

The Hasha [=Yashi] language
of
Central Nigeria and its affinities

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1. Introduction

This is an annotated wordlist of the Hàshà language, spoken in three villages in Nasarawa State, Nigeria. The wordlist was collected by Roger Blench with the assistance of Selbut Longtau from a group of villagers in Kwààn (Yàshì Sarki) on the 7th of January 1999. Mr. Jibrin Iliya, aged 35, kindly spoke into the microphone to provide a clear recording, but the lexical items were discussed by a group of elders assembled by the chief, Biko Gadông, aged 75. Barau Kato was there at Kwààn (Yàshì Sarki) on 28th December 2006 and 10th January 2007 for further collection of words and marking of tone. Jibrin Iliya and Usman Yàshì were the informants on this occasion.

2. Location, history and sociolinguistic situation

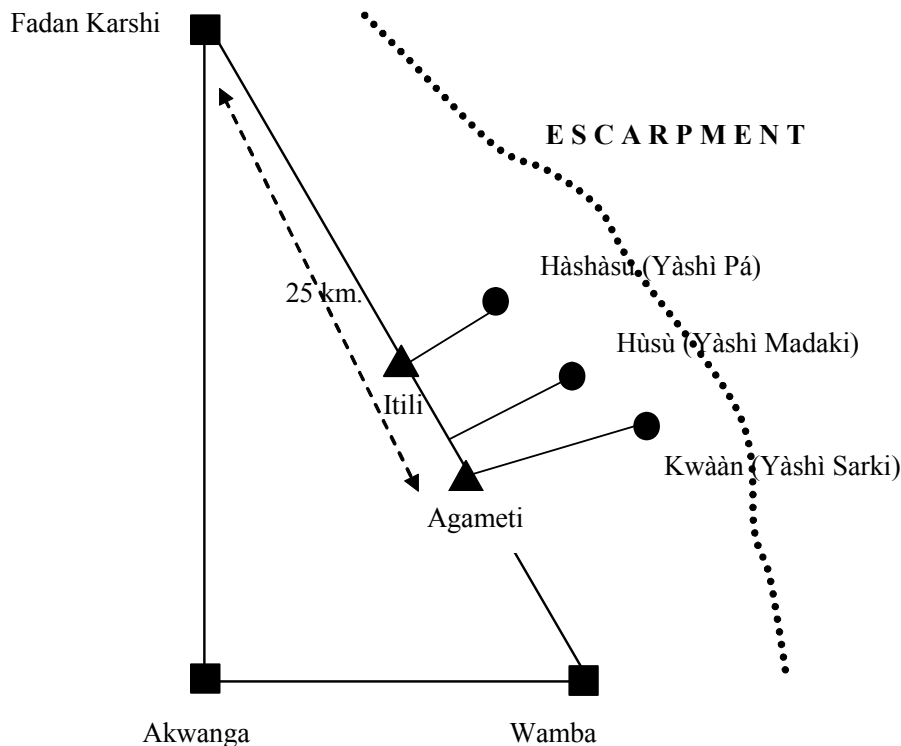
2.1 Nomenclature

The Hàshà people have been generally known in the literature as ‘Yàshì’ a Hausaised form of their name. Correctly, however, a single person is /háʃà/ and the plural is /háʃa/; the language also appears to be called /háʃà/. There seems to be no reason use any other term than Hasha, which is what the community now prefers. This appears in CAPRO (ined.) as ‘Haksha’ but this is a mistake.

2.2 Location and settlements

There are three villages where Hàshà is the main language, Hàshàsù (=Yàshì Pá), Hùsù (Yàshì Madaki) and Kwààn (Yàshì Sarki). Kwààn is the largest settlement and generally regarded as the administrative centre. Hàshà villages fall within Nasarawa State. They are all east of the main road from Fadan Karshi to Wamba, some 25 km. south of Fadan Karshi. Map 1 shows their approximate location;

Map 1. Location of principal Hasha settlements



2.3 Language status

Hàshà is spoken in only three settlements, none of which are very large; the population cannot be more than ca. 3000. However, from a brief visit there is every evidence that the language continues to flourish and is spoken by the young people in the settlement. Hausa is widely known and English is spoken by some secondary school students.

2.4 Hàshà culture and history

Published information about Hàshà [Yàshì] society is extremely limited; indeed the short entry in the Index of Nigerian Languages (Crozier and Blench 1992) is very inaccurate. Some cultural information on the Hàshà is contained in a forthcoming publication (CAPRO forthcoming) and the text is included as an appendix to this document pending further more accurate information¹.

3. Phonology

The phonology of Hàshà is based on rapid observations and should therefore be regarded as tentative at this stage.

3.1 Vowels

Hàshà probably has eight phonemic vowels;

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-Mid	e	ə	o
Open-Mid	ɛ		ɔ
Open		a	

3.2 Consonants

Hàshà consonants are as follows:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Labial-velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d		[c] j	k g		
Nasal	m		n			ŋ	(ŋm)	
Trill			[r]		ɲ			
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ		x		h
Approximant					y ɥ		w	
Lateral Approximant			l					

The labial palatal approximant /ɥ/ is unusual in Plateau languages although it also occurs in the related Sambe language (q.v.).

3.3 Tones

Hasha appears to have three level tones, plus a falling tone. In this transcription, the mid tone is left unmarked.

¹ I am very grateful to Patience Ahmed who kindly supplied me with the computer files.

High	ˊ
Mid	Unmarked
Low	ˋ
Falling	ˆ

4. Morphology

4.1 Nouns

Hàshà has an exceptional system of nominal affixation, apparently based on the generalisation of a Ron-like system for plurals, while still retaining typical Benue-Congo prefixes in singulars. Also unusual is the fact that similar rules apply to almost all verbs, both morphologically and in terms of the systematic pluralisation. Plural verbs are present in most Plateau languages but usually involve quite different strategies. The most curious aspect of this that according to their historical traditions, the Hasha are closely connected with the Chadic-speaking Sya (Sha) people. Extensive borrowing would therefore be expected: however, the lexical list shows that this is not the case, despite the morphological rule borrowing. Similarly, the Hasha share numerous cultural practices with the Arum people, who live immediately to the south. However, this is not reflected in their language; Arum and Təsu, which form a dialect cluster, have simplified plural suffixes and show none of the alternations characteristic of Hàshà.

Table 1 shows examples where the initial CV of the stem is exactly reproduced to form a plural prefix.

Table 1. Exact reduplication of stem-initial CV

Gloss	sg.	pl.
grass	ì-tus	tú-tus
vine	ì-rwíʃ	rú-rwíʃ
seed	ì-wur	wu-wur
sand	i-jùk	jú-jùk
corpse	ì-kùm	kú-kum
day	ì-nìm	ní-nìm
room	ì-tì	tí-tì
wind	ì-mèm	mè-mèm
slave	téfé	té-téfé
leaf	í-íʃi	yí-yíʃi
forest	zózáŋ	zó-zózáŋ
masquerade	sò	sú-sò

In some cases, reduplication deleted the homorganic nasal preceding C₁.

fat mouse	à-njik	jí-njik
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Table 2 shows examples where the initial C of the stem is reproduced to form a plural prefix but where there are changes to the vowel of the prefix.

Table 2. Reduplication of stem-initial C

Gloss	sg.	pl.	Comment
tree (generic)	ikɔn	kwikɔn	Probably originally a ku- prefix that has assimilated to the stem.
bark (of tree)	kwàfàn	kú-kwàfàn	
large river	ì-sóŋ	sú-soŋ	
branch	ì-ɲàk	ní-ɲàk	
algae	à-hwénènyìn	hú-hwénényìn	
thorn	í-tyok	tú-tok	Depalatalisation
name	tyak	tí-tyak	
stone	mártá	mé-màrta	
moon/month	nwàr	nú-nwàr	
star(s)	ì-kpètik	kú-kpètik	
farm	à-hay	hó-hay	
child	à-mwéŋ	mú-méŋ	Delabialisation
in-laws	nyémé	má-nyémé	

Many these cases suggested that the default vowel in a CV plural prefix is –u. Some examples look as if this process has occurred once, been incorporated and then the prefix re-applied. So;

Gloss	Original		Synchronic	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
star	nar	nu-nar	nwar	nu-nwar
bark (of tree)	kàfàn	kú-kàfàn	kwàfàn	kú-kwàfàn

Further evidence for this can be seen in fossil prefixes now incorporated in stems where the assimilation rule seems not to have been applied.

Table 3. Non-productive reduplication in stems

Gloss	sg.	pl.
Snake (generic)	ì-sùswàn	sùswàn
Bird (generic)	á-ʃífwér	ʃù-ʃífwèr

5. Hàshà wordlist

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
1.	Tree (generic)	ìkɔ̀n	kwíkɔ̀n	cf. Kulu í-kɔ̀ŋ, Izere kâkɔ̀n, Hasha iko, Shall kun, Sur kon, Yangkam koon, Tarok akún 'firewood'. This root is widespread in Niger-Congo, often meaning 'firewood'.
2.	Leaf	í-ífi	yí-yífin	cf. Alumu à-fù, Toro asu,
3.	Root	nìrikɔ̀n	nìrikɔ̀n-jijèk	
4.	Branch	ì-pàk	ní-pàk	s. also a-nak. cf. Bu ena,
5.	Bark (of tree)	kwàfàn	kú-kwàfàn	
6.	Thorn	í-tyok	tú-tok	? cf. Arum tôtô, Ningye ntu
7.	Grass (generic)	ì-tus	tú-tus	cf. Toro tɔ̀zɔ̀,
8.	Vine (generic)	ì-rwíf	rú-rwíf	
9.	Mushroom	ì-kòŋ	kwí-kòŋ	
10.	Water-lily	pépi	pépi	
11.	Algae	à-hwénènyin	hú-hwénènyin	
12.	Seed/stone/pip	ì-wur	wu-wur	
13.	Charcoal	ì-fwet	fi-fwet	
14.	Dust	ì-wur	wú-wur	cf. Alumu huru ⁺ , Bu iwuru,
15.	Ashes	fúŋwara	fi-fúŋwara	
16.	Rubbish-heap	kúkuru	te-kúkuru	
17.	Mud	mbimbàr		cf. Ayu imborin,
18.	Clay	ì-vwen peŋ		cf. Ce kɔ̀-ntè, Ningye nkyem, Bu ntɛmɛ,
19.	Dew	émé		cf. Alumu emɛ, Ningye mmeŋ, Ayu iméŋ, Rukul mmaŋ, Tarok imimyaŋ, Yangkam myaŋ, Niger-Congo root #me-
20.	Stone	mártá	mé-màrta	
21.	Sand	ì-jùk	jú-jùk	cf. Sambe kucúwé
22.	Smoke	ifwe		cf. Sambe cucwè
23.	Fire	ì-kàra	kíkàra	cf. Toro fara, Alumu ifira
24.	Water	ènyì	pípìn	
25.	Rain	àfan		cf. Sambe qwà
26.	Cloud	injúm		
27.	Lightning	ninyù		
28.	Rainy Season	ikus		
29.	Dry season	rɔ̀nɔ̀guŋ		
30.	Harmattan	rín àfan		'sky + rain'
31.	Year	ì-kúsan	ku-kusan	cf. Sambe kèkúsù, Tesu hufi
32.	Today	ànúmùŋ		
33.	Yesterday	à-tuk		this is used in reference to an activity that took place yesterday e.g. mi rwam à-tuk- I did some work yesterday
34.	Tomorrow	à-hyimíŋ		cf. Sambe hĩnmi
35.	Morning	hi-hyimíŋ		pl. of 'tomorrow'
36.	Evening	à-yere	yí-yéré	cf. Sambe yàle
37.	Dawn	bò hyíhyimíŋ		
38.	Day	ì-nim	ní-nim	cf. Sambe hĩnmi, Alumu i-nò
39.	Night	ì-sún	sú-sùn	cf. Alumu i-fíní, Toro tu-somo,
40.	Moon/month	nwàr	nú-nwàr	cf. Sambe nar, Alumu nara, Toro nara,
41.	Sun	ì-núm		see 'God' (44.). A widespread root throughout this region.
42.	Star(s)	ì-kpàtik	kú-kpàtik	cf. Alumu a-kwe ⁺

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
43.	Wind	ì-mèm	mè-mèm	cf. Sambe (ù)mé
44.	God	num		see 'sun' (41.)
45.	Sky	ì-rîn		
46.	World	ì-têŋ		
47.	Ground	têŋ		
48.	Large River	ì-sóŋ	sú-soŋ	
49.	Stream	kurinyìn	kú-kúrinyìn	cf. Sambe kúra
50.	Forest	zózàŋ	zó-zózàŋ	? cf. Kuteb kù-fwòŋ, Toro aŋfere, Yala òjìjì
51.	Mountain	màtar-gón	mémàtār	cf. Sambe gō
52.	Hill	ì-gón te	gú-gón te	
53.	Bush	títèŋ	tègòŋ	cf. Berom hēy but also a widespread Plateau root #hai
54.	Farm	à-hay	hó-hay	
55.	Market* ²	te múmúnuk titi		'place where people gather to trade'
56.	Compound	jun fé	jú-ŋún afé	
57.	Room	ì-tì	tí-tì	
58.	Wall (of room)	kàtòŋ	ká-kàtòŋ	
59.	Thatch roof	à-san tóŋ	só-san tóŋ	
60.	Well*	fòŋ nyìn	fúfòŋ nyìn	'hole + xx'
61.	Road	cwèn	cú-cwèn	
62.	Path	cwèn bwâàs	cú-cwèn	
63.	Village/settlement	te cìcàn	tétècàn	
64.	River-bank	gús soŋ	gú-gús soŋ	
65.	Swamp/wetland	ì-ròf	rú-ròf	
66.	Place	te yôn	té-te yôn	
67.	Person/	re yôn	ró-reŋ	cf. Sambe àréfin, Eggon M à-ré, LC -den,
68.	Person/people	rifinik		differentiates human from animal cf. Sambe, Eggon arefin,
69.	Man	àrúróŋ	rùróŋ	cf. Sambe àróro = widespread Niger-Congo #-rom root?
70.	Woman	à-hyín	hí-hyín	? cf. Sambe àhìn, Berom hwā, Rukul a-høren,
71.	Child	à-mwéŋ	mú-méŋ	cf. Yan̄kam 'children' munda, Sur mwan̄ŋ, Tesu am̄ere, Tika mwāē, Jaku mín, Bapi mwén, Also Chadic: Wangday min,
72.	Husband	àre màfe	táká fé	
73.	Wife	hyin	hí-hyín	cf. 'woman'
74.	Widow	hyini yaw	hí-hyini yaw	
75.	Young man	ŋma ruròŋ	màra ruròŋ	
76.	Young girl	wen hyin	ŋman hyin	
77.	Old person	kpàngàf	kú-kpàngàf	
78.	Father	á-dà	má-dà	cf. Sambe adídá, Tesu ada
79.	Mother	á-yà	yí-yà	cf. Sambe aya,
80.	Barren woman	hyin ìkwàk	kúkwàk hyin	
81.	Relations	ì-fàn	fí-fàn	
82.	In-laws	nyémé	má-nyémé	
83.	Ancestors	mádà ner		
84.	Grandparents	kikà	má-kikà	
85.	Brother	màngánà	mámàngánà	
86.	Sister	sàr nàŋ	màsàr nàŋ	

² * Starred items are unsuitable for historical reconstruction

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
87.	Friend	mwàn nàn	mú-mwàn	Probably a borrowing from Chadic. cf. Karfa mwán , Bokkos mwén
88.	Guest/stranger	kúkò	kú-kúkò	
89.	King/chief/ruler	gwòm	gú-gwòm	a widespread East Benue-Congo root. Also Chadic: Boghom, Geji guŋ ,
90.	Hunter	rəmi far	táxé fàr	'person who hunts' see discussion of far under the verb ()
91.	Thief	ì-tyòk	títýòk	
92.	Doctor	rémà fir	táxé fir	
93.	Witch	kərfíŋ	táxá kàjə̀rì	
94.	Corpse	ì-kùm	kú-kum	A widespread East Benue-Congo root. cf. Təsu kəmɔ , Eggon okomo , Kulu ukum , Mbd.
95.	Blacksmith	rímà tətáy	taxa tətay	
96.	Woodworker	rəmà səsər	táxá səsər kən	
97.	Slave	téfé	té-téfé	
98.	Masquerade I	sò	sú-sò	cf. Arum-Tesu asɔ . Mbd. so ?
99.	Masquerade II	sò zwar		
100.	Masquerade III	jákàwà		cf. Sambe àjàkàwe , Ron masquerade Njakawa
101.	Masquerade IV	awen akene		
102.	Masquerade V	àndəŋ		cf. the Ron masquerade Ndoŋ
103.	Masquerade VI	ámàŋgàm		cf. the Ron masquerade Mangam
104.	Masquerade VII	á-turukbe		
105.	Masquerade VIII	kerəŋgət		
106.	Masquerade IX	á-sə kikyàŋ		
107.	Masquerade X	ásə gəŋ		
108.	Prophesy	hwən kànúwən wín		
109.	Shame	ì-swì		cf. Tarok iwúswá , Also Chadic: Mundat fufwa and similar in other Ron languages
110.	Fear/fright	dèrən	táxá-dèrən	
111.	Bravery/courage	kúkú kàŋ	táxá kúkàŋ	
112.	Laughter	í-yàk	táxá ná	
113.	Wisdom	ì-kíp	táxá kíp	
114.	Guilt	hùkàn	táxá hùkàn	
115.	Anger	bwàn	táká bwàn	
116.	Race/running	ɸíɸù	táká tí ɸíɸù	
117.	Suffering	màg yau	táká-màg yau	
118.	Death	kwe	kúkəm	cf. Sambe kwi ,
119.	Name	tyak	tí-tyak	
120.	Grave	tùne	tú-túnè	
121.	Song	ì-hum	táká hú-hum	cf. Tesu əhumu ,
122.	Proverb	kúkwan jé iwón		
123.	Story	ì-kúkú	kúkù	
124.	Word	hàfà	tám hí-hàfà	
125.	Lie	ì-fàk	fó-fàk	? cf. Karfa məfak
126.	News	as 'story'		
127.	Hunger	yuy		cf. Tesu nyu , Fyem yóŋ , Tarok ayáŋ . Also in Chadic, cf. Mangar yuy , Hausa yunwa .
128.	Egg	ɸúbwôy	ɸúɸúbwôy	cf. Tesu asebe ,
129.	Horn	ì-tom	tú-tom	cf. Tesu atama ,

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
130.	Tail	i-jum	jú-jùm	cf. Arum ìjimù , PEBC #-dum
131.	Wing (of bird)	á-kwen	kú-kwen	
132.	Beak (of bird)	nye sùfwær	nyényè sùfwær	
133.	Nest (of bird)	sufwær	féfé ma sùfwær	
134.	Gum/glue	ifër	fifër	
135.	Ant-hill I	fófé miyu		
136.	Ant-hill II	jànyu		This is more of a reference to the anthill and not its name. That is s.o is going to the anthill.
137.	Ant-hill III	i-busom	bú-busom	
138.	Hole in ground	i-foŋ	fú-foŋ	Also in Chadic: cf. Fyer fuŋ
139.	Hole in tree	búkən	bú-búkən	
140.	Smell	à-nùk	nú-nùk	
141.	Poison	à-jòm	jùjòm	
142.	Load	ríŋ	tíríŋ	
143.	Bundle	è-jib	jí-jib	
144.	Firewood	i-kon kàrà	kú-kon kàrà	see under 'tree'
145.	Yam-heap	mìrɛŋ vwɛn	mɛmɛrɛŋ	
146.	War	hu-mɔk	hú-hú-mɔk	
147.	Work	i-rwam	ru-rwam	not the usual root for 'work' but common for 'farm' or 'to farm' in this area
148.	Divination (types)	fúfa ráté		
149.	Medicine (generic)	ì-fir	jí-fir	cf. Sambe fin ,
150.	Place to keep s/t	dídísàk		
151.	Money	ìmbòn	ganjuŋ	? cf. Tarok m̀bwà̀y ,
152.	Shadow	i-rurúk	rú-ruruk	
153.	Thing	i-hwen	hú-hwen	cf. Sambe hwyèn ,
154.	Strength	kùkuk		
155.	Length	arɔt		
156.	Land/country	à-tè	té-tè	
157.	Sleep	ì-rù		
158.	Disease(generic)	i-kwe	kù-kwe	
159.	Smallpox			
160.	Diarrhoea	nyif iviŋ		
161.	Eczema	inan		
162.	Goitre	kpɛŋ kɔ̀		
163.	Boil	fər		cf. Tesu əfiru
164.	Sore/wound	ì-nɔ̀r	nù-nɔ̀r	cf. Tarok anunur ,
165.	Leprosy			<Hausa
166.	Leper			
167.	Head	títi	tí-títi	A Niger-Congo root. See BCCW, 50
168.	Eye	i-yí	yì-yí	cf. Eggon èyí , Irigwe riyí , Yala èyi , Arum iyù . Also in Chadic: cf. Mangar yíw and related forms in other Ron languages
169.	Face	i-tòm	tú-tòm	cf. Tesu tomo 'face'
170.	Cheek	i-tam	tí-tàm	an East Benue-Congo root
171.	Forehead	i-tòm	tí-tòm	cf. Tesu tomo 'face'
172.	Nose	ì-yoŋ	yù-yoŋ	
173.	Ear	ì-tù	tù-tù	cf. Horom tòŋ , Fyem hutóŋ , Bo utó , Ningye tòŋ , also throughout Tarokoid, but a PVC root #tuN- .

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
174.	Mouth	a-nye	á-nyényè	cf. Tesu enyi , Eggon anyu ,
175.	Tooth	i-nyinaŋ	nyí-nyínaŋ	cf. Sambe nyínâ , a Niger-Saharan root
176.	Tongue	ì-rim	rí-rim	cf. Tarok a°ölöm⁺ , Bo de-rem , cLela d-rémé , ultimately PAC # lima
177.	Throat	mèrèpo	mé-mèrèpo	
178.	Neck	i-kər	kú-kər	cf. Sambe kər , Ife Yoruba əgrə ,
179.	Jaw	nàmànyè	ní-nàmànyè	
180.	Chin	à-kpórànyè	kpú-kpórànyè	
181.	Shoulder	i-hwap	hú-hwap	
182.	Armpit	hwáp wək	hú hwap wək	
	tickling	ì-njìnjək	jí-njìnjək	? cf. Obolo ájjòk ,
183.	Fist	mumun wək	múmú mún wək	
184.	Arm/hand	wək	wú-wək	cf. cf. Sambe kùwə , Tarok awó , Aten wə , Cara və , Berom vwó , all weakenings of the widespread # bok- forms. See BCCW,2
185.	Leg	a-kəs	ké-kəs	This appears to be a loan from Jarawan Bantu (see BCCW, 55) as the root is widespread there and isolated in Hasha
186.	Foot	baskès	bó-baskès	? + 'leg'
187.	Thigh	ì-twək kès	tú-twək kès	cf. Igala úta , Nandu utak ,
188.	Knee	ì-rum kès	rú-rum kès	cf. Fyem ëurúm pl. arúm , Bo rurum , Yanƙam ruŋ , Tarok iròŋ . Reconstructed as # -rúŋù for East Benue-Congo in Blench (ms.) Also in Chadic: Kulere 'arôm , Tangale purum and Mupun fùrùm . This is so widespread in Chadic that the # -rum element may have been loaned into Plateau and its prefix re-analysed.
189.	Nail (Finger/toe)	zèndèr	zə-zèndèr	
190.	Female breast	a-ven	vá-vèn	cf. Sambe vè , Tesu, Toro bene , Nupe ebé , Also Chadic: Tsagu éépən ,
191.	Stomach	ipi	—	cf. Sambe kine , Ninzo inè , Kamanton pji , Kenyi peŋ , and scattered forms in Plateau. Also in Chadic: Sya ànyi
192.	Chest	kàŋ		
193.	Navel	ì-hùvòn	hù-hùvòn	
194.	Back	ì-sun	sú-sun	Widespread in BC, also referring to 'hips', 'waist' and reconstructed by Blench (ms.) as # -jim for Proto-Benue-Congo. This root is discussed in Williamson (1989,b:257). There is an old NC root # ma which is largely replaced by # siN roots in BC. Also Mumuye sán 'waist'.
195.	Buttocks	ì-mər	mú-mər	
196.	Penis	ì-kùk	kú-kùk	
197.	Vagina	ì-farak	fó-farak	
198.	Skin	i-ku	kú-ku	
199.	Bone	kùkup	kú-kùkup	cf. Sambe kekú , Bo ukúp , Pe ukup , Tarok akúp and Yanƙam kup and PB # -kubi
200.	Rib	zézè gùròm		
201.	Vein	i-ƒip	ƒí-ƒip	cf. Tarok ìcip , Ganang a-tsip ,
202.	Blood	a-mək	mé-mək	
203.	Breath	nínifi		cf. LC

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
204.	Tear	à-vèn síríyì		
205.	Saliva	tətay		
206.	Sweat	húhùnjè		? cf. Alumu həhə
207.	Urine	pəri		cf. Alumu əfiru ,
208.	Faeces	ì-viŋ		
209.	Hair	ì-ti		
210.	Beard	túranyè		
211.	Brain	kwam tìti		
212.	Liver	ŋay	ŋəŋay	cf. Aten rwáy 'heart',
213.	Heart	à-nzɔr	zú-nzɔr	cf. Horom ázò 'liver', Fyem ëu-zo pl. a-zo 'liver', Ayu ajor , Lungu izur
214.	Intestines	ì-fiŋ	fí-fiŋ	
215.	Body	ì-yer	yú-yer	? cf. Chadic: Dera yâk , Fyer yif
216.	Meat	ì-vwè	ví-vwe	? cf. Tesu wi , Yangkam vi , widespread in Jukunoid as wi , suggesting a regional root #-vwi . See BCCW,1 where this is treated as a weakening of #-bi .
217.	Animal (Bush)	as meat		
218.	Cow	à-ràndɔŋ	rə-ràndɔŋ	this root is widespread in both Plateau and adjacent Chadic languages
219.	Bull	ràndɔŋ rɔŋ	rə-ràndɔŋ rú-rɔŋ	
220.	Calf	mmé ràndɔŋ		
221.	Goat	ì-wun	wú-wun	
222.	He-goat	ì-hwif wun	hú-hwif hú-hwun	
223.	Sheep	ì-tùmùk	tú-tùmùk	Roots of the form #tVmV are common in both Benue-Congo and Chadic. cf. Ron tamo , Hausa tumaki ,
224.	Ram	á-ŋmɛŋ tùmuk	mú-ŋmɛŋ tùmùk	
225.	Castrated sheep	hwif tùmuk	hú-hwif tùmuk	
226.	Dog	àwá	áwà	cf. Tarok ivá , although this reflects a common NC root #ibwa(k)
227.	*Cat	mús	mú-mus	cf. Ngas mus . A common term in this region originally derived from Hausa
228.	*Pig	ì-vwe dàmbwàf		
229.	*Horse	damus	dé-damus	
230.	*Donkey	zàki	tí-zàki	< Hausa
231.	Elephant	ì-hyimiŋ	hí-hyimiŋ	
232.	Hippo	à-mùn	mú-mùn	unless Bitare maŋi . May be linked with regional forms for 'water' e.g. Toro amunu .
233.	Buffalo	è-rèmè	ré-rèmè	cf. Nungu meré
234.	Leopard	èhwe		cf. Horom kyè , Fyem kwe , Jari ì-kwi , Rukul ikwi , Tesu kwi related to old Niger-Congo root #-gbe, -kpe
235.	Hyena ³	mùrun		cf. Izere amurum , Aten murúm . Also in Chadic: Daffo mùrùm
236.	Jackal ⁴	à-wàmà hay	wó-wòmà hay	'dog of bush'
237.	Wart-hog	à-jùrà	jú-jùrà	

³ (*Crocuta crocuta*)⁴ *Canis aureus*

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
238.	kob antelope ⁵	hùrun	hú-hùrun	
239.	roan antelope	àkpá tùruk		
240.	Duiker	à-gbàn		
241.	other antelope	inzɛt		
242.	Monkey	á-wày	wá-wày	
243.	Baboon	è-he	he-he	cf. Tesu haha , Rukul uhwa
244.	Patas monkey ⁶	á-wàngày	wó-wàngày	cf. Ron wàngay
245.	Colobus ?	à-zòr	zó-zòr	
246.	Squirrel (ground)	ágùr		
247.	Squirrel (tree)	àhwis		
248.	Rat (generic)	ì-kwí	kú-kwí	cf. Alumu ì-kwí , Fyem kwi , Horom ki , Pe ikuu , probably also Tarok ìpi . LC
249.	Bush-rat I	ì-kwí háy		'rat of [ex-President] Shagari'
250.	Bush-rat II	ì-kwí hòrèk		house-rat
251.	Swamp rat	ì-kwí yíp		
252.	Giant rat	a-hurúp	hú-huruf	
253.	Fat mouse	à-njik	jí-njik	
254.	Pygmy mouse	ì-kwí ròŋ		
255.	Grasscutter ⁷	à-yíp	yí-yíp	
256.	Hare ⁸	a-ŋòm	ŋò-ŋòm	
257.	House-bat	à-kwàràkwàn	kú-kwàràkwàn	
258.	Fruit-bat	à-gak	gá-gak	cf. Təsu əŋga
259.	Nile crocodile	hòkòr	hí-hòkòr	
260.	Chameleon	ìcùn àvaŋ		
261.	Agama lizard	à-vaŋ	vá-vaŋ	cf. Mbd.
262.	Skink	à-hùjám	hú-hùjám	
263.	Gecko	àhwàdir	hú-hwàdir	
264.	Toad	ì-hwòròk	hú-hwòròk	
265.	River frog I	ì-wer		
266.	River frog II	à-hyiŋ		
267.	River frog III (damo)	ákúkwèŋ		
268.	River frog IV	ìŋwàŋ		edible frog
269.	River frog V	pupwe		
270.	Land tortoise	kpurúkpà	kpúkpurúkpà	cf. Mbd.
271.	Snake (Generic)	ì-sùswàn	sùswàn	cf. Tarok izwà 'puff-adder',
272.	Spitting cobra	ì-tùk	tú-tuk	
273.	Puff adder	i-hup	hu-hup	
274.	River crab	i-hwombat	—	cf. PB #- kádá , but an ancient Niger-Congo root and worldwide (Blench 1997). The -bat element is puzzling, however, though see Tesu aharaba .
275.	River molluscs	à-nar	—	
276.	Fish (generic)	i-twei		
277.	Catfish ⁹	ì-nìf		
278.	Fish I			

⁵ (*Kobus kob*)⁶ (*Erythrocebus patas*)⁷ (*Thryonomys Swinderianus*)⁸ (*Lepus Crawshayi*)⁹ (*Synodontis* spp.)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
279.	Fish II	à-kàriwè		white smaller ones
280.	Fish III	isiwà		
281.	Fish IV	àmbià		small ones
282.	Fish V	ehyuna		
283.	Fish VI	cwè màryámù		‘Maryam’s fish’
284.	Bird (generic)	á-ǰífwèr	ǰù-ǰífwèr	? Chadic: Kotoko sísyá
285.	Chicken	a-nun	nú-nùn	This is usually a root for ‘bird’ (cf. PB #nòní) and this switch has occurred in the Eggon group and many languages of Central and West Plateau
286.	Cock	bánun	bá-banun	This is the root for ‘bird’ with a now frozen prefix.
287.	*Duck	àfànyè	táfànyè	
288.	Guinea-fowl	á-sàrà̀m	só-sàrà̀m	cf. Təsu sərɔ, Nupe ǰelũ (where -lu = ‘bird’),
289.	Hooded Vulture ¹⁰	ingùnuk	—	Related to Hausa angulu and similar forms in other BC languages
290.	Village Weaver ¹¹	ǰífwèr tàkòrɛŋ		
291.	Cattle-egret ¹²			
292.	Black kite ¹³	ìkikàraŋ		
293.	Standard-wing Night-jar	kpánwəŋ		
294.	Owl	í-kùk		cf. Təsu kukuku,
295.	Bush-fowl/partridge	warawaf		black birds always in 5 or six
	Quail	huhər		
296.	*Pied crow ¹⁴	wániwaŋ		
297.	Woodpecker	ǰífwèr ikon		‘bird of wood’
298.	Insect (Generic)	i-pis	pí-pìs	
299.	Scorpion	ì-nàŋ	ní-nàŋ	Reflects a widespread Niger-Congo root #ena
300.	Butterfly	á-kə̀rikwat	kú-kə̀rikwat	
301.	Dragon-fly	inǰikə̀rəfiŋ	—	
302.	Mosquito	wuk	—	
303.	Spider ¹⁵	taradaŋ	—	
304.	Mason wasp ¹⁶	inǰvuruŋwèŋ	—	
305.	Bee	ì-suk	—	cf. Berom ǰòk, Ningye sɔ, Bu ifɔ, Izere ifɔ pl. ifɔʃ, Horom sɛʃkɛ, Təsu əfi. ? also Chadic: e.g. Bole ǰoni, Hausa zúmàà,
306.	Sweat-fly	ì-búrúvús	—	
307.	Housefly	ì-sisì	sí-sisì	cf. Tarok ɪ̀ɪŋɪŋ, Bu cinci, Berom cíŋ. Reconstructed as #-ciN to Proto-Benue-Congo in Blench (ms.). Also in Chadic: Ngas nfi, Mwaghavul ndifi, Tangale tɪ̀n
308.	Ant (Generic)	a-naŋ	né-naŋ	cf. Təsu nana,
309.	Louse (Human)	ì-ǰin	ǰi-ǰin	
310.	Millipede	inǰbén	—	

¹⁰ (*Neophron monachus*)¹¹ (*Ploceus cucullatus*)¹² (*Ardeola ibis*)¹³ (*Milvus migrans*)¹⁴ (*Corvus albus*)¹⁵ (*Acarina* spp.)¹⁶ (*Belenogaster* spp.)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
311.	Cockroach	àkpàm	—	
312.	Termite	ì-yu	yú-yu	cf. Tarok <i>n-yeye</i> , Sur <i>iyo</i> ,
313.	Flying-ant	mbos iyu		
314.	Praying mantis	jòrògòn		
315.	Firefly	pètɛŋ byô		
316.	Giant Cricket	àryikyat		
317.	Earthworm	ì-zon	zó-zon	
318.	Giant Snail	à-nâr	né-nâr	
319.	Soap (traditional)	fúfɔŋ tòk		
320.	Oil	ànè		cf. Təsu <i>amɛnɛ</i> , Berom <i>nói</i> , Aten <i>noi</i> , Gure <i>mani</i> , Central Kambari <i>màni'i0^</i> and ultimately Hausa <i>may</i> .
321.	Fat/grease	è-fep		cf. Rukul <i>afɛp</i> , Cara <i>ibip</i> , Tarok <i>mɔpɪp</i> 'animal fat', Chawai <i>bap</i> , Samba Nnakenyare <i>byep</i> . Reconstructed to East Benue-Congo as #- <i>byep</i> in Blench (ms.)
322.	Salt	ìwan		
323.	Soup/stew	ìwweŋ		
324.	Porridge	ì-kwam		
325.	Sorghum-beer	á-zòr	zú-zòr	
326.	Palm-wine	nyì-tàkòrɛŋ		
327.	Peelings	àkwàfàn		
328.	Filter	zàzeŋ		cf. Rukul <i>asen</i> ,
329.	Rag	títàràk pàngǎf		
330.	Floor-beater	èbau		
331.	Handle (of tool)	kìkàfɛ		
332.	Sickle	àngàù		
333.	Cutlass	áyàp		
334.	Iron	ì-hòròn		
335.	Axe	ì-kay		cf. Rukul <i>gaya</i> ,
336.	Adze	àgòròŋ		
337.	Hoe (general)	ì-jup		
338.	Hoe <i>gara</i>	ìjùpìjùp mor		
339.	Hoe I	ìjùp wək		
340.	Hoe II	kàtàŋgàù		
341.	Hammer	àmò		
342.	Knife	ábànàŋ		cf. East Benue-Congo reconstruction
343.	Comb	nóná bùbor tíí		'thing to scratch head'
344.	Broom	ì-gwis		cf. Tarok <i>igisàr</i> ,
345.	Sack	àwar		cf. Mbd.
346.	Fireplace	tíkàrà		
347.	Shoe	kùkìs		
348.	Cloth	títàrà		
349.	Grinding-stone (lower)	màtà húwək òtè		
350.	Mortar (wood)	itù teŋ		
351.	Pestle	ì-tù wok	tú-tú wok	
352.	Pot (generic)	à-feŋ	fó-feŋ	
353.	Pot I	fé gàràfò		
354.	Pot II	ì-gyìmiŋ		
355.	Pot III	á-fáynyì		
356.	Pot IV	ì-zòm	zú-zòm	

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
357.	Head-pad	ì-kàr	kí-kàr	cf. Tarok akár , Mukarovsky (1977, II:148) reconstructs this to PWN (=PAC in modern terminology). However, he offers no evidence outside Benue-Kwa and I reconstruct #ekāta for PBK
358.	Basket (generic)	à-kpòk	kú-kpòk	
359.	Winnowing tray	ì-hum	hú-hum	
360.	Mat (generic)	ténénaŋ	té-ténénaŋ	
361.	Spear	à-bum	bú-bum	
362.	Bow	ì-twà	tú-twà	Niger-Congo root #-ta . Also Daffo dǎâr
363.	Arrow	ì-kìr	kí-kìr	cf. Kulu dekila , Piti ucir and probably widespread Plateau forms #-wila . See BCCW,4
364.	Quiver	bàndun	bú-bàndun	cf. Mbd.
365.	Chain	inwar twà		
366.	Rope	ì-rùf	rú-rùf	
367.	Stool	técicàŋ		
368.	Wooden door	í-gùrè	gú-gùrù	
369.	Fence	fí-fin		cf. Sambe krufèn
370.	Ladder	ì-bàn	bébàn	
371.	Canoe	i-gwer nyì		PB -yato , P-Ijò áró ,
372.	Paddle	ì-bàw		
373.	Bee-hive	ì-ryàk	rí-ryak	
374.	Fish-I et	à-wàr	wú-wàr	
375.	Fish-trap I	ì-kwà	kú-kwà	
376.	Fish-trap II	à-wèn	wó-wèn	
377.	Snare	jòŋgòròŋ		
378.	One	nyinaŋ		
379.	Two	àpwò		
380.	Three	atat		
381.	Four	àniŋ		
382.	Five	atukun		cf. Arum atúngù , Tarok tukun
383.	Six	àkwip		
384.	Seven	àkwip nyinaŋ		
385.	Eight	nàniŋ		cf. Ijò, Bantu, Tarok
386.	I ine	nàniŋ màreŋ		
387.	Ten	awuk		
388.	Eleven	awuk dàk nyinaŋ		10 + 1
389.	Twelve	awuk dàk qwò		10 + 2
390.	Twenty	wúwú kà qwò		10 x 2
391.	Forty	wúwú kà niŋ		10 x 4
392.	Hundred	àmèriŋ nyínáŋ		
393.	Black	qìqinik		cf. Dong vír , I nakenyare vírki , Gaa yíliik . Also Adamawa: Pangseng vír (Shimizu 1979: Root 92)
394.	White	àhwòrèk		
395.	Red	sisyak		
396.	Sweet	mámès		
397.	Bitter	asaŋ		
398.	Half	ìkpèzòk		
399.	Hot	àfěw		
400.	Cold	àsisisèy		cf. Kwanka fifi , I indem asis ,
401.	Old	ìkpàngàf		

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
402.	Ī ew	áqyàŋ		
403.	Wet	átínyì		
404.	Dry	huhər		
405.	Smooth	hwane		
406.	Slippery	téhwáne		
407.	Add to	tur dāk		
408.	Answer (question)	sènye		cf. Tarok mén,
409.	Answer (call)	múr		
410.	Arrive	be		
411.	Ask a question	rifi	ririfi	cf. Surubu rivi, Ī indem irib, Doka lirbi, Hyam libi, Ī ingye ryip, Təsu lufu, (BCCW, 6/9)
412.	Ask/beg for s.t.	kuse		cf. Toro kəzi, Yeskwa ŋkusa, Hasha kuse
413.	Awaken (s.o.)	wànak	wánjè	
414.	Bark (dog)	gbus	bú-gbus	
415.	Be bent	kòŋgwèt	kú-kòŋgwèt	
416.	Be heavy	riŋ	rí-riŋ	
417.	Be on (s.t.)	títí		
418.	Be rotten	phùn		
	pus	pun	pú-pun	
419.	Be short	kpùŋgbuk	kpú-kpùŋgbuk	
420.	Beat (person)			
421.	Become dry	hwər	hú-hwər	cf. Berom hwōgōt, Aten hwohwo, Basa ihoo, cLela hɔ&, probably independent weakenings of the widespread #-koro roots. See BCCW, 30.
422.	Begin	yífik	yi-yífik	
423.	Bite	nufər	nu-nufər	
424.	Blow (flute etc.)	wure	wú-wure	cf. Hausa húúràà,
425.	Build (house etc.)	mwày ton	mú-mwày ton	cf. Che me, Tesu mina, Tarok me ⁺ , Bekwara mè, reflexes on an old Ī iger-Congo root. See BCCW, 13.
426.	Burn (fire burns)	wúfi	wú-wúfi	cf. Tarok shì. Chadic: Guruntum fi, Wihə síi, connected with a widespread root for 'fire' #ifi.
427.	Bury	nè rifinik		
428.	Buy	sè	sé-sè	cf. Berom sēi
429.	Call (to s.o.)	fin	fá-fin	
430.	Carry	kàfè	kákáfe	
431.	Carve (wood)	sep	sɛ-sep	Widespread in Plateau, e.g. Kulu, Ī indem, Kwanka sep and Jju fab, Cara fipal, Ī ingye, Bu fɛ, Pe fap. ? also Mbd. and LC *kap
432.	Catch	tùr	tú-tùr	cf. Sambe turmi,
433.	Chew	yí	yí-yí	same as 'eat' (459.)
434.	Choose	say	sə-say	cf. Ijọ, Bantu
435.	Climb	bânên	bábánjě	
436.	Close	huhwɛt		
437.	Come	bê	bébénàn	cf. Tarok ʼá,
438.	Come out (of room)	wərək	wúwəsək	cf. Irigwe wùrù, Ayu wìrìk, Aten wuru, Kulu gu-wuluu, Degema wólá,
439.	Continue (to do s.t.)	bában píjê		
440.	Cook	túk	tútúk	

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
441.	Cough	ì-h ^w uur	hú-húré	
442.	Count	tam	té-tam	cf. Rukul tan , Jju twan , Kulu tala , PB #- tád-
443.	Cover	ʃiʃi	béʃiʃi	
444.	Cut down (tree)	yap-kən		
445.	Cut in two	gafà	gáfè phò	
446.	Cut off (head etc.)	yáp titi	yí-yap titi	
447.	Cut s.t.	yáp tɛŋ		
448.	Dance	ʃiʃi	ʃi-ʃiʃi	cf. Rukul ʃir , Kwanka ʃi dur , Koro zir ,
449.	Die	kwe	ko-kwe	cf. Tesu kwe , Kenyi kie , Surubu kee , although these forms have developed from the more common I iger-Congo #- ku root.
450.	Dig (earth etc.)	hùkùr	hú-hùkùr	The root #- kar- is quite widespread in Plateau, e.g. Berom kara , I inzam akladó
451.	Divide/share	gàfi		
452.	Do/make	te	tété	
453.	Drag	nàrfàk	nó-nàrfà tɛŋ	
454.	Draw (water)	nàrfàk pì		
455.	Dream	rísɪŋ	tótá mərəsɪŋ	
456.	Drink	wú	wú-wú	cf. Tarok wa , Igboid ŋ^wɔ̄ , LC, Mbd
457.	Drop	ŋarak hù		
458.	Dry in sun	nàfàk nùm	nónàfàk nùm	
459.	Eat	yí	yí-yí	cf. Yangkam, Che, Chori yi ,
460.	Enter	yín	yí-yín	
461.	Extinguish	mbɛʃɛk kara	mbíbɛʃɛk kara	
462.	Fall (rain)	hú	hú-hú	cf. Tesu hwa , Aten hwə ,
463.	Fall over	hú m̀sun	hú-hú m̀sun	
464.	Feel (cold etc.)			
465.	Fight (in war)	hwum	hú-hwùm	
466.	Fill			
467.	Finish (a task)	kwànjè	kúk	
468.	Float			
469.	Flog	wúrfúk	wú-wúrùp	
470.	Flow (water etc.)	sír	—	
471.	Fly (birds)	wànak	wo-wanak	
472.	Fold (cloth etc.)	rèvèk	—	
473.	Follow	syak	—	
474.	Forget	teher	—	cf. Sambe téhar ,
475.	Fry (in oil)	hánjè	—	? weakened from forms such as Idū kanyi , Mama kanya ,
476.	Gather/collect	múnùk	mú-múnùk	
477.	Get	tsè		
478.	Give	nago	nabà	cf. Aten nàŋ , I indem nogo , Gworok nwak . Reflex of the widespread #- na- (also as na and nga) root (see BCCW,45)
479.	Give birth	màr	mámàsè	cf. Tarok mar ,
480.	Go	bày	mábày	
481.	Go forward	banyè	béténan píjè	
482.	Go out/exit	baŋáŋ		
483.	Grind	hwək	hú-hwək	cf. LC kók
484.	Grow (plants)	tègɔŋ	té-tègɔŋ	
485.	Hatch (egg)	kək	kúkúkòk	
486.	Have	mí wàèn		

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
487.	Hear	yísèn	yí-yísèn	
488.	Hit/strike (drum etc.)	nùvùr	nú-nùvùk	
489.	Hunt	ipar		cf. Fyem fofár , Horom fár , Tarok fár 'to be a good marksman'. Also in Chadic: cf. Bokokos faar , Tangale para (n.), I gizim bárâ and Hausa fàráwtàà
490.	Jump	wánjè twaŋ	wó-wanjè twaŋ	
491.	Keep	dàk		
492.	Kill	mbefek	mbá-mbéfek	
493.	Know	féŋ	fó-féŋ	cf. LC fíók ,
494.	Laugh	nayàk	nénáfényak	
495.	Learn	gbàràk	gbúgbàràk	
496.	Lick	nzèp	zúnzep	
497.	Lie down	natéŋ	nénáfāntéŋ	cf. Berom nārā , 'stretch', Amo u-nato umon ,
498.	Listen	yísèm	yí-yísèm	
499.	Lose s.t.	wúrite	wúwúrite	
500.	Marry	pá hyin	títá hyin	
501.	Measure	mùmàk	mànji	
502.	Mix	seŋ	siséŋ	
503.	Mould (pot)	mày féŋ	múŋmày féŋ	
504.	Mount	kpòŋgòs te		
505.	Open I	gyèvék	gí-gyèvék	
506.	Open II	borok	bú-borok	cf. Tarok bòl
507.	Pierce/stab	tophor	tutophor	
508.	Plait (hair)	teŋ	títeŋ titi	
509.	Plant (crop etc.)	ray	rí-ray	
510.	Play	to	tété-to	
511.	Pound (in mortar)	súsù	sú-súsù	? cf. Igboid
512.	Pour (liquid)	nyìf	nyí-nyìf	
513.	Pull	nàrvàk	ní-nàrvàk	
514.	Push			
515.	Put on (clothes)			
516.	Receive	ser	sísí-ser	
517.	Refuse	hwàràŋ	hú-hwàràŋ	
518.	Remain			
519.	Remember	kàje	kí-kàje-kàn	
520.	Resemble			
521.	Return	fen	fó-fenzen	
522.	Ride (horse etc.)	bànìn	bó-bànjè	
523.	Roast on coals	wúfi	wú-wufi	
524.	Rub			
525.	Run	fùfò	títí-fùfò	
526.	Say/speak	wɔn	wú-wɔn	cf. Sambe wanɛ ,
527.	Scatter			
528.	See	pár	pá-pár	
529.	Seek			
530.	Sell	rép	rí-rép	cf. Fyem rép , Bu rɛ , Cara rɛp , I ingye rɛp but widespread in BC and reconstructed as #-rɛp- in Blench (ms.). Discussed in Gerhardt (1983) and also found in some neighbouring Chadic languages.

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
531.	Send	dák	dí-dak	
532.	Set trap			
533.	Sew			
534.	Shake	zùfùk	zó-zùfùk	
535.	Sharpen	nəŋ	nú-nəŋ	
536.	Shoot (arrow)	tar	tí-tár	
537.	Sing	tak	tí-tak	
538.	Sit down			
539.	Slaughter (animal)	fár	fófóse	cf. Sambe ɸər,
540.	Sleep	nàŋ	ní-nàfàn	cf. I iger-Congo root for sleep (see BCCW, 57).
541.	Smash	tòfòr	tútóvùk	
542.	Smell			
543.	Snap in two	tíŋ	títisin	
544.	Sow (seeds)			
545.	Spit	túk	—	
546.	Split			
547.	Stand	wànak	wó-wànjè	
548.	Steal	tòk	títí-tòk	
549.	Stir (soup)	hàrà̀m	hó-hà̀rà̀m	
550.	Suck (breast etc.)	wú	wú-way	see 'drink'
551.	Surpass	gyer	gyí-gyer	
552.	Swallow	mèrèk	mèmèrje	
553.	Sweep			
554.	Swell			
555.	Swim			
556.	Take	pàŋ	tàŋ	
557.	Tear (cloth etc.)	ŋgàrfàk	ní-ŋgàrsàn	
558.	Tell			
559.	Throw	tak	sósàŋgàrè	
560.	Tie			
561.	Twist (rope etc.)	hàrmak	hó-hà̀rà̀m	
562.	Uproot (tuber)	cun	cucunjun	
563.	Vomit	hwè	huhwê	
564.	Walk	jin	ji-jin	cf. Tarok cèn,
565.	Want/need	mur	mu-mur	
566.	Wash	ŋgap	ŋ-ŋgap	
567.	Wear	sóròk	sususək	
568.	Weave	nòk	núnòk	
569.	Weed	kwên te	kú-kwên te	
570.	Weep	kwiŋ	kwinin	
571.	Wipe	kúr	kúkúrte	
572.	Work	rwam	tete rwam	
573.	Write	zik		
574.	Yawn	ŋar hu	ŋəŋar hu	
575.	I	mi		
576.	You	nu		
577.	He/she/it	yɔ		
578.	we	rifiba		
579.	you pl.	wər		
580.	They	ba		
581.	Who?	wà-nè	má-nènà	
582.	Which?	rémà tɛ mìn		

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
583.	What?	wàfàŋ		
584.	When?	ɲim-tà		
585.	Where?	tâ		

Edible and Useful Plants

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
586.	Guinea-yam ¹⁷	ì-fír	ǰí-fír	
587.	‘White yam’	ì-fír ifinik	ǰí-fír ifinik	
588.	Aerial yam ¹⁸	ì-tum	tú-tum	
589.	Chinese yam (<i>Dioscorea xx</i>)	mba		
590.	Water-yam ¹⁹	ì-fír sisyàk	ǰí-fír sisyàk	
591.	Wild yam	à-tur		
592.	Taro (Old cocoyam) ²⁰	á-bísà (gèrè)	bé-bísà	
593.	I ew cocoyam ^{21*}	bìsà gwè		
594.	I ew cocoyam II	màkàni		< Hausa
595.	Sweet potato ^{*22}	ǰúm-tum		
596.	Irish potato	ǰúm-tum màsara		‘European’s sweet potato’
597.	Cassava ²³	nìrikùn		
598.	Sorghum ²⁴	kùrù gírì		cf. Tarok ikùr
599.	Finger millet ²⁵	ì-mway		
600.	Fonio (H. <i>acca</i>) ²⁶	ì-khwen		
601.	White fonio cultivar	àgbàjòk		
602.	Maize ^{*27}	kùrù wuru		‘sorghum of x’
603.	Rice ^{*28}	áfàdàn ma rwùfàn		‘food of black ants’
604.	Cowpea ²⁹	ì-z(w)èŋ		cf. Ce ì-shén , I indem ì-sen , ? Amo e-ǰum , Chadic: Zaar, Miya zààm ,
605.	Spiral cowpea	kúkòndò		cf. PB #- kunde , Rukul a-kwòn , Reshe hí- kòndò , Yamba ŋkun , apparently an East Benue- Congo innovation.
606.	Lima bean ^{30*}	ì-zəm bàmbàràŋ		‘bean of Bambara’
607.	Horse bean	ǰàkàtá		< Hausa
608.	Pigeon-pea	sèrèwen		

¹⁷ (*Dioscorea guineensis*)¹⁸ (*Dioscorea bulbifera*)¹⁹ (*Dioscorea alata*)²⁰ (*Colocasia esculenta*)²¹ (*Xanthosoma mafaffa*) (*H. wali*)²² (*Ipomoea batatas*)²³ (*Manihot esculenta*)²⁴ (*Sorghum bicolor*)²⁵ (*H. tamba*) (*Eleusine coracana*)²⁶ (*Digitaria exilis*)²⁷ (*Zea mays*)²⁸ (*Oryza sativa/ glaberrima*)²⁹ (*Vigna unguiculata*)³⁰ (*Phaseolus lunatus*)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
609.	Bambara groundnut ³¹	ifi ìk̀yìn		
610.	Groundnut (Peanut) ³²	ifi		cf. Tarok afi ,
611.	Tiger-nut ³³	dahòrèk		
612.	Garden egg ³⁴	ájàrɛ		
613.	Okra ³⁵	àndàn		
614.	Chili pepper* (large) ³⁶	suswàntɛŋ		
615.	Onion (<i>Allium cepa</i>)	àbum tífú bèbèr		
616.	Egusi melon ³⁷	àbum nweŋ		
617.	Edible squash ³⁸	iye		#-fe is a widespread root in Plateau
618.	Sorrel/roselle ³⁹	as Hausa		
619.	Kenaf ⁴⁰	ìruf		
620.	Sesame seeds ⁴¹	ìnum		
621.	Sesame leaves ⁴²	ìnweŋ fínìk		
622.	Bitterleaf ⁴³	ìndun		
623.	Waterleaf* ⁴⁴	ìnyìfi		
624.	Pawpaw* ⁴⁵	àkàmbus		cf. Samba gàmbúsú , although both words are somehow related to a widespread root for 'pumpkin'
625.	Gourd (Generic)	ìŋàŋ		
626.	Gourd-bottle ⁴⁶	ìtur		
627.	Tobacco*	àtáfa		< Hausa
628.	Sugar-cane*	kúkòrò		
629.	Oil-palm ⁴⁷	átákùrìŋ		
630.	Palm-fruit	í-tákùrìŋ		
631.	Palm-oil	àme sìsyàk		
632.	Fan-palm ⁴⁸	kwòkor		
633.	Canarium tree ⁴⁹	à-fàr		#-fa is a widespread root for this tree in both Plateau and Chadic languages
634.	Custard apple ⁵⁰	à-pɔn		cf. Tarok abíŋ ,

³¹ (*Vigna subterranea*)³² (*Arachis hypogaea*)³³ (*Cyperus esculentus*)³⁴ (*Solanum melongena*)³⁵ (*Abelmoschus esculentus*)³⁶ (*Capsicum frutescens*)³⁷ (*Citrullus lanatus*)³⁸ (*Cucurbita pepo*)³⁹ (H. *yakuwa*) (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*)⁴⁰ (H. *rama*) (*Hibiscus cannabinus*)⁴¹ (H. *Riđi*) (*Sesamum indicum*)⁴² (H. *karkashi*)⁴³ *Vernonia amygdalina*⁴⁴ (*Amaranthus spp*)⁴⁵ (*Carica papaya*)⁴⁶ (*Lagenaria siceraria*)⁴⁷ (*Elaeis guineensis*)⁴⁸ (*Borassus aethiopum*)⁴⁹ (*Canarium schweinfurthii*)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
635.	Wild date-palm ⁵¹	í-kpukpor		
636.	Silk-cotton tree ⁵²	íkum		cf. Mbd.
637.	Shea tree ⁵³	ìgbàràs		
638.	Locust tree ⁵⁴	ì-nɔ̀n		
639.	Locust fruit	í-ṣùmùn		
640.	Locust-bean cakes	nànuḱ		
641.	Tamarind ⁵⁵	jìnjàràḱ		
642.	Black plum ⁵⁶	àmur		

6. Lexical comparison and the classification of Hasha

Hasha shares enough of the common lexical stock of Plateau to make it clear that it must be part of it. Beyond this, the existing classification is very unsatisfactory: Hasha clearly has no special relationship with Eggon or any of the other languages in this mooted group.

Despite the strong cultural relationship with the Sha people, there are very few Sha loanwords in Hasha and it seems likely that they adopted a pre-existing language. The lexical comparisons in the wordlist show clearly that the closest language to Hasha is the all-but vanished Sambe language.

Appendix 1. The culture of the Hasha

The following is adapted from the unpublished text of research conducted by CAPRO, Jos, Nigeria⁵⁷.

The Hasha are bounded by Kulere groups to the east, Turkwam to the south, and I inzo and Shagawu to the west and north respectively. The Hasha people are an off-shoot of the Kulere group of the Sha area in Bokkos L.G.A. They left their brothers in Sha because of conflicts and also the need for more security. They are believed to have settled in places like Atarikon and Agunai before moving to their present location.

They still maintain a good relationship with their brothers whom they left in Sha. From time to time they invite one another to participate in annual festivals and ceremonies. But the Hasha people have adopted a different language. The Sha language is spoken today by only the elders; the younger generation cannot understand it. They have similar cultural practices and beliefs to the Arum-Chessu people.

Among the Hasha, there are no recognised tribal marks, but both men and women pierce their ears and nostrils. In addition, women pierce their lips and have some lines of marks on the chest, belly and arm. The holes pierce in the ear, nostril and lips were decorated with straws of grass. They also decorate themselves with items like beads, anklets, necklaces and bangles.

The Hasha live in round huts roofed with grass thatch. Like the neighbouring groups, the Hasha people are farmers, producing guinea corn, millet, cassava, acha etc. They also keep livestock like goats, chickens, and sheep for sacrifices and weddings. They also practice hunting.

⁵⁰ (*Annona senegalensis*)

⁵¹ (*Phoenix reclinata*)

⁵² (*Ceiba pentandra*)

⁵³ (*Vitellaria paradoxa*)

⁵⁴ (*Parkia biglobosa*)

⁵⁵ (*Tamarindus indica*)

⁵⁶ (*Vitex doniana*)

⁵⁷ I am grateful to Patience Ahmed for a copy of this material, and regret that it now seems it will never be published.

There is one primary school located at Hasha Sarki with about one hundred and fifty pupils. There are still many who are indifferent to formal education. There is no health centre among them but they normally rush their cases to the nearest town, Agamati. There is no good road to the area. The CAPRO list of their settlements includes Kwang, Bwara, Hasha, Madaki (Madi and Pisin), Akpas and Kwarrai but these were not all confirmed in the interview.

Culture:

The Hasha people and the Arum-Tesu share many similar cultural practices.

Birth:

When a woman is in labour, the older women come around to help, particularly those from the same clan. If a woman is finding it difficult to deliver, a man with special herbs is called upon to help who performs the *Kor* rite. The woman is also brought to the point of confession of marital unfaithfulness. After the rite it is expected that the woman will give birth.

Sometimes the child is named immediately after birth or after the umbilical cord has fallen off. The midwives stay for about three days after the birth. But before they leave, a rite known as *Shiship* is performed, during which oil is mixed with bitter garden eggs and part of the concoction is used to mark the forehead of the child and the foreheads, toes and hands of the participants. This serves as a prayer for success and protection.

Circumcision/Initiation (*Birituk*):

Boys of twelve years and above (not necessarily age mates) are gathered in one place for circumcision. The year that a circumcision takes place is determined by the chief, who must have one of his sons or grandsons ready for the exercise. Then he informs the people to prepare for the circumcision ceremony. The son of the chief is circumcised a day before other boys.

After circumcision the boys are camped at the *Aso* (dodo) shrine, known as *Grumaso*, until they recover. Then the boys pass through the initiation exercise into the *Aso* cult. Traditionally, the boys are circumcised in September/October and the initiation takes place in May.

Initiation among the Hasha is divided into stages the way the Arum do it. Below is the order of initiation stages and what is expected for the intended initiates to give as fees. To be initiated into the *Ataunda* cult, one must give two baskets of *acha* and locally brewed beer. But to be initiated into *Mangam*, *Kirenget*, *Kotayi*, *Taraso* or *Tahai* one has to offer goats, dogs, beer and other things. Therefore it is not easy to do the initiation all at once. In fact, only those that have enough food and animals (are wealthy) can continue the process without a break. Poor or average people sometime die without finishing the process. But as long as one is alive he keeps struggling because he is always subject to the cult above. Only those who have passed through *Tahai*, which is the highest initiation stage, are free to participate in all the rites. One is not allowed to participate in the rite into which he has not been initiated.

Marriage:

The Hasha people have the same marriage procedure as the Arum-Chessu. A baby girl is betrothed right from childhood. When the man interested brings palm oil and part of it is rubbed on the girl's lips, this signifies request for marriage. Tradition has it that the father arranges the marriage of the first wife for his son but the son is free to marry more as his strength enables him.

The cost of marriage among the Hasha includes farming for the bride's family, three or four goats, special oil known as *furatat* and other gifts. The required bride-price is set by the girl's parents.

When the bride price is all paid and the bride is mature enough for marriage, her parents release her. A day is fixed when she is escorted to her husband's house. Her arrival is marked with a feast and merrymaking. At the groom's house she is kept in a room with elderly women who instruct her on how to keep her home. After one week she joins her husband for the consummation of the marriage. Polygamy and divorce are practised but adultery is forbidden.

Burial

When an elderly person is dead, information is sent to the relations. If the deceased was an active member of the secret dodo cult, the cult takes charge of the burial. This is not so with women.

Whatever may be the case, a goat is slaughtered and blood is shed. The grave is dug as a shaft some feet into the ground and a tunnel is made out from the side of it where the corpse is laid. The corpse is buried prostrate. For men, the right hand serves as a pillow and for women it is the opposite.

After burial the deceased's relations tie to their neck, hand and waist a special rope. A widow remains in disguise until the last mourning feast is held. This is done when the skull of the deceased is removed for observation three months after burial, to find out whether the deceased was a witch or not. It is believed that if there are holes on the skull, the deceased was a witch but if there are none, the deceased was good. The deceased's possessions are inheritable.

Religion:

The Hasha people believe in the Supreme Being known as *Num*, who lives in heaven (*Num igol*). They believe that *I um* is the creator of all things and punishes the wicked and rewards good people. However, since *I um* cannot be seen, various objects and images are kept for worship, as a means to approach *I um*. These objects represent various cults. Some are kept in the compound, others outside the compound or in the forest or a cave. Some of them belong to whole village while some are household gods kept by individual families and clans.

The *Shaknyi/Shirkwar* cult (plural *Shirkura*) is represented by a shrine of small stones and leaves. The cult functions in the healing of stomach problems. Acha beer and chicken are offered to these gods. The shrine is kept in the compound.

The seers (*Kor*) are consulted in most cases for help to know what to do and when to do it, when there is a problem.

Apart from the household gods, there is the *Aso* cult, which is highly feared among the people. This is a masquerade cult that is sub-divided into four namely; *Tanda* (which is a horn blown), *Mangam* (which appears in the form of a masquerade but a horn is also blown a special way), *Kirenget* (which is a dry gourd with atili (a kind of avocado) seed inside which rattles if shaken) and *Kotayi* (another fetish cult represented by a pot and a gourd). *Tereso* is the dodo that makes a sound like an aeroplane and in whose honour the *Birituk* feast is held.

The *Aso* cult among the Hasha people is believed to be responsible for the maintenance of law and order and peace. It blesses the soil and the wombs of women for good harvest and the gift of children.

The dodo cult is believed to be capable of healing the sick. For example, the *Kotayi* cult is believed to heal mental cases (madness) while *Kirenget* heals rib pain.

The recognised festivals celebrated in honour of these gods include *Birituk* (initiation), *Kutayikor* and *Chete*. The *Kutahikor* festival is celebrated in March. It is a time when the gods are consulted for the planting season. The *Chete* festival is celebrated in October in order to dedicate the first fruits to the gods and to show appreciation for help to get good crops. These ceremonies last for one week.

There is no account of Islam among the Hasha people. The only person who accepted Islam was the late chief, but after he died no one else became a Muslim.

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