

The Cara language
of
Central Nigeria and its affinities

**[DRAFT CIRCULATED FOR COMMENT -NOT FOR CITATION WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE
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This printout: January 3, 2006

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1. Introduction

This is an annotated wordlist of the Cara language, spoken in Teriya village, Bassa LGA, Plateau State, Nigeria. The wordlist was collected by Roger Blench with the assistance of Selbut Longtau from the Village Head, Peter Maguni Kusaru, the Wakili, Hamidu Taita and a group of elders including Kudaru Tanko, Culu Gado and Jinga Kunangaru on the 21st of December 1998. Mr. Samuel Hamidu Taita was kind enough to read the words on the tape.

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 yet, although the data was taped and they will be added when time permits. This analysis was prepared by Roger Blench, who added the comparative observations¹. This document is being circulated to scholars for comment.

2. Location, history and sociolinguistic situation

2.1 Nomenclature

The Cara people occur in the literature under the names Teriya, Tariya, Pakara, Fakara and Fachara (for further variants see Wenthe-Lukas 1985:97). Information on the language of the Cara people in previous literature appears to derive from a single source, Shimizu (1975), which has never been published and may fairly be described as ‘rare’. Crozier & Blench (1992) reprise this information. Cara is the name of the language and the people.

2.2 Location and settlements

The main village of the Cara is Teriya, in Bassa Local Government Area, some 5 km. east of Gurum, which is 3 km. south-east of the main Jos-Kaduna road, 11 km from Jos town. Teriya is a Hausa name, describing a series of scattered sections, *ipup*, of which the principal one on the road is Anjòk. Languages neighbouring Cara are Rukuba (Che), Buji, Amo and Berom.

2.3 Language status

The Cara language is spoken by less than 3000 speakers at a maximum. The population in the 1920s was 740 (Temple 1922:337) and 735 in 1936-7 suggesting that population growth has been limited. Gunn (1953) Nonetheless, the language does not seem unduly threatened; during the language elicitation session it seemed that many of the children present were able to produce the required lexical items simultaneously with the adults.

The Cara tend to know Hausa and some younger people also speak English, but generally do not speak the languages of their neighbours. The older people have the impression that younger people are giving up the language in favour of Hausa. It is clear that younger people do not have an easy command of the complex morphology required to be a competent speaker, although this may develop slowly.

2.4 History and culture

References on Cara history and culture can be found in Temple (1922), Ames (1934) and Gunn (1953) and CAPRO (in press).

Ames records a Che [Rukuba] tradition that the Cara once lived at Kishi and were part of Che, but Cara traditions record that they ‘formerly lived at Aturu, close to Buji, and that from there they moved to the Tega River and finally to the high ground near Gurrum where they now live’.

Their settlements include Kipan, Kinshanda, Chuba, Aapi, Sabon Gari Tariya, Tega, Ampante, Amogbinse, Anjok, Kindogyio (Rafin Machiji, Kinme, and Ikadanyi. All these settlements are in Buji district.

¹ I am grateful to xx who have assisted me with external parallels and other comments.

Cara have five clans;

Kirosa/Kidule
Fanfunat
Fanjit
Fanvip
Fakare blacksmiths

They live in scattered compounds, each surrounded by its farm land.

The women stretch their lips by wearing a bamboo lip pin in both upper and lower lips. According to Gunn (1953), this made the neighbouring tribes refuse to give their daughters in marriage to Cara men. This probably contributed to their small size. Women have marks from the abdomen to the breast.

History:

They claim to have moved together with the Amo from Kondon Kaya. Another version of their history says they are part of the Rukuba tribe from the Kishi sub-group which broke away and moved on to the plateau. Their women have similar marks to those of the Rukuba and they speak the Rukuba language, which means they are more related to the Rukuba than the Amo.

Culture:

Birth:

Seven days after a baby boy is born, his mouth is touched seven times with mashed yam which is then thrown away. A hoe is passed round his legs seven times to show him how to farm.

Circumcision and Initiation:

Circumcision is done every seven year for boys aged seven to thirteen. They are camped in caves for seven days. The boys are camped according to their clans, each clan in its cave. At the end of the seventh day each clan's boys come out of the cave and build a hut at the entrance where they stay for another month for their wounds to heal. Each family whose boy has been circumcised and the boy's maternal uncle prepare large amounts of beer. They also make a bow, arrows and a quiver for him. Each parent is expected to bring food for them the evening of that day. The parents are not allowed to see the boys and must put the food on a particular flat stone called *kishasha*, while the boys hide under the trees. The old man who is clan head, who has been taking care of the boys, takes a bit of the food and drops it on the ground for the ancestors before he starts eating. Each boy does the same. They eat until they are full. The remaining food is emptied on the stone for the ancestors. By the next day, they claim, the food will have disappeared. There is not even a trace of oil on the stone because the ancestors have come and eaten everything.

Then the elder leads the boys of his clan to his house. This is usually in the night and they are expected to come naked, so no woman must see them. This is the night they are also shown the gods in the forest.

The next day the boys are washed and dressed. Then all of the clan come to this clan head's house with the women lining up behind them.

The boys are brought out one after the other for the parents to identify. This is the time some parents find out that their boys died during the circumcision. Such mothers cry over their loss.

The ceremony of eating and drinking begins. The following day each boy goes to his maternal uncle's house where there is a bigger ceremony. He goes there with his bow and arrow and quiver in his left hand and a wooden axe on his right shoulder.

It is only after this ceremony that he is allowed to pierce his ears. Circumcision is done every seven years.

The maternal uncle is also expected to make another set of bow and arrows, quiver and wooden axe for the boy. They slaughter a goat and give a thigh to the boy in a bag made for him to take back home. The boy then goes around visiting friends and relations. This ceremony is called *kigbok*.

Marriage:

When a baby girl is born many boys or parents of boys come to give oil called *bindazugul* (or *kpass*) to ask for her hand in marriage. Immediately they commence working in the girl's parents' farm during the raining season. At the end of two years the girl's parents select a husband for her by telling the rest of the suitors not to come again because they have no farm work. But they allow the husband of their choice, or his family if he is small, to continue farming for them.

When she becomes an adult she is allowed to go and sleep with the boy in his parents' house. When the boy is ready to marry her he is asked to make beer for people to drink three times in three years. The fourth year the girl is taken to him as his wife.

If for any reason she decides not to marry this particular man and marries someone she really loves, any child she gives birth to with the latter will belong to the "real" husband to whom she was properly betrothed. And if the real husband dies she will be given the option of marrying one of his brothers. Even if she is in another man's house as wife and her real husband dies she must come and mourn in his house for one year. After that she can return to the husband she is living with. Although a Tariya man is allowed to have many wives, he may only have one traditional wife like this. All others probably are other men's traditional wives, therefore the children he has with them do not belong to him but to his wives' "real" traditional husbands. Likewise his "real" children may have been born to another man. The children are usually shy to refer to their biological father as their father. The traditional father is their father. In years past they used a horse to purchase a Berom girl if they wanted to marry outside Tariya.

Burial:

Immediately an old man dies, horns are blown to announce his death. All his relations must gather, so burial may take place the following day. Each clan has two graves on Tariya mountain, one for the men and the other for women and children. *Jonko*, which is the farewell feast or sadaka, takes place a year later. A dead man's traditional wife is expected to come back to the house (this applies to both old and young men). She is expected to shave her head and wear a white rope on her waist, head and neck as evidence of mourning. The rest of the relations are also expected to shave. The *Jonko* ceremony includes beer and dancing for an old man. According to their belief, the spirit of a dead person is still around until the *Jonko* is performed.

Witches can usually not be identified until they are dead. They say that usually a witch's skull has his/her teeth in place on the skull. If this is found they use stones on the skull to remove the teeth. [DO YOU MEAN THAT THE TEETH ARE NOT IN THE JAW BUT IN SOME OTHER PART OF THE SKULL?]

After the bones of the corpse are dry in the communal grave, they are moved aside to provide space for a new corpse.

When a man sees that his farm is not doing well or he has some other problems, he informs the old men of his clan. One of their women married out of the clan is asked to carry a pot of beer to a place near the grave. Then the oldest man of the clan goes to the grave to beg the man's father to stop troubling him and to bless him. Then he pours the beer on the grave for the father to drink. This they believe will change the man's situation.

Religion:

The Supreme Being is referred to as *Kurai*. *Ingi* is the name of a god worshipped by the different clans. This is usually represented by piles of stones. Goats are slaughtered for the worship and the blood poured on the stones. No member of a clan is allowed to sit on another clan's stones or he will be stung by a scorpion. The worship of *Ingi* differs from clan to clan.

Ingi Minjur is the rain cult. This is consulted in time of drought. Some children catch anybody's she-goat and take it to the chief who in turn takes it to the chief priest for sacrifice. The goat is taken to the ancestral grave and slaughtered, usually in the morning. By evening they expect rain to fall. Sometimes they claim the rain falls before those who went for the sacrifice get home.

The Tariya people believe strongly in re-incarnation. According to them, a child born in a particular house, after growing up will go to another house and say he is so and so person who died in that house. He will go to a particular place in the house to dig up things said to have been buried by the dead man. They believe the late man's spirit has come inside the child. They claim to have had a case where a man from the Amo tribe came to one of their homes and claimed he was one of their men who had died (he gave his former name) and he had come to collect his property. He dug up a place and collected some things which the relations knew belonged to the dead man.

3. Phonology

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

3.1 Vowels

Cara probably has seven phonemic vowels;

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

Cara permits VV sequences, where V₁ is /a/. Examples;

3.2 Consonants

Cara consonants are as follows:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Labial-velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d		[c] j	k g	kp gb	
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 Cara is still to be analysed but there appear to be two level tones and a number of glides, some of which may be phonemic.

4. Morphology

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Consonant alternation

The most notable feature of Cara is consonant alternation. The most common alternations are;

Table 1. Consonant alternation in Cara

Gloss	sg.	pl.	
Bush-rat	ɓeŋ	aɗeŋ	ɓ/d
Chameleon	ɓakaka	aɗakaka	ɓ/d
Ear	kicuŋ	atuŋ	c/t
Woman	fuk	nkuk	f/k
Firewood	fɔn	akɔn	f/k
River crab	faŋfaŋ	akaŋkaŋ	f/k
Wooden door	kuri	a-luri	k/l
Child	kɔn	nɔn	k/n
Wife	nekira	anenira	k/n
River frog	kwarak	asarak	kw/s
Village Weaver ²	kwika	asika	kw/s
Hair	ikpo	sito	kp/t
Bow	kwa	a-ta	kw/t
Person/people	mit	init	m/n
Eye	ris	aŋis	r/ŋ
Rope	roi	soi	r/s
Vein	i-vip	si-dip	v/d
Medicine	val	agal	v/g
Bone	vis	agis	v/g
Baboon	voos	agoos	v/g
Female sibling	watal	fatal	w/f
Blacksmith	wula	aŋila	w/f
Tooth	windi	anyindi	w/ŋ

Many of the examples show subsequent prefixing and also loss of labiality suggesting there were formerly the type of ± palatality and labiality rules common in other Plateau languages.

4.1.2 Tone-raising rules

Another common pattern in Cara involves tone raising of the stem-vowel. The most widespread pairing is given in Table 2 where the low-tone long vowel changes to a high-tone short vowel.

Table 2. Stem-vowel length and tone-raising in Cara nominals

Gloss	sg.	pl.
Rib	jüüs	jís
Cow	nyàà	nyá
Castrated goat	ɟàà	ɟá
Snake (Generic)	yòò	yó
Louse (Human)	ciin	cín

Typologically, this is of considerable interest, since it is rare in the languages of the world for plurals to be shorter than singulars. Other types of tone-plural in Cara are more miscellaneous. Table 3 shows some samples of these. All involve some kind of tone-raising and at least three patterns can be detected, all of low frequency.

² (*Ploceus cucullatus*)

Table 3. Miscellaneous tone-change in Cara nominal plurals

Gloss	sg.	pl.
Thorn	yòrò	yórò
Work	cùncòm	cúncòm
Ancestors	zànkàmùt	zànkámùt
Hill	cùŋ	cúŋ
Farm	cáp	cáp
Guest/stranger I	myàt	myát
Guest/stranger II	ʃin	ʃín
Skull	cùr	cúr

Almost certainly where the plural has a rising tone, the stem previously exhibited a lengthened vowel as in the singulars in Table 2, a tone-raising rule was applied and the vowel then shortened.

4.1.3 Prefix alternation

Prefix alternation in Cara is very complex and a very large sample of nouns is required for any definitive statement can be made. Many of the pairings given below occur only once in the data. Moreover, most of the prefixes seem to have been adopted subsequent to the system of consonant alternation suggesting strongly this is a system that has been rebuilt by analogy with neighbouring languages. The following tables give examples of the singular and plural prefixes identified so far are;

ø-/a-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Tree (generic)	fɔn	akɔn
Root	liŋga	aliŋga
Moon/month	pəl	a-pəl
Eye	ris	anyis
Face	wɛn	anyɛn

ø-/n-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Woman	fuk	nkuk
Widow	fɔŋŋan	nkɔŋŋan

These two words show the same consonant alternation and are built up from related lexical elements. The n- prefix might be an allomorph of ni-, except that ni- appears to occur before velars in other words.

ø-/ni-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
He-goat	gasu	ni-gasu

A unique example.

ø-/ti-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Arrow	fi	ti-fi

A unique example.

i-/ø-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Buffalo	i-yát	yát
Hare ³	i-zum	zum

Only two cases recorded.

i-/a-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Leaf	ikət	akət
Grass (generic)	igo	agwi
Masquerade	i-rim	a-rim

i-/ni-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Bush	i-kai	ni-kai
Pot	i-pəndəŋ	ni-pəndəŋ

These are the only two examples recorded.

i-/si-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Vine (generic)	i-kin	si-kin
Forest	i-kət	si-kət
Vein	i-vip	si-dip
Intestines	i-le	si-le

i-/ti-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Charcoal	i-falaŋ	ti-falaŋ

This pairing is unique and may well be an allomorph of the i-/si- pairing.

ki-/a-

³ (*Lepus Crawshayi*)

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Mushroom	ki-zazup	a-zazup
Grave	kihwak	asak
Horn	kiweŋ	anyeŋ
Cheek	ki-puk	a-puk
Night	ki-tuk	a-tuk
Room	ki-li	a-li
Wall	ki-vət	a-vət
Nest (of bird)	ki-rək	a-rək
Fireplace	ki-kik	a-kik

ke-/a-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Compound	ke-ra	a-ra
Wing	ke-rani	a-rani

This is almost certainly an allomorph of ki-/a- since it occurs in the single restricted context shown above.

ku-/a-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Mouth	ku-nu	a-nu
Body	ku-rum	a-rum
Mortar (wood)	ku-ruŋ	a-ruŋ

A second allomorph of ki-/a- where the stem vowel is –u- and C₁ is not a stop.

ki-/ni-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Dry season	ki-hwani	ni-hwani
Stream	ki-gyel	ni-gyel
Place	ki-ti	ni-ti
Slave	ki-gyen	ni-gyen
Calf	ki-narən	ni-narən
Dog	ki-san	ni-san

u-/fi-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Hunter	u-gari	fi-gari

A unique example.

4.1.4 Suppletion

Suppletion is here used for the nouns that cannot be explained by other means. The data suggest;

- a. A singulative **wun** that can be placed in front of nouns concerned with persons.
- b. A k/n/ alternation that is restricted to nouns for persons
- c. Others

Man	wurum-me	inrum-me
Thief	wun fajan	fajan
Blacksmith	wula	afila
Husband	dakira	adanyira
Wife	nekira	anenira
Child	kɔn	nɔn
Young man	maina	amase
Nail(Finger/toe)	cùrùgè	cùgè

5. Lexical comparison and the classification of Cara

Greenberg (1963:9) first established Plateau 3 as a grouping of Berom and Aten. The Cara language has usually been grouped together with Berom and Aten as part of Plateau 3, later Eastern Plateau and then Central. Blench (in press) has recently proposed ‘Beromic’ for this group, although expressing doubts about the membership of Aten.

The wordlist given below and the etymological commentary are intended to throw some light on the classification of Cara and the nature of its links with the other members of Beromic. Cara has been compared with a wide variety of neighbouring languages for potential cognates. Sources of data for lexical comparison are scattered and uneven in quality and coverage. The principal materials are Benue-Congo languages, but since there are also loan-relationships with Chadic, these are also used.

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
1.	Tree (generic)	fɔn	akɔn	cf. Izere kâkɔn , Tarokoid #-kon but this root is widespread in Niger-Congo, often meaning firewood.
2.	Leaf	ikɔt	akɔt	
3.	Root	liŋga	aliŋga	cf. Berom rwìnís , Shall lun ,
4.	Grass (generic)	igoy	agwi	? cf. Central Berom hywí
5.	Vine (generic)	i-kin	si-kin	
6.	Mushroom	ki-zazup	a-zazup	
7.	Water-lily	gwekiri	adekiri	
8.	Algae	—	tibebe	
9.	Seed/stone/pip	ɗi	—	? source of Hausa <i>iri</i> ?
10.	Bark (of tree)	i-kabel	a-kabel	
11.	Thorn	yɔrò	yɔrò	cf. Shall roa , Berom rógɔ́ ,
12.	Charcoal	i-falaŋ	ti-falaŋ	cf. Berom sēhwālāŋ , Aten hwel
13.	Dust	i-gɔgɔn		
14.	Ashes	iŋpuŋ		cf. Berom n-foŋol ,
15.	Rubbish-heap	ageliŋ		
16.	Rubbish-pit	ivɔŋ	a-vɔŋ	cf. words for ‘hole’
17.	Mud	mvil		cf. words for ‘ground’ e.g. Berom vwel , Rukul amwel
18.	Clay	bɔs		cf. Berom bwòsh ‘mud’
19.	Dew	imiŋ		cf. Berom mwēngē , Aten memé , reflexes of a Niger-Congo root
20.	Stone	i-ta	a-ta	cf. Izere kutá pl. atá , Fyem ɗicáŋ pl. acáŋ , but also Pe i-tsam , Kenyi ca-a and Tyap cluster #faŋ roots, all reflexes of a Niger-Congo root #ta- .
21.	Sand	ji		cf. Horom ŋiŋal ,
22.	Smoke	imveŋ		
23.	Fire	wu		cf. Ce ɯ-wù , Ninzo ùrú , Bu wuru . probably related to the widespread root #wa- , found as a Common Mumuye root (Shimizu 1979: Root 17) and Mambiloid wa but also a Common Adamawa-Ubangian root
24.	Water	mal		cf. Ninzo masiri , Bu mma , Horom bamal , also Ura mò and Bokyi ɔ-mo . Also in Chadic: Tala maal , Buli māl . Words for ‘water’ with ma- are Africa-wide and may derive from the old ma- class-prefix for liquids.
25.	Rain	ɔɔr		
26.	Cloud	iŋwɔt	aŋwɔt	cf. Berom wút ‘fog, cloud, mist’ but probably also words for ‘rain’ e.g. Ce àwùru , Toro awi , Alumu a-wè ,
27.	Lightning	nyawet		
28.	Thunder	iŋkuri		
29.	Rainy Season	i-gɔs	a-gɔs	cf. ‘year’ (32.). ? second element in Berom nàgā-hwós
30.	Dry season	ki-hwani	ni-hwani	
31.	Harmattan	ɟari	—	
32.	Year	i-gɔs	a-gɔs	cf. ‘rainy season’ (29.) cf. Izere kós ‘to spend a year somewhere’, Hasha i-kusan , Təsu huŋi ,
33.	Today	nfene	—	
34.	Yesterday	enri	—	cf. Bu ēri , Rukul irwē , Aten arye ,
35.	Tomorrow	kipiŋ	—	cf. Spanish..
36.	Morning	kipiŋ	—	

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
37.	Evening	wanrik	—	?? cf. Berom nàwìrì
38.	Dawn	kinwar kipin		
39.	Day	i-dun	a-dun	
40.	Night	ki-tuk	a-tuk	cf. Berom túrük , but also tük ‘day of 24 hours’. Also Izere kâ-túk , Sur gutuk , See BCCW
41.	Moon/month	pəl	a-pəl	cf. Berom pwəl , Aten fəl , but a widespread Niger-Congo root. Mbd wel
42.	Sun	we	—	cf. Berom gwei , Aten gbei , Fyem wíi , Mabo wéi . Perhaps weakened from Ron forms such as Bokkos ḡwè
43.	Star(s)	i-yot	a-yot	? cf. Aten yiyoro
44.	Wind	wul	—	cf. Berom gul , ? Aten bwíl , Shall wu , Fyem wùl , Rukul uwol ,
45.	God	kure		cf. Ce kurù ,
46.	Sky	kizun		? cf. Izere kâzá
47.	World	ndas		
48.	Ground	mwel		cf. Berom vwel , Rukul amwel
49.	Large River	jeel dan	jel dan	
50.	Stream	ki-gyel	ni-gyel	
51.	Lake, pond			
52.	Forest	i-kot	si-kot	cf. Berom rəhwōt , LC íkót ‘bush’
53.	Mountain	i-gale	a-gale	cf. Berom hwol ⁺ ,
54.	Hill	cun	cun	
55.	Bush	i-kai	ni-kai	cf. Berom hēi , Aten hwai , Fyem hai , but also a widespread Plateau root #hai
56.	Farm	cap	cáp	
57.	Market*	ki-tenza	ni-tenza	
58.	Compound	ke-ra	a-ra	
59.	Room	ki-li	a-li	
60.	Wall (of room)	ki-vot	a-vot	
61.	Field	ndas	—	
62.	Thatch roof	ʃot	ʃot	cf. Ce ì-sút , Berom sóró
63.	Granary			
64.	Well*	ki-von ki-mal	a-von ni-mal	‘hole of water’
65.	Road	gon	a-gon	cf. Berom gwōn
66.	Path	ki-gonon	ni-gonon	
67.	Settlement	i-pup	a-pup	The Cara do not live in nucleated settlements so ‘ward’ is a better translation
68.	River-bank	i-gun	a-gun	cf. Berom kwōgōm ,
69.	Swamp/wetland	rap	a-rap	
70.	Place	ki-ti	ni-ti	
71.	Person/people	mit	init	cf. Berom mwāt
72.	Man	wurum-me	inrum-me	cf. Fyem róm pl. ḡarom but this is a very widespread Benue-Congo root for ‘man/male’, ‘person’ (see discussion in BCCW, II)
73.	Woman	fuk	nkuk	
74.	Child	kōn	nōn	cf. Izere îgôn pl. îgôn . Berom seems connected by showing the same alternation hwēi pl. nēi
75.	Husband	dakira	adanyira	
76.	Widow	funḡan	nkunḡan	
77.	Wife	nekira	anenira	
78.	Young man	maina	amase	
79.	Young girl	ka-zan	na-zan	
80.	Old person	fulle	inkulle	
81.	Father	da	inda	cf. Berom dá , Izere adâ , Ijo ḡau .

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
82.	Mother	ne	inne	cf. Shall na, Nupe nna,
83.	Relations	—	be	cf. Ce ì-bí,
84.	In-laws	kaa	inka	cf. Bantu?
85.	Ancestors	zànkàmùt	zànkámùt	cf. Mbd.
86.	Grandparents	kaka	inkaka	
87.	Grandchild	ki-wal	ni-wal	
88.	Male sibling	mankimat	inankimat	
89.	Female sibling	watal	fatal	
90.	Friend	dùn	índùn	
91.	Guest/stranger I	myàt	myàt	
92.	Guest/stranger II	fin	fin	cf. Ningye tsen, Izere atsen, Mbd *kèn
93.	Barren woman	fukfuri	nkuk inkuri	
94.	King/chief/ruler	farum	akarum	
95.	Kingship	tigom	—	cf. Izere agwom and PEBC #-gom.
96.	Hunter	u-gari	fi-gari	
97.	Thief	wun fajan	fajan	
98.	Doctor	ka-bere	ana-bere	
99.	Witch	fem	inkem	cf. Ningye cen,
100.	Corpse	i-bi	a-bí	cf. Berom vín,
101.	Blacksmith	wula	afila	cf. Ninzo nilà, Bu ela, Ningye nerak
102.	Woodworker	wun fafipal	fafipal	
103.	Slave	ki-gyen	ni-gyen	cf. Hyam, Ningye gan, Bu egorá
104.	Masquerade	i-rim	a-rim	cf. Tarok ùrìm
105.	World of the dead	kiŋkau	—	
106.	Prophecy	ara	—	
107.	Shame	ikin	—	
108.	Fear/fright	jot		
109.	Bravery/courage	itu biki		
110.	Laughter	tihwil		
111.	Wisdom	injenjen		
112.	Guilt	kizakine		
113.	Anger	inlɔl		
114.	Race/running	face		
115.	Suffering I	yor		
116.	Suffering II	iðinta		
117.	Death	iku		
118.	Name	i-za	a-za	cf. Shall sa, Fyem ði-sá
119.	Grave	kihwak	asak	cf. Berom sàk,
120.	Song	i-lem	a-lem	
121.	Proverb	akul		
122.	Story	daʒum		
123.	Word	i-gɔ	a-gɔ	
124.	Lie	abira		
125.	News	insa		
126.	Rumours	kisiŋa		
127.	Hunger/famine	kiwɔŋ		cf. Berom vyon ⁺ ,
128.	Egg	i-gip	a-gip	cf. Berom gyi, Aten gep,
129.	Horn	kiweŋ	anyeŋ	
130.	Tail	rum	a-rum	cf. Berom rum ⁺ , Izere kúrum pl. árum, PEBC #-dum
131.	Wing (of bird)	ke-rani	a-rani	
132.	Beak (of bird)	kunu kinkinɔn		
133.	Nest (of bird)	ki-rək	a-rək	cf. Izere kuré pl. aré.

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
134.	Gum/glue	inap		
135.	Ant-hill (large)	i-dan̄ge	a-dan̄ge	
136.	Ant-hill (small)	i-kurus	a-kurus	
137.	Hole in ground	i-vɔm	a-vɔm	cf. Berom rɛvɔŋ , Aten vɔɔŋ , Izere rɪbɔŋ and Volta-Congo cognates
138.	Smell	inun̄gi	—	
139.	Poison	timɔm	—	
140.	Branch	ki-laŋ	a-laŋ	
141.	Bundle	i-tɛt	a-tɛt	
142.	Firewood	fɔn	akɔn	as ‘tree’ ()
143.	Yam-heap	i-zal	a-zal	cf. Fyem səl ,
144.	War	i-kɔm	a-kɔm	cf. Berom cɔmó , Aten tsoṃ ,
145.	Work	cùncòm	cùncòm	cf. Berom tòm , Aten tome , but a Niger-Congo root
146.	Divination I	iturmal	—	water divination
147.	Divination II	calɔm	—	horn divination
148.	Medicine	val	agal	cf. Berom hwal ⁺ , Aten hwál , Rukul a-hal , Fyem ɗi-hyal ,
149.	Money	cɛfù	cɛfù	
150.	Shadow	ki-rɛriŋgo	ni-rɛriŋgo	
151.	Thing	i-du	a-du	
152.	Strength	inkɔrɔs	—	
153.	Length	inlis		
154.	Land/country	mvel		
155.	Sleep	inra		
156.	Disease(generic)	inrɔ		cf. Hyam rwoŋ ,
157.	Smallpox	indugari		
158.	Diarrhoea	mwazil		
159.	Eczema	inkɔgɔl		
160.	Goitre	i-gɔk	a-gɔk	
161.	Boil	ki-mɛt	ni-mɛt	
162.	Sore/wound	viyàr	viyàr	
163.	Leprosy	inkɔgɔl	insene	cf. ‘eczema’ (159.)
164.	Head	i-tu	a-tu	cognate with the more common # ti - Niger-Congo roots
165.	Eye	ris	anyis	cf. Berom rɛyɪsh , Izere rɪnyísí pl. anyísí
166.	Face	wɛn	anyɛn	
167.	Skull	cur	cúr	
168.	Cheek	ki-puk	a-puk	cf. LC -fúk ,
169.	Forehead	i-til	a-til	cf. Izere kátí pl. nati
170.	Nose	i-ŋwul	a-ŋwul	cf. Fyem ɗu-wól pl. awól , Bo awol , Pe ti-yol , Berom wól pl. bāwól , Ndoro ŋwunà
171.	Ear	ki-cuŋ	a-tuŋ	cf. Izere kúto pl. áto , Ningye tɔŋ , Fyem hutón , Mabo utó also throughout Tarokoid, but a PVC root # tuN -. Also in Chadic e.g. Sha 'a-tôn
172.	Mouth	ku-nu	a-nu	cf. Izere kânû although this is a reflection of a Niger-Congo root # nu -
173.	Tooth	windi	anyindi	an old Niger-Saharan root (Blench 1996) though the origin of the -di suffix is mysterious though Horom has ɗi-yin and if this prefix is old then it may have been previously converted into a Cara suffix.
174.	Tongue	i-lɛm	a-lɛm	cf. Mabo de-rem , Pe ti-lem , Yaŋkam rem and widespread in Plateau. An old Atlantic-Congo root
175.	Throat	i-gɔŋkɔr	a-gɔŋkɔr	# goro forms are found throughout Africa (Blench 1996)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
176.	Neck	po	ato	cf. Bewrom fwɔ pl. tɔ̀ , Aten tsintso , Kulu u-co ⁺ , Izere kutó pl. itɔ
177.	Jaw	ki-leguŋ	a-leguŋ	
178.	Chin	ki-lenget	a-lenget	
179.	Shoulder	ʒà	ʒá	cf. Berom sānàt ,
180.	Armpit	ki-pebet	a-pebet	
181.	Fist	guntavɔ	a-guntavɔ	
182.	Arm	vɔ	a-vɔ	cf. Berom vwɔ́ , Izere kubók , Fyem huɔ́ , Mabo ubóx , Proto-Bantu -bóko . A widespread root in Niger-Congo (BCCW, I:6) for ‘arm’ or ‘hand’
183.	Hand	ki-pat ki-mvɔ	a-pat nyimvɔ	
184.	Leg	bul	a-bul	cf. Central Berom vwol , Shall vol ,
185.	Foot	ki-pat kimbul	a-pat nyimbul	
186.	Thigh	ki-vap	a-vap	
187.	Knee	i-rum	a-rum	cf. Kulu gu-lluŋ ⁺ , Fyem ɗurúm pl. arúm , Mabo rurum , Yanƙam ruŋ . Reconstructed as #-rúŋù in 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.
188.	Female breast	i-vɔvil	a-vɔvil	cf. -bel roots
189.	Stomach	ki-nen	a-nen	cf. Ninzo i-ne , but perhaps just a local form of widespread #la- , #na- forms for ‘intestines’, ‘belly’
190.	Navel	i-kɔp	a-kɔp	cf. PLC *-kóp , also Pe igum , Yanƙam kum , Nizaa kómni , Vute cómè . Also in Chadic: Mwaghavul kúm , Tangale kúmbi
191.	Nail(Finger/toe)	cùrùgè	cùgè	? cf. Berom kwök
192.	Back	càŋkuma	càŋkuma	
193.	Buttocks	i-geget	a-geget	
194.	Penis	pyòì	pyòì	
195.	Vagina	i-but	a-but	
196.	Skin	i-kɔ	a-kɔ	cf. Berom hwó , Shall kwa , Aten hùhù ,
197.	Bone	vis	agis	
198.	Rib	jùs	jís	
199.	Vein	i-vip	si-dip	
200.	Blood	mi		cf. Berom nèmi ,
201.	Breath	iŋwe		
202.	Tear	mizil		cf. Berom nèmwishíl ,
203.	Sweat	kyimizi		
204.	Saliva			
205.	Urine	ʃɔm		
206.	Faeces	avim		cf. widespread #-bi roots
207.	Hair	ikpo	sito	cf. Berom setot ⁺ , Aten tsutsɔ̀ ,
208.	Beard	ki-lenget	a-lenget	
209.	Brain	siput		
210.	Liver	anye		cf. Berom yèi pl. nèyèi , Idoma ànyi , Magongo eye , Nupe enyi (?)
211.	Heart	i-tu	a-tu	
212.	Intestines	i-le	si-le	Mbd, PB -dà P-Ijɔ ílá
213.	Body	ku-rum	a-rum	? cognate with ‘back’ roots?
214.	Meat	ki-nam	i-nam	Niger-Congo root #-nam-
215.	Animal (Bush)	ki-nam kikyĩŋwoi	i-nam munkĩŋwoi	
216.	*Camel	rɔnkumi	a-rɔnkumi	<Hausa

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
217.	Cow	nyàà	nyá	cf. Izere inyák but this is a widespread Niger-Congo root #na-
218.	Bull	nyàà rùmè	nyá rúmè	'cow + male'
219.	Calf	ki-narɔn	ni-narɔn	
220.	Goat	ʒɔl	ʒɔl	
221.	He-goat	gasu	ni-gasu	
222.	He-goat (small)	ki-gasu	a-gasu	
223.	Castrated goat	ʃàà	ʃá	cf. Aten sham 'male goat',
224.	Sheep	kwɔŋgi	ayɔŋgi	
225.	Ram	kwɔŋgi rumi	ayɔŋgi arumi	
226.	Castrated sheep	ʃàà yin kwɔŋgi	etc.	
227.	Dog	ki-san	ni-san	
228.	*Cat	patuma	a-patuma	< Kanuri
229.	*Pig	ŋgwer miŋ kira		'pig of house'
230.	*Horse	caasi nin sito		'hairy thing for riding'
231.	*Donkey	ki-jaki	ni-jaki	< H.
232.	Elephant	rɔŋɔ	a-rɔŋɔ	See BCCW but also in Kwa
233.	Hippo	ʃɛʃit	ʃɛʃit	
234.	Buffalo	i-yàt	yát	cf. Horom yat pl. i-yat , Yanƙam yyet although these are reflections of a more widespread root #yati in East Benue-Congo. Also in WBC e.g. Nupe eya . See also Daffo yàt
235.	Lion	ziki	a-zaki	
236.	Leopard	goi	a-goi	Niger-Congo, BCW, Mbd
237.	Patas monkey ⁴	yàrum	yárum	? cf. Berom jàrùm , Shall jalimun , Izere izaram
238.	Baboon	voos	agoos	
239.	Squirrels(generic)	ki-bale	ni-bale	
240.	Rat (generic)	cù	cú	cf. Berom cù pl. 'cū
241.	Grasscutter ⁵	vìp	víp	
242.	Giant rat ⁶	ki-gut	ni-gut	cf. Horom kwede , Rukul a-hɔtɔ , Yanƙam ikot , Sur kwɔr
243.	Other rodents I	ɓɛŋ	aɗɛŋ	
244.	Other rodents II	ki-raŋkas	ni-raŋkas	
245.	Other rodents III	bìbwi	bíbwi	
246.	Other rodents IV	ki-ɓuŋ	ni-ɓuŋ	
247.	Other rodents V	ki-taraŋ	ni-taraŋ	
248.	Musk-shrew	ɓilo	a-ɓilo	
249.	Hare ⁷	i-zum	zum	Cf. Horom ɲ-zòm but a root widespread within Plateau, also Hausa zòómóó
250.	House-bat	kibal kituk		'goes out at night'
251.	Fruit-bat	i-rima	a-rima	cf. Berom dàm ,
252.	Nile crocodile	cɔ̀rɔ̀m	cɔ̀rɔ̀m	cf. Kulu èguru , Alumu kùrù , Nindem a-kur ,
253.	Chameleon	ɓakaka	aɗakaka	
254.	Agama lizard	ɓoop	a-ɓoop	
255.	Agama lizard m.	ratu	a-ratu	
256.	Skink	lɛŋgu	a-lɛŋgu	
257.	Gecko	rɛrus	a-rɛrus	
258.	Toad	ɓɔ̀rɔ̀k	a-ɓɔ̀rɔ̀k	
259.	River frog	kwarak	asarak	

⁴ (*Erythrocebus patas*)⁵ (*Thryonomys Swinderianus*)⁶ (*Cretomyces* sp.)⁷ (*Lepus Crawshayi*)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
260.	Land tortoise	i-kur	a-kur	*PLC -kut
261.	Snake (Generic)	yòò	yó	PWS
262.	Spitting cobra	bèris	a-béris	
263.	Snake sp. I	hwatuŋ asat		
264.	Snake sp. II	yòòri	yóri	
265.	Snake sp. III	yòòŋgi	yóŋlí	
266.	Snake sp. IV	jòp	jóp	cf. Mbd 'snake', LC 'python'
267.	Snake sp. V	ip(y)e	ape	
268.	Snake sp. VI	cèlèŋgè	céléŋgé	
269.	Snake sp. VII	i-lutuk	a-lutuk	
270.	River turtle	i-hwyek	a-hwyek	
271.	River crab	faŋfaŋ	akaŋkaŋ	
272.	River molluscs	i-kòr	a-kòr	
273.	Fish (generic)	yìŋ	yíŋ	
274.	<i>Gymnarchus niloticus</i>	gəl	a-gəl	
275.	Bird (generic)	ki-nòn	ni-nòn	cf. Bo anón , Tarok inyil , Pe i-nol , Yanƙam noi A common Benue-Congo root also found in Bantu. Mukarovksy (II, 405) gives examples that suggest a reconstruction to Proto-Volta-Congo.
276.	Chicken	fòr	akòr	
277.	Cock	vɔɔ	agɔɔ	
278.	*Duck	i-gwagwa	a-gwagwa	
279.	Pigeon	wi-gonza	anyi-gonza	
280.	Guinea-fowl	vemveŋ	agengeŋ	
281.	Hooded Vulture ⁸	aŋguluk	—	cf. Hausa aŋgulu
282.	Village Weaver ⁹	kwika	asika	
283.	Cattle-egret ¹⁰	ki-balakam	ni-balakam	
284.	Black kite ¹¹	ki-rap	ni-rap	
285.	Standard-wing Night-jar	kirɔŋ yìŋ	a-rɔŋ yìŋ	
286.	Owl (various spp.)	vimviŋ	agiŋgiŋ	
287.	Bush- fowl/partridge	ki-mwoi	ni-mwoi	
288.	*Pied crow ¹²	vwak	agak	
289.	Woodpecker	ki-dikɔkkɔk	ni-dikɔkkɔk	
290.	Insect (Generic)	ki-jiri	ni-jiri	
291.	Scorpion	còròt	córót	
292.	Butterfly	i-berumberum	a-berumberum	
293.	Mosquito	i-mut	a-mut	
294.	Spider (<i>Acarina</i> spp.)	i-kaŋnyid	a-kaŋnyid	
295.	Mason wasp ¹³	puce	a-puce	
296.	Bee	ʃò	ʃó	cf. Berom ʃòk , Hasha i-suk , Horom sèke , Ningye sò , Bu ifɔ , Izere ifɔʃ pl. ifɔʃ
297.	Sweat-fly	jìp	jíp	

⁸ (*Neophron monachus*)⁹ (*Ploceus cucullatus*)¹⁰ (*Ardeola ibis*)¹¹ (*Milvus migrans*)¹² (*Corvus albus*)¹³ (*Belenogaster* spp.)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
298.	Housefly	jìn	jín	cf. Berom ciŋ , Bu cinci , Horom ciŋ . Reconstructed as #- ciN to Proto-Benue-Congo in Blench (ms.). Cf. also Ngas nfi , Mwaghavul ndifii , Tangale tün
299.	Ant (Generic)	jàzùnà	jázúná	
300.	Louse (Human)	ciin	cín	
301.	Millipede	foryoŋ	akoryoŋ	
302.	Cockroach	i-palak	a-palak	
303.	Termite	kere	agau	
304.	Flying-ant	jàŋkàrìru	jaŋkáríru	
305.	Praying mantis	pugumpugum	a-pugumpugum	
306.	Firefly	ki-jajai	ni-jajai	
307.	Giant Cricket	yègè	yégé	
308.	Earthworm	kwatuya	atatuya	
309.	Giant Snail	i-kòr	a-kòr	cf. Hausa kodi
310.	Dragon-fly	i-berumberum kimal	a-berumberum kimal	'butterfly of water'
311.	Soap (Traditional)	ròr	—	
312.	Oil	innoi	—	cf. Berom nói , Aten noi , Shall nu ,
313.	Fat/grease	ibip	—	cf. Berom sebwép , Horom tífép , Tarok m̀pìp 'animal fat', Chawai bap , Samba Nnakenyare byep . Reconstructed to East Benue-Congo as #- byep in Blench (ms.)
314.	Salt	imbasi		cf. Berom nvwāshè ,
315.	Soup/stew	siliŋ		cf. Berom seleŋ ⁺ , Aten teleŋ ,
316.	Porridge	tuk		cf. Berom tuk ⁺ ,
317.	Sorghum-beer	jòt		
318.	Peelings	ikabil		
319.	Funnel	galempe	a-galampe	
320.	Filter	ki-ganziŋ	ni-ganziŋ	
321.	Rag	i-dezi	a-dezi	
322.	Floor-beater	i-pal	a-pal	cf. Nupe epa , Jijili upane , Cambap p̀p̀p̀p̀ ,
323.	Handle (of tool)	pop	a-pop	cf. Nupe efú , Ce uhup , Izere kufóp , Eggon ofuvu , Mambila fù
324.	Sickle	i-baŋkò	a-baŋkò	
325.	Cutlass	ki-gasa	ni-gasa	
326.	Iron	ɓìr	ɓíir	
327.	Axe	cèm	cém	cf. Berom tyèt ,
328.	Adze	cambe	cámbe	
329.	Hoe (large)	ki-deŋ	ni-deŋ	
330.	Hoe (small)	i-susu	a-susu	
331.	Hammer	i-gbugbuk	a-gbugbuk	
332.	Knife	ɗyà	ɗyá	
333.	Comb	mancɛpɛ	—	
334.	Broom	warak	aŋwarak	
335.	Sack (trad.)	lègòt	légót	
336.	Sack (modern)	byàràk	byárák	
337.	Fireplace	ki-kik	a-kik	
338.	Shoe	i-kòmbòl	a-kòmbòl	
339.	Cloth	i-du	a-du	
340.	Grinding-stone Upper)	i-tam fòŋgi	a-tam fòŋgi	

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
341.	Grinding-stone (lower)	konki-tam fɔŋgi		
342.	Mortar (wood)	ku-ruŋ	a-ruŋ	cf. Pe utuŋ , Horom u-duŋ , PLC *-dùŋ . This may be an old Niger-Congo root derived from the verb 'to pound'. Hausa túrmí may be from this source.
343.	Pestle	rindɔn	a-rindɔn	
344.	Pot (generic)	i-kal	a-kal	
345.	Other pots I	i-pe	a-pe	cf. Berom péi ,
346.	Other pots II	ki-de	ni-de	cf. Berom rwei ,
347.	Other pots III	i-wi	a-wi	
348.	Other pots IV	i-pɔndɔŋ	ni-pɔndɔŋ	
349.	Head-pad	i-kat	a-kat	PB -kátà
350.	Basket (generic)	janziŋ	jánziŋ	
351.	Small basket	ki-ganziŋ	ni-ganziŋ	
352.	Winnowing tray	ki-ɓoo	a-ɓoo	
353.	Mat (generic)	ki-hu	ni-hu	
354.	Spear	yɔp	yɔp	cf. Berom yɔbo 'steel spring curled around the lower end of a spear',
355.	Bow	kwa	a-ta	Niger-Congo root #-ta .
356.	Arrow	fi	ti-fi	
357.	Quiver	bɔŋgiriɔ	a-bɔŋgiriɔ	cf. Mbd.
358.	Chain	manyaj	—	
359.	Rope	roi	soi	
360.	Cord for bundle	rik	a-rik	cf. P-Ijo ɗíkí 'rope'
361.	Stool	i-ka	a-ka	
362.	Wooden door	kuri	a-luri	
363.	Fence	i-wege	a-wege	
364.	Ladder	jɔŋgɔ	jɔŋgɔ	
365.	Bee-hive	i-puruŋ	a-puruŋ	
366.	Snare	ki-ret	a-ret	
367.	One	yunuŋ	—	cf. Berom gwīniŋ
368.	Two	yaare		
369.	Three	carer		
370.	Four	nyazil		
371.	Five	caan		
372.	Six	cimmin		cf. Berom tyiimin
373.	Seven	camba		cf. Berom taama , PB , P-Ijo sónómà
374.	Eight	kurir		
375.	Nine	koore		cf. Berom kūrū 'ten'
376.	Ten	tankiba		
377.	Eleven	ciris		
378.	Twelve	cukut		
379.	Thirteen	ikut ni cat		
380.	Fourteen	ikut ni nyas		
381.	Fifteen	ikut ni caan		
382.	Twenty	akut aɓa		the -ɓa element shows the common Niger-Saharan root for 'two', which has disappeared in the ordinary numeral 'two' (368.)
383.	Twenty-four	akut aɓa ninyas		
384.	Black	i-siri	a-siri	
385.	White	i-piŋi	a-piŋi	
386.	Red	i-sini	a-sini	
387.	Brown	wu-maŋ	nzu-maŋ	
388.	Blue	iyu		
389.	Green	mal niŋkɔt		'water of leaves'

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
390.	Yellow	mal mindot		
391.	Sweet	wiit		
392.	Bitter	ɓau		
393.	Half	iɓeri		
394.	Hot	maf		
395.	Cold	cit		
396.	Old	ikulle		objects only
397.	New	ipasi	a-pasi	
398.	Wet	ki-zumni	a-zumni	
399.	Dry	inkwontij		
400.	Smooth	muluk		
401.	Add to	silā		
402.	Answer (question)	guŋra		
403.	Ask a question	pyuŋgal		? cf. Berom rāngāl
404.	Ask/beg something	fet		
405.	Awaken (someone)	neziŋgi		
406.	Bark (dog)	busai		cf. Berom bwú
407.	Be bent	koka		
408.	Be heavy	inrup		
409.	Be on (s.t.)	ankizuŋ		
410.	Be rotten	tiɓós		cf. Berom ɓɔsɔ 'rotten'. P-Ijo ɓɔrɔ
411.	Be short	iɓeere		
412.	Beat	kiɗem		
413.	Become dry	ikore		? cf. Berom hwòròk 'to dry up'
414.	Begin	ŋɔr		
415.	Bite	rɔnte		cf. Berom rɔt
416.	Blow (flute etc.)	nyizal		
417.	Build (house etc)	lyɔ		cf. Berom lɔk , Shall lok ,
418.	Burn (fire burns)	pɔsse		? cf. Berom fwúsh 'to burn food', Fyem fwif 'burn off vegetation',
419.	Buy	se		cf. Berom sēi
420.	Call (to someone)	nyizal		
421.	Carve (wood etc.)	ɟipal		Widespread in Plateau, e.g. Kulu, Nindem, Kwanka sep and Jju ɟab , Cara ɟipal , Ningye, Bu ɟe , Pe ɟap , Hasha sep
422.	Catch	ɗut		cf. Rukul tut ,
423.	Chew	tali		cf. Berom tangal but #ta- is a Niger-Congo root.
424.	Choose	zara		
425.	Climb	gɔri		
426.	Close			
427.	Come	ve		cf. Berom vèi although this is a Niger-Congo root, usually with initial b-
428.	Come out (of room)	nus		cf. 'go out' (460.). cf. Berom nūsū
429.	Continue (to do s.t.)	mirawin		
430.	Cough	kiɓe		
431.	Count	ɓya		cf. Berom bara 'counting', PLC *-bàd , but a Niger-Congo root
432.	Cut down (tree)	tɛm		A widespread Niger-Congo root reconstructed by Westermann as #teN- for PWS.

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
433.	Cut in two	tin		
434.	Cut off (head etc.)	wunti		
435.	Dance	imwi		
436.	Die	ku		an ancient Niger-Congo root #ku
437.	Dig (earth etc.)	tis		
438.	Do/make I	nu		
439.	Do/make II	te		cf. Rukul tɛ ,
440.	Drag	kuse		
441.	Drink	sɔ		cf. Horom ʃɔ , Fyer ʃo . A common root shared by both Chadic and Plateau, probably originally Chadic (cf. Gerhardt 1983). Same as 'suck' (511.)
442.	Eat	re		cf. Shall ri , Fyem dé , Mabo ré , reflecting widespread -ri , -di roots found in Niger-Congo
443.	Enter	del		cf. Berom yel ⁺ , Aten lel , Fyem del , Rukul ryel ,
444.	Fall (rain)	go		cf. Fyem ho , Rukul kyɔ . The widespread Plateau forms have a labial velar, but ? cf. Wapan ko , Jar ko , Yala gwo
445.	Fall over	go amvel		'fall to ground'
446.	Feel (cold etc.)	ra		
447.	Fight (in war)	inlɔl		
448.	Finish (a task)	mana		widespread?
449.	Flog	tenze		
450.	Flow (water etc.)	tɛl		
451.	Fly (birds)	bur		cf. 'jump' (467.)
452.	Fold (cloth etc.)	gula		cf. Iʒon kuta
453.	Follow	rɔgal		cf. Berom rāā
454.	Forget	gile		
455.	Fry (in oil)	rak		
456.	Gather/collect	sita		
457.	Give	leŋ		
458.	Give birth	mat		A very widespread Niger-Congo root
459.	Go	geɛt		
460.	Go out/exit	nus		cf. 'come out' (428.). See also commentary
461.	Grind	kɔŋ		cf. Berom hwōngō , Rukul kwɔ , Pe kòk , Sur gwak , Yanʒam gba , Tarok kpà PLC -kók , but related to Ngas gwak
462.	Grow (plants)	kɔl		
463.	Hatch (egg)	tɛ		
464.	Hear	ra		cf. Shall ra ,
465.	Hit (drum etc.)	dɛm		cf. Berom tɛs
466.	Hunt	ʒam		cf. Berom jàmō
467.	Jump	bur		cf. 'fly' (451.)
468.	Kill	mu		? cf. Berom mōrō
469.	Know	idɔ		? cf. Berom tōk , PLC -dióŋ
470.	Laugh	sili		
471.	Lick	lale		cf. Berom lɛlɛ . #la- is an old Niger-Congo root for 'lick'.
472.	Lie down	lɔŋ		cf. Aten lal , Tarok dàl 'to stretch', Yeskwa lalo 'sleep', Mbe and Common Ekoid lál , PB #-dáád-
473.	Listen	ture kicɔ		
474.	Marry	yil		
475.	Measure			
476.	Mix	munda		
477.	Mould (pot)	lyɔ		

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
478.	Open	kubal		
479.	Plant (crop etc.)	tup		cf. Berom tūs
480.	Play	nuŋ kakal		
481.	Pound (in mortar)	to	pɔn in past tense	cf. Berom tō , Rukul tɔ , PLC túm .
482.	Pour (liquid)	zul		
483.	Pull	kɔs		cf. Berom hwɔʃɔ 'to pull along'
484.	Punch	aneturi		
485.	Receive	se		also 'take' (515.). cf. Berom sè 'to get'
486.	Refuse	gai		cf. Shall gyak , Berom kye ,
487.	Remember	kura		
488.	Return	duk		? cf. Berom tōyō . ? LC dók 'enter'.
489.	Ride (horse etc.)	gor		
490.	Roast on coals	pəsi		
491.	Run	tɛl		cf. Berom télé
492.	Say/speak	kali		cf. Berom ha ⁺ ,
493.	See	ri		cf. Berom dí , Yoruba rí ,
494.	Sell	rɛp		cf. Fyem rɛp but widespread in BC and reconstructed as #- rɛp - to PBC in Blench (ms.). Discussed in Gerhardt (1983). Also found in some neighbouring Chadic languages.
495.	Send	tuŋga		Probably connected with the ancient root # tom 'work, send'
496.	Sew			
497.	Shake	zura		
498.	Sharpen	lɔga		cf. Berom lɔ , Tarok lwà , Auchi dɔ , Jijili da ,
499.	Shoot (arrow)	ma		cf. 'throw' (517.)
500.	Sing	sip		
501.	Slap	dɛŋ		
502.	Slaughter (animal)	wunti		
503.	Sleep	git iŋra		
504.	Smash	pɔt		
505.	Smell			
506.	Snap in two	buke		? cf. Berom bwùnūt 'break into pieces', LC bùŋ
507.	Spit	tuu		cf. Berom túlūs
508.	Stand	nyizal		
509.	Steal	jan		
510.	Stir (soup)	zuza		? Berom sūk
511.	Suck (breast, orange)	sɔ		See 'drink' (441.).
512.	Surpass	far		
513.	Swallow	ŋɔl		
514.	Swim			
515.	Take	se		Same as 'receive' ()
516.	Tear (cloth etc.)	naga		
517.	Throw	ma		Same as 'shoot' (499.)
518.	Twist (rope etc.)	tɔs		cf. Rukul tɔl ,
519.	Uproot (tuber)	zunti		
520.	Walk	viri		
521.	Want/need	siket		? Berom sīmō
522.	Wash	l(y)anta		
523.	Wear	dɔ		
524.	Weep	tus		cf. Berom tōshō
525.	Work	nu cuncum		cf. Berom tòm 'work'

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
526.	I	mini		cf. Berom mé ,
527.	You	wunmi		
528.	He/she/it	yemmi		
529.	we	futte		
530.	you pl.	yimi		
531.	They	yemmen		cf. Berom yèn ,
532.	Who?	ŋan		
533.	Which?	weri		
534.	What?	yin		
535.	Where?	koi		

Edible and Useful Plants

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
536.	Guinea-yam ¹⁴	ki-pen	in-pen	
537.	Aerial yam ¹⁵	i-tɔ	a-tɔ	cf. Izere adom
538.	Water-yam ¹⁶	i-dɔŋ	a-dɔŋ	
539.	Taro (Old cocoyam) ¹⁷	gwekiri	adəkiri	also New cocoyam
540.	Sweet potato* ¹⁸	i-dukuma	a-dukuma	
541.	Cassava* ¹⁹	juniya	a-juniya	
542.	Wild yam	ki-pen kingingwe		‘yam of bush’
543.	Rizga ²⁰	i-vat	a-vat	cf. Berom vát
544.	Sorghum ²¹	yàà	yá	cf. Berom yare ⁺ , Mbd
545.	Bulrush millet (<i>maiwa</i>)	yuk	yúk	
546.	Bulrush millet (<i>gero</i>)	gayumba	—	
547.	Eleusine* (H. <i>tamba</i>) ²²	jèèlum	jélum	
548.	Fonio (H. <i>acca</i>) ²³	can	cán	
549.	Iburu (H. <i>iburu</i>) ²⁴	tamu		
550.	Maize* ²⁵	i-dènderi	a-dènderi	
551.	Rice* ²⁶	ʃikapa	—	<H.
552.	Cowpea ²⁷	rès	rés	
553.	Spiral cowpea	candaŋ	cándáŋ	
554.	Lima bean* (<i>Phaseolus lunatus</i>)	ren juwe		
555.	Bambara groundnut ²⁸	ɓi	ɓí	
556.	Groundnut (Peanut) ²⁹	ɓimbiri	ɓímbiri	

¹⁴ (*Dioscorea guineensis*)¹⁵ (*Dioscorea bulbifera*)¹⁶ (*Dioscorea alata*)¹⁷ (*Colocasia esculenta*)¹⁸ (*Ipomoea batatas*)¹⁹ (*Manihot esculenta*)²⁰ (*Solenostemon rotundifolius*)²¹ (*Sorghum bicolor*)²² (*Eleusine coracana*)²³ (*Digitaria exilis*)²⁴ (*Digitaria iburua*)²⁵ (*Zea mays*)²⁶ (*Oryza sativa/ glaberrima*)²⁷ (*Vigna unguiculata*)²⁸ (*Vigna subterranea*)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
557.	Tiger-nut ³⁰	pyoi	pyóí	
558.	Garden egg ³¹	jààri	jári	
559.	Okra ³²	i-kugi	a-kugi	
560.	Birdseye chili* ³³	bukunu	kwinyi	
561.	Onion ³⁴	lambasa	—	
562.	Garlic (<i>Allium sativum</i>)	buruma	—	
563.	Tomato ³⁵	i-kamatu	a-kamatu	
564.	Egusi melon ³⁶	i-guʃi	a-guʃi	< H.
565.	Edible squash ³⁷	ki-boloŋ	ni-boloŋ	
566.	Sorrel/roselle ³⁸	i-baguwa	a-baguwa	
567.	Jews' mallow ³⁹	i-kaluŋ	si-kaluŋ	
568.	Kenaf ⁴⁰	maʃiŋ	—	
569.	White sesame seeds ⁴¹	rér		
570.	Black sesame ⁴²	yotte	yótté	
571.	Sesame leaves ⁴³	asiŋwotte		
572.	Bitterleaf ⁴⁴	ikwe	site	
573.	Waterleaf* ⁴⁵	i-jeu	a-jeu	
574.	Pawpaw* ⁴⁶	i-kamus	a-kamus	<Kanuri
575.	Gourd (Generic)	cer	cér	
576.	Gourd-bottle ⁴⁷	i-ḅo	a-ḅo	
577.	Other gourds	cóm mal	cóm mál	‘water-gourd’
578.	Tobacco*	taba		
579.	Sugar-cane*	iŋvai		
580.	Fan-palm ⁴⁸	rḅ	a-rḅ	
581.	Monkey-guava ⁴⁹	buzut	a-buzut	
582.	Custard apple ⁵⁰	wuruŋ	aŋur	
583.	Wild date-palm ⁵¹	jegun	jégún	
584.	Baobab ⁵²	as H.		

²⁹ (*Arachis hypogaea*)³⁰ (*Cyperus esculentus*)³¹ (*Solanum melongena*)³² (*Abelmoschus esculentus*)³³ (*Capsicum annuum*)³⁴ (*Allium cepa*)³⁵ (*Lycopersicon esculentum*)³⁶ (*Citrullus lanatus*)³⁷ (*Cucurbita pepo*)³⁸ (H. yakuwa) (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*)³⁹ (H. lalo) (*Corchorus olitorius*)⁴⁰ (H. rama) (*Hibiscus cannabinus*)⁴¹ (H. Riđi) (*Sesamum indicum*)⁴² (*Sesamum radiatum*)⁴³ (H. karkashi)⁴⁴ *Vernonia amygdalina*⁴⁵ (*Amaranthus* spp)⁴⁶ (*Carica papaya*)⁴⁷ (*Lagenaria siceraria*)⁴⁸ (*Borassus aethiopum*)⁴⁹ (*Diospyros mespiliformis*)⁵⁰ (*Annona senegalensis*)⁵¹ (*Phoenix reclinata*)⁵² (*Adansonia digitata*)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
585.	Silk-cotton Tree ⁵³	fum	akum	cf. Izere kâkúm , Ningye kum , Mbd.
586.	Shea tree ⁵⁴	walaŋ	ajalaŋ	
587.	Locust tree ⁵⁵	lɔl	alɔl	cf. Ningye urò
588.	Locust fruit	i-dedel	a-dedel	
589.	Locust-bean cakes	ʃù	ʃú	
590.	Locust-bean seeds	nyangat	nyángát	
591.	Tamarind ⁵⁶	wam	awam	cf. Ningye mumwaŋ
592.	<i>Terminalia</i> sp. (H. baushe)	pyaŋ	pyáŋ	
593.	Black plum ⁵⁷	ru	aru	

Musical Instruments

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
594.	Drum	vin		tall ground-standing drum beaten with the hands
595.	Drum	cɛrentuk		Small size of vin
596.	Drum	i-gaŋgaŋ	a-gaŋgaŋ	long (1 m.) barrel-drum played for the chief
597.	Drum	cɛnjuk		small size of i-gaŋgaŋ
598.	Flute	ki-feruwa	ni-feruwa	notch-flutes used in tuned sets. The term probably borrowed from Hausa <i>sarewa</i> .
599.	Zither	ɖyop simɔ		~ of grass [?]
600.	Lute	ɖyop pike		~ of gourd [?]
601.	Harp	ɖyop penfɔn		~ of x [?]
602.	Horn	i-ratuŋ	a-ratuŋ	generic for transverse horns
603.	Large horn	ʃɛʃit		used by chiefs
604.	Small horn	marere		tuned sets
605.	Ankle rattles (iron)	i-hɔhɔi	a-hɔhɔi	
606.	Ankle rattles (palm-leaves)	i-caca	a-caca	

7. The affinities of Cara

The present study suggests that Cara is classified correctly as related to Berom. It shares a number of common lexical items, as well as correspondences in the class–prefixes. Nonetheless, the relationship is not close; Cara has many unique lexical items.

7.1 Relationship with Berom

7.2 Cara and Beromic

⁵³ (*Ceiba pentandra*)

⁵⁴ (*Vitellaria paradoxa*)

⁵⁵ (*Parkia biglobosa*)

⁵⁶ (*Tamarindus indica*)

⁵⁷ (*Vitex doniana*)

**Table 4. Isoglosses linking Cara with B
Gloss**

There are also common lexical items joining all three members of that again seem to be unusual (Table 5);

**Table 5. Isoglosses supporting
Gloss Cara**

Sound-correspondences:

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

Cara /d/ → Bo /r/

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Cara</u>
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Cara /y/ → Bo /ʒ/

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Cara</u>	<u>Bo</u>
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A larger set of lexical data would be needed to confirm these correspondences.

7.3 Links with Plateau

7.3.1 General

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

7.4 Conclusion

To tentatively summarise these results;

- a) Cara is a Plateau language
- b) Cara shows distinctive lexical links with Berom
- c) However, Aten cognates are few and far between

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