

The Dõ (Dong) language and its affinities

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ACRONYMS

B	Boyd (1994)	Daka
BF	Boyd & Fardon (ined)	Daka Nnakenyare
C	Bruce Connell (unpublished wordlists)	Mambiloid
E	Endresen (1992)	Nizaa
G	Guthrie (1967-71)	Common Bantu
J	Jackson (1988)	Tikar
K	Koops (ined)	Various
KW	Kay Williamson	Benue-Congo, Ijò
LQ	Linguistic Questionnaire, ALCAM, Cameroun	Various
M	Meussen (1980)	Proto-Bantu
DN	Daka Nnakenyare	
P	Piron (1996)	Bantoid
PM	Perrin & Mouh (1992)	Mambila
RMB	author's fieldnotes	Tarokoid
S	Anne Storch fieldnotes	Central Jukunoid
UK	Ulli Kleinewillinghöfer	Adamawa

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1. Introduction

This is an annotated wordlist of the Dõ language, spoken in Dong village in Taraba State, Nigeria. Dong is some 25 km. south-east of Monkin and directly due east of Yoro. The wordlist was collected by Roger Blench from Peter Dong in Jos in July 1993. Some additional words were collected by Danjuma Gambo of the Nigeria Bible Translation Trust, Jos, as part of a broader Mumuye dialect survey. These are marked ‘G’ in the Source column. This analysis was prepared by Roger Blench, who added the comments¹. This wordlist is being circulated to scholars to elicit observations and comment.

The only published reference to this language is in Shimizu (1979) who observed that Dõ is unlikely to be Mumuye, or even an Adamawa language, despite the presence of numerous Mumuye loanwords. However, Shimizu gives only a couple of lexical items to support this assertion. Speakers of Dõ generally regard themselves as a section of Mumuye and share with them a common origin myth. Dõ is referred to in Dong et al. (1992) which presents a subclassification of Mumuye clans. In this classification, Dõ [Doo] is the head-language of one of the groups listed and its related clans are given as;

Gbaa Dingki DiMpaai in Tiba

Later in the text it is said that the Mumuye ‘dialects’ of Doo, Yotti, Minda, Dimpo, Janfani and Jasse-Marase are ‘not intelligible’ [i.e. to speakers of Zing Mumuye]. Yotti is almost certainly Yoti, a language of the Yandang cluster spoken some 10 km. north of Lankaviri, while Minda may be the same as Minda, a Jukunoid language spoken at Minda, some 20 km. north of Jalingo (Crozier & Blench 1992). It is possible that Janfani refers to Jangani, a Dakoid lect spoken on one of the plateaux of the Shebshi mountains. However, it is clear that further investigation may well establish the existence of further non-Mumuye languages spoken under the cultural umbrella of the Mumuye.

The languages immediately bordering Dõ are Mumuye lects, notably Yoro, Sagbee and Rang with Lamja (a Dakoid language) to the north-east. Shimizu (1979:12) marks ‘Kutin’ on his map immediately east of Dong, but this may be an error as it appears that all the Kutin (=Pere) have moved to Cameroun.

2. Phonology

The phonology of Dõ is based on rapid observations and a taped wordlist. It should therefore be regarded as tentative at this stage.

Dõ has eight phonemic vowels;

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

¹ I am grateful to Bruce Connell, Stefan Elders, Baudouin Janssens, Ulli Kleinwillinghöfer and Kay Williamson who have assisted me with external parallels and other comments.

Consonants

Dõ 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	ʔ
Nasal	m		n			ŋ		
Trill			[r]					
Fricative		f (v)	s z	ʃ ʒ				h
Approximant					y		w	
Lateral Approximant			l					
Implosive	(ɓ)		(ɗ)					

I have occasionally transcribed the implosives /ɓ/ and /ɗ/, but they seem to be in free variation with their non-implosive counterparts.

Tones

The tone system of Dõ is quite restricted with many words having all level tones. I have transcribed two tones. No cases of glide tones seem to occur on the tapes. In cases where I am uncertain, the tone is left unmarked.

3. Lexical comparison and the classification of Dõ

The classification of Dõ is problematic; Shimizu gives no view on this. On the basis of a short wordlist and a casual remark by the present author, Piron (1996) included Dõ in her lexicostatistical classification of Bantoid under the heading of Dakoid. This was unfortunate, and has been the subject of critical remarks by Boyd (ms.). Dõ is so heavily influenced by Mumuye that it must make any lexicostatistical analysis extremely problematic.

In view of its somewhat mysterious classificatory status I have sought to identify as many external cognates as possible. Some cognates are extremely clear, but others are shared between the Benue-Congo and Adamawa languages of this region and are thus less easy to assign to a definite source.

Principal sources of data for lexical comparison

Language group	Source	Abbreviation (if any)
Adamawa	Stefan Elders	SE
Bantu	Baudouin Janssens	BJ
Benue-Congo, Ijo	Kay Williamson	KW
Dakoid	Boyd and Fardon	BF
Mambiloid	Connell fieldnotes	C
non-Mumuye Adamawa	UKW fieldnotes	UKW
Samba Leeko	Fabre (2004)	
Tarokoid	author's fieldnotes	RMB
Tiba	Boyd (1999)	B

DŌ WORDLIST

N.B. Dō nouns have no plural alternations but simply add the suffix **-rè** to all nouns. No exceptions to this were recorded, even for persons.

Gloss	Form	Comments/Parallels	Source
Nouns			
Aerial yam	ʃəri		
Agama lizard	bɔŋ	cf. Zhing bɔ̃bɔ̃ but also in Mambiloid, e.g. Langa bāŋgā	
Ancestors	naa kukwā	cf. DN kak ⁺ ‘grandmother’, Mambiloid kuku , PB #- kuka ‘grandparents’	
Animal	yam-gi	see comments under ‘meat’	
Ankle rattles	daksarak		
Ant	zunzun	perhaps cf. Pugong ʃɛŋʃɛŋ	
Anthill	patap		
Arm	wu	DN wáa . Widespread but scattered root in Grassfields, e.g. Kom à-wú , and in Kainji, e.g. Kamuku u-wa . These may, however, be independent weakening from the bwo forms. PB #- bókò (14)	
Armpit	katoto	cf. Grassfields e.g. Bati yàʔtətá and perhaps Tiv kùtsáhà	
Arrow	seŋ	cf. Common Mumuye ʃɔŋ . Also a widespread root in Bantoid e.g. Mambila sàŋ , Tikar a-sàŋ , possibly also Cross River Okpoto ke-sa	
Ashes	tunwa	Niger-Congo root. PB #- tua etc. + wa ‘fire’	
Axe	dəl	cf. ‘cutlass’	
Baboon	gbɔŋ	cf. Zhing Mumuye gbāgbàli but also a scattered root throughout Benue-Congo e.g. Izere āgbóòm	
Back	ɗii	cf. Tiba āɗùmá , DN ɗim and widespread in Benue-Congo. Perhaps PB #- yimà if weakening has occurred	
Bambara groundnuts	daabəl		
Baobab	wáamɔ		
Bark (tree)	gind(ɔ)ra		
Barren woman	nwaa ton ki		
Basket	ti		
Beard	sōya		
Bee	sɔ̃	cf. Berom ʃòk , Hasha i-suk , Horom sèke Ningye sɔ , Bu ifɔ , Izere ifɔʃ pl. ifɔʃ	
Beer	sus		
Belly	laa	cf. Tiba lāa but an old Niger-Congo root, sometimes meaning ‘intestines’. See BCCW, I,10-2. PB #- dà (9)	
Bird	wér	cf. Tiba wérùm bird sp. Lamja sààwem	
Black plum	bərɔŋ		
Blacksmith	ranti		
Blood	gɔŋ	perhaps cf. Tiba gbaám	
Body	wā		
Bone	vā(wa)		
Bow	tat	An old Niger-Congo root	
Brain	mɛp		
Branch	usesek	perhaps cf. Zhing Mumuye naséŋ	
Breast	usa	cf. DN nyésà	
Breath	oòsá		
Broom	sàlá	cf. Pugong sàláŋ but also Mambiloid e.g. Nizaa ser , Len suál	

Gloss	Form	Comments/Parallels	Source
Buffalo	gbat	? cf. Zhing ɓàkà , Tiba àbàkà	
Bush	yii-voov	‘forest’ + ‘grass’ perhaps cf. Common Mumuye jinti for ‘forest’	
Buttocks	zəla		
<i>Canarium</i> <i>schweinfurthii</i>	pát	A very widespread name for this tree, found in many Plateau and Chadic languages. The seeds are used for divination and the fruits widely traded.	
Canoe	andəksi	cf. Pugong Mumuye tənsi	
Cassava	ti gɔɔ		
Cat	gavat		
Chameleon	pəgəl		
Chain	kāyaŋ		
Charcoal	haləŋ	A Niger-Saharan root, but in this area a characteristic weakening of # kalaN forms. cf. Berom hwaləŋ , Fyam a-hállá	
Cheek	kaʃən	presumably a compound with ‘eye’	
Chicken	kɔ̃	Cf. Sagbe Mumuye kɔ̃ but also Tiba koo ⁺ ‘guinea-fowl’ and widespread BC words for ‘cock’	
Chief	kpanti	Similar to Mumuye, but this is a common title in this region	
Child	ūra nwi	Scattered parallels in Plateau and Jukunoid. cf. Yashi nwin , G Ashuku nwu , and probably also Gokana vɛ̃n .	
Chili pepper	kanzaza u		
Clay, mud	maa		
Cloth	fara	cf. Zhing fara	
Cloud	nyààsí	Cf. Rang Mumuye nyààsí	
Cockroach	zɛzɛ		
Cocoyam	ʃɔp		
Comb	títu		
Corpse	yú	cf. Tiba yúu but see ‘death’ but also compare Zhing Mumuye yuúsaà ‘grave’ where saà = ‘place’	
Cow	yaa(k)	Presumably a weakening from the # ɲak forms that occur widely in Plateau and other Niger-Congo languages. See BCCW,I,22-1a. Note the similar initial nasal loss in ‘meat’	
Cowpeas	dek	Occurs in other Plateau languages, e.g. Kwanka dyek , Ikulu – ijik and probably Jukunoid, e.g. Takum sika	
Crab	kal	Ancient Niger-Congo and indeed worldwide root (see Blench 1997)	
Crocodile	zəŋzəŋ	perhaps cf. Jju (Plateau) tsəŋ , and Ogbia (Cross River) ə-səŋgi	
Cutlass	dəl	cf. axe, hammer	
Dawn	blashula		
Day	dɪŋ	cf. Zhing diki	
Death	yu		
Dew	nyima	perhaps cf. Tiba mesímsa	
Disease	yu	cf. ‘death’	
Doctor	nəgbal		
<i>or</i>	nesoo		
Dog	zaa	Common Mumuye root e.g. Zhing zaa ⁺	
Donkey	təksel		
Door	kpaknu	cf. Nupe kpàko unless all are related to Hausa akwati ‘box’	
Drum (types)	vin daŋ virin vələm	cf. widespread bin in Plateau languages Also in Mambiloid	

Gloss	Form	Comments/Parallels	Source
Duck	kɔ̃ɔ̃ sɔk	‘chicken’ + ‘water’	
Dust	sáà	? cf. Zhing Mumuye zàmpù	
Ear	utuŋ	Niger-Congo root. Samba Leeko tùŋá	
Earthworm	tɔŋli	cf. Pugong susɔli but also cf. Ibibio utuŋ	
Egg	aŋ	cf. Tiba enǎ , DN gaa⁺ , Common Mumuye root e.g. Pugong angka (Shimizu 1979: Root 13) but also Izoŋ angga	
Elephant	voŋ	Common Mumuye root e.g. Zhing bɔŋ . Other Adamawa cognates indicate this is a widespread root.	
Evening	yueyi		
Eye	sen	An East Benue-Congo root. cf. Upper Cross e.g. Kohumono sèn/jèn , PLC *jén and probably -sə/si roots in Bantoid. Also Tiba ísa pl. ési	
Face	tərəp		
Faeces	vĩ	cf. Pugong vĩ and a more general Niger-Congo root #bi	
Farm	yam	? cf. Pugong jaa	
Fat	nɔ	cf. Tiba nwùù , DN nòò ‘be fat’. Common Mumuye root nuŋ (Shimizu 1979: Root 15). Also in Ekoid A bà-nði	
Feather	pek	cf. Eastern Ijò pikɔ but also PB -piko ‘wing’	
Fence	saa		
Field	dɛl		
Fingernail	wusaŋri	Mumuye root	
Fire	wa	cf. Cara wu , Mambiloid wa but also in Adamawa-Ubangian, e.g. Common Mumuye root (Shimizu 1979: Root 17) or Ubangian (Monino 1988:112).	
Firefly	tap ʒaʒak		
Fireplace	tasan		
Firewood	was	cf. Tiba wésè	
Fish	yo(k)	cf. Tiba yúksa , Dakoid cf. Lamja yuki	
Fist	wu sesek		
Flute (types)	kul leri	<i>Lere</i> is the name of a flute ensemble used by many ethnic groups in this region	
	gamgu		
	ʃɔ̃ɔ̃		
	sěe		
Fly	ʒin	Benue-Congo root	
Foot	wul	cf. Yingilum wùrí but can also be a weakening of Mambiloid forms such as Kuma gure .	
Forehead	tərəp	cf. ‘face’	
Forest	yii	cf. Irigwe (Plateau) ke-yí	
Frog, toad	huga		
Garden egg	boo		
Goat	bee	Niger-Congo root	
God	bee(re)		
Goitre	lau(k)		
Gong (iron)	bɛŋbu		
Gourd	kwen	cf. Tiba káŋtá but also Koro kwankwan . Gourds are so lexically diverse that the chances of accidental similarities are high.	
Grass	voo⁺		
Grasscutter	gbwěe		
Grave	kat		
Grey monkey	mɔŋ ve		
Grinding-stone	laruwi	cf. Tiba léen , Zhing réé	

Gloss	Form	Comments/Parallels	Source
Ground	sin	? Dakoid sə but also Waja sí-mà , Mundang sìŋ ,	
Groundnut	daa		
Guinea-corn	zii	Common Mumuye zee	
Guinea-corn (3-month)	sisot		
Guinea-fowl	waale	cf. Pugong Mumuye wale also ? Kotopo ʔúlèŋ	
Hair	suk	cf. Saawa Mumuye su (Shimizu 1979: Root 20) Longuda sú-ké or Dakoid Tiba àsóksá	
Hammer	dəl	cf. axe, cutlass	
Hand	wu	cf. Dakoid waa also Waja wai	
Hare	gbafɔ	cf. Zhing ǂásho	
Harmattan	gbar	perhaps cf. Tiba gaasá	
Harp	vin tat	cf. Zhing vintáà	
Head	tu	Niger-Congo root (W:287)	
Headpad	kahaa	cf. Tiba hára	
Heart	sək-bəlɔk	'liver' + ? . In Mambiloid Tep 'heart' is ʃɔk . This may be connected with widespread Plateau root #soN . BCCW, I, 51-12.	
Hippo	wěyěyak		
Hoe	sal		
Hole in ground	ulá		
Horn	ʃɔŋ	cf. Bangwinji shúmé	
Horse	gbàntàŋ	cf. Common Mumuye gbàntàŋ	
House, compound	sal		
Housefly	zi	Benue-Congo root	
Hunger	nyúú	cf. Tiba nyú , perhaps Pugong nyɔkɔ but also Hausa yunwa	
Hunter	ne gola		
Husband	wɔm	cf. PLC *-gwom 'person/man'. This could be a weakening of a widespread form in Plateau meaning 'chief'	
Iron	san	cf. 'metal, money' cf. Mumuye saŋ 'forge metal'	
Jaw, chin	ʃaa beyaŋ	cf. Zhing ʃáń	
Jews' mallow	yelmau(p)		
Knee	ruŋ	Found generally in Bantoid-Cross languages, e.g. PLC *-lɔŋ , Dakoid Kwagiri luŋ , Tiba àlúŋa , Ejagham rúŋ . Also in Adamawa, Munga Leelau lɔŋ	
Knife	gbaa	cf. Tiba ǂák . Common Benue-Congo root	
Ladder	tii		
Leaf	yaa⁺	cf. DN yáà , Tiba yàásá	
Leg	wul san	see 'foot'	
Leopard	rɔp		
Lie	ret el ka	'tongue' + ?	
Lion	zìŋga	cf. Mumuye zìŋgaŋ	
Lightning	sək-toma		
Liver	sək	perh. Cham sùr/sutè	
Locust (tree)	wɔl		
Locust bean cakes	sansan		
Louse	lagat	cf. Tiba léérá , Zhing rnèèti	
Maize	zibra		
Man	nenwon	A compound with an old Niger-Congo root for 'person'	
Market	luma	< Fulfulde	
Mat	ris	cf. Tiba ísá	

Gloss	Form	Comments/Parallels	Source
Meat	yam	cf. Tiba nyém . Presumably from * nyam i.e. Niger-Congo. The loss of the initial nasal seems to be virtually unique in Benue-Congo	
Medicine	kpal	? cf. DN gəən ⁺	
Melon (agushi)	sir		
Melon (guna)	yarat		
Metal	san	see 'iron'	
Millet (maiwa)	mis		
Money	sal	see 'iron'	
Monkey	məŋ		
Moon	səra	? cf. common Mumuye ʃélà (Shimizu 1979: Root 32), Samba Leeko sòá , Tula swa/swartu	
Morning	dɪŋ		
Mortar	duu	cf. Zhing dun , Tiba júŋ but also PLC * ú-dəŋ	
Mosquito	wəŋwəŋ		
Mountain, hill	kəp	Common Mumuye kəpə (Shimizu 1979: Root 33)	
Mouth	nuŋ	Niger-Congo root	
Mushroom	soso ⁺		
Nail (body part)	usaŋri	cf. common Mumuye saari (Shimizu 1979: Root 35)	
Name	bola	not BC. ? derived from bwol 'to call'	
Navel	dɪŋ sərək	cf. Tiba dɪŋ ⁺	
Neck	lək	prob. metathesis of common koro root	
Net for fish	dambələp		
News	ʃee dola		
Night	vir	See 'black'. cf. Burak være but also Dakoid vírki , Mumuye viri 'black'.	
Nose	suŋ	Common Mumuye root suŋ (Shimizu 1979: Root 39) Also Tula súŋ	
Okra	gwámgwám	perh. cf. Zhing gəmpə	
Palm (<i>giginya</i>)	kā		
Patas monkey	məŋ səət		
Penis	dək	cf. Tiba ɖuk ⁺ , Momi deek	
Pestle	duuwi	'child of mortar'	
Person	nəwa	nə element is an old Niger-Congo root for 'person'	
Pig	gayəŋ	cf. Zhing gāgāa	
Pigeon	kɔ̄ɔ̄le		
Place	wee		
Poison	zəp	cf. Common Mumuye zəpə , also Tiba jóob	
Porridge	səkpi	perh. related to səŋ 'soup'	
Pot	bər	cf. Zhing bere 'cookpot'	
Proverb	nuu shegula		
Pumpkin	gət	cf. Zhing gɔ̄ɔ̄ri	
Quiver	bəŋsi	DN bèèn and Mambiloid forms fəŋ , bōk	
Rain	sək-api	'water' + 'sky' common Mumuye forms have same construction though different lexemes (Shimizu 1979: Root 42)	
Rainy season	soyi		
Rat	yaŋ		
Ribs	gəŋgəŋ		
Riddle	ʃaa vevi		
River	ʃəbə-vər	perhaps cf. Tiba ɓóŋ	

G

Gloss	Form	Comments/Parallels	Source
Road	dil	? cf. Zhing dnòróń , LeeMak dəra Also BC. See BCCW root 2	
Room	pagre		
Roof	pak-kitu	‘room’ + ?	
Root	tii-dĩdĩ	‘tree’ + cf. Pangseng Mumuye dĩdĩ (Shimizu 1979: Root 43)	
Rope	sòò	cf. Zhing sóó	
Rubbish-heap	tũtũ	cf. Nupe tutumpèrè	
Sack	bãã	cf. Zhing bãa	
Saliva	tĩĩ		
Salt	yok-(nan)	cf. Tiba yókúum	
Sand	sãwe	cf. Burak swáá , Common Mumuye root sěeli (Shimizu 1979: Root 44)	
Scorpion	nukpaŋ		
Seed	ʃindù	cf. Lankaviri Mumuye ʒĩŋ zee	
<i>or</i>	ru	cf. some Plateau languages	G
Sesame plant	wesaa		
Sesame leaves	ʃeli	cf. Zhing ʃiliŋ sɔoni	
Shadow	zuŋlaa		
Shea	tɔk		
Sheep	nee		
	melɔk	perhaps cf. Zhing měré	G
Shoe	nati		
Shoulder	tũtũ	cf. Zhing dũŋdũŋ	
Silk-cotton	kakaa		
Skin	kpã(wa)	cf. Tiba kpáá but a Niger-Congo root	
Skull	tu dona		
Sky	napiŋ	cf. Zhing lapa⁺ , Tiba líi	
Sleep	raa	Niger-Congo and indeed worldwide. See comments under verb form	
Smallpox	kɔkɔgri		
Smoke	dukxa	Dakoid DN dùù but also Mambiloid dzu	
Snail	kɔŋat		
Snake	maa		
Song	lem	cf. Tiba nyémsa , DN nimsí	
Sorrel	kekxi	perhaps cf. Tiba gée , DN bəksi	
Soup	sɔŋ		
Spear	ʃàlàn	Common Mumuye ʃàlàn	
Spider	dàŋdàŋ	Common Mumuye làŋlàŋ	
Squirrel	gban		
Star	seser	cf. Awak sweeri , Common Mumuye root sèŋ , Sagbe Mumuye sèè (Shimizu 1979: Root 49)	
Stomach	laa	cf. ‘belly’	
Stone	tar	cf. Common Mumuye root tari (Shimizu 1979: Root 50) Yandang tari and a widespread Niger-Congo root	
Stool	tiyuga		
Story	ʃaa beri		
Sweat	silla		
Sugar-cane	gbankere		
Sun	da	cf. Common Mumuye root ďàà (Shimizu 1979: Root 51)	
Swamp	maa		
Sweet potato	kudaku	< Fulfulde	
Tail	kul		
Tamarind	sàá	Common Mumuye sàá	

Gloss	Form	Comments/Parallels	Source
Tear	sən sək	‘eye’ + ‘water’	
Termite	tap		
Thief	yi	See under ‘steal’	
Thigh	zaat		
Thing	ʃin		
Thorn	yogli		
Throat	ləksək		
Tiger-nut	san	cf. Zhing sáŋ , ? Tiba jàásá , DN jáan	
Tongue	rət	cf. Common Mumuye root reete (Shimizu 1979: Root 53)	
Today	vemà		
Tomorrow	yíyè		
Tooth	taŋ	cf. Tsobo taan-ù , cf. Common Mumuye root tári (Shimizu 1979: Root 54) Common Mumuye	
Tortoise	kulu	Similar in Mumuye but this root is widespread throughout most of Africa	
Tree	tii⁺	Niger-Congo root	
Urine	ʃiʃi		
Vagina	sa		
Village	sal	see ‘house’	
Vine	zuŋzuŋ		
Vulture	janʃagurɔ	Common Mumuye jāa	
Wall	waa		
War	sir	cf. Pugong sūri . Widespread Adamawa root	
Water	sək	cf. DN wóok and Yanʃkam wook	
Water-lily	kwɛŋkwelè		
Widow	wɔgwe		
Wife	nwaane	cf. ‘woman’	
Wind	osa		
Wing	kele	cf. Tiba káára	
Witch	nepaa	‘person’ + ?	
Woodworker	ne rantisala		
Woman	nwaasi	Cf. Che (Plateau) u-wa and Jibu (Jukunoid) ú-wà for woman. Some Adamawa e.g. proto-Laka *wá-i . The -si suffix and nasalisation is unexplained	
Word	gela		
Work	tɔman	see verb form for comparisons	
World	do		
Wound	gbɔm	cf. Tiba ʃóom	
Yam	yuu	perhaps cf. Tiba lúu , Zhing looti . Probably weakened from forms such as Kuteb kyuu	
Yam hill	gɔm		
Year	see	Common Mumuye sáá	
Yesterday	ko	cf. Mambiloid forms wɔ ‘tomorrow’	
Young girl	nwaasedo		
Young man	wɔdo		
Pronouns			
I	bɔŋ		G
Thou	nɔŋ		G
We	vere		G
You pl.	mere		G
Who	kɔɛn		G
This	omre		G

Gloss	Form	Comments/Parallels	Source
That	omlaa		G
What?	ane		G
Verbs			
Add to	noti		
Answer	as	cf. Zhing kaasè	
Ask	bip	cf. Tiba ḡḡp . Benue-Congo – see BCCW, I Gloss 6,2 and also West Benue-Congo	
Awaken	zɛmsa		
Bark	puut		
Bathe	we	cf. Pugong wiri and ‘swim’ in Yoruboid etc. and	
Beat, hit	gɔn	cf. ‘fight’	
Beat (drum)	ka		
Begin	tɔk		
Bent, to be	guun	cf. Zhing gben⁺ , DN gbɛ̃ɲléɛn ‘bent’	
Bite	rɔm	cf. DN lóóm , Tiba yóòm , Zhing yon . See BCCW, I, 11-1. A Niger-Congo root (W:253)	
Blow	hur vina	cf. Pugong hu but also Hausa hura	G
Build	maa	cf. Tiba máà , DN maki , Mama (Jarawan Bantu) maa , cLela mǎ , Common Mumuye mǎa but also ‘mould’ in Niger-Congo	
Burn	tan		
Bury	si		
Buy	rep	Widespread in Plateau, e.g. Izere rep , Berom rew and loaned into neighbouring Chadic languages. Proto Lower Cross *lép and reconstructed for Benue-Congo (Blench ms.)	
Call	bwɔl		
Carve	wusal		
Catch	kap		
Chew	ri	presumably the same as old Niger-Congo root ‘to eat’	
Choose	sɔm	? Zhing zo	
Climb up	aŋ	? cf. Pugong vaŋ	
Come	baa	cf. Tiba ḡáá- , DN báá . Niger-Congo root	
Come out	pəla puru	? cf. Grassfields, e.g. Lamnso fʉ’ə , Mama (Jarawan Bantu) puru and also Degema (Edoid) wɔ́lá	
Continue	nari	‘do’ + ?	
Cough	wɔra		
Count	kɔl	Niger-Saharan root. See BCCW, I,21-6.	
Cut down	sɛŋ	cf. Pugong zɛɛ	
Cut in two	ʃap		
Cut off	era		
Dance	dòp	cf. DN dòp also Tiba dóòn ‘to sing’. Eastern Benue-Congo root when combined with ‘sing’ BCCW, II Gloss 81,6	
Die	wu	Niger-Saharan root	
Dig	kpǎã	cf. Tiba gbáà , DN gàt , Zhing gbāa but this root is also widespread throughout Benue-Congo	
Do s.t.	na	cf. PLC *nám	
Drag, pull	tel		
Drink	so	Benue-Congo root probably originally from Chadic	
Dry, to become	sɔm zóm	A Bantoid root. cf. Jar jom , Nkum jôm , Menemo (Grassfields)	
Eat	ri	Also ‘chew’. Common Niger-Congo root	
Enter	ʃuu	cf. Pugong tu	

Gloss	Form	Comments/Parallels	Source
Fall (rain)	kpaara		
Fall over	guu	cf. Tiba gùù- , but also Proto-Bantu #- gua (Meinhof)	
Feel	doo		
Fight	gɔŋ	? cf. Tiba nwoŋ , DN nòŋ . Also ‘beat’	
Finish	alse	cf. Pugong hànsè and perhaps Tiba gbàŋsi	
Flow	ʃel		
Fly	duu	cf. Tiba lýnsì ‘to make fly’, DN dùm ‘to fly’ and Zhing dù	
Fold	rĩ		
Follow	tuŋ	cf. Zhing dùŋ	
Forget	suu		
Fry	herka	The -ka element may be connected with a common ka root meaning ‘fry’. BCCW, I, 44-1	
Gather	təsi		
Give	na(k)	Common Niger-Congo root given by Westermann (259) as #- naga , but specifically Plateau Kagoro e.g. nwak . Also attested in isolated Yaa Mumuye na	
Give birth	ma(t)	? cf. Tiba móò ,	
Go	ark	cf. ‘walk’	
Go out	tun	cf. DN tunèn	
Grind	kɔp		
Grow	bɔm		
Hatch	bɔgra		
Hear	do	cf. ‘listen’	
Heavy, to be	kwekwetek		
Hunt	bala ara	cf. Pugong bàli ‘hunting’	
Jump	tasi		
	lasa		G
Kill	kwako		
	bvaya		G
Know	isa	? cf. Zhing zè (Shimizu 1979: Root 69)	
Laugh	zɔl	cf. ‘laughter’ DN jɔná , Tiba jœ	
Lick	iila	- la is an ancient Niger-Congo root. BCCW, I, 58-1	
Lie down	ra+(sin)	Niger-Congo root, cf. ‘sleep’	
Listen	dò	also ‘hear’ cf. Dakoid DN dòò táa ‘listen’	
Marry	taŋ		
Mix	raŋ		
Mould (pot)	má	Niger-Congo	
Open	pasi		
Plant	lu		
Play	hura		
Pound	zɔŋ	cf. Tiba júùŋ	
Pour	zəti		
Pull	tɛl		
Receive	taŋ		
Refuse	ko	cf. BCCW for k- roots	
Remember	isa		
Return	para		
Ride	paŋ		
Roast	zɔŋ	cf. DN jòò	
Rotten, to be	sosa		
Rub	rɔp		
Say	tere	? cf. Zhing tóó	
	gelri		G

Gloss	Form	Comments/Parallels	Source
See	kar		
Sell	ʒi		
Send	tɔm	Niger-Congo	
Shake	osi	? DN doɲsɛn or Zhing ziitè	
Sharpen	lo	cf. Plateau e.g. Anib lo	
Shoot	ta	Niger-Congo	
Short, to be	tur	cf. PB *toó	
Sing	lem		
Sit down	dugi+(sin)	sit + ‘ground’	
Slaughter	er		
Sleep	ra	cf. Zhing roo (Shimizu 1979: Root 70) but also widespread in Benue-Congo	
Smash (pot etc.)	ʒil	cf. Zhing ʒile ‘cut in pieces’	
Snap in two	ʒil	see ‘smash’	
Spit	tɪ	cf. Zhing ta but this is a widespread Niger-Congo root	
Stand up	səri	cf. Zhing ʒii (Shimizu 1979: Root 74) but also Kolokuma Ijọ sèrii	
Steal	i	if reduction of *yi then common Niger-Congo	
Stir	kweri		
Suck	osi	cf. ‘shake’	
Surpass	ʒāla		
Swallow	ʃɔl		
Tear	tal	cf. Zhing táa	
Throw	(k)wəti		
Twist	rape		
Uproot (yam etc.)	kɔri		
Walk	ark	cf. ‘go’ perhaps cf. scattered Mumuye lects ra (Shimizu 1979: Root 75)	
Want	ori		
Wash	suki	cf. Nnakenyare suksi , Zhing sɔke ⁺ but also Ijọ sukiri . Boyd (1994:137) also notes Bacama sùbwá	
Wear	ʃufu		
Weep	bera		
Work	tɔm	Niger-Congo	
Numerals			
One	mɔɔp	mɔVɔ is a common form for ‘one’ in Bantoid languages.	
Two	bar	cf. Tiba ɓer , DN bàará . Niger-Congo root. Specifically bar is common in Ekoid and Jarawan Bantu	
Three	taat	cf. Common Mumuye taati (Shimizu 1979: Root 78) but Niger-Congo root with very similar forms throughout Plateau and Adamawa. A worldwide root	
Four	naas	Niger-Congo root. Specific parallels with final -s in Platoid, East Kainji, Dakoid and Mambiloid and some Bantu	
Five	toɔŋ	cf. Tiba átɔŋá , DN tuúná Related forms throughout Niger-Congo and specific parallels in Platoid and Jukunoid.	
Six	tatɔŋ	Presumably a compound though meaning of the first element not yet clear. No precise parallels. cf. Mambiloid tɪʃini ‘?’ + ‘five’	
Seven	tɔŋ bar	A compound. Plateau/ Mambiloid/ LC four construct ‘seven’ similarly	

Gloss	Form	Comments/Parallels	Source
Eight	nanaas	Identical forms in Kwanka (P4) and related in other parts of Plateau. Also broadly related to Proto-Bantu	
Nine	daatəŋ	A compound of an unknown element + 5	
Ten	hɔɔp	cf. Tiba wóob , but weakened from kɔp -a root common to Plateau, Lower Cross and Adamawa	
Eleven	hɔɔp ul mɔɔp		
Twelve	hɔɔp ul bar		
Twenty	ʃeè	cf. Tiba fée	
Thirty	ʃeè tə hɔɔp		
Forty	gan bal		
Fifty	gan bal təgi		
	hɔɔp		
Sixty	gan taat		
Eighty	gan naas		
Hundred	gan təŋ		
Adjectives			
Big	bɔr	cf. Tiba bòr , Zhing bòrò (Shimizu 1979: Root 91) also perhaps DN gbóóm 'grow large'	
Long	dā	cf. Tiba dii , DN dèèrí	
Small	dok	cf. Ibibio ètùk and similar in LC and perhaps also scattered Mumuye lects tokòlɔŋ (Shimizu 1979: Root 103)	
Red	raa	cf. Common Mumuye rāan (Shimizu 1979: Root 101)	
White	buut	Niger-Congo root	
Black	vír	cf. DN vírki , Tiba yíliik , Pangseng vir (Shimizu 1979: Root 92) and also see 'night' above	
Sweet	ʃɔkta		
Bitter	pat		
Hot	píi		
Cold	zaŋzaŋ	cf. Gnoore Mumuye zaŋzaŋ (Shimizu 1979: Root 93)	
Full	lot		G
Empty	kɔyɔ		G
Old	yera	? cf. Tiba nyáś	
New	paas	Old Niger-Congo root. cf. LC -fa	
Good	nen		
Wet	zuu		
Dry	səm		
Many	bɔr	cf. isolated Rang Mumuye bòrò (Shimizu 1979: Root 99) but also cf. 'big' above	G
All	vezāt		G
Others			
In	la	cf. DN dàa	G
On	yuyi	? cf. DN jum ⁺	G
Here	bi		G
There	laa		G
From	a		G
Not	naŋ		G

4. The classification of Dõ

4.1 Linguistic geography

The Dõ language is surrounded by Mumuye lects, although it is quite geographically remote from Zhing, the prestige lect that seems to be the source of many borrowings. To judge by the data in Shimizu (1979) Dõ has no special relationship with the Mumuye lects that now border it, Yɔɔ, Sagbee and Rang. It has no contact directly with Dakoid languages such as Nnakenyare or Gaa [Tiba], although Lamja is spoken not very far away. As a result, any connections with such languages may well be indicators of genetic connection, although they could also indicate ancient borrowing.

4.2 Relationship with Gaa [Tiba]

Dõ shares a number of lexical items with Gaa which suggest that it has a close relationship with this language, although the two are not now in contact. The most prominent of these items are;

Belly	laa	cf. Tiba lâa but an old Niger-Congo root, sometimes meaning ‘intestines’
Bird	wér	Tiba wérùm bird sp.
Blood	gɔn	perhaps Tiba gbaám
Firewood	was	Tiba wésè
Gourd	kwen	Tiba káŋtá
Hunger	nyúú	Tiba nyú , perhaps Pugong nyɔkɔ but also Hausa yunwa
Mat	ris	Tiba ísá
Navel	diŋ	Tiba diŋ ⁺
	sɔɔk	
Salt	yɔk- (nan)	Tiba yókúm
Wing	kele	Tiba káára
Wound	gbɔm	Tiba bóom
Ask	bip	Tiba bîp . Benue-Congo – see BCCW, I Gloss 6,2
Fall over	guu	Tiba gù-
Pound	zɔŋ	Tiba júùŋ
Ten	hɔɔp	Tiba wóob , but weakened from kɔp -a root common to Plateau, Lower Cross and Adamawa
Twenty	ʃeè	Tiba fée

These are not sufficiently numerous to suggest any regular sound-correspondences. There are a number of items shared between Dõ, Gaa and Mumuye whose exact origin is unclear.

Corpse	yú	Tiba yúu ; Zhing Mumuye yuúsaà ‘grave’ where saà = ‘place’
Egg	aŋ	Tiba eŋá , DN gaa ⁺ , Common Mumuye root e.g. Pugong angka (Shimizu 1979: Root 13) but also Iẓon aŋga
Fat	nɔ	Tiba nwùù , DN nòò . Common Mumuye root nuŋ (Shimizu 1979: Root 15).

4.3. Relationship with Dakoid

Dõ clearly also has a relationship with Dakoid. The main Dakoid lect for which substantial data is available is Samba Nnakenyare (BF) but wordlists exist for Lamja (RMB) and Taram (Meek). The following lexical items are shared with Tiba and other Dakoid lects;

Fish	yo(k)	Tiba yúksa , Dakoid Lamja yuki
Leaf	yaa⁺	DN yáà , Tiba yàásá
Song	lem	Tiba nyémsa , DN nìmsí
Fight	gɔn	? Tiba nwoŋ , DN nòŋ . Also 'beat'
Laugh	zɔl	'laughter' DN jóná , Tiba jœ
Ten	hɔɔp	Tiba wóob , but weakened from kɔp -a root common to Plateau, Lower Cross and Adamawa
Long	dã	Tiba díi , DN dèèrí

4.4. Relationship with Mumuye

The relationship between Dõ and Mumuye is complex, since Dõ lexical items show resemblances almost across the spectrum of Mumuye lects. Data on many Mumuye lects is limited, so perhaps the pattern cannot yet be discerned. However, it seems that there is an 'old' layer of resemblances that data from the period when Dõ was more extensive and in contact with a variety of lects and then a more recent stratum of Zhing Mumuye loans.

4.5 Relationship with Adamawa

A few lexical items in Dõ resemble non-Mumuye Adamawa languages and probably date from an earlier period when the pattern of languages in this region was more fluid than at present. Poor documentation on the Yandang cluster makes it difficult to establish the relationship of Dõ to this group. Examples of external parallel with the Dõ lexicon are as follows;

Penis	dɔk	Tiba duk⁺ , Momi deek
Hair	suk	Gaa àsóksá Saawa Mumuye su (Shimizu 1979: Root 20) Longuda sú-ké

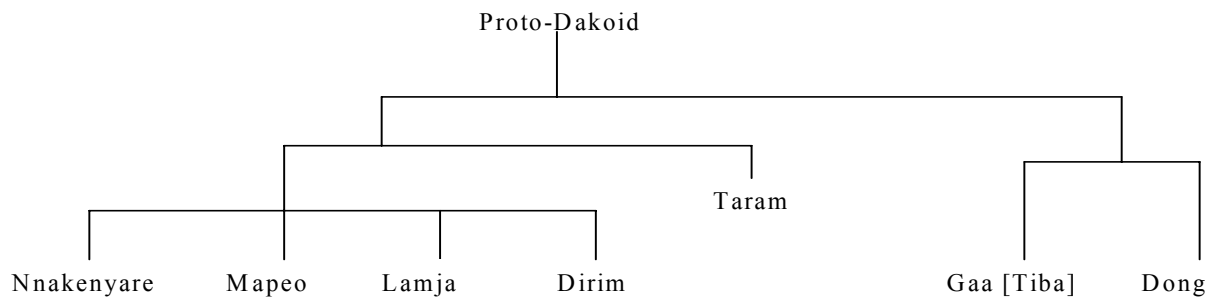
4.6 Relationship with Eastern Plateau

Dõ also shares a few lexical items with Eastern Plateau, notably the words for 'ask' 'water' and 'four'. It seems likely these date from a period when there was a chain of languages from the easternmost Plateau languages (Tarokoid) to the Samba-speaking area. It is noteworthy that Dõ shows little in common with Jukunoid, perhaps supporting the notion that Jukunoid languages spread northwards in quite recent historical time, after Dõ became isolated among the Mumuye group.

4.7 Proposed classification

Even with a reasonable length wordlist, the affiliations of Dõ are not easy to determine. The lack of a suffix system makes an Adamawa classification problematic, although there are clearly numerous words in common with Mumuye and other Adamawa languages in the region. It seems most likely that it forms an outlier of the Dakoid group together with Gaa. This hypothesis is presented in Figure 1;

Figure 1. The Dakoid languages



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Only further more detailed research will unravel the complex history of this language.

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