

# **BENUE-CONGO (and some Nilo- Saharan) ETYMOLOGIES**

**FOR**

## **HAUSA WORDS?**

**[DRAFT CIRCULATED FOR COMMENT -NOT FOR CITATION WITHOUT REFERENCE TO  
THE AUTHOR**

Roger Blench  
Kay Williamson Educational Foundation  
8, Guest Road  
Cambridge CB1 2AL  
United Kingdom  
Voice/Ans 0044-(0)1223-560687  
Mobile worldwide (00-44)-(0)7967-696804  
E-mail [rogerblench@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:rogerblench@yahoo.co.uk)  
<http://www.rogerblench.info/RBOP.htm>

This printout: May 24, 2011

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

Data sources ..... iii

1. Introduction ..... 1

2. Between Hausa and West Chadic..... 1

3. Eymological tables ..... 2

    3.1 Evidence confined to Niger-Congo and Chadic..... 2

    3.2 Cognates in Niger-Congo, Chadic and Nilo-Saharan ..... 17

4. Conclusion..... 22

References..... 22

**TABLES**

Table 1. Data sources ..... iii

Table 2. nine..... 2

Table 3. mother/woman ..... 2

Table 4. to wash (body)..... 3

Table 5. bed..... 3

Table 6. red, bright red ..... 3

Table 7. year..... 4

Table 8. porcupine..... 4

Table 9. agama lizard ..... 4

Table 10. water..... 5

Table 11. sun, day ..... 5

**Table 11.**..... 6

Table 12. lion ..... 6

Table 13. leopard..... 6

Table 14. month, moon ..... 7

Table 15. hare..... 7

Table 16. scorpion..... 8

Table 17. Want/need/like/love/wish..... 8

Table 18. Gourd (spherical) ..... 8

Table 19. doctor ..... 9

Table 20. hunger..... 9

Table 21. shoe ..... 10

Table 22. spear-grass..... 10

Table 23. kind, sort..... 10

Table 24. dance ..... 11

Table 25. stream ..... 11

Table 26. ram ..... 11

Table 27. baboon..... 12

Table 28. war..... 12

Table 29. axe ..... 12

Table 30. good, right ..... 13

Table 31. bulrush millet ..... 13

Table 32. iburu ..... 13

Table 33. half ..... 14

Table 34. Village/settlement ..... 14

Table 35. Female breast ..... 14

Table 36. flat rock ..... 15

Table 37. shelter ..... 15

Table 38. chew ..... 15

Table 39. meat..... 16

Table 40. oil ..... 16

Table 50. pumpkin ..... 17

Table 41. forest.....	17
Table 42. baobab .....	18
Table 43. pierce, stab .....	18
Table 44. bag.....	19
Table 45. Hooded vulture.....	19
Table 46. deafness, blindness.....	20
Table 47. mortar .....	20
Table 48. scabies .....	21
Table 49. animal stomach .....	21
Table 51. urine .....	21
<b>Table 52.</b> .....	<b>22</b>

## Data sources

**Table 1. Data sources**

Language(s)	Classification	Source or expansion
Aten		Bouquiaux (1964)
Babungo		Schaub & Nchio-Minkee (1982)
Bantoid		Piron (1996)
Berom	Plateau, Beromic	RMB
Bu	Plateau, Ninzic	RMB
Buji	East Kainji	BCCW
Proto-Nupoid		Blench ms.
Ce	Plateau, Ninzic	RMB
Common Bantu		Guthrie (1967-71)
Proto-Lower Cross		Connell 1991 & p.c.
Èdo		Agheyisi (1986)
Daka		Boyd & Fardon (ined)
Doka	N Plateau	RMB
Edoid		Elugbe (1989)
Eggon		RMB
Ejagham		Watters (ined)
Ekoid		Crabb (1969)
Elugbe 1989		Proto-Edoid
Emai		Schaefer (19xx)
Ewe		Rongier (1995)
Fyem	SE Plateau	RMB
Gbari of Kwali		RMB
Gerhardt 1983		Proto-Plateau 2
Gerhardt 1983		Proto-Plateau 4
Guthrie 1967-71		Common Bantu
Hausa		Abrahams (1962)
Horom	SE Plateau	RMB
Ibibio		Kaufmann (1985)
Idoma		Abrahams (1951)
Idoma		Armstrong (1963)
Igboid		Williamson & Ohiri-Aniche (ined.)
Ijoid		Williamson (ined.)
Ikoru 1989		Proto-Kegboid (Ogoni)
Izere		RMB
Jibu	Jukunoid	Shimizu (1980)
Jukunoid		Shimizu (1980)
Jukunoid wordlists		Storch (ined.)
Kambari	West Kainji	Hoffmann (1965)
Kulu		Moser (ined.)
Kwanja		Weber & Weber (n.d.)
Lower Cross		Connell (1991)
Mambila		Perrin & Mouh (1992)
Mambiloid		Connell (ined)
Manenguba		Hedinger (1987)
Mbe		Bamgboṣe, Ayo (ined)
Mkaa		Etamé (1995)
Mukarovsky 1976/77		Proto-Western Nigritic

**Table 1. Data sources**

<b>Language(s)</b>	<b>Classification</b>	<b>Source or expansion</b>	
Ningye	Plateau, Ninzic	RMB	
Ninzo		Hoerner (19xx)	
Nizaa		Endresen (1992)	
No source		Proto-Atlantic-Congo	
North Guang		Snider (1990)	
Nupe		Banfield (1914)	
Nyang		Tyhurst and Tyhurst (1983)	
Olulumo		Upper Cross	BCCW
Plateau 2 & 4			Gerhardt (1983)
Proto-Bantu			Meussen (1980)
Proto-Eastern Grassfields	East Kainji	Elias, Leroy, Voorhoeve (1984)	
Ribina		BCCW	
Salka Kambari		Hoffmann (1965)	
Shimizu 1980		Proto-Central Jukunoid	
Shimizu 1980		Proto-Jukunoid	
Tikar		Jackson (1988)	
Tiv		Abrahams (1940)	
Twi		Christaller (1933)	
West Kainji		Regnier (ined.)	
Westermann 1927		Proto-West Sudanic	
Williamson in prep	Proto-Ijò		
Yoruba	Abrahams (1958)		

## 1. Introduction

The Hausa language is the best-known of the Chadic languages and yet at the same time one of the most aberrant, lexically speaking. Carl Hoffmann (1970) pointed out some time ago that the levels of documentation available for Hausa have often encouraged comparativists to take it as an example of a Chadic language thereby arriving at misleading results. Indeed, one consequence is an older literature arguing that Hausa was not Chadic, or even not ‘Hamito-Semitic’. That debate is effectively over, but perhaps the issues that were its genesis are not fully resolved – Hausa *is* lacking in many common Chadic roots, notably ‘meat’, ‘moon’, ‘night’, ‘ram’, ‘sleep’, ‘sun’, ‘stone’, ‘tooth’, ‘two’ and ‘water’. If convincing etymologies could be uncovered for the aberrant lexemes it would also throw significant light on the history of the language as a whole.

Hausa is by far the most widespread Chadic language and presumably during the undocumented period of its expansion must have assimilated speakers of many other languages as it has continued to do in the twentieth century (Blench 1999, 2010). The direction of the expansion of Hausa has been much debated, but its source must have been in the east of its present range, simply because that is where all the other Chadic languages are situated. Whether it underwent a secondary expansion from Sokoto is still under discussion. The languages initially encountered would have been of the Gur-Adamawa group, since in many ways these bracket Hausa geographically today. Subsequently, Hausa there seems to have been a northwards expansion of Benue-Congo languages, both Plateau and West Benue-Congo languages of the Nupoid group. Even today there are Gwarawa (i.e. former Gbari speakers) up near Zaria, in the heartland of Hausa. Finally, there must also have been assimilation of Chadic languages, both those on the eastern border with Kanuri and Plateau Chadic, such as those of the Ron group. Greenberg (1960) identified a series of direct borrowings from Kanuri into Hausa, but there are also curious similarities to Nilo-Saharan languages further east, which suggest that the expansion of Chadic also overwrote now-vanished groups of Nilo-Saharan speakers.

Although etymological dictionaries are not common for African languages, primary documentation being the more urgent task, there is a tradition in AA, notably in Ethiosemitic. Hausa etymologies have been the subject of some article-length publications (e.g. Gouffé 1970-71, 1971-72, 1974, 1982; Skinner 1981, 1984) and a ‘Comparative Dictionary’ (Skinner 1996). Skinner’s dictionary (henceforth CDH), is a major contribution in this area, but it is, as the title makes clear, a comparative listing, in other words, it usually eschews etymological hypotheses in favour of lookalikes. It is, moreover, extremely Afroasiatic-oriented and tends to prefer an unlikely lookalike in Omotic to a more probable cognate from another language phylum closer to hand in Nigeria.

Hoffmann’s article, cited above, was probably the first publication to canvas the possibility of Benue-Congo loans into Chadic. More recently, several articles on Plateau languages have noted the significant flow of both lexicon and morphosyntax between Plateau and Chadic (e.g. Gerhardt 1983). It seems likely therefore, that the East Benue-Congo languages, especially Kainji and Plateau, have contributed to the Hausa lexicon and may be the source of the aberrancy noted above. §3. is series of etymological tables with commentary proposing such etymologies<sup>1</sup>.

The hypothesis, that Hausa assimilated Gur-Adamawa, Benue-Congo and Chadic languages during its expansion, suggests that we should also be able to detect further etymons in the first two (and subtle analysis might even succeed in the case of distinct Chadic languages). I hope to make the West Benue-Congo and Gur-Adamawa languages the subjects of future papers.

## 2. Between Hausa and West Chadic

Hausa is a West Chadic language, but as the literature makes clear, a rather unusual one, with only the little-studied Gwandara a close relative. Common Chadic roots present in West Chadic are missing in Hausa. However, the other side of the coin is that Hausa has been enormously influential on the lexicon of minority languages and there are many loanwords in all semantic areas. Given that words in West Chadic would be

---

<sup>1</sup> My thanks to Anne Storch for reading a first version of this paper and for adding likely Jukunoid cognates and to Maarten Kossmann, who improved the references to Arabic and Nilo-Saharan languages.

expected to be cognate anyway, it is often not easy to establish whether a particular word is an old cognate or a phonologised Hausa loan. No doubt once our phonological understanding is better such borrowings will be discernible, but research moves on slowly and not always in the most hopeful direction. West Chadic citations are listed below with the possible caveat that they are disguised Hausa borrowings.

### 3. Eymological tables

The data tables exclude the word for ‘two’ fully discussed in Hoffmann (1970:4)

#### 3.1 Evidence confined to Niger-Congo and Chadic

**Table 2.** nine

Hausa	<b>tàrà</b>		
<b>Other Language</b>	<b>Chadic Attestation</b>	<b>Plateau or other Language</b>	<b>Benue-Congo Attestation</b>
Hona	<b>wùtarè</b>	Horom	<b>taras</b>
		Fyem	<b>téres</b>
		Ce	<b>ataras</b>
		Ningye	<b>tɛɾɛs</b>
		Bu	<b>tra</b>
		Doka	<b>o-tara</b>
		Buji	<b>toroy</b>
		Jibə	<b>tōrhōnnì</b>

**Commentary:** Skinner (1996:253) connects this with Ron ‘hand’, its widespread presence throughout Plateau argues that this is a more likely source. BCCW, II:444 supposes these are simply borrowed *from* Hausa, but the absence of widespread Chadic cognates argues for the opposite direction. The likely internal source of this word in Plateau is for languages with a duodecimal system is #tar- ‘three’ plus a suffix indicating an original compound meaning 3 x 3. The root is also found in compounds in other numbers (see Rukul ‘seven’). The Hona citation is isolated and may well be a chance resemblance. The word for ‘ten’ in some languages may also be cognate, e.g. Janji **turo**.

**Refs:** BCCW, II:444; Skinner (1996:253)

**Table 3.** mother/woman

Hausa	<b>uwaa</b>			
<b>Other Language</b>	<b>Chadic Attestation</b>	<b>Plateau or other</b>	<b>Benue-Congo Language</b>	<b>Attestation</b>
		Plateau	Bu	<b>iwa</b> ‘wife’
			Ningye	<b>uwa</b> ‘wife’
			Ce	<b>uwa</b>
			Ribina	<b>ù-wáí</b>
			Berom	<b>hwā</b>
		Jukunoid	Jibu	<b>ú-wà</b>
			Hone	<b>wà</b> ‘wife’
			Hone	<b>wūrà</b> ‘woman’
		Cross River	Olulumo	<b>ò-wà</b>

**Commentary:** Skinner (1996:278) connects the Hausa form with widespread Chadic terms for ‘breast, milk’, reconstructed by Newman to Proto-Chadic \*wādi. The common West Chadic for ‘woman’ is #nVnV and this may well show up in Hausa as **nono** ‘breast’ suggesting a semantic reversal. However, a Plateau source would obviate the need for such a shift. BCCW, I:160 speculates that this form may be a weakening of the more widespread #kwadi. If so, something like Berom **hwa** could be the link. Words for ‘child’ often resemble those for ‘mother’ and forms such as tHun **wa** ‘child may also be cognate.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:278)

**Table 4.** to wash (body)

Hausa **wankèè**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
Ngas	<b>vaŋ</b>	Horom	<b>wɔn</b>
Kofyar	<b>vaŋ</b>	Fyem	<b>wón</b>
Mwaghavul	<b>fwàŋ</b>	Tarok	<b>wòr</b>
		Jukunoid?	<b>wur</b>

**Commentary:** Skinner (1996:282) connects this with widespread Chadic forms meaning ‘rain’ and rather more remote Afroasiatic citations such as HEC **wa’a** ‘water’. Deriving this from Plateau would seem to be simpler, especially as the few apparent cognates in other West Chadic languages are confined to one small area. The source of the Hausa **-ke** affix is yet to be determined.

**Refs:** J & I (1994, II:338-9); Skinner (1996:282)

**Table 5.** bed

Hausa **gado**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
		Berom	<b>gwāt</b> pl. <b>gat</b>
		Horom	<b>gàŋ</b> pl. <b>ì-gàŋ</b>

**Commentary:** Skinner (1996:74) connects this with words for ‘mat’ in remoter Chadic languages, not very convincingly, e.g. Bole **dawu**, Tumak **ge**. One aspect of this is that there are various types of bed in the Plateau region, those made of cornstalks and those of mud, which seems to have been the traditional type. Hausa probably borrowed this word to apply to the mud bed.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:74)

**Table 6.** red, bright red

Hausa **jaa**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Language	Attestation
Ngas	<b>jan</b>	Plateau	Berom	<b>jwá</b>
		Kainji	tHun	<b>za</b>
		Jukunoid	Wap <sup>ha</sup>	<b>gbān</b>
			Hone	<b>à-gwòn</b>
		Cross River	Ibibio	<b>dáná</b>
		Nupoid	Nupe	<b>dzúrí</b>
		Ewic	Ewe	<b>dzì</b>

**Commentary:** Westermann (1927:215) notes this as scattered throughout the Benue-Kwa area, while Skinner (1996:119) tries to find cognates within the Afroasiatic zone, bringing in forms for ‘to be ripe’ and



‘red metal’. It seems much more likely that the Hausa is borrowed from Benue-Congo languages and then borrowed by Ngas (the Ngas form cited by Skinner is not the normal Ngas word).

**Refs:** Westermann (1927:215), Skinner (1996:119)

**Table 7.** year  
Hausa **shekara**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
		Berom	ʃēi pl. neʃei
		Ningye	ʃe pl. ʃiʃe
		Bu	isɛ
		Pe	isè
		Cinda	ʃi
		Shama	ʃi

**Commentary:** Hausa **shekara** also means ‘to spend the rainy season’, a concept also found in Plateau languages, although sometimes with different lexemes. If the #ʃe forms in Plateau are cognate then the –**kara** element needs to be explained. Skinner (1996:243) cites Central and East Chadic forms meaning ‘to pass time’ such as Gude **kirə** and Lele **kāl** ‘*passer*’. Cushitic also seems to have similar forms for ‘rainy season’ e.g. Haddiya **kār**, but this may be just coincidence.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:243)

**Table 8.** porcupine  
Hausa **beguwa**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
		Berom	kwáyá pl. bekwaya
		Jukunoid?	kahiri
			kakyir

**Commentary:** Skinner (1996:20) compares Twareg **emayay**, and Tumak **mōg**, neither of which are very convincing. However, the comparison with Berom does depend on Hausa having borrowed the plural form. However, there is a curious piece of confirmatory evidence. Hausa also uses **makaya** for porcupine which derives from **kaya** ‘spine’, presumably cognate with the singular Berom form. Porcupine would thus be ‘spines’.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:20)

**Table 9.** agama lizard  
Hausa **kadangare**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation	Gloss
Sha	kàndàr	Izere	àdàŋ	lizard
		Berom	kadeŋ	land monitor
		Lopa	kadaŋgi	river frog

Rogo	<b>u-kundu</b>	river frog
------	----------------	------------

**Commentary:** Skinner (1996:165) relates this to central Chadic forms such as Karekare **dəŋkura** and Ngizim **dəkura**, and notes that a -gVrV suffix appears also occur in Nilo-Saharan languages of the Maba group (see Edgar 1991). However, with Benue-Congo cognates much closer to hand it seems just as likely that these are the proximate source and the forms in central Chadic are loans.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:165)

**Table 10.** water

Hausa **ruwaa**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
Galambu	<b>rwa</b> ‘river’	Nupe Gbari	<b>nuwã</b> <b>nuwa</b>

**Commentary:** Skinner (1996:222) does not mention Benue-Congo cognates, but these are present in Nupoid and can probably be reconstructed to some depth they make a likely candidate for the source of Hausa **ruwaa**.

The other significant competing source is Arabic;

Standard Arabic	<b>rawiya</b>	‘to drink one’s fill’
Standard Arabic	<b>rawaa</b>	fresh (water)
Moroccan Arabic	<b>rəwa</b>	<i>pluie abondante qui détrempe le sol</i>
Source : Kossmann (p.c.)		

No such terms are recorded in Chadian Arabic according to the massive dictionary of Julien de Pommerol (1999) making it likely that the Arabic is just a coincidence.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:222)

**Table 11.** sun, day

Hausa **rana**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Niger-Congo Attestation
Gwandara	<b>rara</b>	Central Kambari	<b>uu-rana</b>
Daffo	<b>reén</b>	tHun	<b>u-ren</b> ‘moon’
Ngizim	<b>ɫanu</b> ‘become light’	Shama	<b>riŋwan</b> ‘star’
		Mumuye	<b>lā</b>
		PWN	<b>*lan-</b> ‘to shine’

**Commentary:** Skinner (1996:215) points to the probable Niger-Congo source of this word. Orel & Stolbova (1995) reconstruct \*ra’ for Afroasiatic though their support for this is, to put it kindly, limited. The Daffo form is isolated in the Ron group, suggesting a recent loan. Quite a number of West Kainji languages have words for ‘moon’ and ‘star’ that look as if they might be cognate.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:215)

**Table 12.** egg  
Hausa **ƙwǎy**

Language	s.	pl.
Plateau		
Kuturmi	<b>ikpa</b>	<b>akpa</b>
Kulu	<b>di-kpa<sup>+</sup></b>	<b>ε-kpa<sup>+</sup></b>
Ningye	<b>kpaŋ</b>	
Ninzo	<b>inkpe</b>	
Ndun	<b>kyɛbí</b>	
Shakara	<b>akebi</b>	
Ake	<b>ake</b>	
Jili	<b>kúkpa</b>	<b>ákpa</b>
Jijili	<b>akpa</b>	

**Commentary:** This word has widespread Chadic and Nilo-Saharan cognates.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:178)

**Table 13.** lion

Hausa **záákii**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
	<b>jákyi</b>	Cara Sham	<b>ziki</b> pl. <b>a-zaki</b> <b>ə-zak</b>

**Commentary:** The Hausa term for ‘lion’ has definitely been borrowed back into some Benue-Congo languages (e.g. Kulu **ì-zákì**) and into Chadic (e.g. North and South Bauchi languages) and the case made here is thus framed with caveats. Skinner (1996:295) links Hausa **záákii** with Nilo-Saharan terms for ‘elephant’, an unusual semantic shift. He also cites some Chadic resemblances such Ngizim **jagaɫau** but this seems unconvincing.

**Refs:** J & I (1994, II:226-7); Skinner (1996:295)

**Table 14.** leopard

Hausa **dààmísàà**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
		Pe	<b>ì-damu</b> pl. <b>i-dámú</b>
		Tarok	<b>ìdàmŋ</b>
		Kwanka	<b>tam</b>
		Gyong	<b>dem</b>
		Buta	<b>dum</b>

**Commentary:** Skinner (1996:42) links this form with so many external citations that is difficult to establish what hypothesis is being promoted. The link with Niger-Congo is with the Bantu root **\*-cimba** for ‘cat’ which gives the well-known forms **simba** for lion. He also proposes a link with words for ‘hyena’ such as Gwandara **tamusu**. I do not believe that any of these are fact cognate and that the Tarokoid forms are a

better etymology, although the final **-sàà** in Hausa remains unexplained. J & I (1994, II:222-3) do not propose a cognate for the Hausa form within Chadic.

**Refs:** J & I (1994, II:222-3); Skinner (1996:42)

**Table 15.** month, moon

Hausa	<b>wátàà</b>			
<b>Other</b>	<b>Chadic</b>	<b>Plateau or other</b>	<b>Benue-Congo</b>	
<b>Language</b>	<b>Attestation</b>	<b>Language</b>	<b>Attestation</b>	
Gwandara (N)	<b>wónta</b>	Kambari Səgə̀muk	<b>wò̀̀̀tá</b> pl. <b>vò̀̀̀tə</b> <b>o-wat</b>	

**Commentary:** Skinner (1996:284) links this with Newman’s Proto-Chadic **\*tə̀̀̀ra** which is more evidently cognate with Hausa **taura** for ‘star’. It is more likely that the Hausa lexeme is unrelated and has a separate source.

**Refs:** J & I (1994, II:238-9); Skinner (1996:284)

**Table 16.** hare

Hausa	<b>zóómóó</b>			
<b>Other</b>	<b>Chadic</b>	<b>Family</b>	<b>Plateau or other</b>	<b>Niger-Congo</b>
<b>Language</b>	<b>Attestation</b>		<b>Language</b>	<b>Attestation</b>
Mundat	<b>sumór</b>	Plateau	Horom	<b>ń-zòm</b>
Karfa	<b>sumbóór</b>		Fyem	<b>ʃàmbor</b>
Burma	<b>zobm</b>		Cara	<b>izum</b>
Gera	<b>sumbur</b>	Tarokoid	Tarok	<b>izum</b>
		Jukunoid	?	<b>zomdáw</b>
			cLela	<b>zomo</b>
			Gbaya	<b>ɗòmɔ</b>

**Commentary:** Skinner (1996:299) notes Chadic cognates but fails to cite the widespread Benue-Congo cognates. This root is widespread within Plateau and Kainji and the cLela form may give a clue to its origin. The **-mo** is a noun-class suffix and the root is **zo**. Hare would have been widely borrowed because the hare features as the central character in numerous folktales. The link with Gbaya is surprising, as cognate forms do not otherwise seem to have been reported from Adamawa languages. The isolated Fyem form is likely to be a loan from Chadic: but a more complex question is whether the Chadic roots with the #s-mb-r frame are in fact the same root as the z-m forms.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:299)

**Table 17.** scorpion

Hausa **kunāma**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
Gwandara	<b>kurami</b>	Horom Kuki Proto-Central Gur	<b>karaman</b> <b>a-na</b> <b>*-nam</b>

**Commentary:** The Hausa term is almost certainly a form of the widespread Niger-Congo root **\*-nam-** with a **ku-** prefix typical of Plateau. The Horom form, then would not be original to Plateau but perhaps a borrowing from Gwandara or a similar now-extinct Chadic language.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:152)

**Table 18.** Want/need/like/love/wish

Hausa **soo**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Family	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
Gwandara	<b>fo</b>	Plateau	Ningye Bu Mada Amo	<b>so</b> <b>su</b> <b>sɔ</b> <b>u-su</b>
		Kainji	Piti tHun	<b>so</b> <b>cɔn</b>
		Jukunoid	Takum ?	<b>syō</b> <b>faŋ</b>
		Cross River	Ogbia	<b>à-sóò</b>

**Commentary:** Apart from the Gwandara, Skinner (1996:234) cannot find many convincing Chadic cognates for this Hausa word, although some other branches of Afroasiatic suggest possible lookalikes. However, Occam's razor suggests the source of this word is closer to home. BCCW, II:392 identifies some Plateau forms as loans from Hausa, but given the widespread if scattered presence of this root, this is probably unnecessary.

**Refs:** BCCW, II:392; Skinner (1996:234)

**Table 19.** Gourd (spherical)

Hausa **kondo**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
		Toro	<b>kòndò</b>
		Alumu	<b>hwondò</b>
		cLela	<b>ì-hònò</b>
		Tyap	<b>hám</b>

**Commentary:** The name **kondo** is applied to the large spherical gourds used for drums and as floats for rafting across rivers. The term has also been borrowed from Hausa into other languages, such as Nupe **kondo**

Refs:

**Table 20.** doctor

Hausa **bokaa**

<u>Other Language</u>	<u>Chadic Attestation</u>	<u>Plateau or other Language</u>	<u>Benue-Congo Attestation</u>
		Jju	à-bvók
		Aten	abo
		Ikun	obok
		Ura	m-buwa
		Esimbi	wèèki pl. bèèkì
		PM	*-bóŋ
		Igala	oboci
		Èdo	ò-bô
		Ishe	òbùgùl
		Nupe	bōci
		Idoma	oboci

**Commentary:** Strangely the obvious Niger-Congo sources for this Hausa term are ignored by Skinner (1996:24) in favour of some rather unlikely remote Afroasiatic cognates. Tarok, **aboka**<sup>+</sup>, has reborrowed the term from Hausa with the meaning ‘mirror’. Some Kainji languages, e.g. cLela **boka** may be reborrowings from Hausa.

Refs: Skinner (1996:24)

**Table 21.** hunger

Hausa **yúnwàà**

<u>Other Language</u>	<u>Chadic Attestation</u>	<u>Plateau or other Language</u>	<u>Benue-Congo Attestation</u>
Mangar	<b>yuŋ</b>	Fyem	<b>yóŋ</b>
		Tarok	<b>ayáŋ</b>
		Sur	<b>yyɔŋ</b>

**Commentary:** J & I (1994, II:196-7) and Skinner (1996:292) do not cite any Chadic cognates for Hausa **yúnwàà**, but rather Semitic and Cushitic forms **#gor-**. However, it is clear that there is a proto-Chadic form **#mai** which Hausa does not share. Mangar **yuŋ** is probably also a loan from a Benue-Congo language.

Refs: J & I (1994, II:196-7); Skinner (1996:292)

**Table 22.** shoe

Hausa **tākalmi**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
Ngas	<b>kap</b>	Pe	<b>kap</b>
Daffo	<b>sàkpàk</b>	Tarok	<b>akwàp</b>
Karfa	<b>àkpaksâk</b>	Yaṅkam	<b>taxap</b>
		Sur	<b>tukwa</b>
		Horom	<b>paksak</b>
		Rukul	<b>i-kpakəsak</b>
		Fyem	<b>k<sup>w</sup>arzák</b>
		Lopa	<b>rə-katsu</b>
		cLela	<b>u-kata</b>
		Ror	<b>u-kaat</b>
		Ebira	<b>tekerem</b>

**Commentary:** Undoubtedly a term much borrowed and compounded, hence the highly irregular reflexes. The Ebira term looks like a loan from Hausa, while the Ngas term is probably a loan from another Plateau language such as Tarok. The ta- in Hausa is probably an old Plateau **tu-** prefix, with leftwards vowel assimilation as the Sur and Yangkam citations suggest. The origin of the **-mi** suffix in Hausa is unknown, though cf. the similar **turmi**.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:250)

**Table 23.** spear-grass

Hausa **tofa**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
Tsagu	<b>tohoi</b> ('grass')	? hone	<b>sūŋ</b>
		Gbari of Kwali	<b>etó</b>

**Commentary:**

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:258)

**Table 24.** kind, sort

Hausa **iri**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
Monguna	<b>arés</b> 'seed'	Izere	<b>kuri pl. iri</b>
		Cara	<b>dī</b> 'seed'
		Nupe	<b>yiri, liri, riri</b>
		Yoruba	<b>iru</b>

**Commentary:** The other meaning of the Hausa term is 'seed' and this seems to have some external Afroasiatic cognates. The Benue-Congo cognates suggest that these two have become homophones in Hausa

but have ultimately different etymological sources. The Bole ‘àrè cited by Skinner is clearly not cognate but the widespread form #vare with initial consonant loss.

**Refs:** J & I (1994, II:286-7); Skinner (1996:117)

**Table 25.** dance

Hausa **ráwáá**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
		Jili	<b>rà</b>
		Kuki	<b>rago</b> ‘play’
		Rogo	<b>ragu</b>

**Commentary:** J & I (1994, II:100-101) identify as Chadic cognates forms such as Masa **lyúúnaa** and Kabalai **sì kərà**, but do not suggest any West Chadic cognates. EBC cognates seem a more promising source for otherwise the isolated Hausa lexeme. ‘Play’ and ‘dance’ are frequently intertwined lexically.

**Refs:** J & I (1994, II:100-101); Skinner (1996:217)

**Table 26.** stream

Hausa **rafi**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
Gwandara	<b>lahwa</b>	tHun	<b>o-rəw</b>
		Regi	<b>a-rab</b>
		Regi	<b>rwag</b> ‘river’

**Commentary:** The alternation in Regi suggests that C<sub>2</sub> was once \*gb and that the tHun form represents the weakened version of this. If the Hausa is cognate, then the origin of the –fi needs to be explained.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:212)

**Table 27.** ram

Hausa **rago**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
		cLela	<b>ragu-m</b>

**Commentary:**

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:213)



**Table 28.** baboon

Hausa **goggo, gwaggo**

<b>Other Language</b>	<b>Chadic Attestation</b>	<b>Plateau or other Language</b>	<b>Benue-Congo Attestation</b>
Gwandara	<b>agbām</b>	Fyem	<b>gwòm</b>
Dera	<b>gom</b>	Berom	<b>bōgòm</b>
Zul	<b>gwomi</b>	Aten	<b>bagu</b>
Mwaghavul	<b>kwom</b>	Izere	<b>àgbóòm</b>
		Nupe	<b>gbogi</b>
		Lopa	<b>gbədəgi</b>

**Commentary:** The Hausa form looks like a reduplication, and may thus be a borrowing from an as yet unidentified Plateau language, such as Hasha, which uses this type of syllable reduplication as a pluralisation strategy. Hausa shows no sign of the bilabial nasal found in other languages both BC and Chadic.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:95)

**Table 29.** war

Hausa **yāki**

<b>Other Language</b>	<b>Chadic Attestation</b>	<b>Plateau or other Language</b>	<b>Benue-Congo Attestation</b>
Gwandara	<b>yākyi</b>	Hyam	<b>ywaa</b>
		Regi	<b>gyas</b>

**Commentary:** BCCW, II:396 notes that some languages such as Kadara have borrowed from Hausa. If the Kainji forms are cognate then they must have weakened to a palatal in Plateau proper before being borrowed into Hausa.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:288)

**Table 30.** axe

Hausa **gātari**

<b>Other Language</b>	<b>Chadic Attestation</b>	<b>Plateau or other Language</b>	<b>Benue-Congo Attestation</b>
Gwandara	<b>gante</b>	Berom	<b>kátèm pl. nàtèm</b>

**Commentary:**

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:80)

**Table 31. good, right**  
Hausa **dede**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation	Gloss
		Ninzo	<b>dzidzi</b>	Good character

**Commentary:**

**Refs:**

**Table 32. bulrush millet**  
Hausa **maiwa**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
Ngas		Yeskwa	<b>imala</b>
Fyer	<b>mar</b>	Tarok	<b>ìmàr</b>
		Sur	<b>mər</b>
		Nupe	<b>mayi</b>
		Gbari	<b>mawyi</b>
		Yoruba	<b>emeye</b>

**Commentary:** Nupe and Yoruba are rather south of the traditional millet-growing area, so it is quite likely that Nupe is a compounded loan (-**yi** is a suffix for cereals) and that Yoruba is borrowed from Nupe. Fyer **mar** is probably a loaned from neighbouring Tarokoid or Ngas.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:193)

**Table 33. iburu**  
Hausa **iburu**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
		Kulu	<b>èwurù</b>
		Izere	<b>àbùr</b>
		Aten	<b>abut</b>
		Berom	<b>but</b>
		Mala	<b>ibulu</b> ?< Hausa

**Commentary:** Skinner (1996:114) gives the Latin name of the crop as *Digitaria exilis* which is a confusion for fonio; iburu is *Digitaria iburua*. Although he compares the Hausa name to Ngas **balwo** ‘maize’ and even more remote forms such as Dahalo, a much simpler hypothesis would simply assume this is a borrowing from Plateau languages. Plateau peoples presumably domesticated the crop, which only grows in this region of Africa, and presumably their common name for it would be borrowed by incoming Hausa to whom the crop would be unfamiliar.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:114)

**Table 34.** half

Hausa **raabi**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
		Berom	rēbit pl. babit

**Commentary:**

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:xx)

**Table 35.** Village/settlement

Hausa **tungaa**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
		Kulu	u-toŋ <sup>+</sup> pl. ì-toŋ

**Commentary:**

**Refs:**

**Table 36.** Female breast

Hausa **mààmáá**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
Zaar	mààma	Fyem Horom Vute	moma pl. bà-mòma màmà maà

**Commentary:** The problem with the analysis of this word is that it also means ‘mother’ and words for ‘mother’ with the consonant frame m-m- are worldwide. I have therefore stuck fairly strictly to languages where the meaning is definitely ‘breast’. **mààmáá** is not the normal Hausa word for ‘breast’, which is **nono**.

**Refs:** Nettle (1998); Skinner (1996:195)

**Table 37.** flat rock

Hausa **fā, pā**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation	Gloss
Mwaghavul	<b>paŋ</b>	Berom Tyap cluster Hyam Ce Ningye Tarok Piti Jibu	<b>fwà</b> pl. <b>betà</b> <b>#faŋ</b> <b>saŋ</b> <b>kɔ̀-bán</b> <b>mpaŋ</b> <b>ìpaŋ</b> <b>ri-pan</b> <b>ábǎ</b>	stone 'flat rock' 'flat rock'   stone ? C

**Commentary:** Many Plateau languages have distinct lexemes for 'stone' and the distinctive 'flat rock' area characteristic of the inselbergs and other dissected landscape typical of the area. It is therefore quite credible that Chadic speakers coming in would have kept words for stone and borrowed words for 'flat rock'. Hausa probably borrowed from Berom or a similar language, as it shows no trace of the nasalisation common in Plateau and borrowed into Mwaghavul. The Berom forms show that despite appearances to the contrary, **#fa** forms in Plateau are cognate with the widespread Niger-Congo root **#ta**. Berom exhibits consonant alternation, with f/t being a common category.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:61)

**Table 38.** shelter

Hausa **bukka**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Gloss	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
Ngas Ngizim Gera	<b>puk</b> <b>baka</b> <b>buhu</b> (?)	grass hut  house	Berom	<b>búk</b> pl. <b>bǔk</b>

**Commentary:** This word has passed into common Nigerian English as 'shelter', 'small hut'.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:25)

Mada tur                      v.                      pushtura                      tur yē push it                      tūr

**Table 39.** chew

Hausa **tauna, tamna**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
		Eggon Cinda	<b>táj</b> 'bite' <b>təin</b> 'bite'

**Commentary:**

**Refs:** BCCW, I:44, Skinner (1996:255)

**Table 40.** meat  
Hausa

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation
Ngas	<b>nam</b>	Tyap	<b>nam</b>
Gwandara	<b>nama</b>	cLela	<b>nəmə</b>
Tangale	<b>nam</b>	Bokyi	<b>e-ɲam</b>
		Degema	<b>è-námí</b>
		Proto-Bantu	<b>*-ɲàmà</b>
		Reshe	<b>hi-nama</b>

**Commentary:** Meinhof (1912:233) first drew attention to the comparison between Bantu, Fulfulde **ɲama** and Hausa **nama** and his failure to note that no other Chadic languages have a similar lexeme allowed him to use it as evidence in his spurious Hamitic theorising. Hoffmann (1970:19) may be the first to state explicitly that this must be a loan from Benue-Congo. The root #nam- is found widely in Niger-Congo (see commentary in BCCW, I:4) and Mukarovsky (1976/77:xx) gives a PWN reconstruction as \*-nam-. The scattered Chadic citations suggest that it has been borrowed a number of times separately. The table only cites a few of the many Niger-Congo cognates, but BCCW, I:4 provides many others. It is at least possible that this term has a still wider distribution in Africa since a common Nilo-Saharan term for ‘to eat’ is #**nyam**. Skinner (1996:207) connects this with the widespread #na roots for ‘cattle’ which is also a possibility.

**Refs:** Meinhof (1912:233), Westermann (1927:269-270), Hoffmann (1970:19), BCCW, I:4 & II:240 Mukarovsky (1976/77:xx), Skinner (1996:207)

**Table 41.** oil  
Hausa **mai**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation	Gloss
Mundat	<b>mâr</b>	Rukul	<b>manai</b>	oil
		Təsu	<b>amɛnɛ</b>	oil
		Gure	<b>mani</b>	oil
		Kahugu	<b>mani</b>	oil
		Kambari	<b>màni'ĩ</b>	oil
		Lopa	<b>m-mi</b>	water
		sSaare	<b>m-mi</b>	water
Proto-Chadic	<b>*mar</b>	Rogo	<b>mani</b>	water

**Commentary:** The inclusion of terms for ‘water’ is highly speculative, but the similarity of forms suggests a possible link. If Proto-Chadic \*mar is correctly reconstructed then Chadic may be the ultimate source of this term. However, the Hausa form looks like the Benue-Congo terms with –ni with nasal deletion. It may therefore be that the ultimate source of the Benue-Congo forms is Chadic, but that once \*mar had been transformed in –**mani** it was loaned back into Hausa. The expression **ba mai sai Allah**, affixed to many motor-bikes, means ‘there is no lord but God’ *not* ‘no petrol except through God’.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:192)

**Table 42.** pumpkin  
Hausa **kàbéwàà**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Niger-Congo Language	Attestation	Gloss	Nilo-Saharan Language	Saharan Attestation
Gashua	kààbiyau	Gbaya	mbéé	<i>courge</i>		
Bade						
West Bade	kààbiyón	Nupe	èbě	pumpkin		
Ngizim	gààbiyǎu	Gbagyi-Kuta	knuba	pumpkin		
		Berom	ebe	pumpkin		
		Abuan	ee-phe	pumpkin		

**Commentary:** The scientific names are *Cucurbita maxima*; *C. pepo*. A New World import, but the names are so well embedded it is likely that they were taken over from indigenous cucurbits. Skinner treats this as a variant of *kubeewa* ‘okra’ which seems highly unlikely, but anyway his proposed cognates seem very remote. The Gbagyi form gives a clue to the deleted prefix in Niger-Congo languages. Hausa is only cognate if the –wa is a suffix of now unknown meaning.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:149)

### 3.2 Cognates in Niger-Congo, Chadic and Nilo-Saharan

More puzzling are the cases where a root appears in Niger-Congo, Chadic *and* Nilo-Saharan. Multiple borrowings must have occurred but detecting their direction is often difficult.

**Table 43.** forest  
Hausa **kurm̀̀**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Benue-Congo Language	Attestation	Nilo-Saharan Language	Attestation
Mundat	k̀̀f	Horom	k̀̀r̀̀ pl. á-k̀̀r̀̀	Kanuri	kulimi
North Bauchi	*kwal-	Doka	a-kori		
		Eggon	a-kala		
		Ufia	r̀̀e-k̀̀r̀̀		
		Gokana	k̀̀l		
		Yoruba	oko		
		Gbari	kuti		
		Nupe	kuso		

**Commentary:** Skinner (1996:155) identifies the immediate source of Hausa **kurm̀̀** as Kanuri **kulimi**, which almost certainly correct. He links this with a long semantic chain of items right back to PAA with words for ‘spirit’, ‘ghost’, ‘shrine’, ‘tamarind’ etc. which is less certain. The North Bauchi languages have \*kwal- for ‘forest’ but this is most likely borrowed from Benue-Congo languages. As the data table shows, this root is widespread in Benue-Congo including languages remote from the Chadic borderland, suggesting that it is originally of Niger-Congo origin. The suggestion here is that this was a loan into Kanuri, either directly from Benue-Congo but more likely via other Chadic languages. The Kanuri –mi suffix remains unexplained at present<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Kossmann (p.c.) asks if the Kanuri ku- prefix can be a variant of the more widespread ka-, but this seems unlikely, since the word does not seem to be Nilo-Saharan in origin, and probably borrowed from one of the languages where ku- was already present.

Refs: Skinner (1996:155)

Table 44. baobab<sup>3</sup>

Hausa **kúúkà** *pl.* **kúúkóókíí**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation	Nilo-Saharan Language	Saharan Attestation
PC (N)	<b>*kuka</b>	Lopa	<b>kufwə</b>	Kanuri	<b>kuwa, kuka</b>
Daffo	<b>kúkà</b>	cLela	<b>k-kubu</b>	Manga	<b>kúwà</b>
Gashua Bade	<b>kukwáu</b> <i>pl.</i> <b>kùkun</b>	Ror	<b>u-kuk</b>	Songhay	
		sSaare	<b>u-kup</b>	Dendi	<b>kòò</b> □
<b>Semitic</b>		Rogo	<b>u-ub</b>	Gao	<b>koo</b>
Chad Arabic	<b>kalakûkay</b> <i>pl.</i> <b>kalakûka</b>	Kuki	<b>upə</b>	Bagirmi	<b>kuuka</b>
		Nupe	<b>kúka</b> ‘dried leaves’		

**Commentary:** Newman’s reconstruction of this item to Proto-Chadic seems extremely unlikely in view of its widespread presence as loanwords in different phyla present in the region. The reason may be that the practice of drying the leaves, powdering them and selling them as soup ingredients has definitely been widely spread along the Hausa trade routes, even if they did not initiate this practice. In Nupe, for example, the baobab tree itself is **muci**, an old Nupoid root. However, the name for the leaves is **kúka**, a relatively recent borrowing from Hausa. This table canvasses the possibility that the original source of Hausa **kúúkà** was a borrowing from the West Kainji languages, as there is considerable diversity of forms, pointing to an original **#kukpa** or **#kugba**. Alternatively, Hausa could have borrowed from Manga, since it is notable that the tone-pattern is identical. Forms such as Daffo are probably later borrowings from Hausa, but Gashua Bade and Bagirmi probably derive their forms directly from Kanuri/Kanembu. However, it is quite likely that this is an old Nilo-Saharan term and that it was borrowed into proto-Kainji, perhaps from Songhay (Dendi is today a direct neighbour of West Kainji languages). A feature suggesting antiquity in West Kainji is the loss of the initial k- in some languages, a feature paralleled in many non-loanwords, such as the word for ‘ten’ (see BCCW, II). Skinner (1996:151) gives some rather sparse Chadic lookalikes usually referring only to tree spp.

Refs: Skinner (1996:151)

Table 45. pierce, stab

Hausa **sok-**, **sūk-**

Afroasiatic Language	Attestation	Niger-Congo Language	Attestation	Nilo-Saharan Language	Attestation	Gloss
<b>Chadic</b>		<b>Plateau</b>		Kanuri	<b>suk-</b>	
		Kulu	<b>cwaŋ</b> <sup>+</sup>	Songhay	<b>suka</b>	<i>enfoncer</i> , plant, drive in
		Mali				
<b>Cushitic</b>		<b>Adamawa</b>				
Oromo	<b>sūq-</b>	Mumuye	<b>su</b>			
<b>Semitic</b>		<b>Mande</b>				
Arabic	<b>šaak-</b> ‘to sting, prick, pierce’	Malinke	<b>soko</b> ‘percer’			
Akkadian	<b>šakāku</b> ‘be pointed’	PWN	<b>*cok-</b>			

<sup>3</sup> (*Adansonia digitata*)

**Commentary:** An extremely puzzling root as it is widespread in three of Africa's for language phyla, although curiously sparse in Chadic proper. The Arabic form looks like a good source for Hausa, as do the Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo forms. The strong similarity of Hausa to Kanuri suggests that Hausa may have borrowed from Kanuri and that the term originated in some very early interaction between Niger-Congo and Afroasiatic which would account for the Semitic citations. Probably much more comparative evidence would be required for a more detailed account.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:234)

**Table 46.** bag

Hausa		Plateau or other Benue-Congo		Nilo-Saharan	
Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Language	Attestation	Language	Attestation
Kofyar	<b>jikəu</b> 'shoulder bag'	Hyam	<b>jar</b>	Kanuri	<b>jiga</b> 'cloth bag'

**Commentary:**

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:120)

**Table 47.** Hooded vulture<sup>4</sup>

Hausa **ungulu**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation	Nilo-Saharan Language	Attestation
Karfa	<b>gulúk</b>	Hasha Tarok Lopa Nupe	<b>iŋgunuk</b> <b>ngùluk</b> <b>saguru</b> <b>gulu</b>	Kanuri	<b>ngərwu</b>

**Commentary:** The terms for 'vulture' represent another case where although the term for vulture in Hausa appears to be a borrowed it has in turn been borrowed into other languages of the region. It might seem strange that a bird that is part of the natural avifauna should be borrowed, but vultures are strongly associated with butchers and follow the establishment of slaughterhouses. The Hausa treat butchery as a profession and have diffused the concept of eating roast meat; hence the vulture has travelled with them into the Middle Belt. The term presumably originally had a nasal prefix as in Tarok, but this was incorporated into the stem and then acquired a u- prefix, when it was borrowed into Hausa. Karfa shows the final, partly released velar that is common to many Plateau languages and is therefore probably a borrowing. The Kanuri citation is more puzzling; it may also be a loan into Kanuri, incorporating the nasal prefix.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:277)

<sup>4</sup> (*Neophron monachus*)



**Table 48.** deafness, blindness

Hausa <b>bebe</b>		'deaf-mute'				
Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Niger-Language	Congo Attestation	Gloss	Nilo-Language	Saharan Attestation
Ngizim	<b>bebe</b>	Berom	<b>bwók</b>		Zarma	<b>béébé</b> 'muet'
Pero	<b>ḡwaḡo</b>	Sur	<b>boobi</b>	'darkness'	Gao Songhay	<b>beebe</b> 'mute person'
Fali Mucella	<b>bubunu</b>	Hone	<b>m̄-búbùp</b>	'deaf person'		
		Mambila	<b>bòb</b>			
		Vute	<b>ḡuḡu<sup>+</sup></b>			
		Nnakenyare	<b>bḡḡp</b>			
		Tikar	<b>ḡwùbè</b>			
		PB	<b>-bubu</b>	dumb		
		Gbaya	<b>ḡēḡē</b>			
		Mande?	<b>bobo, bubu</b>			

**Commentary:** A word so widespread in Niger-Congo that it is difficult to believe it is not the source phylum. Probably borrowed into Nilo-Saharan and several times into Chadic from different source languages.

**Refs:** Boyd (1994:54); Skinner (1996:20)

**Table 49.** mortar

Hausa <b>túrmí</b>						
Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Niger-Congo Language	Niger-Congo Attestation	Nilo-Saharan Language	Attestation	Gloss
Gwandara	<b>turumi</b>	Horom	<b>u-duṅ</b>	Gao Songhay	<b>dur</b>	to pound
Bole	<b>tūma</b>	Pe	<b>utuṅ</b>	Zarma	<b>dúru</b>	
Ngizim	<b>támà</b>	Tarok	<b>atúm</b>			
Kirfi	<b>túrmí</b>	Hyam	<b>ntuur</b>			
		cLela	<b>d̄aró</b>			
		PWN	<b>*-tud-</b>			

**Commentary:** This root is widely scattered across three phyla and therefore has a complex history of borrowing. Its antiquity in Niger-Congo suggests that this is the original source or that Niger-Congo and that Songhay borrowed it at an early stage. West Chadic languages show a complex mixture of loans from Hausa and cognate forms (J & I 1994, II:238-9), suggesting a series of loans from EBC at an early period. Skinner (1996:264) probably correctly links this word with Hausa **tīm** 'to beat' just as Niger-Congo **\*-tud-** is linked with the verb **\*tu** 'to pound'. Although Skinner notes an apparently intriguing Southern Cushitic **\*tu**- 'to pound grain', this is incorrect. Southern Cushitic for 'to pound grain' is e.g. Alagwa **puhum**, and Iraqw **tuu** means instead 'swell; pound, smash' and seems to concern 'swelling in process of putrefication'.

**Refs:** Mukarovsky (1976-77); J & I (1994, II:240-1); Skinner (1996:264); Mous & Kießling (p.c.)

**Table 50.** scabies

Hausa **kazwa, kaswa**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation	Nilo- Language	Saharan Attestation
Ngizim	<b>kəfatuwa</b>	Kulu	<b>ì-kààrà</b>	Dendi	<b>kàsàmà</b>
Ngas	<b>kwas</b>			Kanuri	<b>kuskûn</b>
Gude	<b>gadza</b>				

**Commentary:** Probably a borrowing from Songhay into Hausa, although so poorly attested in many languages that it is hard to be certain. Kanuri is only doubtfully cognate.

**Refs:** Skinner (1996:170)

**Table 51.** animal stomach

Hausa **tùmbíí**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Benue-Congo Language	Attestation	Gloss	Nilo- Language	Saharan Attestation
		Cicipu	túmó	belly	Kanuri	tìmbí ‘belly’
		Nupe	tùmbi	cow stomach		
		Common Bantu	-tùmbe	abdomen		

**Table 52.** urine

Hausa **fítsááríí**

Other Language	Chadic Attestation	Plateau or other Language	Benue-Congo Attestation	Nilo- Language	Saharan Attestation
				Bertha	sara
				Ama	abisà
				Mimi	saar

**Commentary:** Clearly attested in Gwandara but Skinner’s other cognates seem unconvincing. Hausa is assumed to acquired the –ri affix.

**Refs:** Greenberg (1963:146); Skinner (1996:70)

Subgroup	Language	Attestation	Gloss
Chadic	Mafa	kudaf	
	Muyang	g <sup>w</sup> èdèd̩fík	edible frog
Niger-Congo	Balanta	kode	frog
	Ga	kód̩́	frog
	Mbamnga	k <sup>w</sup> òlà	frog
Nilo-Saharan			
E Jebel	Anej	gɔ	frog
Gumuz	Yaso	eeguda	frog
Nara	Nara	gòdò	frog
Surmic	Kwegu	k'ónɔ̄ɔ	frog
Ama	Ama	gwɔ	frog
Temein	Temein	kwúǎǎ?	frog, toad
C Sudanic	Kresh	tòʔdò	<i>grenouille</i>

**Commentary:** May contain an ideophonic element.

**Ref:** Skinner (1996:159)

#### 4. Conclusion

#### References

- Abraham, R.C. 1962. *Dictionary of the Hausa language*. London: University of London Press.
- Adwiraah, Eleonore & Eva Hagen 1983. *Nominalklassensystem des Gworok und des Gyong*. In: *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur in Afrika* R. Voßen and U. Claudi eds. 17-33. Hamburg.
- Adwiraah, Eleonore 1989. *Grammatik des Gworok (Kagoro)*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Anderson, Stephen C. 1980. The noun class system of Amo. In *Noun classes in the Grassfields Bantu borderland*. L. Hyman ed. SCOPIL 8. 155-178. Los Angeles: UCLA.
- Ballard, J.A. 1971. Historical inferences from the linguistic geography of the Nigerian Middle Belt. *Africa*, 41(4):294-305.
- Bendor-Samuel, J. ed. 1989. *The Niger-Congo languages*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Bendor-Samuel, J. Skitch, D. & E. Cressman 1973. *Duka sentence, clause and phrase*. Zaria: Institute of Linguistics.
- Bennett, P.R. & J.P. Sterk 1977. South-Central Niger-Congo: A reclassification. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 8,3.
- Blench, R.M. 1989. A proposed new classification of Benue-Congo languages. *Afrikanische Arbeitspapiere*, 17:115-147.
- 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*. M. Brenzinger (ed.) 187-205. Köln: Rudiger Köppe.
- Blench, Roger M. 2010. The linguistic geography of Nigeria and its implications for prehistory. In: *West African Archaeology New developments, new perspectives*. BAR International Series 2164. Philip Allsworth-Jones ed. 161-170. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Bouquiaux, Luc 1964. A wordlist of Aten (Ganawuri). *Journal of West African Languages*, 1(2):5-25.
- Bouquiaux, Luc 1967a. Le système des classes nominales dans quelques langues (Biom, Ganawuri, Anaguta, Irigwe, Kaje, Rukuba) appartenant au groupe <<Plateau>> (Nigéria Central) de la sous-famille Benoue-Congo. In *La Classification nominale dans les langues Negro-Africaines* ed. G. Manessy. 133-156. Paris: CNRS.

- Bouquiaux, Luc 1967b. Some data for a comparative study of Birom (Northern Nigeria) and proto-Bantu. In *Handeling van het XXV. de Vlaam Filogen Congress*.339-348. Antwerp.
- Bouquiaux, Luc 1970. *La langue Birom (Nigeria septentrional) –phonologie, morphologie, syntaxe*. Paris: Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres.
- Bouquiaux, Luc ined. *Berom dictionary*. ms.
- Boyd, R. 1994. *Historical Perspectives on Chamba Daka*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Boyd, R. and R. Fardon ined. *Chamba-English lexicon*. Xerox edition. London: SOAS.
- Bristow, W.M. 1953. Birom texts. *Afrika und Übersee*, 37:146-150.
- CAPRO ined. *An ethnic survey of Plateau State*. Jos: CAPRO Research Office.
- Cressmann, Esther & Skitch, Donna 1980. *Duka*. in Kropp-Dakubu, Mary-Esther ed. *West African Language Data sheets Vol.2 WAL/ASC*, Leiden.
- Crozier, D. & Blench, R.M. 1992. *An Index of Nigerian Languages*. Edition 2. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Crozier, D. 1984. *A study in the discourse grammar in Cishingini*. Ph.d. Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Ibadan.
- 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.
- Dettweiler, S.H. 1992. *Level One Sociolinguistic Survey of the Pongu people*. ms., Ilorin.
- Dettweiler, S.H. and S.G. Dettweiler 1993. *Level One Sociolinguistic Survey of the Duka (Hun-Saare) people*. ms., Ilorin.
- Dettweiler, S.H. and S.G. Dettweiler 1995. *Level One Sociolinguistic Survey of the Lela people*. ms., Ilorin.
- Di Luzio, Aldo 1972/3. Preliminary description of the Amo language. *Afrika und Übersee*, 56:3-61.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 1997, *The Rise and Fall of Languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dykstra, Margaret 1970. *English-Takum Jukun dictionary*. mimeo. Lupwe: Sudan United mission.
- Elias, Ph. Leroy, J. & J. Voorhoeve 1984. Mbam-Nkam or Eastern Grassfields. *Afrika und Übersee*, 67:31-107.
- Fitzpatrick, J.F.J. 1911. Some notes on the Yergum, Montol, Gurkawa and Ankwe languages. *Journal of African Studies*, 10:213-221 and 490.
- Follingstad, Carl. n.d. *Tyap dictionary*. Electronic ms. Jos.
- Gardiner, Richard & Don Francis 1997. *Papers on Izere grammar*. Electronic mss. Jos.
- Gerhardt, L. 1969. Über sprachliche beziehungen auf dem Zentralnigerianischen Plateau. In *ZDMG Supplementa I. VXII Deutscher Orientalistentag*. ed. W. Voigt. 1079-1091. Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag.
- Gerhardt, L. 1971. Stammweiterungen in den Verben einiger zentralnigerianischer Klassenprachen. In *Afrikanischen Sprachen und Kulturen-Ein Querschnitt*. 95-101. Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-kunde, Band 14. Hamburg: Deutsches Institut für Afrika-forschung.
- Gerhardt, L. 1972/3a. Das Nominalsystem der Plateau-4 Sprachen: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion. *Afrika und Übersee*, 56:72-89.
- Gerhardt, L. 1972/3b. Abriß der nominalen Klassen in Koro, North-Central State, Nigeria. *Afrika und Übersee*, 56:245-266.
- Gerhardt, L. 1973/4. Proto-Benue-Congo und Kagoma. *Afrika und Übersee*, 57:81-93.
- Gerhardt, L. 1974. Pi-, hi-, fi-, und bu- in den Plateausprachen Nordnigerias: Klasse neun/zehn oder Klasse neunzehn? *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenland*, supp 2:574-582.
- Gerhardt, L. 1980. The fortis/lenis contrast in West African languages. *Afrika und Übersee*, 63:207-217.
- Gerhardt, L. 1983a. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprachen des Nigerianischen Plateaus*. Glückstadt: Verlag J.J. Augustin.
- Gerhardt, L. 1983b. The classification of Eggon: Plateau or Benue group? *Journal of West African Languages*, 13(1):37-50.
- Gerhardt, Ludwig & Heinz Jockers 1981. Lexicostatistische Klassifikationen von Plateausprachen. *Berliner Afrikanistische Vorträge*, 25-54.
- Gerhardt, Ludwig 1983. 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.
- Gerhardt, Ludwig 1988a. Auf- un Abbau von nominalen Klassensystemen. In *Progressive traditions in African and Oriental Studies*. S. Brauner and E. Wolff eds. 69-77. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Gerhardt, Ludwig 1988b. Bemerkungen zur morphologie des Kwoi. In *Afrikanische Arbeitspapiere, Sondernummer 1988*. ed. W. Mohlig. 53-65.

- Gerhardt, Ludwig 1989. Kainji and Platoid. In: Bendor-Samuel J. ed. *Niger-Congo*. 359-376. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Gerhardt, Ludwig 1992. Zwei alte Quellen zum Hyam (Plateau, Nordnigeria) näher betrachtet. In: *Kompaativ Afrikanistik etc.*,
- Gerhardt, Ludwig 1994a. Western Plateau as a model for the development of Benue-Congo Noun-Class system. *Afrika und Übersee*, 77:161-176.
- Gerhardt, Ludwig 1994b. Serialverbkonstruktionen in den Plateausprachen Nordnigerias. In: *Schlaglichter der Forschung*. ed. R. Ansorge. 349-368. Berlin/Hamburg: Dietrich Reimer.
- Gouffé, Claude 1970-1, 1971-2. Notes de lexicologie et d'étymologie soudanaises. *Comptes-rendus du GLECS*, 15: 55-65, 16: 155-173.
- Gouffé, Claude 1971. Observations sur les emprunts au français dans les parlers haoussa du Niger. *Annales de l'Université d'Abidjan. Serie H (Linguistique)*. Abidjan.
- Gouffé, Claude 1974. Contacts de vocabulaire entre le haoussa et le touareg. In : *Actes du premier congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique*. A. Caquot et D. Cohen eds. 357-380. The Hague : Mouton.
- Gouffé, Claude 1982. Le nom du 'puits' en haoussa. *Bulletin des études africaines de l'Inalco*, 2(4) :3-26.
- Greenberg, J.H. 1960. Linguistic evidence for the influence of the Kanuri on the Hausa. *Journal of African History*, 1(2): 205-212.
- Greenberg, J.H. 1963. *The Languages of Africa*. The Hague: Mouton, for Indiana University, Bloomington.
- Gunn, H.D. & Conant, F.P. 1960. *Peoples of the Middle Niger Region of Northern Nigeria*. IAI, London.
- 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.
- Harris, P.G. 1946. Notes on the Reshe language. *African Studies*, 5:221-42.
- Hoffmann, Carl 1963. The noun-class system of Central Kambari. *JAL*, 2,2:160-169.
- Hoffmann, Carl 1965. A wordlist of Central Kambari. *JWAL*, II,2:7-31.
- Hoffmann, Carl 1967. An outline of the Dakarkari noun class system and the relation between prefix and suffix noun-class systems. In: *La Classification nominale dans les langues Negro-Africaines* ed. G. Manessy, CNRS, Paris.
- Hoffmann, Carl 1970. Ancient Benue-Congo loans in Chadic? *Africana Marburgensia*, III, 2:3-23.
- Hoffmann, Carl 1972. A note on vowel contraction in Central Kambari. *Research Notes [Ibadan]*, 52/3:73-91.
- Hoffmann, Carl. 1976. *Some aspects of the Che noun class system*. Ibadan: ms.
- Hoffmann, Carl. 1978 [?] *Towards a description of the Ten noun class system*. Paper given at the 13<sup>th</sup> West African Languages Congress.
- Hyuwa, Daniel D. 1982. *A study of the phonological system of Kaje*. M.A. dissertation. Leeds: Leeds university.
- Hyuwa, Daniel D. 1986. Kaje orthography. In: *Orthographies of Nigerian languages, IV*. R.G. Armstrong ed. 72-99. Lagos: Ministry of Education.
- Jockers, Heinz 1982. *Untersuchungen zum Kwoi-Dialekt des Hyam/Jaba*. M.A. Afrikanischen Sprachen, Universität Hamburg.
- Johnston, Harry H. 1919-1922. *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*. 2 vols. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Julien de Pommerol, P. 1999. *Dictionnaire arabe tchadien –français*. Paris: Harmattan.
- Jungraithmayr, H. and Dymitr Ibrizimow 1995. *Chadic lexical roots*. [2 vols.] Berlin: Reimer.
- Kadima, Hauwa and Ken Jerzyk n.d. *The phonology of Ninkyob*. ms. Jos.
- Koelle, S.W. 1854. *Polyglotta Africana*. CMS, London.
- Koops, Robert G. 1990. *Aspects of the grammar of Kuteb*. Ph.D. Linguistics. Boulder, Colorado.
- Koops, Robert G. and J.T. Bendor-Samuel 1974. The recapitulating pronoun in Kuteb. *Journal of West African Languages*, 9(1):5-16.
- Koops, Robert G. n.d. *Kuteb dictionary*. Electronic file.
- Kraft, C. 1981. *Chadic wordlists*. (3 vols) Berlin: Reimer.
- Kuhn, Hanni and Barnaba Dusu. 1985. Berom orthography. In: *Orthographies of Nigerian languages, III*. Ayo Banjo ed. 44-61. Lagos: Ministry of Education.
- Levy-Luxereau, A. 1972. *Étude Ethno-Zoologique du Pays Hausa*. Société d'Études Ethno-zoologiques et Ethno-Botaniques, Paris.

- Longtau, Selbut R. 1991. Linguistic Evidence on the Origins of Peoples: The case of the Tarok people of Plateau State (Nigeria). *Afrika und Übersee*, 74:191-204.
- Longtau, Selbut R. 1993. A formal Tarok phonology. *Afrika und Übersee*, 76:15-40.
- Ludzi, Tabitha 1981. *The syntax of Eggon*. B.A. Essay, Department of English, University of Jos.
- Lukas J. and Alfred Willms. 1961. Outline of the language of the Jarawa in northern Nigeria (Plateau Province). *Afrika und Übersee*, 45:1-66.
- Maddieson, I. 1972. *The Benue-Congo languages of Nigeria*. Mimeo, Ibadan.
- Maddieson, I. 1982. Unusual consonant cluster and complex segments in Eggon. *Studies in African Linguistics*, Supplement 8:89-92.
- Maddieson, I. n.d. *The Noun-class system of Eggon*. Mimeo, Ibadan.
- Maddieson, I. n.d. *Verb-nominal contraction in Eggon*. Mimeo, Ibadan.
- McKinney, Carol 1979. Plural verb roots in Kaje. *Afrika und Übersee*, 62:107-117.
- McKinney, Carol 1983. A linguistic shift in Kaje, Kagoro and Katab. *Ethnology*, 22(4):281-293.
- McKinney, Norris 1984. The fortis feature in Jju (Kaje): an initial study. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 15(2):177-188.
- McKinney, Norris 1990. Temporal characteristics of fortis stops and affricates in Tyap and Jju. *Journal of Phonetics*, 18:255-266.
- Meek, Charles K. 1925. *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*. 2 vols Humphrey Milford, London for OUP.
- Meek, Charles K. 1931. *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*. 2 vols Kegan Paul, Trench & Trubner, London.
- Miehe, Gudrun 1991. *Die präfixnasal im Benue-Congo und im Kwa*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Mierau, Eric 1967a. *Notes on the Agwara dialect of Kambari*. ms. [Prepared for UBS but lodged at NBTT, Jos.]
- Mierau, Eric 1967b. *English-Kambari vocabulary*. ms. [Prepared for UBS but lodged at NBTT, Jos.]
- Milroy, L. 1987. [Ed. 2] *Language and social networks*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Milroy, J. 1992. *Linguistic variation and change: on the historical sociolinguistics of English*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Moser, Rex n.d. *Comparative Ikulu wordlists*. Ms.
- 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, P. 1977. Chadic classification and reconstructions. *Afroasiatic Linguistics*, 5(1):1-42.
- Newman, R.M. 1997. *An English-Hausa dictionary*. Lagos: Longman.
- Price, Norman 1989. *Notes on Mada phonology*. Dallas: SIL.
- Price, Norman n.d. *Mada-English dictionary*. ms. JOS: NBTT.
- Priest, P. and J. Priest n.d. *Jibu dictionary*. mimeo. Serti.
- Regnier, Clarke n.d. *Comparative Kainji wordlists*. Ilorin: Computer printout.
- Robinson, J.O.S. 1976. His and hers morphology: the strange case of Tarok possessives. *Studies in African Linguistics*, Supplement 6: 201-209.
- Ross, Malcolm 1997. Social networks and kinds of speech-community event. In: *Archaeology and Language I: theoretical and methodological orientations*. R.M. Blench and M.Spriggs (eds.) 209-261. London: Routledge.
- Rowlands, E.C. 1962. Notes on some class languages of Northern Nigeria. *African Language Studies*, III:71-83.
- Seibert, Uwe 1998. *Das Ron von Daffo (Jos-Plateau, Zentralnigeria): morphologische, syntaktische und textlinguistische Strukturen einer westtschadischer Sprache*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Shimizu, K. 1968. *An outline of the I-búnú noun class system*. ms. Ibadan: Dept. of linguistics and Nigerian Languages.
- Shimizu, K. 1975. A lexicostatistical study of Plateau languages and Jukun. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 17:413-418.
- Shimizu, Kiyoshi 1982b. Die Nord-Jos-Gruppe der Plateausprachen Nigerias. *Afrika und Übersee*, 65(2):161-210.
- Shimizu, Kiyoshi 1996. *A Kulu vocabulary and fragments of Kulu grammatical structures*. [http:](http://)
- Shimizu, Kiyoshi. 1979. Five wordlists with analyses from the northern Jos group of Plateau languages. *Afrika und Übersee*, 62(4):253-271.
- Shimizu, Kiyoshi. 1980a. *Comparative Jukunoid*. (3 vols) Veröffentlichungen der Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Shimizu, Kiyoshi. 1980b. *Jukun Grammar*. Veröffentlichungen der Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien: Afro-Pub.

- Shimizu, Kiyoshi. 1982a. Ten more wordlists with analyses from the northern Jos group of Plateau languages. *Afrika und Übersee*, 65(1):97-134.
- Sibomana, L. 1985. A phonological and grammatical outline of Eggon. *Afrika und Übersee*, 68:43-68.
- Sibomana, Leo 1980. Grundzüge der Phonologie des Tarok (Yergam). *Afrika und Übersee*, 63:199-206.
- Sibomana, Leo 1981a. Tarok II: Das Nominalklassensystem. *Afrika und Übersee*, 64:25-34.
- Sibomana, Leo 1981b. Tarok III: Das Verbalsystem. *Afrika und Übersee*, 64:237-247.
- Skinner, N.A. 1981. Loans in Hausa and pre-Hausa: some etymologies. pp. 169-202 in *Berliner Afrikanistische Vorträge*. Ed. H. Jungraithmayr. Reimer, Berlin.
- Skinner, N.A. 1984. Afroasiatic Vocabulary. Evidence some culturally important items. *Africana Marburgensia*, Sonderheft 7.
- Skinner, N.A. 1996. *Hausa comparative dictionary*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Stofberg, Yvonne. 1978. *Migili grammar*. Language Data microfiche, African Series, 12. Dallas: SIL.
- Storch, Anne 1997. *Das Hone und sein Stellung im Zentral-Jukunoid*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Storch, Anne n.d. *Jukun comparative basic wordlist [Hone, Jibe, Wapha, Wapa]*. ms. Frankfurt.
- Temple, Olive 1922. *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*. Argus Printing and Publishing Co. Capetown.
- Tuko, C.S. 1990. *Papers in ET-KAG [FAKKANCI]*. Papers submitted for the M.Ed. English Curriculum, Jos University.
- Van Dyken, Julia. 1977. The genetic linguistic postulates – some applications. *Notes on Linguistics*, 36:25-41.
- Welmers, William 1968. *Jukun of Wukari and Jukun of Takum*. Ibadan: Institute of African Studies.
- Westermann, D. 1927. *Die Westlichen Sudansprachen und ihre Beziehungen zum Bantu*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Westermann, D. and Bryan, Margaret A. 1952. *Languages of West Africa: Part II*. London: OUP for IAI.
- Williamson, Kay 1971. The Benue-Congo languages & Ijò. pp. 245-306 in *Current trends in Linguistics 7*. T. Sebeok, ed.
- Williamson, Kay 1973. *Benue-Congo comparative wordlist: Vol.2*. Ibadan: West African Linguistic Society.
- Williamson, Kay 1989. Benue-Congo Overview. In Bendor-Samuel J. ed. *Niger-Congo*. 247-276. Lanham: Universities Press of America.
- Williamson, Kay and Kiyoshi Shimizu. 1968. *Benue-Congo comparative wordlist, Vol. 1*. Ibadan: West African Linguistic Society.
- Wilson, Janet E. 1996. *A phonological grammar of Kuche*. M.A. Linguistics. Arlington: University of Texas at Arlington.
- Wolff, Ekkehard & H. Meyer-Bahlburg 1979. Morphologie und Semantik der erweiteren Verbalstämme in der Sprache der Afuzare (Zarek). *Afrika und Übersee*, 62:1-32.
- Wolff, Hans 1963. Noun classes and concord in Berom. In *Actes du seconde colloque internationale de linguistique négro-africaine*. 86-96. Dakar.