A Linguistic Sketch of Tiba (Gà)
Raymond Boyd

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Voici réunies les deux parties de cette esquisse concernant la langue tiba (gà ) publiées dans deux fascicules successives de la revue *Afrika und Übersee*.
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 connue et utilisée en bilinguisme parfait par les Tibas.
Cette conclusion est en contradiction avec la classification fournie par L’Ethnologue :
A Linguistic Sketch of Tiba (Gà), Part I

by Raymond Boyd

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 lângsì, 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 ànjá ('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 interethnec 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 döö '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 Momí blacksmiths may thus signify simply that both are viewed as "outsiders" with respect to their neighbors.

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

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

I.2. A cognate search

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

The purpose of this article is not to dispute the classification of Tiba, though on a wider scale, the author would certainly dispute the usefulness of forcing many of the linguistic isolates in this region of intense contact into any branching sub-family structure, particularly in the case of NC languages. We simply note that a) Tiba is classifiable in Greenbergian terms as Adamawa (hereafter AD); indeed, if CD is assigned to AD, it is inconceivable, on the basis of the material presented here, that Tiba should not be. b) Tiba is located in fairly close proximity to undisputedly AD languages (there are predominantly Mumuye settlements only a few kilometers away). It is therefore pertinent to examine what similarities exist on the linguistic level between Tiba and AD; we leave to other interested parties the task of working out the relationships which may exist between Tiba and other language groups1. Unfortunately, the published lexical data on
a number of languages which might interest us, particularly AD groups 5\(^2\) (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\(^3\) (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 sìì 'bury' and sìb '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 e, o to represent high mid vowels and e, o to represent low mid vowels; q represents a mid central vowel. For ease of typography and comparison, we have transposed material available in the other languages with four vowel heights 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 e, q; this is unlikely to cause confusion, given the almost total complementary distribution of the vowel heights concerned. The representation of nasal vowels is required in some languages (including Tiba); this is done by underscoring. Consonant notation is conventional; note only that vw represents a labial flap. In tonal notation, / represents downstep, while v represents any vowel bearing the infralow 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 ñ where necessary.

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

Each set of items is arranged alphabetically by English gloss.

- (S)WAD cognates
  
  à-âñ-à 'arm, hand'
  CD wââ; the general root in AD2/5/7/8/9 is nasal + central or front vowel + nasal

  à-tóq-à 'bow'
  CD tâqâm, AD2 CL tâb, AD4 Momi taau, Pere tâbô, AD5 Zing Mumuye (hereafter ZM) tâ(k)à, Yendang rät, Meek AD8 Kam ace, cf. AD9 Jen kanto, Munga kantau; also PP *ta

  à-biâk-à 'bushcow'
  AD5 ZM bâkà, Meek Yendang bak (bât)

  à-kâñkilâà 'chicken'
  AD5 ZM kîñ, cf. Meek AD8 Kam kume; there is no nasal in AD2, thus CL kâq, cf. CD kpâá, AD4 Momi kâz, AD6 Mbum kâkà vs. Koh kây; the nasal reappears with a back vowel in AD4 Pere kôñi; the initial consonant is voiced in Meek's AD7 Yungur go; note a root in part of AD13, represented in Kulaal by hàtà, suggesting the Tiba term may involve two roots of similar meaning; also cf. terms for 'guinea-fowl'
à-nàmèn-á 'crocodile'
CD nàmèn, CL nàbò̀, AD4 Pere nàmènè, Meek AD5 Yendang name

à-nàksà 'cow'
AD4 Momi nògs and Pere nàgò, Meek AD5 Yendang nàki (nàkì), AD6 Koh nàkà, cf. PP *nìak; but CD, AD2 CL nàa, also in AD7; AD4 Dii has ndàà, AD5 ZM has nàpòq

à-bỳ-à 'dog'
Meek AD7 Yungur bwe, Mboi abwa; possible cognacy with the AD6 series Mbum gòì, Karang gà̀y, Kare vàà; *bu is also PP

à-nìñ-à 'drum'
Meek AD2 Mumbake rìŋgìma

à-tàwà 'ear'
CD tàà, AD5 ZM shòg (derivation from an earlier *twa, or *tue as in Common Bantu, seems patent), Yendang tòk; the velar C₂ is widespread: AD2 CL tù̀g, AD4 Momi tok, Pere tògò, Dii tòg, cf. AD6 Karang sì̀k

à-èñ-à 'egg'
ZM wnaỳkkàà; note Meek AD5 Yendang ha (hà́rì), Kumba pà; the full AD5 set suggests cognacy with the widespread "pàr̄a" form (cf. AD10 Longuda fòlà, AD14 Niellim hwáàntì)

à-íṣà 'eye'
yìr/li forms are widely attested in non-Bantu Bantoid (along with si and li) and in AD13; otherwise, we have PP *gìs, to be compared with Fali (AD11) nisi and Bantu A.90 Kako misì (also, of course, Fulfulde yëeso 'face', yiìtere 'eye')

à-sì-é 'fingernail' (perhaps -sè-)
AD5 ZM saàrì, Yendang sóò, Meek AD8 Kam acirì-, AD9 Jen/Munga cin-

à-nè-à 'four'
AD4 Pere nààró, Dii ndààdò, ZM dneèró, CL nààrá, Meek AD5 Yendang nàt (nàtì), AD8 Kam nar; compare AD6 Karang nìñ, Kare nèç, Mbum nyàñ

à-vùn-à 'goat'
CD yànn, AD2 CL vù, Meek Wom/Mumbake vùàa, AD4 Momi buùz, AD5 Yendang bi (òíì), Kumba wìì, Gengle/Kugama aìì, AD9 Munga nàñbu, AD6 Karang gùyì, Koh vù́yì, AD13 Niellim bìwày

à-kpànìm-á 'groundnut(s)'
CD kpàøàë 'groundnut', gùùìm 'bambara groundnut', Meek AD2 Chamba (Leko) kpaàj[-]wara

à-gèrà 'guinea-corn'
Meek AD2 Wom gbera, cf. CL yèd, CD yìrì; also see -hàñ- 'guinea-corn' below
à-sóksá 'body hair'
AD4 Momi suuk 'hair', AD5 ZM sóò; a term noted sùrì by Meek (Yendang sùùrì) 'hair (of head)'
(MEEK does not record 'body hair') is widespread in AD5 outside Mumuye, cf. Dong suk 'hair'
(Blench 1997), AD6 Koh sùùy 'hair'; a comparable root appears in some A13 languages

à-gbōm-á (gbōm) 'heart'
AD5 ZM gbqōti

à-nyān-á 'horse'
CD nyāān, CL yāā, Meek AD8 Kam yeje

à-lūŋ-á 'knee'
CD łyūrī, CL ligårá, Meek AD2 Wom líŋbera; AD5 Teme luŋ, Kumba nìngī, Gengle/Kugama
runj, also Yendang (yá/-)ríŋká; AD8 Kam alunu (also A13 Bwa group d/rul vs. AD6 Kare (nzā-)
tuú)

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

yāásá 'leaf'
CL yēsà, cf. CD yāà and Meek AD5 Yendang yākhē (yānká, with classifier hē), Waka nyanja,
Teme jaŋga, AD9 Jen/Munga yangka

à-bé-á 'leg'
AD4 Momi bi 'paw'

à-bá-á 'leopard'
AD4 Pere bālām, cf. CD gbēc, AD5 ZM gbē, Meek Yendang kpe (kpoēc); the relationships
between these roots AD2 CL gā, AD4 Momi gooz, and Meek AD7 fila, vila, ivula, AD8 impeli,
AD9 hwī, wī is obscure

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

à-ffēn-á 'moon'
AD6 Karang fēw, Meek AD7 Yungur -fe, -fà, AD9 Jen/Munga fī, hwī (Kleinewillinghöfer 1996
records cases of nasal vowels); also in AD13: Kulaal fēc, Niellim pýāā; PP *pyan has reflexes
in both initial f and s, cf. 'sun'

à-dōk-á 'mountain'
Meek AD8 Kam adāŋ
à-kãŋ-á 'neck'
Meek AD5 Gengle/Kugama kōŋ, AD7 Libo kwēna; elsewhere in groups 5 and 7, the forms are kir, kwer, kor, cf. AD2 CL kōól, AD4 Pere kōńŋ; also cf. 'shoulder'

à-jì-á 'night'
AD4 Pere zègò 'darkness', AD5 ZM zii, Meek Kumba jim

à-bōŋ-á 'river'
Meek AD5 Yendang bōŋko (bōŋkō), Waka bāŋgo, etc. But the root is also apparently in "Mambiloid" Nizaa

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

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

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

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

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

à-tí-á 'tree'
AD4 Momi te; the root is also clearly represented in Meek AD5 Yendang (tēqē), Waka, Teme and AD2 Mumbake, CL tēq, cf. CD tīm with final nasal (AD10 Longuda shows a plural form with final -m, Kleinewillinghöfer 1996); also cf. AD13 Kulaal tēq, Niellim tēlā, but AD6 Kare dī

à-lēm-á 'war'
AD4 Dii lūiū 'make war'; cf. AD6 Koh yūm, Mbum nyīi

à-jinjīŋ-á 'water'
Meek AD2 Lekon (Chamba Leko) nyunjuna, cf. Wom/Mumbake yila, CL wāl; also compare AD4 Dii zīj 'urine', zīn 'river'; possibly connected with the AD13 root represented in Kulaal by im but elsewhere by rim forms
Cognate in CD

à-wèr-á (wéé) 'arrow'
CD wári

à-'d(ù)ìm-á 'back, behind'
CD dim(àâ): primarily a BC root (particularly Bantu and Cross River), represented regionally in Vute and Mambilá; the best AD correlate is Dii dìn 'beyond, on the other side'

à-ýsýn-á 'breast'
CD nyésà: cf. PP *basan; compare AD2 CL vúúm, AD4 Momi voom 'milk'

à-gàŋ-á 'chief'
CD gàng: possibly an areal root, though plausible cognates all show unusual correspondences, cf. Mambilá gàng, CL gààd, AD4 Pere gènê, Dii gbân, PP *gwaam, among others

à-kòŋlár-á 'elephant'
CD kòngláá: CD has an apparently derived verb kònglí '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 gòŋjì)

à-tòŋd-á 'five'
CD tùùná: initial t- is characteristic of BC (AD has mostly n-); back V₁ can be found, for example, in Jukunoid

à-tú-á 'head'
CD tìí: a NC root; but SWAD (including AD5) has mostly initial y-, j- (or w- as in Yendang ùk), cf. nevertheless AD4 Dii túù 'face'; AD6 (excluding Mbum) has tûl

à-ňùntá 'pot'
CD jìí; see -wâlánj- below

à-nyik-á 'lion'
CD nyik

à-kèmji-á 'monkey'
CD kéêm jìí, lit. 'red monkey': CB *-kimà (9/10)

à-(y)een-á 'nose'
CD niùm: a well-represented NC root with many probable cognates in AD, though the correspondences are too complex for certainty, cf. for example AD2 CL niùd, AD4 Pere áà, AD6 Mbum hóòk, Karang hókó but Koh miù, AD13 Niellim hùny
à-wóm-á 'oil'
CD múm, but Mapeo Chamba 'úm; this need not be the well-represented no(m) root (cf. AD6 Karang núm), as CD also has nòò 'be fat' and derivates from it; but in AD13 where num is the common root, we also find Fanyan "mumé", according to Joly (1935); cf. Meek AD8 Kam man

à-kisën-á 'slave'
CD kàsëñ, CL cf. kò(\(\text{'\text{\textquoteright}catch\text{'}\text{\textquoteright}}\)sá (Meek kwasa), apparently from a verb kq' 'catch'

à-säm-á 'spear'
CD sām; cf. ZM shàlàñ, suggestive of Chadic; also compare AD2 CL sùùd 'arrow', AD4 Dii sëë 'war', sëë 'arrow', AD5 ZM sôn, Yendang sën, both 'arrow', and AD13 Kulaal sòl, Niellim sùl, both 'combat'

à-in-á 'tooth'
CD nùìì: a NC root not well represented in AD unless cognacy can ultimately be established with AD2 CL nààg'ñÌì, AD4 Momi nuur, Pere nùúlè; cf. PP *niu

à-bëëëɾ-á '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-òny-á 'bee'
Closest neighboring AD roots are AD5 ZM wara (cf. Meek AD5 Yendang fòìì (vòìì), Waka/Kumba vòìì, Teme vobe), AD2 CL nùùd (cf. Meek Wom òora); also compare AD4 Pere òle 'honey'

à-là-á 'belly'
\(\text{n/la is well represented in Bantoid and presumably related to a PB *-dà} (9); \text{it is also present in Mambila}; \text{note that CD has nàìì 'in, inside'}\)

á/-gbàñ-á 'bird'
Related to AD4 Pere gáñì 'bat' and/or gbàgò 'pigeon'?

à-lëëká 'blacksmith'
CL lààñ (Meek lama); cognacy is hypothetical given that every AD group has a different characteristic root; also compare AD4 Dii nàìì

à-gbàm-á (gbàam) 'blood'

à-mí-á 'door' (< mìì 'close'?)
à-gànsà 'fly'
All matches unsatisfactory: CD gëgë, AD4 Momi gumkaz, Pere gū; cf. Meek AD5 Yendang group kù (kùn)

à-nyàà-á 'friend'
AD6 Karang yàgh, Meek AD8 Kam anjwa, but cognacy is hypothetical given that practically every language has its own root for this gloss; CD mànàà is a derivate of màn- 'peer', often used as a prefix

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

à-júy-á 'house'
Cf. AD5 ZM zhà(k)a; also Meek AD7 Mboi shu'do, Libo ishiria, Yungur hito; there are apparent AD13 cognates: Kwa Perim jòö: 'house', Kwa Cini jùùrä 'woman's house'; cf. PP *di, a root also represented in Voltaic

à-pigèè 'maize' (but curiously CD pî-gôô 'cassava')

à-isà 'mat'
Cf. AD6 Karang hih

à-kìn-á 'one'
Meek AD5 Yendang bindi (bînî), AD9 Jen bing; 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 of AD4 Pere kînë 'compact, dense'

à-wàłàñ-á 'pot'
(à-)hànnà 'rain'
Also means 'saliva'; cf. AD2 CL nwàn 'rain', also AD5 ZM snà 'rain (vb)', snàári 'saliva', AD6 Karang sàm 'saliva'

à-gàá (gàá) 'road'

à-sè-é 'sun, God'
CD siùù; the semantic equivalence is very widespread in SWAD languages; also AD6 Karang sèh; note AD2 CL sòqò, AD4 Momi see, Pere sî. Dii së, Meek AD5 Yendang si, se, all meaning 'moon'

à-wàqèb-á 'ten'
Cf. AD4 Pere fòb; a widespread AD root is kop (cf. AD5 ZM kop, Yendang kôp, AD2 CL kôb and Meek AD10 Hill Longuda kwoo); another is bu in AD7/8 and perhaps 9
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): nà yéndāŋ 'Yandang language', wèé yéndāŋ-ù bɨn̂ ŋ 'one Yandang person'.

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A Linguistic Sketch of Tiba (Gâ), Part II

by Raymond Boyd

II.0. Introduction

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

II.1. Tiba phonology

a) **Consonants:**

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

```
m n
p f t s k km kp
b v d j g gm gb
ß •
vw l y h w
```

(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 \(b/ß\) contrast is less perceptible than \(d/d\); however, \(d\) may be confused with \(l\).

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

iii) The voiced palatal is affricated only before high front vowels; elsewhere it is a palatal fricative. The corresponding unvoiced consonant is a clear palatal fricative only before a high rounded front vowel; elsewhere, it is apical.
iv) There are postnasalized velar consonants (note that postnasals are also present in Mumuye, Shimizu 1983, but there duplicate almost the entire initial consonant system). The articulation of these consonants is such that they might just as well be described as postnasalized labiovelars.

v) There are a small number of terms having the structure: (Initial aspirate velar, [kʰ, gʰ, h]) + high central vowel + ŋ. (In fact, the relative weight of stop and aspiration is such that the phonetic notation might as well be [ʰh, ʰh].) Now it turns out that, while we have at least one initial kuŋ, we nowhere have terms of the form kiŋ, giŋ, hiŋ, or iŋ. The latter are therefore reasonable phonological representations for these sequences; nevertheless, in our lists, they appear with vowel q for easy identification of their peculiar nature. (Note that Shimizu 1983:13 also remarks central vowels before ŋ in ZM, and assigns them to phonological i, perhaps less convincingly insofar as his dictionary shows the preceding consonants to be arbitrary. Note a similar case in Tiba involving q as V₂, árŋ '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 [mʷ]. 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 ([sümʷẽ] '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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{m} & \text{n} & \text{ŋ} \\
\text{P} & \text{T} & \text{S} & \text{K} \\
\text{l} & \end{array}
\]

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 C, 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 CVrVCV may be such that V₁ and V₂ must be identical (or at least V₂ is neutral). In such case, these items could be reanalyzed as CVrCV. (Given general scarcity of data together with difficulties in distinguishing compound terms, nothing will be said here about possible consonant sequences, which, as in CD, are likely to be severely restricted.)
ii) Do the semivowels \( w \) and \( y \) need to be represented intervocally outside loan words? The data collected thus far suggest they do not, but the integration of loan words may be such that these phonemes should nevertheless appear in the intervocalic system.

b) **VOWELS:**

Tiba has a nine-vowel system: the usual seven-vowel triangle \((i, e, a, o, q, u)\) together with two rounded front vowels, \( y \) (distinguished from the palatal semivowel elsewhere in this paper by tone marking or context) and \( o \). 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 (the latter symbolized here by underscoring). There are probably only three distinctive heights for nasal vowels (only \( i, v, e, a, o, u \) 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 \( CV, C(CV) \) (where \( C_2 \) is either a front or a back stop, e.g., \( tap 'sew'/gap 'count', dêk 'forget'/sek 'go down', \) 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 \( NV/NV_1 \) 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, \([waasi]\) 'body' is, if the rules above are indeed the only ones operative, phonologically \(/wansi/\).

We may note that there is a strong tendency in Tiba to apply the CD rule that, if \( C_1 \) in \( C_1 V(V)N \) 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 \( CV_1 \), \( CVn \) (only \( CV:n \)), or \( CV:C \) (only \( CV:C \) for any \( C_2 \) other than \( n \)) also holds in Tiba. The rule requiring that \( e, o \) be long in CD (except in \( C_{-CCV} \)) does not, however, seem to hold. Tiba has cases of at least \( C\_C, C\_CV \), and \( C\_C \), though in the case of the latter, the length contrast is much clearer to the ear when a vowel suffix is added. Long \( e \) and \( o \) in \( C\_C \) 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$\cdot n$ term, the vowel is shortened (the notation CV$\cdot n$ is therefore used in the word lists presented here); 2) though less frequent, vowel lengthening and nasalization followed by loss of the nasal consonant can also be observed in the case of CV$\cdot n$CV. (This situation involving a loss of the $n/\eta$ 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 (CVVVCV) 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 CVC(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 $V_2$ when the term is in nonfinal position; in final position, this vowel becomes $\dot{a}$. (In the lists provided here, such nouns are written with final -$\ddot{a}$, making them easily distinguishable from CV$\cdot V$CV and CVCCV verbs, which have final -$i$.) Nouns with these forms in CD end in either $i$ or $a$ and are invariable.

The final-vowel tonology of these nouns requires an additional remark: the majority end in -C$\ddot{a}$ or -/C$\dot{a}$ (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 -$\dot{a}$ (cited here with final -$\ddot{a}$), hence nonfinal -$i$; and 2) nominals with final -$\ddot{a}$, hence nonfinal -$i$, itself followed by downstep.

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

- A small number of nouns have final -àá; the one case of alternation (gyàá, gyàyn) suggests this structure was originally -vn-à. The -à marking final position has thus been incorporated into the root, the form in nonfinal position being (-)/Càá (with downstepped mid tone).

- There are also CV(V)CV nominals with high V, and final èe (wésèè 'load of' firewood' with mid V being an apparent counterexample), which could conceivably be analyzed as deriving from -i- + -à 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, siijì, a variant of siiì, 'civet cat', sáái 'porcupine', and jèrì 'whirlwind', which have root-final -i- (àá?), giving -i-à in utterance-final position.

- Like CD, Tiba allows CVCum (also CyCy) and CVCVŋ (with V₁ = V₂). There are also terms with CVCen structure corresponding well to CD terms with identifiable -ên or -eên suffixes, and others which correspond to nothing in CD. (See "Derivational affixes" under II.4.a below.)

- Tiba also has a variety of V₁-V₂ combinations in CVC(C)VC terms with final ŋ and k (and even in one case, final n) which are unfamiliar in CD. The possibility that at least some of these terms are original compounds (or even synchronic compounds involving items not yet recorded individually) should be considered.

From the above, it should be clear that the V₂ position does not provide a full set of vowel contrasts. Indeed, final -i, whether for nominals or for verbs, is a lax, slightly lower variant of this sound than appears in V₁ (root) position, doubtless owing to this neutralization of contrasts. There is furthermore some tendency to total assimilation when V₁ is either η or y. (It may be noted that Tiba does not seem to have the CηCη and CqCq 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 (Cvṽ > Cv/, CvC(C)v > Cv/C(C)v). This situation, resulting from the abundance of such tones and patterns in nominal lexical units (see below), is largely identical to the one in CD.
Tona1 alternation in some nouns in associative constructions is described below (noun morphology).

Noun tone classes: Note that about one half of all nominals have a HM or H tone pattern; another quarter has MH or M. Other fairly well represented nominal root tone patterns are LH, LHM, HL(M), and L. The others are marginal and perhaps derivable in some way from the above.

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

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

In the same way, transitive CVCCV verbs have a HL or ML pattern, apparently in (free?) variation. When, in careful speech, the à- 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 3S pronominal object, kí. Indeed, this seems to yield at least three classes, H (H/kí), M, and again a very small number of L (M is perhaps sometimes realized H with no following downstep). Very few CVC(C)V verbs were recorded in this context, and no tone class distinctions were observable (all seem to be M). Verbs cited with M tone in the glossary were observed in this context. It may be noted that, in CD, this context neutralizes verb tone-class distinctions.

Another context in which tone classes can be distinguished is that of the perfective suffix -négá, 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/néá or Hně/á. 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 (í) or definite (ní, ã) 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 \( m \)
- 2S subject \( à \)
- 3S subject \( kí \)
- 1PL subject \( wíí \)
- 2PL subject \( míí \)
- 3PL subject \( wá \)

These pronouns are apparently obligatory markers, at least for the first verb in a series. In subject function, no other morpheme has been observed to intervene between them and the verb, wherefore they may be considered part of morphology.

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

- 1S (\( à- \)měē-) 1PL (\( à- \)wětē-)
- 2S (\( à- \)wěē-) 2PL (\( à- \)mětē-)
- 3S (\( à- \)gůū-) 3PL (\( à- \)wόōntí-)

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 2S and/or the 3S. These are:
2S suffixed -ğan
3S prefixed ‘(i.e., the noun prefix becomes ä/-)

It is quite curious to note that the 1PL and 2PL forms above seem to be precisely the inverse of the 1S and 2S 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 1S subject pronoun is essentially as in CD; its point of articulation is assimilated in subject position to that of any following consonant. The CD 1S possessive is postposed mèè. (The CD independent 1S pronoun, however, is nòk, for which no Tiba correspondence has yet been observed.)

In CD, the 2S 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 2S pronoun is wè, related to the postposed possessive wèè. There is therefore a good correspondence here with Tiba, though the Tiba 2S imperative seems to be yìì.

CD has no 3S subject pronoun, but the 3S independent forms are doubtless derived from *gú 'animate', *gí '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 3S possessive is kèè (gèè in Mapeo Chamba). There is thus again a fairly good correspondence between the two languages.

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

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

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

The CD 2PL and 3PL subject marker is ì. The object markers are likewise identical (-bú). The independent 2PL form is in all likelihood derived from an earlier vù, the possessive being vèè. The independent 3PL is likewise derived from bù, with possessive bèè. 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 1S 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 -(i)nk(á/í) (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 -àán demonstrative ('this (here and now)') in à-mi-yéèè (prefix|day|this) 'today' (CD mór-àán).

II.4. Tiba morphology

a) **NOUN MORPHOLOGY**

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

Likewise, à- and even á/- may drop when the noun follows a verb as its object, but the tone patterns of verbs suggest that the prefix tones shift to them.

Nominals with a canonic form ending in a C suffix -á in final position. If, however, the nominal root ends in -Ve, the nonfinal form ends in -V rather than -Ve.

Nominals with canonic form CV suffix -á in final position unless V is -e-, -ẹ-, -ọ-, -ọ-, or -ẹ-, 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 -tò and that there is a plural suffix -t in AD4 Momi.

Syntactic inflection: Tiba has one rule of noun tone alternation which is not present in CD: H and HM nouns undergo a tone change when they are modified by a preceding H or HM noun: they become M (e.g., lūū 'yam' + són 'staple food' > lūū /sōn(á), īsī 'eye' + sóksā 'hair' > ī/sí 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 -èn 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 -gūr- which can be added to any (nominal or verbal) adjective to form an abstract nominal, e.g., péék 'new', -pék-/gūr-á 'newness'. In the case of verbal adjectives ending in nè, this suffix may tend to be tonally assimilated (-gūr-).

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 -gū-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 CVVsi or CVCsi. 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. sỳym-'be dry', symsi 'dry (tr)'; wòp 'run, fear', wòpsi '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., dòn 'breathe', dônsi 'rest (i.e., make oneself breathe, breathe for oneself)', while others have more complex agentive relationships: ký'cut (down), clear (a field)', kýsì 'chop (into pieces)'. Others still are evident calques of CD, e.g., bëksi 'break, smash', cf. CD vëwëksi, "frequentative" of vëwék 'split'.

There are a few verbs of the form CVsi with ë 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 -li; and -ri occurs in two CVCri verbs, one being an evident CD loan, and one CVVri verb. There are thus only two examples of each of these suffixes with a plausible Tiba origin; none of the verbs in question can be related to any corresponding base verb with the possible exception of jánri 'dry (meat)' (< jàn- 'hot'?). Nothing, then, can be said about the semantic content of these "suffixes". Note, however, that, in CD, the term corresponding to Tiba bìmki- 'resound, be noisy' is a frequentative derivate in -kì of a different root, while the term for 'tickle' (Tiba dëglì) is also a CVCli verb. Only one CVCti verb (a sort of "diminutive") and no CVVtì 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 -dìm: 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 -dìm. Like any noun, the verbal noun can take an à- prefix and an -á suffix. If the noun suffix is -m and -á is added, the result is phonetically [vmámá]. 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 are nevertheless a certain number of CVV verbs which, for an undetermined reason, are given with suffix -dìm.

iv) The adjectivizing suffix -nè: 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 *ñi* preceding utterance-final modifiers (CD *é(n)*); a marker á or *há* seems to alternate freely with *ñi* and is conceivably a direct borrowing from CD;
2) the locative marker (*ñjí*) preposed to noun phrases (perhaps related to the above);
3) the locative anaphoric * gàà* preposed to locative terms (also in CD);
4) the preadverbial marker *jí* (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 (-í) and the perfective (gò) in CD: this is *néá* (presumably *né* + -á) after L tone, *né/á* or /néá* after H tone.

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

There is an utterance-final marker translating the CD durative (*tèè*): this is fà-á. It may be preceded by the definite *ñi* (CD é tèè).

**Negative**: There is an utterance-final negative marker: *dá*. Its compatibility with aspect markers was not tested.

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

II.6. Conclusion

We believe that the data presented here authorize us to conclude that our informant Awdi was indeed fully bilingual in Chamba Daka and Tiba, and that he maintained a clear separation between the two systems at almost all times (excepting perhaps only a small set of lexical items). We may stress that, while many features of the two language systems resemble each other, Tiba may be found in some cases to have a more complex system than CD. Furthermore, the lexical correspondences show precisely the irregularities we would expect for languages which have had a long period of contact involving borrowing at different historical stages.
The full set of lexical data recorded appears below. Terms marked by an asterisk (*) are those which are identical in Tiba and CD, allowing for regular correspondences (e.g., CD $q = \text{Tiba } e$) and uncertainty regarding verb tonology, or display only minor tonal variations. 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 á-. (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 nyáŋli (possible metathesis)
án, open (wide), yawn (+ ávérá) | a widespread ideophonic root: CD yáá yáá, AD4 Momi 
agán-, Pere àà-, Dii áá, AD5 Yendang hánk-, AD6 Kare 'á
áp, seek
ápsi, feel, touch (prob. < ááp 'seek')
áŋkpáá, mouth (also án, language, speech) | AD4 Pere yágo, Dii yág, AD5 Yendang yák, AD6 
Karang nzák are conceivably cognate with this (probably compounded) root
áŋ, arm, adj. áŋnéč, relating to the arm (see list 1)
áŋ, name | AD5 Yendang ŋk
áŋ, know | cf. AD13 Kulaal ʔn, Niellim ʔuná

é, dry (something in the sun) | CD yëri, AD4 Momi yend-, Pere yiir-, Dii yë’, AD5 Zing Mumuye 
(ZM) yá, AD6 Kare yék 'dry'
ék, tear, rip, pluck | AD4 Dii yë’'split'
én, egg (see list 1)

*ék, burp | CD yék
ési (HH?), cough | CD wūsi, cf. AD6 Kare hēl

íi, lie, lie down, sleep | AD4 Dii íi
ín, tooth (see list 1)
isá, mat (MH?) (see list 1)
isá (ísá?), eye (see list 1)
isisèn, broom | CD yisèn

óŋ, bee (see list 1)
óren, cold | CD wàrěn
ónsi, lick

óqìnà, who? | AD5 ZM wò
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*ũk, hear, feel | CD wúk, cf. the reflexes of Proto-Plateau (PP) *fwak

ý, knead | cf. AD4 Dii wù 'pound (flour)'
y(né)-, cool (as shade) | AD2 Chamba Leko (CL) nwūum
ýp, crush (under foot)
yryǐm, ancestor spirit | CD wuriūm; cf. AD4 Dii yoôb
ýs(i) (HH?), suck
ýs, twist, wring (perhaps identical with the preceding term) | cf. AD4 Pere vi-
ýsýn, breast (see list 1)

bá, leopard (see list 1)
*bák, follow | CD bàk, also AD2 CL bàg
*bák, stick, block | CD bàk
bám, big (be) | CD gbóóm, AD5 Yendang gbān 'heavy, old'
báámsà(r), sickle | CD gbóómsà, AD4 Momi gamsqz, but Pere gbânė
bánkulūuŋ, elbow
*bàr(ù)b, twin | CD bàrùp
*béēb, money | CD béēp
bén, granary | AD4 Pere binè, cf. CD bóón, AD2 CL bóón, AD5 ZM bōq; AD4 Dii vāŋ
*béēéŋ, gazelle (kind of) | CD bēēŋ
*bì, seed, kind (bì as N2) | CD bìi
bìi, quiver (for arrows) | CD bèēn
*bökṣi, accompany | CD bökṣi
bōr, big | CD wārī, pl. wōpsā, AD4 Pere bōgārē, AD5 ZM bōrō are all likely cognates
bùmlā, round
bùŋ, kill | cf. CD būt, AD4 Momi but-s- 'kill a sleeping animal'
býýrī, draw, decorate with drawing | AD4 Momi bí-, AD5 ZM bīi but Yendang vēē-; cf. CL bād

bā (bā with subject m '1S'), come | CD bāá, rarely with sense 'come' in AD, but cf. AD4 Pere bā-
'come forward'
bāk, hug, embrace, cradle | CD kpāk, AD4 Pere kpā-, kpāŋ-
bāk, knife (see list 1)
bāk, bushcow (see list 1)
bāksì (+ tūũ 'head'), think, worry about
bāāmā, midst
bán, farm (vb) | CD bààn, AD4 Momi baa-, Pere bàà-, Dii bàà, but AD6 Karang pà, AD13 Kulaal wày, Niellim wày
bán, field, farm | CD bāàn, AD4 Momi bánt, Dii bàb, but AD6 Karang pàì, AD13 Kulaal ùààl, Niellim wààl
bé-sibá, (down on) ground | cf. perhaps CD bèn for the initial element
bēè, bushbuck | cf. CD bēy, AD4 Momi bayamz 'duiker', Dii bāl 'kob'
bēk, (clay) dish
bēksi, break, smash | ideophonic root: CD vvēksi, cf. AD6 Karang vvēh 'cut' and even AD13 Niellim bāgré
bē, leg (see list 1)
bēn, bring | CD bèni; cf. AD13 Kulaal wèn
bēqr, two (see list 1)
bì, lie, tell lies (+ lēem) | cf. AD4 Pere mii- + 'tongue'
bńṣi, refuse | AD5 ZM bèn
bìp, ask, ask for | cf. AD4 Dii vi, AD5 Yendang bī-, AD6 Karang vī
būōm, wound, sore
bōōn, bōn, cut, slash; split (intr); break (as day)
bōŋ, river (see list 1)
bō, bean
bū, throw | AD4 Dii gbō, AD6 Karang vū
*bōbp, blind(ness) | CD bōbp
bōgb, dance (n)
bōp, dance (vb) | possible cognate in AD13 Niellim bōn
bārūm, thunder, lightning | CD bōq, AD4 Dii bō̩, cf. AD6 Karang pōmṇ; but also CD bēl̩m, AD4 Momi bul̩mi 'flame' (see yérmá 'flame')
būmki (intr), resound, be noisy
būṇ, ash, dust | CD būṇ 'dust'; *buṇ is PP and Proto-Jukun
būnsā, (harmattan) wind
bỳ̩, dog (see list 1)
bỳmsā, brain(s) | CD bòlṃsi, AD4 Pere bòrè; note AD6 Karang ṛ-pám
b̩yr, white | CD bůk̩i, AD2 CL bū̩d, AD4 Momi bu(n)i 'white', bur- 'be white', Pere bū̩, Dii bū 'be white', AD6 Karang būi, but also pūk̩i, cf. AD5 ZM puru

dá, copulate | CD léén, AD5 ZM laa
dā, take out, remove
*dābrì, wrap (in leaves to cook) | CD dābrì
*dāndaṇ, bitter | CD dāngdāng
daâsi, choose, select (< dāa 'remove')
dēn, cloth, clothing
dēn, vagina
dī, press
dī(né)-, heavy, prob. < dī 'press' | CD dingding, but initial continuant elsewhere: AD4 Dii zǐ, AD6 Kare zì, Karang yi
dī̩, long | CD dēgré̩ 'long, far', AD4 Dii dīi, AD6 Karang dī 'far'

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dīgū, tickle | AD6 Kare dīkī, cf. CD gēngū

dīn (perhaps dīn), eyebrow
dīpsā, cloud
*dōk, plant (vb) | CD dōk, also AD4 Momi dōkw-

*dōm, greet | CD dōm

dōn, sing
dōoŋ, misery, poverty | related to AD5 ZM rān?
dū (or dū), ridge (in farm)
dūūk, mountain (see list 1)

*dūk (intr), finish, come to an end | CD dūk, cf. tū 'finish' below
dūk- stomach (but syntactically adjectival) | cf. ZM dūku 'skin bag'

*dūksi, finish, be used up | CD dūksi < dūk
dūm (intr), collapse, fall off, down
dūm, short, shallow

*(ā)dūmā gàŋ, vulture | CD dūmā gàŋ
*dūngbāl, hippopotamus | CD dūngbāl
*dìnī (HH?), deceive | CD dīnglī
dī, wet, moisten, soak | cf. AD4 Momi yī-; perhaps ultimately connected with CD dūrī 'rain'
dyn (intr), go (in) | AD5 Yendang tin-; Pere dō-, Dii dō, but AD4 Momi tor-; also AD6 Karang rīh

dīr, deep | AD4 Pere lūl- 'be deep'


dā (intr), break, shatter (from falling) | AD5 ZM daasè 'break (a piece) off', AD6 Karang dōr, Kare dōrī

dē, taste | AD5 Yendang lék-, AD6 Karang lēh; cf. AD4 Momi doo'
dē, testicles
dē, put, place | AD4 Momi de'(s-), Dii 'yē
dēk, forget | AD6 Karang yēkrē

dē, other
dī, burn (tr), light (fire) | CD dī but AD2 CL dīū; according to Kleinevellinghöfer (pers. comm.), Bambuka in the Bikwin group has lī

dīŋ, navel
dōb, in-law
dōbēn, cowife
dōōk, mouse | AD5 Yendang rōk 'kind of (domestic) rat'
dōn, breathe | AD4 Momi dōŋ 'groan', Pere dū- 'blow, snore'; however, CD gōng, AD4 Momi yōng- 'snore', AD5 ZM gōng 'snore'
dōnī (< dōn 'breathe'), rest | same derivation in CD gōngsī; but AD5 ZM wōngkē; cf. AD6 Karang ōk

dōōŋ, hip (joint); thigh | cf. AD2 CL dūn, A4 Pere dōrē, Dii dōo, all 'leg'
dōō kōŋ, matriclan (compound with N2 'face')?
dūk, penis | AD4 Dii dūg, but Momi deek; AD6 Karang nōw

dūūm, perhaps also dūmā, back (> dūm 'behind') (see list 1)
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dúmsa, urine | cf. AD2 CL nwóöm, AD6 Karang tóm
dunj, hole | CD döq, AD4 Momi duur, but CL déél, Pere dälè; also AD5 ZM tqq; AD6 Karang lökō

fákti (intr), tasteless, insipid
jé, burn (tr/intr) | CD piī, AD2 CL pi' 'heat', AD4 Dii pi 'be hot', AD6 Kare più 'sing'ē
jè, twenty
jéen, moon, also jën /w 'stars' (see list 1)
jési, full, complete (be)
jì, take (staple food with fingers)
fun(n)i, begin (< Fulfulde fe•a?)
gá, illness
gá, get, receive | CD gāam
gää, strainer (for beer), sifter (for flour); also fishtrap | AD4 Pere gānj 'fishtrap', cf. CD gęę
gāá, road (see list 1)
gāá, Tiba
*gàm, horn | CD gāám
*gànj, chief (see list 1)
*gànj-túnēn, donkey | CD gäng-pén-túnēn
gànj (sátaa, i.e., 'sour'), pepper | AD5 ZM gánzìn where the meanings of zìn are 'clot of blood' and 'fish'
gàngá, drum (kind of) | < Hausa gángā
gāp, count | AD5 ZM gna, Yendang gân-, AD6 Kare ngè (also ké), but non-nasal elsewhere: AD2 CL gád, AD4 Momi ga-', Pere gáá-d-(do)
gāpsí (HM?), divide, distribute (adj. gāpsé(ně)- 'forked') | CD gāpsí
gāāsá, (dry) season | AD4 Pere gāā, Dii gāag, but AD6 Karang káy, Kare kéq
gāsì (HM?), think (about), recall | AD4 Pere gèl-, cf. AD6 Karang kèr
gīn, hunch (on back) | cf. AD5 Yendang kúkì; also CD gāy, AD2 CL gāad
gān, large potsherd | CD gī
geë, sorrel
gé, cross (river)
geëk, (bambara) groundnut
gēk, grave | CD gēká, AD4 Pere gágò
gém, scream, dream, nightmare (also a verb, 'affect (as a bad dream)')
géñ, break, snap (tr) | AD4 Pere gé- 'break (tr) with derivative gál- 'break into pieces (tr)'
gén, medicine | CD gāan, AD2 CL gāān, AD5 ZM gnān, but AD4 Momi gēŋbaq, Pere gaabò, Dii gām
*gèn (intr), flow | CD gèën
gérá, guinea-corn (see list 1)
gésëñ, scorpion
gāk, chest | cf. AD2 CD giil, AD5 ZM giîn, but CD gàngà, AD4 Pere gògi, gàgsàlè, AD6 Kare gòn

gîm, smelly (be) | cf. CD gúûn, AD6 Kare gùnè 'smelly'
*gît, abstain | CD gît

gîtâámã, green
gó, pay (back)

gôn, answer
*gôngsá, breath | CD gôngsî, see the doublet gbânsá 'snoring' below
gô, catch, seize | CD gût, AD4 Pere gûù-, AD5 Yendang gò-
gù (intr), fall
*gûb, thorn | CD gûp (cf. AD4 Momi kapt)
(û)/gûsâa, also gûsín, pigeon

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

ghá, vomit

gbák, dig, dig up | AD2 CL gbâ', AD5 ZM gbmaa

ghák, grind (dry grain) | CD gôk

ghák, slip

gháàm, blood (see list 1)

ghânfûléär, (earth)worm
(û)/gbân, bird (see list 1)

ghânsá, snoring | CD gbânsi 'groan' (compare dôn 'breathe', gônsá 'breath')

ghânsi (intr), finish, run out | AD4 Momi gbâms-, Pere bâm-, AD5 Yendang gbôs-

ghéér, dassie

gbôöm, heart (see list 1)

gmèsi, move, shift (tr) | CD gbâsi; cf. AD2 CL gbá''advance', AD4 Dii 'mê''move near'

gmôp (intr), crawl

hám, salt

hâp, bind, wrap (up)

hârã, headpad | cf. AD2 CL kâlã, AD4 Pere kàarè, Dii kâa, AD5 Yendang kânñîn

hûn, guinea-corn (see list 1)

hûnûm (or kûnmã?), rain, saliva (see list 1)

já (or jàa or jà), laziness | CD jàalèn 'lazy person', AD6 Kare zòzò

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

jâk, cook, brew | AD6 Karang nzë but CD sâki

*jâm (intr), stand (up), swell (adj jâm(nê)-) | CD jàam

(û)/jàânsá, tiger nut | CD jûn but AD5 ZM sân, Yendang tânká
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jánři, dry (meat) (< jāŋ?)
jāŋ(nē)-, hot, feverish (be) | AD4 Dii zāgā 'sun', AD6 Karang zāŋnā 'fever', Kare zāŋ
*jāy, tendon | CD jāy
jēē, scabies | AD5 ZM znākn
jēmkā, stranger, outsider | cf. AD4 Momi genz, AD5 ZM zanti, Yendang zántá
jērá, locust | cf. AD5 ZM zōro
jēři, whirlwind
jē, see | AD5 ZM zè
jū, night (see list 1)
jū, theft, thief | CD yīlēn < yīi 'steal'
jūbār, pocket | < Fulfulde jiiba
jūnta, (cooking) pot (apparently singular though plural in form) (see list 1)
jīnīŋ, also jīnjā (in compounds, e.g., ōŋ jīnjā 'bee water', i.e., honey), jījīn, water (see list 1)
*jīnjār, hyena | CD jīnglāā
jō, on, upon | CD jūm
jōōb, poison | AD5 ZM znápq, Yendang zōn
jōm, squat | CD jōqūm
*jōn, laugh (vb) | CD jōōn
jōōŋ, jōňā, red | AD5 Yendang yōntī
jō (?), laughter | CD jōnā, AD4 Pere zōnē, Dii zōṃ
*jū, up(wards) | CD jūū
jūm, flour | CD jōqūm, AD2 CL zāqūm, AD5 ZM zuman, but AD6 Karang sūm, AD13 Niellim hūm
jūŋ, mortar | AD5 ZM dūn
jūŋ, pound
jū, pour
jūy (jū, jūy after i or as DO without modifier), house, room (see list 1)

*kāmki, gather (tr) | CD kāmki (frequentative of kāmī)
kān, anklet
kān, find, meet | AD4 Dii kān, cf. AD5 ZM kosē
kān, tie (prob. a derivative sense of the preceding verb) | cf. AD2 CL kāa’ 'rope', AD6 Karang ngāh
kāaŋ, cobra
kāntā or kāntā, calabash
kāntā, tortoise | cf. AD4 Dii kpārgūd
kāārā, wing, feather
kānsi, join, meet (< kān)
kāŋ, face, forehead
kāŋ, neck (see list 1)
kāŋkīlāā (invariable?), chicken (see list 1)
*kāsi, strainer (for flour) | CD kāsī
ekēe, cough (n) | AD5 Yendang kōl- (vb)
kē, say, speak
*kēlūm (also attested -kēlūm-, -kēlūm-, pl. kēlūmtā), baobab | CD kēlūūm
*kémjũ, monkey (see list 1)
*kéę, refuse | CD kág
*kéęr, mad(man) | CD kęę
*kékęę, hedgehog | CD kąąkąą
*kęnsi, bother, disturb | CD kąansi
kęšā, (rainy) season | cf. PP *kwas
kęsā, side (of body), rib cage
*kilẹn, loan | CD kilēn
kìn, one (see list 1)
*kinéēn, leper, leprosy | CD kinéēn
*kisẹn, slave, captive (see list 1)
(á)/kiyāā, (in) front, before
kó or kọnj, carry (a child on the back) | CD kölī, AD4 Pere kúù-, AD5 ZM kpmáá
kọ, put on (clothes)
*kök, rub | CD kök, cf. AD5 Yendang kpös-köm, urinate
*kóm, arrive | CD kóóm
*kòngr, smallpox | CD kònà
*konglār, elephant (see list 1)
*kọnti, gather, pile up | CD kọngli; also AD5 Yendang kọò-
*kọp, draw, fetch (water) | CD kọp; also note AD5 Dii kọ
kọ, guinea-fowl | CD kāa, AD4 Pere kūn, Dii kọq, AD6 Karang kpèh but Kare kọrè 'perdrix', cf. 'chicken'
*kọ, (enclosure) mat | CD kọŋ
kọq (intr), thin (be)
kẹnsi, untie
kū, sweep | CD kūri, AD4 Momi koor-s-, AD5 ZM kọq
kù (intr), old (be) (person)
kūk, kikū, grandmother | compare CD kāk, AD2 CL kādá; also AD13 Kulaal kāá, Niellim kāá
kūlūŋ, boat | root with an unusual distribution: apparent cognates exist in AD13, e.g., Niellim kwā-, pl. kargč, but may spread as far as Ubangi Zande kürungbà; also note Fulfulde koombowal
*kūmti, make (a fist) | CD kūmlī
kūŋlūŋ, shoulder | cf. AD4 Pere kōölę and 'neck' (list 1)
ký, cut (down), clear (a field) | AD5 ZM kq 'cut (in two)', Yendang gòò- 'cut (down)'
ký, bright, clear (be)
kýsi, chop (into pieces) (< ký 'cut (down)')
kýr, (wrist-, ankle-)bone, joint
kýý, hare | CD kūt

kmée, pull (up, out)
kmēk, squirrel
kpù, cut, break off (tr/intr) | AD4 Dii kpàñ, kpàq
kpù, skin | AD5 ZM kpà, cf. AD2 CL kpàgàl 'bark'
kpàm, joking partner | CD kpàm
kpàngümà groundnut(s) (see list 1)
*kpàt, weed (a field) | CD kpàt
kpé, fish, go fishing | AD4 Momi gbee-, AD5 Yendang kpëè-, both 'fish by bailing'; cf. AD2 CL kpè‘ 'fishhook'
kpiksimsá, chin
kpìñ, nest
*kpísàar, billy-goat | CD piisàá
*kpóñáar, deaf | CD kpóngàá

láá, belly (see list 1)
láá, sleep (n) | invariable final nasal: CD láàm, AD2 CL láàm, AD4 Momi ràm, Pere nàm, Dii nàm, AD5 ZM nù-ron, AD6 Karang nàm, except AD5 Yendang nòo-ròó
là (intr), fall (as rain) | always initial nasal elsewhere: CD nàá, AD2 CL nàñ, AD4 Dii nàñ, AD5 Yendang nà-
(á/lágon, chameleon | cf. AD5 Yendang gònlí
làk, forge (vb) | cf. AD4 Dii làgà 'sharpen'
làm, lost (be) | cf. AD4 Pere lèè, AD5 ZM rè
láàn, cry (vb) | cf. AD4 Dii lèg, AD6 Kare rè-req
*láñ, surround | CD láng
láñsá, side of face | CD lángsi 'temple'; also AD4 Pere lârán, AD6 Koh láàkùn
lèká (pl. lèkétá), blacksmith (see list 1)
lèèm, lie (in bìi lémá 'tell lies', cf. lèr 'tongue')
lèèn, grinding stone | AD5 ZM rèè; cf. CD nààn, also AD2 CL nàgàl, AD5 Yendang (ú/-)ná léñ, drip | AD4 Dii lèg 'flow'
*lép, buy | CD lép, cf. AD4 Momi yiip-; *dyap is PP
*lépsi, sell | CD lépsi
lèr, tongue (see list 1)
léèrá, louse | AD2 CL lùùd 'flea', AD4 Pere lùàrè, Dii lùèè, AD5 ZM rùèti, Yendang rùèèi
*léèrá, flute | CD léèré (a regional root: AD2 CL léèd, AD4 Momi liirag; also AD4 Dii léèçèèd)
léèsi, lèèsi, spoil (tr), rot, spoil (intr) | CD léèsi 'moisten', AD4 Pere lìí-, AD5 ZM lèèsi léèç, grass, bush (cf. pè lè /pè 'animal (thing-bush-thing)'
lè, prepare, get ready | cf. AD2 CL lèb, AD4 Pere lè, Dii lè, AD5 Yendang rè-., all 'produce, give birth'
*lè, scar, blemish | CD lèç
(á/li), when?
lí (± báámá), sky, above | AD2 CL lèg
lìí, village | AD2 CL lìígà 'compound, family', AD4 Pere lìígò, Dii lìí, AD5 Yendang léèk, all 'house'; also AD13 Niellim lìí, Kwa lìí, both 'house'; *di is PP for 'compound, house'
*lìík (likà ?), dirt(y) | CD likà, cf. AD2 CL lìígùd, also AD4 Dii lìígòd 'be dirty'; *dik is PP (á/lin, (day after) tomorrow | cf. AD2 CL fìm 'morning'
fiñ, between, through
líŋsi, sell, hawk
líŋxa, gut, intestine | cf. CD nggri
*lípsí, turn, change | CD ḫpsi, but also AD5 ZM ri
líša, smoke
lók, take | AD5 Yendang ḫá-, also AD4 Dii ló, but the root may be Chadic, cf. Bachama lú
lóká or lóká, cry (n) | CD ḫoki 'speak, tell'
láéém, war (see list 1)
lóó, yam | AD2 CL důd, AD5 ZM lɔqti
lůk, lump (on body, head)
lůmər, market | < Fulfulde luumo
lúmsa, man
(á/lúúmsá, husband (cf. 'man')
lúúŋ, knee (see list 1)
lý, move (residence, jýy) | AD4 Dii lúu 'go away'
lýyn, male | CD lúum
lýn (intr; also lýlyn for 'get, stand up?'), get up, fly | CD dúm, AD4 Momi ruu-, Pere lú-, Dii lúu 'lift', AD5 ZM dú, AD6 Karang zò; also note Bachama lì (apparently not a reconstructible Chadic root, Carnochan 1975)
lýnsi, raise, throw up, make fly
má, knead, work (mud, clay), build (building) | CD mākí, AD2 CL mā' 'make, do', AD5 ZM maa, Yendang māá-, but AD4 Dii mbōŋ, AD6 Karang mbōŋ
*mák, show | CD māk
*máká dikár (máká invariable?), (red) millet | CD máká (meaning of second element in Tiba unknown)
*máksi, try, try on, out | CD máksi
mēká, green, unripe
mēká, paste
mēsinsá, dew | CD mēnsán, AD2 CL mīsà, AD4 Momi met, Pere mērè, Dii mēd, AD6 Karang mīm, but AD5 Yendang mó (vs. mēē 'water')
mí, day
mí, door (< mi 'open, close') (see list 1)
mī, excrement
mi, close, open
mīŋ, shave
mī-wa, day before yesterday
mó, bear, give birth to | AD6 Karang mbũŋ; cf. AD4 Dii mbog 'fix, get ready'
mó (mó with object tî 'tree'), climb
mūná, earth

ná (ná with indirect object wé 'child'), give | CD nyáá, AD5 ZM an; this form reappears in AD13: Kulaal néé, Niellim ná
ná (ná with object pē 'thing'), do | CD nák

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náksá, cow (see list 1)
*nambil, crocodile (see list 1)
nán, nàn, how?, how much? | CD nyää, nyáká, AD2 CL lá, lëc, AD4 Momi nat(see), AD5 ZM
dnee 'how much', AD6 Karang ánì, Mbum nài 'how'

ej, four (see list 1)

née (pl. nìí), person | CD née, AD2 CL néd, AD4 Pere nán

nék, owner | AD6 Kare nàá

nênjë, axe

nìí, mother (but nághá 'your mother'); cf. nìí-wé, sibling (mother's child) | AD5 ZM yina, Yendang

yn, 'how' | CD

nìó, drum (see list 1)

*ỳnsì, hurry | actually CD nìngsèn < nìngsi 'make tremble'

*nò, (oracle) poison | CD nòòm

nòntà, root | cf. AD5 Yendang nĩnkán; *nan is PP

nòm, anger | CD nòm

nòm(nì), good, pleasant, tasty | AD2 CL lám, AD4 Dii nèm 'be salty'

*nòm, anger | CD nòm

nóntà, root | cf. AD5 Yendang nĩnkán; *nan is PP

nósi (HM?), shake

(tó)nyûk, (bow)string

nûj, locust bean tree

nûngûr, locust bean (tablet)

nûnmâ, wax

pá, put in, on (as hat, shoes) | CD pàk, AD2 CL pààn, AD4 Dii pàg

(bójì) pà, (river)bed, gulley

pà̀n, place

pát, all | a regional term attributable to Fulfulde

pék, new | AD4 Momi pà(ní) but AD6 Mbum fëkë, Koh fìë

pëc, go | cf. AD2 CL pà 'take, carry', AD4 Momi pëc- 'take away'; also Dii hë 'go off, away'

pëc, thing | CD pën; cf. AD2 CL ñn, AD4 Pere ñnë, Dii hën, AD5 Yendang hë, AD6 Karang fë

pi (intr), return, go back, change (into) | CD pëc (compare përi 'put back'), AD2 CL pëgël 'return',

AD4 Pere pëc- 'do again' but fil- 'change into', AD6 Kare fërë; cf. 'exchange': AD2 CL

pëèn, AD4 Dii pì

*pìí, Bení seed | CD pìí

pigëë, maize (see list 1)

*pilìì, (large) basket | CD pilìì̀, a regional root

pìïmá, charcoal | AD6 Karang hëkrë

pì, butcher, cut open

pìgì, flowering (of plants) | CD pìgì 'flower (vb)

pìgìlà, armpit

pìuk, pûkû, (maternal) uncle | cf. CD pòp, AD4 Dii pàá

pûk (pûkà?), bark (of tree), shell | CD pûkò

pyû, viper | AD4 Dii kpiù

pyûygë, cassava | CD pìí-gòò
pyn, tired (be) | CD pūt
pyn, fatigue

*sáà, (father's other) wife | CD sáà
*sā, net | CD sāā
sā, ooze, have diarrhea (+ miñ) | CD sāā, AD4 Dii sóō 'leak', AD5 ZM sqq, but san 'forge',
Yendang sā- 'ooze; melt' (whence sāki 'iron'), AD6 Karang sāh 'moisten'
sā, mud | AD5 Yendang sōk
sāk, hang, carry (on shoulder)
*sāk, genet cat | CD sāk
sāk, bark (vb)
*sāk, spear (see list 1)
(ŋŋ) sāmkā, left (hand)
sān, carve
sān, hoe | cf. AD4 Dii ōŋ
sānsā, muddy pool | cf. sā
sānsi, grind (flour) | AD4 Pere sān- 'grind (fresh, damp grain)', whence relationship with sā, sā
(ā)sāŋkā, frog, toad (see list 1)
*sāŋki (HM?), teach, learn | CD sāŋkī
*sāsī, do (repetitively) | CD sāsī (auxiliary verb)
sātāā or sātāā, sour
sāáti, porcupine
sāūk, (beer) pot
sē (also sēewā), sun, God (see list 1)
sē (intri), lacking, scarce (be) | AD5 Yendang sē
sē, also sēsē, nightjar (?), translates CD tāmāā)
(ŋŋ) sē (or sē), fingernail (see list 1)
*sēb, witch | CD sēp 'bewitch'; cf. AD4 Dii sōb 'use witchcraft', sóōg 'witch', sēy 'witchcraft'
sēēk, anklet | AD4 Pere sēgō 'castagnette'
sēk, go (down), also sēkśi | AD2 CL sīm, AD4 Dii sī, cf. AD4 Pere sī- 'sit'; also cf. si 'down'
*sēm, (prepubeescent) girl, female (animal) | CD sēm 'girl' but -sē 'female animal'
sēmsēmtā sand | cf. AD4 Pere šī, AD5 ZM sneeli (note particularly sengsengli from the Saaw à
dialect of Mumuye, Shimizu 1979:98); Kleinewillinghöfer 1996:97 also reports forms
like swaa in Bikwin; cf. AD6 Kare māsālā and AD13 Niellim hyāān from an earlier form
with initial s
sēn, waist | AD4 Momi seem, AD5 ZM sān
sēn, add (to), increase
*sēnēn (pl. sēnēn-ı-), guest | CD sēnēn
sēnēēn, strong, healthy | cf. CD sēnì 'be too strong', AD4 Dii sēn 'make an effort' prob. < sēč 'be
potent, effective'
*sēnī, difficult (be) | CD sēnī
sēņsi, pull (off, out)
sēēr, pl. of yāmīk, young, small (child)
sēērā, truth
sé, scratch (itching) | cf. AD5 ZM sneêtê 'itch'
si, speech, matter
si (intr), black, dark (be) | cf. AD5 ZM tinri 'dark'; also cf. jû 'night'
si, bury
si, plait (hair) | AD4 Momî si- 'make rope'; otherwise CD tsì, Pere òûi- 'weave', AD5 ZM tisé
si, also sî, down(wards) | AD5 Yendang sëê, cf. CD së, AD5 ZM tî(pì), AD6 Kare tsà, also cf. sib 'under', sêk 'go down'
si, wait for | CD sit, AD2 CL sid, both 'be patient'
sî, show
sîb, under, below | CD ñîm, also AD5 ZM típi, AD6 Karang sîba, both 'earth'; cf. si 'down'
sigân(jà), much, many
sûji, also siiî, civet cat | CD sii, AD2 CL siîd
*sîm, beer | CD sîm; cf. AD4 Pere ñum, AD13 Kulaal hâm, Niellim hâm
sîr, porridge | cf. AD4 Momî sii- 'cook porridge'
*sîr, boil, abcess | CD sît
sisêê, switch, whip
*sisâ, insult (n) | CD sísí
sô, drink | CD sôq; the general AU root is represented by AD4 Diî zô; *swa is PP
sô, butt, ram (perhaps identical with the following term) | AD2 CL sùd
sôô, break (intr) | AD4 Diî sôô
sô, pierce, stab | AD5 ZM suu, Yendang sô-, AD6 Karang sù, but AD2 CL sâb 'pierce', AD4 Pere sâ-, sàà-, Diî sà; compare CD sôt, AD2 CL sôd 'plant (a stake)'
sôk, wash (something) | CD sûksi, AD4 CL sûg, AD4 Pere sôg-, AD5 ZM sôkè, AD6 Karang sôh 'wash oneself'
*sôkàr, (land monitor) lizard | CD sôkà
sôksâ, hair (on body) (see list 1)
sôksâ (used with bô 'throw'), whistling
sôn, (staple) food | AD5 Yendang sôô, cf. CD tûm, also AD13 Kulaal hààl, Niellim hàà:n; cf. 'eat, chew'
*sôñ, antelope (kind of) | CD sông
sôp, blow (on)
sôpsî, lick (up)
sôô, also sôrâ, wind | cf. AD13 Kulaal hààp, Niellim sàâb
sôn, carry (off, away) | cf. CD tuùm, AD5 Yendang tôô, both 'carry on head'
sê, mucus | cf. AD2 CL sàb 'pus'
sévâni, leave (a path), branch
sënsî, put out (fire)
sûksâ, soup | AD5 Yendang sônkô
sûmsî, sûmsî, gather (something); gather (together) | CD sôôm, AD4 Pere sùm-, both 'gather up', AD5 Yendang sôô 'take out, remove'
sûwêç, (intestinal) worm | CD sôômû, AD2 CL sôbêç
sûsî, swell, blister
sûsun, shade | AD5 ZM sunû, cf. AD6 Karang sûn 'night'
syû, thirst | CD sûû, AD2 CL sûûd
sûym, dry (be) | CD sùm
sýmãa, empty
sýmsi, dry (tr) | CD sûmsi
sýn, grow, develop; go out | cf. CD tûâm 'develop, grow up' > rûnèn 'go out'; also AD6 Karang fîh 'go out'
sûyn, tail | AD2 CL sûũ; also cf. AD13 Kulaal hêê, Niellim hînã
sûnsi, resemble
sûyîm, bright, shiny (be); smooth, slippery, mucilaginous (be) | AD5 Yendang sôr 'be slippery'

tá, hit, kick, shoot | CD tât, AD2 CL tânn, AD4 Momî taa-, Dii tâ', AD5 ZM tâ, Yendang tã, cf. tê 'sting...'
tá (or tû), pick, pluck (fruit); excrete | AD4 Dii tô 'pick'
*tâ, butcher (vb) | CD tâà
*tà, early (be, get up) | AD4 Dii tâ'âd
*tâb, sandal | CD tâp
tâm, tâm, jump (over), jump (intri)
tàp, sew | AD2 CL tãb, AD4 Dii tã, both 'tie'; compare CD tããli
*tàrá, three (but cf. 'eight' tûn-/tûrã) | CD tûrã (see list 1)
té, sting, prick, dazzle; appear | CD tât, AD4 Momî tâks- 'reveal', cf. tâ 'hit...'
té, stone (see list 1)
(yén/ tê (< tê?)), anus
tèbmá, luck(y) (translates CD jîn 'red' in ni/in jîn 'luck(y person)', lit. 'red face')
(á/tékã(?)?), gecko
tém, pass (through) | CD tôli 'pass by', AD2 CL tânn, AD4 Pere tâł- 'pass', AD5 Yendang târ-, AD6 Kare tâ

tëmsi, insult
*tê, push, sweep, carry along | CD tâg
*têksi, begin | CD tãksi
*têçmsã, sheep | CD tãçmsi; also note AD4 Pere tâmã, AD5 Yendang dãã
tí, tree, stick (see list 1)
fr, father (but rêçná 'your father') | AD4 Pere tãã, but tûnú 'his father', cf. AD5 ZM yera, Yendang yôrî (with prefix yV-?)

ti(y)ãm, afternoon
fïk, gourd | AD4 Dii tïg
*tïksá, snail | CD tïksã
(á/ti/sã (< á/tisã?)), owl | AD5 Yendang tûnsûn
tisêng (or tísêng), ant
*(pêç) tôm, work (n) | CD pên tôôm

ton, eat, chew | CD tånn, AD5 Yendang tâã-; also AD13 Kulaal tô but Niellim tûy 'eat (staple food)', compare sôm 'staple food', AD5 ZM shaa 'eat', and AD6 Kare sô 'chew'
*tông, play (+ tôwë 'ear') | CD tông tôã
tóon(nê)-(also tôhnè), good, effective, clean, beautiful | AD4 Dii tôô and AD5 ZM tñoq, Yendang tôn, all 'good, tasty'; cf. AD6 Karang sù
*tôn tôñ, strong, healthy | CD tôntônô
tó, miss, err
tóq, bow (see list 1)
táeé, ear (see list 1)
táéeb, Shea butter tree | CD tů̱p; cognates in AD13: Kulaal tóí, Niellim táàm
túá, here
tůú, head (see list 1)
*(pêê) tůnên, baggage | CD pên tůnên < tůùn 'carry'
tůn/sým, shame | cf. AD2 CL sãm, AD4 Pere sê gó, Dii sém, AD5 ZM yûú-sne with yû 'head' (also of course Fulfulde semt-)
tůûñ, five (but changes form in compound numbers: tůûñ-kûn 'six', tůôñ-sî-bêçrûa 'seven', tûn-tûrûrûa 'eight', tûùñ-sí-nêa 'nine', cf. wûp-sê-tûûñá 'fifteen') (see list 1)
tûù, point (at) | CD tôq, AD6 Kare tó
*tûñ, push | CD túít, Dii tú', but AD4 Pere tãär-; also AD5 ZM dñó
tûñ, finish, complete (tr) | AD4 Dii tû 'be completely destroyed'; cf. CD dûk, dûkí
*tûyên, between, among | AD2 CL tòôd 'half'; cf. AD4 Dii têg
tûn, spit | AD2 CL tô, AD4 Dii tôq but AD4 Momí tôñ-, AD5 Yendang tên-; CD tûsì

(á/)våa, (kind of) lizard
evâlí, help | < Fulfulde wâlla
vô, squat
vûm, roast
viûn, goat (see list 1)
(á/)viûns, mosquito | CD bûsî, AD4 Momí wûûs, Pere vûrè, Dii vâd, Karang vûórô, Kare wûrô, cf. AD5 ZM wâra 'bee', Yendang vûrû 'bee', wêçr 'honey'
vû, die | CD wûû, AD4 Momí wûr-, Pere vô-, AD5 ZM vû, Yendang wûs-, AD6 Karang hû, AD13 Kulaal úûí, Niellim ûy; cf. AD2 CL vâd
viûs, shadow | AD2 CL nyûs; cf. PP *vu 'shade'

vvê, beat, hit | clearly ideophonic: CD vûát, AD6 vvô, elsewhere AD4 Momí bee’, Dii vâq, cf. AD6 Karang vvûr, Kare vûrê ‘break’

wá, fire | AD4 Pere vêê, Dii vêè; 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
wá, sharpen
wák, wákû, grandfather
wâlánj, (cooking) pot (see list 1)
wáásá, heat, hot (cf. 'fire') | also compare ZM wnaa 'hot'
wánsá, body
wá, leave, let | CD vêt
wé, year, time, season | AD4 Momí wiir, Pere vûrè, Dii vê'
wé (pl. wè), child | CD wèç 'small, child', AD2 CL wåà, AD4 Pere wãrãà, Dii wãà, AD5 Yendang vèà, *van is PP
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wéjìm, morning
wéjìn, tomorrow
(á/)wékká, (his?) wife ('woman' with prefix á-) | a general feature of SWAD (and CD: lèrùm 'man', nè-(-)nwù 'woman'), perhaps absent in Tiba, is (vestigial) compounding of terms for 'man' and 'woman'; if Tiba 'woman' were of this type, it might be related to AD4 Dii wää(-)kée, etc.; otherwise it may be connected with an eastern root: AD6 Kare wü, Karang wü̈y, AD13 Kulaal wàá, Niellim wà̈y

*wép, mix | CD wép
wér, arrow (see list 1)
wrüm-wë̈, (small) bird | cf. AD4 Momi welmaz 'nightjar'
wésë̈, firewood
wésì, hurt | CD nwõni (but Mapeo Chamba wëni), AD4 Pere wòò-
wék, hide (tr)
wëèrâ, mushroom
wë̈, female | AD6 Karang wùy, Kare wü 'woman' (also Koh mày)
wë̈, sit, stay, wait | AD4 Momi wi'isk-'set (as sun)'
wënsá, thatching grass
*wò, want | CD wò
wò̈, take off (clothes) | CD wò̈sì
wò̈, watch (over) | CD nwàán, AD2 CL nwáàn, AD4 Pere wò̈-
wò̈b, baboon
wò̈gbì̈, bat
wò̈m(nè)-, cooperative, conjoint (labor)
wò̈m, oil (see list 1)
wò̈msá, elephant grass
wò̈n, fight (vb) | CD nòng but nò̈m 'be angry', cf. AD4 Pere gò̈-'fight' but nò- 'be angry', AD5 Yendang yò̈mà̈n
wò̈n, fight (n) | CD nòng
wò̈p (intr), run | AD5 Yendang ò̈-, cf. CD nwò̈p 'avoid'; also see wòp 'fear'
wò̈psi, ride (horse)
wò̈psinsá, sweat | cf. CD wò̈t, AD2 CL wò̈d, but AD5 ZM pmq; *tiin is PP
*wò̈, hide (intr) | CD wò̈, cf. AD5 Yendang kù̂̈
wò̈b, bone | cf. the well-represented NC root appearing, e.g., in PP as *kup (but AD5 Yendang kù̈n)
wò̈b, ten (see list 1)
wù̈, drunk (be) | cf. CD wit
wù, fat (be) | CD nò̈o, AD4 Momi non-, Pere nùù-, AD5 ZM nò
wú̈p, fear | cf. CD yíp, AD5 ZM yú, both 'run', perhaps associated with a Chadic Bata root gíp; also AD6 Kare wáù; see wòp 'run'
wú̈ptá, fear (n)

yà, go (and visit, + sènèn) | AD2 CL yà̈n, AD4 Dii yà, both 'arrive'
yà, (over) there | cf. AD4 Dii yà 'place'
yà (intr), rot, spoil; be surprised | CD nyâŋgi, AD2 CL nyấ, also yèél 'spoil, destroy', AD5 Yendang yânsâ̄n-
*yàâ, what?, why? | CD nyââ
yà, friend (see list 1)
yâ, old, used
yâ (intr), swallow | cf. AD4 Dii yó'
(a)yâ, where? | AD5 Yendang iyâä
yâmâk, pl. sèér, young, small (child) | cf. CD mii (pl. méém); also note the use of a yá-
classificatory prefix in AD5 Yendang
yâān, bad
*yàâ, horse (see list 1)
yâásâ, leaf (see list 1)
yé, (at) home | CD nyêm, AD2 CL yêil 'house, compound', AD4 Dii yêë 'courtyard', AD5 ZM ye
yé, ready, ripe, healed (be), adj. yénëë | AD4 Dii yënnâ 'true, good', cf. 'cook'
yéksi, light (fire from another fire) | AD4 Pere yég-
yér(í)mâ, flame | AD2 CL yèél 'red, flame'; cf. biîrîm 'thunder, lightening'
yèm, meet (see list 1)
yèm, carry (to), present (something) with an obeisance | cf. CD nyênî
*yèmnyêm, yesterday | CD nyêm
yèmsâ, song | CD nimsî but AD4 Dii yèé, AD5 Yendang yèk
yèn, buttocks
*yèn, sow (by casting), scatter | CD yèë, AD4 Pere yàm- 'disperse'
yèn, bedbug | CD nyêng
*yèn, cold (be) (as wind)
yèná, digging stick | CD nyênlî
yi, eat | CD liî, AD2 CL liïn, AD4 Momî ree, Pere lé-
yí, steal | CD yîî
*yîk, lion (see list 1)
yîrîk, black | CD virî, AD4 Momî wîî-, wîîr- 'be black', Pere vîj- 'be black', Dii vij = ī 'be black',
AD5 ZM viïki, but also AD4 Pere dirî, AD5 Yendang yîti, AD6 Kare yîrî (both having
cognates in AD13 as well)
(yî/yîmâ (< yî 'eat'), right (hand)
yó, pull, stretch | cf. CD nwôt, AD4 Dii wôò; also AD5 ZM gnoq 'pull', znoq 'pull out'
yôgréen, soft | AD4 Momî yarkw-, Dii yöq 'be soft' vs. CD wôglëen, AD2 CL òg 'be soft'
yôôk, cook (staple food) | AD4 Pere yó-, AD4 Dii yö 'be ripe, cooked' (cf. yè 'ready...(be)'); also
cf. AD4 Momî ruu-
yôkîm, salt (see list 1)
yôm (yôm(mê)-), bite, be sharp | AD5 ZM yon; elsewhere, the usual initial l/n alternance: CD
lôóm, AD2 CL lûm, AD4 Momî rom(-d-), AD4 Dii nôn, AD5 Yendang rûn-, AD6 Karang nôñ, Mbum lôñ
yôq, snake (see list 1)
yô, weave, plait
yôqâ, rope | CD yisî, AD4 Momî yokla
yôqsi, swim, cross a river by swimming | AD4 Pere wô(g)-; cf. CD yöq 'climb, cross a river (by
any means)', AD4 Pere yö- 'cross (a river by means other than swimming)'

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yúú, death, dead body | cf. CD wêč, AD5 ZM vq, Yendang wêři, AD6 Karang húl, AD13 Kulaal ūaâl, Niellim 'ūûlû, all probably related
yúú, hunger | CD wûú, AD5 ZM wûqâ; cf. AD13 Niellim nyûûĩ 'thirst'
yûûâ, fish | CD wûûk, cf. AD4 Momi dûga, duûkt, Pere dûrê, AD6 Karang nzûy
yûm (or yûm), collide (with) | AD5 Yendang yûn