

The Bu language
of
Central Nigeria and its affinities

[DRAFT CIRCULATED FOR COMMENT]

Roger Blench
Mallam Dendo
8, Guest Road
Cambridge CB1 2AL
United Kingdom
Voice/ Fax. 0044-(0)1223-560687
Mobile worldwide (00-44)-(0)7967-696804
E-mail R.Blench@odi.org.uk
<http://www.rogerblench.info/RBOP.htm>

This printout: January 4, 2006

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction..... 1
2. Location, history and sociolinguistic situation 1
 2.1 Nomenclature..... 1
 2.2 Location and settlements 1
 2.3 Language status..... 1
 2.4 Bu culture and history 2
3. Phonology..... 2
 3.1 Vowels..... 2
 3.2 Consonants..... 3
 3.3 Tones..... 3
4. Morphology..... 3
 4.1 Nouns..... 3
5. Lexical comparison and the classification of Bu 3
6. Bu wordlist..... 4
7. The affinities of Bu 17
 7.1 Bu and Jidda..... 18
 7.2 Relationship with Ninzo..... 19
 7.3 Links with Plateau..... 19
 7.3.1 General 19
 7.5 Conclusion..... 19
References 19

TABLES

Table 1. Isoglosses linking Bu with B 18
Table 2. Isoglosses supporting..... 18

1. Introduction

This is an annotated wordlist of the Bu language, spoken in four villages in Plateau State, Nigeria. It was collected by Roger Blench with the assistance of Selbut Longtau from Joshua Chaga (27 years old) and a group of elders in Nakere on the 8th of January 1999. Our thanks to the Wakili of Nakere, Gambo Nagwe, for making possible the meeting and ensuring the terms elicited were as accurate as possible. Additional data comes from discussions with Muzha Bana in Kafanchan on the 29th of December 1980.

The wordlist was collected as a ‘one-shot’ exercise and the transcription must therefore be regarded as very preliminary. In general, tones are not marked, although the data was taped and they will be added when time permits. This analysis was prepared by Roger Blench, who added the comparative observations. This document is being circulated to scholars for comment.

2. Location, history and sociolinguistic situation

2.1 Nomenclature

The Bu are not referred to in primary sources on Plateau such as Greenberg (1963), Williamson (1971) and the BCCW. They first appear in Hansford *et al.* (1976) as the ‘Jidda-Abu’ a group classified with Eggon, Nungu and Ake. Ibut and Nakare are given as alternative names; Ibut is clearly a version of Bu and Nakare the name of the first village reached from the road. Crozier and Blench (1992) essentially repeat the same information. The Bu have recently adopted the spelling ‘Buh’ for their ethnonym; the ‘h’ has no linguistic value, but there is a common idea in Central Nigeria that open syllables should be closed in writing. The Jidda people also call themselves ‘Bu’, but have recently adopted a new ethnonym, Ningkada, the existing name of one of their villages, but meaning ‘We are together’.

2.2 Location and settlements

The villages of the Bu are reached from Gbodu village, 18 km east of Akwanga on the road to Wamba. A road leading northwest from Gbodu reaches Nakere after 6 km. and then Rago, Maiganga and Abu.

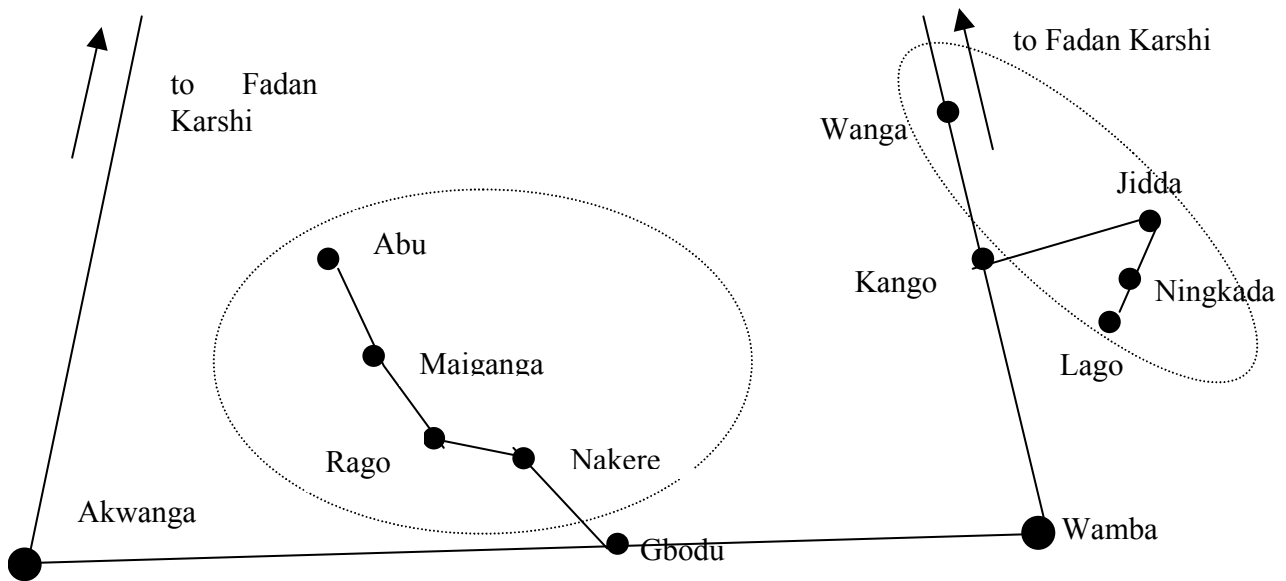
The villages of the Ningkada [=Jidda] are reached by a turnoff some 7 km. north of the Wamba junction. The road turns east at Kango and Jidda (the main settlement) is some 6 km. away. Two hamlets, Ningkada and Lago, are southwest of Jidda respectively 1 and 3 km. away. A further settlement on the main road, Wanga, is some 5 km. north of Kango.

Map 1 shows the approximate locations of the Bu and Ningkada peoples.

2.3 Language status

The Bu regard their language and culture as distinct from the Ningkada [Jidda], but the differences between the two would appear to be very slight. There are perhaps 4000 speakers of Bu and about 2000 or less speakers of Ningkada (the Ningkada hamlets are extremely small). In both locations, immediate evidence suggests that both language and culture are very strong and are not immediately threatened.

Map 1. The Bu-Ningkada language area



2.4 Bu culture and history

The culture of the Bu people is very little-known and there is virtually no reference to these people in any standard work.

3. Phonology

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

3.1 Vowels

Bu probably has seven phonemic vowels;

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

The status of the /ə/ is highly uncertain, and it is probably a centralised allophone of /i/. For the present it is transcribed as heard.

Bu has at least three nasalised vowels;

	Front	Central	Back
Open-Mid	ẽ		õ
Open		ã	

The nasalised vowels ð and ẽ occur phonetically but may be allomorphs of their more open counterparts.

3.2 Consonants

Bu consonants are as follows:

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

3.3 Tones

The tone system of Bu has three level tones. No cases of glide tones seem to occur.

4. Morphology

4.1 Nouns

Gloss	sg.	pl.

5. Lexical comparison and the classification of Bu

6. Bu wordlist

No.	Gloss	Singular	Commentary
1.	Tree (generic)	kɔŋkurɔŋ	Tarokoid #-kon but this root is widespread in Niger-Congo, often meaning firewood.
2.	Leaf	vuvu	cf. Ce ku-vu ⁺ , Təsu avuvu ‘branch’,
3.	Root	igba	cf. Ake ɔŋgbɔ ,
4.	Bark (of tree)	ɛŋkabu	
5.	Thorn	ncɔŋ	cf. Ningye ntu , Alumu tòtò , Hasha i-tyok , Ce ititɔ ,
6.	Branch	ɛna	cf. Hasha i-nak , Ningye na ,
7.	Grass (generic)	giga	cf. Ninzo agígá , Ningye gəga , Ce ku-gá ,
8.	Vine (generic)	ŋguru	
9.	Mushroom	juju	cf. Ningye ju
10.	Seed/stone/pip	ibi	cf. Ningye be , Toro biro , Alumu biro ⁺ , Shall biri ,
11.	Charcoal I	imzi	
12.	Charcoal II	ikóla	cf. Ninzo ikláru
13.	Dust	iwuru	cf. Ninzo ihúr , Ce ihut , Ninkyob wud
14.	Ashes	ntɔŋ	a widespread and ancient Niger-Congo root #ntoN
15.	Rubbish-heap	ivi	pl. ibi
16.	Mud	ebze	
17.	Clay	ntɛmɛ	cf. Ningye nkyɛm , Ce ku-nté ,
18.	Dew	mmɛ	cf. Ninzo ámé , Ningye mmeŋ , Hasha eme , Rukul mman , Tarok imimyan , Yaŋkam myan going back to a Niger-Congo root #me-
19.	Stone	kita	ki- + #ta a widespread Niger-Congo root
20.	Sand	ŋaŋumɔ	cf. Ningye waŋɔm ,
21.	Smoke	ɛntɛ	cf. Ningye ntɛŋ , Ce inci ,
22.	Fire	wuru	cf. Ninzo úrú , Ningye wɔr , Ce uwù ,
23.	Water	mma	cf. Ningye mafir , Cara mal , Horom bamal , also Ura mò and Bokyi ɔ-mo . Also in Chadic: Tala maal , Buli màl . Words for ‘water’ with ma- are Africa-wide and may relate to the ma- class-affix for liquids.
24.	Rain	iwulu	cf. Ce àwòrù , Ningye wɔr-ŋu ,
25.	Cloud	ʃɛwulu	? + ‘rain’
26.	Lightning	enza	
27.	Rainy Season	isu	
28.	Dry season	iga	cf. Ninzo ùgá
29.	Harmattan	ɛmru	cf. Ningye mvur
30.	Year	isɛ	cf. Ninzo i-sé , Ningye ʃe , Berom ʃɛi pl. nɛʃei . Probably also Hausa ʃekara
31.	Today	kpupe	
32.	Yesterday	ɛri	cf. Rukul irɛ , Ningye ryɛɛŋ , but also Jijili ‘today’ ile ,
33.	Tomorrow	mbrɛ	cf. Ningye mbwer , Ce kambàlà ,
34.	Morning	mbrɛ	
35.	Evening	yau wulu	
36.	Dawn	bu mbrɛ	‘place of morning’
37.	Day	eze	cf. Ninzo àzi ,
38.	Night	ecir	cf. Ningye cu ,
39.	Moon/month	ɛhwa	cf. Ningye nkwa ,
40.	Sun	izi	

No.	Gloss	Singular	Commentary
41.	Star(s)	ɛnzɛ	cf. Ce <i>ɪntət</i> ,
42.	Wind	wuŋvu	
43.	God	baci	cf. Ninzo <i>abaci</i> ,
44.	Sky	ifu	cf. Ningye <i>kpaʃukur</i> ,
45.	World	ŋbulumɛ	
46.	Ground	mɛmɛ	cf. Ninzo <i>ímímí</i> , Ningye <i>mɛmmɛ</i>
47.	Large River	nɛ	cf. Ningye <i>nɛk</i> ,
48.	Forest	iwuru	
49.	Mountain/hill	ŋbulu	cf. Ningye <i>nkugbu</i> , Ce <i>igbul</i> ,
50.	Bush	iji	cf. Ninzo <i>i-jíjí</i> ,
51.	Farm	izɔ	cf. Ninzo <i>i-ʒuʒú</i> , Ake <i>asã</i> , Jijili <i>ise</i> ,
52.	Field	mpwã	
53.	Market*	ricu	cf. Ake <i>rutu</i> ,
54.	Compound	i-kɔ	cf. Ningye <i>kɔp</i> , Ninzo <i>ikɔ</i> ,
55.	Room	i-tɔra	cf. Ningye <i>tar</i> ,
56.	Wall (of room)	kaŋka	
57.	Thatch roof	ɛturu	
58.	Well* ¹	jyujyu ma	‘hole of water’
59.	Road	ŋkɔ	cf. Ninzo <i>ànkò</i> , Nupe <i>yeko</i> ,
60.	Path	ŋkɔji	
61.	Village/settlement	ɛgbu	cf. Ce <i>kɪgbát</i> ,
62.	River-bank	inyinɛ	cf. Ningye <i>nyu</i> ,
63.	Swamp/wetland	ɛsi	
64.	Place	bubu	cf. Nupe <i>ebà</i> . An Niger-Congo root that reconstructs to PMC. Westermann gives it as #bia-
65.	Person/people	nzi	cf. Nupe <i>ezà</i> ,
66.	Man	rɔrɔ	cf. Fyem <i>róm</i> pl. <i>ɓarom</i> but this is a very widespread Benue-Congo root for ‘man/male’, ‘person’ (see discussion in BCCW, II)
67.	Woman	uwa	pl. <i>imba</i> cf. Ce <i>u-wa</i> ⁺ pl. <i>í-mba</i> ,
68.	Child	ivɛ	pl. <i>iməri</i> . cf. Ninzo <i>uvúvur</i> pl. <i>àmúmàr</i> , Ningye <i>ven</i> pl. <i>mumwen</i> , Ce <i>u-vin</i> ⁺ pl. <i>í-ŋmín</i> ,
69.	Husband	njiri kɔ	
70.	Wife	iwa	cf. Ningye <i>uwa</i> , Ake <i>iwa</i> ‘woman. ? source of Hausa <i>uwa</i> ‘mother’
71.	Widow	warekɔbɔ	
72.	Young man	vɛnzɛ	pl. <i>mɛrɛnzɛ</i>
73.	Young girl	vɛrwa	pl. <i>mɛrimba</i>
74.	Old person	ncɔŋ	
75.	Father	ate	Kegboid <i>tɛ</i> , Mada ,
76.	Mother	iya	cf. Ningye <i>iya</i> , Ayu <i>iyâ</i> . Also widespread in Afroasiatic e.g. Hausa <i>iya</i>
77.	Barren woman	ware wulɔ	
78.	Relations	wayi	cf. Ningye <i>yi</i> ,
79.	Friend	ekpã	cf. Ninzo <i>u-kpà</i> , Tarok <i>ukpa(m)</i> ,
80.	Guest/stranger	tsɛɛ	cf. Ningye <i>tsen</i> ‘friend’,
81.	King/chief/ruler	icu	cf. Ninzo <i>ùcù</i> , Ningye <i>cum</i> , Nupe <i>etsu</i> ⁺ , Ce <i>u-tù</i> ,
82.	Thief	niri yibi	#-yi element is a common form for ‘to steal’

¹ * Starred items are unsuitable for historical reconstruction

No.	Gloss	Singular	Commentary
83.	Doctor	njiri diretsu	
84.	Witch	baka	
85.	Corpse	əkəvǝ	
86.	Blacksmith	ɛla	cf. Ninzo nɪlà , Ningye nɛrak
87.	Slave	ɛgərā	cf. Ningye gəgan ‘slaves’,
88.	Life	isisrǝ	
89.	Race/running	səvri	
90.	Death	ɛku	cf. Ninzo ikfú , Ake ruku ,
91.	Name	ɛndɛ	
92.	Grave	əgbuguru	
93.	Song	isɛ	cf. Ake ifɪ , Tarok nshi ‘singing’,
94.	Proverb	kəretərə	
95.	Story	ɛlɔncɔn	
96.	Word	ɛnratərə	
97.	Lie	ɛɛɛ	
98.	Hunger	iyǝ	cf. Ayu iyon , Ningye jɔŋ , Fyem yón , Tarok ayán , Sur yyɔŋ
99.	Egg	ɛncɛ	cf. Tarok aci , Nupe ezi , Pe ti-ci pl. a-ci , Yankam gyɔ Common in Plateau in this form, but reflects a Niger-Congo root with g- initial (W. 214)
100.	Horn	ɛnju	
101.	Tail	ɛnzu	
102.	Wing (of bird)	ŋba	cf. Ningye mban ,
103.	Hole in ground	jyujyu	cf. Ningye dudu ,
104.	Poison	ntsǝ	cf. Ningye tos , Rukul tus ,
105.	Bundle	ilɔ	
106.	Firewood	as tree	
107.	Yam-heap	izakfi	
108.	War	eku	cf. Ake rukɔ , Nupe ekū , Ningye kum
109.	Work	indu	#tom- is a Niger-Congo root.
110.	Divination (types)	watsu	
111.	Medicine (generic)	bugulu	
112.	Money	ɛnkərəɛ	cf. Ningye nkwər ,
113.	Shadow	eyu	
114.	Disease(generic)	lilɔ	cf. Ningye urɔ , Jijili nnɔrɔ , Bu lilɔ , Tarok arwa , Hyam rwoŋ ,
115.	Sore/wound	minjǝ	
116.	Head	itu	cf. Ningye tu but probably a vowel-change form the more common #ti- roots
117.	Eye	ifi	cf. Jijili usi , Ninzo ifɪfi , but an extremely widespread root
118.	Face	kusi	
119.	Skull	boro tu	
120.	Cheek	takpara	
121.	Forehead	ɛci	
122.	Nose	ɛmvri	cf. Ningye mver , Sur gəvərɔm
123.	Ear	etǝ	cf. Ninzo útú , Fyem hutón , Mabo utó also throughout Tarokoid, but a PVC root #tuN-. Also Chadic: Sha 'a-tôn
124.	Mouth	enyu	cf. Ningye nyu , Fyem nún , but a Niger-Congo root
125.	Tooth	enyiri	cf. Tarok inyin . A Niger-Congo root

No.	Gloss	Singular	Commentary
126.	Tongue	ερεμε	cf. Mabo de-rem , Jijili ule , Pe ti-lem , Yanƙam rem cLela d-rémé , ultimately Atlantic-Congo #- lima
127.	Throat	bągbara tɔ	
128.	Neck	itɔ	cf. Ningye tɔ ,
129.	Jaw	εηγε	
130.	Chin		
131.	Shoulder	nkato	
132.	Arm	nkɔ	
133.	Leg	εkpərə	
134.	Female breast	sisa	cf. Ninzo ì-sísà
135.	Stomach	inε	cf. Ninzo inè , Hasha ip̄i , Kamanton p̄ii , Kenyi p̄eη , and scattered forms in Plateau. Also in Chadic: Sya ànyi
136.	Navel	bunbu	cf. Toro ungbu , Alumu ń-bù ,
137.	Thigh	εgba	cf. Nupe ègbà
138.	Knee	ηbaʒu	
139.	Nail (Finger/toe)	ηkεre	cf. Alumu kokorò
140.	Back	εgɔ	cf. Ninzo úgo , Ningye gɔη ,
141.	Buttocks	lanci	
142.	Penis	εnʒu	
143.	Vagina	εmfre	pl. εbʒu .
144.	Skin	inta	
145.	Bone	kuku	cf. Ninzo ukfúkú , Fyem huhúp pl. ahúp , weakened from the more widespread #- kup . Cf. Bo ukúp , Pe ukup , Tarok akúp and Yanƙam kup and PB #- kubi
146.	Vein	εcibi	cf. Tarok ic̄ip̄ ,
147.	Blood	eyi	cf. Ninzo àyiyi , Ningye gyi , PLC *í-yíp̄
148.	Breath	evri	cf. Ningye v̄er , Sur v̄eri , Pe mve . cf. Vute fií , Somyev fièlá
149.	Tear	masi	cf. Alumu miyá , Toro amya , Ningye mayi ,
150.	Urine	lanbugɔ	
151.	Faeces	inyε	cf. Ninzo ànyé , Ningye gye ,
152.	Hair	nfu	cf. Ningye mfu ,
153.	Beard	ntεbe	cf. Ningye nten ,
154.	Liver	isurɔ	cf. Toro sunɔ ‘heart’, Horom ázò ‘liver’, Fyem đu-zo pl. a-zo ‘liver’, Ayu ajor , Lungu izur
155.	Heart	edre	
156.	Intestines	ērē	cf. Ningye r̄ire , Rukul ilel , .Proto-Ijoid ílá
157.	Body	ekpa	cf. Ninzo ukpá , Ningye pa ,
158.	Meat	εnəma	an ancient Niger-Congo root, widespread in Plateau
159.	Animal (Bush)	εnəma	as ‘meat’ (158.)
160.	Cow	landɔ	this root is widespread in both Plateau and adjacent Chadic languages
161.	Bull	landɔ r̄or̄ɔ	‘male cow’
162.	Goat	yawɔ	? ya- + ? see also ‘dog’
163.	He-goat	eri	cf. Ningye yir ,
164.	Castrated goat	εra	cf. Rukul wàràfāt , Ningye ram ‘castrated sheep’,
165.	Sheep	εntəba	
166.	Ram	εηkʃu	
167.	Castrated sheep	εra	cf. Ningye ram ‘castrated sheep’,
168.	Dog	yawu	? ya- + ? see also ‘goat’

No.	Gloss	Singular	Commentary
169.	*Cat	bəlakya	
170.	*Pig	dufurukə	
171.	*Horse	ŋgəma	cf. Ningye nyam ,
172.	*Donkey	as Hausa	
173.	Elephant	ninyi	cf. Ninzo inyí , Toro, Ningye nyi , but a Proto-Atlantic-Congo root #nyi-
174.	Hippo	rintɛ	
175.	Buffalo	eyira	cf. Ninzo íyár , Horom yat , Cara ì-yàt pl. yat , Yaŋkam yyet , PB #-páti reflecting a more widespread root #-yati in East Benue-Congo. Also in WBC e.g. Nupe eya . See also Daffo yàt
176.	Lion	ɛcunuma	Informants uncertain about identity – might be hyena
177.	Leopard	ɛcɛ	cf. Ningye tse , Horom kyè , Fyem kwe , Hasha ehwe , Jari ì-kwì , Tesu kwi related to old Niger-Congo root #-gbe, -kpe
178.	Hyena ²		
179.	Wart-hog ³		
180.	Bush-pig ⁴		
181.	Duiker antelope ⁵		
182.	Porcupine ⁶		
183.	Giant rat ⁷		
184.	Monkey (generic)	ɛbɛ	pl. ɛtɛmɛ . cf. Nupe ebe ⁺ ,
185.	Baboon	ɛka	cf. Ningye kar , Tarok ìká , Horom cáránj , but probably also more widespread #kana roots. Cf. Ijò akā ‘mangabey’. Also in Chadic: Mwaghavul kaar ,
186.	Patas monkey ⁸	bɛ samba	‘monkey + x’
187.	Squirrel (ground)	itɔ	cf. Toro itɔ , Jijili idɔ ,
188.	Rat (generic)	ɛci	cf. Horom kí , Fyem kʷi , Alumu ì-kwì , Ningye ci , Pe ikuu , Tarok ipi
189.	Grasscutter ⁹	eyibi	cf. Rukul bɛp , Horom bèbè , Tarok ìbyap . Reconstructed as #-bibe in Proto-Benue-Congo in Blench (ms.)
190.	Hare ¹⁰	eyibɔ	
191.	House-bat	maŋbiri	
192.	Fruit-bat	bəŋburəŋ	
193.	Nile crocodile	ŋkuru	cf. Toro kuru , Ningye kur , Ninzo àkur , Che ikut , Also in Chadic: Goemai ƙut , Ngas kut .
194.	Chameleon	nsɔ	cf. Ninkyob ntod , Alumu atənde ⁺
195.	Agama lizard	ipa	cf. Ninkyob m̀kpà ,
196.	Skink	ɛmɜaulɔ	
197.	Toad	bawulu	cf. Ningye bawul ,
198.	Land tortoise	klɔgbɔ	
199.	Snake (Generic)	ɛwa	A Niger-Congo root for ‘snake’
200.	Spitting cobra	ɛɸwi	

² (*Crocuta crocuta*)³ (*Phacochoerus aethiopus*)⁴ (*Potamochoerus Porcus*)⁵ (*Cephalophus* spp.)⁶ (*Hystrix cristata*)⁷ (*Cretomyces* sp.)⁸ (*Erythrocebus patas*)⁹ (*Thryonomys Swinderianus*)¹⁰ (*Lepus Crawshayi*)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Commentary
201.	River crab I	daŋgu	
202.	River crab II	kɔlɔŋgɔ	
203.	Fish (generic)	lambɛ	cf. Ningye mbe ,
204.	Bird (generic)	cɛncɛ	
205.	Chicken (general)	ukɔ	cf. Rukul kwɔr , Mada kɔkɔ , Kahugu akoro and is probably a shortening of the t-k-r roots found in this group and outside BC. See BCCW, 43
206.	Cock	bakɔ	cf. Ningye gbak , Ninkyob iywǎg ,
207.	*Duck (Domestic)	kukɔkpa	
208.	Pigeon (Domestic)	ŋwuri gəra	
209.	Guinea-fowl	etse	cf. Nupe ʃɛlũ (where -lu = 'bird'),
210.	Owl (various spp.)	eju	cf. Ningye jum ,
211.	Scorpion	ɛra	cf. Rukul ì-làŋ , Fyem lyuŋ , Hasha i-naŋ , Reflects a widespread Niger-Congo root #ena
212.	Butterfly	kukɔ	
213.	Mosquito	ɛhu	
214.	Spider		
215.	Bee	ifɔ	cf. Ninzo ifo , Bu ʃò , Berom ʃòk , Cara ʃɔ , Izere ifɔʃ pl. ifɔʃ . PB
216.	Housefly	cinci	cf. Ninzo ivɛŋci , Horom cɪŋ , Cara jɪn , Berom cɪŋ . Reconstructed as #-ciN to Proto-Benue-Congo in Blench (ms.). cf. also Ngas nʃi , Mwaghavul ndiʃii , Tangale tɪn
217.	Termite	ɛvʃru	
218.	Flying-ant		
219.	Grasshopper		
220.	Praying mantis		
221.	Firefly		
222.	Giant Cricket		
223.	Caterpillar		
224.	Earthworm		
225.	Giant Snail	ɛkpla	
226.	Oil	inye	cf. Ningye nyi , Hasha ane , Tesu amɛnɛ , Berom nɔi , Aten noi , Gure mani , Central Kambari màniʃ and ultimately Hausa mai .
227.	Fat/grease	ɛvi	cf. Chawai bap , Jijili mbye , Berom sɛbwép , Yangkam m-byep , Nnakenyare byep , reconstructed to EBC as #-byep
228.	Salt	ɛma	cf. Cara maŋ , Rukul mmɔk , Fyem, Horom ma , Tarok m̀m̀àn , but also Fulfulde manda
229.	Soup/stew	ɛnɛ	
230.	Porridge	ɛla	
231.	Sorghum-beer	ɛhi	cf. Ninzo ahi ,
232.	Handle (of tool)	ɛhu	cf. Jijili ofɔfɔ , Nupe efú , Eggon ofuvu , Mambila fù . A widespread Benue-Congo root, reconstructed in Blench (ms.) as #-fu[pu]
233.	Sickle	riji	? < Hausa
234.	Cutlass	injɪŋba	
235.	Iron	ɪŋgəma	
236.	Axe	ɪŋge	cf. Hasha ikai , Ningye ŋgai , Rukul gaya ,
237.	Adze	gələfe	

No.	Gloss	Singular	Commentary
238.	Hoe	nzəra	
239.	Knife	inzi	cf. Ninzo anji , Ningye nji , Che kujik , Also in Chadic: Goemai jik ,
240.	Mortar (wood)	ɛji	cf. Ningye jiŋ ,
241.	Pestle	kɔŋkurɔŋ kena	‘stick + xx’
242.	Pot (generic)	ɛri	cf. Rukul a-risen , Ningye rən ,
243.	Head-pad	kakla	-kala element is a widespread Volta-Congo root
244.	Basket (generic)	sɛsɛ	cf. Ninzo í-sísà , Ninkyob ɲsɛŋ ,
245.	Spear	tampəran	cf. Bu taŋpan ,
246.	Bow	ɛta	#-ta is a Niger-Congo root
247.	Arrow	ivyɛ	
248.	Quiver	bala	
249.	Sling	gbuŋgba	
250.	Rope	ʒiʒi	
251.	One	ri	
252.	Two	hari	cf. Ninkyob ɲhwā ,
253.	Three	ɛtra	A Niger-Congo root also found in other African language phyla
254.	Four	nza	#naas can be reconstructed for East Benue-Congo but also occurs in Gur
255.	Five	tɔ	A Niger-Congo root found in this form in Plateau languages of the region. (BCCW 107)
256.	Six	tārɛ	
257.	Seven	taŋba	cf. Ningye taŋba ,
258.	Eight	tandəra	cf. Ninzo táŋdàr , Ningye taŋdan ,
259.	Nine	tra	cf. Fyem téres , but also Che ataras , Doka o-tara and found in compounds in other numbers (see Rukul ‘seven’) and presumably all interconnected with Hausa tárà . BCCW (111) supposes these are simply borrowed from Hausa, but it seems possible they were borrowed by Hausa <i>from</i> Plateau.
260.	Ten	wuru	cf. Ningye wur ,
261.	Eleven	wuru dɔ ri	10 + 1. cf. Ninzo wúr nú yír ,
262.	Twelve	wur dɔ ha	10 + 2
263.	Twenty	sɛhari	? x 2. The so- element might be an old form for ‘twelve’, cognate with Ningye so- which appears in a similar formation
264.	Forty	sɛnza	? x 4
265.	Sixty	sɛ tārɛ	? x 6
266.	Eighty	sɛ tandəra	? x 8. Cf. Ninzo se táŋdar
267.	Hundred	iyiri	
268.	Black	ʃinze	cf. Ningye ʃiʃir ,
269.	White	kinkəla	cf. Ningye kikar ,
270.	Red	risɛ	
271.	Add to	yɔŋa	
272.	Answer (question)	nyimɛ	cf. Ningye kanyima
273.	Ask a question	myɛ	cf. Horom mwɛ also #mbe forms found in Jukunoid and Cross River
274.	Ask/beg something for	ɛbri	
275.	Awaken (s.o.)	ʃimɛ	
276.	Bark (dog)	bɔ	cf. Ningye bus , Ake bɔ , Jijili boro ,
277.	Be bent	nəmɛ	

Roger Blench: Bu Wordlist

No.	Gloss	Singular	Commentary
278.	Be heavy	rɔ̃	cf. Rukul rɔp , Ake murɔ , Jijili mulu ,
279.	Be rotten	gəla	
280.	Become dry	kulu	cf. Ningye kur , Jijili kələ ,
281.	Begin	buci	
282.	Bite	ta	cf. 'chew' (290.)
283.	Blow (flute etc.)	fu	cf. Ninzo fú 'blow fire',
284.	Build (house etc.)	mɛ	cf. Ninzo, Tarok mé , Ake mɛ
285.	Burn (fire burns)	hu	
286.	Buy	rɛ	cf. Ninzo lé , Fyem rɛp , Cara rɛp but widespread in BC and reconstructed as # -rɛp- in Blench (ms.). Discussed in Gerhardt (1983) and also found in some neighbouring Chadic languages.
287.	Call (to someone)	yɔ	cf. Ninzo yó , Ningye jɔ , Jijili yɔrɔ̃ ,
288.	Carve (wood etc.)	ʃɛ	Widespread in Plateau, e.g. Kulu, Nindem, Kwanka sep and Jju ʃab , Cara ʃipal , Ningye ʃɛ , Pe ʃap
289.	Catch	vu	cf. Ninzo vú , Bu vuŋ ,
290.	Chew	ta	Widespread in BC. cf. Eggon táŋ , Ninzo tá , Nupe sá , Ikwere -tá .
291.	Choose	cu	cf. Ningye cun
292.	Climb	hɔ	
293.	Come	yɛ	cf. Ninzo nye ,
294.	Come out (of room)	ʒu	
295.	Continue (to do s.t.)	basi	
296.	Cough	kpu kpulɔ	'to cough a cough'. cf. Ningye sum kpuɔr
297.	Count	bəla	cf. Toro bere , Ninzo bré , Ningye ban , . A Niger-Saharan root.
298.	Cut down (tree)	tɛ	cf. Ningye ʃɛr 'cut in two', Jijili seme ,
299.	Cut in two	ga	cf. Ake gwa ,
300.	Cut off (head etc.)	hantɔ	cf. Ninzo hã 'cut with knife',
301.	Dance	rɔ	? = widespread tɔ
302.	Die	wu	A Niger-Saharan root
303.	Dig (earth etc.)	ʒi	
304.	Do/make	ti	cf. Cara te , Rukul tɛ ,
305.	Drag	nəna	
306.	Drink	sɔ	cf. Ninzo sò , Horom sɔ , Fyer ʃo . A common root shared by both Chadic and Plateau, probably originally Chadic (cf. Gerhardt 1983)
307.	Eat	ri	cf. Tarok, Ake rí , Fyem dé , Mabo ré , reflexes of the widespread -ri , -di roots found in Niger-Congo
308.	Enter	gra	
309.	Fall (rain)	ku	cf. Horom hwa , Fyem hó , Aten hwɔ̃ , Berom hwò ('fall on top of s.t.), Yashi hu , Cara go . The widespread Plateau forms have a labial velar, but ? cf. Wapan ko , Jar ko , Yala gwo
310.	Fall over	ku	cf. Rukul kyɔ , Horom hwa , Fyem hó , Cara go . The widespread Plateau forms have a labial velar, but ? cf. Wapan ko , Jar ko , Yala gwo
311.	Feel (cold etc.)	lɔ	
312.	Fight (in war)	te	cf. Ninzo teku ,
313.	Finish (a task)	nakəre	cf. Ninzo klé , Ningye cɛr ,
314.	Flog	wuru	cf. Iʒon vürɔ
315.	Flow (water etc.)	dra	

Roger Blench: Bu Wordlist

No.	Gloss	Singular	Commentary
316.	Fly (birds)	ka	cf. Ninzo bya
317.	Fold (cloth etc.)	ɲau	cf. Ningye ɲin
318.	Follow	fu	
319.	Forget	paurusu	cf. Ninzo kpàmúsú
320.	Fry (in oil)	kla	cf. Aten halaŋ , and Yala hà . Gerhardt reconstructs * kar as PP4 Blench (ms.) reconstructs PBC as # kaNa reflecting a common Niger-Congo root # ka(la) . # ka- is also found in the (Chadic) North Bauchi languages
321.	Gather/collect	k^(h)ruti	
322.	Give	nɔ	cf. Fyem ní . # na is widespread throughout Plateau, but see also Tangale oni .
323.	Give birth	ɲzi	P-Ijò di
324.	Go	he	
325.	Go out/exit	ɜu	
326.	Grind	kɔ	cf. Ningye kɔk , Rukul kwɔ , Cara kɔŋ , Pe kòk ,
327.	Grow (plants)	brɔ	
328.	Hatch (egg)	hulu	
329.	Hear	wɔ	cf. Nupe, Oko, Horom wó , although these are weakenings of a widespread Benue-Congo root reconstructed by Blench (ms.) as # gbo
330.	Hit/strike (drum etc.)	te	cf. Ningye tsək
331.	Hunt	yiva	
332.	Jump	za	cf. Rukul syat ,
333.	Kill	wu	A Niger-Saharan root discussed in Blench (in press), e.g. Koman wu , Nubian wur as well as throughout Niger-Congo.
334.	Know	tɔ	
335.	Laugh	nza	
336.	Lick	ʃɛ	
337.	Lie down	krumɛ	
338.	Listen	wɔ	see 'hear' (329.)
339.	Marry	gra	
340.	Mix I	kabru	
341.	Mix II	apfi	
342.	Mould (pot)	mɛ	cf. Ningye mɛ ,
343.	Open	bu	cf. Ningye bu ,
344.	Plant (crop etc.)	cu	
345.	Play	rɔ	cf. Ningye rɔr ,
346.	Pound (in mortar)	kɛrɛ	
347.	Pour (liquid)	kasərɔ	
348.	Pull	bi	cf. Toro pi ,
349.	Receive	kpa	
350.	Refuse	kavwe	
351.	Remember	tika	
352.	Return	kɔmayɛ	
353.	Ride (horse etc.)	hɔ̃	
354.	Roast on coals	fu	
355.	Run	tutu	cf. Rukul twe , Berom télé
356.	Say/speak	trɛ	

Roger Blench: Bu Wordlist

No.	Gloss	Singular	Commentary
357.	See	tɔ	
358.	Sell	rɛ	cf. Fyem rɛp , Cara rɛp , Ningye rɛp but widespread in BC and reconstructed as #- rɛp - in Blench (ms.). Discussed in Gerhardt (1983) and also found in some neighbouring Chadic languages.
359.	Send	tindu	
360.	Shake	kɜu	
361.	Sharpen	ʒɔ	
362.	Shoot (arrow, gun)	ta	cf. Tarok, Sur tat ⁺ . An ancient Niger-Congo root found as #- ta 'bow' in Congo-Kordofanian
363.	Sing	yɔsɛ	cf. Rukul ya ^(k)
364.	Slaughter (animal)	ha	
365.	Sleep	krna	
366.	Smash	yira	
367.	Snap in two	trɛ	cf. Rukul tɛn
368.	Spit	ʒuntɛ	
369.	Stand	kri	
370.	Steal	yibi	
371.	Stir (soup)	nyu	
372.	Suck (breast etc.)	ma	
373.	Surpass	ha	Igboid ka
374.	Swallow	myɛ	cf. Yaŋkam mər , Sur mərək , Tarok məkən ⁺ , Ekoid mɛl , Mambila mènà . Connected with a widespread root for 'throat' reconstructed for PBC as #- mɛrɛn in Blench (ms.)
375.	Take	ba	
376.	Tear (cloth etc.)	bɔ	
377.	Throw	ta	see under 'shoot' ()
378.	Twist (rope etc.)	bru	
379.	Uproot (tuber)	ʃiki	
380.	Walk	ʒu	
381.	Want/need	su	cf. Ningye so ,
382.	Wash	ŋgla	
383.	Wear	su	cf. Ningye soŋ ,
384.	Weep	yi	cf. Ninzo yi ,
385.	Work	tindu	
386.	I	amɛ	
387.	You	awu	
388.	He/she/it	wawu	cf. Ningye wuwo ,
389.	We	kita	
390.	You pl.	biyi	
391.	They	vava	

Edible and Useful Plants

No.	Gloss	Singular	Commentary
392.	Guinea-yam ¹¹	ekʃe	
393.	Aerial yam ¹²	tɔtɔ	

¹¹ (*Dioscorea guineensis*)

No.	Gloss		Commentary
394.	Water-yam ¹³	zere	
395.	Taro (Old cocoyam) ¹⁴	logbu	Whether the three cocoyam types are correctly assigned is uncertain
396.	New cocoyam ^{15*}	lokoyɔ	
397.	New cocoyam II*	lolagwe	
398.	Cassava* ¹⁶	logɔ	
399.	Sweet potato* ¹⁷	buzu	
400.	Wild yam	ɛɲbu	
401.	Tumuku ¹⁸	nku	
402.	Rizga ¹⁹	fin	
403.	Sorghum ²⁰	ekpu	
404.	3-month Sorghum	kpusu	
405.	Fonio (H. <i>acca</i>) ²¹	isu	cf. Gbari esu , Nupe esu
406.	Iburu (H. <i>iburu</i>) ²²	inci	
407.	Maize* ²³	busu	
408.	Rice* ²⁴	i-gama	
409.	Cowpea ²⁵	si-sɛɛ	
410.	Bambara groundnut ²⁶	ʃifivu	
411.	Groundnut (Peanut) ²⁷	pɛpa	cf. Gbari epa , Igboid
412.	Garden egg ²⁸	lulu	
413.	Okra ²⁹	ndra	cf. Ningye ndan ,
414.	Chili pepper* (large) ³⁰	as Hausa	
415.	Birdseye chili* ³¹		
416.	Onion (<i>Allium cepa</i>)	alibasa	< H.
417.	Egusi melon ³²	ese	Probably cognate with widespread ebe forms, reconstructed in Blench (ms.) to PBC as #- be[k]e . Many languages have -f- in C ₁ position, which can readily spirantise to -s-.
418.	Edible squash ³³	kulɔhi	

12 (*Dioscorea bulbifera*)13 (*Dioscorea alata*)14 (*Colocasia esculenta*)15 (*Xanthosoma mafaffa*) (H. wali, mankani))¹⁶ (*Manihot esculenta*)17 (*Ipomoea batatas*)¹⁸ (*Plectranthus esculentus*)19 (*Solenostemon rotundifolius*)20 (*Sorghum bicolor*)21 (*Digitaria exilis*)22 (*Digitaria iburua*)²³ (*Zea mays*)24 (*Oryza sativa/ glaberrima*)25 (*Vigna unguiculata*)²⁶ (*Vigna subterranea*)²⁷ (*Arachis hypogaea*)28 (*Solanum melongena*)29 (*Abelmoschus esculentus*)30 (*Capsicum frutescens*)31 (*Capsicum annuum*)32 (*Citrullus lanatus*)

No.	Gloss		Commentary
419.	Sorrel/roselle ³⁴	ɲbaʃɛ	
420.	Kenaf ³⁵	ɲkurɔŋ	
421.	White sesame ³⁶	inta	
422.	Bitterleaf ³⁷	baŋla	
423.	Plantain/banana	biŋbra	cf. Ninzo ú-ɲgbúŋgbá
424.	Pawpaw* ³⁸	hezu	
425.	Gourd (Generic)	gbigba	cf. Ninzo àgbùgbà , Ningye gbugba ,
426.	Gourd-bottle ³⁹	ɲbu	
427.	Oil-palm ⁴⁰	eri	cf. Ningye rik ,
428.	Palm-oil	nyeri	compound?
429.	Fan-palm ⁴¹	ɛsərə	
430.	Custard apple ⁴²	nkɔ̃	
431.	Wild date-palm ⁴³	nɛnɛ	cf. Ningye ninek ,
432.	Silk-cotton Tree ⁴⁴	ɛŋkpu	
433.	Shea tree ⁴⁵	idza	cf. Ningye zizap ,
434.	Locust tree ⁴⁶	ɛrɔ̃	cf. Ningye urò , Tarok ilúr ,
435.	Locust fruit	ulɔ̃ nyini	
436.	Locust-bean cakes	ʃɛzu	
437.	Tamarind ⁴⁷	ayira	
438.	Black plum ⁴⁸	ncu	cf. Tarok icù , Ningye ncu ,

³³ (*Cucurbita pepo*)

³⁴ (H. *yakuwa*) (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*)

³⁵ (H. *rama*) (*Hibiscus cannabinus*)

³⁶ (H. *Ri d̄i*) (*Sesamum indicum*)

³⁷ *Vernonia amygdalina*

³⁸ (*Carica papaya*)

³⁹ (*Lagenaria siceraria*)

⁴⁰ (*Elaeis guineensis*)

⁴¹ (*Borassus aethiopum*)

⁴² (*Annona senegalensis*)

⁴³ (*Phoenix reclinata*)

⁴⁴ (*Ceiba pentandra*)

⁴⁵ (*Vitellaria paradoxa*)

⁴⁶ (*Parkia biglobosa*)

⁴⁷ (*Tamarindus indica*)

⁴⁸ (*Vitex doniana*)

Musical Instruments

No.	Gloss		Commentary
439.	Drum I	kangan	A two-headed barrel drum similar to the Hausa gangaa although without a snare. The stick used to beat it is called kukrontsi . Accompanies all the major dances of the Bu.
440.	Drum II	tandu	Hourglass-drum similar to Hausa kalanguu played to mourn an important man and also for the gulunza dance (when it is played with a stick). In former times, when a man's wife ran away he would take this drum up onto a hill and beat it to let everyone know (when it was beaten with hands). Not used as a 'talking' drum. The name appears to be borrowed from Hausa tanduu the name for a leather flask used to store ointments.
441.	Drum III	inkibi	Tall (1.5 m), single-headed cylindrical drum with a pegged head and four short legs.
442.	Drum IV	iji	shorter, wider version of the previous drum Lies on its side and is beaten either with sticks or hands. Used either to call an emergency assembly or to accompany the guluku dance. Women cannot touch it.
443.	Flute		End-blown flute
444.	Ocarina		A spherical ocarina made from a dried fruit shell played by small boys
445.	Clarinet		A transverse clarinet made from a guinea-corn internode, played by small boys after harvest
446.	Raft-zither	gungu	
447.	Lute		
448.	Musical bow	angolongo	Musical bow played for enjoyment
449.	Harp		
450.	Horn		
451.	Double iron bell		Used for mourning, to lament a wife who has run away and for the dose .
452.	Gourd-rattle	acica	Used to accompany the gbayi masquerade
453.	Raft-rattle		
454.	Pod-rattle		A dried bean-pod used as a rattle by women
455.	Ankle rattles iron	ɟafa	Used by men for ise .
456.	Ankle rattles	?	made from palm-leaves folded into boxes. Used by both sexes for guluku
457.	Ankle rattles		

Dances

No.	Commentary
-----	------------

458.	ise	
459.	gluku	
460.	ingba	
461.	mbaya	
462.	dose	
463.	yikyu	
464.	bamanga	
465.	dusar	
466.	iyibi	
467.	gulunza	Dance for a successful hunter
468.		
469.		
470.		
471.		
472.		
473.		

Masquerades and other spirits

No.		Commentary
474.	bafa	The bafa masquerade appears at the time of the guinea-corn harvest and for the guluku dance. It can be seen by women and is responsible for disciplining women and small children. The voice of the bafa masquerade is the takpa
475.	lambu	A masquerade dressed in leaves mounted by children and used to discipline them.
476.	camagbu	
477.	buka	
478.	éyivi	
479.	manga	One of the most important masquerades of the Bu people. The manga dresses in raffia and chews on certain roots 'to make it mad'.
480.	bayi	
481.	εcu	
482.	gbayi	
483.	gbegbe	A masquerade accompanied by the raft-rattle.
484.	gbaali	This masquerade appears when maize, a 'women's kitchen garden crop' is ripe. It begs grain from house to house and a man brews local beer from it.
485.	yibiton	
486.		
487.		
488.		
489.		

7. The affinities of Bu

The present study suggests that Bu is classified correctly as a Plateau language, but that its assignment to the Eggon group is somewhat improbable. The Bu language shares many lexical items in common with Ninzo; this may be due to the dominance of Ninzo culture or reflect a true historical relationship.

7.1 Bu and Jidda

A complete wordlist of Ningkada was not taken but some twenty words elicited in a rapid visit suggested that the two languages are the same, with some minor lexical and phonological differences. Ethnically, there is little doubt that the two groups regard themselves as quite distinct and are now geographically separated.

**Table 1. Isoglosses linking Bu with B
Gloss**

There are also common lexical items joining all three members of that again seem to be unusual (Table 2);

**Table 2. Isoglosses supporting
Gloss Bu**

Sound-correspondences:

In addition, the somewhat scanty lexical data provides some initial evidence for sound-correspondences between Bu and Bo, as shown below;

Bu /d/ → Bo /r/

Gloss	Bu
--------------	-----------

Bu /y/ → Bo /ʒ/

Gloss	Bu	Bo
--------------	-----------	-----------

A larger set of lexical data would be needed to confirm these correspondences.

7.2 Relationship with Ninzo

One of the most striking pieces of evidence is the correspondence between suppletive plurals in Bu and Ninzo;

	Bu		Ninzo	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
Child	ivɾɛ	iməri	uvúvur	àmúmàr

7.3 Links with Plateau

7.3.1 General

Bu shows a large number of lexical items in common with Plateau and East Benue-Congo, for example etc.

7.5 Conclusion

To tentatively summarise these results;

- a) Bu is a Plateau language
- b) Bu shows distinctive lexical links with Ninzo
- c)

References

- Abraham, R.C. 1962. *Dictionary of the Hausa language*. London: University of London Press.
- Angas Language Committee. 1978. *Shàk nkarṅ kè shàktok mwa ndɛn Ngas. Ngas -Hausa-English dictionary*. NBTT, Jos.
- Bendor-Samuel, J. ed. 1989. *The Niger-Congo languages*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Blench, R.M. 1996. Is Niger-Congo simply a branch of Nilo-Saharan? In: *Proceedings of the Fifth Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium, Nice, 1992*. ed. R. Nicolai and F. Rottland. 68-118. Köln: Rudiger Köppe.
- Blench, R.M. 1998. The status of the languages of Central Nigeria. In: *Endangered Languages in Africa*. ed. M. Brenzinger. 187-205. Köln: Rudiger Köppe.
- CAPRO ined. *An ethnic survey of Plateau State*. Jos: CAPRO Research Office.
- Crozier, D. and Blench, R.M. 1992. *Index of Nigerian Languages (edition 2)*. SIL, Dallas.
- De Wolf, P. 1971. *The noun class system of Proto-Benue-Congo*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Frajzyngier, Z. 1991. *A Dictionary of Mupun*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Gerhardt, L. 1983a. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprachen des Nigerianischen Plateaus*. Glückstadt: Verlag J.J. Augustin.
- Gerhardt, Ludwig 1983b. Lexical interferences in the Chadic/Benue-Congo Border-Area. In Wolff, E. & Meyer-Bahlburg, H. (eds.) *Studies in Chadic and Afroasiatic Linguistics*. 301-310. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Guthrie, M. 1967-73. *Comparative Bantu*. 4 vols. Gregg International Publishers.
- Hansford, K. Bendor-Samuel, J. & Stanford, R. 1976. *An Index of Nigerian Languages*. Ghana: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Jungrathmayr, H. 1970. *Die Ron-Sprachen*. Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin.
- Jungrathmayr, H. 1991. *A Dictionary of the Tangale Language*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Jungrathmayr, H. and Dymitr Ibrizimow 1995. *Chadic lexical roots*. [2 vols.] Berlin: Reimer.

- Mukarovsky, H. 1976-1977. *A study of Western Nigritic*. 2 vols. Wien: Institut für Ägyptologie und Afrikanistik, Universität Wien.
- Nettle, D. 1998. *An outline of the Fyem language*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Newman, R.M. 1997. *An English-Hausa dictionary*. Lagos: Longman.
- Seibert, Uwe 1998. *Das Ron von Daffo (Jos-Plateau, Zentralnigeria): morphologische, syntaktische und textlinguistische Strukturen einer westschadischer Sprache*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Shimizu, K. 1975. A lexicostatistical study of Plateau languages and Jukun. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 17:413-418.
- Shimizu, Kiyoshi. 1980. *Comparative Jukunoid*. (3 vols) (Veröffentlichungen der Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Temple, Olive 1922. *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*. Argus Printing and Publishing Co. Capetown.
- Westermann, D. 1927. *Die Westlichen Sudansprachen und ihre Beziehungen zum Bantu*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Williamson, K., and K. Shimizu. 1968. *Benue-Congo comparative wordlist, Vol. 1*. Ibadan: West African Linguistic Society.
- Williamson, Kay 1971. The Benue-Congo languages & Ijò. In *Current trends in Linguistics 7* (ed.) T. Sebeok 245-306. The Hague: Mouton.
- Williamson, Kay 1973. *Benue-Congo comparative wordlist: Vol.2*. Ibadan: West African Linguistic Society.
- Wilson, Janet E. 1996. *A phonological grammar of Kuche*. M.A. Linguistics. Arlington: University of Texas at Arlington.