

The Cara language

of

Central Nigeria and its affinities

**[DRAFT CIRCULATED FOR COMMENT -NOT FOR CITATION WITHOUT REFERENCE TO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)7847-495590
E-mail rogerblench@yahoo.co.uk
<http://www.rogerblench.info/RBOP.htm>

This printout: July 21, 2012

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction	1
2. Location, history and sociolinguistic situation	1
2.1 Nomenclature	1
2.2 Location and settlements	1
2.3 Language status	1
2.4 History and culture	1
3. Phonology	2
3.1 Vowels	2
3.2 Consonants	3
3.3 Tones	3
4. Morphology	4
4.1 Nouns	4
4.1.1 Consonant alternation	4
4.1.2 Tone-raising rules	4
4.1.3 Prefix alternation	5
4.1.4 Suppletion	8
5. Lexical comparison and the classification of Cara	8
7. The affinities of Cara	25
7.1 Relationship with Berom	25
7.2 Cara and Beromic	25
7.3 Links with Plateau	26
7.3.1 General	26
7.4 Conclusion	26
References	26

TABLES

Table 1. Consonant alternation in Cara	4
Table 2. Stem-vowel length and tone-raising in Cara nominals	5
Table 3. Miscellaneous tone-change in Cara nominal plurals	5
Table 4. Isoglosses linking Cara with Berom	25
Table 5. Isoglosses supporting	25

1. Introduction

This is an annotated wordlist of the Cara language, spoken in some nine villages in Bassa LGA, Plateau State, Nigeria. A preliminary list was collected by Roger Blench with the assistance of Selbut Longtau from the Village Head, Peter Maguni Kusaru, the Wakili, Hamidu Taita and a group of elders including Kudaru Tanko, Culu Gado and Jinga Kunangaru on the 21st of December 1998. Mr. Samuel Hamidu Taita was kind enough to read the words on the tape. A further extended list was recorded in Anjok village on 26th April, 2012, when numerous corrections were made to the original list. Thanks to John Nengel who arranged this visit.

2. Location, history and sociolinguistic situation

2.1 Nomenclature

The Cara people occur in the literature under the names Teriya, Tariya, Pakara, Fakara and Fachara (for further variants see Wenthe-Lukas 1985:97). Previous information on the language of the Cara people in previous literature appears to derive from a single source, Shimizu (1975), which has never been published and may fairly be described as ‘rare’. Crozier & Blench (1992) reprise this information. Cara is the name of the language and the people. Capro (2004) is an ethnographic summary of information about Cara traditional culture. Its main text is adapted in Appendix 1.

2.2 Location and settlements

The main village of the Cara is Teriya, in Bassa Local Government Area, some 5 km. east of Gurum, which is 3 km. south-east of the main Jos-Kaduna road, 11 km from Jos town. Teriya is a Hausa name, describing a series of scattered sections, *ipup*, of which the principal one on the road is Anjok. Languages neighbouring Cara are Rukuba (Che), Buji, Amo and Berom. Historical data suggests that some Cara clans are of Che origin and this may explain similarities between some words.

2.3 Language status

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

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

2.4 History and culture

References on Cara history and culture can be found in Temple (1922), Ames (1934) and Gunn (1953) and CAPRO (2004). Ames records a Che [Rukuba] tradition that the Cara once lived at Kishi and were part of Che, but Cara traditions record that they ‘formerly lived at Aturu, close to Buji, and that from there they moved to the Tega River and finally to the high ground near Gurum where they now live’. Their settlements include Kipan, Kinshanda, Chuba, Aapi, Sabon Gari Tariya, Tega, Ampante, Amogbinse, Anjok, Kindogyio (Rafin Machiji, Kinme, and Ikadanyi. All these settlements are in Buji district.

The Cara have five clans;

Kiroso/Kidule	
Fanfunat	
Fanjit	
Fanvip	
Fakare	blacksmiths

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

3. Phonology

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

3.1 Vowels

Cara probably has seven phonemic vowels;

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

A few examples of a central vowel, /ə/, were recorded in 2012. This is sufficiently rare to suggest it is an allophone of existing vowels.

Tail	rúm	ə-rúm
------	-----	-------

Most vowels can have long-short contrasts, particularly exemplified by singular/plural formations.

Cow	ɲàà	ɲá
Snake sp.	yòòrì	yórí
Thatch roof	ʃɔt	ʃɔt
Rib	dʒùis	dʒís

Cara permits Vy sequences, where V₁ is /o/. Examples;

Leopard	goy
---------	-----

3.2 Consonants

Cara consonants are as follows:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Retro-flex	Palatal	Velar	Labial-velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d				k g	kp gb	
Nasal	m		n			ɲ	ŋ		
Trill			[r]						
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ					h
Affricate						tʃ dʒ			
Approximant						y		w	
Lateral			l		[ʎ]				
Approximant									
Implosive	ɓ		ɗ						

/tɛ/ is recorded in one lexeme only;

Death **teù**

This was recorded as /k/ in the earlier list and may be idiosyncratic variation.

The retroflex lateral is only recorded in a single word;

Song **ì-lem ā-lem**

The following sequence, where a diphthong is followed by a –wr- cluster appears to be idiosyncratic and warrants further checking.

Whirlwind **yáùwr ì-yáùwr**

Cara permits some doubled consonants, e.g.

Old person **fúllè**
Widow **fúŋŋàŋ**
Fathers **inné**

These almost certainly arise from assimilation following compounding.

3.3 Tones

Cara has three level tones, but no contour tones on single segments. Table 1 shows how tones are marked.

Table 1. Cara tones

High	´
Mid	-
Low	`

Entries marked with light red shading were not rechecked for tone in the second session.

4. Morphology

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Consonant alternation

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

Table 2. Consonant alternation in Cara

Gloss	sg.	pl.	
Bush-rat	ɓɛŋ	adɛŋ	ɓ/d
Chameleon	ɓakaka	adɛakaka	ɓ/d
Ear	kicuŋ	atuŋ	c/t
Woman	fùk	ĩŋkùk	f/k
Firewood	fɔn	akɔn	f/k
River crab	faŋfaŋ	akaŋkaŋ	f/k
Silk-cotton Tree	fum	akum	f/k
Cocoyam	gwekiri	adɛkiri	gw/d
Grave	kihɰák	àsák	hw/s
Wooden door	kuri	a-luri	k/l
Child	kɔn	nɔn	k/n
Wife	nékìrà	ànénírà	k/n
Husband	dákìrà	àdápìrà	k/ɲ
River frog	kwarak	asarak	kw/s
Village Weaver ¹	kwika	asika	kw/s
Hair	ikpo	sito	kp/t
Bow	kwa	a-ta	kw/t
Person/people	mít	ĩnít	m/n
Brother	máɲ	ínàɲ	
Eye	ris	apis	r/ɲ
Rope	roy	soy	r/s
Vein	i-vip	si-dip	v/d
Medicine	val	agal	v/g
Bone	vis	agis	v/g
Baboon	voos	agoos	v/g
Female sibling	wátál	fátál	w/f
Blacksmith	wùlá	àfilá	w/f
Shea tree	walaŋ	adɛalaŋ	w/dʒ
Tooth	windi	apindi	w/ɲ
Horn	kíwɛ̀ŋ	ápɛ̀ŋ	wʷ/ɲ

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

4.1.2 Tone-raising rules

Another common pattern in Cara involves tone raising of the stem-vowel.

Farm (personal)	càp	caàp
Thatch roof	ɟɔt	ɟɔ̀t

The most widespread pairing is given in Table 3 where the low-tone long vowel changes to a high tone short vowel.

¹ (*Ploceus cucullatus*)

Table 3. Stem-vowel length and tone-raising in Cara nominals

Gloss	sg.	pl.
Cow	nàà	ná
Castrated goat	ǰàà	ǰǎ
In-laws	kàá	ĩnká
Rib	dʒìis	dʒís
Louse (Human)	cìin	cín
Snake (Generic)	yòò	yó

Typologically, this is of considerable interest, since it is rare in the languages of the world for plurals to be shorter than singulars. Other types of tone-plural in Cara are more miscellaneous. Table 4 shows some samples of these. All involve some kind of tone-raising and at least three patterns can be detected, all of low frequency.

Table 4. Miscellaneous tone-change in Cara nominal plurals

Gloss	sg.	pl.
Thorn	yòrò	yórò
Work	cùncòm	cúncòm
Ancestors	zànkàmùt	zànkámùt
Hill	cùŋ	cǔŋ
Farm	càp	cǎp
Guest/stranger I	myàt	myǎt
Guest/stranger II	ǰin	ǰín
Skull	cùr	cúr

Almost certainly where the plural has a rising tone, the stem previously exhibited a lengthened vowel as in the singulars in Table 3, a tone-raising rule was applied and the vowel then shortened.

4.1.3 Prefix alternation

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

ø-/a-

Table 5. ø-/a- alternations in Cara

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Tree (generic)	fòn	àkón
Root	lɪŋa	alɪŋa
Moon/month	pəl	a-pəl
Eye	ris	apis
Face	wɛn	apɛn

ø-/n-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Woman	fuk	nkuk
Widow	fúŋŋàŋ	ŋkúŋŋàŋ

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

Today **ñfénè**

ø-/ni-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
He-goat	gasu	ni-gasu

A unique example.

ø-/ti-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Arrow	fi	ti-fi

A unique example.

i-/ø-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Buffalo	ì-yàt	yát
Hare ²	i-zum	zum

Only two cases recorded.

i-/a-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Leaf	ikɔt	akɔt
Grass (generic)	igoi	agwi
Masquerade	i-rim	a-rim

i-/ni-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Bush	i-kay	ni-kay
Pot	i-pɔndɔŋ	ni-pɔndɔŋ

These are the only two examples recorded.

² (*Lepus Crawshayi*)

i-/si-

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

i-/ti-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Charcoal	i-falaŋ	ti-falaŋ

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

ki-/a-

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

ke-/a-

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

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

ku-/a-

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

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

ki-/ni-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Dry season	ki-hwani	ni-hwani
Stream	ki-gyɛl	ni-gyɛl
Place	ki-ti	ni-ti
Slave	ki-gyɛn	ni-gyɛn
Calf	ki-narɔn	ni-narɔn
Dog	ki-san	ni-san

u-/fi-

Gloss	Singular	Plural
Hunter	u-gari	fi-gari

A unique example.

4.1.4 Suppletion

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

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

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

5. Lexical comparison and the classification of Cara

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

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

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
1.	Tree (generic)	fòn	àkón	cf. Izere kâkón , Tarokoid #-kon but this root is widespread in Niger-Congo, often meaning firewood.
2.	Leaf	ìkót	àkót	
3.	Root I	làt	àlát	cf. Berom rwìnís , Shall lun ,
4.	Root II	língà	àlíngá	
5.	Branch	kì-lāŋ	lyāŋ	
6.	Bark (of tree)	ì-kabél	à-kabél	
7.	Thorn	yóró	yórò	cf. Shall roa , Berom rógó ,
8.	Grass (generic)	í-gʷòy	á-gʷòy	? cf. Central Berom hywí
9.	Vine (generic)	ì-kíŋ	sí-kíŋ	
10.	Mushroom	zùp	zúp	
11.	Mushroom	í-zàzùp	á-zàzùp	
12.	Water-lily	gbékir	àdékir	
13.	Algae	—	tibeke	
14.	Seed/stone/pip	bí	—	? source of Hausa <i>iri</i> ?
15.	Charcoal	ì-faláng	tì-faláng	cf. Berom sēhwālāŋ , Aten hwel
16.	Dust I	ì-gʷgón		
17.	Dust II	íŋbù		Small cloud of dust raised on the ground
18.	Ashes	ŋkpúŋ		cf. Berom n-foŋol ,
19.	Rubbish-heap	àgelíŋ		
20.	Mud	m̄vìl		cf. words for ‘ground’ e.g. Berom vwel , Rukul amwel
21.	Clay	bòs		cf. Berom bwòŋ ‘mud’
22.	Dew	ímìŋ		cf. Berom mwēngē , Aten memé , reflexes of a Niger-Congo root
23.	Stone	i-tá	a-tá	cf. Izere kutá pl. atá , Fyem diŋfán pl. atfán , but also Pe i-tsam , Kenyi tfa-a and Tyap cluster #faŋ roots, all reflexes of a Niger-Congo root #ta- . cf. Horom ŋíŋal ,
24.	Sand	ɖɔ̀		
25.	Smoke	m̄véŋ		
26.	Fire	wú		cf. Ce u-wò , Ninzo ùrú , Bu wuru . probably related to the widespread root #wa- , found as a Common Mumuye root (Shimizu 1979: Root 17) and Mambiloid wa but also a Common Adamawa-Ubangian root
27.	Water	mál		cf. Ninzo masiri , Bu mma , Horom bamal , also Ura mò and Bokyi ɔ-mo . Also in Chadic: Tala maal , Buli màl . Words for ‘water’ with ma- are Africa-wide and may derive from the old ma- class-prefix for liquids.
28.	Rain	zòr		
29.	Cloud	íŋwòt	áŋwòt	cf. Berom wút ‘fog, cloud, mist’ but probably also words for ‘rain’ e.g. Ce àwòru , Toro awi , Alumu a-wè ,
30.	Lightning I	mélùŋ		
31.	Lightning II	ɲawʷét		
32.	Thunder	ìŋkpurí		

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
33.	Rainy Season	í-gòs	á-gòs	cf. 'year' (37.). ? second element in Berom nàgā-hwós
34.	Dry season	ki-hwání	nì-hwání	
35.	Harmattan	i-vús	a-vús	
36.	Harmattan	járì	—	
37.	Year	í-gòs	á-gòs	cf. 'rainy season' (33.) cf. Izere kós 'to spend a year somewhere', Hasha i-kusan , Təsu hufi ,
38.	Today	ñfénè	—	
39.	Yesterday	énrè	—	cf. Bu ēri , Rukul irwε , Aten arye ,
40.	Tomorrow	kìpiŋ	—	cf. Spanish..
41.	Morning	kìpiŋ	—	
42.	Evening	wanrík	—	?? cf. Berom nàwiri
43.	Dawn	kinwar kipiŋ		
44.	Day	ì-duŋgé	à-duŋgé	
45.	Night	ki-túk	à-tuk	cf. Berom túrūk , but also tūk 'day of 24 hours'. Also Izere kā-túk , Sur gutuk , See BCCW
46.	Moon/month	pél	à-pél	cf. Berom pwēl , Aten fēl , but a widespread Niger-Congo root. Mbd wel
47.	Sun	wè	—	cf. Berom gwei , Aten gbei , Fyem wíi , Mabo wéi . Perhaps weakened from Ron forms such as Bokkos bwè
48.	Star(s)	yòt	yót	? cf. Aten yiyoɾo
49.	Wind	wùl	—	cf. Berom gul , ? Aten bwíl , Shall wu , Fyem wùl , Rukul uwol ,
50.	Whirlwind	yáùwr	ì-yáùwr	
51.	God	kùré		cf. Ce kurù ,
52.	Sky	kízùŋ		? cf. Izere kāzá
53.	World	ndás		
54.	Ground	ùmvél		cf. Berom vwel , Rukul amwel
55.	Large River	džél dápì	džél dápì	
56.	Stream	ki-gyéł	nì-gyéł	
57.	Lake, pond	ki-dík	a-dík	
58.	Forest	i-kút	sì-kút	cf. Berom rēhwōt , LC íkót 'bush'
59.	Mountain	í-gàlè	á-gàlè	cf. Berom hwol ⁺ ,
60.	Knoll	ki-gáálè	nì-gáálè	
61.	Hill	ṭùŋ	ṭuŋ	
62.	Bush	í-kày	ní-kày	cf. Berom hēi , Aten hwai , Fyem hai , but also a widespread Plateau root #hai
63.	Farm (compound)	i-ndás	á-ndàs	
64.	Farm (personal)	ṭàp	ṭjáap	
65.	Farm (group)	kì-gós	à-gós	NB. See connection with 'rainy season, year' (33.)
66.	Market*	kì-tenzá	nì-tenzá	
67.	Compound	kè-ra	à-ra	
68.	Room	ki-lí	a-lí	
69.	Wall (of room)	ki-vót	à-vót	
70.	Field	ki-tél	nì-tel	

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
71.	Thatch roof	ʃót	ʃóòt	cf. Ce <i>ì-sót</i> , Berom <i>sóró</i>
72.	Granary	kì-mé	a-mé	
73.	Well*	ì-vəŋ mál	à-vəŋ mál	‘hole of water’
74.	Road	góŋ	a-góŋ	cf. Berom <i>gwōŋ</i>
75.	Path	kì-góŋòn	nì-góŋòn	
76.	Settlement, small	ì-ŋvoŋ	—	
77.	Settlement	i-póp	a-póp	The Cara do not live in nucleated settlements so ‘ward’ is a better translation
78.	River-bank	ī-gúm	ā-gúm	cf. Berom <i>kwōgōm</i> ,
79.	Swamp/wetland	ráp	à-ráp	
80.	Place	kī-tí	nī-tí	
81.	Person/people	mít	īnít	cf. Berom <i>mwāt</i>
82.	Man	wurúm-mè	ínrùm-mè	cf. Fyem <i>róm</i> pl. <i>ḡarom</i> but this is a very widespread Benue-Congo root for ‘man/male’, ‘person’ (see discussion in BCCW, II)
83.	Woman	fùk	ìŋkùk	
84.	Child	kón	nón	cf. Izere <i>ìgôn</i> pl. <i>ìgôn</i> . Berom seems connected by showing the same alternation <i>hwēi</i> pl. <i>nèi</i>
85.	Husband	dákirà	àdápìrà	
86.	Widow	fúŋŋàŋ	īkúŋŋàŋ	
87.	Wife	nékirà	ànéŋìrà	
88.	Young man	māīná	āmāsé	
89.	Young girl	ká-zàŋ	ná-zàŋ	
90.	Old person	fúllè	ìŋkùllè	
91.	Father	dá	ìndá	cf. Berom <i>dá</i> , Izere <i>adâ</i> , Ijọ <i>ḡau</i> .
92.	Mother	né	inné	cf. Shall <i>na</i> , Nupe <i>nna</i> ,
93.	Relations	—	bè	cf. Ce <i>ì-bí</i> ,
94.	In-laws	kàá	īnká	cf. Bantu?
95.	Ancestors	—	ìŋzànkámùt	cf. Mbd.
96.	Grandparents	dákùlì	ìndákùlì	
97.	Grandchild	kì-wál	nī-wál	
98.	Brother	máŋ	ínàŋ	
99.	Female sibling	wátál	fátál	
100.	Friend	dún	īndún	
101.	Guest/stranger I	myát	myát	
102.	Guest/stranger II	jin	jín	cf. Ningye <i>tsen</i> , Izere <i>atsen</i> , Mbd <i>*kèn</i>
103.	Barren woman	fùkfùrì	ìŋkùk ìŋkùrì	
104.	King/chief/ruler	fárùm	tikārùm	
105.	Kingship	tigóm	—	cf. Izere <i>agwom</i> and PEBC #-gom.
106.	Hunter	wùn fāzám	fāzám	
107.	‘Marksman’	ù-gàrì	kì-gàrì	
108.	Thief	wùn fāḡán	fāḡán	
109.	Doctor	ká-bèrè	àná-bèrè	
110.	Witch	fēm	īnkém	cf. Ningye <i>ḡen</i> ,
111.	Corpse	ī-bí	ā-bí	cf. Berom <i>vín</i> ,
112.	Blacksmith	wùlá	àfílá	cf. Ninzo <i>nìlà</i> , Bu <i>ɛla</i> , Ningye <i>nerak</i>
113.	Woodworker	wùn fáfípàl	fáfípàl	

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
114.	Slave	kì-gyén	nì-gyén	cf. Hyam, Ningye gan , Bu ɛgərā
115.	Masquerade	í-rìm	ə-rím	cf. Tarok ùrìm
116.	World of the dead	kɪŋkau	—	
117.	Prophecy	ara	—	
118.	Shame	ikin	—	
119.	Fear/fright	dʒɔt		
120.	Bravery/courage	itu biki		
121.	Laughter	tihwil		
122.	Wisdom	indʒendʒɛŋ		
123.	Guilt	kizakine		
124.	Anger	inlɔl		
125.	Race/running	fatʃe		
126.	Suffering I	yɔr		
127.	Suffering II	ibinta		
128.	Death	teù		
129.	Name	í-zà	á-zà	cf. Shall sa , Fyem ɖi-sá
130.	Grave	kìhwák	àsák	cf. Berom sàk ,
131.	Song	i-lem	ā-lém	
132.	Story	dáʒùm	àdāʒùm	
133.	Word	í-gò	á-gò	
134.	Lie	əbírá		
135.	News, rumours	kìsɪŋá		
136.	Hunger/famine	kívòŋ		cf. Berom vyon ⁺ ,
137.	Egg	í-gìp	á-gìp	cf. Berom gyì , Aten gep ,
138.	Horn	kíwʷèŋ	ápèŋ	
139.	Tail	rúm	ə-rúm	cf. Berom rum ⁺ , Izere kúrum pl. árum , PEBC #- dum
140.	Wing (of bird)	kē-ráni	à-rāní	
141.	Beak (of bird)	kunu kinkinɔn		
142.	Nest (of bird)	kí-rèk	ā-rék	cf. Izere kuré pl. aré .
143.	Gum/glue	ínàp	—	
144.	Ant-hill (large)	ī-dāŋgè	á-dāŋgè	
145.	Ant-hill (small)	ī-kūrús	à-kūrús	
146.	Hole in ground	ī-vóm	à-vóm	cf. Berom rèvòŋ , Aten vóŋ , Izere rībóŋ and Volta-Congo cognates
147.	Smell	inūŋgí	—	
148.	Poison	tī-móm	ā-móm	
149.	Bundle I	ī-ténkùn	à-ténkùn	
150.	Bundle I	ī-tét	à-tét	
151.	Firewood	fūn nù kínwù	àkùn nū kínwù	as 'tree' ()
152.	Yam-ridge	ī-zāl mpyàn	ā-zāl nì mpyàn	cf. Fyem sàl ,
153.	Yam-heap	pótò mpyàn	àtót nì mpyàn	cf. Fyem sàl ,
154.	War	ī-kóm	à-kóm	cf. Berom ɖòmó , Aten tsom ,
155.	Work	ɖùntɖɔŋ	ɖùntɖɔŋ	cf. Berom tòm , Aten tome , but a Niger-Congo root
156.	Divination I	iturmal	—	water divination
157.	Divination II	ɖʌlɔm	—	horn divination
158.	Medicine	val	agal	cf. Berom hwal ⁺ , Aten hwál , Rukul a-hal , Fyem ɖi-hyal ,
159.	Money	ɖɛfù	ɖɛfù	
160.	Shadow	ki-rəriŋgo	ni-rəriŋgo	
161.	Thing	i-du	a-du	

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
162.	Strength	inkərəs	—	
163.	Length	inlis		
164.	Land/country	mvel		
165.	Sleep	inra		
166.	Disease(generic)	inrə		cf. Hyam rwon ,
167.	Smallpox	indugari		
168.	Diarrhoea	mwazil		
169.	Eczema	inkəgəl		
170.	Goitre	i-gək	a-gək	
171.	Boil	ki-mət	ni-mət	
172.	Sore/wound	viyàr	viyár	
173.	Leprosy	inkəgəl	insənɛ	cf. ‘eczema’ (169.)
174.	Head	i-tu	a-tu	cognate with the more common # ti -Niger-Congo roots
175.	Eye	ris	apis	cf. Berom rēyish , Izere rîpísí pl. apísí
176.	Face	wən	apən	
177.	Skull	tfur	tfúr	
178.	Cheek	ki-puk	a-puk	cf. LC – fók ,
179.	Forehead	i-til	a-til	cf. Izere kâtí pl. nati
180.	Nose	i-ɲwul	a-ɲwul	cf. Fyem du-wól pl. awól , Bo awol , Pe ti-yol , Berom wól pl. bāwól , Ndoro ɲwunà
181.	Ear	ki-tfun	a-tun	cf. Izere kúto pl. áto , Ningye tɔŋ , Fyem hutón , Mabo utó also throughout Tarokoid, but a PVC root # tuN -. Also in Chadic e.g. Sha ’a-tôn
182.	Mouth	ku-nu	a-nu	cf. Izere kânû . Widespread Niger-Congo root # nu -
183.	Tooth	windi	apindi	The –di suffix is mysterious though Horom has di-yin and if this prefix is old then it may have been previously converted into a Cara suffix.
184.	Tongue	i-ləm	a-ləm	cf. Mabo de-rem , Pe ti-lem , Yan̄kam rem and widespread in Plateau. An old Atlantic-Congo root # goro forms are found throughout Africa (Blench 1996)
185.	Throat	i-gəŋkər	a-gəŋkər	
186.	Neck	po	ato	cf. Berom fwə pl. tò , Iten tsintsə , Kulu u-tfo ⁺ , Izere kutó pl. itə
187.	Jaw	ki-ləgun	a-ləgun	
188.	Chin	ki-ləŋget	a-ləŋget	
189.	Shoulder	zà	zá	cf. Berom sānàt ,
190.	Armpit	ki-pəbet	a-pəbet	
191.	Fist	guntavə	a-guntavə	
192.	Arm	və	a-və	cf. Berom vwó , Izere kubók , Fyem hubó , Mabo ubóx , Proto-Bantu – bóko . A widespread root in Niger-Congo (BCCW, I:6) for ‘arm’ or ‘hand’

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
193.	Hand	ki-pat ki-mvɔ	a-pat ɲimvɔ	
194.	Leg	bul	a-bul	cf. Central Berom vwol , Shall vol ,
195.	Foot	ki-pat kimbul	a-pat ɲimbul	
196.	Thigh	ki-vap	a-vap	
197.	Knee	i-rum	a-rum	cf. Kulu gu-lluɟ ⁺ , Fyem ɖurúm pl. arúm , Mabo rurum , Yaŋkam ruŋ . Reconstructed as #-rúŋù in East Benue-Congo in Blench (ms.) Also in Chadic: Kulere 'arôm , Tangale purum and Mupun fùrùm . This is so widespread in Chadic that the #-rum element may have been loaned into Plateau.
198.	Female breast	i-vɔvil	a-vɔvil	cf. -bel roots
199.	Stomach	ki-nɛn	a-nɛn	cf. Ninzo i-ne , but perhaps just a local form of widespread #la- , #na- forms for 'intestines', 'belly'
200.	Navel	i-kɔp	a-kɔp	cf. PLC *-kóp , also Pe igum , Yaŋkam kum , Nizaa kómni , Vute ɬómè . Also in Chadic: Mwaghavul kúm , Tangale kúmbi
201.	Nail(Finger/toe)	ɬùrùgè	ɬùgè	? cf. Berom kwók
202.	Back	ɬàŋkuma	ɬàŋkuma	
203.	Buttocks	i-geget	a-geget	
204.	Penis	pyòy	pyóy	
205.	Vagina	i-but	a-but	
206.	Skin	i-kɔ	a-kɔ	cf. Berom hwó , Shall kwa , Aten hùhù ,
207.	Bone	vis	agis	
208.	Rib	ɖziis	ɖzis	
209.	Vein	i-vip	si-dip	
210.	Blood	mi		cf. Berom nèmí ,
211.	Breath	iqwe		
212.	Tear	mizil		cf. Berom nèmwishíl ,
213.	Sweat	kyimizi		
214.	Saliva			
215.	Urine	ɟɔm		
216.	Faeces	avim		cf. widespread #-bi roots
217.	Hair	ikpo	sito	cf. Berom setot ⁺ , Aten tsutsɔ̀̀ ,
218.	Beard	ki-lɛŋget	a-lɛŋget	
219.	Brain	siput		
220.	Liver	ape		cf. Berom yēi pl. nèyèi , Idoma àɲi , Magongo ɛyɛ , Nupe ɛɲi (?)
221.	Heart	i-tu	a-tu	
222.	Intestines	i-le	si-le	Mbd, PB -dà P-Ijò ílá
223.	Body	ku-rum	a-rum	? cognate with 'back' roots?
224.	Meat	ki-nam	i-nam	Niger-Congo root #-nam-
225.	Animal (Bush)	ki-nam	i-nam	
		kikyingwoi	munkingwoi	
226.	*Camel	rɔ̀nkumi	a-rɔ̀nkumi	<Hausa
227.	Cow	ɲàà	ɲá	cf. Izere ɲák but this is a widespread Niger-Congo root #na-

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
228.	Bull	jà rùmè	jà rúmé	'cow + male'
229.	Calf	ki-narɔn	ni-narɔn	
230.	Goat	ʒɔl	ʒɔl	
231.	He-goat	gasu	ni-gasu	
232.	He-goat (small)	ki-gasu	a-gasu	
233.	Castrated goat	fàà	fá	cf. Aten jam 'male goat',
234.	Sheep	kwaŋgi	ayaŋgi	
235.	Ram	kwaŋgi rumi	ayaŋgi arumi	
236.	Castrated sheep	fàà yin kwaŋgi	etc.	
237.	Dog	ki-san	ni-san	
238.	*Cat	patuma	a-patuma	< Kanuri
239.	*Pig	ŋgwer miŋ kira		'pig of house'
240.	*Horse	tfaasi nin sito		'hairy thing for riding'
241.	*Donkey	ki-dʒaki	ni-dʒaki	< H.
242.	Elephant	rɔɔ	a-rɔɔ	See BCCW but also in Kwa
243.	Hippo	fɛʃit	fɛʃit	
244.	Buffalo	ì-yàt	yát	cf. Horom yat pl. i-yat , Yanʒkam yyet although these are reflections of a more widespread root #- yati in East Benue-Congo. Also in WBC e.g. Nupe eya . See also Daffo yàt
245.	Lion	ziki	a-zaki	
246.	Leopard	goy	a-goy	Niger-Congo, BCW, Mbd
247.	Patas monkey ³	yàrum	yárum	? cf. Berom dʒàrùm , Shall dʒalimun , Izere izaram
248.	Baboon	voos	agoos	
249.	Squirrels(generic)	ki-bale	ni-bale	
250.	Rat (generic)	tʃù	tʃú	cf. Berom tʃù pl. tʃū
251.	Grasscutter ⁴	víp	víp	
252.	Giant rat ⁵	ki-gut	ni-gut	cf. Horom kwede , Rukul a-hɔtɔ , Yanʒkam ikot , Sur kwɔr
253.	Other rodents I	ɓɛŋ	aɗɛŋ	
254.	Other rodents II	ki-raŋkas	ni-raŋkas	
255.	Other rodents III	bibwi	bíbwi	
256.	Other rodents IV	ki-ɓuŋ	ni-ɓuŋ	
257.	Other rodents V	ki-taraŋ	ni-taraŋ	
258.	Musk-shrew	ɓilo	a-ɓilo	
259.	Hare ⁶	i-zum	zum	Cf. Horom ɲ-zòm but a root widespread within Plateau, also Hausa zóómóó
260.	House-bat	kibal kituk		'goes out at night'
261.	Fruit-bat	i-rima	a-rima	cf. Berom dàm ,
262.	Nile crocodile	tʃɔ̀rɔ̀m	tʃɔ̀rɔ̀m	cf. Kulu èguru , Alumu kùrù , Nindem a-kur ,
263.	Chameleon	ɓakaka	aɗakaka	
264.	Agama lizard	ɓoop	a-ɓoop	
265.	Agama lizard m.	ratu	a-ratu	
266.	Skink	lɛŋgu	a-lɛŋgu	

³ (*Erythrocebus patas*)⁴ (*Thryonomys Swinderianus*)⁵ (*Cretomyces* sp.)⁶ (*Lepus Crawshayi*)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
267.	Gecko	rerus	a-rerus	
268.	Toad	ḥɔɔrɔk	a-ḥɔɔrɔk	
269.	River frog	kwarak	asarak	
270.	Land tortoise	i-kur	a-kur	*PLC -kut
271.	Snake (Generic)	yòò	yó	PWS
272.	Spitting cobra	bèris	a-béris	
273.	Snake sp. I	hwatuŋ asat		
274.	Snake sp. II	yòòrì	yórí	
275.	Snake sp. III	yòòŋgi	yóŋlí	
276.	Snake sp. IV	ɖʒɔp	ɖʒɔp	cf. Mbd 'snake', LC 'python'
277.	Snake sp. V	ip(y)e	ape	
278.	Snake sp. VI	ʔéɛŋgè	ʔéɛŋgé	
279.	Snake sp. VII	i-lutuk	a-lutuk	
280.	River turtle	i-hwyek	a-hwyek	
281.	River crab	faŋfaŋ	akaŋkaŋ	
282.	River molluscs	i-kɔr	a-kɔr	
283.	Fish (generic)	yìŋ	yìŋ	
284.	<i>Gymnarchus niloticus</i>	gɔl	a-gɔl	
285.	Bird (generic)	ki-nɔn	ni-nɔn	cf. Bo anón , Tarok ipil , Pe i-nol , Yanlam noi A common Benue-Congo root also found in Bantu. Mukarovksy (II, 405) gives examples that suggest a reconstruction to Proto-Volta-Congo.
286.	Chicken	fɔr	akɔr	
287.	Cock	vɔɔ	agɔɔ	
288.	*Duck	i-gwagwa	a-gwagwa	
289.	Pigeon	wi-gonza	api-gonza	
290.	Guinea-fowl	vemveŋ	ageŋgeŋ	
291.	Hooded Vulture ⁷	aŋguluk	—	cf. Hausa aŋgulu
292.	Village Weaver ⁸	kwika	asika	
293.	Cattle-egret ⁹	ki-balakam	ni-balakam	
294.	Black kite ¹⁰	ki-rap	ni-rap	
295.	Standard-wing Night-jar	kirɔŋ yìŋ	a-rɔŋ yìŋ	
296.	Owl (various spp.)	vimviŋ	agingiŋ	
297.	Bush-fowl/partridge	ki-mwoi	ni-mwoi	
298.	*Pied crow ¹¹	vwak	agak	
299.	Woodpecker	ki-dikɔkkɔk	ni-dikɔkkɔk	
300.	Insect (Generic)	ki-dʒiri	ni-dʒiri	
301.	Scorpion	ʔɔ̀rɔ̀t	ʔɔ̀rɔ̀t	
302.	Butterfly	i-berumberum	a-berumberum	
303.	Mosquito	i-mut	a-mut	
304.	Spider (<i>Acarina</i> spp.)	i-kaŋpid	a-kaŋpid	
305.	Mason wasp ¹²	putʃe	a-putʃe	

⁷ (*Neophron monachus*)⁸ (*Ploceus cucullatus*)⁹ (*Ardeola ibis*)¹⁰ (*Milvus migrans*)¹¹ (*Corvus albus*)¹² (*Belenogaster* spp.)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
306.	Bee	ʃò	ʃó	cf. Berom ʃòk, Hasha i-suk , Horom sèkè, Ningye sɔ, Bu ifɔ, Izere ifɔʃ pl. ifɔʃ
307.	Sweat-fly	dʒip	dʒíp	cf. Berom ʃín, Bu ʃínʃí, Horom ʃín. Reconstructed as #-ʃín to Proto-Benue-Congo in Blench (ms.). Cf. also Ngas nʃí, Mwaghavul ndifí, Tangale tɪn
308.	Housefly	dʒin	dʒín	
309.	Ant (Generic)	dʒàzùnà	dʒázúná	
310.	Louse (Human)	ʃiin	ʃín	
311.	Millipede	foryon	akoryon	
312.	Cockroach	i-palak	a-palak	
313.	Termite	kere	agau	
314.	Flying-ant	dʒaŋkàriru	dʒaŋkáriru	
315.	Praying mantis	pugumpugum	a-pugumpugum	
316.	Firefly	ki-dʒadʒay	ni-dʒadʒay	
317.	Giant Cricket	yègè	yégé	
318.	Earthworm	kwatuya	atatuya	
319.	Giant Snail	i-kər	a-kər	cf. Hausa kodi
320.	Dragon-fly	i-berumberum	a-berumberum	‘butterfly of water’
		kimal	kimal	
321.	Soap (Traditional)	rər	—	
322.	Oil	innoi	—	cf. Berom nói , Aten noi , Shall nu ,
323.	Fat/grease	ibip	—	cf. Berom sebwép , Horom tífép , Tarok m̀pìp ‘animal fat’, Chawai bap , Samba Nnakenyare byep . Reconstructed to East Benue-Congo as #- byep in Blench (ms.)
324.	Salt	imbasi		cf. Berom nvwāshè ,
325.	Soup/stew	siliŋ		cf. Berom selen ⁺ , Aten teleŋ ,
326.	Porridge	tuk		cf. Berom tuk ⁺ ,
327.	Sorghum-beer	dʒɔt		
328.	Peelings	ikabil		
329.	Funnel	galempe	a-galampe	
330.	Filter	ki-ganziŋ	ni-ganziŋ	
331.	Rag	i-dezi	a-dezi	
332.	Floor-beater	i-pal	a-pal	cf. Nupe epa , Jijili upane , Cambap pəpəp ,
333.	Handle (of tool)	pop	a-pop	cf. Nupe efú , Ce uhup , Izere kufóp , Eggon ofuvu , Mambila fù
334.	Sickle	i-baŋkɔ	a-baŋkɔ	
335.	Cutlass	ki-gasa	ni-gasa	
336.	Iron	ɸir	ɸiir	
337.	Axe	ʃēm	ʃēm	cf. Berom tyět ,
338.	Adze	ʃambe	ʃámbe	
339.	Hoe (large)	ki-dɛŋ	ni-dɛŋ	
340.	Hoe (small)	i-susu	a-susu	
341.	Hammer	i-gbugbuk	a-gbugbuk	
342.	Knife	ɖyà	ɖyá	
343.	Comb	mantʃɛpɛ	—	
344.	Broom	warak	aŋgwarak	

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
345.	Sack (trad.)	lègòt	légót	
346.	Sack (modern)	byàràk	byárák	
347.	Fireplace	ki-kik	a-kik	
348.	Shoe	i-kəmbəl	a-kəmbəl	
349.	Cloth	i-du	a-du	
350.	Grinding-stone Upper)	i-tam fəŋgi	a-tam fəŋgi	
351.	Grinding-stone (lower)	konki-tam fəŋgi		
352.	Mortar (wood)	ku-run	a-run	cf. Pe utuŋ , Horom u-duŋ , PLC *-dùŋ . This may be an old Niger-Congo root derived from the verb 'to pound'. Hausa túrmí may be from this source.
353.	Pestle	rindən	a-rindən	
354.	Pot (generic)	i-kal	a-kal	
355.	Other pots I	i-pe	a-pe	cf. Berom péi ,
356.	Other pots II	ki-dɛ	ni-dɛ	cf. Berom rwei ,
357.	Other pots III	i-wi	a-wi	
358.	Other pots IV	i-pəndəŋ	ni-pəndəŋ	
359.	Head-pad	i-kat	a-kat	PB -kátà
360.	Basket (generic)	ɖanziŋ	ɖáanziŋ	
361.	Small basket	ki-ganziŋ	ni-ganziŋ	
362.	Winnowing tray	ki-boo	a-boo	
363.	Mat (generic)	ki-hu	ni-hu	
364.	Spear	yòp	yóp	cf. Berom yòbo 'steel spring curled around the lower end of a spear',
365.	Bow	kwa	a-ta	Niger-Congo root #-ta .
366.	Arrow	fi	ti-fi	
367.	Quiver	bəŋgírɔ	a-bəŋgírɔ	cf. Mbd.
368.	Chain	mapaŋ	—	
369.	Rope	roy	soy	
370.	Cord for bundle	rik	a-rik	cf. P-Ijò ɖíkí 'rope'
371.	Stool	i-ka	a-ka	
372.	Wooden door	kuri	a-luri	
373.	Fence	i-wɛgɛ	a-wɛgɛ	
374.	Ladder	ɖɔŋgɔ	ɖɔŋgɔ	
375.	Bee-hive	i-puruŋ	a-puruŋ	
376.	Snare	ki-rɛt	a-rɛt	
377.	One	yunuŋ	—	cf. Berom gwīnìŋ
378.	Two	yaare		
379.	Three	ɕfarer		
380.	Four	pazil		
381.	Five	ɕfaan		
382.	Six	ɕimmin		cf. Berom tyiimin
383.	Seven	ɕfamba		cf. Berom taama , PB , P-Ijò sónómà
384.	Eight	kurir		
385.	Nine	koore		cf. Berom kūrū 'ten'
386.	Ten	tankiba		
387.	Eleven	ɕfiris		
388.	Twelve	ɕfukut		

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
389.	Thirteen	ikut ni tfat		
390.	Fourteen	ikut ni pas		
391.	Fifteen	ikut ni tfaan		
392.	Twenty	akut aba		the -ba element shows the common Niger-Saharan root for 'two', which has disappeared in the ordinary numeral 'two' (378.)
393.	Twenty-four	akut aba nipas		
394.	Black	i-siri	a-siri	
395.	White	i-piŋi	a-piŋi	
396.	Red	i-sini	a-sini	
397.	Brown	wu-maŋ	nzu-maŋ	
398.	Blue	iyu		
399.	Green	mal niŋkɔt		'water of leaves'
400.	Yellow	mal mindɔt		
401.	Sweet	wiit		
402.	Bitter	ɓau		
403.	Half	iɓɛri		
404.	Hot	maɗ		
405.	Cold	tfɪt		
406.	Old	ikulle		objects only
407.	New	ipasi	a-pasi	
408.	Wet	ki-zumni	a-zumni	
409.	Dry	inkwɔntiŋ		
410.	Smooth	muluk		
411.	Add to	sila		
412.	Answer (question)	guŋra		
413.	Ask a question	pyuŋgal		? cf. Berom rāŋgāl
414.	Ask/beg for something	fɛt		
415.	Awaken (someone)	nɛziŋgi		
416.	Bark (dog)	busai		cf. Berom bwú
417.	Be bent	kɔka		
418.	Be heavy	inrup		
419.	Be on (s.t.)	ankizuŋ		
420.	Be rotten	tibós		cf. Berom ɓɔsɔ 'rotten'. P-Ijɔ ɓùrù
421.	Be short	iɓeere		
422.	Beat	kidɛm		
423.	Become dry	ikɔre		? cf. Berom hwòròk 'to dry up'
424.	Begin	ŋŋɔr		
425.	Bite	rɔnte		cf. Berom ròt
426.	Blow (flute etc.)	pizal		
427.	Build (house etc.)	lyɔ		cf. Berom lɔk , Shall lok ,
428.	Burn (fire burns)	pɔsse		? cf. Berom fwúsh 'to burn food', Fyem fwɪʃ 'burn off vegetation', cf. Berom sɛi
429.	Buy	se		
430.	Call (to someone)	pizal		
431.	Carve (wood etc.)	ɟipal		Widespread in Plateau, e.g. Kulu, Nindem, Kwanka sep and Jju ɟab , Cara ɟipal , Ningye, Bu ɟɛ , Pe ɟap , Hasha sɛp cf. Rukul tut ,
432.	Catch	ɗut		

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
433.	Chew	tali		cf. Berom tangal but #ta- is a Niger-Congo root.
434.	Choose	zara		
435.	Climb	gɔri		
436.	Close			
437.	Come	ve		cf. Berom vɛi although this is a Niger-Congo root, usually with initial b-
438.	Come out (of room)	nus		cf. 'go out' (470.). cf. Berom nūsū
439.	Continue (to do s.t.)	mirawin		
440.	Cough	kibe		
441.	Count	ɸya		cf. Berom bara 'counting', PLC *- bàd , but a Niger-Congo root
442.	Cut down (tree)	təm		A widespread Niger-Congo root reconstructed by Westermann as #teN- for PWS.
443.	Cut in two	tin		
444.	Cut off (head etc.)	wunti		
445.	Dance	imwi		
446.	Die	ku		an ancient Niger-Congo root #ku
447.	Dig (earth etc.)	tis		
448.	Do/make I	nu		
449.	Do/make II	te		cf. Rukul tɛ ,
450.	Drag	kuse		
451.	Drink	sɔ		cf. Horom ɸɔ , Fyer ɸo . A common root shared by both Chadic and Plateau, probably originally Chadic (cf. Gerhardt 1983). Same as 'suck' (521.)
452.	Eat	re		cf. Shall ri , Fyem dé , Mabo ré , reflecting widespread -ri , -di roots found in Niger-Congo
453.	Enter	del		cf. Berom yel ⁺ , Aten lel , Fyem del , Rukul ryel ,
454.	Fall (rain)	go		cf. Fyem ho , Rukul kyɔ . The widespread Plateau forms have a labial velar, but ? cf. Wapan ko , Jar ko , Yala gwo 'fall to ground'
455.	Fall over	go amvɛl		
456.	Feel (cold etc.)	ra		
457.	Fight (in war)	inlɔl		
458.	Finish (a task)	mana		widespread?
459.	Flog	tɛnzɛ		
460.	Flow (water etc.)	tɛl		
461.	Fly (birds)	bur		cf. 'jump' (477.)
462.	Fold (cloth etc.)	gula		cf. Iẓon kuta
463.	Follow	rɔgal		cf. Berom rāā
464.	Forget	gile		
465.	Fry (in oil)	rak		
466.	Gather/collect	sita		
467.	Give	lɛŋ		

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
468.	Give birth	mat		A very widespread Niger-Congo root
469.	Go	get		
470.	Go out/exit	nus		cf. ‘come out’ (438.). See also commentary
471.	Grind	kəŋ		cf. Berom hwōngō , Rukul kwə , Pe kòk , Sur gwak , Yanjam gba , Tarok kpà PLC -kók , but related to Ngas gwak
472.	Grow (plants)	kəl		
473.	Hatch (egg)	tɛ		
474.	Hear	ra		cf. Shall ra ,
475.	Hit (drum etc.)	dɛm		cf. Berom tɛs
476.	Hunt	zam		cf. Berom dʒàmō
477.	Jump	bur		cf. ‘fly’ (461.)
478.	Kill	mu		? cf. Berom mōrō
479.	Know	idɔ		? cf. Berom tɔk , PLC -diŋ
480.	Laugh	sili		
481.	Lick	lale		cf. Berom lɛlɛ . #la- is an old Niger-Congo root for ‘lick’.
482.	Lie down	lɔŋ		cf. Aten lal , Tarok dāl ‘to stretch’, Yeskwa lalo ‘sleep’, Mbe and Common Ekoid lál , PB #- dáád-
483.	Listen	ture kitɔ		
484.	Marry	yil		
485.	Measure			
486.	Mix	munda		
487.	Mould (pot)	lyɔ		
488.	Open	kubal		
489.	Plant (crop etc.)	tup		cf. Berom tūs
490.	Play	nuŋ kakal		
491.	Pound (in mortar)	to	pən in past tense	cf. Berom tō , Rukul tɔ , PLC túm .
492.	Pour (liquid)	zul		
493.	Pull	kɔs		cf. Berom hwəɔɔ ‘to pull along’
494.	Punch	anɛturi		
495.	Receive	se		also ‘take’ (525.). cf. Berom sɛ ‘to get’
496.	Refuse	gai		cf. Shall gyak , Berom kyɛ ,
497.	Remember	kura		
498.	Return	duk		? cf. Berom tōyō . ? LC dúk ‘enter’.
499.	Ride (horse etc.)	gor		
500.	Roast on coals	pəsi		
501.	Run	tɛl		cf. Berom télé
502.	Say/speak	kali		cf. Berom ha ⁺ ,
503.	See	ri		cf. Berom dí , Yoruba rí ,
504.	Sell	rɛp		cf. Fyem rɛp but widespread in BC and reconstructed as #- rɛp- to PBC in Blench (ms.). Discussed in Gerhardt (1983). Also found in some neighbouring Chadic languages.

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
505.	Send	tuŋga		Probably connected with the ancient root #tom ‘work, send’
506.	Sew			
507.	Shake	zura		
508.	Sharpen	lɔga		cf. Berom lɔ̃ , Tarok lwà , Auchi dɔ , Jijili da , cf. ‘throw’ (527.)
509.	Shoot (arrow)	ma		
510.	Sing	sip		
511.	Slap	dɛŋ		
512.	Slaughter (animal)	wunti		
513.	Sleep	git iŋra		
514.	Smash	pɔt		
515.	Smell			
516.	Snap in two	buke		? cf. Berom bwùnūt ‘break into pieces’, LC bùŋ cf. Berom túlūs
517.	Spit	tuu		
518.	Stand	ɲizal		
519.	Steal	dʒan		
520.	Stir (soup)	zuza		? Berom sūk
521.	Suck (breast, orange)	sɔ		See ‘drink’ (451.).
522.	Surpass	far		
523.	Swallow	ŋɔl		
524.	Swim			
525.	Take	se		Same as ‘receive’ ()
526.	Tear (cloth etc.)	naga		
527.	Throw	ma		Same as ‘shoot’ (509.)
528.	Twist (rope etc.)	tɔs		cf. Rukul tɔl ,
529.	Uproot (tuber)	zunti		
530.	Walk	vir		
531.	Want/need	sikɛt		? Berom sīmō
532.	Wash	l(y)anta		
533.	Wear	dɔ		
534.	Weep	tus		cf. Berom tōshō
535.	Work	nu ʈfunʈum		cf. Berom tōm ‘work’
536.	I	mini		cf. Berom mé ,
537.	You	wunmi		
538.	He/she/it	yɛmmi		
539.	we	futte		
540.	you pl.	yimi		
541.	They	yɛmmɛn		cf. Berom yèn ,
542.	Who?	ŋan		
543.	Which?	weri		
544.	What?	yin		
545.	Where?	koi		

Edible and Useful Plants

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
546.	Guinea-yam ¹³	ki-pɛn	in-pɛn	
547.	Aerial yam ¹⁴	i-tɔ	a-tɔ	cf. Izere adom

¹³ (*Dioscorea guineensis*)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
548.	Water-yam ¹⁵	i-dɔŋ	a-dɔŋ	
549.	Taro (Old cocoyam) ¹⁶	gwɛkiri	adekiri	also New cocoyam
550.	Sweet potato* ¹⁷	i-dukuma	a-dukuma	
551.	Cassava* ¹⁸	dʒuniya	a-dʒuniya	
552.	Wild yam	ki-pɛn ki ŋgi		‘yam of bush’
		ŋgwe		
553.	Rizga ¹⁹	i-vat	a-vat	cf. Berom <i>vát</i>
554.	Sorghum ²⁰	yàà	yá	cf. Berom <i>yare</i> ⁺ , Mbd
555.	Bulrush millet (<i>maiwa</i>)	yuk	yúk	
556.	Bulrush millet (<i>gero</i>)	gayumba	—	
557.	Eleusine* (H. <i>tamba</i>) ²¹	dʒɛ̀lɔm	dʒélum	
558.	Fonio (H. <i>acca</i>) ²²	ʈfan	ʈfán	
559.	Iburu (H. <i>iburu</i>) ²³	tamu		
560.	Maize* ²⁴	i-dɛnderi	a-dɛnderi	
561.	Rice* ²⁵	ʃikapa	—	<H.
562.	Cowpea ²⁶	rès	rés	
563.	Spiral cowpea	ʈfandan	ʈfándán	
564.	Lima bean* (<i>Phaseolus lunatus</i>)	ren juwe		
565.	Bambara groundnut ²⁷	ɓi	ɓí	
566.	Groundnut (Peanut) ²⁸	ɓimbiri	ɓímbiri	
567.	Tiger-nut ²⁹	pyoy	pyóy	
568.	Garden egg ³⁰	dʒààri	dʒári	
569.	Okra ³¹	i-kugi	a-kugi	
570.	Birdseye chili* ³²	bukunu	kwipi	< Hausa <i>barkonoo</i>
571.	Onion ³³	lambasa	—	
572.	Garlic (<i>Allium sativum</i>)	buruma	—	
573.	Tomato ³⁴	i-kamatu	a-kamatu	
574.	Egusi melon ³⁵	i-guʃi	a-guʃi	< H.

¹⁴ (*Dioscorea bulbifera*)¹⁵ (*Dioscorea alata*)¹⁶ (*Colocasia esculenta*)¹⁷ (*Ipomoea batatas*)¹⁸ (*Manihot esculenta*)¹⁹ (*Solenostemon rotundifolius*)²⁰ (*Sorghum bicolor*)²¹ (*Eleusine coracana*)²² (*Digitaria exilis*)²³ (*Digitaria iburua*)²⁴ (*Zea mays*)²⁵ (*Oryza sativa/ glaberrima*)²⁶ (*Vigna unguiculata*)²⁷ (*Vigna subterranea*)²⁸ (*Arachis hypogaea*)²⁹ (*Cyperus esculentus*)³⁰ (*Solanum melongena*)³¹ (*Abelmoschus esculentus*)³² (*Capsicum annuum*)³³ (*Allium cepa*)³⁴ (*Lycopersicon esculentum*)³⁵ (*Citrullus lanatus*)

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
575.	Edible squash ³⁶	ki-boloŋ	ni-boloŋ	
576.	Sorrel/roselle ³⁷	i-baguwa	a-baguwa	
577.	Jews' mallow ³⁸	i-kaluŋ	si-kaluŋ	
578.	Kenaf ³⁹	mafiŋ	—	
579.	White sesame seeds ⁴⁰	rér		
580.	Black sesame ⁴¹	yotte	yótté	
581.	Sesame leaves ⁴²	asiŋwotte		
582.	Bitterleaf ⁴³	ikwɛ	site	
583.	Waterleaf ^{*44}	i-dzew	a-dzew	
584.	Pawpaw ^{*45}	i-kamus	a-kamus	<Kanuri
585.	Gourd (Generic)	ɸer	ɸér	
586.	Gourd-bottle ⁴⁶	i-ɸɔ	a-ɸɔ	
587.	Other gourds	ɸɔm mal	ɸɔm mál	‘water-gourd’
588.	Tobacco*	taba		< Hausa
589.	Sugar-cane*	iŋvay		
590.	Fan-palm ⁴⁷	rɔ	a-rɔ	
591.	Monkey-guava ⁴⁸	buzut	a-buzut	
592.	Custard apple ⁴⁹	wuruŋ	aŋur	
593.	Wild date-palm ⁵⁰	dzegun	džégún	
594.	Baobab ⁵¹	as H.		
595.	Silk-cotton Tree ⁵²	fum	akum	cf. Izere kâkúm, Ningye kum, Mbd.
596.	Shea tree ⁵³	walaŋ	adžalaŋ	
597.	Locust tree ⁵⁴	lɔl	alɔl	cf. Ningye urò
598.	Locust fruit	i-dedel	a-dedel	
599.	Locust-bean cakes	ɸũ	ɸú	
600.	Locust-bean seeds	ɸangat	ɸángát	
601.	Tamarind ⁵⁵	wam	awam	cf. Ningye mumwaŋ
602.	<i>Terminalia</i> sp. (H. baushie)	pyaŋ	pyán	
603.	Black plum ⁵⁶	ru	aru	

³⁶ (*Cucurbita pepo*)³⁷ (H. yakuwa) (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*)³⁸ (H. lalo) (*Corchorus olitorius*)³⁹ (H. rama) (*Hibiscus cannabinus*)⁴⁰ (H. Ridfi) (*Sesamum indicum*)⁴¹ (*Sesamum radiatum*)⁴² (H. karkashi)⁴³ *Vernonia amygdalina*⁴⁴ (*Amaranthus* spp)⁴⁵ (*Carica papaya*)⁴⁶ (*Lagenaria siceraria*)⁴⁷ (*Borassus aethiopum*)⁴⁸ (*Diospyros mespiliformis*)⁴⁹ (*Annona senegalensis*)⁵⁰ (*Phoenix reclinata*)⁵¹ (*Adansonia digitata*)⁵² (*Ceiba pentandra*)⁵³ (*Vitellaria paradoxa*)⁵⁴ (*Parkia biglobosa*)⁵⁵ (*Tamarindus indica*)⁵⁶ (*Vitex doniana*)

Musical Instruments

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
604.	Drum	vin		tall ground-standing drum beaten with the hands
605.	Drum	ʃɛrɛntuk		Small size of vin
606.	Drum	i-gaŋgaŋ	a-gaŋgaŋ	long (1 m.) barrel-drum played for the chief
607.	Drum	ʃɛndʒuk		small size of i-gaŋgaŋ
608.	Flute	ki-feruwa	ni-feruwa	notch-flutes used in tuned sets. The term probably borrowed from Hausa <i>sarewa</i> .
609.	Zither	ɖyop simɔ		~ of grass'
610.	Lute	ɖyop pike		~ of gourd'
611.	Harp	ɖyop pɛnfɔn		~ of x'
612.	Horn	i-ratuŋ	a-ratuŋ	generic for transverse horns
613.	Large horn	ʃɛʃit		used by chiefs
614.	Small horn	marere		tuned sets
615.	Ankle rattles (iron)	i-hɔhɔi	a-hɔhɔi	
616.	Ankle rattles (palm-leaves)	i-ʃatʃa	a-ʃatʃa	

7. The affinities of Cara

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

7.1 Relationship with Berom**7.2 Cara and Beromic**

Table 6. Isoglosses linking Cara with Berom
Gloss

There are also common lexical items joining all three members of that again seem to be unusual (Table 7);

Table 7. Isoglosses supporting
Gloss Cara

Sound-correspondences:

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

Cara /dʔ/ → Bo /r/

Gloss	Cara

Cara /y/ → Bo /ɜ/

Gloss	Cara	Bo

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

7.3 Links with Plateau

7.3.1 General

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

7.4 Conclusion

To tentatively summarise these results;

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

References

- Abraham, R.C. 1962. *Dictionary of the Hausa language*. London: University of London Press.
- Angas Language Committee. 1978. *Shàk nkarɓ kè shàtok mwa ndən Ngas. Ngas -Hausa-English dictionary*. NBTT, Jos.
- Bendor-Samuel, J. ed. 1989. *The Niger-Congo languages*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- CAPRO 2004. *A harvest of peace: a survey on the peoples of of Plateau State*. Jos: CAPRO Research Office.
- Crozier, D. and Blench, R.M. 1992. *Index of Nigerian Languages (edition 2)*. SIL, Dallas.
- De Wolf, P. 1971. *The noun class system of Proto-Benue-Congo*. The Hague: Mouton.
- 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.

- Jungraithmayr, H. and Dymitr Ibriszow 1995. *Chadic lexical roots*. [2 vols.] Berlin: Reimer.
- Mukarovsky, H. 1976-1977. *A study of Western Nigritic*. 2 vols. Wien: Institut für Ägyptologie und Afrikanistik, Universität Wien.
- Newman, R.M. 1997. *An English-Hausa dictionary*. Lagos: Longman.
- Temple, Olive 1922. *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*. Argus Printing and Publishing Co. Capetown.
- Westermann, D. 1927. *Die Westlichen Sudansprachen und ihre Beziehungen zum Bantu*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Williamson, K., and K. Shimizu. 1968. *Benue-Congo comparative wordlist, Vol. 1*. Ibadan: West African Linguistic Society.
- Williamson, Kay 1971. The Benue-Congo languages & Ijò. In *Current trends in Linguistics 7* (ed.) T. Sebeok 245-306. The Hague: Mouton.
- Williamson, Kay 1973. *Benue-Congo comparative wordlist: Vol.2*. Ibadan: West African Linguistic Society.

Appendix: Traditional Cara culture

The following text has been adapted from CAPRO (2004).

History

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

Culture

Birth

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

Circumcision and Initiation

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

Then the elder leads the boys of his clan to his house. This is usually in the night and they are expected to come naked, so no woman must see them. This is the night they are also shown the gods in the forest. The next day the boys are washed and dressed. Then all of the clan come to this clan head's house with the women lining up behind them. The boys are brought out one after the other for the parents to identify. This is the time some parents find out that their boys died during the circumcision. Such mothers cry over their loss. The ceremony of eating and drinking begins. The following day each boy goes to his maternal uncle's house where there is a bigger ceremony. He goes there with his bow and arrow and quiver in his left hand and a wooden axe on his right shoulder. It is only after this ceremony that he is allowed to pierce his ears. Circumcision is done every seven years. The maternal uncle is also expected to make another set of bow and arrows, quiver and wooden axe for the boy. They slaughter a goat and give a thigh to the boy in a bag made for him to take back home. The boy then goes around visiting friends and relations. This ceremony is called *kigbok*.

Marriage

When a baby girl is born many boys or parents of boys come to give oil called *bindazugul* (or *kpass*) to ask for her hand in marriage. Immediately they commence working in the girl's parents' farm during the raining season. At the end of two years the girl's parents select a husband for her by telling the rest of the suitors not to come again because they have no farm work. But they allow the husband of their choice, or his family if he is small, to continue farming for them. When she becomes an adult she is allowed to go and sleep with the boy in his parents' house. When the boy is ready to marry her he is asked to make beer for people to drink three times in three years. The fourth year the girl is taken to him as his wife.

If for any reason she decides not to marry this particular man and marries someone she really loves, any child she gives birth to with the latter will belong to the "real" husband to whom she was properly betrothed.

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

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

Burial

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

Witches can usually not be identified until they are dead. They say that usually a witch's skull has his/her teeth in place on the skull. If this is found they use stones on the skull to remove the teeth. After the bones of the corpse are dry in the communal grave, they are moved aside to provide space for a new corpse. When a man sees that his farm is not doing well or he has some other problems, he informs the old men of his clan. One of their women married out of the clan is asked to carry a pot of beer to a place near the grave. Then the oldest man of the clan goes to the grave to beg the man's father to stop troubling him and to bless him. Then he pours the beer on the grave for the father to drink. This they believe will change the man's situation.

Religion

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

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

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