

The Dyarim language of Central Nigeria and its affinities

[DRAFT CIRCULATED FOR COMMENT]

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1. Introduction

This is an annotated wordlist of the Dyarim language, spoken in Bauchi State, Nigeria. A visit was made together with John Nengel of Jos University on 28/12/03 to establish the status of Dyarim. The Sarki (=Chief) Dauda Aliyu of Fadagoshi kindly assisted us to find other speakers, who included Galadima Abdullahi and Muhamman Gidado. The present materials were collected by Roger Blench with the assistance of Barau Kato from a group of villagers¹ in Dyarim on the 3rd of November 2005.

2. Location, history and sociolinguistic situation

2.1 Nomenclature

An isolated group of people locally known as the Kaiwari live in four settlements near Toro on the western edge of Bauchi State, Nigeria. This name seems to be a version of Kaiyorawa, recorded in various sources. They are referred to in Temple (1922:171) as a 'sept of the Hill Jarawa', which is repeated in subsequent ethnographic sources (e.g. Gunn 1953:13). Their correct name is Dyarim. In Crozier & Blench (1992: 43), Kaiyorawa is said to be a cover term for the Geji cluster, also in Toro LGA, which consists of Bolu, Geji and Zaranda. However, these are separate peoples, and the Dyarim say that their language is closest to Danshe, which would be logical, as the Danshe are another Chadic group on the edge of Izere territory, not so very far away. If so, Dyarim would be an undocumented member of the Zeem cluster, which consists of Zeem, Danshe and Lushi. The main, and indeed only, source on these languages is Shimizu (1978) where the Zeem grouping first appears. The name Kaiwari is given by outsiders. They call themselves;

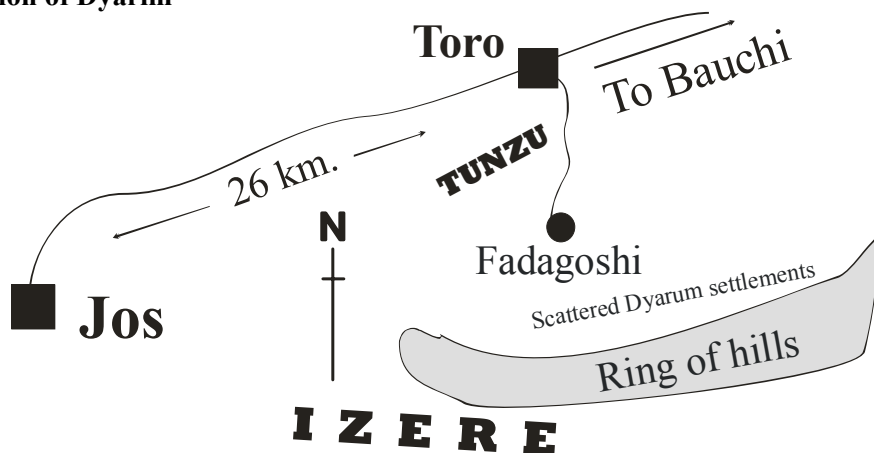
one person **Mən Dyàrim**, people **Mày Dyàrim**, language **Dyàrim Tś**.

The origin of the outsiders' name is unknown.

2.2 Location and settlements

The settlements of the Dyarim are about 6 km. south of Toro town, in Toro LGA, and the map reference of their main settlement, Fadagoshi is N10° 02', E 9° 04'. Figure 1 shows the approximate location of the Dyarim;

Figure 1. Location of Dyarim



¹ These included: Abdulhamidu Ahmad, Mallam Kiaku Musa, Zubairu Tukur, Baba Ja'o Ibrahim Sule, Abubakar Ciroma, Yahaya Abdulhamid and Lawal Abubakar. All of them were patient through a long elicitation session and I am very grateful to them.

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The Dyarim inhabit one large settlement divided into four sections and are highly Islamised, although one section of traditionalists persists. The four sections are;

No.	Name	Meaning
1	Məŋgami	Upper settlements
2	Məntiri	People of the other side of the stream
3	Məmbəndə	?
4	Fadagoshi	Old palace (Hausa)

The Dyarim now live isolated from any other Chadic language, between the Izere (Plateau-speaking) and the Tunzu (Eastern Kainji-speaking) peoples.

2.3 Language status

Locally, Dyarim is considered to be a language that has ‘nearly gone’. Hausaisation is proceeding apace and some households now do not speak the language at all. There are probably 2000 ethnic Dyarim and of those only a limited number (? 100) speak the language well. The chief himself does not have a fluent command of **Dyàrim T́s** and none of the young people present at the meeting could speak it. Nonetheless, the older informants have remained fluent and perhaps the language is still commonly spoken in isolated hamlets. But there is no doubt that it is very endangered. Photo 1 shows five of the remaining speakers of Dyarim, whose names are listed in footnote 1.

Photo 1. Five of the remaining speakers of Dyarim



2.4 Culture

The Dyarim are subsistence farmers, depending on rainfed cereal production and small ruminants. Culturally, the great majority of Dyarim are Muslims, although there is said to be one clan at the foot of the hills that maintains traditional beliefs. Clearly, this is relatively recent, since all those present could clearly describe the *dodo*, the masquerades associated with traditional religion.

2.5 The classification of Dyarim

Dyarim is part of the so-called ‘South Bauchi’ languages, part of West Chadic. This group remains very poorly known but we owe its basic outlines to Shimizu (1978) who collected 100-word wordlists for many lects and used lexicostatistics to define the subgrouping. This has been repeated in various sources (e.g. Crozier and Blench 1992) for lack of anything more up-to-date. The main comparative materials available are Caron (2001, 2002b, 2004) and Jaggat (1988). Cosper (1999) has published a comparative wordlist of eight South Bauchi languages, which is more extensive than Shimizu. However, Caron (2002a) has heavily criticised the accuracy of this work. For general Chadic comparisons, the major source document is Jungraithmayr and Ibrizimow (1995).

3. Phonology

The phonology of Dyarim should be regarded as tentative at this stage.

3.1 Vowels

Dyarim (probably) has seven phonemic vowels;

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

No contrast has been established for [ɛ] and it is recorded phonetically as heard. All the vowels probably exist in long/short forms although no minimal pairs have been established for some.

3.2 Consonants

Dyarim consonants are as follows:

	Bila- bial	Labio- dental	Dental	Alve- olar	Post- alveolar	Pala- tal	Vel- ar	Labial- velar	Glott- al
Plosive	p b			t d			k g		ʔ
Implosive		ɓ		ɗ					
Nasal	m				n		ŋ		
Fricative		f v	θ	ʈ ɟ	s z				h
Approximant						y		w	
Trill				r					
Lateral				l					
Approximant									

The dental fricative /θ/ is a rare sound, but correspondences with Guus show that it develops from /ts/ in related languages.

3.3 Tones

Dyarim Tə has three tone levels phonetically as well as rising and falling tones.

4. Morphology

4.1 Nouns

Dyarim Tə resembles Guus and the Zeem languages but also has clearly come under the strong influence of neighbouring Benue-Congo languages. The pluralisation strategies are as follows;

Suffixes

-s(ə)

The basic plural suffix is -sə (as in Guus) which appears to take its tone from the stem vowel. It can be realised in a number of ways (Table 1);

Table 1. Dyarim nouns with -s(ə) suffixes

Gloss	sg.	pl.
arm	taw	tawsə
knee	vɔrɔŋ	vɔrɔŋsə
star(s)	càrà	caras
armpit	dikálkál	dikálsé
nail	bê	bèksə
penis	swáləŋ	swáləs
goat	máɗə	má'əs

Unlike 'knee', 'penis' loses the final -ŋ, suggesting that this may originally have been a plural ending. 'Stomach' is interesting because it appears to have a frozen -sə in the singular which is then incorporated into the stem in the plural and a new -N suffix added.

stomach kùtsə kúskén

suffix -tə

-tə may be an allomorph of sə, but Guus has unproductive -tə suffixes on nouns, so this might be a distinct morpheme in Dyarim.

Gloss	sg.	pl.
farm	zùm	zìmtə
name	sòm	sómtə
grave	bìjù	bìjútə

In Guus, -tə is used for deriving abstract nouns (Caron 2001).

-(V)ŋ/n

A final nasal can be added to the stem, and an intervening vowel if the stem ends in -r. What determines the choice of -n or -ŋ and -i- or -ə- is unclear.

Gloss	sg.	pl.
eye	ir	irəŋ
back	karə	kwarəŋ
stream	lărə	lwărən
eye	yir	yírín
stomach	kùtsə	kúskén

-i

Final stem vowels are deleted in the singular, except for –a which is converted to a a+y sequence (apparently common for domestic animals).

Gloss	sg.	pl.
thief	mòrò	mərí
doctor	zòòm	zoomí
porcupine	gùzùm	gúzúmi
egg	bòlè	bòlì
castrated ruminant	dàlà	dwalây
dog	kàrà	kwàrày
agama lizard	ndàrà	ndòròy

‘lizard’ shows apophony of the central vowels and then addition of an –I suffix giving –oy.

An exceptional case is;

cheek ηgòm ηgomo

Labialisation of C₁

Surprising for a Chadic language is an alternation between non-labial and labialised consonants in C₁ position (Table 2);

Table 2. Dyarim nouns with labialised plurals

Gloss	sg.	pl.
ear	kəm	kwəmsə
head	gám	gwómsə
back	kàré	kwàrən
woman	gèdè	gwòdè

Labialisation often seems to entrain a change in the stem-vowel to mid-back, although not always. This is typical of many Plateau languages, though not of Izere or Tunzu, its nearest neighbours. Berom, for example, typically shows this alternation, although in this case the labialisation is found in the singular (Table 3).

Table 3. Delabialisation of plurals in Berom

Gloss	sg.	pl.
kunu drink	bwerè	bere
large water pot	kwɛɲɛ	kèɲɛ
arrow, needle	kwet	kèt
song, hymn	lwɛle	lɛle
cheek, side of face	rwánánɲ	ránánɲ
rope, stripe	rwík	rík
emptiness	swan	sán

As is argued in §6. this is almost certainly a reflection of a former intense interaction with a Beromic language.

Apophony

Many items show vowel-raising, usually central to back, but generally in combination with another strategy such as labialisation or suffixing. The only word to show this without further additional changes is;

witch mə̀ən mɔ́ón

but other examples are;

Table 4. Dyarim nouns with apophony in plurals

Gloss	sg.	pl.
Tail	céérə̀	cò̀òrən
head	gáám	gwómsə̀
Stone	pəsó	pwórsə̀s
woman	gè̀dè̀	gwò̀dè̀
Sheep	tàm	tò̀ngò̀s

Less common alternations are;

Female breast	jini	ně̀ɲsə̀
Farm	zùm	zìmtə̀

Tone-change

Many Dyarim nouns change tones between singular and plural, but for a small subset this is the only change;

Gloss	sg.	pl.
Leg	ɲàsón	ɲàsən
Cow	ɬá	ɬà
Patas monkey	bùrì	bùrî
Rat (generic)	kùsən	kùsón

The situation in Dyarim resembles that of Guus, with marginally more pluralisation strategies. There is clear evidence for historical layering, with some affixes becoming fossilised and new affixes added.

4.2 Pronouns

Table 5 shows the Dyarim pronouns so far elicited, although to judge by Guus, the paradigms may be much richer. As with much of Plateau, pronouns have bound TAMs.

Table 5. Dyarim pronouns

English	Indepen- dent	Present/ uncompleted	Future	Past/completed /aorist
I	ɲàm	aŋkə̀	an	ma
you	kí	kən	al	ka
he/she/it	tí	tin	til	ta
we	mày	mu	mul	mwa
you pl.	kwòy	kun	kul	kwa
they	ʃì	tun	tul	ta

5. Dyarim wordlist with external cognates

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N.B. Verbs were cited in elicitation, some with a –ti suffix, some without. This is generally a marker of verbal nouns in South Bauchi languages (see Caron 2002b) for Zodi and I have deleted it in the present list.

NO.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
1.	Tree (generic)	ɲàsè	ɲàsès	cf. Lusa ɲàntse but attested across South Bauchi
2.	Leaf	dwàbó	dwàbès	absent in South Bauchi
3.	Root	lúrè	lùrès	cf. Guus lurtə , attested across South Bauchi, also Shall lun
4.	Branch	làŋ	làŋsè	cf. Guus ɣaŋ .
5.	Bark (of tree)	wərɸè	—	cf. Shall wuri ,
6.	Thorn	ɲgabə	ɲgabès	cf. Guus jibgə .
7.	Grass (generic)	yàrè	—	? cf. Gurduŋ yaafu , Shall wur ,
8.	Mushroom	vwì	—	
9.	Charcoal	wòpən		cf. Shall wopum
10.	Soot	dùngûr	—	
11.	Ashes	dìfè		Chari etc. has gifi
12.	Rubbish-heap	rèwùtəbàrsè	—	
13.	Mud	tàbó		
14.	Clay	gùrè		cf. Guus gùrgè ,
15.	Dew	ʃifir		cf. Guus ʃifir , Gurduŋ susùr , Shall sisir ,
16.	Stone	pəsé	pwərsès	cf. Chari pəʃi , but attested across South Bauchi
17.	Sand	sàwtə		not attested otherwise in South Bauchi
18.	Smoke	yáyí		? Lusa yààŋ but probably also Hausa hayaki .
19.	Fire	wutə		cf. Guus wutə , attested across South Bauchi, Hausa wuta
20.	Water	zà		in this form in Zeem, Dokshi and Zakse clusters
21.	Rain	vwàn		attested in this form in the Zeem and Zakse clusters
22.	Cloud	lyàrəmsə		pl. of ‘sky’ (q.v.). cf. Dokshi lyar , Boghom lway ,
23.	Rainy Season	wààfən		
24.	Early rains	lɔrbi		
25.	Dry season	utín		
26.	Harmattan			
27.	Year	dìnè	dínís	
28.	Today	ágòtíni		
29.	Yesterday	àvòdì		
30.	Tomorrow	ánjèrí		
31.	Morning	ànjértí		
32.	Evening	ásúté		
33.	Day	bày		
34.	Night	kávòdì		cf. Lusa kavit , Guus gùù vòòdǎ
35.	Moon/month	libè	libès	cf. Chari lyəbè , Guus lèpm
36.	Sun	pità	—	cf. Guus fìt . In Zul, Dokshi and Zakse clusters, but Zeem has innovated
37.	Star(s)	càrà	caras	only in the Zakse cluster, e.g. Lusa caàr .
38.	Wind	yàtir	—	
39.	God	bàbán pità		‘father sun’
40.	Sky	ályàràám		cf. Guus lyààr
41.	World	dìnè		? < Hausa

42.	Ground	ɲafi		? cf. Chari ɲafi ,
43.	Large River	lãrbâr		
44.	Stream	lãrè	lwârèn	cf. Guus lààr ,
45.	Lake, pond	pyãŋ	pyãŋsè	
46.	Forest	rwáám	rwáámsè	
47.	Mountain	wúḅè	wùḅès	not attested in South Bauchi
48.	Bush	básá		
49.	Farm	zùm	zimtè	cf. Shall dun ,
50.	Compound	lãrà	lãrasé	
51.	Granary	fooŋ	fòòŋsè	cf. Guus fuŋ
52.	Road	fidi	fidis	not attested in South Bauchi
53.	Person/people	mãrgù	míndù	people also gyagís . Attested across much of South Bauchi, e.g. Wangday mar/min
54.	Man	mãrmaàn	mínmwààn	cf. Guus maan , but attested across much of South Bauchi, as -m(w)an(i)
55.	Woman	gèdè	gwòdè	cf. Dokshi and Zakse clusters, e.g. Guus gèdè
56.	Child, male	kònmaàn	mwónsémaàn	
57.	Child, female	wúngèdè	mírgwòdè	
58.	Husband	dyálàrà	kàdyálàrà	‘owner of house’
59.	Wife	gàtkàbèèn	gòtkàbèèn	
60.	Widow	kufáltùrè		
61.	Father	bãyni		cf. Shall ba ,
62.	Mother	nãyni		cf. Shall na ,
63.	Friend	mãrkayni		
64.	Guest/stranger	sombør	sombørsè	cf. Guus sumbur ,
65.	King/chief/ruler	làw	bidèy	
66.	Hunter	marpãŋ	mínkúpãŋ	
67.	Thief	mòrò	mòrí	
68.	Doctor	zòòm	zoomí	
69.	Witch	məən	móón	
70.	Corpse	vún	vùnsè	cf. Berom vín ,
71.	Blacksmith	mérgòfó	mínkògòfó	
72.	Slave	rwâm	rwámsè	
73.	Masquerade general	gãmbày		
74.	Masquerade type	jíji		
75.	Horn	ɲàw	ɲáwsè	cf. Boghom ɲaw , Mbaaru ɲàw ,
76.	Tail	céérè	còḅràn	cf. Wangday cər , but attested across South Bauchi, usually with initial ky-
77.	Egg	bòḅè	bòḅí	cf. Guus mbòòḅ , but attested across South Bauchi
78.	Wing	pàḅè		
79.	Feather, hair	—	mèḅɛin	cf. Tule mèḅɛinè , Guus mbèḅɛyèn
80.	War	ɬãŋó		
81.	Work	cèn		? cf. Guus kinnè ,
82.	Medicine	wóón	wòònsè	cf. Guus wùŋgè ,
83.	Money	wurḅé		cf. Shall wurupi ,
84.	Shadow	ɟiɟi		cf. Shall ɟiɟi ,
85.	Head	gáám	gwómsè	cf. Guus gaam , attested across South Bauchi

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86.	Eye	yír	yírín	cf. Guus yír , attested across South Bauchi but replaced in the Zeem cluster, which has dwati
87.	Cheek	ngòm	ngomo	cf. Guus gəŋ , Gurduŋ gunzin ,
88.	Forehead	cinà	cinàs	
89.	Nose	iθ ^à n	iθúnsó	cf. Guus yìitsèn , Chari yisèŋ , although most of South Bauchi retains initial ɲ-
90.	Ear	kəm	kwəmsə	cf. Guus kəm , but all across South Bauchi languages
91.	Mouth	bì	bəŋgən	cf. Guus vii , but attested across South Bauchi
92.	Tooth	ʃən	ʃəngən	cf. Guus ʃàn , attested across South Bauchi and widely in Afro-Asiatic
93.	Tongue	ɲelum	ɲèlumsə	cf. Boodlə ɲeɬ , but generally across South Bauchi with initial ɲ- . No other language has final –um.
94.	Neck	yàrə	ywarən	attested across South Bauchi
95.	Shoulder	dyàmlə	dyàmləs	cf. Guus wàmɓə ,
96.	Armpit	dikákkál	dikálsó	
97.	Arm	tàw	tàwsə	cf. Guus tàw , Zeem and Dokshi clusters
98.	Hand	gò'ə táw	gò'ə táwsó	
99.	Leg	ɲàsén	ɲàsən	cf. Zakse ɲaàsən . Most S. Bauchi languages reduce initial ɲ- to y-.
100.	Thigh	cín	cínsó	cf. Guus ciŋ ,
101.	Knee	gòróŋ	góròŋsó	absent in South Bauchi. cf. Fyem ɖurúm pl. arúm , Mabo rurum , Yanƙam ruŋ .
102.	Nail (Finger/toe)	bê	bèksə	cf. Chari buski ,
103.	Female breast	ɲini	nəŋsó	attested in Zeem, Dokshi, Zul clusters
104.	Stomach	kùtsə	kúskén	cf. Guus kukus .
105.	Navel	swámə	swàməs	
106.	Back	kàrə	kwárən	cf. Guus kààr ,
107.	Buttocks	ɬàw ndálèn		
108.	Penis	swàləŋ	swàləs	
109.	Vagina	swôy	swòysə	
110.	Skin	kôrlì		attested across South Bauchi, usually as kur
111.	Bone	mwaàtə	mwaatəs	cf. Zakse mwat , not attested in Zeem cluster
112.	Blood	cáw ^à r		
113.	Tear	lùŋ		
114.	Urine	víhà		
115.	Faeces	ìʃì		cf. Shall ji ,
116.	Hair		mèɓìn	see 'feather'
117.	Beard	bónzó		cf. Gurduŋ bamsi ,
118.	Liver	ryâ		rare, but attested as 'heart' in the Zakse cluster, e.g. Lusa ra , but also Shall ri 'liver' as 'liver' in Zakse cluster, cf. Guus vùkàl ,
119.	Heart	kàlə		? Guus wàtkó
120.	Intestines	wàrtə	wàrtəs	
121.	Body	lì	liinsə	pl. means 'people'. cf. Guus ɓii
122.	Meat	ʃàw		cf. Boghom sáw , but generally in Zeem etc. ɬàw .
123.	Animal (Bush)	ʃàw ké básá		'meat of bush'
124.	Cow	ɬá	ɬà	widespread across Afro-Asiatic
125.	Bull	gwòmə ɬá		'male cow'

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126.	Goat	máǰǰ	má'əs	cf. Guus maadǰ
127.	Castrated ruminant	dàlà	dwaláy	
128.	Sheep	tàm	tòŋgòs	cf. Guus tàm , but widespread across West Africa
129.	Ram	gàmà	gwòmway	widespread in West Chadic
130.	Dog	kàrà	kwàrày	cf. Zakse kàrà , though also in Zeem, Dokshi and elsewhere in Afro-Asiatic
131.	Horse	bùrzə	bùrzəs	
132.	Elephant	zùré		
133.	Leopard	kwà	kwáyì	cf. Guus kwààk
134.	Hyena ²	mùrúú	múrusǰ	Widespread in Niger-Congo languages.
135.	Wart-hog ³	haŋ		
136.	Porcupine ⁴	gùzùm	gúzúmi	cf. Guus ŋgùzùn ,
137.	Baboon	fwàm	fwàmsə	? cf. Guus fóyŋ
138.	Patas monkey ⁵	bùrì	bùrì	cf. Guus vùrì
139.	Rat (generic)	kùsən	kùsən	cf. Guus kùsùn
140.	Grasscutter ⁶	yǐǰa		
141.	Hare ⁷	zwòm	zǰŋì	cf. Hausa zoomo , but widespread in both Plateau and Chadic
142.	Agama lizard	ndàrà	ndòròy	
143.	Monitor lizard (<i>damo</i>)	derǰ		
144.	Monitor lizard (<i>guza</i>)	sáyì		
145.	Toad	gət pǰndò	gwət pǰndǰnsǰ	
146.	Frog			
147.	Tortoise	kúkùrbì	kúkùrbìs	cf. Guus kùkùrǰí ,
148.	Snake (Generic)	ŋə hyèrə	sórtə	
149.	Crab	gàrə		cf. Shall tagali ,
150.	Fish (generic)	—	gwàysǰ	cf. Zakse cluster, e.g. Zari gwùǰi , Kal gyaas , but also Shall ǰifi ,
151.	Bird (generic)	ryàǰə	ryàǰəs	cf. Zeem, Zakse clusters yaǰi ,
152.	Chicken	kwarə	kwàrəs	cf. Guus kwaar ,
153.	Cock	gwàndwǰ	gwǰndwǰy	? cf. Guus gùùn ,
154.	Guinea-fowl	lùkùm	lúkumsə	cf. Guus ǰǰbm ,
155.	Hooded Vulture ⁸	jǰgàwàl	jǰgàwàlsə	
156.	Scorpion	yàndər		
157.	Mosquito	víndíri		
158.	Bee	doom		cf. Guus duum
159.	Housefly	wǰrən	wòrənsə	
160.	Termite	dyàzə kǰfàlǰ	min	? correct

² (*Crocuta crocuta*)

³ (*Phacochoerus aethiopus*)

⁴ (*Hystrix cristata*)

⁵ (*Erythrocebus patas*)

⁶ (*Thryonomys Swinderianus*)

⁷ (*Lepus Crawshayi*)

⁸ (*Neophron monachus*)

161.	One	nàm	attested across South Bauchi
162.	Two	biñi	only in the Zakshi cluster, e.g. Zakse mbèñi
163.	Three	màyí	attested across South Bauchi
164.	Four	wópsà	attested across South Bauchi
165.	Five	néntàm	attested across South Bauchi
166.	Six	tìmin	< Berom tyiimin . not otherwise attested in South Bauchi
167.	Seven	támbar	< Berom taamà . not otherwise attested in South Bauchi
168.	Eight	wūr	not otherwise attested in South Bauchi, but cf. Piti uwur and wur ‘ten’ in some Plateau languages
169.	Nine	tóódí	not otherwise attested in South Bauchi, but cf. Boze toroy , Buta botori
170.	Ten	wóbdò	not otherwise attested in South Bauchi. cf. Iten ndùwùbò . The wób- element is widespread in Adamawa languages
171.	Eleven	dèlnàm	dál occurs as a formant in numerals above ‘ten’ in Guus, thus eleven is kwadál ná’aŋ .
172.	Twelve	dèl biñi	
173.	Twenty	lím biñi	lim is ‘six’ in Guus and it is likely that the original meaning of this in Dyarim was ‘twelve’, i.e. 6 x 2. When a base-10 system was superimposed on this, the shift to twenty occurred.
174.	Thirty	lím màyí	
175.	Hundred	łái	cf. Guus lañi ,
176.	Beat (drum)	dú	cf. Guus đuu ,
177.	Bite	ŋaŋi	cf. Zakse ŋaŋ , Gurduŋ gəsi , English gnash ,
178.	Blow (flute etc.)	fátà	cf. Guus fot ,
179.	Boil	łiktò	
180.	Burn (fire burns)	ci	scattered across South Bauchi, e.g. Boodlò, Bele ci
181.	Buy	ŋis	cf. Guus ŋgəs ,
182.	Carve (wood etc.)	hòlòk	
183.	Come	bítà	not otherwise attested in South Bauchi, but a common Niger-Congo root
184.	Come out (of room)	tá dinè	
185.	Dance	ŋàpó	
186.	Die	mès	attested across South Bauchi
187.	Dig (earth etc.)	yàw	
188.	Divide/share	wòlè	
189.	Drink	ła	attested across South Bauchi
190.	Eat	cí	attested across South Bauchi
191.	Enter	wáđà	
192.	Fly (birds)	tádú pàlè	‘flap wing’
193.	Fry (in oil)	wòł	
194.	Gather/collect	gútsùm	
195.	Give	bèr	attested across South Bauchi
196.	Give birth	sétè	
197.	Grind	ŋèk	cf. Guus nəg ,

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198.	Hear	wòm	attested across South Bauchi, but usually with initial k-. Zakse and Dokshi have reduced to initial w-
199.	Jump	ɗil	
200.	Kill	ɬàw	not otherwise attested in South Bauchi
201.	Laugh	ɗyàmɬə	cf. Guus gyamɬə ,
202.	Mould (pot)	gèn	
203.	Open	úk	
204.	Pierce/stab	tùl	
205.	Plait (hair)	tòk	cf. Guus tuu ,
206.	Play	lyàw	? cf. Hausa rawa ,
207.	Pound (in mortar)	(in ɗàwə)	
208.	Pour (liquid)	wò	
209.	Ride (horse etc.)	twá	cf. Guus tu ,
210.	Say/speak	wólí	attested in Zeem and Dokshi clusters, e.g. Guus wul , Zodi wol , Tule wuli ,
211.	Sell	èr	
212.	Send	ʃéŋgóm	cf. Guus gəm ,
213.	Shoot (arrow)	vwǎ	
214.	Sleep	ɗámáɗə	cf. Tule dar mədə ,
215.	Steal	mór	
216.	Take	bək	cf. Guus ɓag ,
217.	Throw	gàm	
218.	Walk	sətə	not otherwise attested in South Bauchi
219.	Want/need	lyàm	
220.	Work	pít cèn	

Edible and Useful Plants

NO.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
221.	Guinea-yam ⁹	gúlin		cf. Guus guɬən ,
222.	Aerial yam ¹⁰	twàlɔ́		
223.	Taro (Old cocoyam) ¹¹	kàn		cf. Guus kàmú ,
224.	Sweet potato ^{*12}	kə̀lar ɲasí		
225.	Wild yam I	bùrǎ		
226.	Tumuku ¹³	vwoon		
227.	Rizga ¹⁴	vwátɔ́		< Plateau languages
228.	Sorghum ¹⁵	ɲàw		cf. Guus yàw ‘millet’,
229.	Bulrush (maiwa)	millet wàktêrr		
230.	Eleusine ^{*16}	dùdâ		

⁹ (*Dioscorea guineensis*)

¹⁰ (*Dioscorea bulbifera*)

¹¹ (*Colocasia esculenta*)

¹² (*Ipomoea batatas*)

¹³ (*Plectranthus esculentus*)

¹⁴ (*Solenostemon rotundifolius*)

¹⁵ (*Sorghum bicolor*)

¹⁶ (H. tamba) (*Eleusine coracana*)

NO.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
231.	Fonio (H. <i>acca</i>) ¹⁷	cítə		
232.	Maize* ¹⁸	ɲàw cítə		‘sorghum + fonio’ [?]
233.	Rice* ¹⁹	uwaci kə lara		
234.	Cowpea ²⁰	zàam		cf. Guus zààm ,
235.	Spiral cowpea	ʃɛntyak		
236.	Bambara groundnut ²¹	baawun dyàrum		‘groundnut of Dyarim’
237.	Groundnut (Peanut) ²²	baawu		
238.	Tiger-nut ²³	dòòzo		
239.	Garden egg ²⁴	katín		
240.	Okra ²⁵	cízàŋgà		
241.	Edible squash ²⁶	òlín		
242.	Sorrel/roselle ²⁷	màkàyà		
243.	Sesame seeds ²⁸	wàkdà		cf. Guus wàgdà ,
244.	Fan-palm ²⁹	kər̀kèy		
245.	Canarium tree ³⁰	bàsə		
246.	Custard apple ³¹	bàwà		
247.	Wild date-palm ³²	jàŋ kə lārə		
248.	Baobab ³³	dùlpə		
249.	Silk-cotton tree ³⁴	ɲgələ		

6. Correspondences with other South Bauchi languages

The relationship between Dyarim and other South Bauchi languages is not defined by regular sound-correspondences, probably because originally these languages were in close contact with one another and there was considerable mutual borrowing between already similar languages. However, it is possible to exemplify some sound-shifts that occur several times which may eventually provide evidence for correspondences when the morphophonology of these languages is better worked out.

¹⁷ (*Digitaria exilis*)

¹⁸ (*Zea mays*)

¹⁹ (*Oryza sativa/ glaberrima*)

²⁰ (*Vigna unguiculata*)

²¹ (*Vigna subterranea*)

²² (*Arachis hypogaea*)

²³ (*Cyperus esculentus*)

²⁴ (*Solanum melongena*)

²⁵ (*Abelmoschus esculentus*)

²⁶ (*Cucurbita pepo*)

²⁷ (H. *yakuwa*) (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*)

²⁸ (H. *Ridfi*) (*Sesamum indicum*)

²⁹ (*Borassus aethiopicum*)

³⁰ (*Canarium schweinfurthii*)

³¹ (*Annona senegalensis*)

³² (*Phoenix reclinata*)

³³ (*Adansonia digitata*)

³⁴ (*Ceiba pentandra*)

ɬ/ɕ→l

Gloss	Dyarim	Guus
Body	lí	ɕii
Guinea-fowl	lúkúm	ɕǎbm
Branch	làŋ	ɕaŋ
Sky	ályàráám	ɬyààr
Guinea-yam	gúlin	guɕən

ŋ→ɲ

buy ɲis cf. Guus **ŋgəs**,
 tongu ɲelum cf. Boodlɛ **ɲeɬ**, but generally across South Bauchi with
 e initial **ŋ**-. No other language has final –um.

b→v

Gloss	Dyarim	Guus
mouth	bì	vìi , but attested across South Bauchi
patas monkey ³⁵	bùri	vùri

b→mb

egg bɔ́ɛ̀ Guus **mbòòɛ̀**, but attested across South Bauchi
 two bi̯i Zakse **mbè̯i**

d→g

This appears to be an unusual correspondence, but these two examples look regular;

Gloss	Dyarim	Comparison
ashes	di̯ɛ̀	Chari gi̯i
laugh	dyámɛ̀	Guus gyámɛ̀ ,

7. The classification of Dyarim

7.1 Is Dyarim part of the Zeem cluster?

South Bauchi languages in general show a high proportion of common vocabulary, to judge by the wordlists in Shimizu. However, Dyarim has a considerable number of divergent lexical items whose source is so far unidentified. If lexicostatistics of the type given by Shimizu were used, it would probably form an isolated branch. A comparison with the 100 words of Chaari (i.e. Danshe, the language Dyarim people say is closest to their own) shows considerable divergence for many common items. The relatively good documentation for Guus (i.e. Sigidi) makes it possible to identify numerous cognates and it is striking that quite a number of these are identical to Guus. Table 6 shows a series of comparisons with South Bauchi which suggest rather strongly that Dyarim is not part of the Zeem cluster but would be better sited within the Zakse/Saya cluster.

Table 6. Comparisons between Dyarim and other South Bauchi languages

Gloss	Dyarim	Comparison	Comment
bone	mwààtè	Zakse mwat	not attested in Zeem cluster

³⁵ (*Erythrocebus patas*)

eye	yìr	Guus yìr	attested across South Bauchi but replaced in the Zeem cluster, which has dwati
night	kávòdì	Lusa kavìt , Guus gùù vòòdó	
star	càrà	Lusa caàr	only in the Zakse cluster
sun	pìtè	Guus fiit	In Zul, Dokshi and Zakse clusters, but Zeem has innovated
two	bìfi	Zakse mbèfi	only in the Zakse cluster

There is one lexical item that may support a Chari affiliation;

Nail (Finger/toe) **bê** **bèksè** Chari **buski**

as the Saya cluster has #mbyak. However, the root is certainly the same and it is reasonable to accept the Saya classification. The statement by the Dyarim that Danshe is closest to their language probably reflects geographical proximity; they know of the Danshe and are not in contact with other Chadic speakers.

7.2 The sources of non-Chadic vocabulary

However, the non-Chadic vocabulary in Dyarim remains problematic. I have checked the wordlist against existing materials for Tunzu (Duguza) and Izere without any particular result. It seems that some of the more unusual lexical items have an intriguing source, the Beromic languages. Beromic is usually considered to have three members, Berom itself, Cara and Iten (Ganawuri) all situated to the south and west of Jos and not today in contact with Dyarim. However, the language of the Shall-Zwall, spoken in a small enclave in Bauchi State appears to also be a member of this group. Shall-Zwall is south of Dass on the road that leads from Kabwir to Bauchi and now entirely encapsulated within Chadic. Our knowledge of Shall-Zwall comes entirely from an orthographic 400-wordlist collected in Ibadan in the 1970s. Nonetheless, it appears that a number of lexical items in Dyarim have their source in Beromic. For example, shows words with no evident parallel in South Bauchi that occur in Shall;

Table 7. Shall loanwords in Dyarim

Gloss	Dyarim	Shall
bark (of tree)	wərfə	cwuri ,
charcoal	wòpən	wopum
father	băynì	ba ,
mother	năynì	na
money	wurḃó	wurupi
shadow	ʃiʃi	ʃiʃi

Connections with Berom proper are fewer, but the higher numerals are quite striking as these do not occur in Shall or South Bauchi (Table 8).

Table 8. Berom loanwords in Dyarim

Gloss	Dyarim	Berom
Corpse	vún	cf. Berom vín
Six	tìmin	< Berom tyiimìn . not otherwise attested in South Bauchi
Seven	támbar	< Berom taamà . not otherwise attested in South Bauchi

I have speculated as the source of the numerals 8-10 in the main list, but these connections are far less certain.

The implication of this connection with Beromic is very clear. Shall-Zwall is the last remaining trace of a scatter of Beromic languages that once spread all across the eastern Plateau into the Chadic region south of

Bauchi. Dyarim came under the influence of these languages at an unknown period in the past, and this is witnessed by some lexical replacement. The other Beromic languages were then assimilated by the spread of Izere and East Kainji languages.

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