Prospecting Proto- Plateau

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1. Introduction

1.1 The Plateau languages

Among the many language groups represented in Nigeria, one of the largest and most complex is the Plateau languages, representing some 50-120 languages, depending on how inclusive the term is taken to be. Many of these languages are confined to a few villages and some are severely endangered, threatened principally by the expansion of Hausa (Blench 1998). Plateau languages dominate the centre of Nigeria, spreading from Lake Kainji to the region south of Bauchi. The status of the Middle Belt Languages of Nigeria and well as an evaluation of current knowledge is analysed in Blench (1998).

It seems never to have been in doubt that Plateau languages form part of the broader unit represented by Benue-Congo (Williamson 1989). Westermann (1927) assigned the few languages for which he had data to a 'Benue-Cross' family, corresponding to present-day East Benue-Congo. However, the modern subclassification of Plateau derives principally from the work of Joseph Greenberg (1963) who proposed dividing these languages into seven co-ordinate groups (including modern-day Kainji and Tarokoid). With numerous emendations and additions these have been reprised in almost all subsequent works (notably Williamson and Shimizu 1968; Williamson 1971; Maddieson 1972; Williamson 1973; Hansford *et al.* 1976; Gerhardt 1989; Crozier and Blench 1992; Blench 1998, 2000). With the exception of the material in Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlist (BCCW), published comparative materials on Plateau languages are sparse in the extreme. Despite the sometimes eccentric choice of items and the often defective datasets, the BCCW remains the only large published compilation of data. Often the source of wordlists is 'Nigerian government files' which generally means an orthographic list filled in by an administrator. Other classifications have relied on unpublished wordlists, also usually orthographic, from a variety of sources, notably University of Ibadan students[1].

None of the authors who have classified Plateau languages have presented evidence for their classifications. This is not a criticism; faced with large arrays of data it is easier to set out what appears to be the case impressionistically than to write a monograph demonstrating it. A partial exception can be made for Shimizu (1975) and Gerhardt and Jockers (1981) who give lexicostatistical classifications of sample languages together with Kainji and Jukunoid. Their calculations, however, do not include many of the languages under discussion here. However, this neither demonstrates the unity of Plateau nor even the unity of particular subgroups. The series of publications on Plateau subgroups, especially Plateau II and IV, by Gerhardt (e.g. Gerhardt 1972/3a, 1972/3b, 1974, 1980, 1983a, 1983b, 1989, 1994) assume the boundaries of these groups, they do not demonstrate it.

A particular issue on the internal classification of Plateau and Jukunoid is the 'Benue' classification. Shimizu (1975:415) seems to be the first to propose that parts of Greenberg's Plateau would be better placed with Jukunoid. In particular he argued that Eggon (and by implication the other Plateau V languages, including Nungu and Nyankpa) and Tarokoid (at that time consisting only of Yergam (=Tarok) and Basherawa (=Yaŋkam)) formed a group together with Jukunoid, which he christened 'Benue'. This emerged from his lexicostatistic tables and was further supported by five isoglosses, the words for 'drink', 'tail', 'meat', 'fire', and 'four'. Gerhardt (1983b) was the first to question this in print, noting both that his own lexicostatistical work (Gerhardt, & Jockers 1981) did not support this, and that the five isoglosses proposed by Shimizu had at the very least question marks against them. The 'Benue' group had, however, a sort of half-life, appearing in Gerhardt (1989) as a subgrouping of Jukunoid and Tarokoid against the rest of Plateau.

This paper takes the view rather strongly that lexicostatistics performed on such a problematic dataset are not likely to provide any reliable result. All the five isoglosses proposed by Shimizu are set out in the data

tables (72.) and it will be seen that none unambiguously support his proposal. In part, expansion and changes in membership of the groups in question have made Plateau relations more intricate. At the same time, this paper also does not retain the view that a 'Benue' group exists at all; Tarokoid is part of Plateau, albeit a primary branching, and similarities with Jukunoid are due to proximity, with the most geographically remote member of Tarokoid, Sur, the least similar to Jukun.

Perhaps more importantly, there is no evidence at all that the languages ascribed to Plateau form a distinct group in opposition to Kainji, Jukunoid, Dakoid or Mambiloid. Rowlands (1962) was the first to suggest that there was a dichotomy between the languages of the Jos area linked to West Kainji and the remainder. However, his short wordlists are far from constituting linguistic proof. While some Plateau subgroups appear to be valid, it remains to be shown that these have any more relation to one another than to the other languages of Benue-Congo as a whole. As a result, the classification of Plateau languages and their place in the larger scheme of Benue-Congo languages has been more a matter of assertion than demonstration.

Work on Plateau languages has also been made more difficult by a failure to publish existing data. The very short orthographic lists from students at the University of Ibadan exist only as personal papers. Selected lexical items were published in the Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlist (Williamson & Shimizu 1968; Williamson 1971, 1972). The SIL, based in Zaria and then Jos, collected a large number of Swadesh lists in the 1960s and 1970s and these were the basis of some parts of the first edition of the Index of Nigerian Languages (Hansford *et al.* 1976). In the 1980s and 1990s there has been virtually no survey work, although quite large lexical, and in some cases grammatical, databases have been collected in relation to Bible translation. It is fairly certain that there are languages whose existence is yet to be recorded and certainly some for which no published data is available.

1.2 Existing subclassification of Plateau languages

Gerhardt (1989), Crozier & Blench (1992) and Blench (2000) represent the most recent published ideas on the subclassification of Plateau. But these all incorporate much received classification that has in some cases no empirical base at all. With the availability of significant new data since that time a new version of the proposal in Blench (2000) is warranted. The present version maintains the concept of a Proto-Central Nigerian with four major co-ordinate branches, Kainji, Plateau, Jukunoid and Dakoid. This is shown in Figure 1;

Figure 1. Central Nigerian languages: proposed classification

2
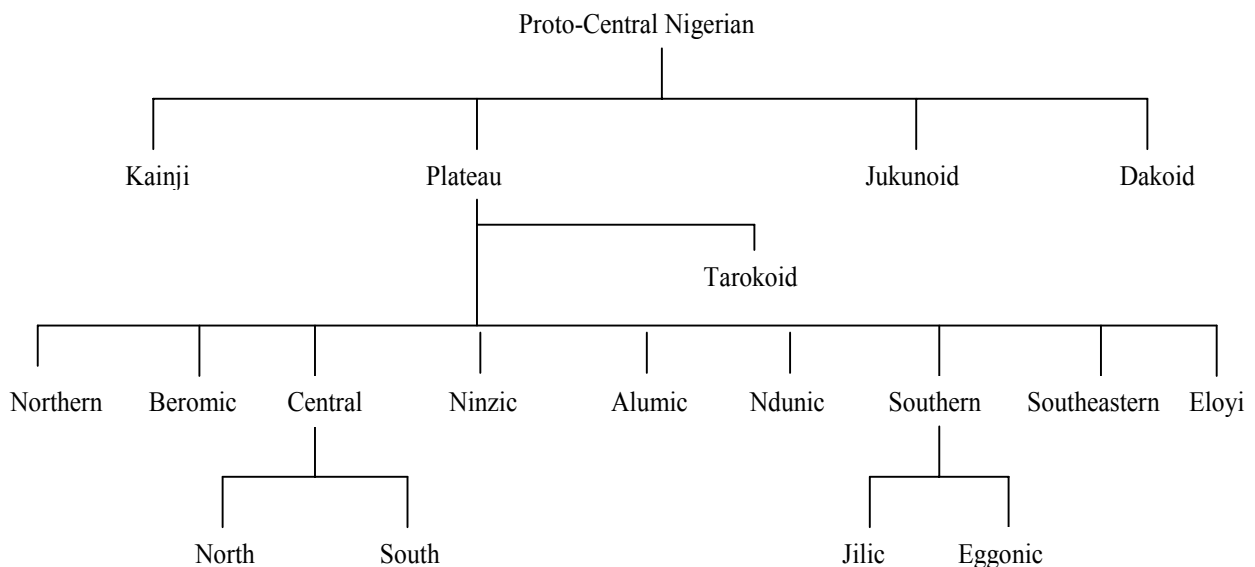
The existence of a discrete group of languages that can be assigned to Plateau has never been demonstrated in print. One of the functions of this paper is to present a number of glosses that appear to be characteristic of the group but do not have significant external cognates. Plateau is then assigned a primary branching of Tarokoid; there is considerable evidence for glosses common to the remainder of Plateau, not shared with Tarokoid. The other branches, Beromic, Ninzic, Alumic, Nandic and Jilic are demonstrably discrete groups named for their major language which do not appear to have a hierarchical relationship. This is not entirely satisfactory and I hope to develop more characteristic names that do not privilege a particular group. 'Central' is frankly a residual category of languages without any clear subgrouping; the North/South division would be hard to defend in terms other than geography.

The listing in the Appendix gives the names of the Plateau languages and assigns them to groups, some of which are here proposed for the first time.

1.3 Reconstructing Plateau: methodological assumptions

There are no published reconstructions of proto-Plateau based on large comparative datasets. De Wolf (1971) makes some surprising assertions based on data that is not presented, in particular proposing nominal class prefixes for proto-East Benue-Congo. Gerhardt (1983:220 ff.) also puts forward some suggestions for proto-Plateau reconstruction, from languages included in Plateau groups 2, 3 and 4. Since this period, the data available for many languages has improved substantially, with many languages recorded for the first time. In particular there is a useful spread across the whole geographical range of Plateau which makes it possible to see which roots occur in all major branches. The fundamental thrust of this paper is to 'prospect' proto-Plateau by building up large comparative datasets. The paper takes its title from Dimmendaal (1991) whose 'Prospecting Nilotic' seems a useful model. Enough can be hypothesised about common isoglosses to suggest what lexical items can be safely assigned to proto-Plateau, but too little is known about internal subgrouping to put forward regularly reconstructed proto-forms. The data for a complete reconstruction is still some way off, but enough is attested to make possible quasi-reconstructions that can be assigned to proto-Plateau. Nonetheless, Plateau exhibits a morphological diversity very different from Nilotic, making reconstruction much more problematic.

There are some broad methodological assumptions made in this paper;

   a. for a lexeme to be ascribed to proto-Plateau it has to occur in most branches and these branches have to be at opposite ends of the geographical spread of languages
   b. for a lexeme that is scattered, but has significant cognates in other branches of Niger-Congo is treated as suspect because possible borrowing
   c. Chadic may be a source of widespread borrowing giving the appearance of pseudo proto-forms at least for some subgroups

Even if these factors are taken into account, none will guarantee a word formed part of the proto-language, but as new evidence emerges, it will become more evident which roots genuinely belong there. The whole region is a zone of intense interaction and the following issues must be taken into account;

   a) loans of even fundamental vocabulary are extremely common between adjacent languages
   b) there is no reliable method for recognising such loans
   c) loans usually include morphological elements, notably in nominal and verbal plurals
   d) a consequence of this is extreme complexity and diversity in morphology even within one language
   e) this leads to waves of simplification or regularisation of morphology often only partially completed
   f) roots often incorporate fossil morphology
   g) speakers disagree about the 'correct' plural pairing of verbs or nouns
   h) some strategies for regularising morphology spread across regions, rather than being adopted simply within individual languages
   i) sound-correspondences always exhibit numerous 'aberrant' cases

1.4 Language status and language endangerment

Plateau languages have always been spoken by relatively small populations. No group of Plateau speakers has formed large centralised political structures with the spread of a major language of intercommunication. In the earliest colonial censuses, numbers assigned to particular ethnic groups were often in the hundreds. Generally speaking, the overall demographic increase in Nigeria has led to the expansion of human populations and thus numbers of speakers. Few languages have less than several thousand speakers unless they are moribund for some reason. Groups with a larger underlying population, such as the Berom and Tarok now have more than a hundred thousand speakers. Human population increase has also had a major impact on surrounding non-Plateau speakers and in some cases this has been problematic for language competence, especially with the spread of Hausa.

Nonetheless, any language with a few thousand speakers should be treated as potentially endangered; social and economic forces can conspire to change its outward circumstances very rapidly.

1.5 Plateau languages in education and the media

Plateau languages have almost no profile in education or the media. The main development of orthography has been by missionaries in relation to bible translation. shows the languages that have been developed in some way. Broadly speaking the languages with the most numerous speakers have seen most work, but sometimes literacy programmes seem to initiated for political or personal reasons.

Table 1 shows the Plateau languages, and whether literacy materials exist in the language, whether work towards a bible translation exists and whether there is any broadcasting or other electronic media. The marking of a + sign does not necessarily mean the literacy programme is viable or the Bible translation is read. Jili [=Migili] has literacy materials and a bible but it is virtually unread, in part because of problematic orthography decisions. In the case of electronic media, apart from broadcasting in Plateau, Kaduna and Nassarawa states, there is also the 'Jesus film'. This is a film about the life of Jesus, of generally Protestant persuasion that has been translated into many languages around the world and is generally available on video. Languages such as Izere, Tyap and some others in this area have been used for the soundtrack.

Table 1. Literacy and broadcast media in Plateau

Language	Literacy	Bible	Media
Northern Group			
Kadara	+	—	—
Kuturmi	—	—	—
Kulu	—	—	—
Idon	—	—	—
Doka	—	—	—
Iku-Gora-Ankwe	—	—	—
Beromic			
Berom	+	+	+
Cara	—	—	—
Iten	+	+	—
Shall-Zwall	—	—	—
Central			
Koro cluster			
Ashe	—	—	—
Begbere-Ejar	—	—	—
Nyankpa?	—	—	—
Jaba cluster			
Shamang	—	—	—
Cori	—	—	—

Hyam cluster (incl. Kwyeny, Yaat, Sait, Dzar, Hyam of Nok)	+	—	—
Zhire	—	—	—
Idun	—	—	—
Gyong (=Kagoma)	+	—	—
Kamanton	—	—	—
Irigwe	+	—	—
Izere cluster			
Izere of Fobur	+	+	+
Icèn	—	—	—
Ganàng	—	—	—
Firàn	—	—	—
Southern Zaria			
Jju	+	+	—
Tyap cluster			
Tyap	+	+	+
Gworok	—	—	—
Atakar	—	—	—
Kacicere	—	—	—
Sholyo	—	—	—
Kafancan	—	—	—
Ninzic			
Ninzo	+	+	—
Ce	+	—	—
Bu-Niŋkada	—	—	—
Mada-Nkɔ-Gbətsu	+	+	—
Numana-Nunku-Gbantu-Numbu	—	—	—
Ninka	—	—	—
Ningye	+	—	—
Anib	—	—	—
Ninkyob	+	—	—
Nindem	—	—	—
Nungu	—	—	—
Ayu?	—	—	—
Ndunic			
Ndun-Nyeng-Shakara [=Shakara]	—	—	—
Alumic			
Toro	—	—	—
Alumu-Təsu	—	—	—
Akpondu	—	—	—
Hasha	—	—	—
Sambe	—	—	—
Southern			
Eggonic			
Eggon	+	+	—
Ake	—	—	—
Jilic			
Jili	+	+	—
Jijili	—	—	—
Southeastern			
Fyem	—	—	—
Horom	—	—	—
Bo-Rukul	—	—	—
Eloyi	+	—	
Tarokoid			

Tarok	+	+	+
Pe [=Pai]	—	—	—
Yaŋkam [=Bashar]	—	—	—
Vaghat-Ya-Bijim-Legeri	—	—	—
Sur [=Tapshin]	—	—	—

Of course, the existence of a literacy programme does not mean that literacy is used outside the restricted context of Christianity. Indeed many literacy programmes exist to teach literacy in either Hausa or English. Many literacy programmes face considerable obstacles, not the least of which is orthography.

1.6 Plateau languages in politics; issues of administrative delineation

2. Plateau and related groups

2.1 General

The major published source of comparative lexical data on Plateau is the Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlist (Williamson and Shimizu 1968, Williamson 1973). Despite the sometimes eccentric choice of items and the often defective datasets, this remains the only large body of published data. Many more languages have come to light since the BCCW, and information about these can be found in Crozier & Blench (1992) and more recently in the Ethnologue (Grimes & Grimes 2000). The present paper depends largely on unpublished material, in general collected by the author. Appendix II. tabulates the sources used in the paper and where necessary the acronyms for those sources.

Data quality remains an issue. Many Plateau language have fearsomely complex phonology, both at the level of consonants and tone. Where these languages have been studied in depth, some accuracy is possible, but one-off wordlists may sometimes present a sketchy representation of underlying forms. Appendix II. also presents some comments on data quality.

2.2 Plateau

2.2.1 Tarokoid

In Greenberg, Plateau 7 languages were considered to be Yergam (Tarok) and Basherawa [=Yaŋkam]. These two language have been put together in most subsequent publications, notably in the Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlist (Williamson & Shimizu 1968, Williamson 1972) and Hansford et al (1976). In Gerhardt (1989) Plateau 7 is rechristened Tarokoid in keeping with the terminological style of the volume. Two other languages, Turkwam and Arum-Chessu, assigned to Benue in Hansford et al (1976) were added to Tarokoid. In a more recent classification (Crozier and Blench 1992) another language, Pai, is added, harking back to Maddieson (1972) who had already put it in Plateau 7, while confining Turkwam and Arum-Chessu to their own subgroup (Plateau 10 in Maddieson). Pai had previously led a somewhat nomadic existence, classified in Plateau 6 by Greenberg, in Plateau 4 in Williamson (1971) and as a separate co-ordinate branch of Plateau in Hansford et al (1976).

With the exception of the material in BCCW, published comparative materials on Plateau languages are sparse in the extreme. Turkwam and Arum-Chessu are not included in the BCCW, while in most cases the data-slot for Pai and Basherawa is unfilled. The source for both these languages is 'Nigerian government files' which generally means an orthographic list filled in by an administrator. Those who have published classifications have therefore relied on unpublished wordlists, usually orthographic, which came partly from

University of Ibadan students[2]. Preliminary analysis of the lexical data suggests that the assignation of Toro [=Turkwam] and Alumu [=Arum-Chessu] to Tarokoid is completely erroneous. They are clearly related to one another and presumably form another subgroup of Plateau (see §2.7 below). Membership of Tarokoid should be restricted to Tarok, Pe and Yaŋkam and Sur. Sur is Tapshin, a language referred to in Hansford et al. (1976) with the mysterious annotation ? Eloyi. Despite this, Sur is undoubtedly part of Tarokoid.

Figure 2. Internal structure of Tarokoid
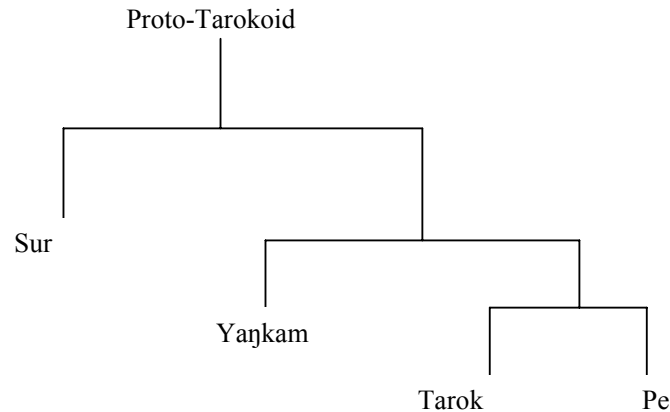
Of the languages investigated, only Tarok is beginning to have an acceptable level of documentation. Yaŋkam is severely threatened and should be subject to an intensive investigation while speakers are still fluent. The other languages are clearly also in need of documentation and further research on their exact status.

2.2.2 Central

2.2.2.1 Northwest Plateau

North Plateau consists of Kadara, Kuturmi, (i)Kulu, Idon, Doka and Iku-Gora-Ankwe. No new data has been published since this group was set up, although a wordlist of Ikulu has been circulated (Moser n.d. and analysed in Sitte 1993) and Shimizu (1996) has posted a grammar sketch of the same language on the Internet.

2.2.2.2 West-central Plateau

Western Plateau consists of what used to be known as the 'Southern Zaria' languages. Published work includes (Adwiraah & Hagen 1983; Adwiraah 1989; Gerhardt 1983b; Hoerner 1980; Hoffmann 1963; Jockers 1982; Price 1989; Price n.d.). This is the largest and most complex grouping proposed for Plateau subdivisions and may yet have to be further fragmented, especially the Eggon group, which seems to be very distinct from the other languages in West Plateau. Gerhardt (1994a) argued for a specific linkage between North (as represented by (i)Kulu) and West Plateau (excluding the Eggon cluster).

The Central Plateau languages form a tight geographical group and appear to show numerous links with one another. Recent work on this group includes (McKinney, Carol 1979, 1983; McKinney, Norris 1984, 1990; Follingstad, n.d.; Blench & Kaze, in press; and Gardiner & Francis 1997).

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[2] I am grateful to Kay Williamson, Ian Maddieson and Tom Cook, all of whom have freely allowed me to copy these materials.

Izere cluster (Northwest Izere, northeast Izere, Cèn, Ganàng) Fǝràn
Tyap cluster (Tyap, Gworok, Atakar, Kacicere, Sholio, and Kafancan) Jju[3]
Hyamic: the present published classification (Crozier & Blench 1992) lists these groups as follows;

> Cori
> Hyam cluster (incl. Kwyeny, Yaat, Sait, Dzar, Hyam of Nok)
> Shamang
> Zhire

It now seems likely that the Hyam cluster consists of only Hyam of Nok, Sait, Dzar, while Yaat and Ankun are also probably separate languages. However, proof of such statements is not available. Hyam of Nok is widely understood as a lingua franca in the larger Ham community.
Koro cluster (Ashe, Begbere-Ejar) perhaps with Idun
Gyongic (Gyong, Kamanton)
Nyankpa: listed as possibly Koro but recent Nyankpa data makes this unlikely

Figure 3. Tentative structure for Western Plateau
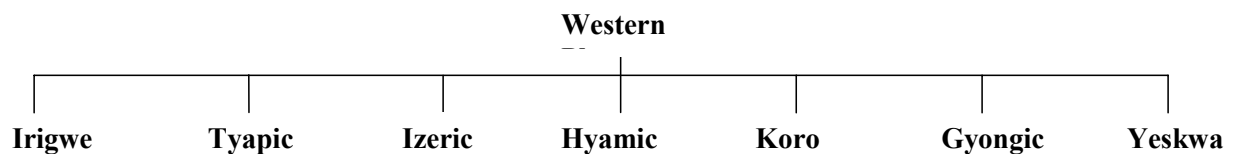
The languages Ndun [=Ndun] and Tari [=Shakara] are listed in Crozier & Blench (1992) as part of this group. This seems to be erroneous; Ndun-Shakara together with Nyeng are here considered to form their own group, Ndunic.

2.2.3 Beromic

The new term 'Beromic' has been adopted here to cover former Plateau 2, Berom and Iten. Two other language also seem to form part of this group, Cara and Shall-Zwall. Hoffman (1978) expressed doubts about hypothesised affiliation of Iten and Berom and noted that it seemed to be closer to the Central Plateau languages with which it has borders (especially Sholyo). However, much expanded datasets on these languages, confirm the links between Berom and Iten. The likely internal structure of Beromic is shown in Figure 4;

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[3] It is usual to list Jju separately from the Tyap cluster but this seems increasingly to reflect ethnic separation rather than linguistic reality.

Figure 4. Internal structure of Beromic
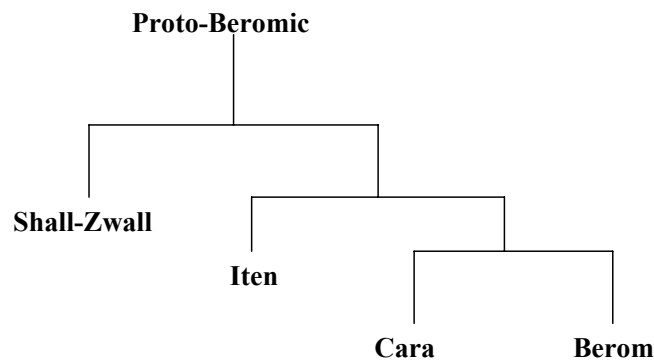
2.2.4 Ninzic

Ninzic, formerly Plateau IV, is probably the most difficult group to characterise and weak data on several groups has made it unclear whether certain peripheral languages really form part of it. The name Ninzic has been introduced, partly because the element –nin is part of many ethnonyms. Its membership has changed quite significantly between various publications (Table 2).

Table 2. Changing composition of the Ninzic language group

Author	Greenberg (1963)	Hansford et al. (1976)	Gerhardt (1989)	Crozier & Blench (1992)	This paper
Name	Plateau IV	Eastern Plateau g.	Southwestern subgroup cluster a	Southwestern subgroup cluster 1	Ninzic
Ce [=Rukuba]	+	+	+	+	+
Ninzo [=Ninzam]	+	+	+	+	+
Bu-Niŋkada		-	-	-	+
Ayu	+	+	+	?	?
Mada	+	+	+	+	+
Gbətsu					+
Nkɔ					+
Nungu		-	-	-	+
Ninkyop [=Kaninkwom]	+	+	+	+	+
Kanufi		+	+	+	+
Nindem		+	+	+	+
Gbantu cluster		+	+	+	+
Ninka					+
Kwanka-Boi-Bijim-Legeri		+	+	+	+
Shall-Zwall		+		?	-
Pe[=Pai]		-	+	-	-

Key: Blank = not listed + = assigned to group - = assigned to another group ? thus in source

2.2.5 Alumic

One group of Plateau languages spoken in Central Nigeria has effectively no published data. These languages are; Hasha [=Yashi], Sambe, Akpondu, Alumu and Toro [=Turkwam]. Except for Sambe, these languages have apparently been classified in previous lists on the basis of geographical proximity. Sambe is moribund with only two speakers over 80, Akpondu has just one rememberer. The group is here named Alumic after language with the most speakers, but this term can be regarded as provisional. The languages are now scattered geographically, and isolated among the Ninzic (=Plateau IV) languages.

Their very different sociolinguistic histories presumably explain their striking morphological diversity. There is considerable variation in morphology, with Alumu and Toro having completely lost their nominal affix system and Hasha having developed a highly idiosyncratic system of reduplicating the first syllable of the stem. Hasha appears to have developed this under influence from the neighbouring Chadic language, Sha. Sambe no longer has a functioning prefix system, but its nouns all have transparent fossil prefixes.

Section presents evidence for the unity of Alumic and the basis for its recognition as a legitimate subgroup of Plateau, distinct from neighbouring languages. This must be provisional, partly because the available data for these languages is highly uneven, and partly because they are not closely related. Nonetheless, there are enough common roots to suggest an internal structure for the group as follows (Figure 5);

Figure 5. Internal structure of the Alumic group

Proto-Alumic

Alumu-Akpondu   Toro   Sambe   Hasha
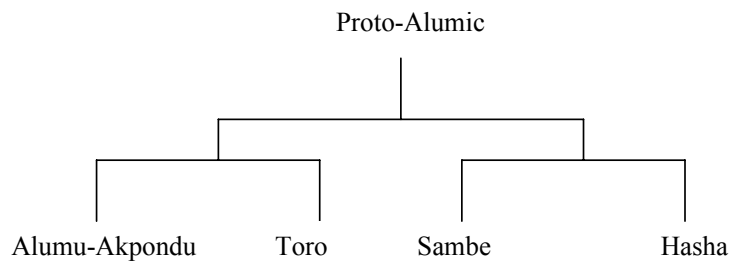
2.2.6 Ndunic

Ndunic is a new name proposed here for the languages previously classified under the name 'Nandu-Tari'. These languages were previously listed under West-Central Plateau (see §**2.2.2.2**) although on what basis is hard to determine. Maddieson (n.d.) had orthographic lists of these languages and his unpublished classification lists them as an independent branch of Plateau. The three languages are shown in Table 3;

Table 3. Ndunic languages: nomenclature

Common name	one person	many people	language	Proposed name	Comment
Nandu	**aner andùn**	**bener andùn**	**indùn**	Ndun	The common element to these is –ndun and it is therefore proposed that the reference name 'Ndun' be introduced.
Ningon	**aNyeŋ**	**baNyeŋ**	**haNyeŋ**	Nyeng	Ningon does not appear in any reference book although in local use. It is therefore proposed that the reference name 'Nyeng' be introduced.
Tari	**kùʃákárá**	**úʃàkárá**	**ìʃákárá**	Shakara	The common element to these is –ʃákárá and it is therefore proposed that the reference name 'Shakara' be introduced.

Ndun is the largest language of the group, hence the proposed name, but the three groups are independent of one another.

2.2.7 South Plateau

South Plateau is named for two language groups, Jilic and Eggonic, which are here put together for the first time. Evidence supporting this new alignment is given in Table 4. Figure 6 shows this;

Figure 6. Classification of the Jilic-Eggonic languages
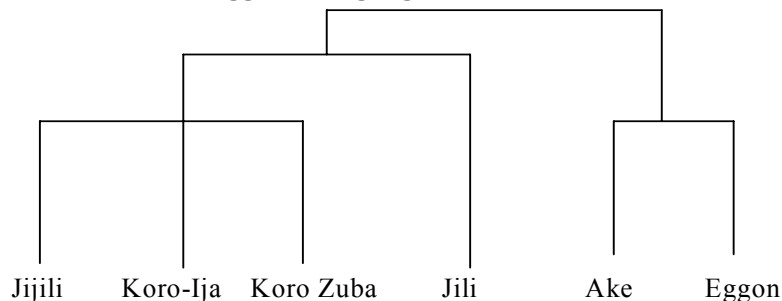
2.2.7.1 Jilic

The Southern Plateau group consists of two languages, Mijili [=Koro of Lafia] and Ujijili [=Koro Huntu] now separated by a considerable geographic distance, but showing a distinctive relationship. A microfiched grammar of Mijili by Stofberg (1978) exists while Ujijili is known from an unpublished wordlist. Koro Ija and Koro Zuba are said to be nearly intelligible with Ujijili, although no language data exists.

2.2.7.2 Eggonic

Eggonic consists of just two languages, Eggon and Ake. These have previously been put together with Ninzic, although the relation is more one of geographical proximity than relatedness proper.

2.2.8 East Plateau

The three languages within SE Plateau (=Greenberg's Plateau 6), Fyem, Bo-Rukul [=Mabo-Barkul] and Horom were placed together in the BCCW and this is still probably acceptable. Fyem and Horom are clearly closely related, but the position of Bo-Rukul is more problematic. Figure 7 shows this structure;

Figure 7. Structure of SE Plateau
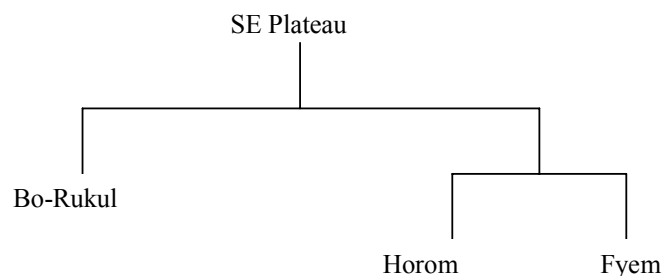
2.2.9 Eloyi

The Eloyi language, spoken in xx village in Nassarawa State, Nigeria. The wordlist is a composite of published lists. The principle sources are Mackay (1964), Armstrong (1964, 1983, 1984[4]). The first outsider to report on Eloyi culture was Gerhard Rolphs who visited their area in 1866 (Rolphs 1867, 1867/8 & 1871/72, 1874/5). His descriptions are under the name Afu, which was usual until the 1960s. Temple (1922) represents the next ethnographic record. Armstrong (1955) is a summary of existing administrative reports. Tschudi (1956) is the first modern ethnographic account of the Eloyi. The classification of Eloyi has been interestingly controversial, all the more so because the lexical database for comparison has been so weak. All the preliminary sources classified Eloyi as Plateau 2, i.e. together Izere, Tyap etc. (e.g. Greenberg 1966; Williamson & Shimizu 1868; De Wolf (1971). Armstrong (1955) was the first to suggest that there was a link with Idomoid and in Armstrong (1983) he set out the fullest case for this classification. In Armstrong's (1984:29) final published discussion of the subject he expresses some doubts, concluding 'Eloyi does not now seem as close to Idoma as it did when only Varvil's list was available'.

2.3 Jukunoid

The Jukunoid languages have been recognised as a unit as far back as Koelle (1854) and Meek (1931b). Described first in detail by Shimizu (1980a) there has been a gradual accumulation of further data during the following years. Recent publications include Shimizu (1980b), Dykstra (n.d.), Priest & Priest (n.d.), Koops (19xx, n.d.) and Storch (1997, n.d.). More Jukunoid languages are known as a result of the Linguistic survey of Cameroun, although no data has been published.

2.4. Kainji

The West Kainji languages are a set of some sixteen languages or lects spoken in northwestern Nigeria (Blench 1988). The recognition that the group now known as West Kainji forms a genetic unit is due to Bertho (1952:264-6) who asserted its coherence on the basis of unpublished wordlists. Bertho rejected the Gur affiliations of Lopa and Laru proposed by Thomas and stated that the affiliations of the '*groupe Kamberi*' were with central Nigerian Platoid languages. A brief demonstration that some of the languages of the Jos area, the East Kainji languages, were closer to those of Northwest Nigeria than to their neighbours appears in print through the work of Rowlands (1962). In Greenberg's classification, the Kainji languages were Plateau 1a and 1b. The term Kainji was informally introduced in the 1980s but was established in Gerhardt (1989).

In 1919, Johnson (1919-22,I:732-746) noted that the 'Semi-Bantu' languages of northwestern Nigeria had marked resemblances to the noun-class systems of the Bantu languages and published comparative wordlists showing the links between Kamuku, Gurmana and Basa. Thomas (in Meek 1925,II:137) put many of the West Kainji languages into 'Nigerian Semi-Bantu' but joined Lopa and Laru with Bariba in 'Volta' i.e. Gur. In the 1950s, Westermann and Bryan (1952:70) largely followed Thomas although recognising that Kambari, Hun-Saare [Duka], and possibly Kamuku and Lela [Dakakari] were grouped together. These languages were then listed in the catch-all category 'class languages' under the general heading of 'isolated units'.

2.5 Dakoid

A group of languages whose classification remains controversial is Dakoid. Originally classified as Adamawa in Greenberg, it was pointed out by Bennett (1983) that Samba Daka would be better aligned with

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[4] Despite its title, this section is about Eloyi.

Benue-Congo. This view has been taken by more recent authors, although Boyd (1994) published a book on the classification of Samba Daka whose conclusions are unclear, but demonstrating its links with surrounding languages. Boyd (*pro manuscripto*) now describes Daka as an isolate within Niger-Congo and apparently does not consider Tiba related to it (Boyd n.d.).

The problem is that data on all languages except Daka itself is very limited. Taram is known only from Meek (1931) and no published data exists on either Tiba or Dong [Dɔ̃]. Dong, although clearly Niger-Congo, is very hard to classify. 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. One hypothesis is that it is a remote outlier of Dakoid languages such as Samba Nnakenyare. Some innovations in Dakoid appear in Dong, which is not today neighbouring on any Dakoid language. It also has some words in common with the nearest Plateau languages in Bauchi, although it shows very little in common with Tarokoid. There are, however, a number of words with no obvious parallels.

2.6 Interaction with non-Plateau languages

2.6.1 Chadic

2.6.2 Gur-Adamawa

2.6.3 Recent loan words from Hausa and English

3. Phonology

The phonology of proto-Plateau cannot be known from reconstruction, but simply based on a balance of probabilities, surveying existing phonologies.

3.1 Vowels

Typically, Plateau languages have 6,7 or 8 vowels. Languages such as Ce and Təsu, with 9 or 10, are rare and since even their closest relatives do not exhibit such a system it seems reasonable to suppose that these are atypical and have probably been recently rebuilt. Some languages, such as Fyem, have schwa as the sixth vowel, but seven-vowel systems develop open counterparts to close-mid vowels, as in Ayu, Berom or Izere. Eight-vowel systems then add schwa, as in Mada. A third central vowel can evolve, as in Tarok, without the open-mid vowels. The table below represents these possibilities;

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

Brackets indicate secondary developments

The close front vowel, /i/, has a tendency to centralise and it is not always clear whether it is phonemically distinct from central /ɨ/ or /ə/. For example, Nettle (1998) claims that Fyem has only five vowels and that apparent cases of /ɨ/ are simply allophones of /i/. However, Fyem does seem to have six distinct vowel phonemes.

Nasalised vowels are quite common in Plateau languages, but very scattered. Mada, for example has a fairly complete set of nasalised vowels (Price 1989). However, these seem to be secondary developments from nasals in the stem, and it is hard to find any correspondences between surface occurrences of nasal vowels, suggesting that they should not be reconstructed to proto-Plateau.

The provisional proposal is that proto-Plateau had seven vowels, the five cardinal vowels and the open-mid vowels. In some languages this was reduced to five and then central vowels began to develop. In Ce, however, the close vowels split along $\pm$ ATR lines giving an initial ten-vowel system that later reduced to nine and the front-mid vowels merged again. Storch () has an argument from Jukunoid, to show that this process may result from the evolution of a set of nasalised vowels; the nasal vowels in Mada and Ninkyop may thus have been intermediate to the Ce system.

3.2 Consonants

Plateau languages are known for their very rich consonant inventories, but many of these are secondary developments, reflecting erosion of the CV prefixes. Regional phonemes such as /ɽ/ are widespread but cross subgroup boundaries freely. The inventory of proto-Plateau may have been something like that shown below;

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alve-olar	Alveopa-latal	Palatal	Velar	Labial-velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d		tʃ dʒ	k g	kp gb	
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ		
Trill			[r]					
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ				h
Approximant					y		w	
Lateral Approximant			l					

3.3 Tones

The great majority of Plateau languages have three level tones and often phonemic glides.

4. Morphology

4.1 Nominal affixing

4.2 Verbal extensions

5. Comparative Plateau data tables

5.1 Presentation of data tables and reconstructions

The tables in this section represent roots which can be used to define Plateau or subsets of Plateau or indicate features of Plateau morphology, such as nominal affixes. The tables present the reconstructed gloss,

with possible quasi-reconstructions. In some cases, the diversity of forms is such that even proposing a quasi-reconstruction seems problematic. The first column gives the language name. Some of these will seem unfamiliar, either because they represent newly discovered languages or because research suggests that the wrong or an offensive name has been assigned to a language. The reader should consult the checklist and classification table in Appendix I. The order of languages follows the classificatory groups set out in Figure 1 with Tarokoid at the end of the list. External cognates are given for selected languages below the horizontal line that follows Plateau. The family affiliation is noted for these languages to assist the reader. Two columns are given for the singular and plural of each noun and the two forms of verbs where these exist and are known. In some cases (for example, 5. 'stone') there appear to be two related roots which may be transformation of one another or may combine. In any case, the analysis is still uncertain. Following each citation if a 'gloss' column, and where the meaning deviates from the reconstructed meaning it is given here. In the case of 37., 'liver, heart' these alternate so regularly that it is likely no certain reconstructed meaning can be assigned and therefore meanings are always given.

I set out words that seem sufficiently widespread in Plateau to be assigned to the proto-language with some confidence. These do not represent a complete set; Plateau languages exhibit many common Niger-Congo roots which are present in scattered attestations. Others, such as the numerals, three, four, five are certainly reconstructible but do not illuminate proto-Plateau as such, since they are so similar in many languages.

I quote external cognates where I have detected them, both in other branches of Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo and in Chadic. Interaction between Plateau and Plateau Chadic has been intense, probably mostly from Plateau to Chadic as the Chadic languages are incoming (e.g. Gerhardt 1983). Even Hausa has borrowed some terms from Plateau.

If there is any discussion of a root in print, I have included a reference to it. This does not mean I endorse the view of the author, and the expanded datasets used here make possible conclusions unavailable to earlier researchers.

5.2 Data tables covering all branches of Plateau and external cognates

1. Tree	**#ku-kon**	**V-kon**	
Language	**s.**	**pl.**	
Kulu	**í-kɔ̀ŋ**		
Iten	**ɛ̀hôn**	**nìhòn**	
Cara	**fɔn**	**akɔn**	
Shall	**kun**		
Rigwe	**kə̀-kwé**		
Izere	**kakón**	**nàkòn**	
Ganang	**u-kon**	**n-kon**	
Fəran	**kàkón**	**nàkón**	
Hyam	**kúkó**		
Gyong	**rìkwó**		firewood
Ashe	**gá-kwóŋ**	**rú-kwóŋ**	firewood
Mada	**kunkur**		firewood
Gbantu	**kúkún**		
Numana	**cingyə́n**	**kúkwə́n**	
Anib	**ikɔn**	**akɔn**	
Ninkyob	**kwón**	**ǹkyon**	
Hasha	**i-kon**	**ku-kon**	
Sambe	**ùhunu**		
Ndun	**uhwɔn**	**ìhwɔ̀n**	
Ake	**ikwe**		
Eggon	**kokon**		firewood
Sur	**kon**		
Yangkam	**koon**		
Pe	**kón**	**ikón**	
Tarok	**akún**		firewood

Commentary: This root is widespread in Niger-Congo, often meaning firewood. The occurrence of a ku-prefix in the plural in Ninzic probably means that the singular forms are back-formations.

2. leaf   #(g)yaNa

Language	sg.	pl.	Source
Ɛhwa	ayaa		
Kulu	gu-jà	e-jà	
Shall	yaŋ		
Tinor	ìti	iti	
Idũ	ùyèrɛ́	àyèrɛ́	
Jukunoid	Kpan	à-nyì	
Cross River	Proto-Upper Cross	***´-gg^wàŋ**	Sterk (n.d.)
	but Kiɔŋ	**íyáŋ**	Sterk (n.d.)
Dakoid	Daka	**yáà**	
	Dong	**ya**	RMB
	Gaa (=Tiba)	**yààsá**	Boyd (n.d.)
Mambiloid	Mambila	**yùè**	
Nyang	Basho	**ì-yà**	T & T
Bantu	CB	**#-yánì**	

Commentary: The presence of the labialised g in C_1 position in Cross River is puzzling as weakening g→y would then have to occur in all other groups independently. Nonetheless, the presence of such a form within Upper Cross, Kiɔŋ *íyáŋ*, argues that this may have occurred.

3. Bark   (of tree)

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu		
Berom		
Mada	**kpakpm̄kì**	**kpakpm̄kī**
Ce	**kʊ-nkʊ**	
Ninzo	**u-kpùkpúlà**	
Anib	**kùkùb**	**àkùkùb**
Ninkyob	**kukup**	**kúkup**
Hasha	**kúrkpá**	
Toro	**ùkùkù**	
Təsu	**ùkùkù**	
Ndun	**kukôn**	**íkùkòn**
Shakara	**akuk**	
Ake		
Eggon		
Rukul		
Eloyi	**ku-kù**	
Yaŋkam		
Tarok		

cLela

Commentary:

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4. Dew	**#-myeŋe**	—
Language	**s.**	**pl.**
Kulu	**u-muŋ[+]**	**i-muŋ[+]**
Berom	**mwɛngɛ**	
Nincut	**mwaŋɛ**	
Iten	**ìméè**	—
Cara	**imiŋ**	
Izere	**nàmiŋ**	
Ganang	**na-miŋ**	
Firan	**nímíŋ**	
Nyankpa	**ɔ̀mɛ̀**	
Hyam	**mɛŋ̀**	
Ninzo	**àmé**	
Anib	**uməŋ**	
Ningye	**mmeŋ**	
Gbantu	**àmeŋ**	
Numana	**àməŋ**	
Ninkyob	**m̀mwɛ̀rɛ̀ŋ**	**mwɛŋ**
Hasha	**eme**	
Təsu	**ímé**	
Ndun	**mɛŋ**	—
Shakara	**umyɛ́n**	
Ake	**ɔmɔ**	
Eggon	**ombze**	
Rukul	**mmaŋ**	
Yaŋkam	**myaŋ**	
Tarok	**ìmìmyàŋ**	
cLela	**mó**	

Commentary: Niger-Congo root #**me**-. However, the presence of -**ŋ**- in C_2 position seems to be a Plateau innovation.

5. stone	**I**			**II**		
Language	**s.**	**pl.**	**Gloss**	**s.**	**pl.**	**Gloss**
Kulu				ì-gbáŋ	i-gbáŋ	
Berom	fwà	betà				
Nincut	cwàt	bátát				
Iten				ìkɛɛ́	ìkpɛɛ́	
Rigwe	zə̀-hwǎ					
Izere	ìfàŋ		space in a crack in a rock			
Tyap cluster	#faŋ					
Hyam	saŋ		flat rock	kpak		
Nyankpa	ɛ̀fá	ɛfa	flat rock			
Idũ	ìpfà		flat rock			
Ce	kʊ-bán		flat rock			
Mada	mgbǎntə̄	mgbantə	stone			
Ningye				mpaŋ		
Gbantu				mkpàn	mkpan	
Numana				mkpàŋ	mkpáŋ	
Anib	tita	ta				
Ninkyob	tyityá	titá				
Təsu	phá		flat stone	kpákpá		
Ndun	faŋ	efaŋ				
Shakara	ufaŋ	afaŋ				
Ake	ripyɔ					
Jili	kúpɛlɛ			?C		
Tarok	ìpaŋ					
Piti	ri-pan					Kainji
Jibu	ábà̃					Jukunoid
Ngyembɔɔn	fà		*sorte de pierre*			
Hausa	fā, pā					Chadic
Mwaghavul	paŋ					Chadic

Commentary: The common Niger-Congo root for 'stone' is #ta and this root is confined to this region of Central Nigeria. 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)

6. Smoke

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	ìnci		
Berom	(se) kyéŋ		
Iten	ǹkòy		
Cara	imveŋ		
Shall	ki		
Rigwe	ńcú		
Izere	ìtsiŋ		
Firan	ìntsiŋ		
Ganang	i-nsɛŋ		
Tinor	gàzù		
Nyankpa	ɔ̀ʒɔ̀		
Hyam	jɔ̀ŋ		
Ce	ìncɪ		
Mada	ntsə̀ntsē		
Ningye	ntɛŋ		
Gbantu	ntsəŋ		
Numana	ntsiŋ		
Bu	ɛntɛ		
Anib	ùnsɛŋ		
Ninkyob	ǹsɛŋ		
Təsu	ǹ-zò		
Toro	muŋzu		
Hasha	iʃwe		
Sambe	cucwá		
Ndun	mesan	—	
Shakara	manʃu		
Eggon	odzo		
Bo	iʃé		
Horom	ʃiʃeŋ		
Sur	nʒiŋ		
Pe	ntsaŋ		
cLela	d-hyón	c-hyón	?C

Commentary:

7. Fire

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	**ù-lá**	**ì-lá**
Kuturmi	**ura**	
Berom		
Iten		
Cara		
Shall	**ra**	
Rigwe		
Izere		
Firan		
Ganang		
Hyam		
Tinor	**gira**	**bàra**
Idũ	**ura**	
Bo		
Horom		
Sur		
Pe		
Ebira		

Commentary:

Fire | cf. Anib **wúr** Ninzo **ùrú**, Bu **wuru**, Ce **uwù**,

8. Water	I		II	
Language	**s.**	**pl.**	**s.**	**pl.**
Kulu	**ìmí-nìmbal**	**mmí-nìm̀bal**		
Cara	**mal**			
Rigwe			**rə̀-ʃí**	
Ganang			**niʃi**	
Firan			**incìn**	
Nyankpa	**àmɛ̀**			
Idũ	**àmɛ̀**			
Ninzo	**amasírr**			
Mada	**mə̀sər**			
Bu	**mma**			
Gbantu	**àmǎʃir**			
Numana	**àmàʃir**			
Ninkyob	**màsid**			
Ayu				
Təsu	**ə̀mù**			
Toro	**amunu**			
Ndun	**mákúrì**			
Shakara	**mankuri**			
Ake	**imbi**			
Eggon	**ami**			
Horom	**bamal**			
Bo	**mal**			
Ura	**mò**			Kainji
Icen	**m̀bu**			Jukunoid
Bokyi	**ɔ-mo**			Bendi
Mvanip	**mboo**			Mambiloid
Tep	**mbúɽ̄ī**			Mambiloid
Tala	**maal**			Chadic
Buli	**màl**			Chadic

Commentary: The central vowel and the lateral in C_2 position appear to be characteristic of Plateau. Probably a loan into Chadic. Words for 'water' with **ma-** are Africa-wide and may derive from the old **ma-**class-prefix for liquids. See Surmic **ma, Daju **ma

9. Yesterday

Language	s.	
Kulu	ùlé	
Cara	ɛnri	
Iten	ɛ̀ryɛ	
Rigwe	áwri	
Izere	kuré	
Ganang	noré	
Firan	hurí	
Nyankpa	ɛlɛ	today
Idũ	ìrérɛ̀	today
Hyam	rɛ̀ŋ	
Mada	nānrēn	
Ningye	ryɛɛŋ	
Gbantu	àrèŋ	
Numana	álèŋ	
Bu	ɛri	
Ninkyob	rɛ̂ŋ	
Təsu	nùmòlé	
Ake	kirye	
Eggon	kere	
Ndun	núnray	
Shakara	uturí	today
Rukul	irɛ	

Commentary:

10. Night

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	gɛ̀-túk	bɛ̀-tuk
Cara		
Iten		
Rigwe		
Izere		
Ganang		
Firan		
Nyankpa	ócúk	ècuk
Idũ	tsúùkâ	
Hyam		
Mada		
Ningye		
Gbantu		
Numana		
Bu		
Ninkyob	túg	—
Tәsu		
Ake		
Eggon		
Ndun		
Shakara		
Rukul		

Commentary:

11. Sun, God

Language	s.	pl.	Gloss
Kulu	gɛ-cinum	bɛ-cinum	
Kuturmi	unuŋ		sun
Iten	ìroy		sun
Rigwe	ń-nɛ́		sun
Izere	kunom	ìnom	sun, day
Ganang	u-nom		
Firan	yínóm		sun
Nyankpa	ònùm	ènùm	sun, day
Idũ	nûm		God
Hyam	nóm	nyɔ̄m	sun, God
Təsu	nɔ́		sun
Hasha	i-num		
Ndun	ulɔm		sun, God
Shakara	úlɔm		sun
Ake	oroma		God
Eggon	olum		sun
Tarok	alum		sun, day, afternoon
PJ	*-nun		dry season
Kabri (Mambiloid)	nu		
PEG	*-nʉ́m`		

Commentary: Ninzic languages, despite having the semantic equivalence of sun and God, appear to have consistently different lexemes.

12. Wind   **#-gbulu**

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	u-wùrù	i-wùrù
Iten	ìgbîl	
Berom	gul	
Cara	wul	
Shall	wu	
Rigwe	u-wú	
Izere	kúwún	ìwùn
Ganang	u-wun	
Firan	huwîn	
Ake	owu	
Fyem	wùl	
Rukul	uwol	

Commentary: Ninzic and Tarokoid have both innovated

13. Mountain,   hill

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	gɛ̀-kɔ̀ŋ̀	bɛ̀-kɔ̀ŋ̀	
Berom	ràku		
Cara	cuŋ	cŭŋ	
Shall	yankul		
Rigwe	rə-gú		
Izere	rigúŋ	agúŋ	
Ganang	di-goro	a-goro	
Firan	górò	agórò	
Ashe	ì-góŋ	í-góŋ	
Idun	ìgǔ̃	ígǔ̃	
Gyong	gyò	gyó	
Cori	ì-gú	ágú	
Hyam of Nok	jò	jó	
Nyankpa	ègò	égò	
Mada	gbù	gbūgbu	
Gbantu	gbù	gbú	
Numana	gbò	gbo	
Ninkyob	gbúg	m̀bug	
Hasha	i-gon		
Sambe	ugɔ̃	—	
Təsu	kpɔ̀ŋgɔ̀rɔ̀		
Toro	a-koŋgoro		
Eggon	akun		
PJ	*kùn		Jukunoid
Obolo	ó-góòŋ		Cross River
Langa	kʊn		Mambiloid
Ndoro	kūm		Mambiloid
Nnakenyare	kúsum		Dakoid
PEG	*-kóŋ`		Eastern Grassfields
Dagbane	kunkuni	kunkuma	Gur

Commentary:

Refs: ELV (91)

14. Road

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	ú-tùrà	í-tùrà	
Kadara	utera		
Izere	ìrèn	irèn	
Ganang	a-rɛ̀n	á-rɛ́n	
Firan	iryɛ́n	nèryɛ̀n	
Hyam	fwor	swor	path
Ce	kʊ-cílí		
Mada	nkɔ̀n	kɔ̄nkɔ̀n	
Ningye	tir		
Gbantu	krí	ànakrí	
Numana	ikle	kə̀klě	
Ninkyob	ǹkim	nkím	
Hasha	i-cwɛn	cu-cwɛn	
Ndun	usel	ísèl	
Shakara	uʃɛl		
Eggon	oʃen		
Rukul	i-təl		
Tarok	asə̀l		
Nembe	etéli		Ijoid
Bubi	ètɛ́llɛ́		Bantu

Commentary: On the face of it, the external cognates in Bubi and Ijoid[5] look close and yet it is surprising there are no other cognates in nearby groups.

15. Child

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	ɛ̀-wen[+]	bɛ̀-wén	
Iten	ŋwɔn	nìnɔn	offspring
Berom	hwéì wen	nèì bewen	boy
Cara	kɔn	nɔn	
Rigwe	kə-wè	rə̀-wè	
Izere	igon	ìnòòn	
Ganang	i-ŋwɔn	i-nɔn	
Firan	káŋgwén	nánuŋ	
Nyankpa	ɔwɛ	awɛ	
Idũ	uwákuci	awakaci	

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[5] Thanks to Kay Williamson for pointing this out.

Hyam	**wè**	**mo-wè**	
Mada	**fəvὲn**	**nywεn**	
Ningye		**mumwen**	children
Gbantu	**vɔ́vən**	**ámúmwɔ́n**	
Numana	**vəvən**	**ámúnún**	
Ce	**u-vIn⁺**	**í-ŋmín**	
Bu	**ivrε**		
Ninkyob	**vyen**	**myeŋ**	
Təsu	**àmeré**		
Hasha	**a-mweŋ**	**a-mweŋ**	
Shakara	**anhwín**	**mahwín**	
Ake	**oye**		
Eggon	**ằ-wyí**		
Rukul	**a-wyen**	**i-wyen**	
Horom	**ùyèn**		
Fyem	**áyin**		mother (?C)
Sur		**mwanaŋ**	
Yangkam		**munda**	
Tarok	**ùyèn**	**ován**	

Commentary: Suppletive plurals are common in words for 'child'. The cognacy of the Fyem form for 'mother' is not improbable as there are many cases where words for 'woman' and 'child' are interchanged.

16. Guest/stranger

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	ecìŋ	becìŋ	
Cara	ʃìn	ʃín	
Rigwe	nɛcé	ə-nɛcé	
Izere	àtsèn	atsén	
Fəran	àfítsìn	afítsin	**af-** is a person prefix
Hyam of Nok	cyen	mò-cyen	
Hyam of Kwoi	tsén	bò-tsén	
Cori	tsén	mbo-tsén	
Gyong	tsɛ̀n	tsɛ́n	
Idũ	utsen	atsen	
Mada	cə̄r	cər, mə̀cə̀r	
Ningye	tsɛn		
Gbantu	itsən		
Numana	icən	acən	
Ninkyob	syen	ǹsen	
Təsu	sèni		
Ndun	èkyen	bekyen	
Shakara	akyen	bakyên	
Eggon	a-ʒen	ma-ʒen	
Tarok	ùnɨ̀mcìn		**ùnɨ̀m** is 'person'
Sur	ʒin		

Ibibio	èsén
Mambiloid	*kèn

Commentary:

17. King/chief/ruler

Language	s.	pl.	
Ɛdra	**agɔm**		
Doka	**agɔm**		
Kulu	**è-gwàm**	**bè-gwàm**	
Berom	**gwɔ̀m**	**begwɔ̀m**	
Cara	**tigom**		
Rigwe	**ŋ̀-gwɛ̀**	**ŋ́-gwɛ́**	
Izere	**àgɔ̀m**	**agɔ́m**	
Ganang	**a-gwɔm**	**ba-gwɔm**	
Firan	**gwòm**	**begwôm**	
Hasha	**a-gɔm**	**gu-gɔm**	
Tǝsu	**àgɔ̀mɔ̀**		
Shakara	**agwɔm**	**bagwɔ́m**	
Butu	**gwomu**		Kainji
Wapãa	**kǝmu**		Jukunoid
Abuan	**ùwémú**		Central Delta
Mapeo	**gàŋ**		Dakoid
Mambila	**gáŋ**		Mambiloid
PEG	***-kúm**		
CB	**#kúmù**	(9/10)	Bantu
Kim	**gaŋ**		Adamawa
Boghom	**guŋ**		Chadic

Commentary: Discussed in Voorhoeve (1980:71). The Mambila form /**gaŋ**/ is occasionally attested in Adamawa languages, e.g. Kim, and is possibly a (rare) loan into Adamawa from EBC. This may be a widespread culture-word in this region.

Ref: Voorhoeve (1980:71)

18. King/chief/ruler

Language	s.	pl.	
Nyankpa	**dwɔŋ**	**adwɔŋ**	
Ninzo	**ùcù**		
Bu	**icu**		
Ce	**u-tù**		
Mada	**cūn**	**mɔ̀cùn, mɔ̀cūcùn**	
Gbantu	**ítɔ̀m**	**átɔm**	
Numana	**ícɔ̀m**	**ácɔ̀m**	
Ninkyob	**tum**	**ǹtùm**	
Ndun	**ètùm**	**entûm**	
Tarok	**–cumcum**		'important'
Nupe	**etsu**[+]		

Commentary:

30

19. Witch

Language	s.	pl.
Idũ	ùdzìm	
Nyankpa	ɔ́jìm	ájìm
Ningye	cɛn	
Ninzo		
Bu		
Ce		
Gbantu	nitən	abetən
Numana		
Ninkyob	nitwen	bàtwen
Ndun	iʃin	beʃin
Tarok		

Nupe	eshi	

Commentary:

20. Corpse

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	**ù-kúm**	**ì-kùm**	
Doka	**o-kom**		
Kuturmi	**u-kuŋ**		
Kadara	**u-kuŋ**		
Irigwe	**kwé nɛ́**		
Jju	**kⁿɔm**	**ŋkⁿɔ́m**	
Izere	**ku-kóm**	**ì-kóm**	
Ganang	**u-kɔm**	**n-kɔm**	
Firan	**kúm**	**nkum**	
Idũ	**ukom**	**ìkòm**	
Nyankpa	**ɔkɔ́m**	**ɛ̀kɔm**	
Hyam	**kòm**	**kwyòm**	
Cori	**kom**		
Kenyi	**kom**		
Gwot	**kóm**		
Tyap	**kóm**		
Ataka	**kwám**		
Jju	**kwóm**		
Idun	**ù-kòm**		
Gyong	**kóm**		
Ce	**kɪ-kúm**		
Mada	**kɔn**		
Gbantu	**kúm**	**akúm**	
Numana	**kúm**	**ăkúm**	
Nindem	**ì-kóm**		
Ninkyob	**kyóm**	**(n)kóm**	
Ake	**ɔkwɔ̃**		
Eggon	**okom**		
Hasha	**i-kum**	**ku-kum**	
Tǝsu	**kɔmɔ**		
Jijili	**ukɔ**		
Tarok	**ákum**		
Kuteb	**rù-kom**		Jukunoid
Efik	**ó-kpó**		Cross River
Tep	**kʊmɪ**		Mambiloid
Dagbane	**kum**		Gur
Goemai	**ûum**		Chadic
Ngas	**kuum**		Chadic

Commentary: Probably derived from the more widespread Niger-Congo root #**ku** for 'to die'. Gerhardt (1983:99, 130) reconstructs this root for his PP2 and PP4.

Refs: Gerhardt (1983:99, 130),

21. Hunger	**#igbyoŋ**	
Language	**s.**	**pl.**
Kulu	**iyoŋ⁺**	
Berom	**vyoŋ**	
Cara	**kivɔŋ**	
Irigwe	**ǹ-zə̃̀**	
Izere	**ìzòŋ**	
Gwot	**jòŋ**	
Tyap	**ddzòŋ**	
Ataka	**jjòŋ**	
Jju	**dzwoŋ**	
Koro		
Ayu	**iyoŋ**	
Mada	**gyɔ̀ŋ**	starvation
Bu	**iyɔ̃**	
Ce	**ì-wyo**	
Numana	**gyɔ̀n**	
Ninkyob	**joŋ**	
Hasha	**i-yuŋ**	
Təsu	**nyu**	
Ndun	**ugórí**	
Shakara	**ugorí**	**igori**
Fyem	**yóŋ**	
Horom	**yɔŋɔ**	
Sur	**yyɔŋ**	
Tarok	**ayáŋ**	
Mangar	**yuŋ**	Chadic
Hausa	**yunwa**	Chadic

Commentary: This is undoubtedly an old Plateau root that has probably been loaned independently into various Chadic languages. The forms with **g-** in C_1 position probably point to a velar in this position, widely weakened in Plateau to labial + palatal. If we assume the **gb-** sometimes weakened to initial b- this may then have been fricativised to **v-**. Cara may then have lost palatalisation giving **v-** in C_1 position. This hypothesis is illustrated below;

$$
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 & \rightarrow & \text{by} & \rightarrow & \text{vy} & \rightarrow & \text{v} \\
\text{gby} & \rightarrow & \text{gy} & \rightarrow & \text{g} & & \\
 & \rightarrow & \text{wy} & \rightarrow & \text{y} & &
\end{array}
$$

22. Egg

Language	s.	pl.
Kuturmi	**ikpa**	**akpa**
Kulu	**di-kpa**[+]	**ɛ-kpa**[+]
Hyam	**cèb**	**céb**
Cori	**gép**	**ígép**
Ningye	**kpaŋ**	
Ninzo	**inkpe**	
Ndun	**kyɛbí**	
Shakara	**akebi**	
Ake	**ake**	
Jili	**kúkpa**	**ákpa**
Jijili	**akpa**	
Hausa	**kwai**	

Commentary: Absent in Tarokoid, SE Plateau,

23. Medicine

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	u-kàŋ	i-kaŋ[+]	
Iten	hwál	ihál	
Berom	hwal	bèhàl	
Cara	val	agal	
Shall	kan		
Gyong	gɔ́p	gyɔ̀p	
Cori	gwap	gyɔ̀p	
Hyam	gwap	gwyap	
Rigwe	rə-kɛ́		
Izere	ríkán	nàkàn	
Ashe	ú-gɔ́p	ì-gɔ́p	
Idũ	àgòw	àŋgòw	
Ce	íkál		
Numana	kəka		
Ayu	aʃíyál	áʃîkàl	doctor
Ninkyop	ká	ǹká	
Ningye	kəka		
Jili	mugá		
Ndun	uhal	íhàl	
Ake	oku		
Rukul	a-hal		
Fyem	ɗì-hyal		
Tarok	akàl		poison

Commentary: Apparently a Plateau root. The final consonant is always either a lateral or nasal except in West-Central Plateau where it is replaced by /p/.

24. Disease, sickness

Language	s.	pl.
Iten	ìro	
Berom	rɔ	nèrɔ̀
Cara	inrɔ	
Hyam	rwoŋ	
Izere	kurɔ́k	ìrɔ̀k
Nyankpa	ɛlaŋ	
Idũ	ìrã̀rã	ìrã́rã
Mada	lələ	—
Numana		
Ayu	indo	
Ningye	urɔ	rurɔ
Bu	lilɔ	
Ninkyob	ìryɔ	iryɔ̀
Eggon	olo(lo)	
Jijili	nnɔrɔ	
Horom	ɗurɔ	
Tarok	arwa	
*PJM	*da	

Commentary: Absent in Ndunic and Western Plateau. The Jukunoid term is apparently formed from a CV verb *da and probably is unrelated to the Plateau forms.

25. Ear	**#ku-toŋ(ɔ)**	
Language	**s.**	**pl.**
Kulu	**gù-tɔ́ŋ**	**ɛ̀-tɔ́ŋ**
Iten	**tsɔ́rɔ́**	**tɔ́rɔ́**
Berom	**fwoŋ**	**bètòŋ**
Cara	**ki-cuŋ**	**a-tuŋ**
Rigwe	**úcù**	**rə-úcú**
Izere	**kúto**	**áto**
Ganang	**to**	**ato**
Ashe	**gútɔ́**	**átɔ́**
Nyankpa	**ɔ̀tɔ**	**àtɔ**
Idũ	**utʊ**	**atʊ**
Gyong	**kìtóŋ**	**tyóŋ**
Hyam	**tõŋ**	**kyŏŋ**
Cori	**tóŋ**	**coŋ**
Mada	**tɔ̄n**	**mɔ̀tɔ̄n**
Ninzo	**ùtú**	
Ningye	**tɔŋ**	
Numana	**tɔn**	
Ninkyob	**toŋ**	
Alumu	**ʃɔ̀tɔ̀**	
Hasha	**i-tu**	**tu-tu**
Sambe	**kutû**	
Ndun	**utɔ**	**etɔ**
Shakara	**utol**	
Ake	**kutɔ̃**	
Eggon	**oto**	
Jili	**kútɔ̃**	
Fyem	**hutóŋ**	
Bo	**utó**	
Horom	**tòŋ**	
Tarok	**acwáŋ**	
*PJ	***ku-tóŋ**	**a-toŋ**
Sha	**ʼa-tôn**	Chadic

Commentary: There is a PVC root for 'ear' **#tuN-**. Evidence for V_2 in Plateau is limited but if it existed, it would be a copy vowel.

26. Mouth	#ku-nyu		
Language	**s.**	**pl.**	
Kulu	gɛ-nyu[+]	bɛ̀-nyu	
Iten	(a)nu	ninu	
Berom	nu	nènù	
Cara	ku-nu	a-nu	
Shall	nun		
Rigwe	kə-nú	rə̀-nù	
Izere	ka-nu	nà-nu	
Ganang	ka-nu	a-nu	
Hyam	nyi	mò-nyi	
Mada	nyū	mə̀nyū	
Bu	enyu		
Numana	anu	nunu	
Ninkyob	nùŋ	ìnyûŋ	
Tǝsu	àní	ɛnyi	
Hasha	a-nye	a-nyenye	
Sambe	kanyî		
Ndun	unwɛn	ínwɛn	?C
Eggon	anyu		
Fyem	núŋ		
Pe	u-nuŋ	a-nuŋ	
Tarok	anùŋ		
Sur	kunu		
Yaŋkam	noŋ		
*PJ	***u-ndut**	***i-ndut**	

Commentary: A old Niger-Congo root #nu, the widespread presence of a **ku-** prefix in Plateau seems to be an innovation. Certainly there is no trace of it in Jukunoid, for are the initial nd- forms (Oohum etc.) paralleled in Plateau. Postulating a palatal nasal make is possible to account for the front-vowel in V_1 position in several languages.

27. Tongue Language	s.	pl.
Kuturmi	inime	
Kulu	di-lum	ɛ-lum
Iten	lɛm	lwyém
Berom	relem, lem	balem
Cara	i-lɛm	a-lɛm
Rigwe	lè	rə-lè
Izere	ìrèm	irém
Ganang	di-lɛm	a-lɛm
Gwot	ə-lyám	
Tyap	a-lyám	
Ataka	a-lyám	
Jju	dí-ryám	
Hyam	ryam	
Idũ	uɽɛm	aɽɛm
Nyankpa	ɔlimba	alimba
Mada	rɛnrɛn	
Numana	lɔ́lám	alɔ́lám
Ninkyob	ryém	
Hasha	i-rim	ri-rim
Sambe	lɛmɛ	
Təsu	àrimi	
Ndun	arɛ́m	merɛ́m
Ake	ɔlɛ	
Eggon	elem	
Bo	de-rem	
Pe	ti-lem	
Yaŋkam	rem	
Tarok	aɓɨlɨm[+]	
cLela	d-rémé	

Commentary: Atlantic-Congo #-**lima**

28. Neck

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	u-co[+]	i-co[+]	
Iten	tsìntsɔ	tiìntɔ	
Berom	fwɔ	tɔ̀	
Cara	po	ato	
Rigwe	cé	ǹ-cè	
Izere	kutɔ́	itɔ	
Ganang	u-tɔ	a-ntɔ	
Hyam	tɔ̀ŋ	tyɔ́ŋ	
Nyankpa	ɔ̀ntɔ	àntɔ	
Mada	tyɔ̄	mɔ̀tyɔ̄	?C
Ninkyob	tyɔ̀		
Eloyi	kì-tó	lù-tó	
Horom	ɗì-sìtó		
Kambari	ɘ̀ɘ̀lɘ̀kútsù		Kainji
PJ	*tu		Jukunoid
Ibibio	ìtóŋ		Cross River
Tep	tóŋ		Mambiloid
Bekwara	ìtyúŋ		Bendi
PGB	*tóŋ		Bantu
Iyayu	ithuu		Edoid
Atte	uturi		Edoid
Nupe	kpatsǔ		Nupoid

Commentary: This is a much rarer root than #koro which is widely attested in Benue-Kwa and perhaps in Adamawa as well. Affricates occur widely even where reconstructions such as in Jukunoid and Plateau delete it. In Jukunoid, for example, Shimizu reconstructs *tsu for many subgroups, and it seems more credible that this should be taken for the group as a whole. Gerhardt reconstructs PP2 & PP4 without the affricate, but this too seems problematic.

29. Knee

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	gu-lluŋ[+]	ɛ-lluŋ[+]	
Iten	ìrum		
Cara	i-rum	a-rum	
Shall	toron		
Hyam	kpurú	kpyurú	
Gyong	kì-lúŋ	lúŋ	
Nyankpa	ɔ̀lù	àlù	
Mada	gbəryūn	gbəryun	
Ninkyob	gburuŋ	gburúŋ	
Hasha	i-rumu	ru-rumu	
Eggon	erim		
Bo	rurum		
Fyem	ɗurúm	arúm	
Tarok	ìrɨŋ		
Yangkam	rúŋ		
Lopa	kuna rugu		Kainji. **kuna** = leg
PLC	*ɛ́-lɔ́ŋ		
Mambila	nɔ[2]		Mambiloid
Nnakenyare (M)	lúù		Dakoid
Buru	e-nú /a-nu		Buru
Ejagham	rɵ́ŋ		
Mbe	lè-lú /bɛ̀-		Mbe
Batu Afi	ø-nún	á-	Tivoid
Bukwe	ńnyũ		Beboid
Isu	íŋṹ		Ring
Kenyang	nɛ́-nɛ́n	má-	Nyang
PEBC	#-rúŋù		
Kulere	'arôm		Chadic
Mupun	fùrùm		Chadic
Tangale	purum		Chadic

Commentary: The source of this root is undoubtedly the widespread Niger-Congo #duŋ- but the replacement of the velar nasal with a bilabial in C_2 position is apparently confined to Plateau, and is thus a distinctive feature of loanwords into nearby Chadic languages.

Refs: Gerhardt (1994:175)

30. Female breast #ambɛŋ

Language	s.	pl.	
Ɛda	ɛbɛn		
Kulu	di-báára	ɛ-báára	
Izere	ribásáŋ	abásáŋ	
Gwot	bi-bean		
Tyap	ban		
Ataka	beaŋ		
Jju	bə́ráŋ		
Koro	gó-bɛ́ŋ	á-bɛ́ŋ	
Gyong	kì-bɛ́ŋy	bɛ́ŋy	
Nyankpa	ɔbɛ	abɛ	
Idũ	ubɛ̃	abɛ̃	
Ake	ambe		
Eggon	ebum		
Hasha	a-ven	və-ven	
Tesu	bɛnɛ		
Toro	bɛnɛ		
Ndun	epi	—	?C
Rukul	iri-bel		
Eloyi	kwɔ́mɛ̀	ámɛ̀	
Tarok	m̀byal		
Nupe	ebé		
Tsagu	éépə̀n		Chadic

Commentary: Ninzic appears to have innovated

Refs: Gerhardt (1994:173)

31. Navel	**#i-kumbu**			
Language	**s.**	**pl.**		
Kulu	**dì-kúp**	**è-kúp**		
Iten	**kɔp**	**pɔp**		
Berom	**(re)hwóp**	**bahwóp**		
Cara	**i-kɔp**	**a-kɔp**		
Rigwe	**ǹ-kwɛ̀**			
Izere	**kúkop**	**ákop**		
Ganang	**u-kop**	**a-kop**		
Hyam	**kpɔ́p**			
Ashe	**ì-kóp**			
Idũ	**ìko**	**iko**		
Mada			**mgbə̀mgbə̀r**	**mgbə́mgbə̀r**
Nindem	**ìkom**			
Ninkyob	**kyom**			
Ndun	**ehɔ́p**	—		
Ake	**ikwe**			
Eggon			**ì-mbù**	
Tǝsu			**ɲ́-bù**	
Rukul	**ru-kɔp**	**a-kɔp**		
Pe	**ìgum**			
Tarok	**ìgum**	**igum**		
Yaŋkam	**kum**			
Gwamhi			**r-ubu**	Kainji
Kuki			**ɔbu**	Kainji
Kuteb	**u-kóm**			Jukunoid
PLC	***-kóp**			
Nizaa	**kómni**			
Vute	**cómè**			
Cambap	**kúmbūn**			
PB	**#kóbù**			
E do	**ù-xɔ̃̀**			
Ghotuọ	**ò-hɔ̀ɣì**	**è-hɔ̀ɣì**		
Mwaghavul	**kúm**			
Tangale	**kúmbi**			Chadic

Commentary: To explain the m/p alternations in final position in Plateau, a composite proto-form must be reconstructed, such as **#i-kumbu**. No forms like this are attested in Plateau proper but they do occur outside, both in Mambiloid, and more surprisingly in Chadic. The Tangale form must be a loan that has retained the archaic sequence in C_2 after it has disappeared elsewhere. Two forms are given here because there are probably two distinct roots, which are compounded in some languages. The alternative would be to assume that the longer form is the original and that it eroded in two different ways. Only Ghotuọ retains a C_2 in West Benue-Congo, and it is a velar rather than a bilabial stop. The process of erosion of initial k- is well attested in W. Kainji (see). Gerhardt (1983: 100) reconstructs *-**kwop** for PP2.

Refs: Gerhardt (1983: 100, 307, 1994:176)

32. Bone	**#-kupu**	
Language	**s.**	**pl.**
Kulu	**è-kùbú**	**è-kúbú**
Iten	**ìkub**	**ìkpub**
Berom	**kùp**	**bèkùp**
Shall	**kup**	
Rigwe	**kú**	**ǹ-kù**
Ganang	**u-kup**	**a-kup**
Ayu	**ìkùp**	**àkùp**
Hyam	**kup**	
Koro	**gu-kúp**	**á-kúp**
Nyankpa	**ɔfup**	**ɛ̀fup**
Idũ	**upfupfu**	**apfupfu**
Gyong	**kùp**	**kì-kùp**
Mada	**kuku**	
Ninzo	**ukfúkfú**	
Ninkyob	**kúb**	
Hasha	**kuku**	**ku-kuku**
Alumu	**kufu[+]**	
Ndun	**ukup**	**ikup**
Ake	**kufɔ̃**	
Eggon	**àkùfú**	
Fyem	**huhúp**	**ahúp**
Bo	**ukúp**	
Horom	**húp**	
Jijili	**uko**	**ako**
Eloyi	**kú-kú**	**é-kú**
Sur	**tukubi**	
Pe	**ukup**	**a-kup**
Yaŋkam	**kup**	
Tarok	**akúp**	

PJ	***kup**	
Kwanja Ndung	**kfê**	Mambiloid
Mvanip	**fʊup**	
PEG	***-gʉ́b`**	Eastern Grassfields
PB	***-kúpa**	Bantu
PB	**#-kubi**	
Igbo	**ɔ́kpʊ́kpʊ́**	Igboid
Dagbane	**kobli**	**koba**	Gur

Commentary: #-kup must be reconstructed at least to PVC level.

Refs: Gerhardt (1994:173)

44

33. Rib

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	e-cà	
Iten	tsan	ìtsan
Hyam	saŋ[+]	sáŋ
Ningye	saŋ[+]	
Ninkyob	ǹsâr	ǹsyàr
Rukul	a-kyen	
Tarok	ǹzàkɨ́n	

Commentary:

34. Vein

Language	s.	pl.		
Kulu	è-cóp	e-cóp		
Cara	i-vip	si-dip		
Ayu	icíp	acíp		
Ganang	a-tsip	á-tsip		
Ninkyob	syíb			
Hasha	i-ʃif	ʃi-ʃif		
Tarok	ìcìp			
PLC	*ɨ́-yíp		'blood'	
Anaang	í-dʒììp		'blood'	Cross River

Commentary: The Cross River and Anaang forms look as if they might be more logically cognate with 'blood' (35.) but nowhere in Plateau is there a trace of a bilabial in C_2 position, so perhaps 'vein' is the true cognate.

35. Blood	#-(n)ji			
Language	**s.**	**pl.**	**s.**	**pl.**
Kuturmi	eyi			
Kulu	bè-jí			
Berom			nèmí	
Iten	nìyi			
Ayu			àmiŋ	
Gyong	kì-zí			
Koro	bà-jì			
Nyankpa	ají			
Idũ	àdzìr			
Cori	gil			
Hyam	zhii	mo-zhii		
Mada	mə̀gì	—		
Ninzo	àyìyì			
Bu	eyi			
Nindem	ù-Njì			
Ninkyob	ǹjĩ			
Mada			mə̀gì	
Sambe			mìmìyà	
Ndun			memiŋ	—
Eggon			manji	
Eloyi	ɛnjì			
Tarok	ǹcìr			

Erụwa	à-zí			Edoid
PLC	*í-yíp			Lower Cross
Tep	dʒìɾə̄			Mambiloid
Yoruba	ɛ̀jɛ̀			Yoruboid

Commentary:

Refs: Gerhardt (1983:107, 128; 1994:173); Skinner (1996:xx)

36. Faeces

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	dì-búŋ	ɛ-buŋ[+]	
Cara	avim		
Berom	bèvìŋ	nèvìŋ	
Iten	gwɔ̀ŋ	gbɔ̀ŋ	
Izere	ribiŋ	abíŋ	
Gwot	byúŋ		
Tyap	byíŋ		
Ataka	bìn		
Rigwe	rə-bú	ǹ-bù	
Ganang	abin	—	
Hyam	biŋ		
Nyankpa	àbì		
Idũ	àbi		
Ndun	empin	—	
Ake	imbi		
Eggon	a-mbí		
Alumu	ɛ̀-bì		
Tarok	amɔ́ng		
Nupe	ebi		WBC
Dagbane	bindi	bina	Gur
PI	*ɓɩ ́ɛ ́		Ijoid

Commentary: Reconstruction to PVC #-bi

37. Liver,	heart	**I**		**II**			
Language	**s.**	**pl.**	**s.**	**pl.**			
Kulu	è-yèe	è-yéé				liver	
Berom	yey	nèyèy				liver	
Cara	anye					liver	
Rigwe	rə-yé					liver	
Izere	riyɛ́	ayɛ́				heart	
Ganang	di-yɛ	a-yɛ				liver	
Gwot	əlyó						
Tyap	əlíyó						
Ataka	alyó						
Jju	lyá						
?			izur			heart	
			susur			liver	
Nyankpa			aʒɔ̀			liver	
Ayu			ajor			heart	
Ninkyob			syón			liver	
Hasha			a-nzɔr	zu-nzɔr		heart	
Ndun			isɔn	—		heart	
Fyem			ɗu-zo	a-zo		liver	
Horom			ázɔ̀			liver	
Tarok	an(y)ì						
Wannu	ánɛ́nɛ́					liver	Jukunoid
Gbari Kwali	eyé					liver	
Magongo	ɛyɛ					liver	Okoid
Idoma	ànyi					liver	

Commentary: Heart and liver appear to be interchangeable in many languages, although this may partly reflect a basic meaning of 'seat of emotions', since many languages have another term for anatomical heart, seen when cutting up animals. Two distinct roots appear to be widespread in Plateau and both are given here. The Berom form also suggests that the nasal appearing in Idoma and Cara was originally a prefix rather than C_1 being /ɲ/. The nasal became fused to the stem and was then reprefixed.

38. Buffalo

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu			
Cara	**ì-yàt**	**yát**	
Hyam	**hyas**	**mò hyas**	?C
Ashe	**ìyáy**	**íyáy**	
Nyankpa	**ɛ̀ŋgay**	**ɛ̀ŋgay**	
Idũ	**iyáy**	**íyáy**	
Gyong	**nyàs**	**bɔ̀nyás**	
Idũ	**ìyày**	**iyây**	
Mada	**gyàr**	**gyar**	
Bu	**eyira**		
Ninzo	**íyár**		
Ninkyob	**jàd**	**jád**	
Horom	**yat**		
Yaŋkam	**yyet**		

PYK	***yak**		Jukunoid
PB	**#-ɲáti**		Bantu
Nupe	**eya**		WBC
Daffo	**yàt**		Chadic

Commentary: 'buffalo' can be hard to elicit reliably with the long-term elimination of wildlife.

39. Leopard

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	**ì-kpì**	**ì-kpì**	
Cara			
Hyam			
Nyankpa	**ègbè**	**égbè**	
Idũ	**ìgbî̀**	**ígbî̀**	
Mada	**cɔ̄**	**cə**	
Bu	**ɛcɛ**		
Ninzo			
Ninkyob	**ìʃe**	**iʃe**	
Hasha	**ehwe**		
Tesu	**kwi**		
Eloyi			
Fyem	**kwe**		
Horom	**kyè**		
Yaŋkam			

Jari	**ì-kwì**		E Kainji

Commentary: related to Niger-Congo #-**gbe, -kpe**

40. Hyena[6]

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu			
Iten	murúm		
Rigwe	m̀-mò		
Izere	amurum		
Hyam	muri	mò-muri	
Hasha	murun		
Daffo	mùrûm		Chadic

Commentary:

41. Vervet monkey[7]

Language	I s.	I pl.	II s.	II pl.	
Kulu					
Berom					
Cara					
Hyam					
Idũ			ìsem	ísém	patas monkey
Idũ	ìkɔ	íkɔ́			baboon
Ninkyob	ìkyá	íkyá			baboon
Ndun I	ègàràŋ	egáráŋ			vervet
Ndun II	ìkyàw				baboon
Ake	ikã				
Eggon	ekala				
Təsu					
Horom			cèm	i-cem	
Tarok	ìká				baboon
Pe			ikee		
Yaŋkam			kim		
Ashuku	kã				Jukunoid
Nnakenyare			kéém		Dakoid
Ba	car				Mambiloid
Ndoro			címcò		? colobus
PB			-kíma		Bantu

Commentary:

Ref:

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[6] (*Crocuta crocuta*)
[7] (*Cercopithecus aethiops*)

42. Squirrel

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	gɛ-cúk	bɛ-cúk
Berom	rók	bèrók
Ayu	ìtɔ̀k	àtɔ̀k
Ganang	a-rɔk	á-rɔk
Nyankpa	ɛ̀dɔk	ɛdɔk
Idũ	ùndok	àndok
Alumu	i-tɔ̀	
Ndun	abwatɔk	mèbătɔk
Eggon	edogo	
Pe	ì-toktoli	i-toktoli
Tarok	ìritòk	
PJ	*tak	
Kuteb	ù-tsak	

Commentary: Shimizu's reconstruction is a bit unbalanced being based on just three forms. However, if it is cognate, the shift to a central vowel is distinctive for Jukunoid.

43. Giant rat[8]

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu			
Cara	ki-gut	ni-gut	
Hyam	kòòr		
Idũ	ìkʊr	ikʊr	
Nyankpa	ɛ̀kɔt	ɛ́kɔ́t	
Hasha	agur		squirrel
Ndun	ánhɔrɔ	mehɔrɔ	
Eggon	ekro		
Rukul	a-hɔtɔ		
Horom	kwede		
Jijili	ukɔrɔ		
Yaŋkam	ikot		
Sur	kwɔr		

Commentary: The giant rat is widely eaten throughout the region. Although a convincing reconstruction for Plateau, evidence for Jukunoid is lacking.

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[8] (*Cricetomys* sp.)

44. Hare[9]

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	gɛ-sùm	bɛ̀-sùm	
Cara	i-ʒum	ʒum	
Nyankpa	ɔ̀zɔ	àzɔ	
Idũ	ùndzoo	àndzoo	
Ninkyob	ɣwyɔm	ɣwyɔ́m	?C
Alumu	a-sòmò		
Ndun	ézɔ̀m	ézɔ́m	
Eggon	à-bìdzím		
Horom	ǹ-zòm		
Tarok	ìzum	izum	

cLela	zomo	
Gbaya	dɔmɔ	
Hausa	zóómóó	Chadic
Mundat	sumór	Chadic
Karfa	sumbóór	Chadic
Burma	zobm	Chadic
Gera	sumbur	Chadic

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)

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[9] (*Lepus crawshayi*)

45. Crocodile

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	èguru	eguru[+]	
Doka	ɛ-kyuwa		
Cara	còròm	cɔ́rɔ́m	
Ce			
Mada	nkūr	nkur	
Ninzo	akru		
Nungu	mekru		
Bu	ŋkuru		
Nindem	a-kur		
Ninkyob	kyǔd	kyúr	
Kwanka	a-goorok		
Eggon	e-kró a-mí		
Alumu	kùrù		
Toro	kuru		
Hasha			
Ndun	unhwɔnrí	ínhwɔnri	
Shakara	nhworin		
Eloyi	ikwù	íkwù	
Kambari	má-kúnɛ́'ɛ̨́		Kainji
Kuteb	ù-kúr		Jukunoid
Ufia	kí-kwù		Cross River

Commentary: Gerhardt (1983:131) reconstructs *-**kut** for his PP4. May be linked with widespread #-**kuru** forms for 'tortoise'. Armstrong (1983:108) notes that this root applies to 'leopard' in Yala of Ogoja and that Yala Ikom has a construct that translates as 'leopard of water'. This in turn suggests that this root my be cognate with Yoruba **ɛkù** 'leopard'.

Refs: BCCW,I,24; Gerhardt (1983:131); Armstrong (1983:108)

46. Bird   (generic)

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	gì-núŋ	nì-núŋ	
Iten	nɔn	ninɔ̀n	
Berom	non		
Cara	ki-nɔn	ni-nɔn	
Shall	yun		
Ganang	ka-non	na-non	chicken
Nyankpa	ɔ̀nùnù	ànùnù	
Idũ	ùnùnù	ànùnù	
Hyam	nù	monù	
Ninkyob	ìɲɔ̃	ɲɔ̃	
Ndun	anun	ménun	
Eggon	awunu		
Horom	nɔ̀n	ì-nɔ̀n	
Bo	anón		
Pe	i-nol		
Yaŋkam	noi		
Tarok	inyil		

Dagbane	nooŋa	noonsi	Gur
Kuteb	i-noŋ		Jukunoid
Langa	nunu		Mambiloid
PB	-(y)ʊní		Bantu

Commentary: A common Benue-Congo root also found in Bantu. Mukarovksy (II, 405) gives examples that suggest a reconstruction to Proto-Volta-Congo.

47. Scorpion

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	ì-naŋ	i-naŋ[+]
Berom	lyàŋ	lyáŋ
Ganang	a-nyaŋ	á-nyaŋ
Hyam	nyâŋ	nyáŋ
Nyankpa	ɛ̀nà	ɛnà
Idũ	ìnnà	innâ
Ninkyob	ìryaŋ	íryáŋ
Hasha	i-naŋ	ni-naŋ
Təsu	nna	
Ndun	ìlyàn	
Eggon	elan	
Tarok	ìnyìnyàng	inyínyáng

Commentary:

54

48. Bee

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	ì-sok	i-sok[+]	
Berom	ʃòk	ʃok	
Cara	ʃò	ʃó	
Iten	isho[+]	ìshó	
Izere	iʃɔʃ	iʃɔ́ʃ	
Hyam	hywek[+]	hywék	
Kanufi	ì-ʃɔk		
Bu	iʃɔ		
Ningye	sɔ		
Ninzo	íʃo		
Mada	ʃɔ̀		
Ninkyob	nʃɔ̃	nʃɔ̃́	
Hasha	i-suk		
Təsu	əʃi		
Eggon	eso		
Jijili	iʃɔ̃		
Horom	sɛ̀kɛ		
Icen	zu		Jukunoid
Nnakenyare	síí		Dakoid
Nizaa	sùú		Mambiloid
PB	check!		Bantu
Hausa	zúmàà		Chadic
Bole	ʃoni		Chadic

Commentary:

Ref: Gerhardt (1983:136)

49. Housefly

Language	s.	pl.	
Ɛdra	esisoŋ		
Kulu	énziŋ		
Cara	jìn	jín	
Berom	cíŋ		
Hyam	dzùŋ	dzûŋ	
Cori	dzɔ̀ŋ		
Nyankpa	ɛ̀zù	ɛzù	
Idũ	ìzù	ízû	
Bu	cinci		
Ninkyob	ǹsinsiŋ	ńsinsiŋ	
Hasha	i-sisi	si-sisi	
Təsu	asu		
Ndun	ànʃíʃin	méʃíʃin	
Horom	cìŋ		
Tarok	ìcìŋcìŋ		
Ngas	nʃi		Chadic
Mwaghavul	ndìʃìì		Chadic
Tangale	tîìn		Chadic

Commentary: Reconstructed as #-**ciN** to Proto-Benue-Congo in Blench (ms.).

50. Snail

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	gí-kwel	níŋ-kwel	
Idũ	ìkɔr	ikɔr	
Ayu	kwikwári		
Mada	kpǎr		
Ndun	ekikɔk	ikíkɔ́k	
Nupe	ekpa		

Commentary: Reconstructed as #-**ciN** to Proto-Benue-Congo in Blench (ms.).

51. Fat/grease

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	dì-pɛ́p		
Berom	sebwép	babwép	
Cara	ibip		
Shall	mbip		
Ayu	ahwêp		
Bu	evi		
Ninkyob	ǹhyèb		
Nindem	à-hép		
Hasha	e-fef		
Tǝsu	afefe		
Ndun	ifyɛb		
Shakara	afuli		
Eggon	a-mvbo		
Jijili	mbye		
Rukul	afɛp		
Horom	tìfɛ́p		
Yaŋkam	m-byep		
Tarok	m̀pìp		fat [animal]
Emai	evbi		Edoid [?C]
PEBC	#-byep		
Chawai	bap		Kainji
Ashuku	-bu (e-)		Jukunoid
Hone	bìrù		
Ukele	le-be		Cross River
Nnakenyare	byep		Dakoid
Wawa	bélérè		Mambiloid
PE?			

Commentary:

West-central Plateau appears to have innovated;

52. Fat/grease II

Language	s.	pl.
Gyong	ki-tsɛs	
Cori	kes	
Ashe	bàcéy	
Nyankpa	àce	
Idũ	atséy	

Refs: Gerhardt (1983:134, 1994:174)

53. Salt

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu		
Cara	imbasi	
Berom	nvwāshè	
Ayu	imbâsh	
Nyankpa	àwaŋ	
Idũ	aŋwã	
Təsu	mma	
Toro	ama	
Ake	mma	
Rukul	mmɔk	
Horom	ma	
Fyem	ma	
Tarok	m̀màn	
*PJ	*ŋwa	
Fulfulde	manda	

Commentary: Some of Shimizu's citations suggest that the initial was originally a velar nasal ŋm- and the synchronic forms represent a reduction of this. The Plateau forms appear to be distinctive and the Fulfulde is probably a borrowing.

54. Mortar (wood)

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu		
Cara	ku-ruŋ	a-ruŋ
Hyam	ntuur	nkyuur
Nyankpa	ɔcu	ɛcu
Idũ	utsur	atsur
Hasha	itu teŋ	
Təsu	tu	
Ndun	untum	íntum
Ake	dulu	
Eggon	edzo	
Horom	u-duŋ	
Pe	utuŋ	
Tarok	atúm	
PLC	*-dùŋ	
Hausa	túrmíí	

Commentary:

55. Head-pad

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	**ì-kal**	**i-kal**[+]
Cara	**i-kat**	**a-kat**
Bu	**kakla**	
Ninkyob	**kyár**	**kár**
Hasha	**i-kar**	**ki-kar**
Ndun	**ahar**	**mehar**
Təsu	**hara**	
Ake	**takla**	
Eloyi	**kwóká**	**áká**
Tarok	**akár**	
PB	#-**kátà**	
PWS	-ka	*Ring*
PWN	-káà (-kátà)	headpad
PWN	-kwat-	ring
Awutu	é-kã	headpad
Adele	dì-kà /à-	
Krachi	kà-káŋ	ring
Twi	ɛ-kaá	ring
Yoruba	òshùká	
Emai	èkĩ̀	headpad
Igbo	ɔ́là áká	ring
Nupe	èka	headpad
Idoma	èkà	

Commentary: Westermann (1927:228) gives 'ring' as the primary meaning of this term but this appears to be polysemous with 'head-pad' in many languages and even with 'ringworm'. The Dakoid citation is only valid if an initial velar has been lost.

Refs: W. 228; M. 199+291; G. 1016;

56. Spear

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	**gù-kwén**	**è-kwén**	
Rigwe	**ákpá**		arrow
Hyam	**kpǎnt**	**kpyânt**	
Jju	**də-kpan**		
Nyankpa	**ɔ́nkpàŋ**	**ánkpàŋ**	
Ninkyob	**ǹhwyǎn**	**nhwyán**	
Ake	**kire**		
Yoruba	**ekpa**		
Igbo	**okwa**		
Nupe	**ekpà**		
Yala	**okpa**		
Guang	**ke-kpe**		
Ewe	**akplɔ**		
Donno Sɔ	**kén**		arrow

Commentary: 'arrow' and 'spear' form part of the same semantic set which can be reconstructed to PNC.

57. Bow

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	**u-ta^{+}**	**i-ta^{+}**	
Cara	**kwa**	**a-ta**	
Shall	**ta**		
Hyam	**tə**	**kyə**	
Nyankpa	**ɔtɔ**	**atɔ**	
Idũ	**utɔɔ**	**atɔɔ**	
Ninkyob	**twa**	**ǹta**	
Ndun	**ato**	**meto**	
Hasha	**i-twa**	**tu-twa**	
Təsu	**ta**		
Ake	**kuta**		
Eggon	**ota**		
Piti	**o-ta**		Kainji
Tiv	**ta**		Tivoid
*PB	***bo-ta**		Bantu
Nupe	**tanci**		Nupoid
Donno Sɔ	**tò**		Dogon
Seme	**tã**		Kru
Daffo	**dằằr**		Chadic

Commentary:

58. Arrow

Language	s.	pl.	
Cara	**fi**		
Shall	**nbi**		
Kwyeny	**byie**		
Hyam	**gi[+]**	**gyĩ**	
Idũ	**agwe**		also 'needle'
Ninkyob	**ɣwe**	**ìɣwe**	
Boya	**bi**		
Nungu	**ubye**		
Ake	**obye**		
Eggon	**ò-bgá**		
Pe	**ti-bwi**	**a-bwi**	
Wapan	**abo**		Jukunoid
PJ	***ri-bun**	***a-bun**	

Commentary: This is a secondary set for 'arrow', the primary set is #**kila** (below) and it is not entirely certain these items are all cognate. The Jukunoid languages do not seem to be very close, but there is a surprising similarly between the Eggon form and Icen **bagã**, perhaps coincidence?

59. Arrow II

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	**dì-kílá**		
Kuturmi	**ikra**		
Doka	**ire-sala**		
Nyankpa	**ìŋkpɛ̀t**	**àŋkpɛ̀t**	
Idũ	**ìkpàw**	**íkpâw**	
Ndun	**ikyab**		
Hasha	**ikir**		
Alumu	**isara**		
Toro	**ʃara**		
Piti	**ucir**		
Surubu	**u-cira**		
LC	**–daŋ**		?C
Mambila	**sàŋ**		

Commentary: See BCCW,4

60. Rope

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	ù-lík	ì-lík
Berom	rwík	rĭk
Cara	rik	a-rik
Shall	lin	
Nyankpa	ɔli	ali
Idũ	àri	
Ninkyob	rìg	ìryĭg
Hyam	rik[+]	yîk
Ndun	wurik	irik
Ake	iki	

P-Ịjọ	ɗĭkí	

Commentary:

61. Fish-net

Language	s.	pl.	Gloss
Kulu	ì-sàk	ì-sak	
Ị yankpa	ásàk		
Hyam	tsaŋ		
Idũ	ìsaŋ	isaŋ	fish-trap
Tarok	ìcà	icà	fish net, bird-snare

Ị upe	esa		Ị upoid

Commentary:

62. One

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	dìzín	
Berom	gwinìŋ	
Cara	yunuŋ	
Shall	gin	
Izere	ziniŋ	
Hyam	zhììnì	
Ce	ʃin	
Jari	zíní	
Hyam	zInI	
Ị inkyob	zíŋ	
Eggon	atyen	
Horom	ten	
Eloyi	kònzé	
Tarok	ziŋ	
Sur	ʒaŋna	

cLela	ciŋ	
Jibu	zinzo	Jukunoid
Saam	tsín	Mambiloid

Commentary: Gerhardt (1983:95) reconstructs ***gini** for his Proto-Plateau 2, but this seems unlikely, based on the external cognates. If there is a general process whereby an initial stop becomes a fricative, then this may be cognate with the #kVỊ i roots found in Benue-Kwa and Ijoid.

63. Four Language	s.	
Kulu	**de-naa**	
Berom	**naas**	
Izere	**nààs**	
Hyam		
Ị yankpa	**nà**	
Idũ	**nnaar**	
Ị indem	**ù-nás**	
Ị inkyob	**nad**	
Ayu		
Tɔsu		
Sambe		
Ị dun	**anǎs**	
Shakara		
Fyam	**naas**	
Eloyi		
Tarok	**ùnèɗíŋ**	
cLela	**nássé**	West Kainji
Kurama	**-nááze**	East Kainji
Chamba Daka	**nààsá**	Dakoid
Dong	**naas**	Unclassified
Vute	**nasib**	Mambiloid

Commentary: #-na is certainly an old Ịiger-Congo root for four and is reconstructed in Proto-Bantu as #-nà, but the fricative in C$_2$ position seems to be confined to this region. It is absent in Jukunoid and Tarokoid but recurs in Dakoid, isolated languages such as Dong and Tiba and in part of Mambiloid.

Ref: BCCW (425); Shimizu (1975:415); Gerhardt (1983b)

64. Twelve/ten Language	#isok- s.	
Kulu	**isɔ̀gípààla**	twenty (10 x 2)
Izere	**kùsók**	ten
Hyam	**shok**	twelve
Ị yankpa	**ɔ̀sɔ̀k**	twelve
Idũ	**sɔ́k**	twelve
Ayu	**ishók**	ten
Ị inkyob	**sɔ̂g**	twelve
Tɔsu	**tsɔ**	twelve
Sambe	**toro**	nine
Ị dun	**sɔk**	ten
Shakara	**nsok**	ten
Eloyi	**-sɔ**	twelve

Commentary: This appears to have originally been a word for 'twelve' in the former duodecimal systems characteristic of Plateau. It was adopted for 'ten' in many languages and was then replaced in turn,

appearing only in compounds. Its appearance in Eloyi is one factor that makes it appear more a part of Plateau than of Idomoid (Armstrong 1984).

Refs: Armstrong (1984)

65. Ask question

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	**lírí**	
Hyam	**ribí**	**yibí**
Gyong	**riptsá**	
Ị yankpa	**de**	
Idũ	**dèpa**	
Doka	**lirbi**	
Ị ingye	**ryip**	
Mada	**rì**	
Ị indem	**rip**	
Ị inkyob	**ríb**	**ryib**
Təsu	**lufu**	
Hasha	**rifi**	**riri**
Rukul	**rip**	
Surubu	**rivi**	

Commentary: Gerhardt (1983:101, 125) reconstructs PP2 as ***lip** +V and PP4 as ***dip**. Tarokoid patterns with Jukunoid; Sur **bip**, Yaŋkam **bip**, Tarok **ɓɨp**. However, this is a much more widespread root, cf. PLC ***bíp**, Gbari **byibe**, Ịjọ **ɓí**, Reshe **bípə̀**. This suggests that the remainder of Plateau innovated or else the original form was something like #ribip, which eroded in different fashions.

Refs: Gerhardt (1983:101) (BCCW,6/9)

66. Bark (dog)

Language	s.	pl.
Izere	**gbúsùm**	
Ị yankpa	**gbe**	
Idũ	**gboy**	
Ayu	**gbuʃ**	
Ị ingye	**bus**	
Ake	**bɔ̃**	
Jijili	**boro**	

Commentary:

67. To burn (fire)

Language	s.	pl.	
Berom	fwúsh		to burn food
Cara	pɔsse		
Shall	fiʃi		
Hasha	wuʃi	wu-wuʃi	
Təsu	fya		
Toro	fya		
Fyem	fwíʃ		to burn off vegetation
Rukul	fyi		
Pe	tset		
Tarok	shì		
PJ	ton-a		
PJM	vòN		
Guruntum	ʃi		Chadic
Wihə	síí		Chadic

Commentary: Most examples are intransitive but is clear this verb can occasionally be transitive. Ị dunic and Ị inzic have both innovated. The verb has been borrowed into Chadic.

68. Buy/sell

Language	s.	pl.		
Kulu	lép	lííbí		
Berom	ròw	rɛ̀sɛ̀l	to sell	
Iten	lebel			
Cara	rɛp		to sell	
Irigwe	ryɛ		to sell	
Izere	rɛp		to buy	
Gwot	lyap			
Tyap	lyap			
Ataka	lyap			
Jju	dzzap, lyap			
Ị yankpa	dam		sell	
Bu	rɛ			
Ị ingye	rɛp			
Ị inzo	lé			
Ị dun	rebǐ		buy	
Ake	rɔ̃			
Hasha	rɛp	ri-rɛp	to sell	
Təsu	rifa		to sell	
Fyem	rép		to sell	
Tarok	ré		to agree to sell	
Dɔ̃	rɛp		to buy	Dakoid
PLC	*lɛp		to buy	Cross River
PB	#dɪp			Bantu
Okpẹ	rhɛ			Edoid
Central Igbo	ré		to sell	Igboid

Commentary: This root is given in Gerhardt (1983) and is found loaned into Plateau Chadic. The loss of a bilabial stop in C$_2$ position may be typical of WBC.

Ref: Gerhardt (1983)

69. Carve (wood)

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	sep	
Kuturmi	u-soo	
Doka	o-sab	
Cara	ʃipal	
Jju	ʃab	
Gworok	ʃap	
Tyap	ʃab	
Cori	cali	
Gyong	ntse	
Ashe	tʃɛ	
Ị yankpa	cɛ	
Idũ	tsɛ̃	
Hyam	ca	tsa
Ayu		
Kwanka	sep	
Ce	ʃip	
Mada		
Ị inzo		
Ị ingye	ʃɛ	
Bu	ʃɛ	
Ị indem	sep	
Ị inkyob	seb	syeb
Ị dun	ʃap	
Hasha	sɛp	sɛ-sɛp
Eggon	tsen	
Fyem	sep	
Horom	sɛp	
Rukul	ʃen	
Pe	ʃap	

Commentary:

70. Come out

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	**wuluu**		
Iten	**wuru**		
Shall	**waa**		go out
Rigwe	**wùrù**		
Izere	**wúrúk**		
Gworok	**wurug**		
Hyam	**wut**	**wyut**	
Ị dun	**wurak**		
Ayu	**wìrìk**		
Hasha	**wərɛk**	**wəwəsɛl**	
Degema	**wɔlá**		

Commentary:

71. to share, divide

Language	I	
Kulu		
Berom		
Cara		
Irigwe		
Tyap		
Izere		
Hyam		
Ị yankpa	**gap**	
Idũ	**gàsha**	
Ce		
Ị inzo		
Mada		
Bu		
Ị ungu		
Ị inkyob	**gab**	**gyab**
Təsu		
Jili		
Eggon		
Ake		
Fyem		
Horom		
Rukul		
Eloyi		
Pe		
Sur		
Yaŋkam		
Tarok	**kàp**	

Commentary:

Ref:

72. Drink	I	II	III
Language	**s.**		
Eda		hywa	
Kulu	sá		
Berom	sɔ		
Cara	sol		
Irigwe	ʃwe		
Tyap	swɔ		
Izere	sɔ́		
Hyam		hywa	
Ị yankpa		fwa	
Idũ		hwa	
Ce	so		
Ị inzo	so		
Mada			
Bu			
Ị ungu		wǎ	
Ị inkyob	sɔ		
Tǝsu		wa	
Jili	swé		
Eggon		wǎ	
Ake		wa	
Fyem	so		
Horom	sɔ		
Rukul			yɔ
Eloyi		wó	
Pe		wá	
Sur		wá	
Yaŋkam		wá	
Tarok		wá	
Jukun		wa	
Hone		wàà	
Ẹdo		wɔ́	
Kara		wɑ	
Ekajuk		wɔ́	
Amasi		ŋwɔ́	
Ị oni		wó	
PLC	*ŋʷɔ́ŋ		

Commentary: Words for 'to drink' are set out in full because their distribution has been used as evidence for the internal classification of Plateau (Shimizu 1975:415). however, it is apparent that there is an older and widespread root with a form something like #**NwaN**, eroding to **wo** in many languages and a widespread but sporadic loan from Chadic languages #**so**.

Ref: Shimizu (1975:415); Gerhardt (1983b); Piron (1996, I:59)

73. Grind

Language	s.	pl.	
Eda	kɔɔ		
Kulu	kwók		
Berom	hwoŋo		
Cara	kɔŋ		
Hyam	gɔk	gyɔk	
Idũ	gɔ		
Mada	kɔ̀		
Bu	kɔ̀		
Ị inkyob	kɔ̀g	kyɔ̀g	
Ị dun	kɔk		
Təsu	hwa		
Ake	kpa		
Rukul	kwɔ		
Pe	kòk		
Sur	gwak		
Yaŋkam	gba		
Tarok	kpà		
PLC	*kɔ́k		
Oohum	hok		
Tep	gō`kē		Mambiloid
PEG	*-gòk-		Eastern Grassfields
Ị gas	gwak		

Commentary:

74. Know

Language	s.	pl.
Doka	iye	
Kulu		
Iten	ye	
Ị yankpa	nyi	
Idũ	hwɛŋ	
Ị inkyob	jí	
Ayu	ye	
Ị dun	yɛ	
Eggon	yi	
Pe	yi	
Eloyi	yí	
Tarok	nyí	
PJ	*yi	
Ị upe	ye…kpe	

Commentary:

75. Laugh

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu		
Iten		
Izere	**mas**	
I̦ yankpa	**ŋara**	
I̦ ingye	**mwar**	
I̦ indem	**más**	
I̦ inkyob	**mád**	
Ayu	**mèm**	
Eggon		
Horom	**mis**	
Pe	**misi**	
Tarok		
I̦ upe	**mɑ́tsã̄**	
Diri	**mēs**	Chadic
Tera	**mə́sə́**	

Commentary: Gerhardt (1983:131) reconstructs ***mar/mas** for PP4.

Refs: Gerhardt (1983:131)

76. Lick

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu			
Berom	**lɛ̄lɛ̄**	**lɛlta**	
Cara	**lale**		
Gyong	**lɛ́n**		
Hyam	**ren**	**ryen**	
I̦ yankpa	**lɛn**		
Idũ	**ɽɛn**		
I̦ inkyob	**rád**	**ryăd**	
Ayu	**le**		
Ake	**le**		
Buji	**lama**		
Kwanka	**lyam**		
Horom	**lyes**		
cLela	**lɛ̀msɛ**		Kainji
Okobo	**láy**		Cross River
I̦ izaa	**lāŋ**		Mambiloid
I̦ oni	**lá**		Beboid
Lamnso	**la**		Grassfields
Mundani	**ela+**		Momo
Babungo	**ndá(lɔ́)**		Ring
PEG	***dɑ́d**		Eastern
PB	**-damb-**		Bantu
Edo	**lalɔ**		

Commentary: Forms with initial l- are very widespread and there may be an ideophonic element

77. Measure

Language	s.	pl.
Eda	maa	
Kulu	màk	
Berom	mara	masa
Hyam	màu	ntau
Mada	mà	
Ị yankpa	mɛŋa	
Ce	mak[+]	
Eggon	mbuga	
Tarok	ma[+]	

Oohum	mbák	
Ẹdo	ɱà̀á́	
Degema	ma	
Ị upe	mà	
Idoma	mà	

Commentary:

78. to run

Language		Attestation				Gloss	
Kulu		t	ɛ́	l	ɛ́ŋ		
Iten		t	e	l			
Berom		t	é	l	é		
Cara		t	ɛ	l			
Shall		s	i	m			
Izere		t	é	ŋ			
Ị yankpa		t	i				
Idũ		t	í				
Ị inkyob		s	ó	r			
Hasha	ʃu	ʃ	o				
Ake		t	i	ɲ	a		
Eggon		t	e	n			
Tarok		c	í	r			
Reshe		c	o				Kainji
Hone		ʃ	á	r			Jukunoid
Kwanja		c	í	r	é	running	Mambiloid
Yamba		c	ə	ŋ			Bantu
Yoruba	sa	s	a				Yoruboid
PYIG		*s	á				
Degema		s	ì	r	e		Edoid
Igbo	ɔ́	s	ɔ́			race, running	Igboid
Ayere		h	u	r	e		Ayere-Ahan
Ị upe	bi	c	i	+			Ị upoid
							Idomoid
Ishe		s	í		jó		Ukaan

Commentary: If Guan **sili** is cognate, this root must be reconstructed to PBK. Reconstructed for PIYE as
*sıa by Ohiri-Aniche (1991,I:106).

Ref: Gerhardt (1983:136); Ohiri-Aniche (1991,I:106)

79. Sew

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	**taà**		
Ayu	**toreŋ**		
Berom	**tolo**		
Izere	**tós**		
Gworok	**twáy**		
Cori	**tar**		
Ị yankpa	**sɔm**		
Idũ	**sɔr**		
Ị inkyob	**hwán**		
Ị dun	**ʃɛl**		
Alumu	**wono**		
Ake	**rwa**		
Horom	**tɔlɔ**		
Fyem	**twol**		
Jijili	**tu**		
Jarawan Bantu	**#soro**		Bantu
Camba	**sárâ**		Mambiloid
Ẹdo	**dɔlɔ́**		Edoid
Daffo	**toor**		Chadic
Fyer	**sool**		Chadic
Goemai	**taan**		Chadic

Commentary:

Ref: Gerhardt (1983:307).

80. Sharpen

Language	s.	pl.
Cara	**lɔga**	
Berom	**lɔ̌**	
Ị inkyob	**rɔ**	**ryɔ**
Ị dun	**la**	
Jijili	**da**	
Tarok	**lwà**	
Auchi	**dɔ**	
Lefana	**dɔ̀**	

Commentary:

81. to smell

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	**nyùŋ**		
Berom	**nsàŋ**		n.
Cara	**inuŋgi**		
Hyam	**nuŋ**	**nyuŋ**	
Ị yankpa	**nu**		
Idũ	**nuwyí**		
Ị inkyob	**núŋ**	**nyúŋ**	
Eggon	**nyun**		
Təsu	**ɲuŋu**		

Commentary:

82. Surpass

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu			
Berom	**dàl**	**dàlas**	to surpass, to be greater than
Cara			
Shall			
Horom			
Ayu			
Mada			
Ị dun			
Eggon			
Hasha			
Təsu			
Ake			
Yaŋkam			
Sur			
Tarok	**dar**		to be superior to'

Commentary:

Refs:

76

83. Swallow	**I**		**II**
Language	**s.**	**pl.**	
Eda			ŋon
Kulu			
Cara			ŋɔl
Shall	meri		
Idũ			ŋwù
Ayu	mé		
Mada	mrě		
Ị̃ inkyob	mwér	myer	
Ị̃ dun	mwɛr		
Eggon	mbgì		
Hasha	mɛrɛk	mɛmɛrʃe	
Təsu	mina		
Ake	mle		
Horom	mara		
Yaŋkam	mər		
Sur	mərək		
Tarok	məkən[+]		

Ekoid	mèl		
Bekwara	o-mere		
Mambila	mènà		
PJ	mèn		Jukunoid

Commentary: Connected with a widespread root for 'throat' reconstructed for PBC as #**-mɛrɛn** in Blench (ms.)This is an old PMC root for 'to swallow' but the semantic shift to 'neck' would appear to be distinctive in East Benue-Congo, perhaps even for Bantoid Cross. Boyd (1994:62) compares Mumuye **vmòòrè** 'throat' but this is doubtful. This has been argued by Greenberg and Ruhlen to be a candidate for proto-World.

Refs: Boyd (1994:62), Williamson (1989b:253-4)

84. Swim

Language	s.	pl.		
Kulu	**wók**			
Ce	**ɔ-wɔk**[+]		river	
Horom	**wak**			
Bo	**wák**			
Hone	**wɔ̀k**			Jukunoid
Efik	**wɔ́k**			Cross River
Ị nakenyare	**wóok**		water	Dakoid
Ị doro	**wú**			Mambiloid
Yoruba	**gʷo**			WBC
Kenyang	**ɣɔ́k**			Ị yang
Ịjọ	**ókí**			Ijoid
A	**wɔ́g**			

Commentary: The shift from 'bathe' to 'water' is unusual, but seems credible here. 'To swim' in Daka is **gàà +wóok**. Discussed in Williamson (1993: 394)

Ref: Williamson (1993: 394)

85. Want/need

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	**wáá**	
Kadara	**waŋ**	
Ayu	**wɔ̌k**	
Tarok	**wá**	
Yakö	**wɔ́**	
Yoruba	**wa**	
Ị upe	**wá**	

Commentary:

Ref: Ohiri-Aniche (1991,II:660-420)

86. Guinea-yam[10]

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	**gì-síl**	**ìn-síl**
Berom	**kyît**	**bekyit**
Shall	**ʃir**	
Hyam	**cit**	
Ị yankpa	**òcit**	**àcit**
Idũ	**útsír**	**atsir**
Ị inkyob	**ǹsìr**	
Hasha	**i-ʃir**	**ʃi-ʃir**
Alumu	**i-kirù**	

Commentary: see discussion in Ị iger Delta book

87. Cowpea[11]

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu			
Gwot	**jìnjók**		
Tyap	**júnjók**		
Ataka	**njók**		
Jju	**jǒk**		
Irigwe	**ǹzò**		
Hyam	**njab**		
Alumu	**dòsò**		
Toro	**dòsò**		
Tarok	**asò**		
Pe	**aca**		
Yangkam	**gyok**		
Wapan	**so**		Jukunoid
Ị upe	**ezo[+]**		WBC
Mumuye	**zɔ̀kɔ́**		Adamawa

Commentary: See BCCW,8

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[10] (*Dioscorea guineensis*)
[11] (*Vigna unguiculata*)

88. Bambara groundnut[12]

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu			
Cara	**ɓì**		
Shall	**fi**		
Hyam	**hywî**		groundnut
Ị yankpa	**evì**		
Ce	**ki-mfi⁺**		
Ị inkyob	**nfĩ**		groundnut
Eggon	**ivi**		
Hasha	**ifi**		groundnut
Alumu	**ɛ̀-hwi kyù**		
Ị dun	**ihwyi**		
Shakara	**íhwyi**		groundnut
Tarok	**afɩ**		
Bikyak	**āfɩ**		groundnut

Commentary:

89. Fan-palm[13]

Language	I s.	I pl.	II s.	II pl.
Kulu	**gáŋkúk**			
Ị dun			**uhwɔk**	**ehwɔk**
Shakara			**únhɔk**	
Ayu			**íŋkwɔ̀k**	**áŋkwɔ̀k**
Eggon	**àká**			
Horom	**gàŋ**			
Tarok	**ǹgàŋ**			
Yaŋkam	**kaŋa**			

Commentary:

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[12] *(Vigna subterranea)*
[13] (*Borassus aethiopum*)

90. Silk-cotton[14]

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	gù-kúúmú	è-kúúmú
Berom	kugul	
Cara	fum	akum
Izere	kâkúm	
Hyam	cum	
Ị yankpa	èfuŋ	efuŋ
Idũ	ìpfum	
Ị ingye	kum	
Ị inkyob	kyuŋ	kyúŋ
Hasha	ikum	
Təsu	kumu	
Eggon	ebzi akum	

Commentary:

91. Locust tree[15]

Language	s.	pl.	
Kulu	gí-nyoŋ	nیń-nyoŋ	
Berom	ràrón	beràrón	
Iten	lol	nilol	
Hyam	nyiin		fruit
Ị yankpa	èlo	elo	
Idũ	urũũ		fruit
Ị inkyob	ryŭn	ryún	
Alumu	nyìnyì		
Hasha	i-nɔn		
Shakara	iɲini		
Eggon	elon		

Commentary:

92. Black plum[16]

Language	s.	pl.
Kulu	gɛ̀-nshũ	bɛ̀-nshũ
Berom	ru	beru
Ị yankpa	èʒò	eʒò
Eggon	idzu	
Təsu	kpù	

Commentary:

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[14] (*Ceiba pentandra*)
[15] (*Parkia biglobosa*)
[16] (*Vitex doniana*)

Ninzic

Ị inzic has innovated for a number of items. Ị ote;

11. 'sun, God', 12. 'wind', 17. 'chief' [Ị inzic has another root which is widespread outside Plateau, suggesting that it was borrowed into proto-Ị inzic, See 18. for this second root.]

Jilic-Eggonic

Table 4 lists a series of glosses occurring in Jilic and Eggonic that suggest these two branches of Plateau should be conjoined.

Table 4. Evidence supporting the alignment of Jilic and Eggonic

	Jili		Jijili		Ake		Eggon	
	s.	pl.	s.	pl.	s.	pl.	s.	pl.
Bark (dog)			boro		bɔ̃			
Blood	ńzɛ		ŋʒe		miʃe		manji	
Bush-rat II	ɔ̀zhì	mùzhì	uzi		iʃi			
Dig (hole etc.)	kuu				kɔ̃		kbà	
Fish (generic)			uʃwi	aʃwi	uwe		atsà	
Fruit-bat			uʒu	aʒu	oswã			
Hatch (egg)	sɛ				ʃa			
Knee	kúlu	álu	ulu		ngbulu			
Leg, foot	kítrɛ̀	átrɛ̀			kutire 'thigh'			
Mix			sa		sɔ			
Rainy Season	rugrɔ		rogoro		ŋgɔ			
Rat (generic)	kpĩ	ikpĩ					ikpi	
Remember	cuwɔ⁺				kyo			
Say/speak	kɔ́				gwo			
Smell	mru				munu			
Thigh	kíjɛ	ájɛ					ashẽ	
Thorn	ígã	ágã	iga⁺		igwa		edzga	
Today	ínyɛ̀̃ 'yesterday'				yannu		anye	

Tarokoid

Glosses found throughout Plateau except in Tarokoid

8. 'water', 9. 'yesterday', 11. 'sun', 12. 'wind', 23. 'medicine',

6. Plateau: subgrouping and classification

6.1 Evidence for Plateau as a distinct grouping

6.2 Evidence for subgrouping Plateau

7. Historical model for the evolution of Plateau

8. Conclusion

Appendix I: CHECKLIST OF PLATEAU LANGUAGES

This is a list of all the languages that have been classified as 'Plateau', i.e. part of Benue-Congo. It excludes Kainji (former Plateau 1) and the Jukunoid languages.

Appendix II. Data sources

Language	Village	Date	Informant(s)
Arum-Chessu	Arum Kado	10/11/92	Musa Kado
	Chessu-Sarki	8/1/99	Mathys Akwe, Musa Akwe, Yakubu A. Ameh
Turkwam	Turkwam	10/11/92	Yakubu Kos
	Turkwam	8/1/99	Handiru Aveh, Yisus Akɔman
Pai	Ị dok	17/5/96	Danjuma Torot
Basherawa	Yuli	19/5/96	Salihu Mohammadu, Amadu Kondon Yuli
	Tukur	22/5/96	Abubakar Sulaimanu, Ibrahim Sale, Yushau and Idi Zuberu
Tapshin	Tapshin	21/3/98	John Tula Rabu

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