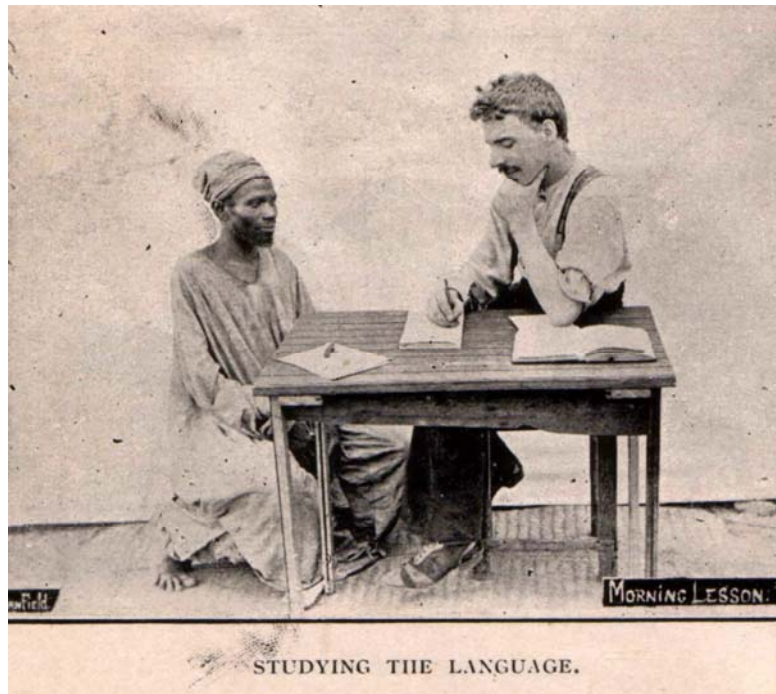


**THE NUPOID LANGUAGES OF
WEST-CENTRAL NIGERIA
OVERVIEW AND COMPARATIVE WORDLIST**



A.W. Banfield learns Nupe (1905)

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MAPS

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ABSTRACT

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The name Nupoid, commonly used in the literature to refer to the group of languages whose principal representatives are Nupe, Gbari, Gade and Ebira (formerly Niger-Kaduna), was first introduced by Larry Hyman (1972:175). However, the unity of this group was recognized by their first investigator, Sigismund Koelle (1854:8-9), who named them 'Niger-Dshadda'. Map I shows the approximate locations of all the peoples speaking these languages, although the extent of Gbari penetration north and east of their major concentrations remains unknown. Temple (1922), Nadel (1941) and Crozier & Blench (1992) list many more Nupe subgroups than are referred to here, but these are almost certainly ethnic groups speaking standard Nupe.

Sterk (1978a) & Bennett & Sterk (1977) intended to establish the unity of Nupoid, although much of the lexical material used here was not available to them. However, they follow Hoffman (in Hansford et al. 1976) in raising Ebira to the status of a separate branch of Old Kwa. They argue for a close link with the Idomoid languages, a hypothesis supported by a brief comparison with the proto-Idomoid forms reconstructed by Armstrong (1983). The principal reason for postulating the unity of Nupoid rests on the cognacy of a good number of lexical items. Unfortunately, standardised wordlists are not available for many languages, and the Swadesh plus lists that have been compiled for languages such as Igara and Ebira Okene contain items inappropriate for the Nupoid languages as a whole. Some lexical material must be drawn from Koelle, with its inevitable inadequacies of elicitation and orthography.

Claims concerning the external affiliation of Nupoid have undergone a marked series of changes over time. Up to the 1980s, the group of languages which includes Nupoid, Idomoid, Yoruboid, Edoid and Igboid, as well as the smaller unclassified languages, were generally treated as 'Eastern Kwa', following Westermann (1927). They were then moved to 'Western Benue-Congo' and are so treated in the map accompanying Crozier & Blench (1992). However, this realignment was never accompanied by anything that could be described as evidence and should be discarded. Currently I believe that we should consider an entity I am calling 'Volta-Niger' which would include the set of languages mentioned plus Gbe. Westermann (1927) and in related articles gave considerable evidence for an affiliation of Gbe with Yoruba, and it certainly forms part of a regional group of languages where the noun-classes have been eroded, sometimes to the point of invisibility. However, an argument for Volta-Niger, which would require considerable space, is not given in the present document. It is also unclear where to place the remnant languages of this region, such as Akokoid, Akpes, Ukaan, Uwu and Ọkọ. Extensive borrowing from Yoruba has made it seem they are relatives of Yoruboid, but this is almost certainly misleading. The slow pace at which descriptive materials appear means that the question will remain open for some time.

Blench (1989) is an overview of Nupoid with some discussion about the possible features of proto-Nupoid, but no reconstructions. The present document¹ joins together a comparative wordlist with an extended overview of the languages. Regrettably, almost no new work has appeared since this time, and the author has allowed his material to lie largely undisturbed. So this overview should be treated with appropriate scepticism.

1.2 Sources

Most of the languages discussed here are still very poorly known, and this analysis depends to a great extent on unpublished materials. Hair (1967) provides a comprehensive survey of early publications on Nupe and related languages. Koelle (1854) has wordlists of Nupe, Kupa, Dibo, Nupe Tako, Ebe, three Gbari dialects, and three Ebira dialects. The first 'modern' linguistic material is contained in the fully-tonemarked Nupe dictionary of Banfield (1914, 1916). Banfield & Macintyre also wrote a pioneering grammar of Nupe which is more useable than any subsequent work. Sterk (1978a) provides a wordlist of Gade. Other wordlists appended to Sterk (1978:252 ff.) were used with caution because of their unreliability. and Hyman (1970) a

¹ This material prepared following a request from Larry Hyman and should in no way be considered complete. Take it as a working document.

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vocabulary of Gbagye, the Gbari spoken in Kuta. There are short lists of Ebira are in Ladefoged (1964) and Scholtz (1976). Manuscript wordlists of Gupa, Kami, Dibo, Kakanda, Gbari-Shigokpna and Gbari-Zubakpna were made by the author in 1979-82. A truly execrable study of Nupe Tako [Bassa-Nge] appeared recently (Mu'azu et al. 2012) and readers are warned against purchasing or consulting this book.

1.3 An Annotated List of Nupoid Languages.

Languages are listed by the suggested reference name. Space prevents a complete listing of alternative ethnonyms, but the substitution of Dibo for Ganagana, and Nupe Tako for Bassa-Nge should be noted.

1. Asu. Also Abewa, Ebe. The Asu live in about ten villages southeast of Kontagora. Koelle collected a wordlist along with the present author.

2. Dibo. Also Ganagana, Zhitako. Spoken in about twenty villages south of Lapai. Dibo is often treated as a dialect of central Nupe, but a 200 word list shows only 66% cognacy, suggesting separate language status.

3. Ebira. Also Igbira, Okpoto, Okene. The most divergent Nupoid language, Ebira is split in two major divisions on opposite banks of the Niger at the confluence with the Benue. Koto [Okpoto], northeast of the confluence, is known only from a wordlist in Sterk (1978a). The Okene dialect has been used for literacy programmes and also for broadcasting. Published work on Ebira is limited, but its phonology has been the subject of some research (e.g. Ladefoged 1964; Scholz 1976 & Adiva 1984). Ladefoged provides short wordlists of two Ebira dialects and Sterk (1978a) includes a wordlist of Okpoto.

Eggan. Although listed in Hansford et al. (1976:136) as a co-ordinate member of the Nupe group, this is not a distinct language. Egã town is a mixture of Kupa and Kakanda speakers.

4. Gade. Gade is spoken by 80-100,000 people in a large number of villages centred around Kuje in the Federal Capital Territory (Sterk 1978a).

5. Gbagye. A recently adopted cover-term for the group known as Gwari-Matai or Gwarin Ngenge. Edgar (1909) provided a dictionary of the Kuta dialect, and Hyman (1970) a grammar and wordlist. Two geographically separate groups are joined under this term, the more important group living around Minna and Kuta and the second group around Diko, northeast of Suleja. A distinctive phonological feature of Gbagye is the implosive /b/, not otherwise recorded in Nupoid languages.

Gbari. Also Gwari. A cover-term for all the Gbari-speaking peoples. Rosendall (1992) presents the result of a dialect survey of a wide variety of Gbari lects, concluding that Gbari can be divided into at least the two divisions Gbari/Gbagyi. The extent of the Gbari, indicated on Map I, is far greater than is evident from any published source, and nothing is known about the outlying groups at old Birnin Gwari or northeast of Kaduna. All investigated Gbari dialects show a characteristic a- pluralization prefix and consonants with nasalised releases (see Hyman 1972 for a hypothesis on the origin of this). All Gbari languages have five vowels, and three level tones.

6. Gbari-Yama. A cover term used for all southern Gbari dialects. Speakers divide themselves into two groups, Shigokpna and Zubakpna, according to the location. However, these two dialects show 84% cognacy with one another.

Gbedegi. An extinct language, probably of the Nupe group, spoken near Mokwa, referred to by Nadel (1941).

7. Gupa. A language spoken in the villages of Gupa, Atsu and Kirikpo south of Lapai. Meek (1925,II:137) confused 'Gupa' with 'Kupa', and this appears to be the explanation for the omission of all reference to this group in the ethnographic and linguistic literature, despite a population of several thousand individuals. Gupa is 86% cognate with Dibo and 90% cognate with Kami. However, unlike these two languages, it

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appears to retain the seven-vowel system (with /ɛ/ and /ɔ/) that has been reconstructed for Nupe (Hyman 1970) but which has otherwise disappeared in Nupe and Gbari.

8. Kakanda. Also Akanda, Hyabe. A riverine group based on Ega, but with scattered villages stretching from the confluence as far as Muregi, and a population of at least 10,000. Kakanda shows unexplained connections with Ebira, although it is apparently most closely related to Gupa and Kupa. The tone-system has not been described, but it appears to have three level tones.

9. Kami. A group confined to Ebo town, south of Lapai, with a maximum of 500 speakers. Kami is closely related to Gupa and Dibo and shows partial assimilation of the open vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/.

Kede=Kyadya=Kiadia=Kyedye. A name for a specialised fishing group on the Niger, but not a distinct linguistic entity. Nadel (1941) is a political history of the Kede.

10. Kupa. Kupa is spoken in a number of villages south of the Niger near Egã, and is most closely related to Kakanda. Koelle (1854) is the only source on this language.

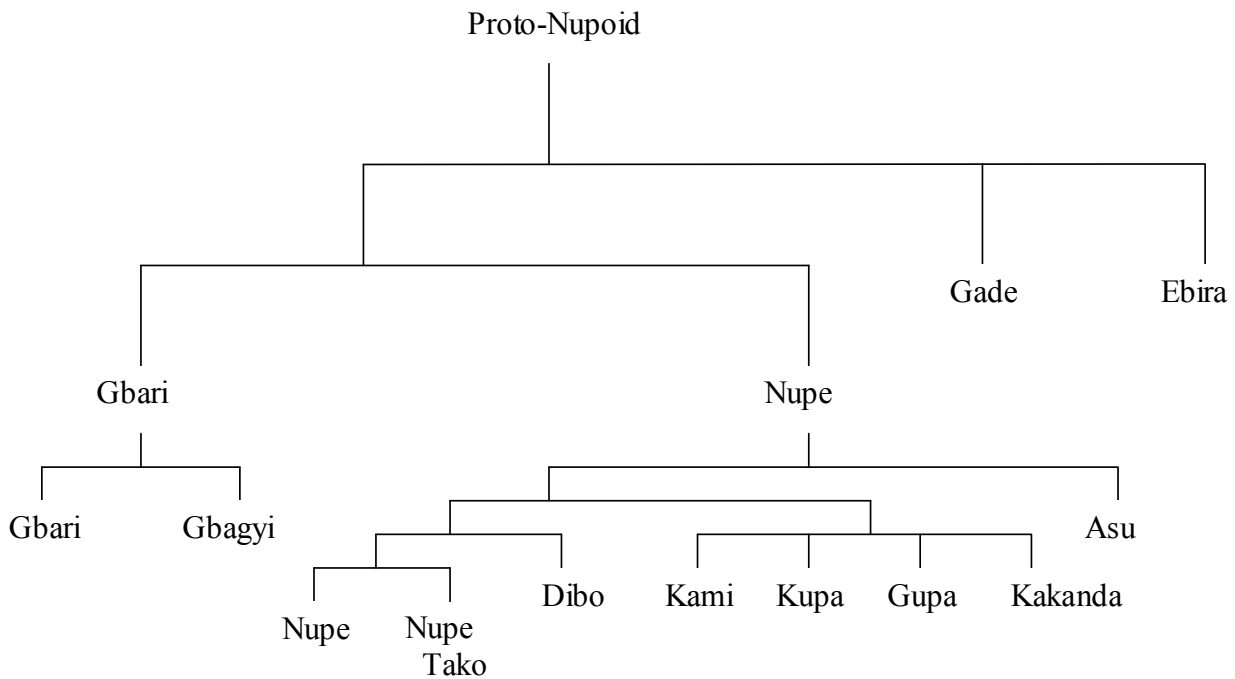
11. Nupe. Also Anufe, Nupenci, Nyffe, Takpa. Reference name for the language of Bida and a broad area to both east and west. Nupe is also spoken in a number of remote communities on the Benue near Ibi and east of Lafia, a relic of nineteenth century trade routes. Groups such as the Benu at Kutigi, originally Kanuri-speaking, and the Gbagye at Lemu, have been wholly assimilated linguistically. Nupe is the only member of the group for which extensive modern linguistic material is available (Smith, 1966, 1967; Harms, 1973; Hyman, 1970a, 1970b, 1972, 1973; Madugu, 1970, 1971, 1976, 1979; Blench, 1982).

12. Nupe Tako. Also Bassa-Nge, Ibara. A recently adopted cover term, meaning roughly 'The Nupe Below'. Lexically Nupe Tako is most close to central Nupe, although it has certain phonological features recalling Dibo, for example, the unproductive -a- prefixes. The population was nearly 20,000 in 1931 and has presumably substantially increased since then.

1.4 Internal classification of Nupoid

Blench (1989) shows a genetic 'tree' based on lexicostatistics. Figure 1 shows a tree based on shared innovations.

Figure 1. The internal classification of Nupoid



1.5 Language development

Nupe, Gbari/Gbagyi and Ebira have all undergone some development in the decades up to 2010, partly driven by rapid political development in the region. Nupe and Gbari are used as languages on television, while Nupe, Gbagye, Dibo and Ebira have regular radio broadcasts. Bible translations exist in Nupe and Ebira, with a new testament in Gbagyi, and there are literacy programmes corresponding with these. Nupe and Gbari have a small amount of secular vernacular literature independently published. All orthographies have a fairly undatisfactory treatment of both nasalisation and tone.

2. Nupoid phonology

2.1 Vowels

Nupoid shows a pattern characteristic of Niger-Congo, with some languages having a nine-vowel ± ATR system (Ebira, Gade) and Nupe and Gbari five-vowel systems. Some Nupe-related languages have seven vowels, with evidence that these are disappearing (e.g. Chumbow & Ejimatswa 1987). Gade and Ebira both have nine underlying vowels, with identical expanded and non-expanded series for all vowels except /a/.

The five vowels of Nupe and Gbari are;

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

Banfield's orthography has two additional symbols for vowels, ǎ and ɔ, which seem to conflate nasalisation and a mishearing of vowel quality. As Smith (1967a: 155) points out /a/ has a wide range of allophones, including [ɔ], and this would explain Banfield's transcription of the common word for 'water' as *nuwɔn* rather than *nuwǎ*. This has carried over into the orthography.

Nupe has three nasalised vowels;

	Front	Central	Back
Close	ĩ		ũ
Open		ã	

Representation of these three vowels was not entirely consistent in Banfield, since the close vowels were represented as V + n and the central vowel as ąⁱⁱ. Nasalised of the central vowel in Nupe varies markedly between speakers. The word /saNraNyi/ ‘beautiful’ can be pronounced as;

/sãrãyi/
/sarãyi/
/sarayi/

probably suggesting that over time the nasalisation may simply be lost. Dibo in particular seems to have lost much of the nasalisation still present in Nupe.

Rosendall (1992) considers that although Gbari lects have a virtually complete set of phonetic nasalised vowels, these can be treated as underlying syllable-final segmental nasals or consonants with nasal releases. She says;

‘ear’ is found as knúb^wà ~ kúb^wà

However, she notes that some lects have a phonemic contrast on monosyllables. Thus GIR [Rosendall does not provide expansions of her three-letter codes for lects] has the following contrast;

si	buy
sĩ	drink

only where nasalised vowels are always treated as nasal codas, can nasalisation not be treated as phonemic.

Gade and Ebira both have nine vowels and no nasalised vowels (Table 1);

Table 1. Gade and Ebira vowels

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

Sterk (1978a) marks the non-expanded set with subdots following Nigerian orthographic convention. Sterk (1994:1) notes that a tenth vowel, /ə/, can occur in ideophones. Ebira also has nine vowels, with a typical expanded and non-expanded series and vowel harmony, although earlier texts marked seven by analogy with Yoruba. Scholz (1976) uses the same subdot convention as Gade for the retracted vowel set. Both language operate fairly strict vowel harmony at the word level, although some types of compounds can exhibit vowels from both sets.

ⁱⁱ Although Banfield (1914:xx) describes this sound as ‘

Long vowels?

None of the Nupoid languages show an underlying contrast between short and long vowels, although this appears as a surface representation in Nupe (cf. Smith 1967a and Madugu 1970) for discussion on this point), Ebira (Ladefoged 1964) and Kakanda. Smith (1967a) argues that in words such *kpáátá* the /aa/ is a phonemically distinct long vowel, although there are no minimal pairs to support this hypothesis. Madugu transcribes long vowels in various references, such as *déégi* ‘small, few’ although he does not comment on this. Smith (1967a:168) notes that the long vowels are sometimes associated with a tone difference, such as *gbáàní* ‘now’. Most likely there are two phenomena here, genuine VV sequences created by intervocalic consonant deletion and phonetic lengthening. No lengthened vowels appear to have a correspondence in any other lect.

2.2 Consonants

The consonants of Nupoid are fairly similar to most other language groups in this region. Nupe consonants are;

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alve-olar	Alveo-palatal	Palata l	Velar	Labial-velar	Glottal
PLAIN								
Plosive	p b		t d			k g	kp gb	
Nasal	m		n		[ɲ]			
Fricative		f v	s z	[ʃ] [ʒ]				h
Affricate			ts dz		tʃ dʒ			
Trill			r					
Approximant					y		w	
Lateral			l					

Generally speaking, s~ʃ and z~ʒ are not contrastive, with [s], [z] before back vowels and [ʃ], [ʒ] before front vowels. However, Smith (1967a:158) gives some examples of rare cases where they are in contrast, both in partly assimilated loan-words and as a result of regular reduplication processes in the language.

In the Banfield orthography, [ʃ] and [ʒ] were marked with subdots, thus ʃ̣ and ʒ̣. Although they are theoretically predictable, there has been strong local resistance to dropping these indications and the usual orthographic solution is to represent them with ‘sh’ and zh’.

Similarly, the affricates and palatal affricates are nearly in complementary distribution, with /ts/ and /dz/ before front vowels and /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ before back vowels. However, both can occur before the central vowel, although for some reason, contrasts on monosyllables are very rare. In the light of a small number of minimal pairs, these need to be treated as separate phonemes.

Nupe has contrastive palatalisation and labialisation (Smith 1967a). Smith notes that phonetic palatalisation occurs before front vowels and labialisation before back vowels, something which is also present in many Plateau languages. Thus /bé/ ‘to come’ can also be realised as /b^lé/. However, there is an interesting exception to the labialisation rule. Some of the labialised initials do seem to present near-contrastive pairs. Table 2 shows minimal pairs where the labialised consonant precedes a mid-back stem vowel.

Table 2. Contrastive labialised initials in Nupe

Nupe	Gloss
dzónyí	Very (sweet, tasty)
dzwǒńí	Very (large)
gbó	To bark (dog)
gbwǒ	To become undone, become loose
gònyi	To become, suit
gwǒngwǒnyí	Fiercely
hoyí	Noise of yawning
hwǒyí	Tearing or ripping sound

There is a clear correlation between the nasalisation of the stem vowel and the contrastive labialisation, though exactly what the connection is eludes me at present.

As Smith (1967a) notes, palatalisation before front vowels is normally phonetic. However, Nupe has a few words, transcribed by Banfield as disyllables, which are pronounced as palatal consonants, thus creating an effective contrast;

lé	to scratch
liyé /lyé/	To pass the night
jè /dʒè/	to flow
jíye /dʒyé/	To describe (features)

The status of /ɲ/ as a phoneme is debatable. Smith (1967a: 155) describes [ɲ] as an allophone of /y/ occurring before nasalised vowels. Thus there should be no contrast between, for example /ɲa/ and /ɲã/. This is nearly true, but a word such as

nyàyi sparkingly

appears to show this contrast. It is derived from a reduplicated ideophone which does have word internal nasals, and these have probably been lost as in /sarayi/ above. Nupe does show contrast between /y/ and /ɲ/ before front vowels in initial position, as in the following;

yì	To call
ɲì	To germinate, as seeds

It seems most economical to assume /ɲ/ is a phoneme.

Nupe has relatively rare tone-bearing nasals, usually in initial positionⁱⁱⁱ. Nasals are usually homorganic in word-internal position, thus /m/ before bilabials, /ŋ/ before velars, /mŋ/ before labial-velars, /ɲ/ before dental fricatives and /n/ before the remainder. However, these rules do not necessarily apply in initial position.

m̀bà	feast
m̀gbá	tag-word of interrogation ^{iv}

My guess is that this may depend on a contrast between tone-bearing and non-tone-bearing initial nasals, a situation found in many languages of Central Nigeria.

ⁱⁱⁱ Banfield, in a rare error, did not analyse nasals as tone-bearing, and shifted their tone rightwards onto the vowel. Thus he transcribes *ndá* 'father' as *ndǎ*.

^{iv} Found in many regional languages so a possible loanword.

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/ŋ/ is not usually treated as a phoneme, but one word, /ŋò/ ‘to take from the hand’, appears to exhibit this sound independently.

Rosendall (1992) presents a common consonant system for a variety of Gbari lects she studied;

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alve-olar	Alveo-palatal	Palata l	Velar	Labial-velar	Glottal
PLAIN								
Plosive	p b		t d			k g	kp gb	
Nasal	m		n					
Fricative		f	s z					h
Trill			r					
Approximant					y		w	
Lateral			l					

As with Nupe, palatalisation and labialisation are very common. The notable feature of all Gbari lects is the system of consonants with nasal release.

Sterk (1978a) gives the following system for Gade;

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alve-olar	Alveo-palatal	Palata l	Velar	Labial-velar
PLAIN							
Plosive	p b		t d	ʧ		k g	kp gb
Nasal	m		n				
Fricative		f v	s z				
Trill			r				
Approximant					y		w
Lateral			l				

/h/ and /dʒ/ occur in Hausa loanwords.

Scholz(1976) gives the following system for Ebira;

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alve-olar	Alveo-palatal	Palata l	Velar	Labial-velar
PLAIN							
Plosive	p b		t d	ʧ		k g	kp gb
Nasal	m		n				
Fricative		f v	s z				
Trill			r				
Approximant					y		w
Lateral			l				

2.3 Tone

All Nupoid languages presently studied have at least five surface tones, three level tones and two glides. This produces a possible five-way lexical contrast (for Nupe examples, see Madugu 1970). Nupe and Gbagye also have a lowered mid-tone at surface level, although in both cases this has been analysed as an allotone of the mid-tone (Smith 19xx). With the exception of loanwords and ideophones, these can all be analysed as three underlying level tones, with rising and falling tones as allotones of the level tones. Nupe, Gbari and Gade seem to exhibit downdrift, but do not have terraced tones. The tones are shown as follows;

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High	ˊ
Mid	Unmarked
Low	ˋ
Rising	ˆ
Falling	ˋ

Limited data do not allow tonal correspondences to be set up, but there are some remarkable examples of tonal conservatism; the high tone on the root /tá/ ‘stone’ is found throughout Nupoid, despite both compounding and metathesis (Table 3).

Table 3. Nupoid monosyllabic roots which conserve tone

Language	Gloss
	stone
Nupe	tákù
Dibo	tákù
Gbari Kuta	kùtá
Gade	
Ebira	irɛtá, atá

2.4 Reconstructing Nupoid phonology

2.4.1 Oral vowels

2.4.2 Nasalised vowels

Nasalised vowels are common in Nupe and some of the related Nupe group languages. However, they do not occur elsewhere in Nupoid except as variants in Gbari. However, the relationship between Gbari consonants with a post-nasal release and nasal vowels in Nupe is fairly transparent. Table 4 shows a sample of such pairings.

Table 4. Nupe nasal vowel correspondences

Gloss	Nupe	Gbari Kwali
to sweep	fĩ	fni
to say	gǎ	gnà
to climb	gũ	gnu
to drink	fĩ	sní
to fry	kǎ	kná
to be, be in	dǎ	dna

For some reason, good correspondences in Nupoid are significantly more common in monosyllabic verbs than, for example, nouns. The latter seem to exhibit a great deal of lexical variation.

The absence of nasal vowels in all the other languages within Nupoid suggest they are a late development and not an original feature. To explain the Nupe-Gbari correspondences, an original morpheme structure CVNV can be posited, where V₁ and V₂ were usually copy vowels. Occasional irregular correspondences between Nupe and Gbari are explained by words where V₁ and V₂ were not the same vowel. The proto-Gbari deleted V₁ and proto-Nupe V₂, subsequently assimilating the VN sequence to \tilde{V} . Scattered words in Nupe remain where this process did not go to completion, leaving a final consonantal nasal. Thus;

káñ	Farm;
kíñ	Land; earth; ground; country

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These suggest, with deletion of the final vowel to CVN, and then assimilation of the nasal consonant. Words such as /sara(n)yi/ ‘beautiful’ occur with the nasal deletion in free variation with its retention. Vowel clusters do not occur except at morpheme boundaries. Neither Gade nor Ebira has any underlying nasalised vowels, and the hypothesis is that these arise in from assimilation of final nasals.

This correspondence is not perfect. For example where C₁ in Nupe is a nasal, Gbari has no nasal release, presumably because the release is immediately assimilated. For example;

	Nupe	Gbari Kwali
to give birth	mã	mà

Another interesting case is;

	Nupe	Gbari Kwali
to fold	kpe	kpmi

Presumably the nasal became homorganic with the labial-velar in C₁ position first and then was no longer licensed to become a nasal vowel.

These examples shows the hypothesised process whereby an original CVNV form in proto-Nupoid was reduced, resulting in a nasalised vowel in Nupe and a velar with nasal release in Gbari.

	Language	to fry
	Nupe	kã
	Gbari Kwali	kná
	Gade	kénè
Nupe	gú	to come or join together
Gade	gbónò	to join together, add to
Nupe	má	To be sweet, be good at
Gade	mónò	to be sweet

In the following case, -r- in C₂ position in Gade produced a nasal release in Gbari, but not a nasal vowel in Nupe, suggesting that the /r/ was retained after proto-Nupe broke away from proto-Gbari.

Nupe	fù	To jump, leap, fly
Kupa	fù	To jump, leap, fly
Gbari Kwali	tafnù	flying
Gade	fõrõ	to fly
Ebira Okene	hìrà	to fly

2.4.3 Consonants

2.4.2 Tone

3. Nupoid noun-classes ?

Nupoid has limited traces of the noun-class prefix alternations characteristic of Niger-Congo with one exception, Gade, which has a very full system (Sterk 1978a). Number-marking is generally through the addition of an affix, suffixed -zi in Nupe and related and a- prefix in Gbari. Ebira has a few words with

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vowel alternations in prefixes, but these are similar to other regional languages such as Ukaan and Northern Edoid.

The Gade noun-class system has twelve classes which resemble Plateau languages typologically, along with a fairly complete concord system. Traces of such a system have been almost eradicated in the other languages of the group. However, the /a/ pluralization prefix found in Gbari is likely to be a remnant of this. An /a/ prefix remains in Dibo, but is no longer productive, and has been completely deleted in Nupe.

Sterk (1978b) examines the evidence for the reconstruction of noun-classes in the Nupoid languages in greater detail. Table 5 shows the noun-class pairings of Gade;

Table 5. Gade noun-class prefixes

No.	Prefix	Number
1	o	
2	ba	
2a	ba	
3	gɔ	
4	ɪ	sg./pl.
4a	ɪ	
5	rɪ	
6	a	sg./pl.
7	gɪ	
8	N	plurals only
9	fɔ	
10	tɪ	
11	tɪ	
12	ba	
13	ga	

Sterk (1994) also proposes zero prefixes for three alternations based on concord. Sterk does not mark tone as he observes the tones are almost always low with only a few exceptions.

The following pairings are only used for persons;

o/ba
 ø/ba
 ø/ɪ
 fɔ/ɪ gɔ/ɪ

and for animals;

fɔ/a

The use of ba- to mark plural for persons is common Niger-Congo and indeed occurs outside Niger-Congo, but the others seem distinctive for Gade.

In Ebira, a more complex process has been at work. The common element RV- preceding the stem in many nouns appears to correspond with Class 5 singular in Gade *rɪ-*. For example;

breast	Gade ri-batu/ a-	Ebira-Okene reva
		Ebira-Igara erɛva
		Ebira-Koto erɛba

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This appears in other Nupoid languages as versions of the plural *abatu* with the suffix *-tu* deleted. In Ebira, the suffix is deleted, the *rV-* prefix retained and a further initial vowel added, probably initially part of a plural prefix, but now unproductive. The *kV-* prefix appearing in *kita* ‘bow’ may be an example of the same process.

However, this is not the common pattern. Gade sometimes appears to have taken a form that is singular elsewhere in Nupoid and treated as a plural, back-forming a singular using existing rules. Thus;

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Common Nupoid</u>	<u>Gade pl.</u>	<u>Gade sg.</u>
hand	igbwa	ibwo	gubwo
tortoise	iku	ikwu	rukwu

Sterk (1978a) was unable to discover morphological parallels with other Niger-Congo languages.

Comparison with Ebira has not yet suggested any explanation for this phenomenon. Sterk (op. cit.) includes a number of direct parallels between grammatical structures in Gade and those in Nupe and Gbagye.

There is no noun-class system today, but the ‘*ri-*’ prefix commonly occurring with nouns is presumably a relic of this.

The presence of noun-classes in Gade creates one of the most striking problems for the reconstruction of proto-Nupoid. Gade is the only language within Nupoid which has historically bordered on languages with rich noun-class systems, i.e. the Plateau languages immediately due east. My current guess is that proto-Nupoid had a much reduced system of prefix alternation consisting of *rV-* and vowels. This was maintained within Nupe and Gbari and accounts for the variation between initial vowels, which is thus non-phonological. Gade speakers were long bilingual with noun-class languages, and restructured their existing prefixes to reflect this. Hence there is little or no trace of the segmental material in Gade affixes in other Nupoid languages.

4. Verbs, number and extensions

4.1 Verb morphology

Nupoid languages typically have CV(N) verbs with rarer CVCV and other longer forms. There is evidence that these can be reconstructed to proto-Nupoid.

Table 6. Nupoid monosyllabic verbs

<u>Language</u>	<u>Gloss</u>					
	say	be rotten	dig earth	come	ride	recieve
Nupe	gǎ̀	vò	gbà	be	tú	gò
Dibo	gà	bò	gbà			gyò
Gbari Kuta	gnà			bé	tú	gwò
Gade	gè	vù	gbà	be		gwò
Ebira	kà	vò	bà	vé	tórâ	

Smith (1964, 1969a) represents the most detailed studied of any Nupoid verbal system.

Nupoid TAM systems are characteried entirely by auxiliaries. The system of Nupe is shown in

Hyman (1970) gives the Gbari system as in;

4.2 Plural verbs

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Gade

Gloss	sg.	pl.
put in	dè	re

5. Basic syntax

6. Reconstruction

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Comparative Nupoid vocabulary

These are Nupoid series, filled in a bit at random so far. I have incorporated lists I made for other purposes, but the main body of lists are where I see potential Nupoid proto-forms, so where Nupe and/or Gbari has a clear cognate with Gade and Ebira. I have data for many intermediate languages which will be filled in as I get time.

1. Nouns

1. Tree

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN		óʦí	
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		ʦígbà	
Nupe Tako		ʦsigwo	
Dibo		ʦsigbà	
Kami			
Gupa		ʦsigba	
Abawa		ʦsigba	
Kakanda		ʦsugbō	
Kupa		ʦígbà	
Asu		tugbà	
Gbari-Sumakpna		ʦíŋwa	
Gbari-Kwali		ʦnimwa	
Gbagyi-Kuta		shínwâ	
Gbagyi-Kaduna		ʦíŋwâ	
Gbagyi-Nkwa		asni	
Gade		ò-kyí /i-	
Ebira Okene		ɔʦí	
Ètunọ		óʦí	
Ebira-Koto		ɔkyén	

Commentary:

Refs:

2. Leaf

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	#avini		
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	fini⁺		
Nupe Tako	afini		
Dibo	akpwofi		
Kami			
Gupa		abiŋe	
Abawa		abiŋe	
Kakanda		abùtù	
Kupa	afi⁺		
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna	funtéló		
Gbari Kwali	fnuté		
Gbagyi-Kuta	ntóló		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	sintolo		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	finŋege		
Gade	gò-fɛ	pl. à-	
Ebira Okene	aví		
Ẹ̀tunọ̀	àvé		
Ebira-Koto		asɔɔpa	

Commentary:

Refs:

3. Root Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		gbèrè	
Nupe Tako		bemgbele	
Dibo		ágbèrè	
Kami			
Gupa		ágbèrè	
Abawa		ágbèrè	
Kakanda		agbere	
Kupa		egbere	
Asu		gbèrè	
Gbari-Sumakpna		gbere	
Gbari Kwali		yna(gbe)gbere⁺	
Gbagyi-Kuta		byegyè	
Gbagyi-Kaduna		gbárè	
Gbagyi-Nkwa		gbègyè	
Gade		tó-gbògbò	
Ebira Okene		èpà	
Ètụnọ		èpà	
Ebira-Koto			ᵛkpàkye

Commentary:

Refs:

4. Grass

Language	Attestation	Other	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	egó		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			áwò
Kami			
Gupa			akasa
Abawa			akasa
Kakanda			ayiká
Kupa			ísá
Asu	ágbà		
Gbari-Sumakpna	gbegbe		
Gbari Kwali	gbmángwó		
Gbagyi-Kuta	gbegbe		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	gbwegbwe		
Gbagyi-Nkwa			nyaná
Gade		rì-bí pl. à-	
Ebira Okene	iregó	aví	
Ètunọ			
Ebira-Koto	iregbó	abí	

Commentary:

Refs:

5. Seed, stone, pip

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	kòsū		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	ákòsū		eje
Kami			
Gupa	akòkò		
Abawa	asūsū		
Kakanda	asūsū		
Kupa	sūsū		ákpuru
Asu	ezê		
Gbari-Sumakpna		nyabyè	
Gbari Kwali	bere	ebye⁺ seed	dyidyi*
Gbagyi-Kuta	byegyè	nyabyê	
Gbagyi-Kaduna		nyabyê	
Gbagyi-Nkwa		nyabyê	
Gade	ì-bekwɔ		
Ebira Okene	ihú		
Ètunɔ			ifinɛ
Ebira-Koto			òye

*fruit-stone

Commentary:

Refs:

6. Bark of tree

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		kpàrà	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		akpàrà	
Kami			
Gupa		akpàrà	
Abawa			afura
Kakanda		akpàrà	
Kupa			afura
Asu		bùrù	
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		gúlú	
Gbagyi-Kuta		pátá	
Gbagyi-Kaduna		súnḡulu	
Gbagyi-Nkwa		nyágulu	
Gade	gwó-kyípa pl. á-		
Ebira Okene		ìgùhá	
Ètụnọ			
Ebira-Koto		ùgùzyá	

Commentary:

Refs:

7. Thorn

Language	I	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe	ekā⁺			
Nupe Tako				
Dibo	akā⁺			
Kami				
Gupa		asùsù		
Abawa		vùvù		
Kakanda	akā⁺			
Kupa		èfù		
Asu	atukâ			
Gbari-Sumakpna	knáwhyì			
Gbari Kwali	ekna⁺			
Gbagyi-Kuta	okā⁺			
Gbagyi-Kaduna	knáwhyì			
Gbagyi-Nkwa	knáwyì			
Gade			kukubàní	
Ebira Okene	ìkéyi			
Ètuno				
Ebira-Koto	ìkéyí			

Commentary:

Refs:

8. Charcoal

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	*ekana		
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	eka⁺		
Nupe Tako		zūkara	
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa	araká		
Abawa	raka zùzù		
Kakanda	araká		
Kupa		azun	
Asu	eka	jikara	
Gbari-Sumakpna	nákná		
Gbari Kwali	nágná		
Gbagyi-Kuta	nákná		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	nákná		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	nákáná		
Gade			gò-dùdù pl. ò-
Ebira Okene	aká		
Ètụnọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Refs:

9. Dust

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN		n/r	
PNGb			
PNupe	*arũngbá		
PGb		*butukũ	
PE			*èdùdù
Nupe	rũngbã		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	arùúngbã		
Kami			
Gupa	arũngbã		
Abawa	arũngbã		
Kakanda	arùúngbá		
Kupa	arùúngbá		
Asu	alùúgba		
Gbari-Sumakpna		butukũ	
Gbari Kwali		bure⁺	ɓwulu⁺
Gbagyi-Kuta		butukũ⁺	
Gbagyi-Kaduna		wutukũ⁺	
Gbagyi-Nkwa		butukũ⁺	
Gade			gù-riri
Ebira Okene			èdùdù
Ètụnọ			
Ebira-Koto			èdùdù

Commentary:

Refs:

10. Rubbish-heap

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	tutumpèrè		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		aratje kuru	
Kami			
Gupa			nyákálá
Abawa			arasù
Kakanda			egbòkùti
Kupa			eboko
Asu	tsubuta⁺		
Gbari-Sumakpna	knùknù		
Gbari Kwali	tnùtnù		
Gbagyi-Kuta		bidáŋkùlù	
Gbagyi-Kaduna		siŋdàŋkùru	
Gbagyi-Nkwa	tūtū		
Gade			rì-gbèrègbedà
Ebira Okene	itùtù		
Ètunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Refs:

11. Algae

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	egĩ		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	egĩ		
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa		àrá	
Asu		anâri	
Gbari-Sumakpna	ègyi		
Gbari Kwali	ègyi		
Gbagyi-Kuta	ògyi		
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa	ègyi		
Gade			
Ebira Okene		òrá	
Ètũṅ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Refs:

12. Dew

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	emì, emyà		
Nupe Tako		anu	
Dibo	emyà		
Kami			
Gupa			igbè
Abawa			
Kakanda			igbè
Kupa			igbè
Asu			atèbì
Gbari-Sumakpna	emì		
Gbari Kwali	emi		
Gbagyi-Kuta	amî		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	amì		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	emî		
Gade			
Ebira Okene	ányà		
Ètùṅ			
Ebira-Koto	imya		

Commentary:

Refs:

13. Stone

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	tákù		
Nupe Tako	tákù		
Dibo	tákù		
Kami			
Gupa	táhù		
Abawa	táhù		
Kakanda	tákù		
Kupa	tákù		
Asu	tákù		
Gbari-Sumakpna	kútá	epma*	*boulder
Gbari Kwali	kútá		
Gbagyi-Kuta	kútá		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	kútá		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	kútá		
Gade	ò-kwo/ ì-		
Ebira Okene	irétá	atá*	*pebble
Ẹtunọ	irétá		
Ebira-Koto	irétá		

Commentary:

Refs:

14. Sand

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	mu-zin		
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	ɖjikàṅà		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	áɖjikàṅà		
Kami			
Gupa	áɖɖwè		
Abawa	áɖɖwè		
Kakanda	afè		
Kupa	ámwəfí		
Asu	amusū		
Gbari-Sumakpna	munɖyà		
Gbari Kwali	munɖɖnà		
Gbagyi-Kuta	muɖzè		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	amwî		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	mufana		
Gade	àɖfí		
Ebira Okene	ezi	ààrì	
Ètunọ	ézi		
Ebira-Koto		irebú	

Commentary: The Gbari forms seem to provide clear evidence for the retention of the old Niger-Congo m-mass noun class prefix. The -kana in Nupe must be an old but non-reconstructible compound.

Refs:

15. Smoke

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	àm^wú		
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	nawú		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	arawù		
Kami			
Gupa	arawù		
Abawa			
Kakanda	arayù		
Kupa			

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Asu	awúŋŋí
Gbari-Sumakpna	ewú, nawú
Gbari Kwali	
Gbagyi-Kuta	awú
Gbagyi-Kaduna	awú
Gbagyi-Nkwa	nawú
Gade	àmú
Ebira Okene	aréyi
Ètunọ	àréyí
Ebira-Koto	ìréyí

Commentary: ‘Smoke’ is difficult to reconstruct because it is regularly compounded with ‘fire’, which is something like #ira, a widespread Niger-Congo root. Gade is probably cognate, and the m- might be an old mass noun prefix assimilated to the stem.

16. Fire

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN		*n-ra	
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		enã	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		era	
Kami			
Gupa		ira	
Abawa			
Kakanda		ira	
Kupa		irá	
Asu		erã	
Gbari-Sumakpna		enã	
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta		oná	
Gbagyi-Kaduna		əná	
Gbagyi-Nkwa		aná	
Gade		gì-wa /ñ-	
Ebira Okene		orá	
Ètunọ		érá	
Ebira-Koto		erá	

Commentary: The difficulty with ‘fire’ is accounting for the changing vowel qualities of the prefix. I am assuming these are not ‘sound-correspondences’ but fragments of a now fossilised system of alternating V-prefixes. The gì- in Gade has no reflexes and I am therefore assuming the original prefix was N-, now a plural in Gade. This would account for the nasalisation of the stem vowel in other Nupoid languages.

17. Water

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	n/r		
PNGb	*nuwã		
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	nuwã		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	ɲuwã		
Kami			
Gupa	inwá		
Abawa			
Kakanda	iri		
Kupa	ɲɲi		
Asu	eku		
Gbari-Sumakpna	nuwã		
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta	núnwá		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	nuwã		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	nuwa		
Gade	ò-zò /ì-		
Ebira Okene	éɲí		
Ètɔ̀nɔ̀	éɲí		
Ebira-Koto	éɲi		

Commentary:

18. Ash(es)

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	ebu (charcoal)	bíbírí (grass)	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	eracekù		
Kami			
Gupa	aratsùwù		
Abawa			
Kakanda	aráté	átuturu	
Kupa			
Asu	abasankù		

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Gbari-Sumakpna	tùṅgù
Gbari Kwali	tùṅgù
Gbagyi-Kuta	otnú
Gbagyi-Kaduna	ətnú
Gbagyi-Nkwa	etnùlùkù
Gade	nté
Ebira Okene	atító
Ẹtunọ	átétó
Ebira-Koto	

Commentary:

19. Day

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	n/r		
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	efo		
Nupe Tako	egidĩ		
Dibo	efo		
Kami			
Gupa	tsili		
Abawa			
Kakanda	fàdi		
Kupa	gbegbù		Koelle <i>eyipe</i>
Asu	yáni		
Gbari-Sumakpna	yaṅgò sá		‘sun-time’
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta	ewyi		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	zəwhì		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	fyegì		
Gade	ape		
Ebira Okene	ɔdɔ		
Ẹtunọ	ékóhì		
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

20. Night

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN		n/r	
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		yeǰĩ	
Nupe Tako		tsogudũ	
Dibo		áyǰĩ	
Kami			
Gupa		erosu	
Abawa			
Kakanda		etúkwó	
Kupa		etúkwó	
Asu		áyǰĩ	
Gbari-Sumakpna		tsonggo	
Gbari Kwali		tsnógwó	
Gbagyi-Kuta		súkwó	
Gbagyi-Kaduna		súkwó	
Gbagyi-Nkwa		wyéfé	
Gade		ùtú	
Ebira Okene		ìrahó	
Ẹ̀tunọ̀		èrafóó	
Ebira-Koto		èrahú	

Commentary:

21. Moon/month

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		etswa	
Nupe Tako		atso	
Dibo		epya	
Kami			
Gupa		etfwa	
Abawa			
Kakanda		èèpé	
Kupa		epa	
Asu		etsa	
Gbari-Sumakpna		epya	

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Gbari Kwali	epyá
Gbagyi-Kuta	opyá
Gbagyi-Kaduna	epyá
Gbagyi-Nkwa	epyá
Gade	òpya
Ebira Okene	ohwé
Ẹtunọ	òòfẹ
Ebira-Koto	oxwé

Commentary: It is likely that the innovative form in Nupe is a back-formation from ‘star’. The root #epya is widespread in Niger-Congo and thus this is likely to be the protoform. However, the sound-changes in Ebira are quite unusual.

22. Sun

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	eyi, yígídí		
Nupe Tako	eyi		
Dibo	íkoko		
Kami			
Gupa	èwù		
Abawa			
Kakanda	èwù		
Kupa	eyi		
Asu	ùtyetye		
Gbari-Sumakpna	yangò		
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta	m̄pwékwó		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	nyifyê		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	yakakó		
Gade	ùzù		
Ebira Okene	ɔvi		
Ẹtunọ	óyé		
Ebira-Koto	óyé		

Commentary:

23. Star

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	tswangi		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	ázuzu	ákurámí	
Kami			
Gupa	avivi		
Abawa			
Kakanda	akpuràmì		cf. firefly
Kupa	tswangi		
Asu	adédére		
Gbari-Sumakpna	kùdú		
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta	kpàsì		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	kpàsù		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	pyáyì		
Gade	rì-zè /i-		
Ebira Okene	ùzòmì		
Ẹtunọ	òòzòmì		
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

24. Wind

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	*efè		
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	efè		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	efè		
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda	ífe		
Kupa			
Asu	efè		
Gbari-Sumakpna	esê		

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Gbari Kwali	
Gbagyi-Kuta	osê
Gbagyi-Kaduna	əsê
Gbagyi-Nkwa	esê
Gade	àfò
Ebira Okene	ahı
Ètunọ	ahı
Ebira-Koto	áhé

Commentary:

25. Rain

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN		ègbã		
PNGb				
PNupe	*ere		eje	
PGb			efegò	
PE				
Nupe	ele			
Nupe Tako	ale			
Dibo		ègbã		
Kami				
Gupa			eje	
Abawa			eje	
Kakanda	aalé			
Kupa		egbã		
Asu	are			
Gbari-Sumakpna			ʃegò	
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta		ògma		
Gbagyi-Kaduna		àgma		
Gbagyi-Nkwa			ʃekwó	
Gade		ùgbò		
Ebira Okene	ìhìneba			also = God
Ètunọ	òríʃí			similar to Yoruba 'deity'
Ebira-Koto	oríhĩ			

Commentary:

2. Verbs

to be cheap

26.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		kpwò	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			
Ebira Okene		pò	
Ẹ̀tunọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to beg

27.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		bà	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		fa	
Gbagyi-Kuta			

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PE	
Nupe	gbà
Nupe Tako	
Dibo	gbà
Kami	
Gupa	
Abawa	
Kakanda	
Kupa	gbà
Asu	
Gbari-Sumakpna	
Gbari Kwali	byi
Gbagyi-Kuta	
Gbagyi-Kaduna	
Gbagyi-Nkwa	
Gade	gbà
Ebira Okene	bà
Ètúnọ	
Ebira-Koto	

Commentary:

to groan, cry

30.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	tí		To screech, yell, crow
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			
Ebira Okene	tí		to sigh, groan

Etunọ
Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

**to clear land
31.**

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	dũnu		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			
Ebira Okene	dù		to clear bush for farming
Etunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

**to say, speak
32.**

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	gǎ to say	gǎ to speak, tell	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	gà		
Kami			
Gupa			

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Abawa

Kakanda

Kupa

Asu

Gbari-Sumakpna

Gbari Kwali gnà

Gbagyi-Kuta gnà

Gbagyi-Kaduna

Gbagyi-Nkwa

Gade gè

Ebira Okene ka to say

Ètunọ

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

to collect, gather

33.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		ku	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		ku	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa		kwe	
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	gwò		receive, collect
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		kwó	
Ebira Okene		kó	
Ètunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to sew together

34.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		gú	To sew two edges together
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			
Ebira Okene		gé	to sew
Ẹ̀tunọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to divide, share out

35.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		gá	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		gna	
Gbagyi-Kuta			

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Nupe Tako			
Dibo	be		
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda	be		
Kupa	be		
Asu		wu	
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	bé		
Gbagyi-Kuta	ḡé		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	ḡé		
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	be		
Ebira Okene	vé	vá	
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

**to pour I
38.**

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	va		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			
Ebira Okene	và		
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to pour II

39.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	lwò	rwa	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			
Ebira Okene	r̄		to pour liquid through a funnel
Ètunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to pour III

40.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	zè		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	zì		
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda	zì		

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Kupa
 Asu
 Gbari-Sumakpna
 Gbari Kwali ze...ya
 Gbagyi-Kuta zeya
 Gbagyi-Kaduna
 Gbagyi-Nkwa zeya
 Gade se sa
 Ebira Okene
 Ètùṅò
 Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

to rot, be rotten

41.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	vò		To rot; to decay; to decompose.
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	bò		
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa	vò		
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	bwo		
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	vù		
Ebira Okene	vò		to be rotten
Ètùṅò			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to die

42.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			

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PNGb		
PNupe		
PGb		
PE		
Nupe	tsu	gbà
Nupe Tako		
Dibo	kyù	
Kami		
Gupa		
Abawa		
Kakanda	kyu	
Kupa	ʃu	
Asu		
Gbari-Sumakpna		
Gbari Kwali	tsú	
Gbagyi-Kuta		fyí
Gbagyi-Kaduna		
Gbagyi-Nkwa		fyí
Gade	ʃí	
Ebira Okene	sú	
Ètúnọ		
Ebira-Koto		

Commentary:

to sweep

43.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	fì		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	fni		
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			

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Kami
 Gupa
 Abawa
 Kakanda
 Kupa
 Asu
 Gbari-Sumakpna
 Gbari Kwali
 Gbagyi-Kuta
 Gbagyi-Kaduna
 Gbagyi-Nkwa
 Gade
 Ebira Okene
 Eṭuṅṅ
 Ebira-Koto

ha

Commentary:

to split
46.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		sá	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	sa		split, tear, cut, slice, bite (of dogs), break off,
Gbagyi-Kuta	sá		
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			
Ebira Okene		há	
Eṭuṅṅ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to give birth

47.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		mã	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		mwã	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa		ma	
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		mà	
Gbagyi-Kuta		ma	
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		m ^w ó	
Ebira Okene		mã	
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to climb

48.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		gũ	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		gu	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda		gũ	
Kupa		gwõ	
Asu			

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Gbari-Sumakpna

Gbari Kwali gnu

Gbagyi-Kuta gnú

Gbagyi-Kaduna

Gbagyi-Nkwa gnú

Gade g^wõ

Ebira Okene

Ẹ̀túnọ̀

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

to give

49.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	yà		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda		dʒi	
Kupa		di	
Asu	ga		
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	gi		
Gbagyi-Kuta	gà		
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	gī, gyī		
Ebira Okene	yì		
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to fly

50.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	fù		To jump, leap, fly
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	fù		
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa	fù		
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	tafnù		flying
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna	ʃé...àfnù		
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	fōrō		
Ebira Okene	hirà		
Ẹ̀tunọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to steal

51.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		yí	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		yí	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda		yí	
Kupa		ye	
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		wyi	
Gbagyi-Kuta		wyí	
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		yī	
Ebira Okene		yí	
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary: Usually one would reconstruct *wyi to account for the Gbari forms. However, #yi is widely attested in Niger-Congo for ‘to steal’ and the labial must be a later addition.

to burn

52.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		dĩ la	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		dì'ra	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		dū	
Ebira Okene		rí ira	
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to shoot

53.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		ʃé	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		ké	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda		ké	
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		ʃé	
Gbagyi-Kuta		ʃé	
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		ʃé	
Ebira Okene		há	
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to roast

54.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	po	ɲã	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		ɲa	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	s̄		
Ebira Okene	hù		
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to build

55.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		tú	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		tú	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda		ǵú	
Kupa		tú	
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			mi
Gbagyi-Kuta			mi
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			mé
Ebira Okene		tórâ	
Ẹ̀tunọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to tear [s.t.]

56.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	lá...sá		lè
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			lè
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	sa		split, tear, cut, slice, bite
Gbagyi-Kuta	sá...ya		
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	sá		
Ebira Okene			nà
Ẹtunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to sharpen

57.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN		ré	
PNGb			
PNupe		lè	
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		lè	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		lè	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			

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Asu

Gbari-Sumakpna

Gbari Kwali re

Gbagyi-Kuta gyè

Gbagyi-Kaduna

Gbagyi-Nkwa

Gade

Ebira Okene ré nè, bé to be sharp

Etunọ

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

to drink

58.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	fí		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	fí		
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda	fú		
Kupa		wú	
Asu	fí		
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	sní		
Gbagyi-Kuta	sní		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	sní		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	sní		
Gade		wú	
Ebira Okene	hú		
Etunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to fight

59.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
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PN	
PNGb	
PNupe	
PGB	
PE	
Nupe	gũ
Nupe Tako	
Dibo	ko
Kami	
Gupa	
Abawa	
Kakanda	
Kupa	
Asu	
Gbari-Sumakpna	
Gbari Kwali	gu
Gbagyi-Kuta	snu...ōgwû
Gbagyi-Kaduna	
Gbagyi-Nkwa	
Gade	gbu
Ebira Okene	
Ẹtunọ	
Ebira-Koto	

Commentary: Given that the vowel in Nupe is nasalised, Gbari would have an expected form /gnu/, but there is no evidence for this.

to chew

60.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	ta		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		kyà	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda	tsa		
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	tagbe		chewing

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Gbagyi-Kuta
 Gbagyi-Kaduna
 Gbagyi-Nkwa
 Gade
 Ebira Okene
 Ètùṅṅ
 Ebira-Koto

ta...ńganú
 tó

Commentary:

to ride
61.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		tú	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		tú	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda		ǰú	
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		tú	inferred from source
Gbagyi-Kuta		tú	
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa		tú	
Gade			
Ebira Okene		tórâ	
Ètùṅṅ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to mould [pot]
62.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			

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PGB

PE

Nupe mi

Nupe Tako

Dibo mi

Kami

Gupa

Abawa

Kakanda

Kupa

Asu

Gbari-Sumakpna

Gbari Kwali mi also build

Gbagyi-Kuta mi

Gbagyi-Kaduna

Gbagyi-Nkwa

Gade mé also build

Ebira Okene vú

Etunọ

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

to fry

63.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	kã	ʃin	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		wu	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	kná		
Gbagyi-Kuta	kna		
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	kénè		

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Dibo	kpe
Kami	
Gupa	
Abawa	
Kakanda	
Kupa	kpe
Asu	
Gbari-Sumakpna	
Gbari Kwali	kpé
Gbagyi-Kuta	kpé...oye
Gbagyi-Kaduna	
Gbagyi-Nkwa	kpé
Gade	kpo
Ebira Okene	yé
Ẹ̀túnọ̀	
Ebira-Koto	

Commentary:

to answer [question]

66.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		zè	
Nupe Tako		zè	
Dibo		dʒi	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta		yé	
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			
Ebira Okene		zèé	
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to fall [rain]

67.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		du	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		do	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa		do	
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		bere	fall as in rain
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			
Ebira Okene		zò	
Ètunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to kill

68.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		wu	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			

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Asu

Gbari-Sumakpna

Gbari Kwali wu

Gbagyi-Kuta

Gbagyi-Kaduna

Gbagyi-Nkwa

Gade wó

Ebira Okene

Etunọ

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

to dry, become dry

69.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	wo		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	wo		
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	káwú		adj.
Gbagyi-Kuta	wo		
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	wó		
Ebira Okene	wu		
Etunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

70. to fold

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			

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PNupe

PGB

PE

Nupe

kpe

Nupe Tako

Dibo

kpe

Kami

Gupa

Abawa

Kakanda

Kupa

Asu

Gbari-Sumakpna

Gbari Kwali

kpmi

Gbagyi-Kuta

kmí

Gbagyi-Kaduna

Gbagyi-Nkwa

Gade

ká

Ebira Okene

Ẹ̀túnọ̀

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

to grind

71.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	go	gin	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	gyo		
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	gwó		
Gbagyi-Kuta	gwo		
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	k ^w o		

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Ebira Okene kuò
 Ètùṅṅ
 Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

to receive

72.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	gò		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	gyò		
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	gwò		
Gbagyi-Kuta	gwò		
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	g ^w ò	wa	
Ebira Okene		dó	
Ètùṅṅ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to understand, to be intelligible

73.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	yé		to be intelligible
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			

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Gupa

Abawa

Kakanda

Kupa

Asu

Gbari-Sumakpna

Gbari Kwali

Gbagyi-Kuta

Gbagyi-Kaduna

Gbagyi-Nkwa

Gade

Ebira Okene

yé

to understand

Ẹ̀túnọ̀

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

to bend, be bent

74.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	yá		To bend, stoop, arch, bow
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	ya		to bend
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			
Ebira Okene	yá		to be bent
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to scrape, dig hole in sand

75.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	wà		to scratch, scrape
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			
Ebira Okene	wà		to dig in the sand
Ètùṅ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to leak

76.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	lù		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			

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Gbagyi-Kuta

Gbagyi-Kaduna

Gbagyi-Nkwa

Gade

nunu

leak

Ebira Okene

nu

Ètùṅọ

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

to go

77.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		lo	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		lo	
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			
Ebira Okene		no	
Ètùṅọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to measure

78.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		mã	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		mwi, mu	
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade			
Ebira Okene		mɔ	to measure grains
Ẹtunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to break

79.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		je	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			

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PGB

PE

Nupe bi

Nupe Tako

Dibo

Kami

Gupa

Abawa

Kakanda

Kupa

Asu

Gbari-Sumakpna

Gbari Kwali byi

Gbagyi-Kuta

Gbagyi-Kaduna

Gbagyi-Nkwa

Gade bi

Ebira Okene

Etunọ

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

to hide

82.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	gbozũ		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	gù		
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	bò		
Ebira Okene			

Etunọ
Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

to be over-cooked

83.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		bwó	To be rotten, as over-ripe fruit or meat
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		bó	to be ripe, well-cooked
Ebira Okene			
Etunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

clean, clear (? a.)

84.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		ʃáʃáyí	also tsátsáyí
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			

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Abawa

Kakanda

Kupa

Asu

Gbari-Sumakpna

Gbari Kwali ʃáʃǎ

cleanly

Gbagyi-Kuta

Gbagyi-Kaduna

Gbagyi-Nkwa

Gade ʃǎ

clean, clear

Ebira Okene

Ẹ̀tunọ̀

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

to avoid

85.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	ʃéká		To avoid by turning out of the way
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	te		to avoid, shun
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	ʃǎ		‘avoid’ but also ʃǎààkɪ ‘run away’
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀tunọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to throw

86.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		ʃé	To throw, cast, fling, toss, swing, kick,shoot, fire
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		ʃe	
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		ʃé	throw, shoot
Ebira Okene			
Etunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to be near

87.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		tso	To be near; to be close by
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			

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Gbagyi-Kuta
 Gbagyi-Kaduna
 Gbagyi-Nkwa
 Gade
 Ebira Okene
 Ètùṅṅò
 Ebira-Koto

ḟóḟó

Commentary:

To wear; to put on

88.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	dã		to wear; to put on
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	dna		wear
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	dè		to wear; to put on
Ebira Okene			
Ètùṅṅò			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

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To be, to exist

89.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		dã	To be, to exist
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		dna	be inside, dwell
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		dè	to be (inside a place)
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to burn (tr.)

90.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		dĩ	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		do	
Ebira Okene			
Ẹtunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to be the case, should be

91.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	gá		should be
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	ga		continuous/future auxiliary
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	gá		be the case that
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to say

92.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		gǎ	also gǎ 'speak, tell'
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		gnà	say
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		gé	
Ebira Okene			
Ẹtunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to surpass, be more than

93.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		gã	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		gna	surpass
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		gεgε	to be more than required
Ebira Okene			
Ẹtunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Nupoid overview and wordlists. Roger Blench. Working Document only

To mince; to cut small

94.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	kyà		To mince, cut small
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	ki		to cut into pieces
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Nupoid overview and wordlists. Roger Blench. Working Document only

To trim the hair

95.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	gyarya		To trim the hair or beard
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	gmi		cut, trim hair
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Nupoid overview and wordlists. Roger Blench. Working Document only

to come or join together

96.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		gú	to come or join together
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		tsnu	
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		gbónò	to join together, add to
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to cut

97.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	ká		To cut; to strike (sword)
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	ka		to batter, hack away at,
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	ká		to cut with knife
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Nupoid overview and wordlists. Roger Blench. Working Document only

To coil; to wind on

98.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	ká		To coil, wind on
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	èka	kpmi	èka ringworm; kpmi fold, twist, braid
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	ká		to coil, fold
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Nupoid overview and wordlists. Roger Blench. Working Document only

to surround

99.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	kara		to surround
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	kúlúlú		circle, round
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	kàrà		to surround, circle
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀tunọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to plant

100.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	ká		to plant
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	ki		to plant yams
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

To creep; to crawl

101.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	ko		To creep, crawl
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	kwó		to crawl
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	kó		to crawl
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Nupoid overview and wordlists. Roger Blench. Working Document only

to dig up, harvest

102.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	ko		To harvest, by uprooting
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		byi	
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	kò		to dig up
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Nupoid overview and wordlists. Roger Blench. Working Document only

To tie; to tether

103.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	gó		To tie; to tether
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali		pa	tie up
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	kó		to tie
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to sew

104.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	gú		To sew two edges together
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	kí		to sew
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	kó		to sew
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to shake

105.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	kùn		To shake; to tremble
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	knù		to shake
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	kò		to shake
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to drag, pull

106.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	ko		To drag or draw off, as a canoe on a bank
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			

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Gbari-Sumakpna

Gbari Kwali knì zà ‘drag’ to pull, stretch

Gbagyi-Kuta

Gbagyi-Kaduna

Gbagyi-Nkwa

Gade kúkò to draw, pull

Ebira Okene

Ẹtunọ

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

Whether; either; or; neither; nor

107.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	kó		whether; either; or; neither; nor
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali	kwó		or
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	kó...[tè]		or
Ebira Okene			
Ẹtunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

To be high; to be tall

108.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			

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PGB

PE

Nupe

kéto

To be high, tall

Nupe Tako

Dibo

Kami

Gupa

Abawa

Kakanda

Kupa

Asu

Gbari-Sumakpna

Gbari Kwali

mwa

Gbagyi-Kuta

Gbagyi-Kaduna

Gbagyi-Nkwa

Gade

kye

to be tall

Ebira Okene

Etunọ

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

To pass on, pass by

109.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		ʃě	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		kyé	
Ebira Okene			

Ètùṅṅ
Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

To tie up as grass

110.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		ɸé	To tie up as grass
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade		kyè	to tie [e.g. firewood]
Ebira Okene			
Ètùṅṅ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

door

111.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		kpàko	board; plank; slat; wooden door; gate
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			

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Gupa
 Abawa
 Kakanda
 Kupa
 Asu
 Gbari-Sumakpna
 Gbari Kwali
 Gbagyi-Kuta
 Gbagyi-Kaduna
 Gbagyi-Nkwa
 Gade ò-kpàkí /ì- door
 Ebira Okene
 Ètùṅṅ
 Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

wet place

112.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	kpàta		watering-place; wharf; a harbour
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	rì-kpata /à-		
Ebira Okene			
Ètùṅṅ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

to be old

113.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	kukù		To fade; to wither; to be old
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta			
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	kpó		adj.kpókpó
Ebira Okene			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

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114. To lend, borrow

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe	mà			To lend, borrow
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta				
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade	mò			To lend, borrow
Ebira Okene				
Ètùṅ				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

115. To measure

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe	mǎ			to measure
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta	mwi			to measure
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade	mò			to compare
Ebira Okene				
Ẹ̀tunọ̀				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

116. to swallow

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe				
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta		mī		
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade		mónì		
Ebira Okene				
Ẹ̀tunọ̀				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

117. to be sweet

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGB				
PE				
Nupe	má			To be sweet; to be good at
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta		dá		
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade	mónò			to be sweet
Ebira Okene				
Ẹ̀tunọ̀				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

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118. To lie down,
sleep.

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe		lele		To lie down, sleep.
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta				
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade		néné		To lie down, sleep.
Ebira Okene				
Ẹ̀túnọ̀				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

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119. Oil, fat, grease

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe	emí			Oil, fat, grease
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta				
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade	bà-ní			oil
Ebira Okene				
Ètùṅ				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

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120. To cook, boil, brew

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe	du			To cook, boil, brew
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta	dū			cook starch
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade				
Ebira Okene				
Ẹ̀tunọ̀				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

121. To cook by stirring

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe		lù		To stew or make sauce
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta		lù		cook by stirring
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade		nù		cook
Ebira Okene		nè		to prepare gravy
Ètùṅ				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

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122. to have,
possess

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe				
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali		yi		to have, possess
Gbagyi-Kuta		yi		to have, possess
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade		nyà		to have, possess
Ebira Okene				
Ẹ̀túnọ̀				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

123. to wash s.t.

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe	nǎ			To wash; to cleanse; to brighten
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta	nā			to wash hands
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade	nyíni			to wash
Ebira Okene				
Ẹ̀tunọ̀				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

124. to peel

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe	pá			to peel
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali	pá			to scrape
Gbagyi-Kuta				
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade	pá			to peel
Ebira Okene				
Ẹ̀túnọ̀				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

125.

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe	èkpá			height, length
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta				
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade	rì-pa			length
Ebira Okene				
Ètunọ				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

Subject pronouns

The following set of subject pronouns are bewilderingly diverse, although they do seem to form a nexus of cognacy. First person singular is the same throughout and indeed common in West Africa. Third person plural sometimes retains old Niger-Congo #ba but also innovates. Generally speaking, Ebira is significantly closer to Nupe-Gbari than Gade.

126. I, me

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe	mi			I, me
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta	mi			
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade	m̄	maa	nam, n̄m	homorganic with following consonant, tone changes with mode
Ebira Okene	èmɪ			
Ẹ̀tunọ				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

127. you sg.

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe	wo, 'o			
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta	ho			
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade	nya	nyaa	nye	
Ebira Okene	èwo			
Ètùno				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

128. he, she, it

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe	u	wũ	we	
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta	wo	kwo	tʃe	kwo, tʃe for inaminates
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade	o	aa	na	
Ebira Okene	ɔni			
Ẹtunọ				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

129. we, us

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe		yi		
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta		yi		
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade		ɪ	yaa	nei
Ebira Okene		ɛyi		
Ẹtunọ				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

130. you pl.

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe				
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta	fye			
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade	ɲɲà	ɲɲàà	ɲine	
Ebira Okene	èwɔ nɲɲ			
Ẹ̀túnọ̀				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

131. they

Language	Attestation	II	III	Comment
PN				
PNGb				
PNupe				
PGb				
PE				
Nupe	a			
Nupe Tako				
Dibo				
Kami				
Gupa				
Abawa				
Kakanda				
Kupa				
Asu				
Gbari-				
Sumakpna				
Gbari Kwali				
Gbagyi-Kuta	ba	a		
Gbagyi-Kaduna				
Gbagyi-Nkwa				
Gade	ba	baa	nɪbá	Gade has a second set for non-humans nearly identical to 1st person plural
Ebira Okene	énìní, éni			
Ètunọ				
Ebira-Koto				

Commentary:

132. Elephant

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	*-dogba		
PGby			
PE			
Nupe	dagba		
Nupe Tako	dagba		
Dibo	dagba		
Kami	dagba		
Gupa	dagba		
Abawa			
Kakanda	dagba		
Kupa	dagbá		
Asu	dagba		
Gbari-Sumakpna	dagbá		
Gbari Kwali	dagba⁺		
Gbagyi-Kuta	dagbá		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	dagbá		
Gbagyi-Nkwa			
Gade	gadagba	ɪ-gadagba	
Ebira Okene	òdɔbá		
Etunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

133. Buffalo

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	èya	ò-fá	
PGby			
PE			
Nupe	èya		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	èya		
Kami	èya		
Gupa	èya		
Abawa	èya		
Kakanda	èyá		
Kupa	èyá		
Asu		eva	
Gbari-Sumakpna	eya		
Gbari Kwali	èya		
Gbagyi-Kuta	òya		
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa	èya		
Gade		ò-fá (i-)	
Ebira Okene	eya		
Ètunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary: Despite their apparent similarity the two roots here are probably distinct, with Asu alone retaining and archaism in the Nupe group. The *-ya root (#-yati in Proto-Bantu) is widespread for ‘buffalo’.

Lion

134.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PGby			
PE		idù	
Nupe	gábá		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	gábá		
Kami			
Gupa	gábá		
Abawa	gábá		
Kakanda	gabá		
Kupa	gábá		
Asu	gábákó		
Gbari-Sumakpna		gbùsù	
Gbari Kwali	gábá		
Gbagyi-Kuta	gaba		

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Gbagyi-Kaduna		gbmewyí
Gbagyi-Nkwa	gaba	
Gade		
Ebira Okene		idù
Ètùṅ		
Ebira-Koto		idù

Commentary:

Leopard

135.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb		gbàrà	
PNupe	nàmpà		
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	nàmpà		
Nupe Tako	napa		
Dibo		gbàlà	
Kami	nabwa		
Gupa	nabwa		
Abawa		gbàlà	
Kakanda		narúkó	
Kupa	nàmpà		
Asu		wàná	
Gbari-Sumakpna		ḡàlà	
Gbari Kwali		gbwápmi	
Gbagyi-Kuta		gbàrà	
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa		gbàlà	
Gade		fò-zè (i-)	
Ebira Okene		ɛzɔ	Second form fr. Hausa <i>damisa</i>
Ètùṅ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary: The Gade and Ebira forms seem as if they should be cognate but if so, the vowel correspondences are very odd.

Hyena

136.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			

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PGb

PE

Nupe

Nupe Tako

Dibo

Kami

Gupa

Abawa

Kakanda

Kupa

Asu

Gbari-Sumakpna

Gbari Kwali

Gbagyi-Kuta

Gbagyi-Kaduna

Gbagyi-Nkwa

Gade

Ebira Okene

Etunọ

or ɔdumí

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

Yam. *Dioscorea guineensis*. (Also often generic for other *Dioscorea* or even other tubers.

137.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	*iti		
PGby		*shāma	
PE		*ɛno	
Nupe	ɛfi		
Nupe Tako	itsi		
Dibo	ɛfi		
Kami	n/a		
Gupa	itsi		
Abawa	itsi		
Kakanda	iti		
Kupa	ifi		
Asu	ɛfi		
Gbari-Sumakpna	etsi		
Gbari Kwali	n/a		
Gbagyi-Kuta		shnamá	
Gbagyi-Kaduna		shyamá	
Gbagyi-Nkwa	asi		
Gade	gì-zè pl. (n-)		
Ebira Okene		ɛno	cf. ɛfi for a yam cultivar
Ẹtunọ		ɛno	
Ebira-Koto		ɛno	

Commentary: The guinea-yam is an ancient West African domesticate and so can be reliably reconstructed. However, it is not possible to use this as evidence for cultivation as the terminology is applied equally to the wild progenitors.

1. The main root ***iti** appears in a wide swathe of NC languages and is part of a much wider set of roots traced back to PMC by Westermann, who proposed a reconstruction something like ***ki**. Williamson (forthcoming) has set out a wide variety of forms in the Benue-Congo languages that are clearly cognate with the Nupoid root. The Gade form is difficult to explain and may not be cognate. The nasal prefix in the plural makes it resemble more closely forms such as Kana *zián*.

2. The form *shnamá*, restricted to Gbagyi languages appears as a variety of cultivated yam in the other Gwari languages and it seems likely that what was originally a cultivar was promoted to become a generic. The groups using this term are the northernmost Gbagyi who may not have cultivated yam much until recently.

3. The proto-Ebira ***ɛno** is part of the set of roots reflecting an original WS root ***ki** proposed by Westermann (1927). There a number of other roots for 'yam' of this general form, such as Defaka **í-n'í**, Urhobo **ü(-né!** and! Isoko **ü(-lé!** However, they are surprisingly different from the widespread more common root and do resemble a number of terms for water-yam such as xxx. The Ebira form may be a loan, originally applying to some other type of yam and replacing the the main form, especially as ***iti** survives in Ebira as **ɛfi** for a varietal type.

Aerial yam. *Dioscorea bulbifera*.

138.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
Nupe	kàndù		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	adū		
Kami			
Gupa	adū		
Abawa			
Kakanda	adu		
Kupa	akàndù		
Asu	kàndù		
Gbari-Sumakpna	kádù		
Gbari Kwali	kadnu⁺		
Gbagyi-Pandogari	kpálù		See note below
Gbagyi-Kuta		shnamá gigi	yam 'up'
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa		finfjege	
Gade			
Ebira Okene			
Ètunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary: The aerial yam is an ancient West African domesticate and so can be reliably reconstructed. The wild forms are still sometimes collected and it is not possible to use this as evidence for cultivation as the terminology is applied equally to the wild progenitors. Williamson (forthcoming) discusses the important cultural role of the aerial yam and sets out a comparative table of Ijọ and Benue-Congo forms and proposes reconstruction to PAC level.

2. The Gbari-Pandogari form **kpálù** certainly could be cognate -however there is no convincing evidence for analogous sound-shifts in other lexical items. A similar form is found in adjacent Kainji languages (cf. xx) and I suspect that this might well be a loan-word; although ultimately the Kainji forms are probably part of the wider Benue-Congo set.

3. Lexical data is not directly available to interpret the Gbagyi Nkwa form, but using comparisons with other Nupoid languages the term could be analysed as up+yam+little.

Cocoyam

139.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	*-koko		
PGby			
PE			
Nupe	konkòrò Nupe	konkòròkà	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	akoko	ákèrègbe	
Kami			
Gupa	akoko		
Abawa			
Kakanda	akòkò		
Kupa	akwá		
Asu		gwàzà	Hausa loan-word
Gbari-Sumakpna	kòkò		
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta	kòkò		
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa	kòkò		
Gade			
Ebira Okene	ìkókó	ùdù kókó	ìkókó probably refers to <i>Xanthosoma</i>
Etunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Sweet Potato. *Ipomoea batatas*

140.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
Nupe	dùkú		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	duku		
Kami			
Gupa	duku		
Abawa			
Kakanda	duk^{hyu}		
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna	dúnku		
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta	dúkù		
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa	dúkù		
Gade		gu-mane	
Ebira Okene		ihé' míhiɛmí	
Etunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary: Not reconstructed as not an ancient plant in this region. The sweet potato was almost certainly introduced on the coast by the Portuguese, although it has recently been argued that it was simultaneously introduced from North Africa via the trans-Saharan trade routes (Blench, forthcoming).

The main term *duku* is a loan-word, presumably from Fulfulde *kudaku*. There is a single case of a nasalised V₁ in Gbari-Sumakpna. I have no explanation for the Gade and Ebira terms.

Cassava. *Manihot esculenta*

141.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
Nupe	rógò		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	rógò		
Kami			
Gupa	rógò		
Abawa			
Kakanda	rógò		
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna	lôngo		
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta	rógo	gmagmí	
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa	lógo		
Gade	ø-rógo (ɪ-)	gì-zékí	
Ebira Okene		εfókà	
Ètunọ			
Ebira-Koto		ɔkyénū	

Commentary: Not reconstructed as not an ancient plant in this region. The cassava was almost certainly introduced on the coast by the Portuguese, although it has recently been argued that it was simultaneously introduced from North Africa via the trans-Saharan trade routes (Blench, forthcoming). Although both sweet and bitter varieties are recognised, there is no lexical distinction between them. Until recently, cassava was more used in this region for starch than as food.

1. The main base-form rogo is borrowed from Hausa roogo, and it seems that the Hausa have been the main diffusers of this crop in Central Nigeria.

2. The other forms are not easy to identify as they do not seem to be loan-words and yet are not related to each other.

Guinea-*ɲ*orn, sorghum. *Sorghum bicolor*

142.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	àkwó		
Nupe	eyì	èkpá	
Nupe Tako	ayi		
Dibo	áwyì		
Kami			
Gupa	awu		
Abawa			
Kakanda	akyù		
Kupa	ayi		
Asu	awù		
Gbari-Sumakpna	ewyi		
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta	owyî		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	ewyî		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	ewyî		
Gade	gù-ɲú (i-)		
Ebira Okene	àkó		
Ètuno			
Ebira-Koto	àkwú		

Commentary: This term can also mean 'gathered wild grain' in Nupe and perhaps in a number of other languages.

Bulrush millet. *Pennisetum americanum*. Long-season millet

143.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PNGb	màkwú		
Nupe	mǎ̀yì		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa			
Kakanda			
Kupa	amà̀yì		
Asu		ayā̀bù	
Gbari-Sumakpna	mà̀wyî		
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta	mawýî		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	maw^hì		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	mawýì		
Gade		ńpyè	
Ebira Okene		ŋpeɪ	
Etunọ			
Ebira-Koto	axwáe		Doubtful

Commentary: This is the long-stemmed, long-season millet that is a common staple throughout much of semi-arid Nigeria. It corresponds to the Hausa 'maiwa'; indeed the terms are suspiciously close. Since it reconstructs well in Nupoid the most likely hypothesis is that it is a loanword

1. It is likely that millet should not be reconstructed back further than PNGb, since it is not a plant with wild progenitors in this region and was presumably introduced along with early agriculture to Nupoid speakers at a point part-way through the diversification of the family.

2. The Gade and Ebira-Okene forms are most likely related to one another but probably as loans from a common source rather than as a proto-form. Ebiraland south of the Niger is out of the usual ecological zone for growing millets.

Bulrush millet. *Pennisetum americanum*. Short-season millet

144.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb	sàkwú	kpàyi	
PE			
Nupe		kpàyi	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	asawũ		
Kami			
Gupa	asawũ		
Abawa			
Kakanda	ashèwù		
Kupa		akpàyi	
Asu		ayàzìyi	
Gbari-Sumakpna	sàwyî		
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta	sàwyî		
Gbagyi-Kaduna			
Gbagyi-Nkwa		kpayi	
Gade			
Ebira Okene			
Ẹtunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary: The two forms for short-season millet seem to be intertwined to such a degree that two reconstructions must be proposed.

2. The **kpayi** root is likely to be connected with the Nupe **èkpà**, a generic for cereals

Fonio, acha. *Digitaria exilis*

145.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PNGb	*-furu		
Nupe	surù		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo			
Kami	asurù		
Gupa		ayāre	
Abawa			
Kakanda		hashewyu	
Kupa			
Asu			
Gbari-Sumakpna	fùlù		
Gbari Kwali	fulu ⁺		
Gbagyi-Kuta	fùlù		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	hulu		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	hulu		
Gade			
Ebira Okene			
Ètunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary: The territory of the Nupoid speakers is on the southern fringe of fonio cultivation, and it is presumably known to Ebira only as a trade item.

Numerals

The numeral system in Nupoid can be generally reconstructed to proto-Nupoid, although Ebira has some deviant forms. The system is decimal, with numerals after five being partly constructed from a 5 + x formula. Eight is reduplicated in some languages, presumably a 4 + 4 formula. Nupoid shows traces of a vigesimal system with a distinctive word for ‘twenty’ reconstructible to the Nupe-Gbari node.

One

146.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	ə̃ɲɪ		
PNGb		gbàɲɪ	
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	ení, níní		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		gbəní	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa		gbíá	
Kakanda	yéré		
Kupa	etsò		

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Asu	wowi		Koelle has <i>bala</i> [?]
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta	ññū	gmànyí	
Gbagyi-Kaduna	ènù		
Gbagyi-Nkwa		gmànyí	
Gade	udê		
Ebira Okene	òòṛī, òṛâ		
Ètunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Two

147.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe	gúbà		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	àbà		
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa	àbà		
Kakanda	àbà		
Kupa	àbà		
Asu	àbà		
Gbari-Sumakpna	m̀bà		
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta	m̀bà		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	m̀bà		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	gmwààbà		
Gade	ìvà		
Ebira Okene	èèva		
Ètunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary: Classical procedures in historical linguistics would certainly reconstruct this as *àbvà*, but this is highly problematic in comparative grounds. ‘Two’ is *ba* widely across Niger-Congo and a labio-dental is highly uncommon. Gade and Ebira have thus developed the fricative, perhaps under the influence of the preceding nasal testified in Gbari. The *gu-* prefix in Nupe is a later addition applied to most numerals.

Three

148.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN		ètá	
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		gútá	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		átsá	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa		àtsà	
Kakanda		àsà	
Kupa		àtà	
Asu		àtà	
Gbari-Sumakpna		ńfà	
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta		ńtǎ	
Gbagyi-Kaduna		ńtà	
Gbagyi-Nkwa		ŋgáǎfà	
Gade		ità	
Ebira Okene		èètá	
Ẹtunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Four

149.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN		èpi	
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		gúni	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		áni	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa		àni	
Kakanda		àni	
Kupa		àni	
Asu		ani	

Six

151.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN		*twaŋi	
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		gútswāyi	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		àtōyi	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa		áto aŋi	
Kakanda		àtè	
Kupa		àtwāyi	
Asu		àtwāyi	
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta		tnâi	
Gbagyi-Kaduna		knáyì	
Gbagyi-Nkwa		túŋwéi	
Gade		cɛɪ	
Ebira Okene		ihɪ nɔnyɪ	
Ètunɔ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary: Despite the morphological changes, this looks like the fundamental etymology is 5 + 1 as ‘seven’ is more clearly 5 + 2.

Seven

152.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN		*ntwaba	
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		gútwabà	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		átō abà	
Kami		atwaba	
Gupa		atwaba	
Abawa		ato aba	
Kakanda		àtwa àbà	
Kupa		àtwàbà	

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Asu	atwaba
Gbari-Sumakpna	kpnaba
Gbari Kwali	
Gbagyi-Kuta	tnaàbà
Gbagyi-Kaduna	knaàbà
Gbagyi-Nkwa	túnjábà
Gade	tòòvà
Ebira Okene	ihimba
Ètunọ	
Ebira-Koto	

Commentary: As with ‘six’ this is etymologically 5 + 2. Ebira uses the same formula but looks as if it is not cognate with Nupe-Gbari-Gade.

Eight

153.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGB			
PE			
Nupe		gútotá	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		atō atsa	
Kami			
Gupa		atotsa	
Abawa		áto atsa	
Kakanda		àtwo àfǎ	
Kupa		àtwa àtsá	
Asu		atota	
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta		nyimwá	
		nyimwá	
Gbagyi-Kaduna		nyimwóyímw	
		à	
Gbagyi-Nkwa		túnjá áfà	
Gade		tootá	
Ebira Okene		ihí òtá	
Ètunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Nine

154.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	gútwani		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	áto ari		
Kami	atunani		
Gupa	atunani		
Abawa	ato ani		
Kakanda	àtwo aṅì		
Kupa			
Asu	tèwòni		
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta	ǰíwá gmànyí		
Gbagyi-Kaduna	ǰíwá gmàyí		
Gbagyi-Nkwa	túná ànyì		
Gade	tòònò		
Ebira Okene	ìhì inà		
Ètunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary:

Ten

155.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN	èbwón		
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe	gúwo		
Nupe Tako			
Dibo	éwo		
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa	éwo		
Kakanda	àwó		
Kupa	àwó		
Asu	awo		

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Gbari-Sumakpna

Gbari Kwali

Gbagyi-Kuta ñwǒ

Gbagyi-Kaduna ñwó

Gbagyi-Nkwa ñgwǎwó

Gade úbwó

Ebira Okene èèwó

Ẹtunọ

Ebira-Koto

Commentary:

Twenty

156.

Language	Attestation	Other forms	Comment
PN			
PNGb			
PNupe			
PGb			
PE			
Nupe		efi	
Nupe Tako			
Dibo		efi	
Kami			
Gupa			
Abawa		efi	
Kakanda		efi	
Kupa		efi	
Asu		wofi	
Gbari-Sumakpna			
Gbari Kwali			
Gbagyi-Kuta		fiibà	
Gbagyi-Kaduna		fiibà	
Gbagyi-Nkwa		wófi	
Gade		azá àvà	
Ebira Okene			
Ẹtunọ			
Ebira-Koto			

Commentary: The Gade form is curious as it looks like 10 x 2 but the Gade word for ‘ten’ today is quite different.