



Vol. 9 (2015), pp. 192–228  
<http://nflrc.hawaii.edu/ldc>  
<http://hdl.handle.net/10125/24641>

## Final Records of the Sambe Language of Central Nigeria: Phonology, Noun Morphology, and Wordlist

Roger Blench

*Kay Williamson Educational Foundation*

This paper presents all the available data on the Sambe language [xab], formerly spoken in a remote area of Central Nigeria. Two field trips were made, in 2001 and 2005, and a substantial wordlist was collected. By 2005, the two remaining informants were very old and it is presumed Sambe is no longer spoken. The speakers still retain their ethnic identity but today speak a dialect of Ninzo. Sambe is part of the little-known Alomic group of languages and its closest relative is Hasha. Alomic in turn is one subgroup of Plateau, itself a branch of Benue-Congo and thus part of Niger-Congo. Sambe has an extremely rich phonological inventory. Fossil prefixes show that it had a system of nominal affixing until recently, but this had become unproductive by the time the language was recorded.

**1. INTRODUCTION.** The material presented in this paper is a record of all the data that is likely to become available about the Sambe [xab] language, spoken in Sambe village in Kaduna State, Nigeria. The language was discovered by chance as part of a language survey in 2001 and is not mentioned in the last major overview of Nigerian languages (Crozier & Blench 1992). Roger Blench collected a preliminary wordlist with the assistance of Barau Kato from Atsar Musha and group of villagers in Sambe on the 11th of February 2001. Barau Kato returned to Sambe in August 2005 and completed the list with the two remaining speakers.<sup>1</sup> Regrettably, a digital recorder was not available on either occasion, so the transcriptions were written down by ear and must be regarded as preliminary. We had hoped to return to Sambe to try and re-record the data, but the security situation in Nigeria has deteriorated to such an extent that this has not been practical. As there were only two aged speakers in 2005, Sambe is likely to be extinct. For this reason, the paper presents everything we recorded on Sambe, together with a tentative phonology and proposals on the shape of the noun-class affix system, which must have already fossilized. Occasionally the speakers gave different forms between the two visits, usually phonological variants but sometimes quite different words; these are noted in the appended wordlist.

### 2. LOCATION, HISTORY, AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

**2.1 NOMENCLATURE, LOCATION, AND SETTLEMENTS.** In 2005, Sambe was spoken in a single village, Sambe, situated some 10 km. west of the town of Agameti, on the Fadan Karshe-Wamba road. It was apparently formerly spoken at the settlements of Unguwar

<sup>1</sup>My particular thanks to the late Barau Kato (†), my assistant on many language survey expeditions, who died of kidney failure in January 2015.

Gogo, Àlàn, Tèlèkpò, Gbàtar, Ungwan Tukura, Ungwan Madaki, Ungwan Galadima, and Ungwan Sarki. Figure 1 shows the location of Sambe and Hasha, its closest relative, as well as the other Alumic languages, Toro, and Alumu. The name of the language and people, as well as the settlement where they live appears to be Sambe; we were unable to clarify this issue further. Sambe and all these other settlements speak a dialect of Ninzo at present. The yellow zone shows the presumed area where Sambe was formerly spoken; none of the named settlements, which may be tiny hamlets, appear on any published map.



FIGURE 1. Location of Sambe and Hasha settlements

**2.2 LANGUAGE STATUS.** In 2001, six people spoke Sambe: three men and three women. All of these people were extremely aged and the principal informant was said to be over 90 years old. Although recall of the language was good and it was apparently still spoken between these individuals, Ninzo was the usual language for communication with the rest of the village. Many other people of a slightly younger age had some knowledge of the language and could produce isolated words, but were apparently never fluent speakers. By 2005, however, Sambe was only spoken by two people, Atsar Amúsha, a man said to be ninety years old, and his wife, Àkutá Àbò, said to be eighty-five. Musa Jibrin, the Dakachin Sambe, aged 65, and Ammanual Madaki, the Village Head, assisted with isolated words.

Sambe has given way to Ninzo and is effectively moribund; it is almost certainly no longer spoken.

Sambe is not closely related to Ninzo and it is an intriguing question as to why it has given way to another minority language. Ninzo speakers are more numerous, but even so there are unlikely to be more than 20–30,000. However, the Ninzo people are very culturally coherent and in recent times have enthusiastically taken to a literacy program. Their chiefs are relatively influential and they have a well-educated diaspora, thus it seems the Sambe fell under their cultural dominance. Interestingly, Sambe has very few Ninzo loanwords, suggesting that it did not borrow intensively from the language displacing it, nor from Hausa, which is often the language of wider communication responsible for language erosion in the Nigerian Middle Belt (Blench 1998). However, Hausa is associated with Islam and trade, whereas the Ninzo and Sambe are either traditionalists or Christians. Moreover, their villages are far from the main arteries of commerce. So Hausaization seems to have played no role in the loss of Sambe. This case represents an interesting example of how one minority language can displace another.

**2.3 CLASSIFICATION.** Sambe is not listed as a separate language in any inventory of Nigerian languages, although it has appeared as a dialect of Ninzo [=Ninzam], for example, in previous editions of the Ethnologue. Based on information supplied by the present author it is now listed in the eighteenth edition as a distinct language with the code xab (Lewis et al. 2015). Sambe is not a dialect of Ninzo and its exact affiliation was hard to detect with the short list available in 2001. However, with more data, it is now possible to see that its closest relative is Hasha [=Yashi] and the Alumeric languages Təsu and Toro. The Alumeric languages are one of the ten subgroups of Plateau, itself part of the Benue-Congo languages, which in turn are a major branch of the Niger-Congo phylum. Figure 2 shows a proposed classification of Benue-Congo and the place of Plateau within it, based on Blench (2000, in press).

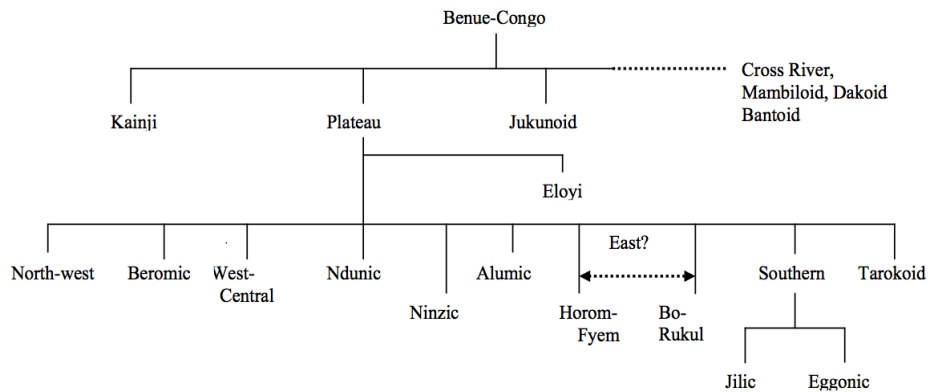


FIGURE 2. Benue-Congo languages: proposed classification

§5 discusses the evidence for placing Sambe within the Alumeric group in more detail.

**3. PHONOLOGY.** The phonology of Sambe is based on the two wordlists and should therefore be regarded as tentative. In particular the informants’ tone was somewhat unstable and no conclusions should be drawn from the tone, which was marked as heard.

3.1 VOWELS. Samba probably has eight phonemic vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
<b>Close</b>	i		u
<b>Close-Mid</b>	e	ə	o
<b>Open-Mid</b>	ɛ		ɔ
<b>Open</b>		a	

A single nasalized vowel was recorded, /ɔ̃/, in roots referring to ‘hill, mountain’. As it is persistent across a variety of compounds, it appears to be contrastive with the sequence ɔ + n. For examples, see the data below.

hill, mountain	(u)gɔ̃	bull	lændun gɔ̃n
yam-heap	búbwágɔ̃	hare	ɲwɔ̃n
lake, pond	àrìgɔ̃		

Nonetheless, it is remarkable that nasalized vowels are not more common in the language. /ɔ̃/ in Samba corresponds to -on sequences in other languages and this is may be an example of incipient language change.

3.2 CONSONANTS. Samba consonants are as follows:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Retro-flex	Palatal	Velar	Labial-velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d			tʃ ɟʒ	k g	kp gb	
Nasal	m		n				ŋ		
Trill			r						
Tap					ɾ				
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ					h
Approximant						j		w	
Lateral			l						

The voiced labial-palatal approximant /ɥ/ also occurs in the data, and this is a common sound in Plateau languages in this region. /ʒ/ does not appear to be a separate phoneme, but was heard in free variation with /ɟʒ/. For example ‘root’ /ʒèʒe/ was also recorded as “ɟʒíɟʒì”.

The retroflex /ɽ/ only occurs in three words;

sun, God	ɽù
porridge	ɽu
cotton	ɽuɽú

The occurrence of /ɽ/ only before –u does make it appear to be either conditioned or in free variation. Certainly the alternate for ‘sun’ *ùrùŋ* is not retroflex. However, since r-sequences occur several times in the data, for example, *rusù* ‘rope’, /ɽ/ can probably be considered contrastive.

Sambe has a wide variety of modifications permitted on consonants, making a potentially very large contrastive set in C<sub>1</sub> position. Sambe permits labialization, palatalization, labial-palatals, and combinations with laterals and rhotics.

**3.2.1 LABIALIZATION.** Sambe permits most consonants to be labialized in stem-initial position. Table 1 shows all the labialized consonants in Sambe so far recorded.

TABLE 1. Labialized consonants in Sambe

ATTESTATION	GLOSS
àtihwrê	anger
bamwé	they
bàrnwɔn	story
búbwágɔn	yam-heap
hwèhwà	snake (generic)
kpùkpwè	cough
kùhwər	dust
kwa	bark (of tree)
ŋgwà	cock
ŋwɔn	hare
fwèrè	blow (flute etc.)
ɬuɬwè	smoke
ywèndî	divide/share
zwi	untie

Sequences that contrast /kp/ and /kp<sup>w</sup>/ are globally rare and have not been reported in West Africa, although they occur in the Oceanic language Dorig. Surprisingly, in Sambe the following words seem to form a minimal pair.

kpùkpwè	cough
kókpe	choose

**3.2.2 PALATALIZATION.** Palatalization is far less common than labialization. Table 2 shows all the palatalized consonants recorded in Sambe;

TABLE 2. Palatalized consonants in Sambe

ATTESTATION	GLOSS
kanjlyè	lightning
nyínâ	tooth
kikyówa	skin
tóryi	pierce/stab
kugyèr	chicken pen

3.2.3 LABIAL-PALATALS. The labial approximant /ɥ/ can stand on its own

ɥá	cut in two
ɥélyo	kill
ɥèn	shake

But it can also act to modify the consonants /k/, /v/ and /h/;

kevwyî	eye
kwyî	weep
ìkwyî	bush-rat sp.
hwyî	face
hwyèn	thing

As with many Plateau languages, most consonants can be combined with -r (Table 3).

TABLE 3. Consonants with -r clusters in Sambe

ATTESTATION	GLOSS
gbrè	swamp/wetland
mbrĩ	charcoal
ùwrè	hole in ground
kwrègòn	elephant
àkwra	leopard
ìfrà	bush-pig
àhwrámè	standard-wing night-jar
kìkru	quiver
wrà	resemble

Clusters with -l are less common, but /l/ is still clearly contrastive (Table 4).

TABLE 4. Lateralized consonants in Sambe

ATTESTATION	GLOSS
bàtár kuhwla	poison
kùmplè	leg/foot
klò	handle (of tool)
ìglá	adze
kpla	uproot (tuber)

**3.2.4 HOMORGANIC NASALS.** Sambe has homorganic nasals as well as sequences of nasal + consonant at the beginning of words. These are conditioned as follows.

/m-/ before bilabials and resonants.

m̃fu	hair
m̃pàlàn	Senegal coucal
m̃làrà	brother/sister

However, the data is not entirely consistent as;

ɲlè	open
-----	------

seems to be possible and is contrastive with *m̀làrà*.

/ŋ-/ usually occurs before velars.

ŋgbá fì	leaf
ŋgwà	cock

But, ŋ- would be expected in:

m̃kpàs	black sesame
--------	--------------

/n-/ occurs before all other consonants.

ñj̃nj̃èhun	vervet monkey
ntùmà	sheep

Many Nigerian languages have a contrast between tone-bearing and non-tone-bearing initial nasal consonants and this was probably the case for Sambe. Tarok, for example, another Plateau language spoken east of Sambe, contrasts n.g, ŋ.g and ŋ in initial position (Longtau 1993). In the first two sequences, the nasal bears a tone independent of the stem tone following the velar.

kumpkpa      electric fish

Unusually for Plateau, Sambe permits stems to end in resonants:

hwìl	soap
kpúmkrúpífêl	iron
àpùl	bag/sack
bèwur	shoe
kìnkwar	spear

**3.3 TONES.** Sambe was transcribed with three level tones and a rising and falling tone. These are marked as follows

High	ˊ
Mid	Unmarked
Low	ˋ
Falling	ˆ
Rising	ˋ

Vowels without tones marked are therefore mid. Initial nasals, such as m- may or may not be tone-bearing. The tone, which is always low, is marked where it was heard. There was some variation in tone between the two sessions, so the tones cannot be considered wholly reliable.

#### 4. MORPHOLOGY

**4.1 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE.** Syllables in Sambe are typically V, CV, or CVC. In CVC syllables, C<sub>2</sub> is almost always a sonorant: /r/, /l/ or /n/. /r/ and /n/ are common, but final -l only occurs in these two examples.

àntal	beard
hwìl	traditional soap

Final -ŋ and -m occur only word-medially:

kaŋlyè	lightning
kuŋga	cheek
kùmgbè	grave

This suggests that they are allomorphs of syllable-final -n, homorganic with the consonant that follows. There is a single word with final -k:

tùtùrùk	thorn
---------	-------



As cognate words in neighboring languages invariably have final -k (see data table) it is possible this is a borrowing.

Reduplication in Sambe is a fairly common process. Table 15 gives examples of reduplication in nouns that appears to be a reflection of a number-marking strategy, but as Table 5 shows, reduplication is found in different parts of speech, including the numeral ‘one’, where it evidently cannot mark plurality.

TABLE 5. Reduplication in Sambe

SAMBE	GLOSS
kpúmkpúfêl	iron
kpìkpì	knife
nyínyína	one
ʃuʃu	gather/collect
ɽuɽú	cotton

Three of the six pronouns are reduplicated, and all have the same High-Mid tone pattern;

I	mími	cf. Hasha <b>mi</b> ,
You	núnu	cf. Hasha <b>nu</b> ,
You pl.	híhin	

As the Hasha cognates show, this is something distinctive to Sambe, and very unusual in the broader context of Plateau.

**4.2 NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY.** Sambe nouns are typically ((C)V).CV(N)(CV) where the prefix is the noun-class marker characteristic of Benue-Congo and indeed many branches of Niger-Congo. Plateau noun stems are typically CV or CVCV. Sambe no longer has a functioning noun-class affix system, perhaps a consequence of the switch to Ninzo. However, it clearly existed until recently and many words were cited with fossil prefixes. Indeed, sometimes a word would be cited in one elicitation with the prefix and again without it, showing the language in transition prior to its inevitable death. Cognates in Hasha, the language closest to Sambe, provide evidence for prefixes that have disappeared. For example;

tooth	nyínâ	cf. Hasha <b>i-nyinaŋ</b>
tongue	leme	cf. Hasha <b>i-rim</b>
throat, neck	kòr	cf. Hasha <b>i-kòr</b>

Hasha itself has a very reduced prefix system, whereas the fossil prefixes of Sambe are quite varied, suggesting that Sambe can also be used to uncover the language history of Hasha.

The most common fossil prefix in Sambe is *kV-* (Table 6). This is interpreted as an underspecified or ‘hollow’ vowel rather than a quartet of distinct prefixes, since similar phenomena have been recorded for related languages. In Boze, for example, spoken north

of Sambe, this shows concord with the stem vowel, but this does not seem to have been the case with Sambe.

TABLE 6. kV- fossil prefixes in Sambe

PREFIX	ATTESTATION	GLOSS
ka-	kàjese	basket
ke-	kèṭa	jar for local beer
	kècu	head
ki-	kìnkwar	spear
	kìtsu	divination (types)
ku-	kùhùn	winnowing tray
	kùtù	mortar (wood)
	kùva	skink
	kubwà	feces

Table 7 shows words with a bV- fossil prefix;

TABLE 7. bV- fossil prefixes in Sambe

PREFIX	ATTESTATION	GLOSS
ba-	bàjù	sorghum-beer
	bàtúnú	ant (generic)
	bàgúgó	ancestors
be-	bènkun	fat/grease
bi-	bíkíta	small hoe
bu-	búrùmi	today
	bùwan	salt
	bùkyé	rib

Table 8 shows words with a *tV*- fossil prefix;

TABLE 8. *tV*- fossil prefixes in Sambe

PREFIX	ATTESTATION	GLOSS
ta-	tánásè	name
	tawùrì	breath
ti-	tìmìsì	guinea-fowl
	tìmǐvǎn	word
	tító	squirrel (tree)
to-	tòbàrì	hippo

Apart from CV- prefixes, Sambe probably had an array of V- prefixes. The most likely plural prefix is *a-* (Table 9), attested as a generalized plural in many other Plateau languages (Blench in press).

TABLE 9. *a-* fossil prefixes in Sambe

PREFIX	ATTESTATION	GLOSS
a-	àrìgǔ	lake, pond
	àngǎ	axe
	àmǎnku	louse (human)
	àni	python
	àfar	frog

Table 10 shows examples of *i-* fossil prefixes in Sambe. The low tone suggests this was probably a singular prefix.

TABLE 10. *i-* fossil prefixes in Sambe

PREFIX	ATTESTATION	GLOSS
i-	ìhlǒ	monitor lizard
	ìjǎ	village weaver
	ìglá	adze
	ìkán	crab

It is almost certain that a word such as *kwîmu* ‘corpse’, originally had an *i-* prefix which was incorporated rightwards into the stem, possibly initially as a palatal. External cognates of the root always have a back vowel in the stem, and Hasha, Sambe’s closest relative, also has an *i-* prefix. Thus;

corpse kwîmu cf. Hasha *i-kum*, Eggon *okomo*, Kulu *ukum*, Mambila *kómón*

Sambe also seems to have had an *u-* prefix, with a possible allomorph *wu-* (Table 11, Table 12);

TABLE 11. *u-* fossil prefixes in Sambe

PREFIX	ATTESTATION	GLOSS
u-	ùwrè	hole in ground
	ùtù	chief
	(u)gǔ	hill
	ùrùŋ or rù	sun

TABLE 12. *wV-* fossil prefixes in Sambe

PREFIX	ATTESTATION	GLOSS
wV-	wàhwenhwen	sweat
	wùhwèn	tear
	wùfín	back

In addition to the CV- prefixes, Sambe has a number of nouns with homorganic nasals in initial position, which may well have also been part of the nominal affix system. The bilabial nasal *m-* is most common (Table 13), with a few examples of *ñ-* and *ŋ-* (Table 14).

TABLE 13. *m-* fossil prefixes in Sambe

PREFIX	ATTESTATION	GLOSS
m-	m̀bè	stick
	m̀bùmbwà	Sodom apple <sup>2</sup>
	m̀bò	window
	m̀fù	hair
	m̀gbámgyě	mason wasp
	m̀kpúru	horn
	m̀lànà	brother/sister
	m̀pàlàn	Senegal coucal
	mpwě	pot (generic)

<sup>2</sup>(*Calotropis procera*; In Hausa: *tumfafiya*)

TABLE 14. Ñ- fossil prefixes in Sambe

PREFIX	ATTESTATION	GLOSS
Ñ-	ntùmà	sheep
	njînjèhun	vervet monkey
	ŋgwà	cock

Most of these bear a distinct tone, but *mgbámgyě* ‘mason wasp’ and *mpwě* ‘pot’ do not. Either this is because they have a different origin from the ñ- prefixes and were not originally prefixes, or the tone has moved right into the stem, as is suggested by the rising tones on the stem vowels. Apart from *mkpúru* ‘horn’ the remainder all obey the constraints on homorganic nasals and can be regarded as allomorphs of a single prefix. It may well be *mkpúru* is a misremembered form.

Other V- prefixes are too rare to be sure of their status;

èwa meat

ówa dog

A small number of Sambe words show prefixes formed by reduplication of the first CV- syllable. This is a scattered but inconsistent number-marking strategy found widely in Plateau, and systematically in Hasha, the closest relative of Sambe (Blench in press). However, Sambe does not generally have the same reduplications as Hasha, suggesting this operation has been applied subsequent to their divergence. Table 15 shows the words with reduplicated CV- prefixes identified in Sambe.

In Table 15, *àttì* ‘thief’, cognate with Hasha *ì-tyòk*, is particularly interesting since it seems to have initially reduplicated the first syllable of the stem and then added a V- prefix subsequently.

## 5. THE CLASSIFICATION OF SAMBE

**5.1 SAMBE AND HASHA.** Sambe is a Plateau language (see §2.3) and its closest relative is Hasha, which is spoken in several villages east of Agameti. However, Sambe and Hasha are not close, Hasha having developed an unusual prefixing system under the influence of its Chadic neighbors. Some of the more transparent common glosses are shown in Table 16. Many more examples are to be found in the appended comparative wordlist. I have included those words that are not simply common Benue-Congo or Plateau forms, which makes the case for a relationship between Hasha and Sambe more solid.

**5.2 SAMBE AND ALUMIC.** The external cognates show that the languages closest to Sambe and Hasha, are Arum-Təsu and Toro, constituting Alomic. Table 17 shows a sample of common glosses in the Alomic languages which point to their common origin.

Words like ‘moon’ are of particular interest since this root apparently has no external cognates and is thus likely to define the group. The labialization present in Hasha *nwar* points to an initial u- prefix, deleted in the other languages.

The likely internal structure of the Alomic group is shown in Figure 3.

TABLE 15. Reduplicated CV- prefixes in Sambe

ATTESTATION	GLOSS
àtítò	thief
bəbɛ́	tail
cucwè	smoke
jujúə̀n	mushroom
kɔ̀kɔ̀pì	knife
ʃiʃə̀r	boil on skin
ʃùʃùki	floor-beater
títà̀r	earthworm
tútù	grass (generic)
tutùrùk	thorn
wúwúʃí	porcupine
zézè	grasshopper
zèzè	root

TABLE 16. Sambe-Hasha isoglosses

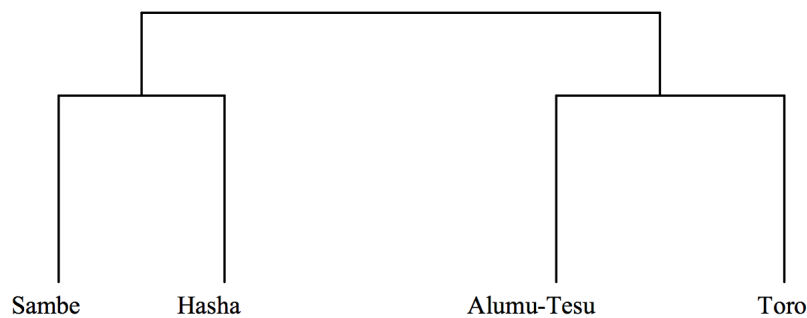
GLOSS	SAMBE	HASHA
grass (generic)	tútù	i-tus pl. tu-tus
sand	kucúcwé	? ɕú-ɕùk
rain, cloud	ɸà	àfan
rainy season	kuʃà	ìkus
tomorrow	hĩnmi	a-hyimiŋ
wind	(ù)mé	i-mem
man	àróro	aruróŋ
woman	àhìn	à-hyín
thief	àtítò	ì-tyòk
race/running	tàsù	ʃiʃù
laughter	kuya	íyàk
medicine (generic)	ʃìn	i-ʃir

**6. CONCLUSIONS.** The paper presents all the data likely to be recorded for the Sambe language. Samba is quite distinct from its nearest neighbor, Hasha, and provides considerable insights into the morphological complexity of Plateau languages in this region, as well as

TABLE 17. Sambe-Hasha isoglosses

GLOSS	SAMBE	HASHA	TƏSU	TORO
moon/month	nàr	nwar	nàrà	nara
leaf	ŋgbá ʃì	í-íʃì	ə-ʃú	asu
thorn	tùtùrùk	i-tyok pl. tu-tok	ətətə	–
dust	kùhwər	iwur	huru	huru
hill, mountain	(u)gɔ̃	i-gon	–	a-konɔ̃goro
compound	kàɕi	afe	n-gbáɕya	afyá

FIGURE 3. The relation of Sambe to Hasha and the Alumatic languages



being a representative of an otherwise unknown group. Further morphological work on the other languages within Alumatic may well clarify their relations with Sambe.

#### REFERENCES

- Abraham, Roy Clive. 1962. *Dictionary of the Hausa language*. London: University of London Press.
- Bendor-Samuel, John (ed.). 1989. *The Niger-Congo languages*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Blench, Roger M. 1998. The status of the languages of Central Nigeria. In Matthias Brenzinger (ed.), *Endangered languages in Africa, 1870–206*. Köln: Köppe Verlag.
- Blench, Roger M. 2000. Revising plateau. In H. Ekkehard Wolff & Orin D. Gensler (eds.), *Proceedings of 2nd World Congress of African Linguistics (WOCAL) Leipzig 1997*, 159–174. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Blench, Roger M. in press. Nominal affixes and number marking in the Plateau languages of Central Nigeria. In John Watters (ed.), *Comparative-historical studies in East Benue-Congo*. Monographs on Comparative Niger-Congo. Language Science Press.

- Blench, Roger M. n.d. Benue-Congo reconstructions. Unpublished electronic ms. available from the author.
- Crozier, David & Roger M. Blench. 1992. *Index of Nigerian languages*, 2nd edn. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- De Wolf, Paul. 1971. *The noun class system of Proto-Benue-Congo*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Gerhardt, Ludwig. 1983. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprachen des Nigerianischen Plateaus*. Glückstadt: Verlag J.J. Augustin.
- Guthrie, Malcolm. 1967–73. *Comparative Bantu*. 4 vols. Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann & Dymitr Ibriszimow. 1994. *Chadic lexical roots*. 2 vols. Berlin: D. Reimer.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2015. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 18th edn*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics International. <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- Longtau, Selbut R. 1993. A formal Tarok phonology. *Afrika und Übersee* 76. 15–40.
- Westermann, Diedrich. 1927. *Die Westlichen Sudansprachen und ihre Beziehungen zum Bantu* 29. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Williamson, Kay. 1971. The Benue-Congo languages & Ijo. In Thomas Sebeok (ed.), *Current Trends in Linguistics*, vol. 7, 245–306. The Hague: Mouton.
- Williamson, Kay. 1973. *Benue-Congo comparative wordlist*. vol. 2. Ibadan: West African Linguistic Society.
- Williamson, Kay & Kiyoshi Shimizu. 1968. *Benue-Congo comparative wordlist*. vol. 1. Ibadan: West African Linguistic Society.



**APPENDIX 1. THE SAMBE DIASPORA.** One consequence of posting the earlier Sambe wordlist on the internet was to spark interest from the Sambe community. I was delighted to receive the following email.

Dear Mr Blench,

Greetings to you from Yola, Adamawa state in Nigeria.

I was randomly searching the web and incidentally stumbled upon your paper on the Sambe language. I am from there, well my father is from there. That is our family name, Sambe. I don't speak the language and I do not think my father does too. My sisters and I bear names which I believe are originally Sambe names, we do not know what do the names mean. Mine is Utso and my sisters' Adze and Akuta.

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Martha. L. Sambe

I hope this more complete write-up contributes to the maintenance of identity among the Sambe community.

**APPENDIX 2. ANNOTATED SAMBE WORDLIST.** NB. Comparative material in this wordlist is drawn from a variety of standard references on Benue-Congo and Chadic languages as follows;

Abraham (1962)	Hausa
Bendor-Samuel (1989)	Niger-Congo
De Wolf (1971)	Benue-Congo
Guthrie (1967-73)	Bantu
Jungraithmayr & Ibrizimow (1994)	Chadic
Westermann (1927)	Niger-Congo
Williamson (1971)	Benue-Congo
Williamson (1973)	Benue-Congo
Williamson & Shimizu (1968)	Benue-Congo

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
1.	Tree (generic)	ùhunu	cf. Ndun <b>uhwɔn</b> . Probably a weakening of widespread #-ko(n) roots, including Hasah <b>iko</b> .
2.	Leaf	ɲgbá ʃi	cf. Alumu ə- <b>ʃú</b> , Toro <b>asu</b> , Hasha <b>í-íʃi</b>
3.	Root	zèze	Also recorded as <b>dʒídʒi</b>
4.	Branch	nà wóni	
5.	Bark (of tree)	kwa	cf. Hasha <b>kwafan</b>
6.	Thorn	tùtùrùk	cf. Təsu àtòtò, Ningye <b>ntu</b> , Hasha <b>i-tyok</b> pl. <b>tu-tok</b>
		<i>also ncó</i>	
7.	Grass (generic)	tútù	cf. Hasha <b>i-tus</b> pl. <b>tu-tus</b>
		<i>also viye</i>	
8.	Vine (generic)	ɲguɲgwə̀n	
9.	Mushroom	jujúə̀n	
10.	Seed/stone/pip	ntsú	
11.	Charcoal	mbrí	cf. Toro <b>íʃibini</b> . The first element may be the widespread <b>íʃi</b> root for fire and the <b>-bini</b> element for charcoal. If so, there are scattered cognates; Mada <b>n-klambri</b> , Kohumono è- <b>pine</b> , Bekwara à- <b>bi</b> , Yala <b>íbì</b> , Degema <b>íbí</b>
12.	Dust	kùhwər	cf. Alumu <b>huru</b> <sup>+</sup> , Toro <b>huru</b> <sup>+</sup> , Bu <b>iwuru</b> , Hasha <b>iwur</b>
13.	Ashes	àtɔ	cf. Təsu <b>àto</b> . # <b>tu-</b> is a Niger-Congo root
14.	Rubbish-heap	kásən	
15.	Mud	lāncan	
16.	Clay	vi	
17.	Dew	kamě	cf. Təsu <b>ímé</b> , Hasha <b>émé</b> , Ningye <b>mmeɲ</b> , Ayu <b>iméɲ</b> , Rukul <b>mmaɲ</b> , Tarok <b>imimyaɲ</b> , Yaɲkam <b>myaɲ</b> , Niger-Congo root # <b>me-</b>
18.	Stone	kə̀títá	cf. Təsu <b>ìtre</b> , Toro <b>tari</b> , reflecting widespread Niger-Congo # <b>ta-</b> root
19.	Sand	kucúcwé <i>also yùʃin</i>	? cf. Hasha <b>dʒú-dʒùk</b>
20.	Smoke	ʃfufwè	cf. Hasha <b>íʃwe</b>
21.	Fire	kèlán	cf. Hasha <b>í-kàra</b> , Toro <b>ʃara</b> , Alumu <b>íʃira</b>
22.	Water	àri	
23.	Rain, cloud	ɸà	cf. Hasha <b>àfan</b>
24.	Lightning	kaɲlyè	
25.	Rainy Season	kuʃà	cf. Hasha <b>íkus</b>
26.	Dry season	ɸa ka kpá ba	

Continued on next page

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
27.	Harmattan	fɪ̄ɪ̄n	
28.	Year	kèkúsù	cf. Hasha <b>i-kusan</b> , Təsu <b>hufi</b> , Ce <b>ki-kUs</b> <sup>+</sup> ,
29.	Today	búrùmi	
30.	Yesterday	yâle	cf. 'evening'
	<i>also</i> Evening	yâle	cf. 'yesterday'. cf. Hasha <b>a-yere</b>
31.	Tomorrow	hĩnmi	cf. Hasha <b>a-hyimiŋ</b> ,
	<i>also</i> Morning	hĩnmi	
32.	Dawn	hĩnmi ka n̄âr	
33.	Day	hĩnmi	
34.	Night	kècu kàtibá	
35.	Moon/month	nàr	cf. Hasha <b>nwar</b> , Alumu <b>nara</b> , Toro <b>nara</b> ,
36.	Sun	ùrùŋ or r̄ù	
37.	Star(s)	cìntsó	
38.	Wind	(ù)mé	cf. Hasha <b>i-mem</b> ,
39.	God	r̄ù	Same word as 'sun'
40.	Sky	mèbè kpa kú r̄ù	
41.	World	kpũ nà mla	
42.	Ground	ahúhwàbíti	
43.	Large River	(ù)kwárágó	<i>also</i> <b>kúragon</b>
44.	Stream	kúra wùté káni	cf. Hasha <b>i-kurinyi</b>
45.	Lake, pond	àrigó	
46.	Forest	(ù)kúra	polysemy between words for 'forest' and 'river' is common in this region
47.	Hill, mountain	(u)gó	cf. Hasha <b>i-gon</b> , Toro <b>a-kongoro</b> ,
48.	Bush	layáni	
49.	Farm	kahá	cf. Hasha <b>a-hay</b> , Berom <b>hey</b> ,
50.	Field	tèlè	
51.	Market*	kúyí	
52.	Compound	kàŋi	cf. Hasha <b>afe</b> , Toro <b>afyá</b> , Təsu <b>n-gbáuya</b>
53.	Room	kàŋinì	
54.	Wall (of room)	kúrcinì	
55.	Thatch roof	àkúrá kàŋinì	
56.	Granary	kúmgbàn	
57.	Granary for fonio	nzàbá	
58.	Road	kùti	
59.	Path	kùti ténkani	'road small'
60.	Village/settlement	ìkpò ásini	

*Continued on next page*

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
61.	River-bank	citenkura	
62.	Swamp/wetland	gbrè	
63.	Place	kùbúsú	
64.	Person/people	àréfin also níjíná	pl. <b>bà muji</b> cf. Hasha 'husband' <b>arE mafe</b> , Eggon M <b>à-ré</b>
65.	Man	àróro	cf. Hasha <b>arurónj</b>
66.	Woman	àhìn	cf. Hasha <b>à-hyín</b>
67.	Child	kekàr	
68.	Husband	bà kàqi	
69.	Wife	àhìn àzòzè	
70.	Widow	àhìn kakwî	
71.	Young man	lóló	
72.	Young girl	àbwá qwìn	pl. <b>áqwín bà muji</b>
73.	Old person	kàkyunbá	
74.	Father	adídá	
75.	Mother	aya	
76.	Barren woman	àtùyàni akpé markpé	
77.	Relations	bàruhwin nina mláni	
78.	Ancestors, grandparents	bàgúgó	
79.	Grandchild	àhánàà	
80.	Brother/sister	mlànà	
81.	Friend, guest/stranger	àzik nàà	
82.	King/chief/ruler	ùtù	
83.	Hunter	aci	
84.	Thief	àtítò	cf. Hasha <b>ì-tyòk</b> ,
85.	Doctor	yínítsa	
86.	Witch	wunikutsú	
87.	Corpse	kwîmu	A widespread East Benue-Congo root. cf. Hasha <b>i-kum</b> , Eggon <b>okomo</b> , Kulu <b>ukum</b> , Mambila <b>kómón</b> ,
88.	Blacksmith	gòqwên	
89.	Woodworker	klò	
90.	Slave	àkwlà	
91.	Masquerade general	àkwáfè	

*Continued on next page*

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
92.	Masquerade I	àjàkàwè	Very frightening masquerade that comes only once every five years for initiation ceremonies. cf. Hasha <b>ajakawar</b> , Ron masquerade <b>Njakawa</b>
93.	Masquerade II	àkwǎǎfè gɔ	protects the farms
94.	Masquerade III	gbàǎǎ	runs after children for amusement
95.	Masquerade IV	àgbéǎǎbè	comes out in the night to frighten women
96.	Shame	àtafur rìqwèn	
97.	Fear/fright	àtafur rìfèn	
98.	Bravery/courage	àwè vívín àríqìn	
99.	Laughter	kuya	cf. Hasha <b>íyàk</b>
100.	Wisdom	àwè niki cú	
101.	Anger	àtihwré	
102.	Race/running	tàsù	cf. Hasha <b>ǎǎfù</b>
103.	Suffering	àtiye	
104.	Death	kwi	cf. Hasha <b>kwe</b>
105.	Name	tánásè	
106.	Grave	kùmǎǎbè	
107.	Song	kpánde húnú	
108.	Story	bàrnwɔn	
109.	Word	tímǎǎvèn	
110.	Lie	nùtùwɔn	
111.	News	tímǎǎvèn zèzi	
112.	Hunger	mímǎǎǎfíkàn	
113.	Horn	m̀kpúrú	
114.	Tail	bəbè	
115.	Egg	tsuqìn	
116.	Wing	ku	cf. Hasha <b>ákwen</b> ,
117.	Beak	kàqìn	
118.	Nest	kàqí wífɔn	
119.	Feather	kàncwèr	<i>also</i> 'hair'
120.	Gum/glue	kèntà	
121.	Ant-hill	ìtùtá	
122.	Hole in ground	ùwrè	
123.	Hole in tree	bàlèmbò	
124.	Smell	àhàrkínù	
125.	Poison	bàtár kuhwla	
126.	Load	zín	

*Continued on next page*

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
127.	Bundle	bàb̀kíl̀	
128.	Firewood	kùhunu	
129.	Stick	m̀b̀è	
130.	Yam-heap	búbwágõ	
131.	War	bàcí amù	cf. Hasha <b>hu-mòk</b> ,
132.	Divination (types)	kìtsu	
133.	Medicine (generic)	ʃin	cf. Hasha <b>i-ʃir</b> ,
134.	Money	kih̀l̀ón	
135.	Shadow	yibà	
136.	Thing	hwyèn	cf. Hasha <b>i-hwen</b> ,
137.	Strength	àtigisìn	
138.	Land/country	ví	
139.	Sleep	laburà	<Hausa
140.	Disease (generic)	nìmb̀àʃik̀òn	
141.	Smallpox	kùkp̀ẁè	
142.	Diarrhea	àkàsèn	
143.	Eczema	faʃín	
144.	Goiter	k̀òr	cf. 'throat'
145.	Boil	ʃìʃ̀ər	
146.	Sore/wound	kempkà	
147.	Leprosy	faʃín	
148.	Head	k̀ècu	
149.	Eye	kevẁỳí	cf. Hasha <b>i-yi</b> , Eggon <b>èyí</b> , Irigwe <b>riyí</b> , Yala <b>èyì</b> , Arum <b>iyù</b> . Also in Chadic: cf. Mangar <b>yìw</b> and related forms in other Ron languages
		ntsúwí	
150.	Face	hwyì	
151.	Cheek	kuŋga	
152.	Forehead	gbo	cf. Tesu <b>gbomó</b>
153.	Nose	(ku)mbw̃ya	
154.	Ear	(ku)tún	cf. Hasha <b>i-tu</b> , Horom <b>tòŋ</b> , Fyem <b>hutòŋ</b> , Bo <b>utó</b> , Ningye <b>tòŋ</b> , also throughout Tarokoid, but a PVC root <b>#tuN-</b> .
155.	Mouth	k̀ányìn	cf. Hasha <b>a-nye</b> , Tesu <b>enyi</b> , Eggon <b>anyu</b> ,
156.	Tooth	nyínà	cf. Hasha <b>i-nyinaŋ</b>

*Continued on next page*

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
157.	Tongue	leme	cf. Hasha <b>i-rim</b> , Bo <b>de-rem</b> , cLela <b>d-rémé</b> , Tarok <b>abölöm</b> <sup>+</sup> ultimately PNC #-lima
158.	Throat, neck	kòr	cf. Hasha <b>i-kòr</b> ,
159.	Chin	antâ	
160.	Shoulder	kuŋgbá	Second elicitation gave <b>bámgbá</b> which is probably the former plural
161.	Fist		Elicitation produced a long phrase, <b>kuŋfà tùmír àrì ɥwîn</b> , but this is probably not basic vocabulary.
162.	Arm, hand	kùwɔ	cf. Hasha <b>wɔk</b> , Tarok <b>awó</b> , Aten <b>wò</b> , Cara <b>vɔ</b> , Berom <b>vwó</b> , all weakenings of the widespread # <b>bok</b> - forms.
163.	Leg/foot	kùmplè	
164.	Thigh	kùnta	cf. Hasha <b>ìtwàk</b> , Igala <b>úta</b> , Nandu <b>utak</b> ,
165.	Knee	kùŋgbúru	
166.	Nail (Finger/toe)	kùndzɔ	
167.	Female breast	vè	cf. Hasha <b>aven</b> ,
168.	Stomach	kìnè	cf. Hasha <b>iji</b> , Ninzo <b>ìnè</b> , Kamanton <b>jii</b> , Kenyi <b>jeŋ</b> , and scattered forms in Plateau. Also in Chadic: Sya <b>anyi</b>
169.	Chest	wùcən	
170.	Navel	kàhu	First elicitation gave <b>kecébé</b> <Hausa ?
171.	Back	wùŋin	cf. Hasha <b>i-sun</b> ,
172.	Buttocks		Second elicitation gave <b>kùmplè</b> , the same as 'leg'
173.	Penis	húré	
174.	Vagina	búlú	
175.	Scrotum	túrá	
176.	Skin	kikyówa	Second elicitation gave <b>gàúá</b>
177.	Bone	kekú	cf. Hasha <b>kuku</b> , Bo <b>ukúp</b> , Pe <b>ukup</b> , Tarok <b>akúp</b> , and Yanƙam <b>kup</b> , and PB #- <b>kubi</b>
178.	Rib	bùkyé	
179.	Vein	atfíbì	cf. Hasha <b>i-fif</b> , Tarok <b>ìcip</b> , Ganang <b>a-tsip</b> ,
180.	Blood	mìm(ì)yà	? cf. Hasha <b>a-mEk</b> pl. <b>mE-mEk</b>
181.	Breath	tawùrì	
182.	Tear	wùhwèn	
183.	Saliva	aton	
184.	Sweat	wàhwènhwèn	
185.	Urine	hùhwri	cf. Alumu <b>əfiru</b>

*Continued on next page*

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
186.	Feces	kubwà	
187.	Hair	m̀fù	
188.	Beard	àntal	
189.	Heart/liver	kàhu	
190.	Intestines	kámè	
191.	Body	yìràsèn	
192.	Meat	èwa	? cf. Hasha <i>i-vwe</i> , Tesu <i>wi</i> , Yangkam <i>vi</i> , widespread in Jukunoid as <i>wi</i> , suggesting a regional root #-vwi. See BCCW <sub>1</sub> where this is treated as a weakening of #- <i>bi</i> .
193.	Animal (Bush)	íwi	Underlyingly the same root as 'meat' (cf. cognates above)
194.	Cow	làndũn	This root is widespread in both Plateau and adjacent Chadic languages, more usually as <b>randoj</b> .
195.	Bull	làndun gɔn	
196.	Calf	làndun ten	
197.	Goat	íwi	same as general for 'animal'
198.	He-goat	íwí wùlóló	
199.	Castrated goat	ìwí lóló ta bacwe	
200.	Sheep	ntùmà	cf. Hasha <i>itùmù</i> . Roots of the form #tVmV are common in both Benue-Congo and Chadic. cf. Ron <b>tamo</b> , Hausa <b>tumaki</b> .
201.	Castrated sheep	ntùràn	cf. 'scrotum'
202.	Dog	ówa	cf. Hasha <i>òwá</i>
203.	Cat	wísàn	
204.	*Horse	nyàmàn	
205.	Elephant	kwrègɔn	
206.	Hippo	tòbàrì	
207.	Buffalo	lémé	cf. Hasha <i>èrèm</i>
208.	Lion	dũrmu	
209.	Leopard	àkwra	
210.	Hyena <sup>3</sup>	wěgɔ	
211.	Genet cat <sup>4</sup>	kárkábu	
212.	Jackal <sup>5</sup>	kàhyúr	

*Continued on next page*<sup>3</sup>(*Crocuta crocuta*)<sup>4</sup>(*Genetta genetta*)<sup>5</sup>(*Canis aureus*)



*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
213.	Wart-hog <sup>6</sup>	dùgùfù	
214.	Bush-pig <sup>7</sup>	ìfrà	
215.	Antelope sp.	nàŋgà	
216.	Porcupine <sup>8</sup>	wúwúfí	
217.	Pangolin <sup>9</sup>	kparù	
218.	Baboon	kàkì	
219.	Patas monkey <sup>10</sup>	kàwà	cf. Hasha á-wày
220.	Vervet monkey <sup>11</sup>	njìnjèhun	
221.	Colobus monkey <sup>12</sup>	bàtùtsìn	
222.	Squirrel (tree)	tító	
223.	Rat (generic)	tʃwi	cf. Hasha ì-kwí
224.	Bush-rat I	àzen	lives in swamps
225.	Bush-rat II	àncər	striped mouse
226.	Bush-rat III	bàtúkwyi	Hausa yan yawa
227.	Bush-rat IV	ìkwyí	Mada rici
228.	Giant rat <sup>13</sup>	kàhùn	cf. Hasha a-hurúp
229.	Grasscutter <sup>14</sup>	ìjfini	
230.	Hedgehog <sup>15</sup>	džintər	
231.	Hare <sup>16</sup>	ŋwɔn	cf. Hasha a-ŋòm
232.	Fruit-bat	nàŋgar	cf. Hasha à-gal, Təsu əŋga
233.	Nile crocodile	wǎ tòbári	
234.	Chameleon	kándi	
235.	Agama lizard	kùva	cf. Hasha àvaŋ
236.	Monitor lizard (damo)	ìhlò	
237.	Frog	àfar	
238.	Tortoise	kpókólòmbo	
239.	Snake (Generic)	hwèhwà	Second elicitation gave ʃɪfwàɾ. cf. Hasha ì-sùswàn

*Continued on next page*<sup>6</sup>(*Phacochoerus aethiopus*)<sup>7</sup>(*Potamochoerus Porcus*)<sup>8</sup>(*Hystrix cristata*)<sup>9</sup>(*Manis giganteus*)<sup>10</sup>(*Erythrocebus patas*)<sup>11</sup>(*Cercopithecus aethiops*)<sup>12</sup>(*Colobus polykomos*)<sup>13</sup>(*Cretomyces* sp.)<sup>14</sup>(*Thryonomys Swinderianus*)<sup>15</sup>(*Atelerix albiventris*)<sup>16</sup>(*Lepus Crawshayi*)

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
240.	Python	àni	
241.	Crab	ìkán	
242.	Fish (generic)	biblè	Second elicitation gave <b>vùblè</b> which is probably an old singular
243.	Nile Perch <sup>17</sup>	mǎnfrì	
244.	Electric fish <sup>18</sup>	kumpkpa	
245.	Bird (generic)	àwéǹ	Second elicitation gave <b>wǒǹin</b> . cf. Hasha <b>a-ǹǹwer</b>
246.	Chicken	wǹnù	cf. Hasha <b>a-nun</b> , but this is a widespread root usually meaning 'bird'.
247.	Cock	ŋgwà	
248.	Guinea-fowl	tìmìsì	
249.	Hooded Vulture <sup>19</sup>	vèkǎmè kùlu	Related to Hausa <b>angulu</b> and similar forms in other BC languages
250.	Village Weaver <sup>20</sup>	ìǹ	
251.	Cattle-egret <sup>21</sup>	bwáǹ	
252.	Owl	àwéǹ	
253.	Black kite <sup>22</sup>	kìnkýar	cf. Hasha <b>ìkikàran</b>
254.	Standard-wing Night-jar	àhwrámè	
255.	Senegal coucal <sup>23</sup>	m̀pàlàn	
256.	Bush-fowl	kàhuhwi	cf. Hasha <b>huhor</b> 'quail'
257.	Swallow	kàlámgbà	
258.	Pied crow <sup>24</sup>	àwáǹ	
259.	Woodpecker	hwèhun	
260.	Scorpion	kècwéhan	
261.	Butterfly	gbǎdǹ	
262.	Mosquito	bàtùhu	
263.	Spider <sup>25</sup>	títà	
264.	Mason wasp <sup>26</sup>	mgbámgbý	

*Continued on next page*<sup>17</sup>(*Lates niloticus*)<sup>18</sup>(*Malapterurus electricus*)<sup>19</sup>(*Neophron monachus*)<sup>20</sup>(*Ploceus cucullatus*)<sup>21</sup>(*Ardeola ibis*)<sup>22</sup>(*Milvus migrans*)<sup>23</sup>(*Centropus* spp.)<sup>24</sup>(*Corvus albus*)<sup>25</sup>(*Acarina* spp.)<sup>26</sup>(*Belenogaster* spp.)

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
265.	Bee	bàtúsu	
266.	Sweat-fly	bàtúfu	
267.	Housefly	bàtúfin	
268.	Ant (Generic)	bàtúnú	
269.	Louse (Human)	àmǎnku	
270.	Millipede	kpàntfǒnko	
271.	Cockroach	tfɪntfɔn	
272.	Termite	kùyu	
273.	Grasshopper	zézè	
274.	Praying mantis	séṅà	
275.	Giant Cricket	kàntsutsu	
276.	Earthworm	títà	
277.	Giant Snail	kàhù	
278.	Centipede	gǎmbwê	
279.	Soap (Traditional)	hwil	
280.	Oil	bànè	
281.	Fat/grease	bènkun	
282.	Salt	bùwan	
283.	Soup/stew	rèn	
284.	Porridge	ɾu	
285.	Sorghum-beer	bàfù	
286.	Palm-wine	bàfùkúri	
287.	Peelings	bàkyese kúri	
288.	Rag	kpúkpo nkwí	
289.	Floor-beater	fùfùki	
290.	Handle (of tool)	klò	
291.	Sickle	rùdzé	<Hausa
292.	Iron	kpúmkrífèl	
293.	Axe	àṅgá	
294.	Adze	ìglá	
295.	Hoe large	kùfan gón	
296.	Hoe small	bíkíta	
297.	Knife	kpìkpì	
298.	Broom	gùfi	
299.	Bag/sack	àpùl	
300.	Fireplace	kùbúsú dəsù kìla	
301.	Shoe	bèwur	
302.	Cloth	kwire	

*Continued on next page*

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
303.	Grindstone (top)	kikar mumu	
304.	Grindstone (lower)	tita kihò	
305.	Mortar (wood)	kùtù	
306.	Pestle	kìkàr kùtù	
307.	Pot (generic)	mpwě	
308.	Pot I	mpwě gòn	large pot
309.	Pot II	kikar mpwě	soup pot
310.	Pot III	kèɣa	jar for local beer
311.	Head-pad	kìkà kə̀tʃù	
312.	Basket (generic)	kàdʒese	
313.	Beer-sieve	kàgise	
314.	Winnowing tray	kùhûn	
315.	Mat (generic)	kùbúsú kilà	
316.	Mat I	gúfi	mat made of palm fronds
317.	Needle	kùkyùwínu	local needle made of a feather
318.	Spear	kìnkwar	
319.	Bow	kùta	Niger-Congo root #-ta. Also Daffo dààr
320.	Arrow	ìhyi	
321.	Quiver	kìkru	wooden quiver kòrì
322.	Rope	rusù	cf. Hasha i-ruʃ
323.	Stool	kùtù	
324.	Wooden door	kòrkúti	
325.	Fence	kruʃèn	cf. Hasha ʃi-ʃin
326.	Bridge	bátene takúti	
327.	Ladder	àglá	
328.	Bee-hive	àkwâ	
329.	Fish-trap	kàgise	cf. 'beer-sieve'
330.	One	nyínyína	cf. Hasha nyinaŋ
331.	Two	bèkàfà	Second elicitation gave kàtù.
332.	Three	békátar	Second elicitation gave kàtar.
333.	Four	bèkànè	Second elicitation gave kànè.
334.	Five	kàtún	cf. Arum atúŋgù
335.	Six	dògòhò	Second elicitation gave kùhò.
336.	Seven	kòrɔ̀kéra	Second elicitation gave kùrkónra.

*Continued on next page*

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
337.	Eight	itór	Second elicitation gave <b>tandár</b> . However, this is Ninzo, so the first form is to be preferred
338.	Nine	toro	Second elicitation gave <b>kàtóró</b> .
339.	Ten	ɖʒòwo	
340.	Eleven	ɖʒòwo a nyínyína	
341.	Twelve	ɖʒòwo katú	
342.	Twenty	só kàuân	The <b>só</b> element is cognate with an archaic Plateau root for 'twelve' which has shifted to 'ten' in systems which have adopted the decimal system. This presumably meant 2 x 10, although 'two' is no longer the same word.
343.	Twenty-four	só ŋan kànè	
344.	Forty	só kànè	
345.	Sixty	só kàhò	
346.	Hundred	a'hlegɔn	
347.	Black	hwĩhwin	
348.	White	àwòsəsen	
349.	Red	àsásin	
350.	Sweet	àlòsò	
351.	Bitter	àlekəsén	
352.	Half	bàdər bádòndo	
353.	Hot	àwòʃin	
354.	Cold	àʃiʃi	
355.	Old	kúkyu	
356.	New	àhwénhwa	
357.	Wet	bàwunbári	
358.	Dry	àwùrhúhu	
359.	Smooth	àmèsər	
360.	Add to	fùsù táryó	
361.	Answer (question)	mùmûr	cf. Hasha <b>múr</b>
362.	Ask a question	ríyu	cf. Hasha <b>rifi</b> , Surubu <b>rivi</b> , Nindem <b>irib</b> , Doka <b>lirbi</b> , Hyam <b>libi</b> , Ningye <b>ryip</b> , Təsu <b>lufu</b> , (BCCW, 6/9)
363.	Ask/beg for something	kúfi	cf. Hasha <b>kuse</b>
364.	Awaken (s.o.)	wurâ	

*Continued on next page*

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
365.	Bark (dog)	gbese	cf. Hasha <b>gbus</b>
366.	Be bent	wè	
367.	Be heavy	loksu	
368.	Be rotten	wè	
369.	Beat (drum)	bàmer	
370.	Beat (s.o.)	míyo	
371.	Become dry	hur	cf. Hasha <b>hwɔr</b>
372.	Begin	tínkyé	
373.	Bite	těta	
374.	Blow (flute etc.)	fwèrè	
375.	Boil	tìviyě̀n	
376.	Build (house etc.)	màr	
377.	Burn (fire burns)	tùyí	
378.	Buy	mà̀cì	
379.	Call (to someone)	hwyì	
380.	Carry	sèsǎ	
381.	Carve (wood etc.)	teme	
382.	Catch	turmí	cf. Hasha <b>tur</b>
383.	Chew	yí	cf. Hasha <b>yi</b>
384.	Choose	kókpe	
385.	Climb	hinmi	
386.	Close	kufǎ	
387.	Come	bɛ	cf. Hasha <b>bê</b>
388.	Come out (of room)	hwrà	
389.	Cook	bàsâr	
390.	Cough	kpù̀kpwè	
391.	Cover	kpakáma	
392.	Cut in two	uá	
393.	Cut off (head etc.)	témé	
394.	Die	kwìkwi	cf. Hasha <b>kwe</b>
395.	Dig (earth etc.)	hwè	
396.	Divide/share	ywèndí	
397.	Do/make	túran	

*Continued on next page*

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
398.	Drag	mgbin	
399.	Draw water	gbrè	
400.	Dream	lesè	cf. Hasha <b>rísij</b>
401.	Drink	wa	cf. Hasha <b>wú</b>
402.	Drop	vùtâ	
403.	Dry in sun	kpaci	
404.	Eat	yi	cf. Hasha <b>yí</b>
405.	Enter	rí	
406.	Extinguish	rima	cf. Berom <b>rīmō</b> , Izere <b>rimij</b> , and common Niger-Congo
407.	Fall (rain)	tùbé	
408.	Fall over	húhwà	cf. Hasha <b>hú</b>
409.	Fear	tuhwí	
410.	Feel (cold etc.)	yína	
411.	Fight (in war)	bàna	
412.	Fill	târ	
413.	Finish (a task)	káklò	
414.	Float	sagàcì	
415.	Flow (water etc.)	ritù	
416.	Fly (birds)	wu	
417.	Fold (cloth etc.)	babe	
418.	Follow	kǒryo	
419.	Forget	téhar	cf. Hasha <b>teher</b>
420.	Fry (in oil)	hwla	
421.	Gather/collect	ʃuʃu	
422.	Get	se	cf. Hasha <b>tsè</b>
423.	Give	nàwà	cf. Hasha <b>nago</b>
424.	Give birth	màr	cf. Hasha <b>màr</b> , Tarok <b>mar</b>
425.	Go	cì	
426.	Go out/exit	hwrâ	
427.	Grind	hô	cf. Hasha <b>hwɔk</b>
428.	Grow (plants)	tigo	cf. Hasha <b>tɛgɔŋ</b>
429.	Hatch (egg)	kyesé	
430.	Jump	nubrî	
431.	Kill	ʉélyo	
432.	Know	medô	
433.	Laugh	kúya	
434.	Learn	tsàrwà	
435.	Lick	fùsù	

*Continued on next page*

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
436.	Lie down	fìrà	
437.	Listen	sêtu	
438.	Lose s.t.	kpédo	
439.	Marry	hin	cf. Hasha <b>pá hyin</b>
440.	Mix	kise	
441.	Mount	kítùn	
442.	Open	ìjlè	
443.	Pierce/stab	tóryi	
444.	Plait (hair)	kùfa	
445.	Plant (crop etc.)	hwlà	
446.	Play	dìfi	
447.	Pound (in mortar)	hwyámi	
448.	Pour (liquid)	sene	
449.	Pull	mgbìngbì	
450.	Put on (clothes)	wùli	
451.	Receive	sè	cf. Hasha <b>ser</b>
452.	Refuse	hùn	cf. Hasha <b>hwànàŋ</b>
453.	'Remain'	fini	
454.	Remember	ryemàr	
455.	Resemble	wrà	
456.	Return	cì	
457.	Ride (horse etc.)	hìnmi	
458.	Roast on coals	wùfi	cf. Hasha <b>wúfi</b>
459.	Rub	kpàtù	
460.	Run	tàsù	cf. Hasha <b>fùfò</b>
461.	Say/speak	wane	cf. Hasha <b>wɔn</b>
462.	Scatter	wúnì	
463.	See	dô	
464.	Seek	kíbrù	
465.	Sell	lè	cf. Hasha <b>rép</b> , Fyem <b>rép</b> , Bu <b>re</b> , Cara <b>rep</b> , Ningye <b>rep</b> but widespread in Benue-Congo and reconstructed as <b>#-rép-</b> in Blench (n.d.). Discussed in Gerhardt (1983) and also found in some neighboring Chadic languages.
466.	Send	kpasa	
467.	Sew	fùfùtí	
468.	Shake	uèn	

*Continued on next page*



*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
469.	Sharpen	wràùàl	
470.	Shoot (arrow, gun)	tár	cf. Hasha <b>tar</b>
471.	Sing	kpandi	
472.	Sit down	ritò	
473.	Slaughter (animal)	ùèr	cf. Hasha <b>før</b>
474.	Sleep	rá	
475.	Smash	nwájɔ	
476.	Smell	nù	
477.	Snap in two	kpàgà	
478.	Sow (seeds)	fwà	
479.	Spit	bàdʒo	
480.	Split	ɲafi	
481.	Stand	wrána	cf. Hasha <b>wàràk</b>
482.	Stir (soup)	wrèn	
483.	Suck (breast etc.)	wà	cf. Hasha <b>wú</b>
484.	Surpass	mùfɪn	
485.	Swallow	kuri	
486.	Sweep	wè	
487.	Swell	hùn	
488.	Swim	hini	
489.	Take	sè	
490.	Tear (cloth etc.)	ɲlá	
491.	Tell	ùà	
492.	Throw	tá	cf. Hasha <b>tak</b>
493.	Tie	bàlo	
494.	Twist (rope etc.)	tân	
495.	Untie	zwi	
496.	Uproot (tuber)	kpla	
497.	Vomit	kosu	
498.	Walk	tsìrì	
499.	Want/need	briyèn	
500.	Wash	ɲàn	
501.	Wear	wùrì	
502.	Weave	kúfa	
503.	Weed	tà	
504.	Weep	kwyì	cf. Hasha <b>kwiŋ</b>

*Continued on next page*

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
505.	Wipe	kpa	
506.	Work	túwra	
507.	Yawn	ɲlè	
508.	I	mími	cf. Hasha <b>mi</b>
509.	You	núnu	cf. Hasha <b>nu</b>
510.	He/she/it	atən	
511.	we	nàmláni	
512.	you pl.	híhin	
513.	They	bamwé	cf. Hasha <b>ba</b>
514.	Who?	àwèní	
515.	Which?	íjɛn	
516.	What?	ànikyé	
517.	When?	nàʃɲó	
518.	Where?	kákyéta	

**Edible and Useful Plants**

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
519.	Guinea-yam <sup>27</sup>	àɲgún	
520.	Aerial yam <sup>28</sup>	ìntó	cf. Hasha <b>ì-tum</b> ,
521.	Red yam <sup>29</sup>	càn	
522.	Water-yam <sup>30</sup>	àɲgbún	
523.	Taro (Old cocoyam) <sup>31</sup>	agbá tùtù	
524.	New cocoyam <sup>32*</sup>	agbá gbèn	
525.	Wild yam	mgbâr kèvi	
526.	Rizga <sup>33</sup>	nkádu	
527.	Sorghum <sup>34</sup>	cákwrà	
528.	Bulrush millet (gero) <sup>35</sup>	tikàmâr	

*Continued on next page*<sup>27</sup>(*Dioscorea guineensis*)<sup>28</sup>(*Dioscorea bulbifera*)<sup>29</sup>(*Dioscorea cayenensis*)<sup>30</sup>(*Dioscorea alata*)<sup>31</sup>(*Colocasia esculenta*)<sup>32</sup>(*Xanthosoma mafaffa*) (*H. wali*)<sup>33</sup>(*Solenostemon rotundifolius*)<sup>34</sup>(*Sorghum bicolor*)<sup>35</sup>(*Pennisetum* spp.)

## Continued from previous page

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
529.	Fonio (H. <i>acca</i> ) <sup>36</sup>	àrikwan	Second elicitation gave <b>̀nkwan</b> . cf. Hasha <b>i-khwen</b> .
530.	Iburu (H. <i>iburu</i> ) <sup>37</sup>	yafi	
531.	Maize* <sup>38</sup>	kùrkùsù	
532.	Rice* <sup>39</sup>		as Hausa
533.	Cowpea <sup>40</sup>	zégo	cf. Hasha <b>i-z(w)en</b>
534.	Spiral cowpea	mbumbwâ	
535.	Bean I	gbùze	small
536.	Bean II	gàcí	smells when being boiled
537.	Bambara groundnut <sup>41</sup>	ùì	cf. Tarok <b>afi</b> , Hasha <b>ifi</b>
	also groundnut (Peanut) <sup>42</sup>	ùì	Probably these two groundnuts were distinguished through the use of a qualifying adjective.
538.	Garden egg <sup>43</sup>	hwle	
539.	Okra <sup>44</sup>	ndànà	cf. Hasha <b>andan</b>
540.	Birdseye chili* <sup>45</sup>	súsùn	
541.	Sorrel/roselle <sup>46</sup>	tsúfwì	
542.	Kenaf <sup>47</sup>	nkwòn	
543.	Sesame seeds <sup>48</sup>	bùkwèn	
544.	Black sesame <sup>49</sup>	mkpâs	
545.	Sesame leaves <sup>50</sup>	ùìn	
546.	Bitterleaf <sup>51</sup>	mgbǎ̀nlà	
547.	Plantain, banana	mgbũ̀mgbà	

Continued on next page

<sup>36</sup>(*Digitaria exilis*)<sup>37</sup>(*Digitaria iburua*)<sup>38</sup>(*Zea mays*)<sup>39</sup>(*Oryza sativa/ glaberrima*)<sup>40</sup>(*Vigna unguiculata*)<sup>41</sup>(*Vigna subterranea*)<sup>42</sup>(*Arachis hypogaea*)<sup>43</sup>(*Solanum melongena*)<sup>44</sup>(*Abelmoschus esculentus*)<sup>45</sup>(*Capsicum annum*)<sup>46</sup>(*H. yakuwa*) (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*)<sup>47</sup>(*H. rama*) (*Hibiscus cannabinus*)<sup>48</sup>(*H. Riddi*) (*Sesamum indicum*)<sup>49</sup>(*Sesamum radiatum*)<sup>50</sup>(*H. karkashi*)<sup>51</sup>*Vernonia amygdalina*

*Continued from previous page*

NO.	GLOSS	SINGULAR	COMMENTARY & COMPARISONS
548.	Bamboo	mbè	
549.	Pawpaw <sup>52</sup>	gàmbúsú	cf. Hasha <b>akambus</b> , although both words are related to a widespread root for 'pumpkin'
550.	Gourd (Generic)	àmbù	
551.	Gourd-bottle <sup>53</sup>	gèndú	local cup
552.	Cotton	ɽurú	
553.	Tobacco	àtába	
554.	Oil-palm <sup>54</sup>	kùwur kurì	Second elicitation gave <b>wùnkúri</b> . cf. Hasha <b>atakuriŋ</b>
555.	Palm-fruit	kùcwi kúri	
556.	Palm-oil	səsèn	
557.	Palm kernel	ntsú	
558.	Palm kernel oil	bànè hwíhwin	
559.	Fan-palm <sup>55</sup>	ìjən	
560.	Custard apple <sup>56</sup>	kpálámbá	
561.	Silk-cotton tree <sup>57</sup>	kùwúrtun	
562.	Shea tree <sup>58</sup>	kùzà	
563.	Shea-fruit	wùñ mòmò	
564.	Locust tree <sup>59</sup>	ùwrè	
565.	Locust fruit	ntsu	
566.	Locust-bean pod	akwa bewur barì	used to make a poison for catching fish
567.	Locust-bean cakes	kpàrìn	
568.	Sodom apple <sup>60</sup>	m̀b̀ùmbwà	
569.	<i>Terminalia</i> sp. <sup>61</sup>	nkò	
570.	<i>kadaura</i>	dìdà	

<sup>52</sup>(*Carica papaya*)<sup>53</sup>(*Lagenaria siceraria*)<sup>54</sup>(*Elaeis guineensis*)<sup>55</sup>(*Borassus aethiopum*)<sup>56</sup>(*Annona senegalensis*)<sup>57</sup>(*Ceiba pentandra*)<sup>58</sup>(*Vitellaria paradoxa*)<sup>59</sup>(*Parkia biglobosa*)<sup>60</sup>(*Calotropis procera*; In Hausa: *tumfafiya*)<sup>61</sup>(In Hausa: *baushe*)

### Musical Instruments

NO.	GLOSS	SAMBE	COMMENTARY
571.	large drum	kùblè	
572.	small drum	kàrbin	
573.	shoulder drum	kìngà	
574.	flute	fwèrè	also the verb 'to blow'
575.	zither	tintí	
576.	iron gong	àǎ	
577.	gourd-rattle	tʃitʃǎ	
578.	ankle rattles	ʃin	

### Additional Words

hwlà	head pan used for carrying crops	
kàkpa	head pan for carrying yams only	
kàklánzè	broken piece of pot used for chicken to drink water	= Hausa <b>kasko</b>
kugyàr	chicken pen	= Hausa <b>akushi</b>
mbò	window	
kùbúsú hwlàýér	bathroom	
kàtsa	small hut	

### Games

kúhwrê	game of stones, similar to draughts	= Hausa <b>dara</b>
kàdo	game of hiding rope on the ground	
tàrfìn	game of beans	

Roger Blench  
 rogerblench@yahoo.co.uk