bōn, cut, slash; split (intr); break (as day)
bōŋ, river (see list 1)
bō, bean
bō, throw | AD4 Dii gbō, AD6 Karang vwū
*bōb, blind(ess) | CD bōıp
bōōb, dance (n)
bōıp, dance (vb) | possible cognate in AD13 Niellim bōn
bōrūm, thunder, lightning | CD bōō, AD4 Dii bōō, cf. AD6 Karang pómnā; but also CD bēlūm, AD4 Momi bulmi 'flame' (see yér(i)mā 'flame')
būmki (intr), resound, be noisy
būūg, ash, dust | CD būā 'dust'; *buŋ is PP and Proto-Jukun
būŋsā, (harmattan) wind
būyī, dog (see list 1)
būmsā, brain(s) | CD bōlōmsī, AD4 Pere bōrē, note AD6 Karang lē-pām
būr, white | CD būrkī, AD2 CL būd, AD4 Momi bu(n)i 'white', bur- 'be white', Pere būi, Dii bū 'be white', AD6 Karang būi, but also pūkī, cf. AD5 ZM puru
dá, copulate | CD léën, AD5 ZM laa
dá, take out, remove
*dábrī, wrap (in leaves to cook) | CD dábrī, AD2 CL dāp
*dángdāŋ, bitter | CD dángdāng
dáási, choose, select (< dá 'remove')
dēn, cloth, clothing
dēn, vagina
dī, press
dī(nē)-, heavy, prob. < dī'press' | CD dingding, but initial continuant elsewhere: AD4 Dii zi, AD6 Karang dī
dī, long | CD dērī 'long, far', AD4 Dii dī, AD6 Karang dī 'far'
dīglī, tickle | AD6 Kare dīkīli, cf. CD gēnglī
dīŋ (perhaps dīŋ), eyebrow
dīpsā, cloud
*dōk, plant (vb) | CD dōk, also AD4 Momi dokw- but AD2 CL dōp
*dóm, greet | CD dōóm, AD2 CL dōm
dón, sing
dōng, misery, poverty | related to AD5 ZM rǎn?
dǜ (or dỳ), ridge (in farm)
dǔǔk, mountain (see list 1)
*duk (intr), finish, come to an end | CD dǔk, cf. tỳ 'finish' below, AD2 CL dǔg
dǔk- stomach (but syntactically adjectival) | cf. ZM dǔku 'skin bag'
*duksi, finish, be used up | CD duksi < duk
dǔm (intr), collapse, fall off, down
dǔm, short, shallow
*(á)du má gàng, vulture | CD dú má gàng, AD2 CL dú má
*duńgbál, hippopotamus | CD dúngkpáli, AD2 CL dúngbál
*duńtì (HH?), deceive | CD dúngli
dỳ, wet, moisten, soak | cf. AD4 Momi yìi-; perhaps ultimately connected with CD dùrì 'rain'
dỳn (intr), go (in) | AD4 Pere dò-, Dii dò, but Momi tor-; also AD6 Karang ríh
dỳr, deep | AD4 Pere lùù-, AD5 Yendang tìn- 'be deep'

dà (intr), break, shatter (from falling) | AD5 ZM daasè 'break (a piece) off', AD6 Karang
dòr, Kare dòrò
dé, taste | AD5 Yendang lék-, AD6 Karang lēh; cf. AD4 Momi dòo'
dè, testicles
dè, granary
dè, put, place | AD4 Momi de'(s-), Dii 'yè
dèk, forget | AD6 Karang yèkrè
dè, other
*dì, burn (tr), light (fire) | CD dìi but AD2 CL dúr; according to Kleinewillinghöfer (pers. comm.), Bambuka in the Bikwin group has lii
dǐŋ, navel
dōb, in-law
dōbèn, cowife
dōōk, mouse | AD5 Yendang ròk 'kind of (domestic) rat'
dòn, breathe | AD4 Momi døŋ 'groan', Pere dū- 'blow, snore'; however, CD gòng, AD2 CL
gòng, AD4 Momi yoŋś-, AD5 ZM gŋō 'snore', these last three 'snore'
dōnsi ( < dón 'breathe'), rest | same derivation in CD gōngsi; but AD5 ZM wnokè; cf. AD6 Karang ók

doog, hip (joint); thigh | cf. AD2 CL dūn, A4 Pere dōrè, Dii dōō, all 'leg'
dōp kāpy, matriclan (compound with N2 'face'?)
dūk, penis | AD4 Dii ndōg, but Momi deek; AD6 Karang ndīw
dūm, perhaps also dūmà, back ( > dūm 'behind') (see list 1)
dūmsā, urine | cf. AD2 CL wōōm, AD6 Karang tōm
dūŋ, hole | CD dōō, AD4 Momi duur, but CL déél, Pere dālè; also AD5 ZM tōq, AD6 Karang lókō

fakiti (intr), tasteless, insipid
fe, burn (tr/intr) | CD píi, AD2 CL pē, AD4 Dii pi 'be hot', AD6 Kare più 'singe'
fe, twenty
fēēn, moon, also fēn /wē 'stars' (see list 1)
fēsi, full, complete (be)
fī, take (staple food with fingers)
fiān(n)i, begin ( < Fulfulde fūdâ?)

gáp, illness
gáp, get, receive | CD gān

gáa, strainer (for beer), sifter (for flour); also fishtrap | AD4 Pere gáŋ 'fishtrap', cf. CD gēć
gáa, road (see list 1)
gāa, Tiba
*gām, horn | CD gāām
*gāp, chief (see list 1)
*gāān-tūnēn, donkey | CD gāng-pēn-tūnēn
gāāng (sāttāa, i.e., 'sour'), pepper | AD5 ZM gāān zīn where the meanings of zīn are 'clot of blood' and 'fish'
gāngār, drum (kind of) | < Hausa gāngā
gāp, count | AD5 ZM gna, Yendang gān-, AD6 Kare ngē (also ké), but non-nasal elsewhere: AD2 CL gād, AD4 Momi ga-, Pere gāār-(do)
*gāpsī (HM?), divide, distribute (adj. gāpsē(nē)-'forked') | CD gāpsī
gääsá, (dry) season | AD4 Pere gää, Dii gääg, but AD6 Karang káy, Kare kéj gäsi (HM?), think (about), recall | AD4 Pere gél-, cf. AD6 Karang kër

*gänsi (HM?), strain, sift | CD gänsí

gäpsã, fly (n) (see list 1)

gän, hunch (on back) | cf. AD5 Yendang kúki; also CD gäy, AD2 CL gäd

gän, large potsherd | CD güi

gëgë, sorrel

gë, cross (river)

gëčk, (bambara) groundnut

gëk, grave | CD gäká, AD4 Pere gägô

gém, scream, dream, nightmare (also a verb, 'affect (as a bad dream)')

gën, break, snap (tr) | AD4 Pere gô-‘break (tr)' with derivative gôl- 'break into pieces (tr)'

gën, medicine | CD gëjn, AD2 CL gân, AD5 ZM gnân, but AD4 Momi geñbãz, Pere gaabô,

Dii gäm

*gën (intr), flow | CD géèn

gérá, guinea-corn (see list 1)

gëséj, scorpion

gìk, chest | cf. AD2 CD giül, AD5 ZM giù, but CD gàngà, AD4 Pere gôgi, gàgsàlè, AD6

Kare gôn

gim, smelly (be) | cf. CD guûn, AD6 Kare gùnè ‘smelly'

*gît, abstain | CD gît

gitáámá, green

gô, pay (back)

gôn, answer

*gônsã, breath | CD gôngsí, see the doublet gbânsã ‘snoring' below

gô, catch, seize | CD gût, AD4 Pere gû-, AD5 Yendang gô- but AD2 CL kô

gû (intr), fall

*gûb, thorn | CD gûp (cf. AD4 Momi kapt)

(á/)gûsã, also gûsûn, pigeon

gbá, call, call out | AD5 ZM bâa (+ nyaa 'mouth')

gbá, vomit

gbá, dig, dig up | AD2 CL gbà', AD5 ZM gbmaa

gbák, grind (dry grain) | CD gök
gbák, slip
gbáám, blood (see list 1)

gbántilóór, (earth)worm
(á)/gbáy, bird (see list 1)

gbánsá, snoring | CD gbánsí 'groan' (compare dön 'breathe', gòpsá 'breath')
gbápsí (intr), finish, run out | AD4 Momi gbáms-, Pere bàm-, AD5 Yendang gòós-
gbéč, forest
gbéř, dassie
gbóóm, heart (see list 1)

gmésí, move, shift (tr) | CD gbáši, cf. AD2 CL gbá’'move away', AD4 Dii 'mɛ’'move near'

gmòp (intr), crawl

hám, salt

háp, bind, wrap (up)

hárä, headpad | cf. AD2 CL kálav (with a wider sense 'rolled thing, rolling thing', AD4 Pere
kāarè, Dii kāă, AD5 Yendang kántán; however, CD yěréi

hāŋ, guinea-corn (see list 1)

hāŋmā (or kāŋmā?), rain, saliva (see list 1)

já (or jāa or jā), laziness | CD jālèn 'lazy person', AD6 Kare zòzò

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

ják, cook, brew | AD6 Karang nzē but CD sāki

*jam (intr), stand (up), swell (adj jām(nē)-) | CD jàam

(á)/jàánsá, tiger nut | CD jāān but AD5 ZM sāh, Yendang tánká

jānri, dry (meat) (< jāŋ-?)

jāŋ(nē)-, hot, feverish (be) | AD4 Dii zāgā’'sun', AD6 Karang zāŋnā’'fever', Kare zāŋ

*jāāy, tendon | CD jāāy, AD2 CL zɛɛɛ

jēćć, scabies | AD5 ZM znākn

jēmkā, stranger, outsider | cf. AD4 Momi genz, AD5 ZM zānti, Yendang zāntă, cf. sènèn

jērā, locust | cf. AD5 ZM zòro
jèrí, whirlwind
jé, see | AD5 ZM zè
jú, night (see list 1)
jú, theft, thief | CD yílēn < yíl‘steal'
jìibår, pocket | < Fulfulde jìiba
jìintà, (cooking) pot (apparently singular though plural in form) (see list 1)
jùja, also jùjà (in compounds, e.g., ójùjà 'bee water', i.e., honey), jùjìn, water (see list 1)
*jùpláår, hyena | CD jìngláà
jò, on, upon | CD jùm
jùù, poison | AD5 ZM znópù, Yendang zùn
jùm, squat | CD jùdùm
*jò, laugh (vb) | CD jòùn
jùdù, jùdà, red | AD5 Yendang yòntì
jù (??), laughter | CD jùná, AD4 Pere zùnè, Dìì zùm
*jù, up(wards) | CD jùù
jùm, flour | CD jùmùm, AD2 CL zàgm, AD5 ZM zuman, but AD6 Karang sùm, AD13 Niellim hùm
jùn, mortar | AD5 ZM dun
jùnù, pound
jùyù, pour
jùyù (jù, jùù after 'locative' or as DO without modifier), house, room (see list 1)

*kàmkì, gather (tr) | CD kàmkì (frequentative of kàmì)
kàn, anklet
kàn, find, meet | AD4 Dìì kàn, cf. AD5 ZM kosë
kàn, tie (prob. another sense of the preceding verb) | cf. AD2 CL kàsà'corde', AD6 Karang ngàh
kààp, cobra
kàntà or kàntà, calabash
kàntà, tortoise | cf. AD4 Dìì kàrgád
kààrá, wing, feather
kànsì, join, meet (< kàn)
kààp, face, forehead
kāŋ, neck (see list 1)
<kāŋkilāa (invariable?), chicken (see list 1)
*kāsí, strainer (for flour) | CD kāsí
kèè, cough (n) | AD5 Yendang kół-(vb)
kè, say, speak
*kèlùm (also attested -kèlùm-, -kèlùm-, pl. kèlùmtá), baobab | CD kèlùm
*kèmjù, monkey (see list 1)
*kèpí, refuse | CD kápí
*kèpí, mad(man) | CD kèpí, AD2 CL kędí
*kèckèckè, hedgehog | CD kâkâkâ, AD2 CL kâagá
*kénsì, bother, disturb | CD kânsì
ekèsá, (rainy) season | cf. PP *kwás
kèsá, side (of body), rib cage
*kilèn, loan | CD kilèn
kìn, one (see list 1)
*kinéèn, leper, leprosy | CD kinéèn
*kisèn, slave, captive (see list 1)
(á/)kìyáa, (in) front, before
kò or kòŋ, carry (a child on the back) | CD kòlì, AD4 Pere kúu-, AD5 ZM kpmáá
kò, put on (clothes)
*kòk, rub | CD kòk, cf. AD5 Yendang kpòs-
kòm, urinate
*kòm, arrive | CD kòm
*kònlàr, smallpox | CD kònlà
*kònlàr, elephant (see list 1)
*kòngtì, gather, pile up | CD kòngli; also AD5 Yendang gò-
*kòp, draw, fetch (water) | CD kòp, AD2 CL kòp 'puiser partiellement'; also note AD5 Dii
kò
kò, guinea-fowl | CD kàà, AD4 Pere kùù, Dii kòò, AD6 Karang kpèh but Kare kòrè 'perdrix',
cf. 'chicken'
*kò, (enclosure) mat | CD kòò
kòòr (intr), thin (be)
kònsì, untie
kù, sweep | CD kùrlì, AD4 Momi koor-s-, AD5 ZM kò
kù (intr), old (be) (person)
kūk, kūkú, grandmother | compare CD kāk, AD2 CL kākā; also AD13 Kulaal kāá, Niellim kāā

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

*kūmtì, make (a fist) | CD kūmlī

kūnghūŋ, shoulder | cf. AD4 Pere kòòlè and 'neck' (list 1)
kỳ, cut (down), clear (a field) | AD2 CL kò 'cut off (road)', AD5 ZM kò 'cut (in two)',
Yendang gō- 'cut (down)'
kỳ, bright, clear (be)
kỳısı, chop (into pieces) (< kỳ 'cut (down)')
kỳr, (wrist-, ankle-)bone, joint
kỳy, hare | CD kūt

kméè, pull (up, out)

kmék, squirrel

kpà, cut, break off (tr/intr) | AD4 Dii kpàn, kpāā
kpā, skin | AD5 ZM kọ̀
kpām, joking partner | CD kpōōm
kpàngūntā groundnut(s) (see list 1)

*kpá, weed (a field) | CD kpát
kpé, fish, go fishing | AD4 Momi gbee-, AD5 Yendang kpèès-, both 'fish by bailing'; cf.
AD2 CL kpē′′fishhook'
kpiksĩmsá, chin
kpīŋ, nest

*kpísāạ̈r, billy-goat | CD pīsāā
*kpōŋáār, deaf | CD kpóngāā, AD CL2 kpūŋ ~ gbūŋ
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 nú-rón, AD6 Karang nám, except AD5 Yendang (nőɡ)-rón
lá (intr), fall (as rain) | always initial nasal elsewhere: CD náā, AD2 CL nāŋ, AD4 Dii nāŋ, AD5 Yendang nā-
(á/)léágón, chameleon | cf. AD5 Yendang gōnlí
lák, forge (vb) | AD2 CL lā, cf. AD2 CL lēŋ, AD4 Dii lāɡā both 'sharpen'
lām, lost (be) | cf. AD4 Pere lēč, AD5 ZM rín
láän, cry (vb) | cf. AD4 Dii lēg, AD6 Kare rę-ręŋ
*lāŋ, surround | CD láng
láŋsā, side of face | CD láŋsī 'temple'; also AD4 Pere láráŋ, AD6 Koh láākūn
lékā (pl. lékētā), blacksmith (see list 1)
léčm, lie (in biū lémā 'tell lies', cf. lēr 'tongue')
léēn, grinding stone | AD5 ZM réé; cf. CD náān, also AD2 CL nāɡāl, AD5 Yendang (ű-)nā lēŋ, drip | AD4 Dii lēg 'flow'
*lēp, buy | CD lēp, cf. AD4 Momí yiip-; *dyap is PP
*lēpsi, sell | CD lépsi
lēr, tongue (see list 1)
lēérā, louse | AD2 CL lād‘flea', AD4 Pere láārē, Dii lēd, AD5 ZM rūētī, Yendang rēēsī
*lēérā, flute | CD lēērā (a regional root: AD2 CL lēēd, AD4 Momí līrā; also AD4 Dii lēētēēd)
lēēsī, lēēsī, spoil (tr), rot, spoil (intr) | CD lēēsī 'moisten', AD4 Pere lū-, AD5 ZM lēsē
lēē, grass, bush (cf. pē lē /pē ‘animal (thing-bush-thing)')
lē, prepare, get ready | cf. AD2 CL lēb, AD4 Pere lē, Dii lē, AD5 Yendang ré-, all 'produce, give birth'
*lē, scar, blemish | CD lēē, AD2 CL lēm
(á/)lī, when?
lī (+ bāāmā), sky, above | AD2 CL lēg
līī, village | AD2 CL līgā 'compound, family', AD4 Pere līgō, Dii līg, AD5 Yendang lēč, all 'house'; also AD13 Niellim līī; Kwa līč, both 'house'; *di is PP for 'compound, house'
*līk (līkā ?), dirty(y) | CD līkā, cf. AD2 CL līgād, also AD4 Dii līgōd 'be dirty'; *dik is PP (á/)lín, (day after) tomorrow | cf. AD2 CL līmtā 'morning'
līng, between, through
lípsi, sell, hawk
líntá, gut, intestine | cf. CD nàgré
*lípsi, turn, change | CD lípsi, AD2 CL lîp, lîm but also AD5 ZM rì
lísá, smoke
lök, take | AD5 Yendang lā-, also AD4 Dii lò, but the root have a Chadic source, cf. Bata lù 'take, get'
lökə or löká, cry (n) | CD lôki 'speak, tell'
lóóm, war (see list 1)
lūū, yam | AD2 CL dūd, AD5 ZM łożyć
lūk, lump (on body, head)
lūūmòr, market | < Fulfulde luumo
lûmsá, man
(á/lûumsá, husband (cf. 'man')
lûuŋ, knee (see list 1)
lỳ, move (residence, jỳỳ) | AD4 Dii lūū 'go away'
*lỳỳm, male | CD lûùm
lỳn (intr.; also lỳỳn for 'get, stand up'?), get up, fly | CD dûm, AD4 Momi ruu-, Pere lù-, Dii lūū 'lift', AD5 ZM dû, AD6 Karang zû; also note Bata lì (apparently not a reconstructible Chadic root, Carnochan 1975)
lỳnsì, raise, throw up, make fly

má, knead, work (mud, clay), build (building) | CD mûkà, AD2 CL mà 'make, do', AD5 ZM maa, Yendang mâà-, but AD4 Dii mbûdû, AD6 Karang mbûh
*màk, show | CD màk, AD2 CL màg 'imiter, désigner, mesurer'
*màkà dikàr (màkà irreversible?), (red) millet | CD màkà (meaning of second element in Tiba unknown)
*màksì, try, try on, out | CD màksì < màk
mékà, green, unripe
mékà, paste
mësëmsá, dew | CD mënsán, AD2 CL mësûk, AD4 Momi met, Pere mërè, Dii mëd, AD6 Karang múm, but AD5 Yendang mëg (vs. mëg 'water')
mí, day
mí, door (< mî'open, close') (see list 1)
mú, excrement
mí, close, open
míp, shave
mí-wà, day before yesterday
mó, bear, give birth to | AD6 Karang mbúŋ, 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 nécé, Niellim ná
ná (nà with object pč'thing'), do | CD nák
náksà, cow (see list 1)
*nâmên, crocodile (see list 1)
nán, nàán, how?, how much? | CD nyáá, nyákà, AD2 CL là, lêčé, AD4 Momi na(jee), AD5
    ZM dnce 'how much', AD6 Karang ánì, Mbum náníi'how'
nè, four (see list 1)
néc (pl. ní), person | CD nécé, AD2 CL néŋ, AD4 Pere nán
nék, owner | AD6 Kare náá
néŋnéŋ, axe
ní, mother (but nàápà'your mother'); cf. ní-wé, sibling (mother's child) | AD5 ZM yína,
    Yendang yén (with prefix yV-?)
níŋ, drum (see list 1)
*núŋsi, hurry | actually CD núngsèn < núngsi'make tremble', AD2 CL núŋ 'tremble' >
    núŋsèn 'hurry'
*nò̄, (oracle) poison | CD nò̄
nóksi, enough, equal (be) | CD nèkèn
nōm(nē)-, good, pleasant, tasty | AD2 CL làm, AD4 Dii nèm 'be salty'
*nòm, anger | CD nòm, AD2 CL nòm
nōntà, root | cf. AD5 Yendang nünkàr, *nan is PP
nōsí (HM?), shake
(tó/)nūk, (bow)string
nūŋ, locust bean tree
nūŋgūr, locust bean (tablet)
númjá, wax

pá, put in, on (as hat, shoes) | CD pàk, AD2 CL pàån, AD4 Dii pàg
(bóŋ) pà, (river)bed, gulley
páán, place
pát, all | a regional term attributable to Fulfulde
pecék, new | AD4 Momi pà(-ni) but AD6 Mbum fèkéké, Koh fíč
pē, go | cf. AD2 CL pē ‘take, carry', AD4 Momi peē ‘take away'; also Dii hē ‘go off, away'
pēč, thing | CD pēr; cf. AD2 CL ēn, AD4 Pere ēnè, Dii hēn, AD5 Yendang hē, AD6 Karang fē
pī (intr), return, go back, change (into) | CD pē (compare pī ‘do again' but pīl- 'change into', AD6 Kare fērē; cf. 'exchange': AD2 CL pēn, AD4 Dii pī

*pīí, Beni seed | CD pīí
*pígēé, maize (see list 1)
*pīlān, (large) basket | CD pīlāng, a regional root (AD2 CL pīlām)
pīnjá, charcoal | AD6 Karang hēkrē
pō, butcher, cut open
pūglá, flowering (of plants) | CD pūgrī ‘flower (vb)'
pūglā, armpit
pūuk, pūkā, (maternal) uncle | cf. CD pōp, AD4 Dii pāā
pūk (pūkā?), bark (of tree), shell | CD pōkō
pūyī, viper | AD4 Dii kpōū
pūyōgē, cassava | CD pūi-gōō
pūyn, tired (be) | CD pūt
pūyn, fatigue

*sā, (father's other) wife | CD sā
*sā, net | CD sāā, AD2 CL sād
sā, ooze, have diarrhea (+ mū) | CD sāá, AD4 Dii sōō ‘leak', AD5 ZM sōo, but san ‘forge', Yendang sā ‘ooze; melt', AD6 Karang sāh ‘moisten'
sā, mud | AD5 Yendang sōk
sāk, hang, carry (on shoulder)
*sāk, genet cat | CD sāk, AD2 CL sāg "renard"
sám, bark (vb)
sám, spear (see list 1)
(áŋ) sámká, left (hand)
sán, carve
sán, hoe | cf. AD4 Dii tōŋ
sānsá, muddy pool | cf. sā
sānsi, grind (flour) | AD4 Pere sān-'grind (fresh, damp grain)', whence relationship with sā
(á/)sāŋká, frog, toad (see list 1)
*sánki (HM?), teach, learn | CD sānki, AD2 CL sān
*sāsí, do (repetitively) | CD sāsí (auxiliary verb)
sātāā or sātáā, sour
sáttí, porcupine
sātók, (beer) pot
sē (also séwā), sun, God (see list 1)
sē (intr), lacking, scarce (be) | AD5 Yendang sē
sē, also sēsē, nightjar (?, translates CD tāmā)
(áŋ) sē (or sē), fingernail (see list 1)
*sēb, witch | CD sēp 'bewitch'; cf. AD4 Dii sōb 'use witchcraft', sōōg 'witch', sēy 'witchcraft'
sēék, anklet | AD4 Pere ségō "castagnette"
sēk, go (down), also sēksi | AD2 CL sīm, AD4 Dii sī, cf. AD4 Pere sf- 'sit'; also cf. sf 'down'
*sēm, (prepubescent) girl, female (animal) | CD sēm 'girl' but -sē 'female animal'
sēmsēntá sand | cf. AD4 Pere sīi, 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 masálá and AD13 Niellem hyāān from an earlier form with initial s
sēn, waist | AD4 Momi seem, AD5 ZM sāní
sēn, add (to), increase
*sēnēn (pl. sēnēn-t-), guest | CD sēnēn, AD2 CL sēn, cf. jēmtá
sēnēŋ, strong, healthy | cf. CD sēni 'be too strong', AD4 Dii sēn 'make an effort' prob. < sēŋ 'be potent, effective'
*sēni, difficult (be) | CD sēni
sēŋsi, pull (off, out)
sēēr, pl. of yāmik, young, small (child)
sèrè, truth
sè, scratch (itching) | cf. AD5 ZM sneet ‘itch'
sè, speech, matter
sì (intr), black, dark (be) | cf. AD5 ZM tinri ‘dark'; also cf. jìì ‘night'
sì, bury
sì, plait (hair) | AD4 Momi sì- ‘make rope'; otherwise CD tʊì, Pere tʊì- ‘weave', AD5 ZM tìsè
sì, also sù, down(wards) | AD5 Yendang sèɛɛ, cf. CD tìi, AD2 CL tɛɛ, AD5 ZM tì(p)ì, AD6
Kare tìà, also cf. sìb ‘under', sèk ‘go down' for this correspondence
sì, wait for | CD sìt, AD2 CL sìd, both 'be patient', AD4 Pere sì- ‘sit'
sì, show
sìb, under, below | CD tìm, also AD5 ZM tìpì, AD6 Karang sìðà, both 'earth'; cf. sì ‘down'
sìgày(a), much, many
sìjìi, also sìì, civet cat | CD sìi, AD2 CL sìd
*sùm, beer | CD sùmr, cf. AD4 Pere fùm, AD13 Kulaal ham, Niellim hàm
sìr, porridge | cf. AD4 Momi sì- ‘cook porridge'
*sìr, boil, abscess | CD sìt, AD2 CL sìlì
sìsèɛɛ, switch, whip
*sìsà, insult (n) | CD sìsì
sò, drink | CD sógò, the general AU root is represented by AD4 Dii zò; *swa is PP; note
however that Chadic Bata has sòb
sò, butt, ram (perhaps identical with the following term) | AD2 CL sùd
sòò, break (intr) | AD4 Dii sóòb
sò, pierce, stab | AD5 ZM sùù, Yendang sò-, AD6 Karang sù, but AD2 CL sàb ‘pierce', AD4
Pere sà-, sòd-, Dii sà; compare CD sót
sòk, wash (something) | CD súksi, AD4 CL sùg, AD4 Pere sòg-, AD5 ZM sòkè, AD6
Karang sòb ‘wash oneself'
*sòkkàr, (land monitor) lizard | CD sòkà
sòksà, hair (on body) (see list 1)
sòksà (used with bò ‘throw'), whistling
sòn, (staple) food | AD5 Yendang sòò, cf. CD tùm, also AD13 Kulaal hààl, Niellim hàà:x;
cf. 'eat, chew'
*sòp, antelope (kind of) | CD sòng
sòp, blow (on)
sòpsì, lick (up)
sóó, also sóórá, wind | cf. AD13 Kulaal hààp, Niellim sàab
sóon, carry (off, away) | cf. CD tùùn, AD5 Yendang tóg, both 'carry on head'
sóo, mucus | cf. AD2 CL sáb 'pus'
sóóni, leave (a path), branch off
sóónsì, put out (fire)
sąksá, soup | AD5 Yendang sónkõ
súmsì, súmsì, gather (something); gather (together) | CD sòðìm, AD4 Pere sùm-, both 'gather up', AD5 Yendang sòó 'take out, remove'
súwéé, (intestinal) worm | CD sòðìmû, AD2 CL sòbèè
súnsì, swell, blister
súsun, shade | AD5 ZM sunrû, cf. AD6 Karang sùng 'night'
sýỳ, thirst | CD sùù, AD2 CL sùùd
sýỳm, dry (be) | CD sùm
sýmaa, empty
sýmsì, dry (tr) | CD súmsì
sýn, grow, develop; go out | cf. CD túùn 'develop, grow up' > tūnëtn 'go out'; also AD6 Karang tìh 'go out'
sýn, tail | AD2 CL sù 'queue de oiseau'; also cf. AD13 Kulaal héé, Niellim hínà
sýnsì, resemble
sýríym, bright, shiny (be); smooth, slippery, mucilaginous (be) | AD5 Yendang sóór- 'be slippery'

tá, hit, kick, shoot | CD tàt, AD2 CL tàl, AD4 Momi taa-, Dii tàl, AD5 ZM tà, Yendang tá-, cf. té 'sting...'
tá (or tâ), pick, pluck (fruit); excrete | AD4 Dii tô’'pick'
*tá, butcher (vb) | CD tàà
*tá, early (be, get up) | AD4 Dii tâ’ád
*tâáb, sandal | CD tâáp, AD2 CL tábá
tâam, tàm, jump (over), jump (intr)
táp, sew | AD2 CL táb, AD4 Dii tà, both 'tie up'; compare CD tâáà, CL tàl, a root also present in Chadic Gûdë
*târá, three (but cf. 'eight' týn-/târárä) | CD târá (see list 1)
té, sting, prick, dazzle; appear | CD tât, AD4 Momi tâks- 'reveal', cf. tá 'hit...'
té, stone (see list 1)
(yén) té (< té?), anus
tébmá, luck(y) (translates CD jíi 'red' in nú'n jíi 'luck(y person)', lit. 'red face')
(á/téká/)?, gecko
tém, pass (through) | CD téll 'pass by', AD2 CL tān, AD4 Pere tál- 'pass', AD5 Yendang
tár-, AD6 Kare tá

témisi, insult
*té, push, sweep, carry along | CD tâq
*tékisi, begin | CD tâksi
*téémsá, sheep | CD tâmsí; also note AD4 Pere tâmi, AD5 Yendang dââ
tí, tree, stick (see list 1)
tí, father (but téègá 'your father') | AD4 Pere táá, but túnú 'his father', cf. AD5 ZM yera,
Yendang yoři (with prefix yoV?)
tí(y)ám, afternoon
tik, gourd | AD4 Dii tíg
*tikssá, snail | CD tikssá
(á/tí/sáá (< á/tisáá?), owl | AD5 Yendang tûnsûn
tísên (or tísên), ant
*(pçe) tóm, work (n) | CD pén tog

tón, eat, chew | CD tâan, AD5 Yendang tââ-; also AD13 Kulaal tí but Niellim tûy 'eat
(staple food)', compare són 'staple food', AD5 ZM shaa 'eat', and AD6 Kare só 'chew'
*tôy, play (+ tôo 'ear') | CD tông tââ
tôön(nô)- (also tôunë), good, effective, clean, beautiful | AD4 Dii tôô and AD5 ZM tôoô,
Yendang tûn-, all 'be good, tasty'; cf. AD6 Karang sù
*tôntôy, strong, healthy | CD tôngtông
tó, miss, err
tôô, bow (see list 1)
tôô, ear (see list 1)
tôôô, Shea butter tree | CD tûûp; cognates in AD13: Kulaal tôí, Niellim tââm
túá, here
túá, head (see list 1)
*(pçe) túnên, baggage | CD pén tunên < tûn 'carry'
tún/sâm, shame | cf. AD2 CL sâm, AD4 Pere sëgô, Dii sêm, AD5 ZM yû-sne with yû
'head' and CD sâsâg (also of course Fulfulde semt-)

*tüŋ*, five (but changes form in compound numbers: tüŋ-kin 'six', töŋ-si-bëṣërë 'seven', týn-/tárërë 'eight', tüŋ-si-në 'nine', cf. wúp-sëṣ-tüŋjá 'fifteen') (see list 1)

tug, point (at) | CD tô, AD6 Kare tô

tug, push | CD tût, AD2 CL tî, AD4 Dii tû; but Pere tââr-; also AD5 ZM dṇô

ty, finish, complete (tr) | AD4 Dii tû 'be completely destroyed'; cf. CD dûk, dûksi

tyrüm, between, among | cf. AD4 Dii tâg

tyn, spit | AD2 CL tô, AD4 Dii tô but AD4 Momi tän-, AD5 Yendang tën-; CD tûsi

(á/)vâã, (kind of) lizard

váln, help | < Fulfulde walla

gô, squat

vam, roast | AD2 CL wûn 'faire frire'

vûun, goat (see list 1)

(á/)vânsá, mosquito | CD bôôsi, AD4 Momi woos, Pere vÔrë, Dii vâd, Karang vûrô, Kare vûrô, cf. AD5 ZM wara 'bee', Yandang vôrë 'bee', wërë 'honey'

vy, die | CD wûú, AD4 Momi wë-, Pere vô-, AD5 ZM vÔ, Yandang wës-, AD6 Karang hû, AD13 Kulaal üû, Niellim 'ûû; cf. AD2 CL vâd

vûsá, shadow | AD2 CL nûsû; cf. PP *vu 'shade'

vwë, beat, hit | clearly ideophonic: CD vwût, AD6 vûb, elsewhere AD4 Momi bee', Dii vûg, cf. AD6 Karang vûr, Kare vûrë 'break'

wa, fire | AD4 Pere vëc, Dii vëc, 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

wa, sharpen

wak, wákù, grandfather

wâlùn, (cooking) pot (see list 1)

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

wânsá, body

wa, leave, let | CD vêt

wê, year, time, season | AD4 Momi wiir, Pere vërë, Dii vë'
wé (pl. wỳ), child | CD wège 'small, child', AD2 CL wà, AD4 Pere wàrwà, Dii wàà, AD5 Yendang vàà, *vàn is PP

wéjìm, morning

wéjìn, tomorrow

(a/)wèkkà, (his?) wife ('woman' with prefix à-) | (vestigial) compounding of terms for 'man' and 'woman', perhaps absent in Tiba, is a general feature of SWAD (and CD: lèï- Jùm 'man', nèï- Jtwà 'woman'); if Tiba 'woman' were of this type, it might be related to AD4 Dìì wàï(-)kègì, etc., cf. AD2 CL keèn 'woman'; otherwise it may be connected with an eastern root: AD6 Kare wű, Karang wûûyì, AD13 Kulaal wàá, Niellim wàyì, cf. wûì, female

*wëp, mix | CD wèp

*wër, arrow (see list 1)

wèrûm-wë, (small) bird | cf. AD4 Momi wëlmaz 'nightjar'

wèsèë, firewood | AD2 CL wògsà

wèšì, hurt | CD nwôni (but Mapeo Chamba wëni), AD4 Pere wòô-wëk, hide (tr)

wèçrà, mushroom

wìí (wûn?), female | AD6 Karang wûûyì, Kare wìì 'woman' (also Koh mày)

wìì, sit, stay, wait | AD4 Momi wììšìsì 'set (as sun)'

wìnsà, thatching grass

*wò, want | CD wòò

wòì, take off (clothes) | CD wòòsì

wò, watch (over) | CD nwàànì, AD2 CL ànì, AD4 Pere wòr-wòb, baboon

wòghû, bat

wöm(nèì)-, cooperative, conjoint (labor)

wòm, oil (see list 1)

wòmsà, elephant grass

wûjì, fight (vb) | CD nòng but nòôm 'be angry', cf. AD4 Pere gò- 'fight' but nò- 'be angry', AD5 Yendang yómàn-

wòp, fight (n) | CD nòng

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

wòpsìsà, ride (horse)

wòpsìnsà, sweat | cf. CD wàt, AD2 CL wàd, but AD5 ZM pmq; *tiin is PP
*wé, hide (intr) | CD wé, cf. AD5 Yendang kúú
wóó, bone | cf. the well-represented NC root appearing, e.g., in PP as *kup (but AD5 Yendang kúú)
wóób, ten (see list 1)
wú, drunk (be) | cf. CD wit, AD2 CL wíd
wú, fat (be) | CD nòò, 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 gíb; also AD6 Kare wàù; see wòp 'run'
wúptá, fear (n)

yá, go (and visit, + sènén) | 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 yèél 'spoil, destroy', AD5 Yendang yànsán-
*yáá, what?, why? | CD nyáá
yáá, friend (see list 1)
yá, old, used
yá (intr), swallow | cf. AD4 Dii yó'
(á/)yá, where? | AD5 Yendang yáá
yámik, pl. sèér, young, small (child) | cf. CD míí (pl. méém) and AD5 Yendang (váá) pl. yá yááñ, bad
*yáñ, horse (see list 1)
yáááá, leaf (see list 1)
yé, (at) home | CD nýém, AD2 CL yííl 'house, compound', AD4 Dii yéé 'courtyard', AD5 ZM ye
yé, ready, ripe, healed (be), adj. yénéé | AD4 Dii yéé ná 'true, good', cf. 'cook', cf. AD2 CL wè
yéksí, light (fire from another fire) | AD4 Pere yèg-
yérf(í)má, flame | AD2 CL yèél 'red, flame'; cf. bórm 'thunder, lightening'
yéém, meat (see list 1)
yém, carry (to), present (something) with an obeisance | cf. CD nyéñi
*yémyéém, yesterday | CD nyéém
yémsá, song | CD nimsí but AD4 Dii yéé, AD5 Yendang yéék
yèë, buttocks
yèë, sow (by casting), scatter | CD yèë, AD4 Pere yàm- 'disperse'
*yèë, bedbug | CD nyèëng
yèë, cold (be) (as wind)
*yèëlå, digging stick | CD nyèëlì
yí, eat | CD lîí, AD2 CL lìí, AD4 Momi rec, Pere lë-
*yí, steal | CD yíí
*yík, lion (see list 1)

yírík, black | CD vîkì, AD4 Momi wìi-, wiir- 'be black', Pere vîf- 'be black', Dii vîf = fî 'be black', AD5 ZM viiki, but also AD4 Pere dûrì, AD5 Yendang yífì, AD6 Kare yírí
(both having cognates in AD13 as well)

(áp)yíímå (< yíí 'eat'), right (hand)
yó, pull, stretch | cf. CD nwôt, AD4 Dii wôd; also AD5 ZM gno 'pull', zno 'pull out'
yógréën, soft | AD4 Momi yakwÌÍ, Dii yóô 'be soft' vs. CD wógléen, AD2 CL óg 'be soft'
yóök, cook (staple food) | AD4 Pere yó-, AD4 Dii yó 'be ripe, cooked' (cf. yë 'ready... (be)');
also cf. AD4 Momi ruu-
yókùm, salt (see list 1)

yóùm (yóùm(nè)-), bite, be sharp | AD5 ZM yon; elsewhere, the usual initial l'n alternance:
CD lóóm, AD2 CL lùm, AD4 Momi rom(-d-), AD4 Dii nó, AD5 Yendang rùn-, AD6 Karang nùn, Mbum lòn

yòô, snake (see list 1)
yò, weave, plait

yòôsó, rope | CD yòsì, AD4 Momi yokla

yóôsì, swim, cross a river by swimming | AD4 Pere wó(g)-; cf. CD yóô 'climb, cross a river
(by any means), AD4 Pere yóô- 'cross (a river by means other than swimming)'
yòû, death, dead body | cf. CD wèç, AD5 ZM vòq, Yendang wèçì, AD6 Karang hùl, AD13
Kulaal úàlàl, Niellim 'úûlì, all probably related

yùû, hunger | CD wùû, AD5 ZM wòqò; cf. AD13 Niellim nyùûì 'thirst'
yûksà, fish | CD wûûk, cf. AD4 Momi duga, duukt, Pere dürè, AD6 Karang nzûy

yûm (or yûm), collide (with) | AD5 Yendang yìn-